Guide to the NU7 Aztec File

[This file consists of sixteen sources, including one translation. The basic source is Fray Bernadino de Sahagun's Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain, which is being translated from the Aztec text by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. The translation has not yet been completed and several volumes will be added to the Aztec file in the future. The book by Vaillant, an archeologist, gives the general background to Aztec culture, with relevant archeological data. Bernal Diaz' account gives an idea of Aztec culture as it appeared to a conquistador in 1519-1521. The items by Radin, Monzon, Deevey and Phillips cover aspects of culture only briefly noted in the other sources. Bandelier's works are chiefly valuable for the abstracts and quotations from other works which he uses to bolster his own theories about Aztec culture. In general, all aspects of Aztec culture are covered in this file with no really weak spots appearing anywhere. This file is strong on material pertaining to religion, socio-political organization, warfare, trade and diet. Information pertaining to the calpulli, a kinship-administrative unit, has been filed in category 618. Monzon's monograph (9: Monzon) gives an analysis of the most recent anthropological thought concerning the origin, meaning and significance of the calpulli in relation to Aztec social organization. Most of the information on propitiation, which forms a major portion of Aztec ceremonies, will be found in category 796.]

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imagination and opened a rich life for their military conquerors. The humble farming skill of the tribesmen of North America's eastern seaboard sustained religious exiles until they could live off the land and create their own type of commonwealth. The Indian and his culture were soon plowed under, but they enriched a soil which otherwise would never have produced the lavish harvest of Pan-American civilization.

The most violent clash between the Indians and the Europeans took place in the Valley of Mexico during the early summer of 1520, when Cortes and his Spaniards achieved the Conquest of Mexico and overthrew the Aztec civilization, the most advanced Indian culture at that time. Cortes' success was the loadstone which drew to the Americas the iron might of Europe. Stone could not withstand steel, and the days of the Indian were numbered. The history of the Aztecs and their forebears is a synopsis of the rise of Indian civilization and its doom.

The Aztecs were a populous group of independent Indian tribes who occupied a restricted section of central Mexico. Their history and social customs are better known than their neighbors' because their conquest had such a far-reaching significance for the European world. Spanish observers of military, priestly and civil status wrote careful accounts of the Aztec life and history, and Indian authors a generation later augmented these records, drawing on the tribal lore still only thinly veneered by Christianity. A few pictographic records, either prepared before the Conquest or copied afterward, are precious additions to the Aztec annals. However, our chief data on Indian history come from archaeology, that branch of research which recovers social his-

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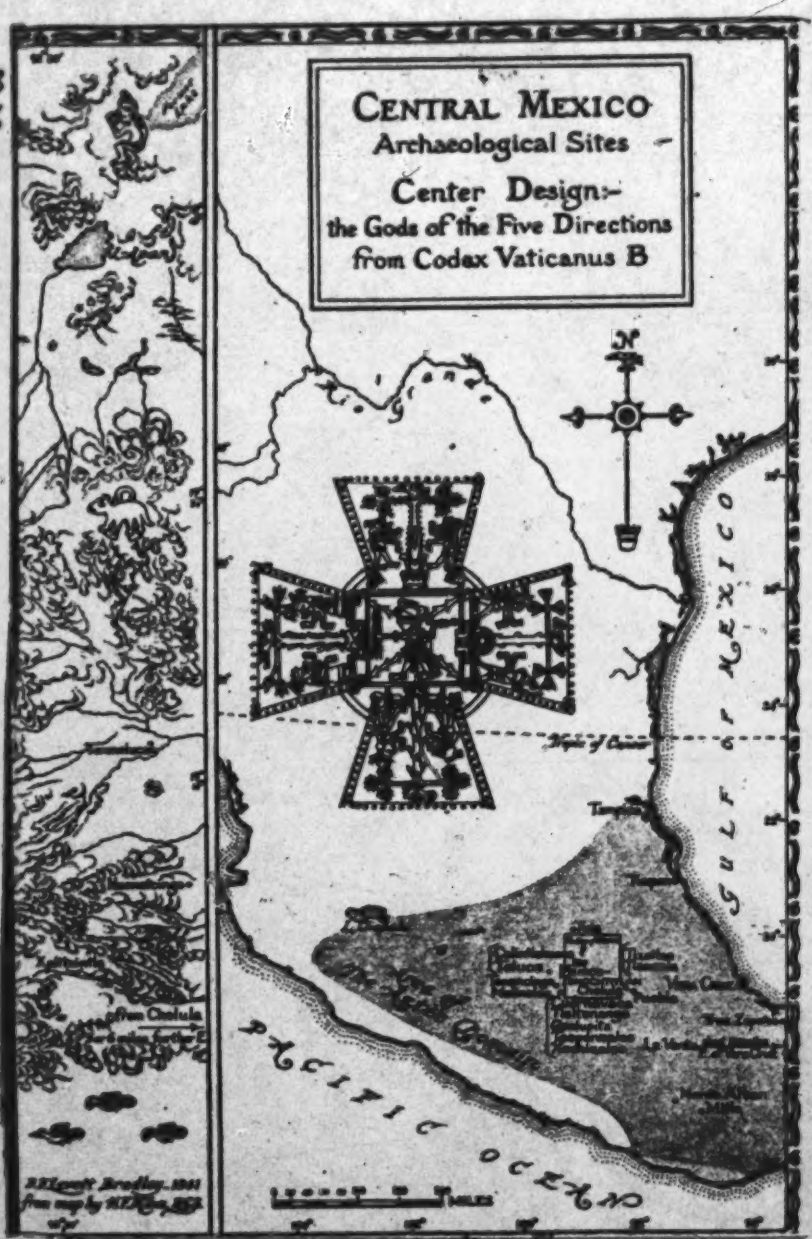

[END PAPER MAP (B)]

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matrícula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matrícula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 344–345.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

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[63] *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-
[114] century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are
131 included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[3] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua
[491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal
[133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[4] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[5] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[6] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names
[103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like
[101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca
[491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[8] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[3] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[4] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[5] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[8] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

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632 Sánchez was right at the Bay of Cihuatenejo, and it appears there in
131 a manuscript map of *circa* 1760.[36] The other pueblo, His Majesty's, appears on the "Guerrero State Map" of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, being situated on the Río Rincon. By means of the Salinas de Camotlán, which appear on both this latter map and the "Millionth Map," we see that this Río Rincon is the Río Ixtapan of the "Millionth Map," though the pueblo is omitted here. It is this Ixtapan belonging to His Majesty which has been selected as probably identical with the pre-Hispanic town, both because it gave its name to the Río and Punta de Iztapa (a), a promontory which may be found on most maps, and because it was reserved for His Majesty, a fact implying a special desirability and importance.

Çacatulan lay one league south of modern Zacatula, near the mouth
● [101] of the Río de las Balsas. (On the accompanying map, it appears too far east.)

Çihuatlan (Çiguatlan de Salzedo and Panotlan), which gave its name to the province, is missing from all available maps. It might have been any of three vanished towns, but the one which seems most probable is Çiguatlan de Salzedo. This lay thirty leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and bordering Pamutla and Nusco—the modern Nuxco, near Tecpan. Çiguatlan and Panutla, or Pamutla, lay on the same river five leagues from Tecpan.[37] Judging by the distances east of Zacatula assigned to other localizable towns (Jolochuca, 22; Coyuca—Coyuquilla—28; Nuxco, 33; and Tecpan, 35), this river is the modern San Luís. Çiguatlan de Salzedo may be San Luís de la Loma today. In any case, according to the relación of Zacatula, Çiguatlan was divided from Panotlan only by a river ("entre estos dos pueblos está el río"). For that reason, it has been given the same number, 9.

Çiguatlan de Salzedo lay right in the middle of the province, which is the writer's reason for identifying it as the old cabecera, despite the claims of two remoter homonyms.[38]

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[36] Bancroft Library, University of California, MS map F 1226 176-, G. 9. The author is Santos Alonso Guerra.

[37] "Relación de Zacatula," *Tlalocan*, 2: 261; *PNE* (*Same*), 1: No. 901.

[38] The other possibilities are Çigua (*PNE*, 1: No. 864) and Çiguatlan de Su Magestad (*PNE*, 1: No. 883). Çigua extended between Zacatula and the sea. Çiguatlan de Su Magestad lay seventeen leagues from the Villa and four from the sea. (It bordered

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[20] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[21] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetiztla and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[22] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[23]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Axochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyuela and Piquitla [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çiqua are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çiquatlan de la Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanejo itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[20] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[21] "'Jentes que biuieron de algun lugar de mucho biurro' o 'Jentes de biurro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepuztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[22] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[23] In a town called Chiuatapec, Cuitlatec territory begins, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

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197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,[*] and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.[*]

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino,* the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles[*] of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[36] 800 red seashells, like scallops

[*] See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

[*] See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

[*] The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[20] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[21] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[22] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[23] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[24] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[25]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[26] Cocolan,[27] Mayanala (14),[28] and Huitzoco.[29] Since

[20] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[21] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[22] "Estos coiixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman coiixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).

[23] *GPM*, p. 105.

[24] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).

[25] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[26] *PNE*, 5: 86.

[27] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[28] *GPM*, p. 98.

[29] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[314] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 263; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[60]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[61]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[62]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[63] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[60] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cosian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Montecuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[61] "Relación de Zultepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[62] *PNE*, 7: 101-"por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

[63] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[**] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[*] In Tlachinoltícpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[**] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavaale cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se hace de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan cangu con que senbo-

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Miteper* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matrícula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[782] [103]

[100] *FNE*, 7: 1–7. [101] *FNE*, 7: 4. [102] *Relación de Ixmiquilpan* (1931), p. 222.
[103] See p. 23 above. [104] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.

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the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[8] 632
Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the 131
path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli,* "sand," and *tlalli,* "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] 635
and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the 197
north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old 101
Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are: 635

Atlapulco, 11	Cuauximalpan, 7
Capulhuac, 12	Chichicquauhtla, 4
Coatepec, 14	Huizquilocan, 5
Tlalatlauhco, 13	

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other 635
Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east 131
those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

[8] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[9] Cf. preceding note.
[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 561.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[a]—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[b]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen[c]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[d]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotónilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matrícula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[e] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[a] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[b] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 296.
[c] See n. 111, p. 51.
[d] The lost original might be called p. 68.

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The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlazpan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir suñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suzeq de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacays hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468).

[30] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[20] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[21] and Zimapan (12).[22]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acazochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[23] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[20] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[21] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tleculuti ycatxip san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[22] *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rrecomoçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[23] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomíe, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y así no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavía de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

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635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.
[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 111: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió termines con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

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635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula*, were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoxtitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac*. That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

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632 *Tetela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoztlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[a]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province
197 of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[b] and Yacapichtla.[c] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[d]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[e] and so were the Tlalhuica.[f]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow
131 province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[a] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matrícula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[b] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[c] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimillco."

[d] See pp. 76–77.

[e] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimillco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[f] See pp. 76–77.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopán, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[**]

[**] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis hazas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[*] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[**]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[**] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[**] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaxtla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Mixteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 197 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the [128] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlã, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcã, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlã, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[88] 632

Huitzaxola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[89]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[90] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[91] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecçuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast. 632 712 [101]

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[92] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo. 632 131

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[93] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[94] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla- 101 197

[88] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[89] *GPM*, p. 106.

[90] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[91] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[92] *GPM*, p. 98.

[93] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Náhuatl.

[94] *GPM*, p. 27.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
803 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,** and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states* to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*
** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101
the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197
little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635
flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131
manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635
longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col 651
lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields [291
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth 714]
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans [242]
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

the Franciscan version, as embodied for example in Sahagún, makes no mention of it. Since some of the "sources" place the Aztecs on Lake Pátzcuaro at one stage of their wanderings, it is amusing, in this work that started from limnologic experience on that lake, to consider that Aztlán may have been the island of Janicho. Certainly the possibility cannot be dismissed that Pátzcuaro was in the mind of the acculturated artist who drew the picture.

If Aztlán had no more reality than the artificial lake at Tula, the delightful possibility arises that the name *Aztec* itself is a chimaera. Clark (1938) actually takes this position, and it is true that the inhabitants of Tenochtitlán were Tenochca, the speakers of Nahuatl were Nahua, and we are left with *Aztec* as a book-name that is conveniently applied to a culture. Barlow (1945) accepted the tradition, found in most of the post-Conquest sources, that the Aztecs changed their name to Mexica when they learned to worship Huitzilopochtli, and he therefore preferred "Empire of the Culhua Mexica" to "Aztec Empire" for the political unit of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. What is reasonably clear is that the etymology of the name was a late invention. The basis of the name *Aztlán*, which means "near the [place of the] egret", was probably a glyph containing an egret, or an egret-feather ornament. Doubtless it was through some long-forgotten pun that the name came to be associated with the word *Aztec*. Remembering that the pun need not have arisen in the Nahuatl language, but could have been in Mixtec, we can hardly hope to recover the ultimate ancestry of Aztec culture from etymology, particularly when the supposed sources so obviously confuse the derivation of words with the derivation of peoples.

But if we cannot prove that the Aztecs sprang from an island in a lake, we cannot deny that that is where they lived and died. The remarkable people who harvested salt-flies and practiced water-bug husbandry, who piped fresh water and farmed salt, and who thought of lakes in profile, had ample reason to associate themselves with egrets.

MICHOACÁN

In marked contrast to the wealth of 16th-century source material on the Valley of Mexico, information on the lake district of Michoacán is scanty. The province was relatively fortunate in its 17th-century chroniclers, but by the time these men came to write their histories there was little native culture left to write about. The Tarascan civilization was evidently as well developed as the Aztec; comparative material on ceremonials and customs is given, though briefly, by Sahagún, and

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which
121 is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

[101] [1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Meritis* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar, Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios-occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1613), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

[173] [3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóztoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Teoculuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 8.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (See "His-"torie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hacklurt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads—where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos—the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Aztacalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuidlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzintepec. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the meh [at arms],

Injc caxtolli omome cap?, vncan mjtoa in jnncie- 643
hecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn cēl qujchioazque inte-
qujuh, in jntlatocaio.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in 643
tlatecpanaliztli, in qujxitlanja injc iauquiçaia. 701

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca
in iauiotl, injc ichoatl qujtzontequj, qujtecpana,
quiçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in 643
connemjlia altepetl, in conjtza, in quezquj vtli, in 723
campa ouica, in campa ic calacoaz, in ic iuhquj achto
oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlali: in
altepetl, in polivjz, ic onjtztica in tlatoanj in iaqui
vtli, in campa ouican, quezquican in calacoaz. [102]

Niman ic quiualnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque in quezquican calaquiz iauquiaquj, in quezquilhujtl monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc ichoantin, iautlatouque qujnnaoatizque: in jaquich in quauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioā tlauiztli.

Auh in ichoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in 643
jaquichtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauh- 714
naoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl:
tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappa-
necatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl,
matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl,
axocopanecatl, itzcujncujtlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aio-
tzintepecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc quiualcujzque, in
jaquich in jnpiel, in tlacalaquilli, in tlaçotlanquj
tlauiztli in cozzic teucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jaquich
tlaçochimalli.

Auh in jcnac oquiualitquique in calpixque: in 643
jaquich tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli: iichoatl tlatoanj, nj- 701
man quiçencaoa qujntlauizmaca in jaquichtin tlaço-
pipilti, in ic imjxco ca iautiliztli: ioan in jaquichtin

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

776 463 484 which they journeyed. Wherewover they slept, there they set
them up; before them they did penance, they drew [their]
blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by
their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his
favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence
they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their
name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96]
looking well for whatever goods there might be; they
stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around
the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds;
weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction.
Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with
their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They thrust themselves into the deserts; they climbed up
and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on
knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that
they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] tur-
quoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds
—the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black
[825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoon-
bill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the
eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

mextlatocaia, inchpa cuchiuqui, vacua quijtiquetza, inpan
tlamacoua, mjyo, quijcajahuanjlia, ynjc quijtlachtia ya
jayauah yiacatecutli, ynjc quijtlanjlia, ynjc qujmatzaqujlia,
yjiacatlilia:

noujan ecitinomj, calactinomj. Auh ic momoua, pachoua
yiaqui: inch cuaqui, ya inca iztauh, yiacatecutli:

Ontomoca, anaoc: calaqujnj, vel qujtomocinomj, in tlein
qujtomamachtiuqui, anaoc: qujtzaqualotinomj, anaoc:
qujtlacatocinomj,

tonalcüauhtinomj, hecacichtinomj, mocianhpouhtinomj,
mocianhpouhcinj, elcicuhtinj, mocianhpoctitinj, yuallelaci-
tiuh, ynjquan tlatlatiuh, intonal qujmacujtinj, intonalonjuh
istiuh:

intlaxtl qujnamjctinomj, atlauhli, xpetl, qujtemouja,
qujtlecauja, inqujchca ana: ismoliqui, intenpan ic tlatlacça,
ic moquequetza:

vel qujcüavj vel qujhüiouja, ynic qujtomoa in chalchiujtl,
in quetzalitzli, in tecuiujtl, ya xpoçonalli, in tecuçtlatl:
in xepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjzcan, in tlauhquechol,
xiuhtotoml, in tentli, çaçua: quauhtli, in tequamecatl, ya
ocelopeltatl.

---

que se vee cada vuelta, mostrar sin tasajo ninguno: que se come jamon, de los que se traen en espalda." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 57-8) says they gathered the stones all together, gave with a ribbon, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling merchants who went into the *tierra caliente* (*ayamoca ontomoca calaquujnj*) (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1194, Seler states: "*Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Ipyatecutli ('der Herr der Wanderungen') war der Gott der Karawanenführer der ontomoca ontomoca calaquujnj der reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ontoloa in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the Xiuhtzotzil.

The references in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 330, to the *Nonohualcatecuhtli*, appears to refer to a guide or chief of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* [103] distinct.

96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, especially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the term as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan cabeza de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Pedemos hacer Anáhuac, que dicen mas de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Estuvimos en la provincia de Anáhuac, no todos, sino aquellos que eran de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . eran todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. Es un pueblo se dividen, unos llaman a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros llaman a Anáhuac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 334.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac Xicalanco as the coast of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llamadas así porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y tzili piedra de metaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin manchas ningunas, y estas dos cosas tienen la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene manchas, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Tecuitlatl, quiere decir turquesas de las dificiles . . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ningunas manchas y muy tersa.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que crie en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobladiguanas cuando las tiene el sol (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El tecuilo que tiene en la cabeza esto es (quetzalhuitzol) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llamase a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esto en el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; es precioso esto plumas y llámanla tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene colaba en el pecho y en los cabezas y debajo de las alas; son la animal pintas y la animal verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tenquechol* means red quechol; or precious quechol. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 493). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 37n., gives *Platalea Ajaja* name L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtotoml* as a bird the size of a jay bird (grajo) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta S. Cuvieri* (*ibid.*, p. 424). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould*.

103. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) revueltas al color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llamas de fuego y como son, crianse en Anáhuac.*"

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the signs which Quetzalcoatl left in place upon the stone with his hands, when he rested himself there, where he sat.

And as he supported himself by his hands on the rock, he left deep imprints, as if [it were] on mud [that] he had planted the palms of his hands. Likewise his buttocks remained well marked on the rock where he was. Verily they are [now] visible. Because of the hollows, [this place] was named Temacpalco.

And then when he arose he came to reach a place name Tepanoayan, [where] there was water. A river burst forth [which] was very wide and long. [Quetzalcoatl] laid stones and made there a bridge. Then he crossed over on it, and so it is named Tepanoayan.[1]

And once more he set forth and then came to reach another point, a place named Coaxpán. And when he was there, devils sought to turn him back. They tried to send him back and stop him.

They said to him: "Where dost thou go? Where art thou bound? Why goest thou now leaving the city? To whom dost thou go leaving it? Who will perform the penances?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to the demons: "Indeed, in no way can [anyone] force [me]; for I must go [on]."

Then the demons said to Quetzalcoatl: "Whither goest thou?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to them: "I go there to Tlapallan, for I go to learn [my fate]."

And then they said to him: "What wilt thou do?"

Then Quetzalcoatl replied: "I am called hence. The sun hath called me."

Then they said to him: "It is well. Go, leaving all the works of craftsmanship."

Then he left all the arts—the casting of gold, the cutting of precious stones, the carving of wood, sculpturing in stone, the knowledge of the scribes, the art of feather working. All [these] they wrested from him by force; they made him abandon all; they seized all from him.

And when this was done, Quetzalcoatl thereupon cast his jewels into [a spring of] water, and then they

Injc matlactli vmey cuçirulo: vncan mjtoa in machiotl in quijtlatlalitia, Quetzalcoatl in jmatica in jpan tetl, in vncan motevi, in vncã motlalli.

Auh injc, momamatlaquechi tepan vel ihilac, juhquinma çoq'pan oncacalac in imacpal, çã ic no ivi in itxintamal, injc catca tepan, no hiylac, ompopolac, vel neneztica, injc cocoionquj, ic vncan tlatocaioti temacpalco.

auh njmã ic oalcoac in acico itocaiocan tepanooaian, atl icac, atl quizticac, vel patlaoac, patlactic, in tetl contecac panoanj conchiuh, njmã ic ipan onpanoc, yoan njman ic tlatocaioti tepanoaia.

auh oc ceppa vmpeuh njman acito cecnj itocaiocan coahapan: auh in oncãn j vncan quioalcuepazquja in tlatlacateculo, quioalilochtizquja, quijacatzacuilizquja,

quilhuique can tiazuh, can tiztiuh, tleica ic ticcauhtiuh in altepetl, aqu itech ticcauhtiuh, ac tlamaceoaz.

Niman quimjlhui in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacateculo, ca çan njmã amo velitiz ca ça niaz:

njmã quilhujque in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacateculo canja tiaz

njmã quimilhuj in Quetzalcoatl ca vmpa in tlapallan njiauh in njtlamattiuh,

auh njmã quihuiq̃ tle taiz

njman quijto in Quetzalcoatl, ca nioalnotzalo nechalnotza in tonatiuh,

njman quilhuique ca ic qualli xicauhtiuh in ixquich in tultecaiotl,

njman jc vncan quicauh, in ixquich in tultecaiotl, in teocuitlapitzcaiotl, in tlateccaiotl, in quauhxincaiotl, in tetzotzoncaiotl, in tlacujlocaiotl, in amantecaiotl, moch quitepeoaltique, moch quitlacaltique, moch qujcujcuilique:

auh in ic iuhqui in Quetzalcoatl njmã ic ic conte-

1. Tzompolco, Tepanoyan: cf. Orozco, op. cit., pp. 203, 204. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 58) states that Tzompolco was two leagues from Mexico City (Tlalmanalco).

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were swallowed up. Therefore he named that place Coxcaapan which now is called Coaapan.[2]

And thereupon he moved on and came to reach another point, a place named Cochtocan. And there a demon then came forth to meet him.

He said to him: "Whither goest thou?"

Then [Quetzalcoatl] said: "It is there to Tlapallan that I go, to learn [my fate]."

Then the demon said to him: "It is well. Drink this, the wine which I have brought here."

Quetzalcoatl said: "Nay, it may not be that I drink, even though it might be but little that I taste."

Then once more the devil said to him: "Verily, it may not be that thou shalt not drink nor taste of it. For no one do I give leave, or permit, to depart whom I give no wine and [not] make drunk and besotted. So do [as I bid thee]; be of good cheer and drink it."

Quetzalcoatl then drank the wine with a drinking tube.

And when he had drunk, he quickly fell asleep in the road. He lay thundering as he slept, resounding a great distance as he snored.[3] And when he awoke, thereupon he looked to one side and the other. He looked at himself, and arranged his hair. Then he named the place Cochtocan.

peoa, in jcozqui in atlan njman ie ic hatoco, ic vncan tlatocaioti, coxcaapan, in axcan mjtoa cooaapan:

auh njman ie ic ōmolinj onacito, cecnj itocaiocā cochtocan, auh in vncan njmam quioalnamjc, ce tlacateculotl

quilhui can tjiauh,

njmā qujto ca vmpa in tlapallan, in nitlamattiuh,

njman conilhuj in tlacateculotl, ca ie qualli, tla xoconj, y, yn vnctli in oniqualcujc

qujto in Quetzalcoatl ca njman amo velitiz in niquiz, in manell achito noconpaloz,

njman oc ceppa quilhui in tlacateculotl, camono velitiz, in macamo tiquiz, in maca titlapaloz ca aiac njcnocavia aiac njcquixtia in macamo njcmaca yn vctli, in njctlaoantia, in niquivintia, auh injn tlaoque tlacuele, tla xoconi,

in Quetzalcoatl njman ic conjc, in vctli piaztica.

auh in oconjc cochvetz in ōtica, quaqualacatoc in cochi, veca caquizti, injc hicoteca, auh in ooaliçac, njman ie ic ăvic tlachia, mohotta, moquapepetla, niman jc vncan tlatocaioti cochtocan.

2. Tezozomoc (op. cit., pp. 49ff.) repeats a legend that after leaving Coxcaapan, Quetzalcoatl went to Cholula, where he remained twenty years.

3. See Pl. 14.

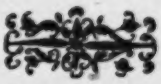

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Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth how the vassals of Quetzalcoatl froze in the ice and died as they passed between Iztac tepetl and Popocatepetl; and of others of his exploits.

Then once again he set forth and came to climb between Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl.[1] He led all the dwarfs and hunchbacks, his servants. It snowed upon them, and there they froze; they died of the cold.

And Quetzalcoatl thereupon was greatly moved and wept to himself. And he sang much to himself [as] he wept and sighed.

Thereupon he looked at a distance to another white mountain, named Poyauhtecatl.[2] Again he set forth, making the rounds of all places, everywhere passing through the villages. And so, they say, he set down many of his signs, by which he is known.

In another place it is said that he took his pleasure on a mountain. He came sliding down it, to its foot;[3] he came bouncing down it.

And elsewhere he planted in the ground *maguey* fibers.[4] At another place he built a ball court, all of stone. And in the middle of it, where the line was, the earth lay open, reaching deep; for it was thus pierced. And elsewhere he shot, as an arrow, a *bombax ceiba* tree, [shooting it] likewise into the midst of [another] *bombax ceiba* [so that one] rested piercing [the other]. And elsewhere he built a house all underground at a place named Mictlan.[5]

And elsewhere he set up a huge rock.[6] It is said that one might move it with his little finger; easily it swayed; from side to side it would teeter. And it is said that when many men pushed it, then it would not move, even though many would try hard. [If] they sought to move it, they could not budge it.

And there were many more things which he did in all the villages. And it is said that he named all

Injc matlactli ōnauj capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in quenjn cioapaoaque cetica micque in jmaceoaloan Quetzalcoatl, injc inepantla quiz in iztac tepetl, yoan in popocatepetl, yoan in oc cequi itlachioal.

Niman oc ceppa vmpeuh in otlecoto, popocatepetl itzalã, yoã iztatepetl, in ixqujchtin qujnvicaia, in tzapame, in tepotzome, yn juachoan, muchintin inpan cepaiauh vncan cioapaoaque, cecmjcque:

auh in Quetzalcoatl, njma ie ic mellaquaoa, mochoquilia, yoan mocujcatia cenca choca, helcicivi,

niman ie ic no conitta vecapa ĩ oc centetl iztac tepetl itoca poiauhtecatl, oc ceppa ic vmpeuh novian quiquiztia, novian quixaqualotinen yn altepetl, iuh q'toa mjec tlamantli in quitlalitia in inezca ynjc monencaioti.

In cecnj quilmach maavilti tepetitech oalmoostlacalauh tlatzintlan oalvevetztia.

auh y cecnj quitlalitecana ichtli, y cecni quitecac tlachtli çan moch tetl, auh in tlanepantla yn oncã icac tlecotl coionticac veca aciticac ynjc coionquj, yoan cecnj quimjn pochotl injc qujmjn çan no ie in pochotl hitic nalquizticac, auh cecni quiquetz calli çan tlallan, itocaiocan mjctlan,

auh oc no cecni quitlali centetl vejtepol tetl, quil yn aca colinia yca imapil xocoioton, vel molinia hauic oaquiquiça: auh quil in iquac miequjz.in colinja, çan njman avel olinj, in manel cenca quimjecc.na colinizneqnj, avel colinia.

auh oc mjec tlamantli in qujchiuh in novian ipan

1. Iztac cihuatl.
2. Mt. Orizaba.
3. Gebirgsrutschbahn; a variant version is suggested in Seler, (op. cit., p. 291, n. 1)—"auf-und-ab-rutsch-bahn gear, jdnch gehend?"
4. Cf. loc. cit. (n. 7), which differs somewhat from the *Florentine Codex* text: "auh yiauc quitlali tecuan ichtli iui ocnel tolquauhtecuanca ca tlacuaxec: and nordqstenbaqual lugar or cave (Strict-)Leiter zum hauptsächlichen an ane Agaveplanzen. Hierzu passt dann die Lesart 'quergehend' = dann, s."
5. Possibly Mitla.
6. Corresponding passage in Seler (op. cit.) translates ocipopol tel as gleiten auch. Cf. in Molina (op. cit.), tepetlli (mismbre de cerro).

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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the mountains. And in all places he gave all the names here.

And when he had done these things, then he went to reach the sea coast. Thereupon he fashioned a raft of serpents. When he had arranged [the raft], there he placed himself, as if it were his boat. Then he set off going across the sea. No one knows how he came to arrive there at Tlapallan.[7]

altepetl: yoan quilmach much quintotocaiotl in tetepe. yoan novill novian tlatotocaiotitia yn njcan

auh in ic iuhquj yn oacito ateco, njman ie ic quichios coatlapechtli, yn oquiencauhque vncan motlali, iuhqujnma yiacal ipan pouh, njman ie ic iatiuh atocotiuh aocac ontlamati in quenjn acito in vmpa tlapallan.

Here Endeth
the Third Book

Nican tlamatica
injc Ey amoxtli

7. There is great variation in legends and interpretations of the disappearance of Quetzalcoatl. In the *Anales de Quauhtitlan* (Lehmann, op. cit., pp. 79, 90-92), he went to the east to die and burned himself; his heart survived, went to the heavens, and became the morning star. He and the star vanished for four days, while Quetzalcoatl was in the underworld; after eight days, the star reappeared. The version in Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 79) has Tezcatlipoca rout Quetzalcoatl from Chalchi to Tlapacoya, or Tlillapan, where Quetzalcoatl died; his body was burned, and he became a star or comet. Durán (op. cit., pp. 75-6) relates that, on reaching the sea coast, Quetzalcoatl, at a single word, went a mountain and entered it; cast a cape over the sea, made a sign with his hand, and sailed off; dried the sea with a blow of his staff and marched through with his people—the sea then engulfing the pursuers. In "La leyenda de los soles" (*Codex Chimalpopoca*), Quetzalcoatl (Ce acatl) is said to have undertaken a series of conquests (Ayotlan, Chalco, Cuitlaxcoapan, Quetzaltepec, Mixtecatlan, Tlapacoyan, Atlixco), and to have sickened, died, and been burned or hidden at Tlapallan. (The passage cited is incomplete because of a lacuna in the original text.)

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Cuacoatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iolloxonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlauapan,[4] Nopalan, Iztac tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichioaltatacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

cactolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maia- 175
nalizitli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian
tepan cenman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in [731]
mazanalizticca.

Çã no ieboatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali
catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlael-
napaloa, quculh veiah noquezzepole uel xomjtotia, [787]
atlã tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachizti in
Españoles.

Çã no ieboatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca
ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho..ia qujtoaia.
Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no ieboatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çiboatl 175
ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocolizzli, njman motocac 787
yitoalco ipan qujtemanoque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac
in cihoatl micquj mozcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in
vncan motocaca tlatlataçco motlapo, auh in tetl ic
moteemanca vêca veuetzito: auh in ieboatl cihoatl in
oiuh mozcali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in
motecuçuma in tlein qujttac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca
inic onjnozcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie izqujch ca
teboatl moca tzonqujça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca
teboatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aquijque
in ie uitze ca ieboantin tlalmaceoaqujuj, iehoantin
onoque in mexico: auh in ieboatl mjcca çihoatl ie
no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh icon-
euh oquichtli:

Ioan miiec in altepetl quipeuh motecuçuma in 175
jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlauacan, çocollan, teco- 648
maixtlauacã, çacatepec, tlachquiauhco, iolloxonecuil- [103]
lan, atepec, mjctlan, tlaapan, nopalan iztac tlalocan,
cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichioaltatacalan.

Çan no ieboatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl 175
aciquijui españoles mottaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica 787
oalmoquetzaia cenca tomaoac in tlanextli iuhquin
tlemjnouil ieoual tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçiampa
oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalquiça tonatiuh,

2. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. Cuicac ce nepantla tecoc. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has cui pantli. Nepantla is clearly an error.
4. Tlauapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7
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Chart of map facing page 144

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecã (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matrícula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlalxomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

[632] *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-
[114] century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are
131 included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[3] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua
[491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal
[133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[4] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[5] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[6] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names
[103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like
[101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca
[491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[7] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[3] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[4] *PNE*, 6: 163.
[5] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[7] *PNE*, 6: 159–159.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaua gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.[a] 651

2. Tepequacuilco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied as folio 37' of the *Codex Mendocino*, are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below: 635 114

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Alahuiztlã, 21	Alahuistlán
Atenanco, 8	Atengo del Río
Cocolan, 13	Cocula
Cueçalan, 7	Cuetzala
Chilacachapã, 12	Chilicachapa
Chilapan, 4	Chilapa
Huitzoco, 16	Huitzuco
Ohuapã, 6	Oapan
Oztoma, 19	[Missing]
Teloloapan, 11	[No change]
Tepequacuilco, 15	Tepecoacuilco
Tlachmalacac, 18	Tlaxmalac
Ychcateopã, 20	Ixcateopan
Yoallan, 17	Iguala

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All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted 635

[a] "Al rey que era de Mexica ... le daban esclavos e mantas e oro en polvo que sacaban y lavaban de los rrios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos daban al dicho Montoçuma eran para que los dichos Mexicanos comyesen" (*PNE*, 6: 158).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[27] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[28] Tetela (5),[29] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[30] Totoltepec (10);[31] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[32]

[175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632a *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[33] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[34] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[35] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[36] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

[27] "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[28] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."

[29] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."

[30] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernase."

[31] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."

[32] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Moteçuma."

[33] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.

[34] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.

[35] *PNE*, 6: 113: "En otro tiempo estubo poblado en un peñol ques enespunable y muy fuerte."

[36] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs: "¿Es al Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec.[99]

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[100] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[101] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[102] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[103] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[104] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[105]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[106] Cocolan,[107] Mayanala (14),[108] and Huitzoco.[109] Since

[99] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[100] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[101] "Estos couixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).

[102] *GPM*, p. 105.

[103] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).

[104] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[105] *PNE*, 5: 86.

[106] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[107] *GPM*, p. 98.

[108] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[66]

[567 727] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[67] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[68]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Çiudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacã, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapã, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpã (10).

[66] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[67] "Estavan sobjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que esto le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[68] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona presçipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[a]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[b]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[c]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[d] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[a] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unos enaguas ... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cosiian lo justaban estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Moteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[b] "Relación de Zoltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributaban." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[c] *PNE*, 7: 102: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

[d] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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5. Tuluca

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33' of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacā, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepec, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Teotenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xicaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Çoquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan.

Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master.[20]

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rrachan y ocote, ques tea para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocotlili."

[20] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various [782 103] etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7.
[101] See p. 23 above.
[102] *PNE*, 7: 4.
[103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.
[104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

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635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[106] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present
[126] map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

[103]

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacā, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[107]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation.
114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

34-6 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center.
635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[106] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.
[107] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

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103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acaxochic, 6	Santa Fe
Ameyalco, 8	[No change]
Coatepec, 14	Coatepec Bateas
Chichicquautla, 4	Xochiquauhtla
Huizquilocan, 5	Huixquilucan
Quahuacan, 1	Cahuacan
Quauhpanoayā, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecpan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tlalatlauhco, 13	Xalatlaco

Two other towns have been found elsewhere: Huitziçilapa (3) and Tlalachco (?) (2).

Two towns of the tribute list have not been found: Chapolmoloyā and Ocotepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaxochic,* "que ahora es Santa Fé," is located on the authority of
131 Tezozomoc.[4] It lies southwest of Tacubaya.

Chichicquautla has become the modern Xochiquautla, between Huixquilucan and Toluca. The boundaries of "Chichiguautla" given in a sixteenth-century document confirm this identification.[5]

Huitzilçilapa, under the transitional form of "Vçiçilapa," is referred to in the sixteenth century as being adjacent to Tacuba and as having a barrio called Tamimiluipa[6]—which description applies perfectly to the Huitzilapan of the 1937 map.

Quauhpanoayan has vanished from the map. It was divided between two hills, one section being called San Joan Baptista and the other San Francisco. It was a league from Atlapulco (11), a league and a half from Capulhuac (12), "y de los otros dos á media legua." As one of "los otras dos" is known to have been Ocoyacac (10), Quauhpanoayan may be placed with fair accuracy.[7]

Tecpan has long since disappeared from the map. In the late sixteenth century, according to the 1579 map of Ortelius, it lay south of Teocalhuiacan and northeast of Mimimiyauuapan [*sic*]. Ortelius gives

[4] *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 530.
[5] *PNE,* 1: No. 113, places it seven leagues from México and touching the jurisdictions of Tacuba, Toluca, and "Vçiçilapa."
[6] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[7] *GPM,* p. 232.

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635 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the
114 north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpā, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.
131 *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[22]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28' of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[23]

[22] *PNE,* 1: No. 1.

[23] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepesic ce comēdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1261) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

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y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[20]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[21]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[22]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[20] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[21] *GPM*, p. 263.
[22] *PNE*, 3: 33, n. 1.

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TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[294 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

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Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[42]

651
632

12. Axocopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex,* folio 27'.[43] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below:

635
114
[128]
[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquiahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayā, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpā, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpā, 10	Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[42] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[43] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

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tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[60]

Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[61]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atocpan has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[60] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[61] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

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177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tzicoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54r). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coxcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Coxcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PME*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 173, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[30] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[31] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[32]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[33] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[34] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[35]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matrícula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[30] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[31] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[33] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

16. Tuchpa

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The *Matrícula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[28] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Miahuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to 131 Lehmann.[29] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[30]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[31]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[28] See Introduction, p. 7.

[29] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing; see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[30] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[31] RHE, II: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma naçiese ni eredase este rreyno no estaban estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron dende á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á monteçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of 632
Tlatlauhquitepec.[**] 131

Tenextícpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197
belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635
still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648
of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[**] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635
of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131
south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635
coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103
part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651
cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matrícula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles** [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
808 bundles[**] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**

[**] RMM, 1: 487.
[**] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[**] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[**] Corrected from 800.

1/2 [p.58.— Analyst] 2/2 [p.56.—Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

* Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.*

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.*

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [128] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acazochitla, 3	Acazochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

* RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
** RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á montçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.**

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula,* which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino,* which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco,
[28] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapã, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

** *PNE,* 1: No. 31: "Y da mas seyçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Tepetlaoztoc, 18	Tepetlaoxtoc
Teçoyucã, 17	Tezoyuca
Tiçayucã, 8	Tizayuca
Tlaquilpã, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tonanytla, 12	Tonanitla

Various pueblos of this crowded province remain to be located:

Ahuatepec	Quauhyocan
Ameyalco	Tepetlapã
Calyahualco	Tiçatepec
Contlan	Tlachyahualco
Quauhq̃mecã	Totolçinco

Yxquemecã

Certain other pueblos may be added to the province on the basis of other documents:

Acolman (a)	Pachuca, 1
Coatepec Chalco, 22	Teotihuacan, 13
Chicualoapan, 21	Tepepulco, 7
Chimalhuacantoyac, 20	Tetlyztaca, 6
Otompan, 24	Tezontepec, 4

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acolman (a) was independent until conquered by Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco.[a] 632

Acolhuacan is something of a problem. The present paper is hardly the place to pass upon the truth of reports that Texcoco, capital of the Acolhuaque, paid tribute to the Mexica as did any other vassal. But a choice is imperative here: does the glyph which is annotated Acol*man* and Acol*huacan* represent Acolhuacan Texcoco?

The answer is a certain no. It is doubtful that Texcoco ever paid the famous tribute, in the first place. The other member of the Triple Alliance, Tlacopan, does not figure as a tributary anywhere in the *Matricula*, and it was less powerful than the domain of Nezahualpilli. The *Mendocino* interpreter has not written Texcoco, nor does the glyph correspond to those commonly used for Texcoco.[a] And the contradictory *Matricula* legend has been written over, as if to avoid 632 114

[a] "Nezahualcoyotl cacique de Texcoco, los tirannio" (*FNE*, 6: 211). (1942), fig. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

THERE is a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the 631
Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about 648
to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names 175
nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and [128]
Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. Chalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matrícula* and folio 41v of the *Codex* 635
Mendocino appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal 114
towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been [128]
identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco
Tepuztlan, 3	Tepoztlan

[103]

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 56 below.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, 635
and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire. 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the 651
richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles** [291
2 warriors' costumes with shields* 714]

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian [262]
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matrícula* shows us a series of towns headed by 635
Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed 114
to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23". The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de [128]
Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corroçepmos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

161 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde "alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323
289]

2,000 pottery bowls**
8,000 reams of native paper**

651
632

Tribute of the component towns.—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present place names are compared below:

103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amacingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayonochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *PNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloztoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilcaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century. 632 175

Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición." 632 131

Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[10] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[11] but cannot be found today.

[10] *PNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la principall subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilca."

[11] *PNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopualco [Nepomualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[26]
[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[27]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco*, according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[28]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[29]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[30] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[31]

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[26] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[27] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[28] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[29] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[30] *GPM*, p. 112.

[31] *GPM*, p. 104.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] 16 pieces of colored lacquer
[313] 268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
314 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[30]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section
114 extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

105

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[31] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[32]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[33] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[30] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[32] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[33] *PNE*, 5: 210.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf 175
coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to 128
chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, ex- 635
tending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the 114
recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51'. Of the eleven principal [28]
towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotoxco
Teotlalpan, 1	Hueytlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonoctla, 3	Jonotla
Yaunahuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yayauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Ytztepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan was a Mexican garrison town.[7]

Atenco is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[8] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[4]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecuma."[9] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[6]

Tzotzocolco lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

Xoxopanco lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[9] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

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[5] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[6] *GPM*, p. 9; *ENE*, 14: 79.

[4] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–213.

[8] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[9] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rrecopoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco. 635 131

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING [291 714]

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[*]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[**][31] [314]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/A] and liquidambar.[32] 632 651

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Totodlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

1/A [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

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FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114 ●
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103 ●

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de noruoeste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn earriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^ed a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^o de myctlanquauatla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en va cerro."

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29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north-eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matriculc*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapā, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpā, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Toztlan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Teteutlan
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlā	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michtlan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

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the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[46] 632 651 [231]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[47]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[48]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[46] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis'" (*PNE*, 5: 2).

[47] *PNE*, 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[48] *PNE*, 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepoque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

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VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 197 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the [128] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlã, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcã, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlã, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124-125.

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacã, Chiltecpintlã, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal 197
languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[7] and Quauhtinchan.[8] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Cozyxtlahuacan.[9]

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlax- 635
cala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other 131
three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire [648]
provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[10] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace.

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 635
1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears 175
in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[6]

[7] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua toca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; assi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[8] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (1937).

[9] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[10] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 3: No. 248.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

32. Yoaltepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified. 635 114

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names: [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalã (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilasaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayã (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[30] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[31] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[32] 632 131

[30] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconoscia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Moctezuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."

[31] *PNE*, 5: 60.

[32] *PNE*, 1: Map, 6.

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acuitlapã, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Chipetlan, 1	Chiepetlán
Malinaltepec, 6	[No change]
Teténanco, 3	Tenango Tepexi
Tlapã, 4	Tlapa
Totomixtlahuacã, 5	Totemixtlahuaca
Ychcateopã, 2	Ixcateopan

The remaining seven towns of the *Matricula* cannot be located with any certainty, though there are some additional data available regarding them. These towns are:

Acocozpã	Huitzannola
Ahuacatla	Ocoapan
Amaxac	Xocotla

Yualan

On the other hand, we may confidently add and locate the following subject towns, thanks to another source: Ayutla (8), Cintla (?) (10), Copalitech (11), and Tototepec (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acuitlapan* is the Quitlapa of today, located southeast of Metlatonoc in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. It is described in colonial days as "Cuytlapa," twelve leagues from Tlapan.[a]

Ahuacatla, not located, was five leagues from Tlapan, according to a report which gives it as "Ahuacatitlan."[b]

Amaxac probably corresponds to "Atlemaxac" or "Atlimaxax," which was a cabecera one league from Tlapan.[c]

Ayutla was clearly tributary,[d] and with it a series of seaboard towns including Cintla and Copalitech.[e]

Cintla seems to have lain close to the modern Juchitán(a).[f] It was one of the seaboard towns subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).

[a] *GPM*, p. 106; *PNE*, 1: No. 217.
[b] *GPM*, p. 101.
[c] *GPM*, p. 101; *PNE*, 1: No. 82.
[d] *PNE*, 4: 260: "aquel pueblo de Ayutla antiguamente era de Motecçuma, [con] todos los demas pueblos de la jurisdiçion que fueron sugetos."
[e] *PNE*, 4: 259: "antes que se ganase la tierra, eran todos los pueblos maritimos sujetos al dicho pueblo de Ayutla."
[f] Identification by the writer, in "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 361.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]
[316 263 233] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpizque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con moniecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted - Analyst]

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635 114 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Méndocino* copy, however. The present map is based [28] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[70] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[71]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[70] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llamauan 'calpisques' ... hacian recoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[71] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauac, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

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632 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed
651 through the town.[]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The
114 principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which
[128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotitlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teftipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco pasauan bastimentos."

[] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que compravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecçuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de [illegible]."

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Besides the towns identified, many lesser subject towns, discovered 103 through sources other than the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy, should also be listed:

Atepec, 2
Coatlan, 33
Cuixtlan, 32
Chichicapan, 30
Eztetlan (?), 13
Huiztepec, 15
Itzquintepec, 12
Iztepexi, 8
Miahuatlan, 31
Mictlan, 28
Ocelotepec
Quauxiloticpac, 14
Tecuicuilco, 5
Teotitlan del Valle, 23
Teotzacualco, 11
Teozapotlan, 25
Tlacolula, 27
Tlaliztacan, 20
Totomachapa, 16
Xaltianguisco, 4
Xilotepec, 17
Yoloxonecuilan, 1
Zenzontepec, 18
Çoquiapan, 7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atepec and three neighbors "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[109] 632

Coatlan, in some unspecified period, rebelled against its chief and sent ambassadors to Mexico to arrange its incorporation into the Empire.[110] Today the town seems to have broken up into a cluster of satellites, of which a rough center has been taken for the map.

Coyolapan, now Cuilapa, ought really to be called "Quacuyolapan"—if we are to trust the relación of that town.[111]

Chichicapan first belonged to Teozapotlan, but was fighting off attacks from Mixtec neighbors at the moment of the Spanish Conquest, [648] at which time its inhabitants settled matters by allying themselves with Moctezuma.[112]

Cuixtlan (32) warred with Tetiquipa to the south, and this may [648] possibly indicate the limits between the province of Coyolapan and the free Mixtec state of Tototepec.[113]

[109] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123. Tecuicuilco, Atepec, Çoquiapa, Xaltiango: "Todos estos quatro Pueblos Reconocian por Rey a munteçuma el qual los Abia conquistado Por fuerças de armas."

[110] *PNE*, 4: 123: "Este dicho pueblo y sus naturales en su antiguedad eran sujetos a vn caçique que se llamaba Coactzi ... hasta que les hizo çierto agrabio y se rebelaron contra el, y ... enbiaron parias a la çuidad de Mexico a Monteçuma ... el qual los recibyo debaxo de su anparo."

[111] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 22.

[112] *PNE*, 4: 115.

[113] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 115.

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17', ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

● 103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located; and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen
[128] on the 1: 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nombre almeria [Nautla] quies En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Petlapec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

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651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac[1] [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

[1] San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

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[facing p. 144 (A)]

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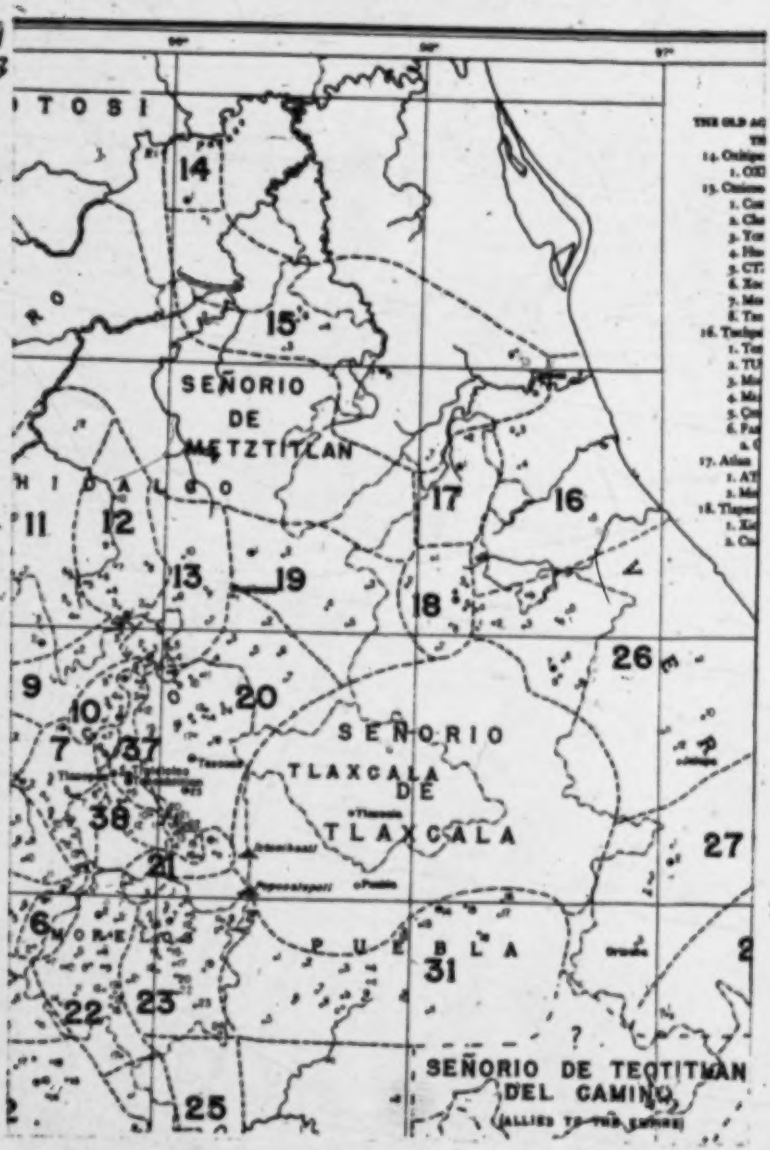

[facing p. 144 (B)]

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THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE NORTH

24. Cuitláxpac
1. OXITIPAN
25. Ometoxtla
1. Cuauhtitlan
2. Chapulhuacan
3. Tonanitlan
4. Huamantla de Hidalgo
5. CTEXCOAC (?)
6. Xoxotocan (?)
7. Molanco
8. Tlamapachco
26. Tuxpa
1. Tonantipac
2. TUCHPA
3. Mixtlan
4. Mixtlanapã
5. Cuauhtempa
6. Papantla
a. Castillo de Tuxpa
27. Atlan
1. ATLA
2. Matlalquyuca
28. Tlapacoyan
1. Xicotepec
2. Cuauhchinanco
3. Chila
4. TLAPACOYAN
5. Xicotepec-Papantla
6. Xalacomulco
7. Atempanatla
29. Atotonilco el Grande
1. ATOTONILCO
2. Quauhtepanqualco
3. Agua[illegible]
4. Tulancingo
5. Huayacan
30. Acolhuacan
1. Pachuca
2. Epazoyucã
3. Tlaxcalapã
4. Tamazunchale
5. Chapolan
6. Tuxpatlan
7. Tepeapulco
8. Tepeyucã
9. Huejutlan
10. Tlamacazapã
11. Tezcatlan
12. Tlamanalco
13. Tuxtlahuaca
14. Mixtecã
15. Ixtlahuaca
16. Tlapacoya
17. Tepeyucã
18. Tlapotzlanco
19. (Number omitted)
20. Chimalhuacan-Atenco
21. Chicoloapan
22. Coatepec Chalco
a. Azcapuzalco
23. ACOLHUACÃ
24. Otompan

THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

31. Chalco
1. CHALCO
2. Quauhtotolco
3. Tlapacoyan
4. Amaquemecan
32. Quauhnahuac
1. Huexlapã
2. QUAUHNAHUAC
3. Xochitepec
4. Achtlyepac
5. Miacatla
6. Xochitepec
7. Cuatlan
8. Atlixyoyan
9. Atlixhuacayan
10. Maçatepec
11. Yeitla
12. Cuautepec
13. Tlaquiltenango
14. Amacuitzila
15. Xochitla
16. Cuernavaca
17. Tepoztlan
33. Huexotepec
1. Nepopualco
2. Totolapã
3. Tlayacapã
4. Coacalco
5. Atlatlauca
6. Yecapixtla
7. HUAXTEPEC
8. Tepeis [del Volcán]
9. Ocuituxco
10. Huayapan
11. Yautepec
12. Yacapichtla
13. Xochimilcoaçinco
14. Quamichtlyeco
15. Quamitlan
16. Axochiapan
17. Tlayacac
18. Olintepec
19. Amilcingo
20. Xalaqueto
21. Tlaltizapã
22. Huaçalan
23. Tecpaçinco
24. Axochiapã
a. Xochitepec
b. Ocuituxco
34. Tlalnepantlalan
1. Tolimanc
2. TLALCOÇAUHTITLÃ
3. Mixquic
4. Ahuaçotinco
35. Quauhchinanco
1. Olinalan
2. Quilac
3. QUIAUHTEOPAN (?)

THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

36. Tlatlauhquitepec
1. Teotlalpan
2. Yytepec
3. Xoxoctla
4. Yayauhquitlalpa
5. Ayutuxtenco
6. Yaxuanhuac
7. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC
8. Ayecac
9. Tepeitlan
10. Acatlan
11. Tlacolula
12. Xilotepec
a. Xoxopanco
b. Tlaxcoxcolco
c. Mazatlan
37. Quauhtochco
1. Totoltlan
2. QUAUHTOCHCO
3. Tochinco
4. Yytetococan
5. Ahuehuepan
38. Cuetlaxtlan
1. Tlacuocan (?)
2. CUETLAXTLAN
3. Mictlanquiaxtla
a. Zongolica
b. Veracruz
c. Boca del Río
39. Tochtepec
1. Teotlan
2. Ostlan
3. TOCHTEPEC
4. Oyltatitlan
5. Pactlan (al Oriente)
6. Tlacotlapã
7. Tiltlan
8. Ucila
9. Tlaxoxpec
10. Chinantlan
11. Yzmatlatlan
12. Coçamalapã
13. Mixtlan
a. Pactlan (near Alvarado)
14. Michapan (?)
40. Xocotochco
1. Mapachtepec
2. Acapetlatlan
3. Huetlan

[facing p. 144 (c)]

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4. Huehuetlan
5. Maçatlan
6. ECCOMOCHCO
9. Atoytlan

The Road to Xocotochco

1. Xalupec*
2. Quetzalupec
3. Itzcuintepec
4. Xalapa
5. Tecuantepec (Tehuantepec)
6. Xochitlan (Jochitlán)
7. Ixhuatlan (Ixhuatlán)
8. Tecpatepec (Tecpatán)
9. Chiapan (Chiapa de Corzo)
10. Tzinacantepec
11. Huixtlan (Huixtla)
12. Comitlan (Comitán)

THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

31. Tepuxic
1. Quauhtemochtlan
2. Tlemochcitzli
3. Tlepantlan
4. Huehuetzli
5. Cihuatlan
6. Yztucan
7. Epatlan
8. Nacochtlan
9. Cuixtlinco
10. Quatlatlaxinzi
11. Tlipexic
12. Quauhtitlichan
13. Tlcalco
14. TEPEACAC
15. Acatlinco
16. Tlexolonco
17. Quechiulac
18. Tlipetlazulco
a. Alcozauca
b. Tezahuca
c. Çoyuxtlanapa
32. Yoalnepec
1. Plantla
2. Acatlan
3. YOALTEPEC (?)
4. Ehecacalco
5. Petlanzinzi (?)
6. Tlelchapan
7. Yopinepec (?)
8. Tecomaxtlahuacan
9. Apanochiquilazala
10. Tlecuzi (?)
a. Tonalá
b. Huamuxtepec
c. Tlacotepec
33. Tlapan
1. Cuauhtlan
2. Yoncatlipuzi
3. Tlytlancuco
4. TLAPA
5. Tlotomoxtlahuacazi
6. Malinaltepec
7. Acuitlapilco
8. Ayutla
9. Tonatepec
10. Cuetla (?)
11. Cuapolitzcli
a. Jochitlán
34. Tlachquinaco
1. Tlacotepec
2. Mixtepec
3. TLACHQUIAUCO
4. Achiotlan
35. Cuauytlahuacan
1. Petlalcingo
. Chila
3. Ixcitlan
4. Tamaçulapa
5. Tlexpan
6. COATZITLAHUACA
7. Chicuytlan
8. Papaloticpac
9. Tepexcilla
10. Malinaltepec
11. Chalmecatlco
12. Atlatlauca
13. Tlapanchizolco
14. Yanquitlan
15. Nochistlan
16. Çiçuylan
17. Xaltepec
18. Macuilan
19. Tamaçulapa
36. Cuyuxipac
1. Yolomécatl
2. Atepec
3. Camotlan
4. Xoloxuxpanco
5. Teozacualco
6. Itzcuinlan
7. Çiçuxipan
8. Ixtepexi
9. Etlan
10. Quauhtlamitlan
11. Teotzacualco
12. Itzquintepec
13. Eztetlan (?)
14. Quauxilotitlan
15. Huixtepec
16. Tonamichapa
17. Xiloxtepec
18. Zoyatepec
19. Guaxacac
20. Tlalixtaca
21. COYOLAPAN
22. Macuilxochic
23. Tuxtlan del Valle
24. Tlalcuechiuhtlazi
25. Teotzapotlan
26. Tetitipac
27. Tlacolula
28. Micilan
29. Ocotlan
30. Chichicapan
31. Mixhuatlan
32. Cuixtlan
33. Coatlan

THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE

37. Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco
1. ÇITLALTEPEC
2. Tlemapanco
3. Xaltocan
4. Papotlan
5. Yztacalco
6. Chalco Atenco
38. Petlacalco†
7. Tecolapan
8. PETLACALCATL
9. Huitzilopochco
10. Tlapotitlan
11. Cuitlahuac
12. Olac
13. Xico
14. Mixquic
15. Cuculan
16. Tlapitzalan

* There are two towns of the same name.
† The numbering of towns in this province is continuous with that of the preceding province.

[facing p. 144 (D)]

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131
103

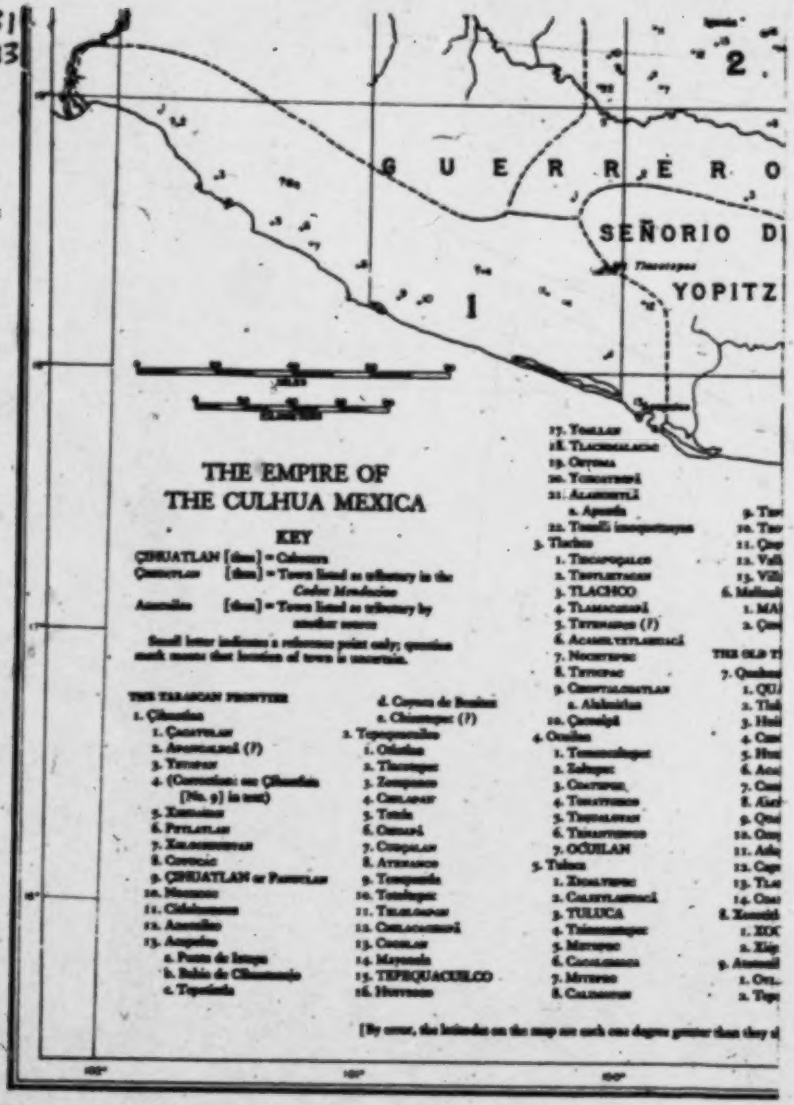

[facing p. 144(E)]

8: Barlow E.-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

[facing p. 144(F)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

[Facing p. 144(G)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

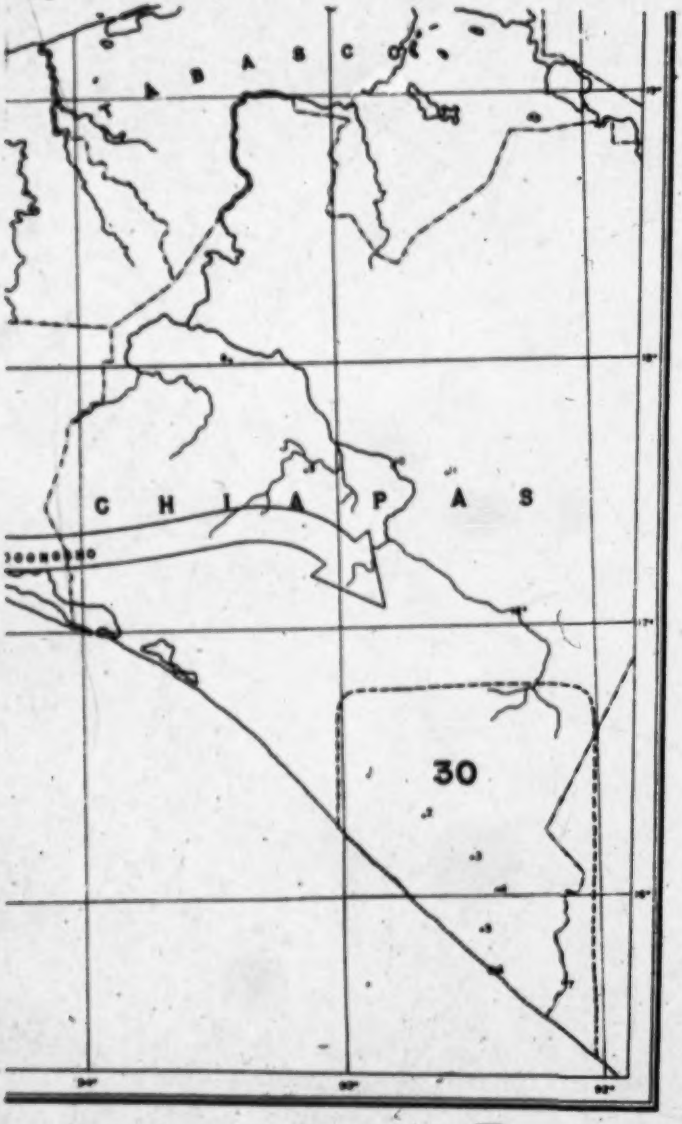

[Facing p.144(H)]

631 order, of the territory of the group. This subdivision could have been a simply territorial subdivision: in wards; but it appears more likely to have some relationship with kinship phenomena, through the mentioning of tlaxilacallis as founded by married couples and campan formed by allied calpullis. These relationships will be absolutely certain if it is demonstrated that the calpulli was a clan, and there certainly are arguments which could lead one to believe that among the Tenochcas the calpullis were clans, as will be seen in the Second Part.

/p. 35/ TABLE OF THE TLAXILACALLIS OF TENOCHTITLAN IN 1637 (1)

631 103 1. There are mentioned in the list the tlaxilacallis which appear in the report of the year of 1637 of Ms. 13994, and in the notes are recorded the differences with respect to the report of the previous year—which is less complete—and some mention of various tlaxilacallis made by Chimalpain in his Diary (which information was sent me by Mr. R. H. Barlow). Naturally the names of the calpullis do not generally coincide with those of tlaxilacallis. [Further footnotes in this table are not interlineated, but appear at the end of the section. —translator.]

63
103

The large ward of St. Juan (2) or Moyotla.

Tecpancaltitlan (4)
Cihuateocaltitlan
Teocaltitlan
Tzapotla
Macpalxochititlan
Tequicaltitlan
Huehuecalco (5)
Atlampa (6)
St. Critóbal
Hueyaztacalco
Tlalcocomoco
Amanalco
Petitlan (7)
Aticapan
Tlatilco
Xihuitonco
Tequixquipan (8)
Necaltitlan
Xollohco (9)
Acatla
Xacalpan (10)

The large ward of St. Pablo or Zoquiapan (3).

Teocaltitlan
Tlachcuitlan (11)
Ateponazco
Toltinco
Huitznahuatonco

Tozcamincan
Temazcaltitlan
Ometochtitlan
Contzinco
Zoquipan
Ocelotzontecontitlan

The large ward of St. Sebastián or Atzacoalco.

Teocaltitlan
Tomatla (12)
Coatlan
Zacatlan (13)
Cuitlahuatonco (14)

Cotolco

The large ward of St. María or Cuepopan.

Teocaltitlan
Tlacolpan (15)
Tezcaltzonco
Analpa
Copolco
Atlampa
Colhuacayonco
Iztacalecan

631
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2. The names of these "wards" were considered by Vetancourt as names of the calpullis of all of Tenochtitlan, and Bandelier and many authors followed him in his error.

3. Chimalpain called this "large ward" Teopan Xuchititlan (p. 275, Diary [Diario]).

4. Missing in 1636.

5. Also in Chimalpain, p. 13.

6. Tlapa appears in 1636, which is perhaps a mutilated entry.

7. Tepatitlan appears in 1936 [sic. 1636] which seems more correct.

8. Also in Chimalpain, p. 15.

9. Also Chimalpain, p. 219.

10. Xapalca appears in 1636.

11. Also in Chimalpain, p. 251.

12. Also in Chimalpain, p. 13, where it appears as Tonatla.

13. Missing in 1636.

14. Also in Chimalpain, p. 238.

15. Also in Chimalpain, p. 238.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266). 127 231 312

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important. 312

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest. 127 212

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán. 171 532

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly 103 212

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 pre-Conquest (Spinden, 1935). Some lacustrine scenes (if that is what they are) are reproduced on Plate II from the Codex Nuttall, published 212 by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University in 1908.

As may be seen in the case of *Acocolco*, "twisted water" (Figure 3 B), the glyph for water is compound, and its several elements reappear in other contexts. Essentially it consists of a stream, painted

Fig. 3. Some Aztec place-name glyphs referring to water, lakes, and salt, redrawn by Martha Dimock from the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938). A, Hueyapán, "on the lake" (*ueiatl*, lake + *pantli*, banner, ideograph for *pan*, on) (Clark's no. 192). B, *Acocolco*, "twisted water" (*atl*, water + *cocoloa*, to go by twisting and turning) (Clark's no. 352). C, Acozpan, "yellow water" (*atl*, water + *coztic*, yellow) (Clark's no. 578). D, Xalac, "sandy water" (*xalla*, sandy + *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 333). E, Atlán, "near the water" (*atl*, water + *tlanti*, teeth, ideograph for *tlan*, place of) (Clark's no. 606). F, Chilacachapán, "place of *chilacaxtli*" (*chili* + *acaxitl*, small lake, ideograph for *chilacaxtli*, *Azolla* sp.; combined with *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 430). G, Tequixquiac, "saltpeter water" (*tequixquitl*, saltpeter + *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 16). H, Zilán, "shells" (Clark's no. 116). I, Tamazolan, "toad" (Clark's no. 517). J, Iztatlán, "near the salt" (*iztatl*, salt + *tlantli*, teeth, ideograph for *tlan*, near) (Clark's no. 161). K, Istacalco, "salt house" (Clark's no. 232). L, Ayotlán, "turtle" (Clark's no. 560). M, Tollán, "cattails" (Clark's no. 66). N, Chalco, "jewel" (*chalchihtl*, jadeite + *co*, in).

turquoise-blue, with eddies and waves. At the tips of the waves, usually in alternation, the Aztec glyph shows two sorts of symbols, and these alone may represent water, as in *Acozpan*, "yellow water" (3C). One of these is a shell, and reappears by itself in *Zilán* (3H). The other, though interpreted as a drop by Clark, is almost certainly a precious

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

stone, *chalchiuhtl*, and is a miniature of the full glyph as it occurs in the name *Chalco* (3N). The relation among shells, jewels, and water is made clear on Plate 103 of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (Emmart's edition, 1940), where it is said that whoever would cross a river or a lake in safety is to carry in his hand a beryl, both "head" and viscera of a snail, and a sardonyx, while in his mouth he should carry the eye of a large fish. Presumably either "beryl" or "sardonyx" of both stem from mis-translations into Latin of the Nahuatl *chalchiuhtl*, which is ordinarily jadeite, but in this context is probably green turquoise. The stone was sacred to the water goddess *Chalchiuhtlicue* and would be understandably related to water on account of its color. As to the snails, four or five kinds, all with viscera, are illustrated in the Mixtec codex, one (at the left side of the top figure of Plate II) being obviously identical with the shell of the Aztec glyphs. It is probably an *Oliva*, judging from the wide use of this type for ornaments in Mesoamerica, but from the picture itself it could equally well be a freshwater melaniid. This or a similar gastropod also forms the basis of the most famous of all Mesoamerican symbols, the Maya glyph for zero. The larger snails with spines are probably *Murex* or *Purpura*, which, as the source of purple dye that was used in this codex, have both a magical and a practical connection with water.

The fact that some or all of the shells are marine presumably led Spinden (1928, p. 247) to identify the page from the Codex Nuttall (here shown at the top of Plate II) as "the conquest of a town situated on an island of the sea", and Thompson (1933, p. 245) made the same inference. The alligator, on the other hand, is not marine, and two other creatures appear to be partly mythical: the serpent, and the fish with the head of a bird, which answers the description of Sahagún's *totomichin*. The association is clearly with water in general, and if the painting represents any particular body of water the fact that it is enclosed by banks suggests that a lake is intended. The question can probably be settled eventually by identification of the island; for example, if the frieze at the base of the island in Plate II top, were black and white, instead of brown, red, and blue, we would know it to be Tilantongo (Caso, 1949).

What is particularly interesting is that while water in general is commonly represented by a stream drawn in plan, even when the stream is dry, as in *Xalac* (3D), "sandy water", lakes are commonly shown in section. *Hueyapán* (3A), "on the lake", is an exception, but as waves, jewels, and shells are all missing from this glyph it has a close resemblance to the glyph for "mirror" that is probably intentional. *Atlán* (3E), "near the water", *Chilácachapán* (3F), "place of

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 212 *chilacaxtli* = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water", all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli,* teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes,* though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone,* whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

127 823 If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.*, 1938) that shows part of the [289] city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 The power to appoint, which the "chief of men" enjoyed within the limits of the official household, implied, to the same extent, the power to remove and to punish. It was not even necessary to refer such cases to the action of the council.

In punishing summarily acts of insubordination, or of treachery, when committed during warfare, the "chief of men" acted as commander-in-chief and in strict compliance with the duties of that office.

Lastly, a certain amount of discretionary power was necessarily vested in the chief commander for the public good. Placed at the "tecpan" to "watch, guard and protect" the tribe and the confederacy, it was necessary to empower the "Tlacatecuhtlli" in cases of great urgency, to act "on the spur of the moment." It was not a privilege of royalty or a despotic right, but an obligation resulting from the nature of the office.

643 692 Consequently the "chief of men" was not, properly, the executioner of tribal justice either. This duty devolved upon other war-chiefs of lower rank, who, although superior in command to the leaders of the kins, when on the war-path, never otherwise interfered with the duties of the latter, any more than tribal jurisdiction conflicted with that of the autonomous kins. These chiefs were the "four leaders of the four great quarters of Mexico Tenuchtitlan,"[271] or, as we have already intimated, of the four *phratries* into which the twenty kins had again agglomerated for religious and military purposes. These four "great quarters," named respectively, "Moyotlan," "Teopan," "Aztacalco" and "Cuepopan,"[272] were not, as the current notion has it, so many governmental subsections, or wards of aboriginal Mexico. Shells

even treat them as traitors, and secure their persons to prevent injury to the public cause. All this, of course, provided the story be true!

The cases where secrecy is enjoined under penalty of death, are so plain that no illustration is needed. The "chief of men" had the right, in preparing general business, to give secret orders, to detail particular persons on secret missions. Anyone divulging the secrets entrusted to him, committed an act of treason, and therefore it was necessary that he should be chastised on the spot and on the spur of the moment, to obviate further mischief.

[271] "*Art of War*" (pp. 120, 121 and 122, especially notes 97, 99 and 101).

103 [272] The formation of these geographical circumscriptions I have already explained. The names can, in part, be etymologized. They are respectively: "Moyotlan" or place of the mosquito, from "moyotl," mosquito (*Molina* II. p. 56); "Teopan" or place of God, from "Teotl," God; "Aztacalco," "place of the house of the heron," from "Aztatl," heron (*Molina* I, p. 25 and II, p. 10), and "calli," house; "Cuepopan" or "place of the dyke," from "cuepotli," dyke (*Molina* I, p. 23, II, p. 36). All of which are, respectfully, submitted.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic cluster.[272] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

[272] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Aztacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Velancurt* ("*Crónica*," etc., p. 124). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "councillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 102) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli"—"barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 404 and 405) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Michuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 101 and 102), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpanecs, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 236) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 493), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con-

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

soil, and to establish its customs at the time when the Europeans 423
first trod the Mexican shore.

We readily distinguish several classes of lands, bearing each a different name, besides the "altepetlalli," or tribal territory or range. The latter was the widest circumscription for which the Nahuatl language had a term. (The word "Anahuac," which is often used, is utterly inapplicable, as we have elsewhere shown).[73] No other idea of tenure was connected with it, beyond that of *tribal occupation.*

Each of the numerous tribal areas, overrun by the confederacy 423
(provided the natives were of a sedentary character), contained 651
what we have ventured to call tribute-lots. The name given to 648
these tracts was possibly "yaotlalli," but rather "milchimalli" ("lands of war," and "shield-lands").[74] As before said, the soil of these tracts was still held in original tenure by the kinships composing the conquered tribe, but the *crops* went towards the tribute. There is no indication about the size of these areas, and they were the only ones directly connected with the conquerors.

Of those tracts whose products were exclusively applied to the 651
governmental needs of the pueblo or tribe itself (taken as an in- 423
dependent unit) there were, as we have already seen, two particular classes:

The first was the "tecpan-tlalli:"—land of the house of the community, whose crops were applied to the sustenance of such as employed themselves in the construction, ornamentation, and repairs of the public house. Of these there were sometimes several within the tribal area. They were tilled in common by special families who resided on them, using the crops in compensation for the work they performed on the official buildings.[75]

[73] Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 32, and note 16) makes the very sensible remark that the name "Anahuac" did not at all apply to a "state" or "empire," etc., but is general to all countries situated in the neighborhood of considerable bodies of water;—such as lakes or large streams; or the shores of the sea. [104]

[74] MSS. from Simancas "De l'ordre de succession observé par les Indiens relativement à leurs Terres et de leurs Territoires communaux," (translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in "Recueil de Pièces," etc., pp. 223 and 224. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV. He includes them positively in the soil of the kinships, and treats them as communal lands, the produce of which furnished military supplies). "Yaotlalli" is improper (see "Art of War," p. 135, note 158), but "Milchimalli" is possible.

[75] From "tecpan," chief-house (Molina, Parte II, p. 95), and "tlalli," soil (Id. p. 124). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). "There was another class of lands which belonged to the chief's income; and those who dwelt on them and cultivated them were

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

301 men and women alike. Men often wore ornaments passed
[304] through the septum of the nose or suspended from a slit in the lower lip. Elaborate necklaces and pendants, armlets and leg bracelets, gave brilliance to a costume for state occasions.
302 Cosmetics were not used to touch up nature, as with us, but instead a lavish application of face and body paints in red, blue, yellow, green and black enhanced with prismatic richness the softer tones of their brown flesh. (See Plates 46–47.)

105 It is obvious that the Aztecs were no pitiable craven savages. They lived upon variegated and delicious foods and dwelt in houses that were comfortable and airy. Their dress stimulated the exercise of merited self-satisfaction, not to be confused with the compensations of vanity. Their manner of life enabled them to take advantage of their personal aptitudes and exchange the products of their own creation for whatever they lacked. Articles for daily and ceremonial use were made with the loving care of master artisans, and rare indeed was the object that did not have the impress of some little decorative touch that makes a pleasant possession of a drab utensil. Their crafts deserve to themselves a complete chapter.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec. NU7

635 114 [31] represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1 Ojitipa de Mirador

Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to [651] judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[3] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[4]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[5]

635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[3] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tamboloo"—now a rancho of Valles.
[4] Meade, *La Huasteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[5] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI:275.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.*

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING**

2,010 bundles† of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles‡ of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD*

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE*

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sayanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

* *RVE*, 10: 126. † Corrected from 2,000. ‡ Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[30] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[31] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[32]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[33] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[34] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[35]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula*, Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[30] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[31] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[33] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which
121 is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

●105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

[101] [1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Mexitis* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar, Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios-occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1613), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

[173] [3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóztoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Teoculuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 8.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (See "Hi-"storie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hacklurt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But 105
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my
"chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in
"all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my
"duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for
"many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-
"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently*
given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I
"shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and
"I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this 174
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their
appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico
as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as
such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a
naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and
marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently 181
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to
the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 439). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Introd. p. 137 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenuchtitlan, and of Tlatiluico, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Géronimo de Mendieta (Historia ecclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hiciéron fuertes, en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de los Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas choças, rodeados "de carrizo, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 439. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espesura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.") [311]

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 460, 461 and 462, of Vol. I, of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also. [171]

1: Vaillant, George Clapp. Aztecs of Mexico: Origin, Rise and Fall of the Aztec Nation. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1941.

Pp. xxiii, 340; 64 plates; 28 text illustrations; 17 tables; end map

Yale: C67d Az7 941v

[This source is the major synthesis in English of what is known of the cultures of central Mexico up to and including the time of the Spanish conquest in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, the text is marred by the fact that Vaillant's correlation of Teotihuacan with the Toltecs has been proven wrong by subsequent research. The city of Tula was the Toltec capital while Teotihuacan's florescence was probably centuries earlier. This must be kept in mind when reading Vaillant's account of Teotihuacan and his reconstruction of the later history of central Mexico up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. A good deal of his material is based upon the Codex Mendoza (Florentine Codex), a new translation of which is being processed for the Aztec file (see the various sources by Anderson and Dibble, this File). Where Vaillant's account does not agree with that of Anderson and Dibble, the latter should be followed.

The early chapters of this book, a historical reconstruction based on archeology, while not strictly pertaining to the Aztec file as such, should be read as a background for evaluating the Aztec material. Among the chapters on Aztec culture and society

1: Vaillant, George Clapp.

are: The Man and the Tribe; Economy; Craftsmanship; The Fine Arts; Religion; Ritual; and Foreign Affairs and War. Statements upon various aspects of the "clan" were placed in category 618. Notes to the various chapters will be found in category 113. The bibliography will be found in category 116, pages 299--325. --Analyst]

Field date: 1928-1936
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Archeologist - 5
Processed in 1958

2: Sahagún, Fray Bernadino de. Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. Book I - The Gods. Translated from the Aztec by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part II. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1950.

Pp. vi, 46; 9 plates

Yale: C52 095 n 14/2

Omitted from the Files: pp. 27-46, an Appendix

[The Florentine Codex is the major source on the culture of the Aztecs at the time of the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. Most of the other accounts of Aztec culture are based at least in part upon it. In the original version, Sahagun wrote the same accounts in parallel columns, Spanish on the left and Aztec on the right. The Spanish text sometimes was fuller than, and sometimes only summarized, the Aztec text. This source is a translation of the Aztec text only from a microfilm copy of the original manuscript. Where the Spanish text contains additional information, this has been incorporated into the translation. This work by Anderson

2: Sahagún, Fray Bernadino de.

and Dibble, when completed, will be the first to translate completely the Nahuatl manuscript. There have been other publications and translations of the Spanish text, notably by Fanny Bandelier and Bustamente, but these have been somewhat inaccurate and incomplete. The plan for translating this manuscript was inaugurated by E. L. Hewett, then Director of the School of American Research, in 1939 and carried on by his successor, Sylvanus Morley. Morley brought together the only two scholars in the United States he thought to be prepared to undertake the work. Dibble had already published in the Mexican field and Anderson had been studying Nahuatl for some years at the instance of Hewett and Morley. The English text was to resemble the structure of the Aztec as closely as possible and to have something of the feeling of the atmosphere of the King James version of the Bible.

The manuscript is divided into twelve books. Books I, II and III deal with religious beliefs, practices, rites; Book IV is about the ceremonial 260-day calendar and the so-called astrological system; Book V is about various superstitious beliefs and practices in Aztec folklore; Book VI concerns rhetoric; Book VII deals with meteorological knowledge and beliefs, and contains material on the time-count; Book VIII deals with history and government; Book IX describes the history, organization and activities of the traders and the processes of working gold and silver, precious stones,

2: Sahagún, Fray Bernadino de.

and feather ornaments; Book X describes professions and station in society, parts of the body and treatment of disease, and description of the tribes known to the Aztecs; Book XI covers natural history; and Book XII gives the Aztec account of the conquest. An introductory volume will be Part I of the series.

This first book, divided into twenty-two chapters, lists the main gods of the Aztecs with their accompanying attributes, and brief accounts of the festivals which appertain to them. Anderson is at the School of American Research in Santa Fe, while Dibble is at the University of Utah. Bibliographical citations and comments appear in footnotes to the English version at the bottom of each page. A general index will be published in the last volume to appear (Part I). --Analyst]

Field date: 1529-1590
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Missionary - 5
Processed in 1957

111 NU7 Aztec

3: Sahagún, Fray Bernadino de. Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. Book II - The Ceremonies. Translated from the Aztec by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1951.

Pp. x, 216; 12 plates

Yale: C52 095n 14/3

[For a description of the Florentine Codex, of which this source is one section, see the 111 slip for 2: Sahagún (this File). The present volume gives detailed descriptions of the ceremonies of the Aztecs. It includes material on the priesthood, the ceremonial calendar, and the temples. --Analyst]

Field date: 1529-1590
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1958

111 NU7 Aztec

4: Sahagún, Fray Bernadino de. Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. Book III - The Origin of the Gods. Translated from the Aztec by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part IV. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1952.

Pp. viii, 68; 4 plates; appendix.

Yale: C52 095n 14/4

[For a description of the entire Florentine Codex, of which this is but one section, see the 111 slip for 2:Sahagún (this file). This volume describes Aztec mythology, funerals, eschatology, and the education of young men for warfare and for the priesthood. --Analyst]

Field date: 1529-1590
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1958

111

NU7 Aztec

5: Sahagún, Fray Bernadino de. Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. Book VII - The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years. Translated from the Aztec by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. The School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part VIII. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1953.

Pp. viii, 81; 7 plates.

Yale: C52 095 14/8

[For a description of the entire Florentine Codex, of which this source is one section, see the 111 slip for 2: Sahagún (this File). This volume deals with Aztec ethno-meteorology, the calendrical system, and some associated practices. --Analyst]

Field date: 1529-1590
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Missionary - 5
Processed in 1958

6: Sahagún, Fray Bernadino de. Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. Book 8 - Kings and Lords. Translated from the Aztec by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part IX. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1954.

Pp. xii, 89; 8 plates

Yale: C52 095n 14/9

[For a description of the entire Florentine Codex of which this source is one section, see the 111 slip for 2: Sahagún. The present volume describes the investiture of the ruler, his various duties and privileges, with lists of the rulers of Tenochtitlan, Tlatilulco, Texcoco and Uexotla. Also described are the garments of the lords and rulers, their food, the adornment of the women, the ordering of the market places, and the rearing of the sons of the noblemen. Bibliographical citations and comments appear in footnotes at the bottom of each page. --Analyst]

Field date: 1529-1590
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Missionary - 5
Processed in 1958

7: Sahagún, Fray Bernadino de. Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. Book 12 - The Conquest of Mexico. Translated from the Aztec by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part XIII. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1955.

Pp. xx, 122; 22 plates, 3 maps.

Yale: C52 095n 14/13

[For a description of the Florentine Codex, see the 111 slip for 2: Sahagún, this file. The present volume describes the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards under Cortez from the Mexican viewpoint. Since the whole volume is a historical account, it was not marked for category 175 (Recorded History). Researchers are referred to category 116 for the full text of the document. Bibliographical citations and comments appear in footnotes at the bottom of each page. --Analyst]

Field date: 1529-1590
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Missionary - 5
Processed in 1958

8: Barlow, Robert H. The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica. Ibero-Americana, No. 28. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949.

Pp. viii, 144; end map

Yale: Latin America Cs bib2 28

[The present study is a mapping of the Aztec empire (Barlow substitutes "Culhua Mexica" for "Aztec" as being more appropriate) based on the Matricula de Tributos, which is the original native tribute list, i. e., the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire. A copy of this list in the Codex Mendocino, which contains a complete series of reliable identifications of the various names in roman letters, was used to supplement the data from the Matricula. The general plan was to take each of the 38 provinces, try to locate all the towns listed in the Matricula on contemporary maps, list the tribute by provinces and by towns, and provide information on the inhabitants of the provinces where possible. Information on these inhabitants, a great number of whom were not Nahua speakers, was not subheaded since there is usually but a single paragraph on each group. Many of the footnotes are given in the

8: Barlow, Robert H.

original Spanish and not translated, and a large number of Nahua words are given without further identification. Barlow was head of the Department of Anthropology at Mexico City College at the time of his death. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1958

9: Monzon, Arthur. El Calpulli en la Organizacion Social de los Tenochca [The Calpulli in the Social Organization of the Tenochca]. Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia, No. 14. Mexico: 1949.

Pp. 112; 1 map; 2 tables; 3 diagrams.

State University of Iowa: F1219 M812 [HRAF MS: pp. 1-95]

Translated from the Spanish by A. Richard Diebold, Jr. for the Human Relations Area Files.

[Monzon is a trained ethnographer and anthropologist at the Mexican National Institute. Working with the contemporary literature on Aztec social organization and with the early chronicles, he has attempted to reconstruct the complex social system of the group as it existed at the time of the Conquest. The author's conclusion is that "the calpullis were clans, ambilateral and with an

9: Monzon, Arthur.

endogamous tendency...". He traces their role in the areas of property holding, social stratification, and inheritance. Additional sections of the work deal with division of labor, territorial hierarchy, and the nobility. Comparison is made of the Aztec social organization with that of other groups in Middle America. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnographer-4
Processed in 1958

10: Deevey, Jr., Edward S. Limnologic Studies in Middle America. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 39, pp. 213-328. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.

Yale: A53n. 366

Omitted from the Files, pp. 213-219, 243-317.

[This source is a chapter taken from Deevey's monograph which is a study of the lakes of Middle America. Deevey is a biologist at Yale University. Through critical examination of historical records and Aztec glyphs, the author concludes that the artificial lake at Tula and the island of Aztlán are both mythical accounts. Consequently, the etymology of the name Aztec itself is also an invention of historians. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Natural Scientist-4
Processed in 1958

11: Díaz, Bernal del Castillo. The True History of the Conquest of New Spain, Vol. II, Translated and Edited by Alfred Percival Maudslay. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, second series, No. XXIV. London, 1910.

Pp. xvi, 343; 12 plates; end map

Yale: E10 H15 II. 24

Omitted from files: pp. 152-343.

[This work is an account of the conquest of Mexico by a follower of Cortez. It contains descriptive information about the culture of the Aztecs, interspersed with a history of the actual conquest. Only the first 152 pages (books V and VI) of this volume were processed, since they contain most of the information about the Aztecs, the rest of the work being historical in nature. Some notes by Maudslay are included. --Analyst]

Field date: 1519-1520
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Traveler, Historian - 5
Processed in 1958

12: Radin, Paul. Maya, Nahuatl, and Tarascan Kinship Terms. American Anthropologist, Vol. 27, n. s., No. 1, pp. 100-102. Menasha, American Anthropological Association, 1925.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II. 27

[This source is a listing of kinship terms made by Radin, an ethnologist, from early Spanish sources. The terms will be found in the appropriate files: Aztec (NU7), Maya (NV4), and Tarasco (NU34). --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1958

13: Phillips, George Brinton. The Metal Industry of the Aztecs. American Anthropologist, Vol. 27, n. s., No. 4, pp. 550-557. Menasha, American Anthropological Association, 1925.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II. 27

[This brief article discusses the techniques of working metal as they occurred among the pre-conquest Aztecs, as well as giving an idea of the range of items manufactured. The chemical composition of several pieces is given, and the possibility of alloys is discussed. Information is also included on metallurgy in Zapotec (NU44), Tarasco (NU34), Maya (NV4), and Peruvian Prehistory (SE4), for which see the appropriate files. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Unknown-4
Processed in 1958

14: Bandelier, Adolph F. On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans. Reports of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Connection with Harvard University, Vol. II, pp. 95-161. Cambridge: 1880.

Yale: C52.10 10-13

[This is a synthetic work on warfare, principally among the Aztecs, but including distributional evidence from other parts of Mesoamerica and the New World. Many of Bandelier's conclusions have been seriously questioned by later workers, and marking has been done mostly in terms of the data included rather than on his theoretical conclusions. The source is chiefly valuable because of the footnotes, which bring together many scattered references pertaining to warfare and Aztec government. Bibliographic references are contained in footnotes to each page. -- Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4
Processed in 1958

15: Bandelier, Adolph F. On the Distribution and Tenure of Lands, and the Customs with Respect to Inheritance, Among the Ancient Mexicans. Reports of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Connection with Harvard University, Vol. II, pp. 385-448. Cambridge: 1880.

Yale: C52.10 10-13

[This is a synthetic report on land tenure and inheritance, as well as government, among the ancient Mexicans (chiefly the Aztecs) with distributional data brought in from other parts of the New World. Many of Bandelier's conclusions have been seriously questioned by later workers, and marking has been done mostly in terms of data included rather than on his theoretical conclusions. The source is chiefly valuable because of the footnotes, which bring together much scattered information on various aspects of land tenure and inheritance. Bibliographic references are contained in footnotes to each page. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4
Processed in 1958

16: Bandelier, Adolph F. On the Social Organization and Mode of Government of the Ancient Mexicans. Reports of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Connection with Harvard University, Vol. II, pp. 557-699. Cambridge: 1880.

Yale: C52.10 10-13

[This source is a synthetic report on social organization and government among the ancient Mexicans (chiefly the Aztec) with distributional data from other New World groups. Many of Bandelier's conclusions have been seriously questioned by later workers. Therefore, marking has been done mostly in terms of the data included rather than on his theoretical conclusions. The source is chiefly valuable for the footnotes, which bring together much scattered information on the subject. Bibliographic references are contained in footnotes to each page. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4
Processed in 1958

17:Sahagún, Fray Bernardino de. Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. Book 4-The Soothsayers, and Book 5-The Omens. Translated from Aztec into English by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. Sante Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1957.

Pp. xviii, 196; 20 plates.

Yale: C52.095n14 /5/6

[Book 4 of the Florentine Codex deals with divination which predicts the fortunes of the individual according to the day sign under which he or she is born. Altogether there are twenty day signs, each reigning thirteen days, thus making up a calendar of 260 days. A fairly large amount of information on the religious beliefs and social practices of the Aztecs is incorporated into predictions of the diviners. The book may also be regarded as an example of Aztec literary art. The illustrations are reproductions of native drawings. In an appendix to Book 4, Sahagun discusses in some detail the three Aztec systems of time count and the associated ceremonials. Book 5 is a collection of omens and superstitious beliefs. There is also some information on childbirth and other related matters. For a description of the Florentine Codex, see 2: Sahagún, category 111. --Analyst]

Field date: 1529-1590 Evaluation: Missionary-5

Analyst: Robert Lee Processed in 1958

Croft, Kenneth. Six Decades of Nahuatl: A Bibliographical Contribution. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 57-73. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, American Anthropological Association, 1953.

Personal copy of Timothy J. O'Leary

[This is a compilation of all the sources on Nahuatl published since 1890 and is designed to bring Viñaza's basic work up to date. Since no cultural material is contained in the bibliography, it has not been processed for the NU7 Aztec file. At the time of publication, Croft was with the International Information Administration, Department of State. --Analyst]

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 P A 175

shadow of its former self. The rise of a new power, the Tepanec, who had as allies the vigorous but ill-established Tenochcas,* contributed to its downfall. Yet before Culhuacan succumbed completely to vassalage under the new order, members of its reigning house had twice been sought to found the lineage of Tenochtitlan.

On the documentary evidences Culhuacan was an extremely important city-state. The consecutive reigns of its chiefs stretched from the time of the fall of the western Toltec Empire to that of the rise of the important Aztec state of Tenochtitlan. Culhuacan was considered a center of civilization and for three centuries was a major power in the Valley of Mexico. Yet a visit to the modern town discloses no lofty remains, for the ancient city is razed completely. Only the temple on the Hill of the Star, which rises behind the town and dominates the lakes, is a memorial to its past splendor. For here took place, even after the Culhuas had lost their power, the New Fire Ceremony which ushered in each new cycle of fifty-two years and epitomized the spirit of Aztec religion. P A [796]

Texcoco on the eastern shore of the lakes of Mexico was the most civilized town in the Valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the ruling house, had access to the annals of his people and left a full history, distorted though it was by his wish to make his lineage rival the noble lines of Castile; but he had a strong historical sense, doubtless absorbed from the Spanish priests who educated him. His ancestors were a nomadic group which lived mainly by hunting and eventually, under a chief named Xolotl,† occupied the territory around Teotihuacan. P A 175 114 P A 175

*Te-ao'tch-cas. †Sho'-lotle.

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361 plaza was essential for communal gatherings; the market and the principal structures, like the main temple and the chief's quarters, were situated at this point. In Tenochtitlan, which was reported to have sixty thousand fires or hearths, or figuring on the same basis as above, three hundred thousand people, additional centers existed for each clan and for the four larger districts into which the city was divided for administrative purposes.[16] (See Plate 37, top.)

114 We have been left a description of an Aztec city in 1524 from a Spanish monk, Fray Toribio de Benavente, called by the Indians "Motolinia," or "poor," in reference to his Franciscan simplicity of life. His firsthand observations have a fresh reality:

361 "They called these temples *teocallis,* and we found all
346 over the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one crossbow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and three leagues' distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to the courts of the *teocallis,* . . . the devil did not content himself with the aforesaid *teocallis,* but in each pueblo and in each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes three or four *teocallis.* . . . "[17]

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NOTES

CHAPTER I

114 The recent dates of authorities cited indicate how rapidly ideas on the genesis of Indian culture are changing. New finds, new conclusions, new datings, appear each year. The summary in Chapter I is frankly interpretative, and no one will be more ready than the author to change his views as fresh evidence appears. The four works listed here: Swanton Essays; Maya and Their Neighbors; Wissler, American Indian, and Means, Ancient Empires, give a broad background for New World archaeology. Their detailed references are listed under their appropriate footnote number. The full titles of the four background volumes are:

Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America. Published in honor of John R. Swanton (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 100, Washington, 1940).

The Maya and Their Neighbors, New York, 1940.

Means, Philip, Ancient Empires of the Andes, New York, 1931.

Wissler, Clark, The American Indian, New York, 3rd ed., 1938.

[1]Howells, Origins, 1940. Nelson, Antiquity of Man, 1933. MacCurdy, ed., Early Man, 1937. Howard, Evidence of Early Man, 1935.

[2]Wissler, American Indian, 1938.

[3]Howells, Origins, 1940. Hooton, Racial Types, 1933. Dixon, Racial History of Man, 1923. Hrdlicka, Origin and Antiquity of American Indian, 1923.

[4]Nelson, Antiquity of Man, 1933. Roberts, Pre-Pottery Horizon, 1940. Howard, Evidence of Early Man, 1935. Bird, Antiquity and Migrations, 1938.

[5]Wissler, American Indian, 1938. Swanton Essays, 1940. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas, 1939.

[6]Gladwin, Snaketown, II, 1937. Sayles, Survey of Texas, 1935.

[7]Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas, 1939.

[8]Sauer, American Agricultural Origins, 1936. Yanovski, Food Plants, 1936. Mangelsdorf and Reeves, Origin of Maize, 1938.

[9]Wissler, American Indian, 1938.

[10]Linton, Crops, Soils and Culture, 1940.

[11]Roberts, Survey of Southwestern Archaeology, 1935. Kidder, Intro-

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114 duction to Southwestern Archaeology, 1924. Gladwin and Others, Snaketown, I and II, 1937.

[12]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. Means, Ancient Empires, 1931. Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

[13]Means, Ancient Empires, 1931.

[14]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. Spinden, Maya Art, 1913.

[15]Linton, Crops, Soil and Culture, 1940. Vaillant, Patterns in Culture, 1940.

[16]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

[17]Vaillant, Patterns in Culture, 1940.

[18]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928.

[19]Gann and Thompson, History of the Maya, 1931. The Maya and Their Neighbors, 1940. Thompson, Civilization of the Mayas, 1932.

[20]Morley, Introduction to Maya Hieroglyphs, 1915. Spinden, Reduction of Mayan Dates, 1924. Teeple, Maya Astronomy, 1931. Thompson, Maya Chronology, 1935. Andrews, Chronology and Astronomy, 1940.

[21]Donnelly, Atlantis, 1882. Le Plongeon, Queen Moo, 1896. Churchward, Lost Continent of Mu, 1926.

[22]Vaillant, Chronology and Stratigraphy, 1935. Gann, Mounds in Northern Honduras, 1900. Tozzer, Maya and Toltec Figures, 1930. Bancroft, Native Races, 1883. Butler, Alta Vera Paz, 1940.

[23]Stirling, Great Stone Faces, 1940; Initial Series from Vera Cruz, 1940; Oldest Dated Work, 1939. Weiant, Manuscript, 1939. Vaillant, Bearded Mystery, 1931; Pre-Columbian Jade, 1932. Ricketson and Ricketson, Uaxactun, 1937. Caso, Exploraciones, 1931–32, 1934–35, 1936–37. Holmes, Nephrite Statue, 1907.

[24]Batres, Exploraciones en Monte Alban, 1902. Caso, Exploraciones, 1934–35, 1936–37. Dauterman, Pottery Yard Stick, 1938.

[25]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

CHAPTER II

There are no really popular accounts of the Middle Cultures. Dr Spinden's excellent Ancient Civilization of Mexico and Central America sketches a broad outline; the author's Early Cultures sums up the results of the most recent excavations. The Middle Cultures are at that stage where technical studies have made great progress, but the subject matter has not passed into the hands of social and historical thinkers for intellectual rather than technical appraisal.

[1]Popular: Vaillant, Threshold of Civilization, 1929; Beginnings of a History, 1930. Beyer, Antiguedades del Pedregal, 1917.

Technical: Cummings, Ruins of Cuicuilco, 1923; Cuicuilco, 1923; Cuicuilco, 1926; Cuicuilco, 1933. Gamio, Excavaciones del Pedregal, 1920. Kroeber, Archaic Culture Horizons, 1925. Vaillant, Zacatenco, 1930; Ticoman, 1931; El Arbolillo, 1935; Early Cultures, 1935. Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1934.

[5]Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

[6]Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

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[4]Vaillant, Prehistoric Cotton, 1939.
[5]Vaillant, El Arbolillo, 1935.
[6]Vaillant, El Arbolillo, 1935.
[7]Cummings, Cuicuilco, 1933. Noguera, Teotihuacan, 1935. Vaillant, Ticoman, 1931. Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1934.
[8]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934, pp. 162–67.
[9]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1934.
[10]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1934. Stirling, Stone Faces, 1940.
[11]Cummings, Cuicuilco, 1923a, 1923b, 1926, 1933.
[12]Cummings, Cuicuilco, 1933. Mena and Hyde, Antiguedad del Hombre, 1922. Nuttall, Aztecs and Their Predecessors, 1926.
[13]Kidder, Introduction, 1924, pp. 16–35; Pottery, I, 1931. Vaillant, El Arbolillo, 1935, pp. 160–67.
[14]Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

CHAPTER III

The so-called Toltec question is covered by an enormous speculative literature and a relatively small number of reports on excavations scientifically carried out. The extensive work of the Swedish archaeologist Linné has appeared in part only, and much of the modern Mexican work and the results of the writer's excavations have not yet reached print. The interpretation given here explains a number of features, but further work will correct and expand many of these opinions.

[1]Brinton, Essays, 1890, pp. 83–100.
[2]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891; this sixteenth-century writer is underestimated. He was a descendant of the old Texcocan lineage and had access to many of the ancient records.
[3]Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885; Historia Toltecа-Chichimeca, 1937, and Muñoz Camargo, 1892, describe these later lineages. The great writer on customs and religion, Father Bernadino Sahagun, was confused by this double usage. History was difficult for him, while ethnology was an open book.
[4]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891; Historia Chichimeca, 1892. Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 5. This historian is a veritable mine of information, but he worked from written records without the archaeological check accessible to modern students. Krickeberg, Alten Kulturen Mittel-Amerikas, 1937, an excellent summary of current and past interpretation of history. Beyer, in Gamio, Teotihuacan, 1922. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, an effort to tie in historical with archaeological information in the Valley of Mexico.
[5]Caso, Conocimiento del Tonalpohualli, 1937.
[6]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 1, Book 1, p. 8; Vol. 2, Book 8, Chap. 5; Vol. 3, Book 10, Chap. 29, paragraph 1, 12. Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885. Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891.
[7]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891. Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885. Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. 5, 1883.

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114 [9]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934, the best English work on Teotihuacan. Gamio, ed., Teotihuacan, 1922, the three-volume Mexican study on the archaeology, history and sociology of modern and ancient Teotihuacan. Charnay, Ancient Cities, 1888, an early account of the ruins and some excavations. Seler, Teotihuacan-Kultur, 1915, the standard scholarly work on this culture, now outdated by Gamio and Linné.

[9]Noguera, Antecedentes de la Cultura Teotihuacana, 1935, the single exhaustive study on this epoch.

[10]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934.

[11]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934.

[12]Chavero, Monolito de Coatlinchan, 1903.

[13]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934; Expedition to Mexico, 1936.

[14]These Cholula excavations are still incomplete and reports on them unpublished.

[15]Morris, Charlot and Morris, Temple of the Warriors, 1928.

[16]Nuttall, Teotihuacan, unpublished; cf. Noguera, Conclusiones, 1937.

[17]Seler, Teotihuacan-Kultur, 1915. Tozzer, Santiago Ahuitzotla, 1921, a complete study of a building. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

CHAPTER IV

This era is just emerging from darkness and confusion. Recent definition of the Mazapan culture reinforces Dr Tozzer's work at Coyotlatelco by giving archaeological checks on the annals.

The writer's suggested identification of ceremonial dumps helps to clarify the confusion in the annals. The author believes the new finds corroborate Orozco y Berra's correlation of tribal rulers, but the late Dr Lehmann's exhaustive research does not agree. New data, worked out from newly discovered documents by Wigberto Jimenez Moreno, will clarify the picture when published fully.

[1]Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1914, gives a straightforward interpretation. Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885. Relacion de Genealogia and Origen de los Mexicanos are abridgments of the Anales de Cuauhtitlan. Lehmann, Geschichte von Colhuacan und Mexiko, 1939, is a careful, analytical translation of the Annals of Cuauhtitlan. Orozco y Berra, Ojeada de Cronologia, 1878, is a useful critique. Kirchhoff, Pueblos, 1940, is important for interpretation of annals. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, gives a résumé of the basis of this chapter.

[2]Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1891. Mapa Quinatzin, Mapa Tlotzin, Codex Xolod; important picture manuscripts for this period.

[3]Codex Ramirez, Historia de los Mexicanos, in Radin, Sources, 1920. Codex Boturini, Codex of 1576; picture manuscripts.

[4]Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. 5, 1883, Chaps. V–VII cites early authorities. Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880, cites early authorities and picture writings. Radin, Sources, 1920, an invaluable series of translations of early Mexican records.

[5]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938. Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934; Mazapan Grave, 1938.

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[6]Vaillant, Chronology and Stratigraphy, 1935. Butler, Alta Vera Paz, 1940. 114

[7]Tozzer, Santiago Ahuitzotla, 1921. Boas, Album, 1911–12. Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[8]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–10. Gamio, Texto, 1921. Brenner, Influence of Technique in Culhuacan, 1931.

[9]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938; History and Stratigraphy, 1937.

[10]Marquina, Reygadas Vertiz and Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[11]Noguera, Altar de los Craneos, 1937; Conclusiones, 1937.

[12]Preuss and Mengin, Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, 1937. Lehmann, Geschichte von Colhuacan und Mexiko, 1937. Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 10, Chapter XXIX. Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. 5, Chapters XI–XIII.

CHAPTER V

The picture is much clearer for Aztec times; the archaeology is better known, and the historical records are more in accord. The cyclical constructions and destructions of the Aztecs are especially helpful. A confusing point is the foundation date of Tenochtitlan, for which the author provides a theory.

[1]Exhaustive accounts of Aztec history: Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 5; Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880.

Popular English digests: Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1933; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1914. Radin, Sources, 1922, gives translations and reproductions of important native sources, as well as a superb critical analysis.

Other Sources: Torquemada, Monarquia, 1723; Clavigero, History of Mexico, 1783.

Picture writings: the codices of 1560, 1590, Boturini, Mendoza, Siguenza, Telleriano-Remensis, Vaticanus A, Tepechpan.

Digests of picture writings in Spanish and Nahuatl: Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885; Chimalpahin, Anales, 1889; Codex Ramirez, 1878; Tezozomoc's Cronica, 1878; Histoire Mexicaine, 1891; Historia de los Mexicanos, 1886; Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1892; Duran, Historia de las Indias, 1867, 1880.

Tenayuca, 1935, is the great work of the Department of Monuments of the Mexican Ministry of Public Education, which blends archaeology and history in a masterly exposition of the Aztec past.

[2]Codex Boturini.

[3]Historia de los Mexicanos.

[4]Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885, p. 49, Year 8 Rabbit. Palacios, Fundacion de Mexico, 1925, résumé of historical evidence for founding of Mexico. Codex of 1590 shows Acamapichtli being crowned by the chief of Tlaltelolco in the presence of the Tenochca clan council; cf. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, p. 563.

[5]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 10, Chap. XXIX, pp. 137–38.

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[6]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 5, quotes early authorities on pp. 414–15.

[7]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 5, p. 434; Tezozomoc, Chapter LIV. Duran, Historia de las Indians, I, 1867, Chapter XXXII.

[8]Tezozomoc, Cronica, 1878, Chapters XLI–XLII.

[9]Tezozomoc, Cronica, 1872, Chapter LI. Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, Chapter XXXVI.

[10]Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1892.

[11]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, p. 449, quotes Torquemada, Clavigero and Ixtlilxochitl.

[12]Saville, Tizoc, 1929.

[13]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, pp. 439–40, quotes Ixtlilxochitl, Duran, Torquemada and Codex Telleriano-Remensis.

[14]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, p. 471, quotes Tezozomoc, Torquemada and Duran.

[15]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, p. 507, quotes Ixtlilxochitl.

[16]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16. Cortes, Letters, 1908.

CHAPTER VI

The customs of the Aztecs were a source of great interest to the conquerors and their palliative companions, the friars. The system of controlling the conquered depended on knowledge of the native methods of life. Consequently there is a full literature based on contemporary reports sent back to Spain by her civil and ecclesiastical administrators in the new colony.

[1]Excellent popular accounts: Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1933; Biart, The Aztecs, 1883; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1914; Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, 1922.

Exhaustive English studies: Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880; Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vols. 2 and 5.

Mexican study: Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880.

Best contemporary accounts: Sahagun, Historia General, 1938; Pomar, Relacion, 1891; Zurita, Breve Relacion, 1891; Motolinia, Historia, 1914; Torquemada, Monarquia, 1723; Clavigero, History of Mexico, 1787.

Picture writings: Codex Mendoza, Codex Florentino (illustrations for Sahagun's Historia General).

The transition from the tribal council to the domination of the chiefs is shown by the presence of individual members in the early times and their disappearance after the foundation of the lineage; cf. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, pp. 563–64; Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880, pp. 576–88; Mapa de Siguenza, Codex of 1590; Histoire Mexicaine; Codex Mendoza, and Codex Telleriano-Remepsis.

[2]Codex Mendoza; Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 2, Book 6.

[3]Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880, cites early authorities.

[4]Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880; Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2.

[5]Codex Mendoza.

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[6]Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880; cf. Waterman, Bandelier's Contribution, 1917, for a critique of Bandelier.

[7]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 1, Book 3, Appendix; Vol. 2, Books 6, 9; Vol. 3, Book 10; see also Codex Florentino and Codex Mendoza.

[8]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2; Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880.

[9]Ceballos Novelo, Instituciones, 1935. Kohler, Derecho de los Aztecas, 1924. Moreno, Organizacion de las Aztecas, 1931.

CHAPTER VII

This aspect of life is fully covered in the contemporary literature of the Conquest.

[1]Popular authors: Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1931; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1914; Biart, The Aztecs, 1883.

Exhaustive English studies: Bandelier, Tenure of Lands, 1878; Bancroft, Native Races, 1883.

Exhaustive Mexican study: Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880.

Contemporary accounts: Sahagun, Historia General, 1938; Torquemada, Monarquia, 1723; Clavigero, History of Mexico, 1787.

Picture writings: Codex Florentino (illustrations for Sahagun's Historia General), Codex Mendoza, Tribute Roll of Montezuma.

[2]Bandelier, Tenure of Lands, 1878.

[3]Mapa Tlotzin. Cortes, Letters, 1908, p. 221, referring to Valley of Puebla, "Such is the multitude of people who live in these parts that there is not a palm of land which is not cultivated . . . many places they suffer for want of bread."

[4]Nuttall, Mexican Gardens, 1925.

[5]Bandelier, Tenure of Land, 1878.

[6]Tribute Roll of Montezuma, Codex Mendoza, Tribute Roll.

[7]Articles on Shell and Commerce in Hodge, Handbook, 1907, Lumholtz, Unknown Mexico, 1902, plumbate ware in Tepic. Lothrop, Coclé, 1937, gold in Yucatan.

[8]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Chapter XCII. McBryde, Solola, 1933.

[9]Blom, Commerce of the Maya, 1932.

[10]Nuttall, Chalchihuitl, 1901. Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Chapter CXXVIII.

[11]Saville, Goldsmith's Art, 1920. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 5, pp. 193–219.

[12]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 11. Emmart, Badianus Manuscript, 1940. Sauer, Agricultural Origins, 1936. Hernandez, Historia Plantarum, 1790. Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928.

[13]Alcocer, Comidas, 1938.

[14]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2, pp. 160–74, 553–74; cites authorities.

[15]Vaillant, Twilight of Aztecs, 1938.

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[16]Anonymous Conqueror, 1917, narrative.

[17]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, Book 1, Chapter XII; Bandelier's translation in Art of War, 1877, p. 104.

[18]Bernal Dias, True History, 1908–16, Chapter XCII, p. 72.

[19]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2, pp. 553–74; cites authorities on temple architecture. Tenayuca, 1935. Marquina, Estudio Arquitectonico, 1928.

[20]Codex Mendoza, Codex Florentino. Seler, Altmexikanischer Schmuck, 1904. Peñafiel, Indumentaria Antigua, 1903.

CHAPTER VIII

There are abundant data on crafts and craftsmanship to be drawn from the contemporary authorities and from museum collections. Examples of the textile art, however, are conspicuously lacking, since few fabrics have survived natural disintegration or have survived from collections made by the Conquistadors. Pictures in the manuscripts do give the impression, nonetheless, that this art was on a par with the others.

[1]Popular English digests are found in Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1935; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1922, Maya and Mexican Art, 1927; Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928; Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

Serious special studies: Saville, Goldsmith's Art, 1920; Turquoise Mosaic Art, 1922; Woodcarver's Art, 1925.

[2]Saville, Onyx Jar, 1900. Holmes, Handbook, 1919. Nuttall, Penitential Rite, 1904.

[3]Holmes, Masterpieces of Aboriginal Art, 1914–19.

[4]Mason, Mirrors, 1927.

[5]Saville, Onyx Jar, 1900. Holmes, Handbook, 1919.

[6]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938. Peñafiel, Indumentaria Antigua, 1903. Codex Mendoza, Codex Magliabecchiano, Tribute Roll of Montezuma.

[7]Nuttall, Feather Work, 1895; Standard or Headdress, 1888. Seler, Feather Ornaments, 1904. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938. Codex Florentino.

[8]Saville, Turquoise Mosaic Art, 1922.

[9]Holmes, Archaeological Studies, 1895. Saville, Cruciform Structures, 1909.

[10]Saville, Woodcarver's Art, 1925.

[11]Saville, Goldsmith's Art, 1920. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 5, orfebreria.

[12]Caso, Monte Alban, 1932; Reading the Riddle, 1932.

[13]Lothrop, Coclé, 1937.

[14]Noguera, Decorative Aspects of Pottery, 1930; Caracteristicas de la Ceramica, 1930; in Tenayuca, 1935. Boas, Album, 1911–12. Brenner, Influence of Technique, 1931. Vaillant, History and Stratigraphy, 1937; Correlation, 1938, Figs. 3 and 4.

[15]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–10.

[16]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 11–24

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[17]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 25–31.

[18]Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935, Pls. 58; Ceramica del Templo Mayor, 1934. 114

[19]Vaillant, History and Stratigraphy, 1937. Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[20]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, Figs. 2 and 5-x.

[21]Noguera, Ladrillo como Material, 1928; Tizatlan, 1927.

CHAPTER IX

The study of Middle American art is in its infancy. We are only just realizing, in this and other American fields, the great contribution which the Indian has made. There are few publications dedicated especially to this purpose. I am including under footnote 1 a few books which cover the field of American Indian Art.

[1]North America: Douglas and d'Harnoncourt, Indian Art, 1940. Vaillant, Indian Arts, 1939.

Middle America: Caso, Thirteen Masterpieces, 1938; Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art, 1940. Cahill, American Sources, 1933. Holmes, Masterpieces, 1914–19. Marquina, Estudio Arquitectonico, 1928. Escultura Mexicana Antigua, 1934. Spinden, Maya Art, 1913. Totten, Maya Architecture, 1926. Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

South America: Lehmann and Doering, Kunstgeschichte des Peru, 1924. Norden kiöld, Archéologie de L'Amazon, 1930.

[2]Marquina, Estudio Arquitectonico, 1928. Tenayuca, 1935. Holmes, Archaeological Studies, 1895–97. Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

[3]Cummings, Cuicuilco, 1933.

[4]Gamio, Teotihuacan, 1922.

[5]Noguera, Altar de los Craneos, 1937.

[6]Tenayuca, 1935. Saville, Tepoztlan, 1896. Seler, Tepoztlan, 1904. Larsen, Malinalco, 1938. Marquina, Estudio Arquitectonico, 1928. Pollock, Round Temples, 1936.

[7]Pollock, Round Temples, 1936.

[8]Gallop, Ancient Monuments, 1938. Larsen, Malinalco, 1938.

[9]Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

[10]Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

[11]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928.

[12]Caso, El Teocalli, 1927.

[13]Saville, Tizoc, 1929.

[14]Caso, Reading the Riddle, 1932. Compare the Mixtec Codices Cospi, Vaticanus B, Borgia, with the Aztec Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Borbonicus.

[15]Goldsmith's Art, 1920; Turquoise Mosaic Art, 1922; Woodcarver's Art, 1925.

[16]Caso, Tizatlan, 1927. Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

[17]Pre-Conquest manuscripts: Codex Borbonicus, Codex Boturini, Tonalamatl Aubin.

Post-Conquest manuscripts: Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Codex Vaticanus A, Codex of 1576, Codex of 1590, Manuscrit Mexicaine.

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114 POST-CONQUEST DRAWINGS TO SPANISH ORDER: Codex Mendoza, Codex Florentino, Lienzo de Tlaxcala.

[18]Castañeda, Pequeños Percutores, 1933.

[19]Codex Borbonicus.

[20]Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880. Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. For oratory, Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. II, Book 6. Brinton, Ancient Nahuatl Poetry, 1887.

CHAPTER X

Aztec religion is a fascinating and confusing subject. Ritualism ran wild, and the early Spanish observers, trained in rigorous Christian theology, found the subject interesting but baffling. Sahagun is far and away the best contemporary source. He checked his data in three different localities and spent many years in the process. The late Eduard Seler was the great modern authority, bringing a philosophical background to aid a meticulous interest in ritual. Spence, the best English writer, was his disciple, as was the infinitely learned Hermann Beyer. Alfonso Caso, the distinguished Mexican scholar, has combined brilliantly the meticulousness of the German school with the long-continued Mexican tradition, passed on by many sympathetic and learned minds. Among modern American students J. Eric Thompson is outstanding.

[1]POPULAR ENGLISH ACCOUNTS: Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1933. Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. Caso, Aztec Religion, 1937.

MORE DETAILED STUDIES: Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. III. Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923, standard text. Mrs Bandelier's translation of Sahagun, Historia General, Books 1–4, 1932.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE: Beuchat, Manuel d'Archeologie Americaine, 1912. Caso, El Teocalli, 1927. Paso y Troncoso, Descripcion del Codice Pictorico, 1898. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, 1902–23; Commentaries on Codices Borgia, 1904–09, Fejervary-Mayer, 1901–02, Vaticanus B, 1902, and Tonalamatl Aubin, 1900–01.

[2]Caso, El Teocalli, 1927. Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923. Official version of Calendar Stone.

[3]At Teotihuacan, Azcapotzalco, Culhuacan.

[4]Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923.

[5]Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923.

[6]Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923.

[7]For definitions of gods: Caso, Aztec Religion, 1927; Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923; Seler, Commentaries.

[8]Bandelier, Archaeological Tour, 1884.

[9]FOR FURTHER DEFINITIONS: Caso, Religion Azteca, 1938; El Teocalli, 1928. Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923. Seler, Commentaries.

CHAPTER XI

The religious organization of the Aztecs is relatively clear. The ritual and the identification of deities is much more perplexing, as a certain

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amount of interpretation is involved. The working of the calendar has puzzled many a distinguished scholar, but its main principles are known. So elaborate a system of worship must have led to considerable local variation, so the student need not too greatly despair over the lack of agreement among authorities. The methods of pictographic writing are well known. 114

[1]Popular accounts: Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1933; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1922; Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928.

More detailed studies: *for the priesthood:* Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880; *for ritual:* Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923; Seler, Commentaries, 1900–09; Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vols. 1, 3; Del Paso y Troncoso, Codice Pictorico, 1898; Beuchat, Manuel, 1911; Robelo, Diccionario de Mitologia, 1905; *for calendar:* Caso, Correlacion, 1939; De Jonghe, Le Calendrier Mexicaine, 1906; Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880; Palacios, Fundacion de Mexico-Tenochtitlan, 1925; Seler, in Bulletin 28, 1904; Gesammelte Abhandlungen, 1902–23; Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923; Spinden, Indian Manuscripts, 1933; Diffusion of Maya Astronomy, 1940; *for writing:* Aubin, Memoires sur la Peinture, 1885; Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880; Peñafiel, Nombres Geograficos, 1885; Nomenclatura Geografica, 1895.

Contemporary: Sahagun, Historia General, 1938; Codex Florentino; Torquemada, Monarquia, 1923.

[2]Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880; cites early authorities.

[3]Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1933; Beuchat, Manuel, 1911; De Jonghe, Calendrier Mexicaine, 1906; Spence, Gods of Mexico, 1923; Spinden, Indian Manuscripts, 1933; Diffusion of Maya Astronomy, 1940; Caso, Correlacion, 1940; Morley, Introduction to Maya Hieroglyphs, 1915; Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880; Seler, in Bulletin 28, 1904; Commentaries on Codex Vaticanus B, Fejervary–Mayer, Borgia, and Tonalamatl of Aubin Collection, 1900–09.

[4]Seler, Commentaries on Tonalamatl Aubin, Codex Fejervary–Mayer, Codex Vaticanus B; Paso y Troncoso, Codice Pictorica (Borbonicus).

[5]Aztec records: Tonalamatl Aubin, Codex Borbonicus, Codex Florentino, Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Vaticanus A.

Mixteca-Puebla records: Vaticanus B, Borgia, Bologna (Cospi).

[6]Caso, Correlacion, 1940; Duran, Historia de las Indias, II, 1880; Sahagun, Historia General, 1938; Codex Borbonicus; Beuchat, Manuel, 1911.

[7]De Jonghe, Calendrier Mexicaine, 1906. Codex Mariano Jimenez. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938. Fewkes, Central American Ceremony, p. 285, 1893.

[8]Seler, Venus Period, 1904.

[9]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 3, pp. 393–96; cites authorities.

[10]Duran, Historia, II, 1880, pp. 155–60.

[11]Linton, Pawnee Sacrifice, 1916. Wissler and Spinden, Pawnee Sacrifice, 1916.

[12]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 3, pp. 387–88.

[13]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938; Codex Florentino.

[14]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 3, pp. 422–25. Blom, Maya Ball

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114 Game, 1932. Duran, Historia de las Indias, II, 1880, Vol. 2, Chapter CI. Oviedo, Historia General, 1851, Vol. I, p. 165.

[16]Caso, Patolli, 1927.

[16]Clavigero, Historia Antigua, 1787, Book 7, Section 46. Larsen, Volador, 1937.

[17]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vols. 2 and 3. Nuttall, Penitential Rite, 1904.

[18]Codex Borbonicus for monthly ceremonies.

Telleriano-Remensis and copy Vaticanus A record this sacrifice in year 8 Reed (1487).

Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2, pp. 585–86; cites authors.

[18]Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880; Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928; Peñafiel, Nomenclatura, 1897; Nombres Geograficos, 1885; Codex Mendoza; Tribute Roll of Montezuma.

[20]Memorial de Tepetlaostoc.

[21]Chimalpahin, Anales, 1889, Introduction, pp. vii–viii.

[22]Texcocan style: Mapa Tlotzin, Mapa Quinatzin, Codex Xolotl, Mapa de Siguenza.

Tenochican style: Codices Boturini, 1576, 1590, Telleriano-Remensis, Vaticanus A, Historia Mexicaine, Mapa de Tepechpan.

[23]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 10, Chapter XXIX, pp. 137–38, paragraph 12.

[24]Codex Mendoza, Tribute Roll of Montezuma.

[25]Lienzo Chalchiuhtzin Vasquez, in Vaillant, Aztec Twilight, 1939. Boban, Documents, 1891. Tlaquiltenango Manuscript, in American Museum of Natural History.

[26]Tozzer, Value of Manuscripts, 1912. Boban, Documents, 1891.

CHAPTER XII

The post-Conquest native historians approached Aztec history from an annalistic point of view. Only occasionally did economic and political ideas enter in. Bancroft's and Orozco y Berra's recapitulations of the early history give fullest materials for a detailed scrutiny of Aztec foreign affairs and war. Bandelier's technical study of their method of warfare is the best general outline of Aztecan procedure in this field.

[1]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883. Orozco y Berra, Historia de la Conquista, 1880. Bandelier, Art of War, 1877.

Older authorities: Duran, Historia, 1867, 1880; Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891, Historia, 1892; Tezozomoc, Cronica, 1878; Torquemada, Monarquia, 1723; Clavigero, History of Mexico, 1787.

[2]Mapa Tlotzin.

[3]Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1892.

[4]Commentary of Hamy in Codex Telleriano-Remensis. Aragon, Expansion del Imperio Mexicano, 1931.

[5]Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. 5; cites versions of various authorities.

[6]Bandelier, Art of War, 1877.

[7]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908, Vol. 1, Chapter IX, p. 43; Chapter XX, p. 74; Chapter XXIII, p. 85.

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[8]Codex Mendoza.
[9]Bandelier, Art of War, 1877.
[10]Bandelier, Art of War, 1877.
[11]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, footnote 81. Codex Mendoza.
[12]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2, pp. 603–23.

CHAPTER XIII

This chapter was adapted from Natural History, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 17–30, January–February, 1933. It is based on contemporary accounts of Tenochtitlan and on various later archaeological studies on the topography of Tenochtitlan, the ancient Mexico City.

[1]CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS: Cortes, Letters, 1908; Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16; Anonymous Conqueror, 1917; Mendieta, Historia Ecclesiastica, 1870; Motolinia, Historia de las Indias, 1914; Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12; Codex Florentino.

LATER STUDIES: Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, 1922; Maudslay, Great Temple Enclosures, 1912; Peñafiel, Destruccion del Templo Mayor, 1910; Alcocer, Mexico-Tenochtitlan, 1935; Maps reproduced in Maudslay's edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Vol. 3: Plan on Maguey Paper, Map of 1524, Map of Alonso de Santa Cruz, 1560.

[2]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Vol. 2, Chapter LXXXVIII.
[3]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Vol. 2, Chapter XCII.

CHAPTER XIV

Prescott has unforgettably told the story of the Conquest of Mexico. This chapter seeks to stress the Indian side of the Conquest, as told by Sahagun, Duran and others and as illustrated in the Codex Florentino and the Lienzo de Tlaxcala. The latter was prepared as a memorial to show the services Tlaxcalan warriors rendered the cause of Spain. This chapter is adapted from Natural History, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 185–95, March, 1937.

[1]Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, 1922. Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880. Cortes, Letters, 1908. Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16. Anonymous Conqueror, 1917. Duran, Historia, 1867, 1880. Ixtlilxochitl, Horribles Crueldades, 1829. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12. Codex Florentino. Lienzo de Tlaxcala.
[2]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12, Chapter I. Codex Florentino.
[3]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12, Chapter VIII.
[4]Lienzo de Tlaxcala, Pl. 17.
[5]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12, Chapter XXIII. Duran, Historia, II, 1880, Chapter LXXVI, p. 50.
[6]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Vol. 2, Chapter CXXVIII, p. 247, says no!! Bancroft, Conquest, Vol. 1, p. 480, says yes!! on authority.
[7]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12, Chapter XXXIII.

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CHAPTER XV

114 This chapter is the merest résumé of what the visitor to Mexico may see of the Indian past. Very properly one may insert here, as footnote 1, the twelve English books on Mexico, which, in the writer's judgment, are best suited to prepare the visitor for what he may see.

[1]Henry Bamford Parkes, History of Mexico, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1938. A history devoted chiefly to colonial and republican Mexico.

Herbert Joseph Spinden, Ancient Civilization of Mexico and Middle America, American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series, No. 3, New York, 1928. A masterpiece of exposition, short and simple, incredibly packed with knowledge, a sine qua non for the understanding of Indian civilization.

Charles Flandrau, Viva Mexico, New York, 1908. An enchanting series of impressions of Mexico under Diaz.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, The True History of the Conquest of New Spain, Hackluyt Society, Series 2, Vols. 23–25, 30, 40, London, 1908–16. This old warrior, a soldier under Cortes, gives the most personal account of the Conquest.

William Hickling Prescott, The Conquest of Mexico, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1922. Not only a brilliant account of the Conquest as seen through Spanish eyes, but one of the masterpieces of American literature.

J. Eric Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, Scribners, New York, 1933. An intimately alive picture of the Aztec civilization.

George C. Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen in Ancient Central America, American Museum of Natural History Guide Leaflet Series 88 and 103, 1935. A survey of Middle American art, fully illustrated, for a very low price.

Anita Brenner, Idols behind Altars, Payson and Clarke, Ltd., New York, 1929. A superb picture of the Mexican artistic renaissance of 1918 and the essential continuity of Indian life.

Ernest Gruening, Mexico and Its Heritage, the Century Co., New York, 1928. A carefully documented study of the conflicts inherent in modern Mexican economic and social life.

C. S. Braden, Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C., 1930. The theory of the evangelization of the Mexican Indian, showing the humanitarian theories behind the consolidation of the Spanish Conquest.

Madame Calderon de la Barca, Life in Mexico, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1931. The Scottish wife of the Spanish ambassador to Mexico in 1828 writes a most entertaining account of contemporary habits and customs. A classic.

Stuart Chase, Mexico, A Study of Two Americas, Macmillan Co., New York, 1931. A succinct, slightly *simpliste* account of contemporary Mexico with special emphasis on the virtues of unmechanized life.

[2]Braden, Religious Aspects, 1930. Ricard, Conquête Spirituelle, 1933.

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[3]The amount of writing by the different monastic orders is interesting as a reflection of direct interest in indian affairs: Franciscan, 68; Jesuit, 19; Dominican, 18; Augustinian, 3; parish priests, 18; civilians, 6; cf. Clavigero, History, 1787, and Ricard, Conquête Spirituelle: Spanish Friars, 61; Indians and Mestizos, 61; Spanish Civilians, 6; Foreign Friars, 7. 114

[4]Indian authors and approximate dates of composition: Tezozomoc, before 1561; Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1570; Duran, 1581; Ixtlilxochitl, 1600; Chimalpahin, 1613.

Post-Conquest picture writings and closing dates: Codex Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A, 1563; Codex of 1576, 1607; Codex of 1590, 1590; Histoire Mexicaine, 1521.

[5]——, Arquitectura Colonial, 1933, p. 27. Granados y MacGregor, Huexotcingo, 1934.

[6]Nuttall, Official Reports, 1926. Del Paso y Troncoso, Papeles de Nueva España, 1905–06.

[7]Redfield, Tepoztlan, 1930. Parsons, Mitla, 1936.

[8]Brenner, Idols behind Altars, 1929. Chase, Mexico, 1931.

[9]The perfect guide for Mexico has yet to be written. Terry, Guide, 1927, the most full, approaching Baedeker. Brenner, Your Mexican Holiday, 1932, good for the traveler. Marett, Archaeological Tours, 1934, good for a person interested in archaeology, since many ruins are not on beaten path. ——, Tres Siglos de Arquitectura Colonial, 1933, brief illustrated guide. ——, Monumentos Prehispanicos, 1933, brief illustrated guide.

[10]The index will provide references to descriptions of the sites given in the text.

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Temporary Foreword

●114 The *Florentine Codex* is one of three well-known manuscripts planned by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún to describe the civilization of the Aztecs. The others, both of which are fragmentary, are the *Biblioteca del Palacio* and *Academia de la Historia* MSS in Madrid; these may have been field notes which Sahagún used for the complete version, the *Florentine Codex*. In this, Fr. Bernardino wrote the same accounts in parallel columns, Spanish on the left and Aztec on the right. The work was profusely illustrated. The Spanish text sometimes was fuller than, and sometimes only summarized, the Aztec text. From this codex stemmed the Spanish texts published by Bustamante and, probably, Kingsborough, more than a century ago; and these early printed versions are the basis of later editions. Sahagún named his work *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España;* the term *Florentine Codex* used in this Temporary Preface means Sahagún's *Historia* in the famed manuscript of the Laurentian Library, Florence, Italy.

A microfilm copy of the *Florentine Codex* was secured in 1938 by the late Lansing B. Bloom who, with his wife, was sent to various European Libraries to secure microfilms of this and other important manuscripts—mostly relating to Southwestern history. Mr. and Mrs. Bloom performed wonders in the face of considerable difficulties. The project was a joint undertaking of the School of American Research, the University of New Mexico, and the Bandelier Centennial Committee.

The microfilm negatives were delivered to the late Dr. E. L. Hewett, then Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, in 1939. As prime mover in the securing of the copy of the *Florentine Codex* for the School of American Research, he was interested in its being published; and as an anthropologist, he recognized the necessity of a complete English translation of the Aztec, of which only a little had been translated into any language.

First, photographic enlargements were made from the negatives, by Miss Bertha P. Dutton and Miss Hulda Hobbs of the School of American Research. One copy remained with the School of American Research, and another was deposited for additional security with the University of New Mexico. Later, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley arranged for the distribution of four additional copies in American universities and other institutions which were interested, and with the Mexican Government. It was stipulated that these copies were not to be published for a period of five years.

In the eighteen months during which Dr. Morley was Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, he carried on the plans started by Dr. Hewett for the translation of the Aztec text of Sahagún's immortal *Historia*, a project which he also had for some years been interested in seeing through. The final outline of procedure was completed just before his last illness. He would undoubtedly have been deeply concerned with and infinitely helpful in its progress had he lived.

To carry out the considerable task of translating the twelve books of Sahagún's *magnum opus*, Dr. Morley brought together the only two scholars in the United States whom he knew, at the time, to be prepared to undertake the work. Dr. Charles E. Dibble's studies in the Mexican field had aroused his admiration. Dr. Arthur J. O. Anderson, on the instance of Dr. Morley and Dr. Hewett, had been studying Nahuatl for some years. By arrangement with Dr. A. R. Olpin, President of the University of Utah, Dr. Dibble's teaching schedule at the University was modified so that he could devote half of his time to the translation project. Dr. Morley similarly made adjustments with Dr. Anderson's time at the Museum of New Mexico.

The plan, as developed by Dr. Morley, Dr. Dibble, and Dr. Anderson, was to translate the dozen books of Sahagún's *Historia* singly and not necessarily in the order in which they appear in the *Florentine Codex* and the printed Spanish and French editions, and to publish them as completed, as Parts II-XIII of a Monograph of the School of American Research and a Publication of the University of Utah. Part I was to appear last of all, and to include a Preface and other introductory material, the Table of Contents, the Bibliography, and the General Index. Each part was to be fully illustrated, and, because of their unusual clarity, the Paso y Troncoso illustrations were to be reproduced.

These plans are being carried out.

As to translation procedure, Dr. Morley urged that the product be in readable English. The compilation of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, so valuable to the anthropologist and the historian, was to be regarded as a major source book for the student, yet presented so as to be of value to the scholar and of interest to the general reader. Taking advantage of some broad similarities between English and Aztec syntax, the translators were to put it into English such that the structure of the translations would resemble as closely as possible that of the original. Since the Spanish text

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● 114 of the *Florentine Codex* was Sahagún's sixteenth-century Spanish, the English translation of the Nahuatl was to parallel, in a sense, the late Renaissance feeling of Sahagún's Spanish through the employment of occasional archaisms which might give it something of the atmosphere of the King James version of the Bible. This procedure, while it precludes a translation which would be word-for-word a precise duplicate (in English), would, it was felt, still preserve sufficient accuracy in its presentation of the meaning of the Aztec version.

A less flexible rendition would, of course, have been possible; or an interlinear. A linguistic study, however, was not contemplated in this translation. For the linguist, and for any who would wish to check the accuracy of the translation, the Aztec of the *Florentine Codex* was to be faithfully reproduced.

This procedure the translators have attempted to follow.

If, when the total translation project is completed, the translators have produced a work sufficiently accurate to convey reliably the meaning of the Aztec, and thus be of use to the historian and ethnologist, they will have sufficiently accomplished their purpose.

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A. Ray Olpin

A. Ray Olpin
President
University of Utah

Boaz Long

Boaz Long
Director
School of American Research

TRANSLATORS' NOTE

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[p. iv (B)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 128 [211 65]] painted along the outer and lower margins of the page, the rest of the page being taken up by the items of tribute for which these towns were jointly responsible. The place names on a given page prove to be geographically contiguous on modern maps, and so it is evident that the towns were regarded as a unit, as all having something in common. I have called each region thus indicated a "province," partly in order to provide some territorial division, but also because these groupings of towns were in some measure expressions of former political or linguistic units. Most of the Matlatzinca-speaking towns, for example, cluster on a page of their own; moreover, they were all conquered in a continuous campaign of a few years. These provinces (indicated on the map by large arabic numerals) I have named after the introductory glyphs, assuming the first glyph on each page to represent the most important town. Other available sources justify this. In another source, for instance, in the province I have named Tepequacuilco, Tepequacuilco is stated to be the "presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recogieron de toda la cuisca [Cchuixca]";[8] in that which I have named Coayxtlahuacan, Coayxtlahuacan is called "donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."[9] The borders of the provinces as they existed in 1519 have been commented on in detail where these were adjacent to non-Mexican lands.

Most of these invaluable place glyphs of the *Matricula* could be read even if they were all we had, and they are of course the final authorities. The task of reading them, however, is greatly simplified by the annotations they bear; the *Matricula* itself contains scattered and not always reliable identifications in roman letters, and the copy of the *Matricula* in the *Codex Mendocino* contains a complete series of highly reliable ones. In order to have some norm for spelling, I have everywhere followed these *Mendocino* versions. There are objections to this procedure—which gives us "Tuluca" for what is better rendered "Tolocan,"—but it shows how one Indian pronounced all the names of the Empire before the corrupting European influences set in.

[8] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223.

[9] *PNE*, 4: 165; 4: 198 agrees. Likewise, Tochpan (Tuchpa in *Mendocino*) has seven towns, and Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas* [1892], II: 197) says that "La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias." The fact that the initial glyph is often the only one identified in roman letters in the *Matricula* is also taken into account.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

I have included a certain amount of related ethnographic material 128 which has appeared in the course of accumulating data on place names and locations. Names for certain stretches of territory, names of language groups (these two often intertwined), reasons for such names, and occasional remarks on customs or gods form the main part of this supplementary material, which shows the great diversity of the Empire. (This diversity is still present: even today, a traveler in Mexico can see twenty countries in one.)

Here, however, the supplement stops. I have reluctantly excluded every scrap of the historical sections originally written to accompany these provinces. By suppressing an approximate history now, I can give an accurate history later. Nor has it been possible here to touch on the question of government and administration of tribute,[4] and on the topics of the motivations and formulae of native warfare, all of which need reëxamination.

In view of the nature of the authority for this map of the Empire 114 of the Culhua Mexica—a tribute reckoning—it has, however, seemed 128 appropriate to add some data on tribute. These data come chiefly from two sources: the *Matricula*, which gives the tribute from provinces as units, but not from their component towns; and the geographical *relaciones* of the 1580's, which often record the kind of tribute from a given town. Here again, I have omitted incidental materials in order to focus on the map. I have treated the *Matricula* tribute data in a summary fashion,[5] but have given all other tribute information in full.

[4] Manuel Moreno, *La organización política y social de los aztecas* (1931), gives something on these points.

[5] I.e., by simply presenting whatever the Spanish annotations of the *Mendocino* copy say (for these give the frequency of payment, which is not deducible from the *Matricula* pictures alone), and by correcting a few errors in regard to quantities of goods. This method leaves much to be desired. A real study of the *Matricula* tributes would involve that document and its two copies—the checking of all items in all variant drawings and annotations from different hands, with special note taken of the quite unexploited annotations in Náhuatl on the *Matricula;* the investigation of native measurements and weights; the detailed itemization of various styles of mantles, skirts, and warriors' costumes portrayed (each of which has a name and a symbolism and many of which are badges of certain social categories); the question how often payment was made and into whose hands, where it was stored, and many other matters. Until such a study is prepared, the student should consult Cooper Clark's edition of the *Mendocino*, supplementing this with the works of Eduard Seler, especially his *Altmexikanischer Schmuck und zeniale und militärische Rangabzeichen*. On the frequency of tribute payment, some observations have been made by R. C. E. Long, *The Payment of Tribute in the Codex Mendoza* (1942), and by R. H. Barlow, *The Periods of Tribute Collection in Moctezuma's Empire* (1943). Those interested in place glyphs and etymologies should see Peñafiel's imperfect, but still not superseded, *Nombres geográficos de México* (1885).

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The Matricula de Tributos

114 En estos Fragmentos se ve el más auténtico testimonio de la opulencia, grandeza, y Majestad de este Imperio Mexicano.

—Archbishop Lorenzana

The map the publication of which is begun in this work is based primarily on one document. Since the relationship of this document to its copies and editions has not been worked out before, it is proper to turn our attention to bibliography.

The *Matricula de Tributos*[6] is a folio manuscript, painted on coarse native paper, arranged like a European book. It is preserved in the Salon de Codices of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología de México and bears the exhibit number 52. Originally it must have contained more than eighteen folios, although today it has dwindled sadly.[7] On both sides of each of these folios are painted the hieroglyphs of the towns which were subject to the Triple Alliance of Mexico, Texcoco, and Tlacopan, as well as those of the tributes they paid.[8] The *Matricula* was probably made after 1511 or 1512, as I have remarked elsewhere.[9] Its European format hints that it may have been painted for Cortés, who soon had it in his hands and was learning the likeliest fields for pillage. Bernal Díaz tells us: "En los libros de la rrenta de montezuma miravamos de donde le trayan los tributos del oro y donde avia minas y cacao y rropa de mantas y de aquellas partes que viamos en los libros y las quentas que en ellos tenian montezuma que se lo trayan queriamos."[10] Afterward it doubtless served as a touchstone for taxability. When the first generation of unhappy mestizos was about come of age, the Viceroy Mendoza had the *Matricula* copied as part of the compilation made to show His Sacred and Caesarian Majesty what

[6] Named by Boturini in his *Catalogo del Museo Historico Indiano* (1743).

[7] Peñafiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo* (1890), p. 69, interprets the number 35, written on the last sheet of the manuscript as it exists today, to mean that it had 35 pages originally. This, however, is merely the number given in the Boturini inventory.

[8] That the *Matricula* contained records of the tributes of both Mexico and Texcoco is clear from the inclusion of the provinces of Quauhnahuac and Tlalcoçauhtitlan, with certain subordinate towns which were specifically subject to Texcoco, as Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, T. II: *Historia Chichimeca* [1892], p. 89) and other sources inform us. It also includes the province of Xilotepec, which with its towns was subject to Tlacopan specifically ("La orden que tenian los indios ... ," *ENE*, 14: 145–148).

[9] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[10] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), II: 144.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

New Spain was like. This copy (which is not generally realized to be a copy)[11] preserves for us the manuscript as it stood in the 1540's. It is possible that a leaf or two had been lost before that date. Since four leaves have been lost since then, this copy is very precious. This *Mendocino* copy shows that the *Matricula* had thirty-six pages and somewhat more (a matter which cannot be commented on here), that is, eighteen leaves *plus*, at that time. The military history section of the *Mendocino* was also copied from the *Matricula*, where only a scrap of it survives. Probably the ethnographic section of the *Mendocino* was the only one painted especially for it. The manner in which two leaves of the *Matricula* were lost completely and two were carried off is noted below.

Sometime in the sixteenth century the manuscript was annotated unsystematically in Náhuatl. This must have been after the *Mendocino* copy was made, for the latter does not take cognizance of these annotations, but provides others.[12]

The *Matricula* disappears in that neglected century of consolidation, the seventeenth. In the first half of the eighteenth, however, it came into the hands of Lorenzo Boturini, the Italian Guadalupe enthusiast, whose immeasurably rich collection embraced almost every document on which our knowledge of ancient Mexican history is based. In the

[11] Orozco y Berra suspected that it was. The preface to the 1925 del Paso edition says (*Códice Mendocino*, p. vii): "No se sabe si es obra original de los indios instruidos comisionados especialmente por Mendoza, o copia de distintas pinturas antiguas colegidas en el códice." And even that astute bibliographer Gómez de Orozco is skittish: "pudo ser la fuente [del Códice Mendocino] el codice llamado Matricula de los Tributos ... u otro muy semejante, pues que existen algunas variantes entre este y el codice Mendocino" ("¿Quien fué el autor material del códice Mendocino?" *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos* [1941], 5: 44). In the absence of the much-needed variorum edition of the *Matricula*, but with the related manuscript and editions described here—and lacking space for more extended discussion,—one can only dogmatize. The tribute section of the *Mendocino* is unquestionably a copy *of* the *Matricula*. The only differences between the pictures of the two are minute. Sometimes two pages in the *Mendocino* are devoted to material which occupies only one page in the *Matricula*, and in the province of Çihuatlan the town of Xolochiuyan has been placed out of sequence by the *Mendocino* artist. A few erasures have occurred in the *Matricula*, leaving gaps and traces of the erased material. Such variants as these are not worth itemizing further.

[12] The names of the warriors' costumes, for example, are given in the *Matricula* annotations, but are lacking in the *Mendocino*. The *Matricula* gives "Tlacotepec" in Tuluca province, whereas the *Mendocino* gives a probably erroneous "Mitepec." The *Matricula* gives "Panchimalco" in Quauhnahuac; the *Mendocino*, the certainly erroneous "Chimalco." As a whole, however, the town names of the *Mendocino* are highly accurate; these minor slips are cited to show that the *Mendocino* annotator saw a still unannotated *Matricula*.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

inventory made of his papers, July 15, 1745, it appears as No. 35 of "Ymbentario 2°."[32] It also figures in the printed catalogue of the following year, § VII, No. 9, where it received the name of "*Matricula*."[33]

A very inexpert copy of the *Matricula*, now bound with it, was made about this time. It appears in the "Ymbentario 2°" as No. 36,[34] in the printed catalogue. This copy does not fully reproduce the initial page, which had become nearly effaced. Four pages of this wretched copy were published by Peñafiel, that is, those corresponding with the two leaves carried off to Philadelphia—an event noted below.[35] The *Matricula* suffered the fate of all Boturini's collection, being taken as part of the evidence of his crime of collecting funds to make a crown for the Virgin of Guadalupe. It lay in one of the secretarías of the Gobierno del Virreinato until 1770, when Archbishop Lorenzana published the first of the editions it has suffered.[36] By Boturini's day (mid-eighteenth century) the manuscript had been reduced from the eighteen leaves plus of *circa* 1540, to sixteen leaves in the Lorenzana publication. The losses were the leaf containing the provinces of Tlachquiauco (recto) and Tochtepec (verso) and that containing Axocopan (recto) and Atotonilco (verso).[37] Lorenzana's edition is imaginatively unfaithful, being a series of lopsided copper-plate engravings. One page is so wretchedly copied that the "artist" has a vacant space left, which he plugged up with a cherub blowing a trumpet—a very curious item to find in Moctezuma's tribute list. This edition includes the Náhuatl annotations, as well as the Spanish translations which certain of them had acquired in the meantime.

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[32] "Este, es otra Matricula, como la antezedente en el mismo Papel de Pasta, todo figurado con caracteres, en [*sic*] antiquissimo, no tiene por donde se perzius a que Provincia toque. en diez y seis Fs" ("Inventario de los documentos recogidos á D. Lorenzo Boturini, 15 July 1745," *Anales del Museo Nacional ... de México* [1925], Epoca IV, T. 3).

[33] "Original. Una Matricula de Tributos, que se pagaban a los dos Reynos de Mexico, y Tlatilólco por las respectivas provincias subditas. Es de 16. fojas de papel Indiano, aunque le falta algo del principio, y fin, y se pintan en ella los lugares tributarios, y las especies de los tributos, que pagaban en frutos, y otros generos" (*ibid.*).

[34] "Esta es copia del antezedente, se halla en Papel de Marca mayor en diez y seis fojas" (*ibid.*).

[35] Peñafiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo* (1890), pls. 256–259.

[36] "Fragmentos de un Mapa de Tributos, ó Cordillera de los Pueblos ..." in Lorenzana's edition of Cortés, *Historia de Nueva España* (1770), pls. following p. 176.

[37] Not Atotonilco el Grande (see p. 64), which is on p. 8 of the manuscript as it exists today.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Sixty years after the appearance of Lorenzana's edition, the original *Matricula* suffered further loss. Two folios were detached by Poinsett, the American minister of Iturbide's day, who carried them off to Philadelphia, along with a large collection of Mexican antiquities on which there is no report available. One of these folios, half torn away since Lorenzana's edition, contains the provinces of Tlatelolco (recto) and Petlacalco (verso). The other contains Tlatlauhquitepec (recto) and Tuchpa (verso).[20] With this final mutilation, the document was left in its present state, except for a binding which it acquired sometime in the nineteenth century. It has been in the Museo Nacional for many decades, where Sr. Fernando Gamboa has recently devised a setting worthy of it, amid a welter of gold nose-plugs, green feathers, cacao, paper, and the like.

In view of all these mutilations, I wish to state that I cite the present pagination throughout.

At the end of this same nineteenth century, in which the *Matricula* was at first seriously maltreated, the nobility of the old document was appreciated, and a lithographed edition in heightened colors was published by Peñafiel. This edition partakes of the usual defects of "official" scholarship of the Batres Era and omits[21] the annotations in European writing. As recompense, the editor had the prices which he thought the tribute would bring on the open market added up, and published this in many solemn tables.

With the recent recovery of the Philadelphia pages, the story of the *Matricula* is complete. As there has never been a usable edition of it, I have had to work with diminutive photographs of the original. A good edition and a serious commentary on this document are much needed.

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[20] They were published in the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society (s.a. [1893], Vol. 17, following p. [62]), in whose possession they and the other antiquities were left. Recently they have been recovered but not restored to their place in the manuscript.

[21] As in the unpardonable cases of the Codices Colombino and Sánchez Solís.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

II. THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

128 BECAUSE there were many provinces in the Empire which it is our purpose to delimit, some few grand divisions seem advisable. These have been made in a rather arbitrary way, with varying criteria. In certain regions it is possible to point out a particular zone as the special sphere of influence of some one or another member of the Triple Alliance. The six provinces described below, however, have been grouped on the basis of their common enemy and peril, the Purépecha or Tarascans, against whom they formed a long frontier. Brand has published a useful map of the Tarascan dominions and their fortified towns facing the Mexica, from the Río de las Balsas north.[1]

1. ÇIHUATLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the sixteenth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 38' of the *Codex*
114 *Mendocino* appear the twelve towns of the most westerly province of the Empire we are about to depict. This province, now the "Costa Grande" of Guerrero, extends west of Acapulco to the outlet of the Río de las Balsas. In the *Matricula*, seven of the towns are identified by annotations in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The province of Çihuatlan was in a region which is wretchedly mapped to this day, where half the place names seem to have disappeared. If it were not for a "Relación de los pueblos que visitó Gaspar Xuarez en la provincia de Çacatula," of the mid-sixteenth century, the present map would scarcely be possible. There is supplementary information in the relación of Zacatula itself, dating from the 1580's, which the writer has published from a nineteenth-century copy—the original remaining unpublished and apparently unpublishable, for some mysterious reason known only to its present guardians.

635 Since this relación was available only after the printing of the map,
114 two or three inconsistencies between map and text have inevitably
128 resulted.

The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet

[1] Brand, "An Historical Sketch of Geography and Anthropology in the Tarascan Region. Part I," *New Mexico Anthropologist* (1943), Vol. 6–7, facing p. 60.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecā (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matrícula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-
114 century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are
131 included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[a] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua
[491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal
[133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[b] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[c] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[d] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names
[103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like
[101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca
[491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[e] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[a] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[b] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[e] *PNE*, 6: 159–159.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaua gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.[20] 651

2. Tepequacuilco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied as folio 37' of the *Codex Mendocino*, are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below: 635 114 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Alahuiztlã, 21	Alahuistlán
Atenanco, 8	Atengo del Río
Cocolan, 13	Cocula
Cueçalan, 7	Cuetzala
Chilacachapã, 12	Chilicachapa
Chilapan, 4	Chilapa
Huitzoco, 16	Huitzuco
Ohuapã, 6	Oapan
Oztoma, 19	[Missing]
Teloloapan, 11	[No change]
Tepequacuilco, 15	Tepecoacuilco
Tlachmalacac, 18	Tlaxmalac
Ychcateopã, 20	Ixcateopan
Yoallan, 17	Iguala

All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted 635

[20] "Al rrey que era de Mexica ... le dauan esclavos e mantas e oro en polso que sacauan y lavaban de los rrios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos dauan al dicho Montecuma eran para que los dichos Mexicanos comyesen" (*PNE*, 6: 158).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[80] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco,[81] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[82]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuílco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[83] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[84] Ychcateopan,[85] Oztoma,[86] Totoltetec,[87] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[88] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[89]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[90] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[91]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather
131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[92] Alahuiztlan

[80] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[81] *PNE*, 6: 315.
[82] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[83] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[84] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[85] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[86] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[87] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[88] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[89] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[90] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[91] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[92] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha gerra con los de Mochoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motezuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[a]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[b]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[c]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[d] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[a] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cosian lo juntavan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Montezuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[b] "Relación de Zoltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[c] *PNE*, 7: 101-"por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi.

[d] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

5. Tuluca

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33' of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacã, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepec, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Teotenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xicaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Çoquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan.

Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master.[a]

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rrachas y ocote, ques tea para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocotili."

[a] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llámaa Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Mitepec is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7.
[101] See p. 23 above.
[102] *PNE*, 7: 4.
[103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.
[104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier 635
against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expan- 131
sion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlat- 635
zinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[88] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles** [714]
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli* [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa [632]
has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula,* 635
which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections 114
are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[88] *PNF* 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[300] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present
[128] map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

[103]

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacã, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[301]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation.
114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

346 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center.
635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[300] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40v of the *Mendocino*.
[301] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].[1] Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the relación of Tecpatepec (1579),[2] one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also[3]—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the *Matrícula* and on the copy of that page, folio 32' of the *Codex Mendocino*, and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

[1] "Memorial de los pueblos subjetos a esta cabecera de tlacupan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE*, 14: 118.

[2] *PNE*, 6: 35.

[3] E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlauhca, Cepayauhtla, and Ciuhtepec. *GPM*, pp. 163–164.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[10] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[11] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[10] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuxpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING [291]

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen[30]

FOOD [262]

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of 651
the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single 632
town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[32] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the
114 north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpā, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.
131 *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[22]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28' of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[23]

[22] *PNE,* 1: No. 1.

[23] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepesic ce comēdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlazpan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir nuñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suxeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11' calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás Léon (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of Léon and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6', where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468).

[30] According to Léon, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[*]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[*]

317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauhtitlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north [128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[*] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, — 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[29]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[30]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[31]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[29] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[30] *GPM*, p. 263.
[31] *FNE*, 3: 33, nº 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[291 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114

The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

[28]

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[20] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[21] and Zimapan (12).[22]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acazrochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[23] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[20] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[21] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecaçautla, sanct mathao gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria decubal yeztria san geronimo acagulcingo san locmço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualzinzco."

[22] *FNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecían los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Xilotepec ... en cuyo reconocimiento le daban de la caça que ocasaba."

[23] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomíes, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y así no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecos, que son como alárabes y estan todavía de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[a]

12. Axocopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matrícula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27'.[b] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquiahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayā, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpā, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpā, 10	Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[a] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que pedía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[b] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matrícula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[40]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[41]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
1114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists
131 another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[40] *PNE*, 6: 36: "davan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[41] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

IV. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE NORTH

JUST AS THE PRECEDING GROUP of provinces may be linked conveniently as the Old Tepanec Domain, those which we are about to consider belong predominantly to another member of the triumvirate, Acolhuacan Texcoco. The chief authority for this is the chronicler Ixtlilxochitl, who tells us in some detail how Nezahualcoyotl placed governors and mayordomos in Cuauhchinanco, Tuchpa, and other towns we shall consider—enough to imply that the whole northeast was under the dominion of the Acolhuaque in late pre-Hispanic days. He explains that these were the towns "allotted to the realm of Texcoco, the other two kings having no share in them."[1] Though Ixtlilxochitl is accused of mendacious nationalism, we may accept his word, inasmuch as such sources as a list of pueblos subject to Texcoco[2] and the conquest lists of that city-state, which the writer will publish later in a chronology of the Empire, confirm his statements absolutely.

14. OXITIPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The last leaf of the *Matricula* as it exists today (p. 28) deals with the province of Ctzicoac (*Mendocino*, fol. 55'). Following this page there was originally at least one more leaf in the *Matricula*—a leaf which is known only from the *Mendocino* copy. At this point in the *Mendocino* appear the words "fin de la parte segunda," that is, the end of the tribute section of this tripartite codex. Presumably the lost *Matricula* leaf was blank upon its verso when the *Mendocino* copyist had it before him, or he would not have written "fin." The long array of tributaries ended here.

What must have been the recto of the original leaf not only is the end of the manuscript, but also represents the end of the Empire of the Mexica, as far as the north is concerned, for there is but one town

[1] "Esta provincia y las demas en donde puso sus mayordomos y cobradores, fueron las que se ajudicaron al reino de Texcoco, sin entrar en participacion los otros dos reyes" (Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* [1892], II: 198).

[2] In the *Anales del Museo Nacional de ... México*, Epoca I (1897), 4: 48–51 and Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), vs. 1343, among other places.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 114 [31] represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1 Ojitipa de Mirador

Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to [651] judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[8] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[9]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[10]

635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tamholon"—now a rancho of Valles.
[9] Meade, *La Huasteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[10] Chilton's narrative, in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI: 275.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54r). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 123, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matrícula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxcoac* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 183–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxcoac* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

16. Tuchpa

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was
114 one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[a] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa
[128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Miahuaapã, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapã.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to
131 Lehmann.[b] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[c]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[d]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

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[a] See Introduction, p. 7.

[b] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[c] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[d] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma naçiese ni ereduse este rreyno no estaban estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron desde á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron bríamente á monteçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

[651] 816 bundles[a] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long[b]
[291] 408 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long[b]
402 bundles[a] of mantles striped red and yellow[b]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[b]
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles[b]
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields[c]

FOOD[d]

[26] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS[d]

[23] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
[301] 2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[e] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[f] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[g]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[h]

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[a] Corrected from 800.
[b] Corrected from 400.
[c] Corrected from 400.
[d] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[e] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[f] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huchutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género strás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatzinhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatzinhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatzinhqui y paletes sin más las armas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que comenzaban todas ellas setenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[g] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Las antiguas* (1933), pp. 110–111.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.[a] 631 632

17. Atlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matrícula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.[b] In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.[c] Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."[d] 635 104

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matrícula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two. 635 131

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "...otra capitania ...a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte ...."[e]

[a] RHE, 1: 488: "tributaban mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."
[b] Cf. Malinalco, above.
[c] *FNE*, 3: 97.
[d] *ENE*, 8: 160.
[e] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles** of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

** Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.*

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.*

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino.* There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino,* as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [128] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

* RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á moctecçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
** RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á montecçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.**

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco,
[28] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapã, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

** *PNE*, 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seyçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Tepetlaoztoc, 18	Tepetlaoxtoc
Teçoyucã, 17	Tezoyuca
Tiçayucã, 8	Tizayuca
Tlaquilpã, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tonanytla, 12	Tonanitla

Various pueblos of this crowded province remain to be located:

Ahuatepec	Quauhyocan
Ameyalco	Tepetlapã
Calyahualco	Tiçatepec
Contlan	Tlachyahualco
Quauhõmecã	Totolçinco

Yxquemecã

Certain other pueblos may be added to the province on the basis of other documents:

Acolman (a)	Pachuca, 1
Costepec Chalco, 22	Teotihuacan, 13
Chicualoapan, 21	Tepepulco, 7
Chimalhuacantoyac, 20	Tetlyztaca, 6
Otompan, 24	Tezontepec, 4

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acolman (a) was independent until conquered by Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco.[*] 632

Acolhuacan is something of a problem. The present paper is hardly the place to pass upon the truth of reports that Texcoco, capital of the Acolhuaque, paid tribute to the Mexica as did any other vassal. But a choice is imperative here: does the glyph which is annotated Acol*man* and Acol*huacan* represent Acolhuacan Texcoco?

The answer is a certain no. It is doubtful that Texcoco ever paid the famous tribute, in the first place. The other member of the Triple Alliance, Tlacopan, does not figure as a tributary anywhere in the *Matricula*, and it was less powerful than the domain of Nezahualpilli. The *Mendocino* interpreter has not written Texcoco, nor does the glyph correspond to those commonly used for Texcoco.[*] And the contradictory *Matricula* legend has been written over, as if to avoid 632 114

[*] "Nezahualcoyotzin cuiquac de Texcoco, los tirania" (*FNE*, 6: 211). (1942), fig. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

one interpretation, at least: the word "tetzcocatl" has been altered in two places to read "acolmecatl"; that is, "men of Texcoco" has been erased. Further evidence that Acolhuacan was neither Acolman nor Texcoco may be found in the lists of conquests in which Huitzihuitl and Itzcoatl participated.

If the glyph does not represent Acolhuacan Texcoco, what Acolhuacan does it mean? Discarding a vague possibility that it may be Acolman, site of the great monastery,[46] the writer prefers to follow the "Relación de Coatepec-Chalco," which informs us explicitly that Acolhuacan is a former name of Coatlichan.[47]

The *Mendocino* adds the name of the tribute collector, or "calpixqui," to the place name: it was (rather suspiciously) "Acolmecatl."

Aztaquemeca (not on the map) lay athwart Cortés' escape route after the Noche Triste. His itinerary, as given in Sahagún and in the "Lienzo de Tlaxcala," reads Tepotzotlan–Aztaquemecan–Zacapulco–Tonanixco, and finally, friendly Hueyotlipan. Aztaquemeca may be the Ixtacamecan Santo Domingo, half a league from Otumba (24).[48]

Coatepec Chalco bore a "very special enmity" toward Chalco, to the south,[49] which is enough to align it on our map with the province of Acolhuacan.

Chicualoapan "and its subjects were subject to the caciques and lords of the pueblo and cabecera of Coatlychan."[50]

Chimalhuacantoyac had once belonged to the ex-province of Chalco, but was annexed by "the province of Aculhuacan, which is Coatlychan."[51]

Epaçoyucan, which can be found on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas, was earlier called Tomazquitlac. It belonged to Acolhuacan from a very early date.[52]

[46] For this possibility, see *PNE*, 6: 213, n. 2.

[47] *PNE*, 6: 80: "Coatlychan, que en aquel tiempo se dezia Aculhuacan ... ." See Chimalhuacantoyac, below.

[48] *PNE*, 3: 83 and n. 1; Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras historicas* (1892), 1: 304, "Axquemeca," near Axapuzco.

[49] *PNE*, 6: 51: "tubo muy particular enemystad con los de la prohinçia de Chalco, a los quales dió muchas guerras."

[50] *PNE*, 6: 82–83. See Acolhuacan, above.

[51] *PNE*, 6: 66: "heran las tierras de los yndios de la provinçia de Chalco, y al presente [1579] este pueblo y sus subjetos estan en la comarca y provinçia de Aculhuacan, que es Coatlychan."

[52] "Eran del señorio de texcoco como dezienden de los chichimecos de texcoco siempre reconocian de sus mayores que llaman el reyno de acolhuacan" (RHE, 1: 141–142).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

THERE is a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the 631
Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about 648
to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names 175
nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and [128]
Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. Chalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matrícula* and folio 41' of the *Codex* 635
Mendocino appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal 114
towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been [128]
identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP	[103]
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco	
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco	
Tepoztlan, 3	Tepoztlan	

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras Históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.
[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacíficamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecameca, Tenango con todos los Quazuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[7] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23r, with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23v. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[7] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Cuadlabaca [!] e comunmente corroupemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323 2,000 pottery bowls**
289] 8,000 reams of native paper**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many
632 decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on
● 114 the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and
[128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present
103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayonochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[]
[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco,* according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[]

[] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (*RHE*, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," adds (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[] *GPM*, p. 112.

[] *GPM*, p. 104.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] 16 pieces of colored lacquer
[313] 268 fine *jícaras* and *tecomates*
314 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[28]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the *Matrícula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section
114 extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[29] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[30]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[31] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[28] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[30] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108". Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 210.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf 175
coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matrícula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to 128
chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, ex- 635
tending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matrícula* leaf on the 114
recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51'. Of the eleven principal [128]
towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotozco
Teotlalpan, 1	Hueytlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonoctla, 3	Jonotla
Yauauhuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yayauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Yxtepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[*]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[**][31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[2/A] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Totoelan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Las culturas* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 460: "eran basallos de montecuma tributaban mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

2/A [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl. — Analyst]

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FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. CUETLAXTLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the
present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Domínguez, *Cuauhtapan de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortalezas con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotaxtla ... y el otro hera otopa questé ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "dan mpa enriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^d a juan saruyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en terminos del p^o de mictlanquauhtla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los mojones vz cuyo."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north-eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matriculc*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapã, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpã, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tozzlan, 7	
Yxmatlaslan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Tetrutlan
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlã	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michelan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

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OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[a]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
114 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[b]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
651 may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[c]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[a] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[b] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Culhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacospan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Oxititlan, and Tuchtepec.

[c] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[a] 632 651 [23]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[b]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[c]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula,* and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino.* Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huixtlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[a] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE,* 5: 2).

[b] *PNE,* 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[c] *PNE,* 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 197 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the [128] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlã, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcã, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlã, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

32. Yoaltepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified. 635 114

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names: [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalã (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayã (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[28] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[29] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[30] 632 131

[28] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Moctezuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[29] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[30] *PNE*, 1: 84, 6.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y exentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tuapeoc and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Tautla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

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651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]

[316 263 253] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and [146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not [28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos peses y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mixtepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted - Analyst]

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[18] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[19]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal [316
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[20] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[18] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dixeron los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[19] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[20] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Cuauxaca."

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in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atlatlaucca was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[70] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Coayxtlahuacan was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[71]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[70] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llamasan 'calpisques' ... hacian 'rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[71] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauaca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

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632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[a]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[b]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[c]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[d]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilxóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotitlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[a] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco passaua bastimentos."

[b] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que compravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[c] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Moteççuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Moteççuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[d] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de [illegible]."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac[1] [358]

38. Petlacalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matrícula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [28]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tencacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Teçechpân	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yoçico

[1] San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.E. (*1*).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 An extensive zone to the south of Lake Chalco is rendered uninhabit-
[133 able by the lava flow, or "Pedregal," emitted by the Ajusco Mountains,
311] which form the valley rim. If any small settlements existed in this area, their tribute was probably reckoned as a part of that collected from some major town in the region of Xochimilco or Tepoztlan.

Auchpanco is identified by Acosta with Ayapango.

Colhuacacinco,[8] later San Cristobal, lay on the shore of Lake Xaltocan, east of Tzonpanco (2).

Olac is a barrio of Xochimilco.[9]

632 *Petlacalcatl* is the inscription under the glyph of a house made of
114 grass mats, in the *Mendocino*. It occupies the usual place of the cabecera in the manuscript, and like all the other towns was originally followed by the word "pu[ebl]o." A later hand has struck this out and has replaced it with the word "gobernador," perhaps under the influence of the double (and doubtful) annotation about "Acolhuacã" and "Acolmecatl calpixqui" (tribute collector) which heads Acolhuacan Province.

That something is wrong is evident from the form of the original annotation. It is probably a place glyph, but the annotation takes the form of a personal glyph. I have chosen to read it as Petlacalco. The result is the same, for the Petlacalcatl, on the facing *Mendocino* page, was a head tribute collector, and the Petlacalco[10] was the "audiencia" building in the Tenochtitlan palace, which also housed a majordomo in charge of the granaries.[11]

632 *Tezcacoac*[12] is a barrio of Tepotzotlan, and consequently we should judge that it lay north of Tecoloapan (7).

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[8] Located after the printing of the map, "dieta del pueblo de Tiçayuca vna legua hazia el sueste" (*PNE*, 3: 44 and n. 2).

[9] Olaguibel, *Onomatologia del estado de México* (1894), p. 96.

[10] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], I: 166.

[11] *Ibid.*, II: 311.

[12] Located after the printing of the map; it is mentioned in the Ayer "Fragment of a Village Book," and, as Tezcacoac, in García Cubas' *Diccionario*.

121 included the problems which this study addresses: it begins with the principles which governed the social life of the Tenochca community in its historical context without discussing if this was the result of divergent, convergent or internal evolution, or of degeneration, or of acculturation, etc.

The problems treated here can be traced in the following terms:

a) To elucidate if there were clans among the inhabitants of Mexico Tenochtitlan just before the arrival of the Spanish, and if in the affirmative, what type they were.

b) To elucidate if at this time there existed any deep social stratification among them and what were its characteristics. /p. 11/

c) To elucidate if, about the time of the arrival of the Spanish, their social relations were molded by one or other of these previously mentioned factors, or by neither of them (5).

5. To elucidate the type of government—as a manifestation and proof of the existence of a determined type of society among the Tenochcas—is undoubtedly a problem which can be resolved on its own after knowing the basic social organization. It is not attempted in this study except in so far as it helps resolve the other problems.

114 Regarding these problems, the opinions of investigators—although they may not have outlined them exactly in the same terms—have been divided into two camps which make completely different affirmations and neither of which by itself explains the characteristics which we know the Tenochcas had. Some authors—among whom are those who actually initiated the discussion of this subject—like Bandelier (6) and Lehman (7), considered essentially that, in the

6. Bandelier, 1878, 1, 11.

7. Lehman, W., 1909, p. 107, 108.

period to which we refer, the Tenochcas "still" had a gentile organization, putting a great stress on the existence of the calpullis which they considered equalitarian exogamous clans. Other authors such as Moreno (8), Caso, (9), Kroeber (10), White (11), Toscano (12), etc.,

114

8. Moreno, Manuel M., 1931, p. 14 ff.

9. Caso, Alfonso, 1942, p. 156; 1946, various lectures.

10. Kroeber, A. L., 1923, p. 359.

11. White, L., 1940, p. 33.

12. Toscano, S., 1946, p. 779.

are opposed to discerning such features in the Tenochca society and have tried, in special studies or in a few lines, to demonstrate the falseness of this point of view, maintaining that the Tenochcas of this period no longer had a gentile society, placing great emphasis on the existence of their social classes, their organized commerce, their wars of conquest, etc., and consider that the calpulli was simply a territorial division or whatever, but not a clan.

These two positions in a certain way complement each other, but really exclude each other in the form in which they have been presented, it not being possible simply to bring them together in order to have an idea of what was going on in the Valley of Mexico up to the time of the arrival of the Spanish—as some other authors have done, who actually sustain a third position, such as Vaillant (13),

13. Vaillant, G.C., 1941, p. 108 ff.

Thompson (14), Murdock (15), and in a certain respect, Acosta (16),

14. Thompson, J.E., 1933, pp. 105, 119.

15. Murdock, G.P., 1934, pp. 372, 373.

16. Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.

who present /p. 12/ the Tenochca society as having, at one and the same time, exogamous clans and marked social classes both with equal or very similar importance, or with exogamous clans in transition through internal evolution to a society with social classes.

Most remarkable is that all these investigators have arrived at such different conclusions working approximately with the same facts and

114 consulting the same sources. So much so that one of them, Bandelier, the leader of those who hold that the Tenochcas had exogamous clans, during a long period held the opposite point of view (17) and only

17. Bandelier, in White, L., 1940, 1, Introduction.

after many arduous discussions with Morgan came to change his stand, contributing, nevertheless, a great number of arguments for both positions.

In order to understand this situation it is necessary to follow, at least in a general fashion, the process of the discussion which at first sight appears to revolve about the use of certain terms. The discussion was initiated by Bandelier (18), but actually it was not he who

18. From a scientific point of view there is no need to take into account the feudalistic conception of the conquerors, although we have necessarily to avail ourselves of their data.

outlines the problem of elucidating the bases of the social organization of the Tenochcas, but rather Morgan, and it is to him that we have to go in order to understand the origin and the development of all these positions. Morgan, among other things of various value, made the discovery that social forms could be ordered in an evolutionary line, and that in doing this, one could see a correlation between the characteristics of inventions and discoveries and human institutions; there appearing in the course of human history two successive plans of organization: one based on the personal relations of kinship ("societas") and the other based on territory and property (19) ("civitas").

19. Morgan, L. H., 1877, p. 54, etc.

Although even before Morgan's work there was talk of the difference between bonds originating in kinship and those originating in territorial situation (20), actually it was Morgan who gave meaning to

20. Maine, 1861, cited by Lowie, R. H., 1937.

this distinction, making evident the great difference between

114 communities based on kinship through common descent and communities based on territorial division and land ownership; as well as the different position on the scale of human evolution which one or other base will bring about. Morgan proposed an evolutionary scheme of all human societies including in it societies with matrilineal exogamous customs /p. 13/ as a first evolutionary stage, societies with patrilineal exogamous customs as a later evolutionary stage, societies clearly based on the ownership of land and on territorial division as a stage even higher, and societies which he considered to be in transition between these steps of a unilinear evolution (21). Although Morgan

21. Morgan, L. H., 451, 452, 333, 334, etc.

was not the first person to speak of societies with exogamous customs, since they were already known from an earlier date (22), it was Morgan

22. Latham, 1859; Bachofen, 1861, cited by Engels, 1891, and by Lowie, 1937.

who was first to attempt to systematize them as special forms of social organization based on kinship through common descent, and to give an explanation of their origin and of their evolution from a society based on the systematization of sexual relationships up until the society based on ownership of land and territorial distribution appears, at the same time trying to demonstrate that there is an intimate relationship between the various aspects of culture which each evolutionary period evinced. At the same time Morgan affirmed that humanity shunned incest and that for that reason one could not expect to find groups with endogamous customs (as some authors thought (23)) which according to

23. MacLennen, 1886, cited by Engels, 1891, and by Lowie, 1937; Lubbock, 1884, pp. 93, 135 ff.; Giraud Teion, 1874, cited by Engels, 1891.

his theory had disappeared quite at the beginning of social evolution.

Morgan's well-ordered scheme with two fundamental types of human societies, one based on kinship through common descent ("societas") with matrilineal or patrilineal clans, the other based on territorial division and on the ownership of land ("civitas"), was widely accepted by many investigators since actually it introduced for the first time the

114 systematization of very extensive data whose evolutionary significance nobody had attempted to see as a whole. It was a scheme that was taken almost without modifications by some investigators, which is precisely that happened with those who studied the society of the Tenochcas, resulting that while some maintained that it was a community of the "societas" type, that is, that it was based on kinship through common descent (24), other authors maintained that it was a

24. Bandelier, 1878, p. 599 ff.; Lehmann, 1909, etc.

community of the "civitas" type, (25) that is, based on territory and

25. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 16, 82, etc.

property (26), or that it was in transition between the two extremes

26. White, L., 1940, p. 33, 35, etc.

(27), according to the emphasis which they saw in the data and which

27. Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.

convinced them in one or the other of these two directions.

/p. 14/ In fact the discovery that social forms could be ordered in an evolutionary sense can be considered as a definite advance in the social sciences, accepted by the majority of schools although conceived in a way which differs from the typically Morganist (28). The

28. Lowie, R.H., 1946, p. 240; Schmidt, W., 1939, pp. 11, 12; McIver, 1937, p. 485, etc.

same can be said of the existence of two fundamentally different types of societies (29). But it must be accepted that some of Morgan's

29. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 1; Radin, P., 1931, p. 1, etc.

affirmations—which were made with relatively meagre data and in a first attempt to embrace all knowledge about human societies—have been, in the course of new studies, considered inexact, as surely they

•114 are, and that there are new theoretical acquisitions and new discoveries which surely ought to be taken into account in order to understand the basic social organization which the Tenochcas had at the time of the arrival of the Spanish.

Perhaps among the more important modifications to Morgan's work is the acceptance that the scheme of unilinear evolution of human society—which had been rejected from the beginning by investigations in this field (30)—is certainly outmoded now (31), and we

30. Maine, 1861, loc. cit.

31. Schmidt, W., 1939, p. 11; McIver, 1937, p. 485; Lowie, R.H., 1937, p. 59; Kirchhoff, P., 1941, p. 1, etc.

should think of the possibility of evolutionary radiation, of internal evolution, acculturation, degeneration, etc., in order to establish a correct scheme (31a).

31a. Sorokin makes a good criticism of the classical evolutionary theories, in: Dinamique Socio-culturelle et Evolutionisme: in: Sociologie au XXme siècle, Paris, 1947.

Another of the important additions to Morgan's work is that of Engels who, accepting Morgan's scheme, stressed that in reality the differences between the types of communities "societas" and "civitas" were based rather upon the fact that the first had their basis in the systematization of sexual production, that is, in reproduction ("gentiles"), while the second were based in the production of objects, which is to say, economic production ("politicas") (32). This is a

32. Engels, F., 1891, pp. 5, 6.

very important addition, although this author and those that followed him in his ideas also accepted the Morganist idea that societies based on kinship could only be unilateral and exogamous, and that, in general terms, social evolution was unilinear. Some authors

114 criticized Engels' manner of viewing social evolution and his introducing phenomena of sexual relationship as the basis for one type of society; they made /p. 15/ systematicizations of the social organization of humanity considering that everything could be explained through economic production (32a). But it appears that this is a

32a. Cunow, 1926.

theoretical regression surpassed by Engels himself (33) upon dealing

33. Before Engels and other investigators of his mind accepted the systematization proposed by Morgan, Karl Marx had proposed a systematization of human societies into four types: Asiatic, Ancient, Feudal and Modern, basing his opinion principally on the characteristics of economic production (Marx, K., 1859, p. 11). From this point of view Marx studied Modern Society (the capitalistic one) thoroughly, and recently Wittfogel has done the same regarding Asiatic Society, which he prefers to call Oriental (Wittfogel, K. A., 1928).

with societies relatively or really primitive.

Another important modification to Morgan's work deals with the fact that the most primitive societies, still extant in the modern era, present a more simple organization than the clan organization, with extended families [macro-familias], frequently with monogamy without traces of promiscuity or group-marriage (34). Relative to this,

34. Krause, F., 1932, p. 182; Schmidt, W., 1922, p. 142 ff.

Morgan's assertion that the Kamilaroi and the Hawaiians (and groups like these) represent the same social situation, and the most ancient form of organization (35), could not be considered acceptable, groups

35. Lowie, R. H., 1937, p. 75.

having been encountered surely more primitive, and with great differences among these.

114 In addition the supposed evolution from matrilineal clans to patrilineal could not be proved, since appearing as distinct complexes, although related, in concrete cases it was evident that they could not be successive (36). Furthermore it was seen that some of

36. Lowie, R. H., 1937, p. 78.

the groups which Morgan considered in transition from matrilineal customs to patrilineal customs and others with matrilineal customs, exhibited in many aspects a notable superiority relative to those who had patrilineal customs (and towards which the former would be evolving); which was inexplicable in its systematic appearance, if one accepted the succession from matrilineal clans to patrilineal as a requisite step of general evolution (37).

37. Krause, R., 1932, p. 196; McIver, 1937, p. 486; Kirchhoff, P., 1944, pp. 8, 9.

With respect to the modifications to Morgan's ideas about the types of clans, there is a very complex situation. For the reasons given, the majority of the investigators connected intimately with ethnography among tribes of primitive culture abandoned Morgan's ideas almost in their entirety, and accepted explicitly only his systematization of kinship terminology. Nevertheless, they are possibly under the /p. 16/ influence of Morgan, in accepting the distinction between a type of society based on kinship through common descent and another based on ownership of land and territorial distribution. And above all it is certain that they are under the influence of Morgan in accepting, in general terms, that the only organisms possible with a base in kinship through common descent must be unilateral, an idea which is very common among anthropologists (38), although even

38. Goldenweiser, 1937, p. 304; Lowie, R. H., 1934, p. 254; Kroeber, A. L., 1923, pp. 357, 358; White, L., 1940, p. 29; etc.

before Morgan's work one spoke of endogamous groups (see footnote 23 of this chapter) which had many similarities with clans and which appear to be based on kinship but are not exogamous. Nevertheless,

114 in this respect there is a study which makes a contribution of great importance to the ideas of Morgan and which can be accepted without abandoning an evolutionary stand and accepting that the bases of social organization are sexual production and economic production in the various stages of history. This is the discovery of P. Kirchhoff that there have been no strictly endogamous groups as these authors thought (39), but that on the other hand there indeed are groups based

39. Besides the authors cited in footnote 23, Watterman (1917, p. 273) thinks of the possibility of the Tenochca calpulli's being an endogamous clan, without this signifying a very special structure; and Linton (1943, pp. 238, 239) speaks also of exogamous and endogamous clans, the latter with interest in property and privilege.

on kinship through common descent, which, contrariwise to what Morgan thought, are neither unilateral nor exogamous, but are ambilateral and have an endogamous tendency (40). The clan, accord-

40. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 6, 8, ff.

ing to these ideas is essentially an organism based on kinship through common descent, and not on unilaterality and exogamy. The clan can be defined thus as: (1) a group of persons, (2) organized in a permanent form, (3) to which one belongs through real or supposed descent and exceptionally through adoption, (4) which regulates marriage relationships and—the author would add—(5) which determines other social relationships wherever present. In accord with point (3) of this definition one can classify clans into two types: unilateral, if the members of the group trace their kinship by common descent only through the father (patrilineal) or only through the mother (matrilineal); and ambilateral if the members of the group trace the closeness of their kinship to their antecedents through individuals of either sex. With point (4) of the definition of a clan, clans can be classified as exogamous, if the prohibition of contracting marriage among themselves exists for the members of the clan, and /p. 17/ non-exogamous or with an endogamous tendency if there is the tendency to contract marriages within the same clan. These latter could be called endogamous if they evinced a strict endogamy such as the exogamy of the exogamous type clans—but the presence only of an

114 endogamous tendency has made the author of this classification (Kirchhoff, P.) prefer this denomination. It has been found that the clans called unilateral in general are exogamous, and that in turn, the ambilateral clans are non-exogamous, so that the terms can be used almost interchangeably. Moreover, exogamous clans occur in fairly equalitarian societies, like that of the Iroquois, while clans with an endogamous tendency present a marked social stratification, which stems from the formative principle of a clan of this type: the proximity of each member of the clan to the common ancestor, which results in a gamut of ranks within each clan, and even within the context of the tribe where the situation is reproduced. Then again Kirchhoff gives the name of clans also to non-exogamous and ambilateral groups—although the term does not have this generalized use—for very possibly the groups which gave the name of clan to social organisms based on kinship through common descent—as also those which are called sibs or Sippe—were, paradoxically, ambilateral and had an endogamous tendency. In accord with point (5) of the definition of clan, we could say only that if the groups of relatives through common descent are of importance in a community, we should speak of clans, and if not, then of their remains, of their vestiges, etc.

Also with respect to the characteristics which social strata show there have been some modifications of importance, which do not contradict the basic position of Morgan and Engels about the existence of social evolution and about the consanguineal or economic bases of social organization. They are additions which were not taken into account upon undertaking other studies about the social organization of the Tenochcas. Principally they consist of the delimitation of three phenomena: social class, rank [estamento] and caste. In some societies with a certain social evolution, ranks [estamentos hereafter "ranks". Translator.] are present, which are social strata composed of persons of a community with a similar social and economic position who are not related to each other, but who belong to their stratum through inheritance, and because of which these societies show little interrank [interestamental] mobility (41). In other very advanced

41. Mombert, P., 1944.

societies the social strata are veritable social classes: oppositional

114 strata of a community whose social role is determined by /p. 18/ the possession of basically different, but complementary means of production, such as land, tools or simply personal working capacity (42),

42. Marx, K., 1909, p. 1034.

and in which there is great interclass mobility (43). There are other

43. Mombert, P., 1944.

121 societies which evince castes. As we lack a definition of caste in terms of kinship and economy (since they are at times considered like clans but tentatively endogamous (44), it is proposed here, also

44. Forde, D., 1934, p. 273; Kroeber, A.L., 1944.

tentatively, to put forward such a definition; a caste being (1) a subdivision of a society, (2) with a strong endogamous tendency (3) to which one belongs by birth, (4) which automatically determines the rank of all the members of the society, and (5) which determines every individual's role in the social division of labor (45).

45. This is a definition tentatively arrived at through conversations with Dr. P. Kirchhoff.

In this work it has been the author's intention only to elucidate whether the social organization of the Tenochcas was rooted in phenomena of kinship through common descent, in light of earlier theoretical attainments, in order to attempt to explain its function and its place within the undeniable social evolution of humanity. Outside of this work has remained the discussion of social relations rising directly from economic production, as are commerce (46), slavery (47), and

46. In this respect there is a most interesting work of Acosta Saignes, The Pochtecas [Los Pocheteca], (1945), and his thesis on the same subject.

47. See the work of Bosch, Carbs: Prehispanic Slavery among the Aztecs [La Esclavitud Prehispánica entre los Aztecas] (1945).

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 174 arrived at the town called Tula, quite diminished in numbers on account of the divisions that had taken place. There they remained some time, replenishing their provisions and increasing their number, living in a cerro called Cohuatepec, that is to say, the snake-mountain. Here, in dreams, their idol ordered his priests to deflect the water of a very full river that flowed through that region so that it might spread over the whole valley and then be brought to the middle of the mountain on which they were living, for he wished to show them the appearance of the land he had promised them. They constructed the dyke and the water spread out and extended over the whole valley, turning it into a very beautiful lagoon lined with willows, poplars, and sabines. In the lagoon grew many rushes and reeds, and on that account the place was called Tula, meaning the-place-of-the-rushes (*junca*) or reeds (*espadaña*).

"The place soon abounded in fish and waterfowl, such as ducks, herons, *gallareta* [coots], with which, together with many other species of birds, the entire lagoon seemed to be completely covered. And to the present day the lagoon of Mexico abounds in these animals.[5] The place was thickly covered with rushes (*carrizales*) and marine flowers, and inhabited by differently colored thrushes, some red, others yellow, which were accustomed to gather at the place and which harmonized with the songbirds in the trees, of which there were quite a number; all this making the place delightful and pleasant, and as such it was painted in their books.

"The Mexicans, quite oblivious to what their idol had told them, namely that this place was merely an imitation and pattern of the land they were to be given, stayed in this delightful place (a long time) and began to feel that it was quite satisfactory, some even saying that they desired to stay there permanently, and that this was really the place selected by their god Huitzilopochtli; that it was from that place that they were to follow their desires, being the rulers of the four parts of the world, etc.

"Their idol, seeing this, waxed so angry that he said to the priests, 'Who are these who thus wish to transgress and put obstacles in the way of my orders and commands? Are they perhaps greater than my-

[114] [5] The *Crónica Mexicana* of Alvarado Tezozomoc (1598), another of this group of closely similar histories, is more explicit about these animals, listing frogs, *axolotl*, *camarón*, *axayácatl*, *izcauitli* and *tecuitlatl*, and adds that the Mexicans regarded the red *izcauitli* (identified above as Ephydridae, but possibly Chironomidae in this context) as the body and blood of the war god Huitzilopochtli (Orozco y Berra's edition, 1878, p. 228). A more probable explanation of the attribution of red color to *izcauitli* is that some one, not necessarily Tezozomoc, confused the Nahuatl words *iztatl*, salt, and *eztli*, blood.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

648 reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

346 782 266 I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

797 Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting [114] that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

ON THE

ART OF WAR AND MODE OF WARFARE

OF THE

ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By AD. F. BANDELIER.

114 Not only the history of Ancient Mexico, but the true condition and degree of culture of its aboriginal inhabitants, are yet but imperfectly known. Nearly all architectural remains have disappeared; the descendants of the former aborigines have modified their plan of life, and we are almost exclusively reduced, for our knowledge of Mexican antiquities, to the printed and written testimony of those who saw Indian society at Mexico either at the time of, or not too long after, its downfall. But these authors, whether eye-witnesses of the conquest, like Cortés, Bernal Diez del Castillo, Andres de Tapia, and others; or missionaries sent to New Spain at an early date,—as Toribio of Benavent (Motolinia), Sahagun or (towards the close of the 16th, or beginning of the 17th century) Acosta, Davila, Mendieta, and Torquemada,—they are sometimes, on many questions, in direct opposition to each other. Thus the uncertainty is still increased, and the most difficult critical labor heaped upon the student. Furthermore, to magnify the task, we are placed in presence of several Indian writers of the 16th and 17th centuries (like Duran, Tezozomoc, and Ixtlilxochitl), who disagree with each other on the most important questions, quite as much as the Spanish authors themselves.

114 It may appear presumptuous, while knowing of the existence of
121 such difficulties, to attempt the description of even a single feature of life of Mexico's former Indian Society. Still, while engaged upon translating the Mexican chronicle of Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc into the English language, I was so struck by the picture which, unintentionally perhaps, that author exhibits of the condition and organization of the Mexican tribe, that I could not refrain from investigating more closely several features

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 121 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

[101] [1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Mexitis* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar, Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1613), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 88 and 98, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

[173] [3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóztoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Teoculuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 8.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (See "Hi-"storie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hacklyt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."

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We have not the slightest reliable indication concerning the *strength* and numbers of that force.[11] This point is as vague and indefinite as the number of the population of the pueblo itself. Both, being closely connected, suffer from the same contradictions and exaggerations.[12] It is true that a "guard" of 10,000 men is mentioned as having occupied always the square of the main temple ("teocalli").[13] But, aside from the grossly exaggerated numbers, "guards," in the sense of a military body doing permanent duty, were unknown to the Mexicans.[14] The scanty mention of a body guard of Montezuma appears an imaginary tale if we look for its presence where and when it should have been most conspicuous: at the meeting of Montezuma and Cortés on the causeway,[15] and when Cortés carried that chieftain away from his house as a hostage. It is an established fact, that only unarmed Indians met Cortés on his entrance to Mexico, and it is equally positive, that no "guard" came to Montezuma's rescue.

stores in sufficient quantities for such a purpose. Within the pueblo of Mexico there was no need of being armed, and therefore every Mexican went unarmed in the pueblo. The "guards" of which Gomara and Bernal-Diez both speak, never existed. See Gomara ("En la ciudad nadie trae armas, ..." p. 345, vol. I, Vedia).

[11] Not even Bernal-Diez contains a statement. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," Relacion XIIIa. in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, "De la venida de los Españoles," translated also into the French by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, and published under the title of "Cruautés Horribles des conquérants du Mexique," in the first series of his inestimable collection of translations) says: "the Mexicans lost over 240,000 men" during the siege of Mexico. The only reasonable approximate I found in Durán (Hist. de las Indias, etc., cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288). Before the Mexicans (including Tezcuco and Tlacopan and the others of the valley) set out against Michhuacan, in 1479, they counted their forces and found 24,000 men ("allaron que auia veinte y cuatro mil combatientes"). This is possible.

[12] The population of Mexico is variously reported. The extremes are: 60,000 *souls* ("sessanta mila habitatori") of the "Anonymous Conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Icazbalceta. Vol. I, p. 391), and 60,000 *families*.

[13] The length of the walls of that square was "one cross-bow shot," after Gomara. How could 10,000 men remain there always, besides the priests and their numerous assistants?

[14] "Guardas" are mentioned by Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva-España" in vol. II, of Sr. Vedia's collection, cap. XCV); by Gomara (p. 347 of vol. I, Vedia). Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. VI, p. 544, vol. II), and others. But Cortés and Andrés de Tapia make no mention of them.

[15] Three eye-witnesses of that celebrated meeting have described it: Cortés ("Cartas de Relacion," in Vedia, I, "Carta Segunda," p. 23). Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 87), and Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tapia, sobre la conquista de Mexico," in vol. II, of Icazbalceta's Col. de Documentos, p. 578). Neither of them would have omitted to notice armed men among the Indians, had there been any with Montezuma.

The Mexicans, on their part, could not have failed to make an ostentatious display of armed soldiery, had they existed, when they met the armed strangers at the entrance to the pueblo.

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Almost insensibly we have here abandoned the field of the armament of the Mexicans, entering, nay, trespassing, upon that of their *military organization*. 701

This organization is but imperfectly known to us. Still, its knowledge is of the highest importance, since, with a tribe as essentially warlike as the Mexicans, military institutions are often blended with those of civil life, and we may presume that the same principle pervades both; that the degree of development of the one gives a clue to that of the other. According as we picture to ourselves the condition of ancient Mexican society, we shall view and judge their military organization.

All the older authors upon Mexico; and they have been implicitly followed by the great mass of subsequent writers, describe to us a Mexican empire, with an hereditary nobility and an *elective* despot at its head. This autocrat was not only absolute civil chief, he was also Judge and military commander. He declared peace and war, directed the forces, he nominated and deposed officers at his pleasure. Some restraints are allowed, occasionally, to have existed, upon such a power analogous only to that of the despots of Asia, but even the most distinguished writers of *modern* times have unhesitatingly accepted the picture of an absolute Indian monarchy in Mexico.[69] 114

Still this picture, however tempting and fascinating, to imagination especially, has not always satisfied the student's mind. Without placing much stress on the clumsy attacks of James Adair[70] upon the Spanish authors on Mexico, or on De Pauw's injudicious "Researches,"[71] we meet, however, with an earnest and careful criticism in Robertson's classical work. While the great

[69] A. de Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," 1825, Lib. II, chap. VI, p. 374, "Leur systeme de féodalité, leur hiérarchie civile et militaire se trouvant dés "lors si compliquées, qu'il faut supposer une longue suite, d'évènements politiques pour "que l'enchainement singulier des autorités de la noblesse et du clergé ait pu s'établir; "et pour qu'une petite portion du peuple, esclave elle-même du sultan Méxicain, ait "pu subjuguer la grande masse de la nation"). W. H. Prescott ("History of the Con"quest of Mexico," Book I, chapter II, p. 22: Book II, chapter VI, p. 312). Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale"), and H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States"). I quote but the most prominent writers on Mexico of this (19th) century.

[70] James Adair ("History of the American Indians," London, 1775).

[71] "Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains," a very injudicious book, which, by its extravagance and audacity, created a great deal of harm. It permitted Clavigero to attack even Robertson, because the latter had also applied sound criticism to the study of American aboriginal history, and by artfully placing both as upon the same platform, to counteract much of the good effects of Robertson's work.

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114 historian admits and acknowledges whatever appears to him as true and sound in the works of his predecessors, he still takes a different view of the condition of the Mexican aborigines, and indicates, so to say, an entirely new path.[72] It has been the work of the distinguished American ethnologist, Lewis H. Morgan, to open this path fully.[73]

But whereas it is very easy and plain to trace the institutions of the aborigines where they are still in vigor, it is extremely difficult to obtain anything like a clear conception thereof in Mexico, since, as we have already stated, those institutions are gone like their architectural remains, and the other sources for a knowledge thereof are often diffuse, and conflicting in their accounts. Moreover, all the older authorities on Spanish America are under the influence of eastern (European or Asiatic) ideas, whatever appeared to them strange or new in America they compared with what they thought might be analogous to it among nations of the Old World.[74] What, in their first process of thinking was merely a *comparative* became very soon a *positive*, *terminology*, for the

[72] "History of America" (9th edition, 1800. Vol. III, book VII, p. 274). "The Mexi-"cans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the useful metals, or the aid of domestic "animals, laboured under disadvantages which must have greatly retarded their pro-"gress, and in their highest state of improvement their power was so limited, and their "operations so feeble, that they can hardly be considered as having advanced beyond "the infancy of civil life." If the first part of this quotation is evidently incorrect, since the Mexicans used copper, silver, and gold, even tin, perhaps, and the Peruvians made alloys;—the latter portion of it is undoubtedly true. He further sustains it by the following remark (Id. p. 281): "The infancy of nations is so long, and, even when every "circumstance is favourable to their progress, they advance so slowly towards any "maturity of strength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans seems to be a "strong presumption of some exaggeration, in the splendid descriptions which have "been given of their government and manners." Notwithstanding those very clear and judicious remarks, Robertson has, though reluctantly, bowed to the admission of feudalism, and of feudal monarchy in Mexico (Id. p. 292).

[73] See "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family." Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Chapter VI, p. 468, "The communal family." Also, "Mon-"tezuma's Dinner," in the "North American Review," April, 1876. The learned author has made a bold stroke for the establishment of American ethnology on a new basis.

[74] "Montezuma's Dinner," p. 267. "All the grand terminology of the Old World, "created under despotic and monarchical institutions during several thousand years "of civilization, to decorate particular men and classes of men, has been lavished by "our author with American prodigality upon plain Indian sachems and war-chiefs, "without perceiving that thereby the poor Indian was grievously wronged, for he had "not invented such institutions nor formed such a society as these terms imply." Mr. Morgan, to whose kindness and friendly protection I am so largely indebted, will not misunderstand it if I say here, that while his criticism of the current of ideas running through all the sources in ancient Mexico appears to me the most true and logical one, his remarks upon the writers themselves are not always justified. This observation, from one whom he has honored by becoming his guide and teacher, will, we trust, be regarded in a kindly spirit.

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purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminology never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[73] 114

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sections, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of 174 619 701

[73] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II, p. 141), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads." [143]

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh." Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatiluico, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God), "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *wards* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa María la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatiluico became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545) " . . . . y asi estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que son Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

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ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT TO INHERITANCE, AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By Ad. F. Bandelier.

In a previous paper we have endeavored to describe the warlike customs and organization of the Mexican tribe.[1] Our conclusions in regard to them are somewhat at variance with those generally adopted, since, instead of the military despotism which heretofore has been admitted as existing in ancient Mexico, we found but the military democracy peculiar to a warlike tribe.[2] It is our purpose now to investigate how far the Mexicans may have progressed in their notions about the tenure and distribution of the soil.

The picture which nearly all the authors, ancient as well as modern, trace of the condition of aboriginal Mexico is that of a feudal monarchy.[3] This alone should fix permanently the mode of landed tenure. It implies also the notion of abstract ownership, and thus indicates a high state of culture. But we have already

[1] "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans," in 10th Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology.

[2] "Art of War, etc., etc., of the Ancient Mexicans," pp. 113, 134, 115, to 137 inclusive, especially the notes. See also "Ancient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan. (N. York, 1877.) Part II, chapter VII, "The Aztec Confederacy," pp. 198–214 inclusive.

[3] The first information tending to represent the condition of Mexico as a feudal state was probably furnished by Cortés; or through his expedition at least. The reports of the preceding voyage of Grijalva (1518) contain no positive statements. On the other hand the certificate issued by Cortés (probably about the 20 May, 1519, or 20 days after his landing at Ulua), to the chiefs of Axapasco and Tepeyahualco, already speaks of "the great Montezuma, which resides in this great city of Tenochtitlán and all its provinces." We have not Cortés' first letter to the emperor, but in his second report, 30 Oct., 1520, he mentions "a great Lord called Mutezuma." (Vedia, "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vol. I. Carta Segunda, pp. 12 and 13.) The same dispatch contains a number of details on Montezuma's power, from which a feudal empire was necessarily construed as far last. (p. 33): "There are in this great city many very large and fine houses, the owner of it being that all the *Lords of the land, vassals of the said Mutezuma*, have their houses in that city . . . . ." "What has been ascertained is: that his sovereignty was almost as large as Spain . . ." (p. 34.) Gomara, who published his "Conquista de Méjico", in 1552, already mentions "thirty lords of one-hundred-thousand vassals each, and three-thousand lords of places." (Vedia I, p. 245. "Corte y guarda de Motezuma.") Oviedo ("Historia general y natural de Indias," Vol. III, Lib.

[See H. Bandelier, this file.--Analyst]

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114 seen that the institutions of the Mexicans were democratic and not monarchical, that their chiefs and leaders filled elective, and in no case hereditary positions.[4] This latter fact whose final discussion we reserve for another occasion, speaks strongly against the existence of privileged classes, based upon territory and landed property; therefore it also militates against feudality itself.

121 Still we cannot permit ourselves to become prejudiced by such indications, against the views generally accepted. They merely warn us of the *difficulties of our task*. These difficulties are greater yet than those against which we contended in our first essay. The military life of the Mexicans has furnished the bulk of their history, and through it a number of facts, by which the former could be almost restored. The question of distribution of the soil, however, apparently relates to *customs* only; broken up and to a great extent obliterated centuries ago. Nevertheless, accessory facts, and especially a merely cursory review of the history of the Mexican tribe, may enable us yet to form an idea of these customs. The Mexican rules of inheritance are in direct connection with them also, and lastly, the *acts of the Spaniards* during the first times after the conquest, when they more or less suddenly overturned the ancient order of things, should bring to light many forgotten features of aboriginal tenure and distribution of the soil.

Having thus sketched the programme — so to say — of our work, we have yet to offer two explanations ere we proceed to enter upon the discussion proper, itself.

In the first place: by "accessory facts," we refer to the *social organization* of the Mexicans in particular. It is inseparable from

[672] XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 566) again speaks of "more than three thousand lords his subjects, each one of many vassals, and each held his principal dwelling in Tenistitan, residing there certain months each year." The author, a friend of Columbus, and personally acquainted with all the eminent men of the conquest, resided at the West Indies and Nicaragua until 1556 (his stay though interrupted by at least six voyages to Spain and back), was one of the most cautious and best situated of the old chroniclers. But the chief originator of the feudal view is Fernando de Alva Ixtilixochitl, a half breed of Tezcuco, and belonging to the kin of that tribe's chieftains. He wrote about the year 1600, and both of his works, the "Relaciones historicas," and the "Historia de los Chichimecas ó reyes antiguos de Tescuco," present, it should not be denied, a picture of logical development of feudal institutions on Mexican soil. Torquemada of course concurs. We hope to be able to investigate, elsewhere, the claims of Ixtilixochitl to the rank of a reliable source. Fairness, however, compels us here to mention the above authors, as the mainstays of current opinion.

[4] "Art of War," etc., pp. 96, 136 and 161.

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landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the [121
course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient [128
Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on Amer- [114
ican topics,—the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . ."[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal [173
history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit of definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by [174
sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes,—that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 83. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of [114
Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 22 May, 1558, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 955 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh," Introduction, page CXI). Clavigero's Chronology begins 596 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2237 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 23), or 1756 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tolantzinco in 667 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 121, of 1st volume). Ixtilixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 12) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 503 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

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174 sometimes associated (or even perhaps *confederated*) against surrounding tribes.[14]

These settlers, who all spoke closely related dialects of the same language as their predecessors the Toltecs, namely: the "Nahuatl" or *good sound*, were: the *Aculhuans or Tezcucans*, the *Tecpanecas*, the *Xochimilcas*, and the *Chalcas*. The first settled on the Eastern shore of the central lagune, the second to the west of it, while the two last-named tribes clustered around the fresh-water basins of the southeast. In this manner the valley was eventually mastered again by sedentary Indians, who held at bay the surrounding savages;—also defending it from neighbors of their own stock who, occupying at the same time contiguous areas placed under different geographical conditions, while their organization and plan of life were similar, and the language but dialectically varied;—still, eventually, became their most inveterate enemies.[15]

114 Although quite a respectable literature has arisen on the subject
174 of the organization, customs and manners of these "Nahuatl" tribes of the valley of Mexico, this literature is much richer in facts purporting to be *historical* than in satisfactory *details* on *that subject itself*. We can but discern among the confusions and contradictions (of older authors particularly)—that the different tribes were democratic societies, based upon consanguine groups as units. Chiefs, *elected by the people*, formed their governments, whose highest authorities were the *councils*. The Tezcucans and Tecpanecans seem to have had each *one*, the Chalcas *two*, *head war-chiefs*, elected for life. In regard to their mode of holding and distributing the soil the most varied statements are given, most of these, however, based upon the assumption of monarchial institutions, and even of a great feudal empire with Tezcuco as its capital. Both of

[14] The reports about a preponderance of certain tribes, such as the Tezcucans or the Tecpanecans, resolve themselves into a result of intertribal relations in the valley of Mexico. We need but consult the writings of Ixtlilxochitl for that purpose. (See "Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XI, XII, XIV, and XVI). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XXXVII, p. 68).

[15] For a history of the different tribes composing the specifically latest immigration of "Nahuatl" stock, we refer to all the older authors on Mexican topics. Those of their kindred who settled outside of the valley were especially the Tlaxcallans. The relations of the latter to the valley-tribes were always rather unfriendly. See Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. IX, p. 226, and 230. Cap. XI, p. 264, and 265). Durán (Cap. II, p. 13). But the continuous wars between Tlaxcallan and the tribes of the valley commenced when the latter began to extend their sway under the leadership of the Mexicans (Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XLI, p. 293). It is corroborated by the statements of the Tlaxcaltecas themselves to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18, Vedia, Vol. I).

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these assumptions are disproved by the facts, related even by such authors as have most contributed towards fixing them upon the public mind as recognized truths.[16] We need hardly say here,

[16] In regard to the Tecpanecas, Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 477): "From this it may be inferred, that among them the King exercised no absolute command and rule, and that he was rather a consul, or Dux, than a king." He further compares the Tecpanecas with the "reges" of ancient Rome (See Morgan's "Ancient Society," Part II, cap. XI, p. 297). The council was supreme among the Tecpanecans. See Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Lord Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. IV, p. 11; also cap. V, p. 12, cap. VI, p. 13, "a esto respondió el rey y senado Tecpaneca: Digéroule: mira atempanecatl (que muy bien le conocian) bien conozco la humillacion y sugecion de los Mexicanos; ya es por demas, porque estan alborotados, y corajudos los Tecpanecas:") Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 64, and 65).

The Xuchimilcas were governed by two chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XVI, p. 23. Durán, cap. XII, p. 104. "Their chiefs, of which there were two, one of the chief-place ("cabecera" rather lineage) of Xuchimilco called Yacaxapotecutli, and the other from the milpa (this is to be interpreted as descendancy), which is called Pachimalcatltecutli, and together with them meeting many principals, said"): a joint meal after communal style is also attributed to them by Tezozomoc (Cap. XVI, p. 26).

The Chalcas also had two chiefs: (Durán, cap. XVI, p. 134, Montezuma Ilhuicamina said to Tlacaelel: "I wish, if thou agreest, to send messengers to Chalco to the chief of Chalco Quateotl and to his companion Toteocitecutli . . . ."—Tezozomoc, cap. XXII, p. 33. Cap. XXIV, p. 36. Confirmed by the action of Cortés after the voluntary surrender of Chalco, when he installed two chiefs. Bernal Diez: cap. CXXXIX, p. 154 and 155, Vedia, II).

With the Tezcucans or Acolhuas there appears always but one head-chief, but it is equally positive that the office, while remaining in a certain kin, was elective still. The fact is interesting and requires close proof. We adduce here, in a general way, Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX. "De la Manera que tuvieron en elegir los señores," p. 318, of 2d Vol.): Durán (Cap. LXIV, p. 496). "Montezuma sent his messengers to Tezcuco, and had all the chiefs of that city and kingdom called to learn from them whom they were inclined to elect . . . ." (p. 497), "the which came, electing for King to Quetzalacoyatzin, Neçaualpilli's son . . . ." Tezozomoc (Cap. CI and CII). Ixtlilxochitl concurs ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. LXXXVI). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 257, 258 and 259), acknowledges that, while the choice was among the *sons* exclusively, there still was a *choice* left, but he contradicts the statements of Juan Bautista Pomar (who wrote about 1582) who says, that this choice extended to the entire *kin* of the deceased head chief. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 153). "Although the Indians of this New Spain inherited the chieftaincy in direct lines, they took great care in ascertaining which one of his sons had to succeed to him." He mentions the succession in the cases of Netzahualcoyotl and of Netzahualpilli, each of whom were respectively followed by what he calls an illegitimate offspring, but whose mother was a *Mexicana* woman. Veytia (Cap. XIV, p. 307). "The council hardly had been informed of the King's death, when it thought proper to elect a successor, after the manner of the Mexicans . . . ." Carlos Maria de Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," Mexico, 1826. Part III, cap. IV, pp. 218, 219 and 220). Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les diffférentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, p. 13). "The order of succession varied according to the provinces, the same custom, with slight differences, prevailing in Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba."

The assumption of a feudal empire at Tezcuco has already been discussed. It was an invention of chroniclers, who had a direct interest, or thought to have one, in advancing the claims of the Tezcuçan tribe to an original supremacy. Tribal jealousy and rivalry, such a powerful ally of the Spaniards during the conquest, continued to subsist where the Spanish domination was fully established.

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114 that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock,
174 speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

174 While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquirans of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340-348).

[648] [18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical.—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

[131] [19] See "Art of War," p. 135. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III. p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time, and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

[226] [20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlaca." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacatl," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Azteca" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.

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NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled, were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe" and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51–63). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

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tribute was gathered by stewards, the only Mexicans permanently 728
residing on Tecpanecan soil, and it was distributed in accordance with the tribal organization: among the calpules for the use of their public households and of their individual members, and to the "tecpan" for the maintenance of the tribal government and business; out of the former, a certain share was reserved for the purpose of religious worship.[56]

This tribute consisted of objects held and acquired by the 651
Tecpanecas through trade, war and their own manufacture. But it also included the products of their *horticulture*. These had to be raised annually either on their own garden-beds, or on a certain expanse reserved in each "calpulli" for the production of tribute. The Tecpanecas having the same system of distribution of the soil as the Mexicans, and the kindred group being the unit of their organization also, the latter method was naturally resorted to. Therefore in each one of the areas held by the calpules of the conquered tribe, a certain plot was set off, to be tilled in common by the members of the kin, for the benefit of their conquerors.

[56] Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 485), that they took all the lands for themselves: "with this, those of Azcapuzalco were left so poor, that they had not even crops of their own." Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79. "They went to Azcaputzalco and seized ('se entregaron') its lands and distributed them among themselves.") Tezozomoc (Cap. IX. p. 16 and 17). It is difficult to connect these and similar statements with the positive facts asserted by Zurita (Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne.") "The sovereign of Mexico had beneath him, in all matters relating to warfare, those of Tacuba and of Tezcuco; in regard to all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them intervened in the government of the others" (p. 11),—by Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 161), and even by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXIV, p. 235), which establish the complete *territorial* independence of the Tecpanecas from the Mexicans; even after their defeat. Durán also says (Cap. IX, p. 77): that the Tecpanecas promised tribute and lands. Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16) confirms, stating that they offered tribute, personal service, and assistance in war. We cannot conciliate these different reports except by admitting that the Tecpanecas submitted to the ordinary manner of Indian conquest, namely: to tribute, to military aid, and for the purpose of tribute, to the reservation of certain tracts whose crops were to go exclusively to the conquerors. Of the latter we have positive proof. See Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 17). Only these authors mention that these tracts went to persons or individuals. But how is this possible, since no individual possession of land appears in Mexico, at the time of the conquest even; as we shall see further on. The tracts in question must, therefore, have been given to such persons as representatives of certain kinships, or "calpules," as Tezozomoc intimates, saying (Cap. XV, p. 21): "and let us distribute the lands among all of us, in order to hold of them some pastime and sustenance for us, our children and heirs." Besides, Durán asserts: that the division took place for the benefit of the chiefs, and of the quarters ("barrios," or calpules), which tends to prove that there were "official lands" and "lands of the kinship" set off for the conquerors on the conquered territory. That a portion of the latter provided for religious purposes, is established by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 485), and by Durán (Cap. IX).

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648 fief, still virtually created,—what his subsequently became in Spanish America,—a *domain* of the Spanish crown. Armed with it, and fully convinced of its validity,[117] the Spaniards regarded at once the soil of Mexico as their king's own, and therefore claimed the right as his agents, to dispose of it through distribution according to their home-laws and customs. But, instead of proclaiming this title at once after the landing, as was done on many other points of the American coast,[118] Cortés found it advisable to delay such a formal declaration until after he had, by his own inspection, satisfied himself of the proper ways and means to secure possession. He quickly found out the disconnected state of the country, although he attributed it to causes which were not really existing,[119] and it is well known how he improved it for his plans. He therefore treated secretly, as much as possible, with members of tribes subjected (or rather tributary) to the Mexicans and their confederates,[120] and in consideration of their espousing the Spanish cause, he promised them sundry favors.[121] The oldest document issued by Europeans on Mexican soil embodies such a negotiation with chiefs of the tribes of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, both pueblos being situated within the valley of Mexico itself.[122] It promises

[117] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 31 and 32). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 108). Mendieta (Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 18-20), and many others. All these authorities can be summed up in Robertson's classical words: "The Pope, as vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth" ("History of America," 8th Edition, 1800. Vol. I, Book II, p. 150). It appears that already Grijalva had, in 1518, taken possession formally of the Mexican coast. (Oviedo, Lib. XVII, cap. XV, p. 525)

[118] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. VII, cap. XIV, pp. 197 and 198). Robertson (Vol. I, Book III, p. 271; also note XXIII, p. 378).

[119] Cortés supposed a Mexican state or empire and his measures were taken in consequence. ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 12). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 313). Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Hist. verd. de la conq. de N. España," Vedia II, pp. 32 and 33). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, pp. 286 and 287), etc. etc.

[120] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 13 and 15). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. XLI, p. 26). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Andrés de Tapia ("Col. de Documentos," of Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 561 and 562). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," Vedia, I, p. 320). But the main evidence is furnished by the document published by Icazbalceta in his second volume of the "Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," in the 2d volume, and entitled: "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, pertenecientes á los Caciques de Axapusco, de la jurisdiccion de Otumba" (pp. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9).

[121] "Real Ejecutoria" (Col. de doc. II, p. 7). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 320). Clavigero (Lib. VIII, cap. XI).

[122] The pueblos of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco are situated along the road leading from the city of Mexico to Tulanzinco, in the state of Mexico proper, northwest of San Juan de Teotihuacan. As the Document to which we have already referred im-

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to those chiefs lands of their own. The grantees had no conception of the true import of what they accepted, neither did Cortés conceive the nature of *their* ideas. It was the object of the Indians

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plies, they were under Spanish rule included in the jurisdiction of Otumba. This document itself requires particular attention. It has been published by Sr. Icazbalceta in the second volume of his documentary collections, and its authenticity has been carefully examined—and, we think, successfully proven—by Sr. José F. Ramirez. Its history is not devoid of interest, and we record it here, partly from the document itself, and partly from the introduction and notes by the late Sr. Ramirez.

114 648 423

On the 9th day of March, 1617, there appeared before the viceroy of New Spain (Marques of Guadalcazar), Leonardo de Salazar "in the name of the governor, alcalde and fiscals" of the pueblo of San Esteban Axapusco and Santiago Tepeyahualco, "of the jurisdiction of Otumba," praying for a confirmation in writing by the viceroy, of a certain grant made by Cortés, and approved by the King and his royal council under seal,—to the aforesaid pueblos. In order to obtain said confirmation it was alleged: that the grant, written on "nine leaves" was so torn and damaged, that it would no longer bear handling,—and that through its loss the inhabitants of said settlements might come to grief. The petition was immediately granted and it was ordained, on the 19 of March 1617, that a copy of the original grant should be executed, and that in such places where the text was torn or obliterated through damage to the originals, common belief or tradition should prevail as far as it related to the contents of the document ("obre la fé que hubiere lugar en derecho"). The desired copy and certificates were accordingly issued on the 21st day of March, 1617.

This copy embodies the mutilated text of a very singular official paper. It appears from it that on the 20th day of May 1519, Cortés executed, in favor of two Indian chiefs of the two aforesaid pueblos, and at their request, a certificate (signed by himself at San Juan de Ulúa on that day and countersigned: Pedro Hernandez), stating that the said chiefs had joined the messengers sent from Mexico to greet and espy Cortés upon his arrival at the coast,—with the intention of approaching him secretly and offering him their assistance in any designs he might have against the Mexicans, whom they said held them severely to tribute. This they achieved, and took allegiance to the crown of Spain. In return Cortés promised to them that "after our journey should be accomplished . . . . . to them should in the first place be made the greatest honor possible in return for so much noble subtility and good-will." He also promised "to make them grandees and Lords of lands where they now have their pueblos." The facts thus alleged were contained in the original document, written consequently about 30 days after the landing of Cortés on the coast of Vera Cruz. But this act itself was included, as a copy, in a further grant, dated 16 December, 1526, in which Cortés acknowledges the services rendered by the two chiefs during the conquest of Mexico, and that after that pueblo had been captured, the said chiefs returned to their tribes "well paid with the booty," relying upon the fulfilment of his original promises. It further states that: six years having elapsed since, and to most of the chiefs who had assisted the Spanish cause, lands had been given, he remembered the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, "and by these presents in the royal name of His majesty gave them four tracts ("cuatro sitios de estancias") . . . . . in the territory of their said pueblos." These lands were freed from all taxes and impositions, and the chiefs and their heirs were invested forever with the lordship and the office of governors ("gobernadores") of the pueblo to which they belonged. This grant of Cortés was confirmed by the Emperor Charles V, and the royal council of the Indies, 2d November, 1537, and on the 9 and 10 February, 1540, the said chieftains were duly installed in their new hereditary positions, and their lands measured off to them.

Doubts were raised as to the genuineness of the document, but these are set aside completely by the fact that, not more than 96 years after its first execution, the Spanish authorities have legally acknowledged it. Some objections relating to imperfections in the text, apparent anachronisms, have been eliminated through the judicious

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631 648 This eliminates at once the notion of a Mexican state or empire, embracing in the folds of political society[5] all the groups of abor-

la segunda poblacion de las del Valle." Farther on, quoting *Juan Bautista Pomar*, "*Relacion de la ciudad de Tezcuco*," (MSS., belonging to Sr. Icazbalceta, and dated 1582) who says of Tezcuco: "La extension del reino era desde el mar del N. á la del Sur, con todo lo que se comprende á la banda del Poniente hasta el puerto de la Vera Cruz, salvo la Ciudad de Tlachcala y Huexotzinco," the learned ethnographer adds, (p. 241), "Juan B. Pomar fija las limites del reino con toda la exaggeracion que puede infundir el orgullo de raza. Por nuestra parte, hemos leido con cuidado las relaciones que á la monarquía corresponden, y hemos estudiado en el plano los lugares à que se refieren, y ni de las unas ni de las otras llegamos á sacar jamas que los reyes de Acolhuacan mandaron sobre las tribus avecindadas in la costa del Pacifico, no ya à la misma de México, sino aun á menores latitudes." He then enters upon a discussion of the number and names of settlements which gave tribute exclusively to Tezcuco. We can only refer to it in general here, as one of the most valuable contributions to Mexican history, and based upon authorities which ought to be published as soon as possible, some of which we mention for the benefit of students:—

114 (1). "*Memorial dirigido al rey por Don Hernando Pimentel Nezcruaicuyutl, cacique y gobernador de la provincia de Tezcuco, etc.*" This is the celebrated Report used by Torquemada and Fernando de Alba Ixtilxochitl, and which the Cavaliere Boturini Benaducci owned.

(2). "*Relacion de Senpahuala del corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(3). "*Relacion de Epazoyuca por el corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(4). "*Relacion de Tetlixtuca por el corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(5). "*Relacion de Mextitlan por el alcalde mayor Gabriel de Chavez*," 1580, MSS.

(6). "*Relacion de Atengo por el corregidor Juan de Padilla*," 1579, MSS.

(7). "*Relacion de Atlatlauca por el corregidor Gaspar de Solis*," 1580, MSS.

(8). "*Relacion de Acapixtla por el alcalde mayor Juan Gutierrez de Liebana*," 1580, MSS.

(9). "*Relacion de Culhuacan por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego*," 1580, MSS.

(10). "*Relacion de Iztapalapa por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego*." 1580, MSS.

Since most of these valuable MSS. are the property of Sr. J. G. Icazbalceta, an early publication thereof may be hoped for.

Sr. Orozco y Berra now reaches the important conclusion:

(a). That Acolhuacan or Tezcuco had settlements tributary to it alone, (p. 246).

(b). That the "Empire" had tributaries of itself.

(c). That certain pueblos paid tribute both to Tezcuco and to Mexico, (p. 246), Epazoyuca, "pertenecieron tambien á Tetzcoco, y en el reinado de Itzcoatl quedaron por mitad para México y para Tetzcoco, á fin de que de alli sacaran los imperiales las navajas para sus macanas." Taken probably from Relacion 3.

The "Imperiales" were, therefore, the confederates, and the "Imperio" the confederacy. But if, within the area conquered by these confederates, each one of them received its share of tributary tribes, how could it be their task or tendency to unify or nationalize, since each of the three associates composed but a part of that power, and their association was a voluntary one?

(2). None of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond the exclusively military direction delegated to the Mexicans proper. "*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne, Par Alonzo de Zurita*," translated from the Spanish original by Mr. Ternaux Compans, and printed in 1840, by him in his "*Voyages Relations et Mémoires origina aux pour servir à l' histoire de la découverte de l' Amérique*," (p. 11). "La province de Mexico était soumise à trois principaux chefs: celui de Mexico, celui de Tezcuco et celui de Tlacopan, que l'on nomme aujourd' hui Tacuba. Tous les chefs inférieurs relevaient de ces souverains et leur obéissaient. Les trois chefs supérieurs formaient une confélération et se partageaient les provinces dont ils s'emparaient. Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tezcuco et de Tacuba pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l' un d' eux ne se mêlait jamais du

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174 It is much to be regretted that our information on this point
114 is so meagre and unsatisfactory, as not to enable us to ascertain
619 whether several *entire kins* separated from the rest to form the new tribe, or whether *fragments of kins* only composed the secessionists. In fact even the cause of the division is stated in such a varied and contradictory manner, that we must withhold any expression of positive views on the subject.

618 Without losing sight altogether of the tribe of Tlatilulco, we still must devote our attention chiefly to the inhabitants of Tenuchtitlan, in which we recognize the ancient Mexicans proper. The number of kins composing the latter at the time of their

divided in two "bands," without saying why and how this division occurred. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 43), "Hecha esta division y puestos ya en su órden y concierto de barrios, algunos de los viejos y ancianos, entendiendo merecian mas de lo que les daban y que no se les hacia aquella honra que merecian, se amotinaron y determinaron ir a buscar nuevo asiento, y andando por entre aquellos carriçales y espadañales allaron una albarrada pequeña, y dando noticia della á sus aliados y amigos fuéronse á hacer alli asiento, el qual lugar se llamaba Xaltelulli y el qual lugar agora llamamos Tlatilulco, ques el barrio de Santiago. Los viejos y principales que alli se pasauan fuéron quatro; el uno dellos se llamaba Atlaquauiti, el segundo Huicto, el tercero Opocatli, el quarto Atlacol. Estos quatro señores se dividieron y apartaron de los demas y se fuéron á vivir á este lugar del Tlatilulco, y segun opinion tenidos por hombres inquietos y revoltosos y de malas intenciones, porque desde el dia que alli se pasaron nunca tuvieron paz ni se llevaron bien con sus hermanos los mexicanos; la qual inquietud a ido de mano en mano hasta el día de hoy, pues siempre a auido y ay bandos y rancor entre los unos y los otros." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 468), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62), both are but concise repetitions of the above. *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, pp. 294 and 295), opposes both Acosta and Herrera, as well as the "*Codex Ramirez*," and substitutes a story about voluntary settlement of the Tlatilulca on a sandy patch near by, but apart from the others, in consequence of the old grudge or feud already mentioned. There is but little difference between this version and the preceding, the act of secession, in both, being voluntary. One singular fact is mentioned by *Vetancurt* (Part II, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 269), namely, that the Tlatilulca made a market-place for *both* parties. Otherwise (p. 257), he concurs with Torquemada. *Granados y Galvez* (Tarde 6a, p. 174), after saying that both "eran deudos y parientes unos con otros" adds "whether this division proceeded from past quarrels, or out of the incommodities which they suffered among canes and reeds; it is certain that they divided peaceably . . ." *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, pp. 133 and 142), reporting on all the various traditions about the foundation of Tlatilulco, comes to the conclusion that the "nobles" retired to Tlatilulco, whereas the "common people" remained at Mexico. *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 178), agrees with Veytia in regard to the real import of the fables told concerning the ancient feuds among the migratory band, but (Cap. XVII, pp. 187 and 188), he accepts the version that these old dissensions were the causes of the final division.

I have not been able, yet, to find whether the seceding Tlatilulca formed one kin, or one brotherhood of kins, or whether they were discontented fractions of kins removing. Had Vetancurt given us the names of the "barrios" of Tlatilulco, we might possibly infer something from them. As it is, the fact of the four "principals" mentioned by Durán, seems to indicate four kins, or rather (perhaps) fractions from four kins, whom want of space probably caused to remove. They may have been crowded out, and in course of time the feeling of jealousy and rivalry sprung up of which the authorities speak both freely and frequently. See *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

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174 618 [615] Still, this low condition did not remain forever. The Tlatilulca were in a measure "re-adopted" into the tribe. After this, they formed a fifth quarter, or "phratry," which Father Vetancurt (in 1690) mentions as containing six "parcialidades." But this rehabilitation never extinguished the fire of revenge kindled once among the Tlatilulca towards the Mexicans. The latter treated the former therefore, not as a tribe subject to tribute, but as a suspicious group, to which the rights and privileges resulting from consanguinity could not well be denied, but to which voice and vote in the leading councils should not be accorded. In this singular position, not strictly inferior, but evidently more "distant," we find the Tlatilulca at Mexico at the time of the conquest.[59]

or tribes, in which there were of both kinds, were those who divided themselves from the rest." (See note 44.) It is much to be regretted that the eminent Mexican scholar has not given us the names of these "Algunos escritores nacionales modernos."

[59] According to *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), they remained in a degraded condition for 160 days at least, or eight aboriginal months: "y que les turase esta penitencia y castigo hasta los ochenta dias del segundo tributo." But they were, according to him, relieved of it but conditionally: "y asi les quitauan aquellos entredichos que e contado, los quales, en faltándoles, eran tornados á poner." In order to comply with the demands of the Mexicans for slaves, the Tlatilulca were forced to carry arms again, so as to take part in the wars. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, p. 75) confirms, but implies previously (p. 75) that the Tlatilulca were specially obligated to be the traders for Mexico: "y haveis de ser nuestros tratantos y mercadres en los tianguis de Huexotzinco, Tlaxcalan, Tlilinquitepec, Zacatlan, y Cholula." A similar punishment was meted out to them by "Stern chief" the younger (the last Montezuma), after an unsuccessful campaign against Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Atlixco. *Durán* (Cap. LIX, pp. 468, 469), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XCVI, p. 170). It is, besides, positively asserted by the former (p. 271) that the "medicine lodge," or temple of Tlatilulco, was closed thereafter, abandoned and left to ruin and decay ("y asi dice la ystoria questuvo hasta entonces lleno de yerba y de vasura y caidas las paredes y dormitorios del"). It is, of course, confirmed by *Tezozomoc* (p. 75, cap. XLVI): "y asi fué que lo estuvo muchos anõs hasta la venida que hizo Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis del Valle, en esta nueva España, como adelante se dirá, á que me refiere." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these statements with those of *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, pp. 88, 89, 90, 91, Vedia, Vol. II), and of *Sr. Icazbalceta* in *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," note 40 to 2d Dial., p. 201) to the effect that Cortes visited that temple of Tlatilulco and found "Stern chief" worshipping in it, and still more difficult is it to reconcile the relation of Bernal Diez with that of *Andrés de Tupia* ("*Relacion, etc., etc.*," pp. 582-586, Col. de Doc. II), who, as an eye-witness too, deserves similar credit. [114]

Tlatilulco formed a quarter, a fifth great one, of Mexico at the time of the conquest. This is distinctly stated by *Motolinia* (*Historia, etc.*, Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180 and 181), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93) confirms Motolinia in general, (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. II, p. 182), "en el barrio llamado Tlatelulco;" (Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 414), "y el barrio se dice Tlatelulco," adding (p. 418) "que son del mismo pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Cap. XVII, p. 423), "El convento de Santiago de Tlatelulco que es como barrio de Mexico;" (Cap. XXVIII, p. 466), "pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Id., p. 483, Cap. XXIX). That this fifth great quarter was again divided into six smaller ones, is proven by *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica, etc.*," pp. 207 and 212): "Tiene cuatro religiosos que con el ministro colado administran á más de mil quinientas personas en

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643 latter led the Mexicans in person, or a substitute for either of them might take the command.[223] During the last days of aboriginal Mexico, when warriors from different tribes, together with the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, crowded into the invested pueblo, the so-called "King of Mexico" appeared as the *confederate* commander, while the "snake-woman" only wielded the authority and performed the duties of "captain-general" of the *Mexican* contingent.[224]

All these different attributes may be united in the functions of one office, namely: that of head-chief of the tribe. As such, we must consider the "Cihuacohuatl," and as such was he recognized by Cortés when in 1521, he created the last "snake-woman" "governor" of the remnants of the Mexican tribe and of the so-called Indian wards within which they "were" subsequently settled.[225]

We have seen that the "snake-woman" was the colleague, or associate in matters of tribal importance, of another officer, who had originally filled his place, but whose sphere of action had been so much extended through the formation of the confederacy, that a colleague became needed in tribal affairs. This officer, commonly entitled "King of Mexico," sometimes even "Emperor of Anahuac," was the "chief of men," "Tlaca-tecuhtli".[226]

[701] capitanes señalados," and both war-chiefs of Mexico were present and in the field (p. 41). Not to increase the volume of quotations beyond measure, I shall simply add that, as the Cihuacohuatl grew older and could not well go to war, other captains took his place. These captains I will refer to hereafter. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII).

[223] Evidence to that effect is found in *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 189), and especially in *Tezcocmoc* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 76): "Cuauhnochtli, capitan general." (Cap. LXXI, LXXII and XCI, pp. 100 and 161, etc., etc.). This explains why the title of chief-commander of the Mexicans is so variously stated. See the very sensible remarks of *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI. p. 494, etc.). These chiefs were, in this instance, temporarily appointed, since it was not the creation of an office, but simply a delegation of power for a certain special purpose. When the foray was over, the charge ceased to exist, the war-chief returning to his original rank.

[224] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," Vedia I. p. 86): E dende a poco volvió con ellos uno de los mas principales de todos aquellos que se llamaba Cignacoacin, y era el capitan y gobernador de todos ellos, é por su consejo se seguian todas las cosas de guerra." This fact is generally accepted, and needs no further proof.

[225] *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*," Vedia I, p. 110). *Petition to Charles V, by four Indian chiefs of Mexico*, June 16, 1532, in "*Crynatiés horribles des Conquérants espagnols*," of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1st Series (Appendix, pp. 265, 268 and 269): "Moi, don Hernando de Tapia, je suis feu de Tapia, et ancien Tucotocle, gouverneur de Mexico, sous le marquis del Valle." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. VIII, pp. 122 and 123). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CLVII, Vedia II, pp. 198 and 199). *Ixaxlocta in Cervántes-Salazar* ("*Tres Diálogos*," Introd. to 2d Dialogue, pp. 75 and 76).

[114] [226] I have used this title, perhaps for the first time among recent writers, in "*Art of War*," (p. 123). *Tezcocmoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 145). *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Letter*,

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In the year 1375, according to the Mendoza Codex, the first incumbent of this office was elected by popular vote.[227] From that time on, the office remained strictly elective and non-hereditary, in so far as, like the chief officers of the calpulli, the descendants of the former incumbent were preferred to succeed him; provided they were undoubtedly competent.[228] But no rule of succession

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etc." in 1st *Recueil* of Ternaux-Compans, p. 247). *Codex Mendoza* (Plate XVIII): "Tlacatecutli gobernador" also the "Declaracion de la figurado." *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX, pp. 135 and 136). This very remarkable chapter deserves to be closely studied, since it embodies the principles upon which the aborigines of Mexico filled their offices, and the bases of their mode of government. It would be too long to attempt a full analysis of it, and anything short of a careful study would fail to give an adequate conception of its importance. I merely refer to the statements of the celebrated Franciscan in regard to the title under consideration: "porque ya está en la dignidad y estrado, y tiene ya el principal lugar donde le puso nuestro señor? ya le llaman por estos nombres tecatlato, tlacatecutli, por estos nombres le nombran todos los populares . . . ." This passage and the succeeding one: "y alguno de estos tomado de la república por rey y señor," clearly indicate that the title is that of the so-called "King" or "chief of men;" (p. 135); however, he mentions the "tlacatecutli" as one of "dos senadores para lo que toca al regimiento del pueblo." There is an evident contradiction here, which is very similar to the one already noticed in regard to the two sections of the council, in a former note.

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[227] *Codex Mendoza* (Plate II). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). In regard to this Chronology, compare the late and highly valuable work of *Don M. Orozco y Berra*, ("*Ojeada sobre la Cronologia Mexicana*" in *the* "*Biblioteca Mexicana*,"—an Introduction to a reprint of Tezozomoc). The learned author has brought to light many highly valuable facts. That "Acamapichtli" or "Handful of Reeds" was *elected*, is abundantly proven by many authorities, so that detailed quotations are useless.

[228] The fullest report is contained in *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318): "Cuando moria el señor ó rey para elegir otro, juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoque, y tambien los viejos del pueblo que llamaban achcacauhti, y tambien los capitanes soldados viejos de la guerra que llamaban Iauequioaques (should be Iau-Tequioaques), y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y tambien los Sátrapas que llamaban Tlenamacazques ó papaoaque: todos estos se juntaban en las casas reales, y allí deliberaban y determinaban quien habia de ser señor, y escogian uno de los mas nobles de la liné de los señores antepasados, que fuese hombre valiente y ejercitado en las cosas de guerra, osado, animoso, y que no supiese beber vino: que fuese prudente y sábio, y que fuese criado en el Calmecac: que supiese bien hablar, y fuese entendido, recatado y animoso, y cuando todos ó los mas concurrian en uno, luego le nombraban por señor. No se hacia esta eleccion por escrutinio ó por votos, sino todos juntos confiriendo los unos con los otros, venian à concertarse en uno." To this should be added the testimony of the same author (Lib. VI, cap. XX, pp. 135–139). *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103): "y es de sauer que no ponian hijo del que elexian por rey, ó del que moria, porque como ya tengo dicho, nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los señorios, sino por election; y asi, agora fuese hijo, agora fuese hermano, agora primo, como fuese elesto por el rey y por los de su consejo para aquel ditado, le era dado, bastaua ser de aquella lingnia y pariente cercano; y asi iban siempre los hijos y los hermanos heredándolo, poco á poco, si no esta vez, la otra, ó si no la otra, y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado y señorio, eligiéndolos poco á poco." (Cap. LXIV, p. 496): "porque en aquel tiempo heredábanse los hermanos hijos del rey unos á otros, aunque de lo que desta hystoria e notado, ni auia herencia ni sucesion, sino solos aquellos que los electores escogian, como fuese hijo ó hermano del que moria, ó sobrino ó primo, en segundo grado, y este órden me parece que llevan en todas sus elecciones, y asi crée que muchos de los que cláman y piden vasallos por herencia los señoras, porque en su infidelidad sus padres fueron reyes y señores,

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earnestness of his manner which eye-witnesses have mistaken for the haughtiness of a tyrant.[245] 643 644

These duties not only necessitated official residence at the "official house," but even permanent stay there, unless important business required the chief's absence.[246] Such absence, however, could only be justified by official duties, and then the "chief of men" had to appear with all the tokens and emblems of his rank.[247] If otherwise, he might indeed, go about, but he lost all claim to official recognition.[248] Hence the statements are true in the main, however exaggerated in detail, that great decorum was observed towards the "chief of men" whenever he appeared in public, that he was addressed with marked deference, and that a certain pomp surrounded him on such occasions.[249] These occasions were, of course, opportunities for the display of Indian

Walter Scott is "Waverley." As to the part played by the "chief of men" see particularly *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II).

[245] This particularly earnest mien is noticed by all authors. It is strictly Indian, and found among the rudest tribes.

[246] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI. p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, sino á cosas muy necesarias y forçosas." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 76): "De ordinario estaba retirado saliendo muy pocas vezes á vista del pueblo."

[247] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. X, p. 291). It is distinctly asserted by the former that, what he has called "corona real" could only be worn by the "chief of men" and the "snake-woman." This head-dress, very appropriately termed by the Spaniards, "half mitre" ("media mitra") is figured by many authors of native origin. See *Codex Mendoza* (plates II to XIV, also LXX), *Durán* (Láminas 2 to 14, also 16, 18, to 24 etc.), *Codice Ramirez* (plates 4 and 5). It is called "Xiuhuitzolli" by the Mexicans. See also *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 30 and IIa, p. 100) from "Xiuitl" turquoise or green stone, and is totally different from the head-dress worn by the "chief of men" in the field. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 126). [243]

[248] This explains the stories about the "incognito" ramblings of "Fasting Wolf" of Tezcuco, so frequently repeated after the Ixtlilxochitla, as well as that of the arrest of "Wrathy Chief" (the last Montezuma) for appropriating corn out of a field. The latter tale is beautifully told by *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 451, 452) after the best authorities.

[249] No author has been more prolific in pictures of pomp, regal wealth and magnificence, than *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. LXXXVIII, XCI and XCII, etc.). Most of the later writers have placed undue reliance on his statements, assuming that the truthfulness with which he "gave vent" to his own individual feelings and impressions, was the result of cool, impassionate observation. Anyone who has read attentively (and not merely glanced over at random for the purpose of obtaining quotations) his protracted "Mémoires," will become convinced that he is, in fact, one of the most unreliable eye-witnesses, as far as general principles are concerned. In every detail where his personal feelings are not involved or by which, even at the late date when he wrote, they were not involuntarily aroused, he is much more trustworthy than when he takes special pride or pains to be very explicit. Thus, it is curious to compare his description of "Wrathy Chief's" reception of Cortés with that given subsequently by the "Marquis del Valle" himself, ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 23). It was doubtlessly the greatest effort at pomp and display ever attempted by the Mexicans, since they went to meet and greet the most incom- [114]

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643 644 finery, when a number of articles were used to deck the "chief of men" as his official insignia, but the custom of speaking to

114 prehensible beings ever heard of by them. It is interesting to place both versions side by side. The translation is my own and I therefore beg for indulgence.

Cortés. Second Dispatch.

"At that place more than a thousand principal people came to greet and to speak to me, all citizens of the said city, and all dressed alike and according to their custom very richly, and when they [576] came to speak to me, every one of them made, before coming up, a particular ceremony, customary among them, which consisted in each one of them putting his hand on the ground, kissing it; and in this manner I waited almost an hour until each one had made his ceremony." ". . . . . After we had passed that bridge, this lord Mutecuzuma came to receive us with about two hundred Lords, all barefooted and dressed in other livery or manner of clothing, also very rich after their custom, and more so than that of the others. They came in two processions, closely hugging the walls of the street which is very broad, fine, and straight, so that from one end of it the other end may be seen, and two-thirds of a league ("legua") in length, with very good buildings on both sides, dwellings as well as temples. And the said Mutecuzuma went in the middle of the street with two chiefs, one to his right and the other to his left. One of these was the same one who, as I said, had come to speak to me in the litter, and the other was the said Mutecuzuma's brother, lord of that city of Iztapalapa which I had left that day. All three were dressed alike, except Mutecuzuma who wore soles to his feet, whereas the other two chiefs had none and supported him by his arms. . . . . ."

Bernal Díaz de Castillo. Cap. 92.

"When we reached the place where another pathway (dyke) branched off to Cuyoacan, ... many principals and caciques came, covered with very rich mantles, with ornaments and liveries, those of one cacique different from those of another, and the dykes were filled by them. These great caciques were sent by the great Montezuma ahead to receive us, and as they arrived before Cortés they bid us welcome, touching the ground and kissing it in token thereof." "Thus we were detained a good while, and from there the Cacamezas, chief of Tezcuco, and the chief of Iztapalapa, and the chief of Tacuba and the chief of Cuyoacan went forward to meet the great Montezuma who approached in a rich litter, accompanied by other great Lords and caciques holding vassals. And when we neared Mexico, where there were other small towers, the great Montezuma descended from his litter, and these great caciques took hold of his arms, advancing with him under a marvellously rich canopy of green plumes with large golden ornaments, much silver, and pearls and stones of "Chalchihuis" suspended from it as fringes, and very dazzling to the eye. The great Montezuma was very richly dressed after their custom, with cotarns on his feet (as they are called), with golden soles and much jewelry over them. The four lords who came with him were also richly dressed, though not in the same manner as when they had come out to receive us,—as if they changed dress on purpose under way. Besides these Lords, there came other great caciques who bore the canopy over their heads, and other many Lords preceded the great Montezuma sweeping the ground before him and placing ropes for him to step upon. None of these Lords ventured to look him in the face, but all had their eyes cast down, except those of his relatives and nephews who supported him by the arms."

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him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular 643 644
respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), 114
simply says: "The said Mutecziuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Diez is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500), from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcalteca ("*Art of War*," p. 155, note 283), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diez de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw *more* of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to magnify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of his troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). 727
Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecamachalco and 114
Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlalpiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuacuiltzin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 62), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Mazatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhnehueques, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipiles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenochtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the Matlatzincas;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with groans, and wails of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 339). "They went in pro- 114
cession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in 576

643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at them. See *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 66, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 479). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 331), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1789, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

[251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, cap. LXIX, p. 115, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 8, Trat I°).

764 [252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hizléronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las exequias conforme á persona tal se deuian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 496): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes auian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 80 and 81), as late as 1735 or 1734, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

count are interspersed the characters of the year-count; that is, those four characters mentioned above, which are Reed, Flint Knife, House, and Rabbit, by which they counted the hebdomad of their years, which is fifty-two.

This very pernicious count, superstitious, and full of idolatry, as is to be seen in this Fourth Book, some praise highly, saying that it was very ingenious and contained no blemish. This they said because they did not understand for what purpose this count, which is very evil and idolatrous, was established. Little did they appreciate the multitude of superstitions, feasts, and idolatrous sacrifices involved in it. And they called this count the calendar of the Indians, not understanding that this count doth not extend through all of the year; because it hath only two hundred and sixty days in its round, and then cometh back to its beginning. And so it cannot be and never was a calendar; for the calendar, as hath been said, is represented in the opening of the Second Book, and containeth all the days of the year, and [all] the feasts of the year. And this they who say that this soothsaying art is a calendar, do not know. And surely it was great carelessness and culpable ignorance to praise by word of mouth and in writing something so evil and full of idolatry.

The zeal for truth and for the Catholic Faith compels me to place here the very words of a treatise which a member of one of the religious Orders wrote in praise of this art of soothsaying, declaring that it is a calendar; so that wherever one may see it, he may know that it is something very pernicious to our holy Catholic Faith; and it may be destroyed and burned.

The following is the introduction of the aforementioned treatise.

Introduction and explanation, newly made, of the calendar of the Indians of Anauac, that is, of New Spain.

By means of the wheels reproduced above, the Indians count their days, weeks, months, years, olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and hebdomads, starting their year, like ours, with the beginning of January. In [their system] are found the means of reckoning time which all nations have had. And as is seen, the Indians who established and knew it well certainly showed themselves to be natural philosophers. They were at fault only as to the leap year.

pedernal, casa, conejo, por donde contauan la hebdomada de sus años, que son cincuenta y dos.

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Esta cuenta muy perjudicial, y muy supersticiosa, y muy llena de idolatria, como parece en este libro quarto, algunos la alaban mucho: diziendo, que era muy ingenjosa y que njnguna macula tenja, esto dizerõ por no entender a que fin se endereza, esta cuenta el qual es muy malo ydolatrico de poco entendieron la muchedumbre de supersticiones y fiestas y sacrificios idolatricos, que en ella se contienen, y llamaron a esta cuenta, el calendario de los indios: no entendiendo que esta cuenta no alcança a todo el año, porque no tiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias de circulo, y luego torna a su principio, y anni no poede ser calendario y nj nunca lo fue, porque el calendario, como esta dicho, y esta pintado, en el principio del segundo libro, contiene todos los dias del año, y las fiestas del año: y esto ignoraron los que dizen que esta arte adiujnatoria es calendario: y cierto fue grande inaduertencia, y culpable ignorancia loar por palabra, y por escrito vna cosa tan mala y tan llena de idolatria.

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787x

El zelo de la verdad, y de la fe catholica, me compele a poner aquj, las mjsmas palabras de vn tratado, que vn religioso escriujo en loor desta arte adiujnatoria; diziendo que es calendario, para que dondequjera que alguno le viere, sepa que es cosa muy perjudicial, a nuestra sancta fe catholica, y sea destruydo, y quemado.

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Siguese la introducion del tractado sobredicho.

Introducion, i declaracion nueuamente sacada, que es el calendario de los indios de Anaoac, esto es de la nueua españa.

Por las ruedas aquj antepoestas, cuentan los indios sus dias, semanas, meses, años, olimpiadas lustros indiciones, y hebdomadas: començando su año, con el nuestro desde el principio de henero: en la qual se hallan las maneras de contar los tiempos que tuujeron todas las naciones, y segun parece los indios que la composieron, y sabian bien, ciertamente se mostraron philosophos naturales, solamente faltaron en el bixesto: pero tambien paso el gran philosopho

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But this was the case also as to the great philosopher Aristotle and his teacher Plato, and many other wise men who did not attain [knowledge of] it. And it should be known that in this calendar there is nothing idolatrous; and this is praiseworthy for many reasons, but to mention one will be enough. And it is that in this land it was not very many years ago that idolatry began. And this calendar is exceedingly ancient, and if the names of the days, weeks, and years, and their representations, are of animals and beasts, and other creatures, it is nothing to wonder at; for if we look at ours, they also are of planets and of gods which the pagans had. Even if many rites, falsehoods, and ancient sacrifices are written of here [in connection with] a thing so good, of such excellence and truth as these natives possessed, there is no reason to condemn it. For we know that all good and truth, no matter who expresseth it, is of the Holy Ghost.

Aristotiles, y su maestro platon, y otros muchos sabios que no lo alcançaron. Y es de saber, que en este calendario, no ay cosa de idolatria: y esto se poede de alabar, por muchas razones, pero bastara dezir vna: y es que en esta tierra no ha muy muchos años, que començaron las idolatrias: y este calendario es antiquissimo y si los nombres de los dias, semanas, y años, y sus figuras, son de anjmales, y de bestias, y de otras criaturas; no se deuen marauillar, pues si mjramos los nuestros: tambien son de planetas, y de dioses que los gentiles tuujeron: y pues que aquj se escriuen muchos ritos, ficciones, y antiguos sacrificios, vna cosa tan buena, y de tanto primor, y verdadera que estos naturales tuujeron: no es razon de reprobarla: pues sabemos que todo bien y verdad, qujenqujera que la diga, es del espiritu sancto.

Refutation of the above[1]

As to what he first saith, that by means of this count the Indians reckoned [their] weeks, months, and years: this is most false. For this count containeth only two hundred and sixty days, and lacketh one hundred and five days to be the count of an entire year. Neither did they reckon their months by this count, because their months are eighteen in a year, and each one hath twenty days, which maketh three hundred and sixty days. This count doth not reach that number. Neither do they reckon their weeks by this count; for what they say, that they had thirteen days in a week, is false, because thus there would be a week of thirteen days and another week [which] would go into the next month with three days,[2] and so no month would have two entire weeks. But more important, their weeks were of five days, which were better called five-day periods than weeks, and there are in each month four of these five-day periods.

What he saith of olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and the like, is false and pure invention.

What he saith, that the year started in January, like ours, is most incorrect; for what they call a year by this count is of only two hundred and sixty days,

Confutacion de lo arriba dicho.

En lo primero que dize, que por esta cuenta: los indios contauan seis [*sic*] semanas, meses, y años, es falsissimo: porque esta cuenta no contiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias, y faltale ciento y cinco dias, para ser cuenta de vn año entero; nj tanpoco contauan sus meses por esta cuenta, porque sus meses son deziocho en vn año, y cada vno tiene viente dias que son trezientos y sesenta dias; al qual numero, no llega esta cuenta; nj tampoco cuentan, por esta cuenta sus semanas, porque aquello que dizen, que tenjan treze dias por semana es falso, porque desta manera seria vna semana de treze dias, y otra semana entredia con tres dias en el mes sigujente, y ansi cada mes no tendria dos semanas enteras: mayormente, que sus semanas eran de cinco dias las quales mejor se llamaran quintanas, que no semanas, y ay en cada mes quatro destas quintanas.

Lo que dize de Olimpiades, y lustros, y indiciones o la mesma razon es falso, y merã ficciõ.

Lo que dize, que el año, comencaua [*sic*] en Enero, como el nuestro, es falsissimo: porque lo que llaman vn año por esta cuenta no son mas doscientos y sesenta

1. On the controversy between Sahagún and Motolinía regarding the nature of the calendar, see L. Nicolau d'Olwer: *Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía): Relaciones de la Nueva España* (México: Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1956), pp. LV-LVI.

2. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), IV, Ap. 6, los *entrada*. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 612, defines *entrada*, as used in Cuba, by saying "*Dicese . . . de cualquier momento del día solar.*"

and of necessity it would have to end one hundred and five days before our year. And so it could not start with our year, except with some, and very rarely.

As to what he saith, that the Indians [who] devised this count showed themselves to be natural philosophers: this is most false. For they do not carry out this count according to any natural order; for it was an invention of the devil and an art of soothsaying.

As to what he saith, that they lacked the leap year, it is wrong; because in the count which may be called a true calendar they count three hundred and sixty-five days, and once every four years they counted three hundred and sixty-six days with a feast which for this reason they observed every four years.

As to what he saith, that in this calendar there is no idolatry, it is a very great lie. For it is no calendar but a soothsaying device in which are contained a great deal of idolatry, many superstitions, and many invocations to the demons, tacitly and openly, as is shown in all of this preceding Fourth Book. So that the treatise aforementioned, which that member of a religious Order wrote, containeth no truth but rather very pernicious error and falsehood.

The treatise by that member of a religious Order proceedeth.

The Indians who well understood the secrets of these wheels and calendar showed and explained them to but few, because through their knowledge they gained their livelihood and were held in esteem and considered wise and intelligent. Nevertheless, almost all adult Indians knew and were informed about the year, as to both the number and house in which they were. But of the names of the days and weeks, and many other secrets and counts which they possessed, only those masters who worked with them attained knowledge.

Now, in order to understand the count which these natives had, in order to know how they kept a time-count by means of the wheels and figures here recorded, rules are given. These are written below.

Refutation of the above.

It is already said that the calendar is different from this count and hath nothing in common with it. The calendar dealeth with the months of the whole year, the days of the whole year, the weeks of the

dias, y de necesidad se avia de acabar ciento y cinco dias, antes de nuestro año: y ansi no podia començar con el nuestro año, si no algunas y muy raro:

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en lo que dize que los indios se composiero desta cuenta, se mostraron philosophos naturales, es falsissimo: porque esta cuenta, no le lleuan por ninguna orden natural: porque fue invencion del demonjo, y arte de adiujnacion,

en lo que dize que faltaron en el bizesto es falso, porque en la cuenta que se llama, calendario verdadero, cuentan trescientos y sesenta y cinco dias, y cada quatro años, contauan trecientos, y sesenta y seis dias en fiesta, que para esto hazian de quatro en quatro años.

En lo que dize que en este calendario no ay cosa de idolatria, es falsissima mẽtira: porque no es calendario, sino arte adiujnatoria, donde se contienen, muchas cosas de idolatria, y muchas supersticiones, y muchas invocaciones de los demonjos, tacita, y espressamente, como parece en todo este quarto libro precediente: de manera que ninguna verdad contiene aquel tratado arriba puesto: que aquel religioso escriujo, mas antes cõtiene falsedad y mentira muy pernjciosa.

Siguese adelante en el tratado de aquel religioso.

Los indios, que bien entendian los secretos destas ruedas, y calendario, no los enseñauan, nj descubrian, sino a muy pocos, porque por ello ganauan de comer, y eran estimados, y tenjdos por hombres sabios, y entendidos, empero sabian casi todos los indios adultos y tenjan noticia del año, ansi del numero como de la casa en que andauan: mas de los nombres de los dias, y semanas, y otros muchos secretos, y cuentas que tenjan: solos aquellos maestros compotistas, lo alcançauanla de saber.

Agora para entender la cuenta, que estos naturales tenjan, y para saber, como contauan los tiempos: por las ruedas, y figuras aquj escritas: se ponen reglas, que son las infra escritas.

Confutacion de lo arriba dicho.

Ya esta dicho, que el calendario es distincto desta cuenta, y no tiene nada que ver con ella. Y el calendario tracta de los meses de todo el año, y de los dias de todo el año, y de las semanas de todo el año, y de las

805 114 whole year, and the fixed feasts of the whole year. All the priests and servants of the idols knew it, as well as many of the populace, because it is a simple matter which toucheth all. But the count of the soothsaying art, which he wrongly calleth a calendar, is a particular kind of count, because its purpose was established to foretell circumstances and events to befall those born under each sign or character. This count only the soothsayers and those who had the skill to learn it, knew; because it containeth many difficulties and obscurities. Those who knew this count they called *tonalpouhque;* they esteemed and honored them greatly. They considered them to be prophets and knowers of future things. Hence they depended upon them for many things, as in days of old the sons of Israel depended upon the prophets.

This [author] saith that the months are twenty in a year. This is not true, for there are only eighteen. Likewise he saith that the weeks are of thirteen days, and this is not true, for they are of only five days, so that there are four weeks or rather five-day periods in a month. The thirteen days which he wrongly calleth a week are only the number of days in which each of the twenty characters in this soothsaying art reigned, as is made clear in the preceding Fourth Book, which dealeth with this soothsaying art.

The chart and [explanation of] the manner of counting used by the soothsayers for this art, now follow.

To the reader.

805 This chart[1] before the friendly reader is the count of the characters or signs with which we have dealt in this Fourth Book. It proceedeth in this order. First are placed twenty characters, and by them their names; and after them are placed the days over which they reign, in numerical notation; and it beginneth one, two, three, etc. The character by or facing the number one reigneth over those thirteen days [beginning with it], and the counting is started from above to below. Reaching thirteen, one then returneth to the number one, and the character before which that number one standeth, reigneth during the thirteen following days. And so with all the remaining numbers and characters. So each one of the characters cometh to reign for thirteen days, and the number of all of these days is two hundred and sixty. From there it returneth again to the beginning.

1. See Plate 142.

fiestas fixas de todo el año: sabianle todos los sacrapas, y todos los mjnjstros de los idolos, y mucha de la otra gente popular, porque es cosa facil, y toca a todos. Empero la cuenta de la arte adiujnatoria, a la qual falsamente llama calendario, es cuenta por si, porque su fin, se endereza a adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de los que nacen en cada signo, o caracter; esta cuenta sabianla solamẽte los adiujnos, y los que tenian abilidad, para deprenderla porque contiene muchas dificultades, y obscuridades: y a estos que sabiã esta cuenta, llamauanlos Tonalpouhque y tenjanlos en mucho y honrauanlos mucho: tenjanlos como prophetas, y sabidores de las cosas futuras, y ansi acudian a ellos, en muchas cosas, como antiguamente los hijos de Israel, acudian a los prophetas,

dize este; que los meses, son viente en vn año, y no es verdad, porque no son mas de deziocho: dize ansimjsmo que las semanas, son de treze dias, y no es verdad: porque no son mas de a cinco dias, y ansi son quatro semanas o por mejor dezir quintanas en vn mes: los treze dias, a que falsamente llama semana, no son, sino el numero de dias, que reynaua cada vno de los veinte caracteres, desta arte adiujnatoria, como esta claro, en el quarto libro precedente, que tracta desta arte adiujnatoria.

Siguese la tabla y manera de contar que tenjan los adiujnos en esta arte.

Al lector.

Esta tabla, que esta frontera Amigo lector, es la cuenta de los caracteres, o signos de que en este quarto libro auemos tractado, la qual procede por esta orden, que primeramente se ponen viente caracteres, y junto a ellos sus nombres, y despues dellos se ponen los dias, en que reinan por cifras del alguarismo: y comjença, vno, dos, tres, &c. El caracter donde esta junto el vno o frontero del, es el que reina aquellos treze dias, y comjençase a contar desde arriba hazia abaxo: y llegando a treze luego buelue a vno, y el caracter en frente de quien esta aquel vno, es el que reina los treze dias que se siguen: y ansi de todos los demas numeros y caracteres. De manera, que cada vn caracter viene a reinar treze dias, y el numero de todos estos dias son dozientos y sesenta, y de alli buelue otra vez al principio.

1 [See p. 126a, cat. 116. — Analyst]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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One of the strangest feelings left to us by prehistory is the sensation of omen. It will always exist. It is like an eternal proof of the non sequitur of the universe. The first man must have seen omens everywhere, he must have shuddered at each step. GIORGIO DE CHIRICO

[p. ii]

[p. i has no textual material]

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Aztecs Of Mexico

ORIGIN, RISE AND FALL OF THE AZTEC NATION

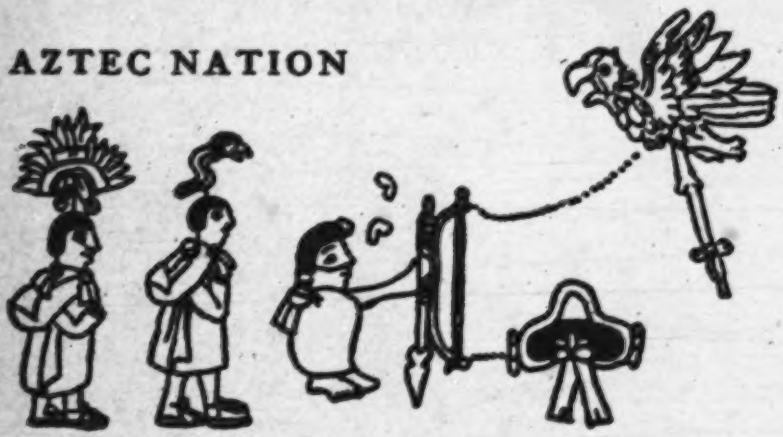

By George C. Vaillant

ASSOCIATE CURATOR OF MEXICAN ARCHAEOLOGY, AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

GARDEN CITY, N.Y 1941

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[p. iii]

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[p. iv]

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FIRST EDITION

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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To
My Wife

[p. v]

[p. vi is blank]

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SOURCES OF PLATES, PHOTOGRAPHS AND ORIGINALS

THE WRITER acknowledges his deep obligation to the American Museum of Natural History for allowing him to use the blocks illustrating articles in the Museum magazine, *Natural History*, and other publication series of this institution. In some cases plates in other publications were copied, following general scientific procedure. The list below designates the source of the illustrations taken from such published material and later used in the magazine or guide-leaflet series. Where the photograph was made directly from a Museum original for the journal the term Natural History is used. Unless otherwise designated the originals are all in the Middle American collection of the American Museum. The writer, therefore, wishes to express his thanks to those scholars whose illustrations are copied here.

PLATE

1. *The Scientific Monthly*.
2. *Natural History*.
3. *Natural History*, except for top right, from C. Seler, *Auf Alten Wegen*, p. 129; original in Berlin Museum.
4. *Natural History*. Top: photograph by Lilo Hess. Middle: model in Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. Bottom: original photograph by Sylvanus G. Morley.
5. *Natural History*.
6. Top, *left*: after Maudslay, *Biologia Centrali Americana*, 1889–1902; *right*: *Natural History*; original in Museo Nacional, Mexico. Bottom: after Totten, *Maya Architecture*, 1926; after Catherwood, *Views*, 1844.
7. Top: after Gordon and Mason, *Maya Pottery*, 1925–28; original in British Museum. Bottom: after Morris, Charlot and Morris, *Temple of the Warriors*, 1931; original fresco in Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itza.
8. Top: Wide World Photograph. Middle: *Natural History*; original in Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Bottom: after Batres, *Monte Alban*, 1902.

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PLATE

9. Top, *left: Natural History; right:* photograph by Miguel Covarrubias; original in Oaxaca Museum. Bottom: *Natural History.*
10. *Natural History.*
11. Top, *left: Natural History;* original in Oaxaca Museum; *right:* after Joyce, *Maya and Mexican Art*, 1927; original Codex in British Museum. Bottom: after Charnay and Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et Ruines Américaines*, 1862–63.
12. Top: after Morris, Charlot and Morris, *Chichen Itza*, 1931. Middle: *Natural History;* original in Merida Museum. Bottom: *Natural History;* photograph by Department of Historical Monuments, Mexico.
13. *Scientific Monthly.*
14. Top: *Scientific Monthly.* Bottom: *Natural History.*
15. Top: Archaeological Papers, American Museum of Natural History. Bottom: *Natural History.*
16. *Natural History.*
17. *Natural History.*
18. Top: *Natural History.* Bottom: *Natural History;* photograph by La Rochester, Mexico.
19. *Natural History.*
20. *Natural History.*
21. *Scientific Monthly.*
22. Top: after Gamio, *Teotihuacan*, 1922. Bottom: *Natural History;* photograph by Fairchild Aerial Surveys de Mexico, S. A.
23. After Lehmann, *Aus den Pyramidenstädten*, 1933.
24. Top: *Natural History.* Bottom: after Gamio, *Teotihuacan*, 1922.
25. *Scientific Monthly.*
26. Top: *Natural History.* Middle: *Scientific Monthly*, photograph by La Rochester, Mexico. Bottom: *Scientific Monthly.*
27. Top: after Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, 1902. Middle and Bottom: *Natural History.*
28. Top: *Natural History.* Bottom: *Natural History*, photograph by La Rochester, Mexico.
29. *Scientific Monthly.*
30. *Natural History.*
31. *Natural History.*
32. Top: *Natural History.* Bottom three rows: *Scientific Monthly.*
33. After Keith Henderson, in Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, 1922.
34–35. After Codex Florentino, 1905.
36. After Keith Henderson, in Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, 1922.
37. Top: *Natural History;* drawing by Ignacio Marquina. Bottom: *Natural History;* photograph by Ewing Galloway.

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PLATE

38–39. After Codex Florentino, 1905.
40. *Natural History;* Museum of Modern Art photograph by Sunami.
41. Top: after Codex Mendoza, 1738. Bottom, *left:* after Holmes, *Archaeological Studies,* 1895–97; *right:* after Codex Florentino, 1905.
42. Top: after Aubin, *Peinture Didactique,* 1885. Bottom: after Codex Florentino, 1905.
43. *Natural History.*
44. *Natural History.*
45. Top, *left: Natural History; right:* after Codex Florentino, 1905. Bottom: after Heger, *Federschmuck,* 1908.
46. Top row: *Natural History.* Middle: *Natural History;* original in Oaxaca Museum. Bottom, *left:* after Codex Florentino, 1905; *right: Natural History;* original in National Museum, Mexico.
47. *Natural History;* originals of upper, left and bottom in Oaxaca Museum.
48. After Saville, *Mosaic Art,* 1922; top original in Prehistoric and Ethnographic Museum in Rome; bottom original in British Museum.
49. *Natural History.*
50. *Natural History.*
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Foreword

128 THIS BOOK *is a history of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico and the civilizations which they wrought. It was a hard book to write. It will be a hard book to read. There are two reasons for this unfortunate circumstance. First, the Indians did not have the same goals in life which we have, so that their pattern of life is different from our own and difficult to understand. Second, Indian history has to be reconstructed from what we can find, so that much of the material, like techniques of making household implements, does not fall within the scope of our usual historical reading. The first four chapters deal with such reconstruction, and the reader is warned in advance that the going will be very difficult. These pages may be skipped if he is not particularly interested in such a historical background.*

000 *The remaining chapters are based on contemporary observations made by the conquering Spaniards and by the Aztecs themselves. They deal with people who were seen alive, their culture functioning. We can form an impression of what the Aztecs were like, and this makes easier reading, since we can envisage people in terms of what they did, not in terms of the objects which they made. Even so, this will not be a*

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crystal-clear process, for their customs, habits and motives differed from ours. However, I hope that I shall be able to show that it was a perfectly good way of life and the result of considerable experience. Our Western civilization, on the social side, is nothing to boast of today, so we need not be scornful of the Aztecs.

I want here to express my thanks to some of the many people who helped me write this book: to the authorities of the American Museum of Natural History for providing me with the sinews of research and the time to exercise them, to the authorities of the Mexican government for their consistent courtesy and co-operation in making my work possible, to my colleagues in my own and other lands, who by their friendship, counsel and collaboration make one proud to be an Americanist. To my wife I owe especial thanks for her unfailing aid and comfort during the long hours spent in the field and laboratory and in the preparation of this book.

To Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Mr A. P. Tedesco and Mrs Mary Slavin of Doubleday, Doran I am grateful for stimulation and counsel. To Dr Edward Weyer I am under deep obligation for permission to incorporate illustrations and articles from Natural History. *I wish to thank Miss D. Levett Bradley for her excellent end sheet maps of Aztec Mexico and, last, but by no means least, Miss Frances Jay for her unflagging patience and judgment in preparing this manuscript and smoothing the path of the reader who traverses the ill-marked trail of this aspect of Indian history.*

To Mr Clarence L. Hay I am deeply indebted for collaboration in field and laboratory as well as for supporting much of my research and to Mr Willard Carr for underwriting our last field season, which brought this book into being.

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CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF AZTEC CIVILIZATION

A somewhat speculative summary of the social and economic factors which directed the rise of Indian civilization

THE HISTORY of the Americas records the colonization and settlement of a great continent. We take a just pride in our European ancestors, who, from the Vikings down to the most recent political exiles, set forth to find a new life in the changing conditions of a new land. Our histories and traditions describe the evolution of these colonies into the present group of American republics, and it is a remarkable episode in the story of mankind. Yet the European settlement of the Americas, for all its modern political significance, is just a late phase of the history of man on the American continent. The Asiatic colonization of the New World, which preceded the European infiltration by many centuries, has its own proud place in the annals of Continental America.

This immigration from Asia produced the American Indian. Without his preliminary development of the resources of the continent it is dubious whether the European occupation would have succeeded as it did. The great Indian civilizations of the Aztecs and the Incas challenged the European

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imagination and opened a rich life for their military conquerors. The humble farming skill of the tribesmen of North America's eastern seaboard sustained religious exiles until they could live off the land and create their own type of commonwealth. The Indian and his culture were soon plowed under, but they enriched a soil which otherwise would never have produced the lavish harvest of Pan-American civilization.

The most violent clash between the Indians and the Europeans took place in the Valley of Mexico during the early summer of 1520, when Cortes and his Spaniards achieved the Conquest of Mexico and overthrew the Aztec civilization, the most advanced Indian culture at that time. Cortes' success was the loadstone which drew to the Americas the iron might of Europe. Stone could not withstand steel, and the days of the Indian were numbered. The history of the Aztecs and their forebears is a synopsis of the rise of Indian civilization and its doom.

The Aztecs were a populous group of independent Indian tribes who occupied a restricted section of central Mexico. Their history and social customs are better known than their neighbors' because their conquest had such a far-reaching significance for the European world. Spanish observers of military, priestly and civil status wrote careful accounts of the Aztec life and history, and Indian authors a generation later augmented these records, drawing on the tribal lore still only thinly veneered by Christianity. A few pictographic records, either prepared before the Conquest or copied afterward, are precious additions to the Aztec annals. However, our chief data on Indian history come from archaeology, that branch of research which recovers social his-

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tory through the study of the surviving remains of human handiwork in ages past.

Most of the American Indian tribes had not developed writing, so that archaeology is the one available medium for reconstructing their past; and the Aztec records reveal only a few centuries in the life of a single tribe. To sketch the broad background of Aztec culture before we turn our attention to the people themselves, we should realize that the earth must be our archive, the shovel our reading glass, and that nature, eternally destroying to create anew, has scattered our materials over mountain, plain and forest, from Greenland to Tierra del Fuego. Aztec history, like that of the American republics, begins with the discovery of this continent. (See Plate 1.)

Long before the Aztecs existed the ice sheets began to retreat northward, as the last glacial era was ending. Those animals accustomed to cool climates gradually moved north, and small nomadic bands of hunters followed the game on which their lives depended. Some of these groups moved up through Siberia and reached the shores of the Bering Strait. With so much water held in suspension by the ice sheet, the sea level was probably lower than now, so that the islands were larger and the extent of water between them less. In winter the sea was doubtless choked with ice, and crossing over this ice, hunters and hunted could reach Alaska. Thus man discovered America and made his first settlements there.[1] *

Other hunters may have constructed rafts and boats and passed from island to island until their ceaseless search for game led them to the mainland. The process must have been

*See Notes, beginning on p. 283.

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174 slow and the migrating units small. We can reconstruct conditions from what we know of modern hunting tribes, who, as social fossils, still pursue a precarious existence in the old, old way. The primitive hunting group moved on foot and had no effective beasts of burden. Therefore they carried little in the way of food or equipment. Their progress was no faster than that of the oldest man or woman, or youngest walking child. Food had to be secured even on the march, and hunting was a slow and arduous process. Such conditions necessarily kept the group units small, for a large cluster of people, when on the march, besides requiring food in quantity, must also scare away the very game on which its nourishment depends.[2]

This nomadic hunting life had its effect on language and physical type. The tendency for hunting groups to split into smaller units whenever their numbers threatened the balance between consumption and available food supply, encouraged the establishment of isolated bands. This loss of contact with other groups intensified mannerisms of speech and thought, so that profound dialectic differences resulted after several generations. Inbreeding also followed, and strains of physical type became established. Such conditions, already existent in the Asiatic life and continued under American conditions, probably account both for the linguistic diversity among the Indian tribes and also for their great physical variation within a more or less homogeneous frame of dark eyes, straight or wavy black hair and a yellowish skin color.[3]

When this infiltration took place, or how long it continued, has yet to be expressed in exact dates. No examples of Old World palaeolithic industry have been uncovered in the Americas, but excavations on the campus of the University

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of Alaska have turned up tools like those found in Neolithic 174
stations on the Gobi Desert. Other stone implements, defined by archaeologists as Folsom culture, occur in association with the remains of extinct bison at sites in Colorado and New Mexico. Far to the south, in a cave on the southern tip of the Argentine, the dung of an extinct sloth is mixed with the tools and refuse of men who hunted and ate an extinct type of American horse. Sloth dung also seals in the remains of Nevada hunters. These human vestiges may not have the great antiquity of geologic man in Europe, nor may the fact of extinct species have the same implication of age that obtains elsewhere, but man may well have come to America between ten and twenty thousand years ago.[4]

Hunting techniques have thus been established as an early form of Indian life in America. Some of the first hunters fished with net and line and gathered shellfish as their chief nourishment. Deep accumulations of discarded shells are found along the coasts of the Atlantic and Pacific and along some of the great inland rivers of North America. In one such heap in Tennessee the earliest layer disclosed bone implements, and no stone tools appeared until very much later. How old these heaps are we cannot guess, and we have no way of dating them by geology or palaeontology. Yet man, from his earliest beginnings, must have used these rich and relatively stable sources of food.[5]

Another primitive livelihood is disclosed along the shores of dried-up lakes in California and Texas. Mortars and grinding stones found here indicate that the early people ground nuts and seeds into flour, while a lack of well-made stone points suggests that they found the gathering of vegetable foods a more reliable way to fill their larders than the hunt-

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174 ing of game. These desert cultures are highly important since they provide early evidence of an economy which led eventually to the development of agriculture.[6]

These three early ways of life—hunting, fishing and gathering—were often combined in whole or in part. There is no hunting group in the Americas which does not take advantage of vegetable products to some extent, and in North America the properties of four hundred species were known and utilized. Some tribes found their hunting economy so satisfactory that they never abandoned it. Other peoples, like the Eskimos, were so situated geographically that they had to hunt or starve. The Plains tribes, when they acquired the domesticated horse from the Spanish colonies, turned from a successful if drab farming life to a highly dramatic existence, living off the wandering buffalo herds and exalting masculine virtues in war and the chase. Fishing groups, like the tribes of the Northwest Coast, were able to live in sedentary villages and create an elaborate social and material culture on the rich abundance yielded by forest, stream and ocean. In California one of the densest populations in the Americas maintained itself by gathering wild nuts and fruits, supplementing this diet with shellfish and game. Yet in spite of these successful primitive techniques the Indian would have never attained really high cultures without the domestication of plants.[7]

In the New World there were two centers of intense agricultural development, Middle America and the Andean region, which likewise represent the peaks of Indian social and material culture. There is considerable discussion among botanists as to which area first had domesticated plants, but the problem is not yet resolved. Perhaps the answer to this

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question may have a botanical rather than a social significance, since there are several other areas where plants not cultivated in Mexico and Peru are agricultural staples. The presence, early in the history of America, of peoples who lived largely by gathering must have led almost inevitably to the independent development of several different types of agriculture, based on the food plants common to particular regions.*

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The great staple of Brazil, for example, was manioc or cassava. Before the introduction of corn in eastern North America, sunflowers, the giant ragweed and other plants of prairie and savanna were cultivated for their seeds. The highlands of Peru yielded the white potato, but at the time of the Conquest the great basic American foods, corn and beans, were diffused over most of agricultural America. Whether they were first domesticated in Peru or Middle America is a point still arguable: each may have had its own separate point of primary cultivation. However, the great principle to bear in mind is that no plant cultivated by the American Indians was known to Asia, Europe or Africa prior to the white settlement of America. The introduction of these plants more than doubled the available food supply of the older continents.

The development of agriculture accomplished, in America as elsewhere, the liberation of man from the constant search for food. A permanent food supply which could be enlarged by bringing fresh land under cultivation allowed the tribal population to grow. The precarious equilibrium maintained by nature between population and food supply became more stable, and man had leisure to invent techniques and to develop rules for societal behavior. It became possible to sup-

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174 port aggregations of people large enough for the individual to specialize according to his skill and for the community to carry out public projects like irrigation systems and temples.

The successful growth of agriculture was not paralleled in the raising of animals. True, the dog, which may well have come in with the immigrants from Asia, was almost universally domesticated. In the north it was a beast of burden; in Mexico, an article of diet. The Mexican and Pueblo tribes tamed the turkey. The Peruvians ate guinea pigs and raised llamas and alpacas for wool and transport; bees were kept for honey in Middle America and northwest Brazil; some southern Mexican tribes raised cochineal for dye. But the native horse, which might have proved as useful here as in the Old World, became extinct early in America; the cow and sheep were unknown, and the caribou and bison, which, if domesticated, might have taken their place, had their chief range in regions occupied by primitive groups who were content merely to hunt them.*

This lack of suitable domestic animals prevented man's migration on an extensive scale, comparable to that of the great hordes from Asia which beat against the walls of Rome. At first the nomadic groups in the Americas were too small to threaten seriously the sedentary groups, and the question of population pressure, so often an indirect cause for war in the Old World, was virtually nonexistent in Indian America. War techniques in consequence were little developed in the Indian cultures, and the killing and rapine which took place during the white colonization did not have its origin in the usual Indian political attitudes.

The invention of agriculture accentuated rather than

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changed the basic structure of Indian social organization. 174 Those groups which gradually shifted their economic reliance from hunting to farming were in thinly populated country. As their population increased they could enlarge their fields without infringing on the rights of previous inhabitants. A growing population scared away game, forcing neighboring hunting groups to withdraw to regions where wild life was more plentiful. If the available arable land became insufficient for the community a number of people drifted away to found a new settlement.

According to the environment, be it forested or semiarid and consequently open, there tend to be two types of settlement. In dry open country the minerals which plants need remain near the surface, so that fields can be farmed over and over again. The people, therefore, can maintain a permanent village. Forest country, on the other hand, presents a serious problem to Stone Age people. To clear ground for planting, trees must be girdled and, after they die, burned. The soil, therefore, rapidly becomes exhausted and incapable of supporting crops. The Indians met this situation in two main ways: by moving the entire village, or by allowing each family group sufficient land so that crop rotation would permit exhausted fields to recover by lying fallow. This last method tended to decentralize the population except in very small communities.[20]

The social implications of these two methods of life are highly important for reconstructing the genesis of American Indian culture. The food plants used by the higher civilizations in the Americas seem largely derived from highland, open-country species, emanating from the kind of region permitting the maintenance of a permanent village. In a com-

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174 munity where the village street was a forum, technical school and social center, interests were pooled and techniques improved by emulation and inherited experience. The opportunity to store accumulated equipment, as opposed to the bare essential minimum of portable implements used by nomads, led to specialization in tools and techniques. The decorative arts became fixed according to style, since custom channels shapes and forms into directions approved by communal practice. Enterprises involving the man power of the whole village could be undertaken with a resultant benefit to the whole community. The long stretches of relative leisure when crops did not need care afforded time for technical experiment and intellectual speculation.

The complete series of steps by which an early farming group converted itself into a high civilization has not been recovered in any one area. However, North America, which preserved so many tribes at various stages in the development of Indian civilization, yields, in the case of the history of Anasazi or northern Pueblo culture, an example of such an evolutionary process.[11]

At the bottom of the scale are found the remains of people (called the Basket Makers by the archaeologists) who lived by hunting, gathering and the cultivation of corn. They occupied shallow dry caves in small units of twenty or thirty individuals. They were skillful weavers of fibers of apocynum, fashioning baskets, bags and sandals. They had no pottery but constructed rude images of sun-dried clay and modeled trays and lined baskets with this material. They did not use the bow but propelled long darts with the throwing board or *atl-atl*. Their equipment in the way of nets, tools of stone, bone and wood, was relatively elaborate. In

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Middle American Civilization NY1

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their later phases they learned how to make a hard, flinty 174 pottery in simple forms, decorated with designs derived from their weaving.

About the year 700 A.D. a new people drifted into the Southwest and changed the direction of the local economy. New varieties of corn enriched the larder, and the cultivation of beans supplied the protein content in a diet impoverished by lack of game. Cotton tended to supplant apocynum for weaving clothing, while the bow superseded the *atl-atl* for hunting. The underground house gave place to clusters of joined rectangular rooms, although the older form was retained for a men's clubhouse and ceremonial chamber. Pottery improved greatly in shape and design. There is every evidence of a considerable increase in population.

By the eleventh century the number of settlements decreased, but the towns became much larger. The Anasazi constructed great communal apartment houses of two, three and even four stories not only in the open, but also in shallow caves high in the canyon wall. Their arts and crafts changed in style but not in character, and the manner of life developed then has lasted to the present day, despite the infiltration of nomadic groups like the Apaches and Navajos and the intrusion of white conquerors from Spain and the United States.

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In Middle America and the Andean region the earliest 174 *discovered* cultures begin where the Pueblo left off. Our investigations have not yet brought to light the early hunting and sedentary aspects of human history in this area. The cultural level which the Pueblo attained in the eleventh century is represented in strata assignable to the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the birth of Christ. This

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Middle American Civilization NY1

174 base discloses people living in permanent villages, supporting themselves by the cultivation of corn, beans and other vegetables. They raised cotton and wove it for clothing. They made pottery for the storage and service of food. They developed techniques for the manufacture of tools of stone, bone and wood, as well as ornaments for themselves and designs for their utensils. They achieved a tribal government and evolved a religion which centered around the natural forces that control the growth of plants.[13]

121 The term "Middle Culture" best expresses this level of development, which is midway between the meager resources of a hunting group and the splendor of a ceremonial civilization. Dr Spinden and Mr Means defined this stage by the broad term "archaic," and the writer coined the clumsy phrase "Early Culture" to describe this phase in Central Mexico. Neither term allows for the naming of older or more primitive cultures which will eventually be discovered. Consequently the phrase "Middle Culture" appraises more justly than the other terms a cultural situation and emphasizes less strongly the element of historical position.

174 In Middle America and the Andes man and his works progressed and prospered from a Middle Culture base, but in somewhat different directions. The Andean peoples, to generalize broadly, concentrated on the material technique of supporting life; the Middle American on spiritual or, more accurately, supernatural methods. In the Andes, especially in the coastal valleys of Peru, enormous cities were built and vast irrigation systems watered the fields. Weaving was developed to a point unequaled by man in the whole course of human history, and pottery in excellence of construction and richness of design had no peer in the Americas.

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This civilization culminated in the Inca Empire, the original 174
benevolent, monolithic state, unique in American annals as the only governmental system which combined territorial expansion with the amalgamation of conquered peoples into a social whole.[13]

The Middle Americans, on the contrary, lived in independent tribal or civic groups and created a religious art and architecture without rival in the Americas.[14] The ceremonial aspect of life dominated the civil structure, and the remains of temples, not cities, gauge the splendor of the past. The cause or causes for this difference are shrouded in the past, but the more primitive North American scene suggests that here again agricultural conditions played a part.[15]

The Indians of the arid Southwest, as we have seen, built 000
permanent towns but did not devise an imposing ceremonial architecture. In the southeastern United States the more sophisticated tribes reared great earthen platforms to support their temples and the houses of their chiefs, and to serve as centers at which the community membership might congregate at specified times. The demands of a forest agriculture did not permit the occupancy of permanent towns like those of the Pueblo country, since the southeastern tribes had to move their villages, whenever the soil of their farm clearings was exhausted. A good part of the year saw the able-bodied men and women virtually abandon the villages to hunt and gather wild food. But they all united for tribal rites at the ceremonial centers and thus strengthened the bonds of social solidarity, loosened and frayed by the conditions of their ecology. The ceremonial center occurs late in the history 174
of the Southeast and bears the earmarks of a trait imported from Mexico. Yet it answered a very definite need for main-

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174 taining social unity in the growing population of a forest area.

Therefore it seems reasonable to suppose that some such ideas germinated centuries before in the lowland forests of Middle America, since the elaboration of this social and ceremonial requirement became a dominant theme in Middle American civilization. There is nothing strange in this practice which characterizes the earlier culture patterns in the development of western Europe and the colonial United States. The great cathedrals of the Middle Ages loomed massively out of a countryside wherein miserable villages, set in tiny clearings, made a violent contrast between the poverty of man's individual material existence and the rich glory of his corporate spiritual life. In New England communities still survive where the church, the store and the town hall are the social center for people scattered in isolated farms over the forested hills. The master artists who covered the miles of sculptured temple walls in Cambodia lived in flimsy towns now totally consumed by the jungle. Both the act and the fact of ceremonial building coalesce into a tangible expression the relationships of man to society and of society to the universe; so it is not surprising that different tribes have independently adopted this practice which, in the modern United States, we follow in structures like libraries, hospitals, colleges and governmental buildings, used primarily for the public benefit.

This assumption carries further weight when we examine the broad spread of Middle American cultural history. No evidence of truly primitive communities has been discovered as yet. The earliest materials represent a mid-point between the rude life of hunters and the complex society in developed American Indian civilization. From Salvador to

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Zacatecas, from the high mountain valleys to the forested coast, we find evidence of tribal cultures which had reached a competent plane of technical development and, implicitly, social adjustment as well. The surviving remains consist of ably made implements of pottery, stone and bone. Handmade clay figures show that the religions in vogue required simulacra of the gods as a part of worship. The flat grinding stones and mullers, still used in Mexico and called *metates** and *manos*, prove that the people relied on corn as their principal food. The regional differences in form and decoration of the figures, pottery and other utensils indicate that several different tribes remained at this Middle Culture stage for several centuries, to judge from the deep layers of refuse in the Valley of Mexico.[26]

Between the Middle Cultures and the elaborate ceremonial civilizations which succeeded them there are transitions in the design and form of implements, a sure sign that the authors of the various Middle Cultures were the creators of the later civilization. Those transitions appear to be gradual and not abrupt, so that the impression is strengthened of cultural development *in situ*. The existing evidence gives no valid reason for assuming any source for the high civilization of Middle America except the inventiveness of the local population.[27]

Monuments of these highly developed tribes are found between a southeastern limit in western Honduras and Salvador, and a northwestern boundary in the state of Zacatecas in Mexico. On the basis of their art styles and the reports of the Spaniards we can identify a number of distinctive tribal cultures. In the lowlands of Guatemala the Mayas had their

*Me-ta'-tayz.

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174 imposing ceremonial centers, which in the mountain regions were much less elaborate. In the state of Oaxaca* in Mexico the Zapotecs were the authors of a rich civilization. The coastal region of Vera Cruz yields evidence of several high civilizations which archaeological research is just beginning to distinguish. Most notable among these are the works attributed to the Olmecs and the Totonacs. On the northern border the Toltecs and the Aztecs created the great civilizations of Central Mexico. North and west of them tribal cultures of lesser development represented in some cases persistences and survivals from the Middle Culture plane, in others distorted reflections of the more elaborate civilizations.[18]

Just as in fifteenth and sixteenth century western Europe, where distinctive national and regional art styles were developed under the aegis of the Roman Church, so in Middle America there was sharp stylistic differentiation in the arts and crafts of tribes whose broad culture pattern was the same. This civilization was grafted to a Middle Culture base and comprised such elements of advanced culture as a polytheism based on nature worship, the representation of various divinities through drawing and sculpture, the erection of temples on platforms to honor these gods, a system of writing for religious and tribal records, a calendar and an astronomy designed primarily for ritualistic purposes. The Middle Americans probably did not develop these practices simultaneously but evolved and elaborated first one, then another, trait.

Other tribal units gradually absorbed and adapted these customs to suit their local needs. To maintain a civilization

*Wah-ha'h-cah.

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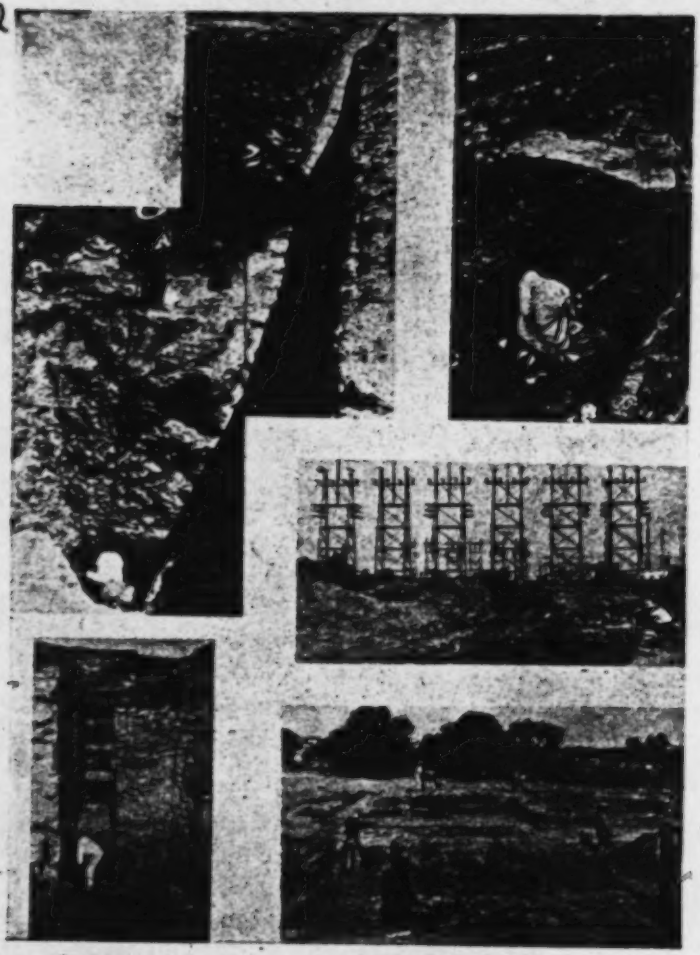

PLATE 1

EXCAVATIONS IN CENTRAL MEXICO

TOP: *Left:* Deep pit at El Arbolillo, Federal District, Mexico. The earliest discovered figurine types (Plate 14) were found at the bottom of this trench. *Right:* Clearing out a canal in the Nonoalco district of Mexico City, which was filled with pots from the cyclical destruction of 1507. MIDDLE: Excavation at Nonoalco. BOTTOM: *Left:* Peeling layers of refuse at Zacatenco, D.F. This work led to the formulation of the Middle Culture sequence described in Chapter II. *Right:* Dissecting a palace at Chiconauhtla, State of Mexico; for plan see Plate 43.

[p. 16(A)]

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PLATE 2

CLAY FIGURES FROM GRAVES IN WESTERN MEXICO

TOP: The dog is a hairless edible breed, the large ancestor of the modern dwarf Chihuahua. The accompanying figure shows a fresh vitality unobscured by ceremonial details. BOTTOM: Seated woman from western Mexico, a fine example of direct realism. The lack of sophistication is compensated for by the lively understanding of the subject matter.

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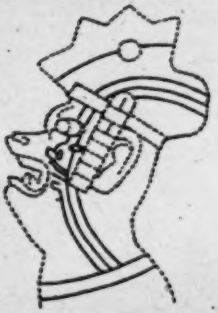

PLATE 3

SCULPTURES IN THE "OLMEC" STYLE

TOP: *Left:* Clay figure from Middle Culture site at Gualupita, Morelos. *Right:* Jade bead from Chiapas in similar style; note face marking. MIDDLE: Outline of jade tiger (below) with facial marking like that of the bead. BOTTOM: *Left:* Jade tiger, Necaxa, Puebla, a superb example, in miniature, of the jade cutter's art. *Right:* Stone mask representing the same tigerlike god, see Plate 4.

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[p. 16(C)]

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PLATE 4

SCULPTURES IN "OLMEC" AND EARLY MAYA STYLES

TOP: Porphyry mask from Tabasco; note the simplification of the details of the tiger gods on Plate 3. MIDDLE: Model of Temple E VII-sub Uaxactun, Peten, Guatemala. Later structures seal in the earlier monument of rubble covered by plaster. The second tier of masks closely resembles the sculpture at the top of the page. BOTTOM: Temple E VII-sub after excavation. The stela, or stone time marker, at left bears the earliest date found at Uaxactun.

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[p. 16(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec
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PLATE 5

MAYA ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

TOP: Model of Temple II, Tikal, Peten, Guatemala. The human figures at the top give an idea of the scale of this monument. The temple is almost completely decorative in function, the massive construction reducing the room size to mere slots. MIDDLE: God, Copan, Honduras. These figures show the complete mastery which the Maya sculptors held over carving in the round. BOTTOM: Grotesque head from Copan, Honduras.

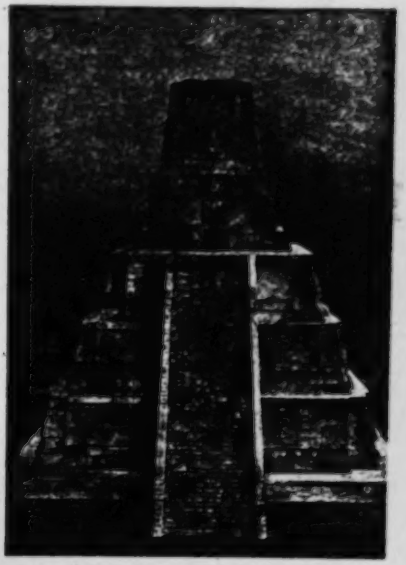

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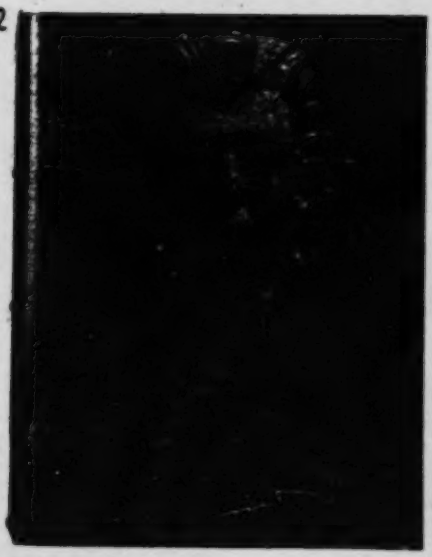

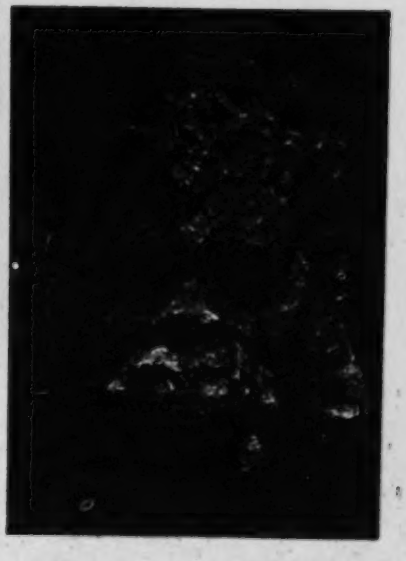

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PLATE 6

MAYA ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE, LATE PERIOD

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TOP: *Left:* Stela, twenty-five feet high, from Quiriqua, Guatemala. These stone time markers bore calendric calculations. *Right:* Figure in low relief, Jonuta, Tabasco. This is a superb example of Maya art. Contrast the dignity of the kneeling man with the vivid realism of the parrot. BOTTOM: House of the Dwarf, Uxmal, Yucatan. Late Maya temple architecture increased the size of the rooms and lavished decorative detail on the façades.

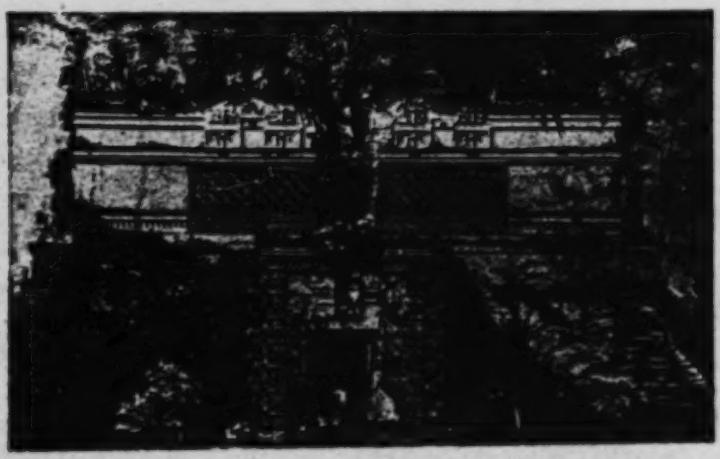

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Prehistoric Guatemala NU3
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PLATE 7
MAYA PAINTING

TOP: Detail from a vase, Alta Verapaz, Guatemala. A high dignitary receives an offering. Notice the sure outlines of the figures, recalling the masterly draftsmanship of the priest on the opposite page. The inscription, being textual and not calendric, is undecipherable. BOTTOM: Detail from a Mexican period wall painting at Chichen Itza. Warriors are raiding a town and taking prisoners, suggesting the troubled days of the Mexican expansion.

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PLATE 8

ZAPOTEC SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE, OAXACA, MEXICO

TOP: The ruins of Monte Alban, near Oaxaca, Oaxaca. This was the great Zapotec ceremonial center, where a whole hill was terraced to make space for temples and tombs. MIDDLE: Jade head, Oaxaca. The head is bearded, as is the case with a number of other sculptures and paintings from southeastern Mexico and Guatemala. BOTTOM: Relief from the earliest period at Monte Alban. This earliest art has certain resemblances to the "Olmec" style. Glyphs accompanying some of the figures show that a form of writing was known.

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[p. 16(H)]

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PLATE 9

ZAPOTEC SCULPTURE IN CLAY

TOP: *Left:* Mortuary urn depicting a rain god. Ritual demanded a formal and conventional treatment in defining this god. *Right:* This figure in the Oaxaca Museum shows how Zapotec sculptors could break through the bonds of convention to produce fine realistic art. BOTTOM: This tiger god recalls the "Olmec" divinity of Plates 1 and 3. It is a splendid example of the Zapotecan style, combining the freedom and the conventionalization manifested in the sculptures above.

[p. 16(I)]

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PLATE 10

"TOTONAC" SCULPTURE, VERA CRUZ

Impressive art forms have been found in this state and have been inaccurately grouped under this single term. TOP: *Left:* Palmate stone, of undetermined use, representing a dead wild turkey. *Right:* Back of a slate mirror which probably had a reflecting surface of iron pyrites. Note the masterly sense of design. BOTTOM: Model of Temple of Tajin, Papantla. The niches hold small idols, and the temple proper was at the top. This building is an impressive example of the versatility of the Middle American architect.

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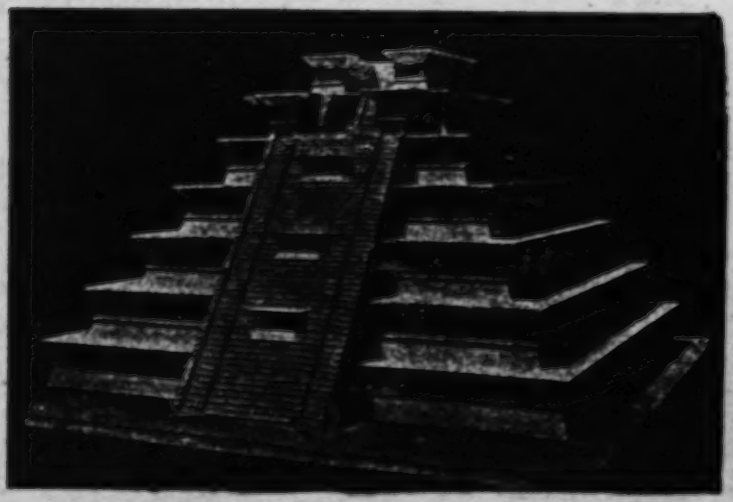

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PLATE 11

MIXTEC-PUEBLA ART

This culture became dominant after the eleventh century and had a wide influence on the established regional styles shown on the preceding plates. TOP: *Left*: Gold ear ornament representing a falling eagle, symbolic of the setting sun. *Right*: Page from the Codex Nuttall depicting warriors attacking a town in a lake. The band at top left represents the heavens, and the other symbols the name and number of the characters' birthdays. BOTTOM: A temple or palace at Mitla, the largest roofed room in Middle America. Observe how each block of the façade is carved to combine into a mosaic pattern.

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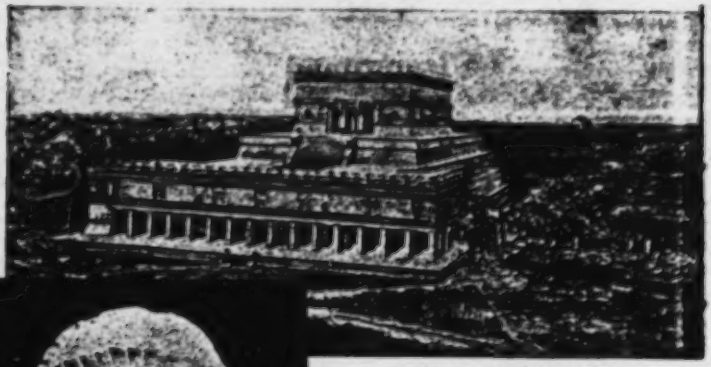

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PLATE 12

MIXTEC-PUEBLA INFLUENCE IN YUCATAN

At the turn of the twelfth century Mexican tribes conquered Yucatan and built a ceremonial center at the former Maya city of Chichen Itza. Top: Reconstruction of the Temple of the Warriors by Kenneth Conant. Middle: Head of the Mexican Rain God Tlaloc. Bottom: The Castillo, a majestic temple blending Maya and Mexican elements, the central structure of the Mexican city of Chichen Itza.

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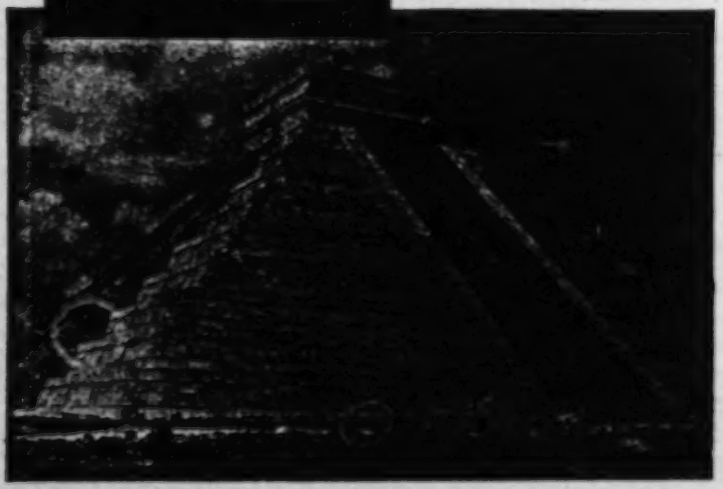

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174 along these lines a tribe had to be numerous, stable and successfully adjusted economically. Men had to be freed to a very considerable extent from the bare struggle for existence to perform and direct the elaborate ritual, to build the ceremonial structures and to develop the arts and crafts which gave the religion its outward expression.

The Mayas of Guatemala, Yucatan, southeastern Mexico and western Honduras attained the greatest eminence in the elaboration of this cult. Their temples and priestly dwellings were built of masonry and roofed by means of the corbel or false arch. The sculpture in stone and plaster adorning these buildings has the elaborate sophistication of a matured art. Their carefully pondered delineation of their gods and goddesses reflects theological maturity. Their writing is set forth in conventionalized hieroglyphs, of which only the calendric texts can be deciphered. It is this calendar which particularly excites the admiration of our Western civilization, for it is based on a highly evolved mathematical and astronomical system.[19] (See Plates 4–7.)

The Maya calendar should be a great aid in reconstructing history, but opinions differ as to how it should be correlated with Christian dates. There are several calculations designed to reconcile the Maya with the Christian calendar, but each correlation involves a difference of some two hundred and sixty years in the expression of Maya dates in Christian terms. This lack of agreement has led to quite divergent interpretations of Maya history, although the main trends are well established.[20]

The complexity and elaboration of the Maya civilization, barely touched on here, have challenged the imagination of explorers and students. Extravagant theories have been woven

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174 by seers and visionaries as to the origin of the Mayas in lost continents like Atlantis or Mu. Soberer judges see them as American in origin and credit them with the invention and spread of Middle American culture. However, in view of the unanswered correlation question it would seem more just to consider the Mayas as carrying to a higher degree, without implication of greater antiquity, a civilization shared by their neighbors.[21]

The excavation and study of remains in Middle American sites disclose a symmetrical cultural development which began at Middle Culture plane and passed through a long period of highly stylized local development, only to be cut short by a sudden decline and the intrusion of cult practices from Central Mexico (Table I). In the Maya area even the Middle Culture plane is not uniform at the several sites where it is represented. Pottery and figurines differ so strongly in style and ware as to suggest their manufacture by unrelated tribes.

These Middle Culture forms gradually became more sophisticated as the people began to build temples, erect stone time markers and develop a mature religious art. The differences in style observable at the Middle Culture plane became strongly accentuated in this civilized period. Yet pottery vessels made at one site have been found as trade objects in another, so that in the broad sense we know that the local cultures were contemporary. A vast amount of building and, in places, deep refuse beds suggest that a long span of time elapsed during this period. Whenever this civilized epoch crystallized, be it the years preceding the Christian Era, the early centuries afterward or the fifth century A.D., according to the correlation one adopts for the Maya calendar, we do know from traditional sources that about the twelfth century

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A.D. tribes of Mexican stock moved into the Maya country,174 where they founded various local dynasties. This movement is reflected in the archaeological remains which show influences from the Mixteca*-Puebla culture complex and reveal a degeneration of the local tribal civilization.[22]

The Maya region, prior to the twelfth-century infiltration from Mexico, contained peoples speaking different dialects and having distinctive regional styles in their material culture. Their religion and calendar, however, were essentially the same throughout the area. On the mainland of Mexico we find that the regional populations had not only distinctive arts but also different theological conceptions. Yet these Mexican civilizations, like that of the Maya, had their roots in the Middle cultures and succumbed at the end to Mixteca-Puebla influences.

The recent discoveries in southern Vera Cruz and Tabasco suggest a tantalizing explanation for the origin of Middle American civilization. At the sites of Tres Zapotes and La Venta great ceremonial centers occur, producing huge stone heads and religious and calendric formulas inscribed on stone doorjambs and stelae. Little clay figures made by hand follow the aesthetic tenets of Middle Culture art, but some types reflect the more matured modeling of the stone sculpture. The religious art portrays strange beings whose faces are either swollen and infantile or else grotesquely reproduce the visages of tigerlike monsters. This art has been called Olmec, after a gifted and civilized people whom the traditions say lived in the region but whose handiwork has never been securely identified.[23] (See Plates 3–4.)

The sculpture has relationships with other tribal arts that

*Mish-te'ca.

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174 suggest great antiquity. The tigerlike mask has close analogies with the plaster decorations on the oldest temple at the Maya site of Uaxactun,* a building which exhibits none of the characteristic features of Maya art. Masks and infantile faces were also present in the earliest occupation of Monte Alban, the great ceremonial site of the Zapotecs of Oaxaca.† The "baby face" was repeated on figurines from Upper Middle Culture sites in the Valley of Mexico, and an associated type of figurine also marked the close of the Lower Middle Period in that area. (See Plates 3, 8.)

The associations between Olmec art and early culture levels in the Maya area, Oaxaca and the Valley of Mexico, would suggest that the first steps toward ceremonial civilization were taken in southern Vera Cruz and Tabasco, except for one very perplexing feature: the writing and calendar system were those used by the Mayas, but the dates expressed seem to be earlier than those they inscribed on their own monuments. Further excavations undoubtedly will resolve this problem, which is like the old one of which came first, the hen or the egg.

The majority of scholars consider that Olmec art was later than early Maya, and that its creators understood so little of the complexity of the Maya calendar that they made errors, giving a fictitious impression of antiquity. Others claim that the early sculpture is a decisive argument for the antiquity of Olmec art and that the inscriptions are contemporaneous. Furthermore, they argue that the position of the Olmecs in the midst of Maya, Zapotec and other tribes with different art styles and calendar systems indicates a center from which such elements were diffused. However, later research is bound to answer this question.

*Wash-ac-to'on. †Wah-ha'h-cah.

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The excavation of Tres Zapotes discloses that after the first period the inhabitants developed a well-defined local style which had connections with the so-called Totonac cultures northward up the Vera Cruz coast. This period seems to have been a long one, to judge from the amount of mound building and the quantity of pottery and figurines dug up. In the final epoch Mexican influence seeped in, testifying to the spread of the Nahua-speaking peoples of the Central Plateau. Since the work at Tres Zapotes is still in progress we cannot yet sum up the final conclusions as to the historical and cultural affiliations of the occupants of this site. Nonetheless, the pattern of development followed the same lines we have noted before. (See Plate 10.)

On the uplands of Oaxaca, southwest of the Olmec country, another local civilization flourished, that of the Zapotecs. Their chief ceremonial site, Monte Alban, has been extensively excavated. It covers a small mountain, leveled and terraced into a gigantic natural platform which supports lesser artificial structures such as temples and ball courts. The five periods of occupation disclose the same sort of culture history that we have sketched previously, but Zapotec art styles and writing were quite different from those of their eastern neighbors.[26]

Monte Alban, in its earliest period, was the home of a people who made pottery and figurines of Middle Culture quality. They were advanced enough to rear platforms for their temples and they carved in relief human figures reminiscent of Olmec art to adorn their buildings. Hieroglyphs accompanied some of them, suggesting further connection with Vera Cruz; and two Olmec divinities, the infantile god and the tiger god, were represented in ceremonial vases of the

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174 period. But a later phase showed a gradual shift away from Olmec influence. Stones were inscribed in a distinctive writing, and calendric calculations were set forth, not in the elaborate long count of the Mayas, but in an abbreviated system which fixed a date in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle. The art, also, reveals a vague suggestion of Maya influence, and occasional vessel forms recall shapes found early in Maya history. (See Plates 8–9.)

The third and fourth stages of Monte Alban were of long duration. The Zapotecs grew less susceptible to foreign influence and developed a strongly regional theology and art. At the close of this era they appeared to be in contact with northern peoples, like the Toltecs of Central Mexico, and their culture underwent a transformation in its fifth and final period. A new people, the Mixtec, came into the Valley of Oaxaca and brought with them a new art, new gods and a new type of calendar and writing.

This later religious civilization was also spread into the Maya country by members of a totally different linguistic stock, the Nahua, and it reached its zenith among the Aztecs of Central Mexico. Research has not progressed to the point where we can identify the formulators of this civilization. Its place of origin seems definitely to center in the lands of the Mixtecs in northern Oaxaca and in the territory of Nahua tribes in Puebla. Thus to call the civilization Mixteca-Puebla and to identify its latest carriers under their tribal name, when this is known, seem the best ways to reconcile cultural with political history. In much the same way we use the term Western civilization to cover those culture elements shared by the nations of Europe and the Americas. (See Plates 7, 10–12.)

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In Central Mexico, at the northwestern frontier of the zone of high civilization, we find the same sort of sequence which we have set forth for the Mayas, the Olmecs and the Zapotecs. First, there was a long Middle Culture occupation; second, a shift in culture whereby another group, basically Middle Culture, took on the beginnings of a civilized status as shown by the presence of mounds and the sculptural definition of one or two gods. Out of a branch of this Upper Middle Culture a third phase developed, a majestic ceremonial civilization called Teotihuacan* or classical Toltec, which was surpassed by its southern contemporaries only through their superior development of sculpture and the religious calendar. A fourth interval in the history of the Valley of Mexico was known as the Chichimec† Period and comprised a phase of decline when the Teotihuacan Toltecs disintegrated and migrant tribes vied with each other for supremacy. Finally a fifth phase saw the introduction of the ceremonial civilization, developed by the Mixteca-Puebla peoples, which culminated in the domination of the Aztecs.[28]

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The Aztecs and their forebears grew up on the outer borders of an intensely civilized area in which the cultural history of its various peoples seems to have been very similar. Out of a long period of exploration and experimentation, the processes of which we have to reconstruct from our knowledge of the archaeology and ethnology of surviving cultures in North America, some of the tribes developed the sedentary life based on agriculture, typical of the Middle Cultures. This economy persisted for many centuries and in some places was never modified. However, somewhere in Guatemala or southern Mexico the conception of a cere-

*Tayo-ti-wa-ca'n. †Che'e-chee-mec.

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174 monial center for religious practices changed the older pattern of life. Conditions in forested country, as we have noted, would seem to offer the most urgent reasons for such a practice, but it spread over the Highland area as well.

In the train of this ceremonial architecture followed closely the ritualistic definition of the gods and, elaborated in various degrees, a calendric system closely tied in with their worship. The development of these practices followed tribal lines, creating regional art styles and special religious modifications. There seems to be a correlation between the evolution of these tribal styles and the spreading out of an increasing population. Yet these populations at first do not seem to have had close enough contact to modify specifically the patterns and styles of each other's cultures. Eventually this protracted phase of independent civilization ended with a spread of ideas and peoples, derived from Central Mexico, which continued for the last four centuries before the Spanish Conquest.

Estimates of time are hard to make in the absence of specific dates. Yet to allow eight centuries for the duration of the independent civilizations does not seem excessive, and to assume a similar length of time for the Middle Culture phases appears to be well within the bounds of probability. However, several thousand years could have elapsed between the first immigrations to America and the establishment of sedentary agricultural settlements like those of the Middle Cultures.

Rhythms of development are obviously not the same in all areas. The conditions of the natural environment had a profound effect on the progress of the American Indians, and the causes which affect the rise and decline of the birth rate

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likewise played a part in their history. The forces leading 174
to invention and to the development of techniques, the status of the various tribal societies, and many other important factors must have operated in this historical evolution, but it is next to impossible to reconstruct them from the mute evidence of archaeological remains.

Since the history of the Aztecs and their forebears is better 000
known than that of any other American Indian population, it is worth while to see how closely we can reconstruct the social, economic and environmental forces which affected them. Indian and Spanish sources illuminate the Aztec period, and dim traditions shed a faint light on the decline and fall of the Toltecs of Teotihuacan. Only for the Middle Culture peoples do we have to rely solely on material remains; nevertheless, in the Valley of Mexico the deep refuse heaps accumulated through the centuries present a record more detailed and capable of interpretation than elsewhere in Middle America. Therefore, the history of the Aztecs and their forebears presents in small compass the major trends which governed the rise of Middle American civilization.

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TABLE I

PRINCIPAL CULTURE SEQUENCES IN MIDDLE, NORTH, AND SOUTH AMERICA

Approximate Dates	NORTH AMERICA		MIDDLE AMERICA						SOUTH AMERICA		Approximate Dates
	U.S. Southeast	U.S. Southwest	Central Mexico	Cholula	Oaxaca	Vera Cruz	Highland Maya	Lowland Maya	Peru North Coast	Peru South Highland	
			Mixteca-Puebla Period								
1600		Pueblo V									1600
1500	Temple Mound II		Aztec 4	Cholula 5	Monte Alban 5		Chipal 3		Late Chimu plus Inca		1500
1400	Temple Mound I	Pueblo IV	Aztec 3			Cempoala		Chichen Itza 3	Inca Conquest	Inca	1400
1300	Burial Mound II		Aztec 2	Cholula 4					Late Chimu		1300
1200	Burial Mound I	Pueblo III	Aztec 1				Chipal 2	Chichen Itza 2		Inca Conquest	1200
1100			Mazapan	Cholula 3		Cerro Montoso			Black-White-Red		1100
			Late Independent Civilizations								
1000	Early Stages	Pueblo II	Teotihuacan 5		Monte Alban 4		Chipal 1	San José 3-5		Decadent Tiahuanaco	1000
900			Teotihuacan 4			Ranchito de las Animas	Chamá 4	Uaxactun 3	Tiahuanaco		900
800		Pueblo I	Teotihuacan 3			Tres Zapotes 3	Chamá 3	Holmul 5	Gallinazo-Chavin II	Chiripa	800

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Middle American Civilizations NY1

			Full Independent Civilizations								
700					Monte Alban 3		Kaminaljuyú		Early Chimu B	Pukara Classic Tiahuanaco	700
600		Basket Maker III	Teotihuacan 2	Cholula 2			Chamá 2	San José 2 Holmul 2-4 Uaxactun 2			600
500											500
400		Basket Maker II	Teotihuacan 1 Cuicuilco Ticoman Guaiupita 1		Monte Alban 2	Tres Zapotes 2	Chamá 1	Holmul 1	Early Chimu A		400
			Middle Cultures								
300		Basket Maker I(?)	Guaiupita 1	Cholula 1	Monte Alban 1	Tres Zapotes 1		Uaxactun 1b	Chavin I	Early Tiahuanaco	300
200			Copilco-Zacatenco			La Venta		Uaxactun 1a			200
100			Early Zacatenco				Miraflores				100
0			Early El Arbolillo I								0
100											100
200											200
			Early Cultures								
1000											1000
2000		Desert Cultures(?)									2000
5000		Cochise								Argentine Caves	5000
10000		Folsom									10000
20000											20000

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CHAPTER II

THE MIDDLE CULTURES IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO

An attempt to interpret the history and society of the earliest peoples found in Central Mexico through their archaeological remains

174 THE FIRST PEOPLES of whom we have a record in the Valley of Mexico lived on the Middle Culture plane in the centuries immediately preceding and following the birth of Christ. They occupied permanent villages, subsisted chiefly on the products of their fields, made adequate implements of stone, bone and clay, and fashioned little idols of terra cotta. Their level of development was about midway between a relatively primitive hunting or farming society and the more elaborate social and technical systems of the ceremonial civilizations. In the Valley of Mexico there were two occupations of this type, which we may distinguish as Lower and Upper. The people of the Upper Middle Cultures introduced the ceremonial mound or platform and made occasional images of gods, defined according to the laws of their ritual, while the Lower Middle population followed a simpler religious presentation.[1] (See Plate 13.)

133 The Valley of Mexico was a superb place to live at that
174 time. Seven thousand feet above sea level high mountain chains walled in a fertile valley in which lay a great salt lake,

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Texcoco,* fed at the south by two sweet water lagoons, 133
Xochimilco† and Chalco; at the northwest by two more, 174
Xaltocan‡ and Zumpango, and at the northeast by a sluggish stream, the Acolman River, which drained the fertile Valley of Teotihuacan.§ The lakes were shallow and their marshy shores, thick with reeds, attracted a teeming abun- [136]
dance of wild fowl. On the wooded mountain slopes deer abounded. During the rainy season thick alluvial deposits, [134]
ideal for primitive agriculture, were washed down along the lake shore.

As village sites, the Middle Culture peoples selected points 361
along the lake where they could take the greatest advantage 174
of the natural resources of lake and forest, and cultivate most easily their crops of corn, cotton and other plants. Once located in a suitable spot, they stayed there for a long, long time, enough for twenty-five feet of refuse to accumulate at the site of El Arbolillo‖ and fifteen at Zacatenco.¶

Their homes were impermanent affairs which left no 342
remnants of foundations, floors or fire pits. Little fragments 174
of burned clay, impressed with stick marks, suggest that the 364
dwellings were of wattle, daubed with mud and covered by a thatched roof, like the homes of modern Indian communities in this very Valley. The inhabitants were not troubled by ideals of sanitation or civic neatness and threw their refuse on their own doorsteps. Broken pottery, animal bones, all the nameless trash that man rejects, found their way to 364
the dump heap, but its most conspicuous element was corn 174
shocks which, in the absence of domestic animals, had no

*Tes-co'-co.
†Sho-cho-mo'el-co.
‡Hal-co'-can.
§Tay-o-teo-wah-ca'n.
‖El Arb-o-le'o-yo.
¶Zacate'nco.

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364 174 possible use. This vegetable matter, disintegrating into earth, caused the middens to accumulate rapidly and, indirectly, has aided archaeological research, for an object dropped into this mess was as lost as the proverbial needle in a haystack. [764] Even the dead found their way into the middens, not, however, because of their survivors' lack of respect, but because graves were dug more easily with wooden tools in the soft, churned earth of the refuse heaps than in undisturbed soil.

174 364 142 Mexican myths and annals give no clue to the identity of these men or the language they spoke. The study of their skeletal remains reveals a people of medium height, composed of several physical strains; but not enough material has been amassed to trace these affiliations precisely. The middens, however, filthy and flyblown as they may have been, are real historical documents. Laid down gradually through the years, the successive layers disclose the different types and styles of the people's tools and utensils.[8]

172 114 Archaeological research refers to these Lower Middle remains in the Valley of Mexico as the Copilco-Zacatenco culture, named from the sites where the material was first studied. The stylistic sequences also receive their names from the places where they were first determined. Specimens of both the Lower and Upper Middle phases were referred to under various names until 1917, when the first real excavation defining the Lower Middle material was made under the lava quarry of Copilco. In the winter of 1928–29 excavations at Zacatenco showed that the Copilco remains were a late stage in the history of the Lower Middle occupation of the Valley. Two years later the excavation of El Arbolillo produced deep beds of Early Zacatenco material, enabling us

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

to detect three stages of which the earliest, El Arbolillo I, 172 114
preceded Early Zacatenco.[8] (See Plate 1.)

Thus archaeology works with two sets of factors, peoples 121
in the past and their material remains; the terms used in distinguishing the one do not always apply justly to the other. A style of pottery may be very useful and important in defining the presence of a people at a given time, but it is a mere adjunct to the reconstruction of their history. The making of the style is not an important historical fact in itself. The technical literature of archaeological research must concern itself with the methods of reconstructing Indian history, but such findings appall the general reader, who quite reasonably wants to know the history itself.

This digression, it is hoped, will explain Table II, on which 128
is summarized the material evidence for the history of Lower 324
Middle Culture peoples of the Valley of Mexico, the creators of the Copilco-Zacatenco culture. Their life history seems to have been a peaceful one, without external indications of war or revolution. They made numerous tools of stone, the forms of which were so satisfactory to them that there was little change through several centuries. For many purposes they used obsidian or volcanic glass. Hard but fragile, it could be chipped into projectile points or scrapers and flaked off into long narrow blades. Discarded fragments could be used without retouching, since the edges of a freshly broken piece are as sharp as a razor blade. Projectile points, which required careful shaping, show changes through the years, caused by technical improvements. For example, the stoneworkers of the later periods found that by notching the butt of an arrowhead it could be more firmly lashed to its wooden shaft. (See Plate 16, middle.)

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174 412 *Metates* and *manos*, the grinding stones and mullers used to grind corn kernels into flour, were made of lava rock and, being efficiently developed for the purpose, were not changed through the centuries. Axes and celts were rare, and the examples recovered were made of serpentine, porphyry and jade, rocks not found in the Valley of Mexico. [439 301] An occasional beautifully worked jade ornament, like an earplug or pendant, indicated trade and the existence of more advanced cultures south of the Valley limits.

174 321 The tribesmen found deerhorn and bone very useful for fashioning various kinds of tools, such as flakers for working obsidian and awls for perforating hide or aiding in weaving basketry, and they sometimes notched a deer shoulder blade to beat out a rhythm by rasping a stick along the serrations. [439] A few crude shell ornaments made from Pacific coast species testify to trade to the south and west. Wood and basketry have all disintegrated so that we cannot tell whether the 174 people used the bow or the *atl-atl*, or what their techniques of weaving were. However, we know that they did weave [286] and possibly beat out bark cloth, for some of their little clay images are represented as wearing turbans. Furthermore, a tiny fragment of cloth, miraculously preserved, was woven from cotton thread in one direction and apocynum fibers in the other.[4]

174 323 531 These people were practical potters but were not troubled unduly by an aesthetic urge. Ninety per cent of their vessels were solidly constructed storage and cooking jars, ranging in color from a light tan to the shade of a bay horse. At first they made black bowls with three little feet and incised a rude geometric design into which they rubbed red paint. Later they grooved a pattern before applying a slip or wash,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

a practice which led ultimately to handsome channeled designs. In their later days they gave this practice up, changed the vessel shape and, after the bowl was fired, took a piece of obsidian and etched a running pattern that had the same relation to the previous stiff geometric design that script has to block lettering. (See Plates 16, top; 17, second and third rows.)

Painted decoration was not very popular. At one village, Zacatenco, in the early period, there was a fashion of painting white geometric designs on red clay. Later on this style shifted to spreading white slip on vessels and adding a simple solid design in red. There was some further experimentation in trying out different types of slip, but the most conspicuous change was the shape of the bowls which, in the later period, differed markedly from the earlier forms.

This impression of smug competence, uninspired by artistic yearnings, is borne out by the little baked-clay images which the people made in abundance. They were usually female and may have represented a mother goddess, symbolizing growth and fertility, a conception common among the religious ideas of mankind. The figures were not valued in themselves, as they are almost always found broken and discarded in the refuse heaps. Distinctive styles seem to have developed in different regions. Among the vastly more numerous locally made figurines there are a few which are the standard types elsewhere, so that if the little idols were not traded they must have been brought in by pilgrims. When we consider how carefully, even if naïvely, the figures were made and how clay idols were manufactured in later periods to represent specific gods, we must conclude that they had religious significance even at this early date.

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

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The early sculptor did not work in stone or wood, but clay. His figures were small, seldom over six inches high. His method was to model the head and torso first and then add details, like arms and legs, nose, eyes and ears, by pinching on little pieces of clay. Later the figurine was fired, and often after firing the face and body were painted with ornamental designs. The sculptor strove for a naturalistic effect rather than following a rigid convention. Yet standardized ways of doing things produced styles that vary according to tribe and to changes in fashion or in technical development and degeneration. (See Plate 14, top.)

In our modern world we are accustomed to sophisticated and self-conscious art forms. Seen objectively, these Early Middle Culture figurines are dumpy and gross. Short, fat bodies, blobby noses, protuberant eyes and stubby arms and legs are not attributes of a graceful form, according to our way of thinking. Yet handling one of these figurines and tracing each step in its formation, one is conscious of an intense seriousness and comprehends a whole world of thought dammed by the want of technical facility in expression. An intuitive person sometimes sees a populous world of shining fantasy behind the meager scribbling of a child. Behind these figurines must have existed an austere realization of the complex rhythms of birth, growth and death in nature, epitomized in the miracle of woman and her bearing of children. (See Plate 14, bottom.)

The process of experimentation kept on throughout the early part of the Lower Middle Period. A careful observer can see how certain manners of presentation dominated the sculptor's interest from time to time. The work of one cluster of settlements differed from that of another, and

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

figurines seem to have been exchanged between commu- 174
nities. Perhaps the most attractive type developed in this 532
era had its center in Puebla and Morelos, but was so liked by [438]
the people of the northern Valley of Mexico that a small but constant quantity has been found at almost every village. These figurines, in contrast to the matronly bearing of the local images, have something of a girlish grace. They are too distinctive and differ too sharply from the northern-Valley forms to have been copies made by the local artisans. (See Plate 15.)

However, as time went on, the importation of another 174
new style (Type A) stimulated local adaptations. This sculp- 532
ture reproduced in relatively accurate proportions the 438
rounded contours of the Central American face. The artist, by sinking his wads of clay into slots, was able to reproduce the curves of the nose and lips more accurately in relation to the face planes. This new style had no discovered prototypes in the Valley of Mexico and seems to have been evolved originally by Tres Zapotes sculptors during the early Olmec occupation. Its introduction to the Valley also brought distinctive changes in the form and decoration of certain types of pottery bowls and had a pronounced effect on the local tradition of clay modeling. The painstaking methods of the early work were neglected for the slap-dash fashioning of flat gingerbread forms, coarsely conventionalized. One contemporary style was so crude that it may have been made as an intentional grotesque. Another quaint concept evolved at the time was a two-headed being which must have represented some god or mythological personage. (See Plate 17, top, bottom.)

Thus to judge from the material remains, the Lower Mid- 174

[i.e., of figurine. — Analyst]

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

174 dle Culture people existed for centuries, developing their own techniques without being affected very much by outside peoples. Then they suddenly showed signs of being strongly influenced by external groups from whom they borrowed an art style and new types of pottery. The social significance of this typological change is hard to interpret. (See Plate 17.)

121 The history of art is also the history of artists who, in a
174 primitive community, are not a specialized class but the people themselves. When an art is created for religious purposes the development of the content of the religion and the requirements of ritual are as important as the evolution of the artistic technique. These little figurines, judged by the standards of the great arts of the world, are feeble and fumbling examples of the social process which, in our own culture, we designate as aesthetic. Even as the dissection of a frog leads to the understanding of the biology of more advanced organisms, so we can see how the plastic art of this Lower Middle Culture passed from a period of convention to one of experiment, and then settled back to convention again. Contact with a foreign source of inspiration brought in a new manner of presentation which may have withered interest in the older technique. Such rhythms appear over and over again in art history.

174 The religious significance of the figurines is less intelligible.
778 A common concept in the religion of farming peoples is that of a female principle or generative force, tied in with growth and productivity. A goddess frequently symbolizes that belief, since man often invests the processes of nature with his own attributes and motives. The little clay figures of Zacatenco and El Arbolillo always represent women, some of whom carry children in their arms, but no two wear pre-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec
Prehistoric Mexico N43

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cisely the same costume. A few exceptional examples have 778
two heads.

Such evidence is little to build on, but it is all we have. We 121
do not know what lay behind the sculpture in the way of 174
theology, philosophy and ritual. The modern Pueblo Indians of our own Southwest have few ceremonial objects which could survive destruction and decay, yet such implements by no means reflect the full complexity of religion and ritual which these people possess. We should not, therefore, leap to the assumption that the Lower Middle Culture people were lacking in religious development because of the crudeness of their surviving ceremonial equipment.

The only other index to the religious practices of this 174
period is the treatment of the dead. They were buried, but 764
seldom according to a set plan. Some were contracted, others extended; usually a single person was buried at a time. Yet group burials occurred, and the differences in the age and sex of the occupants of a single grave suggest a family interment. The skeletons exhumed show no marks of death by war or sacrifice. Disease has left no trace, but over a quarter of the dead were children, and few individuals reached old age. Offerings like pots, tools, weapons and ornaments often accompanied burials, but prosperity in life may have had something to do with the practice. At El Arbolillo one half the dead, irrespective of age and sex, had offerings, but at Zacatenco, less than five miles away, only one out of eighteen were so honored. The mourners covered a few of the corpses with red paint made from hematite; they left with one man his ornament of turquoise mosaic and endowed a tiny baby with two jade ear ornaments and two pottery bowls, an unprecedented gift, suggesting exceptional parental grief or

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

174 764 wealth. Some of the dead they dumped into shallow pits, while they stretched others out in formal tombs, lined and covered with stone slabs and floored with clean beach sand.*

174 The government of these Lower Middle Culture people is not told in this earthy record. The economics are only faintly outlined: hunting, farming and a little trade to the south. Status in society was apparently recognized, since the burials differed in richness of equipment, and most people grant honor to the dead in the same proportion as prestige to the living. The tenor of life was peaceful in the main, but nature seems to have intervened with occasional violence. At Zacatenco the lake level suddenly rose just at the dawn of the late period. Whether the changes in art styles were brought in by refugees, driven from their homes by the rising waters, or were due to modes and fashions from farther afield, is still a moot question. Some communities, inhabited at the end of this period, were abandoned as local floods swept over them, sealing the remains under several feet of silt.*

Yet abruptly the Lower Middle Culture people disappeared, and their stylistic traditions did not linger on into later periods. Immigrants took their place who were the makers of the Upper Middle cultures of Cuicuilco-Ticoman* (named for Cuicuilco, the great mound erected to honor their gods, and Ticoman, their most carefully studied village site) (Table III).

The Upper Middle Culture throve in the Valley of Mexico, Morelos, Puebla, Michoacan and in Vera Cruz. It was already in existence during the later phases of the Lower Middle Culture, in Morelos, south of the Valley of Mexico.

*Kwee-kwe'el-co-Tee-co-ma'n.

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

Whereas the Copilco-Zacatenco styles ceased abruptly, the 174
Upper Middle techniques persisted into the later Teotihuacan civilization and the high cultures of western Mexico. The Upper Middle art, in contrast to the unity of the Lower, had strong local variations. Yet the Upper Middle Cultures were the scaffolding used to erect the ceremonial civilization of the Teotihuacan Toltecs, and as such take an important place in Mexican history.[1] (See Plate 13.)

A meager listing of objects found in the earth constitutes 178
the historical record of the Upper Middle Cultures, but by 174
contrasting these pots and tools with those of the preceding era social forces may be seen at work. At Ticoman, the most carefully studied village site, the population terraced their rocky peninsula to make level places for houses which were too perishable to leave traces for later archaeological reconstruction. In the refuse beds deer bones are less in evidence than in the adjacent sites of the preceding period, indicating that game was gradually being hunted off. The Ticomanos made a greater variety of stone tools, both in shape and in purpose, and they found out that the flakes of obsidian could be more easily worked than the more solid fragments used in Lower Middle times. Yet as techniques became more complex the capabilities of the individuals differed. We found 174
two graves of leatherworkers who were buried with the tools 764
of their trade; one carefully fashioned his implements, while 281
the other contented himself with chips and flakes, as if he cared more about finishing the job than taking pride in sheer workmanship. (See Plate 16, bottom.)

The potters showed this same interest in improving the 174
manner of living. They made a much higher proportion of 323
carefully fashioned vessels for the service of food than did 531

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

174 their Lower Middle predecessors. They were attracted more
323 by shape and finish than by painted designs. Not content
531 with little tripods to hold the vessels steady, they modeled the legs with care and often filled them with pellets to make them rattle pleasingly. At first they had trouble painting designs because the burnishing process caused the red paint to run. They tried to correct this after firing by outlining the blurred pattern with an obsidian blade. Later they found that painting a heavy white outline gave a pleasing trichome effect, which at the end of the era they abandoned for simple polishing. (See Plates 19–20, bottom.)

They also experimented with a new process, negative painting, the same technique as batik. A vessel was coated with wax or gum, which was then scraped away to make a pattern. The pot was next covered with paint, and when fired the gum burned away, leaving only the scraped portion colored. This method of decoration may have had its origin in Central and South America, where the practice is more common, and the technique may well have passed from tribe to tribe until, at this early date, it reached the Valley of Mexico in an imperfect form. Archaeology does not reveal the use of an analogous method for textiles, but, in the early days of Indian Peru, garments were beautifully treated in batik.[8]

174 Trade was much more extensive than in Lower Middle
439 times. Shell was more abundant and more carefully worked,
321 but the varieties were those of the Vera Cruz coast, in contrast to the west-coast origin of the Lower Middle shells. Ornaments and axes of jade, porphyry and serpentine also pointed to an eastern origin, but fragments of pottery seemed to disclose a wide radius of commercial activity.

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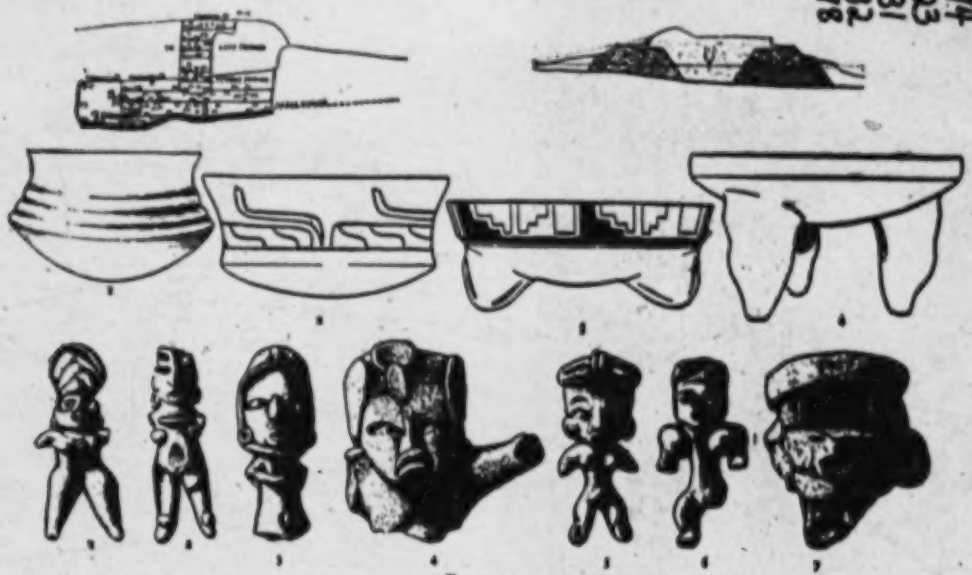

PLATE 13

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF MIDDLE CULTURE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP: *Left:* Section through refuse heap at Zacatenco, with figurine types noted. *Right:* Cross section of mound at Cuicuilco. MIDDLE: Nos. 1–2, Lower Middle Culture pottery; Nos. 3–4, Upper Middle Culture pottery. BOTTOM: Nos. 1–4, Lower Middle Culture figurines, C 3, C 1–2, B-C, A; Nos. 5–6, Upper Middle Culture figurines, E, H 2; No. 7, Teotihuacan I figurine, E 4.

[P. 40 (A)]

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PLATE 14

LOWER MIDDLE CULTURE FIGURINES

TOP: Figurines (Type C 3) from earliest level. The features are made of applied bits of clay. Although the general appearance is crude, the technique shows long experimentation. BOTTOM: These figurines (Types C 1 and C 1-2) develop from those above. They seem to show a more slovenly procedure, but there is more variety in form than in the earlier style of female figures above.

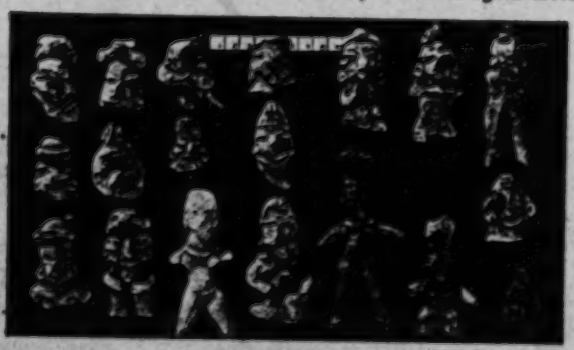

[p. 40(B)]

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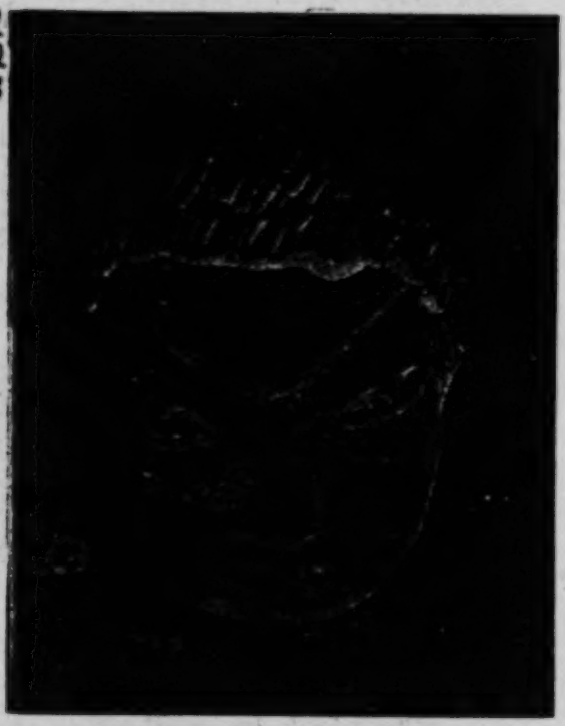

PLATE 15

LOWER MIDDLE CULTURE FIGURINES

TOP: The head (D1) in this much enlarged reproduction represents a style in which the craftsmen exercised more care and skill. The source of the type seems to have been outside of the Valley of Mexico in Morelos. BOTTOM: A group of similar heads from Central Mexico, showing the variations within a single style. The scale is in centimeters.

[p. 40(C)]

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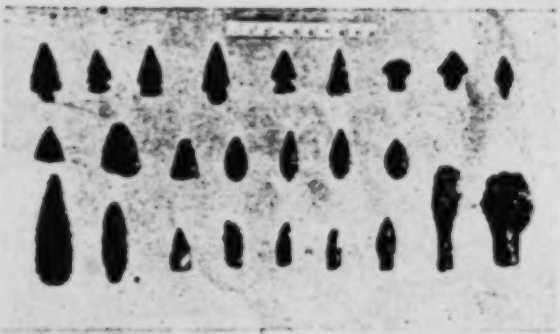

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PLATE 16

MIDDLE CULTURE POTTERY AND IMPLEMENTS

TOP: Pottery from the early phase of the Lower Middle Culture Period, *L.* to *R.*, trade piece, red and orange on white; bowls, white on red; bowl, black ware. MIDDLE: Obsidian tools; *top row*, Upper Middle Culture; *middle and bottom rows*, Lower Middle Cultures. BOTTOM: *Left:* Equipment of an Upper Middle Culture leatherworker, awls, grainers, scrapers and rodent teeth for cutting and scraping. *Right:* Lower Middle Period ornaments, earplugs, beads and whistle. Note the jade ornaments, second in both rows.

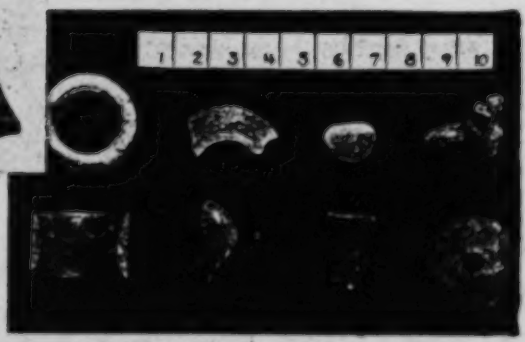

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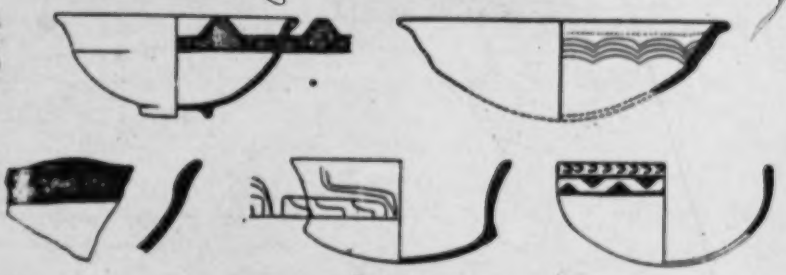

PLATE 17

LATE LOWER MIDDLE CULTURE POTTERY AND FIGURINES

TOP: Figurines (Type A). Close scrutiny will disclose that this style is in a different tradition. The source may perhaps be Tres Zapotes, Vera Cruz. SECOND ROW: Red on yellow and incised black bowls. THIRD ROW: Fragment and bowls, incised red on white, etched black, red on white, distinctive forms defining this phase. BOTTOM ROW: Figurines (Type B) which are the survival of the local tradition, contemporary with Type A (*top*). Degeneration has set in, since the craftsmen's interest has shifted to the new style.

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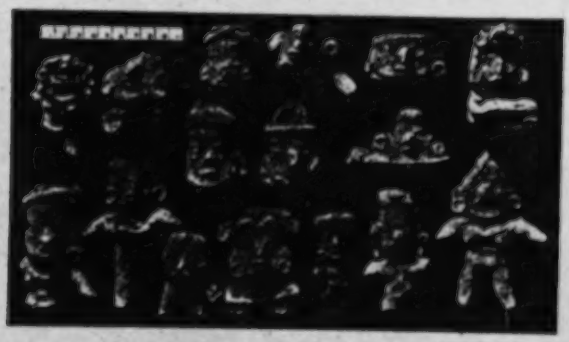

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PLATE 18

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UPPER MIDDLE CULTURES, OBJECTS AND ARCHITECTURE

TOP: *Left:* Incense burner of lava, the oldest stone carving found as yet in the Valley of Mexico. The bowl rests on the back of a hunched human figure. *Right:* Earplug of carved baked clay. A collar at the rear was inserted in a perforation in the ear lobe. BOTTOM: View of platform of Cuicuilco. This oval structure of adobe faced with stone had fallen into decay before the lava (visible at upper left) flowed over the debris. At the left, circling the base of the platform, may be seen a parallel row of stones of unknown significance.

[p. 40(F)]

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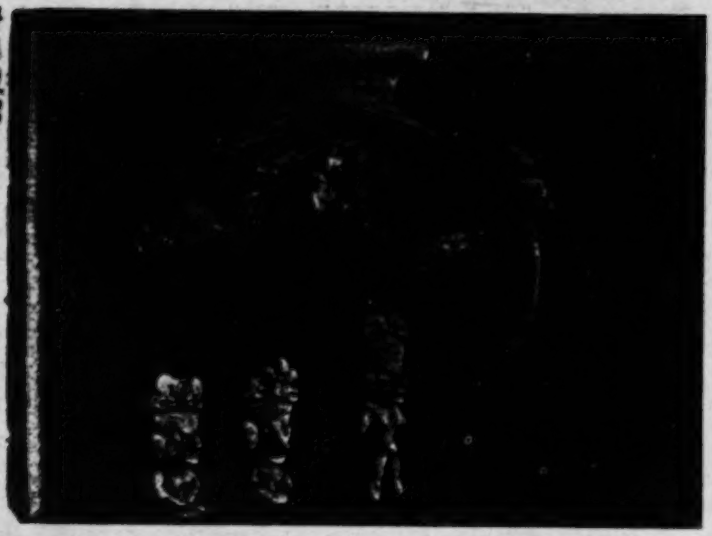

PLATE 19

POTTERY AND FIGURINES, UPPER MIDDLE CULTURES

TOP: Three figurines (E) represent the early plastic art of this era. The bowl is polychrome and is ornamented with embossed birds. BOTTOM: The Type H figurines of the last phase of the Upper Middle Culture Era are covered with a white slip and painted. Their positions are lively and animated. The jar in the background is painted red on a brown background with a subsidiary pattern in black applied by the batik process. The small pot is of quartzite.

[p. 40(G)]

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PLATE 30

POTTERY AND FIGURINES, UPPER MIDDLE CULTURE

TOP: *Left*: This large seated figure of clay from Gualupita, Morelos, shows an individuality not found in the run of the sculpture. It belongs to the same school as the other figure (*right*), which appeared on Plate 3 in connection with "Olmec" sculpture. BOTTOM: These bowls from Ticoman show the standard shapes of this era. Note the elaborate tripod supports that distinguish these shapes from those of the preceding Lower Middle Culture Era.

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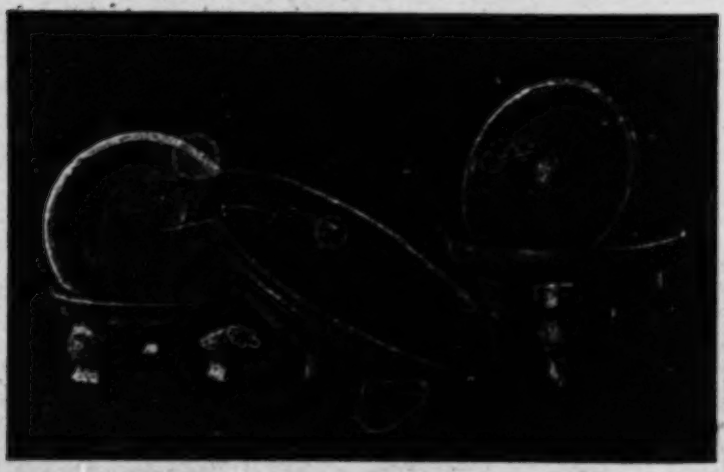

[p. 40(H)]

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The figurine cult was still very important, and the imaginative person can read into these little votive objects the art history of a forgotten people. Before the Upper Middle Culture spread out into the Valley of Mexico there was a little settlement in the present ward of Gualupita in Cuernavaca.* The inhabitants made clay idols, stiff and clumsy like the Lower Middle figurines of the Valley but distinct from them in style. Sporadic examples traded from one region to another show that early Gualupita was contemporary with the Lower Middle Cultures of the Valley. These Gualupita forms, obviously representative of a much more widely distributed art, later crystallized into a happy little style wherein the conventionalized treatment of the face was balanced by the variety of the headdress and of the posture. This type was being made by the Upper Middle people when they filtered into the Valley of Mexico.* (See Plates 19, 20, top.)

The wave of technical experiment that affected the other artisans also stimulated the sculptors, and they began to elaborate these shapes, making grotesques as well as naturalistic human beings, in which they tried to depict different positions and even actions. They polished the surfaces to enhance the form by the luster of its finish. To our modern eye the results are not particularly impressive, but they marked a step in the technical development of the art. Finally out of this chaos in miniature two styles developed that must have been satisfactory to the tribal sculptors since they were in vogue to the exclusion of all others. In one the figures were coated with a polished white paint, sometimes touched up in red. They were shown seated or standing, arranging their hair, covering their eyes, holding a bowl and performing

*Kwayr-na-va'-ca.

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174 various different acts. In the other there was a return to
532 applying pieces of clay in meticulous detail, emphasizing
778 ornaments and hairdress, as well as the limbs and features of the individuals. While most of the figurines were female, a few were obviously male, a suggestion, even though tenuous, that the theology was becoming more complex.

174 Supporting this theory, we find two carefully individu-
532 alized beings portrayed with more or less skill. One is a figure with a contorted mouth and the general lineaments of a baby. In the Valley of Mexico this personage was crudely conventionalized, but at Gualupita a sculptor made superb and large-sized representations that stand far above the general artistic norm. They seem truly to reflect in clay the strange infantile beings, hewed out of gigantic boulders or graven on stone slabs, that dominated the religious art of the Olmecs in Vera Cruz.[10] (See Plate 20, top.)

174 The other being, portrayed both in clay and stone, is an
532 old man who sits with bowed head, supporting on his head
776 and shoulders a bowl for burning incense. This god was also important in the Teotihuacan civilization and in Aztec times, when he was appropriately called Huehueteotl,* the Old God, and sometimes Xiuhtecuhtli,† Lord of Fire. Such a divinity is peculiarly fitting for a volcanic region, and his presentation as an old man suggests the manifest antiquity of mountains. His continuous worship for many centuries would seem to make him the oldest god ritualistically shown in Middle America, even though the mother goddess of corn and growth may represent an earlier concept.[11] (See Plate 18, top left.)

000 Yet the full impact of Middle American religion on those

*Way-way-ty-ol. †Shee-oo-te-co'cell.

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Yet the full impact of Middle American religion on those
Central Mexican villagers is symbolized by the great adobe 346
mound of Cuicuilco. On the skirts of the volcanic range of 174
Ajusco,* at the southwest of the valley, tribesmen built a massive oval mound, approximately 369 feet in diameter and 60 feet high, to the top of which led a wide ramp. They faced the sides with river boulders to guard against the erosion of seasonal rains and, perhaps, to add to the effect of rugged majesty. They reared no stately temple on the summit but instead constructed an altar, open alike to the sky and to the eyes of the congregation. With its lack of the stiff rectangles of formalized direction the mound seems, to a modern, almost a spontaneous evocation of the mass religious spirit. The altar is a direct contrast: here sloping rectilinear walls and a pair of steps flanked by low balustrades presage the developed architecture of a later day. The sides are faced with smoothed adobe to approach as nearly as possible the plasterwork of religious architecture fully developed elsewhere. The whole beautifully symbolizes the introduction of a cherished ritual, as exemplified by the altar, to the mass need of a large population, represented by the mighty mound.[11] (See Plate 18, bottom.)

The people of Cuicuilco added twice to their temple, each time replacing the altar by setting another above it. Once they added a new facing to the structure, utilizing jagged blocks of lava instead of the river boulders. They allowed refuse to pile up around the base, covering up a narrow passage of stones set on edge, which answered some forgotten purpose of the early builders. In time they paid little attention to their creation, and the rains weakened the stone veneer and let the sides slump down. Then a volcano, Xitli,†

*A-hoo's-co. †Shee'-tly.

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174 erupted, and molten lava poured down along the slopes and
346 flowed over the countryside, creating the volcanic desert of the modern Pedregal. Cooling, it left many feet of solid stone, sealing in the lower third of the platform. The flow was stopped by the lake after it had also covered up several abandoned sites of earlier date, like Copilco. However, the molten flood affected directly only a small part of the Valley of Mexico.

174 The desert of the Pedregal is a wasteland. The lava quar-
[317] ried from the congealed stream is now the principal building stone of Central Mexico and the ballast for its tracks and its motor roads. In exploiting the quarries the early discovery of Copilco was made. Then the artificial mound projecting through the Pedregal challenged the imagination of Dr Gamio, who requested Dr Byron Cummings to undertake the excavation of Cuicuilco. Finding traces of man underneath this impenetrable sheet of rock suggested a culture of immeasurable antiquity. When did the volcano erupt? On the answer to that question hinges the date of these Middle Cultures, first traces of man in Central Mexico.

The vast and precise learning of geology was brought into play, and the geologists concurred that the flow was recent and gave it the trivial age of two to ten thousand years, nothing in terms of the millenniums and multimillenniums in which they usually measure time. But two thousand to ten thousand years are enormous units by which to count the history of man. The oldest legendary history of Mexico reached back only to 500–700 A.D. for the founding of Teotihuacan. What happened between that date and the cataclysm of the Pedregal? That was a problem for archaeology to answer, if it could.[12]

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First the materials from Copilco and Cuicuilco, the two /171
buried sites, were compared and found to be different. Then /121
these styles were discovered in other parts of the Valley in /172
open sites, unaffected by the local eruptions which formed the Pedregal. Next several seasons of work in these open sites disclosed that not only was Copilco older than Cuicuilco but that Copilco-Zacatenco culture was represented by rubbish heaps twice as deep as those at Cuicuilco-Ticoman. There is no way to measure the rate of accumulation of such heaps. However, on the basis of a deposit at Pecos,* New Mexico, the beginning and ending dates of which are more or less known, it does not seem unreasonable to compute six or seven centuries' duration for the Lower Middle Culture of Copilco-Zacatenco and three hundred years or so for the life span of the Upper Middle Culture of Cuicuilco-Ticoman.[19] (See Plate 13.)

The next step was to fit Cuicuilco-Ticoman to the later /174
phases of Indian history in Mexico. Cuicuilco and Ticoman /172
material is stylistically akin to pottery and figurines found at mound sites in Puebla and Morelos, suggesting that the massive shrine of Cuicuilco in the Valley was an outpost. The baby-face divinity leads back to the highly ceremonialized Olmec culture in Vera Cruz, and the Fire God occurs not only at Ticoman and Cuicuilco and the Upper Middle Culture site of Jalapazco,† in Puebla, but also very frequently at Teotihuacan.

Actual examples of Teotihuacan culture have appeared in Gualupita and Ticoman. Yet much more significant was the discovery at Teotihuacan that its earliest phase was closely affiliated to pottery and figurines commonly occurring at

*Pa'y-cos. †Hab-lah-pa'la-co.

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

174 Cuicuilco, Ticoman and Gualupita. Thus the beginning of
172 the Teotihuacan civilization was a part of the same cultural manifestation that we have characterized as the Upper Middle Cultures. The lava flow of the Pedregal must be dated in terms of the continuous history of the Valley of Mexico tribes. Cuicuilco was abandoned before the flow took place and, to judge from the destruction, an appreciable time before. Six or seven hundred A.D. then is none too late a date for the eruption.[14] (See Plate 21.)

Therefore, we must conclude that one or two centuries
174 prior to the dawn of the Christian Era sedentary farmers were maintaining themselves in the Valley of Mexico. Their culture was sufficient for their needs, and very little in the way of outside influence affected them. Toward the end influences in art or, more precisely, religious representation began to modify their culture. Finally, in the third or fourth centuries after Christ, they seem to have withdrawn from the Valley, giving way before the pressure of a new people.

These new people may well have come from the regions east and south of the Valley of Mexico, now embraced in the states of Morelos and Puebla, and seem to have been in a ferment of technical and religious experiment. They showed greater interest than their predecessors in modeling and technique and exercised something of an artistic independence between villages. Their most impressive contribution was the introduction of religious architecture and the beginnings of defined ritualistic art. Their contacts in trade and in intellectual inspiration were with the peoples of the east coast, but they worked out their styles in their own way. Some groups built clusters of mounds; others seem not to have taken up this type of architecture. They abandoned Cuicuilco,

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where they built their largest platform, possibly owing to 174
warnings of the cataclysm that later took place when the Pedregal was formed. Another site, fifty miles away across the lake, eventually evolved into the great ceremonial center of Teotihuacan, the first and mightiest of the temple cities of Central Mexico.

With the foundation of this new capital the frontier of Middle American civilization shifted from the south and east of the Valley of Mexico to the territory north and west of it. The Valley was no longer the haunt of tribes taking their first steps toward ritualized civilization, but the proud domain of the Toltecs, traditional founders of civilization in Central Mexico, who had their capital at Teotihuacan.

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TABLE II

SUMMARY OF HISTORY OF LOWER MIDDLE CULTURES

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EARLY PHASE: Permanent villages, gradual evolution and changes in pottery and figurine types. Long occupation, stages of which are better defined at some sites than others.

Early El Arbolillo I: Figurines, C3a, C3b, C1–2, C2, pottery incised black with red paint.

Intermediate El Arbolillo I, Early Zacatenco: Figurines, C1–2, C2, pottery incised black, thick black, white, white on red, vague olla necks; laurel-leaf points.

Late El Arbolillo I, Early Zacatenco: Figurines, C1a, C1b, C3c, C3d, D1, early F; pottery as in intermediate period.

LATE PHASE: Permanent villages, sharp shift in figurine and pottery styles, introduction of new figurine style, type A; evidence of local floods at beginning and end of Late Phase, which seems shorter than Early Phase.

Transitional El Arbolillo I, Transitional Zacatenco: Figurines, B–C, B–F.

Copilco, Middle Zacatenco, El Arbolillo II: Figurines, A, B, F, C5; pottery thin black with etched design, red on white, red on yellow, trade wares; stone points with tangs.

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TABLE III

SUMMARY OF HISTORY OF UPPER MIDDLE CULTURES

p 172 174 105

EARLY PHASE: Permanent villages in Puebla and Morelos; pottery and figurines in distinctive styles; trade connections suggest contemporaneity with Late Phase of Middle Cultures of Valley of Mexico.

Gualupita I, Cholula I: Figurines, D1, D2, D3, K, O; pottery, simple silhouette bowls and bottles in brown and red ware.

LATE PHASE: Permanent villages, introduction of platforms and altars; evolution from Early Phase in Morelos and Puebla; replacement of Lower Middle Cultures in the Valley of Mexico without transition; distinctive figurines and pottery which go through gradual evolution; ritualized presentations; some sites better defined than others; first settlement of Teotihuacan; lava flow of Pedregal after abandonment of Cuicuilco.

Early Ticoman-Cuicuilco I: Figurines, E1, E2, E3, I3; red-on-yellow incised pottery; disk earplugs.

Intermediate Ticoman, Cuicuilco II: Figurines G1, G2, I1, I2, E4, J, M, N; red-on-yellow pottery with white outline; incised earplugs.

Late Ticoman, Cuicuilco III, Late Zacatenco, Gualupita II, Teotihuacan I: Other sites in Puebla and Morelos; figurines, H1–5; in Gualupita, C9 and hollow figures; fire gods at Cuicuilco and Ticoman; pottery polished and elaborate tripod supports; carved earplugs hollowed in center.

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

CHAPTER III

TEOTIHUACAN AND THE CLASSICAL TOLTECS

A description of a civilization, the monuments of which are the wonder of Mexico, and an attempt to reconstruct the history of its creators from the meager and distorted sources available

174 THE TOLTECS or Master Builders were the first people mentioned in the annals of the Valley of Mexico. Their customs and achievements are so wrapped in the mystery which myth draws over the raw facts of history, and so confusing and illogical are the references to them, that a leading Mexicanist once challenged their very existence.[1] The facts of the case seem to be that, in the late migration period between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, marauding tribes applied the term Toltec to whatever settled population they met and later assumed that name themselves as a badge of advertisement of being civilized. In our own culture history we have frequent cases of the names of stately European capitals being similarly applied in wistful hope to the tiny hamlets of the first settlers of North America. (See Plate 21.)

One set of annals refers to an imposing civilization whose creators we may call Toltecs of Teotihuacan from their majestic capital.[2] Other histories recount the lineage of chiefs of different tribes, which we may distinguish as Dynastic

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Toltecs.[a] If the history of Europe were recounted in fragmentary records without consecutive dates we should have a similar difficulty in distinguishing between the Roman Empire of Caesar and Augustus and, say, the Holy Roman Empire, which one writer has defined as neither holy nor Roman nor an empire. 174

The Teotihuacan Toltecs have been described as great architects, carpenters and mechanics. They were skilled likewise in agriculture, cultivating corn, cotton, beans, chili peppers and all the other domesticated plants known to Mexico. From cotton they spun thread to be woven into cloth which ranged from the fineness of linen to the thickness of velvet. The men wore robes and breechclouts, supplemented in cold weather by sleeveless jackets, and were shod with sandals of henequen, the fiber of a variety of maguey. Women dressed in *huipiles*,* sleeveless blouses, and *enaguas*, skirts made by wrapping a long strip of cotton around the waist and legs, a costume which still persists in the Indian villages of modern Mexico. Warriors wore armor made of quilted cotton and used spears and wooden clubs set with blades of obsidian. The club wielders carried shields, and Ixtlilxochitl† says that some soldiers had copper helmets, although no trace of this metal has been officially reported from Teotihuacan-Toltec sites. Priests were distinguished by a more elaborate costume composed of a headdress and a long black tunic which touched the ground.[a] (See Plate 24, bottom.) 174 105 291

The "kings" wore robes like the priests and adorned themselves with necklaces and earrings. They wore socks as well as sandals, a great elegance for sandal-wearing people. They distinguished themselves as much by conduct as by dress, 174 643 [292]

*wee-pe'el-ee. †Eesh-tlerll-sho'-cheerl.

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174 rising early and eating only at daybreak and at nightfall.
643 They spoke little but to the point. A "king" had one "queen," and neither could remarry upon the death of the other, although commoners might take a second or even a third wife. A "queen" could inherit the realm from her husband, and her legitimate sons succeeded her, a statement suggesting that the austerity of the marital ideal did not interfere with the royal pleasure.

174 The Toltecs built their palaces and houses of stone and
105 mortar and used the *temascal* or steam bath, which still persists among the modern Indians. They held a market every twenty days, or each month in terms of the Middle American year. These markets were located in Tula, Teotihuacan, Tulancingo, Cuernavaca, Cholula, Tultitlan and several other towns where remains of Teotihuacan occupation still may be seen. There is additional evidence that the Toltecs counted their years and used the sacred almanac of 260 days, according to the pattern followed by their successors.[8]

174 The religion of this bygone era is difficult to interpret,
771 for both the sixteenth-century Christian mentality and the late Aztec theology distort for us its true structure. Ixtlilxochitl reported a supreme being, Tloque Nahuaque,* who surpassed all other gods. However, to a Sun God and his wife, the Moon Goddess, tradition persistently dedicates the two largest structures at the sacred city of Teotihuacan. Tlaloc,† a Rain God, was mentioned as highly important, and a Frog Goddess was also honored by a sumptuous temple. Quetzalcoatl,‡ Feathered Serpent, was worshiped as the bringer of civilization, but the same name was used as a title for the chief priests. There were persistent myths referring

*Tlo'-kay Na-wa'h-kay. †Tla'h-loc. ‡Ka'yt-zal-co-atl.

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Prehistoric Mexico N43

to the conflict between an old worship and a new, symbolized 174
by a struggle between Quetzalcoatl and the war and sky gods 771
of the later Aztec religion.*

Apparently a basic nature worship was transformed into an elaborate polytheism. Later history tells of the struggles between the votaries of one god as opposed to those of another. The elevation of a god to the role of tribal protector led to the domination of his worshipers in the community and was as important to the ancient Mexican as the domination of an economic or political system is to our modern populations. There was then, as now, the same masking of desire for power with conviction of rectitude. Probably, too, there was the same confusion of motives in the individual.

The history of the Teotihuacan Toltecs is as tenuous as 174
their sociology and religion. The two chief sources, Ixtlilxo- 175
chitl and the *Annals of Cuauhtitlan*,* refer to different localities, one at Teotihuacan, the other at the west of the lake near Azcapotzalco.† The eastern history, written by Ixtlilxochitl, began very properly with the creation of the world and the four or five Suns, or eras, through which life has survived. The first era, the Water Sun, was when the supreme god, Tloque Nahuaque, created the world; and after 1716 years floods and lightning destroyed it. The second era, the Sun of the Earth, saw the world populated by giants, the Quinametzin,‡ who almost disappeared when earthquakes obliterated the earth. The Wind Sun came third, and Olmecs and Xicalancas,§ human tribes, lived on earth.

*Kwow-ci-cla'n.
†Az-ca-pot-z'al-co.
‡Keen-a-me't-zeen.
§Shee-cah-la'ncas.

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174 They destroyed the surviving giants, founded Cholula and
175 migrated as far as Tabasco. A marvelous personage, called Quetzalcoatl by some, Huemac* by others, appeared in this era and brought civilization and ethics. When the people did not benefit from his teachings he returned to the east, prophesying the destruction of the world by high winds and the conversion of mankind into monkeys, all of which came to pass. The fourth age, the present, is called the Sun of Fire, and will end in a general conflagration.

These four eras are mythological, with a small amount of historical information incorporated (Table IV). The Aztec versions, which had five Suns, were more purely theological. Yet these mythical floods and fires may recapitulate calamities, such as inundations and volcanic eruptions, which, according to evidence found at Middle Culture sites, beset man in Mexico.

Toltec history, when it breaks through the background of myth, describes a people wandering through Mexico. Under the guidance of an astrologer priest, Huemac, they founded the city of Tollan and elected a king whose reign was fixed at fifty-two years. This was the length of an Aztec year cycle, a major time unit having the same function as our century. The list of the nine rulers is given on Table V, but tribal events were seldom recorded until the end of the period. Huemac died at the age of three hundred in the reign of the second ruler, after compiling a book of history and prophecy. This observation may be a backhanded explanation of the introduction of established ritualistic practices, including a calendar and architecture. The sixth ruler, Mitl, broke the order of length of rule, enlarged his kingdom and

*Wa'y-mac.

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

built the splendid Temple of the Frog and many other 174
sumptuous structures. Mitl's association with extraordinary 175
building operations had a possible basis in fact, as we shall see in describing the Temple of Quetzalcoatl.

Significant events for the reigns of the last rulers are recorded. The eighth had a dominion extending over Toluca, Cuernavaca, Yolotepec, Cholula and Jalisco. The old gods were still worshiped, but the cult of two new ones, Tezcatlipoca,* the great Sky God, and Huitzilopochtli,† the War God, were introduced. During the reign of this king a lady, Xochitl,‡ popularized an intoxicating drink named pulque,§ made from the fermented juice of the maguey, which is today the standard tipple of Highland Mexico.

Topiltzin, the ninth king, who introduced the ball court, had a reign fraught with disaster. In his time the domain of the Toltecs disintegrated because of local revolts, invasions and the bitter toll exacted by famine and pestilence. Teotihuacan was abandoned. When they could, the people emigrated south to Tabasco and Guatemala. Those who remained were absorbed into the new tribes, and their lineage was assumed as a mark of honor by the ruling houses of the succeeding Chichimec or Dynastic Toltec period. Such is the story of the eastern Toltecs as set forth by Ixtlilxochitl.

The dignity and awe in which tradition holds the Toltecs 174
affect the modern visitor to Teotihuacan. Here in the valley 361
which bears its name, a vast area, three and a half miles long and nearly two miles wide, was given over to clusters of imposing buildings. The whole zone was paved with a plaster floor, not once but many times. This was no residential city

*Tez-cat-li-po'-ca.
†Weet-zeel-o-po'tch-tly.
‡Sho'-chitl.
§po'ol-kay.

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Prehistoric Mexico N43

174 but a great ceremonial center given over to temples and
361 houses for the people engaged in religious activity. There is little trace of the humble refuse of communal life. Teotihuacan is an impressive monument to the toll which men exact from themselves for their salvation.* (See Plate 22, top.)

174 The architects built their city in several successive pre-
346 cincts, extending southward from the mighty Pyramid of
361 the Moon. This was not a true pyramid but was truncated at the top to give space for a temple, and the ascending planes were skillfully broken to provide terraces. A broad stair led up the south side from a wide rectangular court. Additional buildings flanked this plaza, and several hundred yards to the east and west two smaller precincts added to the symmetry of the plan.

Two rows of buildings of impressive size lead south from the Moon Plaza. Excavation of one revealed lovely frescoes, the content of which suggest a temple of Agriculture. Another group of small mounds lies off to the east, and directly south is a second large unexcavated group of temples, which, from the emplacements found in the vicinity, is called the Group of the Columns.

The Pyramid of the Sun dwarfs all the other buildings in Teotihuacan. This great truncated pyramid, almost seven hundred feet at the base, rises in four terraces to a height of over two hundred feet. The slopes were varied by their builders to create an impression of greater mass. The exterior was faced with stone and covered with plaster, but the pyramid proper was built of adobe bricks, made from the refuse beds of an earlier era. The fragments of pottery,

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

figurines and tools, imbedded in the interior, were transi- 174
tional between the developed culture of Teotihuacan and 346
the Upper Middle Culture group. (See Plate 22, bottom.) 361

The Pyramid of the Sun is surrounded by a wide platform, constructed of square cells, walled by adobe and filled with refuse and rubble. Outside the enclosure are situated the houses for the priests. Smaller mounds still unexplored extend southward, until another great enclosure is reached, in this case surrounded by masonry dwellings. Rooms with pilastered porches open on inner patios. There are no two-story buildings, but by means of platforms some apartments are raised higher than others.

A river makes a natural terminus at the south, but across 174
it lies a magnificent platform, the walls of which are faced 532
with carved stone blocks; but the crowning temple has 531
disappeared. The feathered serpent is the dominant decorative motive, and great heads carved in rugged simplicity project from the balustrade and from the façades. These were originally painted, and some still glare at the onlookers through eyes of burnished obsidian. Along the façade the serpent heads alternate with those of a strange being, who may be Tlaloc, the Rain God. On the wall behind them the undulating bodies of the snakes are carved in low relief, and sea shells, all Caribbean varieties, are used to fill the spaces left by the curves of the bodies. The effect is massive and awesome. Though lacking the sinuous grace of Maya relief, the decorative scheme, nonetheless, is that of an achieved art. There was no fumbling in this work of many craftsmen, laboring through the years, cutting stone with stone. This building, called by modern investigators the Temple of

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

174 Quetzalcoatl, Feathered Serpent, the God of Learning, is
531 splendid enough to qualify as the edifice for which Mitl
532 was renowned. The ancient name, Temple of the Frog, may have arisen from the symbolic association of frogs with Tlaloc, the God of Rain. (See Plate 23.)

174 Once the city was completed in all its mighty scope, a
346 transformation took place. From the Pyramid of the Moon,
341 at the north, to the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, every single building was rebuilt. Rooms were filled in and façades covered up to form platforms for new temples. Not even the gigantic hulks of the Pyramids of the Sun and Moon escaped the addition of new stairs and façades. The Temple of Quetzalcoatl, as was fitting, received the most extreme alteration. The original shrine became the core of a high platform which dominated a huge enclosure, surrounded by a broad rampart. This wall supported four lesser platforms on each of three sides and, on the eastern wall behind the main structure, three such temple foundations.

The later building is less massive than the earlier. There is less use of hewed stone, and rubble is extensively employed. Although the reconstruction extended eventually to rebuilding the whole sacred area, no violent shift in the styles of pottery or figurines suggests conquest by new tribes. The new architecture has all the earmarks of a religious reformation which destroyed the symbolism of one cult to uplift a new. Moreover, in one sector of the city, the filling between the late and the early pavements produced much burned material such as charcoal, adobe, pottery, and the like, as if the debris from incendiary fires had been utilized for foundation material. The events recounted in the annals seem to reflect this architectural change, and possibly the

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new religion of Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca replaced 174
the old cult of Quetzalcoatl and Tlaloc. Certainly the levies 341
of man power, time and materials sufficient to achieve the 346
rebuilding of Teotihuacan would have been enough to bring about serious popular disorders.

People continue to live, though their religion change and 174
their kingdoms perish. Their basic techniques for maintain- 172
ing life persist likewise. Therefore, tools and pottery give a more continuous guide to tribal history than the annals of chiefs or the soaring bulk of religious architecture. The material culture of Teotihuacan is an important index to the history of the early Toltecs. The contrast between articles for household use and for ritual became sharper as the Teotihuacan culture reached its full development. The rhythms of change in different types of activity do not always synchronize, and in the Teotihuacan culture we distinguish two building periods, three ceramic phases and five successive styles in clay figurines.

The beginnings of Teotihuacan culture are revealed by the contents of the adobes in the Pyramid of the Sun. The pottery fragments and figurines show an amalgamation of four culture strains, one deriving from the Upper Middle Culture, another containing the germs of the later Teotihuacan periods, a third tying in with the tribes of western Mexico and a fourth of unknown provenience. The little clay figures are handmade and closely affiliated with Upper Middle Culture types. The early Teotihuacanos developed a new kind of idol made of crudely incised stone. A combination of three-colored pottery, like that of Ticoman, with a lost-color process, resulted in a four-color polychrome which was highly characteristic. Clay earplugs were as com-

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172 mon at Teotihuacan as at the Middle Culture sites. While
174 the early Teotihuacanos did not make, style for style and piece for piece, implements identical to those of their contemporaries at Ticoman or Cuicuilco or Gualupita, their material culture comprised specific elements drawn from each particular site. The early Teotihuacanos took part in the same Upper Middle Culture migration.[9] (See Plate 21.)

When the Teotihuacanos began their first big building
172 operations their handiwork had become more conven-
174 tionalized and more stylistically unified. Polychrome pottery
323 gave way to simple lustrous wares of black and brown or vases and large jars painted in red on yellow. A flourishing trade sprang up in the importation of a thin orange ware that attains at times almost an eggshell delicacy. For use in their religious rites the Teotihuacanos constructed cylindrical wares of black or brown which they carved in ritualistic patterns, utilizing such techniques as simple incision, champlevé and, very rarely, intaglio.[10]

174 Their stone and bone tools were not capable of much
317 elaboration. However, since abundant deposits of obsidian
324 were close at hand, the Teotihuacanos used this material lavishly, flaking blades to a scalpel-like narrowness and chipping tools of every variety. They made little animals of this hard and brittle substance and ground it to mirror-like smoothness to make eyes for their great stone idols. In addition they used lava, not only pecking out great blocks for facing their buildings but also carving designs and creating a sculpture. The great step taken by the Teotihuacan Toltecs
174 was to formalize their religious art. Clay figurines which
778 carried the main trend of artistic development in the Middle
531 Cultures, became conventionalized into simple little figures

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of men and women whose faces were reduced to their bare anatomical essentials. Women were shown dressed in *huipiles* and *enagua*, men in the *maxtli*[10] or breechclout. The sculptors painted the faces and the costumes of both male and female figures. The growth of ritualistic definition may also be seen in representations of the Old God, of a god in a human skin, later known as Xipe† (Our Lord the Flayed One), and in composite figures, having attributes of men and animals among which the jaguar predominated.[11]

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Their mastery of stone sculpture was most evident at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, where able presentation was subordinated to the decorative demands of architectural ornament. To make incense burners the sculptors embodied the idea of the Old God seated under his bowl. Other artists traded for jade and porphyry and wrought these hard substances into beautiful masks and figures, which stand out as masterpieces of Middle American sculpture. Much of the work in stone has disappeared, smashed by the Spanish priests or broken into building stones, but two colossal examples still survive. One is the ten-foot statue of the so-called Goddess of the Waters, now in the National Museum. Jade ornaments, *huipil*, *enagua*, sandals, every detail is set forth, not as graceful accents to a suave naturalism but as the ornament to an architectural creation. This goddess is a monument, a sort of monolithic building, that symbolizes the implacable force of nature. The other statue was never finished. It lies still anchored to its matrix of living rock in a ravine near Texcoco. Larger by far than the Goddess of the Waters, battered by the elements, the deity of Coatlinchan‡ cannot fail to impress the modern visitor. Its concept is

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*ma'ish-tly. †She'e-pay. ‡Co-at-lin-cha'n.

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174 532 grandiose, but the engineering skill was lacking to cut the sculpture free of its base. Prometheus in his chains may symbolize the tragedy of European thought, but to me this goddess, still an integral part of the land that made her, represents the paralysis of Indian civilization. (See Plate 24, top right.)[1]

Painting and drawing found an outlet in the requirements of ritual.[19] The frescos of the Temple of Agriculture show an appreciation of decorative design combined with a sense of natural values. One fresco which has now disappeared but which fortunately was copied at the time of discovery depicts a ceremony before two divinities like the Goddess of the Waters and confirms Ixtlilxochitl's description of the Toltec costume. Carved vases present in full ritualistic detail the attributes of tiger gods and other divinities, and little definitive symbols indicate that some sort of writing was in priestly use. Unfortunately no sacred books have survived. (See Plates 24, bottom; 58, top.)

174 361 341 A ceremonial center like Teotihuacan must have exemplified the best work of which a culture was capable. The civil centers have been little explored. In the neighborhood of Teotihuacan, some few miles from the sacred city, great communal dwellings were built, embracing fifty and sixty rooms set about patios connected by passageways. The rooms were made of adobe and rubblework covered with plaster, and supported a life of comfort and security. There was also an altar prominently placed, for religious duty was not confined to the ceremonial zone.[20]

Another huge settlement lay across the lake at Azcapotzalco. Here the land is tremendously fertile, so that the old buildings have been razed to level the fields for present-day

1 [Error - should be "top left" - Analys.]

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agriculture. Modern excavations to get the clay used in brick 174
and tile have yielded a rich stream of objects, and a few days' 361
digging produces hundreds of specimens. Thus we may 341
judge of the abundance of life in Toltec times from the quantity of human possessions.

At Azcapotzalco and at Xolalpan,* near Teotihuacan, 174
hundreds of skeletons were buried under the floors of the 764
houses. Adults were usually seated, and the quantity of 782
pottery vessels accompanying them suggests the richness of the economy. At Azcapotzalco sometimes the people had great feasts, and after partaking they cast their dishes into pits prepared for the purpose. Since clay idols were thrown in likewise, we may be sure that these festivals were religious in character. Once we found a great red-and-yellow bowl in such a deposit. It contained the remnants of the *pièce de résistance*, the upper legs and hips of a human being, the [266]
most succulent portions for festive consumption. There is also other evidence of human sacrifice. At the Temple of Quetzalcoatl individuals were buried under the corners as foundation deposits. At both Teotihuacan and Azcapotzalco shallow dishes, cut from the top of skulls, testify to other [415]
rituals involving sacrifice and death.

The Toltec dominion had its widest extent in the first 174
architectural and second ceramic period. Confirming the [131]
statement of the annals, remains are found in the Valley of 361
Toluca, in Morelos, and most abundantly in Puebla. At Cholula the Toltecs constructed a whole temple site of enormous extent, which later peoples covered with the single great pyramid so renowned for its size. This Toltec site has produced no carving, but one temple had a fresco decora- [531]

*Sho-lō'l-pan.

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174 tion portraying the Butterfly God, a mythological being,
361 important to Teotihuacan religion.[34]
[531]

The third phase of Teotihuacan consisted of a tremen-
174 dous reconstruction of the city, followed by a decline in
532 the arts. The architectural activity evoked no corresponding elaboration in stonework or ceramic techniques, save in one respect, the clay figurines. The idols of this period represent some of the finest modeling ever achieved in Mexico. The faces were so carefully constructed that some students have considered them portraits. At first handmade, later they were copied in molds and retouched to bring them to a detailed perfection. Finally, like the other arts and crafts, the portrait style degenerated, to be replaced by moldmade heads of coarser workmanship. At this time, the fourth figurine period, Teotihuacan ceased to function as a sacred capital.

Ixtlilxochitl has related that religious conflict, revolt and
174 crop failure contributed to the downfall of Teotihuacan.
177 To some extent we can corroborate this statement from archaeological interpretations. The architectural change has the appearance of having been made simultaneously, in contrast to the gradual development of the original city. Teotihuacan was built over hastily with the maximum use of original construction. The abrupt change in figurine styles suggests that a new god was honored by this new presentation. The drain on human resources, implicit in such large-scale construction, would lead readily to revolt under the strain.

Crop failure could have resulted from deforestation and
174 the consequent drying up of streams. At Teotihuacan lime
731 cement covered all the buildings and formed the entire pav-
311 ing. The modern Maya Indians burn ten times as much

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PLATE 11

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF TOLTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

Top: Frieze from Temple of Agriculture, Teotihuacan, showing people taking part in an offering ceremony. Second Row: Reconstruction of the ceremonial precinct surrounding the Pyramid of the Sun. Third Row: Ceremonial vase, Teotihuacan II, in champlevé; ceremonial vase, same period, with frieze decoration representing a butterfly; vase, Teotihuacan V, polished red ware, with degenerate design. Bottom Row: Figurines representing the five stylistic stages of Toltec culture. The last two figurines are multiheads.

[p. 64 (A)]

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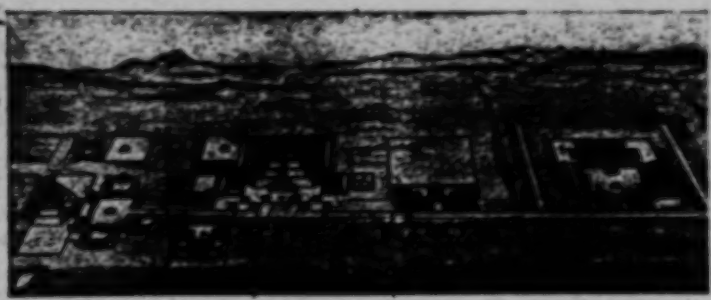

PLATE 22

TOLTEC ARCHITECTURE

TOP: Reconstruction of Tenochtitlan by Gamio and Marquina. The long axis runs north and south and includes, beginning with the Temple of the Moon, the Plaza of the Moon, the Agriculture Group, the Group of the Columns, the Pyramid of the Sun, the Superimposed Buildings and the Citadel Group. Note the arrangement in terms of precinct and axis. BOTTOM: Air view of the Pyramid of the Sun, looking east. The adjacent buildings show the size of this monster temple foundation made of unfired bricks faced with stone.

[p. 64(B)]

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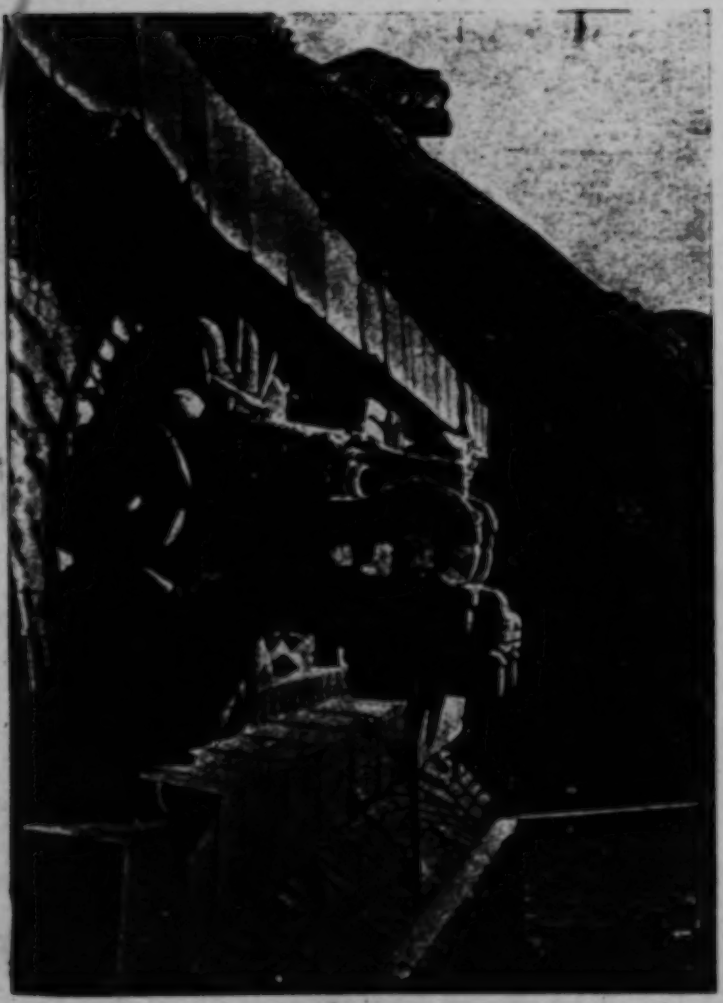

PLATE 23

TOLTEC ARCHITECTURE

Detail from the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, which was later covered up to make the Ciudad Group. The massive serpent heads had eyes of polished obsidian.

[p. 64(C)]

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PLATE 24
TOLTEC ART

TOP: *Right:* Mask of porphyry, showing a marvelous skill in reproducing their physical type. *Left:* This massive figure, ten feet tall, seems to be a water goddess. It is noteworthy for its monumental quality. BOTTOM: This offering scene is a fresco. The figures at either side support the Water Goddess. Flames shoot up from the altars in front of them, while tributaries and long-robed priests bring their offerings of feathers, food, jade, shell and a bird. Note the speech scrolls.

[p. 64 (D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 32

AZTEC POTTERY

TOP: Design from bowl of the Aztec IV period, representing a marine worm, water plants and a fish. SECOND ROW: Trichrome vessels from the 1403 cyclical dump at Chicomoztoc. THIRD ROW: *Left:* Pentachrome trade bowl found in 1507 dump at Chicomoztoc; *Right:* Local trichrome bowl from the same dump. BOTTOM ROW: Bowl with orange-and-black design on red and two black-on-orange plates from the 1507 dump at Nonoalco.

[p. 96(D)]

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174 wood as the quantity of limestone to be reduced, and they
731 have the advantage of steel axes.[15] It is not too fanciful, there-
311 fore, to assume that the Toltec masons, lacking metal of any kind, found it easier to use hearths of charcoal, obtained by burning over the forest, than to try to obtain the requisite fuel by chopping out their logs with stone axes. If this interpretation is correct, the hills must have been widely de-
[185] nuded of timber, with a consequent drying up of streams and erosion of fields. Furthermore, the barren aspect of the hills of Teotihuacan today must be due to something more than the requirements for fuel and timber of the post-Conquest population. The Toltecs and their successors, Chichimecs, Acolhuas and Aztecs, undoubtedly contributed their fair share to this wastage of the forests.

Tradition ascribes the abandonment of Teotihuacan to
174 the tenth and eleventh centuries, whatever the basic causes.
[173] However, Teotihuacanos still occupied the outlying villages, and across the lakes the enormous city of Azcapotzalco continued to flourish. Teotihuacan, however, was a city of ghosts. In Chichimec times the makers of the Mazapan* culture occasionally crept onto the ruins to bury their dead, but they never disturbed the silence by building houses in the zone. A persistent tradition describes the great Aztec ruler Montezuma as visiting Teotihuacan to make sacrifices, but no evidence exists in the shape of ceremonial equipment left behind.[16] The three or four Aztec potsherds found among the hundreds of thousands of Teotihuacan fragments certainly cannot be testimony to the pomp and ceremony of Aztec worship.

Azcapotzalco was an enormous city, where dwelt a large

*Ma-za'h-pan.

[text continues on p. 68.—Analyst]

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TABLE IV

SEQUENCE OF TRIBES IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO ACCORDING TO VARIOUS AUTHORITIES

	Phillips[a]	Ixtlilxochitl I[b]	Ixtlilxochitl II[c]	Veytia[d]	Duran[e]	Muñoz Camargo[f]	Clavigero[g]	Sahagun[h]	de Jonghe[i]	Mapa Tlaxcala[j]	Mapa, Quinatzin[k]	Codex Xolotl[l]	Motolinia[m]	Garcia Icazbalceta[n]
Maceguales (created by Gods)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Quinames (Giants)	2	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tarasco	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Olmeca-Xicalanca	–	2	2	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Zacatecs	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Toltec	4	3	3	4	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Nomad Chichimec	3	4	4	2	–	–	2	–	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chichimec	–	–	–	5	2	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Teo-Chichimec	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Otomi	–	–	5	6	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–
Acolhua I Tlailtoque	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Chimalpanecs	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–
Chalco-Toltec	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
Acolhua II Texcoco	–	6	5	6	–	3	3	–	(4)	3	–	–	2	2
Culhua: 7 Tribes	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	3	3	–	–	–	–	–
Culhua: Tepanec	–	6	5	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–
Culhua: Culhua	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–
Culhua: Aztec	–	6	6	7	4	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	3	3
Culhua: Huitznahua	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–

[a]Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, 618–19, 622–24.
[b]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891, 17–21, 75–103.
[c]Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1892, 21–45, 61–65, 69–71.
[d]Veytia, Historia Antigua, 1836, Vol. 1, 139–156; Vol. 2, 3–10, 39–46, 87–101.
[e]Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, 10–14.
[f]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, 5–116.
[g]Clavigero, History, 1787, 93–136.
[h]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book II, 106, 116–17, 138–47.
[i]de Jonghe, ed., Histoire de Mechique, 1905, 8–20.
[j]Aubin, Peinture Didactique, 1885, 58–74.
[k]Aubin, Peinture Didactique, 1885, 75–85.
[l]Radin, Sources, 1900, 41–45.
[m]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, 3–5.
[n]Origen in Garcia Icazbalceta, 1886–92, Vol. 3, Origen de los Mexicanos, 283–92.

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TABLE V

SUMMARY OF TOLTEC HISTORY

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Teotihuacan I

Manufacture of materials inside adobes of Temples of Sun and Moon.

Eastern Lineage		*Western Lineage*	
Chalchiuhtlanetzin	510–62		
Intlilcuechahuac	562–614		
Huetzin	614–66		

Teotihuacan II

Construction of first-period buildings at Teotihuacan, culminating in the Temple of Quetzalcoatl under Mitl; establishment of center at Azcapotzalco (El Corral I); wide distribution of culture to Cholula, Morelos.

Eastern Lineage		*Western Lineage*	
Totepeuh	666–718		
Naconoc	718–70	Huetzin	869–(?)
Mitl-Tlacomihua	770–829	Totepeuh (?)	(?)–887

Teotihuacan III–IV

Construction of second-period buildings; introduction of mold; complex ritual in figurines; trade with Mayas; introduction of new religion; abandonment of Teotihuacan; incursion of Chichimecs.

Eastern Lineage		*Western Lineage*	
Queen Xihuiquenitzin	829–33		
Intzccaltzin	833–85	Ihuitimal	887–923
Topiltzin	885–959	Topiltzin	923–47

Teotihuacan V

Shift of Toltec center to Azcapotzalco, possibly under Topiltzin; great ritualistic development of figurines; influence from Oaxaca; new religion and destruction by Culhuas.

Eastern Lineage		*Western Lineage*	
		Topiltzin	923–47
		Matlaccuochtl	947–83
		Nauhyotzin I	983–97
		Matlaccoatzin	997–1025
		Tlilcoatzin	1025–46
		Huemac	1047–1122

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174 population. The decline of Teotihuacan and the gradual abandonment of the eastern towns must have added substantially to its numbers. Its people did not follow the architectural practices of earlier times and have left no great monuments. It originally seems to have been founded at the time of the first great building period at Teotihuacan, because the same handmade figurines and pottery styles exist at both sites. However, the religious reformation at Teotihuacan
174 suggested by the rebuilding of the city and the making of
532 the "portrait" type of figurines left no trace at Azcapotzalco.
323 No true "portrait" heads occur among the thousands of figurines found in the western district.

A fully developed moldmade figurine cult replaced the older handmade techniques, but this practice was absent from Teotihuacan. Just as Byzantium for centuries carried on the tradition of Rome after the barbarians had sacked the parent city, so, in smaller scale, Azcapotzalco maintained the older tradition of Teotihuacan. Yet the figurine cult was carried to an extreme development. The introduction of the mold led to mass production of images by skilled workmen. Thus the details of dress and ornament, which defined the gods represented, could be rigidly fixed. Each household could be equipped in miniature with the outward elements of a ritual previously confined to special centers. Elaborate incense burners studded with molded decorations reproduced the main temple altars with their ritualistic ornament. The origin of this practice may well have been in Oaxaca among the Zapotecs, who not only made elaborate incense burners of this type, but since fragments of Oaxaca wares are found in Toltec sites, also shipped pottery to be traded to these northern people."

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This archaeological situation clears up a discrepancy in 174
the annals that has made modern scholars tear their beards. 114
The *Annals of Cuauhtitlan* recorded a list of Toltec rulers 643
that only partially in name and not at all in date corresponds to Ixtlilxochitl's list of the rulers of Teotihuacan (Table IV). It would seem highly probable that the lineage of Cuauhtitlan referred to the chiefs of this western settlement which endured after the parent site had been abandoned. The Azcapotzalco region was protected by the lakes from invaders on the east. There was no such tax on the population as at Teotihuacan, where the people had to carry out a religious reformation in architectural terms. Therefore, the pressures from within and without, which caused Teotihuacan to crumble, were not manifested in the west until over a century later.

Civil war, religious strife and the yielding of the Quetzal- 174
coatl cult to that of Tezcatlipoca contributed to the downfall of the western Toltecs at the close of the twelfth century. A large cluster of baby burials at El Corral, Azcapotzalco, [766
suggests that starvation with a resultant stepping up of infant 165]
mortality may have played its part as well. Yet the conquerors of the western Valley were the first to take the name of the conquered and aggrandize their lineage by the assumption of great age. Toltec arts and crafts disappeared, and their styles had no continuation in the work of the later people. But the name continued, and so did that old, old cult of making images, though the idols were now in honor of a religion with a new personnel of gods.

The Toltec era, the classical period of the builders of 174
Teotihuacan, saw the full emergence of a Middle American 181

[i.e., co-existence of Teotihuacan and Azcapotzalco from first great building period at Teotihuacan.- Analyst]

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174 civilization. The culture was unified and seems to have been
181 diffused by an increasing population. In the emphasis on ritual and the direction of technical skill toward the requirements of worship this frontier civilization recapitulated the culture history of Middle America.

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Prehistoric Mexico N43

CHAPTER IV

THE CHICHIMEC PERIOD AND THE DYNASTIC TOLTECS

In which are set forth the complex events, political, social and cultural, which led up to the formation of Aztec civilization

THE CLASSICAL ERA of the Teotihuacan Toltecs was an age 174
of cultural unity. The people of Central Mexico made the 181
same things, lived the same way and worshiped the same gods for centuries. Dissolution set in as famine, religious disagreements and the incursions of strange peoples corroded the structure of Teotihuacan civilization.

The succeeding era in Mexican history, 1100–1300, was a chaotic one which eventually resulted in that mixture of cultural unity and political independence which we know as the Aztec civilization. A tempting analogy is to compare the Chichimec Period to the European colonization of North America, where groups of many conditions and sorts struggled to populate the land and eventually incorporated the sum total of their experience into the North American republic. (See Plate 25.)

Religions and social systems and peoples competed for 174
domination of the Valley. Several of the powerful tribes at the time of the Conquest had their origin in this era of confusion, and from their tribal annals we may extract a fairly

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174 clear picture of what went on. As each tribe recorded its own affairs with relatively little attention to those of its neighbors, cross references are rare. History, in our modern sense of utilizing past trends to chart the present and the future, did not exist in the intellectual structure of ancient Mexico, and the traditions of the successive tribal immigrations are in confusing disagreement (Table IV).

P A 175 The histories of five towns summarize this period: Culhuacan,* Texcoco, Azcapotzalco, Cholula,† and Tenochtitlan‡ (Table VI). According to the *Annals of Cuauhtitlan*,§ a long, confused record referring to Culhuacan, Tenochtitlan and the politically insignificant Cuauhtitlan, the Culhuas conquered the Toltecs and lived for a time at their ancient capital Tula. The location of this Toltec capital is not clearly stated, but it was on the west side of the lake and may have been either the late Toltec site of Azcapotzalco or the modern Tula, which has some late Toltec remains but presents more evidence of a heavy Mazapan occupation.[2]

The Culhuas later withdrew southward to Culhuacan, where they established a lineage of chiefs, the length of whose reigns they carefully recorded in their annals. In the middle of the thirteenth century a new dynasty came in which the historians called "Chichimec"; it replaced the older line which they called "Toltec." References were made to struggles with other tribes, chiefly at the northern end of the lakes, but there was trouble with the southern towns as well (Table VI).

At the end of the fourteenth century civil war broke out and people deserted Culhuacan, which became weak and a

*Cool-wah-ca'n.
†Cho-lo'o-la.
‡Ten-och-i-tla'n.
§Kwow-i-tla'n.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
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shadow of its former self. The rise of a new power, the Tepanec, who had as allies the vigorous but ill-established Tenochcas,* contributed to its downfall. Yet before Culhuacan succumbed completely to vassalage under the new order, members of its reigning house had twice been sought to found the lineage of Tenochtitlan.

On the documentary evidences Culhuacan was an extremely important city-state. The consecutive reigns of its chiefs stretched from the time of the fall of the western Toltec Empire to that of the rise of the important Aztec state of Tenochtitlan. Culhuacan was considered a center of civilization and for three centuries was a major power in the Valley of Mexico. Yet a visit to the modern town discloses no lofty remains, for the ancient city is razed completely. Only the temple on the Hill of the Star, which rises behind the town P A
and dominates the lakes, is a memorial to its past splendor. [796]
For here took place, even after the Culhuas had lost their power, the New Fire Ceremony which ushered in each new cycle of fifty-two years and epitomized the spirit of Aztec religion.

P A 175 114

Texcoco on the eastern shore of the lakes of Mexico was the most civilized town in the Valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the ruling house, had access to the annals of his people and left a full history, distorted though it was by his wish to make his lineage rival the noble lines of Castile; but he had a strong historical sense, doubtless absorbed from the Spanish priests who educated him. His ancestors were a nomadic group P A
which lived mainly by hunting and eventually, under a chief 175
named Xolotl,† occupied the territory around Teotihuacan.

*Te-no'ch-cas. †Sho'-lotla.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
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They pushed west to Tenayuca* and in the process learned agriculture and assumed a sedentary life. While there they met other tribes of varying degrees of culture and assumed the practice of choosing a chief from a special lineage instead of electing him directly from the clan leaders.[2]

About 1300 two brothers were in line for succession to the chieftainship and one Tlotzin, who was not selected, moved back to Texcoco and headed his own line. When he died and his son Quinatzin† took the throne two tribes moved into his territory from the Mixteca area in northern Oaxaca and southern Puebla. They brought with them the worship of the god Tezcatlipoca, the art of writing and many other useful skills. So completely did these people transform life at Texcoco that the picture manuscripts portrayed the local population clad in skins and the immigrants in woven clothing to emphasize the contrast between their own culture and the superior talents of the newcomers. Quinatzin, who was an extraordinarily competent ruler, extended his dominions greatly by conquering many adjacent communities. The idea of absorbing conquered towns into the victorious state, so obvious to a modern member of western civilization, had not yet occurred to the Mexicans. Instead, defeated towns retained their local autonomy; but they paid a yearly tribute and their chiefs had to make a state visit to acknowledge their fealty to the conqueror. Quinatzin had some seventy towns as fiefs, and his dominion projected down to the shore of Vera Cruz. His successor, Techotlala, succeeded in unifying the Valley dialects into one language, Aztec.

Texcoco and Culhuacan never came into direct conflict, for they were situated at opposite ends of the Lake of Mexico,

*Te-nah-yo'o-ca. †Kee-nee-a'en.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
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There is evidence, too, that the Valley was not completely settled, for in the mid-thirteenth century the Tenochca were able to thread their way south to Chapultepec* without coming into serious conflict with the settled populations.[3]

However, in the mid-fourteenth century there was serious conflict. A tribe called the Tepanec, which lived at Azcapotzalco, outgrew its boundaries. Led by an able and vicious chief, Tezozomoc,† it began to extend its territories. Culhuacan felt the pressure first, and internal discord developed, as it must when a nation cannot feed itself and has no room to expand. Some of the Culhuas moved up to Texcoco along the eastern shore and added their long-practiced skills to those of the Texcocan community. The Tepanec, blocked to the south by dense populations and to the west by high mountain walls, turned north and east to raid and occupy Texcocan lands. Otomi‡ tribes, whose territory lay on the islands and the eastern shore of Lake Xaltocan, were pinched between the opposing forces who would brook no neutrality. They moved north, and the two great powers, Tepanecs and Texcocans, came into direct contact and war ensued. Tezozomoc won a signal victory, broke Texcoco and alienated her vassals. He quickly dominated the rest of the Valley towns, almost obliterating the empty shell of Culhuacan's former dominance. His son Maxtla§ succeeded this vigorous and ruthless conqueror in 1427. Having the northern Valley at his feet, he oppressed the conquered and interfered in the affairs of former allies like Tenochtitlan. Yet he was to enjoy his conquests only a bare two years.[4]

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Indian governmental practice extracted tribute from conquered tribes, but had not developed a technique for forcing 174 175

*Cha-pol'-tepec. †Te-zo'z-o-moc. ‡Ot-o-me'e. §Ma'sh-tla.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

174 payment without declaring a new war and making a fresh
175 campaign. Consequently a bond of sympathy forged from mutually shared ill-fortune grew up between otherwise somewhat hostile communities. Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan,* towns at the backdoor of Tepanec territory, made a pact with Texcoco across the lake; and the allies, rising suddenly, overthrew the new power. Maxtla was slain, his city burned and, contrary to the practice of the time, his people incorporated into the allied tribes. Land was apportioned to warriors who had performed notable feats of valor. So completely did the allies break the Tepanecs, that all that remains of their history is the memory of Tezozomoc and Maxtla and some petty local chieftains who succeeded them.

The Texcocans regained their prestige after this war, but the Tenocheas, who had begun as mere vassals, grew so rapidly in strength that at the coming of the Spaniards they had managed to eclipse their former lords, as we shall see in the following chapter.

These events disclose a picture of expanding populations and ensuing intertribal conflict. This cultural history shows a diffuse background of tribal arts and practices gradually
A P welded into a closely similar whole, Aztec civilization. The
[128] process was achieved before Tenochtitlan attained eminence, so at the cost of academic tediousness the term Aztec has been reserved for the civilization, Tenochca for the people who so conspicuously made it known.

P 174 The civilization of Teotihuacan disappeared before the infiltration of intruding tribes. The nomadic groups referred to in the chronicles have left no identifiable remains. Hunters reduced to the bare necessities which they can carry on their

*Tla-co'-pan.

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Prehistoric Mexico NU3

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PLATE 15

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF CHICHIMEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

Top Row: Picture writings relating to this period. *Left:* Chichimec hunter from Mapa Quinatzin. *Center:* Tenochcas set forth on their wanderings and find their idol, from Codex Boturini. *Right:* The eight tribes who settled Central Mexico, from Codex Boturini (see Table VII). Second Row: The first three constructions at Tenayuca. Note the sloping walls of the Aztec-influenced Building III. Third Row: Diagnostic pottery styles of Mazapan, Coyotlatelco and the Culhuacan Aztec I. Fourth Row: Moldmade figurines, Coyotlatelco style. Bottom Row: Moldmade figurines, Mazapan style.

[p. 76 (A)]

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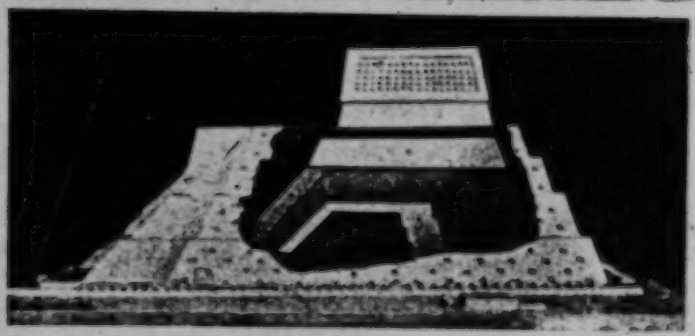

PLATE 26

POTTERY AND ARCHITECTURE, CHICHIMEC PERIOD

TOP: Bowls of Aztec I–Cholula III type found at Chichen Itza, Yucatan. MIDDLE: Temple of Cholula, Puebla. Note the large church resting on this ancient platform of adobe, which covers a ceremonial precinct of Toltec times. BOTTOM: Model of the Temple of Tenayuca, showing the original building and the five reconstructions, possibly corresponding to the cyclical ceremonies of 1299, 1351, 1403, 1455 and 1507.

[p. 76(B)]

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PLATE 27

POTTERY, CHICHIMEC PERIOD

TOP AND MIDDLE: Design from a vase and another jar decorated in planar cloisonné, from Jalisco. Vases ornamented in this technique were extensively traded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. BOTTOM: Jar in pinchbeck ware, a quasi-vitreous ware, made in Salvador and Guatemala, which was traded widely through Middle America in this period. The trade apparently ceased completely a century or so before the Conquest.

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[p. 76(C)]

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PLATE 18

POTTERY AND ARCHITECTURE, CHICHIMEC PERIOD

TOP: *Left:* Life-size figure, Mazapan Culture, from Cuauhchinanco, Valley of Mexico. It represents the god Xipe dressed in a human skin. *Right:* Effigy vase, Mazapan Culture, from a grave at the type site. It seems to represent a dead man. These two figures indicate that the people of Mazapan had developed clay sculpture into a major art. BOTTOM: Temple at Tenayuca, Cuernavaca. The remains of the lower stairs and walls may be seen in the foreground, with the original temple and stair behind, and are larger than the first two Tenayuca buildings in the same style. The lower temple, to judge from the stair and lower walls, had an architectural style as typically Aztec as the last three Tenayuca temples on Plate 19.

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[p. 76(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

174 backs do not leave much trace of their presence. Other immigrants came from established communities and, after founding their settlements, resumed building houses and making pottery, thus reverting to their normal life as sedentary Mexican villagers. There were two well-defined cultures of this type which are called Mazapan and Coyotlatelco,* after the sites where their remains were first discovered. What temples and towns the makers of these cultures constructed have disappeared during architectural revamping in the Aztec period, so that we have to rely on pottery and other imperishable equipment to find out their tribal connections and their significance for the history of man in Mexico.

172 The Mazapan culture was definitely later than Teoti-
174 huacan, for its graves penetrated through Teotihuacan floors and its refuse overlay deposits of Teotihuacan discard. These remains were strongly concentrated at the northwest of the Valley of Mexico but extended to the west as well. While in general they seem to have been associated with villages, refuse heaps did occur at the ceremonial site of Tula. In the modern town of that name stone sculptures in a distinctive style, neither Teotihuacan nor Aztec, may, by the process of elimination, be assigned to these people. The lavish equipment of their burials suggests that the Mazapan folk were prosperous and well to do. At Chiconauhtla,† a frontier town subject to Texcoco, the population, originally Mazapan in cultural affiliation, shifted to Aztec styles with no transition. (See Plate 25.)

172 The pottery of these people falls into three main types
174 sufficiently distinctive to suggest that three independent
323 groups were united. One ware comprises deep hemispherical

*Coy-o-tlah-tel-co. †Chee-co-no'w-tla.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

172 bowls with decorations made in wavy parallel lines as if by
174 a comb. Allied are other bowls with vaguely outlined maroon
323 designs. A second ware is used for heavy bowls with tripod support and floors scored for use in grinding pepper. A third consists of bowls with flat floors and slipped in distinctive colors of white or orange. Such vessels were traded to Puebla, to the slopes of the volcanoes and to other areas bordering on the Valley.

172 In return the Mazapan peoples received pottery from dis-
174 tant sources. From Puebla and Vera Cruz they acquired a
323 popular fine orange ware that was commonly traded to
438 Chichen Itza* in Yucatan, to Guatemala, and even as far south as Salvador. They had also the distinctive pseudo-vitreous ware called plumbate, which had a wide orbit of commercial distribution, centering in Salvador and Guatemala but reaching south to Panama and east to Vera Cruz, west to Tepic and north to Tula. This ware is never found in classical Maya centers but appears in the later sites. In the Valley of Mexico it never reached the Teotihuacan Toltec, and its distribution ceased in Aztec times. Wares decorated in plaster cloisonné were also esteemed by the Mazapeños, and a few examples appear far from their chief source of manufacture in northern Jalisco.* (See Plates 26, top; 27.)

The Mazapan people made or acquired by trade beautiful
174 spindle whorls with lustrous slips and stamped designs. Their
172 obsidian work was excellent, and the scalpels flaked off by
[283] pressure were the finest in Mexico. Figurines were moldmade
[324] but poorly fashioned, a mother god and a warrior god presag-
323 ing the Tonantzin† and Tezcatlipoca of the Aztec period.
776 They worshiped also the flayed god Xipe, who wears a
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*Chi-chen Itz-a'. †To-nan-tzi'n.

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human skin, and in his honor they broke through the lowly 174
limitations of their clay sculpture to make two life-size rep- 172
resentations of him, monumental examples of the potter's art. 323 776
A smaller figure, carrying in his hand a little vase of Zapotec 532
type, was prepared with closer detail. Thus archaeological evidence confirms the traditional origin of Xipe worship in Oaxaca, territory of the Zapotecs and Mixtecs. (See Plate 28.)

This Mazapan culture was cosmopolitan and was in touch 172
with the products of all of civilized Middle America. Its basic 174
wares indicate a western origin. The suggestion of fused tribal elements in the pottery hints at the tribal amalgamations mentioned in Ixtlilxochitl's accounts of the history of the Chichimecs of Texcoco. Thus archaeological evidence corroborates the native histories, assigning this period to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when Mexican influence spread south to the territories of the Zapotecs and Mayas.

The Coyotlatelco culture is confined chiefly to the western shores of the Lake of Mexico. Excavators have not had the luck to find clearly demarked sites. It may well be old in origin, for fragments of simple vessels have been found at Tenayuca, underlying fully developed Coyotlatelco ware; and similar fragments occur in Mazapan territory prior to that occupation. A collection in the American Museum of Natural History from somewhere near Tula suggests a cross-fertilization of this early ware with decadent Teotihuacan elements, resulting in a potential prototype of the full Coyotlatelco style. The developed ware comprises bowls with well-executed patterns in red, which reveal mastery of design.[1] [323]

The chronological position is a little uncertain. Beds of unmixed Coyotlatelco debris occur at Azcapotzalco and on the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
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P 172 174 Hill of the Star, behind Culhuacan. Dr Tozzer, who named the ware, found it mixed with late Teotihuacan material at the type site, but my wife and I excavated a Teotihuacan site of the same period without finding a single sherd among the 200,000 fragments we examined. At one or two places west of Tenayuca, Coyotlatelco sherds have appeared with Mazapan material. Mr Noguera found the extreme limit in Iztacala at Tenayuca where Coyotlatelco and Aztec II fragments were mixed. The geographical and chronological associations of this ware suggest that the makers were Culhuas or Tepanecs.

A 172 174 Culhuacan, so important in the annals as the seat of a famous line of chiefs, shows today little sign of its past greatness. Yet excavations undertaken twenty five years ago prove that its historical importance was not overestimated, for it seems to have been the base from which Aztec culture spread over the Valley. Pottery, so dismal to read about, so important in reflecting tribal patterns, tells the story of this process.*

A 172 174 [196] Aztec pottery is found everywhere in the Valley of Mexico, and, due to the Aztec custom of destroying household goods at the end of each fifty-two-year cycle, it can be identified in terms of relatively exact periods: IV, 1507–19 (the date of the Spanish Conquest, which prevented the cyclical celebration of 1559); IIIb, 1455–1507; IIIa, 1403–55; II early and late, perhaps a century prior to 1403, and I. Periods III and IV are represented everywhere. Period II is common on the mainland but less so in Tenochtitlan, which was politically insignificant until after 1400. To date, Period I is represented in quantity only at Culhuacan. The standard ware of Periods II–IV goes through a consecutive evolution but has a close

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

generic resemblance throughout, while Period I pottery is 172
much closer to the fine orange wares of Puebla which were 174
traded widely throughout southeastern Mexico. There is also a trade connection between Aztec I and Mazapan.[8] (See Plates 25, 29.)

In the history of Culhuacán digested on pp. 72–73 the fact was noted that there was first a Toltec dynasty, which was succeeded by a Chichimec or foreign regime. It may not be stretching the manipulations of the historian too far if we suggest that the Culhuas changed their culture with their dynasty. Coyotlatelco ceramics, which have vague affiliations with Teotihuacan pottery, may represent the material culture of the Toltec dynasty, while the Aztec I pottery, completely alien to the preceding styles, seems to embody the material presence of the new regime.

Seeming confirmation of this situation comes from the 172
site of Tenayuca, where great Mexican archaeologists like 346
the late José Reygadas Vertiz, Ignacio Marquina, Alfonso Caso, Eduardo Noguera and others have carried out a superb dissection of one of the temples. It was completely rebuilt five, or possibly six, times. The renovation answered the ceremonial requirement of rebuilding and refurnishing at the beginning of each fifty-two-year cycle in compensation for the destruction at the close of the previously elapsed period. As the site was occupied during the Conquest, the reconstructions probably followed the cyclical ceremonies of 1507, 1455, 1403, 1351 and 1299, with the first building erected some time earlier. The fourth, fifth and sixth constructions (1403, 1455, 1507) are purely Aztec; the third temple built (1351) is a transition between the Aztec style and the simpler, more archaic methods employed in the two earliest

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A 172 346 structures (1299 and the original temple). The three completely developed Aztec temples correspond closely to the distribution of Aztec III and IV pottery, between 1403 and 1519. The transitional temple and the second building suggest that cyclical renovations were adopted everywhere along with the Aztec II pottery of the fourteenth century. The original platform of this Tenayuca temple could have been constructed almost any time in the thirteenth century, since the building of a shrine did not entail the celebration of the beginning of a fifty-two-year cycle.[20] (See Plates 25; 26, bottom; 29.)

A 174 The Aztec civilization was brought into the valley at Culhuacan, where it gradually supplanted the defined local cultures. Where, then, was its true source? The most probable answer is Cholula, in the state of Puebla, where still exists the largest structure in the world in terms of cubic content. The devoted group of Mexican archaeologists, whose co-ordinated efforts have organized the rich background of their Indian past, have been analyzing this monument by excavation and archival research for many years. The results are important. (See Plate 26, top, middle.)

P 174 346 Originally Cholula was occupied by an Upper Middle Culture tribe which later fell under the domination of Teotihuacan-Toltec civilization. At this time the inhabitants built a large ceremonial precinct, a maze of temples, platforms and stairs, constructed of rubble covered with plaster. Eventually newcomers, possibly with the aid of the resident population, performed the stupendous task of converting the Toltec precinct into a single great platform, traditionally in honor of the god Quetzalcoatl. This mammoth construction entailed filling in every building and courtyard with

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adobe bricks. On its top they erected altars and quarters for 174
the ceremonial personnel. In one of the altars, Altar de los 346
Craneos, they buried two people and made a mortuary offer- [782
ing of pottery vessels, some of which resemble Aztec I in 766]
many respects, while others show affiliation with Mazapan types.[21]

Later on the Cholulans gave up these forms for ornate creations in polychrome, in which pure design and ritualistic decoration were elaborated to an extraordinary degree. The skill of workmanship, the proliferation of ritual and the quantity of production from Puebla and the south, surpass the work of the Valley tribes even though the content is the same. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that in Puebla lay the source and inspiration of Aztec civilization.

The few annals preserved relate chiefly to this period, and 175
their pages are filled with the history of Teo-Chichimec and 167
Toltec-Chichimec lineages. Breaking off from their parent communities, groups wandered away to found homes in new territory. Occasionally they settled in unoccupied lands, but they usually imposed themselves as a ruling class on some already established tribe. Often the conquerors called themselves by the proud name of Toltec, usurping the title of the chief civilization they destroyed. Thus arose the confusion of the early annalists, who, without the countercheck of archaeology, were hard put to distinguish references to the classical Toltec of Teotihuacan from tales of the warlike interlopers who assumed the name of the vanquished civilization.[22]

Most of these wandering groups spoke Nahuatl, the native 175
tongue of the Aztecs, and of many other peoples in western 191
Mexico. Some, like the conquerors of Oaxaca, spoke the 167
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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec
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175 unrelated Mixtec tongue. Yet whatever their language, these
191 invaders joined in spreading over southern Mexico, Guate-
167 mala, Salvador, even Nicaragua, such kindred cultural ele-
177 ments as chiefly lineage, formal war, distinctive gods and characteristic ceremonial practices, which we classify as Mixteca-Puebla culture. Other tribes moved north, leaving a strong imprint on the cultures of Sinaloa in the northwest, and elements of this religion affected tribal communities as far distant as the southeastern United States.[18] (See Plates 11–12.)

174 This movement of people, in contrast to that of their
177 civilized predecessors, was not the process of settling unexploited territory. Overpopulation seems the most logical cause, since it forces nations to risk the hazards of war rather than submit to the pangs of slow starvation. The vanquished, whose people had expanded into unpopulated territory during the previous epoch, had had no need to develop military techniques and so fell easily under Chichimec domination. However, in view of the intimate relation between government and religion in ancient Mexican society, such conquest meant the worship of new gods as well as the acceptance of new chiefs. It is likely that some tribes adopted the new religion previous to actual physical contact so that they could the better resist invasion. Yet the factor of conquest strongly influenced the spread of Mixteca-Puebla culture by tribesmen of Nahuatl and Mixtec speech.

War has its advantages when made on the unwarlike. The thin coating of Western civilization which Europe laid over the globe has its minor counterpart in the late Mexican influence spread over Middle America by these restless tribesmen. The winner's gods must be good gods, so cults of

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Mexican origin spread through the length and breadth of Middle America. Just so the Christian religion had a ready acceptance in Indian America when the missionaries were backed by such redoubtable exponents of our gentle faith as Cortes, Pizarro and their coadjutors.

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF CHICHIMEC AND DYNASTIC TOLTEC HISTORY

p 172 174 175

950–1100, Early Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Contact with Toltecs at Tula (Teotihuacan) under Xolotl; Tenayuca I pottery; rude culture.

Western Phase: Teotihuacan V and western Toltec Empire at Tula (Azcapotzalco).

1100–1247, Middle Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Tenayuca occupation by immigrants; replacement of Toltecs at Tula (Tula); tribal government; foundation of Texcocan Chichimec lineage in 1232; development of fiefs; introduction of Mazapan culture.

p 172 174 175

Western Phase: Destruction of Toltecs at Tula (Azcapotzalco); movement to Culhuacan; foundation of Culhuacan "Toltec" lin-

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eage in 1114; adoption of Coyotlatelco ceramics; first Aztec cycle counted, 1143–95; second Aztec cycle counted, 1195–1247.

		Rulers		
Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl (d. 1124 after 60 years)			Xolotl 1115–1232	
Cuauhtzapotlatzin 1124–81	Teintlacohuatzin 1160–1226			
Huetzin 1181–1202				
Nonoalcatl 1202–1223				
Achitometl 1223–37	Quinatzin 1226–99			
Cuauhtecatl 1237–51				

1247–99, Late Chichimeco-Aztec I Period

Eastern Phase: Establishment of Texcoco as Chichimec capital under Quinatzin in 1298; persistence of Mazapan culture in east; penetration of Coyotlatelco and temple cult to Tenayuca(?).

Western Phase: Foundation of new dynasty at Culhuacan in 1251; introduction of Aztec I pottery at Culhuacan, with Pueblan origins; construction of Building I at Tenayuca(?); Cholula rebuilt (Altar de los Craneos); Cholula III pottery; Tenochcas at Chapultepec; third Aztec cycle counted, 1247–99.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
New Lineage Mazatzin 1251–74			*Lineage Begins* Nopaltzin 1232–63	
Quetzaltzin 1274–87		Cozcomatzin 1282–88	Tlotzin 1263–98	Huitzilhuitl 1233–98
Chalchiuhtlatonac 1287–1304				

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CHAPTER V

THE AZTEC PERIOD

In which is recorded the history of the Tenochcas and the political background of Aztec civilization

THE CHICHIMEC PERIOD witnessed invasion of the Valley 174
of Mexico by various tribes and the gradual domination of these tribes by a culture and manner of life that seems to have emanated from Puebla and northern Oaxaca. The basic political unit consisted of a tribe resident in a town supporting itself from its own land with the supplement, if possible, of supplies derived from the tribute payments of vassals. At the head of the state was a chief of lineage who also performed ecclesiastical functions. Craftsmanship was highly skilled, and trade flourished to furnish raw materials for the artisans. This productivity, however, was directed toward religion and ritual rather than the creation of personal wealth. Religion was an elaborate polytheism based on nature worship, with some god or gods singled out for special adoration, but the working of the *tonalpohualli*,* or sacred almanac, brought the full force of divine powers to aid man in his life on earth. (See Plate 29.)

The history of the Tenochcas, the Mexico City Aztecs, 173
shows how a tribal body lived and acquired the position of an 805
important state. According to their own records, the Tenoch-

*to-nal-po-wa'l-li.

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173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

*Mich-o-a-can.

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At one place they split up; at another they sacrificed three individuals, according to the prescribed ritual of opening up the stomach and tearing out the heart; and at a third place they learned how to make pulque. 175 [782]

Their records make little reference to the tribes already in the Valley, and their own entrance was relatively unnoticed by the others. However, the hieroglyph of Tezozomoc in one manuscript suggests the obvious conclusion that they had to have Tepanec permission to pass through Azcapotzalco and settle at Chapultepec, where the beautiful park now is. Here they remained happily for nearly a generation. Their neighbors seem to have been small but growing communities, so that conflict was inevitable. The Tenochcas began the strife because their young men went up the lake to Tenayuca to raid and steal wives, a common North American Indian method of gaining prestige. Their more powerful neighbors became irritated and made up a punitive expedition in which Tepanecs, Culhuas and Xochimilcas took part. The result was horrid: the Tenochca chief Huitzilhuitl* and most of the tribe had to go to Culhuacan territory to dwell in serfdom, while the rest escaped to the lake where some low-lying islands offered refuge. The main body stayed in Tizapan,† near the present San Angel, where they were under the eye of Coxcox,‡ the chief of Culhuacan. The Tenochcas detested the waste which was barren in all except poisonous snakes and insects. Huitzilopochtli they still enshrined, but his worth had sunk so low that the Culhuas came to mock him at his shrine and toss nameless filth into the temple.* 175 648 [583]

Finally, however, the tide turned. Coxcox became involved in a war with Xochimilco and called upon his vassals to aid him. When the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

*Wee-tee'el-weel. †Tee-ee-pee'a. ‡Cosh-cosh.

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649 when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle
175 they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty pris-
[304] oners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the
175 battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces
727 in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears, proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly
[721] the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

175 So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

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have become an entity in 1325, and Tlaltelolco,* which was 175
founded about the same time. They both were havens for malcontents from the mainland, and about the middle of the century each was large enough to petition the mainland tribes for a chief to found a dynasty. Tlaltelolco received a leader from the Tepanecs, and the Tenochcas again induced Culhuacan to provide them with a chief, Acamapichtli.† The accounts vary as to whether or not he arrived as a lad accompanied by his mother. The *Annals of Cuauhtitlan* mention that at this time the Tenochcas were erecting houses of stone, an indication that a community had to reach a definite stage of development before enjoying the prestige of an important lineage.[4]

In the time of Acamapichtli the Tenochcas were tribu- 175
taries and allies of the Tepanec and fought successfully 648
against Tenayuca and Culhuacan. Yet their field of operations was minute, and a morning's automobile ride will enable the curious to see the whole scene of Tenochcan history. Huitzilhuitl II succeeded Acamapichtli at his death and prudently ensured the future of the nascent state by marrying the daughter of Tezozomoc. He was chief during the final struggle between the two great lake powers, the Tepanecs and the Texcocans, a war which ended in the death of the Texcocan chief, Ixtlilxochitl, and the dispersal of his fiefs.

Chimalpopoca‡ succeeded his half brother Huitzilhuitl, 175
and his reign was fraught with disaster. Tezozomoc died, and his son Maxtla succeeded him at the cost of murdering a brother. Maxtla was frankly out for power and kept the city-

*Tlal-tel-ol-co. ‡Chim-mal-po-po'-ca.
†Ah-cam-a-pi'-tch-li. [text continues on p. 97]

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TABLE VII

MIGRANT TRIBES, ACCORDING TO VARIOUS AUTHORITIES, COMPARED TO CERAMIC GROUPS IN CENTRAL MEXICO

	Historia Mexicana[a]	*Codex of 1898*[b]	*Codex of 1576*[c]	*Codex—ed. Muñoz Camargo*[d]	*Historia de las Mexicanos*[e]	*Codex Ramírez*[f]	*Codex Boturini*[g]	*Durán*[h]	*Sahagún*[i]	*Codex Telleriano—Remensis*[j]	*Codex Vaticanus A*[k]	*Clavigero*[l]	*Motolinía*[m]	*Muñoz Camargo*[n]	*de Mendieta*[o]	*Suggested Correlation of Pottery Styles with Tribal Groups*
Aztec	x	x	(x)*	–	x	x	(x)*	(x)*	(x)*	–	–	(x)*	x	–	x	Regulation Aztec of Tenochtitlan[p]
Zochimilca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(?)
Tepaneca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Tenayuca II (?)[q]
Acolhua	–	x	–	–	[x]†	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(x)*	(x)*	–	Mazapan[r]
Colhua	–	–	–	x	x	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Culhuacan (like Aztec)[s]
Quitlahuaca	x	x	x	–	–	–	x*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Chalca	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[t]
Tlahuica	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	Gualupita III[u]
Tlaxcalteca	–	–	–	–	[x]†	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	(x)*	–	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[v]
Cholulteca	–	x*	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Cholula wares[w]
Huexotzinca	x	x	x	x	[x]†	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Metztzinca	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Metztzinca[x]
Malinalca	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Quauhquechollan-Xelhua	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	(?)

Chichimeca	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	x	x	–	(x)*	–	–		(?)
Nonoalca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Michoaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	(x)*	–	–		(?)
Cuaiuca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Totonaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Cuaxteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Xicalanga-Olmeca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	x	(x)*	x		(?)
Mixteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		Monte Alban 5**
Otomi	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		(?)

*Implied but not specifically listed.

†"These people, say the Mexicans, and no more sallied forth, although those of Tezcoco and Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco boast . . . that they too . . . are also of that land." Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, p. 615.

[1]Histoire Mexicaine in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 6a.

[2]Codex of 1590 in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 14; Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 8, footnote.

[3]Codex of 1576 in Aubin, Histoire, 1893, p. 4, both of text and translation.

[4]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7. A footnote by Chavero gives a list taken from Cuadro Historico-Jeroglifico de la Peregrinacion de las Tribus Aztecas Que Poblaron el Valle de Mexico, No. 2, published in the Atlas Geografico of Antonio Garcia Cubas, Mexico, 1858, usually called the Codex Boturini.

[5]Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, pp. 624–25. Forty tribes.

[6]Historia de los Mexicanos in Biblioteca Mexicana, 1878, p. 18.

[7]Radin, Sources, 1920, p. 33, Pl. I taken from Kingsborough, Vol. 1.

[8]Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, p. 10.

[9]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 11.

[10]Codex Telleriano-Remensis, 1899, p. 34, Pl. 25.

[11]Codex Vaticanus A, 1900, Pl. 67.

[12]Clavigero, History, 1787.

[13]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, pp. 7–10.

[14]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, pp. 5–68. The list of tribes given under this authority has been extracted at random points from the text. Muñoz Camargo does not specify the list of migrants.

[15]de Mendieta, Historia, 1870, p. 145.

[16]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 32.

[17]Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[18]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

[19]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–36; Brenner, Influence of Technique, 1931.

[20]Chavero, in Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7, misreads this sign Cholula.

[21]Radin, Sources, 1920, misreads this sign Cholula.

[22]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1935, Figs. 19, 27.

[23]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[24]Peñafiel, Nomenclatura Geografica, 1897, gives this sign as Cholula.

[25]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[26]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 6.

[27]Caso, Monte Alban, 1938.

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TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY BEFORE THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1299–1351, Early Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Introduction of picture writing and other arts at Texcoco by people from the *Mixteca*; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery.

Western or Culhua Phase: Cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building II; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery, retention of Coyotlatelco (?) pottery; revolt of Tenochcas at Chapultepec, settlement of Tenochtitlan; fourth Aztec cycle counted, 1299–1351.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Cuauhtlix 1304–11	Tezcaltecutli 1299–1338	Miahuatonaltzin 1290–1300		
Yohualtecomac 1311–21		Axayaltzin 1300–08		Tenoch(?)
Tzihuacuatzin 1321–34	Vactli 1339–49	Atzatzamaltzin 1308–24	Quinatzin 1298–1357	
Xihuitlemoc 1334–51		Tozpeuhtecutli 1324–43		*Lineage Begins*
		Epcoatzin 1343–54		Queen Ilancueitl 1349–83

1351–1403, Late Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Unification of language by Techotlala; political and cultural dominance of Texcoco; Aztec IIb pottery and homogeneity of culture; Cholula IV pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhyla.

Western Phase: Decadence of Culhuacan; rise of Tepanecs at Azcapotzalco; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building IV, Aztec transition; captive Tenochcas escape to build in stone and adopt lineage pattern with Acamapichtli; fifth Aztec cycle counted, 1351–1403.

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Culhuacan	Cuauhtitlan	Cuitlahuac	Texcoco	Tenochtitlan
Coxcox 1352–76	Queen Ehualyuxitzin 1368–72	Quetzalmichin 1354–65		
				Acamapichtli 1375–95
Acamapichtli 1376–88	Tezozacocuixtzin 1373–78	Mamaxtzin 1369–89	Techodala 1357–1409	
Achitometl 1388–1400	Tlacateotzin 1379–89	Pichatzin 1389–92		Huitzilhuitl II 1395–1414

TABLE IX

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY AFTER THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1403–55, Early Aztec III Period

Eastern Phase: Political elimination of Texcoco in first half of period with later recovery; prosperity and cultural advance under Nezahualcoyotl; expansion of palace at Chiconauhtla; Aztec IIIa pottery; Cholula V pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla and Los Melones, Texcoco.

Western Phase: Political extinction of Culhuacan; rise and fall of Tepanecs; rise of Tenochtitlan with organization of Triple Alliance; growth of conquest and war-captive pattern; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building IV; cyclical dump in Zocalo, Mexico City; broad diffusion of Aztec IIIa pottery; sixth Aztec cycle counted, 1403–55.

Culhuacan	Cuauhtitlan	Cuitlahuac	Texcoco	Tenochtitlan
Nauhyotl 1400–13	Xaltemoc 1390–98 (1408)	Tepolonmayotl 1393–1415	Ixtlilxochitl 1409–18	Chimalpopoca 1414–28
			Tepanec Tyrants Tezozomoc 1343–1427	Itzcoatl 1428–40
			Maxtla 1427–29	
			Texcocan Lineage Renewed Nezahualcoyotl 1418–72	Montezuma I 1440–69

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1455–1507, Late Aztec III Period

172 174 175 *Eastern Phase:* Continued development of culture at Texcoco; growth of Chiconauhtla palace; elaboration of ceramics; Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical dump at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Political power of Tenochtitlan; extension of conquest over Mexico and Guatemala; reconstruction of great temple; increase in captive sacrifice; elaboration of ritual; diffusion of Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building V; cyclical dump at Nonoalco, Mexico City; seventh Aztec cycle counted, 1455–1507.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
unimportant	unimportant	unimportant	Nezahualpilli 1472–1516	Axayacatl 1469–81
				Tizoc 1481–86
				Ahuitzotl 1486–1503

1507–1519 (Conquest) Aztec IV

Eastern Phase: Growing friction between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan; last expansion of Chiconauhtla palace; Aztec IV pottery styles with good life forms. Conquest.

Western Phase: Tenochtitlan domination with coercion of Texcoco; maintenance of old conquests rather than success of new ones; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building VI; Aztec IV pottery with many life forms; eighth Aztec cycle counted, 1507–59, incomplete with Conquest.

Texcoco	*Tenochtitlan*
Cacama 1516–19	Montezuma II 1503–20
	Cuitlahuac 1520 (4 months)
	Cuauhtemoc 1520–24 (murdered on way to Honduras)

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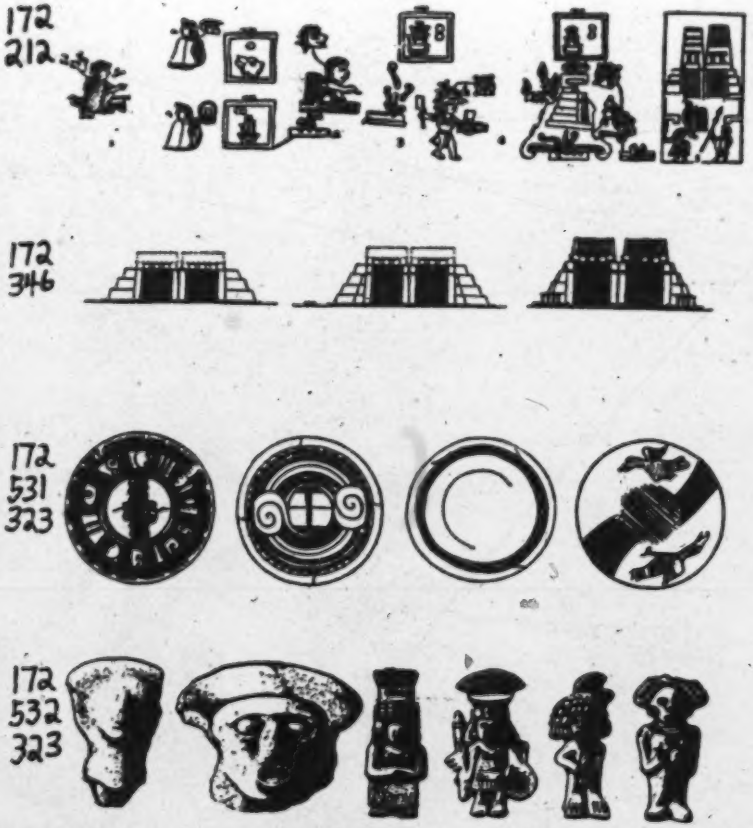

PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP ROW: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2–4 from Codex Telleriano-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). SECOND ROW: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. THIRD ROW: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520–21. FOURTH ROW: *First two*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

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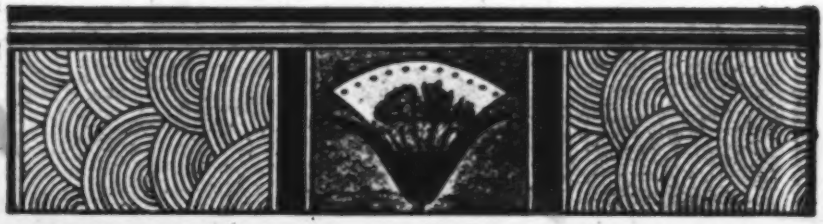

PLATE 30

TRADE POTTERY, AZTEC PERIOD

Vessels like these from Puebla and Tlaxcala were much prized in Central Mexico and obtained by trade or tribute. At the top, a design composed of a feather fan and concentric circles, taken from a hemispherical bowl. The middle cup utilizes a simple grecque pattern, while at the bottom the hieroglyph for the day Reed set against a black background decorates the neck of a vase, the body of which is painted a lustrous red.

[p. 96(B)]

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PLATE 31

CEREMONIAL VASE

This vase from Mihuatlan, Oaxaca, is a masterpiece of Mixteca-Puebla ceramics. It represents the god Macuilxochitl (Five Flower), God of Games and Feasting. His dress, necklace and face painting are faithfully presented in polychrome, and above the left collarbone a turquoise bead has been inserted to indicate the god's heart. Jade and turquoise were precious, so also was the heart of a god. Therefore, there was no symbolic conflict in showing as green an organ which is red.

[p 96(c)]

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175 states of the valley in a ferment of intrigue and oppression. Finally he murdered Chimalpopoca and also the chief of the neighboring town of Tlaltelolco, adding insult to injury, according to Indian thinking, by stepping up the tribute payments as well.

The people of Tenochtitlan were seething with indignation, and the small mainland town of Tlacopan (Tacuba) was sympathetic to the oppressed. Nezahualcoyotl,* the legitimate successor to the chieftainship of Texcoco, had taken to the hills after the defeat of his nation and was stirring up opposition to the enemy. He induced the Tenochcas under their new chief Itzcoatl† to attack Azcapotzalco through the back door of Tlacopan, while he rallied the Texcocans and their tributaries to assault the enemy with columns coming both by canoe and overland around the lakes. After a long war of several weeks the allies were successful. (See Plate 63.)

Nezahualcoyotl doubtless intended that his state should regain its position as the dominant power in the northern lake country. But he did not realize that when he formed the triple alliance for mutual defense and offensive profit he laid the foundation for a rival state which would surpass Texcoco. The Tenochcas and the Texcocans were each to receive two shares of all loot, the Tlacopans one, but the division was probably liberally interpreted by whichever chanced to be the strongest of the three allies. The Tenochcas gained land on the lake shore, which gave them a strong foothold for further conquest. Since this new territory was granted to the leading warriors, a caste of power and wealth was established. Thus outwardly the conquest brought the Te-

*Ne-za-wal-co'y-otl. †Eet'z-co-atl.

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175 nochcas from the condition of a feudal tributary to that of an independent state. Inwardly there was a change of feeling, a shift from an inferiority to a superiority complex. Itzcoatl, the fourth Tenochcan chief, expressed this attitude by ordering all the historical picture manuscripts to be burned, "as they were not appreciated by the ordinary people."[6]

From the time of Itzcoatl the state histories are in very close accord. Those written prior to his accession in 1428 exhibit considerable conflict, often resulting in discrepancies of a fifty-two-year cycle or more. I think this lack of agreement arose from the split in the tribal continuity at the time of the Chapultepec defeat in 1300. Part of the tribe refugeed to the islands in the lake and founded a town in 1325 or thereabouts, ruling it under a tribal council and a main chief. The other group was taken to Tizapan and became civilized according to Culhuacan standards. The founding of Tenochtitlan, from their point of view, did not take place until they joined the original colony on the lake where, as soon as possible, they erected stone temples and tried to found a dynasty.

Itzcoatl enabled the Tenochcas to assume Aztec civilization. His historical reforms doubtless coincided with ritualistic regulations as well, for he undertook the construction of temples and the ordering of a religious hierarchy. He ordained the ranks of the civil government and superintended the building of the city, constructing causeways to the mainland to ensure easy access. Systematically Itzcoatl began to mop up those independent Valley tribes not subject to Texcoco; he also won victories and acknowledgments of supremacy from the powerful Chalcas and Xochimilcas, tribes culturally allied more closely to the Puebla groups than to

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those of the northern Valley. To show his independence 175
Itzcoatl had a brush with Nezahualcoyotl's Texcocans, and thereafter the peace between the former allies was somewhat precarious.

Montezuma* I, surnamed Ilhuicamina,† the Wrathy, succeeded Itzcoatl after his death in 1440. This chief, already marked as a leader in the wars of Itzcoatl, extended the domination of Tenochtitlan even further. He successfully fought the Chalcas, who detested the tribes of the northern Valley, and crossed the mountains to raid eastward into Puebla and Vera Cruz and southward to conquer towns in Morelos and Guerrero. A fairly close military co-operation must have existed between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan, for conquests claimed for Tenochtitlan by Tenochcan historians appear as gains for Texcoco in the Texcocan annals. Poor Tlacopan disappears from the scene, possibly independent still but certainly unconsidered in the division of pelf, a situation recalling that of Italy in 1918.

Under Montezuma I the cultural aspects of Tenochtitlan progressed mightily. He took measures to ensure the health of his people, building an aqueduct from the springs of Chapultepec to bring an abundance of sweet water to the city. Around the eastern rim of his capital he caused a great dike to be erected to dam off the spread of the lakes during the rainy season.

The conquests into Puebla brought the Tenochcas in touch with the highly developed religion of that area, so that many additional temples were built in honor of gods and goddesses which were revered by the conquered tribes. In times of relative peace he revived the War of Flowers, a

*Mon-tay-zo'o-ma. †Il-wee-cah-me'en-a.

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175 ceremonial contest between warriors of two tribes or groups of tribes, in order that prisoners might be taken for sacrifice without the economic dislocation of formal war. This practice was known long before in the Valley, the Tenochcas participating in such struggles with the Chalcas in 1376–84, but the Tenochcas had been so continuously at war that they were accustomed to take their prisoners the hard way.*

175 731 The crops failed from* 1451–56, owing to severe storms and frost. Many people died, and others, unable to support themselves, adopted voluntary slavery in order to share the bounty of the more fortunate. Usually a famine led to increased military activity to replenish the empty larders with supplies exacted as tribute. But in this case the situation was so severe and the Tenochcas so weak that they had to be content with a War of Flowers.

175 Axayacatl* succeeded his father Montezuma I in 1469. He extended Tenochcan domination over a still-wider area, spreading west into the Matlatzinca country and south to Oaxaca and Tehuantepec. He conducted a campaign into the Tarascan territory and met with a dreadful defeat which ensured the independence of these tribes of Michoacan up to their conquest by the Spaniards. This was the only serious Tenochcan military disaster until the grim days of 1519.*

Neither Axayacatl nor his successors were able to transform domination of a region into dominion. He did succeed, nevertheless, in reducing the neighboring town of Tlaltelolco, killing its chief and denying its council the right to meet with the Tenochcas in matters of tribal importance. Tlaltelolco up to that time had maintained its independence

*Ash-ay-a'h-catl.

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and had grown at the same rate as Tenochtitlan, aiding in 175
many of the campaigns. It was famous for its merchants; and its market, even after its subjugation, was the greatest in Mexico. Local jealousy, however, did not lead to war until both towns competed in building temples to Huitzilopochtli, the War God. Apparently this competition for divine favor led to war, whereas economic conflict did not. Ridiculously [578]
enough the open break was induced by the insulting behavior of the Tlaltelolcan women, who flaunted their backsides at the enraged Tenochcan visitors.[8]

The religious arts reached their full development under 175
Axayacatl. In his time was made the great Calendar Stone 805
which weighs over twenty tons and is twelve feet in diameter. The block was quarried on the mainland, and the allied rulers sent help to drag this gigantic mass across the causeways. Designed to symbolize the Aztec universe, it is a masterly example of a pattern, the detail of which adds, rather than detracts from, the spaciousness of the concept.[9] (See Plate 52, top.)

In 1472, early in the reign of Axayacatl, the life of a great 175
figure in American Indian history, Nezahualcoyotl, came to an end. This Texcocan chief had begun his manhood in political exile fleeing from Tepanec vengeance, but had fought and intrigued his way back into power. He even restored the fortunes of his people who, in the previous century, had rivaled the Culhuacanos in the formative years of Aztec civilization. Nezahualcoyotl had a broad judicial sense which enabled him successfully to elaborate the administrative structure of a far-flung realm. Since the Texcocans, before the Tepanec domination in 1419–28 already had a chain of tribute-paying vassals, this resumption of control in

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 after years was not so much a conquest as the forceful exercise of due rights.[10]

He took a lively interest in the construction of temples and public buildings so that, for all its tattered decay today, Texcoco was one of the most imposing cities on the Central Plateau. His palace near by and his bath, hewn from the solid rock of Texcotzingo, are visible proof of the rich luxury of his life.

Nezahualcoyotl took a profound interest in religion and the arts. He transformed theological speculation into a philosophy of religion and worshiped a single god, the force through which nature manifests itself and from which the lesser gods derived their power and being. He encouraged the arts and in his own right attained great renown as a poet and orator. The lore of the stars fascinated him, and he had a deep knowledge of the astrological astronomy of his day and age. In contrast to the bleakly austere records of the Tenochca overlords, his career was a model of wise administration. Not the least of Nezahualcoyotl's achievements was his keeping the peace with his arrogant island ally, Tenochtitlan, which was ever ready by intrigue, murder or open warfare to add to its wealth and power.

Nezahualcoyotl was succeeded by his son Nezahualpilli,* who ruled until 1516. The length of his reign indicates the possession of an administrative skill equal to his father's. He successfully undertook a number of conquests, but they are not so dramatized as those of the Tenochcan chiefs.

Nezahualpilli had an interest in astrology, religion and necromancy, as would be natural in a chief whose religious obligations were as onerous as his civil and military duties.

*Ne-zoo-al-pe'el-li.

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His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[11] 175 [684]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[12] 175 778 532 [782]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual- 175 [648] 796

*Ah'-weet-zot'l.

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175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the
796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[18]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was
[669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan.
[731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence,
[782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[24]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-ot-se'en.

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world, were especially ominous, since in addition to earthquakes and other supernatural portents word came in of white strangers, propelled in odd craft, who were ranging along the coast. But the ceremony took place, and the world continued. (See Plate 29, top.) 175

Montezuma fought an unsuccessful war against the Tlaxcalans, but at the same time he succeeded in avenging himself on his Texcocan allies for the death of his sister, by allowing their force to be ambushed and wiped out. In 1516, at the death of Nezahualpilli, he appointed his successor without recognizing the choice of the Texcocan council. The ousted candidate revolted and the already strained alliance was broken.[15]

A year later Grijalva* reached Vera Cruz, and in 1519 Cortes started his march to Mexico. Montezuma died that winter, stoned by his own people, according to Spanish accounts; strangled by the Spaniards, in the Indian versions. Cacama succeeded him but died of smallpox within a month, and the last of the free chiefs, Cuauhtemoc,† conducted the heroic defense of Tenochtitlan, only to be hanged four years later on Cortes' march to Honduras.[16]

Thus ends the bare record of Tenochcan history, without a description of the people, their government, their laws, their gods or their arts. Lacking, also, is an account of the clash between the two civilizations: Aztec and Spanish. The records are abundant, and we can form a lifelike picture of the time. Before we examine the nature of Aztec civilization and the causes of its downfall, let us recapitulate briefly the history of the valley tribes before the Conquest.

This chapter has covered the rise of the Tenochcas and

*Gree-ha'l-va. †Kwow-tu'y-moc.

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175 how they came to be the greatest example of Aztec civilization. Yet the events set forth show quite clearly that they did not originate this civilization or, beyond the sacrifice cult, contribute much to it. During their migration period, from 1168 to 1248, they were simple primitive folk. In their sedentary period, from the settlement at Chapultepec in 1248 to the election of Acamapichtli in 1376, they were busily absorbing the culture of their neighbors and overlords, especially that of the Culhuas. The tributary period, from 1376 to 1428, saw the Tenochcas under the control of the Tepanec, cautiously trying out the formal Aztec city-state organization. Not until Itzcoatl assumed the chieftaincy in 1429 did Tenochtitlan really advance, at which time the city took part in the general great rise of Aztec civilization.

On the other hand, Culhuacan was associated with the earliest phase of Aztec culture in the Valley and was contemporaneous with such distinctive styles as Coyotlatelco and Mazapan. The evolving Aztec culture in its ceramic aspect superseded and obliterated these earlier folk arts and was well established throughout the Valley at a date when the Tenochcas were nonentities. The historical position of Culhuacan closely paralleled the archaeological record, yet this early Culhuacan phase did not seem to be a spontaneous development so much as a derivative from Puebla and the Mixteca.

The availability of annals and the existence of competent excavations in sites like Tenochtitlan, Texcoco and Culhuacan have caused us to weight heavily the testimony of the people on the northern half of the lakes. Chalco and Xochimilco, to the south, whose annals have disappeared and whose sites are largely unexcavated, may have had a far more

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important part in the history of the Valley than appears here. 175
Puebian influence is far stronger in these southern city-states.

Aztec civilization, therefore, was a dynamic composite of many elements, some developed as an answer to tribal needs, others incorporated by contact with foreign peoples. Constant change took place, as in all other human societies, resulting from the continual adjustments man must make to fresh situations. Since individual men and women make up a community, let us in the following chapters begin with a single person and work our way through his social obligations and economics to his tribal organization and religion, finally reaching the Conquest and its aftermath.

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CHAPTER VI

THE MAN AND THE TRIBE

In which are set forth the basic ideas of Aztec education, government, law and social customs

642 618 THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION of the Aztec tribes was in theory completely democratic. An individual was a member of a family which, in turn, belonged to a cluster of families or a clan.* Theoretically twenty of these clans made up a tribe, each of them regulating its own affairs but, in matters of tribal importance, joining with the others in a council composed of all the leaders. The council appointed one chief to control civil and religious affairs and usually a second for war. Originally designed for simple farming communities and presumably of an antiquity dating back to Middle Culture times, this organization later ramified into the governmental complexity of a populous and highly complicated city-state.[1]

844 The working of a community is best illustrated by the position of the individual in it, a process which is described in the third part of the Codex Mendoza. Immediately a child was born it was washed and swaddled by a midwife. Since 777 the gods governed the fate of man on earth, the parents con- 787 sulted a priest who looked in the *tonalamatl*,† or book of

*The term clan is used to mean a tribal division without connotation of male or female descent.

†To'-na-la-matl.

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fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four 787 777
days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate
the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved 553
to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction where- 777
by the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favor-
able period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque 553
over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the ac- 776
couchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God,
whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures.
The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools 553
which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the
motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her
pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name,
that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the
child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his
birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal,
like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor,
like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the
time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alter-
native animal title. Girls' names frequently were com-
pounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its pur- [862]
pose was to induct the child into the techniques and obliga- 861
tions of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which
handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in
adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized cul-
ture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers in-
structed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children
listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned
the uses of the household implements and performed minor
household chores.[2]

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262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

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tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

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585 at last a feast, liberally lubricated with pulque, took place.
[834] The bride and the groom, after this merciless treatment, retired for four days of penance and fasting, and not until that period elapsed did they consummate their marriage.

595 As is often the case in a warrior nation which suffers from
586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed from a husband who failed to support her or educate the children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the
[587] Aztecs had not invented mental cruelty. A divorced woman could remarry as she chose, but a widow had to marry a brother of her deceased husband or one of his clansmen.[8]

562 Women had definite rights, but they were inferior to those of men. They could hold property, enter into contracts and go to courts to obtain justice. In matters of sexual morality
[834] girls had to be chaste and wives faithful to their husbands. A
[837] man transgressed the rules of propriety only when his illicit relations involved a married woman. Otherwise his wife could not formally demand his fidelity. While the legal position of women was relatively low, judged by modern standards in the United States, personal influence was great, and there were several instances where a woman acted as regent when her son was too young to assume the office of chief. In mat-
[648] ters of tribal alliance we have seen how the marriage of a chief's daughter or sister to another ruler cemented an alliance.

J:Vaillant A-S (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[P. 112(a)]

PLATE 33

PROCESSION OF NOTABLES, DOING HONOR TO MONTEZUMA

This drawing by Keith Henderson, in the Henry Holt Edition of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, was adapted from native picture records. The artist reconciles the crabbed fidelity of the Indian drawing with our own representational standards.

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531

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

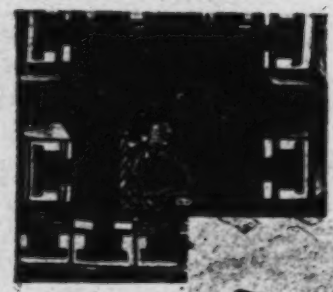

Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

[326]

Thief

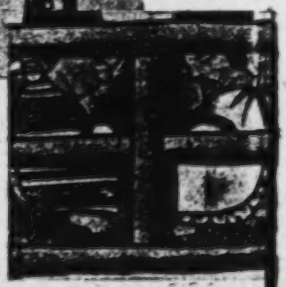

[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

[701
441
714]

[p. 112 (B)]

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531

[622
441]

THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

Chief

Merchant

Lawyer

[463]

Doctor

[759]

Women

Sailor, Jeweler

[502
501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (c)]

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PLATE 36

AZTEC WOMEN

Rich embroidery enlivened the simple dress of Aztec women, as shown in this drawing by Keith Henderson. The measure of this artist's accuracy may be taken by comparing this plate and Plate 33 with the Codex Florentino paintings on Plates 34–35.

[P. 112(D)]

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562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

425 511 A married man received a plot of land directly from the clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] 555 Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success-[575] ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli* [534] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[8]

624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the 624
young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated 618
the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to 646
the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body 701
elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were [615]
evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the 701
abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In 643
Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-ca'-la.

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701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

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a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. 441
The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement 463
and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth 441
and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, 439
tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In 463
time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have 463
attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and featherworkers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion 793
penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in [622]
the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

793 nize a priesthood completely separate from civil officialdom; both were mutally dependent. There was a priestly hierarchy, it is true, but it probably operated in conjunction with civil position. Permanent positions may have existed, but in the chapters on religion we shall describe more fully how completely the realms of Church and State coalesced among the people of ancient Mexico, in contrast to the cleavage between them in our own society.

567 Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe, and each member was supposed to do his part in preserving the community. However, the bane of working social orders as well as hypothetical social schemes are those unfortunates who, by mischance, maladjustment or just plain deviltry, do not do their part. The Aztecs, too, had this problem to cope with, and there developed a social class of people who had lost their civil rights and become slaves. This they might do voluntarily or because they were prisoners of war or were punished for crimes or were sold by their parents. Their treatment differed according to the circumstances of their enslavement.* (See Plate 38, bottom left.)

Military captives usually were sacrificed, but those who [727] demonstrated some unusual skill were sometimes bought for domestic service or put to work on some communal enterprise. Criminal slaves lost their free status for such offenses as failure to denounce treachery, membership in a traitor's family, kidnaping for sale a free man, selling another's property without his consent, theft without restitution when over [672] ten years old or hindering a slave from gaining the sanctuary of a chief's house. Penal slaves were privately owned, usually to make restitution to those whom they had injured.

Voluntary slavery was assumed by the poor and landless

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who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to 567
provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prostitutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan [426]
from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made the slave live at home and perform only personal services. Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or even have slaves of his own. His children were always born free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office, which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his commission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs in- [689]
volved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial 626
acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human behavior. Membership in the community brought safety and subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown existed in the field of public service rather than in the acquisition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held to a minimum.[9]

Growth of the community to a size where none but the 692
great were known to society at large probably tended to 186
break down the sense of membership and participation, so

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692 that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsi-
[186] bility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were
775 rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evil-doer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

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tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a
serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
ing ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver
and jade, precious substances reserved for religious orna-
ments, was also a mortal crime.

Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public dis-
grace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage
done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws,
and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with
serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal
property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its pro-
duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

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421 surrounding our own property concepts was unnecessary.

186 There was little to harass the individual intellectually or
181 economically. Existence was subject to divine favor, and a man fared much as did his fellows. Large as some towns were—Mexico City had three hundred thousand people—the sense of community was strong. Freedom of thought, individual liberty, personal fortunes, were nonexistent, but people lived according to a code that had worked well and continuously for centuries. An Aztec would have been horrified at the naked isolation of an individual's life in our Western world.

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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMY

The Domestic and Tribal Economy of the Aztec People

THE AZTEC SOCIAL SYSTEM provided a means by which 181
people could exist harmoniously together in considerable numbers. The domestic and tribal economy of the Aztecs offered the food, shelter, tools and clothing to which man largely owes his dominant position on earth. The measure of a human society may be gauged by the relationship between the organization of the people themselves and their use of materials to build houses and equip them. The Aztecs' economy had the same basic simplicity as had their social organization; likewise it had the same flexibility in expanding to meet the needs of a growing population.[1]

Agriculture was the basis of Aztec life, and corn, *zea mays*, 241
was the chief food plant. The cultivation of plants ensured 471
a food supply near at hand, which was not subject to the fluctuations of game and thereby enabled man to take thought for the morrow. The clan system, as we have seen, recognized that the fruits of the land supported the tribe. Therefore, it was only natural that the tribe should own and control the land which supported its members.[2] (See Plate 38.)

The tribal council divided the land among the clans, and 471
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the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable migrations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[1]

The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

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treat to islands in the lake, they met the land problem in the same ingenious way as did the Chalcas, Xochimilcas and the tribes to the northwest, in Lake Zumpango. 241 311

This method was to create *chinampas*, the so-called "floating gardens." The *chinampa* was, in reality, a small artificial island, made by scooping up mud from the marshy borders of the lakes and at first holding it in place by a revetment of reeds and later by trees whose roots bound the earth solidly together. Water flowed into the narrow pits, making them into canals. Fresh mud was always added before planting, so that the fertility of the earth was constantly renewed. The Tenochcas and their neighbors thus converted great sections of otherwise unproductive marsh, flooded in the rainy season, into a grid of canals and fields, the fertility of which is equaled only by the river-flooded lands of the Nile Delta. *Chinampa* agriculture continues today in the districts of Xochimilco and Chalco, where most of the vegetables are grown for the modern metropolis of Mexico City. The inhabitants still use the Aztec language and occupy the same land as did their ancestors, renewing them each year by the same methods used in Aztec times. The outlines of former beds may be seen for a considerable distance round about, since the modern draining of Lake Texcoco has dried up much of the lake area of the Valley of Mexico.[4] (See Plate 37, bottom.)

When the Tenochcas moved into the lake they achieved living room. As the city grew it could incorporate the adjacent garden beds for house foundations, while the increase in population could be fed by building new *chinampas* on the outskirts of the farming area. Thus much of their success may be attributed to the freedom from internal strife 311 578

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311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

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money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the [436] possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the 32 handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, [592] utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean 439 have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.[1] (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the per- 443 fectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they 438 made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Te-pe'ek.

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438 mala the people travel miles to exchange their produce; and
443 so important is the market as a social function that a merchant will not dispose of his produce except at that place, even though offered payment far in excess of its market value.[8]

437 Barter was the only means of exchange, and value was
436 established by desirability and rarity. Money, an exchange medium of fixed value, did not exist. However, something had to be found which would balance an inequality of exchange by being not too valuable to use in adjusting small transactions and at the same time universally wanted. The cacao bean answered this requirement and was easily portable as well. The Aztecs were extremely fond of chocolate (the word itself is of Aztec derivation), so that beans were gladly converted into the national luxury drink. Quills of gold dust sometimes were used as an exchange medium, as were crescent-shaped knives of thin-beaten copper. These last had not the common acceptance or the utility of cacao beans, although they represented easily portable value.[9]

317 The most precious substance among the Aztecs was jade,
435 or stones resembling it in texture and color. Both jadeite and nephrite occur in the New World, and the American variety is distinguishable from the Asiatic stone. Uncut stones are seldom seen today, for there is no lapidaries' market in modern Middle America or the United States, whereas jade is still extensively worked in China, so that men find it worth their while to search rivers in Burma for boulders of this rare substance. (See Plate 3.)

435 The testimony of the Conquistador Bernal Diaz is conclusive on this point of value. During the night when Cortes retreated from Mexico the leader, after taking off his share of treasure, turned the surplus over to his troops. Many,

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[644]

PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

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PLATE 40

EAGLE KNIGHT, NATIONAL MUSEUM

This helmet represents the ideal warrior, steadfast, hardy and devout. The "very perfit gentle knight" of the Middle Ages would meet his peer in this noble Aztec. *Photograph by Sumami.*

[p. 128(B)]

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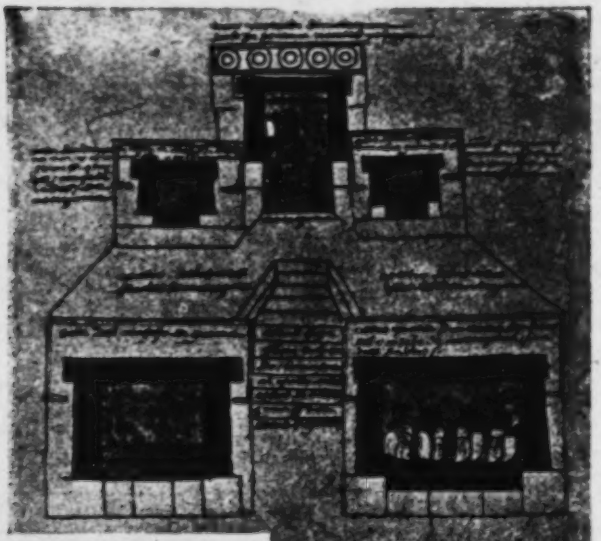

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PLATE 41

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

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TOP: Montezuma's palace, from the Codex Mendoza. His apartments are on a platform reached by a stair. At right and left are rooms for allied chiefs, such as the rulers of Texcoco, Cuilhuacan, Chicomuchtla, Tlacopan and Tenayuca. The left-hand room on the first floor is reserved for the war council and the quarters at the right are for the judges, who may be seen settling a case between several litigants. MIDDLE: *Left*: Section through a temple at Mitla showing details of AZTEC construction. BOTTOM: A two-story house of probable post-Conquest date. The palace above with ascending platforms shows the customary Aztec method of elevating rooms.

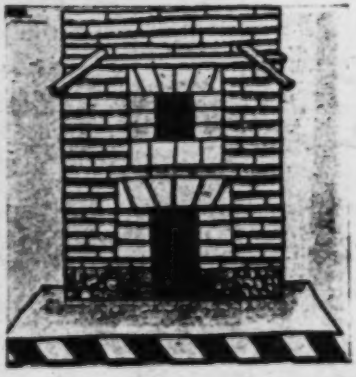

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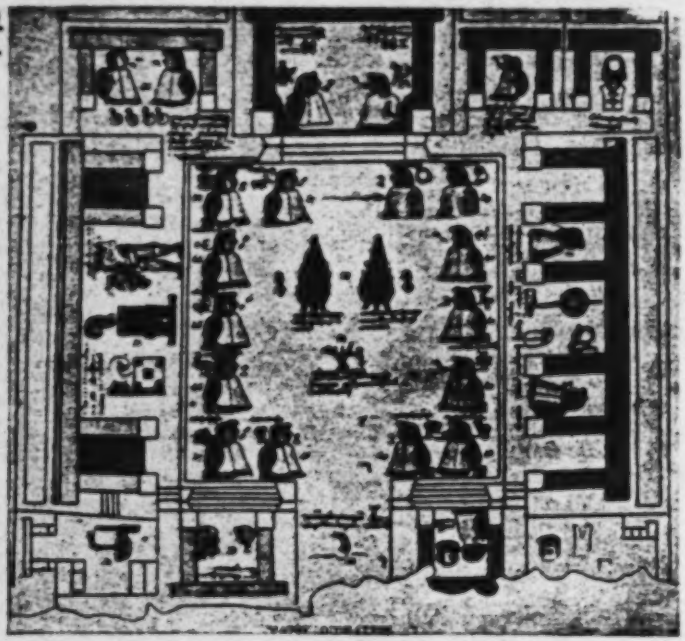

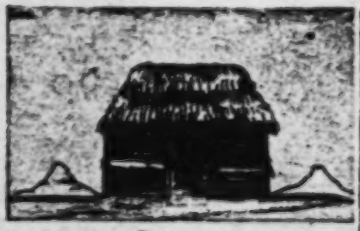

PLATE 42

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

TOP: An Aztec palace at Texcoco from the Mapa Quinatzin, drawn in elevation without perspective. Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, father and son, face each other in the throne room. In the courtyard six vassal chieftains, including the chief of Chicomoztoc (No. 46). The right side of the court is walled by storehouses for tribute: at the left is a temple, designated by the scribe as a hall of science and music. The top rooms are for the judges (*left*) and the arsenal (*right*). The bottom rooms house the war council and visiting ambassadors. BOTTOM: *Left:* House of wattle and daub, still used in Mexico. *Right:* A chief's house with adobe walls on stone foundations, wooden pillars for the anteroom and fresco painting on the façade.

[p. 128(D)]

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PLATE 43

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

Palace at Chiconauhtla. Note how closely the plan resembles that of the Texcocan palace on Plate 42.

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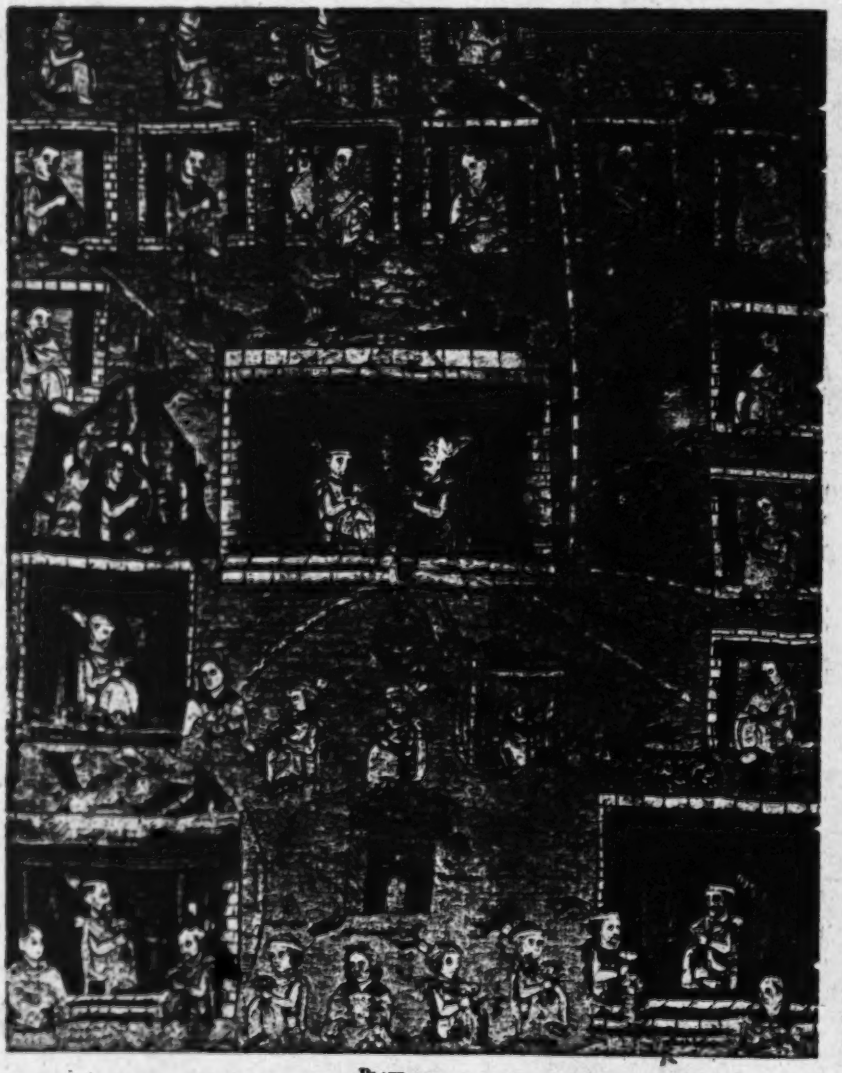

PLATE 44
AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The Lienzo Chalchihuitzin Vasquez shows the chief and the founder of his line in the central house. The topmost row of figures discloses his descent, and the smaller houses joined to his palace by roads are those of his subjects. The people in the two large houses at lower right and left are allies. Post-Conquest painting on cloth.

[p. 128 (F)]

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435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[20]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[21] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [439] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[22]

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249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

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tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

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412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and orna-
ments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were
[286 323] sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the 342
wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[14] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chico- 342
nauhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the 177
growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spa- [362]
cious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[15] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular 361
form, since the division of the land among the clans usually [471]
followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 plaza was essential for communal gatherings; the market and the principal structures, like the main temple and the chief's quarters, were situated at this point. In Tenochtitlan, which was reported to have sixty thousand fires or hearths, or figuring on the same basis as above, three hundred thousand people, additional centers existed for each clan and for the four larger districts into which the city was divided for administrative purposes.[16] (See Plate 37, top.)

114 We have been left a description of an Aztec city in 1524 from a Spanish monk, Fray Toribio de Benavente, called by the Indians "Motolinia," or "poor," in reference to his Franciscan simplicity of life. His firsthand observations have a fresh reality:

361 "They called these temples *teocallis*, and we found all
346 over the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one crossbow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and three leagues' distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to the courts of the *teocallis*, . . . the devil did not content himself with the aforesaid *teocallis*, but in each pueblo and in each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes three or four *teocallis*. . . ."[17]

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The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

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346 Each temple usually had a chamber and an antechamber, and in some cases two or even three shrines rested on the same platform. This platform or substructure gave height and mass to the temple. The usual practice was to lay up rough stone, set in adobe or lime, into a truncated pyramid, the sides of which were broken up by three narrow setbacks and by a steep ramp leading to the top. The surface was of veneered cut-stone slabs, and additional blocks were laid along the ramp to make the stair. Wide balustrades bordered the staircase and often ended in gigantic serpent heads. Aztec construction was the simplest type of engineering, but imposing architectural effects were gained by the consummate artistic sense and superb craftsmanship of the builders.[19] (See Plates 50–51.)

291 554 The adequate, even imposing, housing of the Aztecs and their gods by no means eclipsed their dress. Clothing, besides protecting man from the weather, has an important social function. It is a guide to the sex, age, group, occupation, rank and even character of its wearer. The simple and standardized clothing of our modern society performs the same service, and with a moment's observation one can tell much about a stranger from his clothes. The Aztecs, like many peoples of the world, strove by their dress to accentuate the social differences between people, and pomp and panoply dominated their costume. Or the barbaric splendor of high civilian dress superimposed the fantastic garb of the priests and priestesses in their impersonation of the complex and ornately represented divinities in their pantheon.[20]

[302] The *macehual*, or ordinary tribesman, left his head uncovered, his hair long, and customarily wore a *maxtli*, or loincloth, a mantle knotted over one shoulder, and sandals of

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leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women 291
wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they 554
sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*,
completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, [300]
sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they
wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may
still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates
33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse
cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer
textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many
names given to the different kinds of mantles show their in-
terest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never
made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather
cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather [292]
from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs
had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge
of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich man- 292
tles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some,
who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker support-
ing an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore
costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle.
On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the
gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and
ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identi-
fication. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, 301
shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, 304
opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay,
wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

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301 men and women alike. Men often wore ornaments passed
[304] through the septum of the nose or suspended from a slit in
the lower lip. Elaborate necklaces and pendants, armlets and
leg bracelets, gave brilliance to a costume for state occasions.
302 Cosmetics were not used to touch up nature, as with us, but
instead a lavish application of face and body paints in red,
blue, yellow, green and black enhanced with prismatic richness the softer tones of their brown flesh. (See Plates 46–47.)
105 It is obvious that the Aztecs were no pitiable craven savages. They lived upon variegated and delicious foods and dwelt in houses that were comfortable and airy. Their dress stimulated the exercise of merited self-satisfaction, not to be confused with the compensations of vanity. Their manner of life enabled them to take advantage of their personal aptitudes and exchange the products of their own creation for whatever they lacked. Articles for daily and ceremonial use were made with the loving care of master artisans, and rare indeed was the object that did not have the impress of some little decorative touch that makes a pleasant possession of a drab utensil. Their crafts deserve to themselves a complete chapter.

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CHAPTER VIII

CRAFTSMANSHIP

A consideration of how the Aztecs attained a high degree of skillful craftsmanship with relatively few mechanical aids

CRAFTSMANSHIP allows an exercise of the creative impulse, |8| satisfying the individual through his domination of the raw material. In our modern mechanized age most of us suffer from the lack of opportunity to create, since almost everything we use comes machine-made, and not even the skilled mechanic feels that his ingenuity and craftsmanship alone have produced a useful and attractive object. The ordinary modern floats like Mohammed's coffin, without contact with the earth on which he lives or the universe of which he is an infinitesimal part. The Aztec, however, lived in the most intimate contact with nature in its finite and infinite manifestations. Because his conscious being was set in terms of the group mind, he seldom felt that sensation, common to the Western intellect, of having cut himself from the tree of natural existence with the saw of his own reason.

The home production of articles for daily use gave an 556 impetus to craftsmanship, since wealth and prosperity lay 555 in a man's possessions, not in the abstract ownership of rights to the work of others. Thus a successful man had a well-made house, finely fashioned and decorative clothing, care-

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556 fully worked utensils and tools and well-tended and produc-
555 tive fields, while an unsuccessful man had a small and miserable equipment. Yet except for the intervention of natural disaster the differential was largely due to the ability of a man and his household to produce with their own hands the symbols of his wealth or to exchange his specialized product for equivalent superior equipment made by others. The entrepreneur and broker had small place in the undertaking of production and its distribution.[1]

771 The gods also stimulated good craftsmanship. Every home had an altar, and every act was accomplished through the favor of some deity. Ceremonies to appease these custodians of natural force were of frequent occurrence. Thus the use of symbols, referring to the god whose favor was sought, came to exercise an important influence on design. Since a man does reverence with his most esteemed social attitudes and his best material possessions, each household must try to surpass its previous efforts to honor the gods. The temple equipment, therefore, tended to represent the cream of local craftsmanship.

324 Work in stone, the most durable natural substance available, is a common gauge of human ability. Since the tools last forever, it is possible to compare the technical abilities of peoples over an enormous span of human history. However, for basic equipment like projectile points, axes, grinding stones, and the like, satisfactory forms are reached fairly early and do not change in proportion to cultural advances in other directions. Thus the arrow or the dart points of Aztec times were not technically better than those used by the Middle Culture peoples. However, the technical demands of the sacrificial cult called for a heavy broad-bladed flint

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that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and 324
this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better 412
made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and 177
Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burn- 324
ing and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out 532
of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs, [796]
referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (cuauhxicalli*) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.[2] (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

*kwow-shoo-ca'li.

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317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial
[788] bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal
[415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving
[395] the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[4]

324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

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steps in every case. A final polishing with some simple abra- 324
sive like water and sand often completed the process. Some hard stones seem to have been detached from their matrix by applying the abrasive and sawing with a cord of rawhide or a tool of harder stone. The Middle American people also [412]
developed tubular drills of bone and reed, which, rotated by a bow and aided by an abrasive, could hollow out vases or bore out places that were otherwise inaccessible to the clumsy tools of the time.[8]

Save for descriptions and drawings, the destruction of 286
time and man has left us only a few examples of the weaver's art. Weaving of some kind is very old, and no people, however primitive, exist in the world today who do not make at least some kind of basketry. Textiles are made as a rule by higher groups, but they are found in the American continent as part of the material equipment of peoples who had not yet learned how to make pottery. An early example of cloth, combining threads of cotton with some fiber like yucca, was found in the Lower Middle Culture horizon of Zacatenco.

The long practice of weaving must and did have a sig- 286
nificant effect on decoration, for the rectangular patterns, to 531
which the weaver is confined, influence all of Indian art in Continental America. Design and the arrangement of elements are more important than form in Indian art. While many geometrical patterns appear in pictures of Aztec clothing, fine embroidery could produce the effect of curvilinear designs or even naturalistic patterns drawn from the regional flora. Batik and tie dyeing also enriched the decoration of [386]
Aztec clothing. Other processes produced the effect of velvet and brocade, and some garments even imitated in tex-

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286 ture and pattern the skins of animals. Judged on a visual
531 basis, the designs on Aztec clothing were by no means inferior to those of the celebrated textile art of Indian Peru. However, we have no positive evidence that technical development of Aztec weaving was equal to Peruvian, for those ancient South American weavers knew and practiced every method known to man and even a few unique to themselves.[6] (See Plates 33–36; 62, bottom left; 64.)

287 Feather mosaic is probably an old craft, since evidence seems to show that it was known to the Upper Middle Cultures. Feather- and the technically allied fur-cloth appear in primitive horizons in North America. The process consisted in tying the stems of feathers into a fabric during the weaving process. Featherworkers adorned shields in this way, dispersing the feathers to represent animals or else purely decorative designs. They made cloaks, too, and created sumptuous insignia worn on the head or harnessed to the body. In these objects the blending of colors was so delicate and perfect as to rival paintings. As late as the nineteenth century, although the art had declined, the Mexicans still depicted landscapes and scenes from daily life in this medium, and today they make charming pictures for the tourists with cardboard, feathers and glue.[7] (See Plate 45.)

321 Feather mosaic had an early counterpart in stone and
324 shell; we found a turquoise mosaic in a Lower Middle Culture grave. The wooden handles of sacrificial knives were sometimes ornamented in this way, as were masks, shields and even small gold ornaments. A *tour de force* of the mosaic worker is a wooden shield from the Mixteca, on which little pieces of turquoise were fitted together in a relief sculpture depicting a religious scene.[8] (See Plates 48; 60, bottom right.)

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PLATE 45

AZTEC FEATHERWORK

TOP: Nineteenth-century survival of a famous Aztec craft of which few examples have resisted the ravages of time. BOTTOM: Montezuma's headdress, now in the Vienna Museum. Cortes sent it to the Emperor Charles V, who gave it to his nephew.

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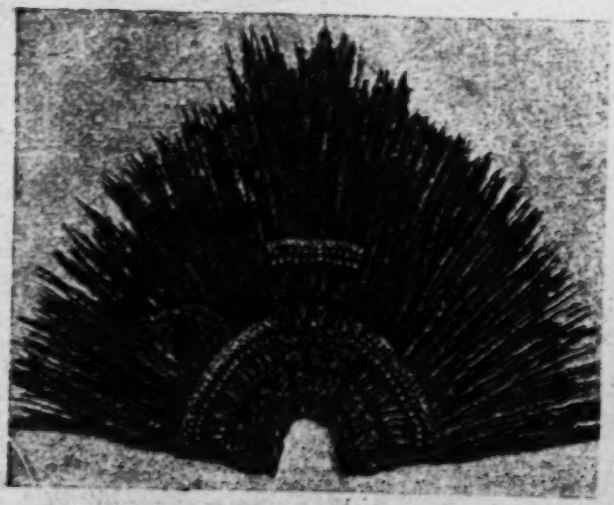

[p. 144(A)]

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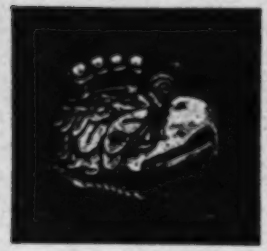

PLATE 46

AZTEC GOLDWORK

TOP ROW: Small gold ornaments from Oaxaca reveal exquisite workmanship. MIDDLE: A buckle representing the god Xipe has a strong sculptural quality. BOTTOM: *Left:* A gold worker from the Codex Florentino makes a mosaic ornament like that at right, in which turquoise mosaic enhances a gold reproduction of the shield and arrows, constituting the sign for war.

[p. 144 (B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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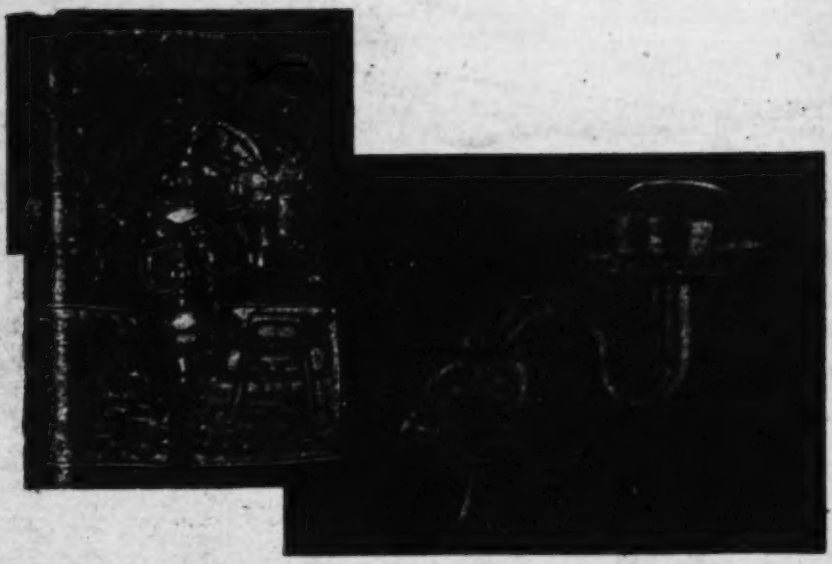

PLATE 47

AZTEC GOLDWORK

Almost all Aztec goldwork went into the Spanish melting pot. Most surviving examples come from Oaxaca, where the supply was doubled by Case's discovery of Tomb 7 at Monte Albán, represented by upper left and bottom and opposite-page middle. The lip ornament (upper right) has a movable tongue that makes a very lively serpent indeed. These few examples give an idea of the range of form and skill of the Aztec goldsmith.

[p. 144(c)]

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Plate 48

AZTEC MOSAIC WORK

Mosaic work was one of the most elegant crafts and demands color reproduction to give a just impression. The mask in jade and turquoise, now in Rome, was part of the original loot of the Conquest. The skull (below), a British Museum treasure, is composed of light bands of turquoise and dark cross of lignite, set on a human skull, cut away in back to form a mask, possibly representing Tezcatlipoca.

[p. 144 (D)]

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321 Mosaic workers utilized stones of different colors and
324 shells of various kinds. Pure designs were common, but ele-
531 ments representing the costume or the body paint were
341 shown when the mosaic covered a figure in wood or stone. An application of mosaic on a larger scale was frequent in architecture, a veneer of cut stone being applied to the rubble of a platform or building. The temples of Mitla, Oaxaca, influenced by the same Mixteca-Puebla culture to which Aztec civilization owed its origin, are masterpieces of this technique, for individual blocks have their surfaces carved to fit together in an intricate geometric design.[9] (See Plate 11, bottom.)

322 The woodworkers, owing to the impermanence of their medium, have left little to exhibit their prowess, but the few surviving masks, idols, drums and *atl-atls*, or throwing boards, bear ample witness to their superb craftsmanship. The very fact that they had to work wood with stone tools makes their achievement noteworthy. Their copper tools were dull and unserviceable in cutting even the softer woods, and these implements came into use relatively late in Aztec times.[10] (See Plate 54, bottom.)

335 Wood was used extensively in buildings for roof beams and doorjambs. A beam in the palace at Texcoco was ninety feet long and five feet thick, so that its preparation and transport must have been an arduous task. There was probably little use of planks in Aztec building, since it would be difficult to prepare them with the rudimentary equipment at Aztec disposal, and adobes and plaster were easier to make and just
396 as serviceable. Wooden canoes, however, were essential for life in the lakes. Some were dugouts hollowed out by fire, but others, to judge from the type used by the Xochimilcan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

396 Indians today, were flat-bottomed punts, constructed of planks which were probably tied together in Aztec times
335 rather than pegged, as they are today. The portable bridges used to cross the canals were also simple combinations of planks, or planks resting on beams. (See Plate 35, bottom left.)

352 Furniture, which in European culture has done much honor to the woodworker, was little used in Mexico. Mats sufficed for beds and seats. High dignitaries sat on a sort of wooden throne which had legs and often a back and was called *icpalli*, from which the Mexican word *equipale* for a modern wickerwork and leather chair is derived. Mention
[353] is made of screens and chests and ornamental sheathing for room interiors, but no examples are left for us to judge their craftsmanship. (See Plate 37, top.)

534 The wooden drums, on which musicians beat out ceremonial rhythms, were handsomely carved, as befitted their religious use. There were two types, a vertically cylindrical drum (*huehuetl**), which had a skin head, and a horizontally cylindrical drum (*teponaztli*†), the top of which was slotted to form two tongues. While the notes differed, there was usually the same interval between the resonant sounds emitted when the tongues were struck. The task of reaching the pitch must have been excessively difficult, for the wood had to be hollowed by fire and then chiseled to a nicety. At times the artist fashioned these drums to represent a crouching
322 man or animal. Masks were often used in temple ceremonies when a god was impersonated, and ceremonial staffs were part of their equipment. So, also, were the throwing boards, or *atl-atls*, with which a warrior flung a javelin, the lengthen-

*way-wa'yti. †te-po-na'z-tli.

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ing of the arm thereby giving the missile an increased propulsive force. Some of these *atl-atls* were most delicately carved and represent the best of Aztec design. (See Plate 54, bottom.)

Metallurgy was in its infancy. Copper was cold-hammered; the art of adding alloys to make bronze had not reached Mexico from the south, but the gilding of copper and mixing of gold and copper were adopted by Mexican goldsmiths. Copper was cast into bells and ornaments, and the process, used also for gold, was the cire-perdue, or lost-wax, method. The desired shape was modeled in clay, over which was dusted finely ground charcoal, followed by an even layer of wax. This coating was also dusted with charcoal and the whole enclosed in clay, which was perforated at the top and bottom. The molten metal was poured in at the upper hole after the wax was melted and the lower orifice plugged. When the metal cooled the cast was broken and the finished object removed.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

Although most of the native goldwork found its way to the Spanish melting pot, a few lovely ornaments survived; in 1932 the quantity was more than doubled by Dr Alfonso Caso's discovery of the undisturbed tomb of a high Mixtec official. The design and shape of these necklaces, earplugs and rings, by their sheer intricacy and bulk, make one realize that the Spanish descriptions of Cortes' loot understated the rich ability of the Aztec goldsmiths.[12]

Metalworking, without much question, had its origin in Ecuador or Peru, and various techniques were transmitted up the Pacific coast to Panama and Costa Rica, where important goldworking industries were founded. Although the intervening area produced little metal, another center was

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325 established in Oaxaca in Mixtec times. The Oaxacan orna-
174 ments, although deficient in some of the southern technical developments, surpass in design and workmanship the best of the older goldwork of Peru and Ecuador.[18]

Metallurgy seems to have arrived late in Mexico, certainly not before the eleventh century. Mentions of copper in Toltec times refer more probably to the Dynastic Period than to that of Teotihuacan. I know of neither copper nor gold which comes from the early or middle periods of the great Middle American civilizations, although some hollow clay bells from the late Toltec occupation of Azcapotzalco tantalizingly suggest metal prototypes. Toward the close of the Independent Civilization phase, and more especially during the domination of Mixteca-Puebla culture, there are consistant occurrences of metal objects.

316 Mining methods were rudimentary. Gold was collected in nugget form or panned as dust; copper also was mined as nodules or nuggets; silver, which seldom occurs pure in nature, was for this reason rarely converted into ornaments. The melting furnaces were heated with charcoal and their draft forced by a man blowing on the embers through a tube. The casting we have already described. This work in gold, one of the great wonders of the Conquest, was achieved by the same simple methods of all Aztec handiwork and was another triumph of sheer skill, unassisted by technical aids.

323 Pottery making was the greatest New World craft, and probably no other continent has such a complex range of form and design. The malleability of clay made it easy to work, and firing was simple, so that pottery products were an important part of Indian craftsmanship. In the Valley of Mexico we have no trace of people before the introduction

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of pottery, and in the chapters in Indian history we have 323
seen how every tribe, almost every village, had its own particular style, which changed gradually through slow shifts in the popular taste as time wore on. In the absence of written records the archaeologists fortunately have been able to rely on pottery styles to peg out in time and space the relationships of these ancient and forgotten tribes and thus lay a basis for New World history.[14]

The Aztecs, like all the other New World peoples, did not use the potter's wheel but built up their vessels with strips of clay, relying on their keen eye and sensitive fingers to achieve the desired shape. They did not use molds to form their vessels, as was occasionally done in late Teotihuacan times; nor, apparently, did they make use of the *kabal*, a block on which Yucatecan potters rested their vessels and which they turned with their feet in shaping the raw clay.

The Aztecs had an abundance of finely textured clay, 323
orange after firing, from which they fashioned vessels for 531
the storage and service of food. The potters of Culhuacan used this ware first, making plates with flat bottoms resting on cylindrical legs.[15] On the floors they painted curvilinear designs which were sometimes faintly naturalistic. In the second period, when the manufacture of this ware became popular all over the northern Valley, the vessels were made more coarsely, and the hollow legs degenerated to thick, elongated cones.[16] The decoration was converted into an abstract combination of curvilinear *motifs* that had the quality of European script writing. In contrast to the usual recti- 512
linear quality of Middle American design, it may be more 171
than a coincidence that the introduction of this style at the beginning of the fourteenth century was contemporaneous

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with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, perhaps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of concentrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

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emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century 223 531 the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of [177] trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for 323 grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every con- 415 ceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner 323 rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often 286 charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made 283 of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their [531] burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing 283 401

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283 401 on discussions as to whether or not the Aztecs knew the wheel. The weight had the function of a flywheel in accelerating the rotation of the distaff. The explorer Charnay apparently mistook spindle whorls for wheels which might have been attached to toy clay animals. His ingenuous explanation is not seriously considered today, for later research has proved the existence of jointed dolls both in Toltec and Aztec times. These had holes in their bodies through which strings were passed, attaching the arms and legs, which were similarly perforated. In 1940 Dr Stirling discovered some clay animals which rested on rollers, tubes of clay probably connected by wooden axles, socketed to holes in the legs. This knowledge does not seem to have been put to any efficient use. In the history of invention there are several similar cases, notably the Chinese discovery of gunpowder. They used it to make a noise in ceremonies, but not until the Europeans took over the substance did its application have any practical purpose.

532 323 In Aztec times stone sculpture was the usual medium used in reproducing the human form. The figurine cult, which in Middle Culture and Toltec times manifested the chief development of the plastic arts, became insignificant. The use of the mold did not induce superior craftsmen to fashion even the originals. Yet in these dull reproductions of gods and goddesses there still lurks that ability to capture the spark of essential vitality so characteristic of this field of art in earlier times. Curiously enough, the goddesses, more kindly and less ridden with abstract virtues than the gods, usually awoke a response in these ancient idol makers that resulted in perfectly charming little figures.[30] (See Plate 29, bottom row.)

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Pottery was not confined to household chattels; great roof 323
ornaments of baked clay were made to adorn the temples. 333
Sun-dried adobes were commonly used for general house construction. However, they were sometimes fired into bricks which formed the back walls of fireplaces or were substituted for dressed stone in the corners of buildings. A temple at Tizatlan carries brick construction in the pillars before the altar, but rubble faced with cut stone was preferred as a general building material for temples. Before the great temples, braziers the height of a man, combined ritualistic usefulness with architectural ornament. Cones of baked clay were used as studding to keep the plaster from slipping off the temple walls and to serve as a decorative element as well.[21]

The Mexican crasftsman had at hand an abundance of 174
good pottery clay, which from the earliest times provided a medium for plastic experiment and experience. Work in clay created the background for that sureness and security in creation that stands out in the later Mexican sculpture in stone and wood. According to our Western standards, clay is a substance inferior to wood or stone for plastic expression. However, the ancient Mexicans, like the old Chinese, considered it fit for the finest examples of their arts and crafts.

Mexican craftsmanship, whatever the tribe and whatever 182
the era, was superb in that it answered the necessities and ideals of both the time and the people. There is little evidence of a wide gap between superior and inferior workmanship, as in our Western civilization, where there is less need or opportunity for high-grade handwork. In unindividualized societies the general skills of the tribesmen, so far as can be judged by their work, follow a more even course than in

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182 elaborated and specialized groups. To turn such craftsmanship into art required a mere flick of the switch of social demand. The arts, as considered in the next chapters, were just projections of the craft background.

181 The measure of Aztec civilization cannot be gauged solely by its technical achievements. The arts and crafts transcend the products of Old World peoples at the same mechanical level. The spirit of the Aztec people, as exemplified in their religious art, soared to the lofty heights attained by the creators of all those ancient civilizations, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, whose monuments reflect the glory of their builders' religious devotion.

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CHAPTER IX

THE FINE ARTS

A consideration of those aspects of Aztec craftsmanship which we segregate as Fine Art

THE AZTECS did not have a term for "fine arts," nor did they speculate about aesthetics nor make objects to be contemplated for their beauty alone. They had none of the socially sterile attitudes toward art which we adopt in our own culture. Instead, they recognized the value of superior workmanship and used its products to honor the gods who were intermediaries between man and the infinite power of the universe. Aztec art, in this respect, is no different from the great traditions ancestral to our modern aesthetic. Religion has always evoked man's best in thought and deed so long as human society believed that religion was essential to its survival.[1]

Aztec art was powerful in architecture and sculpture, weak in painting and drawing. The dance was more advanced than music, and literature, in the absence of an effective method of writing, was confined to the evanescent output of oratory. The years and the elements have left us only such examples as could survive the ravages of time, and we have no way, except by analogy with living groups, to ascertain the Aztec attitude toward their creations in those fields of endeavor which we moderns dignify as art.

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341 The most impressive expression of architecture was in religious building. Houses might have a fortuitous beauty of proportion, but the main consideration was adequate shelter. Public buildings of a secular character, like the clan house or the chief's quarters, were large-scale projections of the domestic architecture. The addition of many apartments for attendants and concubines, a swimming pool and a menagerie, such as composed the palace of Montezuma, did not alter structurally or in basic plan the scheme of rectangular rooms set about a patio.

The temple architecture, on the other hand, achieved real majesty. The great gods lived in the sky, so that their shrines and images were very naturally elevated above the level of worldly affairs. The climate contributed indirectly to the conversion of religious requirement into an impressive art form. It was not necessary to house the congregation or protect it from the weather. The altar or shrine alone needed to be elevated, and the worshipers stood in the plaza below. Thus the temple capped the substructure and was the culmination of a harmonious series of ascending planes, calculated to increase the illusion of height by emphasizing the effects of mechanical perspective.[8]

Such aesthetic canons were probably not laid down as laws but were reached after centuries of experimentation had produced a standard procedure. The earliest temple found in the Valley was Cuicuilco, of Upper Middle Culture date, where the altar was exposed upon a massive oval mound.[9] There is no trace of temple walls, and the use of fire precluded a canopy. However, at Teotihuacan, in the classical Toltec period, the temple had replaced the open altar, and in all probability it housed a representation of a god in wood

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

or stone. In the whole of Mexico there is no more harmoni- 341
ous treatment of gigantic mass and planes than the substructure of the Temple of the Sun.[4] (See Plates 18, bottom; 22, bottom.)

The floors of the temple survive, though the roof and walls were destroyed long ago, but the illusion of infinite height and space still remains. The planes between its terraces are so cunningly calculated that the observer standing at the foot of the great staircase cannot see people at the top. He is conscious only of the massive ascent disappearing into space. When the stair was used by a religious procession, in all its pomp and color, the effect must have been stupendous. The elaborate hierarchy of a great civilization moved upward to meet, at a point unseen by the beholders, the infinity of the heavens, concentrated aloft in the god's image.

The plan of the sacred city of Teotihuacan was calculated 361
to maintain the illusion of mass and height. The buildings were laid out in groups along a north-south axis, broken laterally by several precincts oriented to the east and west. From whatever angle one approached Teotihuacan the eye was led toward a point of interest, guided by the arrangement of the planes and masses. Thus the diminishing effect of distance was avoided. Within each precinct the surrounding walls insulated the observer from the rest of the city and emphasized the mass and height of the principal precinct temple. Not even the Pyramids of Egypt present so carefully calculated a plan to dominate the individual with the sheer weight of supernatural power. The modern visitor to Teotihuacan, now in ruins, cannot escape the ancient association of ideas that the greater his temple, the more powerful a god must be. (See Plate 22, top.)

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174 Teotihuacan was probably the result of the co-operation
346 of communities scattered over a large part of the Valley. Its scale and vastness could not have been achieved by a single resident community. In Chichimec times, when there was no central authority, each community built its temple or temples as best it could, and few survived. Tenayuca still has a temple of this period, the platform walls of which ascend almost vertically. Apparently shrines to two gods rested on the summit. At this same time, across the mountains in Puebla, the Cholulans were piling sun-dried brick on sun-dried brick to make a man-made mountain. So huge is this structure that the priests' quarters as well as the temple were located on top of one of the platforms. A large colonial church founded on the pyramid has obliterated evidence of the ancient temple proper, which tradition dedicated to Quetzalcoatl. It would seem logical to assume that the priests' houses were on a lower level than the shrine, since the tenets of Aztec religious architecture required a dominating position for the earthly residence of the god.* (See Plate 26.)

However, in the Valley of Mexico the communities prospered and their peoples multiplied. As resources and man power increased, the temples became larger and more numerous. Yet so complete was the destruction by the Spaniards and their Indian converts who transformed many a temple on its platform into a large parochial church, that the modern visitor finds little to suggest the architecture of the past. Archaeology has abundantly confirmed, in fragmentary form, the amazed descriptions of the conquerors.

The last two reconstructions at Tenayuca bear witness to the excellent proportions and dramatic principles of Aztec architecture. Excavations in the hill above the railway station

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at Cuernavaca revealed a temple intact in all except its roof. 174
The temple of the Tepozteco, perched high in the hills over 346
Tepoztlan,* is another nearly perfect example of Aztec architecture on a small scale. A pit sunk in a vacant lot across the street from the cathedral in Mexico City reached the corner between the stair and the western wall of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli, War God of the Aztecs, and the massive size and ornate decoration prove that the startled descriptions of the Spaniards did less than justice to this tremendous monument. A recent excavation in a cliff overhanging Malinalco, near Tenancingo, state of Mexico, brought to light a temple complex, largely hewed from living rock, which thrusts the famous Egyptian rock tombs of Abu-Simbel into the limbo of provincial opera-house scenery.* (See Plates 28, bottom; 37, top; 50–51.)

The Aztec temple had a platform, the sloping sides of 346
which were generally broken by three terraces. A steep, broad 532
stair flanked by balustrades, occasionally with a third dividing it into two, gave access to the top. Carved stone blocks, projecting in rows from the sides of the platform, represented snakeheads, skulls or some other symbolic form of the cult. At the foot of the balustrades huge serpent heads with gaping jaws added to the architectural design and created awe in the beholder. The stair rose broad and steep, focusing the attention on the sacrificial block at the top, over which victims were stretched to await the searching knives of priests.

Behind the block stood the temple or temples, which generally had a back room for the idol and an antechamber for the priests. The walls were usually of dressed stone and

*Te-pos-tis'n.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 sometimes ornamented with carving or relief. The roof,
532 which was thatched in poor or primitive temples, in important shrines was made of beams laid like a corncrib, growing smaller toward the top. Plaster laid on twigs or poles sealed the roof against the rain and was carved with designs symbolic of the god inside. The interiors were noisome places, coated with blood and smoke, for incense was burned in profusion, as were the hearts of sacrificed victims. The proportions of terrace to terrace, temple to platform, stair to façade, were maintained irrespective of size, producing an effect of height and mass which yet in no way detracted from either the platform or the temple. This sense of proportion extends into every aspect of Aztec art and craftsmanship.

327 Some temples were cylindrical and rested on square or
346 circular platforms. These were dedicated to Quetzalcoatl,
532 often represented as Ehecatl,* God of the Wind, to whose passage a rounded surface offered no obstacle. Sometimes the door of such a temple was fashioned in the form of a serpent head, while the circular building suggested its body. A superb temple of this type is part of the Malinalco group mentioned above, which is hollowed out of the living rock. The door is carved at either side in low relief to suggest a serpent head in profile, while the whole also can be visualized as a snakehead in full face, of which the open mouth constitutes the door. A bench circles around the walls within, and the *skins* of eagles and ocelot, emblematic of the rising and setting sun, are carved in relief as if they hung from the wall to drape over the bench. An altar in the center of the room represents another eagle. This elaborate concept is

*Ay'-hay-cat.

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PLATE 49

AZTEC ART

Porphyry mask, Tenyo, Vera Cruz. This mask is an outstanding example of Aztec art, even though it was made outside of the borders of their domain. This carving and the Eagle Knight on Plate 40 are perhaps the finest secular sculptures from the Aztec period.

[p. 160(A)]

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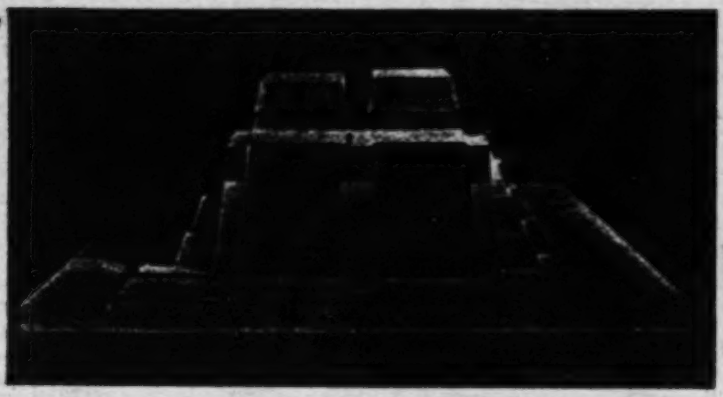

PLATE 50

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The temples were the most imposing aspect of Aztec architecture. TOP: Model of the Temple of Tenayuca as it looked at the time of the Conquest. BOTTOM: The temple as it looked during excavation. The staircase focused the attention of the worshipers on the culmination of each ceremony, a human sacrifice. Compare also Plates 60 and 61.

[p. 160(B)]

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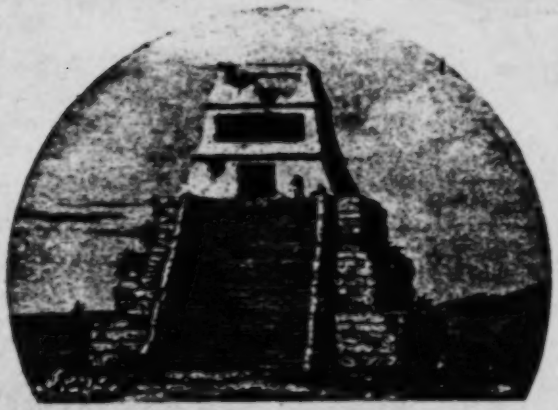

PLATE 51

AZTEC ART

TOP: This modest shrine in honor of the War God is on the borders of the Aztec territory at Santiago Huatusco, Vera Cruz. This engraving of Dupaix, made a hundred years ago, shows that the temple has suffered little in the last hundred years, but few other buildings resisted the destruction of war and evangelism. BOTTOM: The Zocalo, Mexico City, looking northeast. This was the site of the great plaza of Tenochtitlan. The President's palace (*upper right*) rests on the foundations of Montezuma's palace. The great temple to the Gods of War and Rain stood just east of the cathedral. At the streetcar crossing in the foreground a large disk like the Calendar Stone (Plate 52) still lies buried. The present square is built on the remains of the Tenochcan city, twenty feet above the ancient level.

[p. 160(C)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 52

AZTEC ART

TOP: The Calendar Stone, thirteen feet in diameter, represents the history of the world. It is arranged in concentric circles, at the center of which is the sun set within the sign Four Motion, the date of the present era. The dates of the preceding eras are given in the four arms of the Motion sign. The twenty day names encircle the central symbols, and they are enclosed by glyphs for turquoise and jade, signifying "precious" and the color of the heavens. Beyond this band radiate sun's rays and star symbols, while the outer border consists of two great fire snakes, symbolizing time. BOTTOM: The National Stone, a monolithic block in the Mexican National Museum, suggests how the Calendar Stone was probably set on a platform. Its symbolism represents the Sacred War, the eternal conflict between the contracting and opposing forces of nature.

[p. 160(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 53

AZTEC ART

TOP: This feathered snake in the Mexican National Museum may well symbolize Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning and the Priesthood. This representation differs from the fire snake in that it lacks a raised crest over the head. BOTTOM: The enormous snake at the foot of the balustrade to the great temple in Mexico is a dramatic architectural ornament, frequently employed in Aztec temple building. Snakes were the major ornament at Tenayuca (Plate 50, above) and many other Aztec buildings, appearing also far to the east in Mexican Chichen Itza.

[p. 160(E)]

1:Vaillant A.S (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 54

AZTEC ART

TOP: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. BOTTOM: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 55
AZTEC ART

TOP: Another presentation of Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods. An earth goddess, she is also associated with death, so that in this case her head is a human skull. BOTTOM: *Left:* Small rock-crystal skull representing the Death God. This is a fine example of Aztec lapidary work. *Right:* A box, symbolically carved, to hold human hearts. Note the glyph for jade, i.e., "precious," banding the sides of the container.

[p. 160(G)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 56

AZTEC ART

TOP: This Corn Goddess is envisaged as a young girl. Her soft Indian beauty is brought out with the same sure simplicity which characterizes the warriors on Plates 40 and 49. BOTTOM: A colossal head, nearly four feet high, of Coyolxauhqui, sister of the War God. She is shown dead. Simple handling of details enhances this monumental conception.

[p. 160 (H)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

324 346 532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.[8]

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs*, which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

323 532 322 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

776 532 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 attribute similar attitudes to their gods, and, as a result, the
532 soft emotionalism so characteristic of European art is almost totally absent. Thus Aztec sculpture is even more forbidding and gloomy than other Middle American arts, which have at first a depressing effect on observers accustomed to Old World aesthetics.[9] (See Plates 40, 49, 52–56.)

532 The same sense of proportion so evident in Aztec architecture produced a monumental quality in their sculpture. The smallest piece has the same dignity that attends the most massive temple carvings. A photograph reveals no impression of the original scale, and in one case the head of a goddess was carved identically in a small piece of jade and a four-foot block of basalt, with no loss of plastic or monumental values to either.[10]

In relief sculpture the forming of the object and the disposition and subordination of details show the mastery of design inherited by eyes trained in centuries of weaving. The vast block of the thirteen-foot Calendar Stone is carved with as delicate an appreciation of the relative values of space as similar designs painted on pottery vessels or graven on jade. (See Plate 52.)

532 The finest Aztec sculpture, to the Western eye, repro-
778 duces the young gods and goddesses that presided over the crops. Thus the Aztec body, long of trunk, short of limb, softly rounded in its well-fleshed strength, is simply and accurately portrayed with passive grace. The patient and resigned features were perfect subjects for the sculptor and his medium. Some gods could assume the guise of animals, and the sculptors took full advantage of their close observation of nature to carve a coyote with ear atilt or to dignify a red basalt grasshopper with the armored malevolence of an insect

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

in heroic scale. The serpent, emblem of Quetzalcoatl, symbol of time and the year, representative of mystery and power, was frequently carved. The sinuous curves ending in the savage symmetry of the head offered a challenge which the sculptors accepted with a success that evokes the mysterious horror of the Aztec universe. (See Plates 53, 56.) 532 778

The grotesque gods are abstract and horrible to our modern eye. Coatlicue,* the "Lady of the Serpent Skirt" and mother of Huitzilopochtli, was thought of as powerful and awesome, so the task of the sculptors was to transmute those qualities into stone. The great statue in Mexico, whose head is twin serpents, whose necklace human hands and hearts, whose feet and hands are viciously armed with claws and whose skirt is a mat of writhing snakes, brings into a dynamic concentrate the manifold horrors of the universe. A smaller carving, simpler and less detailed, produces this same effect, implying that the very essence of fear was honored and worshiped. An altar of red lava, dug up in the street behind the cathedral, is grimly adorned with ranked skulls, but the design is so harmonious that death becomes an abstraction, part of a distant universe of fear, and not the imminent individual disaster which besets us moderns. (See Plates 54–55.)

The Calendar Stone embodies a finite statement of the infinity of the Aztec universe. In the center is the face of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, flanked by four cartouches which singly give the dates of the four previous ages of the world and together represent the date of our present era. The twenty names of the days circle this central element, and they, in turn, are ringed with a band of glyphs denoting jade or turquoise, which give the idea of being precious and sym- 532 805

*Co-at-le'e-kway.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

532 bolize the heavens and their color. This strip is girdled by
805 the signs for stars, through which penetrate designs emblematic of the rays of the sun. Two immense Fire Serpents, symbolic of the Year and Time, circle the exterior to meet face to face at the base. Boring back through these forms to the significance behind them, we have a grandiose conception of the majesty of the universe.[11] (See Plate 52, top.)

349 In recent years, under the Presidential Palace in Mexico
532 City, a monolith over a meter high was found, which represented a platform and a stair crowned at the top by a similar solar disk. Reliefs on the sides show Huitzilopochtli, God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, God of the Smoking Mirror, symbolizing the sacred war between night and day. Probably the Calendar Stone was set up in much the same manner, and it is tantalizing to think of the lost reliefs which explained and ornamented the great disk when it was in position.[12] (See Plate 52, bottom.)

532 The historical accounts record that the Calendar Stone
805 was made in 1479 and the great eagle vase of Tizoc during
782 his rule from 1481 to 1486. A trough, extending from the basin to the edge of the vase, has been explained as a drain for blood to run out. However, the design is not keyed to this drain, and the purpose of the basin is to burn hearts, not to receive blood. Therefore, the furrow was probably made by the Spaniards, who sought either to use the vase as a nether millstone or tried unsuccessfully to smash it as an example of idolatry.[13]

532 The dates of these two monuments indicate that this was the time when Aztec civilization burst into flower. It is a tribute to Aztec artists that, originally fettered by the more lowly tasks of handicraft, they could accept the tremendous

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economic, social and religious stimulation of their sudden rise to power as a license to convert craftsmanship into great religious art.

The Aztecs did not create their art forms or their religion, which seems to have seeped in from the Mixteca-Puebla country. There the religious manuscripts and the ritualistic concepts hewn in stone and painted on vases were more complex and better drawn than their Aztec equivalents. Unfortunately, as yet, archaeological investigation has not extended to more than a sampling of this potentially rich area of Mexican civilization. However, the Valley people, given the opportunity, eagerly accepted these forms and created their own versions of the parent art.[18] (See Plates 57, top; 58, 59.)

The same elements portrayed in stone monuments appeared in smaller objects. Wooden drums and *atl-atls* had relief carvings the equal of the temple ornaments in all except scale. The same divinities were graven in bone against a background of turquoise mosaic. The goldworkers reproduced in miniature the images of the gods and goddesses and the symbols of their cult, carrying out in costume ornament the elements of the ritual in which they were used. Lapidaries succeeded in reducing jade, obsidian, rock crystal, opal, moonstone and amethyst into tiny sculptures which carry the same emotional authority as the grand-scale art. The bulk of first-rate material is enormous. It would seem that the products of tribal craftsmanship had been raised en masse into arts. Virtually overnight a cluster of primitive villages had transformed themselves into great creative centers.[18] (See Plates 45–48; 55, bottom left.)

Painting and drawing did not reflect this transmutation.

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532 True, we have recovered a few examples, but they come from sources which produced fine sculpture. The surviving frescoes at Tizatlan and Malinalco are in no way superior to the drawings in the codices or manuscripts. The use of color is lavish, but the drawing is crabbed and conventional, confining itself to correct delineation of ceremonial elements rather than to the combination of composition, perspective and color values into a significant emotional experience. Apparently the finer workers devoted themselves to sculpture, while drawing and painting, subordinated in the outward expression of ritual, fell to less skillful hands. Yet design was a requisite in a work in two dimensions, and, considered on this basis, the symmetrical disposition of the figures renders less serious the anatomical flaws and rigidity of presentation.[18] (See Plate 57, top.)

The pictographic annals often exhibit an engaging charm in the little historical scenes recorded. The humor cannot be entirely fortuitous. There is something inherently fascinating about drawing little men that impels a draftsman to humanize his figures with a resultant and welcome loss to their dignity. Even the supremely competent draftsmen who decorated the Egyptian tombs in the Fourth Dynasty could not resist a casual impishness. Aztec drawing was hardier than the sculpture and was able to survive until the close of the sixteenth century. The Indians copied old records, and some annals were carried on in the same style until 1560. The friars used Indian artists to illustrate reports on indigenous affairs, and there are several manuscripts in which Indian and European drawing methods are inextricably and delightfully mingled. Pictured history has always had its appeal, to which emphasis of the essential and the suppres-

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sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. 532
In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars 533
quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian 534
needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom 535
persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for [177
they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. 797]
The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

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535 chants survive without, alas, the musical notation. These dancers, acting out mythical events pertaining to the lives of the gods, must usually have been highly theatrical. Thus as with other peoples of the past, religious service fulfilled the function of the drama.[19] (See Plate 62, bottom left.)

[212] The pictographic writing of the Aztecs was too simple to
537 record a literature. However, the many references to oratory
538 and the wealth of allusions and synonyms referring to the gods and goddesses give a picture of rich fantasy and poetic imagination. The emphasis on the spoken word, the complex background of the religion, the closeness of the supernatural world, would not have produced lean, accurate prose. Rather a semipoetic, highly symbolic verbiage came from the practice of oratory and the chanting of prayers. Thus a rhythmic and rich verbosity existed as a form of polite address that, given a system of writing, might have been transmuted into literature.[20]

517 These activities, which we sanction in our own culture under the terms of arts and letters and to the practitioners of which we assign honor as creative artists, were existent in Aztec society. The status of these practices, however, was very different from their position in our own culture. Much of that area of our own life divided up into the infinite gradation of commercial, legal and governmental pursuits fell within the span of the individual Aztec's normal social life. That energy and activity which we exhaust in religion, art, belles-lettres and science was combined by the Aztecs in the observance of their religious requirements. The nature of their religion and its position in Aztec life and social practice are fundamental to a realization of the nature of their culture.

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CHAPTER X

RELIGION

A brief survey of the Aztec universe and the unpronounceable gods and goddesses who presided over it and ruled men's fate

AZTEC RELIGION, in purpose and practice, tried to attract 771 those natural forces which are favorable to human existence and repulse those which are harmful. Ethical control and spiritual perfection fell within the province of social custom, so that the moral goals of our own religion were largely absent; the Aztec religion had no Savior of mankind, no heaven or hell to reward or punish the consequence of human behavior.[2]

The Aztecs and their forebears believed that the forces of nature acted for good or evil very much as does mankind, so that it was logical for them to personalize the elements as gods or goddesses. The process of worship entailed offering presents, uttering prayers and performing symbolic acts to induce the divine powers to operate for the public benefit. The tribal intellect was mobilized, as it were, to sort out the processes of nature, find out how they acted and devise magical procedures or rituals to win them to action favorable to man.

Nature operates in series of recurrences which give the effect of rhythms. Birth, maturity and death follow relent-

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lessly in human life; night succeeds day; the stations of the year rotate endlessly through spring, summer, fall and winter; the planets move in eternal sequence through the sky. Thus to discover what those rhythms were and follow their complicated but regular beat would, in Aztec philosophy, ensure the happy survival of the community. There was little thought of the perfection of the individual when vast powers hovered close, ready to destroy the whole tribe if it ceased its vigilant watch on nature. Thus rhythm and form become an essential part of worship and found their outlet in ritual and religion, art, philosophy and science.

The growth of civilization, with the resultant ramification of social function and material equipment, led likewise to a more complex perception of the universe, expressed in the stratification of gods and goddesses and a specialization of their functions. This result led to a more intense observance of ritual, which consumed a great part of the material and intellectual product of the tribe.

Aztec religion was an outgrowth of the recognition and fear of natural forces and the attempt to constrain them. The process by which man defines these forces and grades them in order of importance is as much a part of the evolution of culture as art, mechanics or social organization. The Aztecs developed a conception of the relationship of the supernatural forces to the universe that, given the precision of our method of thought, could have been developed into an imposing philosophy.

According to Aztec belief, the world passed through four or five ages, or Suns. Details differ, but the record on the great Calendar Stone may be taken as the official version in Tenochtitlan. The first era, Four Ocelot, had Tezcatlipoca

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as the presiding god, who, at the end, transformed himself 773
into the sun, while jaguars ate up the men and giants who 776
then populated the earth. Quetzalcoatl was the divine ruler of the second era, Four Wind, at the expiration of which hurricanes destroyed the world and men were turned into monkeys. The Rain God, Tlaloc, gave the world light in the third epoch, Four Rain, brought to a close by a fiery rain. Chalchihuitlicue,* "Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt," was a Water Goddess who presided appropriately over the fourth Sun, Four Water, wherein a flood came, transforming men into fish. Our present age, Four Earthquake, is under the control of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, and it will be destroyed, in time, by earthquakes.[2] (See Plate 52.)

While the versions vary from place to place, we seem to 773
have a recapitulation of the great disasters from flood, volcanic eruption, hurricanes and earthquakes that beset the communities of ancient Mexico. Also there is a reflection of the order in which the gods attained prominence in the local worship. In the history of the Mexican tribes there are references to struggles within single towns between the devotees of two cults, as to which would have the mastery.[3]

The universe itself was conceived in a religious rather than 772
a geographic sense and was divided horizontally and verti- 776
cally into areas of religious significance. The horizontal uni- 823
verse, possibly the older concept, recognized five directions, the four cardinal points and the center. The Fire God, old and fundamental in Mexican religion, controlled the central zone. The east was assigned to the Rain God, Tlaloc, and the Cloud God, Mixcoatl (Cloud Snake), and was a region of abundance. In this idea geography was combined with

*Chal-chee-we'et-le-kway.

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772 ritual, since the intensely fertile Vera Cruz coast plain is the
776 actual source of the seasonal rains caused by the condensa-
823 tion of warm air when the Gulf of Mexico is exposed to the chill winds of the Central Plateau. The south was considered evil, possibly because of the arid zones south of Morelos and Puebla, but had as presiding deities gods associated with spring and flowers, Xipe (the Flayed One) and Macuilxochitl* (Five Flower). The west, however, had a favorable significance, being the home of the planet Venus, the evening star, which was associated and even identified with Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), the God of Knowledge. The north was a place gloomy and awful, presided over by Mictlantecuhtli† (Lord of the Dead), who, in one of those contradictions so frequent in Mexican theology, was sometimes connected with the south as well.[4] (See end papers.)

772 The vertical world was divided into heavens and hells
776 which had no moral significance, being merely overworlds
775 and underworlds. The number of heavens varied up to thirteen and represented the dwelling places of the gods, according to their rank in the hierarchy, the original creator living in the topmost heaven, and so on down the scale. One of these heavens belonged to Tlaloc, who received those who died by drowning, lightning or other causes connected with water. One school of thought divided the heavens into east
[821] and west, according to the passage of the sun. The east was the home of warriors, whose death in battle or sacrifice nourished the sun, and the west the home of women who died in childbirth, thus sacrificing themselves in the bearing of potential warriors.[5] (See Plate 57, bottom right.)

775 The rest of the dead passed to Mictlan, the underworld.

*Ma-kweel-sho'-chitl. †Meek-tla'n-tay-coot-li.

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They had to overcome several hazards before they could 775
take up their life there, so they were equipped with charms and gifts for the journey, which took the sacred number of four days. The wayfarer had to travel between two mountains which threatened to crush him, avoid first a snake and then a monstrous alligator, cross eight deserts, surmount eight hills and endure a freezing wind which hurled stones and obsidian knives upon him. Then he reached a broad river which he crossed on the back of a little red dog, sometimes included in the grave furniture for the purpose. Finally arriving at his destination, the traveler offered gifts to the Lord of the Dead, who assigned him to one of nine different regions. Some versions make the dead spend a probationary period of four years in the nine hells before they take up their life in Mictlan, which was, like the Greek Hades, devoid of moral significance.*

The Aztecs, as we have said, conceived of their universe 771
as extending horizontally outward and vertically upward 772
and downward. The world, as horizontally divided, implied the association of divine powers with the phenomena of geography and climate. This significance of direction is a familiar religious concept. The vertical arrangement of the heavens had rather more to do with rank and order than with a realization of natural phenomena. The hierarchy of the Christian saints, with its implicit recognition of position and authority, approaches closely to the point of view with which the Aztec peoples regarded their gods. Aztec and ritualized Christian worship have much the same attitude toward distinctions between philosophy and practice, and between the point of view of the instructed theologian and the humble worshipers.

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776 At the head of the Aztec pantheon, in a theological sense, was a supreme and ineffable god, Tloque Nahuaque; but an active cult in his honor seems to have been restricted to a single temple, at Texcoco, which became a center of religious philosophy under the stimulus of the great chief, Nezahualcoyotl. Ranking below this abstraction of divine power and far more widely recognized was a supreme couple, Tonacatecuhtli* and Tonacacihuatl,† "Our Lord and Lady of Subsistence." These gods were theologically important and fulfilled the functions of parenthood and origin for other divinities. They were not extensively worshiped, since their control of nature was remote. An equivalent being, Ometecuhtli,‡ "Lord of Duality," occupied an analogous position, resulting from priestly speculation as to the ultimate origin of the gods who controlled man's destiny. The Sun God, Tonatiuh, who also discharged the functions of a heavenly overlord, was, however, more closely associated with the active expression of Aztec religion. The daily appearance of the celestial orb, so infinitely important to the existence of all life, made sun worship an essential part of the Aztec religion.[7]

There were several gods who intervened in human affairs and were venerated above all others. Usually one of this group was the tutelary spirit of a community and had arrogated to him supreme powers. Such a god was honored by the principal temple, synthesized the abstract position of the gods invented by the theologians and partook of all the supreme powers exerted by the chief god of other commu-

*To-na-ca-tay-co'o-tli. ‡O-may-tay-co'o-tli.
†To-na-ca-se'o-watl.

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nities. This group, without exception, was composed of sky 776
gods.

Tezcatlipoca, the "Smoking Mirror," sometimes appeared on the scene as an adversary of the Toltec divinity Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent." He was widely worshiped, and his powers were shared by other chief gods. His attributes, as depicted in the sacred manuscripts, showed him to be protean, and they were often assigned to the tribal divinities of other places. A Mixtec manuscript, which emanates from the probable center of the Tezcatlipoca cult, shows the same divinity presiding over the four directions but with a different color in each instance. The powers and dress of this great god passed to local tribal divinities with the spread of Mixtec religion and the Tezcatlipoca cult to the Valley of Mexico. (See Plates 57, top; 61, top.)

The red Tezcatlipoca of the west took the name of Xipe, or Camaxtli, the tutelary god of Tlaxcala. Huitzilopochtli, the great War God of the Tenochca, assumed the functions and dress of the blue Tezcatlipoca of the south and was a Sun God as well, but his adversary and opposite divinity of the night retained the name Tezcatlipoca and was shown as the black Tezcatlipoca of the north. Quetzalcoatl was sometimes depicted as a white Tezcatlipoca, associable with the east as a morning star and the west as an evening star. Under the name "Feathered Serpent" but with the attributes and powers of Tezcatlipoca, he presided over the destinies of Cholula. Tezcatlipoca, as god of a favorable region, as surrogate of the sun and as the chief god of the original cult, was the chief divinity worshiped at Texcoco.

Tlaloc, the Rain God, is an ancient god, going back to Toltec times. His eye rings, his fangs and the volute over his

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776 lips render him an easily recognized figure in the Mexican pantheon. At Tenochtitlan he shared the great temples with Huitzilopochtli, and his control of rain made the attraction of his powers essential to survival on the Mexican plateau. (See Plate 59, bottom left.)

Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent," God of Civilization and the planet Venus, seems to have been widely venerated but under different guises. In contrast to Tezcatlipoca, whose functions and appearance were assigned to tribal gods with different names, Quetzalcoatl had several forms shared by distinctive divinities. The sculptures of Teotihuacan and Chichen Itza show that a feathered snake was honored, and the local records mention Quetzalcoatl and Kukulcan, Nahuatl and Maya names having the same meaning. At Tenochtitlan there is ample evidence of a feathered-serpent cult, but the records refer to Xiuhcoatl,* "Fire Snake," as well as to the standard sacred variety. The term Quetzalcoatl applies as well to a bearded god with a projecting mask, also called Ehecatl, the "Wind God." In parts of the Mixteca-Puebla area and the Valley, as we have seen, there is evidence that the "white" Tezcatlipoca had the name "One Reed," the date name synonymous with Quetzalcoatl.* (See Plates 23, 53; 59, bottom left.)

776 In addition to this confusion over Quetzalcoatl, the God
173 of Civilization, the annals and myths tell of Quetzalcoatl, the great king, who civilized the Toltecs and left for the east to return again. The friars seized upon this myth as evidence that St Thomas the Apostle had visited Mexico and converted its inhabitants, who later slid back into pagan ways. Therefore, the friars, to justify the Conquest, made

*She'e-oo-co-atl.

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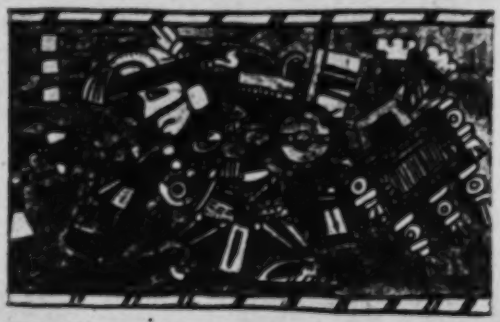

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PLATE 57

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tizatlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

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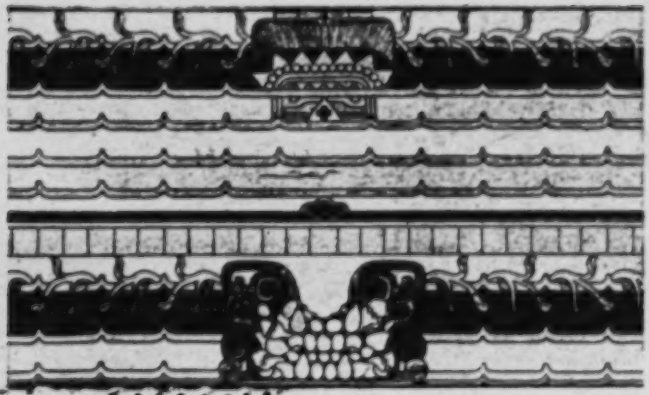

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PLATE 58

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Altar at Teotihuacan with symbols of agricultural worship. Nose glyph at top center. MIDDLE: Codex Florentino, special ceremony involving gods' descent to earth, with birdmen, snake dancers, rain-gods and priests dressed as the chief gods of the pantheon. BOTTOM: Vienna Codex, scene partly ceremonial and partly historical. Gods, dates, temples, chiefs and fire making are shown.

[p. 176 (B)]

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PLATE 59

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Tlaloc, God of Rain. *Right:* Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning, in guise of Ehecatl, God of Wind. BOTTOM: Page from *Tonalamatl* of Codex Borbonicus. The goddess Itzpapalotl, presiding over the fifteenth week, One House, is shown in the large division. The broken tree signifies Tamoanchan, a legendary homeland; the house below, with a man on top and the night sign in the door and the spider above, signifies the realm of darkness. The other symbols are offerings. The rectangular divisions refer to the days and their Gods. The day signs and numbers begin at the lower left with One House and end at top left with Thirteen Eagle. A Night God is drawn in each day square, beginning with Piltzintecuhtli and ending with Chalchihuitlicue (Table XVI, 194). The squares above the bottom row and to the right of the vertical row reveal the Gods of the Day Hours and their birds, beginning at the left with Xiuhtecuhtli and ending at the top with Ilamatecuhtli (Table XV).

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[p. 176 (C)]

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PLATE 60

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Priests and laymen sacrifice two victims in honor of the War God. *Right:* War captive on sacrificial stone defends himself against members of the warrior orders. BOTTOM: *Left:* Sacrificial knife with mosaic handle representing an Eagle Knight, in the British Museum. These pictures from the Codex Florentino reveal the technique of using a stone knife to make a deep enough incision to reach the heart and tear it out. *Right:* Sacrifice to the Sun.

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[p. 176(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people,
173 promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

554 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many
174 guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find
177 to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

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776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladiatorial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in [796 701] ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca, likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec religion.* (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year. His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this symbolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly [796 782] flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59, bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,* (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,† "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,‡ "Flower

*Chee-co'-me-co-atl.
†Shee-lo'-nen.
‡Sho-chee-kay-tza'l.

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Bird," were the embodied spirits of young growth and, by 776
analogy, youth and the games. These had as male counterparts such gods as Cinteotl, "Maize God," Xochipilli,* "Flower Prince" and Macuilxochitl, "Four Flower," whose functions, identified with growth, youth and games, are almost synonymous. (See Plates 31; 56, top left; 57, bottom left.)

About the maguey plant revolved another cult embracing 776
the goddess Mayauel, who represented the plant and whose 802
four hundred sons were associated with pulque. According 273
to some accounts, the various styles of drunkenness were recorded in terms of these gods or their associated animal, the rabbit. Four hundred rabbits stood for complete drunkenness, while fifteen or twenty suggested mere conviviality. The chief of these pulque gods was called "Two Rabbit," after his day in the almanac, and another, Tepoztecatl, was the tribal god of Tepoztlan, honored by a temple placed high in the mountains of Morelos.

The gods of the earth and death were highly important, 776
since growth takes place in the earth and the dead are received there. The sun on rising seems to be born in the earth and at its setting to be hidden by it, thus passing apparently to the world of the dead. The gods and goddesses associated with the earth had significance for the solar cults as well as for growth and fertility.

Tlaltecuhtli, "Lord of the Earth," was depicted as a male monster of horrifying aspect, partaking of the attributes of a toad and an alligator. His open mouth could consume even [821]
the sun, since the setting sun passed into the earth, according to Aztec astronomical ideas. The goddesses, however, seem

*Sho-chee-pe'o-ly.

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776 to have been worshiped more extensively, and the clay images made in their honor also continued in unbroken line the tradition of the Middle Culture figurines. Coatlicue (Our Lady of the Serpent Skirt) was the mother of the gods in their stellar aspect but also was honored as the mother of Huitzilopochtli. The measure of her importance may be gauged by [778] the great statue of her in Mexico which is a masterpiece of sacerdotal art and undoubtedly had a temple to itself. Coatlicue was also represented as a mother carrying a child in her arms. In this guise her function as a mother goddess brought her image into almost every home in the valley. Tonantzin (Our Mother), which may have been an aspect of this same goddess or of Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), had a temple at Tepeyac, now the site of the shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and her cult was transferred to the Virgin by the early missionaries, an act exemplifying their intelligent procedure in evangelizing the Aztecs. A goddess, Tlazolteotl (Eater of Filth), was extensively worshiped and was also synonymously known as the "Mother of the Gods." Primarily an earth-goddess, she, alone of the goddesses, had a moral significance, since in eating refuse she consumed the [783] sins of mankind, leaving them pure. A rite of confession developed in her cult. (See Plates 54–55.)

Standing out from the numerous divinities associated with death were Mictlantecuhtli and Mictlancihuatl,* (Our Lord and Lady of the Region of Death). They wore masks made from human skulls, and their ornaments were either human bones or representations of them. They presided over the northern regions and also ruled the hells below the earth. Theirs was no punitive function, for all who died, save in

*Meek-tlan-se'e-watl.

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war or sacrifice, childbirth or drowning, passed upon death 776
to their domain. (See Plate 55, bottom left.)

This incomplete description of the gods and goddesses who thronged the Aztec pantheon gives an idea of their variety of purpose and character, outlined more fully in Table X. For an individual to try to do honor to so many gods could result in an insupportable situation. Yet even the modern Navajos pass a third of their time in ceremonial activity, and they do not have half the economic wealth of the Aztec peoples. While the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do the most ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.

The priests gave guidance and prescribed the ceremonies, 793
and the worshipers gave heed to those especial divinities upon 776
whose patronage their life directly depended, much as a de- 771
vout Catholic selects certain saints for veneration above the list of those whose days are recorded on the calendar. In the same way the Aztec tribal god has his counterpart in the patron saint of country, town or craft. The Aztec, however, thought of his gods as having strong material powers, but their spiritual aspect counted little with him.

The ritual of Aztec religion was as complex as the theol- 796
ogy. The organization of the priesthood followed the pyramided structure of the social order, but the ceremonies were worked out in accordance with the ritualistic requirements of the calendar and the seasons. In the following chapter we shall describe the priesthood, the ceremonies and also the Aztec methods of counting, recording and using time.

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TABLE X

PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE AZTEC PANTHEON, THEIR CHARACTER, AND SPHERES OF WORSHIP

	Month	*Week*	*Day*	*Day Hour*	*Night Hour*
GREAT GODS					
Huitzilopochtli, Hummingbird Wizard, War and Sun God, chief god of Tenochtitlan	5* 9 15				
Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, chief god of pantheon, solar attributes, chief god of Texcoco	5 12		13 8	10	
Quetzalcoatl, Feathered Serpent, God of Learning and of Priesthood, chief god of Cholula, frequently shown as Ehecatl, the Wind God		2	2	9	
CREATIVE DEITIES					
Tloque Nahuaque, Lord of the Close Vicinity, creative spirit, theological abstraction					
Ometecuhtli, Lord of Duality, like Tonacatecuhtli and his wife					
Tonacatecuhtli, Lord of Our Subsistence, Creator God, chief of the gods		1	1		
Tonacacihuatl, Lady of Our Subsistence, wife of the above					
FERTILITY GODS					
Tlazolteotl, Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother, worshiped under many synonyms	11	13	14	5	7
Teteoinnan, Mother of the Gods, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Ixcuina, Four Faces, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Toçi, Our Grandmother, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Chicomecoatl, Seven Snake, Corn Goddess, ancient goddess dating from Middle Culture times	4 11				
Cihuacoatl, Serpent Woman, Earth Goddess, ruling childbirth and death thereby					
Tonantzin, Our Mother, synonym of Cihuacoatl					
Coatlicue, Serpent Skirt, Earth Goddess, associated with spring, mother of Huitzilopochtli					
Cinteotl, Corn God, son of Tlazolteotl, husband of Xochiquetzal, important				(12) (7)	4
Xochiquetzal, Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers, of Craftsmen, important		19	20	(13)	
Xochipilli, Flower Prince, God of Pleasure, Feasting, Frivolity			11	(3) 7	
Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, synonym of Xochipilli					

*The numbers refer to the *Tonalamatl* of the *Codex Borbonicus*. Those in parentheses refer to variations found in the *Tonalamatl Aubin* and the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.

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TABLE X (*Continued*)

	Month	Week	Day	Day Hour	Night Hour
Xipe, Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime and Planting, the red Tezcatlipoca, highly important	2	14	15	(11) (4)	
Xilonen, Young Maize Mother, Goddess of the Young Corn	8				
Ilamatecuhtli, the Old Princess, a goddess of ancient times, related to corn and the earth	17			13	
GODS OF RAIN AND MOISTURE					
Tlaloc, He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God, very important	6 13	7	7	8	(8) 9
Tlaloques, minor rain gods, children or brothers of Tlaloc, a plural synonym	3 1 16				
Chalchihuitlicue, She of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess, very important	1	5	5	3	6
Huixtocihuatl, Salt Woman, Goddess of Salt and of the Dissolute	7				
Napatecuhtli, Four Times Lord, one of the Tlalocs					
Ehecatl, Wind, Wind God, a frequent guise of Quetzalcoatl					
FIRE GODS					
Xiuhtecuhtli, Lord of the Year, Fire God, a divinity of ancient times, important	18 10	20 9	9	(7) 1	1
Huehueteotl, Old God, a synonym of Xiuhtecuhtli					
Chantico, In the House, goddess associated with the hearth and volcanic fire		18	19		
PULQUE GODS					
Mayauel, She of the Maguey Plant, Goddess of the Maguey and also of Fertility		8	8		
Patecatl, He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine, husband of Mayauel		11	12		
Tezcatzontecatl, Straw-Covered Mirror, an important pulque god, identifiable with the Chac Mool figures in stone					
Centzon Totochtin, Four Hundred Rabbits, the many pulque gods					
PLANETARY AND STELLAR GODS					
Tonatiuh, the Sun, Sun God with intimate connections with Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca				4	
Piltzintecuhtli, Young Prince, synonym of Tonatiuh					3
Metztli, the Moon, Moon God, sometimes identified with Tezcatlipoca					
Tecciztecatl, He from the Sea Snail, synonym of Metztli		6	6		(5)
Mixcoatl, Cloud Serpent, God of Stars and of Numbers	14				
Camaxtli, god of Tlaxcala, synonym of Mixcoatl, a War God					

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TABLE X (*Continued*)

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	Month	Week	Day	Day Hour	Night Hour
Itzpapalotl, Obsidian Knife Butterfly, stellar and also agricultural goddess		15	16		
Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus, the morning star, variant of Quetzalcoatl		9		(1) (12)	
Coyolxauhqui, Painted with Bells, Moon Goddess, sister of Centzon Huitznaua					
Centzon Huitznaua, 400 Southerners, star gods of south					
Centzon Mimixcoa, 400 Northerners, star gods of north					
Tzitzimime, Monsters Descending from Above, stellar gods					
GODS OF DEATH, EARTH					
Mictlantecuhtli, Lord of Region of Death, God of Death		10	10	11	5
Mictecacihuatl, Lady of Region of Death, wife of Death God					
Tepeyollotl, Heart of the Mountains, Mountain God, Jaguar God		3	3		8
Tlaltecuhtli, Lord of Earth, earth monster, personification of earth in contrast to sun				2	
Teoyaomiqui, God of Dead Warriors, a specialized Death God				6 (6)	
Huahuantli, the Striped, synonym of Teoyaomiqui					
VARIANTS OF GREAT GODS					
Itzli, Stone Knife, a surrogate of Tezcatlipoca in guise of sacrificial knife		20			2
Itzlacoliuhqui, Curved Obsidian Knife, another variant of Tezcatlipoca		12	(13)		
Paynal, the Hasty, messenger of Huitzilopochtli					
Yacatecuhtli, Lord Who Guides, God of Traveling Merchants	15 12				
Chalchiuhtotolin, Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca		17	(18)		
Yaotl, Enemy, synonym of Tezcatlipoca				(5)	
OTHER GODS					
Xolotl, Double, Monster God, twin of Quetzalcoatl		16	17		
Ixtlilton, Little Black Face, God of Health and Cures from Ills				(2)	
Cihuateteo, Goddesses, witches, spirits of women dead in childbirth					
Huehuecoyotl, Old Coyote, backbiter or mischief-maker, god of Otomi		4	4		

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CHAPTER XI

RITUAL

In which are Summarized the Nature of the Religious Organization, the Feasts, and the Relationship between Ritual, Calendar and Writing

RELIGION was a general group activity necessary for the social and economic safekeeping of the tribe, and the priesthood was a highly important force in the direction of the communal life. In the early simple societies there were two executive chiefs, one for war and one for religious affairs. We do not know whether the priesthood comprised laymen who performed the ritual acts of specific ceremonies or whether it was an established group whose whole life was devoted to religious ends. It is probable that selected individuals originally carried out the religious duties of the tribe in addition to their civil obligations, but as Aztec culture became more elaborate, the complexity of their functions molded them into a body of permanent officials.[1]

In Tenochtitlan the Chief of Men and the Snake Woman had double duties in respect to civil and religious affairs, the former actively leading the services and the latter supervising the temples, the form of the rites and the internal affairs of the priesthood. Two high priests directed cult activities in honor of the War God, Huitzilopochtli, and the Rain God, Tlaloc, the chief divinities worshiped in this city. They

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793 were called *Quetzalcoatl-Totec-tlamacazqui** and *Quetzalcoatl-Tlaloc-tlamacazqui*. The name Quetzalcoatl was given them perhaps as an honorific title in memory of the God of Civilization and Learning, who was the archetype of the priestly ideal. The second names refer to the gods of the respective cults, and the third word means priest. Ranking below these two officials was a third, *Mexicatl-Teohuatzin*, who, like a vicar-general, supervised general religious business in the city-state and conquered towns. Two assistants looked after the instruction in the schools for citizen-warriors and for priests, and other officials supervised the pulque ceremonies.[2]

Next in rank were the priests who were in charge of the worship, temple and ritual of each specific god or goddess and who, in the ceremonies, assumed the dress of the divinity, impersonating him on earth. They, in turn, had a host of assistants who were supplemented by aspirants to the priesthood, the bottom of the hierarchical scale. There seem to have been priestesses as well, and schools for their instruction were established in connection with certain temples. As
789 might be expected as an accompaniment of a highly ritualized religion far above the comprehension of the masses, there was an active practice of magic carried on by male and female witch doctors. Undoubtedly many of these unsanctioned rites were rooted in the more primitive stages of the Aztec development; and in modern times, although the formal Aztec religion has been almost completely eradicated, the indigenous population continues many of the old magico-medical practices.

793 The priests, however, directed the intellectual life of the

*Kay-tz'al-co-atl-To'-tec-tla-mah-ca'z-kee.

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tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realization of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the *tonalpohualli* (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five-day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[8]

The *tonalpohualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. - Analyst]

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TABLE XI

805 DAY NAMES AND NUMBERS OF THE AZTEC MONTH

1	Cipactli (Mythical Water Monster, Crocodile, Alligator)	
2	Ehecatl (Wind)	
3	Calli (House)	Year Name
4	Cuetzpallin (Iguana Lizard)	
5	Coatl (Snake)	
6	Miquiztli (Death's-Head)	
7	Mazatl (Deer)	
8	Tochtli (Rabbit)	Year Name
9	Atl (Water)	
10	Itzcuintli (Dog)	
11	Ozomatli (Howling Monkey)	
12	Malinalli (Grass)	
13	Acatl (Reed)	Year Name
1	Ocelotl (Ocelot)	
2	Cuauhtli (Eagle)	
3	Cozcaquauhtli (Vulture)	
4	Ollin (Motion, Earthquake)	
5	Tecpatl (Flint Knife)	Year Name
6	Quiauitl (Rain)	
7	Xochitl (Flower)	
8	Cipactli	
9	Ehecatl	
10	Calli	Year Name
11	Cuetzpallin	
12	Coatl	
13	Miquiztli	
1	Mazatl	
2	Tochtli	Year Name
	Etc., etc.	

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TABLE XII

TONALPOHUALLI: SEQUENCE OF DAY NAMES, NUMBERS, AND WEEKS 805

	I												
Crocodile	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
												XVIII	
Wind	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8
										XV			
House	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9
								XII					
Lizard	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10
						IX							
Serpent	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
				VI									
Death's-Head	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
		III											
Deer	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
													XX
Rabbit	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]
											XVII		
Water	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2
									XIV				
Dog	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3
							XI						
Monkey	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4
					VIII								
Grass	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
			V										
Reed	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6
	II												
Ocelot	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
												XIX	
Eagle	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8
										XVI			
Vulture	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9
								XIII					
Motion	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10
						X							
Flint Knife	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
				VII									
Rain	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
		IV											
Flower	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13

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796 805 *tonalamatl*, after the book in which it was recorded, was a sacred almanac. It covered a period of 260 days, the significance of which may have been magical or possibly of an astronomical origin, as yet unexplained. It was composed of the twenty day names of the Aztec month, combined with the numbers one to thirteen (Table XI). Whenever the sequence of numbers ended, the series was repeated, and the same arrangement held true for the list of days. Thus the fourteenth day of the twenty in the list received the number one, and so on up to seven for the twentieth day. Then when the series of day names recommenced the first name was numbered eight. By this means within the 260-day period every day was distinguished by the combination of one of twenty names with one of thirteen numerals. At the close of each period another began immediately, as is shown on Table XI.

This sacred period was further divided into twenty weeks of thirteen days each (Table XII). Every week began with the number one and the day name which came up according to the rotation of the sequence. Thus within the *tonalpobualli* period no day in one week could be confused with that of another, since the name and associated number precluded repetition.[4]

A god or goddess presided over each of the list of twenty days (Table XIII) and over each of the twenty "weeks" (Table XIV). The gods of the weeks followed the same order as the day gods, with this exception, that the god of the eleventh day was dropped from the list, moving the remainder in order up one place each. The resultant vacancy in the twentieth week, was filled by two divinities who exercised joint control. Sometimes there was a further re-

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FIG. 1. AZTEC DAY SIGNS FROM CODEX

Cipactli Crocodile	*Ehecatl* Wind	*Calli* House	*Cuetzpallin* Lizard	*Coatl* Snake
Miquiztli Death	*Mazatl* Deer	*Tochtli* Rabbit	*Atl* Water	*Itzcuintli* Dog
Ozomatli Monkey	*Malinalli* Herb	*Acatl* Reed	*Ocelotl* Jaguar	*Cuauhtli* Eagle
Cozcacuauhtli Vulture	*Ollin* Motion	*Tecpatl* Flint Knife	*Quiauitl* Rain	*Xochitl* Flower

finement whereby the nine gods and goddesses succeeded each other in governing the nights of the *tonalpohualli*, or sacred period (Table XVI). Finally thirteen of these gods influenced the thirteen stations of the Aztec day (Table XV), and nine held sway over the night hours (Table XVI). The names and characters of these divinities are set forth in the accompanying tables.

The array of gods had to be placated and honored at the appropriate time by the priesthood; but the individual, before embarking on an undertaking, could find out the proper 796

[Text continues on p. 195.--- Analyst]

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TABLE XIII

DAY GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI

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Day	God	Name and Nature
1 Crocodile	Tonacatecuhtli	Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God
2 Wind	Quetzalcoatl	Feathered Serpent, Sky God, God of Learning
3 House	Tepeyollotl	Heart of Mountains, an Earth God
4 Lizard	Huehuecoyotl	Old Coyote, Mischief-Maker
5 Snake	Chalchihuitlicue	Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess
6 Death's-Head	Tecciztecatl	He from the Sea Snail, Moon God
7 Deer	Tlaloc	He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God
8 Rabbit	Mayauel	She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess
9 Water	Xiuhtecuhtli	Lord of Year, Fire God
10 Dog	Mictlantecuhtli	Lord of Region of Dead, Death God
11 Monkey	Xochipilli	Flower Prince, God of Spring and Flowers
12 Grass	Patecatl	He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine
13 Reed	Tezcatlipoca or variant like Itzlacoliuhqui	Smoking Mirror, a Great God, cf. Gods of Weeks Carved Obsidian Knife
14 Ocelot	Tlazolteotl	Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother
15 Eagle	Xipe	Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime
16 Vulture	Itzpapalotl	Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess
17 Motion	Xolotl or variant	Double, Monster God
18 Flint Knife	Tezcatlipoca or Chalchiuhtotolin	Smoking Mirror, Great God, Jeweled Bird, Week Gods
19 Rain	Chantico	In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire
20 Flower	Xochiquetzal	Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers

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TABLE XIV

GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI WEEKS

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Week Beginning	*God*	*Name*
1 Crocodile	Tonacatecuhtli	Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God
1 Ocelot	Quetzalcoatl	Feathered Serpent, a Sky God
1 Deer	Tepeyollotl	Heart of the Mountains, an Earth God
1 Flower	Huehuecoyotl	Old Coyote, Backbiter, old Otomi tribal god
1 Reed	Chalchihuitlicue	Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess
1 Death's-Head	Tecciztecatl	He from the Sea Snail, Moon God
1 Rain	Tlaloc	He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God
1 Grass	Mayauel	She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess
1 Snake	Xiuhtecuhtli	Lord of the Year, Fire God
1 Flint	Mictlantecuhtli	Lord of the Region of the Dead, Death God
1 Howling Monkey	Patecatl	He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine
1 Lizard	Itzlacoliuhqui	The Carved Obsidian Knife, God of Cold
1 Motion	Tlazolteotl	Goddess of Dirt, Earth Goddess
1 Dog	Xipe Totec	Our Lord the Flayed One, God of Seedtime
1 House	Itzpapalotl	Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess
1 Vulture	Xolotl	Double, Monster God
1 Water	Chalchiuhtotolin	Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca
1 Wind	Chantico	In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire
1 Eagle	Xochiquetzal	Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers
1 Rabbit	Xiuhtecuhtli and	Lord of Year, Fire God
	Itztli	Stone Knife, God of Obsidian Knife

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TABLE XV

GODS OF THE DAY HOURS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED BIRDS

Day Gods	*Name*	*Associated Bird*
1. Xiuhtecuhtli	Fire God	White Hummingbird
2. Tlaltecuhtli	Lord of Earth, the Earth Monster	Green Hummingbird
3. Chalchihuitlicue	Water Goddess	Falcon
4. Tonatiuh	The Sun, Sun God	Quail
5. Tlazolteotl	Earth Mother	Eagle
6. Teoyaomiqui	Warrior Death, Death God	Screech Owl
7. Xochipilli	Flower Prince, God of Flowers	Butterfly
8. Tlaloc	Rain God	Striped Eagle
9. Quetzalcoatl-Ehecatl	God of Learning	Turkey Cock
10. Tezcatlipoca	Great God	Horned Owl
11. Mictlantecuhtli	Death God	Guacamaya
12. Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus God, variant of Quetzalcoatl	Quetzal
13. Ilamatecuhtli	Old Princess, ancient Earth Goddess	Parrot

TABLE XVI

GODS OF THE NIGHT HOURS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES IN DIVINATION

Night Gods		*Significance*
1. Xiuhtecuhtli	Fire God	Good
2. Itztli	God of Obsidian Knife	Bad
3. Piltzintecuhtli	Lord of Princes, Sun God	Good
4. Cinteotl	God of Corn, Corn God	Indifferent
5. Mictlantecuhtli	Death God	Bad
6. Chalchihuitlicue	Water Goddess	Indifferent
7. Tlazolteotl	Earth Mother	Bad
8. Tepeyollotl	Earth or Jaguar God	Good
9. Tlaloc	Rain God	Good

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divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is im- 796
probable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity.

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These ref- 212
erence books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten [289]
from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.[8] (See Plate 59, top.)

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in ac- 796
cordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months 805
of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do

[Text continues on p. 198. --- Analyst]

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TABLE XVII

THE SOLAR YEAR, THE EIGHTEEN MONTHS, AND CEREMONIES

Months, seasonal character, approximate Gregorian dates, presiding gods and chief ceremonies

I Atlcoualco (want of water), ceasing of rain [Feb. 12–Mar. 3]. Chalchihuitlicue and Tlalocs. Ceremonies for rain; child sacrifice; Xipe sacrifice with blunt weapons.

II Tlacaxipeualiztli (boning of men), seedtime [Mar. 4–Mar. 23]. God Xipe. Impersonation of Xipe by priests wearing skins of captives; dances by priests wearing human skins; agricultural dances.

III Tozoztontli (short fast), rain desired [Mar. 24–Apr. 12]. Coatlicue and Tlalocs. Child sacrifice to Tlalocs to bring rain; end of Xipe rites which sometimes held over a month.

IV Huei Tozoztli (long fast), worship of new corn [Apr. 13–May 2]. Centeotl and Chicomecoatl. Ceremonial bloodletting; decoration of house altars with corn plants; young girls' ceremony with blessing of seed corn.

V Toxcatl (dry or slippery), rainy season begins [May 3–May 22]. Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli; god-impersonation ceremonies for either or both great gods (p. 202); scarification of children.

VI Etzalqualiztli (bean porridge), rain desired [May 23–June 11]. Tlalocs. Ceremonial robbing; rain ceremonies; fertility rite, drowning boy and girl in canoe filled with hearts of sacrificial victims.

VII Tecuhilhuitontli (little feast of princes), rain desired [June 12–July 1]. Huixtocihuatl. Ceremony of salt-workers, who leeched product from lake; women's dance with sacrifice of priestess impersonating goddess.

VIII Hueitecuhilhuitl (great feast of rulers), adoration of ripening corn [July 2–July 21]. Xilonen. Feast for Goddess of Young Corn; eight-day feast; women wear hair loose as sympathetic magic; sacrifice of slave girl impersonating goddess; after sacrifice people can eat new corn.

IX Tlaxochimaco (birth of flowers), first flowering [July 22–Aug. 10]. Huitzilopochtli. Feasts on turkeys and corn-meal cakes in honor of the god; great dance with both sexes taking part and men even touching the women; merchants' feast, honoring their patron god Yacatecuhtli.

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X Xocotlhuetzi (fall of the fruits), heat for ripening [Aug. 11–Aug. 30]. Xiuhtecuhtli (Huehueteotl). Furnace sacrifice (p. 202); competitive climbing of high pole by young men to win special insignia at top.

XI Ochpaniztli (month of brooms), refreshment of Earth Mother [Aug. 31–Sept. 19]. Tlazolteotl or Tetecinan (Toçi). Sacrifice of woman impersonating Goddess of Ripe Corn; efforts to avoid sorrow by buffoonery, sympathetic magic to avoid rains at harvest; review of warriors and distribution of insignia of rank; drills and mock combats of Eagle and Ocelot Knights.

XII Teotleco (return of the gods), harvest [Sept. 20–Oct. 9]. Tezcatlipoca. Ceremonies honoring the return of the gods to the earth; Tezcatlipoca first to come; two absent, Xiuhtecuhtli, too old to travel, Yacatecuhtli, merchant wandering off beaten track; ceremonial drunkenness and furnace sacrifice.

XIII Tepeilhuitl (feast of the mountains), rain [Oct. 10–Oct. 29]. Tlalocs. Ceremonies for mountain rain gods, an aspect of Tlalocs; use of wooden snakes and figurines covered with amaranth paste; sacrifice of four women and a man with subsequent ceremonial cannibalism.

XIV Quecholli [bird, quail(?)], rain [Oct. 30–Nov. 18]. Mixcoatl. Making of weapons; general penance of four days; licensed old people abstain from liquor and husbands from their wives; ceremonial hunt with sacrifice of game and ceremonial feasting on the hill.

XV Panquetzaliztli (feast of the flags), winter solstice [Nov. 19–Dec. 8]. Huitzilopochtli. Festivals honoring War God; mock or staged combats; imprinting of hand impressions by captives.

XVI Atemoztli (fall of the waters), rain [Dec. 9–Dec. 28]. Tlalocs. Vigils and offerings to household gods; winter solstice at time of conquest; erection of poles with paper streamers coated with rubber.

XVII Tititl (severe weather), season of serenity [Dec. 29–Jan. 7]. Ilamatecuhtli. Sacrifice of woman impersonating goddess; sympathetic magic to bring rain by weeping, through children crying on first day of month and men and children beating women with straw-filled bags to make them cry.

XVIII Izcalli (resuscitation), toasting of corn supply [Jan. 18–Feb. 6]. Xiuhtecuhtli. Ceremonial hunt; killing of captives every four years; killing of birds and arrow sacrifice at Cuauhtitlan.

Nemontemi (five unlucky days) [Feb. 7–Feb. 11].

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796 with farming, and the days of the month were distinguished
805 by numbers, in addition to their *tonalpohualli* name and number described above. Years were identified in terms of the two methods, since they were named for the *tonalpohualli* day on which the year began.[8]

Only four of the twenty day names could begin the year, as a simple mathematical calculation will prove. Three hundred and sixty-five (the number of days in a year) divided by twenty (the total of the day names) leaves a remainder of five. Thus of the twenty day names only four can begin the year. House, Rabbit, Reed and Flint Knife must always recur as New Year's Day, since they are the third, eighth, thirteenth and eighteenth days in the list, thus being separated from each other by five numbers. In that thirteen, the quantity of numbers available, divides into 365 with a remainder of one, the number of the day increased by one each new year. Thus the years were numerically distinguishable—1 Rabbit, 2 Reed, 3 House, 4 Flint Knife, 5 Rabbit, and so on, until the thirteen numbers and four day names began to repeat themselves, which occurred after fifty-two (13 × 4) years. This is the mathematical reason for the Aztec cycle or major time unit, and in the Valley of Mexico they did not go further and distinguish between cycles except indirectly. In consequence there is the same sort of confusion in referring to events as would result were we to designate years within the century without distinguishing the number of centuries before or after Christ. Thus the discovery of America would be recorded as 92 and the Declaration of Independence as 76, and only a detailed knowledge of history would enable us to fix the events in their proper relationship to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. (See Plates 62, top left; 63.)

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The lag between the calendric and the solar year, for which 796
we compensate by adding a day every four years as the 805
twenty-ninth of February, was difficult to adjust by Aztec standards since so much of the time count hinged on the orderly mathematical sequence of days. Some authorities believe that the Aztecs let the calendar drop behind, others that compensation was made during the unlucky period of five days. A third suggestion interprets the celebration of a feast held every eight years as a sign that a dateless day was introduced, unrecognized in the *tonalpohualli* of the year but honored with special rites.[7] (See Plate 58, middle.)

However the matter of the leap year was settled, the close of one cycle and the beginning of a new one was celebrated with great pomp each year Two Reed chosen as the first day of each cycle for some ritualistic reason. In the Mixteca-Puebla area the *tonalamatls* show evidence that the priests observed the planet Venus and took note of a Venus Year of 584 days. At the end of two cycles (104 years) there was a tremendous ceremony of great ritualistic significance, for at the same time as the beginning of a Venus count, a solar count, a fifty-two-year cycle, and a *tonalpohualli* all coincided. That four mystical rhythms, affecting such diverse aspects of the universe and the gods that dwelt therein, could [181]
meet must have produced great satisfaction and occasioned the utmost rejoicing among people for whom pattern and form had such great significance.[8]

Although the Valley of Mexico Aztecs did not use the 796
Venus count they celebrated the cyclical change with the utmost ceremony. They thought of the change from one cycle to another as the death of one life and the beginning of a new one. The realization that nature could withhold the

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796 continuance of their existence endowed the ritual with profound solemnity. The New Fire Ceremony was symbolized by the extinction of the old altar fire, which had burned perpetually for fifty-two years, and the kindling of a fresh one in token of the new grant of life.* (See Plate 29, top row.)

During the five useless days (*nemontemi*) of the final year the people let their fires go out and destroyed their household furniture. Fasting and lamentation were the order of the day while the populace awaited catastrophe. Pregnant women [787] were shut up in granaries, lest they be changed into wild animals, and children were marched up and down and kept awake, for fear that sleep on that fatal evening would result in their turning into rats.

At sunset the priests, in solemn panoply, representatives of the whole array of the Aztec pantheon, ascended the Hill of the Star, anciently known as Huixachtecatl. This extinct volcanic crater rises abruptly from the Valley floor and is visible from almost every quarter of the Valley of Mexico. From the temple to its summit the priests anxiously scanned the heavens as the night wore on, awaiting the hour when a certain star or stars, Aldebaran or the Pleiades, reached the center of the heavens and gave the sign that their world would continue.

[372] At the very moment when these stars passed the meridian [782] the priests seized a wooden fire drill and kindled a new fire in the open breast of a victim freshly slain for the purpose. The populace—priests, chiefs and commoners—thrilled to a great happiness. Runners lit torches from the new fire and rekindled the altars in the temples of every town and hamlet, whence the people bore the flames to their hearths. Like fireflies the darting torchbearers sped through the night, bringing the promise of a new life to every man, woman and child.

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With the dawn, more than ever gracious in its fulfillment of a 796
nations' piety, the populace rallied, renovating their temples, refurbishing their houses and making new utensils for temple and household use. There was feasting on special food, and sacrifice both by personal bloodletting and the immolation of [785] captives betokened the measure of popular gratitude.

Another striking ceremony fell on the day Four Earthquake (or Motion), the sign of the present age, and symbolized the passage of the sun through the heavens. At dawn a captive dressed as the Sun God, Tonatiuh, ascended the platform where the Calendar Stone was set. Four priests spread-eagled the victim, and a fifth opened his breast to tear out the heart as an offering to the god. The populace then feasted until noon, gashing their ears and parts of their bodies with blades of obsidian. In the afternoon the Eagle and Tiger [785] Knights, votaries of the solar cult, took part in a dance dramatizing the sacred war wherein the sun is slain, to be reborn the following day. The dance culminated in a gladiatorial sacrifice. Selected Eagle and Tiger Knights, armed with real weapons, slew a captive warrior, chosen for his military distinction, who was tethered to a circular stone representing the sun's disk and who defended himself with dummy weapons only.[10] (See Plate 60, top right, bottom.)

A curious type of sacrifice took place in connection with the worship of the god Xipe and may be the origin of the arrow sacrifice which is performed in honor of the morning star by the Pawnee of our Western plains. In the Mexican rite the victim was lashed to a scaffold, and priests, using bows or *atl-atls*, shot him to death.[11]

The Aztecs performed a hideous ceremony in honor of the Fire God, Huehueteotl. Prisoners of war and their cap-

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796 [276] 782

Prisoners of war and their captors took part in a dance in honor of the god, and the next day the captives ascended to the top of a platform, where a powder, *yaubtli* (Indian hemp), was cast in their faces to anesthetize them against their ghastly fate. After preparing a great fire, each priest seized a captive and, binding him hand and foot, lifted him onto his back. A macabre dance took place around the burning coals, and one by one they dumped their burdens into the flames. Before death could intervene to put an end to their suffering the priests fished out the captives with large hooks and wrenched the hearts from their blistered bodies.[12]

In contrast to the callous brutality of the fire sacrifice, the ceremony in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca was strikingly dramatic, tinged with the pathos with which we view the taking of a life. The handsomest and bravest prisoner of war was selected a year before his execution. Priests taught him the manners of a ruler, and as he walked about, playing divine melodies upon his flute, he received the homage due Tezcatlipoca himself. A month before the day of sacrifice four lovely girls, dressed as goddesses, became his companions and attended to his every want. On the day of his death he took leave of his weeping consorts to lead a procession in his honor, marked by jubilation and feasting. Then he bade farewell to the glittering cortege and left for a small temple, accompanied by the eight priests who had attended him throughout the year. The priests preceded him up the steps of the temple, and he followed, breaking at each step a flute which he had played in the happy hours of his incarnation. At the top of the platform the priests turned him over the sacrificial block and wrenched out his heart. In deference to his former godhood his body was carried, not ignominiously

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flung, down the steps; but his head joined the other skulls 796
spitted on the rack beside the temple.[18] (See Plate 61, top.) [782]

Every one of the great monthly sacrifices had a dramatic significance, and a list of the principal feasts, the gods they honored and the month of their occurrence is set forth on Table XVII. Several authors have availed themselves of Friar Sahagun's matchless descriptions to set forth the elaborate rituals which we have lightly sampled here. The elements of time, training and elaborate preparation of costume, it can be readily seen, must have absorbed a large part of the resources of the tribe. The tentacles of ritual extended throughout the tribal activities, so that even games and sports were transformed into acts of religious meaning, although the participants undoubtedly derived a great deal of fun from their performance.

The ball game, *tlachtli*, was such a game, played in a court 796
shaped like the capital letter *I*. Walls extended on either side 526
of the stem of the *I*, and in the middle of each a stone or wooden ring was set vertically, in contrast to the horizontal position of a basketball hoop. The players tried to pass through this ring a hard rubber ball, which they could only strike with their elbows, hips or legs. There must have been some other method of scoring than by goals alone, since these, very naturally, were of rare occurrence—so much so that, in the event of one, players and backers had the right to snatch the wearing apparel of their adversaries. The game was played far and wide, courts having been found from the Republic of Honduras to southeastern Arizona. It has a special interest for us in that the first description of rubber, so important in our modern economy, was when Oviedo, in the sixteenth

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796 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[14]
526 (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 There were also games of chance which were played with
796 a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[15]

796 Another important entertainment involved the erection of
526 a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[16]

782 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple cere-
174 monial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. 782
Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the 174
world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the 782
braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. [727]
Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances [567]
women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure
growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

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growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Cere-
[266] monial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood
[785 was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did hor-
304] rible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

212 The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice
782 and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

793 The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling
212 acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth
[871] in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

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ing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. We could write: "I can be hospitable," in terms of the sounds given to pictures of an eye, a tin can, a bee, a horse, a hole in the ground and a table. The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone *tena* from which sprouted a nopal cactus, *nochtli*, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, *pantli*, on a conventionalized hill, *tepec*. Color, position, puns and abbreviations all contributed to recording sounds by this means. Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel or movement, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations of action.[19] (See Fig. 2.)

Aztec writing offered no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas. Yet the full accounts of historical events, set down after the Conquest in Spanish or Nahuatl, indicate that oral traditions, possibly learned as a chant or saga, supplemented these ideographic records.

Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 × 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 × 20 × 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans. (See Fig. 2.)

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FIG. 2. AZTEC NUMBERS AND METHODS OF ENUMERATION

a. one, a dot or finger b. twenty, a flag c. four hundred, a sign denoting hairs d. eight thousand, a bag e. ten masks of precious stone f. twenty bags of cochineal dye g. one hundred bags of cacao h. four hundred bales of cotton i. four hundred jars of honey of tuna j. eight thousand leaf-bundles of copal gum k. twenty baskets each containing one thousand six hundred ground cacao nibs l. four hundred and two cotton blankets of this type

A post-Conquest manuscript shows devices that may not have been of native origin but European adaptations of the Aztec system. For example, fractions are shown by blacking in segments of a quarter, a half or three quarters of a disk. Similarly fives and multiples of five are indicated by coloring the requisite spaces in the flag of the sign for twenty, and hundreds by showing the proportionate lines in the four-hundred symbol.[20]

175 Aztec histories consisted of annals of ancient times, contemporary events, year counts, accounts compiled yearly, specific records for each year, books of each day and day-by-day counts or diaries.[21] Some of the ancient and contemporary histories have been published, but none of

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PLATE 61

AZTEC RITUAL

Top: Left: Dressing a victim and equipping him with the proper headdress, shield and magical mirror to play the part of Tezcatlipoca. *Right:* Sacrifice of the victim after a year. Note the flutes discarded by him as he ascended the stair. MIDDLE: *Left:* Dressing a priest in the costume of Xipe, the Flayed God, who wears a human skin. *Right:* Musicians with rattle and skin-covered drum, *huehuetl*. BOTTOM: *Right:* Ceremonial cannibalism. The Codex Florentino artist had obviously never taken part in such a feast, fairly common before the Conquest.

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PLATE 62

AZTEC RECORDS

TOP: *Left:* Conquests of Montezuma II; see Plate 63 for method of reading (Telleriano-Remensis). MIDDLE: *Left:* The migration of the Aztec tribes. They leave an island by boat and reach a hill with a cave, where Huitzilopochtli lives. They divide into several migrant groups. The list here includes, from top to bottom, Matlatzincas, Tepanecas, Chichimecas, Malinalcas, Cuitlahuacas, Xochimilcas, Chalcas and Huexotzincas (Codex Boturnini). *Right:* Meeting of Montezuma, Cortes, and Marina (Lienzode Tlaxcala). BOTTOM: *Left:* Monthly Ceremony (Codex Borbonicus). *Right:* Tribute Roll (Codex Mendoza).

[p. 208(B)]

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PLATE 63

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Codex Telleriano-Remensis describes the period from 1424–39. The cartouches give the year names, indicating the succession of the four days with the thirteen numbers. The sequence may be readily followed: Ten Knife, Eleven House, Twelve Rabbit, Thirteen Reed, One Knife, Two House, etc. The death of Chimalpopoca (Smoking Shield) is recorded for the year Twelve Rabbit (1426), as is the accession of Itzcoatl (Snake of Knives). Each ruler is designated by his hieroglyph. The defeat of Maxtla (Breech Clout) is depicted as well as an eclipse of the sun shown by the disk obscured by a stone. The figures and descriptions were inserted after the Conquest by two priests (to judge from the handwriting), who made use of native informants. (Compare Plate 62, *top left.*)

[p. 208(C)]

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PLATE 64

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Tribute Roll of Montezuma (after Spinden, 1928). The tributary towns are in the columns at bottom and right, designated by numbers. The goods comprised: (a) two strings of jade beads; (b) 20 gourd dishes of gold dust; (c) 2 royal headdress; (d) 800 bunches of feathers; (e) 40 bags of cochineal dye; (f–g) 2 warriors' costumes; (h) 400 cotton blankets of this pattern; (i) 400 blankets; (j) 404 blankets; (k) 400 blankets; (l) 400 blankets. Note the use of fingers for units, flags for twenties and trees like signs for four hundreds. The sign for eight thousand may be found on Plate 62 (*bottom right*) in the top left-hand corner, designating the number of containers of honey.

[p. 208(D)]

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175 the shorter records have reached print, even if they survive in some library. These histories followed two main styles. One, exemplified in the Mapa Tlotzin and Codex Xolotl, sets forth events, the people or tribes involved and the places, each designated by its hieroglyph. Year names were appended to give the dates. These Texcocan records are highly complicated to follow, but fortunately some have glossaries appended after the Conquest.[23] (See Plates 25, top row; 63, middle right.)

The other style recorded the succession of the years, one after the other, for the whole time covered by the history. Events, like conquests or the death of chiefs, were appropriately drawn near the proper year sign and sometimes were connected by a line. This type of history seemed largely confined to Tenochtitlan. Since Tenochcan history is much more accurate after 1400 A.D. than before, one wonders whether the destruction of the books, ordered by Itzcoatl, did not really pave the way for a new style of writing.[23] (See Plates 62, top; 63.)

In addition to the histories and the sacred almanacs tribal records were kept. These are most useful to the modern student, for the names of the towns are inscribed in one column, while the rest of the page records the amount of gold, ornaments or cloth that was paid in as tribute. Since the geographical location of most of these towns is known, the chief products of each area can be determined. Other records showed lines of descent, lands occupied and other data essential to family economics.[24] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

212 Fortunately, after the Conquest the Spaniards utilized the
177 native methods of writing as well as their own in civil records,

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212 such as tax rolls, lawsuits, and the like, so that the Indians
177 could understand the Spanish legal code and present their complaints.[28] Friar Nicolas Tester even made an attempt to shift the picture writing over to syllabic writing—the effect of the Lord's Prayer in Aztec glyphs is startling.[29] This was too cumbersome a plan and was soon abandoned for the recording of Nahuatl words in Roman characters. However, it is due to this usage of Aztec pictographs that so much survives of the records, many of which, with their oral accompaniment, were copied into Roman characters both in Spanish and Nahuatl. From these we derive such knowledge as we have of Aztec history and customs. (See Plate 44.)

212 The drawback of picture writing is its rigidity and its uselessness for the expression of abstract ideas. The cyclical count created great confusion as to the particular cycle in which an event took place. Exact and careful drawing was essential for the glyphs, and a slurred line might result in a totally different reading. However, the worst feature of Aztec history is its provincialism, for the scribes saw things only in terms of the tribe and took no heed of internal events in other communities. The picture writings show how communal interests extended vertically, as it were, from the tribe to the pantheon. There is no reflection of a horizontal interest outward to the lives and occupations of other peoples. The attitude of the Aztec communities to foreign affairs merits a chapter in itself.

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CHAPTER XII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WAR

The relationships of Aztec tribes to each other in peace and war, the nature of the Aztec domain and methods of military organization and warfare

THE COMMUNITY or tribe was the center of the political and economic life of the Aztecs. Existence depended on the favor of the gods, who participated directly in the tribal fortunes, so that the degree of elaboration of the ceremonial structures was an accurate gauge of tribal prosperity. A man's position in the civil life of the community had a corresponding level in the hierarchy, since conspicuous fulfillment of civil obligations entailed an equal attainment in piety and observance of ritual. The basic design for living was a communal agriculture. The early tribal existence sought to achieve this pattern by avoiding other peoples and finding new land to settle. There is an essential affinity between agriculture and political isolation, just as commerce and manufacture require successively broader political contacts.[1]

In the early history of the Valley of Mexico there appear to have been a series of small isolated settlements which carried on a vague process of exchange. The Toltec civilization seems to have attained uniform development over a wide area spread by a population which gradually filled up unoccupied territory. There was little to suggest war or con-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldly to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.[2]

651 648 The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

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tion was the exaction of tribute from richer and weaker 651
neighbors. (See Plate 29, top row; Fig. 1.) Quinatzin of 648
Texcoco instituted the system first in the northern Valley in the early fourteenth century, and it is an interesting point to speculate as to whether or not the Chimalpanec immigrants suggested this as a practice found successful in their homeland. Quinatzin, by force of arms or by persuasion, induced a number of towns to turn over to him supplies of various sorts. The local chiefs recognized him as an overlord but maintained a complete political independence. He, in turn, granted the vassal chiefs the full measure of his military support. Yet these vassals had no sense of loyalty and were quite ready to revolt or transfer their allegiance to a stronger suzerain.[8] (See Plate 42, top.)

When Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco saw his tribe develop 648
to the point where it had to expand he found the southern Valley overpopulated, so that he had to challenge the power of Texcoco. His first move was to create disaffection in the vassal states, after which he could move against his rivals with good hope of military success. Yet so light was Tezozomoc's tenure of control that it was relatively easy for the conquered tribes to combine later and wreck his domination.

Alliances like that formed by Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tacuba were so very rare that much is made of this combination as an example of the excellence of Aztec statecraft. It would seem that the division of spoils, two parts each to the larger states, and one part to Tlacopan, was in force only for that campaign. Later Texcoco and Tenochtitlan undertook wars for their mutual advantage, but there was constant intrigue in the hope that one of the two could overcome the other and derive the full benefits of the booty taken. By the

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648 mid-fifteenth century both Tenochtitlan and Texcoco had grown to the point where they had to have additional supplies or else starve, so, because of this common necessity, the alliance endured fairly well.*

186 Despite their common background of language, thought, religion, custom and material culture, the Aztecs had no sense of unity. Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco, both of which are within the city limits of modern Mexico, existed side by side in complete independence for many years; not until 1473 did the Tenochcas make up their minds to conquer their neighbors. Each town and hamlet was sufficient unto itself, and its members felt no larger loyalty. In modern Teotihuacan this feeling still persists, and the members of one *barrio*, or ward, look upon those of the adjacent one as a congregation of the most horrible criminals. Not even the Spanish siege of Mexico brought unity to the Aztecs, and the Texcocans blithely joined the invaders to exterminate their former ally Tenochtitlan.

648 439 Although community was potentially hostile to community, individuals could move freely about the countryside. Trade in simple commodities was carried on extensively from the early times of the Middle Cultures. In the Aztec period the traveling merchants became a special class, and their security of body and property, preserved at first for the advantages which each town could derive from their wares, was guaranteed by the force of Aztec arms. Pilgrims [788] going to worship at special shrines had free and unmolested passage; and a suggestion that such journeys were made in the distant past is given by the Middle Culture figurines of foreign origin. One site especially, Tetelpan, produced so great a variety of idols from such a wide area that it must

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have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redonbtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he ~~killed~~ some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

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727 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval
778 knight or career soldier in our own culture.[8]

721 The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral
726 sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

701 The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[9]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its 701
military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The 702
telpuchcalli, houses of youth, through which boys passed [883]
at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with 411
sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl*. Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For de- 714
fensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

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714 by the maturer warriors. A tribesman had the right to elaborate his dress in accordance with his prowess, and the great chiefs wore attached to their backs immense frames covered with feathers. Tribes, and even clans, wore special insignia, so that friend could be distinguished from foe and chief from common warrior. The term uniform could hardly be used, since the rich variety and indulgence in individual fancy produced a kaleidoscopic effect in the motley array of bright colors and strange forms.[8]

712 To supply these forces was a very considerable task. Each quarter of the town had its *tlacochcalco*, or house of darts, an arsenal where the military supplies were stored. This was situated near the chief temple, the lofty sides of which made it a natural strong point. At a call to arms the clan leaders could rapidly assemble their men and equip them at these rallying points, which were also centers of the religious and social life of the community.[9]

724 An offensive campaign was a more serious undertaking. Having no beasts of burden, the warriors had to carry their own food with them. Due to the governmental system, wherein each town was independent, the armies did not dare live off the country for fear of inciting revolt and also because most communities lacked the food to sustain a large body of men. Thus, prior to a war, negotiations had to be made whereby supplies could be concentrated and allies brought together at a point as near as possible to the zone of attack. Usually a single battle decided the issue, since the [726] attacking force could not maintain itself in the field for more than a very few days. The calculations necessary to fight a war two or three hundred miles away in Oaxaca, say, were highly complex, and much of the Aztec force on such a cam-

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paign must have been composed of local tribesmen, stiffened 724
with a *garde d'élite* of Tenochcas and Texcocans.

Owing to this difficulty in respect to transport, siege 712
operations were virtually impossible, so that formal fortifications were rare. Some towns were built in very strategic locations, high on a mountainside or in the bend of a river, having access restricted to a narrow neck of land. Tenochtitlan, owing to its situation on the lake, was a natural fort. The causeways were penetrated by canals at intervals, so that removal of the portable bridges created natural barriers. The flat roof tops offered good points from which to harry the enemy in the street below, and the many temples were strong points difficult to reduce. (See Plate 37, top.)

Miles of defensive walls surrounded a site in Tlaxcala, where a ditch backed by a wall enclosed an area of several square miles. At Huexotla,* a fief of Texcoco, a wall at least fifteen feet high still exists and must have had a strong defensive value, although its ostensible purpose was to enclose the area about the main temple. Xochicalco† is situated on a high hill which was intensively terraced, and it was further strengthened by a wide ditch cut through the point of easiest access. Sometimes a site was chosen between two ravines which made impassable obstacles to an attacking force. However, while defensive *purposes* were often taken into account in building towns, strictly defensive *works*, in the nature of fortifications, were seldom undertaken.[10]

Open fighting, the difficulty of keeping up extended cam- 726
paigns and the informal character of the military force were factors which stultified the development of tactics or strategy. In battle the howling mob which represented the collective

*Way-sho'-tla. †Sho-chi-ca'l-co.

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726 strength of one tribe tried to rout the yelling horde of their adversary, and the first to run lost the battle. Captives were taken, tribute imposed, the temple burned, and the defeated group was then left alone again.

To attain victory more easily surprise attacks, sometimes implemented by a little treachery, were instituted. However, the cumbrous process of getting an army onto the field of battle usually prevented this favored method of warfare. More often the Tenochcas and their allies would feint with a screen of warriors, who would be easily repulsed in a pretended rout. The main body would wait in a place of concealment until the pursuing enemy came into view, whereupon they would charge out and demolish them. Losses were chiefly felt in the number of captives taken, since these short hand-to-hand combats were not very damaging to the man power of either side. [787] The capture of a chief or the recognition of a sign of evil portent was sufficient to demoralize an army and, despite their bravery and constant experience in warfare of this type, the Aztecs were little fitted to resist soldiers trained in European techniques.

723 There was rather more opportunity for strategy than for battle tactics. Considerable planning, as we have said, was necessary to move troops upon the field of battle. The Aztecs won campaigns in Oaxaca, Puebla, western Mexico and along the Vera Cruz coast, as far north as Tamaulipas.* Having to move step by step and to intimidate or win over town after town, they needed patience and knowledge of geographical and political conditions. One reason for the honor in which merchants were held was the information of this character which they could furnish from their travels.

*Ta-mow-le'e-pas.

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The triple alliance was a typical example of Aztec strategy. 648 723
Nezahualcoyotl wanted to restore the hegemony of Texcoco and destroy Tezozomoc's Tepanec power, the center of which was Azcapotzalco. The two towns were separated by the Lake of Mexico. To move troops overland would have required several days; to move them across the lake in canoes would have meant having a landing base on the western shore. Nezahualcoyotl, therefore, induced Tlacopan and Tenochtitlan, which were at the back door of Azcapotzalco and tributary to it as well, to declare war. Thus he had a base at which to land his canoes filled with troops, and while his allies engaged the enemy strongly in this quarter, the Texcocan chief had time to bring reinforcements around the lakes by the overland route to attack another point.

The town of Chiconauhtla offers another example of these simple strategic ideas. This settlement dominated the straits through which the northern lakes of Zumpango and Xaltocan empty into Lake Texcoco. The people here could destroy any force in canoes moving east against Texcoco or west against Azcapotzalco. Their forces also could make a flank attack on land armies skirting the lakes against either of those two objectives. Early in the thirteenth century Chiconauhtla became a fief of Texcoco and participated, as a sort of guardian of the western marches, in campaigns against rebellious western tribes and in the great war with Tezozomoc. Later it seems to have become part of the Tenochtitlan chain of vassal towns, and its chief had the honor of sharing a royal apartment in Montezuma's palace with the rulers of far more important city-states. To confirm this documentary evidence excavation of the site reveals, in the quantity and quality of the material culture surviving, evidence of partici-

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723 648 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 796 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearning when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he [775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

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fenses in history. It was the last sacrifice, in which Aztec civilization offered up its very existence in an effort to survive. Aztec culture achieved, with Stone Age tools, a civilization patterned to balance the life of man against the dimly perceived forces of the universe. Its downfall was inevitable when confronted with that inexorable European world of steel, objective reasoning and a religion adjusted to meet such totally different concepts as the demands of the powerful and the needs of the weak.

We cannot tell what Aztec civilization might have become. Like all the nations of the past, and of the present too, which have flourished and ultimately withered in death, the Aztecs nurtured within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. But before we turn from their remote splendor to the preoccupations of our modern life let us catch two last glimpses of Aztec civilization: one of the city of Tenochtitlan as the Spaniards first saw it, the other of the Aztecs in their ultimate war, profane and deadly on this final occasion.

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CHAPTER XIII

GLIMPSE OF TENOCHTITLAN

What the Spaniards saw when they entered this great Aztec capital

THE HISTORY of the Aztecs and their forebears is the most complete record we have of the growth of any Indian civilization. Their conquest was the greatest feat in the European occupation of the American continent. The Aztecs were at their zenith in 1519, when Cortes and his four hundred men first landed, and a description of Tenochtitlan, taken from the contemporary records of the conquerors themselves, will show us something of the external character of Indian civilization in America.[1]

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who left the most personal record of the Spanish Conquest, tells how his comrade-in-arms on first beholding Tenochtitlan, the ancient Mexico City, exclaimed, "It is like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis! Are not the things we see a dream?"

This is lyric language from hard-bitten men-at-arms, whose chief avocations, while engaged in converting the heathen, lay in acquiring booty and enjoying the charms of dusky Dulcineas. Yet in contrast to the drab towns and [361] tawny hills of Spain, Tenochtitlan must have appeared a paradise, for its green gardens and white buildings were set in the midst of blue lakes, ringed by lofty mountains. "Gaz-

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ing on such wonderful sights," wrote Bernal Diaz, "we did not know what to say or whether what appeared before us was real, for on one side in the land there were great cities and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the causeway were many bridges at intervals; and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we . . . we did not even number four hundred soldiers."[2]

Although socially and governmentally Tenochtitlan was distinctly an American Indian tribal town, outwardly it appeared the capital city of an empire. A bird's-eye view would have revealed an oval island connected with the mainland by three causeways which converged at the center of the city. These roads were cut by waterways over which removable bridges extended. The edges of the island were fringed by the green of the "floating gardens," while at the center the shiny white of the houses predominated, and the verdure was reduced to tiny green squares in the patio gardens. Thrust above the quadrate masses of the roof tops loomed the various clan temples, each set on its platform in the form of a truncated pyramid. The city had few streets or open spaces but was gridded with canals crossed by portable bridges. The two principal plazas were those of the Temple of Tlaltelolco and of the religious center of Tenochtitlan proper, open spaces which gave a welcome relief from the pyramids and official palaces clustered about them. There must have been a curiously living quality about this grouping, the temples seeming to ride like horsemen among the serrated ranks of the houses. (See Plate 37, top.)

Were a visitor to traverse Tenochtitlan from south to north, he would have been struck by the rich variety of sights.

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361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held [241 311 501] in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

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tion grounds as arteries of traffic. Thus people out to see the 363
sights, people on errands, people on their way to the myriad 174
functions of religious import, swallowed up the long lines of trotting carriers who, bowed under their burdens, went to the city with produce and tribute or left with goods for barter. Not a wheel turned or a pack animal neighed; transport was on the backs of men or in the bottoms of boats.

Outside the city limits the monotony of antlike columns of laden folk had been but rarely relieved by the passage of a civil functionary, all pomp and feathers, or by a stern merchant with a handful of fighting men, followed by a chain of apprentices, showing the whites of their eyes as they peered from under the press of their tumplines. Now could be seen clan leaders, wearing rich mantles and sniffing flowers as they watched the milling crowd, and black-robed priests whose ears were shredded and whose hair was matted with the blood of self-inflicted penance. There was little sound, little hurry, save for the carriers trotting to reach relief from their burdens. There was an intense vitality, nonetheless, that of a multitude of units participating in complex action, knowing each its allotted part but never the substance of the whole. (See Plates 33–36.)

A glance into the doorway of a house gave welcome re- 362
lief from the cold-blooded, almost insectlike quality of life 174
outside. A shaded patio was flanked by buildings whose interiors were cool and spacious. Mats and straw cushions on the polished red of the cement floor welcomed the visitor to repose, while the rhythmic clap of hands and the scrape of stone on stone told that tortillas were being made and corn meal ground in a kitchen at the back. Seated in a corner, an elderly man was talking to two small boys, whose

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362 174 serious faces showed that, already conscious of their participation in the tribal life, they heeded their uncle's precepts as to conduct befitting boys and men. A fat little girl squatting in the doorway vainly tried to imitate with her stubby fingers and toy implements the graceful movements of her mother as she produced fine threads by the cunning manipulation of her spindle. Lolling on a cushion, a young man [276] idly smoked a cigarette in a cane holder as he picked thoughtfully at the scarcely healed lobe of his ear, tattered by penitential bloodletting with cactus spine and obsidian blade.

174 527 A fiesta was going on in another house, and one heard the rich vibration of wooden drums and the high squeal of reed flutes. The patio was full of people, gay in the bright colors of their holiday clothes, and the air was heavy with the cloying scent of lilies. The sharp smells of rich sauces cunningly mixed from many peppers embroidered this odor, and occasionally a light breeze wafted the cool, mystic scent of incense. Somebody was celebrating his birthday, since in the background one saw a painted figure adorned with amate paper, representing the god who presided over that event. A little apart from the feasters, who partook of their entertainment with dignified pleasure, were a group of old men whose clownish gestures and burlesque solemnity could be easily associated with the cups of pulque that a slave was industriously filling for them. Not for nothing had these elders passed through the rigid self-denial of young manhood; they were permitted alcoholic indulgence in their old age whenever a feast came to pass. A last backward glance revealed the musicians, garlanded with flowers, blowing their flutes and conch shells, while one man beat the head of a cylin-

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drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli*.

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

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174 was set with razor-sharp obsidian blades. Usually he was
796 killed in the most honorable of deaths, that of sacrificial vic-
349 tim to the Sun God, Tonatiuh, but sometimes he would resist so successfully that he gained a pardon. Other disk-shaped stones were placed about the plaza. One, thirteen feet in diameter, was set vertically on a special platform. Carved with a consummate mastery of design, it represented the symbolic history of the world. Another disk, set flat, was hollowed in the center, so that hearts wrung from war captives might be burned to nourish the great gods. This was carved on its surface and edge to commemorate the many conquests of War Chief Tizoc, who was shown dressed as a god, with his captives before him.

174 In another part of the plaza a sacrifice was to be made.
782 Before a small temple dedicated to one of the myriad Aztec gods a group was gathered, some in the gay panoply of merchants and others wearing the sinister black of the priesthood. A tightly pinioned slave stood in their midst and looked unseeingly before him, resignation, not fear, on his face. The priests rushed him up the steep steps of the temple, followed by the merchants at a more leisurely pace. Two priests seized the slave by either arm, forcing him backward, while two others pulled his legs from under him until his body curved, belly upward, over the altar. A fifth priest plowed his flint knife in a long sweep from the breastbone to the base of the stomach and, reaching into the aperture, with a dexterous twist tore out the heart. This he burned, while it was still throbbing, in a carved stone vase, while the merchants, swinging long ladles of smoking incense, chanted their thanks for a safe and profitable excursion into the hot country. (See Plate 60.)

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Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was planning an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefooted, with downcast eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pic-

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174 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its
644 quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings
[367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great
517 plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide
174 road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

868 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led
174 to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

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a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in 174 868
the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious- 174
training school presented a less animated scene. Their little 793
legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen 344
in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were 174
arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made [631]
up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over 618
picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occa- [684]
sional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

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174 life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the
[184] inevitable result of wrongdoing.

618 Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own
648 affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace
174 and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was
631 for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

174 Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal
361 center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

174 The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area
[361] of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered
438 many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

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row of vendors of implements and tools, such as obsidian 174
blades, carved and burnished pottery, spindle whorls, deer- 438
horn awls, bone bodkins and a few copper axes and needles. A brilliant mass of color characterized the booths of the feather salesmen. Some sold merely bunches of plumes, the lovely green of the quetzal, or trogon, and the multicolored plumage of parrots. At the other stands feather cloaks, mats and shields gave evidence of charming fancy in their design and patient toil in their execution. (See Plates 38–39.)

Jewelers displayed jade ornaments and gold worked into 174
precious rings of filigree or massive beaten gorgets. It was 438
the jade, however, that caught the envious eye and was pro- 301
duced with furtive circumspection as a material of great price. Other merchants sold ornaments of shell, and the pinks, whites and subtle mottled browns of sea shells contrasted with the rich dark sheen of tortoise carapaces. At one booth a rich warrior earnestly bargained with the proprietor for an exquisite pair of earplugs, cunningly inlaid with a mosaic of turquoise and mother-of-pearl.

The smiling whispers and admiring glances of the crowd 174
at the jeweler's abruptly changed in the slave quarters to 438
appraising stares. Some of the chattels wore wooden collars, 567
and their brutish faces had a hopeless expression. These had sunk to servitude long ago as a result of crime or of capture in war. Others were thin and emaciated but did not wear the collar of bondage. They had met with misfortune and were selling themselves for the first time to ensure food and shelter.

A low hum rose from the market place; there was none of 174
the strident shouting of the European fair. The bargaining 438
for goods was carried on slowly, quietly, but, nonetheless,

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174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples, distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

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 174

completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces 346
broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impres- 361
sion of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side 174
by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood 346
coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could 778
clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

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diabolic images to which they ministered. In front of the temples stood the great drum which was soon to throb across the lake as a nation suffered its death agony.

It was from this point that Montezuma showed Cortes his empire, and Bernal Diaz, who witnessed the scene, left us this unforgettable description:

"Then Montezuma took Cortes by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water and the many other towns and the land around the lake. . . . So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico . . . and we saw the [aqueduct of] fresh water that comes from Chapultepec, which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart . . . and we beheld on the lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food, others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise, and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house except by drawbridges, which were made of wood, or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues [temples] and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold!"[8]

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CHAPTER XIV

THE DEATH THROES OF THE AZTEC NATION

A chapter in which are set forth the factors which brought about the success of the Spaniards and the downfall of the Aztecs

THE ROMANTIC CIRCUMSTANCES which attended the fall of the Aztec civilization have long captured the fancy of the European world. A whole nation submitting to a handful of desperate Spanish soldiers offers a dramatic situation, seldom paralleled in our annals. Yet given the unflinching generalship of a Cortes, the collapse of the Aztec tribes was inevitable. The psychological conditions inherent in this type of Indian culture could not withstand European military technique any more than could the varied civilizations which became colonies of Europe in every continent on the face of the globe.[1]

There are times in the histories of all peoples when the national will seems to disintegrate before intangible factors individually insignificant. All students of military affairs are familiar with these sudden routs affecting the high courage of victors as well as the grim fortitude of those who previously have unflinchingly endured successive defeats. The Aztecs' war against the Spanish Conquistadors is an elusive example of the paralysis of the national morale, followed by

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000 a defense carried on with that courage found in forsaken men, in this case abandoned by their very gods. We have seen, in the bitter year of 1940, the same pattern repeated when France collapsed and England found a new strength in despair.

An examination of the Mexican social structure in relation to the psychological state of the Aztec mind shows that the Spaniards arrived at a time very favorable for conquest. Comparison of the Aztec military technique with the European discipline and armament of the day reveals an exceptional opportunity for the triumph of European tactics. To explain the familiar tale of the Conquest from the Indian point of view may throw into sharper relief this conflict between two systems of civilization.

726 Aztec war was highly ceremonial and fought in a spirit very different from the realistic calculation of European strife. The *technical* equipment of the Indians did not meet the requirements of a conflict waged in terms of European military *practice*. Moreover, Cortes arrived at the end of the summer, when the tribes of Mexico were too busy harvesting the crops essential for their survival to think seriously of military affairs. A final factor dooming the Aztecs to inevitable defeat was the political structure of Indian Mexico, which provided no way of converting military success to the establishment of a powerfully consolidated state.

642 The Aztec theocracy did not lend itself to governing or
648 absorbing conquered peoples, although in time a social mechanism might have been developed. While the Aztecs received tribute from over a wide territory, there were constant revolts and betrayals. Probably this same process went on among the other tribal groups in Mexico, so that the politi-

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cal organization of the region as a whole was far from that of 642
an empire. In reality a multitude of independent city-states 648
seethed with intrigue and war and were further disunited by differences in language, dialect, physical type and geographic economy. An invader, with a strongly disciplined force small enough to live off the country and thus to stay in the field, could have an astonishing success, particularly if he had a taste for intrigue. Cortes, as events proved, was the ideal man for such a purpose, and he was further favored by the psychological reaction of the Aztecs to his arrival.

The years before the Spanish Conquest had, to the Aztecs, 787
been full of portents suggestive of future evil. There seems to have been in the air that same sense of paralysis that the French knew to their cost in 1939 and 1940. Montezuma, the war chief of the Aztecs and an amateur of witchcraft, had had an experience calculated completely to shake his nerve. He and Nezahualpilli, the chief of Texcoco, had fallen to arguing about the respective merits of their soothsayers, since the Texcocan held that strangers were going to rule the land of Anahuac. So convinced was Nezahualpilli of the [525]
correctness of his interpretation that he wagered his kingdom against three turkey cocks, the result to be decided by a ritualistic ball game with Montezuma. The latter won the first two games, but Nezahualpilli took the last three in a row. The defeat must have been disheartening to Montezuma, not only because he had so much to fear from the future, but also because his own experts had been held so cheap. (See Fig. 3.)

In close succession followed a series of phenomena, each bearing its message of woe to come. A column of fire was seen every midnight throughout the year; two temples were

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787 destroyed, one by a sudden fire, the other by lightning unaccompanied by thunder. A comet was seen by day, and sudden waves came up on the Lake of Texcoco. A sixth sign was a woman's voice crying, "My children, we are lost." Monsters appeared and were brought before the chief, only to disappear as soon as he had seen them. Most sinister of all

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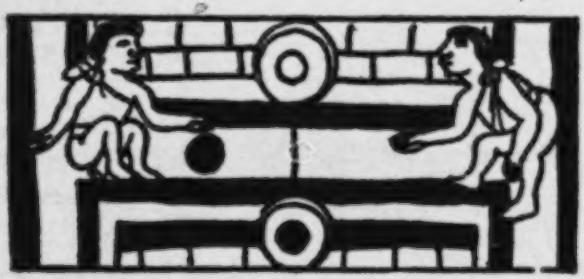

FIG. 3. The years before the Spanish Conquest had been full of evil omens for the Aztecs. To determine whether the dire predictions of Nezahualpilli, chief of Texcoco, were correct, Montezuma played and lost a ritualistic game of "basketball" with him as depicted above. *Codex Florentino*

was a bird brought in by some hunters. This bird had a mirror in its head, revealing the heavens, and when Montezuma peered at it a second time a host of armed men was disclosed. When the chief brought his soothsayers to witness this augury and to explain its significance, the bird flew away. Distorted as these occurrences seem to us, they must have had a most upsetting effect on the population of the Valley of Mexico.[2] (See Figs. 4, 28A–B.)

175 Consequently the emotional condition of the people was peculiarly receptive to the rumors, drifting in from the southeast, which told of four-legged monsters with human bodies issuing from their backs. As these strange beings moved up the coast Montezuma's spies and ambassadors began to bring

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back more precise reports as to their nature, and even presents and messages for their chief. (See Fig. 5.) 175

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FIG. 4. Montezuma views the magical bird in the head of which was a mirror, showing first the heavens, then hosts of armed men, foretelling, according to tradition, the Spanish Conquest. *Codex Florentino*

The strangers were human, for they were vulnerable, receiving wounds and dying from assaults upon them. They had new and strange weapons, noisy and lethal, for cannon, muskets, crossbows and steel swords were unknown to the Aztecs. Also novel and dreadful adjuncts of war were the horses and the savage mastiffs of the Spaniards. In battle the strangers were invincible, operating in a manner completely

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FIG. 5. The Spaniards land in 1519 at the site of Vera Cruz. Their ship and equipment are carefully shown. At the right, Marina, Cortes' interpreter, is exercising her diplomacy on a native. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

[754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, scorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[8] (See Fig. 6.)

175 669 When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a political problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

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city-states, or pueblos, between the Valley of Mexico and the coast were independent communities and, even if tributary to the Valley powers, were often reluctantly so. Therefore, many of these tribes, like the Totonacs, welcomed the invaders as the spearhead for an open revolt. Others, like the completely independent and warlike Tlaxcalans, put the power of Cortes to a practical test in open battle and, when the Spaniards won, became the most loyal of Cortes' supporters. Cholula, a large town loosely allied to the Aztecs, met the Spaniards as friends, plotting to overcome them by treachery, a good Indian political maneuver instigated, perhaps, by Montezuma. The Spaniards, suspecting such a move, counteracted its efficacy by a judiciously executed massacre, thus, if not gaining a friendly community, at least creating a noncombatant one. (See Figs. 7–9.)

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Montezuma and his more cautious counselors watched this

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FIG. 7. Cortes and his army, on passing the great volcanoes southeast of Mexico City, ask the way. Note the smoke issuing from the crater of Popocatepetl. *Codex Florentine*

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FIG. 8. Montezuma, upset by the magical premonitions of disaster and by the failure of his sorcerers, does not know whether to flee or hide in a cave. *Codex Florentino*

slow ascent from the coast with apprehensive interest. He has been condemned by many commentators as an appeaser and has been made the scapegoat of this great debacle of Indian civilization. Yet consider his position. While the leading man in his community, he was not an authoritarian monarch. For mass action he had to rely on the group decision of the clans comprising his tribe, as well as on the very doubtful allegiances of the vassal states, whose immediate needs transcended any sacrifice of a far-reaching political nature. Thus not only the demands of the harvest season but also the fear of damage to the communal property made communities loath for war. Montezuma had no method of enforcing a long-range diplomatic policy, such as is so characteristic of European and oriental political history. Nor must the extraordinary gifts of Cortes and his Indian mistress Marina be underrated. The pair played on Indian psychology as master pianists would execute a duet on the piano.

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His hands tied by both practical and psychological considerations, Montezuma received Cortes and the Spaniards without having struck a positive blow. Then ensued a new chapter in the story. Cortes promptly seized Montezuma as a hostage, and the latter's power to influence his tribesmen disintegrated. A mass revulsion against the invaders slowly began to crystallize, but it was confined to the city itself, without extending to the neighboring towns. People kept themselves within their houses; the market closed, yet no overt act was made. Cortes was allowed to leave for the coast to subjugate his new commander Narvaez, without open hostilities on the part of the Aztecs. (See Figs. 10–13.)

The storm broke during Cortes' absence. Some inhabitants

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FIG. 9. Cortes meets high dignitaries from Tlaxcala, the pueblo most loyal to the conquerors. Marina interprets while supplies of corn, tortillas, turkeys, etc., are accumulated. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[Text continues on p. 249.---Analyst]

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FIG. 10. The Spanish forces reach Tenochtitlan, the modern Mexico City, and Montezuma and his nobles come to greet Cortes. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 11. Marina's value to Cortes cannot be underestimated. Here she is ordering an Aztec to perform some duty. To judge from the speech scrolls he complies with ill grace. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 12. A great aid to the Spanish military success was the use of cavalry. Here we see mounted crossbowmen, whose weapons were no less deadly than the firearms of the day. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 13. Cortes seizes Montezuma as a hostage. The Aztec chief tries to calm his rebellious subjects who treat him with the contempt due a traitor. *Codex Florentino*

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175 of Tenochtitlan had assembled to celebrate the feast of the god Huitzilopochtli. Alvarado, a tough soldier, lacking all Cortes' gifts of intrigue, scented trouble in this gathering, the actual innocence of which he had no way of knowing. Following the Spanish technique at Cholula, he fell upon the celebrants and killed them all. The city rose like one man and drove the garrison to cover. Actuated by the single motive of revenge against the invaders, the Aztecs were ready to destroy the Spanish garrison. However, the structural weakness of the Indian government became bitterly evident when the chiefs permitted Cortes and his reinforce-

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FIG. 14. Following a series of outrages committed by the invaders, the citizens rise in arms against the Spanish. The Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies are besieged in the palace of Axayacatl. In this scene a field piece is shown in action, while the horsemen are held in reserve for a sortie. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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ments from the army of Narvaez to join the beleaguered [726] troops of Alvarado. The ceremonial aspect of war in Indian Mexico did not envisage the splitting of an adversary's army and the separate destruction of its weakened parts, a rudimentary law of European military tactics.

Yet once the Spaniards were united in the city they ceased to be a military problem and became the emotional focus of the Indians' wrath and fear. They had to shut themselves up in the palace of Axayacatl to resist the force of this uprising in which the whole tribe participated. The Aztecs, having immobilized their enemies, visited their hate and rage in a manner unparalleled in the annals of Indian campaigns. Every citizen joined in hurling missiles at the besieged in-

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FIG. 15. Here the Spanish are dislodging the Aztecs from a temple, where the Indians had gathered to enfilade them. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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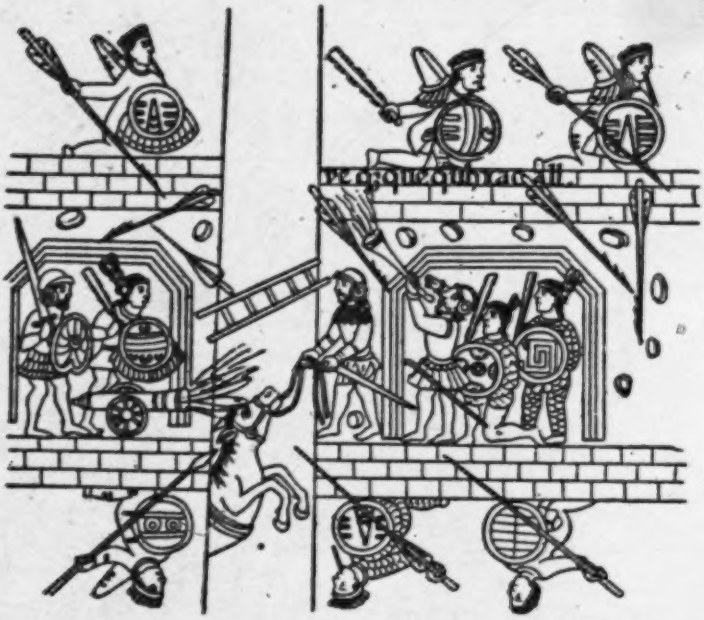

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FIG. 16. Wooden tanks were built by Cortes to protect his men when Aztecs took up positions on the housetops out of reach of the sallies of Spanish cavalry. This spirited picture reveals the tanks separated by a canal into which a horse had fallen. The Aztecs on the roofs impede its rescue. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

vaders, and masses of warriors blocked every sally the Spaniards made from their refuge. (See Figs. 14–15.)

The Spaniards could not maneuver in the narrow footpaths along the canals, and the portable fortresses they constructed of wood, the first tanks used in the New World, were useless against enemies on housetops and in canoes.[4] (See Fig. 16.) The Spaniards lost heavily, and the unfortunate Montezuma met his death either at the hands of his own people, whom he was trying to calm, or, as two excellent authorities have it, at those of the Spaniards.[5] After having passed a week shut up in the palace Cortes decided to withdraw from Tenochtitlan. Just before dawn his forces made

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175 their way through the hushed streets out along the causeway to Tacuba.

A woman getting water from a canal, saw them and raised the alarm. The whole male population surged forth along the roofs and through the streets. Some seized canoes and attacked the flanks of the marching column. The Aztecs tore up the bridges, and many Spaniards, laden down with gold, sank ignominiously beneath the waters or, while trying to keep afloat, were clubbed to death by warriors in boats. Alvarado, ever the precipitous man of action, confronted a wide gap in the causeway, plunged his lance into the lake bottom and in full armor vaulted over to the other side.* The panic increased, and order was not restored until the Spaniards reached Tacuba. Cortes sat under a giant cypress and wept as he took toll of his losses. Three quarters of the Spanish army had been lost in this rout and in the preceding siege. (See Fig. 18.)

The Spaniards found a temporary sanctuary on the hill of Los Remedios. Their adversaries, instead of following up

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FIG. 17. A handful of the Spaniards reach the mainland. The Aztecs, instead of following up their advantages, plunder the bodies of the killed and drowned. Be it remembered, however, the Spanish carried off the entire Aztec treasure. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 18. Supplies run low and Cortes secretly tries to reach the mainland along a causeway. His retreat is discovered and the Aztecs, massing their forces in canoes, wreak havoc on the Spanish forces. Tearing up the bridges, the Aztecs further hindered the retreat and all but destroyed the invading army. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

their advantage, plundered the dead and tried to recover the booty stolen by the Spaniards from the Aztec treasury. They lost a precious opportunity to destroy the remnants of the Spanish army by not carrying their attack to its logical conclusion. (See Fig. 17.)

However, the Indians did make some effort toward concerted action later. The Texcocans, formerly the principal allies of the Aztecs, gathered their forces together and tried to intercept the Spaniards as they made their way cross country to the homeland of their allies, the Tlaxcalans. At Otumba battle was joined. The Indians in their battle formation could not overcome the mobility and tactical sense of the Spaniards. Wounded as every man was, and exhausted from lack of food and sleep, they kept their discipline; and a desperate charge by the cavalry reached the chiefs, who fell before the Spanish swords. Once their leaders were slain, the

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scant Indian discipline dissolved, and the tribesmen took flight. The Spaniards made their way to Tlaxcala to recuperate and to await reinforcements.

Montezuma was succeeded by his brother Cuitlahuac, and he, dying of the fever after four months, was replaced as war chief by their nephew, the heroic Cuauhtemoc. This strong and courageous leader was unable to overcome the mutual distrust of the Indian communities for each other. When the Aztecs might have joined together with other tribes to overwhelm the Spaniards by sheer weight of numbers, they did nothing.

In the meantime Cortes, having rested his army, began to consolidate his position. He made two series of campaigns, one eastward to the sea and the other in a south and westerly direction in the present state of Morelos. Utilizing Indian allies both as carriers and as a screen to conceal his more serious tactical movements, he subjugated town after town.

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FIG. 19. Due to the hesitancy of the Aztecs, Cortes was able to reach Tlaxcala and refit his army. Here we see military supplies being brought from the coast. In the left center a minor disaster, involving the drowning of several Indian allies, is depicted. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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FIG. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[726] In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

175 648 Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

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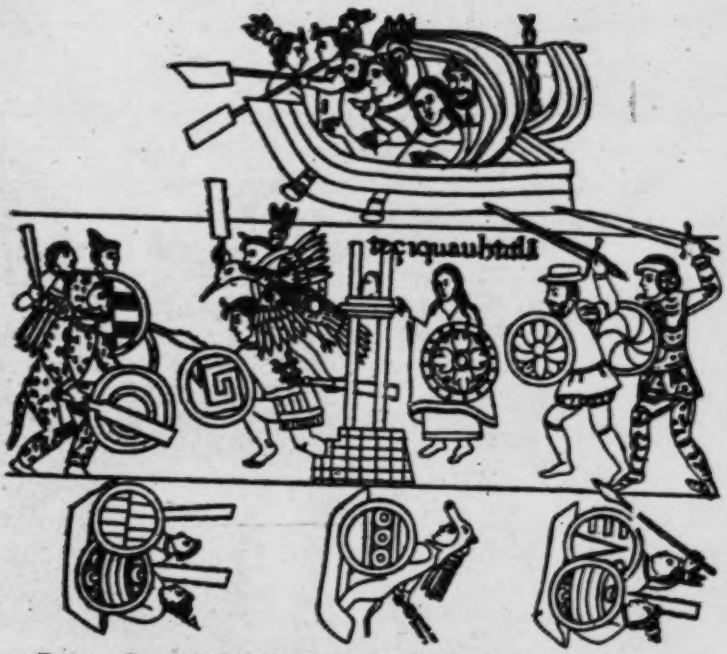

FIG. 21. Cortes built brigantines to defend his flanks while moving along the causeways into Tenochtitlan. In this picture a brigantine comes to the aid of Cortes and his allies, who are beset by Aztecs afoot and in canoes. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

of their success, resented the part Montezuma had taken in forcing the election of a war chief. When the Aztecs had had a strong chance of maintaining their supremacy after Cortes' retreat from Mexico the Texcocans valiantly took the field at Otumba. Now they switched to the Spanish side, seeing a chance of assuming a dominant position in Valley of Mexico affairs. Their defection gave the Spaniards a base on the Lake of Mexico and a means of mopping up whatever tribes remained unsubjugated in the previous campaign.

175 Having quieted the countryside, Cortes put into effect his plan of siege. He launched a fleet of small galleys armed with cannon, which had been constructed in Tlaxcala and

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brought piecemeal across the mountains, to be assembled on the lake. These ships were to sweep the lake clear of canoes and protect the Spanish flanks as they moved in across the three causeways to the island city, Tenochtitlan. Cortes divided his forces in three parts to move along these approaches and close in on the capital. (See Figs. 20, 22.) 175

The galleys soon cleared the lake of any hostile fleets of canoes, and the Spaniards began to invest the city. The Aztecs, fighting for their lives, stubbornly defended their position. Every night they sallied forth to destroy the bridges the Spaniards had made across the canals during the day. In fighting of this kind the Spaniards could not manipulate

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FIG. 22. The Spanish flotilla puts to sea. These galleys, equipped with oars and a sail and armed with a cannon in the bow, could play havoc with the Aztec war canoes. *Codex Florentino*

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175 their troops, and neither side had any great advantage. The Aztecs, however, still persisted in trying to take prisoners to sacrifice to their War God instead of exterminating their enemies whenever the occasion offered. To offset this gain the thousands of Indian allies, who flocked to the Spanish side to participate in the expected victory, jammed the causeways and hampered rather than helped the besiegers. (See Fig. 21.)

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FIG. 23. Time and again the brigantines relieved situations like this where armed tribesmen in canoes sailed up to attack the Spanish rear. *Codex Florentino*

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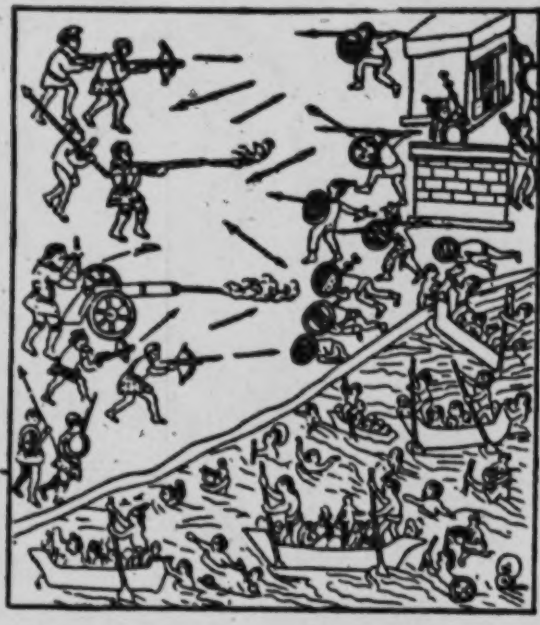

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FIG. 24. The Spanish military problem was to raze enough of the city to permit the use of cavalry. The drawing at the right shows the gunboats taking part in an offensive with this end in view. *Codex Florentino*

Cortes decided to change his manner of campaign, and his solution, while reasonable to us, must have been little short of miraculous to the tribesmen. He sent the Indian allies forward to tear down all the houses they could find and fill the canals with the debris. When counterattacked, the allies retired, leaving room for the Spaniards on horse and foot to deal with the Aztecs. Each day the Spanish forces gained more room to maneuver and thus could count on recovering more ground on the morrow. The Aztecs, animated by a rare unity, fought desperately but without avail. (See Figs. 23–24.)

Toward the end of the siege an event occurred which 175
indicated to the now-desperate Aztecs hope of eventual re- 648
lease in a common rising against the invaders. The people from the islands at the south of the lake, the Xochimilcas and

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175 648 their neighbor tribesmen, filtered through the Spanish galleys by night and told the Aztecs that, as neighbors, they would make common cause against the whites. Overjoyed, Cuauhtemoc and his chiefs loaded them with ornaments, fine mantles and cacao-beans, precious for the favorite drink of the Aztecs, chocolate. When night closed in again on the beleaguered city the Aztecs were startled by a great commotion. The new allies were trying to drag off the Aztec women and children as slaves. It is pleasant to record that this knavery received its just reward, and the Xochimilcas were all either slaughtered or disposed of in sacrifice.[7]

175 Only when its members were too weak to resist and could

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FIG. 25. Pestilence was a formidable ally on the Spanish side. Colds, smallpox, measles, and the like, were unknown to the Indians who, lacking any sort of immunity, died by the thousands. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 26. A factor in the downfall of the Aztecs was their custom of taking captives for sacrifice rather than to kill in direct battle. The heads of the sacrificed victims, both men and horses, were displayed in front of the temples. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 27. Cuauhtemoc, who conducted the defense of Tenochtitlan, is received with all the honors of war by Cortes and his consort, Marina. In the upper right Cortes may be seen greeting Cuauhtemoc's wife and family. The legend translated reads: "With this event, the Mexicans were finished." *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

no longer deal wounding blows did the garrison yield. Cuauhtemoc and his family took to the lake in a canoe, as did many others. He was picked up by one of the Spanish galleys and brought before Cortes, where his dignity and chiefly demeanor received the respectful attention of the Spanish general staff. The request for treasure brought the answer that there was none: it lay under the lake with the Spaniards who were slain the preceding winter in their disastrous flight from the city. Cuauhtemoc then underwent

[Text continues on p. 264.--- Analyst]

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FIG. 28A–28B. The story of the Conquest of Mexico in native characters. In the cartouches are to be seen the symbols One Reed and Two Knife, the Aztec names for the years 1519 and 1520. Under One Reed is a Spaniard from whose horse's foot depends the shield, club and arrows symbolic of war. At the right the bearded Cortes

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sits in the temple of Tenochtitlan, represented by the cactus. An Indian with the glyph of Montezuma offers a tribute of gold beads. Under Two Knife we find Alvarado massacring the Indians at the great temple and at upper right a comet in the sky. *Codex Vaticanus A*

[Fig. 28 B]

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175 prison and torture, to be murdered years later on Cortes' march to Honduras. He is now revered in Mexico as a national hero. (See Figs. 25–27.)

The downfall of the Aztecs cannot be explained in terms of European history, and the standard reasons give a false picture. Montezuma, singled out by European authors as a weak and vacillating monarch, was a tribal leader devoid of the constitutional rights of a European sovereign. His empire is also a European creation, since it consisted, in reality, of communities sufficiently intimidated to pay tribute but in no wise bound to Aztec governmental conventions. Warriors the Aztecs were, but not soldiers in the European sense. Given, as we have said, the requisite leadership and organization, any European expeditionary force could have taken Mexico. The tragically courageous resistance at Tenochtitlan was not a military defense so much as a heroic group action by individuals fighting for their lives.

Hunger and thirst, plagues and wounds, had literally so weakened the Aztecs that they could not resist. The horrors of the last stand made by these desperate people is too awful to describe. For long after, the memory of the tragedy lingered about the place, a sort of exhalation of spiritual uncleanliness like that of a haunted house or the scene of a crime. All through the Colonial era, and even up to now, the northern district of Mexico has found favor neither as a residential quarter nor as a business center. Today there are railroad yards and slums where the Aztec civilization bled to death. The ghosts of its heroic defenders still haunt the place.

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CHAPTER XV

THE AZTECS AFTER THEIR CONQUEST

The history of the Aztecs after the Conquest and suggestions for a tour through their domain

AZTEC civilization died, but the Aztecs still live. Remove 161
the pure-blooded Indian from Mexico, and you lose two fifths of the population; take out those with Indian blood in their veins, and a bare twentieth of the population will remain. The face of Mexico is an Indian face. Yet travel in Mexico and read its history, and you will see, as if in strata, the impress of the colonial period, the republic, the empire of Maximilian, the dictatorship of Diaz and the modern social thinking of the Revolution. The Indian civilization you do not see, except for its descendants, who are everywhere, who are the Mexican people. Though their outward aspect and their material and social culture are European, the stamp of the Aztec character is on their minds, just as the masonry of broken Aztec temples is built into the walls of their churches.[1]

The original purpose of the Crown and the Church was to 636
convert the Indian population into Spanish citizens with full civic rights. For two generations the authorities almost succeeded in their intent; but finally the individualism so emphasized in European culture broke through their legislative controls, and the white conquerors reduced the Indians to

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636 slavery. Now, after four hundred years, it seems that the present Republican government might achieve by means of their Indian education program the humane purpose formulated under the colonial system.

797 After 1520, when the Conquest was established, the Spaniards began the process of converting a matured Indian culture into a European one. The conquerors were granted lands and in return were supposed to exploit the new territory for the economic advantage of Spain. The Church had in its custody the education of the Indians and their spiritual and corporal welfare. The different monastic orders undertook the control of the Indians in specified localities. Their first steps were to eradicate the local idolatry and to learn the language and customs of their new charges, the better to accomplish conversion.[2]

The friars, especially selected for the task, showed great understanding. They immediately replaced one theological structure with another. The Indians tore down their temples to build churches and monasteries in their place. The use of statues and paintings in Catholic ritual answered so well the requirements of Aztec worship that the friars had great trouble in preventing adoration of the images themselves. (See Plate 26, middle.)

797 The studies that the friars made of the Indian customs
636 were admirable, with the Franciscans and Dominicans showing exceptional abilities.[3] The children of Indian tribal leaders were educated in schools to spread the gospel. Under this Spanish control there was no recognition of the old communal land tenure, so the Aztecs were frozen into possession of the lands that they occupied by tribal sanction. The chiefs who had held the usage of the official lands found

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themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their 797
descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly 636
families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the 177
records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec picto- [217]
graphic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old
form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. [291]
The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging [415]
fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed 797
to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours 346
in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. 177
The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

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797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[8]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

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munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[6]

Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[7]

The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

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struggle for the right to consume the fruits of their labor. They probably do not realize that the unmixed group of the ruling class gets smaller each generation, having in the last century dropped from thirteen per cent to seven per cent of the population. Individuals, like Juarez the Liberator, and Diaz, the greatest of Mexican dictators, shouldered their way from the anonymous Indian mass to lead the country and modernize its culture. The men of the Revolution had Indian blood in their veins, and one of them, former President Lazaro Cardenas, has made superhuman efforts to drag the Indians out of bondage into participation in the active and political life of the country.

The crafts of Mexico are the product of Indian hands. Humble artisans have handed down from generation to generation the love of the old days, the traditions of form and pattern. This background, like that of the social make-up of the people, was illumined in the Mexican Renascence, when during the Revolution, Mexican painters like Orozco, Rivera and Goitia, and foreigners like Charlot, became conscious of Mexico's native American background. It is beside the point that Mexico's art is technically derivative from Europe. Socially and emotionally it is the only really national art which lives in the world today.*

The visitor to Mexico is strongly conscious of the Indian. Sometimes he is appalled by the apathy of the people who have been oppressed for so many years, whose nations and whose temples have been leveled to make the foundations of a new society. Yet in these days, when our American world has greater meaning for us, we can think more deeply of those earlier colonists from another continent who, like ourselves, built a new world.

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Mexico, the most American of American nations, opens a thrilling perspective down the corridors of time. One can read widely and yet completely miss the sense of a still-living past which affects the visitor to this extraordinary country. To take a car and drive through the rich valleys, hemmed in by their mountain ramparts, is to absorb the full flavor of our Indian past. A fortnight so spent will enable a visitor to survey much of the Aztec domain.[9]

The first day one should visit the Museum, just to realize the bulk and quantity of the infinitesimal part of Indian workmanship housed there. A block away, near the Cathedral, yawns an excavation which reveals a corner of the Great Temple's stair. The street behind the Cathedral, running east and west, produced myriads of ceremonial objects, cast out from the temple by the outraged conquerors. The *Zocalo*, the great Plaza de la Constitucion, covers the main square of Tenochtitlan. Its twenty feet of foundation are made of the temples torn down for the greater glory of God, and heaven knows what incomparable masterpieces of Aztec art are buried there. The Presidential Palace on the west rests on the ancient halls of Montezuma. A few blocks north the murals of the Ministry of Public Education show the tragedy of the Indian and his liberation, painted in the full tide of Rivera's genius.[10] (See Plate 51, bottom.)

After lunch in the neighborhood the visitor may well drive west past the Palace of Bellas Artes, built just beyond the ancient shore of Tenochtitlan in the former lake bottom. The hill and park of Chapultepec merit a visit, for the cypresses, hoary with Spanish moss, date from Montezuma's time. Here the Tenochcas made their first settlement, the elder Montezuma built the aqueduct for his city and the younger had a re-

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lief carved in his honor. Crowning the hill stands the palace of the Austrian Maximilian, emperor of all the Mexicans during our Civil War, and at this place a few years previously a handful of Mexican military-school cadets stood off a brigade of United States Regulars in our one unhappy conflict with our southern neighbor.

Turning south, one may visit the little palace of the chief of Mixcoac and go on through the Villa Obregon (San Angel) to see the remains of the Lower Middle Culture peoples buried under the lava of Copilco. Then turning west and south, one may pass through Tizapan, where the Tenochcas spent the unhappy years of their captivity, and drive out over the Pedregal to Cuicuilco. Here the oval temple of the Upper Middle peoples emerges from the surrounding lava waste, a dismal and uncanny background, appropriate to this earliest monument of Mexican religion. Then the visitor can return to Mexico via Tlalpam and Coyoacan, on a road built over the same causeway which Cortes followed into Tenochtitlan. (See Plate 18, bottom.)

The second day, equipped with lunch or self-control, the visitor might drive out the Calle de Tacuba, which follows the old western causeway to ancient Tlacopan. Here Cortes made his dismal retreat, and two blocks are named for Alvarado's famous leap. The cypress beneath which Cortes wept is worth a glance, and the church in the main plaza of Azcapotzalco, capital of Toltec and Tepanec chiefs, squats heavily on the remains of a once-lofty platform. The votive temple of Los Remedios on the hills behind was built where Cortes re-formed his shattered army and has a wonder-working statue of the Virgin, patroness of the Conquistadores.

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Descending the hill, the visitor can pass through Tlalnepantla, where the church is built from the ruins of temples, and go on to Tenayuca. Here the Mexican archaeologists have dissected, as with a surgeon's knife, the six temples that epitomize the history of that town from its Chichimec foundation until its conquest in 1520. On the hills to the east, at the foot of which runs a Spanish aqueduct, are strung the Middle Culture sites of El Arbolillo, Ticoman and Zacatenco. (See Plates 1, 50.)

It would be worth while to visit, on returning, the Villa de Guadalupe, built in honor of the apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego. Her portrait, miraculously painted, is preserved in the church; and in December the Indians come from miles around to honor their special patroness, just as before the Conquest they made pilgrimages to this very spot to do honor to Tonantzin, the Aztec Goddess of Motherhood. Returning by way of the ancient northern causeway, the visitors should turn right at Peralvillo and pass by the grubby railroad yards and slums which cover Tlaltelolco and its famous market place and the site of the Aztec Cuauhtemoc's last stand against the Spaniards.

On the third day the tourist should visit Teotihuacan, retraversing the northern causeway and passing through Guadalupe. The road skirts the salt Lake of Texcoco and crosses, on a causeway of Spanish construction, the straits between it and the now-drained Xaltocan. The strategic site of Chiconauhtla at its northern terminus offers little to see, but farther on it is well to turn right and visit the great Acolman Indian School, or Convent, "convento," as the Spaniards called any establishment where the friars educated the Indians. In the distance loom the pyramids of Teotihuacan; a short

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drive through Indian villages brings the motorist to this site, the most imposing in Mexico. The ruins are a tribute to the cultural interests of the present government, which has expended much time and money in interpreting and uncovering the remains. There is a good museum where one can see the craftsmanship of the builders of this magnificent sacred city, which still retains much of the grandeur of its ancient days. (See Plates 21–24.)

There is a good restaurant at Teotihuacan, and after lunch the visitor should go back as far as Tepexpan and take the abominable road to Texcoco, except in the rainy season, when the town can be reached only by the main road from a point south of Mexico City. On the way one should visit the remains of Nezahualcoyotl's palace, where magnificent cypresses border a garden, and in their shade one can evoke memories of the life of the poet king. Some rough miles farther on Texcoco reflects none of its former grandeur. It is an old, sad town, dim and ruined. A few mounds at the eastern entrance are gloomy reminders of its ancient splendors. One passes Huexotla and its great wall as one returns to Mexico by the main road, and hard by at the agricultural school in the hacienda of Chapingo are some of the best of Rivera's frescos, symbolizing the growth and fertility of the Mexican earth and translating Aztec ideas into modern painting.

An alternative procedure would be to give a fourth day to the Texcoco region. Leaving Mexico by the eastern road, pass south along the desolate salt marshes of Lake Texcoco and turn east at Los Reyes on the main road to Texcoco. At Coatlinchan a tip will command the services of an Indian to take one to see the massive Toltec monument to the Goddess of Waters, which lies unfinished in a gulley, a long half-hour's

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walk from the town. Returning to the car, go to Chapingo and Huexotla, and at Texcoco turn off to see the rock-cut baths of Nezahualcoyotl, built into the hill behind Texcotcingo. The countryside is dotted with little towns, and the Indian and Colonial periods are very close to the surface.

The fourth day (or fifth, if a day each is given to Teotihuacan and Texcoco) could commence a profitable two-day tour to Cuernavaca. The motorist will have an unforgettable experience if he takes the back road via Xochimilco, Tulyahualco and Chalco, where direct descendants of the ancient tribesmen occupy their old lakelands and till them as did their ancestors. Still speaking Nahuatl, they pole their canoes through the network of canals surrounding their *chinampas*, or garden plots. Leaving the lakes, one climbs high into the mountains, approaching the great volcanoes of Popocatépetl (Smoking Mountain) and Ixtaccíhuatl (White Lady) by the nearest route. Tlalmanalco is the first stop, and here a fine open chapel combines pure elements of Indian and European sculpture in a church built from the stones of a destroyed temple. The road ascends past the shrine of Amecameca, through Ozumba, and drops into a new world, the hot Valley of Morelos, home of the Tlahuicas. The motorist goes past sugar haciendas burned during the revolution, through Yolotepec, seat of a Tlahuica tribe and home of the feared revolutionary leader Zapata, and ascends again to reach Cuernavaca for lunch.

Here the Conquest is starkly represented by the huge fortified church and Cortes' palace, now the seat of the state government, where Rivera has painted an exciting fresco of the conquest and subjugation of the once-powerful Tlahuicas. At the railroad station is a cluster of temples, one of which

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000 is extraordinarily well preserved and represents the dramatic values of Aztec architecture. Later one can drive in half an hour to the Nahuatl-speaking village of Tepoztlan, whose people blend the material and spiritual cultures of Indian Mexico, colonial Spain and the modern republic. The great convent towers over the shattered sculptures from the ancient temples, but, high in the mountains and easily accessible to those sound in wind and limb, the temple of the Tepozteco stands battered but unsubdued. Returning to Cuernavaca, a few mounds on the right of the road at Tlaltenango are a furtive monument to the Upper Middle Culture people whose remains at Gualupita were studied in a brickyard near the Hotel Selva. (See Plate 28, bottom.)

After passing the night in one of the many good hotels in this charming resort of Cuernavaca, one can drive down the Taxco road and turn at Alpuyeca to visit the hill city of Xochicalco. The main temple has a superb carved façade which would suggest a Maya origin were it not for the fire snakes, dates and ritualistic symbolism of Mixteca-Puebla Culture. Probably of eleventh-century origin, this may have been a main outpost of those people whose culture originated Aztec civilization. The site is almost untouched, and the uncovered mounds and terraces undoubtedly contain sculptures and pottery that will illumine many dark places in Indian history. Taxco can be fitted in for lunch and Mexico City reached by nightfall over a fine road across the mountains. The traveler will realize how the mountain chains sealed off one group of people from another, so that language, art and culture could develop along special lines without outside influence. Coming down from the heights, the panorama of the southern Valley is laid out below one: the lakes, the valley

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floor and, looming up in the center, the Hill of the Star, where each fifty-two years the Aztecs received the promise of continued life.

On the sixth day (seventh in the alternative schedule) the rugged traveler who can maintain this schedule might take a dramatic two-day trip to Puebla. Driving down the southern shore of Texcoco, "where the sedge is withered from the lake and no birds sing," he crosses the mountain chain to the southeast, close under the snow-covered shoulders of the great volcanoes. As he emerges from the pine forests on the other side, the rich Valley of Puebla opens before him. At San Cristobal a mound crowning a big hill on the left was the chief offertory of a group of Middle Culture mounds at the base, but they are not worth the time available, so that the motorist pushes on to Texmelucan, where he turns left on the road to Tlaxcala. Here the Indian population is prosperous because Spain recognized the services of its most effective allies and did not let them be despoiled. The town itself is old and charming, little affected by change since the eighteenth century. The oldest church in Mexico, where the first Indian baptism took place, is on an eminence near the center of the town. Across the river at Tizatlan there is a little temple whose painted altars, their colors still preserved, depict the great god Tezcatlipoca and some of the symbolism of the ancient religion. Near by a former open chapel, delightfully naïve, is screened by an atrocious nineteenth-century church. There are also the dubious remains of an early sixteenth-century house, said to be the residence, after the Conquest, of Xicotencatl, who led the armies of Tlaxcala. Near by can be seen the spot where Cortes built his brigantines to be

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transported, piecemeal, to the lakes of the Valley. (See Plate 57, top.)

Returning to Texmelucan for lunch, one regains the Puebla road and stops at the once-important city-state Huexotcingo. The earliest civilization is obliterated by a marvelous old Franciscan convent, where simple, honest construction reflects the virtues of these holy men who accomplished the conversion of the Indians. The measure of their success can be gauged by the huge court, or *atrio*, where the Indians congregated in thousands to hear Mass.

Back to the road, in less than an hour Cholula looms on the horizon. Hundreds of little churches, whose colored tiles shimmer in the sun, bear witness to a dense population which once had a temple in each place where a church is now. One can see why people from this region made their way to the Valley to get living space. Even today every field is cultivated. The people themselves are very Indian, and the strange sounds of Nahuatl often break in on the smooth syllables of Spanish. The big temple of Cholula is incredible. It seems like the counterpart of Babel, to which the friars compared it. On top the church rests proudly, and on a terrace below are the remains of rooms and the altar enclosing human burials, all carefully excavated by government archaeologists. Within the big mound run more than a mile of tunnels, which the archaeologists hollowed from the adobe bricks to follow the walls and stairs of the Toltec ceremonial precinct of earlier times. Deep inside frescoed representations of the Butterfly God are awe-inspiring in the dim lantern light. (See Plate 26, middle.)

Passing on to Puebla itself, one finds a large provincial town, whose dull respectability is leavened by the burst of

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inventive creativeness reflected in the ornate church architecture. Examination of Puebla and its museum can be made during the morning of the next day, after which the return to Mexico City is accomplished leisurely.

Another variation is to drive past Puebla to Tepeaca, the old Segura de la Frontera of the Conquest, and thence through a desolate waste to Tehuacan. Here one may turn up over the hills to Orizaba and down into the moist, tropical regions of Cordoba, through populous Indian territory. Or one may leave one's car and take the train to Oaxaca, if the road has not yet been completed.

Oaxaca is a charming provincial capital, unchanged since colonial days. The lofty hill which dominates the city is completely transformed by the terraces, temples and tombs which constitute the great Zapotec site of Monte Alban. Another valley, another culture, another language, make this region into one more Indian world. The ruins of Mitla are exquisite great buildings, and their intricate wall carvings attest the skill of their Mixtec architects. The regional museum in Oaxaca houses, besides collections drawn from Mitla and other parts of the state, the superb jewel collection found in Tomb 7 at Monte Alban. Indian life is near the surface at Oaxaca, and at the market one can hear not only the Zapotec and Mixtec of the rival groups who contested the hegemony of the valley, but the language of other mountain traders who bring their own obscure tongues to this modern babel. (See Plates 8–9, 11.)

A trip easily accomplished from Mexico City leads over the mountains to Toluca, the capital of the state of Mexico, where an enlightened governor constructed a state museum, showing the varied handiwork of the Matlatzincas, the Indian

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000 group who held this valley. Beyond Toluca the ruins of Calixtlahuaca boast a round temple to the Wind among the structures reared in honor of their gods. The more venturesome motorist who has no fear of bad roads should drive down past Metepec to Tenancingo, and from there go by car, by horse or on foot to Malinalco. These rock-cut temples are really thrilling, both because of the fine carving and for the strangely remote effect they produce on the visitor. In this mountain niche one can look far down the valley and back to the temples which, hewn from the rock, were cognate to their gods, envisaged in the manifold variety of nature.

If our visitor has not yet been overwhelmed by these skeletons of a once-lively civilization he can fly to Yucatan. Chichen Itza, Uxmal, Labnah, are great white ceremonial centers that thrust themselves from the enveloping bush. Half hidden in thatched villages, growing their corn in little clearings, the modern Mayas carry on their ancient life, but their religion has lost much, and a simple Catholicism tinged with magic provides a slender bond with the supernatural. A visit to Yucatan will enhance the conception of the variety of the Mexican world, where once men of many tongues and many tribes wrought out their destinies. (See Plates 6–7, 12.)

The civilization of the Indian may not offer a direct inspiration to us modern individualists, yet we have profited from their labor in our food plants and the wealth produced by our neighbor republics to the south. In this world, torn with hate and war, adrift without an anchor or a compass with which to chart our course, we may well consider their example. The Indians worked together for their common good, and no sacrifice was too great for their corporate well-being. Man's strength lay in the physical and spiritual wel-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

fare of the tribe, and the individual was honored only inasmuch as he contributed to that communal good. The Indian civilization may have been powerless to resist the culture of the Western world, but it did not consume itself, as we are doing, in the expression of military power.

The American countries today share the ideal of the republic and individual freedom. We share also an older tradition left us by our Indian forebears, that of mutual service for the benefit of man. With our continents spread before us, we have boundless opportunity to create on earth a wider life for everyone, an American civilization where old and new contributions to human welfare may be fused and amalgamated for the benefit of all.

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NOTES

CHAPTER I

114 The recent dates of authorities cited indicate how rapidly ideas on the genesis of Indian culture are changing. New finds, new conclusions, new datings, appear each year. The summary in Chapter I is frankly interpretative, and no one will be more ready than the author to change his views as fresh evidence appears. The four works listed here: Swanton Essays; Maya and Their Neighbors; Wissler, American Indian, and Means, Ancient Empires, give a broad background for New World archaeology. Their detailed references are listed under their appropriate footnote number. The full titles of the four background volumes are:

Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America. Published in honor of John R. Swanton (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 100, Washington, 1940).

The Maya and Their Neighbors, New York, 1940.

Means, Philip, Ancient Empires of the Andes, New York, 1931.

Wissler, Clark, The American Indian, New York, 3rd ed., 1938.

[1]Howells, Origins, 1940. Nelson, Antiquity of Man, 1933. MacCurdy, ed., Early Man, 1937. Howard, Evidence of Early Man, 1935.

[2]Wissler, American Indian, 1938.

[3]Howells, Origins, 1940. Hooton, Racial Types, 1933. Dixon, Racial History of Man, 1923. Hrdlicka, Origin and Antiquity of American Indian, 1923.

[4]Nelson, Antiquity of Man, 1933. Roberts, Pre-Pottery Horizon, 1940. Howard, Evidence of Early Man, 1935. Bird, Antiquity and Migrations, 1938.

[5]Wissler, American Indian, 1938. Swanton Essays, 1940. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas, 1939.

[6]Gladwin, Snaketown, II, 1937. Sayles, Survey of Texas, 1935.

[7]Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas, 1939.

[8]Sauer, American Agricultural Origins, 1936. Yanovski, Food Plants, 1936. Mangelsdorf and Reeves, Origin of Maize, 1938.

[9]Wissler, American Indian, 1938.

[10]Linton, Crops, Soils and Culture, 1940.

[11]Roberts, Survey of Southwestern Archaeology, 1935. Kidder, Intro-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 duction to Southwestern Archaeology, 1924. Gladwin and Others, Snaketown, I and II, 1937.

[12]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. Means, Ancient Empires, 1931. Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

[13]Means, Ancient Empires, 1931.

[14]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. Spinden, Maya Art, 1913.

[15]Linton, Crops, Soil and Culture, 1940. Vaillant, Patterns in Culture, 1940.

[16]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

[17]Vaillant, Patterns in Culture, 1940.

[18]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928.

[19]Gann and Thompson, History of the Maya, 1931. The Maya and Their Neighbors, 1940. Thompson, Civilization of the Mayas, 1932.

[20]Morley, Introduction to Maya Hieroglyphs, 1915. Spinden, Reduction of Mayan Dates, 1924. Teeple, Maya Astronomy, 1931. Thompson, Maya Chronology, 1935. Andrews, Chronology and Astronomy, 1940.

[21]Donnelly, Atlantis, 1882. Le Plongeon, Queen Moo, 1896. Churchward, Lost Continent of Mu, 1926.

[22]Vaillant, Chronology and Stratigraphy, 1935. Gann, Mounds in Northern Honduras, 1900. Tozzer, Maya and Toltec Figures, 1930. Bancroft, Native Races, 1883. Butler, Alta Vera Paz, 1940.

[23]Stirling, Great Stone Faces, 1940; Initial Series from Vera Cruz, 1940; Oldest Dated Work, 1939. Weiant, Manuscript, 1939. Vaillant, Bearded Mystery, 1931; Pre-Columbian Jade, 1932. Ricketson and Ricketson, Uaxactun, 1937. Caso, Exploraciones, 1931–32, 1934–35, 1936–37. Holmes, Nephrite Statue, 1907.

[24]Batres, Exploraciones en Monte Alban, 1902. Caso, Exploraciones, 1934–35, 1936–37. Dauterman, Pottery Yard Stick, 1938.

[25]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

CHAPTER II

There are no really popular accounts of the Middle Cultures. Dr Spinden's excellent Ancient Civilization of Mexico and Central America sketches a broad outline; the author's Early Cultures sums up the results of the most recent excavations. The Middle Cultures are at that stage where technical studies have made great progress, but the subject matter has not passed into the hands of social and historical thinkers for intellectual rather than technical appraisal.

[1]Popular: Vaillant, Threshold of Civilization, 1929; Beginnings of a History, 1930. Beyer, Antiguedades del Pedregal, 1917.

Technical: Cummings, Ruins of Cuicuilco, 1923; Cuicuilco, 1923; Cuicuilco, 1926; Cuicuilco, 1933. Gamio, Excavaciones del Pedregal, 1910. Kroeber, Archaic Culture Horizons, 1925. Vaillant, Zacatenco, 1930; Ticoman, 1931; El Arbolillo, 1935; Early Cultures, 1935. Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1934.

[2]Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

[3]Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

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[4]Vaillant, Prehistoric Cotton, 1939.
[5]Vaillant, El Arbolillo, 1935.
[6]Vaillant, El Arbolillo, 1935.
[7]Cummings, Cuicuilco, 1933. Noguera, Teotihuacan, 1935. Vaillant, Ticoman, 1931. Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1934.
[8]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934, pp. 162–67.
[9]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1934.
[10]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1934. Stirling, Stone Faces, 1940.
[11]Cummings, Cuicuilco, 1923a, 1923b, 1926, 1933.
[12]Cummings, Cuicuilco, 1933. Mena and Hyde, Antiguedad del Hombre, 1922. Nuttall, Aztecs and Their Predecessors, 1926.
[13]Kidder, Introduction, 1924, pp. 16–35; Pottery, I, 1931. Vaillant, El Arbolillo, 1935, pp. 160–67.
[14]Vaillant, Early Cultures, 1935.

CHAPTER III

The so-called Toltec question is covered by an enormous speculative literature and a relatively small number of reports on excavations scientifically carried out. The extensive work of the Swedish archaeologist Linné has appeared in part only, and much of the modern Mexican work and the results of the writer's excavations have not yet reached print. The interpretation given here explains a number of features, but further work will correct and expand many of these opinions.

[1]Brinton, Essays, 1890, pp. 83–100.
[2]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891; this sixteenth-century writer is underestimated. He was a descendant of the old Texcocan lineage and had access to many of the ancient records.
[3]Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885; Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, 1937, and Muñoz Camargo, 1892, describe these later lineages. The great writer on customs and religion, Father Bernadino Sahagun, was confused by this double usage. History was difficult for him, while ethnology was an open book.
[4]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891; Historia Chichimeca, 1892. Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 5. This historian is a veritable mine of information, but he worked from written records without the archaeological check accessible to modern students. Krickeberg, Alten Kulturen Mittel-Amerikas, 1937, an excellent summary of current and past interpretation of history. Beyer, in Gamio, Teotihuacan, 1922. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, an effort to tie in historical with archaeological information in the Valley of Mexico.
[5]Caso, Conocimiento del Tonalpohualli, 1937.
[6]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 1, Book 1, p. 8; Vol. 2, Book 8, Chap. 5; Vol. 3, Book 10, Chap. 29, paragraph 1, 12. Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885. Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891.
[7]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891. Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885. Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. 5, 1883.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 [9]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934, the best English work on Teotihuacan. Gamio, ed., Teotihuacan, 1922, the three-volume Mexican study on the archaeology, history and sociology of modern and ancient Teotihuacan. Charnay, Ancient Cities, 1888, an early account of the ruins and some excavations. Seler, Teotihuacan-Kultur, 1915, the standard scholarly work on this culture, now outdated by Gamio and Linné.

[9]Noguera, Antecedentes de la Cultura Teotihuacana, 1935, the single exhaustive study on this epoch.

[10]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934.

[11]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934.

[12]Chavero, Monolito de Coatlinchan, 1903.

[13]Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934; Expedition to Mexico, 1936.

[14]These Cholula excavations are still incomplete and reports on them unpublished.

[15]Morris, Charlot and Morris, Temple of the Warriors, 1928.

[16]Nuttall, Teotihuacan, unpublished; cf. Noguera, Conclusiones, 1937.

[17]Seler, Teotihuacan-Kultur, 1915. Tozzer, Santiago Ahuitzotla, 1921, a complete study of a building. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

CHAPTER IV

This era is just emerging from darkness and confusion. Recent definition of the Mazapan culture reinforces Dr Tozzer's work at Coyotlatelco by giving archaeological checks on the annals.

The writer's suggested identification of ceremonial dumps helps to clarify the confusion in the annals. The author believes the new finds corroborate Orozco y Berra's correlation of tribal rulers, but the late Dr Lehmann's exhaustive research does not agree. New data, worked out from newly discovered documents by Wigberto Jimenez Moreno, will clarify the picture when published fully.

[1]Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1914, gives a straightforward interpretation. Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885. Relacion de Genealogia and Origen de los Mexicanos are abridgments of the Anales de Cuauhtitlan. Lehmann, Geschichte von Colhuacan und Mexiko, 1939, is a careful, analytical translation of the Annals of Cuauhtitlan. Orozco y Berra, Ojeada de Cronologia, 1878, is a useful critique. Kirchhoff, Pueblos, 1940, is important for interpretation of annals. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, gives a résumé of the basis of this chapter.

[2]Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1891. Mapa Quinatzin, Mapa Tlotzin, Codex Xolotl; important picture manuscripts for this period.

[3]Codex Ramirez, Historia de los Mexicanos, in Radin, Sources, 1920. Codex Boturini, Codex of 1576; picture manuscripts.

[4]Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. 5, 1883, Chaps. V–VII cites early authorities. Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880, cites early authorities and picture writings. Radin, Sources, 1920, an invaluable series of translations of early Mexican records.

[5]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938. Linné, Teotihuacan, 1934; Mazapan Grave, 1938.

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[6]Vaillant, Chronology and Stratigraphy, 1935. Butler, Alta Vera Paz, 1940. 114

[7]Tozzer, Santiago Ahuitzotla, 1921. Boas, Album, 1911–12. Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[8]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–10. Gamio, Texto, 1921. Brenner, Influence of Technique in Culhuacan, 1931.

[9]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938; History and Stratigraphy, 1937.

[10]Marquina, Reygadas Vertiz and Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[11]Noguera, Altar de los Craneos, 1937; Conclusiones, 1937.

[12]Preuss and Mengin, Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, 1937. Lehmann, Geschichte von Colhuacan und Mexiko, 1937. Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 10, Chapter XXIX. Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. 5, Chapters XI–XIII.

CHAPTER V

The picture is much clearer for Aztec times; the archaeology is better known, and the historical records are more in accord. The cyclical constructions and destructions of the Aztecs are especially helpful. A confusing point is the foundation date of Tenochtitlan, for which the author provides a theory.

[1]Exhaustive accounts of Aztec history: Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 5; Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880.

Popular English digests: Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1933; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1914. Radin, Sources, 1922, gives translations and reproductions of important native sources, as well as a superb critical analysis.

Other Sources: Torquemada, Monarquia, 1723; Clavigero, History of Mexico, 1783.

Picture writings: the codices of 1560, 1590, Boturini, Mendoza, Siguenza, Telleriano-Remensis, Vaticanus A, Tepechpan.

Digests of picture writings in Spanish and Nahuatl: Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885; Chimalpahin, Anales, 1889; Codex Ramirez, 1878; Tezozomoc's Cronica, 1878; Histoire Mexicaine, 1891; Historia de los Mexicanos, 1886; Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1892; Duran, Historia de las Indias, 1867, 1880.

Tenayuca, 1935, is the great work of the Department of Monuments of the Mexican Ministry of Public Education, which blends archaeology and history in a masterly exposition of the Aztec past.

[2]Codex Boturini.

[3]Historia de los Mexicanos.

[4]Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1885, p. 49, Year 8 Rabbit. Palacios, Fundacion de Mexico, 1925, résumé of historical evidence for founding of Mexico. Codex of 1590 shows Acamapichtli being crowned by the chief of Tlaltelolco in the presence of the Tenochca clan council; cf. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, p. 563.

[5]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 10, Chap. XXIX, pp. 137–38.

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114 [6]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 5, quotes early authorities on pp. 414–15.

[7]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 5, p. 434; Tezozomoc, Chapter LIV. Duran, Historia de las Indians, I, 1867, Chapter XXXII.

[8]Tezozomoc, Cronica, 1878, Chapters XLI–XLII.

[9]Tezozomoc, Cronica, 1872, Chapter LI. Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, Chapter XXXVI.

[10]Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1892.

[11]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, p. 449, quotes Torquemada, Clavigero and Ixtlilxochitl.

[12]Saville, Tizoc, 1929.

[13]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, pp. 439–40, quotes Ixtlilxochitl, Duran, Torquemada and Codex Telleriano-Remensis.

[14]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, p. 471, quotes Tezozomoc, Torquemada and Duran.

[15]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, p. 507, quotes Ixtlilxochitl.

[16]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16. Cortes, Letters, 1908.

CHAPTER VI

The customs of the Aztecs were a source of great interest to the conquerors and their palliative companions, the friars. The system of controlling the conquered depended on knowledge of the native methods of life. Consequently there is a full literature based on contemporary reports sent back to Spain by her civil and ecclesiastical administrators in the new colony.

[1]Excellent popular accounts: Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1933; Biart, The Aztecs, 1883; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1914; Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, 1922.

Exhaustive English studies: Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880; Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vols. 2 and 5.

Mexican study: Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880.

Best contemporary accounts: Sahagun, Historia General, 1938; Pomar, Relacion, 1891; Zurita, Breve Relacion, 1891; Motolinia, Historia, 1914; Torquemada, Monarquia, 1723; Clavigero, History of Mexico, 1787.

Picture writings: Codex Mendoza, Codex Florentino (illustrations for Sahagun's Historia General).

The transition from the tribal council to the domination of the chiefs is shown by the presence of individual members in the early times and their disappearance after the foundation of the lineage; cf. Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, pp. 563–64; Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880, pp. 576–88; Mapa de Siguenza, Codex of 1590; Histoire Mexicaine; Codex Mendoza, and Codex Telleriano-Remensis.

[3]Codex Mendoza; Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 2, Book 6.

[4]Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880, cites early authorities.

[5]Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880; Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2.

[6]Codex Mendoza.

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[6]Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880; cf. Waterman, Bandelier's Contribution, 1917, for a critique of Bandelier. 114

[7]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 1, Book 3, Appendix; Vol. 2, Books 6, 9; Vol. 3, Book 10; see also Codex Florentino and Codex Mendoza.

[8]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2; Bandelier, Social Organization, 1880.

[9]Ceballos Novelo, Instituciones, 1935. Kohler, Derecho de los Aztecas, 1924. Moreno, Organizacion de las Aztecas, 1931.

CHAPTER VII

This aspect of life is fully covered in the contemporary literature of the Conquest.

[1]Popular authors: Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1931; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1914; Biart, The Aztecs, 1883.

Exhaustive English studies: Bandelier, Tenure of Lands, 1878; Bancroft, Native Races, 1883.

Exhaustive Mexican study: Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880.

Contemporary accounts: Sahagun, Historia General, 1938; Torquemada, Monarquia, 1723; Clavigero, History of Mexico, 1787.

Picture writings: Codex Florentino (illustrations for Sahagun's Historia General), Codex Mendoza, Tribute Roll of Montezuma.

[2]Bandelier, Tenure of Lands, 1878.

[3]Mapa Tlotzin. Cortes, Letters, 1908, p. 221, referring to Valley of Puebla, "Such is the multitude of people who live in these parts that there is not a palm of land which is not cultivated . . . many places they suffer for want of bread."

[4]Nuttall, Mexican Gardens, 1925.

[5]Bandelier, Tenure of Land, 1878.

[6]Tribute Roll of Montezuma, Codex Mendoza, Tribute Roll.

[7]Articles on Shell and Commerce in Hodge, Handbook, 1907, Lumholtz, Unknown Mexico, 1902, plumbate ware in Tepic. Lothrop, Coclé, 1937, gold in Yucatan.

[8]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Chapter XCII. McBryde, Solola, 1933.

[9]Blom, Commerce of the Maya, 1932.

[10]Nuttall, Chalchihuitl, 1901. Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Chapter CXXVIII.

[11]Saville, Goldsmith's Art, 1920. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 5, pp. 193–219.

[12]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 11. Emmart, Badianus Manuscript, 1940. Sauer, Agricultural Origins, 1936. Hernandez, Historia Plantarum, 1790. Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928.

[13]Alcocer, Comidas, 1938.

[14]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2, pp. 160–74, 553–74; cites authorities.

[15]Vaillant, Twilight of Aztecs, 1938.

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114 [16]Anonymous Conqueror, 1917, narrative.

[17]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, Book 1, Chapter XII; Bandelier's translation in Art of War, 1877, p. 104.

[18]Bernal Dias, True History, 1908–16, Chapter XCII, p. 72.

[19]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2, pp. 553–74; cites authorities on temple architecture. Tenayuca, 1935. Marquina, Estudio Arquitectonico, 1928.

[20]Codex Mendoza, Codex Florentino. Seler, Altmexikanischer Schmuck, 1904. Peñafiel, Indumentaria Antigua, 1903.

CHAPTER VIII

There are abundant data on crafts and craftsmanship to be drawn from the contemporary authorities and from museum collections. Examples of the textile art, however, are conspicuously lacking, since few fabrics have survived natural disintegration or have survived from collections made by the Conquistadors. Pictures in the manuscripts do give the impression, nonetheless, that this art was on a par with the others.

[1]Popular English digests are found in Thompson, Mexico before Cortes, 1935; Joyce, Mexican Archaeology, 1922, Maya and Mexican Art, 1927; Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928; Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

Serious special studies: Saville, Goldsmith's Art, 1920; Turquoise Mosaic Art, 1922; Woodcarver's Art, 1925.

[2]Saville, Onyx Jar, 1900. Holmes, Handbook, 1919. Nuttall, Penitential Rite, 1904.

[3]Holmes, Masterpieces of Aboriginal Art, 1914–19.

[4]Mason, Mirrors, 1927.

[5]Saville, Onyx Jar, 1900. Holmes, Handbook, 1919.

[6]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938. Peñafiel, Indumentaria Antigua, 1903. Codex Mendoza, Codex Magliabecchiano, Tribute Roll of Montezuma.

[7]Nuttall, Feather Work, 1895; Standard or Headdress, 1888. Seler, Feather Ornaments, 1904. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938. Codex Florentino.

[8]Saville, Turquoise Mosaic Art, 1922.

[9]Holmes, Archaeological Studies, 1895. Saville, Cruciform Structures, 1909.

[10]Saville, Woodcarver's Art, 1925.

[11]Saville, Goldsmith's Art, 1920. Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 5, orfebreria.

[12]Caso, Monte Alban, 1932; Reading the Riddle, 1932.

[13]Lothrop, Coclé, 1937.

[14]Noguera, Decorative Aspects of Pottery, 1930; Caracteristicas de la Ceramica, 1930; in Tenayuca, 1935. Boas, Album, 1911–12. Brenner, Influence of Technique, 1931. Vaillant, History and Stratigraphy, 1937; Correlation, 1938, Figs. 3 and 4.

[15]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–10.

[16]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 11–24

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[17]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 25–31.

[18]Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935, Pls. 58; Ceramica del Templo Mayor, 1934. 114

[19]Vaillant, History and Stratigraphy, 1937. Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[20]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938, Figs. 2 and 5-x.

[21]Noguera, Ladrillo como Material, 1928; Tizatlan, 1927.

CHAPTER IX

The study of Middle American art is in its infancy. We are only just realizing, in this and other American fields, the great contribution which the Indian has made. There are few publications dedicated especially to this purpose. I am including under footnote 1 a few books which cover the field of American Indian Art.

[1]North America: Douglas and d'Harnoncourt, Indian Art, 1940. Vaillant, Indian Arts, 1939.

Middle America: Caso, Thirteen Masterpieces, 1938; Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art, 1940. Cahill, American Sources, 1933. Holmes, Masterpieces, 1914–19. Marquina, Estudio Arquitectonico, 1928. Escultura Mexicana Antigua, 1934. Spinden, Maya Art, 1913. Totten, Maya Architecture, 1926. Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

South America: Lehmann and Doering, Kunstgeschichte des Peru, 1924. Norder kiöld, Archéologie de L'Amazon, 1930.

[2]Marquina, Estudio Arquitectonico, 1928. Tenayuca, 1935. Holmes, Archæological Studies, 1895–97. Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

[3]Cummings, Cuicuilco, 1933.

[4]Gamio, Teotihuacan, 1922.

[5]Noguera, Altar de los Craneos, 1937.

[6]Tenayuca, 1935. Saville, Tepoztlan, 1896. Seler, Tepoztlan, 1904. Larsen, Malinalco, 1938. Marquina, Estudio Arquitectonico, 1928. Pollock, Round Temples, 1936.

[7]Pollock, Round Temples, 1936.

[8]Gallop, Ancient Monuments, 1938. Larsen, Malinalco, 1938.

[9]Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

[10]Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

[11]Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928.

[12]Caso, El Teocalli, 1927.

[13]Saville, Tizoc, 1929.

[14]Caso, Reading the Riddle, 1932. Compare the Mixtec Codices Cospi, Vaticanus B, Borgia, with the Aztec Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Borbonicus.

[15]Goldsmith's Art, 1920; Turquoise Mosaic Art, 1922; Woodcarver's Art, 1925.

[16]Caso, Tizatlan, 1927. Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen, 1935.

[17]Pre-Conquest manuscripts: Codex Borbonicus, Codex Boturini, Tonalamatl Aubin.

Post-Conquest manuscripts: Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Codex Vaticanus A, Codex of 1576, Codex of 1590, Manuscrit Mexicaine.

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114 POST-CONQUEST DRAWINGS TO SPANISH ORDER: Codex Mendoza, Codex Florentino, Lienzo de Tlaxcala.

[18]Castañeda, Pequeños Percutores, 1933.

[19]Codex Borbonicus.

[20]Orozco y Berra, Historia Antigua, 1880. Spinden, Ancient Civilizations, 1928. For oratory, Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. II, Book 6. Brinton, Ancient Nahuatl Poetry, 1887.

CHAPTER X

Aztec religion is a fascinating and confusing subject. Ritualism ran wild, and the early Spanish observers, trained in rigorous Christian theology, found the subject interesting but baffling. Sahagun is far and away the best contemporary source. He checked his data in three different localities and spent many years in the process. The late Eduard Seler was the great modern authority, bringing a philosophical background to aid a meticulous interest in ritual. Spence, the best English writer, was his disciple, as was the infinitely learned Hermann Beyer. Alfonso Caso, the distinguished Mexican scholar, has combined brilliantly the meticulousness of the German school with the long-continued Mexican tradition, passed on by many sympathetic and learned minds. Among modern American students J. Eric Thompson is outstanding.

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CHAPTER XI

The religious organization of the Aztecs is relatively clear. The ritual and the identification of deities is much more perplexing, as a certain

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amount of interpretation is involved. The working of the calendar has puzzled many a distinguished scholar, but its main principles are known. So elaborate a system of worship must have led to considerable local variation, so the student need not too greatly despair over the lack of agreement among authorities. The methods of pictographic writing are well known. 114

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[13]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938; Codex Florentino.

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[20]Memorial de Tepetlaostoc.

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[23]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 10, Chapter XXIX, pp. 137–38, paragraph 12.

[24]Codex Mendoza, Tribute Roll of Montezuma.

[25]Lienzo Chalchiuhtzin Vasquez, in Vaillant, Aztec Twilight, 1939. Boban, Documents, 1891. Tlaquiltenango Manuscript, in American Museum of Natural History.

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CHAPTER XII

The post-Conquest native historians approached Aztec history from an annalistic point of view. Only occasionally did economic and political ideas enter in. Bancroft's and Orozco y Berra's recapitulations of the early history give fullest materials for a detailed scrutiny of Aztec foreign affairs and war. Bandelier's technical study of their method of warfare is the best general outline of Aztecan procedure in this field.

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[8]Codex Mendoza.
[9]Bandelier, Art of War, 1877.
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[12]Bancroft, Native Races, 1883, Vol. 2, pp. 603–23.

CHAPTER XIII

This chapter was adapted from Natural History, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 17–30, January–February, 1933. It is based on contemporary accounts of Tenochtitlan and on various later archaeological studies on the topography of Tenochtitlan, the ancient Mexico City.

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[2]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Vol. 2, Chapter LXXXVIII.
[3]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Vol. 2, Chapter XCII.

CHAPTER XIV

Prescott has unforgettably told the story of the Conquest of Mexico. This chapter seeks to stress the Indian side of the Conquest, as told by Sahagun, Duran and others and as illustrated in the Codex Florentino and the Lienzo de Tlaxcala. The latter was prepared as a memorial to show the services Tlaxcalan warriors rendered the cause of Spain. This chapter is adapted from Natural History, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 185–95, March, 1937.

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[2]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12, Chapter I. Codex Florentino.

[3]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12, Chapter VIII.

[4]Lienzo de Tlaxcala, Pl. 17.

[5]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12, Chapter XXIII. Duran, Historia, II, 1880, Chapter LXXVI, p. 50.

[6]Diaz del Castillo, True History, 1908–16, Vol. 2, Chapter CXXVIII, p. 247, says no!! Bancroft, Conquest, Vol. 1, p. 480, says yes!! on authority.

[7]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book 12, Chapter XXXIII.

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CHAPTER XV

114 This chapter is the merest résumé of what the visitor to Mexico may see of the Indian past. Very properly one may insert here, as footnote 1, the twelve English books on Mexico, which, in the writer's judgment, are best suited to prepare the visitor for what he may see.

[1]Henry Bamford Parkes, History of Mexico, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1938. A history devoted chiefly to colonial and republican Mexico.

Herbert Joseph Spinden, Ancient Civilization of Mexico and Middle America, American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series, No. 3, New York, 1928. A masterpiece of exposition, short and simple, incredibly packed with knowledge, a sine qua non for the understanding of Indian civilization.

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George C. Vaillant, Artists and Craftsmen in Ancient Central America, American Museum of Natural History Guide Leaflet Series 88 and 103, 1935. A survey of Middle American art, fully illustrated, for a very low price.

Anita Brenner, Idols behind Altars, Payson and Clarke, Ltd., New York, 1929. A superb picture of the Mexican artistic renaissance of 1918 and the essential continuity of Indian life.

Ernest Gruening, Mexico and Its Heritage, the Century Co., New York, 1928. A carefully documented study of the conflicts inherent in modern Mexican economic and social life.

C. S. Braden, Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C., 1930. The theory of the evangelization of the Mexican Indian, showing the humanitarian theories behind the consolidation of the Spanish Conquest.

Madame Calderon de la Barca, Life in Mexico, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1931. The Scottish wife of the Spanish ambassador to Mexico in 1828 writes a most entertaining account of contemporary habits and customs. A classic.

Stuart Chase, Mexico, A Study of Two Americas, Macmillan Co., New York, 1931. A succinct, slightly *simpliste* account of contemporary Mexico with special emphasis on the virtues of unmechanized life.

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[3]The amount of writing by the different monastic orders is interesting as a reflection of direct interest in indian affairs: Franciscan, 68; Jesuit, 19; Dominican, 18; Augustinian, 3; parish priests, 18; civilians, 6; cf. Clavigero, History, 1787, and Ricard, Conquête Spirituelle: Spanish Friars, 61; Indians and Mestizos, 61; Spanish Civilians, 6; Foreign Friars, 7. 114

[4]Indian authors and approximate dates of composition: Tezozomoc, before 1561; Anales de Cuauhtitlan, 1570; Duran, 1581; Ixtlilxochitl, 1600; Chimalpahin, 1613.

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[5]——, Arquitectura Colonial, 1933, p. 27. Granados y MacGregor, Huexotcingo, 1934.

[6]Nuttall, Official Reports, 1926. Del Paso y Troncoso, Papeles de Nueva España, 1905–06.

[7]Redfield, Tepoztlan, 1930. Parsons, Mitla, 1936.

[8]Brenner, Idols behind Altars, 1929. Chase, Mexico, 1931.

[9]The perfect guide for Mexico has yet to be written. Terry, Guide, 1927, the most full, approaching Baedeker. Brenner, Your Mexican Holiday, 1932, good for the traveler. Marett, Archaeological Tours, 1934, good for a person interested in archaeology, since many ruins are not on beaten path. ——, Tres Siglos de Arquitectura Colonial, 1933, brief illustrated guide. ——, Monumentos Prehispanicos, 1933, brief illustrated guide.

[10]The index will provide references to descriptions of the sites given in the text.

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194 The rules for the pronunciation of Aztec names are simple despite the horrifying assemblage of consonants and vowels. *X* in general has a *Sh* sound; *Qu* has a *K* value; *Hu* and *Gu* have a *W* sound when preceding a vowel. All consonants and vowels are sounded as in Spanish. Rough English phonetic equivalents have been provided in the text and the index to guide the errant tongue.

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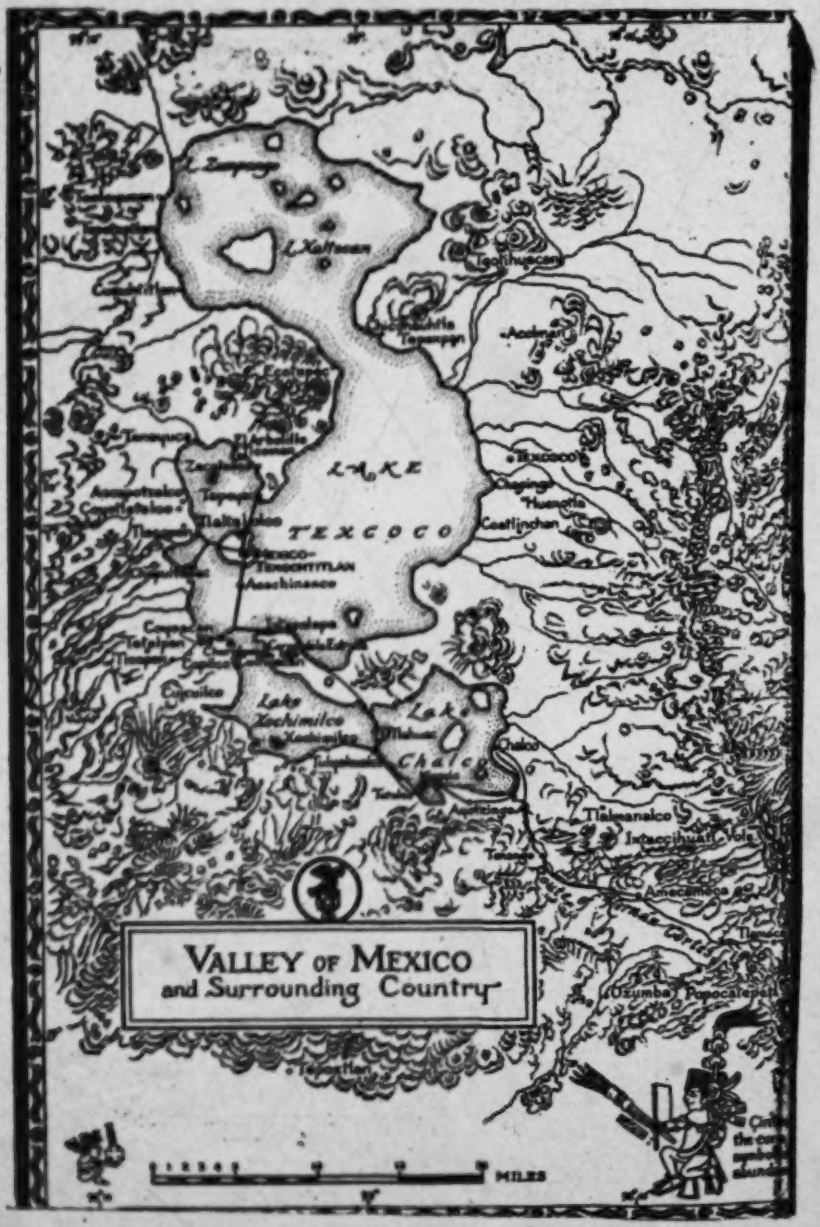
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TEXCOCO
Texcoco
Coatlinchan
Tlaxcala
Tlaxcala
Ixtacchuatl
Amecameca
Tlamacas
Tepeaca
Tepeaca
Tepeaca

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[END PAPER MAP (B)]

[The information contained in the various sources on Aztec society and culture concerning the social grouping variously known as calpulli, clan, tribe, deme, kindred, etc., is contradictory in most instances. All data on this social grouping has therefore been placed in category 618 in this file. --Analyst]

[Most of the information on propitiation, which forms a major portion of Aztec ceremonies, will be found in category 796]

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FLORENTINE CODEX

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

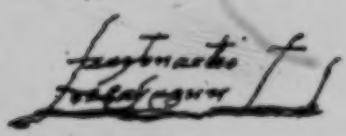

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BOOK I—THE GODS

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

Arthur J. O. Anderson
School of American Research

Charles E. Dibble
University of Utah

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART II

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Temporary Foreword

114 The *Florentine Codex* is one of three well-known manuscripts planned by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún to describe the civilization of the Aztecs. The others, both of which are fragmentary, are the *Biblioteca del Palacio* and *Academia de la Historia* MSS in Madrid; there may have been field notes which Sahagún used for the complete version, the *Florentine Codex*. In this, Fr. Bernardino wrote the same accounts in parallel columns, Spanish on the left and Aztec on the right. The work was profusely illustrated. The Spanish text sometimes was fuller than, and sometimes only summarized, the Aztec text. From this codex stemmed the Spanish texts published by Bustamante and, probably, Kingsborough, more than a century ago; and these early printed versions are the basis of later editions. Sahagún named his work *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*; the term *Florentine Codex* used in this Temporary Preface means Sahagún's *Historia* in the famed manuscript of the Laurentian Library, Florence, Italy.

A microfilm copy of the *Florentine Codex* was secured in 1938 by the late Lansing B. Bloom who, with his wife, was sent to various European Libraries to secure microfilms of this and other important manuscripts—mostly relating to Southwestern history. Mr. and Mrs. Bloom performed wonders in the face of considerable difficulties. The project was a joint undertaking of the School of American Research, the University of New Mexico, and the Bandelier Centennial Committee.

The microfilm negatives were delivered to the late Dr. E. L. Hewett, then Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, in 1939. As prime mover in the securing of the copy of the *Florentine Codex* for the School of American Research, he was interested in its being published; and as an anthropologist, he recognized the necessity of a complete English translation of the Aztec, of which only a little had been translated into any language.

First, photographic enlargements were made from the negatives, by Miss Bertha P. Dutton and Miss Hulda Hobbs of the School of American Research. One copy remained with the School of American Research, and another was deposited for additional security with the University of New Mexico. Later, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley arranged for the distribution of four additional copies in American universities and other institutions which were interested, and with the Mexican Government. It was stipulated that these copies were not to be published for a period of five years.

In the eighteen months during which Dr. Morley was Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, he carried on the plans started by Dr. Hewett for the translation of the Aztec text of Sahagún's immortal *Historia*, a project which he also had for some years been interested in seeing through. The final outline of procedure was completed just before his last illness. He would undoubtedly have been deeply concerned with and infinitely helpful in its progress had he lived.

To carry out the considerable task of translating the twelve books of Sahagún's magnum opus, Dr. Morley brought together the only two scholars in the United States whom he knew, at the time, to be prepared to undertake the work. Dr. Charles E. Dibble's studies in the Mexican field had aroused his admiration. Dr. Arthur J. O. Anderson, on the instance of Dr. Morley and Dr. Hewett, had been studying Nahuatl for some years. By arrangement with Dr. A. R. Olpin, President of the University of Utah, Dr. Dibble's teaching schedule at the University was modified so that he could devote half of his time to the translation project. Dr. Morley similarly made adjustments with Dr. Anderson's time at the Museum of New Mexico.

The plan, as developed by Dr. Morley, Dr. Dibble, and Dr. Anderson, was to translate the dozen books of Sahagún's *Historia* singly and not necessarily in the order in which they appear in the *Florentine Codex* and the printed Spanish and French editions, and to publish them as completed, as Parts II-XIII of a Monograph of the School of American Research and a Publication of the University of Utah. Part I was to appear last of all, and to include a Preface and other introductory material, the Table of Contents, the Bibliography, and the General Index. Each part was to be fully illustrated, and, because of their unusual clarity, the Paso y Troncoso illustrations were to be reproduced.

These plans are being carried out.

As to translation procedure, Dr. Morley urged that the product be in readable English. The compilation of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, so valuable to the anthropologist and the historian, was to be regarded as a major source book for the student, yet presented so as to be of value to the scholar and of interest to the general reader. Taking advantage of some broad similarities between English and Aztec syntax, the translators were to put it into English such that the structure of the translations would resemble as closely as possible that of the original. Since the Spanish text

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114 of the *Florentine Codex* was Sahagún's sixteenth-century Spanish, the English translation of the Nahuatl was to parallel, in a sense, the late Renaissance feeling of Sahagún's Spanish through the employment of occasional archaisms which might give it something of the atmosphere of the King James version of the Bible. This procedure, while it precludes a translation which would be word-for-word a precise duplicate (in English), would, it was felt, still preserve sufficient accuracy in its presentation of the meaning of the Aztec version.

A less flexible condition would, of course, have been possible; or an interlinear. A linguistic study, however, was not contemplated in this translation. For the linguist, and for any who would wish to check the accuracy of the translation, the Aztec of the *Florentine Codex* was to be faithfully reproduced.

This procedure the translators have attempted to follow.

If, when the total translation project is completed, the translators have produced a work sufficiently accurate to convey reliably the meaning of the Aztec, and thus be of use to the historian and ethnologist, they will have sufficiently accomplished their purpose.

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A. Ray Olpin

A. Ray Olpin
President
University of Utah

Boaz Long

Boaz Long
Director
School of American Research

TRANSLATORS' NOTE

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De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA, IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

First Chapter, which tells of the highest gods[1] who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Hummingbird from the Left (Vitzilopuchtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.[2] [He was] a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a soothsayer, a diviner,[3] a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague—that is, war.[4] And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially barbed drums were offered up. The merchants barbed them.[5]

And he was then arrayed: he had an ear-pendant of blue cactus feathers;[6] he had the fire serpent diagram, the blue serpent cloth,[7] the war bead.[8] He wore sandals and shield.[9]

Ynic vnce capitulo, ynechpa tlamo, ya oc ceuca chipanoaja ueueh: ya quijnnemoteuia, ynnec ya quijnnemanjlizia, ya in ueueh.

Vitzilobuchtli: qua ueueuelli, qua tlacatl cenca: uacalli, uitznahuj, ueueueuelli, uitznemanj: quijnnitaj in iuiztol, iuiztecaj, iuiztlacaj:

ca inechpa mjjnnia, mjjnnu quijlaqa ya xiuhcuel, in mamalhuacuel, q. n. iuiztol, tecuel, tlachinolli. Auh ya jquac illiquijquitlaia, malinjcuaia, tlachilinjcuaia: tecuhtlaia, ya pochtecaia.

Auh yeja mochichiuaia: xiuhtomaxochi cuexa, xiuhcuecueiuhi, xiuhtilquitl, mamaxtlatl, tzitzilli, cuexalli.

Second Chapter, which tells of the god named He who Hummed (Paynal), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Paynal was "the delegate," "the substitute," "the deputy"; because he represented Vitzilopuchtli when there was a procession. He was named Paynal, because he passed on and urged them ahead.[10]

Jnic vnce capitulo, ynechpa tlamo ya ueuel ya jnnca paynali: ya quijnnemoteuia, ynnec in quijnnemanjlizia in ueueh.

Paynal: mamapilhuiaj, mamizquiliuiaj: ueueu mimoueuaj: inhica ca quijnnipiloaia, in vitzilobuchtli, ya iquac tlaiuiuiaia, mamoiuiaia paynal: ipampa ca ceuca, quijnnotaia, quijnnalchichiuia.

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1. The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: "Capítulo primero, que habla *del principal dios*. . . ."
2. Edward Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 423, refers to him as *nur ein Sterblicher*.
3. Seler then phrases the passage: "Vitzilopuchtli was only a man, a magician, an unlucky omen, a wicked augur, one who deluded the people with visions."—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1999), Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 4.
4. Cf. Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Andrés de Olmos: *Gramática de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 239. ". . . of him it is related that he drawn the nahuatl and the barbarous, i. e., war, water (spear-throwing) and fire on the people" (Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 216). Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 162, ". . . *nuestro dios Vitzilopuchtli nació de dos cosas para nuestra mal amenaza para atemorizar y alborotarlos; la una es llama nimbrada, y la otra nuestrabarrill . . . y él tenía por otro nombre en la nueva era celebre hecho de nuestro, que llamar nimbrad, no dicenlo dos tentenas o centenas, y aquella, nombre vino, como representáse en las batallas como que empiezan como la alitada sobre los enemigos con que los espantaba y hacía huir.*"
5. The meaning (cf. *malin*) is as either as a sacrifice, or as barbs or arrows (cf. Sahagún, op cit., Vol. II, pp. 370, 309).
6. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 164. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 423) identifies the bird as *Cotinga ridida* L. *cornifer*, and suggests that the feathers were arranged in a mosaic pattern. Simeon, op. cit., p. 699, calls the bird *Hummerum ave* (Hum.).
7. Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 426. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 379, suggests that such an outside of clothing was sometimes worn about the legs.
8. Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 223, and Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 140, and Vol. II, p. 300, say the war-bead was provided with a hole or a cord, to insert a decoration. In the Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, fo. 37r, Sahagún defines *mamaxtli* as "*pellejo de bestia fiera, a manera del mantiplo, que se usa en la guerra.*" Cf. also Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, 40), who says that it is the same as *quetzalpanquetl*, for dim. of Vitzilopuchtli.
9. The *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* reads *tzitzilli, ayacalli*, in lieu—an indication that they were worn on the soles of the legs.—Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 427-8.
10. Sahagún (*Florentine Codex*, corresponding Spanish text) describes Paynal as figure *aparecido*.

776 And the people followed [the impersonator], jeering,
776 hooting, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the
ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon
the earth.

[778] And one man carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather headornament in the manner of central people. Bars were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. He was the humming-bird dancer. He had the bracelets; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

Auh in mocuaiti, quijocoia, quijtlalochocoia, cuichujtiuja, quicuestiuja, tzoloti quicuestiuja, tlalli quijpopoctiuja: inhuqujn tlaiuqujquja, tlalli tencujca:

auh ce tlacuel quipopoloctiuja.

Auh yuje tzuchichinoia, tzuquentiuja, quetzalquauacuel, in cuetlaltiuja, iuacxichiloia, iuitlichiloia, iuiuitlichiloia, xiuitlichiloia, xiuiuacujca, xiuiuitlaxoia, xiuxoua, xiuhchinoia.

776 [796] **Third Chapter,** which tells of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in times past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose abode was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [those] he caused, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, relationship, nobility, honor.

Juic ey, capitulo, yuchqui tlamaca in teuil, yn juca teuctipoca: in quijtocatiuia, yuan in quijtlamacujtiuia, in tecuah.

Tezcatlipoca: yuin vel teuil ipan machoia, nenujca yuanujca: ximtla, tlaltiqui, ylhujcac. Ja jquac nenuja tlaltiqui, ichcauil quijtlaiuja, in tenahuti tlaqulli: ezoc tequanaqui, cujcuitiuia,

teuallí, tecuanola mocuaia: ipampa y, mjtoaia teuc iauil, mochi quijtocaiuia, quijtemacujuja, quijtecujtiuia, quijtecujtiuia yn jnquich aquilli apan machoaia: tecu mujltiuia, tequequeloaia.

Auh in quenuac, quijtemacoia, in tecujhuaelli: in tlaxujtl, in ocujchiuil, in tlacuchiuil, in teuiuil, in tlatocaiuil, in pilloil, in mauiquil.

Fourth Chapter, which tells of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the prince.[13]

Tlaloc: the prince. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunder-bolts.

And he was thus decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;[14] it was anointed with black; his face was [painted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.[15] He had a decorated cloud-jacket of natural fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals, and also earplugs. He had a painted-reed banner.[16]

Juic nauj capitulo, yuchqui tlamaca yn teuil, yn juca tlaloc, tlamacazqui.

Tlaloc, tlamacazqui: yuin ipan machoia, in quijauitl: ca ichcauil quijtocaia, quijtemacujuia, quijtzoaia, in quijauitl, yuan in tecujtl: quiaotlaxiuja, quijtemolinaltiuja, quijtecuvitlaxiuja, quicuepontlaxiuja, quincalaxiuia in quauitl, in cacaxtl, in tonacaiotl. Yuan no ioch tlamjlaia, in tolinquijlitli, in tlaujtequjlitli.

Auh yuje: tzuchichinoia, tzoiuhtlapopoztli, tzoiuellujlli, motilocac, iuujchiuac, iuuichiouhtlin, xoachicole, xiuhxicole, xxuxuua, chalchiuhcuqua, poqolcuqua, no tzinolle, xxopilpaxa.

Fifth Chapter, which tells of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Juic macujlli capitulo, yuchqui tlamaca yn teuil, yn juca quetzalcoatl.

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11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Sahagún (Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 44) defines it as a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the xicolli (jacket) and the tzinquauhtli (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an open-like garment placed on the front of the idols.

13. Sahagún (*Ibid.*, pp. 1, p. 46) uses this determinatif and determinatif tecuhtli "prince" and "priest." He himself considers *Tlaloc tlamacazqui* as "Sacerdote . . . . Sacerdotes," in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún aus dem Azteekischen* übersetzt (Cornelius Scherzer, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwarzer, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

14. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*): "*ne Gesicht eine Bepinselung mit flüssigem Kautschuk.*"

15. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 350; see also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 440-4.

16. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 140.

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Quetzalcoatl—he was the wind, the guide and rain-sweeper of the rain gods,[17] of the masters of the water, of those who brought rain. And when the wind rose, when the dust rumbled, and it crackled and there was a great din, and it became dark and the wind blew in many directions, and it thundered; then it was said: "[Quetzalcoatl] is rumbling."

And thus was he bedight: he had a conical[18] ocelot-skin cap. His face was thickly smeared with soot. He was adorned with [spiral] wind and conquest symbols.[19] He had a curved, turquoise mosaic ear-pendant.[20] He wore a gold necklace of small sea-shells.[21] He had the quetzal-plumage as a burden on his back. He had ocelot emblem with rattles. He wore a cotton bone[-ribbed] jacket.[22] He carried the shield with the wind-shell design.[23] He had the curved [braid] spear-thrower[24] and also foam sandals.

Quetzalcoatl: ya chocoal yaxcimocuah yaxtlahpancuah in tlalocapa, ya ocuapa, ya quiyajjauhti. Auh ya iquac mallaujo chaca, mjtoa: mahuli quaquaxica, yoxica, tetecujtic, tlatlaxica, tlatlapica, tlatlacuij, mocuitlaxtlaia.

Auh yuja ya mochichiuia: ocelocapilt, mjxtlilquaquet, hecacitlaxtli, quiquijxtlaxtli, tlacuilolcuacuchtli, tecuitlacuachcuapilt, quauhcuallamanalt, ocelotlatlilt, ixpanujoiacujlt, hecacuachtlaxtli, hecacujpac, no poçalcuapac.

Sixth Chapter: here are noted the gaudiest goddesses who were worshipped as idols, whom the natives falsely revered as gods.

The savage Snake-woman (Cincoatl), ill-omened and dreadful,[25] brought men misery. For it was said: "She giveth men the bee and temptlina. Thus she feareth men [to work]."

And when she appeared before men, she was covered with chalk, like a court lady, with obsidian ear-plugs. She was in white, having garbed herself in white, in pure white. Her tightly wound hair-dress rose like two horns above her head.

By night she walked weeping and wailing, a dread phantom foreboding war.[26]

And in this wise was her image adorned: her face was painted one-half red, one-half black.[27] She had a head-dress of [eagle] feathers[28] and golden ear-plugs. She wore a

Jajc chiquacê capitale: vncan mocuaua, ya oc cenca tlapanaujo ya cioatoma: ya quijnemacaca, in quijnezalaquiqujaia ya ujcan tlacq.

Cincoatl tequanj: yuan tetemujti, tetemujujnij, ioaiuiol quijnitiitia: ca mjtoaia, vicili macopilli, quijnemacaia, ic temotlaia.

Auh yujc mocuitlaxtlaia, mocuecuelitlaxtic: iahqujo tecpan cioatl, xonacoche, itzmacoche, itztaiac mocpacua, itztaiac actica, ioncatla ycaia, itzaxicac, vel panj quijquetza ya jacatzinol, ya jacilacujl,

iaxtica chocatzinoca, tecuiolchiuqui, no iaxtecujtl cuica.

Auh yuj ya mochichiuia yaipila, ya jaxiac, cuitlacochchiltic, cuitlacocdiltic, yujquatzoac, tencujtlaxcoche, quechquaxac, tlalcuacuapac.

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17. Cf. Edward Seler: *Treatment of the Aztec Collection* (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd., 1901), pp. 42-3; and Juan de Torquemada: *Monarquia indiana*, Vol. II, pp. 47 and 52. The connection between Quetzalcoatl and the Tlaloc is illustrated in this passage (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 269): "*Este genio atribuia el viento a un dios que llamaban* Quetzalcoatl, *hace cuatrocientos años de los vientos. Según el viento de cuatro partes del mundo por mandamiento de este dios, según ellos decían; de la una parte viene de hacia el oriente donde ellos dicen estar el paraiso terrenal al cual llaman* Tlalocan, *(y) a este viento le llamaban* tlahuipuch; *no es viento furioso, cuando di según no traspide (a) los arboles caidos por el agua.*"

18. Conical shape is not specifically implied; but the definition of *capilli* in Simeon (*op. cit.*) is *mitra*. Furthermore, the conical cap is a distinguishing mark of Quetzalcoatl.

19. Wind-painting, according to Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 495; see also pp. 436 and 437). Parts of the costume, as illustrated, hint of the wind-dress—the conical edges of the mantilla, for instance. *Idem cf.* Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

20. Edward Seler (*Ibid.*, p. 499) calls it "*dies derzeitig gebräuchliche Ohrgehänge.*" In corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, writing more fully despite the Aztec text, says "*Tenia, unas orejeras, de turquesas, de labor mosaqueo. . . .*" The word *xiquipil* means turquoise and is cognate *chuki* (Simeon, op. cit.).

21. The corresponding Spanish text of Sahagún reads: "*tenia un collar de oro, de que colgaban, unos caracoles marinos, pequeños.*"

22. See Edward Seler, op. cit., p. 493.

23. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text here "*una rodela, con una pintura, con cierto empedro que llaman, el joal de viento.*" The term *cuacuachtlalli* may be translated more literally as "shield with pendant shell" design. A literal shell design usually hung as a lower shield on representations of Quetzalcoatl; this same design appears on the shield. (See *Treatment of Codex Borbonicus.*)

24. Corresponding Spanish text says "*un cetro empedrado de espada.*"

25. Cf. also *tlapalcoatl*, species of snake mentioned by Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. XII, p. 288), as sound because "*mata con espanto.*"

26. This is explained in *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 281, 284.

27. See illustration, which indicates that the part of the face below the nose is black.

28. Seler considers this as eagle feathers. His citations from the Hymns of Cincoatl are convincing. Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 59.

776 eye-like eye-gemmes. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[30] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[31] man's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[32] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[33] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Ixic chicome capitulo: vacua matlacuaca, ya cincoatl: ya joca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: inhuel ipan mijoaia, quijnjqipilaia, in tonacatl: yuan in qaqa ihin yuanca, yiaca tonacalli, yejjoc, yuqualo.

Auh yuja yuaxichitlaia cuica; inhuelmacaia, amacala, auachiuipila, auachiuaia, no papalocaqui, tonalchitlaia, tonatichitlaia.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteo innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

She was the mother of the gods. Hill devotees were physicians, healers, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

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Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast augaries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.[34]

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

776 And when there was a feast, wh-n it was time for the
796 slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteo innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They selected her; they fattened her; they satisfied her caprices; they amused her. They wished her not to weep. They bid [her fate] from her;[35] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they hunted; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huastecas,[36] who accompanied him on either side.

Jnic chicuacl, capitulo: vacui matlacuaca, ya cincoatl, ya joca: Teteo yenna: no matlacuaca, Tlalli yiollo, yuan Toci.

Jnnel catca ya teteo, quijnnemaca, in tlaiol, in tlatlamjqueca, tetlamqueca, tetlamqujlqueca, tetlapaqueca.

Auh ya cioa, temjnjqueca, tepillalloqueca, tetlacalloqueca, tlapeuhqueca, atlan tetlaaj, tlaolchaiaiaqueca, tocatlapeuhqueca, tetlacujcujlqueca, tetlamocujlqueca, tetlacujlqueca.

No inhuantin quijtlachchoteia, in tonacalloque; yyanque y, quitlalilteia ya jxipala, in tonacalloque, quijnxaxaiaia, tonacatlaoci.

Auh ya jquac, in ie ilhuiqujxilloia, in ie inijquiamquiqua: in inhuantin tlaiol, ya jxipala catca teteo yenna, quijlaocuipolouia, amo vel chocaia, quatlalquijxtiaia, quijtlamacaia, quijtlacamaquilitiaia, quijcochiaia, huqujchocaiaqa, quijtlachchiaia, momjquiamquelouia, quijtocalitiaia, quijtochchiaia, quijtlacamachiliaia, cuiaujaia, tlamacamaia, tetlacuimacaia, tetlachchiaia: in quijnjlhuca machiaia in tlacaca, ic quiniquajaia, ic quijquamjaia, quijtocacujlitiaja, ic panj moquamaia.

Auh ya jquac: mamjc, ya jxipala: ajcaca ce tlacatl mamaquijaia, ya jxcaia, yuanquanla cuitlaxcapatzcalo, tlacatlic yuanca, quijxjaia, quijtocacuitlaja:

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30. See Plate 30, which explains the name.

31. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this maize may refer to the various ears of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

32. Cf. Edward Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 446.

33. Although Seler (op. cit., p. 446) uses the term "foam," he cites Sahagún as referring to flowers. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

34. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 205-34.

35. Cf. also Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 100, 176.

36. Seler, *Ensayo Kaqchel*, p. 4. Cf. also Sahagún, op. cit., p. 178, referring to the Tozi festival: "Iban delante de ella aquellos que decían que se llamaban huastecos."

They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hook scratches. They wore ushed, with a cape for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mitre-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Tezcatlipoca's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the costume [of Tezcatlipoca] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a mar-skirt. She had the mar-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was covered with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, painted eagle feathers. Her child had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, tamalxóchil. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

Ninth Chapter, in which one learns of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tlaquiltenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made tlaquiltenan.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head,[39] they who were heavy and the tlaquiltenan engaged on the dream; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the face, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was warm, [it was used for] the scrofula-sickness.[41]

In oil and in heat were used as advantage in healed many places.

And when the four day was celebrated, they who sold the tlaquiltenan engaged brought shows and show them. They fabricated her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-sound wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they carried mitre-shaped like dried puppy-seed pods,[43] and they carried bone needles.

Thus was the concept: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were sprinkled over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble [mitre-]needle. She carried the mitre-needlebowl.[44]

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36. See Plate 6.

37. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 102, calls it petate.

38. Cf. text and illus. in MS Biblioteca del Palacio, cited in Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, pp. 989-9, in which these are described as a hand-bowl of tamalxóchil.

39. ". . . cosa remosa, de hedor, o sirna, que sera, en la cabeza" (corresponding Spanish text).

40. ". . . cosa colorada . . . cosa colorada, que sale en la cabeza que se llama hedor" (loc. cit.).

41. See p. 41, n. 130.

42. Cf. Diego de Durán: Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra Firme (Edition: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalona, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.

43. "Amarantoli, semejan hechas a manera de dormideras" (Sahagún, op. cit.).

44. Cf. Eduard Seler: Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, p. 974; and Codex Kaplan, p. 7—Nahd-Ecatl-Xochitl (Ahuitzotl-Xochitl). The same author, cited in Sahagún, Historia general, Vol. V ("Los caracoles de los dioses"), says: "Esta voz (xochitzontli) significa ordinariamente la corona o, mejor, a una lanza ensartada en el cuello de prisioneros, tomó origen de xochitlalo-xoxoli. Sirvió el instrumento para encantamientos de la lluvia . . ." (pp. 42-43) ("El chicomecóatl, Ichcatl de xochitl, instrumento musical que tocan en la cuenta los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la procesión de los sacerdotes de Tlaquiltenan, llevan delante el xochitzontli, cosa de vidrio. Es el instrumento mágico, con que

-5-

776 **Tenth Chapter, which tells of the goddesses [called] the Princesses (Cihuapiltin).**[46]

[153] There were five devils, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They have people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one, lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and encountered with the Cihuapiltin, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Wherefore fathers or mothers said their children: "Go not forth; the Cihuapiltin arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

776 And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they
796 made them offerings of soft, folded textiles called *tlamatzcalli*, heavily-shaped textiles called *papaloteucalli*, [others shaped like] sacrificial notched sticks (*xoucalli*),[47] small tamales called *necuichtlamatzcalli*,[48] and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

776 And they were then bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, darkened with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with painted figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

Eleventh Chapter: which tells of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli ycue), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered : god(dess); her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that she belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swelled, and formed whirlpools above them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She spare the canoe, she emptied it; she lifted it, turned it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it heaved to and fore; it was said, "It playeth; it billoweth, it splashesth like the stamping of feet; the water sobbeth the shore, spraying water and foaming."

Juic mathetli, capitule: yuncuja tlama, ya cicemoa, cioapipili:

Dioklomo ceca y, mocujtlia, ceca ya jaxinjpolocoa; ioach dacujtlia, quijtoach tetlamilia, ceca mocoiaua, yujc aca ioach quijtocoia dioaltlocoti, tomacujtlij, jaxocujtlij, mocoiaulij, ixiaxipichauij, ixiaxujujujuij, momacuiaiaua, mopapaxujujujc: ic mujtoia momacuiaiaiti, ypan oquimpac cioapipili, vecoac chaoaque. Jjcuaque y ya ueuac, cuaqo tonaua, quijtollujujuia ya jujtlilaua: mocu tonujujujc tlalpan oti, tonac in cioapipili.

Auh ipampa y, ya ipan yuujlujujuh, yujc quijnelanujlujujia: tlamatzcalli, papaloteucalli, xoucujlij, necuichtlamatzcalli, iuqujd.

Auh ya vecoac momaca y, in quemaua vecoac ya cioatecalco, in quemaua, vecoac.

Auh ya jaxochichiual ceca, mujtujujujc: auh pauj tlaxicaualti, chaiaxpoualtectli, chaiaxpoualli, ya jaxocuilaquan, pamacacujujujc.

Juic mathetli vee capitule: yuncuja tlama, ya cicemoal, ya jioca chalchiuhtli ycue: inhuauil ya atl.

Tonal ipan machaia: inhujujc cioal quijujplaxia, iuh mujujujc, quijuach yecoa pauj, iuualtiuh in chalaque:

yujc mocuitlilujujc, yujc iuacujujc, yujc mochaiaiaia, yujc chaiaxchiaia, tomactiaia, mochaiaxjctiaia, mpolactiaia, mpan pujujujc, momapanujujc, mazicticia, mpan momujlacachoa, yujc tomalujujujc:

ya acalli quijcujujc, quijolujujachujujc, quiaxujujujc, ca aca cualauj, ca tona.

Auh in quemaua mapachoa, mapanujujc, mocuiaiaia, ticujujc tomacuiaiaua, momacuiaiaua, hachocujujc:

ya jujujc acuah, ya ic cuaj, uujc iaiaah: quijoa, mocujtlia, ticujujujlij, momacuiaiaj, acuah iuah momalolaiaua, momachachujujujc, mapapapujujujlaia.

as have dismember them. . . . El demonio es el que dividido de los fundidos y, los dados, mandaba instrumento malignos con que se dividían dios? (pp. 129-30).

46. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 194-5; Vol. II, pp. 101-3. Seler (Collected Works, Vol. I, pp. 2, p. 38, and pp. 3, p. 189, and Vol. II, pp. 1, pp. 49, 50) did, holds that Cihuapiltin (the princesses) are the same as Cuaxtecas (the goddesses)—women who died in childbirth (mocihuaquetzqui) or on the sacrificial stone, and hence were the equivalent of warriors killed in battle or offered up as sacrifices. Seler describes them as spirited male-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were escorted to certain warriors' graves—eagle feathers and down symbols, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to bring men to sin and crime.

47. Ate Sahagún adds, made to resemble lightning.—Seler, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 2, p. 47.

48. Folded textiles in the form of square-flour, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 8.

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, glistening, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of Huitzilozitli, the ending of bound years,[90] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shirt; they placed jewels upon her—a plumed headpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fine pieces came out to receive her. They strewed cocoanut husks before her.

With the cattle heard of the rain and rain gods, they spoke. The city dishes, her singers, sang for her.

And then they drew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[91]

Likewise they accepted her, made offerings, and ceremonied her. For she would go, when they drew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloca, they opened her house.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and drew quail.

Then they said: "The chief guiseth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they then paid honor to the women.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of rain's sustenance, called Chicome cuatl; and to the image of the sun [-goddess], named Ulmecatecutl. Then they remembered what they had done; then they honored the dress.[92]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Then might he be satisfied; then, in truth, might he live.

And then was she dressed: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[93] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] earplugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her skirt and her shirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the rain-rattlehead,[94] which she rattled. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn iquac: ayo chocaz, tlamattimaz, ololtimaz, 776
yehuatimaz, tlacoxcatimaz.

Auh yn iquac: tlamiquitiliaia, qui no iquac yn ezualqualiztli: yn tecuac tlamiquitilitiuh tlaloque, 796

[805]

cuiaoli in quichichiuia yxipila: quicuetilaia, quiujpiltiuia, [778]
quimamaia, ololquetzal, inch pilcatiuh cuetic teucujtlocuauhli:

yuan quichuauhtlaia, quimamaniquj yn itlenamacacauh,
yiacatli, iapan quimpoviltia,

cuichicaua tlamjtimaj, quicujcatia in calpoleque,
yoxpiccaque.

Auh in uel ixipila, yquac: mjquja: tlacoeli cioatl in [567]
quicuaia, inhuan quimamaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc
mochiuaztia, yn ocaltica atlacuj, yn acalaque, yn apastlaca: [463]
yuan acalquetzaque tlacquiuca, in quimechiztia atl.

No iuh quichichiuia, no iuh quitlamamacaia, no iuh
quimecauia: iuh tlacotiuja: in miquja, ytocaiocan tlalocan:
yn tecuac iaxopan, tlaloque, quoitetequja.

Je iquac y, no ceuca quimacuitiliaia, yn motecuçuma:
iapan tlamamacaia, yn ixipila, quitlacotonjjia,

iuh quimaia: quimochtlatlauj in tlacatl, quitlamachuja
yn jmacoxal: yuan tecuac momoztlilmatj, ynic quimahujxtiliaia
atl:

quitlamjquja, ca ic tlamaj, ca tonemca: yuan ic muchiua,
yn iuquich uiuiuh momaqui.

No iuh quimacuitiliaia, yn ixipila tonacaiotl, yn itoca,
chicome cuatl; yuh yn ixipila ixtatl, ytoca Vitzocicatl: ic
quitlamajquja; yn je tlamanjzti:

ca uel yuaxca muchiua in tacomalli, ic vellamati, ic vel 776
yaxcj.

Auh yuja, in ouichichiuia: mozaxcia, tzoxica, motecuçoma, momoxcuitlaoc, mococçalhuj, chalchihuacuaque, cuahuacuchi, tzontecomatlj, quetzalonjzacaia, ololcujtlolhuipilli, ololcujtlolhuipilli, ololcujtlolcuaie, ololcuçquauchimale, cuachicauaque, cocolaxcj; pagolocaque.

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90. Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 148): "este omitió una fiesta de este montón, o número de años, y era muy amarillo." Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 208): "el año omitió por el año llamado pasado pero a causa de terminarse este fiesta (sic) le llamaron amarillo."

91. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . la fomentaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua como son los que venden agua, en las canoas y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaza. . . ."

92. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . porque dicen, que entre sus dioses mantenjan, a la gente pagadora para que pudiesen, vivir, y mantenerse."

93. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . la pintaron, de azul, con color amarillo. . . ."

94. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenia en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con un cruz hecho a manera, de la cornalina, en que se lleva el agua bendita, quando van ante la Iglesia y con cruz cruz, dicen dicen." See p. 3, note 94. See also Illustrations of Chalchihuitl yuan and Tlapaltan texts.

776 **Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçoltzeul).**[33]

Tlaçoltzeul was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçoltzeul: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 551 And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiacapan (the elder sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocotzin (the younger sister).[34] These four women, it was said, were god[desses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçoltzeua).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[35] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; [783] one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçoltzeul offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green and yellow waters.[36]

[783] And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçoltzeul the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

793 And her warden[37]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[38]

776 783

Jnic matlactli vmeme capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa ya tlaçoltzeul.

In tlaçoltzeul: yeuan ixcua ixcujua, yeuan ixcua tlaelquanj. Jnic mononcaiotia tlaçoltzeul, qujl ipampa, qujl ixhuiul yiauca, ytlatequj, yuech pouj, in tenhuili, in tlaçolli: in qujyauaquj, ovilmomjlinili, qujl ipan tecui, ypan tlamacui, ya mojhuamjlinçual.

Auh yujc ixcua, ixcujua: qujl nauhtli ouah, in cioa: yujc ce yxcua tiacapan, yujc vme, yxcua teicu, yujc ey, ixcua tlaco: yujc nauj ixcua xocotzin. Jujque hin, nauajxin cioa: qujl teoua. Jujque hin, cuaxica yxcuca: tlaçoltzeua.

Auh yujc mononcaiotia tlaelquanj: qujl ipampa, ininpá mjtoa, inijpan mopou, ya jujquich nequalli: ilxpan mjtoa, momelaoa, ya jujquich tlahellachiualli: inmomel cuica tonamauhti, ivmomel cuica oujh: atle mopinavicacua, vel mauhti, ilxpan neci, ilxpan mjtoa. Neixhuelaoaliztli.

Qujmach in tlaçolli, in tenhuili, in mojhuamjlioiol: ixhuiul qujyauaca, ic tonotla, ic tohipixca in tlaçoltzeul. Auh çan no ixhuiul, qujtepolhuja: ixhuiul chico, tomac qujtjica, qujteca: ixhuiul, tepapaca, tehuhtic: ixhuiul inac nauj ya matlatzul, in tequalzul.

Auh injc qujtepopolhuja yujc chico, tlamamc, qujtjica, qujteca: ilxpan neielcujtilo, ilxpan neielcuelaoalo, ya tlaçoltzeul, ilxpá mopou, mjtoua, in telachiual.

Auh ilx, yoacac, ytlacaccauh mochica, in tlapouhqui, in

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33. The chapter on Tlaçoltzeul is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Einige Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

34. *Cf.* Edward Seler, *Translation of the Aztec Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called Ixcuinan, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaqueltzeul, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterous. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuinan, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as owned by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the drowning to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were successive girls' names. See p. 41.

35. Name of filth or of sodomy (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*sacrificio de cosas sucias*."

36. *Cf.* Edward Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 37, discussing Chalchihuitlicue and Tlaqueltzeul: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the vanity and evanescence of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after his birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchihuitlicue*, bring she cleanse of the dirt which does hurt of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady *Chalchihuitlicue*, the Lord *Chalchihuitlatonac* . . . enter the water, the blue (*Matlalatl*), the yellow, (*Tzapalatl*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which does hurt from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), wrote ". . . *entonces eso que la partera echa a la diosa del agua llamada* Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac, y *dicele así: 'Sabaon vuestro* Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac, *vuelve he a vuestro presente este criatura: vuelgase que la restituis.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echaba sobre ella su vasuelo, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y tambien la tocaba el pecho con ella, y el celebro de la cabeza, a manera de cuando se pone el dios y criatura a las aldas, y derivale de esta manera: 'Hijo mio muy amado,—y de mi mucho: dadle, hija mia muy amada—, llegase a vuestro madre y padre la señora Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac; almesa ella, porque ella es la de Lavar a criatura y en las brazos en este mundo.' Y luego metia en el agua a la criatura, y decia: 'Entre hija mia—a hija mia—en el agua, que es llamar Mechtlan y Tzapallan; lavase en ella, limpiase el que está en todo lugar, y venga por bien de apartar de vos todo mal que traeis con vos desde antes del principio del mundo.'*" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchihuitl-tzon and Tlaqueltzeul. In the fifth work of the *Translation of the Aztec Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchihuitl-tzon, the water goddess holds the hand of Tlaqueltzeul in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the thorax of the water goddess and in this manner is the handiness of Tlaqueltzeul. These two illustrations mentioned Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

37. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xiii (*tête, tonsurée*); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 249.

38. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 3) uses the term *Kalendermeisterinnen*.

the diapouhqui, who is reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the pictures [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting; the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been entrusted.[59]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[60] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[61] brought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer went down. Or penitents the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, hoar hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, she take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil conduct, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou cannot [to the god], however thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatsoever way thou art moved, in whatsoever manner it is, whatsoever thou hast done, whatsoever thou hast achieved, whatsoever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vice, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil odor, thy corruption.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatini, yn junc mani, yn amatli, yn tlacuilolli: in quipia 776
yn dili, yn tlapalli, yn metlatl, yn pinti, yn amatlatl, yn 793
oquipo 783

yn moyolmatiani in tlapilchiuhca; ochto quijtocaquijtia in tlapouhqui, quijlhuia.

Ca yeuhcauhca ximoyolmatiquj, yn tlacatl, yn tetecuja, in tlaqua nenque: in tetecuja, yiualli, yn tlacatl, yuqmiz, yyolcacahuia, xiyoxoxilimaquj.

Quijlhuia in tlapouhqui: ximomacuelili:

quijtocatia, yn iquia ouiler: quijquixna in uaiali, quijna [787]
yn jaxuxu, yn jilacuijlol: quijna, yn iquia qualli uaiali, yn
iacuxu, in qualcan: mjxu: quijmolquixnaia.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie yuaxuilipan, iancuic petlatl quicua:
yuan copalli, yuan quauijtl: yn tlamamini in tlamacuhqui,
qan ichan yn moichanlaca, in ueuqu iuah in tlapouhqui. Auh
anoce uuijc iuah, in tlamacuhqui:

iancuic petlatl in motecu, uellachpano yn uecuc motlalia:
yuan tlehlitic: xinan copalli cuemma in tleco in tlapouhqui, [788]
quijnecu in tlel; quijlhuia.

Teteu yuan, teteu yuan, ueue uuel, xjcoc ualletia, in
cuijlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn macuelli: xjcan chocatiuijn,
tlacuatiuijn, motequpachtiuijn, ancan omalanh, ancan
omoquetlauj, ancan oquijnamjc yn vicalloti, in tecuiuaili,
yn qocuijti; aquj ininlacua, quijnequjpachoa, Tlacatic,
tetecujo, tlaquahu nenquihc, motequp xicmocuijli, ica
xicmocuquiti, yn jnentlamachtilc yn macuelli.

Niman quijnecu, yn moichanlauhqui, in ichanti tlapouhqui: quijlhuia.

Tlamamiccatia yujxtinca, ilquamtinca, in tlaqua nenque;
tlamollujlica, tlamomaquilica, yn mjlaca, in mapalaca:
tlamelaquilujlica, in motequp, inmaquilaca,

a ma ne cuppa ich ujcan tlamatiuj, tlamopetiuj: ma
ipamatiuca xinequpetlaca, xinomamatiuj, in tlaqua,
nenque, in tetecujo, in iualli, in tlacatl.

A cujx tictlacatiua in tetecujo, a cujx mjtlamamatiua:
in iualli, in tlacatl.

Auh yujx quen tlujxi, ma xictlapo in motequp, in mapalcal: ma xicpoa in motequjlic, in motlachtiual, yvin quenja
tlamati, yvin quenja cah: in quenja machtiuh, in quenja tec;
in quenja tlachiuh, in mamapal, in mamapanjuc:

xinequpj, xicpolinij, in mamatica, in mapalaca, in mjlaca
in mapalaca.

Auh xinomatlamamacuhtili, yn tetecujo, in tlaqua nenque,

59. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Sahagún, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

60. Cf. contemporary Spanish text, Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, given as meanings of *nealli*, *ahuiat*: (1) "engaños, obras y deshonestidades"; and (2) "*Obra secreta de tinieblas . . . inquietudes, y pensamientos y malpensamientos, por cosas secretas [sobre obras, . . .]*" Angel María Garibay K., *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, México: n. p., 1940), p. 111, translates *tlaqua nenque* as "*que está oculto y jurado*"—the one, God in general.

61. Context suggests that pronoun refers to the penitent.

776 783 793 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and
cometh thee upon his back."
"He shrieks; he not timid because of thee; he not
backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he neared himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the one] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, possessor of all, because thou possessest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are collected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 776 783 793 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his sins.

Then conversed the seer, the soothsayer [of the god]; he said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Cinteopiltzi descend, when the feast of the Cinteopiltzi or the Incensers is celebrated,[66] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt sweep thy mouth; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, or night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with arrows and magney spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. Thou thus thou prayest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass those arrows, as many as thou wishest, whether arrows or magney spines. And thou shalt pass those arrows either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the arrows through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only in vain mirth. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the arrow] from in front of thee.

"When thou discover it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou wishest it so; or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the arrows, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Then shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in mocuepaltiztica, y mocuetlaxica, in tepanaxtica;

ximoxtepalo, ma ximoyiquipano, ma ximixiti.

Niman ihtlapan in tlamacazqui, mocuepaltoca: ajtoca ipan mocuitlaxi in tlapanahuiz: quiljtoja, inja mitzajtzi, yuja tepanaxtli, yuja mixiquilo.

Tetzinjoc; tlaqualo, mocuepalo: ca tlamacajlo, ca tlamocuepajlo, in ajtoca in tepanaxtica: mojquimiqui, mojquipopolaua, mojquimocuepaja: ca ooc, ca onjechiuhti: ceja ichtaca, ceja tlaixnecuiz, ce tecuic, ca tlacilpan in mojquimixtica, yn ooc.

Niman ompeualtic: in jihquichiuhtic, vel inja quenjo cah, vel yuja quenjo quichiuh: yn ooca qua cujcuil, cocoa qua jnin cocoa, cocoa yuia cocujoa, yn jnh quichiuh, in ioaca qua ueli, cocoa quimocuiti yn jihchiuhti, yn jnhuj cocoa quimocuiti.

Auh yn ohuanjto yn jihcuil, yno ouchi quijto yihchiuhti:

quimocuepilia, yn tlapanahuiz, yn jnili, yn mocuetli mochiua, in tecujoji, in tepanaxtli: quiljtoja.

O ca tlamocuetlachilia, ca tlamocuepajlia, in tlaqua tecuqua, ma mocuetlachiuh, in mocuepaxtica.

Auh yuja, ca inca yn tuia, yn tlachiuaz: yn jqua: tonoa, yn jqua: tonoa cinteopiltzi, onoqa yn jqua: yuijlhuiqui cinteopiltzi, yn jocuqua: tonijhqui tlamqueua, tlamocuiltonoloqueua, tlamocuetlaxica.

Auh yn iqua: vel jihcujl, in ic ueliuaqi, in inchica tlapacahuqua, tlalacuepajtzic: yuja mochipachiuhti, inh tlamatjztic yj: auh yuja inh mocuqua ca yj:

auh in quenjo tlacuepalo, inh tlacuepalo: yuala tlapacahuqua, ichcauf in tecuilquauf tlapajtzic, onoqa tlacuel. Auh ayo momacaxco in tlalaqujztic, onoqa momacapilco.

Auh yuja tlapajtzic: ca ooc ma qua tlalamacoua, ca mohili, tlaqalli in tlaltiqa, tlaltiuaqua, tlacujlacuepanaxtic, y mocuepaqui, mojquiqua tlacuqua.

mocuetlaxica in tlapajtzic, in tlaltiqua: ayo qua ooca in tlapajtzic, onoqa qua tlacuepajtzic, tlaltiuaqualtic, yn ayo mocuepaqui, ayo mocuaxili, in tlapajtzic tlacuel.

in pulcaia, in mocuetlacuel, in mocuepaltiztiuel, in mocuepaxtl.

66. Cf. Note 56.
68. See Cap. X. The Cinteotlas or Cinteopiltzin were thought to be mock-gentlemen who descended to earth in the form of maize; they lurked now in the soil alone.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt punch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt serve thy outside for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Tezcatlipoca."

And he then commended him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with painted figures,[64] sprinkling one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, thou before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—as it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy thereby.

It was said that they said only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, soothsayer spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and said in secret to the god. And him secret man might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which talks of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, then] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, sponge was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Ach iuia qua ziua, ye jiluijchiual, tlamacuhqui: 785
quijtoa,
tlacuacuaua, titlacatlaquaua, tlamajlacuiqua, 776
xaqjlujqui:
anoqe quijtoa 783
tlalnemi, tlamacuhcaua, tlapiqui: 795

anoqe quijtoa.

ca ual ueli, ye jqua ontlamaquiliti, tlapiqui jqui in tonatiuh.

Ach quijtoa, yuje quijnamiz:

ye iqua: tlan, ye tlalnamacaz inchica, ale mocuch ueuetlac, tlapolchiuhtic: ye momaxac, amatl tlatlacuepaltli in mantlac: cuecul mjcuepa, tecomalcuepa, mantlac.

Ach ye jqua: tlaxilacuepac, uepa tecuilaqui ye jnijquac tetecujuac, ye tecua, ye momaxac.

Ach ye jqua: ualamacuch, ujcuac cuicuch ye jchac:

ic ommajac, mommjlacuepa: quijmach ica ic cuepa tlalcac, quil ca mocuc tlacatlilaz.

Quijmach qua yio uey nequalli, uey nequazjuetli, in tetlamatilotli: in quijtoaia ueuequi.

Jujc mitlatlacaia ueuequi: quijmach, ualmoel, yuje ueuetacujtlalcuepa, ujcuac tlalnipac, ye jnelquiliual: yuele [684]
cuelajtzi yuje ueuequetzaliztlac, yuje ueuequetzinujlac, yuje ueuequetzacualac, mitlatlacaia.

In tlapachqui, ye jiquac tlalilo, tlapiliztlalli: qua ujcuac ueuequi quijoa, in tlein iquac tlalilo, in tlein iliujlo:

iquac ca ueuc ich ye jiliujlo, in ueuetzalo, ca tlequac, ca tuequac, in tuecc, in jiliujlo, in tlapiliztlalli: ca ueuc ich ueuetzi, in ueuetzalli.

Jujc matlactli ueuey, capitulo: yeuelqua tlatoa, ye 776
ujcuacan ueuetl: ye quijtoaqueliz, ye ueuetzinujlac, ye ueuetzalo ueuetl.

Xiuhtecutli: ueuequtqui, yeuac cuepaltzin. Jiuhcatl ueuetzinujlac in tlapl, anoqe ueuetl yeuac ueuetzi:

ueuetl iquac mochiuia: ichica, ca uelacia, uejquiqa, uelchiuhca, tlachiuhca: yeuac mjac tlamamilli, yuje tlacuelqui: ca ic uecuelo, ic tlapoueua, ic tlacuajtzilo, ic tlacuac, ic tlacualchiuhca, ic uecuelchiuhca, ic uecuelchiuhca, ic uecuelchiuhca, ic tlacuacuajtzi, ye tlacuacuajtzi, ic tlalcuacualo, ye uelcuajtzilo, ic uecuelchiuhca, ic uelchiuhca, ic tlacuelchiuhca.

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64. The most characteristic outfitting of Tlazolteotl is a brown wrapped with a distinctively green impressed with painted figures (see Codex Borbonicus, records of Ochpaniztli). The paper lots cloth is an duplicate of this same pattern. Probably the [illegible] were by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the lots cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text has "que son mayores en dignidad que los otros dioses."

776 cooked, and roasted in a pan; one roasted [on the fire]; sweet-houses were heated, sugarcane were cooked, things were cleaned.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Huitzilopochtli; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some mushrooms, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Then, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival more greatly honored
[273] was—when Huitzilopochtli danced a priestly dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tecuxuxulco.[69]

And at this time everyone [including] all the children,
[608] every one of them, tasted the wine. Then it was called [the
431] time when] the children drink wine.

And then they gave the children tortillas and atole, a man
[304] [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and
852] gave gifts. Then took [the children] upon their backs, and
776 carried them then to the temple of Iztapalapan. There [the parents] placed their sons; then they placed a sign upon them, while their tortillas and atole[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

[Iztapalapan's] ceremonies was [then]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of tlecuahuitz; a crown of xpan-chalcas;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhuiqueztilliztic, omohuiztic: ipan ixpoyoca yecalli: quiquipohtoniz in omomoyauac, iquac tlacomacoxtic, cipaltomajlitic,

omohuiqueztimalli mochiuhtiuia, in omomoyauac: achtec iquac quiyauajtiuia in tlaxcal, quenqua quaqua.

Auh yn juexiccauac, ioh omotlaujqui, in quiquicuica, quiyecuiquichtiuia, quiquipanoltiuia, omomaxilitiuia:

auh ayac: ye ximoquaia in omomoxtic, mohuiuaxtiuia, yniac ayac xca mochiuia, mochichiuac: ipampa in tamalyoca ocmohuiqueztimalli, yniac ohtlamamaxtic.

Auh in piptlamatl, mochiuia quipohuaquiztic: yn axc cuacli: cuijatl, xocojli, axolotl, xocotl: in qua chiua ocacic iuiuli, yyaxac: cuahquajn in tlacuilli: ic mijtoaia, mochiuaqui yn axc.

Auh yn cioaxc, xocojan tlachiuaxtic in xocoyoc, yhuacqueqc: ioh quijtoaia, quiyhuiuiztlaia yn tlaxcal, xocoxtiuia.

Auh mochiuhtiuia, yn ic axc, omochichiliuia, tlacuilo: iquac mocuicujtoaia yn mocuicujtoc, iquac yn jueuetl, xiuhtecutli, yuecaxcan tecuxuxulco.

Auh in jquac ley, ye mochichiuac, ye ic iuqujch chiuac, quijtoaia, quiquaqua, in octli, in piptlamatl: ic mocuicujtoia, pilhuaxoc:

yeuan octli quiquitoia, quiyauaxjtoia in piptlamatl. Ca cioaxl, ic aquajchtli, in quijxoxouia pilhuaqua, quiquiauhtoia; ichcatzin quiquauacuiqua, xuqua quiquauacuia, yn iuqujn iztapalapj: xuqua quiquauacuiquaia, quiquauacuiuiqua: tlalaqua in quiquauhcuiuia, yniac quiquauia, yuallauan, yuauajxtoc: quenqua tlaqualo.

In juachichiual cuexc: ilhiua xocuecujlitic, chichilchiuauh, xiuhcuauacuitl, quauitlajxcuitl, mojxcuac, chocuauac, xiuhcuauacuitl, cuauacuauacuitl, ic tlatoilo, cuexjalo, xiuhcuauitlachquauqui yn jchiual, chichilcuapilli.

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66. "Una de las hierbas que se cocían cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, es como verde, tiene las cosas delgadillas y chillas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Las tales de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se coce para comer, sale a cercas, sembrase del agua que se coce para comerse; hácese tamales de esta hierba los cocidos se llaman quilaxc." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 210. On p. 196, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranto* or *hoja chichilosa Amaranthus*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's portion roasted and roasted there outside. In the Nahuatl ground, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 208; *ne tecuxuxulco* in Sahagún: *ne*, etc.

69. Described as the 64th sample in Translation, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *pulque* (pul-drinking, pulque or pulque).

71. *Chichilchiuauh*—a wrap for the head, on with jewelled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*chichiuauh*) quetzalcoatl or *xiuhcuauacuitl* quetzalcoatlquan—a class of feather mosaic work in the form of a crescent cross, bearing quetzalcoatl, quetzalcoatl *tlachquauhtl* or

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fire-serpent weapon; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had arrows and ear-shells. He shield had pieces of turquoise and silver-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace hall. When people feasted, if one of us were lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Therefore (the god) gave them, as received punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and pilos.[70]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or chase the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted three; they ate at chili, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "pulverized atoll," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the face of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—tortillas of corn not softened by lime,[71] without chili; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man bearer (in likeness [of the god]), wrapped in [his] clothing, in which he danced, they bore the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing arrows through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, for number which they had made for him. There were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery cotton.

Some then offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five ears small tortillas with a sauce, and others [offered] two ears made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cobs which were like supplied corn or lightning bolts; [or] honeycomb tortillas, tortillas of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cobs made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like chilchilli, acocoxtli, ocoxtli, and chilli.

And here, in Mexico, from everywhere, were brought cupcakes, called "vulture-cupcakes," [from] all varieties [plants]

Juic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: inchpa chane in tecuil, ya iuan: macuilxochitl, yuan xochipilli.

Çan nenemiqueq, ynic nenemilitiaq nequamatiaq iuan:
ya iquac: nequixtiaq, inic aca nequixtiqui iquac cincuechiz, 776
ayaqui cincuel, iquac ayquimoxiliz: aquiaxia, quiquetzaquiquia 688
ya iuaquaxia, 753
ic quimatiaia, ynnach quiximiliaia, quiximilitiquiaia, quiquia- 785
cuechiaia, in xochitzintli, yn nenemachtli, chopolocuchtli, 834
quauhtlatoli,

yniqui nenemi, nenemilitiaia, ynic quiquia, ynic
quiquaxia ynic quiquaxiaia, cocoltiaia.
Auh ya iquac: ilhuiquixtiliztia, iquac xochilloquiqui: achiquac 776
xochilloquiqui nenechiquaxia: in ouquiquia ic nequaxia, chil- 796
cuauia, quiquaquaxia nenamiqui, in chaquaxia, cuauhquaxia,
inchaquaxia quiquaxiaia, chaquiquiaia in quiqui, nochimaxi [264]
ya iquac on, nenechiquaxia:

nenchi quiquaxia in xolic, quac no nequaxia nenamiqui
quiquaxiaia. Auh ya aca quac quiquaxiaia, in ixtlamatli
quiquaxia, ayac chilli: no nequaxia nenamiqui quiquaxiaia:
yc chaxaquiqui ya ilhuiquixtiliztia, iquac ic cincuel
quiquixiquixtiaia, cuauhquixiaia ya ylaxqui, iquac mixuaxia,
quiquaxaxaquixtiaia, quiquixtiaia:

yuan in ic nequaxia nenamiqui, chaxaxaxaia, nequaxia,
chaxaquixtiaia: yuh chaxaquixtiaia ya iuaquac, macuilxochitl in [785]
quixhuixtiaia, xaxalli: mixuaia chaxaxaquilli, cuaxa xaxa-
iquac yuaxtiaia xaxaquixtl:

ya aca quauhtzintl yniqui cuauquixtiaia, yuan cuauquixtiaia 776
ic no nacatlaxal xaxalquixtiaia, xaxalxtiqui: yuan xaxal [415]
xaxalli yhtl yniqui, no cuauj quauhtzintzin, xaxalxtia, cuauxal 262
chilic, cuauxal chalchiquiqui. 796

Auh ya aca iuquiqui, ayaqui xaxaquiqui, ayaqui xaxaxaxilli,
yaquixtlaxaxalli, ixtlamatli, xaxalhuaxalli, xaxalchilcalli,
xaxalcocoxtli, xaxalocoxtli, xaxalocoxtli:

yuan inic xaxiquac ynchaxaxaxia, in xaxalxtli ayac xaxaxia, 776
xaxaxaxa xaxaquixtiaia, ya iuaquiqui xaxiquixtiaia, ya 796

[illegible] 727

70. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "hasta que enfermaban, de los partes secretos, . . . almorranas, pudrimientos del miembro secreto, dolores, tumores, etc."

71. In corresponding Spanish text: "pan sin sal."

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796 [illegible] on, brought by those [Nahua] living on the
727 borders of warring people. Those who had taken those prisoners, those "[illegible]-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him; they brought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

776 Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated. And the gods [of Mexitlan-Chichil was then]: on his lips there was the impress of a hand. His face was red and brown. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-disk, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was gird behind, had red edges. He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Two Reed (Ometeotl).

[773] This Ometeotl was god of Ultzinco.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced bamboo-invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that men relations assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why does thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

[753] And if he was amply escaped, when one saw he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [so] one said, he saw the god, often he chidered. Then he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was choked when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

776 And then was his face celebrated. Where are the image
796 of the god first made a second cylinder [of dough]: this was the base of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—for, round.

And before it was placed among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when they broke, they stabbed Ometeotl in the stomach and killed him. Then the second ball was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been cancelled, as if one were commanded to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who escaped, when the feast ended, had paid with their mantels and their slaves, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And then was he dedicated: he had a crown of feathers—

[illegible], ye [illegible] ennepa, ye quipachoaia ye [illegible], ye [illegible], in [illegible], [illegible]: ninon quipiqui, ye ninipan, in [illegible].

Auh [illegible] ica [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], ipan [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]:

in [illegible], ica [illegible], ye [illegible] [illegible].

Auh ye [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible],

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of nothing with snail-shells.[79] He bonnet ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] accoupled with a chalky complexion; his shield was shell-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He was upon] his sword of reeds and snakes.

yquanchipacuacuchili, ocuacic, yxcuchin, ixipacuaqui oyhi 776
tecuxtlolopacuaqui ya jaxtic: ya jaxchichinal, yxipacuaxili,
yxipachinal, ocuapoin, yxiachinin yxuac cuica, yxolopal,
ocuapalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which [illegible] **of the god** [illegible] **Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-scraper (Tlalcocolin).**[80]

Juic cuatelli ycc cuplitaln yxcdqui cicoca, in ueui ya
jaxca, cocoa, ixtilitoan, tlalcocoxqui.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacatlecan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Tecui cocoa, qua quaxtil ya jaxquan cocoa, yxcuicoan [346]
cacajlocoan: in vecoa yxcquan, mojac ya quaxtli, tecuxcuil-
cocoa, mocuxtlocoia ixtilitoali.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh ya aquja cocoxcoia, yxiocoxili, vecqua quiajcoia ya 776
jaxquan Ixtilitoan: cocoxil, quajcoqueia ya quaxtli, cocajcoia 757
ya jxitlocoli; ic yacia in yxiocoxili.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, until incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was accoupled [like the god].

Auh ya aquja quajcoia, cuquilica in cocoxcoia, yxiac 776
quajcoia yxiaca ya jaxpala: qua cocoxil in mochichicoia. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where dance was to be [illegible] **and** [illegible] **was sprinkled. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the vessel [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.**[81]

Ja cacic: yxiaca, tlacoxcia, cayocoia: ajacoa tlachiquaca, 776
ocica: ya cuiaquaxtic, ajacoa cajcoxia, ya jxitlitoan: ya
cuajcoxi, ya cocoxcoxili, cuiaxic cocoxcoqui: ichcoxil quajcoqua [273]
in vcili, cacilitoqica cocoxcoxtica: ic cajcoxia, chicocuaqueia,
vicocoaca.

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Nicoan ya vecqua, ya ic chocoaca: oc cuqua cuiaquja iocoica,
quajcqua ya jxitlocoli, oc cocoxcoxica cacilitoqica: ic
cocoxcoxilicoqui in quajcqua:

If dry, cobweb, crown, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said purchaser he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a sorcerer, he who had the dance. Then they confronted and reproached him sharply. Then they said [the god] caused discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic cajcoxia, ic cocoxcoxia, iocla chiquili, yocla cocoxcoxili, [187]
yocla tocoxili, iocla cocolli, vecoa vecoxoc: ic cajcoxia, aqo
tecuxtlaca, aqo ichoca, aqqqo chocilloaca; cocacilitoa: oc
aqo chocoxcoxilla, in chocoxia, ic quajcocoxia, quajcocoxcoxia,
quajquaxtia: ic cajcoxia cocoxlaca, cocoxqueia cocoxca: ichica, ca
quajcocoxcoxca, quajcoqueia, ic cocoxcoxila, ya cocoxlaca.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called [illegible] **(face-covering).**[82]

Auh yxiac cuiaquja cocoxli, quaxtlili ya quajcocoia cocoxcoi- [292]
cia, ixquan.

Then was [Ixtlilton] indigo: he was spread over with [illegible]**; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was**

Juic: cocchichicoia, cocqoc, cocoxcojolliquqoac, cajcoi- 776
quitlitoli, ya jxcocqoc: cocqoquechichiquqila, cqocoxilla,

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79. For description, see Sahagún and one in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 513 and 523; and also Sahagún (Dorsey) —Plate 13.

The term *cuachtli* means this animal cape or mantle, with one-half shells located where the ends crossed. The *chalcocuil* and the *cocoxcuil* were probably the same or similar. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 1, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 7. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "un encarnado de un palmo en quadro, hecho en tela sola, al qual llamavan *yxcuitlaxcuitlin*, *chalcocuil* con cosas *cocoxcoxilli de chiquitos a los pechos*. . . ."

80. God of medicine. Tlalcocoxqui (or *tlalcocoxcoxqui*) is probably formed from *chili* and *cocoxcoxia*. Cf. Seler: *Beiträge Kaplerd*, Vol. I, p. 16.

81. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 316: ". . . *los que acostumbraban beber los mayores y hombres viejos vecoa, que es llamado octapil.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamavan tlachiquaqueia, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *cocoxcoxili*, see Sahagún, op. cit., p. 37, for a definition of *cocoxcoxilli*.

82. ". . . *durante estos: los quales llaman tequitl que quiere decir, cubierta de la cara porque quedava, amorenado, igual que este hombre, de fuera. . . .*" Loc. cit.

776 white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with special feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red macaw feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had conches and shells. He had sun-shoes.

cuauhtlecuaqui ye ichcatzoni, yecachqui ipan itec, xomalo ye ixcuaquan, xoxoctic ye ichtilcal, chalchi yiztlacuqui, mapilcuaqui, yacatzoni, cotzalli, cuitlatl, ixcuitlaxcoc.

Seventeenth Chapter, which relates of the god whose name was Lord (Opochtli), whom exceedingly men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlaloes. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

[713] They said that he made and revealed his ceremonies and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

776 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water,

796 food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of cane places, scented snake, incense, and cover-smelling herbs. These they

[213] spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their cacao-boards at him. They strewed roasted [pop-]corn grains like buttonwood, or like scattered dice. And also his old man, his old woman, and the city elders made music for him.

Ixic cuetlali ynnemac cuptitzin, yecchqui chaoac, yn teuctl, yn iuan cuaca opochtli: yn quiyocuaxtzin in cuecuch, nican chaoac.

Inic opochtli, ipan ximoaxin, chaoac: cuaca iuan cuaca, quiyocuaxtzin.

Ioh quiyaxin, ca ichcauil ichcauiztl, yhcacuztl, quiyauitl, quiyauitzin in cuaxtlal, yn ozlatl, yn mijmacchalli, yn ozlatl, tzacuatzli.

Auh yn iquac ilhuiyapitzilhuia, ad, chaqualli, octli, in ueueli cuachtlaxin: yuan cincuapilli, cuchtlal, yhtal, cuapilli, yhtalcuti, quiyapetlaxin, ic quiyauaxtzinquiza: chicuacuili cuacuachtlahuia cuauhtlali quichiuetlaxin: ichquiza uxtzitl pacia: ac yuh quiyocuatzinia, yn ixcuitlaxcoc, yn ichcatzoni, cuipalaqui.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black ungueen—a liquid rubber covering; he had a macaw-feather spray with single special feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Ja ixochichtlal cuica: cuauxilo, chalquilli, chalchilli, ezcuaxoc, quetzalxiuitzin, cuauxcuilo, cuauxquauilo, cuauhtlaxin.

Eighteenth Chapter, which relates of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

He was the god of the sun-shoes people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

776 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular ceremonies, his

753 sacrifices, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, corns, smallpox, ophthalmia, sunken crusting watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes,[84] filling of the eyes with flesh, whitening of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

776 Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would

796 thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All bestrewed pressing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]soaked, dripping [blood], glossing [with

Ixic cuetlali ynnemac, cuptitzin, yecchqui chaoac, in teuctl: yn iuan, xipe totec.

Ahcauil iuauh: cuapaxca in uel iuauh cuica,

yn ixquich pacia, yn ixcuiuac yhcachtlal, yn ixcuiuac: ic tocuitlaxin, ic tocuaxin, ichcauil quiyauaxtzin, in tocuacuilaxtli, quapaxcuilaxtli, cuacuilaxtli, ixtlahuiaxtli, ixcuapipiquilaxtli, ixcuaquilaxtli, ixcuahquetzilaxtli, ixcuapachilaxtli, ixcuacuilaxtli, ixcuaxilaxtli, ixcuayxilaxtli.

In cuajo ipan ouchtlaxin, yn cuauhtli tequipachi, yniqui cuauxtlaxin, yniqui uitzuia: yniqui tocuaquiza yn ximoaxin, yniqui ixtlan cuaxin, yn ixquac ilhuiyapitzilhuia: cuauxtlaxin, chocuiquauhtli.

chapolchichtlaxin, cuauxin, uitzquipatzin cuauxcuaxin, cuachtlaxi cuitlatzi, chichiltzacuiui, chichiqui-xiui, tzacuchtzacuj in

79. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 308 (tecpanquichiquilli).

80. Cf. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 991) for explanation of cuauxcuilo and cui.

81. ". . . se donde de tres puntas que se llama cuauxcuilli."—Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli contains the same information: ". . . se como fuego, arrojaua un dardo, con tres puntas, [arrojaua] barcoles, pardo colorado (of) colorado [of] two colors) con que hacen, a los peces; y tambien el el cuatro cuos."

[501] 82. Signifying in the text, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the same verbs, ca, which is substantially inaccurate.

83. Seler (*Translation of the Aztec Collection*, p. 102) cites Hernandez (*Hist. pan.*, Lib. III, cap. 17) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Tenochca district. A close discussion of the "tepitzin y chapoxcuiui" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 133. See also note 89.

84. Meaning problematical.

blood], so that they sacrificed those whom they followed.[86] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chieftains—those men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, insinuating and pretending to be warriors, confident of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, some running.[87] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tzoncos.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[88] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on zapote-fibre mats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[89] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his Yopi-crown[90] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a zapote-leaf skirt. He had curtlas. His shield was red and had circles. His cacle stick[91] was in his hand.

Nineteenth Chapter, which treats of the god named Lord of the Vanguard (Yacatecuhtli).[92]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, carrying in paper[93] the cross traveling staves[94] with

tzoncos, yeje motemacahtlinic: quipanocalitiaia, quipanmjqui-
ia tlacatecuhtli, tlapopoloui, tlatemoani:

yuan in inquijchi, qua papaquijoj, ye mjhiotiaia, tlatlauani, mocuijchanqui, mocuijchanoqui, mocuijcuauhqui, mocuitlaxtlaqui: tlacuilolliquac: tlacuilolliquac: tlacuilolliquac

776 463 464 which they journeyed. Whenever they slept, there they set down up; before them they did penances, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they searched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds—the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

mentecacaia, inchipa cuchiuqui, tocuac quijtlequetza, inpan tlamacoca, mjjo, quijcajahuajtia, yeje quijtlaxhcia ya jueueuh yiacatecutli, yeje quijtlaujtia, yeje quijmamaquijtia, yeiacatlilic:

nauajac acicinauj, calactinauj. Auh ic motenoua, pachoua yiaqua: inoch cauqui, ya inoca ioueuh, yiacatecutli:

Ontenoua, mauac: calaqujaj, vel quijmacinauj, in tlein quijmamachiqui, mauac quijmaquahtinauj, mauac quijtocacinauj,

tenalitlaxhtinauj, hacacicitlaxhtinauj, mocicuhqueuhtinauj, mocicuhqueuhtinauj, cicicitlaxhtinauj, mocicuhqueuhtinauj, yeellalocitinh, yenjaqua tlatlacuh, iaxmal quijmacujnauj, iaxmalmanjah iniuh:

iaxlacal quijmanjcinauj, ethehtli, aquil, quijmacuja, quijlocacuja, inquijchca mac: iaxmilqui, iaxmapan ic tlatlacqa, ic tecquequetza:

vel quijcilacj vel quijhtiaxja, yeic quijmoca in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in tecuiujtl, ya apaquatli, in tecuiujtlatl: in aquapan ilaujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlaxhquechtl, xiuhtotoal, in tentli, çaqua: quauhtli, in tequanacatl, ya ocelopeletl.

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que se vuelve negro [negro], morisco sin duda ninguna: que se vuelve jaspeado, de los que se usan en España." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (London: Cooper Clark, ed. and n.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives heathen (*Rambosa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (op. cit., 57-8) says they gathered the stones all together, gilt with a ribbon, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente* (*ejercitaban comercio calaquijnin*) (Seler: op. cit., p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: "*Yiacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyoatecutli ('der Herr der Wappenpanner') war der Gott der Kaufmannschaft der äusserst zahlreiche calaquiní der tierra caliente, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ocuitlan in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtecutl*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 330, to the *Nanahuatzin*, appears to refer to a glade or clear of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* [103] *tlaxcqua*.

96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, especially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the term as "*todas las poblaciones, que están cabeza de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Pochtecas hasta Anáhuac, que dicen vale de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Estuvieron en la provincia de Anáhuac, en todos, tres capítulos que dicen de parte del señor de México con quien estaban ciudades y confederadas . . . dicen todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En este pueblo se dividían, unos iban a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anáhuac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 334.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac Xicalanco as the area of Tabasco.—Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 496.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en este tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llamanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y tizlli piedra de navaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin manchas ningunas, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene manchas, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Tecuitlatl, quiere decir turquesa de los dioses . . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy lucida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que crie en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobladizas cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El zacuan que tiene en la cabeza esto es (quetzalcuitl) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llaman a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esto que el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; se precian estas plumas y llámanse tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene colgan en el pecho y en los costados y debajo de las alas; son la cabal pluma y la cabal verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tzoquechol* means red spoonbill or precious spoonbill. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color colorado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 483). Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 37n., gives *Platalea Ajaja* name L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *cuitlatzcuit* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Catiaga elegans* S. Coueslas (*ibid.*, p. 494). Clark (loc. cit.) gives *Catiaga aurelliae* Gould.

103. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164: "Cuando vuela y entonces la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) verdosas al color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llamas de fuego y como son, colores en Anáhuac."

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[418]
[439]

Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in xiuxtli, in xquauitl, yn ezaccaiotl:

[292]

intlaxal iuxtlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, ixtlan ozomaj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in xochihiuxlistica, in xexistica, in tlaxilxin quijxolochcalhuja in chaxaqui:

[263]
[266]

Auh intla ozlaxquamaltiquac, intla oitzquac: vacan quijquixmijctia, quijchilleztlia: ça ocn, aço ce, aço vme yn oc ol tonatiuhquac quijqa, iuhxtl quijxolocotzaia in tonecpanca:

[431]
[301]
[301]

ic vacan quijnaca, ocquijlia, yaquqmalmocuh, yc quijnaviniotia, ic quijnecaiotia, in tlacauh, vacan ic ocquijchia.

Auh yn jquac oalacia, yxchan: vn juilloch, ynnecuepal ocquijchiuhquac, yn otlaluchacico, yn otlaluchpachiuhquac: inquijch tlacatl quijnoca, in pachtoca: yoan in tlatoquac, ic tonminiaia:

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[778]

mjtoa, mocripaca, omoa quijnavintilaia yn itopil, yn jtlacqaia yiacatecutli:

oma in calpulco quijquetzaia: achto quijtlamanjlia, yn jquac totlaquahlia: yoan intlaca xel motocuaxoma, quijtlamanjlia in çan mochipa yn jtlaquaia.

Auh intla aca tzaiia, iuhxtl calxiaia, quijnoaia in jxcuh yiacatecutli: amoqo oume iuhxaxin yn mochoaia, in quijnoxotzaia in chicomequjauijl, amoqo chalmocacicotl, yoan acxomocuijl, yoan nacatl, cochinotl, iacapitzaoc, aiac quijcuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, amoqo vme, ce altic tlacatl:

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vnqa omomvnin yn tlacatecmjlocu axcapotzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapaquilia, quijxocuepa, quijnjhitza, yn qualnin quijxocuepa, yn acxan qomamjquac, in tlacaiocti, in tlacamelaxoquac, yn acxan cocuzqui, yn atle intlacuh ce:

yajc iuhxan quijmicinqua, yn iqua panquetzalistli: yn vacan Huitzqujxilitzia vitzilxochtli:

yquac quijchichinoia, quijtlamamaca, intech quijtlalia yn jxhqaj yxochichinol yiacatecutli.

Auh yn xiuxan quijmjctia, achtopa quijxoxiniaia: mjtoa quijnjmacia, ic quijmochiuia in tetlaquac:

[194]. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 77): Yxcuitlahqui "*pregonaron capitanes pocos, que tiene vinqa, é hablidad, para mofar graciosamente, é engañar, y se rehen, y engañ (que es propio cordiales de Mexicanos)* . . . ."

[195]. Cf. Soler (*Ensayo Histórico*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyn. Coth. Mex.* S. II §83.

[196]. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que es llamar lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

[197]. Sahagún defines quijnjquilli as "*yplacio del lavrjo, ó pasmado*" (Spanish version).

[198]. Sahagún defines the ceremony in this manner: "*Estos dichos que mataban a estos cautivos*."—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

[199]. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Soler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) mentions Cuchimal and Yxquimaxac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli. "Chicomequisiuitl or Cuchimaxtzin is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuitl is Tlazolteotl, Nacatl is Quetzalcoatl.

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796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song marking death.

[565] And if any were noted who were very noble, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food
[595] and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 (Yacatecutli's) array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden-ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore primarily sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlachiia, tetlaqualiia.

Auh yn jtlachilhoua, iaccan, quijoquetze: mach tlaçotlmatli, yn jmach quijtolalilia: ipã mjtoniia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatiaoaj, tlatlahtiaoaj yn jueuje, yejc momiquiniquequeloa.

Auh intla aca cittac, in cenca mjmati tlaahtilli, yn
[565] cujcatoatinj, in ielimatqui, yn jue, yn illic: quijquixtiaia in piqlti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

ao ichapj, intla cioatl, intla tlacatechihuqui, anoço vellaqualchiua, vel achiua, in qualli yioch, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatzinolooac: ao quijtilaia, quijmoelaccioaxaia in piqlti.

Jn jaechichiaol motlatlalali, mixuperui, yoonjlo, iequeto, iequetzoua, quetzallalpile, teucujlonacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jxilma, tlaçomaztle, cuitzile, cioxale, tecaqua, quetzalxicalcolchiuhqui yn jchimol, yelacçaia ymac omac, oelatapile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[173] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and barbeth men; he shaveth and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Juic cempoalli capitulo, yechpa tlamo yn tonal yn jueua catca Napa tecutli.

Jnah ynjuua, ca no iioch panj yn tlaloque: iehuan yenjxoxoua, iocatjan, in calpolloc, quijmomoiia in petlachihuque:

yoacz tolcuechihuque, in tlacuechjhuque, yuoch mopouia:

iuh quijtoia, ca iehuatl achto quijmachti, quijnititi, in petlachiualiztli, yn iequichiualiztli:

iehuatl ocmoa cocoxaoia, tlatqujua, tlamattia, tlapouhtia.

Jnon iuh quijtoia ca iehuatl quijmaltia, quijquixtia, in toli in tolpitzouac, in tolpotlactli, in tolinjquilli, atzaqui, in tolquijtol, in tolcuqui, yn jxoxoli, xocali:

yuan yn jquac iliuiztlahuijquia, iuh mjtoua, tapaqua, tealtia, tapan quijxoxoloua, tapan quijquixoua, yn cuechili, cuaxo tlatlolonjlilioia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quijmoaia, tlacatli, in quijnitiuia ixtelolocx.

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that: "este vestiaba una una manta azul, y sobre el azul, una red negra de manera que azul, se parecia, por las mallas de la red."

111. The *xicalcolchiuhqui* also has been referred to as a quetzal-feathered serpent-head design.

[618] 112. *Calpolli*—due to gens, which organized, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Soler: op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 89, citing Alonso de Zorita: Breve synopsis relacion, Vol. II, pp. 72-127). In various of his writings Soler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "Tambien ordenaba de juntar que llamaban calmecatli."

114. *Cf.* Sahagun: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

They scrapped him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[110] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governor of his guild (*calpulque*)[111] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, then clothed, then departed [with the *calpulque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up mats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] indight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hair-dress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepitoton), who were held to be among the Tlaloc.

[The Tepitoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloc.

These thus named Tepitoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images, that they would make representations of

qujchichinoia, ynac: mactinoca, nonoujc, nonohqui nicalli: vncan ninemj ail, vncatica ic tecutlilhtia. 776 796

Auh yn jquac: ano ilhujuh, yn çan nonnanjan: oc no cenca qujqipiloaninia, qujchichinoia: 567 467

yn jquac tla ica, petlachihuqui qujnequj ychan qujcoxia, qujnequilitic: vncpa qujtocaia, in calpulque, tecuhtlhujuh, nonachvitiuh, inhuqui ic qujtlanjlinia, ynic qujmicnelia.

Yoan inhuqui ynic mocuylaocu'inlaoaia: yn açaca ic vnca ilaquj, yanca:

qujtoaia, macamo njcmoqua, macamo njcmopolo, macamo njmincauj, yn nocnelilica: ma onquale, ma onjon, ma onpopolinj, ma ic onmjtoui in tonouh napa tecutli: ma çaquan njcmomjxic, yn ac inhuqui njcochic, ac inhuqui njmoan, inhe qujmati, yn ayac tlin, nochmomaquilic, qujmomacavilic:

ic quinquentinia ic quachili, yn iripla muchinoia, ic calaquiça yn ichan:

auh ic mochitlacatl, tlatlaquaia yn jcoxilique. 776

Auh yn jcalpulco in vnapa yaxipla, ocnca tlamacazitlinia, tlâcotlinia, in petlachihuque, muchipa petlatecca, iquatecca, tlatecatoloa, tlachpana, tlacuecuj, tlectlalia, muchipa cupaltecca, tlaxtecalihuac tlaxtecalihuinanj, ceh vecatac, qc tlaçilli. 467 [356]

Auh yuqin yn mochichinoia, motilloçac, mjxtlilpepeca, mixtlilhuj, mjchchinojtinac, amacale, yiamacuepal, amamacale, mixale, iitacuque, atlacuçoxanchinale, atzapitzqilic. 776

Jnic composalli vno capitulo, ynchpa tlacua yn inon tepitoton: yn jnon pouja tlaloque.

No yuan pouj, inonh tlamjlnia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjnoaia tepitoto, çan qujnonpipiqujia, qujmixpiqujia, in tetepe, in çaqo cenca tepeul.

Auh yn aquin cocochijia, cocopacoia, çaçaquahuia, cocotonqujia: ononqo yn aquin atlan mjquimoquj, yhecatl ipan mononqua: ynic vncan momotolinia ynic tepitquic, in qujquipiqui: quimolpoui, in chalchiuitl yca, in tlalor: 776 782

115. The corresponding Spanish text qualifies "*un ramo de ceiba*" (*ceiba*).
116. According to Durán, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 133), the *calpulque* were "*calpixques y guardas de barrios*."

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Papaztac, Iztac
782 tepetl, Poyauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form; made to look like men.
755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, then when they made them,
they thereupon covered them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fa-
stened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded ones [Tepictoe].

They roasted, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
held the rubber-spattered papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cured.
Before [the Tepictoe] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Then
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were appoi-
532 nted, to make [the Tepictoe] and set them in place. None
of the Tecuhtlahtoani dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictoe were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepictoe, round tamales which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictoe].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their caps, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoe [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoe
figures made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepictoe thereupon
returned to his quarters, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
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pepeztecpatl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: ynic in quyn
quenquijtec tepetl in quijtecaznec in quijtquia.

Auh in quijquiquja, in quijnicpiteinia in quiqa, qui
tzcalli, quijnelcaztlalnia, quijnelcaztlachiztlaia, tlacatlachi-
tzinica:

quijnelcaztlaia ximachtli, auh in quijnelchiztlaia ximachtli:
in quemanj yxelcapj, in quijnicpiteinia, in quijquiquja
qui no tlahqui yuic quijnchichiztlaia.

Auh ynic quijchiztlaia, ximatzcajtl, cuitlachcapatzcalli,
cuitlapitzinia, quijquequetzinia:

auh in ocapj ximatzcajtl, tlacalchiquijtli, tlacalchacapa-
tzcalli, tlacatzinch quijquitzinia, tlacatzinch quijnemachilpiztic,
quijnemachpilonia, yuiquan ximac, ic itzacuinqui in
tepictoe:

hiquimatzac: papaqualoxac, papaxlac, ocuilquecajtl,
ocac, tzacac, tlacacaqui tlacalactlac, tlacatzinac, yn
inch ximac tzacajtl.

Auh tzilacatzinli, tlaxtlapantli, tlaxtlacatzinli: yniquan
tlamamaca, chalchiuhxicalli ipan pouijia, ycelli vecu ca, ycelli ic
tlamamaca.

Auh qui ixhuac in tlamacazqui, yn ipanquich, in
machiniqui caca, yn quijchichiztlaia, in quijtlalnia: ola:
qui tlaxcaxtzia, in calla in quijnchichiztlaia.

Auh macuilpitzca in quijtlalhuijuia, ixpan: quijnemaca-
tlaia in tlamacazqui:

yn o ic cauhqui tepictoe, ixpan ic ic quijnequelia,
quijcuijuia:

in ciuatl xapa in quijtlamanjlia, tamalchalli in
quijnacatia, quijnanaia yuiquiqui, in tlamacazqui, in
tepictoe:

no xapa in quijnchanacatia ciuatl, yuan quijtlaquichiltia,

quijnacaquiquijtilnia tocatzcalli in quijquichiltia, yuan
vilacapitzli, cocuijlaxtl,

vilacapitzinia, qui tlapopochtli, papaqujnj, huetzinj,
tlalchiotzinj, tocacamotzinj, cocolquia, no tlamacazqui.

Auh yn ontlacic ixpan quijnaxia yn tepictoe, quijquauh-
cotzna, quijquauhcuj, quijquauhtlacatzna, quiquan quijcua-
chilia, cocolcuj, in tepictzinli, quijquj yn calaquac yn
vuqui ocupa, tlamacazqui.

Auh in ocpiquiqui, ixpan in yc calaquiqui yn ilacatzcatzal-
hoac, yn jcuacac, vecuac ocupia, ouijnicuqui:

auh in ic ioxinich, in ic tecuac ximan ic ic tlacaca,
tocacacatzcalchia in vecuelaca, yn ic chicuacqui, yn ontlachi-

117. Gods of the sun, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac chief) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poyauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*tzoc masa*), in the Spanish edition; *Iztac mazaca o corporaciones Sumas dos Sacrificadoras* (Kingsborough, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de goma de ule, o los 'redes papeles llenados amarillentos*". (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 139).

well-mannered, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some were shouting.

And first the wine-drinkers were entertained; they roused from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, but [the wine] sent.

They should look to their strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[130]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[131] to one side his mouth would drift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were bent in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the pulque mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the disposal of the remains. At the distribution, only to relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [tech pan].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the drugs in the vessel, of the wine, of watered wine,[132] of fruit wine,[133] of white wine, of deep-purchasing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the guest, as was said above, he was then cured. And he who was to have deceased but did not die, when he caused the images to be made then paid his debt and then fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornment—their paper garlands were over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their crowns of round thick reed, and their flame-sticks,[134] their closed-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little mice bowls with

calhujque, in ic quintaque, in ic tzonintaque, yeuan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque:

ichoan vel inmomac cuica, in vctli in quiaque.

Auh in ozlaiviztic, niman ic ic vinjloa, cocomonnia, xixinjjna:

yn aca mochequjlitiuh, yn aca moqujchiteztiuh, mjxtiztiuh, momomaztiuh: yn aca tetzatzilitiuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaxaltilcia: çan no cencmca yn ixequjuh, yn jchinjl:

tlacaqujtilcia, xavilhujtl maçaoxia, qujnçançjlicia yn ixequjuh, ynic amo zocoiac:

vel mopixia, vel motlacaxaltiuh, amo cincocchia, amo oqujchocchia, ixtla cioxtl:

çan niman aiac vel ontlapalcuia yn vctli, yeuan in necutli, ynic machioia:

aiac inmamal inapil, conaqujxia, vel yuncaxua, vel mellhujlicia, yn ixqujchica, mjtlacaxapoclac yn vctli.

Auh yn aquja, ichtaca tlapaloxia, yn tlachtaca yin inmamal çan tepitzin ocompalo: ish mjtzaia tzonnecujlivia tepantilivia, zvic momomana zvic noqujvi yn ixc:

yeuan in aca mazicolicujia, yma qujcuecuetza, icxi quicuecuetza, mocopichanj, icxicopichanj, icxicuecuychca, yhinzotocu, tzupapatlaca, tzavvitlaca, itech qujnoca: mjtoa, oqujtlaveliqui in xitoulqui tepicme.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ic ic apocalo: yn apoca çan ichoan, yn ioniolque, in vel icalloc, in centlaca, cemoa, in vel icujtlaxcollac, yn vel imecaioc:

momoca apocalo, iquac compolinja tlaxlanj, in quezquijch mocioxia, in ezl, in tlaquallí:

yeuan in oc quezquijch omocauh xaiocanjc in vctli, in aiocti, in tlachicalvctli, in ixtac vctli, in cochvctli.

Auh yn tepiquja, in tepicqui: ixtla cuactivi, yn juh omjxo tlacpac, ic patiz: yeuan yn aquja atlan miquizquja yajc amo mjc: ishoxol, yajc tepiqui, yajc mextlaca, yajc qujxoltilia yaxcal.

Auh yn jaqujch, yn jaxachichical, yn jxtlaquan, yn jxacmazaxpan, yn jxacatapil, yn jxtlapetlanjlquauh, yn jxaiaxhocoxl:

yeuan yn jxchalchihuhxical, yoll yn jxtlaquaxia molcaxaxanxl,

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130. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 29, citing unnoticed phrase in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 34.
131. Probably sympathetic in nature. In these appears in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* (Cf. Seler, loc. cit.)
132. Possibly *pulque*.
133. See Molina (*Vocabulario*).
134. Alonso Tezozomoc, *Histoire du Mexique* (tr. Tarnier-Ternaux, n.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 300, describes this as a light flame-colored stick: ". . . *un stick de qu'il en sortait des flammes et des étincelles.*" Seler (op. cit., p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (*Blitzholz*).

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T82 which [the children] ate, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepeximac: they threw these into the water, off there, at a place called Panoltlan.

T76 **Twenty-second Chapter,** which tells of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontochtli).

He [was] the wine, in times past[125] considered full of sin. For he buried people off cruel, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an evil-natured being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Ipalnemoani, Acolhua, Tlilhua, Pantecatl, Iztacmixcoatl, Tolocatl, Papaztac, Tlalocatecuhtli, Ometochtli, Tepoztecatl, Chimalpanecatl, Colhuacatzincatl.[126]

And as for the array of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white heron feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper earplug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red macaw feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the palque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the flint staff. And also he had sandals.

quauhtzontecatl, quapiztzontecatl, ueueti ueque centzontli, tepeximac: ohtlan centzontli, ueque uequeteli, panoltlan.

Inic ompohualli ymmac cuptiztli, yuchqui tlamo in tezcatzoncatl, yn iuhcac pouij centzontochtli.

Iehuatl in octli, ioppa tlatlacolli ipan mochiuia: ca tempinoia, tepouhcuecueia, mocuaia, mocjctia;

tzontecoiaj, ayac pinauiaj, ayac chicoiztoiaj.

Auh yeja tezcatzoncatl, yuhcac pouij, yuhcac ayac, yn motenca, centzontochtli, yn octli itocatzin, yn ijpalnemoani, Acolhua, tlilhua, pantecatl, Iztacmixcoatl, Tolocatl, papaztac, Tlalocatecuhtli, ayac tochtli, tepoztecatl, chimalpanecatl, Colhuacatzincatl.

Auh yn ipachiohual Tezcatzoncatl, ceuxuxue, iacxuxue, ueuexcopche, cuecpalxuxuxue, chalcoxuc cuaqui, colotlalpili, ueuetzochtlamatli, itzmapili, tecpatzapili, no tzitzili.

fin del libro

125. *Yoppa tlatlacolli*, in times past (Molina: op. cit.). The meaning also could be "drinks."
126. See Sahagún: op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 316; Vol. III, p. 139; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Libro 1. de los dioses

Paul Tozzer Peabody Museum

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TK
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—After Paso y Troncoso

1—[illegible] 2—[illegible] 3—[illegible] 4—[illegible]

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9—Tuxtlan tenan. 10—Cuapiqui. 11—Chalchihuil yeua. 12—Tlapiloni.

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—After Paul y Traverso

13—Xiuhtecutli. 14—Mazatlecuhtli or Xochipilli. 15—Omacatl. 16—Iztlilton.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

21—Tamoanchan. 22-26—Teotenan.
27—Chalchihuitl yoce (Chap. II). 28—Tlaloan (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. II).

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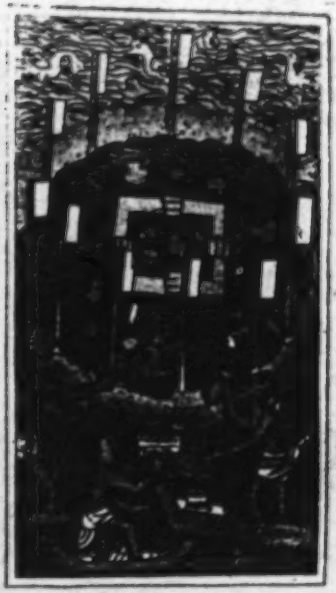

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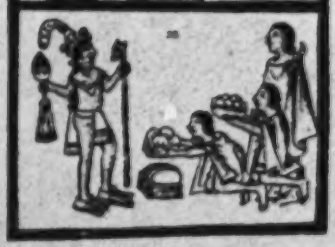

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59—Appendix [Reference]. 57—Appendix [Reference] 58—Tilinoxtoc. Xalitzcoli. 60—Opochtli.
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FLORENTINE CODEX

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGUN

[p. ii]

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Book 2—The Ceremonies

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

Arthur J. O. Anderson
School of American Research

Charles E. Dibble
University of Utah

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART III

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BOOK TWO—THE CEREMONIES

Segundo libro, que trata, del
calendario, fiestas, y ceri
monjas, sacrificios, y su
lenjdades: que estos na
turales, desta nue
ua españa, hazi
an: a honrra
de sus dioses

Ponese al cabo, deste libro, por via de
apendiz: los edificios, officios
y serujcios: y officia
les, que auja
en el templo
mexicano

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[p. x contains no textual material]

De las Cerimonjas

SECOND BOOK, WHICH TREATETH OF THE FEASTS AND SACRIFICES BY WHICH THESE NATIVES HONORED THEIR GODS IN THEIR STATE OF INFIDELITY.

LIBRO SEGUNDO QUE TRATA DE LAS FIESTAS, Y SACRIFICIOS: CON QUE ESTOS NATURALES, HONRRAUAN A SUS DIOSES, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU INFIDELIDAD.

805 X796 **First Chapter, concerning the calendar and the feasts of fixed date, the first of which is the one which followeth.**[2]

The first month of the year was called, among the Mexicans, Atl caualo, and in other parts Quiauitl eua. This month began upon the second day of February, when we celebrate the Purification of Our Lady. On the first day of this month, they celebrated a feast in honor—according to some—of the Tlaloc gods, [776 184] whom they held to be gods of rain; [or]—according to others—of their sister, the goddess of water, Chalchiuhtli icue; [or]—according to [still] others—in honor of the great priest or god of the winds, Quetzalcoatl. And we may say that [they celebrated the feast] in honor of all of these. This month and all the rest, which are eighteen [in number], each have twenty days.

Capitulo primero, del canlendario, de las fiestas fixas, la primera de las quales es lo que se sigue.

El primero mes, del año se llamaua entre los mexicanos Atl caoalo: y en otras partes quavitl eoa. Este mes començaua en el segundo dia del mes de Hebrero quando nosotros celebramos, la purificacion, de nuestra señora. En el primero dia deste mes: celebrauan vna fiesta a honrra (segun algunos) de los dioses tlaloques, que los tenjan por dioses de la pluuja: y segun otros de su hermana, la diosa del agua, chalchiuhtli ycue: y segun otros a honrra del gran sacerdote, o dios de los vientos quetzalcoatl: y podemos dezir, que a hõrra de todos estos. Este mes, con todos los de mas, que son deziocho tienen a cada veynte dias.

		Atl caualo or Quauitl eua	5[3]	d	KL.	Atl caoalo, o quavitl eoa	d	1[3]
X796		In this month they slew many children; they sacrificed them in many places upon the mountain tops,	1	e		En este mes matauan muchos njños	e	2
			2	f		sacrificavanlos, en muchos lugares en	f	3
			3	g		las cumbres de los montes: sacandoles	g	4
		tearing from them their hearts, in honor of the gods of water, so that these might give them water or rain.	4	A		los coraçones a hõrra de los dioses del	A	5
			5	b		agua, para que les diesẽ agua o llujia.	b	6
[493]		The children whom they slew they decked in rich finery to take them to be killed; and they carried	6	c		A los njños, que matauan: com-	c	7
			7	d		ponjanlos con ricos ataujos para lleuar-	d	8
			8	e		los a matar, y lleuauanlos, en vnas	e	9
		them in litters upon their shoulders. And the litter went adorned with feathers and flowers. [The	9	f		literas, sobre los hõbros: y las literas,	f	10

1. The first nineteen chapters, largely a digest of more expanded material in Chapters 20-38, are presented unannotated; most of the translators' notes will be found in their later sections. For these nineteen chapters the original has no corresponding Nahuatl text.
2. Marginal equivalent: *Cultus deorum celebrabatur.*
3. Marginal notation: *Cuentas del calendario romano.*

λ 796 priests] proceeded playing [musical instruments], singing, and dancing before them.

[787] When they took the children to be slain, if they wept and shed many tears, those who carried them rejoiced, for they took [it] as an omen that they would have much rain that year.

λ 796 727 Also in this month they slew many captives in honor of these same gods of the water. They slashed them first, [with their swords,] fighting them as they were tied upon a stone like a mill wheel; and when they threw them down, wounded, they carried them off to tear their hearts from them in the temple which was called Yopico.

When they slew these captives, their owners—they who had taken them—went gloriously arrayed in feathers, dancing before them and showing their valor. This continued through all the days of this month. In this feast were enacted many other ceremonies, which are set down at length in its telling (*fol.* 15).

10 g yuan adornadas con plumajes, y con *g 11*
11 A flores: yuan, tañendo, cantando, y bay- *A 12*
12 b lando delante dellos *b 13*
13 c Quando lleuauan a los niños a *c 14*
14 d matar: si llorauan, y echauan muchas *d 15*
15 e lagrimas, alegrauanse los, que los *e 16*
16 f lleuauan: porque tomauan pronostico, *f 17*
17 g de que auian de tener, muchas aguas *g 18*
18 A esse año. *A 19*
19 b Tambien en este mes: matauan *b 20*
20 c muchos cautiuos, a honrra de los mismos *c 21*
dioses del agua: acuchillauanlos primero peleando cõ ellos, atados sobre vna piedra, como muela de molino, y desque los derrocauan acuchillados: lleuauanlos a sacar el coraçon al templo, que se llamaua, iopico.

Quando matauan a estos captiuos: los dueños dellos, que los auian captiuado, yvan gloriosamente ataujados cõ plumajes, y baylando delante dellos, mostrando su valentia. Esto pasaua por todos los dias, deste mes. Otras muchas cerimonjas, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la larga, en su historja. fo. 15.

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

"Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde mataua, y desollaua muchos esclauos y captiuos. 796X [805 776]

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuiltin, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeoaliztli

1	d	XL. Tlacaxipeoaliztli	d	22[1]
2	e	A los captiuos que mataua: arran-	e	23
3	f	cauãllos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y	f	24
4	g	guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como	g	25
5	A	por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul	A	26
6	b	delante del fuego.	b	27
7	c	Quando lleuauan los señores de los	c	28
8	d	catiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde	d	1[2]
9	e	los aujan de matar, lleuauanlos por	e	2
10	f	los cabellos: y quando los subian, por	f	3
11	g	las gradas del cu, algunos de los cap-	g	4
12	A	tiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los	A	5
13	b	subian arrastrando por los cabellos,	b	6
14	c	hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir.	c	7
15	d	Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna	d	8
16	e	piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco	e	9
17	f	mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos	f	10
18	g	sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos	g	11
19	A	cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por	A	12
20	b	los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja	b	13[3]

luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara. [413]

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer. [415] [767 266]

* Actually a palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In Webster's Dictionary, the Portuguese palmo is 0.69 in.; in the Encyclopædia Britannica (14th ed.), the Spanish palmo is 0.229 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal notation: Cerbatos arcos pues.
2. Marginal notation: Mataua hasta dos anos.
3. Marginal notation: hundi orchiffi al cuej.

X796 Before they dismembered the captives, they flayed them; and others put on the skins, and, [wearing them,] fought mock fights with other youths, as if it were a war. And those [of one band] took captive [those of] the other [band].

[72] After what hath been set forth above, they slew other captives, battling with them—these being tied, by the waist, with a rope which passed through the socket of a round stone, as of a mill; and [the rope] was long enough so that [the captive] might walk about the complete circumference of the stone. And they gave him arms with which he might do battle; and four warriors came against him with swords and shields, and one by one they exchanged sword blows with him until they vanquished him. Etc.

Antes que hiziesen pedaços a los catiuos: los desollauan, y otros vestian sus pellejos, y escaramuçauan con ellos, con otros mancebos, como cosa de guerra: y se prendian los vnos a los otros.

Despues de lo arriba dicho: matauan otros captiuos, peleando con ellos: y estando ellos atados por medio del cuerpo, con vna soga, que salia por el ojo de vna muela, como de molino, y era tan larga, que podia a andar por toda la circũferencia de la piedra, y dauanle sus armas, con que peleasse: y venjan contra el quatro, con espadas, y rodelas, y vno a vno se acuchillauan con el, hasta que le vencian. Etc.

4

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluuias. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos niños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diesen agua. 796 [805 776]

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

1 c KL. 2 d En esta fiesta: ofrecian las primicias 3 e de las flores, que aquel año primero 4 f nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y 5 g antes que las ofreciesen, nadie osaua 6 A oler flor.

7 b Los officiales de las flores, que se 8 c llaman xochimanque: hazian fiesta, a 9 d su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro 10 e nombre coatlã tona.

11 f Tambien en este mes: se desnu- 12 g dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los 13 A pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des- 14 b ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar 15 c en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan 16 d iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro- 17 e cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan 18 f hediendo, como perros muertos: y 19 g despues que los aujan dexado: se 20 A lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas:

c 14 d 15 e 16 f 17 g 18 A 19 b 20 c 21 d 22 e 23 f 24 g 25 A 26 b 27 c 28 d 29 e 30 f 31 g 1ª A 2ª [824 346] [755]

Algunos enfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus enfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los cativos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte diss: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos. 796 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauase, y lauauanse, y convidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comida: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los cativos muertos.

1. Marginal variation: Apolle Aster Ap: ann.

2. Marginal variation: Mexico opjdanum.

X 796
553

During all of these twenty days, until the coming of the next month, they practised singing in the houses which they called *cuicacalli*. They did not dance; rather, remaining seated, they sang canticles in praise of their gods. Many other rites were performed in this feast which are set forth at length in the accounting of them, *fol. 27*.

Todos estos veynte dias, hasta llegar al mes que viene: se exercitauan en cantar en las casas, que llamauan cuicacalli, no bayland, sino estando sentados: cantauan cantares a loor de sus dioses. Otras muchas cerimonias, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales, estan escriptas, a la larga en su historia. fol. 27.

The fourth month they called Uei toçoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazia fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteotl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta. [796] [805 776 785]

Chapter 4
Uei toçoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli*; and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chia*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all these things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

1. [illegible]

Cap. 4.
Vey toçoztli

1 b KL. Vey toçoztli b 3
2 c En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a c 4 [785]
3 d las puertas de las casas ensangrenta- d 5
4 e uanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de e 6
5 f las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, f 7
6 g de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan g 8
7 A sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman A 9
8 b acxoutl. Tambien enrramauan a sus b 10
9 c dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada c 11
10 d vno tenja en su casa. d 12
11 e Despues desto, yuan por los ma- e 13
12 f hizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que f 14
13 g aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas g 15
14 A con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de A 16
15 b sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan b 17
16 c calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda c 18
17 d delante dellos. d 19
18 e Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: e 20 [776]
19 f yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan f 21
20 g chicome coatl: y alli delante della g 22[1]
hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año pasado: yuan en procesion, a presẽtarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las trojes, por estar bendito. [241]

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque deziau, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente. [778]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

According to the accounts of some, they assembled the children whom they slew in the first month, buying them from their mothers. And they went on killing them in all the feasts which followed, until the rains really began. And thus they slew some in the first month, named Quauitl eua; and some in the second, named Tlacaxipeualiztli; and some in the third, named Toçoztontli; and others in the fourth, named Uei toçoztli: so that until the rains began in abundance, in all the feasts they sacrificed children. Many other ceremonies were performed in this feast. Etc.

Segun relacion de algunos, los niños que mataban, juntauanlos en el primero mes, comprandolos, a sus madres: y yuanlos matando, en todas las fiestas, siguientes, hasta que las aguas començavan de veras: y assi mataban algunos, en el primero mes llamado quauitl eua: y otros en el segundo, llamado tlacaxipeualiztli: y otros en el tercero llamado toçoztontli; y otros en el quarto llamado vey toçoztli: De manera que hasta que començauan las aguas abundeasmente, en todas las fiestas sacrificauan niños. Otras muchas cerimonias, se hazian en esta fiesta. Etc.

The fifth month they called Tencatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Tezcatzoncatl, and for another name, Tezcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Tencatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoa, y por otro nombre Tencatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

796X [805 776] [533]

Chapter 5
Tencatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Tezcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whomever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] heavier [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or cemetery which they called

Cap. 5.
Tencatl

1 A EL Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas
2 b las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya
3 c cerca de la pascua de resurrection
4 d pocos dias despues: este mancebo
5 e criado, como esta dicho era muy bien
6 f dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos:
7 g tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.
8 A Quando en esta fiesta matauã al
9 b mancebo que estaua criado para esto:
10 c luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de
11 d morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo
12 e el pueblo muy atauijado con flores en
13 f la mano, y con personas que le acõpa-
14 g ñauan saludaua a los que topaua graci-
15 A osamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel
16 b la ymagẽ de Tezcatlipoca: y se pros-
17 c trauã delante del, y le adorauan donde
18 d quiera que le topauan.
19 e Veinte dias antes que llegasse esta
20 f fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dis-
puestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los
veinte dias tenja cõcurrsiõ carnal: y mudauanle el
traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauanle los
cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros atauijos mas
galanos.

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y
vnquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompaña-
uanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de
morir: llauauanle a vna cu, o oratorio que llamauã
tlacochcalco: y antes que llegasse alli en vn lugar que

[833] [302] [346]

1. Mangland translates Mixtec for this word.

2. Mangland translates Náuatl, Acolhuí, usage Pue.

X 796 [346] [534] [417]

Tlacochcalco; and, before he arrived there, at a place which they called Tlapizmoyan, the women withdrew and left him. Arrived at the place where they were to kill him, he ascended the steps himself; on each of them he shattered one of the flutes which he had played as he walked, all during the year. When he had reached the summit [of the pyramid], they threw him upon the sacrificial stone; they tore out his heart; they brought down the body, carrying it in their hands; below, they cut the head off and ran through it [the crosspiece of the skull rack] which is called *tzompantli*. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in their account, *fol.* 53.

llamauã tlapizmoiã, apartauãse las mugeres y dexauãle: llegãdo al lugar, donde le auã de matar: el mismo se subia por las gradas, en cada vna dellas, hazia pedaços vna flauta de las q̃ que andaua tañendo todo el año: llegado arriba, echauãle sobre el tazõ acostauale el corçaçõ, tomauã a decendir el cuerpo abaxo en palmas, abaxo le cortauã la cabeça y la espetauã en vn palmo que se llama Tzompãtli: Otras muchas cerimonjas, se hazã en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la larga en su historia. fo. 53.

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuia: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes passado.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *ozuelli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they ninhandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

KL. Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los sacrapas de los ydolos y sus minjstros, yrã por juncas a Citlaltepec: que se hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los cuca, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quito trayn hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se defendia: maltrataulle de tal manera q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque llevasse el tributo para Moteruçoma se le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena las dauã: porque por ser minjstros de los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian los sacrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos hazã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comida delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los minjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el seruicio dellos: castigauanlos terribleméte en el agua de la laguna tito que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los llevauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cativos y otros

1. Marginal numbers begin in this row.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X-796 other dress, accepted in the ceremonies of those gods named Tlaloes, in whose honor they slew them on their own pyramid. The hearts of those whom they killed they went to cast into the whirlpool or drain of the Lake of Mexico, which at that time was clearly to be seen. Many other ceremonies were performed. Etc.

cuchillos, compuestos con los ornamentos destos dichos llamados tlaloques: por cuya honrra, los matauan en su mismo cu, los corazones destos que mataua yvanlos a echar en el remolino o sumidero de la laguna de México, que entonces se vía claramente. Otras muchas ceremonias se hazian. Etc.

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtocioatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with, which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecuilhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtocioatl: dezil que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa. 796 X 805 776

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They were held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *sochimecatl*. They all were garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *compoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtocioatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

1 *f* KL. La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y *f* *2*[1]
2 *g* dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y *g* *3*
3 *A* moças y muchachas yvan asidas de *A* *4*
4 *b* vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las *b* *5*
5 *c* manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra *c* *6*
6 *d* por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan *d* *7*
7 *e* sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas *e* *8*
8 *f* de xzenxos desta tierra que se llama *f* *9*
9 *g* iztauhiatl: gujaualas vnos viejos, y *g* *10*
10 *A* regian al canto en medio dellas yva la *A* *11*
11 *b* muger que era la ymagen desta diosa, *b* *12*
12 *c* y que avia de morir adereçada con *c* *13*
13 *d* ricos ornamentos. *d* *14*
14 *e* La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan *e* *15*
15 *f* las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de *f* *16*
16 *g* morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la *g* *17*
17 *A* noche: venjda la mañana: adereça- *A* *18*
18 *b* uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn *b* *19*
19 *c* areyto muy solemne: y todos los que *c* *20*
20 *d* estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas *d* *21*
flores que se llaman compoalxochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos cautiuos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtocioatl: alli matauan primero a los captiuos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76.

[535] [301] 137] [535] [137] [273]

1. Marginal notation: Mexcalli, pool, aqui Dios.

X 796 The eighth month they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On
[805 the first day of this month they observed a feast to
776 the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender
maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor
men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—
[735] in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the
tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments
with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero
dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen
(diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer
a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas,
njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna
muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ los orna-
mẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they
fed men and women, young and old. Then, very
735 early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind
262 of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank
as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all
in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them
tamales. He who gave them [out], gave each one as
many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of
them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to
take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took
from him those which he had, and he went with
nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in
order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time,
ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 All these eight days they danced and moved in
rhythm, men and women together performing the
535 ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with
rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their
[302] hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing
and singing with the men. This dance began at sun-
down, and they continued in it until nine o'clock.
[373] They carried many lights (like great torches) of resin-
ous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires
which burned in the same courtyard in which they
danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went
with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or
embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of
another as in an embrace, and the other likewise
[holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Cap. 8.

1	*e*	KL	Vei tecujlhujtl	*e*	22[1]
2	*f*		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	*f*	23
3	*g*		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	*g*	24
4	*A*		tinps, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	*A*	25
5	*b*		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	*b*	26
6	*c*		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	*c*	27
7	*d*		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	*d*	28
8	*e*		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	*e*	29
9	*f*		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	*f*	30
10	*g*		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	*g*	1[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	*A*	2
12	*b*		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	*b*	3
13	*c*		tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y to-	*c*	4
14	*d*		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	*d*	5
15	*e*		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	*e*	6
16	*f*		solar a los pobres: porque en este	*f*	7
17	*g*		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	*g*	8
18	*A*		mãtenjmjentos.	*A*	9
19	*b*		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	*b*	10
20	*c*		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	*c*	11[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy atauiados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseueraua en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã tratados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

1. Marginal notation: [illegible] *[illegible]* or *[illegible]*.
2. Marginal notation: *Pij papper or blanc.*

2. Marginal notation: *Jullior la dize [illegible]*.

One day before they slew the woman who was to die in honor of the goddess Xilonen, the women who served on the pyramid (who were called *cioatlamacazque*) performed a dance in the courtyard of this same pyramid, and sang the [hymns of] praise and the canticles of this goddess. They all went surrounding her who was to die [and] who went bedight in the ornaments of this goddess. In this way, singing and dancing, they kept watch all night before the day when she was to die.

And at dawn all the nobles and warriors performed a dance in this same courtyard, and with them also danced the woman who was to die, with many other women arrayed like her. The men went dancing in front, by themselves, and the women went behind them.

As soon as all, thus dancing, arrived at the pyramid where that woman was to die, they made her go above, up the steps. When she reached the top, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder; and in this position, they struck off her head and then tore out her heart and offered it to the sun. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast. Etc.

Vn dia antes que matassen a la muger que auia de morir: a honrra de la diosa xilonẽ: las mugeres que seruiã en el cu (que se llamauã cioatlamacazque) haziã areyto en el patio del mismo cu, y cantauan los loores y cantares desta diosa, yvan todas rodeadas de la que avia de morir, que yva compuesta con los ornamẽtos desta diosa. Desta manera cantando y baylando: velauan toda la noche precediẽte el dia en que avia de morir.

Y en amaneciendo todos los nobles y hõbres de guerra: hazian areyto en el mismo patio, y con ellos baylaua tambiẽ la muger que auia de morir, con otras muchas mugeres adereçadas como ella: los hombres yvan por si baylãdo delante y las mugeres yvan tras ellos.

Desque todos assi baylando: llegauã al cu donde auia de morir aquella muger, subiãla por las gradas arriba: llegada arriba tomauãla vno a cuestas espaldas cõ espaldas: y estãdo assi, la cortauan la cabeça y luego la sacauã el coraçon y le ofreciã al sol: Otras muchas cerimonias se haziã en esta fiesta. Etc.

796
535
[793]

X 796 [805 776]

The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offreciaule en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[23] 262 [778]

On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 535

Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

[534 778]

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sordy. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

[273]

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1 d EL Tlaxochimaco d 12
2 e La noche antes desta fiesta ocupe- e 13
3 f uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros f 14
4 g para comer, en hazer tamales y otras g 15
5 A cosas concernjentes a la comida: luego A 16
6 b de mañanita el dia desta fiesta: los b 17
7 c satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ c 18
8 d muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des- d 19
9 e pues de compuesta la estatua deste e 20
10 f dios: componjan las estatuas de los f 21
11 g otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales g 22
12 A y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan A 23
13 b todas las otras estatuas de los calpules, b 24
14 c y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cal- c 25
15 d pisques y principales y macegnales, d 26
16 e todos componjan las estatuas que ten- e 27
17 f jan en sus casas con flores. f 28
18 g Compuestas las estatuas todos los g 29
19 A dioses: luego començauan a comer A 30
20 b aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas b 31
de la noche passada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momoztli—

Durauа este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y macegnales, taõjã y cantauan con gran boseria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njnguno mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos rezisimente. Otras muchas ceremonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Iacoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Iacoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the pains of] their death.

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

1 c KL: Xocotl vetzi c 1[1]
2 d Durante la fiesta de tlaxochimaco: d 2[1]
3 e yuã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al- e 3
4 f tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle f 4
5 g arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: g 5
6 A alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan- A 6
7 b tauan enhiesto y estaua asi enhiesto b 7
8 c hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en- c 8
9 d tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ d 9
10 e mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos e 10
11 f para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia f 11
12 g desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan g 12
13 A muchos carpinteros con sus herrami- A 13
14 b ẽtas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso. b 14
15 c Despues de mondado y de auerle com- c 15
16 d puesto cõ muchas mañeras de papeles: d 16
17 e atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan- e 17
18 f tauanle con muchas boxes y muchos f 18
19 g estruendos y afixauanle muy bien. g 19
20 A Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã- A 20[2]
tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viues adereçauãse con sus plumajes y atauios ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la libre del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos polues que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiesẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

1. Marginal translation: *Augustus de dier vnos.*
2. Marginal translation: *Barrendi abiaua.*

X 776 pains of] their death. They tied them hand and foot, and, thus bound, they slung them over their shoulders, and walked with them as if performing a dance about the edge of a great fire and tall mound of live coals. Thus proceeding, they went casting them upon the mound of coals—now one, and, after a little, another. And him whom they had cast they let burn for a good while; and, still alive and toasing, they [413] took him forth, dragging him out with something like a hook, and cast him upon the sacrificial stone. And, having opened his breast, they tore out his heart. In this manner suffered all these unhappy captives.

[778] The tree was made fast by many ropes from the top, as the rigging of a ship hangeth from the topsail. On the top of this stood upright the statue of that god, made of a dough which they call *tzoalli*. When the aforesaid sacrifice had been offered, all the young men assailed [the statue] with great vigor. Many other ceremonies were enacted, as hath been written at length below, in this feast.

los pies y las manos, y assi atados ponjillos sobre los hombros, y andauã con ellos como haziẽdo areyto en rrededor de vn grã fuego y grã mõton de brasa, assi andando yvãlos arrojando sobre el monton de brasas: agora vno y desde a vn poco otro: y el que avian arrojado, dexauanle quemar vn buen interualo, y avn quando biuo y barqueando sacauanle fuera arrastrando con qual que garauato, y echauãle sobre el tazõ: y abierto el pecho sacauanle el coraçon: desta manera padecian todos aquellos tristes catiuos,

Estaua el arbol atado con muchas sogas de lo alto, como la jarcia de la nao: esta pendiente de la gabia en lo alto del, estaua en pie la ymagen de aquel dios: hecha de masa que llaman tzoalli: acabado el sacrificio ya dicho, arremetian con gran impetu todos los mancebos. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian segun a la larga esta escripto adelante en esta fiesta.

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que qujere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa. 796x [805 776]

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Mengloid correlations September 1st three eras.

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjztli.

1 b KL. Cinco dias antes que començasse este
2 c mes: cessauan todas las fiestas y regozi-
3 d jos del mes pasado entrando este mes,
4 e baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin
5 f teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la
6 g muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃
7 A llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los
8 b ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la
9 c mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de
10 d mugeres con ella: especialmente las
11 e medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos
12 f vandos y peleauan apedreandose con
13 g pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas
14 A y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa-
15 b dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal-
16 c sochitl. Este regozijo durauа quatro
17 d dias.
18 e
19 f Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras
20 g desta calidad: procurauan que aquella
muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, stajuauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pelejo.

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

b 21 [534
c 22 535]
d 23
e 24
f 25
g 26
A 27
b 28
c 29 [759]
d 30
e 31
f 1
g 2 [524
A 3 137]
b 4
c 5
d 6
e 7
f 8
g 9 [787]

X-796 nity, and, escorted by many captives to the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, here this same one, before Uitzilopochtli, tore out the hearts of four captives. The rest he left, that the priest might slay them.

[702] In this month the lord drew up a parade of all the warriors and of the young men who had never gone to war. These he gave arms and insignia, and they became soldiers; so that from then on they could go to war. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in its account.

dole de muchos catiuos al cu de Vitzilobuchtli: alli este mesmo delante de Vitzilobuchtli, sacaua el corçon a quatro catiuos: y los de mas dexauales para que los matasse el satrapa.

En este mes hazia alarde el señor de toda la gente de guerra: y de los mancebos que nũca auian ydo a la guerra: a estos daua armas y diujsas, y asentauan por soldados: para que de alli adelante fuessen a la guerra. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta que estan a la larga puestas en su historia

The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al doueno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que quiere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado.

796x [805 776]

Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Cap. 12
Teutl eco

1 A XL. A 10
2 b A los quinze dias deste mes: los b 11
3 c moços y muchachos, enrramauan c 12
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de los d 13
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de e 14
6 f las casas como por los camjnos y en- f 15 [465]
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que g 16
8 A hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan A 17
9 b vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros b 18
10 c dos o tres maçorcas. c 19
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios d 20
12 e (que siempre es mancebo que le e 21 [776]
13 f llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titla- f 22
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y g 23
15 A rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua pri- A 24 [273]
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comjda en su cu, b 25
17 c y aquella noche comjan y beujan y c 26
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los d 27
19 e viejos, y viejos que beujan vino, por la e 28
20 f llegada del dios: y dezian que lo f 29[1]
lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal sacrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada. [252]

En vinjendo el sacrapa la señal de la pisada luego dava bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los [534]

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicado cuatl Michael.*

which they then used.

X796

which they then used. As soon as the instruments were heard, all the people hastened to offer food at all the pyramids and shrines. Again there was merry making, washing the feet of their gods, as is told above.

On the next day they said that the old gods arrived, after all [the rest]—because they moved more slowly, being old. On this day they had many captives to burn alive; and, a great mound of coals having been piled up, certain young men went dancing about the edge of the fire, disguised as monsters. And, thus dancing, they proceeded casting into the fire these miserable captives in the manner which is told above. Many other ceremonies were performed, as will be related below in this feast.

que ellos entonce vsauã: luego que se oyan los instrumẽtos, acudia toda la gente a ofrecer comida en todos los cues, y oratorios: otra vez se regoijauã lauando los pies de sus dioses, como arriba esta dicho.

El dia siguiente: dezian que llegauã los dioses viejos a la postre de todos: porque andauan menos por ser viejos. Este dia tenjã muchos catiuos para quemar biuos: y hecho grã monton de brasa, andauan baylando al rededor del fuego ciertos mancebos, disfraçados como monstros, y assi baylando, yvan arrojando en el fuego estos tristes captiuos, de la manera que arriba esta dicho. Otras muchas ceremonjas se hazian segũ se dira adelante en esta fiesta.

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este tiẽpo hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã ſublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

796[X] [805] 778]

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepetzoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnaoatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some liters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Mogind omitted: October 1st this and.

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

KL. Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles, y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra: hazia tãbien vnos troços de palo gruesos como la muñeca largos llamauanlos Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las culebras los investian cõ aquella masa que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los investian a manera de montes, arriba les ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de persona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes, en memoria de aquellos que se aujan ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino que los enterrauan.

Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas, aujan puesto en sus altares a las ymagenes dichas: ofrecianles tambien tamales y otras comjdas: y tambien los dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepetzoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauiadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

796[X] [289] [314] [293] [493 482]

X 796

After they had slain them and torn out their hearts, they took them away gently, rolling them down the steps. When they had reached the bottom, they cut off their heads and inserted a rod through them, and they carried the bodies to the houses which they called *calpulli*, where they divided them up in order to eat them. The papers with which they arrayed the images of the mountains, after they had broken them to pieces in order to eat them, they hung in the tribal temple. Many other ceremonies were performed in this feast, which are set down at length in its account.

[266]

[289]

Despues que las cuijeron muerto, y sacados los coraçones: lleuauanlas pasito rodando por las gradas abaxo: llegadas abaxo cortauanlas las cabeças, y espetauanlas en vn palo, y los cuerpos lleuauanlos a las casas que llamauan Calpul: donde los repartian para comer: los papeles con que adereçauan las ymagenes de los montes despues de averlas desbaratado para comer, colgauanlos en el Calpul. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, que estan a la larga puestas en su historia.

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

411 796x [805 776]

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: November by Elder one.

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

Quando hazian las saetas por espacio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas sienes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias para yr a caçar venados: los que no se sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en pena: njngun hombre se echaua con su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian penjtencia.

796x [785]

Acabados los quatro dias en que hazian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas saetas chiquijtas y atauanlas de quatro en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas sobre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon- jan tambien juntamente con las saetas y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

765 796x

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian zacaleq o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x [778 342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que pedia.

796x 224

X 796 [346] The hunt ended, they slew captives and slaves on a pyramid which they call Tlamatzinco. They bound them hand and foot, and carried them up the steps of the pyramid (as one carrieth a deer by the hind and forelegs to slaughter). They slew with great ceremony the man and the woman who were the likeness[es] of the god Mixcoatl and of his consort. [346] They slew them on another pyramid which was called Mixcoatecopan. Many other ceremonies [were performed]. Etc.

Acabada la caça: matauan captiuos y esclauos en vn cu, que llaman tlalmatzinco atauales de pies y manos, y lleuauãlos por las gradas del cu arriba (como quien lleua vn ciervo por los pies y por las manos a matar) matauanlos con gran cerimonja: al hombre y a la muger que erã ymagẽ del dios Miscoatl y de su muger matauãlos en otro cu, que se llamaua Miscoatecupan. Otras muchas cerimonjas. Etc.

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes hazia fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los sacrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

796X
[805
776
785]

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Payznl, and he slew four of these slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Tzoalachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

1	e	KL.	e	9[1]	
2	f	El segundo dia deste mes començauã	f	10	796X
3	g	todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can-	g	11	
4	A	tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de	A	12	535
5	b	su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to-	b	13	
6	c	dos juntos: começauan estos cantares	c	14	
7	d	a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez:	d	15	
8	e	durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte	e	16	
9	f	dias.	f	17	
10	g	A los nueue dias deste mes: apare-	g	18	
11	A	jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que	A	19	
12	b	aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas	b	20	[302]
13	c	colores, componjãlos con muchos pa-	c	21	
14	d	peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos,	d	22	
15	e	en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom-	e	23	
16	f	bre pareados cantando y bayllãdo.	f	24	
17	g	A los dezisey dias deste mes: co-	g	25	796X
18	A	mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los	A	26	
19	b	esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen-	b	27	
20	c	çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan	c	28	[535]

todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Payznl, y matauu quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes matauu en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos parcialidades, morian algunos en la escaramuça.

[346]

[726]

1. Marginal numbers: Dedicatio Bodlei edition.

X 796
[346]
533

After many ceremonies, at last they slew captives on the Pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, and also many slaves. And, having slain one, they sounded musical instruments. And on finishing [with one], they seized another, to slay him. And, on killing him, they again sounded [musical instruments]. Thus they did to each one until finishing them [all]. On ceasing to slay these unhappy ones, they started to dance and to sing, to eat and to drink, and thus the feast ended.

Despues de muchas cerimonjas: finalmente mataban captiuos, en el ca, de Vitzilobuchtli, y tambien muchos esclauos y en matando a vno tocauan los instrumẽtos musicales, y en cessando tomauan otro para matarle, y en matandole tocaũ otravez; ansi hazian a cada vno, hasta acabarlos: acabando de matar estos tristes, començauan a baylar, y a cantar, a comer y a beuer, y ansi se acabaua la fiesta.

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlaloques began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

796x [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlaloques, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *ayocotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tezcapoztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

1 d KL. Quando començaua a tronar: los satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los dezieis dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

17 f Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales desde abazo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: haziaules los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiocotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abriãnlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que tezen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

[314] [834] [778 289] [324] [413 286]

1. Marginal notation: *Temporal rezo.*
2. Marginal notation: *Reparanse hasta Mayo V.*

2. Marginal notation: *Remember the dice and.*

they had arrayed them, they burned in the courtyards of their houses.

This done, they carried all these ashes and the ornaments with which they had provided them to the shrines which they call *aisuhcalco*. And then they began to eat and drink, and to make merry. And thus ended the feast. Many other ceremonies remain, to be related, which are [set down] at length in the account of this feast.

conjunalo, y otros ornamẽtos con que los tenjan aparejados quemauanlos en los patios de sus casas.

Hecho esto: lleuauan todas esta cenjzas, y los aparejos con que aujan seruido a los oratorios que llamã Aisuhcalco: y luego començauan a comer y a beuer, y a regozijarse. Y ansi concluyan la fiesta. Otras muchas cerimonjas se quedan por dezir que estan a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Coucamisuh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre coucamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: mataua vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

796X [805 776] [535]

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [the was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Marginal variation: *Jamatecutli de dos años.*

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

1 c KL
2 d A esta muger que mataua en esta
3 e fiesta: componjanla con los ataujos de
4 f aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que
5 g se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom-
6 A bre Tona qujere dezir nuestra madre
7 b esta muger ansi compuesta con los
8 c ataujos estan puestos en la historia,
9 d baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos vie-
10 e jos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua,
11 f acordandose que luego auja de morir:
12 g pasando el medio dia, componjanse los
13 A sacrapas con los ornamentos de todos
14 b los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su-
15 c bianla al cu, donde auja de morir:
16 d echada sobre el tazon de piedra, sa-
17 e cauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la ca-
18 f beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos
19 g que yva adornado como dios, y delan-
20 A tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca-
bellos: hazian areyto cõ ella gujaua el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

c 19 d 20 c 21 f 22 g 23 A 24 b 25 c 26 d 27 e 28 f 29 g 30 A 31 b 1' c 2 d 3 e 4 f 5' g 6 A 7

El mesmo dia que mataũ esta muger los minjstros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abazo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

El dia siguiente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

796X 796X 535 796X 565 524 [415]

2. Marginal variation: *Epiphanij domjni.*

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

X796
565
524

sacks with soft things, like wool, and they carried them hidden under their capes, and they struck, with the bags, all the women whom they might meet in the streets. This game reached such lengths that the King also made bags and with them mauled the girls so much that they made them weep. Many other ceremonies were performed in this celebration, which are set forth at length in the account of this feast.

cosas blandas como lana y llegauanlas escondidas debaxo de las mantas, y a todas las mugeres que topauan por la calle, dauanlas de talegazos: llegaua a tanto este juego, que tambiẽ los muchachos hazian las talegas y aporreauan con ellas a las muchachas tãto que las hazian llorar. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian esta fiesta q̃ estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Izcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jacoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los niños que auian nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

796X
805
778
776
852
304
608

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *xauhquiltamalli,* which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Izcoçauhquí, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1 b KL. Izcalli b 8
2 c A los diez dias deste mes: xacauã c 9
3 d fuego nueuo a la media noche delãte d 10
4 e la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curioso- e 11
5 f mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos, f 12
6 g luego en amaneciendo venjan los man- g 13
7 A cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos A 14
8 b anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez b 15
9 c dias passados vnos de agua, y otros de c 16
10 d tierra: y ofrecianlos a los viejos que d 17
11 e tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y e 18
12 f ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque- f 19
13 g llos anjmales para que se asamen: y g 20
14 A dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu- A 21
15 b chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que b 22
16 c ellos llamauã Vauhqujltamalli: los c 23
17 d quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia, d 24
18 e y todos comjan dellos pór honrra de e 25
19 f la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y f 26
20 g beujan y regozijauanse. g 27

[262]

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del bisexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos atajujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jacoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

[535]

X796 [535] the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *nesecuxtonilizti*, which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl*, which is pine resin. Etc.

[304 291 825 314]

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnjdad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecujtotiliztli, quiere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciesse començauã a agujerar las orejas a los njños y njñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc.

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bisextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de febrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796x 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- A 28
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que b 29
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos c 30
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- d 31
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoqujch, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

[551] [578] [787]

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio mataua capitues delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796x [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

785 796x 463

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
X 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codorniaes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses
[289] who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce descendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
[776] great feast to the god named Iaquitecatl, who is the second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine,
[463] and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine
[415] sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comida, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que. eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[43] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they
[346] observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los sãtrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

In this house,[1] which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante della perfumes, y comida: dezian que este era el signo de quetzalcoatl. [796] [778]

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquixtli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjquixtli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comida: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gēte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mismo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso. [778]

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Cioapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *cioatecalli*, or by another name, *cioatetepan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatetenitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce quiauitl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quādo reynaua este sino, descendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas enfermedades, a los que topauā fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no ossauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan cioatecalli, o por otro nombre cioatetepan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amatetenitl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles. [776] [784] [778]

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called nauh ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce quiauitl: en la quarta casa que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy malafortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de superticion: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las joyas, en que trataua, sacandolas, para que las viessen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to- [681] [777] [463]

[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

And afterwards, at night,

they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one began to boast of what he had gained, and of the distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

mauan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus assientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatlipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y algupo que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendixesse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto aconteçja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mjsmo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce oçomatli they said that the goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it: that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers on these days did not let their children go outside the houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Oçumatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas cioapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and cónsuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, cõmbites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289 778] [565] [666 431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonces dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had [412] in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the women whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to [777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, [276] and then began to prepare the necessary articles for the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers. 585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car- [482 ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a 373] matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her [372] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuujesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determinauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honrradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atausela sobse el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esqujna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *tiñci*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo. 585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y anjmales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro. 796^ [304 854] [535 785]

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

X-796 **Twentieth Chapter**, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [805] [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloca.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[799] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenmantli*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they [202 314 299] erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

Jaic 20. capítulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoalitztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in quintocaiotiaia, in quintoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eua.

Quauitl eua, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujxtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã netteuhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauitl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa quimoncaoaia pipiltzitzintli, in moteneoaia tlacateteujtli: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel quinpaccacelia quinnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynic in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoá, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in teteipuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian quiquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquauitl, itech quitlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitlcua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (Mexico: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "Xilomanaliztli.—Atlacahualco.—Cuahuitlehua.—Cihuailhuitl. *Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de cabeal ó plumas; nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitlehua, quemazon de los árboles; nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. Atlachualco ó Atlacahualco, nombre adoptado por los mexicanos; segun el P. Lerna, derracion de las aguas, y es la interpretacion de todos que más nos satisface. Cihuailhuitl, fiesta de la muger. El símbolo religioso en la imágen de Tláloc y su feral reverenciado, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . *el primer mes, cuyo nombre Acahualco ó Atlacahualco, significa la escasez del agua, pues en el mes de marzo cesan las lluvias del invierno en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o tolteca. La llamaban también Quauhcuahuitlehua, lo que significa la ceguedad de los árboles, que se sacrifica en este tiempo en los países fríos. Las llamaban llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, ofrenda de las mazorcas de maíz, porque en él ofrecían a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la siembra que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en las lagunas altas.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (Tlalocan, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuitl cihua ca pala ca ahua*: Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt und übersetzt* (Gesellschaft für Amerikanische Archäologie und Ethnologie, Band I, Berlin: Verlag von Asher & Co., 1887), and in Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nextlaoalli* 'the debt paid.'"

2. *Nextlaoaloa*. Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *intima* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.: Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nextlaoalli* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *tetenuit* as *tiras sagradas*.

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacatetehuit* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl sentence No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opfersträfen* (*Opferpapiere zu Menschengestalt*). They may actually have been paper statuettes surmounted by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 60) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de gotas de olli a los quales papeles llamaban amateuitl.*" *Tlauhchachapatztli*: cf. *chachaponi*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored—part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlaqui, yiapaltic.

Jnic vccã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlaiquj, tlaltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj.

Jnjc ezcan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn ihechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miqujia nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujaçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

796 778 289 292

[314]

[825]

796 [292 301 237] [314 824]

[289]

[493 237]

6. Map of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locates most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "es una sierra conjunta que esta cerca del Tianguizco."
7. *Yiapaltic.* Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *leonado* (lion colored, tawny) for *yiapalli*. For *papaltic*, Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 56) has *grisáceo*; Molina (*op. cit.*), *color tirado de negro*; Simeon (*op. cit.*), brown or black.
8. The Spanish text explains: "es una sierra conjunta que esta cabe Quauhtepec."
9. *Lat. cit.*: "es aquel monteçillo, que esta detras desta laguna, frente del Quauhtepec."
10. *Lat. cit.*: "es un monte, que esta en los terrenos de Quauhtepec, y alli cabe aquellaguna."
11. *Lat. cit.*: "es un monte que esta cabe chalco arriba."
12. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 57) reads *yemmaxtlatzon*, which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Frisur*.
13. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says: "*papapalos como alas de papel como angeles.*"

feathers, and in these [the children]
were kept.

X796 feathers, and in these [the children] were kept. And they went sounding flutes for them.

All mourned much; men wept for them; men loosed their tears for them; they mourned them and they groaned.

And when they reached the place of vigil, in the Mist House,[14] here was spent the night in vigil. Vigil was kept for them by the priests and the *quaquacuilti*,[15] who were the old priests. [And if] any of the priests separated themselves from them, they were called *mocauhque* (they who are abandoned); no longer did [such an one] join others in intoning chants; no longer was he needed; no more was he counted [among them].[16]

[787] And if the children went crying, their tears coursing down and bathing their faces, it was said and understood that indeed it would rain. [For] their tears signified rain. Therefore [men] were joyful; thus were their hearts at rest. Hence they said: "Verily, soon rain will set in; yea, now soon we shall have rain."

[787] And if one who was dropsical was [met] somewhere, they said: "It will not rain for us."

And when the rains were about to end, when they were soon to finish, to close, then the *cuitlacochin* bird cried—a forecast that continual, soft rain was about to set in. Then came the gulls. And also came the falcons, flying with much clamor. And they forecast when would come the ice, and that it would freeze.

And at the time called Quauitl eua, there on the round sacrificial stone appeared and came into view all those who were to be sacrificial victims.[17] And of those who were thus to die, it was said: "They raise poles for the striped ones." They were brought to Yopico, [Xipe] Totec's temple. There they made them fight in mock battle, in the same manner as they would later die, [when] they would tear their hearts out of them. They counterfeited this with them. [Using] *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime [as mock-hearts], they thus cut their hearts out.[18]

amaamatlapaloque: tlapechtica in vicoia, quetzalcalloiuja, yn vncã momaõtiujia, qujntlapichilitiuja:

cenca tlatlaocultiaia, techoctiaia, techoquizvitomaia, teicnotlamachtiaia, yn ca elcicooaia.

Auh yn oaxitiloque toçocan, aiauhcalco, vncan ceiooal toçaujlo, qujntoçaviia tlamacazque: yoan in quaquacujlti, ichoan in ie veuetque tlamacazque. Auh in tlamacazque, yn o ceme ontetlalcaujque, motocaiotiaia mocauhque: aocmo tecujcananamiquj, aoccan onmonequj, aoccan onpoalo.

Auh in pipiltzitzinti, intla chocatiuj, intla imixaio totocatiuh, intla imixaio pipilcatiuh, mitoaia, moteneoaia, ca qujiauiz: yn imixaio qujnezcaiotiaia, inqujiaujtl, ic papacoaia, ic tziollo motlaliaia: iuh, qujtoa, ca ie moquetzaz in qujiaujtl, ca ie tiqujiaujlozque.

Auh intlacana ca, ytixiuhquj, q'toaia, amo techqujiaujlotla.

Auh yn ie qujçaz qujiaujtl, yn ie tlamiz yn ie itzonco: njman ie ic tlatoa in cujtlacochi, ynezca, ynic ujtz, inic moquetzaz tlapaqujiaujtl: njman oalhuj, pipizcãme: no yoã oalhuj necujlicti, tletlecton, tzatzitinemj, ynezca ie uitz in cetl, ie ceuetziz.

Auh ynic mjtoaia quaujtl eoa: vncan necia, vncan onjxnecia, yn izqujntin oaoanozque temalacac: yoan in quexqujch çan miquiz, moteneoaia qujoquavitleoaltiaia yn oaoanti: vmpa ovico yiopico, yn iteupan Totec: vmpa qujntlaieecalviaia, in quenjn miquizque, qujmeltequja: çan oc qujntlaiecultiaia: iotlaxcalli, anoço iopitlaxcalli, ynic qujmeleltequja.

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14. *In ho. ste.*, *ziauhcalco* is described as "un aposento que estaua lueuo a tenpiniaue de la parte del occidente."

15. *Quaquilti*. In Seler's *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 17, it is suggested that the meaning of the term is probably "he who is chosen as the head." In Sahagún's *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 110, n. 2, the translators render the term *prêtres de rêves*.

16. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún explains in greater detail: "Si alguno de los sacerdotes del templo, y auia q̃ llamauan quaquacuilti, y los tenian en lugar de ancianos, y no llegauan a donde estaua el resto, los echauan por infames, y indignos de ningun oficio publico: de ay adelante llamauanles mocauhque, que quiere decir desechados."

17. *Quauitl*. According to Seler, the meaning is "the striped stick," or, more freely, the captive destined for sacrifice. See *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 14; Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 161, 162; and Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 25. See also Appendix to this volume, pp. 176, 190.

18. *Tortillas*. See Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex, Book 1—The Gods* (Santa Fe: School of American Re-

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan qujxtilo, teittitilo, teiximachtilo, qujntlamamaca, qujnmamaca yn jmamanechichioal: 796X

ynjc ceppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jnamatlatquj. 289 292

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jnamanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc cepa iehuatl yn intlatquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

iccen qujnchichioaia, iccen qujnmacaia, iccen qujtquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic qujntlatlatizque, ynjo ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oaoanozque ça iccen qujcuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo qujpapatla: yoan vltica qujnoahoanchichioa. [314]

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac totolinjtica. 796X 292 [237]

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalitotiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlattitia, ynjc oaoano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoçotiuh, qujtilquetztiuh in chicaoaztli, chachalaca, cacalaca. [714 534]

Auh muchinti, iuh muchichioaia, yn izqujchtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oahoanoxque, yn iquac oacic ilhujtl tlacaxipeualiztli.

[illegible] and University of Utah, 1950; Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of [illegible] *yupi*, and in reference to *Xipe* [illegible], see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 88.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

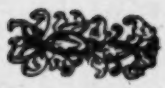

X 796

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the honors paid, and of the blood offerings which were made, in the second month, which was called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

Jnic cempoali oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tlamauiztililiztli, yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan vel ic vntetl metztli, in mjtoaia, tlacaxipeoaliztli.

[721] Tlacaxipeualiztli. This feast came and was thus celebrated; [it was] when all the captives died, all those taken in war—the men, the women, the children.[2]

Tlacaxipeoaliztli: ynin ilhuitl qujçaia: auh inic muchioaia, iquac miquja, yn ixqujch malli, yn ixqujch tlaaxitl, yn ixqujch haxioac: yn oquichtli, in cioatl, yn ixqujch piltzintli.

Those who had taken captives, when, on the morrow, their prisoners were to die, then began the captives' dance, when the sun had passed noon. And they held an all-night vigil for their prisoners there in the tribal temple. And they placed [the captives] before the fire[3] and took hair from the top of the captives' heads, when half the night had passed and when they made offerings of blood from the ear.

Jn maleque, in ic iuh muztla miqujzque in malhoan, iquac peoa, in momalitotia, in ic onmotzcaloa tonatiuh: auh ceiocal qujtoçauja yn jmal, in vncan icalpulco: yoan vncan qujtzoncuj, iquaiolloco, tlecuilixquac qujtlalia, iquac in ioalli xeliuj, neçaoalizpan.

And when the dawn came, then they made them leave, that they might go to die, they who were to die appropriately to this feast day. For during the entire festival they were all flayed. Hence they called [the feast] Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Auh in ooallatujc, vncan coneoaltia, inic mjquj-tiuh: in miquja vel ipan in jlhujtl: auh vel iuh cemjlhujtl muchinti qujnxipeoaia, xipeoaloia: ic mjtoaia tlacaxipeoaliztli.

And the captives were called *xipeme* and *tototecti*.[4] Those who slew them were the priests. Those who had taken them captive did not kill them; they only brought them as tribute, only delivered them as offerings;[5] [the priests] went laying hold of their heads, and seizing [the hair of] their heads. Thus they went leading them up to the top of the temple.

Auh in mamalti motocaiotiaia xipeme, yoan tototecti: in temictiaia, iehoantin in tlamacazque: amo iehoanti qujnmictiaia in maleque, çan tequjtl qujmoncaoaia, çan tequjtl temac qujmoncaoaia, qujnquatemotzultzitzqujtiuj, inquatla qujmantiuj, ymjcpac qujmantiuj, ynjc qujntlecauja teucalticpac.

And when some captive faltered, fainted, or went throwing himself upon the ground, they dragged him.

Auh yn aca malli, vel çotlaoa, iolmiquj, ça chachapantiuh, ça qujvilana:

And when one showed himself strong, not acting

auh yn aca vel muchicaoa, amo mocioatlamachtia,

1. This most spectacular of ceremonies—the flaying of men—was said by Fray Diego de Durán to have been invented by Moctezuma I's general Tlacaelel. See *Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España y las Islas de Tierra Firme* (José F. Ramírez, ed.; México: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867). Vol. I, p. 174. Miguel Acosta Saignes, in *Tlacaxipeualiztli, un complejo mesoamericano entre los caribes* (Caracas: Universidad Central, 1950), passim, argues that it is an ancient complex and in various aspects very widespread.

In Mexico, its place as a spring festival, celebrated when the soil was prepared for planting, is well recognized. Those who wore the human skins represented the renewal of vegetation. Cf. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71. See also Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los antiguos* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 27-8, where, besides, origin of the ceremony in Guerrero or Oaxaca is suggested.

2. Clavijero (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 149) adds that "*algunos de estos cautivos eran los ladrones de oro y plata que eran condenados por la ley del reino a semejante sacrificio.*"

3. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 62) translates thus: "*legen er*"—the hair—"*vor dem Feuerherde nieder*"; Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*junto al fuego hacían esta ceremonia.*"

4. "The flayed" (*xipeme*) and "those who die for the honor of our god Tezcatl" (*tototecti*). See corresponding Spanish text, which also says: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados, se vestían muchos mancebos, a los quales llamaban tototecti.*" Francisco Paso y Troncoso, in *Descripción Historia y Explicación del Codice Pictórico de los Antiguos Nahuas. . . .* (Florencia, 1899), p. 169, writes: ". . . Xipeme ó Tototectin: *es decir: los que eran vestidos con la librea del dios* Xipe Tótek *puesta sobre la piel del desollado, la cual amoldaban al cuerpo desnudo, para cubrirla después con el traje y los adornos propios del dios. . . .*"

[787] Besides being worn as described, the skins are said by Juan de Tovar to have been used to forecast a wet or dry year, and the chiefs directed agricultural work accordingly.—George Kubler and Charles Gibson: *The Tovar Calendar*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 20 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 22.

5. Sahagún, in the Spanish text, definitely states that the captive was delivered to the priests by the *capitan*.

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[6]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oqujchocatiuh, moqujchitotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmozzacilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlatenioti-tiuh, qujiauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo qujmattiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annech-onjtonque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn ozzitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquaccencaujsia, qujm-aquetztiteca, qujmehtequj, yca ixquaoac, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnoch-tli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxi-calco contlalitiuj: auh in ichoantin mjquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Coauhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjloa, qujnoaltetecujchoa, cha-chalcatiujtze, maiotzincueptiujtze, motzotzoniquetz-tiujtze, mocuecueptiujtze, ynjc oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacujlti, calpul-[346] vevetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonoctolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynjc quijquazque: vmpa qujxexeloa, qujtetequj, qujuetloa: oc ie achto qujtonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujqujlia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan quj-[237/443]

6. In op. cit., p. 63, Seler specifies a "*dicker breiter Feuersteinmesser.*" Simeon (op. cit.) defines *inquauac* as "*Couteau pour les sacrifices humains, fait avec du silex ou de l'obsidienne. . . .*" Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; México: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 46, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as "*un cuchillo ancho hecho de lasca, no cuadro aguzado porque . . . no se pueda hacer muy agudo. . . .*"

7. *Quauhxoxoji*: probably *quauhtlaxoxoji* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtlaxoxoji*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) translates as meaning the sun.

8. Seler consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *Adlerschale* (*id. Einige Kapitel*, p. 64). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 155, he breaks the word down into *quauhtli* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauh* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less consistently than Seler, uses the term *vaisseau de sacrifice*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 15 v, Sahagún writes: "*Porque llamaban los antiguos, los Romanos quauhtlaxoxoji.*" In *loc. cit.*, Seler translating *quauhtlaxoxoji* as "*the one from the eagle-head*," the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, or the soul's image and representative (p. 157).

10. *Apetlac* (cf. Seler, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Seler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, caps. 29 and 33.

X 796 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who 266 had taken the captive.

[282] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

[346] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototeeti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn joaniolque quintlalhuja, quincontlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa quintotonaltia ceccn molcaxitl in tlaolpaoxtli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan icietiuh ceccn tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhquin ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miquitiuh, quixtlaoatiuh, ic quichoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn joaiolque.

Auh yn inuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jiostzinioc, inic oallatuiz quintoçauja, iuh cecual, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in cecual, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamalti, in oacanti:

in quinoaoanazque, oc no cepa quintzoncuj, ioalpepantla:

ic mitoaia onacoquixtilo in quauhtecatl, ichica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa itztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, quitoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in quitzoncuja, quimopialtiaia yn itzon:

ichica ca ic oquimomacesuj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

ynic amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhquinma ic contleiocujliaiz malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, itzac totolihujtl, ynic mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauitl eua.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototeeti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan quinoalmana, quinoalquetza, quinoalteititia:

11. See p. 44, Seler, in op. cit., Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural ceremonies of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making it fruitful was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'stretching' ceremonial."
12. See note 9; also Seler (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 63.
13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: "*yerajuan todos arandoles, sobre unas hechas de heno, o de tiçatl, o grama arando allí arandoles.*"

they placed before all the *xipeme*, they who had put on the skins of men.

And others, who had become drunk, unruly [like] warriors, daring, foolhardy, full of spirit, lively, proud of their valor, playing the part of men, started brawls, forced them to join issue, and battled as if in war, and fought.

And to arouse their wrath, verily to move them, that they might become enraged and angry, they snatched at and pinched their navels.

Whereupon the *xipeme* made them run. Behind them stood a *tatec*, named the Youallauan; he followed them and went skirmishing with all the *tototecti*.

Then [the *tototecti*] set upon [the warriors] and took after them; they went on fighting them, seeking to seize and lay hands upon them, like holding those who had detained them by the leg.

And [the warriors] went whirling around, circling back, fighting the others with pine staves.

And if some were taken who had detained [the *xipeme*], these *xipeme* beat them; they struck [such an one] with their rattle sticks, showing their anger.

And they carried him to the Temple of Iopitli; and not for nothing did he come out, not for nothing was he let free. Something was given as ransom; something was taken—perchance a turkey-hen, mayhap a great cotton mantle he offered, etc.

As hath been told in the description of Xipe, just so was it done. Afterwards visits were made and entertainments provided for the *tototecti* and *xipeme*.

Thereupon began the gladiatorial sacrifice. The captives were spread out in order; the captors stood arranging and accompanying them. Then also the striped ones came forth; swiftly the ocelot[-costumed warrior] led and guided them; he came quickly to meet [the captives], displaying his shield and war club and lifting them up toward the sun [in dedication].[14]

Then he turned back, retreated, turned to the rear; once again he went back.

In the same manner there then followed him, coming second, the eagle[-costumed warrior], who similarly lifted up [as an offering] to the sun his shield and his war club.

Once again emerged another ocelot[-costumed warrior], who came out as third, doing the same as he quickly came out.

tlaixco qujnoalmana in xipeme, yn onmaqujaia tlacaeoatl. 79r

Auh yn aqujque, mihivintia isutlauelíloque, mixtlapaloanj, acan ixmauhque, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, quipopoanj yn jntiiacauhio moqujchnenequj, qujmonpepeoaltia, qujmontlachecalhuja, oiaiaopeoa, qujmoiaiaopeoaltia. [273]

Auh inic vel qujotlauelcujtiaia, ynic vel qujmolinjaia, ynic vel in tlauel, in qualan qujcuja, qujmonxiccuja, qujmfixiccuj, qujmonxiccotona:

ic njman in xipeme tlapaynaltiaia ymjcampa in teputzco icatiuh ce Totec, itoca iocallaoan, qujntoca qujntlaichecalhujtiuh, in muchintin tototecti:

ic njman intech ietiquiça, qujntlalochtoca, qujniachiuhtiuj, qujmaacitiuj, qujnmamacujtiuj iuhq'n in cotztitech ietiuj, in teçaloanj:

auh oalmocueptiuj, oalnomalacachotiuj, ocoquauhtica quinoallaheecalhujtiuj.

Auh intla ceme anoia, in teçaloanj, qujnujujtequj in xipeme, in chicaoaztica, qujxixilia, vel qujncocoltia.

Auh iopico conujçaia, amo çan nen oalquiçaia, amo çan nen caoaloia, itla ic moqujxtiaia, itla ic onanoia, aço totoli, aço quachtli qujtemacaia. Eta [231 286]

Yn o iuh mito ipan itlatollo xippe, çan ic no iuh mochioaia: çatepan, in ontetotocaque, yn onteaujeltique, yn ontlapactique tototecti, xipeme:

njman ic peoa in tlaoaoano, tecpantimanj in mamalti, qujnnanaqnjctimani, qujujujçatimanj in tlamanj: njman no oalquiça in tlaoaoanque, yiacatiujtz, qujiacatitiujtz, in teiacantiujtz ocelutl ipan quiztiujtz, conjtitia, conjaujlia yn ichimal, yn imaquauh, in tonatiuh:

njman oc cepa tzinquiça, tzinnenemj, tziniloti: oc cepa ycujtlaujc iauh:

in ic iuhquj njman qujoalnoquilia, qujoaluncaiotia, oallaoncaiotia in quauhtli, çan no yuj in conjaujlia tonatiuh, yn ichimal, yn imacquauh:

oc cepa no oalquiça, oc ce ocelutl, oallaocaiotiuh, teocaiotiziujtz, çan no iuh qujchioaia calaqtiuetzi.

14. Sahagún's Spanish here: "Levantaban la rodela, y la espada hacia el sol, como desmaiando enhiestas al sol." Cf. also H. 3.

796 Yet again an eagle[-costumed warrior] came out, doing just as had been done. All four [acted as if] fighting. They raised their shields and war clubs [as offerings] to the sun.

Now no longer did they delay, by turning back. When they came out, they came out dancing, they went in order. As if lying down on the ground, as if crawling along, flat on the ground, they went looking from side to side; they went up leaping and fighting.

And thereafter the Yoaltecuhtli came forth, garbed like Totec; only he came last, after the others, behind the four great eagle and ocelot [warriors]; they lifted up their shields and war clubs, offering them and dedicating them to the sun.

Then all the impersonators, the proxies, of all the gods[16] emerged in order, ahead of all. They were called the lieutenants, the delegates, the images.

Similarly, they proceeded; they came in order; they came together. All came down. They came hence, from Iopico, from the very top of the [pyramid] Temple of Iopitli.

And when they had come down below, on the ground, on the earth, they gathered around the circular, flat, sacrificial stone; they seated themselves according to rank on large chairs called *quauhtlicpalli*.

And when they were seated, when they were arranged according to their importance, again the first in order was the chief priest, the Yoaltecuhtli;[17] because it was his right, his office, that he should slay, offer as sacrifice, [that] with his hands he should destroy—with his hands hack open each of the captives destined for sacrifice.

533 534 198 When this was done, then trumpets were sounded; conch shells, large sea shells, were blown; men put their fingers in their mouths and whistled, and there was singing. With singing of songs and blowing of trumpets, they arrived. The Cuauhcauca placed themselves in order, their shoulders decked with feather banners, and they encircled the offering-stone.

One [of the captors] quickly seized a captive. The captor, he who owned the captive, seized him by the head to bring him to the offering-stone.

1415 2279 When he had brought him there, he offered him wine;[17] and the captive raised the wine four times

Oc no cepa cenauj oalquiça, in quauhtli, çan ic machiuj in quichioua, oallachcocoxin in nauhtzi: conjauhtia yn ixchimal, yn jonacquauh ic tonatiuh:

ocmo oahoccoxin, ynic oahxiniloto, çan nijman ic oalquistimanca, mixxitinijca, momomanaxtiuj: inhquin tlalli ixco momotecatiuj, inhquin tlahtoch ôujqui, mocacanahtiuj, nanacatzlachintiuj, huexcholotiuj, tlatlaococotiuj.

Auh in ic inhquj nijman oalquiça, yioaltecuh, totec: ipan quintiujtz, çatlacuhqui, çatlatocquiliu, çatlatzacujtiuh, çatlacujtlapiloca, çatquinoalcontzacujtiuh in nauhtin, teteuinti in quauhtli, yn ocelo, çatlauçca, oalmaxca, conjauhtia yn ixchimal yn jonacquauh in tonatiuh:

nijman ic ic oalquiça oalmoiocatia, oalmotecpana, yn ixquichtin teixiptlaoan, yn ixpetilocan in ixquichtin teteu: motecaiotiuia tepatiuhti, tepatilocan, teixiptlati:

çan ic no yuj in ujh motecpantiuj, ermoootiuj, ynic oalteme: vmpa oalpeoa in ixpico, vel icpac in tecalli ixpitli.

Auh yn oeico tlatzintla, in tlalchi, in tlahtoch: nijman quijaoalco in temalacatl, yn ocoxiaoalocque, motlatlalia tecpantocque, ypan teuey icpalli, ixoca quauhtlicpalli.

Auh ynic onocque, ynic tecpantocque, cuecuecanica, ic no cuelc teiacanica, tlaiocanica, in ioallaca: ichica ca ixquichtli, ymeiacauji caica, in tlamicitz, in tetlatlauiz, ymac polioaz, ymac xamanauj yn ixquich quauhtecatl:

in ic inhquj nijman tlapizcalo, teccintli mopizca, quijquijxtli, mopipiztoca, yoan cujco: cujcapan tlapitzalpan, in oalmoiocatia: motecpana in cuecuica, quijquetzcopanotiuj, xitapanjtl, quijaoalco in temalacatl.

Oc cuecuepiça in mulli, icpac cuauhtli in tlamanj, in mulli, ynic quijaca temalacac:

yn ocuitiquac, quijauca vctli: auh yn vctli xaqya conivilla in mulli: auh çaepan cuej pinotica:

15. Durán, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 ff., names Huitzilopochtli, Quetzalcóatl, Tezcatlipoca, and Xiuhtecuhtli.
16. Quetzalcóatl's apotheosis "*el potentado sacerdote, de aquella diosa que se llamaba Quetzalcóatl.*"
17. Díaz (*op. cit.*, p. 69) says the captor raised the wine; Sahagún says the priests.

776 [415 273]

[as an offering], and afterwards drank it with a long hollow gourd.

Then still another man, [a priest,] came out and cut the throat of a quail for the captive, him who was to be offered as a sacrifice; and when he had beheaded the quail, he raised [to the sun] the captive's shield, and cast the quail away, behind him.

Having done this, then they made [the captive] climb upon the round sacrificial stone; and when they had lifted him on the offering-stone, the wolf [priest] came to him, representing [a wolf], and known as "Old Wolf."[24] [He came forth] as the uncle of the captive destined for the sacrifice.

Then he took the rope holding the captive, which reached and was attached to the center [of the stone]; then he tied it about the waist[25] of the captive. And he gave him a war club, decked with feathers and not set with obsidian blades.

And he placed before him four pine cudgels, his missiles,[26] with which to lay about him, with which to defend himself. And the captor, when he had left his prisoner on the offering-stone, thereupon went away [to the place where] he had stood [before]. He stood dancing, looking upon, and studying, his captive.

Then [the fight] was begun; the contest [was started]. Carefully they studied where they would smite him in a dangerous place, and cut him—perchance the calf of the leg, or the thigh, or his head, or his middle.

And if some captive was valiant and courageous, with great difficulty he surpassed [his adversary]. He met and fought all four of the ocelot and eagle [warriors]. And if they could not weaken him, then came one who was left-handed. He then wounded his arm and threw him flat upon the surface. This one appeared as [the god] Opochtli. And although the captive might falter and faint, yet he acquitted himself as a man.

And when one went faltering, sinking down on all fours, reeling and overcome in the fray, uselessly and vainly holding the war club, which they snatched from him, then his adversaries contended with him. And this indeed one could now no longer do more;

njman oc no ce tlacatl oallauh, çolin qujcotonjlia, in malli, in oeoantli, yn oconquechcoton çolin, conjaujlia yn ichimal malli: Auh in çolli, icampa conmaiauj.

In ie iuhquj, njman contlecauja in temalacaticpac: auh yn oconquetzque temalacac, çe tlacatl cujtlachtli ipan quiça, ipan mixtoa, itoca cuitlachueue, iuhquin intla catca in oeoanti:

njman conana, in itonacamecatl, yn iiolloco antica, yn iiolloco ilpitica, njman ic concujtlalpia in malli, youn conmaca; maquauitl, tlapetonilli, amo itztzo.

Youn ixpan contema nauhtetl ocotzontetl itlamotlaia, ic temoctlaz ic momaputlaz. Auh in tlamanj, yn oconcaoato ymal temalacac: njman ie ic vitz, vncan oalmoquetza yn icaia, mihtotiticac, ixquichcapa ontlachiticac, yn imal conicticac:

njman ic mopeualtia, moctlatlaichecalhuja, moctlathecalhuja, vel quijmottilia in canjn ymoujcan moujtequizque, quijmotequjlizque: yn aço in cotzco, anoço in metzpan, anoço in quappa, anoço in tlacotian.

Auh yn aca malli, iokchicaoac, iollotlapalinj, vel yujojh in qujcaoa: in naujxtin quijnamjquj, quijnaistlacoa, yn ocozlo in quaquauhti. Auh intlaca uel quijhiocaualtia, njman oiauh, opuchmaie, quijn ieheatl quijnamimictia, quijmaiauj, qujcentimoiauj: inin ipan mizoteuia in opuchtli. Auh intlanel ic çotlaca, intlanel ic ihiocaoa, no çan oaloquichoua: noaua oquichoua, in oeoantli.

Auh in aca ça çoçhoaxtiuh, ça mouaiteiuh, iolmictiuh, ça tlapoloiuh: ça nen pauca, ça nen pictli in quicujtinetzi, yn imoquauh: ic qujonimamjquj, in qujcoaua, in tlamamaquj. Auh in neh aca, aoctle cuechiua, aoctle omauitia, aoctle ic oalmomaputla,

24. "Viejo que es de los nuestros, o mejor, es del templo, aunque sea un oso de oro"—corresponding Spanish text. Cuetlachtli is long considered, according to Molina (op. cit.), Siguenza, Boturini, Veytia, Sahagún (Alonso Molina: Diccionario de la lengua mexicana en castellano), Ixtlilxochitl, Clavigero, Gamarra, Pimentel, Brinton, Seler, Kingsborough, pp. 69, 71, and Clavigero's Works, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 88, and Vol. IV, p. 18. In this last reference, he identifies it as a symbol of the heavy scorpion.

25. Tied to the captive's ankle, according to Durán, loc. cit.

26. In loc. cit., and here (p. 280), Sahagún unquestionably equally "quatro palmas, hechas de palo de ocote," and "quatro ramos de palo de ocote." The captive then dance the ballet, and then used his club.

X 796 no more could he use his hands; no longer defend himself; no longer make himself do anything. No longer did he move; he did not speak. Then, faltering and fainting, he fell upon the surface, rumbling as if dead. He wished that he might stop breathing, that he might suffer [no longer], that he might perish, that he might cast off his burden of death.

And thereupon they quickly took and seized him, pushed him, and dragged him, and raised and stretched him out upon the edge of the round sacrificial stone.

And then, when the Youallauan went [forth], in the guise of Totec, he gashed [the captive's] breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun; and the priests placed it in the eagle vessel. And [413] another man, a priest, carried the [hollow] eagle cane[21] and set it in the breast of the captive, there where the heart had been; he stained it with blood; he submerged it well into the blood. Thereupon he offered [the blood] to the sun. It was said: "Thus he giveth [the sun] to drink."

[415] And the captor thereupon took the blood of his captive into a green bowl with a feathered rim. The sacrificing priests came to pour it there. In it went the hollow cane, which also had feathers. And then the captor departed with it so that he might nourish the demons. He went into and came out of all [shrines]; he omitted none; he forgot not the priests' dwellings in the tribal temples. On the lips of the stone images he placed the blood of his captive, giving them nourishment with the hollow cane. He went in festive attire.[22]

X 796 266 And when he had gone to and reached all the places, then he took the insignia to the palace, and he caused his captive to be taken to the tribal quarters, where they had passed the night in vigil; here he flayed him. Afterwards he had [the flayed body] taken to his house, where they cut it up, that it might be eaten and shared, and, as was said, to bestow as a favor to others.[23] It hath been told elsewhere how this was done.

And the captor might not eat the flesh of his captive. He said: "Shall I, then, eat my own flesh?" For when he took [the captive], he had said: "He is as my beloved son." And the captive had said:

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21. "Un cañuto, de cuto hueco" (corresponding Spanish text).
22. "Vino ataviado con sus plumajes, y el cuerpo con sus joyas" (Ibid.).
23. Translation: Seler (Bonn Report, p. 72, n. 1) holds, of [illegible], that it is derived from [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] to [illegible] to

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"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods], and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cuecateca, the Cempoaltecа, the Mecateca. [These communities] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and dismissed.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *xoxillac* of unscoked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *xoxillac* of unscoked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlamaxtlaca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. There the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with chasers of ears of

quijtoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quijtoa ca notaxtzin: auh iel tepal quijquaia intemal.

Auh yn ieouio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quijtlanenhcoitinemj, cempeualilhujtl ipan tlatlacoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onoeaquijlo cemjlhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexaquich maco, in quexaquich quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quijtexcelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quijtlaiecultia yn ieouih.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque ouoanti, njman ic mjetia, quijiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn iuquichtin teixiptlati, yn otlacoouanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn intzontecon momalti, in ouoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia.

Auh in cuitlachueue, cuntilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoioahtinemj, iuhquin mjccaoati, quinchoquijlia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque.

Auh no iehoanti, yn iiooan altepetl, tlatepatzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, quimonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcoouaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, onecateca, cempoaltecа, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamauiçoltiloia: njman ic xitinoua, necacaoalo.

Auh yn iquac tlacoomo, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjequj yn javilocpal, ynjnta: ietiuh, vmpa quijquauaquque.

Auh yn imumlaioc, in ie ic ellhujtl: njman pepena in teq'quijtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in pesalo, in pena, in vmpa vey tecpa: quipeoahtinia in tlatelulca, tlequalinpan quijcalcaoaia: njman quimonpatla tlamacaque, ynic muchichioaia, ynic mjhtoriaia, çan tlaocuel, çan tepapâ-tlaquijtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tuhcoiol, tuualli, tlachichinolli, xoxo-

24. Durán (op. cit., pp. 275-76) says that Moctezuma I invited "los señores de todo lo redondo"—Tezcuco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Mixquic, Huitzilopochco, and as many more as possible. "Los señores de las provincias y rededor," he continues, "admirados y espantados de semejante convite, parecíanles que eran provocados y pusiéronse llenos de temor y espanto . . . dicen especialmente á los forasteros, . . . Donde entonces vuelve los de las provincias y rededor comparecieron diciendo de nuevo conforme al número de cada uno los mantenían, diciendo quién cada uno y cómo tenemos á sus consagrados."

25. Molina(ed), "xoxillac, cierto pasamanillos, que hacían de maíz sin cocer," according to Sahagún's Spanish text, in Seler (op. cit., p. 78, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of "xocoxocotl—"dice 'Fruit de Grande cosas Amarillas'. . . . Se cocer este Dulcíll de Sagúlgoro, dice sus siaqu-Quelitos, Tlamanalo xoxocoillacos Mazapanes, dice sus Mahamadi, cuido sus Mahamaro, Sangrando cuando."

796 301 maize;[26] with *coyote* heads made of a paste of amaranth seeds; with S-shaped *teculli* and thick rolls[27] covered with a paste of amaranth seeds and with toasted maize on top; and red amaranth, which was really red feathers, and maize stalks with ears of green or tender maize.

796 535 After midday, the priests rested. Thereupon the Tenochca and the Tlatelulca came together, two rows of Tenochca and two rows of Tlatelulca facing each other. All danced very slowly; the dance proceeded in harmony. Then all emerged, coming out of the palace gate, and all arranged themselves. Moctezuma came forth with them; he came out dancing. At his right and left came two great princes, Neçaualpilli of Texcoco and Totoquihuaztli, ruler of the Tepaneca. Great solemnity reigned as all danced.

And when it was already dark, when it was already night, all dispersed. Then began the singing and dancing [with interlocked hands];[28] there danced
[701] the novice warriors, the chief warriors—those who had captured four captives or more, as well as those who had taken one or two. And these were named also young leaders. And also the princes danced. And likewise women danced with them—those known as
[548] mothers, but only if they wished; they were not forced. And also immodest women, harlots.

And then all departed, when midnight was nigh, when trumpets had been blown. For twenty days it continued in this manner, until the Feast of Toçoztontli arrived.

cuijlhxcalli, teumjmjlli, çan no tzoalli ic quipepechooaia, quimomochiotiaia panj: yoan ouuhchichilli, çan tlapaliujtl catca, yoan cintopilli, eloio, anoço xiloio.

Yn omotzcalo tonatiuh, moceuja in tlamacazque, njman ic ic monepanuja, montlamanuja, in tenuchca in tlatilulca, vmpanti in tenuchca, no vmpanti in tlatilulca, mixnamjctiuj, cenca çan yujian, yn netotilo, cenca vel cocamantiuh in netotiliztli: njman oalquj-xoa intecpa quijaoac, oalnettanalo, oalteujca in motecuçoma, oalmjtotitiuh, quitzatzacutiuitze, quioalitzcatitiuj, vmentin veucintin tlatoque Neçaoalpilli tetzcuco, totoquioztli, tepanecapan tlatoanj: vel matiztli oonoc in nehtotiloia.

Auh ic tlapoiaoa, ic tlaixcuecuetzjuj in necacaoalo, njman ic peoa, in cujcoanolo, mjtotiaia in telpuchtequjoiaque, teachcaoa, in nauj cacitinemj, yn anoce oc quezquinti ymalhoan: yoã in ce, vme, cacitinemj. Auh no motocaiotiaia hy, telpuchiiaque: no yoan in tlatoque mitotia. Auh no tehoan in cioa mjtotia: mjtoa tenaoan, çan illo tlama, amo tequjuhtiloia: auh çan no ichoãtin yn.aujianjme, in maauijltia.

Auh iquac necaoaloia, in ic hiciuhtiuh, ioalaepantla tlatlapitzalizpa: cempoalilhujtl, yn iuh tlamanca, yn juh tlamanja: vmpa onaci yn ipan toçoztontli.

26. Cf. Pozas y Trasmann, op. cit., p. 189: ". . . *se dice, los mexicanos de nuestros días que se guardaban para esta fiesta calabacitas que nuestra tierra del sudeste de los mexicanos.*"

27. See Anderson and Dibble (op. cit., p. 14). Possibly these resembled the wrapped loaves in Pl. 12.

28. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Libro del cielo* (Orizaba, Mexico: n. p., 1949), pp. 68, 219. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*juntos tomados de las manos, puesto denantes como colaterales.*"

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out burning, popping, rustling into blooms—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little cones [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they set *xocoalos* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Cozteca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, consumed [these *xocoalos*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Coatlan xocoa.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidence; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[5]—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jnic temposali onnume capitulo, vncã motenecoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoalitzli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in motenecoaia, Tlacaxipeualiztli. 796x

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpuluetetque, vmpa poubque iopico, cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhujtl, in tlacemilhuitilitoque, ic tlalhujquixtitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic uetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in ixquich nepapan xochitl, in iancujcan cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto qujnecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, qujuenchioaz, qujučmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotõci qujttaia, cuecuepontoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aquitoton, hacquipipil, hacquitetoton, çan queciztquj, çan quezquitoton, çan quezquipipil, çan quezquiçquauhtoton qujcujcujtlalpia, qujilpia. 796x 824 [784] [532]

Auh ynic xuchitetemoaia, qujcenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj qujoalnamacaia, in millaca: 796x [432]

auh yn iquac y, qujquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [261]

oc cenca ichoanti qujmauiztilitia in cozteca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: qujtlamanjlia yn intecuh, itoca coatl ycue, coatlan xocoa:

yn jtech tlaquauhtlamati, yn junetemachil, yn jtech moquauhtiotia, yn inquauhtio, yn jtech motzatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac coatlatilo, onmotlaxia, onmocacoa, yn jmenoio tlaca, vmpa iopico onnactiuj:

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1. The corresponding Spanish text qualifies: "[illegible]" (Gardner: "Sahagún's Spanish," p. 38). Gardner (op. cit., p. 77) has, for this [illegible]: "Under some [illegible] and the flayed."
2. [illegible] "[illegible]," according to Sahagún's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagún: [illegible] p. 38, n. 3: [illegible]
5. Sahagún: [illegible] (Gardner (op. cit., p. 285) has, for [illegible]: "[illegible]"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "[illegible]."

X 796 Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did
[278] so].

in çaço aquja connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlaelcujaia in mihiviztia telpopochti.

And some of them had so made vows that they
[755] would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequjntia ic monetoltia, yn eostlatiaque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoti, anoço izcocoiac tel in aca, ipanti, ic peti, in aca amo pati:

Each one of the captors came forth from his house,
[301] and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's]
[281] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleos conmaqujtiuj in eost, amatecujtl, ymacolpan mamãtiuh, yoan in tlanizco.

And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving
[515] together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aimamjquizti: çan nejacapacholo ynjc namjco, ynic tetla qujça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn eostl, ecoxtzauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica qujnapaloa, yn ouelxepioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappi'zoac.

And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They
[431] bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts
[531] tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with
[291] designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan.iuj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ictinh: qujmoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminqui, anoço teniujoanquj, yhujtenoapanquj, yhujentlaiaoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxtioac, yn eostlatiolian, yn icpac teocalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onactícac eostl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin eostl, contlaça ica onmaistuj yn ezoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiquiça, qujoaltentiquiça, tiehquazco in tecalli.

And they who had come to dispose of the skins,
X 796 which they had gone about wearing, washed them-
515 selves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oqujcaoeto eostl, yn onmaqujtioja, amo mizamja atica, çan iotezti, tlaoltezti, inic onmixxaxaqualoa, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixiotezuja:

6. See Chapter 20, n. 4.
7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *amopalli* as "[gewöhnlich] braun oder in einzelne farbige Streifen, in *Tenujo Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "[gewöhnlich] braun (oder der Grundfarbe der Kleidung der Indianer ähnlich)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado oscuro*.
For *nochpalli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "[gewöhnlich] weiss (oder der Farbe des Nachtmahls, der Kakao-Schokolade)."
8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, loc. cit., and Sten, p. 533.

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. These who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man-vested them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncã onesa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiuia, amo quinmamatiloaia, çan quinnzotzona, quintlatlatzinja, iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel quiça in chiaoalittli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja: 796[x] 515 [388]

ipempa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, quinmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynic omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, quiquetza in male, quitlalia quauhtzontapaiolli, cy icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech quitlatlalia: yn jamatlaquj, ynic omochichioaia totec. 796[x] [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlaxelittalli chicaoac: ic no ceppa ic ic muchichioaia, ipan tetzotoca, tecocenmana, tlacatl quicocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, quicacalatzinuh ychicaoac quicaoatzinuj, quietoca, q'tepachotiuj, quitecicali:

muchi tlacatl quimauhtia, ipan macauj: quitoa, le uitz tetzompacquj:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca quicaxitiuetzi, quipetlaca, quitlatlalochtia yn jxilma: in quezçquj quitecuilia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic quiquiquequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco quiquetza, itlacatipeualizquauh, in tlamanj: ic quipantia, ynic ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[x] 778

Auh youn yn jquac y, tlaxcpiloaia: auh ynaca oc cochololtinia, yn iquezçtepol malli: youn mecatzcolli, ontapatlacauali itech pilcac. [291] 237]

Auh in quezçpolli, amatica quiquiquimiloaia, quixtoctinia: auh yniju motocaiotinia, malmal. [289]

9. Molina: op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl section (soaps).
11. Ibid.: "yente entre los pueblos este que es este adornado, el aquien quando muerto." [illegible]
12. Cf. Sahagún: Historia de Mexico, p. 91, n. 1: [illegible] "Cuando dice que viene (quien) le adquiere, le coge (tocado, es conquistado [illegible] que [illegible] quien quiere dice: mide [illegible] Este tocado." This would imply a double meaning.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text suggests that the thigh bone was then suspended. Seler, in Bureau Report, p. 81, has "trophy."
14. Quetzpoalmalmal, in Seler, loc. cit.

10. Corresponding Spanish text "un globo redondo, hecho de paxas."

X 796 [273] And when he had hung it up, he summoned [his friends and his kin] to a feast. All ate and drank; the old men and the old women drank wine.

And another man was then decked in the captor's attire, and, in jest, leapt about. [And] the old men of the tribal temple sang for him.

[273 415] And he offered white wine in a round gourd, and he threatened it.

Afterwards, in like manner, he shot it with an arrow, and then drank it.

And when he had thus drunk, he had it taken elsewhere, and did similarly; then he did likewise in a third place, and in a fourth place.

Here they finished, when he had done similarly in all places. This was done all in one day.

But song did not cease in the song house[15] until it came to end in [the feast of] Uey toçoztli.

Auh yn jquac tlaacopiloa, teccanotzaia, tlatlaquaiio, atlica, in ueuetque, ylamatzitzin, tlacona.

Auh no ce tlacatl ic muchichioa, yn jtlaciz tlamanj haauja, chocholoa. motelimana, qujcujcatitoque calpulocuetque.

Auh izqujatecontica qujmma tiçavctli, contlatlaichecalhuja:

çatepan iuhqujnma conmjna, njman ic cocj:

auh yn oconjc, ic no cecaj coniquanjlia, çan no iuh conchioa, çan ic no iuh qujchioa, ynjc cxcan, çan no yuj, ynic nauhcan:

vncan ontlamj iça ich no iuh qujchioaia yn izquitlamantli: ça uel cemilhujtl, in muchioaia.

Auh in cujcatl, amo mocaoaia in cujcacali, izquichica tlamjciuh, yn ipan vey Toçoztli.

15. See Plates 19 and 39.

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei tocoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uei tocoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *magney*[3a] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Juic cēpoualli omei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli. 796

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic muchioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: qujquequetzza telpopochti tolpactli, tlacherujlli, heeço, tlaezçotilli noujli: 824

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia, qujquequetzaia, qujtitilquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinizcoloa, vncan conalsoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aquin telpuchtli, itech qujqujxtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech. 796 735

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiaçanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacaoistema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli: 565 352 824

tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vicalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oqujchiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocatolli: injn atolli meteneca, aquetzalli: 796 [illegible]

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmā ie ic qujtereca in atolli, inquijtecomac,

vel pepeionotimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn oiztiz, yn

1. Quest Vigil (Uitzo Velitle), according to Gudeley (op. cit., p. 200). Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 278) refers to Uey tepeilli as *gran panecillo*, and to Tepeilli as "*panecillo* . . . *pequeño redondo panecillo que dejaron como de una parte y otra.*"

2. Sahagún describes these as capitulum. Cf. Rémesal *general de las cosas de Nuevas República* (Madrid: Pedro Rubrado, 1932), Vol. III, p. 272. Tobar, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 36, has *Bandejuelo* ("tapete op.), and in Ruiz Kapital, p. 83, n. 1, either *Rodejuelos* or *Enlosanda* or *Almoadas*.

3. The—*Abies religiosa* (H. B. K.) *Schlecht & Cham.* in Cheli: *Mendoza Codex* (Queen Cooper Cheli, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; pine, in Tobar, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 36, citing Molina (*Arbol, árbol de que se cosa el cilio de chomi*) and Hernández (Madrid, 1790, f. 24)—"*arbol que cocido se comesse, dilata mucho sus cuerpos, and engrosa.*" The sequence covered with cornmeal, as does Gudeley (*Libro del cultivo*, p. 212). Sahagún said the term *hard chicoro*, Tobar says, and adds that *cocoxtli* was a name given to a variety of grass hummocks. It is pictured in No. 371 of Peñ y Tovar's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. XI).

3a. Agave cactus or century plant. The Mexican term *magney* is used in this translation.

4. Sahagún, in op. cit., Vol. II, p. 266: "*nacatamalli, que es hecho con harina muy espesa y muy blanca, hecho con tequesquitl.*" In Ruiz Kapital, p. 84, Tobar specifies that the gruel of maize was "*sin Tecuesquite galpechos.*"

5. A sour gruel, in Tobar, loc. cit. Rémesal (op. cit.) states that an acid fruit, such as tamarind, was used.

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *magney roots*[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[778] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, *five tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calooocac*, "it reseth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

oncteaoac, yn omotlali, hi tnotzolinhtimanj, iniolcuitimanj.

Auh yn otlathujc, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, qujcenocujtiuj in calli, no ichoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlaeujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelja, ic motlauelitta, ic mihixnamiquj:
in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa qujpaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izqujcan manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecemetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlazinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujcalitquj, yn inchachan:

qujnxoxochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujotlaquentia, qujntlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujhtil, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuj cujatlaoitzalli, tepioacquj, quappiztic, tlaixcaoujli. qujtzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan ceio izqujtl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli qujtequj acatl vncan qujtemjxia, qujtentiquetza, yn izqujtlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteotl: tepitoton, tepixcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa qujcuj, qujmamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, motenecoa calonooac, cali onooac: ichica ca çan cali çan techachan in mauiztililocia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teutlac, vmpa qujmoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa qujnamoc, ic nezujtilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli icx: vmpa contiquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, qujnamaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca atzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cuitlatl de maíz*; in corresponding Spanish text, Giordano (*op. cit.*, p. 396) translates the term as *mazorca de maíz*; Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*panoxa o espiga de maiz antes de que espigue*".

7. "Otras yerbas, que llamamos, *magney*," in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330), referring to the *magney*, says: "Las raíces gruesas tuestadas, sirvieron de pabilo."

8. Ground, roasted maize mixed with chile chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 85).

side; some had long hair; some already had hair wound about the head.[9] They bound the cobs of maize in groups of seven; these were the clusters [of cobs of maize]. They wrapped them in red paper, and painted them with liquid rubber; and they sprinkled on them drops of liquid rubber.

ie omaxtlauh: chichicoomolotl in qujilpia, ichoatl yn ocholli catca, camaquentia, tlauhio, colxaoa: yoan conolchichipitza.

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And they pasted the young girls' arms and legs with red feathers; they painted their faces, fastening [on them] two [circles of] fish paste[10] flecked with iron pyrites on both sides, on their cheeks.

Auh in ichpopuchti, tlapaliujtica qujnpotonja, in inmac, ymicxic, yoã qujexxaoaia, ovme qujnpilhuja chapopotli apetztzo, tlaxpetzujlli, tlaxpetziotilli: nococcampa in camatepa.

[302]

Then, they accompanied the young girls, who carried upon their backs the dried maize, also called Cinteotl. They kept going before them; they went surrounding and encircling them, looking on fascinated. None of those crowded about looked upon them; [none] looked fixedly at them; none joked with them.

Niman ic ic qujnujca yn ichpopuchti, qujmamatiuj in cintli, no cinteutl motocaciotiaia: ymixpã hicatiuj, qujntepeuitiuj, qujmololhujtiuj, cemixtli invic: aiac in maca qujmjtta, qujnocecemjtta, aiac qujncamanalhuja.

And if anyone was merry with one of them, they chid him. They said unto him:

Auh intla aca tecamanalhuja, qujoalaoa qujoalilhuja:

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"Verily, he with the long [tangled] hair of a youth also speaketh! Dost thou indeed speak? Be thou concerned over how may be removed thy tuft of hair, thou with the long hair! Thou with the evil-smelling, stinking forelock, art thou not only a woman like me? Nowhere hath thy excrement [yet] been burned."[11]

no uellatua in cuexpalle, vel teh titlatoa? ma ie ic xitlaocuia, quen uetziz in mocuexpal, cuexpaltone? cuexpaliiac, cuexpalpoto, amo çan tinocioapo? acan motlachinauja mocujtl.

Some answered her and said unto her:

Cequjntin quioalcuepaia, qujtoaia

"[What thou sayest] is good. I am going, I. I know that it is truth and veriry; thou hast done well. Now also shalt thou go. Anoint thy stomach with mud; scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other and fall to the earth; drop upon the dust. There is a stone, a rough one; strike thy face therewith, that blood may spurt forth; scratch thy nose with the stone; or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe, that thou mayest spit through it. Be on thy way; go as thou likest."

ca ie qualli, ça onjia, ie nehoatl, nicmati, haçanelli, haçayuj, otitlacneli ca no te tiez: xonmitiçoqujuj, xonmjtichichiquj, ximocizmalina, tlalli ic ximoujtequj, tlalli xiqujpotextiuetzzi: vmpa ca tetlhon, techachalli, ic xonmixtezotzona, ic xonmjxtzoczona, ezzli tiqualaccuchos: ximoiacatechichiquj, noce xonmococotlezoionj, vmpa tioalchichichac, çan xinemj, ça tiuhquj xinemj.

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And although these words were thus expressed by

Auh maciuj yn iuhquj hin intlatol muchiaoia

9. "*Amatzonelli, vel, ahmatzonelli, cabellos largos que dexan a un lado dele cabeça sobre manera quando los traypellan*" (Molina, op. cit.). *Amatzonelli* (sp. *ahs*, Spanish-Nahuatl section) is translated as "*Cabellos compassados y redondos sobre cabeça de la muger.*"

10. Chapopotli. See Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, pp. 72, 325.

11. In view of the double meanings which make this passage difficult to put into English, reference to later passages in Sahagún's *Historia* is helpful. A sentence in the Tolosaño edition (Vol. I, p. 173) mentions "*los cuarenaches y cuarenaches y cuarenaches; unos espaldas que tienen redigas de caballos en el cuerpo, que llamaban cuarenaches.*" Further on (Vol. II, pp. 131-2): "*Los grandes y ordinarios por donde salían los que habían de llegar a los cuarenaches diguidaches, como estos que se dijeron; cuando eran pequeñuelos andaban cuatrinados o cuarenados los cabellos, y llegando a los diez años dexábanle crecer una rediga de caballos en el cuerpo, a la cual dicen llamaban cuarenaches; a los quales eran tenidos por espaldas redigas largas, y llamábanles cuarenaches, porque eran ordinarios como cuando habían hecho en la guerra; y si en la guerra acontecía que él y otro, o, él y otros dos o tres, o más, cautivaban o alcanzaban de los enemigos, quitábanle la rediga de los caballos, y aquello era señal de honra. . . .*

"*Y cuando quitaban la rediga del caballillo, dexábanle una rediga sobre la oreja derecha, que le colgaba la oreja a ello un hilo que era el derecho, y era esta pretada que nunca otra pretaxaría nada llamada, que era señal que era enemigoso de otros hasta cautivando o alcanzando; y por haber cautivado tres enemigos, y haber dexádole la rediga en señal de honra, le colgaban tres cabellos a cada lado dexándolos. Hacía cuarenta, hasta llegado la edad de veinte, y le decían ya tlaxaxa otra vez; porque se atrevía y le enfrentaba a cualquier otro enemigoso de otros; unos que se cuidaba cada pendiente, y que le acontecían tres enemigos, que no que otro era cualquiera un enemigoso de otros, porque él otro fuese pendiente otro rediga de la parte de la otra oreja, que pendiente cualquiera, y más se cuidaba cuando que acontecían tres.*"

See also Lib. VIII, op. cit.

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us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

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And when [the young girls] went carrying upon their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

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They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *tortillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly; there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

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And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[12] black maize;[13] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[14] large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[15] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[16] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[17] the after-fruit;[18] double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toqujchti, ca çaçenpanca, ca ça in toneuhcatlatol: ca uel ic qujmonezintopeoaia in cioa iaoc, ic triolto-neoa, ic triolcoa, ic triollo tlacujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca qujttoa, in toqujchti

eço tecoco, yn jntlatol cioa, eço teittic acic in cioa-tlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiquitoque, yn ahtinemizque: aço itla tomaceoal tocnjuhtze.

Auh in qujmamatiuj in cicinteteuh, yn oquitquja itcupan chicome coatl, thiollotl muchioa: incuezco-maiollo muchioa, cuezcomac contema.

Auh yn iquac totoco, in ic toquizpã, ichoatl quj-tocaia quixinachioaia, quixinachioa.

Auh injn quilhujtlaltia, quilhujchiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhqujn cioatl quitlaliaia ixipila. Quitoaia, ca uel ichoatl in tonacaiutl: iuhq'nma quitoznequi, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tiioltinemj, tooapaoaca: intla-camo ichoatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn aquin, atle quiqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çoi-tlaoa, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipã momana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in ichoatl chicome coatl, ca quj-chioa yn iuquich tonacaiutl:

in ixtac tlaolli, in coztic tlaolli, in xiuhtectli, yia-ujtl, yiauhnenel, iauhcacalquj, tlaolpatlachtli, in toto-iontic, in tlaolpicilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in zochicintli, ynin iuhqujn ezoaoanquj, ezcujcujltic:

njman ice in quappachcintli: iuhqujn quappachtli, itlachieliz, momochicintli, in molquitl, cinmaitl, cintzatzapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamatl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI, cap. xii, of the *Florentine Codex* defines xinhuatl as "*Flor de maiz verdes, pequeñas y redondas.*"

13. "*Espiceas de maiz negro*" (*loc. cit.*). Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*maiz morenos o negros.*"

14. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) defines xiuhtecuilqui as "*Espiceas de maiz por diversas colores.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The Nahuatl text reads: "*xochicintli ixtac cintli chapolomonqui, chapolmiquilhi ixtac quiquilhi, ixtac quiquilhiququi, ixtac quiquilhiz, ixtac quiquilhiz, ixtac quiquilhiz, ixtac quiquilhiz, ixtac quiquilhiz.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Espiceas de maiz leonados.*" In the Rebolledo edition, Vol. III, p. 102, there is reference to "*diversas maneras de maiz que unos nombran y papondas, o leonados, que en la lengua de Tlaxcala tomapoli nuchichintli, quappachcintli.*" A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that tomapoli are "*Espiceas de maiz que nacen de dos en dos.*" In Simeon (*op. cit.*) quappachtli is given as tamar or violet. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*color leonado, o moreno morado.*" For quappachcintli, Simeon has "*maiz gruesa o brava, que necesita ó pedirle las grandes provisiones de la humedad de su (Ed.).*"

17. Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 98) defines momochtli as "*maiz tostado y reventado,*" and on fo. 17v of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagún writes that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que cada grano se vuelve una flor blanquecina.*"

18. Redrojo de maiz (Molina, *op. cit.*).

the small ears of maize beside the main ear;[19] the ripened green maize.[20]

Then the beans—white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans;[21] black beans; flesh-colored beans;[22] fat, red beans; wild beans;[23] amaranth; the variety of amaranth call *cocozt*;[24] fine, red amaranth seed:[25] [common] red amaranth;[26] black amaranth; bright red or *chili*-red amaranth;[27] fish-amaranth [*michiouatli* or *chicaloztl*];[28] brilliant black amaranth seed;[29] the bird-seed called *petzicatl*;[30]

also *chia*—white *chia*, black *chia*, and wrinkled *chia*.

All these things, thus mentioned, all these they offered to [the goddess]. When her feast day was celebrated, they formed her image, and laid all before her; the old men of the tribal temple sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red—completely red on her arms, her legs, her face. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shirt also was red; her skirt was the color of ripe fruit. She had a chief's shield, painted with designs and embellished in red. She carried in either hand her double ear of maize.

Thus ended the festival of Uei toçoztli, and thus ended and passed the vigil songs. And then the winding dance, the dance with song, began. This ended at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

njmaan ichoatl in etl, yn iztac etl, ecoztli, echichilli, çoloztl, tiliztl, aquijztl, aiecotli, quavecoc, oauhtli, cocotl, tlapalhoauhtli, xochioauhtli, tliloauhtli, teuoauhtli, anoço chichiloauhtli, mjchioauhtli, chicaloztl, ţeccacoauhtli, petzicatl:

no yoan in chien, iztac chien, tiltic chien, chiantzotzol.

Jn izquich y, iuh quitoa, ca moch ichoatl, quitemaca: in iquac illhujuh, quitlacatilia, muchi ixpan quimanaia, quicuicatiz in veuetque, calpuleque: quitlacotonjlia.

Auh yn jnechichioal motlaoçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxic, yn jzco: muchi tlacemaquijlli, tlauitl yn jamacal yn ivipil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icue cacamoliuhqui, tlatolchimali cuijlolli, tlauhpoiaoac, ycinma nenecoccampa quitequitica.

ic centlamj, in vey toçoztli: yoan ic vntlamj ic quiça, in toçocuicatl. Auh iquac vmpeoa in necocoioio, cuicoanolo: vmpa vntlami, yn ipan toxcatl.

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19. Given in the *Florentine Codex* (loc. cit.): "Mazorquillas de maiz que son hijas de las mazorcas." Sandoval (op. cit.) has "*pezón* [sic] de maíz que parece *ó chiel de Pájaro* pintado."

20. Gonzalez y Barrio, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 194, lists as follows: "[Mole] *De maíces* [sic] *tiernos que está en poco crecido, se llama*. . . . *Xilotl, jilote, la mazorca de maíz tierno y por cocer. Elotl, elote, la mazorca tierna cocinada con las granos cocidos*. . . . *Cuitlatl, cuitla, el maíz tierno en mazorca, se desgranado tlaxilli, tlaxila, tlaxilli*. . . . *Olotl, olote, el zuzuelo de la mazorca; Elotlaxcalli, elotlaxcalli—los tajadas que la acompañan.*" See also Sahagún ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 303.

21. In loc. cit., Sahagún has "*Frisoles pintados de color de codorniz.*" See also Sahagún ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 303.

22. Given in *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.: "*Frisoles de color bermejuelo.*"

23. Cf. Sahagún, ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 232: "*Hay unos maíz que se llaman chiauhtli, los frisoles de unos cuis silvestres que se llaman tepetzcuintlaxocotl. Estos frisoles hace unos tales que son como frisoles grandes, y son frisoles silvestres.*"

24. "*Varias blandas que son como cenizas o cenizas de Espada*"—qtoa, *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.

25. "*Unos amaranto finos blandos colorados finos*" (loc. cit.) Cline (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 61) has Pseudoa (sic) *Pseudoa chiauhtli* L. Par.

26. "*Unos amaranto finos blandos colorados*" (*Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.).

27. "*Unos amaranto finos blandos como cenizas y como bermejos*" (loc. cit.).

28. "*Unos amaranto finos blandos como cenizas de pescado*"; [illegible] *chicaloztli* (loc. cit.).

29. "*Blandos o cenizas finos como bermejos de pescado*"; [illegible] *chicaloztli* (loc. cit.).

30. "*Unos blandos como cenizas o como cagajón*" (loc. cit.).

31. "*Unos granos como cenizas de pescado*" (loc. cit.)

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Sixth [Twenty-fourth] Chapter, which relateth the feast and blood sacrifices made during all the days[1] in the fifth month, which was called Tozcatl.[2]

In [the month of] Tozcatl, the great feast of Tezcatlipoca was [held]. At that time he was formed and set up. Wherefore died his impersonator, who for one year had lived [as Tezcatlipoca].

And at that time once more was offered [to the people] his [new] impersonator, who would again live for one year.

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For many impersonators [thus] lived, whom guardians[3] kept and maintained. Perchance there were ten. These were select captives, chosen when captives were taken. Then was one chosen if he was good to look upon and fair of body. Then such were taken, and the guardians cared for them. But one whom they destined to be a slave, the captor slew.

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For he who was chosen was of fair countenance, of good understanding and quick, of clean body—slender like a reed; long and thin like a stout cane; well-built; not of overfed body, nor corpulent, and neither very small nor exceedingly tall.

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For anyone who was formed [thus] defective, who was too tall, to him the women said: "Tall one; head-nodder; handful of stars!" He who was chosen impersonator was without defects.

[He was] like something smoothed, like a tomato, or like a pebble, as if hewn of wood. [He did] not [have] curly hair, [but] straight, long hair; [he had] no scabs, pustules, or boils on the forehead, nor skin growths on the forehead, nor [was he] large-headed, nor with the back of the head prominent; nor of a head shaped like a carrying-net, nor with the sutures of the crown yet soft; not broad-headed, nor with a square head; not bald, nor with

Jnic chiquacen capitalo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhujtl, yoẽ in nexthaoalli, in muchioaia, yn ipan ic cemjlhujtl ic macujlli metztli, in mitoaia, Tozcatl.

In ipan in tozcatl, vel yuciilhujuh catca in tezcatlipoca: vncan tlacatia, vncan moquetzaia: ipampa ca vncan miquja, yn jxiptla in cexiuhtica onen.

Yoan iquac njman noce vncan mixquetzaia yxiptla, yn oc no cexiuhtica nemiz:

ca miequjntin in nemja, teixiptlacoan in quinpia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpixque: aço quẽ matlactli in nemj: y ichoantin y, ca mamalti tlaqujztilti qujztiloia, yn iquac oalxxitiloia mamalti, vncan pepenaloia, intla aca ce oqualittoc, in qualli ynacaio: njman onano, qujmonpialtiaia in calpixque: auh iece ipan qujoalixquetzaia tlacotli, i:hoatl qujmictia in tlamanj:

ca ichoatl ic pepenalo, in qualli itlachieliz, in mjmatquj, in mjmatinj, in chipoaac ynacaio, cujllotic, acatic, piaztic, iuhqujn otlatl, ipanoca temjmjltic, amo tlacaçolnacaio, amo tomaoac, amo no tetepiton amo no cenca quauhtic:

ca yiaioca muchioa, yn aquja cenca quauhtic, qujlhuja in cioa: quauhtitin, quauhchachalan, citlalmaololo: yn aquja pepenaloia, in teixiptla, atle yiaioca:

iuhqujn tlaxictli, iuhqujn tomatl, iuhqujn telolotli, iuhqujn, quhujtl tlaxixintli, amo quacocotoztic, quacolochtic, vel tzõmelaoac, tzompiastic, amo ixquachachaquachtic, amo ixquatotomonquj, amo ixquaxitontic, amo ixquatiquipjltic, amo quametlapiltic, amo cuexcochujztic, amo quachitztic, amo quapuztic, amo quapatlachtic, amo quaoacaltic, amo quaxoxomalacquj, amo ixquamamalacachtic, amo ixquatolpopoçactic, amo ixquatolmemetlapiltic, amo

1. *Cronilhuitl* is usually translated as "one day," or "all day." Cordova ("Relación breve," p. 291) renders it "the first day." Simeon (op. cit.), in an extended discussion, admits a meaning of "the first day," or "all the days"; this latter appears to fit the events related in Chapter 24.

2. Of this name, Orozco y Berra (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 37) writes: "Tozcatl, Tepopochcalli. *De cada las transformaciones dadas á la quadrina Tozcatl, de cada generación á nuevos sacrificios, es la dada por Gomez, recogida del P. Jiménez: "una vuya grande invocida de sacrificios de cada centenario."*"

Clavijero (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 482) explains that "*La figura del mes quinto es la de una cabeza humana con una cabeza debajo, para representar aquellos meses de cada centenario que se pensaba el cielo, y con las cuales adoraban también el ídolo de Tezcatlipoca, por lo que el mes quinto se llamaba Tozcatl*"; and (p. 152) "*meses secundarios relativos de mayor y menoscabo del mejor del ídolo, lo hacían con una cabeza bien adornada al pie de la cualdera. Los sacerdotes y ministros del templo vestidos los cuales de una cuerda grueso compuesto de cuerpo de cada tocado y pendiente al ídolo con varios al cuello y una gabardilla en la cabeza. A esta cuerda por ser de grueso cuerpo y ejemplo de la seguridad que pretendían tener con sus pingüetes, llamaron tozcatl, el cual nombre se dio por esta convenencia al mes quinto de que hablamos.*"

Gomez (op. cit., p. 290) also suggests as a translation for this name "our deformed, our deaught"—"*nuestro monstruo.*"

3. Sahagún (Bulletin, edition, Vol. II, p. 252) refers to "*los mayordomos de los provisiones, que llamaban calpixques de las provisiones*"; and (Vol. III, p. 122) adds: "*Tenían oficiales hombres ordenados y mandadores que mandaban a sus oficiales; había principales, personas mandadas, como son los que llamaban calpixques, que respian a los demás.*"

a bulbous forehead; not of swollen eyelids, nor enlarged ones; not with swollen cheeks; not of disfigured eyes or cheeks, nor with swollen face; not with cleft chin; not with a gross face, nor a downcast one; not flat-nosed nor with wide nostrils, nor with an arched, Roman nose nor a bulbous nose, nor bent nor twisted nor crooked—but his nose should be well-placed, straight; not thick-lipped nor gross- nor big-lipped, nor with bowl-like ones, nor enlarged; neither one who stammered, nor [one who talked] as if his tongue were pierced for a ring; nor one with welts on his tongue; nor one who spoke a barbarous language, or spoke thickly, or lisped, or was dumb; nor buck-toothed, nor large-toothed or fang-toothed, nor of yellowed teeth, nor darkened, nor decayed—but his teeth were like seashells, well arrayed in order; his teeth were not shaped like bowls. Neither had he scarred eyes, nor poor vision,[4] nor squinting eyes, nor scarified; not blinded, nor of small, seedlike eyes, nor angry-eyed, nor sunken, nor hollow, nor cuplike, nor stupid-looking, nor gouged, pierced, or wounded; nor had he a scarred neck, [like one which hath been] choked, nor one with lacerations, nor with double chin, nor with pocks on the neck. Not with protruding or long ears, nor with torpid neck, nor hunch-backed,[5] nor stiff-necked, nor with neck elongated, much elongated, nor twisted, nor kinked; neither with unduly long hands, nor lacking one hand, nor wanting both hands, nor fat-fingered; not emaciated, nor fat, nor big-bellied, nor of prominent, hatchet-shaped navel, nor of wrinkled stomach, nor shrunken stomach; not cringing; not of hatchet-shaped buttocks; nor of flabby buttocks or thighs.

He who was thus, without flaw, who had no [bodily] defects, who had no blemishes, no moles, who had no lacerations or wrinkles on his body, they then looked well that he be taught to blow the flute; that he might pipe and play his flute well; and that with it he hold his flowers and his smoking tube and blow and suck upon it, and smell [the flowers].

Thus he went bearing [his flute], his flowers, and his smoking tube[6] together as he walked through the streets.

And while yet he lived and was cared for in the house of the guardian, before he appeared [before the people], care was taken that he might be prudent:

campoponaxtic, amo ixujujlaxtic, amo camujujlaxtic, amo ixpopotztic, amo no camachaloacaltic, amo ixmetlapiltic, amo ixpechtic, amo iacapatztic, amo iacacocoiactic, amo iacaxxaxacaltic, amo iacacaxtic, amo iacachittoltic, amo iacaujttoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaztic, amo tenxipaltotomaoac, amo tenxipaltotomac, tenxipaltotomactic, amo iacachittoltic, amo iacaujttoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaztic, amo tenxipalcaiultic, amo popoloc, amo tentzitzhpi, amo tentzitzipitlatoa, amo tenmjmjcquj, amo tlanpantic, amo tlancujcujtztic, amo costlane, amo tlancocoztic, amo tlanxoiaubquj, amo tlanpalanquj: iuhqujn tecciztli itlan, vel onoc vipantoc, amo tlancaxtic, amo no ixtitiquijltic, amo ixnacatic, amo ixujtzaltic, amo itztziziquijltic, amo ixpopoionticc, amo ixpipiltic, ixpipicilltic, ixcococaçaltic, amo ixcocomoltic, amo ixatlacomoltic, amo ixcacaxtic, amo ixtotolontic, amo ixtotomatic, amo itztzatzapiztic, amo itztzatzamoltic, amo ixtacaltic, amo quechtitiquijltic, quechmotzoltic, quetztzitziquijltic, quechnacatic quechxitiquipiltic, amo no nacazpatlactic, amo no nacazvilaxtic, amo quechtiltic, amo quechtepotzotic, amo quechacquj, amo quechujiac, amo quechujtlatztic, amo quechnecujltic, amo quechnenetic: amo mavujtlatztic, amo matzicoltic, amo macuecuetzin, amo mapiltotomactic, amo itiujlaxtic, amo cujtlatoltic, amo cujtlapetztic, amo xicquizquj, amo xictopoltic, amo xiccucio, amo ittitzotzoltic, amo cujtlapechtic, amo tzintopoltic, amo tzincuecuexactic, tzintamalcuecuexac.

In aquijn iuhquj y, atle itlacauhca, atle yiaioca, atle ytlaciuhca, atle ytlaciuizaça, atle ytech ca etzotzocatl, xitomaciuiztli: njmã cenca necujtlaujlo, inic vel momachtia, yn tlapitzaz: ynic vel quipizaz, yujlacapiza: yoan inic vel machi ipan qujtzitzquix, yzochiuh, yoan yiezuh, ipan tlapitztiaz, tlachichintiaz, tlanecutiaz:

iuhqujn centlalli mantiuh yn jnochiuh, yn jyiezuh, yn iquac vtli qujtocaia.

Auh in çan oc nemj, in çan oc ospacaalo, yn ichan calpixquj, yn siamo ixneci, cenca vel necujtlaujloia,

796[illegible]
832

796[illegible]
[533
276]

4. See Sánchez (op. cit.); a number of possible variants are suggested.
5. Typescript is represented in phonetic writings as a hunchback. Cf. also Molina (op. cit.), Spanish-Nahuatl section, corcobado.
6. "Cuio o cañuto de yahumerio, cañuto" (ibid.); "cañuto de humo" in Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text.

X 796 in his discourse, that he might talk graciously, converse well, and greet people agreeably on the road, if he met anyone.

For he was much honored when he appeared as the impersonator; because he was the likeness of Titlacauan; he was acknowledged as our lord, treated like a lord; one begged favors, with sighs; before him the common people bowed in reverence and kissed the earth.

[827] And if they noted that his body became even a little fat, they made him drink brine, so that he became thin; the salt water thinned him, so that he became lean; he became hard; his flesh became firm.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at [the feast of] Toxcatl, he appeared [before the people]. And when the man died who had been impersonator for one year, he who had led the way, he who had cast [the spear] for one year, who had given commands for one year, forthwith was one chosen to be set in his place, from all whom the temple guardians had saved and cared for at the time that [the captives] appeared [before them].

Thereupon he began his office; he went about playing his flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

[302 567] His eight young men went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year; their hair was shorn like [the hair of] slaves, cut and clipped, not smooth like a gourd, nor cut [too] short, not [made like] growing whiskers on the head.

And four warriors, who instructed youths in the art of war, [were] similarly shorn. Their hairdress lay upright on their foreheads.

Then Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator] well and arrayed him in varied garb; he provided him [his appropriate indumentary]. He ornamented him, he adorned him in great pomp with all costly articles, which he caused to be placed upon him; for verily he took him to be his beloved god. His face was anointed with black; it was said: "He fasteth [302] with blackened face." A thick layer of black was smeared on his cheeks. White feathers were placed upon his head—the soft down of eagles. They placed it on his hair, which fell to his loins.

[301] And when he was attired, he went about with sweet-smelling flowers[7] upon his head. a crown of flowers. And these same were hung over both shoul-

ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellatoz, vel tenotza, vel tetlapaloz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztililoia yn iquac oixnez, in ic teixiptla: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca elcicioua, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontlalqua in maceoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztaiotl qujltequjtiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaioquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlalichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtl in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miquj ce tlacatl yn oteixiptlatic ce xiujtl, in ce xiujtl, ooallaotlatocti, in ce xiujtl oqujtlaz, in ce xiujtl ooallaujcac: ça çan ic mopatlatiuja yn ixquetzaloia, yn ixqujchtin qujnpiaia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeoaltia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitzinemj: cemilhujtl, yoan ceniooal: çan connequja in campa ieh vtli qujtocaz:

qujtocatinemj yn iachoan chicueintin: navin mocexuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa, motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloa, amo moquatetzicoa

Auh no naujntin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecuçuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, qujciecquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçoteouh ipan qujmati, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujliaia yn itzon, ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

Auh yn omocencauh izqujaochitl in icpac contecatinemj, icpac xochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in nenec-

7. *Bouvería humilis Hemsley*, according to Sahagún (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 97, n. 1, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 68). In the former he quotes from Hernández that the flower resembled puppet corn.

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatzaxis*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiouali*. These, as he ran, were jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Tonxtl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month] of] Uey tozoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl*; and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixocioatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Tonxtl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapenaia, yciiacacpa qujqujztiaia: in moteneua xuchincapãtli.

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaqujaia icniolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachiualli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuxcatl, yn jcuxquj, oc cepa yielpancuxquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz teccizttli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatzxi, iuhqujn icpatzi-qujpilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in cootetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quijquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli qujmeztopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtos oiooali: ichoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in ichoatl miquja oc xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalcitiuh tonxtl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocicaoatiaia ipan vey tozoztli.

Auh qujtzpeuaia, qujztlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhqujnma iauxequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xitomonjlpitica: yoan yaztazcl, quetzalmjjacoio, itzotzocol itech quilpia:

çan compoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn onciouxtinemj: nauxtin in cioa q'mjcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y oc itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ie iomtla Tonxtl, oc macujltica, tlama-

796x
301
[306]
[292]
796x
[584
595]
[302
701]
[283
301]
[833]
[551]

8. "Unos aretillos de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llamaba a los aretillos, con semejanza grande hechos, de un palmo en quadro de Serqui blanco, como una bolsa y floreados" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Bulnes edition), Vol. II, p. 318.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 103. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma verdiana, semejante aquella cimbria de los cabellos, dos hechos con su bermejo, hechos de plumas, y con, y mechonejil, como aquellas, que otros llamaban cimbrillo." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 88) describes "The first kind of cimbria [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, tzontlalli itlauell, because of the cimbria worn in mechonell or red artist's fur; the ground of tzontlapalli mechonell is a square of dark red, has squares of white feathers. The fringe is also of red mechonell." From this, it would appear that mechonell is red string, and mechonell is red thong of rabbit hide.

A 796 in five days the feast day of Tezcatl would come, then they began to sing [and dance].

Now, during this time, Moctezuma came not forth; those who had been [the impersonator's] companions provided the people with food and favors.

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecanman. On the second day, in the place where they kept the image of Titlacauan, in the house of the keeper who guarded it. On the third day, at Tepetzinco, in the midst of the lagoon. On the fourth [day], at Tepepulco, which is also near Tepetzinco.

[501] After they had sung [and danced], then he embarked in a canoe. The women went traveling with him; they went consoling him and keeping him merry. Then the canoe arrived; then it touched the shore; then it was beached at a place called Acaquilpan or Cauaitepec.

For here he was abandoned, a little [distance] from Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned; and only they who had freely become his pages accompanied him while he yet lived.

[346] So, it was said, when he arrived where he was to die, [where] a small temple stood, called Tlacochcalco, he ascended by himself, of his free will, to the place where he was to die. When he climbed the first step, as he passed one [step], he there broke, shattered, his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had reached the summit, then the priests fell upon him; they threw him on his back upon the sacrificial stone. Then [one] cut open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives offered up. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull-rack. Thus he ended in the adornment in which he died. Thus he there ended his life, there he terminated his life, when he went to die there at Tlapitzauaian.

And this benakeneth our life on earth. For he who rejoiceth, who possesseth riches, who seeketh and coveteth our lord's sweetness, his gentleness—riches and prosperity—thus endeth in great misery. For it is said: "None come to an end here upon earth with happiness, riches, and wealth."[12]

[538]

A 796 778 And here in Mexico, when [it was the month of] Tezcatl, was set up and formed a figure of Uitzil-

cuijlti, oquijuh macujilhujtl quijças yn ilhujtl Tezcatl, in pesa cujcujca:

yn iquac y, yn inquilhujtl y, aocmo onmachistia yn motecçuma, oc ie yeemujc catca, tetlaqualtia tetlauhtia,

ynic cemilhujtl cujcujca, inca iocan tecanma: ynic omjlhujtl, vncan in pialoia, in teixiptla in titlacaoan, yn ichã aquin calpixqui, yn oquijpiaia: ynic eilhujtl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa tepepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn on cujcujcac njman ie ic onmacalaquja, itlan ietihuj in cioa, quijiollaltitiuj, quellaquauhtiuj› vmpa vnquiça, vmpa onatenquiça, vmpa quimonacana in acalli, ytocaiocan acaquijlpan, anoço caoaltepec:

ipampa ca vncan ontecaoaloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan calmocuepa: auh ça ichoã in matian muchioa, yn jachoan ocatca, yn oquitocatinenca in iõc oc nemj.

Juh mjtoa yn oacic, in vncan mjquja teucaltontli icaia, itoca tlacochcalco: çan moma in tleco, çan monomatlecauja, in vmpa mjquijz: in ce tlamamatlatl ennlecauja, in ce conpanauja, ce vncan quijxamanja, quijpuztequj yn itlapitzal, yn jvilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oquijpantlax, yn iaquj tlamamatlatl, yn opanuetzino tlacpac: njman quijcujtiuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetzinca in techcac: njman ie ic queltetequi, conanilia yn iollo, no conjauilia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn itlac amo quijoalmjmjlooaia, çan quijoaltemouijaia, quijnamhcauijaia:

auh yn jxoxtencõ, tzompatitech conquauhça, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omjc ynechichioal: ic vmpa ontlamj yn jnemjlia, vmpa conxonquistia yn jnemjliz, yn vmpa omjquijto Tlapitzauaian.

Auh yojn ca quinecaiotia, in tlahicpac tonemjliz: ca in aquin paquj, motlamachtia, in quitta in quimauijcoa in itzopelica, yn jauijaca in tuncuijo, in necujhonolli, in netlamachtilli: injc tzoxquiça vey nenlinjlistli: ca iuh mjtoa, aiac quijlamicizah in tlahicpac, paquijlistli, necujhonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Tezcatl: motlalia

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mexquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mexquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *magney* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teuxinilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquauquilla*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cut down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech cloth.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[10] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With commonplace arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they *tlaxe* made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech cloth might be carried.

In these plumes were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopochtli: vncan m vxnaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quauitl in tlaxiitintli, iuhquin cocoa, nauintin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchiouhtzoalli, ynjc quipepechouia, yn jmixquojo, ca mizquiquauitl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa caca, yn oquipepechoque:

njman ic ic quimamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoxquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononcloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicatilma: iuhquin cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli ezttlapanquj:

njman conquetia tesquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuitic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jeenjio muchiouia, mjchiouhtzoalli, mjmixic, motocaiotiuia teumjmjlli: qujetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquaqpantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jiaco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezzepolli, omjcicujlli, tlaxiztli, motoxzopaxtli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli caxca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiuia tlacoxqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan contoca in teumjmjlli inoca, iuh mjnoa ymaxtli:

Auh yenjn amatl caxca quauamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac centmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac centmatl: auh ynjc vijac centpoalimatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochili ynjc quinapaloa: çan ic mochiouia injc quinapaloaque, ynjc monapaloa ymamali:

ezcan in tlapotonjlli caxca, intac tonalnjxica, injc cozaj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc ezcan, vecan yn jmamaxpocan:

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[289 292]
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10. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Papermakers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Rehmann edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 221, a note by Seler defines quauhamatl as "*la materia manufacturada por la capa de fibra de algunos árboles de gruesa textura, hecha de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de ella para hacer las coronas, cortinas y otras cosas que el indio de los dioses requería.*"

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When they had ornamented [the figure of Uitzilopochtli], the young, seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths, and the youths took it up. His breech clout went stretched and spread out before him. They went in procession; they went dancing [and singing].

When they brought it to the foot of the temple, they carried up [the platform]. Cords fastened it to the four [corners], so that they might take it up, that they might carry it. They went stretching [the cords] that [the platform] might not twist.

Then they began to climb up. They went rolling, winding, and reeling [the breech clout] up, coiling it.

As they went rolling up his breech clout, the officials proceeded to take up, gathering and collecting them together, the ceremonial arrows.

And when they had come to the top, when they had raised [the figure of Uitzilopochtli] to the summit, then they placed upon the serpent bench [the paper roll]. They placed it before him; they bound it to [the serpent bench]; they bound it on tightly and firmly.

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When they had come to place it [there], then all came down; and there remained the officials, the priests, the guardians who guarded it.

Then all the people came down.

And this came to pass, that they went up at sundown, when a little sun still shone; and also at sundown an offering was made.

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And the *tamales* which they ate were fruit *tamales*, [which were] red, or *tamales* made of maize softened with lime, or bean and cornmeal cakes,[14] colored *tamales*, *tamales* of coarse, white flour, and [*tamales*] rolled up in amaranth seed dough.

These cylindrical *tamales*, wrapped up in amaranth seed dough—these *tamales* they offered at the temple.

And when it dawned, then offerings were made in their houses; only some made offerings before the devil [Uitzilopochtli].

And quail were beheaded by everyone, women and men.

Moctezuma began [the offering]. He himself, with his own hands, beheaded four quail.

And the priest beheaded other quail, but only by laying his hands upon them.[15]

Then, breaking [loose], the common people followed. All the people beheaded quail—men and women.

yn oquiccencatlhque, cacoquixtia in telpochequi-
oque, yoan in teachcaoan, in telpopuchti, ixpan
onotiuh, ixpan çouhtiuh yn jmaxtli, tlaiaoaleciuj,
quitotitiuj:

yn ocxitique ytzintlan teucalli, in ie quitlecauiz-
que, ca nauhcampa ixticaca mecatl, injc cacoquixtia-
que, ynjc quinapaloaque, quititilinjtiuj, ynjc amo
monecujlox:

njman ie ic quipeoaltia in tlecoz, quilacatzotiuj,
quicuixtiuj, quitecuja, quitecuixtiuj:

yn jamamaxtli quioallaxtiuj, in teumjtl concuitiuj,
quinechicotiuj, quicententiuj in tequipanoque.

Auh yn opanuetzito tlacpac, yn oquipantlazque:
njman ie ic conteca costlapechco, ixpan quitequilia,
itech quilpia, quicacatzilpia, quiteteuhilpia,

yn ocontlalito: njmã oaltemoa, vmpa onmocaoa
in tequipaneque, tlamacazque, in tlapixque, in qui-
piaia:

njman ie ic oaltemo in ixquich tlacatl.

Auh ynin mochioaia, in acoquiçaia: teutlacpa oc
achi tonatiuh, yoan no teutlacpa mochioa ventli:

yoã in quiquazque tamalli, xocotamalli chichiltic,
anoço tenextamalli, anoço quatecujcujlli, tlapacta-
malli, quauhnextamalli, yoan tzoualilacatzolli:

ynin mjmjltic in tamalli, tzoalli ynjc tlailacatzolli,
quicẽmana ỹ in tamalli in teupan.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ie ic tlatlamanalo into-
chachan, çan aca in ontlamanaia vel ixpan tlacateco-
lotl:

yoan tlacotonalo ixquich tlacatl, yn cioatl in
toquichti:

conpeoaltia yn Motecoçuma, nauhtetl in çolin yn
inoma, yn iioma quicotona.

Auh yn oc cequi, çaçehi, tlenamacac, in quiico-
tona, çan inpã conmantiuh yn jma:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, cmuetzi in macoaltzitli,
yn ixquich tlacatl in tlacotona, yn oquichtli in cioatl.

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14. Alonso Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 249, has, for quatecujcujlli-tamalli, beans and cornmeal cakes with lard or other meats.

15. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 104) suggests that the priest merely touched them to indicate them symbolically.

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[10] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets then fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlecotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmimiuj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomatla:

" auh in teachcaoan quinpepena, quinnechicoa, quinvihtlatla, quintlecotza, quinmistaioujia, quinmiztaioquauhcotza: [251 265]

cequj quitonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj quinnonaltiaia yn itechinhcaoan, çaniioque in pipiltj. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl quitequja yapãtlecax, amo ichoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeualli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãrla. [374]

Yoan quitequja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinman, in ic tlenamaco, in tlexochtli quiouhtema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiauhjia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic quitotonjlia, ic quipopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in izquichtin in tetevoan inpan quinmatia.

Auh yn ocmiauhque tletl njmã ic ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, mozaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan iztlitzuh acatica quiquappachoa, tlitica tlacujlolli, motecaiotia acxilquj: [302 289]

auh in motlacamati, canacac ynic quiquappachoa: çan no acxilquj ynic tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoti mixtlilpopotzque, haco mmj, tlexictli ixpan, quijacatitimanj ococalli in quimama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama. [302] [417]

quipopoaltilia yn cioa in nenetlitti, ynic mjtoia chocholoa, çan mocioaitotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in mmj, yn jatetiuh coomemauja, quipoãtimmj, 796X 535

10. Thus identified in Sahagún, op. cit., p. 102.

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leaps above. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were glistening. They had paper breech clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

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And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

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And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

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And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

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Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholoztimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtoia, mitoa tzacachocholoa:

amaiquatechimaletimanj, amaiquatechimaleque, moquaquapotonja iatac tetelivica: yoan motzomocuvia tzontzotlantinj, ymamamatli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytocomaio, auh yn iztiztelolois, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycajtlacuchelo, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzquijtiuj, amatl acxiliquj, ynjc tlacujlelli: auh in ichoantin, hia, ynjc mjtoia, tlaiacoloa, ic tlaxiliztiuj yn intzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in quintlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate chenticate: çan tlalpan vetetl in quixotzoua, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetzoque, aiotl quixotzoua, aiouijectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

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Auh yn izquijch teachcauan, in telpuchtoquijoque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtoia, motzoua mococolua.

Auh ynjc mjhtoia mococolua, ichica aujc vialja, intlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantinjh ynjc mjtoia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtoia innetol, momomochiitoia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoc catca, ymomomochicuaquj, yoan ymicpac contectiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoli ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtoia.

Jn ichoantin hin, motzneua tlanaoa, tenaoa, quinaoa in vitzilopochtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialeia, ynjc aiac quimjxtlcuia, ynjc aiac quincamanalhuia.

Auh yn izquijchtin yn mococolua, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan molonia:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuia: njmā tlalli ic quijxtequj, in teachcauan, quimujujlaua, quimitlicça, quimiccça:

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17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*saltar o bailar de la fiesta de tocuatl*"; Ginthey (op. cit., p. 298) translates tocuatlchocholoiqui as "*se salta el salto de Tocuatl.*"

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Robredo edition, Vol. III, pp. 152-3 and 187. The last-mentioned reference is to manuscript in "*Hay unas aves que se llaman ocelotl; es negro y tiene el pico corvo.*" Seler (op. cit., p. 106, n. 7) calls ocelotl jackdaw or dawn; or (ibid., p. 233) and thrush. Of this and of ocelotzacatlin he says it is "*ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und dessen Lied, nach dem Gesetze der Metaphorik, Lobsingungen verkündeten sollte. Ich habe den Mexicanischen Vogelnamen durchweg mit "Regenpfeifer" übersetzt. Er scheint mir die Vogel mit Metallkopf schlechtweg, Gelbfuß genannte zu sein der der tzontzil oder Drossel.*" Sahagún (loc. cit.) correctly explains: "*es pájaro negro Zacatzontli, por razon de la lucha, que llamaban ocelotl, en el verano.*" See also supra, p. 96.

For he had committed a crime in the temple; for he had done a wrong. They said to him: "Verily, here penitence is done; here a feast is held."

And as night fell during the dance, so closed the day of feasting when the day ended.

And next morning, when [the feast] was over, again there was dancing. Again all danced the serpent dance.

And [this day] died Izteucale,[10] he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him they also named Tlacauepan,[10] and Teicauhtzin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. On his paper crown were eagle feathers. His headdress hung in disorder. Upon the crown of his head rested a flint knife made of red feathers.

And also he had his network cape; over it hung a small net bag; and his [ornament like a priest's] maniple hung from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast. He fastened shells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went first in line guiding the others.

And purely of his free will, when he wished, he would die. When he wished, then he delivered himself to the place where he would die.

Priests called *tlatlacamomaltí* seized[10] him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, and cut open his breast. His heart they lifted up as an offering to the sun.

And his head also they strung on the skull rack. So he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head was] strung [on the skull rack].

And at this time, the priests cut the skin: with a stone knife they cut the skin of youths, young boys, and even small children yet lying in their cradles. Thus they cut the skin of their stomachs, their breasts, both upper arms, and [both] forearms.

This was done only at the time of [the feast of] Teucatl, when it ended, each year; [and] thus ended [the feast].

ichica in qujmjctiaia ca teupan, ca tlamjlquijtia, qujmjlhuja: ca vncan tlamacoualo, vncan ilhujtlalo.

çan ioh oniova in nenotilo, ic ontlamj in cemilhujtl, in oncmoquin ilhujtl.

Auh yn jmuntlaioc, in apenalco no nenotilo, no nenoteloio:

auh iquac mjquj, yn Jzteucale, ynin nenan onenca Titlacauan: auh ynjn no motocaiotia, tlacvepâ, yoan Tehicauhtzin.

Auh ynjc tlacajlolli, yn jamatlaquj, tezcapocio yn jamacal, quahujujio, momoioua yn jvitzoncal: teopatl iquauepantla icatiuh, tlapalihujtl ynic tlachicolli:

yoan no ycuechin, icampa vetztiuh, icpauzi, yoan imatacaxx imac pilcatiuh, tequanecotl, oiocalli contlaliztiuh, teboan mjhtoria, mococolos, teiacantiocmj, teiacac ycatiocmj.

Auh çan iilotlama, in quenman miquiz, in quêman onnequiz, yn oquinec, njman ic ic onmotemaca, yn vncan mjquiz:

qujcalana in tlamacazque, motocaiotia, tlatlacanaoltí, qujxitilinja, caana, quehtezquj: yn iiollo conjanjlia in tonatiuh:

auh yn itzontecon, çan no tzompatitech conquauhço, çan no ioh tlantica yn ioh quauhçonica titlacauan.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepanola in tlamacazque, qujxipanola in telpopuchti, in telpochpipil: yoan yn oc vel pipiztôci, yn coçolco onoque: ynic quinpanola ynmilpan, ynmichiquipipan, yoan nenecoc ynmacilpan, yoan inmatzontzapatzpan:

çan yio iquac y, in machiotia, yn ipan tencatl: apeualco, ezxinhica ic ontlatzonapujça.

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10. Izteucale, "... que quiere decir: Dios del Señor de la Casa Divina, ó del Señor Divino de la Casa; y por otro nombre Tlacauepan (sic), que es nombre del mismo Dios, conquistador de sus Hueitlaquechtli, cada tiempo con sus Cuentas, llamado también Tehicauhtzin, que quiere decir: Hermoso nuevo; por quanto nacido por nuevo á Hueitlaquechtli, Rey del Infierno . . . el Indicado á Tezcatlipoca, y este conquistado á Huitzilopochtli, cualdoso quanto todo el Año de su duracion, para el Sacrificio de este Dios; para cada vuelta diferenciado entre los dos; porque el que representaba á Tezcatlipoca, ó Tlalocatecuhtli, adorados, y venerados como á Dios, á como á Conquistador de aquel Dios . . . y á ancianos, llamado Huitzilopochtli, no adorados, ni adorados con este respecto. . . ."—Juan de Torquemada: Segunda parte de los veinticinco libros rituales i monarchia indiana (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), p. 288.

10. Tlacauepan Cuauhtzin: "Dios conquistador de la guerra, hermoso nuevo y conquistador de Huitzilopochtli. . . . Llamado nuevo este nuevo cada cuatro Año en la cuenta de Tezcatl." (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 94).

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.**[1]

Etzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily at that place were formed very long reeds called *ostapilin* or *tolmimilli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.

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And these they pulled up, cutting them at their white ends, at a place in the water called Temilco, or Tepexic Ozteo.

And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

[482] Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.

X 796 And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and when they returned, the road [which they followed] was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.

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And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them; they wrested from them all that they had; they mauled away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

Juic ceppoalli ommocuilli cuçitolo, itechpa tlatza yn illuijtl, youan yn jxtlamanaliz in quichiouia, yn ipan ic cemilhuijtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in motenouia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: ynin illuijtl, yn aiamo onaxiua, in ipan muchiouia: achtopa motlalocaçaouia in tlamacazque: nahuilviztl yn aiamo vmpeua, innecpaoaliz achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: ichica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchiouia tullin, inoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlaztic, youan cenca tzinizac: youan mjmjlnic temjmjltic.

Auh yn vmpa conanzia, quitzacopina, inocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, ozteo:

auh yn oconanque, njmã ic ic quichichioa, quicujcujtlalpia, quiquijmiloa, quitzotlquijmjlloa:

njman ic ic quimecapallotia, quimmecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaiaquamamalo: njman ic ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloatz, aiac quiztlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch queoacamama.

Auh ynic vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, youan inic calmocaepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac quitoca, aocmo quitoca in nenenque:

auh yntla acame ocquinnamjcque, njman vncan quitzlacujcujlia, quitzlanamoaelia, quitzlacencujlia, quitzlatlaçahtia: auh intla inomapatla, njman quinmjctia, quinterentimaiauj, quimihiçça quitztitiliçça, impan chochoioa, tlalli ic quiçujçujtequj, quitzlatlal-

1. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: "*hacían una manera de ganchos, o palancas, que es llamar etzalli*"; and in *ibid.*, p. 149: "*una etzalli era hecha de mucho carrizo, a manera de arcos, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 218, defines *etzalli* as braided corn and beans. Pano y Tamayo (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his *interpretation* of the *Codex Borbonicus*' account of this month, refers to "*los palanduc de etzalli hechos de frijol, cuyos etzallos surgen como del cabo la cosecha, y de maíz, cuyos granos blancos alternan con los cabos negros.*" Seler (*Manuscrito Ramírez*, p. 112) has *Behaarungscoccoon der Etzalqualiztli*. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89) regards Etzalqualiztli as derived from *ed* (forest), *tzoalan* (entangled tree), and *qualiztli* (eating). In "Rebolido Inerco," p. 298, Garibay has "*Cosecha de maíces de frijoles*," and in his *Libro del cultivo vocabulary*, "*etzalli de ganchos.*"

Tower (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 25) identifies the basis of this month in those of the working people and horse clans, more ranking than agricultural month. Hence the offering of etzalli to them.

2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *ostapilin* as "*jaimas juntandas de juncos blancos y verdes.*" *Tolmimilli*, in the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, is a kind of *jonuco*, *totoa*, in Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 33, opposes *ostapilin* with *ostapilin*, and quotes Molina ("*junco largo, gordo y redondo*"). Jourdanet and Simeón, in their translations (p. 109, n. 3) write that it is the equivalent of *ostapilin*, "*de color, algo de color azul, es pelo, principal, grueso*"; of *tolmimilli*, they write: "*color de tullin, junco, es malo, chamuy colorado*" (*loc. cit.*).

stamped upon them, they trampled upon their outstretched bodies, they jumped upon them; they beat them [as they lay stretched] on the ground; they dragged them along; they made them cry out; they beat them—they beat their backs; they beat them soedy; they kicked them as they fled away.

mecamauj, qujntzatzatzitia, qujnujujtequj, qujncujtlaujujtequj, qujxipetlavitequj, qujncujtlamelaoa. 796x 688

And when these had been robbed, when they had been stripped, then they [could] only turn back, they [could] only go back to their homes.

Auh yn ontlacujcujliloque, yn onpepetlaoaloque, çan vncan mocuepa, çan vncan iloti yn jnchan:

[For] even if [that which was taken] was yerily tribute, even this [the priests] took. Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents; he held them in reverence; he feared them because they were priests, because they did penances and laid offerings before [the gods]; for they were priests.

in tlanellacalaqujlli, vel qujcuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma ichica ca tlamacuhque, compopoa contepopoaltiaia, qujpopooaia ynjc tlamacazque, ynic tlamaceoa, ymixco ymicpac qujmanaia, ynic tlamacazque. [793]

And when they had arrived [at the temple], when the white reeds[4] had been brought, thereupon were sewn together and woven these reeds. They fashioned green and white mats[4] of the reeds, and, binding the reeds, they made stools, and they made seats with backs on which men might rest. In the same manner were fashioned, with the green and white reeds, seats with backs.

Auh yn oacico, yn ocaxitico aztapilli: njman ie ic moço, moçoço, in aztapili: qujchioa yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan qujilpia in toli, tolicpalli qujchioaia, yoan qujchioaia tepotzoicpalli netlaxonj: çanoie ic muchioa in aztapili, aztapilitepotzoicpalli. 796x 285 352

Thereupon they bound some thin reeds in a bundle. And when they had tied them in a bunch, then they were arranged in order, sewed, girt tightly, on the ground, with *maguey* roots, with fibers of *maguey*.

Niman ie ic acquj qujcujcujtlalpia, in tuli in tulpitzaoac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, njman ie ic mouipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacatzilpitiuh menelhoatica mettonmecatica. 796x 284

And when this had been done, then began the fasting in honor of Tlaloc. When night fell, then the priests all gathered in the priests' dwellings—the warrior-priests [who had taken three or four captives], and the priests [who had captured only one];[5] then those priests who were singers and beaters [of drums]; then all the lesser priests, and those who were yet children, the novice priests.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vmpeoaz, netlalocaçaoalizcli: yn oiooac njman mocacaltrema, necacaltemalon tlamacazque: in tlamacazcatequjoaque tlamacazcayiaque: njman ichoan in tlamacazque cujcanjme, tlaujtequjnj: njman ie muchintin, in tlamacazcatricaoan, yoan in oc pipiltotonti tlamacazcatoton, tlamacatoto. 796x 793

And when this had come to pass, then were spread upon the ground before the fire the [white and green] mats, the reed beds.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic onmoteca, tlecujlizquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli: 796x

And when they had spread out the reed mats, the fire priest arrayed himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket and placed on his left arm [the maniple] called *matacaxtli*.[6]

auh yn onmoçoub aztapilpetlatl: njman ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, yoan conaquja yn iopuchcopa, itoca matacaxtli:

And with it he took the incense bag, and he took his incense burner [in his right hand]. Thereupon

yoan itlan conana in copalxiquipilli, yoan concuj

3. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies of these reeds: "*todo lo ß con dvrero del agua, or verde blanco.*"
4. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún states that the reeds were *dampened* (probably humans to say): "*Luego las cañas, y enmojadas, enverdecidas, y enverdecidas, lo blanco a lo verde: a manera de esteras pintadas.*" Elsewhere, he refers to "*petates pintados, de pintura blanca y verde.*"
5. The number of captives is explained in *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 8.

X796 he offered incense; he went forth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

in itlema: njman ic ic tlenamaca, qujiaoac oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ic iuhquj, contema tleqnaxco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, onmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

[262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelolotli, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oqujmjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

Otimjtzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, motixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn iuqujchtin tlamacazque, cecciaca cõtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelolotli.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço izoxomatl in concaoia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

cenca vellachielo, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjmjlox, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamazopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

yoan intla aca ytech qujttazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzacalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic nezzioa:

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoã nauhical, in nemacanemoaia.

And after that the old priests[9] took away [the offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: qujmocujlia intech monequj, qujqua: naujlhujtl in qujmocujliaia, in motlaueuenjaia:

And when it was not yet midnight, then shell trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *magueys* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

auh yn aiamo onaci icalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ic ic mezuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ic iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

[785]

[793]

7. Sahagún (Bolaños ed., Vol. I, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"Ximoamatini (que) es como sacerdote; . . . Tlamacazqui, que es como diácono; . . . Teteuhcuhc, que es como acólito. De estos sacerdotes los mayores eligen por reyes pontífices. . . ."

8. Jonotl leaf (Simeón, op. cit.), or species of tomato (Simeón, op. cit.).

9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "unos viejos, que llamaban quaquacujlti: los quales tenyan los otros mozos, mayordomos sobre en la casa de la cabaça, que tenia los cabellos largos, al rasso de las dueñas."

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat clipper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *magueyy* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *magueyy* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Viloa, onnevtemalo, tlapitzalooiuh, qujpitztiuj, in tecciztli, cohcouiloc chiklitli. 776x 534]

Auh in muchintin tlamacazque, qujmamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan qujniacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icnpalxiqujpil. 276]

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, qujquechpanotiuh, aiochicaoaztli, no itoca naoalquauitl, patlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, qujcacalatztiuh [789]

socac ce onmocaoã calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachotoque; qujpitztoque in qujqujztli, qujqujçotoque. [534]

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn aiauhcalli, njman ic ic nereteco, netlalilo, tlatzitzilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo: [823]

in ic iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in veue itoca chalchiuhquaqujlli: qujtoa. [793]

Coatl ççomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ic ic onnetepeualon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, atlatziuitectinemj, tzatzitinemj, ycaocastinemj, qujntlaichecalhuja yn izqujchtin totome: [198]

cequj canauhtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin qujntlaichecalhuja, in pihpitzti, pipitztlatoa: cequjntin qujntlaichecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin aztatlatoa, cequjntin azoquentlatoa, cequjn tocujlcoiotlatoa: [825]

yn vncan maltiaia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuen-

10. *Chilitli*: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21; *ocholoiloc*: *ocololic (ocoal)(?)*.

11. "*Todos llevaban a cuestas, como salaquillos atados con unas cordelejas de tabaco, con unos hatos al cuello: y de otras colgaban, unos tiras de papel pintados, atados con las mismas talegas, que llamaban piquetabli: y en aquellas talegas llevaban unos ungüentos de hierbas, hechos a la manera del colorado de rococo, que dicen llamarse piquetabli, que era chiquitamada con tinta, y con polvos de una yerba que dicen llamarse yiel, que es como hebdar de cuello*" (approximating Spanish text).

Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: "*Acaqual*: *acal* cane, *yul* tobacco. The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the *yul* or Nicotiana rustica Mill.; the *quauhyul*: quauhda arborescens, *yul* tobacco, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and *piciatl*: picietic small, *yul* tobacco, or Nicotiana tabacum L., tobacco either as snuff or chewed in pellets called *pequetli*: *yul* tobacco, *quetli* gum, or smoked as cigars or *pequetl*: *pequetl* smoke, *yul* tobacco. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *xochiocuitl*, aromatic herbs, and charcoal." Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 156.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. 6, § 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Rubendo ed., Vol. III, pp. 148-51. Saldívar defines them respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; ibis; American egret or heron; kingfisher (*martin-pescador*) and sandhill crane (*Indice Kaqkel*, p. 118, items 3-7). [136]

X 796 poles.[18] For four days this was done. Thereupon they came out of the water and all took up their array. Then all returned and went back whence they came, in the same manner in which they had come, sounding shell trumpets and naked, unclothed.

And when they had reached [home] and had gone into their houses, thereupon were thrown down [352] and spread out the white [and green] reed mats throughout the priests' houses.

Thereupon all wrapped and covered themselves with their capes. Then all threw themselves upon the [513] white [and green] reed mats. Cold, they lay frozen, as if dead—sleeping open-eyed, crouched, hunched up. Some just slept open-eyed; some fell into a stupor; some slept only lightly; some dreamed; some cried out in their sleep; some started up, snored, grunted, groaned, whimpered. They lay twisted in their sleep.

After midday they all arose. And when they had risen, then was adorned the fire priest, that he might offer and burn incense. He went everywhere, among all the temples; the old priests went ahead of him.

X 796 And when they had come to offer incense in all 264 [the accustomed] places, then food was eaten; food was eaten by each one. All were gathered in a circle, grouped in a ring. Severally, they were offered food, all kinds of sauce. For four days they only dipped into the sauce.

And if anyone mistook his sauce [for another's]; then they detained him, they seized him so that he was taken. And when [the food] was eaten, none let fall a drop of the sauce on to the ground. [If] sauce was dropped on the ground, if anyone spilt [even] a little of the sauce, for all this he was detained and was punished.

X 796 And when this was done, when they had eaten, then all went to gather fir branches,[19] or canes—green maize stalks.

And when they had gone forth, when they had gone to pluck them, [the branches or canes] were bound together; they were tied in small bundles. And when they had made bundles of them, when it was time to strew them about, then they dispersed; all ran, hastening, carrying the reeds upon their shoulders.

Quickly they placed them in all the demons' temples.

mantli: nauilhujtl yn juh mochiouia yn: auh yn ic iuhquj mec oalquixos yn atlan, nechichicoalo, njman ic oalnecuepalo, jcuitlauje oalujloa, çan ic no inj in Vitze, tlapitztiujtze, pepetlauhtiujtze, tlapetlauj.

Auh yn onacico, yn onmocacaltemaco, njman ic ic motetteca, moçoços yn aztapilpetlatl, yn noujan calmecac:

njman ic ic netlatlalpililo, nequequentilo, mec netteteco, yn aztapilpetlapan, cecec mjcostoc, cececztoque, yitzitioque, mococotoztlalia, motatapaiollalia: cequjntin çan iitztoque, cequjntin cocochi, cequjntin çan cochcanacatoque, cequjntin temiquj, cequjntin cochtlatoa, cequjntin cochitleoa, tlaquaqualaca, tlacotaliuj, tlaqujqujnaca, tlaterena, tlanecujliuj in cochios:

qujn cennepantla tonatiuh in necheoalo. Auh in onecheoaloc, mec muchichioa in tlenamacac, ynic tlenamacaz tlatotoniz, noujian quiça in jnquican teteupan, quiiacantinemj in quaquacujlti.

Auh yn ôtlenamacato noujian: njman ic ic tlaqualo tlatlaqualo, neiaiaoalolo, neoolololo: ceceiaca qujmonmaca yn intlaqual, yn quenamj molli qujmonmaca, navilhujxti in çan ice qujpalonque.

Auh intla aca quipatilizque ymol, ic caci, ic conaci, ic onaxioa: yoan in jquac tlaqualo, aiac achi quichipinja yn molli, yn vncan tlalpan; tlatlalteco in molli, intla aca achi quichipinja molli, muchi ic nexioa, ic netlanamjctilo.

Auh in ic iuhquj ynon tlaqualoc, njman ic ic vilos yn acxoistl mocuiz, ic yn acatl, acaxoxouhquj.

Auh yn ooalujloac, yn onmocujto: njman ic ic tlacuitlalpilo, acquj molpia: auh ynon tlacujcujtlalpiloc, in ic inman motemaz, njman ic tlatzomonj, netlalolo, netlatlalolo, quiquechpanos in acatl:

qujtentiquiça yn inquican in teteupan tlatlacateculo.

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18. "Paradise Alexandre," in Sahagún's Spanish text.

19. Sahagún says: "pues que en ofrendo fueron todo aquesto dicho a honor loores alhaxiro, que ellos llamaban xuxulpul, que es cosa muchos por una manada" (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 223). See also supra, p. 70, n. 3.

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *magueyy* fiber cape, or a small cotton *manta*.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[13]

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla ac ꝏ amo vmpa izxtiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic axioa.

Auh intla aca, amo qujcxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tehoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchicoaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aqujque axioa, oc vel momaqujxtia, oc vel moqujxtia, oc vel maqujça: açe tozolin yca, açe maxtlatl ica, açe tilmatli, açe ichtilmatli, açe tequachtli ica.

Auh yn jcnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moqujxtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn jxqujch nequjxtilonj, moch qujmocujlia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moqujxtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moqujxtiaia, aocmo qujcelia.

Auh in ie iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl macoalli, qujmochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, siac yn macamo metzalhujaia:

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech qujmomamaca, nepanoti ic mococoachioa.

Auh in cequjntin papaqujnj, yn ahaujeni: yoan in cequjntin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelqujxtia:

injc muchichioa mitzteiaiaoaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan cantinemj zocujcolli etzalcoenjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjxcalxaxapotlaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujcalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlalitiuj yn etzalcoenjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoaliztli, ioalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlakchipaoa, in necacaoalo, cactinetzi,

auh yn ocalquiz tonatiuh, njman ie ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, panj conmolaoa xiztl, iaoca xinthquenjtl, anoço aoachquenjtl,

13. "Buñuelos de maiz" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

[796] [793] [292]

must cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crowned] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tnitzinhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpanitl, yoan conmaxiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

[302]

And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mixquamixoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, conapetzotiaia:

[824]

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatzitli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatzitli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlizcatli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan oc quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoztli:

[314]

And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujmanapaloa vlli, iuhquin tlaca ic tlachichicoalti, motocaiotia vlteteu:

[257]

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather moist tassel.

cequjntin qujmanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiauauiol.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ic iuhquj ỹ otlapitzaloc, njman ic ic onneoemalo, mec viloa.

And as marygos had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in ãquujchtin, yn oaxiouaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzaxitzqujtimanj, incuexcochtzuh qujmanjlitimanj, qujnquauqueimotzoltzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they were placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamaxtotzn, yn oaxiouaque, tolisoalli qujnchichiujlioia, vncan ichetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ic achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

[714]

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ic oneoa, njman iquac qujnpeualtia in qujacujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

[793]

16. "Vse vnaxa delgada transparente, que se llama vinchquetzalli" (loc. cit.). Elsewhere he mentions "vnaxa delgada que llaman xquel" (Bulmarlo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. "Vse flor de papel grande redonda, redondo a manera de rodela" (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the dispositions of "ornamentos, que se vsaban el pennacho."

18. "El cabellillo, vnas flores de papel, sombras franciscas, que sobresaen a modo parecer de la cabeça a manera de pezon de papel, vnos medios cabellos," and, later in the same chapter, "vna ornamenta, que se ponjan vna el cabellillo, vnas vna flor hecha de papel" (loc. cit.).

19. "Mexicanos vsaban (especialmente) colorear la cabeza de azul, y luego pintaban algunas rayas con flor hecha de papel" (loc. cit.).

20. "They were gay as flowers yauhtli. He wore cuexcho, some wooden cuexcho y cuexcho indio pintado hecho artificio; (y) derrojar hoja; es semejante medicinal para los que tienen calenturas, semejante y hoja de cuexcho; hace de tinta, y después molido y remolido con el cuexcho. Aprovecha semejante para los que tienen calenturas; y para los que tienen calenturas" (Sahagún, Bulmarlo ed., Vol. III, p. 276).

21. Probably the singular of quaquajlli is meant by quacujlli. Sahagún, however, defines quacujlli as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to lust in the temple. Cf. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following our edition, the *Real Palacio* MS contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh ẽquujchtin yntoca cuecuecuilli, ynpal, in tlachichiltecatl yntoca papel y yntoca cuac, ynmal yntoca palmatoli, yntoca tlachichiltecatl, yntoca quauhtlachichiltecatl*—and in the order of these texts when is called a red cut, made of cords, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper were hanging down it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They were carrying it with much ceremony.

handled them and cast them to the ground. If somewhere there was a puddle of water, there they cast them down and slid and rolled them, leaving them to wallow in the mud, covered with mire. Just so they forced them to the banks of the lake, to the place where they dragged people to the water, at a place called Toteco.

And when they had arrived there, the [chief] fire priest and the other fire priests thereupon [sacrificially] burned the papers and the gods molded in incense, and those formed of rubber. And the incense they scattered in various directions and spread over each of the reed mats.

And when this was done, it was as if they wounded the water when they cast [their captives] into the water. Like a roaring host the water stormed and rose. And if any tried to come out from under the water, they plunged him under, [so that] he sank deep.

And if any were experienced in water, when [the captors] had submerged them, they fared well.[23] They came out of the water at a distance, and then took off, fleeing and escaping.

And some, in truth, [the captors] caused to faint, and verily they swooned. Indeed, they left them, hurt, truly as if dead, laid out at the water's edge.

And some, who had swallowed much water—this bitter water—[their friends] held head down, that [the water] which they had swallowed might come out through their noses and mouths.

And when all this had come to pass, then all turned back, all returned again, blowing their conch shells as they went.

And those who had been cast into the water went only to their houses; their kinfolk accompanied them. They went sickened, trembling, shivering, that at home they might recover.

And when [the priests] had reached their houses, again were laid and spread out the mats of green and white reeds. And also were strewn about reeds. Here again began the fast named "the day fast." Also there was fasting for four days. Not now was one detained [for misdemeanors]; nor did they now eat [only at midday].

At this time they began the [priests'] varied adornment. The novice priests aided the priests in their arraying. They prepared all the divers paper vestlacana manj qujiaoatl, vmpa qujmontlaça vmpa qujnpepetzcoa, qujnmjmjloa, qujnçoqujpetzcotinemj, qujçoqujnelotinemj, çan iuh qujmonazitia yn stenco, in teatlan papacholoian, itocaiocan totecco. 796x

Auh yn iquac yn onazioac in tlenamacac, yoan oc cequjntin tletlenamacaque, njman ie ic qujtlatia yn amatl, yoan copalteteu, yoan vlteteu: yoan yn jiauhtli, qujtetepeoa, qujcecenmana in tolpepechpan.

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, yn atl iuhqujn tzopontimanj, ynic teatlan papacholo: iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj, vel macoquetza yn atl: auh yn aca oalpanuetziznequj conpolactia, centlanj iauh.

Auh yn aca amatinj, yn oconpolactique, çan ic ceniauh, vecan onpauetzi, njman ic choloa, moieltia, momaqujztia:

auh in cequjntin vel qujmjhiiocaoaltia vel çoçotlaoa, ça mjmjoque in qujncaoa, ça q'nmictoccaoa stenco qujnoaltetema:

auh in cequjntin oqujtotoloque atl, in chichic atl, qujntzonikpiloa ic oalqujça, yn iniacac yn jncamac, yn oqujtotoloca.

Auh in ie iuhquj njman ic oalujlooa, icujtlaujc oalujloa oc cepa oallapitztiuj:

auh yn ostlanpapacholoque, çan inchan vihuj, qujnujujca in inchantlaca, cocoztiuj, vinujujxcatiuj, tzitzizilcatiuj, yn oconihiiocuizque inchan.

Auh yn oazioato calmecac, oc cepa tlatetecu, motetea yn iatapilpetlatl, yoan no motetema yn atulin, oc cepa vncan peoa in neçaoalistli, itoca netlacaçaoalistli, no nauilhujtl in motlacaçaoaia, aocmo nenxioa, aocmo tlacatlaqualo: [785]

njman ic vncā oapeoa in tlatlachichicalo, qujtlachichiujliaia in tlamacazque, tlamazteoton, qujcecencaoa yn ixquejch amatlatquitl, in tlaquechpaniotl, yn 796x 301

23. Either the sentence or some word would be unsuitable reading for the Aztec text. Sahagún, in the Spanish column, states that they swam under water to escape.

X796 [301] ments, the paper shoulder rosettes, the semicircular paper neck ornaments, and the bags for incense, which were purchased only [at the market]; and necklaces of wood, [also] sold only at the market place.

amacuexpalli, yoã yn jiatzitli, çan qujmococoujaia, yoan in tlacopacoscatl, çan monanamacaia tianquizco.

And when they had reached [the end of] the four days, when all had fasted, then at early dawn all began to array themselves.

Auh yn oncic naujlhujtl, ynic netlacaçaoalo, njman ioatzinco in peoa in techichioalo:

293 X796 [302] Then were bedight the fire priests and all [the other] priests. Early in the morning, all put on the shoulder rosettes. And they placed, over them, the paper neck ornament. They all put on the paper neck adornments. And their foreheads were stained blue—they were colored blue—and their bodies were stained. They were painted after the manner of Uiztociuatl.[24] And in their hands they carried the incense bags. The fire priests carried with them their ocelot-skin incense bags, provided with small, white, sea shells. In four places shells hung from the incense bags.

njman mochichioa in tlellenamacaque, yoan yn izquich tlamacazquj, ioatzico yn enneaquijlo, in tlaquechpaniotl: yoan contlaliaia ymicpac, amacuexpalli, neamacuexpaltilo, yoan neixquatexoujlo, mixquatexoujaia, yoan michioaia, moujxtoichioaia: yoan intlan caana yn iatzitli: tetlan tlaano in tlellenamacaque, ynoocelojiatzc cuecuechcho, nauhcampa in pipilcac, cuechtli, yn itech yiatzitli.

And the bags of the [lesser] priests were only of paper, painted like ocelot hide, painted to look like ocelot [skin]. Some [incense bags] represented the *atzitzicuilotl* bird;[25] some represented ducks. Their bags were filled with incense.

Auh in tlamacazque ymjatzc, çan amatl in tlachichioalli, tlaocelocujjolli, ocelocujliuhquj, in cequintin atzitzicujlotl ipan mixeoaia: in cequintin canauhtli, ipan mjxeoaia, yn jmiatzc, tetentiuh, yn jiauhtextli.

X796 [302] And when this was done, then all went [in procession] together, [that] the feast day might be celebrated. The fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc led the others. He had put on his quetzal and heron feather crown; his face was coated with liquid rubber; [he had] his mist jacket and his rain mask or his Tlaloc mask, which he put on. His long, tangled hair fell to his loins. Behind him followed, chanting, all the [other] priests, and thus they went to the Temple of Tlaloc.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec tenanamjco, ilhujtlalo: teiacana in tlalocan tlenamacac, quetzalaxtatzontli, yn onactiuh: yoan mjsolhuj yaiauhxicol, iquijiauhxaiac, anoço itlalocazaiac in conmaquja, ycuitlacaziuhian vetzi yn ipapa ycampa i caoacatiuj yn jzqujchtin tlamacazque, ynic vih yn iteupan tlaloc:

When they reached there, thereupon the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc placed himself. He spread out all the white reeds and leaves,[26] and cactus leaves, strewn with the sweet-smelling herbs; provided with the sweet-smelling herbs.

yn onacique njman ie ic onmoquetza, in tlalocan tlenamac, conchaiaoa in aztapili, yoan in quequesquje, yoan nopalli, yiauhtitlan tlaaquijlli, tlayiauhujlli:

[413] Then he placed [upon the mats] four round green stones. And when he had placed them there, then they gave him a small wooden hook, stained blue, wherewith he struck each of the green stone balls. As he went striking [each one], he turned around.

njmã ic contlalia in chalchiuhtelolotli nauhtetl: auh yn ocontlali mec conmaca, quauhchicoltontli, tlatexoujlli, ic conujujtectiuh, cecenteti in chalchiuhtelolotli: yn jquac qujmonujujtectiuh, oalmocueptiuh.

24. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125) has "*man . . . brauchte das Gesicht in der Art der heutigen Wasser.*"

25. Described in Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 170. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125, n. 1) cites Hernández (cap. 18, fol. 32) and defines it as the *chichicuilote*. Cf. also Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Antigüedades* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del Autor, 1904), pp. 542-3.

26. In a description of the Huastecs and their region, Sahagún writes: "*Se dan muy bien todas las hortalizas y muchas frutas que por acá no se hallan, como es lo que dicen quequesquje*" (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 131). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 126) calls it *Phalipsanthium*, and cites Hernández's definition as *Inguinar pimenta*.

And when this was done, then he scattered incense. And when he had scattered it, then they gave him his mist rattle board, and he rattled it, he shook it, he raised it as an offering [to the god].

And when they finished, then all departed, [the crowd] broke up, all dispersed and scattered, each one going to his priests' dwelling. [But] the novice priests, them they only took to their houses.

And when they had entered the priests' dwellings, then all put off [their adornments], and sat in order.

And at night, thereupon began and took place a feast, on the top of the Temple of Tlaloc.

The horizontal drum was beaten, flutes were played, conch shells and reed pipes were blown. There was song. The horizontal drums croaked, growled, and droned, and rattles were rattled.

They caused those who were to be slain, the likenesses of the rain gods, to spend the night in vigil.

And when midnight came, when night divided in half, then began the slaying. First to be slain were the captives. They became as the fundament [of those who followed]. And when [these] died, thereupon died [the impersonators of] the rain gods.

Then also [was the time] when they burned all the paper offerings, and the quetzal feathers, and various [other] precious feathers; and some of the green stones—well-formed, those which were in no way blemished, which had no defects, as well as some of the green stones which were rough and brown, or dark.

And when they slashed open the breasts [of the victims], when they opened the breast of one of them, they seized his heart; they placed it in a vessel, painted blue, named the cloud vessel, which was painted with liquid rubber on four sides. And it was decked with paper dotted with drops of liquid rubber, with much rubber,—full of rubber.

Thus they did to all the impersonators, and they cast all their hearts there [into the cloud vessel].

And when this was done, at midnight, when they were slain, all the bystanders, who were watching, all had in their hands their wormwood flowers.[27] They walked thrusting [these], lunging with them to and fro, and fanning their children [with them]. It was said that thus they frightened away the worms, that their [children's] eyes might not become wormy. Some put [the flowers] in their ears. Some just walked carrying them gathered in their hands.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njman contepeua yn jiauhtli: auh yn oconteptuh, njman conmaca yn aiochicaoztli, concacalatza, conujujxoa, coniyiaoa. 796 X

Auh ỹ ontzonquiz, njman ic viujloua, cecenmanoa, momoiaoua, xitinoua, viuj yn jncacalmecac: auh yn tlamattoton, çan qujnujujca yn inchachan.

Auh yn onnetecoto calmecac, mec nexixitinjlo, netlatlalilo:

auh yn onioouac njman ie ic peoa, in tlalhujmanj, in teucaltícpac tlalocan:

teponaçolo, tlapitzalo, ichoatl in mopitza teccizlij yoan acatecoxitli: cujco, yn teponaztli, mjmjlcatoc, nanalcatoc, iuhquja qujqujnacatoc, yoan aiacacholo: [534]

qujntoçauja in miquizque yn imixiptlaoan tlaloque.

Auh yn oacic ioalnepantla yn iquac xeliuj ioalli: mec peoa in micoa, iacattiuj in mamaltin miquj: iuhquja inpepechoan muchioa: auh yn onmjcoque, njman ie ic miq' in tlaloque:

njman no yquac tlatla, yn izquich nextlaoalli amatl, yoan in quetzalli, yoan in nepapan tlaçoihujtl: yoan cequj chalchiujtl yn jcucic, yn atle itlaciuiz, yn amo tlaciujce: yoan cequj olchalchiujtl, iaiauhquj, iaiactic, anoço yiauhtic.

Auh yn iquac qujmeltetequi, in ce onpeti yiechiqujuh, conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalitiuj comjc, tlatexoujlli motocaiotia, mizcoenjtl, nauhcampa in tlavlxaoalli: auh yn itlaquen amatl tlavlchipinilli, cencu vllo moca vlli: [415]

much iuh qujnchioa yn izquintin teixiptlaoan, much vmpa contlaztimanj yn jniollo.

Auh yn iquac muchioa ioalnepantla, ynjc mjcoa: yn izquichtin tlatlattaque, in tlatlachia, muchi imiztauhiaxochiuh, inmac tetentinemj, qujtlaclaujztoznemj, aujc qujtlaztinemj, ic mácapeujtinemj, yn inpilhoã, qujlmach ic qujnpeujaia in ocujlti, ynic amo ynocujlloaxque: cequjntin in nacaztitlan caaquja, coqujn çan qujnamapictinemj. [755 278]

27. Amoxtlacuilolli: literally, "book." It is mentioned as ash wood, according to Seler, Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 78.

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And thereupon, when were slain [the captives and the likenesses of the rain gods], then the priests came down. They brought down all the offerings—the rubber-spattered sacrificial banners, and the *magey* fiber capes painted with designs, also called cloud-face capes, and the green stones, the quetzal feathers, and the incense pieces in the form of men. And they brought down the cloud vessel, now filled with hearts.

Then they took these directly to the water's edge, to a place called Tetamaçolco.

And when they had arrived there, then they loaded a canoe; they filled it with all the offerings. And all the priests embarked. Then [the canoe] was driven by poles. It was filled by those who poled, who clung [to the poles]. They poled speedily. All the poles were blue, painted and colored blue, and covered with liquid rubber, with an adornment of rubber painted on.

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And when they had reached mid-water, at a place called Pantitlan, there they then brought in the canoe. And when they brought it in, thereupon shell trumpets were sounded. The fire priest arose by the prow of the canoe, and then they gave him the cloud vessel, which was now filled with hearts. Thereupon he cast it in the midst of the water, before the stakes [which were in the water]. It fell striking the water with a splash.

And then the water foamed, boiled, and cast up bubbles, which burst. Foam was formed on the water.

Thereupon were hung out, tied upon the stakes, upon the poles, the sacrificial banners. And they bound on green stones. And some [of the green stones] they cast, scattered, and strewed upon the face of the water.[28]

And when this was done, then they went forth. And when they had gone, when they had left, when they were near the opening in the [row of] stakes [which were set in the water], then [the fire priest] took up the incense burner and upon it arranged four sacrificial banners. Thereupon he offered and dedicated [the incense burner with papers], and cast it down, throwing, hurling it [into the water].

And when he had cast it [into the water], then they turned the canoe about. Then they circled back, and used their poles. Some took the prow; some steered.

And when they had reached Tetamaçolco, whence

Auh in *ie* iuhquj yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oaltemoa in tlamacazque: qujoaltemouja yn ixqujch nextlaoalli, in tetejtl: yoan ichtilmatli tlacujlolli, yoan itoca aiavixo: yoan in chalchiujtl, yoan quetzalli, yoan copalli, tlatlacatlachia: yoan qujoaltemouja in mixcomjtl, vncã tetentiuh yn iollotli:

njman qujtlamelanaltia atenco, itocaiocã tetamaçolco.

Auh yn oacito njman ie ic conacalaquja, conacaltema yn ixqujch nextlaoalli: yoan onmacaltema yn ixqujchti tlamacazque, njman ie ic tlanelolo, oontemj onpipilcatoque in tlaneloa, tequjtlaneloa, in aujctli muchi texoio, tlatexoujlli, tlatexoaltilli, yoan tlaulxauhtli, tlaulxaoalli, vlxauhquj.

Auh yn oacito anepantla, itocaiocan pantitlan, njman ic concalaquja yn acalli: auh yn oqujcalaquj-que, njman ie ic tlapitzalo: in tlenamacac acaliacac onmoquetza, njman conmaca in mixcomjtl, yn vncan tentiuh iollotli: njman ie ic contlaça anepantla, ynixpã cuenmantli, iuhquin ontlachaquanitiuetzi, ontlatzoponitiuetzi:

auh njman poçoni yn atl, momoloca, quaqualaca, xixittomj, xixitemomoloca, apopoçoqujllotl motlatlalia:

njman ie ic mopipiloa, moolpia in tetejtl, in quauhtitech yn itech cuenmantli: yoan in chalchiujtl qujlpia, yoan cequj atlan contepeoaia, conchaiaoa, concenmana.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic oalqujxoa: auh yn oqujxoaloco, yn oalqujxoac, yn vncan qujiaoatenpan, yn iqujiaoaioc cuenmantli: njman ic concuj in tlenaitl, vncan conmamana nauhtetl tetejtl: njman ie ic conjiaoa, yn oconjtauh, mec conmaiauj, ica onmajauj, contlaça, ica ontlamotla:

auh yn ocontlaz mec qujmalacachoa yn acalli: mec oalnecuepalo, tlanelolo cequj tlaiacatitiuj, cequj tlacuexcochtitiuj.

Auh yn oacico tetamaçolco, yn vncan neacalaqujlo,

28. See Plate 22. Refer also to Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Plate 33.

all had set forth, at the place of embarkation, thereupon all bathed, and then departed.

And the canoe they then went and beached, at its resting place, at the place for beaching canoes.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all the priests washed the blue color from their foreheads, over at the priests' bathing place.

And whoever had hidden himself away, who had fled, hiding, during the fast for Tlaloc, when men were arrested [for misdemeanors], then, when the blue stain was washed from their heads, they cast him [into the water].

And when this was done, then all departed. Then they took outside the reed mats, bringing them from the priests' dwelling. They were carried out, and they cast them behind the priests' dwelling.

Enough. Here endeth [the account of] the feast day, Ezzalqualiztli.

in neacalaquijloia, njman ie ic neaaltilo, mec viviloa. 796X

Auh yn acalli, njman ic vi qujtecazque, yn jonoia, yn acaltecoian: [504]

auh yn otlatujc, njman ie ic nequaterzopaco: in tlamacazque vmpa yn jnnealtiaian, tlamacazque. [515]

Auh yn aquin çan motlati, in çan mjnaz, in iquac netlalocaçaoaloia, yn axioac, qujniquac ica nequaterzopaco: vmpa atlan qujpapachoa. [681]

Auh yn ie iuhquj mec viloatz, mec tlaqujquixtilo, tlaeecualo in tolpepechtli in vn: ..a calmecac: tlaqujquixtilo, caltepanaco contlatlaça.

Je ixquich, vncan tlamj y, yn ilhujtl, in ezzalqualiztli.

X 796 **Twenty-sixth Chapter** in which are related the feast and ceremonies celebrated upon the feast in the seventh month, which was named Tecuilhuitontli.[1]

Tecuilhuitontli: When this feast arrived, they celebrated the minor feast of the lords for twenty days. And at this time died—[for thus] her fate then befell her—at this time died [in sacrifice], a war captive's death, [she who was the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, god[dess] of those who made salt, the salt-makers.

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This Uixtociuatl, so it was said, was thought to be the elder sister of the rain gods. And it was thought that the rain gods were her brothers. [In] one thing she angered and offended them, that she mocked at her brothers. And then they pursued their elder sister over to the salt beds. There she discovered salt—how it existed, how it was formed, and how were made the salt jars; and also salty sand.

And, on this account, greatly did men who lived where there was salt pay honor to her.

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And the array of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was [thus]: Her [face] paint and ornamentation were yellow. This was of yellow ochre or the [yellow] of maize blossoms.[2] And [she wore] her paper cap with quetzal feathers in the form of a tassel of maize. It was of many quetzal feathers, full of quetzal feathers, so that it was covered with green, streaming down, glistening like precious green feathers.

And [she had] her golden ear plugs. And the golden ear plugs glittered and flashed and were very yellow, like squash blossoms. And her shirt was embroidered[3] to resemble water [waves].[4] And the border of her shirt was as if painted with green stones, designed to represent billowing clouds on the hem [of her shirt]; the edge was painted in a cloud design. And her skirt was designed in the same fashion.

And on her ankles[5] she had placed bells—golden bells—or rattles. On the calf of her leg she had bound an ocelot skin on which were the bells. And when

Jnic cẽpoualli on chiquace capitulo, vncan motenecoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in muchioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic chicome metztli, in mjtoaia: Tecujlhujtontli.

Tecujlhujtontli: yn in qujçaia in muchioaia, in tecuilhujtontli, no cempoalilhujtica: auh vncã mjquja, vncan itequjuh vetzia vncan trumjquja in vixtocioatl, yn jnteouh iztatlaca, iztachiuhque.

Jnjn vixtocioatl, iuh mjtoa qujlmach inveltiuh, catca in tlaloque: yoan qujlmach yioq'chtioan in tlaloque: centlamãtli ic qujnqualanj, ic qujniollitlaco, inca mocaiauh, yn joqujchtioan: auh njman ic qujtotocaqse yn jnveltiuh vmpa yn iztapan: vmpa qujnextito yn iztatl, yn juh ioli, yn juh tlacati, yn juh muchioa iztacomjtl, yoan iztaxalli.

Auh ipampa y, cenca qujmauiztiliaia yn iztapaneca, yn iztapãtlaca.

Auh in vixtocioatl, yn jnechichioal catca, yn jxaoal, yn jnechioal cuztic: ichoatl in tecoçaujtl anoço tomjoli: yoan yamacal, quetzalmjiaoaio, quequetzalo, moca quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujuj, xoxoqujuhtimanj, momoiaoa, xexeliuj, iuhqujn xoxopaleoa, xoxoxouja:

yoan yteucujtlanacoch, teucujtlanacoche: auh in teucujtlanacochtli, pepetlaca, pepepetlaca, cenca cozztic, iuhqujn aioxochqujlitl: yoan yujpil tlaaicujlolli, aycujliuhquj: auh yn itzn yn ivipil, tlachalchiujcujlolli, chalchiujcujliuhquj, tẽmixmolonquj, tlatenmjxicujlolli: auh yn icue çan ie no iuhquj ynic tlacujlolli,

yoan icxic contlalia coiolli, teucujtlacoiolli, anoço tzitzilli: itlanitzco in qujlpiaia, ocelueoatl yn ipan

1. "*Fiestecilla de los señores*," according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 308); "*der kleine Herrenfest*," or "*kleiner Herrenfest*," in Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 130, 131).
Tovar describes this month and the next literally as the lords' months, in contrast to Ecatolquiztli. Cf. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
2. In *op. cit.*, p. 131 and p. 131, n. 1, Seler refers to "*gelber Pflanzenfarbe*." *Mimoal*, however, is translated by Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*la espiga y la flor de la caña de maiz*."
3. Literally, painted; Sahagún, however, writes "labrada."
4. Cf. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text: also Plate 24.
5. "*Las cargamas de los pies*," in Sahagún's Spanish. Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 9.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *texrollotl;*[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica, 796x [30]

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujttli, ynjc tlamaiqujttli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ic in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ic no ic yn potonquj: 796x 292

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanicujlolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, toztlapilollo: 796x 293

Auh in torttlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, toztenoloio in chimalli. [237]

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana: [535]

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: excan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tztziuhio: [34]

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh. 796x 535

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixqujchtin cenqujça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti: [463]

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 32.

7. "*Y amarillo*," in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Mappa tecuilli (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish text reads: "*Traya una rodela pintada, con unas ojas anchas, de la yerba que se llama atlacueçonaya.*" In Vol. III of the Robredo ed., p. 136, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Nos. 348 a 565) del libro XI, de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," *atlacueçonaya* is defined as "*cabeza de negro. Nimphaea elegans, Hook, Nieríkoma.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llamados tecuilli y son color amarillo cuando ya son grandes y crecen y crian; entonces tienen las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; cuando más son crecidos en edad, más papagayos tanto más se amarillentan, y por esto le llaman tecuilli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

9. "*Con flores en las cabezas, hechas de plumas de aquellos*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulín*, however, may be an element in *fiscalchichi*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamaban cuchio (y) es muy semejante al que llaman tecuilli; tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo moradas, las codillas y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado oscuro, mezclado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñuelas que están sobre la cerca del ala que llaman tolcal, son amarillas mezcladas de colorado; el collo, como pelo malo, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado mezclado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

12. Cf. *Anyone* (Simeon, *op. cit.*: "*hace ceremonia gentil en danzar*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando bailaba era al arcayn, yuaal quebrando el bastón, y diendole (sic) a compas del baile.*"

87

1 [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

X 796 535 cords, called flower cords, and thus went stretched out in line. They went with wormwood flowers[13] placed upon their heads.

motitilinjtiuj: ym jhiztauhizzochiuh, ym icpac contecatiuj:

[533] And they went singing, crying out loudly, singing in a very high treble. As the *centzontli* bird takes [its song, so was] their song. Like a bell their voices [rang out].

yoan cujcatiuj, cenca tzatzi, cenca tlapitzaoa: iuhquin tzontli cana incujc: iuhquj in coiolli intoxquj:

The old men led [the singing women]; they loosed the song and went directing them—the men and elders of the tribal temple. And they were named keepers of the god[dess].

qujniacana in ueuetque, cuicatlaça quincujcatlazilitiuj, in calpuleque, in calpulueuetque: yoan motocaiotia teuoaque.

And [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl went in the midst of them. Before her went a brilliant feather ornament which an old man carried in his arms. And this [ornament] was called Uixtociuatl's brilliant plumage.[14]

Auh in Vixtocioatl, tlanepantla icatiuh, ce petlacotl qujiacana, ce tlacatl veue in qujnapaloa: auh ynjn mitoaia vixtopetlacotl.

And for [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was sung the women's song every day until all ten days had been reached. And when the tenth day had come to pass, that night she began her vigil. They sang [and danced] all night. At no time did they rest; they passed the night sleepless. Thus they passed the night in vigil.

Auh in ichoatl vixtocioatl, momuztlae in qujcioapancujcatiaia, yn ixqujchica matlaqujlhujtl onaci: auh yn oacito matlaqujlhujtl, teutlacpa im peoa qujtoçauja, quicujcatia iuh cioioal, aquenman cochi, acochiztli quimochioaltia, iuh vetzi in ioalli.

And as [the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl danced, the old women seized her and held her as they made her dance.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, mitotia caana, caantinemj yn ylamatque in quitotia:

Likewise the captives danced all the night—those who would come first, who would die [first], as her fundament; those whom they would make her fundament.

no iuh cioioal in mjtotia mamalti, in iacatiazque mjquizque, in iuhquj ypepechoan iezque, in quinmopepechtizque.

X 796 792 And when dawn broke, when verily the feast day [came], then were arrayed the priests who would slay the victims. These were called Uixtoti. They were adorned and painted like Uixtotin; they were painted with the face painting of Uixtotin. They carried their paper neck rosettes and their paper shoulder rosettes. And their [head] insignia were made [like] the claws of eagles, [made] of quetzal head feathers and eagle down.

Auh yn otlathujc, yn iquac ie vel ilhujtl, mec muchichioa in tlamacazque, in tlamictizque: in iehoan y, motocaiotiaia Vixtoti, movixtochichioa, moujxtoychioa, intlatlaquechpaiouh, yoan ymaamacuezpal: auh yn jntlauiz, quaviztitl muchioa, quetzaltzontecomaio quimolocio.

X 796 293 And the legs of the eagle were also made of eagle down. These insignia [were supported] upon wooden head rests with holes [in the head rests, in which the insignia were inserted]. Here lay the insignia, tied [across the back], bound around the stomach with cotton bands, tied firmly and tightly. And their cords were bands, narrow woven bands.

Auh in quauhtli imetz muchioa, no quimolocio, ynjn tlaviztli cácacaxo, cécocoio, yn vncá onmana tlauiztli, ic maapana, ic motixillancujtlalpia, ic motetevilpia, ic mocacatzilpia: auh yn jmecaio, yn jmemecaio, tlazochtli, tlazochpitzactli.

[137] And all the common folk who looked on, all car-

Auh in jxqujch tlacatl macoalli, in tlatlatta, mu-

13. Cf. p. 83, n. 27. Simeon (*op. cit.*) defines it as *ajenjo lacinios*; see, further, note 15, below. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "Tzauhyatl. *ajenjo o aceniso verde*"; Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) has the same. See also Rekendo ed., Vol. III, p. 252.

14. "*Un plumaje muy hermoso, hecho a manera de manga de cruz*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish).

And all the common folk who looked on
All car-
ried flowers—artimisia[15]—and some carried wormwood flowers.

And when this was done, they bore [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl to the summit of the Temple of Tlaloc. And they took up the captives, who were to be as a fundament [for her]—those who would be her companions, her fellows in death; who were to be first, who would die [first].

And when they had taken them up to the Temple of Tlaloc, then were slain as sacrifices the captives. And after they had slain the captives, only [then] Uixtociuatl['s impersonator] followed; she came only at the last. They came to the end and finished only with her.

And when this was done, thereupon they laid her down upon the offering stone. They stretched her out upon her back. They laid hold of her; they pulled and stretched out her arms and legs, bending [up] her breast greatly, bending [down] her back, and stretching down her head taut, toward the earth. And they bore down upon her neck with the tightly pressed snout of a sword fish,[16] barbed, spiny; spined on either side.

And the slayer stood there; he stood up. Thereupon he cut open her breast.

And when he opened her breast, the blood gushed up high; it welled up far as it poured forth, as it boiled up.

And when this was done, then he raised her heart as an offering[17] [to the god] and placed it in the green jar, which was called the green stone jar.

And as this was done, loudly were the trumpets blown. And when it was over, then they lowered the body and the heart of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, covered by a precious mantle.

And this came to pass in the early dawn. And when they were finished, when it was done, when they were through, all the people dispersed and went, scattered, and betook themselves to their houses. Those who had provided the feast, carried out and celebrated it; a feast was celebrated. They banqueted one another and accepted summons to banquets.

And the old women and the old men, those who

chintin inxuxochiuh incecempoalxochiuh: yoan cequjxtin ymiiztauhiaxochiuh. 796*

Auh in ie iuhquj mec qujtlecauja in Vixtocioatl, yn iepac tlaloc: yoan qujntlecauja in mamalti, in iuhqujma ypepechoan, in q'amopechitiaz, in qujnmoujcaltiz, yn imiquiztequjcalhoan, yn iacatiaxque miquinque. [137]

Auh yn oq'ntlecaujque tlalocan, mec temictilo in mamalti: auh yn onmjcque mamalti, ça ontlatoqujlia in Vixtocioatl, ça ontlatzacuja, ça ontlatzacutiuh, ça ontetzacutiuh, ça tlatzinpachotiuh.

Auh yn ie iuhquj, njman ie ic contecа in techcac, conaquetztiteca, caanjlia, qujtitilinjlia, yn jma, yn jcxi, cenca uel quelcuelox, qujcujtlachicuelox: auh yn itzontecо, ynjc qujtilinjliaia, cēca tlaltitech qujujcaia: auh ynic qujquechpachoa, acipaqujtli itlaujtequja, chichiqujltic, tzitziqujltic, viuitztic, nerocamps in ujujtztic. [413]

Auh in tlamjcti, ça yc icac, omach ic moquetz, njman ie ic queltetequjj:

auh yn ompet yielchiqujuh, yn eztli oalmopipiaxquetza, veca in onmopiaçoa, iuhquin momoloca, iuhqujn pipica, iuhqujn popoçoca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalia xoxoujc xicalco: qujtocaiotiaia chalchiuhxicalli. [415]

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, cenca tlapitzalo: auh in ie iuhquj mec qujoaltemouja yn jnacaio, yoan yn iiollo Vixtocioatl, tlatlapachiuhtiujtz tlaçotilmatica.

Auh ynin muchioaia, çan ioatzinco: auh yn onxonquix, yie iuhquj yn onecacoaloc, njman ic viujloa, cecēmanoa, viujloa in techachan, yn jlhujoaque, hiylhujchioa, hiilhujtlamati, ilhujtla, hiilhujtla, ilhujtlamacho, ilvichioalo, mococoiaxotza, motlatlacamati:

yoan yn jlamatque in vetetque, yn intatlaca yn

15. See pp. 98, 101, 118. Simeon and Jourdanet, in their translation of Sahagún, p. 64, n. 3, translate *comquisoxochitl* as *Tagetes erecta*; Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 134) has *Tagetes sp.*; in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 70, *Tagetes erecta*.
Of this flower, Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 273) writes: *Esta flores es flores compuestas, son amarillas y de buen olor, y nacen y hacen mas, que ellas no nacen, y nacen que las sembran en las huertas: son de dos maneras, una que llaman hombres compuestos y son grandes y hermosas, y otras que llaman flores, mujeres compuestas: (y) no son tan hermosas ni son grandes.*" Durán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 174) refers to them as "*unas particulares de rosas amarillas grandes.*"
16. "*Pezcado sabe la cargasa en pala cuchillo, el qual corajas dos, aprisionadas: para que no pudiesse dar ocasion, el tiempo que le abrieron las pechos. Otros dicen que este era un cuchillo de espadarte, que es un pez marino, que tiene un arma, como espada; en el cuchillo, que tiene cuchillos, de ambas partes: con este le aprisionan la cargasa*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). See Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 197, for description.
17. Cf. corresponding Spanish. We have no interpretive comment.

X796 And the old woman and the old men, those who

887 made and refined salt, and sold and trafficked in salt,
463 and those who dwelt in the salt marshes, drank wine.
273 Wine was drunk, and one became besotted. In their midst they poured out the wine in a flower-decked jar.

iztachiuhque, yn iztatlatique, yoan yn iztanamacaque, yn iztanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlãtlacoma tlãtlacoano, motlatlacoantia, tlanepantla xochapaztica qujoalmana yn vctli:

X796 One of the men poured out [the wine], and prepared it and distributed it. This one was not one who
273 had made [his wife] pregnant, whose wife was with child. If he who poured out the wine had made [his wife] with child, [then] he would not make one drunk; men would not be drunk. They would only counterfeit drunkenness; no one would become besotted [from] the wine.

ce tlacatl tetlaoantia, qujteteca, qujtemamaca, amo ichoatl in tlavtztia, in vctli ycioauh. Auh intla tlatztia tetlaoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntioaz: çan teyujcopina, aiac itechquiçaz in vctli.

And when the feast day had ended, when it had
[579] been celebrated, at nightfall all then lay about. And some who were well-besotted insulted one another, or belabored others, or cried out at others. And at last they fell exhausted, and slept as they fell. And whoever yet had wine which he had left over, which he had left because he had been sated, which was named sleep-producing wine, afterwards, next day, he drank and finished it.

Auh yn ouetz cemjlhujtl, yn onjlhujtlaque yn oioouac, mec neteteco: auh in cequjntin yn oveliujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquauhtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi: auh yn aquja, yn oc qujcaoa vctli, in qujxujcaoa, itoca cochvctli, qujn imuztlaioc inquj, in qujtlamja:

683 And any who had mishandled others, or brawled
X796 with them, or cried out at them, thereupon, when day broke, when they had come to their senses, supplicated [the injured ones to drink] this same wine, that they might satisfy them. And those who had not drunk, who had been cried out at or affronted, they let themselves be satisfied with [drinking] the wine; the offense was pardoned, and he held not against [the supplicants] their dispute, their injuries, etc.

auh yn aquja temicti, yn aço tzaoac, yn anoço tetzatzili, qujniquac yn otlatvic, yn omuzcali: çan ie no ie in vctli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic teiolcetuja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzililonj, in pinauhtilonj, njman moiolcetuja ynica vctli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujmolnamiquilia, yn inneaoalix, yn innemictilia etc.

Here ended and concluded the feast of Tecuilhuitontli.

Nican tlamj, nican tzonquiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

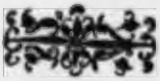

Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the sacrifices which they made upon the days of the eighth month, which was called Uei tecuilhuitl.[1]

Eighth feast: this [was] the Great Feast of the Lords.

And before the celebration had yet begun, first all feasted. A multitude came together—the poor of Mexico. And those who tilled the fields, at dawn all drank only this [drink of] lime-leaved sage powdered and mixed with water, [which] was mixed in a canoe and sweetened with honey. And it was drunk from a vessel called *tiçapanqui*. Each had a vessel for drinking, from which he drank. Each used his vessel, and some filled their vessels twice. All came and consumed [the drink]; none refrained—children, old women, small boys, small girls, everyone.

And of those who could no longer taste or put mouth and lips to it, some placed it in their [own] vessels and gourds; here they kept what remained to them. And any who came unprovided with a vessel, a plate, or a jar, just carried the maize gruel in their aprons; they carried it away in their aprons. None took [any] without leave; none returned again [to take] *atolli*.

And if any returned again [to take] *atolli* dishonestly, if once more [any] tried to approach [the canoe with *atolli*], then they set upon him with green canes; they whacked him sorely.

And thereafter, when all had drunk, all rested a while, all lay down, forming a circle together. All talked, with much murmuring and rustling, like birds twittering. And others who had saved *atolli* for themselves, later drank it; little by little, they kept giving it to their small children to drink.

And when noon came, when it was time to eat, then once more all sat spread out, in order, arranged in order, all with capes outspread. The small children were taken by the hand; they were borne upon their backs.

And when all sat about, then those girded their loins and bound their hair with reed blades who

Jnic cempoalli on chicuome capítulo, ytechpa tlatoa in illhuitl ynan in nextlacaliztli, in qujchiuaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl ynic chicuey metztli: in mitoaia Vei tecujlhujtl. 796X

Inic chicuetetl ilhujtl: ichoatl in vei tecujlhujtl.

Auh yn aiamo onazico ilhujtl, achtopa tlaçiqualoa: izquich tlacatl cenquiçaia, in motolinja in mexica, ynan in millacatzitzinti, in ioatzinco çan oc tlayoa, ichoatl in chian pinolli, mopatlaia acalco, qujnecpanja. Auh ynic tlayoq caxitl, momcaiotia tiçapanquj: cecen caxitl yn ioa, in quj: cecen caxoa auh in cequjntin, ooncaxoa, cenvetzi, ontetlamj, aiac mocaoa in pipiltzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin, in oqujchpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in ic izquich tlacatl. [272] [415]

Auh in aquin, aocmo vel qujiecoa, in aocmo qujcamaaci, in aocmo qujtenaci, motlacavia: cequjntin qujvivica in incocon cequjntin inxixical in vncan qujteca innetlacavil: auh in aca atle icõ monemachti, in atle icon, in atle icax; ça qujcuexanoa, concuexanaltia, in atolli, aiac motlapiquja, aiac matolizcuepa:

auh intlaca matolizcuepa, in oc ceppa tetlan calaqujznequj, vmpa qujvivitequj acxinoulhquj ica, qujtlatlazvitequj.

Auh in ic iuhquj in ontlãoac, oc achitonca nececevilo, çã vncan onoac, nenolololo, nececĕtlalilo, nenonozalo, iuhquin tlacaoacatimanj, iuhquin tlatlacaoca, iuhquin tlachachalaca: auh in oc cequjntin, in oqujmocavica atolli, quin ica vel qujtoque, yiolic qujnjjitioque in impilhoantzitzin.

Auh in oncic nepantla tonatiuh, in jquac tlaqualiqpan, ic no ceppa vel netetecq, nevivipanolo, nenocenpanalo, netetecpano, necoecuentililo: in pipiltzitzinti tematitech teaano, temamamalo. 796X 264

Auh ino netetecq: moc mocujcujtlalpia, ynan moquaquallpia tolnica: in tequjquac, in tlacuexanoque,

1. "Fiesta grande de los Señores," according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 301); "the 'greater Hierophany,'" according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 138).

X 796 264 have [food], who carried [food] in their cloaks, who served at table; [and] the pages. Beginning with the fire-tenders, he who served at table thus served them X 796 262 as many *tamales* as they could take in one hand. He gave them perchance *tamales* made of maize treated with lime; or else made with fruit; some [he gave] *tamales* of maize blossoms; or with twisted ends, or sweetened with honey. Of the *tamales*, some had twisted ends and were filled with grains of maize; some took the twisting forms of green beans and were filled with grains of maize.[2]

in tetlamacazque, in tetlamamacazque, yiacac vel-pecoa in tetlamacac, inje tetlamaca, in qocazquich velisi quiztizaqueja tamalli, izquich quiyemaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço zocotamalli, cequj mijmatamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollacio, cequj icuzocolotlacio:

X 796 264 And they who served [food] looked to the small children, serving them well, with much concern. And some of the table-servers offered *tamales* only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as their kin or their friends. Twice or thrice they offered them [food].

auh in tetlamacaia in quimitzaia pipiltzintzinti, cenca vel quintlamacaia, cica tlatlacoculiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacazque, çan quiçiximatcamaca in tamalli: quimjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, cxpa in quintlamaca.

And none might deceive in taking *tamales*. And any whom they saw trying to take *tamales* dishonestly, such, when they saw him, they punished, striking him, leaving bloody welts, with a cord made of reeds. What had been given him, they took from him all; they took all his *tamales*, his own which he had set aside, those which had fallen his lot.

Auh ninc motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aquin quiztaia motamaliacuepanzequj, in thaitvz, quivivaçequj, quiztacapitzvitequj tolmecatica: in quezquich omacoca mochi quicujlia, quicencujlia in jtamal, incvian conmocavilia, inevian ômonezotla.

And some they did not come to—[those] with whom [the line] broke off, those who came last, at the end, at the tail [of the line], even though they crowded their way forward, going up among the throng. Nothing at all was offered them, for at first there was much crowding and violent forcing, because they feared that with them [the line] might break.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, iehoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temazcalotiuh, inje tetlan calaquj: çan niman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachio, cenca nemamaliva, cenca netotocholo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlaceson.

And those with whom [the food supply] ended all wept. They said:

"What shall we do, we who are ill-fated? Evilly hath the feast day come! To what vain end is our ill fortune? Unhappy are our little ones!"

Auh in quezquichtin impan tlacotonj, nechoquj-Elo: quitoaia,

qoennel ticcolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen tetlaihiiovilia motolinja in topilhoantzizzin.

And if they saw that, apart, perchance, [*tamales*] were still being eaten, then they hurried over there. All ran; there they betook themselves; there they jostled them, like clamoring [beggars]. Although [those who ate] came against them and beat and struck their heads, yet they went on breaking in among [the eaters], crowding among them roughly.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaqualo, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlaloto, vmpa motequj, vmpa onzoquivi, iuh quinamopevilmatque, in manel quinoaltoca, quinvallhujtequj, in quinvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

X 796 736 And this feasting went on for seven days. And for this reason was this done—purely that the chief might show benevolence to others by giving his bounty to

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh inje mochioaia y, çan je tetlaoculiaia in tlatzanj, in quintlaoculiaia in macamaltzintli: iehica ca

2: "Cet tamalli [illegible] faite avec . . . , tamalli, chaux; tamali, fruit; tamali, fleur de maïs; tamalli, caillot de maïs, et tamalli, miel. Les deux [illegible] correspondent, le premier avec le maïs appelé tamalli, et le second avec les fleurs (tamali) [illegible] (tamalin)." [illegible] of Sahagún, p. 114, n. 2).

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[1]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maizaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca. 796 736

Auh in jxquichica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izquilhujtl tujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njnaan ie ic tlateco tlavilter, ipan in tlavilteti motlatlalia tleti.

Auh in tlavilteti viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacempantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynic totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaostectli: auh ynic quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: 372

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalquixoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtza, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: ichoantin in masujltia, yn aujenjme: ichoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti: 548

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan ichoantin in masuiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllodama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan. 302 565

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn incue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj tototitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. 796 292

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jxuequj much uetuci: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtoia, qujxoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca. 302

Auh amo mopotonja, amoxo motzoa.

Auh ynic muchichiotia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, ichoal in cuechiudi: auh in tiacaoan, in tepacoiaque, ymixtaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innechpalcuechin. 622 301 307 701

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two one tube [it] in their embrace." For [illegible], Sahagún has "six stands."

x 796 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or
292 youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets
on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

301 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4]
304 And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had
lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs,
some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangu-
lar.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair
long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which
were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had]
only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates
made of small, white, sea shells. And those with
shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with
round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-
formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with
lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the
youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands,
all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought
themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands,
[which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very
costly.

x 796 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of
293 the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in
the form of birds. They carried them upright over
their heads.

[301 And the captains carried upon their shoulders
714] feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three
places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot
skin. And at the base they were wound in three
places with red string.

237 And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form
x 796 of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament;
some set up the head plumage in bird form; some
the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they
placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong
was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

x 796 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed
302 a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek
ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And
some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in inquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaxil, telpo-
puchti: çan tiltic yn incuechin, muchi tenjxo, yoan
muchintin inxixiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in
cocoiolnacoche: auh yn intenpilol, quinamictia,
cequj aujtlaxtli, cequj itzcujtenpilolli, cequj apa-
tlactli, amoço tlixantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzoxocoleque, ymaa-
chichilacachtempilol:

auh yn inquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan ie-
hoatl yn niaoaltempilolli in coxtlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuxquj, ymeelpencuz-
quj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn
otomj, incuxcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti quinamjctia, iehoatl in toto-
tenpilolli: auh yn otomj quinamjctiaia, iehoatl yn
apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in mococenmati, in tiacaoan,
quimococouja teachipuli in cuxcol, cenca chipaoac:
auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achi-
pulin quimocoujaia, yn incuxquj, çan cuxtic, amono
tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjnac, in telpuchiaque, intotolamaa-
nal, in cõquequetzxtinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoeque, quauhtzontli in quimamaia,
excan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelueoatica in tla-
quimilolli: auh in itzintli excan in chichilicpatica
tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xilotzochiquetzalli in conquetza
in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotol in con-
quetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia cho-
cholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio,
çan no iehoatl yn maçaenatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, ta-
pitzaoacazotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin
tilli incamapan coxtlaliaia, itoca tilcamanexcomjtl,
ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in
tilli, in nacaxitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tiltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has drawn Perlenfischerei for pancuxcuxquj.

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tilli: itoca sujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuerlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: ieheantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimãca, iztlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapicia, vel teixpicia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla acã oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoqujn jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlãtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 535

auh ynic tezpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan ceniauh yn imicxi: yoan oztzitzinqujça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn iuquipantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn

6. See Plate 28.

[796 space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

[535] And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, [512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[534] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, [373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

796 836 684 And the young warriors, the young warriors who had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his [831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujlauje, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoalua, ie tlaquauhioua, ie netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlaxilia axcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie izquich, yn onecacoaloc, yn ompet vetetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn izquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca cacalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujnololoa, qujncenquixtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujnixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca motetujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlaueliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioatetiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oaliocalquiça, çan moiocalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in qujça:

auh intla aca itoa, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in izquich ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlètlecaleua, haaqnaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili-red*. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili-red*. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquizecan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiiauh nocne aço toqujchtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toqujch miqujcã:

796x 684 836

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicocoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, tẽtentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtotoca, in cioatetiachcauh: aoqujc no teoã cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcenmacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in ichoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiaucujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn moteneoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itẽco coztic, auh yn ixquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn icoxquj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoã yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

796x [302] 301 [292 293]

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muztla:

796x

in cemilhujtl conpeualtia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vccan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoqujzecan: ynjc ezcan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn

796x 805

7. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally executed, and begun in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec informant is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquia* is probably an assimilation of *aquaia*.—Angel María Garibay, personal communication.

*1796 805 wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

*1796 When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the [533] night watching; they slept not; the women remained sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the lead- [552] ing warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

*1796 Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers. 535 And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also 793 they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their fore- [302] heads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[8] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their [301] heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Carophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

*1796 And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, 793 which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, [534] which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

[534] And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonquiçaia,

çi quitoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiaualotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh inatzinco miquiz in Xilonen: cricoal in cioapan cujcoia, toçoosia, muchi tlacatl ixtoçooaia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, quenaia quevilliaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic pena in netotilo, vel ixqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan moxaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpaczochiuh, inxonochicozquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ichoā yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonnelooa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in ichoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa itepotzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, teccitzli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

8. *Bixa orellana L.*, the anatta shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llaman compoalxóchitl, son amarillas y de buen olor*" (Rodendo ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tagetes, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 84, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *tlamamaqui cuicaniani* (shouting priests), says "The player is called the *teponazqui*, and the drum, *teponazcli*. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the Lonicera caudata Bush, this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of *olmatl*." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tongue on the bottom (corresponding Spanish text).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mint rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cintéotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was o[illegible]ered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 27.

muchichiua, quauhxiztitl in quijmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoztiuh, quimoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpanioub ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc. 796 X 793 [301] [267]

Ce tlacatl quijquechpanoa, in aiochicaoztli, ezcan in cacalaca: auh yn oncito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujoalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepozoa: 796 X

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco qujoallalia: ichoã qujmati in machiceque catca in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in oozl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl. [262 264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl necuiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn ziacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, motzoaia. [302]

Izquijch tlacatl motamaluja momocotomalujaia: qujntlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan.

Auh in ueuetque, yean in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã ajac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazqui, yn ichpuchtli. [868 273]

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujtzacutiaz netitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796 X 273 689

X796
273
689

condemned to die. Not now might he leave; no longer was there help for him nor [now] a second judgment; no longer had he hope.

When whosoever [had been tried] had been condemned, all were summoned at sundown, assembled, and set apart, that the words [of the judge] might be published everywhere.

It was said: "On the morrow they will die. All of the common folk will be moved. Some of those who drank we shall leave alone, that, verily, they may fall into fear."

They came with wrists bound together. They placed them in the midst [of the market place]. Thereupon the judges spoke, warning all, speaking of wine, which no youth might drink. Only when they matured, when they had become old, [might they drink]. And those who had youths, who already had maidens [as grown children], verily their privilege it was that they might drink wine.

[681] And thereupon, when [the judge] had delivered his judgment, then Moctezuma's executioners, his slayers, struck the backs of [the criminals'] heads. [The executioners were] the Quauhnochtli, Ezuauacatl, Tiçociauacatl, Tencacoacatl, Maçatecatl, and [644] Atenpanecatl.[12] These men were not noblemen, but only lesser officials,[13] who were under command, who were chosen and approved for their office [because of their] strength, vigor, and ingenuity, and because they spoke pleasingly.

And when [the drinkers] had been slain, then all who were reasonable were struck with terror and fright, so that they verily changed their ways. And those who were foolhardy and undisciplined, who could not be spoken to, the effeminate, the stupid—they only laughed; they only jested at the warning. They only listened to it lightly and ill. Not then did they note the words; not thus were they frightened of death.

And thereupon, when all had been slain, then all dispersed in disorder, raising a great dust, shaking out their cloaks—scattering, breaking up, dispersing, all going off to their homes. Then the place where they were became calm.

Here ended the celebration of the feast day called Uei tecuilhuitl.

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12. *Quauhnochtli* is the tree given the heart of the sacrificed victim. See *supra*, Chapter 21. The others may refer to the trees from which the officials came.

13. "Y de estos nombrados no se elegían los ancianos que regían los pueblos, sino otros oficiales más bajos de la república, que se llamaban Quauhcauacatl y Tlacochcalcatl y otros diversos, porque no tenían buenos ojos, por ser atrevidos y osados, decir palabras lisonjeras y cosas de burla, y hablaban con soberbia y atrevimiento" (Sahagún ed., Vol. 1, p. 280).

tlatzontequijlilo, mijquix, aocmo quiças, aocte itzacuijl, aocmo ichivomatl, aocte yuetemachil.

In aq'n oixnauatilloc, teutlacpa ic tetlalojlo, in necenquejxtiloa, necentecoa, in çaço cãpa ic motemoua, in jlatollo:

mjtoaia, mauztla micoua, izquich tlacatl olinia in maçeoalli cequjntin tiquijncaoa in tlanãque, in ca mauiztli uetzia.

Mamailpitiuitze, tlanepantla qujutlalia: njman ic ic tlatoa, in tecutlatoque, tenoouoza, itechpa tlatoa in vetli, in aiac quix in telpuchtli: ça quinjquac in otlachicalujque, yn ouuetique: yoan in telpuche, in ic ichpuche, vel innemac catca in tlaoanaque.

Auh in ic inhquj yn oztzonequiz, in tecutlatolli: njman ic quinouezcochujujx xpuj, yn itemicticaoan, in itequacaoan in motecumatzin in quauhnochtli, ieztonocatl, tiocociaoacatl, tezcac..acatl, maçatecatl, atenpanecatl: in ichoantin yn, amo tetecuti, çan achcacauhti, tlanaoatilti, tlaixquetzalti, tlaqualitalti, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, yoan iolloque, in vellatoa.

Auh yn iquac ic mictilo, ic necujtiuecho, ic mocujtiuetzi in tlacaqujni, in uel monotzanj: auh in iollotlaneliloque, yn atlanonotzalti, yn auel monotza, in tlacioaizcaltilti, in tzonteme, çan qujuetzca, çan qujcamanaloa in tenoonotzaliztli, çan qujcamanalcaquj, çan caujlcaquj, aumpa qujtta in tlatolli, amo ic mauhca çonequj, in temjctilizztli.

Auh in ic inhquj, yn onmjcoac: njman ic tlatzomonj neacomanalo, teuhtli qujquetza, netzetzelolo, cecenmanoa, xitinoa, xixitonoa, moiaoa, viujloa, viuj yn jochachã: njman cactiuetzi yn vncan onoaia.

Nican tlamj, njcan tzonquiça, inic ilhujtl muchioaia: yn jtoca Vey tecujlhujtl.

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12. *Quauhnochtli* is the tree given the heart of the sacrificed victim. See *supra*, Chapter 21. The others may refer to the trees from which the officials came.

13. "Y de estos nombrados no se elegían los ancianos que regían los pueblos, sino otros oficiales más bajos de la república, que se llamaban Quauhcauacatl y Tlacochcalcatl y otros diversos, porque no tenían buenos ojos, por ser atrevidos y osados, decir palabras lisonjeras y cosas de burla, y hablaban con soberbia y atrevimiento" (Sahagún ed., Vol. 1, p. 280).

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauhelosochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *cavalinia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. These were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Inic cẽpoalli on chicuei cupitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanalizzli: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in motenenoaia Tlaxuchimaco. 796x

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: motenenoa tlaxuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl: [805]

viptlatica in xuchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in izquich xuchitl, in nepapan xuchitl, in tepepan xuchitl, yn acocoxuchitl, vitzitzillacuxuchitl, tepecempoalxuchitl, nextamalxuchitl, tlacoxuchitl, ocelxuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocuxuchitl, anoço acoxuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iollosuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalxuchitl, acaxuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolxuchitl. 796x 137

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaxitico xuchitl, yn oaxioaco, yn otlatujc, njmã ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoa: auh yn omoçoçoc, xuchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic. 796x

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn izquich maceoalli cenuetzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujja otolti, yoã in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoa, tochichinolo, in monequizque ioztzico: [231 252]

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yilhujnemoa, iuhqujn tlatlaciuj, netetequipacholo, injc tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in ichoantin teupixque, njman ic ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujxuchicuzcatia, conicpauchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in izquich 796x 778

1. Cf. Orozco y Berra (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 33): "Micailhuitontli, Tlaxochimaco. El primero era nombre usado por los de Tlaxcala. . . . El segundo significaba en Tlaxcalteca, palabra que Torquemada interpreta, cosas que dadas y repartidas las flores; mientras Vegalo dice, ofrecer de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, correspondía á Huitzilopochtli, le ofrecían de flor y las demás flores eran adornadas profusamente con flores. . . ." Clavigero (op. cit., pp. 142-3) further writes: ". . . adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, no solamente a los que se encontraban en los templos, sino también a los que tenían por devoción en sus casas; que por esta dedicaban el mes el nombre de Tlaxochimaco."

2. See Robredo (op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 274-6; Cf. also Bernardino, op. cit., passim, and Sahagún, Historia General, p. 156 (where a few Gramen equivalents are given). Some are described also in Martín Antonio Sánchez Sarmiento, Medicamentos Nuevos Mejicanos Tlacuamoxi (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1571).

X 796 and hung rows of all the varied flowers, the most beautiful flowers, the threaded ones.

nepapan xuchitl, in tlaçoxuchitl, in manquj, in tlamanchi:

778 Then flowers were offered to all the rest of the gods, to the images of the gods, [or] devils. They were adorned with flowers; they were girt with [garlands of] them; flowers were placed upon their heads, there in the temples.

njman ic ic tetuchimaco, cenvetzi in izqujchtin teteu, yn iniziptlaoan teteu, tlatlacateculo, tetuchitilo, tetuchiapano, teicpacoxuchitilo, in vncan in teteupan:

Thereupon all together, in all the houses, the homes of the majordomos, the homes of the great noblemen, and the houses of the youths, they laid flowers out [before the idols]. And they spread them out in the homes of each and all.

njman ic ic cenvetzi in noujan calpan, in calpixque inchan, in vetzi pipilti inchan: yoan in tetelpuchcali, qujcentzacutimanj, qujcentzacutimomana in techachan.

X 796 And afterwards, when each had been orr amented, then there were feasting and drinking. Everywhere, 535 everyone ate; all were in a festive mood.

Auh in ic iuhquj yn otecencacaoloc mec tlatlaqualo, hastlioa: noujan tlatlaqualo, yilhujtlamacho.

And when midday came, then all sang and danced —verily, they drew up all the youths; the masters and the leaders of the young men, the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí.[5] Here in the god's courtyard there was dancing—in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Vitzilopochtli.

Auh yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh mec cujcoianolo, vel zquijch qujcencaoa, in telpuchtli, in teachcaoan, in telpochiaque, in tequjoaque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in tenitoalco, yn itoalco Vitzilopuchtli.

And those who led [the dance] were the fearless [701] warriors, the great warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who were not laggards in war; who turned [the enemy] back, [whose exploits] wheeled them hence.

Auh in teiacana, ichoantin in quaquachicti, in vetzi tiacaoã yn iuhquj cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mitzacujlia iaoc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoanj.

Also the women danced—not the daughters [of onlookers, but] courtesans, harlots—who went between [pairs of the men], they were [all] stretched in a row, taken by the hand or grasped about the waist. They moved all in line they went winding to and fro, nowhere breaking the line, at no time losing hands. They went in orderly procession.

No ichoantin in cioa mjtotiaia, amo ichoan in teichpúchoan, ichoantin in mahaujltianj, yn avianjme intzatzalan mantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mocujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, mococolotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacaoa vipantiuj.

[533] And the singers, who sang for them, who beat drums for them, who beat the ground drums, were quite apart [from the dancers]—to one side; they were upon a [counterfeit] house, upon the round [778] altar [or pyramid].[6] And the altar was completely round, round like a shield, like a millstone. And here, upon this, stood [the musicians].

Auh in cujcanjme, in qujncujcatia, in qujntlatzotzonjlia, qujnuetzotzonjlia, çan nonqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emomoztitech: auh in momoztli, çan iaoltic, tenjlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn itlan manj.

And thus they danced: they did not leap, nor make great movements; they did not make dance gestures; they did not move throwing themselves about, nor dance making arm-movements, nor go bending their

Auh ynic mjtotia, amo chocholoa, amono ontlayiaoa, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlaztiuj, amo

[701] 5. Here and elsewhere, the following equivalents are offered: quaquachictli—hardcore warrior; telpuchtli—youth; teachcaoa—master of the youths; telpochiaque—ruler of the youths; telpochiaque—leader of the youths; tequioa or tequioque—seasoned warrior. To a degree, such definitions are, perhaps, arbitrary. The suggested equivalents, however, are based upon the following passages from Sahagún (Bustamante ed.): Vol. I, p. 292, and Vol. II, pp. 137, 267 (quaquachictin, tequioque); Vol. I, pp. 131, 168, 182, 199, 215, 289, 291, and Vol. II, p. 182 (telpuchtli); Vol. I, pp. 168, 291, and Vol. II, pp. 310, 319 (teachcaoa); Vol. I, p. 291 (telpochiaque); Vol. II, p. 321 (teacaoa). See also Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94, on otomi and quaquachictli; pp. 88, 116, on teachcaoa, telpochiaque; Vol. II, pp. 32, 93, 96, 136 on tequioa or tequioque; Garibay (Llave del náhuatl, p. 243) on telpochtli; Siméon, op. cit., p. 378 (telpochiaque), p. 144 (tequioa), pp. 144, 158 (telpochiaque).

6. Cf. Siméon, op. cit., p. 378.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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ILLUSTRATIONS

[p. 102 A]

de las fiestas fuercas. fo. 4

Al tercer mes, llamauan Tozoztontli: cual primer dos dellos mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las plumajas. En esta fiesta, matauan muchos niños, sobre los montes: ofrecian los en sacrificio a este dios, y antes eran pedidos. porque les dessen agua.

Cap. 3.

KL Tozoztontli.

1 c En esta fiesta: ofrecian los principios de
2 d las flores, que aquel año primero nascen
3 e cual es, llamauan tepiti: y otras que las o
4 f frecian, nadie comia dellas fuer.
5 g Los oficiales de las flores que se llaman
6 h xochimanque: hazian fiesta, a un dios lla
7 i mado Cuauhtemo. y por esto morador cuauh
8 k temo.
9 l Tambien cuando mes: se dessmudauan, los
10 m ministros templos, los pedaços de los mantenimi
11 n entos desbaratados el mes passado: y nuevos los
12 o cocinan con muy cuidado, cual año que llama
13 p uan tepiti: y nuevos ahuyzotes, con pencas
14 q de maguey, y muchos sacrificios, y nuevos bailes
15 r dos: como parece en mi escritura: y despues que
16 s los ayan dessmudado: se lavauan, con muchos
17 t sacrificios: y despues cubrianse hazian vno
18 u de hombre pecadores, y esta penitencia, para
19 v sanar de sus enfermedades: y dicen, que
20 x adquirian sanidad.
21 y Los dueños de los cañaues, que tenia dos de su
22 z cuenta, hazian penitencia. Y quando dicen, que se
23 a sahumauan. y de sus cañaues los cubrian: hin
24 b cha que se ponian los pedaços, de los cañaues
25 c cuentas, en la cuenta arriba dicha: hazian
26 d que hazian penitencia, por sus cañaues.
27 e Despues que ayan acabado la penitencia
28 f hechamente. y dessmudauan. y cada vno a
29 g sus casas. y hazian sus sacrificios, en
30 h sus huertas. de los cañaues cuentas.
31 i Todos los Mayores: dicen, hacian ligas, de
32 k que tenian: y quando tenian en ellas, en las
33 l cuentas, que se dicen cuauhtli, en hazian
34 m ciertas ofrendas, cuando dicen: cuando en
35 n cierto dicen: Quando mes dicen: cuando
36 o aquel, se hazian sus fiestas: los grandes, y
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Page from Florentine Codex (Chiter 3)

[p. 102 B]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

delos cantares delos dioses. fo. 143. 532 415 534 292

Cochina. cochina. [illegible]
olomiam, iecichan. [illegible]
ico. aiico yho. y ia. y ia.

¶ Xippe icuic. tlatlo ioualla
vaila.

Ioalli tlauana, iztlacan. [illegible]
necquia xipaqui mytlatla tenaqui
tlaquemiti. xipaqueni quetzalqia

Notzuhca chalchiuhtzana tlaca
pana itzmoia. oiquetzallaueiet,
ay quichol xiuhcoatl nechtlaiquiu
cauhquech orqia.

Mamiaqia, mia, mia pohis
niyacatzin. achalchiuhtla xoiollo.
atecuitlatl necoiuhtas xoiolce
tizquitlacatl achtequech tlaqua
vala ethacatqui iauhtaca quech
orqia.

Notzuhca cuitlaxoiaitlitizqua
noa yioatzin nictepeiocpa mitz
nelitia motzuhca, tizquintla
catl achtequech tlaquauaia cha
catqui iauhtaqueh orqia.

¶ Chicomecoatl icuic.

Chicomolotzin. xoia mechan.

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Appendix: Song of Xipe)

[p. 102 c]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X796
532
714
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252

[1415]

—After Paso y Troncoso

I-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[p. 102 D]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

796x
532
[316]

[415]

—After Paso y Troncoso

8-12. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 22)
13-14. Uei tecuilli (Chapter 23)

[p. 102 E]

3: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[534]

—After Paso y Troncoso

15-21. Teoicatl (Chapter 24)

[p. 102 F]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[501]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

22-23. Ezzalqualiztli (Chapter 23)
24-25. Tecuilhuitontli (Chapter 26)
26-28. Uei tecuilhuitl (Chapter 27)
29. Tlaxochimaco (Chapter 28)

[p. 102 G]

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[415]

[415]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

30. Ochpaniztli (Chapter 30)
31-32. Panquetzaliztli (Chapter 34)
33. Titiil (Chpter 36)
34. Izcalli (Chapter 37)
35-36. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[p. 102 H]

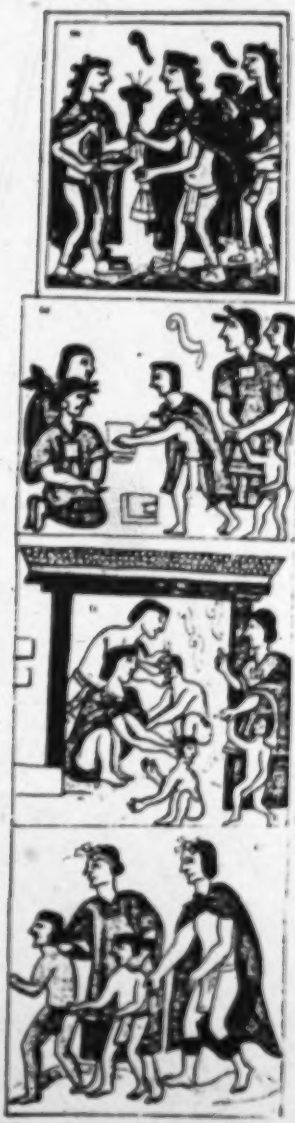

—After Paso y Troncoso

37-44. Izcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[p. 102 I]

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[415]

[854]

[411]

48-49. Iacoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Macuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102 J]

3: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[41]

(See Plate 1, Frontispiece)

52. Tlamictilizti (Appendix)
53. Tlachpanaliztli (Appendix)
54. Tlaxaxamaliztli (Appendix)
55. Çaçapan tetamaliztli (Appendix)
56. Neçacapitchcomaliztli (Appendix)
57. Tlaxica tlaxilizti (Appendix)
58. Mixcoal tzohuatzan (Appendix)

[p. 102 K]

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—Hist. Pueb. y Tronc.

59. Tequa teuhuatzin (Appendix)
60. Tlenamacaliztli (Appendix)
61. Ioualtapializtli (Appendix)
62-63. Song of Xipe (Appendix)
64. Song of Chicome coatl (Appendix)
65. Song of the Totochtin (Appendix)
66. Song of Atlaua (Appendix)

[p. 102 L]

✓

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bodies nor whirling, nor wander from side to side, nor fall back.

Quite quietly, calmly, evenly, they kept going as they danced. Like a moving serpent was the dance. None disturbed, none intruded, none went out of place nor broke in.

And the women danced with arms about only the great,[5] brave warriors. And those who were only masters of the youths, not with [the women] did they dance, embracing them [about the waist].

And when all ceased dancing, only a little sun remained. When the sun was about to set, all dispersed and departed, each to his place.

And in all the houses there was singing. They sang to their gods—either Ometecutl, or Chicome coatl, or Ehecatl, or Coatl Xoxouhqui. Everywhere there was song; song was widespread; war cries resounded; there were battle cries as song was sung; a great din of singing re-echoed.

[273] And only the revered old men and old women drank wine. And those who became drunk cried out as people or boasted of their manly deeds.[6]

momaitiniuj, amo mopapachoa, amo momamalacchoiuj, amo mojc ouiuj, amo tainiuqiqa:

çan yujian çan motica, çan tlamach yn iuiuj, yn mjetiniuj: ohca çan omomaitiuh, omomiuh in notlilitilli, aiac tlaxinqia, aiac tlamaoco, aiac tlapeioaqia, aiac tlaixtoloa.

Auh in-cioa in q'ximoua, çan ichoaxtin in vecuy tlacaoan: auh in çan tlachcoaxa, amoxo ichoaxtin, amo çqijxoaxia.

Auh in necoxale in netotila, çe achi tonatiuh, ic oncalaquin tonatiuh, ococmoua vinjiloa.

Auh in nenjon calpan, cajcajco, qujocajcajcatia yn intecuaan: yn ayo omocuel, amoço chicome coatl, amoço hecatl, amoço coatl xoxouhqui, nanachca in cajca, quimacatimaniuj, in cajca, tlacaocatimaniuj, tlacamacatimaniuj in cajca, xxamacatimaniuj in cajcatl.

Auh çanyioque, in umcomixxin, yuh yn ilamatitzin, in tlacaoa: auh yn aquja vel oiujtic, temamilla, amoçc mocqujchiua.

---

5. Or old (enemy).
6. Of this player of Tlaxcallan, Clavigero (op. cit., p. 162) says: "Este danza que danzaba frente la tumba, representaba con el sacrificio de varios cautivos. Nuestro sacerdote en este caso con muchas ceremonias le ponía de hermosa flor del amaranto."

A796
778

Twenty-ninth Chapter, in which are named the feasts and blood offerings which they made upon the days of the tenth month, which was called Xocotl uetzi.[1]

The tenth feast, that which [was called] "Xocotl Falleth," likewise was of twenty days. They concluded it on the twentieth day.

And when they implanted the *xocotl*,[2] [the Feast of] Tlaxochimaco had ended. They began at dawn; thus for the whole day was exhausted their strength. The overseer[3] shouted that they hasten; he cried out and called to them by name.

He said unto them: "[Use] all your force! Pull upon the ropes! Put strength to it! Exert all your might!"

And he who shouted became hoarse, as if his voice were cracked.

Earth was piled up, a mound of earth was raised,[4] that [the *xocotl*] might be lifted up in place; all entered themselves; they took hold with all their force.

And the *xocotl* was twenty-five fathoms long. They stripped its leaves and branches; only its crown remained. When they had thus raised it, for twenty days it [waited] as they had brought it, not yet adorned.

And when twenty [days] had gone by, then verily came the celebration of the feast, "Xocotl Falleth." And when the feast was to be observed two days hence, once again they lowered [the *xocotl*]. Gradually, carefully they let it down; they took pains lest it break, crack, or snap. They brought it to rest upon wooden supports;[5] it was let down upon wooden supports, with much caution.

And when they had let the *xocotl* down in some manner, then all went home; all rested. And they piled up all the heavy ropes on the *xocotl*; they cast them back upon it.

Jnic cempoalli on chicuacuj capitulo, vncan motenoua in ilhujtl, ynan in nextlacaliztli: in quichioaia, in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic matlactetl metztli: in mitoua Xocotl vetzi.

Inic matlactetl ilhujtl, ichoatl in xocotl vetzi: no cempoalilhujtl vel quitlamja, in cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in quijquetza xocotl, oiuhialoa tlaxochimacotl, iuetzinco in quipeoaltia, ic cemilhujtica vel ontlamj, yn jntlapaliuia, tlacaoacazimanj in tepan manj, in tlaciujtia, tzatzi, tetzatzilia:

quijoa. Ixquich amotlapal, xitlatilinjcan, ximotilinjcan, ximotlapaltilican:

auh in tetzatziliaia içaoacaia, iuhquj yn jntoaquj tzatziaiaia.

Molelhujaia, mocentlatilulcaujaia, ynic meoatiquetzaia, vel motlapaltiliaia, ixquich caaaia yn intlapaliuia.

Auh in xócotl, injc viac caica, cempoalmatl ommacuijlli: muchi quijtepeviliaia in jmatzocol: ça yio in jtcallo mocaoaia: inic iuhquj in oquijquetzaque, cempoaltica in çan oquivicaca, aiatle itlatquj.

Auh in oacic cempoalli: vel iquac ilhujtl in xócotl vetzi: auh in oquijuhvipda ilhujtl ica, oc cappa quijteca, can jvian, çan tlamach in quijteca, quimalhuja in ma cuetla, in ma natzin, in ma poztec: quauhtonmaçatl, quioalquechilitivi, quauhtonmaçapâ in motecatinh, cenca çan tlamach.

Auh ino quentel quijecaque xócotl: ninan ic cacalacoa, nococevilo: auh in jxquich vepanmecatl ipan cõtepeuhtitlalia in xocotl, ipan contzauhtitlalia.

1. Gerlach ("Beiträge Inscp.," p. 288) translates *Xocotl vetzi* as "*El Xocotl cómo a caer.*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 160, 161) has "*der Xocotl fällt herab*" for both *xocotl vetzi* and *xocotl uetzi*.

In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 54-5, however, Seler argues that Xocotl uetzi should have been celebrated as the feast of Otontecuhtli, god and ancestor of the Otomi, rather than for Xiuhtecuhtli. "For Otontecuhtli is the Xocotl, whose likeness was set up at the feast on the top of the tree. . . ." As evidence, Seler mentions the adornment of the *xocotl* and a passage from the *MS del Palacio* (cf. also Gerlach, *op. cit.*, p. 303): *epaxo in tlatoli: mochihuaz yn tlamatiz Otontecuhtli, Itonmatzin*, Seler adds, the figure was a mummy bundle.

2. In the *Vocabulario* ed., Vol. I, p. 198, Sahagún defines the duties of the *epaxo mamal* as "*los que tenían cuidado de remojar la goma.*" The corresponding Spanish text for Xocotl uetzi appears to use the term *desgomajar* as a synonym, here rendered into Spanish as *cuidadoso*.

3. Cf. Codex Borbonicus, where illustrations of this scene and others for the month Xocotl uetzi are in better accord with the text than the illustrations in the Florentine Codex.

4. Although the *g* in *quauhtonmaçapâ* seems clear in the Nahuatl columns, Sahagún uses *c* in the Spanish text, and defines the term as "*mata redonda cuando la dan en tierra.*" Probably the word is *quauhtonmacapâ* (cf. Siméon, *op. cit.*).

[i.e., a large tree. -Anwalyst]

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *zacatl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *zacatl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[5] the third was named Uoicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *zacatl*].

And the *zacatl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech cloth; its papers[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *zacatl* shirt, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *zacatl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *zacatl* ropes half way up on the *zacatl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, heave! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in ozlavic: njman ualhuj, ualnochicavi in quauhxinqoc, qujoalitquj, intlatquj ualietiuh in matepoztli, tlaximakepoztli, vel quipetlaca, qujtipetoua, in vncan yiac, in vncã tiicujtatic, in vncã xixipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaxacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtactia in jacalo xocotl, vel ollenvivilia in jacalo, in jquapixtaxacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatiklantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlemamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacuijti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepãtlaqoc. Eiztin, cenca chicaoqoc, quaquauhtiqoc, quauhtiqapopol, quauhcholpopol, tenoctin catca.

In ce iuca: coioua. Injc vme, iuca: çacancatl. Injc ei, iuca: veicamecatl: iuhquja mixpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xocotl, in qujnacaiotiaia: mjchiocuhtzoalli qujtlalloia, çan cemjztac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jxch qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jxch qujtlalloia: yiamaxepanal, yiamamatli, ilotlama, yiamatzõ, iuxocovipil, iuxocovipil, vme: amo onactiac, çan quauhtzinch caca: vme itzitziquijpan: njman no ontlalia oc ce itzitziquijpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, om iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no ontl tzocõtl in qujchioa, qujquauhqo: cacan in qujquoquetza: auh njman ie ic qujlipia in xocomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xocotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmã ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoca, tzatzico:

qujtta. Ma ozmã tlacahoaua, ximotlinjcan, ixquich amatlquj:

njmã ie ic quauitiquetzõvi, ouaquechilitivi, in quauhxomaçatl, yuan qujquãnjvia: auh in iuquac ie iauh, in ie mouitiquetzõuh: cenca tlacaoca, cenca tzatzica, cenca chachalaca:

5. Probably pronounced in reverse. Cf. the Sahagún-Bustamante edition, p. 139.
6. Referring could be to either paper or food (tamales); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
778 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were
[302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained
[237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red scarlet feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles
[293] or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

[535] And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with
[30] white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper
[302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and
292 they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked.
[413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

[415] After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

auh in ie iuhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoã comonj: in ie iluquj, njmã ie ic qujtetema: muchi ichoutl in tenololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeua: auh in omotetzn, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic vivilõa, cacalõõa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlaçaçque, vel mocencaoa, mochichiõa, motecocauhaltia, mjztlapalhuja, in qujmama tlavizzli, papaloti: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic motenoua in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçaçque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamanecapanal, njmã ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjztentlilcomoloa.

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan ommotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aqujton intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica quicujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

in ie iuhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, quivica in jchan tlamanj, aco quipilõa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Bird Shields, however, modern compound in this.
8. The context suggests a distinction between domestic and malaque.

house and hung it high, that thus it might be shown that he had taken captives; that thus his manly exploits might be boasted. Always it hung from the roofing of the house, from the roof beams. It never came down until the time that he died.

And when they had cut [the captives'] hair, the owners of the captives slept but little. They guarded and watched them well; [for] it was their duty, their office, [to guard] lest those who were to be cast into the fire should flee.

And on the morrow, at dawn, thereupon they ranged [the captives] before the skull frame. And as they stood in order, then a man [priest] took off and pulled off the backs of [these] others their banners and their paper adornments—also perchance their wretched little cloaks—and placed them in the eagle vessel, where they burned.

Thereupon, of all the captives, who followed, they continued to place their banners and their little cloaks [in the fire]; there they all burned up. For now at last they were indeed to depart forever from the earth; futilely they stood in order. They awaited the end, for in truth now their hour had come.

And here they awaited Painal,[9] the envoy of Uitzilopochtli. And when Painal came, thereupon he ascended to the place where men were sacrificed,[10] where the unhappy captives were to suffer. And then, no sooner had Painal come than he then descended [from the pyramid]; a man [priest] brought him down, carrying him down under one arm. He who brought him down was called his father, or his elder brother. And when he descended, he came before and into the presence of the captives.

A second time Painal quickly went up. And a captor stood there, awaiting him. Then the captor seized [the captive] by the head,[11] grasping in his hand[12] [the hair of] the crown of his head. Then he went off leading him; and when they reached the foot of the pyramid steps,[13] there [the captor] left the captive.

Then those who cast men into the fire descended and came to seize him. First they threw incense in his face; then they bound his wrists, bringing his hands behind his back, and they bound his ankles.

ca tlamanj, ic moquichiua, muchipa pilcac calqua-, itech in calquavid, aic oaltemo iuquich cavitl in mjquja:

auh in oemmocuiuac oc achi concochi, in maleque: vel quimpia, vel quimjxpia, vel imjx intequjuh, in ma chokoti in motepantlaçanque.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlalchipaoac, njmã ic ic quiuitecpana, ttompãli ixpan: auh in ic tecpantimani, njman çe tlacatl oempeoaltia, quimonpeoaltia, quimontzintilinja in oc cequjuti: in jpan yoan in jamatlatequj, yoan in aço itilmaçoltzin oontlalia quauhxicalco, vncan tlatla.

njman ic ic mochintin õstimanj, ommotocatimanj in mamalti, contlalitimanj in impan, yoan in intilmatzinti, vncan centlatla, ca ic iccen cõcaoanque in tlalticpactli, çaçan ic vncã tecpantimanj, quichiztimanj in immjquja, ca nel ic othimultic:

auh vncã quichiztimanj in Painal, in jxipila vitzilobuchtli. Auh in jquac oncico Painal: njman ic ic tleco in tlacacouhcan, in vncan tlacotinque, mamaltzinzinti: auh in ic iuhquj: çan tequjtl onaci in Painal, njmã ic ic oaltemo: çan oc tlacatl in quiualtemovia, quiciacavitivitz: inin quiualtemovia, motemeoa jta, anoço iach. Auh in oaltemoc: imjxpan oalquiça, imjxtlan oalquiça in mamalti:

ic no ceppa tlecotivetti in Painal. Auh in tlamanj, ça iquiçac, quichiticac: njmã ic icpac conana in tlamanj, amatica in cõtzitzquja, in jquauciolloco: njmã ic ic quivicaiuh; in oc xitito in apetlac, vncã quiçaua in malli:

njmã ic ic oaltemo, in tetlepantlaxque, quiçoalana: achiopa, quiztiuhtemoja, çatepan quimailpia, icampa quiviviquilia in jma, yoan quiçtilpia:

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[485]

[778]

9. It is to be understood that Painal was an image carried by a priest who, in this passage and those following, climbed up and down the steps carrying the image.

10. In both Tlaltelolco and Spanish columns, and in Seler (op. cit., p. 146), the spelling is discordance ("sus [illegible] quienes," according to Seler). The context appears to favor disappearance. Cf. corresponding Spanish version in the Bulmarde ed., and disappearance in Bénet, Sahagún, op. cit.

11. More correctness in Seler, op. cit., p. 147, n. 1, 2.

12. On agarrar, see p. 67, n. 18. Sahagún (Bulmarde ed., Vol. 1, p. 191, and Vol. II, p. 303) writes of "el cualquiera del en que se Remedia agarrar, que es donde comenzaron los grandes," and "los grandes cabos . . . donde comiza la cuenta o agarrar del en."

X 796 Thereupon they took him upon their backs and thus carried him up. And when they had gone to carry him up,[10] then they cast him into the fire. All at once the cinders shot up, billowing greatly.

And the body of the brave warrior then writhed; blisters quickly formed, and billows of smoke at once rose [from his body].

Then the old priests forthwith seized and drew him forth; they stretched him out upon the offering stone, and cut open his breast, splitting him open. Then they cut and tore out his heart, and cast it before Xiuhtecutli, the representation of fire. And in this same manner died all the captives whom Painal came to deliver up.

And afterwards, when they had slain the brave warriors, then all dispersed; all departed and went to their homes and feasted, and it was a day of rejoicing.

And [as for] Painal, his old [priests] then carried him, encircling and crowding around him as they went. They escorted him and placed him in his place, where he was guarded. And having come to leave him, then they descended, in order. And when they had arrived at the base, then they dispersed; they departed to their dwellings and there all ate.

And afterwards, when food had been eaten, then all came forth and assembled—all the men, the youths, and the boys, the small boys—those with a tuft of hair at the back of the head. All took their places.

[535] Then was begun the song and dance, at midday. In this manner was it danced: the serpent dance was performed. Between [the men] went the women, as hath been related. The courtyard was well filled, packed full, crowded; none could come out from the crowd; there was a great jostling of people.

And when they tired [of this], then all abandoned [the courtyard] and there was shouting. Then they hied forth to where stood the *zacatl*; there was much trampling; all hurried; there was a great press of people.

[411] And the masters of the youths kept people away [from the *zacatl*]; their pine staves lay in their hands. They held not back as they struck; they held not back their staves as they laid about. And those who little by little, one by one, broke through violently as [the others] held them back, thereupon all [these] pulled upon the ropes, the heavy ropes.

nijman ic ic iquechqua contecq, injc quijtecaviz: auh in oquipantlacato, njmã ic contlaça in tlem, cõcalli moquetztivezti in tecutli, vel molonj.

Auh in tiacauh njmã ic ic cuecuepoca in jnacnio, equequalacatiuezti, yoan tetlecaleoatiuezti:

njman ic omantiuezti, convilantiuezti, in quequacujhi, quijualteca techcac, conchtoquj quijoalitlapana in jtlchiquijuh: njmã ic concotona, contlazocotona in jtello; ixpan ofuaiavi, in xiuhtecutli: in jxiptla tletl: auh çan ic mochivi in momjquijlia in mamahi, quijoualçaçaca in Painal.

Auh in ic inhequj, in ocanequc tiacaoen njmã ic ic tlaxitinj, viviles vikoa in techachan, tlatlaquale, illujtlamacho.

Auh in Painal, njmã quijvica, cololhujtivi, quitepevitivi, in jvevcinan, concaoa, contlalia in jician, in jpicloian: auh in ocõcaouto, njmã ic ic oalteme, oalcenpantitivi. Auh in oacico tlalchi: njmã ic momaiaoa, vivi in inchachan oatlatlaqua.

Auh in ic inhequj motlatlaqualoc, njmã ic oalhujlua, oalnenechicolo, inquijch tlacatl in telpochtli, yoan in telpopochtzontli, in telpopochpipil, in cuexpaltotonequc, in cuexpaltzinzinequc: inquijch quijencaoa:

in jquac peoalo cujcoanolo nepantla tonatiuh, inic netotilo, necocololo, intzatzalan mamantivi in cioa, in juh oanjto, in jvalli vel temj, vel cacatzca, vel tzitzica, aoc vel tetlan quijxoa, cenca nepapatzolo.

Auh in otlatziuhque nimã ic ic necacaoalo, njman ic tlacaoaca: njman vnpa onxoquivi, in vnpa icac zacatl: vel nequequeçalo, vel netzecholo, vel nepitzmamalioa.

Auh in teachcaoan, tetzaqua, inoocoquauh in inmac conoc, amo motlamachvia injc teviteqij, amo iltoi in inquauh injc teviteqij: auh in oquezteloin in oquipetlatiquijnque tetzaqua: njmã ic ic mochi motilinja in mecatl, in vepãmecatl:

10. Probably oquipantlaqato is meant.

Then they climbed up the ropes. On one rope mayhap twenty climbed, like a cluster hanging upon it. Not all reached the point; only some reached the top. The one who had grasped the *zacual* image, which was made only of a dough of amaranth seeds. He took all—its shield, arrow, dart, and dart-thrower.

And the amaranth seed dough [*zacualcz*] he scattered down so that they fell to the ground upon those [who watched]. All who stood below looked up. When the amaranth seed dough fell, all stretched forth their hands and shouted as if there were a fight. Some took its head ornaments of amaranth seed dough, which he also scattered upon them. They were carried off by those below.

And when this was done, then he who had captured the *zacual* [image] came down. When he descended and reached the ground, then they seized him; the old men [of the temple] took him up to the place of sacrifice and offered him gifts. And all thereupon pulled upon the ropes, exerting themselves greatly, verily destroying the work. And the *zacual* then fell to the ground, raising a cloud of dust, breaking into pieces. Into three or four sections it quickly broke apart.

Upon this, all then went; all was quiet and left clear. And then they accompanied the captor of the *zacual* to his house, and arrayed him in a brown striped cloak edged with a feathered border.

And if one were a captor [of the *zacual*], he might well thus array himself, wrapping about him [such a cloak]; none might therefore dispute him [the right]. But if one were not [such a] captor, he might only keep one in his care. And mayhap he might sell it when he was poor or sick.

And thus they accompanied him to his home; two old priests went carrying him, taking him by the arms. Behind came the priests, blowing horns for him as they went, sounding shell trumpets for him. And he bore upon his back his shield. And when they left him, then they returned [to the temple].

Thus in truth ended here, [thus] concluded, the feast day.

njman ic ic tlema in mocatiech: in ce mecatl, ação cen tecpantli in jtech tleco, inhequjn tlapipilcac: ano 796 r
muchintin in vmpanvetzi, çan quenquijntin in vmpanvetzi, in aquja iocatith, vel ichoatl caci in zacual ixiptla, çan tzoalli: muchi qujcujlia in jchimal, in jmjuh tlamapanalli, ynan yiztlech. [481]

Auh in tzoalli, vmpa qujxalteperoa, tepan qujxalcecēmana, muchi tlacatl, onacopatlachia in tlazintlan manj, in jquac oalhuetzi tzoalli muchi tlacatl maçoa, inhequjn ipan nemjmjctilo, inhequj tlatlacoaca: no ccqujntin conaci, in jxococol in tzoalli, no tepā qujxalcecēmana, namoielo in tlazintlan.

Auh in ic inhequj njmā: njman ic ic oalteno, in zacomanj: in oalteno, in otlaltitechacico: njmā ic ic conana: in tlacacoubcan, vmpa qujtlocavia in vevetque, vmpa qujtlauhtia: auh in jxqujch, tlacatl, nimā ic ic qujtilinja in mecatl, vel netilinjlo, vel oatlamj in tlapalivixtli: auh in zocotl, njmā ic vetzi tlalpā, tlaliposztivetzi, popostectivetzi, ação ezcan, anoço nauhcan qujztivetzi. [431]

In ic inhequj, njmā ic ic vivilua, cactivetzi, cactimomana: auh çatepā, concuaa in jchan in xocomanj, ic caupana camopalli in tilmatli, tenjvivavanquj. [292]

Auh intla tlamanj, vel qujmoquentix, vel qujmolpilitiznnja, aiac ic qujtlatzovilia: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujmotlaxilia, çan ipiel ien: auh anoço qujmozumaqujlia, in jquac ic motelinja in jcocoian.

Auh injc cēcaua ichan: cantivi, qujtzitzitzqujivi yiacolpā; in quaquacujki: vmentia, icāpa mantivi tlamacazque, qujtlapichilitivi: ichoatl in tecciztli quipichilitivi: yeā qujmomatiuh in jchimal. Auh in ocēcauato, mec oalmocuepa: [534]

ic vel oncan oztmoquiça, ōtlamj in jlhujtl.

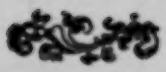

X 796 **Thirtieth Chapter:** here are related the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the days of the eleventh month, which was named and known as Ochpaniztli.

The eleventh feast was known as "The Sweeping of the Way."[1] At this time the actual feast had not yet arrived. For another five days nothing was done; there was then no activity. And when five days had passed, then began the hand-waving dance—when there were fifteen days before Ochpaniztli. It was carried on for eight days.

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And thus they danced the hand-waving dance: All were arranged in order; four rows were formed; all formed four lines. Thus they danced: They went marching only in circles; their hands were filled with Tagetes flowers and branches, which they went grasping in either hand.

They did not sing; none called out; they went in complete silence.

[278] But if some mischievous youths became drunk, they imitated the ground drums. As the ground drums roared, just so they went about doing. [The dancers] went moving their hands here and there; they moved in equal rows. None broke ranks; none turned [another] from his course; none went astray.

And when the hand-waving dance began, it was already near sundown. And when all ceased, the sun had already set. And when eight days had passed, then began the mock-battle [of the medicine women], which they carried on for four days before the house of song and dance.

X 796 [279] In this manner and in this way proceeded all the medicine women—old women, maidens, and some of the harlots:

They were divided [into two bands. The likeness of] Teteo innan went with a certain number [of them, and] as many more went opposing her, skirmishing against her, [that] thus they might banish her sad thoughts, her sorrow; [that] they might amuse her and cause her to laugh; that she might not be sad. For if she should weep, it was said, it would be an omen of evil. It was said that many men who were dexterous as warriors would die in

Inic cempoualli on matlactli cupitulo: vncã motemeoa in ilhuitl, yeã in tlamavizoilhiztli: in muchiouia in jpã ic: cemjlhuitl, ic matlactetl oce metztli: in mjtoua, in motemeoaia: Ochpanjztli.

Inic matlactetl oce ilhuitl: ichoatl in motemeoa, Ochpanjztli: in aiamo onaci, in vel iquac vel ilhuitl: oc macujlilhuitl, in niale muchiouia, in çan oc cactimanj: auh in ẽquja macujlilhuitl njmã ic: vmpeoa in nematlaxo, iquac in tlacaxmiti ochpanjztli: chicueilhuitl in muchiouia.

Auh inic nematlaxo, nenetecpanaloia, nappantiuo, nenappantililo: inic mimiztiaia, çan nenentivi, tlatlaiaoaloa, cempoualuchitla mapontectli in inmac tetẽtiuh, nenecoc in inmac quitzitzitzaquitivi:

amo cuicaia, aiac nanatia; çan nõ: ivi:

tel intla cequjntin in telpuchtlaveliloque, in mjrvintia cuetlaccecalhuja in vevetl: in jah caquitti vevetl, çan no iuh quichiuhtivi, necoccampa in conjaohtivi ipumã; çan tecpantivi, çan cemonotivi, aiac chicopetoni, aiac tepetilia, aiac onchicoquiça.

Auh in peoaia in nematlaxo, ie teutlac: auh in necacaoaloa ie ẽcalaquj tonatiuh. Auh in otzonquja chicueilhuitl: njmã ic: vmpeoa in çonecali, navilhuitl in muchiouia: vucan in cuicacalli ixpan.

Ivin in muchiouia, iuhquj in, in muchiouia: in juquichein cioatitici, in jlamatque, yoan in jchpopochti, yoan cequjntin xviemjme:

mouelloia, monepãtlazcloia, iuquj intlan mãtivi, in teteu innan, no iuquj in quinamjctivi, in quitiiavtla, ic quipopolohuia in jtlaocul, quitlatlacaavilloia, quivevetaquitiuia, inic amo tlaocuiaz; auh in tlachocaz, quilmach tlatetzavia: quil mjec uumj-

1. *Barrendera de caminos*, or Cordoba's rendering (*op. cit.*, p. 186); *der "Wegkehrer,"* according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 171); *fosse barrendero*, in Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198.

war, or that many women would die in child-bed, when from their wombs [children] would come.

And in this wise did they proceed in the mock-fight: First began [the party of the woman who was the likeness of] Teteo innan to pursue the others. With her were the great medicine [women]. The [first] one [was named] Atsa; the second, Tlazitecqui; the third Xoquauhtli. These three were her old women.

In this manner they pursued and pelted the others. Thus they proceeded hurling at them matted tree parasites[2] gathered into balls, and reeds pressed into balls, and cactus leaves, and Tagetes flowers. And all carried tobacco gourds girt to their waists. Once again they fell upon [the others], pelting them as they went. [And] not for long, but for only a few times, were they pursued.

And thereupon they took [her in the likeness of] Toci[3] where she was guarded. For four days they proceeded with their skirmishing.

And when the four days of skirmishing had ended, then, upon the morrow, she tramped over her market place toward sundown. As she came forth, the medicine [women] encircled her. When she was surrounded, then [the priests of] Chicomecoatl[4] came out to receive [her who impersonated Toci]. And when they had come forth to receive her, they made a great circle [about her]. And when she was surrounded, then she came into the midst of them. Then she scattered, there, cornmeal. Thereby she tramped over her market place[5] for the last time, as if taking leave of the market place.

And when she had tramped over it, then they took her where she was guarded, at her temple. Much did the medicine [women] console her.

They said unto her: "My dear daughter, now at last the lord Moctezuma will sleep with thee. Be thou happy."

They told her not that she was to die. For verily she was to die unaware. Then they adorned and completely arrayed her.

And when it was midnight, then they led her forth [to the temple]. Then none spoke, none talked, none coughed; [it was] as if the earth lay dead, late at night. And everyone gathered round in the darkness.

And when they came to the place where she was

quja, in quauhtli ocelutl: anoço mjequjntin mocioaquetzaque in cioa in jmiti ic iazque. 796x

Auh ivi in, in muchioaia injc çonecalia: achto peoa in teteo innan in tetoca, itlan mantivi in vevei titici. Iehoatl in Aoa: Injc vme Tlavitecquj. Injc ei, xoquauhtli. In ichoantin im eixtin y, ilamaioa: [759]

injc qujntoca, qujntepachotivi: injc qujntepachoa, papachtli ica, tlaolollalilli, tlaololollalili, yoan toltapaiolli, yoan nupalli, yoã cempoalsuchitl: yoã muchintin ßujetecõ ic mocujcujtlalpia: enocuele qujntepatzatia, qujntepachotivi: amo vecaoa çan quezquijpa, in ommotetoca. [824]

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ic qujvica in toci, in vmpa pielo: inin navilhujtl in qujchioaia in mjicali:

auh in oznezquja in çonecali, navilhujtl: njmã imuztlaioc in qujoalicça itianquja, ie teutlac: injc oalquiça cololhujtivitze in titici: auh in ie iativitz, njmã ic qujoalnamjquj in chichicomecoa: auh in oquijoalnamjoque njmã ic oallaiaoaloa: auh in ontlaiaoalo, vncã vmmoquecza, in tlanepantla: njmã vncã contetepeoa, tlaoltzztli: njmã ic conjcça in jtianquja, ça iiopa, ça ie ellaaoatia in tianqujztli.

Auh in oconjçaxo, njman ic qujvica, in vmpa pielo, in jteupan, cencz qujiollalia in titici:

qujlhuja. Nechpatzin, ca iequene azcã motetzinco acia in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ma ximopapactzino:

amo qujmachitiaia in jmjquja, çan iuhquj in ichtaca mjquja: mec qujchichioa, qujcencaoa.

Auh in jqjuc ie onaci iooalnepantla njmã ic qujvica, çan njmã niac naoati, niac tlatoa, anoac tlatlaci, ça iuhquja tlalli mjctec: auh inqujch tlacatl, cenquiçaia in iooalica.

Auh in oconnzitique vncã mjquja: njmã ic qujoal-

2. Spanish bromly. Tillandsia usneoides L. (Cheb, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 180).
3. Toci identified with Tlazo innan and with Tlaçolteotl. Cf. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 14; Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 65.
4. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
5. "*A este ponerse [illegible] del almagre porque entonces eran este día de holgar a el*" (corresponding Spanish text).

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to die, then they came to seize her; one [of them] took her upon his back, and they swiftly cut off her head. And when they had cut her head off, then, as quickly, they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then in haste a man [priest] flung on her skin. He was called Tecciquacuilli—a strong [man], powerful, and very tall.

And her thigh they then also quickly flayed, and hastened with it then to Pochtlan. [He who was the likeness of Toci's] son put it on. His name was Cintecutl. There he received it.

And thereupon, when the Tecciquacuilli donned [her skin], then she[6] quickly went up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid].[7] As she hastily climbed up to place herself [there, she did so] with great speed. Then she as quickly came down [with], on either side of her, two of her Huaxteca, coming [with her].

And the priests, [who] went siding her, came bringing up the rear, surrounding and guarding her. And a number of the noblemen and the great chieftains stood awaiting her.

And when she went, then they set forth spread out ahead of her. Fast, swiftly, they ran; as if flying, they ran. They wheeled about toward her as they went, striking their shields against each other; they went knocking their shields. Again they whirled about, pressing forward, as they ran. All were fearful [of them]; fright came over the people; they were filled with dread.

And when they thus ran, it was called "fighting with grass"; because it was grass, it was a straw [broom], bloody, covered with blood, that they ran holding in their hands. And those whom they set upon scattered and routed; and greatly were they terrified.

And when [Toci's impersonator] had come to the foot, or the base, of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, then she raised her arms, she spread arms and legs, at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. She put herself facing [the god], and then turned about to place herself by her son, Cintecutl.

Here [this one] was waiting. He had his mask made of the skin of the thigh [of her who had been
[292] the likeness of Toci];[8] and he put on his peaked cap, which was curved back and serrated. And this was

ana, çan tecujtlapaui in cõteca, njmã ic qujoalquechcoxoãvetzi: auh in ocõquechcotonequc, njmã no icinhca qujxipenhãvetzi, qujxipenhãcquiça. Auh in oquixipenhãquc: njmã ic cõmaquixivetzi ce tlacatl in jesuio: iuoca Tecciquacuilli, cenca chicaoac, chichicactic, yoan cenca quauhtic.

Auh in jnnetz njmã no icinhca qujxipenhãvetzi, qujmotlalochtia, in vmpa pochtlan: cõmaquja in jonecuh: iuoca, Cintecutl, in vmpa camatiuh.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ocõmãquj Tecciquacuilli: mec oalmoquetztivetzi tlecmpan: in oualmoquetztivetz, cencan icinhca: mec oalcuamotivetzi, qujxuetzacutivitzc, nenecoc, oomcnãkivitzc in jcacaoan.

Auh in tlamacazquc qupalevitivi, ickpa onotivi, qujtepevitivi, qujpiztivi: auh in cequjxtin qujchiztequc in pipiltl, yoan in vevc in tlacatl.

Auh in jquac ic iuuh: njman ic onenq, ixpã nãkivi, ixpã onotivi: cenca motlalou, cenca pãina: iuhquja patlanj, ic motlalou; oalmocuecuepivi, in jvicpa, qujoalhujectivi in inchimal, oalmochimalhujectivi: no oppa ic mocuepivetzi, ontetemj, omqipilcauque in motlalou: cenca nemauhtilo, mavizti tepan motoca, vel tetechaquj in mavizti.

Auh injc iuh iuuh in: motenoua, çacacali: ichica ca çacatl, ca popotl in ipmac tetentiuh, chcaçq, tlacavilli: auh injc qujnoca, çan momoiaua, cecemanj, cenca momauhtia.

Auh in oncito tlacxitlan, in jicxitlan vitzilobuchtli: njmã ic maana, motetreoana, mamaçqa in jicxitli Vitzilobuchtli: conjxnamjctimoquetza, mec oalmocuepa, itlan oalmoquetza in jonecuh in Cintecutl:

in vncan oquijchiuticaca, imcuaiac ietivitz: yoan cõmaquja, icopil, quiacoltic, yoan tzitziquijhic: auh inin motocaiotinia, itzlacolinhquj: ichoutl in qetl: qujvicativitz, necõ mantivitzc, ueue motlalou, çq yio-

6. Though a priest, a man, wears the skin, he impersonated Toci. For the purpose of distinguishing the sex of the impersonator of Toci from that of the impersonator of Cintecutl, the former is referred to in subsequent passages as a woman (she) and the latter as a man (he).
7. "Llegó al [illegible] del cu" (corresponding Spanish text).
8. Inventor: Garibay (op. cit., p. 307) remembers this as her underwear de cuero: Sahagún (loc. cit.) speaks of la cuenda del pellejo.

given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cintéotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together—not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *matlatl*.[10]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cintéotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. At a little distance, her Heavens went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech cloths, and had their mirrors on the mantles of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

And the medicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests preceded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiuiviztac, vmpa iztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jtempan, in vmpa omjc: oc cęppa vmpa ommotlalia.

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Auh in ołtatvic, in ołtatlavikotłeoac, tłatlavilłotl ooa, mec oalmoquetza tłatempan: auh in jxqujch tłacatl pipiłti, ic qujchiztoque ipan ßnetepeoalo: njman ic qujtlatlamaca: in aca qujpotonja icpac, yoan ięxic, quauhtotłachcaistica: in aca qujxaoa: in aca cõmaca ixpavipil, yoan icue, çan tłacujłolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjłiz: in aca copalli in contemjłia cenca çan icuitłca: njmã ic cactivezti, njman ic viviłoa.

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Auh in ovivilooc: njmã ic oalqujça in jveitłatquj motenteoa: yiumacał, yoan itianquixpan: auh in jmacał, çan patłachtic, inepantła icatiuh in tianquizpanjtł, macujłli manj: in tłanepantła icatiuh, ichoutł in tianquizpanjtł: auh navi neococampa oome qujtzatzacatiuh: motenteoa meotł.

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Auh in ocłocencuahque, njmã ic ommoiacatia, in mamałti injxpan, navintin: mec oc contoca, in techcac: inoema yioma in qujmjctia, qujnelitteuqui: navintin, iuh quinchioa:

in oqujmõmjcti in navintin, mec immac qujnealcoa in tłetłeamacaque, injc qujmjctinque, in oc ccąpiztin mamałti: mec iauh in vmpa ocanato icoouh: qujvicatiuh in jooouh, in cintetł ano itztlacoliuhqui: qujiacana in jooouan vecapa qujtztivi, omococuahque, iuamococuauitłi, yoan incujłaccauh, im jtłcoauchtłi, mamałecopetzałło.

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Auh in tłóci, yoan in tencuamacaque, necoc onetłi, cujcatini: qujcocujcatłmiłłini in quauacujłti,

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9. This headdress is illustrated in the Vindobonensis and of the Codex Borbonicus and of the Ríos Collection.
10. Cf. contemporaneous Spanish usage, Siler (*Mexico England*, p. 177) relates the usage to *mitl*; possibly it could as well be related to *matl*.

X 796 [534] horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they reached the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] trumped upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Istac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

[417 778] And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [home] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to her home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled [701] the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his cagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers] [352] of an cagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

quijnozcozotivi in tepeuaztecatl, itech tlaçalelli, mecoztectli: ic injc motenoua, tecuapilca.

In oncito tzompantitlan: njmã ic conjeça in jveuah: auh in tequjoaque, ic qujchiztoque: vncan onoua in jmexxaiac injc qujcoaque iztac: vecl onoua cuhalhujtivi in tiacuan, in chicaoaque, in tlaçanj: cenca motlalon.

Auh in oncito, in vmpa centlalianj in iempan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacazcalan in iztac tepetl: iuccaican, popotl temj: aivian in centlalia, qujpoalnoca: anoce qujnteca, necac mjcon.

Auh in ocõlalito quauhticpac, in jmexxaiac: mec viloatz, mec no vi in teiuauan.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ichoutl Toci: in ocõcauato, iconeuh: njman ic ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxtoa in tiacauã, in jxqujchtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ic ixqujchtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelitoque in tiacauan, in jioltoco chicaoaque, in amo qujtlaçotla in ixtonteccon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjqujxmauhtj, in vel in ca momotla in teiuauan.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ocenqujxoac: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecuçoma, ichoatica quauhpetlapan, vel ichoutl in quauhtli, tlaxipeualli in jpan centica, yoan ocelotepotzoicpalli in jpan motlaztica, vel ic in ocelotl yieuaio, injc tlaquijmjlolli icpalli:

11. Cuetlaxo (op. cit., p. 306) translates le matamoros [illegible] quienes se oyen que se dicen: "quienes se mueven." The corresponding Spanish text implies use of the hand (pasar).

12. See note 22.

13. The importance of these officers, these warriors, chiefs, and all on, is suggested by the following passages [illegible] in Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. II:

"... capitanes que son de tener cargo de regir la república, o son de ser theuctlatoani, o theuctlacochcalcatl, dellos hablaban para que unos pudiesen y supiesen de la gente de guerra que andaba por los campos y por los montes, y saber los vivos, y determinadamente a los hermanos, y en no tener los de menor el atrevimiento a mayor o los cuerpos y armaduras. . . ." (p. 53).

". . . los padres y maestros del sol, que se llaman theuctlatoani (y) theuctlacochcalcatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al sol y a la tierra, como la ciudad y carne de sus enemigos: unos son los que tienen por oficio la crianza y las armas; y allí nuestros los cuerpos vivos y los hermanos vivos, y los frutos de la cabeza y los esfuerzos de los conductores. . . ." (p. 103).

". . . sabios los soldados y capitanes llaman dos principales que son regidos, el uno era theuctlatoani y el otro theuctlacochcalcatl; el uno de los dichos era pilli y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra, y siempre parecían en cabildo como en soldados para estas cosas. Tratados para capitanes generales de las cosas de la guerra parecían dos, uno soldado, o gobernador y del pueblo, y otro soldado, y como especiales en la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba theuctlatoani y el otro theuctlacochcalcatl; estos entendían las cosas de la guerra, y en ordenar todas las cosas que concernían a la soldadesca" (p. 107).

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one said receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[14]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-waving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huastecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone preceded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ecciaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jaquijch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yuan in macquavitl yuã tilmatli, yuan maxtlatl:

contlapalotimanj, nijman ic cotecojtimanj, ceceiaca ih innotlaxhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichiualo, omoeaquijlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in quimomaca ichoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ic inquich, ça tlacujtlapiloa, ichoatl in quimomaca cuextecatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ic inhquj in ontlamaac, in ãnechichicaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa ãnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalquijtimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ic netetilo, nematlazo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlaviztmacaque, vncan tlaviznectia. Auh in tlaviztli, ic quimomaca, inhquin inpatiuh muchioa, in quimjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto inhquin xuchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, quimiaoalo in teucalli.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huastecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone preceded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

Auh in jaquijchtin tlatlatta, in jlamacxitzin, yie inquich tlacatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoquijtlecoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

quijtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiquimitta, intla macujl, matlac ouimjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id ec, iaxiatl, cuix oc mocuepaquijuj, cuix oc ymiloch quichioaquijuj, ca ic ceniauque.

Auh in toci, yuan ycuezcaan, yuan titici, çan nenequa mantiuj, ixpatzaco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca ceneca tlapixtoa, inhquin tzõtli cana incuyc: in peoa nematlazo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necacalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

Auh yn otlamjc, in ic ymuxtlaiac, oc cepa cenquijzoa, oc no nematlazo, niac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: quijixpac motlaxiximacaia in pipilti, xocmo mjequjuxti, ca quenquijxtin: auh in quimomacaia, ceneca tlapo-

[14] See Sahagún, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, pp. 1368. Below equivalent (pp. 133, 132) a painted, cone-shaped hat; a disc or crescent fastened to the hair; a crescent-shaped nose plate; a golden ear pendant; and quetzalli. Elsewhere these relate to the wear of footgear among the Huastecs, or that "the Huastecs were [there to practicate] themselves to be the servants, followers, Huastecs, of the old mother of the gods, Tonan Ixcuina, the Huastec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of vice, . . . who was supposed to be or house among the Huastecs, and perhaps was actually conceived by the Huastecs from there."

X 796 714 richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

X 796 And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[13] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[14] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[15] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

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And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

[394] 289] [302]

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[16]

[317] 237]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

thequj in tlamiztli, cenca tencuiplaio, mocatencujtla cenca quetzalio, mocu quetzalli.

Auh yn ocmmmacaqueq, njman ic ic uj momatlaçaqueq, qujncana in Motecçoma, tenca mamiçotiuj: teixpan qujncatia in tlamiztli, cenca veca in motecmaniztoia, cenca mihiioia in tlamiztli.

Auh in ic inhequj, yn onecacanalac in jcpac ic teuhtlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlacoan no tetoteoti: in jcpac mjquj toci, no ipan mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in intemplon, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jthaquaian diablo, ame cenca vecapan. Auh in oalcoque: njman ic qujoalchachaxiaca, qujoalteteppa, qujoalcecemmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlacilli, coztic tlacilli, iaxtl, xinhtoctli, yoã xiovachtli, inhequjn nanaiaio, inhequjn n.cometzaio, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctzilo.

Auh in jchqupochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: tocteneoa, cintlamacaqueq: qujncenamaltiaia itã cintli, chichicomolotl, ehica qujxxaxaxaoia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnepujpujnjlosia, yoã thaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cintlamacaqueq, momaoia, mopoconjnia, no cujcatiui, qujncujcatiiui in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ic inhequj, in oxxinachpixoa njman ic ic vi in motlatinque: njmã ic ic oalteno in tiçatl yoã hiviti, quauhxicalica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujualtemoia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmama in vncã Cozzalpan.

Auh in oepujnan: njman ic ooa in tiacoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan nocõ in painanj in theçani: in aquja iacattinh, qujmotzaxiquja in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ic ic ipan oonetepeualo

13. "Los sacerdotes, de la diosa chicomecoatl" (corresponding Spanish text).
14. "Estos se subieron, entraron en un aposento, que es llamado (así) la casa de vitzilobuchtli" (loc. cit.). Codex Borbonicus, records of Ochpaniztli, illustration 11. Paso y Troncoso, op. cit., p. 143.
17. Kindersmalzeth, in Sahagun (op. cit.) is defined as cinder orange. See, Hiatorica, n. 13, p. 42.
18. "Pusiaronle alguno, en un lugar que es llamado cuauxalli, que era un aposento, que según como los grandes del cielo, y el pueblo alguno, al que aquella noche por cierto, a mayor, grandeza" (corresponding Spanish text).

[the feathers] flew up, and thereafter were fallen upon as [the others] took the feathers. Then they left, running swiftly.

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci there stood awaiting them; there she stood facing them. Then she sent them forth, and took after and followed them, crying war cries. And when [the wearer of the skin of] Toci went, all spat at her; whoever had flowers in his hands spat, and cast [the flowers] at her.

And Moctezuma also ran with the others, following them only for a little space. Sometimes he quickly entered [his] treasure room,[19] sometimes he quickly entered [the district of] Tecanman.[20] Everyone [else] likewise ended the ceremony by leaving her; only a few brought her and left her there at Tocititlan. Since the priests did not depart from her, rather, they went guarding her.

And when they had reached there, then they took her up to a wooden frame,[21] stretching [the skin] out carefully, [so that] its head looked forth. Similarly, they laid down all her adornment. When they had gone about leaving her, then all turned about and departed.

This is all. Here ended and concluded the feast day which was named Ochpaniztli.

in qujnamoia in hivitl, njman ic qujztimanj, vel motlaloa. 796x

Auh in toci vncan qujnchixticac, vncã qujmjtztícac, njmã ic qujmevitia, intech itiquiça, qujntoca, tlacatocatiuh. Auh in jquac ie iauh toci, muchi tlacatl conchicha: in aca iauhiuh oinmaç onoca, conchichicha ic cõmotla.

Auh in Motecuçoma, no teoan, motlaloa, çan achiton in contoca: in quenman, totocalco in calactivetzi: in quẽman tecãman, in calactivetzi. Auh in jxqujch tlacatl, çan iuh ontlantivi in qujtlalcavia, çã quezqujnti in vel qujmonaxitia, in vel ompa qujmonoçaoa Tocititlan: tel in tlamanque amo qujcaoa, çan qujpiztivi.

Auh in oacic, njman ic contlecavia in quauhticpac, vel qujtlatlalia, oalitztica in jtzontecon, çan iuh tlãtica in jxqujch inechichioal: in ocontlalito, mec oalnecuepalo, viloatz:

Ie ixqujch njcan tlamj, njcan tzonquiça, in ilhujtl, in moteneoa, Ochpanjztli.

19. Sahagún (Robredo ed.) notes merely that "*este . . . donde estaban sus mayordomos que guardaban todo género de oro*" (Vol. II, p. 315), or "*la residencia de Moctezuma . . . que es Huexotla, entonces, que quiere decir, la casa de las aves*" (Vol. IV, p. 62), and "*la propia casa del tesoro de Moctezuma donde se almacenaba la propiedad personal de Moctezuma, el lugar llamado Tecanman*" (Vol. IV, p. 149).

20. "*El primer día [el Tecanal] le hacían fiesta en el barrio que llamaban Tecanman*" (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 136). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 184), however, says Tecanman was the Temple of the Pomegranate Chamber.

21. Cf., however, Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and n. 17. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 186, 191) refers to "*una ermita o manera de ataúdes.*"

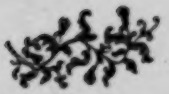

X 796 **Thirty-first Chapter,** which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco:

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound together. Only the young men laid them down, on [346] every small pyramid, in the temples of the Cuasteten,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was [252] named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

And on the third day of the spreading out of [776] branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

X 796 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offerings for him. They offered him fish amaranth seed, 252 ground and made into a ball of dough.

First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlacaliztli; in muchiouia, in jpã vel ic cemjlhujtl, injc matlactetl om ume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

Injc matlactetl om ume ilhujtl: ichoatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

in ie iuh tlamacujlti, njmã vncan vmpeoa in acxoiatzmalo: in acxoiatl, ichoatl in acatl, ẽi in quijpiaia; çan ichoantin in telpopochtin qujtemaia, novian in momoxco, in cioatzucalco, yoan in novian techachan, in vncan pipiolo in jmjxiptlacan diablome:

auh in techachã novian onacxoiatemaia, qujnoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhtzintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, naolotl: in cana ieolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli qujoaltemaca: motencoa, cacalotl ca qujmocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nẽ mocalhujaia, can ichoantin injmel, in tlacelianj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochicanj, in amo tlatlãcanequjnj in jmel.

Auh in ie ic ieilhujtl acxoiatemalo: iquac hecco in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, ichoatl achto hecco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlaççanj, cotze:

ipampa in achto oalaci, yoan qujtlamanjliaia: in qujmanjliaia, mjchiouuhtli, in tlapololli:

achtopa qujcequj, qujtzomotza comalco, çatepan qujteci: auh in oqujtezque, çatepã qujpoloaia, ẽica: cequj necutica, in qujpoloaia: aço macujltetl, aço

1. *Teotl eco*—*Les dieux forgent*, in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, p. 307. Chavigny, *op. cit.*, p. 183, relate to *teotlaco* to *la forma de la venida de los dioses*. The spelling "Tetl eco" is in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. See note 3, p. 59. In Cap. xxxiv (Pinquentiuitl), Sahagún explains that "*por razon llevaban cada verde y espinos de maguey*," and, in Cap. xxv (Ennimpualiztli), "*donde no había otros ramos cortaban cada verde en lugar de ramos*."

3. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that "*Tenían edificados oratorios a honra de estos dioses en todos los barrios donde había dos calles; los cuales llamaban cuasteteuhcalli, o por otro nombre cuasteteupan; en estos oratorios tenían los imágenes de estos dioses. . . .*" Chavigny, (*loc. cit.*) says: "*enramaban los templos y las encruzijadas de las calles*." Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

4. Ohel is more properly corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 32; however, he usually renders it *mazorca*.

5. "*Cuarto, o arrumaba . . . para coger granos de maiz tostado cual rosquilla*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the term *apretadillo*.

6. These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[7] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still.

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzinac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coololou, quauhcuxic in teteuinih, mec quijequjoiuh: in oacic ixpá mec contema, contemjlia.

Auh in jquac ic iua, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in ueuentzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quijouia, quijmach quijcxipaca.

Auh in oacic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoistemulistli: iquac quijtepeua in acxoistl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in qujchiuaia, ioecatli, quijtepiztlaliaia, quijpachoaia, ioealtic injc quijtlaliaia, petlapá in coeclaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hezuia in teteu, qujcencaoaia, cemolinja, injc ieeoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveuio, ioca: Teuoa, mocujtlacuepiuemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquēmā motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquēman conjcaicaoa, in conjtta ioecatli, motemeoa: icxi.

Auh in oheoc, vncan conjtta, icxiuontli, in vncan icac, ioexpan: moçoo ienco, in moquetza ioecatli, tezxitinj: njmá ic neci, ca oheoquc in teteu:

njman ic qujoalitua, in teuua. Ca omecavi in tlacul:

in ocacoc: njmá ic mauztimoquetza in tlapizzalo, qujxacutimomana: njmá ic macho, ca oheoquc in teteu.

Auh in jzqujch macoualli, njman ic viri, vivilou, in tlatlamanasquc intupá, in intecpan diablome: çā moche in tlapeloli, in qujnanajlia:

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cattivoni.

Auh in ie iooa: çan ie no ivi in qujchiua, tlatlaoana in veveuque, in jlamatzitzin, qujlmach, qujmjcxipaca in oheoquc teteu.

Auh in jmuntlaioc, iquac heco in Jacapitzinac, inj Jacatecutli: ypchoca intonah catca, yoa in Itzcoçauh-

[716] [252] [888 273] [772]

7. The word ololiuhi is explained by Guthrie (op. cit., p. 207): "And god stood in front [of the cake] and broke it."—"y [illegible] estando sobre las [illegible], se partía el [illegible] de harina de maíz."

A 796 Izmẹ́ẹ́ẹ́

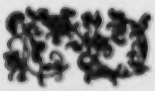

Thirty-second Chapter, in which are related the feasts and sacrifices which they made, in the days of the thirteenth month, which was known as, and named, Tepeilhuitl.

The thirteenth feast was known as the "Mountain Feast."

All the digging sticks which were kept in men's houses, and the heavier sticks,[1] made as [representations of] mountains, they covered with a coating of dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And their bones were likewise fashioned of a dough of [ground] amaranth seeds, long and cylindrical in shape. Either fish amaranth[2] or *chia* [was used].[3]

And also they fashioned [images in the form of] mountains for, perchance, one who had died in the water—having drowned—or had been struck by lightning.

And for whomever had been [thus] slain and not burned but only buried,[4] [to honor him] they also made images of the mountains; they made them all of the dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And upon the eve of the feast, toward sundown, they were bathed, their faces were washed.[5] When they [went to] wash them, they went blowing and sounding little clay whistles and little sea shell whistles for [the images].[6]

And they bathed them there at the Mist House; [with] fresh cane shoots they washed their faces. And some [men] washed them only at nearby shores.[7]

And when they had been washed, then the return was made whence they had come; in the same manner they came blowing whistles, with a great din as of shouting. Thereupon were given human form

Inic cempoalli on matlactli omome capitulo: vncan motenera in jlhujtl, ynan in nextlaoalli, in muchiouia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl omei metztli in motenoua, in mjtoua Tepeilhujtl.

796X

Inic matlactetl omei ilhujtl ichoutl in motenera tepeilhujtl:

in jxquichtin ceera im pipialo techachan, ynan in ocatzontli, quitetepetlaliaia, tzoalli inic qiinpepechoua:

[241] 796X 778

ash in jmomjo muchiouia, çan no tzoalli, mjmjmjltic, ayo mjchiouahtli, anoço cocul:

ash no quitepetlaliaia, in açaca atlan mjc, in jlaquilo, in anoçe vitero:

[765 778]

yoã in aquin omomjquili, in amo tlatilo, in çan quitoca, no tepetl ipan quixquitiaia, çan moch tzoalli in quinchichiouia:

796X

Ash in oquiah mozta ilhujtl teutlacpa in teaxitilo, anoço teixamjlo: inic quimonaltia quintlapichilitivi, in quinpichilitivi, cocowiloti, ynan tecxiztotonti.

[534]

Ash in quimonaltiaia, vmpan aiauhcalco, acatzontli ichoutl in cehic ic quimjxamja: ash in cequintin çan imoteneo in quimonaltia.

Ash in onteahiloc, mec: oaltecuepalo, çã no ivi,

[534] 796X 778

1. The corresponding Spanish text, Gay, 1950 has: "Aquellos palos como vigas de palo grueses como la medida larga Remonteiro Indiscreto." Of these, and of some, Torquemada (op. cit., Lib. II, p. 279) writes: "Para cada habitadiciel, la primera era, hacer como estatuas de palo, á de cubrir de Adobes, intercalados los cabajos de maiz pudiendolos que salian. Hacian semejanza de magueyes como figurillas, á manera de las Idolatrias, que acostumbraban los Indios, en nuestra Nacion Española, los quales llamaban Remonteiro. . . . " Clavigero, op. cit., pp. 146-7, writes similarly.

2. Bishop Alencar in Molina, op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary. In this chapter, however, Sahagún refers to michihuauhtli as yellow amaranth. Def'lina p. 63, n. 28.

3. In the Bulmarde ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 304, Wilfrido Lopez has defined *cocul* as "Tórtola (Chia dulce)"; in his study he used the mentioned Alencar in Pena y Tamayo's reproduction, Cuauhtli in No. 955.

4. Torquemada (loc. cit.) further explains: ". . . en memoria de algunos difuntos, en especial de los que se veian ahogados en rios, á veces enterrados de manera, que no pudieron ser quemados sus cuerpos, á fuerza enterrados por algunos amigos."

5. Both Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) and Seler (op. cit., pp. 198-91) differ from this version. In Sahagún, the people wash the same upon which the images stand; in Seler, the people are washed.

6. Though the nothing seems to refer of the images, in the Spanish text Sahagún writes: "Los objetos de cosas finas Remolino o hacer cosas como el que se de Jaramo. . . ."

7. Sahagún (loc. cit.) has: "el agua que pasaba junto a su casa."

[1796 778] and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][9] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[10] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments. [314 289]

And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11] [765]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them. [262]

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maisuel, representing the *magney*; the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent. [776]

Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner. [314 289]

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them. [493]

quintlapichilitivizne, iuhquin thacenacativitz, ninnõ ic ic tetlacatililo, techichiouilo quinpepechoa:

auh in cequjati oc vecaiouan, in quinpepechoa, inic quintlacatilia, quinnizolinia, youan mitzhiouahõ in quimõtlalilia incampan, quinõquemmia in teuvid, youan quinõnequja imamacal, yiaztecon.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iauiko in quintlalinia, in innixiptla, tzoalli in quinchichiouia.

Auh in otlatvic: nec tetlathalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, ontapõli, aço axali in impõ quintlalinia:

Auh in ic iuhquj, in oncencaualoc: ninan ic ic quintlamanjlia: in quinmanilinia zocotamalli, youan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: youan quintlenamaquilia.

In jquac in motenoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, youan tlatlacanjlilo: auh in cana çan inquich in quintlamanjlinia.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequintin cioa, innixiptlaoan Tetepe.

Inic ce itoca Tepanoch. Inic vnac: Matlalquac. Inic ei: Xochtecatl. Inic nauj, Maisvel: ixiptla metl. Inic macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oquichtli, ixiptlan coatl:

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jnamatlatequj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

iostzinco in quimpeualtia in quinnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: motenoa, quintlatlapechivia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, quintlathiaualochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, quinecujcatitivi.

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9. The corresponding Spanish text reads thusly: "La cabeça de cada vna vnauan vnaja dos varas, vna de pretuma, y otra de cabellos. . . ."
10. According to Seler (loc. cit.), "vnaban o vnauan hacian de barro, amasaban con sangre de sacrificados."
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 22, n. 118.
12. In the Bulmolo ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 235, auali is explained: "Hay otra que se llama tecuquilitl, es muy redonda y dicen unos ancianos hacanqy otras especies hacen que se llaman auali; y chiuan encima del agua, y cuando se vnauan encima eran los dichos auali de la cabeça."

And [the women] who carried [litters] were well and proudly bedight, all in new shirts and skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted and they were arrayed in feathers.

And when the time was favorable that [the victims] should die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they proceeded to leave them there at the [Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there and stretched them out upon the offering stone, then the officiating priests and the slayer came to take their places, and thereupon cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had suffered, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down. And then they lowered them: they only went rolling them down [the steps], with great care turning them over and over.

And when they had come down with them, then they carried them to the skull rack. And when they had brought them there, then they cut off and severed their heads. There they inserted into their heads [the cross pieces of the rack].

And when they had severed the heads from the bodies, then they took [the bodies] to the tribal temples [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, [took place the ceremony] called "They are dismembered." Thereupon they dismembered the [figures made of] amaranth seed dough. And when [the bodies] were dismembered, then they took them up to the roof tops, there to dry in the sun—to dry stiff and hard. Little by little they kept taking some of it and eating it, and gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular mats which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the rafters of the tribal temples. For one year they cared for them; then they threw them down, scattered, in the Mist House. Only the paper vestments they [then] scattered; the circular mats they returned to their houses.

Here ended the feast which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlanapaloa, vel mocencaoa, ieccan moqueztza, mochi iancujc, in intech qujtlaliaia in incuac, in iuvipil, yoã moxaoa, moposonja. [796] [292]

Auh in ethaimitõtic in ie iquac mjqujuque: njmã ie ic qcjteca in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, qujmoncavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oqujmonaxitique, mec qujmõteca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequipanoque, in temjctianj: njmã ie ic qujmeltetequi.

Auh in ontlacotique, in omu..oque, njmã ic qujnoaltemovia: auh injc qujnoaltemovia, çan qujnoalmjnjlotivi, cenca çan quẽmach, in qujcnecuepticitze.

Auh in oqujmõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie tzoempantitlan: auh in oqujmonaxitique, njmã ic qujnquechtequi, qujnquechcotona: vncã qujmõçoço in intzontecõ.

Auh in qujmõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie qujvica in incacalpolco: auh in jmuztlaioc, in ooallatvic: in mjtoaia, Texinjlo, texiximinjlo: njmã ie ic qujximinja in tzoalli: auh in oqujximinjque, njmã ic tlapanco qujdecavia, vmpa oaquj, quauhvaquj, tepioaquj: achchi concujtivi in qujqua, can juh qujtlanja. [778]

[264]

Auh in jmamatlaquj ocatca, qujquequentia in jiaoallo ocatca: auh in oqujquequẽtique calquac compilos, calpulco, çe xivitl qujmattiuh, in qujdaçativi, in qujtepeuativi, in vmpa xiuhcalco: çanjo in jmamatlaquj, contepeoa: auh in iacalli qujoalinquj. [289]

Nican tlamj in jlhujtl, in motenoa Tepeilhujtl.

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.**[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned
[482] warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

[441] And upon the morrow, once again all departed to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriage-
X 796 able age. And the small boys they took up [the
785 pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with
[224] blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

X 796 And when arrows were being formed, all did pen-
785 ances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen
688

Injc cempoalli ômachcôl omei capôtlac: vncan motenoua in illuijtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in quichioaia, in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in motecuçoma, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in motecuçoma Quecholli:

in ôquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle mochioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ôquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaiaç, vncã in neacamaco, ccen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjuaqui, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncã in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ôcemacoc, njmã ic quiiequjzac quiquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ie no cc, ça ic vilca in jimalcu Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemehaoaloz, motlemelacaz in acatl: çan oc izquich, in muchioaia y: auh in vimotlemelauh, oc cppa çan no calmotequj, oc cppa intlatequj oalietiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no cppa vilca, motequj in acatl, vel izquich comolinj, in tequjuaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in ocquichpipiltotonti, quitlelecavia in teucalli, vncã tlatlapiztoque, yoan mjçotoque: quitequj in innacaz, in jmeaço companaca, incanacaz conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiçio, quinneçavilinia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocîquejuaxto teuinualco: ccenj moteca in tenuchca, ccenj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmã ic ic mochioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, amoço yiaoaia.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacuchtli: neçaoaloia, quinneçavilinia, izquich tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Fourteen Feasters" is suggested by Gardner (op. cit., p. 347). Clavigero (op. cit., pp. 147-8) states that the month was named for the kind of fine plumage worn at that time on the lake district. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 238) writes [illegible] "... , modelos de un Pavaro de plumas azul, y colorado, que al en este Tiempo, en especial en estas comunidades, y sylos de Algun, que al pasar del Pendon de Quecholli"; see also p. 239. Durán (op. cit., II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as Fiesta arrogantes.

Torres, while mentioning the kind of rich plumage, adds that aquatic animal skins became and professional warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of tumult and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 32).

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, never-more restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with maguey fibers, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] maguey plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet tamales. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

in ano mijo quipeptlaoaia, xocmo quimaca in jtilma, iccen quipaqilia in tepêmanj.

796x

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, ain cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlacamaia, motlacaohtlaia, quimocacahtlaia in vctli.

[785 688] [839 273]

Auh in machimaia mjtl, oalquica itamachiuhca, çan machixquich, in machimaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã machixquich, atle chicoviac, atle tlapetilaia:

njmã ic ic tlatecu in acatl, inmac quioallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in quitlaxichaquja, vel quichtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica quitetecuja, injc amo cuitlaxaianja in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinja, injc vel tzitzicaca.

796x 411 [283] [381]

Auh in oeloccmohque: njmã ic ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan icuhcã mamilica.

[314]

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ic ic tlacujtlalpilo, cocmpoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenquja, njmã ic ic omotecpanalo, omevipanolo, oncempanica in mocanat in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichca: auh in ômomamanato, njmã ic vivilca.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoia, calpãnemjtilo, injquich tlacatl momjtoia interchachan, çan iuhquj injc nenvilitilo, ml ic nciciccolaia, ic nemamachilaia: ce veca quioalquetzaia metl, quimjmjna, vncan neci in aquiquc vel quimaiovi, in vel momaiouati, in vellamjna.

796x 526

Auh injc macujhhujtl, ça mjccavitia in mjmjquc, quiochichivilaia, injtemati, çeçemjatitl, no achitzin ic cuocotzovia: auh in jtlatzichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi acatl, concujtlalpia ica potonqui, impã contetema, in vncan tocitiquc, mjmjquc: yoan cuitl tzapelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjhujtia: auh in ic oncalaqui tonatiuh, ajman ic ic quintlatlatilia, in çan ic no vncan: vncan contlecavia:

796x 765

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmarde ed.), Vol. III, pp. 211, 212.

And when they had burned, they there buried their charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech cloths they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five *sweet tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jocuilo, yoan iacxo, vncã cemoca.

Auh in oizmojquac in imococopan, yoan intlapopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan iamatl, conquimhtzoch in quiptlalaia, quijpioia, iech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, petonequj ic tlamatiuh, yiacac pilcatiuh vizizilin, yoã cõtzomoztzal, mjec in mecatl, quijpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh ontzal, vmpa concaca in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiqueuetlamatiuh: motenoua, çacapã quijxoa: auh injc motenoua, çacapan quijxoa, motentaclua, çacatl: ichouatl in ecoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatepec, oc petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ic oãmoiacoxia in pilhuatepe çioa, cõtentimanj petlapan mamacujhtli in tzopelic tamalli: cenioah, in mamacujhtzi cõtecma: quijnõmacaiui in inpilhoan, in ilamatepe: auh in jlamatepe, quijnõalantimanj in pipiltototi, nimã quijnocnjxoia in mac: nimã ic quijnõmoca, in tetatoua, in oquijnõjxotilique inpilhoan:

nimã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc intzinco in peoaia. Auh in ic tlaqualizpan in necocolo: auh in ic iuhquj, nimã iecvilos in amjoan, vmpa tlamatiui in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac onõtenoh: vncan quijhuejquijxtilaia, in inteouh otomj: in mixoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjo motencoua.

Auh in onõzioac in vmpa çacatepec ãtle muchiuia, çan oc quijnpajch huexios nenqaxahtilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlailo, necocolo.

Auh in otlatvic, nimã ic ic tlatlaqualo ãtlaua: nimã ic ic nechichiualo, nehuqualo:

mec vilua, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhquja mecatl motilinja, ican cotonj: muchi tlacatl ãn jxh, quijnizualoa in jxquichcin mamaça, in cuãtl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan onõmocuanjquj.

Auh in ovel impan onõmocuanjc, mec tetemiualo,

3. "Ils mettent à la grasse" (*ocuepan quiximqui*), according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

scined [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and slew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeoatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujujivecho, izquijch in tematitlampa quiça, in aiamo imjquja.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlazitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aqujn maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, qujntlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli:

intla tlamanj, qujmoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujtlatiz tanaco, anoço qujmonamaqujliz: yoan in tlamanjme qujntlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atli.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic viloatz, çaiio in intzontecon qujoalhujvica intlan qujmaana, chichipicativitz in atli, in oacico inchachan, aco qujnpipilos auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan qujxooaia: iquac qujnmacaia in imamatlatquj in jzqujntin mjqujzque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequjntin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome ichoatl in Izqujtecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: ichoan qujmaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja ichoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in qujnnextiaia: auh no ichoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izquitecatl: no iquac qujcuja in jmamatlatquj.

Auh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj ompoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjqujzque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec qujnvica in vmpa mjqujzque: qujmõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõiaoaloco, njmã ie ic ialtemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa qujnvivica in incacalpulco, ceioal in qujntoçavia, qujnpia, qujnpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncujva: auh in oqujmõtzoncujque, njmã ie ic motlatlatilia: in oqujchtli, qujtlatia, in jpan yoan itilma,

4. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *pan quan-quinin* might better be read for *inquinch*. Cf. also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 199).
5. Cf. *Anderson and Dibble, op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 3.
6. Cf. *supra*, p. 97, n. 7.

[If the captive was] a man, he burned

[415] his streamers, and his cloak, and his breech clout, and all the things he had received, and his water gourd. All these he burned.

[462 283 286] And a woman burned all her womanly array—her basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her cane stalks, her batten, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went [202] to bring them down when they died, and a flag-bearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

And when they had brought them [there], four captives to be slain went ahead. At the landing at

yoan ismaxtli, yoã in quezquj itlaçevil, yoã iuxuch muchi quijtlatia.

Auh in cioatl, muchi quijtlatia in jxquijch icioatlatquj: in jtana in jmalac, in jtiçauh, in jxxaoalcax, in jxxatzax, in jotlauh, in jxotzopuz, in jtreçac, in jmecamaxal, inxuxaia, yoã itzopaia, yoan iviix, yoan iquatzon, inxouh, yoan yioctacauh: muchi quijtlatia inoma.

Injc iuh qujchioa y, quijlmach vmpa intech monequjz in vmpa iazque, in jquac mjquja vmpa qujoalchiuz.

Auh in otlatvic, mec tecẽcaoalo, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in amatlatqujtl, in jpan mjqujzque: in oqujmõchichiuhque, mec tevico in vmpa mjqujzque, qujnvica in teanque, vmentin qujntlecavizque, in macana çotlaoa, qujntzitzqujzque: yoã vmẽtin teteinovjzque, in qujnoaltemovizque, in jquac ommjcque: yoan cẽ panoa, in qujvicatiuh panjtl: yoan vmentin, teixamjque cioa: çan muchivi in qujnvivica, cecenme tlaaltilti.

Auh in oqujmaxitique: iacattivi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apetlac in qujmjilpilia imjcxi yoã inma:

7. These weaving implements have been tentatively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Pena y Troncoso.

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the foot of the pyramid they had their feet and hands bound. Then four [priests] carried them up; they went lifting them by their hands and feet, heads bobbing up and down as they went, heads hanging toward the ground.

And when they had brought them, then they stretched them upon the offering stone and there slew them.

And as they thus carried them up, it was said: "Thus they slay them as deer; they serve as the deer, who thus die." And the other captives climbed up, purely of their own will. And when [these] had died, when they had suffered, then died [the likeness of] Mixcoatl. And when he had died, at the Temple of Mixcoatl, then those [who were arrayed in the likeness of] Tlamatzincatl died, there at [the Temple of] Tlamatzincatl. And thus did they die: they climbed up purely of their own accord, of their own free will. Then they went straight to the offering stone. And these died there at [the Temple of] Tlamatzincatl.

And the women died at dawn there at [the Temple of] Coatlan. When they climbed up, they went singing lustily. Some went dancing. Some, in truth, wept. And the escorts went holding them by the hand.

When they had died, when they had suffered, then they whose office it was to lower them, brought them down, rolling them [down] carefully. And when all were slain, then everyone dispersed and departed.

This concluded [the feast] when already one day had been counted in [the month of] Panquetzaliztli.

Here endeth [the account of the feast of] Quecholli.

mec: quintlecavia, quinnanauhcavia, quinteitilinjltivi in jnma, in jmjcxi: laquetztivi, tlalchi oalpipilcatiuh in intzontemm.

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Auh in oquimonaxitique, mec quimõteca in techcac vncã quimõmjctia.

Auh injc iuh quintlecavia y, quilmach ic quinnaçapoloa, quintlachecalhuja in mamaça, in juh mjquj: auh in oc cequintin mamalti, çan õmonomatlã in ontleco. Auh in õmjcque, in ontlacotique: çatepan in ommjquj Mixcoatl. Auh in mjquja y Mixcoatepã: njnian ichoantin in tlamatzica, vmpa mjquj tlamatzinco: auh injc mjquj, çan õmonomatlécavia, çan in iolloclamati in ontleco: njmã techcac ontlamelauhtimanj: auh in mjquja y, vncan in tlamatzinco.

Auh in cioa vel oc iontzinco in mjquja, vmpan coatlan: in jquac tleco, cenca cujcativi, cequintin mjtotitivi, in cequitin vel choca: auh in tenque quimoantivi.

In ommjcque in ontlacotique: mec quinoalmomovia, in tetemoviquc, çan jvian in quinoalmjenjloa: auh in ommjcoac, mec tlaxitinj, viviloa.

Inin tzonquiça, ie cuel ipan icemjlhujtlapoaloc in Panquetzaliztli:

njcan tzonquiça in Quecholli.

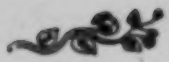

*796 **Thirty-fourth Chapter**, in which they tell of the feasts and sacrifices which were performed on the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Papquetzaliztli.[1]

The fifteenth feast day: this one was called Panquetzaliztli.

[785] When the feast of Panquetzaliztli had not yet arrived, the priests fasted for eighty days, and laid down green boughs. When they began [the fast], it was upon the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread the green boughs, on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they laid the green boughs, they [292] went quite naked, wearing nothing. They went carrying green boughs; these [were] green reeds and thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets [534] and pottery whistles.[2] They proceeded blowing [them] alternately.

And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when was intoned the song named the Tlaxotecaiotl—the song of Uitzilopochtli. This was begun at nightfall; and it was ended at the [534] time when the trumpets sounded, when the conch shells were blown.

Also, among them, the women sang and danced—harlots, who went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this, until twenty days [had passed].

*796 And when the ninth day before [the feast] arrived, then were bathed in sacred water [the victims 778 known as] the ceremonially bathed ones, or those to die the captives' death.[3] The old men of the tribal temple secured the water; they got the water there

Inic 34 capitulo: iechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in muchioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtolteti metztli, in mjtoaia: Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtolteti ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenco, Panquetzaliztli:

in siamo aci ilhujtl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhujtl in moçaoaia, yoan acxoistlaliaia: iquac quipeoaltiaia, in iuh onquiz imuztlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in ioalnepantla onacxoistema, in novian tetepeticpac, yoã in momomozco, in vera.

Auh inin qujchioaia, izqujchica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in oñacxoistlaliaia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intech vetztiuh, quitqujtivi in acxoistl, ichoatl in acatl xoxouhqui, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cocovilutl quipitztivi, quipapatlativi in quipitza.

Auh in ôqujz Quecholli ilhujtl: njmã ic pena in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in ena itoca tlaxotecaiotl, icujc in Vitzilobuchtli: im peoaloia, iquac in tlatlapoiaoa: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalizpã, in ic tlatlapitzalo:

no teoan cujcoianos in cioa in xvienjme, tetzatzalan mantivi (in iuh omjto), mumuztlac in muchiua, izqujchica cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in oacic tlachicunaviti, vncan moeualtiaia in tlatlaltilti, anoço xuchimjcque: in calpulveveque, conanaia atl: vmpa in vitzilobuchco conanaia atl,

1. "*Ebrosión de banderas*," in Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 312; "*el acto de enarbolar el pendón*" (Clavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 170)—possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the statue of Pezotal up to the altar in the Temple of Uitzilopochtli. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 299) writes: "*Embanderaban de Pendones, ó Vanderas; porque á por este Tiempo se hacian hacer las especies de sus Pueblos; las quales paseaban, enseñandolas á tocar sus Guerras; y en este tiempo enseñaban sus Mozuelos, dándoles, y Lanzeras; y defendian sus Terminos, y Mieses, y otras cosas de interés que tenian. De manera, que en todo este bien atendian las Provincias, en Armas, y continuos esto, y hacian entre ellos sus crueles Guerras, y Batallas; porque muchas veces venian á rompimientos, y muerte muchos Gente, y hacia grandes pérdidas, y desposeyes, y prenas de Cautivos, y Bienes, y se tomaban Pueblos; y quedaba Provincia, en orden de conquistar, cada qual, sus Bienes, y Señorios. Y antes de las especies se enseñaban todo de esto; porque los Pueblos, y Ierodandes, no se tolieran, ni destruieran; y para esto hacian grandes Oferendas á su Dios Huitzilopochtli, ó Camaxtli, ofreciendole Armas, y otras cosas, pidiendole favor, y ayuda contra sus enemigos.*"

According to Tovar (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32) it was the special festival of the war captains, who set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.

2. "*Trompiche in Gentile manier Tambem*," according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; p. 19. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., II, p. 279) says: "*Los sacerdotes hacian un bosque en que daban á comer cierta hierba; esta hacian en la fiesta que se llama panquetzaliztli. Para esta fiesta compraban esclavos que se llamaban tlacatecolos,*

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[6] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

vmpan ca vitzilatl, ontoc, avevetica in qujoaltzatzacutivi, intlan qujoalaantivi: 796^x 778

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[7] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half tlae.

in oqujoalhujcaque: njman ie ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jcxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmamatlaequj, in jmamanechichioal in jpan mjqujaque, yoan qujntzao vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpā tlatlamj: yoā imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in ezotli, in cozic, yoan qujmontlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuiotl. 796^x 302 [301]

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmōchichiuhque, in oqujmōcencauhque; njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpuloo, çan oalqujqujztiquiça, njmā ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnzxitinja, qujotlatlahlia in intlaequi, qujmōcanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioaoan. 796^x 567

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[8] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at middlay,[9] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

Auh in oacic, vncā tlamacujlti: njmā vncā compeoaltia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulveveque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in ioalnepantla: vmpā aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oncoa in calpulco. [515]

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

Auh in cioatl tealtiz, çan vncā in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cōquetza atenco ezço: auh in otzōquiz navilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmā ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltitlti, yoā in tealtique, yoan in teanque yoan in tetemovique, yoā im panoa- [535]

que quiere decir, lavador, porque los lavadores y rociadores para que rociaseis, para que se corte hacer cabezas cuando los hubieren de matar y cortar; amanecidos estos cuidaban en Atempanecaloco, porque allí había fuera de ellos y allí los sacaban los que sacaban en cuidado."

The Real Palacio MS (Gulbay, op. cit., p. 317) reads: "Auh inic ontoc tzatzacutivi yehica in tlamatl ocachipa cuitzaca anecuitzilia in tzopicti cuch ompaltlahuil"—"y es decir el que había quien parejar a en cuidado siempre la habían con agua cuidaba, cada uno de los cuidados dice."

6. Sahagún (Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 59) calls chachalacatl ocuitzqui cypress (an emblem of kingly power). In Sahagún (Bulmalo ed., Vol. III, p. 333) it is defined as "Tecuchuan mocuitzquiaua Tlaca; the corresponding Spanish text has "hojas de cedro." See J. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, Diccionario de colores nahuas (México: Editorial Cultura, T. G., S. A., 1949), Vol I, pp. 156ff., for some notes on the etymology of chachalacatl.

7. Sahagún, in Codex Florentino 10r. 1577 (Codex Florentino B) (Boelen: Dresden von Gehr. Unger, 1905), p. 8, describes this face painting (tlatlamj chichiuhca) as tlatlatlac in Quauxoxoquiçan. The stripes, alternate colors, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Dueños de los esclavos."

9. "Comían al medio día" (loc. cit.); "Ate nuevo (nur einmal) am Tage (am Mittag)"—Seler, Einige Kapitel, p. 286; "comida a medio" (Gulbay, op. cit., p. 317).

X 796 would carry the banners, and the women who would wash their faces. [The dance] ceased when conch shells were blown [at midnight].

X 796 And hence was it named the serpent dance: they took one another's hands, while ranged in a line;
536 with their hands they grasped circlets of grass, or reeds, or cord made into jar rests. The victims went treading among [the others]; there was much running; they kept, hurrying as if in haste, as if breathless. There was circling about, with no song, without singing.

And the old men of the tribal temple beat drums for them; and only they sang. Some looked on, marveling at [the dance]. And much was their fasting admired and respected. All abstained, even more so
[834] the owners of the victims. No [man] might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And when they had danced the serpent dance, then they dispersed.

X 796 And when it dawned, on the twentieth day, when [it was] verily the feast day, thereupon the bathed slaves went to [their owners'] houses, taking their
[386] leave. They carried with them black stain, [or] perchance blue mineral earth, or red ochre. And as
[533] leave was thus taken in [the owners'] houses, they went singing, as if their voices would crack, as if they were hoarse. When they reached the houses of those who had bathed [them], then they dipped
[386] their hands into the blue stain, or the black stain, or the red ochre. Thereupon they laid their hands upon the posts and upon the door lintels, wherever they came out of the homes of those who had ceremonially bathed [them].

And when they had proceeded to the several places where their relatives were, then they again went to [their owners'] homes; these in vain offered them food. Some yet would eat; and some could not now eat.

And when this was done, gifts awaited them, spread out. Cloaks were ready [for them], breech cloths, shifts, skirts. And when the gifts were laid out, thereupon the victims took their banners upon their backs, arraying themselves of their own free will. And the women likewise, in the same way, put upon their backs their baskets with all their womanly adornment. Thereupon they arose to carry in their arms the gifts made them; before the door, in the street, they arranged themselves in procession. And the bathed ones thereupon entered the interior of the

que, yean in teixamjque cioa: in mocana iquac in tlatlapitzalo.

Auh injc moteneoa cuanecujlolo, maana, motecpana: injc maana iaoalli, aço toli, anoço mecatl in qujiaoallalia: in tlaaltilti intlan aactivi, cenca motlatlaloa, chichitonj, vivicinj, iuhqujn tlaixiotochca, iuhqujn tlacica: moiziaoaloa, amo cujca, amo ma cujca.

Auh in calpulvevetque, qujntlatzoczonjlia: auh çanjoque in cujca: cequjntin tlatlatta, tlatlamaviçoa: auh cenca tlamaviztililoia, cenca qujmaviztiliaia in neçaoaliztli: vel ixqujch tlacatl, motzitzqujaia: oc cenca ichoantin, in tealtique: aiac cioacochia, auh in cioa, ano ac oqujchcochia.

Auh in onnecococololoc, njmã ie ic tlazitinj.

Auh in otlatvic, in vncan tlacempoalti, in ie vel iquac illujtl: njman ie ic vi in tlaaltilti, mocacalnaoatizque: qujnpatilia tlilli, aço texotli, anoço tlavitl: auh in jquac ie vi mocacalnaoatizque, cujcativi, iuhqujn no in tozqujtzatzaianj, omach içaoacaque: in onacique inçhan tealtique, njmã conaquja in imma texotitlan, anoço tlilitilan, anoço tlauhtitlan: njman ie ic commamaña tlaquetzaltitech, yoã thaixquatl itech, ixquicã quiça in inchachan tealtique.

Auh in jzqujcan onqujzque, in inoaniolcaoacan: njmã ie ic no ceppa vi in inchachã, in nen qujntlamaca; in cequjntin oc ontlaqua; auh in cequjntin aocmo tlaqua.

Auh in jquac in, ie ic onoc in tetlauhtilli, ic qujchixtoc in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in vipilli, in cueitl: auh in onotetecac, tetlauhtilli; njmã ie ic mochichioa in tlaaltilti commomamaltia in inpã, çan monomavia in muchichioa: auh in cioa çan no inoona in cõmomamaltia, intana, in jzqujch inciotlatqui: njmã ie ic moquetza in tlanapaloa, in qujnpaloa tetlauhtilli, qujiaoac, vtlica oalmotecpana: auh in tlaaltilti, njman ie ic calaquj in cioapan, qujoaliaoaloa in tlecujlli: mec oalqujça, mec ommoiacatia

house, going around the fireplace. Then they came out. Then in the lead were those carrying [the gifts] in their arms, quietly going to the tribal temple—the bathed ones following, coming after [the others].

And when they had come to the tribal temple, thereupon the bathed ones danced in the courtyard. And they placed the gifts in the tribal temple. And they placed aside the capes, the breech clouts, the skirts, the shifts. Then first came the bidden guests. [The owners] offered gifts to each of them. And the women stood apart, in line. They also offered gifts to them.

And this was the office of only the merchants, who bathed and purchased [the slaves].

And when those had been completely arrayed who had come together and been given gifts, then they took the victims [that] they might go into the sand.[8] When they reached the [pyramid] temple of the demon, then all climbed up to the temple. When they had come to the top, then they circled about the sacrificial stone, and climbed down [the other] side.

And when they had come down to the ground, when they had reached the earth, then all ran to their tribal temples. And some went slowly. When they entered [the tribal temples], then [the merchants] took from them their paper vestments, and then they were placed upon mats. They served food, or wine, to whoever might wish it. All night they had them keep vigil.

And when midnight arrived, then they ranged them in a row, and cut hair from the crowns of their heads. When they had cut the hair from their heads, then they put it away for themselves (as hath been told in [the account of] Quecholli).

And when this was done, then were eaten [*tamales* of a dough of] amaranth seed, all at the same time, everywhere in the houses of the common folk. None failed to eat the amaranth seed [*tamales*]. And no one broke the amaranth seed [*tamales*] with his hand; they sliced it with [a length of] *maguey* fiber. And when the amaranth seed [*tamales*] had been eaten, thereupon were taken up the straw mats; they rolled them up and set them, in order, outside the door. Thereupon they lay upon the earth, the cold ground, [on] old capes, or old pieces of *maguey* fiber cloth, of which they made conceits for themselves.

And upon the morrow, when it was still a little dark, then [he who carried the figure of] Paynal

in tlanapaloa, vmpa tlamattivi in calpulco, ça tetocativi in tlaaltilti, ça tlatzacutivi.

Auh in oacito calpulco: njman ie ic mjtotia, in tlaaltilti, in jtoaco: auh in tetlauhtilli, qujcalaquja in calpulco: no nonqua qujtlalia in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in cueitl, in vipilli: mec onmoiacatia in tlaconoxtalti, qujoalmacatimanj, ceceniaca in innetlauhtil: auh in cioa, nonqua mocempanoa: no qujoalmacatimanj, in innetlauhtil:

auh inin çan mjxcavia in pochteca, in tealtianj, in tecoanj.

Auh in ōtecencaoalec, in oncenvetz, in ontetlauhtiloc: njman ie ic qujnvica in tlaaltilti, xalaqujzque: in onacique tlacatecuiod jtcupan, mec tleco in teucalticpac, in vmpanvetzito: mec qujoaliacaloa in techcatl, can jc oaltemotimanj, centlapal.

Auh in otemoco tlalchi, in ōtlaltitech acico, mec oalmotlatlaloa in incacalpulco: auh in cequjntin, çan jvian in iativi: in ocalaqujto, njmā ie ic qujntlatlalilia in jmamatlatquj, mec motlalia in petlapā qujnchieltia in tlaqualli, anoço vetli, in çatle cōniequjzque, ceioal in qujntoçavia.

Auh in oacic inoalnepantla: mec qujntecpana, in qujntzoncujzque: in oqujmontzoncujque, mec motlatlatlilia (in juh onjto ipan quecholli).

Auh in ommochiuh y, mec tzoalqualo, cēvetzi in novian macoalpan, aiac in maca tzoalqua: auh in tzōlli, aiac imatica qujcotonaia: ichtli injc qujxotlaticate: auh in ontzoalqualoc, njmā ie ic mecoa in petlatl, qujilacatzoa, qujiaoac qujoalmamana; njmā ie ic netecco, çan tlalpan, tlaiexticapan, ça tilmaçolli, anoço aiaçolli in commopeperchtia, in commopepechia.

Auh in otlatvic ça oc achi tlatlaiovanc, njmā ie ic oaltemo in teucalticpac in Paynal in jcpac Vitzil-

8. Cf. p. 87, n. 7, *supra*.

X 796 came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come
[346] down, then he went direct to [the place] called the god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then
[778] he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

And when [the latter] had greeted [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim, whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acacninancō.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [Their latter]
[714] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird
[411] arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, battle was joined; truly, [some] were slain.

obuchtli: in oualtemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in motemoa Teutlachco: vncan qujmōmjctia navintin: vme amapan, vme vappatzan: in oqujmōmjetti, mec qujnvilana, tlachco: iuhqujn ic tlatlacujloa imeraça.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan qujça in Tlatilulco, njmā ic tlamelaoa nonoualco: vncan cantiqujça itoca Quavitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: cangō iuhquj in jnechichioal, tel çan ie motiçaoaoan:

auh in oconantiqujça, mec vi, vmpan ommocolos tlaxotlan: njmā ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncā ontlamjcitiqujça, çan iciuhca:

njmā oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan qujça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izquitlan: nō vncan ontlamjcitiqujça, in conmjctia, itoca Izquitecatl:

mec vi, vncā qujztiqujça in tepetocan, ie cuioacā caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncā oallacolna: njman ic qujoalmelaoa in acachinanco.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmā ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in ichoītin tlaamavia, iquac jeoa, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlatoca Paynal.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilti, nonqua mānj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequjntin tiacaoan: qujnmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cojtlachixxo: çan ocoquavitl in immac oonoc.

Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatsontectli injc tlaieoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilti qujnnamjqoj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iaçatecpaio, vel iauiotl in machiaoia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, op. cit., p. 282, the four victims were sacrificed in a ball court (tenochtlan)—not in the Aztec of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the *barrio* of Teotlachco.

10. Seler (op. cit., p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods. See, however, corresponding Spanish text.

11. Though the Nahuatl text describes the movements of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*Luego descendia en estrago, con gran priesa trayendo en los brazos, la estatua de papiel, cuerpo de Tezcatlipocatl.*" This priest was dressed in the trappings of Quetzalcoatl, according to Torquemada (op. cit., p. 282).

12. "*Alli le salia a recaudar, el estrago de aquel dios, con la compañia del dios Quauitlyca*" (corresponding Spanish text).

And of them who aided the Uitznaua, if one were taken, he met his end. In truth, the bathed ones slew [their opponents]; using a two-toned drum [as an offering stone], upon it they cut open their breasts.

And the onlooker, he who oversaw [the battle], when he noted that [he who bore the likeness of] Paynal already approached, then cried out, saying: "Mexicans! Now he cometh! Now already is brought the lord! Enough!"

And when they heard this, then the bathed ones took after [the others]. Then dispersed, melted away, and departed those who had aided [the Uitznaua], who had rolled up the paper.

Thereupon came [he who bore] Paynal. First arrived the standards, two devices for seeing, made of [sprays of] feathers, with a hole in their midst. Two mere boys bore them hence, hastening greatly. Then [from the boys] two warriors took [the standards] quickly—[warriors] who could hasten and run fast.

And when they had run a certain distance, two other [warriors] took it briskly from them. So they carried it in relays.

And when they reached the eagle portal[13] [of the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli], none took these from them; they took the devices up [to the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. These who came ahead, when they had brought up the devices for seeing, cast them upon the image of Uitzilopochtli, which [was made of a dough of] amaranth seed. [There] they fell to the ground, faint, and lay passing.

And the fire priest thereupon came forth and cut their ears with a flint knife, whereupon they came to themselves; thus they revived.

And when they had revived, then they climbed down, taking the amaranth seed dough [image] which they had captured.[14] They took it to their homes, [for] it was in truth their captive, and ate it. They offered it to their kin and to their neighbors, who all ate of it.[15]

Auh in tlapalevia in quimpalevia vitznaoa, intla ça ximocá, no mjquja: vel iioma quimjctia in tlaltibi, çan tepemaztli in jpan coneltequi. 796 [534]

Auh in tlachiaquj, in oquittac, in oconjttac in ie vitz Paynal: mec tzatzi, qujva, Mexicae, ca ie vitz, ca ie movicazz in tlacatl, ma inquijch.

Auh in oquicacque: mec tetoca in tlaalitli: vncan xiximinj, tlaxitinj, viri, in otepaleviaia, in otlaxtaviaia.

Niman ie ic vitz in Paynal: achtopa oalcos in machiotl, auh in tlachicloaj vncan hiviti in tlachioalli, yiticoionquj, çã oc pipiltotonti in qujoalitquj, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia, njman quinculjtiquiça in tlacaoan, in vel paina, in vel totoca:

auh in oquexquich oquioaltoctique, oc ceppa no vmẽtin, quinculjtiquiça, çan jubquin quinnomamacativi.

Auh in oacico quauhquijiaoac, aocac vel quinculjia, ie ocan quipantlaçazque, in jicpac Vitzilobuchtli: in vel iacatitiuh, in opanvetzito in tlachicloaj, ipan contlaça in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, in tzoalli ça onchachapantivetzi, vel çoçotlaoa, ça cicintoque.

Auh in tlenamacac, njman ie ic iauh, quinnacaztecpavia, ic oallachia, inic moncalia. [785]

Auh in omoncalique mec oaltemo, quinquijze in ocacique tzoalli, quinnoequjlia in inchan, ca nel innmal, quijqua, quinnomamaca in inoaniolque, ynan in tlaxillaçalegue, quicenqua. [262]

13. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 88): "y luego se levantaron los capitanes y entraron dentro del en patio que se llamaba quauhquiahuac. . . . En este lugar estaba una águila de grande grandor y otra estaba un estandarte de hombre, y por dos llamaban a aquel patio quauhquiahuac; de la una parte del águila estaba un tigre de pardos, y de la otra estaba un estandarte de pardos."

14. Chimalpain (op. cit., p. 160) says such images had been made of both Uitzilopochtli and Paynal: ". . . Ichtecatpan . . . dos estatuas de aquel Dios diferentes, de la parte de arriba estaban una campo de color amarillento, y la primera por nombre diqueme Ichtec de atrás."

15. In op. cit., pp. 169-70, Chimalpain writes: "aquella noche que era la décima del mes, subieron también los sacerdotes y a la mañana siguiente llamaban a la estatua de maíz de Huitzilopochtli a otro sitio que había en el recinto del templo, y en presencia solamente del Dios, de nuestro dios Huitzilopochtli del templo y de nuestro emperador de los mexicanos, el sacerdote Quetzalcoatl, que era jefe de los Huitznahuatlacas, y principales arrojaban sus dardos a la estatua con que la atravesaban de parte a parte. Con este dardeo que se había mostrado en Dios; unos de los sacerdotes le sacaban el corazón; y lo presentaban al rey para que lo comiese; el cuerpo se dividía por medio y la una entraba a dos a los diaphdiaos y la otra quedaba para los sacerdotes; de esta se hacían cuatro partes para los cuatro barrios de la ciudad, y cada parte se dividía en cantidades particulares que se distribuían entre todos los individuos del otro sacerdotes. Esta ceremonia explicaban esta los paladines tlamacazcas, ganaron a Dios. Los mexicanos no probaban de esta ingestión nunca por cuanto, nunca se pueda creer de no pertenecer a su nación al cuerpo de la guerra."

X 796 And when this was done, then they took in procession around [the pyramid] those who were to die, only once circling them about. Thereupon they were arranged and placed in order—the captives standing ahead. Then a man [priest] brought down [from the top of the pyramid] the sacrificial papers[16]—a man brought it down. When he reached the ground, he raised them as an offering to the four directions. Then he laid them in the so-called eagle vessel.

Thereupon likewise descended the fire serpent,[17] looking like a blazing pine firebrand. Its tongue was made of red arara feathers, looking like a flaming torch. And its tail was of paper, two or three fathoms long. As it descended, it came moving its tongue, like that of a real serpent, darting in and out.

And when [the priest] had come [with it], bringing it down to the base [of the pyramid], he proceeded carefully to the eagle vessel. Then he went up [to the eagle vessel] and raised [the fire serpent] also to the four directions. When he had [so] raised it up, then he cast it upon the sacrificial paper, and then they burned.

And when he had come, leaving it, then he
[534] ascended; and when he reached the summit, then shell trumpets were blown. Thereupon was brought down Paynal, the representative of Uitzilopochtli; in great haste [the priest] brought him down.

And when [Paynal] had come, reaching the ground, he passed before the eagle vessel and quickly came in front of the captives and the bathed ones, as if guiding them. Then they ascended [the pyramid steps].

As they came gaining the summit, first the captives died, as if [with them] was formed the fundament for the bathed ones.[18] And when, first, the captives had died, the bathed ones were next.

[534] And when one had died, then shell trumpets were sounded; then they proceeded to bring them down, rolling them quickly down [the steps]. So did they with all the bathed ones.

And likewise men were slain at Uitznauac. They who died were only the Uitznaua; only they [died] —none [were slain to form] their fundaments.

And when they had been slain, then all departed.

Auh in ic iuhquj mec tetlaiacalochtilo, in mjquja-que, çan ceppa in qujnoallaiacalochtis: in ic iuhquj mec temanalo, tetecpanalo, iacattimanj in mamalti: njman ic ic qujoaltemovia in tetcuhpoalli: ce tlacatl in qujoaltemovia, in ocaxitico tlalchl, nauhcampa conjaca; mec cõmana, in vacan moteneua quauhxi-calco:

njman ic ic no oaltemo in Xiuhcoatl, çan iuhqujn in ocopilli; cueçalin in jnenepil muchioa, tlatlaciuh in ocopilli: auh in jcuitlapil, amatl, aço vnmatl, anoço ernatl injc viac: injc oaltemo, iuhqujnana nelli coatl, nenepilotivitz, iuhqujn mocuecuelotivitz.

Auh in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, vmpa tlamatiuh in quauhxicalco: mec tleco, no nauhcampã in conjaca: in oconjauh mec cõmaiavi in jpan teteppoalli, mec tlatla:

auh in oconcaoaco mec tleco, in opanvetzito tlac-pac, mec tlapitzalo: njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, in jxiptla Vitzilobochtli, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia.

Auh in otlaltitech caxitico, ixpan qujqujztia in quauhxicalli, injxpan qujztiqujça in mamalti, yoan in tlaaltilti, iuhqujn, qujnoaliacana, mec tleco:

in oacico tlacpac, achto mjquj in mamalti: iuhqujn impepechoan muchioa, tlaaltilti: auh in oachto ommjoque, mamalti; ça qujmõtoqujlia in tlaaltilti.

Auh in jquac çe õmjquj; njman tlapitzalo: njman ic qujnoaltemoviztimanj, qujnmjmjlotivitze; much iuh qujnchioa in tlaaltilti.

Auh no mjcoa in vitznauac: çanjoque in mjquj vitznauaca, çan mjxcavia, ainque inpepechoã.

Auh in õmjcoac, mec vivilua: auh in jmuztlaio,

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Va volviendo grande, de papeles blancos, que llamaban amappaolli, o por otro nombre amatl.*" The Nahuatl text here has *amatlapaolli*, subsequently it is spelt *amappaolli*.

17. "*Un hachon de tea muy largo, que llamaban xiuhcoatl.*" brought down by a priest (*loc. cit.*). In the Bulmarda ed., Vol. II, p. 383: "*y luego se arriba a quemadas capaxilla cuidado de papel que se llamaba xiuhcoatl.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 4. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 282) describes the xiuhcoatl as "*una hachonada, y retorcida, de grande cuerpo, y cumbre*"—emblem of the Sun in Uitzilopochtli. He means it *papel*, as does Clavigero (op. cit., p. 168), describing it as "*una serpiente de imitacion.*"

18. The corresponding Spanish text explains that the prisoners who formed the fundaments were not sacrificed ("*ningun sacaban vivo con ellos*").

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen.

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the house of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[10] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haspeoalo: in vetli mja iaoca matlalvetli, iaquich tlacatl in vevenque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vetli.

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Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vetli: iere çan quichtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, velaiovalli qujmoeuctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo itoaque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlas, intla machilioque, in ca otlaoaque: in ca necentlalilioia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaca, yoã qujnquatezcoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujnmelletlaxitia: nemamaco injc chjctiloia.

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Auh in oimellel onquja, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ie maviztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzeztona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn iaquichtin otlatequipanoque in techiaquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techinquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vetli ipan icac, yn vetlali: yoan in iaquich tlazilacaleque, iaquich tlacatl motlauhtia.

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Auh injc eilhujtl motenoua chonchaiocacaliea, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaioiaia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oquiccacauhque chôchaiotl, mec monelos, nenoqua manj, in tlamacaque incen coa iaoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nenoqua momana in telpuchti:

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mec pena nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaoala, mitcali, ynjc moujujtequj, acaxiamaiti, ichoatl yn oiemati, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujujtlal-

10. See N. 11.

X 796 at the ends, with cord, held together with cord; so that as one struck, they made a crackling noise. Verily, they belabored and hurt one another.

[824] And if [the young warriors] caught a priest, if one was taken, they robbed him with [powdered] *magueyy* leaves; sorely he burned and itched; [it was] as if his flesh crept. And if one of the young warriors was caught, the priests bled his ears with a [*magueyy*] thorn, and his arms, his breast, and his thighs, [so that] he cried out loud.

[352] And if [the priests] chased the young warriors there into the royal palace, they looted it, taking all the [reed] mats, the cord mats, the seats with backs, the couches, the backless seats. And if they found horizontal, two-toned drums, or ground drums, they removed them, taking all [with them].

And if [the young warriors] took after the priests, entering the priests' dwelling, they also robbed them, removing from them mats, shell trumpets, and seats.

And they dispersed from thence, and all stopped toward evening when a little sun still shone.

And the fourth day [of Atemoztli] was named "Ashes Are Scattered." The old people said: "For the bathed ones, who died," it was said, "yet walk [upon the earth] for four days. Not yet do they depart to the land of the dead. And when ashes are scattered, then they go down into the land of the dead."

And then were burned the paper vestments in which they had died, which had been laid in reed [515 348] baskets. And then all washed their heads with soap; all bathed. Then all departed hence, thus dispersing each [to his own house].

Here ended the feast of Panquetzaliztli, after it had already taken the four days from [the month of] Atemoztli.

piaia, quicacatzilpiaia, quitetevilpiaia, quimecatetecuiaiaia, quimecatitlan tlaliaia ynic moujujtequj: iuhquin tlatlatzcatimanj, vel mococoltia, vel mococoaia.

Auh intla oce cacique tlamacazquj, intla oce miec, quimealtia, oenca cuecuetzoca, quequenquja: yuhquin iolmiquj ynacaio. Auh intla ce axioa, telpuchtli, in tlamacazque quiçoçoia vitztica yn jnacazco, yn jacolpan, yn ielpan, yn jmetzpan, vel quitzatzatia.

Auh in telpupuchti, intla quintocaticalaquinque, in vmpa tecpan, tlanamoia, muchi quinamoia in petlatl in petlamecatl, in tepotzoicpalli, in netlaxonj, in tzinicpalli: auh intla quipãtilia teponaztli, in veuetl muchi quiquixtia, muchi quicuj.

Auh intla quintocaticalaquinque tlamacazque in calmecac, no quintlanamoielia, quintlaçaçaquilia, muchi quinquixtilia, in petlatl, in tecciztli, in icpalli: auh çan vncã xixitinj, necacao:'o, oc achi tonatiuh ie teutlac.

Auh inic navilhuitl motenoa, nexpixolo: quitouia in vevetque. Ca in tlaaltilti in omicque: quil oc nemj navilhuitl, aiõmo vi in mictlan: auh in icquac nexpixolo, quinicquac temo in mictlan;

yoã iquac motlatia, mopetlacaltema, in imamatlatquj in ipã omicque, yoan iquac neatmovilo, nesaltilo, mec vivilos, ic cecẽmanoa.

Nicã tãquiça in illhuitl Panquetzaliztli, ie cuel ic naujlhuitl cõcuilia in Atemuztli.

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlaloca descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlaloca. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought magury fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlama in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamaviztihliztli, in quichioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtolitetl occe metztli in motenoa Atemoztli. 796x

Injc caxtolitetl, oce ilhujtl ichoatl in motenoa Atemoztli:

injc motenoa Atemoztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, oaoalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: quitoaia in jxquich macecalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuitica, tlatemuatica, muchizcaca, motemachitica: in quenmā oalanjz qujavitl:

auh in ocalan qujavitl, njmā ic moquetztiquiça, qujcujtivetzi in jdema, vel hujtlaztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan quiça: auh in jzoteocon coatl no cacalaca, no iollo: [445]

njmā quixopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian quiça in texitoaico, novian tlenamaca, novian tlaxotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic quinotza in tlaloque, ic quiauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in ecquipstin macecalti, monetolhiaia injc tepiquiquac: auh macujtica in amatemaia, in amacxaia, yoan olli, yoa iztli, yucn ichtli in quicoaia: [314 269]

cenca quimavizitilinia, yoan quinecavilinia injc tepiquiquac, çoã toquentinque: amo mamivinia injc maltinia, çan mocuechaltinia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono equichcochia. [515 834]

Auh in ic iuh oallavi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemoztli, iuh cioatl in nemoa, vel neixpoloia, in

1. "Bajada de el Agua," according to Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 299), "porque este Mes cada Buena, y menor alguaxes Aldea." Gamboa, (op. cit., p. 310) has the same.
Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tezozomoc refers to frequent, extraordinary deluges in the region, attributed to Tlaloc—Robles and Olmos, op. cit., p. 31.
2. The Pedrosa MS (Gamboa, loc. cit.) places this in the beginning of the rite: "Se adornaban la Idolatrias correspondientes"—"se cada uno de los dioses se hacian los dioses adorar (Tlaquatzin)."
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

X 796 night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

amaxtotlalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl: auh in otlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlaltitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in qujquequetza, vel oncã cemjlhujtia:

X 796 And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these 778 would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

auh in tepiscque achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque, injc qujnchivilizque imãmatlatquj, tepictotõ: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instruments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujtqujxe in inchã tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoã imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquẽtia:

And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço m cujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhqueme, Tepetzintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[4]

Auh in qujnpiquja ichoantin in tetepe: in popocatepetl, in jztactepetl, anojo iztac cioatl, in tlaloc, in iooaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhqueme, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chicome coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceedingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and sauce bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

Auh in oqujocencauhque, mec qujntlamaca, cecenj mjacavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çã achitoton, papatlachtotonti papatlachpipil: quauhcaxtotonco in qujntetemjlia, yoã inmolcaxtoton, yoan inçoqujtecõtoton, çan no tepitoton cẽcã achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was [in them]. And the green jars were made of these green gourds.[5] They split them, and took out their seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[6] Thus all night they sang for [the

auh nappa in qujntlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan manj vntetl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, ichoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, qujxtlapanaia, qujoalqujxtilia in jaiovachio, qujoalaiooachqujxtia: yoan qujoalqujxtilia in jcujtlaxcol, in juhquj mecatl, vncan conteca in aioctli,

4. These are located in the chapter on Ad omojo. See p. 43. Tepemjatli and Tepepolli probably are the Tepemiaoo and Tepepoloo named in that chapter.

5. *Cucurbita ficifolia Bouché* (Seler: op. cit., p. 221).

6. Cf. Seler (loc. cit.)—*Kikhimoxte* (*ximoxti*). *Ximoxti*, however, is defined (Rémi Simeon op. cit.) as a mixture of honey and water.

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they seized what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mist House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the bidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." None came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

iuh ccioal in qujncujcatia, qujntoçavia, yoan qujntlapichilia, qujnvilacapitzalhuja. 796x 778

Auh in tlapitzaia amo ichoan in tequjppanequc, çan telpopochtin, cenca no maviztmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaitiloia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopaztli, njmã ie ic qujmonaqujlia in iollopan. [284]

Auh in oconaqujli, njmã ic qujoalquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchioa, qujoalmaca in tepiqujnj, xoxovic xicalco, in qujoallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõmjctique tzoalti: njmã ie ic qujncenqujxtia, qujtecpichoa, in jxqujch imamatlatqui tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cõtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxototon, in quauhcaxxotonti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxqujxh axtapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan oztopilquavitl, yoan in jxqujch in tlaquaia in caxxotonti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl much vmpa concaoa in niauhcalco.

In ie vi qujcaoazque, njmã ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlacoanotzalti, in tepictlaquazque: mec tetlamaco, cecencj, neixcavilo: in entlaquaque, njmã ie ic qujnmaca in vctli. 796x

auh in cioa no calaquj, moteneoa ontamalcaoa, aiac çan juh iauh, muchi tlacatl itlaol qujtqujtiuh in cioa qujcuecuexanotivi: auh in aca icintzin in qujtquj, aço caxxolokotl, anoço tlamjc.

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec qujntlamaca tetlamaco: njmã no qujmaca in vctli, qujntlaoãtia, qujnoalmanjlia tilapaztica in vctli, yoã qujoalmana in tetlaoan, in tlaoanonj, in tlaoãcxxitl, çan no tiltic. [273 415]

Auh in jqnac concaoa tetevitl, in nezttacoalli cõma [202]

7. The *Palacio* MS version differs (Cuevas, op. cit., p. 314): "*ynmpan quinquauhtecuaque ica in tzotzopaztli ohuel*"—"*despues los despedaban las mujeres con el cuchillo del telar.*" Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 204) thus describes it: "*abriendolos por los pechos, con un Tzotzopaztli, que es un palo ancho, con que usaron las Mugeres, à manera de espada, à cuchillo, cuadando el corazon, que tenedan los cuias presos, en la tinaxa de la cocina, y cortandolos los cabezas, como anteriormente hacen à los Sacrificados, y guardandolos.*"

X 796 [204] banners, the offerings, they set them in order, and bound them upon the pole.[2]

mana, conjilpia cuenmantitech.

Enough. Here endeth [the telling of] this feast, which was named Atemoztli.

Ie izquich, njcan tzonquiça inj ilhujtl in motenemi Atemuztli.

2. The same pole is mentioned in the month of Etzalqualiztli. See pp. 77-8, 84.

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feasts and sacrifices which were made in the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Seventeenth feast: this was known by the name of Tititl.

Upon [this] feast died a person named Ilama tecutli—[one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed [slave].[2] The majordomos procured her.

And the adornment of [the likeness of] Ilama tecutli was [as followeth: she had] her white skirt, her white shift—completely white. And over this she was girt with [what was] named the star skirt. This was bedight with small sea shells, on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, [with] shells set at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, much did [the shells] jingle, the pleasant sound [carrying] far. And her sandals had white toes, woven with cotton threads.

And her shield was covered over with white clay and pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers, sewn to the middle [of the shield], and it had pendants at the edges, of heron feathers, and [tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers, hung at the point. And in [the other] hand she bore her weaving stick.[3]

And her face painting was in diverse colors. About the lower part of her face, they spread black. It was said, the lower part of her face was blackened. And upon her nose and forehead, they laid yellow ochre.

And her eagle feather headpiece, a headdress with eagle feathers arrayed upon it, consisted only of hair, twined, arranged and well disposed, braided and intertwined with itself. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli.*

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce, capitulo vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtółtetl omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl. 796x

Injc caxtoltetl omume ilhujtl iehoatl in moteneoa, itoca Tititl:

in jpan in ilhujtl, ce tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, ixipda, tlaaltilli: calpixque in qujnextia. [622 567]

Auh in jnechichioal catca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj qujmocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachioalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacaxtlalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic ommotzincuetia: in jquac nenemj cenca xixamaca, veca caqujzti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jqueoquetzil: icpatl injc tlaqujztli, 796x 292

yoan ichimal, çã tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachioalli, inepantla in tlatzõtli, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac: yoan centlapal qujtzitzquja, itzotzopaz:

yoã moxauh mochictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jtenco qujteca tlilli: mjtoa, motentlilhuja: auh in jiac ipan, yoan ixquac tecoçavitl in qujteca, 796x 302 [38]

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjxcavia in tzõtli, tlamalintli, tlavipantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanetech itzontli: in tzõcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

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1. "Hierarchicum," Godfrey suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 314). Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 39) writes: "Tititl. *Temporada sombrea, tiempo oportunidad; Retorcid, sombra ó sombra sombra. Como no hemos encontrado la interpretación de Retorcid, y vemos la raya del verbo tititia, redoblar dinero de la cuenta.*" Temporandos (*op. cit.*, p. 309) amplifies his version thus: "*porque la era de frios, y heladas, las quales sombran mucho, por la poca roya de que sombran, y porque por este entonces tiempo, cubrahan aquellas, con Guarnas, y Andaias, que tenian las cosas Provisiones contra las aguas, y se sombraban, y desenbrian como á carnas.*"

Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 201-2) writes: "*quiere decir sombrar . . . lo significaban en el cielo dos estrellas sombreadas al ojo al cielo. . . . hablo hablar de temporal y hombrear atisbar como con ojos de las estrellas.*"

The Tonsa Calendar refers to the gods controlling and thus supporting "the machine of the world" because of the violent winds. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 7; also supra, pp. 130-31 and n. 3.

3. The shield and the entire ensemble of the goddess are closely illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus.* Paso y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 273) thus describes the shield: "*Es redonda, que se acostumbra muy hace á la desempeñada, que hace dejando las tinieblas, en blanco; tiene un cuero de phenix de figuda pequeñas en el centro; y tiene cuatro repuestas cuero a chuzo de phenix: cuatro pequeñas de garzonas, redondas (que algunas hace*

X 796 And before she died, she danced. The old men
536 beat the drums for her; the singers sang for her—
they intoned her song. And when she danced, she
[781] wept much, and she sighed; she felt anguish.[4] For
time was but short; the span was but brief before
she would suffer, when she would reach her end on
earth.

Auh in aiamo mjquj mjtotiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia in vevetque, in cujcanjme, qujcujcatia, quevilia in jcujc. Auh in jquac mjtotiaia, vel mochoqujliaia, yoan elcicivia, mociappoa: iehica ca ça achitonca, ça ixqujch cavitl y, ça ixqujch cavitontli y, inic ontlacotiz, in ie compoloz tlalticpactli.

X 796 And when the sun was past its zenith, they then
took her up to the top of the temple. All the imper-
sonators of the demons went, laying hold of and
accompanying her, proceeding in rows. Yet another,
the impersonator [of Ilama tecutli], went leading
the people—one whom verily they thought a
god[dess] on earth, who was only a man whom they
[so] adorned.

Auh in jquac ōmotzcalo tonatiuh: njmā ie ic qujtlecavia in teucalticpac, qujtzitzqujtivi, qujtocativi in jxqujchtin im jxiptlaoā diablome cempantitivi, teiacātiuh in oc ceppa ixiptla, in vel-qujmoteutia tlalticpac, çan tlacatl in qujchichioaia.

And when they reached [the summit], they cut
open her breast. And when she was slain, then they
severed her head. And her head they gave to him
who led. He took it in his right hand, going off
with it, going dancing, marking the dance rhythm
with the head. He went before them, leading all the
likenesses and vicars of the devils. They circled the
temple; then they descended, in the same way [as
they had come up], ranged in rows, and going in
lines. And when they reached the ground, thereupon
they dispersed and went to their houses, to their tribal
temples, where [the gods' raiment] was guarded.

Auh in oconaxitique, njmā ic coneltequj: auh in ōmomjqujli, njmā ic qujoalquechcotona: auh in jtzontecō, qujoalmaca in teiacantiuh, itlan conana imaiauhcampa in qujtzitzqujtiuh, mjtotitiuh ic ontlaiiauhtiuh in tzōtecomatl, imjxpan icatiuh, qujniacantiuh in jxqujchtin imjxiptlaoan, in impatillooan Diablome, qujoaliaoaloa in teucalli, njman ic oaltemo, çā no ivi, motecpantivitze, cenpantitivitze: auh in otemoco tlalchi, njmā ie ic vivi, momoiaoa, vmpa vivi in inchachan, in incacalpulco, in vmpa pipielo.

And the vicar, the likeness, of Ilama tecutli, he
thus danced: he stepped back, kicking his heels up
behind him. And then he went off supporting him-
self upon his staff, a cane.

auh in teixiptla, in jxjptla Ilama tecutli: injc mjtotiaia tzitzintlaçça, itzintlampa in conjaoa icxi: yoan ic motlatlaquechitiuh itopil, ȳtlatl:

[293] Its head, its upper end, was divided off into three
[points], like a three-pronged harpoon. It was called
his thorny staff. And when he thus danced, one said:
"Ilama tecutli backeth away." And they put upon
him a mask looking in two directions. It had huge
lips and large eyes. And upon his head stood an
array of little banners, arranged in rows. They seemed
like a wreath of flowers upon his head.

in jiacac, in jquac, excan in maxaltic, iuhqujn mjnacachalli: motocaiotia, yiotlavitzil, auh in juh mjtotiaia y, mjtoa, motzineoa in Jlama tecutli: yoā xaiacatl cōmaquja, occampa tlachia, texxaxacaltic, tenxaxacalpul, yoan ixtotolonpol, auh in jcpac pantotonti tecpantoc, vipantoc: iuhqujn icpacxuchiuh muchioa:

[417] And when this [took place], it was said: "His
grain bin burneth." His granary was fashioned[5] of
pine branches joined together, like a framework.[6]
Then they wrapped paper about it; they caulked it
with paper. They placed it upon the eagle vessel.

yoan in jquac y, no moteneoa icuezcō tlatla: in jcuezcon qujchichioaia ocoquavitl in qujnenepanoaia, iuhqujn colotli, ic qujtlaliaia camaqujmjloaia, camapepechoa, vncan qujquetza in quauhxicalco:

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tomado por cuenta, porque lo parezca; pero que no son sino plumas), é inpirdas en otras primeras, y de ellas pendientes, otras plumas grandes de Aguila."

4. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 294) writes, however, that "*a esta muger le era permitido llorar, y entristecerse mucho (cosa negada en otras, que morian como Dios) y así se entristecia, suspiraba, y lloraba, con la memoria de la muerte, que de presente, y cerca esperaba.*"

5. *Chichiua* may be rendered in two ways. We have been guided largely by the context.

6. In the next chapter (fourth) Sahagún notes that "*hacian la estatua del dios de fuego de arquimas, y pulan atadas, unas con otras, que ellos llamaun colotli, que quiere decir atadurio o atado.*"

And a fire priest arrayed himself; he was bedight as a young warrior. He imitated a young warrior, with his netting cape, his forked heron feather device, his deer hoof [rattles], his lip pendant. He departed from the temple above, and brought a *maguey* leaf on which was a small banner.

When he came down to the ground, he then went to the eagle vessel, where stood the grain bin, and there he placed the *maguey* leaf.

And when he had placed it there, then appeared the priests, hastening greatly, as if [all] strove to be first. This was known as, and called, "The Flower Race." [For] they climbed up to the temple, where the flower was. It was named "Flower of the God."

And upon reaching the summit, then the priests laid fire to, and burned, the grain bin. Once again they descended, rushing down with the flower; they cast the flower upon the eagle vessel, in which the grain bin burned. Then all the priests ran off, in all directions. Enough of this.

And upon the morrow, then began [the sport of] casting bags at people. All made bags for themselves. They carried grass nets, and filled them with the flowers of reeds or with scraps of papers. They shredded paper; they shredded it fine and bound it to the inside [of the nets]. And some carried nets [made] as it were like gloves, also filled with reed flowers; [these] were called hand bags. And some only prepared themselves green maize leaves, which were made into bags; they pressed the leaves into balls.

And now it was commanded that none should put stones [in the bags]. Those who were yet small boys played purely in fun when they began the mock-fight with bags; only gradually it quickened. As the mock-fight was fought, as it flared [in intensity] blows were struck, perchance at the heads [of the participants], or their backs, or their breasts, as they dealt blows.

And the older boys cast bags at the maidens—those [yet] with long hair[dress]—whenever these came before them. They cast bags at them, surrounded them, [so that] in truth, they made some of them weep. And when some woman took forethought, if she went forth, she carried her staff, or else [carried the branch of] some kind of thorny plant. If anyone came upon her to cast a bag at her, she pursued him; she was thus defended.

And if she carried nothing for her defense, verily

auh ce tlenamacac in muchichioaia, motelpuchchichioaia, telpuchtli ipan qujça icuechin, yiaztaxel, ichochol itenpilol: vmpa oaleoa in teucalticpac, metl qujvicatz, pãtontli itech icativitz. 796b 293

In oacico tlalchi: njmã ie ic vmpa iauh in quauhxicalco, in vmpa icac cuezcomatl, vmpa contlalia in metl.

Auh in ocõtlali, njmã ie ic eoa in tlamacazque, cenca motlaloa, iuhqujn mopapanavitivi: moteneoa, motocaiotia. Suchipaina, qujtlecavia in teucalli, vmpa caca suchitl: itoca Teusuchitl.

Auh in opanvechoato: njmã qujtlemjna, qujtlecavia, in cuezcomatl in tlamacazque: no ceppa oaltemo, qujoalcujcujtiqujça in suchitl: vncã qujoallaztimanj in suchitl in vncã quauhxicalco, in vncan tlatla, cuezcomatl: njmã motlatlaloa, in tlamacazque, çan ic qujztimanj, çan oc ie ixqujch.

Auh in jmuxtlaioc: njmã ie peoa in nechichiquavilo, ixqujch tlacatl qujmuchichiviliaia chichiquatli: in acamatlatl in queoaia, vncã qujtentiquetza in tolcaputl, anoço amatzotzolli: in amatl qujpochina, qujpopochina, in jitic qujcacatza: auh in cequjntin iuhqujn macpalli, queoaia matlatl, no qujtentiquetza in tolcaputl: motocaiotia, macpalchichiquatli: auh in cequjnti çan izoatl in qujmuchichiviliaia, in qujmochichiquatiaia: izoatl in qujtatapaiollaliaia. 796x 286.

Auh in jquac nenaoatiloia, injc aiac tetl itic qujtlaliz: çan onavilpeoa, çan oc pipiltotonti in qujpeoaltiaia in muchichiquaiautlaia, çan iuh nenti veiia: injc moiaiautla iuhqujn cocomonj ic movivitequj, aço imjcpac aço incuitlapan, aço imelpan in qujmotlaxilia. 796x

Auh in telpopochpipil, qujnchichiquaviaia in ichpopochti, ichoantin in tzonquemeque, in jquac imjxpan qujça, vncan qujchichiquavia, coololhuja, in aca vel qujchochoctia: auh in aca cioatl monemachtia, intla canapa iaz itlaquavitl qujtquj, anoço tlacatecolonocovitztli: intla aca ie vitz, qujchichiquaviz, ic qujtoca, ic momapatla.

Auh in aca atle qujtquj, inemapatlaia, vel coolol-

they formed a ring about her. And some of the young boys spied [as she came], and, that they might not display their bags, some hid them [by their sides].

And when they came upon a woman whom they had waylaid somewhat, then they turned upon her and struck her, making it known to her only when they struck her, when they had cast the bags at her, saying unto her: "It is a bag, O our mother!" Then they took to their heels.

And this was done when the sport of casting bags was played. And all these days the women watched themselves well; they were prudent when they walked abroad, when they followed the roads.

Enough. Here ended Tititl.

huja: auh in cequjntin telpopochtoconti, çã motepapachivia: in aca amo qujnextitiuh in jchichiqua, çan itlan caqujtiuh.

Auh in jquac qujnamjquj cioatl, intla ạchi ocompetili, njmã oalmocuepa, qujoallaxilia, çan ic qujmachitia in jquac qujoallaxilia, chichiquatli, in quioalchichiquavia: qujlhuja, chichiquatzin, tonãtze, njman ic motlaloa.

Auh inin muchioaia, in nechichiquavilo: auh in jzqujlhujtl y, çẽca mopiaia in cioa, cenca mjmati, in jquac nenemj, in jquac vtli qujtoca.

Ie ixqujch njcan tlamj Tititl.

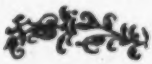

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Izcalli.

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood one on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his mat was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was dawn, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

Jnic cempoalli on caxtolli omume, capa. ytechpa tlatos, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequjpanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtolhetl omey metztli, in mjtoaia in motenecoaia Yzcalli. 796x

Inic caxtolhetl omey ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenecoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualoia ouhqujltamalli, motenecoa, mitoaia, motlaxqujan toca, ichoatl in tletl, qujtlaliaia; yxiptla, çan colotli, in qujchioaia, qujxiacatiaia, yn ixaiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, ziuujl ynic ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca iuhqujn cuecuecioca, cenca mihiiotia: 796x 778 [262]

yoan conaquja yn itzontecō quetzalcomjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn xexeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquaquauh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzaltzontecomaio yiomexti: auh yn jtzintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencā quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxiuhian vetztica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli. [237]

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhqujn ma nelli itzon:

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motqujtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in checatl itlan calaquj, iuhqujn maacomana, iuhq'n cuecuecioca, iuhqujn cuecuciaoa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, ocelocoatl, ocelupetlatl mamaçouhtoc, çan iuh ca in jtzontecon, ixtlapach onoc: auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, iocalnepantla in tlequauhtlaça. Auh in ovetz tletl, njman ic ic quipixca, mec tletlalia: [281] [372]

auh in omotlali tletl, in otlavic, in otlatlalchipacoc, mec onmotecpana, ōmoiacatia in telpopochti, in 796x

1. "Izcalli," or "the growing," according to Orozco, op. cit., p. 316. Temporando favors the meaning "calentó" (op. cit., p. 300): "quiere decir: Remolinado, ó el de la remolinadas; porque por aquel tiempo, el querite comdar el tiempo, y pasar de frio á calor, y comenzaje la Primavera." In Clavigero (op. cit., p. 172, n. 24) it is suggested that the literal meaning of Izcalli is "born in the house."

2. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text says: "hacian la estatua del fuego, del fuego de arquijon, y pulan madera, como una cruz, que ellos llaman cabalá, que quiere decir tendera, o cadalso."

X 796 selves in line and came up the youths and small boys, who offered the old men serpents which they had captured. The old men took these from them and cast them into the fire—everything, whatever they had captured; all the birds—the thrush, the precious [136] thrush, small birds found among the reeds—all the varied kinds of birds; and the water dogs, scorpions, striped lizards, trout, the white fish, the sand fish, crabs, frogs, gulls[3]—all these they cast into the fire.

[262] Then appeared [the boys], and [the priests] offered each one a *tamal* stuffed with greens. And all the common folk made themselves *tamales* stuffed with greens. They laid them before [the image of] Xiuhtecutli. As many as offered to Xiuhtecutli did so purely voluntarily. And some laid them as offerings only in the tribal temples.

And the *tamales* stuffed with greens they also named precious green stone *tamales*. And all the common folk presented among themselves their *tamales* stuffed with greens; they were presented among themselves. Whoever first cooked her *tamal* of greens then went to offer it to her kin. Thus she showed her self-esteem.

[262] And the sauce of the *tamales* stuffed with greens was a sauce of crabs.[4] And the sauce was called *chamolmolli*. And when the good common folk ate, they stood sweating and burning themselves. And the *tamales* stuffed with greens were very hot and gleaming; and they ate them hot, [so that even] their noses steamed. And the husks they set apart; no one let them reach the fire. They strewed all of them in the water.

[273] And when this was done, when all was eaten, thereupon wine was drunk. It was said: "They are refreshed; the old men refresh [themselves] there in the Temple of Xiuhtecutli." And thus they refreshed [themselves] with wine; they sat drinking and singing until it was dark. Here ended and concluded [the time when] *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten; the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens.

X 796 And when Izcalli came, when twenty days were counted, [this was] when Milintoc roasted something 778 for himself—[he who] likewise [was god of] fire. They also set up his image, which was only a frame-

pipiltotonti, qujmõmacatimanj, in vevetque, in cocoa in oqujmacique: qujnoalcujlitimanj in vevetque, tleco qujmontlaztimanj, yoan in ie ixquich, in aquin çaço tlein ocacic, in ixquich tototl, in acatzanatl, in teutzanatl, in acatechichictl, in ie ixquich nepapã tototl, yoan in axoloti, in acaltetepon, in mjlquanochtli, xovili, in amjlotl, in xalmjchi, in acocilin, in cujatl, anenez, moch tleco qujmõtlaztimanj:

njmã ic oalqujztimanj, qujnoalmacatimani, cecentetl in oauhqujltamalli. Auh ixquich tlacatl in maceoalli mocauhqujltamalhuja: ixpan ontlamanaia in xiuhtecutli: çan teiollotlama, in quezquj ontlamanaia ixpan Xiuhtecutli: auh in cequjntin çan in cacalpulco in tlamanaia.

Auh in oauhqujltamalli, no qujtocaiotiaia, chalchiuhtamalli: auh in ixquich maceoalli netech qujmomacaia, in inoauhqujltamal: netech motlatlamacaia: in aqujn achto oicucic, inoauhqujltamal: mec iauh qujmacaz in joãiolquj, ic qujnextia in netlaçotlaliztli.

Auh in oauhqujltamalli in jmollo catca, acocilttatonjlli: auh in tlatonjlli, motocaiotiaia, chamolmolli: auh in jquac tlaquaia maceoaltzitzinti, mjltonjtoque, mochichinotoque: auh in oauhqujltamalli, vel totonquj totontlapetztic qujtotoncaqua, iaiacapoçontoque: auh in jzouio, çan nonqua qujtlaliaia, aiac tleco conaxitiaia: muchi atlan contepeoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ontlatlaqualoc, njmã ie ic tlaoano: mjtoa, texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vmpa iteupan xiuhtecutli: auh injc texcalcevia vctli, tlaoantoque, cujcatoque, çan iuh iooa, njcã tlamj ic tzonqujça, in oauhqujltamalli qualo, in anoço vauhqujltamalqualiztli.

Auh in onacic Izcalli, in jquac tlacempoalti: iquac motlaxqujaia in Milintoc, çan no ie in tletl: no qujtlaliaia ixiptla, çan no colotli in qujchioaia, conaquja ixaiac, tapachtli in tlachioalli, motentlilhuj, in tlilli

3. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. III, p. 194 (*mulquanochi, xovili, amilotl*); p. 195 (*axoloti, xalmichi*); p. 196 (*acocilin*); pp. 187-8 (*acatzanatl*); p. 189 (*acachichictli*). *Axoloti* is *Amblystoma dumerilii* according to Cortés (*Lista del ichtiol.*, p. 198), and *Acaltetepon mexicanum* (mud puppy) according to Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 75); Robert Lehmann-Nitsche ("Tzacatipoca und Quetzalcoatl," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. LXX, p. 78) says it is a "*schlangenähnliche Larche (Fischkarche)*." For *xovilin*, Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 90) has *Cyprinus auratus*; for *amilotl* (Vol. II, p. 73) "a white fish like a sand eel." Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 233.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 155-6.

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *teotetl*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, iehoatl in tlilticc tetl, motocaiotiaia teutetl, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, tezcapoctli ica: 796x 778 [301 302]

auh in conaquja itzontecon, iehoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: iehoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac contecа iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc. 237

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmā ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio. 796x [253]

Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, cecenisca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmōmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in ōmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlechjllan qujnoallaxtimanj, vncā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque. 796x 262

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmā ie ic tezcalcevilo, tezcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotō, 796x 274

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hacían una cara, cubrían del diez, del lunar, de pedrillas y almaciles azules, como una cara. . . .*"
6. *Tonalquechtapalcatl*: in Lib. XI, Cap. i, §4 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexicans eagles, "*las plumas del cuello y de las lenas, hasta la cola, eso de hacheros de cuchillas (y) blancuzcos tapalcatl. . . .*"
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y correspondían como pendientes de plumas galanas, que parecían como pendientes de tejeras.*"
8. *Vilocpalli*: "*una manera de tortas que llamaban vilocpalli, de maíz molido, harina sin cocer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. II, p. 386).

X 796 274 each [of the old men] a bowl of wine, or a gourd for each, or a small earthenware jar for each; quite freely and purely of their own accord they brought with them the wine, pouring it into a large earthenware vessel. And the old men sat drinking wine and refreshing themselves, not, [however,] becoming drunk.

çan in iollocopa, çan in iollotlamati, in concaoa vetli, qujoaltecatimanj apazco: auh tlaoltoque in vevetque, texcalcevitoque, amo ivinti:

Enough of this.

ie ixqujch.

X 796 For when were ended these twenty days of Izcalli, thereupon set in the five days of *nemontemi*, or *nenontemi*, which are not counted.[9] And the *nemontemi* were feared and held in awe. None commanded others, none quarreled [with others]. And if any, at this time, disputed with others, it was said they would always do thus. And he who was born at this time they named Nemo. They said: "It hath been said that [he hath] no day sign. No reward is his; he will live in misery. He will live in poverty upon the earth."

Auh in onqujz y, cempoalli Izcalli, njmã ie ic oalmotlalia in macujlilhujtl in nemõtemj, anoço nenontemj, acampouhquj: Auh in nemontemj, vel imacaxoia, mauhcaittoia, aiac teaoaia, aiac maoaia: auh in aca vncã teaoa, qujlmach cenqujcuj. Auh in aqujn vncan tlacati: qujtocaiotiaia. Nemo: qujtoaia, qujlmach atle ilhujl, atle imaceoal muchioa, qujhiiovitinemjz, vmpa onqujztinemjz in tlalticpac.

[56] 777

And during [the month of] Izcalli, in the first, second, and third years, nothing [in addition] was done. But on the fourth year, a great [festival] was observed. At that time died those [adorned as] Ixcoçauhqui, the impersonators of Xiuhtecutli—ceremonially bathed ones. Sometimes many died; sometimes not many.

Auh in jpan jn Jzcalli: injc ce xivitl, yoan ic oxivitl, yoan iquexivitl, atle muchioai : auh qujn ic nauhxivitl in moveichioa, qujniquac mjquja in Ixcoçauhque, in jxiptlaoan Xiuhtecutli: tlaaltilti, in quẽmã mjequjntin in mjquja, in quemã amo mjequjnti.

And upon the morrow, on the morning of [the feast of] Izcalli, the bathed ones entered the sand. They brought them into the sand there at Tzonmolco. All the women carried all their womanly array, and the men carried all their array (as hath been told elsewhere). And they carried for them their paper adornment; it went upon a wooden globe.

[293]

Auh in ie iuh muztla, in ic oallatvi Izcalli: in tlaaltilti, onxalaqui, qujmonxalaquja in vmpa tzommolco: in cioa muchi qujtquj, in jxqujch incioatlatquj: yoan in oqujchtia, muchi qujtquj in jxqujch intlatlatquj (in juh omjto cecnj): auh in jmamatlatquj, muchi qujmjtqujlia: quauhtzontapaioltica icietiuh.

And when they brought them there, thereupon they arrayed them, [so that] all were ornamented. They put upon them their paper array. And when all were prepared and arrayed even as Ixcoçauhqui was arrayed, and the women adorned also in the same manner, thereupon all climbed up to [the Temple of] Tzonmolco, in rows. And when they came reaching there, they circled about the offering stone. Then, once again all came down, likewise walking in rows.

Auh in oqujmonaxitiq̃, njman ie ic qujnchichioa, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in jxqujch imamatlatquj. Auh in ontecencaoaloc: auh injc muchichioa, ivin muchichioa Ixcoçauhquj: auh in cioa, çan ie no ivin muchichioa: njmã ie ic tlecó in tzommolco, tecpantivi: auh in vmpan vetzito: njmã ie ic qujoaliaoaloa in techcatl: njmã ic no ceppa, oaltemo, no motecpãtivitze.

And when they came down, thereupon they took them to the tribal temple, and then took apart [the paper vestments], and put [the victims] in a house and guarded them well. And they fastened the men

Auh in otemoco njmã ie ic qujnvica in calpulco, mec qujnxixitinja, vncan mocencaltilia, vel q'npipia: in oqujchtin qujnxillãmecaiotia, in jquac maxixa qujntitilinjtivi. Auh in oacic iocalnepantla: njmã ie

9. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 236) refers to the "*Nemontemi* (unnützen Tage) *die für nichts gerechnet werden*"; *i.e.*, they were dedicated to no god. One meaning of the verb *nemi*, however, is to rest.

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[19]

ic tetzoncujoa, qujntzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omoteneuh: auh in ontetzoncujoac: njmã ie ic tepotonjlo, no qujnpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac ma ontlacacochi in tlapixque. 796x [514]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ie tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ie ic no ceppa calaquj in inicianã: auh in aca amo qujmotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan qujtetlauhtia, çan qujtemamaca.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmã ie ic vi in vmpa mjqujzque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjqujzque: njmã ie ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intozquitzatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque: [533]

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Paynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Ixcoçauhqui.

Auh in ie ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, qujnoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmã iehoã in tlaaltilti in ixcoçauhq̃.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

Auh in ocentlanque mjquj in ie iuhquj: auh in jxqujchtin tlatoque, in tetecutin in cenca maviztilionj, ie ic manj, ça qujchixtimanj omocencauhq̃, qujniacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlatocaiotl: 796x 301 [643]

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

yoan contlalia iacxxivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequjntin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõmaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoã in xolocozquj iuhqujn chichiton ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acaxilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

Auh in immac oonotiuh quavitl, çan tepitoton tlatzotzopeztectli, chictlapãquj; in aco chichiltic, auh 796x 293 [386]

19. "En aquella noche nadie durmió" seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. See, however, Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipomenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1946), p. 171, for a discussion of sleep in composition.

x 796 hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon
[293] they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known
[535 as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the
628] Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

x 796 And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers
608 sought out some master of the youths, seasoned warrior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle.
[431] Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

[304] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

x 796 And when they had gone to their homes, there-
upon all ate and drank.

273 And then, in the temple, began singing and dan-
535 cing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal qujtzitzquja amaxiqujpilli; njmã ie ic oakemo mjtotitivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ie ic tlaiaoaloa, çã nappa in tlaiaoaloa: auh in ommjtotiqueo mec nexixitinjlo, texixitinjlo, njmã ie ic calacoa in tecpan tlatecpanoloz. Auh in iehoatl y, moteneoa: netecujtotilo, motecujtotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in muchioaia;

ie iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in peoaloia in tenacazxapotlaloia in qujnnacazxapotla pipiltotonti: yoan qujnpotonja, tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in tortli.

Auh in ventli in qujchioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temooaia, iehoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlanenequja impilhoaque injc Tetlatizque: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitiz, qujtlauhtiaia:

in oqujchtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qujtlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazxapotlaloc; njmã ie ic qujnvivica, in qujnchichinozque pipiltotõti: qujtlalia tletl, tletlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc moteneoa techichinolo in calpulhuevetque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco qujmonjauhtimanj: njman ic qujnoalmacatimanj in tetlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlatzatzatzi, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic iatimanj in inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ie ic tlatlaqualo, haatlioa.

Auh in opeoaloc teupan in ie cujco in ie netotilo, nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa vilua in teupan: in Tetlaoan, in teavioan qujnvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlatquj ietiuh in vctli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica in qujitquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vncã cujco: njmã ie ic ommomana in mitotia, qujnmamama in pipiltotonti: vncã qujmomacatimanj, qujmomacatinemj in vctli: netech qujmomamaca.

11. The *Real Palacio* MS here contains the line *yoan yn chiamapinolli*, which probably identifies the *pinolli* as ground dried maize and chile seeds.

And for drinking wine [they used] very small drinking vessels. And all gave wine to drink to the small children.

Hence was named [the occasion] "The children all drink wine."

And at sundown this all ceased and all went to their homes. And when they had departed to their homes, once again there was dancing in their courtyards. And the kin [of those who celebrated] drank wine—the revered old men and old women.

Here ended Izcalli.

And for this reason was [the feast] named Izcalli (The Growing): at this time they lifted by the neck all the small children. It was said that thus they grasped them for growth; they grasped them for growth that they might quickly mature.

Enough. Here ended and concluded Izcalli.

Auh injc qujn injc tlaoanaia, in tlaoancaxitl, çan tzpiton, çã tetepiton: auh muchintin qujntlaoantiaia in pipiltotonti: 796 273 [415]

ie injc moteneoa, pillaoano.

Auh ie teutlac in necacaoaloia, viviloa in techachan: auh in onviviloac techachan, ie no ceppa mjtotia in jmjtoalco, muchintin tlatlaoana in tehoaniolque, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin.

Oncan tlamj in Jzcalli.

Auh injc moteneoa Jzcalli: vncã quinquechanaia in jzquichtin pipiltotonti: quilmach, ic quimizcalloana: quimjzcalana, injc iciuhca quauhtiazque. 796 [827]

Ie izquich njcan tzonquiça, njcan tlamj in jlhujtl Jzcalli.

X 796 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast which was named Uauhquiltamalqualiztli,**[1] **which was celebrated after the days of the month named above; and when [it was this feast], they celebrated it to honor him who was their god, whose name was Ixcoçauhqui.**

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, in moteneoaia: Oauhquiltamalqualiztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic tlamatlacti in metztli in tlacpac omjto: auh in jquac y, quijlhujquixtiliaia, in inteouh catca, in jtoca Ixoçauhqui.

Izcalli and the end of Izcalli are placed verily in the month of January, after eight days, when it was already the eighth day. By custom, it was upon the eighth day. When this [day came], *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. In all places they observed [the custom]; everywhere. Nowhere was this not done. In every house, in every village, two [*tamales*] were eaten, when it was the feast of the *tamales* stuffed with greens; all made *tamales* thus stuffed. And all offered [this] food, one to another. In this wise were they given; they were given among themselves—to their companions, to those whom they knew. They were offered not in ill will but in gladness.

[262]

Izcalli, yoan Izcalli tlamj: inin vel ipan motlalia in metztli henero, ie iuh chicueilhujtl manj, ie ichicueilhujoc, ie iuh chicueilhujtica: in ijquac in, oauhquijl, tamalli qualoia: novian qujtzacutimãca, ipanoca, acã cavia: in cecencalpan, yoan in cecemaltepetl ipan, vel ontetlamja in neoauhquijtamalhujlo, in neoauhquijltamaltilo: auh nepanotl nemacoia, nepanotl nemamacoia, ic netlatlamacoia, necepãmacoia, nenetech macoia, necnjuhmacoia, neiximatcamacoia, amo netlavelmacoia, nepaccamacoi.

Whoever first cooked her *tamales* stuffed with greens then went to offer it in her tribal temple, to her neighbor, to those who lived in nearby houses. And if her kin lived in distant parts, first she made an offering for them.

in aqujn achto oicucic ioauhquijtamal njman ic iauh qujmacaz in jcalpo, in jcalecapo, in jcalnaoac tlacatl: yoan in vecapa ivaniolquj, achto contonaltiaia.

X 796 264 And when this was done, when she had offered it everywhere to others, then they [all] sat down to eat their *tamales* stuffed with greens. They were arranged in a circle; they brought—assembled and gathered together—their children, forming family groups.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in onoviampa qujtemamacac njmã motlalia in qujquazque, in inoauhquijtamal, moiaoaloa, qujncemololoa qujnnechicoa, qujncentlalia qujntecpichoa in impilhoã inin cencaltia.

And first they made an offering to the fire; they offered five *tamales* stuffed with greens before the hearth. These were in a wooden vessel. Then they each set in place and made an offering for their dead, where they lay buried.

Auh achtopa contlamanjlia in tletl, tlecujlixquac cõmana in oauhquijtamalli macujltetl, quauhcaxtica mantiuh, mollotiuh, çatepan cecentetl q'ntlatlaliliaia, qujnmamanjlia in immjccaoan, in vncã tototoque:

And as they ate, they sat burning themselves, sweating with heat. Steam arose [from the *tamales*]. As they ate, they ate with relish, sucking upon it and gulping, sitting panting, and smearing it upon their lips.

njmã ie ic tlaqua, muchichinotoque, in jitonjtoque, vel totontlapetztic ipotoquijztiuh in qujqua, in qujpaccaqua tlatlaltequj, ontlaltectivi, neneciuhtoque, cocociuhtoque:

X 796 252 And the [corn] husks [in which were wrapped] the *tamales* stuffed with greens [were laid] apart;

auh in jnoaio, oauhquijtamalli, çan nõqua, cecnj qujtlaliaia, atlan cõtepeoaia: auh aiac vel qujpaloaia

1. *Uauhquiltamalqualiztli*—the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 66. Much of the material in this chapter is discussed also in the previous one (Izcalli).

they placed them to one side. They strewed them in the water, and none, verily, might taste the husks. Because of this, care was therefore taken that none should be scorched, burned, or dropped into the fire.

in izoatl: ipampa ic momalhujaia inic amo aca mochichinoz, motlatiz, tleco onvetziz. 796x [252]

And only during one day were they eaten. By night they were done; all finished. They left nothing for the next day.

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ic iooa otlatlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuztlaioc.

And when it grew dark, the old men and the old women drank, alone. It was said: "They refresh themselves."

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalcevia. [273]

And after this they set up the image of the fire [god], Ixcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyoueue. They gave him figure and substance of a dough of amaranth seed. These things they whose office it was, did—the men of the tribal temple, known as the Tzonmulca[2]—who especially worshipped [fire] as a god.

Auh in jquac y, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla tletl Ixcoçauhquj, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzooalli in qujtlacatlaliaia, in qujnacaiotiaia: iehoan qujchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, moteneoa: Tzommulca, oc cenca iehoan in qujmoteutiaia.

And when the twentieth day came, it was said: "Izçalli hath ended." They who provided ceremonially bathed victims then published and made it known to others [that they had secured sacrificial victims, each] setting forth in public his ceremonially bathed one, a slave whom he had bought, made [to be] the likeness of Ixcoçauhqui; the owner then adorned him, causing to be placed upon him all the array of Ixcoçauhqui. Thus it was said: "The bather [of the victim] gathereth [his wealth]."

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Izcalli tlamj: in tealtianj, iquac qujteittitia, qujteixmachtia, teixpan qujquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oqujcouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Ixcoçauhquj, iquac ic qujchichioa itech qujtlalilia in jxqujch in jnechichioal Ixcoçauhquj ic mjtoaia, tlaixnextia in tealtianj: [567]

And for this reason did one say "the bather [of a victim]": he continually bathed his victim with hot water all the time until he went to his death; all the time he caused him to know that death would be his lot at an appointed time; that he would die in the count of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

auh injc mjtou, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxqujch cavitl mjqujtiuh, in jxqujch cavitl qujmatitiuh in vncā imjqujz tequjpā in jtlapoalpan: in mjqujz ipan tlacaxipeoaliztli.

And before he died, he favored him greatly. The bather was careful of [the victim]; he enriched him [with gifts]; he restored all to him. All the food which he offered him was good.

Auh in aiamo mjquj, cenca qujmavizmatia, qujçeçēmatia in tealtianj, qujtlanenectia qujtlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in qujmacaia:

And a harlot was provided as his guardian. Constantly she amused him; she caressed him; she made him laugh and be merry. Taking him about the neck, she rejoiced, she embraced him. She caught his lice [for him]; she combed his hair and arranged his hairdress. She made him forget his sorrows. And when the time came for the bathed one to die, the harlot took everything; she rolled and bundled up all the belongings of the bathed one. That which he wore he placed upon her; that which he had used

auh ce avienj, in jtepixcauh muchioaia: muchipa caviltia, caavilia, qujcamanalhuja, qujvetzqujtia, qujquequeloa, iquechtlan ãaquj, qujquechnaoa, caafemja, qujtzitziquaoazvia, qujpepepetla, qujtlaoculpopolua: auh in jquac ic imjqujzpan tlaaltilli: in avienj moch concuj, oatlacemololoa, concemololoa in jxquich in jtlatquj tlaaltilli: in oqujquequemja, in jtech oqujtlatlaliaia in oqujtitlanja, in jpā oiztlacattinenca, 796x 548 [515]

2. Tzonmulco: temple of the fire god; also one of the division of Teocalcalco. It is mentioned in the Appendix, p. 177, as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. V, p. 74).

×796 when he had been living in the likeness of another,
[548] had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

oaquetztinēca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinēca omovelitztinenca.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said,
[827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn izquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaana, qujmacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujmizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, mooapaozque:

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants;
[824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

yoã in metl qujiolloxeloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollotlapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, mozcaltiz, mooapaoaz.

×796 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to
852 pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair;
[301] in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan contlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiã vetzia in tlatoque.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited.
[608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilqujxtilo, yn jxqujchtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemoliaia, in qujnvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oqujchtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmavitia, tetlati, teaviti:

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they
[431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toqujchtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests'
[304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And
[302 they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers
237] and soft down.

ioalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnnacazxapotla, qujnnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conqujxtia, vncã qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzatzitzteoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoqujztleoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

And the women who became aunts were pasted
[608 with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms,
302] and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoã inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamaxtochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

In jquac oqujmõnacazxapotlaque, njmã ic qujnoalhujujca in inchachan, vncan qujchieltitoque ixtoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlatviltitoque, qujchixtoque in

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed awe [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[9]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuiltecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [thus] all entered their homes.

Thus one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And thus ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during those days]: They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

quenman tlatviz, in quenman tlatlavilotlcoaz, in quenmã tlatoz cujcujtzçatl. 796[1]

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, aatlica: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in qujncujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoan iavi, vncan qujtotia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oakcenqujxoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotilizti, in cujqujztli, cepã caoantimomana, xaxamacãtinanj in cujcatl: 852 [535] [533]

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vetli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoãtia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoton, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano: 273 796[1] 852

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vetli,

yoan intlaoancax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: ei icxi, nauhcampa nacace, [415]

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmetzivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexoxocolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech neaano, neaanalo, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalaoa techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vetli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc ontzonqujça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã oalmotlalia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonalli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpouhquj cenca imacazoia, cenca mauhcaittoia: 777 796[1] 805

ichica ca çan nẽqujzquj, vncã nenenqujxtilo, atle vnqujxoa, nenencolo, nenenencolo: ichica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mãcenalli, can vncan icneiotl, neto-

9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 34.

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenquizcaiotl, nenquiçaliztli, ãonenemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaitililoia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quizocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan intecoali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac mococ: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centetiz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli quicuja mococoaia: muchi tlacatl quitoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumsiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimononamavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oquixcauhque injoaiolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan quixooaiã inon oquẽteltzin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio quicuje, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpoubquj, atle ipocallo in jxquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 30) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony rite.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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APPENDIX

Apendiz del segundo libro

[p. 159]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

[p. 160]

Temple of Uitzilopochtli
Conteptl.[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacuepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacuepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacuepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitzumac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shapen. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all then danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Itepoch.

And in the morning Peyatzintzin came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Peyatzintzin was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Teqilhuin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly bedight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Peyatzintzin was thus adorned: [it had on] its hummingbird diadem, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back were hanging the feather device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli ixmoal
conteptl. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, cepa in quijçaia ilhujuh, in quijhujquijtilinia, yn ipan ce xiuitl. 796x

Injc cepa ipan in mijoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoquijçaia, in ixhuaul vitzilobuchtli, yn omeztin yn jnoca Tlacuepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic quijtecaxipaja in ixhuaul vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixquich in tlamacazqui, in telpuchtli in quinapaloaia: auh yn ixiptla catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tzoalli, cenca vey, cemoquetzalli. [776] 776 796x

Auh ynic vme in jnoca Tlacuepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tzoalli in jxiptla catca.

Auh in zuchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacuepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in zuchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitzumac calpulco: auh ceniaual in quinxiuxitinia, in quintlacotilinia.

Auh in ontlaçiz, ie otlacatque: niman ie ic ymixpan tlamacaloc: auh in ie tzatlac, niman ie ic netoxilo, necozcaloc: auh çan ic oncalaqui, in tonatiuh, in quintlecaxipaia: auh yn oquinzoctaliloc, niman ie ic oalmoaxa, vmpa ceiaual catc: yoan quinpaxia tlamacazqui, yn jnoca Itepoch: [793]

Auh yn otlaçiz, niman ie ic oalquiça, in peyatzin, in çan no ie yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, quinapaloc: auh yn iniptla peyatl, çan quauitl catca intech: auh in quinapaloa, inoca tequihuin Quetzalcoatl: cenca mochichiuia, yiquauacxoxouh: auh yn iniptla peyatl ynic mochichiuia, yxiuitzilhuaxil, yiauacxoxouh, yxocuitlapil, yxhuitzilhuacxapi: auh yn icxitlapan pilcatlah, ixhuaxil in cuitlaxcoxil, çan mochc in tonaiuiti: 796x 293

1. See Lib. III, cap. 1, § 1.
2. Identified as companion of Huitzilopochtli (Preuss-Mengin, op. cit., pp. 146, 155).
3. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmer ed.), Vol. III, p. 111.

3 796 all of fine turquoise. And he who led [the god] car-
[293] ried his serpent staff covered with turquoise.

And when [the priest with] Paynal came to Teotlachco, then [men] were slain before him. Those who died, who were named Amapantzinzin, were both impersonators [of the god Amapan].[4] And many more captives [also] died.

And when they were slain, then they began the procession of Paynal. They arrived at Tlatelolco, and when they had arrived there, the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense and beheaded many quail [before him]. And then they set forth [again] and reached Popotlan; and in the same way the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. And again they started forth, and arrived there at Chapultepec, and in like manner the common folk greeted him and burned incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. Thereupon they continued and arrived at Tepetocan, and also the common folk came out to meet him and offered up incense and also beheaded many quail [before him]. Then they set forth and reached Acachinanco, and also the common folk came out to receive him, offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him].

Thereupon the insignia went forth first, and when the insignia arrived, thereupon they mounted to the top of Coatepetl, where was [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had gone up, then they laid
[778] out the wooden serpent[5] and circled about it many times. Then all came down from there.

auh in quijacana quiçequiçiuh yeoatopil, xiuitl ic tlaquimjlolli.

Auh yn onacic, in teotlachco in paynal, njman ic ixpã mjcoa: ichoantin in miquja yn jntoca Amapantzinzin, çan vmẽtin teixiptlaoan: auh ieh cenca mjequjxtin in mamalti miquja.

Auh yn oanmjcoac, njman ic ic vmpeoa, yn tlaiacolec Paynal: vmpa onaci in tlatilulco, auh yno onacic, njman ic ic qujnamjquj in macteoalli, quitlenamaquijia yoan miec çolin quicoteõjliaia. Auh njman ic ic vmpeoa, onaci in popotlan, çan no iuh quinamjq'a in maçeoalli, quitlenamaquijia: yoan miec çolin quicoteoaia. Auh njman ic no cuel vmpeoa, vmpa onaci in chapultepec, çan no iuh quinamjquj in maceoalti, quitlenamaquijia: yoan miec çolin quicoteõjlia. Niman ic ic vmpeoa onaci in tepetocan: no quinamjquj in maceoalli, quitlenamaquijia, yoan no mjec çolin quicoteoa. Niman ic ic oalpeoa, valaci in vacan acachinãco: no quinamjquj in maceoalti, quitlenamaquijia, no mjec çolin quicoteoa.

Niman ic ic oalpeoa in machiotl, auh yn oacico im machiotl, njman ic ic tleco, yn icpac coatepetl: in vmpa ca vitzilobuchtli: auh yn otlecoc, njmã ic ic coateca, in expanjtl, yn otlaiacolo: njman ic ic oalcemo.

4. See esp. vocab., above.

5. See Ann. ab., end n. 17.

Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quechollí; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chilí*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—these forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of deer. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales*] formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the roles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maquizcas* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one usually held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Nican mitoua, yn ilhujtl: in chichiuacmolhuiztica machiotiuia. 796x

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in machiotiuiye: in quemanjan ipan in machiotiua quechollí: auh anoço quemanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl machiotiua.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaualoia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in tlaqua, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amoono tequjzquje, amoono tenexio: ayc tlacatlaqualoia. [795] [262]

Auh yn aquja amo maçaoaia yn ipan ja, intla machoia, ajmoan tlacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aquja amo qujchiouia, intlacamo itta, anoço machoia, qujlmach xiriuoia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl quiçaia, motenecua iztecxioa, yoan atecuculetiuia: yoan yn jquac cenca machintin mjtotiuia in teteu: ic mjtoua, teuitotiloia:

yoan izq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papaloti, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tetotl, in temoli, tecujlacolo: yn jpan moqujxtiuia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiuia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjxtin ipan moqujxtiuia in cuchiztli, in xocotamalocuaqj, yoan teotlaxcal yn jacuaquj: yoan ymjpipan ycaca, in tonacacoxocomatl, teuicac in xocotamalli. [262]

Auh no nauhi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiuia in motolinja, yn motoqujqujhuamoqujlia, yn motequanahuamoqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teuocuaqj ypan moqujxtiuia: yoan yn oc cequjxtin tocuac, in tecolotl, in chichtli ipan quiçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moqujxtiuia. [463]

Auh motlalinia in tlaloc, ixpan mitca yn atl, vncan tenaja in cocoa, yoan in cuciuac, yoan in ichouacin tocuaxoa, tocçaxca, vncan qujxoloaia in cocoa, çan ixichinja, cuxinca, ixcuaxica in qujxoaxoia, amo ixcuaxica: çan qujxoxotlaxpachiuia, yajc qujxoa- 796x

6. Clavigero ("Storia del Messico," p. 300) translates [illegible] as "le conchiglie di mare." Alternatively appears in the same text, translated as "le pelle [illegible] del [illegible]." Cf. [illegible] translated by Molina, op. cit.

7. Tecolotl, Aztec chichtli, Aztec [illegible] (Sec. ed.). Cf. also Clavigero, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 157, and Joseph Marie Anthony H. de Paravicini, Vol. I, p. 326.

#796 [the image of] Tlaloc. And the Maçatecs went eating the serpents with which they went dancing.

And he who first finished with a serpent—who swallowed it—then raised a shout and a cry; he circled the temple. And they offered gifts to those who swallowed serpents. And for two days there was dancing. Toward evening [of the second day] a procession was held, circling the temple four times.

And then were eaten the fruit *tamales* which filled the maize bin. Everyone took [some] with him when the feast ended.

And the old women and old men wept exceedingly; they bethought themselves that perhaps they would not attain [another] eight years.

They said: "Before whom [among us] will this [feast again] be performed?"

Thus was respite given the maize every eight years. For it was said that we brought much torment to it—that we ate [it], we put *chili* on it, we mixed salt with it, we mixed saltpeter with it; it was mixed with lime. As we troubled [our food] to death, thus we revived it. Thus, it was said, the maize was given [new] youth when this was done.

And when the feast ended, the morrow was called *molpaloli* (the dipping of [*tortillas*] in sauce); because all had [now] fasted for the maize.

tamaln in xilon, in vncan ixpan tlaloc: auh çan q'ncpantiuja in cocon, ynic ompã mjztitiuia maçatecca.

Auh yn aquja achtopa quitlamjaia in coatl in quitolouia, njman ic tzatzi tlapaqui, quijaxelua in teocalli: auh quijxelualtitiuia in quimolouia cocon: auh omjlhujtl in nenetiloia, ic teutlac in tlaiaxelolouia, nappa in mexicoxlua teocalli.

Auh in xocotamalli yquac quaxoia, in tonacacuecuenac temja: nauhi tlacatl conecuja, yn jquac tlamj ilhujtl.

Auh in ichcauhtzi cioa ylamatque, yoan veuetque, conca chocaia, quijtamjquja, yn acaçocuo acinque, chicuexiujtl:

quijtoua. Azoc ixpan in nauhiouz:

ic mocuepiuja in tonacaiutl, in chicuexiuhtica: ipampa quijtouach cêca tictlaihiyoujltia, injc tiqua, in tiochilhuja, in tiquintauja, in tictequjxquja, in tiqtamaxuja: yn jahquijma ticxxonmjctia ynic ticxcmjtia: quijtouach ic mopilq jxtitiuja, in tonacajutl, ynic iohquja nauhiouia.

Auh yn ixpan ozomoquix ilhujtl, yn jmmtlaioc motemoua, mokqalolo: ichica ca onecaujliloc, in tonacaiutl.

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Behold [here] a true [relation] of all [the temples] which were the temples of the Mexicans.

Iscuquj in jmchauaca, in ixquich catca intecual mexica.

[In] the [great] square of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, all was thus, [as followeth]:

It appeared to be perhaps two hundred fathoms [square]. And here, in the center [of the square], were very large temples, which were the temples of demons. The one which was tallest, of greatest height, was the house of Uitzilopochtli, or Tlacatecpan Cuexcochtzin. This one was very large, very tall.

And this one was in the middle [of the square]. And with it was the house of Tlaloc. Both were together, side by side. And at the very top, [one] stood a little high[er]—perhaps by [as much as] a fathom.

[Of] both of these, [one] was taller, rising higher; only they were quite similar. And at the top of each was a temple; at the top was a house.

Here was the image of Uitzilopochtli, also named Huitzilopochtli. And in another [house], there was the image of Tlaloc.

And also at the top [of the pyramids] were circular stones, very large, named *techcatl* [offering-stones], upon which they slew victims. Thus they paid honor to their gods. And the blood—the blood of those who died—reached the base, flowing thence. All were thus in all the temples which were of the devils.

And this temple of Uitzilopochtli and of Tlaloc faced the setting of the sun. And its stairway was very wide. It reached up to the top, whereby all ascended. And for all the temples there were stairways; all were alike. Very straight was its stairway.

In jtcal catca vitzilopuchtli, in jxquich ic catca:

in juh motta, aço matlacpovalmatl: auh in vncan yitic, cenca vevei in teucalli mamanca, in jntecual catca diablome: in oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, in veixticatca, ielioatl in jcal catca Vitzilopuchtli, anoço tlacavepan cuexcochtzin: ielioatl in cenca vei catca, cenca vecapan.

Auh injn, nepantla in jcaca: auh nevan manca in jcal catca tlaloc, vel nehoan manca, vel netech çaliuhtimanca: auh in ic vel icpac, achi veca motztlcatca: aço cemmatica.

Inj vnteixti y, oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, oc cenca veveixticatca, çan vel neneviztlcatca: auh in jcpac cecentetl teucalli, in jcpac manca calli:

vncan catca in jxiptla vitzilopuchtli, no yoan itoca illunjcatl xoxouhqui: auh in oc cecnj, vmpa catca in jxiptla tlaloc:

auh no ioan in jcpac, vncan mamanca tetl iacaltic, cenca vevey, quitocaiotiaia techcatl, in jpan tlamjctiaya: injc quinmaviztiliaia intecuhoan: auh in eztli, in jueraço in mjquja, vel valacia in tlatzintlan, injc valeuecaia: muchi iuhquj catca, in jxquich intecual catca diablome.

Auh in ichoatl in jtecual vitzilopuchtli, ioan tlaloc: vmpa itztimanca in jcalaquijan tonatiuh: auh in jtlamamatlaio, cenca petlavac: vmpa aciticatca in jcpac, in vncan tlecovaia: ioan in ic ixquich in teucalli catca, muchiuhquj catca: cenca vei melavatica ca in jtlamamatlaio

Tlalocan, the Temple of Epcoatl.

At Tlalocan all fasted in honor of the Tlalocs when they observed [their] feast. And when all fasted, then evil things were done and victims. All danced [bearing] dried maize stalks. And there was dancing in all the houses. It was said, the dance of maize and beans was danced. And when the feast of the Tlalocs ended, thereupon died those who were set apart, and

Tlalocan, iecepan epcoatl.

In tlalocan: vncan netlalocaçaualoia, in jquac illuijuhquiçaia: auh in omoçaualoc, njman ic ic nictilo, ioan nenvhtilo, netetilo, yca cintopilli: auh nevian in calpan mjztonia: mjztonia, etzalmacecaloia. Auh in jquac oncquiz ximjlujuh, in tlatlaloque, njman ic ic mjquj in vncan poubque in mjztonia

[535]

X 796 346 who were called Tlaloca. And this was done once yearly.

tlatlaloque. Auh injn cexiuhtica in muchiuhtivia ipan

X 796 346 687 648

Maculcalli, and Maculquiauitl.

Here, in this place, here died the informers, those who imparted secrets which they had discovered to those who were not dwellers here—the Tlaxcalteca, or the Uexotzinca, or the Cholulteca, who entered the fortifications here in Mexico; who bore information hence.

And if they escaped, if they went forth taking information, these Tlaxcalteca, or Uexotzinca, or Cholulteca, and all who had entered the fortifications then would emplace [themselves], and thus wait [in ambush] for the Mexicans. And when the Mexicans came there, great numbers would die at that place.

And if [the informers] were noted here in Mexico, then [the Mexicans] laid hands upon them and slew them, hacking them limb from limb, here at Maculcalli or Maculquiauitl.

Macujlcalli, ioan macujlquijavitl.

In vncan yn, vncan mjquja in tetlanenque: in quijnjlhujaia tetzauhtlatoque, in ano njcan chanequc, in tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, in valiaucalaquja njcan mexico: in quivalcuja tlatolli.

Auh intla ovelquizque, intla oconcujco tlatolli, in ichoantin tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, yoan in ye ixquich valiaucalaquja: njman ic tlateca, injc quinchia mexica: auh in jquac onvi mexica, cenca mjiec in vmpa cemmjquja.

Auh intla oittoque njcan mexico: njman quinteixquijaia, ioan quinmjctiaia, quintetequja: in vncan macujlcali, anoço macujlquijavitl.

Teccincalli.

X 796 346 Teccincalli: here Moctezuma himself did penances and offered incense. And here dues were paid [to the gods]. And fasts were observed at the time of the great feasts. And then were slain, and died, the captives.

Teccincalli.

In teccincalli: vncan tlamaceuaia in ichoatl motecuçuma, vncan tlenamacaia: ioan vncan mottlavaia. Auh çan iquac in vncan moçauaia, in vevey ilhujtl quiçaia: yoan vncan mjcovaia, vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Poiauhtlan.

Poiauhtlan: here fasted Mexico's fire priest and the fire priest of [the Temple of] Tlalocan, once yearly, at [the feast of] Etzalqualiztli. They offered incense at Poiauhtlan. And here were slain, and died, the captives.

Poiauhtlan.

In poiauhtlan: vncan moçauaya in mexico tlenamacac, ioan in tlalocan tlenamacac: cexiuhtica, ipan in etzalqualiztli: nehoan vncan tletemaia in poiauhtlan: ioan vncan mjcovaia vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

The Skull Frame[8] of Mixcoapan.

The Skull Frame of Mixcoapan: here they strung up the severed heads of those who died in the Temple of Mixcoatl.[9]

Mixcoapan tzompantli.

In mjxcoapan tzompantli: vncan quiçoia in jztaoxtecon, in mjquja mjxcoatempan.

8. Actually the severed heads were strung on the skull racks, and then allowed to decompose.
9. Probably Mixcoatlapan was intended for Mixcoatepan.

Tlalxico.

Tlalxico: here died he who was named [and who was arrayed in the manner of] Mictlan Tecutli. Each year he died upon the feast of Tititl. And when the impersonator of Mictlan Tecutli died, then the Fire Priest of Tillan offered incense. And this was done only by night, not by day.

Tlalxico.

. In tlalxicco: vncan mjquja, in jnca catca Mjctlan tecutli: cexiuhtica in mjquja, ipan in tititl quiçaia. Auh in onnmjc in jxiptla mjctlan tecutli: njman vncan vallenamacaia, valletçmaia, in tillan tlenamacac. Auh injn muchiuaia: çan iooan, amo cemjlhujtl.

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Uey Quauhxicalco.

Uey Quauhxicalco was Moctezuma's place of penance. Here, when there was fasting, one said it was the fasting for the sun. And every two hundred and three days there was a fast for the sun. And also here died they who were named Chachaume—only four [of them]; and here died [he who was the] likeness of the sun-[god] and of the moon-[god]. And likewise many captives died here. And this [occurred only] when fate so decreed.

Uey quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco, itlamacoxian catca in Motecçuma: iquac in vncan moçauia, mjtoaia: netonatiuhçaualoia: auh mamalacpovalti... vncitica in juh muchiuaia, in netonatiuhçaualoia. Auh ioan vncan mjquja: in xujxoaia, chachaume: çan navintin: yoan vncan mjquja in jxiptla tonatiuh, ioan metztli: auh ioan cenca mjioqujn in mamalti, vncan mjquja. Auh ynja, çan tepan ietiuh. [785]

Tochinco.

Tochinco: here died [he who was the] likeness of [Ome tochtli], once yearly, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tochinco.

In tochinco: vncan mjquja in jxiptla tochinco, cecexiuhtica: ipan tepeilhujtl.

Teotlalpan.

Teotlalpan. Here was made a procession yearly, when the feast of Quecholli arrived. And when the procession was made, then they departed for Çacatepec. And when they reached it, then all hunted [game]. And Moctezuma then rewarded [the successful hunters]. And when he had rewarded [them], then he returned; no longer did he stay there. Likewise [the huntsmen] then all departed; no longer did they remain here, [but] departed for Mexico; and they took a different road. Verily, many men went to the Çacatepec.

Teotlalpan.

In teotlalpan, vncan tlaiaualoxia, cecexiuhtica: iquac in quecholli quiçaia ilhujtl. Auh in ontlaiaualoloc: njman ie ic vmpeoa in çacatepec: auh in onaxivac, njman ie ic oaujxa: auh in motecçuma, njman vmpa onmomotlavaia: auh in onmomotlauh, njman ye ic valpoua: ayocac vmpa onmocaua. Çan no yvi injc vilooaia, aiac aoiac njcan mocauhtivia in mexico: yoan oiocac vili quijocaia: vel muchi tlacul vmpa via in çacatepec.

Tilapan.

Tilapan: here were burned the fire priests—at night only, and often. And when they had burned, then they cast incense into the fire and offered

Tilapan.

In tilapan: vncan mohuia in tlenamacaque, çan iooalica: ioan muchipa. Auh in jquac onmohuiaque: njman ie ic tlenama, tlenamaca, in vmpa mjocaque

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it there at the Temple of Mixcoatl. And when they had offered incense, then they went to the priests' dwelling.

tenpan: auh in ontlenamacaçque, njman ic ic huj in calmecac.

Tillan Calmecac.

Tillan Calmecac: here dwelt the priests of Cincecatl.

Tillan calmecac.

In tillan calmecac: vncan onoca, in jtepincauh cihuacoatl.

Mexico Calmecac.

Mexico Calmecac: here dwelt the priests who offered incense at the summit of the [pyramid] Temple of Tlalocan. [This they did] daily.

Mexico calmecac.

In mexico calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamacehque, in ontlenamacaia tlalocan ijcpac: çan mumuztlac.

Coscalco.

[648] Coscalco: here dwelt the gods of cities which, in all places which the Mexicans overran, they took captive. They then carried them back and shut them in here. And here they were guarded at Coscalco.

Coscalco.

In coscalco: vncan onoca in altepetecu, in canjn ontepeoaia mexica, in qujmonacia: njman qujnvalvicaia, vncan qujncalaqujaia: ioan vncan pialoia in coscalco.

Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here he cast incense into the fire whose name was Yiopoch; and here blew his flute the demon whom they named Titlacaoan. And when he had sounded [his flute], then he offered incense. And when he had cast incense, then he went in [to his dwelling]. Every day he did this, perchance by night, or [perchance] by day.

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan tletemaia yn jioca catca yiopoch, yoan vncan vallapitzaia in diablo: in qujtoca titlacaoan: auh in ontlapitz, njman ye ic tletema: auh in ontleten, njman ic calaquj: çan mumuztlac ioan qujchiouia, aço ioean, anoço cemjlhujtl.

A Squirrel Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here danced the impersonator [who was arrayed as a] squirrel. And here was erected that which was called the *xocotl*, which was only a tree. And they distributed its paper garlands and paper banners [with which the *xocotl* was bedight]. And they did this during the feast of Teotl eco, and also once a year.

Oc ceca quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan mjtoiaia in techalotl yxiptla: yoan vncan moquetzaia, in mjtoaia: xocotl, çan quauitl, yoan qujtlamamacaia, yamancapan, yamapan. Auh ipan in teotleco muchiouia: no ceiuiaitica.

Teccalco.

Teccalco: here were men cast into the fire; here they cast captives into the flames. Only during [the

Teccalco.

In teccalco, vncan netlepantlauia: vncan qujtlepantlaçaia in mamaltin: çan no ipan in teotl eco

feast of] Tezcatl eco was this done, and also yearly. And when they had cast men into the fire, then the priests came down, and then they [performed the ceremony of] pricking paper with thorns.

The Skull Frame.

The Skull Frame: Here they strung up the severed heads of the captives whom they had cast into the fire, who had died there at the Teccalco. Likewise this was done yearly.

The Temple of Uitznaoac.

The Temple of Uitznaoac: here died those named the Centzonuitznaoa; and many [more] were the captives who here died. And upon [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli was this done, and [it was done] yearly.

Tezcacalco.

Tezcacalco: here captives were slain and died, only when fate so decreed—not every year.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan: here were guarded the spears and arrows. Also here captives were slain and died. And it was only by night that they were slain, and only at times when it was wished [that they should be slain].

Tecticalco.

Tecticalco: likewise here were slain and died captives—only by night, also only when it was their fate, when it was the whim [of the priests].

Uitzapanalco.

Uitzapanalco: here the priests, those who did penance, scattered the thorns; or else the green boughs, when they did penance in various places.

muchioaia, no cexiuhtica. Auh yn onnetlepantlaxoc: ajmaa ye ic oalhemo in tlamacazqueq, ajmaa ye ic amatlavizxoa. 796 346

Tzumpantli

In tzumpantli: vncan quiçoia in mamaltin intzontecon, in qujntlepantlaçaia, in vmpa mjquja teçcalco: çan no cexiuhtica yn muchioaia.

Vitznaoac tezcalli.

In vitznaoac tezcalli: vncan mjquja, in jntoca centzonvitznaoa, yoan mjiec malli vncan mjquja: auh ipan in panquetzaliztli muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Tezcacalco

In tezcacalco: vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan tepan yetiuh, amo cexiuhtica.

Tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan.

In tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan: vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: auh çan iocan in mjcoaia, yoan çan molnamjquja yn jquja.

Tecticalco.

In tecticalco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan no iocaltica, çan no tepan yetiuh, çan molnamjquja.

Vitzapanalco

In vitzapanalco: vncan quipapaoaia in tlamacazqueq in jn tlamacoaia, in vitztli: amoçe acxoitl, yn jquac cauja ocelamacoaia. [785]

Priests' House at Uitznauac.

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Priests' house at Uitznauac: here dwelt the priest, the fire priest, who offered incense and who cast it upon the fire in the temple above [on the pyramid], which was named Uitznauac. Every day was this done.

Vitznaoac calmecac.

In vitznaoac calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhquj, in tlenamacac: in ontlenamacaia, in ontletemaia in teucalli icpac: in jtoca catca vitznaoác: çan mumuztlae in juh muchioaia.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: at this place they placed and raised a skull-frame in the center [of the pyramid compound of him] whose name was Omacatl; who was carved in wood, taking human form—[this] Omacatl. And it came to pass that they nourished him [with the blood of captives] every thirteen days, upon the day-sign of Omácatl.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan qujtlaliaia, vncan qujzcaltiaia in tzumpantli yiollo: in jtoca catca vmacatl, quavitl tlaxixintli, tlacaietiuh in vmacatl: auh in muchioaia in qujzcaltiaia matlacpovaltica vmeitica: ipan in cemjlhujtonalli vmacatl.

Temple of Macuilcipactli.

Temple of Macuilcipactli: here were men slain; here captives died—at night only, and only those chosen for the day-sign [of Macuilcipactli].

Macujlcipactli yteupan.

In macujlcipactli iteupan: vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti: çan iooaltica, çan no tonalpepenaloia.

Priests' House at Tetlanman.

Priests' House at Tetlanman: at this place dwelt the fire priest, he who was devoted [to the service of Quazolotl Chantico].

Tetlanman calmecac

In tetlanman calmecac: vncan onoca in tlenamacac, in tlamaceuhquj.

Temple of the White Cinteotl.

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Temple of the White Cinteotl: here captives died—only those who were leprous.[10] And when they died, then [the priests] buried them; they were not eaten. They died upon the feast of the Fasting for the Sun.

Iztac cinteutl yteupan.

In jztac cinteoutl yteupan: vncan mjquja in mamalti, çan ichoaltin in xiztjoti: auh in jquac ommjcque, njman quintocaia, amo qualoia: ipan in netonatiuhçavaloia mjquja.

Tetlanman.

Tetlanman: here died [she who was the likeness of] Quazolotl Chantico. [This came to pass] only when the lords determined; only when it was fasted. And [it took place] during the day-count of ce zochitl.

Tetlanman.

In tetlanman: vncan mjquja, yn jxiptla quazolotl chanticon: çan qujlnamjquja in tlatoque, in jquja mjquja: çan tepan yetiuh: auh ipan in cemjlhujdapoalli, ce zuchitl.

10. In translation of *cinteotl*, we have follow Sahagún, although elsewhere our translation of this word differs. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

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Temple of Chicomecatl.

Temple of Chicomecatl: only at certain times were men slain as a sacrifice, and [they were slain] at night. Like [the impersonator of Quaxolotl Chantico, they were slain] only when it was fated and determined [that they should be slain], when the day-count of ce xochitl reigned.

Chicomecatl yteupan.

In chicomecatl yteupan: çan quenman in vncan mjcoaia, yoan iooaltica: çan no tepan ietiuh, çan molnamjquja: yquac in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce xuchitl moquetza.

Texcaspan.

Texcaspan: here were bathed the priests, in their bathing-place.

Texcaspan.

In texcaspan: çan vncan maltiaia, innealtiaian catca in tlamaceuhque.

Texcatlachco.

Texcatlachco: here was slain a man as a sacrifice; here died he who was the likeness of Uitznauatl. Only at times—not often [—was this done]; perchance during [the day-count of] Omacatl.

Texcatlachco.

In texcatlachco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in jxiptla vitznaoatl: çan quenman, amo muchipa: aço ipan in vmacatl.

Skull Frame.

Skull Frame: here were offered as sacrifices those named the Omacame [arrayed in the likeness of Omacatl]. And also many captives here died. And every two hundred and three days they were slain.

Tzompantli.

In tzompantli: vncan motonaltiaia, in jntoca catca vmacã: auh yoan, cenca mjec in malli vncan mjquja: auh matlacpoaltica vmcitica in ommjcoaia.

Tlamatzinco.

Tlamatzinco: here died those called and named the Tlamatzinca [arranged in the likeness of Tlamatzincatl]—ceremonially bathed captives, when [it was the month of] Quecholli at its close, yearly.

Tlamatzinco.

In tlamatzinco: vncan mjquja in mjtoaia, in jntoca catca tlamatzinca, in tlaaltiti: iquac in quecholli, itlamjan cexiuhtica.

The Priests' House at Tlamatzinco.

The Priests' House at Tlamatzinco: here lived the Tlamatzinca, fire priests who offered incense at the top [of the pyramid of] Tlamatzinco.

Tlamatzinco calmecac.

In tlamatzinco calmecac: vncan onoca, in tlamatzinca intlenamacacahoan: in ontlenamacaia ijcpac tlamatzinco.

Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: to this was brought down the sacrificial paper,[11] and the fire serpent was last of all to

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan oaltemoia in teteuhpoalli, auh ça oallatzacujaia in xiuhcoatl oaltemoia: ioan

11. See Chapter xxxv, n. 16.

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be brought down [from the temple above]. And here were burned the blood offerings when, each year, the Tlamatzinca [arrayed as the god Tlamatzincatl] died.

vncan tlatlaia in nextlacoalli, in jquac mjquja tlamatzinca cexiuhtica.

Temple of Mixcoatl.

Temple of Mixcoatl: here were slain the deer [people]. And when they bore them up, their heads bobbed up and down, and four [priests] carried them up. And here died the impersonator of Mixcoatl, and [she in the likeness of] Cuetlaciuatl. And this was done upon the feast of Quecholli tlami, and [was done] yearly.

Mixcoatepan.

In mjxcoatepan: vncan maçapolioaia: auh ynic quintlecaviaia in maçapolivia, çan aaquetztivia, quionsuhcaviaia: yoan vncan mjquja in mjxcoatl y ixiptla, yoan cuetlacihoatl: auh ipan in quecholli tlamj muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Netlatiloian.

Netlatiloian: here was laid away that which was named the likeness of Nanauatl and Xochquaie.[10]

Netlatiloian.

In netlatiloian: vncan motlatiaia, in jtoca catca nanaoatl y ixiptla, ioan xochquaie.

Teotlachco.

Teotlachco: here died those named Amapantzin [in the likeness of the god Amapan]. They died only at dawn. And [this was done] yearly, at the feast of Panquetzaliztli.

Teutlachco.

In teutlachco: vncan mjquja in intoca catca amapantzitzin, çan tlahujzpan in ommjquja: auh cexiuhtica, ipan in panquetzaliztli.

Ilhuicatitlan.

Ilhuicatitlan: here died the impersonator of the [morning] star, at night, only. And very many captives died by day. Yearly was this done, when the star appeared.

Ilhujcatitlan.

In jlhujcatitlan: vncan mjquja in jxiptla citlalin, çan iocaltica: auh cencan mjec in vncan mjquja mamalti cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in citlalin qujçaia.

The Great Skull Frame.

The Great Skull Frame: here also were slain as sacrifices very many captives, who here died: by day, not by night. [This was done] likewise at the feast of Panquetzaliztli, also yearly.

Vey tzompantli.

In vey tzompantli: no vncan mjcovaia, cenca mjequjn in vncan mjquja mamalti, cemjlhujtl, amo iocan: çan no ipan in panquetzaliztli, no cexiuhtica.

Mecatlan.

Mecatlan: here was a place of teaching; here were taught the sounders of trumpets, those who dwelt in

Mecatlan.

In mecatlan: vncan nemachtiloia, vncan momach-

12. Cf. corresponding Spanish text, which identifies this as the cave in which were deposited the skins of victims flayed in the feast of Tlacaxipehualiztli. See also Sahagún (Bulnes ed., Vol. III, p. 251) for summary.

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the Mecatlan. Frequently, each day, [they sounded trumpets].

tiaia in tlapitzque, in mecateca: çan muchipa mumuztlac.

Temple of Cintecutl.

Temple of Cintecutl: here died the impersonator of Chicome coatl, a woman; by night, only. And when she died, then they flayed her. And when dawn broke, the fire-priest then put on the skin of [her who was the likeness of] Chicome coatl. Thereupon they circled and wound about the eagle vessel, dancing as they went. And this was done yearly, upon the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Cinteupan.

In cinteupan: vncan mjquja in jxipda chicome coatl, cioatl, çan ioealtica: auh in jquac commjc, njman quixipeoaia: auh in otlathujc, in tlenamacac njman commaquijaia, in coaio chicome coatl: njman ye ic tlaiaoalos, quijaoalos in quauhxicalli, mjtotitiuh: auh cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan ochpaniztli.

Temple of the Centzontotochtin.

Temple of the Centzontotochtin: here died [they who were named] Tepoztecatl, and Totoltecatl, and Papaztac. And when they died, it was not by night but by day, upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl. And [this was done] yearly.

Centzontotochti inteupan.

In centzontotochti inteupan: vncan mjquja in tepuztecatl, yoan totoltecatl, yoan papaztac: auh in mjquja amo iooan, cemjlhujtl, ypan in tepeilhujtl: auh cexiuhtica.

Temple of Cintecutl.

Temple of Cintecutl: here stood, and was guarded, the image of Cintecutl. Here died the impersonator of Cintecutl, by day.

Cinteupan.

In cinteupan: vncan ycaca, vncan pialoia in jxipda cinteoutl: vncan mjquja in jxipda cinteoutl, cemjlhujtl.

Netotiloian.

Netotiloian: here danced the ceremonially bathed captives [of the day-sign] Chicomazhecatl, when they were about to die. And when they died, it was at midnight, not by day. [This took place] upon the feast of Xilomanaliztli or Atl cualo, also yearly.

Netotiloian.

In netotiloian: vncan mjtotiaia in tlatlaxtilti, in chicumazhecatl, in jquac ic mjquja: auh iquac in mjquja iooalnepantla, amo cemjlhujtl: ipan xilomanjztli, anoço atl cualo: no cexiuhtica.

Chililico.

Chililico: here died the ceremonially bathed ones [of the day-sign] Chicomazhecatl, at midnight. And each year did the ceremonially bathed ones die here. And only the chiefs then ceremonially bathed them. Likewise at the feast of Atl cualo [was this done].

Chililico.

In chililico: vncan mjquja in tlatlaxtilti in chicumazhecatl, iooalnepantla: auh cexiuhtica in vncan mjquja tlatlaxtilti: auh çan tlamaque in vncan tealtiaia, çan no ipan in atl cualo.

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Coaspan.

Coaspan: here bathed the first priest of Coaspan. He alone did so; none else bathed here.

Coaspan.

In coaspan: vncan maltiaia in coaslan tlenamacac, çan qujmjacaviaia, aiac oc ce vncan maltiaia.

Puchtlan.

Puchtlan: here dwelt the fire priests who cast into the fire and offered incense up there above, [on the pyramid, at] the Temple of Yiacatecutli. [This they did] daily.

Puchtlan.

In puchtlan: vncan cooca in tlenamacaque, in ontletemaia, in ontlenamacaia, vmpa jicpac yiacatecutli itenpan: çan mumuztlac.

Atlauhco.

Atlauhco: here stayed and lived the fire priests who laid the fire and offered incense above [on the pyramid at] the Temple of Uitzilinquatec. Likewise [this was done] every day.

Atlauhco.

In atlauhco: vncan onoca, vncan nenca in tlenamacaque, in vmpa ontletemaia, ontlenamacaia, in ijcpac vitzilinquatec yteupan: çan no mumuztlac.

Iopico.

Iopico: here men were slain as offerings; here very many captives died. And here died he whose name was Tequitzin and Mayauel; who died by day, not by night. And he died during the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli; and [this was done] each year.

Iopico.

In iopico: vncan mjcovaloia: in vncan, cenca mjiequjntin mjquja in mamalti: yoan vncan mjquja in jtoca catca tequjtzin, yoan maiavel: auh in mjquja cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: auh ipan in tlacaxipeoaliztli mjquja, yoan ceziuhtica.

Temple of Yiacatecutli.

Temple of Yiacatecutli: here died he who was [arrayed as] the likeness of Yiacatecutli, by day—not by night. [This was done] at the feast of Titiil, also each year.

Iyacatecutli itenpan.

In yiacatecutli itenpan: vncan mjquja in jiacatecutli ixiptla: cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: ipan in tititl, no ceziuhtica.

Temple of Uitzilinquatec.

Temple of Uitzilinquatec: likewise here died she who was [arrayed as] the likeness of Uitzilinquatec. Likewise she [was slain] by day, and, likewise, during the feast of Titiil. Also was this done yearly. [It was] a woman who died.

Vitzilinquatec itenpan.

In vitzilinquatec itenpan: çan no vncan mjquja, in ijxiptla vitzilinquatec: çan no cemjlhujtl, çan no ipan in tititl, no ceziuhtica in muchioaia: cioatl in mjquja.

The Priests' House at Yopico.

The Priests' House at Yopico: here were slain as offerings and died very many captives. [This was

Iopico calmecac.

In iopico calmecac: vncan mjcooaia, vncan mjquja cenca mjec in malli: çan no iooaltica, ipan in tlacaxi-

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dope] also at night during the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli, and also every year, here at the dwelling of the priest, the Youallpanu.

The Skull Frame at Yopico.

The Skull Frame at Yopico: Here they strung up the severed heads of captives and of those whom they slew in gladiatorial sacrifices at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli. [This] also [they did] yearly.

Skull Frame.

[This] skull frame was the Skull Frame of [the Temple of] Yiacatecutli. And here they strung up the severed heads of captives who died upon the [pyramid] top of the Temple of Yiacatecutli, upon the first day of Xocotl uetzi.

Temple of Macuilmalinalli.

Temple of Macuilmalinalli and of Topantlacaqui. Here [priests] sang for, and offered sacrifices to, these [gods], Macuilmalinalli and Topantlacaqui. And they placed offerings before them every two hundred and three days. [This they did] only as the fates provided, upon the first day of [the day-sign] xochitl.

Atlcpac.

Atlcpac: here [priests] offered sacrifices to the Cinteteo, when they observed the feast of the day-sign Chicome cozcatl.

Netlatiloian.

Netlatiloian: here they laid away the skins [flayed from the women who had impersonated] the Cinteteo, who died at the Xochicalco each year, during the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Atlauhco.

Atlauhco: here they offered sacrifices to the goddess Cinteotl, of Atlauhco. And [she who was ceremonializtli: no cexiuhtica, vncan icalmecac in iocallocan.

Iopico tzompantli.

In yopico tzompantli: vnca quiçoia in intzontecon mamalti: auh yehoantin in qujnoscoanaia ypan tlacaxipeualiztli: no cexiuhtica.

Tzompantli.

In tzompantli, ytzompan in jiacatecutli: auh vncan quiçoia yn jntzontecon mamalti, yn jcpac mjquja yiacatecutli ytzupan: ipan yn cemjlhujtlapoalli xocotl vetzi.

Macujlmalinal ytzupan.

In macujlmalinal ytzupan, yoan in topantlacaquj ytzupan: vncan quincuicatiaia, yoan vncan quintonaltiaia in yehoantin macujlmalinal, yoan topantlacaquj: auh in quintonaltiaia matlacpoaltica, omeytica: çan no tepan ietiuh: in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ipan in xochilhujtl.

Atlcpac.

In atlcpac: vncan quintonaltiaia in cinteteu: yquac in quilhuja chicomecoatzonalli.

Netlatiloian.

In netlatiloian: vncan quintlatiaia in cinteteu iaxcoia, in vmpa mjquja xochicalco: cexiuhtica, ipan ochpaniztli.

Atlauhco.

In atlauhco: vncan quintonaltiaia, in atlauhco, cinteotl: auh in omonçiquja atlauhco cinteotl,

X 796 mented in the likeness of] Ciuateotl of Atlauhco died
346 there at Coatlan, at the base [of Atlauhco. This was done] yearly, also during the feast of Ochpaniztli.

vmpa in cocatlan tlatzintlan: cexiuhtica, çan no ipan in ochpaniztli.

The Priests' House at Tzonmolco.

The Priests' House at Tzonmolco: from here came the fire, which they named Xiuhtecutli. Here Moctezuma took the fire when he offered incense, and here [372] [the new fire] fell from the fire drill. [This was done] each year at the feast of Uauhquiltamalqualiztli.

Tzonmolco calmecac.

In tzonmolco calmecac: vncan quiçaia in tletl, in quitocaiotiaia xiuhtecutli: vmpa concuja in tletl, in iquac tlenamacaia motecuçoma, yoan vncan vetzia in tlequavitl: cexiuhtica, ipan oauhquiltamalqualiztli.

Temalacatl.

Temalacatl: here were offered up gladiatorial sacrifice victims. Those here offered up in the gladiatorial sacrifice were a great number of captives. And thus were offered up in the gladiatorial sacrifice indeed all men [who] came from the lands about us, whom they slew as offerings there upon the stone of gladiatorial sacrifice. And for this he who had charge of them was the wolf man, who placed them on the gladiatorial stone. And when he had put the captive in his place, thereupon he offered him the pine club and he gave him a feathered staff. And then went one arrayed as an eagle or an ocelot to belabor him. He then struck [down] the captive, as if he warred against him. And here was he who was charged with the care [of the captive]; his name was Chalchiuhtepeua. And when the captive fell, thereupon the wolf man dragged him off, and [the priests] slashed open the breast of the captive. And he who slew him was named Youallauan; he opened [the captive's] breast. And when he slashed open the breast of the captive, thereupon they cast him down below. And this was done each year at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Temalacatl

In temalacatl: vncan tlacoeoanoia, in vncan qujnoaoanaia, cenca mjequjntin in mamalti: auh injc tlacoeoanoia, vel ixquich tlacatl oal: :ja in cematonaoac in oallamjctiaia, in vncan temalacac: auh vncan intequjppan catca in cuetlachtli, ontequetzaia in temalacac. Auh in jquac oconquetz malli: njman ye ic conmaca in ocotzontetl, yoan conmaca quavitl tlapotonjlli. Auh njman ye iauh in teixiptla, in tevivitequjz: aço quauhtli, anoço, ocelutl: njman ie qujvivitequj in malli, iuhqujn moiauchioa: yoan, vncan itequippan catca, yn jtoca chalchiuhtepeoa. Auh in jquac ovetz malli: njman ye ic tevilana in cuetlachtli: njman ye ic queltetequi in malli: auh in iehoatl tlamjctiaia in jtoca catca Iooallaoan, teeltetequjz. Auh in jquac oconeltetecque malli: njman ye ic tlatzintlan qujoallaça: auh in muchioaia, yn, cexiuhtica ypan in tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Temple of Nappa tecutli.

Nappotecco: here died [the impersonator] whose name was Nappa tecutli, at night, not by day. [This happened] each year, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Nappa tecutli itecpan.

In nappotecco, vncan mjquja yn itoca catca, nappa tecutli çan iohoan, amo cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica ipan tepeilhujtl.

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temiloica [were also slain]. And she who was named Cinteotli, and also [she who was] named Nancoxlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Tzonmolco.

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In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihuipapaneca, temjloica: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca cinteotli, no ichoxtl ytoca nancoxlaceuhquj.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalqujça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan inqujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã tetzu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

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auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonmiczaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvizznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Xochicalco.

In xuchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteotl, yoan flatlauhquj cinteotl, yoan no ichoxtl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oconmjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Tepicalco and Ecatzalco.

Tepicalco and Ecatzalco: here stayed the leading men from Anahuac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Iepicalco, yoan coacalco.

In iepicalco, yoan coacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca ahcpetl ipan oalvia:

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auh conca qujnanvizzilloia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujtlauhcioia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocozcatl, anoço tlaçomacuecuetli: in ic inqujch tlaçotli, mochi qujnmacaia.

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Tospalatl.

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The Yellow Waters were very precious. The waters flowed [as a spring]; here the servants of the gods took water. And when they celebrated the feast of Uitzilopochtli, and when they celebrated each feast, here water was drunk. Here the common folk drank water.

Tospalatl.

In tospalatl, cenca tlaçotli catca, meiaia: vncan atlacuja in tlamacazque. Auh in jquac ylhujuh quiçaia vitzilopuchtli: yoan yn ixquich ilhujtl muchioaia, vncan atlioaloia: vncan atlia in macoualti.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac: here was [the god] whose name was Macuiltotec. Here a feast was celebrated in his honor. And when they observed the feast day of Macuiltotec, here men were slain as sacrifices [to him]. Captives died here at Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

[372] Perchance it was when the fire drill was used [for the new fire]; perchance at another time. Likewise this was done yearly, at the feast of Panquetzaliztli, or at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac.

In tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac, vncan catca in jtoca macujltotec: vncan ilhujquixtililoia. Auh in jquac yn jlhujuh quiçaia in macujltotec. vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti in tlacochcalco quauhqujiaoac:

aço yquac in tlamamalioaz, acanoçomo: no cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in panquetzaliztli, anoço tlacaxipeolaiztli.

Tolnauac.

Tolnauac: here were men slain in sacrifice. Here captives died; perchance [when the day sign] ce miquiztli came in the day count.

Tulnaoac.

In tulnaoac, vncan mjcooaia: vncan mjquja mamalti, aço ce mjquiztli moquetza in tonalpoalli catca.

Tilocan.

Tilocan: here cooked [the dough of amaranth seed for] the image of Uitzilopochtli.

Tilocan.

In tilocan: vncan ycucia in vitzilopuchtli ijxiptla.

Itepeioc.

Itepeioc: here took form [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

Itepeioc.

In itepeioc: vncan tlacatia in vitzilopuchtli.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac: here was made, and here they molded in man's form, the image of the demon whose name was Tlacauepan Coeztochtzin.

Vitznaoac calpolli.

In vitznaoac calpulco, vncan muchioaia, vncan tlacatia in ijxiptla diablo, in jtoca catca tlacavepan cuezcochtzin.

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhquemo.

Atempan.

In atempan, vncan qujntecpichoaia in tlacatecuhti: auh in jquac in oquintecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiacalochtia, qujntlapechvia. 796x 346

Auh in jquac oqujmontlaiacalochtique: njman ye ic qujmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhquemo ijcpac.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tezcacoac tlacochcalco

In tezcacoac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quentzan, yquac in cenca mjac malli: yoan vncan mapiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Aztl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Aztl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Aztl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In aztl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenquixtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oqujcenquixtique, [567] njman vncan qujcanjctiaia:

auh in jquac in oqujmonanjctique, njman vncan qujcenquja, yoan qujpaccia, caiocuchqujlhujaia in jnacaio. [266]

Auh yn jquac oqujnpacque: njman qujpaia in pipilti, in jaqujch tecutlacoque: amoso ichoantin in macehalti, ça yehoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed for branches.[10]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acroiamalaia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ic mochi calteoani in tlaiacalooc, inan qujtecalooc teocalli: in mjcoaia calpulli, vncan mocaoaia: 796x 346

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlacoque, achcacauhti, tequjnaque vncan mocaoaia, cenpoualica,

mjcoaia: nemacujlpoualoia.

Auh in jquac mocaoaia, oc ioh macujlilhujtl qui-

10. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

X 796 the feast was to be celebrated. And only when the feast day came was there fasting.

316 And thus was the fasting; [thus] did they abstain
785 from food: some ate at midday, [fasting] until past midnight; and some, when they ate at midnight, thereupon went past midday [fasting]. Thus they proceeded mortifying themselves.

And they fasted for the space of five nights—not by day but by night. And every time night fell, then they went within [the *calpulli*]. And when day broke, they went forth and performed their tasks.

Daily they thus did, until they had spent five days.
[834] And not then did they lie with women.

çan ilhujtl: auh çan ypan in jlhujtl qujçaz moçaoaia:

auh injc mocaoaia, tlaqualizcaoaia: cequjntin tlaquaia nepantla tonatiuh, izquichica onaci iocalnepantla: auh in cequjntin yquac tlaquaia in iocalnepantla, no yquac onaci in nepantla tonatiuh: çan iuh mopatlatiuh.

Auh in moçaoaia macujliocal, amo cemjlhujtl, çan iocan: auh in jquac ic ioca, njman calaquj: auh in ectlathujc, valquiçaia, tlatequipanoaia:

mumuztlac iuh quichioaia, injc onaci macujlilhujtl: yoan ayocmo cicacochia.

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Here Is Told in What Manner the Mexicans Made Offerings, and What They Made as Offerings in Their Temples.

Offerings.

Thus were offerings made: with food and with capes were offerings made, and with all kinds of living things—perchance turkeys, perchance birds; or capes. Or else whatever was newly formed—perchance maize, or *chia*, or flowers, or whatever [was newly grown].

And thus did the young [unmarried] women make offerings: Before dawn their mothers and fathers awoke them. So they went about making offerings of gifts carried in the palms of their hands—little *tortillas*, [which were] very small,—and thus they quickly proceeded to lay gifts before the devil; in bowls they carried them thus to present them [to the gods].

Only in the houses were the *tortillas* made. Thus did the young women make [their] offerings.

The Offering of Incense.

And thus was the offering of incense performed, with an incense ladle. It was made of clay, with [stones in its hollows making] a rattle. Then they laid live coals in the incense ladle. When these blazed up, then they filled it with *copal* incense, and then came forth before the devil, or else in the middle of the courtyard, where arose the brazier. [This] was made of clay.

And when they came up to the devil, then they dedicated the incense burner to the four directions, thus offering incense. And when they had offered [incense] to the four directions, then they threw [the incense and the coals] into the brazier. Here the *copal* incense lay smoking.

And thus was it done: the mothers and fathers likewise at dawn awoke the children, [whether] men[-children] or women[-children]; that they might offer incense quickly, they awoke them; that

Nican moteneoa in quenja tlamanaia, yoan in tlein ic tlamanaia yn jnteupan, in mexica.

Tlamanalistli.

Injc tlamanaloia: tlaqualtica, yoan tilmatican tlamanaloia, yoan yca in tlein ioioli: aço totolin, anoço tototl, anoço tilmatli: anoço in tlein iancujcan muchioa, aço cintli, anoço chian, anoço suchitl, anoço in tlein.

Auh injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti: iooac in qujmjxitiaia intenanoan, intetaoan: injc qujmanativi ventlamapictli, in tlaxcaltzintli tepitoton, injc yciuhca qujmanativi ijxpan diablo: cartica in qujtquja ventli ic conmanaia:

çan inchan muchioaia in tlaxcalli, injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti.

Tlenamaqujlistli.

Auh injc muchioaia tlenamaqujliztli, in jca tlemaitl: çoqujtl tlachichioalli, cacalachio, vncan contemaia in tlexuchtli in tlemaco: in oconxopiloque, njman ic contema copalli, yc oalqujça in ijxpan diablo: anoço in itoalnepantla, ic vncan ycac tlequaztli: çoqujtl tlachichioalli. [415] [314]

Auh in onmoquetzaco ijxpan diablo: njman nauhcampa qujiaoa in tlemajtl, ynjc tlapupuchvia: auh yn jquac onauhcampa conjiauh, ic njman contema in tlequazco, vncan popocatica in copalli.

Auh ynjc muchioaia: no yoatzinco in qujmjxitiaia in tepilhoan, in oquichtin, in anoço cioa qujmjxitiaia in tenanoan, in tetaoan ynjc tlenamacazqui iciuhca

x 796 782 they might not become slothful was this done in the houses.

quijnjxitiaia injc amo tlatzivizcujxque techan in muchioaia yn.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

Copaltemaliztli.

Auh in copaltemaliztli ic muchioaia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ie mjtoz, aço tecutlatolli ie mitoz, achto contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in aqujn ie tlatoz, çan vncan mancq in copalli xicaltica: anoço cujcanj in ie cujcaz, ic peoaz, achto contema in copalli in tlequazco, njman ic peoa in cujcanj.

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

[201 576] The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

[626] And thus was protested, thus was avouched one's word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, thus he said unto him:

"If what thou sayest is true, do thou kiss the earth."

Whosoever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

Tlalqualiztli.

In tlalqualiztli ic muchioaia, iquac in campa oalhujlooaia, muchi tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imapil, aço ispan diablo, anoço tlecujlixquac:

yoan ic tlanehtililoia, ic neltia in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca neltocoia tlatolli: ic teilhujloia

intla nelli in tiqujtoa, tlaxontlalqua:
ic njman tlalquaia in aqujn, ic qujnehtiliaia itlatol.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

x 796 782 264 And thus was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first ate [before], indeed, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

Tlatlaçaliztli.

Auh inic muchioaia tlatlacaliztli, iquac in tlein qualoz yn aiamo qualo, aço tlaqualli, achtopa achitón tepinó mocotonaia, tlecujlixquac onmotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc njman ic peoa inic tlaqualoz: aiac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlatlaçaloia, in tlecujlixquac.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

x 796 782 273 Thus was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when thus it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

Tlatoiaoaliztli.

Inic muchioaia tlatoiaoaliztli, iquac in tlamanaloia, aço vitziecoloia: iquac in aca iancujcan qujtlalia vetli, yn iquac oqujtlapiuj, iquac ic tenotzaia, qujoalmana apuztica tlecujliaquac, yoan tetlaoancxxtepiton.

And when men were to drink, they poured wine forth into the drinking vessel, and then poured a libation in front of the hearth. They poured the wine in a libation in the four directions.

And when they had poured a libation of the wine, then everyone drank the wine, then all began the drinking.

Auh yn iquac ic tetlaoantix, cazopilos tetlaoanoantica in vctli, njman ic contoiaoa in tlecujliquac, nauhcāpa contoiaoaia in vctli.

Auh yn iquac oconteiauh vctli, njman ic muchi tlacatl, quja yn vctli, njman ic muchi peoa in tetlaoantiloa.

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Here Are Told the Various Modes in Which Blood Was Shed and Offered up.

Sacrificial Slaying, &c.

Thus was performed the sacrificial slaying of men, when captives and slaves died, who were called "Those who have died for the god."

Thus they took [the captive] up [to the pyramid temple] before the devil, [the priests] going holding him by his hands. And he who was known as the arranger [of captives], this one laid him out upon the sacrificial stone.

And when he had laid him upon it, four men stretched him out, [grasping] his arms and legs. And already in the hand of the fire priest lay the [sacrificial] knife, with which he was to slash open the breast of the ceremonially bathed [captive].

And then, when he had split open his breast, he at once seized his heart. And he whose breast he laid open was quite alive. And when [the priest] had seized his heart, he dedicated it to the sun.

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The Drawing of Straws [Through Parts of the Body].

The drawing of straws was thus done, only upon days proper for [such] drawing of straws.

And indeed in all parts [of the body was it done] —perchance in one's ear, or, whoever willed it, one's tongue or one's thigh. And thus they pierced the flesh: with a thornlike obsidian point. And thus they then here drew a slender twig, or a straw; and thus they gathered the flesh with a cord, that there they might pass a straw [through it]; and thus all performed a penance.

And when slender twigs had been passed [through the flesh], upon the morrow the straws were swept up and gathered; and the straws were much bloodied. And this was done in the house of the devil, or along roads where devils lay.

The Offering of Thorns.

The offering of thorns was thus performed: they plucked green reeds and çac magney spines, and

Vncan mjtoa in quenquiçan neçahuia, ya ezili ic tlamacahuia.

Tlamjctilitzli, &c.

Jnic muchivaia tlamjctilitzli, injc mjquja malli yoan tlacatli in mjtoaia tzumiquj

injc contlecavizia ixpan diablo, çan cazotivi imatitech. auh in tevehcca motocaiotiaia, ichoatl contecaia in jpan techcatl,

auh in jcoac oipan contecac navi tlacatl in qujtitilinjaia in jma in icxi, auh ic imac onoc in tlenamacac tlamacazquj in tezpatl injc quehtetequix tlaahtilli,

auh njman ic conchequj conaxilia achto in jiollo: auh çe ioltoc in quehtequja, auh in jcoac oconanjliquc yiollo conjaviliaia in tonatiuh.

Tlacoqujctilitzli.

Jn tlacoqujctilitzli ic muchivaia, çan no ipan in tlein tonalli in tlacoqujctiloia,

auh çan novjian aço inacazco, anoço in aquin quinequix inencpilco, anoço inetzpan, auh injc qujcoionjaia inacaio ichoatl in vitzauhquj in itztli, auh ic niman vncan quiequjctiaia in tlacatl, anoço çacatl, auh injc qujtilinjaia in inacaio mecatica injc vncan quiquistiaia tlacatl injc tlamacevaloia,

auh in jcoac otlacoquiztiloc, in muztlaioc tlachpanoia muchpanaia in tlacatl yoan in çacatl cêca eçqa, auh in muchivaia y, ichan Diablo anoço vtli in vncan mani Diablome.

Nevitzmanalitzli.

Jn nevitzmanalitzli ic muchivaia cencuja in acu-

bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places—some of them perchance in two places, or three, they laid the thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was of their own will.

istl yoan contequja in mevitztli, auh quezvjaia ic quivalmanaia in ipã acxoiatl vme in vitztli 796x

noviian in aca aço vccan anoço excan in quimanaia vitztli, anoço macuilcan çan teiolliotlama. 785 782

The Bloodying.

When they bloodied themselves, thus did they do: they cut their ears with an obsidian blade, and then took out blood from about the ears.

Neçolintli.

Jn mjçoia injc quichioaia itztli ica in contequja in jnacazco, auh njmã ic quivalpipiloiaia in eztli in innacaztitlan. [412]

The Cutting of the Ears.

Likewise this bloodying was a cutting of the ears, when one was bloodied by the cutting of the ears.

Nenacaztequilintli.

Çan ie no ichoatl in neçolintli in nenacaztequilintli in mjçoia in monacaztequja.

The Twisting off of the Heads [of Birds].

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him, and cast down [the body] before the devil. There the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.

Tlaquechcotonalintli.

Jn tlaquechcotonalintli ic muchivaia ca icoac in tlatotozintli ixpan quicotonaia in Diablo no conjaviliaia, vncan contlaçaia in ixpan Diablo, vncan tlapatlatzioc in jtlac in tototzintli. 796x 782

The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods].

Thus was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: When [the priests] had cut open a slave's or a captive's breast, then [the owner of the victim] took his blood in a vessel and, perchance, cast a paper into the vessel, which drew up the blood.

Then he took [the blood] in the vessel and placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

Tlatlatlaqualilintli.

Jnjc muchivaia tlatlatlaqualilintli, in jcoac oconeltecque in tlacutli anoço malli, njman quicuja in iezço castica yoan aço amatl contlaçaia in caxic quichichinaltiaia in eztli,

njman ic quiçquja castica in izquintin Diablome in tenco quintlatlaliliaia in eztli muchintin in jezço teumjcquj.

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods].

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when mayhap something had befallen one, perchance sickness, when he recovered, then perchance he thus paid his debt with *copal* [incense] or paper [spotted with] liquid rubber. Because he did

Nestlavalintli.

Jn nestlavalintli injc muchivaia in jquac aço aca in tlein ipã muchivaia, aço cocolintli in jquac opatic, njman aço copalli yoã amatl injc mextlavaia, injc [314]

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not die he paid his due in that manner; because, verily, he would [otherwise] have died.

amo omjc iubqujnma ic tlaxtlava, ichica ca omiquizquja.

The Spreading of Fir Branches.

Thus was done the spreading of fir branches: In the woods they plucked fir branches, so that upon them they might lay [bloodied] thorns as offerings. First they spread out the fir branches, and then they laid upon them, as offerings, two thorns [stained] with blood.

Acxoiatemaliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia acxoiatemaliztli ca concuja quauhtla in acxoiatl xoxoubquj injc ipan nevitzmanaloz achto contemaia in acxoiatl ipan conmanaia in vitztli vme ezço.

The Piling up of [Fire]wood for the God.

The piling up of [fire]wood for the god was thus done: They took green wood in the forest and cut it. In order to burn it in the house of the devil, they built up [a pile of it]. Those did this who dwelt and did penanças in the house of the devil.

Teuquauhquetzaliztli.

Jn teuquauhquetzaliztli, ic muchivaia, ca concuja in xoxuhquj quabujtl in quauhtla contequja injc vncan tlatlaz ichan Diablo qujmaquetzaia, ichoantin quichivaia in vncan nenca ichan diablo in tlamacevaia.

The Sweeping.

[358] The sweeping was thus done: Strictly did they force [the young ones], faithfully were the children, whether women[-children] or men[-children], made to sweep there the courtyards of their houses.

And when they had first swept, before dawn, then they made their offerings carried in the palms of their hands, which they laid before the devil. And when they had gone to make the offerings, thereupon they took up their incense ladles that they might offer incense.

Tlachpanaliztli.

Jn tlachpanaliztli ic muchivaia, cenca qujncuitlaviltiaia, cenca cujtlaviltiloia in tepilhoan in aço cihoa, anoço oqujchtin in vncã inchachan in jmjtvalco injc tlachpanazque.

auh in jcoac iovatzinco in oachto tlachpanque, njmã qujchivaia in ventlamapictli in conmanaia ixpan Diablo, auh in jcoac ontlamanato, njmã ic concuja in intlema injc tlenamacazque.

Vigils. 1. All-night Vigils.

Thus was kept a vigil, when it was night.

They who dwelt here in the house of the devil, who kept watch during the night, remained very wakeful that they might not leave undone their duties because of sleeping. Hence they kept watch during the night, until dawn broke.

For this reason they kept watch: because of those things which should be done at midnight, or very late at night, or [when it was] already near dawn. Because of this they faithfully kept watch all night and tended the fire.

Toçovaliztli. 1. ixtoçoaliztli.

Inic muchioaia toçoliztli, iquac in iooaltica:

ichoantin in vncan nenca ichan diablo, in qujpiaia ioalli, cenca ixtoçotinenca, injc amo tlacochcaoazque, ynjc qujpiaia ioalli, in izqujchica tlathuiz:

ynjc qujpiaia, ichica, in tlein muchioaz yn iquac iooalnepantla, anoço tlaquauhiooac, anoço ic tlathujnaoac, ipampa in, vel qujpiaia in ioalli, yoã qujpiaia in tletl.

Abstinence.

When all abstained, they did not fast. But none washed themselves with soap nor in the steam bath; neither did [men] lie with women. Only when it was [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli did they fast for seven days.

Neçaoaliztli.

Inic neçaoaloia amo tlacatlaqualoia, çan ie aiac mamoviaia, aiac motemaia, anoiac cioacochia: çanyio ÿquac in panquetzaliztli, tlacatlaqualoia chicomilhujtl.

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X 796 782 **Here Are Told, in Very Truth, the Offerings Which They Made, in Order to Pay Honor to the Devil.**

Nican mitoa, in vel nelli tlamanalistli, in quj-chioaia, inic qujmavistiliaia tlacateculotl.

The Swallowing of Serpents.

Thus was done by those who swallowed serpents, when they observed [the feast of] Atamalqualiztli. They who were named *maçateca* swallowed [the serpents] while they were quite alive, holding them only in their mouths, cutting them to pieces [with their teeth] that they might swallow them. And when they had swallowed them, thereupon they were offered gifts, as hath been told in its place, and water *tamales* were eaten. [This happened] every eight years.

Coatololiztli.

Inic muchioaia, in coatl qujtoloaia, iquac yn atamalqualoia qujchioaia: moteneoaia maçateca, çan ioltiuja in qujntoloaia, çan incamatica in qujmonanaia, qujnxaxamatztiuja, ynic qujntoloaia. Auh yn iquac oq'ntoloque, çatepan motlauhtiaia, yn iubquj ipan omito, atamalqualoia chicuexiuhtica.

The Swallowing of Frogs.

And thus they swallowed frogs, likewise alive. When this was similarly done, these very same *maçateca* performed [the swallowing].

Cuelatololiztli.

Auh injc cuecueia qujntoloaia çan no ioltivia, çan no iquac muchivaia, çan no ichoantin in maçateca qujchivaia.

Making Birds Fly.

[231] Thus was it done [when] birds were made to fly at the time of the feast of Etzalqualiztli: The youths tied birds to wooden rods; thus they danced as all [the birds, fastened by strings], circled [the wooden rods].

Totoputlanaltiliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia, totoputlanaltiloia iquac in etzalqualiztli, in telpopuchtin quauhtitech quimjlpiaia in totome ic mjtotiaia in iquac tlaiaoaloloia.

Processions.

Processions were thus undertaken. For whatever feast was established, when this was done, all the people went in procession, perchance at dawn, or at sundown. Then they all dispersed.

Tlaiavaloliztli.

Jn tlaiavaloliztli, ic muchivaia in tlein ilhujtl motlalitivia iquac muchivaia, muchi tlacatl tlaiavalovaia, aço ioheatzinco, anoço ic teutlac, ic tlaxitinjaia.

Singing in the Manner of Women.

X 796 782 533 And the singing in the manner of women was thus done, when, mayhap, they formed [the image of] whatever devil. Then everywhere all the women

Ciboapâcuiquiztli.

Auh in jcibouapan cuiquiztli ic muchivaia iquac in aço tlacatia Diablo, in tlein, iquac muchintin

aged men danced [together, as] during the feast of Tlaloc.

mjtotiaia in cihoa novian yoan oquichtin iquac inilhuiuh tlaloc.

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The Moistening of Chalk.

Thus was done the moistening of chalk: when they quickly snatched the chalk, then he who moistened the chalk ran. Thus he appeared running fast, and a number followed him. They went stoning him, and any who did not hasten fell quickly under the stones.

Tiçapalolizti.

Jnjc muchivaia tiçapaloliztli: in iquac concuitiquiça in tiçatl njman ic motlaloa in tiçapaloa injc necia in cenca tlacça yoan cequjntin quitocaia, quitepachotivia auh in aquin amo tlaçaia iciuhca tetica vetzia.

The Lifting [of Children], that They Might Grow.

Thus was done the lifting of children that they might grow: Also upon a certain day they lifted up all the small children [by the head] that they might grow. Along the roads and on all the ground lay the *nopal* [cacti], or *magney* plants; thus, it was said, these thus would swiftly grow.

Teixcalanaliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia teixcalaanaliztli no ipan in tlein tonalli muchintin in pipiltotonti quimizcalaanaia vtlica yoã in isquich tlalticpac onoc in nopalli, anoço metl, ic mitoaia inic hiciuhca mozcaltiz. [827]

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A True [Relation] of Still Other Offerings with Which Similarly They Paid Honor to the Devil.

Hanging [an Object] over the Breast.

Thus was done the hanging [of objects] over the breast; thus was the tying with loose cotton thread: they tied [them] about the wrists and the necks of small children and [suspended on the cords], in small bags, *tomillas* made of green maize. Here [in the *calpulli*] they set forth these, on small jar-stands, and small earthen jars, and lifted the jars up by the ears, and with their hands went filling their bags with water. And when they had reached the twentieth day, when [it was the feast] known as Teotl eco, [that was] when they untied the feathered threads which they had about the small children.

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[For] Pain.

And [for] pain, thus was done upon the feast of [the god] Acolmiztli: the small children were ornamented in feathers [applied to them]; in colored feathers, [set] everywhere on their bodies. And the old people similarly applied feathers on their stomachs, over their hearts, and upon their backs. Thus they set feathers upon them—so it was said—because then Acolmiztli would not bewitch them.

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The Setting Out of the Children.

Thus was done the setting out of the children. They took all of them there to the house of the devil, and had in truth all the children dance before them, and made them drunk. Hence it was called the setting out of the children; for they had them all appear in the house of the devil.

The Act of Striping.

Thus was done what was named the act of striping: when mock battle was joined, the shield and

Imelavaca in oc cequj tlamanalistli in çan no ic qujmavizitiliaia Diablo.

Neelpilistli.

Injc muchivaia neelpilizitli, inic neelpiloia ica icpatl in qujmjlpiaia pipiltotonti in immaquechtlan, yoan in jnquechtlan yoan in jmjtac elotlaxcalhotonti in vncan conmanaia vacalnoco yoan tecõtontli, vacalnacazco conquetzaia tentiuh in atl in jma itac, auh in ẽjc oacico ipan cempoalilhujtl in iquac moteneva teteu heco iquac qujntomiliaia in jcpatl potonquj injc omoolpique pipiltotõti.

Necenelolistli.

Auh in necocolizitli ic muchivaia ipan ilhujuh acolmiztli mjhujcujcujlovaia in pipiltotonti tlapalihujtica, novjian in jtech inacaio. Auh in' veuejtlaca çãyio in jmelpan, in jniollopan yoan in jocujtlapan, qujnamjctiaia in ihujtl, injc qujnpotonjaia, quilmach ipampa inic amo teiolloquaz acolmiztli.

Pilquistilistli.

Injc muchivaia pilquistilizitli vmpa muchintin qujnvicaia in itenpan Diablo, in pipiltotonti vel muchintin impan qujmjtotyaia yoã qujntlavaotiaia injc moteneva pilquistilo ca muchintin qujnvalquiztia in pipilhotonti in Diablo ichan.

Tlavavanalistli.

Injc muchivaia in moteneboa tlavavanalizitli in jquac malli moiauchivaia ichimal imaquauh imac

war club of the captive lay in his hand, but his war club lacked obsidian points. And they who striped had their shields and war clubs, in order to fight in gladiatorial sacrifice in supposed battle with the captive or slave.

onoc aoc moiztzo in imaquauh. auh in tlavavanque inchimal inmacquauh ieticac injc tlavavanaia iuhqujn qujcali malli anoço tlacutli. 796x 782

Lying in the Sacred Place.

For five days all lay stretched out in the reed [swamp]. Thus was penance done for Tlaloc when in the cave were laid the two *culnauati*.

Teupan onolizti

Macujlilhujtl in tulpan netecoia injc neçavililoia tlaloc in iquac vztoc tlaliloia vme culnavati.

Placing of Men upon the Straw.

The placing of men upon the straw: Of those who flayed men, some put on the [flayed] skins. Such were named Xipes. And straw was shaken out, upon which they placed [the Xipes]. Hence was it said that they were set forth upon the straw.

Çacapan nemanaliztli

In çacapan nemanaliztli, ichoantin in qujxipevaia tlaca in imevaio cequjntin conmaqujaia in ehoatl in motenevaia xixipeme, auh motzetzeloaia in çacatl ipan qujnvalmanaia ipampa in motenevaia çacapan valnemanalo.

Quickening [the Sun or the Fire].

The quickening was thus done: When the ears were cut, they spattered the blood upward, [or] perchance sprayed it into the fire. Thus, it was said, they caused the fire and the sun to quicken.

Tlazcaltiliztli.

In tlazcaltiliztli ic muchivaia iquac in monacaztequja acopa contzetzeloaia in eztli anoço tleco contzitzicujnjaia injc mjtoaia quizcaltia in tletl yoan in tonatiuh.

The Spreading of Greens.

The spreading of greens was thus done: when greens had been plucked, then they were spread everywhere upon the altars. No one, anywhere, failed to do so. This was known as the spreading of things which had been plucked by hand.

Tlatzmolintemaliztli

In tlatzmolintemaliztli injc muchivaia, in iquac omocujto tlatzmolin, njman ic motetema in novjian momuzen, acan mocava vel novjian, ichoatl in mjtoaia tlamacujtemaliztli.

The Spreading of a Bed of Straw.

The spreading of a bed of straw was thus done: Like the kissing of the earth, it was fitting when anywhere one entered a door where stood the image of the devil. Thus, [when] one entered in his presence, he pulled up straw and shook it out before the devil when he came forth before him.

Others followed the roads, and when there was

Neçacapechtemaliztli.

In neçacapechtemaliztli injc muchivaia çan no iuhquj in tlalqualiztli ipan povia in iquac campa quixovaia in canjn ycac ixiptla Diablo injc ixpã quixoaia compia in çacatl ixpan contzetzeloaia in Diablo, in iquac tlaixpan quiçaia [201]

Oc cequjntin in vtli quitocaia, ioã in iquac iavc, [788]

X 796 war, they made, as it were, a supplication when anyone went where there was war, lest something might go amiss [with them]. They said:
782 "Not here shall I die; [it is] in war that I go
788 to die."

And when battle was already joined, they first plucked grass, shook it out toward the sun, and said: "He will destroy and slay [our foe]," or, "He will capture [him]."

In this wise was a prayer raised to the sun.

iuhqujnma ic nenetoltiloia, jn jquac aca iauh iavc intla itla ic motolinjtinemj qujtoaia

amo njcan in njmiquiz, iavc in njmiquitiuh

auh in iõc ie muchivaz iauiotl achto quijpia in çacatl quitzetzeloaia in jvicpa in tonatiuh quitoaia, vnpopolihuiz y in tlamiquiz, anoço tlamaz

iuhqujn ic monetoltiaia ivjc tonatiuh.

The Blowing of Trumpets.

X 796 [533] Thus was done the blowing of trumpets: when it was late at night, when it was already approaching
782 midnight, [then it was] when trumpets were sounded, that all [the priests] might offer blood in the house of the devil. Therefore were [the priests] awakened.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in tlatlapitzaliztli iquac in ie tlaquauhiovac, in ie onacitiuh iovalnepantla iquac tlapitzaloia ic neçohoais in jchan Diablo, ic teixitiloia.

The Illumination with Fire.

Thus was done the illumination with fire: when we people had passed [the night until] midnight and also trumpets had been sounded, thus were men awakened. Thus those known as the beaters began the keeping of the watch. And if any did not awake, they poured water upon him, or else they shook [coals of] fire upon him, or else they cast him into the water at Tilapan or at Coapan.

Tlatica tlaviliztli.

Injc muchivaia tlatica tlaviliztli, in iquac ie titlãca in iohoalnepantla oacic, no tlapitzalo, ic teixitilo, ic pevaia in tlapializtli motenehoaia tlavitequjni, auh in aquijn amo veliça atl ipan qujnoqujaia, anoço tletl ipã qujtzetzelovaia, anoço atlan contlaçaia vmpa tlilapan, anoço coapan.

The Piercing of Ears.

X 796 The piercing of ears was also undertaken [because of] the devil. Hence were ears bored.
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Nenacaxapotlaliztli.

In nenacaxapotlaliztli no ic tlaciecalhujloia in Diablo injc nenacaxcoionniloia.

The Piercing of the [Lower] Lip.

In like manner the piercing of the [lower] lip: similarly, for the devil, was the boring of the [lower] lip endured.

Netexapotlaliztli.

I Çan no iuhquj in nenacaxxapotlaliztli çan no ic tlaciecalviloia in Diablo in netexapotlaliztli.

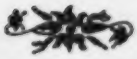

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A True Relation of all Those Who Served in the Houses of Each of the Gods.

The Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans.

Thus did the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans with his sleeveless jacket, his incense ladle and his pouch, that he might with them pay honor to the devil. And so did he keep watch that verily it was a matter of his being like the father of [those in] the priests' dwelling. He was like the ruler of the lesser keepers of the gods indeed everywhere.

And all the children were left in his care, that he might train them, that he might by words move them to live well. And whether men commanded, or were rich, or were leaders, or directed, all this was the charge of the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans.

And also this one commanded in the temples everywhere; he told the lesser keepers of the gods what they might do. And if perchance any should sin, much did the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans take heed of it.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac, Omacatl.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac similarly maintained usages, just as the Keeper of the Gods of Mexico maintained usages. Likewise he oversaw, in the priests' dwelling, that they trained the children well.

The Keeper of the Gods of Others.

The Keeper of the Gods of Others: his overseeing was similar to the overseeing of the Keeper of the Gods of Mexico. Because, in truth, he appointed to all how [those of the] priests' dwellings should oversee; how they should bring up the children, and train them; and, verily, the things which the lesser keepers of the gods everywhere should do.

Onse Tochtzin.

Onse tochtzin had as his charge that he should assemble the Centzontotochtin [singers]; even all of

Imelavaca in iaqujntin tlatequjpanoaia in jnchachan cecenme teteu.

Mexicatl teuhoatzin

Injc muchivaia mexicatl teuhoatzin ixicol, ixtetna, ixiquipil injc qujmaviztiliaia Diablo, yoan ic tlapiaia ca iuhquj in teta muchiuhticatca in calmecac, iuhqujn intlatocauh catca in teteuhoatzitzin injc novjian:

yoã in ixquich in tepilhoan itech oncavaloia injc qujmizcaltiz, injc quivapavaz tlatoltica injc vel nemizque, yoã in aço tlatocatizque, anoço mocuiltonozque, anoço teiacanazque, tlapachozque muchi ichoatl itequjuh catca in Mexicatl teuhoatzin, [871]

yoã no ichoatl tlanavatiaia in novjian teteupan qujmilhujaia in tlein quichivazque teteuhoatzitzin, auh in anoço aca tlatlacoa muchi ichoatl qujmatia in Mexicatl teuhotzin.

Vitznava teuhoatzin omacatl.

In vitznavac teuhoatzin, çan no iuhquj injc tlamanitiaia in juhquj ic tlamanitiaia Mexico teuhoatzin no iuhquj injc tlapiaia in calmecac in quenjn vel tlacavapavaia.

Tepan teuhoatzin.

In tepan teuhoatzin çan no iuhquj in itlapializ catca, in juhquj ic tlapiaia in Mexico teuhoatzin, ichica ca muchi ichoatl qujnnavatiaia in quenjn tlapianque calmecac, in quenjn tlacazcaltiaia, tlacavapavaia, çan muchiuhquj in qujchivaia injc novjian teuhoatzitzin. [871]

Vme tochtzin.

In vme tochtzin itequjuh catca in qujnechicovaia centzontotochtin in ie muchintin, aiac mocavaia, auh

793 them. None should fail. And here, over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who was made, as it were, their leader.

vncan tepan icaca im patecatl, iuhqujn tachcauh muchivaia,

793 [445] 273 Then they arranged the rabbit [wine] jars. These they filled with [ceremonial] five[-fold] wine, which they also called sacred wine. Then he brought forth the sucking-tubes, made of reeds, and laid them with the sacred wine—two hundred and three of them, but only one was bored through.

njman ie quiquetza in tochtecomatl vncã conteca in macujlvctli in qujlvjaia teuvctli, njman ie qujvalquistia in piaztli acatl vncan cõmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlaçpoalli vmei, auh çan ce in coionquj,

And when they had set them out, thereupon all danced and went in procession; the Centzontotochtin danced.

auh in ocõma, njman ie ic netotilo, tlaiavalolo, mjtotia in centzontotochtin,

Thereupon they went up to the sacred wine. There was much jostling about until one should see the [sucking tube which was] bored through. And when he who saw it then took up the bored [tube], then they made room for him.

njman ie ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac ichoatl qujttaz coionquj, auh in aquin oquittac, in oquicpic coionquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

Only he alone drank the sacred wine. And when he had drunk the sacred wine, thereupon all dispersed.

ça icel qujticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlacoanoc, njman ic viujloca.

Epcoaquacuiltzin.

Epcoaquacujltzin.

793 [805] The Epcoaquacuiltzin—behold what were his duties: when feasts should be celebrated, perchance when a new fifty-two-year cycle should start—verily, all feasts—all of them he announced; or when fire was laid. In truth, all that should be done, all things this man thus commanded and furthered.

In epcoaquacujltzin, inca yn jtequjuh catca: Yn iquac ilhujtl qujçaia, yn açe xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ie muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipã tlatoaia, injc tletemaloz in ie muchi muchivaz muchi ichoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloneo.

Moloncoteuhca.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloneo also had this as his duty: In his charge were the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, and all which this one needed when [sacrificial victims] were to die. And he had in his charge the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauecatl, and the incense ladle, the quail, and the black plumes with which [he who was arrayed in the likeness of] Chiconauecatl was feathered.

In moloncoteuhca, çan no ichatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copalli, in vlli, in tlilli, in isujch itech moneguja in ichoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tlilli ic moçaia, in chicunavecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tlitic ic mopetonjaia in chicunavecatl.

The [Priest of] Cinteotl.

Cinteutzin.

The duties of the [Priest of] Cinteotl were that all things which were required be thus commanded, so that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber,

In itequjuh catca cinteutzin çan isujch in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicoaia in amatl in copalli, in vlli in jiauhtli in itech moneguja xilo-

the sweet-smelling herbs should be gathered together which [the goddess] Xilonen needed when her feast was observed. And he arranged for all [things] and the incense-ladles which the temple needed when [the impersonator of] Xilonen died.

nen in jquac ilhujuh quiçaia, yoan muchi ipan tlatovaia, in tlemaitl in jtech monequja o calli in jquac mjquja xilonen. 793

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan.

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan—behold what were his duties. This one required, and hence commanded, that there should be gathered together the feathers, the eagle-down and the pointed eagle plumes, with which [she who was ornamented in the likeness of] Toci was adorned, when she died.

And this one cried out [summoning] the Huaxtec youths to do penances here at Atempan.

Atempan teuhoatzin.

In atempan teuhoatzin, izca in jtequjuh catca, iehoatl ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicovaia ihujtl, in quauhtlachcaiutl, yoan in qiauhtevitztli injc mopotonjaia toci in iquac miquja

yoan iehoatl qujtzatziliaia in cuecuextecа in telpupuchtin; injc moçavazque vncẽ atempan. [203]

The Caretaker.

The Caretaker took charge of the songs of the devils, of indeed all the sacred songs, that none might do ill [with them]. Greatly was he concerned that they teach the sacred songs, and he cried [the summons] that the singers be gathered, or the chiefs, that they might be taught the songs.

Tlapiscatzin.

In tlapiscatzin qujmocujtlavjaia in jncujc Diablome in ie muchi teucujcatl injc aiac tlatlacoz, vel qujmocujtlavjaia, injc qujtemachtiaia in teucujcatl, yoan qujtzatziliaia injc monechicozque in cujcanjme anoço tetecutin injc qujmomachtizque in teucujcatl. [533] [203]

The Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan.

The duties of the Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan were similar to what were the duties of the Keeper of the God of Atempan; for he was concerned with, and commanded that there should be gathered together all the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the sweet-smelling herbs which [she who was arrayed in the likeness of] Tzapotla tenan needed when she died.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin, çã no ẽhquj in jtequjuh catca, in juhquj itequjuh catca: Atempa teuhoatzin, iehica ça no muchi ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, inic monechicovaia amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan in jiauhtli, in jtech monequja in tzaputla tenan in iquac mjquja

The Keeper of the God of Tecanman.

The Keeper of the God of Tecanman was concerned that there should be torches, or bundles of resinous wood used as torches. And the charge of this one was that he should collect the red ochre, the black stain, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, and the bells which [the impersonator] of Xiuhtecutli, the old god, needed when he died.

Tecanman teuhos.

In tecanman teuhos iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in ocutl in tlepilli iez yoan iehoatl itequjuh catca, in qujnechicovaia in tlavitl, in thlli yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli in jtech monequja xiuhtecutli, veuetcutl in iquac mjquja [373]

Ome Tochtli Tezcatzoncatl.

793 Ome tochtli Tezcatzoncatl: this one likewise was concerned with the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the foam sandals, the paper, the heron feather headdress, the pine flowers [as mentioned above]. Hence he commanded that all be assembled; that they gather together the offerings which [he who was ornamented like] Tezcatzoncatl would need when he died. This was done upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tezcatzoncatl vme tochtli.

In tezcatzoncatl vme tochtli, çan no ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in poçolcactli in amatl, in aztatzontli, in ocozochitl, ic tlanavatiaia injc muchi monechicoa in valcenqujcaz in ventli in jtech monequja tezcatzoncatl in iquac mjquja ipã in tepeilhujtl mochivaia.

Ome Tochtli Yiauhqueme.

Ome tochtli Yiauhqueme likewise was concerned with the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the bells, the sleeveless jacket, the heron feather headdress, and the pine flower. Therefore he commanded that all that hath been mentioned be gathered, when they were needed, when [the impersonator of] Ome tochtli Yiauhqueme died. [This was] also upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli yiauhqueme.

In vme tochtli yiauhqueme çã ic no ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tzitzilli, in xicolli, in aztatzontli, in ocozochitl, ic tlanavatiaia injc monechicovaia in isquich omjto, iquac monequja in iquac miquja vme tochtli yiauhqueme çan no ipan in tepeilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Tomiauh.

Ome tochtli Tomiauh: the duties of this one were [that] he be concerned with all things needed when [he who was bedight as] Ome tochtli Tomiauh died —the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, the bells, the sleeveless jacket, which have already been told of. [This was] also upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli tomjiauh.

In vme tochtli tomjiauh ichoatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatovaia in isquich in monequja in iquac mjquja vme tochtli tomjiauh, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in tzitzilli, in xicolli, in e isquich omjto, çan no tepeilhujtl ipan.

Ome Tochtli Acalua.

Ome tochtli Acalua: likewise this one's duties were that he be charged with all the duties which Ome tochtli Tomiauh had.

Acalva vme tochtli.

In acalhoa vme tochtli çan no ichoatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatovaia in isquich itequjuh catca vme tochtli tomjiauh.

Ome Tochtli Quatlapanqui.

The duties of Ome tochtli Quatlapanqui were that this one was in charge of the paper, the *copal* [incense], the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the princely sandals which [the impersonator of] Quatlapanqui had need of when he died, upon the feast of Panquetzaliztli.

Quatlapanquj vme tochtli.

In quatlapanquj vme tochtli in jtequjuh catca, ichoatl ipan tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan in itzcactli in jtech monequja quatlapãquj in iquac mjquja ipan panquetzaliztli.

Ome Tochtli Tilhua.

Ome tochtli Tilhua: likewise this one was concerned with the paper, the *copal* [incense], the sleeveless jacket, the bells, all things which have been mentioned, which also this one, [he who impersonated] Ome tochtli Tilhua, needed upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tilhoa ome tochtli.

In tilhoa vme tochtli, çan no ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in iequjch omjto, çan no ichoatl itech monequja in tilhoa vme tochtli ipan tepeilhujtl. 793

Ome Tochtli Pitecatl.

Ome tochtli Pitecatl: this one produced the five[-fold] wine; he took by the hand and went with the artificer, the one who made the sacred wine, upon the feast of Panquetzaliztli, when they used the five[-fold] wine.

Vme tochtli pitecatl.

In vme tochtli pitecatl ichoatl qujiolitiaia in macujlvctli imac concavaia in tultecatl ichoatl qujchivaia in teuvctli ipan panquetzaliztli in popolivia in macujlvctli. [273]

Ome Tochtli Napa Tecutli.

Ome tochtli Napa tecutli was in charge of the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber—all that was needed when [he who was arrayed as] Napa tecutli died, upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli nappa tecutli.

In vme tochtli nappa tecutli ipã tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli: in ie izqujch monequja in jquac miquja nappa tecutli, ipan tepeilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Papantac.

Ome tochtli Papantac: this one also made the wine which was called "chalky wine." This one laid it before Moctezuma, and [did so] when all the children, or the men, or the women became drunk upon the feast of [Uci] Toçoztli.

Vme tochtli papantac.

In vme tochtli papantac, çan no ichoatl qujchivaia in vçtli in mjtovaia tiçavctli: ichoatl conmacaia in motecoçoma, auh iquac tlanavaia ie izq'ch pipiltzintin, in anoço oqujchtli, anoço cihoatl ipan toçoztli. [273]

The Same Ome Tochtli.

Similar were his duties. His charge was [like that of] Ome tochtli Papantac; and [these things] were done upon the feast of Atl cahualo.

Vme tochtli idem.

Çan no iuhquj catca in itequjuh, in itequjuh catca, vme tochtli papantac, auh in muchivaia ipan in atl cavalo. [273]

Cinaqnacuilli.

The charges of the cinaqnacuilli were all the offerings which were needed by her of the Temple of Atenchicalcan [Toçi]—the flowers, the tobacco which she laid before Toçi; verily, all things which the women offered when the hand-holding dance was danced. All this was the charge of the cinaqnacuilli.

Cihoaqnacujlli.

In cihoaqnacujlli itequjuh catca, in iequjch ventli, in vncan monequja, atenchicalcatl, in ruchitl, in ieil injc qujdanonjliaia tuci vel izqujch in ontlamanaia in cihoa in jquac nanalaia ichoatl muchi itequjuh catca, in cihoaqnacujlli.

The Iztac Ciuatl Ciuaquacuilli.

793 The Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli also kept watch there and took care of the [Temple of] Atenchicalcan; and she was in charge of the sweeping and the laying of fires [there]. And any who made supplications [to the goddess] spoke to the Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli. This one determined all that was done here at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

Cihoaquacujlli iztac cihuatl.

In cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl çã no vmpa tlapiaia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatovaia in tlachpanaliztlj in tletlaliliztli, yoan in aquja vmpa monetoltiaia, ichoatl conilhujaia in cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl, muchi ichoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia atenchicalcã.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco.

The duties of the Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco, [concerned] the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli. He caused it to be cried abroad that it be gathered in the forests. And those who gathered it were only those youths whose right it was [to gather it]. And when they had gathered the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli, they piled it up in the priests' dwelling at Tzonmolco.

Iscoçauhquj tzõmvlco teuhoa.

In jscoçauhquj tzõmulco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhtecuquavitl, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quauhtla, auh in concuja çan ichoantin in telpupuchtin intequjuh catca, auh in oqujcujto xiuhtequavitl, vmpa conquetzaia in tzõmulco calmecac.

Tlaçolquacuilli.

The Tlaçolquacuilli was charged that he should guard and take care of [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket, and he had his gourd for tobacco. Much did he venerate the Temple here at Mecatlan. None might urinate here; and if anyone did urinate here, then they seized him and brought him within. There they punished him and drew blood from him.

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Tlaçolquacujlli.

In tlaçolquacujlli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiaia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, ixicol yietecõton ietinemj, cenca tlamavizotiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlã, aiac vncan maxitzaia, auh in aquja vncan omaxix, njman qujtzitzquja, qujcalaqujaia calitic, vmpa quitlatzacujltiaia quiçoçoia.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco guarded and cared for [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco. And his task was to have charge of the offerings. He caused it to be cried abroad that offerings be made here at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco.

Tecpantzinco teuhoa.

In tecpantzinco teuhoa, vncã tlapiaia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tecpãtzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatovaia in ventli qujtzatzilitiia injc tlamanaloz vncan tecpãtzinco.

Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton.

793 The Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton was concerned with the songs. When anyone molded figures [of the mountain gods], he consulted with him that he

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Epcoaquacujlli tepictotõ.

In Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton ipã tlatovaia in cujcatl, iquac in aquja tepiquiz ichoatl ichoatl conjlhujaia in qujmisquetzaz, qujnnavatiz in cujcanjme,

might provide the singers and make them sound well, when they went to sing in the home of him who molded figures [of the mountain gods]. Verily, this one, the Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton, passed judgment upon [the songs].

injc qujcativi in jchan in aquja tepiquiz, vel ichoatl qujtzontequja in Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton. 793 [532]

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton.

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton was upon [the pyramid], and his charge was that he caused it to be cried abroad that offerings [should be made]. When the little children, whether men[-children] or women[-children, first] began to talk, they went carrying their offerings of *copal* [incense], or flowers, or whatever sorts of gifts were made. Each of [these] things they bore with them.

Ixtlilco teuhoa.

In jxtlilco teuhoa ipan jcaca, ipan tlatovaia, qujtzatziliaia in ventli injc motenmamalia pipiltzitzinti in aço oqujchţin, in anoço cihoa qujtquitivi in jnven in copalli, in anoço suchitl in ie isqujch ventli muchivaia cecentlamantli in qujtquja. [203]

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli at Aticpac.

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli, at [the Temple of] Aticpac, had encharged to him [her who was arrayed in the likeness of the Goddess] Aticpac calqui cinatl, [and that] they should collect the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber which Aticpac calqui cinatl needed when she died. And they flayed her, and the fire-priest put on her skin and went forth holding a [live] quail in his teeth, which went dangling from his mouth.

Aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli.

In aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli ipã tlatovaia, in aticpac calquj cihoatl qujnechicovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in jtech monequja aticpac calquj cihoatl in iquac mjquja, auh qujxipchoaia in jichoaio cõmaqujaia tlenamacac, yoan qujtlanquativja çolin icamac pilcatiuh.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli, at Atlixeliuhqui.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli at Atlixeliuhqui was charged with collecting the adornment, the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the sweet-smelling herbs, the chalk, the black stain, and the heron feather headdress and the tousled hair which [he who was arrayed like] Opochtli would need when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli.

In atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli, ipan tlatovaia, qujnechicovaia in jnechichival, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in jiauhtli, in tiçatl, in jaiapalli, yoan aztacõdi, papatli, in jtech monequja obuchtli in jquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico, took care, when that one [arrayed in the likeness of the god Tezcatzin] died, of the paper, the *copal* [incense],

Xippe iopico teuhoa.

In xippe iopico teuhoa qujnecujtlavjaia, in ipan mjquja in ichoatl tezcatzin, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tlahujtl, auh injc mopotonjaia ie-

173 and the foam sandals, the red ochre; and that this one be arrayed in feathers—in white turkey feathers—and in the fine mantle of masterly design which fell his lot.

hoatl in iztac totolihujtl, yoan in tulectilmatli tultecajutl in jpã vetzia.

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli, at Pochtlan.

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli, at Pochtlan, oversaw that they should collect for him [who was to be arrayed as] Yiacatecutli the various feathers, the rabbit fur—all the feather[-like adornment]; and the precious mantle, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the sandals of all colors.

Pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli.

In pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli ipan tlatovaia quj-nechicovaia in jjacatecutli in nepapan ihujtl in tochiujtl in ie izquich ihujtl. yoan in tlaçotilmatli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan tlatlapalcactli.

The Same, for Chiconquisuitl, at Pochtlan.

Chiconquisuitl: this one also oversaw all that hath been mentioned which the keeper of the god at Pochtlan oversaw.

Chiconqujahujtl pochtlã idem.

In chiconqujahujtl, çan no iehoatl, ipan tlatovaia in jzquich omjto in ipan tlatovaia pochtlan teuhoa.

The Keeper of the God of Izquitlan.

The Keeper of the God of Izquitlan looked after the sleeveless jackets, the bells, and the foam sandals, and the sacred wine, and he took the syrup [from the *maguey*] in the fields. This [*maguey* plant] was afterwards broken up, that no one might drink [of it], and that no one might take it.

Izqujtlan teuhoatzin.

In izquitlan teuhoatzin ipan tlatovaia, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoã in poçolcactli: yoan teuvctli, concuicuja in necutli in mjlpã, iehoatl in quja omotlapan in aiaiac quj, in aiaiac concuj.

The Keeper of the Chachalmeca Gods, at Zapotlan.

The Keeper of the Chachalmeca Gods, at Zapotlan, had it in his charge that [he who impersonated] the man of Zapotlan be adorned, [and supplied with] paper, *copal* [incense], and incense ladle—all things which the man of Zapotlan needed when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin chachalmeca.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin chachalmeca, ipan tlatoaia injc muchichioaia in ipan miquja in tzaputlacatl, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in tlemaitl, in ie izquich itech monequja tzaputlacatl in iquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli icue Acatonal.

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli icue acatonal oversaw the gifts and caused it to be cried abroad what this [woman arrayed in the likeness of] Chalchiuhtli icue needed when she died—the pine-nut skirt, the

Chalchiuhtli icue acatonal cuecujlli.

In chalchiuhtli icue acatonal quacuilli, ipan tlatoaia in ventli, qujzatziliaia in jzquich itech monequja, in iehoatl chalchiuhtli ycue in ipan miquja, in coco-

water skirt; and all the paper, the *copal* [incense], and still other [things].

calcueitl, yn acueitl: yoan in ixquich yn amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in oc cequj. 793

Acolnauacatl, Acolmiztli.

Acolnauacatl, Acolmiztli had charge of all the adornment with which this Moctezuma adorned himself when he fasted. Only upon the great feasts did he fast—when all fasted for Tlaloc, and when there was fasting for the sun, and for [the feast of] Quecholli. [He] saw to the mantles, the sleeveless jackets, and the foam sandals.

Acolnaoacatl, acolmiztli.

In acolnavacatl acolmiztli, ipan tlatoaia in ie ixquich nechichioalli, injc muchichioaia in ieheatl motecuçoma, in ipan moçaoaia: çan ipan in veuey ilhujtl moçaoaia, ipan in netlalocaçaoaloia, yoan in netonatiuhçaoaloia, yoan in nequecholçaoaloia: ipam tlatoaia in tilmatli, in xicolli, yoan in poçolcactli.

The Keeper of the God Totoltecatl, at Tollan.

The keeper of god of Tollan: this one saw to what [he who impersonated the God] Totoltecatl needed: the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the princely sandals, the heron feather headdress, and the hardly flowers—verily, all that [the impersonator of] Totoltecatl needed when he died, at [the feast of] Quecholli tlami, [or] when it was the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tollan teuhoa totoltecatl.

In tollan teuhoa, ieheatl ipã tlatoaia, in jtech monequja totoltecatl: yn amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan yn itzcactli, yn aztatzontli, yoan in tecuauchitl: in ie ixquich itech monequja totoltecatl, in jquac mjquja, ipan in quecholli tlamj, auh in quenman ipã in tepeilhujtl.

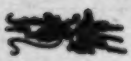

X 796 **A True [Relation] of how They Served the Sun; and of how many Times Trumpets Were Blown During the Day and During the Night; and of how many Times Incense Was Offered.**

Each day, when the sun arose, quail were slain and incense was offered. And thus were quail slain: they wrung the necks of the quail and raised them dedicating them to the sun.

And they invoked [the sun], saying:

"The sun hath come forth—the shafts of heat, the turquoise child, the soaring eagle. And how he will go on, or how he may tarry [we know not]. Perchance something [ill] will be done his servants and vassals."

They said unto him:

"Work; perform the office [for us], O our lord."

And this each day was thus done when the sun rose, [as hath] been said.

And thus was incense offered four times during the day, and five times during the night: The first time [was] when the sun burst forth. The second time [was] when [it was] time to eat [the first meal]. And the third time [was] at midday; and the fourth time [was] when already the sun had set.

And at night, thus was incense offered: the first time, when it was dark; the second time, when it was time to sleep; the third time, when the shell trumpets were sounded; the fourth time, at midnight; and the fifth time, near dawn. And when it was dark, incense was offered and a supplication was made to the night.

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It was said:

"The Lord of the Night, he of the sharp nose, hath unfolded, and we know not how his office will end."

X 796 785 And [his] first day came upon the day of the day-count [called] nani ollin, every two hundred and three days. And when the day had come, all did penances; all fasted for four days. And when they reached the day of the day-count, at noon, shell trumpets were blown, and straws were passed through the flesh to draw blood. And they cut the ears of little children lying in their cradles. And all the people bloodied themselves, and no supplications

Inseloaca, in quanja tlaiecultiloia tonatiuh: yoan quezquipa in tlapitzaloia in cemjlhujtl, yoan in celooal: yoan quezquipa in tlenamacoia.

In mumuztlae in jquac valquiçaia tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, yoan tlenamacoia. Auh injc tlacotonaloia quijquechcoxonaia in çolin, conjaviliaia in tonatiuh,

yoan quitlapalovaia quitoaia

Oquiçaco in tonatiuh, in tonametl, xiuhpiltontli, in quauhtlevanjtl: auh quen onotlatocaz quĕ cemilhujtiz, cuix itla ipan mochivaz in jcuitlapil, in jiatlapal

conilvjaia.

Ma ximotequitili, ma xjmotlacutili, totecuioe.

auh injn mumuztlae iuh mochivaia in iquac valquiçaia tonatiuh mjtoaia.

Auh injc tlenamacoia, nappa in cemjlhujtl, auh macuilpa in iovaltica. Injc ceppa iquac in valmomana tonatiuh. Injc vppa iquac in tlaqualizpan, auh injc Expa iquac in nepĕtla tonatiuh, auh injc nappa iquac in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh.

Auh in iovaltica, injc tlenamacoia. Injc ceppa tlapoiaca. Injc vppa netequilizpan. Injc Expa tlatlapitzalizpan, auh injc Nappa ticatla, auh injc macuilpa tlatvinavac, auh in iquac tlapoizva tlenamacoia tlapaloloia, in iovalli

mjtoaia.

Ovalçouh in iovaltecutli in iacavizcli, auh quen onvecaiz in jtequjuh.

Auh in ilhujuh quiçaia ipan cemjlhujtonalli navi ollin, matlacpoalli, vmei ica, auh in iĕc ie onaci ilhujuh, neçavaloia, navilhujtl tlacatlaqualoia, Auh in ipĕ cemilhujtonalli in oacic ilhujuh, in nepantla tonatiuh, tlapitzaloia, tlacoquitiloia: auh in pipiltzintli coçolco onoque quijnacantequiça: auh nochi tlacatl mjçnia, auh itle ie tlapaloloia, çan jaquijch in

were then made. But everyone drew blood; straws were passed through tongue or ear-lobe, and incense was offered. Everyone [did so]; none were negligent.

And there was the image of that one, [the sun, at a pyramid temple] called Quauhxicalli. There was erected his image, his image was designed as if it had the mask of a man [but] with [the sun's] rays streaming from it.[10a] His sun ornament was round, circled with feathers; surrounded with red spoonbill [feathers]. Here in his presence was the fasting done, and the passing of straws through the flesh, the laying of offerings, and the slaying of quail.

And upon his feast day, also many captives died, and these were also called "those who died in war." These went to the house of the sun and dwelt with the sun.

neçocohoaia, tlacoquistiloia, tlenamacoia muchi tlacatl aiac ixcauhticatca,

796r

[785]

auh inan catca ixiptla, ichoatl, in motenehoaia quauhxicalli, vncan moquetzaia in jxiptla, injc mjcujlovaia in jxiptla iuhq'n tlacazaiaque itonameio itech quixtoia in jtonatiuhtlatquj iavaltic vej ihujtica tlatzaqualli, tlauhquechol injc tlatzaqualli, vncan ixpan muchioaia nêçoliztli, in tlacoquistiliztli, in tlamanaliztli, in tlacotonaliztli.

796v

778

Auh inilhujuh ipã no mjiequjntin miquja mamalti, auh no mjtovaia in iaumiquj : nauatiuh ichan vjia itlan nemj in tonatiuh.

796v

10a. See M. 6b.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

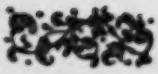

[793] A True [Relation] of what Was Accomplished and of the Works Which Were Done in the Houses of the Devils.

Inelcauca in neiehecolinli anoço tlatequjpanolintli in muchiouaia teupan in tlacateculocalco.

The Education of Men.

The priest who educated [the young priests] led them by the hand to the priests, to those who dealt blows, to those who guarded.

Tlacazcalilintli.

In teizcaltiaia tlenamacac, imac concaoaia, in tlamacazque, in tlavitequjnj, in tlapianj.

Admonitions.

Thus they admonished them, that they might lead good lives; that they might not waste time nor live lazily.

Temonotzalintli.

Ic qujnnonotzaia, injc vel nemjzque, in amo mavitizque, in amo tlatziuhtinemizque.

Sweeping.

[356] That they might sweep the courtyard of the temple, he cried out to all the little priests that they should sweep.

Tlachpanalintli.

Injc tlachpanazque, in teuirvalco qujntzatzilia in jzqujchtin in tlamacazcatepitzitzin injc tlachpanazque.

The Laying of Fires.

And he had them see to it that they should lay fires, that they should watch them, where they set in order the various fires. And everywhere in the [373] temple courtyard fires were laid; there perchance [even] ten rows [of them] burned—very many [of them].

Tletlalilintli.

Ioan qujncujtlavilitiaia, injc tletlalinque injc tlapialoia, vncan netencoia in tletl itla, auh çan novjian in tletlaliloia in teuirvalco, in tlequazco in vncan in vncã tlatlaia aço matlactecpantli cẽca mjiec.

Guarding During the Night.

Guarding during the night: they who were priests cared for [this]; it was the duty of those who were trustworthy.

In iovallapialintli.

In iovallapialintli iehoantin qujmocujtlavjaia, in tlamacehque, in jztlamatque intequjuh cẽca.

The Carrying of Wood.

[373] The carrying of wood. Thus they took care that fire should burn in the priests' dwelling: those who were very young priests gathered it—they who were not yet very prudent.

Quauhçaquilintli.

In quauhçaquilintli, injc tlapiaia in tlatlaia calmecac, iehoantin concuja, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in ãmmo cenca ixtlamati.

The Cutting of Thorns.

The cutting of thorns: they cut them who were priests not yet much experienced. These [were the ones] who took them.

Vitztequjliztli.

In vitztequjliztli, ichoantin cõtequja in tlamacazque in ziamo cenca ixtlamati, in qujnõtlacuixque. 793

The Gathering of Fir Branches.

The gathering of fir branches: likewise they who were priests secured them, and these were already experienced.

Acxoiaçaquiliztli.

In acxoiaçaquiliztli, çan no ichoantin conocuja in tlamacazq̃ auh ichoantin in ie ixtlamati.

The Blowing of Shell Trumpets.

The blowing of shell trumpets: this was the charge of those who were young trumpet-blowing priests; and [they were] experienced and of various sorts.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

In tlatlapitzaliztli, ichoantin intequjuh catca, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin. youn in ie ixtlamati neneliohtivjia. [534]

The Dissolving of Black Coloring.

The dissolving of black coloring was the task of those [who were] the young blowers of shell trumpets. These dissolved the black stain, and everyone anointed himself with it. Verily all together put it on when they stained themselves; none failed [to do so]. And they dissolved it in the black stain canoe. And the black coloring was dissolved only at night, and all stained themselves at the moment of dawn.

Tilpatlaliztli.

In tilpatlaliztli, ichoantin intequjuh catca: in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in qujpatlaia tilli, muchi tlacatl ic moçaia, vel mocemaqujaia injc moçaia, acan mocavaia: auh in qujpatlaia vncã in tillacalco, auh in tilpatlaloia, çan iovaltica, auh in nençaloia iquac in tlavizcalli ichoa. 793 386

782
626

A True [Relation] of how They Prayed to the Devils, and how Oaths Were Made.

When an oath was taken: when anyone made a vow [for] his children before the devils, he made vows in perchance two [temples] or in three of what he would cause to be done for the devils. Mayhap his young son had been struck [by sickness]; or, for whatever had befallen, when he made the vow, [he promised] that he would perform penances for them.

And also when an oath was taken, when anyone stated something, in order that he prove it, it was said [to him]:

"That thy words be proved, that thou shalt not lie, do thou kiss the earth."

When, thus, he kissed the earth who had stated something, he thus bore witness to his words, and that he not be held as a liar, he said:

"Well do the sun and the earth-goddess knew [the truth of this]. Now I kiss the earth [in token of it]."

Thus were oaths taken.

And if [it was] a supplication, it was done with these—the offering of incense, and sacrifices, and the kissing of the earth, and the offering of blood.

Imehcoca in quenja tlatlauhtilola diablome, yoan in quenja muchioaia Juramento.

In iquac muchioaia Juramẽto in iquac aca qujnetoltia iconcuh ivicpa Diablome, aço vecan, anoço Ezcan qujnetoltia, in tlein qujnchiviliz Diablome, aço motlavitequj piltontli, anoço tlein ipan muchioa, iquac quinetoltiaia, injc ivicpa tlamaceoaz.

Auh no ioã iquac muchioaia in Juramento in iquac aca tlein qujneilhujaia, injc qujneltiliaia, ilhujloia.

Jnjc neltiz motlatol, injc amo tiztlacatiz tlazontlalqua.

iquac njmã tlalquaia in aquja tlen qujteilhujaia ic qujneltiliaia in jtlatol inic amo iztlacamachoia qujtoaia,

vel qujmati in tonatiuh, in tlalticutli ic nontlalqua.

Iuhquj in injc muchioaia Juramento.

Auh intla tlatlauhtilistli, ic muchivaia çan ichoatl in tlenamaquilistli, yoan nextlavalistli, yoã tlalqualistli, nextlavalistli.

Here is Told [what] the Songs of the Demons Were, with Which They Paid Honor to Them in Their Temples and Outside [of Their Temples].[34]

Nican mjtoa in jncujc cateq, in tlatlacatecuło injc qujmaviztillaia in jnteupā, yoan in çan qujiaoac. 538

Song of Uitzilopochtli.

Uitzilopochtli, young war chief—none have equaled me. Not for nothing have I taken the cloak of yellow feathers. Through me hath the sun risen.

For those of Mixtlan he was a portent of disaster. He took a foot from those of Pichauaztlan.

Within the walls of Tlaxotlan, feathers were offered, that, as war chief, he might be adorned. My god was called conqueror of men.

Dread [was] the god of Tlaxotlan. Dust was raised. The dust of the god of Tlaxotlan was raised.

Gather for me our foes of Amantlan. In their homes will they be conquered. Gather them for me.

Vitzilobuchtli icujc

Vitzilobuch, iaquetlaia, yiaconai, in ohujhujhujia anenjcujc tqciquemjtla, yia, ayia, yia, yiovjia, queianoca, oiatonaquj yiaia, yia, yio.

Tetzaviztli, ia mjxtecatl, ce im..xi pichaoaztecatla pomaia, ovayico, ayiayic.

Ai tlaxotla tenamjtl ihujtli macoc mopopoxotiuh, iautlatoaia ayiayio, noteuh aia tepāquizquj mjtoaia.

Oiaieva vel mamavia in tlaxotecatl teuhtla tlamjlacatzoaia, itlaxotecatl teuhtla mjlacatzoaia.

Amanteca toiaohoan xinechoncentlalizqujvia, icalipan iautioa xenechon centlalizquj.

Song of Uitznauac Isotl.

O my chief of Tlacochcalco, I know not the man who taunteth me. Know I not that I am ill omened? Know I not that I am a warrior? [When] it is said, "my chief of Tlacochcalco," they taunt my lineage.

The warrior, chief of Tocuillan, hath donned his eagle cape set here and there with points.

O young chief of Oholpan, my captive in feathers is dressed. I am dreaded, I am feared. My captive with feathers is covered.

O young chief of Uitznauac, my captive in feathers is covered. Now I am feared. In feathers my captive is dressed.

O young chief of Itzcoatlan, my captive in plumes is adorned. Now I am feared, now I am dreaded. In feathers my captive is dressed.

Vitznavac Isutl icujc.

Ahuja tlacuchcalco notequjoa aia ivinocaquja tlacatl, ia nechiapinavia, aia ca nonmati njtetzavitli, avia, aia conomati njia, iauhtla, aqujtoloc tlacuchcalco, notequjoa, iuescatlatoaia ay nopilchan.

Ihjiaquetl tocujlechcatl quaviquemjtl nepapanoc vitzetla.

Huja oholopa telipuchtla, yvjioc in nomalli, ie njmavia, ie njmavia ivjioc in nomalli.

Huja vitznavac telipuchtla yvjioc in nomalli, ie njmavja yvjioc in nomalli.

Huja itzicotla telibuchtla, yvjioc in nomalli, ie njmavia, ie njmavia ivjioc in nomalli.

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34. The translations here depended heavily upon Edward Seler's translation of the songs for this section. With Seler's meticulous notes, they may be found in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II; *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4; or Sahagún (Bókondo ed.), Vol. V.

The songs are contained in the *Florentine Codex*, Sahagún comments concerning them: "Cantaban muy amiudo en, de los adoratorio al diablo: honrar aquendoqui, para honrar sus negocios: conforme a lo del santo Evangelio, que dice. Quiere honrar mal, aborrecer la bos: conforme a esto, estos tres cantaqui, en esta figura plumas, en bosque, o arcabuzo, llenos de muy exquisos hechos, para honrar sus negocios, desde al, y para adorandoqui en el, para en sus hallado: como hacen las bestias fieras, y las muy poderosas serpientes. Este bosque, o arcabuzo hechoso, son las cosas, que en estos tiempos el mesio, que se hizieron, y vemos, en su servicio: y como se vaiio dicipos y pudieron de su tiar, asi en los templos, como fuera dellos: los quales llamaban mucho oraçion, que dicen lo que quieres, y aprequenan lo que el mundo: y contrariaban solamente aquellos, o quieres el los enemigos. Es como muy amenguado, que la cosas, bosque, y arcabuzo, donde el dia de oy, este indolito adoratorio, se adorando, con las cosas, y pudieran, que tiene compañeros: y en la cosas, sin poderse entender, lo que en ello se trata, sino de aquellos que son entendidos, y acostumbrados, a este lenguaje. De manera, que inopinadamente se cosas, todo lo que el quiere, sea guerra, o paz, hace suyo, o consumido de ello, sin que de los demas se pueda entender."

538 O keeper of the god at Uitznauac, the [sacrificial] symbol hath been born. Day hath dawned, day hath come. The symbol hath been born.

O keeper of the god at Tocuillan, the [sacrificial] symbol hath been born. Day hath dawned, day hath come. The symbol hath been born.

Vitznaoac teuhoaquj machiotla tetemoia, ahuja aiatonac iahuja oiatonac ia machiotla tetemoia.

Tocujlitla teuhoaquj machiotla tetemoia, ahuja, oiatonac, iavjia oiatonac via machiotla tetemoia.

Song of Tlaloc.

Mexico payeth her debt to the god. Paper streamers are raised at the four directions. Not now is it time to weep.

I [Tlaloc] have been formed. My god[ly image] hath been darkened with blood. The whole day hath been spent to bring rain in the court of the temple.

O my chief, my magic prince, truly thine is the maize: thou hast made the first fruits. Yet they pay thee not thy due.

Yet they pay me not my due, they please me not —my priests, my old priests, the ocelot serpents.

From Tlalocan, the turquoise house, came thy father Acatonal.

Go settle there at Poyauhtlan. With the mist rattle board is rain brought from Tlalocan.

O my elder brother, I shall go, for now is a time for tears.

Send me to the unknown land. His command came down; I spoke to him, to Tetzauhpilli. I shall go, [for] now is a time for tears.

Four years after hath it been brought to me. Then I knew not what thou saidst in the unknown land, the quetzal house, the land of plenty. Now he is as one who giveth bounty.

Go, settle there at Poyauhtlan. With the mist rattle board is rain brought from Tlalocan.

Tlalloc icujc.

Ahujia Mexico teutlaneviloc amopanjtla, annauhcampa ie moquetzquetl aoiequena ychocaia.

Ahuja annehoaia njiocoloc ãnoteuhoa eztlamjiaval, ailhujcolla, njciavicaia, teutivalcoia.

Ahuja annotequjoa navalpilli aquitlanella motonacaiouh ticiachjuhquj tlacatl achtoquetl çan mitziapinavia.

Ahuja canacatella, nechiapinavjia anechiayiavelmatia, anotata inoquacujllo ocelocoatl aia.

Ahuja tlallocana xivacalco aia quizquj aquamotta, acatonal aia.

Ahuja xjianovia, nahuja xjiamotecaia ay pojauhtla, aiauhchicavaztica, aiavicalo, tlallocan aia.

Aonacha tonzuecuexi njiaializquj, aia ychocaia.

Ahuja queiamjca xinechivaia temoquetl aitlatol anjqujia ilhujq̃tl, tetzauhpilla njiaializquj aia ychocaia.

Ahuja nauhxiuhticaia itopanecaviloc aioc inomatia, ay motlapoalli, aiaximovaia iequetzalcalla nepanavia ai yascaña teitcalriq̃tl.

Ahuja xjianovjia ahujia xjiamotecaia aipuohtla, aiauhchicavaztica, aia vicallo tlalloca.

Song of Teteo innan.

The yellow flower hath opened—she, our mother with the thigh skin of the goddess painted on her face, departed from Tamoanchan.

The yellow flower hath blossomed—she, our mother, with the thigh skin of the goddess painted on her face, departed from Tamoanchan.

The white flower hath opened—she, our mother with the thigh skin of the goddess painted on her face, departed from Tamoanchan.

The white flower hath blossomed—she, our

Teteu innan icujc

Ahuja coçahujc xuchitla oiacueponca ichoa tonana teumechaue moqujcican tamovanchan, avaiie, avajia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, aij, aiiaa.

Coçaujc xuchitla, oiamoocha ichoa tonana, teumechaue moqujcican tamovanchan, ohoayia, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa.

Ahuja iztac xuchitla, oiacuepõca ichoa tonana teumechaue moqujcican tamoanchan, ohoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa.

Ahuja iztac xuchitla, oiamoucha ichoa tonana,

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mother, with the thigh skin of the goddess painted on her face, departed from Tamoanchan.

She hath become a goddess, upon the melon cactus, our mother Itzpapalotl.

Thou hast seen, in the nine dry plains, the deer's heart on which was fed our mother Tlaltecutli.

Once again with chalk, with feathers is she pasted. In the four directions hath the arrow shattered.

They saw thee turn to deer in the land of the gods Xiuhnel and Mimich.

teumechsue moquicican tamohoanchan, ohoaya, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa.

Ahujia ohoia teutl ca teucontli pacatona, aia itzpapalotli, ahoayie, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, ayiaa.

Ao, avatic iaittaca chicunavizzlavatla maçatl yiollo, ica moncaltizquj tonan tlaltecutli, aiao, ayiao, ayiaa.

Ahoie iancujc tiçatlan, ie iancujc yhujtla, oiapotoniloc inavicacopa acatl xamantoca.

Aho, maçatl mochiuhca teutlalipan mitzjianoittaco ichoa xiuhnello ichoa mjmjcha.

Song of Chimalpanecatl and Tlalteçuanaotl.

With his shield was he born of the maid a great war chief. With his shield was he born of the maid a great war chief.

On Coatepetl he became chief; among the mountains he put warrior's paint upon his face and on his shield. None, in truth, could best him. The earth did quake when he put warrior's paint upon his face and on his shield.

Chimalpanecatl icujc yoan tlaltecuanaotl.

Ichimalipa chipuchica veia mjxinujloc iautlatoaia ichimalipa chipuchica veia, mjxibujloc, iautlatoaia.

Cohoatepec tequjva tepetitla, moxaiavalteueuel, aiaquj nelli moquichtivivi tlalli cuecuechivjia aqujmoxaiaval teueuella.

Song of Izcoçauhqui.

In Tzonmolco, my fathers, shall I withhold thy due [captives]? in Tetemocan shall I keep back thy due [captives]?

In Mecatlan,[15] my lords, doth the yucca [drum] roll. In Chicueyocan, the sorcerers' house, the masked one hath come down.

At Tzonmolco they have started intoning the song; at Tzonmolco they have started intoning the song. But why come they not forth? Why come they not forth?

In Tzonmolco let men be given me. Day hath come, day hath dawned. Let men be given me.

In Tzonmolco the Xoxol song hath ceased. Without labor hath he been given wealth, hath he won the rank of chief. By his grace come [all] wonders.

Little woman, give the supplication. Cloud house woman, pray before the gates.

Izcaçauhquj icujc.

Hujia, tzonmolco notavane ie namechmaiapinauhtiz tetemoca ie namechmaiapinauhtiz.

Aoncan mecatlan notechoan icçotl mjmjlcatoc chicueiocan navalcalli, navalli temoquetlaia.

Hujia tzonjmolco cujcotipeuhque, aia tzonjlco cujcatipeuhque, aia, iztleicana val, moquizcavia iztleicana valmoquizca.

Hujia tzonjmolco macehoalli maia temacovia, oiatonaquj, oiatonaquj macevalli maia temocovjia.

Hujia tzonjmolco zoxolcujcatl cacavantocia aiavjia mocujltono aciton tecnjtl moteicnelil maviztli.

Hujia cihoatontla xatenonotzaia ayiauhcalcatl qujiavatla xatenonotza.

Song of Mimixcoa.[16]

From Chicomoztoc he set forth.

Mimjcoa icujc.

Chicomoztoc qujnehoaquj canj ameponj, çanj, canj, teiomj.

15. The cognate forms occur, though the Aztec here is corrupt.
16. In the *Real Palacio* MS a gloss says that the two opening stanzas contain Chichimec words. In *Ibid.*, the last stanza begins the next song (Huehueteotl), where its content logically places it.

From Tziuactitlan he set forth.

538 I came down, I descended, I came down with my thorny arrow. I came down with my thorny arrow.

I came down, I descended, I came down with my hunting net.

I have seized him with my hand, I have seized him with my hand, I have seized him with my hand, and he is seized with [my] hand.

On the ball court the *quetzalcoxcoxtli* sang, and Cinteotl answered.

Tzivactitlan qujnevaquj canja aueponj, çanj, çanj, tiomj.

Oia mjtemoc, oia mjtemoc, oiaica njtemoc notzivaqujmjuh, aiaica njtemoc notzivaqujmjuh.

Oia njtemoc, ioa njtemoc, oiaica njtemoc nomatlavacal.

Niqujmacuj, njqujmacuj, yoaia njqujmacuj, njqujmacuj yoan ja aiomacuj.

Tlachtli icpac aia, vel in cujcaia quetzalcoxcoxaia, qujnanqujlia cinteutla, oay.

Song of Xochipilli.

Now our friend singeth; now the *quetzalcóxcoxtli* singeth at night—the Red Cinteotl.

Let the god of twilight hear my song; let the god of the thigh skin face painting hear my song. Let Cipactonal hear my song.

My order I send to the priest of Tlalocan.

To the priest of Tlalocan I make my command.

I came to the cross roads, I, Cinteotl. Where shall I go? Which road shall I follow—

Priests of Tlalocan, gods of rain?

Suchipilli icujc.

Ie cujcaia tocnjvaia, ohoaia, ien, ie cujcaia, ie quetzalcoxcoxa ioaltica tlaocinteutla oay.

Çan qujcaquiz nocujc ocoialle teumechaue oqujcaquiz nocujca in cipactonalla atilili ohoayia.

Aiao, aiao, aiao, njtlanavati in tlallocan tlamacazquj, ayiao, aiao, aiao.

Aiao, aiao, aiao, tlallocan tlamacazquj nitlanavati ay, ayiao, aiao.

Ao çanj vallacic, vtli nepanjvia, çanj cinteutla campa, ie noiaz, campa vtli niciatocaza oay.

Aiao, aiao, aiao, tlallocan tlamacazquj, qujavi, teteu, ayiao, aia, aiao.

Song of Xochiquetzal.

From the land of mist and rain I came, I, Xochiquetzal, circling down from Tamoanchan's edge.

He wept, the priest Piltzintecutli; he sought Xochiquetzal. I must go to the land of corruption.

Suchiquetzal icujc.

Atl aiavica njnuchiquetzalli tlacia njvitzaia motencaliva tamoanchan oay.

Ie qujtichocaia tlamacazecatla piltzintecutlon qujiatemoaia ieo tochiquetzalla xoiavjia ay topanjaz, oay.

Song of Amimitl.[17]

He hovereth about the ducks, he hovereth about the ducks.

With his eye he followeth the small ducks. He hovereth about the small ducks.

Amjmjtl icujc

Cotivana, cotivana, calitotochmanca, huja, yialimanjco, oqujxanj, manjco, tlacochcalico, ohoayia ayia, matinjcaia, matonjcalico, ohoayiaia, çana, çana, aiovecanjvia, çana, çanaio, vecanjvia, yia, yia, yiehoaia, çana, çana, iovecanjvia.

Ie nocujlivaia, njvaia, njvaia, njvaia, aicanauh, njvahoaia, njhoaia, aicanauh

Tlaietotoca, ie canauhtzinj, tlaietotoca, ie canauhtzinj, aio aia, yvaian, ie canauhtzinj.

17. A gloss in *Ibid.* says that this song is Chichimec.

The obsidian banner is my joy, the obsidian banner is my joy, the obsidian banner is my joy.

Aueia itzipana nomahujlia aveia itzipana nomavilia, aveia itzipana nomavilia.

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Song of Otontecutli.[18]

In the shield-shaped tree he who fell was upheld. In Noncalco the cactus fruit, the cacao pod, falling, was upheld.

I am a Tepanec, a jeweled bracelet. I am Quetzalcoatl, a jeweled bracelet.

Where does it blossom? Where does it open?

In nearby Otomí land, O Mexicans, was he offered as a victim; in nearby Otomí land, O Mexicans.

With his painted shield was he offered as a victim in a nearby land, O Mexicans.

Otontecutli icujc.

Onoalico, onoalico pomaia, yiaia, ayio, ayio, aia, aia, aia, ayio.

Chimalocutitlana motlaquevia avetzinj, nonovalco, quanochitla, cacavatla, motlaquevia, avetzinj.

Nitepanecatl aiacuecuexi niquetzalcoatly, aia cuecuexi.

Cane, caia itziueponj, cane, caia, itziveponj.

Otomjco, noioco, navaco, mexicameia iavilili nóioco navaco, mexicameia.

Achimalicaiazo, xavinoquija, vilili, noioco, navaco mexicameia.

Song of Aiopechtli.

There in her home [the goddess] Aiopechcatl, with child, gave birth.

There in her home [the goddess] Aiopechcatl, with child, gave birth: there in her home the children were born.

Come hence, come hence, O newborn babe, come hence.

Come hence, come hence, O precious one, come hence.

Aiopechtli icujc.

Cane cana ichan, aiopechcatl conca pantica mjxjubtoc.

Cane cana ichan aiopechcatl concapantica mjxiûbtoc cane ichan chacaiolivaia.

Ai valmevaia via, xiva, xivalmevaia aviaia iancujpilla, xjvalmevaia.

Ahujia xivalmevaia, via, xiva, xihoalmeoaia concapilla, vivalmeoaia.

Song of Cinacoatl.

The eagle, the eagle, Quilaztli, with serpent blood painted, with eagle plumes crowned, is protectress of the Chalmeca and [goddess] of Cuihuacan.

The maize is our hands and our feet in the field of the god, who resteth upon her rattle board.

Magney thorns, *magney* thorns rest in my hand; *magney* thorns rest in my hand. In the field of the god she resteth upon her rattle board.

The grass bunch resteth in my hand. In the field of the god she resteth upon her rattle board.

Aunnei quauhtli,[19] our mother, goddess of the Chalmeca, deliver me with the dread dart of thorns. It is my son Mixcoatl.

Cihoacoatl icujc.

Quavi quavi, qujlaztla cohoaeztica xaiacaloc vivia quavivitl vitzalochpan chalima, aveveti iscolhoa.

Huja tonaca acxoima centlaxumilco chicavaztica, motlaquechiaca.

Vitztla, vitztla nomac temj vitztla, nvmac temj, açanxumjlco chicavazti motlaquechiaca.

Mallinalla, nomac temi, açlxumjlco chicavaztica motlaquechinca.

Aunnej quauhtli ic tonan aia chalmeca tecutli, aitzioac imavitzla nechiaxtemjli, ichoa nopiltzin aia mjacoerlaa.

18. A gloss in Ibid. says that the first stanza is Otomí.

19. A gloss in Ibid. has *cuauhcoll* instead of *quauhtli*.

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Our mother, warrior [woman], our mother, warrior [woman], deer of Colhuacan—they have pasted feathers upon her.

Day hath dawned; war is heralded. Let [captives] be dragged down and the land wasted. Deer of Colhuacan, feathers have been pasted upon her.

Eagle feathers are thy array; thy array is of one who fighteth boldly in war.

Ia tonanj, iauchioatzin, aia tonan iauchiboatzin, aia imaça colivaca ihujtlaipotocaia.

Ahujia ie tonaquetli, iautlatocaia ma nevilano tlaca cēpoalihuiz aia inmaca colihoacā ihujtlaipotocaia.

Ahujia quavivitl amoxaiavallj onavjin ie coiametla moxaiaivalli.

Behold the Song Chanted Every Eight Years when Water Tamales Were Eaten.

The flower of my heart lieth burst open, the lord of the night.

She hath come, she hath come, our mother, the goddess Tlaçolteotl.

Cinteotl is born at Tamoanchan, the flowery place, on the day ce xochitl.

Cinteotl is born in the place of rain and mist, where the children of men are made, where the jeweled fish are sought.

Day is here, it hath dawned. The varied spoonbills taste [flowers] where the flowers grow.

Here on earth, in the market place, thou appearest. I, the prince, I [am] Quetzalcoatl.

Let the trees flower in joy among the various spoonbills. Let the spoonbills [fly in joy]. Hear the words of our god; hear the song of the spoonbills. Shoot not at thy brother, the dead; use not the blow gun on thy brother.

I shall bring my flower, the maize flower, the white flower, from where flowers grow.

He playeth ball; old Xolotl playeth ball in the ball court of the sorcerer. Xolotl playeth ball—lord of the precious stones. See if Piltzintecutli resteth in the house of darkness, the house of night.

O Piltzintli, Piltzintli, with yellow feathers art thou pasted over. On the ball court thou placest thyself, in the house of night.

The tradesman, the tradesman Xochiquetzal, he who ruleth and governeth in Cholula. I fear in my heart, I fear in my heart that Cinteotl will not come. Let us go to the house of the bishop, the merchant, him of Chacallan. Blue ear plugs are his wares. Blue bracelets are his wares.

Iacatquj, in cujcatl chicuexjuhtica mehoaia, in jquac atamalqualoia.

Suchitl noiollo cuepontimanja; iehoa cojoalle, vaia, oovaiaie.

Iecoc ie tonan, iecoc ie teutl tlaçulteutl oaia, oovaiaie.

Otlacatquj cententeutl tamjioanjchan njxochitli cacanj, ce ixuchitli iantala, iantatā, ayiao, ayiave tililiiao ayiaue, vayiave.

Otlacatquj centeutl, atl, iaiavicanj tlaca villachivaloia, chalchimjchvacan, yiao, iantala, iantanta, ayiao aiave tililiiao, aiyaue, oayiaue.

Oia tonazquj tavizcallevaia, matlachichinaia nepapā quechol, suchitlaca, yiantalan, yiantata, ayiao, ayiaue tililiiao, ayiaue, oayiaue.

Tlalpan timoquetzca tianquiznavaquj anjtlacatla njquetzalcoatla aiantala, iantanta, ayiao, ayiave, tililiiao ayiaue oayiaue.

Maia avjialo suchinquavitl itlanj nepapan quecholli maya in quecholli xjccaqujia tlatoaia in toteuh xiccaqujia, tlatozia iquechol amach ieva tomjcauh tlapitza amach iehoan tlacaloaz ohoao.

Aicoho, yiayia çani qujiecavizca nosucha tonacasuchitli ie izqujsuchitla suchitlaca, yiaa.

Ollama, ollama viuexolotl navallachco ollamaia xolutl chalchiuecatl xiqujtta mach, oia moteca piltzintecutli yoanchan, yoanchan.

Piltzintle, piltzintle, tocivitica timopotonia tlachco timotlalia, yoāchan, yoanchan.

Oztomecatla, yiaue, oztomecatla, suchiquetzal qujmama, ontlatoa cholollan, ayie, ayio, oie ma njnoiol, oie ma njnoiol, aoiaiecoc, centeutl ma tivjia obispo, oztomecatl chacalhoa xjuhnacochtla, iteamjc ximaquiz tlaiteamjco, ayie, ayio.

The sleeper, the sleeping one, sleepeth. I have rolled him up with my hand. Here is the woman. I am the sleeper.

Cochina, cochina, cocochi, ie njcmacololonjcanj, ie cihoatl njcochina yico, oaico yho, yia, yia. 538

Song of Xipe totec Ioualluan.

O Ioualluan, why dost thou mask thyself? Put on thy disguise. Don thy golden cape.

My god, thy precious water hath come down from Coapan. It hath made the cypress a quetzal. The fire serpent hath been made a quetzal serpent. Want hath gone from me.

Mayhap I shall die and perish—I, the tender maize. Like a precious green stone is my heart, [yet] I shall see gold in it. I shall be content if first I mature. The war chief is born.

My god, [give me] in part plenteous tender maize. Thy worshipper looketh toward thy mountain. I shall be content if first I ripen. The warrior chief is born.

Xippe icujc, totec ioualluaua.

Ioalli tlavana, iztleican, timoneneqoja xjiaquj mjtlatia teucujtlaquemjtl, xjcmoquenti quetlovjia.

Noteuhoa chalchimmama tlacoapanaitemoua, oiquetzallaveveti, ayquetzahtiujcoatl nechiaiquj nocauhquetl ovjia.

Ma njiavjia, njia, njiapoliviz xiyoatzin, achalchiuhtla noiollo, atencujtlatl nocoiaittaz noiolcevizquj tlacatl achtoquetl tlaquavaia etlacatquj iautlatoa quetlovjia.

Noteuhoa centlaco xaiailivizçonoa yioatzin motepeiocpa mjtzvalitta moteuhoa, vizqujn tlacatl achtoquetl tlaquavaia etlacatquj iautlatoaquetl ovjia.

Song of Chicome coatl.

O seven ears, arise, awake. Our mother, thou leavest us now; thou goest to thy home in Tlalocan.

Arise, awake. Our mother, thou leavest us now; thou goest to thy home in Tlalocan.

Chicome coatl icujc.

Chicomolotzin, xaiamehoa, ximjcotia acatonan titechicnocaoazquj tiiavjia muchi tlallocan novjia.

Xaiamehoa ximjçotia acatonã titechicnocavazquj tjiavjian mochan tlallocan, novjia.

Song of Totochtin Tezcatzoncatl.

At dread Colhuacan the chief hath his home.

In the palace the god Tezcatzoncatl was consumed. He wept; it might not be. The god was consumed. He wept.

In the palace the god Axalaco was consumed. He wept; it might not be. The god was consumed. He wept.

Totochtin icujc tezcatzõcatl.

Iiaa, yia, yia, yia, ayia, ayio, ovjia, ayia, ayia, ayia, yia, yio, vjia, ayia, yia, ayia, vjia, yio vjia.

Colivacan, mavizpan atlacatli chana, yio, ayio, yia, yio.

Tezcatzoncatl tepan teutl, macoc ie chocaia, avjia, macaivi teutl, macoc yie chocaia.

Huja axalaca tecpan teutl, macoc yie chocaia macaivi teutl, macoc yie chocaia.

Song of Atlaua.

I am he from Chalman. I am he from Chalman—the broken fast, the disc head device.

[I am] thy branch of fir, Quilazteotl; [I am] the old goddess, thy branch of fir.

Atlahua icujc.

Huja njchalmecatl, njchalmecatl neçavalcactla, oljia quatonalla, olia.

Veia, veia, macnoiauh quilazteutl illama njnacnoiauh.

538 I name thee lord of reeds. On the shield is blood drawn. I name thee lord of reeds.

That none are my arrows is my boast. The reed is my arrow; the hollow reed is my boast.

In Tetoman the priest Tetometl began life. Now he is a quetzal bird, that I may nourish him.

Opochtli is my god, Atlsua,[20] that I may nourish him.

Nimjtzacatecunotzaia chimalticpac moneçoia nj-mjtzacatecunotzaia.

Aiac nomjuh timalli aitollaca acatl nomjuh acazelivi timalli.

Tetomac amoiolcana tlamacazquin tetometl, açan azcan ie quetzalitotol njciaizcaltiquetl.

Iiobuchi noteouh, atlavaquetl njciaizcaltiquetla.

Song of Macuilxochitl.

From where flowers stand, I have come, the priest, red lord of eve, and thou, my grandmother, goddess with the thigh skin painting, lord of dawn, priest, red lord of eve.

God of omens [Uitzilopochtli], my lord Tezcatlipoca, Cinteotl shall reply to them.

In Tezcatzonco hath the warrior, the rabbit [god], started life. My lord made him. I shall restore to him, I shall make [the fire] on the mountain of Mixcoatl, in Colhuacan.

Singing, I beat the small mirror, the small mirror which came from Tezcatzonco.

Macujlsuchitl icuje.

Ayia, iao suchitl icaca vmpa njvitza tlamacacecatla tlamocoioaleva, ayia, yiao, ajvinti nocicaia teumechave, oia, iao, tlavico, iacallea tlamacacecatlo tlamocoioalea.

Tezzauhteutla notecujo tezcatlipoca qujnanquilican cinteutla oay.

Tezcatzonco moiolcan ayiaquetl yiatochin qujocus noteouh niqujiatlacaz, njqujiamamaliz, mjscotepetl colhoacan.

Tonquivaia, njctzotzonjiao, in tezcatzintli tezcatzintli tezcazocoichoa, tzonistapalatiati, tlaocazcoocotlialio, a.

Song of Tlacatecutli.

Unknown to me was [war] heralded. Tzocutzontlan hath declared it—Tzocutzontlan, unknown to me, hath heralded it.

Pipitlan hath declared it; Pipitlan, unknown to me, hath declared it. Cholotlan hath declared it. Pipitlan, unknown to me, hath declared it.

I sought maize. With much labor my priests brought me the heart of water from the place where sand is scattered.

In the basket of precious stones I burn myself. With much labor my priests brought me the heart of water from the place where sand is scattered.

Tlacatecutli icuje.

Anomatia aitoloc, anomatia, aitoloc tzocotzontlan aitoloc tzocotzõtla anomatia aitoloc.

Pipitla aitoloc, pipitla anomatia aitoloc cholotla, aitoloc pipitla anomatio, aitoloc.

Tonacajutl, njcmaceuh açan azcan noquacujllo atl jiollo, nechvalia vicatique xalli ytepeuhia.

Chalchiuh petlacalco njnanca açã azcan noquacujllo, atl jiollo nechvaliavicatiaque xalli itepeuhia.

20. The line *ayc nanqui quemolinoni*, in *Ibid.*, is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*.

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Account of What the Women Did There at the Temples.

Behold the life of the priestesses whom [their mothers] vowed [to service] there in the great temple.

In this manner they put them [into the temple], when yet very small—perchance after [they were] already twenty days or forty days [old]. And thus they took them; thus they left them there. Only they went carrying them; they went in the arms of their mothers. And then they went with their brooms which went filling the arms of the children; and they bore their incense ladles and *copal* [incense]. Not yet was there fire [in the ladle]; wherever the old priest so disposed, there would the incense ladle be used.

And when she had gone to dedicate the little girl, she thereupon took her away. She left there only the incense ladle and the *copal* [incense]. And this old priest then admonished the mother that she not lose her child through neglect, and that [the child] not fail to go to leave the brooms and the *copal* [incense], or wood shavings, every twenty days there at the tribal temple.

And when already discreet, when already a maiden, purely of her own will she went into the tribal temple. And purely of her own will she performed the veiling [ceremony] and also went taking with her the incense ladle and *copal* [incense].

And when she was a grown woman, if this priestess was asked [in marriage], and if the words were well spoken, and if the fathers and the mothers and the lords of the suburb agreed, thereupon were a number of things bought. They bought quail, and *copal* [incense], flowers, tobacco, and an incense ladle. And food was bought.

Then this priestess forthwith went to perform the veiling [ceremony] and took with her all that had been bought, as hath been told. And for her performing of the veiling [ceremony there was] a cape called *tlazquauhchtli*, which had many heads [worked upon it]. Thereupon they laid out a large cape, the *quauhchtli*. Then they set forth the offerings in a reed vessel; here they placed the gifts that they might

Imehuaca in quenjo tlazquijpanoaia cioa in vmpa templo.

Iccanquj, in jnnemilix in cihoatlamacazque, injc qujnnetoltiaia in vmpa vej tenpan.

Injc qujncalaqujaiá, oc vel tepitoton, aço qujn ic cempoaltia, anoco qujn ic vmpoaltia. auh injc qujnvicaia, injc qujmoncavaia, çan qujnnapalotivia, çan inmac ietivj in jnnanvan, auh njman impopouh ietivia, in pipiltotonti inmac tentivia, yoan intlema qujzquja, yoan copalli aiatle vnietiuh tletl qujn iehoatl qujmatia in ichoatl quacujlli in campa monoq'a in tlemaitl.

Auh in ocõnetoltito in cihoapiltontli njman ic qujvica: çã izqujch in vmpa concavaia in tlemaitl, yoan in copalli: auh in ichoatl, in quacujlli njman qujvalnaoatia, in nantli injc amo qujxiccaoaz in jcneuh yoan injc amo tlaxiccaoaz, injc qujcaoatiuh in popotl, yoan in copalli, anoço tlaxipenalli, in cecempoaltica in vmpa calpulco.

Auh in iquac in ic movelista in ic ichpuchtli, çã monomaviaia in calaquja, in calpulco: yoan ça yiollotlama in teisquentiaia, no qujzqujtiuh in tlemaitl in copalli.

Auh in iquac in ovelmaçic cihoatl, intla ic itlaoo, in ichoatl in cihoatlamacazquj, auh intla vel omotlali in tlatolli intla occaque, in tezahoan, in tenanhoan in tlazillacaleque in pipilti, njman ic tlacochoalo qujcohoa, in çolin, yoan in copalli, in xuchitl, in jietl, yoan in tlemaitl, yoan mocuhoaia tlaqualli,

njman in ichoatl in cihoatlamacazquj njman ic ic iauh in teisquentiz qujzquj in jequich omocoouh, in omjto, auh injc teisquentiaia in tilmatlj itoca tlacaquachtli, tzotzontecomaio, njmã ic ic cuetlalia in cenca vej tilmatli in quachtli, njmã ic ic tlamoua acaquauhcaxtica, vncan cuetlalia in ventli in quil-

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consult—fast foods of only three *tamales*. Thereupon they offered a wooden vessel filled with only five *tamales*, and a sauce perchance of turkey or of duck, which they had gathered together as food.

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visia tlacatlaqualli çan etetl, in tamalli, njman ic ic conmana, in quauhcaxitl vncan tentiuh, çan macujltetl in tamalli, auh in mulli, aço tvolin, anoço canauhtli, in qujnamjctiuia tlaqualli.

Here Endeth the
Part of Book II
Called the
Appendix.

Nican tlamj in icvtonca
inic vme amatzli
yn jtoca apendix.

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[For organized ceremonial, see category 116, pp. 1-39; 41-158; 161-192; 201-203.]

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGUN

[p. ii]

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Book 3 – The Origin of the Gods

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

Arthur J. O. Anderson
School of American Research

Charles E. Dibble
University of Utah

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART IV

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BOOK THREE—THE ORIGIN OF THE GODS

Libro tercero, del prin
cipio que tuuieron los
dioses.

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Del Principio de los Dioses

HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD BOOK

NICAN PEOA INJC EY AMOSTLI.

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First Chapter, in which it is told how the gods had their beginning.

How the gods had their beginning and where they began is not well known. But this is plain, [that] there at Teotihuacan, as they say, in times past, when yet there was darkness, there all the gods gathered themselves together, and they debated who would bear the burden,[1] who would carry on his back—would become—the sun. (This hath already been told elsewhere.) And when the sun came to arise, then all [the gods] died that the sun might come into being.[2] None remained who had not perished (as hath been told). And thus the ancient ones thought it to be.

Injc ce capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn otzintique in teteuh.

In quenjn tzintique in teteuh in canpa tzintique, amo vel macho, ca ie iehoatl in panj ca in vncan teutioacan, qujtoa in canjn yn iqujn, in oc iovaian vncan mocentlalique, in ixqujchtin teteu, yoan mononotzque, in aqujn tlatlquiz, in aqujn tlamamaz, in aqujn tonatiuh iez, (Ynjn ca ie omjto cececnj,) auh in iquac in omomanaco tonatiuh, niman muchintin vncan mjcque, inca muzcalti in tonatiuh: aiac mocauh in macamo mjc (in oiuh mjto). auh in juh qujmatia vevetque.

TO VITZILOPOCHTLI the Mexicans paid great honor.

The following they believed of his beginning, his origin. At Coatepec, near Tollan, there always had dwelt and lived a woman named Coatl icue,[3] mother of the Centzonuitznaua. And their elder sister was named Coyolxauhqui.

And this Coatl icue performed penances there; she swept; she was charged with the sweeping. Thus

JN VITZILOPUCHTLI, in cenca qujmavizztiliaia in Mexica.

Yvin in qujmatia, in itzintiliz, in ipeoaliz, ca in coatepec, yvjcpa in tullan, cemilhujtl quitzztica, vmpa nenca cihoatl, itoca Coatl icue: innan centzonuitznaoa. auh inveltiuh, itoca, Coiolxauh.

auh in iehoatl coatl icue, vncan tlamaceoaia, tlachpanaia, quimocuitlaviaia, in tlachpanalli. Injc tlama-

1. *Tlachpanli* (here probably a copyist's error) appears as *tlaxpanli* in the corresponding passage in the *Real Palacio MS.* Cf. *Aspd. supr.* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

2. The story appears later in Sahagún's *Historia* (Book VII). In simple terms, the most usual version is told in Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 136. An interesting variant appears in Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarquía indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigo Franco, 1723), pp. 77-8; and another in "La leyenda de los soles" (in *Códice Chimalpopoca*; México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), pp. 121f.

3. Mother of the gods—that is, of the sun (Huitzilopochtli), moon (Coyolxauhqui), and stars (Centzonuitznaua)—according to Caso (*op. cit.*, pp. 38-9. He states: "*Yo honro siete cosas nace de ella nahgrenaceaue Huitzilopochtli es el nacimiento en que las estrellas, espiramadas por la Luna, pronuncian mandato porque no cesen en el prodigio de la concepción divina, y como el Sol-Huitzilopochtli nace de su vientre armado del cuyo de los y mata a la Luna y a las estrellas.*"

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did she do penance at Coatepetl. And once, as she swept, feathers, as it were, a ball of feathers, descended upon her. Then Coatl icue snatched it up and placed it in her bosom. And when she had swept, [when] she came to take the feather [ball] which she had placed in her bosom,[4] she found nothing. Thereupon Coatl icue conceived.[5]

And when the Centzonuitznaua saw that their mother was already with child, they were very wrathful. They said: "Who brought this about? Who hath made her heavy with child? She hath dishonored and shamed us!"

And their elder sister, Coyolxauhqui, said to them: "My elder brothers, she hath affronted us; we must slay our mother, the wicked one who is already with child. Who is the cause of what is in her womb?"

And when Coatl icue learned of this,[6] she was sorely afraid and deeply saddened. And her child, who was in her womb, comforted her. He spoke and said to her: "Have no fear; already I know [what I shall do]."

When Coatl icue heard the words of her son, she was much consoled by them and her heart was eased of what had so terrified her.

And upon this, when the Centzonuitznaua had assembled for their deliberations, when they had made up their minds that indeed they would slay their mother because verily she had brought dishonor, much did they harden themselves; they were exceeding wroth. As if bursting her heart, Coyolxauhqui greatly incited and aroused the anger of her elder brothers, that they might slay their mother. And the Centzonuitznaua thereupon arrayed and prepared themselves for war.

And these Centzonuitznaua were like seasoned warriors. They wound and twisted [their hair]; they bound their hair about their heads [in warrior array].

And [there was] one named Quauitl icac, who was a traitor; that which the Centzonuitznaua said, he then told and brought as news to Uitzilopochtli.

And Uitzilopochtli said to Quauitl icac: "Watch well what they do, my dear uncle, and pay careful heed; for already I know [what I shall do]."

And finally, when [the Centzonuitznaua] were determined and of one mind in their deliberations

cenuia, in coatepec. auh ceppa in iquac tlachpanaia, in coatl icue ipan oalteemoc ihujtl, iuhqujn ihujtelotli, njman concujtiuetz in Coatl icue: ixillan contlali, auh in ontlachpan njman cõcuizquja yn ivitl, in ixillan oqujtlalica aoc tle quijtac, njman ic otztic in Coatl icue.

auh in oqujttaque in centzonvitznaoa in jnnan ie otztli, cenca qualanque quitoque ac oq'chivili y? aquin ocotzti? techavilq'xtia, techpinauhtia.

auh in jnveltiuh in Coiolxauh: quimjlvi noqujchtioan techavilqujxtia çan ticmjctia in tonan, in tlauelilloc in ie otztli: ca oqujchivili in itic ca.

auh in oqujma Coatl icue: cenca momauhti, cenca motequipacho. auh in jconeuh in jtic catca qujiollaliaia, quioalnotzaia quilhujaia, maca ximomauhti ie ne njcmati,

in oqujcac in Coatl icue, in itlatol in jconeuh, cenca ic moiollali, motlali yn jiollo, iuhquin juhcan tlama.

auh in ie iuhq', in centzonvitznaoa in oqujcẽtlalique in jntlatol, in oqujcemjtoq̃ içq̃ qujmictizque in jnnan, ichica ça otlapinauhti, çq̃ çenca muchicaoaia, cenca qualanja, iuhquj in quiçaia in jiollo, in Coiolxauhquj, cenca qujnioleoaia, qujniollococoltiaia in jequjchtioa, in macuele miquj in jnnan. auh in cẽtzonvitznaoa, njman ie ic mocẽcaoa, moiaochichioa.

auh in ichoantin centzonvitznaoa, iuhq'n tequjoaque catca tlacujaia, tlaquauicujaia, quiquauicujaia in jntzon, in jnquatzon.

auh ce itoca Quavitl icac, necoc qujtlalitinenca in itlatol, in tlein qujtooaia centzonvitznaoa, njman conilhujaia, cononotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in vitzilobuchtli: quioalilhujaia in Quavitl icac: cenca tleticmomachitia notlaxtine, vel xonmotlacaquijti ic ne njcmati.

auh in ie iuhquj in iequene oqujcemjtoque, in ocentetix in jntlatol, injc quimjctizque, injc quitlatla-

4. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has "un el seno juntó a la horaiga."
5. Quetzalcoatl is, in some stories, also said to have been miraculously born. See Caso (op. cit., p. 27), which, however, refers to a virgin birth.
6. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 43) says that one of Coatl icue's sons told her of the plot to kill her.

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that they would put to death and dispose of their mother, they thereupon set forth. Coyolxauhqui led them. Much did they exert and drive themselves. They were in war array, which was distributed [among them]; all put in place their paper array, the paper crowns,[7] their nettles,[8] painted paper streamers, and they bound bells to the calves of their legs. These bells were called *oyoalli*. And their darts [had] barbed points.

Thereupon they set forth; they went in order, in columns, in armed display, moving with deliberation. Coyolxauhqui led them.

And Quauitl icac thereupon hastened to run up [the hill], that he might warn Uitzilopochtli. He said: "Already they are coming."

Then Uitzilopochtli spoke: "Watch well where they come."

Thereupon Quauitl icac said to him: "Already they are at Tzompantitlan."

Again Uitzilopochtli addressed him: "Where now do they come?"

Then [Quauitl icac] said to him: "Already they are at Coaxalpan."

Once more Uitzilopochtli called out to Quauitl icac: "See where they now come."

Then [this one] said to him: "Already they are at Apetlac."

Once again [Uitzilopochtli] spoke forth to him: "Where now do they come?"

Then Quauitl icac answered him: "Already they have come half way[9] up the slope of the mountain."

And Uitzilopochtli again spoke forth to Quauitl icac; he said: "Watch where they now come."

Then Quauitl icac said unto him: "At last they are coming up here; at last they reach here. Coyolxauhqui cometh ahead of them."

And Uitzilopochtli then burst forth, born.[10]

Then his array he brought forth with him—his shield [named] *teuecuelli*,[11] and his darts, and his dart thrower, all blue, named *xiuatlatl*. And in di-

tiztque in jnnan, njman ie ic vi teiacana in Coiolxauhquj, vel muchichicaoa, mocecenquetza, moiaochichiuhque, motlamamacaque, iatech quitlalique in jmamatlaquj, in anecuiotl, intzitzicaz, amatitech pipilcac, tlacujkolli, yoan in coiolli incotztitech quijlpique, injn coiolli mjtoaia oiovalli, yoan in jnmiuh tlatzontectli,

niman ie ic vi, tetecpantivi, tlatlamantitivi, tlaiecotivj, momamátivi, teiacana in Coiolxauhquj.

auh in Quavitl icac, njman ie ic motlalotitleco, in qujnonotzaz in Vitzilobuchtli quilhuj ca ie vitze,

njman qujto in Vitzilobuchtli, vel xontlachie can ie vitze

njman ie ic conilhuja in Quavitl icac: ca ie tzonpantitlan,

ie no ceppa quioalilhuja in Vitzilobuchtli, cā ie vitze,

njman conilhui ca ie coaxalpan vitze,

ie no ceppa quioalilhuj in Vitzilobuchtli in Quavitl icac: tla xontlachie can ie vitze,

njman ic conilhui ca ie apetlac,

ie no ceppa quioalilhui, can ie vitze,

njman conilhuj in Quavitl icac: ca ie tlatlacapan iativitze.

Auh in vitzilobuchtli: ie no ceppa quioalilhuj, in Quavitl icac. quilhuj tla xontlachia can ie vitze.

njman jc conilhuj in Quavitl icac, ca iequene oalpanvetzi, iequene oalaci teiacantivitz in Coiolxauhquj.

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman jc oallacat,

njman itlatquj oalieria in ichimal, tevevelli, yoan in jmiuh, yoan yiatlauh xonoctic, mjtoa xioatlatl, yoan icxitlan tlatlaan, ic ommichiuh yn iconecujtl, mjtoaia

7. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 69.

8. See Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 99, where medical properties of nettlesteel are mentioned.

9. Thelmapan: an use of *tlaca* in composition, see Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II (1946), p. 171.

All the place names given here (Tzompantitlan, etc.) are translated in Eduard Seler's *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk der Fray Bernardino de Sahagún über die Azteckischen Gottheiten* (ed. Camilla Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 256. In the original myth, possibly they were place names, which, in rituals, later came to be names of places around the Temple of Huitzilopochtli, and perhaps to recall the original account. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed., I, 181, and II, 382), where *Apetlac* and *Coaxalpan* are referred to not as towns but as places about the temple.

10. See Pl. I.

11. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 256, n. 1: "*Schild mit Bilder von verschiedener Zeug.*"

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agonal stripes[13] was his face painted, with his child's offal, called his child's painting. He was pasted with feathers about his forehead and about his ears. And on his one thin foot, his left, he had the sole pasted with feathers, and he had stained both of his thighs with blue mineral earth, and both upper arms.

And one named Tochancalqui laid fire to the serpent *xiuhcoatl*[13] at the command of Uitzilopochtli.

Then with it he pierced Coyolxauhqui, and then he quickly struck off her head. It came to rest there on the slope of Coatepetl.[14] And her body went falling below; it went crashing in pieces; in various places her arms, her legs, and her body kept falling.

And Uitzilopochtli then arose and pursued the Centzonuitznaua, and went among them, and pounced upon them, and scattered them from the top of Coatepetl.

And when he had pursued them to the base, the foot [of the mountain], he took after them and gave them chase around the skirts of Coatepetl. Four times he pursued and followed them around. In vain they went about doing what they might against him; in vain they stood against him, striking about with their shields.[14a] No more could they do, no more could they achieve; neither could they take refuge. Uitzilopochtli quite overpowered them; he made them turn tail; he destroyed them in battle. He completely beated and ill-used them.

And not even now did he let them alone. He kept on. Much did they [then] importune him. They said to him: "Let this be enough!"

But Uitzilopochtli would not content himself with this. With force he hurled himself against them and took after them. And only very few fled his presence and escaped his hands. They went toward a haven to the south.[15] For indeed to that place these Centzonuitznaua[16] journeyed—the few who escaped the hands of Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had slain them, when he had spent his wrath, he took from them their vestments, their adornment, their paper crowns ornamented with feathers. He arrayed himself with these and took

ipilnechiual, mequapotonj, inquac, yoan inanacatlan, auh ce piztzoac in jcxi yiopochcopa, quipotonj in jxocpal, yoan quijtzoxoan in jmetz vmeztli. yoan vmeztli in jacol.

auh ce itoca Tochancalquj centlati in xjuhcoatl, quicalnaoati in Vitzilobuchtli:

njman jc quixil in Coiolxauhquj: auh njman quechcotontivetz, in itzontecon vmpa ommocauh in jtenpa coatepetl. auh in itlac tlatzintlan vetzico tetzititivetz, cececcan vesetz in jma, in jcxi, yoan itlac.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman ic oalcoa, quinoalhoca intlan aquj, quinoaltemovia, q'noaltepeoa in centzonvitznaoa, in Coatepetl icpac.

auh in oquimazitico in tlalchi, in tlatzintlan, niman ic ic quintoca, quiniaiacalochti in Coatepetl, nappa in q'ntlatlaiacalochti, in quiniaiacalochti, oc nen quioaloiuhtivia oc nĕ quioaloiuiaia, oalmochimalvitectiuia, aoc tle vel quichiuhque, aoc tle vel axque, aocmo vel quitzacuilque, çan quincemeviti in Vitzilobuchtli: quincentepotztli, vel quinpopolo, vel quimixtlati, vel quinpoctlantili.

auh in ça aocmo vel quincaoia, in ovel in centzech mopilo, cenca quitlatlauhtiaia, quilhujaia ma izquich.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: amo ic moiolcevi, ca cenca intech motlapalo in quintocac. auh ça quenquitoton in izpanpa conque, in imacpa quinque vmpa itztiaque in vitztlanpa, ichica ca vmpa itztiaque, inin centzonvicnaoa, in oquizquintin in imatitlanpa quinque in Vitzilobuchtli:

auh in ic iuhquj in oquinmajcti, in *oyiellelquiz* quincuili in jatlaqui, in jnnechichioal in anecuiotl,

12. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Una culebra, hecha de tela, que se llamaba xiuhcoatl.*"
14. See Pl. 2.
14a. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 257) translates this passage thus: "*vergebens rannte sie ihr an mit ihren Schilden, vergebens wendete sie ihr Schlachten an, ordnete sie (vor Ahnende gegen ihn) auf ihre Schilde, sie konnten nichts machen, nichts nicht tun, konnten sich nicht rettet gegen ihre Gewaltigen.*"
15. Following *ximoloaya*, the *Real Palacio* MS has *ya la mamoaya ximoloaya*. The passage would then read: "This place is known as Ximoloaya, because indeed there these Centzonuitznaua journeyed. . . . ."
16. *Centzonuitznaua* probably *centzonuitznaua* is intended.

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[them] for himself; he assumed [them] as his due, as if taking the insignia to himself.

And Uitzilopochtli was also known as an omen of evil; because from only a feather which fell, his mother Coatl ixue conceived. For no one came forth as his father.

This one the Mexicans cherished, by making offerings to him, and by honoring and serving him. And Uitzilopochtli rewarded him [who did so).[17] And this veneration was taken from there, at Coatepec, just as had been done in days of yore.[18]

Enough [of this].

quimotlanquiti, quimazcati, quimotonalti, iuhq'n quimotlaviztli. 773

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: no mjtoaia tetzavitl, ichica ca çan jvitl, in temoc injc otztic in jnan in coacue: caiac nez in ita. 539

Jehoatl in oquipiaia in mexica injc otlamanitiaia, inic oquimaviztiliaia, oquitlaccoltiaia, ioan in itech muchiouia in Vitzilobuchtli. auh in ichoatl in tlamaviztilitztli ocatca, ca vmpa tlaãtli in Coatepec, in juh muchivi ca ie uecauh

ie izquich.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how they did honor to Uitzilopochtli and thus worshipped him as a god.

And when the body of Uitzilopochtli was shapen, when they gave it form upon their feast day of Panquetzaliztli, they made it of a dough of amaranth, of fish amaranth seed, which is a spiny herb. They ground it; they pulverized it well; they crushed it into a powder and placed it in earthen vessels, as if it were an unguent—as if it were feather down. They rid it of *chicalote* seeds—they cast them aside as useless; they threw away all the *petzicatl* [bird] seed,[19] the black-seeded amaranth, and the siftings and the corrupted material, and other small rubbish. And this they cast out and toted away.

And when the amaranth seed dough was made, [it was] like pine [resin], like cooked maguey, like an unguent.

And upon the next day the body of Uitzilopochtli died.

And he who slew him [was] the [priest known as] Quetzalcoatl.[20] And [that] with which he slew him was a dart, pointed with flint, which he shot into his heart.

INTO THREE PARAGRAPHS vincan motqueoa in quenjn quimaviztiliaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc quimoztitiaia. 796

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: in iquac tlacatia in jnacaio in quitlacatiliaia injlhujuh ipan. in iquac panquetzaliztli, in quichioaia tzoalli, michioauhtzoalli, ie in chicalotl, quitecia, vel quicuechoaia, quicuechtiliaia, cattlaliaia, cattiliaia, iuhquin axjn, iuhquin ivitl, quitlaçaia in chicalotl, vel quitlacujcuiliaia, muchi quiquistiaia in petzicatl, in tetzacouhtli, ioan ipolocatl, ioan in palanquj, ioan in oc cequi tlaçoltetanti, muchi quiquistiaia, muchi quichichiotzaia,

auh in muchioaia tzoalli, iuhquin ocotl ie on mezcalli, iuhquin axi.

auh in imuztlaioc in miquia in Vitzilobuchtli in jnacaio.

auh in quimjctiaia ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl: auh injc quijmjctiaia ie mitl, iacatecpaio conaquijliaia yiollopa,

17. The manifestation, the *Red Tezcatlipoca* MS has manifestations, which is perhaps more logical.
18. See IV, 3.
19. *Chicalotl* and *petzicatl*: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 63, no. 75—which identifies *chicalotl* with *xicalcomitl* or "fish amaranth"—and 59. Seler (op. cit., p. 278) translates the phrase *mitl chicaxtli mazatl in ceo tlamatz ihc Tlachpanaiaz*: for *chicaxtli* he has *Stachelmaus* (*Acanthomys cervicolor*)—spiny pouch.
20. See below (Appendix, Ch. 9).

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He died in the presence of Moctezuma and of the keeper of the god, who verily spoke to Uitzilopochtli —who verily appeared before him, who indeed could make him offerings; and of four[21] masters of the youths, front rank leaders. Before all of them died Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had died, thereupon they broke up his body of amaranth seed dough. His heart was apportioned to Moctezuma.

And as for the rest of his members, which were made, as it were, to be his bones, they were distributed and divided up among all. Two [parts] were given the Tlatelulca; and [with these] two, which were as the fundament, two more were offered to the old men of the tribal temples of the Tlatelulca. And as much was given to the Tenochca. And afterwards it was divided up among them, to each in his order, each year when they ate it. [Each] year [those of] two neighborhoods[21a] ate it, and also the old men of two tribal temples. And when they divided up among themselves his body [made of] amaranth seed dough, [it was broken up] exceeding small, very fine, as small as seeds. The youths ate it.

And [of] this which they ate, it was said: "The god is eaten." And of those who ate it, it was said: "They guard the god."

in imixpã miquja ie in Motecuçoma, yoã in tehos, in vel qujnotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli, in vel qujmonestiliaia, in vel qujmoveniotiaia, yoan nauintin tiachcauh tlaiacatique, izqujntin inin jmixpan miquia in vitzilobuchtli,

auh in omjc, njman ie ic quixitinja, in inacaio in tzoalli, yn jiollo itech povia in Motecuçoma:

auh in oc ceq' in jmimillo, in juhquj yiomjio muchios tepan moiaoa nemamaco, omolotl in maco in tlatilulca. Yoã vme in ipepechiuhca, no, omolotl maco in calpolveuetque in tlatilulca, çan no izqui in maco in tenochca. auh çatepan qujmomamaca, çan tecpãtiuh, cecexiuhtica in quiqua, ce xivitl omtlaxillacalli in quiqua no oncalpoltin in calpolveuetõ. auh in qujmomamacaia in jnacaio in tzoalli, cenca çan achitoton, çan tepitoton, piztlatoto. iehoan in telpopuchti in quiquaia.

auh injn quiquaia mjtoa teuqualo, auh in ie oquiquaque motenena teupia.—

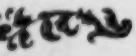

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which are related the penances which they performed who ate of the body of Uitzilopochtli.

And great was the distress which was caused. And for one full year the youths fasted. At this time they burned much wood—each night [bringing] two thousand eight hundred pieces in honor [of Uitzilopochtli], and on the following day the same, and on the next day likewise; and pine sticks. With ten large capes [they paid for that] which burned each night. This much impoverished [them].

And each man laid out one large cape and five

UNJC EY PARRAPHO, vncã motenecoa in tlamaceoalizti, in qujchioaia, in quiquaia in inacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Auh ca cenca vey in jnnetolinilis muchioaia. auh vel ce xivitl in moçaoaia in telpopochtin vncan mjiec in quitlatizia in quavitl in cecenioal macuiltzontli, omtzontli iocmachio, muztla yvi, muztla yuj, yoã ecotl, matlactica quachtli in tlatla iccioal, iehoatl y, in eõca tlatolinjaia:

yoan ceces quachtli, yoan macuiltetl tequachtli in

21. Following *Matritense* (Anno column), the *Real Academia* MS has: "Mobonnomaque, yo omoçj mopiqque, yoã momoiaia. . . ." Complete, the passage would read: "of four five priests, the high priests, and of four masters of the youths. . . ."

21a. Thouilhouih: *barrio*, according to Molina, *op. cit.* Antonio Mazcalco, however (*El Calpulli en la Organización Social de los Tenochca* [Mexico: Instituto de Historia, 1949], pp. 31 ff., 40 ff.), has "'calle' o 'barrio chico'"; *barrio*, possibly, neighborhoods. Cf. also his enlightening discussion of *calpulli*, *op. Chapt.* VI-IX.

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small capes, and then one small basket of grains of dried maize and one hundred dried ears of maize. Each man brought forth this.

This gave rise to much distress; it caused much anguish; it afflicted [them]. And some therefore fled; they therefore went elsewhere. And many flung themselves in the midst of war;[22] they cast themselves to their deaths, they who threw themselves into the wars.

And when already they were to give up their office, when already they were to finish [their penances], when already [they had served] one year, once again they set out, each one, three small capes, for buying pine sticks, and also three [more], for buying wood, from which a torch was made. All six together were needed when it came to pass that Uitzilopochtli was bathed, when the year ended.

And they bathed Uitzilopochtli at midnight. Before he was bathed, first all took part in a winding procession. And a man was arrayed as the likeness of Uitzilopochtli, [and] named Yopoch. Upon him was placed the adornment [of the god] which for one year remained upon him.

For the space of a year he wore [Uitzilopochtli's] adornment. Hence he fasted for a year, that he might wear his array. And he danced when he wore his raiment. One [dancer] went guiding him; one went ahead, before him, named master of the youths of Uitznauac. And all the [other] masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and then all those who were intrepid in war, went following him, taking him in a winding procession.

At this time there was need of torches, pine torches. And when midnight had come, thereupon he went to be bathed. [The others] went lighting the way with torches, with hand-borne torches—with [torches] to light him held in the hand,—and with incense ladles held in the hand. They proceeded playing flutes for him. When they came to arrive at the Mist House, thereupon they set down the likeness of Uitzilopochtli.

And the keeper of the god then took up the water in a blue gourd vessel, and when he had drawn the water, he offered it before him. Then he took up the fresh, green reeds; four of them he put into the gourd vessel, and four times he took up water to bathe the face [of the image]; thus he bathed it.[23] And when

quijdaliaia cecen tlacatl, njman ic tlaolli centzin copincaxontli, yoan mamacuilpoalli cintli, in cecen tlacatl, quincentiaia.

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Jchcatl y, in cēca tlatequipachoaia, tlaellelaxitiaia, tlatolinjaia, auh in cequjntin ic cholouia, ic canapa itztivia. Yoan miequjntin in ōmotlacomaiavia iaoc ōmonjccatlaçaia, in ca ōmomotlaia in jniacan,

auh in iquac in ic quicaoazque, in intequiuh, in ic ic tlatzonquixtizque, in ic ic ce xivitl oc ceppa, quitlatlaliaia, cecēiaca. ehetetl tequachtli ococoalonj no etetl quauhcoalonj centetl tlepilli ic muchioa, in ic muchi ic nepan chiquacentetl, iquac monequia, injc maltiaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc ontlamj ce xivitl.

auh in caltiaia in Vitzilobuchtli: ioalnepantla, in aiamo maltia achtopa necocololo, auh ce tlacatl mochichioaia in jxiptla in Vitzilobuchtli, itoca Ysobuch, conmaquja, in itlatquj, in ce xivitl ipan ocatca.

yn oqujcexiuhtili, itla aquj ic moçaos ce xiujtl in itla aquiz. auh mitotiaia in oitla ac, ce qujiacātiuh, ce ispan icatiuh, itoca vitznaoac teachcauh, auh in jxq'ch tiachcauhti, in telpochtequioaque. yoan in ic izquich in quauhtlocelutl quitocativi, cololvitivi.

Je vncanjn in monequi tlepilli, in ocopilli. auh in eacic ioealnepantla, njmā ic ic iauh in maltiz quitlavilitivi, matlepiltica, mactlavilitica, matlematica, quitlapichilitivj, in eacito in aiauhcalco njman ic ic quitlalia, in ixiptla in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in teuhos njman ic ic concuj in atl xonovic xicaltica, auh in ocozopilo, atl, ixpan conmana, çatepan concuj, in acatl xoxouhquj, celtic, navi conaquja xicalco nappa in cencui atl ic quixamja ic caltia. auh

22. Sahagún (Bishop Kapinski, p. 300) translates [illegible] as "[illegible] . . . [illegible]." Cf. [illegible] (above).
23. See Pl. 4.

796 he had bathed it, then once more he placed the array [on the image] and took it in his arms. Loudly they played the flutes for him.

in oconalti, niman ie no ceppa itlan aquj, quinapaloa, cenca quitlapichiliaia.

And after this they bore [the image] to Itepeyoc and set it in place. And when they had come to set it down, thereupon they went away; all dispersed. Then ended the fasting and penances of [those who had] for the year [been] eaters of the god.[34]

auh njman ie ic qujvica in itepeioc vmpa centlalia, auh in iõc ocontlalito, njman ie ic momoiaoa, vivilloa, ie vncan tzonquiça, in ineçaoaliz, in jntlamaceoaliz, in teuquaque ce xivitl.

785 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which are related other burdensome works which those did who received the body of Uitzilopochtli.

Still another group at this time began to fast in the year that they were to eat the god. They proceeded in this manner each year; thus they all continued giving [way to others]. They all went on exchanging [places]; there was mutual taking over and trading [of functions]. And likewise for the priests of the tribal temples there was fasting for a year. Great also was their suffering.

DEJC NAVJ PARRAPHO VNCAN motencoa in oc centlamantli tequjtl vel etic, in quichioaia in ichoantin qujceliaia in jnacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Ie no centlamantin vncan cõpeoaltia, in moçaoa in jpan xivitl teuquazque, çan juh otlatocatiuh, cecexiuhtica, çan jc nemamacotiuh, çan necacavililotiuh, nepapatlalotiuh, nepapatlalo: auh çan ie no ivi in calpoleque, no ce xivitl in moçaoa cenca no motolinia,

Much from this did their affliction grow; great was their anguish, [which] filled their hearts and bodies. Verily, their misery surpassed [all else], since for one year there was to be fasting—since for a year they were to fast. [Each] man was to pass every night burning [wood] and providing light. Very much wood was consumed each night, as was the custom; and many broken up pine sticks, that torches might be lit. And they brought forth *chili*, tomatoes, salt, squash seeds, and water and food.

vel vmpa onquiça in netolinilizzli, vel totoneoa, vel chichichina yn jniollo, in jnnacaio, vel iniacacpa quiquiça in jnnetoliniliz injc ce xivitl quitlaça moçaoa, injc mocexiuhcaoa, ice tlacatl ceioal quitlaça in tlatlatia, in tlavia, cenca miec in polivi intlatlatil quivitl iceioal, yoan miec in ocetl tzomonquj, injc tlavilloia, yoã quinextiaia, chilli, tomatl, iztatl, aioachtli, yoan atl, tlaqualli.

785 423 And when they had nothing more with which to buy, they gave up their precious capes, that they might buy things, or else they sold their land, which they had enclosed, or which lay in others' territory, or which somewhere they had kept. And they did even so with all lands—the tribal lands, the cultivated lands, marshy lands, the dry and dusty lands, or the cut-over, cultivated fields upon which they worked.

auh in aoc tle itlacoaia, itech quicallaçaia in jtilmatzin, injc tlacoa, anoço quinamaca itlal, in quicaltzacuja, anoço canah temac motlalia, canah netlacujlli quichioa: auh injc quichioaia ipampa tlalli in quezquejch quichioa in calpollali, yoan in chinamitl, in chiauhtlalli, in teuhtlalli, anoço ximmilli ie in ipan tequjtia:

And if one who could not bring forth the tribute

auh in aqujn in amo conieccoaia tequitl, ic quica-

34. The meaning of the term *teipeio* may be taken as either image or impersonator. The context of this passage, in both the Nahuatl and Spanish versions, suggests the impersonator bore the image to the Mint House, where the keeper of the god (*teohua*) hoisted the image; either he hoisted also the impersonator, or the latter hoisted himself. The impersonator then took up the image.

therefore pledged the land, they made him leave it; they made him abandon it.

And when their fasting came to an end, much did they make merry. They bathed with water; they washed [their heads] with *amolli* soup.[28] And fruit was eaten—they made fruit *tamales*, and sauces. Or they slew and ate a dog, and they drank wine. Thus they showed that verily they were through with [their tribute]; that their works had fallen behind them.

For no longer a burden upon their backs was their fasting. [It was] as if [now] they could move briskly and with security; now they awoke [from their sleep] with joy and peace; they awoke tranquil. They had no offerings to make. In peace they might make their livings and find the means by which they might subsist either by fishing or in the *maguey* fields; or perchance they might frequent the market places in one town or another. No more did they live in bondage.

Enough.

28. See Fls. 5, 6.

ossis in tlalli, ic quicaoaltiaia, ic quicacaoaltiaia:

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ssh in iquac in tzonquiçaia in jneçaoaliz, cenca papaquja, maaltiaia, mahamoviaia, yoan mozocoqualiaia, quichiouaia zocotamalli; yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuintli qujmjctiaia qujquaia, yoan tlaoanaia, ic quinextiaia in ca oquimotlaxilique, imicampa overz, in jntequjuh,

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i ma iuhqui tlamamalli in neçaoalizzli, in juhqui opouhtivetzque, ic pacca, iocorca ouiça oalpaccaça aoc tle qujmamana çan ivia in motlaecoltia in quitemoa in cochcaiotl, in neuhcaiotl, anoço tlatlama, in anoço tlachiquj, in aço motitianquiz in ahoácan tepehoácan: aoc tle qujolitlacotiuh.

Je izquich.

[p.10 is blank]

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Second Chapter, which telleth how they considered a god one named Titlacauan or Texcatlipoca; even as an only god they believed in him.

Of this one who was called Titlacauan they said that verily his were the heavens and the earth. All these in truth he made. And he gave to men all that which was necessary; that by which all live; that which can be drunk. He gave riches to men; he made them prosper.

And also of Titlacauan they said [that he was] invisible—like the darkness; [like] the wind.[1] When sometimes he called out to one, he spoke like a shadow. Verily, what one knew within one, [that] he knew. There was much calling out and praying [to him]. It was said to him:

"O protector of all, O giver of life, O Titlacauan, pity me, give me what is necessary for my life and for my strength—of thy gentleness and sweet essence. For now there is want; there is fatigue in gaining one's needs. [This] now there is upon earth. Take pity upon me; incline thyself to me. For I am thy orphan, I am poor, I am in need. Do I, perchance, serve thee in nothing? For I sweep, I sweep up rubbish, I lay fires there where I attend thee, there in thy poor house. Ah! Quickly slay me, trample me with thy feet! Ah! May my body come to rest!"

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And also they said of Titlacauan that he gave woe and affliction. And men he burdened and scourged with plagues which were great and grave—leprosy, boils, dropsy, cancers, the itch, haemorrhoids, piles, chilblains,[2] and other sicknesses.

And when he laid these upon men, it was when he was wroth—that someone had forsaken his vows and promises, and that he had mishandled the fasting; that a man had lain with a woman [or] a

Injc vme capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenjn Dios vel ipã qujmatia in ichoatl in mjtoa Titlacaoan, anoço Texcatlipuca in jubqujma ipan qujmatia ce dios.

In ichoatl in moteneoa titlacaoa qujtoaia ca ichoatl ilhujcaoa tlaltícpaque, ichoan muchi vel quichiou: yoan muchi quitemaca, in ixquich in tetech monequj, in nemoalonj, yn ioalonj, ichoatl tecuiltonoa, ichoatl tetlamachtia:

auh yoan in Titlacaoã qujtoaia, amo hitonj, çan iuhqujn ioalli, i ehecatl in quẽmã aca qujnotzaia, çan iuhquj ceoalli tlatoaia, vel teitic tlamati, mati, cenca tzatzilhoia, tlatlauhtiloia, ilhujloia,

Tloquee, naoaquee, ipalnemoanje, titlacaoane; xinechmotlaocolili, ma xinechmomaquili, in notechmonequj in nonenca, in nochicaoaca, in motzopelica, in maviaca ca ie mihiiovia, ca ie mociavi, ie vmpa õquijça in tlaltícpac, ma xinechmocnoitrili, ma xinechmocnomachiti, in njmocnotlacauh in nitoxonqui, in nioaçonqui. Cuix atle nimjtznochivililia, ca nitlachpana, ca nitlacuicui, nitletlalia, in vncan nimjtznotlatolchialia, in vncan mocnochã. auh manoço cuele xinechmotlatlatili, xinechõmocxipachilvi, ma cuele nicceujto in nonacaio.

Auh yoan in titlacaoan, qujtoaia, ca no ichoatl in qujtemacaia in netolinjliztli, in cococ trupoubqujʼ: yoan tetech qujtlaliaia, ic temotlaia in cocoliztli, in vey, in euj, in teococolitrli, in nanaoatl, in tlanquaalualiztli, in quaiocatl, in xiiotl, in nochiciuiztli, in quexiliujliztli, in xoxoconaujliztli: yoan in oc cequj cuculiztli.

Auh in jquac tetech qujtlaliaia, iquac in iolitlacolia: yn aquja amo qujnelitiliaia, yn jocmol, yn jtlacemiol: yoan in qujtlacoaia in nezcaoaliztli, yn ac ipan

1. Tezcatlipoca, according to Caso (op. cit., p. 19), signified the universal spirit and was associated with the moon and all the earlier gods. Hence he brought fertilization, death, and destruction, and was associated with witchcraft. Always young (adolescent), he was regarded as patron of warriors, and sometimes called Yaotl (war). For this reason he was also associated with Huitzilopochtli. See also Edward Seler: Collected Works (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1960). Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 29, and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book 1, p. 2.

2. Pedilanxiuhtli; possibly to be related to [illegible] (Simeon, Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885]; Sahagún, Bulmalo ed., III, p. 186).

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753 woman with a man, or that otherwise the fasting had been broken.[3]

776 And when the sick man suffered greatly, he prayed much to him, he cried out to him, he reached his
755 hand toward him.[4] He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, abate [my suffering] for me. May I do no more for thee—may I no longer hear nor serve [thee]! But if now thou shalt heal me, I vow to thee that I shall serve thee. If I shall gain something for myself, I shall not eat of it of a morning,[5] but do thou come to set it at thy foot. I shall bring it [to thee]."

And the sick man [who was] in sore straits, who might not recover, who could not now end [the suffering], who could now endure no more, sometimes berated [Titlacauan]. He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Now that thou takest thy pleasure [with me], slay me quickly!"

Some Titlacauan then healed, not angered by this. And some nevertheless then died for this.

776 And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiatzin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neçaualpilli. And hence was he called Moiocoia[tzin]: that which was in his mind, that which he thought of, he forthwith made. No one invented [anything for him]; none might prevent him. And in the heavens and all the earth around, whomever he wished he might endow; he would enrich him. And whomever he wished, he might afflict. And whenever he might be wroth, or might so wish, or when he was neglectful, he would bring down the heavens above us, and we should perish.

And Titlacauan, [who] extended throughout this
[778] world, was therefore besought, called to, and prayed to. And everywhere they set up his sanctuaries, shrines[6a] by the road, at crossroads. Everywhere he was awaited. And in the shrines they had for branches laid on the five days with which the twenty-day [month] ended.[6] Always they went to do this on each of the [five] days with which each month ended.

Enough.

cioacuchi oquichtli, yn ac ipan oquichcuchi cioatl: yoan anocc monecaoalujtequj.

Auh in jquac in cenca tlaihiiouja cucuzquj, cenca quitlatlauhtia quitzaxtilia, ymac tlamauac; quilhuja.

Titlacaoane, ma oc xinechmocaxauili, macaocmo inh njnochioaz, ma onjcac, ma oc notlaiecul: auh intla oc tinechmopatilia, mouictzinco njnonetoltia, ma njmitznotlatlaiecultilia: intla itla njcnonencatiliz, camo njctlacaquaz, çan mocxitzain ic ticmoquechiliquiuh, nican: njcujcaz.

Auh in cucuzquj cenca tlanauj, yn amo vel pati, yn aoc ontlaiecoa yn aoc vel i: in quenmanjan cahosia: quilhujaia.

Titlacaoane, cujlonpole: ie tonmotlatlamachtia, manoço cuele xinechtlatlati:

in cequjntin njman quinpatiaia amo ic qualanja, y cequjntin tel njman ic miquja.

Auh in titlacaoan, no quitocaiotiaia tezcatlipoca, moiocoiatzi, iaotzi, necoc iautl, neçaualpilli: auh ynic motenecoa, moiocoia, in tlein quijocoia, in tlein quilnamiqui, njman quichioa: aiac quijocoia, aiac quelleltia: yoan yn ilhujcatl, yoan in jequich anaoatl tentica, yn aquin quinequj quicujhtenoz, quicujhtonoa: yoan yn aquin quittitiz, in cecoc teupouhqui, quittitia. Auh yn iquin meçomaz, immonenequiz, yn jquin tlatziuiz, quioalpechoz yn ilhujcatl tepanmanj, tipopoliuizque.

Auh yn tiltacaoa, quicentzacutimanca yn njca ynic notzaloia, in tlatlauhtiloia in tzatzilioia: auh noviian quitlalilia yn ichial, in mumuztli in vtlica, in vmazac, noujian chialoia. Auh in mumuzco acaoiatl quitlaliliaia, ynic tlamacujtti ilhujtl, ynic tzonquiça cempoalilhujtl: muchipa iuh muchiuhtiuja, yn ipan cecenteti ilhujtl, ynic tlantinh cecempoalilhujtl.

ie izquich.

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3. The corresponding Aztec text of this passage has [illegible] and [illegible], probably means for [illegible] and [illegible].
4. See Pl. 7.
5. In "Fragmentos de Sahagún" (p. 171, n. 7), Garibay notes that [illegible] may also be more literally rendered "[illegible]" or as "[illegible] *a mañana, así.*"
In this paragraph, we have read [illegible] as [illegible]; it might equally well be [illegible] (I shall dig).
So, "Yo [illegible]," in the corresponding Spanish. See, however, Molina, op. cit. ([illegible]), and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, pp. 14, 162. The term [illegible] is variously translated.
6. See Pl. 8.

Third Chapter, which telleth—in which is related—[the story of] Quetzalcoatl, who was a great wizard;[1] and of the place where he ruled,[2] and of what he did when he went [away].

This Quetzalcoatl they considered a god. They all adored him as a god. He was prayed to in olden times there at Tula.[3]

And there was his temple, [which was] very tall and high; lofty and towering. Very many [were its] steps, extending in a multitude, and not wide; but each one, in truth, was very narrow. On each step, the sole of one's foot could not be extended.

There, it is said, he lay; he lay covered; and he lay with only his face covered. And, it is said, he was monstrous.

His face [was] like a huge, battered stone, a great fallen rock; it [was] not made like that of men. And his beard was very long—exceedingly long. He was heavily bearded.

And the Toltecs, his vassals, were highly skilled. Nothing that they did was difficult [for them]. They cut green stone, and they cast gold, and they made other works of the craftsman and the feather worker. Very skilled were they. These started and proceeded from Quetzalcoatl—all craft works and wisdom.

And there stood his green stone house, and his golden[4] house, and his coral house, and his shell house, and his house of beams, his turquoise house, and his house of precious feathers.

And [for] his vassals the Toltecs, nothing with which they dealt was [too] distant. Very quickly they could arrive whither they went. And because they were fleet, they were named *tlanquacemilhuime*.[5]

Injc Ey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jtoloca in Quetzalcoatl in vej naoalli catca: in canjn tlatocac, yoan in tlein qujchiuh iquac ia.

In ichoatl, in quetzalcoatl: iuhqujma teutl ipan qujmatia, netcutiloia, teugnachoia, in iqujn ie vecauh, in vmpa tullan. .

auh in vncā onoca in iteupan, cenca vecapā, cenca quauhtic, ixtchiquauhtic, ixachivecapan, cenca miec in itlamamatlaio, vel tecpichauhtoc, amo papatlaoac, çan pitzstoton, amo vel cece xocpalli, vmpan onoca

qujl çan tlapachiuhtoca, çan ixtlapachiuhtoca, yoan quil atlacacemelle catca:

in ixaiac iuhqujn tetecujnpol, tehtlanipol, hamo tlatlacaiocoia. auh in itentzon cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, tentzonpachtic,

auh in tolteca, in imaceoalhoan, cenca mjmatia, atle ovi in quichioaia, in quitequja chalchivitl, yoan teucujtlapitzaia, yoan quichioaia, in oc cequj toltecaiutl in amantecaiotl, cenca vel mimatia vel itech peuhtica, vel itech quiztica, in Quetzalcoatl in iuquich in toltecaiotl, in nemachtli,

yoan onicaca ichalchiuhcal, yoan iteucujtlacal, yoan itapachcal, yoan itecciacal, yoan ioapalcal, ixiuhcal, yoan iquetzalcal.

auh in imacenahoan, in tolteca hacan in veca quichioaia, vel iciuhca acitivetziia in campa via: auh injc cenca totocaia motocaiotiaia, tlanquacemilhujme,

1. *Nauall.* Garibay (*op. cit.*, pp. 170, 171) translates the term as *sheer*, but suggests three possibilities for precise understanding of the word: (1) if *cual* is the root, a wizard-quadruped is implied; (2) if the root is *cualoni*, *cualoaz* (an archaic verb surviving in composition), then the meaning is *sheer* to suggest *or* pseudo-*figure*, or—following Molina (*cf. cuhcualoaqui, cuhcualoaliz, cuhcualloaltia, etc.*)—to fool; (3) if the root is the Maya *ua, uay, uaua*, then the meaning approximates *wisdom, witness, magic*. Garibay favors the second possibility.

2. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 268, n. 1) corrects *in canjn* to *in quanin*. This is perhaps more logical.

3. As a deity, Quetzalcoatl was wind god and prime god (Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 28), or morning star god, god of life, of the morning (Cline: *op. cit.*, p. 19). See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, pp. 2-3.

Possibly the most elaborate account of Quetzalcoatl as the priest-chief of Tula is in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, of which the best editions are Walter Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), and Primo Feliciano Velázquez's, in *Códice Chimalpopoca*. According to this source (pp. 42, ff., in Lehmann's *Geschichte*, and pp. 11ff. in Velázquez's *Códice*), he reigned at Tula for ten or twenty years following A. D. 873, having been born thirty years earlier of Chimalman, widow of Tomanah, who died A. D. 894. (See *supra*, Chap. I, n. 4.) Chimalman is said to have swallowed a green stone, and from it to have conceived. See also Tezozomoc, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

4. *Teocuitlatl*: gold *or silver*, according to Siméon (*op. cit.*). Specifically, '*teocuitlatl* (*or tlal cuapalqui*) is gold, and *iztac teocuitlatl* is silver. Cf. Molina (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Mexican section).

5. Those who walked the whole day without tiring, according to Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 114.

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And there was a hill named Tzatzitepetl. Just so is it named today. It is said that there the crier stationed himself; [for] that which was required he placed himself there in order to announce [it]. He was heard clearly in distant places;[8a] everywhere was heard that which he said, the laws that were made. Swiftly all would come forth to learn what Quetzalcoatl had commanded the people.

And also they were very rich. Of no value were food and all sustenance. It is said that all the squashes were very large, and some were quite round. And the ears of maize were as large as hand grinding stones,[8] and long. They could hardly be embraced in one's arms. And the amaranth plants—verily, they climbed up them; they could be climbed. And also colored cotton prospered—bright red, yellow, rose colored, violet, green, azure, verdigris color, whitish, brown, shadowy, rose red, and coyote colored.[7] All different [colored cottons] were this way; so they grew; they did not dye them.

And there dwelt all [varieties of] birds of precious feather—the blue cotinga, the quetzal, the trupial, the red spoonbill, and all the different birds, which spoke very well; which sang right sweetly. And all the green stones and gold were not costly. Very much [of all this] was owned. And also chocolate—*xochicacaoatl*[9]—was made. In very many places there was chocolate.

And these Toltecs enjoyed great wealth; they were rich; never were they poor. Nothing did they lack in their homes. Never was there want. And the small ears of maize were of no use to them; they only [burned them to] heat the sweat baths.

And this Quetzalcoatl also did penances. He bled the calf of his leg to stain thorns with blood.[9] And he bathed at midnight. And he bathed there where his bathing place was, at a placed name Xippacoyan.[10] Him the fire priests imitated, and the [other] priests. And the priests took their manner of conduct from the life of Quetzalcoatl. By it they ordained the law of Tula. Thus were customs established here in Mexico.

auh vncan centetl tepetl, motocaiotia tzatzitepetl, no çan ninoh ninjtos in axcan, quil vncan mouetztaia in tecpoiotl, in tleja monequia, vncan mouetztaia in tzatzia, vel oncaquiztia in anaoac, vel izquijchaqui oalcacoia, in tlein quitoonia, in tlei naoatilli muchioaia, icichca oalvilooaia, quicalmatia in tlei ic tenantia Quetzalcoatl.

Auh yoan vel mocujltonooaia, hatlaçotli catca, in qualoni, in izq'ch in tonacaiotl, qujlmach in xiotetl, cenca vevejtepopol catca, cequi çan mamalacachtic: auh in cintli vel memetlapiltic, vivitlaxtic, çan quimalcochoaia. auh in ouhçoiatl, vel quitlecaviaia, vel tlecaviloia. Auh yoã no vmpa muchioaia in tlapapal ichcatl, in chichiltic, in coztic, in tlaxtalcoaltic in camopaltic, xonoctic, matlaltic, quilpaltic, vitztecoltic, camiltic, movitic, xochipaltic, coxoichcatl yn hin. in izquitlamãtli, çan nijman iuh quijçaia amo quipaia.

Auh izquijch nenca in tlaçotototl, y xiuhtototl, in quetzaltototl, i çaqua, in tlauhquechol, yeaõ in ic izquijch nepapan totoatl in cenca vel tlatoa, in vel tepacic cujca: auh yoan in izquich in chalchivitl, in teucujltatl, amo tlaçotli catca, cenca miec in mopiaia, auh yoan no muchioaia in cacaoatl, in xochicacaoatl, vel mieccan, icaca in cacaoatl catca.

Auh in ichoantin in tolteca, cica mocujltonoaia, motlacamatia, aic motolinjaia, atle monectoca in jochan aic maianaia: auh in molquitl, amo intech monequja, çan jc temazcallatiaia,

auh yoã in ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl no tlamacaoaia quijçoaia, in itlanitz ynjc quezviaia in vitzdi, yoan maltiaia iocolnepantla: auh in vmpa onmaltia, in incaltiaia catca, iocaiocan zippacoiã ichoatl quitlaieichcalviaia in tlelenamacaque, yoan in tlamacazque, incmilic in quetzalcoatl in quijnoacmilitiaia in tlamacazque, tullan tlamanitilitli, inic otlamanitiaia, inic otlamanca in nican mexico.

8a. Cfr. Anonyme. *v. inf.*, chap. 12, n. 2.

6. *Mechapilli*: *cuchillo con que sangraba el cuerpo* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

7. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, and Simeon, *op. cit.*, *en colora*. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 270) offers these various *xocopalchi*—"*lichtrotfarbene*" (*rose-colored*)"; *xiuxococ*—"*blaugrünlich*"; *quilpaltic*—"*gelbrot*"; *ichcatlalic*—"*wassergrünlich*"; *camiltic*—"*schmutzfarbig*"; *xochipaltic*—"*rosigfarbig*"; *coxoichcatl*—"*die fahlgelbe* (*coyote-farbene*) *Baumwolle*."

8. In *loc. cit.*, Seler equates this with "*Maisreibplatte* (*mahlstein-ähnliche Maiskörner*)."

9. See Pl. 9.

10. See Pl. 10.

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Fourth Chapter, which telleth how the glory of Quetzalcoatl came to an end, and how three sorcerers came to him, and what they did.[1]

And at this time, Quetzalcoatl and all the Toltecs became slothful. And there approached and came, as evil sorcerers, three demons—Uitzilopochtli, Titlacauan, and Tlacauepan.[2] All three practised sorcery that they might bring ruin to Tula.

This Titlacauan began casting the spell. It is told that he turned himself into a little old man. He counterfeited and took the form of one who was much bent and whose hair was very white, very silvery. Thereupon he went to the home of Quetzalcoatl.

When he had gone there, he then said [to the retainers]: "I wish to see the chief, Quetzalcoatl."

Then [the others] replied to him: "Go hence, old man. The chief is sick. Thou wilt vex him."

Then the old man said: "Nay, verily I will see him; verily I must come to him."

They said to him: "So be it. Wait a little. We shall tell him."

And thereupon they informed Quetzalcoatl. They said to him: "My prince, an old man hath come to speak with thee, one who seemeth like a net, like a trap for thee.[3a] We would turn him away, but he wisheth not to go. He saith only: 'I will see the chief for myself.' "

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "Let him come; let him enter. For I have awaited him for some little time."

Then they brought him in to Quetzalcoatl.

Thereupon the old man came and said to him: "My grandson, my chief, how is thy health? Here is a potion which I have brought for thee. Drink it."[3]

And then Quetzalcoatl said: "Come here, O old one. Thou art spent; thou hast tired thyself. For some time I have awaited thee."

Injc ·xavj Capítulo itechpa tlatoa, in quenjn tzõquizqui ymaviztõ, in Quetzalcoatl, yoan in quenjn ollaḇ Eyntin nanacaltin in ivicpa, yoan in tlein quiqujuhque. 539

Auh in ic iuhquj in otlatlaziviti in Quetzalcoatl, yoan in izqujchtin tolteca. auh njmã ic oallaque in tlatetzavico. Eytin, in tlatlacatecuło, Vitzilobuchtli, Titlacaoan, Tlacavepã, i eixtin tlatetzãvique injc tlalpoliviz in tollan.

in ieboatl Titlacaoan, ic quipeoalti injc tlatetzavi, quilmach veuentõ ipan mocuep, ipan mixeuh, ipã moquixti, ovelcoliuh, ovelquaiztaz, ocomo, quaztapaton, njman ie ic iauh in ichã in Quetzalcoatl:

in oonia, njman ie ic quiteilhuja, nicnotiliznequi in tlacatl Quetzalcoatl:

njman quilhuique, nepa xiauh veventone, mococoialtia in tlacatl, ticamanaz,

njman njman qujto in vevẽto, ca amo ça nicnotiliz, ça itech ninaxitiz,

quilvique, ca ie qualli oc xicchia, tla oc tictolviliti,

auh njman ie ic quinonotza in Quetzalcoatl quilhuia, nopiltzintzine, aquin ovalla vevento mjtzmotilico iuhqui mopevilma, iuhquin amo tlaçalma, in tictotoca ça njman amo iaznequi, quitoa ca ça nicnotiliz in tlacatl,

njmã qujto in Quetzalcoatl: ma oallauh, ma oalcalaqui, ca ichoatl in njcchia in ie macuil in ie matlac,

njman ic concalaquique ipan in Quetzalcoatl:

in vevento, njman ie ic quitlalea quilhui noxviuhtzine, tlacatle, quen ticmomachitia in monacaiotzin, ca njcan catquj in patli, yn onimjtzalnotequilili ma xicmiti,

auh njman quito in Quetzalcoatl: tla xioallauh veventze, otiquihjiovi, oticciauh, ca ie macuil ie matlac, in nimichia:

1. Quipiolque: probably quichiolque is meant.
2. Tezcatlipoca (Titlacauan), Huitzilopochtli, and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, according to Lehmann (op. cit., p. 79). Torquemada (op. cit., p. 77) says that Tezcatlipoca descended from heaven by a rope of cobwebs; changed himself into an owlet during a game of checkers with Quetzalcoatl; drove him from Tula; and pursued him from city to city, and finally to Cholula.
3a. *Amanaz* sic may be a copyist's error. We have follow Angel María Garibay, *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, México: s.p., 1940), pp. 91, 125.
3. See Pl. 11.

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And then the old man replied to him: "My grandson, how, in sooth, is thy health?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to him: "Verily, much do I ail in all parts. Nowhere am I well—my hands, my feet. In truth, my body is tired, as if it were undone."

And then the old one said to him: "Here is the potion, good, soothing, and intoxicating. If thou shalt drink of it, it will relieve and heal thy body. And thou shalt weep; thy heart will become troubled. Thou shalt think upon thy death. And also thou shalt think upon where thou shalt go."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Where am I to go, old one?"

Then the old man said to him: "Yea, thou shalt go there to Tollan-Tlapallan. A man there standeth guard, one already aged. Ye shall consult with each other. And when thou shalt return here, thou shalt again have been made a child."

On this, Quetzalcoatl was [much] moved. And the old man once more said: "Be of good cheer. Drink the potion."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Old man, I will not drink of it."

Then the old man said to him: "Drink of it; thou shalt feel a need [for it]. Nay, only place [some of it] before thee [as] thy [small] portion [in case thou feelest] thy desire [for it].[4] Taste only a little of it."

And Quetzalcoatl then tasted a little, and afterwards drank heartily of it.

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "What is this? It is very good. The sickness is now abated. Where were the pain? No longer am I sick."

Then the old man said: "Drink of it once again; the potion is good. Thou will thy body gain strength."

And as soon as he had once more drunk of it—all,—then he became sotted. Thereupon he wept, and greatly was he moved. Thus, at this time, was Quetzalcoatl aroused; his heart was quickened. No longer could he forget what had happened, but went on reflecting, realizing [that] indeed the devil had tricked him.

And the potion which [the old man] had offered him, it is told, was white wine. And it is said that this [wine] was made of the sap of the maguey called *teometl*.[5]

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auh njmá quilhui in vevenzo, nonvinahzine quen vel ticmomachitia, in monacaiotzin,

njman quilhuj in Quetzalcoatl: ca cenca novil ninococova acan velí in mamac, in nocuic, vel çoçtlaoa in nonacaio, inhoçj cicioteuj:

auh njmá quilhui in vevenzo, ca nican catqui, in patli cenca qualli, iamanqui, yeon tetech quiz, intla ticmitiz, motech quiçaz, yeon qujiamanilis in monacaio, yoá tichocaz, icnoiovaz in moiollo tiquilnamiquiz, in moniquiz. auh yeon vel ipan tiquilnamiquiz incampa tiaz.

njman quijo in Quetzalcoatl: campa niaz vevenzo:

njman quilhuj in vevenzo, ca ça tiaz in vmpa tullan tlapalan: oc tlacatl vmpa tlapiu ic vevetlacatl, inomonotzaxque. auh in iquac tionimocoepuz, oc ceppa tipilontli timochiouz,

njman ic moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl: auh in vevenzo ic no ceppa quilhuj, tlaeque zocoenitz, in patli,

njman quijo in Quetzalcoatl vevenzo ca amo niquiz,

njman quilhuj in vevenzo, ma ça xocoumjti timotolinis, ma çan nel noço mizquac xocoztlali motonal motolinis, ma çan achiuh xocoumopaleleti.

auh in Quetzalcoatl: njman cempale achiton: auh çatepil vel conjc,

njman quijo in Quetzalcoatl: tlen j? ca cenca qualli, in cocolinti ca oc ompolo, campan cia cocolli cocozco njnococoxa,

njman quilhuj in vevenzo, ca oc ce xocoj ca qualli in patli ic chicaoaz in monacaio,

auh niman ic ic no ceppa oc conjc, njman ic iviatic, njman ic ic choca vel ielleqpiça, ic vecaz moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl, vacá tlapan in jollo, aocmo conilcacaoia, ça ic in quimottinenca in quimottinemja vel quijoalmalacacho in tlacatecuhtl:

auh i patli quimacaz, quilnaoch ichoatl in inac vetli, yeon qual ichoatl in teometl yoacaio ic tlachiuhti.

4. In Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 273) and in Angel Maria Garibay K. (op. cit., p. 130), *chocoltiz* and *cocoltiz* are transcribed as *chocoltiz* and *cocoltiz*. The present version follows, however, both the *Real Academia MS* and the *Florentine Codex*.

5. The medicinal qualities of *teometl* are described in Sahagún (Dibble ed.), Vol. III, p. 258.

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of another fraud which the sorcerer Titlacauan wrought.

And behold another thing which Titlacauan did, thus casting a spell. He took the form and played the part of a stranger.[1] He walked about [with virile member] hanging [uncovered], and sold green *chilis*. He went to sit in the market place, before the palace entrance.

And the daughter of Uemac[2] [was] very fair. Many among the Toltecs desired her and sought her, that they might marry her. But to none would Uemac listen. He gave her to no one.

And this daughter of Uemac looked out into the market place and saw the stranger with [virile member] hanging [uncovered].

And when she had seen him, she went into the house. Thereupon she sickened; she became tense and inflamed [because of] her desire of the stranger's member.

And Uemac then learned that his daughter was sick. He said to the women who guarded her: "What hath happened? What hath she done? How began that which hath inflamed my daughter?"

Then the women who guarded her said to him: "It is he, the stranger who selleth green *chilis*. He hath inflamed and vexed her. Thus [it] began; thus sickness seized her."

And Uemac, the chief, thereupon commanded and said: "O Toltecs, let the green *chili* vending stranger be sought out; [let him] appear [before me]."

Thereupon was he sought everywhere. And when

Injc, macuilli Capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in oc centlamantli tetzavitl, in quichiuh naoalli titlacaoan.

Auh iscatquj oc centlamantli, in quichiuh Titlacaoa, injc tlaetzavi, ipan moquixti, ipã mizcuh Tovenio, çan tlapilotinemj, chilchotl quinanamaca, onmotlalino tianquizco tecpã quijisoac:

auh injchpoch Vemac, cenca qualli, cenca mjec tlacatl in tulteca in queleviaia, in quitlania, in qujmocioaoatinquja, çan aiac quitlavelcaquili in Vemac: aiac qujmacaĉ:

auh in ichoatl injchpoch in Vemac oallachix in tianquizco, qujoalittac in tovenio tlapilotica.

auh in oqujttac niman calac in calitic, njman ie ic mococoa, teponacivi, popoçaoa, iuhqujn qujmotolinj in juoauh in tovenio,

auh in Vemac: njman qujma in ie mococoa ichpoch, quimilvi in cihoa in quipia tle oax tle ay, quen opeuh in ie popoçaoa in nochpotzin,

njman quilvique in cihoa in quipiaia, ca ie in tovenio chilchonamacac, oquitlahtili, quitlatolinj, ic opeuh, ie ic ococoliacujc.

auh in Vemac in tlatoanj, njman ie ic tlanaoatia quim, tultecaie ma temolo in chilchonamacac tovenio, necis,

njman ie ic tlatemolo cẽmanaoac: auh in ipuac aiac

1. The corresponding Spanish text has: "*se holgaje, y parecia, como en grande fornicio, que se llama mayor.*" In the Bulmarde edition (Vol. III, pp. 138, 141, 140) the verbs *mayor* and *mocoloaz* are given as equivalent. See also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 274, n. 1), who refers to him throughout as a Huasteca (*huastecal*).

2. Reigard A. D. 994-1070, according to Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 42). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 48) has him contemporary with Quetzalcoatl—"*mayor en la temporal era al que generaba en Tolan, llamado Huemac; en la espiritual, y Sacerdotica era Quetzalcoatl era mayorem, y verum Pontifex Maximus.*" Remapche de Alva Tezozomoc, in *Histoire des chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco* (M. Tezozom-Comparon, ed.; Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1840), Ord. I, p. 6, identifies one with the other. Dávid Chavero, in *Ancient Cities of the New World* (tr. J. Gamino and H. S. Cuming; New York: Hyperion, 1887) says the same. So does Paul Kirchhoff ("Los pueblos de la historia toltecas-chichimecas," *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos*, IV (1940), pp. 97—Huemac), citing Brinkmann, *Cinco historiadores*, I, 19-20) although the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* makes him a child adopted by the Chichimecs (p. 79). Of Quetzalcoatl, Torquemada says: "*Un rey que los llamaron la gente Huemac, porque que fue personaje que tuvo en qu'El unió autoridad eclesiástica, El imperioso así mesmo con un rocher consumo que de la cite mesilla.*" (See Chapa. xii, xiii.) Citing Brinkmann, p. 1, col. 1, Tezozom-Comparon says Huemac was an astrologer and sage who led the Toltecs and wrote the *Tezozomoli*, a work dealing with the history, genealogy, moral principles, religious beliefs and ceremonies, philosophy, astrology, agriculture, and prophecy of the future. He died aged more than 300 years (p. 6, n. 1).

Commenting on the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, pp. 16-17) states that by the time of Huemac, the priestly office was occupied by a priest chief Quetzalcoatl, and separated from the civil office, held by Huemac. This passage contradicts the history of Huemac, which may also be found in Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* de la Velázquez's *Códice Chimalpopoca*. The text of this document, however, states that Huemac was a successor of Quetzalcoatl (see *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 12 ff).

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no one came forth, thereupon the herald cried out from Tzatzinpetl. He said: "O Toltecs, [if] perchance ye see the green *chili* vending stranger, bring him here. The chief seeketh him."

Thereupon they looked and went everywhere; they went scattered through Tula as they looked. And when they had tired themselves and seen him nowhere, then they came [back] to tell the chief that verily nowhere could they see him.

And afterwards [the stranger] appeared of his own will in the same place where he had [formerly] come to sit when first he was seen.

And when he had been seen, then they went in haste to tell [the chief]. They said: "The stranger hath appeared."

Then Uemac said: "Let him come at once."

Then the Toltecs quickly went to seize the stranger. They brought him before the chief.

And when they had brought him, thereupon the chief said to him: "Where is thy home?"

Then [the other] replied to him: "I am a stranger. I sell little *chilis*."

Then the chief said to him: "Where hast thou been, stranger? Don thy breech clout; cover thyself."

Then [the stranger] replied to him: "Nay, but to this manner are we accustomed."

And the chief then said to him: "But thou hast afflicted my daughter. Thou art the one who must heal her."

Then [the stranger] said to him: "My dear stranger, my dear lord, this may not be. [Rather] slay me, kill me, let me die. What sayest thou to me? I am not the only one who selleth green *chilis*."

And then the chief said: "Nay, thou shalt heal her. Have no fear."

And thereupon they arranged his hair and they bathed him. Then they anointed him, they gave him a breech clout and girt him with it.

And when they had arrayed him, thereupon the chief said to him: "Look upon my daughter there where she is guarded."

And when he went there, then he lay with her, and then the woman was well. Later [the stranger] became the chief's son-in-law.

neci, njman ie ic tzatzi in tecpoiotl in tzatzinepec, quiito tultecaie ic canah anquittz chilchonamacac tovenio, xiqualvicacan, qujmotemolia in tlacatl,

njman ie ic tlatemoa, novian nemj, qujxaqualtzinemi in tullan injc tlatemoa: auh in ocontiuhtlatique in acan quittz, njman jc qujnonotzaco in tlatoanj, in ca acan qujtta,

auh çatepan monomanextj çan ie no vecan in motlalico in vncan achtopa monextj:

auh in oittoc, njman qujnonotztivetzito, quilhuique, ca onez in tovenio,

njmã ic qujto in Vemac: ma oallauh icuhca,

njman ic caontivetzito in tulteca in tovenio, qujvicaque ixpan in tlatoanj:

auh in oconvicaque njman ie ic quilvia in tlatoanj, can mochan,

njman ic quilhuj ca ni tovenio, chiltzintli njcnamaquilia,

niman quilhuj in tlatovanj, canjn mach tinemj tovẽioie, ma ximomaxtlati, ma ximotlapacho,

njman quilhuj ca çan ie tiuhque:

auh in tlatovanj njman quilhui ca otictlatolinj in nochpotzin in jn te ticpatiz.

auh njman quilhuj noveniotzin, nopiltzi ca amo velitiz, xinechmjcti, xinechtlctlati, ma nimiquj, tlein tinechilvia amo çan njnochilchonamaquilia.

auh njmã qujto in tlatovanj ca amo ticpatiz, maca ximomauhti:

auh njman ie ic quixima, caaltia in ocomaaltique, njman ie ic coça qujmamaxtlatia, qujtlatlalpilia,

auh in oc ocmcauhque, niman ie ic quilhuja in tlatovanj xiqujtta in nochpotzi, in vmpa pialo.

auh in omia njman ie ic itech aci, njman ic patic in cihoatl, çatepan imo mochioh in tlatoanj.

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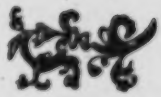

Sixth Chapter, which telleth how the Toltecs were angered because of the marriage of the daughter of Uemac; and of another work of sorcery which Titlacauan wrought.

And upon this, the Toltecs jested about [Uemac]; they mocked him and spoke in malice of him. They said: "And so the chief hath taken a stranger as son-in-law!" Thereafter the chief summoned the Toltecs; he said to them: "I have heard that jests are made of me, that already I am laughed at, for I have made the stranger my son-in-law. And this [shall ye do]—by deceit abandon him [while fishing] at Çacatepec and Costepec."

And thereupon the Toltecs announced war; they all set out. Thereupon they went, that they might leave the son-in-law [to his fate].

And when they had gone off to war, thereupon they planted [apart]¹ the stranger and all the dwarfs and cripples.

When they had planted them [apart], thereupon the Toltecs departed, to capture men—to take men from their foes, the Costepeca.

And the stranger said to all the dwarfs and cripples: "Have no fear. Here we shall destroy them; here, by our hands, they will meet their doom."

And after this, thereupon the enemy took after the Toltecs. They thought to themselves that [the foe] would there slay the stranger, from whom in this manner they went, leaving him tricked, leaving him to die.

And upon this they hurried to inform the chief, Uemac. They said to him: "Lo, we have gone, abandoning the stranger, who was thy beloved son-in-law."

And Uemac rejoiced exceedingly, for he thought that [his death] was fact. For he was ashamed of the stranger whom he had made [his] son-in-law.

And this stranger, when they had gone leaving him abandoned in battle, when their foes, the Costepeca and the Çacatepeca had already come up, thereupon commanded the dwarfs and the hunchbacks, and said to them: "Pay good heed! Have no fear!

Injc chiquacē capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenjn qualanque tulteca, in ipampa in inenamicniliz in Vemac ichpuch. Yoan oc centlamātli tetzavitl in quichjuh titlacaoan. 539

Auh niman ie ic ica camanaloa in tulteca, quiquelloa, ica motetenquelloa, quitoaia mach tovenio oquimomonti tlatoanj, çatepan qujnnotz in tulteca in tlatoani quimjlhui, ca onjccac in ie noca camanalolo, in ie noca vetzco, in tovenio onjcnomonti: auh injn ma xoconnaoalcaoati in çacatepec, in costepec.

auh njman ie ic iaotlatoa in tulteca, cemolini, njman ie ic vi in quicaoazque, in montli:

auh in oniaque in iaoc, njman ie ic quitlaltoca in tovenio, yoan in ixqujchtin tzapame, in vilame,

yn oquimontlaltocaque, njmā ie ic vi in tlatlacaanazque in tulteca in quintlacaanazque in jniaowan in costepeca,

auh in tovenio quimilhuja in ixqujchtī tzapame, in vilame, macamo ximomauhtica, nican tiquinpopolozque, njcan tomac tlamizque.

auh in ie iuhqui njman ie ic quinoaltoca in tulteca in jniaooan, in momatque ca vncan quimjctizque in tovenio, in juhqui ocōnaoalcaoato, quimiquizcaoato.

auh njman ie ic vitze quinonotzazque in tlatoanj in Vemac, quilhuique, ca otoconcaoato in tovēio, in momontzin ocatca.

auh in Vemac: ontca papac in momo aço nelli, ace iuhquj, ichica ca ic pinaviztlamatia in tovenio, in oquimomontica.

auh in ichoual in tovenio in vmpa quiçaoato iaopan, in iquac ie vitze in jniaoan, in costepeca, in çacatepeca. njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in tzapame, in tepocatame, quimilhuj ontca tle anquimati, macamo ximomauhtican, macamo ximauhca çaneq'cua, ma-

1. Thinner literally, bury or place in the ground. Possibly a figurative meaning may be assumed.

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Be not cowards! Lose not heart! [For] already I know that ye will take them all captive, that in some manner we shall slay all of them!"

And when their foes came upon them and fell upon them, then they verily attacked and trampled over them. They slew them; they brought ruin on them; they destroyed them. Multitudes without number they slew of their foes.

And when the chief heard of it, he was greatly bemused and saddened. Upon this he summoned the Toltecs and said to them: "Let us go to meet our beloved son-in-law."

And the Toltecs then surged and burst forth. Thereupon they accompanied the chief; they went dispersed about him; they went circling him, to meet [the stranger]. The Toltecs took their panoply [with them]—the quetzal feather head device, and the turquoise mosaic shield. When they reached him, thereupon they gave and presented him the quetzal feather head device and the turquoise mosaic shield —all their array [which] they had [with them].

With [this] they proceeded dancing; they came dancing the captives' dance; they came bearing [the array] on their backs. They came singing in his honor; the song came forth resounding and reëcheoing. They came blowing flutes in his honor; the shell trumpets roared and rang out. The shell trumpets approached, growing in sound.

And when they went to reach the palace, then they pasted the stranger's head with feathers, and they anointed him with yellow paint. And his face was spread with a red unguent. And all his friends were thus adorned.

And then Uemac said to his son-in-law: "Lo, now are the hearts of the Toltecs satisfied that thou art my son-in-law. Thou hast done well. Be received on this sail. Rest thy feet."

camo ximocuetlaxocan, ic ne nicmati, xomuchintin antlamaxque, çacoquexiaquichti tiquinmictizque.

auh in oipanecaco, in oinpancholoco, in jniacoan, njmã in ca ieoaque, quinquequeztzoaque, quinmjctique, quinmixtlatique, quinmixpoloque, cenca vel mjequintin, amo çan tlapoalhin in q'nmjctique, in jniacoan.

auh in oomjcac in tlatoanj, cenca motlapololhi, yoã motequipacho, njman ic ic quinnenza in tulteca quimjlhuj, ma ticnaxniquiti, yn xmomoztzin:

auh in tulteca njman ic tnomonque, çonoaque, njman ic ic quivica in tlatoanj, quitepevitivi, cololvitivj in tenamiquizque, in tulteca intlatqui ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan in xiuhchimalli, in oacique itech njman ic ic quitlamamaca, cõmacaque, in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoã in xiuhchimalli, in tzquich intlatquj ietia,

ipã mitotitivitz, momalinotitivitz, moxelimantivitz, motimalotivitz, momamantivitz, quicuicatitivitzac, cuicatl zauhtivitz, cuicatl caoantivitz, quitlapichilitivitzac, in quiquizli milintivitz, i tecciztli, hoxoalacativitz,

auh in oacito in tecpan, njman quipotonique, in itzotecõ, yoan tecoçauhtica coçaque. yoã mjxtlapalhoxtzalvi, yoan muchintl iah muchichiuhque, injcnioan:

auh çatepan quilhuj in Vemac in jmon, ca axcan pachivj in jniollo tulteca, injc tinomon otitlacnelli, ma tlahtizech xaci, ma xjcmocevilj in mocaitzin.

Seventh Chapter, where is related yet another set of magic which the sorcerer brought to pass so that the Toltecs died as they performed penances and danced.

A second work of sorcery this demon [wrought]: When he had been painted with yellow feathers, when he had bested [his enemies], he then brought it about that they should dance and sing, that they should intone a song.

Thereupon the herald made his cry, from the summit of Tzatzitepetl; he cried out to and informed those in all the world over. Verily everywhere they heard the cry of the herald. And very swiftly all came [to Tula].

And when this was done, then [the sorcerer] went there to Texcalpan. And everyone, all the vassals, went [with him]. And when all the youths and maidens had gathered together, they could not be counted; they were very numerous.

Thereupon the demon began to sing. He sounded the drum; he beat his ground drum. Thereupon all danced; they went as if leaping; all grasped hands; [or] took hold of each other from behind. With much contentment was it sung; [the sound] of the song resounded, and rose and fell.

And the song which was chanted [was] only [one] which he then invented.

And when he intoned the song, right then they answered it. From his lips they took the song.

And the singing and dancing began at dusk. And when it ceased, [it was] midnight.

And as all danced, [as] the movement was vibrant and most intense, very many then fell on the crags in the canyon. All died there, and then were turned into rocks.

And [as for] the others at the craggy canyon, the demon then broke the bridge. And the bridge was of stone. Forthwith all fell there where they crossed the water. All turned into rocks.

And how this was done, not that did the Toltecs understand. It was as if they were benumbed.

Inj chicome capítulo: vncã motenecoa in oc centlamantli tetzavitl in quichiuh naoalli, injc mjcque tulteca: injc macecoaia, mjtoteuia. 539

Injc ontlamantli tetzavitl, in ichoatl in tlacatecolutl, in iquac omopotoni tocivitica, in iquac ontepeuh, njman ie ic qujxcoia, in cujcrᵒanoz, in cujcamanaz,

njmã ie ic tzatzi in tecpoiotl, in tzatzitepetl icpac, onteteatzilia, ontenotzaia, icematonaoac, vel novili quioalcaquja, in itzatziliz in tecpoiotl, auh çan vel iciuhca oalaxioaia.

auh in ie iuhqui, njman ic ompa ia in texcalapa, yoan ixq'ch tlacatl ia in macecualli. auh in ocẽquiz in ixquich in telpochtli in ichpocõtli, amo çan tlapoaltin, vel ixachintin,

njmã ie ic pena in cujca in tlacatecuhtl, tlatzotzona, quitzotzona, in jvevetih, njman ie ic netotilo, iuhqujn tlachocholivi, nehxano, netujtlanaoalo, cenca pacoa, in cujca, xaxamacatimanj in cujcatl, yoan caoantimanj:

auh in cujcatl, in mecoaia çan vncan in quipicticaca.

auh in iquac cuicatlaçaia, çan njmã quinanquiliaia itenpã canaia in cuicatl.

auh in pecoaia in cujcoanolintli tlapoiaoa: auh in mocacoaia tlatlapitzalixpã.

auh in iquac netotiloia tlatlaxoquivia, nexoxocolhia, cenca miequjntin ẽnotepeoaia in tepexic, in ahuehco, mochintin vmpa miquja, niman teme mocaepaia.

auh in oc coquiztin texcalahuehco, in tlacatecuhtl njmã conpaxtec in panoanj. auh in panoanj tel cenca, çan njmã mochintin vncã ẽvemque, in ail in vncan panoca, mach teme mocaepque.

auh in juh mochioaia y, socmo quen quinaxia in tulteca, iuhquin oivinnij.

539 And many times was there singing and dancing there at Tezcalpan. And as many times as there was song and dance, so many times was there slaughter. All were dashed upon the crags.

They fell; verily, the Toltecs destroyed themselves.

auh miecpa cujcoanoloia in ꝑcan tezcalapan, auh in quezquipa, cujcoanoloia no izquipa micoaia, netepexiviloia tepexic.

in onnetepeualoia vel mixtlatiaia in tulteca.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of another act of magic which that same sorcerer wrought, whereby yet many more Tolteca died.

Behold yet another [act of sorcery] which the demon brought to pass.

It is said that once upon a time he took the form of a valiant warrior. He commanded the herald, the crier, that he should cry to the whole world that they come hence.

The crier said: "Let all men come! Let all the vassals come here! Ye shall go there to Xochitlan. The floating gardens will be harvested."

Thereupon came all the vassals. They came to the flower garden. (And as for naming it Xochitlan: they say it was the flower field of Quetzalcoatl.)

And when the Tolteca had come, gathered and massed together, thereupon the brave warrior slew them; he smote them; he beat the backs of their heads; in sooth, many [of them], without number, died at his hands. For he slew them.

And the rest of them, who indeed fled running, who were in headlong flight, went fleeing from his hands. As they went off, [seeking to] escape, as they ran, they injured one another and there they died. And still others trampled and crushed one another. All died there.

Injc chicuey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc centlamantli tetzavitl, in quichiuh çan ie no ichoatl naoalli, injc oc cẽca miequjntin micque tulteca. 539

Izcatqui oc centlamantli, yoan in quichjuh in tlacateculotl,

quil ceppa tequioa ipan moqujxti, qujnaoatiaia in tecpoiotl, in tzatzinj injc onterzatziliz cemzonaoac injc oalviloaz,

quitoaia in tecpoiotl, ma ixqujch tlacatl oallauh, ma ixqujch tlacatl oaloiinj in maceoalli, vmpa antlamativitze in xochitla, chinantecoz, tlatecoz,

njmã ie ic vitze in jxqujchtin maceoaltin oallamatiaque in xochitla (auh injc moteneoa xochitla quil xochimjlpa catca in Quetzalcoatl).

auh in ocenqujxoac, in ocenquizque, in otecpichauhq̃, in tulteca, njmã ie ic temjctia, tevivitequi, tecuexcochvivitequj in tequioa, vel miec amo çan tlatlapoalli, in jmac mjc, in qujntlatlati,

auh in oc cequjntin in çan cholonquja, in mocholtizquja, in jmacpa ieoazquja in jmatitlanpa quiçazquja, in motlalovaia, in motlavitequja, njmã miquja, auh in oc cequjntin moquequeçaia, mopapatzoaia, moch vncan mjcque.

[p. 24 is blank]

539 **Ninth Chapter, which telleth of yet another work of magic which this same sorcerer wrought, by which many more Toltecs perished.**

Behold still another act of sorcery which the demon did. He came to seat himself in the middle of the market place. He called himself Tlacasepan or Cuexcoch[tzin]. There he caused to dance [a figure] like a child. (They say it was Uitzilopochtli.) In his hand he held him as he made him dance.

And when the Toltecs saw this, thereupon they crowded toward him; they stumbled toward him in order to see it. Very many men were there trampled and died in the press as [the others] crushed them to death.

And when thus many times it came to pass that large numbers died in this way, as they looked while he made [the figure] dance, this same demon[1] said, with shouts, "O Toltecs, what sort of sorcery is this? Is it not an omen of evil that one is made to dance? As for this one, let him die; let him be stoned!"

Then they stoned him. He fell under the stones. And when this was done, [his body] thereafter stank; it smelt quite frightful; in truth, it wounded the head. And wheresoever the wind carried the stench, there the common folk died.

And when already very many men had thus died of its fumes, thereupon to the Toltecs this same demon said: "Let this dead one be cast away; let him be thrown out. For already his odor destroyeth [men]. Let him be dragged away."

And the Toltecs thereupon put a rope about [the body] and then [sought to] drag it away.[2] And now when they tried to heave it, they could not move it. It was very heavy—this, to which at first they had paid little heed, of which they had thought so of little import.

Then a message went out, and the herald said: "Let all men come here! Bring here your heavy ropes that ye may go and cast away the dead one."

And when the Toltecs came to gather together, thereupon they fastened the dead one with ropes.

1. Cuexcoch, in the Aztec text, is probably meant to be diminutive.
2. See 31, 32.

Injc chicuasnij capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in oc no centlamantli tetzavitl, in çan ie no hoatl quichiuh nacalli, injc oc cenca vellapanavia ixpoliuhque tulteca.

Iaca oc centlamantli in mochiuh in tlacateculotl tianquiznepãtla in oalmotlalia, quimotocaioti: Tlacavepan, anoço cuexcoch, vncã quitotiaia iuhquin piltontli (quilmach iehoatl in Vitzilobuchtli) imac quiquetzaia in quitotiaia,

auh in oquittaque in tulteca, niman ie ic ivjc oxoquivi, ivjc onmotepeoa in quittazque, vel mjec tlacatl in vncan quequeçaloia, in patzmiquia, in quinpatzmjctiaia,

auh in ie mjecpa iuh muchioa in miequintin ie miquj, in quittaia in teitotia, ça ie no ie in cacateculotl in tzatzic quito, tultecaie tlen oc ie tetzauitl? amo totetzauh in teitotia. auh injn ma miquj, ma tetepacholo,

njman ic quitetepachoque tetica vetz: auh in ie iuhquj njman ic ic yiaia, vel temamauhti injc yias, vel tetzõvitec auh incampa quivica iehecatl in jiaca njman ic miquja in macecalti.

auh in iquac ie mjec tlacatl ic miquj yn jiaca, njmã ie ic quimilhuj in tulteca, çan ie no ie tlacateculotl quito, injn mjcquj ma vetzi, ma motlaça ca ie tlaxpoloa yn jiaializ, ma movilana.

auh in tulteca njmã ie ic quimecaiotia, njman ie ic quivilana: auh in iquac ie quivilana haqueoa, cenca ietic, in achtopa atle ipan quijta ca quimoxictica,

çatepan njmã ie ic tzatzioa. auh quito in tecpaiotl, ma inquijch tlacatl ouallauh: anquimolcuiaque anovepanmocauh, motlaçatiuh in mjcquj.

auh in ocenquiçuo in tulteca, njmã ie ic quimoxo-

539 Then the Toltecs murmured; they said to themselves: "O Toltecs, along with it! Let it be pulled!"

But they could not then raise it; they could not move it. And when one of the ropes broke, then died all. As many as extend.d along the rope tumbled; they fell all mingled together, and then died.

And when they could in no way drag it, when they could not approach it, thereupon the demon said to the Toltecs: "O Toltecs, he hath need of his song."

Thereupon he chanted the song for the Toltecs. He intoned: "Drag away our log, Tlacatzepan the demon."

And as they chanted, forthwith they thus made the dead one move;[3] they came forward with it; they proceeded shouting. When a rope [again] snapped, then on all of them the log fell, so that it ran over them. And many were indeed crushed.[4] So were they crushed that thus they died.

And when all the rest who had gone to cast away the dead one, Tlacatzepan, thereupon turned back, it was as if they paid no heed to all that had been done to them. No longer did they consider it an evil omen; [they were] as if besotted.

caiocia in micquj, njmã ic ic icaoaca in tultecca, qujmilhuja tultecaie macuele, ma tlatlinjlo.

auh çan njmã amo queca, avel colinja: auh I ce cotonj mecatl njmã ixqujchtin miquj in ixqujntin itech oneque mecatl, vetzi monenepanotivetzi, njmã miquja.

auh in iquac in çan njmã avel colinja in avel itlan aquj, njmã ic ic qujmilhuja, in tultecca in tlacatecuiotl. Toltecaie icujc quinequi,

njman ic ic quimevilia in tultecca in cujcatl, quculo, xitlavilanaca ic tovepan tlacavepan tlacatecuiotl.

auh in oquevi, qujn ic ic celinique in mjcquj, qujmotlalochtia, qujcaostztivi, ice cotoni mecatl, njmã muchiotin inpan iauh in vepãtli, in jnpan motlalos, yoan miequjntin in can moquequexque. inin opapatzoque, ic mjcque.

auh in oquixqujchtin mocauhque quitlaçato in mjcqui, in tlacavepan, njman ic ic oalmocuepa, iuhquin soc tle ipan qujtta in ixquich inpan muchioaia, aocmo qujtetzauhmatia, iuhquin oivjntiã.

3. Possibly the Aztec should have read *ocelinque* rather than *celinque*.
4. Cor. In the Aztec text, should probably be *pan*.

Tenth Chapter, which telleth of still another work of magic which this same sorcerer brought to pass, by which he cast a spell on Tula.

Behold also how the devil brought evil to Tula.

It is said that a white kite, with wounded head pierced by an arrow, flew by, passing to and fro over the Tolteca, not far [above] them. It kept nearing the earth as it flew back and forth. They saw it clearly as they stood and lingered looking upward.

Behold too yet another act of sorcery which was taken as an evil omen for the Tolteca. It is said that a mountain, called Çacatepetl, burned. By night, it was evident from afar how it burned. The flames rose high. When the Tolteca saw it, they became very restless; they raised their hands to heaven; there was great anxiety. All cried out, all shouted together. No longer was there tranquillity; no longer was there peace. And when they saw this omen of evil, they said: "O Tolteca, now is all in truth going [from us]; already the power of the Tolteca goeth. Yea, we are forsaken. What shall we do? Whither shall we go? O unhappy we! Let us take heart!"

Behold yet another act of sorcery. It is said that stones rained on the Tolteca. And when the stones rained, then a large sacrificial stone fell from the heavens; there at Chapolteqecuitlapilco[1] it came falling down. And afterwards a little old woman lived there. She sold [paper] flags; she walked about saying: "[Here are] your little flags." And any desired to die said: "Buy me one," and thereupon went where the sacrificial stone was. None asked: "What now dost thou do?" They were as if lost.

Injc mochactli cuplulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc coquj tetzavitl, in ça ie no ichoutl quichinih zacalli, injc tlatetzauvi tullî. 539

Isca youn injc tlaczavi in tlacatecolotl, in tullan, quilnach iztac cuizi, tlatzontectica mjztinenca, petlaztinenca, mocanauhtinenca, in japan tulteca ano veca in quiztinenca in tlalli injc mocanauhtinenca, vel quiztaia acopa conizztinenca, conocopeiztinenca.

Jsca youn oc cêtlamantli in tetzavitl, in jntetzauh muchiuh in tulteca, quil centetl tepetl itoca çacatepetl tlatlaia, in iocaltica, veca necia, injc tlatlaia in tlecuçallotl veca icoaia, in iquac quiztaia tulteca, vel mocomoniaia, macomanaia, maltinoquetzaia, in netenvinecoia, in netenpapavilcoia, ano tlatlaca mamanca, ano yvian icloaia, auh injc quiztaia itla tetzavitl, quiztoaia, Tultecaie ca ie izquich ca ictivi, ie iauh in tultecaiotl, ca otitlatlaztivioque quênel campanel tiiazque, o tetlavelitic, ximellaquaoacâ. [187]

Isca oc centetl in tetzavitl: quil inpan tequjiauh in tulteca, auh in otequjiauh, çatepan oaltemoc illujcacpa centetl vej techcatl vmpa in chapoltepecujtlapilco in vetzico, auh çatepan, onnenca illamato, pepannamacaia, quiztoinêca ma amopetzin, auh in aquique, momiquilanja quiztoia ma zinechoncovi, njman ie ic iauh in vmpa ca techcatl, aiac quiztoaia in tlein ie tay iuhquin otlapoloj.

1. Chapoltepecuitlapilco: on etymology, see Molina, *Lexicon del mexicano*, p. 108. Presumably the place was near Chapultepec, today a suburb of Mexico City. Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) regards *cuitlaco* as a place name (Tlacatecolotl, an alternative name of Chapoltepecuitlapilco).

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[p. 28 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 **Eleventh Chapter, in which is told yet another work of magic which this same sorcerer wrought, by which he mocked them, by which Tula was undone, and through which he slew not a few Toltecs.**

Behold also the manner in which sorcery was practised against the Toltecs.

It is said that the food soured—very bitter did it become. It could not be placed in one's mouth; none of the Toltecs could eat the food. In truth, so were the Toltecs mocked.

And an old woman (they said and considered that it was the devil who appeared and took the form of an old woman) came to sit there at Xochitlan. There she toasted maize. And the maize which she toasted spread its fragrance over all the region. In truth it expanded and spread among all who dwelt [there]. All over the land was spread the odor of the toasted maize.

And when they smelled the toasted maize, the Toltecs found [the smell] good; they found it satisfying and pleasing. And when they smelled it, quickly they came here and swiftly, reaching here in only a very few moments.[1] ([For] it is said that the Toltecs thought no place distant; they thought nowhere [too] remote. Even though they might live far away, swiftly they arrived, and also [so] rapidly [returned] whence they had come.)

And then, as many as had gathered together she slew and destroyed—all. Not then might they make their return. A great mockery was made of the Toltecs, since the devil had slain very many of them. It is said that in sooth he made sport of the Toltecs.

Injc matlactli vca, capítulo: vncan motenoua in oc centlamanoli tetzavitl in çan ie no ieh quichiuh naoalli injc teca mavilti, injc tlaixpolo tullan, in amo çan quexquich quinmjcti in tulteca.

Inca yoan injc motetzanvique in tulteca,

quijl in tonacaiotl chichix, chichipatic, chichopatzótic, muchiuh; ioc tecamac tlalilois, çan njmâ ioc vel quiquaia in tulteca, in tonacaiotl vel in ca mococaiauh in tulteca.

auh ce illamato (quitoa quil ieh in tlacateculotl ipan omiazuh, cõmixipilati in jllamato) vmpa motlalito in xochitla, vmpa teycequjaia, auh in izquitl in quicequia vel onjiaia icematonaoac, vel inpan onmelonja, onmotecaia icematonaoac tlaca, centlalli motecaia yn jiaializ in izquitl.

auh in iquac quihnecuja in izquitl in tulteca quivelicamatia cahujcamatia, quivelmatia. auh in iquac quinecuja, yciuhca oalacitivetzia cenca çan achitoncs: in oalacia (quil ĩ tulteca hacan in veca quinmatia hacan veca quinmatia, in manel veca neanja. iciuhca onacitivetzia, no iciuhca, in canjn oalenoia).

auh in iquac in quexq'chtin cenquiçaia muchintin vncan quinmjctiaia, quinocenpopoloaia, aocmo imiloch innecuepal quichioaia, vel in ca mavilti in tulteca, injc cenca mjequjntin quinmjcti, in tlacateculotl, mjtoa vel motulteca tlamachti.

1. See N. 12.

[p. 30 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Twelfth Chapter, which telleth how Quetzalcoatl departed and left in flight when he went to Tlapallan,[1] and of the many things which he did on the way.

And still many more acts of sorcery were done to the Toltecs in order to destroy Tula.

And when these things happened, Quetzalcoatl was now troubled and saddened, and thereupon was minded that he should go—that he should abandon his city of Tula.

Thereupon he made ready. It is said that he had everything burned—his house of gold, his house of coral; and still other works of art, the marvelous and costly things, all [of these] he buried, he hid there in treacherous places: either within the mountains or in the canyons.

And, moreover, the cacao trees he changed into mesquites. And all the birds of precious [feather]—the quetzal, the blue cotinga, the red spoonbill—all [these] he sent away beforehand. Taking the road before him, they went toward Ananac.[2]

And when this was done, then he set forth; thereupon he followed the road.

Then he came to arrive at a place [called] Quauhtitlan. A very thick tree arose [there], and very tall. He stood by it. Then he called for his mirror. Thereupon he looked at himself; he saw himself in the glass and said: "Verily, now I am an old man." Then he named [the place] Uevequauhtitlan.[3] And then he cast and hurled stones at the tree. And as he stoned it, [the stones] remained firmly encrusted and affixed to the great tree. Always thus have they been visible. Thus are they seen; beginning at the foot, they rise there to its top.

And as Quetzalcoatl followed the road, they went blowing flutes for him.

Once more he came to rest at another place. Upon a stone [Quetzalcoatl] rested himself. He supported

Injc matlactli vmoume capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc cholo injc cholo moielti Quetzalcoatl ynjc vmpa iah tlapalla, yoã in quezquitlamantli quichiuh vtlica.

Auh oc mjec tlamantli, in tetzavitl inpan muchiuh in tulteca, ynjc tlalpoliuh in tullan,

auh in ie iuhquj, in Quetzalcoatl, in je mamana, in ie motequipachoa, njmã ie ic quilnamiquj in iaz, in quitlakavix yn ialtepeuh in tullan,

njman ie ic mocencaoa, quilmach muchi qujtlatitia, in iteucujtlacal, in itapachcal, yoan oc cequi tultecatlatquitl in maviztlanquj, in tlaçotlãqui, much qujtocac, much qujtlati, in vncan in ovican yn aço tepetl itic, in anoço atlauhco.

auh yoan in cacaoquavitl ipã quicueptia mizquitl. auh in ixq'ch in tlaçotototl, in quetzaltototl, in xiuhtototl, in tlauhquechol muchintin achtopa qujmioa, ixpan onotiaque, ansoacpa itztiaque.

auh in ie iuhqui, njman ie ic vmpeoa njmã ie ic otlatoca,

njman jc acico cecnj quauhtitlan, cenca tomaoac in quavitl hicaca: yoan cenca viac, itech onmoquetz, njman ie ic quioallitlan in itezcauh, njman ie ic onmotac, õmotezcavi, qujto, ca ie niveve, njmã ic vncan tlatocaioti vevequauhtitlan, njman ie ic qujmomotla quitetepachoa in quavitl: auh injc quitetepacho tetl vel itech cacalac, moçacalo itech in vevequavitl, oc no çan iuh onezticaca iuh ittaloia, tlatzintlan peuhtica, iuh vmpanvetzticac in iquac.

auh in iquac otlatocaia Quetzalcoatl quitlapichilitivia.

oc eppa mocevico cecni tepan onmotlali, moma-

1. See Chapter IV, supra; also Gallop, op. cit., p. 286, or Goss, op. cit., p. 13.

2. Ananac. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher and Co., 1904), Vol. II, pp. 49 ff., argues that the name always referred to the "*ältesten Hieroglyphen der Wort- und Silbenart, der Lieder der Calpixque und an der priesterlichen Bücher, und zwar insbesondere die Codices enthielt oder doch viele Bücher verzeichnetes Inhalts der Hochländer aus der grossen Hieroglyphenschrift enthaltende enthielten. . . .*"

Cf. the phrase, *tepan onmotlali*, a note in Seler's *Codex Rioja* (p. 38), n. 1) suggests it might better read *tepan onmotlaqui*: "'*auf der Hieroglyphen ist,*' d. h. *die Archive auf die Lesen ein Hieroglyphen,* 'wo man *ablesen* wird,' d. h. *die geschriebenen Hieroglyphen in Amoxtlacuilos.*"

3. Cf. Gallop, op. cit., p. 286.

539 himself [on it] with his hands. Thereupon he looked toward Tula, and then wept; as one sobbing he wept. Now he shed two hail stones as tears over his face; they rolled over his face. Thus fell [tear] drops [which] verily pierced holes in the stone.

matlaquechi, njmaa ic ic ontlachia in tullan, yoan njman ic ic choca, iubqujn tritzicunoachoca, ic on tecivitl pixavi yxaio ixtlan moteteca yn izaio: injc chichipica vel quicocoionj in tetl.

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Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the signs which Quetzalcoatl left in place upon the stone with his hands, when he rested himself there, where he sat.

And as he supported himself by his hands on the rock, he left deep imprints, as if [it were] on mud [that] he had planted the palms of his hands. Likewise his buttocks remained well marked on the rock where he was. Verily they are [now] visible. Because of the hollows, [this place] was named Temacpalco.

And then when he arose he came to reach a place name Tepanouyan, [where] there was water. A river burst forth [which] was very wide and long. [Quetzalcoatl] laid stones and made there a bridge. Then he crossed over on it, and so it is named Tepanouyan.[1]

And once more he set forth and then came to reach another point, a place named Coxapan. And when he was there, devils sought to turn him back. They tried to send him back and stop him.

They said to him: "Where dost thou go? Where art thou bound? Why goest thou now leaving the city? To whom dost thou go leaving it? Who will perform the penances?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to the demons: "Indeed, in no way can [anyone] force [me]; for I must go [on]."

Then the demons said to Quetzalcoatl: "Whither goest thou?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to them: "I go there to Tlapallan, for I go to learn [my fate]."

And then they said to him: "What wilt thou do?"

Then Quetzalcoatl replied: "I am called hence. The sun hath called me."

Then they said to him: "It is well. Go, leaving all the works of craftsmanship."

Then he left all the arts—the casting of gold, the cutting of precious stones, the carving of wood, sculpturing in stone, the knowledge of the scribes, the art of feather working. All [these] they wrested from him by force; they made him abandon all; they seized all from him.

And when this was done, Quetzalcoatl thereupon cast his jewels into [a spring of] water, and then they

Injc matlactli vmey capítulo: vncan mjtoa in machiotl in quitlatlalitia, Quetzalcoatl in jmatica in jpan tetl, in vncan mocevi, in vncã motlalli. 539 103

Auh injc, momamatlaquechi tepan vel ihilac, juhquinma çoq'pan oncacalac in imacpal, çã ic no ivi in itzintamal, injc catca tepan, no hiylac, ompopolac, vel nenentica, injc cocoionquj, ic vncan tlatocaioti temacpalco.

auh njmã ic oaleoac in acico itocaiocan tepanooian, atl icac, atl quizticac, vel patlaoac, patlactic, in tetl contecaspanoanj conchiuh, njmã ic ipan onpanoc, yoan njman ic tlatocaioti tepanoaia.

auh oc ceppa vmpeuh njman acito cecnj itocaiocan coahapan: auh in oncãn j vncan quioalcuepazquja in tlatlacateculo, quioalilochtizquja, qujacatzacuilizquja,

quilhuique can tiauh, can tiztiuh, tleica ic ticcauhtiuh in altepetl, aqu itech ticcauhtiuh, ac tlamaceoaz.

Niman quimjlhui in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacateculo, ca çan njmã amo velitiz ca ça niaz:

njmã quilhujque in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacateculo canja tiaz

njmã quimilhuj in Quetzalcoatl ca vmpa in tlapallan njiauh in njtlamattiuh,

auh njmã quihuiq̃ tle taiz

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl, ca nicalnotzalo nechalnotza in tonatiuh,

njman quilhuique ca ic qualli xicauhtiuh in izquich in tultecaiotl,

njman jc vncan quicauh, in izquich in tultecaiotl, in itocaitlapixcaiotl, in tlatecoaiotl, in quauhxincaiotl, in temotzoncaiotl, in tlacujlocaiotl, in amantecaiotl, moch quitepeoaltique, moch quitlacaltique, moch quicuicuilique:

auh in ic ixhcuj in Quetzalcoatl njmã ic ic contc-

1. Tepanoyan, Tepanouyan cf. Gallop, op. cit., pp. 202, 204. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 38) states that Tepanoyan was two leagues from Mexico City (Tlalmanalco).

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were swallowed up. Therefore he named that place Concaspan which now is called Coaspan.[2]

And thereupon he moved on and came to reach another point, a place named Cochtocan. And there a demon then came forth to meet him.

He said to him: "Whither goest thou?"

Then [Quetzalcoatl] said: "It is there to Tlapallan that I go, to learn [my fate]."

Then the demon said to him: "It is well. Drink this, the wine which I have brought here."

Quetzalcoatl said: "Nay, it may not be that I drink, even though it might be but little that I taste."

Then once more the devil said to him: "Verily, it may not be that thou shalt not drink nor taste of it. For no one do I give leave, or permit, to depart whom I give no wine and [not] make drunk and besotted. So do [as I bid thee]; be of good cheer and drink it."

Quetzalcoatl then drank the wine with a drinking tube.

And when he had drunk, he quickly fell asleep in the road. He lay thundering as he slept, resounding a great distance as he snored.[3] And when he awoke, thereupon he looked to one side and the other. He looked at himself, and arranged his hair. Then he named the place Cochtocan.

peoa, in jcoaqui in atlan njman ic ic hatoco, ic vncan tlatocaioti, concaspan, in axcan mjtoa coaspan:

auh njman ic ic ōmolinj onacito, cecnj itocaiocti cochtocan, auh in vncan njmam quicalnamjc, ce tlacateculotl

quilhui can tjiauh,

njmā qujto ca vmpa in tlapallan, in nitlamattiuh,

njman conilhuj in tlacateculotl, ca ic qualli, tla xoconj, y, yn vnctli in oniqualcujc

qujto in Quetzalcoatl ca njman amo velitiz in niquiz, in manell achito noconpaloa,

njman oc ceppa quilhui in tlacateculotl, camono velitiz, in macamo tiquiz, in maca titlapaloz ca aiac njcnocavia aiac njcquixtia in macamo njcmaca yn vctli, in ujctlaoantia, in niquivintia, auh injn tlaoque tlacuele, tla xoconi,

in Quetzalcoatl njman ic conjc, in vctli piaztica.

auh in oconjc cochvetz in o'ica, quaqualacatoc in cochi, veca caquitti, injc hicoa..ca, auh in ooaliçac, njman ic ic avic tlachia, mohotta, moquapepetla, niman jc vncan tlatocaioti cochtocan.

2. Torquemada (op. cit., pp. [illegible]) repeats a legend that after leaving Cuernavaca, Quetzalcoatl went to Cholula, where he remained twenty years.

3. See M. 14.

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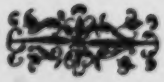

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth how the vassals of Quetzalcoatl froze in the ice and died as they passed between Iztac tepetl and Popocatepetl; and of others of his exploits.

Then once again he set forth and came to climb between Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl.[1] He led all the dwarfs and hunchbacks, his servants. It snowed upon them, and there they froze; they died of the cold.

And Quetzalcoatl thereupon was greatly moved and wept to himself. And he sang much to himself [as] he wept and sighed.

Thereupon he looked at a distance to another white mountain, named Poyauhtecatl.[2] Again he set forth, making the rounds of all places, everywhere passing through the villages. And so, they say, he set down many of his signs, by which he is known.

In another place it is said that he took his pleasure on a mountain. He came sliding down it, to its foot;[3] he came bouncing down it.

And elsewhere he planted in the ground *magueys* fibers.[4] At another place he built a ball court, all of stone. And in the middle of it, where the line was, the earth lay open, reaching deep; for it was thus pierced. And elsewhere he shot, as an arrow, a *bombax ceiba* tree, [shooting it] likewise into the midst of [another] *bombax ceiba* [so that one] rested piercing [the other]. And elsewhere he built a house all underground at a place named Mictlan.[5]

And elsewhere he set up a huge rock.[6] It is said that one might move it with his little finger; easily it swayed; from side to side it would teeter. And it is said that when many men pushed it, then it would not move, even though many would try hard. [If] they sought to move it, they could not budge it.

And there were many more things which he did in all the villages. And it is said that he named all

Injc matlactli ꝏnnj capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in quennjn cioapaoaque cetica micque in jmaceoaloan Quetzalcoatl, injc inepantla quiz in iztac tepetl, yoan in popocatepetl, yoan in oc cequi itlachiool.

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Niman oc ceppa vmpeuh in otlecoto, popocatepetl itzalã, yoã iztatepetl, in izqujchtin qujnvicaia, in tzapame, in tepotzome, yn jiachoan, muchintin inpan cepaiauh vncan cioapaoaque, cecmjcque:

auh in Quetzalcoatl, njma ie ic mellaquaoa, mochoquilia, yoan mocujcatia cenca choca, helcicivi,

niman ie ic no conitta vecapa ĩ oc centetl iztac tepetl itoca poiauhtecatl, oc ceppa ic vmpeuh novian quiquiztia, novian quixaqualotinen yn altepetl, iuh q'ton mjec tlamantli in quitlalitia in inezca ynjc monezcaioti.

In cecnj quilmach maxvilti tepetitech oalmeoztlacalauh tlatzintlan oalvevetztia.

auh y cecnj quitlalitecana ichtli, y cecni quitecaz tlachtli çan moch tetl, auh in tlanepantla yn oncã icac tlecotl coionticac veca aciticac ynjc coionquj, yoan cecnj quimjn pochotl injc qujmjn çan no ie in pochotl hitic nalquizticac, auh cecni quiquetz calli çan tlallan, itocaiocan mjctlan,

auh oc no cecni quitlali centetl vejtepol tetl, quil yn aca colinia yca imapil xocoioton, vel molinia hauic onquiquiça: auh quil in iquac miequjotin colinja, çan njman avel olinj, in manel cenca qujmjeccavia colinizzequj, avel colinia.

auh oc mjec tlamantli in qujchiuh in novian ipan

1. Iztac eltepetl.
2. Ms. Oxtecatlo.
3. Chalchiuhtlachachi: a various version is suggested in Seler, (op. cit., p. 291, n. 1)—"xal-xoc-xoxhuel-tlacal" quasi, falcati gaducati".
4. Cf. Sec. cit. (n. 1), which differs somewhat from the *Florentine Codex* text: "xoch yhual quetzal tocoxo ichtli in xoxhi [illegible] in xoxhi [illegible] in [illegible] xoxhi xoxhipichauhqui [illegible] or ulcer (*ichtli*) [illegible] xoxhipichqui in xoxhi [illegible]. Niman yuan [illegible] the Lower 'quetzal' [illegible] 1."
5. Possibly Mitla.
6. Corresponding passage in Seler (op. cit.) somewhat expanded and so jumbled such. Cf. in Molina (op. cit.), equall ([illegible] de [illegible]).

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the mountains. And in all places he gave all the names here.

And when he had done these things, then he went to reach the sea coast. Thereupon he fashioned a raft of serpents. When he had arranged [the raft], there he placed himself, as if it were his boat. Then he set off going across the sea. No one knows how he came to arrive there at Tlapallan.[7]

Here Endeth
the Third Book

altepetl: yoan quilmach much quiztotocaioti in tetepe. yoan novid novian tlatotocaiotitia yn njcan

auh in ie iuhqui yn eacito atēco, njman ie ic quichioa coatlapechtli, yn oquicencauhque vncan motlali, iuhqujnma yiacal ipan pouh, njman ie ic iatiuh atocotiuh aocac ontlamati in quenjn acito in vmpa tlapallan.

Nican tlantica
injc Ey amoxtli

7. There is great variation in legends and interpretations of the disappearance of Quetzalcoatl. In the *Anales de Quauhtitlan* (Lehmann, op. cit., pp. 78, 79-82), he went to the east to the end burned himself; his heart survived, rose to the heavens, and became the morning star. He said the star vanished for four days, while Quetzalcoatl was in the underworld; other eight days, the star reappeared. The version in Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 77) has Tezcatlipoca cast Quetzalcoatl from Chalchiu to Tlapacoya, or Tlilapan, where Quetzalcoatl died; his body was burned, and he became a star or comet. Durán (op. cit., pp. 75-6) relates that, on reaching the sea coast, Quetzalcoatl, at a single word, rose a mountain and entered it; cast a cape over the sea, made a ship with his hand, and sailed off; dried the sea with a blow of his staff and marched through with his people—the sea then engulfing the pursuers. In "La leyenda de los soles" (Codex Chimalpopoca), Quetzalcoatl (Ce acatl) is said to have undertaken a series of conquests (Ayotlan, Chalco, Cuitlan, Quauxtla, Huipantenco, Tlaquilan, Atlixco), and to have abdicated, died, and been burned or hidden at Tlapallan. (The passage cited is incomplete because of a lacuna in the original text.)

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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dic. pues ser casa muy buena, y
sabrosa, ya me sano, y quito la en
fermedad, ya estoy sano: y mas
otra vez le dixo el viejo. Señor,
bandelle otra vez, porque es muy
buena la medicina, y estaras
mas sano. Y el dicho quetzalcoatl,
hizo la otra vez de que se embo
rracho, y comenzo a llorar triste
mente: y se le movio, y ablan
do el corazon, para verse, y no se
le quito del sentimiento lo que
hizo, por el engaño, y burla,
que le hizo, el dicho ixtzomantli
o viejo. Y la medicina que be
bio, el dicho quetzalcoatl, era
vino blanco de la tierra: hecho
de magueyes, que se llaman tex
mul.

tlapia ixeveuetlacatl, ãnonoto
tzatzqui. auh iniquac ticalhe
cuepas, axcppa tipiltontli timu
chiocas. nimaxi icmoiolcuh in
Quetzalcoatl: auh inveuento ie
no axcppa quillui, tlacquic xoõ
miti, inpatli. nimaxi quito in
Quetzalcoatl veuentic ciamo
miquis. nimaxquillui inveuẽ
to, macaxocmmiti timotoli
mis, macannel nocp mixquac
xocontlatl motonal motolinis.
macanachito xocanmopalolti.
auh in Quetzalcoatl: nimaxi
cempalo achitlan: auh catepã
tel cenjc, nimaxi quito in Que
tzalcoatl: tlenj? cacenan, qualli,
incocolistli cacenpalo, campa
noia cocolli caocmo mixocoa,
nimaxi quillui inveuento, ca
occe xocenj caqualli inpatli ic
chicaoaz inmonacaxic, auh ni
maxi ic icxocappa ce cenjc, ni
maxi ic iuintic, inimaxi ic ic
chica velichelquica, ic mocan
moiolcuh in Quetzalcoatl. vnõ
tlapan injiollo. aocmocamilca
caoaia. zaje inquimatinenca
inquimatinemia velquiolma

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

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—After Paso y Troncoso

7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a rawhide shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sorcerer (Chapter IX).

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—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Roasting maize attracting the Tolteca (Chapter XI)
14. Quetzalcoatl in a drunken sleep (Chapter XIII)
15. Preparation of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
16. Burning of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
17. Conference with mourers of the youths, upon birth of a child (Appendix, Chapter IV)
18. Taking children to the young men's house (Appendix, Chapter V)
19. Tending fires in the song house (Appendix, Chapter V)

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APPENDIX

Comiença el apẽ
dix, del libro tercero

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[p. 38 is blank]

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HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.[1]

NICAN VMPEOA IN JANCA, INJC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN JMANJMAOĀ IN OMJCQUE. YOAN OC CEQUJ IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL.

775 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.[2]

The first place was there to the land of the dead[3] where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecacihuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

764 And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

[761] "My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth life on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

764 "And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee there—Acolmanacatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecacihuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath provided thee a seat. Lo, there is the abode of all of us; 775 there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

"For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings.[4] For

Injc ce capítulo: itechpa tlatoa yn imanjman in miquja in vmpa via mjctlan, yoan in quenja tocoia.

In juh qujmatia in nican tlaca in vevetque; yoan in tlatoque: ca in jxquichtin miquja. Eccan in vi, yn iquac miqoj.

Injc eccan vmpa in mjctlan, auh in vncan mjctlan, vncan onoc, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecacihuatl, yn icioauh mjctlã tecutli.

auh in vmpa vi, mjctlã ichoantin, in jxquichtin tlalmiqui, in çan coculiuzli ic miqui in tlatoque, in macoualti.

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihuatl, anoço piltõtli. auh injc quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in momiquiliaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc vezztoc, in çan oc xcaxtoc.

Nopiltzc oyhjual ticmomachiti, oticmocaviliti, omizzmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocencivan in tlalticpac, ca çan achizzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titoconio ca, çan ipaltzinco titimatico in totecujo.

. auh in ancan ca omizzalmanili in mjctlan tecutli, in Acolmanacatl in Tzotemoc, yoan in Mjctecacihuatl, ca omizzalmotemoni, ca omjzzalmocpalti, canel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocempopolivjian, vmpa tlalpetlaca, ca oncen onquiz,

ca ommomoviac in quenamjcac, ximoonian in viloonian, in apechqujacoioci, in ximcalocan, ca ocmo ceppa mitoch momecaepal tiechiouz, ca ocmo tiealla-

1. Tlacatecutl, in the future volume, is probably to be read *tlacatecuhtli*.
2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.
3. Although Sahagún invariably translates *mictlan* as *infierno*, the literal meaning is land or place of the dead.
4a. The terms *apechqujacoioci* and *ximcalocan* might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For elaboration see here and thereafter.

764 no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what
[775] thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou hast bereft and orphaned thy children and grandchildren. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

761 "My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force; apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy]
764 half-tortilla.[a] Take courage. Of what avail is what we say? Is it that [our lord] fetteth ill will toward us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our lord hath willed and commanded that he hath already fulfilled his office and reached his end here. What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth alone and awaiteth the commandment of our lord, be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy orphanhood.

764 "What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son, use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers and fathers have gone, they who well uttered and recounted their consolations and lamentations. And this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers and fathers have conveyed thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound the paper. And when they had prepared the paper adornment, thereupon they arrayed the dead one; they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl, and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and thereupon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped them round and round him and tied them firmly

mazia in mazica mocuepoteco, in macuji in matlac, ca ontiquimmejcacuahtoc, ontiquimmelacacuahtoc, in mapilhuan, in mocuiuan, ca ocmo tlacallamatin y çaçe quen popolivaque, ca motech tonacitivi, motech tonpachivivi, in macuji in matlac.

Auh inceuqui ic quitlaelahuiaia in mijcaua.

Nepiltze ma inquich xicmatili, ma inquich motlapal xicmochivili, ma xinochicaua, ma ticcauh yn atolcal, in tlapiqui, ma ximelaquaua, quemel tiquitaui, cuix çan aca ic techcocolia, cuix çan aca ic techquaoloa, ca oquimocuepaltiz oquimjollaui in tonçuiça, ca ic vncan ca inquiyah, ca ic vncã ca inconquiçaua, quen xonnochiua in ma oc achtzin ca in ma oc cemilhuitzintli conmotlaueviauj in tlalticpac.

Auh yuiqui tlacuelcaualt ommoua, onchichinaca in moiollotzin in momacaiotzin, : xmelcaual onttlaiocatica in vncan onelacuahtoc, in vncan ocontlaelchiuia in tonçuiça, tlacuele centlamjc xicommomachiti in jcnopilotl,

quemel timotlaiuia, nepiltze ma inquich motlapal, xicmochivili, ma xocuele inhuquiça tlacoolli tocontoloa, ca çan nican achtzin, ic techcaualtiviztze in moiollotzin, in momacaiotzin, ca nican popovi intlavi, in nanauel, in tatael, ca ottlamomahtiuetzi in tonçuiça, ca oinque in momoua in mitzua, in vel quimomaia in vel quipoaia in chaquaia, in itlaiaelatolli. auh ca ic inquiyah, injc mitzmotlaelahuiaia yn momoua, in matua tle tlamatcaiotli.

Nimoan quipatlachichivilia yn amatlamaque, in vevequi in machicque catca: yn amatl quimotzoia, quimocuepa quitlapoia. auh in aquimcuahque in amatlamaquji, nimoan ic ic quichichiua in mijquji, quicentetelhia, ixpan ommoua ail,

quilhuia. Inquiqui yn ocmomahmachico ino ic tlamaca tlalticpac.

auh nijnoi achi ommoua ommoua in ail, ommoua quilhuia.

Yacuqui injc tomolaoua,

nimoan iöc omaquja nimoan ic ic quipaquiaoua, quimomahquiaoua, quimomalhquia, quicacatilquia in mijquji nimoan ic quimomoua, in tomolaqui, auh in

[a] Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 295. This is the small AMS's version as given in Codex Matritensis.

about the dead one. Then they laid out his paper adornment in order. And when they had arranged it in order, then they gave it all to him. They placed it as an offering before him and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt pass there where the mountains come together.

"And behold how with this thou shalt pass the road which the serpent watcheth.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt pass the green lizard, the *xochiocuai*.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt cross the eight deserts.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt go over the eight hills.

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel the place of the obsidian-bladed winds."

For there, in that place, the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, it was said that all suffered much. By winds were all the obsidian blades, and stones, borne. And hence, when valiant men died, [their kin] burned all of their baskets with insignia, their shields, their obsidian-bladed swords, and all the things [which they had wrested from] their captives; and all their capes, and all their clothing of whatever sort.

Likewise, [if it were] a woman, all her baskets, her waist bands, her divided cords for holding up the textile, her skeins, her shuttles, her battens, her cane stalks, her combs—also all [this] burned with her.

It was said that they would encircle themselves [with these things] and thus be protected in the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, and not suffer greatly. And he who had nothing among his wretched belongings, who went here, underwent much pain and suffered much in order to pass the place of the obsidian-bladed winds.

And also they caused him to carry a little dog, a yellow one; they fixed about its neck a loose cotton cord. It was said that [the dog] bore [the dead one] across the place of the nine rivers in the land of the dead.

And when Mictlan tecutli was reached, he offered up all with which they had adorned the dead ones on earth—the ceremonial papers,[6] the pine incense burners, and bundles of canes [for perfume], loose cotton thread, and red cotton thread, or his cape

ocuetlamamacoque, ninoan ic cemmaca cectlamanili ixpan cōmana quilhuia. 764

Yxcuepj inic tonquiças in vncan tepetl iuamanquiça. 764

auh iccuepj ic itla tonquiças in vtli quiçia yn coatl. 775

auh iccuepj iqu itlan tonquiças, in xocuiocuai cuetzpalin in xochiocuai.

auh iccuepj ynic tocuiocuan chicuey ixtlauatl.

auh iccuepj ic tonquiças in chicue tilahcua.

Yxcuepj ic tonquiças in itzhecaian.

auh in vncan y, yztzhecaian, quil cenca netolinilo, mochi hecatoco in jtztli, yoan in xaltetl, auh ipampa in miquiça in oquichtin in jotlavizpetlacal yn jochimal, yn jumaquauh, yoã in iaquijchein ymalhoaua, yoã in iaquijch in itilma, yoan in jiquijch in tlein itlatlauqui, mochipan quitlaniaia;

ça ic no ivi in cihoatl in iaquijch in itma, in iaxnaia, yn iaocamamal, yn iquauhtl, yn ixtiuah in itzmoqua, in ivtlauh, yn itzqacuah yxtiquaua, no mochi ipã tlatla,

quilmach quimotemiltia, ic mehecatzacuilin yn itzhecatl, amo cenca motolinia. auh yn aq'n ale itlaquitzin içan iuh iauh, cica tlahçiowia cenca motolinia, inic quiça itzhecaian.

Auh yoã cemmi chichiuan quivicaltia ich in cuci, cocoxcacaia petonoqui icpatl, quilmach quipanavia chicuacuapan in mjctlan.

auh in iquac oconiaua in jtech mjctlan tecutli, quitlamamaca I tlahtiqueo in tlein quiquichichivilia mimiqueo in cvitatl, ocetlamamacti, yoan quiquipiolloia ocuquivitl, yoan petonqui, yoan chichilicpatl, ayo yztlina, amoqo yuantli. auh in cihoatl icue, ivipil. yoa

6. Reliefs showing it predecessor. In Seler's *Mixtec Codexes* (p. 200, n. 3) this is called: "[illegible]—Ceremonial, [illegible] Mixtec [illegible]—Aztec [illegible]."

764 or his breech clout. And a woman, her skirt [or] her
775 shift, and indeed all her clothing she had left they bound together.

And when eighty days [had passed], then they burned [them]. Likewise was this done after a year, and after two years, and after three years. And when four years had passed, [then was] the last time that they did [this].[5]

And all this, it was said, came to Mictlan tecutli. And when the four years had ended, thereupon [the dead one] went to the nine lands of the dead,[6] [where] lay a broad river.

There the dogs carried one across. It was said that whosoever came walking [to the bank] looked over to the dogs. And when one recognized his master, thereupon he came to throw himself into the water in order to carry his master across. Hence the natives took pains to keep the dogs.

And it was said that the white dogs and the black ones, those which were black, could not carry one over the river to the land of the dead. It was said that the white dog said: "I have just washed myself." And one which was black said: "I have just stained myself black." Only a yellow [one][7] could bear one across.

And there at the nine lands of the dead, the [dead] were completely destroyed.

764 And when it came to pass that [the old men] had ornamented [the dead one], then they took him to the fire. And first they slew the little dog; thereupon they burned [the dead one and the dog].

Two old women took great care of [the dead one]. And some of the women stayed singing. And when the body of [the dead one] already was burning, they took great pains with it, they kept packing it down. And the body crackled and popped, and smelled foul. And when it came to pass that they had burned it, thereupon they gathered and heaped up the coals. And they said: "Let him be bathed"; and thereupon they bathed him—they cast water upon him; they sprinkled and poured the water on him. When [the coals] grew cold, once more they gathered up the charred remains, and thereupon dug a round hole in which to place it—a pit, and this they called a cave.

in ic nauhchi itlehuayó, in oquicnehcoac nauhchi quiquimilos,

in iquac nappohualtica iquac tlatla, no ioh nauhtiuaia ya iquac ceximatica. yoan in iquac omatica, yoan in iquac icxiuhtica: auh in iquac nauhxiuhtica ça cen in conchion.

auh inin quihuach nauh itech onaci, in Mictlan tecutli: auh in ontzonquin nauhxiuiti, nimon ic ic ioah in chicuacuahxiquitlan, icac ui petlacac,

ic vacan in tepanavia chichime, quil in aquja aquiçaco iviz oalchia in chichi. auh in oquioalxitia ya itecujo nimon ic ic oalmocenxiavi in atlan inic quipanavia in itecujo, ipampa in nican tlaca cenca quimocuitiuia in chichime.

auh quil in intac chichi. yoã in tiltic, in tilica quil avel tepanavia ya mictlan, quil quiteo in iliac ca quin onocnocolaquequik. auh in tilica quiteo ca quin onomoçac, çan ye yio in coci vel tepanavia.

auh in vacan chicuacuahxiquitlan 9ci ocempopoliaca.

Auh in ic iohqui ya oquicnecuahque, nimõ ic quivica in tlem, yoan in chichiun achto cuamijctia, nimon ic ic tlatla,

cenca quimocuitlavia in tlalhoaque vacuaia, auh in cuquijnin tlalhoaque cujcatoque: auh in iquac ic tlatla inacaio cenca quimocuitlavia quinitlehuaq, auh in tonacaio, tontonioca, cuecuepoca, yoan tzaiaia: auh in ic Tlhoqui in ocontlaiique, nimõ ic ic cellohalia, quimopohualtilia in tlecochili. Yoan quijoa ma ontoalli, nimon ic ic calia cuauqja cuapachoa, cuapatzaca, in ocozcah, ic no cappa cellohalia in tecalli, nimon ic ic tlecuaca inoalic in quitlalia, tlecuacali,

5. Cf. also Seler: *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 1492. Offer gives the prices of the underworld were a false necessary bundle of cotton cloth, clothing, and a mask. Similar rites were performed for those who died far from home, or had been taken captive and sacrificed. Seler adds that if many fell in an expedition, the order prepared a public feast, in which there were singing and dancing in honor of the dead, and the burning of a ceremony bundle, gifts, and belongings of the dead. The feast lasted four days.

6. The nine lands or regions of the dead were thought of as arranged in nine, or layers, the ninth being the deepest. See Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, IV, pp. 178. The heavens likewise were in nine.

7. Red, according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 1492). See, however, *Mixtec Manual*, p. 206 (*yellow*).

Thereupon they swiftly filled the pit with the charred remains. There they covered it with earth.

And [this was done with] the noblemen as well as peasants.

When they had burned, they gathered and heaped up the bones, filling a small jar or small bowl [with them]. Upon the bones they laid a green stone. They buried [the bowl] in the house or the tribal temple [of the dead one].[9]

And where they buried [the ashes], they always laid offerings for them.

And when the chiefs and princes died, they laid in their mouths green stones.[9] And those who were only peasants [they provided] only a [common] greenish stone or [a piece of] chalchiuh. It was said that these became their hearts.

And the chiefs with many things they thus bedizened: their paper adornment which they made [was a] princely paper streamer of either four fathoms' or three fathoms' [length] of papers which they glued one to another. And upon it they hung various feathers—[those of] the heron and the trupial; dark yellow parrot breast feathers; the red arara; quetzal breast feathers; hawk feathers,[10] and yet other feathers.

And some were made [their] companions—the beloved slaves, perchance a score of the men and as many of the women. Then they said that they were those who cared for their master, and still made chocolate and prepared food for him. And the men they sent as servants, likewise to care for him in the land of the dead.

And when the chief already burned, thereupon they slew the slaves, driving only bird arrows through their throats. They did not burn [with] the chief. Quite separately they buried the slaves, and quite alone the chief burned.[11]

ynjn qujtocaiotia ozteol njman ie ic contentiquetza in teculli, tlatatacoli vncã contoca. 764

auh yoan in pipilti, yoan in macoxoltin,

yn iquac otlatlaque, quipepena quiccnquiztia in jmomio, contõco, xoxouco quiccntiquetza, in omitl ipan coxtlalia chalchivitl, quitoca ichan icalpoka.

auh in vncan qujtoca muchipa qujntlamanilia.

Yoan in iqẽ i miquia in tlatoque, yoan in pipilti qujntololtiaia chalchivitl. auh in çan macoxoltl, çan tezoxoctli, anoço itztli, quilmacia iniollo muchioa. 764 766

auh in tlatoque injc tlamantli, injc qujnchichioa, yn amatlacquitl quichioaia tecpantil anoço nãmotl, anoço itõmatl, amatl quiçaçaloa. yoan itech quipipiloa, in nepapan ihujtl, azatl çaquan, xollotl, cueçali, tziuhtli, cuizihujtl, yoan oc cequi ihujtl. 766

auh cequjntin tevicaltí muchioa in tlatlacotzitzintin, aço cen tecpantli yn oquichtli, no izqui i cihoatl auh quitoaia in quenjn oqujmocuitlavique in jntecujo, yn oc achiviliaia, yn oqu izlaqual chiviliaia, auh in oquichti qujntiitlani, çan no auh quimocuitlavizque in mjctlan:

auh in iquac ie tlatla tlatoanj, njman ie ic qujmomjctia in tlatlacoti, çan totomjtl in quechtlã conaquia, amo yoan tlatla in tlatoanj, çan nonqua qujntoca in tlatlacoti, çan vel yioca tlatla in tlatoanj.

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "se ponían *carbones de su suerte*."

10. See Pl. 10. Quetzalchiuhtzin means literally, "made them swallow."

11. *Kidlach* cf. Sahagún (Bulmarda ed.), III, p. 149. See also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 299, n. 1: "*Verwandlich verschrieben statt 'ché' in rotes Holz.*" Tlatlacoti and cuauhtlacoti are identified in the same place in the text.

12. Vaillant (op. cit., pp. 101 ff.) then describes the funeral ceremonies for a chief: Neighboring towns were notified of the death, and the ceremonies were scheduled usually for four or five days hence. Chiefs of nearby towns brought gifts (mantles, feathers, cloth). The body of the deceased was wrapped in mantles and adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. A green stone was laid in the mouth, or heart. Hair was cut from the crown of the head of the deceased and kept in a wooden box with a painting of the god (ceremonial); a slave was killed in honor of the god. On the ceremony benches were placed the ceremonies of the god. A solemn procession, including neighboring chiefs, relatives, friends, wives of the deceased, and dancing priests marched (without beating of drums) to meet other priests at the temple. At the foot of the pyramid, they ignited the pyre of wood and some incense. As the body burned, as many as one or two hundred slaves were sacrificed in the usual manner, and burned in another pyre. These were household slaves (including dwarfs, jesters, and the like) and others presented by visiting dignitaries. Next day, the ashes were gathered, along with the remaining hair previously cut. Friends, relatives, and wives laid offerings before the box. There were four days of such ceremony, after which fifteen or twenty more slaves were sacrificed, since, it was thought, the soul of the deceased had undertaken its travels and was in need of aid. Other slaves—up to a dozen or so—were later killed at the end of twenty, forty, sixty, and eighty days. Yearly thereafter, for four years, quail, rabbits, birds, and butterflies were offered before the box, along with incense, food, cotton, flowers, and some of tobacco. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing.

[p. 44 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

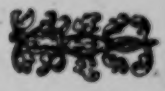

[Second Chapter][1]

775 The second place [where] they went [was] there to Tlalocan. And in Tlalocan all prospered greatly; all enjoyed much wealth. Never did one suffer. Never was there lack of ears of green maize, [nor] squash, squash blossoms, heads of amaranth,[2] green *chilis*, tomatoes, green beans, [nor] the Tagetes flower.

Injc vecan vilos vmpa in tlalocan. auh in tlalocan cenca netlamachtilo, cenca necuiltonolo, aic mihjiovia, aic polivi in elotl, in aiotetl, yn aiomochquilitl, in ouhtzontli, in chilchotl, i xitomatl, yn ezotl, in cempoalxochitl:

And there dwelt the Tlaloca, who were like priests, the long haired ones;[3] who were like the fire priests.

auh vmpa nemj in tlaloque, iuiqꝫe in tlamacaque, pāpaoaque, iuhque in tlenamacaque catca:

766 And there went those who had been struck by thunderbolts, and those who had been submerged in the water, and those who had died in the water. And those who were leprous, or affected by venereal sickness, or by boils, or by the itch, or by sores, or by the gout; and those full of tumors, [those] they took [there], and those swollen by the dropsy,[4] [who] thus died.

auh in vmpa vi ichoantin ic viteco, yoā in ilaquilo, yoan in atlan miqui, yoan ichoantin in teococoxque, yoan in nanaoati, yoan in xochicivi, yoan in xirjioti, yoan in papalani, yoan in coacivi, yoan in popoçaoliztli quinvica, in teponaoacivi ic miquj,

These, when they died, they did not burn, but only buried. They applied liquid rubber to their faces; and with fish amaranth [paste] they covered their cheeks; and they colored their foreheads blue [with blue papers]. And they gave them [each] a paper lock of hair at the back of the head. Mountain images they placed before them. And they placed paper capes over them, and in their hands they placed for them large staves of wood.

in ichoān jn, yn iquac miqui, amo tlatla, can quintocaia, quimixolviaia, yoan michiouhtli, incamapan conpachoua, yoan quimjxquaxexoviaia, yoan quinahamacuexpaltiaia, tepeiotl, in quintdaliliaia yn imixquac: auh amatl in quinqueqentiaia, yoan inmac quintequiliaia ozopil quavitl:

775 And so they said that in Tlalocan all is ever green, always in growth, always spring; it is always spring time.

iuh quiioa in tlalocan, muchipa tlaclia, muchipa tlatzmolini, muchipa xopantla tlazopīmamanj.

1. Chapter heading is omitted in the Mexicanl version.
2. Quelemecatl. Sahar (Glosse Kapitel, p. 300) has cuauhtlacatl (Rosenbach). The corresponding Spanish text has cuanino de Abdar.
3. Sahagún version (Bulmalo ed., II, p. 321): "Cuando nacia el sabor o rey, para elegir sus sacerdotes los nombraban que llamaban tlacatecqui, y también los elegia del pueblo que llamaban tlalmamalehuiz; y también los capitanes, soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamaban yaomiquiqui, y otros capitanes que eran principales en los casos de la guerra, y también los ebrogos que llamaban tlamacazqui o papaquaqui."
4. Identification of diseases is problematical. Sahar (loc. cit.) has sickness of the genitals for *ainjioti*, skin diseases for *papalani*, inflamed sores which did not heal for *coacivi*, swelling of the body for *papaqualiztli*, and indurations diseases for *teponaoacivi*.

[p. 46 is blank]

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Third Chapter, in which are recorded those who went to heaven.

The third place to which they went was there to the home of the sun, in heaven. Those went there who died in war, either, verily, those who died then in battle, to be despoiled there on the battlefield, where they breathed their last, where fate overtook them, or else [those who] were brought home that later they might die [as sacrifices]. Perchance [one such] was slain in gladiatorial sacrifice, or cast into the fire, or shot with arrows, or slain with pointed canes, or fought with and slain, or covered with resinous wood [to which they laid fire]. All [these] went to the home of the sun.

It was said that they dwelt where was only a place like a plain; when the sun burst forth and arose, then they shouted and cried out to it and struck their shields together. And he whose shield was pierced in perhaps two or three places could well look at the sun. And he whose shield nowhere was pierced could in no wise see the sun nor look into its face. And there, where dwelt those slain in war, [were] the *magueyes*, the thorny shrubs,[1] and clumps of mesquites. And all offerings which [the living] offered them—these they could receive; these could reach them.

And when four years had gone by, then they were changed into birds of precious feather—humming birds, flower birds,[2] yellow birds blackened about the eyes;[3] chalky butterflies, feather-down butterflies, large varicolored butterflies,[4] which sucked [honey

Jnic ey capítulo, vncã motenecoa in aquijque via ilhujcac.

Injc Excan viloa: vmpa in ichan tonatiuh ilhujcac, ichoantin vmpa vi, in iaomiquí, in anoço vel vncan ijman miquj iaoc, in iapaniocan, in vncan quinnamoia, vncã ihiotl, quiça, vncan ii ..equjuh vetzi, yn anoço çan calaquilo, i çatepan miquizque. Yn aço oaoano, aço tlepantlaxo, aço tlaxchvilo, aço teoconvilo, anoço cacalioa, anoço ocopotonjlo, muchintin vi in tonatiuh ichan,

quil çamonoque, in canin iuhcan ixtlaoacan, in iquac in oalmomana in oalquiçaia tonatiuh, nimã quicauatza, coiovia, muchimalhuitequj, auh in aquijn ichimal, in aço vneca, anoço iexcan tlamiztli vncã vel quitta in tonatiuh. auh in aquijn acan tlamintli ichimal, avel quitta in tonatiuh, avel ixco tlachia, auh yn vmpa onoq, in iaomjcque nequameti, tzivactli, mizquitla; auh in jxquich yn venth in quinmanilia, vel quitta vel itech aci.

auh in iquac onauhxiuhtique, ijmã ic mocuepa, tlaçotocome, huitzizilti, xochitototi, totocoztli, mixtetlilcomolo, tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl, xicaltecoopapalotl, tlachichina in vmpa in monoian. yoan in ijcan

1. *Tzinacán*: according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, p. 56), it is probably a thorny plant found in the Chichimec highlands; he cites Hernández to identify it as a cactus with cylindrical stem. "It is, therefore, the national weapon in the land of the god of the Otomí."
2. *Xochitototi*: Simeón (*op. cit.*) identifies it as a *cuauxal*—a bird of yellow throat, breast, and stomach. Sahagún (Bulmalo ed., III, p. 184) calls it an "*ave como flor: tiene la garganta, y el pecho, y la barriga amarillos, como flor muy amarilla: tiene en la cara negro color: tiene la cabeza y espaldas y las alas y la cola, entrelaçadas de negro y blanco: tiene las pias negras.*"
3. Cf. Seler: *Einige Kapitel*, p. 302.
4. The butterflies are then described in Seler, *loc. cit.*, and *Collected Works*, IV, p. 62. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 214) mentions *xicalpapalotl*: "*son muy grandes de diversos colores.*"

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from the flowers] there where they dwelt. And here upon earth they came to suck [honey] from all the varied flowers—the *erythrina corallodes*,[5] the *cuvelinea principe*,[6] the *collimedra*.[7]

tlalticpac oalhui in quiouelchichina, in jaquich nepopan xochitl in equimijtl, anoço tzompanquauitl xilohxochitl, tlacomilohxochitl.

5. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, Pt. 1-2, p. 53, Pt. 3-4, p. 174; and Bishop Rapistel, p. 302. He says equimitl is the leaf of the tzompanquauitl, the *erythrina corallodes* or *coralliodendron*. Apparently it was used magically; cf. Sahagún, Lib. IX, caps. iii-iv, and Seler's translations of the Nahuatl text in Sahagún (Robredo ed., V, p. 234). Sahagún (Robredo ed., III, p. 277) writes: "Hay también unos árboles que se plantan en las huertas que se llaman tzompanquauhtl; es árbol muchoso, tiene mucho aparadas, tiene la cara colorada y de buen parecer; tiene unas flores que se llaman equimitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y se tienen allí alrededor; las hojas de este árbol se llaman equimitl."

6. Cf. Seler, Bishop Rapistel, loc. cit. In *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, pp. 133-3, he defines it as "palo de cruz" (name in Chiapas), "cabello de ángel" (*cuvelinea collimedra*). The former is *bonelia equatorum* Z. Seler as *cuvelinea principe* L. fil. Seler believes *xilocochitl* is a name given two distinct flowers. Sahagún (op. cit., III, 276) describes them as "colorados y a manera de hojas dorladas; tienen en sus hojas que se llaman xilocochitl; no son olorosas, pero son muy hermosas." See also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, cap. xxviii.

7. Cf. Seler, op. cit., pp. 174-5. This passage is colored to suit in the song chanted every eight years when vessel vessels were sown. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, pp. 136, 140 ff.; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, p. 212.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

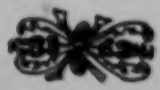

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Fourth Chapter, in which it is related how the common folk left their sons in the young men's house, and what customs existed there in the young men's house, so that all were trained and reared.[1]

When a boy was born, then they placed him in the priests' house or the young men's house. That is to say [the parents] promised [the child], gave him as a gift, and brought him as an offering to the temple of the priests' house in order that [the boy] become a priest, or a young [warrior].

If he entered the young men's house, [the parents] promised him to it; they prepared drink and food. They summoned, assembled, and addressed the leaders of the young men. They who had sons [thus] prepared. They said:

"Our lord, savior and protector of all, hath been pleased to place you here. For here you know and are told that our lord hath given [us one like] a precious stone, a quetzal feather. For a child hath come down [to us. Perhaps] he will have that which he hath need of that he may mature. Already he [is like] a jewel. Shall we perchance lay in his hand a spindle and a weaving stick? [For] he is yours; he is your child, your son.

"It is by your grace that we place him [among] your beloved sons, that you may rear, and train, and make of him a brave man of war, raising him to serve our mother and our father, Tlalocatli and Tonatiuh.

"And now to him we dedicate [the boy]—to the shadow and the wind, the lord, the young [god], Yaotzin, Titlacauan, Texcatlipoca.[2] Perchance our lord may sustain him a little.

"We leave him [with you that] he may become a young [warrior]; that he may dwell there in the house of penance, of weeping, of tears—the young

Inic nauj capítulo: vncá mjtoa, in quenjn macehualtin, qujmocaxnia in inpilhoan yn vmpa telpuchcalli, yoan in quenjn tlamanja vmpa telpuchcali in juh xencaltilnia necapacaloa.

In iquac ołacat piłtontli njmá caquja yn calmecac, in anoço telpuchcalli, quimanequi, quimotlalia, vmpa quivecchioa, quivemana in teupan in calmecac inje tlamacazqui ica, yn anoço telpuchcali.

Jatla telpuchcali caquja, quinotlalia quicícaoa, in ací in tlaqualli, quinnotza quicentlalia, quintlatlauhtia in telpuchtlatoque, tlatlacatlauhtia in pilnaque. Quitoa,

Ca ojcan amechcalmotlalilia in totecujo in tloque nauaque. A ca ojcan anquimocuilia anquimocaquitia, ca oquimocaccvili in totecujo ce cuecatl quetzalli, a, amecavi piltontli, avia nelle axcan motetzaoaltiaxqui, ic peioctzintli, cuix malacatl tzotzopantli, ynac tictequilinque, ca amacatzin, ca amoconetzin, ca amopilzin,

amocacaxtzico, amomamaloaztzinco tocuetlalia ca amopilhoaxtzinzin, ca titlacacaltia, ca antlacaopana, ca anquanchioa, amocelochioa, anquitlacaopavilia, in tonan in tota in tlalocatli tonatiuh.

auh in axcan ca ivic tiquijtoa in iovalli in chocatl in tlacatl in telpuchtli in iootzin in titlacauan in Texcatlipoca, aço achitzin quimotocatilia in ichoatzin totecujo,

ticcaoa telpuchtzin, vmpa nemin in tlamacoculiocali, yn chaquincali, yn jaiocali, in telpuchcali, in vncá

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1. Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), II, pp. 179ff., says they were taken to the telpuchcalli (as well as the calmecac) at the age of fifteen. He cites *Codex Mendoza*, Plates 55 ff. All were for three years of instruction (religious, good manners, good behavior). All who attended, he says, continued—unlike going to our type, commencing to another. Some trained children, some youths, and some girls. The sons were segregated. Men remained until the age of twenty or twenty-two, women until seventeen or eighteen. Attaining his majority, by his request or by arrangements made by his parents, a youth left this training to marry. Men usually followed their fathers' occupations.

The telpuchcalli, according to Cruz (op. cit., p. 70) prepared the young men for war. Discipline was less severe than in the calmecac and education less intensive. Torquemada (op. cit., pp. 238-31) indicates a similar amount of laxity.

Clavigero (loc. cit.) and Torquemada (op. cit., p. 67) agree that girls were raised in seclusion and had no contact with boys or men. They slept and they worked only under the supervision of old women. They were taught how to address their elders with respect. Specifically, Clavigero mentions temple duties (sweeping, offering of incense three times during the night, preparing food for the idols), weaving and other womanly arts and general preparation for marriage. Torquemada mentions some of the punishments for misbehavior.

2. Texcatlipoca was the patron of the telpuchcalli and the education of warriors (Cruz, op. cit., p. 37). Cf. also Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 238-31.

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men's house, where live and are formed the brave men of war; where they pour forth prayers and petitions for our lord.[3]

"And there he instructeth them and giveth them gifts; there he showeth them his compassion. The [reward of] the soldier, the warrior,[4] he giveth those who weep and suffer. From there our lord causeth them to come forth. They guard and protect [those who] rule[5] [us, there] in the house of learning of him our lord.

"And perchance for us who weep and are in anguish, perchance, if it be our reward and our lot, he may [grow in] perception and ripen. Perchance this may not be—O unhappy we, unfortunate old men and women.

"Or you may indeed receive and take him; let him follow; let him learn where the sons of others wax strong and grow—those orphans of luckless leaders in war."

And behold how [the others] answered and replied. They said:

"Lo, put your hearts at rest, for here we have heard [on behalf of] our lord, the master, the young [god], the shadow and wind, Yaotzin. For it is to him that you pray and to whom you call; it is to him that you offer your jewel, your quetzal feather, the flesh of your flesh. For it is our office only to take and accept what you offer our lord. We have only listened [for him].

"What may our lord wish and require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? Truly, we who are afflicted, who are vassals, we speak in darkness. Our lord, savior and protector of all, Piltzintli, knoweth in what wise [your son] hath been bedight and instructed in the place of darkness [before all time]—what he was girt with and what he brought forth when he was born; and what his day sign is; and finally on [what day sign] he hath been bathed [in baptism]; and what the lot and reward of the child [will be].

"Verily is it said that we, his servants, may only imagine [these things. But] not out of nothing do they later come to pass on earth. For we cause bring-

ioli tlacati in quauhtin in occlo in vncan intillan, intoxcatlī mīmaiaoxan in totecujo.

auh yn vncan motetzinnachilia in vncan motetlamamaquilia, in vncan motecnoittilia in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl quijnmonaquilia in chocani, in tlaocoiani, in vncā quijnmoquixtilia in ichoatzin to.[6] in petlatl, yn icpalli quipachoa in quipia, in itlaiximachoan ichoatzin totecujo.

auh injn cujx tichocanj, cujx titlaocoianj, cujx itla tolvil, tomaceual, cujx tlachiaz, muzcaliz? acaçomo, omuchiuh ototlavelitic in ticnoveveztque, in ticnoilamatque,

manoço nelli xjcmocelilica, manoço xiqualmanilica, ma quijmontoca ma quijmonmati yn izcaltilo, in capaoalo, in tepilhoan, auh ic ichoantin in jcnotepilhoan, in jcnoquaulstin yn jcnoocelo.

Auh izcatquj injc quicuepaia tlatolli, injc tlanaquiliaia qujtoaia.

O tla canhquj in amoiollotzin, a ca nican tictotlacaqvililia in totecujo, in tlacatl in telpuchtli in ioalli in checatl in iavtzin, a, ca ichoatzin in anqujmotlatlauhtilia, in anquijmonochilia ca ichoatl yn anquijmomaquilia in amocozquj in amoquetzal, in amotlatlacatilil, ca çan tequijtl ticcuj, ticcana yn anquijmomaquilia in totecujo, ca çan tictotlacaquililia,

quen ic quijnonequilitica. auh quen quijnonequjlilitica in ichoatzin totecujo, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal, ha nelli mach in tinentlamati in timacchoalti, hathaioouian in titlatoa, quen ic quijmonachililitica in totecujo, in tloque nacaque, in piltzintli, quē chichioaloc, quen naoatiloc, in iooaian, tle ic apanaloc, tleh quioalitquijtia, yn iquac motlacatili: auh tle itonal, auh iequene tle ypan malti tle yn imaceual in piltzintli, tle yn jilhujl,

ha nelli mach, in tictonenpiquilia in timacchoalti, cuix mo haca quijn tlatlicpac mochichioua, ha njmā

3. *Intellim, intonatlī mīmaiaoxan.* In Lib. VI of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 261, the phrase *intellim intonatlim* equals in explicit; cf. corresponding Spanish text in Sahagún, Robredo ed., p. 247. Cf. also *mimaiani* and *mimaiaoxan* in Simeon, *op. cit.* Later in the present chapter the passage *intellim intonatlim* [illegible] and it is perhaps permissible to take the two passages as similar. *Intonatlī* literally might have been interpreted, See Chap. VII.

4. *Ocelopetlatl, quappetlatl.* Cf. Lib. VI, fo. 262 v. Corresponding Spanish text in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 248, reads: ". . . *hay soldados y hombres valerosos de guerra, que sacaban por su defensión.*"

5. *Pilhuj, tepilli.* Cf. Andrés de Olmos, *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875) pp. 214, 221; Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Simeon, *op. cit.* (*pilhuj*).

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ing [our fortune]; from the place of darkness it cometh forth as our property.

"And [as for] this one: may he enter into the service of the god,[6] in the casting to one side [of rubbish], or the task of laying fires. May he pour forth praises to our lord, the shadow and wind.

"May he remain up here in the light with whatever favors he hath come clothed in, with whatever hath been given him, with whatever he hath been adorned in the place of darkness [before all time]. Perchance, in truth, now and here our lord will offer [these] to him. Perchance all will be lost. Mayhap it is our fate and our lot that, perchance, only for a little time the sun may make him grow. Maybe he will arrive to join him. Mayhap he will move and enter into the arms of the sun.[7]

"And how may we now speak and hearten you? We may not say, 'In this wise will this be; this one will be thus; this one will do so; this one our lord will transform, and thus will he be; he will be someone; he will attain honor; he will walk the earth.'

"And mayhap it will not be our lot and fate that he may live wallowing in dust and filth and living in sin; possibly he may die stoned or cast into a pond; men may mock him for taking after the women of others. Or else he may always be in misery and pain.

"Let us raise and nurture the children; let the word and command to motherhood and fatherhood be given. Perchance in him we may enclose and set in place our hearts; and also you [may do so] whose jewel and precious feather he is.

"And now, may you bring about that, with prayers, weeping, and tears, you may not, being asleep, be neglectful. Call out now in your anguish to the savior and protector of all [that you may learn] what he requireth of us and how he speaketh."

tiquinquitivizze, ha ajmaa iooiampa totlaquj oalitiuh.

auh in y, manoço itlan onaquj yn vchpanouztli in tlacaicuilistli, in chico tlamacac tlatequilistli: auh in tletlalilistli, manoço ixillan iooacalan onmdmaiavi in totecujo, in iooalli yn ehecatl,

ma vncan panj tlaneztian oalmotlali in quenami ynemac, injc mdpantivitz, in quenamj omacoc, injc ochichioalec in iooajan aço nelle axcan vncan conmanilis in totecujo, aço inquitzin cõnopolhuiz, aço tolhujl, acaço tomaceoal a cujx noço vel achitzin qujoallaliz in tonatiuh, cujx noço caxitiz in nepã Cujx noço vel contlaçaz, vel conaquiz in mavic in tonatiuh.

auh yn axcã quenami tiquitozque, cujx tamqchtoiollalilizque, a cujx toconitozque iuhquj iez, y, iehoatl iez, y, iehoatl qujchioaz, y, iehoatl quicuepaz, y, in totecujo. iuhquj iez. y, hitlatiz, panvetziz, nemiz in tlalticpac.

auh acaço tle tolhujl tomaceoal, aco teuhtli, tlaçolli, ic milacatzotinemiz in tlalticpac, aço teco mjc, tecatic maiaviz, ai tecue, tevipil tepancanaz quimaviltiz, auh anoço icnoiotl teupouhqui, cococ qujtatinemjz,

ma titlacazcaltia, ma titlacaoapaoa ma quiça in cententli, in cencamatl yn nanjotl, in taiotl. Cujx ijtic toocalaquizque, toiollo tocontlalilizque: auh no yui in ticonque, in tiquetzale.

auh in azca manoçoc ic xonmoietztie in tlatlauhtli, in choquiztli, in ixaiotl ma amoonmotlacochaviliti, ma oc xocõnotlaocalnonochilitinencã in tloque naoaque, quen techmonequillilia, quen quimitalhuja.

6. Pelpamouiti in tlacaicuilistli. Cf. tlachpanouiztli, tlacaicuilistli, in Lib. VI, fo. 207 v, where the sense is to enter the service of the god or of a noblemen.

7. Meaning of this passage, as well as others equally figurative, is problematical.

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[p. 52 is blank]

874 **Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the customs which** they practised and observed in order to live there, where they were reared and ripened [in] the young men's house.

And when he entered the young men's house, then [the leaders] charged him with sweeping [of the house] and with the laying of fires. And then they had him begin the penances. When there was singing at night (which was called song with dance), there he consorted with the others, he danced with the others. With the others there was conversation; songs were composed.

And when [he was] yet an untried youth,[1] then they took him into the forest. They had him bear upon his back what they called logs[2] of wood—perchance now only one, or, then, two. Thus they tested whether perhaps he might do well in war when, still an untried youth, they took him into battle. He only went to carry a shield upon his back.

And when [he was] already a youth, if mature and prudent, if he was discreet in his talking, and especially if [he was] of good heart, then he was made a master of youths; he was named *tlacatecatl*. And if he became valiant, if he reached manhood, then he was named ruler of youths (*telpochtlato*). He governed them all; he spoke for all the youths. If one [of them] sinned, this one judged him; he sentenced [the youths] and corrected them. He dealt justice.

874 701 And if he was brave, if he took four [captives], then he attained [the office of] commanding general,[3] general,[4] [or] chief.[5] And also [in these days] one rose to be called constable.[6] Today it is the same, and he is known as *alguacil* [or constable], he who

Injc. 5. capítulo: inchpa tlamo intlamatilis, yajc vncan xenca, in quichiouia in quimoquipanoua yn vncã mocalchiuia mocopanoua telpuchcali.

Auh in iquac ocalac in telpuchcali, nimaui vel quitequitia in tlachpanalli, in tletlahiliztli. auh ninoan conpanahia in tlamacxalintli: yn iquac cujco iocaltica (in mjtoa: cuicoanolo), vncan tehoan nenj, tehoan mjtoaia, itehoan mjtoa cujcojaiaia.

auh in ie telpuchtentli, njmaa quivica in quauhtla, quimamalaia, in quilhuja mimilinhequj quauitl, aço çan oc centeti, anoço nimaan vncan centi ic quijcicoa, yn aço ie vel aciz iaoc, in ie vel telpuchtlacatentli, quivica in iaoc, çan oc chimalli in quimamatiuh.

auh jn ie vel telpuchtli, intla moncalia, intla mimati, in tlamelaoac. auh oc cenca ichoaxi intla icnoio yiollo, njmaa tachcauhtlalilio, tecuiotilo, Tlachcauh, auh intla ovelmacic oquijchtli, intla oc cenca moncalia, nimaan tecuiotilo Telpuchtlato, quijcenpachoa, quijncĕtlatallhuja im inquijchain telpuchtin, in oc tlatlacoa, ichoaxi quitlazonotequilia, q'tlatlazonotequilia, quijetlatlalilia, quichiua Justicia:

auh intla oquichti intla navi mani, vncan quiça in tlacatecatl, in tlacochcalcatl, in quauhtlato: auh no vncan quiça, in quilhuja achcauhtli, yn oncan ipan pevi, ipan mamati in alguaçil, in tapile, ca no iaxcto-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a los quinze años*."
2. Mitolinkiqui' *quauitl*: literally, wooden needle.
3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, p. 114, n. 13. The corresponding Spanish text here: "*capitan, y governador al postrero*." Sahagún, in *Biblioteca Mexicana*, p. 343, translates *tlacatecatl* as lord of the dwellings, and in *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 2, pp. 60-61, describes him as an officer of justice, a manager, a military organizer—officers given for life by the rulers, other which they reverted to the house. He also says *tlacochcalcatl* is the same as *tecuhtli*. Durán calls him "*gobernador, o comandante, o como capitan diremos*" (op. cit., p. 134). Sahagún (op. cit.) defines it as "*Otro semejante en cabdillo subcomandante que ayuda [sic] quando [sic] quieren capitan o le quieren; no demanda cuenta en tiempo de guerra; no demanda cuenta en tiempo de Reyes Romanos, capitan alguacil*" (Lib., Cap.).
4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, loc. cit. Sahagún, in *Biblioteca Mexicana*, translates *tecuhtli* as lord of the upper house, and in *Collected Works*, loc. cit., identifies him as the same as the *tlacatecatl*. He adds that four chiefs held the highest office, dividing the four main divisions of the Mexican tribe, and formed the king's special council; these were the *cuauhtlatoque*, the *tlacochcalcatl*, the *tlacatecatl*, and the *tlilancalqui*. Sahagún (op. cit.) defines the *cuauhtlatoque* as "*Maestros, pues no sentian ofensa*," and then as "*gobernador, capitanes*."
5. Sahagún (op. cit.): "*Un dignidad como la cabeza que ayuda [sic] quando [sic] quieren capitan o le quieren o demanda por su [sic] le ofend de sus pues* [S.-A.]."
6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*uno como capitan alguacil, y tenia cuna gente, y presidia a los delinquentes, y los juzgaba en la carcel*."

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beneath a staff. For also [in times past] they had staves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

pil canca, yoan in ça ic ichoantin in ontelpiaia, in quanhcaico ontetlaliaia,

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

yxquich y, in jnpanetzilia, in inpanechilia in telpupuchti.

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And in this way of life, few showed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriers]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

auh injn nemiliztli amo çan quezquichtin in ipan nenca, in ipan mouapaonia, amo çã tlapoalti in motocaiotiaia telpupuchti, ipampa ca çan njmã amo tecoco in jnnemiliz in telpupuchti, ca in oc pipiltontzi, vacan cencochi in quilhuja telpuchcali vncan cemanoque.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud[7] [for adobes, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

auh in aquin poliuja, in amo telpuchcalco cochi, quitlamacujtiaia, yoan inchan ontlaqua. auh cemolinhtiui in campa tlein quichioa, in aço pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, quichioa, metquitini, anaço motzacloa. auh quauhtla uj, concuj, cotmama in quilhuia cuicatlamilli:

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but nap—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

auh i ça achi tonatiuh quicaoa in tlein quichioa, njman mocencaoa, muchichioa, achtopa mahaltia, njman mõça, amo no quilhuja in inxaiac nima mococaoia.

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The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.[8] Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they pasted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted maguey fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shown ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

Yn oquichtin in tiacaoan, vevej chipoli in quijnocoacatia, anaço teucujtlaconcatl, motlacuechmanilia, motlacoxcimanilia, njman mõchio, mjtonia motlilxotia hapetzili ic conpotonja, in jnechiol, monacochtia, mozixjuhnacochtia, mozxaia, mochalcacatia, ynjn chalcaiotl tlamalintli in jcpal, tlatlalpiti, inhquja mallati cillo, in tlaxque teucujtlacillo in jochalcaiauh, in quaquachicti inchalcaiauh mjtoa xonocoio, ynic mjtoa xonocoio, vevey pupul in iatch ynjpipilca ixpanol,

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When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

yn iõc ic onaqui tonatiuh njman tlexca in quilhuja cujcacalco, tlehquaxco in tlettlalia telpupuchti, in ic tlaxnaqui, nimaxo peualo in cujco, muchi tlacatl

7. The word pelolli, as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make adobes.
8. In Bierge Kingsbol (p. 300, n. 1), Seler offers a variant for [illegible] and [illegible]. Cuemitl and [illegible], however, may be warriors' garments, or have translated.

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until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in those times they covered themselves with nothing else. All thus danced, wrapped only in netted capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

ninjoxia, inquijchica yn oquix iocalli xelini, yn oonquix iocalocpantlis. [835]

auh ninman ninc tle quimakaloania, in inquijch ic netotilo, çaçyio in necoloçio chalcoiaol, haçan nel iahqui petlauhtoinenca, [842]

yn oquix cuicatl, ninman cecemanoa, mantla yui, mantla yui, in centlaxilacalti, motequitivi vmpa ocochi in jacochia, injn telpuchcali.

auh in ic vel oquichcin in ic quinimati tlaticpaiaol, vmpa omocochi in jumecaua. [836]

[p.56 is blank]

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Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,[1] or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].[2] Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

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And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

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When the masters of the youths had consented,[3] when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his home.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals[4] were taken thence. Lords and mar-

Injc. 6. capitralo: vncan motenoa in tetlatzacuiltilizti, in tetlamaceoaltilizti, ynjc quintlatzacuiltiaia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaoanaia.

Injc nezcaltiloia telpuchcali, cẽca necujtlavilo, in nechpanoaztli, njman aiac quja in vetli.

auh in je vel oqujchti, I ie chicaoaque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vetli, cenca motlatiaia, çan nj.nan amo teixpan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quexq'ch in quja,

auh intla itoia haca telpuchtli tlaoana, in itto in ai vetlica namjco, anoço vetztoc anoço quica, anoço cana teoan tlaoantica itto, njman ica necentlalilo, ica nenechicolo:

auh ica mavizti vetzi, intla çan maceoalli, anoço ça can aquja, teixpan vivitoco, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miquj, anoço mecatl quiiecultia.

auh intla tlaçopilli ichtaca qujmecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchti ohome, ieey in jnmecaoan oncatca, aço ce vel ichã in ca, aço quezqujntin chaiaoatoque. auh in iquac quilhuja motelpuchtlali, tlaxtlaoa injc qujntlalcavia in telpupuchti quachtli, quicaoa aço matlactli, aço cemipilli in mocuiltonoa,

yn oanque in tachcaoan in oquimacauhque njmã (mitoa) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cihuatl conana in ichan quijpia.

auh in moecalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaoa telpuchiotl, cenca fcã veveti in telpuchpan; auh yiolloclama in tlatoanj, qujnaoatia,

auh amo cenca mjecpa in telpuchpan anoço in tecuti, çã tlatlacatecca, tlatlacochcalca, achcacauhti yn

1. Quizás probablemente cosas de amores. Sabin, in *Biblia Hispana*, p. 340, translates the Nahuatl as *ante gregarios*—"was filled with filth."
2. Sabin, op. cit., p. 340, n. 1, says of *quauhtica vetzi quauhtica miquj*: "Perhaps *vete quauhtica vetzi, quitica vetzi*—*labrador, I marvel*."
3. Chapter reference to the Real Palacio MS suggests that this should read *antiquos*.
4. See Chapter 9, nn. 3, 4.

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shals[5] did not attain [their station] there, because the manner of life of the youths was not very good. For they were given to women and were vicious; for they took up pleasantries, they used vain talk, they spoke grossly, loud, and coarsely.

vncan ano, amo tlacatecutli, amo tlacochtecutli vncã quiça, ipampa in amo cenca qualli yn jnnemiliz telpupuchti, ca ipampa cihoa notzaia, avilnemini, ipampa in qujnotequjtia cacamanalli, ahauillatoa, totoquauhtlatoa, tlatlaquauhtlatoa, quaquauhtlatoa.

5. Of these Sahagún elsewhere says that they were principales over soldiers and captains. The tlacochcalcatl was a pilli (prince or noblemen); the tlacochtecutli was "principal en las cosas de la guerra," and Sahagún refers to them as soldiers (Dehouche ed., II, pp. 117-18). Specifically of the tlacochcalcatl he says: "Tiene autoridad para mandar a los soldados . . . para reprenderlos y castigar porque ya están en la dignidad y estado, ya tienen el principal lugar, donde le pueda mandar señor; ya le llaman por estos nombres tlacochcalcatl, tlacochtecutli, por estos nombres le nombran sobre los pequeños" (*Ibid.*, p. 136). Of both officials, he writes: ". . . el señor es como cabeza del pueblo; uno de ellos era pilli y otro era criado en las guerras. El uno de ellos se llamaba tlacochcalcatl, y el otro tlacochtecutli. . . ." These personages—tlacochcalcatl, tlacochtecutli, tlacochcalcatl, and tlacochcalcatl—"eran dichos por la inspiración de nuestro señor dios, porque eran más hábiles para ello" (*Ibid.*, p. 138).

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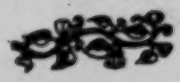

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Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.[1]

All became priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth ijor vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.[2]

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.[3] The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chattel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl,[4] to him who is feathered in

Injc chicome capítulo: vncan motenoa, yn quenjn tlatoque, pipiltin quijnẽcaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in quenamj tlamanilistli, ynjc tlamanja in vmpa moteneoa calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequjntin vel nanti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in qujmaquja in qujnnetoltia in jnpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequjntin in-aquja quinequi,

muchintin tlamacazque muchioa in pipilti ypampa, in nencaliloian calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teincaltiloian, chipeoaca nemoouiã, necutiicicololoia, nẽmachoia ixtlamachoia, qualtiouia, icctiouia: çan njmã hatzoio, hatcuhio, atle iniaioca in tlamacazque innemiliz, yn calmecac neoapaoaljztli,

Jn tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mocuiltonoa in iõc quinectoltia in caquja jnpiltzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujacentlalia in tlamacazque, yoan qujnnotza in quaquacujlti, yoã quincentlalia yn nanti, yn tati, in vevetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevetlaca, qujntlatlauhtia in tlamacazque quimilhuja.

Totecujooane, tlamacazque, nican anoalmotlaçatiaque amocxitzin anquioalmanilique, aço tlacatl, çacatl cana oanquioalmocxinamiquilique, aço cana amocxitzin oanquioalmocuelhuique, oanquioalmotecujailique;

ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecujo, anquimocuilia, anquimocaquiltia, a ca nelle, axcan centetl cocatl quetzalli, oquimoomacavili in totecujo, in tloque naoque

tiemiqui, tiocchitlaoa, a ca nelle axcan tle onier, in piltõdi, in conetontli: cujx malacatl, tecuzpantli, micmacazque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amotlaquitzin, yn axcan ivicxinco tiquijtoa in tlacatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tilpotõqui, calaquiz in calmecac, in

1. Torquemada, op. cit., p. 22, says they were taken by the relatives at the age of four. Clavigero, op. cit., pp. 190, 200, says the age for those entering both the seminary and the adjunct was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the seminary than in the adjunct. Cf. Cano, op. cit., p. 54.

Cano (*ibid.*, pp. 57) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, war law (magic, science, state-craftcraft), the calendar (predictions of the future, astrology), mythology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the old manner. Women also participated in the wars and were the female seminary.

3. To assist, we can say an alternative meaning could be "those with fathers and mothers." Siler (*Mexica Kapital*, p. 347), translates "Es gaben Verhältnisse und Angehörige Bäter (und) Mütter."

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the seminary and of the education of priests and noblemen (Cano, op. cit., p. 28).

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black, that he may enter the priests' house, the house of weeping, of tears, and of sadness, where grow and ripen the sons of our lords.

"And there prayers are raised to the savior and protector of all; there he poureth forth prayers to our lord; there he is importuned with weeping, tears, and sighs. There one is given [gifts], and is chosen for him [our lord]. For there we speak in his worthy house—there where [the shell trumpet] is blown, where the fire is bored, where the children of our lords are reared—where there is sweeping, the clearing of trash; where [sin] is put to one side. [This] disposition our lord will bring about.[5]

"In your noble laps, on your revered backs, in your valued protection we place the child. Grant him [your love], for we give you our child. Grant him your love; give him [your protection]. May he be planted here that he may be reared and wax strong; that he may do penances all night and all day, going about on elbow and on knee, calling and crying out to our lord, weeping, sad, and sighing.

"This is all which you have been caused to know and to hear, O priests."

Behold how the priests responded and replied:

"Here we have taken and received your valued spirit and words. Although we are unworthy, although we do not deserve it, although we do not merit it, your valued spirit and words have come forth [telling] how and why you are anguished over your jewel, your quetzal feather. But we only hear [on behalf of] our lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl, of him who is feathered in black. What will he require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? What will he wish of you? What will become of your jewel and quetzal feather?

"Without doubt we would be foolish [to say] that thus this [is], that this one [is] thus. Let us all trust in our lord, savior and protector of all. What will he wish of us? Let us put our trust in him."

choquiscali, in jxaiocali, in theoxicalli, in vncan incaltilo, ouquaxo in totecujocan in tepilhuã.

auh in vncan thaitlanililo, in tlequc nauaque, in vncan ixilli, ixocatlac mamaiaoca in ichaxtin totecujo, in vncan thamacaxquililo, in choq'xica, in jxaiotin-in-chiuiliztica: auh in vncan motetlamamaquilia, in vncan motepepenilia in ichaxtin, ca vmpa toconiua in ichaxtinca, in vncã pitzalo, mamaliua in incaltilo i totecujoca, in tepilhoan, in vncan ochpanoxtli, thacuiculiztli, chico thaxoac, thaxquilizth quijnochivililiz in totecujo:

amocacaxtzinco, amotepetzinco, amomamalhoaxtzinca, tocuetlalia, nauaqo thacaxo in amoiolletzin, ca tamechococuaquilia, ma thacaxa yn amoiolletzin ma xiqualmanilicac, ma quimonoca, ma quimonaclo, in incaltilo, in ouquaxo, in thamacoxa incocoal, cemilhujtl, in jmolicpitzin, in jxectepoctzin ic thacçatinj in quijnonochilia, in quijnoxaxtzililia in totecujo, in choca, in thaiocuia, in ticicivi;

ca inquijch y, anquimocujlia, anquimocaquijtia thamacaquche.

Jxcatepj, injc thamaquiliaia, ynic quicuepoia thatolli in thamacaquac.

Ca injcan tonoxcuj tocoxaxa in amihjotzin, in amotlaxoltzi ma çi tehcan tiotzaxi, ma ticxolhuilocaxi, ma tictomacxocaxi, in injcan oahquiça in amihjotzin, in amotlaxoltzi injc ica, injc ipampa, amonetlamachitia, in amocoxqui, in amoquetzal, ca çan ticxolacaquililia in totecujo in tepiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in thlpotonequj anca quen quijnonequililia, in amocoxqui, in amoquetzal. auh anca quen amechonnequililia ya amehoantia, anca quenami ica, in coatl, in quetzalli,

auch ?:amococoitzlhuiaque in ma iahqui, y, in ma iehoatl, y, ma tictoxocomachilicã in totecujo, in tlequc nauaque, quen tachonequililia, ma ec tichcocomachica,

5. Mention of the protection of the god and the priests, and of expected rewards, is probably a reference to the fact that from the reference come the priesthood and high military, administrative, and judiciary officials (Ibid., pp. 32 f.). Durán (op. cit., pp. 124-5) writes: "Los regocijos mayores de Moctezuma los hacían con por la aplicación diligentísima al aprendizaje de donde dispuso de hacer convidar en los templos con gran aparato y ceremonias ya viejos sacerdotes los ancianos a Hechiceros y cargos honrosos en los capellanes que voy en ello como como ellos decían sabían mucho y conocían que hablaban en nuestro nuestro y según el respeto y reverencia en los hacía y voy en ello en los hago a como dicen decían después o arrepentirse ofrecían a quechiqui ai, pues con ellos se celebraban los cantos y se reunían los parientes y compañeros en honrosos a los caballeros y jóvenes. Los viejos eran el consejo y consejo decían en nuestro hogar como así el mayor rando que los consejos que en conjunto decían gran decanato de su real conjunto así a la nuestro rodeaba como como pueblos en capellán Hechiceros después de hacer predicación y bienes y corrupto a los quedó quando los decían como Hechiceros y remedios hacían nuestro conocimiento contradicción según hacía nuestro hacían la dicen con que decían nuestro conocimiento de nuestro que pudieran dado el nuestro de decían pues con capellán conocían conocían grandes grandes hacían y conocían de conocían hacían grandes decían y hacían y voy en ello en hacer el que consejo la qué grande reflexionar nuestro consejo de hacían pues no he hablado en nuestro grandes decían y pues que los que cabeza y conocían el grande decían quedó decían los decían quedó con conocían a nuestro decían nuestro conocían decían decían decían nuestro conocían decían los decían quedó con conocían nuestro conocían."

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech clouts, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[6] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quiqui in pilhoaque, in tlacoque: ancqo pipiltzi, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cuecuel, quetzalli chalchiuitl, in quiuecchiuaia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, cuepo yiauhtli in quiqui in juyeui machiua,

yn ocuecuicaque, njman cohça tlilica, vel quintlilpopoctica, njman tlacopatli quiconcacia, yn jcnoliica çan izquich potonqui quiconcacia, njmã quinacxtequi, cuetlaxtzilia in ixipela Diablo in iexio pilhõtli, intla oc piltontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlacouanj ipiltzin, iceuqui vmpa c.:ccoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque,

njman quimachtia yn izquich nemiliztli, ñic nemoa calmecac, in tlacopantli.

6. Aristolochia mexicana (Hernández, op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

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Eighth Chapter, which telleth of the way of life which they kept in the priests' house, where lived or were reared the fore priests and [other] priests.

First: All the priests slept there in the priests' house.

Second: It was required that everyone should sweep when it was well before dawn.

Third: Those already grown, already [more] hardy, then went to seek maguey thorns. They said, they pruned the maguey thorns.

Fourth: When they were already novice priests of whatever kind, they went forth when it was still night, or when midnight had passed; they started to go to the forest in order to gather and carry upon their backs wood which they called logs. This they burned all night in the priests' house as the priests kept watch.[1] And if anywhere mud [for adobes], a wall, cultivation of the soil, or a canal were to be undertaken, all went forth just before dawn. Those who guarded [the house] were left [behind], as well as those who would go to serve the food. They went in a group. None failed. In good order they passed the whole day.

Fifth: A little before they ceased their work, they went to see to the god's affairs, the duties in the priests' house, and the penances. When still a little sun [shone], or when it was already becoming dark, [this was the time which] was called the cutting of maguey spines. When it was quite dark, when it was already deep night, then the priests began what was called the placing of the maguey spines. One at a time they went forth. First [each] bathed himself. Then they took [their] shell trumpets, and incense ladles, sacks filled with incense, and they took up pine torches. Thereupon [each one] set forth to place the maguey thorns. They went naked. Those who would perform great penances[2] might go as far as two leagues to place the maguey spines—perchance

Injc chicuey capítulo: yecchça tlatoa, in nemilisti, in mopiaia Calmecac, yn vncan nenca maçoço muncalitaia tlenamacaj yuan tlamacazque.

Injc. centlamastli. yn vmpa calmecac muchinti vmpa cochi in tlamacazque.

Injc. ij. muchiua muchi tlacatl, tlachpana in vel oc ioua.

Injc. 3. iá ie tlica, in ie chicactoconti, njman vih in quitemiouqe in vientli, in quijoa vitztlapanauaque.

Injc. 4. in ie vel tlamacazcoton, in çan oço ie quenamique, oc ioean, inoço ioealnepantla oenquia, in onpeoa quauhtla vih, in quavitl concuj conmama, in quilhuja mimilinhqui, in ceioual quitlatia calmecac ynjc tlapia tlamacazque. auh intla cana pdolli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, muchioua, vel oc ioean in vilos, mocauhtivi in tlapiazque: auh niman ie ichoontin in tetlamacativi, ololiuhtivi, aiac polivi, vellatzepanpa in qujzlaçaia cemilhujtl.

Injc. 5. çan cual in quicaoa, in tlatequipanoliztli quioalmati, yn intetequjuh in calmecac tequjtl, in tlamacoaliztli; yn oc achi tonatiuh, anoço ie tlapoioaztiuh mjtoa vitztequi, yn ovellaioauc, in ie tlaquauhioca; njmá onpeoa, in tlamacazque in mjtoa, movitztlalizque, ça vel cocenque in vih, achopa maholtia, niman concuj in tocistli, poá tlemaitl, tozitli, copalli ontentiuh, yuan concuj ocuti, njmá ie ic vmpeoa in movicatlaliztiuh, petlauhtiuh, in cenca vel motlamacaltia aço oome leguas in ovih movicatlalia, aço quauhtla, aço iztlacoccan, aço atlan yn tejccatoton, in inoço aquja quinequi, aço media legua, in iauh in onomo-

1. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 337) writes: "Antes Vísperas, que subían los sacerdotes de la noche, salían en los Templos, y Curas en los conventos, [illegible] de los Calles y Cimborios. Estos subían por sus quartos, y horas, acostumbradas, acabado el Olympo de su vigilia, y cada Cura subían desde la primera noche, hasta las diez, como hasta media noche; y mandaba como, acostumbrar en la cela, como, hasta las tres de la madrugada; y á estos ayudaban otros hasta el día. Su oficio era disciplinar á los Sacerdotes, y Ministros, los que subían en los Templos, para que acudiesen á los Sacrificios, y hacer ministerios. Los de los conventos, á los de la República, para la cocina, cumplieron cuidados obligados. Tenían también cuidado entre Vísperas de adaçar el Pasaje de los brazos, para que disciplinar cuidaran, y cuanto se apagaran. Y á esta Vida llamaban Iaxquatlatoli, que quiere decir Vida."

2. The context of this passage suggests that mortificatoriis might better read mortificationibus. Otherwise this passage is cause not mortificatoriis might be rendered "Thorns which can was much frightened."

84 743 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whomever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

[273] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

[252] Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

[273 836 688] Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with maguey spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or swinched them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

[785] Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atemalquale, then they ate but sparingly.[a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No chili, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

vizthalia, iuccis ietinh, tlapizzinh, in cauj yn cvizthalioia, yn cocito vuqa cullapizzinh.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazqui, aiac vme temj, çan mochintin, mizcivinoque, aiac momepan tlapeztia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jancuhia, in quiquaia, ouh ittla haca commacoia ical ilaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in ioualnepanda in iquac mjtoa iocalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlacahtoiaia, yn aquje tlacochcaua, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yiclpan, ynetzpan, ilanizco vel ica mavistli vetzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac [illegible]mocuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellitzpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quezman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanezza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quizacutivia, amo tlaculiloia, tlacujlolo, anoço mecatilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioiohoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quiclacoa quiçoçoo yn inacazco, in jonnetla in imetzpa, vizticca, anoço omijica.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapanollo, çan njman ade vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoçoo in inacazco, anoço quinzizticazvia.

Jnjc. ii. in ioualnepãtla apantemoia in ic tuchcaca, atli tenahtiaia.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaualistli, vel mochintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn cocic nepanda tonatiuh tlaqueia vel mochintin in pipiltotonti. ouh in iquac oncatca neçaualistli in quilhuja atemalquale, njman amo tlapalea, cequjquin ioualnepãtla in tlaqueia, oc no ioualnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjquin nepanda tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no mumula nepanda tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, ade chilli ade intzal quiquaia, amo tle ic cochi in nquel atl, quinca mocaçoualhujlaqui intla itlatoa cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel tomachtiloia in qualli tlaolli,

[a] "Thirdly, at midnight of one and twelve, quickly consumed." (Dibble, op. cit.).

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no. well, then they drew blood from him [with maguey spines].

Fourteenth: Carefully were they taught the songs which they called the gods' songs. They were inscribed in the books. And well were all taught the reckoning of the days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.

Fifteenth: A strict vow of the priests was [that of] chastity, of a pure life. In no wise were they to look upon a woman.[1] A strict vow of theirs was [a life of] moderation. Never then told lies. The priests were very devout. They were very god-fearing.

Now enough of this. Here is told the way of life of the priests. Much else, which is left [unsaid] must [yet] be related. [This] will be told in another place.

in oquiçe ueuo ueliaua, in ueuo vel tetlapaloc ninoan quiçoyoia.

Jnjc. 14. vel nemachtilois in cujcatl in quillaujz teuicatl, ueueuetoca. Yeuo vel nemachtilois in tonpouali in teujcatonal, yeuo in xiuhtonal. [533]

Jnjc. 15. in tlamacazqui vel ineuiul catca in nepilizcli, in chipauaca nemilizcli, in ueuo quimoquixtiuiul, vel ineuiul catca in tlaxicuiculizcli, ninoan-xiuc intlacotia, vel tlacomauiz, catca in tlamacazqui, vel teuiuiuacaçini catca,

çan ceel 'inq'ch, y, ueuo ocmiua, in jnuemilis catca tlamacazqui, oc mjec in mocaua in jnuiuaia monoqui vcell mimo. [589]

1. Probably a life of celibacy is not to be understood. Cf. Charles E. Kubler, Children Raised Quetzalcoatl, Tlamacazqui, 1948) p. 70, 72, 77, and elsewhere for examples of unusual priests.

[p. 66 is blank]

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793 **Ninth Chapter:** here is told how were established and chosen the high priests, the Quetzalcoatl priests, the first of whom was [named] Totec Tlamacazqui and the second Tlaloc Tlamacazqui;[1] and [how] those whom they set up were especially wise and prudent.

And one who had distinguished his way of life and otherwise [had followed] the precepts and ordinances of the priests, this one was set apart and chosen, to be made a keeper of the god.[2] The chief, and the great judges,[3] and all the nobles chose him and gave him the name of Quetzalcoatl. There were two Quetzalcoatl priests: one was called Totec Tlamacazqui, one was called Tlaloc [Tlamacazqui].

The Quetzalcoatl priest [called] Totec Tlamacazqui was dedicated to Uitzilopochtli; the Tlaloc was dedicated to the lord of Tlalocan, the [god of] rain. These [were] exactly equal [in station].

555 793 And although he might be poor, or miserable; though his mother and father might be the poorest of the poor, if he well ordered his life and [kept] the commandments of the priests, he was taken to be named this Quetzalcoatl priest. He was called either Totec Tlamacazqui or Tlaloc.

No lineage was considered; only a good life was noted. One was sought of saintly life, of righteous life; of pure heart, good, and humane; who was resigned; who was firm and tranquil; a peace-maker, constant, resolute, brave; caressing, welcoming, and friendly to others; who was compassionate of others and wept for them; who had awe in his heart. He was called divine of heart, pious, god-fearing—one who wept, who was sad, who sighed.

793 And when he began this [training], he was still called an acolyte; then a priest; then a fire priest[4]—already due reverence. Then from these were chosen those named Quetzalcoatl priests.

Inijc chicuacej capitulo: vncan motenoa yn quenjn mottalizin pepenaloia in vevej tlamacazque in quequetzalcoa, ynic ce totecu tlamacazqui, ynic vme tlaloc tlamacazqui, oc cêca muchipa ichouan quijtlalia in vel intlamatque mouccalianj.

Auh in aquijn vel quijmonemilizitia, y, yoan in oc cequi in jnnacotil tlamacazque, yn jnnemiliz, ichoutl ano, ichoutl pepenalo, in teupixqui muchiou, quijpepena in tlatoani yoli in tecutlatoque, yoan muchiotin in tlatoque, Quitlatocaiotia Quetzalcoatl: vmentin in quetzalcoa, oc itoca totec tlamacazqui, oc itoca tlaloc,

in quetzalcoatl totec tlamacazqui itech povia in Vitzilobuchtli, in tlaloc itech povia in tlalocan tecutli, yn quijavitl, ynique, y, çan vel nencuhque,

auh in manel motolinja, in manel icnotlacatl, in manel quicêttzacuj icnotlacatzintli, ynlizzin, yeazzin, intla ic vel quichica, in jnnemiliz, yn jnnacotil, tlamacazque ichoutl ano, ichoutl quetzalcoatl tocaiotilo, ayo totec tlamacazquj, anoço tlaloc motocaiotia,

amo tlacamecaiotl motta ça qualnemilizitli, vel ic motta, vel ic motemoa. in qualnemilice, in iecnemilice, in chipeoac yiollo, in qualli yiollo, in jcnoioyiollo, in tlapaccahjoviani, in tlatepizviani, in tlaiolicviani, in ômo mocivianj, in iollochicaoac, in iolloztl, yn iollochichic, in tepepepetlanj, in temacochoanj, in tetlaçotlanj, in teteoculianj, in teca chocanj, ymauhquj yiollo, in mjtoa teutl yiollo, in tlatematini, in tzoimacacinj, in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in tlcicivinj;

Auh injc oalpeoa y, oc itoca tlamacazqui, njmoan ic tlamacazqui, njmoan ic tlenamacac, ic mavizti, y, njmân ic vncan ano, y, in mjtoa quetzalcoatl.

1. "El número de Quetzalcoatl [sic] debía a veinte, es por necessario del dios que se consideraba que los sacerdotes eran el arquetipo del sacerdote" (Caso, op. cit., p. 45). Intermediary offices between these high priests and the lower hierarchy are given briefly in ibid., pp. 47f.; see also Tezozomoc, op. cit., pp. 178f. The responsibilities of various functionaries are also suggested in the Appendix of Book II of Sahagún, for which cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, pp. 100ff. Tezozomoc, op. cit., pp. 221-2, mentions only one Quetzalcoatl priest: "Tenían un Sacerdote en un Cerimonia, que se llamaba del número de un Dios, Quetzalcoatl; al qual estaba encarlo sobre su guarda, y doctrina, enseñandole la virtuosa, y amorosamente las virtudes, y buenas costumbres."

2. The terms of employment were until (just) and pia (yoeli). Cf. Simeon, op. cit. The dictionaries define the term as priest.

3. Tezozomoc: Sahagún describes them as "los mayores jueces . . . estos amonestaban con gran diligencia los mozos que iban a ser ministros"; on the death of chiefs, they were among the electors of a new one (Sahagún, Bulmer ed., II, pp. 318, 321).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, p. 78, n. 7.

793 And this priesthood lived in moderate circumstances and followed a distinguished way of life. For rather severe was the life of the priests.

Thus was the manner of rearing of the priesthood distinct from that of the young [warriors].

Auh yoçe tlamocuaxiztl, çaçan veli, çaçan qualli yn ipan nenca, in quimocuitlaxiz, ipampa yn achi ovi, yn nemiliztli cuecx tlamocuaxpe:

çan vecan xitlalicuecx yn neuqueuaztli, tlamocuaxiztl, tlipochtiztl.—/—

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FLORENTINE CODEX

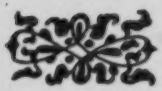

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

[p. ii]

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Book 7—The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON
SCHOOL OF AMERICAN RESEARCH

CHARLES E. DIBBLE
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART VIII

With an Appendix consisting of the first five chapters of Book VII from the Memoriales con escolios

Chapter heading designs are from the Codex

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BOOK SEVEN—THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS, AND THE BINDING OF THE YEARS

El septimo libro, trata
del sol, y de la luna, y es
trellas, y del año del jubi
leo.

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De la astrologia

SEVENTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SUN, AND THE MOON, AND THE STARS;[1] AND OF [THE CEREMONY] OF THE BINDING OF THE YEARS.

JNIC CHICOME AMOSTLI, ITECHPA TLATOA IN TONATIUH: YOAN IN METZTLI, YOAN IN ÇIÇITLALTI, YOAN IN TOXIMOLPIA.

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First Chapter, which treateth of the sun.

The sun: the soaring eagle,[2] the turquoise prince, the god.

He shone, cast forth light, sent forth *rays* [of light] from himself. Hot, he burned men—he burned them exceedingly, and made them sweat. He turned men's skins brown, darkening them, blackening them, blistering them.

Every two hundred and sixty days, when his feast day came, then his festival was honored and celebrated. They observed it on his day sign, called Naui olin. And before his feast day had come, first, for four days, all fasted. And when it was already his feast day, when first he came forth, when he emerged and appeared, incense was offered and burned; blood [from the ears] was offered. This was done four times during the day—when it was dawn; and at noon; and past midday, when already [the sun] hung [low]; and when he entered [his house]—when he set; when he ended [his course].

And early in the morning it was said: "Now he will work; now the sun will labor. How will the day end?" And when night fell, it was said: "He hath worked; the sun hath labored." When he issued forth [at dawn], sometimes he was blood-colored, bright red, ruby-red. And sometimes he was quite pale, white-faced, pallid, because of the clouds—a mist, a

Inic ce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in tonatiuh.

Tonatiuh, quauhtleonitl, xippilli, teutl.

Tona, tlancetia, motonamcioia: totonqui, tetlati, tetlatlati, teitoni: teistlileuh, teistlilo, teiscapotzo, teistlecaleuh.

Matlacpoaltica, ipan epoalli, in ilhuiuhquiçaia: in ilhuichanhiloia, ilhuiquistililoia: ipã quimatzioia, in itonal iocz naolin. Auh in aiamo quiça ilhuiuh: achtopa, nauilhuitl, neçaoaloia. Auh in iouac ic ipan ilhuiuh, in iouac iancuicán, oalquiza, oalmomana, oalpeztini: tlenamaçoia, tlatzonilo, neçoa. In hin, muchioaia nappa, cemilhuitl: iouac in ioatzinco, ioã nepãtla tonatiuh, ioan iouac in ie onmotzcaloa, in ie onmopiloa; ioã iouac in oncalaqui, in onaqui, in onmotzinoca.

Auh in ioatzinco, mitoaia: ca ie tequitia, ie tlacotia in tonatiuh; quen vetzia in temilhuitl. Auh in iouac, mitoaia: onequit, otlacotic in tonatiuh: inic oalmomana, in quenman uel eztic, chichiltic, tlapaltic. Auh in quenman, çan istalectic çan camatzac, çan cocotiuh: ipampa in mixtli, in mixtamitl, anoço mispanitl, mixtecuicalli, in iuco moteca.

1. The number in italicized in the Mexicanistic text numbers, in the Appendix to this book, refers from Francisco Pérez y Tremamunde, ed., *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España por Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: edición paralela con facsímiles de los códices manuscritos en lengua mexicana* (México: Alfredo Chavero y Manuel, 1905).

2. *Quauhtleonitl*: eagle with the fiery crown, according to Rémi Siméon *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885).

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heavy pall, or clouds of many colors—which were spread before his face.

Eclipse of the Sun

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When this came to pass, he turned red; he became restless and troubled. He faltered and became very yellow. Then there were a tumult and disorder. All were disquieted, unnerved, frightened. There was weeping. The common folk raised a cry, lifting their voices, making a great din, calling out, shrieking. There was shouting everywhere. People of light complexion[1] were slain [as sacrifices]; captives were killed. All offered their blood; they drew straws through the lobes of their ears, which had been pierced. And in all the temples there was the singing of fitting chants; there was an uproar; there were war cries. It was thus said: "If the eclipse of the sun is complete, it will be dark forever! The demons of darkness will come down; they will eat men!"

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Tamoteoh quale.

In iccac machiaa, y, chichilinhcimomana: ac tlaca mauj, ac tlaca ca, ca macuecueptimauj: ollca tlacoçania: nimaa ic tlatzomauj, tlacal comauj: ne-acomanale, necomanjlo, nemanlelilo, nechoquililo, tlachoquirdeoa in macoualti: netemujnco, netempa-paujlo, tlacaauca, tlacaomtzalo, tzinpoa: cincalli mo-teca, Tlacatzalmicoa, malmicoa, neçoa tlacoquiztilo: nehcuatecco: ach in tetempan, nauchcuico, tlachalan-toc, tlacaocatoc: ic mitoaia, intla tlamiz, in quale tamoteoh: cenplaiooa: oalcemonque, in tzinzizimi, tepuoquini.

1. Phonetically cf. however, the corresponding passage in the Sun-Moon myth [illegible] in this volume, where the phrase is translated "Another do whether Moonset y sunset."

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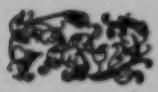

Second Chapter, which telleth of the moon.

Inic vme capitulo. itechpa tlatoa: in metztli.

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The moon (Tecuciztecatl).

When he[6] newly appeared, he was like a small bow, like a bent, straw lip ornament—a small one. He did not yet shine. Very slowly, he went growing larger, becoming round and disc-shaped. In fifteen days he was completely rounded and filled out, as he became entire and mature. And when he waxed full and round, then he appeared, then he arose there at the place where the sun appeared. When it was already dark, [he was] like a very large, earthen skillet—very round, circular. [He was] as if red, a bright, deep red.

And after this, when he had already followed his course a little, when he had risen high, he became white. It was said: "Already he shineth; already the moon is brilliant; already he giveth forth moonbeams." He was then seen to be pale, very white. Then appeared [what was] like a little rabbit stretched across his face. If there were no clouds, if it were not overcast and covered by clouds, like [the sun] he shone, and it was like daytime. It was said: "[It is] almost [like] day; everywhere it is bright. Light is spread everywhere."

And when he had completely reached and attained his brilliance, for as many days as he had thus waxed and been round, little by little he again grew small; he became smaller. Again he became as when he had newly appeared. Gradually he waxed and proceeded to vanish. It was said: "Already the moon is dying; now he slumbereth soundly—he falleth into a deep sleep. It is already toward morning, near dawn, when he ariseth." And when he had completely disappeared, it was said: "The moon hath died."

Metztli: tecuciztecatl.

In icoac iancuican, oalmomana coliontli: iuhquin teçacanecuilli, teçacanecuiltontli, aiamo tlanestia: çan iuiian, ueistiuhi, malacachiuhtiuhi, teuilacachiuhtiuhi. Castoltica, in vel malacachiui: teuilacachiui, in vel maci, in chicaoa. Auh in icoac, vel oiaoaliuh, omalacachiuh, inic uel neci: inic oalmomana, in ompa iquiçaian tonatiuh: in jcoac ie tlapoiaoa, iuhquin comalli, veipol: vel teuilacachtic, malacachtic: iuhquin tlapalli, chichiltic, chichilpetic.

Auh quinjcoac, in ie achi quicaltoca, in ie, oalacoquiza, iztaia: mitoa ie tlachia, ie tlanestia, in metztli, ie metztona: iztalectic, vel iztac, inic motta: inic neci, iuhquin tochtõ, isco vetztoc: intlacamo tle mistli, intlacamo mitoa, mistemi: iuhquin tona, ic tlaneci, mitoa ich on cemilhuitl, uel tlanaltona: tlanaltonatimani.

Auh in jcoac, oselacic, oselmacic, itlaçaxilis: in iaquilhuitl, ic veiia, malacachiui: çan iuh nenti, oc ceppa tepitonaui, tepitonauhtiuhi, oc ceppa iuhqui muchioa, inic iancuican oalmomana: çan iuiian poliui, poliuhtiuhi: mitoa ie onmiqui, in metztli: ie uei in quicochi: ie uc in ic cochi, ie tlathuitiuhi, ie tlatheuiaoac, in oalquiza. Auh in iquac uel ompoliuh, mitoa: ommic in metztli.

MINGLED THE FABLE in which it is told how a little rabbit lay across the face of the moon. Of this, it is told that [the gods] were only at play with [the

MIXTQUE, TLATLATOLLO, inic mitoa: iuhquin tochtõ, iuco uetztoc metztli. In hin, quilmach çã ic ica omoxmilhiloc: ic conjpoiuiaçque: ic conjpdatlaçque,

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6. In the Spanish version, the moon (*luna*) is feminine. Since both the sun (*Nanahuatzin*) and moon (*Tecuciztecatl*) are male in the fable of the rabbit and the moon, we have made both of these consistently masculine.

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moon). They struck his face with [the rabbit]; they wounded his face with it—they maimed it. The gods then dimmed his face. Thereafter [the moon] came to arise and come forth.

It is said that when yet [all] was in darkness, when yet no sun had shone and no dawn had broken—it is said—the gods gathered themselves together and took counsel among themselves there at Teotihuacan. They spoke; they said among themselves:

"Come hither, O gods! Who will carry the burden? Who will take it upon himself to be the sun, to bring the dawn?"

And upon this, one of them who was there spoke: Tecuciztecatl presented himself. He said: "O gods, I shall be the one."

And again the gods spoke: "[And] who else?"

Thereupon they looked around at one another. They pondered the matter. They said to one another: "How may this be? How may we decide?"

None dared; no one else came forward. Everyone was afraid; they [all] drew back.

And not present was one man, Nanauatzin; he stood there listening among the others to that which was discussed. Then the gods called to this one. They said to him: "Thou shalt be the one, O Nanauatzin."

He then eagerly accepted the decision; he took it gladly. He said: "It is well, O gods; you have born good to me."

Then they began now to do penance. They fasted four days—both Tecuciztecatl [and Nanauatzin]. And then, also, at this time, the fire was laid. Now it burned, there in the hearth. They named the hearth *teoxacalli*.

And this Tecuciztecatl: that with which he did penance was all costly. His fir branches [were] quetzal feathers, and his grass balls [were] of gold; his maguey spines [were] of green stone; the reddened, bloodied spines [were] of coral. And his incense was very good incense. And [as for] Nanauatzin, his fir branches were made[5] only of green water rushes—green reeds bound in threes, all [making], together, nine bundles. And his grass balls [were] only dried pine needles. And his maguey spines were these maguey spines. And the blood with which they were covered [was] his own blood. And [for] his incense, he used only the scabs from his sores, [which] he lifted up. For these two, for each one singly, a hill was made. There they remained, performing penance [illegible]

ic conjopopoloque: ic conjomictique in tetzuh: in iconc çaçpan oquiçaco, omomanaco.

Mitoa, in oc iooaian, in aiamo tona, in aiamo tlachui: quilnach, mocentlalique, mononotzque, in tetzuh: in vmpa teotiuacan, quinque: quimolhuique.

Tla zioalhuiiá, tetzuic: aquin tlaquiz? aquin tlamanaz? in tonac, in tlathuiz?

Auh niman, ic ic ichoatl vncan ontlatoa: onmisquetza in tecuciztecatl, quito. Tetzuic, ca nchoatl niiez:

Oc cappa quitoque in tetzu: aquin oc ce?

Niman ic ic nepanotl, mohotta: quimottitia, quimolhuia, quen oin yez, y? quen tonizque?

Aiac motlapaloaia, in oc ce onmisquetzaz: çan muchi tlacatl momauhtiaia, tzinquiçaia.

Auh amo onnezticaeca: in ce tlacatl nanacatzin, vncan tehoan tlacacticatca, in nenonotzalo: nimã ic ichoatl, connotzque in tetzu: quilhuique. Tehoatl tiiez, nanacatze.

Niman quicuitiaeza, in tlatolli: quipaccaceli. Quito, Ca ic qualli tetzuic: onnechmocaelilique.

Niman ic onpeualtique, in ic tlamaceoa: moçauhque nauilhuitl: onnextin in tecuciztecatl. Auh niman no iconc, motlali in tletl: ic tlatla, in vncan tlecuilco: quilocaiotia in tlecuilli, tetzescalli.

Auh in ichoatl, tecuciztecatl, in ipan tlamaceoaia: muchi tlaçotli, imacuxoiauh quetzalli, auh in içacatapaiol tezcuitlatl, in ixitz chalchiuitl: inic tlaczuilli, tlaçaçotilli, tapachtli: auh in icopal vel ieh in copalli. Auh in nanauatzin, in iacatzauh, muchi çan ascatl xoxouhqui, ocatzauhqui, ocy tlalpilli: tlacuitlalpilli, nepan chicuaxaui, in ic muchi: auh in içacatapaiol, çan ioch in ocaçacatl: auh in ixitz, çan ic no ieh in tlaxiztli: auh inic quezhuiaia, uel ieh in icaço: auh in icopal, çan ieh in inanauatzin cuecocolcaia. In inanauatzin y, cocoxtli intepeuh muchiuh: in vmpa, onhomocoxtiaeca: nauhcocal, mitoa in acan, tetepe tlacatlli, itzacual tonatiuh, ynon itzacual metztli.

5. The corresponding passage in the *Florentine* one another has omitted where the *Florentine Codex* has much.

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seven for four nights. They are now called pyramids —the pyramid of the sun and the pyramid of the moon.

And when they ended their four nights of penitence, then they went to throw down and cast away, each one, their fir branches, and, indeed, all with which they had been performing penances. This was done at the time of the lifting [of the penance]; when, well into the night, they were to do their labor; they were to become gods.

And when midnight had come, thereupon [the gods] gave them their adornment; they arrayed them and readied them. To Tecuciztecatl they gave his round, forked heron feather headdress and his sleeveless jacket. But [as for] Nanauatzin, they bound on his headdress of mere paper and tied on his hair, called his paper hair. And [they gave him] his paper suit and his paper breech clout.

And when this was done, when midnight had come, all the gods proceeded to encircle the hearth, which was called *teotexcalli*, where for four days had burned the fire. On both sides [the gods] arranged themselves in line, and in the middle they set up, standing, these two, named Tecuciztecatl and Nanauatzin. They stood facing and looking toward the hearth.

And thereupon the gods spoke: They said to Tecuciztecatl: "Take courage, O Tecuciztecatl; fall —cast thyself—into the fire!"

Upon this, he went [forward] to cast himself into the flames. And when the heat came to reach him, it was insufferable, intolerable, and unbearable; for the hearth had blazed up exceedingly, a great heap of coals burned, and the flames flared up high. Thus he came terrified, stopped in fear, turned about, and went back. Then once more he set out, in order to try to do it. He exerted himself to the full, that he might cast and give himself to the flames. And he could in no way dare to do it. When again the heat reached him, he could only turn and leap back. He could not bear it. Four times indeed—four times in all—he was thus to act and try; then he could cast himself no more. For then [he might try] only four times.

And when he had ended [trying] four times, thereupon they cried out to Nanauatzin. The gods said to him: "Onward, then, O Nanauatzin! Take heart!"

And Nanauatzin, daring all at once, determined

Auh in oncxonquiz, nauhiccual intlamaccoaliz: niman quitlatlaçato, quimamaiauito, in imacxoiauh: yoan in ie muchi, ipan otlamaccuhque. Inin muchiuh, ie inneccoaloo, in iccac in ie oaliccoa tlacotinque, teutinque.

Auh in iccac, ie onaci iccalnepantla: niman ie ic quintlamamaca, quinchichioa, quincencaoa: in teccizztecatl, quimacaque, iaztacon mimiltic, ioan ixicol. Auh in nanaoatzin, çan amatl, inic o:nquailpique: contronilpique, itoca iamatzon: yoan iamanecapanal, yoan iamamatli.

Auh in ie iuhqui, in ouelacic icalnepantla, in muchintin teteu quiiaoalotimomanque in tlecuilli, in motenecoa teutescalli, in vncan nauilhuitl otlatlac tletl, nenecoc motecpanque: auh nepantla quimômanque quimonquetzque in omextin, y, motenecoa in teccizztecatl yoan nanaoatzin, quinamictimomanque, quinamictimoquetzque in tlecuilli.

Auh niman ie ic tlaioa in teteu, quilhuique in teccizztecatl. O tlacuelle teccizztecatle, xonhuetzi, xonmomaiaui in tleco:

niman ie ic iauh momaiauiz in tleco. Auh in itech oacito totonilloti in amo iamamiquiztli, in amo iecoliztli, amo ihiouilizzli: inic cenca uel ozozotlac tlecuilli, ovel oahoalancimotlali, ouel motlatlali in tletl: ic çan ommismauhôito, ommotilquetzato, oaltzinquiz, oaltzinilot: ie no ceppa iauh tlaichecoa, iaquich ca ana; ic momotla, quimomaca in tletl: auh ça auel motlapalo, in ie no itech onaci totonqui, çan oaltzinquiça oaltzincholoa, amo ontlaiccoa: uel nappa, tlaelnappa in iuh quichiuh in moicheco, çã niman auel ommomaiauh in tleco: ca çan ie vncan tlatenecoalli in nappa.

Auh in ontlaquisi nappa: niman ie ic ich cuezaztilia in nanaoatzin, quilhuique in teteu. Oc tehuatl, oc cuel tehoatl nanaoatze, ma ie cuel.

Auh in nanaoatzin, çan cen in oalmotlapalo, qui-

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—resolved—hardened his heart, and shut firmly his eyes. He had no fear; he did not stop short; he did not falter in fright; he did not turn back. All at once he quickly threw and cast himself into the fire; once and for all he went. Thereupon he burned; his body crackled and sizzled.

And when Tecucizteca saw that already he burned, then, afterwards, he cast himself upon [the fire]. Thereupon he also burned.

And thus do they say: It is told that then flew up an eagle, [which] followed them. It threw itself suddenly into the flames; it cast itself into them, [while] still it blazed up. Therefore its feathers are scorched looking and blackened. And afterwards followed an ocelot, when now the fire no longer burned high, and he came to fall in. Thus he was only blackened —smutted—in various places, and singed by the fire. [For] it was not now burning hot. Therefore he was only spotted, dotted with black spots, [as if] splashed with black.

From this [event], it is said, they took—from here was taken—the custom whereby was called and named one who was valiant, a warrior. He was given the name *quauhtlocelotl*. [The word] *quauhtli* came first, it is told, because, [as] was said, [the eagle] first entered the fire. And the ocelot followed thereafter. Thus is it said in one word—*quauhtlocelotl;* because [the latter] fell into the fire after [the eagle].

And after this, when both had cast themselves into the flames, when they had already burned, then the gods sat waiting [to see] where Nanauatzin would come to rise—he who first fell into the fire—in order that he might shine [as the sun]; in order that dawn might break.

When the gods had sat and been waiting for a long time, thereupon began the reddening [of the dawn]; in all directions, all around, the dawn and light extended. And so, they say, thereupon the gods fell upon their knees in order to await where he who had become the sun would come to rise. In all directions they looked; everywhere they peered and kept turning about. As to no place were they agreed in their opinions and thoughts. Uncertain were those whom they asked. Some thought that it would be from the north that [the sun] would come to rise, and placed themselves to look there; some [did so] to the west; some placed themselves to look south. They expected [that he might rise] in all directions, because the light was everywhere.

ocalcentlami, quicallancoa in iiollo, ocalizteamotzolo: amo tle ic misauhti, amo moquchqueiz, amo motilquetz, amo tzinquiz: çan niman onmodaztiuetz, ômomaiauhtiuetz in tleco, çan ic cen ia: niman ie ic tlatla, tzecuepoca, tzoxoioca in inacaio.

Auh in icoac, oquittac tecucizteca, in ie tlatla: quinicoac, çatepan ipan onmomaisuh: niman ie no ic tlatla.

Auh in iuh conitoa, quilmach niman no ic onocac, in quauhtli, quimontoquili: onmotlaztiuetz in tleco, onmotlecomaisuh, oc ichoaol no vellalac: ipampa in iuiio cuicheoac, cuichectic. Auh ça ontlatzacui in ocelotl, aocmo cenca uellala in tletl, uetzito: ic ça motlecuicuilo, motletlecoicuilo, motlechichiuo, aocmo cenca uellalac: ipampan çan cuicuiltic, motlilchachapani, motlilchachazpotz.

In hin, quilmach vncan man, vncan mocuic in tlatolli: inic itolo, teneoalo, in aquin tiacauh, oquichtli: quauhtlocelotl tocaiotilo: ieh iacattiuh in quauhtli, mitoa, quil ipampa in onteiacan tleco: auh ça ontlatzacuia in ocelotl, inic mocencamaitoa quauhtlocelotl: ipampa i çatepã ouetz tleco.

Auh in ie iuhqui, in omeztin ômomamaiauhque tleco, in icoac ie otlatlaque: niman ic quichistimotecaque in teteu, in campa ic quiçaquiuh nanauatzin, in achto onuetz tleco: inic tonac, inic tlachuiz.

In icoac ie uecauhtica oneque, mochiccaonque teteu: nimã ic peoa, in tlachichiliui, nouiiampa tlaiocalo in tlauizcalli, in tlatlauiltotl: in iuh conitoa, niman ie ic motlanquaquetzque in teteu, inic quichiezque, in campa ic quiçaquiuh tonatiuh. Omochiuh, nouiiampa tlachieque, auiçpa tlachic, momuchcachotinemi: acan vel ce uetis in iuhtol, in innemachiliz, atle iuelí aca in quitoque. Cequintin momaque, ca mictlampa in quiçaquiuh, ic vmpa itzimomaque: cequintin cioatlampa: cequintin vitztlampa itzimomaque, nouiiampa motemachique: ipampa in çan tlaiocalo tlatlauiltotl.

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And some placed themselves so that they could watch there to the east. They said: "For there, in that place, the sun already will come to arise." True indeed were the words of those who looked there and pointed with their fingers in that direction. Thus they say, [that] those who looked there [to the east were] Quetzalcoatl; the name of the second was Ecatl; and Totec, or Anauatl itecu; and the red Tezcatlipoca.[6] Also [there were] those who were called the Mimixcoa, who were without number; and four women—Tiacapan, Teicu, Tlacoyehua, and Xocoyotl.

And when the sun came to rise, when he burst forth, he appeared to be red; he kept swaying from side to side. It was impossible to look into his face; he blinded one with his light. Intensely did he shine. He issued rays of light from himself; his rays reached in all directions; his brilliant rays penetrated everywhere.

And afterwards Tecuciztecatl came to rise, following behind him from the same place—the east,—near where the sun had come bursting forth. In the same manner that they had fallen into the fire, just so they came forth. They came following each other.

And so they tell it; [so] they relate the story and repeat the legend: Exactly equal had they become in their appearance, as they shone. When the gods saw them, [thus] exactly the same in their aspect, then once more there was deliberation. They said: "How may this be, O gods? Will they perchance both together follow the same path? Will they both shine together?"

And the gods all issued a judgment. They said: "Thus will this be; thus will this be done."

Then one of the gods came out running. With a rabbit he came to wound in the face this Tecuciztecatl; with it he darkened his face; he killed its brilliance. Thus doth it appear today.

And when this was done, when both appeared [over the earth] together, they could, on the other hand, not move nor follow their paths. They could only remain still and motionless. So once again the gods spoke: "How shall we live? The sun cannot move. Shall we perchance live among common folk? [Let] this be, that through us the sun may be revived. Let all of us die."

Auh in cequintin, vel vmpa itztimomãque in tlauhcopa: quitoque. Ca ie vmpa hin, ie vncan hin in quiçaquiuh tonatiuh: ichoantin uel nektic in intlatol, in vmpa tlachisque, in vmpa mapiloque. Iuh quitoa, ichoantin in vmpa tlachisque, quetzalcoatl: ic onteti itoca hecatl, yoan in totec, anoço anoço anaoatl itecu, yoan tlatlauic tezcatlipoca: no ichoantin in moteneoa mimixcoa, in amo çã tlapoaltin: yoan cioa nauin, tiacapan, teicu, tlacoiehoa, xocoiotl.

Auh in jcoac, oquiçaco, in omomanaco tonatiuh: — iuhquin tlapalli monenecuilotimanj, amo vel iuamico, teismimicti: cenca tlanestia, motonameiotia, in itonameio nouiiampa aacitimoquetz, auh in itonalmiio nouiiampa cacalac.

Auh çatepan, quiçaco in tecuciztecatl, quioaltocatia: çan ie no vmpa in tlauhcopa, itloc onmomanaco in tonatiuh: in iuh onuetzque tleco, çan no iuh oalquizque, oalmotocatiaque.

Auh in iuh conitoa, tlatlanonotza, teçaçanilhuia: çan neneuhqui in intlachieliz muchiuh, inic tlanestiaia. In icoac oquimittaque teteu; in çan neneuhqui intlachieliz: himã ic no ceppa ic nenonotzalo: quitoque. Quen iezque, y, teteuie? cuis onteistin otlatocazque, onteistin iuh tlanestizque?

Auh in teteu, muchintin oallatzõtecque: quitoque. Iuh iez, y, iuh, muchioaz y.

Niman ic ce tlacatl, ommotlalotiquiz in teteu: ic conisiuitequito in tochin, in ichoatl tecuciztecatl, ic conispopoloque, ic conisomictique: in iuhqui ascan ic tlachie.

Auh in ie iuhqui: in icoac ie omomanaco onteistin, ie no cuele auel olini, otlatoca, çan momanque, motetẽmanque. Ic ie no ceppa quitoque in teteu. Quen tinemjzque, amo olinj in tonatiuh: cuis tiquinnelotinemjzque in maçeoalti? Auh inin, ma toca moscalti, ma timuchintin timiquican.

6. This passage reproduces what the Aztec appears to mean. The data do not all conform with those set forth in standard sources. It might be noted, however, that with passage of time the attributes, personalities, and manifestations of the gods underwent considerable changes. Cf. John Eric Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1933); Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba: [Imprenta Mayk, S. A.], 1948), pp. 197-207; Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936).

539 Then it became the office of Ecatl to slay the gods. But they say thus: that Xolotl wished not to die. He said to the gods: "Let me not die, O gods." Wherefore he wept much; his eyes and his eyelids swelled.

And when he who dealt death was to overtake him, he fled from his presence; he ran; he quickly entered a field of green maize, and took the form of, and quickly turned into, two young maize stalks [growing] from a single root, which the workers in the field have named *xolotl*. But there, in the field of green maize, he was seen. Then once again he fled from him; once more he quickly entered a maguey field. There also he quickly changed himself into a maguey plant [consisting of] two [parts] called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and once more he quickly entered into the water and went to take the [136] shape of [an amphibious animal called] *axolotl*. There they could go to seize him, that they might slay him.

And they say that though all the gods died, even then the sun god could not move and follow his path. Thus it became the charge of Ecatl, the wind, who arose and exerted himself fiercely and violently as he blew. At once he could move him, who thereupon went on his way. And when he had already followed his course, only the moon remained there. At the time when the sun came to enter the place where he set, then once more the moon moved. So, there, they passed each other and went each one his own way. Thus the sun cometh forth once, and spendeth the whole day [in his work]; and the moon undertaketh the night's task; he worketh all night; he doth his labor at night.

From this it appeareth, it is said, that the moon, Tecuciztecatl, would have been the sun if he had been first to cast himself into the fire; because he had presented himself first and all [his offerings] had been costly in the penances.

Here endeth this legend and fable, which was told in times past, and was in the keeping of the old people.

Nimã ic ieh itequiuh õmochiuh, in hecatl, ie quinmjctia in teteu: auh in iuh conitoa, in xolotl, amo momiquitlania: quimilhui in teteu. Macamo nimiqui teteuie. Ic cẽca chocaia, vel ispopoçaoac, isquatolpopoçaoac.

Auh in ie itech onaci miquiztli, çan teispãpa eoac, cholo, toctitlan calactiuetz: ipan onmimuch, ic mocueptiuetz, in toctli ome manj, mazaltic: in quitocaiotia millaca, xolotl. Auh vncan ittoc in toctitlan: ie no ceppa teispampa eoac, ie no cuele metitlan calactiuetz: no ic õmocueptiuetz in metl, ome manj, in itoca mexolotl. Ic no ceppa ittoc, ie no cuele atlan calactiuetz, axolotl mocuepato: ic vel vmpa canato, inic conmictique.

Auh quitoa, in manel muchintin teteu omicque, ça nel amo ic olin, amo vel ic otlatocac in teutl tonatiuh: ic iequiuh ommuchiuh in hecatl, moquetz in ehecatl, cenca molhui, totocac, in ehecac: quin iehoatl vel colinj, nimah ic ic otlatoca. Auh in icoac, ie otlatoca, çan vmpa ommocauh in metztli: quinicoac in ocalaquito icalaquian tonatiuh, ie no cuele ic oalcoac in metztli: ic vncan mopatilique, motlallotique. Inic ceppa oalquiça tlacemilhuitiltia in tonatiuh: auh in metztli iocaltequitl quitlaça cẽiocal quitlaça, iocaltequitl.

Ic vncã hin neci, mitoa: ca ichoatl tonatiuh icaquia in metztli tecuiztecãtl, intla ic achto onuetzinj tleco: ipampa ca ichoatl achto miaquetz, inic muchi tlaçotli ipan tlamaceuh.

Nican tlami, in hin nenonotzalli, çaçanilli: in ie uecauh ic tlatlanonotzaia, veuetque, in impiel cateca.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821 843 When the moon eclipsed, his face grew dark and sooty; blackness and darkness spread. When this came to pass, women with child feared evil; they thought it portentous; they were terrified [lest], perchance, their [unborn] children might be changed

Metztli quale.

In icoac, quale metztli: ixtlileoa, iscuicheoa, cuicheoatimomana, tlaiocatimomana. In icoac, y, muchioa: nel motẽmatia in ocatzin, tlamimatia, momauhtiaia: ma nelli moquimichcuepti, ma quiquimichtinmocuepti, in impilhoan.

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into mice; each of their children might turn into a mouse.

And because they feared evil, in order to protect themselves, in order that this might not befall [them], they placed obsidian in their mouths or in their bosoms, because with this their children would not be born with mouth eaten away—lipless; or they would not be born with noses eaten away or broken off; or with twisted mouths or lips; or cross-eyed, squint-eyed, or with shrunken eyes; nor would they be born monstrous or imperfect.

This moon those of Xaltocan worshipped as a god, and they laid offerings before him and paid him honor.

821
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Auh inic quintemmatia: inic mopatiaia, inic amo ishqui impã muchioaz: itztli incamac, anoço inxillã quitlaliaia: ipãpa inic amo tencoaiuiaque, tencoatiaque impilhoan: anoço iacacoatiaque, iacacotoniaque, anoço tempaztiuiaque, tennecuiliuiaque, ispaztiuiaque, iuecuiliuiaque, iocaliuiaque: in anoço atlacacemele tlacatix, in amo tlacamelaoac.

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Inin metztli, ichoan quimotzutiaia in zaltocameca: quitlamaniliaia, quimauiztiliaia.

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[p. 10 is blank]

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Third Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

The Fire Drill[7]

When [these] appeared and set forth, incense was offered and burned. Thus was it said when Yoaltecutli [and] Yacauitztli had come forth: "What will the night bring? How will the day break?"

And these were offered incense. Three times was it done: when night fell—well into the night; and when it was time to sleep—the time when the flutes were blown.[8] When this [took place], this was the time for offering their blood and offering maguey spines stained with blood. The third time incense was offered was when it dawned, when the morning broke, when the earth was visible—when morning was near.

And hence was it said that they resembled the fire drill: because when fire was drawn with a drill, and the drill bored, thus fell, ignited, and flared the fire.

821
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And also for this reason all burned [spots on] their wrists; for this reason were we men burned on the wrists, to show awe of him. He was feared and dreaded. It was said and considered of any whose wrists were not burned that on his wrists fire would be drilled in the land of the dead, when he died. Therefore we men—every one—were burned on the wrists. On both sides of each wrist they arranged in order, in rows, the wrist burns. Thus they represented the fire drill. In the same manner as [the stars] were arranged in order and in line, so also they placed in order, in rows, their burns on their wrists.

[The Morning Star or Great Star]

821

Of the morning star, the great star, it was said that when first it emerged and came forth, four times it vanished and disappeared quickly. And afterwards it burst forth completely, took its place in full light,

Inic ey capitulo, intechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

Mamalhoaztli.

In icoac oalneci, oalmotema: tlenamacoia, tlatotoniloia: ic mitoaia, ooaluetz in iooaltecutli, in iacauiztli: quen uerziz in iooalli, quen tlathuiz.

Auh in hin tlenamacoia, espa in tlachioaia: icoac in tlapoiaoa, tlaqusuh tlapoiaoa, yoan netetequizpan, tlatlapitzalizpa. Icoac, y, neçoaia, neuitzmanaloia: ic espa tlenamacoia, icoac in tlauizcaleoa, tlauizcalli moquetza: in tlatlalchipaoa, in ie tlathuinaoac.

Auh inic mitoa, mamalhoaztli, itech moneneuilia in tlequauitl: iehica, in icoac tlequauhtlaxo, ca momamali in tlequauitl: inic uetzi, inic xotla, inic mopitza tletl.

No yoan, inic nematlatiloia: inic momatlatiaia toquichtin, iehoatl quimacacia, mjmacacia imacaxoia, mjtoaia: quilmach in aquin amo nematlatile, imac tlequauhtlaxoz in mjctlan, in icoac omjc. Iehica in toquichtin, muchi tlacatl momatlatiaia, nenecoc inmac quiuiujpanaia, quitetecpanaia in innematlatil: ic quitlaichecalhuiaia in mamalhoaztli: in iuh vipontoc, tecpantoc, no iuh quiuiuipanaia, quitetecpanaia in immac innematlatil.

821

Citlalpol, uei citlalin mitoa: in icoac iancuican oalcholoa, oalquiça, nappan poliui, popoliuhtiuetzi: auh çatepã uel cueponj, cuepontimotlalia, cuepontica, tlanestitica: inhquin metztenas ic tlanestia.

7. The names of various constellations and stars may or may not correspond to the names by which they are now known. In the Spanish text and in the *Matutinales* one *estrella*, however, Sahagún uses them with the terminology current in his times. See also Plates 1-7, 21.

8. *Tlatlapitzalizpa*: cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 192; also Sandoz, op. cit.; Godfrey, op. cit., p. 252. The ceremony called for use of flutes or trumpets, according to Sandoz; of horns, according to Godfrey. Sources vary as to the exact time when these were blown.

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821 became brilliant, and shone white. Like the moon's rays, so did it shine.

And when it newly emerged, much fear came over them; all were frightened. Everywhere the outlets and openings[6a] [of houses] were closed up. It was said that perchance [the light] might bring a cause of sickness, something evil, when it came to emerge. But sometimes it was regarded as benevolent.

821 782 And also [captives] were slain when it emerged, [that] it might be nourished. They sprinkled blood toward it. With the blood of captives they spattered toward it, flipping the middle finger from the thumb; they cast [the blood] as an offering; they raised it in dedication.

Auh in icoac, iancuican oalcholoa: cēca mauiztli motecaia, nemauhtiloia: nouiian motzatzacoaia in tlecalli, in puchquiiaoatl: mitoaia, aço cocolizaço, itla aqualli quitquitiuitz, in oquiçaco: auh in quenman quicoalittaia.

Auh no micoaia, in icoac oalcholoa, itcaltiloia, quitlacoaliaia: imezçotica in mamalti, contlatzitzicuiniliaia, contlatlatlaxiliaia, contlaiiauiliaia.

7 [i.e. The morning star or great star — A.]

6a. The corresponding Spanish text translates these as doors and windows. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III, p. 39, n. 3a.

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

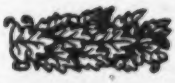

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

Inic nauí Capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

The Comet

It was said [to be] an omen for the ruler. Because of it a ruler was to perish; perchance some person of noble lineage would die. And likewise they said that somewhere he might be imprisoned, or war would begin. Or else there would be famine. The common folk said: "Perhaps this is our hunger; perchance famine," they said.

Citlalin popoca.

Mitoa: tlatocatetzauitl, ic tlatocamicoaz, aço aca uey tlaçopilli ie mjquix: yoan no quitoaia, aço cana ie oalmotzacoaz, aço ie olinjz teuatl tlachinolli: yoan anoço ie maianaloz. Quitoaia in maceoalti: aço tapiz hi, aço apiztli quitoa. 821 787

The Shooting Star

It was said that the passing of a shooting star rose and fell neither without purpose nor in vain. It brought a worm to something. And of [the animal] wounded by a shooting star, they said: "It hath been wounded by a shooting star; it hath received a worm." [Such] was not to be eaten. It was looked at with fear, abhorred, and shunned. It turned one's stomach.

Citlalin tlamina.

Mitoa: amo nenquiça, amo nẽuetzi, in itlamjnaliz: tlaocuillotia. Auh in tlamintli, mitoa: citlalmjnqui, ocuillo, aocmo qualo, mauhcaitto, tlaelitto, hihielo, tetlaieltia. 821 825 262

And by night all were well protected. All covered themselves; they clothed themselves, wrapped themselves in mantles, and bound on their garments, for fear of the shooting star.

Auh in iooaltica vel nemalhuilo, neololoio, netlapacholo, nequentilo, netlalpililo: imacazo in itlaminaliz citlalin. 821

The S-Shaped Stars

[These] were apart; they appeared by themselves, shining and shimmering. And for this reason were they called *S*-shaped stars—that they were similar to and very much like a [kind of maize] tortilla which was made, or an amaranth seed tortilla. [These] were, at both ends, twisted and rounded over. They were eaten on the day Xochitl, everywhere, in each house. In all places, in men's dwellings everywhere, they were made.

Citlalsunecuilli.

Çan iioca onoc, iioca neztoc, tlanestitoc, cuecuepocatoc: Auh inic mitoa, citlalsunecuilli: ca quinenevilia, vel no iuhqui centlamantli tlachichioalli tlascalli, anoço tzoualli: nenecoc, cecentlapal quacoltic, quateuilacachtic: xuchilhuitl ipan in quaqualoia, noxiian cecencalpan: quittacutimanca, in noxiian techachan nechiuliloia. 821 262

The Scorpion Stars

In the same manner, [these] resembled and appeared in the aspect of the venomous scorpion, with upcurved tail. Arched and upcurled is its tail; wherefore [these] are called the Scorpion Stars.

Citlalcolotl.

Çan no iuhqui: quinenevilia, quinamiqui, in itlachieliz tequani colotl: cuitlapilococoltic, mamalacachtic, teteuilacachtic in jcuitlapil: ipampa inic mitoa citlalcolotl. 821

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The Wind

That which was known as [the wind] was addressed as Quetzalcoatl. From four directions it came, from four directions it traveled. The first place whence it came was the place from which the sun arose, which they named Tlalocan. This wind which came from there they gave the name of the Tlaloc wind. Little did it frighten men; lightly did it blow. With it, one could go in a canoe; with it one could land; with it one could cross the water.

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The second place whence it came [the north] was called Mictlampa; and this was named the wind from the land of the dead. This was much feared, and caused much terror. Violently did it blow, when it set in, and the canoes could not contend with it. They could not travel forward. They could not venture forth; they could not pass across; they could not get under way in the water. Rather, all the boatmen came out and left [their craft] because of fear—those who gained their livelihoods on the water, the fishermen who used nets, or who speared [the fish]. When they saw that it was Mictlampa ehecatl which arose, then they feared evil and were troubled. They hurried, hastened, and greatly quickened their pace, plying the pole—plying it rapidly. They strained their arms, that they might come out and beach [the canoe] on the shore, on the edge of the water, near the water line. And so they said: "Often it drowneth men and sinketh canoes."

The third place whence it came [the west] was known as Cioatlampa; it was named Cioatecayotl and Cioatlampa ehecatl. Also it was called One Wind. or Maçaua; for it came from Maçauacan. And this one did not blow fiercely. Nevertheless, it was very cold. Men suffered much from [its] cold; they became livid and stiff from cold. It made them shiver; it was deadly. It made men tremble, shake, and quake; it exhausted them; it gave them stomach pains, or pains in the lungs, or the head. And yet, with it they could go ashore from the water. It did not frighten men nor terrify them.

And the fourth place whence came the wind [the south] was there from Uitztlampa. It was named Uitztlampa ehecatl. And this one was much feared and held in dread. All feared harm. It made men speechless with terror; it made them silent with fear. Because it blew swiftly, it frightened them greatly. They said: "When it arieth, it uprooteth and breaketh trees: and it teareth walls to pieces—old walls

Ehecatl

Motenemaia: ic quinotzaia quetzalcoatl. Nauhcampa oallauh, nauhcampa oalitztiuh. Inic ceccan oallauh: vmpa in iquiçaiampa tonatiuh, quitoaia tlalocã: inin ehecatl, vmpa oallauh, quitocaiotiuia, tlaiocaiotl: amo cẽca temauhti, amo cenca totoca, uel ipan acaltica viloa, vel ipan quixoa, in atlan: vel ipã panoa.

Inic occã oallauh, motenecoa mictlampa: auh inin motocaiotia mictlampa ehecatl. In hin uel imacaxo, uellamauhtia: cenca totoca, in icoac moquetza, amo vel quinamiqui in acalli: amo vellauilteco, amo uel tlatlapalolo, avel istlapal viloa, auel tlanecuilolo in atlan: çan mauhcaquixoa, mauhcaquiça in tlapanauiqua, in atlãca, in tlãtlamãque, in tlamjnque. In oquitaque, ca mictlampa ehecatl in omoquetz: ic cenca motenmati, motequipachoa, uel motequimati, ompilcatoque, ompipilcatoque, in tlaneloa, in tequitlaneloa: vel momaquauhtilia, inic uel onquiça, onmacana atenco, atexipaloo, achichiiacpa: iuh quixoa, ca miecpa, teatlanmictia, quipolactia in acalli.

Inic ecan oallauh: motenecoa cioatlãpa, motocaiotia, cioatecaiotl, cioatlampa ehecatl: no quitocaiotia ce ehecatl, anoço maçaoa ipampa vmpan oalitztiuh maçaoacan. Auh in hin, amo no cenca totoca: iece cenca iztic, uel tececmjti, tepineoalti, tepinuch, tetetziliuiti, tetetzilquiti, tetzitzilquiti, teniotioquilti, tecuecuechquiti, tecuecuechmiquiti: texillanquauhtili, teiomotlanquauhtili, tetzonteconeuh. Auh tel, uel ipan quixoa in atlan, amo temauhti, amo temauiscuiti.

Auh inic nauhcampa, oallauh ehecatl, vmpa uitztlampa: motocaiotia uitztlampa ehecatl. Auh inin, cenca vel imacaxo, mimacaci: netenmacho, aoc temauitilti, aoc tetlatolti: ipãpa cenca totoca, cenca tlauauhtia. Quitoa, in icoac moquetza: vel quitzjneoa, quipoztequi in quauitl: yoan quinitinja in tepantli, in tepançolli, in xacalli: quecatoctia in tlatzacuilli, in chinancalli. Auh in vei atl vel colinja, quitepouaçoa,

and straw huts. The wind carrieth off fences and enclosures. And it stirreth up the seas; it maketh them froth and foam. It formeth waves; there is a great din as of waves breaking. There is a great crackling noise." And it tossed and cast canoes into the air. Just so, indeed, did the north wind sink them.

quipoçonaltia, cacuecueniotia: iuhquin tetecuicatimani, cocomocatimani: auh in acalli caacomaiaui, chacotlaço: vel no iuhqui, quinamiqui in mictlampa ehecatl. 821 823 502

Lightning; the Lightning Flash

They addressed it as, and named it, many things—the mist which went winding [like a serpent], the thunderbolt, the reed staff. When lighting flashed and lit up repeatedly, we were blinded, we lost our sight, our vision was darkened. It startled us; we were terrified. It was unbearable to look at; it was dazzling. Everywhere it flashed repeatedly—again and again—like the light of the dawn breaking over and over. Thus did it come; it came twisting and winding.

Tlapetlanjllotl, tlapetlanjliztli: much ic quinotzaia, quitocaiotiaia, aiauhcocolli, tlapetlanjlquauitl, oztopilcouitl. In iceac tlapetlzni, tlãtlapetlani: tispoiaoa, tismimiqui, titismauhtia, titocuitiuetzi: aiuamiquiliztli, aiuamiquiztli, nouiian tlatlaeztimoquetza: iztihquin tlauizcalli moquequetza: inic oallauh oalcocolinhtiuh, coecueliuhtiuitz. 821

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

Ic macuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in mixti.

The Lord of Tlaloccan

Tlaloca tecutli.

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He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chia*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

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Teutl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quiauitl, in atl: iuh quitoaia, ic quichioa in ticoua, in tiqui, in qualoni, in joani, in tonenca, in toiolca, in tocochca, in toneuhca, in tocemilhuitiaja, in tonacaiotl: in ic iquich zopaniotl, in itzmolintoc, in celiztoc, in quauitl, in ouhtli, in chian, in aiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: ꝓoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in xuchitl, in xiuitl.

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And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Tlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

Auh in icoac ilhuiquitilitoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçaoaia, motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazqueʼ: iñ motenoa calmecac mooapaoa, mozcaltia.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishment. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

In icoac oncic nauilhuitl, in ic neoalco, in ic ilhuitl muchioa: matlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uci apan: amo juiian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmotzotzopontitlaça, onmotzotzopontimaiaui: çan monetechuja, vncan çoquititlan quincmjtia, quipopolactia, quiauiulana: icpac cantinemi, quititilicça, atlã tlatzotzopotztinemj, aicozotztinemi, tlamoomolotztinemi: inmac mouiuitlatinemi, in tlamacazque,

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once, for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

in otlatlaco, in calmecac itlã oncholo: intlanel çan aca õnotepeolani, itlã oconicxixopeuh, oc uel ic conacique, ic ic inmal ça quipipia, aocmo conjcaoa, inic catlampapachoaque.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or foreboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Auh amo çan quenjn quipeloa: uel quicocolia, quellelaxitia, ça quen quimattoc, ça mopopoçauhtoc, ça içomocatoc, ça micqui in quioalmaiaui atenco: niac uel ipan tlatoa, vncan quimonana in intahoan, in innahoan. Auh in aquin quitlamauhcaitilia, in quitlaõnachilia ipiltzin, inic amo cãtlampapachoaque: conçquistiaia itlazin quinmacaia in tlamacazque, aço tonelin, aço tlaqualli: ic quicanaia.

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water, in order that they should let him go, he offered the priests something of value—either a turkey or food. In return for it they let [his son] be.

And when this came to pass, everywhere, in the houses of all, in each house, *eta·lli*[9] was eaten. Each one made *etzalli* for himself; and there was a dance in which *etzalli* was begged. With green maize stalks they danced. Those who danced the *etzalli* dance entered house after house, each one begging and asking. [The householders] offered them all this same *etzalli*, [placing it] in the small jars, the *etzalli* jars, which they bore in their hands.

These [gods] were called Tlaloca. To them were attributed clouds, rain, hail, snow, mist, sheet lightning, thunder, and lightning bolts which struck men.

The Rainbow

821 As if arched—bent and rounded—it thus appeared. Varicolored, many-hued was its appearance. The single colors which showed in it [were] green, dark green, blue green, and black; and yellow and orange or tawny; then vermillion and ruby red; and [various shades of] blue, and dark green.[10]

And they said that when it appeared it revealed, made evident to men, and denoted—whereby it was known, realized, and seen—that it would not rain; would not rain hard—would not pour. But it would break up the clouds. It would dissipate, impede, and quiet the rain—the downpour which wet, soaked, and drenched one. If clouds piled up, if heavy clouds blackened [the sky] so that everywhere it was dark, it only dissipated [them]. Although it rained, no longer was the rain heavy; no longer did it increase. It only sprinkled; it drizzled; a few drops fell; a haze, a fog, a thin mist drifted and fell. Or at most it sprinkled; the sprinkling and the spray continued.

And they said—it was averred—[that] if it appeared over maguey plants, because of it the green [leaves] yellowed, turned, dried, reddened, and withered. And also they said [that] when it appeared many times, thereby it was evident [that] the rains were to end forthwith. They said: "Soon the masters of the rain will go; already the Tlaloca are about to leave."

Auh in icoac, y, in nouiian techachan, in cecencalpan etzalqualoia: ceceiaca metzalhuiaia, yoan etzalmaceoaloia: cintopiltica mitotia, tepan cacalaqui, motlatlaeuia, motlatlaitlanja, in etzalmaceuhque: çan muche in etzalli quinmaca, inxoxochuicol, imeetzalcon intlan caana.

In ichoantin, y, moteneoa tlaloque: intech tlamiloia in mistli, in quiauitl, in teciuitl, in cēpaiauitl, in aiauitl, in tlapetlāniliztli, in tlatlatziniliztli, in teuitequiliztli.

Aiauhcoçamalotl.

Iuhquin uitoliuhqui: tlauitoltic, coltic, inic oalmoquetza, tlatlatlapalpoalli, motlatlapalpouh in itlachieliz. In centlamantli tlapalli, itech neci: xoxoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iiapaltic, quilpalli, iiapalli: yoan coztic, xopaltic, xochipalli: niman ic chichiltic, tlapaltic: yoā tlaztaleoaltic, tlaztaleoalli: yoan texōtic, texōtli, matlaltic, matlalli.

Auh quitoa, in icoac oalmoquetza: quinestia, quiteittita, quinezcaiotia, ic macho, ic machizti, ic itto: in amo quiauiz, amo tlaelquiauiz, amo tilaoaz: çan quimomoiaoaz in mistli, quipopoloa, quellehtia, quiiacatzacuilia in quiiauitl, in tlaelquiiauitl: in tepaltili, in techacoani, in teçoquitili. Intla cenca omotlatlali mistli, in ouel cuicuicheoac, in onouiian tlatlaiooac: çan quipopopoloa. Intlanel quiaui, aocmo cenca tilaoa, aocmo molhuia: ça aoachquiauí, aoachtli in onuetuetzi, in onchichipini: aoachpitzactli, aoachpicilli, aoachpiciltoton, in ontzitzicuini in onuetuetzi: anōçe çan aoachtilaoa, aoachtilaoatimani, aoachtzetzeluhtimani.

Auh quitoa, quilmach intla metl, ipan moquetza: ic macueçaliciui, macoçauia, maoaqui, machichilini, matlatlauja, macuetlauja. No yoan quitoa, in icoac miecpa oalmoquetza: ic neci, çan cuel quiçaz, in quiiauitl: quitoaia, çan cuel iazque in aoaque, ic quiçazque in tlaloque.

9. *Etzalli*: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 79.

10. Sahagún (*Memorial*) has green for *xoxoctic*, *quiltic*, *quilpaltic*, *iiapaltic*, *quilpalli*, and *iiapalli*. Alonso de Molina, in his *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), gives blue-green for *quilpaltic* and brown or black for *iiapaltic*. The second occurrence of this hue and of *quilpalli* is omitted in this translation. Molina translates *xochipaltic* as reddy or rose-colored. In *Memorial* one *xoxoctic*, Sahagún wrote both *chichiltic* and *iiapaltic* as red. For *tlaxoxoctic*, Molina has red or rose-colored. For *matlaltic* and *matlalli*, the *Memorial* has blue.

S: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

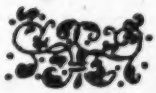

Sixth Chapter. Here are mentioned the snow, the clouds, and the hail.

[Frost]

The frost [god] was called Itztlacoliuhqui. Once yearly the cold came. During the feast of Ochpaniztli the cold began. And for one hundred and twenty days—one hundred and twenty suns—this persisted and there was cold. And it ended and disappeared [during the feast] called Tititl.

When [the month] came to an end, it was said: "For the frost hath departed. Now there will be sowing—it will be the time of sowing. Already land will be planted, so that [seeds] will be placed in the soil. Already it is warm, mild, calm. Already the season is good, the time is propitious; the hour is at hand; the time is ripe; the moment hath come." [For] already they hastened and were diligent. Already there was unrest; all men would be agitated and solicitous; they would be preoccupied. No longer would there be rest. Already the days would fly;[11] already there would be the setting forth for the working of the fields, the fresh working of the soil, the reworking of the fields; already the fields would be reworked. Now there would be planting of beans; beans would be placed. Now amaranth seed would be cast broadside; amaranth would be placed. Now *chia* seed would be cast; chili plants set out and transplanted. Already off-shoots would be pruned and separated, and all would bear fruit.

Snow

It was only the servant and companion which followed, accompanied, and spread the frost over the earth. It was considered to be like the rain. And it was said that when there was snow, [crops] would be harvested; the crops would be good. It foretold, and was an omen of, [good] crops.

Ic chicoacen capitulo, vncan mitoa: in cẽpaisuitl, yoan mistli, yoan in teciuitl.

Cetl, mitoa: itztlacoliuhqui, ceziubtica in oallatiuh, in ceuetzi: ipan ochpaniztli, in pena ceuetzi. Auh chicoaccempoalilhuitl, chicuacẽpoaltonal: in mani, in ceuetzi. Auh ipan quiça, ipan poliui, in itoca tititl: 821 776

icoac tlami, mitoa ca oquiz in cetl, ie tocoz, ie toquizpan, ie tlatlalaquiloz, ic tlallan ontlatlaliloz: ie tlatotonja, ie tlacacaoaca, ie tlaiamanja: ie qualcan, ie uncan, ie inman, ie tlainman, otlainmantic: ie tlaciui, otlaciuh, ie neamaloz, ie neacomanaloz, ie nemociuiloz, ie tlamociuiz, aoc onnetlaliloz: ie tlacaitl eoaz, ie motocaz in tlaelimictli, in tlapopozolli, in çacamolli, ie çacamoloz, ie etlaxoz, ie etlaçaloz: ie ossuhpixoloz, ie ossuhquetzaloz, ie chiempixoloz, ie chiltecoz, ie chilaquiloz: ie onpipilcotoz, ie onnemaiaohoaz, ie netlacatiloz.

Cepaisuitl.

Çan iuical, çan itlauical, quitoquilia, quitocatiuh, yoã onociuh in cetl: iuhquin quiauitl ipan poui. Auh mitoa, in icoac cepaisui: piscoz, tlamochioaz: quinestia, inenca in pisquistli. 821

11. Here we follow Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Weltanschauung, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken, aus dem aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagún's übersetzt und erläutert* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1950), pp. 53, 348-349. An alternative, however, might be "men are fresh, or alert" (*chaoaz, ona*).

Our rendition of capitulum and cepaisuitl is provisional.

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Clouds

When [clouds] billowed and formed thunderheads, and settled and hung about the mountain tops, it was said: "The Tlalocs are already coming. Now it will rain. Now the masters of the rain will sprinkle water."

Hail

It was formed and took shape when very white clouds settled on mountain tops. It was said: "Now it will hail; now our food will be hailed out."

And thus did hail fall, making a din as of rattling, beating one about the head, pelting one [as if] with stones. Thus, truly, died and were despoiled our crops. For some distance, it flattened on the ground and spread birds over the surface of the water. At that time the water dwellers went gathering for themselves; they brought in their catch.

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And that it might not hail, that they might not be hailed upon, and the young maize plants might not be damaged by hail, then the [sorcerers who] cast away hail and rain drove and headed it off. They removed it from the waters [of the lake]; they showed it the way and took it [hence]. Or else they cast it forth into the deserted places, the uncultivated lands where there were no crops, no one lived, and nothing existed; poverty-ridden lands—barren lands where nothing grew, nothing issued: the land was void. It was only an abandoned place; the [very] stones were dry.

Mistli.

In iconac tepeticpac moloni, momoloca, motlatlalia, mopiloa: mitoaia, ca ic uitze in tlaloque, ic quiiauiz, ic pixauizque in aoaque.

Teciuitl

Ic muchioa, ic neci: in iconac tepeticpac motlatlalia mistli, cēca iztac: mitoa, ca ic teciuiz, ic teciuiloz in tonacaiotl.

Auh inic uetzi teciuitl, iuhquin tlacacalaca, tequacacalanja, temomotla: vel ic miqui, ic ispoliui, ic tonacamiqui, cemati quimana, atlisco quinmana in totome. Auh vel oncan mopisquia, quin mopisquia, tonacatlama, in atlaca.

Auh inic amo teciuiz, inic amo teciuiloz, inic amo tecinmiquiz toctli: niman quitopeoa, quipeuia, in teciuhtlazque, in quiiauhtlazque· atlanpa quiquanja, quitlachieltia, quiuica: anoço vmpa quitlaça in çacatla, çacaistl›oacan, in atle imuchioaian, atle iionoia, atle onoc, atle iieoaia, atle coatoc, atle iquiçaiā, atle quiztoc, atle onuetztoc: çan iuhcatla, tetl oaoacca.

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The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

Inic chicome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the sextons] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Cuatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year count[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Ce tochtli.

moteneoa: uitztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: matlactiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlatoctia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in ixquitetl xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In ichoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipāpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanextia. 805 823

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, ichoatl in tecpatl: moteneoa mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatotoca in mimicque. Ichica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconiilpique: vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitztiltitimotlaliaia. [775] [764]

Auh inic nauj, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: ichoatl in calli moteneoa, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipāpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, aocaque toquichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: izquiteme ceceppa moquetztiui, tonalpeuhcaiome muchiuhtiuj. 805

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omeci, quitlamja, conaxitia, quitzonquistia nauhteistin: inic tlaiacalotiui, quimomacatiui, quimocauilitiui, intequiuh, cecexiuhtica: ichoatl itech onaci, itech ōmocaoa, itech ontzopi, itech ontlatzotzona, ontlatzonquistia in matlactiomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ic ocaxiti in matlacxiuitl omei itequiuh.

Auh niman ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uitztlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia itequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlauicaz, tlaotlatoctia: cenca 805 731

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and set it upon its way, all were much frightened and there was apprehension; all were filled with dread because in this [year] occurred the famine called Necetochuilizt̃li. All were exceedingly terrified and in awe when [the year] One Rabbit came—when they reached and came to it; though not [when it was] Two or Three [Rabbit]. Etc.

nemauhtiloia, tlatẽmachoia, netẽmachoa: ipampa, in ipan muchíoaia maianalizt̃li, motẽneoa necetochuilizt̃li. Çaniio uellamauhtiaia, uel ímacaxoia: in icoac on onoquetz ce tochtli, in onoitech axioac, onoitech onpachiooac: amono ie in omz, anoço ey. etc.

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The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

Inic chicuey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apizzli, in maianalizzli, in icoac tlauicaia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapoalli, ce tochtli.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; musty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Auh in icoac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, netetzontilo, netacatilo, mocuezcomatema in tonacaiotl: aoc tle motlaça, muchicoac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzõtli, in miiaoatl, in metzolli, in nochxochitl, in mescalli, in necutlatotonilli. 805 262

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[12] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. and when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[13]

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in oauhtli çan yoã mosconoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opatzaoac. Auh icoac, muchi tlaiecoa, tlaacotlaça tlaihiiocuitia in petzicatl, in chichic oauhtli, anoço teuoauhtli, iacacolli:

This was the time when they bought people;[14] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

ie icoac tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlametl, tlaixtotiani, atle quiscaoa, tlaistamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuie, tzotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoccotinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicqui, in teuciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quitta ihiiocuiia, iceuhca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motoloa: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin: 805 567 565 735

12. *In xauhtli yoan yoã in çaçaçaxic:* cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1956), II, p. 268: "*xauhtli çaçaçqui, o la semilla de los cenizos de limpiar, con todas sus inmundicias.*" Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 69. has "*Ährne zum reiger auch die Borstigkeit aus.*"

13. Some of these terms are identified in Andrews and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Yacacolli is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia verdadera de cosas de la Nueva-España* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Éditeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*espiga de maiz.*" See also the Bancroft edition, Vol. I, p. 159.

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jens (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-71), q. v.

Quinamaca appears in the *Real Palacio* MS as *quiçaqui.* The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *in moqua* (see ne xauxli), toward the end of the paragraph.

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[For] they had incurred sins. They had taken unto themselves, and placed themselves in, great wrong, through which they went always being slaves, until at last they were to die.

And even if he died, once again some one of his kin stood surety for him. Or else his beloved son offered himself and finished for him. None were neglected. Their kin and their lineage went on continuing and extending [the obligation]; they went on paying the debt and concerning themselves [with it]. Always they fulfilled the pledge, continued taking the place of others, served for one another; they all entered the households of their lords.

If sons or grandsons were born to him, at once [their elders] assigned them their great faults. When they matured, when they gained prudence, when they looked about, already servitude would be upon them. Already they wielded the hoe, they used the tump line; already they were [as] someone else's dogs, someone else's turkeys. For in truth [slavery] had come upon them; they had come against that which they could not leave—of which they could not be rid. For their fathers, their grandfathers, their mothers, and their grandmothers had proceeded to merit for them, to acknowledge for them, to bequeath them, to load and place upon them, [their transgressions]. For difficult was that which they had left and bequeathed them in time of famine—those who hungered and starved, who no longer were proud, who no longer persevered, who indeed were sick; who had eaten themselves, had sold themselves.

[This was] because they had prepared nothing for themselves, had shown no forethought for themselves; had paid no heed, had lived in negligence, and were disposed to evil before the year sign One Rabbit had begun—[when] it had not yet set in.

Thus was it said, that their fathers and grandfathers had succumbed to One Rabbit; hence they took on great sins.

When [the year] One Rabbit had fulfilled its task, when the year had been completed, then it delivered its charge to the sign of the east: Two Reed was the one which [then] set in.

motlatlaculnamictia, ueuetlatlaculli quimotitia, quimotlalilia: inic muchipa centlacotli ietiuh, in isquich cauitl miquiz.

Auh in manel onmic, oc ceppa ipan oalmoquetza, aca ioaniolqui, anoço ipiltzin ōmisquetza, ipan tlaiecoa: aiac miscaoa, mà antiui, motilinitiui, cemololiuhtiui, mocemichictiui in incalloc, in incuitlaxcolloc: muchipa impan tlaiecoa, impan oonotiui, mocepanpaleuia, cencalaqui in ichan intecuiio:

intla tlacatizque ipilhoan, in imīsuioan, çan niman ie quincauilitiui in inueuetlacol: in oalmozcalizque, in oalistlamatizque, in oallachiazque, ie intech ca in intlacoio, ie uicti, ie mecapalti, ie teitzcuinhoan, ie tetotolhoan: ca nel oimpan ia, oquimonamictique, in auel tecauh, in auel poliui: ca intahoā, inculhoan, innanhoā, incihoā in quinmaceuitiui, quincuititiui, quincauilitiui, quinmamaltiti quintlalilitiui: ca ouicā in concauhque, in quimoncauilique, inic mãianalco, in teuciuiian, im apizmiquia, aoc imatlamatia, aoc ontlaiecoa, uel icocoiaia: in moquaque, in monamacaque.

Ipampa, in atle cōmochioaltique, in atle ic onmotlamachique, in aquen ommomatque, in çan onmotlacomatque, onmauilmatque: in icoac aiamo peoa, aiamo moquetza xiuhtonalli ce tochtli.

Ic mitoa, ca mocetochuique in intahoan in inculhoan: inic quicuique veuetlatlacolli.

In icoac, ie otequit ce tochtli, in otlatzonquisti ce xiuitl: niman ic ie itech concaoa, in tlapcopa tonalli: ichoatl oalmoquetza in vme acatl.

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Ninth Chapter, in which is described what was called "The Binding of Our Years," or "When the Years are Bound," [which occurred] when one by one the four year signs had each reigned thirteen years and when fifty-two years had passed; and what then was done.

Inic chicuasai capitulo, vncan mitoa: in mitoa, toximmoipili, anoço inic molpilia xiuitl: yn icoac matlatlacpa omeexpa otlauicac, yn inaubteixti cecentetl xippoalli: inic onaci vmpoalxiuitl ipan matlacxiuitl omume, yoan in tlein icoac muchioaya.

When [came] the time of the binding of our years, always they gradually neared and approached [the year] Two Reed. This is to say: they then reached and ended [a period of] fifty-two years. For at that time [these years] were piled up, added one to another, and brought together; wherefore the thirteen-year [cycles] had four times made a circle,[15] as hath been made known. Hence was it said that then were tied and bound our years, and that once again the years were newly laid hold of. When it was evident that the years lay ready to burst into life, everyone took hold of them, so that once more would start forth—once again—another [period of] fifty-two years. Then [the two cycles] might proceed to reach one hundred and four years. It was called "One Old Age" when twice they had made the round, when twice the times of binding the years had come together.

Ie vncan, ie ipan in toxiuhmolpilia: muchipa ie quimattiuh, quitztiuh in vme acatl. q. n. Ca vncan aci, uncan tlami ompoalxiuitl ōmatlactli, yoā onxiuitl. Ca vncan mocentlalia, monepanoa, monamiqui: inic otlaiaoalo nauhcampa matlacxiuitl omeey, in iuh omoteneuh: ic mitoa, vncan molpia, molpilia in toxiuh, oc ceppa iancuican vncan xiuhtzitzquilo: inic monezcaiotiaia, in xiuitl isoatoc, muchi tlacatl cōquitzquiaia, inic oc ceppa ie ōpeoa, oc no izqui xiuitl 52 años, inic acitiuh macuilpoalxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl: mitoa cen uetitiliztli, in oppa tlaiaoaloa, in oppa monamiqui imolpilican xiuitl. 805

Behold what was done when the years were bound—when was reached the time when they were to draw the new fire, when now its count was accomplished. First they put out fires everywhere in the country round. And the statues, hewn in either wood or stone, kept in each man's home and regarded as gods, were all cast into the water. Also [were] these [cast away]—the pestles and the [three] hearth stones [upon which the cooking pots rested]; and everywhere there was much sweeping—there was sweeping very clean. Rubbish was thrown out; none lay in any of the houses.

Izcatqui in muchioaia, icoac molpilia xiuitl; in icoac oxxioac, in vncā uetziz tlequauitl, in ie itlapoalpan: achto vel nouiian cēceuia in tletl in cematonaoac, yoan in isqtich pieloia techachā, in neteutiloia tequacuilti, in aço quauitl, anoço tetl tlaxintli, muchi atlan onmotepeoaia: No ichoatl in texolotl, in tenamaztli, yoan nouiian tlātlachpanoia, tlatetzcalolo, tlanaoac tlauico, aoctle uetztoia in techachan. 805 372

And when they drew the new fire, they drew it there at Uixachtlan, at midnight, when the night divided in half. They drew it upon the breast of a captive, and it was a well-born one on whose breast [the priest] bored the fire drill. And when a little

Auh in vetzia tlequauitl, vmpa in vixachtlan: iocalnepantla in vetzia, vel icoac in xeliui iocalli: malli in ielpan vetzia, ichoatl in tlaçopilli ielpan in quimamalia tlequauitl. Auh in icoac quēteltzin ouetz, in omopitz: niman ic iciuhca, quchetectiuetzi in malli, con- 805 372 782

15. See Plate 20.

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[fire] fell, when it took flame, then speedily [the priest] slashed open the breast of the captive, seized his heart, and quickly cast it there into the fire. Thus he revived and fed the fire. And the body of [the captive] all came to an end in the flames. And those who drew fire were exclusively the priests, the fire priests, the devout. Of the fire priest of Copulco, who was experienced, it was his office to draw, to drill, the new fire.

anjlia in iiollo, tleco contlaztiuetzi: inic quicoaltia, quitlamaca tletl. Auh in inaçio, çan muchi tleco tlami. Auh in tlequauhtlaçaia, çan ichoã in tlamacazque, in tlenamacaque, in tlamaceuhque: copolco tlenamacac, in vel imatia, in itequiuh catca, in quitlaçaia, in quimamalia tlequauitl.

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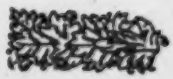

Tenth Chapter, wherein is described the disposition of those who kept watch when the new fire appeared.

At nightfall, from here in Mexico, they departed. All the fire priests were arranged in order, arrayed in and wearing the garb of the gods. Each one represented and was the likeness of perhaps Quetzalcoatl, or Tlaloc, etc., or whichever one he went representing. Very deliberately, very stately, they proceeded, went spread out, and slowly moved. It was said: "They walk like gods." Thus, in deep night, they arrived there at Uixachtlan.

And the one who was the fire priest of Copulco, who drew new fire, then began there. With his hands he proceeded to bore continuously his fire drill; he went about making trials with his drill, the fire-maker.

And when it came to pass that night fell, all were frightened and filled with dread. Thus was it said: it was claimed that if fire could not be drawn, then [the sun] would bē destroyed forever; all would be ended; there would evermore be night. Nevermore would the sun come forth. Night would prevail forever, and the demons of darkness would descend, to eat men.

Hence everyone ascended the terraces; all went upon the housetops. None remained in their houses, on the ground below. And women with child put on masks of maguey leaves and took up their maguey-leaf masks. [They] placed [the women] in granaries, for they were looked upon with fear. It was said and claimed that if, truly, the new fire were not drawn, these also would eat men; [for] they would be changed into fierce beasts.

And the small children they likewise masked with maguey leaves. In truth, none [of them] could sleep, or close, shut, or [even] half-close their eyes. From time to time their mothers and fathers were [there with them]; they kept waking them, punching and nudging them, calling out to them. They woke, rolled, and nudged them. Because if they were to

Inic matlactli capítulo, vncan moteneoa, in tlatecpanilizttli: in quipiaia, inic ilcuic tletl necia.

Ie tlapoiioa, in nican oneoaia mexico: tlatecpantiuia muchinti in tletlenamacacque, muchintiuhtiui, ommaaquia in intlatqui teteu: in cecenaca impan mixeoaia, quinmixiptlatiaia, in açó quetzalcoatl, anoço tlaloc et' in çaço ac ichoatl ipan quiztiuia, cenca çan iiolic, cenca çan iuian in iatiuiia, onotiuiia, mantiuiia: moteneoa, teunenemi, inic uellaquauhioa onaci, vmpa uixachtlã.

Auh in ichoatl copolco tlenamacac, in tlequauhtlazqui: niman nican quipeqaltia, in imac quimamaltiuh itlequauh: quiichecotiuh ica in imamalioaca, in itlaçaloca.

In iqoac, y, oiooac, cenca nemauhtiloia, tlatenmachoia: iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlacamo, uel vetziz tlequauitl: vncan cempoliooaz, centlamoaz, centlaioaz, aocmo oalquiçaz in tonatiuh: ie ic centlaioaa, oaltemozque in tzitzitzimi, tequaquiui:

ic muchi tlacatl itlapanco tlecoia, netlapantemaloia, aocac tlalchi, tlatzintla, cali mocaoaia, motlaliaia. Auh in ootzti, momexaiacatiaia, inmemexaiac quicuia, yoan cuezcomac quintlaliaia: ipampa mauhcaittoia, iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlaca uel uetzi tlequauitl: no ichoantin tequazque, motequãcuepazque. [843]

Auh in pipilhotõi, no quinmemexaiacatiaia: aiac vel oncochia, onicopia, onmiqpiquia, onjmotzolaia: çan ic cate in innãhoan, in intaboll, quimixiticate, quintipiniticate, quintilotícate, quintzatziliticate, quimixitia, quintipinja, quintilos: ipampa intla cocochizque, quilmach quiquimichtin mocuepazque, quimichtiaque.

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sleep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uixachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

[785] Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and spattered the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and spattered it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

[782] Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *ixquauac*. Etc.

Ic ça miscauja, mocemmati in ontlachielotoc, in onitztotoc, in ōnequechanotoc, uixachtecatl iicpac: isquich tlacatl vmpa ontlatenmati, ōmotemachia, in quēmanja uetzi tlequauitl, in quēmania oalcueponi, oalpetzini. Auh in icoac, oquentelzin vel uetz, in omopitz, in ozotlac: çatepan ic cuetlani, cueponi, nouiian ōneci, oalitto in vēca.

Niman ic muchi tlacatl monacaztectiuetzi, contlatzitzicuinilia ixquichcapa in tletl: in manel coçolco onoc no connacaztequi, concuilia iniezço, contzitzicuinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca muchi tlacatl tlamaceoa,

ic coneltetequi, in jelpan ontlequauhtlaxoc, conelcoionja in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca isquaoac. etc.*

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Eleventh Chapter, in which is told what they did when it was seen and was evident that the new fire burst out.

And then everyone—the priests and fire priests—took the fire from there. [Having come] from all directions, the fire priests of Mexico had been sent there, charged with the task, as well as those who had come from distant [places] everywhere—messengers and runners. For these were all only chosen ones, strong warriors, valiant men, picked as best; the fleet, the swift, who could run like the wind. Because through them they could quickly have fire come to their cities.

First, the fire brand was prepared and adorned. It was called *tlepilli*. And this the fire priests brought. Before [doing] anything else, they took it up, direct, to the top of the temple [pyramid], where was kept the image of Uitzilopochtli, and placed it in the fire holder.[27] Then they scattered and strewed white incense [over it]. And then they came down, and, also before [doing] anything further, they brought and took it direct to the priests' house, the place named Mexico.[27] Later, this was dispersed, and fires were started everywhere in each priests' house and each tribal temple; whereupon it went everywhere to each of the young men's houses. At that time all of the common folk came to the flame, hurled themselves at it, and blistered themselves as fire was taken. When thus the fire had been quickly distributed everywhere among them, each one laid a fire, and was quieted in his heart.

This same all the village fire priests did. That is, they carried the fire and made it hasten. Much did they goad [the runners] and make them hurry, so that they might speedily bring it to their homes. They hurried to give it to one another and take it from one another; in this way they went alternating with one another. Without delay, with ease, in a

Inic matlactlioce capítulo, vncan mitoa: in tlein quichioaia, in icoac omottac, onez, in ocuepon iiscuic tletl.

Auh quinicoac, isquich tlacatl vmpa tlecui, in tlamacazque, in tletlenamacaque: inic ie nouiiampa vmpa oioaloque, oisquetzaloque, in mexico tlenamacaque, yoan in ie nouiian veca oaleoa, titlanti, tlaioaltin: ca çan much iehoan in pepenaloia, chicaoaque, in oquichtin, in tiacaoan in tlatzonanti, in painanj, in tlaçani, in iubqui hecatoca ic motlaloa: ipampa inic iciuhca, caxititiuetziaque tletl imaltepeuh ipan: 793 796 372 202

ca achtopa ic nenemachtiloia, muchichioaia in tlecuioani: itoca tlepilli. Auh iechoatl, ic quioalaxitiaia in tlenamacaque: oc ie achto, vmpa quitlecauiaia, quitlamelaoaltiaia in iicpac teucalli: in vmpa mopieia itiptla vitzilobochtli, tlequazco contlaliaia: nimã ic contepeoa, contoxaoa in iztac copalli. Auh niman ic oaltemo, oc ie no achto, vmpa quitqui, quitlamelaualtia in calmecac, itocaiocã mexico: ic çatepan moiaoa, tletletlalilo in nouiian cacalmecac, cacalpuico: niman ie ic iauh, in nouiian tetelpuchcalli. Ie vncan in isquich omxoquiui, onmotepeoa, ontapaliui maceoalli, in motlecuilia: icoac ic nouiian, tepan moiaoatiuetzi in tletl netletletlalilolo, neioiollalilo. 793 796 372

Çã no iuh quichioa, in isquich altepeoa tlenamacac: inic quitquia, quinenemitiaia tletl, cẽca quitototzaia, quimotlalochtiaia: inic iciuhca caxitiaque inchan, quimomamacatiquiça, quimocuicuilitiquiça: ic mopapatlatiui. Amo uecauh, amo machiztli, çan isquich cauitl, y, in conaxitiaia, in quicueponaltiaia: çan achitonca in nouiiampa, cuecuepocatimoteca

16. "Por cuidados, hecho de cal y canto, puesto delante del ydolo"—corresponding Spanish text.

27. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, then explains this distribution: "Y de allí tomaud y llevaron al aposento de los sacerdotes, que es dicho mexicatlaxpan y después a otros aposentos, de los dichos sacerdotes, de ydolos; y de allí tomaron, y llevaron todos por vecinos, de la ciudad."

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short time they caused it to come and made it flare up. In a short time everywhere fires burst forth and flared up quickly. Also there they first carried and brought it direct to their temples, their priests' houses, and each of their tribal temples. Later it was divided and spread among all everywhere in each neighborhood and in the houses.

tlel, cuecuepocatiquiça: no vmpa achto quiquiti-quiça, quitlamelaoaltitiuetzi in intrupan, in incalme-cac, in incacalpulco: çatepan ic moiaoa, tepan cĩmani in nouiian tlĩtlaxilacalpan, yoan in calpan.

Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pestles. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new skirts and shifts.

Thus it was said that truly the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For thus it is ended; thus sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were decapitated, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense ladle, and raised it in dedication to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Thus was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth seed cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were bidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then captives and ceremonially bathed ones died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again fires were newly laid and placed.

And [as for] the pregnant women who had been feasted, if any of them then gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born as her child, they named him Molpilli, Xiuhtlalpil, Xiuhtzitzquí, Xiuhtli, Texiuh, Xiuhtlatlac, Quetzalxiuh, Xiuhquen, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhnenetl, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcoçol, etc.

And when, in the time of Moctezuma, our years were bound, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] *xiuitl*. Wherewever [he was], this one was to be seized. And one was taken—a man from Uexotzinco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Inic matlactlomome, capitulo, vncan mitoa: in quenin in isquich tlacatl, in icoac omocuic in iancuic tletl: auh in icoac, y, muchi tlacatl, quiiiicuilloia in itlaquen, yoan in isquich calitlasquitl.

Nimaní icoac, isquich iancuiia, in calitlasquitl: . oquichtlatquitl, in cioatlatquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuetli, in icpalli: muchi iancuic in motecca, ioñ in tenamatlli, in texolotl. No iquac iancuic nequentilo, nelpililo in tilmatli: in cioatl, iancuic ommaquia, in incue, in inuipil.

Ic mitoa, ca nel iancuic ompeoa in xiuitl: papacoa, netlamachtilo: yoan quitoaia, ca ic oquix, ic oechtlalcaui in cocoliztli, in maianalistli. Niman ic cocopaltemalo, tlacotonalo, tlenamaco: concui in tlemaitl, nauhcampa coniisoa in ithoaloa, çatepan contema tlexicco, inic otlenamacoc copalli:

nimá ic ic necpan tzotzocoalquaio, vncan ic neçaoalistlalhuilo, inic aiac atliz, ic centlathuiz: quincenmamattiuiia in nepantla tonatiuh. Auh in oocic, nepantla tonatiuh, niman ic miqui in mamalti, yoan tlaaltilti: quinicoac cenpapacoa, tlitlaqualo: icoac oc ceppa ikcuican netlètlecuiltilo, netlètlecuillalililo.

Auh in oimacazoia ootzti, istla aca icoac omixiuh, otlacachiuh: istla oquichtli iconcuh otlacat, quinocaiotiaia molpili, xiuhtlalpil, xiuhtzitzquí, xiuhtli, texiuh, xiuhtlatlac, quetzalxiuh, xiuhquen. Etc.* Auh istla cioatl, xiuhnenetl, xiuhcue, xiuhcoçol. Etc.*

Auh in icoac, iqan muchiuh motecuçoma, toxiuhmolpili omoca nouiian ic tlamaoti, inic temoloa mulli: in iuoca xiuitl, in çaçe campa iè auac. Auh oc axioac tezcuincoal, tlaçopilli: iuoca xiuhtlamin, tlatilulco mulli muchiuh: in tlamauj iuoca itocuin, auh ic tocniotiloc, ic notzaloc xiuhtlaminzaui: ca ichoual

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[782]

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[See cat. 116, p. 27 — Analyst]

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and became a captive at Tlatilulco. The captor was named Itzcuin, and henceforth he was known as and called "Captor of Xiuhtlamin."[11] For on the breast of his captive fire was drawn by the drill, and all his body was consumed in the fire. And they made [the victim's] image of pure amaranth seed dough, so that it might represent him; they set cooked grains of maize upon it, so that they could give it to the people to eat.

ielpan uetz, in tlequauitl imal, muchi tleco tlan in jnacaio: auh ça tzoboalli, inic quixiptlaiocti, in ipan quipouh: tlanlpacoatli ipan quitlaclali, inic quitequalti.

11. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún writes: "Los mozuelos eran llamados de varonciegos, muy generosos, el qual se decía, [illegible] y le tenían en la guerra, en cabildo de Tlatilulco, que cada año llamaban por la qual despues, le llamaban a el, [illegible]. . . ." In Jones, op. cit., p. 79, the passage is translated: "Chief elder lords on whom blows are [illegible], whom [illegible] and [illegible], the [illegible] Tlatelolco, the same [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible], the [illegible] blow and the [illegible] the [illegible] which said [illegible] generous youths."

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APPENDIX

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De la manera que esta este quaderno a de ir toda la obra.—Sahagún, *Memoriales con Escolios*

[p. 33]

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THE SEVENTH BOOK TREATETH OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS, AND OF THE YEAR OF JUBILEE

EL 7.° LIBRO TRATA DEL SOL Y DE LUNA Y ESTRELLAS Y DEL AÑO DEL JUBILEO.[19]

First Chapter, of the sun.

821 The sun hath the quality of shining and of lighting and of casting rays from himself. He is hot and he seareth; he maketh one sweat, and turneth a man's body and face dark brown or tawny.

El sol tiene propriedad de resplandecer y de alumbrar y de echar rayos de si. Es caliente y tuesta, haze sudar pa bosco o loro el cuerpo y la cara de la persona.

821 785 782 They celebrated a feast to the sun once each year in the sign named Four Olin. And before the feast they fasted four days as the vigil of the feast. And in this feast of the sun, four times they offered incense and blood from the ears—once at sunrise, another time at midday, at the vesper hour, and when [the sun had] set.

Hazian fiesta al sol vna vez cada año en el signo que se llama 4. olin. Y antes de la fiesta ayunavan quatro dias como vigilia de la fiesta. Y en esta fiesta del sol ofrecian encienso y sãgre de las orejas quatro vezes: vna en saliendo el sol, otra al medio dia, y a la hora de visperas y qñ se ponia.

33. Ytzcaliui. t. itzcaliuhtica in noyollo: My heart is calmed, or rested, in love. Pret., oitzcaliuh. oitzcaliuhticatca.

33. ytzcaliui. t. itzcaliuhtica yn noyollo. refriarse o declino mi coraçon en el amor. ꝑt.° oitzcaliuh. oitzcaliuhticatca.

34. Vel cen tecomatl in ad econtzineuh: A whole gourd[ful of water] was overturned while being drunk.

34. Vel cen tecomatl ỹ ad econtzineuh. trastornose vna xicara ẽtera beuiẽdola.

19. Sahagún (Pomar y Tezozomoc ed.), Vol. VI, pp. 177-215.

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INIC CHICOME AMUXTLI YTECHPA TLATOA YN TONATIUH, YOAN Ỹ METZTLI YOAN Ỹ CICITLALTI YOAN Ỹ TOXIMMOLPIA

1.
Tonatiuh.

quauhtlevanitl. xippilli. teutl.
2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
Tona. tlaxcxtia. motonameyotia. totonqui. tetlati.
7. 8.
tetlatlati. teytoni. teixtlileuh. teixtlilo. teixcaputzo.
9.
teixtlecaleuh.

10. 11.
Matlacpoaltica ipan epoalli yn ilhuiuh quiçaya, yn
12. 13.
ilhuichiuililoya. ylhuiquixtililoya ypan quimattiuiya
14. 15.
yn itonal ytoca naolin. Auh yn ayamo quiça ylhuiuh
16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21.
achtopa navilhuitl neçaualoya. Auh yn iquac ye ipan
22. 23.
ylhuiuh, yn iquac yancuicã valquiça. valmomana.
24. 25. 26. 27.
valpetzini: tlenamacoya. tlatotonilo. neçoa. Jn hin
28. 29. 30. 31.
muchiuaya nappa cemilhuitl: yquac in youatzinco,
32. 33.
yoan nepãtla tonatiuh, yoan yquac in ye õmotzcaloa,
34.
in ye õmopilos: yoan iquac yn oncalaqui, yn onaqui,
35.
yn õmotzineua. Auh in youatzinco miauya, ca ye
36 37. 38. 39.
tequitiz, ye tlacotiz. yn tonatiuh quen vetziz ỹ cemil-
40.
huitl. Auh yn oyouac, miauya oteq't otlacotic yn
41. 42. 43.
tonatiuh. Ynic valmomana yn quẽman vel eztic,
44. 45. 46.
chichiltic, tlapaltic. Auh yn quẽman çan yztalectic,

Capitulo Primero del Sol

1.
Sol

2. 3.
Resplandecer. ꝓt.° otonac. alumbrar. ꝓt.° otlanextli.
4. 5.
echar de si rayos. ꝓt.° omotonameyoti. cosa caliente.
6. 7. 8.
cosa que tuesta. cosa que haze sudar. cosa que
9.
ẽnegreçe o para loro. leuanta los cueros tostandolos.

10. 11.
Cada dozientos y sesenta dias. hazer fiesta. ꝓt.°
12. 13. 14.
onilhuichiuh. onilhuiquixti. en. seguirse. su signo.
15. 16. 17. 18.
caso. notonal. nõbre. caso. notoca. antes. quatro dia.
19. 20. 21. 22.
o fiesta. ayunar. ꝓt.° oninoçauh. Y quando. ꝓnera-
23. 24.
mente. Salir. ꝓt.° oniquiz. oninoman. asomar. ꝓt.°
25.
onipetzin. echar encienso cõ la mano de barro en que
26.
estan brasas. ꝓt.° onitlenamacac. onitlatotoni. Vntarse
27.
cõ sagre de las oreias las maxillas ꝓt.° oninçoc. Esto
28. 29. 30.
se hazia. ꝓt.° onicchiuh. quatro vezes. en vn dia.
31. 32. 33.
de mañana. al medio dia. pasar el sol de medio dia.
34.
ꝓt.° õmotzcalo: õmopilo. Entrarse. ꝓt.° ocalac. onac.
35. 36.
õmotzineuh. Dezir algo. ꝓt.° oniquito. trabaiar hazer
37.
tarea o destazo. ꝓt.° oniteq't. lo mismo. ꝓt.° onitlacotic.
38. 39. 40.
de que manera. acontecer algo. ꝓt.° ouetz. hazerse

821 And when he came forth in the morning, they said: "Now the sun starteth his work. How will it be? What will come to pass on this day?"

Y quando a la mañana salia dezian ya comiença el sol su obra que sera, que acontecera ẽ este dia.

And at sunset they said: "The sun hath ended his work, or task." Sometimes when the sun riseth, he seemeth blood-colored; and at times whitish; and sometimes he riseth sickly-hued because of the mist or the clouds which cover him.

Y a la puesta del sol, dezian acabo su obra, o su tarea el sol. A las vezes qñ sale el sol pareçe de color de sangre: y a las vezes parece blanquezino: y a las vezes sale de color enfermizo por razon de las nieblas o de las nubes que se le añponẽ.

When the sun is eclipsed, he turneth red; it seemeth that the sun becometh disquieted, or troubled; or he moveth to and fro, or he stirreth. And he turneth very yellow.

Quando se eclipsa el sol parase colorado parece que se desasosiega o se turba el sol, o se remeçe, o rebuelue y amarillecese mucho.

821 When the people see this, they then raise a tumult.

Quando esto vee la gente luego se alborota.

785 And a great fear taketh them, and then the women

Y tomales gran temor, y luego las mugeres lloran a

782 weep aloud. And the men cry out, [at the same time] striking their mouths with [the palms of] their hands. And everywhere great shouts and cries and howls were raised. And then they hunted out men of fair hair and white faces; and they sacrificed them to the sun. And also they sacrificed captives, and they anointed themselves with the blood of their [own] ears. And, besides, they bored [the lobes of]

vozes. Y los hombres dan grita hiriendo las bocas con la mano. Y en todas ptes se dauã grandes bozes y gritos, y alaridos. Y luego buscavan los hombres de cabellos blancos y caras blãcas: y los sacrificauan al sol. Y tambien sacrificauan captiuos y se vntauã con la sangre de las orejas: y tambien agujerauan las orejas con puntas de maguei y pusuan mimbres o cosa semejante por los agujeros q̃ las puntas avian

47. 48. 49. 50.
çan cuauatac, çan cocuztiuh ypampa ꝯ mixtli, ꝯ
51. 52. 53. 54.
mixayauid, anoço mixpanid, mixtecuicuilli. yn ixco
55.
motecca.—

1.
Tonatiuh quale.

2.
In iquac muchiua hi, chichiliuhtimomana, aoc
3. 4. 5.
tlacamani. aoc tlacaca. ça mocuecuepimani. cenca
6. 7. 8.
tlacoçavia: niman yc tlatzomoni. tlacatl comoni,
9. 10. 11. 12.
neacomanalo, necomonilo. nemauhtilo, nechoquililo,
13. 14.
tlachoquiztleua ꝯ macevalti, netenviteco. netempapa-
15. 16. 17.
uilo, tlacauaca. tlacauezalo. tzitziua, oyoualli mo-
18. 19. 20. 21.
teca. Tlacuztalmicoa, malmicoa, neçoa. tlacoq'xtilo,
22. 23. 24. 25.
nemacuiteco: Auh yn teteupan xuxuchcuico, tlacha-
26. 27. 28. 29.
lanoc, tlacavacatoc. Yc mitoaya, ynela tlamix, yn
30. 31. 32. 33.
quaio tonatiuh, centlayouac: valtemunque yn tzitzi-
34.
timi. teqnequini.—

41. 42.
noche. ꝑt.° oyouac. Presentarse a nosotros el sol. a las
43. 44.
vezes cosa de color de sangre. cosa colorada. lo
45.
mismo. Caso. nochichilticauh. nozlapalticauh.
46. 47.
cosa blanquezina. caso nozzalecticauh. la cara blan-
48.
quezina. Caso nocamazzacauh. echa claridad mor-
49. 50.
tezina. ꝑt.° ocucuztia. por razõ. de nubes. caso. nomix.
51. 52.
Nube como niebla. ca. nomixayauh. Vandera de
53.
nube. ca. nomixpan. Nubes de diuersas colores ca.
54. 55.
nomixtecuicuil. delante la cara. ca. nixco. ponerse
algo o echarse. ꝑt.° omotecac.

1. 2.
Eclipsase el sol ponerse colorado. ꝑt.° ochichiliuhti-
3.
momã. turbarse el sol o el agua. ꝑt.° aoc otlacaman.
4.
turbarse la persona. ꝑt.° aoc otlacacatca. rebuluerse o
estarse remeçiendo. ꝑt. omocuecuepimãca. omocue-
6.
cuepimaa. amarillecerse el sol. o los mayzales qñ
7.
estan pa colarse ꝑt.° otlacoçauix. alborotarse la
8.
gente. ꝑt.° otlatzomon. lo mis.° ꝑt.° otlacatl comon.
9. 10.
lo mismo. ꝑt. oneacomanaloc. lo mismo. pret.° oneco-
11. 12.
moniloc. todos temen. ꝑt.° onemauiztiloc. todos
lloran a vozes. ꝑt.° onechoquililoc. otlachoquiztleuac.
13. 14.
todos dan grita. ꝑt.° onetenvitecoc. lo mismo. ꝑt.°
15.
onetempapauiloc. todos dã alaridos. ꝑt.° otlacauacac.
16.
lo mismo. ꝑt. otlacauezaloc. todos dã vozes. ꝑt.°
17.
otzatziuac. todos vuelan por todas pies. ꝑt. oyoualli-

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their ears with maguey spines and passed flexible twigs or the like through the holes which the spines had made. And then, in all the temples, they sang and sounded [musical instruments], making a great din. And they said: "If the sun becometh completely eclipsed, nevermore will he give light; eternal darkness will fall, and the demons will come down. They will come to eat us!"

hecho. Y luego por todos los templos cantauan y tañian haziendo gran ruido. Y dezian si del todo se acaba de eclipsar el sol nunca mas alumbrara ponerse han perpetuas tinieblas y descenderan los demonios vendran nos a comer.

Second Chapter.

821

When the moon newly appeareth, he seemeth like a thin, little curve of wire. He doth not yet shine. By little and little he goeth growing. On the fifteenth day he is full. And when now he is full, he cometh forth in the east at sunset. He seemeth like a great millstone—very round and very red. And as he goeth rising, he becometh white or shining. [There is what] looketh like a rabbit in the middle of him. And if there are no clouds he shineth almost like the

Capitulo Segũdo

Quando la luna nuevamẽte nace, parece como vn arquito de alambre delgado aun no resplandece: poco a poco va creciendo. A los quinze dias es llena. Y qũ ya es llena sale por el oriente a la puesta del sol: parece como vna rueda de molino grande muy redonda y muy colorada. Y qũ va subiendo se para blanca o resplandeziente: parece como vn conejo en medio della. Y si no ay nubes resplandece casi como el sol, casi como de dia. Y d'spues de llena cũpli-

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ILLUSTRATIONS

[p. 35 (A)]

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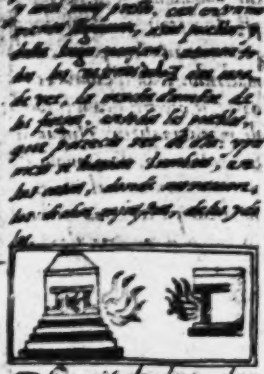

¶ Capitulo doze. de como se renueva la gente despues de auer fenecido, y como renouauan todos sus vestidos y cosas viejas: daniel se pone la frenera de la cuenta de los años.

De la dicha manera, luego la dicha fiesta fenecia, luego los vestian, de cada pueblo, cada vno. renouauan sus alhajas: y los hombres y mugeres, se les daban de vestidos nuevos, y por mas cosas viejas, nuevas les daban

ca qui tolotzqua, quimotlalochtiaia: inic ictiuhca caxitzquc in chan, quimomamacatiquica, ynic mocuecuelitiquica. ic mopapatlaua: Auiuecauh. amo machiztli. quitequichcauitl. y, in conaxitia ia, in quicuepanaltiaia: çan achi tonca ininoniampa, cuecuepoca timotecca tletl, cuecuepocatiquiçi: no vhpa achto quitquitiquica, quitlamelaoaltiuetzi inin texpan, inincalmecac, inincaualpulco: çatepan ic moiaoa. texpan cemani in nouian tlaitlaxilacalpan, yoan in calpan.

¶ Inic matlactlomume capitulo, vncan mitoa: in quenin inisquich tlacatl. inicoac omocuic in tancuic tletl: auh inicoac, y, muchi tlacatl. quiacuiliaia initlaquen, yoan in isquich calitlatquitl.

¶ Niman icoac, isquich iancuiia. in calitlatquitl: in oquichtlatquitl, in cioatlatquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuestli, inicpalli: muchi iancuic in motecca, ioan in tenamaztli, in texolotl. No iquac iancuic nequentilo, net

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Chapter 12)

[p. 38 (B)]

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Page from *Memoriales con Escolios* (Chapter 2)

[p. 38 (c)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

1. Sun
2. Moon
3. The rabbit in the moon
4. Eclipse of the moon
5. Comet
6. Comet's tail
7. Stars
8. The Winds
9-10. Lightning
11. Clouds
12. Rainbow

[p. 35 (b)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire on the breast of a sacrificial victim
17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to homes
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

The Calendar Wheel

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This table placed above [opposite] is the year count, and it is a most ancient thing. They say that its inventor was Quetzalcoatl. It proceedeth in this way: they begin with the east, which is where the reeds are (or, according to others, with the south, where the rabbit is) and say One Reed. And thence they go to the north, where the flint is, and they say Two Flint Knife. Then they go to the west, where the house is, and there they say Three House. And then they go to the north, which is where the rabbit is, and they say Four Rabbit. And then they turn to the east, and say Five Reed. And thus they go, making four revolutions, until they reach thirteen, so that they end where they began. And then they return to one, saying One Flint Knife. And in this way, making revolutions, they assign thirteen years to each of the characters, or to each of the four quarters of the world. And then fifty-two years are completed, which is a bundle of years, when the Jubilee is celebrated and new fire is made in the manner set forth above [Chapters 9-12]. Then they again count as at the beginning. It should be noted that they disagree a great deal, in various places, as to the beginning of the year. In some parts, they told me that it began at some date in January; in others, that [it was] at the beginning of February; in others, that [it was] some time in March. In Tlatilulco I gathered together many old men, the most able ones whom I could secure, and, along with the most able of the college students, this matter was discussed for many days. And they all concluded that the year began on the second day of February.

Esta table, arriba puesta: es la cuenta de los años, y es cosa ântiquissima. Dizen, que el inuentor della, fue Quetzalcoatl: procede desta manera: que comiençan del Oriente, que es donde està las cañas: y segun otros, del medio dia, donde esta el conejo, y dizen ce acatl: y de alli van al Norte, donde esta el pedernal, y dizen vme tecpatl: luego van al occidente, donde esta la Casa, y alli dizen iey calli: y luego van al abrego, que es donde esta el conejo, y dizen naui tochtli: y luego tornan al oriente, y dizen macuilli acatl. Y ansi van dando quatro bueltas, hasta que llegan a treze, que se acaban a donde començo: y luego bueluen a vno, diziendo ce tecpatl. I desta manera, dando bueltas: dan treze años, a cada vno de los caracteres, o a cada vna, de las quatro partes, del mundo. I entôce, se cumplen. 52. años, que es vna gauilla de años: donde se celebra, el Iubileo, y se saca lumbre nueua, en la forma arriba puesta: luego bueluen a contar como de principio. Es de notar, que discrepan mucho, en diuersos lugares del principio del año: en vnas partes me dixeron, que començaua a tantos de Enero: en otras, que a primero de hebrero: en otras, que a tantos de Março: En el tlatilulco, junte muchos viejos: los mas diestros, que yo pude auer, y juntamente, con los mas habiles de los colegiales, se alterco esta materia por muchos dias: y todos ellos concluyeron, que començaua el año, segûdo dia de Hebrero.

[p. 38 (F)]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

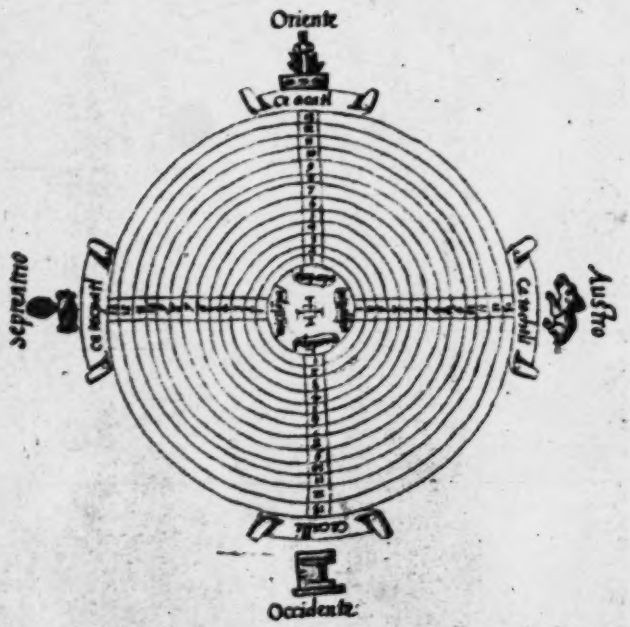

—After Paso y Troncoso

29. The calendar wheel

The reader might assume four spirals instead of the concentric lines shown. Beginning at the center with One Rabbit, proceed to Two Reed, Three Flint Knife, Four House, Five Rabbit, etc., and end at the outside circumference with Thirteen Rabbit. Begin again at the center with One Reed and proceed as before to the outside circumference at Thirteen Reed; and so on until the fourth spiral, which begins with One House, ends with Thirteen House, thus completing the fifty-two-year series.

[p. 38(G)]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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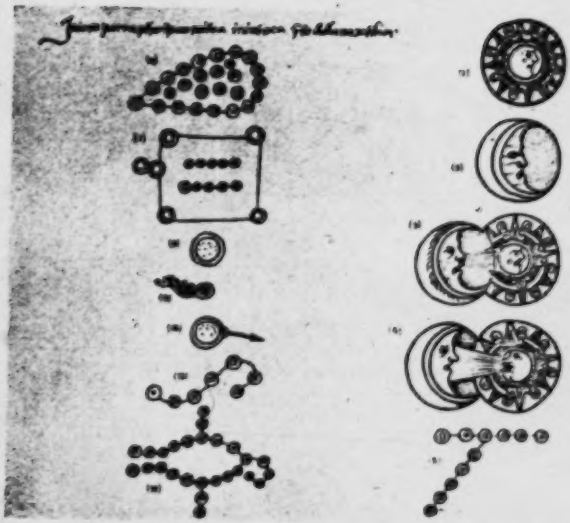

—After Paso y Troncoso

21. Sun, moon, and stars, and other natural phenomena, from *Primeros Memoriales*, Cap. 2

1. Sun
2. Moon
3. Eclipse of sun
4. Eclipse of moon
5. Fire drill
6. Fire drill
7. Venus
8-9. Comet
10. Comet's tail
11. *S*-shaped stars
12. Scorpion

[p. 38 (H)]

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529?-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

22. Natural Phenomena and year signs, from *Primeros Memoriales*, cap. 2

13. Wind
14. Lightning bolt
15. Rain
16. Rainbow
17. Frost
18. Cloud
19. Snow
20. Hail

Year signs, beginning at top
One Rabbit
Two Reed
Three Flint Knife
Four House

[p. 38(I)]

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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18.
mococac. Sacrificar hombres blancos. ꝑt.° otlacaxtal-
19. 20.
micoac. Sacrificar captiuos. ꝑ. omalmicoac. Vntarse
21.
cõ la sangre de las orejas los rostros. ꝑt. oneçoac. pasar
22.
mimbres por las orejas. ꝑ. otlacoq'xtiloc. hazer cor-
taduras ẽ las orejas pa sacar sangre. pret.° onemacaxa-
23. 24.
teroc. Por todos los templos. cantar cantares q̃ se
25.
llamã xuchcuicatl. hazer ruydo. ꝑ. otl halantoca.
26. 27. 28. 29.
dar alaridos. ꝑ. otlacavacaxoca. Por tanto. ã. acavar
30. 31.
algo. ꝑ. otlan. Vt. aufꝑ. ponerse ꝑperuos escuridad. ꝑ.
32. 33.
ocõtlayouac. descender. ꝑ. onivaltemuc. demonio. o
34.
diablo. ca. notzizimiuh. comer hombres. ꝑt. onitz-
qua.

1.
Mazatl. tezcatzoncatl.

2.
Ya iquac yancuican valmomana cohuatli yuhquin
3. 4.
teçacanecuilli, teçacanecuiltonti, ayamo tlanextia:
5. 6. 7.
çan yuiyan veintiuh, malacachiuhtiuh. tenilacachiuh-
8. 9.
tiuh. Cantoltica ỹ vel malacachiui, tenilacachiui, yn
10. 11.
vel maci, yn chicaua. Auh yn iquac vel oyaualiuh,
omalacachiuh, ynic valaaci, ynic valmomana yn
12. 13. 14.
vmpa yquiçayan tonatiuh yn iquac ye tlapoyaua
15. 16. 17. 18.
yuhquin cozaalli, veipol, vel tenilacachóic, malacach-

1.
Lunes.

2. 3.
Arquillo. barbaçe a manera de medio arq'llo. caso.
4. 5.
notiçacanecuil. notiçacanecuilton. aun no. poco a
6. 7.
poco. yrse. engrandeciendo. ꝑt.° ouiztia. yrse.
haziendo redondo. ꝑt.° omalacachiuhtia. otruilaca-
8. 9.
chiuhtia. a los quinze dias. acabarse de redondear.
pret.° oyaualiuh. omalacachiuh. otruilacachiuh. per-
10. 11.
fecionarse. ꝑt.° omacic. hazerse fuerte. ꝑt.° ochicaoac.
12. 13. 14.
ayulla. a la salida. caso. neqniçaya. a la tarde. o a la

821

sun; [it is] almost as daytime. And after he hath become completely full, by little and little he goeth waning until he becometh as he was when he began. They then say: "Now the moon dieth; now he sleepeth." This is when he riseth with the dawn at the time of the conjunction. They say: "Now the moon is dead."

damente poco a poco se va menguando hasta que se va a hazer como quando començo: dizen entonces ya se muere la luna, ya se duerme Esto es quando sale ya con el alua al tẽpo de la coniuncion: dizen ya es muerta la luna.

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19.
tle, yuhquin tlapalli chichiltic, chichiltpanic. Auh q'ni-
20. 21. 22. 23.
quac in ye achi quimolnoca, in ye tolacoq'ça intoya:
24.
omoua ye tlachia, ye tlimomin ꝟ mazatli, ye metzomoa:
25. 26. 27.
yuhquin vel itzac, ynic motta ynic neci ishiça
28. 29. 30. 31.
tochtoa yuco vcuitoc. Yxtlacamo tle mizti. ꝟtlacamo
32.
mimoua. mimomi. yuhqui tama ye tlamoci, mimoa
33. 34. 35.
yohoa cuallhuitl vel tlamalowa. tlamalhuatimomi.
36.
tlacahuaz. tlacahuatimani. Auh yn iquac ouclacic.
37. 38. 39.
ouchuaztic. ytlancuitlix ꝟ iuquilhuitl ye veya, malaca-
40. 41. 42.
chini: çan ioh nemi ec cappa tepiconami, tepiconamih-
tinih, ec cappa yuhqui mochiua ynic yhcuicac
43. 44.
vehuamana, çan iniyd polini, poliuhtinih: mimo ye
45. 46.
tlaiiqui ꝟ mazatli ye ve in quicochi, ye ve in ic cochi
47. 48.
ye tlathuinavac ꝟ valquiça. Auh yn
iquac vel ompolinih, mimo ômic ꝟ mazatli:—

15. 16.
pocata. del sol. así como. comal. caso nocomal. Es una
torta de barro cocido en que cuecen las tortillas.
17. 18.
grandaso. cosa redonda. y llana. caso. notrulacach.
19. 20. 21.
cosa muy colorada. vn poco. proceder. ꝟt. oquimalho-
22. 23.
cac. se sube en alto. ꝟt.° omalacoquix. pararse blanca.
24.
ꝟt. oyuzac. resplandecer. ꝟt.° otlachix. otlanezzi.
25. 26.
omotzzonac. cosa blanquezina. cosa muy blanca.
27. 28. 29.
parecer. omottac. onez. conocido. en la cara. caso.
30. 31.
ninco. estar echado. pret.° ouetzoca. Si ninguna cosa.
32. 33. 34. 35.
anublarse. ꝟt. omixxoac. oninzĩ. casi. dia. resplan-
decer mucho, o echar mucha claridad de si. ꝟt.° otla-
nalnoac. otlanaltonatimanca, otlacalantoca, otlaca-
36.
lantia. cumplirse o perfecionarse ꝟt.° oacic. omacic.
37.
resplandor. o claridad. caso. notlanez. notlanezzilix.
38. 39. 40.
tantos. engrandecerse. o crecer. ꝟt.° oueix. poco. a
41. 42.
poco. otra vez. achicarse o menguarse ꝟt.° otepitoa-
43. 44.
nauh. otepitonauhtia. poco a poco. desaparecer.
45. 46.
opolinh. opoliuhtia. morirse. ꝟt.° onimic. dormir
47. 48.
mucho. ꝟt.° onicoch. amanecer. ꝟt.° otlathuic. junto al
alba.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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This is the tale of the rabbit which is in the moon. They say that the gods played tricks on the moon, and struck him in the face with a rabbit; and the rabbit remained marked upon his face. And with it they darkened his face as if with a veil. Thereafter he came forth to light the world. They said that, before there was day in the world, the gods came together in that place which is named Teotihuacan (which is the town of San Juan, between Chiconauhtlan and Otumba). They said to one another: "O gods, who will have the burden of lighting the world?" Then to these words answered a god named Tecuciztecatl, and he said: "I shall take the burden of lighting the world." Then once more the gods spoke, and they said: "Who will be another?" Then they looked at one another, and deliberated on who the other would be. And none of them dared offer himself for that office; all were afraid and declined. One of the gods, to whom no one was paying attention, and who was covered with pustules, did not speak but listened to what the other gods were saying. And the others spoke to him and said to him:

La fabula del concio que esta en la luna: a esta. Dizen, que los dioses se burlaron con la luna y dieronla con vn concio en la cara, y quedole el concio señalado en la cara: y con esto le escurecieron la cara como con vn cardenal. Despues desto salio pa alumbrar al mundo. Dezian, que antes que ouiese dia en el mundo que iuntaron los dioses en aquel lugar que se llama teutioacã, (que es el pueblo de San Juan entre chicunauhtlan y otumba) dixeron los vnos a los otros. Dioses, quien tendra cargo de alumbrar al mundo? luego a estas palabras respondio vn dios que se llamaua Tecuciztecatl y dixo. Yo tomo a cargo de alumbrar al mundo. Luego otra vez hablaron los dioses y dixeron quien sera otro? Luego se miraro los vnos a los otros, y conferian quien seria el otro. Y ninguno dellos osaua ofrecerse a aquel ofi.° todos temian y se escusavan. Vno dellos dioses de q̃ no se hazia cuẽta y era buboso, no hablaua sino oya lo que los otros dioses dezian. Y los otros hablaronle y dixerõle: Se tu el que alumbres buboso. Y el de buena voluntad obedecio a lo que le mandaron y respondio, en nrd reçibo lo que me aveis mandado

Incaqui ytlatlauilo, ynic mitoa yuhquin tocheon yzuo vetzioc mezcli. Jn hin, quilmach ça ic yca omoxuhtiloc, yc coniuuiniztoque, yc coniztlatlazzoque; yc conixpopoloque yc conizomictique yn teteo ỹ iquac çaepan oquiçaco, omomanaco. Mitoa yn oc yuazỹ, in ayamo tonaz, in ayamo tlathui, quilmach mocentlalique, mononotzque ỹ teteo yn vmpa teutiuacã, quinoque, q'molhiaque. Tla xiualhuiã tetecõ aquin tlatquiz, aquin tlamamaz. yn tonaz, yn tlathuiz? Auh nimã ye ic yehuatl vncan ontlatoa, ẽmizquetza yn tecuiztecatl, q'to. tetecõ ca nehuatl niyez. Oc ceppa quitoque yn teteu, aquin oc ce? Nimã ye ic nepanotl mohotta, q'mottitia, quimolhuia quen ỹyez hi, quen tõyezque? Ayac motlapaloaya, yn oc ce ẽmiquetzaz: çã muchi tlacatl momauhtiaya, tzinq'çaya. Auh amo onacticatca ỹ ce tlacatl nanavatzin vncan teuan tlacacticatca innemonotzalo: nimã ye yehuatl connocnque ỹ teteo, quilhuiã. tehuatl tiyez nanavatze. Nimã q'cuitiuetz yn tlatolli, quipaccaxeli quiõo, ca ye qualli teuoe oãnochmocnelilique. Nimã ye cuapanahique in ye tlamacoma, moçauhq navilhuitl omacaxin ỹ tecuicuecal Auh nimã no yquac

1. Estar aqui. o he aqui. ꝑt.° yz ocatca. 2. Nucuas. o ablillas. caso notlatlauilo. 3. dizẽ. o dizen. 4. iugar. o burlar. ꝑt.° oninauilti. 5. beriz en la cara. ꝑt.° oniteixhuitec. ixhuiuitec. oniteixtlatlatzion. 6. borrar. o amanzillar. o raer la sobrehaz de alguna cosa. ꝑt.° oniq'xpopolo. 7. amortiguar la cara. ꝑt.° oniteixõmicti. onixõmic. 8. dezirse. ꝑt.° oniito. 9. antes que començase el dia. 10. ãtes que resplandeciese el sol. ꝑt.° otonac. 11. antes que amaneciese. ꝑt.° otiathuic. 12. Juntarse o congregarse. ꝑt.° oninocẽtlali. 13. hablarse o entrarse ẽ consejo. ꝑt.° oninononotz. deliberar cõmigo mismo. 14. lugar asi llamado. 15. dezir vnos a otros algo. ꝑt.° onicnolhui. dezir a si mis.° 16. venir aca. ꝑt.° oniualla. 17. q'en. 18. lleuar a cuestas o tener cargo de algo. ꝑt.° onitlatquic. onitlamama. 19. en el mismo lugar o tẽpo. 20. presentarse alguno delante de otro. ꝑt.° oninizquetz. 21. nõbre ꝑprio de vn dios y de la luna. 22. yo. 23. Ser algo. ꝑt. onicatca. 24. quien otro? 25. Vnos a otros. 26. mirarse vnos a otros. ꝑt.° oninohottac. mirarse por todas pers. 27. conferir ẽtre si. ꝑt.° onicnotiti. conferir comigo mismo. 28. como sera esto? 29. como nos determinaremos.

3: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 "You be the one who is to give light, little pustule-covered one." And right willingly he obeyed what they commanded, and he answered: "Thankfully I accept what you have commanded me [to do]. Let it be [as you say]." And then both began to perform penances for four days.

se assi. Y luego los dos començaron a hazer penitencia quatro dias.

And then they lit a fire in the hearth which was made on a crag (which now they call *teotexcalli*). [As for] the god named Tecuciztecatl, all which he offered was costly. Instead of branches he offered precious feathers named *quetzalli*. And instead of balls of straw he offered balls of gold. And instead of maguey spines he offered spines made of precious stones. And instead of bloodied spines, he offered spines made of red coral. And the copal incense which he offered was very good. And the pustule-covered one, who was named Nanauatzin, in place of branches offered green rushes tied in threes—in all amounting to nine. And he offered balls of straw and maguey spines, and he bloodied them with his own blood. And instead of copal incense he offered the scabs from his pustules. For each of these was raised a tower like a mountain. On these same mountains they did penance four nights. (Today these moun-

Y luego encendieron fuego ẽ el hogar el qual era hecho ẽ vna peña (que agora llaman teutexcalli). El dios llamado Tececiztecatl todo lo que ofrecia era precioso: en lugar de ramos ofrecia plumas ricas que se llamã quetzalli. Y en lugar de pelotas de heno, ofrecia pelotas de oro: y en lugar de espinas de maguei ofrecia espinas hechas de piedras preciosas: y en lugar de espinas ẽsangrentadas, ofrecia espinas hechas de coral colorado: y el copal que ofrecia era muy bueno. Y el buboso que se llamaua Nanauatzin en lugar de ramos ofrecia cañas verd's atadas de tres en tres, todas ellas llegauan a nueue: y ofrecia bulas de heno y espinas de maguei, y ensangrentaualas con su misma sangre: y ẽ lugar de copal ofrecia las postillas de las bobas. A cada vno destos se les edifico vna torre como mõte, en los mismos montes hizierõ penitencia quatro noches agora se llamã estos mõtes tzacualli. estan ambos cabe el pu.° de s. Ju.° que se llama tem-

47. 48. 49. 50.
notlali yn tletl ye tlatla yn vncan tlecuilco quitoca-
yotia yn tlecuilli teuexcalli. Auh in yehuatl tecuciz-
51. 52.
tecatl yn ipan tlamaceuaya muchi tlaçotli: yn iaczo-
53. 54. 55.
yauh quetzalli, auh yn içacatapayol teocuitlatl, yn
56. 57. 58. 59.
iuitz chalchiuitl, ỹyc tlaezhuilli, tlaezçotilli tapachtli,
60. 61.
auh yn icopal vel yeh yn cupalli. Auh ỹ nanavatzin
62. 63.
ỹ iaczoyauh mochiuh çan acatl zozoubqui, acazo-
64. 65. 66.
zoubqui, ceyn tlalpilli, tlacuitlalpilli. nepan chicu-
67.
naui in ye muchi, auh yn içacatapayol çan yeeh yn
68.
ocoçacatl, auh yn iuitz çan ye no yeh ỹ mevitztli, auh
ỹic quezhuiaya uel yeh yn iezço, auh yn icopal çan
69. 70.
yeh yn inanavauh concozolenaya. Yn omextin hin,
71. 72.
cexentetl ỹtepeuh muchiuh, yn vmpa ontlamaceuhti-
73.
neaca nauhyoval (miena ỹ aacan tetepe tracualli,
ytzacual tonatiuh yoã yztacual metztli). Auh yn
74.
ẽzonquiz nauhyoval yntlamaceualiz, niman quitla-
tlaçuo, quimamayavito yn imaczoyauh yoan in ye
muchi ypan otlamacuhque. In hin mochiuh ye

30. n[in]guno.[28] 31. osar, o atreuerse. pret. oninotla-palo. 32. todos. 33. temer. ỹt.° oninomauhti. 34. escusarse. ỹt.° onitzinquiz. 35. parecerse. o estar eminente. ỹt.° oninezticat[ca]. 36. Nombre de vn dios que era buboso. y nombre de la mesma ẽfermedad. 37. con los otros. 38. estar oyendo. ỹt.° onitlacacticati. 39. arrebatar. ỹt.° oniccuitiuetz. 40. recibir de buena voluntad. ỹt.° onitlapaccaceli. 41. Esta bien. 42. hazer mrd. o bõficio. ỹ. onitlacneli. 43. luego. 44. començar. ỹt.° onitlapeualti. 45. hazer pãia. ỹt.° onitlamaceuh. 46. ambos. 47. fuego. caso Notleuh. 48. arder. ỹt.° onitlatlac. 49. hogar. caso notlecuil. 50. nombrar. ỹt.° onitetocayoti. 51. cosa preciosa, o rara. 52. ramo de vn arbol. caso Nacuyauh. 53. pluma rica. caso noquetzal. 54. pelota de heno. ca.° noçacatapayol. 55. oro. cas. notezcuitl. 56. espina de qualquiera. cas. nouitz. 57. vn gẽo. de piedra preciosa, que es verde. ca. nochalchiuh. 58. cosi ensangretada. 59. coral, o avanera colorada. caso. Notapach. 60. encienso desta tierra. ca. nocopal. 61. persona buboso. 62. caña. ca.° nacauh. 63. cosa verde, o cruda. 64. de tres en tres. 65. cosa atada. caso Notlalpil. notlacuitlalpil. 66. cosa iunta. 67. todo. 68. espina de maguei. ca. novitz. nomevitz. 69. buba. caso. nonanavauh. 70. leuantar

28. In photographing, some letters were lost at the end of lines. We have supplied a number of these missing.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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tains are called *zacualli;* they are both near the town of San Juan, which is called Teotihuacan.) After they ended their four nights of penance, then they threw away the branches and all else with which they had performed penances.

This was done at the end, or at the conclusion, of the penitence, when, the next night—at midnight—they were to begin to perform their offices. And a little before midnight [the other gods] gave them their adornment. To the one named Tecuciztecatl they gave a feather [headdress] called *axtacomitl* and a linen jacket. And [as for] the pustule-covered one named Nanauatzin, they covered his head with [a] paper [headdress] called *amatzontli,* and put upon him a stole of paper and a paper breech clout. And midnight having come, all the gods placed themselves about the hearth, called *teotexcalli.* In this place the fire blazed four days. The aforementioned gods arranged themselves in two rows, some at one side of the fire, some at the other side. And then the two [gods] above mentioned placed themselves before the fire, facing the fire, between the two rows of gods, all of whom were standing. And then the gods

tiuacã. Desque se acabaron las quatro noches de su poja, luego echarõ por ay los ramos

y todo lo de mas con que hizieron la poja. Esto se hizo al fin, o al remate de su poja, quando la noche siguiẽte a la media noche avian de começar a hazer sus oficios. Y ante vn poco de la media noche diceonles sus adereços. A aquel que se llamava tecuciztecatl dierõ vn plumaje llamado axtacomitl y vna xaqueta de lienço: y al buboso que se llama nanavatzin tocaronle la cabeça cõ papel q̃ se llama amatzontli, y pusierõle vna stola de papel y vn maxtli de papel. Y llegada la media noche todos los dioses se pusieron en deredor del hogar que se llama teutexcalli en este lugar ardio el fuego quatro dias: ordenaronse los dhos dioses en dos rencles, vnos de la vna pte del fuego, otros de la otra pte. Y luego los dos sobredhos se pusieron delante del fuego, las caras hazia el fuego en medio de las dos rencles de los dioses: los quales todos estuuã leuãtados. Y luego hablaron los dioses y dixeron a tecuciztecatl. Ea pues

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75.
innovalco, yquac in ye valyoua tlacotiaque, teotis-
quac. Auh yn iquac ye onaci youalnepantla, niman ye
76. 77.
ic quintlamamaca, quinchichiua, quincencava: yn
78. 79.
tecuiztecatl quimacaque yaztacon mimiltic yoan
80. 81.
yxicol: auh yn nanaoztzin çan amatl ynic cõquailpi-
82. 83.
que, contzonilpique ytoca yamatzon, yoan yamanca-
84. 85.
panal, yoan yamamaxtli. Auh in ye iuhqui, yn cuel-
86.
açic yovalnepantla, ỹ muchintin teteu quiyaualotimo-
manque yn tlecuilli, ỹ motencua teutexcalli, yn vncan
87. 88.
navilhuitl ezlatlac tletl, nenecoc motecpãque: auh
89. 90.
nepãtla quimõnanq̃, quimonquetzque ỹ omextin hi,
91.
motencua ỹ tecuiztecatl yoã nanaoztzin, quixnamic-
timomanque, quixnamictimoq̃zque yn tlecuilli. Auh
niman ye ic tlatoah yn teteu, quihuique yn tecuiz-
92. 93.
tecatl. O tlacuele tecuiztecatle, xonhuetzi, xõnoma-
yani ỹ tleco: nimã ye ic yuah momeyauiz yn tleco.

algo que esta pegado a otra cosa. o despegar. ꝑt.° oniccolcuh. 71. cada vno suyo. 72. torre, o cerro. ca. notepouh. 73. nombre proprio de aquellas torres. caso. notzacual. 74. arrojar, o desechar. ꝑt.° onictlaz. onicmayauh.

000

75. remate o fin de tiempo en el qual se hazia pena. 76. dar le vestir, o de comer a otro. ꝑt.° onictlamamacac, onictlamacac. 77. atauiar o adereçar. ꝑt.° onitechichiuh. onitecencauh. 78. plumaje como cãtaro hecho de pluma blanca de la ave q̃ se dize aztatl. caso. naztacon. 79. cosa roliza. 80. xaqueta sin mancas. caso. nexicol. 81. atar. o tocar la cabeça. onitequailpi. onitetzonilpi. 82. cabellos de papel. ca. namatzon. 83. stola de papel. caso. namanespã. namanespanal. nonemanespanal. 84. maxtli de papel. ca. namamaxtli. 85. llegar. ꝑt.° oacic. 86. cercar ẽ derredor. ꝑt.° onicyavalotimomnan. o ponerse personas ẽ cerco de alguna cosa. 87. de libos ptes. 88. ponerse en orden personas. ꝑt.° oninotecpã. 89. en medio. 90. ponerse algũas personas en pie en lugar aparente. ꝑt.° oniquimõman. oniquimõquetz. 91. ponerse algunas personas en pie frontezes de alguna cosa. ꝑt.° oniquixnamictimoq̃x. no se dize oniquixnamictimomã. 92. en pues

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spoke, and said to Tecucistecatl: "How now, Tecucistecatl! Go into the fire!" And then he braced himself to cast himself into the fire.

And since the fire was large and blazed high, as he felt the great heat of the fire, he became frightened and dared not cast himself into the fire. He turned back. Once more he turned to throw himself into the fire, making an effort and drawing nearer, to cast himself into the flames. But, feeling the great heat, he held back and dared not cast himself [into it]. Four times he tried, but never let himself go. A rule [had been] made not to try more than four times. Since he had tried four times, the gods then spoke to Nanauatzin, and said to him: "How now, Nanauatzin! You try!" And when the gods had addressed him, he exerted himself, and with closed eyes undertook [the ordeal] and cast himself into the flames. And then he began to crackle and pop in the fire like one who is roasted.

tecucistecatl entra tu en el fuego. Y el luego acometio pa echarse en el fuego.

Y como el fuego era grande y estaua muy encendido, como sintio el gran calor del fuego, ouo miedo no oso echarse en el fuego, boluiose atras: otra vez torno para echarse en el fuego haziendose fuerça, y llegandose mas acerca para echarse en el fuego: pero sintiendo el calor grande detuuose, no oso echarse. Quatro vezes prouo, pero nunca se dejo echar: estaua puesto mãdamj.° que no prouarse mas de quatro vezes. Desque ouo prouado quatro vezes los dioses luego hablaron a nanauatzin y dizeronle. Ea pues nanauatzin prueua tu. Y comoo le ouieron hablado los dioses, esforçose y cerrado los ojos arremetio y echose en el fuego. Y luego començo a rechinar y respendar en el fuego como quien se asa. Y como vio tecucistecatl

Auh yn itech oaçiao totonilloti yn amo yxnamiquiztli, yn amo yecolizti, amo yhiyouilizti ynic cenca vel onxmotlac tlecuilli, ovel vahualantimotlali, ovel motlatlali yn tletl: yc çã ommixmauhtito, õnotilquetzato, valtzinquiz, valtziniloth: ye no ceppa ysuh

tlayehecoz, yzquich caana, yc momotla, quimomaca yn tletl auh ça avelmotlapalo, in ye no ytech onaci totonqui, çan valtzinõça valtzincholoa, amo ontlayecoa: ul' nappa. tlahelnappa yn ith quichiuh ỹ moyeheco, ça nimã ahuel õmomayauh ỹ tleco: ca çan ye vncan tlatencualli ỹ nappa. Auh yn ontlaquiztli nappa: nimã ye ic yeh contzatzilia ỹ nanavatzin, q'lhuique ỹ tetzu. Oc tehuatl, oc cuel tehuatl nanaostzc, ma yeh cuel. Auh ỹ nanavatzin çan cen ỹ valmotlapalo, quivalcentlami, quivallãcua yn iyollo, valtzetẽmotzolo: amo tle yc mixmauhti, a.° moquehquetz, amo motilquetz, a.° tzinquiz: çã nimã ommotlatzõtz õmomayahcioetz ỹ tlezu, çan ic ozuya: nimã ye ic tlatla, cuecuepoca, tzotzoyoca yn inacayo.

o alto pues. 93. arrojarse. ꝑt.° onõvetz. onõnomayauh.— 000

94. calor. caso Nototonillo. nonstoca. 95. cosa no sufrible. cosa intolerable. 96. encenderse mucho el fuego. ꝑt.° oxmotlac. 97. estar hecho gran fuego. vn gran monton de brasas. ꝑt.° ovahualantimotlali. omotlãtlali. 98. espantarse en ver el fuego. ꝑt.° oninixmauhti. 99. pararse en la carrera o en el camino. ꝑt.° oninotilquetz. 100. recular o bolber atras. pret.° onivaltzinquiz. onivaltziniloth. 1. prouar a hazer algo. ꝑt.° onitlaycheco. 2. esforçarse pa hazer algo. o poner todas las fuerças pa hazer algo. ꝑt.° yzquich onicahan. 3. arrojarse con impeto pa hazer algo. o darse todo a vna cosa. ꝑt.° yc oninomotlac. onicnomacac. 4. en ningũa manera. 5. osar o atreuerse. ꝑt.° oninotlapalo. 6. saltar atras. ꝑt.° onivaltzincholo. onitzincholo. 7. no puede sufrir la pena o trabajo. ꝑt.° amo onõtlayecoa. a.° onoconyeco. 8. a lo mas quatro vezes. 9. cumplir. o acabar. ꝑt.° onontlaquiztz. 10. bozear. ꝑt.° onitetzatzili. 11. ea pues tu. 12. alto sus. 13. de vna vez. 14. hazer violencia a su coraçon. ꝑt.° onicualcentlami. onicuallanqua ỹ noyollo. 15. hazer algo a cierra ojos por hazerlo sin temor. ꝑt.° oninztetẽmotzolo. oninintepptic. 16. no se parar. o no cesar en el camino. o en

539 And when Tecuciztecatl saw that [Nanauatzin] had cast himself into the flames, and was burning, he gathered himself [for the ordeal] and threw himself into the fire. And it is said that an eagle entered the blaze and also burned itself; and for that reason it has dark brown or blackened feathers. Finally a tiger [ocelot] entered; it did not burn itself, but [only] singed itself; and for that reason remained stained black and white. From here was taken the custom of calling men dexterous in war *quauhtlocelotl*. And they said *quauhtli* first, because the eagle first entered the flames. And last *ocelotl* is said, because the tiger [ocelot] entered the fire after the eagle. After both [the gods] had thrown themselves into the fire, and after they had burned, then the gods seated themselves to wait [to see] from what direction Nanaua[tzin] would come to rise.

que se avia echado en el fuego y ardia, arremetio y echose en el fuego. Y diuque luego vna aguila entro en el fuego y tambien se quemo: y por esso tiene las plumas hoscas o negrestinas. A la postre entro vn tigre no se quemo sino chamascose: y por esso q̃do manchado de negro y blanco. Deste lugar se tomo la costumbre de llamar a los hombres diestros en la guerra quauhtlocelotl. Y disen primero quauhtli porque el aguila p'mero entro en el fuego. Y discse a la postre ocelotl porque el tigre entro en el fuego a la postre del aguila. Despues que ambos se ouieron arrojado en el fuego, y despues que se ouierõ quemado: luego los dioses se sentaron a esperar a que pte vendria salir el nanaua. Despues que estuuiero grã rato esperando,

Auh yn iquac oquittac tecuiztecatl ỹ ye tlatla, quin-
iquac çatepã ypã õmomayauh, nimã ye no ic tlatla.
20.
Auh yn iuh conioa, quilmach nimã no ic onevac yn
21. 22.
quauhtli quimontoquili, õnotlaztiuetz yn tleco, õmo-
24.
tlecomayauh, oc yehvatl no uellalac ypampan yviyo
23. 25. 26.
cuícheuac, cuíchocric: auh ça ontlatzacui yn ocelotl,
27.
aocmo cenca vellala yn tletl vetzito, yc ça motlecui-
28.
cuilo, motletlecuicuilo, motlechichino, aocmo cenca
29. [40.]
vellalac, ypampan çan cuicuiltic,[21] motlilchachapani,
[41.]
motlilchachapatz. Jn hin quilmach vncan man,
vncan mocuic yn tlatolli, ynic ytolo, tenevalo yn
[42.]
aquin tiacauh oquichtli quauhtlocelotl tocayotilo:
[43.]
yeh yacattiuh yn quauhtli minoa, q'l ypampa yn
[45.]
ontryacan tlero, auh ça ontlatzacuia yn ocelotl ynic
[46.]
mocõcamaytoa quhtlocelotl, ypampa ỹ çatepan on-
vetz tleco. Auh yn ye iuhqui yn omeztin õmomama-
[47.]
yauhque tleco, yn iquac ye otlatlaque. Nimã yc qui-
[48.]
chiztimotecaque yn tetzu yn campa yeh q'çaquiuh
nanauatzin yn achto onvetz tlero ynic tonaz ynic
[49.] [50.]
tlathoi. Yn iquac ye vecauhtica onoque, mochiza-

la carrera. ꝑt.° amo oninoquehquetz, amo oninotil- 300
quetz. 17. Yr de vna vez. ꝑ. yc cen oniya. 18. estallar
o respendar. ꝑt.° ocuecuepocac. 19. rechinar. pret.°
ozozoyocac.

20. partirse para yr a alguna pte. ꝑt.° ononeuh. onon-
evac. 21. Seguir a otro. ꝑt.° onocontoq'li. 22. arrojarse
en el fuego. pret.° ononnotlecomayauh. 23. cosa hosca.
o negrestina. 24. pluma. ca.° noviyo. 25. Yr despues
o a la postre. ꝑt.° onontlatzacui. 26. tigre. caso. noce-
louh. 27. mancharse del fuego. ꝑt.° oninotlecuicuilo.
oninotletlecuicuilo. 28. chamuscarse. ꝑt.° oninotle-
chichino. 29. cosa mãchada. 40. Salpicar de tinta. o
de negro. ꝑt.° oninotlilchachapani. oninotlilchacha-
patz. 41. tornarse. ꝑt.° oman. omocuic. 42. hombre
diestro en las armas. 43. Yr delãte. ꝑt.° oniyacatia.
45. guiar. ꝑt.° onitryacan. 46. dezirse en vna palabra
quauhtlocelotl. caso Noquauh. nocelouh. 47. sentarse
a esperar. ꝑt.° onicchiztimotlali. onicchiztimotecac.
48. de donde o de que pte. 49. distancia de tẽpo.
50. estar esperando. ꝑt.° oninochizcacatca. oninochiz-
caonoca.

21. Numbering in the text and commentary is confused in the original. No. 44 is skipped in both columns. Numbers are indefinite. To correspond with the numbering in the column of notes, we skip from 39 to 40 in the Aztec column.

539 After they had waited a long time, the heavens began to redden, and in every quarter the dawn appeared. And they say that after this the gods knelt down to wait [to see] where Nanaua[tzin], become sun, would rise. In every direction they looked, turning about. They never succeeded in guessing or saying from what quarter he would rise. They agreed in nothing. Some thought that he would come up in the north, and stood up to look there. Others stood to look toward the west; others to the south. They conjectured that he was to come forth in all directions, because at all the cardinal points there was the brilliance of the dawn. Others placed themselves so as to look to the east. They said: "Here, from this direction, the sun must rise." The declaration of these was true. They say that those who looked to the east were Quetzalcoatl; a second named Ehecatl; and another named Totec, or, by another name Anauatl itecu, and by [still] another name, Tlatlauic Tezcatlipoca; and others called Mimixcoa, who are without number; and four women, one named Tiacapan, another Teicu, a third Tlacoyeua, and a fourth Xocoyotl.

Començose a parar colorado el cielo: y en toda pte aparecio la luz d'l alua. Y dizen que despues desto, los dioses se hincaron de rodillas pa esperar adonde saldria nanava hecho sol, a todas ptes mirauan boluiendose en rededor, nun acertaron a pensar ni a dezir a que pte saldria, en ninguna cosa se determinaron. Algunos pensaron que saldria de la pte del norte y paronse a mirar hazia alla: otros se pararon a mirar hazia el poniente: otros hazia el medio dia: a todas ptes sospecharon que avia de salir, porque a todas ptes avia resplandor del alua: otros se pusieron a mirar hazia el oriente dizeron aqui desta pte a de salir el sol: el dho destos fue verdadero. dizen que los que miraron hazia el oriente fueron Quetzalcoatl el 2.° que llama hecatl y otro que se llama totec y por otro nõbre anavatl ytecu y por otro nombre tlatlauic tezcatlipuca: y otros que se llamã mimixcoa que son inumerables: y quatro mugeres, la vna se llama tiacapã, la otra teycu, la tercera tlalcoyeua, la quarta xocoyotl.

[51.] 52.
anoque teteu, niman ye yc pena yn tlachichiliui novi-
53. 54. 55.
ylipa tlayaualo yn tlauincalli, yn tlatlauilloti: yn iuh
56.
conitoa nimã ye ic motlanquaquetza yn teteu ynic
quichiztque yncampa ycb quiçaq'uh tonatiuh omo-
57. 58. 59.
chiuh, noviyampa tlachixque, ahuicpa tlachie, moma-
60. 61.
lacachotionemi: ahcã vel centetix yn intlatol yn
62. 63. 64.
innemachiliz, atle y vel yaca yn quitoque. Cequintin
65. 66. 67.
momatque, ca mictlipa ỹ quiçaquiuh yc vmpa ytzti-
68. 69.
momanque: cequitin civatlampa cequintin vitz-
70.
tlampa ytztimomanque, nouiyampa motemachique
ypampa ỹ çan tlayavalo tlatlavilloti. Auh yn cequin-
71.
tin vel vmpa ytztomomanque ỹ tlauhcopa, quitoque
72.
Ca ycb vmpa hin ye vncan hin yn quiçaquiuh tona-
73.
tiuh: yehuantin vel neltic yn intlatol yn vmpa
74.
tlachixque yn vmpa mapiloque. Yuh q'ton yehuantin
yn vmpa tlachixq quetzalcoatl yc onietl ytoca hecatl,
yoã yn totec, anoço anavatl ytecu, ycan tlatlavic tez-
catlipuca, no yehuantin yn moteneua mimixcoa ỹ
amo çã tlapoaltin, yoã ciua navin tiacapan, teycu,
tlahcuyena, xuxuyetl. Auh yn iquac oquiçaco yn

51. pararse colorado. ꝑt.° otlachichiliuh. 52. por todas ptes. 53. ponerse en rededor o rodear. ꝑt.° otlayaualo. 54. el alua del dia. caso. notlauizcal. 55. claridad. caso. notlatlavillouh. 56. hincar las rodillas en tierra. ꝑt.° oninotlanquaquetz. 57. por todas ptes. 58. mirar. ꝑt.° onitlachiz. 59. boluerse al rededor. ꝑt.° oninomalacacho. 60. de ninguna manera. o en nigun lugar. 61. adunarse. o concertarse. ꝑt.° ocentetix. 62. pensamj.° ca. nonemachiliz. 63. cosa no determinada. 64. algunos. 65. pensar. ꝑt.° oninoma. oninomat. 66. hazia el norte. 67. ponerse a mirar. ꝑ. onitztimoquetz. 68. hazia el poniente. 69. hazia el medio dia. 70. esperar. ꝑt.° oninotemachi. 71. hazia el oriẽte. 72. en aquel lugar. o en este lugar. 73. verificarse. ꝑt.° oneltic. 74. señalar con el dedo. ꝑt.° onimapilo.

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And when the sun came to rise, he looked very red. He appeared to waddle from one side to the other. None could look at him, because he snatched sight from the eyes. He shone and cast rays [of light] from himself in grand style. His light and his rays he poured forth in all directions. And thereafter the moon rose, in the same quarter, the east, like the sun. First the sun came forth, and after him came out the moon; in the order that they entered the fire, in [that] same [order] they came out made sun and moon. And those who tell stories or tales say that they had equal light with which they illuminated [the world]. And when the gods saw that they shed equal brilliance, they again spoke among themselves, and said: "O gods, how shall this be? Will it be well that both go alike? Will it be well that they illuminate equally?" And the gods gave a command, and said: "Let it be thus; let it be thus done." And then one of them went running and with a rabbit struck Tecuciztecatl in the face. He darkened his face and deadened [its] brilliance, and his face remained as it is today.

Y quando vino ꝑ salir el sol, parecio muy colorado, parecia que se cõtoneava de vna pte a otra, nadie lo podia mirar porque quitaua la vista de los ojos, resplandecia y echava rayos de si en grã manera su luz y sus rayos se derramo por todas ptes. Y despues salio la lũa en la misma pte del oriente a par del sol: Primero salio el sol y tras el salio la luna, por la orden que entraron en el fuego por la mesma salierõ hechos sol y luna. Y dizen los q̃ cuẽtan fabulas o hablillas que tenian ygual luz con que alumbrauan y desque vieron los dioses que ygualmente resplandecian, hablaronse otra vez y dixeron. O dioses como sera esto? sera bien que vayan ambos a la par? sera bien que ygualmente alumbren? Y los dioses dieron sñia y dixeron. Sea desta manera, hagase desta manera. Y luego vno dellos fue corriendo y dio con vn conejo en la cara a tecuciztecatl escureciole la cara y amatole el resplandor y quedo como agora esta su cara. Despues que ouieron salido ambos sobre la tfra,

After both had come forth over the earth, the sun and moon remained still, without moving from one

estuuieron quedos sin mudarse de vn lugar sol y la luna. Y los dioses otra vez se hablaron y dixeron.

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75. 76. 77. 78.
onomanaco tonatiuh, yuhquin tlapalli monenecuilo-
tinani, amo vel yxnamico, teyxmimicti, cenca tlanez-
79.
tia momanecyotia, yn itonameyo noviyampa aaciti-
80.
moquetz, auh yn itonalmiyo *noviyampa* cacalac:
81.
Auh çatepan quiçaco ꝟ tecuciztecatl quivaltocatia çan
82. 83.
ye no vmpa ꝟ tlauhcopa ytloc ẽnomanaco yn tona-
tiuh: yn iuh onvetzque tleco, çan no yuh valquizque,
84. 85. 86.
valmotocatiaque. Auh yn iuh conitoa tlãtlanonotza,
teçaçanilhuia çan nẽneuhqui yn intlachieliz mo-
chiuh, ynic tlanextiaya: yn iquac oquimittaque teteu
ꝟ çan nẽneuhqui yntlachieliz, niman ye no ceppa ye
87.
nemonezalo, ẽtoque. Quen yezque hin, teteuhe? cuix
88. 89.
onoiztin otlatocazque, onteixti yuh tlanextizque?
90.
Auh ꝟ teteu muchintin vallatzontecque, quitoque.
91.
Juh yez hin, yuh muchiuas hin? Nĩman ye ce tlacatl
92. 93.
ẽmotlalotiquiz ꝟ teteu, ye conixviuitequito yn tochin
94.
in yehuatl tecuciztecatl, ye onixpopoloque, ye con-
95.
inẽmictique yn inhqui ixcuan ye tlachie. Auh yn ye
inhqui yn iquac ye onomanaco onoeyztin, ye no

75. reboluerse a vna pte y a otra. ꝑt.° oninonenecuilo.
76. no es posible. 77. mirar en la cara. ꝑt.° oniquixna-
mic. 78. quitar la vista de los ojos. ꝑt.° otexmimicti.
79. dilatarse. ꝑt.° oacitimoquetz. 80. ẽtrar por todas
ptes. ꝑ. ocacalac. 81. seguir a otro. ꝑ. onictocatia.
82. en el mismo lugar. 83. cabe el o con el. ca.° notloc.
84. dezir habìllas a otro. ꝑt.° oniteçaçanilhui. onitla-
nonotz. 85. cosa ygual a otra. 86. aparencia o gesto.
ca. notlachieliz. notlachixca. notlachieya. 87. como
sera esto? 88. dos iuntos. 89. andar camino. ꝑ. onotla-
tocac. 90. dar sentencia. ꝑ. onitlatzontec. 91. desta
manera se hara esto. 92. hujr. ꝑ. oninotlalotiquiz.
93. herir en la cara. ꝑ. oniteixhuitec. 94. estragar
la cara a algun. ꝑ. oniteixpopolo. 95. afear la cara
a otro. ꝑ. oniteixmicti.

96. 97.
cuelch ahuel ollini, ahuel otlatoca, çan momanque,
98.
momẽtinque: ye ye no ceppa quitoque ꝟ teteu,

96. no puede. 97. moverse. ꝑ. onolin. oninolini.
98. pararse con firmo ppuesto de no moverse mas.

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place. And the gods once more spoke, and said: "How may we live? The sun does not move himself! Are we to live among the peasants? Let us all die and make him revive through our death!" And then the Wind took charge of killing all the gods, and he slew them. And it is told that one, named Xolotl, refused to die, and said to the gods: "O gods, let me not die." And he wept exceedingly, so that his eyes swelled with weeping. And when the slayer came to him, he hid in the maize fields, and he changed and turned [824] himself into the foot of a maize plant which has two stalks, and the field workers call it *xolotl*. And he was seen and found among the feet of the maize stalks. Again he took flight and hid among the maguey plants, and changed himself into a maguey plant which has two bodies, which is called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and he took flight and placed himself in the water and made himself into a fish which is called *axolotl*. From there they took him and slew him. And they say that although the gods were slain, not on that account did the sun move. And then the Wind began to blow and raise a strong gale. He made him move, so that he might go on his way. And after the sun began to travel, the moon was quiet in the place where he was.

Como podemos biuir no se menea el sol, emos d' biuir entre los villanos? muramos todos y hagamosle q̃ resucite por nr̃a muerte. Y luego ayre se encargo de matar a todos los dioses, y matolos. Y dizese que vno llamado Xolotl rehusava la muerte, y dixo a los dioses. O dioses no muera yo y lloraua gran manera de manera que se le hincharon los ojos de llorar. Y quando llego a el el q̃ mataua hecho a huyr, secondiose entre los mayzales, y boluiose y con[ver]tiose en pie de mayz q̃ tiene dos cañas y los labradores le llaman xolotl. Y fue visto y hallado entre los pies del mayz, otra vez hecho a huyr y se escondio entre los magueys y convertiose en maguey que tiene dos cuerpos, q̃ se llama mexolotl: otra vez fue visto y hecho a huyr y metiose en el agua y hizose pez q̃ se llama axolotl de alla le tomaron y le mataron. Y dizen que avnque fueron muertos los dioses no por esso se mouio el sol y luego el viento començo a suflar o ventear reziamente: el le hizo mouerse pa que anduuiese su camino. Y despues q̃ el sol començo a caminar, la lũa se estuuo queda en el lugar donde estaua.

99.
q̃otinemiqui amo olini yn tonatiuh cuix tiquinclotinemiaq̃ ỹ macoualti: auh yn hin matoca mozcalti, ma
100.
tiauchintin timiquica. Nimã yc yeh ytequiuh õmochiuh yn hecatl ye quimictia yn teteu: auh yn iuh
1.
conitoa ỹ xolotl ah momiquitlania, q'milhui ỹ teteu.
2.
Macamo nimiqui teteuhe. Jc cẽca chocaya, vel yxpo-
3.
poçavac, yxquatolpopoçauac: auh in ye itech onaci
4. 5. 6.
miquizli, çan teixpampa yeuac, cholo, toctitlan calac-
7.
tiuetz ypan õmizeuh, yc omocueptiuetz yn toctli ome
8.
mani, mazaltic yn quitocayotia millaca zolotl. Auh
vncan yttoc yn toctitlan, ye no ceppa teixpampa
9.
yeuac, ye no cuele metitlan calactiuetz, no yc õmo-
cueptiuetz ỹ metl ome mani yn itoca mexolotl. Ye
no ceppa yttoc, ye no cuele atlan calactiuetz axolotl
mocuepato ye vel vmpa canato ynic cõmictique. Auh
quitoa ỹ manel muchintin teteu õmicque, ça nel amo
vel yc olin amo vel yc otlatocac ỹ teutl tonatiuh yc
ytequiuh õmochiuh ỹ ehecatl, muquetz yn ehecatl,
10. 11. 12.
cenca molhui, tototac yn ehecac, quin yehuatl vel
13.
colini, niman ye ic otlatoca. Auh ỹ iõc ye otlatoca,
14.
çan vmpa onmocauh ỹ metztli: quiniquac yn ocal-
15. 16.
aquito ycalaquian tonatiuh, ye no cuele yc valeuac
17. 18.
ỹ metztli: yc vncã mopatilique, motlallotique ynic
19.
ceceppa valquiça, tlacemilhuitilkia yn tonatiuh, auh

omotetẽma. oninotetcuhtlali. oninotetcuhquetz. 99. 000
mezclarse con otros. p̃. onitenelo. 100. resuçitar con
ayuda de alguno. o murir porque solamẽte biua otro.
p̃. teca oninozcalti. 1. rehusar la muerta. p̃. aoninomiquitlan. amo oninomiquitlan. 2. hincharse los
ojos. p̃. onixpopoçauac. 3. hincharse los parpados de
los ojos. p̃. onixquatolpopoçauac. onixquatoleeuac.
onixeeuac. 4. huyr de alguno. p̃. oteixpampaneuac.
onicholo. 5. entre mayz verde. 6. ẽtrar de presto o
subitamente. p̃. onicalactivetz. 7. conuertirse. o tomar
figura de otra cosa. p̃. ypan oninixeuh. ypã oninocuep. yc oninocuep. 8. cosa doblada. o cosa q̃ esta
de dos en dos en vna rayz. 9. entre los magueys.
10. poner conato o fuerça. pa hazer aglo. p̃t.° oninolhui. 11. hazer algo con vehemẽcia. p̃. onitotocac.
12. ventear. pret.° oehecac. 13. mouer algo. p̃. onicolini. 14. quedarse en alguna parte. p̃. oninocauh. onõnocauh. 15. su entrada del sol o el poniente. caso.
nocalaquian. 16. partirse de algun lugar. pret.° ononeuac. ononeuh. 17. pasar vno a otro. yendo por otro
camino. p̃. onicpatili. 18. apartarse vna cosa de otra.
p̃. onictlalloti. 19. durar vn dia. p̃. onitlacemilhuitilti.
20. el trabajo de la noche sustentar. o sufrir. pret.°
onictlaz. 21. trabaiar de noche. pret.° oniyoualtequit.

539 After the sun had set, the moon began to move. Thus the one got away from the other. And thus they come forth at different times. The sun endureth one day, and the moon worketh at night (or illuminateth at night). From this cometh what is said: that Tecuciztecatl would have been the sun if he had cast himself first into the fire, because he was named first, and offered precious things in his penance.

Despues que el sol se puso començo la luna a andar: desta manera se deuiaron el vno del otro: y assi salen ẽ diuersos tiempos. El sol dura vn dia y la luna trabaia en la noche o alumbra en la noche. De aqui parece lo que se dize q̃ el tecuciztecatl avia de ser sol si p'mero se ouiera echado en el fuego porque el p'mero fue nõbrado y ofrecio cosas preciosas en su pñia.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821 When the moon is eclipsed, he becometh almost dark; he becometh blackened; he turneth a dark brown. Then the earth darkeneth. When this cometh to pass, women with child feared miscarriage. A great dread seized them that that which they had in their bodies would become mice. And as a remedy for this they took a piece of obsidian in the mouth or they placed it in the girdle over the belly and [did so] in order that the children [whom they carried] in the womb would not be born lipless or noseless or wry-mouthed, or cross-eyed, or that [one] might not be born monstrous.

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Quando la luna se eclipsa parase casi oscura, ennegrecese, parase hosca: luego se escurese la tierra. Quando esto aconteçe las preñadas temian de abortar, tomauales gran temor que lo q̃ tenian en el cuerpo se a de boluer raton. Y para remedio desto tomavan vn pedaço de yztli ẽ la boca o ponianle en la çintura sobre el vientre y para que los ninos que en el vientre no saliesen sin beços o sin narizes, o boquimuertos, o bizgos: o porq̃ no naciese monstro.

The people of Xaltocan held the moon as a god and made him special offerings and sacrifices.

Los de xaltoca tenian por dios a la luna y le hazia particulares ofrendas y sacrificios.

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20. 21.
ꝟ metztli yovalequitl quitlaça, ceyoval quitlaça yo-
valequiti. Jc vecan hin neci, mitoa ca yehuatl tona-
tiuh yezquia ꝟ metztli tecuiztecatl yntla ych achto
omotzini tleco, ypampa ca yehuatl achto mixquetz
ynic muchi tlaçotli ypan tlamacaztli.—Nican tlami
yuhin nenonotzalli, çaçanilli, in ye vecauh ye tlālla-
nonotzaya venenque, yn impiel cauca.

Metztli quale.

1. 2.
Jn iquac qualo metztli, yxtlileua yxcuicheua. cuich-
3.
euatimomana. tlayouatimomana. Yn iquac hi mu-
4. 5. 6.
chiua, vel motēmatia yn ootzti, tlauelmatia, momauh-
7. 8.
tiaya ma nelli moquimichcuepi, ma quiquimichti-
9.
mocuepti yn impilhuan. Auh ynic quitēmatia, ynic
10. 11.
mopahtiaya, ynic amo yohqui ypapan muchiuaz,
12. 13. 14.
ytzli yncamac, anoço ꝟxillan quitlaliaya. ypampa
15.
ynic amo tencuayuinque tencuatiuque ympilhuā,
16. 17.
anoço yacaqotiuque, yacacotoniuque, anoço tēpuzti-
18.
uinque, tenoecuiliuique. ypuztiuique, yxnecuili-
19.
uique, yxvacaliuique, yn anoço atlacatemelle tlaca-
tia. yn amo tlacamelavac.

In hin metztli yehua quimocuiaya ꝟ xahocamoca,
quihuamilliaya, quimavizilliaya.

1. pararse negrezino. ꝟ. onixtlileuac. onixcuicheuac.
2. pararse como ahumado. ꝟ. onicuicheuac. onipuch-
euac. 3. hazerse tinieblas. o oscuridad. ꝟt. otlayouac.
otlayouatimomā. 4. aver miedo q̄ le venga algū mal.
ꝟ. oninotēma. onitlatēma. 5. hembra preñada. ca.
notzecauh. 6. temer el peligro del pto. ꝟ. onitlauelma
oninomauhti. 7. por ventura. 8. boluerse ratō. ꝟ.
oninoquimichcuep. 9. temer asi algun mal o a otro.
ꝟ. onictēma. onictlatēmachili. 10. Remediar. ꝟ. onino-
pahti. 11. acōtecer. ꝟ. nopan omochiuh. 12. Nauaja
d' piedra. caso. nitz. 13. en la boca. ca. nocamac.
14. la varriga. ca. nonillan. 15. Nacer falto de los
beços. ꝟ. onitēquayuh. onitēquatiz. quatic. 16. Nacer
falto de las narizes. ꝟ. oniyacaquatiz. quatic. oniya-
cacotoa. 17. Nacer boquimerto. ꝟ. onitēpuztiuh. oni-

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Third Chapter, of the Stars Called Castor and Pollux.

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These people paid particular reverence and [made] special sacrifices to Castor and Pollux, in the sky, which move near the Pleiades, which are in the sign of Taurus. They made these sacrifices and ceremonies when [the stars] newly appeared to the east after sunset. After having offered incense, they said: "Now [hath] Yoaltecutli come forth, and Yacauiztli. What will come to pass this night? Or what end will the night have—fortunate or adverse?" Three times they offered incense (and [this] must be because they are three stars), the first time at the first quarter of the night, another time at ten, and the third [time] when it beginneth to be morning.—They name these stars *mamalhuaztli*, and by that same name they call the sticks with which they drill a fire; because it seemeth to them that they somewhat resemble [the stars] and that from them there came to them this manner of producing fire. From this it was customary that the

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Hazia esta gente particular reuerencia y particulares sacrificios a los mastelexos del cielo q̃ andã cerca de las cabrillas que es en el signo del toro. hazian estos sacrificios y cerimonias qñ nueuamente parecia por el oriente despues de la puesta del sol. Despues de auer ofrecidole encienso, dezian ya salido youaltecutli y yacauiztli, que acontecera esta noche o que fin abra la noche prospero o aduerso. Tres vezes ofrecian encienso y deue ser porque ellas son tres estrellas. la vna vez a p'ma noche. la otra vez a hora de las diez. la 3ª quando comiença amanecer.—llaman a estas estrellas mamalhuaztli y por este mismo nõbre llaman a los palos con q̃ sacan lumbre porq̃ les parece q̃ tienen alguna semeiança cõ ellas y que de alli les vino esta manera de sacar fuego. De aqui tomaron por costumbre de hazer vnas quemaduras en la mollera los varones a honrra de aq̃llas estrellas. Dezian que el q̃ no fuese señalado de aquellas que-

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Capitulo tercero de las estrellas llamadas mamalhuaztli

1. Mamalhuaztli.

Yn iquac vahuetl, valmotema tlenamacoya. tlatoa
2.
tiloya. yc mitoya, ovalhuetz in youhtecutli, in
yacatitli: quen vetziz in youalli quen tlathuiz. Auh
yn hin tlenamacoya expa ỹ machiuaya, yq̃c yn
3. 4. 5.
tlapoyoua, tlaquauhtlapoyoua, youan netetequizpã,
6. 7. 8.
tlatlapizcalliquan, yquac hin neçoua nenitzmanaloya:
9. 10.
yc expa tlenamacoya, yquac yn tlavizcalleua, tlauiz-
11. 12.
calli moq̃tzã, yn tlatlalchipoua, yn yc tlathuinavac.
13.
Auh ynic mitoa mamalhuaztli, yiech moneneuilia yn
14. 15. 16.
tlequavitl: yehica yn iquac tlequauhtlaza, ca moma-
17. 18. 19. 20.
mali yn tlequavitl, ynic vetzi, ỹc zotla, ynic moçpitza
21.
tlel. No youan ynic nematlatiloya, ynic momatlatiaya
22. 23.
tequichti, yehouel quimacacia, mimacacia, ymacz-
24.
uaya, mitoya quihuach yn aq̃n amo nematlatile,
25.
ynuac tlequauhtlaxtic ỹ mictlan yn iquac omic.
Yehica yn tequichti machi tlacatl momatlatiaya,
26. 27. [28.]
amoxc ynuac quimiçpauaya, quictecpanaya yn
[29.] [30.]
inmamatlatil: yc quitlayehecalhuiaya yn mamalhuaz-

tlnecuilioh. tempatilioh. 18. Nacer bizgo. ß. onixpatinoh. ßxnocuilioh. vacalinh. 19. nacer monstro.

1. Las estrellas que se llaman mamelexos. 2. este es el nombre de aquellas estrellas. 3. p'ma noche. escurecerse la noche. ß. otlapoyauac. 4. mucho. o rezio. 5. la hora de echarse a dormir. ca. nonetequizpan. 6. la hora de tocar las bozinas. ca. notlapitzalizpã. 7. la hora de ofrecer sangre de las orejas. 8. la hora de ofrecer puntas de maguey ensangrentadas. 9. asomar el alua. ß. otlauizcalleuac. 10. quando el alua esta ya bien demostrado. ß. otlauizcalli moquetz. 11. parecerse la tierra con la luz del alua ya muy clara. ß. otlatlalchipauac. 12. ante de amanecer. o junto al alua. 13. comparse. o semejarse. pre. onitlaneneuili. onitlaneuiuili. 14. instrumẽto de palo pa sacar fuego. ca, notlequauh. 15. sacar fuego cõ aquel instrum.to ß. onitlequauhtlaz. 16. barrenarse. ß. oninomamal. 17. con que. 18. salir. ß. ouetz. 19. brotar. ß. ototlac. 20. encenderse. ß. omapitz. 21. quemar la mooca en vnas pess. ß. oninomatlati. 22. temer a otro. ß. oni-

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men make certain burns on the wrist in honor of those stars. They said of him who was not marked by those burns that, when he died, there in hell they would produce fire on his wrist, drilling it as those do who here drill fire with the stick.

madurs quando se muriese q̃ alla en el infierno avian de sacar el fuego de su muñeca barrenãdola como qñ aça sacã el fuego del palo.

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The star Venus these people named Citlalpol or Uey citlalin, and they said that when it riseth in the east it maketh four assaults. The [first] three times it shineth little and hideth again; and at the fourth it cometh forth with all its brightness and followeth its course. And they say of its light that it is like that of the moon. On its first assault they held it an omen of evil, saying that it brought sickness with it. And therefore they shut the doors and windows so that its light might not come in. And sometimes they took it as a good omen. And at the beginning of the time that it started to appear to the east, they slew captive men in reverence to it, and offered it their blood, sprinkling it toward [the star] with their fingers.

A la estrella de venus la llamaua esta gente citlalpul, vey citlalli y dezian que quando sale por el oriente hase quatro arremetidas, y a las tres luze poco y buelvese a esconder: y a la quarta sale con toda su claridad y procede por su curso. y dizen de su luz que parece a la de la luna. En primera arremetida teníanla de mal agouro diziendo que traya enfermedad consigo, y por esto cerravan las puertas y ventanas porq̃ no entrase su luz. Y a las vezes la tomavan por buen agouro. Y al p'ncipio de tpo que començaua a aparecer por el oriente matauan hombres captiuos por su reuerencia, y ofreciaule la sangre salpicando hacia ella con los dedos.

[31.]

ti, ỹ ính vipítoc, tecpantoc, no yuh quiípanoya, quimocpanoya yn ínac yuncuitil.

1. Cihtlaqui.

Vey cihtlin.

Mitoa yn iquac yuncuican valcholoa, vlquiça [illegible] 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. polioa, popolohtiuetzi: auh çaçpan vel cuepani cuepanimotlalia, cuepanoica, tlamextiica yuhquin metztlin yc tlamextia. Auh yn iquac yuncuican valcholoa, 8. 9. cenca mauizti motecaya, nemauhtiloya, noviyan 10. 11. motzatzacuaya yn tlecalli yn pochquiauiztli, mitoaya 12. 13. 14. 15. aço cocolizçe ytla ahcquelli quiçquiztiuitz yn oq'çaco: 16. 17. 18. auh yn quimaca quiçquiltzaya. Auh no mitoaya yn 19. 20. iiçc valcholoa, yacahiloya, quitlaqueliaya yancaçoica 21. 22. ỹ nauhcli: cuetlaxtzicuiniliaya, cuetlatlatzilinaya. 23. cuehyyauiliaya.

quimacaz. 23. temere. ß. cuimacaz. cyuacamoc. 24. el q̃ no tiene aquestas quemaduras ẽ la manoca. 25. infierno. 26. de ambas ptes. 27. mano o manoca. ca. nomac. 28. ordenar en rencle. ß. onicvinipan. onictecpan. 29. quemadura de la manoca. ca. nonematiuil. 30. ymitar. o remedar. o aventar. ß. oniclayohcalhui. 31. estar alguna cosa puesta en rencle.

1. el huevo de la mañana. 2. saltar. o arremeter. o huyr. ß. onicholo. 3. desaparecerse. pre. onipoliuh. 4. a la postre. 5. salir. la estrella. o brotar. o resultar. pre. onicçepon. onicuepontimotlali. onicuepontícaca. onitlaxtítícaca. 6. así como. 7. esplandecer la luna. ß. ometztonac. 8. imprimir temor. o espanto. ß. mauizti omotecac. 9. en todo lugar. 10. encerrarse. pre. oninotzatzaca. 11. humero. ca. notecal. nopuchquiauh. 12. cosa enferma. o que cayu d' enfermedad. 13. algo. 14. cosa mala. o cosa dañosa. 15. trayer. aca. ß. oniquiçquiza. oniçquiçtiuitza. 16. algũas vezes. 17. cosa buena. 18. morir. o matar. ß. onimac. 19. maçonller. o cover. ß. oincalihc. 20. ruziar con sangre a los yhelos. ß. oniclaquali. 21. ruziar con sangre, con el golpe del dedo medio rezebido sobre el golpe. ß. onitlaxtzicuini. 22. arrojar por modo de afrenta. ß. onitlatlatlac. 23. algo

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Fourth Chapter.

821 The comet these people called *citlalin popoca*, which meaneth smoking star. They held it as a [787] prognostication of the death of some prince or a king, or of war, or of hunger. The common folk said: "This is our hunger."

Llamaban esta gente a la cometa citlalin popoca que q. d. estrella que humea: tenianla por pronostico de la muerte de algun principe o rey, o de guerra, o de hambre. La gente vulgar decia, esta es n'ra hambre.

The fiz[illegible]g [tail] of the comet these people called *citlalin tlamina*, which meaneth, the star casteth a dart. And they said that that dart always fell upon something living—a hare, or a rabbit, or some other animal; and wherewithal it would go, a worm was then formed. Wherefore that animal was not to be

A la influencia de la cometa, llamaban esta gente citlalin tlamina que q. d. la estrella tira saeta y decian que siempre q. aquella saeta cayo sobre algun animal liebre o conejo o otro animal, y donde yria luego se criaba un gusano. Poll lo qual aquel animal no era de comer. Por esta causa procuraban esta gente de

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algo en reuerencia del que esta lexos ofreciendoselo. Y tambien q. d. alçar el pie o la mano andando haciendo areyte o dança. Tambien q. d. yrse presto a algun lugar, o estar poco en el. Y para alçar otra cosa no se vsa. pre. onitlaiyauh. oniniyauh. oniniyaveno.

Capitulo quarto

1. Citlalin popoca.
2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.
Mitoaya tlatocaetzaoiz. ye tlatocatiocoaz, aço aca vey tlaçopilli ye miquiz: Youn no quinoaya aço cana ye velmoztecaz, aço ye oliniz teuatl tlachinolli: youn moço ye mayaqualoz. Quinoaya ỹ macevalti aço tlapia hi, aço apinili q'tea.

1. Cometa. 2. aguero contra los SS. y reyes. 3. morir reyes o SS. 4. por ventura alguno. 5. persona de noble linaje. 6. por ventura en alguna pte. 7. rebelarse contra su. s.[or] ß. oualmotzacu. 8. leuantarse guerra. ß. ocli yn teuatl tlachinolli. ca. notruauh. notlachinol. 9. o por ventura. 10. a[ver][m] hambre. ß. omayaualoc. 11. esta es n[r]a hambre. ca. napiz. notrucioiliz. napizmiquiliz. nomayaualiz.

1. Citlalin tlamian.
2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.
Mitoa amo nenquiça, amo nevetzi ye ielamiualiz, tlacuilloia. Auh ye tlamintli mitoa citlalminqui, ocelilo, acomo quelio, mauhcayoa, tlaelitoa, hibiolo, tolaubia. Auh ye youalica vel acmalhuala, nocololo,

1. La inflamacion de la cometa. 2. no pasar en valde. ß. amo omenquiz. 3. no acontecer en valde. ß. amo omevetz. 4. golpe de saeta. o inflamacion. ca. notlaminaliz. 5. dar ocasion q̃ se hagan guanos. ß. onitlacuilloti. 6. cosa herida con saeta. ca. notlamin.

22. Cf. Paso y Troncoso, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 261.

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eaten. For this reason these people took pains to cover themselves at night, so that the tail of the comet might not fall upon them.

abrigarse de noche porque la inflamacion de la cometa no cayese sobre llos.

The stars which are in the Little Bear these people call Citlalxonecuilli. They represent them in the shape of an *s*, backwards, [of] seven stars. They say they are by themselves, apart from the others, and that they are brilliant. They call them Citlalxonecuilli because they resemble a certain kind of bread which they make like an *s*, which they call *xonecuilli*, which bread was eaten in all the houses each year on the day named Xochilhuitl.

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A las estrellas que estan en la boca de la bozina llama este gente citlalxonecuilli. pintanlas a manera de ese rebuelta siete estrellas, dizen q̃ estan por si apartadas de las otras y que son resplandecientes. llamanles citlalxonecuilli porq̃ tienẽ semejãça con cierta manera de pan que hazen a manera de ese al qual llaman xonecuilli, el qual pan se comia en todas las casas vn dia el año q̃ se llama xuchilhuitl.

Those stars which, in some places, are called the Great Bear these people called the Scorpion, because they make the outline of a scorpion[28] or alacrán.

Aquellas estrellas q̃ en algunas pers se llama el carro. esta gente las llama esculpiõ porque tienen figura de esculpion o alacran.

28. *Escolpion.* In the original, the *l* may have been changed to *n*.

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15. 16.
netlapocholo, nequentilo, netlalpililo. Ymacuxo yn ixiuinoaliz cizlalin.

7. cosa a quien la estrella hirio como cõ saeta. 8. Cosa guasanienta. 9. no ser comestible. 10. tener temor de algo. β. onicmauhcayttac. 11. tener asco de algo. β. onictlaelittac. oniquihix. 12. hazer asco. pre. onitetlaelti. 13. abricarse del frio. o de otra cosa dañosa. β. oninomalhui. 14. cobijarse. β. oninololo. 15. cubrirse. β. oninotlapacho. 16. vestirse con las mantas. β. oninoquenti. oninotlaqti. oninotlalpili.

1. Citlalxonecuilli.
2. 3.
Çan yyoca onoc. iyoca nextoc. tlaeztitoc. cuecuepocatoc. Auh ynic mitoa citlalxonecuilli ca quinepeuilia, 4. 5.
vel no yuhqui centlamantli tlachichiualli tlaxcalli, 6. 7. 8.
xuoçe tzoualli, nenecoc, cecentlapal quacoltic, quate- 9. 10.
uilacachic. Xochilhuitl ypan, yn quaqualoya noviyan 11. 12. 13.
cocoxcalpan, quitzacutimanca ỹ noviyan techachi 14.
nechiuililoya.

1. Citlalcoloti.
2. 3. 4.
Çan no yuhqui quinecuilia, quinamiqui yn itlachie- 5. 6.
liz tequani coloti cuitlapilcoxoltic, mamalacachtic, 7.
tetemilacachtic yn icuitlapil. Ypampi yc mitoa citlal-
coloti.

7. cosa q̃ tiene la cola a manera de carnuzo. 7. cola. o rago. ca. nocuitlapil.

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These people attributed the wind to a god whom they named Quetzalcoatl, something like god of the wind. The wind bloweth from the four quarters of the world by command of this god, according to what they said. The first quarter it cometh from is from the east, where they say is the terrestrial paradise which they call Tlalocan. This wind they called Tlalocayotl. It is not a furious gale; when it bloweth, it doth not hinder the canoes from moving on the water. The second wind bloweth from the north, where they say hell is; and hence they name it Mictlampa ehecatl, which meaneth the infernal wind. *In hin uel imacazo*, etc.: this wind is violent, and therefore they fear it greatly. When it bloweth, canoes cannot go on the water. And all which are on the water come out with all the speed they can [muster] because of fear when it bloweth; for often they are endangered by it. The third wind bloweth from the west, where they said was the abode of the Amazons. They called it Ciuatlampa ehecatl or Ciuatecayotl, which is to say wind which bloweth from where the women abide. This wind is not savage, but it is cold. It maketh one tremble with cold. With this wind, navigation is good. The fourth wind bloweth from the south, and they name it Uitz-

Esta gente atribuia el viento a vn dios q̃ llamauan quetzalcoatl bien asi como dios de los vientos. Sofla el viento de quatro ptes del mundo por mandamiento deste dios segun ellos dezian. De la vna pte viene de hazia el oriente, donde ellos dizen estar el payso terrenal al qual llaman tlalocan. A este viento la llamauan tlalocayotl: no es viento furioso, quando el sofla no impide las canoas andar por el agua. El segundo viento sofla de hazia el norte donde ellos dizen estar el infierno y asi le llaman mictlampa ehecatl que q. d. el viento infernal. Yn hin vel ymacazo etc. este viento es furioso y por eso le temen mucho quando el sofla no pueden andar las canoas por el agua. Y todos los que andan por el agua se salen por temor qñ el sofla con toda priesa que puedẽ porque muchas vezes peligran con el. El tercero viento sofla de hazia el occidente donde ellos dezian que era la abitacion de las amaçonas llamauanle ciuatlampa ehecatl o ciuatecayotl que q. d. viento que sofla de donde abitan las mugeres. este viento no es furioso: pero es frio, haze templar de frio con este viento bien se nauegan El quarto viento sofla de hazia el medio dia y llamanle vitztlãpa ehecatl q. d. viento q̃ sofla de aquella pte donde fueron los dioses que llaman vitzitznava: este viento en estas ptes es furioso,

[1]. Ehecatl.

[2.]
Motenemiya yc quinotzaya quetzalcoatl. Nauhcampã
[3.] [4.] [5.]
vallauh. Nauhcampa valixtiuh. Ynic ecatl vallauh
[6.]
vmpa yn iquiçayampa tonatiuh, quinaya tlalocan.
7.
Ynin ehecatl vmpa vallauh quinocayotiaya tlalocayotl,
8. 9. 10.
amo cẽca tomauhti, amo cenca totoca vel ypan acal-
11. 12. 13. 14.
tica vilua, vel ypan quinoa yn atlan, vel ypã panoa.
15. 16.
Ynic occeo vallauh motenemi mictlampa, auh yn hin
17. 18. 19.
matocayotia mictlampa ehecatl. Yn hin vel ymocxxo
20. 21.
vellamanaltia, cẽca totoca yn iquac moquetza, amo
22. 23.
vel quimamiqui ỹ acalli amo vellauiltoco, amo vel
tlautlapalolo, avel yxtlapal vilua, ahvel tlaneuilolo
24. 25.
yn atlan, çan mauhcaquiua, mauhcaquiça yn tlapa-
26. 27.
nauique, yn atlaca, ỹ tlatlamaque, yn tlaminque yn
equintaque ca mictlampa ehecatl yn omoquetza, yc
28. 29.
cenca motõmati, motequipachoa, vel motequ'mati
30. 31. 32.
ompilcatoque, ompiçpilcatoque yn tlaxcloa, yn tequi-
33. 34.
tlaxcloa, vel momaquauhtilia, ynic vel onq'ça, ãma-
35. 36.
cata amoco, atiçipalco, achichiyacpã: yuh quinoa ca
37. 38. 39. 40.
micqua tonãlmiccia, quipolactia yn acalli. Ynic ecatl
41. 42.
vallauh motenemi civatlampa, motocayotia cioatoca-
43.
yotl, cioatlampa ehecatl, no quinocayotia ce ehecatl,
mauqui mauqua, ypampan vmpa valixtiuh mauauacã.
44. 45.
Auh yn hin mamo cenca totoca yuxch cenca yuxic,

1. viento. 2. de quatro ptes. 3. venir. ß. oniualla. 000
4. venir de hazia alguna parte. ß. oniualixtia. 5. de
la vna pte. 6. tierra de deleytes como el parayso
terrenal. 7. Nombre del viento que sopla del oriente.
8. no es cosa temerosa o espantable. 9. correr con
impetu. ß. cenca onitotocac. 10. con canoa. 11. Yr.
ß. oniya. 12. salir. ß. oniquiz. 13. del agua. 14. pasar.
ß. onipano. 15. de la 2.ª pte. 16. de hazia el infierno.
o de hazia el norte. 17. llamarse. ß. onihotocayoti.
18. este. 19. Ser temido. 20. Cosa que haze espanto.
21. soplar. o estar. ß. oninoquetz. 22. Yr contra otro.
ß. oniq'xnamic. 23. atrauesar por delante. o yr a la
bolina. ß. onitlauiltec. onitlaxtlapalo. onitlaneuilo.
24. Salir de alguna pte con miedo. ß. onimauhcaquiz.
25. remeros. caso. notlapanauicauh. notlaneloeauh.
26. los pescadores. caso. natlaca. notlatlamacauh.
27. los que tiran. ca. notlamincauh. 28. recibir pena.
ß. oninotequipacho. 29. darse priesa a hazer algo. ß.
oninotequima. onõpilcatoca.[28] 30. hazerse algo sin
cesar. ß. onompilcatoca. 31. remar. ß. onitlaneloa.
32. darse priesa a remar. ß. onitequitlaneloa. 33. es-
forçar o arremiar los braços en el trabajo. ß. oninoma-
quauhtili. 34. sacar la canoa a tierra. onicẽcan. onoco-
nalcã. ononalca. 35. la orilla del agua. ca. natenco.

28. The word onõpilcatoca appears to have been omitted out in the Bandelier.

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82 | tlampa chocatl, which meaneth wind blowing from that quarter where went the gods whom they call the Uuiztznaua. This wind, in these parts, is violent, dangerous for boating. Such is its fury sometimes that it uprooteth trees and overturneth walls, and raiseth great waves in the water. Canoes which it meeteth in the water it casteth to the bottom or raiseth high. It is savage like the arctic or north [wind].

peligroso pa nauegar, tanta es su furia a algũas vezes que arancan los arboles y trastornan las paredes, y leuanta grandes olas en el agua las canoas que topa en el agua echalas a fundo o las leuanta en alto, esta furioso como el cierço o norte.

000

vel tecezmicti[46] tepineualti[47], tepinouh, tetezilinini[48], tetezilquizti[49], tetiziilquiti. teuiuiyoquiliti, tecuecuechquiti[50], tecuecuechanicti, tecuecuechuiquiti, tezilliquauhtili[51], teyomotlanquiauhtili[52], tetzoteoneuh. Auh tel[53] vel ypan quinoa yn atlan, amo temauhti. amo tetemiuiti[54]. Auh ynic nauhcampa vallauh[55] checatl vmpã vitztlampa[56], motocayotia vitztlampa[57] checatl.

Auh yn hin cenca vel ymaczzo, mimacaci, netẽmacho[58] soc tenauatilli[59]. aoc tetlatoloti. Ypãpa cenca tonoca, cenca tlamauhtia. Quitoa yn iquac moquetza, vel quizinoua[60], quipoztequi[61] yn quauitl yoan quixitinia[62] yn tepanẽli[63], yn tepãçolli, yn zacalli[64]. quehcatoctia[65] yn tlatzacuilli[66], ỹ chinauacalli[67]. Auh yn vey atl vel colinia[68], quipeponaça[69], quipoçonaltia[70], ca cuecuẽyotia[71], yuhquin tetococzimani[72]. cocomocztimani: auh yn acalli cuecuẽyoui, cacuchaça[73], vel no yuhqui, quinamiqui ỹ micztlãpa checatl.

natenzipaleo. 36. cerca de la orilla donde llega la humedad d'l agua. 37. muchas vezes. 38. ahoga. ß. oniteatlanmicti. 39. anegar. o sumir en el agua. ß. onitepolacti. 40. de la 3.ª pte. 41. region donde abitã solas mugeres. 42. nombre del viento que soßa del occidente. 43. nombres del mesmo viento. 44. empero. 45. muy cosa frìa. 46. cosa que mata de frio. 47. cosa que hierta con frio. 48. cosa que haze teritar de frio. 49. cosa q̃ haze templar o tiritar. 50. cosa que causa dolor en la barriga. 51. cosa que causa dolor en los costados. 52. cosa que causa dolor en la cabeça. 53. no es temerosa. 54. no. Cosa que imprime temor, o espanto. 55. Y de la quarta pte. 56. la pte del medio dia. 57. el viento q̃ soßa de la pte del medio dia. 58. temer que le venga algun daño. ß. onipotẽma. oninotẽmat. 59. quitar la habla con temor. 60. boluerlo de arriba abazo. o trastornaR algo. ß. oniczzineuh. 61. quebrar cosa de madera o piedra. o metal. ß. onicpuztec. 62. derrocar. o desbaratar. ß. onicxitini. onicxini. 63. pared. ca. notepan. 64. casa de paja. ca. notzacal. 65. lleuar el uiento. ß. oniquecatoctl. 66. Seto de cañas o de otra cosa. ca. notlatzacuil, nochinancal. 67. la mar. 68. alborotar o remouer. ß. onicolini. 69. hichar. ß. onicteponaça. 70. hazer heruir el agua.

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Variously they named the sheet lightning or thunder bolts. They attributed them to the Tlalocs or *tlamacazque*. They said that these made the thunderbolts and sheet lightning and peals of thunder, and [that] they smote with them whomsoever they would.

Por diversos nombres nombran al relampago o rayo atribuyẽle a los tlaloques o tlamacaces. Dezian que ellos hazian los rayos y relampagos y truenos y ellos herian con ellos a quien querian.

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Fifth Chapter

Clouds and rain these natives attributed to a god whom they called Tlalocan tecutli, who had many other [gods] under his command, who were named Tlalocs and *tlamacazque*. These [people] thought that they created all things needed for the body, such as maize and beans, etc.; and that they sent the rains so that all things growing in the earth would

Las nubes y las pluuias atribuianlas estos naturales a vn dios que llamauan tlaloca tecutli, el qual tenia muchos otros debaxo de su dominio a los quales llamauan tlaloque y tlamacazque. Estos pensauan que criauan todas las cosas necesarias pa el cuerpo como mayz y frisoles etc. Y que ellos embiauan las pluuias para que naciesen todas las cosas que se crian

1. tlapetlanilloti. tlapetlanilizti. much ic quinotzaya. quitocayotiaya ayauhcocolli. tlapetlanilquauitl [4.] ontpilquauitl. Yn iquac tlapetlani, tlatlapetlani, tizpoyaua, tixnimiqui. titixmauhtia, titocuitiuetzi. Ayxnamiquilizti, aixnamiquizti, noviyã tlatlanezztimoquetza, yuhquin tlauizcalli moquequetza. Ynic vallauh valcocoliuhtiuh. cuecueliuhtiuitz.

β. onicpoçonalti. onicpoçoni. 71. Causar olas en el agua o leuantarlas. β. onicacuecuenyoti. 72. hazer estruendo las olas que quiebran. β. otetecuicuecuimãca. ococomocatimanca. 73. arrojar en alto. β. onicacomayauh. onicacotlaz.

1. Relampago. 2. niebla o esalacion que va culebreando. 3. rayo. 4. relampaguear. β. otlapetlan. otlatlapetlan. 5. perder la vista. β. onixpoyaua. onixnimic. 6. obfuscarse la uista. β. oninixmauhti. 7. estremecerse. β. oninocuitiuetz. 8. Cosa en que se puede poner la vista. 9. aparecer gran claridad. β. otlatlanezztimoqtz. otlauizcalli moquequetz. 10. venir culebreando. β. oualcocoliuhtia. oualcueliuhtia.

Capt. quãto

1. Tlaloca teoutli.

Teutl ypan machoya, ytech tlamiloya yn quiauitl yn atl, yuh quinonaya yeh quichiaz yn tiztqua, ỹ tiqui, yn qualoui, yn iuani, yn tonẽca, yn toyolca, yn tocochca, yn tonouhca, yn tocemilhuitiaya yn tonacayotl, in ye inquich zopanyotl yn izzmolintoc ỹ cellztoc, yn quilitl, ỹ vauhtli, yn chian, yn ayotetl,

1. El dios de su payso terrenal. el dios de las nubes. o el dios se las lluuias. truenos nublados. 2. atribuir. pres. tetech nictlamia. β. tetech onictlami. 3. lluuia. 4. comer. β. onitlacua. 5. beuer. β. oniquic. onitlai. 6. Cosa comestible. 7. cosa buena pa beuer. 8. Cosa para sustentar la vida. 9. mantenimiento. o bastimento. ca. notonacayouh. 10. las cosas que se hazen

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burst forth. And when they observed the feast of this god and his subjects, before the celebration, those whom they called *tlamacazque* (who lived in the temple house named *calmecac*) fasted four days. And, the fast concluded, if there were a malefactor among them, in honor of those gods they mishandled him in the lake, dragging and kicking him through the mire and through the water.

en la tierra. Y quando hazian fiesta a este dios y a sus subiectos antes de la fiesta ayunauã quatro dias aquellos que llamauan tlamacazque los quales morauan en la casa del templo llamada calmecac. Y acabado el ayuno si algun malhechor entre ellos avia por honrra de aquellos dioses le maltrataua en la laguna arrestrandole y acozeandole por el cieno y por el agua.

16. 17. 18. 19. 20.
yn etl, ꝟ metl, yn napalli, yuan yn oc coçui yn amo
21. 22. 23. 24.
qualoni, ꝟ xochitl, ꝟ xiuitl. Auh yn iꝯc yllmiquixti-
25. 26. 27.
lloya, achaqua nauilhuitl moçauaya, motlalocaçauaya
yn tlamacazqui, ꝟ motencua calmecac mouapana,
27. 28.
mouchtia. Yn iquac oacic nauilhuitl, in ye nenalco,
29. 29.
in yeilhuitl muchiua, mutlipapachoua mopopolac-
30. 31.
tiuya in vey apan, amo yviyan, amo motlamachoua ꝟ
32. 33.
atlan ẽnotzotzopontitlaça, ẽnotzotzopontinauyani,
34. 35. 36. 37.
çi monetechuia vncan çoquitlan quincuitia, quipopo-
38. 39. 40.
lactia, quinllana, ycpac continemi. quititlaça. atlan
41. 41. 42.
ẽtzotzopontinemi. ayomochtinemi. tlamoMolotzti-
43.
nemi ꝟnac mouinitlatinemi ꝟ tlamacazqui yn otla-
44. 45.
tlaco. yn calm.cac ytlã ouchalo. Ynilanel çan acu
46. 47. 48. 49. 50.
ẽnotepotlani, ytla oconicxinapanh. ocuel yc onaci-
51. 52. 53.
que. ye ic ꝟnal çi quipipic, aocmo conixcatu ynic
54. 55. 56.
catlampapachoque. Auh amo çi quenin quipolos,
57. 57. 58.
vel quicocoltia, quellelaxitia, çi qui quinnattoc, çi
59. 60. 61. 62.
mopopoçauhtoc, çi yyamocatoc, çi micqui yn quinal-
63. 64. 65. 66.
mayani aenco: ayac vel ypan tlatoa, vncan quinoa-
67. 68.
ana yn inixhuã yn inaxvan. Auh yn aquin quitla-
69. 70.
mauhcayotilia yn quitlatlamachilia ypilzin, ynic amo
71. 72. 73.
catlampapachoque conquinaya, ytlazin quinoa-
74. 75.
caya yn tlamacazque, aço tenãn, aço tlaquelli: yc
quicavaya. Auh yn iquac hin, ꝟ noviyan techachan ꝟ

el tẽpo de las aguas. 11. estar nacido alguna cosa verde como flor o yerua. o oja de arbol. ꝟ. oytzmolintoca. ocelintoca. 12. verdura pa comer. caso. noquil. 13. cenizos. ca. nouanh. 14. vna yerua en que se haze vna semilla como linaça. ca. nochie. nochiã. 15. calabança. ca. nayoteuh. nayo. 16. frisoles. ca. neuh. 17. magueyes. ca. nomeuh. 18. ojas de tonales. ca. nonopal. 19. otras cosas. 20. no comestible. 21. flores. ca. nouochiuh. 22. yerua. ca. noxiuh. 23. y quando. 24. hazer fiesta. ꝟ. onilhuiquixtli. hazer fiesta a alguno. ꝟ. onitelhuiquixtili. 25. ministros del templo. rec. tlamacazqui. 26. la casa del templo donde morauan los que seruian al templo. 27. criarse. ꝟ. oninovapanh. oninocalti. 28. en el fin del ayuno. 29. meter debaxo del agua al que quiere salir del agua. ꝟ. oniteatlampapacho. onitepopolac. 30. en la mar. rec. Vey atl. 31. hazer algo con templança o con asosiego. ꝟ. onitetlamachui. 32. en el agua. 33. çabulir. o çapuçar en el agua. ꝟ. onitetzopontitlan. onitetzopontinauyuh. 34. hazer algo vnos a otros los que son de vn mismo linaje. o de vn mismo vando. o de vna misma religion maltratandose o dex. . . . . dose los vnos a los otros. ꝟ. otinotechuique. careçe de singular. 35. en el lodo. recto. çoquitl. 36. traer algo

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And if he tried to rise, by force they again pushed him under the water, until they almost drowned him. They who, in the house called *calmecac*, committed some fault—like breaking some vessel, or some such thing—these they seized and kept under guard in order to punish them on that day. And sometimes the parents of him who was thus detained gave chickens or capes or other things to the priests so that they would let [him] go and not drown [him]. To those whom they thus illtreated, neither their parents nor their kin dared show favor nor speak for them, if previously they had not freed them while they were imprisoned; and so badly did they treat [the victims] that they even left them almost for dead cast on the brink of the water. Then their parents took them up and carried them to their houses. In this feast of these gods, all the common folk ate maize boiled like rice. And the priests went dancing and singing through the streets. In one hand they carried a stalk of green maize, and in the other a pot with a handle. In this way they went asking that [the householders] give them boiled maize. And all the common folk cast that boiled maize into the pots which they carried.

y si se queria leuantar tornauãle por fuerça, a meter debaxo del agua hasta que casi le ahogauã. Los que en la casa llamada calmecac hazian algun defecto como es quebrar alguna basija o cosa semejante los prendian y tenian guardados para castigallos aquel dia. Y algunas vezes los padres del que asi estaua preso daban galinas, o mantas o otras cosas a los tlamacaces porque lo soltasen y no le ahogasen. A los que maltrataua desta manera ni sus padres ni sus parientes osauan favorecellos ni hablar por ellos si antes no los avian librado estãdo presos y tanto los maltrataua hasta que los dexaua casi por muertos arrojados a la orilla del agua. Entonces los tomauan sus padres y los llevauan a sus casas. En esta fiesta destos dioses todos los macehuales comian mayz cozido hecho como arroz. Y los tlamacaces andauan bayllando y cantando por las calles en vna mano trayan vña caña de mayz verde y en otra vna olla con asa por este modo andauã demandando que les diesen mayz cozido y todos los macehuales les echauan en las ollas que trayan de aquel mayz cozido.

75. 76. 77. 78.
cecencalpan etzalqualoya, cecẽyaca metzalhuiaya.
79. 80. 81. 82.
yoan etzalmacevaloya, cintopiltica mitotia, tepan ca-
83. 83. 84.
calaqui, motlatlacuia, motlatlaytlania yn etzalma-
85. 86. 87. 88.
ceuhque, çã muchch yn etzalli quimaca ỹ xoxocvicol,
89. 90.
ymoetzalcuo yntlan caana./

de aca paralla. ꝑ. onitenen. 37. çabulir algo debaxo del agua. ꝑ. onitepolacti. 38. arrastrar persona. pre. oniteuilã. 39. traer alguno de los cabellos por fuerça. ꝑ. teicpac onitean. 40. dar de cozes a alguno. ꝑ. onitetitilicçac. 41. andar reboluiendo el agua andando debaxo della. ꝑ. onitlatzotzopotztine. onaicozotztine. 42. hazer heruir el agua cõ el mouimiento que haze el que anda debaxo della. ꝑ. onitlamomolotztine. 43. escabullirse de las manos de los que le quieren tomar. ꝑ. temac oninouiuitlatinẽ. 44. hazer algun defecto, como quebrar algo. o trastornar algo. ꝑ. ytla ononcholo. pro ytla oneconitlaco. 45. avnque algun. 46. tropeçar. pres. ninotepotlamia. 47. dar punta de pie a alguna cosa. pres. nitlacxixopeua. 48. luego. 49. por esta causa. 50. prender. ꝑa. nicaci. ꝑ. onicacic. 51. presionero. rec. malli. 52. poner cerco para guardar a algun que no se pueda huyr. pre. onitepipix. 53. tener los ojos puestos en algũa psona para que no se escapulla. ꝑ. amo oniq'xcauh. 54. hazer aquel maltratamj.° en el agua a aquellos que ansi castiguan. ꝑ. onitezlampepacho. 55. demasiadamente. 56. dar tarea de coses o personas. ꝑ. onitepolo. 57. fatigar. o affligir. ꝑ. onitecocolti. onitellelaxiti. 58. estar a punto de muerte. ꝑ. ça quẽ

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821
776

They said that these gods 2 made the clouds, the rains, and hail, snow, peals of thunder, sheet lightning, and thunderbolts.

Estos dioses dezian que hazian las nubes y las lluuias, y el granizo, y la nieue, y los truenos y los relampagos y los rayos.

821

The rainbow is something like an arch of hewn stone. It showeth divers colors. When it appeareth, it is a sign of clear weather.

El arco del cielo es a manera de arco de canteria tiene aparencia de diuersos colores. quando aparece es señal de serenidad.

7/1 [i.e. Tlalocan tecutli & Tlalocs & tlamacazque – A]

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Jn yehoantin hi moteneua tlaloque yntech tlamiloya ꝯ mixtli, yn quiauitl, yn teciuitl, ꝯ cepayauitl, yn ayauitl yn tlapetlaniliztli, yn tlatlatziniliztli, yn teuitequiliztli.

onicmattoca. 59. anelar con gran angustia. ꝑ. oninopopoçauhtoca. 60. estar azezando como de muerte. ꝑ. oniçomocatoca. 61. el que esta a punto de morir. 62. arrojar algo. ꝑ. onicmayauh. 63. ninguno. 64. fauorecer. ꝑ. tepan onitlato. 65. de alli. 66. tomar algo. ꝑ. onicã. 67. Y si alguno. 68. temer el mal q̃ a de venir a otro. ꝑ. onitetlamauhcaitrili. onitetlatenmachili. 69. sacar. o librar. ꝑ. onitequixti. 70. alguna cosa. 71. gallina. ca. nototol. 72. comida. ca. notlaqual. 73. por esta causa. 74. dexar. ꝑ. oniccauh. 75. en todas las casas. 76. comer mayz cozido. 77. cada psona. 78. hazer pa si mayz cozido. ꝑ. oninetzalhui. 79. baylar demandando el mayz cozido por calles. 80. con cañas de mayz verde. rec. cintopilli. ca. nocitopil. 81. bailar. ꝑ. oninitoti. 82. entrar de casas en casa. ꝑ. tepan onicacalac. 83. demãdar limosna. ꝑ. oninotlatlaeui. oninotlatlaitlani. 84. los bayladores q̃ demandã mayz cozido. 85. todos lo mismo. 86. el mayz cozido como arroz. ca. netzal. 87. dar. ꝑ. onictemacac. 88. olla con asa. rec. zocvicolli. 89. olla de mayz cozido. rec. etzalcomitl. 90. lleuar algo colgado de la mano. ꝑ. notlan onican.

1. Ayamhcoçamalotl.

Yuhquin vitzlinhqui[2] tlamitoltic[3]. coltic[3] ynic valmoquetza[4]. tlatlatlapalpoalli[4], motlatlapalpouh yn itla-

2. cosa arcuada, o hecha a manera de arco. 3. cosa corua. 4. cosa pintada de diuersos colores. 5. cosa verde. 6. verdescuro. 7. cosa amarilla. 8. cosa de color

821 And when the rainbow fixeth itself over a maguey, they said it would cause [the plant] to dry or wither. And they also said that when the rainbow appeareth often, it is a sign that the season of rain is about to cease.

y quando de arco del cielo se pone sobre algun maguey dezian que le haria secar o marchitar. Y tambiẽ dezian que quando espesas veses aparece el arco del cielo, es señal que ya quieren cesar las aguas.

chielic ꝟ centlamanli tlapalli ytech neci xonoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iyappaltic, quilpalli, iyappalli: yoan coatic, xopaltic, xochipalli, niman ye chichiltic tlapaltic, yoan tlaztaleualtic, tlazteleualli, yoan texotic, tzaztli, matlaltic, matlalli. Auh quinoa yn iꝟc valmoquetza, quinextia, quiteititia, quinezcayotia, ye macho, ye machinti ye ino yn amo quiauix, amo tlaelquiauix, amo tilauaz, ça quimoyava ꝟ mixtli, quipopoloa, quellekia, quiyacatzacuilia yn quiauitl, yn tlaelquiauitl yn tepaltilli, yn techaquani, ꝟ teçoq'tili. Yntla cenca omotlatlali mixtli, yn ovel cuicuicheuac, ynonoviyan tlãtlayouac, çan quipopoloa. Yntlanel quiauitl, aocmo cenca tilauia, aocmo molhuia, ça auachquisiti, auachtli yn onveuetzi, yn onchichipini, auachpiztzetli, avachpicilli, auchauachpicilhoton yn ontzitzicuini, yn onveuetzi: anocch çan avachtilauia, avachtilauatimani, auachtzetzeliuhtimani. Auh quinoa quilmach yntla metl ypan moquetza, ye macueçalicini, macoçauia, mauaqui, machichilini, matlatlauia, macuetlauia. No yoan quinoa yn iquac miecpa valmoquetza ye neci çã cuel quiçuz yn quiaviõl, quinoeya çan cuel yauque yn avaque, ye quiçauque yn tlaloque.

5. naranjada o leonada. 9. cosa colorada. 10. cosa morada o encarnada. 11. cosa azul. 12. cosa de color de cardenil o cosa azul. 13. demostrarse. o leuantarse. ꝑ. ovalmoquetz. oualnez. 14. demostrar. ꝑ. onicnextl. onicteititi. 15. significar o ꝑnosticar. ꝑ. onicnezcayoti. 16. saber ꝑ. omachoc. omachiztic. 17. ser visto. ꝑ. oyttoc. 18. llouer. ꝑs. quiaui. ꝑ. oquiauh. 19. llouer mucho. ꝑs. tlaelquiaui. ꝑ. otlaelquiauh. otilauh. 20. derramar. ꝑ. onicmomoyauh. 21. desbaratar. ꝑ. onicpopolo. 22. impedir o estoruar. ꝑ. oniquellehi. 23. atajar. ꝑ. onicyacatzacuili. 24. aguatero. 25. cosa que moja. 26. ponerse nublados. 27. ponerse oscuridad por razon de muchos nublados. pres. cuicuicheua, tlatlayoua. 28. hazerse algo reziamẽte. ꝑ. oninolhui 29. llouiznar. ꝑ. oauachquisauh. 30. hazer molizna. ꝑ. auachtli õoruetz. 31. caer algunas gotas de agua. ꝑ. onchichipin. 32. molizna. 34. ruziar con alguna cosa. ꝑ. ontzitzicui. 35. caer. ꝑ. onveuetz. 36. molizna. pret.° omachtilauac. 37. estar molizneando. 38. pararse lo uerde amarillo en disposiciõ de secarse. ꝑ. omacueçalicinh. omacoçauiz. 39. secarse las ramas. ꝑ. omauac. 40. pararse las ramas coloradas. ꝑ. omachichilinh. omatlatlauiz. 41. marchitarse las ramas. ꝑ. omacbetlauiz. 42. de presto. o presuamente. 43. los señores de la pluuia.

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FLORENTINE CODEX

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

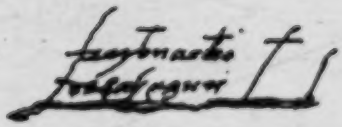

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Book 8 – Kings and Lords

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

Arthur J. O. Anderson
School of American Research

Charles E. Dibble
University of Utah

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART IX

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BOOK EIGHT--KINGS AND LORDS

Libro octauo, de los
Reyes, y señores, y de
la manera: que teni
an, en sus electio
nes: y en el goui
erno de sus
Reinos.

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De los Reyes

EIGHTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE GREAT RULERS AND NOBLEMEN AND OF THE WAY IN WHICH THEY OBSERVED THE ELECTIONS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

JNIC CHICUEI AMOXTLI INTECHPA TLATOA YN HUEHUEY TLATOQUE IOAN IN PIPILTI YOAN IN QUENIN QUIPIAIA TLAPEPENALIZTLI YN IPAN TLATOCAIOTL.

173
648

First Chapter, which telleth of the rulers and governors who reigned in Mexico from the beginning of [their] rule until the year 1560.

Inic ce capítulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque ioan in gouernadores in otlatocatque mexico in isquichica ipeuhcan tlatocaiotl ioan in ixquichica xihuitl de 1560.

The first ruler of Mexico.

Acamapichtli first made the beginning, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. There was peace and quiet; wars had not yet come in his reign.

Inic ce mexico tlatoani

Acamapichtli achto compeualti tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oce iuian iocoxca in catca, aiatle iaoiotl ipan mochiuh.

The second ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Uitziliuitl was second, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. He began wars and conquered the people of Colhuacan.

Inic ome tenochtitlã tlatoanj.

Vitzilibuitl ic ome tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oçe iehoatl quipeualti in iauiotl, quinpeuh in colhoacan tlaca.

The third ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Chimalpopoca was third. He ruled Tenochtitlan ten years.

Ic ei tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Chimalpopoca ic ei tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl.

The fourth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Itzcoatzin was fourth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. He conquered the people of Azcapotzalco and Xochimilco.

Ic naui tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Itzcoatzin ic naui tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl onnaui quinpeuh in azcaputzalca ioan xuchmilca

The fifth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma the Elder was fifth, and ruled Tenochtitlan thirty years. He conquered and made war on all the people of Chalco; and on Quauhnauac and on all who were subject to Quauhnauac; and on Maçauacan. And in his reign there came a great

Inic macuilli tenochtitlan tlatoani

Veue motecuçoma, ic macuilli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: cempoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiuitl, quipeuh quj-isuchiuh in jxqujch chalcatl ioan quauhnaoac ioan in ixquich moquauhnaoacaitoa ioan maçaoacan, ioan ipan mochiuh in vei maianalizzli, nauhxiuitl ih

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And in his reign there came a great
178 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepanecs and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jtequich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Calliztlauacan, Ecatepec, Cozcaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxauaten, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: mathaxiuitl ipã nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjquac, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquaceuxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jonac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuiatli.

Auh in iehoatl axaiaca, qujpeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, calliztlaouaca, hecatepec, coacaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenãco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxoalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan
[312] for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Tlillatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcatl, and Coaatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered these of Tziuhcoac, and Mollanca, Thapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Iconac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itencopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl ozteti in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tlillatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, coahatl, inma in coioacã ioan ujtzilupachco: oc nauhxiujtl qujztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in aiamo mjqui auitzotl. Auh in jonac oallaque Españoles, ic iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in thioatimanca, nezque in cicidalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oaltemoaque in tzizimime, tequanque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, thapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiotlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. Source for coioacatl. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has ỹ coaatl for coioa.

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Cinacostl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iolloxonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlauapan,[4] Nopalan, Itzuc tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzalteper, and Chichioaltzacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

caxtolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maianaliztli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian tepan centman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in maianalistica. 175 [731]

Çã no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlaelnapaloa, quetzh veiah noquezzepole uel xomjtotia, atlã tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ic iuh oalmachizti in Españoles. [787]

Çã no ichoatl ipin mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho.ia qujtoaia. Nunequilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no ichoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocolizztli, njman motocac yitoalco ipan qujtemanoque, ic iuh nauilhuitl motocac in cihoatl micquj moscali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in vncan motocaca tlatlatacco motlapo, auh in tetl ic motemanca vẽca veuetzito: auh in ichoatl cihoatl in oiuh moscali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in motecuçuma in tlein qujttac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca inic onjnoscali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ic itzquich ca ichoatl moca tzonqujça in tlatocaiotl in mexico catchoatl mopan mantias in altepetl mexico. Aquijque in ic uitze ca ichoantin tlalmacteoaqujuj, ichoantin onoaqoe in mexico: auh in ichoatl mjcca çihoatl ic no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh icoaeuh oquichtli: 175 787

Ioan miiec in altepetl qujpeuh motecuçuma in jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlaoacan, çocollan, tecomaixtlaoacã, çacatepec, tlachqujauhco, iolloxonecuillan, atepec, mjctlan, tlaapan, nopalan itzuc tlalocan, cuextlan, quetzalteper, chichioaltzacalan. 175 648 [103]

Çan no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl aciquijni españoles motztaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica oalmoqueztaia cenca tonaoac in tlanextli iuhquin tlemjiaoatl ieoad tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçaiampa oalmoqueztaia vmpoliuja in ie oalquiça tonatiuh, 175 787

3. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. Cuicac or cuicacalli name. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has sol yacatl. Mapanda is clearly an error.
4. Tlauapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

175 787 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac polioh oc iuh nauhxiujtl açiqujui in españoles

175 648 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçique injc quijpeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancujc España de mjll e quinjentos y dezinueue.

175 731 648 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cujtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhujtl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchiuh in calla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in noujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej totomonalistli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, quitlacalhui in jxuac: injc quipquiztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcque, ca muchi atlan quimostlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca noujian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaixtimomã, injc hijauque mjmjcque.

175 648 797 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc ichoantin españoles quijpeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in noujian ic quijaoalotoc ixquich altepetl. Icoac tlãtocati in callaque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipãlhoan Sanct frãcisco, in quitecaoaltico tlateotoquiliztli: ioan quitemachtique tlanchtoquiliztli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactlomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl iepan españoles noujian iauquiçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in ichoatl nonum de guzman, quiuicac in vej culhoacan vmpa mjquijto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

5. *Ca muchi atlan.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ca ha ga.*
6. *Iepan:* *yn ipapan in ilhiul.*

The fourteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Vanitl was fourteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc matlactli onnauj tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego vanjtl, ic matlactli onnauj tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

The fifteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Teuetzquiti was fifteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for thirteen years. It came to pass in his time that a great sickness came to be prevalent, known as a plague. From people's noses, blood issued; there was much death everywhere because of it, and there was death from famine. Very many were buried every day, everywhere. And in his time it was that the Chichimeca—those of Xochipilla—and the people of Cibola were destroyed and conquered.

Injc castolli tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego teuetzquiti, ic castolli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiujtl ipan exiujtl, ipan mochiuh 731
inic momanaco vei cocoliztli mjtoa pestilencia teiacapa quiz eztli cenca ic mjcnac in noujian ioan apiznjcoac cencĕ mjec in motocaia cemjlhujtl in noujiã. ioan ipan muchiuh injc poliuhque, penaloque chichimeca, xochipilieca ioan Scipola tlaca. [648]

The sixteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Cristóbal Cecepatic was sixteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc caxtolli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don xpoual cecepatic, ic caxtolli oce, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

[p. 6 is blank]

175
648

Second Chapter, which telleth of the rulers who governed in Tlatilulco when the reign had not yet perished and when, later, once again the Spaniards gave back and restored [it] to them, until the year 1560.

Injc vme capitulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque in otlatocatque tlatilulco, in aiamo poliuj tlatocaiotl, ioan in çatepan oc ceppa oquijnmacaque oquijncuepilique españoles in ixqujchica ipan xiujtl de 1560.

The first ruler of Tlatilulco, Quaquapitzauac, who first began [the reign], governed Tlatilulco for sixty-two years. He conquered the people of Tenayuca, and Coacalco, and Xaltocan. When this one then ruled, two rulers of Tenochtitlan came together [one after the other], who were named Acamapichtli and Uitzilinitl.

Injc ce tlatilulco tlatoanj Quaquappitzaoac achto compeoalti tlatocat in tlatilulco iepoalxiujtl omome, qujmpeuh in tenaiocan tlaca, ioan coacalco ioan xaltocan, in ichoatl, y, ic tlatocat qujnnamjcticatca vmentin tlatoque in tenochtitlan in omoteneuhque Acamapichtli ioan vitzilinitl.

The second ruler of Tlatilulco.

Tlacateotl [was] the second, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. It came to pass in his time that all the people of Acolhuacan and those of Coyoacan were conquered.

Injc vme tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Tlacateotl ic vme, tlatocat in tlatilulco, cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl omej, ipan muchiuh injc peoaloc ixqujch aculhoacatl ioan coioacatl.

The third ruler of Tlatilulco.

Quauhtlatoa [was] the third, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. Two rulers, also, came together [one after the other], in Tenochtitlan. These [were] Itzcoatl and Moctezuma the Elder. It came to pass in his reign that the people of Azcapotzalco, and Coaixtlauacan, and Cuetlaxtlan, and Quauhtlinchan, and Xochimilco and all the people of Quauhnauac were destroyed and conquered.

Injc ei tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Quauhtlatoa, ic ei tlatocat in tlatilulco cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolli omej xiujtl, qujnnamjcticatca no vmentin tlatoque catca in tenochtitlan, ichoatl itzcoatl, ioã veue motecuçuma. Ipan muchiuh injc poliuh injc peoaloc, azcaputzalcatl ioan coaixtlauacã, ioã cuetlaxtlan, ioan quauhtlinchan, ioan xochmjlco ioan in jxqujch quauhnaoacatl.

The Fourth ruler of Tlatilulco.

Moquiuixtli [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco nine years. In his time the reign of Tlatilulco came to an end; for he and his brother-in-law, Axayacatl, ruler of Tenochtitlan, quarreled. [The latter] then made war upon Moquiuixtli and the people of Tlatilulco. And this Moquiuixtli of his own will quickly ascended to the summit of a [pyramid] temple, that he might cast himself from there; wherefore he then died.

[762]

Injc nauj tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Moqujujxtli, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco: chicunauhxiujtl, ipã impoliuh tlatocaiotl tlatilulco, inic çan mococolique in jtex axaiaca tlatoanj tenochtitlan, injc qujiauchiuh moqujujxtli ioan tlatilulca. Auh in ichoatl moquiujxtli çan jnoma in tlecotiuetz iicpac teucalli injc vmpa oalmoenaiauh injc vncan mjc.

Don Pedro Temilo: when he was made ruler of Tlatilulco, he was the one who again started the

Don pedro temjlo icoac omotlatocatlali in tlatilulco, ichoatl ic no compeoalti in tlatocaiotl, in oiuh

175 148 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçique cempeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vẽca españoles injc tepeuhque in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Cuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Aacapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

[231]

Don Martin hẽca ic vme tlatocat in tlatilulco: exiujtl ic impan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çiocoatl qujqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa aizcapotzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncã tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motetique tlatlazque, oontetl in quauhtetl qujtlazque icecentetl quauhtli.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Iuan avellittoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Iuan quauje onoc, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoxiujtl ioan icoac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlã, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamauiçolli vej neixtujtilli injc tlamjz cemanaoac

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco oxjujtl.

Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth, and he ruled Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cibola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

[731]

Don Martin tlacatecatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocolixtli ioan in iaoiutl injc peoaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoça visorrej in njcan iancujc españa

Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

[731]

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocolixtli, itoca quechpoçaoalixtli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in ieboatl matlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

1. For reasons we cannot, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nueve* or *noventa*.
2. In *ibid.*, *nochipilteca*, years *ninetieu* there, years follows *nochtlan* there.

Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Texcoco, and as many years as they governed.

The first ruler, who began the reign in Texcoco, was Tlaltecatzin. He ruled only eighty days, and nothing [of note] happened in his time. This one [was one of] the Chichimeca rulers.

And the second who became ruler, who followed Tlaltecatzin, was Techotlalatzin the Chichimeca. And he ruled seventy years; nor did anything [of note] occur in his time.

And the third who became ruler of Acolhuacan[1] was Ixtlilxochitl the Elder. He ruled for sixty-five years. [And] nothing [of note] befell in his time.

And the fourth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualcoyotzin. He ruled seventy-one years. And at this time, in the time of Neçaualcoyotzin, the war was begun. The two, [Neçaualcoyotzin and] the ruler of Tenochtitlan, Itzcoatzin, conquered the Tepaneca, and they conquered people everywhere. Thereafter this Neçaualcoyotzin founded and laid down the seat of authority[2] of Acolhuacan or Texcoco.

And the fifth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualpilli, and he ruled for fifty-three years. In his time war was made in all parts through which people were conquered. And when these two, Neçaualcoyotzin and Neçaualpilli, ruled, they were besieged by Tlaxcala and Uexotzinco.

And in the time of Neçaualpilli began what kept appearing, in the heavens, like a light, like a flame of

Injc ej capítulo vncan mjtoa in texcuco tlatoque, injc iequi xiuitl tlatocatque. 173

Injc ce texcuco tlatoanj, Qujpeoalti in tlatocaiutl in texcuco ichoatl in tlaltecatzin çan napoalilhujtl in tlatocat atle ipan muchiuh, chichimeca tlatoque, y.

Auh injc vme tlatoanj muchiuh, in qujoaltoqujli in tlaltecatzin ichoatl in techotlalatzin chichimecatl, auh in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

Auh injc ej, tlatoanj muchiuh acolhoacan ichoatl in vcue ixtlilxochitl in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ioan macujlxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

Auh injc nauj tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco ichoatl in neçaoalcoiotzin in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan cexiujtl, auh in ichoatl, y, in neçaoalcoiotzin ipan peuh in iaoiutl im omextin in tenochtitlan tlatoanj. Itzcoatzin inic qujpeuhque tepaneca: auh in noujian tepeuhque qujn ichoatl qujpeoalti in neçaoalcoiotzin in qujtecac in petlatl in jcpalli in acolhoacan texcuco. 173 648

Auh injc macujlli, muchiuh tlatoanj texcuco, ichoatl in neçaoalpilli auh in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl vn matlactli ioã exiujtl in jpan muchiuh iauiutl in noujian ic tepeoaloia auh in ichoantin im omextin in neçaoalcoiotzin ioan neçaoalpilli in jcoac tlatocatque tzacuticatca in tlaxcalla ioan vexotzinco.

Auh in neçaoalpilli ipan peuh in tlein oalmoquequetzaia ilhujcatitech in iuhquj tlanextlj in iuhquj 173 787

1. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"señor de Texcoco, o de Acolhuacan"*; cf. also Charles E. Dibble: *Códice Xolotl* (México: Universidades de Utah y de México, 1951), Pls. III. The term Acolhua refers to a grouping held together by kinship and political alliance occupying territory east of Lake Texcoco, with Texcoco as its center. Their main competitors for dominance in the valley were the Tepaneca, centered at Azcapotzalco. On the Acolhua, see Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl: *Historia Chichimeca* (Madrid, 1892), pp. 41, 42, 69; also *Relaciones* (México, 1891), p. 303. *"Y así pasó los límites y pueblos que eran de su parte de los acolhuas, que son Texcoco, Huexotla, Coloaxtlahuacan."* "Coloaxtlahuacan de los acolhuas" is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 289; *"Al dicho de como tres, que era Tezozomoc, mancebo de poca edad, señor de los acolhuas, le dió á Coloaxtlahuac con otros muchos pueblos y lugares donde los mayor pedazo eranse los donde sus conquistaron"* (*ibid.*, p. 289).

2. *In petlatl, in icpalli*—the green mat and the seat. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún uses the term *asiento*. The expression is illustrated then figuratively in Andrés de Olmos: *Gramática de la lengua mexicana con vocabulario* (Mont Ramón, ed.: Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), pp. 318, 321.

173 787 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

tlemjiaoztl iceioal tlatexitica, auh nauhxiujtl in ipan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancujcan necico auh impoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactloce tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiujtl mjeccan xiti tepetl in texcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen calmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiujtl aciquiuj in Españoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaoalpilli aocmo ixpan

175 648 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiujtl. Iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Coanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, iehoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc pecaloque mexica im omextin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocoltzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tecocoltzin in tlatocat cexiujtl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiaochichiuh injc qujmpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Ixtlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[3] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in ixtlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicuexiujtl auh in icoac pecaloque mexica qujujcatiuja in marques itlan oemmoquetz ioã qujuicaia in vej mollan iehoãtin imjxpan muchiuh injc vel motlatlali alteptl injc tlauellalali marques nehoan coanacuchtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in ioiontzin in tlatocat cexiujtl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauetzquititzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactloçe tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tetlauetzquititzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in don Antonjo tlaujtoltzin in tlatocat chicoacexiujtl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

3. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (J. M. Anders *Histoire de la nation mexicaine*. . . . *Reproduction du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, Editeurs, 1893]), p. 87, and *Mapa de Tepechpan*.

the present ruler, Don Hernando Pimentel, who hath governed nearly twenty years.[4]

And in all the time that the Acolhua kept the reign, in all, have been counted three hundred and four years until the time the Spaniards arrived.[5]

ichoatl in axcan tlatoanj don hernando pimentel in/175
otlatocat achi cẽpoalxiujtl

Auh ie ixquijch cauitl quijpia in tlatocaiotl in aculhoaque in ie ic mocempoa caxtolpoalxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl. in ixquich cauitl in oacico españoles

4. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS (*Primera memorialista*, Chap. III) has, *ho achi ompopoliuiztli* (nearly twenty years), *caxtolpoalxiujtl* (fifteen years).

5. In *ibid.*, this last paragraph reads, in part, varying from the *Florentine Codex*: "*y ye ic omoxpoa caxtolpoalxiujtl yoan ompohualxiujtl yoan nauhxiujtl ye ixquichiuac cauitl ipan ainoc ninchiuaqui ynnaquil*" (304 years until the year sign Two Reed in which we now are).

[p. 12 is blank]

173 **Fourth Chapter, in which are recorded the rulers of Uexotla.**

Injc nahuj expitulo vncan motenehoa in tlatoque vexotla.

Behold, the Chichimeca rulers of Uexotla were known as Acolhua. There the Acolhua Chichimeca first arrived.

Iscate in chichimeca tlatoque catca vexotla in moteneoa aculoaque in vmpa achto açico aculhoacan chichimeca.

The first who became ruler of Uexotla [was] Maçatzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-eight years.

Injc ce tlatoanj muchiuh uexotla Maçatzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The second ruler [was] Tochin tecutli. He ruled thirty-eight years.

Injc vme tlatoanj tochin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The third ruler [was] Ayotzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-four years.

Injc ei tlatoanj aiotzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipã matlacxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl.

The fourth ruler [was] Quatlauice tecutli. He ruled fifty-five years.

Injc nahuj tlatoanj quatlauiçe tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl.

173 648 The fifth ruler was named Totomochtzin; he ruled fifty-two years. And these five Chichimeca rulers, who maintained well the government [of Uexotla], exacted tribute from no one in the three hundred[1] years in which they [thus] maintained well their sovereignty.

Injc macujlli tlatoanj itoca totomochtzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiujtl ioan vnxiujtl auh in jmacujlixtin, y, chichimeca tlatoque in uel quipiaia in jtlatocaio in acampa tequitia caxtolpoalxiujtl in uel quipix in jtlatocaio.

The sixth ruler was named Iaotzin tecutli; he ruled fifty-eight years.[2] In his time the Acolhua Chichimeca began to exact tribute of [those of] Tepanoayan.

Injc chiquacen tlatoanj itoca iautzin tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ipan exiujtl iehoatl ipan peuh injc tequitque tepanoaia chichimeca aculhoaque.

173 The seventh ruler was named Xilotzin tecutli. He ruled twenty-eight years.

Injc chicome tlatoanj itoca xilotzin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The eighth ruler was named Itlacauhtzin. He ruled twenty-eight years.

Injc chicuej tlatoanj itoca itlacauhtzin in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The ninth ruler was named Tlaçolyaotzin; he ruled fifty-eight years.[3] At about this time it came

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj itoca tlaçoliautzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl quj

1. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* M5 (Primeiro memorial, Chap. III), the Nahuatl text reads caxtolpoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan exiujtl (315 years).
2. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.
3. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.

173 to pass that the seat of authority was established in Tenoxca, so that Neçauakoyotzin was invested with rule. [Their periods of rule] came together—[that of] Tlaquilyaotzin of Uexotla [and that of Neçauacoyotzin].

ihcuel ipan muchiuh injc motecac petlaul icpalli tenoxco injc motocutlali neçaualcoiotzin monamicque tlaquilaiautzin vexutla.

The tenth ruler was named Tzontemoctzin. He ruled fifteen years.

Injc matlactli tlatoanj, itoca tzontemoctzin: in tlatocat caxtolxiujtl.

The eleventh ruler was named Cuitlauatzin. He ruled forty-one years.

Injc matlactlooc tlatoanj, itoca Cuitlaoatzin: in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan cexiujtl.

The twelfth ruler was named Tzapocuetzin. He ruled thirteen years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj, itoca tzapocuetzin: in tlatocat matlacxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The thirteenth ruler was likewise called Cuitlauatzin; only he succeeded [the former]. He ruled thirteen years.

Injc matlactli onej tlatoanj, çan no itoca Cuitlaoatzin, çã tetoca: in tlatocat matlacxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

And all the time [until] now, up to the year we are in—when the government was held in Uexotla—thus is added up to five hundred and sixty-two years, until the present year-sign, Two Reed.

Auh in ie ixquich cauitl, ascan .pan in xiujtl ticate: in ie ic mocempoa, in mopia tlatocaiotl vexutla: ie centzonxiujtl, ioan chicuepoalxiujtl ioan exiujtl, in ixquichica ipan ascin xiuhtonalli, vmacatl.

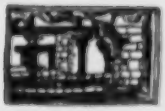

Fifth Chapter, in which it is told how many four hundreds of years ago Tollan was destroyed, up to [the present] year of 1565.

Injc macujlli capitulo, ipan mjtoa: in ie quezquj-tzonxiujtl poliuh tullan, in jxquichica xiujtl, de 1565. 173

The city of Tollan [was] a very large city, and truly a marvel. A great many powerful and wise men lived there. Their history will be told in the Tenth Book. And how they were destroyed, how they dispersed and people fled—all [this] will be related there. But in this chapter, all that is to be said is how many four hundreds of years [it hath been] since the Tulteca were destroyed.

In altepetl tullan, cenca vej altepetl, uel maujxtic: cenca mjiequjntin vncan nenca, in chicaoaque, in tlamatinj in jntlatollo mjtoz in jpan ic matlactli amoxtli. Ioan in quen opoliuh, in quenjn oxixitin, omomoiaoac: muchi oncan mjtoz. Auh in jpan, y, capitulo çan ie ixqujch vncan mjtoa, in ie quezquj-tzonxiujtl, in opoliuhque tulteca.

This was in [the year] one thousand, one hundred and ten; from there [the count] reacheth and endeth at this year, 1565.[1] And twenty-two years after Tollan was destroyed, the Chichimeca came to reach and take the land and establish themselves there in Texcoco.

Ca ie ontzonxiujtl ipan caxtolpoalxiujtl, ipan matlacxiujtl: oncan oallaci, oncan oallamj injn xiujtl, 1565. Auh ie iuh, cempoalxiujtl omome, opoliuh in tullan: in açico in tlalmaçeoaco: omotecaco in chichimeca, in vncan tetacuco.

And the first who became their leader, something like their ruler, became so in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1246. And the [first] ruler of Ascapotzalco, who was named Teçoçomoctli,[2] [became so] in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1348. And the [first] ruler of Mexico, Acamapichtli, [became so] in [the year] of the birth [of Our Lord], 1384. And the ruler of Tlacopan, whose name was Chimalpopoca, died[3] in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1489.

Auh in iancujcan intetiacancauh muchiuh, in iuhqujma intlatocauh muchiuh ipan in tlacat in jxiuhtzin in totecujo Iesu xpo. 1246. Auh in azcapuzzalco tlatoanj in çoçeneoa teçoçomoctli ipan in tlacat in jxiuhtzin totecujo Iesu xpo. 1348. Auh in mexico tlatoanj, in acamapichtli ipan in tlacat, 1384. Auh in tlacopã tlatoanj, catca in jtoca chimalpopoca, ipan in mic ixiuhtzin totecujo Iesu xpo. 1489.

1. Corresponding Spanish text reads 1571.
2. Mix: in the MS, this could be read either *ooc* or *coc*.

[p. 16 is blank]

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Sixth Chapter, in which it is told how signs and omens appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, and when they were yet unknown to the dwellers here.

When the Spaniards were not to arrive here for ten years, an omen first appeared in the heavens like a flame, a tongue of fire, as if it were showering the light of the dawn.[1] It appeared as if it were piercing the heavens; it was wide at the base and pointed at the top. Well into the midst of the heavens, well into their center it stood reaching; well into the heart of the heavens it was arriving. [That which] thus was seen arose there to the east,[2] and when midnight had passed, it appeared that dawn was breaking. When day broke, soon the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a whole year it came forth (it was in [the year sign] Twelve House that it began), and when it appeared, there was much crying out as they struck their mouths with their hands. All were frightened; all waited in dread.

The second omen came to pass here in Mexico. Of its own accord, fire broke out and burned fiercely in the house of the devil Uitzilopochtli. No one set fire to it; of its own accord it took fire. It is said that the name of the place[3] was Tlacatecco. When [the fire] appeared, already the squared, wooden pillars were blazing. From within, the flame, the tongues and flames of fire, came forth. Very quickly it consumed all the house beams. Then there was shouting; [the priests] said: "Mexicans! Run here to extinguish [the fire! Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they poured water upon it, when they tried to put it out, still more did it flare up. It could not be extinguished, and it burned completely.

[As] the third omen, a temple was struck by a thunder bolt.[4] It was only a straw hut, a place named

Ic chiquacen capítulo, vincan mjtoa in nez, in mottac, in machiotl, ioan in tetzaujtl, in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, ioan in aiamo iximachoia, in njcan chanequc.

In aiamo oallaci españoles, oc matlacxiujtl: centlamantli tetzaujtl achto nez ilhujcatitech, iuhquj in tlemjiaoatl, iuhquja tlecueçallotl, iuhquin tlaujxcalli pipixauhticaca, injc neçia iuhquin ilhujcatl quiçoticac, tzimpatlaoac, quapitzaoac, uel inepantla in jlhujcatl, uel iiolloco in açiticac ilhujcatl, vel ilhujcaiollotitech açiticac in iuh itoia vmpa tlapcopa in oalmoquetzaia, oiuh onquix ioalnepantla in neçia tlathujlisia, ipan tlathuja. Quin ichoatl quiçalpoloaia in tonatiuh, in jcoac oalquiçaia: uel cetiujtl in oalmoquetzaia (ipan matlactlomome calli in peuh) auh in jcoac neçia tlacaoacaia, netenujtecoia, neiçaujloia, tlatemmachoia.

Injc vntel tetzaujtl muchiuh, njcan mexico, çan monomauj in tlatlac cuetlaq, aiac ma quijtlecauj çan monoma tlecauj, in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli mjtoaia itocaiocan tlacatecca in nez ic tlatla in tlaquetzalli iitic oalquiça in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçallutl, cenca çan iciuhca compalo in ixquich calquaujtl. Niman ic ic tlacaoaca quijtoa. Mexicac, ma oallatotoca, tlaceujlos, amapilol: auh in jcoac castequiaia, in quiceujznequia, çan ic ilhujce mopitza aocmo uel çenh uellallac.

Injc etetl tetzaujtl, vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzommolco, iteupan in

1. This may be clarified by reference to Pl. 4, Book XII.
2. Cf. earlier versions in Chaps. I and III, and in Book XII, Chap. I, as well as in the Nahuatl version in the *Real Palacio MS*, the corresponding Spanish text, and Eduard Seler: *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Gesellschaft für Amerikanistik, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 453. Alternative translations appear to be possible.
3. *Mjtoaia Tlacatecco*: in a similar passage, the *Memorial de 3 Colhuacan* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún—Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España* [Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906], VII, p. 91) has *mitoapa, yuqiyaya*, *yuqiyaya*. Cf. also Pl. 5, Book XII.
4. Cf. Pl. 7, Book XII.

175 787 Tzonmulco, the Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was not raining hard, but only sprinkling. This was taken as an omen of evil, [for] it was said that it was only a summer flash, and that thunder did not sound.

[As] the fourth sign of evil, [while] there was still sun, a comet fell. It became three parts and began from where the sun set and went toward where he arose. It went as if showering sparks; for a great distance its wake went extending; far out did its tail reach. And when it was seen, there was much shouting; like [the rattle of] shells[5] it spread about.

[As] the fifth omen, the water [of the lake] foamed up, and the wind did not stir it up. It was as if it welled up, as if it boiled up with a cracking noise. Very far did it go as it rose upward, and it reached the lower parts of the houses; and, wet by the water, the houses crumbled. This was the great like which extendeth by us here in Mexico.[6a]

[As] the sixth omen, often was heard a woman, who went weeping and crying out at night. She cried out loudly; she went about saying: "O my beloved sons, now we are at the point of going!" Sometimes she said: "My beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

[23] [As] the seventh omen, at one time the fisher folk hunted or snared with nets. They took a bird of ashen hue, like a crane. Then they came to show it to Moctezuma, [who was in] the Tlillan calmecac.[8] The sun was past his zenith, and there was yet daylight. There was what was like a mirror upon its head—round, disc-like, and as if pierced. From it appeared the heavens—the fire drill, the stars. And Moctezuma took it as a most evil omen when he saw the stars and the fire drill. And when he gazed a second time at the bird's head, beyond, he beheld what appeared to be like a number of people, coming massed, coming as conquerors, coming in war panoply. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the astrologers[9] and the wise men, and said to them: "Do you not know what I have

xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachquijauja in iuh tetzammachoc, iuh mjto in ca çî tonalhujtecoc, amono caquiztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

Injc nauhtetl tetzamachiotl, oc vaca in tonatiuh in xiujtl vetz: ietzetia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa, auh vmpa itztia in jquiçaiampa, iuhqujn tlexuchtli pipixauhtiuh, ueca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca açitiuh in jcuitlapil. Auh in oittoc cenca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oioalli onmoma.

Injc macujltetl tetzaujtl, poçon in atl amo i ehecatl quijpoçonalti, iuhquj mumuloca, iuhquj xititemumoloca: cenca veca in ia injc macoquetz, auh in calli tzitzintla cacic auh capapachiuh xititin in calli iehoatl in vej atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzauj: mjiecpa çihoatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaloca, cenca tzatzi: qujtoionemj, nonopilhoantzitzin ic ic çan ie touj: in quenmanja qujtoa, nonopilhoantzitzin campa namechnoujqujliz.

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzaujtl, ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamaitlaujaia in atlaca, centetl caçique totoztl, nextic: iuhqujn tocujlcoiotl. Niman qujtzilico in motecuçuma; tlillan calmecac o motecalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca: iuhqujn tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, teujlacachtic, iuhquj aapotticac: vmpa onneçia in ilhujcatl: inmamalhoaz in çiçitlalti. Auh in motecuçuma cenca qujmotetzauj in jcnac qujmjttac çiçitlalti ioan mamalhoaztli: auh injc oppa ontlachix, in jcpac totoztl: ene qujttac iuhquj on in ma acame moquequetzztiujtze, tepeuhtiujtze moiauchichiuhtiuitze qujnmama mamaça, auh njman qujnnotz in tlaçiuhque in tlamatinjme qujmjlhuj. Amo anquimati, in tlein onoconjttac iuhqujn acame moquequetztiujtze. Auh ie qujnanqujlizquja in conjtaque opoliuh noc tle uel qujtoque.

5. The term *ecualli* appears to be capable of interpretation as rattle, bell, or shell. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, *The Gods* (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 1, and Book VII, *Sun, Moon, and Stars* (1953), Appendix, where, under *Tzonmiak quale*, Sahagún's note 7 translates *ecualli* as *cascabel*. Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904), II, pp. 428, 462.

Cf. also Zelia Nuttall: *The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans* (Berkeley: University of California, 1903), Part I, fols. 8, 48, where the *ecualli* are pictured in an anonymous Codex in Florence, Italy.

5a. After *cacic*, the *Memoriales en 3 Columnas* reads: "*dzah cuq' pupa-hiah cuqui xiuizi*"; after *mamj*: "*dzah yuie mucuuy yuie cuuah yá ne cuqui ya ÿ cuqui cuimiz ÿ ucy apalpa.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish note: "*es de palacio, es vno solo, que llamamos Tillan calmecac.*" Cf. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), IV, pp. 24-25 (note c).

7. *Tlapalquiqui*: cf. Ángel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), pp. 167, 171.

After *apoliuh*, the *Memoriales en 3 Columnas* reads: "*ner the ual q'inqa. ne cuqui q'mikai ÿ tlamiqa. ya tlamatinime, de yuie tutal quilhiaqui ueue ne yehual in quenmual.*"

seen there, like a number of people coming massed?" And when they were about to answer, that which they looked at vanished. They could say nothing.

[As] eighth omen, often were discovered misshapen people. They had two heads, but only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecac, where Moctezuma beheld them. When he had looked at them, then they vanished.

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Injc chicuetetl tetzaujtl, mjiecpa motenextiliaia tlaca, tlacanetzolti, omotzontecomeque, ça ce in jxtlac vnpa quijnomujcaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa quimjttaia in motecuçuma: in oquittac njman polaujia. [732]

[p.20 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50.*

In the year 1519, when the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, came to sally forth, very many boats came, in which the Spanish host traveled. And when Moctezuma knew of it, then he sent his emissaries, and they carried as greetings very many and costly articles.

And they thought that Quetzalcoatl had come. And when he went to arrive, then they gave and took all [which they carried] as greetings to this Captain, Don Hernando Cortés.

And when these Spaniards came to enter [the land], then the Tlaxcalans' Otomí[1] [warriors] went to meet them in battle. Not few, but very many thus fought and waged war with the Spaniards. And all of the Tlaxcalans' Otomí [warriors] died; the Spaniards slew them. By this were the Tlaxcalans much frightened, and these Tlaxcalans then sent messengers, [who] went to offer them food and all which they might need. And they welcomed them and escorted them to the homes of Tlaxcala.

And for a few days the Spaniards tarried and rested there. And the Spaniards then went there to Cholula. There they slew many Cholulans.

And after this, when Moctezuma had heard of it, he was much frightened; and all the people of Tenochtitlan were exceeding fearful. So once again he sent messengers. These whom this Moctezuma sent, lords and noblemen, went to meet the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés; they took with them a great deal of gold. And they went to meet him there between Popocatepetl and Iztac ciuatl, [at a place] named Itualco.[2] There they conferred [with Cortés; one of]

Inje chicome capitulo, vncan mjtoa mjiec tlamantli in inpan muchiuh in aiamo oallhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, in jxqujchica vnpoaltziujtl ommatlactli. 175

In jpan xiujtl 1519 icoac quijçaua in capitan don hernando cortes, cenca mjiec in acalli oalla in vncan oalietiaque in españoles in iauqujaque: auh in oiuh qujma in ichoatl motecuçuma, njman tlaihoaiaque in jtitlanhoan, auh in qujtquijque in tetlapaloliztli cenca mjiec, ioan cenca tlaçotli in tlatquitl. 175 648

Auh momatque, ca ichoatl in quetzalcoatl ohoalla: auh in jcoac oaçito njman mochi qujmamacaque in qujtquijque tetlapaloliztli, in ichoatl, capitan don hernando cortes.

Auh in jcoac ie calactiujtze, in ichoantin españoles: njman quijsunamjquijto, in tlaxcalteca, imotonhoan: amo çan quezqujchtin, cenca mjiequjntin, ic oquijmjcalque, oquijniauchiuhque, in españoles. Auh mochintin, mjcque in tlaxcalteca imotonhoan, qujnmjctique, in españoles: ic cenca momauhtique, in tlaxcalteca, auh in ichoantin, in tlaxcalteca, njmã ic tlaihoaque, qujnmacato in tlaqualli, in jxqujch intech monequj: ioan qujnpaccatlapaloto: ioan qujnhujcaque, in vmpa inchan in tlaxcallan.

Auh çan quezqujlhujtl, in vncan motlalique, moçeujque, in ichoantin españoles. Auh in ichoantin, españoles njman iaque in vmpa cholollan: vncan mjiequjntin, qujnmjctique, in cholotteca.

Auh in jcoac, oiuh qujcac, in ichoatl motecuçuma, cenca momauhti: ioã yn jxqujchtin, in tenochca cenca momauhtique: ic oc cenpa tlaihoa, in ichoatl motecuçuma ichoantin in qujmjhoa in tetecuti, in pipiltin, qujnamjquijto, in capitan, don hernando cortes: cenca mjiec, in qujtquijque, in teucujtlatl. Auh vncan in qujnamjquijto, in jtzalan popoca tepetl: ioan in jztac tepetl, in motenecu ithualco. Vncan qujnonotzque, qujmacaque in jtlatol, in jts motecu- [202]

* Corresponding Spanish text: "*Luego el año de 20.*"

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102; Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 474, n. 1, citing Tezozomoc, cap. 66. Cf. also Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), IV, pp. 438., 149-150, n. 1.

See also Book XII, Chap. 16.

2. Mendoza: in Rémi Simeón: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), it is described as a "*Mont qui domine à l'ouest la vallée de Mexico.*"

175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

çuma: ioan qujmacaque in jzquich in jnteelapaloaia, injn tetech açia, in teucujtlatl, ioan oc cequj.

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in ichoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoisuchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in qujnamjqujto in caltenco, in vmpa xolloco, çan qujpaccanamjqujto: ioan qujtlatlauhti, qujtlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman qujujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jzquichtin españoles.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctezuma.

Auh in jquezquilhujioc, in ichoatl capitan oquilpi in motecuçuma:

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

auh in jcoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in ichoatl capitan oquinnamjqujto, cequjntin qujnujcac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan qujcaühtia in don pedro aluarado, ioan oc cequjntin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

Auh in jquac in oquiz ilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in ichoatl don p° aluarado, ioan in espanoles in jtlan catca, mjiequjntin, qujnmjctique in mexica, in quilhujquiztiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

Auh in jcoac in oualmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjiequjntin, qujnoalhujcac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca qujtototzaia in iauiutl.

And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. [731] And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1520 icoac omjc in motecuçuma, auh in ichoantin españoles, oquizque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocolizzli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatioac: ioan cenca mjiequjntin mjoque, in njcan tlaca.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In jpan xiujtl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcoco, uecauhtica qujniauchiuhque, qujmpeuhque, qujmjcalque, in mexica.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

In jpan xiujtl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xitinca in jpampa iauiutl

[797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vnomen ilcl francisco padreme, in qujntlanelroquj-tique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

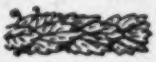

Eighth Chapter, in which are told the various articles with which they adorned the rulers and noblemen—which they placed on them when they were bedight in capes and breech clouts.

Injc chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa in jzqujtlamantli: in nechichioaia tlatoque in pipilti in jntechqujtlaliaia, injc mocencaoaia in tilmatli in maxtlatl.

565
531
292

The cape with the serpent mask design, bordered with eyes;[1]	Coazaiaçaio tilmatli, tenjxio,
The cape with the conch shell design, bordered with eyes;[2]	tecucizio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with a design of stone discs, bordered with eyes;[3]	temalacaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the obsidian serpent design, bordered with eyes;[4]	itzcoaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with wine-god jar design, bordered with eyes;[5]	vmetochtecomaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the butterfly design, bordered with eyes;	papaloio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with an eagle's face painted on it, bordered with eyes;[6]	xaoalquauhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The red-bordered ocelot cape, in the middle of which stood an ocelot;[7]	ocelotentlapalli iitic icac oçelotl,
The cape of dark green diagonally divided, in the middle of which stood an obsidian eagle;[8]	chicoiapalli nacazmjnquj iitic icac itzquauhtli,
The cape of blue knots diagonally divided,[9] on which a spear-eagle stood;	xiuhtlalpilnacazmjnquj, tlacochquauhtli vncan icac,
The maguey fiber cape, with an ocelot tail pendant;	quetzalichtilmatli ocelocujtlapillo
The cape of shining maguey fiber [ornamented with] fluttered heads;	quetzalichpetztli, quapatlacio tilmatli,
The orange cape with the wind jewel[10] [design] and the feathered border;	camopalecacozcaio, tenjujio tilmatli,
The orange cape with a striped border;	camopaltenoocanquj tilmatli,
The light blue cape with a wind jewel design, which had a border of feathers with spirals;	apalecacozcaio tilmatli, iujtica tentlaiacalo,
The carmine-colored cape with an eye border;	nochpaltilmatli tenjxio,

1. Fol. 14v of Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* defines the border with eyes or spots. Also see corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), III, fol. 46.
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
4. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 31.
5. Cf. *Ibid.*, op. cit.
6. Cf. *Ibid.*, fol. 68. An alternative translation might be "the colored eagle feather cape."
7. Cf. *Ibid.*, fol. 31. See also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 522.
8. Respecting this, however, Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 181.
9. Rhododendron might refer to a design suggested by the ceremony of tying the years.
10. See, however, corresponding Spanish text, in which pectoral is described as a flower; see also Book VIII of the Codex, fol. 14v.

565	The tawny cape with a spiral border;	quappachtentlaiacoalo tilmatli,
292	The coyote fur cape with a spiral border;	coiocichcatentlaiacoalo tilmatli,
	The tawny, knotted cape;	quappachtlalpilli tilmatli,
531	The cape with scorpion design stripes;	colotlaxochio tilmatli,
	The tawny cape with the water spider;	quapachatocaio tilmatli,
	The tawny cape with the butterfly;	quappapaloio tilmatli,
	The ocelot cape;	oçelotilmatli,
	The cape with the eagle's leg;	quauhtetepoio tilmatli,
	The cape with the ocelot skin step design;[11]	oçelotxicalcoliuhquj tilmatli,
	The ocelot cape;	ocelotilmatli,
	The half-ocelot, half-eagle cape;	oçeloquauhtlatlapanquj tilmatli,
	The tawny cape provided with the design of an eye upon a hooked element;[12]	quappachixcoliuhquj tilmatli,
	The cape with the design of a ladder on the earth;	tlallecaoazio, tilmatli,
	The cape with an embroidered, radiating design;	tlamachmoiaoac tilmatli,
	The cape of duck feathers with a colored border;	xomoiujtilmatli tentlapallo,
	The cape of duck feathers with [a design of] flattened heads;	xomoiujtilmatli quappatlacio,
	The white duck feather cape, bordered with eyes;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli tenjxio
	The duck feather cape, with [a design of] young ears of maize;	xomoiujtilmatli elotic
	The wolf skin cape;	cujtlaichujtilmatli,
	The blue knotted [cape], bordered with eyes;	xiuhtlalpilli tenjxio,
	The cape with a sun [design], bordered with eyes;	tonatiuhio tilmatli tenjxio,
	The old cape with the eagle head design;[13]	quauhtzonteconio tilmatli mamanquj,
	The cape with the war symbol;	teuatl tlachinoltilmatli,
	The cape with the basket flower design;[14]	oacalxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the young maize ear flower design;[15]	eloxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the colored prince's flower design;	tlapaltecuxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the dahlia design;[16]	acucuxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the plumeria flower design;[17]	cacaloxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the poinsettia design;[18]	cuetlaxxuchio tilmatli,
	The white duck feather cape, diagonally divided;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli nacazmjnquj,
	The white duck feather cape, with the face of a wolf;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli cujtlachixio,

11. *Ocelotxicalcoliuhquj* (*ocelotl*, *xicalli*, *coliuhquj*—*ocelot*, *gourd*, *twisted*): gourd vessel with curved decoration. The nature of weaving makes it a stepped design.

12. Cf. representation in *Primeros memoriales*, Cap. IV.

In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, *yappachcoliuhquj tilmatli* follows *quappachicoliuhquj tilmatli*.

13. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 (*quauhtzontli*).

14. Prunier flower design, in Eduard Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Thompson, eds.: Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Part 3, p. 95 (*Anthurium* sp.?). Emily Walcott Emmart, in *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 234, calling it a basket flower, says it is a species of *xanthosoma*. Francisco de Santamaría, in *Diccionario general de americanismos* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), II, p. 182, identifies the *tlacalxóchitl* (*-xóchitl*) as *Phyllodendron affine*, Hemsl.

15. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (*Magnolia* sp.?). Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275, mentions another *elocxóchitl* belonging to the *Compositae*.

Yallocuechxóchitl, here listed in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

16. In Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), I, p. 24, this is *Dahlia coccinea* Cav.; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *D. variabilis*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 305, *Dahlia* sp.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 806, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *P. rubra*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308, *P. rubra* L. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 751, identifies the *cacaloxóchitl* as *P. rubra* L., *P. bicolor* R. & P., and *P. acutifolia* Poir. Cecile Hulse Matthias, in *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), pp. 23, 177, has *P. acuminata*, and refers to it as "frangipani" and "temple flower."

18. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 954, *Euphorbia* (*Poinsettia*) *pulcherrima* Willd; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *Poinsettia pulcherrima*.

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565	The cape of colored feathers, with embroidery;	tlapaliujtilmatli tlamachio,
292	The cape with the face of a wolf;	cuylachizio tilmatli,
531	The cape with the tips of eagle wings;	quauhaauitzoio tilmatli,
	The cape with a border of popcorn flowers;	tenjzquixuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the ivy design;[19]	quazoxotilmatli,
	The bed covering cape;	vevej tilmatli pepechtli,
	The mattress;[20]	quachpepechtli,
	The large cape used to keep oneself dry;	vevej tilmatli neoatzalonj,
	The breech clout with the ivy design embroidered at the ends;[21]	quazoxoacatlamachio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with the market place design;	tianquijzio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with the eagle's leg design;	quauhtetepoio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with the turquoise mosaic mirror design;	xiuhtecacaio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with the butterfly design at the ends;[22]	acapapaloio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout striped in many colors;	centzonmaxtlatl tlatlatlapalpoalli,
	The breech clout made of twenty pieces,[23] with the wind jewel design at the ends;[21]	cempoalçotl acahecacozcaio,
	The tawny colored breech clout with embroidered ends;	quappachmaxtlatl acan tlamachio,
	The carmine-colored breech clout with the ocelot head;	nochpalmaxtlatl, ocelotzontecoio
	The ocelot breech clout with a step design;	ocelotzicalcoliuhquj maxtlatl,
	The coyote fur [breech clout] with the eagle head;[19]	quauhtzontecoio,
	The breech clout with feathered discs at the ends;	acaiujtemalacaio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with radiating embroidery at the ends.	acatlamachmoiaoac maxtlatl.

19. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 257; IV, p. 257.
20. Vevej tilmatli pepechtli; quachpepechtli; cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), Spanish-Nahuatl section—*almohada, colchon.*
21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 97, needs punctuation.
22. Cf. Spanish text, fol. 16v.
23. The *Florentine Codex* contains *cempoalchamatlatl* before *quachpepechtli*, found in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS.

[p. 26 is blank]

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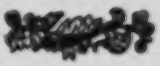

8

643 **Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.**

Injc chicuacuj capítulo vncan motemoua injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jonac macoaia.

301 The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

[237] Quetzallalpilonj, cuztic teocujtlaio injc quijpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpetzactli, cuztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontli tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal ueuetl cuztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtoia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, cuztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli cuztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which

[314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujclalia ujtzilouitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl cuztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which

[317] he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, cuztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Cuztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, cuztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli cuztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

otototempilolli cuztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli cuztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli cuztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a bowing pole;

aujctempilolli cuztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl cuztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, cuztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, cuztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Cline, op. cit., II, p. 112, identifies quetzalbird as Pharomacrhous mocinno mocinno.
2. Platalea ajaja L. (Sahagún, op. cit., p. 124).
3. One could be described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 67.
4. Cline, op. cit., p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as Cotinga amabilis.
5. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 162.
6. Questionable: quauh could mean vulture; therefore we always give preference to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has chalchiuhtencololtentetl cuztic teucujtlatl yuallo—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

301 A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — texxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhcoxcatl ololiuhquj, tlacemquixtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac coxcatl, chalchiuhtlacanecalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

[237] A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzalitotoscpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquaujtl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecacoaxtli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcoxcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcoxcatl,

643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, tecacatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeuxia tlatoanj,

[276] 416]

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçelocuacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[292] 281]

[There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztlatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

[534] 533

Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, uetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in izqujch omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeuaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tziquaoazzanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 543; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. [illegible], on etymology of [illegible].

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capítulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellel- 643
quixtiaia tlatoque.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac quiça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in quitlapeujlitiuj: iiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan quiça, aiac vel acopa quitta, aiac uel quixnepanoa, [481] 648 644

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcacheoua, quitlatlaquechilia, quiçaçanjlhuia, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves, precious capes, valuable breech cloths, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, quitlanjtoa in jxquich tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlaconcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, cotzchoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, inca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquja ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan quicalaquja olli: njman ic quitlanj in jxquich tlaçotli tlatquitl, auh mochintin quintlanj, in jxquichtin tetlatlatzaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maiecatl, nelpiloaj, queçoatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the commanders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in quichaiaoa in nauhtetl etl, quicujloa ce petlatl, tilitica, papatlactic in tilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapouhtiuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, quitlanjlia in inequich tlaçotli, cozticc teucujtlaconcatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. Pipiolli: the corresponding Spanish has dices (dicesll). See also below, description of patolli.

524 525 won* all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

ololiuhquj anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepechtli, venej tilmatli: chalchiuhteuxtli, teucujtlanacochtli, xonoiujtilmatli. Auh in aquja patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic tesquechili, in moquetzticac etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan motta: njman muchi qujtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezquj-tetl aqujlli, injc netennonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

526 411 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green [301] stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about [643] his wrist.

Tlatlamjna tlaujxoltica, tipontica, totomjoica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With [223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

Tlatlacaloazuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoaztli, iujçallo telolomatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

mozochimjltia, mozochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

522 524 There were their jesters who provided them solace and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

vncatca intetlaveuetzqujticahoan in qujmellelqujxtiaia, in qujcecemelkia: ioan quaujlacatzoque in quj-paqujltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzqujti, ioan maujztic, in jca ixocpal tlanjpa injc tlãmati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quammjmjlli in qujxtoia ica ixocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli çe ieboatl in jxocpal ic tlamati,

517 [732] [231] Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

mjiec tlamãtli, in tececemelti in qujchioa, vncatca imaachoan, ixoloan in qujnujcatinenca in qujmehellelqujxtiaia, tzapaine, villaine, tepotzome, teachme, qujnpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cujcujtlachtin, ocotochtin, nepapan totztl.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads quãlonoion (he wagered) instead of quãlonoçia.

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told what the rulers rested upon.

The ocelot skin seat with a back rest; the mountain lion skin seat with a back rest; the wolf skin seat with a back rest; the mountain cat skin seat with a back rest; the cured leather seat with a back rest; the ocelot skin seat, the mountain lion skin seat, the wolf skin seat, the cured leather seat, the mountain cat[1] skin seat, the coyote skin seat.

The ocelot skin mat,[2] the mountain lion skin mat, the mountain cat skin mat, the coyote skin mat, the hammock, smooth reed mats[3] elaborately painted with designs; seats with backs, painted with designs; low seats painted with designs.

Injc matlactli oçe capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in jpan motlaliaia tlatoque. 643 352 281

Oçeloeoatepotzoicpalli, mjçeoatepotzoicpalli, cuj-tlacheoatepotzoicpalli, ocotocheoatepotzoicpalli, cuetlaxtepotzoicpalli, oçeloeoaicpalli, mjçeoaicpalli, cuj-tlacheoaicpalli, cuetlaxicpalli, ocotocheoaicpalli, coioeoaicpalli,

oçeloeoapepechtli, mjçeoapepechtli, ocotocheoapepechtli, coioeoapepechtli, cochizmatlatl alaoacapetlatl, tlatlacujlolli, tepotzoicpalli tlacujlolli, tzinjcpalli tlacujlolli.

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 153.
2. *Petatl*; cf. contemporary Spanish text.
3. *Ahuacapetlatl*; contemporary Spanish text—"esteras pintadas con muy primorosas y muy curiosas."

[p. 32 is blank]

643
714 **Twelfth Chapter**, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [237] [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold.

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *xapote* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga [237] feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers.

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

All quetzal feathers was its *xapote* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of thin gold [plate].

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

Its *xapote* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of [531] gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches.

The shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Injc matlactlomome capítulo, tracan mijoa: injc muchichioaia in tlatoque, in qujtitlanja iaxpan.

Tlauhquecholxanadi tlaçotlanquj cuitic teucujtlaio: cenca mjjec in quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio: injcal in tlamamalli, vejcuitl in cokotli tlachiuhtli, cuitic teucujtlaio:

auh in ichoatl cuamaquja tlatlauhquj, tlauhquecholiujtl injc tlachiuhtli: cuitic teucujtlatl in jztecpaio, auh in jxtapocue mochiuhtoc çan moch quetzalli.

Chimalli, cuitic teucujtlatl, in tlatzotzontli inamaoaio, tlaçoiujtl in jxtlapilollo muchiuhtoc,

chalchiuhcoxcatl, tlacaquejxtilli in olohuhquj, in veuej, chalchiujtl, iuan teuxiujtl

xiuhtotzontli, cuitic teucujtlaio, quetzalli in jcuecuetlacacaio, in jxontecon conmaquja tlatoanj: auh in jtlac conaquja xiuhtotzoatl,

auh in tlamamalli xoxouhquj vejcuitl in: cokotli tlachiuhtli cuitic teucujtlaio

çan muchi quetzalli in jxtapocue, mochi tlaçoiujtl in jtlapilollo, cuitic teucujtlatl in tlacaxoalli in jztecpaio, in xiuhtotzoatl,

ocelotetec, oçelocuatl injc tlachiuhtli, cuitic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli in jztecpaio,

çan moch quetzalli in jxtapocue,

oçelocuetl in tlamamalli cuitic teucujtlatl injc tlotlonjtequj.

Chimalli xiuhtotoica teuxquj, cuitic teucujtlatl ic itztapo,

1. *Teuxquja*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *navajas de una cabeza* [sic] [illegible] "flint knives." The shape of the *navajas* is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also Sandoz, *op. cit.*, and Seler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 594, where *Teuxcuauitl* is used consistently.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* M2 follows [illegible] which small grasshoppers [of gold] are added at the points.

3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Y colgaua detrás planeaje, hecho de capulina, en manera [illegible] como para llevar cargas.*" This passage Seler (*op. cit.*, II, p. 594) translates as "Dazu wird auf den Rücken eine Trageband gemacht, aus Baumwolle, Gestell hergestellt, der mit Gold überzogen ist."

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The quetzal feather butterfly was the burden for the back; with it belonged the yellow parrot feather shirt, [decorated] with hawk scratches in gold.

The shield with a golden disc had a golden butterfly in the middle. [There was] a quetzal feather claw,[4] with gold. The shirt [which belonged to this] was of yellow parrot feathers.

The golden hood had horns of quetzal feathers; its shirt was of yellow parrot feathers.

The silver hood had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch [decorations] in gold.

[There were] the quetzal feather banner of the spear house; the silver banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top; and the golden banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top.

The finely wrought obsidian butterfly was of quetzal feathers and gold; its teeth and claws were all of precious feathers; and it had quetzal feather horns.

The finely wrought butterfly of [the goddess] Xochiquetzal [was made of] precious feathers; and its horns were of gold and quetzal feathers.

[There was] a quetzal feather crest-like device. With it belonged a blue cotinga-feather shirt; the shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

The Xolotl head of yellow parrot feathers, with balls of quetzal feathers, was ornamented with gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch decorations in gold.

The blue Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a blue shirt.

The white Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a white shirt.

The bright red Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold; its shirt was likewise bright red.

The headdress of trupial feathers was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers.

The yellow demon of the air was made all of gold, and had quetzal feathers and balls of quetzal feathers.

The blue demon of the air had quetzal feathers, was made all of gold, and had balls of quetzal feathers.

quetzalpapalotl in tlamamalli, mamjc toçeoatl, coztic teucujtlatl injc tlotloujtecquj.

Chimalli teocujtlatica itixapo, teucujtlapapalotl ijtic manj quetzalzopilli, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl in jeonio.

Coztic teucujtlaquacalalatli, iquetzalquaquauh, ieonio coztic toçeoatl.

Iztac teucujtlaquacalalatli, quetzaltecomaio: inamjc tuçeoatl coztic teucujtlatl ic tlotloujtecquj

quetzalpanjtl tlacochcalcaiotl. Iztac teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio. Coztic teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio.

Itzpapalotl tlaçotlanquj quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jtlan, in jizzi muchi tlaçoiujtl: iquetzalquaquauh.

Xochiquetzalpapalotl, tlaçotlanquj in tlaçoiujtica: ioan coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzalquaquauh

quetzalpatzactli, xiuhtoxeoatl iujcallo in chimalli xiuhtoxotica tzacquj, coztic teucujtlatl ic itixapo,

tonquazolotl iquetzaltemal, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl inamjc, coztic teucujtlatl injc motlotloujtec,

xoxouhquj quazolotl, quetzallo coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc xoxouhquj coatl.

Iztac quazolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc iztac coatl.

Chichiltic quazolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jeonio, çan no chichiltic.

Çaquantzontli, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio toçeoatl inamjc,

tuztzitzimjtl: muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, quetzallo, iquetzaltemal.

Xoxouhquj tzitzimjtl, quetzallo, muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, iquetzaltemal.

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4. Cf. discussion in Seler, op. cit., II, pp. [illegible], as well as corresponding Spanish text—"a manera de chapa, y en medio de ella traía una flecadura, de plumas ricas, y cosa una."

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, izquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in ecatl, toçecatl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 714 531

Iztac cuextecatl iamaçal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in ecatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecujiztli, ioan qujqujztli in mopitza 534
iauc injc çemeoa iauqujzque, injc mjcali: in quach- 727
panjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in
tecujtia in iauc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in jzquj
quachpanjtl. Ninnan çemeoa in iauqujzque, injc
mjcali,

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic 643
mantiuh in quetzalli iaoaltic. Xiloxochipatzactli, que- 714
tzalli in jiaoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jca-
naoacân mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomal-
tectli. Maquaujtl iztac in jtenco tlatectli, que-
tzalaztacontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxiziliquj: auh in [441]
jcuecuetlacacaio mjiac quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in
jpoçonca quetzalxiziliquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio
mjiac in quetzalli.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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Page from *Florentine Codex* (Chapter 6)

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—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Huitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquetz. 15. Don Diego Luna. 16. Don Diego Tovar Ipuipuchocatzin. 17. Don Cristóbal Cuauhtzin. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauhpopoca. 19. Tlacotzin. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquihuix. 22. Don Pablo Tezozomoc. 23. Don Martín Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Axoloxtec. 25. Don Martín Tlacotzin. 26. Don Diego Huanitzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhquauhtli. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

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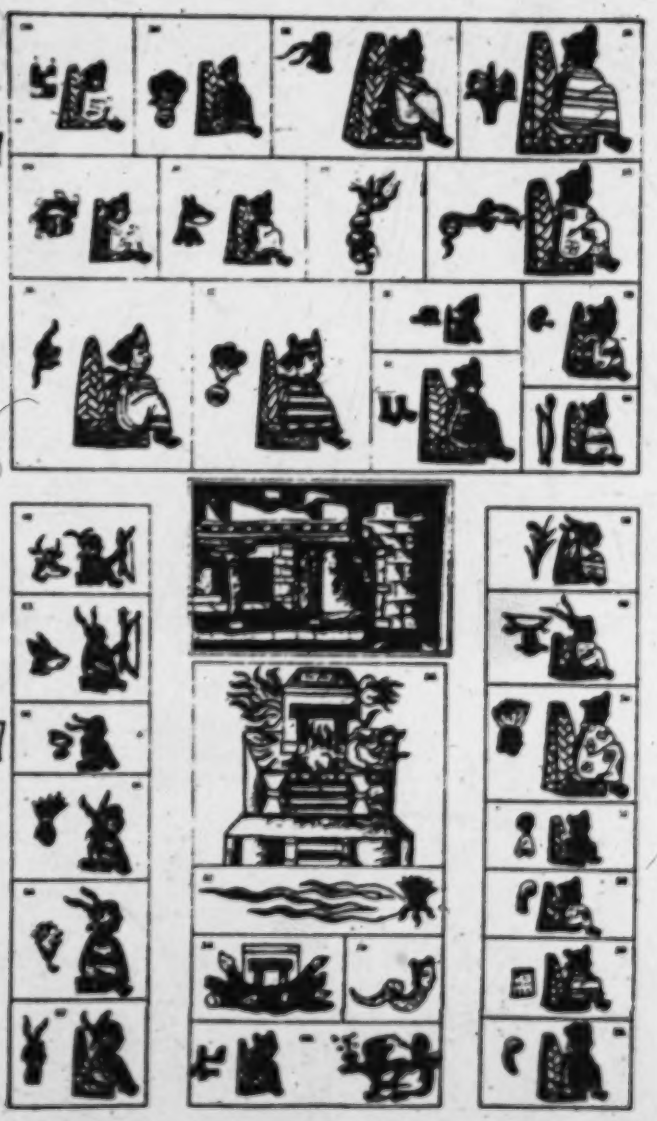

—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenoxtitlan. 28. Tlilecuahtzin. 29. Tochintecuhtzin. 30. Ichtlacuhtzin. 31. Nezahualcoyotzin. 32. Nezahualpilli. 33. Cuauhtemoc. 34. Cuitlahuac. 35. Tlacotzin. 36. Tlacochcalcatl. 37. Itzcoatzin. 38. Tezozomoc. 39. Tezozomoc-quauh. 40. Don Antonio Huitzilihuitzin. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

33. Omens observed in Tenoxtitlan (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uexotla. 42. Maquizcoxtzin recruit. 43. Tochintecuhtzin recruit. 44. Axoxuaxin recruit. 45. Quetzalmoyotzin recruit. 46. Tlaxopanxtzin. 47. Ipalnemoxtzin recruit. 48. Xilotzin recruit. 49. Ixtlacuechahuac. 50. Tlapalyaxuxin. 51. Tecuanmoxtzin. 52. Cuitlamoxtzin. 53. Izquixochtzin. 54. Cuitlamoxtzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tlilan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Canonical weeping. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]
[p. 36(D) is blank]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Omeca (*continued*). 61. Two-headed turn (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of parcelli (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlaxcalan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpalcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

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[p. 36(F) is blank]

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—After Ruiz y Tovar

72-74. Women's array—*cuitl, cuaid* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

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[p. 36(H) is blank]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Indigo (Chapter 17). 85. A wind (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

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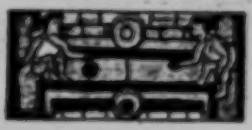

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—After Peñy y Troncoso

a 86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a complete scoundrel (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game checkbd (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

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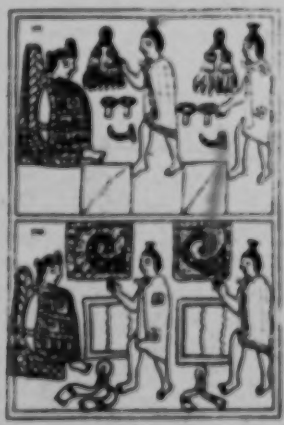

—After Paso y Troncoso

92, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18); 93, 95. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19); 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

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[p. 36(N) is blank]

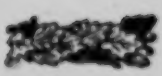

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Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the foods which the lords ate.[1]

Hot, white, doubled tortillas;[2] large tortillas; large, thick, coarse tortillas; folded tortillas[3] of maize treated with lime, pleasing [to the taste]; tortillas formed in rolls; leaf-shaped tortillas;

White tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top;[4] white tamales with maize grains thrown in;[4] hard, white tamales with grains of maize thrown in; red tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales made of a dough of maize softened in lime, with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales of maize softened in wood ashes; turkey pasty cooked in a pot, or sprinkled with seeds; tamales of meat cooked with maize and yellow chili; roast turkey hen; roast quail.

Market food: white tortillas with a flour of uncooked beans; turkey with a sauce of small chilis, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; turkey with red chilis; turkey with yellow chilis; turkey with green chilis; venison sprinkled with seeds; hare with sauce; rabbit with sauce; meat stewed with maize, red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; venison with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; birds with toasted maize; small birds; dried duck; duck stewed in a pot; the *atzitzicuilotl* bird stewed in a pot; roast of meat; fried meat in a sauce of red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; pottage of yellow chili; sauces of ordinary tomatoes and small tomatoes and yellow chili, or of tomatoes and green chili; diluted [sauces] with tomatoes; white fish with yellow chili; grey fish with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; frog with green chilis; newt with yellow chili; tadpoles with small chilis; small fish with small chilis; winged ants with savory

Ic matlactli vnuej capítulo: vncan mitoa, in jxtelqual in qujquaia, in tlatoque.

Intac xocoqui tlaxcalli, tlacuelpacholli, vei tlaxcalli quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalpacholli intac, nexiopapaio, tlaxcalnojnjlli, tlacepoalli tlaxcalli,

quauecujcujlli tamalli, intac tlaxinocujtl, intac tetamalli tlaxinocujtl, chichiltic quauecujcujlli tamalli, nexiotamalli quauecujcujlli, tamalatl quauhcuitli, xoxohcacquipujlli xocco tlapaxxitli, anoço tlaxxitli, nacatlaxio tamalli chilcoxio: cihoxxeoli tlatlaxxtli, çolin tlatlaxxtli,

tlaxquipitlaqualli, intac tlaxcalli etica tlacia, xoxlin patzcalmolli, chiltecpitio, xoxlin, chilcoxio xoxlin, chikhoio xoxlin, maçanacatl tlaxxitli, cirli molli, tochtli molli, nacatlolli patzcallo, maçanacatl patzcallo, xoxinquijl tepiaxoxo xoxoxo, canauhtlaoxxcalli, canauhtlapaxxitli, atzitzicujtlatlapaxxitli, nacatlaxxitli, tlaxxioxonjlli nacamolli patzcallo, chikoxtlaxxjlli, chiltecpinnolli xitomaio, chilcoxnolli xitomaio, chilchomolli xitomaio, tlamamollalli xitomaio, intac xujlotl chilcoxio, tomaxoc xoujli, patzcallo, cujatl chilchoio, axolotl chilcoxio, atepocatl chiltecpitio, mjchpili chiltecpijo, tlacxmaxli inamjc papalocujlotl, chapolin chichioca, moxcujli chiltecpinnollo, chacali patzcallo, tapolinjchi patzcallo, tlacamjchin patzcallo, maçanocomolli intac mjchio

1. Sahagún's Spanish translations varies somewhat from dictionary and other definitions of the foods named in the Aztec text. In the notes, our translations favour Sahagún's; footnotes take account of the more noticeable variations.

2. *Tlamatlapachoalli*, *chocolapachoalli*: hot, white tortillas, doubled, arranged in a large basket, according to the corresponding Spanish text. In Molina, op. cit., the word means "*cosa doblada, o plegada*."—If the root of *quachili* is *pachoa*, the term could indicate that the tortillas were crumbled, or could refer to the way they were baked, for *cha* means 3, *tlapa*.

3. In Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 307, Dr. Ignacio Alcazar translates *quauecujcujlli tamalli quauecujcujlli tamalli* as *Tamales de cuerpo cuadrado y nudo cuadrado* [sic]. Alfonso Villanueva, in *Historia de Ixtapan* (Ix. Tlatenco-Cuauhtemoc, Pedro P. Jacob, 1953), I, p. 249, has this explanation: "*Los tamales cuadrados quauecujcujlli-tamalli, huexo-tamalli* [*huexxo tamalli?*], *chocoal-quauhtli, grande gallinero de frutas de flor o de frutas de monte que eran dicen pedazos d'Quetzalcoatl, cómo que eran cuajados d'Quetzal o de gallos*."

4. Cf. Molina, op. cit.

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herbs;[5] locusts with chiá; maguey grubs with a sauce of small chilis; lobster with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; urchins[6] with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; large fish with the same; a sauce of unripened plums with white fish;

tlatlauhqui teçontzapotl izochiqual maçazocotl chichiltic, coztic, tlaxtalcaltic, chciozzapotl, xicotzapotl, quauhcamotli, camotli, xoacatl, atzizapotl, nochtli, tlatlatlapalpoalli, iztac, coztic, chichiltic, xoxoctic, camopaltic, mazatli, quammochil, capoli, xilotl, elotl, cxotl,

Red, rough sapotas;[7] red plums; yellow or vermillion plums; ashen sapotas;[8] small sapotas;[9] manioc;[10] sweet potato; avocado; yellow sapotas;[11] tuna cactus fruit of many hues—white, yellow, bright red, green, orange; anonas;[12] *guaxócchilos;*[13] American cherries; tender maize;[14] green maize; string beans;

mijaostamalli tlaixnamjctilli ossuhtli ioan capoli, elotlaxcalli, anoço zantlaxcalli, xilotlaxcalli, ossuhquijtamalli, necutlaxcalli, nochtlaxcalli, necutamalli, queçeostlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalli, tochizquijtl, aiotlatlapanalli, olchicalli, elotl tlapaoxtli tlaoztzalli, ossuhquijlmolli tonalchillo, itzmjquijlmolli, tonalchillo, ossuhtzontli tonalchillo,

Tamales made of maize flowers with ground amaranth seed and cherries added; tortillas of green maize or of tender maize; tamales stuffed with amaranth greens;[15] tortillas made with honey, or with tuna cactus fruit; tamales made with honey; tortillas shaped like hip guards; tamales made of amaranth seed dough; [cakes made of] amaranth seed dough; rabbit with toasted maize; squash cut in pieces; *olchicalli;* green maize cooked in a pot and dried; amaranth greens cooked with dry land chili; sauce of purslain with dry land chili; green amaranth seeds with dry land chili;

tzaianalquijtl, xonacatl, hijacaquijtl, eloquijtl, moçoquijtl, nacaztochquijtl, achochoquijtl, ujtzquijtl, chichicaquilitl, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoioluijujan, axoxoco acujtlacpalli, aioxochquijtl, aionanacatl, aioiacaquijtl, aiotepitoton, mexixquijtl, popoiauhquijtl, nopaltepitoton mjchteuhio,

Water greens; onions;[16] the evil-smelling herb; the *eloquilite* herb;[17] the *mexxaz* herb;[18] rabbit-ear greens; *achochoquilitl;*[19] thistle; sow thistle; sorrel of various kinds; a water-edge plant called *acuitlacpalli;* squash flowers; tender, young squash; small squash; garden cress; *cuphanas;* small tuna cactus fruit with fish eggs;

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5. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 740, this is *Peruphyllum macrocephalum* DC.

6. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 194) says of *tequili*: "*son pardillos colores en los mantenidos, son buenos de comer y calientes.*"

7. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 274; *Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn. Cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 314—"*mazatzapote o zapotemulatto que es el verdadero zapote.*" Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 225) describes the *mazatzapotl* as "*de hechura y grandor del corazón de ciervo; tiene la corteza dura y roja, son colorados por de dentro, son muy dulces y muy buenos de comer, y tienen las cortezas negras muy lindas y relucientes.*" Cf. *tapazoat* in Molina, *op. cit.*: "*hazer sapote algunos cosas.*"

8. "*Son los ceniosos*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 225); also corresponding Spanish text.

9. "*Llamanlos los españoles zapotillos* [*wild or choke pear tree*]. *Son muy dulces; tienen en tierra colorada*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 275, this is *Achras zapota* L.

10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 525: *Manihot utilissima* Cranz; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 339: *quauhcamotli* or *camotli*. *Manihot utilissima* Pohl; in *ibid.*, p. 227, "*las raíces de estos árboles cualquiera y hierran como hierros, y son de buen comer.*"

11. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 267 (*amapul*): *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224: "*son amarillos de dentro y de fuera; son muy dulces, tienen a manera de pepas de huevo cuando, dentro encierra de color cuando encierra.*"

12. *Annona squamosa*, *posiblemente cimarrilla*, in Santamaría, *op. cit.*; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 288; *Annona muricata*, Schult; *Annona cherimola*.

13. Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 799: *Pithecellobium dulce* (Roxb.) Benth.; cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52 (*Guamúchil*).

14. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 149; "*Jilote: Cabellitos de la mazorca de maíz tierno.*"

15. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, I, p. 12; II, p. 154; *op. ibid.*, I, p. 12, n. 46 (*cuachquilitl*).

See also Jonathan D. Sauer: "The Grain Amaranths: A Survey of Their History and Classification," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, 37: 561-632 (Nov., 1950), where it is suggested that *cuachili* may refer to either the *chenopodio* or *amaranthus* (p. 564).

16. Allium sp., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

17. *Ruellia pilosa* L.—cf. *de mulipe* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338). See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 337.

18. Mexxaz in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 310. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338, has "*Yerba del Angel*, *Eupatorium deltoideum*, *Jacq. Compositae*"; *quauhchquilitl* is the same.

19. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 563; *Rumex obtusifolius* Mieba.; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338: *Rumex acetosa* D. C.

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[30] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[31] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[32] white maize gruel with chía,[33] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

tocamolli, tonoquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcozic, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, ixtac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl iuamjc cheicoatolli, ouhatolli inquje, ..ychicoatolli necuio, ixtic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, atoço chiltecpinpanj, ixtac chiantatolli chilcozpanj, chiampitzaoac a-lli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianie chiltecpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, calquixa tlatoanj.

Auh in momoztlac, ice tlacatl calpixqui quitequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonqui tlaxcalli in jxtac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[34]

Auh in jquac in oclaqua tlatoanj, njman ic motexelos, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlâque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezquitlamantli, ixtoia, iiahachhoan, tetlauetzaqujjique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapitzque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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[643]
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Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[35]

Niman moteca in jcalitic: iezauj in jcacaosuh, xoxouhqui cacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xoxouhqui tilixochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vizzoxocacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, ixtac cacaoatl

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30. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes: Rimbaut, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 699: "*Son unos chicos redondos, se dicen, de comidas.*"
31. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Chia arenqada. Salvia gigi?*" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 666: *Salvia polystachia*: Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 210: *Salvia hispanica* L.
32. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* Du.—"*De Méjico, chile redondo, como del tamaño de una pelota y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 418, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *syn. hortensis* L.: "*del tamaño de las cerezas, o las que parecen ciruelas en la pequeñez y en el color.*"
33. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salvia hispánica. L. Salbia*"; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Salvia chian. S. hispánica* L.
34. The Spanish text has brackets, which would require ellipses.
35. Tilixochio and iezauj are as they appear in the Codex; chiltic and iezauj are probably mamey.

643 The chocolate was served in a painted gourd ves-
264 sel, with a stopper also painted with a design, and
272 [having] a beater; or in a painted gourd, smoky [in
415 color], from neighboring lands, with a gourd stop-
per, and a jar rest of ocelot skin or of cured leather. In a small net were kept the earthen jars, the strainer with which was purified the chocolate, a large, earthen jar for making the chocolate, a large painted gourd vessel in which the hands were washed, richly designed drinking vessels; [there were] large food baskets, sauce dishes, polished dishes, and wooden dishes.

injc ˹moteccia cacaoatl, tecontlacujlolli, ateccaiotl tlacujlolli, aquauijtl xiotectli tlacujlolli, poctecoatl anaocaiotl, ateccaiotl xiotectli, xicalli ocelocuatl, cuetlaxixicalli, chitatli in vncan mopia tecomatl, atetzcloantli, injc moiecria cacaoatl, vevei tecomatl achicaloxj, vevej tlacujlolxicalli injc ˹nemaxcquijlo, tzoloacalli tlaxcaloxj, tlapalchiquijtl, molcaxitl, petecxitl, quauhcaxitl.

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Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

Injc 14. capítulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixquich tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motaxtequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan xlian tlaquale, injc vnca tecmequjxtia tlatoanj. 000

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aquiçque tlatlacoa, vncan quintlaxtontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan, vncan cenca tlaçoque tlaçopipilti, tecoçque: in jxquich tlamantli in jneteilhujl cujclapilli atlapalli maçoualli: vnca quicaquijliaia, vncan quintlaxtontequjliaia; ioan ixquich tlamantli mjquitli vncan quinmontequjia aço aca quimecanjxque, anoço aca quintepachoaque, anoço aca quauhtica mjquiz quiujujtequjxque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, xiuaiotz, totocoz, calliliotz, macoxalcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan quintlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maiouaiotz, in pipilti mjiequjxtin, in quinnamacaque in jntelpuchcoan, ioan in jnjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oquicac motecuçuma: tlamauti injc nechicoloaque, in jxquichtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalonque in jntecujioloan, injc macoxque, injc cuepiliouque in jntlaqoj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc quimpatiotica pipilti, iuã oppamjxtlapan injc quintlaxtlaujli, injc quintlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in netilhujlli, çan niman icichca monontequjia, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, pp. 22-23: "Los señores, tlatoani, quienes decían, personas nobles, gobernaban o mandaban. . . . Y los compadecían de tlatoani que se compadecían con nosotros macehualtin, significaba personas nobles, como diciendo en tlatoani, una persona honrada, o noble." Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: Glaubenswelt der altmexikanischen Völker (in Paradies, Traum und Hölle, aus dem Jenseitsglauben Ostasiens Herausgeber Sakugawa?) (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1957), p. 32.
2. Cook, op. cit., I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the feet."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 68.

692 695 nounced. And in what was there made known, the lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caquitilois tlatoque atle quicnjuhchiosia atle tlaxtlaujltica quixpachosia, anoço quiuecaoia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently [212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Itzlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toquai. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

INIC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiencia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlat..que.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuxtlac imixpan motelihujxia, cuirlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuxca, in quicaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in quipoaia, in quittaia neteilhujlli: auh inic quinneltiliaia, quintemoaia, quimjtlanja in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in quimachilia motelihujque, in tlein quimocujcujlia, in tlein ipan motelihuja.

And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla quinmachili in ichoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic quiuecaoa, in jnneteilhujl cuirlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uxiujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl quinemjtia in amo uel quitzontecuj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hosiolcaiotl: njman quimjlpia, quauhcalco quintlalia, quitzacutiuj, quimjctia, inic mauhca iesque tecutlatoque.

Tlatqui motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in quinmachili tecutlatoque mixcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, itzlaca mixcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinqui, tlatilulco in amo melaoac quichiooa in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman quimjlpi, quauhcalco quintlali, quitzacutiaque, quinmjcti.

692 565 684 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the place of discussion where were the brave warriors and the noblemen.

INIC EI PARRAPHO: vncan tlatoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in papiltl.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oquichti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla quimachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman quitlatzontequjlia, inic teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznaouatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpanique ia-

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5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Memorias antiguas de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 287, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecalli, donde concurrían por las mañanas, determinados de cuatro en cuatro, diendo cuatro diferentes á los jueces superiores.*" Clark, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The four seated figures behind the judges, called *tecali*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also ff. 67r and 68r of the Mendoza Codex.)

7. *Tecuani, pilli, ocpilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 36; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhtecuhtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçoma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjuacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcauj iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonequjxtiaia in iqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhtecuhtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujxtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoqae vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiuia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ic calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhquin matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel comanntiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan tzinhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacaque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in neujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc iohoan quiça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [324] 535 [391] [301] [342] [313]

Auh in joac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açoc tlaonaliztli, anoço nemocatilizti, anoço itla icampa quiçquiztia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açe ztl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, motecnia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açe qujnmecanja, anoço qujtetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujiteçej teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujzti qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. Tlacochcalcatl, alternativ von Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 70; Anderson und Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. Aber vermutlich, die Rad Anderson de la Historia III hat anoço [illegible] or adultery.

561 681 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the [297] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquipiaia in jxquich qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxquich qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, auo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in ouuhtli, in chiauztotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiouachpetlatl, quauhaiouachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan quijmjlpiaia, quijncaltzaquais tlatlacoanj.

624 651 681 344 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly tie house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenquiçaia: in jxquich calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaiõinjc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaquijlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlac qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaquijlli: ioan in jxquich in jpiel, in tlacalaquijlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoalizzli: in jonac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxquich in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnquijxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxquich in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 574 431 344 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxquichtin, nouijan tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxquichtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxquich tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhteintl, in chalchiuhcoacatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* contains an account of the Coliseum, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Tetlpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada tetlpilcayan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca leve; el quauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, these passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the marks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INIC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, inic 533
mocencaoaia · quicanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: 292
ioan in tlein ipan mjtoizque.

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jaquitlamantli, mãcehoalcuicanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan quitlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cuicatl quijchecoz, aço itla iancuic cuicatl quimomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cuicanjme; in jaquich monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, [534]
aiacachli, tetzilacatl, çoçolocti, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cuicaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in iaquich tlamantli mãcehoallaquitl,

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cuicatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuia in ica cuicatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuia, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuexrecaiotl meoaz cuicatl, motlaichecalhuia in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in quiotlaichecalhuia, intzon, inic quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl iztlamjoa iacauicole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cuicatl.

[302
304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupiale, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INIC CHICUEJ PARRÃPHO, ipan tlatoa, in 567
inchan cauca tlatlacoti 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca quinmocuitlauiaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein quinequia, mochi quinmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan quinpiaia, in jaquich 463
nepapan tototi: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, 344
tozneneme, cocholme, alome, cozoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jaquich nepapan toltecatl, in teucuitlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacuiloque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacuiloque, quauhtlacuiloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan quinpiaia, in jaquich tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli.

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amanteca after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, op. cit., I, p. 56, n. 1). Cf. also Seler, *Bunge Festschrift*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *mopanquique* for *mopanquique*, and begins with the verb a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Cosas de las fieras*."

[p.46 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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531 **Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.**

Ic cuxolli cuphtolo: vncan mjtoa in jmeechichioa in çioa.

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers; the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

Vitzcoxcujtlalpic vipilli, xomolcio ujpilli, quechnencujlhoazio vipilli, xuchimoioac ujpilli, pocujpilli, vecuj tlamacheli inaquj, tolxaiaquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappochio vipilli, coioichcaio vipilli, xomoiujvipilli, tlapalochcamjtica xicalqetzol[illegible] vipilli, acocuchimoioac vipilli, izquitolcallo potoncaio xoxochiuio vipilli.

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

Chicocucjtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeuallo cucitl. patlaoac in jten, xicalcolinhquj cucitl, patlaoac in jten, teteuacaxio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cueitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamolinhquj ixtac cucitl, patlaoac in jten, ocelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtē; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tene: coioichcapipilcac cuejtl tene.

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

Apoçonehuacochtli, teujlonacochtli iztac, cozic itecujtlanacochtli: iztac tescujtlanacochtli, itzacochtli iztac.

302 386 Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black cord—[so] did they place impor-

Moxaoaia, tlapalhoazalhica: moxaoaia, tecuçanhtica: mochapopoxaoaia: copalxxtica moctoxiuja, tzonquetoc, quatzaqueque, xaoxacoloque, maxtlaoa, motzonquetzalhica, quipquatequj in jxtacon, quijxaccapanoa in jxtacon: tlatzacoa, mopatinemj, quimamaquixtiti in jxtaxtecon: moxinhequjlpa, injc papatlaca ixtacon: motlanthapalhujia, motlinochentija, mamaxicujloa, moquechicujloa, moquechetema, mechhiquijxhicujloa, mochichoxicujloa.

1. In Hernández, op. cit., I, p. 24, *cocoxochitl* is identified as Dahlia [illegible]. Cfr. Hernandez (op. cit., I, p. 89), however, says of *cocoxochitl*: "Ha Millin, *cocoxochitl de cabellos crespos, indígena del país, cocoxochitl cocoxochitl por chinos.* (Lagasca vulgaris, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas comestibles de las antiguas civilizaciones," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515seqq., 519, mentions two kinds of *cocoxochitl* (*cocoxochi*, *quelite*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores coloridas purpúreas*". Jr. Olivo in *cocoxochitl* (Dom. de Pernambuco, II, p. 276), giving *Pentanchipes coccopyrpurea* D. C. for synonym, Urbina alludes to a *Amaranthus coccopyrpurea* Hassk. or Hook.

2. After the manner, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has *xoxopanquetzalhica*—they left a ruff of hair over the forehead.

302 more upon their heads; it was dyed with indigo,[1] so
386 that their hair shone. The teeth were stained with cochineal; the hands and neck were painted with designs—the necks were covered [with painting]. The stomach and breasts were [also] painted with designs.[1]

515 They bathed in the sweat house and with [soap
562 and] water. They were held in esteem. They were modest, good, and of noble [mien]. Thus did they
[313] speak—attentively, and respectfully of others; they were diligent and considerate.

Materna, mahaltia, mocamauiztimat: pinauanj, qualli mauiztic, injc tlatoa: temachcaitenj, teimacaçinj, hiçiuhcaiaoque, moielitlacoanj.

1 [i.e. the Aztec women -- Analyst]

1. Rodgerville: Tlalnec (op. cit., p. 300) mentions two kinds: rodgerville pimentum, Indigofera and Lima, and rodgerville pulchrum, Calliandra grandiflora—both producing a blue dye.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

[redacted]

Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Their were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; magney spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc cuxulli ece cuplulo, vncan mjtoa, injc mo-ichocoxis çioa. 286 462

Nezoxoj, mocamazalli, quetzoxtli, xiuitl, ocuitl, tzozopantli cacalaca, patlaxac: tzotzopantli pitzoac, omjxotzopantli, tzotzopantzipiua, ic tlamachioa: tecaçuitl, tlaxpocuaj, malacatl, tzacalcaxitl, tiçatl, xazalmalacatl ic injtzaoa: ichcatzoatli, tochomjxaxatli, icpatzatli, injuxoatli, injxocoxuitl: tzatzaxtli, tlacujhuapanjtl injc qujcuijloa icpatl in qujquijti: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan qujquetla intlapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana tlein tlamachtli qujchioa; vizztli injc qujximcuj icpatl: [386]

tlaquakchioa, achioa, qujpoamauja: vncate in jnnahuan in qujmjxcalhia, ioan in cocoa tepotzonte çihoa, tzapanac, cujca, tlatzotzona: injc melelquijxtia. 462 [532 534 522]

1. Tlaxcalpopoca (op. cit., III, p. 222) describes the wood as "Tecuxuxu, y dicese ser este mejor que ninguno colorado sobre el barniz; es dulce como panela, porque de él se hacen tapaderas, tinajas y cántaros . . ." Cited in Clavigero, op. cit., IV, 49.

[p. 50 is blank]

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads—where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos—the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Azcalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Costlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzinteper. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

1. Cf. Anderson and D'Olsen, op. cit., II, p. 99; Sahagún, op. cit., I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

Injc exxtolli omome cap°. vncan mjtoa in jnncie- 643
hecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn vel qujchioazque inte-
qujuh, in jntlatocaio.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in 643
tlatecpanalizzli, in qujzitlanja injc iauqujçaia. 701

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca in iauiotl, injc ichoatl qujtzontequj, qujtecpana, qujçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in 643
connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in 723
campa oujca, in campa ic calacoaz, in ic iuhquj achto
oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlal: in
altepetl, in poliujz, ic onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui [102]
vtli, in campa oujcan, quezqujcan in calacoaz.

Niman ic qujoalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque in quezqujcan calaquja iauqujzquj, in quezquilhujtl monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc ichoantin, iautlatozque qujnnaoatizque: in jxqujch in quauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioã tlaujztli.

Auh in ichoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in 643
jxqujchtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, azcacalcatl: quauh- 714
naoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl:
tiachpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappa-
necatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl,
matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl,
axocopanecatl, itzcujncujtlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aio-
tzinteperecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc qujoalcujzque, in
jxqujch in jnpiel, in tlacalaqujlli, in tlaçotlanquj
tlaujztli in cozzic teucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jxqujch
tlaçochimalli.

Auh in jcoac oqujoalitqujque in calpixque: in 643
jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli: iichoatl tlatoanj, nj- 701
man qujcencaoa qujntlaujzmaca in jxqujchtin tlaço-
pipilti, in ic imjxco ca iautilizzli: ioan in jxqujchtin

643 701 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos[2] to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[3] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Azcapuzalco, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquata. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacatecutli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

[687]

tiacahoan, in oquijchtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchtemj in pipilti.

auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oquijchiuh. Niman qujnnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxquijchtin calpixque, injc intlaçquj ietiaz; in jxquijch tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxquijch tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in qujnmacaz, in qujntlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxquijchtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oquijchtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto qujnnotza in tlatoanj tetzcoco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxquijch chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, qujncaqujtia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz ce altepetl: qujntlauhtia, in jxquijch tlaçotilmatli, ioan qujnmaca, in jxquijch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic qujnnaoatia: in jxquijch in jmaçeoal, injc iauqujçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oquijchtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacatecatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacans in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixquijchtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, qujnmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in ixquijchtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquijch iauqujzquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquijch iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquijch aculhuacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, in jxquijch tepanecatl, no cemjlhujtl qujztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxquijch moquataitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oaxioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teumaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan qujça, çan njman vncl qujnmjctia, qujnujujtequj, in aquja tlaxnelozoequj: tetlan qujçaznequj, in oompaoten ixquijch iauqujzquj, in ic inman in oualhõtza acaujztli, in tlaioalli injc tlaioualcujoaz: auh in jcoac ic itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca machiia in tletl, in quenman coa-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "Mandaban luego, a los calpixques, que llamaban oruas, a todos los principales, para el, y para sus soldados; y entonces los calpixques a sus gentes, y los llamaban oruas."

3. Tomemipan, dichosamente: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 188 (Segunda parte de la guerra sobredicha), and p. 189 (Los lugares de los batallas).

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited remedy the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed these in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech cloths, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

panja: injc tlequamhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlaçizalli in tecaciztli, in oquijtaque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tlel, njman ic cemoua, in jaquijch iauiquiquj, motenquapanja, mjcali, quijlemjtia in teucalli.

Auh in achac in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan quijmjctia, in teteu, tecpatica quelitequj.

Auh in jcoac ompolioh ahepetl, njmã ic ic nemalpeuilo, in quezaquijch malli: ioan in quezaquijch omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi quiçaquijtia in tlatoanj, injc tepul oicnopiliic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman quijnanotia, in tecutlatoque: injc quitemachitiuj, injc quiteçaquijtitiuj, in jachan in jaquijnti, oiaumjquijto, injc choquijlionque in jochachan, in oiaumjquijto: ioan quijteçaquijtia in jachan, in quenquj ochanqto iauc, ic vncan quijcnjja in manjxiotl, in jpampa oquichiotl: ioan quijnomaceuijaia in jaquijch teiscaelioia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlauijztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc ceuca quijnjcaelioia in tlaçopipiltj, in tlatoanj intla ochanato, quijmaca calpixcantli: ioan in jaquijch tlaçotli necuijhnoalli, in manjxiotl, in tlaiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame quijtlaoa iauiotl, njman vmpa quijnnjctia in iauc quijuiojtequj, quijnteçpachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, quijnocuicuijlia oc malli, quijtoa oc tlacatl, ca nemal, in oc oc tlacatl no quijtoa ca nemal: iathcamo oc tlacatl iech nelti, aiac no quijnjtac, in quenja tlamaque: ichoantin quijtlatzanoaquijlia, in tonatiuh itlaocahoan: aiac tle onequiça in jnnemetin in quijnocuicuijlia in malli: iuh quijnotequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac oc iech pouhquj ica in malli: vitzcalli quijpoaia, calpoko quijcaoia, in jchan tlacatecolotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oaxioac ahepetl in ovmpolioh, njman icoac motlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacahuajlli iech maca in tlein vmpa muchiua, auh njman no iquac inque- 728 651

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 202-203, referring to the barrio of Cuauhtlan, where down fought and died in sacrifice: "Este era en el patio del templo que se dice Uitzcalco."

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; [681] hence they performed their offices as judges rightfully. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Tecalli, where they

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in qenjo qujnpepenaia Iuezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocuitlauiaia in tetlaxonxqujlliztli, qujcaqua in jaqujch in jaxcalhujl: iuan in jchoqua, in jaxcalmachiliz in jaxolinjliz in cujtlapilli, ntlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in mecolinja in maçeualli:

auh injc uel qujnchiliaia in tlatoanj in tenxtilhujl. auoço tetlatlacul qujmjxquetzaia, qujnpepenaia in jaxcalaxcalchan: ichoantin in tlaçqujpilli, in tlaxcaltilo in oncá in qujnj, in qujqujanj, in mocujtlaxoa, iuan tlacatecolo, oqujchci, in iuic: omocalticque, mjiec tlamatli tecoco neculinjliztli, oquinnaxiçoque: auh in jaqui tlamantli qualli neapaualiztli, neacalitiliztli, in japilitian oquinnemachtique, in calmecac neapaualiztli, in tlachcapa neapaualiztli, in tetlan neapaualiztli, in calpan tetlan nemjliztli, iuaquiçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhqui, injc qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, iuic qujmjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in aua pipiltj: ichoantin in qualli ictli, iuaxcapaualin, iuaxcalchiliz, in iuic omocapaualique, in tlacatecolo in oquichci, in mjiec tlamantli oquinnaxiçoque, iuicuchliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in quinpaçqujltia, in quinfuahuia, iuan in quinmaca, in jaqujch amoch monequj:

iuhqui: in in qujmjxquetzaia, in qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, in jaxcalaxcalchan, in mjmatinj, in mocaltiaiaiaj, in tlacamjlinaj, in vellacaqui, in vellaxca, in motlaiolloteiaj, in aua ahaujllaxca, in aua cacamatlaua, in aua ilinja mocuajchiaia, aua tlacatecaj, cenca qujmaxiqujia in tecuitl, aua cochinj, cenca cochiçaj aua tle qujcajchachiua: aua tle qujnaiolachiua: aua tle qujcuicolicachiua, aua tlatlauilhica qujcaqui, auoço qujchiaque: qujnjqujnaxaxaia, in tlatoanj: injc nelaua: qujchiaque in jaxaqujch, in tecutlaxilli: auh inlacaua, ca ichoantin cuauhtecujlitiaque in tecutlaxque, in tlein qujlacaque.

Auh in jaxac, oquinjxquem in tlatoanj: in jaxcalaxcalchan qujmacaia vmxel in tlaxcaxalli, in tec-

5. [illegible] cf. ibid., p. 318 (for majestic jueces) and p. 320 (consejeros).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that their judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges* whose names were Cuauhcoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznaoatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezauacatl,[1] Mexicatl tzacacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Cioatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinauacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error* someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,* the Quauhxocheti, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they sunned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be learned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practice the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan icaqoc, in vncã tetlamoteqvijlaqoc, 643
in vncan qvjcaqvjqoqc in jaqvjch tlamãti tlacatecolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, inoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlamoteqvijlaia tlaçqipilti, tlatocaçqipilti, çan niman içiuhca qvjcamoteqvja intemetilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

693

Auh injc vecan tecutlatoloia, inoca teccalli, vncan ceca in tecutlatoque mexica: injian iocuxca qvjcaqvja, in jaxtelhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqvjchipeuhque, in oqvjectilique netelhujlli, tlapallacujlelpan qvjtlalia, injc vmpa qvjqvj tlacxitlan in jpã qvjntlaqvetzilia in tecutlatoque in tlaçqipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla cujlitica injc qvjqvj in tlatoanj injc ichoanti qvjzontequj in jxtoca ceca tecutlatoque. 695 643
Çiocoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaocatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezauacatl, mexicatl tzacacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociauacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequixquinauacatl; ichoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qvjnemjlitia, qvjchiqvja, qvjqetlaoaia in tlacatlaolli, qvjzocmoaia in machiçqoc, in tlaechikanj, in aço ic nelli, anoço tlatolchichinolli in cacqvjnlo tlatoanj, in aço can: tlapic ica quauhcalco ontlalloc.

Auh intla ica qvjtlamoteqvjlia tlatoanj mjqvja, 693
niman qvjmjctia, in jemqticacoac achcacauhti, 696
quauhxocheti, atempanecatl: injc ichoantin qvjmjctia, qvjmocanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qvjxtepachoa, anoço qvjxtoqvj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in qvanja netotilia. 535

In tlatoanj oc ceneca qvjmocujtlauiqia, in maçonalistli, in papaqvjlistli, injc qvjmellaqvaoa, injc qvjnitlalia, in jaqvjchcin tlacoqoc, ioan pipiltl, ioan teteuctl, ioan tlacatecoan: ioan in jaqvjch in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçonalli: 643

achtopa qvjtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl mocuepa, 643
qvjnanauatlaia in cujcanjnac: injc qvjpiloaqoc injc 533
qvjchicaoaqoc in cujcatl, ioan tepoanatli, olmatl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oficiales, y gente, Alguaciles de oficio para que los emplazasen para otro principales, como esclavos, para que de audiencia, y residencia."
7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezauacatlailotlac; ezauacatl appears in parenthesis. This title Tlacatecatl is repeated in the Anales text of the Florentine Codex.
8. See chapter four in probable sources (ed. Ixtlilxochitl).
9. Alvarado Tezozomoc, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 280, 290; II, pp. 310, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 100, and III, p. 32.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

vesuel: ioan in inquijch maçoallaquijtl, ioan netotilistli, aquja cujcaiuz, aquijque in teiacanaque, aquja teponaque, aquja vesuetonaz, mochi achto mocencauia injc ale itlacauja.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed himself, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
292 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a
301 yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

Auh in ie iconac maçeua tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaua, mochichiua ¡quetzallalpilonj cozaic teucujtlaio, injc quilpia itzua, cozaic teçacatl, anoço chalchihuitenesti in conaquja itzuca, cozaic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacauaco: auh in concaul conteca, aço chalchihuiteoacatl, anoço cocapetlatl, teuxiujtl ilaacoc, macuextli inuac qujtlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço cozaic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaccoxtli, tlaçotlaoquj injc mjstia injc macoca, tlaçotilmatli in qujmololoua, in qujmoquezaia, tlaçomantlatl in qujmomantlatia,

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no qujcencaua quintlauhtia: in tequjchtin tlatoque, ioan pipiltl, in quujchti, tiacauan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiácauan oqujchtin, ioan tiachcauan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan qujnmaca in jiauh, in jlaqual tlatoanj in juquijlamantin omoteneuhque.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla qujtlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli qujchalanja, anoço vesuetl, anoço cujcaiuz, quipolos cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipolos netotilistli: njman tlanoosia in tlatoanj, quauhcaleo oncalia in aquja tlatlacoa, qujxacutiuh mjquja.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncā mjtoa injc intoçoia in aquja tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in iouiica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jqipa iouiotl.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become benumbed. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the prisoners

In tlatoanj oc oncca qujmocujtlauiaia in iouiqipaiistli, ioan altepepiliuitl, cemjlhujtl ceiouiotl, ic tlatlaquauhtaoaia, injc oncca tlapialoa ma quezaniqui ocmomachpan iouiouhtlo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necuztlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa oncca itzoçoaia in tlatoanj, ano tlaoaxia, iioma in iohoaltica quezaniqui quiçaia quijaoloa in altepetl qujza tlein mochiua, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacaxqui in tlachcauh aço ic necuztlaxijo in mjxiti in tlapetl in octli ioan oc oncca qujmolaquqtlaoaxia in tlatoanj

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or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

in jaquijchein iauiouque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
çiçiual tlapianque, in tmaxcopan in tlachinolhempil, 726
in quijmocuitlaxpique ocelxoxamjtl, quauhtzamjtl,
in iauoti: ioan quijmanaque quijtzicxquijaque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in quijoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jquijn iautlatolor, auh in
oquijcaque ca ic iautlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza iutlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
iautlapializtica.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenoquetzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame quj-
mati in mexica in inchan oalmocalhotia, in tetlanen-
que in jiuohoan no quijzacutiuja, inca nenonotzaloia
in chaneque, iofi in jnpilhoan, ioan namoicloia in
iutlaquj atl neneçia in inchan.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlatoaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialor in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çiçiual, in ma aca quijtlachichiuijh altepetl, in ma 722
iauiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icatzar tlatoanj,
ioan altepetl quijnnaoatiuia in tlatoanj in telpuchtla-
tuque, in tiacahoan: ioan in iaquijch telpuchdi, injc [533]
momoztlae ioaltica cujcoanoque, injc quijoalcaquja
iaquijch altepetl, in quijaoalotoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan iaquijch mexicatl.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaoa: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan iaquijch altepemaitl, icoac quiça in
jaquijchein tlamatzaque, nouijian in oatlamaçoua
nouijan tepetlcpac, ioan ic oatlapia in aço itla quj-
namjquijtinj ic tlatujnaoac ¶ oalcalaquja injc oatlap-
piaia çiçiual iuh quijchiouia.

10. Sahagún, op. cit., [illegible] *[illegible]* and *chapel* as *Molinian* [illegible]; a *[illegible]* place. Olmos, op. cit., p. 223, has for Horace a *[illegible]*, a *[illegible]* *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*. . . . cf. for *Rodeoarchoc*, a *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*

342 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, like-
643 wise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go
[373] out. It was watched all night and made to burn with
644 pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at
722 the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Cuecalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[10] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] house.
[373] The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no ixhuçj ceiual in tlapialoia, aquecmaxi omja in tetl: çeiual in tlapialoia, ioan tlauijloia ocotica, in vecan iician tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cuicacali, ioan cuecali, in jnnemetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texicali in jnneçenquixtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in nouijian tlãlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacalcenj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intoquijuh cauca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapialoia itic altepetl injc çeçeioai tlauijloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapialoia.

643 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the
542 ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

643 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game
525 —the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitna, in quenjn mellekquixtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac quijtaia, quimatia ca cenca nentlamati in cuitlapilli, atlapalli macecalli: njman tlanaoatiaia, injc ollamaloc, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaquiltiaia tlatoanj: quinnaoatiaia in calpixque, injc quiualcujaque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maiouat: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioc, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlauijlilo, tlaxalujlo, tlachpano:

ioan in jaquijch quijlanjoa tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtenteti, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcoacatl, teucujtlacoacatl, tlatzopeztli chalchiuitl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in izquijch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli quiualquixtia in calpixque, quiualtalia in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin quinamiquixque, in collamijaque tlatoanj: njman jq'tlamjctia, in jaquijch itlaquij tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja macecalli, icecelaca cuetlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in ixhuçj quiquemj maçecalli. Auh iatla oquijlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque quiocma in izquijch tlaçotli tlaquijtl, in oquijlanjique tlatoanj: auh in macecalti no quinmaca in jaquijch oquijlanilique tlatoanj.

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13. *Tlachcalhuehuetl*: see Antonio Mirandé, *El calpulli en la organización social de los aztecas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlachcalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 348, "los pueblos quedaban subdivididos en menor calpulli *i barrios*, cuyos los parcialidades eran, cada calpulli dividido por calles *i tlachcalli*."

14. *Tlaçotl*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *chorro*, in which case the Aztec should read *chaçotl*.

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[10] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were bested, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vessels whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

In tlatoanj, in jquac quinocquja iellelequjcac tlamacatiaia injc patoca, mjcmjlcu oc patolpetlati, ica tilli, 643
pepetlactic in tlaxotlalli ic mjcujloa, in vocan nepoalo 522
ic netlanjoa: auh njman no mjacoiocja nauhcatl 525
siocotli, injc patolo injc netlanjoa: auh çan ie no 524
iuhquj qujcaxoia in calpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli
in jtlacquj, in jxaca tlatoanj, qujoalteca in oncan
patolocan, in qujpetlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in
icoac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepetla in cal-
pixque: ioan quipatla in jaqujchtin maçeoalti, in
ocontlalica tlatoanj in patolnia.

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then [the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in aquja tlatoanj qualli iollo, teicnoittanj. 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaocuilanj, cenca teicnoitanj, ioan teicnchianj, in jcoac quinequja, quiçca in oti quitocaz: in aquja motolinja maçeoalli, in motlapaloa, injc quitlapaloa tlatoanj, intla ouelquitlapalo in tlatoanj: njman quinaoatia in calpixquj, quimacaz tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in quix, in quiquaz, tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloa quitlapaloa tlatoanj, çan no iuh quicnelia, quitlauhtia in jujpil, in jcuc, icochia, in quix, in quiquaz tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla aca motolinja, icnotlacatl, oquichiuh, oquitlali, quezquj vuetl mauizio cuicatl, intla njman iech quipoa tlatoanj, intla quimaca, cenca quicnelia, quitlaocolia, quicalmaca quicuihtoua, quimaca in quezquich tlatquitl in jtic onoc calli, ioan quimaca calpixquj injc momoztlae quinencuitlauia quitlaqualtia, quitenjxitia, quinecuhcaiotia quicochcaiotia: ioan quimaca in iuquich netlauhtilli in tlaçotilmatli, in pepechtli in necujhnotli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauizioti.

10. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de allí mojaba su lengua, con que jugaban, y ponían lugar y otras cosas como arriba se dice."

[p. 60 is blank]

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Eighteenth Chapter, in which it is told how they chose those who would govern.

The ruler was thus given office and chosen. The lords assembled and deliberated as to whom they would set in office and choose to be ruler. In the same manner assembled the old men and the seasoned warriors, brave warriors, men [at arms], and the leaders of the youths; lords; and keepers of the gods; fire priests—the long-haired ones.[1] All were gathered there at the great palace, the residence of the ruler, in order to consult and choose him who was to be ruler. They cast votes for all the princes who were sons of lords; men [at arms]; brave warriors, experienced in war, who shrank not from the enemy;[2] who knew not wine—who were not drunkards, who became not stupefied;[3] the prudent, able, wise; of sound and righteous rearing and upbringing; who spoke well and were obedient, benevolent, discreet, and intelligent.

And when were settled the deliberations and choosing, they were as one [in their] accord. When a certain prince was chosen and given the charge of being ruler, then also were raised to their office and chosen those who were to help him, the [four] princes who would be by his side; who would be his lords. They were invested with, and given, the titles Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Pochtecatlailotlac, and Ticociauacatl.

When this was done, when the choosing was settled, then was determined on what good day sign would be installed those who had been elected—the ruler and the lords. Then the command was given when there would be a meeting, and all the noblemen were commanded then to come to assemble in the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli.

Injc caxtolli onej capítulo: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quijnpepenaia, in aquijque tlatocatizque. 643

In tlatoanj, injc iaquetzaloia, inic pepenaloia, mocentlaliaia, mononotzaia, in tecutlatoque, injc quiaquetzaia, injo quipepenaia, in aquin tlatoanj iez çan no iuhquj mocentlaliaia in achcacauhti ioan tequjoaque, tiacahoan, oquichtin, ioan tiachcauh tlatoque, ioã teupiaque tlenamacaque, papaoaque, iaquichtin mocentlaliaia in vncan vei tecpan tlatocan, injc mononotzaia, injc quipepenaia in ac ichoutl tlatocatiz, quinteneoaia in jaquichtin tlaçopipilti, in tlatoque impilhcan, in oquichti, in tiacaoan in iauc matinj, in amo quitlaçotla in jntzontecõ, in jmelchiquiuh, in amo quiximati in vctli, in amo tlaoanani, in amo quimotequitia mixitl, tlapatl, in mimatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlamatinj, in qualli ieztli inezzaliliz, innecoapacaliz, in vellatoa, in vellacaquj, in tetlaçotlanj, in jxe in iolio. [577]

Auh in iouac in omocencauh nenonotzaliztli, tlapepenaliztli, in ocentet tlatolli, in ac ichoutl tlaçopilli in oanoc, in oixquetzaloc in tlatoanj iez: njman no iquac iaquetzalo, pepenalo in quipaleuizque, in jtlan iezque in tlaçopipilti, in jtecutlatocahoan iezque: motecutlalia, motocamaca tlacochcalcatl, vitznauatlailotlac pochtecatlailotlac, ticociauacatl: 643 644

in ie iuhquj in omocencauh tlapepenáliztli, njman nenonotzalo, tlein qualli cemjlhujtonalli in jpan tlaliloaque, in opepenaloque: in tlatoanj ioan in tecutlatoque, ic tenaoatilo in jquin çenquijxoaz: ioan naoatilo in jaquichtin pipilti, injc cenquiçaquiuj in jitoalco vitzilopochtli: [777]

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "juntaronse los ancianos que llamavan Teuculatoque; y tambien los viejos del pueblo, que llamavan achcacauhti; y tambien los capitanes valientes varjos de la guerra, que llamavan tequjoaque: y otros capitanes que eran principales, en los casos de la guerra; y tambien los sacerdotes, que llamavan Tiachcauhtoque, o papaoaque."

Papaoaque: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III, Appendix, cap. 6. In Bernardino de Sahagún: Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, tr., Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 533, n. 2, the term is thus explained: "'Cosas que son los ciertos sacerdotes en temple sus los oreiller'; singular [illegible], forma de sacerdotal papaoli, cheveluro longue et en désordre."

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 114.

3. Mjxitl, tlapatl: see Chap. 17, n. 10, supra.

643 And some of the noblemen who feared the office of ruler hid themselves and took refuge [from those who might choose them].[4]

643 FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is told how they
644 arrayed those who had been elected when they did penance, and led them to the house of Uitzilopochtli.

And at this time were brought together, according to command, the noblemen, the lords, the masters of the youths [who were] leaders, and great judges. When those lords were assembled, then they commanded the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, to seek out and go to take among themselves, those who had been chosen: the one whom they had named ruler and those whom they had named lords. When they had been put in office, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired-ones, went to take, wheresoever he was, the one who had been vested in the office of ruler. Then they speedily laid hold of him; before them, all the people beheld him.

643 Then they took him before the lords. He went
292 bare. They put on him a green,[5] sleeveless jacket. And they had him carry upon his back his tobacco gourd with green tassels. Then they veiled his face, they covered his head [with a] green fasting cape designed with bones. Then they gave him his green[5] cotton bag filled with incense and decorated with bones, and they put on him his new foam sandals with green toes. They placed in his hand his incense ladle, also painted with the skulls of the dead, and with paper pendants [on the handle].

643 And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to take the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. When they had brought the ruler to the top [of the pyramid temple], then he took incense, poured it into the incense ladle, in which there were live coals. Then he raised it before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order to perfume it. He stood always with his face covered by the fasting cape designed with bones. And all the common folk stood looking up at him. Trumpets were sounded; the shell trumpets were blown.

644 And these lords—the Tlacochcalcatl, the Uitznaua-
292 tlailotlac, the Pochtecatlailotlac and the Ticociauacatl—the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, then also speedily adorned. Each one they dressed in his

auh in cequintin in pipilti in qujmacaçi tlatocaiotl motlatia mjnaia.

INIC CE PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnchichioaia, in opepenaloque, in jpan tlamaçeoaia: ioan qujnujcaia, in jchan vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in ie iuhquj: in ocenqujxoac, in jcoac naoatilli, in pipilti, in tecutlatoque, in tiiachcauh tlaiacatique, ioan achcacauhti, in onecentecoc, in iehoanti tecutlatoque niman qujnnaoatia in teupixque, papaoaque, inic qujxtemozque inic tetzalan conanatiuj: in opepenaloc in tlatoanj, qujtocaiotia in aqujn, ioan qujntocaiotia in aqujque tecutlatoque, oixquetzaloque njman ic uj in canazque in teupixque papaoaque, in campa catquj, oixquetzaloc tlatoanj: njman qujcujtiuetzi teixpan mochi tlacatl qujtta:

njman ie qujujca imjxpan tecutlatoque petlauhtiuh conaquja xicolli xoxouhquj, ioã qujmamaltia iietecon in jmamaxoxouhquj: njman ic conjxtlapachoa, ic qujquaquimjlos neçaoalquachtli xoxoctic omjcallo, njmã ic conmana icpaviqujpilli in vncan tentiuh copalli omjcallo xoxoctic: ioan conaaqujlia iancujc in jpoçolcac xoxoctic in jquequetzil, njman imac contequjlia, in jtlema, no mjocatzontecomaio, inic tlacujlolli, amocujtlapile.

Auh in iehoantin, papaoaque teupixque: caantiuj in tlatoanj in qujtlecauja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: in jcoac ocaxitique in tlatoanj, in tlaçpac, njman concuj in copalli, contema in tlemaco, in vncan ietiuh tlexochtli: njman ic cacocuj in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, inic tlapopochuja, çan ic quatlapachiuhticac: in neçaualquachtli, omjcallo. Auh in jxqujch maçoaalli, acopa conjxtoc, tlapitzalo, mopitza in tecuiztli.

Auh in iehoantin tecutlatoque, tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: njman no hiçiuhca qujnchichioa, in teupixque papaoaque, ceceiaca qujmaquja tiltic ixicolli, ioan injietecon,

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "muchos de los que tenjan temperia que los eligieron, se escondieron por no ser electos por no tomar tan gran carga."

5. Nonetheless, emerald, verde, appears in corresponding Spanish text.

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tiltic in jmama, ioan quimaxquijlia impocolcac ixtac: njman ic quimoetlapachoa, quimonixquimjlloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tiltic omjcallo, ioan quixnecmaca icpaxiquipilli, tiltic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexocheli omentiuh: njman ic no quintlecauja cecenme, quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc quintlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in intlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopuchtli quipopochuja. 644 292

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oalquijçaia naujlhujtl. 643 644

Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapopochujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic quioaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xonoctic: njman ic no cecciaca quinoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj, cecciaca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo. 783 785

quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca quimonujca in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa qujça, çan cheoaticate; in jcoac ie nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, quimonana, quintlacoaantiuj ixqujmjlhuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in intlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh cecciaca in jicpaxiquipil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in quintlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oalcemo tecpantiujtic, ixtlapachiuhtiujtic, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: quinjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça cappa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

6. Impropriate: impropriate in Spanish.
7. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has quitecuanque for quimonujca.

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643 644 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did they eat.

783 785 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iioaltica, in jcnac ioalnepantla oeçic, mesa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic onmotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan cencuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin teupixque papaoaque, qujntlacoaanciuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc onmjço ioualnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc ioualtica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic izquijmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izquijlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izquijioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[77] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenja qujtzonquijxtiaia tlamaçeoalizztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ic iuhquj in ozzonquijx naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcnac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, quijn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ic iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtia, in qujtemacaz.

643 527 648 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler made summons to a feast.

Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuexlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenja qujchioaia tecoanotzalizztli, in ichoaã tlatoanj.

Njman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuexlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the hidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anauac tlatoque, 643
ipan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxquichtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcaxtendi quijztoque, ioan in jxquichtin 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, quijiacalotoque mexico, tex-
coco tlatoatj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac ocenquijxque in jxquichtin tlacoa-
notzaltin tlatoque, in jcnihoan tlatoque ioan iiuu-
hoan: njman ic qujntlaqualtia, qujnmaca in xtl, in
tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, qujntlauhtia in jxquich tlaço-
tilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaço-
tlanquj chimalli, nexotilo macoxalo, cujco, ceioal
cemjlhujtl, in tepequjltia tlatoanj.

auh in jcoac no qujntlauhtia, in jxquichtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoh, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixquichtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
quichtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:
auh in ozomquja tecoanotzalixtli, njman ic omp-
peoa in jxquichtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenja mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iauiz, 292
altepetl ipan.
Auh çan njman iquexquijhujioc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, injc cana iauquixoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in
jxquichtin tiacahoan, oquichti: auh iioma in tlatoanj
in iauh iauc, in oniaoquiça, in onteperoa quiujca in
jxquichti iauquixaque, ioan in noujian tlatoque altepetl ipan inic oiaoquiça, onteperoa: auh in jcoac
ôtepeoato, oiaoquiçato cenca paqui, in quexquich
malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli
quinmjctiaia, inic inca illujquixtiaia. Auh in ix-
quichtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, quinmaujztiotia, mjiec
tlamâtli injc quinmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotil-
matli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj,
ioan quinnocamaca injc mauiztililoaque, injc tlaca-
machoaque, injc oquichti, tiacahoh.

8. In ibid., [illegible] is followed by [illegible] and rulers of the Mixtec country.

[p. 66 is blank]

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Ninetenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

Ic caxtolli onnauj capítulo, ipan ninjtoa, in tlatecpanalizti in tianquijsco: sub in ichoxtl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquijztli, ioã izquijch tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeualli, ioan izquijch aca, tepena in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequelolox, injc amo xixicolox, injc amo ica necacaiaoalox, injc amo nexictilox, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmoteumaqujlia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacax, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iietian, çan iooneian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

qujmjzquetzaia, in tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquijztli: ioan izquijch tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia ẽcentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl cateca, injc aiac texixicox, ioan quenjn tlapatiioax, quenjn tlanamacox.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzaliztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtotoxl, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan izquijch nepepan tetoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tlilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlaimachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, ziatl,

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

ioan in izquijch qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtleolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tlilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, siecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tlilric chiã, chiantecotzol, iztac: tototli, vexolotl, çioanototli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, cauauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipitzcan,

1. *Vej nacaztli: Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Rzedowski, op. cit., p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, supra.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, supra. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "una semilla como brasaje blanca."

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443 and other water birds,[6] gulls,[7] and wild geese;[8]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[9] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Coaixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[9] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomizes*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Canis* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs,
[314] water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[317] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
412] rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey fiber,[18] and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[20] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutettzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzioacziotl chilli, chiltecpin, teziochilli, chilcoztli, coujzcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltómatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzqujtlamantli zochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, zaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjzqujtl, itlaqujllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiocoachtli, quauhaiocoachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, azolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatiquaujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlatecouj, aujctli, matlaquaujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan teposcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixqujch tlamãtli qujlitl qualonj, xonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocojoli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, zoconochtli, xoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, cxotl, cloti, xilotl, ooatl, mjiaoatamalli,

4. *Atzacuacuilcó*: "*son colorados, tienen los pies largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos; son comedores y tienen el pecho blanco; dicen que nacen en la provincia de Anáhuac; crecen a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas o lama; son muy buenos de comer. Dicen que tienen, y los tordos del agua, por tiempo se crecen en pasar, dicen que los que están entre a bandas en la mar, dicen del agua, y que nunca más parecen*" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Sahagún, *Rimas Kaqueal*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilote*) says there are two species—*Phalaropus wilsonii* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipitzcua*: "*son blancos y del grandor de palomas, tienen alas anchas, crían junto la mar, y al tiempo de coger el maíz vienen así dentro a la tierra; cuando entran aquí vienen, cuidadosos que es tiempo de coger el maíz*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW or Rich, currently called *apipizca*.

6. *Tlalcuacuil*: "*buenos mucho . . . . grandes como las de España; tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos; tienen buena carne; tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas; las plumas de encima son ruines, tienen buenas colmenas para comerlas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalcuacuil*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anas diepiosa* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cuerpo grande de color blanquecino chiluyoso, muy sazonado y metalado con alli*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 182)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 6, *supra*.

12. Sahagún, *op. cit.*; note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tecocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus pubescens* Mart. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 198).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomixtle*—*Tigrisdus pennicii* Kerr; *cacomistlerd*, of edible root (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 392). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dioscorea composita* Hemsl. (p. 659) or *D. parviflora* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chayotl*: *chayote*—*Sicyos edulis*; *Sechium edule*. *Cucumis sativus*/*sylvestris* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 149, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhcacauatl* are identified as *Sarcopha rurosa* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Crescen sp.*, *Canis familiaris* Linn.

18. *Ixcuitlaxcal*: *cuetl* (maguey), *cuitlaxcal* (principle, continuing), in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Remazar, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Sahagún must be in error in translating *tetzmolinqui* as *cardoon*, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium sp.*). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*tetzmolinqui*) as, "*En México especie de alcachofa*" (artichoke).

19a. See Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-6, 549. Sauer suggests that "*huauhtzontli may be a corruption of . . . cuauhtzontli*," a *chamaepilum*: *C. Huauhtlac* and *C. pseudomas* not mentioned.

20. *Xocoxocotl*: *tecopal*-*Oxalis corniculata* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154); Sauer (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the same sorrel is used also for *Rumex* (*sedgrass Angrass*), and that *xocoxocopalli* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

sons; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

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elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli.

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca 443
acaquauijd, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xoch- 463
iocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tle- 656
quaxtli, ioan apaxtli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl,
ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in [276]
çoquitecomatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoquitlat- [415]
quitl.

Auh in iehoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocuitlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiuitl, intla oximachililoc, intlacamo qujnertiz in aquin qujcobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmaçcia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca qujchioaia 443
iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan 722
texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequitia 651
tianquizitli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaix- 705
quetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequitlatoque catca.

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 220, describes quauhtli as "hojas y renuevo de los frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mimosa pigra L. (Number 1).

[p. 70 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 **Twentieth Chapter, in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen.**

And here is described the rearing of the sons of those who were lords, and of all the princes, who were the sons[1] of lords and noblemen.

[854 Their mothers and fathers nourished and raised them, or nursemaids raised them while they were 855] still small children.

565 And when they could run, when they were per-
855 haps six years old, thereupon [the boys] went [forth] to play. Their pages—perhaps two, or three—accompanied them that they might amuse them. [The child's] father or mother charged them [pages] that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not [illegible] himself with vice, as he went along the stree[illegible]

565 And also they took great care that he should con-
867 verse fittingly with others—that his conversation should be proper; that he should respect and show reverence to others—[when] perchance he somewhere might chance to meet a judge, or a leading militia officer, or a seasoned warrior, or someone of lesser rank; or a revered old man, or a respected old woman; or someone who was poor. He should greet him and bow humbly. He said: "Come hither, my beloved grandfather; let me bow before thee." And the old one who had been greeted then said: "O my beloved grandson, O precious stone, O precious feather, thou has shown me favor. May it go well with thee."

And when the young boy thus saluted others, they praised him highly for it. They rejoiced greatly over it; they were joyful because of it. They said: "How will this beloved child be, if he shall live? He will in sooth be a nobleman. Mayhap his reward will be something [great]."

565 And when he was already maybe ten, twelve, or
871 thirteen years old, they placed him in the priests' house; they delivered him into the hands of the fire priests and [other] priests, that he might be reared

Ic cempoalli capítulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnoapacia in inpilhoan tlatoque, ioan pipilti.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jnneoapaoaliz in ichoantin in tlatoque impilhoan, ioan in jxqujchtin in tlaçopipilti, in jnpilhoan tlatoque, pipilti.

ichoantin in jnnaoan, in jntaoan qujmjacaltia, qujnoapaoa, anoço chichiuame in qujnoapaoa in oc pipiltotonti:

auh in jcoac ic uel nenemj, açe ic chiquaceuxiuhtia, njman ic ic iauh in masujltiz, in qujnujca ixoloua açe ome anoço ei in casujltiz, ichoantin qujncocultia in jtatzin in jnantzin injc amo tlauelilocatiz, injc amo qujmocujtlaujz tlauelilocaiotl: in jcoac otli qujtocaz.

Auh no cenca qujcujtlaujltiaia injc vel tenotzaz, injc qualli iez in jtlatol, injc trimacaçiz, injc temauhcaittaz, açe cana qujnamjquiz açe tecutlato, anoço achcauhtlatiacati, anoço iuitequjoa, anoço çan aca tlapaltzintli, anoço veuentzin, anoço ilamatinjn, anoço aca motolinja, qujtlapaloz cenca mopechteca, qujlhuja, xicalmoujca nocultzine, ma njmjtznotlazili: auh in ichoatl oquitlapalo veuentzin njmã qujlhuja notujuhtzine cozcatle quezzalle otinechmocnelili ma ximonenemjti:

auh injc iuh tetlapaloa, y, in piltontli, ic cenca qujiecteneoa, cenca ic papaquj, ic motlamachtia qujtoa: quenamj ietiuhi in piltzintli intla nemiz ca tel pilli, açe itla imaçeual iez.

Auh in jcoac ic matlacxiuhtia açe ic vipoume, anoço ic omej, icoac qujcalaquja in calmecac, inmac qujmoncaoaia in tlenamacaque, in tlamacazque, injc vmpa iacaltiloz nenorzaloz, tlachieltiloz inic vel

1. After *pipiltzin*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: "*Inic ximoquaxo inic mocuiuilia qi yc no yuz in omoteo in tlacatilli, qui ic*"—"They were reared and brought up just as both been told in the [previous] on birth."

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

nemja qujcuitlaujltia in tlamaceoalizztli, in ioaltica ia acoiatlalilizztli içaçocampa acoiatlalizziuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali qujcalaquja, inmac concaca in tiachcaoan, qujcujdaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianolizztli, in jaquich tlamantli tlamaçeoalizztli mochicoaia.

565 868 701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

Auh in jconac ic cactolziuhtia iconac moiaomanaxtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl injc quiça iauc, in ichoantia tequjoaque achtopa qujnnotza qujntlaqualtia. qujmatlitia, ioan qujntlauhtia in jxqujchtin tequjoaque, in qujnmaca açe quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman qujtlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ic no iuhquj in ompjo tlacpac injc qujntlatlauhtia.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[2] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

Auh njman ic qujhujca, in iauc: vel qujmocujtlaujiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel qujmachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautica, in iuh mochimaltopeua mjtl. Auh in jonac ic mochiua iauiotl, in ic necaliua, anoce ic tlamalo, uel conjztitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlamaz: açe njmã tepallama, anoço njman vel ic caçi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochiua.

[202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.[3]

Auh in ic tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiquiça in tequjnque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in qujoalnonotztiuetzi motecuçuma:

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[4] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepanecs, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Matlatzincas,

auh in oacico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma qujlhuja. Totecujoe notelpotzine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujtzilobuchtli, ca otepan qujtopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca ciua in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatitiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepanecatl, in aculhua, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie inipfch tlalhuacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. Vel le oui: the Real Academia de la Historia MS has ce lac la.
3. Tlachcauitilloque: Simeon, op. cit.—tlachcauitilloque.

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and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only feel me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatelulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiauhque, oanqujhjoaqque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jnehtica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmencaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oquicaquitique moteçuma quintlatlatia quinpopoloa.

727

Auh in vmpa iuac in iquac ołamaloc, in ic ihoqui in oia in oanpeliuh, alteptl, njman ic motempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitli, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omochiuh.

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701]

Jchoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj ichoantin in tetequjoaque, in quicalnoocoza moteçuçuma, in ic uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in quicalinquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

auh in quimelauiliaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhuique in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequintin motequjocaxinia anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn quicaquja in moteçuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh quinjquac quinequjztiaiç in quicaltzaquaiç in tequipan titlanti quimõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

Auh intla oalmjtoa iauiotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamaxque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel quinmaujztilia in moteçuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmõtenitique in oconinjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in quipachoa alteptl, auh quinjquac intlan quintlalia: ytlan tlaqua in moteçuçuma

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4. *Chimalpanecatl:* Sahagún's exemplar on fol. 52 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y he de la cierva esta, que era los antecesor de los chimapan."

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[643]
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He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[6] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two tzyzpial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships; possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

in quinmaca coztic teçacatl, anoço coztic tencololli, anoço xoxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xoxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtenteti, anoço tlanjtenteti: ninan ic quetzallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeciocio, anoço çaquan tlalpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, ichoatl in tlatocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticatetecomaio, anoço itzmixicakoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzizolíuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quexquich tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquaçalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in tzitzeko, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotoieoatl, anoçe tzizeoatl in ie uel ixquich tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan quinmaca calpixcantli, aço oöccan, anoço eexcan in quinmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

643

And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Tlillancalqui tecutli.[7]

Auh intla mjquiz tlatoanj: ichoantin ceme analoia, injc ichoantin quipachoaque altepetl. Auh çan no ichoantin, cequintin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in quitzõtecticate mjquiztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociauacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

5. *Tlacochcalcatl*: Seler, op. cit., p. 332, has *tlacochcalcatl*.
6. After *yoan tlaçomaxtlatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quexquimatlatl—Kakilkipilo-kaxkaxtli*, according to Seler, op. cit., p. 332.
7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* has included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in iuhquijma tlamamatlatl injc tlecoia in jxquichica tecutlato muchioa. 302 855

Auh izcatquj injc ontzinti, in imemjliz in tepuchtontli, in iacachtó çan oc moquateçonoa in oc paltontli: auh in ie matlactiujtl icoac mocuexpaltia, auh in caxtolxiujtl, icoac cuexpalchicaçpul muchioa in ican tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço oteoncaioti, anoço oteecaioti, anoço otenauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica injc tepal tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc qujmoxexelhuja inmal chiquaceccā qujça. Injc ce vel ichoatl in tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: ichoatl in tomaiauhcāpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochoopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia ichoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzopaz. 727 858

Auh in in icoac mocuespallaça, inic motzima motzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcāpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalaci iiaca motema initzotzocul: in icoac y oc centetl quicui inixaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic itzoz ca otepallama omocuespallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlazin quilhuia. Nouiuhtze omitzmixamili in tonatiuh, i tlahecutli ocentetl ticcuic in motzaiac, auh ça otia, inuicpa xonmomaiani ma mitzuicacan in toiaztoā intla nen oc ceppa tepal xitlama tle tiez cuis timazotzocoltiz, ma nen ie no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomotla in toiauhoan. 603 [604] 861

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic ompa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quinocaiotia cuepalchiacopul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. This was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuepallaça amono mopotonia, inic tzoxima moquinocoltzina çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

Anti [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlaltiçpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuepallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quidalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce-in iztac in ichtilmatcon iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
386] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in ixxiac, auh in icanaoacan quiteoeauhuia in icalpiscaheoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl tochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeualtia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no ompa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei cacipan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quimachauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicilaquixia inuchican in telpochcali inic ompa tlacaoapaoa tlacaxcaltia ompa quimiscaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoinocaia in ioaltica in ompa cuicacali.

1. Following quitecuauhtzin, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has yeuan ompa quimpanoaia—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "una manta con unas listas labradas de color amarillo; y otra manta labrada de otras colores labradas de colorado que se llamaban cohuilquilli; y . . . un maçilo labrado de colorado, largo que colgaban hasta colgado, y otro maçilo labrado de muchos colores."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Ciuatecpanecatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[3] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[4] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally; and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[5] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[6] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic nauí caci ieh icoac quitequioacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compeoaltia in tequioacatocaitl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnauacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in isquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac conthalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquiztoque in ueuei tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociauacatl, tocuiltecatl, atenpanecatl, ieheantin quauhiaca i, tēçacaoaque cuitlamacochique quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. 701 [293]

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlisco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui tēçacatl ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan cuetlaxiacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh nō icoac maco in tilmatli chicoapalnacazminqui, ioan cuetlascilmatli. [431] [293] 301

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlisco anoco vexotzinco ie ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in coztic tēçacatl iiomesti quititlani in xoxouhqui tēçacatl. [293 301

fin

3. *Texoli*: "Hace valer así Moctezuma [Ulmecas, Uixtecas, Mixtecas] *como hacía el valeroso del sol, y Moctezuma también valiente, porque hablan bagos bárbaros*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *chilpilloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be read *anoço*.

6. *Quititlani*: a marginal gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS suggests that the term is translated *usar*. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text, and, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, *itlani*, *itlania*, *itlanilia*.

7. Following *cuestlapil*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *in cuezti*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no text material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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APPENDICES

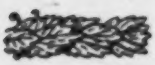

[p. 79]

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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoztlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yeceyoual yc tlamacrua. 346 793

Ca y ichoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli thilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecuiztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [793] [281] [276 415]

[534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoztlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitzticiztze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azteken im Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 338, says of the form tenoxi: "*Da er im Text diejenigen bezeichnet, die den Copalbeutel tragen, wird er sich um Priester handeln.*" The term *demonstrative* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*erklärend ist mit einer Schnur.*"

793
684 And if the ruler learned that a fire priest or [another] priest lived in concubinage, and had looked upon a woman, he then pronounced judgment upon him and proceeded to visit punishment upon him. He was despoiled of his goods; they were secreted in his house, [so that] nothing[3] was to be seen [of them]. Likewise judgment was pronounced upon a fire priest or [other] priest if he was drunk.

[689]

Auh yn tlatoani yntla quimachiliz, tlenamacac, tlamacazqui omomecati, oquitac çiuatl, niman quitlatzontequilia, quitzacuhtiuh, namoelo, tlatataco yn icha, atl neneçi. ça no yuh tlatzontequililoya yntla otlauan tlenamacac, tlamacazqui.

3. *Ahí*: probably *ahí* is meant.

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[3] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monestitiuitze mochintī quihcuistiuitze in inquatzō ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im macealti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzō y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz macealtin nimā ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

auh im pipiltī in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cēça tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

auh ỹ yeoatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpiaqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in ąpiezque. 727

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.

This passage originally, in the *Real Academia MS*, completed the section ending *tlatoani quinitlachaua mantlatlamaloni*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 thus appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-qtzi* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *tlatecatequilia*, and *cruelmente tequilia*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*iye uel y malauaca intecatecaca*—is "*in richtiger Weise die Zahl der Fürstenleute.*"

4. *Anca*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba, Méx.: [Impresos Mayo], 1940), p. 109; also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he danced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimã ye ic quimaca im moteccuiçoma in tlauiztli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech pouia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicnuaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapaloti. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuã quinchiuaya. Auh niman cõmaca ỹ yocotzonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in imal. uel ispã im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ỹ ye iuhqui in oçiencauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli tuihtouaya teooctli. inic quitq' acatecomatl ytlatempotonilli. in õya. niman ic coniaua in ompa tualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cõmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in õya. niman ic cõuiteq' im malli. auh no qualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moyehecultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman õmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca ommaquetztiteca niman ic conelteq' concuilia in iyollo conianilia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

Auh i ye iuhqui ommicouac. nimã ye ic mihtotia in tlauhuãnqz in otemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. in ipan mihtotia cecentetl in tzontecomatl intlan caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuãtin ypilhuã in omicqz. 796 727 793

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

auh i yeuatl malli nimã ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui]* in ieuayo. in isquichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in imeuayo. oncan moceriquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco. inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan mjuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl in ococquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti*; they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

oc uel youã im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani in quemmã ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh in tiacaua nimã ye ic no motecpana q'mismamictinomana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in motztimani. auh nimã ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa õuetzi in tototecti q'moncotonilia in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mocotoniliqz nimã ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa q'mõmana in innemanaya in itocayocã totectzontecontitlã. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl q'mõcaua. 796

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimã ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techã. uel nouian calaq̃ auh im maceualli ye iuhca ỹollo quinchie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallascalli. ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepancalaq' in ontlaçotlalo. 796 431 262

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. çã campa quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlacuã. in queheua cõmaca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl. aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc. tsomoztlae yui.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

796 And when they had come to [the end of] the twenty days, thereupon they went to Yopico. There they laid away their skins; then they cast them down in a cave, a very deep place, and there buried them.

auh in ouciqa cempoualilhuitl niimã ye ic ui i yopihco. ompa quitlalia in imeuayo nimaõ contepena oztoc uel huecatlã ompa contoca.

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shorn ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wheresoever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya cortic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. motecuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh ĩ mastlatl. 701 293 [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in càctli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tiltic. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momaniçcotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im motecuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [576]

Auh no yquac quimahcoua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yẽuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya moteccuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tlilpapatlanac chichiuee çoel nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya cactopaltẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacozcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaoteḋuaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. motecuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichisticate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in 701 721

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

701 721 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor, as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauã. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopouhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye istlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecta in oacito in õpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã ĩ yaoteca.

726 687 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no omettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya ĩ moteoçcoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahcetualmacaya.

701 431 643 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] remembered him, sought him out, and drew him from his home. And when he went before Moctezuma. thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts; he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full of maize grains; and he provided him with *chia*—he weighed out two large measures of *chia*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço õxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in õya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauizzli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço ontetl y ueytzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quĩ ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

701 726 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior], he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

Auh intla yquachicyo inĩla yotõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

Then were drawn forth and chosen the general and the commanding general. Then the man dexterous in arms attained his end; such honor he won that no one anywhere might be adorned [like him]; no one in his [own] house might assume all his finery. For in truth [because of] his dart and his shield there was drinking and eating, and one was arrayed in cape and breech clout. For verily in Mexico were we, and thus persisted the reign of Mexico.

oncan quiztiuia oncam pepenaloya. in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl mochiuaya. oncan y tlamiani in q̃uhyotl inic pãuechouaya inic ayac çan campa omochichiuaya. ayac çan icalitic. oquicuic in isquich ynechichiual. ca nel mitl ca chimalli in oyuac in oqualoc. auh in oquemouac in tilmahtli im mastlatl. ca nel mexico in ticate ca ic mani i mexicayotl. 701

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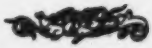

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

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Book 12 – The Conquest of Mexico

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

Arthur J. O. Anderson
School of American Research

Charles E. Dibble
University of Utah

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART XIII

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To

Msgr. Angel María Garibay K. and Byron McAfee, who helped us in translating the text, and Don Rafael García Granados and Lic. Jorge Gurría Lacroix, who helped us in matters of historical accuracy,

we affectionately dedicate this book

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VALLEY OF MEXICO

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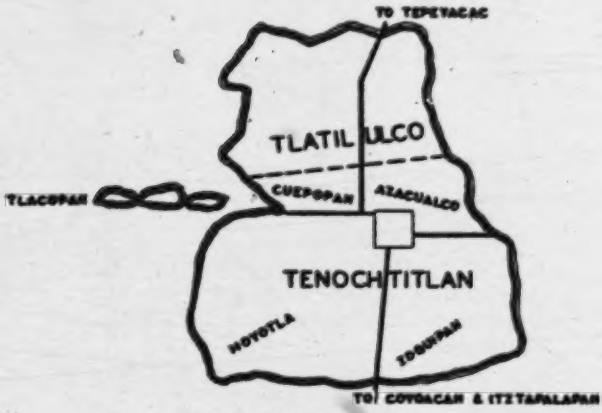

Chart showing two-fold division of the island and four-fold division of Tenochtitlan

KEY TO MAP OF TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

1. Palace of Moctezuma
2. Tonacalco
3. Quauhquiauac
4. Tequanitlaco
5. Atzal yacapan
6. Tonacaxac
7. Temple of Uitzilopochli
8. Palace of Moctezuma the Elder
9. Tamayac
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20. Tlaloca acolnacac
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22. Papaloan
23. Cuepalan
24. Nonoalco
25. Iluacac
26. Ayauhcalchiuac
27. Yaoiacac
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30. Atzacualoyan
31. Coyonacazco and Amaxac
32. Cuauhtecuauayac
33. Ayacac
34. Acilcuilpan
35. Tomaco
36. Quauxomulco
37. Apanecac
38. Tlamahuac
39. Tecuecuepanco and Atzacualoyan
40. Xochicalco and Quauhquechollan
41. Yacacolco
42. Tlilluacac and Atzacapan
43. Calhuacacoac
44. Xocoyahuac or Cihuacapan
45. Tecuechilcuauayac
46. Atzacualco
47. Tecuacpalco

(After Orozco y Berra, with modifications suggested mainly by reference to Alfonso Caso, *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatilulco*. The locations of many of the places are problematical.)

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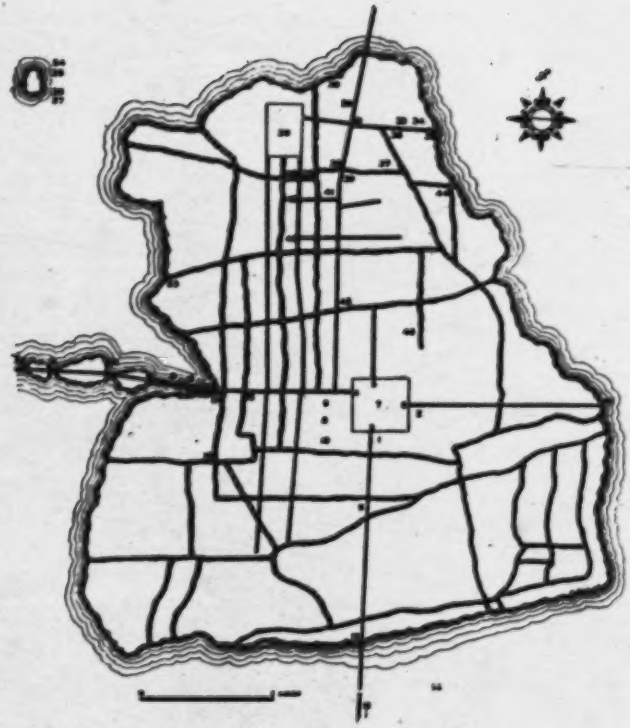

TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

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BOOK TWELVE--THE CONQUEST

EL DOZENO LIBRO
tracta de como los es
pañoles conquis
taron a la ciu
dad de Me
xico.

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De la Conquista Mexicana

TWELFTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH HOW WAR WAS WAGED HERE IN THE CITY OF MEXICO.[1]

INJC MATLACTETL OMUME AMOXTLI, ITECHPA TLATOA IN QUENJN MUCHIUH IAUIOTL IN NJCAN IPAN ALTEPETL MEXICO.

787 **First Chapter.** Here are told the signs which appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come here to this land, when they were not yet known to the natives here.[2]

When the Spaniards had not arrived, by ten years,[3] an omen first appeared in the heavens. It was like a tongue of fire, like a flame, as if showering the light of the dawn. It looked as if it were piercing the heavens. [It was] wide at the base and pointed [at the head]. To the very midst of the sky, to the very heart of the heavens it extended; to the very midpoint of the skies stood stretched that which was seen off to the east. When it arose and thus came forth, when it appeared at midnight, it looked as if day had dawned. When day broke, later, the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a full year [the sign] came forth. (It was [in the year] Twelve House that it began.) And when it appeared, there was shouting; all cried out striking the palm of the hand against the mouth. All were frightened and waited with dread.

Injc ce capitulo vncẽ mjtoa in nez, in mortac in machiotl yoã in tetzavitl, in aiamo valhuj españoles, in njcan tlalli ipan in aiamo no iximachoa in njcẽ chaneque.

In aiamo vallaci españoles, oc matlaczivitl, centlamãtli tetzavitl achto nez, ilhujcatitech iuhquj in tlemjiaostl, iuhquj in tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlavizcalli, pipixauhticaca injc necia, iuhq'n ilhujcatl quiçoticac: tzimpatlaoac, quapitzaoac: vel inepantla in ilhujcatl; vel yiollo in aciticac ilhujcatl, vel ilhujcaiollotitech aciticac, in iuh itioia vmpa tlapcopa: in oalmoquetzaia, oiuh onquiz ioalnepantla in necia tlatviliaia, ipan tlatvia, q'n ichoatl quiçoalpoloaia in tonatiuh, in jquac oalquiçaia: vel oc zivitl in oalmoquetzaia (ipan matlactli omume calli in peuh). Auh in jquac necia tlacaoacaia, netenvitecoia, neiçavilaia, tlatemmachoia.

1. Book XII, as well as the other eleven, Sahagún says, was written in Tlatelolco. See Carlos Ma. de Bustamante (ed.): *La aparición de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de México, comprobada con la refutación del argumento negativo que presenta D. Juan Bautista Muñoz, fundándose en el testimonio del P. Fr. Bernardino Sahagún* (México: Ignacio Cumplido, 1840). The Tlatelolcan point of view is especially evident in this account. Cf. esp. p. 1. For a full history of the writing of the *Historia general*, however, see Wigberto Jiménez Moreno: *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún y su obra* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), and Angel María Garibay: *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1954), passim, and II, pp. 246 sqq.

The translators regard this history of the Conquest as an Aztec account. Hence there is no attempt to compare it with histories by contemporary Spanish authors, or with other sources, except to clarify the Nahuatl text. The student of the history of the Conquest will find such sources as Cortés' letters, Bernal Díaz, Cervantes de Salazar, Aguilar, and others, necessary for the complete narrative.

2. See also Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book VIII — Kings and Lords (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1954), Chapter VI.

3. Two years, in Bustamante, op. cit., p. 9. Edward Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun über Astronomie, Astrologie und Kalender* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Walter Lehmann, und Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwarzlose, 1927), p. 483, n. 1, under *D. h. zwei Jahre vor der Ankunft der Spanier* (sic; Bustamante *A.D. 1517*) *Die Angabe ebenso, dass diese Lichterscheinung zwei Jahre vor der Ankunft der Spanier gesehen worden sei, stimmt also nicht zu der Angabe hier.*

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacatecca. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

Injc vnetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monomavi in tlatlac, cuetlan, aiac ma qujtecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: mjtoaia, itcioc itocaiocan Tlacatecca: in nex ic tlatla in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalquijca in tlemjiaoatl; in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca conpalo in ixquijch calquavitl: njman ic ic tlacaoaca, qujtoa. Mexicae ma vallatotoca, tla cevilos, amaapilol: auh in jquac caatelijujaia, in qujcevizneçuja, çan ic illujce moçitza, aocmo vel ceuh, vel tlatlac.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

Injc etetl tetzavitl: vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzõmulco: itcupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachqujavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caqujztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

Injc nauhtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietsietia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaçujampa; auh vmpa itztia in jquiçaianpa, iuhquj in tlesuchtli pipixaubtiuh, veca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca acitiuh in jcujtlapil: auh in oittoc oẽca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oiovalli ẽnoman.

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl qujpoçonalti, iuhqujn momomoloca, iuhqujn xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetz: auh in calli tzitzintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixitin in calli: iehoatl in vei ãtl totlan manj njcan mexico.

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa cioatl caoaia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi; qujtotinemj. Nonopilhoantitztin, ie ic çan ie tonvi: in

4. Probably Itepeyoc is meant for *Iniac*. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also *Memoriale en 3 columnas*, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún — Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 161.

5. Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* has this in a similar passage. In the *Real Palacio* MS it reads: *yuhc ꝟ ualquiça.*

6. *Ce* *pan* appears in *loc. cit.*

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 18, n. 5.

8. In the *Real Palacio* MS, this passage reads: *"auh ꝟ calli xiuitinoloa ynpic ꝟ auh ynꝟ ꝟpapachiuh ynpol xixitin."*

9. In *loc. cit.*, manj is followed by *"ꝟ auh yuic ocoonnp yuic ocoonnd ꝟ ca ynpa ya ꝟ ynpa ouaxiu ꝟ ony ꝟqiça."*

beloved sons, now we are about to go!"[10] Sometimes she said: "O my beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

A seventh omen: at one time the fisher folk who hunted or snared with nets took captive an ashen hued bird like a crane. Then they went to show it to Moctezuma, [who was] in the Tillan calmecatl.[11] It was past noon, and still daytime. On its head was as it were a mirror, round, circular, and as if pierced in the middle,[12] where were to be seen the heavens, the stars—the Fire Drill [constellation]. And Moctezuma took it as an omen of great evil when he saw the stars and the Fire Drill. And when he looked at the bird's head a second time, a little beyond[13] [the stars] he saw people who came as though massed, who came as conquerors, girt in war array. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the soothsayers and the sages.[14] He said to them: "Do you not know what I have seen there, which was as if people came massed?" And when they would answer him, that which they looked at vanished. They could tell [him] nothing more.[15]

An eighth omen: often were discovered men of monstrous form, having two heads [but] only one body. They took them there to the Tillan calmecatl, where Moctezuma beheld them; but when he looked at them, they then vanished.

quenmanjan qujtoa. Nonopilhoantzitzin, campa namechnoviqujliz. 787

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzavitl: ceppa tlatlamaia, manoçô tlamatlaviaia in atlaca; centetl cacique tototl nextic, iuhqujn tocujlcoiotl: njmã qujttitito in Motecuçoma, tlillan, calmecac: onnmotzcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca, iuhq'n tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, tevilacachtic, iuhqujn xapotticac: vmpa onnecia in ilhujcatl, in cicitlaltin, in mamalhoaztli. Auh in motecuçoma, cenca qujmotetzavi in jquac qujmjttac cicitlaltin, yoã mamalhoaztli. Auh injc vppa ontlachix in jcpac tototl, enc qujttac, iuhquj on in ma acame, moquequetztivitze, tepeuhtivitze, moisochichuhtivitze, qujnmama mamaça. Auh njman qũjnotz in tlaciuhque, in tlamatinjme: qujmjlhuj: Amo anqujmati in tlein onocoanjttac, iuhqujn acame moquequetztivitze: auh ie qujnanqujlizquja, in conjttaque, opoliuh, aoc tle qujtoque. 723

Injc chicuetetl tetzavitl: mjecpa motenextiliaia, tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, çan çe in intlac, vmpa qujmõvicaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa qujmjttaia in motecuçoma, in oqujmjttac njmã polivia. 732

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10. Cf. *loc. cit.*, where *gô yoã tini* appears.

11. In Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 10, this is explained: "*In Moctezuma á presencia de Moctezuma, el cual por entonces estaba en unos palacios que se llamaban Tillancalmecatl (quiere decir, palacios negros de negro) y parece que como tenia otros palacios para diversos, llamaban á aquellos, este Tillancalmecatl tenia para recrearse en el tiempo de adversidad y pristeza.*"

12. A *chichiltzi* (instrument for sewing), emblem of Tezcatlipoca and the fire god (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 4).

13. In the *Real Palacio* MS, a similar phrase is written: "*Iuc q'mitlar, yqlq'n acame ocquequeztivitze.*" On *ocquequeztivitze*, see Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885) — *quequeztia*. In corresponding Spanish passages, Sahagún translates as "*muchedumbre de gente junta*" or "*mucha gente junta*."

14. *Tlamatinque*: see Angel María Garibay K.: "Pseudónimos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171. *Amatlque* is favored as translation: "*Los sabios*, *personas dotadas grandemente maravillosas.*"

15. In the *Real Palacio* MS, following equivalent, we read: "*ioc ie ual q'mjqõ. ie ceppa q'mitlaui ij tlacatlaque in domatinime, ie yuan ueuel quitlaqui ueue ual yuhcaui yn quenmanjan.*" (In the original, the *chiuhcuitlac* for *-que* resembles *-qui*; hence it is thus reproduced here.)

[p. 4 is blank]

648 **Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.**

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniacatl. The fourth was Cuitlālpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They
[643 proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in
29a disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone—his very own.

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn
643] the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if]
576] kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Injc vme capítulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh qujtoa ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oittoque, in aquijque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acaltica ic onotinemj. Niman inoma ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixquj, q'nvicac oc cequjntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Jaotzin. Injc ei, Teuciniocan calpixquj: itoca Teuciniacatl. Injc navi ichoatl in cujtdalpitoc çan tetlan nènquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

çan oc ichoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan iuhqujnma qujntlanamaquiltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnmacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineiacavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in iaque injc qujmjttato, injc iuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiqujztlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjqujti, injc vel melaoac qujmocaqujtiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

njman ic ic vi in atl itic ommacalaqujque, ommatoctique, qujntlanelhujque atlaca.

Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imjxpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

qujnoalnotzq̃ in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "criado de otro dexar calpixque."

2. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Obras históricas relación de la venida de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 5, translates Tentlil, or Tzoltelile, *gobernador de Moctheuzoma, que era de Cuauhtlan, o Cuauhtlan*," who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

3. *Amoxcac* (you live): possibly *ximoxac* (we live) is intended.

4. Motecuçomatzin: reverential form of well-known Nahuatl name is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II—*The Conquest*, p. 182. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 457, translates the phrase thus: "*were the Indians were on Knees.*"

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 Therefore they offered them all the various things
643 which they bore with them; costly capes such as
292 those which here are named: [the mantle] with the
648 sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

500 And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tioallaque.

Qujnoalnanqujlique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujmo[illegible]jlhujque. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic qujnmaca in jzqujtlamantli qujtqujque tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, ichoatl in, in njcã moteneoa. Toeatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Texcapocio:

in jzqujtlamãtli in in qujmõmacaque, qujnoalcuepcaiotilique, qujnoalmacaque coxcatl, xoxoctic, coztic: iuhqujnma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oqujttaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan qujnoalnaoatiqua: qujnoalilhujque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazã tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoaeca quiçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, cecicoal in oalnenenque, injc qujnonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jveliaca qujlhujco, qujcaqujtico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oqujcujto.

Auh njman ie ic qujnonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca incatquj otiquittaque, izcatquj oticchiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl izco. Ca otiquijmjttato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jzqujch motilmatzin otiquijnmacato: auh incatquj techmacaque intlatquitzi. Qujtoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, incatquj anquijmacasque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techxitmatis:

6. Spanish text: *los españoles dieron a los indios cuentas de cuisis, esmeraldas y otras semejantes.* This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "no se dia, y se esse noche."

8. Bolaz, op. cit., p. 438, has *fuel iuan*, translated "first of all."

So they told him all that [the Spaniards] had said to them in the midst of the water.

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have suffered fatigue; you have become exhausted. Rest. I have seen [all this] privily. No one shall speak anything [of this]; no one shall let a word [of this] fall; no one will say a word he should not; no one will spread news [of this]. Ye [shall keep it] only to yourselves."

mach iuh quijhujque, in juh quimjlhujque atl itic.

Auh in Motecçuma quimjlhuj, oanquihiovique, oanquicinuhque: ximocevicã, ca onontlachix in topco, petlacalco: aiac tle quixoa, aiac tle contenquixtia, aiac tle conchiconja, aiac tle concamacaoaz, aiac quitenemm, çan amjtic.

[p. 8 is blank]

000 Third Chapter, where is told what Moctezuma commanded when he heard the account of those who saw the boat which first came.

Injc ei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma in jquac oquijcac intlatol, in ichoantin in quittaque acalli in achto valla.

Moctezuma thereupon commanded [Pinotl] of Cuetlaxtlan and the others, and said unto them: "Ye shall order that guard be kept everywhere on the shores [at the places] thus named: Nauhtlan, Tuxtlan, and Mictlanquauhtla — wheresoever [the strangers] would come to land."

Then the stewards departed. They gave the command that watch be kept.

In motecuçoma, njman ic ic q'nnaoatia in Cuetlaxtecatl, yoan in jaquijntin: quimjlhuj. Xitlanaoticã, ma tlapielo, in noviã atenco; injc mjtoa. Nauhtlan Tuxtlan, mjctlan quauhtla: in campa ie quiçaquivi:

njmã ic iaque in calpixque, tlanaoatique injc tlapieloia.

644 And Moctezuma assembled his lords: the ruler's vicar Tlilpotonqui, the commanding general Quappiaztzin, the army commander Quetzalaztatzin, and the uitznauatlailotlac Ecatenpatiltzin.[1] He acquainted them with the news and he showed and discovered to them the necklaces which [the messengers] had brought him.

Auh in motecuçoma: quinocentlali in jtecuioan, Cioacoatl, Tlilpotonquj, Tlacochcalcatl, Quappiaztzin, Ticociaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Vitznaoatlailotlac, hecatenpatiltzin: quincaquiti in tlatolli, yoan quimjttiti, quimjxpanti in quioalcujque coxcatl:

He said to them: "We have marveled at [this] fine, blue turquoise. It shall be well guarded. The keepers will protect it well. If they lose one [piece, their houses will be] our houses; [their children,] our children; [their women with child,] our women with child."[2]

quimjlhuj. Ca oticmaviçoque in matlalteuxivitl, vel mopiaz, in tlatlatique vel quipiazque: intla centetl quichitoniaque tocacal, topipilhoan, titeheoan.

000 And then the year made its round. When [the year] Thirteen Rabbit met [One Reed], when already it was about to end, at the time of the closing of [Thirteen][3] Rabbit, then [the Spaniards] came to arrive. Then once again were they seen.[4]

Auh njman ie mocuepa in xivitl, ie imonamjcioc in matlactli omei tochtli: auh ie tlamjnequj, ie itzonquijzian in xivitl omei tochtli, in quiçaco, in ie no ceppa itoque.

TT3 [202] And then [the stewards] hastened to inform Moctezuma. When he learned of it, then speedily he dispatched messengers. For thus he thought, and it was so regarded, that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had arrived. For thus was it [held] in their hearts that indeed he would come — that he would come to land on and visit his domain.[5] For

Auh njman quinonotztivetzico in Motecuçoma, in oquijcac, njman iciuhca tlaioa, in iuh quima, in iuh moma, ca ichoatl in topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in oquiçaco: ca iuh catca iniollo in çan oallaz, in çan quiçaquiuh, quioalmatiz in jpetl, in jcpal: ipampa ca vmiztia, in jquac ia. Auh in quimjoa macujltin, in quinamjquivi, in quitlamamacativi: in teiacantia

1. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), II, p. 330; also James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), Vol. I, p. 56. For some idea, like vitznauatlailotlac, a satisfactory English equivalent is difficult to suggest.

2. Cf. Soler, op. cit., p. 488; also corresponding Spanish text: "*pagarle en los que tienen cargo de guardar la tesorera.*"

3. Bolero error, in the Aztec text, probably centtetl should be read.

4. Arrival of Cortés in 1519.

5. In Angel Maria Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba: [Impresos Mejía], 1949), p. 188, the passage "*Ca yuh catca in iyollo in xan huallaz, in xan quiçaquiuh quitlamamacatia in ipetl in icpal*" is thus translated: "*Así fue su determinación, que habría de venir, habría de regresar, habría de tocar o en tierra y estrada.*"

773 verily he traveled there [to the east] when he went.
And [Moctezuma] sent five to go to receive him and
648 to offer him gifts. The leader was Teuoa [such
565 was] his lordly name; his name as a nobleman was
Yoalli ichan. The second was [the steward of] To-
postlan; the third, of Tiçatlan; the fourth, of Ueue-
tlan; the fifth, of Ueicamecatlan.[6]

Teuoa, in jtecutoca, in jpiltoca Joalli ichan. Injc vme Tepuztecatl. Injc ei, tiçaoa. Inic navi vevetecatl. Injc macujlli Veicamecatl heca.

6. Cf. Bibl., loc. cit., where these two gloss as one from seven. Tlaxomulco here is transposed to Ueicamecatlan.

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Injc nauj capitulo: vncan mijtoa in tlein ic tlaonaoati Motecuçoma, in oquijma in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, ichoatl in don hernando Cortes. 000

Qujmjlhuj tla xicalhujan moceloqujchtle, tla xicalhujan qujl-iequene oqujçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjqujti, vel xitlacaqujcan, vel xinacaçocan, tlein qujtoz, vel nacaztli in anqujoalcujzque: izcatquj ic itech amacizque in totecujo,

ichoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: coaxaiacatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapanecaiotl, chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlacomalli, yoan centetl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj, quetzaltençouhquj, yoã quetzalpanio; yoan tezcacujtlapilli quetzallo: anh inin tezcacujtlapilli, iuhqujn xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçalolli, yoan chalchiuhcuecuextli, teucujtlacoiollotoc: njman ic ichoatl xioatlatl, çan motequjtica xivitl, iuhqujn coatzontecometica, coatzontecome, yoan itzcactli.

776
301
431
[416]

1. *Tlacatecatl: dancatl is probably meant.*

2. *Seler, op. cit., p. 461, n. 1, says: "In Wahrheit ist dies der Tracht Xiuhtecutlis."*

3. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), II, p. 413, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: *una mascara labrada de mosaico de turquesas verdes esta mascara labrada de las mejores piedras esta celebra doblada y retorcida cayo dubiar era el pico de la nariz y la retorcida yua hasta la frente era como lomo de la nariz luego se dirijia la cola de la cabeça y la cabeça era parte del cuerpo yua por sobre el en ojo de manera que hasta ceja y la cola era parte del cuerpo yua por sobre el otro ojo y hasta otra ceja."*

4. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Estaua esta mascara encerrada en una corona alta y grande llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de manera que pendiendo la corona sobre la cabeça se pasaja la mascara en la cara."*

5. Cf. *Codex Vaticanus.* The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Tenenia por joyel una medalla de oro redonda y ancha estaua asida con nuesos cordeles de piedras preciosas que cubrian los hombros y todo el pecho."*

6. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Tenenia tambien una rodela grande bordada de piedras preciosas con unos rondas de oro que llegauan de orilla abajo por toda ella; y otros rondas de perlas atrauesadas sobre las de oro de orilla abajo por toda ella y los espinales que hacia entre rondas los quales eran como redias de red yuan puestos unos capiles de oro tenja esta rodela unos rapaujos en la haste yua asida en la rodela unos rondaros que salia dentro la manejja de la rodela hecha de plumas ricas."*

7. *Ibid.: "una medalla grande hecha de obra de mosaico que la llenaua atada y cetijda sobre las lomas."*

8. *Ibid.: "un cuero como cuero de chiapo todo labrado de obra de mosaico de turquesas y la boeba de orilla era una cabeça de una culebra colorada o amarilla."*

-11-

431 The second [gift] which they went offering him
776 was the array of Tezcatlipoca — the headpiece of
292 feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell
301 earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the
breast ornament decorated and fringed with small
shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order
[416] to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlatoca cicitlallo, yoan iecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan concatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaisoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centeti tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan:
[237] the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green
[416] stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalartatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tzitzile; tenchilnaoscaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzal-
[237] coatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[½] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, cozoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcololli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

9. *Ibid.*: "*unos cabellos hechos de plumas ricas que colgaban por la parte donde hacen cerca de la cintura unos arabescos todo de cascillas de oro.*"

10. *Ibid.*: "*unos orejeras de oro que llamaban colgadas unos caracolillos de oro y sartales de caracolillos marinos blancos y horadados donde sartaban colgaban un cuero que era como paño y llamaban cotaqui [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaban este pecho muchos caracolillos arrebatados y colgados por todo el.*"

11. *Ibid.*: "*un cuero de tela blanca pintada la orilla de chaces donde venia con bordada con plumas blancas era lleno por todo el rededor.*"

12. *Ibid.*: "*una manta rica la tela della era un aquel claro y toda labrada arabescos de muchos labores de un aquel muy fino llamaban esta manta tizitilli esta manta se ponia por la cintura atada por las espaldas el cuerpo.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*una medalla de mesquite, atado al cuerpo sobre las lomas.*"

14. *Ibid.*: "*unos orejeras de chalchiuijl, arriba que venia dellos unos calabrinos de chalchiujes.*"

15. *Tzitzilli* is probably meant in the Aztec colours.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *una mujera de cuero de tigre, y colaquqaqui [sic] de la mujera, sobre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuerno, llamaban la mujera un chalchiujil grande, y redondo, en la punta.*"

17. *Ibid.*: "*de mesquite de turquesas.*"

12
½ [There is no known genus of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Analyst]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoã hecxxonecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchiuitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipoçoicac. 431 776 301 292

Oca inquijtlamãtli in, in motenteoa teutlatquijtl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in quijtquijque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli tontlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Niman ie ic flatanatemalo, tlacacxxchichiualo. Auh in omotenehuhque macujltin; njman ie ic quinnaoatia in Motecuçoma: quijmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiquijlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: iztatquj mjtzalmomaqujlia, ca omaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico: 431 480 202

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan oncaq acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, ommatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compechoque in jmacal. 505

njmã quinoalilhujque. Ac ameman? campa anoallaque? njman iuh quinnanquijlique. Ca vmpa tieallaque in México: 648

oc ceppa quinoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anquijpiqui, aço çã toca anmocacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic quioaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic quinoaltilinjque: njman no quicalquetzque ocaoatli.

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18. *Ibid.*: "*la qual rodela estaua bordada con plumas ricas en la haza de la rodella [sic] salia vna manda de plumas ricas.*"

19. *Ibid.*: "*un bastón labrado de esmeraldas y en la bastón de arriba pusieron unas plumas ricas o pedas resplandecientes en la alto de arriba.*"

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Mexico, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "*una cofia de oro hecha a manera de corona mariana al cual respondian de plumas ricas que colgauan hasta las espaldas.*"

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*una cofia Rana.*"

[p. 14 is blank]

648 **Fifth Chapter.** Here is related what came to pass when the messengers of Moctezuma went aboard the boat of Don Hernando Cortés.

Thereupon they climbed up. They bore in their [576] arms the array [of the gods]. When they had proceeded to go up into the boat, each in his turn disposed himself to kiss the earth before the Captain. Having done so, they besought and said unto him:

"Let the god deign to hear: for his vassal, Moctezuma, who guardeth over Mexico for him, prayeth to him. For [so] he speaketh: 'The god hath suffered, he is weary [from travel].'"

Upon this, they adorned the Captain himself; they put on him the turquoise mosaic serpent mask; with it went the quetzal feather head fan; and with it went — in it they had set and with it went hanging — the green stone ear plugs in the form of serpents. And they clad him in the sleeveless jacket; they put the sleeveless jacket upon him. And they put the necklace upon him: the plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which lay the golden disc. With this they bound, on the small of his back, the mirror for the small of the back. Also with it they laid upon his back the cape named *tzitzilli*. And about [the calf of] his leg they placed the green stone band with the golden shells.[1] And they gave him, and placed upon his arm,[2] the shield with lines of gold and shells crossing, on whose [lower] rim went spread quetzal feathers and a quetzal feather flag. And before him they set the obsidian sandals.

And the other three sets of adornment, the array of the gods, they only laid in rows and placed in order before him.

And when this had been done, the Captain said to them: "Are these perchance all your gifts, your greetings?"

They answered: "This is all with which we came, O our lord."

Then the Captain commanded that they be bound. They fastened irons about their ankles and necks.

1. Described earlier as a white ornament.
2. The left arm, in the corresponding Spanish text.

Inje macujlli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein muchiuh, in jquac ititlanoan motecuçoma in vmpa callacque in jacalco don hernando Cortes.

Niman ie ic tleco, qujnanapalotivi in tlatqujtl: in otlecoto acalco cecenisca ontlalquatimanj yixpan in capitan: Niman ie ic contlatlauhtia: qujlhujque:

Ma qujmocaquijti in teutl: ca qujoalmotlatlauhtilia in jtechiuhcauh Motecuçoma in cõmotlapielilia mexico; ca conjtoa. Oquimjhiovilti, oquimociavilti in teutl:

njman ie ic qujchichioa in capitan vel iehoatl conaqujque in xiuhcoaxaiacatl, itech ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan itech icietiuh, itech aactiuh, itech pipilcatiuh chalchiuhcoanacochtli: yoan conaqujque xicolli, conxicoltique, yoan concoacatiqui: in chalchiuhcoacapetlatl nepantla mantiuh in teucujtlacomalli, ic conxillancujtlalpique in tezcacujtlapilli, no ic contzinapanque in tilmatli in jtoca tzitzilli, yoan icxic contlalilique in chalchiuhcuecuentli teucujtlacoiollo: yoan conmacaque imac cõmanjlique chimalli teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj, yoan epnepanjuhcaio, quetzaltençouhtiuh quetzalpaniotiuh: yoan ixpã contemjlique itzcactli.

Auh in oc etlamantli nechichioalli, teutlatqujtl, çan ixpan contepãque, convipanque:

auh in ie iuhquj, qujmjlhuj in capitã Cujx ie ixquich in, in amoteinamjquja, in amotetechacia?

qujnnanqujlique ca ie ixquich injc tioallatiaque totecue.

Niman tlanaasti in capitan injc ilpiloque, tepoztli imjcxic qujntlalilique, yoan inquechtlan: in ie iuh-

648 This done, then they shot the great lombard gun. And the messengers then, verily, fainted and swooned. One by one, they fell to the deck; swaying, they went down, and knew no more. And the Spaniards lifted and raised them up so that they sat, and made them drink wine. Thereupon they served them food and made them eat, that they might catch their breath and revive.

And when this had come to pass, then the Captain said to them: "Hearken: I have known and heard it said that these Mexicans are very strong, exceeding brave, and great victors. Supposedly, one Mexican can pursue, overpower, conquer, and rout even ten, even twenty of his foes. And now I would satisfy my doubts. I would behold and test how strong and powerful you are."

Then he gave them leather shields, and iron swords, and iron lances.

"And this, early in the morning, at dawn, will come to pass: we shall fight and join the fray among ourselves, and try our strength among ourselves, [to see] who will fall."

They answered the Captain and said to him: "Let the lord hear: his vassal Moctezuma hath not thus commanded us [to act]. We have come to do only this one thing—to greet and salute [our lord]. It is not our charge [to do] what the lord requireth. For if we do so, Moctezuma would therefor be wroth, and might destroy us for it."[3]

Then the Captain said: "Nay, for it must be [as I say]. I wish to see and marvel [at your prowess]. For this is known in Castile; it is told that you are very powerful and valiant. Early in the morning shall ye eat. I also shall eat. [Then] verily shall you gird yourselves [for combat]."

quj njman ic qujtlazque in tomacac tlequjqujzzli: auh in titlanti in jquac in vel iolmjcque, yoan çoçotlaoaque, vehuetzque, nenecujliuhtivetzque, aocmo qujmatque: auh in españoles qujmeruhq qujmeeoatitlalique, qujmonjitique vino: njmã ic ic qujntlamaca, qujntlaquaitique, ic imjhio qujcujque, ic oalihiocujque:

auh in ic iuhquj in, njman qujmjlhuj in capitan. Tla xiccaqujcan, onjcma, onjccac, qujlmach in ieboantin mexica cenca chicaoaque, cenca tiacaoan, cenca maiavinj, intla ce mexicatl vel qujntocaz, vel qujntopeoaz, vel qujnpanaviz, vel qujnteputztiz in manel matlactin, in manel noço centecpantin in jiaovan. Auh in axcan noiollo pachiviznequj, namechittaznequj, namechiciecoznequj, in quenjn anchicaoaque, in quenjn antlapalivi:

njmã ic qujnoalmacac eoachimalli, yoan tepuzmacquavitl, yoã tepuztopilli:

auh inin vel oc iovatzinco, tla[illegible]calpan in muchioaz, in titomaiztlacozque, titoneneuhcavizque, tinevivican tlamatizque, ac ie tlanj vetziz:

qujnanqujlique in Capitan: qujlhujque. Tla qujmocaqujtin tlacatl, achcamo ic techmaoati in jtechiuhcauh in Motecuçoma; ca çan tiqujxcavico in tictociauhquechilico, in tictotlapalhujco, ca amo tonaoatil in qujmonequjltia tlacatl: auh intla iuh ticchioazque, cuix amo cenca ic qualaniz in Motecuçoma, amo ic techtlatlatiz.

Niman qujto in capitan ca amo ca ça mochioaz njqujttaznequj, njcmaviçoznequj ca in omachiztiio in castillan qujl cenca anchicaoaque, antiiacaoan, ma oc veca ioac in xitlaquacan, oc no ioan in njtlaquaz, ma vel xinochichioacã.

3. Cf. Godoy, op. cit., p. 98; see also p. 100 (use of male sense).

Sixth Chapter. Here is told how the messengers of Moctezuma returned here to Mexico and came to relate to Moctezuma that which they had seen.

Thereupon [Cortés] dismissed them, and let them descend to their boats. And when they had climbed down into the boats, they rowed with great force. Mightily did they ply their oars. Some paddled with their hands.

Plying with all their force, they came saying to one another: "O warriors, [use] all your strength! Row with haste, lest something here overtake us—lest something here befall us!"

Speedily they hastened to reach by water the place called Xicalanco; there they no more than quickly caught their breath, that once again they might with energy hasten on. Then they came to reach Tecpan tlayacac, whereupon they also hastened and hurried on, and soon came to reach Cuetlaxtlan. [From there] they likewise departed in haste, [having] in this place taken some rest.

And [those] of Cuetlaxtlan said to them: "Rest yet but a brief day; catch your breath!"

But they replied to them: "Nay, we may only go on suddly. We must give the news to the lord, the ruler Moctezuma. We must tell him what we have seen, which is terrifying—the like of which hath never been seen. Had you, perchance, already, ere now, heard of it?"

Then they speedily departed from there and soon came to reach Mexico. It was deep night when they went reaching [the city]; they came in here quite by night.

And when this was happening, [Moctezuma] could enjoy no sleep, no good. Never could one speak to him. That which he did [was] only as if it were in vain. Oftimes he sighed; he was spent, downcast. He felt delight in no savory morsel, joy, or pleasure.

Wherefore he said: "What will now become of us? Who, forsooth, standeth [in command]? Alas, until now, I. In great torment is my heart, as if run through with chili water, so that it burneth and

Inic chiquacen capítulo: vncã mjtoa, in quenjn ititlanoan Motecuçoma, oalmocuepque in njcan mexico quijlhujco in motecuçoma in quijtaque.

Niman ic ic quijncuah, qujnoalemovique in jnscalco: suh in ovalmoquc acalco, njman ic ic tequjtlaneloa, onictemj in tlaneloa, cequjntin matlaneloa.

centlaquauh oalmotlaloa, qujmolhujtivitac, tiacoane ixqujch amotlapal, xitequjtlaneloca, ma itla njcan taxti ma itla njcan topan muchiuh

iciuhca acitivetzico in atl itic in jtocaiocan xicalanco, çan tequjtl vncan oalhiocujtiqujzq̃, ic ic no ceppa centlaquauh oahoneca: njman acico in tecpan tlaiacac, njman ic no ic oalmocaltia, oalmotlaloa, acitivetzico in cuetlaxtlan, çan no oalqujztiqujzque, vncan ihiocujque.

Auh in cuetlaxtecatl qujmjlhuj ma oc cemjlhujtzintli zimoceviçi ma oc amjhio xiccujcan.

Auh qujlhujque, ca amo ca çan ticiuhtivi tictoonochilisque in tlacatl tlatoanj Motecuçoma, tictolhujlisque in tleia otiqujtaque, in cenca temamauhti, in aic iuhqej omottac, cajx ic cuel ic teachto, toconeçuje:

njman iciuhca oalpeuhque, acitivetzico in mexico, çan ioalica in acico, çan oalicalaque.

Auh in jquac in aequjzcuchiz, aequjtlaqual qujmatia, aoc ic qujlhujoia in çaço tleia qujchiuia, ça iuhqujn neztlamatia, iuhqujn achica elcicivi, mocizuhquetza, mocizuhqua, aoc tle velic, aoc tle tepac, aoc tle teavialti ipan qujmatia,

ipampa in qujmatia, tleia ic tapan muchiua, ac nel icac, ha ippa ochoatl, vel pamajqui in xoiolio, iuhqujoma chilitoqujlo, vel temoc chichimeca ezampa nel tonecac.

000 smareth. Where, in truth, [may we turn], O our lord?"

Then [the messengers] commanded those who watched; they said to those at the head of the guard: "Even though he sleepeth, tell him: 'Lo, they whom thou hast sent over the water have come!'"

And when they went to tell him, then he replied: "I shall not hear it here; I shall hear it in the Coa-
727 calli. There let them go." And he commanded and
782 said: "Let two captives be covered with chalk."
[202] And then the messengers went to the Coatalli,[1] and also the noble Moctezuma himself.

Thereupon, before them, were slain the captives; they slashed open their breasts; they sprinkled the messengers with their blood. For this reason did they so do: that they had traveled into very perilous places; that they had gone to see — had looked into the faces and at the heads of, and had verily spoken to — the gods.

Niman qujmõnaoatique in qujpia in jtzontlan tlapia qujmonjlhujque intla mocochitia xicmolhujlican ca ovallaque iñ tiqujnmotitlanj atl itic.

Auh in oconjlhujto: njman qujoalito. Amo njcan njccaqujz, vmpa njccaqujz in coacalco, ma vmpa vian, yoan oallanaoati: qujoalito: ma ontetiçavilo in mamalti.

Auh njman vmpa iaque in coacalco in titlanti: no ichoatl in motecuçomatzin,

njmã ie ic imjxpan mjcoa qujmeltetequj in mamalti, in jmezio ic qujmonatzelhujaia in titlanti (ipampa in juh qujchiuhque in, ca cenca ovican in ovia ca oquijmjttato, imjxco imjcpac otlachiato, vel oquinnotzque in teteu.

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 44.

Seventh Chapter, in which is related the account by which the messengers informed Moctezuma of the host which they had gone to see.

And after this, they then informed Moctezuma; they told him how they had gone in astonishment; and they showed him what their food was like.

And when he had heard how the messengers reported, he was exceeding fearful and terror-struck. And much did he marvel at their food.

Yet more was he frightened when he heard how [the shot] discharged, at [the Spaniards'] command, from the gun; how it resounded like thunder when it went off. Indeed, it overpowered one; it deafened our ears. And when it discharged, something like a round pellet came forth from within. Fire went scattered forth; sparks showered forth. And its smoke smelled very foul; it had a fetid odor which, verily, wounded the head. And when [the pellet] struck [a] mountain, [it was] as if it fell apart and crumbled. And when it struck a tree, it splintered, seeming to vanish as if someone blew it away.

All iron was their war array. They clothed themselves in iron. They covered their heads with iron. Iron were their swords. Iron were their crossbows. Iron were their shields. Iron were their lances.

And their deer, which bore them upon their backs, were as high as roof-tops.

And they covered all parts of their bodies. Alone to be seen were their faces — very white. They had eyes like chalk;[1] they had yellow hair, although the hair of some was black. Long were their beards, and also yellow; they were yellow-bearded. [The hair of the Negroes] was kinky and curly.

And their food was like lords' food[2] — very large, and white; not heavy like [tortillas, but] like the stalks of maize plants — as if of ground maize stalks; it tasted a little sweet, a little honeyed — it tasted honeyed,[3] it tasted sweet.

And their dogs were very large. They had ears doubled over; great, hanging jowls; blazing eyes —

Ic chicoace capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlatolli injc qujnonotzato in Motecuçoma, in titlanti in qujttato acalli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic qujnonotza in Motecuçoma iuh qujlhujque in juhquj oqujmaviçoto, yoan qujttitique in juhquj intlaqual.

Auh in oqujcac in juh tlanonotzque in titlanti cenca momauhti, mjçavi, yoan cenca qujmaviço in intlaqual:

oc cenca iehoatl in qujiolmjcti in oqujcac in quenjn vetzi in jonacatil in tlequjqujztli, iuhq'n tlatlatzinj ic caqujzti in jquac vetzi, vel teçotlauh, motzatzaqua in tonacaz. Auh in jquac vetzi iuhqujn teloloti oalquiça yitic, tlepipixauhtiuh, chichitocatiuh: auh in jpocio cenca hiiac, xoquijac, vel tetzonvitec: auh in quimotla tepetl iuhq'n xitinj, xixitica: auh in quavitl qujmotlatecentia, iuhqujn atetlachialti, iuhqujn aca conilpitza:

çan mochi tepuztli in iniuztlatqui, tepuztli in cõmaquja, tepuztli in conaqujja intzontecoa, tepuztli in intzequauh, tepuztli in intlavitol, tepuztli in inchimal, tepuztli in intqpil,

auh in qujnmatza in inmaçoua, iuhqujn tlapuztli ic quaquauhtique.

yoan novian qujnjlivi in innacaio, çanjo noci in intzniac, cenca istac, ixtetecentique, tzoncortique, vel cequj tlitic in intzon, viiac in intentzon no coztic, tlizcoztique, cocototztique ocelochtic:

auh in intlaqual iuhqujn tlacatlaquilli, velaqual, istac, amo etic iuhqujn tlaçolli, iuhqujn ovaquavitl, iuhqujn ovaquauhtecatl injc aviac, achi tzopelic, achi necnectic nenectictiçaqua, motzopelicaqua:

auh in jujuzcuiuan vevcipopol, nacazcuecalpachtique, teavivilanpopol, intletletique, intletlauchtique,

1. In this passage, the Spanish are taken to refer *gringos* and *caballeros* respectively, and the presence of *alguacils* suspect.
2. *Tlazotlaquilli*: possibly "lasting food" (cf. Sandoz, op. cit.).
3. *Nenectictiçaqua*: possibly the text should read *nenectictiçaqua*.

000 flaming yellow, fiery yellow eyes; thin flanks, with ribs showing; and gaunt stomachs. [They were] very tall and fierce. They went about panting, with tongues hanging. They were spotted like ocelots; they had spots.

And when Moctezuma heard this, he was filled with a great dread, as if he were swooning. His soul was sickened, his heart was anguished.

intocontique, intlecocontique, xillanvicolrique, xillõcacaltique, xillancapitztique vel quaquauhtique, amo tlaca manj, neneciuhtinemj, nenenepilotinemj, ocelocujcujltique, mocujcujloque.

Auh in oiuh quicac in Motecuçoma, cenca momauhti iuhquin iolmjc, moioltequjpacho, moiollacoema.

Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

Injc chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ie-
hoatl motecuçoma, qujmjoa in nanaoalti in tlatlaca-
teculo, in tetlachivianjme, injc itla impan qujchioaz-
que in Españoles.

Niman iquac tlaica in Motecuçoma in qujmjoa
mocheoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanaoalti:
yoan qujmjoa in achcaoauhti, chicaoaque, in tiacaoã
in jpan tlatozque in jxqujch intech monequjz in qua-
lonj in totoli in totoltetl, in jztac tlaxcalli: yoã in
tlein qujtlanjzque, yoan injc ça oc vel pachiviz in
iniollo, vel qujmjttazque, qujmjoa in mamalti, ic
monemachti, cujx qujzque in jmezço: auh iuh quj-
chiuhque in titlanti.

Auh in jquac oquittaque: cenca motlaelitique, chi-
chicha, ixtetenmoctzoloa, ihicopi, motzontecôvivixoa:
auh in tlaqualli eztica catzelhujque, queezvique,
cenca invic coac, qujntlaelti: iehica ca cenca xoquj-
iac in eztli.

Auh injc iuh qujchinh motecuçoma, ca qujnteuma,
teteu impan qujnma qujnteutocac: ic notzaloque, ic
tocaiotiloque, teteu ilhujcac vitze: auh in tlitique
teucacatzacti mjtoque,

quja iehoatl qujquaque iztac tlaxcalli, tlatzincujtl,
totoltetl, totoli, auh in ic ixqujch xochiqualli, quauh-
tzaputl, teçontzaputl, atztzaputl, totolcujtlatzaputl,

1. Godbey, in "Parallelismo en Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 170, refers to the "'duplicación de la persona' o al 'desdoblamiento'" in regard to nanaoalti. The term may be related etymologically to nana (4) — a quadruple personality, an outlook verb nanaoli, nanaoa (to feel or dissemble, as in magic tricks), or Maya-Quiché na, nan, nana (wisdom, science, magic). Godbey favors the second possibility (nanaoli, nanaoa).

2. *Tlachiaxtenoc*: concerning the term *chiaxtenoloaia*, Godbey refers to *un arte de hombre paralelismo*, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Rubredo ed.), p. 10 — "*tiene puesto ojos al desvanido*" (*desvanecido*) (*ibid.*, p. 174). In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 308, he refers to *desvanecido* as "*loco*," "*mago*," "*hombre que perpetua a la gente, hombre paralelismo*"; "*prestigiador y prometedor de conocer.*" There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

3. *Tlacatecpati*: we have previously noted the term "soothsayer." In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), Godbey, noting that Molina translates the term as astrologo, states: "*La rama culta, parecer detentor fundamental astrosacerdotal*," and notes the relationship of the term to *tecuhtlacatecpati*, one who prevents bad from falling. He cites *Le publicidée del culto de Tezcatlipoca*, II, p. 404.

4. *Quauhtzapotl*: sapota (*Lucuma chrysophylla* Mill.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Instituto Universitario, 1946), I, p. 274; sapote or zapotl (generic name), according to Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — *Lucuma mammosa*, *L. hemipteroides*, *Achras mammosa*, *A. sapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 225.

5. *Tzapotzapotl*: sapotzapotl (*Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn.), sapotzinzoloa (Santamarina, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva-España* (D. Joaquín and Manuel Rávalos, eds.; Pedro Cl. Moreno, 1829), p. 733, n. 2, this explanation appears: "*Los primitivos Españoles d'América confundieron* [with various sapotas] *la fruta homonimo pero gran de tzapotzapotl en Lucuma mammosa, de la familia dos sapota, qu'le apellidan ordinarl'ind mamey. C'est probablement la même fruit que los Antiques conocieron como le nom de mamapotl.*" See also Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 225.

6. *Atzapotl*: probably the same as atzapotl. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 267-268, this is *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth. It is also identified by Santamarina, *loc. cit.*, as *Lucuma salicifolia* — *canela trapotl* or *sapotillo*. In Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 224, it is identified as *sapote amarillo* — *fruta gordo grugil* (*rodiner*). The *atzapotl* (yellow sapota) is now generally known as *sapote borracho* (*pouteria mammosa*, *Bolivar Gaceta Ornamental*).

7. *Tlacotzapotl*: *sapote prieto* (*Diospyros ebenaster* Retz — *ebenaceae*), in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

262 toes,[8] manihot,[9] white[10] and yellow[11] sweet potatoes, colored sweet potatoes, *jicamas*,[12] plums,[13] *jobos*,[14] guavas,[15] *guajilotes*,[16] avocadoes,[17] carob fruit,[18] *sejocotes*,[19] American cherries,[20] tuna cactus fruit,[21] mulberries,[22] white[23], yellow,[24] and whitish-red cactus fruit,[25] *pitahayas*,[26] water *pitahayas*.[27] And the food for the deer [was] *pipillo*[28] and *tlachicaztli*.

754 And it is told why Moctezuma sent magicians and
648 soothsayers — that they might behold what kind [of men] they were, and that perchance they might bewitch and cast a spell over them. Perhaps they might blow them away, or enchant them. Mayhap they might cast something at them, or they might, with some words of the Evil One, utter an incantation over them, so that they might sicken and die, or else because of it turn back.

But these, when they performed their charge and commission upon the Spaniards, were at once powerless. Nothing could they do.

Then they quickly returned and came to tell Moctezuma what they were like and how strong they were: "We cannot contend against them; we are as nothing."

camutli, quauhcamutli, pencauhcamutli xochicamutli, tlapalcamutli, xicama, maçaxocotl, atoixocotl, xalxocotl, in quauhxilotl, aoacatl, ozxi, tezocotl, in capoli, in nochtli, in amacapuli, iztac nochtli, coznochtli, tlatocnochtli, tzaponochtli, anochtli: auh in maçatlaqualli, pipillo, tlachicaztli:

Auh qujl injc qujmjca Motecuçoma in naxacalti, in tlaciuhque, injc qujmjuazque in quenamjque in aço vel qujntlacateculovizque, qujntlachivizque, in aço vel qujmjpitzazque qujnxoxazque in aço oc itla ic qujnmotlazque, in aço itla tlacateculotlatolli, ic qujntlanonochilizque, injc aço cocolizcujzque, mjmjquizque, in anoce ic ilotinque.

Auh in ichoantin in qujchiuhque in intequjuh, in innaoatil in intechpa españoles, çan njmã avelitque, atle vel qujchiuhque:

niman ic oalmocueptivetzque qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma injc iuhque, injc chicanaque, amo titenamjcoan, iuhqujn atitleme:

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8. *Camotli*: sweet potato, *batata* (*Ipomoea batatas* Poir, in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521; *I. batatas* Lam., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

9. *Quauhcamotli*: *guacamote or cassabe* (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl. —*esculenta*) in *ibid.*, p. 334; *yuca* in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 36, and in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 524 (*M. aconitifolia* Crantz).

10. *Pencauhcamotli*: probably sweet potato of white skin and interior, Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521).

11. *Xochicamotli*: reddish or yellow sweet potato (*loc. cit.*).

12. *Xicama* (*jicama*): in *ibid.*, II, p. 522, *Pachyrhizus angulatus* Rich.; *P. palmatilobus* H. B. K. in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

13. *Maçaxocotl*: plum — *Spondias* sp. (*anacardiaceae*) (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

14. *Atoixocotl*: *Spondias lutea* L. (*anacardiaceae loc. cit.*). *Jobo* (*Spondias mombin*, or *S. lutea*, or *purpurea*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153, 155. See also Sahagún (Bourdanet and Simeón tr.), p. 734, n. 6.

15. *Xalxocotl*: *Psidium pomiferum* L. (*mirtaceae*), in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 335; guava.

16. *Quauhxilotl* (*guajilote*): *Parmentaria edulis* D.C., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; *Bombax palmeri* S. Wats, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

17. *Aoacatl* (*ahuacate, aguacate*): *Laurus persea* in Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeón tr.), p. 734, n. 1.

18. *Uaxin* (*guaje*): *Leucaena esculenta* Benth. (*leguminosae*), in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 335.

19. *Tezocotl* (*sejocote*): *Crataegus mexicana* Moc. & Ses., in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150.

20. *Capoli* (*cerezo indígena*): *Prunus capuli* Cav. (*rosaceae*), in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 334.

21. *Nochtli*: *Nopal opuntia*, in *op. cit.*, p. 335.

22. *Amacapuli*: *mora India* (*Chorophora tinctoria* Gaud.; var. *urticifolia*), in *loc. cit.* Black mulberry or blackberry in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

23. *Iztac nochtli*: white cactus fruit (*Opuntia* sp.), in Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 934, 936; *tuna blanca* (*cf.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 230).

24. *Coznochtli*: *cuauchinanpilli* (*Opuntia pseudo-tuna* Salm. Dyck; *cactaceae*), in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335. *Tuna amarilla*)—*cf.* Santamaría, *loc. cit.* *Opuntia* sp. of yellow fruit in Hernández, *loc. cit.*

25. *Tlatocnochtli*: "*tuna blanca tirando a barroso*"; *Opuntia* sp., in *loc. cit.*

26. *Tzaponochtli* (*tuna*, *pitahaya* — Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 314).

27. *Anochtli*: probably *tuna de agua*, *pitahaya del agua* (*Pereskiopsis aquosa* Brit & Rose); *cf.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 229.

28. *Pipillo*: probably *Andropogon saccharus* Pb.; *cf.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485.

Then Moctezuma commanded sternly, charged, enjoined, and ordered on pain of death, that the stewards and all the noblemen and constables should see to it that [the Spaniards] be cared for in all that they might need.

And when [the Spaniards] had crossed over to the land, when finally they came, when already they moved, proceeded, and marched ahead, they were well cared for; they were honored. They passed from hand to hand as they took their way. Much was done for them.

niman ic tetlaquauhnaoati in Motecuçoma, vel qujncocolti, vel qujntenjzti, qujnmjqujznaoati in calpixque: auh in jxqujch in tecutli, in achcauhtli in qujttazque, in qujmocujtlavizque in jxqujch intech monequjz. 48

Auh in ovallalhoacaquizque iequene ic vitze: in ie oalolinjzque, in ie oalolinj, in ie oalotlatoca, cenca necujtlaviloque, mavizmachoque, çan temac in oallatiaque, in oalotlatocaque, cenca inca nechioaloc.

[p. 24 is blank]

200 **Ninth Chapter.** Here it is told how Moctezuma wept; and the Mexicans wept when they learned that the Spaniards were very powerful.

And Moctezuma became very fearful; he felt foreboding and was frightened and terrified, and foresaw evil for the city.

And everyone was sore afraid. There were fear, terror, dread, and apprehension. There were discussion, the forming of single groups, and hastening by. All wept — wept much; they shed tears for the people. They went with heads hanging and countenances fallen. All greeted one another tearfully and spoke to others with tears. They gave them comfort and consoled themselves. They stroked the heads of [their young]; the hair of the small boys was smoothed down. Fathers said: "Woe, my sons! How may you withstand what hath befallen you and what will come to pass?" And mothers said: "My sons, how may you withstand what you will marvel at and what is now to befall us?"

And it was told, discovered, shown, set forth, announced, and given as assurance to Moctezuma that a woman of our people here, was bringing them here and interpreted [for them]. Her name [was] Marina; Teticpac [was] her home. There at the coast they had first come upon and taken her.[1]

202 And at that time they began no longer to place themselves at [the Spaniards'] feet; the messengers simply went fleeing — they who had overseen the various things of which everywhere they stood in need.

And at this same time, [the Spaniards] came inquiring about Moctezuma: "What sort [of man is he]? Perchance a youth? Perchance mature? Or already old? Perhaps he is already advanced in years, already approaching a ripe age? — An old man, already white-haired?" And they replied to the gods, the Spaniards: "He is a mature man, not fat but rather slender; spare — small and thin."

Inje chicunavi capitulo: vincã mjtoa in quenjn chocac Motecuçomatzin, yoan in chocaque mexica, in jquac oqujmatque, ca cenca chicaoaque in Españoles.

Auh in motecuçoma cenca tlatenma, motenma, momauhti, mjçavi, qujtlatenmachili in altepetl,

yoan in ie ixujch tlacatl, cenca momauhtique, nemauhtiloc neiçaviloc, tlatẽmachoc, netenmachoc, nenonotzalo, nececentlalilo, neoholololo, nechoqujlilo, nechochoqujlilo, techoqujlilo, ça tlaquechpilivi, ça tlaquechvi, nechoqujztlapalolo, techoqujztlapalolo, teellaquaoalo, nerllaquaoalo, tepepetlalo, pepetlalo in pipiltzitzinti: in tetaoan qujtoa: Veh nopilhoãtzitzine, quen vel ameoantin in o amopan muchiuh, in tlein ie muchioaz: auh in tenanoan qujtoa. Nonopilhoantzitzin, que ço uel amehoanti in anqujmaviçozque in tlein ie topan muchioaz:

yoan ilhujloc ixpantiloc, machtiloc, nonotzaloc, caqujtiloc, yiollo itlan tlaliloc in Motecuçoma. ce cioatl njcan titlaca in qujnoalhujcac in oalnaoatlatotia: itoca Malintzi teticpac ichan, in vmpa atenco, achto canaco.

Auh njman iquac peuh: in aocmo onnecxitlalilo, in ça mocujtlacueptinemj in titlanti, in jpan ontlatoa in jzqujtlamantli, in jzqujcan icac in intech monequjz.

Auh çan njmã no iquac in qujtemotivitze Motecuçoma: quenamj cujx telpuchtli, cujx yiolloco oqujchtli, cujx ie veve, cujx ie tlachicalhuja, cujx ie veve tlamati, cujx ie veve tlacatl, cujx ie quairtac? Auh qujnnanqujliaia in teteu in Españoles: ca yiolloco oqujchtli, amo tomaoac, çan picxactõtli, çan pipitzactontli, çan cujllotic, cujllotcatontli.

1. It appears well established that the birthplace of la Malinche (Marina, Malintzin) was Painala, a town now disappeared, which was south of Coatzacoalcos. It is shown in the map in Francisco Javier Clavijero's *Historia Antigua de México* (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

And when Moctezuma had heard that earnestly he was inquired and asked about, [that] the gods urgently wished to behold him before their eyes, he felt torment and anguish in his heart. He would flee; he wished to escape. Flight was [his] desire; departure was [his] wish. He would hide himself; he would vanish; he would take refuge and conceal himself from the gods. And he had in his heart and thought to himself, imagined and reflected to himself, and conceived the idea, consulted within himself, spoke and asked within himself: Would he enter some cave? And much did he consult with those to whom he [confided] his heart, in whom he laid trust. He spoke of it to a number of them. They said: "There are [some] who know the road in Mictlan, and Tonatiuh ichan, and to Tlalocan, and to Cincalco,[2] that one may rest. [Thou must determine] what place is thy need."

And now he wished and desired [to go] there to Cincalco. Well was it made known; it was so noised abroad.

But this he could not do. He could not hide nor conceal himself. He was weak; was no longer fired; was incapable. Unverified and unfulfilled were the words of the soothsayers, through which they had changed his mind, provoked him, turned his heart, and taken vengeance upon him by seeming to be wise in knowing [the way] to the places named.

[Moctezuma] could only await [the Spaniards]; only steel his heart and tax himself. He quieted and stilled his heart, and resigned himself to whatsoever he might behold and marvel at.

Auh in juh qujcaquja in Motecuçoma, in cenca temolo, in cenca matataco cenca ixco tlachiaznequj in teteu iuhqujn patzmjquja yiollo, iolpatzmjquja, cholozquja, choloznequja, mocholtizneruja, mocholtizquja, motlatizquja, motlatiznequja, qujnnetlatilizquja, qujnneinailiznequja in teteu. Auh qujmoiollotica, qujmoiollotiaia, qujmopictica, qujmopictiaia, qujiocuxca, qujiocouia; ic moiolnonotzca, ic moiolnonotzaia yitic: qujmolhujca, yitic qujmolhujaia cana oztoc calaquja, auh cēca intech moiollaliaia intech vel catca yiollo, intech tlaquauhtlamatia: cequjntin qujmomachiztiaia, in qujtoaia. Ca vmmati in mjctlan, yoan tonatiuh ichan, yoan tlalocā yoan cincalco injc vmpatiz in campa ie vel motlanequjliz.

Auh ie vel vmpa motlanequjliaia, motlanequjli in cincalco: vel iuh machoc, vel iuh tepan motecac.

Auh inin amo velit, amo vel motlati, amo vel mjnax, aoc ievat, aoc tle tic, aoc ievatix, aoc ie onneltic, aoc tle vel muchiuh in intlatol tlaciuhque, injc qujiolcuepca, inic qujiollapanca. injc qujiolmalacachoca, injc qujtlacuepilica, in qujmomachitocaca in ommati, in vmpa omoteneuh;

çan qujnmochielti, çan moiollotechiuh, moiollochichili, qujoalcentlamj, qujoalcentlanqua in jiollo, qujmocenmacac in çaço tlein qujttaz, qujmaviçoz.

2. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 474) identifies Mictlan with the north, Tonatiuhichan with the east, Tlalocan with the south, and Cincalco with the west. The corresponding Spanish text, however, says concerning Cincalco: "este sabe a derrojadero donde oy fuera que oy pudiese morrerse en vosotros dentro lugares se pudra sin magestad remediar entrar muerto magestad el lugar que quisiere que alla le llevaremos y alli se consumira sin resibir ningun dolor. Moctezuma se inclina a yrse a la casa de cincalco; y asi se publica por toda la tierra para no esto efecto este negocio injuyeron esto de la que dicen los sacerdotes se pudo resibir y asi Moctezuma procuro desfayarse y de sujetar a todo lo que sentjese, y de pasmarse a todo peligro."

Tenth Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came — when already they had come and were making their way forward — first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoac,[1] on land of the people of Tlaxcalla, there dwelt their [subject] Otomí. And the Otomí met them in battle: with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.[2]

And when [the region of] Tecoac had perished, those of Tlaxcalla — when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told — could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time — in but the flutter of an eyelid —

Injc matlactli Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles çan jvian, oallalhoaccaquijtque, oallotlatocatiaque yoã in quenjn Motecuçoma qujcauh in vei tecpan, vmpa ia in jpilchan.

Niman qujoallalcavi in jvevechan in vei tecpan, vncan oallamattia, vncan oallama, qujoalma, qujoaltocac in jpilchan in ichoatl Motecuçoma.

Auh in icquene vitze, in ie ovalmolinjque: ce tlacatl, cempoaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl, no achto canaco; in jquac qujttato tlalli, in altrpetl, no oalnaoatlatotia, q'noaloquechilitia, qujnoalotlaxilitia, qujnoallaixtlatitia, qujnoaliacan, qujnoaliacantia.

Auh in oacico Tecoac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan onoque imotonoan. Auh in otomj iautica qujnnamjcque, chimaltica qujnnamjcque: auh in otomj in Tecoaca vel qujmjxtlatique, vel ixpoliuhque, qujnxixilque, teixilioac, qujntlequjquizvique, qujnteputzmjvique, qujntlavitolhujque, amo çan quexqujchtin, vel ixachintin, in jxpoliuhque.

Auh in ontlalpoliuh tecoac, in tlaxcalteca in oconcacque in ocõmatque, in onjlhujloto, cenca mauhcaçonecque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in mavixtli, mavizcujque:

njmã mocentlalique mononotzque, motecuiononotzque, motlatocanonotzque, qujmcottitique in tlatolli:

qujtoque. Quen toiezque, cujx tiqujnnamjquizque: ca vei oqujchtli vei tlacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oqujttac, atle ipan oconjttac, çan inquojch cavitontli in çan ixpeioctli in oconpopolo macoualli. Auh in xucan ma çan itlan tonecalaquiçã, ma çan tictoc-

1. Tecoac: today Molino, in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilar, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porrúa e Hijos, Sucs., 1954), pp. 33ss. References to important contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilar, Díaz, Cervantes, Cortés, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points often not in the *Florentine Codex* and other Aztec accounts.

635 they destroyed the vassals. So now let us submit to
648 them; let us befriend them; let us make friends of the foe. [For] the common folk suffer."

648 And thereupon the rulers of Tlaxcalla went to meet them. They took them food—birds, eggs, white tortillas, fresh tortillas.

They said to them: "Ye have labored, O our lords."

[These] answered them: "Where is your home? Whence come ye?"

They said: "We are people of Tlaxcalla. You have tired yourselves. You have come to and reached the land [which is] your poor home, Quauhtlaxcalla."

(But in ancient times it was named Texcalla, and the common folk were called Texcallans.)[3]

njuhtican, ma çan titocnjuhtlacan, motolinja in maceoalli.

Auh njma ie ic vi in qujnamjqujzque in tlaxcalteca tlatoque: qujtqujque in tlaqualli, in totoli, in tototetl in jztac tlaxcalli, in chipaoac tlaxcalli:

qujmjlhujque. Oanqujmjhioviltique totecujoane:

qujnoalnanqujlique. Cana mochan? Campa oanoallaque?

Conjtoque. Titlaxcalteca, oanqujmociaviltique, oanmaxitico, otlaltech anmaxitico in amochantzinco quauhtlaxcalla

(auh in ie vecauh moteneoaia Texcalla, in maceoalti mjtoaia, texcalteca.)

3. The Spanish text says: "*Lo cual si agora se llama Quauhtla, antes que vinieron los españoles se llamaua Texcalla.*"
Tlaxcala did not exist as a compact urban center before the Conquest except for the four barrios—Quiahuixtlan, Ocotelulco, Tepeticpac, and Tizatlan—which made up the Republic of Tlaxcala (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told how the Spaniards came to and reached Tlaxcalla, which was [then] called Texcalla.[1]

They proceeded to guide them, to take and lead them, and thus leave and quarter them in their palace. They made much of them. They offered them whatsoever they needed, and cared for them. And then they offered them their maidens.

Then [the Spaniards] asked them: "Where is Mexico? What manner of place is it? Is it still distant?"

[The Tlaxcallans] answered them: "It is not far distant; it can be reached in perhaps but three days. It is a very good place. And [the Mexicans] are very powerful, very brave warriors, victors who go conquering everywhere."

And those of Tlaxcalla in times past had contended and risen in rage and hatred against the Cholullans, whom they detested and abhorred and with whom they would have no commerce. Wherefore they spoke evil of them, so that [the Spaniards] might attack them by treachery.

They said to them: "They are very wicked, and they are our foes. Those of Cholulla are as strong as the Mexicans. They are friends of the Mexicans."

When the Spaniards had heard this, they then went to Cholulla. Those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla accompanied them. They went in war array. When they arrived, thereupon there were shouting and calling out that all the noblemen should come forth—the rulers, leaders, and chieftains, and the common folk. The temple courtyard[2] was filled. And when all had assembled, then [the Spaniards and their allies] closed each of the entrances, wherewhere one entered.

Thereupon the people were fallen upon, slain, and beaten. Those of Cholulla had been caught unaware. With neither arrows nor shields did they meet the Spaniards. Just so, they were slain without warning. They were killed by pure treachery; they died unaware. For in truth the Tlaxcallans had incited [the Spaniards].[3]

Injc matlactli oce capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acico in vncã tlaxcalla: in mjtoa Texcalla. 648

Qujmõiacanato, qujnoalhujcaque, qujnoaliacantiaque, injc qujmoncaoato, injc qujncalaqujto in intecpanchan, cenca qujnmavizmatque, qujnmacaque in intech monequj inca mochiubõ yoan njman qujnmacaque imjchpuchoan:

njman qujntlatlanjque canjn Mexico, quenamjcan? oc veca?

Qujnanqujlique, ca aocmo veca, aço ça eilhujtl axioaloz, cenca qualcã, yoã cenca chicaoaque, cenca tiacaoã, tepeoanjme, novian tepeuhtinemj.

Auh in tlaxcalteca, ieppa mochalanjticatca, moqualancaitzticatca, motlavelitzticatca, mococoliticatca, aimelmottaia, acã vel monepanoaia in cholollteca: Ipampa in qujntenanaoatilique, injc qujnpoiomjctizque:

qujmjlhujque. Ca cenca tlavelíloc, ca toiaouh in cholollecatl iuhqujn mexicatl ic chicaóac, ca içnjuh in mexicatl:

in oiuh qujcaoque in españoles: njmã ic vmpa iaque in chololla, qujnvicaque in tlaxcalteca yoan in cempoaiteca, moiauchichiuhtiaque: in oacito njmã ic ic tenotzalo, tetzatzililo, ixqujchtin oallazque in pipilti, in tlatoque, in teiacana, in tiacaoan, yoan macecoalti, netcuitoaltemaloc. Auh in ic ocenqujzque ixqujchtin njman qujoaltzatzacque in calaccoaiã, in jzqujcampa calacoa,

njmã ic ic tezirilioa, temjctilo, teviviteco, atle iniollo ipan catca in Cholollecatl: amo mjtica amo chimalhica qujnnamjcõ in Españoles, çan iuhqujn ichtacamjctiloque, çan tlaixpopoiomjctilti çan tlachtacamjctihi, ca nel çan qujntenanaoatilique in tlaxcalteca.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*que estaua se llamaua texcalla.*"
2. This was at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, according to the corresponding Spanish text.
3. Cf., however, Domingo Francisco de San Anton Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Annales* (Rémi Simeon, ed.: Paris: Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc, 1889); the Septième Relation (p. 187) notes: "*estos mesmos españoles quando llegaron a Cholollan yuan pampaxoc quinnonoçaltiaque capitan general Hernando Cortes*"—they slew very many Cholulans when they met the Captain-general, Hernán Cortés, in battle.

202 And all which came to pass, all [this] news they laid before, told, and related to Moctezuma. And
009 the messengers all came, all set forth, took flight. It was no longer a time of calm to listen — for the message to be heard. For all the common folk went in uproar; there were frequent disorders. It was as if the earth quaked, as if the earth quivered — as if the surface [of the land] circled in tumult. There was terror.

And when death had come to Cholulla, then [the Spaniards] started forth in order to come to Mexico. Marshaled together, in a concourse, they came stirring up the dust. Their iron lances, their iron halberds glistened [from afar], and their iron swords moved in a wavy line like a water [course]. Their iron shirts and iron head gear jingled. And what some wore was all iron; they came turned into iron, gleaming. Hence they caused astonishment; thereby they aroused great terror. Because of it they were regarded with much dread — they were greatly feared.

And their dogs came ahead. They went before them. At the vanguard they came, in the lead. They came at their head. They came panting, foam dropping [from their mouths].

Auh in ixquich muchioaia, muchi qujoalmacaia, qujoalilhujaia, qujoalcaqujtiaia in tlatolli in Motecuçoma. Auh in titlanti, ixquich oalaci, ixquich vmpeoa, çan mocujtlacueptinemj, aoc quenman cactoc in qujcaquj, in caqujtilo tlatolli: auh in ie ixquich tlacatl maceoalli, ça mâcomantinemj, ça achcan mocomonja, ça iuhqujn tlallolinj, ça iuhqujn tlalli xoxoqujvi, ça iuhqujn tlaixmalacachivi, mavizcujoac.

Auh in ommjcoac cholollan: njmã oalpeuhque in ie ic vitze Mexico, oloiuhtivitze, tepeuhtivitze, teuhtli, qujquetztivitze, in intepuztopil, in intzinacantopil iuhqujn tlapepetlaca: auh in intepuzmaquauh, iuhqujn atl monecujloa, iuhqujn tlacacalaca in intepuzvipil, in intepuzquacalala. Auh cequjntin vel much tepuztli motqujtivitze, tetepuztin muchiuhtivitze, pepetlacativitze: ic cenca valmomavizçotitiaque, ic cenca oalmotlamauhtilitiaque: ic cenca mauhcaittoia, ic cenca imacaxoia.

Auh in jmjtzcujnoan iacattivitze, qujniacantivitze iniacac icativitze, iniacac onotivitze, hiicicativitze, intenqualac pipilcativitz.

Twelfth Chápter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art not he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli onnume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, qujoa ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoã oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnnamjqujto Españoles: yuan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injc qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl.

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmã ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cõnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl, vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmõmacaque teucujtlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoã teucujtlacozcatl.

Auh in oqujmõmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzca, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn cooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel iehoatl in cenca camjquj, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoottititivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oqujttaque Tzioacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx iee hin in Motecuçoma: Qujmjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmõichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie iehoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, qujmjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjtoque: Ca nehoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmã qujlhujque. Nepa xiauh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaiaoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatiloz, amo vel titechichchioaz, amo vel titechixcuepaz, amo vel titechixpatiliz, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopoloz, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechizçoqujviz, amo vel titechizçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel technetlatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tototi, cujx patlanjz? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648 there somewhere a mountain pierced by a hole that
728 he may enter? For we shall see him; for we shall not fail to look into his face. We shall hear his words; we shall listen to that [which cometh] from his lips."

Thus they only despised and belittled him. Thus came only to nothing still another of their welcomes and greetings.

Then they hurried straight and took the road direct [to Moctezuma].

coiouqui yitic calaquiz ca tiquittazque, ca amo maca ixco titlachiezque, ticcaquizque in itlatol, itenco titlacaquizque,

ic çan contelchiuhque, atle ipan conittaque ic çan onnenpoliuh in oc çequi in intenamic, in intetlapalol:

ic nimã quioalmelauhtivetzque in melaoac vtli.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is related how Moctezuma sent still other soothsayers in order that they might cast a spell over the Spaniards,[1] and what befell them on the way.

And another company of messengers, who were soothsayers and magicians, and fire priests, also went and made their way to contend with them. But they could do nothing. They could not cast a spell over them; no more could they contend against and exert power over them. No longer could they succeed.

For a drunkard came along the way. They went up against him and stopped, stunned. They beheld him as one from Chalco, for so was he arrayed. He was dressed as a man from Chalco; he acted as a Chalcan. Like one besotted, he bore himself and acted like one who is drunk. With eight grass ropes was he bound about the chest.[2] He accosted them, having come ahead of the outposts of the Spaniards.[3]

And he rose up against them and said: "What do you come to do here again? What do you now wish? What would Moctezuma yet wish to do? Hath he perchance now come to his senses? Is he now filled with a great fear? For he hath committed a fault. He hath abandoned the common folk; he hath destroyed men. People have been struck upon the head; they have been bound [in wrappings for the dead]. He hath laughed at and deceived them!"

And when they had thus seen this, when they had heard his words, to no purpose did they give him attention, praying humbly to him and quickly setting up his abode — his earth pyramid and his straw bed. But he would not then look at it; vain was its erection. To no purpose had they made the earth pyramid.

Just as if they had plunged him into his rage, he presently chid and abused them, and spoke harshly.

Injc matlactli omei capítulo vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma: qujmjoa oc cequjntin tetlachivianjme injc qujtlachiviszquja Espanoles yoan in tlein vtlica impan muchiuh. 648 791 787

Auh ie no centlamantique titlanti: ichoan in tlaciuhq̃ in nanaoalti, yoan tletlenamacaque, no ic iaca, no ic iaque in tenamjquizque: auh aoccã vel mochiuhque, aoccan vel teittaque, aocmo tlaipantilique, aocmo teipantilique, aocmo onieoatque:

çan ie ce tlaoanquj vtlica ica ommotzotzonato, qujmonamjctito, ica onmjxtikquetzato: injc qujttaq̃ iuhqujn chalcatl ic omochichiuh, mochalcachichiuh, mochalcanenequj: iuhqujn tlaolõquj, mjvincanenequj, motlaolõcanenequj: chicuei çacamecatl ic melilpi, qujmjxnamjctivitz hiiacac icativitz in Españoles.

Auh çan inca ieoac: qujmjlhuj. tle noma amaxtivitze in njcã? tlen oc anquinequj? tle noma qujchioaznequj in Motecuçoma? cujx qujn omozcali? cujx qujn xxcan ie momauhticapul? ca otlatlaco, ca oconcavili in maceoalli, ca otlacaixpolo teca omoquavitec, ca teca omoqujmjlo, ca teca omavilti, ca teca omocacaiauh.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in, in oiuh qujcacque itlatol, oc nen itlan aquj, in qujmocnotlatlauhtilia, qujtlalilitivetzaque ichiel itlalmomoz, yoan içacapepech, çan njmã aocmo vmpa qujoalittac: tel çan nenpanca in ommotlalica, in vncan oc nen qujtlalmomuztica:

çan ie iuhqujn icamac omnaqujque, ie vncan qujmaoa, qujntzequjaia, iuhqujn motititzatlatoa:

1. Remember the slide is omitted in the Mahaut case.

2. See Pl. 27.

3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "traya ceñido a los pechos ocho sahumerios a modo hechos de hoja como de esparto, y venía de hacia donde estaban los españoles."

648 He said to them:

787 "Why do you vainly stand here? No longer will

791 there be a Mexico; [it is gone] forever. Go hence; it no more existeth. Turn about; look at what befalleth Mexico — what thus already cometh to pass!"

Then they looked there; they quickly turned there to see. They beheld that already all the temples, the tribal temples, the priests' dwellings,[4] and all the houses in Mexico burned; and [it looked] as if already there were fighting.

And when the soothsayers had seen this, it was as if they had lost heart; they could say nothing; it was as if they had been made to swallow something.

They said: "This is not for us to see; it must needs be that Moctezuma see what we have seen. For this is no common being; this is the youth Tezcatlipoca."

000 Then he vanished, and they saw him no more.

And so the messengers went no further to encounter [the Spaniards]; they no longer pressed on toward them. From there the soothsayers and fire priests turned back and came to tell Moctezuma. There they and those who earlier had gone [with] Tziuacpopocatzin saw one another.

And when these messengers had come to arrive, just so they related to Moctezuma how this had come to pass and how they had beheld it. Moctezuma, when he heard it, only bowed his head; he stood with his head lowered. He hung his head: he stood with his head downcast. He did not then speak, but only remained full of woe for a long time as if beside himself.

Finally he thus answered them, and said: "What can we do? What can be done? For we are finished; we have taken the medicine. Shall we perhaps climb a mountain? Should we perhaps flee? For we are Mexicans. Shall we in truth perhaps enslave the Mexican domain? Unlucky[5] are the poor old men and old women! And the children, who have no understanding — where may they be taken? What can be done? Where, in truth, can one go? For now we have taken the medicine. Come what may, in whatsoever way it may befall, we shall marvel at it!"

qujmjlhuj.

Tle çã nen in njcan amjcativitze aoqujc iez in Mexico, ie ic cẽmãia, nepa xivia, aocmo vncã, tlazommocuepacan, tlaxontlachiacan in Mexico, tlein ie mochioa: in juh ie mochioa.

Nimã ic oallachixque, oallachixtivetzque, in qujoalitta ie tlatlã in jxqujch teucalli, in calpulli, in calmecatl, yoan in jxqujch mexico calli, yoan iuhqujn ma ie cuel necaliva.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in tlaciuhque, iuhqujn canjn ia, iniollo, aocmo onnaoatque, iuhqujn aca itla qujntololti:

qujtoque inin ca amo totechmonequja in tiqujttazque, ca ie itech monequja qujttaz in Motecuçoma, in otiqujttaque: ca amo çan aca, ca ichoatl in telpuchtli Tezcatlipoca:

njman ic poliuh, aocmo qujttaque.

Auh in titlanti aocmo tenamjqujto, aocmo tevic qujçato, çã vncã oalilotque in tlaciuhque, in tletlenamacaque, qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma: oalnepanjxtiaque in achto iaque in Tzioacpopocatzin.

Auh in oacico ichoantin titlantin, iuhquj povilique in Motecuçoma in juh mochiuh in juh qujttaque. In motecuçoma, in oiuh qujcac; ça oaltolo ça oaltolotimotlali, oalquechpilo, oalquechpilotimotlali, aocmo oalnaoat, çan ontlanauhtimotlali, vecauhtica in iuhquj ontlapolo,

ça ixqujch injc qujnoalnanqujli: qujnoalilhuj. Quennel mocechtle ca ie ic toncate, ca ie otictomacaque, cujx cacah tepetl tictlecavizque: auh cujx tichoiozque ca timexica, cujx nellaontimaliviz in mexicaiutl, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama: auh in piltzintli, in aia qujmati, campa neviqujlilozque, quẽnel, quẽçannel nen, quẽnoçonel, campa nel, ca ie tictomacaticate in çaço tlein, in çaço quenamj in ticmaviçozque.

4. *Calpulli, calmecatl* — tribal temple and priests' dwelling and translations of these terms previously used in this work, for which there is precedent. See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, passim. Refer also to Arturo Monzón *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochcas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), passim (*calpulli*) and p. 77 (*calmécatl*); or Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," Memoria del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, VI (1954), pp. 29ff. (*calpulli*), 26 (*calmécatl*).

5. From *macehuiz* on, the passage is translated in Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 526.

Fourteenth Chapter, in which it is told how Moctezuma ordered closed the road, so that the Spaniards might not come to arrive here in Mexico.

And Moctezuma had vainly commanded that they obstruct the road; that with maguey they plant the highway which led direct here to Mexico; and that there they be shown the road which led to and entered Texcoco.

And when they had blocked the way with rows of maguey, [the Spaniards] then learned of it and saw that they had only closed the way. They thought nothing of it. They took [the plants] up; they kicked each one far; they hurled them out. Far off they cast the maguey plants.

They slept at Amaquemecan.[1] Then they went on, direct, along the road and came to reach Cuitlauac. There also they slept.

Assembling from all parts the rulers who held sway over the people of the floating gardens — Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mixquic — they spoke to them just as they had spoken to the rulers of Chalco. And these rulers of the dwellers in the floating gardens then also submitted.

And when the Spaniards had been satisfied, then they moved on and settled themselves at Itztapalapan. Thereupon they called for and sought the rulers known as the Four Lords — [those of] Itztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, Colhuacan, and Uitzilopochco. In the same manner they spoke to and addressed them (as hath been told). And just so they peacefully and quietly submitted to the Spaniards.

And Moctezuma commanded that none make war upon them nor contend against and meet them in battle. He ordered only that they not neglect [the Spaniards' needs]; that great care be taken of them.

And upon this, here in Mexico, all lay quiet; [the people] did not go out or venture forth. Mothers did not let [children] go out. The roads were empty, and clear; the roads were clean, as in early morning.

1. Details are to be found in Chimalpahin, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

Injc matlactli onnaui capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma tlahaoati in motzatzaquaz vtli injc amo vel aciqujvi Españoles, in njcã mexico. 726

Auh in Motecuçoma, oc nen tlanaoatica in qujtzatzaquazque in vtli, in vchpantli, qujmetecaque in oallamelauhticac njcã Mexico: auh ie vmpa qujmontlachieltiaia, in jpan vtli iaticac, calacticac tetzcucu.

Auh in vncan qujmetepãtzacca: njman qujmatque, qujttaque in çan oqujtzatzacque, atle ipan conjttaque, caanque, veca conxoxopeuhque, quioalchichitoziqueque, veca ica ommamaiauhque in metl:

vncã cochque amaquemecan, njmã ie ic vitze, tlamelauhtivitze, qujmelauhtivitze in vtli, acico in cuitlaoac, çan oc no vncan cochque:

in oqujncentlalique tlatoque, in jzqujcan tlatocachioa injc chinãpaneca in Suchmjlco in cujtlaoac, in mjzquic: çan ie no ivi in qujmjlhujque, in juh qujmjlhujque chalcatlatoque. Auh in ichoanti chinanpaneca tlatoque, çan njmã no intlan oncalacque.

Auh in oiniollo vmpechiuh, in Españoles: njman ic oalolinque ommotlalico in jtztapalapan: njman ie no ic qujnnotza, qujnnenotzallanj in tlatoque: Nauhtecutli mjtoa. In jtztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, culhoacan, Vitzilobuchco: çã ie no ie in qujmjlhujque, injc qujntlatoltique (in oiuh mjto). Auh çan no ivian, iocuaca intlan oncalacque in Españoles.

Auh in Motecuçomatzin, amo tlanaoatiaia injc aca qujnisachioaz, injc aca iauiotica qujnnamjquiz, aiac iauiotica qujnnamjquiz, çan tlanaoatiaia, injc amo çan tlacomachoaque, çã cenca inca nechioaloz.

Auh in jquac y, in njcan Mexico, çã iuhquin cactoc, aocac oalquiçe, aocac oalquiztica. In tenanhoan aocmo oaltequiztitlanj, çã chichipaoaticac in vtli, ichpelpul icac, çã ichpeliuhticac in vtli, çã iuhquin tlal-

648 None crossed others' paths — they did not dare; they retired to their houses only to know that there was woe. The common folk said: "Pay no heed. Let [the hour] be accursed. What will you do? For now we shall die; we shall perish. Yea, now we await our death."

chipacpan, aocac ixtlapal iauh, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, necacahemaloc, ça ixcavilo in tlaocuialo: quitoaia in macevalli. Ma iuh tie, ma motelchioa, tle oc iez in anquichioa, ca ie timjquiaq̃, ca ie tipolivizque, ca ie toconchiriticate in tomjquiz.

Fifteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards[1] departed from Itztapalapan in order to reach Mexico.

And thereupon they set out in order now to enter here into Mexico. Wherefore they prepared and arrayed themselves for war. They girt themselves and bound on their battle dress. Then the horse[men] were, each one, disposed, arranged in rows, placed in order and put in line.

And the four horse[men] who came guiding, preceding, and moving ahead of the others and occupying the vanguard, were the leaders.[2] They kept turning; they moved back and forth repeatedly; they went on, facing people. They looked hither and thither; they went on to scan every side and to look everywhere, peering among groups of houses. They proceeded examining everything. They kept looking up at the housetops.

Likewise the dogs—their dogs—ran ahead, quickly smelling and sniffing at things and ever panting.

By himself came as guide, going as leader—going ahead alone—one who bore the standard upon his shoulders. He proceeded, waving it back and forth, making it circle, and tossing it from side to side. It would stiffen and raise itself like a man; it would smartly curve, fly up in turning, and billow.[3]

Following him passed the bearers of iron swords. Bared were their iron swords, which flashed brightly. They each bore and carried upon their shoulders their shields—wooden and leather shields.

The second group, the second file to come, was of horses carrying upon their backs many [soldiers] in their cotton armor cuirasses, each with leather shield and iron lance; and all with their iron swords hanging down the flanks of the horses. All had rattles; they had clatterers; they galloped along jingling, and the rattles clacked and resounded. The horses—the

Injc castolli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles, vmpa valevaque in Itztapalapan injc acico mexico.

Auh njman je ic oalolinj in ie ic oalcalaquijzque njcan Mexico; njman ie ic mococencaoa, moiauchichioa; moolpia, vel quijlpia in iniautlatquj: njman ie iehoantin in in cavallos: njman ie ic motetecpana, mocuecuetilia, movivipana, mocoeçpantilia.

Auh nauhteme in cavallos in iacattivitze, in atovitze, in teiacantivitze, in teiacaconotivitze, in te in teiacana; mocuecueptivi, ommocuecueptivi, onteixnamjctivi, havic tlachixtivi, nanacaztlachixtivitze, noviampa onjtztivi in cacaltzalan, tlaixtotocativitze, onacotlachixtivi in tlapanco:

no ichoan in chichime in jmjtzcujnoan, iacattivitze, tlatlanecutivitze, neneciuhtivitze, nêneneciuhtivitze;

yioca icativitz, iacattivitz, icel icativitz in quachpanjd quijquechpanoa, qujtlatlavitzotivitz, qujmamalacachotivitz, havic qujtlatlaztivitz, mochichicauhtivitz, moquijchquetztivitz, vel mocolotilia, mocoloquetztivitz, mocolonectivitz;

qujcaltoquijlitivi tepuzmaquaveque, peperlauhtivitz, in intepuzmaquauh, pepeptlacativitz, quijquequechpanoa, quijquequechpanotivitze, inchichimal, quauhchimalli, coachimalli.

Injc vztlamantitivitze, injc vmpantitivitze cavallos temanativitze, imjichcavipil, imocoachimal intetepuztopil, yoan intetepuzmaquauh inquezpil pipilcativitz in cavallosme, cocoiolloque, coioloque, coiollotivitze iuhquijn xxamaca in coiolli, tlaxamacan coiolli in cavallosti; in mamaça pipiztca, tlapipiztca, cenca mjtonja, iuhquju ntl iuechpa temo: auh in

1. Repeated: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.
2. In or in mimoan: in is appear at the bottom of the folio (31r), and is probably repeated by error.
3. Cf. Soler, op. cit., p. 487, whose version varies somewhat from the foregoing.

deer — neighed and whinnied. They sweated profusely; it was as if water fell from them. And flecks of foam fell in drops upon the ground; it dripped like soap [suds]. And as they advanced, great was the clangor and pounding of their hooves; the feet beat as when one casteth stones, and then they pierced holes and made depressions in the ground where they raised their feet. Separately [these] appeared, as they stamped with their hind and forelegs.

The third group was of those who bore iron crossbows. In their arms rested the crossbows. They came wielding and repeatedly testing them, sighting along them. And some bore them upon their shoulders; these came along shouldering the crossbows. And their quivers went hung at their sides or passed under their arms; [these] went filled, crammed, with arrows — with iron bolts. Their cotton armor reached to their knees; it was very thick, very hard, very dense, like limestone. And their heads were likewise wrapped in cotton armor, and from the tops of their heads arose quetzal plumes, dividing and outspread.

The fourth group likewise was of horse[men], similar in array to what hath been told.

The fifth group were those bearing arquebuses, arquebusiers, who carried arquebuses on their shoulders. Some passed along with them [carried] straight forward. And when they had come into the great palace, the residence of the rulers, they fired them — they repeatedly shot the arquebuses. Now they each shattered [the air], they all crackled, scattering [the shot], and barked and thundered. Smoke was spread and diffused; it was dark with smoke. The fumes covered all the ground; they spread all over the soil. By its fetid smell it stupefied and robbed one of one's senses.

And at the very last came, directing from the rear, the greatest warrior, who was like the commanding general,[4] experienced as war ruler and commander of warriors. Surrounding him, crowding about him, at his side and behind, went his brave warriors, his standard bearers, those who served him — those who were like his shaven ones, like his Otomí [warriors], his brave and intrepid ones; the mainstay and support of a city — its soul and foundation.

intepopuçoquijlo chachapaca tlalpan, iuhqujn amulli chachapanj; auh injc nenemj cenca tlatiocujtza, tlatetecujtza: tlacocomotza, iuhqujn tlatemotla, njman cocoionj, cocomolivi in tlalli in vncan qujquetza imjcxi, ysoca momamana in vncan qujquequetztivi in jmjcxi, in inma.

Injqu epantin tepuztlavitoleque, tepuztlavitoloanj inmac onotivitz in tepuztlavitolli, tlaiecotivitze, tlatlaiecotivitze, qujxcatzitztivitze. Auh in cequjntin qujquechpanoa, qujquequechpanotivitze in tepuztlavitolli: auh in inmjcon iniomotlan pipilcatiuh, inciacapa qujqujztiuh, vel tetentiuh, cahcacatzcatiuh in mjtl, in tepuzmjtl, imjichcavipil, intlanquac ahacitiuh, vel titilaoac, vellatepizçotl, ixachi titilacpopul, iuhqujn tepetlatl: auh in intzontecon ic qujmjlivi çan no ie in jchcavipilli, yoan inquequetzal imjçpac conquequetztivi, zexeliuhtiuh, momoiaoatiuh.

Injc nappantin çan no ichoantin in cavallotin, çan ie no iuhqui in innechichioal in juh omjto.

Injc macujllamantli ichoztin in matlequijqujceque, in matlequijqujçoanj, qujquequechpanoa in matlequiqujztli; cequjntin qujtecativitze. Auh in jquac in ocalaqujco in vei tecpan, in tlatocan; qujtlazque, qujtlatlazque in matlequijqujztli, ie oncuecueponj, ie oncuecuepoca, xixitica, tlatlatzinj, oacalaca, poctli moteca, poctli moreteca, poctica tlaioa in poctli centlalli momana cêtlalli moteca: injc xoqujiac teixivinti, teiolmoiauh:

auh ça tlatzacutiuh, tetzinpachotiuh in iautachcauh in ma iuhquj tlacateccatl momati in iautlatoanj, in iautecanj, cololhujtivi, qujtepevitivi, qujtzcactitivi, qujtlamatilitivi, qujtxatzacutivi in jtiscaoan, in itlavicecaoan, in jmanancujlloß, in ma iuhquj quaquachictin, in ma iuhquj otomj in jchicavilloß, in jnechicaoalhoan, in jnetlaquechilhoan, in jtlazilloan altepetl, in jiolloan, in jtetzonoan:

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 53, n. 3.

Then all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains — those of Tlaxcalla, of Tlilihuquitepetl, of Uexotzinco — sped along at the rear. They came girt for war, with their cotton armor, their shields, their bows; their quivers filled and crammed with feathered arrows, some of barbed, wooden points, some blunted, some with obsidian points. They came crouching, and as they went, loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads.

And some bore burdens upon their backs; they carried rations on their backs. Some carried things [held by a tump line about] their foreheads, or, some, their breasts; some bore things on carrying frames, some in cage-like baskets, some in deep, reed baskets; some bore bundles; they carried them upon their backs; some dragged the great lombard guns, which rested upon wooden wheels. And they moved them along shouting.

njman ie ixquich in soatepeoa, in tlateputzcatl, in tlaxcaltecatl, tlilihuhquitepecatl, in vexotzincatl: tlaxquilitivitze, moiauchichiuhtivitze imjichcavipil, inchichimal, intlatlavitol, inmjmjcon tetentiuh, cacatzcatiuh in totomjtl, cequj chichiqujlli, cequj tibpontli, cequj itzmjtl momamantivi, motenvitectivi, motenpapavitivi, tocujleuhtivi, tlatlanqujqujztivi, moquacuecuechotivi.

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Auh in cequjntin tlamama, itacamama, cequjntin tlaixquamama, cequjntin tlaelpanmama, cequjntin tlacacaxvia, cequjntin tlaoacalhuja, cequjntin tlatompiavia, cequjntin tlaqujmjlhuja, mazoço tlaqujmjlmamama, cequjntin qujvilana in vevei, in totomaoac tlequjqujztli, quauhtemalacac oonotiuh, qujcavatztivitze.

648
726
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[p. 40 is blank]

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

Injc caxtolli occe capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca qujnnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137] fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and,
353] lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
[301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocencaoã in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujz: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõmamãque in tlaçosuchitl, in chimalsuchitl, in iollosuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujsuchitl, in coztic iiesuchitl, in cacaosuchitl, icpacsuchitl, in suchineapantli: yoã qujtequj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

648 431 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them, he placed chains of flowers on them

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlanamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, cozochimacac, concozcati in cozcatl, consuchicozcati, consuchiapan, conjcpacsuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

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1. Xoloco or Xoloco served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzada of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a barrio bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Izazaga; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lázaro Alcántara; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Sahagún's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 30.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*En llegando los españoles a aquel río que está cabe las casas de alvarado que se llama Xoloco.*"

4. *Chimalsuchitl. Chimalsuchitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). Chimalsuchitl (*ibid.*, p. 108), "*tiene . . . flores redondas amarillas (parecen prodigio) de un palmo, amarillo rojizas con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media*"; *Helianthus annuus* L. Linn.; *girasol, chimalsuchitl, sudo de sujo. Chimalsuchitl* is classified as "*compuesta*."

5. *Yollosuchitl. Yolosúchil* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 290. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin 241), Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún), "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as *chimalloxochitl*."

6. *Izquizuchitl. Izquizúchil*: in Chiapas, *jazmín del tiempo — Bauhinia forficata*; *B. Jenmani*; *B. Macrophylla* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 426). Popcorn flower (*Bauhinia Jenmani* [La Flora and Lot.] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 69 — a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used to flower crowns. In Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeón ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is noted that "*Este flor sirve por Farbos hispanolchiquanitl, semellanza Jenmin, de la familia del oyuelaiuiz.*"

7. *Yeuxuchitl. Nardo Antonio Recchi* (*Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographia Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) gives *elotxochitl* as an alternative (*quam alii Elotxochitl, seu Flosculus Elotis, alii verò Cuauhquipinzahuitl* [*cuauhcapinzahuitl?*] *seu Yeuxuchitl pallidum, nonnul*"), a cold climate plant ("*provenit regionibus frigidis, & nonnunquam hiemi*"). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it *elotxochitl* as *Magnolia dealbata* Zucc. Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 275) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a *p. magnolia*, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacaoxuchitl. Cacahuaxúchil*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 348, it is identified as "*Rosita de cacao. Mipudio funebris. Bot. Ecar-cabiosa.*" Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Tabebuia impetiginosa* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

648 and wreaths upon their heads. Thereupon he spread
43 out before [Cortés] the golden neck bands — all the greeting gifts with which the welcome closed. Some he hung with neck bands.

648 Then [Cortés] said to Moctezuma: "Is this not thou? Art thou not he? Art thou Moctezuma?"

Moctezuma replied: "It is so; I [am he]."

At this he arose to meet him face to face, did a great reverence to him, drew close to him, and stood firm.

Thus did he pray and speak [to Cortés]: "O our lord, thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Thou hast arrived on earth; thou hast come to thy noble city of Mexico. Thou hast come to occupy thy noble mat and seat, which for a little time I have guarded and watched for thee. For thy governors [of times past] have gone — the rulers Itzcoatl, Moctezuma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tiçoc, Auitzotl — who, not very long ago, came to guard [thy mat and seat] for thee and to govern the city of Mexico. Under their protection the common folk came here. Could they, perchance, now find their descendants, those left behind? O, that one of them might be a witness to marvel that to me now hath befallen what I see, who am the only descendant of our lords. For I dream not, nor start from my sleep, nor see this as in a trance. I do not dream that I see thee and look into thy face. Lo, I have been troubled for a long time. I have gazed into the unknown whence thou hast come — the place of mystery. For the rulers [of old] have gone, saying that thou wouldst come to instruct thy city, [that] thou wouldst descend to thy mat and seat; that thou wouldst return. And now it is fulfilled: thou hast returned; thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Arrive now in thy land. Rest, lord; visit thy palace [that] thou mayest rest thy body. Let our lords arrive in the land."[9]

And when Moctezuma had ended his address, which he had directed to the Marquis, Marina explained and interpreted for him. And when the Marquis had heard Moctezuma's words, then he spoke to Marina.[10] He addressed them in a barbarous tongue; he said in his strange language:

"May Moctezuma quiet his heart and not be frightened. We love him much. Now our hearts are

concatl, in jzquitlamiti tenamjconj, tenamjetli in jca oiecauh, cequj cõconcati:

Njmã qujoalilhuj in Motecuçoma. Cujx amo te? cujx amo ie te? ie te in timotecuçoma:

qujto in Motecuçoma, ca quemaca ca nehoatl:

njmã ie ic vel ommoquetza conjxnamjctimoquetza, connepechtequjlia, vel ixquich caana, motlaquauhquetza:

injc contlatlauhti, qujlhuj. Totecujoe oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, otlaltitech tommaxitico, oitech tommopachiviltico in Matzin, in motepetzin mexico, oipan tommovetzitico in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin, in oachitzinca njmjtzõnopielili, in onjmjtzonnotlapielili, ca oiaque in motechiuhcaoan in tlatoque: in Jtzcoatzin, in veve Motecuçoma, in Axaiaca, in Tiçocic, in Avitzotl, in oc uel achic mjtzommotlapielilico, in oqujpachoco in atl, in tepetl in Mexico: in incujtlapan, inteputzco in ovalietia in momacenaltzin, cujx oc vallamati in jmonjca, in inteputzco, ma ceme iehoantin qujztiazj qujmaviçotianj, in nehoatl in axcan nopan omochiuh in ie njqujtta, in ça imonjca, inteputzco totecujovan camo çan njtemjquj, amo çã njcochitlena, amo çan njcochitta, amo çan njctemjquj ca ie onjmjtzinotili, mjxtzinco onjtlachix, ca ononnentlamatticatca in ie macujl in ie matlac, in vexpa nonjztica, in quenamjcan in otimoqujxtico in mjxtitlan in aiauhtitlan: anca iehoatl inin qujteneultivi in tlatoq in ticmomachitiqujuh in matzin, in motepetzin in jpã timovetzitiqujuh in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzio in tioalmovicac. Auh in axcan ca onelic, otioalmovicac, oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, ma tlaltitech ximaxiti, ma ximocevizzino, ma xoconmomachiti in motecpancaltzin, ma xicmocevili in momacaiotzin, ma tlaltitech maxitican in totecujovan.

Auh in ontzonqujz in jtlatlauhtilin Motecuçoma concaqujti in Marques: njman ic concaqujztili onnaosittalhuj in Malintzin. Auh in ocõcac in Marques in jtlatol in motecuçoma: njman ie qujoalnaoatia in Malitzin qujocalpopoloti: qujoalito in jpopoloctopa.

Ma moiellali in Motecuçoma, macamo momaulti, ca cenca tictlaçotla, ca axcan uel pachiuj in tiioilo,

9. A number of the allusions made here to Moctezuma's ancestry are explained in Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," pp. 20-21.

10. The Aztec text should read "Malinche."

satisfied, because we have known and heard him. For a long time we have wished to see him and to look upon his face. And now that we have seen him and have come to his home in Mexico, at leisure he may hear our words."

Thereupon they took him by the hand and went leading him by it. They clapped him on the back in order to make known to him their love.

And the Spaniards beheld and examined him. They walked about on foot, and mounted or dismounted in order to look at him.

And the nobles, as many as accompanied him, [were], first, Cacamatzin, ruler of Texcoco; second, Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan; third Itzquauhtzin, a general, ruler of Tlatilulco; and fourth, Topantemoctzin, of Tlatilulco, who was Moctezuma's store keeper. [These] accompanied him. And still other noblemen of Tenochtitlan [were] Atlixcatzin, a commanding general; Tepeuatzin, a general; Totomotzin, the army commander; Ecatenpatiltzin, and Quappiatzin. When Moctezuma was taken, they only hid themselves and took refuge. They abandoned him in desperation.

ca tiquijximati in ticcaquj, ca ie izquich cavitl in 648
cenca tiquijttaznequj in jxco titlachiaznequj. Auh injn ca otiquijttaque, ie otiouallaq in jchan in Mexico, iujañ quicaquijx in totlatol:

njman ie ic imatitech conanque, ie ic quivicatiujtze, quijtzotzona injc quijnextilia in intetlaçotlaliz.

Auh in Españoles quijitta, quicecemjtta, icxitlan ompepeoa, ontletleo, oaltetemo injc quijtta.

Auh in tlatoque izquijntin in jtlan mantiaque. Inic 648
ce, Cacamatzin, Tetzcucu tlatoanj. Inic vme, Tetle- 565
pâquetzatzin: tlacuban tlatoanj. Injc ei, Itzquauhtzin tlacochcalcatl: tlatilulco tlatoanj. Injc navi, Topantemoctzin, tlatilulco itlatlatlalicaub catca, in Motecuçoma in omnantiaque. Auh in occequijntin pipiltin tenochca in Atlixcatzin, tlacatecatl, in tepeoatzin, tlacochcalcatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Ticociaoacatl, Totomotzin, hecatêpatiltzin, Quappiatzin in natoc Motecuçoma camo çã motlatique, mjnaxque, quijtlauelcaubque.

[p. 44 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

ILLUSTRATIONS

[p. 44(A)]

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Capitulo 23. de como Motecuzoma el gouernador del Tlatilulco fueron echados muertos fuera de la casa donde los españoles estauã fortalecidos.

Despues de lo arriba dicho, quando andaban despues de la matança que se hizo en el templo, hallaron los mexicanos muertos a Motecuzoma, y al gouernador del Tlatilulco echados fuera de la casa en medio del muro de esta casa mapuchia labrada como gato pardo que llamauã Tecuyo: y despues que conocieron los que los

motecuzcalhuiyque, ynman ayaxcmaquiz. Auh in ontetlaiyecto, ynman ieic callacq valmotzatzacuiltiuetzque. Auh in in muchiuh ietlaqualizpan: auh in ieiuhquj ynmã ieic teixmachto, tecaçacos: auh in iemuchintin oçacquj in motecuzcalhuiyq. ynmã ieic tetlatilo intetel cuchcalli.

Inic cempoalli ymei Capitulo ynnan mitoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, yoan ce ueipilli tlatilulco ynnequi: auh in inmuxio qui ualizque iequjn oncqui in oaxcmaxilli in ynnan calten Españoles.

Auh ie iuh mauilluijll motecuzcalhuijlor in quinmoxtlauia in Motecuçoma, yoan Ixquauitzin, o mjcque, auh o ipilcaiotzin, Teoxioc: ca ynnan calten inijxipilla ainoll, tell in tlaxiximilli, iuh quiyaiotl ipan mijxcuchtiua in tell. Auh in ilto que, inni

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1. Landing of the Spaniards (preceding text). 2. Spaniards marching (preceding text). 3. Spaniards assaulting a temple in Mexico (Chapter I). 4. First omen: the tongue of fire (Chapter I). 5. Second omen: burning of Temple of Huitzilopochli (Chapter I). 6. Third omen: burning of Temple of Xiuhtecutli (Chapter I). 7. Fourth omen: comet in three parts (Chapter I).

[p. 44(C)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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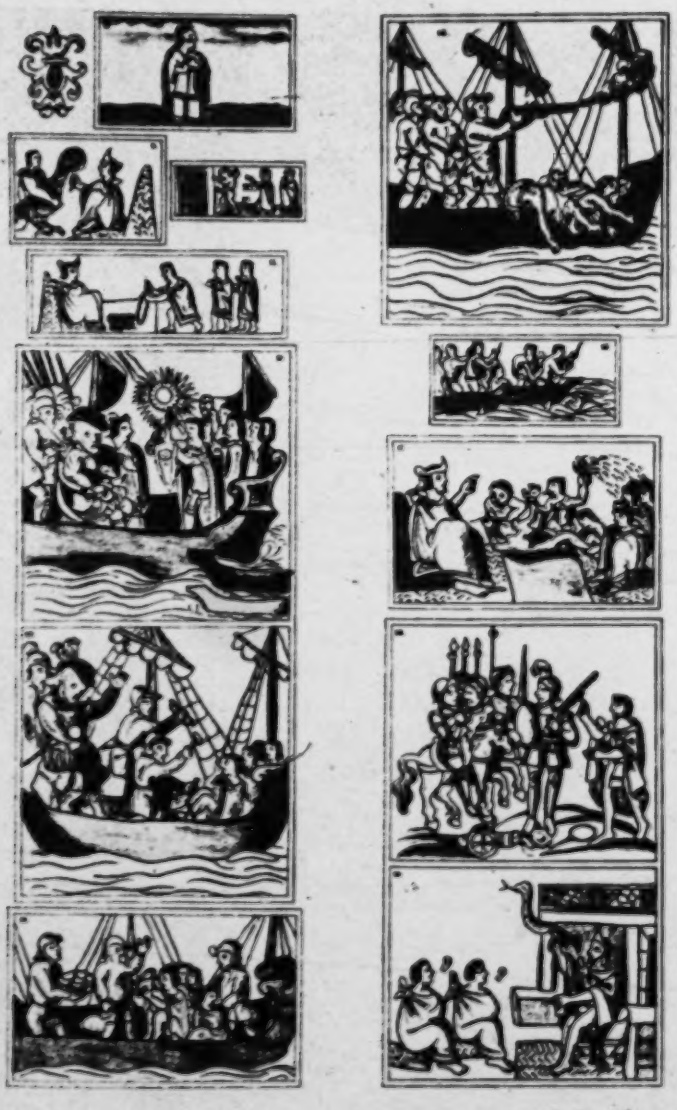

—After Pino y Tovar

8. Sixth omen: the weeping woman (Chapter 1). 9. Seventh omen: the ashen bird with a mirror (Chapter 1). 10. Eighth omen: two-headed men (Chapter 1). 11. Stewards present Spaniards' gift to Moctezuma (Chapter 2). 12. Moctezuma's messengers present gifts to Cortés (Chapter 5). 13. Spaniards bind Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 14. Spaniards fire guns and terrify the messengers (Chapter 5). 15. Spaniards give food to Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 16. Moctezuma's messengers return to the mainland (Chapter 6). 17. Captives are slain before Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 6). 18. Spaniards in war array (Chapter 7). 19. Moctezuma hears description of the Spaniards (Chapter 7).

[p. 44(D)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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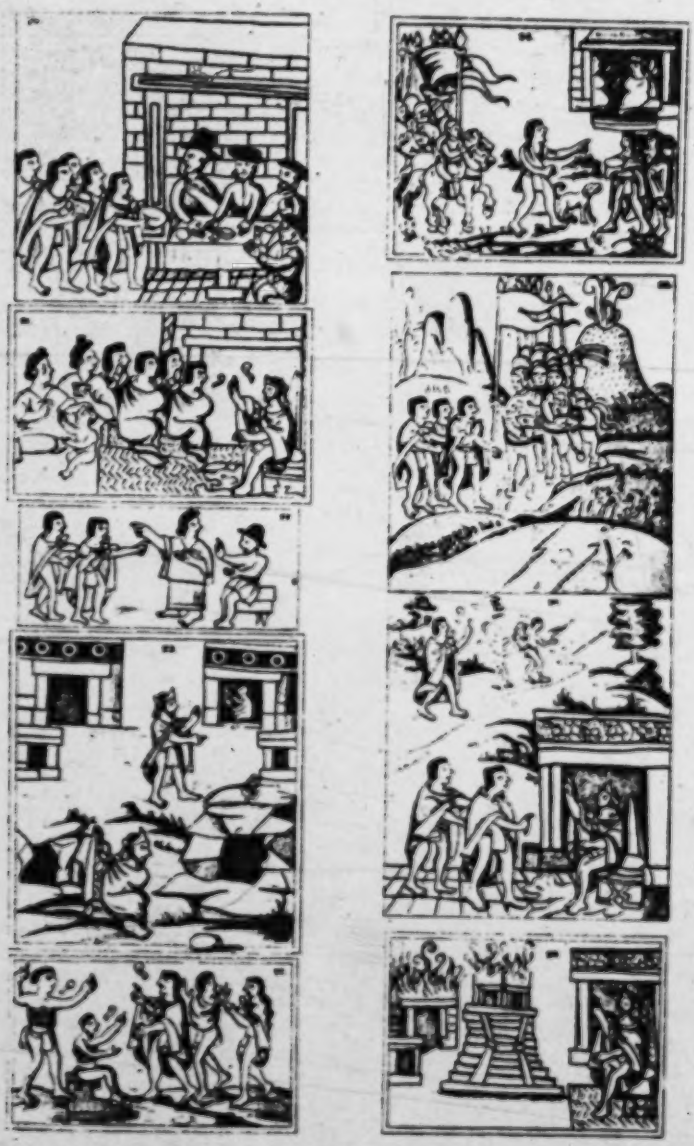

—After Paso y Troncoso

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Ixtaczpal and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's soothsayers meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Astec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

29. The road to Tenochtitlan is sown with maguey plants (Chapter 14). 30. Spaniards receive the submission of two of the Four Lords (Chapter 14). 31-36. Spaniards on the march from Itzapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(F)]

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—*Ajtor Paso y Troncoso*

F. 41. Spaniards on the march from Iztapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(G)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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— *Alfonso Pasco y Troncoso*

44. Marina interprets for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 15). 52. Mexicans leave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

[p. 44(H)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[776
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—After Paso y Troncoso

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—After Paso y Troncoso

59-61. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(J)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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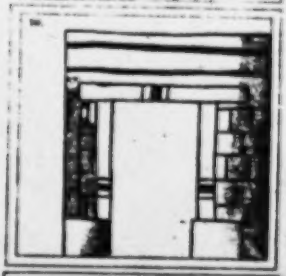

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

65. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p. 44(K)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Itzquauhtzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying fuel into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

80-82. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22). 83. Spaniards rout chieftains from the pyramid temple (Chapter 22). 84. Bodies of Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin are cast out of the palace by the Spaniards (Chapter 23). 85. Moctezuma's body is carried away (Chapter 23).

[p.44 (M)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itzquauhtzin's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itzquauhtzin's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detected leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Tetzcalhuayocan comfort the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—After Paso y Troncoso

¶¶ 97. Mexicans recover bodies and loot from the Tolteca canal (Chapter 25). 98. Mexicans at Coloaxayac (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Tecuilhuayacac (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Tecuilhuyacac welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102: Spaniards prepare to depart from Tecuilhuyacac (Chapter 26).

[p.44(0)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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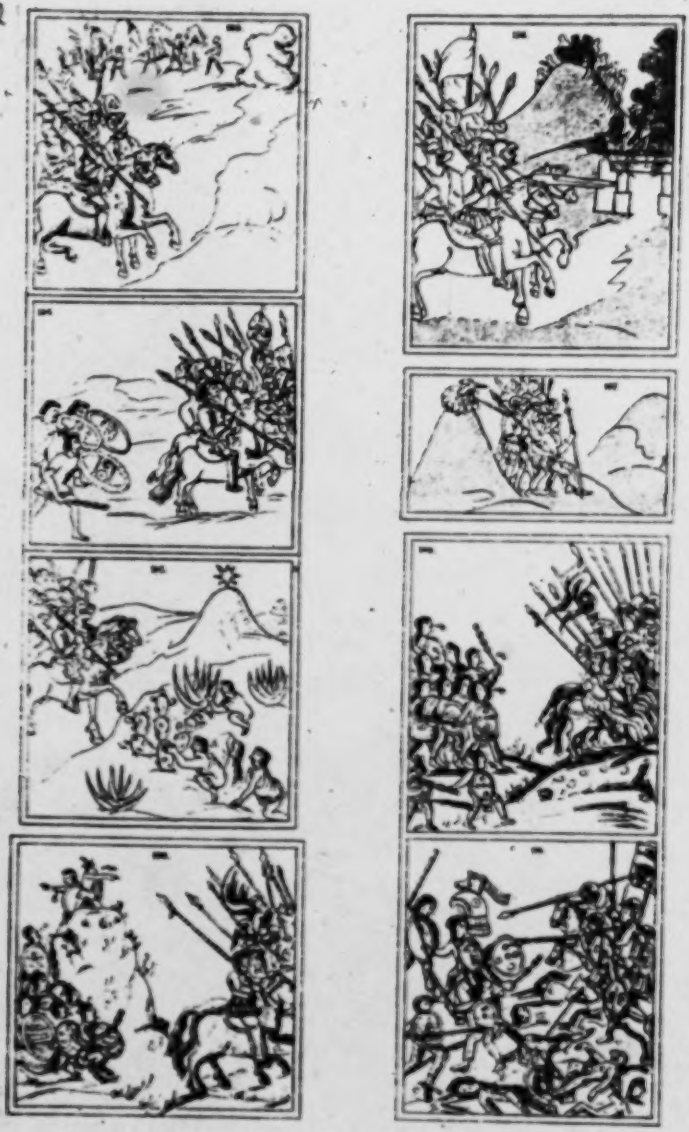

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

103. Spaniards reach Tepeacuilco (Chapter 26). 104. Mexican warriors pursue the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 105. Spaniards reach Cuhalopan (Chapter 26). 106. Spaniards reach Xolac (Chapter 26). 107. Spaniards reach Azuquemecan (Chapter 26). 108. Mexicans on mountain-top watch for the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 27). 109, 110. Battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27).

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

[p. 44(a)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

119. Spaniards attack Çoquipaxtlan (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Uitzilan (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Uitzilan (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horsemen spear a Tlatelolcan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Sheep cross land from warbands (Chapter 31).

[p. 44(R)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

128. Spaniards are attached on both sides (Chapter 31). 129. Mexican warriors toss the captured cannon into the water at Tetamapolco (Chapter 31). 130. Mexicans flee from Totochtitlan (Chapter 32). 131. Explosion of Tlilacatzin (Chapter 32). 132-134. Battle about Ayotlachiltlan and Nonoalco (Chapter 32). 135-137. The warrior Tlilacatzin in three disguises (Chapter 32).

[p. 44 (5)]

7: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are brought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacan arrive to watch treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a noblemen (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of these of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacan is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p. 44(T)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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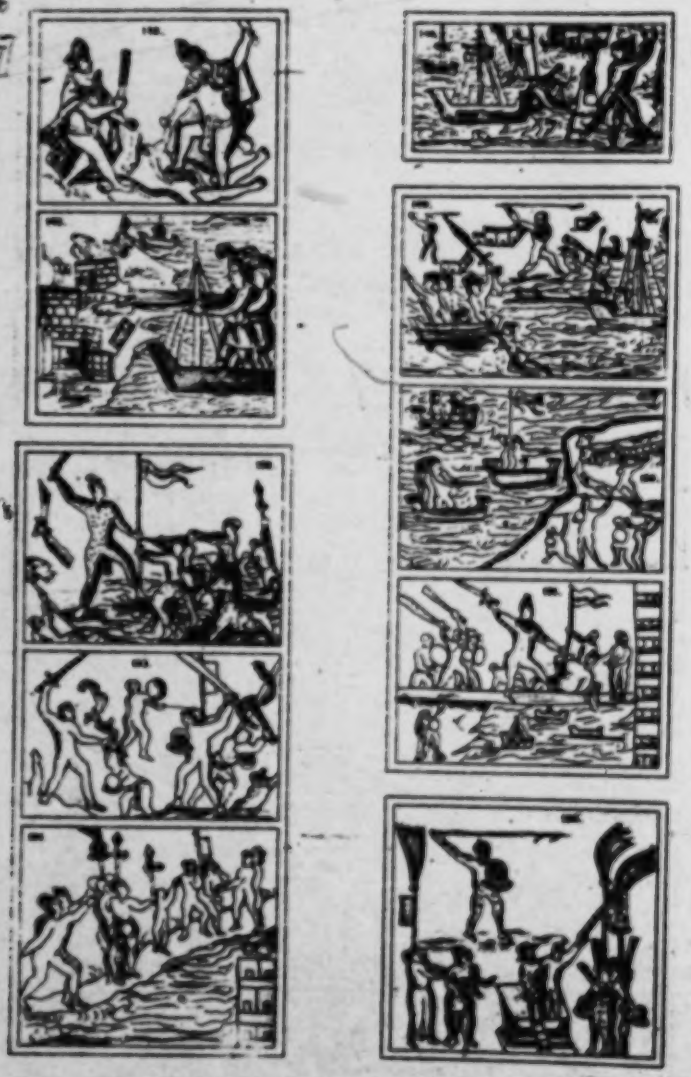

—After Pane y Trueba

146. Quauhtemoc and Mayauxain punish the traitors (Chapter 33). 147, 148. Spaniards arrive at Yucatanco (Chapter 33, 34). 149-151. Mexicans disperse the Spaniards and capture some (Chapter 34). 152-155. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many cities (Chapter 35).

[p. 44 (4)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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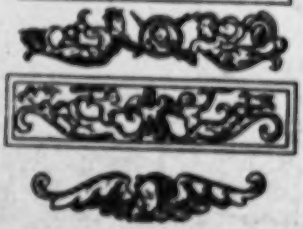

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

156, 157. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35). 158. Spaniards enter the market place at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36). 159. Spaniards fire the temple at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36). 160, 161. Battle in the market place at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36).

[p. 44(v)]

000 **Seventeenth Chapter, in which it is told how the Spaniards took Moctezuma with them as they went into the great palace; and what there happened.**

And when they had gone on to reach and enter the palace, forthwith they seized Moctezuma and kept him under guard,[1] never letting him from their sight, and with him Itzquauhtzin.[2] But the others only ran away.

And when this had come to pass, then the guns shot off. All flew into disorder, ran off to one side, melted from view [as the guns] flashed and spouted sparks.[3] All were as if stricken, drunk, as if all had looked upon [evil]. Fear reigned, as if everyone had lost heart. Even before it grew dark, all huddled in frightened, awed, and thunderstruck groups. All slept in terror.

And when dawn broke, all the things which [the Spaniards] needed were proclaimed [by the crier]: white tortillas, roasted birds, eggs, fresh water, wood — wood for burning, charcoal; earthen vessels — polished ones, water jars small and large, skillets, all [manner of] earthen vessels. [For] in truth [so] Moctezuma had commanded.

And when he summoned the noblemen, they defied him. They were wroth; they would not come to him; they would not go there. He was not listened to. But although not left at his feet,[4] all was given that [the Spaniards] needed—food, drink, chocolate, and fodder for deer.

652 And when [the Spaniards] were settled, they thereupon inquired of Moctezuma as to all the treasure of the city — the devices, the shields. Much did they tax him; with great zeal they demanded gold. And Moctezuma, upon this, proceeded to lead the Spaniards, who went surrounding and crowding about him as he went among them. He went at their head; they advanced with hands laid upon him, taking hold of him. And when they had se-

Injc caxtolli onnume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles qujvicatiaque Motecuçoma injc calaqujto vei tecpã: yoan in tlein vmpa mochiuh.

Auh in oacito tecpan, in ocalaqujto: çan njman vel quitizizquiquc, vel qujxpixtinenca, amo connjxcaoaia in Motecuçoma, in nehoan Itzquauhtzin: auh in oc cequintin çan oalquizque.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman se uevetz in in tlequjquiztli, iuhqujn tlayxneliuj, avic viloa, tlaixmoiaoa, tlachichitoca, iuhqujn tlacica, çan oqu juhqujn netequjpacholo, iuhqujn nenanacavilo, iuhqujn tlen mach onnettitilo, maujztli oonoc, iuhqujn mochi tlacatl qujtollo yiollo: çãnoc iuh oniaac, nemamauhtilotoc neihiçavilotoc, necujcujtiuechotoc, necochmamauhtilotoc.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic motzatzilia in jxqujch intech monequj, in iztac tlaxcalli, totollaleoatzalli, totoltetl, chipaoac atl, in quauitl, in tlatlatilquauitl, in tecolli, in apaztli, in petzcaxitl, in apilloli, in tzotzocolli, in tlatzoionjlcaxitl, in ic ixqujch in çoqujtlatqujtl: ichoatl uel tlanaoatica in Motecuçomatzin.

Auh in qujnoalnotzaia pipiltl, aocmo qujtlacamatia, ça quallanj, aocmo iujc qujça, aocmo ivic qujça, aocmo iujc onuj, aocmo mocaquj: auh tel amo icxic caoalo, maco in jxqujch itech monequj in qualonj, in joalonj, ioan in atl, in maçatlaçlli.

Auh in no uel motlalique: njmã ie ic qujntemolia in Motecuçomatzin in jxqujch in jtezõ in altepetl, in tlaujztli, in chimalli, cenca qujmatataqujlia, oncn qujmaujxtemoa in teucujtlatl. Auh in Motecuçomatzin: njman ie ic qujniacantiuh in Españoles, colchujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj, innepantla icatiuh, tlaiacac icatiuh, qujtzitziaqujtiuj, cuantiuj. Auh in onacique in tlatlatilcali: itocaiocan, teucalco: njman ie ic oallaqujztilo in jxqujch in petlacotl, in quetzalapane-

1. Cervantes de Salazar, in *Crónica de Nueva España* (Madrid: Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnografía, 1936), II, Chapter XXVIIIpp., develops this narrative with much color and detail.

[633] 2. Governor of Tlatelolco (corresponding Spanish text).

3. See Soler, op. cit., p. 494, n. 1.

4. Soler (op. cit., p. 495) reads the phrase as *ante le obedecido* — he was not therefore ignored.

652 rived at the treasure house, called Teocalco,[5] thereupon were brought out all the brilliant goods — the quetzal feather head fan, the devices, the shields, the golden discs, the devils' necklaces, golden nose crescents, golden leg bands,[6] golden arm bands, golden head bands.

Thereupon was the gold torn from the shields and from all the devices; and as all the gold was detached, they then burned — set fire to and consumed in flames — all the various precious things [from which the gold was taken]. It all burned. And the gold the Spaniards melted into bars. And of the green stone, as much as was good to their eyes they took. And the rest of the green stone the men of Tlaxcalla stole. And [the Spaniards] walked everywhere; they went digging into every place — where things were hidden, storage rooms, where things were guarded. They took all, all which they saw to be good.

caiutl, in tlaujztli, in chimalli, in teocujtlacomalli in inemquj diablome, teucujtlaiacametztli, in teocujtlacotzecoatl, in teocujtlamatemecatl, in teocujtlaixquamatl:

njman ie ic tlaixcoleoalo in jtech chimalli in teucujtlatl: yoan in jtech in jaquijch tlavirtli: auh inic muchi omocolcuh in teucujtlatl, ie ic contlecavia, cõtlequechia, contlemjoa in ixquijch nepapan tlaçotli muchi tlatlac. Auh in teucujtlatl quijxaxantecaque in Españoles: auh in chalchivitl in quexquijch quijqualittaque, quicujque: auh in oc cequj chalchivitl, çan quinamuxque in tlaxcalteca: yoan noviã nenque, quixaqualotinenque in novian tlatlatican, tlatlatilcali, tlatlatiloian, muchi quicujque in jaquijch in quittaque, in quiqualittaque.

5. The Spanish text of Chapters 16 and 17 refers to the same reader, presumably the founder of the Tenochca.
6. *Tecuipilcuetzpalli* should be read.

Eighteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards entered Moctezuma's princely home, and what happened there.

After this they went to Moctezuma's own store house, where were kept Moctezuma's own goods, a place called Totocalco.[1] [They acted] eager and content; they clapped one another on the back, as if happy. And on arriving, when they entered the store house, they scattered, bustling everywhere, as if greedy and covetous.[2] Thereupon were taken out the goods which were in truth [Moctezuma's] own, his exclusively, his portion, precious items all: neck bands with pendants, arm bands with tufts of quetzal feathers, golden arm bands; and bracelets, golden bands with shells to fasten at the knee, and turquoise mosaic crowns with triangular forehead pieces — the rulers' attire; and turquoise nose rods; and all the rest of his array, without number. They took it all. They possessed themselves of all, appropriated all to themselves, and took all to themselves as their own.

And after they had removed all the gold [from the raiment], when it had been torn off, they then piled up in the courtyard, in the middle of the area, all the precious feathers. And when this had been done, when all the gold had been gathered, then Marina summoned, and ordered called, all the noblemen. She got upon the roof-top, on a parapet. She said: "O Mexicans, come hither!" The Spaniards have suffered great fatigue. Bring here food, fresh water, and all which is needed. For they are already tired and exhausted; they are in need; they are spent and in want. Why do you not wish to come? It appeareth that you are angered."

But the Mexicans no longer dared go there. They were much frightened; they were weak with fear; they were terrified. Great awe spread; dread reigned.[4] No longer did one dare do anything. It was as if a fierce beast were there; as if the land lay dead. None the less, not on this account did they do nothing, nor hesitate to leave that which was needed. But they

Iuje cuxtolli onoc capítulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn Españoles calaquijto in jpilchan Motecuçoma: auh in tlein vmpa muchiuh.

Niman ic ic vi in vel itlatlatiaia Motecuçoma in vmpa mopia in vel itech iaxca in motecuçoma: itocaiocan Totocalco iuhqujn mocecenquetza, iuhqujn yiciolipan, iuhqujn moquequetzotzona, iuhqujn iztaia iniollo. Auh in onacito, in oncalacque tlatlatiloan, iuhqujn tlacochmana, novian acctivetzi, iuhqujn mjhicultia, mjhicolia: njmã ic ic ollaquijxtilo in vel ixcoian yiaxca, in vel incixcavil, in vel itonal, mochi tlaçotlanquj, in chaiacac coxcatl, in machoncotl, in teucujtlamatemecatl, yoan in matzopetztli, teucujthaicxitecuccuertli, yoan in xiuvitzolli tlatocatlatquitl, yoã in iacxivitl, yoan in jxquich in oc cequj in jtlatquj in amo çan tlapoalli muchi quicujque, moch intech compachoõj moch cõmotechtique, moch cõmotonaltique.

Auh in ocõcocoleuhque in jxquich in teucujtlatl: in ontlacocoleoaloc, njman ic ic quicentlalia itoalco, itoalnepantla in jxquich in tlaçohivitl. Auh in ic iuhquj in omochi munechico in teucujtlatl. Njmã ic ic quijoalnotza, quijoalnenotzallanj in jxquichtin in pipiltin in Malintzin: tlapanco oalmoquetz, atcxantic-pac: Quiioa. Mexica xioallhujan ca cenca ic tlaihiovia in Españoles: xiquakcujcã in tlaqualli, in chipaoac atl, yoan in jxquich monequj, ca ic tlaihiovia, ic quiciavi, ic quihiovia, ic mociavi, ic mjhiovia: tleica in amo anoallaznequj? ic neci ca anqualanj.

Auh in Mexica çã njmã aocmo motlapaloaia in ma onvian, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja mjhiçaviaia, cenca mavizti onoc, mavizti moteteca, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, ça iuhq'n tequanj vnca, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjcuac: tel amo ic mocaoa, amo ic netzotzonalo in concaoa in jxquich intech monequj, ça in mauhcac in concaoaia, çan momamauhtitivi, ça cenmomauhcatla-

1. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 63.

2. Díaz, op. cit., p. 496, translates thus: "Mas así de todo codiciadas [sic] como eran, así Marina [sic] (sic) ghidiaban [illegible] [illegible]."

3. *Xipoalnotzaca*: this should probably be read *xipoalnotzaca*.

4. *Momauhtiaia*: the word is blurred in the MS.

000 left it in fear; they ran only in dread as they went with the tribute. And as they went to lay it on the ground, all would run back; they continually shot back, [like] sparks flying.[9] [Yet] they trembled [as if] with cold.

los in ontlacana. Auh in oconteposto valnetlaitiliz, vallachichitoca, tlacica, tlaviviioca.

9. In Seler, op. cit., p. 487, this passage is rendered: "Und nachdem sie es auf den Boden gelegt hatten, rannten sie zurück, rollten zusammen." A note on p. 488 compares Sahagún with Motolinía (see Molinía, op. cit.).

Ninetenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards commanded the Mexicans to observe the Feast of Uitzilopochtli; yet this came to pass not in the presence of the Captain, for at that time he had gone to the coast where Pánfilo de Narváez had arrived.

And thereafter [Pedro de Alvarado] [1] then asked, as to the Feast of Uitzilopochtli, how the festival [was celebrated]. He wished to marvel at and see how and in what manner it was done. Thereupon Moctezuma issued the command. Those of his vassals who had access to him brought forth the word.[2]

And when the behest had come forth from where Moctezuma was imprisoned, thereupon the women who had fasted for a year ground the amaranth and prickly poppy[3] seed there in the temple courtyard. The Spaniards appeared, decked with great war array; they were dressed in battle gear, bedight as warriors. They came into [the group], walked among them, encircled them, looked at each one — stared into the faces of the grinding women. And after this, when they had come to see them, they then entered the great palace. As is known, they say that at that time they would have slain them if many of us warriors should have been assembled.

And when the Feast of Toxcatl had arrived, toward sundown they began to give man's form to the body [of the amaranth seed dough image of Uitzilopochtli]. They formed it, and gave it the look and appearance of a man. And of this one they fashioned the body only of a dough of amaranth seed and of fish amaranth seed.[4] They formed him on a framework of twigs — [the framework of] Uitzil [opochtli; one laid in] angles.[5]

Injc exxtolli onnavi capítulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles, quijnnaoztique Mexica: injc quichioazque injlhujuh vitzilobuchtli: auh ínin amo ixpan mochiuh in Capitan: ca iquac in vmpa ia atenco injc acico Paníphilo de narbayez.

Auh çatepan, njman ie ic quitlanj in jilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in quenamj ilhujuh, quijmaviçoznequj quijttiznequj, in quenamj, in quenjn muchioa: njmã ie ic tlanaoatia in Motecuçoma, in aquijque vel oconcalaquj itechiuhcaoan, quijoalquijxtiaia in tlatolli.

Auh in ovalquijz tlatolli in vmpa caltzacutica motecuçoma: njman ie ic quijteci in osuhtli chicalutl in cioa, mocexiuhçauhque, vncã in teuitoalco, oalquijzque in Españoles, cenca omococencauhq̃ in jca iautlatquijtl, moiauchichiuhque, moquijchchiuhque, intlan quijquiça, intzalan quijquiça, qujniaiavaloa, qujnccecemjtta, imjxco tlatlachia in teci cioa. Auh in ie iuhquj in oquijmonjttaco, injmã ie ic calaquj in vei tecpan, iuh machiztic: quijmach iquac temjctinquja intla mjec tlacatl cenquijçani toquijchtin. 796

Auh in ie onccic illujtl in toxcatl, teutlacpa in quipeoaltia in quijtlacatilia in jnacaio, quijtlacatlaliaia, quijtlacatlachichtiaia, quijtlacanextia. Auh inin qujnaciotiaia çan tzoalli, ie in mjchioauhtzoalli, tlacopechpan in quijtlaliaia, ie in vitzitzillacutl, yoã nacaztlacutl. 796 778

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

2. Cf. J.-M.-A. Ixtlilxóchitl: *Histoire de la nation mexicaine . . . réproduction du Codex de 1576* (Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1889), pp. 89sqq., where the narrative of the Conquest contains a different version.

3. *Chicalutl*: cf. Hernández, op. cit., III, pp. 303-305 (*chicalhui* = *capina*; "cardo," *Argemone mexicana* L.); Santamaría, op. cit., I, p. 483 (*chicalutz*); Ramírez, op. cit., p. 265 (*amarante dégénéré* of Mexico); Guillermo Hahn Manchola: *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939), pp. 137-138 (poppy family — *Argemone grandiflora*).

4. Sahagún, in *Biblioteca Mexicana*, p. 191, n. 1, citing Sahagún, III, 1, §2, identifies *michhuauhtli* as *chicalutl*. See also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Conversion*, p. 62.

5. Personal communication from Mgr. Angel Maria Garibay and Byron McAdam, Nov., 1954: "*Y a este le hacían su cuerpo con Masa, con Masa de chicalutz (Argemone mexicana, esp. Lehmann). En un armazón de varas lo ponían; en el armazón de Huizil (opochtli), y el armazón de espinas.*" These authorities explain: "*La Masa chicalutzcal o sea 'varas de Huizil,' porque está formada de palos delgados y cortados del mezquite que se usaban duro y fuerte (mizquizcuatl in tlacatl), y el nombre del dios está derivado Huizil 'punzar, cuchillo' que expresa el elemento Opochtli al de la izquierda del mundo, que es el sur.* — *Huizcatlcuatl lit. 'varas de espina.' La palabra tlacatl, tlacatl significa esta vara dura y resistente, como era la de' los dardos. Se hallo también en el anterior cuadro. Huizcalli es 'espina, espinas,' y 'varas de espinas' porque que era el armazón, o aparato con construcción de varas rajadas o acomodadas en forma de parhelio alargado y trasversal. Sobre este armazón se ponían los Masas o amalles de huauhtli, que eran precisamente de la planta dicha. Llamaban entonces huauhtli, 'Masa de pescado.'* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 62; Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), I, p. 137, or Sahagún (Acosta S. ed.), I, p. 153.

796 And when he had already taken shape, then they
778 pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After
[237] that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was
[532] wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and
[289] members [of men; it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was] only of paper; it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife as the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of papercwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

Auh in ie utlacat, njmã qujquapotonja, yoan quj-
chioa, ixtlã tlatlaan, yoan jcoanacochxivitl in tlaça-
lolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl,
teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxozopiltectli, yoã yiacapilol,
mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan
tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlatecujlolli: no itech pilcaia
moteneoa vitznaoaiutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan
tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan tẽcuxtli yoã icpac
conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmã contoqujlia, itoca
anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjvnjltic, achitzin
vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmã ie ic in tozpololli
icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuez-
palli, yoã itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in
tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmolototica, yoan
in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio,
oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc
tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncã icujliuhtoc in
tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapach-
tli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in
maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no
tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujttli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan
amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc potlaoac cemmatl:
auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli texoacaxilquj,
auh injquezpan qujmamanticatca iacatecpaio: in
jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc
tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli,
çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan
ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauh-
can tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapan-
quj, moteneoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no
iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh
ic qujcentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex
imacpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pil-
catica amatl tlaxozotlalli.

6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica sp.?*); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica sp.*; others are *Urtica urens*, var. *angustifolia*. Barrapindsen mápindu Kuathi Chomy ("quemadura," "ortiga"); and W. *cuaxuxu*- H. B. K. ("*ortiga de tierra caliente*"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496, writes of *chichicaste*: "*la ortiga amarezza. . . . La especie principal es la* Jatropha urens L. . . . *En México, planta herbácea, semiarpadora, común en las zonas cálidas y templadas*" (*México desconocido, Exploración desconocidísima*). Also, "*Planta urticácea, llamada también ortiga, mal hombre, malo morir, quemador, chichicastillo, tlachinole, en México.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicastli* (*Urera caracasana* [Jacq.] Griseb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *jiui*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 508, has supplied *-ocuic*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the evidence is *-mazatl*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 68, *amatl-amatl* is given as "coarse, thickly fibered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bull's horn acacia (*Acacia cornigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia amatl-amatl por la capa de blanco de algunos árboles del género ficus. Sirvió de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las adornos, cortinas y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *teuxwelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and* those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Tone is repeated in the MS.

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Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquilia, ixpan quimana in izquican ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in ixquich tlacatl in telpopochtequioaque iuhquin nececêquetzalo, iuhquin in ioiolipã in ilhuitlazque, in ilhuitlamatizque, inic quintlattitizque, quintlaimaviçoltizq̃, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

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778
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[785]
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[688]

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitoalco, inic vmpa necocololoz. Auh in ococenquixoac: nimã ie ic pecalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necocololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocezíuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imococquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaiciecalhuja in ococquavitl: auh in aquin maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaztaxel. Auh in aquin çan nimian atlatlacamati, inamo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicuitlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, caculhuitequj, calitiçpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conixiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacnaoati:

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cenca iehoã tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocezíuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintzacujliaia: auh in ie ixquich telputzintli, in cocexpaltzine in cucxpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzoztocolleque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in moteneoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quintzaquaia: quimjlhujaia, vmpa xivlã on nocne, anquitcittitia, amo techitto.

[p. 52 is blank]

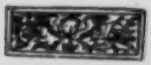

796 778 **Twentieth Chapter.** Here is told how the Spaniards[1] slew and destroyed the Mexicans who were celebrating the Feast of Uitzilopochtli in the place called the Temple Courtyard.

Injc cempoalli capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles qujnmjctique, qujmjxtlatique in Mexica, in quijlhujqujxtiliaia Vitzilobuchtli in vncã mjtoaia Teuitoalco.

726 And after this, when already the feast was taking place, all were dancing and singing, and there was song with dance. The song roared.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ie ilhujtlamacho, in ie netotilo in ie cujcò, in ie cujcoanolo: in cujcatl, iuhqujn xaxamacatimanj.

When now it was time, and the moment was opportune for the Spaniards to slay them, then they issued forth girt for battle; they came to block everywhere the ways leading out and in, [called] Quauhquiauac, Tecpantzinco, Acatl yiacapan, and Tezcacoac.[2] And when they had closed them off and also various [other] places, [the people] were contained, [so that] nowhere could they get out.

In ie inmã, in otlainmantic injc temjctizque in Españoles: njman ie ic oalqujça omoiauchichiuhque, ocontzatzaquaco, in jzqujcampa qujxoaia, calacoaia, in quauhqujiaoac tecpantzinco, acatl yiacapan, Tezcacoac. Auh in ocõtzatzacque: no izqujcã momanque, aocac vel hoalqujça.

And this having been done, they then entered the temple courtyard to slay them. They whose task it was to kill them went only afoot, each with [his] leather shield, some with their iron-studded shields, and each with iron sword. Then they surrounded those who danced whereupon they went among the drums. Then they struck the arms of the one who beat the drums; they severed both his hands, and afterwards struck his neck, [so that] his neck [and head] flew off, falling far away. Then they pierced them all with iron lances, and they struck each with the iron swords. Of some they slashed open the back, and then their entrails gushed out. Of some, they split the head; they hacked their heads to pieces; their heads were completely cut up. And of some they hit the shoulder; they split open and cut their bodies to pieces. Some they struck in the shank; some on the thigh. Of some, they struck the belly, and then their entrails streamed forth. And when one in vain would run, he would only drag his entrails like something raw, as he tried to flee. Nowhere could he go. And one who tried to go out, there they struck and pierced him.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic calaquj in teuitoalco in temjctizque: in intequjuh in temjctique çan tlacxipãvia imeevachimal, cequj intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: njman ie ic qujniaoaloa in mjtotia, njmã ie ic vi in vevetitlan, njmã qujmavitecque in tlatzotzona oalcocotoa vmexti in jmacpal çatepan qujquechvitecque veca vetzito in jquech: njmã ie muchintin texixili tepuztopiltica, yoan teviviteque tepuzmaquauhtica: cequjntin qujncujtlaço. njman valmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcol, cequjntin qujnquatzatzianque, vel qujtzeltilique in intzontecon, vel itzeltix in intzõtecõ. Auh in cequjntin qujmaculhujtecque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequjntin qujncotzvivitecque, cequjn qujnmetzvivitecque, cequjntin qujmjtivitecque, njmã moch oalmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcul. Auh in aca oc nen motlaloa in jcujtlaxcul, ça qujvilana, iuhqujn xoxoqujova in momaquixtiznequj, aoc campa vel huj: auh in aquin qujçaznequj, vmpa qujcalhujtequj, qujvalxixili.

But some climbed the wall, and so succeeded in taking flight. Some entered the various tribal temples, and there escaped. And some eluded [the

Auh cequjntin, tepantli qujtlecavique, tel huel momaquixtiq: cequjntin calpulco cacalaque vmpa momaquixtique. Auh in cequjntin intlan momaq'a-

1. In the Codex, the slide is omitted.

2. These were, respectively, the north gate of the main temple square (see map) to the Itzapalapan road; the west gate to the Tlacopan road; and, probably, the north and east gates. — Cano, *Revista antiquaria*.

726 Spaniards] among [the dead]; they went in among those who had died, only feigning death, and were able to escape. But one who stirred, when they saw him, they pierced.

And the blood of the chieftains ran like water; it spread out slippery, and a foul odor rose from the blood. And the entrails lay as if dragged out. And the Spaniards walked everywhere, searching in the tribal temples; they went making thrusts everywhere in case someone were hidden there. Everywhere they went, ransacking every tribal temple as they hunted.

And when [all this] became known, there then was a shout: "O chieftains! O Mexicans! Hasten here! Let all prepare the devices, shields, and arrows! Come! Hasten here! Already the chieftains have died; they have been put to death, destroyed, shattered, O Mexicans, O chieftains!" Thereupon arose an outcry, a shouting, a shrieking with hands striking the lips. Quickly the chieftains marshaled themselves; as if working with a will they brought the arrows and shields. Then the fray joined. They shot [41] at them with barbed arrows, spears, and tridents, and they loosed darts with broad, obsidian points at them. It was as if a [mass of] deep yellow reeds spread over the Spaniards.

tique, intlan cacalacque in ovelmjcque, çan momjcanenequjs, vel momaquixtique: auh in aca oc mopoçaoa in conjtta, conjtili.

Auh in jmezço in tiacavan iuhqujn atl ic totocac, iuhqujn aalacatoc, yoan xoqujiac coatoc in ezttli. Auh in cujtlaxcolli iuhqujn tlavilanj. Auh in Españoles, novian nemj in tlatemoa in calpulco, novian ontlaxiltivi in tlatemoa, in açaca vmpa mjnaia, novia nenque, qujxaqualotinenque in izqujcan calpulco in tlatemoque.

Auh in omachoc, njman ie ic tzatzioa. Tiacavane mexicae vallãtotoca, ma nechichicalo in tlavizttli, in chimalli, in mjtl, vallacivi, vallatotoca, ie mjquj in tiacaoan: ommjcque, onjxpoliuhque, ommjxtlatique: Mexicae tiacaoane. Njmã ie ic tlacavaca, ie ic tzatzioa, netenviteco, iciuhca valnechicaovac in tiacavan iuhqujn nececenquetzalo in mjtl in chimalli qujitquj. Nimã ie ic necalioa, qujmõmjna in jca tlatzontectli, in jca tlacochtli, yoan in mjnacachalli, yoan in tlatzontectli, itzpatlacio in co. .iaça: iuhqujn cozpul ommoteca in acatl, in impan Españoles.

Twenty-first Chapter. Here is told [how] war first began, when the Mexicans gave battle to the Spaniards here in Mexico.

And the Spaniards fortified themselves. And the Spaniards also shot at the Mexicans with iron arrows, and fired the guns at them. And then they put Moctezuma in irons.

And all the chieftains who had died [in the temple courtyard] were thereupon taken out and brought forth, and identified. And the mothers and fathers raised a cry of weeping; all wept over them; there was wailing. First they took them to their homes. Later they carried them to the temple courtyard, brought them together there, and burned them together there at the place called Quauhxicalco.[1] But some [were] burned only at the various young men's houses.

And when the sun was about to enter his house, [but] a little sun still [shone], thereupon Itzquauhtzin cried out; on the [palace] roof-top, he called out and spoke: "O Mexicans, O men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco, your ruler, the lord of men, Moctezuma, beseeketh you and saith: 'Let the Mexicans hear! We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]!'[2] Let [the battle] be abandoned! Let the arrow and shield be stilled! Unhappy [are] the poor old men and women, the common folk, those not yet of understanding — who toddle, who crawl, who lie placed in cradles or on [cradle] boards, those yet untrained!' For this reason doth your ruler say: 'We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]; may [the strife] cease' — because they have shackled him; they have had irons placed on his feet!"

And when he had said this, then they raised a clamor and chid him. The Mexicans became more and more enraged. One, much inflamed by anger, said: "What ails Moctezuma, O fool? [Art thou] not one of his warriors?"[3] Whereupon there was

Injc ompoalli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa iancuj can peuh iauiotl, injc qujmjcalque Mexica in Españoles in njcan mexico. 726

Auh in ichoantin Españoles: njman valmotepetlatzatzacque. Auh in Españoles no qujnvalmjna in Mexica in jca tepuzmjtl, yoan ic qujnvalmotla in tlequjqujztli. Auh njman tepuztli contlatlaliiique in Motecuçoma:

auh in jxqujchtin tiacavan in omjcque: njmã ie ic tequjztilo, teçaço, teiiximacho. Auh in tenanvan in tetaoan tlachoqujztleoa tetchoqujlilo, nechoqujlilo, oc inchachan qujnvicaca, çatepan qujnoalhujcaque in teuitvalco, qujncentlalique: vmpa qujncentlatique, cecnj in jtocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequjntin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali. 764

Auh in ic oncalaqujz tonatiuh, in oc achiton tonatiuh: njman ie ic valtzatzi in Jtzquauhtzin, tlapanco valtzatzi: qujoalito. Mexicae, tenuchcae, tlatilulcae, amechtlatlauhti in amotlatocauh, in Tlacatecutli in Motecuçoma: qujoalitoa. Ma qujcaqujcan in Mexica, ca amo titenamjcvan, ma motlacavaltican, ma momana in mjtl in chimalli, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in aiamo qujmati in moquequetza, in movilana, in coçultentoc, in vapaltentoc, in aiamo qujmomachitia: ipampa conjtoa in amotlatocauh. Camo titenamjcvan, ma netlacaoaltilo, ca oconteputziotique, tepuztli icxic ocontlatlalilique: 648

Auh in oconjto in, njmã ie ic conchachalatza, conaoa, çan ie illujce tlavelcuj in Mexica qualanj, ce illujce poçonj: conjlluja. Tlein qujoalitoa Motecuçoma nocne? amo ce yioqujchoan? Nimã ie ic tlacaoaz, niman ic maaztimoquetz in tlacaoaca:

1. Four places named Quauhxicalco, in the temple square, are explained in Book II — *The Ceremonies*, pp. 168, 170, 171.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*¡que cesen hombres con cosas fuertes que que cesaron.*"
3. Bibl.: "*¿Por dios el pues de Moctezuma? Y no soldado con el, no conservar la guerra.*" Nota: literally, "my friend."

648 an outcry, and then the tumult rose and spread. Thereafter arrows fell upon the roof-top. But the Spaniards sheltered Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin under their shields lest the Mexicans pierce them with the arrows.

For this reason were the Mexicans in great wrath: because [the Spaniards] had completely destroyed the chieftains [in the Temple Courtyard]; without warning, they had slain them by treachery.[4]

726 Not yielding to force of arms, [the Mexicans] surrounded the palace. They watched various places that none might enter it secretly — that none might in stealth take in tortillas. Hence, at once was stayed all which they had been receiving; forthwith they left no more. In this way they would starve them.[5]

And as for those who would in vain advise [the besieged], or gain merit by secretly giving [one of them] a little food, if they were seen or detected, they then and there slew them. They killed them on the spot. They either struck them on the back of the head, or they stoned them.

At one time some Mexicans were seen carrying in furs. These let word fall that through them some had secretly gone in. Therefore all were strictly commanded that every road and canal be well guarded and watched; that all take great care in the watching. And those who took in the furs [482] [were] carriers,[6] the emissaries of the stewards of Ayotzintepec and Chinantla. Then and there they breathed their last; their work dropped; at the canal they struck them on the back of the head with wooden clubs.[7] Those of Tenochtitlan had only quarreled among themselves, and quite in confusion had seized the carriers. They said: "Surely he is one [of them]!" Then they put him to death. And if they noted someone [wearing] his fine crystal lip rod, then they quickly seized and killed him. They said: "Surely this one also walketh entering within, to serve food to Moctezuma." And if they saw someone who had tied on himself the maguey fiber cape[8] of a carrier, him also they quickly seized. They said: "This one also is a brute who goeth bearing evil tales, and letteth them in to see Moctezuma."

njmã ic ic onvetzi in mjtl in tlapanco. Auh in Moctecuçomatzin yoan Itzquauhtzi, qujnchimalcaltia in Españoles in ma qujnmjnti in Mexica.

Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica: ichica ca vel qujmjxtlatique in tiacaoan in ainnemachpan in qujnpoionjctique,

in amo ivivi ic concauhque qujiaoalotinemj in tepancalli: tlatlapia in açaca onjchtacacalaquj, in açaca conjchtacacalaquja tlaxcalli, çan njman ic ommotzacu in jzqujch in omacoia, çan njmã aocac tle concaoaia: iuhqujn qujncujtlaoatzque.

Auh in aqujque oc nen xonexcaia, tlamatzoaia, motlamaceviaia, in ichtacatzin cõmacaia in tlaqualtzintli: intla oittoque, intla oittaloque, njman vncã qujnmjctia, vncan qujntlatlatia, aço qujncuexcochvitequj, anoço qujntetepachoa.

Cequjntin mexica ceppa ittaloque, qujcalaqujaia totomjtl: ichoantin tlanexotlaque, inca cequjntin oncalaquj ichtaca, ic cenca netlaquauhnaoatiloc injc vellapielox, vel mopiaz in jzquj vtli yoan in jzquj acalutli, vel necujtlavilox vel ixpialoia. Auh in qujcalaqujaia totomjtl tequjtque intlaivalhoã in calpixque aiuxtaintepecatl yoan chinantecatl: njman vncan ihiotl quix, njmã vncã intequjuh vetz, acaloco in qujmõcuexcochvivitecque, vitzantica, çan monetechvia in tenuchca, yoan çan jliviz in qujntzitzquja in tequjtque, qujtoaia. Ca ichoatl in: njmã ic conmjctia. Auh intla aca conjttaia ichopilotentzuh: njman qujcujtivetzi, conmjctia: qujtoa, ca no ichoatl in oncalactinemj in contlatlamaca in Motecuçoma: yoan intla aca qujtta, qujmolpilia tequitcaaiatl, no qujcujtivetzi, qujtoa: ca no ichoatl in tlapalpul, in tetzauhtlatolli qujtqujtinemj, cõcalaquja, in conjtta motecuçoma.

4. For [illegible] read [illegible].

5. Literally, "they dried their entrails."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "los carajiboes o pajes de Motecuçoma."

7. Vitzantica: read vitzantica.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] maguey delcubo que llaman capil."

And he who in vain would save himself, implored and said to them: "What do you do, O Mexicans? I am not [the one]." They answered him: "Thou art [one of them] also, O fool; [art thou] not a carrier?" Then and there they slew him. They only [continued] to guard the people; they went about cautious of others. Their eyes and concern were only to guard the Mexicans. Many they punished for imagined [evil], those who perished without warning, whom they punished not for their own crime.

Auh in oc nen momaquixtiznequj, in qujntlatlauhtía quimjlhuja. Tle amai mexicae, camono nehoatl: conjlhuja, ca no tehoatl nocne, amo titequjtquj: njman ic vncan cõmjctia ça teixpipia, ça motecujtlavitinemj, ça imjx intequjuh, ça tepipia in mexica: ca mjequjntin in tlapictli qujxacutiaque in jxpopoiomjctiloque in amo vel intlatlacal qujtzacutiaque. 726

And still other carriers hid and sheltered themselves. No more were they to be seen; they showed themselves to no one; no longer would they come forth to the people. They were in great fright, swooning with fear. They lived hidden, lest they fall into the people's hands.

Auh in oc cequjnti tequjtque motlatique, mjnazque, aocmo motecittitiaia, aocmo motenextiliaia, aocmo tevic quiçaia, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja, mjinaxtinenca, injc amo temac vetzizque.

And when they laid siege to the Spaniards, for only seven days did they join battle with them in their quarters. And for twenty-three days they were shut in. And for as many days, the canals were dredged, widened, deepened, and made precipitous. Everywhere the canals were made dangerous and difficult. And on the roads, in various places, they erected barriers, laid walls, and placed ramparts. Passages between houses were made dangerous.

Auh in jquac oquincaltzacque in Españoles: çan chicoemjlhujtl in quincalicalque. Auh in caltzacuticatca cempoalilhujtl omei: auh izquilhujtl in, in acalotli motatatacac, mopapatlauh, movevecatlano, motetepexiõtz novian movicantlali, moovitili in acalotli: Auh in vtli ipã, netetenantiloc, tenamjtl motetecac, netetenantlaliloc, mooviujcantlali in caltzalãtli: 723 726

And when this had taken place[9] —

auh in ie iuhquj. CDO

9. Chapter 21 ends and with an interruption completed in the beginning of Chapter 22. Angel María Garibay (*Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, p. 252), however, identifies the break as one of several lacunae. See also the ending of Chapter 23.

[p. 58 is blank]

000 **Twenty-second Chapter. Here is told how it became known that the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, was coming, and that he was returning to Mexico.**

—it became known that the Captain now was coming from Tepeyacac.[1] He had set forth bringing with him many Spaniards, and a great number of men of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla—many of them, large numbers, an abundance, a teeming multitude, a great host. Not only [in numbers] were they coming, [but] they came to war; they came with devices, in war array, [with] their shields, obsidian-bladed swords, and wooden clubs borne upon their shoulders. They came stirring up a column of dust, [so that] their faces were covered and ashen with dust. They were caked with earth—clothed in dust, in much earth, [which] flaked off. In haste they ran and hurried here. They said, as they went: "Come along, O men of Tlaxcalla! O men of Cempoalla!"

723 And the Mexicans determined among themselves that thereafter they would not be seen, but would hide and conceal themselves. As if the earth lay dead, they would speak aloud no more, [but] only remain spying out of entrances, openings in walls, and holes which in some measure they had pierced through walls, through which they could look out. Only those who had [houses] by the roadside—those along the edge of the road—could do so. But those who were among houses could not. [For] if the Spaniards had seen how many chieftains there were in some places, marshaled together, they would have thought in their hearts that the Mexicans would begin, start, and initiate the war.

And after this, [Cortés] went to and entered the palace; whereupon they shot off the guns.[2]

726 And when this had taken place, then [the Mexicans] came forth intent upon battle. Thereupon there were [war] cries and there was fighting; the fray was then joined; there was battle. Arrows and rocks fell upon the Spaniards.[3]

Iajc cempoalli omume capítulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn machiztico in ic vitz capitan don hernãdo Cortes injc oalmocuepaia mexico.

In omachiztico in ic vitz in Capitan tepeiacacpa in quijçaco, mjequjntin in qujnoalhujcac in Españoles yoan cenca mjequjntin in tlaxcalteca yoã in cempoalteca vel mjequjntin vel itzacuin, vel itzachintin, vel tonac, vel tonaque: amo çan iuh vallaque, valizuiaque, valmotlaviztitiaque, valmoiauchichiuhtiaque, inchichimal, inmamaquauh, inmamavitzoc quiquequequechotivitze, teuhtli qujoalçtztiaque, omach iztlaliuhque omach yiztenezuhque, omach moca tlalloaque, omach teteuhquimjliuhque, çã moca tlaltin, omach cocoztlaloaq̃ cenca oalmotlaloa, cenca oalhujcinj, motzatzatzilitivi: qujotivi, vallatotoca tlaxcaltecae, cempoaltecae.

Auh in Mexica monaoatique, injc amo qujn motitizque, çã motlatizque, mjnaiazque, iuhquin tlalli mjctimotecac, aocac naoati, tel hoallachiclotoc in tlatzacujlcamac, yoan tepancamac, yoan tlacoiocco achi qujcocoionjque in tepantli, injc vmpa ontlachie:: çan ichoan in otenoaque, in otentli qujtocatoque in iuh qujchiuhque: auh in calnepantla onoque amo iuh qujchiuhque. Auh intla quimjttanj in cana quexqujchtin manj, tepeuhtimanj, in tiacaoan, ca iniol iuh tlamatizquja in Españoles, ca in mexica ichoan quipeoaltia, ichoan qujtzintia, ichoan inpeoal in iuiiod.

Auh in ic iuhquj in ocalaqujto vei tecpan: njman ic ic qujtlatlaça in tlequjquiztli:

auh in ic iuhquj, njmã ic ic oalquiça qujoalintia in mjcaliaque: njmã ic ic tlacaoaca, ic ic necalioa, njmã ic ic muchioa in iuiiotl, njman ic ic tlaiecolo onvetzi in mjtl, in tetl, in impan Espanoles.

1. Tepeyacac: presumably not the site north of Tenochtitlan, but one between it and Tlaxcalla.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*convocaron a saber entre los suyos en secreto de los que eran Españoles, y para atemorizar a los mexicanos.*"
3. The slide is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

726 But the Spaniards shot iron bolts and guns. Many men were pierced by the arrows and shot by the guns. The crossbowmen aimed the bolts to good purpose; they sighted well along the bolt upon whom they would pierce. And the iron bolts, when they went, seemed to fly humming and whizzing; great was their whirring. And not purposelesly did the arrows fly. All struck and pierced people through. And the guns were well trained upon and aimed at the people. And when [the shots] struck, all went down stretched out on the ground, extended like sleeping-mats. Without one's knowing, it struck one; without warning, it slew one. As many as they hit, so many died,[4] when they struck vital spots — perhaps the forehead, or the back of the head, or the heart, or the breast, or the belly, or the abdomen. But if they struck only the thigh or the shoulder, they did not then die. They were not endangered, but would recover. And when the Mexicans saw how the gun [shots] and iron bolts struck, they went from side to side, as if back and forth, hither and thither. They kept good watch and observed carefully.

And when there had been battle for four days, then [some] chieftains climbed up — selected and chosen ones, who possessed devices, in whose faces was war. All went up to the top of the [pyramid] temple. They carried up two beams and many rounded oak logs, called the god's wood, which they carried up in order to cast them down [on the foe].

And after them climbed the Spaniards; they mounted the [pyramid] temple. The Spaniards[5] proceeded in squadrons and in files. Ahead went the arquebusiers, who climbed up very deliberately, not massed. They advanced firing the arquebuses and thus loosing shots. Second went the crossbowmen, the archers using iron bolts. Third went the swordsmen. Fourth went the lancers, the halberdiers.

And the chieftains in vain marshaled themselves to cast the wood, the thick oak logs, down upon the Spaniards. They only fended them off with their shields at once and took no heed [of them]. And when the Spaniards had reached the summit, they thereupon struck, pierced, and stabbed [the foe]. And the chieftains, on this, threw themselves to the

Auh in ichoãtin Españoles: qujoallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli, mjec tlacatl mjnaloc yoan tlequjqujzvîloc: in tlatepuztlavitolhujanj, vel qujzcatzitta in mjtl, vel ipan qujtlachialtia in mjtl in aquin qujmjnaz: auh in tepuzmjtl injc iuh iuhquin qujquinacatiuh, iuhquin çoçolocatiuh, cenca çolonj: auh atle çan nen qujça in mjtl, moch temjna, mochi nalquiça in teitic: yoan in tlequjqujztli, vel tepan qujiacatia, vel tepan contlachialtia. Auh in jquac vetzi, vellaltitech vîloa, vellaltitech nepacholo, iuhquin pepechtli neteco, amo tenemachpan in tepã iauh, amo qujteimachitia in temjctia, in quezquj ipan iauh vel izquj mjquj: in jquac imovican vetzi, in aço imjzquac, in anoço incuexcochtlan, anoço iniollopan, anoço imelchiqujpan, anoço imjtipan, in anoço vel inxillan: auh intla çan imetzpan, anoço imacolpan vetzi, amo njmã ic mjquj, amo ic oviti, çan tel vmpati. Auh in oquittaq̃ mexica in juh vetzi tlequjqujztli yoan in tepuzmjtl, ça avic vivi, iuhquin ixtlapalhujuj, tlatlaxtlapaloa cenca vel motlachielia, vel mjmati.

Auh in ic iuh navilhujtl necaliua: in tiacaoan tlecoque, ichoan in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlavicoque, in jmjxco ca iauiotl, muchintin tlecoque in jcpac teucalli, vme vepantli qujtlecavica, yoan mjec in aoaquavitl, mjnmjmjltic, itoca, teuquavitl in qujtlecavique, in impan qujoallaçazquja.

Auh njmã ic ic tleco in Españoles qujtlecavia in teucalli, tlatlamãtitivi, cuecuentitivi in Espanoles: tlaiacantivi in matlequjqujceque, cencã tlamach in tleco, amo mamana, qujtlaztivi in matlequjqujztli, ic tlamotlativi, tlaõcaiotitivi, in tepuztlavitoloanj, in tlatepuzmjvianj, tlaiecaiotia in tepuzmaquaveque, in tlanaubcaiotitivi, tepuztopileque, tzinachtopileque.

Auh in tiacaoan oc nen valmoemamanaia in qujoallaça quavitl, in tomaoac aoaquavitl in impã Españoles: çan qujchimaltopeua, ç... njman aoc tle onievat. Auh in opanvetzito in Españoles: njmã ic ic teviviztequj, yoan teixiili, tetzotzopitza. Auh in tiacaõã njman ic ic valmotepeua in jtlamamatlaioc teucalli, iuhquin tlilaxcatl valmotepeua. Auh in Espa-

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Mas que los españoles tubieron los tiros (disparos?) muy certeros que sabia herriendo sin que se tubiese cuenta de ll.*"
5. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

buildings of the temple [pyramid];[6] like black ants they tumbled down. And the Spaniards[7] hurled indeed all of them from the temple [pyramid]; none then escaped. And when they had come from dealing death, thereupon [the Spaniards] entered [the palace] and quickly barricaded themselves.

And this happened during the hour of eating.

And when this had come to pass, then it was made known to the people, and [the dead] were taken forth; and when all who had been cast from the temple [pyramid] had been taken out, then all were burned at the various young men's houses.[8]

ṇoles vel mochintin quintecalhuique in jaqujchtin tlecoca in tiiocoon, vel mochintí motecalhuijque, njman aocac maqujx. Auh in ontemjctico, njman ie ic callacij valmotzatzacatiuetzque.

Auh inin mochiuh ie tlaqualitpan:
auh in ie inhquj njmã ie ic teximacho, teçaçaco:
auh in ie mochintin oçacoque in motecalhujã,
njmã ie ic tetlatilo in tetipochcali.

6. See K. 63.

7. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y después de esto fué así, manifiesto a todos y sabido a los que estaban arriba, y muchos dellos se despeñaron por el cu abajo, finalmente todos cuantos los que eran subidos al cu temporales los repelieron y se fueron y barrieron muy bien. Los [illegible] estos amanecieron a los que allí moraban porque todos son gente principal y de muchos dellos en la guerra."

[p. 62 is blank]

COO **Twenty-third Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma and a great nobleman of Tlatilulco had died, and how [the Spaniards] had cast their bodies out before the gate — before the gate of the dwelling in which the Spaniards were.**

And when four days had passed since all [the chieftains] had been hurled from the [pyramid] temple, [the Spaniards] came out and cast forth [the bodies of] Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, who had died,[1] at the water's edge at a place called Teoayoc. For here was a carved stone image of a tortoise;[2] like a tortoise was the representation in stone. And when they were seen and recognized as being Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, they then took up Moctezuma in their arms and carried him there to a place called Copulco.[3] Thereupon they laid him on a pyre and then kindled and set fire to it. After this, the flames blazed up; it was as if they roared, as the fire formed tongues which rose like tassels of fire. And Moctezuma's body seemed to lie sizzling, and it smelled foul as it burned.

[532] 764 643

Injc cempoalli vmei Capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, yoan ce vei pilli tlatilulco mjtque: auh in innacaxio quivallazque iquijxaoioc in calli in vncan catca Españoles.

Auh ie iuh navilhujtl netrucalhujloc in quimontlaçaco in Motecuçoma, yoan Itzquauhtzin, omjcque, atēco itocaiocan, Teoaioc: ca vncan catca in jxiptla aiotl, tetl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn aiotl ipan mjzauhtica in tetl.

Auh in cittoque, in oixtimachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin njman quijoalnapalotiquijzque, quijoalhujcaque in vncan itocaiocan Copulco: njman ie ic quijquaquauhtlapachoa, njman ie ic contlemjna, contlequechia: njman ie ic cuecuetlaca in tletl, iuhqujn tetecujca, iuhqujn nenenepiloa tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlemjmjiavatl moquequetza, in tlenenepilli: auh in jnacaxio Motecuçoma, iuhqujn tzocoioacatoc, yoan tzoiaia injc tlatla.

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1. Robert Garcia Granados points out, in a personal communication, that "concerning the death of Moctezuma various versions exist, but all of them may be included in two large groups: those emanating from the natives and those emanating from the Spaniards. The former maintain that Moctezuma was killed by the Spaniards, and the latter that his death was due to being struck by a rock as he tried to calm his subjects. Among reports of indigenous origin we consider the opinions of Durán, *Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España*, II, 98 — '. . . *la hallaron muerta con una cuchara a los pies y con unos pedazos en el pecho*'; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Décima Tercia Relación de la conquista de los Españoles*, p. 12 — '. . . *en donde dicen que uno de ellos le dió una pedrada de la cual murió, aunque dicen con mentira que los mismos españoles la mataron, y por los pueblos bajo la mataron los españoles*'; Acosta, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 593 — '*El rey Montezuma hallaron los mexicanos muerto, y pensaron, dicen, de pedradas; y es su opinión que aquello mesmo le mataron los españoles, con otras principales*'; Clavijero, *Hist. Antiguo*, p. 199 — '. . . *dicen que le dieron unas pedradas, unos aunque se la dieron no le pudieron hacer ningún mal porque había ya salido de cinco horas que estaba muerto, y no sabe quien dijo que porque no le dieron la herida le habían matado unos otros españoles por la parte baja*'; Orozco y Berra, *Hist. Ant. y de la Conquista*, IV, 456 — '*Los cual hacen al Dios con que hacen discordia, le dieron fal que Cortés mandó dar garrote a los reyes y cabezas que en su poder estaban*'; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, 91 — '*hallaron los mexicanos muerto a Montezuma y al Gobernador de Tlatelulco — pedradas, una en la cabeza, otra en un brazo y otra en una pierna, y parecía que le rogaban se curase y comiese y le decían sobre ella palabras, [pedradas] que le acertó en las sienes la derribaron y mataron sus propios vasallos*'; Cortés, *Cartas de Rel.*, I, 233 — '. . . *de dieron una pedrada [pedrada] que le acertó en las sienes la derribaron y mataron sus propios vasallos*'; Gómara, *Hist. de la Nueva España*, I, 301 — '*que de una las sienes en la cabeza, tan grande, que de allí a tres días murió*'; Villagrán de Tapia, p. 39 — '. . . *tenía que no le dieron con una piedra, creído que hacía, conmella de la frente, que luego se dió muerto*'; Aguilar, *op. cit.*, p. 77 — '. . . *entre otras piedras que contra desmandados, una redondo como una pelota, la cual dió a Montezuma creyendo entre los dos mexicanos, entre los dieron y cayó*'; *Ibid.*, p. 78 — '*Montezuma herido en la cabeza, del al dieron a cuya era . . . y en el aposento donde él estaba había otros tres grandes enemigos determinados con él, a los cuales el dicho Cortés con parecer de los capitanes mandó matar, sin dejar ninguno.*' Besides these, we have the opinion of Clavijero, which we consider the most reasonable: (*Hist. Ant. de México*, II, 211) — '*Los historiadores mexicanos atribuyen su muerte a los españoles y los españoles a los mexicanos. — Yo no puedo creer que los españoles se decidieran a quitar la vida a un rey a quien debían tanto favor y de cuya muerte ellos pidieron aquardar grandes males.*' Modesto Carrasco, *Hist. de México*, p. 234, says that he died baptized and that his godfathers were Cortés and Alvarado." — Clavijero (*op. cit.*, p. 191 — *quebrantaban Españoles y Mexicanos*: *quipochtecatlaxtlahuaque*, the Spaniards killed Mexicans, strangling him), agrees with the source used by Orozco y Berra.

2. The corresponding Spanish text has, *las aguas*, *galápago* — fresh water tortoise. According to Ignacio Alcazar, *Apuntes sobre la antigua México-Tenochtitlán* (Tenochtitlán, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1957), p. 86, it was where now is "*la capilla de Santa Veracruz con Tacuba.*"

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *en aquesto*. — The version of this report, in Anales, *loc. cit.*, differs considerably from that of the Florentine Codex.

Cuo, *op. cit.*, identifies Copulco (Copulco) with a barrio adjacent to Tlatelulco, bounded now N. by Calle de Mosquera; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Mercaderes; and W., Lerdo (formerly a canal).

764 And as it burned, with pure hatred, with little good will, some chid him, and said: "This evildoer! He terrorized the world! In all the world there was dread [of him]; in all the world there was fear and fright before him; this man, when anyone offended him only a little, he then slew. Many he punished for imagined evil, which was not real but only a fabrication of words."[4] And still many who cursed him, grumbled in their teeth, chattered, and shook their heads.

But Itzquauhtzin they went off with in a boat. They proceeded to take his body in a boat, to arrive here at Tlatilulco. They were deeply saddened; their hearts were desolate. All burst into tears.[5] Some chid him; some belittled him. They said: "The lord, the commanding general Itzquauhtzin, suffered torments. He, with Moctezuma, underwent fatigue and affliction. How much pain he endured for us since we have come here and tarried during all the time that Moctezuma was [alive]!" Thereupon they set in order the palace flag and the rest of the paper array with which they bedight him, and they laid food before him.[6] And then they took him in order to burn him in the Temple Courtyard at a place called Quauhxicalco. With great honors his body burned.

726 And for four days there was fighting. For only seven more days the Spaniards were contained in their quarters. And when the seven days had passed, [some Spaniards] again sallied forth, going to observe, look about, and arrive there at Maçatzintamalco.[7] They went to gather stalks of green maize; they went to secure green ears of maize. Even as enemies they went to gather the green maize. They were in great haste; they no more than got there, and then quickly returned to enter [the palace]. And when they set out, the sun was high; [on their return, the sun] was setting.

Auh injc tlathac, çan thvelpan, oocmo cenca teiol-hecopa: cequj caoa: quijoa. Inin tlapalpul: ommanoac in otlamamahtiaia, ommanoac in ocalimacaxoia, ommanoac in oivic vahcmamahtlaia, vahcjzvikoia: in ichoatl in, in aquin çã tepitzin, injc quijolitlacoaia, njmon contlatlatiaia, mjec in tlapictli oqujtzacujltj in amo nelli in çan tlatolchichiolli: yoan oc mjectin in caoaia, qujçqujnaoaia, ôcôvaia, moquaquacuecuechoaia.

Auh in Itzquauhtzin conacalhujto, acalica ennanato in jnacaio, injc caxitico njcan tlatilulco, cenca motlaocultique, cenca icnoioac in iniollo, teiccioviton, aiac ma cavaia, aiac in ma qujtelchico: qujtoaia. Oqujtiovi in tlacatl, in tlacuchcalcatl in Itzquauhtzin, ca ivan otlaihiovi, yuã onotolinj in Motecuçoma, quenqujch oqujhiovi in topampa in vmpa otlvallaque, otlonlictiaque in isquich cavitl in ocatca in Motecuçoma: njmon ic ic qujchichioa in tetpanjtl, yoan oc cequj amatlaquijtl ic qujchichiohque: yoan qujtlamamacaque: auh njmon ic quivicaque in qujtlatito in teuivalco, itocaiocan quauhxicalco: cenca tlamavxtililistica injc tlathac in jnacaio.

Auh ith navilhujtl necaliouc, ça on chicomjlhujtique in calxracutiçatca in Españolca. Auh in oacic chicomjlhujtl: oc valquijxque ommotlachichilito, ommotlatlachichilito, vmpa onacito in maçatzintamalco: concujto ovatl, valxiloiotia, çan onmiocujto in tequjxvatl, cenca çan onjciolutivia, çan tequjtl onacito: njma ic valcalactivetaque: auh in onqujxca ic vmmotzcalca, ic vncalaquj in teuatith.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Aquesse diablo mal de Montezuma porque anjo dello mucy cruel.*"

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Los del diablillo lloraron muchos a los grandes porque eso muy llena quisos.*"

6. See Pl. 88.

7. "Throw Popocatepetl." According to R. H. Barlow, "Análisis de la conquista de Tlatelolco en 1473 y en 1521," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, V (1949), p. 48, n. 7; it is also stated that "Tlatlilolchiltl (?-1487) he colmo en 'el sitio de Jilotzingo.'" The *Anales de Tlatelolco* (Heinrich Berlin, ed.; México: Antiguo Librería Robredo, 1948), p. 48 (§[illegible]), mentions the place in connection with Nezahualpilli. —In this paragraph, as in many others, is to be noted a great similarity between Sahagún's translation and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (§§[illegible], 389). —Rafael Garcia Granados, personal communication.

Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards and those of Tlaxcalla set out and fled from Mexico by night.

And after dark, when midnight came, thereupon came out the Spaniards, crowded together, and all of the men of Tlaxcalla. The Spaniards took the lead, and the Tlaxcallans followed behind, covering the rear, like their walls, their rear guard. They went carrying a wooden bridge, which they proceeded to lay across the canal over which they passed.[1]

At the time, it was drizzling; there was a fine sprinkle, a gentle spray, of rain. They crossed easily some of the canals, at Tecpantzinco, Tzapotlan, and Atenchicalco. But when they went to attain Mixcoatechialtitlan,[2] the fourth canal, then it was seen that they were leaving. A woman fetching water spied them, whereupon she cried out and said: "Mexicans! Come here quickly! Already they leave! Your foes are already slinking away!" Then also a man cried out from the top of the [pyramid] temple of Uitzilopochtli. His cries spread well out over the people; everyone heard him. He said: "O chieftains, O Mexicans! Your foes are already setting out! Hasten here by war boat and along the roads!"

And when it was heard, then there was an outcry. On this, the war boatmen broke forth. They rushed; they plied the poles furiously; the boats struck and bumped one another. They came to [a place called] Mictlantenco Macuilcuitlapilco.[3] And from two sides the war boats came upon them. They pressed upon them, the war boats of those of Tenochtitlan and the war boats of those of Tlatilulco. And a number went afoot, direct to Nonoalco, making their way toward Tlacopan, intending to cut off their advance.

Injc ceuapoalli onnavi Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles yoan in tlaxcalteca quijzque, choloque in mexico ioaltica. 726

Auh in ovaliovac in oncic ioalnepantla, njmã ie ic quiça in Españoles: ommotenque, yoan in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl: in españoles iacattivi, auh in tlaxcalteca tlatoquilitivi, tlatzinpachotivi, iuhquinma intenanoan, intzacujlhoan muchiahtl[illegible], quivicatiaque, quauhtlapechtli contecatiaque in acaloco in ipan companotiaque: [302]

in jquac in aoachquiauhtimanj, aoachtzetzeliuhtimanj, aoachpixauhtimanj, oc cequj in vel companaviquc acalotli Tecpantzinco, Tzaputla Atenchicalco. Auh in oncito mjxcoa mjxcoatechialtitlã injc nauhcan acaloco: ie vncan itoque, in ie quiça: ce atlacujc civatl, in quimjttac: njman ie ic tzatzi: quito. Mexica, xioalnenemjcan, ie quiça, ie navalquiça in amoiauan: njmã no ce tlacatl tzatzic in jcpac vitzilobuchtli vel tepan motecac in jtzatziliz, ixquich tlacatl quicac: quito. Tlacavane, mexicae, ie onquiça in amoiauoan, vallamoca in acalchimalli, yoan in vtli ipan. 487 [203]

Auh in ocacoc: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca: njmã ie ic tlatzomoaj in acalchimaleque, totoca, tequjtlancoa, macallujequj, macallujtectivi, tlamattivi mjctlantonco, macujlcujdapilco: auh in acalchimalli, necoc in impan valmoanmjc, in impan valmopic, in tonuchca imacalchimal, yoã in tlatilulca imacalchimal: yoan cequjntin icxipã iaque, nonoalco tlamelauhque, tlacupampa ieztiaque, quinjacatzacujlizquia: 726

1. The Aztec would permit spelling "bridges" and "canals." — According to all other sources, they carried only one wooden bridge, which was mined in the first canal (that is, at Tecpantzinco, before the present site of the Post Office) and could not be used for the rest of the canals (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

2. Mixcoac is expanded in the Nahuatl MS.

These places were all at canals near the main temple square, on the road to Tlacopan. Cano (op. cit.) says of Atenchicalco and Mixcoatechialtitlan that they were on the Calzada de Tacuba between S. Juan de Letran and Guerrero; Tzapotlan was on the same calzada in the barrio of Tlaxpolco.

3. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "un lugar que se llamaba mictlantenco, macuilquitlapilco"; Cano (op. cit.) mentions a "Macuilquitlapilco, "que pertenece a Sn. Pablo y corresponde Indagalle (57-58)."

726 [411] Thereupon the war bostmen cast their barbed spears at the Spaniards. From two sides—from both sides—fell the barbed spears. And the Spaniards also shot arrows at the Mexicans; they shot iron bolts and guns. On both sides there was death. The Spaniards and the Tlaxcallans were shot by arrows; the Mexicans were shot. And when the Spaniards reached Tlaltecayoacan, there at the Tolteca canal,[4] there they fell into what seemed a deep chasm; they filled an abyss. There all fell. Those of Tlaxcalla and Tiliuhquitepec tumbled in, as well as Spaniards, and the horses, and some women. With them the canal was completely filled, full, clear to the banks. But those who came at the very rear, emerged and crossed over on men, on bodies.

And when they had proceeded to reach Petlacalco,[5] where there was another canal, very slowly, cautiously, and softly, with guarded measure, they set forth upon the wooden bridge. Here they recovered themselves, caught their breaths, and revived their valor.

And when they reached Popotlan,[6] it was dawn, and light was spreading. Already [the Mexicans] set out to attack; already they had been recognized from afar. And then they went raising a war cry against them and surrounding them. The Mexicans took after them; they took those of Tlaxcalla; and Spaniards were slain. And also Mexicans and Tlatilulcans were killed. On both sides was death dealt. They made the Spaniards leave Tlacopan; they pursued them. And when they advanced forcing them from Tiliuhcan and Xocotlihiovican, there at Xoxocotla,[7] there Chimalpopoca, son of Moctezuma, died in the fray. They came upon him pierced by a barbed spear, and wounded. Likewise Tlaltecatzin, [648] lord of the Tepaneca, died there. They had guided the Spaniards, and gone ahead to show them the route, keep them from wrong roads, maintain them on their course, and make the way for them.[8]

Thereupon they passed the Tepçolatl (a small stream). They crossed and forded the water there at Tepçolatl.[9] Then they climbed the embankment

njmã ic ic costlaça in acalchimalloque in tlaxcatecti in inspã in Españoles: necoccampa necoc in valhuetzi in tlatzontecti. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, no qujnvalmjna in Mexica, qujvallaça in tepunmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli necoc mjcoa: mjtalo in Españoles, yoan tlaxcalteca: mjtalo in Mexica. Auh in Españoles in oncique in tlaltecaiocan in vncan in tulteca acaloco: vncan ixhquja motepexiviqui, motepexiztenque, mochiztin vncã onvetzque, onmotepeuhque in tlaxcaltecatl, in Tiliuhçujtepecatl, yoan in Españoles, yoã in cavallome, cequj cica: vel ic ten in acalotli, vel ic tzonteuh. Auh in çã tlatzcutiuque, çã tlacapan, çã nacapan in onqujzque, in vmpanoque.

Auh in oncito petlacalco, in oc ce vncan icaca acalutli, çan jvian, çan mutca, çan tlamach, çan tlamatzin in onqujzque, in jpan quauhtlapechtli, vncan patiio, vncan imjhio qujcujque, vncã moqujchquetzque.

Auh in oncito popotlan, otlatvic, otlanez, ic oqujchcuhtivi, ic veca motlamatilitivi. Auh njmã ic ic qujmjcaoztztivi, qujmololhujtivi, intech icativi in Mexica, qujmaantivi in tlaxcalteca yoã in Españoles mjctivi: auh no mjctilo in Mexica in tlatilulca, necoc mjcoatiuh, tlacapan qujnqujxtique in qujntoca. Auh in oqujnqujxtiio Tiliuhcan, xocotlihiovican, vncan in xoxocotla, vncan in iaumjc in chimalpupuca, in jpiltzin Motecuçoma: in jpan quiçato mjntoc, tlatzõtertica, yoan vivitectoc, çã ic no vncan in mjc, Tlahecatzin, tepanecatl tecutli in qujniacanaia, in qujntlaixtlatoivia, qujmotlaxilitivia, qujmotequjlitivia, qujmoquechilitivia in Españoles:

njmã ic ic companavique in Tepçolatl (ce atoiatontli) vmpanoque, onapanoque, in vncan tepçolac, njmã ic ontlecoque in acuero, onmotlalito oncocal-

4. *Ibid.*: "*Estaba por San Fernando y la Bronca de los Mexicanos o de San Hipólito*" (citing Don Fernando Ramírez).

5. *Ibid.*: canal on Calzada de Tacuba — the next to last canal.

6. See map. Caso (*op. cit.*), however, identifies it as the last canal on the Calzada de Tacuba.

7. Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "*al camino que va desde Tlacuba.*"

8. In the Bulnes edition of Sahagún (IV, p. 73), the account, from Bustamante's 1840 edition, is then "*marcharon dos hijos de Moctezuma, el uno se llamaba Chimalpopoca y el otro Tlahecatzin, los cuales iban guiando a los españoles.*"

9. Tepçolatl: a stream near Chimalpopoca (Bustamante, *loc. cit.*).

[Acuexco][10] and went to quarter themselves at Otoncalpulco,[11] [where] wooden barriers or palisades stretched about the courtyard. There they refreshed themselves; each one rested. And there they breathed. They caught their breaths; there they revived. [And] there those of Teocalhueyacan[12] came to meet them and lead them forward.

pulco, quauhtenaniotoc, quauhtenametec in ivalli: vncã mocevique, mocevique, yoã vncan ihiio cujque, imjhio qujcujque, vncan patito, vncã quinnamjquico in teucalhujacan in valteiacan.

726

10. Subando editions, loc. cit.: "este nombre que es Buen Acuexco."
11. Corresponding Spanish text: Chimalmacolco, Bustamante, loc. cit.: "alrededor de Buen Suceso Nuevo de los Remedios."
12. Teocalhueyacan is the usual spelling.

[p. 68 is blank]

648 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.**

Tlacatecuhli was the name, and Otoncouatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked
[262] and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus-fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, saith: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla; and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman;
[302] naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Inic cempoalli ommocujlli capítulo, vncã mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuica quinamjqujco in Españoles yoan quinmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacatecuhli itoca, otoncouatl in jpiltoca, in valteiacã, in vacan qujcavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, totolin, totollalevatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, totolteti, yoa cequjn ioioli in tuxtlin, yoan cequj nochtli contecaque ixpan in capitan:

qujtoque. Oanqujmjhioviltique, ocujmociaviltique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech maxitican, ma mj[illegible]ocujtican:

njmã qujnoalnãqujli in Malintzin: qujto. Notechiuhcavan, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmã qujlhujque. Ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmã qujoalito in Malintzin. Ca ie qualli otechmocnelilique, vmpa tiazque in muztla, vmpa ticuchizque.

Auh njmã vel iquac in otlatlavizcalli ieoac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ie ixquich Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalco, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltitlan, tulla, tulitic in qujmamaiavito, qujmõtzotzopontitlaçato, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa qujntlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, coatlanpopol, coztemjloltique in cioa, muchintin qujnpepetlauhq qujntlacujcujlique, qujntlatepevilique, qujnpeztoccauhque.

Auh in Espanoles nonqua qujntetenque, qujnvivipanque, ie on tolcellome, ie õ mextallome, ie on acaxilome ie on tolcelluti innacaio, yoan qujnçaçacque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in jxquijch in intlatquj in tlamamalchichiuhtiuh muchi namaiolo, muchi macoualo, in aquin

727 all was claimed as booty. He who came upon something, took it, whatever it was; he appropriated it, carried it off on his back, and took it to his home. And on the very place where there were the killings, all—whatsoever it was—which they had gone from and left in fear, and much war equipment, were there stolen: the lombard guns, the arquebuses. And some lay there strewn; gunpowder, iron swords, iron lances, halberds, iron crossbows, and iron bolts lay scattered. And also there were looted iron helmets, corselets of iron and of chain mail, and leather, iron,[1] and wooden shields. And there were claimed as booty the bars and plates of gold, and gold dust, and golden necklaces with pendants.

çaço tlein ipan oquiçato, quicuitivetzi, quimotechtia, quimomamaltia qujtquj in jchan, yoan vel ipan nemjmjctiloc in jxquich in çaço tlein oquimauhcacauhtiquizque yoan mjec in iautlatquitl in vncan namoieloc in tomaoac tlequjquiztli in matlequjquiztli, yoan cequj vncan tepeoac, vncan tepeuh in tlequjquiztlalli, in tepuzmaquavitl, in tepuztopilli in tzinacantopilli, in tepuztlavitolli, in tepuzmitl: yoi no vncan macoaloc in tepuzquacalalatli, in tepuzvipilli, in tepuzmatlavipilli, in coachimalli, in tepuchimalli, in quauhchimalli: yoan vncan momaceuh in teucuitlatl in tlaxantectli, yoan teucuitlacomalli, yoan teucuitlatl tlaxaqualolli, yoan in chaiaoac concatl teucuitlaio.

And when all had been pillaged, thereupon all dispersed into the water and, severally, searched for things, some using their hands, some using their feet.

Auh in ie ixquich in otlanamoieloc, njmã ie ic onnetepeoalo in atlan, netlatetemolilo, cequjntin tlamatemoa, cequjntin tlacxitemoa.

And as they had set forth, those in the lead had been able to escape. But those who had closed the march, those fell [into the canal] and sank in the water. All had died. It seemed as if verily mountains of [dead] men had been formed. They had pressed against one another and indeed slain themselves, smothered.

Auh injc quizque in iacattiaque, ie vel quizque: auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ichoantin in motepexivique in matlanvique, mochintin mjcque vel iuhquj tlacatepetl motlali monenepanotoque, çan monetechmjctique, mjhiomjctiq̃:

726 And while this was going on, there at Acueco [the Spaniards] had slept; still at night, yet well toward the dawn, they arose, bedight themselves, and girt themselves for battle. Each put on his war array. Thereupon they departed, moved on, and placed themselves in order. And the Mexicans took after them, shouting and crying out—following after them only at a distance, keeping after them from there. And when they reached another place, called Calacoayan, on top of a rounded hill, on a small rise, where there were rows of rocks,[2] there they set upon and slew the people, spearing them. The people there were unwarned, these Calacoayan folk. Without notice they were slain. [The Spaniards] vented and loosed their wrath upon them. And when they had put the people to death, thereupon they came down below and occupied the flat lands, the small plain called Tiçapan. After this they climbed up to Teocalhueyacan.

auh in ie iuhquj in vncã Acueco, in oncochque, oc veca iovan oc vellavizcalpan in mcuhq̃, in mochichiuhque, in moiauchichiuhque, in õmaaquique in iautlatquitl: njman ie ic oneoa, onolinj, õmotema. Auh in mexica quimjcavatztivi quimoiovitivi, aocmo intech onaci, ça vecapa quimjtztivi ça quin vecapa vitivi, ça quinnachcapavitivi. Auh in onacique ceenj, itocaiocan calacoaian, tlamjmjlolticpac, tlacpactonco, in vncã tecuecuentla, vncã õtemjctitiquizque onteixilque, amo quimjmachitique in vncan tlaca, in calacoaiantlaca, amo innemachpan in mjctiloque, intech motlavelquiztique, intech mellelquiztique. Auh in ontemjctique: nimã ie ic ontemo in tlanj, connamjquj in tlalpochtli, in jxtlaoxontli: inoca, Tiçapan: njman ie ic ontleco Teocalhuiacan.

1. *Tepuzchimalli* and *tepuzchimalli*.
2. See 19, 20.

Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards reached Teocalhueyacan, and how the people there joyfully received them.

On entering Teocalhueyacan, they went to and quartered themselves in the Otomí tribal temple. They had arrived in good time — shortly before noon.

And when they arrived, all was at hand [for them]; all was arranged — all the food, fowls, etc. Great comforts did [the people] offer [the Spaniards]; quite peaceably they entered among them and offered them all which they required — fodder for the deer, water, grains of maize, ears of green and of tender maize, boiled ears of green maize, tortillas of tender maize, boiled ears of tender maize, roasted ears of green maize, tamales of green maize; and slices of squash. They lavished and pressed these things upon them, gained their good will, and made friends with them.

And the people of Tiliuhquitepec who came there [with the Spaniards] had formed a bond with those of Teocalhueyacan; for those of Tiliuhquitepec were relatives and kin of those of Teocalhueyacan.[1] Teocalhueyacan had been the place from which those of Tiliuhquitepec had set forth and originated — their seat and residence. From that place they had gone forth and issued.

There [at Teocalhueyacan] they consulted among themselves, were of one mind, came to common conclusions, and agreed in a common determination to meet with and pray to the Captain — the god — and all the [other] gods: "They have come to reach their revered home here at Teocalhueyacan. Here we, the vassals, the men of Teocalhueyacan and of Tiliuhquitepec, offer our prayers and greetings. And may our lord hear! For Moctezuma and the Mexicans have greatly afflicted and troubled us. To our very noses they have brought misery, for this one

Injc cempoalli onchiquacem capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acito Teucalhujacan: auh in quenjn qujnpaccaelique vmpa tlaca. 648

In teucalhujacan oncalacõ onmocacaltemato in otõcalpulco, çan cuel in onacito, aiamo vel nepantla tonatiuh:

auh in onacique, ça temac: moch mocencauh in jxquich qualonj in totoli. &c. cenca qujnpapaquiltique, çan ivian intlan oncalacque, inquich qujnmacaia in jxquich qujmjtlanjliaia, in maçatlaqualli, in atl, in tlaolli, in elotl, in eloxoxouhquj, in elopacaxtli, in elotlaxcalli, in xilopaoxtli, in eloixcalli, in elotamalli: yoan in aiotlatlapanalli, qujntlanenectiaia, qujntlanenequiltiaia, qujmõmocnjuhtique, onmocnjuhtlaque. 648 262

Auh in tliliuhquitepeca, vncã vallaque, qujmõneloco in teucalhujaque: ichica ca in tliliuhquitepeca incotonca ioan invaniolque in teucalhujaq̃ in tliliuhquitepeca, inquizcã iniolcan, inquechtetzon yionocan in teucalhujacan, vncã qujzticate, 648

vncã mononotzque vncan qujcemjtoque, vncã qujcentlalique in intlatol, qujnepanvique, contlamãvique in innenonotzal, injc qujnamjcque, injc qujtlatlauhtique in capitan in teutl, yoan in ie mochintin teteu, ca omaxitico in inchantzinco in njcã teucalhujacan, ca njcan tictotlatlauhtilia, tictocisuhquechilia in timaceoalhoã, in titeucalhujaque, yoan in Tiliuhquitepeca: yoan ma qujmocaquiti in totecujo. Ca in motecuçoma yoã in mexicatl, ca cenca otechtolinj, otechtlaciavilti, vel toiacapa oquiquixti in netlinjlizztli: ca izquich inin techtequitia in tlacala-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y allí unían las amistades de hermandades que se acostumbran de la guerra acostumbrada con los de Teocalhueyacan porque eran todos parientes y deudos propios de Teocalhueyacan salían pues a poblar o Tiliuhquitepec." The commentaries is shown in Pedro Carrasco Pizana: *Los otomíes* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1950), p. 281, fig. 29.

648 hath laid all manner of tribute upon us. But this [Moctezuma] is our lord and our ruler. And if [the gods] hasten to quit us — for the Mexicans are inhuman and very unrighteous — if [the gods] quickly leave us, if they stay away long, [the Mexicans] will return; they will come back here. The Mexicans have not made an end of and destroyed us. But great is their evil; they are full of sin."

And when Marina had informed the Captain of these words, he then answered them: "Let them not be grieved. I shall not tarry; shortly shall I return and speedily shall I find them. Here will be the ruling; here will be the place of governing. The Mexicans will be destroyed, so that they shall not harm you."

And when the people of Teocalhueyacan heard this, they rejoiced greatly. They became proud and haughty because of it. Behold, they therefore rose up and held themselves as better than others, as if they knew all. The more they listened foolishly, the more they were vainly presumptuous; as if then they had lost fear. They took this to be true; they thought that this was already so.

[534 201] And when this was over, and they had slept, when it was still deep night, flutes were blown, they sounded the mixed flutes and the wooden whistles,[2] and drums were beaten. War drums were sounded. Then the Spaniards all arose and got up, and arrayed themselves. And after this, then they departed and filled the road. They went crowding the road.

Then they went on to and reached Tepotzotlan. Before long, in good time, they quartered themselves [there]. Only a short distance had they marched. And the people of Tepotzotlan then scattered and departed, fleeing from them and entering the forest. Some climbed the mountain; some [went into] the gorge. [The town] was quite abandoned to the Spaniards.[3] None dealt with them, because very great were they in destruction of men. Therefore they took flight and ran off. Only their bodies did they save. And all their goods they scattered in haste; they dropped them in their hurry. [The Spaniards] entered the palace; they went into the palace to quarter themselves. There they slept, being all together, all crowded and heaped together. For they were quite frightened; they went in fear.

qujli: auh inin ca totecujo ca totlatocatzin. Auh intla techmocavilitiqujça ca tlacatl in mexicatl, vellaveliloc, intla techmocavilitiqujçaz, intla movecavitiz, in oalmovicaz in valmocueptzinoz, aotechtlamjque, aotechpopoloque in Mexicatl: ca vel huei tlaveliloc, ca vel qujmaxilti injc tlaueliloc.

Auh in ocõcaqujti in Malintzin in tlatolli in capitan: njmã qujnoalhuj. Macamo motequjpachoã camo njvecaoaz, iciuhca njoallaz, iciuhca njqujnmatiqujuh, njcan tlatoloz, njcan tlatoloian iez, popoliviz in Mexicatl, macamo amechiolitlacocan.

Auh in oiuh qujcaque in teucalhujaque cenca papacque, ic aatlamatque, ic cuecuenotque, iz ic moquetzque, ic moichoatocaque, qujmolhujltocaque, ilhujz iuhqujn mocacaq̃ ilhujz iuhqujn aatlamati, iuhqujn vncã motlatlalia iniollo monelchiuhque, ie om ma nelli iuh momatque.

Auh inic iuhquj in ocuchque oc veca iovan in ie tlapitzalo, in qujpitza quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapitzli, yoan tlatzotzonalo, iautlatzotzonalo: ie ic necoalo, meeva in Españoles, nechichivalo: Auh in ie iuhquj, ic ic oncoalo neutemalo, pepexocatiuh in vtli:

njmã ic onacito in teputzutla, aia vel quẽman oc qualcan in ommotlaliio, çan achi qujtocatiaque: auh in teputzoteca njman ic tromonque olinque, ic choloque, quauhtlacalacque: cequjntin tepetl qujtlecavique: cequjntin atlauhtli, çan inpan macauh in Espanoles, aiac inca muchiuh: iehica ca cenca vei in intepololiz, ipampa mochololtique, mocholtique: çan ixujch in innacaio qujmaquixtique: auh in ixujch in intlaqui qujtepeuhtiqujzque, çan iuh tlacauhtiqujaque: tecpan in oncalacque, ommotepancalhemato, vncã cochque, çan cenictivi, çan cemololiuhtivi, çan centepeuhtivi: iehica ca çan mauhcavi, çan mexnauhtitivi.

2. *Quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapitzalli*: cf. Edward Sapir: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Pamela R. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1949), II, Pt. 3-4, p. 140; Alonso Tenorio: *Manuscrito de Monjas* (H. Tavares-Campos, tr.; Paris: F. Jaeger, 1953), I, p. 121.

3. *Tepotzotlan*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

And when the dawn broke, at a good hour, all ate and broke their fast. When they had broken their fast, when they had eaten their breakfast, then they arose and set forth on the road. [Those of Tepeztoltlan] shouted war cries after them from a distance, from afar. Only holding their distance did they shout at them. And if any dared come up to them, as if one were to speak to them, [the Spaniards] lanced them. Once and for all the Spaniards speared them. No longer did they stir; none escaped; none saved the speared one.

Then they proceeded to and reached Citlaltepec, to rest [there]. But the land was abandoned to them; the folk did not await them.[4] And the chieftains and the people of that place, the householders, showed themselves no more, but only hid. They skulked behind things—perhaps rock cacti,[5] or maguey plants, or a knoll, or a cliff. For [the Spaniards] were not to be opposed.—There also they slept.

And when the dawn broke, in good time, when it was already warm and mild, thereupon [the Spaniards] ate. And then once again they set forth and proceeded to Xoloc. In the same manner, it was abandoned to them. No one awaited them with even a little. Quite hurriedly the houses had been abandoned. No one was there to come out to [the foe]. They had hidden above, on top of Mount Xoloc. Watch was kept on all sides, that nowhere [the Spaniards] might be hidden on a terrace, in a gorge, or in an abyss. They were afraid, in dread, lest they be seen by their foe, lest without warning they set upon them.

And when dawn broke, when they were about to depart, set forth, and go on their way, they thereupon ate. Then they set out. In two files, on each side of the road, marched the deer bearing men upon their backs, called horses. And all the burden-bearers marched within [the files], crowded together.[6] And as they ended their march, they then set and laid fire to the Otomí temples, and to all the temples, houses of the demons. Then they burned; the fire roared. The blaze, the tongues and flames of fire, and the smoke arose. Smoke spread out and

Auh in otlatvic, in ie achi qualcā: njman ie ic tlatlaqua, qujqua in inneuhca: in ommoneuhcaiotiqua, in oconquaque in inneuhca: njmā ic oneuhque, ie ic vtlatoca, qujmjcavatza, ça veca, ça vecapa, ça qujnvalhuecapavia, in qujnvalicavatza. Auh intla ça acame motlapaloa in iatech onaci, iuhquin aquijm ōtlatoltia in q'nvalixili, çan ic cenvi in qujmjxili, aocmo valmocuecuetzoa aocac qujça, aocac qujqujztia in qujxili:

njmā ic onacito in citlaltepec, ommotecato, çā no tlalcaviloque, amo qujnmochieltique in macoaltl. Auh in tiacaoan, in vncā tlaca, in chaneque, aocmo valmjxmana, ça motlatia, itla qujmotoctia, aço tenopalli, aço metl, aço tlaltepevalli, anoço tezcalli: iehica ca amo ixnamjqujztin, no vncā cochque.

Auh in otlatvic, ie achi qualcan, ie tlatotonjc, in ie tlaiamanja: njman ie ic tlatlaqua, njman ie ic no ceppa vmpeoa, ommjquanja xoloc: çan ie no ivi, inpan macauh, aocac in ma nel ça çe ton, qujnmochielti, vel cacactivetz in calli, aiac in ma ivic quja: tlacpac in motlatique, icpac in tepetl xoloc: noviampa vallachielo, acā motlatique tlapechian, tlacomulco, anoço atlzuhco, ie qujmacacia, ie qujnmauhtia, in ma amo qujmjmachititi in iniauvan, in maca innemachpan icpā valcholoti.

Auh in otlatvic in ie iazque, in ie oneoazque, in ie onolinjzque: njman ie ic tlatlaqua: ie ic vmpeoa, necoc omac onotivi, in mamaça in intemamacaoan, intoca cavallome: auh in izqujch tlamama çan tlatic onotivi, ololiuhtivi. Auh in ontlanque in vi: nec contlequechia, contlemjna, contlecavia in otonteucalli, yoan in jxqujch teucalli, in incal tlatlacateculo, nec tlatla, cuecuetlaca: in tlecueçallutl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecocomochtli poctlevatoc, poctli mantoc, poctli moteca. Auh in jquac ie iativi, qujmjcavatztivi in macoaltin, çan vecapa:

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4. According to Sahagún, op. cit., children with crows implies that the foe is crushed with courage.

5. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 223.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "yuan por el camino, en dos renglas, las de cuadro; y todas las de a pie, y las que llamaban cargas, yuan en medio de las de cuadro."

648 settled. And as they went marching, the common folk set out shouting war cries after them, but from a distance.

Then they stopped at Aztaquemecan, at the base and foot of Mount Aztaquemecan. There, below, they rested, at a place called Çacamulco. Also above [346] was a rounded hill, where likewise there was an Otomí temple.[7] There they went to quarter themselves. Likewise it was abandoned to them. No more did the common folk draw near to them; but everywhere the houses remained quiet. They had abandoned the houses in haste.

njman ic ommotlalito in Aztaquemecan: icxitlan itxintlã in ichoatl tepetl Aztaquemecã, in vncan motlalique tlatxintlan: itocaiocan çacamulco, no tlacpac, ololtontli in tepetl: no vncan icac otomitecalli, oncan in õmocalhemato, çan no impan macauh aocmo impan acito in macteaktin, çan novian cactoc in calli, cacactivetz in calli.

7. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmerin ed.), IV, p. 78.

[redacted]

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans came to and reached the Spaniards as they followed them at the rear.

Injc cempoalli on chicume capitulo vncan mjtua in quenjn Mexica intech acito in Españoles injc qujnteputztocaia. 726

Also this very time was when the Mexicans advanced and arrived in order that they might cut off [the Spaniards'] progress. The Mexicans went to and established themselves at the foot of a mountain called Tonan. And when dawn broke, the Spaniards[1] arrayed themselves and ate. Likewise the Mexicans bedight themselves and ate and drank. They drank a mixture of *pinole* and water.[2] Some climbed to the top [of the mountain], as scouts and sentinels, to watch for when the Spaniards would depart and move on. In truth, standing guard was their very charge, their concern.

No vel iquac in onacito Mexica in qujniacatzacujlizquja: in ommotecato mexica itzintlan tepetl itoca Tona. Auh in otlatvic nec mocencaoa in Espanoles tlatlaqua: no ivi mexica mocecencaoa tlatlaqua, aatli, pinolatl qujy: cequjntin tlacpac tlecoque, iautlachixque, iautlapixque, qujmonjtztoque in quēmā onecoazque, in quenman onolinjzque in Españoles: vel injx intequjuh in ontlachixticate. [262 272]

And after this, when the Spaniards[3] already proceeded and followed the road, then the scouts cried out and said: "O Mexicans, your foes are already going! Let us array ourselves! Let us arm ourselves, each one! Let us all proceed! Let us all go together! Let none remain behind!" And when they heard this, there was running; all ran hither and thither and went in pursuit.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie olinj in ie utlatoca in Espanoles: njman ie ic valtzatzi in iautlachixque: qujvalitoa. Mexicae ie iauh in amoiaouh, ticencaoa, ticecencaoa, ticemolinj, ticenvi, aiac mocauhtiaz. Auh in oqujcacque nec netlalolo, tlaixqujqujça, tlatoteca.

And when the Spaniards saw them, they waited for them. They then closed ranks in order to encounter them. They studied them carefully in order to consider how to fare well against them. And after this, [the Mexicans] then ran at them; they hurled themselves at them, so that all were enclosed within [the Spaniards' ranks]. Then they were speared and lanced; indeed, then died in great numbers those of Mexico and Tlatilulco. They went to deliver themselves, cast themselves into [the Spaniards'] hands, and came upon death. But few fled from their hands and so did not die. And those who remained at a distance, who remained following from afar, did not die. And when the Spaniards had dealt death among the people, and had spent their rage, they thereupon departed. All who bore burdens went following them. No one knew of them where they

Auh in oqujnvalittaque in Españoles: qujnvalmochialtique, ic oalmomanque in qujnnamjqujzque, vel qujnnemjlia in quenjn vel qujnchivazque. Auh in ie iuhquj nec qujnxopiloa, qujncujtlaxeloa in quexqujch calitic momantiqujz, nec texixilioa, tetzotzopitzalo, vel vncan tonacamjcque in mexica in tlatilulca, çan qujmōmomacato, inmac ommotlaçato, çi conmotoqujlique in mjqujztli, ça quezqujn in tematitlampa quja in amo mjc: auh in veca manca, in tevecaparviti manca amo mjcque. Auh in ontemjctique in imelle! onquja in Españoles: njman ic ic vi, qujnteputzvitivi in jzqujchtin tlamama. Ca aocac qujnmati in campa cochque in jquac: vncan in in valmocuepato, in qujmonjcxicaoato, qujmonteputzcaoato in Españoles.

1. Reproduction: the slide is contained in the Wolfenbüttel text.

2. Sahagún (op. cit., II, p. 679) says that it is now a drink of ground toasted maize mixed in water with cocoa, sugar, cinnamon, and anise (anisillo — Blas anisum L.).

3. See footnote 1 supra.

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 727 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who had died, who had been speared. There they burned all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them; they buried them in the earth.

805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlamj,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl caualo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] —in which began the new year—also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished; when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

000 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left—

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic teiixtimacho in tiacaoan in omjcque, in oxixiliosque, vncan qujntlatique in jxqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujnenechicoaia, coololoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in ixqujlhujtico in Mexico inic calaqujco in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlactix Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique vme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oacic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic qujoaltoqujlia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Tititl no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Izcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl motenecoa Nemontemj: auh in ontzonquix macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quavitl eoa, vncã xiuhqujtzqujlo, vncan peoa in iancujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã qujoaltoqujlia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan ixpoliuhque Tiacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Tecujlhujtontli, ie vncan in qujzque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in qujzque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo inh catca teiollo inic qujzque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jxqujlhujxique matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: inh nemachoc in ca oiccen iaque, in ca iccen oiaque, aocmo cepa valmocuepaxque, aocmo ceppa imjloch qujchiom-

4. The Aztec not ships Atemoztli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—The Ceremonies, p. 154.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VII—The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years, p. 25; Sahagún, Bulmalo ed., II, p. 269.

[that] nevermore would they come back, never would they once again make their return. Then once more were adorned and arrayed the devils' houses; all were swept, rubbish was picked up, and the dirt removed.

que: ninan ie no cappa ic tlachichivalo, tlacencavalo CCC in diablome inchan: tlatlachpanoc, tlacajcujvac, moquipipizti in tlalli.

[p. 78 is blank]

796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter. Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.**

Inje cempoalli on chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiuhq̃ in jquac oquijxque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237 on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oacic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujquixtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn ixquich in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ie no ceppa qujncecencauhque, qujntlaquentique, qujnquequetzallotique, qujncocozcatique, qujmcnaaqujque xiuhxaiacatl, yoan qujnquequentia in tequemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in toxquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatquitl in monec, quipiaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they
805 also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpanjztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman qujoaltoqujlia in Tlaxchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã qujvaltoqujlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli ommme, anoço Quavitl eoa. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli ommme. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjcque tultreca acaloco.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ie no ceppa quiçaco, in ie no ceppa tiquijmittaque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in quiçaco, ommotlalico in Tlacuban çan onçhicomjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoaltito. Auh ie no ceppa quiçaco, çan quixtiquizque quauhtitlampa iezziaque: çan tequjtl ontemjctitiquizque in

1. So the Aztec reads (*compañías*: see Molina, op. cit., *ceremonias*, *compañías*). — Durán: the twentieth day is unsure, so conform with custom in observance of four days (*personal communication*, Rafael Garcia Granados).

2. See various translations in Soler, op. cit., p. 229.

3. The fifteenth and sixteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

805 and were gone for forty days. But once more they came forth, to make only a quick foray; from Quauhtitlan they came. Their only object was to set out to slay [those of] Thalixtacapan and Ixtacalla; people of Tlatilulco died there.[4] About four hundred perished.

And when they reached a determination, when a decision was reached about us, it was also [still] forty days to Toxcatl, exactly two years since the chieftains had died in the temple courtyard, in the [month of] Toxcatl.[5]

thalixtacapan yixtacalla: tlatilulco in mjcque, achi vel centzontli in mjc.

Auh in tzcentlatallhuj, in ic tupan nenonotzaloc, no vmpoaltica ipan toxcatl: ic vel ic ontivid in tlacaoan mjcque in tcuitvalco, in Toxcatlca./.

4. This passage is paralleled in *Anales de Tlatelolco*, pp. 64-65, §§306-307: "*Después partió [Cuauh] quando otra vez a Cuauhtlpac. Se va a Tlaxcapan y se viene a matar en el palacio. . . . Veinte 7 días estuvo nuevamente descansando allí, en Tlaxcapan. Y nuevamente volvió él, a quien siguieron. De allí salieron y se establecieron en Tzcoxcan. Transcurrieron 80 (días) regresó otra vez y se fué a Ixmiquipc y a Quauhtlahuac. De allí pasó a Xochimilco. Allí pereció gente Tlatelolco. De allí partió por segunda vez y volvió sobre Tlalhuicaxpan. Allí pereció gente Tlatelolco.*"

5. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 65, §§309-311.

Twenty-ninth Chapter. Here is related how the plague[1] came, named smallpox, of which the natives died, when the Spaniards set forth from Mexico.

And [even] before the Spaniards had risen against us, a pestilence first came to be prevalent: the smallpox. It was [the month of] Tepeilhuitl when it began, and it spread over the people as great destruction. Some it quite covered [with pustules] on all parts — their faces, their heads, their breasts, etc. There was great havoc. Very many died of it. They could not walk; they only lay in their resting places and beds. They could not move; they could not stir; they could not change position, nor lie on one side, nor face down, nor on their backs. And if they stirred, much did they cry out. Great was its destruction. Covered, mantled with pustules, very many people died of them. And very many starved; there was death from hunger, [for] none could take care of [the sick]; nothing could be done for them.

And on some the pustules were widely separated; they suffered not greatly, neither did many [of them] die. Yet many people were marred by them on their faces; one's face or nose was pitted. Some lost their eyes; they were blinded.

At this time, this pestilence prevailed sixty days, sixty day signs. When it left, when it abated, when there was recovery and the return of life, the plague had already moved toward[2] Chalco, whereby many were disabled — not, however, completely crippled. When it came to be prevalent, [it was the month of] Teotl eco. And when it went, weakened, it was Panquetzaliztli. Then the Mexicans, the chieftains, could revive.

And after this, then the Spaniards came; they marched from Tezcoco. By way of Quauhtitlan they set out, and quartered themselves at Tlacopan. There then the task was divided; their routes were there separated. Pedro de Alvarado's charge became the road leading into Tlatilulco. And the Marquis went

Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn valla Totomonjztli, injc mjcque njcã tlaca: in jtoca vei çavatl, in jquac oquijaque Españoles in Mexico. 751

Auh in aiamo totechmoquetza in Españoles: achtopa momanaco vei cocolizztli, totomonaliztli, ipan tepeilhujtl in tzintic, in tetechmotecac vevei tepopul: cequj vel pepechtic, novian in motecac in teixco, in teicpac, in teelpan, &c. vellaixpolo, vel mjequjntin ic mjcque, aoc vel nenemja, ça onoca in jmonoian in incuchian, aoc vel molinjaia, aoc vel mocuechinjaia, aoc vel mocuecuetzoaia, aoc vel monacacicteca, aoc vel mjxtlapachtecaia, aoc vel maquetztitecaia. Auh in jquac mocuechinjaia, cenca tzatzia: cenca thaixpolo, in pepechtic, in pepechiubquj in çaoatl, vel mjec tlacatl, ic momjqujli, yoã mjequjntin çan apixmjcque, apixmjcoac, aocac motecujtlaviziaia, aocac teca muchivaia.

Auh in cequjntin çan veveca in intech motlali in çavatl, amo cenca qujmjhioti, amo no mjequjntin ic mjcque: yoã mjec tlacatl ic itlacauh in jxaiac, ichachaquachiubque, iacachachaquachiubque, cequjtin yiacueponque, ixpopoioque:

iquac in manca inin totomonjliztli, vel epoalilhujtl, epoaltonal in qujz in cuetlan, in necmachoc, in ioliocac: ie chalcopa vatztia in totomonjliztli, yoã mjec injc cocototzauh: amo tel iccen cocototzauh. In momanaco Teutl eco: auh in cuetlanjto ipan in Panquetzaliztli: vncan vel cazavaque in Mexica, in tlacatecan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ic vitze, valolinj in Españoles in vmpa Tetzcoco: quauhtitlampa in quiçato ommotlalico Tlacuban: nec vncan motequjmaca, vncã mouelloa: in Pedro de Alvarado, itequjppã muchiuh in vtli vallaticac tlatilulco. Auh in Marques coiocacan motlalito: auh inequjuh muchiuh in mar- 600

1. Corresponding Spanish term: *pestilencia*. Siler (op. cit., p. 331) has *viruelas* for this term, and "great rash" for *mal general*. Chimalpáhin (op. cit., p. 198, n. 5, has *viruelas* for *cocomoliztli*. — The term is quite commonplace in the Codex.

2. Probably either *rollicate* or *contrite* should be read.

000 to and established quarters at Coyoacan, and it became the Marquis' charge — as well as the road from Acachinanco[3] which led into Tenochtitlan; for the Marquis knew that those of Tenochtitlan were great warriors, great chieftains.

726 And at Nextlatilco, or Iliacac, there in truth first came the fighting, when they quickly came to and reached Nonoalco.[4] The chieftains came pursuing them. None of the Mexicans died. Then the Spaniards turned back. The chieftains, who fought valiantly by boat, the warboatmen, shot darts at them. Their darts rained upon the Spaniards. They then entered [Nonoalco]. And the Marquis thereupon threw himself upon those of Tenochtitlan; he proceeded along the Acachinanco road. Many times, in truth, there was battle, and the Mexicans contended against him.

ques: auh in vtli in acachinanco vallaticac tenuchtitlan, in momu marques ca vei oqujchtli in tenuchcatl vei tiacauh:

auh in nextlatilco, anoço iliacac, vel vmpa achto iaupevaco, njman acitiuetzico in nonoalco in qujnvaltocaque tiacavan, aiaac mjc in Mexica: njman ic moteputztique in Españoles. In tiacavan in acaltica thecoa, in acalchimaleque qujmõmjna: in immjuh, ontzetzelivi in impan Españoles: njman ic calaque. Auh in Marques njman ie ic qujvallaça in invicpa tenuchca qujvaltoca in vtli in acachinãco: mjecpa valmicalia, auh connamjquj in Mexica.

3. A location in the lake, which can now be fixed as to the east of the Calzada de S. Antonio Abad and south of the Calzada de Fr. Servando Teresa de Mier (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

4. Nextlatilco and Iliacac are parts of the barrio of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco. Nonoalco (S. Miguel) is described as an "Islote al norte de la Calzada de Tacuba," an area today bounded N. by Calle de la Emigración and Manuel González; E., irregular line approximating Guerrero; S., approximately Lerdo and Plaza de Almoloya; and W., Olivo. — Cano, op. cit.

Thirtieth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards fashioned their boats there at Texcoco, in order to come here to conquer Mexico.

And when their twelve boats had come from Texcoco, all of them were brought together there at Acachinanco. Then the Marquis moved [his camp] there to Acachinanco, whereupon [the Spaniards] proceeded to find out where the boats could enter — where the canals were straight, or deep, or not deep [enough], so that they might nowhere be grounded. But the canals were twisting and winding; they could not there get them in.

Two boats they brought in there; they forced them through the road going straight from Xolloco. And once [for all] they resolved and determined to do away completely with the Mexicans. When they had so decided, then they placed themselves in order. They carried guns; in the lead they went bearing the large cotton banner. And so, without confusion or impatience, they proceeded beating drums, and sounding flutes, and blowing wooden whistles.

And the two boats came floating slowly; at one side only were the boats floating. But on the other side came no boats, because it was a place built up with houses. Then they came, giving battle. On both sides death was dealt and captives were taken. And when those of Tenochtitlan who dwelt in Çoquipan saw this, they then ran off; they fled in fear. The small children were taken from among the people. Into the water they went; all in the water were the common folk. A cry of weeping arose. And the boatmen filled boats with their little ones. They plied the boat poles; they plied them with vigor. Nothing else did they take with them, but left, hastily, in their fear, all their wretched belongings. Indeed everything they left scattered in their hurry. And our foes plundered as they went, taking whatsoever they came upon. What they found as they went, they took; they carried off with them perchance [regular] capes; or large, cotton ones; or devices; or two-toned drums; or ground drums.

Injc cempoalli onmatlactli capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles quixinque imacal vmpa tetzcocu injc tepevaco njcan mexico.

Auh in ovalla imacal tetzcocu matlacteti omuxc, çan oc much vmpa mocenten in acachinanco, njman vncã valmjquanj in Marques in acachinanco: njmã ie ic quitlatemolitinemj incampa vel calaquiz acalli, incampa ie melavaticac acalotli, in aço vecatlan, in acanoço vecatlan injc amo cana macanaz: auh in acalotli in cocoltic, in cuecuelpachtic, amo vel vncan quicalaquiçque,

vnteti in acalli in concalaquiçque, concuitlavilitequiltique in vtli xolloco vallamelauhticac: auh cenpa quicentlatalhuiçque, quicemitoque, injc quincentlaziliuque mexica in quincentlatalhuiçque: nec motecpana, quivica in tlequiçquiztli quiniacantivitz in quachpanjtl, çan njman amo mamana, amo momocivia, tlatzoztontivitze, yoan tlapitztivitze yoan quavilacapitztli.

Auh in vnteti acalli, çan jvian onotivitz, çan cec- 726
tlapal in vallonotia in acalli: auh in oc cectlapal atle valla in acalli, ichica ca calla, nec iativitze, necalivativitz, nenc mjcoa, necoc tlamalo. Auh in oquittaque in tenuchca in çoquipan onoque: nec motlaloa, momauhcatlaloa, tetlan tlaano in pipiltzitzinti, çan atlan in vi, cemati mantiuh in macevalli, tlachoquiztleva. Auh in acãleque quimacaltenque in impilhoantzitzin, quintlanelhuia, quintequitlanelhuia, aoc tle ma itla conmocuilique, çã moch conmauhcacauhtiquizque, in intlatquitzin, çan much vmpa contepeuhtiquizque. Auh in toiaovan tlanamoxtivi, quicuitivi in tlcin ipan oquiçato, in tlcin oquipanoito quicuj, quimotquilia in aço tilmatli, in aço quachtli, in anoço tlavizztli, in anoço teponaztli in anoço vevetl.

726 And those of Tlatilulco fought, there at Çoquipan,[1] in war boats. And when [the Spaniards] came to reach Xolloco, where there was a wall which cut across shutting off the road, they fired at it with the big guns. As the first [charge] fell, it did not crumble; but at the second, it collapsed; at the third, finally it quite went to the ground; and at the fourth, at last the wall [fell] completely leveled.

And the two boats moved in to meet those in war boats.[2] There was fighting in the water. And the guns occupied the entire prows of the boats. And there where the [Mexicans'] boats lay thick, where they lay close together, there, upon them, they fired. Many men died thereby. Then the boats went bobbing up and down and rocking, and sank. Just so was it with the bolts; the one upon whom they could take aim could not escape; he then died and there breathed his last. But when the Mexicans could behold and determine where the gun [shots] and bolts would strike, no longer did they follow a direct course. Only from side to side would they veer; only sideways, at a slant, they traveled.

And when [those on land] also already saw that now the big gun was to fire, they all fell to the ground; all stretched out on the ground, and lay flat. And the chieftains withdrew to enter the spaces among the houses. The road became clear; the wide road lay empty [of people].

And then [the Spaniards] proceeded to and reached Uitzillan,[3] where was yet another wall. And many [Mexicans] were spread out by it, crouched, taking refuge behind the wall. For a short time the [Spaniards'] boats were grounded there, as their prows struck land. There for a brief space they tarried while they prepared the guns.

Auh in tlatilulca vmpa tlaiecoque in çoquipan, acalchimaltica: auh in xolloco in oncico in vncan tenamjtl onoca, in onepãtla in qujtzacutoca vtli: in tlequjqujztli vei, ic qujmotlaḏ, niamo xitin in iancujcan vetz, auh injc vppa, xitin: auh injc expa, iequene vel tlaltitech ia: auh injc nappa iequene vel iccen tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl.

Auh in omeẽ acalli qujnnamjctiuh in acalchimaleque, necaliva in atlan. Auh in tlequjqujztli imacaliacac tetentiuh: auh in vnca tetzavatoc acalli, in vncan tecpichauhtoc: vmpa inpan contlaça mjec tlacati ic mjc: njman aaquetztivetzi, nenecujliuhtivetzi, papachiuhtivetzi: çan ie no ivi in tepuzmjtl in aquin vel qujmottilia, aocmo quiça, njman mjquj, vncan quihiovia. Auh in ovel qujtzaque Mexica, in ovel quinemjliḏ in juh vetzi tlequjqujztli, yoẽ in tepuzmjtl, aocac motlamelauhcaquetza, ça ayic vivi, tlatlazzlapaloa, ça ixtlapalhujvi.

Auh in jquac ie no qujtta in ie vetziz in vei tlequjqujztli, tlahtech viloa, tlaltęch neteco, nepacholo. Auh in tiacavan cacalęctivetzque in caltzalan chipavatimoquetz in vtli, in vchpantli, ça iuhquin chipacpul icac.

Auh njman oncico in vitzillan, in oc ce vncã onoc tenamjtl: auh mjequjntin itlan mopachoroca, qujmotoctitoca in tenamjtl: achitonca vncan ommacã, ontzotzen in jmacal, vncan achitonca onvecavaque in oquje conchichiuhque tlequjqujztli.

1. *Aztec*, also known as S. Pablo, Tlaqua Çoquipan, or Xochimilco, an area bounded now N. by Calle de Guatemala and Miguel Negrete; E., Calzada de Balbuena; S., Calzada del Chabacano and Calle de Morelos; and W., Calzada de S. Antonio Abad. — Cline, op. cit.

2. See Pl. 120.

3. Near the Church of S. Pablo (corresponding Spanish text).

Thirty-first Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards came with the brigantines and took after those who were in boats in order to join battle with them, and then emerged and came to arrive near all the houses.

And when they had reached [the guns], thereupon they fired upon the wall. And the wall then gave way and parted from behind. And the second time [the shot] struck, the wall then fell to the ground destroyed; it burst open, pierced through. Then likewise the road appeared clear [of men]. And the chieftains who were by the wall then dispersed. All fled from there, escaping in terror. And all the various men [allied to the Spaniards] then quickly advanced filling each canal. Then they speedily leveled them with stones, adobes, and some logs so that they were filled.

And after the canals had been filled, then came the horse[men], perhaps ten of them. They rode in a circle; they came wheeling about, twisting and circling. [And] once again horse[men] came, following after the others. And a number of Tlatilulcans who had quickly entered the palace which had been the house of Moctezuma then emerged in terror, and came up against the horse[men]. One [of them] hanced a Tlatilulcan. And though he had speared him, yet he took hold firmly of the iron lance. Then his companions went up to tear it from [the rider's] hands, threw him down upon his back, and upset him. And when he had fallen tumbled to the earth, they hit him repeatedly, they struck him on the back of the head. He died there.

Thereupon the Spaniards assembled and set out together. Then they reached Quauhquiyauac (the Eagle Gate). And they took with them the lombard gun and the equipment which went with it. They placed it at the Eagle Gate. (And for this reason is it called the Eagle Gate, that there stood an eagle carved in stone, a good man's height tall — so high — and flanking it stood, on one side, an ocelot, and on [the other] a wolf, likewise hewn of stone [)].

Injc ceppoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles ic valiztiaque in vergantines, qujnvaltocaque in acaltica nenca in qujnnamjquijo: njmã ic valquizque itech acico in jxquich calli. 726

Auh in ocoxchichiuhque: njmã ic ic qujvalmotla in tenamjtl: auh in tenamjtl, njmã tzatzaian, cujtlaxeliuh. Auh injc vppa vetz: njmã tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl, vevelocac, vmpet, oncoion: njman no iuhquin chipacpul moquetz vtli. Auh in tiacavã in tenantitlan onoca, njmã ic valxitinque, valnetlalolo, nemauhcaquixtilo. Auh in jxquich nepapan tlacatl: njman iciuhca contetentivi in acalotli, njman iciuhca conjxmana tetica, xantica yoan cequj quavitl injc tlastopque.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ommatzop acalotli: njman ic ic valeoa in cavallome, aço matlactome, ontlaiavaloco, ontlamalacachoco, ommocovitzoco, ommotevilacachoco: ic no ceppa centlamantli valevaque in cavallome, qujnvalcujtlapãvitiáque. Auh cequintin tlatilulca ẽalactivetzque in tecpan catca in jchan motecuçoma: njman ic valmauhcaqujçaia, qujmonmonamjctico in cavallostin: oc qujxilico in tlatilulca. Auh in oqujxilico, oc vel can in jtepuztopil: njman qujmacujlito in jcnjvan, icujtlapan qujoalmaiauhque, qujvaltzineuhque: auh in otlalpan vetzico mec qujvivizequj, concuexcochvivitecque, oncan ommjc.

Niman ic ic qujoalcentiaça, oalcemolinj in Españoles: njmã ic onacico in quauhqujiavac. Auh in tomaoac tlequjqujztli qujvicativi, intlatquj ietiuh, contecaque in quauhqujiavac. (Auh injc motenoa quauhqujiaoac, ca vncan icaca in quauhtli, tetl in tlaxiximtli, vel onnenquetzalli injc quauhtic, inic vecapan: auh quizaxtacutimanj, in ontlapal icaca octlitl: auh in ontlapal icaia cujtlachtli, cuaxo tetl in tlaxiximtli. Auh in ic iuhquj in vevei tiacavan, oc nõ [35] 539

726 And, when this had come to pass, the great chieftains in vain took refuge behind the stone columns; and
[347] the stone columns [were] in two rows, altogether eight [of them]. And also the chieftains crowded on the roof terrace of the Coacalli.[1] They filled the roof terrace. None of the chieftains [could] go beyond.

And the Spaniards at first remained quiet. And when they fired the gun, it became very dark; smoke spread out. And those who were hiding behind the stone columns all fled; and all those who were on the roof terrace hurled themselves down, and all ran far away. Then [the Spaniards] took up the gun and went to place it upon the large, round stone.
[534] And on top of the [pyramid Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, holding vigil to no purpose, [priests] struck two-toned drums; as if with all force they struck the two-toned drums. And then two Spaniards climbed up, going to club them there. And when they had gone there to strike them, they cast them down; they threw them down from there.

And the shorn ones, all the chieftains, who had been fighting in boats, all came forth and issued on to the dry land. And those who plied the boating poles for them [were] the young boys; only these guided the boats. And upon this the chieftains then took note of the spaces among the houses. They ran fast; all in truth shouted and said: "O chieftains, make haste!"

And when it came to pass that the Spaniards saw that they were about to come to grips with and pursue them,[2] then they cowered and sped away; they turned tail; they indeed fled and ran. From both sides they were shot at with darts and barbed arrows; and from both sides they were pelted with stones. Shortly, then, they went to find respite at Xolloco, to catch their breath. There [the battle] quieted, and thereupon [the Mexicans] all turned back. And the Spaniards then also returned and went to establish themselves at Acachinanco. But the gun, in their haste, they abandoned there on the large, round stone. Then the chieftains seized it, ran it forward, and went to toss it into the water. They pulled it to Tetamaçolco.[3]

quimotoctiticaca in tetlaquetzalli: auh in tetlaquetzalli onpantli, nepan chicuej. Auh in coacalli ielpiioc, ao tetentoque in tiacavan, motlatlapantoque socac iztlapal iuub in tiacavan.

Auh in Españoles çã njman amo mamana: auh in oquitlauque tlequiquitzli cenca tlaiovac, pocti motecac. Auh in quimotoctitimanca in tetlaquetzalli, netlaloloc yoan in jaquichtin tlapanco onoca valmoteputuque veca netlaloloc, nec quivallecavia in tlequiquitzli contecaco temalacatitlan: auh in icpac vitzilobuchtli, oc nẽ tlapiaia, quivitequja in teponaztli, iuhquin ontetemj quivitequj teponaztli: auh njmã ic ontlecoque vmentin Españoles, vmpa quimonvivitequjto: auh in ocquimonvivitequjto in ca valmaizuhque, quinvalchicanauhque:

auh in quaquachictin in jaquichtin in tiacavan in acaltica tlaiecoaia, muchántin valquizque, vallalvacaquizque: auh in tetlanelhuja in telpopotzitzinti, çan ichoãtin in quivalhnjvicaque in acalli. Auh in ie iuhquj in tiaiacavan, nec quimottilia in caltzalandi vellatotoca, vel netzatzililo: quitta. Tiacavane, ma vallatotoca:

auh in ie iuhquj, in ocquittaque in Españoles in ie impan monamjquj in ie quimotona, njmã ic mocotezitlalique, motepotzitique, vel totoca, motlalos necoccampa in valmjnaloia in tlatzonteccica, yoan necoccampa in valtepacholo, quin vmpan xolloco patito, imjhio quicujto, vmpa valmõemanato: njman ie ic valnecuepalo. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, njman ic no mocuepa motlalito in acachinanco: auh in tlequiquitzli vncan quicauhtiquizque in temalacatitlan: njman conanque in tiacavan, quitotoca quimaiavito atlan, tetamaçolco quizzilitiaque.

1. Spanish text: "[illegible] como grande estaban [illegible] de la casa que estaba arriba sobre los cuchillos." The Coacalli is described in Book VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 44.

2. Quimotona: probably quimotona in texts.

3. Spanish text: "[illegible] que llamaba Tetamaçolco, que era cabo de [illegible] que se llama Tlapanohuaya, donde [illegible] los Indios."

Thirty-second Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans in terror left their city, from fear which they felt of the Spaniards.

And meanwhile those of Tenochtitlan came to enter, here, in Tlatilulco. There were cries of weeping, and there were shouts. Many were the tears of the beloved women. And the men[1] went with their women. One or another carried his child upon his shoulders. When, then, they abandoned their city, it was for only a day. And the Tlatilulcans yet again went there to Tenochtitlan to give battle.

And at this time Pedro Alvarado yet once more moved there against Iliacac, which is toward Nonoalco. Nothing could be accomplish. It was as if he had arisen against a stone. For those of Tlatilulco put forth great effort. On both sides was there fighting, on the road and on the water with war boats. When Alvarado grew tired, then he turned back and went to camp at Tlacopan. And only two days after they had thrown against them the boats which first went—only[2] two—then all [the boats] set forth together and stopped at the outer houses of Nonoalco. Thereupon they issued on to the dry land, the firm ground. Then they followed the narrow road, [into] the heart of the settlement.

And when the Spaniards came, all was clear. No man of the common folk appeared. But Tlilocatzin, a great chieftain and very brave, then cast three of his stones which he carried—great, large, round rocks: well stones, or white stones. One he had in his hand; two he bore upon his shield. Thereupon he gave cheer to and went against the Spaniards, dispersing and scattering them in the water. Into the water they went. In truth, heavily laden on the water [were the boats] as they went down [into them].

Inic cempoalli ōmomatlactli onnauac capitulo: 726
vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica valmauhcaqujquac in vncan inualnepanlı ipan in qujnjnacauac Españoles.

Auh in jquac in, in tenochca valcalacoc in ujcan tlatilulco, tlachopjntlaca, tlatzacuintlaca, itzachi in jmjxaio cicontzintli: auh in toqujchtin qujpivicaca in iniciviuoli in oca qujpanchpanoa in jpiltzin: njmā ipuac in qujcualoqueh in jnualnepanlı ça cenpilhujtl. Auh in tlatilulca ic ne vmpa itztivi in tenochtitlan in tojcalinqueh.

Auh in ic ihcujq in Pedro alvarado: ic ne vmpa qujvallac in iliacac, in jvicpa nonoalco, aiatic vel qujchiuhqueh, ihcujqujn tetlatch onevaco: ichica ce in tlatilulca conca mochicualoqueh, necoc in tlaiecoloc, vēl ipan, ynan atlan in acalchimaltica: in omotzintlatl in alvarado, njmā ic mocaxp, motlalilio in tlacoban: auh çan jvipilaioc in qujvalcentlaqueh in acalli in acachio valla, can oc onteel: auh çanpā muchi cēquiça in calteco nonoalco onnoteemoto: njman ic ic onhqujça in tlalhoacpā, in tlalhoacpan: njmā ic ic qujvalnecca opitzactli, in calla icac, qujvalcollotia.

Auh in vncan valqujquac Españoles ocacivetz, nocac tlacatl oquiz in maçevalli. Auh in tlilocatzin vel tlacauh conca oquichtli: njmā ic qujvallac, cuel in quipujj itech, vevei tepopul mamalacachtic: ic in tenococatl, ameqo intac tetl, cematl intac ietiah, vmatl ichimalhtlan ietiah, njman ic ic quijnaca quijnanepevato atlan, quijnhuavato in Españoles, ça atlan in onimque, vel aximque in onevemque

1. Tepujchtlaca. Literally, the men, as Clavigero rendered in his translation.
2. Ome: probably per le omnem.

701 (And this Tlilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tlilacatzin, our foes then covered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But Tlilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be
[301] recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with
[293] which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[3] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them — in both places he had them on his arms. And the
[301] golden arm bands glistened.[4] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tlilacatzin ovomijl catca injc tlacatl, ipampa in tlacoxxiotli, ichica xmo imjpaco tlachiaia in iniuavan in mazcl Españoles, xmo tle impan quimjtzaia, vel tlacoxxmomahtzinia: in jquac in quittaia in Tlilacatzin, ojmpan mocoxxtlalaia in iniuavan: auh ceuca quimomaia, injc quimjctlaquac, in ayo quimpanmjtlaquac, in axocp quimjctlapopoqui, in axocp quimjctlapopoqui. Auh in Tlilacatzin, çã mjxpolon injc xmo itztlachoc: in quemman tlavizti in ommoquipaia, itzqilol compilonia, yoan itztocuijtlaxcoch yol commocuetzia in jcoxqui chipoli, çan tlapopolohuia in jtzontecon, nezcuia injc ommjl: auh in quemanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canacxotli injc ommoquequenjlon, auh in çanjan injc mjxpolon ommoquipaia tlaqxocalli, quemone quauhtlalpiloaj icuacochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh ichoal injc tetlepantlaxoia, xiuqujn tetlepantlaxqui ipã quijtiuh, quijtlaxicalliquitiuh in tetlepantlaxqui itztocuijtlaxxmomecauh necoccampa in ietiuh yiccanjxti ietiuh in jmac: auh in tocuijtlaxxmomecal cuecueio auh no ie in jcuic ietiuh, ostocal, tocuijtlacoxxmomal çan petlanqui)

726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauhcalitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcaltecas and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tlaxocmin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [above]mentioned Tlilacatzin.

Auh ojmjl inuetlaioc in ie no cuel cappa quijxco in jmacal conacanaco nonoalco, xiuhcalititli: auh ojmjan no quijxco in tlacuipanvia yoan in ie inquijch tlaxcaltecatl yoan ommjl, vel tomac in quimpeviviztec in Españoles. Auh in oncico nonoalco: ojmjl ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel motetemmana in tlaiecolitzli in iaxiotl, necoc in mjxoxia inquijch mjxalaia in iniuavan, no inquijch in mexicatl, necoc ivi, necocolo, iuh comjlhujqui, iuh iuac in necaliuac.

Çan ymon in vevei tlacatl in amo mjxacxilloaj, in ale inpan quijxoia in iniuavi catca, in amo quitlaçotlaia in inmocuio. Injc ce tlacatl itoca Tlaxocmin. Injc ymac itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic ymon in omomeuh in Tlilacatzin.

3. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Conquistador, Chapter 20.

4. Conquistador: probably conquistador in manner.

5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco. — Cano, op. cit.

And when the Spaniards tired, when they could achieve nothing, when they could not break through the Mexicans, then they went, and entered [their encampment], much affected in spirit. Their allies went following behind them.

Auh in ommohuelaniqueh in Españoles, in ayc quiqui-726
chiua, in ayc quiqueztia in Mexica: ninoan ic iaqui, calaqueh, ycc iauilti ueic, quiqueztiquetzaloti in iatzinnalhuan.

[p. 90 is blank]

726 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.**

726 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochi-
648 milco, Mixquic, Culhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itz-
tapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

415 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them
431 devices and shields, and they gave them each choco-
772 late. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Inic ompoalli onnauhtecti omei capítulo vacan mjtoa in quenja chinampaneca in Suchimjlca, cuitlavaca, yoan in Jtztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin valleque in quipapalevinquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in ichoantin suchimjlca, cuitlauaca mjxquica, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, quijonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: quijmjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achtzin ic tiepalevico in xi, in teperl, aço velitin ca çan ic ixtlavico in ixtlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca xel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocmquijpaco in quauhtli ocelotl in acalitica: ca qujl axcã quijcentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ic iuhquj in oconjoque in ixtlatol, in ontlanonotzque njman ic ic quijmjlhuja. Ca ic qualli, onnmotlacnelilique oanquijmjhiovltique, oanquijmociavltique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiciecavi:

njman ic ic qujxtlauhtia, quijmaca in tlavistli, in chimalli, yoan qujncacacavatique, ceem xicalpechtli in qujomacaque cacaoatl: njmã ic ic quijmjlhuja. tlacueleoatl, tla tlaiciecavi tiacaoase, ca ic vitze in toiaovan, njma ic ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in qujovalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tiacavaca in jnquijcan vtlica: njman ic ic necaliea.

Auh in ichoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ic ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmã ic ic tenamoia, quijnamoque in cioatzintli, yoan in pipiltzintzintl, yoan in jlamatzintzin njman cequjntin vacan q'mujctique vacan ihiotl quja. Auh in oc cequjntin amo quijmujctique, çan ivian acalco quijmontemovique.

Auh in ic iuh quichioa inin ic tenamalpoloa: njman ic tlatzique in tequjvaque, quijtoque. Mexicae tlein ic quichioa in, tlavelilique? ma vallatotoca: njman ic ic tlacavaca, quijatoca acalica.

726 And all the boats which were at Nonoalco then were assembled there; all left from there in order to pursue. Then they proceeded to hem in those of Xochimilco. Thereupon they slew them; they spared and beat them. But some they only took. And almost all died there; in truth, there they were destroyed. And all [the women] whom they had seized, all of them they left there. None of the beloved women were taken away.

And while this was already coming to pass, then the Spaniards settled back.

And just as those of Xochimilco had devised, and would have done, just so [the Spaniards] would do away with us through deceit. And all whom they seized of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, etc., they thereupon brought and hurried there to Yacacolco, where now is [the Church of] Santa Ana.[1] There were Quauhtemoc and Mayeuatzin, ruler of Cuitlauac (for he was here at the time of the war).

And when [those of Cuitlauac] had been brought, they greeted Mayeuatzin. They said to him: O my younger brother, [may it] be well with thee." But Mayeuatzin replied to them: "You fools, have I perchance bidden you? What have you done?" And Quauhtemoc then said to Mayeuatzin: "O my younger brother, do thy work." And Mayeuatzin thereupon offered up as sacrifices four, whom he slew, of his vassals. Likewise Quauhtemoc slew four.

And later, of all who were included among the captives, it was commanded that they be slain, everywhere in the temples of the devils. Everywhere the captives gave blood to [the images].

726 687 And afterwards the Mexicans were wroth because of this. They said: "Verily, here among us, mingling with us, are the people of Xochimilco; they have already made their homes here. Do they not, in truth, deliver their messages [to our foes]? So these we shall take forth; they shall perish!" And upon this, when judgment was indeed pronounced, thereupon were drawn out all the beloved women and old women, and those already mature. All were slain. None were spared, because of those who went bearing false witness of them and doing undeserved ill: those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac who came [saying] they would help us.

Auh in nonoualco in onoca in jappich ocalli: ninoã ic mochi vmpa mocenjpoqui, moch vmpa in inic tlantoca: ninoã ic quintacuplico in Xochimilca: ninman ic ic temjctia, tetzilli, teviniqui. Auh ocquinin çan quinacique: auh vel mochintin, vacã mjcque, vel oncan mjctlatique. Auh in jappichtin in quinacique, çã mochtin vncan quincauhq̃ ninc vioc in cioamiztini.

Auh in jquac ic ioh mochica in, ninman ic mocotztlalique in Españoles.

Auh in ioh quimolhuica, in ioh quichiuaqui in xochimilca, çan ic tetlacalpoloaqui: auh in jequichtin quimacique in xochimilca: in Cuitlauac. &c. ninman ic ic quiuica, quintotoca in vmpa Jacacolco, in axcan ic ont Ana: vmpa icac in Quauhtemoctzi, ynan in Maichoctzin, cuitlauac tlamanj (ca ninan ipan muchiuh in iauiztl).

Auh in oazivaque contlapalehuanj in Maichoctzin: conjlhuja. Nicoalhtzine, nocolicuzin: auh in maichoctzin, quinvalilhuja. In antlapalqui cuix namechcuicuitlavi, tle camaxque. Auh in quauhtemoctzin ninman quinolilhuj in Maichoctzin. Nicauhtzine ma xinuxlacotili: auh in Maichoctzin: ninman ic ic tlamjctia, navi in cõmjcti in jmacuilhoan: no navi in conmjcti in Quauhtemoctzin.

Auh in çaepan in ic onaquj in mamalti, cullanuetilloc injc mjctilouque novian in intercupan tlalocatecuilo, vel novian tepanjque in mamalti.

Auh çaepã ic ic qualanj in Mexica: quinque. Ca ninan tetlanoloc, tetlacoloc in xochimjcatl in ic ninan chanchiva, anno nel vmpa cantlalia in jplatl. Auh inin ça tiquinocaoa, çan pepolivi: auh in ic inhuqui, in ovel motenõcq, ninman ic ic tequaco in cioamiztini, in jlamatzitzin yoã in ic tlapalivi, mochintin mjmjctilique, aocac mocauhque, ca inhuqui quimatlaxlevito, quimoncujtlachivito in ovallique in techpaleviaque xochimjcatl, in cuitlacacatl.

1. Spanish text: "en el Tlaltelco." A Sarabia, "sede del gobierno de Guadalupe, donde actualmente se encuentra el templo de Santa Ana en la calle del Tecolotillo," according to R. H. Barlow: "Una pintura de la conquista en el templo de Santiago," *Tlatoani* 4 *estudio de los códices*, VI (1949), p. 58. Cline (op. cit.) identifies it as a district or neighborhood in the barrio of Sta. Ana Atlamaxac, near Tlatelolco.

And then, some days later, two boats came there to Yauhtenco.[2] The Spaniards came alone, proceeding in the early dawn. There were no [allied Indian] men; [the Spaniards] came quite alone. And upon this, when they had beached their boats, they thereupon leaped out on dry land. And when they had set forth on the firm ground, then they came giving battle. They went each firing guns and crossbows.

And the chieftains flattened themselves behind walls; they remained hidden in houses or behind walls. And the sentinel [had] as his care and charge [to know] when to break forth. And when it was already good time, at the right moment, he then cried out and said: "O Mexicans, onward!"

Auh njman iquenquilhuiloc, ontetl in scalli quiçaco, vncan in jauhtenco çan mjxcavico in Españoles, iontzinco in quiçaco, aiaac tlacatl, çan oc valmjxcavitiaque. Auh in ic iuhquj in oconacanque imacal: njman ic ic vallalhoacaquiça: auh in ovallalhoacaquiçaque njman ic ic mjcaltivitze, tlatlequjquixvitivitze, tlatepeumjvitivitze. 726

Auh in tiacavan cẽca mopachoa tenantitlan, yoã quimotocotitimanj in calli anoço tepantli. Auh in iuutlachizquj vel yix iuquiuh in canjn neovas: auh in ic qualcã in ic inman, njman ic ic tzatzi: quitoa. Mexicae ma ic cuel.

2. Part of Huauhtlan. — Ed.

[p. 94 is blank]

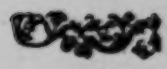

726 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans took captive and seized fifteen[1] Spaniards.**

Inje ceppoalli onnauhtecutli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica tlamaque in qujmacique Españoles caxtolti.

"O Mexicans, onward!"

On this, the sentinel raised a war cry. [Shell] trumpets were sounded, and they charged with shield.

Mexicae ma ic cuel:

njman ic ic tlacaoaca, yoan tlapiczalo yoan chimallaça in iautlachjxuj:

Thereupon they took after the Spaniards, they followed dispersing them and taking captives. Fifteen of the Spaniards were seized. Then they brought them in. And their boats [the enemy] withdrew, going to stand by in the middle of the lagoon.

njman ic ic qujntoca in Españoles, qujmaiauhtivi yoã qujmantivi, caxtoltin in anoque in Españoles: njmã ic qujnoalhujcaque: auh in jmacal njmã ic qujxtinqujxtique, anepantla contecato.

727 And when they had brought the eighteen where they were to die, there at the place called Tlacochcalco,[2] they thereupon stripped them; they took from them all their arms and their cotton armor, and all which was on them. All they tore from them. Then they were made slaves; they slew them. And their companions remained watching them from the middle of the lagoon.[3]

Auh in oquimaxitico caxtoltin omei in vncan mjqujzque itoca: tlacochcalco: njmã ic ic qujnpepetlaoa, much qujncujlique in imiautlatquj, yoã in jmjchcavipil, yoan in jxqujch in intech catca, moch qujntepeoaltique: njman ic ic tlacoti qujnmjctia: auh in jmjcnjoan qujnvalicxtoque anepantla.

726 And at one time they put in two of their boats there at Xocotitlan.[4] When they had landed, thereupon they went looking in the settlement of the people of Xocotitlan. And Tzilacatzin and other chieftains, when they saw the Spaniards, set upon them and sent them fleeing, casting stones at them as they went. They came to chase the Spaniards into the water.

Auh ceppa qujcalaqujque vntetl in imacal in vmpa xocotitlã: in ocomacanque, njmã ic ic vmpa itztivi in incalla xocotica. Auh in Tzilacatzin, yoan oc cequjntin tiacaoan: in oqujmittaque in Españoles: njman intech oalietiqujzque, qujnoallalochtocaque, qujntepachotivi, atlan qujntepeoaco in Españoles.

And another time [the Spaniards] brought their boats there to Coyonacazco[5] to wage war and give battle. And on arriving, then some Spaniards came out. Leading them came Castañeda Xicotencatl,[6] who walked wearing his [device of] quetzal feather

Auh ic no ceppa qujoalhujcaque in jmacal in vncan coionacazco injc tlaiccouque, injc mjcalizque. Auh in oacico njman ic valqujzque cequjntin Españoles, qujnvaliacan in castañeda xicotencatl: iquetzaltemal ictinemj. Nimã ic ic vallatepuzmjvia: auh

1. Eighteen are mentioned here. Cf. also Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 189 (chapter heading). The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* has fifteen.

2. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: *"en que estaba una casa que era como casa de audiencia, cerca de donde agora es la iglesia de Santa Ana."*

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los mexicanos los conquistaron delante del pueblo que se llamaba Mexicalzinco y los otros españoles estaban refugiados dentro las sementeras como los mexicanos."*

4. Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 190: *"que se alojaron [el barrio de] S. Francisco."* Cano (*op. cit.*) says it is the same as Cihuatecpan, in Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

5. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: *"cerca del barrio de San Lucas (que por otro nombre se llama Atenco)."* Cano (*op. cit.*) identifies Coyonacazco as a part of the barrio of Tlaquechihuitlan, to the north in Tlatelolco. R. H. Barlow ("Cinco siglos de los calles de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, IX [1947], p. 32) places it *"en lugar de la actuales calles del Peñonceillo de Hidalgo."* A map in Antonio Espejo and R. H. Barlow: "El plano más antiguo de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, I (1944), shows it in the northeast part of the city.

6. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: *"Rodrigo de Castañeda (el quien los indios llamaban Xicotencatl, por usarlo por enseña hombro)."*

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726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenanepantzco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at To-
[491] tecco,[8] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once
[443 again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came,
317] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied]
[533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjnoc iequac, njman ic mamjquili: ichaual in valamj in castañeda. Auh in tlacaoli itech intequjnque, atlan qujnnemjtique, qujnteçepachoque: auh vncã mjequjnquja in castañeda: auh çã acaltitech palcatia injc quivicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenanepantzco, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in tolecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, çan tlatlapixtoca in atlan. Auh in ic ica quivica.

Auh iquenquilhujoc ic no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ic quioalmotilique in quauecatitlan vtli, in oallamclauhticac intzanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jxquich tlaxcaltecatl, in acolhuacatl, in chalcatl: njman ic ic cacrupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in ...mjlli, in acatl quicujtlalpia in contepeca atlan. Auh in jquac in omoztop nec valmoçma in Españoles, cencã ivian in iativitze, qujniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapiztivitze, tlamotonotivitze. Auh inmjcampa onotivitze in ic ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ic ixquich alapeca, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, mectzotzona in tlaxcalteca, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, queca in çaço tlein quijnamjquij, ic mellaquaca muchioa.

Auh in oncico tlalhoacan in tlacaoli vel nepachoke, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, qujteteçontlalaia, quichjxtoque in quemman tecvitilos, in quemman quj-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*cerca de aquella yglesia que es llama ahora Iesu.*" Cano (op. cit.) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, *barrio* of Tlaxpanahuacan.

8. "*Cerca de la Cruz, pueblo almoraxtillo.*" — Cano, op. cit.

9. El Peñón de los Baños — one of the center of Tenochtitlan, in the lake. However, Rojas and Barlow, op. cit., p. 46 and map, locate it as a hill in the southwestern part of Tlatelolco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*determinaron entre si los españoles de darnos guerra por alli.*"

11. Quauhcatitlan respondi — "*calle que iba derecho de Nuestro al Mercado de la Sal. . . . prolongada hasta encontrar el Almoraxtillo y probablemente correspondia con la Calzada de Nuestro, Mercado, Almoraxtillo, Cerrajal y Huerta.*" — Cano, op. cit. Rojas and Barlow, op. cit., show it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Sahagún, loc. cit., the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the *Florentine Codex*: "*por causa de los españoles que los indios habian ganado en su presencia, tomaron á proponer guerra de nuevo, haciendo primeramente ademanes que la guerra no habia de acabar hasta que ganaran la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no matasen en sus mesmos, de alli adelante comenzaron á cegar todas las acequias y cunetas de agua por donde pasaban entre Gente hasta donde los barquinos no podian entrar, y alli comenzaron á derribar casas, y ellaxar todas las acequias.*"

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en barrio que es llama Tlalhuacan que es agora santo ciffo*" (San Martín).

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hosts. They waited until the time that the command to charge would be given, the time that they would hear the battle cry, and the order to advance. And when the cry was given, [it was]: "O Mexicans, onward against them!" Then the Tlapaneca Ecatzin, an Otomí [warrior], came to engage them and to hurl himself at them. He said: "O chieftains of Tlatilulco, onward! Who are these barbarians? Move forward!" Then he proceeded to throw himself against a Spaniard and struck him to the ground. This [Ecatzin] came first to cast him to the ground. He did it to him first. And when he had gone to overthrow him, then they went dragging the Spaniard off.

caquijaque tzatzilistli, in tervitilistli: auh in ozatzinac. Mexicae, ma ic cuel ichoatl: njman ic quivalixti, in Tlapanecatl hecatzin, ozomjtl, inca ommomotlac: quijto. Tlisacavane tlatilulcae, ma ic cuel, aquijque inin Tenjme, zivalnecemjcan: njman ic ica oc maiavito in Español, tlalli ic quivitec: ichoatl in valiacattivia in quimaiavito in quivaliacatitivia. Auh in oquimaiavito: nec convilanato in Español.

[p. 98 is blank]

726 **Thirty-fifth Chapter.** Here is related how once again the Mexicans took captives and seized Spaniards, and, as counted, the captured Spaniards [were] fifty-three. And also [were taken] many men of Tlaxcalla, Tezcuco, Chalco, and Xochimilco. Also [it is told] how they slew all in sacrifice there before those which were their gods.

And when this had come to pass, then the chieftains who had been crouched, together fell upon them; they fell upon them from their ambush in the spaces among houses. And the Spaniards, when they saw this, [were] as if drunk. Thereupon were
727 captives made. Many men of Tlaxcalla, Acolhua-
726 can, Chalco, Xochimilco, etc., were taken. Verily, myriads of captives were made and men slain. Truly, they forced the Spaniards into the water, and indeed all the [allied] people.

And the road became very slippery. It could no longer be traveled; each one could only slip and slide. And the captives were dragged along. Here in this place the [Spaniards'] standard was taken. Here it was seized. Those of Tlatilulco took it. It was captured there where now is [the church] named San Martín. But [the Spaniards] showed no concern over it; they were just troubled over it.[1] And others escaped [the Mexicans'] hands. They went leaving them exhausted at Colhuacatonco,[2] at the edge of the canal. There they retired to establish themselves.

727 And after this they took the captives there to Yacacolco. They were urged forward; they went surrounding their captives. One went weeping; one singing; one crying war cries while striking the mouth with the palm of the hand. And when they had been brought to Yacacolco, thereupon they were placed in rows, in files. One by one they proceeded to the small pyramid, where they were slain. First went the Spaniards. They took the lead. But all those of the [allied] cities came only last, following. And when they had been slain, then they strung the

Inje ompeualli on centelli cuptiulo: vncan motenemo, in quenjo ie no cappa tlamaque mexica in quijmacique Españoles, in juh mopouhque in axivaque Españoles, entecpãtli omomatlactli omei: yoã no mjequjn tlaxcalteca, Tetacuca, chalca, xuchmjlca. Auh in quenjn mjchtin, vncã quijmjctique in inajpan in Teucon catca./.

Auh in ie iuhquj in jxqujchtin tiiacavan, nec quivalocotlaça in omopachoteca, caltzalantli quivalutecatiquique. Auh in Españoles in oquittaque ça iuhquin tlavique: niman ie ic tlamaio, mjequjnnin in axivaque in tlaxcalteca, in acolhoque, in chalca, in xuchmjlca, &c. vel tonocotlamaloc, tonacamjcoac, vel ozlan quinnemjtique in Españoles, yoã in ie ixqujch tlacatl:

auh in vtli vel petacaahtimoquetz, aoc vel nenemoa, ça nepepetzcolo, ça nesalacalo. Auh in mamaltin tevivilanoc le vncan in, in axioac in vandera, vncan anoc: iehoantin cacij in Tlatilulco: vncan in macic, in ie ancan sanct Martin moteneoa: çan ajle ipã quijtaque, amo ômocujtlaviloc. Auh in oc cequjpin tomatitlampa quijnque: vmpa quimõciauhcavaco in colhoacatonco, acaloco, vmpa valmomanato.

Auh nimã ie ic quijvica in mamaltin in vmpa iacacolco, totoztzalo, quimoolhuijvi in imamalhoan, in aca chocatiuh, in aca cujcatiuh, in aca motenvivectiuh. Auh in oncaxiiiloc iacacolco: nimã ie ic tevipanoa, tevipanolo, cromiaca oniztimanj in mamaoco, in vncan tlamjctilo, iacatiaj in Españoles, omiacatique: auh ça vetlatzacujque, ontlatoquijque in ixqujchtin altepemque. Auh in ontlamjctiloc, nec quijquaquanhço in intzontecon in Españoles: no quijçoque in cavallomme intzitzcon, tlacintlan in quijcaque: auh in intzontecon Españoles tlacpac

1. It was captured by an Indian from Tlatilulco named Tlapanecatl or Tlapanecatl Iacacolco, according to the version in Durán, op. cit., pp. 231-232; here it is said that this captain principal the capture of the fifty-three Spaniards.

2. A Jacalo in the Parishfield de San Marcos in Tlatelolco Cuauhpan or Tlapanchiloco; now bounded N. by Calle del Ciprés; E., Republica de Chile; S., Perú; W., Alfonso (approximately). — Cruz, op. cit.

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[3] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

in onoca, in çoçotoca, tonatiuh qujxnamjctoca. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl, amo qujnçoçoque in intzontecō in veca tlaca. auh in axionque Españoles ontecpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos:

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalios: amo ic mocaoa in tlapielizttli, in novian techiaoalotinemj ir xuchmjlca in acaltica, necoccampa tlamalo, necoccampa mjcoa.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and [137] swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *calorin* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

Auh in jxqujch macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia mainoia, mjec in mapizmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoā mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxqujçacatl: yoan qujquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan qujquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, qujmooxqujaia qujtotzopotzaia, qujtotoponjaia injc qujçquaia yoā in tetzmetl, yoan in xantetl qujtetexoaia: aoc tle inhquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los capitanes eran diez . . . los otros indios eran hasta . . . los caballos eran hasta.*"

4. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 770, sends this passage.

5. *Xiquacatl*: [illegible], or straw, of maize, which Mexican cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — In Sahagún (Rekendo ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as "*hierba . . . es muy verde y tiene parecer como el trigo, y es blanco, almacena las cosechas y otras cosas.*" Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 259, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

6. *Tepaxquiquatl*: probably pasture on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 271, has "*hierba muy dañosa y espinosa, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . es buena para quemar.*" Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 223, citing Simón (*op. cit.*), calls it mere grass or couch grass, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. Grama (*tepaxquiquatl* in Molina, *op. cit.*), Santamaría (*op. cit.*, II, p. 31) identifies as *Panicum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

7. *Tzumpanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 279), "*es árbol mediano, tiene ramas arrojadas, tiene la capa colorada y de buen parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman equimoxochitl; son muy colorados y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman equimitl*"; p. 148: "*Equimitl. Árbol, flor y fruto del Colorín.* Erythrina corallodendron. *D.C.* Leguminosas." Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 321, giving the same botanical identifications and *E. americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompanda*), and observes of the bean (*colorín*) that it is "*veneno de pajarillo rojo, dicen que envenena un alcaloide muy venenoso.*"

8. *Tzacuxuchitl*. Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 309, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Bletia campanulata* La Llave and Lex. (?), *Epidendrum pastorale* La Llave and Lex. (?), *Gomesiana macrodactyla* Kunth (?) — all orchids. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxuchitl o tzacuchil floridus. Bletia campanulata* La Llave y Lex, or *B. coccinea* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, *op. cit.*, tlaquilli is "plaster or stucco. *Tlaquilin*, however, is given by Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 226, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as marvella. It is medicinal. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 186, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera, and tlaquilla.*

10. *Tetzmetl*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 249, says it is like *xamaxilin*: "*hojas muy verdes y carnosas y redondillas, y también nacen hacia, y tiene las mismas enfermedades . . . calientes . . . dulces, y aperitivas y laxativas . . . la tomaban de esta vida mexicana*" (medicinal). Ramírez identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moziño and Sessé — commonly, *siempreviva* (*op. cit.*, p. 223). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85, adds *S. quitense* H. B. K. and *S. mexicanum* Sims.

11. Cf., however, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 550: "*and Stock and Leder and Hirschhaut, ciervo bruno, bufano, rinoceros, bromisco, asno o ro, and Tzacuxipur and Lebenszeiget and auch Tezcatl.*" Of *tezcatl* or *tezcatl*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 289) says it is a bad country plant used for coloring. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 143 (*tezcatl*), says it is "*nombre vulgar de varias plantas endemoniadas, como el capulincillo o nigua* (Cocculus laurifolius), *el tecopatle* (Mimosa borealis), *y otras.*"

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such suffering. It was terrifying how they were besieged; truly, in great numbers they starved. And quite calmly [the enemy] hemmed us in and contained us.

in apizmjc: auh çan jvian techvalcaltechpachotiaque, çan jviã techololalique. 722 262

[p. 102 is blank]

726 **Thirty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards for the first time came to and entered the market place here in Tlatiluco.**

And at one time it came to pass that four horse-[men] came to enter the market place. And when they had proceeded to come in, they then traveled in a circle; they followed about the outer edge of the market place and went lancing the chieftains. Many were the dead. They had penetrated the market place at this time — the first time that they had come to look at the market place. Then they went; they fled.

And the chieftains dared to come up to and give them chase. And at the time they had come, entering the market place for the first time, [it was] unexpected; they had given no warning.

And also this was the time that they burned the temple.[1] They laid fire to it. And when they had set it afire, then it flared up. Very high rose the blaze, the tongues of flame. It was as if the fire roared and kept flaring up. And when [the Tlatilulcans] saw that the temple was now burning, then there was weeping; there were tearful greetings. For it was thought that there would be plundering.[2]

And after there had been battle for a long time in the market place, the war spread to the outskirts. Little by little, they abandoned the wall,[3] there at Tenexnamacoyan. And there at Copalnamacoyan,[4] and at Atecocolecan[5] and at Xochicalco,[6] [the Mexicans][7] entered among the houses. The chieftains took positions on the wall. And all the houses of those of Quauhquechollan, which stood around the market place, all became a barrier. Many [of the Mexicans] took their places upon the roof terraces,

Inic ompoualli on caxtolli ocs capitulo: VNCAN mjtoa in qoenjn Españoles iancujcan calaqujco tianquijco in njcan tlatiluco.

Auh ceppa mochiuh naubieme in cavallos in calaqujco tianquijco. Auh in ocalaqujco, nec tlanaoud qujtoca, tianquijztentli qujtoca in tiacavan quynxixiltivi, mjeq'ntin in mjcque concujtlaxeloco in tianquijztli: iquac iancujcan qujttaco in tianquijztli: njman ic iaque, ic motepuztique.

Auh in tiacaoan intech motlapaloque qujntocaq: auh in jquac calaqujco iancujcan tianquijzco amo tenemachpan, amo qujteimachitique:

auh yoan njmã iquac qujtlatique in teucalli, contlemjnque: auh in ocontlemjnque nec cuetlan, oneca veca eoac in tletl, in tlenenepilli, iuhquin ihicoioca tletl yoan cuecuetlanj. Auh in oquittaque in ie tlatla in teucalli: njman ic ic nechoqujlilo, nechoquijztlapalolli: iuh nemachoc in ca ie onnenamoielos.

Auh vecauhtica in necalioac in tianquijzco, vel tetemman in iauiotl, aiaxcã in quicauhque in tenamjtl, in vncan in tenexnamacoiã. Auh in vncan copalnamacoian, yoan atecocolecan, yoã in vncan xuchicalco in caltzalan, in calaoaia, vel ipã mantinenca in tiacavan in tenamjtl. Auh in jxquich quauhquecholteca calli in tianquijztli quijavalotoc moch tenamjtl mochiuh mjequijntin tlapanco onoca in vallamotla, qujoallaça in tetl, in mjtl, oallatepachoa, vallamjna, yoan moch mocujtlacoionj in quauhquechol-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "el mesmo día pusieron fuego al templo y se quemó que era de Tlatilulco."
2. *Ibid.*: "temerosos del saquear de sus quemar el templo."
3. *Ibid.*: "derrocaron los españoles como perdieron o alborotaron con el arrollarse."
4. Probably near Yancuic, Tillmacan, and Amanqui, in Tlatilulco, on the Amanac road or thoroughfare; now Calle de González Bocanegra. — Cline, *op. cit.* Tenexnamacoyan can be presumed to have been nearby.
5. Sta. Cruz Atecocolecan, now "a la esquina noroeste de las paredes de las Vecinguritas." — R. H. Barlow: "Las calles coloniales de Santiago Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, II (1947), p. 63.
6. In a barrio of Tlatelolco, bounded now, N., by an extension of Calle de la Constancia; E., approximately in Periférico; S., Matamoros; and W., extension of Sta. María la Redonda. — Cline, *op. cit.*
7. From here on, Tlatelolco is the scene of battle. Tlatelolcan warriors of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco fought together. The term "Mexicans," from this point forward, in brackets, implies Indians of both these cities.

726 in order to throw rocks. They cast down stones and darts; they cast rocks and shot arrows. And all the back walls of the houses of the people of Quauhquechollan[8] were pierced with openings. They made small openings. And when again the horse[men] pursued them, then they would try to cling to their legs and cut off their advance. [Then] the chieftains quickly entered [the openings].

And at one time it came to pass that the Spaniards proceeded to enter Acatl yiacapan.[9] Then there was plundering, and poor, common folk were spirited away. And when the chieftains noted it, then they fell upon the [enemy] chieftains. There came to stand a shorn one, named Axoquentzin. He pursued his foes. He forced them to let [the common folk] go; he made them turn about. And this chieftain died there. They shot him with an iron bolt, there, in the breast. When they shot him, the arrow pierced his heart. He lay as if stretching after a sleep.[10] So had he died. And then our foes withdrew to establish themselves.

And there at Yacacolco,[11] similarly was there battle. The Spaniards[12] who shot iron bolts came in order to aid and join the Four Lords,[13] who had gone to close off the road. And the chieftains then crouched, in order to cut into their rear as the sun already hung [low]. And at this point, when they were already coming, some of our foes climbed upon the roof terrace. And, crying out, they said: "Ho, O Tlaxcallans! Hasten here! Here are our foes!" Then they cast down darts upon those who were spread out on the ground. Then they broke through.[14]

Slowly [the Spaniards] came to reach Yacacolco, where the battle had spread to the outskirts. They had come only to skirmish; they could not break the Tlatilulcans, who were on the other side of the water, shooting arrows and casting rocks at them. No overpass, no bridge did [the Spaniards] take.

teca calli, schitoma quijxiniujque. Auh in jquac in no valtetoca in cavallouane, in ic no quijxcopilouanequi, in ic quijniacatzacujlixnequj: vmpa cacalactivetri in tiacavan.

Auh ceppa mochihuh in Españoles: acatl yiacapan in vakalacoj nec tenamoiolo, nec teçaçaco in macomaltritzinti. Auh in oquijtaque in tiiacavan: nec quijvallaça in tiiacavan, vncan icstivitz quachic: itoca Axoquentzin qujntocac in jiaovan, qujnetlaçalti, qujumalscacho: auh inin tiacauh vncã momjquijli, vncan qujcepuzmjviq yiclpan, in qujtlaxilique, yiollopan in qujtlaxilique tepuzmjtl, iuhqujn necochanno inic ommomjquijli: auh njmã ic mocotoxtlalique in toiaovan.

Auh in vmpa in iacacolco: çan no ivi in tlaiccolo, in Espanoles in tlatepuzmjvia tecpantivitzc, quinpalevitivitzc, quintlamatilitivitzc in nauhtecutli, quitzacutivitzc in vtli. Auh in tiacavan nec nepacholo, injc quincujtlaxeloaque, ic ommopiloa in tonatiuh. Auh in ic iuhquj in ic vitzc: cequintin tlapeaco tecoque in toiaovan: auh in otzacuic, quijto. huj tlaxcaltecae, xioalnenemjcan, njcan caite in amoiaovan: nec quivallaça in mjtl, in impan in mopechotoca, nec xiinque:

yiolic onacico in iacaculco vncã motetemmã in iuiojl: çan vncã ommotzotzonaco avel quinpetlaque in Tlatilulca, in amac onoque quinvalmjna, quivaltepachoa aoc tle in panoanj, aoc tle acoepanovantli, ocuanque.

8. Sahagún: "en el Xochiulco (note 6); probably the modern [illegible]." —Cano, op. cit.

9. Bernaldez, op. cit., p. 194: "Otro día los españoles salieron a hacer entrada á Amaquemecan por la parte del puente donde entraba el Río grande de Yztapalapachil, por el valle del mismo que se llama Acatlyacapan."

10. If could cover Aztecs, this passage would be translated: "It was as if (the arrow) extended as both sides, as thus he perished."

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "se apercibieron los españoles que pelearon de la parte de aca [illegible]." In Bernaldez, op. cit., p. 195, the fighting is said to have taken place at Tlacochcalco, "que es á donde está agora la iglesia de Santa Ana."

12. Españoles: the title is omitted in the MS.

13. See Chapter 14.

14. Bernaldez, op. cit., p. 195: "y dieron voces pensos los españoles y dixeronos, alegrense dixeronos y españoles subieron sobre los cimientos de los [illegible] que estaban en rededor del almagueno. Entre que subieron sobre los cimientos dixeronos los mexicanos [illegible] la ciudad, y dieron voces á los que iban por bajo y dijeron. . . . [illegible], dixeronos, que vuestros enemigos están aquí en ciudad! Y luego comenzaron á flechar á los que estaban en la ciudad, mexicanos y dixeronos, y los de la ciudad como dichos que ya los habían dicho, comenzaron á huir."

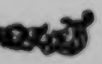

Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans laboriously uncovered by night the waterways which the Spaniards had filled in by day.

And our foes went filling in the canals. And when the enemies had gone, once more [the Mexicans] took up the rocks with which the foes had filled them in. When dawn broke, once again it was even as it had been the day before. Often they so did, where [the Spaniards] had filled in the canals — immediately taking up the stones, the wood, etc. — so that by a little the war was lengthened, and gradually [the Spaniards] broke through [the Mexicans]. For these canals were looked upon as great walls.

And [as far] the Spaniards and all the Tlaxcallans, their common charge was the road, the highway to Yacacolco, and to Tlilhuacan and Atencapan.[1] And Yacacolco, Cuepopan,[2] Apanécan,[3] and Atlicuhyan, with which went Ayacac[4] and Tetecco, were the charge of those of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mixquic, Culhuacan, and Itztapalapan. It became their common task to give battle in boats.

And the boatmen and archers of Atlicuhyan and Ayacac girded themselves to come to grips with them. They lost no time. In truth, they were evenly matched. [It was] as if it rained barbed spears; like serpents, arrows streamed and poured. When they hurled them with spear throwers, it was as if a deep yellow mass spread over the foes.

And a number of chieftains — the Tenacacoccal Xiuhcuacatzin, the Tequenecal Quequeuzin,[5] Uitzitzin, and Itzcuintzin, people of Yacacolco, whose houses were situated there, neither tarried, nor abandoned their beloved women and children. With difficulty they went to bring them safely to a house by another canal which was in Amaxac.

Iaje cempoallil on caxtolli omome capitulo: 726
vncan mjtoa in ꝟquin Mexica in cuhcuitinia in qujtlatlapouia in atl in ioalica, in vncan catzupuia Españoles in tlaca.

Auh in tonacoyan, catzupeluiztic in acalotli. Auh in 726
ossiaque in iaxme ic no ceppa quiquijtzia in tetl injc 487
ochacxupca iaxme: in otlatvic ic no ceppa iuhcan,
in juhcan caxca ialhoa: muchipa iuh quichiuhque
in vncā catzupeia in acalotli, in çan njmā quivalquiztiaia in tetl in quavitl. &c. ic ichi vecxoac in iauiotl,
aiaxcan in quinvalpetlaque: auh in acalotli ia, iohq'a
vei tenamjtl ipan momatia.

Auh in Españoles yoan in juquich tlaxcaltecatl
incentequjuh in vtli, in vei vtli iacacolco, yoan in
tlilhoacan in atencapan. Auh in iacacolco, in cuepopan, in apañecan, yoan atlicuhian injc iaticac aiacac, in tetecco intequjuh muchiuh in Xuchmjlcatl,
in cujtlaocatl, in mjxquicatl, in culhoacatl in Jtztapalapanecatl, incentequjuh muchiuh in acaltica in
tlaiccoaia.

Auh in atlicuhca, yoan aiacacaque in acaleque, 726
in tlamjoanj, vel muchicaoa injc quinnamjquj, amo
moquequetza, vel monenenuhcavia, iuhquin tlatzolivi in tlatzonectli, iuhquin coatl motlamjna mopiiaçoa in mjtl: in jquac atlatica quijtloça iuhqujn
coapal onmotoca in ipan iaxme: [411]

auh in cequjntin tlacaoan in Xiuhcoacatzin quequetzi, Tenacocacatl, Tequenecatl, Vitzitzin, Itzcuintzin: in iacacolco vel ipan mantivia in calli: amo
moquequetzinia, amo quixiccavaia in Cioatzintli, in
pilzintli, aiaxcan in quinñacalterchpacheto in oc ce
acalotli injch in amaxac icac.

1. A Aztec fronting chief of Tlatelolco; an area now bounded N. by Calle de Manzanares; E., Correoduro; S., Orquesta and W., Sto. Miguel de Redondo and the canal's edge. — Cline, op. cit. R. H. Barlow ("Los cuilo-mulcos," p. 43) locates it "entre las calles de Jaime Nunó y de González Saravia."

2. Cuepopan or Tlaquechihuacan, an area bounded now, N., by Calle de Manzanares; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Pedro Moreno (near a canal); and Leche. — Cline, op. cit.

3. To the east of the Plaza de Tlaxcoaque. — Ibid.

4. Atlicuhyan and Ayacac were probably in the Barrio of Tolpochcalco. — Ibid.

5. Siler, op. cit., p. 755, groups the names and cities as given here.

726 And once it befell that the Spaniards came forth there at Tonecco. And when they had reached where the young men's house stood, a place called Ayacac, then they set fire to it.

And another of the Spaniards' boats put in there at Atlicuhyan, and many of the boats of those of Xochimilco entered with it. And the chieftain Tetlistecatzin, the commanding general, placed himself upon a small pyramid and stood looking toward the Spaniards. And the chieftain Coyouaztzin put on the device of an eagle-ocelot [warrior]—half eagle and half ocelot. In a boat he came from Tolmayecan to fall upon [the Spaniards]. And many war boats[6] came following him. He said: "O chieftains, onward! Let us repulse them!" Thereupon they struck against the ship. And when the Spaniards had seen this, they then turned back, and [the Mexicans] went after them. Then [Coyouaztzin and the Mexicans] made straight for Atlicuhyan. And the Spaniards' boats then withdrew from the others and went to take position at Amanalco. And many of those of Xochimilco died of the arrows. And after this, when [the Mexicans] had pursued them, once again [the Spaniards] held a position, and then drove the chieftains back. Coyouaztzin hid himself behind a small pyramid. Then he succeeded in turning them back and forced them there where stood the young men's house at Atlicuhyan. Once more [the Spaniards] pursued Coyouaztzin and came making him jump into the water. And once again Itzpapalotzin, a young Otomí [warrior], threw them back. He had also assumed a device. Then he took after them; like a ball of mud he rolled them together. In truth, he went to battle with them in a boat.[7] Then they departed. Thus were they undone.

And those of Cuitlaua thought that their ruler Mayauatzin had indeed died—that he had perished with the others. They were exceeding wroth; they said: "You have slain our ruler. Bring him forth! Why have you slain our ruler?" And Mayauatzin, when he had learned that his vassals were angry, that they were angry in his behalf, then said to Coyouaztzin:[8] "O my elder brother, set up one of our elders who can shout loudly—of loud speech and

Auh ceppa muchiuh in vmpa tonecco, vmpa calqujxque in Españoles: auh in onacico in vncan telpuchcalli icac: itocaiocan aiacac: njman cuitlemjnque.

Auh in oc centetl in jmacal in Españoles, valcalac in vncan atlicuhian, yoã mjec in jmacal in Xuchimjlca in qujvalhujcaticalac. Auh in tiiacauh in Tomjlotzin, tlacateccatl: momunco in oquetzticac, qujmonjtzticac in Españoles: auh in tiiacauh Coiovevetzin: in onaquj tlavizztli quauhtlocelutl: cecttlapal quauhtli cecttlapal ocelutl acaltica in valla tolmaiecampa in qujvallaz: yoan mjec in acalchimalli, in qujtlamatilitivitze: qujvalitotia. Tiacavane ma ie cuel ichoatl ticcentlaça: njmã ie ic macalhujtequj. Auh in oqujttaque in Españoles: njman ic motepuztztique, qujntocaque: nec vallamelaos in atlicuhiã. Auh in jmacal Españoles: nec qujtzinqujztia, contecato amanalco. Auh in Xuchimjlca, mjoqujntin injc mjoquè mjtl: auh in ie iuhquj in oq'ntecaque, oc ceppa valmomãque, nec qujnvalitoca in tiiacavan: in Coiovevetzin qujmotocti in mumuztli: njmã ic qujcuep vel qujmaxitito in vmpa icac telpuchcalli in atlicuhian: ie no ceppa qujvalitocaque in coiovevetzin atlan conchololtico: ie no cuele conthaz in telpuchotomjtl, Jtzpapalotzin in no onaquj tlavizztli, nec q'ntoca, iuhqujn çoqujtl qujmololos, vel qujntepeoato aca acalco: njman ic iaque, ic popolivito.

Auh in cujtlaoaca in momatque ca omjc, ca otehoan mjc, in intlatocauh in Maichoatzin, cenca qualanj: qujtoaia. Ca oanqujmjctique in totlatocauh Xiqualaztican, tleica in oanqujmjctique totlatocauh. Auh in Maichoatzin in oqujma in ca qualanj, in jmacoalhoan: injc qujtlaqualanjlia: njmã qujlhuj in Coiovevetzin. Nachcauhtzine, tla ce xiqualquetza in tachcavan in vel tzatzi, in tlatolchicaoac, in tozcachicaoac: njman ic qujvalnotzque ce tequjoa,

6. See N. 114, 117, 121.

7. *Also another:* one is probably a copyist's error. Seler, op. cit., p. 338, reads the phrase *qujintepeoa ocalco*.

8. The MS is apparently corrupted here so read as reproduced: *qujlhuj in coiovevetzin*.

strong voice." Then they spoke to a seasoned warrior named Tlamayocatl, and then Mayeuatzin commanded and said to him: "Go forth and tell those of Cuitlauac: 'O men of Cuitlauac! Your ruler Mayeuatzin hath sent me! Behold him! There he standeth upon the small pyramid!'" And when those of Cuitlauac had heard him, they answered him: "Nay, ye have slain him!" Then he said unto them: "Nay, he is not dead! Look well upon him! There he now standeth!" And [Mayeuatzin] spoke forth: "I have not died. Let nothing injure my lip rod, my green stone [jewels], my devices!" And when he ended his speech, then a cry arose [among the Indians who were with Spaniards], whereupon there was fighting. Then they pursued [the Mexicans]. But in the market place, there at Copalnamacoyan, the battle, gradually abating, lasted long.

And once our foes of Tlilihquitepec and Atezmollan* together conferred and took note of a narrow road which led between house clusters. It was the path of a nobleman named Tlacatzin. And when our foes had already entered, then the chieftains drove them forth. And a man, a chieftain and a seasoned warrior named Tlapanecatl, whose horse was at Atezcapan, then engaged them. Our foes then quickly seized him. And the [Mexican] chieftains then rushed and went shooting arrows at our foes. Then they made [the enemy] loose the captured chieftain. But our foes then smote him in the calf of the leg, there where the leg is bled. Then [the enemy] departed; the fighting ceased.

itoca: Tlamiocatl: nec quinacotin in Maichoutzin: 726
quilhuia. Tla zonianh, tla xiquimonilhuj in cuitlaoca: Cuitlavacac, onechoaliva in amotlatocauh in Maichoutzin, xocoijtocan nechca moquetztica: amauco. Auh in oquicacque cuitlacaca, quivalitoque. Ca amo, ca oanquimjctique: nec quimonilhuia. Ca amo mjqui, vel, xocottacan ie in nechca icac: yoan quivalitoa, ca amo njmjqui, ma itla nechitlacalhuijti, in notençac, in nochalchiuh, in notlavix: auh in ocontzonequjxti in jtlatol, nec tlacaoca: njman ie ic necalitoa, nec quivalitoca. Auh in tianquijco in vmpa [253]
copalnamacoian, aiauxan in mocauh, vncã vecaoac in iauiotl.

Auh ceppa tecentlatalhuique in toiaovan in Tlilihquitepeca, atezmolaque: ie quimottilique in vpitzactli in calla quijticac, yiovi catca ce palli: itoca, Tlacatzin. Auh in ie calaquj in toiaovan: nec quintoca in tiiacaoan. Auh ce tlacatl tiacauh, tequixia, itoca Tlapanecatl, atezcapã ichan catca: nec quinoalnamjqui, njmã ic quicuitivetzque in toiaovan: auh in tiiacavan, njmã ipan onmotepeualque, quinmjntivi in toiaovan: njmã ic contetlaçaltito in cacica tiiacauh. Auh in toiaovan nec quivalmetzvivecque: vncã in jnecoaian: njman ic iaque, ômocacauhque in mjcali. [491]

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*se repartió los enemigos de Atenzolo*."

[p. 108 is blank]

726 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards set up a catapult with which they would by trickery slay the Tlatilulcans.**

And then the Spaniards set up a catapult upon a small pyramid, in order to hurl rocks at the common folk. And when they had readied it, when they were about to fire it, much did they come circling it; much did they point with their fingers. They pointed to the common folk; they motioned there where they had assembled at Amaxac.[1] All the common folk noted with concern the Spaniards pointing with their arms, as they were about to hurl and cast it, as if using a sling on them. Then [the Spaniards] wound and twisted [the ropes]. Then the wooden beam of the catapult rose upright. But the stone would not go there upon the common folk; it only went to fall beyond the back of the market place at Xomolco.

And so, there, [the Spaniards] quarreled among themselves; it appeared as if the Spaniards jabbed [one another's] faces with their fingers. Much did they chatter. And the catapult kept tottering and swaying, and little by little stilled itself. Then indeed it could be seen that the sling was on top; very thick was the rope. Because [it was provided with] a rope, [the Mexicans] named it "the wooden sling."

And once more the Spaniards hurled [their strength] against [the Mexicans]. And all the Tlaxcallans thereupon formed themselves in rows at Yacacolco, and Tecpancalxitlan,[2] and Copalnaxacoyan. Then, there at Atecocolecan,[3] they headed all those who were besieging us.[4] Very slowly they proceeded, upright position. And the chieftains went taking their places.[4] They gathered courage, and indeed stood up as men [of war]. None swooned nor behaved like women. They said: "Come, O chieftains! Who are these little barbarians — little men of low condi-

Injc ompopoalli on cuxtolli omoi cupinoloc vncã mjtcn in quenjn españoles qujtlalique quauhtematlatl, injc quipopoiomjctinquja in tlatilulco.

Auh njman in ichoan Españoles, qujtlalique in quauhtematlatl in mumurticpac, injc quinepechoa in macevaltin. Auh in oqojcencauhque, in ic quj-tlaçaque, cenca cololhujtinemj, cécn ommapilca, qujnmapilhuja in macevalti, ommapilca in vmpa omocenquixtiq in amaxac, in ic izquich macevalli, cenca qujmômotitia, ommaçoa in Españoles, injc inpan contlaçaque cómaiavizque, in juhquj qujn-tematlavique: nec qujmalacachoa nec qujtevila-cachoa: njmã ic meoutiquetz in quauhtemalacatl in jequauhio. Auh in tetl amo vel vmpa ia in jpã macevalli, çan ic icampa itepuztzco in vetzito tian-qujztli xumolco.

Auh ic vncã mjxnamjoque in juh nenque Espa-ñoles iuhquin mjxmapilxixili, cenca chachalaca. Auh in quauhtematlatl mocsecuepa zvic iniuh, çan jvian motlamelauhcaquetztia: njman ic vel nez in jiacac cateca in tematlatl cenca tomoac in mecatl, injc me-caio: njman ic qujtocaiotique quauhtematlatl:

auh ic no cappa qujcentlaque in Españoles: yoã in jzquich tlaxcaltecatl, njmã ic ic motecpana in iacacolco, yoan tecpancalxitlan yoan copalnamacoia; njmã ic vmpa atecocolecan qujniacana in jzquich techiuaiotoc, cencan ivian in onotiuj. Auh in tiia-cuoan valmomiktivi, vel mochichicaoa, vel moquich-quetzta, aiac tlacuecuetlaxoa, aiac tlacoxdamachtia: qujmo. Xioalnenemjcan tiiacavanc, aquijque in ten-jxtonti, tlallujcatotenti. Auh in tiiacavan zvic vivi, ixtlapalhujvi, aocac tlamelauhca icac, motlamelauh-caquetzta

1. In the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, "*cuna de Cuauptlan*," in the version of Barrientos, op. cit., p. 200. Cuna, op. cit., identifies it as a diminutive in the *Anales de Amaxac*, as cuna hundred cuna, N., by Códice del Canal del Norte; E., *Arco del Trabajo*; S., *Anales de Motecuhzoma* and a broken line from intersection of Tolteca and Motecuhzoma to approximately the intersection of Pedro and Jesús Carranza; and W., Jesús Carranza.

2. A *Anales* enumerating an cuna hundred cuna, N., by Códice de la Independencia; E., a line approximately along Mariscal, prolongad to Plaza de S. Juan; S., Pugibet; and W., Lázo Mayo. — *Ibid.* The contract would suggest, however, another place of the same name in Tlatelolco.

3. Seler, op. cit., p. 590, translates thus: "*In Atecocolecan liegt quasi vielleicht der Pfahlwer über die gegenüber (Abwehrpfähle), die sie umzingen (abschliessen).*"

4. The contract does not indicate whether Tlaxcallan or Mexican chieftains are meant; it may be speculated that the latter are referred to, for a parallel passage, supra, Chap. 34.

726 tion?"[6] And the chieftains kept going from one side to the other, back and forth. None stood upright nor rose straight.

(And often the Spaniards placed themselves among their enemies. They were not to be seen; as the natives were arrayed, so also they bedight themselves. They put on devices and bound on mantles over [their shoulders], in order to disguise themselves. They went hiding themselves among the people and took watchful care. When [the Spaniards] struck someone with an arrow, all crouched; all fell to the ground. There was much watching; there was alertness as to whence came and whither went the iron bolt. Well did the chieftains of Tlatilulco take care and keep good watch.)

And little by little [the Spaniards] penetrated them and laid siege to them. And at Copalnamacoyan, on the road to Amaxac, the [bearers of] shields came close to one another; they met face to face.

And there was a man whose name was Chalchiuhtepeua, who hid himself behind a wall there at Amaxac. And this one was a Mexican from Tlatilulco. And he spied a horse, in order to spear it. And when he had speared the horse, then the Spaniard [riding it] went down back of it. Then his companions quickly came forth to seize him, and then put to flight all the chieftains and lords who were with them. Then they fell in behind them in pursuit. So once again they made them come to a stand at Copalnamacoyan, where stood the wall. Forthwith each rested, and each departed and entered his house.

And once it came to pass that all who were about us, though not the Spaniards, came and assembled there at Teteuhtitlan.[7] It was yet early dawn when they took position. Thereupon they leveled over a lagoon; they filled in the body of water named Tlaixcuipan,[7] for they went about crowded together. All manner of rocks they bore; all kinds of wood, pillars, door lintels, adobes, worked corner stones, etc. They moved with much chattering, raising the dust. For this reason had they so done, that they thought and imagined that thus they could rob the common folk who were at the edge of the road, who dwelt on the border of the way which led to Tepeyacac.

(auh mjecpa motlacacuepaia in Españoles, ammomocxitinia in juh mochichioa njcan tlaca: no iuh mochichioaia, tlavistli cõmaquijuia, tilmatli panj qujmolpiliaia, injc mjxpoloaia, çan moetoctiviviz, çan jc qujcinachitia, in oncca quijnjnque, nepacholo, tlaltech vikoa, oncca tlachiale, oncca mjxpepetza in campa ic vallauh, in campa ic valiztiuh in tepanmjd, vel mjmati, vel motlachielia in tlacacoan in Tlatilulca:)

Auh cencan yiolic intech xocotivi, intech calitechpachotivi. Auh in copalnamacoian in jpan vtli amaxac oncca netechpachiuhtiuh in chimalli, moquanamjctiuh.

Auh ce tlacatl inoca catca Chalchiuhtepeua, qujmotecti tepantli, vncã in amaxac. Auh in ichoatl in ca mexicatl tlatilucatl: auh oncca qujmotilia in cavallo injc qujxilia: auh in oquixil cavallo: njman ic valmotzincuh in Español: njman ic caantiquijnque in icnjvan, njman ic qujnteputztique, çan mach ieoltin in tlacavan, yoan in pipiltin, intech ietiquijxtj nec imjcampa qujnteputztique, ic ie no ceppa qujnquetzato in copalnamacoian, in vacan tenamjtl onoca: nec ic onocentih, vivilouz, cacalaconz.

Auh ceppa muchiuh in jxquich in techiualoaz: amo no ichoan in españoles: cenquijxato in vmpa Teteuhtitlan ec ioan in momanaxo: njmã ie ic tlaxtzupa, catzupa in stencatl in jnoca Tlaixcuipã iuhquijn mocnequentinemj inquich teti quijxqui, inquich quavitl, tlaquetzalli, tlaixquatl, xamjtl, tenacastli. &c. chachalacatinemj teuhtli quijquetztinemj: in jpampa iuh quichiuhca, ca iuh quijnamjquia, iuh quijnepictiaia, injc quijnnamoiaque in macevalti in omatequc in onoque in jpan vtli tepeiacac iaticac.

5. See Sahagún (Dibble ed.), III, pp. 110, 112.

6. Meaning — or surrounding? — Thelmaquipan, "probablemente en el barrio de Tolpetlac[illegible]." — Garcia, op. cit.

7. A pond (swamp) in or near Teteuhtitlan. — Bell.

And when the chieftains had beheld what new [the foe] did and intended, thereupon they deliberated as to what they would do. And when they had decided, thereupon went a boat, very carefully, which they poled rapidly. It came to a stop at the road's edge. No war device showed; it only came covered over. Another came. Just so, cautiously, they poled it forth rapidly. And once more came two boats, so making four. Then came two eagle and two ocelot [warriors]. The first eagle [warrior] was Topantemoctzin; the second, Tlacotzin. And the first ocelot [warrior] was Temilotzin; the second, Cuyuamatzin. Thereupon broke forth one ocelot and one eagle [warrior], poling their boats furiously—as if the boats flew. They went cautiously to Tetzahuiztlan, in order to intercept and cut off the advance [of the foe]. And when they had gone, once again, also, two—another eagle and another ocelot [warrior]—sped forth to hurl themselves into the midst [of the fray]. And when they had already gone, the flutes were blown, and thereupon people were robbed. And some from there approached to cut off the advance of the chieftains.

And when our foes saw this, they would have fled. Many died in the water, sank and submerged, only piled up one on another, as if no longer conscious, as if stunned, fallen, soaked. Those who in vain tried to flee, only fell between the beams. They were pulled out, it is said, completely smeared with mud, slippery with mud, well soaked and completely drenched. Very many perished; there they died in myriads. And this was the last time that there our foes, the various people [allied to the Spaniards] died in numbers. And when our foes had died, the next day was quite calm.

And thus came the Spaniards here to Amaxac. They went to and reached where the common folk had taken refuge.* They had completely surrounded us. The battle spread all around, there at Amaxac and on the road which led to Tepeyacac. Then [the Spaniards] went to and entered the young men's house named Uitzco,* for there assembled all the young men. Then they climbed up to the roof terrace. And all the common folk thereupon jumped down behind the young men's house, and then all dispersed into the water. And a great an-

Auh in oquintocque tlacuaan in ic tlein quichiua, quimopixtia: ninan ic ic quiximilia in quenia vel quichiuaque: auh in ouel quimomilique, ninan ic ic oc vitz in acalli, cenca yiolic, in quinaellhuitivitzc, contecoco vmmo, auao valeuatia in tlaviuili, can vallipachiuhtia, ic no oc valla, can ic no ivi in jiolic quivallaneelhuiquique: auh ic no ceppa valla vme in acalli ic omomoteuia. Niman ic valmoctlaquetza vmmi quauhtli, omitl ocelotl: inic oc quauhtli, ihuan in Topantemoctzin: inic vme, ihuan in Tlacotzin. Auh inic oc ocelotl ihuan in Temilotzin: inic vme, ihuan in Cuauuematzin: ninan ic ic omoue: oc ocelotl, oc quauhtli, quinamoquitlaelhuia, ihuapin patlanij acalli, vmpa tlamattiuh in tetzahuiztlan in q'ximocuecuanque, in quinvilitquiquique. Auh in jquac oiaque ic no ceppa no contlaque in omoquia no oc quauhtli, auh no oc ocelotl quintlacomoteuaque: auh in jquac ic vi nec tlapeuaalo, ninan ic ic tomamoielo: auh ceq'ntin nipa quinicomocuijlico in tlacuaan.

Auh in oquintocque in tolouan motlalouquia mjac in atlan mjc, in pohcq in illocque, ça netech omomilinjnia, ihuapin ocmo quimoti, ça ihuapin çoçotlaua ça ihuapin chachapanivetzi, in oc nen motlalouquij ça quauhcamac activitzi, tlvivilaua, omach tlaçoçopjnchoque, omach mayaçopjnetzinque, vel chachapanque, vel popolocque, vel mjac: in ixpolioh, oncan vel tomacampac: auh ça yiqqua in vecl omomocamiquac in tolouan in nepapan tlaca: auh in jquac omomjquia in tolouan, in jmoztlaioc, ça cuitlamac:

auh ic vallaque in Españoles in vecan amaxac, vel vmpa achto, in vmpa tlamaque in mazevalhio, vel tochiuaque, vel momoteuaque in iuiuel, in vel vecl amaxac yuan ipan vili in tepeiacac iaiocac: ninali ic calaquia in tolpachcalli: momoteua voicac: ihiica ca vecin momechiuaia in jmpich tolpachcalli: ninan ic tlecuque in tlapanca. Auh in jmpich momoteuali: ninan ic ic momoteuaia in jmpan Tolpachcalli, ne ach omomoyauhcalo. Auh ce vel tlacuah quauhtic ioca, Vitzilhuatzin tlapanco momoyauc, icpac in tolpachcalli, oc ihuapin momojpil mochiuh, oc ic achi om-

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Acordó como la gente de la ciudad."
2. Ibid.: "Probablemente Huipanco o donde vivían el origen de los mexicanos."

726 mand warrior, a shorn one, named Uitzilhuitzin, placed himself above, on the roof terrace of the young men's house. Like a wall he now became.[10] Meanwhile, the common folk followed him a little. But the Spaniards then fell upon them and bore down on them, and thereupon beat, hacked, and pierced him. Then once more the chieftains set upon [the Spaniards], and they then quickly kessed the chieftain [Uitzilhuitzin]. Then they went to lay hands on him, but he did not, nevertheless, die. Then they went, and all was quiet.

And [the temple with] images of the devils [the Spaniards] then set fire to. They burned it.[11]

And the chieftains to no purpose came to hold their position. Yet [the Spaniards] shot no arrows at the women, but only at those who came out as men [of war]. And when all ceased, there was only a little sun.

And on the fourth day likewise it came to pass that our foes marched forth together. Wherever there were common folk, there the Spaniards moved cautiously. Very softly they kept going. And the chieftain and commanding general Temilotzin in vain opposed them. He took refuge behind a wall.
[411] As an eagle [warrior] he stepped forth; he had his iron sword with him, with which he would cut them down. But when he saw that nowhere could he do anything, then he cast himself into, and made his way in, the water. There were great war cries. Then once again the battle engulfed them. Only there did they reach. In truth, all day did the battle last.

And when it had dawned, when already it was the fifth day, once again our [Indian] foes and the Spaniards made an assault. And all who surrounded us, in truth, marched together. They were around us, hemming us in. Nowhere could any go nor proceed. All were indeed compressed. All were verily crushed and trampled. And when they had come close among us, a woman poured water upon them; she drenched their faces; she dashed water into the faces of our foes.[12]

[693] And the ruler Quauhtemoc, and the chieftains Coyoueuatzin, Temilotzin, Tepanemoctzin, Auelitoctzin the chief justice, Tlacotzin, and Petlauhtzin

tecac in macuilli. Auh in Españoles: ninõ ic iaqui: cuauteqpeuhque, iaqui cuauteqpeque: ninõan ic ic quiximoqui, quichichipana, quimoxilia: ninõan ic ic no cappa quiyallaxque in tlacaxan: auh ninõan ic quicuaxiquique in tlacaxah. ninõan ic cuauaxin, auo tel vel mic, ninõ ic iaque, cactimanan.

Auh in diablome imixiptlaxan: vncan cuauhxiquac, cuatlalaxique.

Auh in tlacaxan, oc xen valmomanivi tel auo nen quimmjna in cioa: çan ichoantin in oquichicaxiuiac: auh in nexacaxolac çe achitzin tonatiuh.

Auh inic nauilhuitl çan ic no ivi in mochiuh cuauhtlaque in tiaxcan: in vmpa omoc macuilli vmpa tlamattivi in Españoles, cencan iviaz in iaxivi. Auh in tlacaxah tlacatecatl in temjlotzin, oc xen quimopachiviaia, tepantli quimocecti. Quauhtli ipan quijticac, itzpatzmaquaxah iticac, inic quincoxmanaqueja: auh in oquijtac in aoccampa veli, ninõ ic ochan valmomaiaxah, axotlalxah, cencn tlacaxaca: vncan ic no cappa motemanaz in iaxiotl, çan vncan achto: vel cemjlhuitl in manca iaxiotl.

Auh in otlatvic, in ic ic macuilhuitl: ic no cappa vel quicetlaz in tiaxcah in Españoles: ynan in ipaqueh in techiaxalotoc, vel cemolin, vel techiavalaque, techoloihuique, aocac campa vel huia vel nenaxocolo, vel nepapatzola, vel mjequjxtin pappajque, nequequerçaloc. Auh in cenca ic in techonaci, oc civatl quiyallaxequja, quimjxatequja, quinjxapaqueja in tiaxcan.

Auh in tlacaxaj in Quauhtemoctzin ynan in tlacaxan in Coioueuatzi in Temjlotzin, Tepantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Tlacotzin, Pe-

10. Diaz: "un capitan que se llamaua Vitzilhuitzin este traxeron subiendo que estaua sobre los daqueyrados [illegible] a los capitanes principales por [illegible] que no pudieron a dalle [illegible] al [illegible]."

11. Diaz: "y aun dia los capitanes pusieron fuego [illegible] en la qual [illegible] de los ydolos." See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Conquest, p. 148 (Dibble).

12. Chimalpahin's Spanish text: "los mexicanos [illegible] a los [illegible] con el agua de las mezquitas arrojandola con las [illegible]."

then seized upon a great chieftain named Tlapalcozcatl quechtecatin, whose home was Cuetlaxo. Thereupon they accepted him, and put on him the quetzal feather cost[13] which had been the device of Axitzcatzin. Quauhtemoc said: "This device was the device of my brother, of my father Axitzcatzin.[14] Let him wear it. Let him die in it. May he gain honor before the people. May he become a portent in it. May our foes see and marvel at him."[15] And when they put it on him, he was indeed terrifying. Truly wonderful he appeared. And [Quauhtemoctzin] commanded four to aid him and be at his side. They gave him the darts[16] [and dart thrower] which were the devil's—the throwing spears with flint points.

And when they had done this, it became like a portent for the lords of the Mexicans. The ruler's vice Tlacotzin said: "O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! Hath Mexico been nothing—that on which Mexican rule was founded? It is said to be with the power of Uitzilopochtli, which he hurled at one. It is none other than the fire serpent, the fire drill, with which he walked, casting it at our foes—which you, O Mexicans, have held as his power of the dart. Forthwith you will aim it against our foes. You will cast it not to the earth; you will hurl it with strength at [the foe]. And if one or two will be struck—if one or two of our enemies will be reached,—it is in truth a token for us [that] yet, for a little, we shall look to favor; [that] yet our lord [the god] may desire it." Thereupon went the quetzal-owl [twilight warrior], with quetzal feathers as if parted.

And when our foes saw him, [it was] as if a mountain had burst. In truth, all the Spaniards took fright; much did he terrify them, as if they had seen in him something [inhuman]. Then the quetzal-owl [warrior] climbed up to the roof terrace. And some of our foes, who could see him, stood up. Then they forced him to turn back, and took after

tlacotzin. Niman ic ceuaxi ce vei tlacatl, inoca Tlapalcozcatl quechtecatin cuetlan ichtl ninoan ic ic quichchioua, ceuaxiquac, in quetzalcozcatl: itlavia catca in Axitzcatzin: quijo in Quauhtemoctzin. Injo tlavistli, itlavia catca in notechtlahcauh in notatzi Axitzcatzin, ma ichcauhl ceuaxiqui ma ipan ceuaxiqui ma citemaviqui ma ipan tetlatiti ma quijtacan in tlaocoan ma quijnavioccan. Auh in oceuaxiquac vei tecuanculoti, vei mavistic in neci: auh navisti in quijnavatiquac in quivalpaleviniaquac, in quivalhuauhtitiniaquac, quivalmacaquac in jnajuh catca tlacatecatzi, tlacuaxpi, iacuacpaua.

Auh injc inh quichinhaque in, inhaquijnma intlapoal nechinh in tlatoque in Mexica: quijo in Civacoatl tlacatzin. Mexicac tlatilulcac, ailei injc mexico ocatca, injc omomaca mexicaiotl: in mijoa in vacan inavatil in vitzilobuchtli in tepil quijdaça ce çan ier in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhuastli in oncpil quijtlantiuca in tlaxapan in ic ancoacuj Mexicac in jnacatil in mjtl: çan nimil vmpa anquijtlachichtiaque in ivicpa tlaxavan, anoo çan tlalpan anquijmaivaque ceuca intech in anquijtlaçaque: auh intla ce, anoo vme momojoac: ayac in ano ce, anaço vme in maçiz tlaxoah ca nel tlatlapoal, oc achtinin tlaxaxiotlaque, oc quenin quijnocuquiltiz in tetecuio: ninoan ic ic iuah in quetzalcozcatl, in quetzalli inhaquijn nemilhuiztlah.

Auh in oquijtaque in tlaxavan, inhaquijn tepeil vicoaj vel machiotin momoshtiqui in Españoles, ceuca quijmaxalti, inhaquijnma iuh ipan quijtaque: ninoan ic tlapanco tlecoc in quetzalcozcatl. Auh in cequijnin tlaxavan in ovel quijtaque mocpaxtiqui: ninoanic quivicaquque, quivalcaque: ic no ceppa no quijcaxip quijtocac in quetzalcozcatl, ninoan

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13. Boturini, op. cit., p. 211: "un dardo (dardo de plumerio clase y especialidad)."

14. With Book XII was in green Dr. Anderson wrote the following comment from Pimentel, Indjo: "The word is almost illegible in the MS. Reproduction of the original (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 218-220, Legislation Library, Sacramento), in connection with researches in Europe made possible by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, suggests that cuauhtlatoani (my mother or brother) is meant."

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "Entonces fue un acontecimiento prodigio de todos pues de los mexicanos señores de nuestra generación y aquesto de ello fue verdadero en nosotros o el hay grandeza hagar de conquer de aquel gil pulgrin en que estando y habia el señor de nuestro que se llamaba [illegible], y dice a los [illegible] que eso de estando . . . [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

726 him. Another time the quetzal-owl [warrior] turned them back and pursued them. Thereupon he took from them the quetzal feathers and the gold [looted by the foe],[17] and then he jumped down from the roof terrace. He did not die, nor did our foes carry him off. Now also, three of our foes had been taken. At last the battle came to an end; with this, stillness spread, and no more was done. Then our foes departed. All was quiet, and nothing more took place. Then night fell.

And upon the morrow, likewise no more happened. None spoke aloud. The common folk only settled back. And the Spaniards did nothing more. They only remained still; they remained looking at the common folk. Nothing more occurred; they remained quiet, in place.

701 And here are named all the chieftains, the great men who were wise in the ways of war, who disposed [men] for battle, who assumed the burden of war: the general Coyoueuetzin, and the Tzilacatecatli Temiqtlan. These were Tlatilulcans. And those of Tenochtitlan [were] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin and the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin. These are they who were the great chieftains of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan.

ic ic qqipanoaia in quetzalli, yoan in tenoçyhtol: auh ninan ic ynnpa vallouetz in tlapanco, amo mic, amo qqiviccaque in toiouan: ic no icintin in xiuiqac in toiouil ça iccon centzuna in iauiol ic cattimanan, aoc tle machiuh: ninan ic iaque in toiouan, tlacimonan, aoc tle machiuh injc oniouan.

Auh in jmmanhioc, ça ninnil aoc tle machiuh, aocac nauzti, ça pachiuhtoc in macevalli. Auh in ichoantin Españoles aoc no tle ay, ça onoque, quimonçjtaque in macevaltin aoc de manner, cencil ça onoq.

Auh ninan motenteua in jpq'ntin tlacavan, in vevei oquijchtin, in vel injxco catca iauiotl, in iauteaia in jpan icaca iauiotl. Tlacuchcalcatl, Coioovetzin, Tzilacatecatli Temjlotzin: in ichoantin in ca tlatilulca. Auh in tenochca, ichoantin in. Cioacoatl tlacatzin, vitznaoatl Motelchiuhtzin: oca icholtin in, in vevcintin tlacavan catca in tlatilulco, yoan injc tenochtitlan.

17. This is explained in the Spanish text: "salio este con un el dispuesto desde los dichosos tenjan quitado y cosas de sus enbidias."

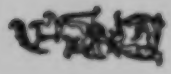

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Later at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, snapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyoacacco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

Ca: the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axayacatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlachotzin, the captain of the armies[7] Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[8] of Mexico, and the head priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatilulco — the

Injc composalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncá mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica in jquac ovel qujpacalechpachoto in nex in mottac Ezteti: iuh q'mma iliujcacpa valla. Auh injc valiezzia iuhqujn vei tlexuchtli. 726 787

Auh in ovalloac: nimaa ic ic quiquijavi, ovachquiquijavi, ic tlaquauhiova in nex tleti: in juh mottac, in juh nex, iuhquijn iliujcacpa valla, iuhquijn ocamalacotl, mamamalacachotiuh, motevilacchotiuh, iuhquijn cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhquijn tlemoiuti, iuhquijn ecatepantli, moquetza, conca iouioca, teccujca, tiuicujca, çan quijavalo in atenamjtl: coionacazco in valiezzia: nimá ic in in xaxapantla, vnpa popoliviva,

aiac motevviac, aiac navaz:

auh in jauantlaioc, aoc no tle muchiuh, ça onoac, ça no onoque in tolaovan.

Auh in capitan tlapico vallachixtica in amaxac, Axayacatzin ilapanco, ovvalcalco, tlatlapalli in ovvalcalli, quijnamjxtica in macevaltin, coiollujnoque in Españoles, mononotztoque. 000

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; yoan in oc ompajnin tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacotzin. Tillancalqui. vitzzocatl. Petlachotzin. Motelchiuhtzi mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazcatzin. Niman in ichoantin in tlatiluico tlatoque. Tlacuchcalcatl. Coiouvatzin. tla- 701 565

1. Ibid., op. cit., p. [illegible], translates *xaxal* (*xaxaxal xalchi*) as *Medjanos*. See, however, Olmedo, op. cit.
2. Ibid., loc. cit., has *ulu Windbal* (?).
3. See Chapter 34, n. 5.
4. We have rearranged the first line of the notes in Ibid. from its op. cit., p. 347, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. Clavigero, Cf. Clark, op. cit., III, fol. 3; also Juan de Tovar, *Segunda parte de las raices i ser Mexicanos i ceremonias indianas* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1731), II, p. 202; Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. 103.
6. Tlilancalqui. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 68. See *Mitlacatzcatl*, Tezozomoctzin, op. cit., p. 179, for another usage.
7. Mitlacatzcatl. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 67.
8. *Achcauhtli*. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III—*The Origin of the Gods*, p. 32.
9. Tlacuchcalcatzin. Cf. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 117.

701 565 general[10] Coyonacazcatzin; the commanding general Temilotzin; the army commander[11] Topantemoctzin; the chief justice[12] Auelitoctzin; the captain of the armies[13] Uitzilinitzin; the Tlacopan ruler Uitzitzin. All of these rulers were assembled at Tolmayecan; they appeared to consult among themselves how this should be done: what we should offer as tribute, and how we should yield to [the Spaniards].

728 Thereafter only two [men] took Quauhtemoc in a boat. The two who took him and went with him were the seasoned warrior Tepuztzinoloc, and Yaztachimal, Quauhtemoc's page. And the one who poled [the boat] was named Cenyauel.

And when they carried Quauhtemoc off, then there was weeping among all the common folk. They said: "Now goeth the young lord Quauhtemoc; now he goeth to deliver himself to the gods, the Spaniards!"

cateccatl. Temiloteain. Tlacochcalcatl. Topantemoctzin. Mixcoatlailacatzin. Auelitoctzin, vitzinacatl. vitzilivitzin. tepanecatl vitzitzin: in machintin in tlatoque, in ocentlalticaxca tolmaiecan monoctecca in quenin muchioaz in tlein tictequjtiaque: auh in quenin inilan tencilaqujxque.

Niman ie ic qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin, acaltica, çan omomoc: vmetin in convicaque, itlan ittiaque. Tepuztzinoloc tequjoa, yoan Jaztachimal izolouh in Quauhtemoctzin. Auh oc qujtlanelhujtia inoca Cenjauel:

auh in jquac ie qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin: ninnd ie ic mochoqujlia in inqujch macevalli qujtoque. Je iauh in tlacatl xocoiotl in Quauhtemoctzin ie iauh qujnemacac in teteu in Españoles.

10. Tlacochcalcatl. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, loc. cit.

11. Tlacatecatl. Cf. Chavero, op. cit., I, fol. 47. The codex is notated in the Florentine Codex.

12. Mixcoatlailacatzin. Cf. Chavero, op. cit., fol. 48.

13. Tepanecatl. Cf. Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. 142. Carrasco de Salazar, op. cit., III, p. 200, mentions captives at the same time as Quauhtemoc of the ruler of Tenoch (Tlacopan); see also Ixtlilxochitl, op. cit., p. 48.

Fortieth Chapter. Here is told how the men of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan and their leaders yielded to the Spaniards,[1] and what befell when they were among them.

Inic cuarenta capítulo vnca mjtoa in quenjn ie- 728
hoantin tlatilulca yoã tenuchca yoan in intlatocauh
in intlan oncalacque Españoles: auh in tlein nu-
chiuh in jquac ie intlã cate./.

And when they had betaken themselves to bring him and disembark him, thereupon all the Spaniards came to see. They drew him along; the Spaniards took him by the hand. After that they took him up to the roof-top, where they went to stand him before the Captain, the war leader. And when they had proceeded to stand him before [Cortés], they looked at Quauhtemoc, made much of him, and stroked his hair. Then they seated him with [Cortés] and fired the guns. They hit no one with them, but only made them go off above, [so that] they passed over the heads of the common folk.[2] Then [some Mexicans] took and got into a boat and guided it there to the house of Coyoueuetzin.[3] And when they arrived, then they climbed up to the roof-top, whereupon once again they slew men and many died there. But [the Mexicans] only fled. With this the war reached its end.

Auh in oconaxitito in ocontialhoacaquijxtito: nj-
man ie ic mxich vallachia in Españoles, quivalanque,
imatitech quivalanque in Españoles njman ie ic
quitlecavia in tlapanco ixpan conquetzato in Capitan
in iautachcauh. Auh in oixpan conquetzato, njmã
ie ic quitta, quimcoctitia, quipepeptla in Quauh-
temoctzin: njman ic itlan quitlalique yoan contlaz-
que in tlequiquiztli, aiac ic quimotlaque, çan impan
quiquiztique çan jmjcpac quix in macevaltl: njman
ic cẽtetl convicaque, conualquique in acalli: vmpa
cõvicaque in jchan Coioveuetzin. Auh in oacique:
njmã ic tlecoque in tlapanco: njman ie ic no ceppa
temjctia mjec in vncan mjc: auh çã choloque, çan
jc vmpolivito in iauiot:

Then there was shouting; they said: "Enough! Let it end! Eat greens!" When they heard this, the common folk thereupon issued forth. On this, they went, even into the lagoon.

nec valtzatzioa: quitoa. Ie iuquich ma quiaua, 727
xicmexqualtitin in quiltzintli: in oiuh quicacque in
njman ie ic oncoa in macevalli: njman ie ic vi, çan
atlan.

And as they departed, leaving by the great road, once more they there slew some,[4] wherefore the Spaniards were wroth that still some again had taken up their obsidian-bladed swords and their shields. Those who dwelt in house clusters went straightway to Amaxac; they went direct to where the ways divide. There the common folk separated. So many[5] went toward Tepeyacac, so many toward Xocoaliltitlan, so many toward Nonoalco. But toward Xalloco and toward Maçatzintamalcopa no one went.

Auh in oquiçato vei vtli ipan, ie no ceppa cequjn
vmpa quinmjctia, ic qualique in Españoles in oc no
çan cequjntin quitequj in immaquauh yoan inchimal:
in calla onoca quivalmelauhque in amaxac vallame-
laoa, in vncan vei vmaxac: vncan xexeliuh in mace-
valli, iuquich tepeiacac itztia, iuquich xocoviltitlã
itztia, iuquich nonoalco itztia. Auh in xalloco-
pa, yoan in maçatzintamalcopa, aiac vmpa itztia.

1. *Repeated:* the title is omitted in the MS.

2. Probably an military order, without prejudicing we know that Cortés used this opinion to impress the Indians. Perhaps this done is was to pay over the end of the war (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

3. Seler, op. cit., p. 302, implies that they brought a cannon (*tlatlauc cuetzpal*). What appears to be the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando este mensajero adelante dos cosas de artillería y entraron en la casa de un principal que se llamaba Coloxuetzin.*"

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*desde quijtos ß espantó a algunos Indios de los amigos de los españoles mensajeros.*"

5. So many: Bandelier, op. cit. CX, Interesse, Hidalgo, op. cit.

727 And all who lived in boats and [in houses] on
481 poles, and those at Tolmayecan,[6] went into the water. On some, the water reached to the stomach; some, to the chest; and on some it reached to the neck. And some were all submerged, there in the deeps. Little children were carried on the backs [of their elders]; cries of weeping arose. Some went on happy and rejoicing as they traveled crowding on the road. And those who owned boats, all the boatmen, left by night, and even [continued to] leave all day. It was as if they pushed and crowded one another as they set out.

Auh in jxquijch acalica onoca yoan in tlapechco canca, yoan in tolmaiecan çan atlan in iaque: in aca ixillan acitiuh in atl, in aca ielchiquipan, in aca iquechtlan acitiuh: auh in aca vel potaquj, in vncan vecatlan: in pipilxitzinti temamamalo, tlachoqujstleca: cequjnti mopapaqujltitivi, maavicltitivi: in oconnepanoto vtli Auh in acaleque, in jxquijch acale ça ioaltica in quja, yoã tel cemjlhujtl in qujxque iuhquin moquequeztivi injc vi.

727 And everywhere the Spaniards were seizing and robbing the people. They sought gold; as nothing did they value the green stone, quetzal feathers, and turquoise. [The gold] was everywhere in the bosoms or in the skirts of the wretched women. And as for the men, it was everywhere in their breech clouts and in their mouths.

Auh in jxquiçan antica tetlatlaçaltiaia in Españoles in teucujtlatl qujtemoa amo tle ipan qujtta, in chalchivitl, in quetzalli yoan in xivitl: novian nemja in inxilla in incuetitlan, in cioatzitzinti. Auh in toqujchtin novian nemj in imaxtlatitlan, yoan in incamac

And [the Spaniards] seized and set apart the pretty women — those of light bodies, the fair[-skinned] ones.[7] And some women, when they were [to be] assaulted, covered their faces with mud and put on old, mended skirts and rags for their shifts. They put all rags on themselves.

yoan qujmanaia, qujnpepenaia in Cioa in chipavaque, in Cuztic innacaio in cuztique. Auh in cequjntin cioa injc motetlaçaltiaia, mjçoqujvique, yoan tatapatli in qujmocuetiq̃ tzotzomatli in qujmovipiltique, çan moch tzotzomatli in intech qujtlalique.

And also some men were singled out — those who were strong, grown to manhood, and next the young boys, of whom they would make messengers, who would be their servants, and who were known as their runners. And on some they burned [brand marks] on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their lips.

Auh no cequjntin pepenaloque in toqujchtin iehoantin in chicaoaque in iniolloco oqujchtin yoã in qujn telpupuchtotonti in qujntitlanjzque, in intitlanvan iezaque, in moteneoa intlamacazcaoan: cequjntin njmã qujncamatlatiq̃ cequjntin qujncamaicujloque: cequjntin qujntenjcujloque.

And when the shield was laid down, when we gave way, it was the year count Three House and the day count was One Serpent.

Auh in omomã chimalli: injc tixitinque, in xiuhtonalli ei calli. Auh in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce coatl:

728 And when Quauhtemoc went to deliver himself up, they then took him, after nightfall, to Acáchinanco. And on the morrow, when already a little sun shone, once more the Spaniards, a good many of them, came forth likewise to put an end [to the fray] — girt for war, [in] iron coraclets and iron helmets, but not with their iron swords nor their shields. They all only pressed white linen cloths against their noses as they passed by; [for] the dead sickened them; they already smelled foul and stank.

Auh in jxquac in õmotemacato in Quauhtemoctzin: njmã quivicique in acachinanco in ie ioa. Auh in jmuztlaioc in ie achiton tonatiuh, ie no ceppa vallaque in Españoles: vel mjequjntin, no çan iuh tlantivitze, in moianchichiv[h]-tivitze, tepuzvipilli, in tepanquacalalatli: auh aoc tle in intepuzmaquauh, yoan aoc tle in inchimal, ça mochintin valmoiscapachotiaque iztac canaoac ica qujntlaieltiaia in mjmjcque in ie iyaia, in ie potonj:

6. Cam, op. cit., mentions Tolmayecan (Tolmayecan?) as probably the same as Ayecac.

7. Literally, of yellow bodies, the yellow ones.

All went forth about holding, by their capes, Quauhtemoc, Coanacoxtzin, and Tetlepanquetzatzin[8] — grouping only these three. [And also appeared] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin, the lords' judge Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, the keeper Tlaçolyauel — the men who guarded all the gold.

Then they went straightway to Atlacuihuayan,[9] to the house of the chieftain and commanding general Coyoacacatzin. The Spaniards came in files; they stretched out in two rows, which went to their ends at a distance and extended far. And when they had reached the house of Coyoacacatzin, then they climbed up to the roof-top, on to a platform. Then they sat down. With a many-colored cloth they made a canopy for the Captain. Then the Marquis sat there, and with him stood Marina.

And Quauhtemoc was by the Captain. He had bound on the cape of quetzal feathers, each half of different color, with humming bird feathers, after the manner of those of Ocuillan. It looked soiled. He had only this. Then, after him, came Coanacoxtzin, ruler of Texcoco, who had bound on only a maguey fiber cape bordered with flowers and with a design of radiating flowers. It also seemed dirty. Then after him came Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan. He likewise was covered by a cape of maguey fiber, also very dirty — much soiled. Then, next, came the chief justice Auelitoctzin, and last walked Yopicatl Popocatzin, a prince. On the other side were the men of Tenochtitlan — Tlacotzin, Petlauhtzin, Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, and the keeper Tlaçolyauel.[10]

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machintin vallacxipanvicinque, quiyalquiçaquiçaque: itlinuztinch in Quauhtemoctzin, Coanacoxtzin, Tetlepanquetzatzin, çan ieiztin valmanticque. Auh in Cioacoatl tlacatzin: Tlilancalqui, petlauhtzin, vizmauitl, motelchiuhtzin mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazqui, Coatzin, tlachtli, tlaçolmatl, in ichcauhtin in quiçoyan in jaquich teocuitlatl:

nimman vmpa tlamelauhque in atlacuihuayan, in vncan ichan in tlacatzin in tlacuchcalcatl, in Coioacatzin: piçilivi in Españoles, ic vmmocatl motlinnja, vecca tlantivi, vecca acitivi: auh in oncito in jchã coioacatzin, nimã ic tlecoque in tlapanco, in tlapechco: nimman ic motlalique, tlatlapalquauhtli in quiçevalcatique capitan, nimã ic oncã ommotlali in Marques, itlan ommotlali in Malintzin:

auh in Quauhtemoctzin itlan ca in Capitan: in quimolpalia quetzalichpetzteli, tlatlacuhujectli, vizitzilin hivio inic ocujhecoia, omach catzaoac, çan quiçacvitica: nimã cotoçquijitica in Coanacoxtzin, texcoco tlatoanj: in quimolpilitica, çan vel ichtilmatli, xoxochitecio, xochimeuaoac, omach no catzaoac: nimã cotoçquijitica. Tetlepanquetzatzi, tlacuhan tlatoanj, çã no iuhquj in quimolpilitica in ichtilmatli, ono vel catzactix, oual ontzaoac: nimã cotoçquijitica. Miscoatlailotlac, auelitoctzin: tlatzacutica jopicatl, papocatzin, pilli: cecthapal onoque in tenochca. Tlacotzin. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzin mexicatl, achcauhtli, tecutlamacazqui, coatzintlatlati, Tlaculiauel.

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8. Rulers of Tlacopan and of the Tlaxcalans, respectively, according to Bustamante, op. cit., p. 252.

9. "Donde ahora está edificada la iglesia de Santa Lucía, aquí en el Tlatelolco" — Ibn. ibi.

10. Tlaçolyauel: the ortthe is omitted in the MS. In this passage, cuauhtlatlatl appears to be run together in the MS. Cf., however, Molina, op. cit., and Simeon, op. cit. (Alvarado).

[p. 120 is blank]

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Forty-first Chapter, in which are told the words with which Don Hernando Cortés addressed the rulers of all the cities, here in Mexico, in Tenoxtitlan, and in Tlacopan, when the shields had been stilled, and [how] he questioned them as to the gold which [the Spaniards] had in haste scattered there at the Tolteca canal, when they escaped and fled from Mexico.

Ihuiz omopaulli ooc cuptitoki vncl mjtoa in tlacolli inijc qujnnanotz do hernando Cortes in jxquichtin ohuetzi ipil tlatoque in ojcan Mexico: auh teteuctli, tlacuhu, in jquac ic omomoan chimalli, in qujnnotzalitia in cuaitc teucujtlatl, in vncan qujnnanotzqujque tolteca acalooc, in jquac qujxqui, choloque mexico.

Thereupon the Marquis, the Captain, addressed the rulers. He said to them: "What of the gold which was stored in Mexico?" On this, all the gold was taken from the boats — the golden banners, the golden conical caps, the golden arm bands, the golden bands for the calf of the leg, the golden bowls, the golden discs. All [these] they had laid out before the Captain, [and] indeed all of it the Spaniards had taken up.

Then, the Captain said: "Is this all the gold which was stored in México? Have you brought all of it forth?" For our lords sought it diligently.

Then Tlacotzin spoke: "May our lord, the god, hear! That which was brought to our palace we walled up, all of it, with adobes. Did not, in truth, our lords take it all with them?"

Then Marina said to him: "The Captain saith, 'It is so. We took all of it. All was gathered together, and all was marked. And they caused us to cast away all of it there at the Tolteca canal, there where they all set upon us. They must bring forth all!'"

Thereupon the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin answered: "May the god, the Captain, hear! The men of Tenochtitlan rise not [to battle] in boats; it is not their wont. Only the men of Tlatilulco have made it their way of doing. In boats they gave battle and set forth to stem the advance of our lords. Did not in truth these of Tlatilulco take it all?"

After this Quauhtemoc spoke and said to the ruler's vicar: "What dost thou say, O ruler's vicar? Even if the men of Tlatilulco took it, were not the guilty imprisoned therefore? Did they not produce all of it? Was it not gathered together at Tlacopan? And what took our lords with them [if] not this?" Quauhtemoc pointed to the gold with his finger.

Inje omopaulli ooc cuptitoki vncl mjtoa in tlacolli inijc qujnnanotz do hernando Cortes in jxquichtin ohuetzi ipil tlatoque in ojcan Mexico: auh teteuctli, tlacuhu, in jquac ic omomoan chimalli, in qujnnotzalitia in cuaitc teucujtlatl, in vncan qujnnanotzqujque tolteca acalooc, in jquac qujxqui, choloque mexico.

Nimoan ic ic qujnnonotza in Marques in Capitan in tlatoque: qujnjlhuja. Cattj in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico: nimoan ic ic vallequjxtilo in acalooc in jxquich in teucujtlatl, in teucujtlapanjtj, in teucujtlacopilli, in teucujtlamatemecatl, in teucujtlacotzevatl, in teucujtlequacalaiatli, in teucujtlacoxmalli: mochi ixpan contecaque in capitan, çj mach ichoan in Españoles in vallequjxtique:

njmoan ic ic qujnnoa in Capitan, çan ic inquich in in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico, mochi anequjxtique? ca vel qujnnoa in totecujovan:

Nimoan ic ic onitlato in Tlacotzin. Tla qujnnocaqujti in totecujo in teutl, ca oipan mazitico in totecpan, ca mach tiquimmatzaque, amo nel mach qujmotqujlique in totecujovan?

njmoan qujvalito in Malintzin, qujnjtalhuja in Capitan, Quemaca ca mach ticcujque, mochi omocentlali, yoan mochi ommachiot: auh ca mach techtlaçaltique in vncl tolteca acalooc, mach oncl techtepevaltique, mach qujnnotzique:

njmoan ic ic tlamanquilia in Cioacoatl tlacotzin, tla qujnnocaqujti in teutl in Capitan. Ca vel acalooc mequetza in tenochcatl, ca amo ichivil, ca çan inciacavil quichtlah in tlatilulcatl, in acalooc tlaiocque, in qujnnocatzacujlito in totecujovan amo nel ichoantin mochi qujxujque in tlatilulco:

njmoan ic ic vallotza in Quauhtemoctzin: qujvallihuj in Cioacoatl, tlein tequjxtoa Cioacoatle: mazo qujcujtj in tlatilulco, amo ic çaçaque in tlamacoltique? amo mochi qujxujque? amo ocmpan in mamachico? auh tlein ocommocujlique in totecujovan amo ichoatl in? ommapilhuj in teucujtlatl in Quauhtemoctzin:

648 728 Then Marina spoke to him: "The Captain saith, 'Is this all?'"

Then the ruler's vicar spoke: "Perchance some commoner took it. But it will be sought; our lord the Captain will behold it."

Then once again Marina spoke: "The Captain saith, 'Ye will find all two hundred [pieces] of gold.'" She measured off [the size] with her hands; her hands described a circle.[1]

Again the ruler's vicar answered; he said: "Doubtless some poor woman put it in her skirt. It shall be sought out. He shall behold it."

Upon this the chief justice Auelitoctzin spoke; he said: "May the lord, our lord Captain, hear! When Moctezuma yet was [alive], when somewhere there was to be a conquest, the men of Mexico and of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca and the Acolhua, moved together. All the Tepaneca, all the Acolhua, and all the dwellers in the swamp lands — we set out together when we conquered. And when the city fell, thereupon all turned back. Each man returned to [his] city. And thereafter came the masters of the city, the conquered ones. They brought their tribute, which had become the goods of [the victors]: green stone, gold, quetzal feathers, and the other precious stones — fine turquoise; and blue cotinga feathers, and red spoonbill feathers. They offered this to Moctezuma. All together it reached there. All together, there to Tenochtitlan, came all the tribute, all the gold."

njmã quivalilhuj in Malintzin quimjtalhuja in capitan. Çan ic izquich in?

njman ic conjto in cioacoatl, aço aca quiquijxti in Macevalli, atel modatemolitz, a quimottiliz in tencujo in capitan:

njmã ic no ceppa quivalito in Malintzin, quimjtalhuja in Capitan Matlacpoalli anquinextiaque in teucujtlatl izquich in: quivalxamachiuh imatica, quivalisvallali in jma:

ic no ceppa ontlananquili in civacoatl: quito. Aço ça aca ipan mocueti in civatzintli, a motemolitz, a quimottilia:

njman ic ic ontlatoa in Mixcoatlailotlac, avelitoctzin: quito. tla quimocaquiti in tlacatl in tonecujo in Capitan, in oc vnca Motecuçoma, in jquac ontepevaloà cana, ca cemolinj in Mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, in tepanecatl in acolhoa: in jzquich tepanecatl, in jzquich acolhoa yoan in jzquich chinampanecatl, ca ticemolinj, in tontepeva: auh in onia altepetl, ca njmã ic ic valnocuepalo, cocenisca cõenati in jmaltepeuh. Auh çatepan valhuj in altepevaque in ic pevallaca, quivalitquj in intlacalaquijl, intlatquj valmuchiuhtiuh in chalchivitl in teucujtlatl, in quetzalli yoan in oc cequj tlaçotetl, in teuxivitl, in xiuhtototl, in tlauhquechol: quimhuacaia in Motecuçoma, çan cẽ vmpa valaci, çã vmpa valmocemaci in tenochtitlan in jzquich tlacalaquijli in teucujtlatl.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Otra vez dixo Marina al señor capitan, dice que buscaran; dentro de dos no [illegible], como sale y enseñaba con las manos, el grandor de vna pasma de oro."

7: Sahagún
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NU7 Aztec NU7

[Since the whole volume is an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and is therefore a historical document, this source has not been marked for category 175 (Recorded History). Researchers are referred to category 116.]

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THE EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CULHUA MEXICA

R. H. BARLOW

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THE EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CULHUA MEXICA

BY

R. H. BARLOW

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PREFACE

THE PRESENT PAPER was prepared between March and December, 1943, under the auspices of the University of California at Berkeley, while the author was a research assistant in the Department of Anthropology. The data were assembled in the Bancroft Library, under ideal working conditions. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the staff of that Library for its coöperation, and to Professors Alfred Kroeber and Carl Sauer for their critical aid. Mrs. C. A. Block, Editor of the Department of Anthropology, contributed valuable advice on the technical problems of format. As for the translations scattered through the text, the author has chosen to make them loose, being aware that translations are at best worthless toys. No amount of ingenious paraphrase can possibly supplant the original documents, to which those wishing to investigate the problems of the paper will turn. (Certain emendations of the text have been made in Mexico during the succeeding five years.)

R. H. BARLOW

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGN Archivo General y Publico de la Nación. México, D.F.

ENE *Epistolario de Nueva España.* Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed. 16 vols. México, D.F., 1939–1942

GPM *Descripción del obispado de México hecha en 1570 y otros documentos.* Luis García Pimentel, ed. México, D.F., 1897

GPT *Relación de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Michoacan, Oaxaca y otros lugares en el siglo XVI.* Luis García Pimentel, ed. México, D.F., 1904

PNE *Papeles de Nueva España.* Segunda serie. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed. 7 vols. Madrid, 1905–1906

RHE "Relaciones históricas estadísticas." MS. 2 vols. From collection of Gómez de Orozco, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, comp.

RMEA *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos.* Vols. 3 ff., México, D.F. 1939–. [A continuation of *RMEH.* See next entry.]

RMFH *Revista mexicana de estudios históricos.* 2 vols. México D.F., 1927–1928

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 2: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

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114 painted along the outer and lower margins of the page, the rest of the
128 page being taken up by the items of tribute for which these towns
[211 were jointly responsible. The place names on a given page prove to
65] be geographically contiguous on modern maps, and so it is evident that the towns were regarded as a unit, as all having something in common. I have called each region thus indicated a "province," partly in order to provide some territorial division, but also because these groupings of towns were in some measure expressions of former political or linguistic units. Most of the Matlatzinca-speaking towns, for example, cluster on a page of their own; moreover, they were all conquered in a continuous campaign of a few years. These provinces (indicated on the map by large arabic numerals) I have named after the introductory glyphs, assuming the first glyph on each page to represent the most important town. Other available sources justify this. In another source, for instance, in the province I have named Tepequacuilco, Tepequacuilco is stated to be the "presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recogieron de toda la cuisca [Cohuixca]";[8] in that which I have named Coayxtlahuacan, Coayxtlahuacan is called "donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."[9] The borders of the provinces as they existed in 1519 have been commented on in detail where these were adjacent to non-Mexican lands.

Most of these invaluable place glyphs of the *Matricula* could be read even if they were all we had, and they are of course the final authorities. The task of reading them, however, is greatly simplified by the annotations they bear; the *Matricula* itself contains scattered and not always reliable identifications in roman letters, and the copy of the *Matricula* in the *Codex Mendocino* contains a complete series of highly reliable ones. In order to have some norm for spelling, I have everywhere followed these *Mendocino* versions. There are objections to this procedure—which gives us "Tuluca" for what is better rendered "Tolocan,"—but it shows how one Indian pronounced all the names of the Empire before the corrupting European influences set in.

[8] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223.

[9] *PNE*, 4: 165; 4: 198 agrees. Likewise, Tochpan (Tuchpa in *Mendocino*) has seven towns, and Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras historicas* [1892], II: 197) says that "La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias." The fact that the initial glyph is often the only one identified in roman letters in the *Matricula* is also taken into account.

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I have included a certain amount of related ethnographic material which has appeared in the course of accumulating data on place names and locations. Names for certain stretches of territory, names of language groups (these two often intertwined), reasons for such names, and occasional remarks on customs or gods form the main part of this supplementary material, which shows the great diversity of the Empire. (This diversity is still present: even today, a traveler in Mexico can see twenty countries in one.)

Here, however, the supplement stops. I have reluctantly excluded every scrap of the historical sections originally written to accompany these provinces. By suppressing an approximate history now, I can give an accurate history later. Nor has it been possible here to touch on the question of government and administration of tribute,[4] and on the topics of the motivations and formulae of native warfare, all of which need reëxamination.

In view of the nature of the authority for this map of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica—a tribute reckoning—it has, however, seemed appropriate to add some data on tribute. These data come chiefly from two sources: the *Matricula*, which gives the tribute from provinces as units, but not from their component towns; and the geographical *relaciones* of the 1580's, which often record the kind of tribute from a given town. Here again, I have omitted incidental materials in order to focus on the map. I have treated the *Matricula* tribute data in a summary fashion,[5] but have given all other tribute information in full.

[4] Manuel Moreno, *La organización política y social de los aztecas* (1931), gives something on these points.

[5] *I.e.*, by simply presenting whatever the Spanish annotations of the *Mendocino* copy say (for these give the frequency of payment, which is not deducible from the *Matricula* pictures alone), and by correcting a few errors in regard to quantities of goods. This method leaves much to be desired. A real study of the *Matricula* tributes would involve that document and its two copies—the checking of all items in all variant drawings and annotations from different hands, with special note taken of the quite unexploited annotations in Náhuatl on the *Matricula;* the investigation of native measurements and weights; the detailed itemization of various styles of mantles, skirts, and warriors' costumes portrayed (each of which has a name and a symbolism and many of which are badges of certain social categories); the question how often payment was made and into whose hands, where it was stored, and many other matters. Until such a study is prepared, the student should consult Cooper Clark's edition of the *Mendocino*, supplementing this with the works of Eduard Seler, especially his *Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen*. On the frequency of tribute payment, some observations have been made by R. C. E. Long, *The Payment of Tribute in the Codex Mendoza* (1942), and by R. H. Barlow, *The Periods of Tribute Collection in Moctezuma's Empire* (1943). Those interested in place glyphs and etymologies should see Peñafiel's imperfect, but still not superseded, *Nombres geográficos de México* (1885).

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The Matricula de Tributos

114 En estos Fragmentos se ve el más auténtico testimonio de la opulencia, grandeza, y Majestad de este Imperio Mexicano.

—Archbishop Lorenzana

The map the publication of which is begun in this work is based primarily on one document. Since the relationship of this document to its copies and editions has not been worked out before, it is proper to turn our attention to bibliography.

The *Matricula de Tributos*[6] is a folio manuscript, painted on coarse native paper, arranged like a European book. It is preserved in the Salon de Codices of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología de México and bears the exhibit number 52. Originally it must have contained more than eighteen folios, although today it has dwindled sadly.[7] On both sides of each of these folios are painted the hieroglyphs of the towns which were subject to the Triple Alliance of Mexico, Texcoco, and Tlacopan, as well as those of the tributes they paid.[8] The *Matricula* was probably made after 1511 or 1512, as I have remarked elsewhere.[9] Its European format hints that it may have been painted for Cortés, who soon had it in his hands and was learning the likeliest fields for pillage. Bernal Díaz tells us: "En los libros de la rrenta de montezuma miravamos de donde le trayan los tributos del oro y donde avia minas y cacao y rropa de mantas y de aquellas partes que viamos en los libros y las quentas que en ellos tenian montezuma que se lo trayan queriamos."[10] Afterward it doubtless served as a touchstone for taxability. When the first generation of unhappy mestizos was about come of age, the Viceroy Mendoza had the *Matricula* copied as part of the compilation made to show His Sacred and Caesarian Majesty what

[6] Named by Boturini in his *Catalogo del Museo Historico Indiano* (1743).

[7] Fernandez, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo* (1890), p. 69, interprets the number 35, written on the last sheet of the manuscript as it exists today, to mean that it had 35 pages originally. This, however, is merely the number given in the Boturini inventory.

[8] That the *Matricula* contained records of the tributes of both Mexico and Texcoco is clear from the inclusion of the provinces of Quauhnahuac and Tlalcoçauhtitlan, with certain subordinate towns which were specifically subject to Texcoco, as Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, T. II: *Historia Chichimeca* [1892], p. 89) and other sources inform us. It also includes the province of Xilotepec, which with its towns was subject to Tlacopan specifically ("La orden que tenian los indios ... ," *ENE*, 14: 145–148).

[9] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[10] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), II: 144.

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New Spain was like. This copy (which is not generally realized to be a copy)[21] preserves for us the manuscript as it stood in the 1540's. It is possible that a leaf or two had been lost before that date. Since four leaves have been lost since then, this copy is very precious. This *Mendocino* copy shows that the *Matricula* had thirty-six pages and somewhat more (a matter which cannot be commented on here), that is, eighteen leaves *plus*, at that time. The military history section of the *Mendocino* was also copied from the *Matricula*, where only a scrap of it survives. Probably the ethnographic section of the *Mendocino* was the only one painted especially for it. The manner in which two leaves of the *Matricula* were lost completely and two were carried off is noted below.

Sometime in the sixteenth century the manuscript was annotated unsystematically in Náhuatl. This must have been after the *Mendocino* copy was made, for the latter does not take cognizance of these annotations, but provides others.[22]

The *Matricula* disappears in that neglected century of consolidation, the seventeenth. In the first half of the eighteenth, however, it came into the hands of Lorenzo Boturini, the Italian Guadalupe enthusiast, whose immeasurably rich collection embraced almost every document on which our knowledge of ancient Mexican history is based. In the

[21] Orozco y Berra suspected that it was. The preface to the 1925 del Paso edition says (*Códice Mendocino*, p. vii): "No se sabe si es obra original de los indios instruidos comisionados especialmente por Mendoza, o copia de distintas pinturas antiguas colegidas en el códice." And even that astute bibliographer Gómez de Orozco is skittish: "pudo ser la fuente [del Códice Mendocino] el codice llamado Matricula de los Tributos ... u otro muy semejante, pues que existen algunas variantes entre este y el codice Mendocino" ("¿Quien fué el autor material del códice Mendocino?" *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos* [1941], 5: 44). In the absence of the much-needed variorum edition of the *Matricula*, but with the related manuscript and editions described here—and lacking space for more extended discussion,—one can only dogmatize. The tribute section of the *Mendocino* is unquestionably a copy of the *Matricula*. The only differences between the pictures of the two are minute. Sometimes two pages in the *Mendocino* are devoted to material which occupies only one page in the *Matricula*, and in the province of Çihuatlan the town of Xolochiuyan has been placed out of sequence by the *Mendocino* artist. A few erasures have occurred in the *Matricula*, leaving gaps and traces of the erased material. Such variants as these are not worth itemizing further.

[22] The names of the warriors' costumes, for example, are given in the *Matricula* annotations, but are lacking in the *Mendocino*. The *Matricula* gives "Tlacotepec" in Tuluca Province, whereas the *Mendocino* gives a probably erroneous "Mitepec." The *Matricula* gives "Panchimalco" in Qusuhnahuac; the *Mendocino*, the certainly erroneous "Chimalco." As a whole, however, the town names of the *Mendocino* are highly accurate; these minor slips are cited to show that the *Mendocino* annotator saw a still unannotated *Matricula*.

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inventory made of his papers, July 15, 1745, it appears as No. 35 of "Ymbentario 2°."[32] It also figures in the printed catalogue of the following year, § VII, No. 9, where it received the name of "*Matricula*."[33]

A very inexpert copy of the *Matricula*, now bound with it, was made about this time. It appears in the "Ymbentario 2°" as No. 36,[34] in the printed catalogue. This copy does not fully reproduce the initial page, which had become nearly effaced. Four pages of this wretched copy were published by Peñafiel, that is, those corresponding with the two leaves carried off to Philadelphia—an event noted below.[35] The *Matricula* suffered the fate of all Boturini's collection, being taken as part of the evidence of his crime of collecting funds to make a crown for the Virgin of Guadalupe. It lay in one of the secretarías of the Gobierno del Virreinato until 1770, when Archbishop Lorenzana published the first of the editions it has suffered.[36] By Boturini's day (mid-eighteenth century) the manuscript had been reduced from the eighteen leaves plus of *circa* 1540, to sixteen leaves in the Lorenzana publication. The losses were the leaf containing the provinces of Tlachquiauco (recto) and Tochtepec (verso) and that containing Axocopan (recto) and Atotonilco (verso).[37] Lorenzana's edition is imaginatively unfaithful, being a series of lopsided copper-plate engravings. One page is so wretchedly copied that the "artist" has a vacant space left, which he plugged up with a cherub blowing a trumpet—a very curious item to find in Moctezuma's tribute list. This edition includes the Náhuatl annotations, as well as the Spanish translations which certain of them had acquired in the meantime.

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[32] "Este, es otra Matricula, como la antezedente en el mismo Papel de Pasta, todo figurado con caracteres, en [*sic*] antiquissimo, no tiene por donde se perziua a que Provincia toque. en diez y seis Fs" ("Inventario de los documentos recogidos á D. Lorenzo Boturini, 15 July 1745," *Anales del Museo Nacional ... de México* [1925], Epoca IV, T. 3).

[33] "Original. Una Matricula de Tributos, que se pagaban a los dos Reynos de Mexico, y Tlatilólco por las respectivas provincias subditas. Es de 16. fojas de papel Indiano, aunque le falta algo del principio, y fin, y se pintan en ella los lugares tributarios, y las especies de los tributos, que pagaban en frutos, y otros generos" (*ibid.*).

[34] "Esta es copia del antezedente, se halla en Papel de Marca mayor en diez y seis fojas" (*ibid.*).

[35] Peñafiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo* (1890), pls. 256–259.

[36] "Fragmentos de un Mapa de Tributos, ó Cordillera de los Pueblos ... " in Lorenzana's edition of Cortés, *Historia de Nueva España* (1770), pls. following p. 176.

[37] Not Atotonilco el Grande (see p. 64), which is on p. 8 of the manuscript as it exists today.

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Sixty years after the appearance of Lorenzana's edition, the original *Matricula* suffered further loss. Two folios were detached by Poinsett, the American minister of Iturbide's day, who carried them off to Philadelphia, along with a large collection of Mexican antiquities on which there is no report available. One of these folios, half torn away since Lorenzana's edition, contains the provinces of Tlatelolco (recto) and Petlacalco (verso). The other contains Tlatlauhquitepec (recto) and Tuchpa (verso).[*] With this final mutilation, the document was left in its present state, except for a binding which it acquired sometime in the nineteenth century. It has been in the Museo Nacional for many decades, where Sr. Fernando Gamboa has recently devised a setting worthy of it, amid a welter of gold nose-plugs, green feathers, cacao, paper, and the like.

In view of all these mutilations, I wish to state that I cite the present pagination throughout.

At the end of this same nineteenth century, in which the *Matricula* was at first seriously maltreated, the nobility of the old document was appreciated, and a lithographed edition in heightened colors was published by Peñafiel. This edition partakes of the usual defects of "official" scholarship of the Batres Era and omits[**] the annotations in European writing. As recompense, the editor had the prices which he thought the tribute would bring on the open market added up, and published this in many solemn tables.

With the recent recovery of the Philadelphia pages, the story of the *Matricula* is complete. As there has never been a usable edition of it, I have had to work with diminutive photographs of the original. A good edition and a serious commentary on this document are much needed.

[*] They were published in the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society (n.s. [1893], Vol. 17, following p. [62]), in whose possession they and the other antiquities were left. Recently they have been recovered but not restored to their place in the manuscript.

[**] As in the unpardonable cases of the Codices Colombino and Sánchez Solís.

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II. THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

128 Because there were many provinces in the Empire which it is our purpose to delimit, some few grand divisions seem advisable. These have been made in a rather arbitrary way, with varying criteria. In certain regions it is possible to point out a particular zone as the special sphere of influence of some one or another member of the Triple Alliance. The six provinces described below, however, have been grouped on the basis of their common enemy and peril, the Purépecha or Tarascans, against whom they formed a long frontier. Brand has published a useful map of the Tarascan dominions and their fortified towns facing the Mexica, from the Río de las Balsas north.[1]

1. Çihuatlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the sixteenth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 38' of the *Codex Mendocino* appear the twelve towns of the most westerly province of the Empire we are about to depict. This province, now the "Costa Grande" of Guerrero, extends west of Acapulco to the outlet of the Río de las Balsas. In the *Matricula*, seven of the towns are identified by annotations in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The province of Çihuatlan was in a region which is wretchedly mapped to this day, where half the place names seem to have disappeared. If it were not for a "Relación de los pueblos que visitó Gaspar Xuarez en la provincia de Çacatula," of the mid-sixteenth century, the present map would scarcely be possible. There is supplementary information in the relación of Zacatula itself, dating from the 1580's, which the writer has published from a nineteenth-century copy—the original remaining unpublished and apparently unpublishable, for some mysterious reason known only to its present guardians.

635 114 128 Since this relación was available only after the printing of the map, two or three inconsistencies between map and text have inevitably resulted.

The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet

[1] Brand, "An Historical Sketch of Geography and Anthropology in the Tarascan Region. Part I," *New Mexico Anthropologist* (1943), Vol. 6–7, facing p. 60.

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"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecã (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

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632 *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-
[114] century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are
131 included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[3] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua
[491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal
[133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[4] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[5] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[6] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names
[103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like
[101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca
[491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[7] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[3] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[4] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[5] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[7] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

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Coyucac is probably not the Coyuca de Benítez of today, but the one 132
described by Xuarez as twenty-five leagues from Zacatula, near the 131
sea, and adjacent to Axapoteca[7] (which in turn is adjacent to Xolochiuyan and Panotlan, *q.v.*).[8] This is the only Coyuca he describes in his report on his tour of the coast. Today it is called Coyuquilla.

Nochcoc is certainly the present Nuxco, also described by Xuarez.[9]

Panotlan is mentioned by Xuarez both as "Panutla" and as "Pamutla."[10] He places it at thirty leagues from the Villa and one league from the sea, confining with Çihautlan and Nochcoc. This rules out the present Pantla, west of the Río Ixtapa.

Petlatlan is one of the few surviving names, appearing today as Petatlán. It is given by Xuarez as twenty leagues from the Villa.[11]

Xihuacan has vanished. Xuarez places it nineteen leagues from the Villa and adjacent to Petlatlan and Cihuatanejo—both well-established places. He adds, "tiene en su termino una laguna de mucha pezqueria y donde se haze sal en cantidad."[12] This salty lagoon suggests the Salinas de Potosí, southwest of Petatlán on the "Millionth Map."

Xolochiuhyan, described by Xuarez as "Solochuca" and also as "Cholochuca"[13] and placed twenty-two leagues from the Villa, near the sea, has become Jolochuca of today, another of the towns of this province which may be definitely localized.

According to the writer's chronological study and the "Relación de 175
Zacatula," Xolochiuhyan was the scene of Ahuizotl's first breakthrough to the coast and became his "frontier"—against whom, is doubtful.

Yztapan is given as the name of two towns by Xuarez. One[14] belonged to the encomendero, Anton Sánchez the younger, and was seventeen leagues from the Villa. The other, belonging to His Majesty, was thirteen leagues from the Villa,[15] close to the sea, and two leagues from the "Puerto de Çiguatanejo." Thus the pueblo belonging to

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 900.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 899.
[9] He gives it as 33 leagues from the Villa. *PNE*, 1: No. 903.
[10] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 900 and 902.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 896.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 895.
[13] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 897 and 898.
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 879.
[15] *PNE*, 1: No. 892.

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632 Sánchez was right at the Bay of Cihuatenejo, and it appears there in
131 a manuscript map of *circa* 1760.[36] The other pueblo, His Majesty's, appears on the "Guerrero State Map" of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, being situated on the Río Rincon. By means of the Salinas de Camotlán, which appear on both this latter map and the "Millionth Map," we see that this Río Rincon is the Río Ixtapan of the "Millionth Map," though the pueblo is omitted here. It is this Ixtapan belonging to His Majesty which has been selected as probably identical with the pre-Hispanic town, both because it gave its name to the Río and Punta de Iztapa (a), a promontory which may be found on most maps, and because it was reserved for His Majesty, a fact implying a special desirability and importance.

Çacatulan lay one league south of modern Zacatula, near the mouth
[101] of the Río de las Balsas. (On the accompanying map, it appears too far east.)

Çihuatlan (Çiguatlan de Salzedo and Panotlan), which gave its name to the province, is missing from all available maps. It might have been any of three vanished towns, but the one which seems most probable is Çiguatlan de Salzedo. This lay thirty leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and bordering Pamutla and Nusco—the modern Nuxco, near Tecpan. Çiguatlan and Panutla, or Pamutla, lay on the same river five leagues from Tecpan.[37] Judging by the distances east of Zacatula assigned to other localizable towns (Jolochuca, 22; Coyuca—Coyuquilla—28; Nuxco, 33; and Tecpan, 35), this river is the modern San Luís. Çiguatlan de Salzedo may be San Luís de la Loma today. In any case, according to the relación of Zacatula, Çiguatlan was divided from Panotlan only by a river ("entre estos dos pueblos está el río"). For that reason, it has been given the same number, 9.

Çiguatlan de Salzedo lay right in the middle of the province, which is the writer's reason for identifying it as the old cabecera, despite the claims of two remoter homonyms.[38]

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[36] Bancroft Library, University of California, MS map F 1226 176–, G. 9. The author is Santos Alonso Guerra.

[37] "Relación de Zacatula," *Tlalocan*, 2: 261; *PNE* (*Suma*), 1: No. 901.

[38] The other possibilities are Çigua (*PNE*, 1: No. 864) and Çiguatlan de Su Magestad (*PNE*, 1: No. 883). Çigua extended between Zacatula and the sea. Çiguatlan de Su Magestad lay seventeen leagues from the Villa and four from the sea. (It bordered

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[18] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[19] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetiztla and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[20] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[21]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Axochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyutla and Piquitla [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çiguatlan are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çiguatlan de Su Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanejo itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[18] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[19] "'Jentes que biniero de algun lugar de muncho hierro' o 'jentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepoztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[20] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[21] In a town called Chiantepec, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

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197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,[*] and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.[**]

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino,* the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles[***] of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

[*] See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

[**] See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

[***] The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

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Tribute of the component towns.—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaua gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.[20] 651

2. Tepequacuilco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula,* copied as folio 37' of the *Codex Mendocino,* are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below: 635 114 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Alahuiztlã, 21	Alahuistlán
Atenanco, 8	Atengo del Río
Cocolan, 13	Cocula
Cueçalan, 7	Cuetzala
Chilacachapã, 12	Chilicachapa
Chilapan, 4	Chilapa
Huitzoco, 16	Huitzuco
Ohuapã, 6	Oapan
Oztoma, 19	[Missing]
Teloloapan, 11	[No change]
Tepequacuilco, 15	Tepecoacuilco
Tlachmalacac, 18	Tlaxmalac
Ychcateopã, 20	Ixcateopan
Yoallan, 17	Iguala

All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted 635

[20] "Al rrey que era de Mexica ... le dauan esclavos e mantas e oro en polvo que sacauan y lavaban de los rrios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos dauan al dicho Montecçuma eran para que los dichos Mexicanos comyesen" (*PNE,* 6: 158).

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635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[27] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[28] Tetela (5),[29] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[30] Totoltepec (10);[31] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[32]

[175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[33] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[34] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[35] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[36] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

[27] "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[28] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."

[29] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."

[30] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernase."

[31] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."

[32] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Montecçuma."

[33] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.

[34] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.

[35] *PNE*, 6: 113: "En otro tiempo estubo poblado en un peñol ques enespunable y muy fuerte."

[36] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs: "¿Es al Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[a] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[b] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[c] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[d] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[e] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[f]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[g] Cocolan,[h] Mayanala (14),[i] and Huitzoco.[j] Since

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.
[b] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[c] "Estos couixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepoquacuilco y Tlachmalacac, es la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).
[d] *GPM*, p. 195.
[e] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de VM. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).
[f] *PNE*, 5: 249.
[g] *PNE*, 5: 86.
[h] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[i] *GPM*, p. 98.
[j] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."
[k] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[40] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco,[41] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[42]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[43] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[44] Ychcateopan,[45] Oztoma,[46] Totoltetec,[47] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[48] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[49]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[50] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[51]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather
131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[52] Alahuiztlan

[40] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[41] *PNE*, 6: 315.
[42] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[43] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[44] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[45] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[46] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[47] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[48] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[49] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[50] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[51] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[52] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha gerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motetzuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

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Ajahuiztlan 635 632 [317] 131

had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list.

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c] [712]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d] [712]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Azochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan [648]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese xente en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espugnable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Azuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[m] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[n]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17') accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[o] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[n]

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[p] of mantles *colchadas***
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white**
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
1,600 bundles of large mantles**
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)*

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and
[263] *chian**
200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[m] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuxco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[n] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[o] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[p] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[q] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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 651

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[a]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[b]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[c]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[d]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[e] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[f] 386

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[g] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[h]

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[a] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[b] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[c] "A Motecçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[d] "Era de Moteçuma ... y le trebotavan mantas de algodon, y ellos myumos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[e] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[f] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[g] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas vezes del año subiban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' que abia" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

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651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[30]

[567 721] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[31] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[32]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapā, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Izcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

[30] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[31] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est, le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[32] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificaren."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acamilyxtlahuacan apparently underwent the same sort of abbreviation which made "Amacusac" out of near-by "Amacoztitlan" in Quauhnahuac Province.[]

Teotlixtacan suffered the fate of other names bearing the prefix *teo-* from *teotl* ("divine, godly"), a sacrilege to Spanish ears. The partly synonymous *huey* ("great") supplanted the earlier prefix here.[] In 1581, Teulistaca and Hueyztaca were used alternately;[] since then, the name has atrophied unrecognizably to Huiztac.

Tetenanco. Although there is no modern mention of the town, this is presumably the Real and Pueblo of Tenango which existed close to the west of colonial Taxco. Its borders are given as Nochtepec, Ichcateopan, Tasco, Acamistlauacan, Coatlan, and Teticpac, which enables us to place it.[] And the name Tenanco—often interchangeable with this common place name—appears in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 7', as a conquest of Moctezuma I, who was prominent in the reduction of this area.

It may be remarked that both *Tenan*guillo and Cacalo*tenango* lie within the area mentioned.

Tlachco was not the modern Taxco de Alarcón, but somewhat south and lower, the present Taxco Viejo.

Tzicapuçalco was the same town as the present Ixcapuzalco, we learn from a relación of 1569. Anciently it bore still another name, "Pindexo," perhaps applied by the aboriginal Mazatecos who were established in the Chontal region here.[]

Çacualpan was a conquest of Itzcoatl, according to the historical [175] section of the *Codex Mendocino,* and, as Itzacualpa, figures among the subject towns which received Ahuizotl after the conquest of Teloloapan (Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528).

[] On location, see *GPM,* p. 178; *PNE,* 1: No. 37 and 6: 269.

[] *PNE,* 6: 270, has a note on such changes.

[] The latter in *PNE,* 1: No. 273, which gives its boundaries, also given in *GPM,* p. 174.

[] *PNE,* 1: No. 671: "junto a Tasco"; *ibid.,* 6: 266: "a la parte del occidente"; *ibid.,* 6: 275.

[] *PNE,* 6: 94, which also provides its location. *Pindexo* is said to be the name of the adobe tree.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero,"[a] a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[b] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[c] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[d] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[e] of little mantles of soft henequen**
714 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 263; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[88]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[89]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[90]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[91] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[88] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas ... . Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cosian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[89] "Relación de Zoltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributaran." "Relación de Temascaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de México." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[90] *PNE*, 7: 102: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

[91] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State."

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

5. Tuluca

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33r of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacã, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepec, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Teotenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xicaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Çoquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan.

Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master.[99]

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rrachan y ocote, ques tea para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocotili."

[99] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various étymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[783] [103]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7.
[101] See p. 23 above.
[102] *PNE*, 7: 4.
[103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.
[104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier 635
against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expan- 131
sion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlat- 635
zinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[100] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border** [291]
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles** [714]
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli* [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point. [632]

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, 635
which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections 114
are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, antl it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[100] *PNF* 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[100] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present
[126] map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

[103]

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacã, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[101]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation.
114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

346 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center.
635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[100] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.
[101] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[*] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[**] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[***] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen[**] [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[***] [262]

[*] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ... ," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[**] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenanzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Oculteca*, de difícil comprehencion para los estraños."

[***] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[***] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

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651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—If we allot the foregoing equally
632 between the two towns forming this province, we find that each must have contributed as much in produce as was collected from the whole province of Tlachco, in which there were nine towns, and that each must likewise have paid the equivalent of nearly one-third of the tribute in mantles collected from Tlachco Province.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].[1] Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the relación of Tecpatepec (1579),[2] one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also[3]—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the *Matrícula* and on the copy of that page, folio 32r of the *Codex Mendocino*, and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

[1] "Memorial de los pueblos subjetos a esta cabecera de tlacupan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE*, 14: 118.

[2] *PNE*, 6: 35.

[3] E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlauhca, Cepayauhtla, and Ciuhtepec. *GPM*, pp. 163–164.

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103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acaxochic, 6	Santa Fe
Ameyalco, 8	[No change]
Coatepec, 14	Coatepec Bateas
Chichicquautla, 4	Xochiquauhtla
Huizquilocan, 5	Huixquilucan
Quahuacan, 1	Cahuacan
Quauhpanoayã, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecpan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tlalatlauhco, 13	Xalatlaco

Two other towns have been found elsewhere: Huitziçilapa (3) and Tlalachco (?) (2).

Two towns of the tribute list have not been found: Chapolmoloyã and Ocotepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaxochic,* "que ahora es Santa Fé," is located on the authority of
131 Tezozomoc.[4] It lies southwest of Tacubaya.

Chichicquautla has become the modern Xochiquautla, between Huixquilucan and Toluca. The boundaries of "Chichiguautla" given in a sixteenth-century document confirm this identification.[5]

Huitzilçilapa, under the transitional form of "Vçiçilapa," is referred to in the sixteenth century as being adjacent to Tacuba and as having a barrio called Tamimilulpa[6]—which description applies perfectly to the Huitzilapan of the 1937 map.

Quauhpanoayan has vanished from the map. It was divided between two hills, one section being called San Joan Baptista and the other San Francisco. It was a league from Atlapulco (11), a league and a half from Capulhuac (12), "y de los otros dos á media legua." As one of "los otras dos" is known to have been Ocoyacac (10), Quauhpanoayan may be placed with fair accuracy.[7]

Tecpan has long since disappeared from the map. In the late sixteenth century, according to the 1579 map of Ortelius, it lay south of Teocalhuiacan and northeast of Mimimiyauuapan [*sic*]. Ortelius gives

[4] *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 530.
[5] *PNE*, 1: No. 113, places it seven leagues from México and touching the jurisdictions of Tacuba, Toluca, and "Vçiçilapa."
[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[7] *GPM*, p. 232.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[28] 632
Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the 131
path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[29] it is not difficult to place approximately.[30]

Tlalochco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[31] and Huitziçilapa.[32] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli,* "sand," and *tlalli,* "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[33]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[34] 635
and Matlatzinca[35] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the 197
north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old 101
Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are: 635

Atlapulco, 11	Cuauximalpan, 7
Capulhuac, 12	Chichicquauhtla, 4
Coatepec, 14	Huizquilocan, 5

Tlalatlauhco, 13

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other 635
Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east 131
those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[28] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[29] Cf. preceding note.
[30] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[31] *FNE,* 1: No. 561.
[32] *FNE,* 1: No. 782.
[33] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[34] *FNE,* 1: No. 782.
[35] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

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TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan
[128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[16] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[17] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[16] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[17] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen** [391]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)** [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of 651
the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single 632
town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matricula,* as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28v of the *Mendocino.*[30] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim.*
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the
114 north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpā, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.
131 *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[22]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28r of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[23]

[22] *PNE*, 1: No. 1.

[23] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepexic ce comēdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; 632
moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, 131
Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[n] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[n]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[n] that the people of Otlaz- 177
pan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, 579
whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was 101
accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have 635
not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its 131
neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[n] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir nuñez de vn siõo destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaxpa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que be hazia san bernardino sexeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11' calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[n] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6', where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 3) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468). [114]

[n] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[**]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[**]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[**] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, — 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[**] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Teporxco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[20]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[21]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[22]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[20] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[21] *GPM*, p. 263.
[22] *PME*, 3: 33, n. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[291 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de [redacted] ever, it 632
is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre- [redacted] m- 114
pression given by the relación is that it was founde [redacted] the
Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the
Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of
"mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the 635
western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth- 632
century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[88] and Zimapan (12).[89]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas. 632

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated 635
by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to [197]
the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichi- 101
mec neighbors.[90] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it
should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an 212
Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[88] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[89] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tleculutl ycatzia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[90] *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[90] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

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212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[30] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely
635 stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province
131 of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[31] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[32] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 7:4] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[33] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[34] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[35]

[30] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[31] Cf. n. 35 above.
[32] *PNE*, 6: 201.
[33] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[34] Corrected from 400.
[35] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[a] 651 632

12. Axocopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27'.[b] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below: 635 114 [128] [103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquíahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayã, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpã, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpã, 10	Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[a] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[b] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atenco*, now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[44] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[45] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[46] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[47] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xockichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[48] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the following towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[49]

[44] *GPM*, p. 185.
[45] *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.
[46] *PNE*, 6: 36.
[47] *PNE*, 6: 205.
[48] *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.
[49] *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz- 635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[30] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses."[31] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING [291
714]

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD** [262
263]

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[32]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[30] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlashuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[31] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[32] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; haxianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[83]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[84]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula,* only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino,* all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[83] *PNE,* 6:36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."
[84] *PNE,* 6:32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called Atucpan.[] Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of the towns against which that state made war.

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec[] is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.[] It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,[] two long leagues southeast of Axocopan[] and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.[]

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan[] and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.[] It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.[]

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.[]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitlapilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was predominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.[]

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bordered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.[] To the east lay Atoconilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

[] *PNE*, 6: 24 and 35.
[] The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.
[] Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.
[] *GPM*, p. 188.
[] *PNE*, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.
[] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[] *PNE*, 6: 15.
[] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[] *PNE*, 3: 42.
[] *PNE*, 6: 27.
[] In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Tolnacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (*PNE*, 6: 24).
[] "Relación de Meztitlan."

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[*] as did Tequixquiac[**] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[**]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[*]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[*]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[*]

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[*] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[**] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[**] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[*] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[*] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Ositipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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IV. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE NORTH

JUST AS THE PRECEDING GROUP of provinces may be linked conveniently as the Old Tepanec Domain, those which we are about to consider belong predominantly to another member of the triumvirate, Acolhuacan Texcoco. The chief authority for this is the chronicler Ixtlilxochitl, who tells us in some detail how Nezahualcoyotl placed governors and mayordomos in Cuauhchinanco, Tuchpa, and other towns we shall consider—enough to imply that the whole northeast was under the dominion of the Acolhuaque in late pre-Hispanic days. He explains that these were the towns "allotted to the realm of Texcoco, the other two kings having no share in them."[1] Though Ixtlilxochitl is accused of mendacious nationalism, we may accept his word, inasmuch as such sources as a list of pueblos subject to Texcoco[2] and the conquest lists of that city-state, which the writer will publish later in a chronology of the Empire, confirm his statements absolutely.

14. OXITIPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The last leaf of the *Matricula* as it exists today (p. 28) deals with the province of Ctzicoac (*Mendocino*, fol. 55'). Following this page there was originally at least one more leaf in the *Matricula*—a leaf which is known only from the *Mendocino* copy. At this point in the *Mendocino* appear the words "fin de la parte segunda," that is, the end of the tribute section of this tripartite codex. Presumably the lost *Matricula* leaf was blank upon its verso when the *Mendocino* copyist had it before him, or he would not have written "fin." The long array of tributaries ended here.

What must have been the recto of the original leaf not only is the end of the manuscript, but also represents the end of the Empire of the Mexica, as far as the north is concerned, for there is but one town

[1] "Esta provincia y las demas en donde puso sus mayordomos y cobradores, fueron las que se ajudicaron al reino de Texcoco, sin entrar en participacion los otros dos reyes" (Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* [1892], II: 198).

[2] In the *Anales del Museo Nacional de ... México*, Epoca I (1897), 4: 48–51 and Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), vs. 1343, among other places.

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635 114 [31] represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1 Ojitipa de Mirador

Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to [651] judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[3] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[4]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[5]

635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[3] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tambolon"—now a rancho of Valles.
[4] Meade, *La Huexteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[5] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI: 275.

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [439]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.* 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING** [291]

2,010 bundles† of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles‡ of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD* [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE* [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

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* *ENE*, 10: 126. † Corrected from 2,000. ‡ Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54'). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 223, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 183–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

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635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[26] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[27] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[28]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[29] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[30] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[31]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[26] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[27] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[29] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[31] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

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651

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 714
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuscalaotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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16. Tuchpa

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[26] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Mishuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to 131 Lehmann.[27] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[28]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[29]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[26] See Introduction, p. 7.

[27] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[28] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[29] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma naçiese ni eredase este rreyno no estuuan estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron dende á muchos años que ya estuvan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á monteçuma."

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of 632
Tlatlauhquitepec.[*] 131

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197
belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635
still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648
of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[**] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635
of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131
south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635
coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103
part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651
cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles** [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
808 bundles[*] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**

[*] RHE, 1: 487.
[**] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[**] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[*] Corrected from 800.

1 [p.58.—Analyst] 2 [p.56.—Analyst]

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[651]
[291] 816 bundles[*] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long[**]
408 bundles[*] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long[**]
402 bundles[*] of mantles striped red and yellow[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles[**]
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields[*]

FOOD[*]

[26] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS[*]

[23]
301] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[*] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[*] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[*]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[*]

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[*] Corrected from 800.
[**] Corrected from 400.
[*] Corrected from 400.
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[*] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huchotli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las ropas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenían todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[*] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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 651

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.[]

632

17. Atlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.[] In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.[] Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."[]

635 114

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two.

635 131

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "...otra capitania...a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte...."[]

[] RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepinas y mahiz y chile."
[] Cf. Malinalco, above.
[] *FNE*, 3: 97.
[] *ENE*, 8: 160.
[] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles" of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

" Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been 632
tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación.[a] 131

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"[b] finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were im- 635
portant towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.[c] Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the 635
Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the 197
people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."[d] The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.[e]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces 635
hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was 131
Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces.

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone 635
called Totonacapan.

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[a] RHE, 1: 481: "tenian ... governador antiguamente puesto por montezuma."
[b] *ENE*, 8: 159.
[c] Christensen, "El Teponaztli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3: 179–180.
[d] RHE, 1: 480: "son yndios muy tontos yaclinados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferente de la mexicana."
[e] See the *proceso* of the *cacique* of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 209–215.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[m]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[n]

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [128] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

105

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acxxochitla, 3	Acxxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

[m] RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á moctoçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
[n] RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á moctoçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[a] 632
and seventeen leagues from México.[b] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears 131
eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[c] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[d]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[e]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiq- 635
uity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún com- 175
ments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[f] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[g] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[h] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande 635
lay between two *tierras de guerra.* To the north was Metztitlan, and 131
probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atoto- 651
nilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING [291
800 bundles of rich mantles** 714]
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[a] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[c] *GPM*, p. 250.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[e] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos poqueños como tzihuinquiloca [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[f] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[g] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.*

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco,
[28] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Tescalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapã, 10	Temazcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

* *PNE*, 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seysçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Tepetlaoztoc, 18	Tepetlaoxtoc
Teçoyucã, 17	Tezoyuca
Tiçayucã, 8	Tizayuca
Tlaquilpã, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tonanytla, 12	Tonanitla

Various pueblos of this crowded province remain to be located:

Ahuatepec	Quauhyocan
Ameyalco	Tepetlapã
Calyahualco	Tiçatepec
Contlan	Tlachyahualco
Quauhq̃mecã	Totolçinco

Yxqueme

Certain other pueblos may be added to the province on the basis of other documents:

Acolman (a)	Pachuca, 1
Coatepec Chalco, 22	Teotihuacan, 13
Chicualoapan, 21	Tepepulco, 7
Chimalhuacantoyac, 20	Tetlyztaca, 6
Otompan, 24	Tezontepec, 4

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acolman (a) was independent until conquered by Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco.[*] 632

Acolhuacan is something of a problem. The present paper is hardly the place to pass upon the truth of reports that Texcoco, capital of the Acolhuaque, paid tribute to the Mexica as did any other vassal. But a choice is imperative here: does the glyph which is annotated Acol*man* and Acol*huacan* represent Acolhuacan Texcoco?

The answer is a certain no. It is doubtful that Texcoco ever paid the famous tribute, in the first place. The other member of the Triple Alliance, Tlacopan, does not figure as a tributary anywhere in the *Matricula*, and it was less powerful than the domain of Nezahualpilli. The *Mendocino* interpreter has not written Texcoco, nor does the glyph correspond to those commonly used for Texcoco.[*] And the contradictory *Matricula* legend has been written over, as if to avoid 632 114

[*] "Nezahualcoyotzin cuique de Texcuco, los tiraniso" (*PNE*, 6: 211). (1942), fig. I.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 one interpretation, at least: the word "tetzcocatl" has been altered in
114 two places to read "acolmecatl"; that is, "men of Texcoco" has been erased. Further evidence that Acolhuacan was neither Acolmàn nor Texcoco may be found in the lists of conquests in which Huitzihuitl and Itzcoatl participated.

If the glyph does not represent Acolhuacan Texcoco, what Acolhuacan does it mean? Discarding a vague possibility that it may be Acolman, site of the great monastery,[a] the writer prefers to follow the "Relación de Coatepec-Chalco," which informs us explicitly that Acolhuacan is a former name of Coatlichan.[b]

632 The *Mendocino* adds the name of the tribute collector, or "calpixqui," to the place name: it was (rather suspiciously) "Acolmecatl."

Aztaquemeca (not on the map) lay athwart Cortés' escape route after the Noche Triste. His itinerary, as given in Sahagún and in the "Lienzo de Tlaxcala," reads Tepotzotlan–Aztaquemecan–Zacapulco–Tonanixco, and finally, friendly Hueyotlipan. Aztaquemeca may be the Ixtacamecan Santo Domingo, half a league from Otumba (24).[c]

Coatepec Chalco bore a "very special enmity" toward Chalco, to the south,[d] which is enough to align it on our map with the province of Acolhuacan.

Chicualoapan "and its subjects were subject to the caciques and lords of the pueblo and cabecera of Coatlychan."[e]

Chimalhuacantoyac had once belonged to the ex-province of Chalco, but was annexed by "the province of Aculhuacan, which is Coatlychan."[f]

Epaçoyucan, which can be found on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas, was earlier called Tomazquitlac. It belonged to Acolhuacan from a very early date.[g]

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[a] For this possibility, see *PNE*, 6: 213, n. 2.

[b] *PNE*, 6: 80: "Coatlychan, que en aquel tiempo se dezia Aculhuacan ... ." See Chimalhuacantoyac, below.

[c] *PNE*, 3: 83 and n. 1; Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras historicas* (1892), I: 304, "Azquemeca," near Axapuxco.

[d] *PNE*, 6: 51: "tubo muy particular enemystad con los de la probinçia de Chalco, a los quales dió muchas guerras."

[e] *PNE*, 6: 82–83. See Acolhuacan, above.

[f] *PNE*, 6: 66: "heran las tierras de los yndios de la provinçia de Chalco, y al presente [1579] este pueblo y sus subjetos estan en la comarca y provinçia de Aculhuacan, que es Coatlychan."

[g] "Eran del señorio de texcuco como dezienden de los chichimecos de texcuco siempre reconocian de sus mayores que llaman el reyno de acolhuacan" (RHE, 1: 141–142).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Matixco (Maquixco), southwest of Teotihuacan, possesses a homonym, Maquixco Santa Maria, northeast of the same center. Either one of these may be the *Matricula* town. The choice which has been made is frankly arbitrary. 632

Otompan, now Otumba, was the scene of Cortés' last great battle with "los de Culua" as he escaped into Tlaxcala, the frontiers of which lay near by.

Pachuca (1) at first belonged to the Acolhuaque, and later was shared by them with the Mexica.[30]

Quauhyocan appears in another source as "San Marcos Quacyocan" and "Quauhyoca." It was subject to Acolman, but no further detail is given.[31]

Teacalco appears on the map of the State of Mexico of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotihuacan, at first a Chichimec republic in the Tepanec sphere, was conquered by Nezahualcoyotl—who eventually had to share it with the Mexica.[32]

Tepepulco "parte terminos" with Tulançinco, in the adjacent province of Atotonilco el Grande, and Hueyotlipan, pertaining to enemy Tlaxcala.[33] Paso y Troncoso has pointed out Tepepulco's close association with Texcoco.[34] It was in Tepepulco that Sahagún began to gather materials for his vast ethnographic work.[35]

Tetlyztaca may be located from references. According to the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 151), Tulançinco was four leagues to the [north]east, Tepepulco two leagues to the southeast, and Cenpoala one and one-half to the west: "... los pueblos comarcanos son tulançingo cuatro leguas acia levante tepeapulco dos leguas entre leuante y sur la congregación de Cenpoala legua y media cay açia el poniente." Tetlyztaca lay near Tepechupilco [? now Tepechichilco]. [13]

[30] Cf. n. 82 below.

[31] *PNE,* 6: 210, 212.

[32] *PNE,* 6: 221: "En tienpo de su gentilidad [illegible] te y republica sobre si, sin reconocer a nadie sino a sus señores naturales [illegible] llamaban chichimecas, hasta que Nezagualcoyotzin, señor de Tescuco, tirani[illegible] la comarca matando a los hijos de Tetzotzomoctli, señor de Escaputzalco a quien todos reconocian, por guerra, e despues de su muerte de Tetzotzomoctli el dicho Netzagualcoyotzi se hizo poderoso aliandose con Montezuma señor de Mexico; repartieron las tierras del pueblo de San Juan."

[33] *PNE,* 6: 295.

[34] *PNE,* 6: 297.

[35] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: xvii.

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632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[70] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[71]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[72]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[73] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the 131 province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

[70] RHE, 1: 152.

[71] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.

[72] Cf. n. 82 below.

[73] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de texcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")***

FOOD [263]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632 of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651 maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412] After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.[11]

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412] Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.[12]

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

[11] RHE, 1:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilya y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoe a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzoctzin antesesor de monteçuma fue el primero que mando tributasen muytas gallinas y todo genero de bolateria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Monteçuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

[12] RHE, 1:142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonces se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y tenancalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called
651 "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.[88] However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*[89] gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, *circa* 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomitl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao
[262] of Xoconochco (2,400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.[90]

[326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."[91]

---

se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

[88] *PNE*, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

[89] Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ...," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

[90] *PNE*, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del rreynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodon de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodon de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacao de a beinte e quatro myll cacaos carga, de zoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

[91] RHE, 1: 152.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

THERE is a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3] 631 648 175

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion. [128]

21. CHALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matrícula* and folio 41v of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been identified, as follows: 635 114 [128]

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco
Tepoztlan, 3	Tepoztlan

[103]

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó per cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quauxulipas, Ayoczinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó per ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire. 635 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire: 651

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields* [291 714]

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli [262]

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matrícula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23". The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlyepac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corroepemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[32] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[33]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[34] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[35]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields**[36]

[32] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[33] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[35] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[36] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matrícula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl tozti," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323 2,000 pottery bowls**
289] 8,000 reams of native paper**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayonochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

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MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloztoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilcaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven 632 los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, 175 respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as 632 "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición." 131

Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[30] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[31] but cannot be found today.

[30] *PNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la principal subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilco."

[31] *PNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopualco [Nepozualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

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632 *Tetela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoztlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[a]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province
197 of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[b] and Yacapichtla.[c] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[d]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[e] and so were the Tlalhuica.[f]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow
131 province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[a] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[b] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[c] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimilico."

[d] See pp. 76–77.

[e] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimilco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[f] See pp. 76–77.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[*] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[*]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[*] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[*]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors [323]
8,000 reams of native paper [289]

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. [727]

[*] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[*] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Tazcala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[*] "Estan las dichas tres cabeçeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[*] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[30]

[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[31]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have [128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Quauhtecomaccinco*, according to one lone reference, was four leagues from Olinalá.[32]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[33]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[34] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[35]

[30] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[31] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[32] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[33] *GPM*, p. 112.

[34] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[35] *GPM*, p. 104.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.*

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

100 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"***

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitzilzecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bueyes de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

** Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan masco y pi[illegible]

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323 [313] 314]

16 pieces of colored lacquer
268 fine *jícaras* and *tecomates*
20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[28]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the *Matrícula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[29] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[30]

[151] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[31] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[28] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[30] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 216.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame. 101 197

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a] [551]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries. 635 131

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands: 651

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291]
1 warrior's costume with shield* [714]

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey* [263]

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells** [326]
80 copper axeheads** [317]
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over 632 651

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Fiaxtla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Mixteca sujetos á la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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632 651 half the honey formerly paid by the province, according to the *Matrícula*). Besides this, two special milpas were cultivated and their [314] yield was sent to the near-by mines of Ayoteco.[a]

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 437: "Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias quinientos y veinte y ocho pesos y dos tomines de tipuzque, y catorce xiquipiles de cacao y seis mill y dozientos y ochenta cacaos, y esto dan al dicho su amo en dineros que son quatroçientos y çinquenta pesos, y ocho xiquipiles de cacao y sesenta xarrillos de miel, y cada año le hazen dos sementeras de maiz y se lo ponen en las minas de Ayoteco." On *tipuzque*, see Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (1883), II: 7, and Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (1890), II: 416 and 430.

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VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf 175
coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtocheo, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to 128
chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, ex- 635
tending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the 114
recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51r. Of the eleven principal [128]
towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotoxco
Teotlalpan, 1	Huexutlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonoctla, 3	Jonotla
Yaunahuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yayauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Yztepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

[632] *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

[712] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo*>*huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[4]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecuma."[5] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[6]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[9] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

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[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[2] *GPM*, p. 9: *ENE*, 14: 79.

[4] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[6] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[*]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[**][31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/A] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. QUAUHTOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Las estatuas* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 462: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

1/A [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl. — Analyst]

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [712] *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

[175] *Tuchçonco*, though shown in the *Matrícula* as a pre-Hispanic town, seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[28]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[29]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[30] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[31]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino*, among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[32] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[33] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 large mantles[34]

[28] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵒ cuescomatepeque de la jurisdizion de gustusco." Dominguez (*Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[29] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[30] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[31] Dominguez, *Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[32] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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651

FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. CUETLAXTLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coxomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de noroeste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn ctarriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^ced a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^o de myctlanquauxtla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla." The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[237] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
[301] 20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[29]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north-eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matriculc*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapã, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpã, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Toztlan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Teteutlan
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlã	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michtlan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

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It appears in the Ma-
632 *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[20] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[21] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[22] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan.* There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[23] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[24]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[25] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[26]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[27] The chief language of the

[20] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[21] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, proveí, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[22] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[23] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[24] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[26] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que residian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[27] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

[i.e., Chinantlan — Analyd]

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province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matrícula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec (*sic*) que asimismo la ganó y sujezgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de esmes y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
** Also from Ucila.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[39]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
114 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[40]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
651 may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[41]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[39] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[40] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlatitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[41] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... reconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[46] 632 651 [28]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[47]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[48]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[46] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE*, 5: 2).

[47] *PNE*, 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[48] *PNE*, 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 8v. [illegible] it as *Coinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

THE ROAD TO XOCONOCHCO

The tribute collectors of the Empire reached Xoconochco—which was so far away from the heartland that it paid only twice a year, as the month symbols on the *Matricula* page attest—by the same route that modern land travelers follow, that is, south and east of the Nudo de Cempoaltepetl. Ahuizotl, at the end of the fifteenth century, invaded certain key places, which linked this province thereafter with Tochtepec. The activities of Moctezuma II filled certain gaps without altering our general picture for this area. 487

The main centers occupied by the Mexicans to assure the route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and down the Sierra Madre to Soconusco are indicated on the map between provinces 29 and 30, Tochtepec and Xoconochco. The list, which might be expanded, has been formed from the conquest lists of the Mexican rulers.[a]

The reason why these towns do not appear in the *Matricula* as comprising a separate tributary province is debatable. They may have been depicted on some page now lost, or the Mexicans may have demanded from the towns only the right of transit.

[a] Barlow, "Materiales para una cronología del Imperio de los Mexicanos," *RMEA* (1946), 8: 207–215.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 197 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the [128] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlã, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcã, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlã, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacã, Chiltecpintlã, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal 197
languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[2] and Quauhtinchan.[3] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[4]

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlax- 635
cala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other 131
three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire [648]
provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[5] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace.

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 635
1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears 175
in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[6]

[2] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua toca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; anzi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[3] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Toltecs-Chichimecs* (1937).

[4] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)*

OTHER GOODS

[317 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482] 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[11]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[12]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[13]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[14]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[15]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

32. Yoaltepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified. 635 114

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names: [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalã (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayã (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[30] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[31] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[32] 632 131

[30] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocía por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Moctezuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[31] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[32] *PNE*, 1: No. 6.

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632 [712] *Ayoxochiquilazala* seems to have been the anchor of the Empire in this region. A local Mexican garrison consumed all the tribute, which never reached Mexico.[28]

Ehuacalco, suggests Troncoso,[29] may be the Calihualá [Cal-eual-lan] of today. The proposed identification seems reasonable.

Patlanalan is a name which apparently survives only in documents. The town was subject to Tonalá (a) and was half a league from "Çilacajoapa."[30]

Piaztla was probably "Old Piaztlan" (Huehuepiaztlan), which lay to the west of the site of the modern town. Among the towns subject to Piaztla in 1581—and probably also linked with it in 1519—were 632 131 Tuzantlan (c) and Ilamatzinco (b). These appear on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, 1908.

Yxicayan became "Xicayan de Tovar" in colonial days.[31] It confined with Puctla and Tlacomayztlauaca,[32] which are the Putla Santa Maria and Tecomaxtlahuacan of today. Xicayan de Tovar was nine leagues southwest of "Instlauaca" (Juxtlahuaca)[33] and four leagues in the same direction from Ayoxochiquilazala.[34] Northeast of the ancient Acuitlapan, Guerrero, are a C. Jicayan and a R. Jicayan which indicate the site. It should be pointed out that the Jicayán of today (near Tlacamama), also existing in the sixteenth century,[35] is a quite different pueblo.

Ycpatepec, which enjoyed a certain pre-Hispanic fame, may be located by piecing together a variety of references. Though it is described in the relación of Cuauhuitlan along with towns of the modern district of Jamiltepec on the Oaxaca coast, it is stated to be no less than thirty-five leagues to the northeast of those towns,[36] beyond a sierra, in the Mixteca Baja.[37] Elsewhere it is given as ten leagues from Mixtepec

[28] See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 238.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 238; *GPM*, p. 20. Its estancias were called Guatepec and Santa Clara.
[31] *PNE*, 1: No. 810; *GPM*, p. 65; *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[32] *PNE*, 1: No. 810.
[33] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137.
[34] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[35] *PNE*, 1: No. 808.
[36] *PNE*, 4: 158.
[37] *PNE*, 4: 155: "muy apartado [de Cuahuitlan] porque cae en la provincia de la Mixteca Baja." Its encomendero was Francisco de Alfaro.

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(subject to Tlaxiaco)[88] and three leagues from "Cilacayoapan."[89] With 632
all this information, the town may be placed fairly well. In the present 131
map it is identified tentatively with Montañas, a town on the Oaxaca map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.[90] This lies south of Silacayoapam and may have fallen under the jurisdiction of south-lying Cuauhuitlan.[91]

Ychcatoyac, which has not been found, is also called "Atojocinapa" 632
in a list which names its encomendero as "el hijo de Pierres Gómez."[92]

Yoaltepec has been located from references only. When the Mexicans invaded the south, they took, in succession, the towns of Oaxtepec, Izucar, and Youaltepec.[93] "Ygualtepec" (the name suffered the same change as Yoallan–Iguala) was held by the encomendero of Ayoxochiquilazala.[94] The clearest reference, however, comes from a document [131]
dealing with Piaztla, which places Yoaltepec ten leagues straight south of that town.[95]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—With Yoaltepec we enter the Mixtec 197
provinces. A codex in purely Mixtec style, for example, is preserved from Tecomaixtlahuacan,[96] and the relación of that town[97] tells us it is of Mixtec speech, as proves to be true of Ycpatepec.[98] The northern part of the province, on the other hand, seems to have been mexicano rustico, "because it is the province of Totolan"—a quite mysterious reference.[99]

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[88] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 142–143.
[89] *GPM*, p. 20; *PNE*, 5: 238.
[90] Ycpatepec was celebratedly mountainous.
[91] Three hints which may lead to its exact identification at a later time are: (*a*) the linking of "Hycpatepeque" with Tlacotepec, Tepexillo, and Los Remedios in a list of "Curatos Mixtecos" of the reign of Philip V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Mex. MS No. 8, fol. 221); (*b*) the Mixtec name, "yuca yua" ("Relación of Cuauhuitlan," *PNE*, 4: 158) or "yuca nuuyuh" (Reyes, *Arte en lengua mixteca* [1889], p. 90); and, finally (*c*), the names of the estancias of Ycpatepec (*PNE*, 5: 238), which are Santa María, Santiago, and San Juan. (*PNE*, 4: 155, adds San Pablo.)
[92] *ENE*, 9: 17.
[93] Discussed in the writer's forthcoming chronological study.
[94] I.e., García de Aguilar. See *GPM*, p. 157.
[95] *PNE*, 5: 77: "al ser tiene al pueblo de Ygualtepec questa desta cabeçera diez leguas, toda tierra entre doblada y llana y caminos derechos." In the same document Acatlan is placed at five leagues from Piaztla.
[96] Published in Schneider, *The Sentiments of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Geog., Vol. 4 (1990), Appendix I.
[97] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 136.
[98] *PNE*, 4: 158.
[99] *PNE*, 5: 78.

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635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendócino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *FNE*, 5: 55, says that Acatlan "solamente ... dava ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... embiavan de quando en quando va presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á montezuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia montezuma jente de guarnicion aperçibida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á montezuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexas [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y exentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tuxpecec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad sexetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Teutla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á montezuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acuitlapã, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Chipetlan, 1	Chiepetlán
Malinaltepec, 6	[No change]
Tetenanco, 3	Tenango Tepexi
Tlapã, 4	Tlapa
Totomixtlahuacã, 5	Totomixtlahuaca
Ychcateopã, 2	Ixcateopan

The remaining seven towns of the *Matricula* cannot be located with any certainty, though there are some additional data available regarding them. These towns are:

Acocozpã	Huitzannola
Ahuacatla	Ocoapan
Amaxac	Xocotla

Yualan

On the other hand, we may confidently add and locate the following subject towns, thanks to another source: Ayutla (8), Cintla (?) (10), Copalitech (11), and Tototepec (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acuitlapan* is the Quitlapa of today, located southeast of Metlatonoc in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. It is described in colonial days as "Cuytlapa," twelve leagues from Tlapan.[48]

Ahuacatla, not located, was five leagues from Tlapan, according to a report which gives it as "Ahuacatitlan."[49]

Amaxac probably corresponds to "Atlemaxac" or "Atlimaxax," which was a cabecera one league from Tlapan.[50]

Ayutla was clearly tributary,[51] and with it a series of seaboard towns including Cintla and Copalitech.[52]

Cintla seems to have lain close to the modern Juchitán(a).[53] It was one of the seaboard towns subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).

[48] *GPM*, p. 106; *PNE*, 1: No. 217.
[49] *GPM*, p. 101.
[50] *GPM*, p. 101; *PNE*, 1: No. 82.
[51] *PNE*, 4: 260: "aquel pueblo de Ayutla antiguamente era de Moteçuma, [esa] todos los demas pueblos de la jurisdiçion que fueron sugetos."
[52] *PNE*, 4: 259: "antes que se ganase la tierra, eran todos los pueblos marítimos sujetos al dicho pueblo de Ayutla."
[53] Identification by the writer, in "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 361.

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[68] 632

Huitzannola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[69]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[70] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[71] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarnicion que solia tener Montecuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast. 632 712 [101]

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[72] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo. 632 131

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[73] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[74] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla- 101 197

[68] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[69] *GPM*, p. 106.

[70] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[72] *GPM*, p. 98.

[73] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Nahuatl.

[74] *GPM*, p. 27.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schultze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexi- 651
cano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the 212
tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify: 651

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses** [291
402 bundles** of little red-striped mantles**
800 bundles of large mantles** 714]
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment [316
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity 45]
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding 632
the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the 651
early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following [415
every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer 291
and tiger skins; fish and cotton.** In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 248
40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as 262]
well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.**

** Nogueira, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmeliacan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

* Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

** *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiaco de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tigueere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

** *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en polvo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho manillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 wax in pellets.[71]
[316 263 253] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mixtepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted - Analyst]

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[28] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING [291

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43′ of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[30] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[28] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Monteççuma que era el Señor de México."

[29] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[30] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coatznaca."

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635 114 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based [128] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[78] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[79]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[78] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llamauan 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[79] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauaca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Inacar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

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paying tribute, but "the lords of Chila, when it pleased them to," ex- 632
changed presents with Moctezuma.[a]

Icxitlan was a subject town which gave no tribute beyond feeding the highland troops that passed through it.[b]

Malinaltepec (10) sent its tribute to Coayxtlahuacan.[c] This Malinaltepec, which is stated to lie eight leagues northeast of Atlatlaucca and [131]
five leagues west of "los Yolos" [Yoloxonecuilan], appears on Bevan's map.[d] It should not be confused with the nearest of several homonyms, that is, with the Malinaltepec southwest of Atlatlaucca.

Mictlan, as Jiménez Moreno has pointed out,[e] must be the present Mitlatongo.

Papaloticpac paid tribute to its cacique, and he to Moctezuma;[f] probably the Papalotiquipaque of the sixteenth century[g] is one of two towns called Papalo today, southeast of Quiotepec.

Petlaltzinco, like Icxitlan, paid its tribute by supplying the armies of the Empire with food and men.[h]

Tepeucila had been subjected by Moctezuma shortly before the Spaniards arrived.[i]

Xaltepec appears on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Yancuitlan may be found on the 1912 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Çoçolan was conquered by the younger Moctezuma, as will be detailed in the second part of this work. It is mentioned as a garrison [712]
town on folio 17' of the *Mendocino*, with two governors—a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli" (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

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[a] *PNE*, 5: 66: "era subjeto al ymperio de la ciudad de México ... embialle [a Moctezuma] los senores de Chila, quando les agradaua, algunos presentes de joyas de oro y mantas," etc.

[b] *PNE*, 5: 75.

[c] See Atlatlaucca, above.

[d] Bevan, *The Chinantec* (1938).

[e] *Códice de Yanhuitlán* (1940).

[f] *PNE*, 4: 90: "tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Monteçuma ... que llevavan a las guarniciones donde Monterçuma tenia gente de guerra."

[g] *PNE*, 4: 88.

[h] "El dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo passauan bastimentos, y asi mismo servian con alguna gente de guerra, y no otra cosa alguna" (*PNE*, 5: 70).

[i] *PNE*, 4: 95: "Al tienpo que vinieron los españoles era Señor natural de este pueblo vn cazique que se dezia canchuchu camiñas, y en tienpo de este los sujeto Monteçuma."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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OTHER GOODS* 651

2 strings of chalchiuites
800 bunches of quetzal feathers [316
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni* 231]
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning 632
the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which [436]
served as money. They also gave military aid.*

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.*

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.*

Iexitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.*

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.*

* *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescatauan a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Munteçuma les mandavan que embiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

* *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Mixteca."

* See Chila, above.

* *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de holateria y muchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

* "En tiempo de su yufidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

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632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[*]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[*]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[*]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[*]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotitlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayā, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco passuan bastimentos."

[*] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que conprauan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[*] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecçuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[*] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de [illegible]."

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Besides the towns identified, many lesser subject towns, discovered 103
through sources other than the *Matrícula* and the *Mendocino* copy, should also be listed:

Atepec, 2	Tecuicuilco, 5
Coatlan, 33	Teotitlan del Valle, 23
Cuixtlan, 32	Teotzacualco, 11
Chichicapan, 30	Teozapotlan, 25
Eztetlan (?), 13	Tlacolula, 27
Huiztepec, 15	Tlaliztacan, 20
Itzquintepec, 12	Totomachapa, 16
Iztepexi, 8	Xaltianguisco, 4
Miahuatlan, 31	Xilotepec, 17
Mictlan, 28	Yoloxonecuilan, 1
Ocelotepec	Zenzontepec, 18
Quauxiloticpac, 14	Çoquiapan, 7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atepec and three neighbors "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[100] 632

Coatlan, in some unspecified period, rebelled against its chief and sent ambassadors to Mexico to arrange its incorporation into the Empire.[101] Today the town seems to have broken up into a cluster of satellites, of which a rough center has been taken for the map.

Coyolapan, now Cuilapa, ought really to be called "Quacuyolapan"—if we are to trust the relación of that town.[102]

Chichicapan first belonged to Teozapotlan, but was fighting off attacks from Mixtec neighbors at the moment of the Spanish Conquest, [648]
at which time its inhabitants settled matters by allying themselves with Moctezuma.[103]

Cuixtlan (32) warred with Tetiquipa to the south, and this may [648]
possibly indicate the limits between the province of Coyolapan and the free Mixtec state of Tototepec.[104]

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[100] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 123. Tecuicuilco, Atepec, Çoquiapa, Xaltiango: "Todos estos quatro Pueblos Reconocian por Rey a mantecçuma el qual los Abia conquistado Por fuerças de armas."

[101] *FNE,* 4: 123: "Este dicho pueblo y sus naturales en su antiguedad eran sujetos a vn caçique que se llamaba Coeczi ... hasta que les hizo çierto agrabio y se rebelaron contra el, y ... embiaron parias a la çuidad de Mexico a Montecçuma ... el qual los recibyo debaxo de su amparo."

[102] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 22.

[103] *FNE,* 4: 115.

[104] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 115.

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632 *Eztetlan* was near the modern Tepantepec.[300]

[712] *Guaxacac* (as Huaxac[ac]) is one of the garrison towns mentioned on folio 17' of the *Mendocino* (cf. chap. viii, no. 37) as being governed by a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli." The fortress was actually located on the Cerro del Fortin (Acatepec or Ecatepec), according to the "Relación de Cuilapa" (*Tlalocan* [1945], 2:20).

Huiztepec and certain neighboring towns together paid tribute to Moctezuma.

Itzquintepec was a town the identification of which involves the whole question of the "pueblos peñoles." Probably we may identify it with the modern town of Peñoles.

Iztepexi recalled in the 1580's that "certain Mexica" had overcome them, whereupon they paid double tribute, as the Mixtec also exploited them.[301]

Macuilxochic remembered only being subject to Teozapotlan,[302] but figures along with the rest of the Empire in the *Matricula*.

Mictlan (28), since it was subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to the Mexica.[303]

Ocelotepec was a town the inhabitants of which "anciently had Moctezuma, lord of Mexico, as their lord."[304]

Quauxiloticpac, now Huajoloticpac, is derived from "quauxilotl"

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[300] A collective relación which includes this and the two following pueblos exists (*RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 185–191). Six pueblos in all are listed, in this order: Itzquintepec, Eztetla, Quauxoloticpac [*sic*], Huictepec [*sic*], Totomachapa, and Jilotepec, "los quales estan como aqui van puestos uno en pos de otro y corren norte sur." Now three of these appear on any map: No. 3, Quauxoloticpac (11 leagues from Antequera or Oaxaca City), is Huajolotipac; No. 4, Huiztepec (12 leagues from Antequera), is Huitepec; and No. 6, Jilotepec (17 leagues from Antequera and defined as "çerro al modo de una mazorca de maiz"), is Elotepec. In view of these three fixed points, Itzquintepec (6 leagues from Antequera and 9 leagues from Teotzacualco) is most likely the modern Peñoles. Eztetla (lying between Itzquintepec and Quauxoloticpac and 7 leagues from Teotzacualco) should fall somewhere near modern Tepantepec. And, finally, Totomachapa (like Jilotepec, 10 leagues from Zola) is perhaps the modern Yucocando. (Totomachapa was 8 leagues from Teotzacualco, and Jilotepec only 6.) All these six pueblos peñoles "fueron ... en tiempo de su jentilidad de monteçuma señor de mexico al qual tributaban oro y mantas de algodon."

[301] *PNE*, 4: 16: "ciertos mexicanos los subjetaron por mandado del Señor de Mexico ... espeçaron a tributarles asi a los mexicanos, questauan en Guaxaca por Monteçuma, y a los mixtecos por el señorio que sobrellos tenian, temiendose de los unos y de los otros ... ."

[302] *PNE*, 4: 102: "El gobierno que tenian hera lo que les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... ." See Teozapotlan, below.

[303] *PNE*, 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, below.

[304] *PNE*, 4: 138: "en su antigüedad tenyan por senor a Monteçuma, señor de México ... ."

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in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the 632
proper spelling.

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Mocteçuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[110]

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teoza- [648]
potlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[111] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula.*

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma a few years before the Spanish invasion.[112]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional 632
seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, 648
in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teoza- 175
potlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec cáciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[113] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[114] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican [651]
garrison "only in order to be friendly."[115] Tribute is tribute.

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[110] *PNE,* 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles binieran, a Moteçuma."

[111] *PNE,* 4: 105.

[112] *RMEH,* T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian trayido del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto montezuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[113] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[114] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE,* 4: 102: " ... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula;* also, by the relación of Teticpac (*PNE,* 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Monteçuma señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula.*

[115] *PNE,* 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo huian los de Tuxtepec que estos eran guerreros por sí, y los de Tlachisco que tambien eran

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632 *Tecuicuilco* owned Moctezuma as lord after being conquered by force of arms.[116]

Teticpac was subject to Teozapotlan, and later to Moctezuma.[117]

Tlalcuechahuayan may be found on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Tlacolula, by virtue of having been subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to Moctezuma.[118]

Tlalixtacan is another subject of Teozapotlan, and therefore, it is to be inferred, of the Mexicans also.[119]

Totomachapa may be found on the 1912 map of Oaxaca made by the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Xaltianguisco, the Jaltianguis Santa Maria of today, is cited under its old name in a document of Ixtepexi,[120] as well as in several other places.

Xilotepec was one of the "pueblos peñoles," all of which were subject to the Empire.[121]

Yoloxonecuilan was a town the name of which has atrophied to "los Yolos." In its earlier form the name of this place appears in the conquest lists of the Empire, jointly with the names of such towns as Xaltianguisco and Itztitlan (6) (Ixtlán de Juárez?). Yoloxonecuilan had, moreover, the same cura as Atepec.[122]

Zenzontepec appears late in the conquest lists of the Empire.

Çoquiapan and certain neighboring towns are said to have "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[123]

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[651] guerroros por si, y Monteçuma que era el Señor de Mexico: de todos estos tres solo auia aqui quando vinieron los españoles vna guarniçion juncto adonde es aora la ciudad de Antequera, la qual guarniçion era de Monteççuma: esta dizen los yndios que avia puesto alli por via de buena amistad y sin guerra, para pasar por alli adelante a Tecoantepec y Guatimala ... y dizen que a estos mexicanos no les dauan ningun tributo, sino por via de amistad, sino que el rrey de Teoçapotlan se tenia su señorio absolutamente."

[116] See Atepec, above.

[117] *FNE*, 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, above.

[118] *FNE*, 4: 145: "en tiempo de su yndelidad, tuuieron por señor al señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan el qual hera señor de toda esta tierra." See, however, Teozapotlan, above.

[119] *FNE*, 4: 179: "en tiempo de su gentilidad, tenia por señor al caçique e señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan." See Teozapotlan, above.

[120] *FNE*, 4: 20: "Santianquisco, questa dos leguas deste dicho pueblo hazia el norte." A relación of the town appears in *RMEN*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123.

[121] See Itzquintepec, above.

[122] *GPM*, pp. 92–93.

[123] See Atepec, above.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixtecas y zapotecas* (1939).

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651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Certain elements of the fore-
632 going tribute may be traced.

Atepec, Çoquiapan, Tecuicuilco, and Xaltianguisco acquired the
[439] tribute items exacted from them—green (quetzal?) feathers and chalchiuites—by barter with other regions.[107]

Coatlan gave gold and mantles, receiving military protection in return. (The gold tribute was three marks of gold dust quarterly in early colonial days.[108])

Ixtetlan and five other towns jointly paid a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[109]

Huiztepec, as one of the "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

Itzquintepec gave part of a joint tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Iztepexi, which had two masters, Mixtec and Mexican,[110] paid them tribute in base gold, green feathers, deer, maize, and turkeys; also, its inhabitants rendered personal services to the Mexican garrison near Oaxaca. The gold and feathers were acquired in a unique fashion, being earned by going to the Isthmus and working six months or a year there cultivating lands.[111]

Ocelotepec gave gold dust and mantles and cochineal, "all in small quantities and once a year," and received in return mantles, sandals, and feathers of many colors.[112] This exceptional treatment was doubt-

[107] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123, speaks of "çierto tributo que le pagaban en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de Plumas verdes y Piedras verdes" obtained in trade.

[108] *PNE*, 4: 133. To Moctezuma "le tributaban oro en polbo y mantas, y el tenya quidade denbialles sienpre gente de guarnyçion." To their colonial encomendero "segun dizen los antiguos naturales cada yndio tributaba en cada ochenta dyas tres marcos de oro en polbo."

[109] For the tribute of this and the two following towns, see n. 105 above.

[110] See n. 106 above.

[111] *PNE*, 4: 16. Suffering from double demands, "les pagauan de tributo oro baxo y plumeria verde y benados que tomauan en los montes y mayz y gallinas de la tierra, y leña, acudiendo con servicios personales a los mexicanos en Guaxaca ... ," all without fixed tribute dates, "y la plumeria y oro que asi tributauan lo yban a buscar a Teguantepeque y a la provincia de Soconusco e Guatemala, arquilandose en carga mercadurias de mercaderes y en beneficiar y cultivar tierras en la dicha provincia donde se detenian seys y siete meses y va año, y otros se ocupauan en lo que por los señores y caçiques deste pueblo les hera mandado, y por lo susodicho les pagauan oro y plumas verdes, y esto trayan y guardauan para pagar se tributo, y por tener a dos señores a quien acudir con los dichos tributos muchas veces quedauan confusos, y no ossauan rebelarse contra ellos porque no los destruyesen a todos."

[112] *PNE*, 4: 138. Ocelotepec "en su antigüedad tenyan por señor a montaçuma, señor de Mexico, al qual tributaban oro en polbo y mantas de que ellos se bisten, y grana, todo en poca cantidad, y en cada va años [*sic*] vna vez, lo qual el recebia ... y el les enbiaba otras cosas de mas balor como eran mantas y los 'cactles' que ellos traen, y plumas de muchos colores."

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less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier. 651 632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[188]

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.[189]

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, [567] fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves.[190]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison.[191] [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.[192]

Tlacolula gave military service only.[193]

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.[194]

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[195]

Xilotepéc, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.[196]

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[188] See Itzquintepec, above.

[189] *PNE*, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas 'y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camyzas, quos vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytotol, y maiz."

[190] *PNE*, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

[191] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos oy que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

[192] *PNE*, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

[193] *PNE*, 4: 143: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

[194] *PNE*, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

[195] See n. 185 above.

[196] See n. 185 above.

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VIII. THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE

37. Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

175 On pages 1 and 2 of the *Matricula* and on folios 17ᵛ and 18ᵛ of the *Codex Mendocino* appear the glyphs of the towns of a tributary province, together with a group of glyphs of a different nature. To segregate the information useful for this study, a minute examination of these pages is unavoidable.

The body of the *Matricula* follows a certain scheme: around the outer edges of the page a band of place glyphs ordinarily appears and, within this three-sided frame, figure paintings of the objects paid as tribute by the towns listed. The first leaf, however, departs from this scheme on both its recto and verso sides, and forms the object of the present remarks.

These pages of towns and tributes (pp. 3–28 of the *Matricula* as it exists today), together with two leaves which were separated from the manuscript more than a century ago (the oft-mentioned American Philosophical Society leaves) are copied, more or less faithfully, as "la segunda parte de esta ystoria" in that tripartite compilation, the *Codex Mendocino*, which is divided into: (1) "History of Conquests," (2) "Tribute," and (3) "Ethnography."

In the body of the *Matricula* and its copy ("la segunda parte de esta ystoria") the tributary condition of a wide area is told in detail, but no mention is made of the very environs of the capital, Tenochtitlan.

Preceding the beginning of section 2 ("Tribute") of the *Codex Mendocino* there appears a double page (fols. 17ᵛ and 18ᵛ) which is partly equivalent to the first leaf of the battered *Matricula*. The copy is infinitely more legible than the original, and must be drawn on to understand the latter. Rather exceptionally, in this copy (*Mendocino*, fols. 17ᵛ–18ᵛ) the materials of the original (*Matricula*, pp. 1–2) are rearranged, and, since it is the more complete, we cannot be entirely sure of the order of the original glyphs, though we may be certain that their content was copied faithfully.

The content of these pages (which indicates that the first part of the *Mendocino* is a copy of a lost group of pages of the *Matricula*) is two-

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fold: we have a list of certain garrison towns with their governors—175
the framework of the Empire—and we have a list of those towns near Tenochtitlan of which no mention is made in the long series of tribute pages. (Even here, however, only the towns are listed, and not their tribute.)

Frontier garrison towns mentioned with Çitlaltepec.—Page 2 of the 175
Matricula is divided in two by a horizontal line, and the upper half is 712
subdivided by a vertical line, three divisions resulting. In the upper left appears a glyph of a box filled with water. The *Mendocino* identifies it as Atzacan (unlocated). Beside it is a nopal, which is identified in both manuscripts as Xoconochco (Soconusco). Below are two towns which lay close together in the northern extreme of Puebla (see chap. iv, pp. 61–62): Atlan and Teçapotitlan (also identified in both manuscripts).

Glyphs representing the four garrison towns appear on folio 18' of the *Mendocino,* accompanied by the comment that these towns and certain others had special governors "porque no se rrebelasen." To this group the *Mendocino* adds a town glyph from the preceding page of the *Matricula:* Oztoma, the great Guerrero fortress on the Tarascan frontier.

Page 1 of the *Matricula* is badly effaced, but we can recognize the remnants of four town glyphs: Oztoma, in the lower left-hand corner (copied out of place in the *Mendocino,* as noted above); and three others (*Mendocino* copy, fol. 17'), Poctepec (lower right, unlocated) and, identifiable with the two remaining tepetl-glyphs of the *Mendocino* (fol. 17'), Huaxac[ac] (Guaxacac) and Çoçolan in the upper part of the drawing.

This is all the *Matricula* tells us. Probably a whole sheaf of pages is lost from the beginning of this remarkable manuscript: a section referring chiefly to the conquests of the Tenochca and their allies, which we know only through the *Mendocino* (sec. 1). In the present case, however, we need not lament the lack of further information, for we have it—though certainly rearranged—in the copy (e.g., Oztoma).

Three other glyphs of key towns in various parts of the Empire appear in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 17', in the upper center, upper right corner, and right margin center respectively: Quauhtochco

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Yztteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17", ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located; and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen
[128] on the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xocoxochco, Ozoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... parece ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las proviaçias, que siempre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nombre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Costzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çaçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Pucuejec, Ytzayocan, and Quauhtochco.

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but this space may be filled very precisely with the administratively 635
separate center of Tlatelolco and its dependencies. The position given to Tlatelolco in the *Matrícula* (the American Philosophical Society fragment) and in the *Mendocino* (fol. 19' constitutes a problem with which the writer has dealt elsewhere.[8]

A glance at the map will explain why the Çitlaltepec group and Tlatelolco have been treated together here, although administratively they formed separate tributary provinces.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

The Lake of Texcoco formed the common geographic denominator 131
of these towns.

Acalhuacan, with its miniscule population of forty houses, was the 632
subject of a dispute between the encomendero of Quauhtitlan (BX, 2) and the natives of Tlatelolco in the year 1537,[9] and the record of this dispute is sufficiently enlightening to enable one to find the approximate location of Acalhuacan. Since it was disputed along with Atzompan, it has been placed, like that town, to the north of the Sierra de Guadalupe, but on the western (Quauhtitlan) side of the lake—all quite provisionally. The name, "Place of Canoe-Owners," indicates the lacustrine site.

Acolnahuac (located after the printing of the map) was a point on the Azteca-Mexica migration route—now San Bernabé, on the Calzada de Camarones, between Azcapotzalco and the Nonoalco highway.[10]

Coatlayauhcan is mentioned by at least one source, "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," as one of the stopping places of the migrating Azteca-Mexica.

Huixachtitlan probably lay a little south of Xaloztoc. Studies made after the printing of the map indicate that it lay on the migration route of the *Códice Huitzilopochtli*, between Tequepayuca (now Cerro de

[8] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 204–207.

[9] "Carta de los indios principales," in S. Montoto, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América* (1927), I: 84. It is also mentioned in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), par. 472.

[10] Barlow, "Los caciques coloniales de Tlatelolco," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1944), 3: 552–553.

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632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalco tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208–213.

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651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac[7] [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20[r] and 20[v] of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

[7] San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 An extensive zone to the south of Lake Chalco is rendered uninhabit-
[133 able by the lava flow, or "Pedregal," emitted by the Ajusco Mountains,
311] which form the valley rim. If any small settlements existed in this area, their tribute was probably reckoned as a part of that collected from some major town in the region of Xochimilco or Tepoztlan.

Auchpanco is identified by Acosta with Ayapango.

Colhuacacinco,[8] later San Cristobal, lay on the shore of Lake Xaltocan, east of Tzonpanco (2).

Olac is a barrio of Xochimilco.[9]

632 *Petlacalcatl* is the inscription under the glyph of a house made of
114 grass mats, in the *Mendocino*. It occupies the usual place of the cabecera in the manuscript, and like all the other towns was originally followed by the word "pu[ebl]o." A later hand has struck this out and has replaced it with the word "gobernador," perhaps under the influence of the double (and doubtful) annotation about "Acolhuacã" and "Acolmecatl calpixqui" (tribute collector) which heads Acolhuacan Province.

That something is wrong is evident from the form of the original annotation. It is probably a place glyph, but the annotation takes the form of a personal glyph. I have chosen to read it as Petlacal*co*. The result is the same, for the Petlacalcatl, on the facing *Mendocino* page, was a head tribute collector, and the Petlacalco[10] was the "audiencia" building in the Tenochtitlan palace, which also housed a majordomo in charge of the granaries.[11]

632 *Texcacoac*[12] is a barrio of Tepotzotlan, and consequently we should judge that it lay north of Tecoloapan (7).

[8] Located after the printing of the map, "dista del pueblo de Tiçayuca vna legua hazia el sueste" (*PNE*, 3: 44 and n. 2).

[9] Olaguibel, *Onomatología del estado de México* (1894), p. 96.

[10] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], I: 166.

[11] *Ibid.*, II: 311.

[12] Located after the printing of the map; it is mentioned in the Ayer "Fragment of a Village Book," and, as Texcacoa, in García Cubas' *Diccionario*.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101
the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197
little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635
flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131
manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635
longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col 651
lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields [291
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth 714]
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans [262]
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

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8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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MAP

The Empire of the Culhua Mexica

[p. 143]
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8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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103

[facing p. 144 (A)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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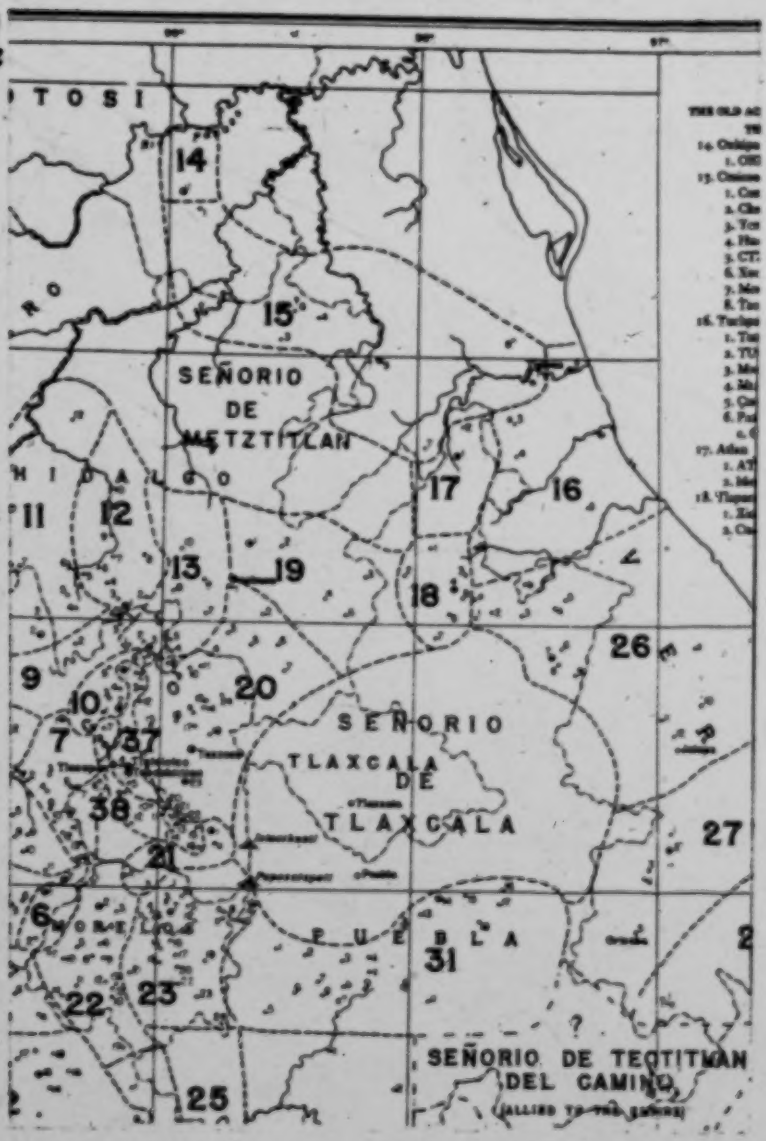

[facing p. 144 (B)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

[facing p. 144 (c)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

[illegible]
3. Maquetlan
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. Azcotzinco

The Road to Tuxtepec
1. Xalapa*
2. Quauhtlapan
3. Ixhuacan
4. Xalupa
5. Tuxtepec (Tlilcuatepec)
6. Xochitlan (Jochitlán)
7. Ixhuatlan (Ixhuatlán)
8. Tuxpatepec (Tuxpatlán)
9. Chiapan (Chiapa de Corzo)
10. Tlaxocatepec
11. Huitzotlan (Huitzitlán)
12. Cuauhtlan (Cuautlán)

THE SOUTH-EASTERN TOWNS
31. Tuxpan
1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. TEPEACAC
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
a. [illegible]
b. [illegible]
c. [illegible]
32. Tuxtepec
1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. TOALTEPEC (?)
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible] (?)
6. [illegible]
7. Yopotepec (?)
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]

10. Tuxtepec (?)
a. [illegible]
b. [illegible]
C. [illegible]
33. Tlapa
1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. TLAPÁ
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible] (?)
11. [illegible]
a. [illegible]
34. Tlachquiauco
1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. TLACHQUIAUCO
4. [illegible]
35. [illegible]
1. [illegible]
2. Chila
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. COATETLAHUACÁ
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
19. [illegible]
36. [illegible]
1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]

6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible] (?)
14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
19. [illegible]
20. [illegible]
21. COYOLAPAN
22. [illegible]
23. [illegible] del Valle
24. [illegible]
25. [illegible]
26. [illegible]
27. [illegible]
28. [illegible]
29. [illegible]
30. [illegible]
31. [illegible]
32. [illegible]
33. [illegible]

THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE
37. [illegible] and [illegible]
1. QTILALTEPEC
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
38. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. PETLACALCATL
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]

* There are two towns of the same name.
† The numbering of towns in this province is continuous with that of the preceding province.

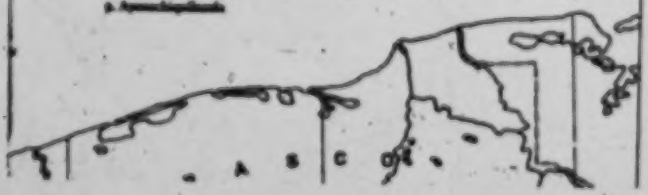

[facing p. 144 (D)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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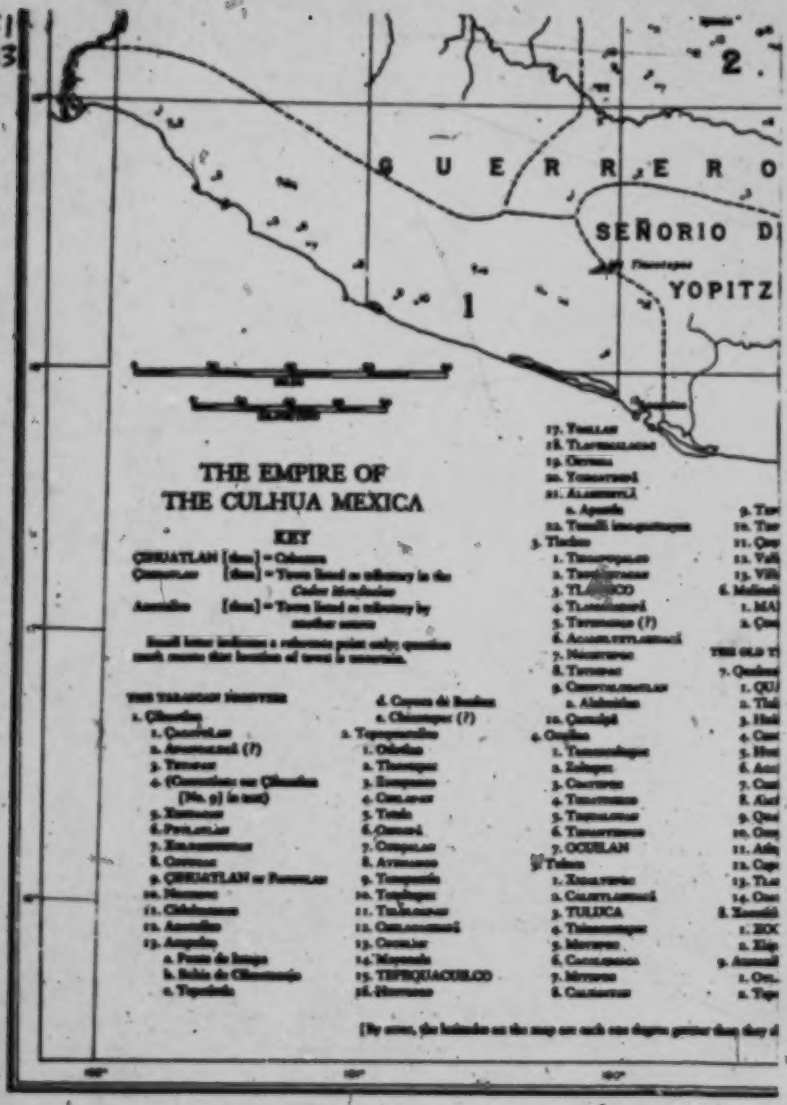

[facing p. 144(E)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[facing p. 144(F)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

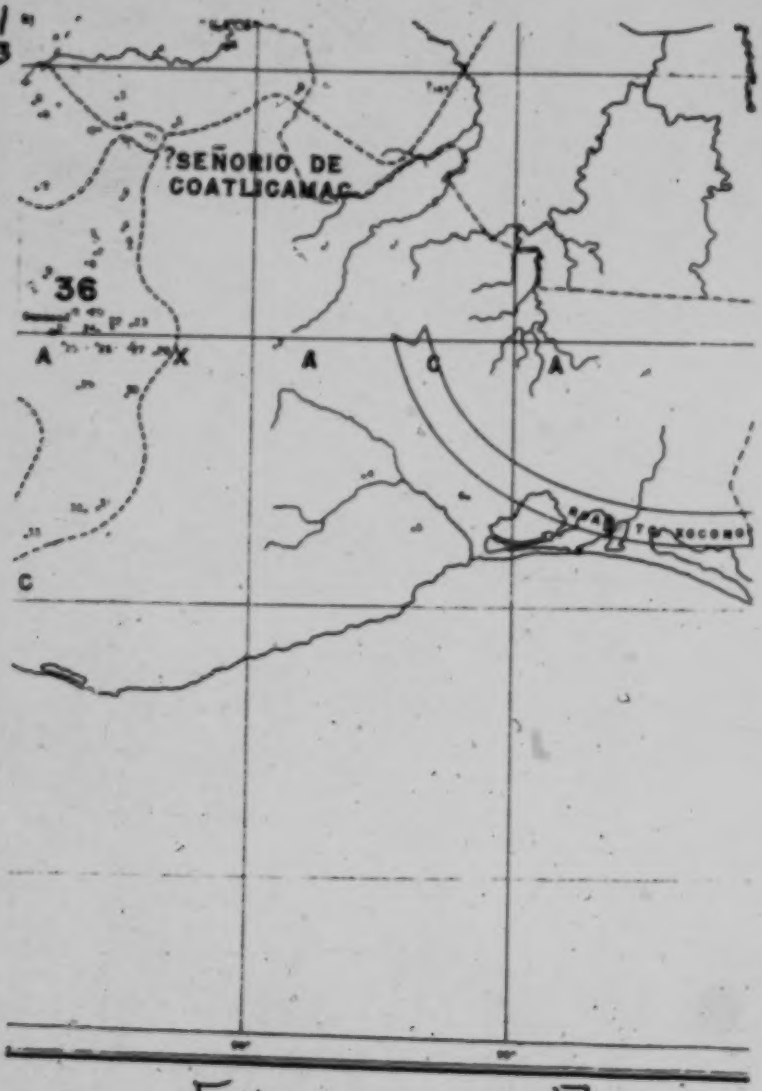

[Facing p. 144(G)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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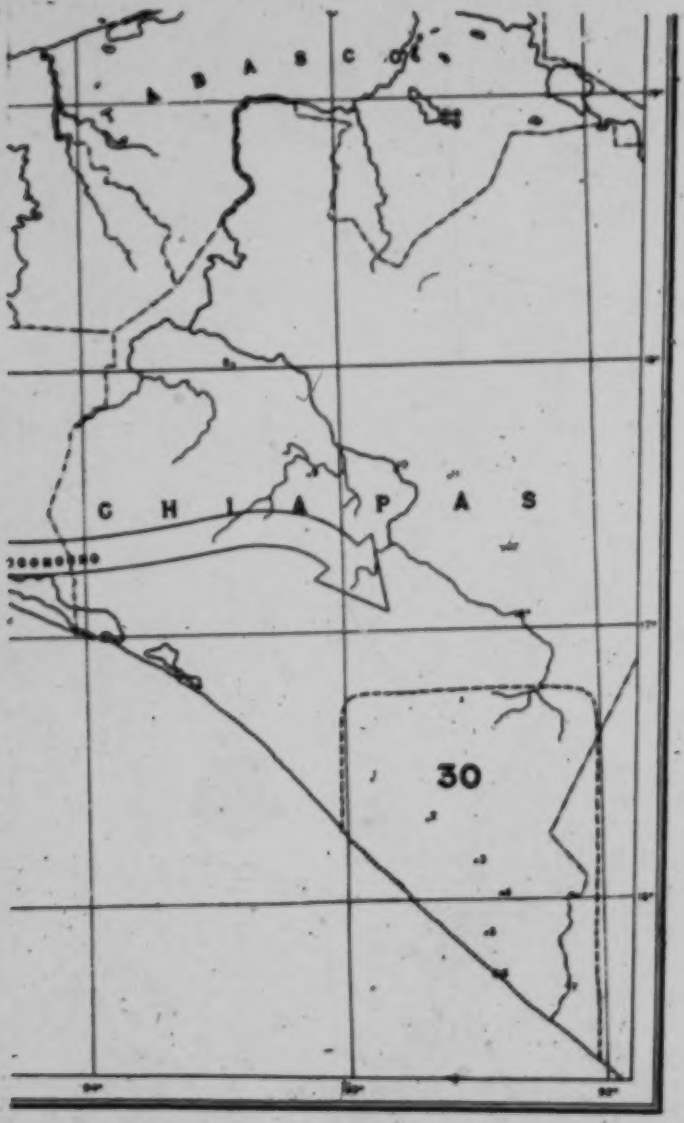

[FACING p.144(H)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7
103, 131

Chart of map facing page 144

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

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The Calpulli in the Social Organization of the Tenochca
(El Calpulli en la Organizacion Social de los Tenochca)

by Arthur Monzon

1949

The National Autonomous University of Mexico
Mexico D. F.

Translated from the Spanish by A. Richard Diebold, Jr.

Human Relations Area Files
1958

[Title page]

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/p. 5/ The National Autonomous University of Mexico

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THE CALPULLI IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TENOCHCAS

/El Calpulli en la Organización Social de los Tenochca/

by

Arthur Monzon

Mexico, 1949

(Publications of the Institute of History, First Series, Number 14)

9:Monzon--2 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

/p. 7/ INTRODUCTION

/p. 9/ Chapter 1

THEORIES CONCERNING THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TENOCHCAS

/2/ This work considers some aspects of the social organization of the Tenochcas, inhabitants of what was the island of Mexico-Tenochtitlan (1), as it existed about the time of the arrival of the Spanish around

1. The term used to designate the inhabitants of this place at that time has traditionally been Aztecs. Actually it is an inadequate term because it includes other groups in other places. The term, that for this reason will be used to designate them, will be Tenochcas, which can be translated as "inhabitants of Tenochtitlan."

the year 1519.

By 1877 it could be said that in relation to its importance, no subject had been written so much about as that of the Mexican aborigines and the Spanish Conquest (2). Now, seventy years later, this is

2. Morgan, L. H., 1877, p. 204.

even more the case, and there is an enormous number of works, of every kind and length, about the inhabitants of Mexico, especially those living in the central part of the Valley of Mexico. A contributing factor in creating this situation is the attraction which is exercised on the investigator, in part by the cultural richness of ancient Mexico, in part by the dissatisfaction with the way in which past authors, in accord with the ideas of their day, dealt with, presented or interpreted the unrelated and meager data at our disposal about this area in the period with which we are dealing.

The study which is here presented tries to justify itself for the same reasons. Its subject, the calpulli in the social organization of the Tenochcas, had been originally much more ambitious (3),

3. Kinship and Property as a Basis of the Social Organization of the Tenochcas.

/2/ attempting to elucidate all the characteristics of their social organization, and had to be reduced for various reasons. It was suggested to the author by the courses "Archeology of Mexico and Central America" given by Professor Alfonso Caso, "Analysis of the Sources for Mexican History" given by Professor W. Jiménez Moreno, and "Social and Economic Organization" given by Dr. Paul Kirchhoff, in which it was noted that /p. 10/ many fundamental aspects of the social organization of the inhabitants of Mexico which obtained at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, were unknown, particularly the basis for their organization; and that there was historical material and theoretical possibilities for making a reinterpretation, even with the scant data available in this respect.

Of course the basis of the social organization of the Tenochcas is not the only unknown aspect of a community as complex as was that of Mexico Tenochtitlan. There are a great many unknown aspects, which are very different in nature, but which do not have the same relative importance for all investigators: some are fundamental for those scholars who are interested in making universal generalizations (4) such as, for example, the manner in which those laws which are

4. Tax, Sol., 1937, p. 3.

valid for all societies, obtained in the Tenochca community. In the social organization of the Tenochcas one can also look for the pattern of happenings, dates, and persons, that is, the unique and outstanding occurrences in the Tenochca historic community. And one can have an interest in finding historic laws, that is, the principles which governed the development of the social events in the Tenochca community in the evolutionary phase through which it was passing just prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

With respect to the first group of problems, the aspects common to all societies, the author holds to the position that it is not of great scientific interest to show that the same happened in the Tenochca community as has happened in all human societies. The second group of subjects—the more particular—do not make up the content of this study either, because they are already being investigated by other people and it appears to him urgent that the singular social events of our community be examined scientifically, which entails their consideration as a result of the social forces which were active in the period in which they appeared. In the third group of subjects are

121 included the problems which this study addresses: it begins with the principles which governed the social life of the Tenochca community in its historical context without discussing if this was the result of divergent, convergent or internal evolution, or of degeneration, or of acculturation, etc.

The problems treated here can be traced in the following terms:

a) To elucidate if there were clans among the inhabitants of Mexico Tenochtitlan just before the arrival of the Spanish, and if in the affirmative, what type they were.

b) To elucidate if at this time there existed any deep social stratification among them and what were its characteristics. /p. 11/

c) To elucidate if, about the time of the arrival of the Spanish, their social relations were molded by one or other of these previously mentioned factors, or by neither of them (5).

5. To elucidate the type of government—as a manifestation and proof of the existence of a determined type of society among the Tenochcas—is undoubtedly a problem which can be resolved on its own after knowing the basic social organization. It is not attempted in this study except in so far as it helps resolve the other problems.

114 Regarding these problems, the opinions of investigators—although they may not have outlined them exactly in the same terms—have been divided into two camps which make completely different affirmations and neither of which by itself explains the characteristics which we know the Tenochcas had. Some authors—among whom are those who actually initiated the discussion of this subject—like Bandelier (6) and Lehman (7), considered essentially that, in the

6. Bandelier, 1878, 1, 11.

7. Lehman, W., 1909, p. 107, 108.

period to which we refer, the Tenochcas "still" had a gentile organization, putting a great stress on the existence of the calpullis which they considered equalitarian exogamous clans. Other authors such as Moreno (8), Caso, (9), Kroeber (10), White (11), Toscano (12), etc.,

114

8. Moreno, Manuel M., 1931, p. 14 ff.

9. Caso, Alfonso, 1942, p. 156; 1946, various lectures.

10. Kroeber, A. L., 1923, p. 359.

11. White, L., 1940, p. 33.

12. Toscano, S., 1946, p. 779.

are opposed to discerning such features in the Tenochca society and have tried, in special studies or in a few lines, to demonstrate the falseness of this point of view, maintaining that the Tenochcas of this period no longer had a gentile society, placing great emphasis on the existence of their social classes, their organized commerce, their wars of conquest, etc., and consider that the calpulli was simply a territorial division or whatever, but not a clan.

These two positions in a certain way complement each other, but really exclude each other in the form in which they have been presented, it not being possible simply to bring them together in order to have an idea of what was going on in the Valley of Mexico up to the time of the arrival of the Spanish—as some other authors have done, who actually sustain a third position, such as Vaillant (13),

13 Vaillant, G.C., 1941, p. 108 ff.

Thompson (14), Murdock (15), and in a certain respect, Acosta (16),

14. Thompson, J.E., 1933, pp. 105, 119.

15. Murdock, G.P., 1934, pp. 372, 373.

16. Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.

who present /p. 12/ the Tenochca society as having, at one and the same time, exogamous clans and marked social classes both with equal or very similar importance, or with exogamous clans in transition through internal evolution to a society with social classes.

Most remarkable is that all these investigators have arrived at such different conclusions working approximately with the same facts and

114 consulting the same sources. So much so that one of them, Bandelier, the leader of those who hold that the Tenochcas had exogamous clans, during a long period held the opposite point of view (17) and only

17. Bandelier, in White, L., 1940, 1, Introduction.

after many arduous discussions with Morgan came to change his stand, contributing, nevertheless, a great number of arguments for both positions.

In order to understand this situation it is necessary to follow, at least in a general fashion, the process of the discussion which at first sight appears to revolve about the use of certain terms. The discussion was initiated by Bandelier (18), but actually it was not he who

18. From a scientific point of view there is no need to take into account the feudalistic conception of the conquerors, although we have necessarily to avail ourselves of their data.

outlines the problem of elucidating the bases of the social organization of the Tenochcas, but rather Morgan, and it is to him that we have to go in order to understand the origin and the development of all these positions. Morgan, among other things of various value, made the discovery that social forms could be ordered in an evolutionary line, and that in doing this, one could see a correlation between the characteristics of inventions and discoveries and human institutions; there appearing in the course of human history two successive plans of organization: one based on the personal relations of kinship ("societas") and the other based on territory and property (19) ("civitas").

19. Morgan, L.H., 1877, p. 54, etc.

Although even before Morgan's work there was talk of the difference between bonds originating in kinship and those originating in territorial situation (20), actually it was Morgan who gave meaning to

20. Maine, 1861, cited by Lowie, R.H., 1937.

this distinction, making evident the great difference between

114 communities based on kinship through common descent and communities based on territorial division and land ownership; as well as the different position on the scale of human evolution which one or other base will bring about. Morgan proposed an evolutionary scheme of all human societies including in it societies with matrilineal exogamous customs /p.13/ as a first evolutionary stage, societies with patrilineal exogamous customs as a later evolutionary stage, societies clearly based on the ownership of land and on territorial division as a stage even higher, and societies which he considered to be in transition between these steps of a unilinear evolution (21). Although Morgan

21. Morgan, L.H., 451, 452, 333, 334, etc.

was not the first person to speak of societies with exogamous customs, since they were already known from an earlier date (22), it was Morgan

22. Latham, 1859; Bachofen, 1861, cited by Engels, 1891, and by Lowie, 1937.

who was first to attempt to systematize them as special forms of social organization based on kinship through common descent, and to give an explanation of their origin and of their evolution from a society based on the systematization of sexual relationships up until the society based on ownership of land and territorial distribution appears, at the same time trying to demonstrate that there is an intimate relationship between the various aspects of culture which each evolutionary period evinced. At the same time Morgan affirmed that humanity shunned incest and that for that reason one could not expect to find groups with endogamous customs (as some authors thought (23)) which according to

23. MacLennen, 1886, cited by Engels, 1891, and by Lowie, 1937; Lubbock, 1884, pp. 93, 135 ff.; Giraud Telon, 1874, cited by Engels, 1891.

his theory had disappeared quite at the beginning of social evolution.

Morgan's well-ordered scheme with two fundamental types of human societies, one based on kinship through common descent ("societas") with matrilineal or patrilineal clans, the other based on territorial division and on the ownership of land ("civitas"), was widely accepted by many investigators since actually it introduced for the first time the

114 systematization of very extensive data whose evolutionary significance nobody had attempted to see as a whole. It was a scheme that was taken almost without modifications by some investigators, which is precisely that happened with those who studied the society of the Tenochcas, resulting that while some maintained that it was a community of the "societas" type, that is, that it was based on kinship through common descent (24), other authors maintained that it was a

24. Bandelier, 1878, p. 599 ff.; Lehmann, 1909, etc.

community of the "civitas" type, (25) that is, based on territory and

25. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 16, 82, etc.

property (26), or that it was in transition between the two extremes

26. White, L., 1940, p. 33, 35, etc.

(27), according to the emphasis which they saw in the data and which

27. Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.

convinced them in one or the other of these two directions.

/p. 14/ In fact the discovery that social forms could be ordered in an evolutionary sense can be considered as a definite advance in the social sciences, accepted by the majority of schools although conceived in a way which differs from the typically Morganist (28). The

28. Lowie, R. H., 1946, p. 240; Schmidt, W., 1939, pp. 11, 12; McIver, 1937, p. 485, etc.

same can be said of the existence of two fundamentally different types of societies (29). But it must be accepted that some of Morgan's

29. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 1; Radin, P., 1931, p. 1, etc.

affirmations—which were made with relatively meagre data and in a first attempt to embrace all knowledge about human societies—have been, in the course of new studies, considered inexact, as surely they

114 are, and that there are new theoretical acquisitions and new discoveries which surely ought to be taken into account in order to understand the basic social organization which the Tenochcas had at the time of the arrival of the Spanish.

Perhaps among the more important modifications to Morgan's work is the acceptance that the scheme of unilinear evolution of human society—which had been rejected from the beginning by investigations in this field (30)—is certainly outmoded now (31), and we

30. Maine, 1861, loc. cit.

31. Schmidt, W., 1939, p. 11; McIver, 1937, p. 485; Lowie, R.H., 1937, p. 59; Kirchhoff, P., 1941, p. 1, etc.

should think of the possibility of evolutionary radiation, of internal evolution, acculturation, degeneration, etc., in order to establish a correct scheme (31a).

31a. Sorokin makes a good criticism of the classical evolutionary theories, in: Dinamique Socio-culturelle et Evolutionisme: in: Sociologie au XXme siècle, Paris, 1947.

Another of the important additions to Morgan's work is that of Engels who, accepting Morgan's scheme, stressed that in reality the differences between the types of communities "societas" and "civitas" were based rather upon the fact that the first had their basis in the systematization of sexual production, that is, in reproduction ("gentiles"), while the second were based in the production of objects, which is to say, economic production ("políticas") (32). This is a

32. Engels, F., 1891, pp. 5, 6.

very important addition, although this author and those that followed him in his ideas also accepted the Morganist idea that societies based on kinship could only be unilateral and exogamous, and that, in general terms, social evolution was unilinear. Some authors

114 criticized Engels' manner of viewing social evolution and his introducing phenomena of sexual relationship as the basis for one type of society; they made /p. 15/ systematicizations of the social organization of humanity considering that everything could be explained through economic production (32a). But it appears that this is a

32a. Cunow, 1926.

theoretical regression surpassed by Engels himself (33) upon dealing

33. Before Engels and other investigators of his mind accepted the systematization proposed by Morgan, Karl Marx had proposed a systematization of human societies into four types: Asiatic, Ancient, Feudal and Modern, basing his opinion principally on the characteristics of economic production (Marx, K., 1859, p. 11). From this point of view Marx studied Modern Society (the capitalistic one) thoroughly, and recently Wittfogel has done the same regarding Asiatic Society, which he prefers to call Oriental (Wittfogel, K. A., 1928).

with societies relatively or really primitive.

Another important modification to Morgan's work deals with the fact that the most primitive societies, still extant in the modern era, present a more simple organization than the clan organization, with extended families [macro-familias], frequently with monogamy without traces of promiscuity or group-marriage (34). Relative to this,

34. Krause, F., 1932, p. 182; Schmidt, W., 1922, p. 142 ff.

Morgan's assertion that the Kamilaroi and the Hawaiians (and groups like these) represent the same social situation, and the most ancient form of organization (35), could not be considered acceptable, groups

35. Lowie, R. H., 1937, p. 75.

having been encountered surely more primitive, and with great differences among these.

114 In addition the supposed evolution from matrilineal clans to patrilineal could not be proved, since appearing as distinct complexes, although related, in concrete cases it was evident that they could not be successive (36). Furthermore it was seen that some of

36. Lowie, R.H., 1937, p. 78.

the groups which Morgan considered in transition from matrilineal customs to patrilineal customs and others with matrilineal customs, exhibited in many aspects a notable superiority relative to those who had patrilineal customs (and towards which the former would be evolving); which was inexplicable in its systematic appearance, if one accepted the succession from matrilineal clans to patrilineal as a requisite step of general evolution (37).

37. Krause, R., 1932, p. 196; McIver, 1937, p. 486; Kirchhoff, P., 1944, pp. 8, 9.

With respect to the modifications to Morgan's ideas about the types of clans, there is a very complex situation. For the reasons given, the majority of the investigators connected intimately with ethnography among tribes of primitive culture abandoned Morgan's ideas almost in their entirety, and accepted explicitly only his systematization of kinship terminology. Nevertheless, they are possibly under the /p. 16/ influence of Morgan, in accepting the distinction between a type of society based on kinship through common descent and another based on ownership of land and territorial distribution. And above all it is certain that they are under the influence of Morgan in accepting, in general terms, that the only organisms possible with a base in kinship through common descent must be unilateral, an idea which is very common among anthropologists (38), although even

38. Goldenweisser, 1937, p. 304; Lowie, R. H., 1934, p. 254; Kroeber, A.L., 1923, pp. 357, 358; White, L., 1940, p. 29; etc.

before Morgan's work one spoke of endogamous groups (see footnote 23 of this chapter) which had many similarities with clans and which appear to be based on kinship but are not exogamous. Nevertheless,

114 in this respect there is a study which makes a contribution of great importance to the ideas of Morgan and which can be accepted without abandoning an evolutionary stand and accepting that the bases of social organization are sexual production and economic production in the various stages of history. This is the discovery of P. Kirchhoff that there have been no strictly endogamous groups as these authors thought (39), but that on the other hand there indeed are groups based

39. Besides the authors cited in footnote 23, Watterman (1917, p. 273) thinks of the possibility of the Tenochca calpulli's being an endogamous clan, without this signifying a very special structure; and Linton (1943, pp. 238, 239) speaks also of exogamous and endogamous clans, the latter with interest in property and privilege.

on kinship through common descent, which, contrariwise to what Morgan thought, are neither unilateral nor exogamous, but are ambilateral and have an endogamous tendency (40). The clan, accord-

40. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 6, 8, ff.

ing to these ideas is essentially an organism based on kinship through common descent, and not on unilaterality and exogamy. The clan can be defined thus as: (1) a group of persons, (2) organized in a permanent form, (3) to which one belongs through real or supposed descent and exceptionally through adoption, (4) which regulates marriage relationships and—the author would add—(5) which determines other social relationships wherever present. In accord with point (3) of this definition one can classify clans into two types: unilateral, if the members of the group trace their kinship by common descent only through the father (patrilineal) or only through the mother (matrilineal); and ambilateral if the members of the group trace the closeness of their kinship to their antecedents through individuals of either sex. With point (4) of the definition of a clan, clans can be classified as exogamous, if the prohibition of contracting marriage among themselves exists for the members of the clan, and /p. 17/ non-exogamous or with an endogamous tendency if there is the tendency to contract marriages within the same clan. These latter could be called endogamous if they evinced a strict endogamy such as the exogamy of the exogamous type clans—but the presence only of an

114 endogamous tendency has made the author of this classification (Kirchhoff, P.) prefer this denomination. It has been found that the clans called unilateral in general are exogamous, and that in turn, the ambilateral clans are non-exogamous, so that the terms can be used almost interchangeably. Moreover, exogamous clans occur in fairly equalitarian societies, like that of the Iroquois, while clans with an endogamous tendency present a marked social stratification, which stems from the formative principle of a clan of this type; the proximity of each member of the clan to the common ancestor, which results in a gamut of ranks within each clan, and even within the context of the tribe where the situation is reproduced. Then again Kirchhoff gives the name of clans also to non-exogamous and ambilateral groups—although the term does not have this generalized use—for very possibly the groups which gave the name of clan to social organisms based on kinship through common descent—as also those which are called sibs or Sippe—were, paradoxically, ambilateral and had an endogamous tendency. In accord with point (5) of the definition of clan, we could say only that if the groups of relatives through common descent are of importance in a community, we should speak of clans, and if not, then of their remains, of their vestiges, etc.

Also with respect to the characteristics which social strata show there have been some modifications of importance, which do not contradict the basic position of Morgan and Engels about the existence of social evolution and about the consanguineal or economic bases of social organization. They are additions which were not taken into account upon undertaking other studies about the social organization of the Tenochcas. Principally they consist of the delimitation of three phenomena: social class, rank [estamento] and caste. In some societies with a certain social evolution, ranks [estamentos hereafter "ranks". Translator.] are present, which are social strata composed of persons of a community with a similar social and economic position who are not related to each other, but who belong to their stratum through inheritance, and because of which these societies show little interrank [interestamental] mobility (41). In other very advanced

41. Mombert, P., 1944.

societies the social strata are veritable social classes: oppositional

114 strata of a community whose social role is determined by /p. 18/ the possession of basically different, but complementary means of production, such as land, tools or simply personal working capacity (42).

42. Marx, K., 1909, p. 1034.

and in which there is great interclass mobility (43). There are other

43. Mombert, P., 1944.

121 societies which evince castes. As we lack a definition of caste in terms of kinship and economy (since they are at times considered like clans but tentatively endogamous (44), it is proposed here, also

44. Forde, D., 1934, p. 273; Kroeber, A.L., 1944.

tentatively, to put forward such a definition; a caste being (1) a subdivision of a society, (2) with a strong endogamous tendency (3) to which one belongs by birth, (4) which automatically determines the rank of all the members of the society, and (5) which determines every individual's role in the social division of labor (45).

45. This is a definition tentatively arrived at through conversations with Dr. P. Kirchhoff.

In this work it has been the author's intention only to elucidate whether the social organization of the Tenochcas was rooted in phenomena of kinship through common descent, in light of earlier theoretical attainments, in order to attempt to explain its function and its place within the undeniable social evolution of humanity. Outside of this work has remained the discussion of social relations rising directly from economic production, as are commerce (46), slavery (47), and

46. In this respect there is a most interesting work of Acosta Saignes, The Pochtecas [Los Pocheteca], (1945), and his thesis on the same subject.

47. See the work of Bosch, Carbs: Prehispanic Slavery among the Aztecs [La Esclavitud Prehispánica entre los Aztecas] (1945).

121 the organization of the empire, based fundamentally on the tribute of groups not related to the dominators. These are very extensive parts of the social organization of the Tenochcas, and very important; but they can be left aside in treating our problem because they can be considered surely as forms derived from a fundamental structure. Nor is the attempt made in this work to describe all the functioning of the Tenochca society, nor to discuss all the positions which have been adopted with respect to various particular aspects of their social organization: these are so many and so intricate that the discussion would constitute many works such as the present; only a few have been dealt with, those which appeared to me relevant to the discussion of the central theme. Thus this work is limited to elucidating if there were clans among the Tenochcas and what were the characteristics of the social classes. In Part I is an exposition of the data which have permitted certain investigators to think /p. 19/ that the Tenochcas had social classes. In Part II an attempt is made to demonstrate that in Tenochca society there existed an organism based on kinship through common descent, an ambilateral clan, by nature clearly stratified: the calpulli; and that the phenomena which might lead us to think that the society of the Tenochcas had classes are explained by the existence of groups of this type.

127 The sources consulted to obtain data which would serve as the basis for my conclusions are practically the same as those utilized by Bandelier and by Moreno, M., to which are added a few more items furnished later to investigators. The sources consulted naturally are very many more than the sources used and cited, for actually there is an enormous lack of data with respect to the problems which I treat in this work. Data from other regions had to be utilized (Tlaxcalla, Texcoco, for example) in order to complement certain information, and it was necessary to utilize data from very much later periods than the one whose reconstruction is attempted in this work; but this was impossible to avoid. In order to standardize the criterion regarding the validity of information, I regarded the documents immediately after the conquest of Mexico as describing the situation with some errors: (1) The limitations of inquiry and information, stemming from the fact that neither the chroniclers nor the informants had special training; (2) the stress given certain subjects by the way the informants or the recorders saw them, according to their interests; (3) the difficulty that the Spanish had in understanding a society so different from their own in some respects and so similar in others; (4) the difficulty the informants had in analyzing their own society. The

127 majority of the data which could not be considered as a result of Spanish influence were taken as remains of situations from before the Spanish conquest. In every case the principal citerion of accuracy was the congruity presented by the data themselves; particularly in the sifting of data in works written long after the conquest or by authors who did not come to Mexico in this period (Acosta, Torquemada, Clavijero, Gómara, etc.) but who had at hand information and documents which we now lack, or who saw remains atill little modified of the ancient social organization of Tenochtitlan.

The contorted form reflected by some arguments derives principally from the necessity of taking advantage of the few facts about the subject, which are not always specific or categorized, but which refer to secondary or derived cultural traits; and which suggest a prior basic situation necessary to their appearance.

/p. 21/ THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CALPULLI

/p. 23/ Chapter 2

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

565 463 In the sources for the history of Mexico we find data which beyond doubt demonstrate the existence of social stratification among the Tenochcas and which have let a few authors think that the Tenochcas had social classes. These data are very diverse in nature and very abundant, but here only the more significant will be presented: the division between manual laborers and directors, the paying of tribute, the differentiation in the living standard, the relation between the strata and the calpullis, and the inheritance of property to a determined stratum.

With respect to the division of labor we find a great difference of activities between two types of people: those who undertook manual labor and those who undertook essentially directive tasks. We are told that the macehuales were the common people and laborers (1) and that

1. Zurita, p. 94.

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they worked at their crafts (2), that is, they were manual laborers.

2. Acosta, José de, p. 425. "crafts" [oficios] being considered a more or less specialized manual artisan activity.

On the other hand the pillis and the tecuhtlis had as occupations "to serve in war and in public office as governors and ministers of justice... squires... messengers... to oversee the sowing of seed or other things which were done in common or for their festivities and the service of the ruler" (3) and "to watch over the lands of the

3. Zurita, p. 89.

calpulli and defend them, to keep each marked in its proper fashion, and see to the boundaries between each, and where and with whose they bordered and who worked them, and who owned which and which were vacant... and who and when and to whom they were given" (4) and to see to it "that they be not entered upon" (5), and

4. Zurita, p. 90.

5. Zurita, p. 88.

they were "careful to protect the men of the calpulli and speak for them before the governors" (6); that is, that the pillis undertook tasks

6. Zurita, p. 90.

essentially directive or coordinative (7). With these data we can

7. With reference to Tlaxcalla, Muñoz Camargo tells us (p. 103) that the tecuhtlis /p. 24/ and pillis "are thought of as men of quality even when very poor who never carry out mechanical tasks or base or servile undertakings. They never allow themselves to carry a burden or dig with hoes or plows, saying that they are nobles [hidalgos] and that they will not apply themselves to these vile and base things, but rather

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are they to serve in wars and on the frontiers." This was surely what happened in Tenochtitlan although unfortunately we have no such clear affirmation for this place.

/p. 24/ assert that among the Tenochcas there was present a marked differentiation with respect to labor: there were people who undertook manual labor and people dedicated to directive activities. These latter, also appear in our data strongly related to the calpulli.

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The difference in the social division of labor which we have seen in the last paragraph had possibly as its principal manifestation the position with respect to the paying of tribute: some were tributaries and some received tribute. It is told us in this regard that "the poor macehuales worked all day for their tribute and in order to give food to them (to the lords) to eat; because in a village of a thousand people there are a chief /cacique/ and a hundred lords / principales/ among whom the village is divided into wards... and these eat and drink and loaf at the expense of the poor workers (or macehuales, as we have seen) who support it all; and this is a very old custom in all the provinces of the land" (8), (that is, also in Tenochtitlan and not through

8. López Gerónimo, 11, p. 151. Although the assertion of a confirmed pro-slavist, it is useful and synthesizes many isolated facts.

Spanish influence). From our data we conclude first, that the lords were approximately 10 percent of the population and moreover, that there was a division between people receiving tribute—those undertaking directive work—and people tributary—those who undertook manual work—, and there comes to light again the relationship between this social stratification and the division of land, only that now with respect to the paying of tribute, the lords receiving tribute were those in charge of the town wards. Everything is confirmed in other sources: we are told that the macehuales "worked a plot of land for their lord or head (of the calpulli) for his sustenance and gave him service according to the people there were in the village" (9). Another

9. Zurita, p. 142.

author tells us that the elders used to say "that the common people

565 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their
463 houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the
651 lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and
511 of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuales had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common
[651] people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed " (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Martín de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[625] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in less

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categorical assertions such as that of the Codex Alcobiz (Laws which the Indians had) [Leyes que tenian los Indios].

codices show between the clothes and gear of the macehuales those of and the lords and rulers in illustrations of Sahagún, Mendoza, etc. All of these are facts which oblige us to think that there were great differences of richness and well-being within the population of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and that these differences existed between the macehuales and pillis.

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Another aspect which showed the differences between segments of the population was sexual life: "it is said that commoners have only one wife; but the lords can have concubines at their wish" (15), and

15. Mendieta, Eclesiastical History [Historia Eclestiástica], p. 297.

when they married "the noble women brought with them other maid-servants (and with all these women the men had)... much profit for they made them weave and make blankets, and perform other services of this sort" (16).

16. Motolinía, History [Historia], p. 164.

These data show us not only the well-being of the polygamous lords implicit in having a multitude of wives, but also the economic well-being derived from this polygyny, which was beyond the reach of the macehuales.

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However, it seems that this stratification also included groups of people dedicated to occupations other than agriculture since we are told that the merchants also had lords who went about with the heads of the calpullis (17), which makes us think that not all the merchants

17. Zurita, p. 143.

were /p. 26/ lords, and that therefore there obtained among them also the stratification of which we have been speaking. Complementing and clarifying the situation, we know that the merchants and the artisans, although they cultivated their land, did not give tribute by working the fields but in work of their particular occupation

565 463 (18) such as masons, carpenters, feather-workers and metal-workers

18. Zurita, p. 142.

(19). Although it is not made clear to us whether this tribute of

19. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

"merchants and artisans" was in relation to the rulers of the whole Tenochca group or only to the lords of the corresponding calpulli, it is very possible that in this tributation there occurred the same thing which happened to the workers which we have seen: they paid both. All this makes us think that the stratification which existed among the Tenochcas was not in layers of workers, artisans, merchants, and chiefs, but rather between the chiefs and the governed, be they laborers, artisans, or merchants. This conception is reinforced by our being told that the pochteca tlatoque (a term translated as the lords of the pochteca, that is, merchants) did not go on the trips of the merchants, but that they entrusted their "merchandise" to them that they sell it for them and later they divided the profit (20); which is

20. Sahagún, I., p. 351.

to say that within the group, differences of occupation were present which resulted in a stratification between people who worked as merchants and people who, because of another class of work (directive, as chiefs, as "lords") received part of the benefits obtained through "marketing." It is told of the artisans of Texcoco that the nobles also learned crafts, but only as a distraction (21). Assuredly a similar

21. Pomar, p. 38.

situation existed in Tenochtitlan and almost certainly corresponded to the division between pillis and macehuales, in groups of artisans.

565 428 It is advisable to make further clarifications with respect to the division between tributary macehuales and tribute-exacting pillis. One source tells us that although the lords had many women, they considered only one of them the most important and the children she bore [were considered] as inheritors of their position (22). Although the

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22. Pomar, p. 25. Actually Pomar gives contradictory information: "they always leave as heir to their estate the son of the legitimate wife" and "to the most virtuous, although he be the youngest... (or) of the other women." Nevertheless, paternal inheritance remains as the fact common to all.

information does not refer to Tenochtitlan, certainly it was valid also for the lords of that place, and Zurita does confirm it in part (23).

23. Zurita, p. 90.

Another author tells us that in cases of rebellion by the lords, they were removed and the rulers placed a near relative, such as a brother, in his place, but not his son (24). It resulted from this that the legal

24. Mendieta, History [Historia], p. 154.

heir of the calpulli chief was in these cases a relative of the predecessor, although not necessarily his son: possibly it can be said that the relatives of the chief of the calpulli were lords, that they could potentially become tribute-exactors like the chiefs if they ever achieved this category, and that not all did achieve it. However, the wives and children of the calpulli chief certainly had the benefit of the tribute paid to him (25).

25. Muñoz Camargo, with respect to Tlaxcalla tells us that "the family estates [mayorazgos] entailed by them (the pillis), are never divided, and they (this must refer to the macehuales) were obliged only to support all the relatives and brothers of that family" (p. 8).

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We are told that there were in the wards other persons of authority besides the chief, such as the telpochtlato (26) or director of the school

26. Torquemada, II, p. 220.

of each ward, who certainly lived from tribute. We are told on many occasions of tribute for the temples (see page 42) thus making some

565 651 priests tribute receivers. But there are still some other very important complementary data: on one hand that "painters, whom they called tlaculoca (sic: tlácuiloque), were exempted from contributions and from some services... also the singers... and the players of instruments... neither did the instructors contribute..." (27). On the other

27. Fuenleal, p. 249.

hand we know that all who contributed were called macehuales (28)

28. Fuenleal, p. 249.

and that the relatives of rulers and some lords did not contribute (29),

29. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

from which we can infer that the musicians, singers, instructors, etc. who did not contribute, were people from among the rulers and lords, and not from the macehuales; although such a conclusion is not absolutely necessary or compelling.

There are, nevertheless, within the scheme of the tributary [729] macehuales and the tribute-exacting lords some exceptions: those who distinguished themselves in war were exempted from taxation (30),

30. Fuenleal, p. 249.

which obliges us to think that they were macehuales who enjoyed a privilege which the other macehuales did not have. Certainly these macehuales were the ones who were made nobles by favor (31) and

31. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

about whom there are no data to indicate that they received tribute, that is that they were "nobles," lords by inheritance, nor could they have "tenants" ["terrasgueros"] (32), that is, could live from tribute,

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

and /p. 28/ who for that reason, like the common macehuales, personally worked their lands; their distinctive character was simply that

565 of not contributing. On the other hand we have a counterpart to these
651 macehuales who did not contribute: there were lords who being caught
[681] in a crime were punished by "being condemned to death" or to exile or to being sheared, or they were made macehuales (33), that is, they

33. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

were pillis from whom was taken the right to exact tribute and on whom was imposed the obligation of contributing. We saw also earlier that not all lords were exempt from contribution. We can think, nevertheless, that these cases must have been an exception, and that in general the macehuales were tributary and the pillis tribute-exacting.

We would thus have in Tenochtitlan a whole gamut of people in different situations with respect to tributation: people receiving tribute from all tribute-paying persons, people receiving tribute from the members of their calpulli, people neither tributary nor tribute-receiving, and people not tribute-receiving but tributary. According to the above data there is no doubt that there was present a marked differentiation among these levels of the population, at least. If we were to take these data only into account, of course we would have to think that the Tenochca society had classes; but if we analyze other data at our disposal, we will see the great importance which inheritance had in the belonging to each one of these levels (except that composed of the valiant in battle), which removes the class-
565 like character from them. In the first place we are told that upon
852 the birth of children "they were washed by the priests and after being washed they [the priests] would place in the child's right hand a tiny sword and in the left, a little shield. The children of the common people were given the insignia of their occupation, and all this beneath some idol" (34). From this it is infered that the people were

34. Acosta, José de, p. 425.

differentiated by their rank from birth: some were born destined to serve in war and on the frontiers (those with the little shields, who were not commoners) and were not to apply themselves to base work, and others were born destined to be laborers and to have humble and
565 vile occupations. Now this situation was hereditary since the pillis were called "lords" (35) and were the sons and grandsons and

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35. Zurita, p. 91.

great-grandsons of lords (36); that is to say, that the differentiation

36. Zurita, p. 90.

which was made between these two types of people from birth was hereditary. And as we are actually told of lords from the epoch of the Tenochca migration (37), we may believe that they were very

37. Geneology and Lineage [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 248.

ancient ranks. The position of the macehuales was certainly also inseparable and socially complementary to the position of lord /p. 29/: it is mentioned also during the migration (38), and could

38. Tezozomoc, Mexicayotl, p. 147.

be considered as a mental reflection of the situation, the legend which tells that the macehuales all descend from the first macehuales, the ancient gods Oxomoco and Cipactonal (39) connected intimately

39. History of the Mexicans from their Pictures [Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas], p. 210.

with the tasks of cultivation of maize, proper to their rank. With respect to merchants we also have [reference to] the existence of lords since the epoch of Cuacuauhpitzahuac in Tlatelolco (40) which

40. Sahagún, III, p. 341.

would confirm their hereditary stratification. As for the artisans, there were founders of the crafts whose successors adored them as gods (41), and who certainly were the corresponding pilli forefathers.

41. Sahagún, I, p. 46. Sahagún, II, p. 387; Torquemada, II, p. 60.

565 These levels did not have an absolute castelike rigidity. Besides what we have already seen regarding the fact that some macehuales were in a special position by reason of their exploits in life and not by birth, and that there were lords who lost their privileged situation of tribute receiving, we know that it was customary for pillis and
582 macehuales (42) to intermarry, the children of which marriages must

42. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 123; Zumárraga, p. 66, etc.

have had a different position from those children of marriages between pillis or of pure macehuales. There must have been present a whole series of people, from the most noble to the most plebian, we could say (using the terms noble and plebian in our sense), giving rise to a real pyramid of levels within the Tenochca group. Thus we see that the differentiation of rank had a corresponding economic differentiation; but that this latter had a limitation: not all the pillis could be recipients of tribute, but only the functionaries of the tribe or of the calpulli, and on the other hand, not all the macehuales payed tribute, those valiant in war being excepted. In their recognition of this stratification Caso, Spinden (43), Toscano, Moreno, White, etc. are

43. Spinden, H.J., 1943, p. 210.

right, but only in part, since these strata were not social classes; they could be considered ranks because of the little mobility of those belonging to them, generally by birth (an affirmation which with respect to the uppermost level can be definitive); but—and this is the fundamental thing—it can be shown that the existance of these strata was hinged to that of ambilateral stratified clans, the calpullis, and that it was therefore not a fundamental structure but a derived one, as will be seen in the second part of this work.

/p. 31/

Chapter 3

TERRITORIAL DIVISION

631 Another of the aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which has led us to think that it was not based on kinship through

631 common descent is the existence of what the Spanish called "barrios" /henceforth "wards"/, or territorial divisions of Tenochtitlan. This chapter attempts to describe all the elements which were related to the calpullis in the whole of the territorial organization, and not really to make a reconstruction of a topographical type (1). If we

1. Topographically, the work of Toussalent Fernández and Gómez de Orozco on Tenochtitlan is very complete. But it does not touch upon the problem which interests us here (Plans of Mexico City: the 16th and 17th Centuries /Planos de la Ciudad de México. Siglos XVI y XVII/ Mexico, 1938).

analyze the data which we find relevant to this in the sources, we see that it very amply clarifies for us the situation extant around the time of the arrival of the Spanish, and which we can synthesize in the following form: the Altepetl Tenochtitlan was formed of four Campan ("large wards"), each of these by various Calpulli ("wards"), each formed by various Chinampa (family plots).

This table results from examining the most significant data in the sources refering to the Territorial division of Tenochtitlan. We do not know what the situation was before the arrival and establishment of the Tenochcas on the island, but we are told that upon establishing themselves on Tenochtitlan the leaders split up among four wards "each one with his relatives and associates, where each party built at will" (2), according to which it appears that the members of each

2. Ramirez Codex /Códice Ramírez/, p. 42.

one of the four aforesaid wards were more closely associated with each other than with the other members of the Tenochca group. Also, the Nahuatl text—which clarifies the Spanish text—which describes the same happening, gives the term /p. 32/ calpulli (Nahuatl: "large house") as corresponding to "plots" while it uses nauhcampan (Nahuatl: "four regions") to designate the four wards (3). According to this it

3. Tezozomoc, Mexicayotl, p. 37.

631 appears that upon the Tenochcas' establishing themselves on the island they divided it into four parts (campan) in each one of which only calpullis allied to each other were established.

This came about at the time of settling in Tenochtitlan. What was the situation by the time of the arrival of the Spanish? On one hand the calpullis still occupied the lands that were "divided up when they came to the land and each family or band settled in the lots which were assigned to them and their descendants" (4). That is, by

4. Zurita, p. 25.

the time of the arrival of the Spanish the calpullis still had the same distribution as when they were established. What is more, well into Colonial times, Mexico City was divided into four large wards, each one containing other smaller ones (5). Surely the large wards were

5. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

remains of the groups of allied calpullis (the campans) and the smaller wards must have been remains of the calpullis, both affected by the conquest, but whose importance must have been very strong since even then, as before, these wards (large and small) had leaders [mandones] "in common as well as in particular" (6).

6. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

Let us turn now to the matter of the divisions of the calpullis: an author tells us that what was called calpulli before the conquest, afterwards was called tlaxilacalli (7). Although this may have

7. The datum possibly is Motolinía's, but unfortunately I have lost the exact reference, and although I have tried to find the datum, I have not succeeded.

happened in a few cases, it appears that for Tenochtitlan the matter was not so simple. Above all we have the information that in the Colonial period, besides the division of Tenochtitlan in four large wards, and of these into calpullis, each calpulli "was divided into streets which they called tlaxilacallis" [sic] (8). Thus it is that

9:Monzon--29 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

8. Torquemada, II, p. 545.

631 tlaxilacallis and calpullis were not the same, but that tlaxilacalli was at least a subdivision of the territory of the calpullis, if it is not that they were aggregates based on kinship through descent as some documents suggest which tell us of married couples founding tlaxilacallis in places near Mexico (9), and the affirmation that the

9. Cuajimalpa Codex [Códice Cuajimalpa]

tlaxilacallis of Tenochtitlan defended with great diligence the integrity of their lands (10), as if they belonged to closed groups of rela-

10. Torquemada, II, p. 545.

tives.

/p. 33/ It could be thought that about the time of the arrival of the Spanish the tlaxilacallis were families or family lots of the calpulli; but against this possibility we have forceful arguments: they are called "wards" and "streets"; besides it is certain that there happened in Mexico what happened in other nearby places, in which each calpulli was subdivided into two or three tlaxilacallis (11), a

11. Chimalpain, Ms. Silvia Rendón. 6a. Relation [Relación], p. 231.

number of families which appears very small to form a calpulli. And in the "Maguey Paper Plan" [Plano de Papel de Maguey] appear the "streets" mentioned by Torquemada—the tlaxilacallis—separated from one another by water and earth, and each one of them has subdivisions which certainly were the family plots. The tlaxilacallis thus appear larger than the family or the family territory, and smaller than a calpulli or the territory of the calpulli.

On the other hand, we fortunately have many data which clarify the concrete picture of the tlaxilacallis in Tenochtitlan: the Description of the Archbishopric of Mexico [Descripción del Arzobispado de México] tells us that the tlaxilacallis were like "small wards" (12) and that in St. Pablo—corresponding to the

12. Description of the Archbishopric [Descripción del Arzobispado], p. 278.

631 Teopan campan (13) or Teopan Xuchititlan (14)—there were twelve

13. Vetancourt, III, p. 124.

14. Chimalpain, Diary /Diario/, p. 275.

tlaxilacallis and five small properties besides Iztacalco which used to be part of St. Pablo only occasionally. Examining the list of "wards" of the Ms. 13994 (15), eleven "wards" are obtained (see the

15. In Royal Decrees and Other Papers regarding the Indies /Cédulas Reales y otros papeles tocantes a las Indias/.

Table of tlaxilacallis): certainly these "wards" of the said manuscript are tlaxilacallis. This explains to us much of the territorial affairs of Tenochtitlan: one of the names of the tlaxilacallis which appear in the aforesaid manuscript is the same as one from the list of wards in the table of correspondence between wards and the social division of work (Tzapotlan, that of the vendors of uxitl of St. Juan). Another of the tlaxilacalli names, Huitznahuatonco (of St. Pablo), certainly is not the Huitznahuac of the lords and fishermen mentioned by Sahagun (see p. 50), since the tlaxilacalli Tecpantitlan (which means 'place of the palace') must have been the one which corresponded to the lords of St. Juan. It well could be that the tlaxilacalli Tecpantitlan had another name, non-descriptive, and that this is one of the three which appear in the list: Yopico, which is the only one exclusively associated with the lords; another could have been that of a calpulli to which the tlaxilacalli Tecpancaltitlan belonged. Unfortunately, with the data at hand, we are unable to make other correlations between tlaxilacallis and calpullis. Nevertheless we can shed a good deal of light: there was a single tlaxilacalli in which was the women's temple (Cihuateocaltitlan), in the Moyotla campen (St. Juan). But there were four tlaxilacallis called Teocaltitlan, one in each campan which surely corresponded to the locations /p. 34/ of the temples, the Teocallis. Then again, all this causes us to catch a glimpse of a difference in the category of the tlaxilacallis within the calpullis and within all Tenochtitlan as a whole. Although the data refer to an already post-Hispanic epoch, undoubtedly the situation which they suggest has many marked aspects of the pre-Hispanic.

63/ There are other terms than campan, calpulli, and tlaxilacalli which we should clear up, and whose importance in understanding the situation of the Tenochcas is fundamental: altepetl was translated by town and huey altepetl for Provincial Capital. Huey altepetl means large altepetl and was applied to such places as Tenochtitlan with many calpullis and with political hegemony over other groups; it could well be that altepetl was applied to places without hegemony over other groups. One author tells us that altepetlalli (lands of the altepetl) and calpullalli (lands of the calpulli) were the same (16).

16. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

In support of this Clavigero tells us that the lands of the altepetlalli were divided in as many parts as there were wards (17), thus the re-

17. Clavigero, I, p. 355.

lationship between altepetlalli and altepetl, and between calpullalli and calpulli is explained: the altepetl was made up of calpullis, and the whole of the lands of the calpullis constituted the land of the town (18).

18. There are other terms whose definition would be very useful; but I have no information sufficient to do it: tlayacapan, which Molina translates in his dictionary as ward and as collation; calnacazco, which he translates as district [cantón]; tepepa, which he translates as city, as he does altepetl; and chinampa, which he translates as ward, although its present usage in Mexico is closer in meaning to family plot.

It appears that the discussed terms were vague in meaning under certain conditions, which allows one to believe that through a natural process of growth, theoretically at least, the family territory could come to be that of a tlaxilacalli, that of a calpulli, (and, though perhaps not, that of an altepetl); the calpulli, "large house" nevertheless remaining as the basic unit.

Thus we find the territorial organization of Tenochtitlan as we presented it at the beginning of this chapter: altepetl, campan, calpulli, tlaxilacalli, and chinampa as subdivisions, in descending

631 order, of the territory of the group. This subdivision could have been a simply territorial subdivision: in wards; but it appears more likely to have some relationship with kinship phenomena, through the mentioning of tlaxilacallis as founded by married couples and campan formed by allied calpullis. These relationships will be absolutely certain if it is demonstrated that the calpulli was a clan, and there certainly are arguments which could lead one to believe that among the Tenochcas the calpullis were clans, as will be seen in the Second Part.

/p. 35/ TABLE OF THE TLAXILACALLIS OF TENOCHTITLAN IN 1637 (1)

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1. There are mentioned in the list the tlaxilacallis which appear in the report of the year of 1637 of Ms. 13994, and in the notes are recorded the differences with respect to the report of the previous year—which is less complete—and some mention of various tlaxilacallis made by Chimalpain in his Diary (which information was sent me by Mr. R. H. Barlow). Naturally the names of the calpullis do not generally coincide with those of tlaxilacallis. [Further footnotes in this table are not interlineated, but appear at the end of the section. —translator.]

The large ward of St. Juan (2) or Moyotla.	The large ward of St. Pablo or Zoquiapan (3).	The large ward of St. Sebastián or Atzacoalco.	The large ward of St. María or Cuepopan.
Tecpancaltitlan (4)			
Cihuateocaltitlan			
Teocaltitlan	Teocaltitlan	Teocaltitlan	Teocaltitlan
Tzapotla	Tlachcuitlan (11)	Tomatla (12)	Tlacolpan (15)
Macpalxochititlan	Ateponazco	Coatlan	Tezcaltzonco
Tequicaltitlan	Toltinco	Zacatlan (13)	Analpa
Huehuecalco (5)	Huitznahuatonco	Cuitlahuatonco (14)	Copolco
Atlampa (6)			Atlampa
St. Critóbal	Tozcamincan	Cotcico	Colhuacayonco
Hueyaztacalco	Temazcaltitlan		Iztacalecan
Tlalcocomoco	Ometochtitlan		
Amanalco	Contzinco		
Petitlan (7)	Zoquipan		
Aticapan	Ocelotzontecontitlan		
Tlatilco			
Xihuitonco			
Tequixquipan (8)			
Necaltitlan			
Xollohco (9)			
Acatla			
Xacalpan (10)			

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2. The names of these "wards" were considered by Vetancourt as names of the calpullis of all of Tenochtitlan, and Bandelier and many authors followed him in his error.

3. Chimalpain called this "large ward" Teopan Xuchititlan (p. 275, Diary [Diario]).

4. Missing in 1636.

5. Also in Chimalpain, p. 13.

6. Tlapa appears in 1636, which is perhaps a mutilated entry.

7. Tepatitlan appears in 1936 [sic. 1636] which seems more correct.

8. Also in Chimalpain, p. 15.

9. Also Chimalpain, p. 219.

10. Xapalca appears in 1636.

11. Also in Chimalpain, p. 251.

12. Also in Chimalpain, p. 13, where it appears as Tonatla.

13. Missing in 1636.

14. Also in Chimalpain, p. 238.

15. Also in Chimalpain, p. 238.

Chapter 4

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

423 Let us analyze another of the aspects of the social organization of the Tenochcas, which might lead one to think that it did not have its origin in kinship: viz., ownership of land. In the sources we find that for the most part it was related to the existence of the calpullis.

In the Spanish sources of the beginning of the conquest three really very different criteria are always taken, almost interchangeably, to refer to the ownership of land: one is the working of it personally; another is the receiving of tribute from the one who works it, and another is the receipt of rent. This last is not going to be discussed at length here; but with reference to all these criteria we can shed a little light: we are told that the Indians in their plans indicated three types of land: those of the calpullis, yellow; flesh-colored for those of the lords; and a bright red for those of the king's household (1). The significance which these indications had is what is going

1. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

to occupy us principally.

Let us establish first of all that the lands of Tenochtitlan had been originally occupied only by members of the same Tenochca group; but that there appear to be indications of later immigrations from other regions, as from Xochimilco (2), although generally we lack

2. Vetancourt, III, p. 124; Torquemada, II, p. 60.

complete data in this respect. We can suppose, however, that in the event of there having been immigrations, these were isolated with consent of the group in general since we are told, without par-
[685] ticularizing, that whoever pulled up and took away the landmarks and boundaries of the villages was subject to the death penalty (3);

3. Román, I, p. 285.

in the case of Tenochtitlan, through being in a very special situation of isolation, it was very unlikely that an invasion could occur.

423 We have seen already that the calpullis, since their establishment in Tenochtitlan, were concentrated and limited, and that the lands which they occupied about the time of the arrival of the Spanish, were the same which they had occupied since their /p. 38/ establishment in Tenochtitlan. This, although the original division was in part determined by the number of people present in each one of the calpullis, had certainly brought about that there was not an equal division at the time of the arrival of the Spanish. And in fact it is affirmed that not all the calpullis had the same number of people (4), which is quite understandable if the development of the calpullis

4. Zurita, p. 87.

had been more or less free. Certainly not having the same number of people, some calpullis had more land than others (5), and we even

5. Zurita, p. 87.

know of some that had "unoccupied land" (6) (fallow). This in the

6. Zurita, p. 88.

beginning may not have been of much importance, if the land was divided in accord with the people of each calpulli; but it indeed must have brought about great difficulties when some developed more than others. It appears, furthermore, that the land which the Tenochcas originally occupied was little by little increased by means of the chinampas (7), artificial land, although this is a method which

7. Clavigero, I, p. 379.

had many limitations. The result is at any rate that the lands of Tenochtitlan were divided by calpulli since their establishment in Tenochtitlan, and in spite of the differences in number of people or in amount of land, one calpulli could not take lands from another calpulli (8). This strongly suggests that the calpulli were closed

8. Torquemada, II, p. 545; Zurita, p. 88.

land-owning groups rather than simple wards.

423 Let us now see how the lands were distributed within the calpulli itself: the lands of the calpulli were occupied by the macehuales only in part and the rest they worked in order to pay their tribute (9).

9. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

We can complement this piece of information with another which was that all held land privately or in common in their calpulli (10).

10. Zurita, p. 104.

Thus it appears that the lands of the calpulli were divided first into land cultivated for tribute and land cultivated for the subsistence of the actual workers, and in the second place, it appears that these lands cultivated for the subsistence of the actual laborers were divided "individually" or "in common."

The lands divided "individually" were certainly the lands parcelled out and assigned to families which included brothers and nephews of the head of /p. 39/ the family (11). These parcels were

11. Gómara, II, p. 277; Cortés, 1538, p. 540.

inherited and could not be broken up (12) and the right to work them

12. Gómara, II, p. 277 and 309.

fell to the descendents of the same family (13) with the penalty of

13. Gómara II, p. 277.

death for whoever took or removed his land-marks and boundaries (14).

14. Laws Which the Indians Had [Leyes que tenían los indios], p. 208; Ixtlilxóchitl I, p. 238; Torquemada, II, p. 386.

The lands were given in general to members of the calpulli itself (15) and there must have been differences in the size of the

15. Zurita, p. 25 and 27.

423 lots, at least according to the possibility of working them (16) and

16. Zurita, p. 88. Cortés gives us extreme measurements of lots of 100 to 2000 of "certain measurements" (1538, p. 542), and Clavigero gives us a measure of from 3 to 8 toesas, that is approximately 48 square meters.

yet there were people who did not have land in their calpulli (17),

17. Zurita, p. 89.

perhaps because they had left them unused for two years and had had them confiscated (18). The result was that, of the members of each

18. Zurita, p. 89.

calpulli, some had more land than others, and possibly everybody could work more than the plot they actually had; that is to say that there was a relative scarcity of arable land; but it appears that the families were not the owners of their lots.

We are told that some left their calpullis fleeing from excessive taxation of for other reasons (19) perhaps leaving the calpullis of

19. Cortés, 1538, p. 541.

many people and little land for calpullis with less people and land available to work. In this respect it is explained to us that whoever left their calpullis lost the rights to the lands assigned them in their calpulli (20).

20. Zurita, p. 88.

It was possible to rent the lands of one calpulli to the members of other calpullis for the public and common needs of the calpulli (21), possibly for a limited time, "for a year or two or more" (22)

21. Zurita, p. 88.

22. Zurita, p. 116.

423 and apparently not "for life," that is, the members of one calpulli did not really pass to another calpulli. (In part this does not happen either in the calpullis studied by Redfield in 1920 (23), thus suggest-

23. Redfield, 1920, p. 288.

ing that the calpulli was a property-holding group rather than a ward). In any case we must assert that in general the majority of the people must have had land in their calpullis and that possibly the leaving for other calpullis was an exception. (We could also think that among the Tenochcas the same happened as among the Maoris, where it was possible /p. 40/ for a person from one group to pass to another, in which he was adopted.(24). Thus it appears that the

24. Goldenweisser, 1922, p. 382. Mishkin, N. 1937, p. 429.

calpulli was a true proprietary group, the use of the land being proof of its ownership. These were the lands pointed in yellow, their existence clearly recognized.

There was, besides the land given to the common macehuales of the calpulli of which we have just talked, a mode of distribution of the calpullis' lands which was of fundamental importance: the land
[124] given to those courageous in battle [henceforth "valiants"]. These lands were given by favor for heroic deeds in war (25). But they

25. Torquemada, II, p. 545, 546; Vetancourt, I, p. 273.

were lands, and this is the fundamental thing, used for sustenance and where one could not have tenants (26); that is, they were lands

26. Torquemada, H. [sic. 1] p. 545. Zurita (p. 116) tells us that the tenants pay rent "To the master of these," a statement which does not appear to refer to macehuales or even to the nobles, that is to say not contradicting the former affirmation of Torquemada.

which they worked and which yielded them fruits, but which did not

423 give them tribute as in the case of real lords (see page 27). Furthermore these lands were family parcels and not tlaxilacallis or calpullis since we are told that the members of the family inherited them and they reverted to the calpulli to which they were assigned in case there were no heir in order that the obligatory tribute be paid (27).

27. Torquemada, II, p. 546; Vetancourt, I, pp. 272, 372.

It has often been thought that these "valiants" were truly ennobled people and therefore tribute-receiving (28); but the data presented

28. Caso, Alfonso, 1946.

before, show that they were macehuales who did not pay tribute but who otherwise had lands which they worked personally like the other macehuales and unlike the lords. The problem is to find out whether they were on land of their own calpullis or onland of calpullis not their own. In the first case they would be forming a part of the general distribution of the land by calpullis; but they would differ as far as social position determined by the paying of tribute. In the second case—if the "valiants" were on lands of calpullis not their own—it is certain that they would be on land belonging to calpullis conquered in war, and thus, although they did indeed constitute a breach, we cannot suppose that it constituted a breach of importance in the distribution of the land by calpullis, since war had as a principal reason of being, the obtaining of tribute from the conquered, and they [the valiants] did not pay tribute. This surely limited the number of non-tributary "valiants." Thus we can affirm that this form of holding land was tied up in a certain degree to the existence of the calpullis and was not the fundamental one in Tenochtitlan.

/p. 41/ Let us go to another point: the pillallis. This term is translated as lands of the pillis, the lords of whom we have already spoken about. We have already seen that a portion of the lands of the calpulli was worked for tribute and another for the sustenance of the macehuales (see p. 38), and that the tribute given to the pillis was the working for them of a plot (see p. 24). Thus we are led to believe that the lands of the calpulli (calpullalli) had a portion for the sustenance of the actual pillis (pillalli) and that the rest was the land with which the macehuales sustained themselves. This would

423 be confirmed when we are told that except for the lands sold by lords to merchants, all were, or had been lands of the calpullis (29). The

29. "The lands which they possessed belonged to the town, were common, or belonged to the wards which they had parceled out, and some of the lords sold part of these lands to private individuals and those who bought them left them to their descendents. However, in the beginning they were lands of the villages which they call altepetlalli, or lands of the wards, which they called calpullalli" (Annunciation [Anunciación], p. 238).

possibility should be kept in mind, however, although it is almost impossible, that these lands were separated from the whole of the lands of their calpulli. They would be, in one or the other case, the flesh-colored lands, those of the lords.

Let us examine now the data on other lands, the so-called tecpantlalli; we find this term in the sources, which can be translated as lands of the tecpan. We have already seen that Tecpancaltitlan was one of the tlaxilacallis of Tenochtitlan (see p. 33) which leads us to believe that these lands belonged to this tlaxilacalli.
423 In the tecpantlalli lived the tecpanpouhque or tecpantlaca (30),
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30. Torquemada, II, p. 546; Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

terms which can be respectively translated as "those counted in the tecpan" and "the people of the Tecpan," that is, a determined group of people. They were lands and peoples of the ruler (31), and

31. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

on the land there lived "people who were very esteemed and close to the house of the king, and whom the common esteemed more" (32). All this leads us to believe that these lands were of a group to

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

423 which "the king" (viz. the tlatoani) belonged. These lands "passed
428 from fathers to sons... and if anyone died or went off to other parts, his house and his land remained , and by order of the king or of the ruler, the others of the district put another in his place, " and they could not sell them (33), and the tecpantlacas worked them personally

33. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

(34). These data indicate to us, first, that among them obtained

34. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

the same situation as obtained among the lands of the calpullis and tlaxilacallis: distribution in family parcels and inheritance of use, and that they had a certain unity with respect to a group which used them: its "faction" [*"parcialidad"*]. All this makes us think that the tecpantlalli were of a calpulli or of a tlaxilacalli, the calpulli or the tlaxilacalli to which the tlatoani belonged.

423 /p. 42/ We are not told only of the tecpantlalli, but also of the tecpillalli, which " ere almost like what they called pillalli" (35).

35. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

Tecpillalli is translated as lands of the pilli or of the pillis of the tecpan, which explains to us what sort of lands they were that received this name: the lands destined for the sustenance of the pillis of the tecpan—the nobles of the calpulli of the tlatoani—, lands which possibly formed a unit with the others of the tecpan, perhaps inlike manner to the lands of other calpullis divided between macehuales and pillis.

423 There were lands and cultivated plots for the temples (36). These

794 36. Román y Zamora, I, p. 120; Zurita, p. 176.

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surely were of two types since on the one hand there was "a lot in each ward" (37), that is, they were certainly distributed by calpullis.

37. Ramirez Codex [*Códice Ramírez*], p. 79.

423 But on the other hand there were others which were not or appeared
794 not to be in the same condition, since in these the priests functioned
793 as mayordomos (38) and had tenants and neighbors who gave tribute

38. Clavigero, I, p. 281.

only to the temples (39). Perhaps this means that they were calpullis

39. Román, I, p. 120.

or tlaxilacallis whose lords were priests. Reinforcing this assertion is the fact that these people were differentiated from others and felt it to be an honor to be occupied in that employment (40), somewhat

40. Torquemada, II, p. 165.

similarly to what happened in the case of the tecpantlacas. What we can deduce from all the above, anyway, is that in order to speak of the lands of the Temples one takes as criterion the tribute and not the direct utilization of the land by the priests. Furthermore we can ascertain from our data that the calpulli was an organism basic to the existence of these lands in their particular distribution: each calpulli giving a part of its products, or entire calpullis dedicating themselves to giving tribute exclusively for the sustenance of the religious needs. In some cases these were towns removed from the city proper which were tributary to the temples and which alternated each half year (41). But we do not know what happened during the

41. Torquemada, II, p. 164.

half year when they did not give tribute to the temples. It may be that they continued with their calpulli organization and perhaps only gave tribute to their lords.

423 Something similar to that which occurred with the lands of the
652 temples happened with the lands for war, or yaotlallis, which had various names according to the products which they yielded, cacalomilli, milchimalli (42) and which were "for /p. 43/ food

42. Vetancourt, I, p. 372.

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rations during periods of war" (43). In part they were lands distrib-

43. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

uted "in calpullis and wards according to the number of people there were in each district" (44), possibly of the city proper. These lands

44. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

were to be found also in conquered areas, since we are told that Moctezuma had in all the towns lands marked out which they sowed for him, as for the temples, and whose produce they brought to Tenochtitlan—if there was no garrison—or the garrison ate it, and if they did not sow, they fed them [the garrison] at any rate (45).

45. Oviedo, III, p. 537.

Thus they appear to be simply lands of the calpullis the tribute from which was destined for the sustenance of warriors and for the needs of war. There is however a reference which apparently contradicts the above, although it is possible that it only supplements it: we are told that these lands for war were on the boarder lines and belonged to no one, nor did anybody inherit them, they being occupied and kept up by the chief who was promoting the war (46). This

46. Anonymous. Relation [Relacion], 1554? p. 145.

appears to mean that the tribute from these lands was not inherited by a determined person but was given over to whoever was the war-chief. Indeed they were occupied by common laborers but their tribute was given to the chief of the armies for the needs of war. The reference to their being on the boarder lines may mean that they boardered on conquered land. The possibility that the characteristic of this type of land was that it was destined solely for tribute could be reinforced with the data of Ixtlilxóchitl where [one finds that] in the lands of conquered lords and subjects there were other kinds of land divisions which were called laotlalli (sic. Yaotlalli), which were gained through wars, and of these the greater part belonged to the three heads of the empire one of whom was

423 652 the war chief; and the rest was given and distributed to the lords and citizens who had aided with their persons and vassals in the conquest of such towns gained in war and this most of the time came to be a third of the conquered towns or provinces (47). According to the

47. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

above it appears that the criterion for characterizing this type of land ownership was the ownership of tribute since they were in reality lands of the calpullis like the rest.

423 We are told of another type of land: the tecuhtlalli (the lands of the tecuhtlis). To elucidate what this means we have three references: one, that on these lands the rulers and lords sheltered those who came fleeing from other towns and provinces (48); another, that

48. Annunciation [Anunciación], p. 238.

each Indian lord on his land /p. 44/.....

[Missing section of text. Translator].....

...when people came to it to settle from other parts and to those that were settled they gave land on which to sow, marked "that everyone might know the lands he is to sow, and most of them have their house on the inheritance which they consider their own" (49).

49. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

According to this all the lands which gave tribute to the tecuhtlis appear to be called tecuhtlalli but their organization may have been in calpullis if the arrived settlers remained together with those who were already settled. One has to think, this possibility notwithstanding, that population immigrations were not always of peoples forming calpullis nor that they organized themselves into calpullis upon becoming established. It could well be that part of these lands were those they called tlatocamilli, of which it is said they were 400 units in length and width, that they were leased, and that the rent was eaten and consumed in the house of the ruler (50), and they

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50. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170. We are also told that they were called itonal intlacatl which means something like "the sign of the birth of the people," that is, perhaps they were those of the ruler's lineage.

[the plots] were many and good, but they could not be disposed of, that is, sold (51). It is possible that the remainder of the tecuhtlallis

51. Zurita, p. 105.

were the lands of the calpullis which could be rented for the benefit of the calpulli (see p. 39). In any case we can accept that in part these lands appear to be lands of the calpullis the tribute from which was for the tecuhtli or tecuhtlis, and that in part the tlatocamilli indeed appear to have been lands possessed by a very limited group, worked by lessees, but by a group with very special and surely hereditary characteristics. Perhaps they were the lands "of the king's household," painted in flesh-color.

The forms studied up to now are communal, the produce of which is divided among those who work them and their chiefs, in different ways. We are finally going to consider a type of land ownership which is completely different from them because it appears to be private property.: We are told that some kinsmen of the rulers, [525] and some lords and merchants, had lands which they could gamble and sell (52). It would appear from this simple fact that there was

52. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

a true free commerce in land; but such was not the case. In the first place in what we have just set down we see that only some of the kinsmen of the rulers, some of the lords and some of the merchants possessed land in this way. If the lords were not at most more than ten percent of the population (see p. 24), the number of such owners must have been very small. In the second place, with respect to the merchants, we can say that if, as we have seen, they evinced a division between nobles and plebians (p. 25), the most likely thing is that the plebian merchants /p. 45/ could not be owners who disposed of their lands freely, as neither could the common macehuales nor even those ennobled through acts of valor (53).

423 53. Torquemada, II, p. 545, 546. Vetancourt, I, p. 273.

This considerably limits the number of owners as well as the number of holdings of this type. Furthermore lands that were subject to any entailed estate could not be sold (54), which surely means that the

54. Torquemada, II, p. 545.

lands which could be sold were not the lands destined for the sustenance of governors of the Tenochca group, nor those destined for the sustenance of the chiefs of the calpullis, nor those set apart for the priests, or for the warriors, or for the hiers among the common members of the calpullis. Perhaps then it concerned parcels of conquered land given to valiant macehuales or to pillis but which were no longer occupied by the macehuales of calpullis, but possibly by the war dead. These plots must have been very few and certainly they did not form the base of society as it stood around the time of the arrival of the Spanish. The lands with occupants given to the valiant nobles were perhaps lands of the calpullis, as were those of the temples, etc., and really constituted only forms of ownership of tribute; on the other hand these, without occupants, indeed were lands with characteristics of private property, from which rent could be obtained if one were noble but not if one were an ennobled macehualy (55), (see p. 40). That is to say that although escaping in part from

55. Torquemada, II, p. 545, 546.

the concrete form of organization into calpullis, they remained within it by being the exclusive property of people whose rank was hereditary, the existence of these ranks being tied to the existence of the calpullis, as we have seen. It remains to find out what were the characteristics of the calpullis in order to decide beyond doubt what was the basis of this special form of the organization of land ownership.

423 We have seen how the distribution of the land was made principally by calpullis which resemble property-owning groups. In this way
x618 it appears easy to see the role of the calpulli chiefs: the unity with personality was the calpulli, but the chief was one in authority

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before the other calpulli members as before strangers, and the tribute which was rendered him perhaps was not so much as to a proprietor as to a functionary; although very possibly with the course of time there had come about a separation between the ideal role of chief and the real role, the chief taking advantage of his position to obtain a standard of living much superior to that of the macehuales of his own calpulli. This organization of the ownership of the land by calpullis appears to be the fundamental one, and the derived one that of the existence of lands whose tribute was destined for the sustenance of functionaries with very diverse social roles /p. 46/ (priests, warriors, etc.) who really do not seem to be proprietors of land but who have rights to tribute from the calpulli lands. Only the lands of the ennobled macehuales and those of the lords not subject to entailed estate escaped in part from this organization of property by calpullis. All this presents us with two possibilities: one is that the macehuales and the pillis held their lands in common (calpullalli) and that part of these was worked for the sustenance of the pillis, or of the priests or the noble warriors (pillalli). The other possibility is that the macehuales held their lands in common (calpullalli) and the pillis held theirs privately (pillalli, tecpillalli, tlatocamilli) but with certain restrictions of a social nature. In any case both groups, pillis and macehuales, would be owners of lands, and at any rate the lands would remain not subject to being entailed—those of certain tecuhtlis, lords, and merchants—as privately owned lands, but with so many restrictions regarding the persons who asked to possess them, that they did not remain as a principal structure, but secondary in importance. That there were other forms of ownership of the land does not upset the fundamental structure if they do not predominate: we could say that almost all the cultural phenomena obtained in all the communities; but that the important and basic ones are not the same in all the communities. The fundamental problem lies then somewhere else: the ownership of land being strongly determined by the existence of the calpullis, we have to find out what were the bases of the calpullis in order to decide whether these forms, which were the most widespread and important concerning ownership of land, were or were not determined by phenomena of kinship through common descent.

/p. 47/ Chapter 5

SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR

463 There is another aspect of the social organization of the Tenochcas which has seemed to indicate that it was not based on kinship through common descent but rather on economic production: the social division of labor by specialized groups similar to guilds. Analyzing the data from the sources for the history of Mexico, it is found that, in this aspect as well as the preceding, the calpulli was a fundamental element.

Whether during a given period the laborers constituted the totality of the population of Tenochtitlan is something which we still do not know. What we do know is that by the time of the arrival of the Spanish a very complex situation was present. Through a reference made during the colonial period we know that all the inhabitants, although they might have another occupation, had their lands for cultivation (1) although they might farm very little (2). This surely

1. Torquemada, II, p. 430.

2. Description of the Archbishopric /Descripción del Arzobispado/, p. 278.

was even more general before the arrival of the Spanish, that is, that cultivation was an activity common to the entire population, perhaps excepting the lords; still, it was not the only activity for all people, some having other occupations. Everybody could, "work a stone, twist a rope and procure the materials to make it, and /do/ the other tasks which do not require much skill" (3). Complement-

3. Zurita, p. 189.

ing this, there was a differentiation in the activities of the people to produce those things "which were to be sold" (4) and a true labor

4. Motolinía, Memorials /Memoriales/, p. 236.

force market which was offered like any other merchandise (5).

5. Zurita, p. 83.

463 That is, there was a social division of labor present which we could call artisan. We know of the existence of merchants—people who specialized in the interchange of objects not produced directly by themselves. From this we can infer that there was a division of labor between laborers, artisans, and merchants in addition to that which we have already seen among /p. 48/ manual laborers and directors. Some authors have thought that these merchants constituted a social class (6) or the beginnings of a social class (7) or a

6. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 33; Toscano, S., 1946, p. 782.

7. Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.

caste (8) or that the artisans constituted guilds (9) derived from clans

8. Thompson, J.E., 1933, p. 126.

9. Cunow, H., 1926, p. 275-278; Kohler, 1924, p. 29.

which became units of the social division of labor (10). Let us elucidate this.

10. Krickeberg, W., 1939, p. 287.

On one hand the merchants were counted in their calpullis (11),

11. Sahagún, I, p. 44.

that is, they belonged to calpullis. On the other hand, in speaking of the merchants and of the artisans, we are told that there was every class of person in the calpullis (12) and that the merchants and arti-

12. Zurita, p. 143.

sans were "of these wards and calpullis" (13), assertions from which

9:Monzon--51 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

13. Zurita, p. 105.

463 we can infer that the merchants as well as the artisans and laborers were in the calpullis.

Furthermore, on the one hand, in general the parents educated their children to exercise the same occupations [as they, the parents] (14), and on the other is made a statement of much importance:

14. Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino], folio 70; Zurita, p. 110, III; Román y Zamora, II, p. 127, etc.

that upon the birth of children of the common people they placed in their hands miniatures of the instruments of their calling (see p. 28). One gathers from this that from birth it was known what a child's occupation would be when he reached adulthood; and that this occupation usually was that of his father, that is, that there was inheritance of the productive occupation. This surely also happened with the merchants, since we are told that they could only be merchants with the permission of the rulers or because they came to it through inheritance (15). We thus have, beyond doubt,

15. Zurita, p. 142.

inheritance of occupation in the social division of labor.

463 It appears that in Tenochtitlan this division of labor occurred by
X618 wards, as in Tezcoco (where those in one ward had the same occu-
795 pation, all those of the ward must have it and there must be no mix-
ture of others with them (16)), since in all the provinces of Mexico

16. Torquemada, I, p. 146.

the specialization in things to sell was by "wards" (17). Moreover

17. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 236.

—and this is the fundamental proof—one can establish a correlation between names /p. 49/ of "wards" and occupations (see p. 50), drawing together scattered data or Torquemada's and Sahagún's which refer to this division of labor and to the specialization by

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groups in the worship of the deities. Three affirmations reinforce this correlation: one concerning the magical consecration of the people to an activity which was made before some idol (see p. 28), probably the ward idol; another was that the festivals of some months were "like" guild festivals (18), that is, of isolated groups, probably

18. Jonghe, p. 292.

of wards; and finally, that in the festivals for the idols were involved the members of a single "ward" and not those of others (19).

19. Magliabecchi, Commentaries on the Section [Comentarios a la Sección] 92.

The result of this correlation between activities, "wards" and deities is presented here in a table, and explains completely for us the character of the social division of labor in Tenochtitlan: it was by "wards" which separated tribal chiefs, pulque-makers, merchants, etc. It is a division which could be called a class one only with difficulty, since it makes no sense, for example, to speak of the class of pulque-makers since, if that were the case, they would be on an equal "class" footing with the merchants. It would appear rather to correspond to a guild division, since the class of a guild is the organization of people who do the same work (20) and that

20. Boak, A.R., and Pirenne, H., 1944.

within them obtains the separation between manual workers and directors which was present also among the Tenochcas, as we have already seen (see p. 23). However it would be very strange to speak of a guild of rulers, as we would have to do if we accepted that the division of labor by "wards," which the Tenochcas envinced, was by guilds; and it is to falsify the situation since the lords do not possess the characteristics of manual labor which are basic in a guild organization. I believe I can prove, furthermore, that these "wards" — which probably were calpullis since in general their names do not coincide with those of the tlaxilicallis—were clans, and that therefore the division of labor, like the ownership of the land, the territorial distribution of the population, and the social stratification, were the result of an organization of the Tenochcan population by

463 clans. And thus indeed it is not anachronistic to speak of clans of
X618 rulers, nor of clans of pulque-makers.
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/p. 50/ TABLE OF CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CALPULLI-WARDS, CALPULLI-TEMPLES, OCCUPATIONS AND DEITIES IN TENOCHTITLAN (1)

1. The names are for the most part of calpulli "wards." Nevertheless at times names of temples were taken which certainly corresponded to "wards." They appear in this case not to correspond to tlaxilacallis, except for Tzapotlan.

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Calpulli or ward	Occupation	Deities
1. Yopico 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12.	Silversmiths, 3, 4, Gold-workers 5, Xochimanques, 6, Water carriers 7, lords and kings 8, Calmecac 9, 11, 12.	Totec 2, 3, Xipe 2, 3, 4, 5, Coatlicue 6, Coatlatona 6, Chalchitlicue 7, 8, 9, Tlaloc 10, Tquiztlimayahuel 11.
2. Huitznahuac 12, 15.	lords 13, fishermen 14, Calmecac 12, 15.	Huitzilopochtli 13, 16, Opochtli 14, Huitznahuac 15, Centzonhuitznahuac 17, Tezcatlipoca 18.
3. Itepeyoc 19.	lords 19.	Huitzilopochtli 19.
4. Amantla 20, 21, 22, 23.	Tultecayotl 22, seam-stresses 23, 25, dyers (female) 23, feather workers (female) 23, painters, 24.	Tizahua, Macuilocelotl, Macuil-tochtli, Xihui, Tlati, Xilo, Tepoztecatl 20, Coyotlinahual 21, Chicomexuchitl 24, Xochiquetzal 25.
5. Pochtlan 20, 26.	merchants 20, 26.	The markets in Amantla with 20, and Yiacatecuhtli 26.
6. Auachtlan 27.	merchants 27.	

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Calpulli or ward	Occupation	Deities
7. Atlauhco 28.	merchants 28.	
8. Acxotlan 29, 30.	merchants 29, 30, 31.	Nahui Ehecatl 30, Chiconquiahuitl, Xomocuil, Cochimetl, Yacapitzahuac, Nacxitl, Chalmecacihuatl 31.
9. Tlamatzinco 12, 32.	pulque-makers 32, 33, tavery keepers 34, Calmecac 12, 35.	Tlamatzincatl 12, 32, Izquitecatl 33, Coatlicue 35.
10. Atempan 36.	Medicasters and diviners 37.	Toci 36, Mother of the gods 37.
11. Tzonmolco 37, 39, 12.	Makers of the lord's more important vestments 38, calmecac 12, 39.	Xiuhtecuhtli 37, 38, 40, Huehueteotl 38, Ixcozauhqui 39.
12. Tzapotlan 40.	Sellers of Uxitl 40.	Tzapotlatena 40.
13.	Makers of petates 41.	Nappatecuhtli 41.
14.	Precious stone workers 42.	Chicnahuiitzcuintli, Nahualpilli, cinteotli Cihuacoatl 42.

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2. Sahagún I, p. 121, 240.

3. Torquemada, II, p. 58.

4. Torquemada, II, p. 252.

5. Sahagún, II, p. 385.

6. Torquemada, II, p. 254.

7. Sahagún I, p. 40, 116.

8. Sahagún, I, p. 22.

9. Sahagún, I, p. 84.

10. Sahagún, I, p. 84, 87.

11. Torquemada, II, p. 153.

12. Sahagún, I, p. 220. They are included also with Calmecac to Tlillancalco (Cihuacoatl), Tetlanman (Chantico) and Mexico (Tlaloc).

13. Torquemada, I, p. 193.

14. Sahagún, I, p. 39; Torquemada, II, p. 61.

15. Sahagún, I, p. 220.

16. Sahagún, I, p. 137.

17. Sahagún, I, p. 221.

18. Torquemada, II, p. 150.

19. Sahagún, I, p. 215.

20. Sahagún, I, p. 142, 215.

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21. Sahagún, II, p. 389.

22. Sahagún, II, p. 392, 389.

23. Sahagún, II, p. 392.

24. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

25. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

26. Torquemada, II, p. 272; Sahagun, I, p. 225.

27. Sahagún, II, p. 350.

28. Sahagún, II, p. 350.

29. Sahagún, III, p. 49.

30. Sahagún, I, p. 326.

31. Sahagún, I, p. 42.

32. Sahagún, I, p. 190.

33. Sahagún, I, p. 190.

34. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

35. Torquemada, II, p. 151; Sahagún, I, p. 104.

36. Sahagún, I, p. 179. Sahagún in I, p. 238 says that the cuecuextecan young men go to the ward of Atlampa during this festival.

37. Torquemada, I, p. 234.

38. Sahagún, I, p. 29.

39. Sahagún, I, p. 239.

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40. Sahagun, I, p. 20.

41. Sahagún, I, p. 46; II, p. 59.

42. Torquemada, II, p. 60; Sahagún, II, p. 387, 88.

/p. 53/ THE CALPULLI AS A CLAN

Chapter 6

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/p. 55/ PROOFS THAT THE CALPULLI WAS A CLAN

The territorial organization of Tenochtitlan, the ownership of land, the division of labor and the social stratification, and other aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which were not treated in the first part of this study, such as education (1) and religion

1. See Education among the Aztecs /La Educación entre los Aztecas/, Monzón, 1946.

(2), in which the influence of the calpulli is of great importance, and

2. In the chapter referring to the division of labor I touch lightly upon these relationships between calpullis and religion (p. 49) which suggest problems which should be studied more fully.

which have themselves a determining role, present us with the fundamental problem of the social organization of the Tenochcas: Were the calpullis clans, or simply wards, or guilds, or another type of social organism? Outwardly they have elements of all the foregoing. What was their internal organization? The answer to these questions will give us for sure a correct idea as to the bases of the social organization of the Tenochcas and of its evolutionary stage. Therefore we are going to attempt to answer them. The calpulli (Nahuatl 'large house') is an organism which has been presented as a clan by some authors, or as the remains of a clan by others (see the Introduction), and certainly the calpulli was the Tenochca clan, if the Tenochcas had clans. This granted, in order to know whether the calpulli had

X618 characteristics of a clan, we have to elucidate if the individuals who belonged to a calpulli belonged to it because from birth they had ties of kinship with the other members of the calpulli, or whether on the contrary their ties originated in the fact of certain people living in the same place; that is, whether or not the bonds of kinship through common descent existed among the members of a calpulli. Actually, this process can be reduced to discussing the data encountered in the revised version of The Sources for the History of Mexico, made to elucidate this point, and which in general—I can anticipate—can be considered sufficient to demonstrate that among the Tenochcas there were groups having a type of ambilateral stratified clan—the calpullis—there being really no reasons for asserting the contrary.

/p. 56/ Let us say at the same time that there have also been valuless arguments presented to support the existence of clans among the Tenochcas. One of them is the assertion that a 16th C. author, Pedro Martyr, spoke of communal houses (3); but reading attentively,

3. Watterman, 1917, p. 296, following Morgan and Bandelier.

one finds that the mention, made in Latin, refers to the "common of the houses" or better "the generality" of houses (4) and not to their

4. Martyr, Pedro, 1945, p. 424.

communal character. In the same way, forcing the material at our disposal on these matters and simply denying the value of the information, Morgan (5), followed apparently by Bandelier, asserted that

5. Morgan, L. H., 1877, p. 203. Note.

the Tenochcan community was democratic and completely gentile, which fit well with the existence of exogamous clans. This is erroneous: if the only sources available to become acquainted with the social organization of the Tenochcas are the chroniclers, we have to find out what we can from their information and see if it is congruent. Of course we cannot trust their simple words, as Wattermann so rightly noted; but neither can we simply deny them validity as basic data.

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Let us commence now with the proofs of the existence of clans among the Tenochcas. Cortes tells us of "communities" (6) and of

6. Cortés, Hernán, Narrative Letter [Cartas de Relación], I, p. 102.

"groupings" ["colaciones"] (7) in Mexico Tenochtitlan, terms which

7. Cortés, Hernán, Narrative Letters [Cartas de Relación], I, p. 101.

are really quite vague. Most of the time all the authors who speak of the calpullis with Spanish terms do so in the same vague form. However, we have a very clear definition of the calpulli thanks to Zurita, a Spanish writer who must certainly have had first hand information and who as far as we can ascertain, tried to transmit it faithfully in writing. He presents the calpulli to us as undoubtedly a clan: "calpulli or chinancalli which is all one, means a ward of people who know each other, or an old family which has had for a long time land with recognized boundaries which belong to that stock, ward, or family" (8).

8. Zurita, A., p. 86, 87.

In this definition there enter without any doubt elements which point to phenomena of kinship by descent (family, stock) as well as elements of territoriality (ward, land, boundaries). What we need to find out is which of these were the primeordial ones, the determining ones, whether those having to do with kinship or with territorial matters.

We are told that the calpulli is a "lineage." Lineage is in general defined as /p. 57/ descendence or line from some family (9) and has

9. Barcia, Roque, Dictionary [Diccionario].

in no way a fundamentally different meaning. According to this the calpulli had its basis in descent, or—which comes to the same thing—"ascent," a basis in kinship through "ascent."

X618 "Cepa," another of the terms which Zurita also uses to define the calpulli, literally means "the part of the trunk of any tree or plant which is undergrounf and joined to the roots" and metaphorically is taken as "the trunk or origin of any family or lineage" (10). Why

10. Barcia, Roque, Dictionary [Diccionario].

would our chronicler put emphasis on something which did not exist, if he knew nothing of the theory of the formative principles of clans? Here undoubtedly he again makes a strong point of kinship by descent of the calpulli members. There is no reason to deny that the origin of the calpulli members was of prime importance for the existence of the calpulli as it was for every clan.

In what we have analyzed up to now it is clear that the descent, the origin of the calpulli members is the same for all, common to all, since this is the meaning of "eepa" and of lineage. But Zurita also uses the term "ancient kinship," applying it to the calpulli. This indicates to us that the common origin of the members of the calpulli is distant through descent, precisely as that which unites the members of any clan (and not that of a family, as might be argued). Francisco Hernández uses repeatedly terms which suggest—corroborating the above data—the existence of groups with kinship through common descent: "consanguineals" (11), "blood relatives" (12), etc.,

11. Hernández, Francisco, p. 18, 28, 29, 30, 31, etc.

12. Hernández, Francisco, p. 30.

which only can refer to groups of a clan type.

But as we have already said, in this definition which we have under scrutiny three concepts appear which are not connected with phenomena of kinship: ward, land and boundaries. This causes us to suspect the importance of territory as a formative basis of the calpulli. But it is easy to see that the use which is made of these terms reinforces rather than weakens the prime concept of kinship as the basis of the calpulli: we are told that the lands and the boundaries are the calpulli's, the "cepa's" or the lineage's, and we are not told that these same are the calpulli. According to this the personal part is prior to the territorial part in the calpulli. "It is known that for a

X 618 long time each calpulli has occupied certain lands the boundaries of which were set"... this is surely what the author wished to tell us in the phrase which we /p. 58/ are discussing when he uses terms indicating territory.

But there is another term, ward [barrio], which appears in the definition which we are discussing and which is very commonly used as a synonym of calpulli, or of "cepa" or lineage. In one of the cases where Zurita uses it he adds to it that it is "of known people" and not just any ward. This can be explained because our chronicler himself noted that the calpulli was not merely a ward and that to use the term without qualification would lead to confusion. Only in this way can his emphasis on the personal aspect, "gentile"—of people—of the term ward, used in place of calpulli, be accounted for.

But it is common—as Zurita does on other occasions—from the first writers about Mexico (13) to use the term ward as a synonym for

13. Cortés, Hernan, Letter to the Advisory Council of the Indies [Carta al Consejo de Indias], p. 540.

calpulli. Ward [Barrio] in Spanish and without qualifications means nothing more than "a territorial division of a town" (14). But some

14. Barcia, Roque. Dictionary [Diccionario].

Spanish chroniclers among those who used the term ward as a synonym for calpulli in order to give us an idea of what a "ward" was in Mexico, define it in a different way, surely because they were aware that its meaning applied to ancient Mexico, was not the same as when used to refer to the wards of their own land. "The ward," they tell us, "consists of families and of a few houses because the family people and those living close to home multiplied in children and children-in-law and grandchildren and nephews and nieces, so that it was not possible to live without much confusion, because of which the families split up into private houses, each family member knowing just where he belonged" (15). This definition of "ward" has, as

15. Torquemada, II, p. 812.

a characteristic of much importance for our subject, the relationship

X618 between persons united through a kinship recognized by its members, and is the meaning which applied to the Tenochca "ward"; in no way does the territorial reference in the general definition appear as fundamental. It is a definition which approaches closer the concept of a group of persons in a clan, than to the territorial concept of a true ward. Possibly the word ward was used by the chroniclers—they being Spanish—simply as one of the partial equivalents to the concept of calpulli, because they did not have a complete equivalent, such as clan, based on personal relationships of kinship through common descent.

There are other affirmations which make completely clear for us the relative value of kinship through descent and of territoriality in the calpulli: "it was not and is not permitted (before and while the chronicler wrote in 1585) that those from one calpulli work the land of another calpulli, so as to avoid /p. 59/ their mixing with one another and so break away from the family" (16). The prohibition

16. Zurita, p. 87, 88.

that is here set down, for members of one calpulli to work the lands of another calpulli, would not make sense if the calpulli had territorial location as a basis of its organization, if the calpulli were simply a territorial division. Even in the case that there were impediments to work the land of another proprietor, the "to avoid their mixing with one another and so break away from the family" would not have been put forward as the principal reason for the prohibition against the members of one calpulli working the lands of another calpulli, which rises as an insurmountable obstacle for making out the calpulli an organization simply rooted in location or in territorial property; since were it thus an individual could change calpullis by merely changing his geographic position. Surely we have something prior—in each case—to location and to the territorial division in the calpulli which is what determines them; as happens with localized clans.

The important thing in the assertions discussed until now is that they refer to the period when the Spanish were already dominating the Mexican territory. It was not a situation which had ceased to exist before the conquest as some authors have pretended, but was alive, although moribund because of European influence. And if it was still alive at that time it must have been much more so before

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X618 the arrival of the conquerors when the new modifying influence had still not made itself felt, an influence which was not and could not have been a reenforcement of Indian institutions, and particularly not those based in kinship by common descent (17).

17. Legally the disappearance of the inheritance of political power occurred around 1555 (Chávez Orozco, 1943, p. 5, 6).

The use of the term town [pueblo] as an equivalent of calpulli is frequent (see p. 34). It was also frequent to use the term town [pueblo] as an equivalent of exogamous clan (see p. 62). It could well be then that the term town [pueblo], used as the equivalent of calpulli simply had the meaning of settlement under certain conditions, let us say isolated and constituted by a single calpulli; what in other conditions would be a ward; established on the lands of a settlement occupied also by several other calpullis (see chapter 3). One could use as an argument in favor of the calpulli's being a clan, that considering it as such, these contradictions in the translation of the term, which are otherwise insurmountable, disappear.

We can also use as another argument the comparisons made by the chroniclers—who knew the calpulli—between this [the calpulli] and other organisms of /p. 60/ which they had written references: the 36 Roman "tribes" (18) which certainly were clans (19). These

18. Vetancourt, I, p. 223.

19. The proofs of Morgan in Chp. XI of the third part of Ancient Society [La Sociedad Antigua] are very convincing.

writers by means of these comparisons tried to give us an idea of what a calpulli was: it was a "tribe" of this sort, a clan, except that it was called calpulli.

Also in the sources are found two other terms which surely are comparable to calpulli: kindred [parentela] (20) and faction

20. Muñoz Camargo, p. 148, 149.

X618 [parcialidad] (21). In both cases the emphasis of the concept is on

21. Torquemada, II, p. 412.

the personal relationship: in the first clearly on the relationship of kinship. However, we cannot assert that these terms always had the meaning of clan. The same can be said of the terms used by Cortés: "communities" and "groupings" ["colaciones"].

I believe that all the above proves with sufficient clarity that the calpulli was a clan, which had as its very basis the relationship of kinship through descent of its members. We have already seen, furthermore, that it had a fundamental importance and that it molded the greater part of the social relations of the Tenochcas' life. Thus it cannot be denied that it was a clan, that this was functioning and was not the vestige of a clan or something else. This verifies the fundamental thesis of Morgan and Bandelier (and corroborates Olson's assumption (22)) that among the Tenochcas there were organisms

22. Olson, Ronald L., 1933, p. 369.

based on kinship through common descent. The "gentile" base of the calpulli, contradicting the idea that it was merely territorial—a ward—was also verified by Redfield's investigations in Tepoztlán in 1920 where the remains of the ancient clans which still bare the name calpulli are to be found; there are members in some of these calpulli which live in others, but who are recognized as belonging to the original calpulli, located in a different place (23). This only

23. Redfield, R., 1920, p. 288.

can be explained as being the result of an ancient organization based on kinship through common descent, and cannot be explained at all if we assume that its base is location or territorial property. It only remains to discover what type the calpulli-clan was in order to clarify the whole picture.

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Chapter 7

INDICATIONS OF THE CALPULLI'S BEING AMBILATERAL AND WITH AN ENDOGAMOUS TENDENCY

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To accept that the Tenochcas had clans is simply to accept a historical truth. But this truth creates a great number of problems for the investigator: What type of clans were these calpullis; how did they function; up to what point did their existence have social importance; how is the complexity and the cultural richness of the inhabitants of Mexico-Tenochtitlan to be explained if they were still tied through the bases of their organization to very primitive communities? Some of these questions are answered in the course of this work; others, not. Among those the resolution of which will be attempted is the investigation of what type of a clan the calpulli was.

It must be said of many of the very advanced societies which have been considered as being on a very high level of culture—such as the Greeks, the Incas, the Mayas, for example—that we know that they entered history as groups with clans. Nevertheless we still have standing almost in its entirety the problem of knowing what type were the clans they had, in accord with the new theoretical possibilities about this point.

The Tenochcas entered history with clans. Exogamous, as some authors say, remaining on a comparable level with the Iroquois? Ambilateral and non-exogamous, remaining on a level comparable to the Incas? We are obliged to elucidate this for only thus can the peoples of central Mexico be placed in their true historical position. Indeed Watterman in part sees this when he tells us that it is not even known whether the calpulli is an exogamous or an endogamous clan (1), except that for him this distinction does not imply a basic

1. Watterman, 1917, p. 273.

difference in structure as Kirchhoff's distiction does imply.

In general it is easier to find data on what a community has rather than to find out about what it lacks. But it is not always so: upon

X618 /p. 62/ investigating the existence of clans in communities which now cannot be studied directly, such as the Tenochcas, one finds that the writers are not very explicit in that regard and only offer a few isolated data. From among the latter we are going to analyze the data which refer, first, to the possibility of their having had patrilineal or matrilineal exogamous clans, and then, to the possibility that the calpullis were ambilateral with an endogamous tendency.

There is room to believe that a case can be made in favor of the calpulli's being a patrilineal clan in the very widespread custom in central Mexico of thr woman going to live in the house of her husband after her marriage, (a custom technically designated as "patrilocal") (2). But in this respect one must note that this custom of one of the

2. Román y Zamora, II, p. 90; Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 260; Zurita, p. 69; Sahagun, I, p. 118.

couple going to live in the house of the other tells us nothing about the characteristics of the reckoning of kinship through common descent of either of the two, let alone of both. Ethnic groups are known with patrilocal customs and patrilineal clans, or with patrilocal customs and matrilineal clans, or with patrilocal customs and ambilateral clans, and with patrilocal customs without clans. And the same happens with matrilocal customs: the reckoning of kinship through common descent and the location of the house of the married pair are independent traits and by no means is the fact that there were patrilocal customs an argument in favor of there having been some special type of clan.

Furthermore there is in the sources an absolutely categorical denial that there were exogamous patrilineal clans among the Tenochcas: "the Indians of Vera Paz... habitually married outside of their own tribe or town... (and) they did not have as relatives the kin of their mother, for these were in another town... (and) the reckoning of kinship was only through the men... (and) the Mexicans and the Texcocans never made marriages along the lines of some of the nations mentioned (3)." This means in our terminology that the Indians of Vera Paz

3. Torquemada, II, p. 418.

had exagamous patrilineal clans and that the Mexicans (Tenochcas)

X 618 and the Texcocans did not have them. The clarity of the report is such that it needs no other comments.

On trying to see whether there are arguments in favor or against the calpulli's being a matrilineal clan we find that there are no such categorical affirmations as we have just finished discussing. Of course this was to be expected if the calpullis were not matrilineal clans. Why should the chroniclers always mention absent traits? /p. 53/ Nevertheless we can make various considerations about the possible existence of matrilineal clans, which almost have the force of arguments. In the first place, in the event of the kinship of calpulli members having been reckoned by the maternal line, the chroniclers would have said so with even more clarity than that which they used to explain the existence of patilinear clans in Vera Paz. It is possible that they might not have mentioned patrilineal descent in the event of this being the manner of reckoning kinship of the calpulli members; but certainly they would not have failed to mention matrilineal descent which, precisely because of its strangeness to Spanish eyes, would have aided them greatly in discovering its basic principle. It is our opinion that the above is also an argument of great weight for believing that the calpulli was not a matrilineal exogamous clan, although undoubtedly it is of less weight than the categorical affirmations of the croniclers themselves.

Furthermore and as a final argument against the calpullis having been exogamous clans, we have the many probabilities that they were ambilateral. We have already seen that it is affirmed that the members of one calpulli should not work the lands of another calpulli for fear that it might result in a mingling or a breaking away from the family (see p. 59) (4). What possibilities are there for inter-

> 4. We have already seen that this rule was not so strict and that the members of one calpulli indeed could work the lands of another calpulli; but with certain limitations, such as [being] warriors, and in such a manner that clan unity was not strained.

preting this? One is that the prohibition referred to the fact that the men of one calpulli ought not to mingle with the women of another calpulli, and surely this is what Zurita meant, in which case we would have a plain confirmation of the endogamous tendencies of the calpulli.

X618 But we have to think about another possibility for interpreting the assertion: that it was the mingling of the men of different calpullis which was not permitted. In such a case the datum would tell us nothing about our problem, which refers to the relationship between men and women in relation to kinship by common descent.

Zurita's assertion presents a third possibility: that it [the prohibition] had at its root the keeping of the men of each calpulli as a unit of work. In this case also nothing would be said about our problem. Nevertheless, in this case, as in the last, the assertion lacks a true meaning, and does not appear to be what the writer we are talking about had in mind.

Indirectly, the above notwithstanding, the assertion which is obtained in making the second interpretation to the Zurita quote, that there was not to be /p. 64/ mixing of men of different calpullis, can also lead us to think that the calpulli members had no exogamous customs if we complement it with another datum, from Sahagun: "They said that the girls who ate standing up would not marry in their own towns but in distant towns and because of this mothers would forbid their daughters to eat standing up" (5). The datum is very un-

5. Sahagún, II, p. 32; also Jonghe, p. 375.

certain, but having seen that the chroniclers at times identified clans with towns [pueblos] (p. 62) and that in other cases calpullis were identified with towns (p. 34) it indeed has the semblance of an indication that it dealt with the fact that the women were not to leave to marry outside their calpulli. Complementing this datum with the earlier one that the men did not leave the lands of their calpulli, we are confronted with the possibility that neither the men nor the women left their calpullis to marry: they preferred to do so with members of their own clan.

Let us go on to another argument. On one hand various sources make the assertion that the relatives of the future husband were the ones who brought the bride to the house of the groom for the realization of the marriage (6). On the other hand, illustrating this event,

6. Sahagún, I, p. 18; Motolinia, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 260; Torquemada, II, p. 412.

we have in the Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino] (7) a drawing

7. Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino], Folio 61.

X618 whose caption says "an Amanteca who carries on her back another Amanteca in order that she marry." Outside of Tenochtitlan, there were several places which were called Amantla (from where the Amantecas come); but also in Tenochtitlan there was a ward with this name from which place the persons in the illustration could have been, since the source refers to that general zone. According to this, the person who carried the bride on her back, who was one of the relatives of the husband, was an Amanteca and therefore so also was he: it was a marriage between calpulli relatives, that is, through common descent, and refers, then, to an endogamous marriage. Then again we have also more possibilities to discuss which tell us nothing about the identity of the husband's calpulli. One is that, although it may be an Amanteca (the one who carried the other on her back) related to the groom, it may well be that this kin-bond was not through common descent but simply by affinity ("by marriage") in which case the groom could well be of a different non-Amanteca calpulli. Moreover there is a quote which tells us that those who carried the bride on their backs were her relatives (8). If we take

8. Román y Zamora, II, p. 90.

this assertion together with the previously mentioned illustration of the Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino] we know nothing about the identity of the groom's calpulli.

/p. 65/ DIAGRAM OF TENOCHCA MARRIAGES BETWEEN PARALLEL RELATIVES

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[See Diagram, p. 71a.]

(a) Ixtlixóchitl [sic. Ixtlilxóchitl], I, p. 277.

(b) Genealogy and Lineage [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 253.

(c) León M. Adrián F., 1943.

(d) León M. Adrián F., 1943.

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(e) León M. Adrián F., 1943.

(f) León M. Adrián F., 1943.

/p. 67/ It would not be an argument either for or against exogamy or non-exogamy of the calpulli.

But really we can merge both references, the one which stated that the persons carrying the bride ere her relatives and the one which stated that they were the groom's relatives. The result is that they were all relatives: she, those who carried her, and the groom. This interpretation has the advantage of erasing the apparent contradiction between the affirmations and of making them congruent. By joining the two quotes with the illustration from the Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino], which speaks of Amantecas, we find that the relationship of the affianced pair is not a family one, but of the calpulli, that is, through common descent: the calpulli was not exogamous.

There are also references which oblige us to think that there was no exogamy in the calpullis: according to a late source, they avoided marriages with mother or daughter "and sometimes with the sister," but they paid no heed to other degrees of kinship (9). This is clearly

9. Hernandez, Francisco, p. 32, 33.

to express that there was no exogamy, and even that there was a strong endogamous tendency.

So far we have analyzed affirmations which refer to the population in general. Let us see now the conclusions which can be obtained from the geneologies that exist of the Tenochca rulers. Although they only refer to a part of the population, as we know that it is mentioned that among them there existed a strong tendency to marry people of distant places, in the event of indicating the absence of exogamy they increase the general value of our clues. We find as an argument of the first importance endogamy which points to the occurrence of marriage between parallel relatives, either on the father's or mother's side (see the Table). The data on marriage in general is very abundant; but of those that interest us six have been found. These as a whole are impossible in groups with exogamous clans and are only possible in groups with an endogamous tendency. Cases 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', and 'f' could have come about only—in the event of the calpulli's

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DIAGRAM OF TENOCHCA MARRIAGES BETWEEN PARALLEL RELATIVES

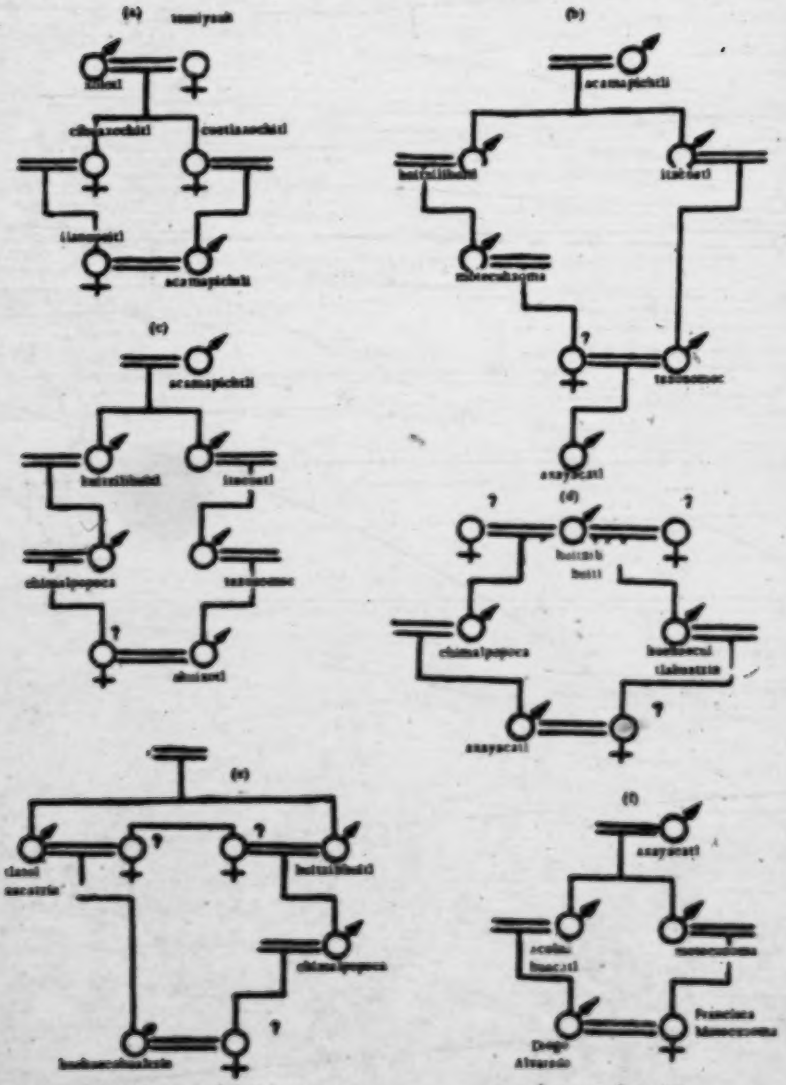

(a) Ixtlilxochitl (Sec. Ixtlilxochitl), I, p. 277.
(b) Genealogy and Lineage (Genealogía y Linaje), p. 288.
(c) Leon M. Adelia F. 1949.
(d) Leon M. Adelia F. 1949.
(e) Leon M. Adelia F. 1949.
(f) Leon M. Adelia F. 1949.

X 618 582 being an exogamous clan—if the calpulli were matrilineal since had it been patrilineal the marriage would have been between relatives, which is contrary to the very principles of the exogamous clan. Case 'a' only could have occured—had the calpulli been an exogamous clan—in a patrilineal clan since otherwise it would have been between clan relatives. All the marriages could have been realized only in the event that the calpulli did not have exogamous rules in any line: that is, that it had an endogamous tendency.

X 618 582 565 The contradiction between the endogamous tendency of the calpullis and the undoubted custom which the governing group had of /p. 68/ making their marriages between people of distant towns is only apparent; on one hand it can be thought that many of the members of the governing group of central Mexico were relatives through common descent and married one another for this reason (this would be reinforced by a few exceptions such as Tlaxcalla, with [whose people] marriage was never joined). On the other hand the situation can be viewed thus: the members of the governing group did not follow strictly endogamous rules as did the others of the community, but simply had the tendency to seek in every concrete case the improvement of their lineage (which, moreover, is a trait of ambilateral clans). In general these two explanations do not excluse one another, and in fact, we find that among the Tenochcas there were calpullis which extended over more than one town and that members of different calpullis married (10). The first is suggested by the repeated

10. Referring to what happens in present calpulliwards, which appear still to have something of the reckoning of kinship through common descent as their basis, Redfield tells us that the majority of people live in the ward where their ancestors lived for generations and that generally the belonging to a ward is by inheritance (1928, p. 287), and then he informs us that he did not find evidence that the belonging to a given ward affected the choice of a wife. There appears to me to be a contradiction in this, since if the belonging to a calpulli is hereditary and if the calpullis are localized, the only way in which they might remain localized would be by the joining in marriage of people of the same ward. Very probably it happens thus, there being also a patrilocal custom within

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the same ward; although some marriages may occur between persons of different wards, perhaps still according to special circumstances. The considering of the calpulli as a clan with endogamous tendencies, which is even now found as a vestige in Tepoztlán, removes these contradictions, which can also be taken as an argument in favor of the new position which is here presented with respect to the calpulli.

names of some isolated towns which seem to have been calpullis (like Pochtlan, Amantla, etc.) and the second is suggested by the affirmations of marriages between different lords (see p. 72).

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We have, finally, as an indication of the existence of this type of clan, an argument in favor of the fact that among the Tenochcas the reckoning of kinship was ambilateral. This refers also to the members of the population's governing group; but the fact that they also had their calpulli and for the reasons presented in the paragraph concerning their habit of endogamy, largely invalidates the objections which could be made in this respect. In a large number of cases, in the genealogies of the Mexico-Tenochtitlan rulers both lines, that of the father and that of the mother, are taken to fix the inheritance of each person; this is clearly an ambilateral characteristic. Of course it can be taken to refer to the reckoning of kinship within the family, which is always ambilateral, and not to the reckoning of kinship through common descent, of the clan, which could be unilateral of ambilateral. But in part this objection is done away with /p. 69/ when we see that in the sources from the same period, but referring to other groups than the Tenochcan, connections are made always through persons of male sex as if they were unilateral (11), and only

11. Espejo, Antonieta and Monzon, 1945, p. 48.

in those [sources] dealing with the Tenochcas (and others who do not interest us now) are connections made through both sexes. According to this, we have the right to think that the reckoning of kinship common descent was made ambilaterally among the Tenochcas (12).

12. Redfield tells us, speaking of the calpullis, which are now wards of Tepoztlán, that they tend to include

X618 groups of uninterrupted family lines which trace their descent through the father's line. (Redfield, R., 618 1928, p. 294). This would not give a unilateral reckoning of kinship if marriages obtained within the same ward, since they would be impossible in patrilineal (or matrilineal) exogamous groups. It can be said that it is more common to follow the father's line in the reckoning of descent, and nothing more.

X618 The certainty of the calpulli's being a clan, joined with: the proofs that they did not have exogamous customs with patrilineal reckoning of kinship through common descent; the slight possibility of their having had matrilineal [customs]; the indications that they had ambilateral reckoning of kinship through common descent; and that they had a tendency to endogamy; these, all together, are arguments for asserting with confidence that the calpullis were clans, ambilateral and with an endogamous tendency, and there is nothing—at least according to the documents which we now have at our disposal—to cause us to think that they were not clans, or that they were exogamous and unilateral.

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Chapter 8

DIFFERENTIAL INHERITANCE OF RANK AND THE CALPULLIS

X618 We still need to find out what was the relation between the clans 565 and the social strata, which undoubtedly occurred among the Tenochcas. We have seen how the calpulli presented ambilateral clan characteristics (kinship through common descent, ambilateral reckoning of this kinship, and a tendency towards endogamy). Let us now see how another of the characteristics of an ambilateral clan also occurred in the calpulli, a characteristic which has brought about its being called "pyramidal" (1): the internal inequality which contrasts with the generally very equalitarian character of exogamous clans. This is of much importance because the principal thesis of one

1. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 11.

X618 of the groups which has studied Tenochcan society is that, as clans
565 were present—which for them were only unilateral and exogamous (see p. 16)—they must necessarily be equalitarian (2). Contrariwise

2. Bandelier, 1877, p. 589; Morgan, 1877, p. 205, etc.

to this it can be demonstrated that there was in the calpulli a great internal differentiation of its members, and that it was not in any way democratic and equalitarian but rather highly aristocratic.

The proofs for making this affirmation are based on various declarations of people who saw how the calpulli functioned shortly after the conquest or who had at hand documents and informants which we today lack. In the first place we know that "the commoners of these wards or calpullec [sic] always have a chief and never wish to be without one, and he must be one of themselves and not from another calpulli, nor a foreigner because they will not allow of it" (3). This

3. Zurita, p. 89.

means for us that the members of the Tenochcan clans always had a chief, who had to be a member of his own calpulli.

This difference between chiefs and the governed people is, of course, always present among the members of all the clans; but the important thing is that this position of head of the calpulli was for life and was hereditary, since it is affirmed that upon the death of the head of the calpulli "they elected another, the most honored, learned and able in his way, and old; and if any son of the defunct is left, they elect him, and they always /p. 72/ choose a relative of the deceased if there be one suitable for the position" (4). In other

4. Zurita, p. 90.

words a chief was elected when the last one died, and preferably, according to this declaration, from his [the predecessor's] family. Although according to the above it appears to have been nothing more than a preference for naming the chief of the calpulli from among the members of the dead chief's family, we find other affirmations which make us see that the belonging to it was not simply a preference but a requisite, since the new chief had to be a lord

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(5), that is, must have had a rank prior to the fulfullment of his post.

5. Zurita, p. 89, 90.

Very well, in what did this rank consist? Certainly in having a determined inheritance as we have already seen when speaking of social stratification (see p. 26, 27) and as can be gathered from the affirmation that the heads or major relatives of the calpullis could trace their families back to very ancient times (6), which implies that they

6. Zurita, p. 86.

had ancestors who were very similar to themselves, possibly also lords as a consequence. Furthermore, during the migration the calpullis came guided by captains (7) and among them came nobody of much

7. Gómara, II, p. 265; Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 5.

account save only some lords (8). With this, together with the as-

8. Genealogy and Lineage, [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 248.

sertion that the relatives of the dead chief were preferred, who was himself a lord, and with the certainty that the fact of being a lord was a rank transmitted by inheritance, we are led to believe that the inheritance of clan chieftainship extended—at least through a line of ancestors—back to a very early period. The principal chiefs of the calpullis were members of the families descended from nobles of his own calpulli. That is, they were strongly aristocratic.

But we have to take into account that the calpulli was ambilateral and that inheritance was determined through both lines. What happened then with the inheritance of lords in the maternal line? On one hand we are told that the daughters of lords usually married persons from distant places (9), who generally were well-to-do (10). On the other

9. Anonymous. A note in different handwriting on page 109 of Zurita.

10. Muñoz Camargo, p. 78.

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hand, and referring concretely to Tenochtitlan it is affirmed that the lords of the wards gave as many as twenty daughters to Acamapichtli so that he would have descendents by them, and that from Acamapichtli and the daughters of the lords, came the majority and the best heritages of this land (11). With all /p. 77/ this we can accept that at

11. Gómara, II, p. 273.

least in some cases, one of the lines of descent of the calpullis' lords —the maternal line—had the same heritage as the lords of Tenochtitlan. And it is even possible that in each case—remembering that in the ambilateral clan one always attempts to improve the lineage through both lines—preference would be given for the succession to clan chieftainship to sons born of the daughters of the calpulli chiefs and of the rulers of Tenochtitlan since the lords had as successors the sons of the principal women to whom they were married (12). It could perfectly well happen that the most noble woman to

12. Zurita, p. 74; Pomar, p. 25.

whom the chief of a calpulli was married, were the daughter of the marriage between some ruler of Mexico and some one of the daughters of the lords of the corresponding calpulli. We can say, nevertheless, that the chief of the calpulli did not necessarily have to be the direct and immediate descendent of the chiefs of Mexico since once having acquired his inheritance through one person, this person transmitted it automatically. We know moreover in this regard that the pipiltzin "which word means lords—are grandchildren and greatgrandchildren of the rulers" (13). It could well have been as a consequence that

13. Zurita, p. 91.

the chiefs of the calpulli had through one line, that of the father, the heritage of the predecessors of their own calpulli, and through the other, that of the mother, the heritage, perhaps distant, of the rulers of Mexico.

The ties of the lords of one calpulli with the lords of other calpullis, and especially with the rulers of the whole Tenochcan group

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/p. 73/ SCHEMATIC PICTURE OF THE
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF TENOCHTITLAN

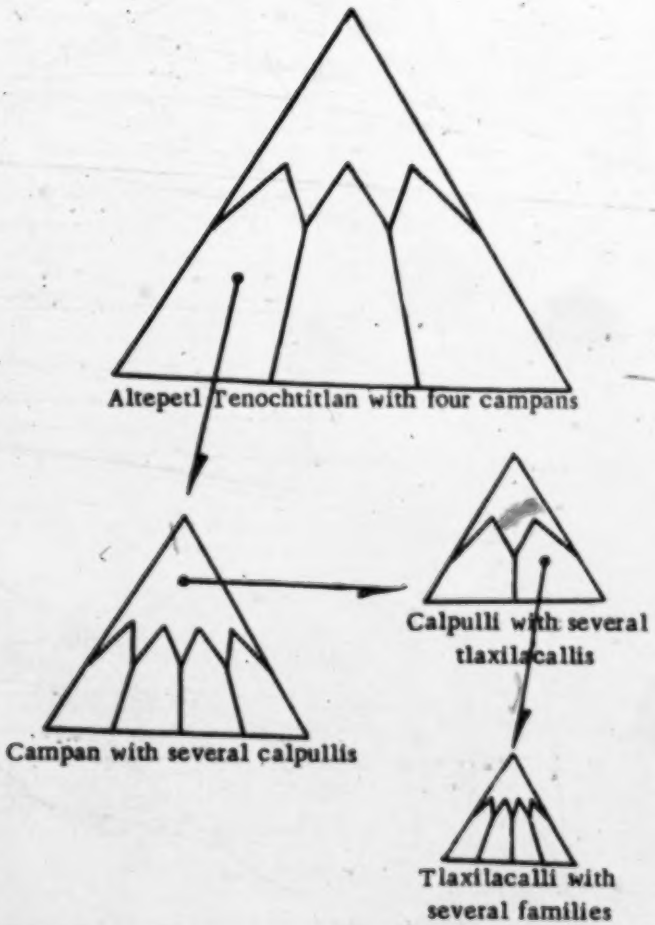

The closeness of each person to his predecessors of clan, sub-clan, group of clans, or tribe is represented in the diagram by the closeness to the vertex of each pyramid. This closeness determined his rank. The diagram also shows the relative rank of each group of relatives as a whole according to their closeness to the vertex of the corresponding pyramid.

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DIAGRAM OF THE KINSHIP OF THE TENOCHCAN RULERS

THE ROMAN NUMERALS INDICATE THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY WERE TOATOANIS OR SUPREME CHIEFS.
(a) INDICATES THEY WERE TLACATECATL
(b) INDICATES THEY WERE TLACOCHCALCATL
(c) INDICATES THEY WERE CHIUACOATL

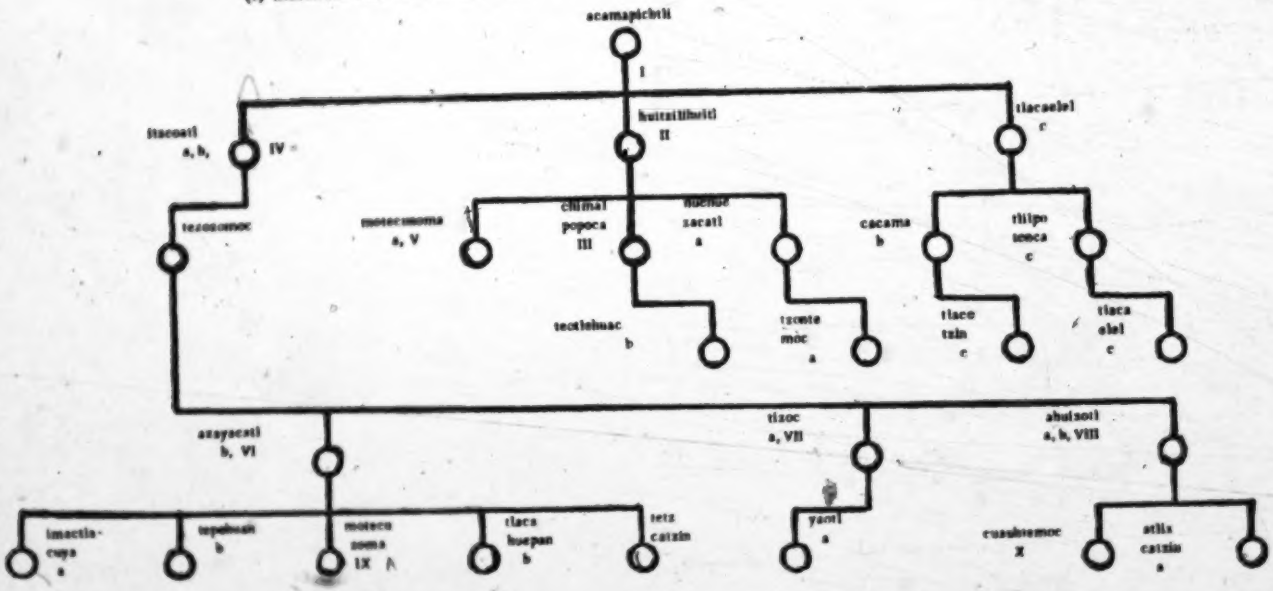

1. THE DATA WERE TAKEN FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, PRINCIPALLY FROM THE CHART OF ADRIÁN F. LEÓN M. THE DIVERGENCES WITH OTHER SOURCES DO NOT INVALIDATE THE OBVIOUS CONCLUSION THAT THE PRINCIPAL TENOCHCAN RULERS WERE RELATIVES.

X 618 565 —who also had their calpulli as we have seen—obliges us to think of differences in rank between the calpullis themselves: a thing furthermore which we had already encountered on speaking of the division of labor by calpullis (see p. 49). We can obtain data to complement the above and see what the situation was in this respect. The most [443] noble clan would undoubtedly be the clan to which the rulers of the entire Tenochca group belonged, who were always related by marriage (see the Table of Tenochcan rulers), and of this still more noble would be the tlaxilacalli of the very tlatoani; and even more, the most noble family would be the tlatoani's own family.

We have seen that not all the calpullis had a calmecac ("place of the lineage of the house" and a school for nobles) but that there were only six. Acosta also confirms this for us (14). The meaning of this

14. Acosta, José de, p. 89.

is very clear: certainly these six calpullis were more noble than the other calpullis. One of them would be that one already cited as the most noble; but the five remaining would be others in a position surely inferior but which followed it in rank. The rest /p. 78/ of the clans would surely have an inferior position to these five clans, forming as a whole a true pyramid of clans of different categories, rank or nobility.

We are also told that each one of the four large "wards" had a chief, as did each one of the calpullis (15). As we have seen also

15. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

that the chiefs of each campan were related to the other members of their campan (see p. 32) we can suspect the existence of a calpulli more noble than the others in each campan—four in all—which very probably were the four which had a calmecac. What is more, the campan where the most noble calpulli of the whole Tenochcan group was, would surely be more noble than the other three. The Tecuhtlis possibly were the most noble members of Tenochtitlan of each campan, who were paid tribute by the members of the Tenochcan group, but were foreign to their clan, like the tlacatecatl, the tlacochcalcatl, the tlatoani, etc., whose functions were very different but were connected to the life of the whole of the Tenochcan community.

X618 565 A schema can be made in which appear: the stratification of the campan in all Tenochtitlan, the stratification of calpullis in each campan, the stratification of tlaxilacallis in each calpulli, and finally the most noble family within each tlaxilacalli. It is an essentially clan like organization, although unitary. The calpulli resembles a cell of Tenochtitlan but Tenochtitlan probably had only about twenty such cells. Neither the social division of labor, nor territorial division, nor the ownership of land, nor social stratification by themselves completely explain this situation. However, it appears relatively simple if we consider it as a clan organization based on the difference of rank derived from the proximity of each one of the members of the Tenochcan group—to his calpulli ancestor, to his campan ancestor and to the common ancestor of the whole Tenochcan group.

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Chapter 9

THE POSSIBILITY OF OTHER INTERPRETATIONS

X618 The fact that all the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan belonged to calpullis, that the calpullis evinced all the characteristics of ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies and "pyramiding," and that the ownership of land, the social division of labor, territorial division and social stratification were determined by the existence of these clans indicates to us that the society which the Spanish found in Tenochtitlan was "still" a society based on kinship through common descent, but with many traits of an economic character. There were of course relationships rising out of economic production: commerce, slavery, etc.; and it is certain that the social organization of Tenochtitlan was so complex because of the necessities which arose as much from the internal organization of an agricultural community with techniques of horticulture, with fertilization, irrigation, etc., as from the organization of a veritable empire, such as the Tenochcans had, and which included possibly communities with an economy based on irrigation, terracing, etc. (1) such as happened on a large scale in the typical

1. Armillas, Pedro, 1947.

oriental societies of the old world. But in any case it appears that in Mexico the social organization still did not exceed the limits imposed by the existence of groups corresponding to one of the clan types.

X618 It appears, after all, that the doubts concerning whether the Tenochcas had clans or whether they had exogamous clans, derives solely from some investigator's limitation in their concept of clan, which did not include every organization based on kinship through common descent. It is useful, nevertheless, to make a few comments on the reasons which have been given in holding other positions.

X618 171 All the data which we have analyzed fit well within this scheme which I propose for the Tenochcan society, and, according to what I have found out, also the majority of data on this society which are not presented here fit into this scheme. I believe also that /p. 80/ many of the Meso-american groups (2) fit into a similar scheme,

2. Kirchhoff, P., 1943, p. 101E

even when many investigators tell us that there were "something like castes" among peoples like the Huaxtecs, Mixtecs, Zapotecs (3),

3. Radin, P., 1931, p. 1, 2.

and Tarascans (4), probably because all, and above all these latter,

4. Beals, R., 1932, p. 469, 470.

had endogamous marriages. It has also been said that among the Tenochcas there are traces of caste system, for the same reason (5).

5. Moreno, M., 1932.

It must be said that in reality it resembles it, through frequent endogamy. But various characteristics are lacking among the Tenochcas and certainly also in all these groups to characterize them as organized in castes: the calpullis (or the corresponding organisms with endogamous tendency in the other groups) must have been made up of a very small number of people, whereas castes appear to be true tribes subdivided in exogamous or endogamous clans (in various castes). Among the Tenochcas (and surely among the other tribes) the typical priest and warrior castes were lacking (which in Tenochtitlan belonged to different calpullis). Also in Tenochtitlan there was a certain freedom for individual development which does not exist in typical caste societies, and the social division of labor

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by calpullis was not very strict. Furthermore it must be said that the term "family" used by some investigators to refer to ambilateral groups, would better be left for groups of affinal and consanguineal relatives consolidated by marriage, and not for groups of people united by their kinship through common descent which is basic in clans. The Otomis also had groups resembling the calpullis (6) and their so-

6. Carrasco, Pedro, 1945, p. 86.

cial organization certainly was similar to that of the Tenochcas. With respect to the Mayas, Roys tells us that there were exogamous clans (7) and at the same time that there were social classes and that

7. Roys, R., 1945, p. 67.

the nobles reckoned their descent through both lines (8). Therefore

8. Roys, R., 1945, p. 33.

I think that, at least among the nobles, there were also groups of the ambilateral clan type.

All these groups fill geographically the gap left in Mesoamerica by Olson (9) and Beals (10) in their maps which include all the groups

9. Olson, R., 1933.

10. Beals, R., 1932.

about which it was possible to acertain that they had exogamous clans, all of which endorses the position maintained in this /p. 83/ work, as regards the Tenochcas, as well as regards these other groups which appear to be similar to them.

Another of the generally accepted arguments against the thesis that the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan had clans consists in the assertion that the latter had disappeared a long time before the arrival of the Spanish (11). But if we analyze the authority which they invoke

11. Hernández, Régulo, 1931, p. 60; and Freund, Georg, 1944.

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Concerning these tribes data is mentioned which leads us to believe that they had clans of the calpulli type. Perhaps the intermediate linguistic groups also had them. The boundaries marked are linguistic, based on the Map of Prehistoric Distribution [Mapa de destribución prehispánica...] by W. Jiménez Moreno and M. Othón de Mendizabal (1939).

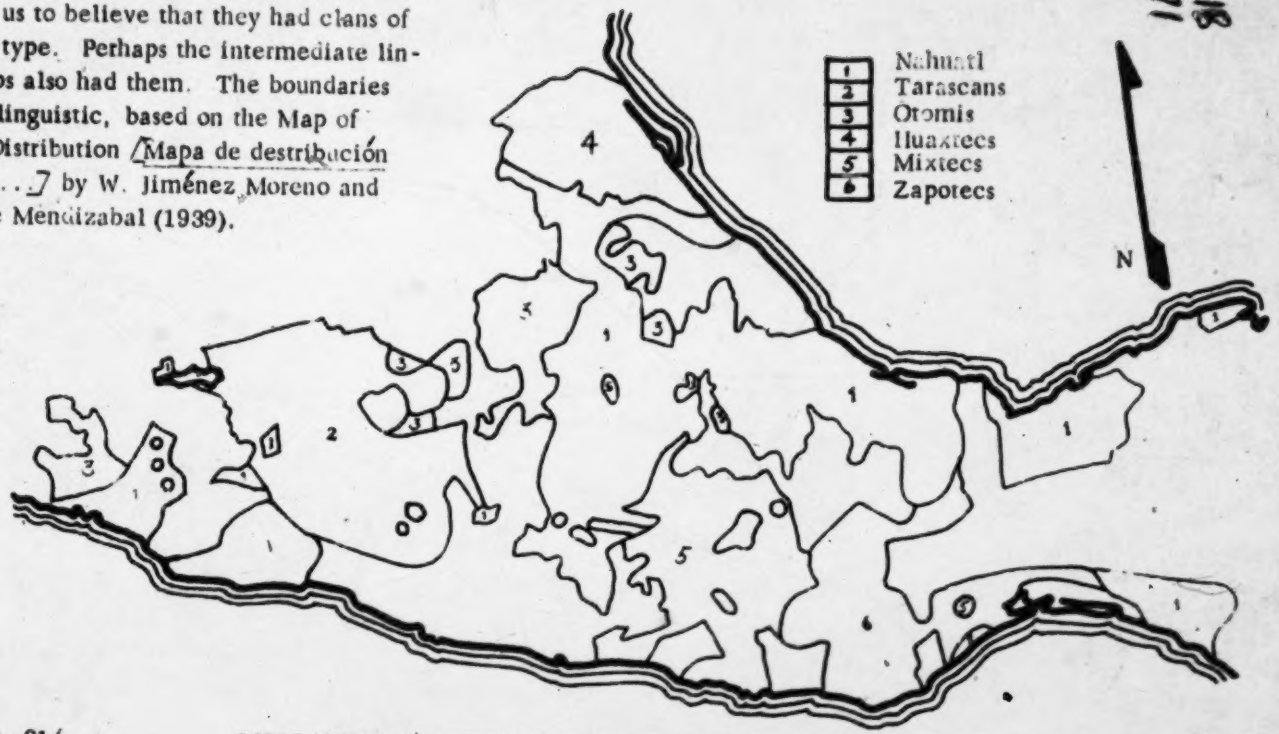

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MESOAMERICAN TRIBES WHICH POSSIBLY HAD AMBILATERAL CLANS WITH ENDOGAMOUS TENDENCY

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in support of their argument, we find that in the first place it [the authority] does not speak of the Tenochcas and in the second place it does not give a basis for affirming the assumed disappearance of clans, even in the communities to which it refers. These authors base their assertion on a reference that Techotlalatzin, ruler of the Chichimecs, "divided the soil of all the land into parcels in a certain manner and each town, according to the number of people which it had had its population redistributed propotionately; so that if in a Tecpanec town there were six thousand inhabitants, he would take two thousand from there and pass them on to another Metzotec or Chichimec town and from that Metzotec town he would take two thousand inhabitants and move them to the Tecpanec town from which he had brought the others. And if the town had two thousand he would take a fifth and move them on to a another enemy nation and from there he would take the same number and pass them to this other place whence the former had been taken. And the Tecpanec ruler who was of that town whence were taken the two thousand inhabitants, although he did not have them in the same city, recognized them as his own in the other place where they were. And the Culhua, the Metzotec, and the Aculhua rulers did the same thing, so that although he had the same number of people under him, he did not have them all in the area of his rule, but mixed in with others" (12). This cannot

12. Torquemada, I, p. 89.

indicate that the clans had been broken up among the Tenochcas since in the first place the information refers to groups other than the Tenochcas (the Metzotecs, etc.) and only can explain to us or complement other indications; and cannot serve as a basis for assertions of this nature. But there is in addition another argument against the position which we criticize: we cannot say that the Metzotecs, Culhuas, etc., formed, each one, a clan which was then dismembered, it being far otherwise since if there were indeed clans there would be several [clans] in each one of these groups (several among the Metzotecs, several among the Culhuas, etc.). We can add that if what united a ruler with the transferred people was the bonds of kinship, then we are clearly told that they [the clans] were not broken. And finally it must be said that in later cases in which the transfer of people was resorted to, this was done taking into account the "parcel" ["parcialidad"] and "generation" of the transferred

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people, which probably meant, in general terms, /p. 84/ taking the clans into account. With these data we can find out nothing about the existence of clans, or of those communities, or of the Tenochcas.

It is frequently said that the calpullis were not clans—that is exogamous clans—but rather remains of exogamous clans (13). The

13. Kroeber, A.L., 1923, p. 357, 360; Moreno, M., 1931, p. 14-16; Radin, P., 1937, p. 102; etc.

only prop for this supposition is that the calpullis, being structures which presented some characteristics of the structures based on kinship through common descent, and these not being the same characteristics as those of exogamous clans, then they could not be clans, but rather their remains. I believe it would be extraordinary to find arguments in the sources for Mexican history to prove that the calpullis were remains of such clans. Even now we find many communities which evince characteristics which recall unilateral and exogamous structures (14). But these do not resemble what we know the

14. Pozas, Ricardo, 1945; Monzón, Arturo, 1945.

calpullis of Tenochtitlán were in the 16th Century, nor those of Tepoztlán in the 20th Century in spite of having suffered from the aftermath of the conquest a much more destructive influence than that which the calpullis would have suffered if it is that there were groups in Mesoamerica with a different and more advanced social structure prior to the period of the conquest. Only if there were no indications that the calpullis were ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies could the possibility of their being remains of exogamous clans be countenanced.

The local restriction of the calpullis has been another argument against the existence of clans in the community which we are studying (15). But this cannot be of value, even as an argument that they

15. Kroeber, A.L., 1923, p. 357, 358, note.

were exogamous clans, since we have innumerable tribes including those with exogamous clans in which individuals of a determined sex

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are restricted as to locality, which only goes to indicate that their clan organization has influence in determining location. In the case of tribes such as the Maoris, with ambilateral clans, the local restriction applies to both sexes—as with the calpulli—and is certainly no reason for denying the importance of kinship through common descent in their social organization.

The division of labor by calpullis has also been presented as an argument against the thesis that the calpullis were clans (16). The

16. Kroeber, A.L., 1923.

reasoning to combat this position is simple: if the members of a calpulli evinced characteristics of members of a clan, it may be that these clan characteristics determined the social division of labor; but it is not /p. 85/ possible to accept that the social division of labor determined their characteristics of kinship through common descent. As in the case of local restriction, this would mean nothing more than that the clan organization also determined the organization of labor.

The existence of a strong social stratification (17) and of land

17. Kroeber, A.L., 1923; Moreno, M., 1931, p. 29 ff.

ownership (18) are not proofs either against the Tenochcas having

18. Toscano, S., 1946, p. 781.

had clans since we find in tribes the world over cases in which characteristics of ambilateral groups signal the existence of marked social strata such as happened among the Maoris (19) and the Incas (20).

19. Mishkin, B., 1937.

20. Kirchhoff, P., 1942 and 1948.

The argument for the existence of the social strata can be used very effectively against the idea that the Tenochcas had an exogamous clan organization, but it is not proof enough to deny that the bonds of kinship through common descent had great importance in the

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determination of social relationships, even as basic elements in the form of ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies and stratified.

The absence of totemism has also been used against the idea that the Tenochcas had clans (21). This is no proof at all because, since

21. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 25.

there are exogamous clans without totemism, the calpullis could even have been exogamous clans (although they were not) without totemism being present.

The similarity between the Greek gens, the Egyptian nome, etc., and the calpulli has also been flourished as an argument against the thesis that there were clans among the Tenochcas (22). But the

22. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 8; Toscano, S., 1946, p. 784.

similarity between these structures would have to be proved, on the one hand, which has not been done; and it would have to be proved, on the other hand, that neither the gens nor the nome had their basis in kinship through common descent, which has not been done either. Moreover, if we take into account that the Greek gens has been considered by many authors as a clan and even that it possibly was an ambilateral clan, the similarity between the calpulli and the gens would reinforce the position that the calpulli was a clan.

Really no proofs have been brought against the very existence of the clans, the most widespread and cogent being the supposed possibility of proving that the social relations of the members of Central Mexican communities, among which was the Tenochcan, stemmed from territorial division, ownership of land, or production of /p. 86/ objects; elements which we have already seen were within the limits of the organization based on kinship through common descent. Also it has been said that the Tenochcan government had the character of a "state" (23). Against this we can only pose two assertions: one

23. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 33; Radin, P., 1937, p. 104.

is that there are sufficient proofs that among the Tenochcas the principal social relationships were based on phenomena of kinship through

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common descent; the other is that there are proofs that the social strata of the Tenochca community were not social classes, and that therefore their government could not have the character of a "state" if by this we mean that it had a class and non-"gentile" character.

/p. 87/ CONCLUSIONS

/p. 89/ Chapter 10

THE EVOLUTIONARY STAGE OF TENOCHCA SOCIETY

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Let us now see concisely what are the conclusions arrived at regarding the questions posed upon undertaking this investigation in accord with the theoretical possibilities at our disposal; and try to express the evolutionary stage of the Tenochcan society in accord with such conclusions.

Systemizing our data we can say that:

a) The Tenochcas had permanent structures—the calpullis—based on kinship through common descent of its members, that is, structures which possessed the necessary qualities for accepting that there were indications of clans among the Tenochcas.

b) We can also say that, taking into consideration the different forms which clans can assume, the information which we have regarding the Tenochcan clans present them to us as ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies, among which, through having as a formative principal the reckoning of closeness of kinship to ancestors, there arose a marked internal differentiation, a veritable pyramid of ranks and of economic positions, the highest position being that of the calpulli chiefs.

c) We can say that there are many indications of there having been a differentiation in rank as between entire clans, the principal one being the one to which the chiefs of the whole Tenochcan group belonged.

d) We can say that there are also indications that the internal differentiation of the ranks of each clan is intimately bound to the differentiation between entire clans in the whole Tenochcan group through the realization of marriages between members of different clans.

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e) We can say, finally, that there are very numerous indications that the principal social relationships of the whole Tenochcan population were /p. 90/ determined by these ambilateral clan structure types which were greatly stratified and had endogamous tendencies. The more important of these relationships determined by the existence of clans were: 1st) Social stratification which was not independent from the clan organization although it had caused many investigators to think that they were real social classes or the beginnings of social classes. 2nd) The social division of labor, not only manual [labor], which had caused some authors to think that there were guilds among the Tenochcas. 3rd) The forms of land ownership, save two exceptions (the parcels of the valiant macehuales and those of the lords not subject to a determined entailed estate), which had caused it to be thought that the ownership of land was the base of the supposed classic type differences. 4th) The territorial division of the population.

Therefore we can affirm that there were clans among the Tenochcas around the time of the arrival of the Spanish; but that these clans were not of the nature of exogamous and equalitarian unilateral clans which have generally served as examples of clans, but were ambilateral clans with a great tendency towards exogamy and strongly stratified through having as their basic principal the reckoning of the closeness of kinship of their members to common ancestors.

Now then, what does all this mean from the point of view of the evolutionary stage of Tenochca society? There are several considerations that we can make in this respect: in the first place, that the Tenochcas were not in the same evolutionary stage as the Iroquois or other similar groups whose structure is equalitarian and democratic, but rather evinced a marked internal and external stratification and were markedly aristocratic. In the second place we can say that the Tenochcas were not in the same evolutionary line of exogamous clans whose structure does not permit of great development through internal evolution, but rather that the Tenochcas were in an evolutionary line of ambilateral clans which has always been susceptible to undergoing great changes. In the third place we can say that these changes —principally in the tributary system, but also in the clan system were in fact taking place in the society of the Tenochcas and that the more important of them were: a) the beginning of the separation of two hereditary strata—the pillis and the macehuales—of a graded [estamental] type; b) the beginning of the social division of labor by groups of a guild type, c) perhaps the beginning of territorial

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division based on personal location—as appears to have occurred with the valiants who were not tributary, and with the owners of alienable land; and d) the beginning of /p. 91/ non-communal and non-alienable property, as was that of the nobles not subject to entailed estates. In the fourth place one must note that the beginning of the evolutionary changes permitted by the structure of Tenochca society formed basically by clans was really hardly a beginning, and that it still had not come to constitute a structure which could even be called graded [estamental] let alone a class type. One also has to note that the premises of productivity of work and of technical advance were not present among the Tenochcas, such as allowed in other parts of the world, the appearance of grades [estamentos] and of social classes, since among the Tenochcas a) there were no great irrigation works or intensive cultivation, although there was a quite advanced hoe cultivation with horticultural techniques (fertilization, selection, etc.); b) machines were absolutely unknown; d) [sic.:c), or c) omitted in printing] there were no domestic animals which might have permitted a great accumulation of wealth, etc. Furthermore there were no possibilities that these technical premises were to obtain in the near future, although they were indispensible for a subsequent evolution. It must also be said that Tenochca life had an economic base of cultivation, of artisan specialization, and of division of labor quite sufficient to allow and require a structure as complex as that which appears in the data, and that the economic relations were of a fundamental importance for the social life of the group; but there is no doubt that they had not come to have sufficient force to break with the limitations of an organization based on kinship through common descent.

Of course, to look at Tenochca society, as has been done in this study, isolated from the groups with which it sustained commercial relations and from those bound to it by tributary relations, achieving almost a parasitic life at their cost, is to see it very fragmentarily. The same can be said as to the lack of a complete study of the whole process of the evolution of Tenochcan society. But precisely because of having found that Tenochca society, in its dominant position, still had not changed its clan structure or even enjoyed an economic well-being that other contemporary groups did not enjoy, reinforces the idea for us that they had not reached a level of evolution similar to the high oriental type cultures of India, Egypt, or China. Furthermore we have to think that in the event that the Tenochca society had continued its evolution uninterrupted by the arrival of the Spanish, it

X, 10:8 178 would have arrived at an evolutionary stage precisely similar to such civilizations, not grounded in great works /p. 92/ of irrigation, but in cultivation by terracing, and by small scale irrigation.

The typical form of the appearance of social classes—that of Greece—is precisely the beginning of the break up of the hereditary limitations of social stratification into grades [estamentos]. In Mexico the falling apart of the clans and the hereditary stratification associated with them began only at the arrival of the Spanish and not through internal evolution but through imposition in a rough manner, and the new social organization spread in a regular and gradual way with the introduction of the new forms of production; the Spanish did not accelerate an internal process already initiated in Tenochca society, rather they introduced forms to which various of the their internal processes could be easily adapted.

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INTRODUCCION

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CAPITULO I

Teorías sobre la Organización Social de los Tenochca

Este trabajo se refiere a unos aspectos de la Organización Social de los *tenochca*, habitantes de lo que fué la isla de *Mexico Tenochtitlan* [1], según como se presentaba hacia la llegada de los españoles, alrededor del año de 1519.

En 1877 ya se decía, que en relación con su importancia, sobre ningún tema se había escrito tanto como el de los aborígenes mexicanos y la Conquista española [2]. Ahora —setenta años después— ésto se ha agudizado y sobre los habitantes de México, principalmente del Centro del Valle de México, hay una enorme cantidad de obras, de toda calidad y extensión. Ha contribuido a crear esta situación, la atracción que ejerce para el investigador, por una parte, la riqueza cultural del antiguo México, y por otra la inconformidad con el modo en que autores anteriores, de acuerdo con las ideas de su época, han tratado, presentado o interpretado los inconexos y escasos datos a nuestra disposición sobre esta zona en la época que nos ocupa.

El trabajo que aquí se presenta intenta justificarse por las mismas razones. Su Tema —El Calpulli en la Organización Social de los Tenochca— originalmente había sido mucho más ambicioso [3] tratando de dilucidar todas las características de su Organización Social y tuvo que ser reducido por diversas razones. Fué sugerido al autor por los Cursos de Arqueología de México y Centroamérica —dictado por el Lic. Alfonso Caso—, de Análisis de las Fuentes de la Historia de México —dictado por el Profesor W. Jiménez Moreno— y de Organización Social y Económica —dictado por el doctor Paul Kirchhoff—, en los cuales se dio cuenta de que se desconocían

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[1] El término usado para designar a los habitantes de este lugar en esta época, ha sido tradicionalmente el de *aztecas*. En realidad es un término inadecuado porque incluye otros grupos de otros lugares. El término que por esta razón se utilizará para designarlos será el de *tenochca*, que se puede traducir como habitantes de *Tenochtitlan*.

[2] Morgan, L. H., 1877, p. 204.

[3] Parentesco y Propiedad como base de la Organización Social de los Tenochca.

9: Monzon
618

NU7 Aztec NU7

[For information on the calpulli, or Aztec "clan" see category 116, pp. 47-48; 51-92]

9: Monzon
621

NU7 Aztec NU7

[For information on the structure of the Aztec "calpulli" as a community, consult the following categories: 565, 463, 651, 423, 463, and 618.]

muchos aspectos fundamentales de la Organización Social de los habitantes de México hacia la llegada de los españoles, principalmente las bases de su Organización, y de que había material histórico y posibilidades teóricas para hacer una reinterpretación, aún contando con una porción tan pequeña de datos a este respecto.

Claro que las bases de la Organización Social de los *tenochca* no es el único aspecto desconocido de una comunidad tan compleja como era la de *Mexico Tenochtitlan*. Los aspectos desconocidos son muchos y de muy diversa naturaleza; pero no presentan la misma importancia para todos los investigadores: unos son fundamentales para quienes tratan de hacer generalizaciones universales [4] y serían las formas concretas que en la comunidad *tenochca* adoptaron las leyes válidas para todas las sociedades. También en la Organización Social de los *tenochca* se puede buscar la trama de acontecimientos, fechas y personas, es decir, los sucesos únicos y notables de la Historia de la comunidad *tenochca*. Y se puede tener interés en encontrar leyes históricas, digamos, los principios que rigieron el desarrollo de los acontecimientos sociales de la comunidad *tenochca* en la etapa evolutiva en que se encontraban hacia la llegada de los españoles.

Con respecto al primer grupo de problemas —los aspectos comunes a todas las sociedades— él autor sostiene la posición de que no es de gran interés científico demostrar que en la comunidad *tenochca* acontecía lo mismo que ha acontecido en todas las sociedades humanas. El segundo grupo de asuntos —los más particulares— tampoco forma el contenido de este trabajo, porque ya se están haciendo por otras personas y le parece urgente que los acontecimientos sociales singulares de nuestra comunidad tengan el tratamiento científico de considerarlos como resultado de las fuerzas sociales que actuaban en la época en que se presentaron. En el tercer grupo de asuntos se incluyen los problemas a que se refiere esta obra: parte de los principios que regían la vida social de la comunidad *tenochca* en la etapa histórica en que se encontraba, sin discutir si ésta era el resultado de una evolución divergente, convergente, o interna, de degeneración, de aculturación, etc.

Los problemas aquí tratados, pueden plantearse en los siguientes términos:

a) Dilucidar si había clanes entre los habitantes de *Mexico Tenochtitlan* hacia la llegada de los españoles, y en caso afirmativo, de qué tipo eran.

b) Dilucidar si existía en esta época una importante estratificación social entre ellos y cuáles eran sus características.

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[4] Tax, Sol., 1957, p. 3.

c) Dilucidar si hacia la llegada de los españoles sus relaciones sociales estaban moldeadas por uno u otro de estos factores anteriormente citados, o por ninguno de ellos [5].

Con respecto a estos problemas las opiniones de los investigadores —aunque no los hayan planteado exactamente en los mismos términos— se han dividido en dos campos, que hacen afirmaciones completamente diferentes de las cuales ninguna, por sí sola, explica las características que sabemos que tenían los *tenochca*. Unos autores —entre quienes están los que de hecho iniciaron la discusión de este tema— como Bandelier [6] y Lehman [7], básicamente han considerado que en la época a que nos referimos los *tenochca* "todavía" tenían una organización gentil, poniendo un gran énfasis en la existencia de los *calpullis* a los que consideran como clanes exogámicos igualitarios. Otros autores, como Moreno [8], Caso [9], Kroeber [10], White [11], Toscano [12], etc., se han opuesto a ver tales características en la sociedad de los *tenochca* y han tratado —en trabajos especiales o en unas cuanta líneas— de demostrar la falsedad de este punto de vista, sosteniendo que los *tenochca* de esta época ya no tenían una sociedad gentil, poniendo gran énfasis en la existencia de sus estratos sociales, en su comercio organizado, en sus guerras de conquista, etc., y consideran que el *calpulli* era simplemente una división territorial u otra cosa, pero no un clan.

Estas dos posiciones en cierto modo se complementan, pero en realidad se excluyen en la forma en que han sido presentadas, no pudiéndose simplemente reunir para tener una idea de lo que acontecía en el Valle de México hasta la llegada de los españoles, como lo hacen algunos otros autores que realmente sostienen un tercera posición, como Vaillant [13], Thompson [14], Murdock [15], y en cierto modo Acosta [16], que presentan a la socie-

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[5] Dilucidar el tipo de Gobierno —como manifestación y prueba de la existencia de un determinado tipo de Sociedad entre los *tenochca*— es indudablemente un problema que se puede resolver separadamente después de conocer la Organización Social básica: no se trata en este trabajo, sino en cuanto ayuda a resolver los otros problemas.

[6] Bandelier, 1878, I, II.

[7] Lehman, W., 1909, p. 107-108.

[8] Moreno, Manuel M., 1931, p. 14 ss.

[9] Caso, Alfonso, 1942, p. 156; 1946, diversas conferencias.

[10] Kroeber, A. L., 1923, p. 339.

[11] White, L., 1940, p. 33.

[12] Toscano, S., 1946, p. 779.

[13] Vaillant, G. C., 1941, p. 108 ss.

[14] Thompson, J. E., 1933, p. 105 y 119.

[15] Murdock, G. P., 1934, p. 372-373.

[16] Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 81.

dad de los *tenochca* al mismo tiempo con clanes exogámicos y fuertes estratos sociales, ambos con igual o muy semejante importancia, o con clanes exogámicos en transición por evolución interna a una sociedad de clases sociales.

Lo más notable es que todos estos investigadores han llegado a conclusiones tan diferentes trabajando aproximadamente con los mismos datos y consultando las mismas fuentes, y aún uno de ellos —Bandelier— el paladín de quienes han sostenido que los *tenochca* tenían clanes exogámicos, durante mucho tiempo sostuvo el punto de vista contrario [17] y solamente después de arduas y numerosas discusiones con Morgan llegó a cambiar su posición, aportando, sin embargo, un gran número de argumentos para ambas posiciones.

Para entender esta situación se necesita seguir por lo menos a grandes rasgos, el proceso de la discusión que a primera vista parece girar solamente alrededor del uso de ciertos términos. La discusión fué iniciada por Bandelier [18], pero realmente no es él quien plantea el problema de dilucidar las bases de la Organización Social de los *tenochca*, sino que es Morgan, y a él tenemos que recurrir para entender el origen y el desarrollo de todas estas posiciones. Morgan —entre otras cosas de diverso valor— hizo el descubrimiento de que las formas sociales se podían ordenar en una línea evolutiva, y que haciéndolo así se veía una correlación entre las características de los inventos y de los descubrimientos y las Instituciones Humanas, apareciendo en el curso de la Historia Humana dos planes de Organización sucesivos: uno basado en las relaciones personales de parentesco ("societas") y otro basado en el territorio y la propiedad [19] ("civitas").

Aunque ya desde antes de la obra de Morgan se hablaba de la diferencia entre los lazos originados en el parentesco y los originados en la ubicación territorial [20], realmente es Morgan el que da un sentido a esta distinción, haciendo resaltar la importancia concreta que para cada comunidad tiene el que sus bases estén en fenómenos de parentesco por ascendencia común o en la división territorial y la propiedad de la tierra, y la diversa situación en que según ésto queda colocada, dentro de la evolución humana. Morgan propuso un esquema evolutivo de todas las sociedades humanas, incluyendo en él a comunidades con costumbres exogámicas matrilineales

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[17] Bandelier, en White, L., 1942, I, Introducción.

[18] Desde un punto de vista científico no vale la pena tomar en cuenta la concepción feudalista de los conquistadores, aunque tengamos que aprovechar sus datos forzosamente.

[19] Morgan, L. H., 1877, p. 54, etc.

[20] Maine, 1861, cit. por Lowie, R. H., 1937.

como un primer estado evolutivo, comunidades con costumbres exogámicas patrilineales como un estado evolutivo posterior, comunidades claramente basadas en la propiedad de la tierra y la división territorial como un estado aún superior, y comunidades que él consideraba que estaban en transición entre estos pasos de una evolución unilinear [21]. Aunque tampoco es Morgan el primero que habló de comunidades con costumbres exogámicas, pues ya desde antes se conocían [22], sí es Morgan el primero que trata de sistematizarlas como formas especiales de la Organización Social basada en el parentesco por ascendencia común, y de dar una explicación de su origen y de su evolución desde una sociedad basada en la sistematización de las relaciones sexuales hasta que aparece la sociedad basada en la propiedad de la tierra y la distribución territorial, al mismo tiempo que trata de demostrar que hay una íntima relación entre los diversos aspectos de la cultura que presentaba cada período evolutivo. Por otra parte Morgan afirmaba que la Humanidad huía del incesto y que por lo tanto no podían esperarse —como pensaban algunos autores [23]— grupos con costumbres endogámicas, que según su teoría habían desaparecido muy al principio de la evolución social.

El bien ordenado esquema de Morgan con dos tipos fundamentales de sociedades humanas, uno basado en el parentesco por ascendencia común ("societas"), con clanes matrilineales o patrilineales, y otro basado en la división territorial y en la propiedad de la tierra ("civitas") tuvo una gran acogida por muchos investigadores, ya que en realidad introducía por primera vez la sistematización en un material muy extenso cuyo significado evolutivo nadie había intentado en conjunto. Fué un esquema tomado por algunos investigadores casi sin modificaciones, como ocurrió precisamente con quienes han estudiado la sociedad de los *tenochca*, resultando que mientras unos sostuvieron que era una comunidad de tipo "societas", es decir, que estaba basada en el parentesco por ascendencia común [24], otros autores sostuvieron que era una comunidad de tipo "civitas" [25], o que estaba basada en el territorio y la propiedad [26], o que estaba en transición entre estos dos extremos [27], según el énfasis que veían en los datos y que les convencía en uno u otro de estos dos sentidos.

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[21] Morgan, L. H., *op. cit.*, 451-4, 333-4, etc.
[22] Latham, 1859; Bachofen, 1861, citados por Engels, 1891 y por Lowie, 1937.
[23] Mac Lennan, 1886, cit. por Engels, 1891 y por Lowie, 1937; Lubbock, 1884, pp. 93, 155 ss.; Giraud Teloz, 1874, citado por Engels, 1891.
[24] Bandelier, 1878, p. 509 ss.; Lehmann, 1909 etc.
[25] Moreno, M., 1931, p. 16, 81, etc.
[26] White, L., 1949, p. 33, 35, etc.
[27] Azueta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.

De hecho el descubrimiento de que las formas sociales podían ordenarse en un sentido evolutivo puede considerarse como un adelanto definitivo en las ciencias sociales, aceptado por la mayoría de las Escuelas aunque concebido de un modo que difiere del morganista típico [20]. Lo mismo puede decirse de la existencia de dos tipos de sociedades fundamentalmente diferentes [20]. Pero hay que aceptar que algunas de las afirmaciones de Morgan —que fueron hechas con datos relativamente escasos y en un primer intento de abarcar todos los conocimientos sobre las sociedades humanas—, con el curso de nuevos estudios se han considerado inexactas —y de seguro lo son— y que hay nuevas adquisiciones teóricas y nuevos descubrimientos, que de seguro deben ser tomados en cuenta para entender la Organización Social básica que tenían los *tenochca* hacia la llegada de los españoles.

Quizá entre las más importantes modificaciones a la obra de Morgan está el aceptar que el esquema de la evolución unilinear de la sociedad humana —que había sido rechazada en el principio de las investigaciones en estos terrenos [20]— es un esquema de seguro ya sobrepasado [21] y que debemos pensar en la posibilidad de ramificaciones evolutivas, en evolución interna, aculturación, degeneración, etc., para establecer un esquema correcto [21a].

Otra de las adiciones importantes a la obra de Morgan es la hecha por Engels, quien aceptando el esquema de Morgan, recalca que en realidad las diferencias entre los tipos de comunidades "societas" y "civitas" estriban más bien en que las primeras tienen su base en la sistematización de la producción sexual, es decir, en la reproducción ("gentiles"), en tanto que las segundas están basadas en la producción de objetos, es decir en la producción económica ("políticas") [22]. Esta es una adición muy importante, aunque este autor y los que le siguieron en sus ideas aceptaron también la idea morganista de que las sociedades basadas en el parentesco solamente podían ser unilaterales y exogámicas, y aceptaron también la idea de que en términos generales la evolución social era unilinear. Algunos autores criticaron el modo de ver la evolución social que tenía Engels al introducir fenómenos de la producción sexual como base de un tipo de sociedades e hicieron sistemati-

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[20] Lowie, R. H., 1946, p. 240; Schmidt, W., 1939, p. 11-12; McIver, 1937, p. 485, etc.

[20] Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 1; Radin, P., 1931, p. 1, etc.

[21] Maine, 1861, *loc. cit.*

[21a] Schmidt, W., 1939, p. 11; Mc Iver, 1937, p. 485; Lowie, R. H., 1937, p. 59; Kirchhoff, P., 1941, p. 1, etc.

[21a] Sorokin hace una buena crítica a las teorías evolucionistas clásicas, en Dinamique Socio-culturelle et Evolutionisme, en Sociologie au XXme siècle. París, 1947.

[22] Engels, F., 1891, p. 3-6.

zaciones de la evolución social de la Humanidad considerando que toda puede explicarse por la producción económica [32]; pero parece que esta es una regresión teórica sobrepasada por Engels mismo [33], al tratar sociedades relativa o realmente primitivas.

Otra modificación de importancia a la obra de Morgan se refiere a que las sociedades más primitivas —y existentes todavía en la época moderna— presentan una organización más simple que la organización clánica, con macro-familias, frecuentemente con matrimonio monogámico, sin restos de promiscuidad ni de matrimonio por grupos [34]. En relación con esto no pudo considerarse aceptable la afirmación de Morgan de que los kamilaroi y los hawaianos (y grupos como ellos), representaran la misma situación social ni la forma más antigua de organización [35], habiéndose encontrado grupos de seguro más primitivos y grandes diferencias entre ellos.

Por otra parte no pudo probarse la supuesta evolución de los clanes matrilineales a los patrilineales, que apareciendo como complejos distintos, aunque relacionados, en casos concretos no podían ser sucesivos [36]. Además se vió que algunos de los grupos que Morgan consideraba en transición de costumbres matrilineales a costumbres patrilineales y otros con costumbres matrilineales, presentaban en muchos aspectos una superioridad notable en relación con los que tenían costumbres patrilineales (hacia donde estarían evolucionando), que era inexplicable en sus apariciones sistemáticas si se aceptaba la sucesión de clanes matrilineales a patrilineales como un paso forzoso de evolución general [37].

Con respecto a las modificaciones a las ideas de Morgan sobre los tipos de clanes hay una situación muy compleja: por las razones de los párrafos anteriores, la mayoría de los investigadores conectados íntimamente con la Etnografía en tribus de cultura primitiva abandonaron casi en su totalidad las ideas de Morgan y aceptaron explícitamente sólo su sistematización de las terminologías de parentesco. Sin embargo, posiblemente están bajo la in-

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[32] Cunow, 1926.

[33] Antes de que Engels y otros investigadores de esta corriente aceptaran la sistematización social propuesta por Morgan, Carlos Marx había propuesto una sistematización de las sociedades humanas en cuatro tipos: Asiática, Antigua, Feudal y Moderna, basándose principalmente en las características de la producción económica (Marx, C., 1859, p. 11). Desde este punto de vista Marx estudió ampliamente la Sociedad Moderna (la Capitalista) y recientemente Wittfogel la Sociedad Asiática, a la que prefiere llamar Oriental (Wittfogel, K. A., 1928).

[34] Kroeber, F., 1932, p. 180; Schmidt, W., 1922, p. 142 ss.

[35] Lowie, R. H., 1937, p. 75.

[36] Lowie, R. H., 1937, p. 78.

[37] Kroeber, R., 1932, p. 196; McIver, 1937, p. 486; Kirchhoff, P. 1944, p. 8-9.

fluencia de Morgan, al aceptar la distinción entre un tipo de sociedades basadas en el parentesco por ascendencia común y otro en la propiedad de la tierra y la distribución territorial. Y sobre todo es seguro que están bajo la influencia de Morgan al aceptar en términos generales que los únicos organismos posibles con base en el parentesco por ascendencia común tienen que ser unilaterales, idea que es muy común entre los antropólogos [38], aunque desde antes de la obra de Morgan se hablaba de grupos endogámicos (v. nota 23 de este capítulo) que tenían muchas semejanzas con los clanes y parecen estar basados en el parentesco, pero no son exogámicos. Ahora bien, a este respecto hay un estudio que hace una contribución de gran importancia a las ideas de Morgan y que puede aceptarse sin abandonar una posición evolutiva y aceptando que las bases de la Organización Social son la producción sexual y la producción económica en diversas etapas de la Historia: es el descubrimiento de P. Kirchhoff de que no ha habido grupos estrictamente endogámicos como pensaban estos autores [39], pero que por otro lado sí hay grupos basados en el parentesco por ascendencia común, que contrariamente a lo que pensaba Morgan, no son unilaterales ni exogámicos, sino ambilaterales y tienen una tendencia endogámica [40]. El clan, según estas ideas, tiene como principio el ser un organismo basado en el parentesco por ascendencia común, y no el ser unilateral y exogámico. Se puede definir así el clan como (1) un grupo de personas, (2) organizado en forma permanente, (3) al que se pertenece por ascendencia real o supuesta y excepcionalmente por adopción, (4) que regula las relaciones de casamiento, y —agregaría el autor— (5) que determina otras relaciones sociales donde se presenta. De acuerdo con el punto (3) de esta definición se pueden clasificar los clanes en dos tipos: unilaterales, si los miembros del grupo cuentan su parentesco por ascendencia común solamente a través del padre (patrilineales) o solamente a través de la madre (matrilineales); y ambilaterales si los miembros del grupo cuentan la cercanía de su parentesco con sus antecesores a través de individuos de cualquier sexo. Con el punto (4) de la definición de clan se pueden clasificar los clanes en exogámicos, si existe la prohibición de los miembros del clan de realizar casamientos entre sí, y no

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[38] Goldenweiser, 1937, p. 304; Lowie, R. H., 1934, p. 254; Kroeber, A. L. 1923, p. 357-358; White, L., 1940, p. 29; etc.

[39] Además de los autores citados en la nota 23, Wasterman (1917, p. 273) piensa en la posibilidad de que el *calpulli tenochca* fuera un clan endogámico, sin que esto signifique una estructura muy especial; y Linton (1943, p. 238-239) habla también de clanes exo y endogámicos, estos últimos con interés en la propiedad y el privilegio.

[40] Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 6, 8, 10.

exogámicos o con tendencia endogámica, si existe la tendencia a realizar casamientos dentro del mismo clan; a estos últimos se les podría llamar endogámicos si presentaran una endogamia estricta —como presentan la exogamia los clanes del tipo exogámico— pero el presentar solamente una tendencia endogámica ha hecho que el autor de esta clasificación (Kirchhoff, P.) prefiera esta denominación. Se ha encontrado que los clanes llamados unilaterales en general son exogámicos y que a su vez los clanes ambilaterales son no exogámicos, por lo que los términos correspondientes pueden usarse casi indistintamente. Además los clanes exogámicos se presentan en sociedades bastante igualitarias —como la de los iroqueses—, mientras los clanes con tendencia endogámica presentan una marcada estratificación social, que arranca del principio formativo del clan de este tipo: la cercanía de cada miembro del clan al ancestro común, lo cual resulta en toda una gama de rangos dentro de cada clan, y aún dentro del conjunto de la tribu, en donde se reproduce la situación. Por otra parte Kirchhoff da el nombre también de clanes a los grupos no-exogámicos y ambilaterales —aunque el término no tiene este uso generalizado—, porque muy posiblemente los grupos que dieron el nombre de clan a los organismos sociales basados en el parentesco por ascendencia común —igualmente que los que se llaman sib o sippe— eran, paradójicamente, ambilaterales, y tenían tendencia endogámica. De acuerdo con el punto (5) de la definición de clan podríamos decir solamente que si los grupos de parientes por ascendencia común son de importancia en una comunidad debemos hablar de clanes, y si no, de sus restos, de sus vestigios, etc.

También con respecto a las características que muestran los estratos sociales se han hecho modificaciones de importancia, que no contradicen la posición básica de Morgan y de Engels sobre la existencia de la evolución social y sobre la existencia de bases consanguíneas o económicas de la Organización Social. Son adiciones que no fueron tomadas en cuenta al hacer otros estudios sobre la Organización Social de los *tenochca*; consisten principalmente en la delimitación de tres fenómenos: clase social, estamento y casta. En algunas sociedades con determinada evolución social, se presentan los estamentos, que son estratos sociales formados por las personas de una comunidad con posición social y económica semejante, que no son parientes entre sí, pero que pertenecen a su estrato por herencia, por lo que estas sociedades muestran poca movilidad interestamental [41]. En otras sociedades muy avanzadas los estratos sociales son verdaderas clases sociales: estratos antagónicos de una comunidad cuyo papel social está determinado por

[41] Mombert, P., 1944.

la posesión de medios de producción básicamente diferentes, pero complementarios, como son la tierra, los instrumentos de trabajo o la simple fuerza de trabajo personal [42], y en los que hay una gran movilidad interclasista [43]. Hay otras sociedades que muestran castas: como carecemos de una definición de casta en términos de parentesco y de economía, (pues se les considera a veces como clanes pero endogámicos tentativamente [44]), se propone aquí —también tentativamente— adoptar como definición de casta el ser (1) subdivisiones de una sociedad, (2) con gran tendencia endogámica, (3) a las que pertenece por nacimiento, (4) que determinan automáticamente el rango de todos los miembros de la sociedad y (5) que determinan el papel de cada individuo en la división social del trabajo [45].

En este trabajo se ha intentado únicamente dilucidar si la Organización social de los *tenochca* tenía bases en fenómenos de parentesco por ascendencia común, a la luz de las anteriores adquisiciones teóricas, para intentar explicar su funcionamiento y su lugar dentro de la indudable evolución social de la humanidad. Ha quedado fuera de este trabajo la discusión de relaciones sociales surgidas directamente de la producción económica, como son el comercio [46], la esclavitud [47] y la Organización del Imperio, fundamentalmente basado en la tributación de grupos no emparentados con los dominadores. Estas son partes muy amplias de la Organización Social de los *tenochca* y muy importantes; pero pueden ser dejadas a un lado al tratar nuestro problema porque se pueden considerar seguramente como formas derivadas de una estructura fundamental. Tampoco se intenta en este trabajo describir todo el funcionamiento de la Sociedad *tenochca*, ni de discutir todas las posiciones que se han adoptado con respecto a diversos aspectos particulares de su organización social: son tantas y tan intrincadas que la discusión constituiría muchas tesis como la presente; se han tratado solamente algunas que me parecen principales para la discusión del tema central. Así, este trabajo se limita a dilucidar si entre los *tenochca* había clanes y cuáles eran las características de los estratos sociales: en la Primera Parte está una exposición de los datos que han permitido pensar a ciertos investigadores

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[42] Marx, K., 1909, p. 1054.

[43] Mombert, P., loc., cit.

[44] Forde, D., 1934, p. 273; Kroeber, A. L., 1944.

[45] Es una definición tentativa obtenida a través de pláticas con el Dr. P. Kirchhoff.

[46] A este respecto hay un interesantísimo trabajo de Acosta Saignes, Los Pochteca, (1945) y su Tesis sobre el mismo tema.

[47] Véase el Trabajo de Bosch, Carlos: La Esclavitud Prehispánica entre los Aztecas (1945).

que los *tenochca* tenían clases sociales. En la Segunda Parte se intenta demostrar que en la sociedad de los *tenochca* existía un organismo basado en el parentesco por ascendencia común, un clan ambilateral, por naturaleza fuertemente estratificado: el *calpulli*, y que los fenómenos que nos harían pensar que la sociedad de los *tenochca* era clasista tienen su explicación en la existencia de grupos de este tipo.

Las Fuentes consultadas para obtener datos que sirvieran de base a mis conclusiones son prácticamente las mismas utilizadas por Bandelier y Moreno, M., a las que se agregaron unas cuantas puestas al alcance de los investigadores posteriormente. Las fuentes consultadas naturalmente son muchísimas más que las fuentes utilizadas y citadas, porque en realidad hay una enorme falta de datos respecto a los problemas que trato en este trabajo. Hubo que utilizar algunos datos de otras regiones (*Tlaxcalla, Texcoco,* p. ej.), para completar algunas informaciones y hubo necesidad de utilizar datos de épocas muy posteriores a la que se trata de reconstruir en este trabajo; pero ésto fué imposible de evitar. Para normar el criterio con respecto a la validez de sus informaciones consideré que los documentos inmediatos a la conquista de México describen la situación de la Nueva España con algunos errores: 1º—Las limitaciones en las indagaciones y en las informaciones, porque ni los cronistas ni los informantes tenían una preparación especial, 2º—El acento dado a ciertos asuntos por el modo como los informantes o los informados los veían, según sus intereses, 3º—La dificultad que tenían los españoles para entender a una sociedad tan diferente de la suya en algunos aspectos y tan semejante en otros, 4º—La dificultad que tenían los informantes en analizar su propia sociedad. La mayoría de los datos que no podían considerarse como resultado de la influencia española fueron tomados como restos de situaciones anteriores a la conquista española. En todo caso el principal criterio de veracidad fué la congruencia presentada por los datos mismos. Esto último principalmente al manejar datos de obras muy posteriores a la Conquista o de autores que no vieron a México en esta época —Acosta, Torquemada, Clavijero, Gómara, etc.— pero que tuvieron a mano informes y documentos de que ahora carecemos, o que vieron restos aún poco modificados de la antigua Organización Social de *Tenochtitlan*.

La forma retorcida que muestran algunos razonamientos, proviene principalmente de la necesidad de aprovechar los pocos datos sobre el tema, que no son siempre específicos, ni categóricos, sino que se refieren a rasgos culturales secundarios, o derivados; pero que sugieren una situación básica, sin la cual no hubieran podido presentarse.

LA IMPORTANCIA DEL CALPULLI

[p. 21]

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CAPITULO II

Estratificación Social

En las fuentes de la Historia de México encontramos datos que indudablemente muestran la existencia de la estratificación social entre los *tenochca*, y que han permitido a algunos autores pensar que los *tenochca* tenían clases sociales. Estos datos son de muy diversa naturaleza y muy abundantes, pero aquí solamente se van a presentar los más significativos: la división entre trabajadores manuales y directores, la tributación, la diferenciación en el nivel de vida, la relación entre los estratos y los *calpullis* y la herencia de la pertenencia a un estrato determinado.

Con respecto a la división del trabajo encontramos una gran diferencia de actividades entre dos tipos de gentes: unas que realizaban trabajos manuales y otras, labores esencialmente directivas. Se nos dice que los *macehuales* eran la gente común y labradores [1] y que se dedicaban a sus oficios [2], es decir, eran trabajadores manuales. En cambio que los *pillis* y los *tecuhtlis* tenían como ocupaciones "servir en la guerra y oficios públicos de gobernadores y ministros de justicia... escuderos... mensajeros... llevar a las sementeras o a otras cosas que se hacían en común o para sus fiestas y servicio del señor" [3] y "mirar por las tierras del *calpulli* y defenderlas (y tener) pintadas las suertes que son, y las lindes, e a donde y con quien parte términos y quien las labra, e las que tiene cada uno y cuáles están vacas... y quien e cuando e a quien se las dieron" [4] y cuidar "que no se les entren en ellas" [5], y tenían "cuidado de amparar a la gente del *calpulli* y hablar por ella ante los gobernadores" [6], es decir, que los *pillis* realizaban trabajos fundamentalmente directivos o coordinadores [7]. Con estos datos podemos afir-

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[1] Zurita, p. 84.

[2] Acosta, José de, p. 425. Considerándose "oficios" como actividad manual artesana más o menos especializada.

[3] Zurita, p. 89.

[4] Zurita, p. 90.

[5] Zurita, p. 88.

[6] Zurita, p. 90.

[7] Con referencia a *Tlaxcalla* nos dice Muñoz Camargo (p. 105), que los *tecuhtlis*

mar que entre los *tenochca* se presentaba una fuerte diferenciación con respecto al trabajo: había personas que realizaban trabajos manuales y personas dedicadas a labores directivas. Estas últimas, por otra parte, aparecen en nuestros datos fuertemente relacionadas con el *calpulli*.

La diferencia en la división social del trabajo que hemos visto en el párrafo anterior tenía posiblemente como manifestación principal la posición con respecto a la tributación: unos eran tributarios y otros eran tributados. Se nos dice a este respecto que "los pobres *macehuales* todo el día trabajan para sus tributos y para darles de comer a ellos (a los principales); porque en un pueblo de mil vecinos hay un cacique y cien principales en quien el pueblo está repartido por barrios... y estos comen y beben y huelgan a costa de los pobres labradores (o *macehuales*, como ya vimos) que lo sustentan todo; y esta es orden muy antigua en todas las provincias de la tierra" [8], (es decir, también en *Tenochtitlan* y no por influencia española). De nuestros datos resulta, primero, que los principales serían aproximadamente un diez por ciento de la población, y además, la división entre personas tributadas —las que realizaban labores directivas— y personas tributarias —las que rezlizaban trabajos manuales—, y por otra parte resulta nuevamente la relación entre esta estratificación social y la división territorial, sólo que ahora con respecto a la tributación: los principales tributados eran de barrios. Todo se confirma en otras fuentes: se nos dice que los *macehuales* a su "principal o cabeza (de *calpulli*) le labraban una sementera para su sustento y le daban servicio conforme a la gente que había en el barrio" [9]. Otro autor nos dice que los viejos decían "que a sus señores naturales y legítimos la gente común tributaba en hacerles sus casas y sementeras... y lo mismo hacían a sus principales" [10]. Con todo lo anterior resulta indudable la tributación dentro del mismo grupo *tenochca* como un carácter diferencial de dos tipos de gentes, y la existencia de la relación entre esta estratificación y los barrios. Resulta también de nuestros datos que además del tributo a los principales había el tributo a "los señores", a "los caciques" lo que probablemente quiere decir a los jefes de todo el grupo, no sólo de los barrios.

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y *pillis* "son estimados como hombres calificados, que aunque sean pobrísimos no ejercen jamás oficios mecánicos ni tratos bajos ni viles. Jamás se permiten cargar, ni cavar con *coas* ni arados, diciendo que son hidalgos e que no han de aplicarse a estas cosas soéces y bajas, sino de servir en guerras y fronteras". Era de seguro lo que acontecía también en *Tenochtitlan*, aunque desgraciadamente para este lugar no tenemos ninguna afirmación tan clara.

[8] López Gerónimo, II, p. 151. Aunque afirmación de un connotado esclavista, es utilizable y sistetiza muchos datos aislados.

[9] Zurita, p. 142.

[10] Anunciación, p. 237.

Es seguro que como resultante del papel en la división del trabajo y de la distinción entre ser tributario y ser tributado, se forjaron en *Tenochtitlan* grandes diferencias en el nivel de vida de la población: los *macehuales* no tenían "ni muebles, ni vestuario, más que el que traen sobre sus personas, que es muy pobre, e una o dos piedras de moler maíz, e unas ollas para cocer e una estera en que duermen... e comen poco... la gente común e plebeyos son tan tiranizados de sus señores indios que a la mayor parte les tasan su mantenimientos" [11]. En cambio se nos dice que los principales y los señores siempre andaban en banquetes y bodas [12] y que los príncipes se acostaban en camas [13] y que tenían los señores y jugaban al azar "piedras preciosas y joyas y oro y plumería, esclavos, mantas de todo género y armas y arreos de guerra" [14]. Todos hemos visto, por otra parte, la diversidad que muestran los códices entre los vestidos y arreos de los *macehuales* y de los principales y señores en ilustraciones sahaguntinas, mendocinas, etc. Son, todos éstos, datos que nos obligan a pensar que había grandes diferencias de riqueza y bienestar dentro de la población de *Mexico-Tenochtitlan* y que se presentaban entre *macehuales* y *pillis*.

Otro aspecto que manifestaba la separación entre las personas de la población era la vida sexual: "los del pueblo dicen que tienen sólo una mujer; pero los principales pueden tener concubinas a su arbitrio" [15], y cuando se casaban "las mujeres principales llevaban consigo otras criadas (y con todas las mujeres tenían ellos)... mucha granjería, porque las hacían tejer y hacer mantas y otros oficios de esta manera" [16].

Estos datos nos muestran no solamente el bienestar implícito en tener una multitud de esposas los principales polígamos, sino también el bienestar económico derivado de esta poliginia, que quedaba fuera del alcance de los *macehuales*.

Ahora bien, esta estratificación parece que también abarcaba a grupos de personas dedicadas a otras ocupaciones que el cultivo, pues se nos dice que los mercaderes también tenían principales, que andaban con los cabezas de *calpullis* [17], lo que nos obliga a pensar que no todos los mercaderes eran

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[11] Oviedo, III, p. 335. La debilidad de la autoridad citada se desvanece por su congruencia con las demás.

[12] López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

[13] Mártir de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[14] Pomar, p. 27. Aunque referente a Texcoco el dato, coincide con lo que se sabe en afirmaciones menos categóricas, como la del Códice Alcobiz. (Leyes que tenían los Indios).

[15] Mendieta, Historia Eclesiástica, p. 297.

[16] Motolinía, Historia, p. 164.

[17] Zurita, p. 143.

principales y que por lo tanto entre ellos se presentaba la estratificación de que hasta ahora hemos hablado. Complementando y aclarando la situación, sabemos que los mercaderes y los artesanos, aunque cultivaban su tierra, no tributaban en trabajo de labranza, sino en trabajo de su oficio [18], como albañiles, carpinteros, plumajeros y plateros [19]. Aunque no se nos aclara si esta tributación de "mercaderes y artesanos" era con relación a los señores de todo el grupo *tenochca* o sólo a los principales del *calpulli* correspondiente, es muy posible que aconteciera en estos tributarios lo mismo que acontecía con los labradores que ya hemos visto: pagaban a ambos. Todo esto nos hace pensar que la estratificación que existía entre los *tenochca* no era en capas de labradores, de artesanos, de mercaderes y de jefes, sino entre jefes y gobernados, fueran labradores, artesanos o comerciantes. Refuerza esta concepción el que se nos diga que los *pochteca tlatoque* —término que se traduce como los señores de los *pochteca* (o sea, mercaderes)—, no iban a los viajes de los mercaderes, sino que encomendaban sus "mercadurías" para que se las vendiesen y después partían las ganancias [20], es decir, que dentro del grupo se presentaban las diferencias de ocupación que resultaban en una estratificación entre personas qu trabajaban como comerciantes y personas, que por otra clase de labores —directoras, de jefes, de "principales"—, recibían parte de los beneficios obtenidos por "mercadear". Refieren de los artesanos de *Texcoco* que los nobles aprendían también oficios, pero solamente como distracción [21]. De seguro algo semejante acontecía en *Tenochtitlan* y seguramente correspondía a la división entre *pillis* y *macehuales*, en grupos de artesanos.

Conviene hacer todavía algunas aclaraciones con respecto a la división entre *macehuales* tributarios y *pillis* tributados. Una fuente nos dice que aunque los principales tenían muchas mujeres, sólo a una de ellas consideraban mas importante y a sus hijos con ella como herederos de su posición [22]. Aunque el dato no se refiere a *Tenochtitlan*, de seguro era válido también para los principales de este lugar, y así los confirma en parte Zurita [23]. Otro autor nos dice que en casos de rebeldía de los principales, los quitaban y los señores ponían a un pariente cercano, como hermano, en

[18] Zurita, p. 142.
[19] Oviedo, III, p. 335.
[20] Sahagún, I, p. 351.
[21] Pomar, p. 38.
[22] Pomar, p. 25. En realidad Pomar da informaciones contradictorias: "siempre dejan como heredero de su estado al hijo de la mujer legítima", y "al más virtuoso, aunque fuese el menor... (o) de las demás mujeres". Queda sin embargo la herencia paterna como dato común a todos.
[23] Zurita, p. 90.

su lugar, pero no a su hijo [24]. Resulta de lo anterior que el heredero legal del jefe de *calpulli* era en estos casos pariente del anterior, aunque no necesariamente su hijo: posiblemente se puede decir que los parientes del jefe de *calpulli* son principales, que están en posibilidades de ser tributados como jefes si llegaban a ser de esta categoría y que no todos lo lograban. Sin embargo, de seguro gozaban de los tributos al jefe del *calpulli* sus esposas y sus hijos [25].

Se nos dice que en los barrios había otras personas principales además del jefe, como el *telpochtlato* [26] o director del colegio de cada barrio, que seguramente vivía de tributos. Se nos habla en muchas ocasiones de los tributos para los templos (v. p. 42), resultando así tributados también algunos sacerdotes. Pero todavía hay algunos otros datos complementarios muy importantes: por una parte que "estaban exceptuados de contribuciones y de algunas prestaciones... los pintores, que se llaman *tlaculoca* (q. d. *tlácuiloque*)... también los cantores... y los tocadores de instrumentos... los instructores tampoco contribuían..." [27]. Por otra parte sabemos que todos los que contribuían se llamaban *macehuales* [28] y que no contribuían los parientes de los señores y algunos principales [29], de donde podemos inferir que los tocadores, cantores, instructores, etc., que no tributaban eran gente de los señores y principales, y no de los *macehuales*. Aunque tal conclusión no es absolutamente necesaria, ni forzosa.

Hay sin embargo, dentro del esquema de ser los *macehuales* los tributarios y los principales los tributados, algunas excepciones: los que se distinguían en las guerras eran eximidos de impuestos [30], lo que nos obliga a pensar que eran *macehuales* que gozaban de un privilegio que no tenían los demás *macehuales*. De seguro eran estos *macehuales* las personas que se hacían nobles por merced [31], y de quienes no hay datos de que fueran tributados, es decir "nobles", principales por herencia, sino que inclusive no podían tener "terrazgueros" [32], es decir, que no podían vivir de tributos, y

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[24] Mendieta, Historia, p. 154.

[25] Muñoz Camargo, con respecto a *Tlaxcalla* nos dice que "los mayorazgos por ellos (los *pillis*) vinculados, jamás se dividen, pues solamente eran obligados (seguramente los *macehuales*) a alimentar a todos los parientes y hermanos de aquella casa" (p. 8).

[26] Torquemada, II, p. 220.

[27] Fuenleal, p. 249.

[28] Fuenleal, p. 249.

[29] Oviedo, III, p. 535.

[30] Fuenleal, p. 249.

[31] Sahagún, II, p. 308.

[32] Torquemada, II, p. 546.

quienes, por lo tanto, como los *macehuales* comunes, labraban personalmente sus tierras: su carácter distintivo era simplemente no tributar. Por otra parte tenemos una contraparte a estos *macehuales* que no tributaban: había principales que caían en un crimen a los que castigaban "condenándolos a muerte", o a destierro o a ser trasquilados o los hacían *macehuales* [83] es decir, que eran *pillis* a quienes se quitaba el derecho a ser tributados y se les imponía la obligación de tributar. Vimos también antes que no todos los principales estaban exentos de tributación. Podemos pensar, sin embargo, que estos casos deben haber sido una excepción, y que en general los *macehuales* eran tributarios y los *pillis*, tributados.

Tendríamos así en *Tenochtitlan* toda una gama de personas en diversa situación con respecto a la tributación: gente tributada por todos los tributantes, gente tributada por los de su *calpulli*, gente no tributante y no tributada, y gente no tributada pero tributante. Según los datos anteriores es indudable que se presentaba una marcada diferenciación en estos estratos de la población, por lo menos. Si solamente contáramos con estos datos claro que tendríamos que pensar que la sociedad de los *tenochca* era clasista; pero si analizamos otros datos a nuestra disposición, veremos la gran importancia que tenía la herencia para pertenecer a cada uno de estos estratos —exceptuando el de los valientes— lo que les quita el carácter clasista. En primer lugar se nos dice que en naciendo los niños "los lavaban los sacerdotes, y después de lavados les ponían en la mano derecha una espada pequeña y en la izquierda una rodelilla. A los hijos de la gente vulgar les ponían las insignias de sus oficios, y todo ésto debajo de algún ídolo" [84]. De aquí se infiere que las gentes se diferenciaban por su rango desde su nacimiento: unos nacían destinados a servir en guerras y fronteras (los de las rodelillas, que no eran gente vulgar), y no se habían de aplicar a labores soeces, y los otros nacían destinados a ser labradores y a tener oficios bajos y viles. Ahora bien, esta situación era hereditaria, puesto que los *pillis*, se llamaban "principales" [85], y estos eran hijos y nietos y bisnietos de señores [86], es decir, que la diferenciación que se hacía entre estos dos tipos de gentes desde el nacimiento, era hereditaria. Y como realmente se nos habla de principales desde la época de la migración de los *tenochca* [87], podríamos pensar que eran rangos muy antiguos. El carácter de *macehual* de seguro era también inseparable y socialmente complementario del de "prin-

[83] Sahagún, II, p. 308.
[84] Acosta, José de, p. 425.
[85] Zurita, p. 91.
[86] Zurita, p. 90.
[87] Genealogía y Linaje, p. 248.

cipal"[38]: se menciona también durante la migración [38], y podría considerarse como un reflejo mental de la situación, la leyenda que cuenta que los *macehuales* todos descienden de los primeros *macehuales*, los antiquísimos dioses *Oxomoco* y *Cipactonal* [39], conectados íntimamente con labores del cultivo del maíz, propias de su rango. Con respecto a los mercaderes tenemos también la existencia de principales desde la época de *Cuacuauhpitzahuac* en *Tlatelolco* [40], lo que confirmaría su estratificación hereditaria. Por lo que se refiere a los artesanos, había fundadores de los oficios a quienes sus sucesores adoraban como dioses [41]; seguramente eran ellos los correspondientes antecesores *pillis*.

Estos estratos no tenían una rigidez absoluta, de casta. Además de que ya vimos que algunos *macehuales* estaban en condiciones especiales por sus hazañas en vida, y no por nacimiento, y de que había principales que perdían su situación privilegiada de tributados, sabemos que era una costumbre la realización de casamientos entre *pillis* y *macehuales* [42], cuyos hijos deben haber tenido una condición distinta a la de los hijos de casamientos *pillis* entre sí, o de *macehuales* puros. Debe haberse presentado toda una serie de personas, desde las más nobles hasta las más plebeyas, podríamos decir (usando los términos noble y plebeyo con el sentido nuestro), dando origen a una verdadera pirámide de estratos dentro del grupo *tenochca*. Vemos así que la diferenciación de rango tiene una diferenciación económica correspondiente; pero que ésta tenía una limitación: no todos los *pillis* podían ser tributados, sino solamente los funcionarios de la tribu o del *calpulli*, y por otra parte, no todos los *macehuales* tributaban, estando exceptuados los valientes en la guerra. Reconocer esta estratificación entre los *tenochca* es una posición correcta de Caso, Spinden [43], Toscano, Moreno, White, etc., pero es correcta solamente en parte, pues estos estratos no eran clases sociales: podrían ser estamentos por la poca movilidad que implicaba el pertenecer a ellos generalmente por herencia (afirmación que con respecto al estrato superior, puede ser definitiva); pero —y esto es lo fundamental— se puede demostrar que la existencia de estos estratos estaba ligada a la de clanes ambilaterales estratificados —los *calpullis*— y que no era por tanto una estructura fundamental sino derivada, como se ve en la Segunda Parte de este trabajo.

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[38] Tezozomoc, Mexicayotl, p. 147.
[39] Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas, p. 210.
[40] Sahagún, III, p. 341.
[41] Sahagún, I, p. 46. Sahagún, II, p. 387; Torquemada, II, p. 60.
[42] Motolinía, Memoriales, p. 123; Zumárraga, p. 66, etc.
[43] Spinden, H. J., 1945, p. 210.

CAPITULO III

División Territorial

Otro de los aspectos de la Organización Social de *Tenochtitlan* que ha permitido pensar que no estaba basada en el parentesco por ascendencia común es la existencia de lo que los españoles llamaron "barrios", o divisiones territoriales de *Tenochtitlan*. Este capítulo intenta describir todos los caracteres que estuvieron relacionados con los *calpullis* en el conjunto de la organización territorial y no propiamente hacer una reconstrucción de tipo topográfico [1]. Si analizamos los datos que a este respecto encontramos en las fuentes, vemos que nos aclaran muy ampliamente la situación existente hacia la llegada de los españoles y que podemos sintetizar en la siguiente forma:

El *Altepetl Tenochtitlan* estaba formado por
cuatro *Campan* ("barrios grandes"), lada uno de estos
por varios *Calpulli* ("barrios"), subdividido cada
uno en varios *Tlaxilacalli* ("calles" o "barrios chicos")
formado cada uno por
varios *Chinampa* (parcelas familiares).

Esta tabla resulta de examinar los datos más significativos de las fuentes referentes a la división territorial de *Tenochtitlan*. No sabemos qué ocurría antes de la llegada y del establecimiento de los *tenochcas* en la isla pero se nos dice que al establecerse en *Tenochtitlan* se dividieron en cuatro barrios los señores "cada uno con sus parientes y allegados, donde cada parcialidad edificó a voluntad" [2], según lo cual parece que los miembros de cada uno de los cuatro barrios antedichos eran más allegados entre sí que con los demás miembros del grupo *tenochca*. Por otra parte —lo que aclara el texto español— el texto *nahuatl* que describe el mismo acontecimiento da el término

[1] Topográficamente el trabajo de Toussaient Fernández y Gómez de Orozco sobre *Tenochtitlan* es muy completo. Pero no toca el problema que aquí nos interesa (Planos de la Ciudad de México. Siglos XVI y XVII. México, 1938).

[2] Códice Ramírez, p. 42.

[p. 30 is blank]

calpulli (*nahuatl*: "casa grande") correspondiendo a "parcialidades", en tanto que usa *nauhcampan* (*nahuatl*: "cuatro regiones") para designar a los cuatro barrios [3]. Según lo anterior resulta que al establecerse los *tenochca* en la isla ésta se dividió en cuatro partes (*campan*), en cada una de las cuales sólo se establecieron *calpullis* allegados entre sí.

Esto pasó cuando el establecimiento en *Tenochtitlan*. ¿Qué ocurría hacia la llegada de los españoles? Por una parte los *calpullis* todavía ocupaban las tierras que fueron "repartimientos de cuando vinieron a la tierra y tomó cada linaje o cuadrilla sus pedazos o suertes y términos señalados para ellos y sus descendientes" [4]; es decir, que hacia la llegada de los españoles los *calpullis* todavía tenían la misma distribución que cuando se establecieron. Por otra parte, en tiempos ya de la Colonia, la Ciudad de México estaba dividida en cuatro barrios grandes, cada uno con otros menores inclusos [5]. Seguramente los barrios grandes eran restos de los grupos de *calpullis* allegados (los *campan*) y los barrios menores deben haber sido restos de los *calpullis*, ambos afectados por la conquista, pero cuya importancia debe haber sido muy fuerte ya que aún entonces, como antes, tenían estos barrios (grandes y chicos) mandones tanto "en común como en particular" [6].

Veamos ahora lo referente a las divisiones de los *calpullis*: un autor nos dice que lo que antes de la conquista se llamaba *calpulli*, después fué llamado *tlaxilacalli* [7]. Aunque esto puede haber sucedido en algunos casos, parece que para *Tenochtitlan* el asunto no era tan sencillo. Ante todo tenemos la información de que en la época de la Colonia, además de la división de *Tenochtitlan*, en cuatro barrios grandes, y de éstos en *calpullis*, cada *calpulli* "estaba dividido en calles que ellos llaman *tlaxilacalles*" [8]. Resulta así que no eran lo mismo *tlaxilacallis* y *calpullis*, sino que *tlaxilacalli* era, por lo menos, subdivisión del territorio de los *calpullis*, si no es que fueron agrupaciones basadas en parentesco por ascendencia, según sugieren documentos que nos hablan de parejas fundadoras de *tlaxilacallis* en lugares cercanos a México [9] y la afirmación de que los *tlaxilacallis* de *Tenochtitlan* defendían con gran empeño la integridad de sus tierras [10], como si fueran de grupos cerrados de parientes.

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[3] Tezozomoc, Mexicayotl, p. 37.
[4] Zurita, p. 25.
[5] Torquemada, I. p. 294.
[6] Torquemada, I, p. 294.
[7] El dato posiblemente es de Motolinía; pero desgraciadamente perdí la ficha exacta y aunque he tratado de encontrar el dato no lo he logrado.
[8] Torquemada, II. p. 545.
[9] Códice Cuajimalpa.
[10] Torquemada, II, p. 545.

Pudiera pensarse que hacia la llegada de los españoles los *tlaxilacallis* fueran familias o lotes familiares del *calpulli;* pero contra esta posibilidad tenemos argumentos de fuerza: se les llama "barrios" y "calles"; además, de seguro acontecía en México lo que en otros lugares cercanos, en que cada *calpulli* estaba subdividido en dos o tres *tlaxilacallis* [11], número de familias que parece muy pequeño para formar un *calpulli.* Y en el "Plano de Papel de Maguey", aparecen las "calles" mencionadas por Torquemada —los *tlaxilacallis*— separados entre sí por agua y tierra, y cada una de ellas tiene subdivisiones que de seguro eran las parcelas familiares. Parecen así los *tlaxilacallis* más amplios que la familia o que el territorio familiar, y menores que un *calpulli* o que el territorio del *calpulli.*

Por otra parte tenemos afortunadamente muchos datos que nos aclaran la situación concreta de los *tlaxilacallis* en *Tenochtitlan*: la Descripción del Arzobispado de México nos dice que los *tlaxilacallis* eran como "barrios pequeños" [12] y que en S. Pablo —correspondiente al *campan Teopan* [13] o *Teopan Xuchititlan* [14]— había 12 *tlaxilacallis* y cinco estanzuelas pequeñas, además de *Iztacalco,* que solía ser de S. Pablo sólo ocasionalmente. Revisando la lista de "barrios" del Ms. 13994 [15] se obtienen 11 "barrios" (V. la Tabla de *tlaxilacallis*): de seguro estos "barrios" del citado Ms. son *tlaxilacallis.* Esto nos aclara mucho la situación territorial de *Tenochtitlan*: uno de los nombres de *tlaxilacallis* que aparecen en el citado Ms. es igual a uno de la lista de barrios de la tabla de correspondencia entre barrios y división social del trabajo (*Tzapotlan,* el de los vendedores de *uxitl* de S. Juan). Otro de los nombres de *tlaxilacallis, Huitznahuatonco* (de S. Pablo), de seguro no es el *Huitznahuac* de los señores y pescadores mencionado por Sahagún (v. p. 50), ya que el *tlaxilacalli Tecpantitlan* (q. d. lugar de palacio) debió ser el que correspondía a los señores, de S. Juan. Bien puede ser que el *tlaxilacalli Tecpantitlan* tuviera otro nombre, no descriptivo y éste fuera uno de los tres que aparecen en la lista: *Yopico,* que es el único que se asocia con los señores exclusivamente; otro puede haber sido el de un *calpulli* al que perteneciera el *tlaxilacalli Tecpancaltitlan.* Desgraciadamente no podemos hacer, con los datos a nuestra disposición, otras correlaciones entre *tlaxilacallis* y *calpullis.* Podemos sin embargo hacer otras muchas aclaraciones: había un solo *tlaxilacalli* en que estaba el templo de mujeres (*Cihuateocaltitlan*), en el *campan Moyotla* (S. Juan). En cambio había cuatro *tlaxilacallis* llamados *Teocaltitlan,* uno en cada *campan,* que de seguro correspondían a los lugares

[11] Chimalpain, Ms. Silva Rendón. 6a. Relación, p. 231.
[12] Descripción del Arzobispado, p. 278.
[13] Vetancourt, III, p. 124.
[14] Chimalpain, Diario, p. 273.
[15] En Cédulas Reales y otros papeles tocantes a las Indias.

de los templos, de *Teocallis*. Por otra parte todo lo anterior nos hace entrever una diferencia en la categoría de los *tlaxilacallis* dentro de los *calpullis* y dentro de todo *Tenochtitlan* en conjunto. Aunque los datos se refieren ya a una época posthispánica, indudablemente la situación que sugieren, tiene visos mucho más marcados de prehispánica.

Hay otros términos que debemos aclarar además de *campan, calpulli* y *tlaxilacalli*, y cuya importancia para entender la situación de los *tenochca* es fundamental: *altepetl* se traducía por Pueblo y *huey altepetl* por Cabecera de Provincia. *Huey altepetl* quiere decir *altepetl* grande, y se aplicaba a lugares como *Tenochtitlan* con muchos *calpullis* y con hegemonía política sobre otros grupos; bien puede ser que *altepetl* se aplicara a lugares sin hegemonía sobre otros grupos. Un autor nos dice que *altepetlalli* (tierras del *altepetl*) y *calpullalli* (tierras del *calpulli*) eran lo mismo [16]. Completando ésto nos dice Clavigero que las tierras del *altepetlalli* se dividían en tantas partes cuantas eran los barrios [17], quedando así aclarada la relación entre *altepetlalli, altepetl* y entre *calpullalli* y *calpulli*: el *altepetl* estaba formado por *calpullis*, y el conjunto de las tierras de los *calpullis* constituía las tierras del pueblo [18].

Parece que los términos discutidos tenían en ciertas condiciones límites vagos, pudiendo pensarse que por un proceso natural de crecimiento, teóricamente al menos, el territorio de una familia podía llegar a ser el de un *tlaxilacalli*, el de un *calpulli*, (quizá no, el de *altepetl*); quedando sin embargo como unidad básica el *calpulli*, la "casa grande".

Encontramos así la Organización Territorial de *Tenochtitlan* como la presentamos en el principio de este capítulo: *altepetl, campan, calpulli, tlaxilacalli y chinampa* como subdivisiones, en orden descendente, del territorio del grupo. Esta subdivisión podría haber sido una subdivisión simplemente territorial: en barrios; pero parece más tener algunas relaciones con fenómenos de parentesco, por mencionarse *tlaxilacallis* como fundadas por parejas y *campan* formadas por *calpullis* allegados. Estas relaciones serán completamente seguras si se demuestra que el *calpulli* era un clan y de seguro se encuentran argumentos para pensar que entre los *tenochca* los *calpulli* eran clanes como se ve en la Segunda Parte.

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[16] Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

[17] Clavigero, I, p. 355.

[18] Hay otros términos cuya determinación sería muy conveniente; pero no he encontrado datos para realizarla: *tlayacapan*, que Molina en su diccionario traduce como barrio y como colación; *calmecac*, que traduce como canóna; *tepepa*, que traduce como ciudad, lo mismo que *altepetl*; y *chinampa*, que traduce como barrio, aunque por el uso conocido actualmente en México tenga más bien la significación de parcela familiar.

Tabla de Tlaxilacallis de Tenochtitlan en 1637 [1]

Barrio grande S. Juan [2] o *Moyotla*.	Barrio grande de S. Pablo o *Zoquiapan* [3].	Barrio grande de S. Sebastián o *Atzacoalco*.	Barrio grande de Sta. María o *Cuepopan*.
Tecpancaltitlan [4]			
Cihuatecaltitlan			
Teocaltitlan	*Teocaltitlan*	*Teocaltitlan*	*Teocaltitlan*
Tzapotla	*Tlacheuitlan* [5]	*Tomatla* [6]	*Tlacolpan* [7]
Macpalxochititlan	*Atepanazco*	*Coatlan*	*Tezcaltzonco*
Tequicaltitlan	*Toltinco*	*Zacatlan* [8]	*Analpa*
Huehuecalco [9]	*Huitznahuatonco*	*Cuitlahuatonco* [10]	*Copolco*
Atlampa [11]			*Atlampa*
S. Cristóbal	*Tezcamincan*	*Cotolco*	*Colhuacayonco*
Huexistecalco	*Temazcaltitlan*		*Iztacalecan*
Tlalcocomoco	*Ometochtitlan*		
Amanalco	*Contzinco*		
Petitlan [12]	*Zoquipan*		
Atlixopan	*Ocelotzontecontitlan*		
Tlatilco			
Xihuitonco			
Tequizquipan [13]			
Necaltitlan			
Xollohco [14]			
Acatla			
Xocalpan [15]			

[1] Se mencionan en la Lista los *tlaxilacallis* que aparecen en la relación del año de 1637, del Ms. 13994 y en notas se ponen las diferencias con la relación del año anterior —que es menos completa— y algunas menciones de diversos *tlaxilacallis* hechas por Chimalpain en su Diario y que me fueron trasmitidas por el Sr. R. H. Barlow. No coinciden en general los nombres de los *calpullis* con los de *tlaxilacallis*, naturalmente.

[2] Los nombres de estos "barrios" fueron considerados por Vetancourt como nombres de *calpullis* de todo *Tenochtitlan* y Bandelier y muchos autores le siguieron en su error.

[3] Chimalpain llama a este "barrio grande" *Teopan Xochititlan* (p. 275. Diario).

[4] Falta en 1636.

[5] También en Chimalpain, p. 13.

[6] Aparece *Tlapa* en 1636, nombre quizás mutilado.

[7] Aparece *Tepatitlan* en 1636, que parece más correcto.

[8] También en Chimalpain, p. 15.

[9] También Chimalpain, p. 219.

[10] Aparece *Xapalco* en 1636.

[11] También en Chimalpain, p. 251.

[12] También en Chimalpain, p. 13, y donde aparece como *Tonatla*.

[13] Falta en 1636.

[14] También en Chimalpain, p. 238.

[15] También en Chimalpain, p. 238.

CAPITULO IV

La Propiedad de la Tierra

Vamos a analizar otro de los aspectos de la Organización Social de los *tenochca* que pueden hacer pensar que no tenía sus bases en el parentesco: la propiedad de la tierra. En las fuentes encontramos que principalmente estaba relacionada con la existencia de los *calpullis*.

En las fuentes españolas de principios de la Conquista siempre se toman, casi indistintamente, tres criterios en realidad muy diferentes para hablar de la propiedad de la tierra: uno es el trabajarla personalmente, otro es el percibir tributo de quien la trabaja, y otro es el percibir "renta". Este último no va a ser discutido ampliamente aquí; pero con referencia a todos estos criterios podemos hacer algunas aportaciones: se nos dice que los indios hacían sus planos indicando tres clases de tierras: amarillas las de los *calpullis*, encarnadas las de los principales y de un colorado fuerte las de la recámara del rey [1]. El significado que tenían estas indicaciones es lo que nos va a ocupar principalmente.

Asentemos primeramente que las tierras de *Tenochtitlan* habían sido originalmente ocupadas solamente por miembros del mismo grupo *tenochca;* pero que parece haber indicios de inmigraciones posteriores desde otras regiones, como de *Xochimilco* [2], aunque en general carecemos de datos completos al respecto. Podemos suponer, sin embargo, que en caso de haber habido inmigraciones, éstas fueron aisladas con consentimiento del grupo en general, pues sé nos dice, sin particularizar, que el que arrancaba y quitaba los mojones y términos de los pueblos tenía pena de muerte [3]; en el caso de *Tenochtitlan*, por estar en una situación muy especial de aislamiento, era muy difícil que ocurriera una invasión.

Ya vimos que los *calpullis*, desde su establecimiento en *Tenochtitlan*, estaban concentrados y limitados, y que las tierras que ocupaban hacia la llegada de los españoles, eran las mismas que ocuparon desde su estableci-

[1] Torquemada, II, p. 546.
[2] Vetancourt, III, p. 124; Torquemada, II, p. 60.
[3] Remón, I, p. 285.

[p. 36 is blank]

miento en *Tenochtitlan*. Esto, aunque la repartición original haya estado en parte determinada por la cantidad de gente que había en cada uno de los *calpullis*, de seguro ya había provocado que en la época de la llegada de los españoles no hubiera una repartición equitativa; y de hecho se afirma que no todos los *calpullis* tenían la misma cantidad de gente [4], lo que es muy comprensible si el desarrollo de los *calpullis* había sido más o menos libre. De seguro no coincidiendo con el número de gente, algunos *calpullis* tenían más tierras que otros [5], y aún sabemos de algunos que las tenían "vacas" [6] (sin utilización). Esto en un principio puede no haber sido de mucha importancia, si se repartieron las tierras de acuerdo con la gente de cada *calpulli*; pero sí debe haber provocado grandes dificultades cuando algunos se desarrollaron más que otros. Parece que, por otra parte, las tierras que ocuparon originalmente los *tenochca* fueron paulatinamente aumentadas por medio de las *chinampas* [7] —terrenos artificiales—, aunque éste era un método que tenía muchas limitaciones. El resultado es, de todos modos, que las tierras de *Tenochtitlan* estaban repartidas por *calpullis* desde su establecimiento en *Tenochtitlan*, y que a pesar de las diferencias en cantidad de gente o en cantidad de tierras, no podía un *calpulli* tomar tierras de otro *calpulli* [8]. Esto sugiere fuertemente que los *calpullis* eran los grupos cerrados propietarios de los terrenos, más que simples barrios.

Vamos a ver ahora cómo estaban distribuídas las tierras dentro del propio *calpulli*: las tierras del *calpulli* estaban ocupadas por los *macehuales* solamente en parte y las demás las labraban para la paga de sus tributos [9]. Podemos complementar esta información con otra acerca de que todos tenían tierras en particular o en común en sus *calpullis* [10]. Resulta así que las tierras del *calpulli* estaban divididas primeramente en tierras cultivadas para los tributos y tierras cultivadas para el sostenimiento de los propios labradores, y en segundo lugar, resulta que estas tierras cultivadas para el sostenimiento de los propios labradores estaban distribuídas "en particular" o "en común".

Las tierras distribuídas "en particular" eran de seguro las tierras parceladas y asignadas a familias que incluían hermanos y sobrinos del jefe de

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[4] Zurita, p. 87.
[5] Zurita, p. 87.
[6] Zurita, p. 88.
[7] Clavigero, I, p. 379.
[8] Torquemada, II, p. 345; Zurita, p. 88.
[9] Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.
[10] Zurita, p. 104.

familia [11], parcelas que eran indivisibles por herencia [12] y cuyo derecho a trabajarlas caía siempre dentro de los descendientes de la misma familia [13], con pena de muerte para el que quitaba o apartaba sus mojones y términos [14].

Las tierras se daban en general a miembros del propio *calpulli* [15] y debe haber habido diferencias en el tamaño de los lotes, por lo menos según la posibilidad para trabajarlas [16] y aún había personas que no tenían tierras en su *calpulli* [17], quizá porque por dos años las habían dejado sin labrar y se las quitaban [18]. El resultado era que de los miembros de cada *calpulli* unos tenían más tierras que otros y que posiblemente todos podrían labrar más de las que tenían; es decir, que había una relativa escasez de tierras de cultivo; pero parece que las familias no eran las dueñas de sus lotes.

Ahora bien, se nos dice que algunos salían de sus *calpullis* huyendo de la tributación excesiva o por otras razones [19], quizá saliendo de los *calpullis* de más gente y menos tierras, a *calpullis* con menos gente y tierras disponibles para trabajar. A este respecto se nos aclara que quienes se iban de sus *calpullis* perdían los derechos a las tierras asignadas para ellos en su *calpulli* [20].

Se podían dar tierras de unos *calpullis* a miembros de otros calpullis "rentándolas" para las necesidades públicas y comunes del *calpulli* [21], posiblemente por tiempo limitado, "por un año, dos o más" [22] y aparentemente no "por vida", es decir, no pasando en realidad los miembros de un *calpulli* a otro *calpulli*. (Esto en parte tampoco acontece en los *calpullis* estudiados por Redfield en 1920 [23], sugiriendo ésto que el *calpulli* era un grupo propietario, más que un barrio). De todos modos debemos asentar que en general la mayoría de las gentes debían tener tierra en sus *calpullis* y que posiblemente el salir a otros *calpullis* era una excepción (Podríamos incluso pensar que entre los *tenochca* acontecía lo que entre los maorí, donde era posible el paso

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[11] Gómara, II, p. 277; Cortés, 1538, p. 540.
[12] Gómara, II, p. 277 y 309.
[13] Gómara, II, p. 277.
[14] Leyes que tenían los indios p. 208; Ixtlilxóchitl I, p. 258; Torquemada, II, p. 386.
[15] Zurita, p. 25 y 27.
[16] Zurita, p. 88; Cortés nos proporciona medidas extremas de lotes de 100 a 2,000 de "tierras medidas" (1538, p. 540) y Clavigero nos da una medida de 3 por 8 toesas, o sea aproximadamente 48 m².
[17] Zurita, p. 89.
[18] Zurita, p. 89.
[19] Cortés, 1538, p. 541.
[20] Zurita, p. 88.
[21] Zurita, p. 88.
[22] Zurita, p. 116.
[23] Redfield, 1920, p. 288.

de una persona de un grupo a otro, en el que se le adoptaba [24]). Así parece que el *calpulli* era un verdadero grupo propietario, dándose el uso de la tierra como prueba de su propiedad. Eran las tierras pintadas de amarillo, con pleno reconocimiento de su existencia.

Había, además de las tierras dadas a los *macehuales* comunes del *calpulli* de que acabamos de hablar, una modalidad en la distribución de las tierras de los *calpullis* que era de fundamental importancia: las tierras dadas a los valientes. Estas tierras se daban por merced por hechos hazañosos en la guerra [25]. Pero, y ésto es lo fundamental, eran tierras de las que se sustentaban y donde no podían tener terrazgueros [26]; es decir, eran tierras que trabajaban y les rendían frutos, pero que no les daban tributos, como a los verdaderos principales (v. p. 27); por otra parte, estas tierras eran parcelas familiares y no eran *tlazilacallis*, ni *calpullis*, puesto que se nos dice que las heredaban los miembros de su familia y regresaban al *calpulli* a que estaban asignadas en caso de que no hubiera heredero, para que se pagara el tributo a que estaban obligadas [27]. A menudo se ha creído que estos "valientes" eran gente verdaderamente ennoblecida y por lo tanto, tributada [28]; pero resulta, de acuerdo con los datos presentados anteriormente que los valientes eran *macehuales* que no tributaban, pero que por lo demás tenían tierras que trabajaban personalmente como los demás *macehuales*, y como no lo hacían los principales. El problema es saber si ellos estaban en tierras de sus propios *calpullis* o en tierras de *calpullis* extraños. En el primer caso estarían formando parte de la distribución general de la tierra por *calpullis*; pero se diferenciarían en cuanto á la situación social determinada por tributación; en el segundo caso —si estuvieran los valientes en tierras de *calpullis* extraños— es seguro que estarían en tierras de *calpullis* conquistados por la guerra, y así, aunque sí constituían una brecha, no podemos suponer que constituyeran una brecha de importancia en la distribución de las tierras por *calpullis*, puesto que la guerra tenía como finalidad principal el conseguir tributo a los conquistados y ellos no tributaban. Esto seguramente limitaba el número de los valientes no tributarios. Así podemos afirmar que esta forma de tener la tierra estaba ligada en cierto grado a la existencia de los *calpullis* y no era la fundamental en *Tenochtitlan*.

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[24] Goldenweiser, 1922, p. 382. Mendiola, N. 1957, p. 409.

[25] Torquemada, II, p. 545 y 546; Vetancourt, I, p. 273.

[26] Torquemada, II. p. 545. Zurita (p. 176) nos dice que los renteros pagan renta "Al señor dellas", expresión que no parece referirse a *macehuales*, ni aún ennoblecidos, es decir no contradiciendo su afirmación la anterior de Torquemada.

[27] Torquemada, II, p. 546; Vetancourt, I. p. 272 y 372.

[28] Caso, Alfonso, 1946.

Vayamos a otro punto: las *pillalli*. Este término se traduce por tierras de los *pilli* —los principales, que ya tratamos. Ahora bien, ya vimos, que una porción de las tierras del *calpulli* se labraba para el tributo y otra para el sostenimiento de los *macehuales* (v. p. 38), y que el tributo dado a los *pilli* era el labrarles una sementera (v. p. 24). Podemos pensar así que las tierras del *calpulli* (*calpullalli*) tenían una porción para el sostenimiento de los propios *pilli* (*pillalli*) y que el resto era la tierra de que se sostenían los *macehuales*. Esto se comprobaría cuando se nos dice que salvo las tierras vendidas por principales a mercaderes, todas eran, o habían sido tierras del *calpullis* [29]. Habría que pensar, sin embargo, que es posible, aunque casi imposible, que éstas estuvieran separadas del conjunto de las tierras de su *calpulli*. Serían, en uno u otro caso, las tierras encarnadas, las de los principales.

Examinemos ahora los datos sobre otras tierras, las llamadas *tecpantlalli*: encontramos en las fuentes éste término, que se puede traducir como tierras del *tecpan*. Ya vimos que *Tecpancaltitlan* era uno de los *tlaxilacallis* de *Tenochtitlan* (v. p. 33) lo que nos hace pensar que estas tierras eran las de este *tlaxilacalli*. En las *tecpantlalli* habitaban los *tecpanpouhque* o *tecpantlaca* [30], términos que respectivamente pueden traducirse como "los contados en el *tecpan*" y "las gentes del *tecpan*", es decir, un grupo de gentes determinado. Eran tierras y gentes del señor [31], y en ellas vivía "gente que era muy estimada y conjunta a la casa del rey, y a quien más estimaba el común" [32]. Todo ésto nos hace pensar que estas tierras eran de un grupo, al que pertenecía "el rey" (q. d. *tlatoani*). Ahora bien, estas tierras "sucedían de padres a hijos... y si alguno moría o se iba a otra parte, quedaba su casa y su tierra para que con orden del rey o del señor, los demás de la parcialidad pusieran otro en su lugar", y no podían venderlas [33], y las labraban los *tecpantlaca* personalmente [34]. Estos datos nos indican, primero, que en ellas reinaba la misma situación que reinaba en las tierras de los *calpullis* y *tlaxilacallis*: distribución en parcelas familiares y herencia del uso, y que tenían cierta unidad con respecto a un grupo que las usaba: su "parcialidad". Todo ésto nos hace pensar que las *tecpantlalli* eran de un *calpulli* o de un *tlaxilacalli*, el *calpulli* o el *tlaxilacalli* al que pertenecía el *tlatoani*.

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[29] "las tierras que poseían eran del pueblo y del común y de los barrios que tenían repartidos, y que algunos principales vendieron parte de estas dichas tierras a personas particulares y aquestos que las compraron las dejaron a sus descendientes; empero que al principio fueron tierras de los pueblos, que ellos llaman *altepetlalli*; o tierras de los barrios, que ellos llaman *calpullalli*" (Anunciación, p. 238).

[30] Torquemada, II, p. 346; Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Torquemada, II, p. 346.

[33] Torquemada, Ibid.

[34] Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

Ahora bien, no se nos habla solamente de *tecpantlalli*, sino también de *tecpillalli*, que "casi eran como las que se decían *pillalli*" [26]. *Tecpillalli* se traduce como tierras del *pilli* o de los *pillis* del *tecpan*, lo que nos aclara qué tipo de tierras eran las que recibían este nombre: las tierras destinadas al sostenimiento de los *pillis* del *tecpan*, —los nobles del *calpulli* del *tlatoani*—, tierras que posiblemente formaran una unidad con las demás del *tecpan*, como quizá la formaban las de otros *calpullis* divididas entre *macehuales* y *pillis*.

Había tierras y heredades para los templos [26]. Estas de seguro eran de dos tipos, pues por una parte había, "en cada barrio una suerte" [27], es decir, que de seguro estaban distribuídas por *calpullis*. Pero por otra parte había otras que no estaban o parecían no estar en esas mismas condiciones, puesto que en ellas los sacerdotes funcionaban como mayordomos [28] y tenían terrazgueros y vecinos que tributaban sólo a los templos [29]. Quizá esto signifique que eran *calpullis* o *tlaxilacallis* cuyos principales eran sacerdotes. Reforzando esta afirmación el que estas gentes se diferenciaban de las otras y tenían a honra ser dedicadas a ese ministerio [30], algo semejante a lo que acontecía en el caso de los *tecpantlaca*. Lo que podemos deducir de todo lo anterior, de cualquier modo, es que para hablar de la existencia de las tierras de los templos se toma como criterio el tributo, y no la utilización directa de la tierra por los sacerdotes. Por otra parte se puede obtener de nuestros datos la seguridad de que el *calpulli* era un organismo fundamental para la existencia de estas tierras en la forma en que se presentaban: dando cada *calpulli* una parte de sus productos, o dedicándose *calpullis* enteros a tributar exclusivamente, para el sostenimiento de las necesidades religiosas. En algunos casos había pueblos alejados de la propia ciudad, que eran tributarios para los templos y que se turnaban cada medio año [31]. Pero no sabemos qué ocurría durante el medio año que no tributaban a los templos. Podemos pensar que seguían con su organización en *calpullis* y quizá tributando a sus principales nada más.

Algo semejante a lo que ocurría con las tierras de los templos ocurría con las tierras para la guerra, o *yaotlalli* que tenían diversos nombres según los productos que proporcionaban, *cacalomilli*, *milchimalli* [32] y que eran "para

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[26] Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.
[27] Román y Zamora, I, p. 180; Zurita, p. 176.
[28] Cód. Ramírez, p. 79.
[29] Clavigero, I, p. 281.
[30] Román, I, p. 190.
[31] Torquemada, II, p. 165.
[32] Torquemada, II, p. 164.
[33] Vetancourt, I, p. 372.

el bizcocho de la guerra" [43]. Por una parte eran tierras repartidas "en los *calpullis* y barrios, según la cantidad de gente que había en cada parcialidad" [44], posiblemente de la propia ciudad. Estas tierras había también en lugares conquistados, pues se nos dice que Moctezuma tenía en todos los pueblos tierras señaladas que le sembraban como a los templos y (cuyo producto) se llevaba a *Tenochtitlan* —si no había guarnición—, o la comía la guarnición, y si no sembraban, les daban de comer de todos modos [45]. Parecen ser así simplemente tierras de *calpullis* cuyo tributo se destinaba al sostenimiento de los guerreros y de las necesidades de la guerra. Hay sin embargo, una mención que aparentemente contradice lo anterior, aunque es posible que sólo lo suplemente: se nos dice que estas tierras de guerra estaban en los mojones y no eran de nadie, ni nadie sucedía en ellas, sino que las ocupaba el señor que mantenía la guerra [46]. Parece que ésto quiere decir que para gozar de lo tributado no había sucesión de una persona determinada por otras características que no fueran las de ser el jefe de la guerra; pero que sí estaban ocupadas por labradores comunes y que su tributo se daba al jefe de los ejércitos para las necesidades de la guerra. Al hablar de que estaban en los mojones quizá se refiere a que estaban en los límites de los lugares de conquista. La posibilidad de que la característica de este tipo de tierras fuera únicamente la finalidad del tributo se podría reforzar con los datos de Ixtlilxóchitl de que en las tierras de los señores conquistados y sujetos había otras suertes de tierras que llamaban *laotlalli* (sic. por *Yaotlalli*), las cuales eran ganadas por guerras, y de éstas lo más principal pertenecía a las tres cabezas del imperio de las cuales una era el jefe de la guerra, y lo demás se daba y repartía a los señores y naturales que habían ayudado con sus personas y vasallos en la conquista de los tales pueblos ganados por guerra y ésto las más de las veces venía a ser el tercio de los pueblos o provincias conquistadas [47]. Según todo lo anterior parece que el criterio para caracterizar este tipo de propiedad de la tierra, era la propiedad del tributo, siendo en realidad tierras de *calpullis* como las restantes.

Se nos habla de otro tipo de tierra: las *tecuhtlalli* (tierras del o de los *tecuhtlis*). Para dilucidar lo que ésto significa tenemos tres citas: una, que en estas tierras recogían los señores y principales a los que venían de otros pueblos y provincias huyendo [48]; otra, que cada señor indio en su tierra,

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[43] Torquemada, II, p. 546.
[44] Torquemada, Ibid.
[45] Oviedo, III, p. 537.
[46] Anónimo. Relación, 1554? p. 145.
[47] Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.
[48] Asunción, p. 238.

cuando a ella se venía de otras partes a poblar, e a los que estaban poblados las daban tierras en que sembraran, señaladas "que cada uno conosca las tierras que ha de sembrar y la mayor parte dellos tienen su casa en la heredad que tienen por suya" [80]. Según esto parecen llamarse *tecuhtlalli* todas las tierras que tributaban a los *tecuhtlis*; pero cuya organización puede haber sido en *calpullis* si quedaban los pobladores llegados, como los que ya estaban asentados. Hay que pensar, que no obstante esta posibilidad, las inmigraciones de pobladores quizá no siempre fueron con personas formando *calpullis*, o que se organizaran al establecerse. Bien puede ser que parte de estas tierras fueran las que se llamaban *tlatocamilli*, de las que se dice tenían cuatrocientas medidas de largo y ancho, se arrendaban y que la renta se comía y gastaban en la casa del señor [80] y eran muchas y buenas, pero no se podía disponer de ellas [81], es decir, venderlas. Es posible que el resto de las *tecuhtlalli* fueran las tierras de los *calpullis* que se podían rentar para beneficio de los *calpullis* (v. p. 39). En todo caso podemos pensar que en parte estas tierras parecen ser tierras de *calpullis* cuyo tributo era para el *tecuhtli* o los *tecuhtlis*, y que en parte las *tlatocamilli* sí parecen haber sido tierras de posesión de un grupo muy limitado, trabajadas por renteros; pero de un grupo con características muy especiales seguramente hereditarias. Quizá eran las tierras "de la recámara del rey", pintadas de encarnado.

Las formas hasta ahora estudiadas son comunales, cuyo producto se divide entre quienes las trabajan directamente y sus jefes, en distintos modos. Vamos a tratar finalmente un tipo de propiedad de la tierra que se separa completamente de ellas porque parece ser de propiedad particular: se nos dice que algunos parientes de los señores e algunos principales y mercaderes tenían tierras que podían jugar y vender [82]. Parecería con este simple dato que había un verdadero comercio libre de la tierra; pero no acontecía así: en primer lugar en lo que acabamos de transcribir vemos que poseían las tierras en esta forma solamente algunos de los parientes de los señores, algunos de los principales y algunos de los comerciantes; si los principales no eran sino cuando mucho un 10 por ciento de la población (v. p. 24), el número de estos poseedores debe haber sido muy reducido. En segundo lugar, con respecto a los comerciantes, podemos decir que si, como vimos, presentaban la división entre nobles y plebeyos (p. 25), lo más posible es que los comer-

[80] Oviedo, III, p. 535.

[80] Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170. Nos dice también que se llamaban *Itonal Intlacatl*, lo que significa algo como "el signo del nacimiento de la gente", es decir, quizá fueran las del linaje del señor.

[81] Zurita, p. 105.

[82] Oviedo, III, p. 535.

ciantes plebeyos no pudieran ser propietarios que disponían de sus tierras libremente, como no lo podían ser los *macehuales* comunes ni aún los ennoblecidos por valientes [53]. Esto limita, considerablemente, tanto el número de propietarios de este tipo, cuanto el número de propiedades en tales condiciones. Por otra parte no se podían vender las tierras que estaban sujetas a algún vínculo [54], lo que seguramente quiere decir que las tierras que se podían vender no eran las tierras destinadas al sostenimiento de los gobernantes del grupo *tenochca*, ni las destinadas al sostenimiento de los jefes de los *calpullis*, ni las destinadas a los sacerdotes, ni a los guerreros, ni las hereditarias en los miembros comunes de los *calpullis*. Quizá se trataba entonces de parcelas de las tierras de lugares conquistados dadas a *macehuales* valientes o a *pillis*, pero que no estaban ocupadas ya por los *macehuales* de *calpullis*, sino posiblemente por los muertos en la guerra. Deben haber sido muy pocas y de seguro no formaban la base de la sociedad como se presentaba hacia la llegada de los españoles. Las tierras con ocupantes dadas a los valientes nobles eran quizá tierras de *calpullis* —como las de los templos, etc.—, y constituían realmente sólo formas de propiedad del tributo; en cambio éstas, sin ocupantes, sí eran tierras con características de propiedad particular, de las que se podría obtener renta si se era noble, pero no si se era *macehual* ennoblecido [55], (v. p. 40). Es decir que aún saliéndose de la forma concreta de organización en *calpullis* en parte, quedaban dentro de ella, por ser esta propiedad exclusiva de personas, cuyo rango era hereditario, y estar ligada la existencia de estos rangos a la existencia de los *calpullis* como ya vimos. Queda en pie saber cuáles eran las características de los *calpullis* para decidir en el fondo cuál era la base de esta forma especial de la organización de la propiedad de la tierra.

Hemos visto cómo la distribución de la tierra se realizaba principalmente por *calpullis*, que parecen grupos propietarios. En esta forma parece fácil ver el papel de los jefes de *calpullis*: la unidad con personalidad era el *calpulli*, pero el jefe tenía su representación tanto ante los demás miembros del *calpulli* como ante personas extrañas, y la tributación que se le hacía, quizá no era como propietario, sino como funcionario; aunque muy posiblemente con el curso del tiempo se había estado forjando una separación entre el papel ideal del jefe y el papel real, aprovechando el jefe su situación para obtener un nivel de vida muy superior al de los *macehuales* de su propio *calpulli*. Esta organización de la propiedad de las tierras por *calpullis* parece ser la fundamental, y derivada, la existencia de tierras cuyo tributo se destinaba al sostenimiento de funcionarios con papeles sociales muy diversos (sa-

[53] Torquemada, II, p. 545 y 546. Vetancourt, I, p. 275.
[54] Torquemada, II, p. 545.
[55] Torquemada, II, p. 545 y 546.

cerdotes, guerreros, etc.), qué realmente no parecen propietarios de tierras sino de derechos a tributos provenientes de tierras de *calpullis*. Sólo las tierras de los *macehuales* ennoblecidos y las de los principales no sujetas a vínculo eran las que se salían en parte de esta organización de la propiedad por *calpullis*. Todo esto nos plantea dos posibilidades: una es que los *macehuales* y los *pillis* tuvieran sus tierras en común (*calpullalli*) y que parte de ellas se labraban para el sostenimiento de los *pillis* o de los sacerdotes o guerreros nobles (*pillalli*). Otra posibilidad es que los *macehuales* tuvieran sus tierras en común (*calpullalli*) y los *pillis* en particular (*pillalli, tecpillalli, tlatocamilli*), pero sujetas a ciertas restricciones de carácter social. De todos modos ambos grupos —*pillis* y *macehuales*— serían propietarios de tierras, y de todos modos quedarían las tierras no sujetas a vínculos —las de ciertos *tecuhtlis*, principales y mercaderes— como tierras de propiedad particular, pero con tantas restricciones en lo referente a los sujetos que podían poseerlas, que no quedaban como una estructura principal, sino secundaria en importancia. El que hubiera otras formas de propiedad de la tierra no rompe la estructura fundamental si no son las que predominan: podríamos decir que casi todos los fenómenos culturales se presentan en todas las comunidades; pero que los importantes y básicos no son los mismos en todas las comunidades. El problema fundamental es entonces otro: estando fuertemente determinada la propiedad de la tierra por la existencia de los *calpullis*, necesitamos saber cuáles eran las bases de los *calpullis* para decidir si estas formas, las más generalizadas y principales de la propiedad de la tierra, estaban o no, determinadas por fenómenos de parentesco por ascendencia común.

CAPITULO V

División Social del Trabajo

Hay otro aspecto de la Organización Social de los *tenochca* que ha permitido pensar que no estaba basada en el parentesco por ascendencia común, sino en la producción económica: la división social del trabajo por grupos especializados semejantes a gremios. Y analizando los datos de las Fuentes de la Historia de México, se encuentra también, que en este aspecto como en los anteriores, el *calpulli* era un elemento fundamental.

Si los labradores constituyeron durante algún tiempo la totalidad de la población de *Tenochtitlan* es algo que no sabemos todavía. Lo que sí sabemos es que hacia la llegada de los españoles reinaba una situación muy compleja. Por un dato ya de la época de la Colonia sabemos que todos los vecinos, aunque tuvieran otra ocupación, tenían sus tierras de cultivo [1], aunque cultivaran poco [2]. Esto, seguramente era aún más general antes de la llegada de los españoles, es decir, que el cultivo era una actividad común a toda la población, quizá exceptuando a los principales; pero que además, no en todas las personas era la actividad única, teniendo algunas, otras ocupaciones. Todos sabían "labrar una piedra, torcer un cordón y buscar de qué lo hacer y los demás oficios que no demandan mucha arte" [3]. Complementando lo anterior había una diferenciación en las actividades de las gentes para producir aquellas cosas "que habían de vender" [4], y un verdadero mercado de la fuerza de trabajo que se ofrecía en plaza como otra mercancía [5]. Es decir, se presentaba una división social del trabajo que podríamos llamar artesano. Sabemos de la existencia de mercaderes —personas que estaban especializadas en labores de intercambio de objetos no producidos por ellos directamente—. De lo anterior podemos inferir que había una división del trabajo entre labradores, artesanos y mercaderes, además de la que ya vimos entre traba-

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[1] Torquemada, II, p. 450.
[2] Descripción del Arzobispado, p. 178.
[3] Zurita, p. 189.
[4] Motolinía, Memoriales, p. 236.
[5] Zurita, p. 83.

jadores manuales y directores. Algunos autores han pensado que estos mercaderes constituían una clase social [6] o los principios de una clase social [7] o una casta [8] o que los artesanos constituían gremios [9] derivados de clanes que se convirtieron en unidades de la división social del trabajo [10]. Vamos a dilucidar ésto.

Por una parte los mercaderes se "contaban" en sus *calpullis* [11], es decir, que pertenecían a *calpullis*. Por otra parte, al hablar de los mercaderes y de los artesanos, se nos dice que de toda clase de gente había en los *calpullis* [12] y que los mercaderes y artesanos eran "de estos barrios y *calpullis*" [13], afirmaciones de las que podemos inferir que en los *calpullis* estaban tanto los mercaderes, cuanto los artesanos y los labradores.

Ahora bien, por una parte, en general, los padres daban a sus hijos educación para ejercer sus mismas ocupaciones [14], y por otra se hace una declaración de mucha importancia: que a los hijos de la gente vulgar al nacer ponían en las manos miniaturas de los instrumentos de sus oficios (v. p. 28). De ésto resulta que desde el nacimiento se sabía cuál era el oficio que cuando adulto iba a tener el recién nacido, y que este oficio era en general el del padre, es decir, que había herencia de la ocupación productiva. Esto seguramente acontecía también con los mercaderes, pues se nos dice que mercaderes sólo podían serlo con permiso de los señores ó porque les viniera de herencia [15]. Tenemos así una indudable herencia del papel en la división social del trabajo.

Parece que en *Tenochtitlan* esta división del trabajo se realizaba por barrios, como en *Tezcoco*, (donde los de un barrio tenían una misma ocupación, todos los del barrio la habían de tener y no se habían de mezclar otros con ellos [16]), pues en todas las provincias de México la especialización en las cosas que se habían de vender era por "barrios" [17]. Además —y esta es la prueba fundamental—, se puede establecer una correlación entre nom-

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[6] Moreno, M., 1931, p. 33; Toscano, S., 1946, p. 782.
[7] Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.
[8] Thompson, J. E., 1933, p. 186.
[9] Cunow, H., 1906, p. 275-278; Kohler, 1924, p. 29.
[10] Kricheberg, W., 1939, p. 287.
[11] Sahagún, I, p. 44.
[12] Zurita, p. 143.
[13] Zurita, p. 105.
[14] Códice Mendocino, fol. 70; Zurita, p. 110-111; Román y Zamora, II, p. 187, etc.
[15] Zurita, p. 142.
[16] Torquemada, I, p. 146.
[17] Motolinía, Memoriales, p. 236.

bres de "barrios" y ocupaciones (v. p. 50), reuniendo datos dispersos principalmente de Torquemada y Sahagún, que se refieren a esta división del trabajo y a la especialización por grupos en la adoración de las deidades. Refuerzan esta correlación tres afirmaciones, una acerca de que la dedicación mágica de las personas a una actividad se hacía debajo de algún ídolo (v. p. 28), probablemente el del "barrio"; otra, de que las fiestas de algunos meses eran "como" fiestas de Cofradía [18], es decir, de grupos aislados, probablemente de "barrios"; y finalmente, que en las fiestas a los ídolos intervenían los miembros de un solo "barrio", y no los de otros [19].

El resultado de esta correlación entre actividades, "barrios" y deidades se presenta aquí en una Tabla y nos aclara completamente el carácter de la división social del trabajo en *Tenochtitlan*: era por "barrios" que separaba a jefes tribales, pulqueros, comerciantes, etc. Es una división que muy difícilmente se podría caracterizar como clasista, pues no tiene sentido, por ejemplo hablar de la clase de los pulqueros, pues de ser así, ellos quedarían en iguales condiciones de "clase", que los mercaderes. Parecería corresponder más bien a una división gremial, ya que la clase de un gremio es la organización de las gentes que tienen un mismo oficio [20] y que en ella se presenta la separación entre trabajadores manuales y directores que se presentaba también entre los *tenochca*, como ya vimos (v. p. 23). Resulta sin embargo, muy raro que hablemos de un gremio de señores, como tendríamos que hacerlo si aceptamos que la división del trabajo por "barrios" que mostraban los *tenochca* era por gremios; y es falsear la situación porque los señores no reúnen las características de trabajo manual que son básicas en una organización gremial. Creo poder probar, por otra parte, que estos "barrios" —que probablemente eran *calpullis*, puesto que en general no coinciden sus nombres con los de los *tlaxilacallis*— eran clanes, y que por lo tanto la división del trabajo, como la propiedad de la tierra, la distribución territorial de la población, y la estratificación social, eran resultantes de una organización de la población *tenochca* por clanes. Ya así no resulta anacrónico hablar de clanes de señores, ni de clanes de pulqueros.

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[18] Jonghe, p. 292.
[19] Magliabecchi, Comentarios a la Sección 92.
[20] Rank, A. R. y Fiesme, H., 1944.

TABLA DE CORRELACIÓN DE BARRIOS-CALPULLIS, TEMPLOS-CALPULLIS, OCUPACIONES Y DEIDADES EN TENOCHTITLAN [1].

Calpulli o barrio.	Ocupación	Deidades
1. *Yopico* [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8].	Plateros [2], [3], Aurífices [4], *Xochimanques* [5], Tratantes de agua [6], Señores y Reyes [5], *Calmecac* [5], [7], [8].	*Totec* [2], [3], *Xipe* [2], [3], [4], [5], *Costlicue* [5], *Costlatona* [5], *Chalchitlicue* [2], [3], [5]. *Tlaloc* [9], *Tequistlimayahuel* [9].
2. *Huitznahuac* [9], [9].	Señores [9], pescadores [9], *Calmecac* [9], [9].	*Huitzilopochtli* [9], [9], *Opochtli* [9], *Huitznahuac* [9], *Centzonhuitznahuac* [9], *Tezcatlipoca* [9].
3. *Itepeyac* [9].	Señores [9].	*Huitzilopochtli* [9].
4. *Amantla* [9], [9], [9], [9].	*Tultecayotl* [9], labranderas [9], [9], tintorerras [9], plumeras [9], pintores [9].	*Tisahua*, *Maxuilocelotl*, *Maxuiltochtli*, *Xihui*, *Tlati*, *Xilo*, *Tepostecatl* [9], *Coyotlinahual* [9], *Chicomazuchitl* [9], *Xochiquetzal* [9].
5. *Pochtlan* [9], [9].	Mercaderes [9], [9].	Los marcados en *Amantla* con [9] y *Yiacatecuhtli* [9].
6. *Anachilan* [9].	Mercaderes [9].	
7. *Atlauhco* [9].	Mercaderes [9].	
8. *Acxotlan* [9], [9].	Mercaderes [9], [9], [9].	*Nahui Ehecatl* [9], *Chicoquiahuitl*, *Xomecuil*, *Cochimetl*, *Yacapitzahuac*, *Nacxitl*, *Chalmecarihuatl* [9].

[1] Los nombres son en su mayoría de *calpullis* "barrios". Algunas veces sin embargo, se tomaron nombres de templos, que seguramente, por otra parte, correspondían a "barrios". Parecen en este caso no corresponder a *Tlazilacallis*, salvo *Tzapotlan*.

[2] Sahagún, I, p. 121 y 240.
[3] Torquemada, II, p. 58.
[4] Torquemada, II, p. 252.
[5] Sahagún, II, p. 383.
[6] Torquemada, II, p. 254.
[7] Sahagún, I, p. 40 y 116.
[8] Sahagún, I, p. 22.
[9] Sahagún, I, p. 84.
[10] Sahagún, I, p. 84 y 87.
[11] Torquemada, II, p. 153.
[12] Sahagún, I, p. 220. Se incluyen además con *Calmecac* a *Tlillancalco* (*Cihuacoatl*), *Tetlanman* (*Chantico*) y *México* (*Tlaloc*).
[13] Torquemada, I, p. 193.
[14] Sahagún, I, p. 39 y Torquemada, II, p. 61.

Calpulli o barrio	Ocupación	Deidades
9. *Tlamatzinco* [illegible], [illegible].	Pulqueros [illegible], [illegible], taberneros [illegible], *Calmecac* [illegible], [illegible].	*Tlamatzincatl* [illegible], [illegible], *Izquitecatl* [illegible], *Coatlicue* [illegible].
10. *Atempan* [illegible].	Curanderos y Adivinos [illegible].	*Toci* [illegible], Madre de los dioses [illegible].
11. *Tzonmolco* [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].	Hacían atavío principal del señor [illegible], *calmecac* [illegible], [illegible].	*Xiuhtecuhtli* [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], *Huehueteotl* [illegible], *Iscozauhqui* [illegible].
12. *Tzapotlan* [illegible].	Vendedores de *Uxitl* [illegible].	*Tzapotlatena* [illegible].
13.	Petateros [illegible].	*Nappatecuhtli* [illegible].
14.	Lapidarios [illegible].	*Chicnahuiitzcuintli, Nahualpilli, cintéotli Cihuacoatl* [illegible].

[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 220.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 137.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 221.
[illegible] Torquemada, II, p. 150.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 215.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 142 y 215.
[illegible] Sahagún, II, p. 389.
[illegible] Sahagún, II, p. 391 y 389.
[illegible] Sahagún, II, p. 392.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 112.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 112.
[illegible] Torquemada, II, p. 272 y Sahagún, I, p. 225.
[illegible] Sahagún, II, p. 350.
[illegible] Sahagún, II, p. 350.
[illegible] Sahagún, III, p. 49.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 326.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 42.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 190.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 190.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 112.
[illegible] Torquemada, II, p. 151 y Sahagún, I, p. 104.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 179. Sahagún en I, p. 238 dice que van al barrio de *Atlampa* los mancebos *cuauhtotoca*, durante esta fiesta.
[illegible] Torquemada, I, p. 234.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 25.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 239.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 20.
[illegible] Sahagún, I, p. 46 y II, p. 59.
[illegible] Torquemada, II, p. 60 y Sahagún, II, p. 387-88.

EL CALPULLI COMO CLAN

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CAPITULO VI

PRUEBAS DE QUE EL CALPULLI ERA UN CLAN

La Organización Territorial de *Tenochtitlan*, la Propiedad de la Tierra, la División del Trabajo y la Estratificación Social, y otros aspectos de la Organización Social de *Tenochtitlan* que no han sido tratados en la Primera Parte de este trabajo, como la Educación [1] y la Religión [2], en los que la influencia del *calpulli* es de gran importancia, y tienen un papel determinante, nos plantean el problema fundamental de la Organización Social de los *Tenochca*: ¿los *calpullis* eran clanes, o barrios simplemente, o gremios, u otro tipo de organismos sociales? Tienen aparentemente características de todo lo anterior ¿Cuál era su organización interna? La respuesta a estas cuestiones nos dará de seguro una idea correcta sobre las bases de la Organización Social de los *Tenochca* y de su estado evolutivo. Por ésto vamos a tratar de contestarlas. El *calpulli* (*nahuatl* 'casa grande') es un organismo que ha sido presentado como un clan por unos autores, o como resto de un clan por otros (v. la Introducción) y de seguro era el *calpulli* el clan de los *tenochca* si los *tenochca* tenían clanes. Ahora bien, para saber si el *calpulli* presentaba características de clan tenemos que dilucidar si los individuos que pertenecían a un *calpulli* pertenecían a él porque desde su nacimiento tenían ligas de parentesco con los demás miembros del *calpulli*, o si, por el contrario, originaba sus ligas el hecho de vivir ciertas personas en un mismo lugar, es decir, si existían o no existían los lazos de parentesco por ascendencia común entre los miembros de un *calpulli*. De hecho, este proceso puede reducirse a discutir los datos encontrados en la revisión de las Fuentes de la Historia de México, hecha para dilucidar este punto, y que, en general —puedo adelantar— pueden considerarse suficientes para demostrar que entre los *tenochca* había grupos de tipo clan ambilateral estratificado —los *calpullis*—, no habiendo en realidad razones para afirmar lo contrario.

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[1] Véase La Educación entre los Aztecas, Monzón, 1946.

[2] En el capítulo referente a División del Trabajo trato ligeramente estas relaciones entre *calpullis* y Religión (p. 49) que sugieren problemas que deberían estudiarse más a fondo.

Digamos de paso que también para apoyar la existencia de clanes entre los *tenochca* se han presentado argumentos sin valor. Uno de ellos es la afirmación de que un escritor del Siglo XVI —Pedro Martyr— habló de casas comunales [3]; pero leyendo atentamente, se encuentra que la mención, hecha en latín, se refiere al "común de las casas" o mejor "la generalidad" de las casas [4] y no a su carácter comunal. Igualmente, forzando el material disponible sobre estos asuntos, y negando simplemente el valor de las informaciones, Morgan [5] —seguido aparentemente por Bandelier— afirma que era la comunidad *tenochca* democrática y completamente gentil, que se acomodaba bien a la existencia de clanes exogámicos. Esto es erróneo: si los únicos documentos para conocer la Organización Social de los *tenochca*, son los cronistas, tenemos que buscar qué se obtiene de sus informaciones, y ver si son congruentes. Claro que tampoco podemos fiarnos de sus simples palabras, como atinadamente lo hace notar Watterman; pero tampoco podemos negarles simplemente validez como datos básicos.

Comencemos ahora con las pruebas sobre la existencia de clanes entre los *tenochca*: Cortés nos habla de la existencia de "comunidades" [6] y de "colaciones" [7] en *Mexico Tenochtitlan*, términos que realmente son muy vagos. Las más de las veces todos los autores que hablan de los *calpullis* con términos castellanos, lo hacen en la misma forma vaga; sin embargo tenemos una muy clara definición del *calpulli* debida a Zurita, un escritor español que de seguro tuvo informes de primera mano y que hasta donde podemos precisar trató de transmitirlos fielmente por escrito. Nos presenta al *calpulli* indudablemente como un clan: "*calpulli* o *chinancalli* que es todo uno, quiere decir barrio de gente conocida, o linaje antiguo que tiene de muy antiguo sus tierras y términos conocidos, que son de aquella cepa, barrio o linaje" [8].

En esta definición entran sin duda alguna tanto elementos que marcan la intervención de fenómenos de parentesco por ascendencia (linaje, cepa) cuanto elementos de territorialidad (barrio, tierra, limites). Lo que necesitamos saber es cuáles de éstos eran los primordiales, los determinantes, si los de parentesco o los de territorio.

Se nos dice que el *calpulli* es un linaje. Linaje en general se define como

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[3] Watterman, 1917, p. 296 siguiendo a Morgan y a Bandelier.
[4] Martyr, Pedro, 1943, p. 424.
[5] Morgan, L. H., 1877, p. 203. Nota.
[6] Cortés, Hernán, Cartas de Relación, I, p. 102.
[7] Cortés, Hernán, id. p. 101 y Carta al Consejo de Indias, p. 540.
[8] Zurita, A., p. 86-87.

descendencia o línea de cualquier familia [9], y no tiene para nada un sentido fundamentalmente distinto. Según ésto el *calpulli* tenía una base de descendencia, o —lo que es lo mismo— de ascendencia; una base de parentesco por ascendencia.

Cepa, otro de los términos que también usa Zurita para definir al *calpulli*, literalmente quiere decir "la parte del tronco de cualquier árbol o planta que está dentro de la tierra unida a las raíces", y metafóricamente da a entender "el tronco u origen de alguna familia o linaje" [10]. ¿Por qué iba a poner nuestro cronista énfasis en algo que no existiera, si no sabía nada de la teoría de los principios formativos de los clanes? Aquí indudablemente se vuelve a hacer hincapié en el parentesco por ascendencia de los miembros del *calpulli*. No hay razón para negar que el origen de los miembros del *calpulli* era de importancia primordial para la existencia del *calpulli*, como lo era para todo clan.

En lo que hasta ahora hemos analizado se da a entender que la ascendencia, el origen de los miembros del *calpulli* es uno mismo para todos, común, ya que este es el sentido de cepa y de linaje. Pero además nos dice Zurita "parentesco antiguo" aplicando estos términos al *calpulli*. Esto nos indica que el origen común de los miembros del *calpulli* es lejano, por ascendencia, precisamente como el que une a los miembros de un clan cualquiera (y no a una familia como podría argüirse). Francisco Hernández nos habla varias veces con términos que sugieren —corroborando los datos anteriores— la existencia de grupos de parentesco por ascendencia común: "los consanguíneos" [11], "los parientes por la sangre" [12], etc., que sólo pueden referirse a grupos de tipo clánico.

Pero como ya dijimos, en esta definición que comentamos intervienen además tres conceptos que no están conectados con los fenómenos de parentesco: barrio, tierra y términos. Esto nos hace sospechar la importancia del territorio como base formativa del *calpulli*. Pero es fácil ver que el uso que se hace de estos términos refuerza el concepto primordial de parentesco como base del *calpulli* en lugar de debilitarlo: se nos dice que las tierras y los términos son del *calpulli*, de la cepa o del linaje, y no se nos dice que ellos mismos sean el *calpulli*. Según ésto en el *calpulli* es anterior la parte personal a la parte territorial: "desde hace largo tiempo se sabe que cada *calpulli* ha ocupado determinadas tierras, limitadas en su extensión" ésto es lo que seguramente nos quería dar a conocer el autor en la frase que comen-

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[9] Barcia, Roque, Diccionario.
[10] Barcia, Roque, Diccionario.
[11] Hernández, Francisco, p. 18, 28, 29, 30, 31, etc.
[12] Hernández, Francisco, p. 30.

tamos cuando hace intervenir en ellas palabras con un sentido territorial.

Pero hay otro término —barrio— que aparece en la definición que comentamos y que es muy comúnmente usado como sinónimo de *calpulli*, o de cepa y linaje. En uno de los casos en que Zurita lo usa, le agrega que es "de gente conocida", no un barrio cualquiera. Esto puede explicarse porque nuestro cronista mismo notó que el *calpulli* no era simplemente un barrio, y que usar el término sin calificativo que lo caracterizara crearía confusiones. Sólo por éso se explica que ponga énfasis en la parte personal, "gentil" —de gente— del término barrio usado en lugar de *calpulli*.

Pero es común —como lo hace también Zurita, en otras ocasiones —desde los primeros escritores sobre México [13], que el término barrio sea usado como sinónimo de *calpulli*. Barrio, en español y sin calificativos, nada más tiene el sentido de "una división territorial de un poblado" [14]. Pero precisamente algunos cronistas españoles de entre quienes usaron el término barrio como sinónimo de *calpulli*, para darnos una idea de lo que era el "barrio" en México, lo definen de un modo distinto, seguramente porque se dieron cuenta de que su acepción, aplicada al México antiguo, difería de la usada cuando se refería a los barrios de su tierra: "el barrio —nos dicen— consta de familias y de pocas casas porque la gente doméstica y casera multiplicada en hijos y yernos y nietos y sobrinos, no era posible vivir sin mucha confusión, por lo cual se fueron dividiendo las familias en casas particulares, reconociendo cada cual la suya" [15]. Esta definición de "barrio" tiene, como carácter de gran importancia para nuestro asunto, la relación entre personas unidas por un parentesco reconocido por sus miembros, y es la acepción que se aplicó al "barrio" *tenochca*: para nada interviene como una cosa fundamental el contenido territorial de la más general. Es una definición que se acerca más al concepto de grupo de personas de un clan que al concepto territorial de un verdadero barrio. Posiblemente la palabra barrio era usada por los cronistas —por ser españoles— simplemente como una de los equivalentes en parte al concepto de *calpulli*, porque no tenían uno completamente equivalente, el de clan, basado en relaciones personales de parentesco por ascendencia común.

Hay otras afirmaciones que nos aclaran completamente el valor relativo del parentesco por ascendencia y de la territorialidad en el *calpulli*: "no se permitía ni se permite (antes y mientras el cronista escribe, en 1585), que los de un *calpulli* labren las tierras de otro *calpulli* por no dar lugar a que

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[13] Cortés, Hernán, Carta al Consejo de Indias, p. 540.
[14] Barcia, Roque, Diccionario.
[15] Torquemada, II, p. 812.

se mezclen unos con otros ni salgan del linaje" [16]. No tendría sentido la prohibición que aquí se asienta, para labrar miembros de un *calpulli* las tierras de otro *calpulli*, si el *calpulli* tomara la ubicación territorial como base de su organización, si el *calpulli* fuera simplemente una división territorial: aún en el caso de que hubiera cortapisas para labrar las tierras de otro propietario, no tendría por qué intervenir el "no dar lugar a que se mezclen, ni salgan del linaje" como razón principal para la prohibición de labrar los miembros de un *calpulli* las tierras de otro *calpulli*, que surge como un obstáculo infranqueable para hacer del *calpulli* una organización simplemente basada en la ubicación o en la propiedad territorial; puesto que de ser así, por un mecanismo de cambio de propiedad territorial un individuo podría cambiar de *calpulli*. De seguro tenemos algo anterior —en cada caso particular— a la ubicación y a la división territorial en el *calpulli*, que es la que las determina; como sucede con los clanes localizados.

Lo importante en las afirmaciones hasta aquí comentadas es que se refieren a la época en que los españoles ya estaban dominando el territorio mexicano. No era una situación sobrepasada desde antes de la conquista, como han pretendido algunos autores, sino que estaba viva aunque moribunda por la influencia europea. Y si estaba viva todavía en esa época, debe haberlo estado mucho más antes de la llegada de los conquistadores, cuando todavía no se había hecho sentir la nueva influencia modificadora, influencia que, por otra parte, no fué y no pudo haber sido, en un sentido que reforzara las instituciones indias, menos aún las basadas en el parentesco por ascendencia común [17].

Es frecuente el uso del término pueblo como equivalente de *calpulli* (v. p. 34). Era frecuente también el uso del término pueblo como equivalente de clan exogámico (v. p. 62). Bien pudiera ser entonces que el término pueblo, usado como equivalente de *calpulli* simplemente tuviera el sentido de poblado en ciertas condiciones, digamos aislado, y constituído por un solo *calpulli*; lo que en otras condiciones sería un barrio: establecido en los terrenos de un poblado ocupado también por otros *calpullis* más (v. cap. 3). Se puede usar como argumento en favor de que el *calpulli* era un clan, que considerándolo como tal, desaparecen estas contradicciones de traducción del término, que de otro modo son infranqueables.

Podemos también usar como otro argumento las comparaciones hechas por los cronistas —que conocían el *calpulli*— entre él y otros organismos de las

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[16] Zurita, p. 87-88.

[17] Legalmente la desaparición de la herencia del poder político se realizó hasta 1535 (Chávez Orozco, 1943, p. 5-6).

que tenían referencias escritas: las treinta y seis "tribus" romanas [18], que con seguridad eran clanes [19]. Por medio de estas comparaciones pretendían estos escritores darnos una idea de lo que era el *calpulli*: era una "tribu" de éstas, un clan, sólo que se llamaba *calpulli*.

Se encuentran también en las fuentes otros dos términos que seguramente son equiparables a *calpulli*: parentela [20] y parcialidad [21]. En ambos casos el énfasis del concepto está en las relaciones personales: en el primero claramente sobre las relaciones de parentesco. Sin embargo, no podemos afirmar que siempre tuvieran estos términos el significado de clan. Lo mismo puede decirse de los términos usados por Cortés "comunidades" y "colaciones".

Creo que todo lo anterior prueba con suficiente claridad que el *calpulli* era un clan, que tenía en su base misma las relaciones de parentesco por ascendencia de sus miembros. Ya vimos, por otra parte, que tenía una importancia fundamental y que moldeaba la mayor parte de las relaciones sociales de la vida de los *tenochca*. Por ésto no puede negarse que era un clan, que estaba funcionando y que no era resto de clan u otra cosa. Esto comprueba la Tesis fundamental de Morgan y de Bandelier (y hace cierta la suposición de Olson [22]), de que entre los *tenochca* hubiera organismos basados en el parentesco por ascendencia común. La base "genial" del *calpulli*, contradiciendo la idea de que fuera simplemente territorial —un barrio—, se comprueba también con las investigaciones de Redfield en Tepoztlán, en 1920, donde se encuentran restos de los antiguos clanes que todavía llevan el nombre de *calpulli*: hay miembros de alguno de ellos que viven en otro, pero a los que se reconoce como perteneciendo al *calpulli* original, ubicado en diferente lugar [23]. Esto sólo puede explicarse como resultado de una antigua organización basada en el parentesco por ascendencia común, y de ninguna manera si pensamos que su base es la ubicación o la propiedad territorial. Sólo nos resta saber de qué tipo era el clan-*calpulli*, para aclarar toda la situación a este respecto.

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[18] Vetancurt, I, p. 223.

[19] Las pruebas de Morgan en el cap. xi de la 3ª Parte de la Sociedad Antigua son muy convincentes.

[20] Muñoz Camargo, p. 148-149.

[21] Torquemada, II, p. 412.

[22] Olson, Ronald L., 1933, p. 369.

[23] Redfield, R., 1930, p. 288.

CAPITULO VII

Indicios de que el Calpulli era Ambilateral y con Tendencia Endogámica

Aceptar que los *tenochca* tenían clanes es simplemente aceptar una verdad histórica. Pero esta verdad crea un gran número de problemas para el investigador: ¿Qué tipo de clanes eran estos *calpullis*, cómo funcionaban, hasta qué punto tenía importancia social su existencia, cómo explicar la complejidad y la riqueza cultural de los habitantes de *México-Tenochtitlan* si estaban todavía ligados por las bases de su organización a comunidades muy primitivas? Algunas de estas cuestiones pretenden tener una respuesta en el curso de este trabajo, otras, no. Entre las que se intenta resolver está el investigar qué tipo de clan era el *calpulli*.

Hay que decir que de muchas de las comunidades muy avanzadas, que se han considerado de un nivel cultural muy alto —como son la de los griegos, la de los incas, la de los *mayas*, por ejemplo— sabemos que han entrado a la Historia como grupos con clanes, y sin embargo, todavía tenemos en pie, para casi su totalidad, el problema de saber qué tipo de clanes eran los que tenían, de acuerdo con las nuevas posibilidades teóricas referentes a este punto.

Los *tenochca* entran a la Historia con clanes. ¿Exogámicos, como dicen algunos autores, quedando en un nivel equiparable al de los iroqueses? ¿Ambilaterales y no-exogámicos, quedando en un nivel equiparable al de los incas? Debemos dilucidarlo porque sólo así pueden los pueblos del centro de México ser colocados en su verdadera posición histórica. Ya en parte ve Watterman este problema cuando nos dice que ni siquiera se sabe si el *calpulli* es un clan exo- o endogámico [1], nada más que para él esta distinción no implica una diferencia básica de estructura, como lo implica la distinción de Kirchhoff.

En general es más fácil encontrar datos sobre lo que una comunidad tiene, que encontrarlos acerca de aquello de que carece. Pero no siempre es así: al in-

[1] Watterman, 1917, p. 273.

vestigar la existencia de los clanes en comunidades que ahora no pueden estudiarse directamente —como la *tenochca*— se encuentra uno con que los escritores no son muy explícitos al respecto, y sólo ofrecen algunos datos aislados. De ellos vamos a analizar los datos que se refieren, primero, a la posibilidad de que tuvieran clanes exogámicos patrilineales o matrilineales, y luego, a la de que los *calpullis* fueran ambilaterales con tendencia endogámica.

Se puede pensar que hay un argumento en favor de que el *calpulli* era un clan patrilineal, en la costumbre muy extendida en el centro de México de ir la mujer a vivir a la casa de su esposo después de su casamiento, (costumbre designada técnicamente como "patrilocal") [2]. Pero a este respecto hay que hacer notar que esta costumbre de ir uno de los cónyuges a vivir a la casa del otro no nos dice nada sobre las características de la cuenta del parentesco por ascendencia común de ninguno de los dos, ni de ambos: se conocen grupos étnicos con costumbres patrilocales y clanes patrilineales, o con costumbres patrilocales y clanes matrilineales, o con costumbres patrilocales y clanes ambilaterales, y con costumbres patrilocales sin clanes. Y lo mismo sucede con las costumbres matrilocales: la cuenta del parentesco por ascendencia común y la ubicación de la casa de los matrimonios, son rasgos independientes y de ninguna manera el dato de que había costumbres patrilocales es un argumento en favor de que hubiera algún tipo especial de clanes.

Hay por otra parte en las fuentes una negación completamente categórica de que hubiera clanes exogámcos patrilineales entre los *tenochca*: "los indios de Vera Paz... acostumbraban no casar los de una tribu o pueblo con las mujeres del mismo pueblo. ..(y) no tenían por parientes a los deudos de su madre, por estar en otro pueblo... (y) la cuenta del parentesco era sólo entre los hombres... (y) los mexicanos y los tezcucanos jamás usaron sus casamientos en los grados que algunas de las naciones referidas" [3] Esto en nuestro lenguaje quiere decir que los indios de Vera Paz tenían clanes exogámicos patrilineales y que los mexicanos (*tenochca*) y los tezcucanos no los tenían. La claridad del informe es tal que no necesita otros comentarios.

Al tratar de ver si hay argumentos en favor o en contra de que el *calpulli* fuera un clan matrilineal, nos encontramos con que en las Fuentes no hay afirmaciones tan categóricas como la que acabamos de comentar. Claro que ésto era de esperarse si los *calpullis* no fueron clanes matrilineales. ¿Por qué iban a mencionar siempre los cronistas los rasgos ausentes?

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[2] Román y Zamora, II, p. 90; Motolinía, Memoriales, p. 260; Zurita, p. 69; Sahagún, I, p. 118.

[3] Torquemada, II, p. 418.

Podemos hacer sin embargo, varias consideraciones acerca de la posible existencia de los clanes matrilineales, que casi tienen la fuerza de argumentos: en primer lugar, en caso de que el parentesco de los miembros de los *calpullis* se hubiera contado por la línea materna, lo hubieran dicho así los cronistas, con más claridad aún que la que usaron para explicar la existencia de los clanes patrilineales en Vera Paz. Es posible que no se hubiera mencionado la descendencia patrilineal en caso de haber sido así la cuenta del parentesco de los miembros del *calpulli;* pero de seguro no se hubiera dejado de mencionar la descendencia matrilineal, que precisamente por lo extraña que era para los españoles les hubiera presentado una gran facilidad para descubrir su principio básico. Podemos asegurar que es fácil compartir la opinión de que la anterior es también razón de gran peso para pensar que el *calpulli* no era un clan exogámico matrilineal, aunque indudablemente es de menor peso que las afirmaciones categóricas de los cronistas mismos.

Por otra parte, y como argumento final en contra de que los *calpullis* fueran clanes exogámicos, tenemos las muchas probabilidades de que fueran ambilaterales: ya vimos que se afirma que los miembros de un *calpulli* no debían labrar las tierras de otro *calpulli* por no dar lugar a que se mezclaran y para que no salieran del linaje (v. p. 59) [4]. ¿Qué posibilidades hay de interpretar ésto?: una es que la prohibición se refirió a que los hombres de un *calpulli* no debían mezclarse con las mujeres de otro *calpulli* y de seguro es esto lo que quiso decir Zurita, en cuyo caso tendríamos una confirmación plena de las tendencias endogámicas del *calpulli.*

Pero tenemos que pensar en otra posibilidad de interpretar la afirmación: que no se permitiera la mezcla de varones de diversos *calpullis.* En tal caso el dato no nos diría nada acerca de nuestro problema, que se refiere a las relaciones entre hombres y mujeres en relación con el parentesco por ascendencia común.

Una tercera posibilidad plantea la afirmación de Zurita: que tenía interés en conservar como unidades de trabajo a los hombres de cada *calpulli.* En este caso tampoco diría nada sobre nuestro problema. Sin embargo, en este caso, como en el anterior, la afirmación carece de un verdadero sentido, y no parecen ser los que pensaba dar el escritor que comentamos.

Indirectamente, no obstante lo anterior, la afirmación que se obtiene de dar la segunda interpretación a la cita de Zurita, de que no habían de

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[4] Ya vimos que esta regla no era tan estricta y que sí podían los miembros de un *calpulli* labrar las tierras de otro *calpulli*; pero con ciertas limitaciones, como gentilres y con un mecanismo que no rompía los principios del clan (v. p. 45).

mezclarse varones de diferentes *calpullis*, nos puede conducir también a pensar que los miembros de los *calpullis* no tenían costumbres exogámicas, si la completamos con otro dato de Sahagún: "decían que las monas que comían de pie no se casarían en sus pueblos sino en pueblos ajenos y por esto las madres prohibían a sus hijas comer estando de pie" [5]. El dato es muy inseguro, pero habiendo visto que los cronistas a veces identifican clanes con pueblos (p. 62), y que en otros casos se identifican *calpullis* con pueblos (p. 34), ya tiene el carácter de indicio de que se trataba de que las mujeres no salieran a casarse fuera de su *calpulli*. Complementando este dato con el anterior de que los hombres no salían de los terrenos de sus *calpullis*, tenemos la posibilidad de pensar que ni los hombres ni las mujeres salían de sus *calpullis* para casarse: preferían hacerlo con miembros del propio clan.

Vamos a otro argumento: por un lado varias fuentes hacen la afirmación de ser los parientes del futuro marido, quienes llevaban a la novia a la casa del novio para la realización del matrimonio [6]. Por otro lado, ilustrando este acontecimiento, tenemos en el Códice Mendocino [7] un dibujo, cuyo pie dice "*amanteca* que lleva a cuestas a otra *amanteca* para que se case". Ahora bien, fuera de *Tenochtitlan* había varios lugares que se llamaban *Amantla* (de donde son los *amantecos*); pero también en *Tenochtitlan* había un barrio con este nombre, de donde podían ser las personas de la ilustración, ya que la fuente se refiere en general a la zona. Según ésto, la persona que llevaba a cuestas a la novia, que era de los parientes del esposo, era *amanteca*, y por lo tanto lo era también él: era un casamiento entre parientes de *calpulli*, es decir, por ascendencia común, y se trataba entonces de un casamiento endogámico. Por otra parte tenemos también más posibilidades de razonar, que no nos dicen nada acerca de la identidad del *calpulli* del esposo: una es que aunque se puede tratar de una *amanteca* (la que llevaba a cuestas a la otra) emparentada con el novio, bien puede ser que este parentesco no fuera por ascendencia común, sino simplemente por afinidad ("político"), en cuyo caso el novio podía bien ser de un *calpulli* diferente, no *amanteca*. Hay además, una cita que nos dice que quienes llevaban a cuestas a la novia eran parientes de ella [8]. Si tomamos esta afirmación juntamente con la ilustración del Códice Mendocino mencionada anteriormente no sabemos nada acerca de la identidad del *calpulli* del novio:

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[5] Sahagún, II, p. 32; también Jonghe, p. 373.
[6] Sahagún, I, p. 18; Motolinia, Memoriales, p. 260; Torquemada, II, p. 412.
[7] Códice Mendocino, Fol. 61.
[8] Román y Zamora, II, p. 90.

CUADRO DE CASAMIENTOS TENOCHCAS ENTRE PARIENTES PARALELOS

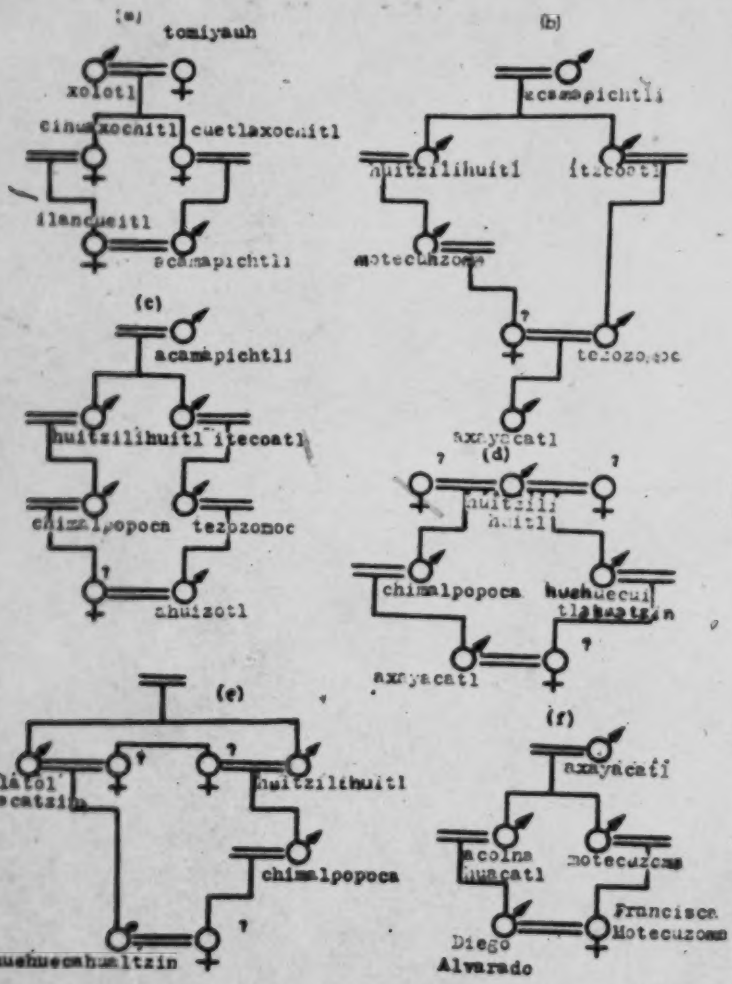

(a) Ixtlixóchitl, I. p. 277.
(b) Genealogía y Linaje, p. 253.
(c) León M. Adrián F. 1943.
(d) id.
(e) id.
(f) id.

[p.66 is blank]

no sería un argumento en pro ni en contra de la exogamia o de la no-exogamia del *calpulli*.

Pero en realidad podemos reunir las dos informaciones, la de que quienes llevaban a la novia eran parientes de ella y la de que lo eran de él: resulta así, que todos eran parientes: ella, quienes la llevaban y el novio. Esta interpretación tiene la ventaja de borrar la aparente contradicción entre las afirmaciones, y de hacerlas congruentes. Ahora bien, reuniendo las dos citas con la ilustración del Códice Mendocino —que habla de *amantecas*— encontramos que el parentesco de los novios no es familiar, sino de *calpulli*, es decir, por ascendencia común: el *calpulli* no era exogámico.

Hay además, menciones que nos obligan a pensar que no había exogamia en los *calpullis*: según una fuente tardía, evitaban los casamientos con madre e hija "y algunas veces con hermana", pero despreciaban los otros grados de parentesco [9]. Esto es expresar claramente que no había exogamia y aún una fuerte tendencia endogámica.

Hasta ahora hemos analizado afirmaciones que se refieren a la población en general. Veamos ahora las conclusiones que se pueden obtener de las genealogías que hay de los señores *tenochca*. Aunque se refieren sólo a una parte de la población, como sabemos que entre ella se menciona una fuerte tendencia a realizar casamientos entre personas de lugares alejados, en caso de indicar la ausencia de exogamia, aumentan el valor de nuestros indicios en general. Encontramos como un argumento de primera categoría, la endogamia que implica la realización de casamientos entre parientes paralelos, indistintamente a través del padre o de la madre. (véase el Cuadro). Son muy abundantes los datos sobre casamientos en general; pero de los que nos interesan han sido encontrados seis: éstos en conjunto son imposibles en grupos con clanes exogámicos, y sólo son posibles en grupos con tendencia endogámica. Los casos 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e' y 'f', pudieron haberse realizado —en caso de que el *calpulli* hubiera sido un clan exogámico— solamente siendo matrilineal, pues de haber sido patrilineal, el casamiento hubiera resultado entre parientes; lo que está en contra de los principios mismos del clan exogámico. El caso 'a' solamente pudo realizarse —si el *calpulli* hubiera sido un clan exogámico— siendo patrilineal, pues de lo contrario hubiera sido entre parientes de clan. Ahora bien, todos los casamientos se pueden haber realizado solamente en el caso de que en el *calpulli* no hubiera reglas exogámicas por ninguna línea: es decir, teniendo tendencia endogámica.

La contradicción entre la tendencia endogámica de los *calpullis* y la indudable costumbre que tenían los miembros del grupo gobernante de rea-

[9] Hernández, Francisco, p. 32-33.

lizar sus casamientos entre personas de pueblos distantes es solamente aparente: por una parte puede pensarse que muchos de los miembros del grupo gobernante del centro de México eran parientes por ascendencia común, y por ésto se casaban (ésto estaría reforzado por algunas excepciones, como *Tlaxcalla*, con quien nunca se celebraron casamientos); por otra parte, se puede ver la situación así: los miembros del grupo gobernante no seguían reglas estrictamente endogámicas, como los demás de la comunidad, sino simplemente tenían la tendencia de buscar en cada caso concreto el mejoramiento de su linaje (lo que, además, es un rasgo de los clanes ambilaterales). Estas dos explicaciones en general no se excluyen, y de hecho encontramos que entre los *tenochca* había *calpullis* que se extendían por más de un poblado, y que se casaban miembros de diferentes *calpullis* [10]. Lo primero lo sugieren los nombres repetidos de algunos poblados aislados que parecían *calpullis* (como *Pochtlan*, *Amantla*, etc.), y lo segundo se desprende de afirmaciones de casamientos entre diferentes principales (v. p. 72).

Tenemos, finalmente, como indicio de este tipo de clanes, un argumento en favor de que entre los *tenochca* la cuenta del parentesco fuera ambilateral. Se refiere también a los miembros del grupo gobernante de la población; pero el hecho de que ellos también tuvieran su *calpulli* y los razonamientos del párrafo referente a la endogamia que presentaban, invalidan en gran parte las objeciones que se pudieran hacer a este respecto. En las genealogías de los señores de *Mexico-Tenochtitlan* se toman, en gran número de casos, ambas líneas —la del padre y la de la madre— para fijar la herencia de cada personaje: ésto es claramente un carácter ambilateral. Claro que puede pensarse que se trata de la cuenta del parentesco familiar, que siempre es ambilateral, y no de la cuenta del parentesco por ascendencia común —de clan—, que puede ser uni o ambilateral; pero en parte esta objeción se salva

[10] Refiriéndose a lo que acontece en los *calpullis*-barrios actuales, que parecen tener todavía algo de la cuenta del parentesco por ascendencia común en su base, nos dice Redfield que la mayoría de las personas viven en el barrio en que vivían sus ancestros por generaciones y que la pertenencia a un barrio es por herencia generalmente (1928, p. 287), y luego nos agrega que no encontró evidencia de que la pertenencia a un barrio afectara la elección de esposa. Me parece ver una contradicción en ésto, pues si es hereditaria la pertenencia a un *calpulli*, y los *calpullis* están localizados, la única forma de que permanezcan localizados es realizando en general el casamiento entre personas del mismo barrio. Muy probablemente sucede así, habiendo costumbre patrilocal dentro del mismo barrio, también; aunque algunos casamientos se realicen entre personas de distintos barrios, quizá todavía según conveniencias espéciales. El considerar al *calpulli* como un clan con tendencia endogámica, que actualmente se encuentra como resto en *Tepoztlán*, quita estas contradicciones, lo que también se puede tomar como un argumento en favor de la nueva posición que aquí se presenta respecto al *calpulli*.

cuando vemos que en fuentes de la misma época, pero referentes a otros grupos que no son *tenochca*, se hacen conexiones siempre a través de personas de sexo masculino, como si fueran unilaterales [11], y en las que solamente al tratar de personajes *tenochca* (y otros que no nos interesan ahora) se hacen las conexiones por uno y otro. Según ésto, tenemos derecho a pensar que la cuenta del parentesco por ascendencia común se hacía de un modo ambilateral entre los *tenochca* [12].

Ahora bien, la seguridad de que el *calpulli* era un clan, unida a las pruebas de que no tenían costumbres exogámicas con cuenta patrilineal del parentesco por ascendencia común, a la poca probabilidad de que las tuvieran matrilineales, a los indicios de que tenían una cuenta ambilateral del parentesco por ascendencia común, y de que tenían tendencia a la endogamia, son —todos juntos— argumentos para afirmar con confianza: los *calpullis* eran clanes, ambilaterales, con tendencia endogámica, y nada hay —por lo menos según los documentos que ahora tenemos a nuestra disposición— que nos haga pensar que no eran o que fueran clanes exogámicos y unilaterales.

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[11] Espejo, Antonieta y Monzón, 1945, p. 48 .

[12] Nos dice Redfield, hablando de los *calpullis*, barrios actuales de *Tepoztlán*, que tienden a incluir grupos de líneas ininterrumpidas familiares, que trazan su descendencia por línea del padre. (Redfield, R., 1928, p. 294). Esto no daría una cuenta unilateral del parentesco si se realizaban casamientos dentro del mismo barrio, puesto que serían imposibles en grupos exogámicos patrilineales (o matrilineales): puede decirse que es más común seguir la línea del padre en la cuenta de la ascendencia, nada más.

CAPITULO VII

La Herencia Diferencial del Rango y los Calpullis

Falta saber cómo era la relación entre los clanes y los estratos sociales, que se presentaban indudablemente entre los *tenochca*. Hemos visto cómo el *calpulli* presentaba caracteres de clan ambilateral (parentesco por ascendencia común, cuenta ambilateral de este parentesco y tendencia a la endogamia). Vamos ahora a ver cómo otra de las características del clan ambilateral que ha hecho que se le llame "piramidal" [1], la desigualdad interna que contrasta con el carácter generalmente muy igualitario de los clanes exogámicos, también se presentaba en el *calpulli*. Esto es de mucha importancia porque la Tesis principal de uno de los grupos que ha estudiado la sociedad de los *tenochca* es que, como presentaban clanes —que para ellos eran sólo unilaterales y exogámicos (v. p. 16)—, tenían que ser igualitarios [2]. Contrariamente a ésto se puede demostrar que en el *calpulli* había una gran diferenciación interna de sus miembros, y no era, de ninguna manera, democrático e igualitario, sino altamente aristocrático.

Las pruebas para hacer esta afirmación la constituyen varias declaraciones de personas que vieron cómo funcionaba el *calpulli* poco tiempo después de la conquista o que tuvieron en sus manos documentos e informantes de que hoy carecemos. En primer lugar sabemos que "los comunes de estos barrios o *calpullec* siempre tienen una cabeza y nunca quieren estar sin ella, e ha de ser de ellos mismos e no de otro *calpulli*, ni forastero, porque no lo sufren" [3]. Esto nos quiere decir que los miembros de los clanes *tenochca* siempre tenían un jefe, que debía ser miembro de su mismo *calpulli*.

Esta diferencia entre jefes y gobernados, claro que se presenta siempre entre los miembros de todos los clanes; pero lo importante es que esta posición del jefe del *calpulli* era vitalicia y hereditaria, pues se afirma que muerto el cabeza de *calpulli* "elegían a otro, el más honrado, sabio y hábil a su modo, y viejo, y si quedaba algún hijo del difunto, lo eligen, y siempre

[1] Kirchhoff, P., 1949 p. 11.
[2] Bandelier, 1877, p. 389; Morgan, 1877, p. 205, etc.
[3] Zurita, p. 89.

[p. 70 is blank]

eligen pariente del difunto como lo haya y sea para ello" [4]. En otras palabras, se elegía un jefe cuando moría el anterior, y preferiblemente —según esta declaración— de su misma familia. Aunque según lo anterior parece nada más haber una preferencia para nombrar el jefe del *calpulli* entre miembros de la familia del jefe muerto, encontramos otras afirmaciones que nos hacen ver que el pertenecer a ella no era simplemente una preferencia, sino un requisito, puesto que el nuevo jefe tenía que ser principal [5], es decir, debía tener un rango anterior al desempeño de su puesto.

Ahora bien, ¿en qué consistía este rango? De seguro en tener una herencia determinada, como ya lo vimos anteriormente al hablar de la estratificación social (v. p. 26 y 27) y como se desprende además de la afirmación de que los cabezas o parientes mayores de los *calpullis* venían de muy antiguo [6], lo que implica que tenían antecesores semejantes a ellos, posiblemente principales también en consecuencia. Por otra parte los *calpullis* durante la migración venían guiados por capitanes [7] y entre ellos no venía gente de mucha cuenta, sino solamente unos principales [8]. Con ésto, junto con la afirmación de que se prefería a los parientes del jefe muerto, que era principal, y con la seguridad de que el ser principal era un rango trasmitido por herencia, podemos pensar que la herencia para ser jefe de clan se extendía —por lo menos por una línea de antecesores— a una época muy lejana: los principales jefes de *calpullis* eran miembros de las familias descendientes de principales de su mismo *calpulli*. Es decir, eran fuertemente aristocráticos.

Pero tenemos que tomar en cuenta que el *calpulli* era ambilateral y se fijaba en la herencia por ambas líneas: ¿qué acontecía entonces con la herencia de los principales en la línea materna? Por una parte se nos dice que las hijas de los principales acostumbraban casarse con personas de lugares alejados [9], que en general gozaban de bienestar económico [10]; por otra parte y concretamente refiriéndose a *Tenochtitlan* se afirma que los principales de los barrios dieron hasta veinte hijas a *Acamapichtli* para que con ellas tuviera descendencia y que de allí —de *Acamapichtli* y de las hijas de los principales— provienen los más y mayores de esta tierra [11]. Con todo

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[4] Zurita, p. 90.
[5] Zurita, p. 89-90.
[6] Zurita, p. 86.
[7] Gómara, II, p. 265; Motolinía, Memoriales, p. 5.
[8] Genealogía y Linaje, p. 248.
[9] Anónimo. Nota de distinta letra en la p. 109 de Zurita.
[10] Muñoz Camargo, p. 78.
[11] Gómara, II, p. 273.

CUADRO ESQUEMATICO DE LA ORGANIZACION SOCIAL DE TENOCHTITLAN

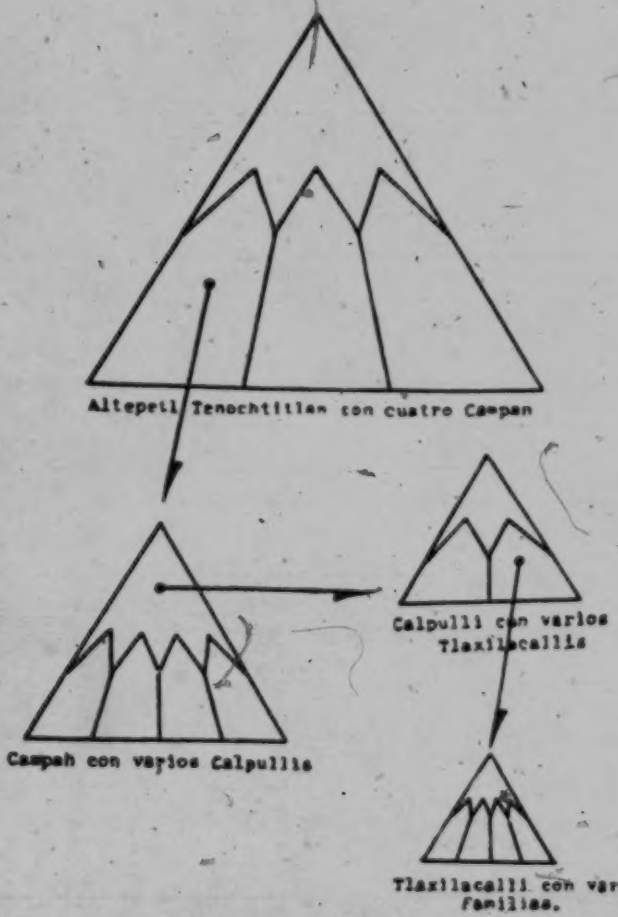

La cercanía de cada persona a sus antecesores de clan, de sub-clan, de grupo de clanes o de tribu está representada en el esquema por la cercanía al vértice de cada pirámide. Esta cercanía determinaba su rango. El esquema muestra también el rango relativo de cada grupo de parientes en conjunto según su cercanía al vértice de la pirámide correspondiente.

[p. 74 is blank]

[p. 76 is blank]

CUADRO DE PARENTESCO DE LOS SEÑORES TENOCHCA

Los números romanos indican el orden en que fueron toatoanis o jefes supremos.
(a) indica que fueron tlacatecatl
(b) indica que fueron tlacochcalcatl
(c) indica que fueron cihuacoatl

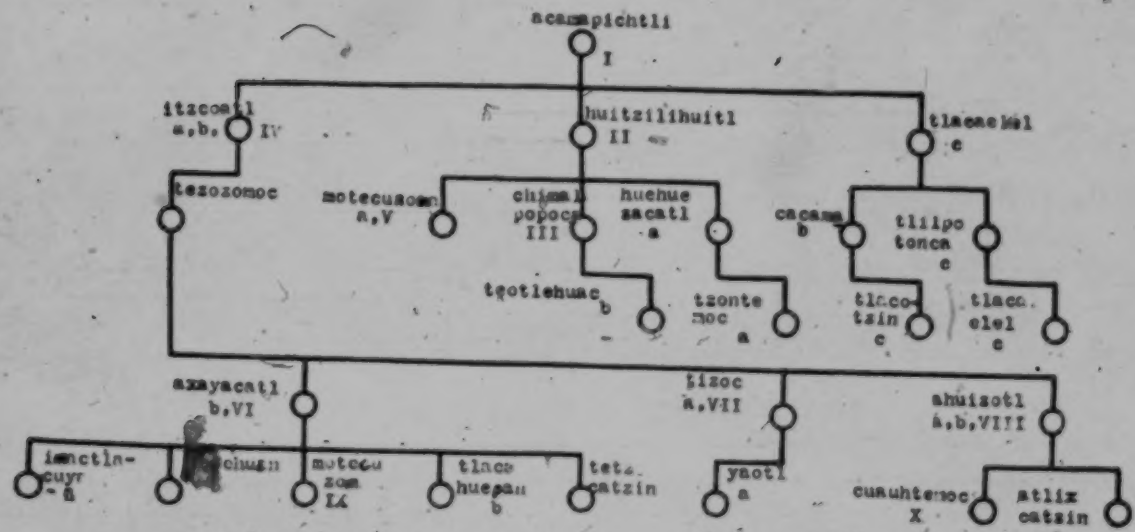

1.—Los datos fueron tomados de diversas fuentes, principalmente del cuadro de Adrián F. León M. Las divergencias con otros datos no invalidan la conclusión previa de que eran parientes los principales señores tenochca.

ésto podemos pensar que por lo menos en algunos casos, una de las líneas de ascendencia de los principales de los *calpullis* —la línea materna— remontaba su herencia a la misma de los señores de *Tenochtitlan*. Y hasta es posible que en cada caso —teniendo en cuenta que en el clan ambilateral se trata siempre de mejorar el linaje por ambas líneas—, se diera preferencia para la sucesión en la jefatura del clan a los hijos nacidos de hijas de los jefes de *calpulli* y de los señores de *Tenochtitlan*, ya que los principales tenían como sucesores a los hijos de la mujer más principal con quien estuvieran casados [13]. Podría acontecer perfectamente que la señora más principal con que estuviera casado un jefe de *calpulli*, fuera hija de matrimonio entre alguno de los señores de *México* y alguna de las hijas de principales del *calpulli* correspondiente. Podemos decir, sin embargo, que no necesariamente había de ser el jefe de *calpulli* un descendiente directo e inmediato de los jefes de *México*, puesto que una vez adquirida su herencia por una persona, ésta la transmitía automáticamente. Sabemos a este respecto además que los *pipiltzin* "que es vocablo que quiere decir principales... son nietos y bisnietos de los señores" [14]. Bien pudo ser en consecuencia que los jefes de *calpulli* tuvieran por una línea —la del padre— principalmente la herencia de los antecesores del propio *calpulli*; y por otra —la de la madre— la herencia, quizá lejana, de los señores de *México*.

Ahora bien, las ligas de los principales de un *calpulli* con los principales de otros *calpullis*, y especialmente con los señores de todo el grupo *tenochca* —que también tenían su *calpulli* como hemos visto—, nos obliga a pensar en diferencias en el rango de los *calpullis* mismos. Cosa que por otra parte ya habíamos encontrado al hablar de la división del trabajo por *calpullis* (v. p. 49). Podemos obtener datos para complementar lo anterior y ver cuál era la situación a este respecto. El clan más noble sería indudablemente el clan al que pertenecían los señores de todo el grupo *tenochca*, que estaban siempre emparentados (v. el Cuadro de señores *tenochca*), y de éste todavía sería más noble el *tlaxilacalli* del propio *tlatoani*; y aún más, la familia más noble sería la própia familia del *tlatoani*.

Hemos visto que no todos los *calpullis* tenían *Calmecac* ("lugar del linaje de la casa" y escuela de nobles) sino que solamente eran seis. Esto nos lo confirma también Acosta [15]. La significación de ésto es muy clara: de seguro estos seis *calpullis* eran más nobles que el resto de los *calpullis*. Uno de ellos sería el ya citado como más noble; pero los cinco restantes serían otros, en posición seguramente inferior, pero le seguirían en rango. El resto

[13] Zurita, p. 74; Pomar, p. 25.
[14] Zurita, p. 91.
[15] Acosta, José de., p. 83.

de los clanes tendría de seguro una posición inferior a estos cinco clanes, formando el conjunto una verdadera pirámide de clanes de categoría, rango o nobleza diferente.

Se nos dice también, que cada uno de los cuatro "barrios" grandes tenía un jefe, como lo tenía cada uno de los *calpullis* [18]. Como vimos por otra parte que los jefes de cada *campan* estaban emparentados con los demás miembros de su *campan* (v. p. 32) podemos pensar en la existencia de un *calpulli* más noble en cada *campan* —cuatro en total— que muy probablemente serían cuatro de los que tenían *calmecac*. Por otra parte el *campan* donde estaba el *calpulli* más noble de todo el grupo *tenochca* sería de seguro más noble que los otros tres. Los *tecuhtlis* posiblemente eran los miembros más nobles de *Tenochtitlan* de cada *campan*, que eran tributados por miembros del grupo *tenochca*, pero ajenos a su clan, como el *tlacatecatl*, el *tlacochcalcatl*, el *tlatoani*, etc., cuyas funciones eran muy diversas, pero estaban conectadas con la vida del conjunto de la comunidad *tenochca*.

Se puede hacer un esquema en que aparezcan la estratificación de *campan* en todo *Tenochtitlan*, la estratificación de *calpullis* en cada *campan*, la estratificación de *tlaxilacallis* en cada *calpulli*, y finalmente la familia más noble dentro de cada *tlaxilacalli*. Es una organización esencialmente clánica, aunque unitaria. El *calpulli* aparece como una célula de *Tenochtitlán*, pero considerando que *Tenochtitlán* no tendría sino unas veinte de tales células. Ni la división social del trabajo, ni la distribución territorial, ni la propiedad de la tierra, ni la estratificación social por sí solas, pueden explicar por completo esta situación. En cambio, aparece relativamente sencilla si la consideramos como una organización clánica, basada en la diferencia de rango derivada de la cercanía de cada uno de los miembros del grupo *tenochca* a su antecesor de *calpulli*, a su antecesor de *campan* y al antecesor común de todo el grupo *tenochca*.

[18] Torquemada, I, p. 294.

CAPÍTULO IX

Posibilidad de otras Interpretaciones

El hecho de que todos los habitantes de *Tènochtitlan* pertenecieran a *calpullis*, de que los *calpullis* presentaran todas las características de clanes ambilaterales, con tendencia endogámica y "piramidales", y de que la propiedad de las tierras, la división social del trabajo, la división territorial y la estratificación social estuvieran determinadas por la existencia de estos clanes, nos indican que la Sociedad que encontraron los españoles en *Tenochtitlan* era "todavía" una sociedad basada en el parentesco por ascendencia común, pero con muchos rasgos de carácter económico. Claro que había relaciones surgidas de la producción económica —comercio, esclavitud, etc.— y es seguro que la organización social de *Tenochtitlan* era tan compleja por las necesidades que planteaban tanto la organización interna de una comunidad cultivadora con técnicas de horticultura, con abonos, riego, etc., como la organización de un verdadero imperio como el que tenían los [illegible]ca y que incluía posiblemente comunidades con base económica de riego, terrazas, etc. [1], como acontecía en mayor escala en las Sociedades típicas orientales del Viejo Mundo. Pero de todos modos parece que en México la organización social todavía no rebasaba los límites impuestos por la existencia de grupos correspondientes a uno de los tipos clánicos.

Por todo, parece que las dudas acerca de si los *tenochca* tenían clanes o acerca de si tenían clanes exogámicos, provienen solamente de la limitación de algunos investigadores en su concepto de clan, que no incluía a todo organismo basado en el parentesco por ascendencia común. Es útil, sin embargo, hacer algunos comentarios acerca de las razones que se han dado sosteniendo otras posiciones.

Todos los datos que hemos analizado encuadran bien dentro de este esquema que propongo para la Sociedad de los *tenochca*, y según he podido conocer, también la mayoría de los datos sobre esta Sociedad, que no se presenta aquí, encuadran en este esquema. Creo que también encuadran en

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[1] Armillas, Pedro, 1947.

un esquema semejante muchos de los grupos de Mesoamérica [1] aún cuando muchos investigadores nos dicen que había "algo como castas" en pueblos como los *huaxtecas*, los *mixtecas*, los *zapotecas* [2] y los *tarascos* [4]; probablemente porque todos, y sobre todo estos últimos tenían casamientos endogámicos. También de los *tenochca* se ha dicho que muestran restos de un régimen de castas, por la misma razón [5]. Habría que decir que en realidad parece un régimen de castas —pero nada más lo parece—, por la endogamia frecuente. Sin embargo, varios caracteres faltaban entre los *tenochca* y de seguro también en todos estos grupos para caracterizarlos como organizados en castas: los *calpullis* (o los organismos con tendencia endogámica correspondientes de los otros grupos) deben haber sido de muy poca cantidad de gente, en tanto que las castas parecen ser verdaderas tribus, subdivididas en clanes exo- u endogámicos (en diversas castas); faltaban entre los *tenochca* (y seguramente en las otras tribus) las castas típicas de sacerdotes y guerreros (que en *Tenochtitlán* pertenecían a diversos *calpullis*), también había en *Tenochtitlán* cierta libertad de desarrollo individual que en las sociedades típicas de castas no existe, y no era muy estricta la división social del trabajo por *calpullis*. Por otro lado habría que decir, que el término "familia" usado por algunos investigadores para referirse a grupos ambilaterales, debe dejarse mejor para los grupos de parientes afines y consanguíneos formados alrededor del casamiento, pero no para grupos de personas unidas por su parentesco por ascendencia común, que es básico en los clanes. Los *otomíes* también tenían grupos semejantes a los *calpullis* [6], y de seguro su organización social era semejante a la de los *tenochca*. Con respecto a los *mayas* Roys nos dice que había clanes exogámicos [7] y al mismo tiempo que había clases sociales y que los nobles contaban su ascendencia por ambas líneas [8]. Creo por ésto que también, por lo menos entre los nobles, había grupos de tipo clan ambilateral.

Ahora bien, todos estos grupos llenan geográficamente en Mesoamérica el hueco dejado por Olson [9] y Beals [10] en sus mapas que abarcan todos los grupos sobre los que se ha podido encontrar con seguridad que tenían clanes exogámicos, lo que indudablemente respalda la posición sostenida en este

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[1] Kirchhoff, P., 1943 p. 101.
[2] Radin, P., 1931, p. 1-2.
[3] Beals, R., 1932, p. 469-470.
[4] Moreno, M., 1952.
[5] Carrasco, Pedro, 1945, p. 08.
[6] Roys, R., 1945, p. 67.
[7] Roys, R., 1945, p. 33.
[8] Olson, R., 1933.
[9] Beals, R., 1932.

TRIBUS MESOAMERICANAS QUE POSIBLEMENTE TENIAN CLANES AMBILATERALES Y CON TENDENCIA ENDOGAMICA

Sobre estas tribus se mencionan datos que nos hacen pensar que tenían clanes del tipo del calpulli. Quizás también los tenían los grupos lingüísticos intermedios. Los límites marcados son lingüísticos, basados en el Mapa de distribución prehispánica elaborado por W. Jiménez Moreno y M. Othón de Mendizábal (1939).

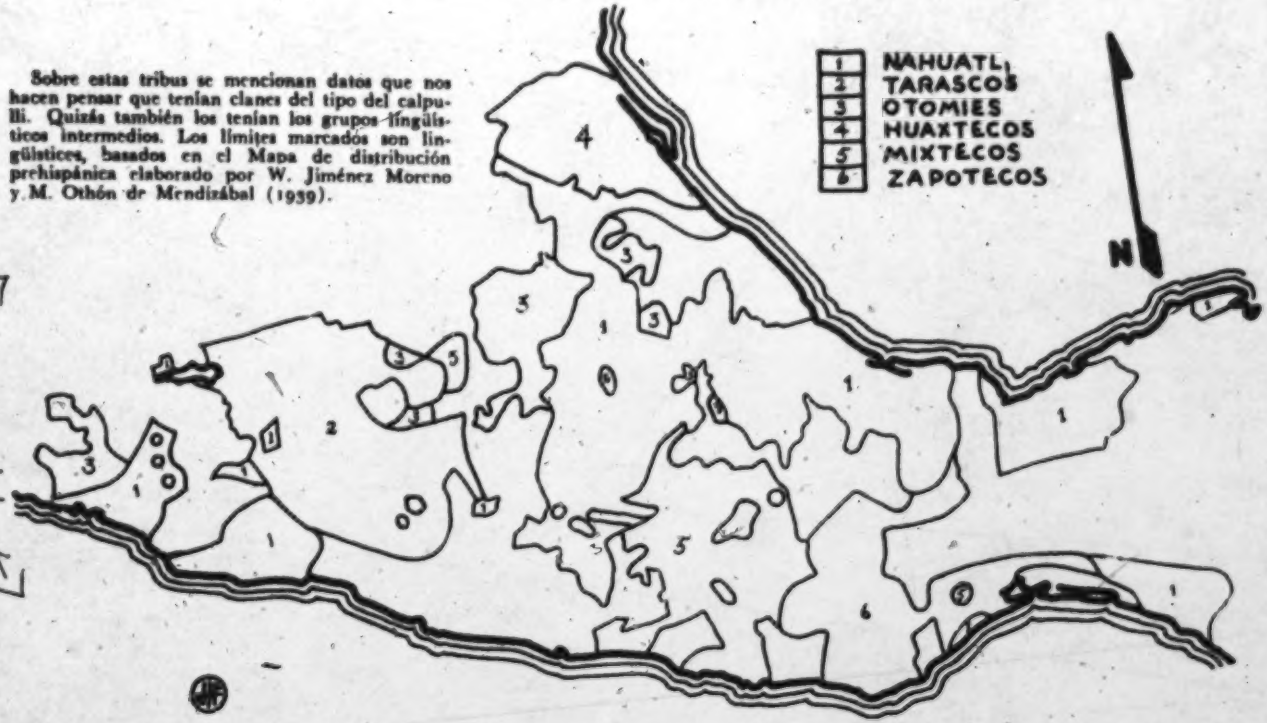

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trabajo, tanto con respecto a los *tenochca*, como con respecto a estos otros grupos que parecían ser semejantes a ellos.

Otro de los argumentos generalmente aceptados contra la Tesis de que los habitantes de *México-Tenochtitlan* tuvieran clanes, consiste en la afirmación de que desde mucho antes de la llegada de los españoles habían desaparecido [11]. Pero si nosotros analizamos la autoridad que invocan para apoyarse encontramos que, en primer lugar no habla de los *tenochca* y en segundo lugar no da base para afirmar la pretendida desaparición de clanes ni aún para las comunidades a que se refiere: basan su afirmación estos autores en una referencia a que *Tochotlalatzin*, señor de los *chichimecas*, "repartió el suelo de toda la tierra en parcialidades de tal manera que en cada pueblo, conforme a la cantidad de gente que tenía así hacía la repartición de las gentes; de tal manera que si en un pueblo *tecpaneca* había seis mil vecinos, sacaba los dos mil de allí y pasábalos a otro pueblo *metzoteca* o *chichimeca*, y de aquel pueblo *metzoteca* sacaba los dos mil vecinos que había traído y los pasaba al pueblo *tecpaneca* de donde los otros había traído. Y si el pueblo tenía dos mil sacábales el quinto y pasábalos a otra nación contraria y de aquélla sacaba el mismo número y pasábalo a esa otra parte donde aquél había salido; y el señor *tecpaneco* que lo era de aquel pueblo donde había sacado los dos mil vecinos, aunque no los tenía en el mismo pueblo, reconocíalos por suyos en la otra parte donde estaban, y lo mismo hacían el *culhua*, el *metzoteca* y el *aculhua;* de manera que aunque tenía el mismo número de gente señalado, no los tenía todos en las partes de su señorío, sino mezclados unos con otros" [12]. Esto no puede indicar que se habían roto entre los *tenochca* los clanes, pues en primer lugar el dato se refiere a grupos distintos de los *tenochca* (a los *metzotecas*, etc.) y sólo nos pueden aclarar o complementar otros indicios, pero no puede servir como base para afirmaciones de esta naturaleza. Pero además hay otro argumento en contra de la posición que criticamos: no podemos decir que los *metzotecas*, *culhuas*, etc., formaran cada uno un solo clan, que era el que se desmembrara, siendo por el contrario, que en caso de tener clanes, habría varios en cada uno de estos grupos (varios entre los *metzoteca*, varios entre los *culhuas*, etc.). Podemos agregar que si lo que unía con su señor a las gentes trasladadas, eran los lazos de parentesco, se nos dice claramente que no se rompían. Y finalmente hay que decir que en casos posteriores en que se usó el traslado de gentes, éste se hacía tomando en cuenta la "parcialidad" y la "generación" de las gentes trasladadas, lo que probablemente era, en términos generales,

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[11] Hernández, Rógulo, 1951, p. 60 y Freund, Georg, 1944.
[12] Tezozomoc, I, p. 89.

tomando en cuenta los clanes. Con estos datos no podemos saber nada acerca de la existencia de los clanes, ni de esas comunidades, ni de los *tenochca*.

Es común que se diga que los *calpullis* no eran clanes —es decir, clanes exogámicos— sino restos de clanes exogámicos [13]. El único apoyo de esta suposición es que siendo los *calpullis* organismos que presentaban algunos caracteres de los organismos basados en el parentesco por ascendencia común; pero no siendo estos caracteres iguales a los de los clanes exogámicos, no se podía tratar de ellos sino de sus restos. Creo que sería extraordinario encontrar en las fuentes de la Historia de México argumentos para probar que los *calpullis* eran restos de tales clanes. En la actualidad encontramos muchas comunidades que muestran caracteres que recuerdan organismos unilaterales y exogámicos [14]; pero no se parecen a lo que sabemos que eran los *calpullis* de *Tenochtitlan* en el siglo XVI, ni los de *Tepoztlán* en el siglo XX, a pesar de haber sufrido los posteriores a la conquista una influencia mucho más destructora que la que podían haber sufrido los *calpullis* si es que en Mesoamérica había grupos con una estructura social distinta y más avanzada desde antes de la época de la conquista. Solamente en el caso de que no hubiera trazas de que los *calpullis* fueran clanes ambilaterales y con tendencia endogámica, habría que pensar en la posibilidad de que fueran restos de clanes exogámicos.

La reducción local de los *calpullis* ha sido otro argumento en contra de la existencia de clanes en la comunidad que estudiamos [15]. Pero esto no puede ser de valor, ni aún como argumento de que fueran clanes exogámicos, puesto que tenemos innumerables tribus, inclusive con clanes exogámicos en las cuales individuos de un sexo determinado están reducidos localmente, indicando solamente que también tiene influencia su organización clánica para determinar la ubicación. En el caso de tribus como los maoríes, con *clanes* ambilaterales, la reducción local se extiende a los dos sexos —como en el *calpulli*— y no por esto va a negarse la importancia del parentesco por ascendencia común en su organización social.

También la división del trabajo por *calpullis* ha sido presentada como un argumento contra la tesis de que los *calpullis* fueran clanes [16]. El razonamiento para combatir esta posición es sencillo: si los miembros de un *calpulli* mostraban caracteres de miembros de un clan, puede ser que estos caracteres de clan hayan determinado la división social del trabajo; pero no es

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[13] Kroeber, A. L., 1923, p. 357 y 360; Moreno, M., 1931, p. 14-16; Radin, P., 1937, p. 108; etc.

[14] Ponce, Ricardo, 1945; Monzón, Arturo, 1945.

[15] Kroeber, A. L., 1923, p. 357-358, nota.

[16] Kroeber, A. L., ibid.

posible pensar que la división social del trabajo determinó sus caracteres de parentesco por ascendencia común. Como en el caso de la reducción local, ésto querrá decir nada más que la organización clánica determinaba también la organización del trabajo.

La existencia de una fuerte estratificación social [17] y de la propiedad territorial [18] tampoco son una prueba en contra de que los *tenochca* tuvieran clanes, puesto que encontramos en tribus de todo el mundo casos en que características de los grupos ambilaterales señalan la existencia de fuertes estratos sociales, como sucedió entre los maoríes [19] y los incas [20]. El argumento de la existencia de los estratos sociales puede utilizarse muy efectivamente contra la idea de que los *tenochca* tuvieran una organización clánica exogámica, pero no basta para negar que tuvieran gran importancia los lazos de parentesco por ascendencia común en la determinación de las relaciones sociales, aún como elementos básicos, en forma de clanes ambilaterales, con tendencia endogámica y estratificados.

La ausencia de totemismo ha sido usada también contra la idea de que los *tenochca* tuvieran clanes [21]. Esta no es ninguna prueba, porque habiendo inclusive clanes exogámicos sin totemismo, los *calpullis* hasta podían haber sido clanes exogámicos (aunque no lo fueron) sin que se presentara totemismo.

La semejanza entre la gens griega, el nomo egipcio, etc. y el *calpulli* ha sido esgrimida también como argumento en contra de la tesis de que entre los *tenochca* había clanes [22]. Habría que probar, por una parte, la semejanza entre estos organismos, lo que no se ha hecho, y habría —por otra parte—, que probar que ni la gens ni el nomo tenían sus bases en el parentesco por ascendencia común, lo que tampoco se ha hecho. Además, si tomamos en cuenta que la gens griega ha sido considerada por muchos autores como un clan y que aún posiblemente era un clan ambilateral, la semejanza entre el *calpulli* y la gens reforzaría la posición de que el *calpulli* era un clan.

Realmente en contra de la misma existencia de los clanes no se han aportado pruebas, siendo la más general y la de más valor la supuesta posibilidad de probar que las relaciones sociales de los miembros de las comunidades del centro de México, entre las cuales estaba la *tenochca*, tenían sus bases en la división territorial, en la propiedad de la tierra o en la producción de

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[17] Kroeber, A. L., 1923, loc. cit.; Moreno, M., 1931, p. 29 ss.
[18] Toscano, S., 1946, p. 781.
[19] Mishkin, B., 1957.
[20] Kirchhoff, P., 1948 y 1948.
[21] Moreno, M., 1931, p. 25.
[22] Moreno, M., 1931, p. 8; Toscano, S., 1946, p. 784.

objetos, cosas que ya vimos que estaban dentro de los límites de la organización basada en el parentesco por ascendencia común. También se ha dicho que el Gobierno *tenochca* tenía caracteres de "Estado" [29]. Contra ésto sólo podemos oponer dos afirmaciones: una es que hay pruebas suficientes de que entre los *tenochca* las relaciones sociales principales estaban basadas en fenómenos de parentesco por ascendencia común; otra es que hay pruebas de que los estratos sociales de la comunidad *tenochca* no eran clases sociales, y que por lo tanto su Gobierno no podía tener el carácter de "Estado" si por ésto queremos dar a entender que tenía un carácter clasista y no "gentil".

[29] Moreno, M., 1931, p. 33; Radin, P., 1957, p. 104.

CONCLUSIONES

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CAPITULO X

El Estado Evolutivo de la Sociedad de los Tenochca

Vamos ahora a ver concisamente cuáles son las conclusiones obtenidas acerca de las cuestiones planteadas al iniciar esta investigación de acuerdo con las posibilidades teóricas de que disponemos actualmente, y vamos a tratar de expresar el estado evolutivo de la sociedad de los *tenochca* de acuerdo con tales conclusiones.

Sintetizando nuestros datos podemos decir que:

a) los *tenochca* tenían organismos permanentes —los *calpullis*— basados en el parentesco por ascendencia común de sus miembros, es decir, organismos que reunían las premisas necesarias para aceptar que entre los *tenochca* había indicios de clanes.

b) Podemos decir también que tomando en consideración las distintas formas que pueden adoptar los clanes, los indicios que tenemos respecto a los clanes de los *tenochcas* nos los muestran como clanes ambilaterales, con tendencia endogámica, entre los cuales, por tener como principio formativo el contar la cercanía del parentesco con los ascendientes, se presentaba una fuerte diferenciación interna, una verdadera pirámide de rangos y de posiciones económicas estando en la posición más alta los jefes de *calpulli*.

c) podemos decir que hay muchos indicios de haber habido una diferenciación del rango de clanes íntegros, habiendo uno principal al que pertenecían los jefes de todo el grupo *tenochca*.

d) podemos decir que hay indicios también de que la diferenciación interna de los rangos de cada clan estaba ligada íntimamente a la diferenciación de clanes íntegros en todo el grupo *tenochca*, por la realización de casamientos entre miembros de diversos clanes.

e) podemos decir, finalmente, que hay indicios muy numerosos de que las principales relaciones sociales de toda la población *tenochca* estaban de-

terminadas por estos organismos de tipo clan ambilateral, con tendencias endogámicas, y muy estratificados. Entre estas relaciones determinadas por la existencia de los clanes estaban principalmente: 1º La estratificación social, que no era independiente de la organización en clanes, aunque había hecho pensar a muchos investigadores que eran verdaderas clases sociales, o principios de clases sociales. 2º La división social del trabajo, no sólo manual, que había hecho pensar a algunos autores que entre los *tenochca* había gremios. 3º Las formas de la propiedad de la tierra, salvo dos excepciones (las parcelas de los valientes *macehuales* y las de los nobles no sujetas a vínculo determinado), que había hecho pensar que era la propiedad de la tierra la base de las supuestas diferencias de tipo clasista. 4º La división territorial de la población.

Podemos por lo tanto afirmar que entre los *tenochca* había clanes hacia la llegada de los españoles; pero que estos clanes no eran de la naturaleza de los clanes unilaterales, exogámicos e igualitarios, que han servido generalmente como ejemplos de clanes, sino que eran clanes ambilaterales, con gran tendencia a la endogamia y fuertemente estratificados, por tener como principio básico el contar la cercanía del parentesco de sus miembros con los antecesores comunes.

Ahora bien, ¿qué significa todo ésto desde el punto de vista del estado evolutivo de la sociedad de los *tenochca*? Son varias las consideraciones que podemos hacer a este respecto: en primer lugar, que los *tenochca* no estaban en el mismo estado evolutivo que los iroqueses u otros grupos semejantes, cuya estructura es igualitaria y democrática, sino que presentaban una fuerte estratificación interna y externa y eran fuertemente aristocráticos. En segundo lugar, podemos decir que los *tenochca* no estaban en la misma línea evolutiva de los clanes exogámicos, cuya estructura no les permite avanzar mucho por evolución interna, sino que estaban los *tenochca* en una línea evolutiva de clanes ambilaterales que ha sido siempre susceptible de sufrir grandes cambios. En tercer lugar podemos decir que estos cambios —principalmente en el sistema tributario—, pero también en el clánico —de hecho estaban ocurriendo en la sociedad de los *tenochca*, y que entre ellos tenemos principalmente: a) la iniciación de la separación de dos estratos hereditarios —los *pillis* y los *macehuales*— de tipo estamental simplemente; b) la iniciación de la división social del trabajo por grupos de tipo gremial, simplemente; c) quizá la iniciación de la división territorial basada en la ubicación personal —como parece que ocurría con los valientes no tributarios y con los dueños de las tierras enajenables—, y d) la iniciación de la propie-

dad no comunal y enajenable —como era la de los nobles no sujeta a vínculo—. En cuarto lugar hay que hacer notar que la iniciación de los cambios evolutivos permitidos por la estructura de la sociedad *tenochca* básicamente formada por clanes, era realmente apenas una iniciación, y que no había llegado todavía a constituir una estructura que pudiera llamarse ni siquiera estamental, ya no digamos clasista. Hay que hacer notar también que entre los *tenochca* no se presentaban las premisas de productividad del trabajo y de adelanto técnico que permitieron en otros puntos de la tierra la aparición de los estamentos y de las clases sociales, ya que entre los *tenochca* a) no había grandes obras de irrigación ni de cultivo intensivo, aunque se contaba con cultivo de azada muy avanzado con técnicas de horticultura (abono, selección, etc.); b) se desconocían las máquinas en su totalidad; d) no había animales domésticos que permitieran una gran acumulación de riqueza, etc. Por otra parte, tampoco había las posibilidades de que estas premisas técnicas fueran a obtenerse en un futuro muy cercano, aunque eran indispensables para una evolución posterior. Hay que decir también que la vida de los *tenochca* tenía una base económica de cultivo, de especialización artesana y de división del trabajo, muy suficiente para permitir y exigir una estructura social tan compleja como aparece en los datos, y que las relaciones económicas eran de una importancia fundamental para la vida social del grupo; pero es indudable que todavía no habían llegado a tener suficiente fuerza para romper los límites de una organización basada en el parentesco por ascendencia común.

Claro que ver a la sociedad de los *tenochca* —como se ha hecho en este trabajo— aislada de los grupos con quienes sostenía relaciones comerciales y de los grupos con quienes sostenía relaciones tributarias para lograr casi una vida parasitaria a su costa, es verla muy fragmentariamente. Lo mismo puede decirse de que no se haya hecho un estudio completo de todo el proceso de evolución de la sociedad de los *tenochca*. Pero precisamente el haber encontrado que la sociedad de los *tenochca*, en su posición dominante, todavía no había cambiado su estructura clánica, ni aún gozando de un bienestar económico de que no gozaban otros grupos contemporáneos, nos refuerza en la idea de que todavía no había alcanzado un grado de evolución semejante al de las altas culturas de tipo oriental como la India, Egipto o China. Por otra parte, tenemos que pensar que en caso de que la sociedad de los *tenochca* hubiera seguido su evolución interrumpida por la llegada de los españoles, a lo que hubiera llegado, es precisamente a un estado evolutivo semejante al de tales civilizaciones, no basándose en grandes obras de

irrigación, sino en el cultivo de terrazas, de jugo y de riego en pequeña escala.

La forma típica de aparición de las clases sociales —la de Grecia— es precisamente la iniciación de los rompimientos de los límites hereditarios de la estratificación social en estamentos. En México se inició un rompimiento de los clanes y de la estratificación hereditaria asociada a ellos solamente hasta la llegada de los españoles, y no por evolución interna, sino por imposición, de un modo brusco, y se fue generalizando la nueva organización social de un modo regular y paulatino con la introducción de las nuevas formas de producción: los españoles no aceleraron un proceso interno ya iniciado en la sociedad de los *tenochca*, sino que introdujeron formas a las que se pudieron adaptar fácilmente varios de sus procesos internos.

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LIMNOLOGIC STUDIES IN MIDDLE AMERICA

WITH A CHAPTER ON AZTEC LIMNOLOGY

BY

EDWARD S. DEEVEY, JR.

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

121 It would be too much to pretend that the high cultures of Middle America depended on lakes for their development, but lakes are of extreme importance to domestic economy wherever they exist, and the role they have played in shaping culture has not been insignificant. The lakes of Mexico and Central America have not only played this role to a degree that is out of the ordinary, but they are part of a scene that has no parallel, either in importance or in drama, in the entire history of western culture. New lands and strange peoples had been discovered before 1519, and the astonishing fact of the existence of "primitive" societies was not at all new to western thinkers who had read Herodotus. What the 16th-century Spaniards found in Middle America, however, was something altogether new and totally unexpected: a new civilization, with all that the term implies. The Aztecs and the Mayas lived in cities, and performed great engineering feats; they had a developed art and literature, and a body of scientific knowledge at least as well founded as that of Egypt; their scholars were interested in history, and demonstrated in elaborate ceremonials a philosophy that was highly sophisticated (repellantly so to the Spaniards, of course) on the theological side.

The impact of these facts was quickly muffled by Spain's closed-door policy for the Indies, and dwindled almost to nothing in the exciting centuries that followed the Spanish Conquest. It is only in our own day that the full meaning of the Middle American civilization is becoming apparent, and historians, aware of the powerful tool that the comparative method provides, have seen the necessity of comparing *independent* civilizations and the cultural lineages that produced them. Such a comparison is the best way, perhaps the only way, to deduce laws of societal evolution, and Middle America provides the only phyletic series of cultures outside the Old World that was independent enough, and progressed far enough, to be useful.

121 127 An investigation of the history of Mexican limnology (and the

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limnology of Mexican history) has a small but not negligible part to play in the writing of the general history that is needed. In what follows we present some notes on the subject, but it has to be said at once that the state of scientific knowledge among the aboriginal Middle Americans can probably never be satisfactorily appraised. The reason is, of course, that most of the written sources have disappeared. Only a handful of genuine pre-Conquest manuscripts have been preserved, while many are known to have been wantonly destroyed as heretical. Copies of some of them, probably fairly accurate copies in some cases, were made shortly after the Conquest. Numerous histories were written by learned and intelligent friars, using these documents and other sources of information that have since disappeared in their turn. For some purposes, as for reconstructing tribal movements and genealogies, particularly those within a couple of centuries of 1519, it matters little that the records are copies, as Radin (1920) has shown. The events they show are real enough, and their historicity has in general been confirmed by archaeology. For events that were more remote in time and space from the memories of the educated natives who set them down, the validity of the records is highly problematical, and the documentary history of Toltec times is "una inextricable maraña", as Mendizábal (1947) called it.

Ideas are much easier to garble than events, and the reconstruction of Middle American science involves a distressing amount of that sterilizing activity, the history of historiography. That is, confronted by the fact that the native ideas have filtered through the minds of Europeans, we must investigate the quality of those minds before we can get on with the subject. This difficulty is particularly apparent to the historian of limnology, in that the earlier writers were singularly uninterested in lakes and ill-informed about them. No doubt this is because they came from Spain, the one country in Europe that is least likely to have produced a limnologically minded historian. Whatever the reason, the data reported below are as fragmentary as they are fascinating. At most one can hope to have it said, as Prescott (n. d.) said of Veytía, "Every page bears testimony to the extent and fidelity of his researches; and, if we feel but moderate confidence in the results, the fault is not imputable to him, so much as to the dark and doubtful nature of the subject."

AZTEC LIMNOLOGY

For knowledge of limnology among the Aztecs, as for all matters concerning Aztec customs and beliefs, one turns first to the great *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, by the Franciscan friar

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127 Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), who came to Mexico in 1529. It is unfortunate that there is still no complete edition of this work in a European language. The Spanish version, written by the author toward the end of his life, was not published until the early 19th century, and is in part a condensation of the Nahuatl work written about 1547. This is particularly true of Book Eleven, which contains most of the natural history, and has therefore attracted less attention from scholars than the books dealing with ceremonies and the calendar. The edition by Anderson and Dibble (1950–54), which gives Nahuatl and English in parallel columns, has not yet reached Book Eleven, so we must rely on the 1938 Robredo edition of the Spanish text, while the illustrations
127 are to be found in the Madrid edition of 1905–07. Sahagún's vertebrate
136 zoology has recently received careful treatment at the hands of Martin del Campo (1938, 1940, 1941). Some of the flavor of his ornithology can be given by "listening to the mockingbird" (actually the curved-bill thrasher, *Toxostoma curvirostre)* when he sings in Nahuatl:

"There is a bird in this country called *cuitlacochtótotl* or *cuitlacochin;* it has longish and slender feet, and a thin and sharp beak, somewhat
[825] curved; it is of a muddy color, tending toward purplish; it sings very well; it is so called by reason of its song, which says *cuitlacoch, cuitlacoch, taratitarat, tatatati, etc.*" (Robredo edition, vol. 3, p. 189).

127 Sahagún's botany will not be discussed here, since it appears not to bear significantly on limnology. It is treated from the medical point of view by Alcocer (1938) in an appendix to the Robredo edition. Aztec medical botany, however, is much more thoroughly covered in Emmart's magnificent edition (1940) of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal of 1552, and in a memoir by Paso y Troncoso (1886), while Sahagún's general botany is competently treated by Rivera (1941).

A general impression of Sahagún's work is that it is the achievement of a man who knew no natural history when he came from Spain, but whose consuming passion for all things Mexican drove him to learn and record all he could from native informants. If so, we are entitled to read between the lines an enormous amount of information that was not recorded. It is of course no new discovery that "primitive" people are very skilful naturalists. Raymond Paynter informs me that more kinds of Yucatecan birds are named in modern Maya than in Latin, and ethnographers have repeatedly found natives to be better naturalists than themselves. This does not diminish the fact that the lacustrine flora and fauna were exceedingly well known to the Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico, many of whom spent most of their lives in canoes and depended on limnologic knowledge for their livelihood. And, though the available sources emphasize the economic basis of this knowledge, so that "comenlos"—"they eat them"—is a monotonous refrain in

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Sahagún, it does not follow that Aztec limnology was exclusively motivated by exploitation. Scientific curiosity in the modern sense was not a dominant quality of 16th-century Spain, and the stress on practical matters is at least as likely to be a property of the Spanish as of the Aztec mind. Moreover, as Maldonado-Koerdell (1946) points out, an essential basis of Aztec interest in natural history, at least in vertebrates and plants, was magical and totemic. 127

FAUNA. It is characteristic, and exasperating, to find that Sahagún's Chapter 12 "De las diversidades de las aguas" discusses the sea, the rivers, and the springs, and omits the lakes. A much more impressive amount of limnologic information is given in Chapter 2, with its list of 41 aquatic birds, practically all of which can be identified (Martin del Campo, 1940). Nahuatl names and brief descriptions are given, but what is more important is that food habits are listed for nearly every species, and that most of them are illustrated. Chapter 3 deals with aquatic animals, including crustaceans, turtles, amphibians (including the axolotl), the marine iguana, and a disappointingly short list of fishes. Crocodiles are separated off with several mythical water creatures in Chapter 4, "De otras animales del agua que no son comestibles". Since Sahagún wrote in the century of Gesner, we need not be surprised to find a certain amount of credulity displayed; the account of the *yacapitzauac* or *nacatzone*, a bird (the eared grebe, *Colymbos nigricollis californicus*) that subsists on its own feathers, is particularly enchanting. 127 136

Fishing on Lake Texcoco is probably not what it was before the Valley lakes were finally lowered in 1900, but statements that the salt lake is lacking in fishes are erroneous. At the time of the Conquest, the Anonymous Conqueror remarked "in the sweet water there are some small fish; in the salt part they are still smaller" (1917 edition, p. 59). Cortés, on the other hand, tells us that the fisheating birds in Montezuma's menagerie were fed daily on two hundred and fifty pounds of fish, caught in the salt lakes (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 266). The two statements do not conflict, since small but numerous members of the families Atheriniidae and Goodeidae were doubless the staples of the fishery. The aboriginal methods of fishing may be seen within a few miles of Mexico City today, as Linné shows (1937, 1948). All are illustrated in the Florentine Codex, i.e. the work of Sahagún, and in the fascinating pictures that decorate the mid-16th-century map "attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz", now in the library of the University of Uppsala. This map serves as the focal point of Linné's remarkable book (1948), which synthesizes archaeologic, historic, and ethnographic knowledge into a convincing picture of the Valley of Mexico in 1550. 127 136 226 127

The fishing methods include rod-and-line, nets of two of three sorts, 226

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127 226 and spearing. It is not certain that the rod-and-line method involved fishhooks, for these are not known archaeologically from the Valley, but the line may have carried a gorge instead of a hook, and in any case *golden* fishhooks were found in use in 1518 by Grijalva on the island of Cozumel. The types of nets used are the gill net, the pole net, and possibly the throw-net; the latter was used for rabbits but may not have been used for fish. Spearing is of particular interest to ethnologists, because Mexico is one of the few places in the world where the atlatl is still in use. This fact was discovered on Lake Pátzcuaro by Seler in 1892 and on Texcoco by Beyer in 1925.

127 223 Water birds are mainly hunted in the fall and winter, when migrants swell their numbers. On Pátzcuaro the Tarascans surround them with canoes and kill them with tridentiform atlatls, as described by León (1934) and Foster (1948), but in the shallower lakes of the Valley the birds are caught in long nets stretched just above the water. This practice is fully depicted in the two 16th-century pictorial sources, and survives today (Linné, 1940).

127 262 Exploitation of the Valley lakes for animal food was not restricted to fishing and fowling. If it had been, we should have no reason to impute any special limnologic knowledge to the Aztecs, but the use they made of their lacustrine environment goes far beyond that of the usual "primitive" society. In addition to tadpoles and frogs, and the axolotl, of which Sahagún says "es muy bueno de comer; es comida de los señores", the historian lists a number of invertebrate foods in Chapter 3. These items of diet have bewildered most subsequent writers, and without a thorough ethnographic survey it is impossible to be sure that the following remarks are not compounding the confusion. However, there are certain points that a limnologist finds obvious and that have been missed by all the authorities. In discussing the invertebrates we rely not only on Sahagún and the relevant illustrations in Plate I, but on Hernandez' *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae liber unicus*, written in the 1570's and appended to the 1651 Rome edition of the great work on Mexican medical botany.[2]

127 [2] Mrs. Emmart, in her edition of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (1940), remarked that the five copies of Hernandez' work that she was able to collate are all of different editions, though all bear the year 1651. Presumably these all have the title *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus*, but the copy in the Yale University Library, also imprinted 1651, is entitled *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium Mexicanorum Historia*. In any case this is a very incomplete version of what must be the greatest work on Mexican natural history ever written. Hernandez' Latin work ran to 15 or 17 volumes, and is believed to have been destroyed in the fire at the Escorial in 1671. George Kubler informs me, however, that a Nahuatl translation was made by 1576, and this or a copy of the original may yet come to light.

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The most famous of the edible invertebrates is the *axayácatl*, referred to as *axaxayácatl* by Sahagún and Hernandez. Although modern writers (Vaillant, 1941; Apenes, 1943; Linné, 1948; Anderson and Dibble, 1954) persist in calling these insects flies, it has been known for more than a century that they are corixid waterbugs. Sahagún's Spanish word was *coquillo*, not *mosco* or *mosquillo*, so the confusion is not his fault. In post-Conquest times the dried adult insects have been widely sold in the markets of the world as food for caged birds, but they were also used as human food; Hernandez says that they were cooked in maize leaves in nitrous water. Hernandez also makes it clear that these insects are the source of *ahuautli*, a cake made from the eggs that is still much eaten in Mexico, particularly on watch-nights such as Christmas Eve and Holy Thursday. That *ahuautli* was formerly a staple that survives as a delicacy is suggested by its name, which is derived from *atl*, water, and *huautli*, amaranth seed. Now that Sauer (1950) has cleared up some of the indescribable confusion surrounding the use of grain amaranths in aboriginal Mexico, we can begin to appreciate that *ahuautli* was really "water grain", though not in the literal sense of "water wheat" implied by Tylor (1861), whose etymology has confused such later writers as Packard (1871). The identity of the insects is an equally tangled bibliographic problem in which the zoologists have hardly been more helpful than the historians. 127 136 252 262

The fullest and most authoritative-sounding account is that of Orozco y Berra, given in his memoir on the hydrography of the Valley of Mexico (1864). This historian quoted in full de la Llave's description (1832; reprinted 1887) of the adult insect under the name *Ahuautlea mexicana* (which appears to be the correct name, though it has been ignored by zoological writers; it has priority over the generic name *Krisousacorixa* Hungerford 1930 and the specific name *Corixa femorata* Guérin-Meneville 1857). He described the cultivation of *ahuautli*, which is accomplished by placing bundles of *tules* (*Scirpus* or *Typha*) in the water of Lake Texcoco, stripping off the eggs which the insects lay in countless millions, and processing them into cakes. This much of Orozco y Berra's work is correct; it is fully confirmed by the modern observations of Ancona (1933), and, if there is any doubt that the practice is an aboriginal one, the doubt is removed by Sahagún's figures, reproduced in Plate I, nos. 220–221. Professor Hutchinson assures me that no. 220 is certainly the oldest known figure of a corixid waterbug. Oddly enough, Sahagún does not describe the practice or mention *ahuautli* with the edible insects in Book Eleven, though he lists it among the products sold in the market in the 19th chapter of Book Eight. Hernandez repairs the omission. [222]

Ancona's account (1933) is the only one by a modern zoologist, and 127 136

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127 suggests that the *axayácatl* is ordinarily *Krisousacorixa azteca* Jaczewski,
136 1931; it may also be *K. femorata* (Guérin-Meneville, 1857), while *Corisella texcocana* Jaczewski and *C. mercenaria* (Say) may be less important components of the market product, along with the backswimmer *Notonecta unifasciata* Guérin-Meneville. Which species contributes most eggs to *ahuautli* is not made clear even by Ancona's paper, although it is certainly one of the species of *Krisousacorixa*.

Unfortunately Orozco y Berra went on to confuse the issue by discussing the *cuculin*. This word does not occur in Sahagún's text, so far as I have been able to discover, though it is mentioned by Hernandez, by Alvarado Tezozomoc (Orozco y Berra's edition, p. 236), and by Pomar in his *Relación de Tezcoco* (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 59). Orozco y Berra considered it to be composed of "nests" of the "larvae" of the *axayácatl*, which come to the surface under circumstances unknown and are scooped from the water and made into cakes. The "larvae", furthermore, are said to be eaten as *puxi*, so that the miraculous corixids are eaten in four different forms under as many names. Corixids, of course, have neither larvae nor nests, and it appears that Orozco y Berra attributed to the *axayácatl* some of the properties of the insect products *cuculin* and *izcauitli* and of the vegetable product *tecuitlatl*. I have not traced the word *puxi* back of Orozco y Berra, but the *cuculin* and the *izcauitli* appear to be pupal and larval stages, respectively, of a salt fly, probably *Ephydra bians* Say. Sahagún describes the *izcauitli* as having "no head, but two tails, and reddish", and the featureless animals shown in Plate I, no. 223, certainly do not disagree with that description.[3] At the risk of introducing still another false etymology I suggest that the name itself has something to do with salt, *iztatl*, but in any case Pomar's description, in the *Relación de Texcoco*, written in 1582 and published by García Icazbalceta in 1891, leaves little doubt that a salt fly is meant: "There grows another sort of food called *ezcauhitli*, which is made of certain little grubs like earthworms, so slender and so pullulent in their multitude and density, that one can scarcely judge whether or not the substance is alive" (p. 59). Salt-fly larvae are almost the only grubs that would occur in such quantities in

[3] In the original codex (of which there is a photostatic copy in the Yale library) the illustrations are interlarded with the Spanish text, and not separated as in the published editions. This arrangement is of little help in identifying the animals, as the association of pictures and text appears to be arbitrary, probably through the copyist's mistake. Thus, while Figure 223 stands with the *ocuiliztac*, making it conceivable that this, and not *izcauitli*, was Sahagún's word for Ephydrid larvae, Figure 220 stands with *aneuezili*. The subsequent paragraph on *axaxayácatl* contains Figure 221, making it clear that the location of Figure 220 is a mistake.

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a salt lake, and Aldrich (1912) gives a graphic account of *Ephydra gracilis* Packard on the Great Salt Lake, Utah, and of *Ephydra hians* on Mono Lake, California. The latter are not only collected in quantity and eaten by Paiute Indians, but were bred out of supposed "larvae" of the *axayácatl* of Lake Texcoco by Peñafiel (1884) and identified by Williston, who referred to Peñafiel's specimens in 1883 and again in 1896. Even Ancona overlooked the fact that Peñafiel's larvae could have nothing to do with a corixid, so that Aldrich's remark, "it seems that the Diptera and the Hemiptera are mingled together in the quotations", is an understatement. 127 136

The pupae of ephydrids come to the surface and undergo mass emergence, and it is then (in September) that they are collected and processed as *kootsabe* by the Paiutes of Mono Lake. In all probability this is the product that the Aztecs called *cuculin*. (The words sound distantly related, which is not inconceivable, as Paiute is a member of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic group). The substance is definitely confounded with *tecuitlatl* by Orozco y Berra, however, and the suggestion that it is made of the pupae of *Ephydra hians* is made with due hesitation. As Aldrich said, "only an investigation by an entomologist at the lake can clear up the confusion" (1912, p. 92). Though Sahagún does not mention *cuculin*, nos. 224 to 227 in Plate I appear to depict stages in its manufacture, or in the collection of the larvae, *izcauitli*.

The puzzling stuff called *tecuitlatl* is mentioned by Sahagún in Book Eight, and listed (as *tecuiltlatl*) with the lower animals in Book Eleven. He describes it as *"urronas"* (*"urrosas"* in Lord Kingsborough's edition (1831–48), but neither form occurs in any dictionary I have consulted nor does my own reading "orroras") which grow on the water, have a purple color, and are harvested, dried on mud, and made into cakes. Anderson and Dibble translate the Nahuatl word as "scum", and the material is probably algal. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, p. 59) refers to it as "green sheets that grow, which, when made into a cake and baked, take on a dark green color, and which the Spaniards call *queso de la tierra*". Hernandez, who lists it among the minerals, confirms the purple or green color ("color adhuc recenti cyaneus, aut viridis"). López de Gómara, who was never in Mexico, but who published in 1552 a delightful book on the Conquest that has been a best-seller for four hundred years, adds the suggestive detail that the substance (which he does not name) was gathered on "threshing floors" (*eras*) like those in which salt is made. He said that it is eaten as we eat cheese, and described its flavor as salty, but very good with *chilmolli* (1943 edition, pp. 238–239); continuing with the sonorous text of the first English edition (1578, reprinted in facsimile 1940) from 127 136 222 252

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127 which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that
136 this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number
222 of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."
252

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is
127 no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Cas-
136 tillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described
252 as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not im-
262 probable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli*, and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

127 The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no atten-
136 tion from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identified with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón*, or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocuiliztac*, which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *aneneztli*, which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 222 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

127 One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

127 CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected
317 by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas*, 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

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the salt is commonly extracted from soil of several types rather from the water itself. This practice would be expected to arise in a country of inland salines, not along the seacoast. Moreover, fractional evaporation is used to give different products, according to Apenes, the last of the liquors being the source of saltpeter. We cannot yet be sure that the whole complex is pre-Cortesian, but it suggests a knowledge of limnologic and soil chemistry among the Aztecs that was at least as great as their ceramic and metallurgic skill would imply.[4] The point is not only of considerable importance, but is capable of verification by chemical archaeology; that no attempt to do so has been made so far is another indication that the scientific knowledge of non-Western peoples exceeds in some respects that of the historians and ethnographers who study them.

Salt is one of the seldom-considered essentials of human welfare. Mendizábal makes the provocative point that if the Aztecs had been more generous with their salt, the Tlaxcalans (who had no salines in their domain) might not have been so ready to ally themselves with Cortés, and the course of history might have been rather different.

HYDROGRAPHY. The demonstration that the Aztecs had detailed knowledge of all aspects of their lakes that might be used for human sustenance is not itself a proof that they had a developed limnologic science. Far more primitive people have known and done as much, and none of the practices mentioned, with the possible exception of fractional evaporation of salt water, are beyond the capabilities of the Banyoro, for example, who live on Lake Albert in Africa (Worthington and Worthington, 1933). The urbanization of Tenochtitlán, however, brought problems in its train that simpler societies could hardly have faced. Lake *villages* are known all over the world, but lake cities are much less usual. In meeting these problems the Aztecs and their

[4] A piece of chemical knowledge that has been entirely overlooked is the manufacture of some salt from urine. Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1910 edition, p. 72) mentions the sale of "many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use for making salt or tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared". The reference to tanning of skins shows clearly that the excrement was urine and not feces, for the tanning properties of uric acid are still taken advantage of in modern Mexico; moreover, Bernal Diaz goes on to describe the collection of feces and their use as fertilizer. What "salt" other than uric acid or sodium chloride could have been extracted from urine is problematical; nitrates would have been the most valuable, and they could conceivably have been separated from the chlorides by fractional evaporation, as in the case of salt water. In the history of western chemistry the most important salt found in urine was microcosmic salt, $NH_4\ NaHPO_4 \cdot 2H_2O$, which served Brand as the source of phosphorus.

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823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 133 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second [312] letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 38) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, [782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 133 312 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan- [241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, 127 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the 133 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along 731 the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches[1] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[1] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. — Analyst]

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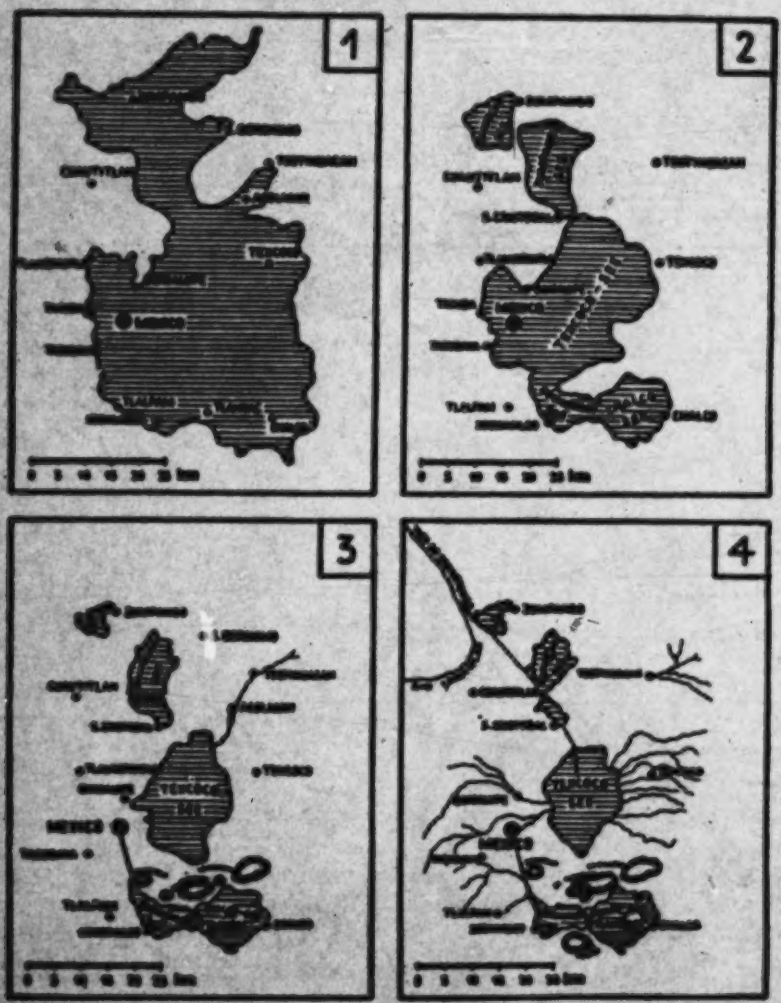

Fig. 1. Sketch maps of the lakes of the Valley of Mexico, (1) during the Ice Age, (2) at the beginning of the 16th century, (3) at the beginning of the 19th century, (4) in 1889. Reproduced from Schilling (1939).

the salt lake from the streams on the eastern side of the Valley, were described by Motolinía in 1540 (Steck edition 1951, p. 263). That seiches also occurred may be inferred from Cortés' reference to "tides" (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 256). Moreover, Sahagún records in Book Eight a tradition, regarded later as an omen of the coming of the Spaniards, to the effect that "the water of the lake foamed up, and

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127 the wind did not stir it up. It was as welled up .... and it reached the
133 lower parts of the houses" (1954 edition, p. 18). There appear to
731 be no modern observations of seiches, but the extraordinary Gómara remarks (1940 edition, pp. 195–196) that "the salte water ebbeth and floweth, accordyng to the wynde that bloweth".

127 Whether irrigation was practiced in Middle America is a question
312 that has never been adequately considered (Millon, 1954; Palerm, 1955). Clearly it would not have been necessary in Aztec times in the Valley of Mexico; *chinampa* agriculture, which substituted for irrigation, has an ancient history in the Valley (Apenes, 1943), but it is not known elsewhere nearer than the Vale of Kashmir (West and Armillas, 1950). At other times and in other places it seems certain that the dense population could not have been maintained without irrigation. The great ceremonial center of Teotihuacán lies in a subdivision of the Valley that receives less precipitation than Mexico City, and some irrigation is practiced there today. We know from the work of Apenes (1943) and Sears (1952) that just prior to Teotihuacán times (about 500 B. C.) the Valley lakes were appreciably lower than today, and the conclusion is inescapable that Teotihuacán culture was founded on high ground and flourished during a dry time when irrigation must have been essential. Deforestation (Vaillant, 1941) complicates the hydrographic picture for Teotihuacán times but it is evident that the rise and spread of Aztec culture was related to increased moisture, reflected in high lake levels during the 14th to 16th centuries. The high levels would doubtless have continued through the 18th century, in agreement with climatic oscillations elsewhere, if sporadic attempts to drain the Valley had not been partially successful in the early 17th century (they were not completely successful until 1900).

Aztec control of hydrography, then, did not include irrigation where it was unnecessary, but was devoted, in the last centuries before the Conquest, to regulating the levels of the lakes. Before the Aztecs entered the Valley, however, they lived in many places, not all of
127 which were lacustrine. So far archaeology has made little progress in reconstructing the details of their history during the migration period. The problem is exceedingly complicated, and four centuries of scholarship have not made it less so. The Aztecs were interested in their own history, and attempted to draw it together in pictorial manuscripts. These have been lost, and what have come down to us are copies, made, probably from memory, by hispanicized Indians under the prodding of the 16th-century friars. In the interpretation and verbalization of these pictorial histories we have to contend with ideas implanted by the friars, and the result is a picture of the migration period that is strongly reminiscent of the wandering of the Israelites, joined to a

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conception of city states within the Valley that owes much to the history 127
of Greece and medieval Italy.

For the special purpose of this limnologic history, we need to wade 127
into the "inextricable maraña" at only one or two points. On one 174
point the sources, such as they are, are almost unanimous: there was a 361
city called Tollán or Tula ("place of reeds" i. e. of *Typha*, the modern *tule*). Tollán is where the Toltecs came from, etymologically at least; the Toltecs were the predecessors of the Aztecs and the other Valley peoples, and were also regarded as ancestors by the Mexicanized Mayas of Yucatán, with whose tangled history we are fortunately not concerned here. The chief source of confusion, apart from the loss of the documents themselves, is the tendency, surely not a post-Conquest invention, for the relatively barbaric Valley people to identify themselves dynastically with the legendary founders of the civilization they inherited. The cultural picture is not an unfamiliar one, and probably was in actuality similar to that presented by the Etruscan foundations of Roman civilization; unfortunately, it comes to us on the testimony of friars who were only too well aware of such historic parallels, and could not refrain from asking leading questions. Be that as it may, Vaillant (1941), on the basis of archaeologic and historic researches, arrived at a satisfying conception of Aztec prehistory, in which the real and classic Tula (Tollán) was Teotihuacán, while memories of it played out their part in synthetic genealogies of "dynastic Toltecs", the chiefs of the wandering "Chichimec" tribes who entered the Valley after the decline of Tula in the 12th century.

Vaillant's picture was considerably upset by the excavations at Tula, 172
Hidalgo (Acosta, 1940, 1941, 1944; see also Du Solier, 1941, and 361
other papers in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, T. 5, no. 2–3, 1941). These showed clearly that Tula, not Teotihuacán, was the Tollán from which emanated the Mexicanization of Chichén Itzá. Thus Tula was the Mayas' Tula, but whether it was necessarily the Mexicans' Tula is not so easily admitted, and is still in sharp dispute. What interests us here is whether Tula was a lacustrine city, for Teotihuacán was not.

The Codex Ramírez, authoritatively regarded as a manuscript copy 127
of the *Relación del origén de los yndios*, probably 1583–87, by the 174
Mexican Jesuit Juan de Tovar (see Kubler and Gibson, 1951, for discussion), is one of several almost identical histories of the migration period from the Aztec (i. e. not from the Texcocan) point of view. It happens to be the only one of which a convenient English translation exists (Radin, 1920), and from it we quote the following account of Tula.

"The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark

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127 174 arrived at the town-called Tula, quite diminished in numbers on account of the divisions that had taken place. There they remained some time, replenishing their provisions and increasing their number, living in a cerro called Cohuatepec, that is to say, the snake-mountain. Here, in dreams, their idol ordered his priests to deflect the water of a very full river that flowed through that region so that it might spread over the whole valley and then be brought to the middle of the mountain on which they were living, for he wished to show them the appearance of the land he had promised them. They constructed the dyke and the water spread out and extended over the whole valley, turning it into a very beautiful lagoon lined with willows, poplars, and sabines. In the lagoon grew many rushes and reeds, and on that account the place was called Tula, meaning the-place-of-the-rushes (*junca*) or reeds (*espadaña*).

"The place soon abounded in fish and waterfowl, such as ducks, herons, *gallareta* [coots], with which, together with many other species of birds, the entire lagoon seemed to be completely covered. And to the present day the lagoon of Mexico abounds in these animals.[8] The place was thickly covered with rushes (*carrizales*) and marine flowers, and inhabited by differently colored thrushes, some red, others yellow, which were accustomed to gather at the place and which harmonized with the songbirds in the trees, of which there were quite a number; all this making the place delightful and pleasant, and as such it was painted in their books.

"The Mexicans, quite oblivious to what their idol had told them, namely that this place was merely an imitation and pattern of the land they were to be given, stayed in this delightful place (a long time) and began to feel that it was quite satisfactory, some even saying that they desired to stay there permanently, and that this was really the place selected by their god Huitzilopochtli; that it was from that place that they were to follow their desires, being the rulers of the four parts of the world, etc.

"Their idol, seeing this, waxed so angry that he said to the priests, 'Who are these who thus wish to transgress and put obstacles in the way of my orders and commands? Are they perhaps greater than my-

[114] [8] The *Crónica Mexicana* of Alvarado Tezozomoc (1598), another of this group of closely similar histories, is more explicit about these animals, listing frogs, *axolotl*, *camarón*, *axayácatl*, *izcauitli* and *tecuitlatl*, and adds that the Mexicans regarded the red *izcauitli* (identified above as Ephydridae, but possibly Chironomidae in this context) as the body and blood of the war god Huitzilopochtli (Orozco y Berra's edition, 1878, p. 228). A more probable explanation of the attribution of red color to *izcauitli* is that some one, not necessarily Tezozomoc, confused the Nahuatl words *iztatl*, salt, and *eztli*, blood.

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self? Tell them that I will take vengeance before tomorrow and that they should not dare to give advice about matters which are for me to determine. Let them know that all they have to do is to obey'. Having said this, those who saw assert that the idol looked so ugly and frightful, that all were terrified and frightened. On that very night, it is said, when everything was quiet, a loud noise was heard in part of the camp and when the people rushed there in the morning, they found that all those who had spoken in favor of remaining in this place were dead with their breasts torn open and their hearts torn out. In this way it was that they were taught that most cruel of sacrifices, a custom they always practiced after that, which consisted of cutting open a man's chest in order to tear out his heart and offer it to their idols. (The reason they did that) they claimed was because (their god) ate only hearts.

"Having thus punished them, Huitzilopochtli ordered his priests to tear down the dykes and repairs they had made when they deflected the course of the water to form the lagoon and instructed them to make the river take its former bed. This they did, and the entire lagoon being thus emptied of water the place became as dry as it had been before. When the Mexicans, after some time, saw how sterile the place had become, and realized also that their god was incensed at them, they consulted him, raised their camp, and set out from the neighborhood of Tula in the year 1168 A. D."

— — Radin's translation, 1920, pp. 73–74.

This circumstantial account, alas, cannot be taken as showing that there was an artificial lake at Tula. The more operational suggestion that emerges is that Tula, as understood by Tovar's Aztec informants, was whatever place can be shown to have had an artificial lake. But even this suggestion is hardly worth following up, as the following argument implies.

The "pure" glyph for Tollán (Tula), as it occurs in the Codex Xólotl (Dibble 1951) and the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938) consists (Figure 3) of a row of cattails, *Typha* (identified as *Cyperus flavicomus* Michx. by Clark, whose botanical identifications are undocumented and not always reliable). In the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Anonymous, 1944), commonly known outside Mexico as the Codex Boturini, we have an Aztec pictorial history that is somewhat more influenced by European draughtsmanship; it shows Tula (Figure 2) as cattails in a lake, accompanied by a large-scaled fish that looks remarkably like a carp. Tula is also shown in the pictures that accompany Tovar's *Relación* (the Codex Ramírez, Orozco y Berra's edition, 1944, Lam. II), which, like the text, represent a version of Diego Durán's

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127 212 *Historia de las indias de Nueva-España y islas de Tierra Firme,* 1579 (Mexico, 1867–80). In this scene the most important glyphic element is the hill with a snake (Coatepec, the hill near Tula). It stands in the middle of lake beset by cattails, in which are swimming a bird, a fish, and a seal, while pollarded trees stand around, each with a bird on top. Two dignitaries are seated at either side, the male with a glyphic name representing a bird and a cactus, while the female is provided with a standard on which is seen an axolotl, rampant, with enormous external gills.

Fig. 2: Contaminated glyph for Tula, as it appears in the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini) (Anon., 1944).

The implication of this curious inconography is clear and disheartening. The details about the lake of Tula were concocted by native informants to explain the glyph, probably in a manuscript now lost. Later, the pictures were drawn to illustrate the story. The glyph that provoked the story need not have been that of Tollán, for any place with *tules* in its etymology would have sufficed. We must conclude that we do not know whether Tula was situated on an artificial lake, or even whether its name was Tollán.

127 The hydrographic knowledge of the Aztecs, then, must not be judged by what was told to credulous friars by acculturated Indians fifty years after the Conquest. Cortés' account, though doubtless somewhat colored, has more of the ring of truth. In the famous Second Letter to Charles V, he said:

127 231 312 "Along one of the causeways which lead into the city, there are two conduits of masonry each two paces broad, and five feet deep, through one of which a volume of very good fresh water, the bulk of a man's body, flows into the heart of the city, from which all supply themselves, and drink. The other which is empty brings the water, when they wish to clean the first conduit, for, while one is being cleaned, the water flows through the other" (MacNutt edition, vol. 1, p. 262). Again, describing one of Montezuma's lesser palaces, he said: "It had ten pools of water, in which were kept all the many and divers breeds of waterfowl found in these parts, all domesticated; for the sea-birds, too, there were pools of salt water, and, for those of the rivers and lakes, there was fresh water, which for the sake of cleanliness, they renewed at certain times by means of pipes. To each kind of bird they gave the food which suited its habits in its free state, so that to those which ate fish they gave it; and likewise, worms, maize, and smaller

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seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

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103 pre-Conquest (Spinden, 1935). Some lacustrine scenes (if that is what
212 they are) are reproduced on Plate II from the Codex Nuttall, published by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University in 1908.

As may be seen in the case of *Acocolco*, "twisted water" (Figure 3 B), the glyph for water is compound, and its several elements reappear in other contexts. Essentially it consists of a stream, painted

Fig. 3. Some Aztec place-name glyphs referring to water, lakes, and salt, redrawn by Martha Dimock from the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938). A, Hueyapán, "on the lake" (*xeiatl*, lake + *pantli*, banner, ideograph for *pan*, on) (Clark's no. 192). B, *Acocolco*, "twisted water" (*atl*, water + *cocoloa*, to go by twisting and turning) (Clark's no. 352). C, Acozpan, "yellow water" (*atl*, water + *coztic*, yellow) (Clark's no. 578). D, Xalac, "sandy water" (*xalla*, sandy + *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 355). E, Atlán, "near the water" (*atl*, water + *tlanti*, teeth, ideograph for *tlan*, place of) (Clark's no. 606). F, Chilacachapán, "place of *chilacaxtli*" (*chili* + *acaxitl*, small lake, ideograph for *chilacaxtli*, *Azolla* sp.; combined with *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 430). G, Tequixquiac, "saltpeter water" (*tequixquitl*, saltpeter + *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 16). H, Zilán, "shells" (Clark's no. 116). I, Tamazolan, "toad" (Clark's no. 517). J, Iztatlán, "near the salt" (*iztatl*, salt + *tlantli*, teeth, ideograph for *tlan*, near) (Clark's no. 161). K, Iztacalco, "salt house" (Clark's no. 232). L, Ayotlán, "turtle" (Clark's no. 560). M, Tollán, "cattails" (Clarks's no. 66). N, Chalco, "jewel" (*chalchihuitl*, jadeite + *co*, in).

turquoise-blue, with eddies and waves. At the tips of the waves, usually in alternation, the Aztec glyph shows two sorts of symbols, and these alone may represent water, as in *Acozpan*, "yellow water" (3C). One of these is a shell, and reappears by itself in *Zilán* (3H). The other, though interpreted as a drop by Clark, is almost certainly a precious

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stone, *chalchiuhtl*, and is a miniature of the full glyph as it occurs in the name *Chalco* (3N). The relation among shells, jewels, and water is made clear on Plate 103 of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (Emmart's edition, 1940), where it is said that whoever would cross a river or a lake in safety is to carry in his hand a beryl, both "head" and viscera of a snail, and a sardonyx, while in his mouth he should carry the eye of a large fish. Presumably either "beryl" or "sardonyx" of both stem from mis-translations into Latin of the Nahuatl *chalchiuhtl*, which is ordinarily jadeite, but in this context is probably green turquoise. The stone was sacred to the water goddess *Chalchiuhtlicue* and would be understandably related to water on account of its color. As to the snails, four or five kinds, all with viscera, are illustrated in the Mixtec codex, one (at the left side of the top figure of Plate II) being obviously identical with the shell of the Aztec glyphs. It is probably an *Oliva*, judging from the wide use of this type for ornaments in Mesoamerica, but from the picture itself it could equally well be a freshwater melaniid. This or a similar gastropod also forms the basis of the most famous of all Mesoamerican symbols, the Maya glyph for zero. The larger snails with spines are probably *Murex* or *Purpura*, which, as the source of purple dye that was used in this codex, have both a magical and a practical connection with water.

The fact that some or all of the shells are marine presumably led Spinden (1928, p. 247) to identify the page from the Codex Nuttall (here shown at the top of Plate II) as "the conquest of a town situated on an island of the sea", and Thompson (1933, p. 245) made the same inference. The alligator, on the other hand, is not marine, and two other creatures appear to be partly mythical: the serpent, and the fish with the head of a bird, which answers the description of Sahagún's *totomichin*. The association is clearly with water in general, and if the painting represents any particular body of water the fact that it is enclosed by banks suggests that a lake is intended. The question can probably be settled eventually by identification of the island; for example, if the frieze at the base of the island in Plate II top, were black and white, instead of brown, red, and blue, we would know it to be Tilantongo (Caso, 1949).

What is particularly interesting is that while water in general is commonly represented by a stream drawn in plan, even when the stream is dry, as in *Xalac* (3D), "sandy water", lakes are commonly shown in section. *Hueyapán* (3A), "on the lake", is an exception, but as waves, jewels, and shells are all missing from this glyph it has a close resemblance to the glyph for "mirror" that is probably intentional. *Atlán* (3E), "near the water", *Chilacachapán* (3F), "place of

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103 212 *chilacaxtli* = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water", all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli*, teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes*, though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone*, whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

127 823 If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.*, 1938) that shows part of the [289] city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

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and in the 1556 Ramusio edition of the "Anonymous Conqueror") are obviously imaginary, it may be said that the Boturini picture is possibly the oldest surviving map of a New World lake, and it is ironic that we cannot say what lake it represents. 127 823

About this famous picture all that can be said with confidence is that it shows a lake with an island. The island is universally identified as *Aztlán*, the legendary home of the Aztecs, yet the glyph at the top 127 212 823

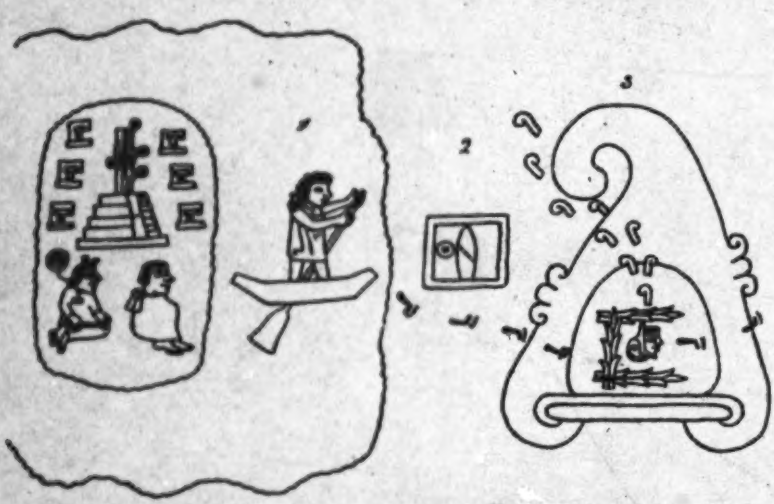

Fig. 4. Origin of the Aztecs, from the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini). The town, here labelled *Aacatl*, but identified by authorities as *Aztlán*, is situated on an island in a lake, presumably in western Mexico.

designates it as *Aacatl* (*atl*, water + *acatl*, reed). *Aacatl* turns up on a later page as a personal name, and it may indeed be the name of the male figure at the right of the island, for he is otherwise nameless, though his female companion is named *Matlalin*, from *matlatl*, a fish-net. It would be idle sport to list all the places that Aztlán is supposed to have been; Orozco y Berra (1880, p. 66–68) considered it to be the island of Mexcalli in Lake Chapala, while Seler (n.d.) rejected all the legendary wanderings of the Aztecs in western Mexico and brought Aztlán, full circle, back to the Valley of Mexico itself. Escalona (1943) argues with some plausibility for the lake of Metztitlán, in Hidalgo, while Rendón (1948), with even greater plausibility, prefers the lake at the headwaters of the Río Lerma, just west of the Valley. The truth is that the Aztlán part of the Aztecs' history appears full-blown in the circle of Jesuit histories stemming from the Dominican Durán, while 127

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the Franciscan version, as embodied for example in Sahagún, makes no mention of it. Since some of the "sources" place the Aztecs on Lake Pátzcuaro at one stage of their wanderings, it is amusing, in this work that started from limnologic experience on that lake, to consider that Aztlán may have been the island of Janicho. Certainly the possibility cannot be dismissed that Pátzcuaro was in the mind of the acculturated artist who drew the picture.

If Aztlán had no more reality than the artificial lake at Tula, the delightful possibility arises that the name *Aztec* itself is a chimaera. Clark (1938) actually takes this position, and it is true that the inhabitants of Tenochtitlán were Tenochca, the speakers of Nahuatl were Nahua, and we are left with *Aztec* as a book-name that is conveniently applied to a culture. Barlow (1945) accepted the tradition, found in most of the post-Conquest sources, that the Aztecs changed their name to Mexica when they learned to worship Huitzilopochtli, and he therefore preferred "Empire of the Culhua Mexica" to "Aztec Empire" for the political unit of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. What is reasonably clear is that the etymology of the name was a late invention. The basis of the name *Aztlán*, which means "near the [place of the] egret", was probably a glyph containing an egret, or an egret-feather ornament. Doubtless it was through some long-forgotten pun that the name came to be associated with the word *Aztec*. Remembering that the pun need not have arisen in the Nahuatl language, but could have been in Mixtec, we can hardly hope to recover the ultimate ancestry of Aztec culture from etymology, particularly when the supposed sources so obviously confuse the derivation of words with the derivation of peoples.

But if we cannot prove that the Aztecs sprang from an island in a lake, we cannot deny that that is where they lived and died. The remarkable people who harvested salt-flies and practiced water-bug husbandry, who piped fresh water and farmed salt, and who thought of lakes in profile, had ample reason to associate themselves with egrets.

MICHOACÁN

In marked contrast to the wealth of 16th-century source material on the Valley of Mexico, information on the lake district of Michoacán is scanty. The province was relatively fortunate in its 17th-century chroniclers, but by the time these men came to write their histories there was little native culture left to write about. The Tarascan civilization was evidently as well developed as the Aztec; comparative material on ceremonials and customs is given, though briefly, by Sahagún, and

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Plate I.

127 Nos. 218–227 from the Codex Florentino (Sahagún, 1905–07), illustrating parts
136 of Book Eleven "Of the properties of animals, birds, fishes, trees, herbs, flowers,
222 metals, and rocks, and of colors". No. 218, the first figure of the axolotl, *Ambystoma mexicanum;* No. 219, *a*, the crayfish, *acocili; b*, a dystiscid larva, presumably the *ocuilixtac;* Fig. 220, the first figure of a corixid waterbug, the *axayácatl*, *Abuautlea mexicana* de la Ilave (?=*Kristonsacorixa azteca* Jaczewski); 221, the *axayácatl* laying its eggs (*abuautli*) on a cultch of reeds; No. 222, presumed to be Odonata and identified as *anenextli;* No. 223, presumed to be the ephydrid larvae (*Ephydra hians* Say) with which the *izcauitli* is identified; Nos. 224–225, presumably the harvesting of *cuculin* (not mentioned in Sahagún's text), identified as probably ephydrid pupae; Nos. 226–227, possibly continuing the subject matter of the previous two pictures, or perhaps depicting the harvest and manufacture of the algal cake *tecuitlatl*.

[end plate I a]

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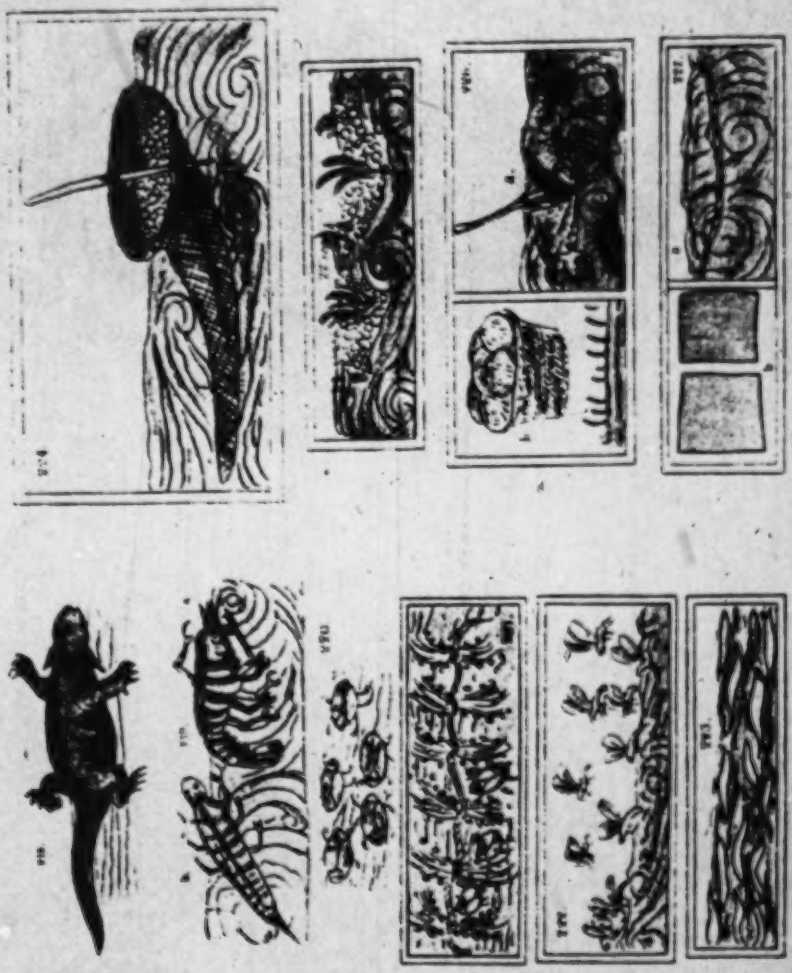

[End plate I b]

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Plate II.

Top: No. 75 from the Codex Nuttall (Nuttall, 1902), a pre-Conquest Mixtec pictorial manuscript on deerhide, depicting (according to Vaillant, 1941) "warriors attacking a town in a lake".

Below: No. 36 from the Codex Nuttall, possibly depicting two lacustrine scenes, but more probably to be interpreted as place names containing "lake" or "water" in their etymologies. The pictures at the right are surely some sort of rebus containing "water" as in the Aztec system. Note, in the "water" symbol, that all the waves bear jewels, while the shells (with viscera) are shown in midstream. Compare the Aztec *Acocolco* (Fig. 4, B).

[End plate II a]

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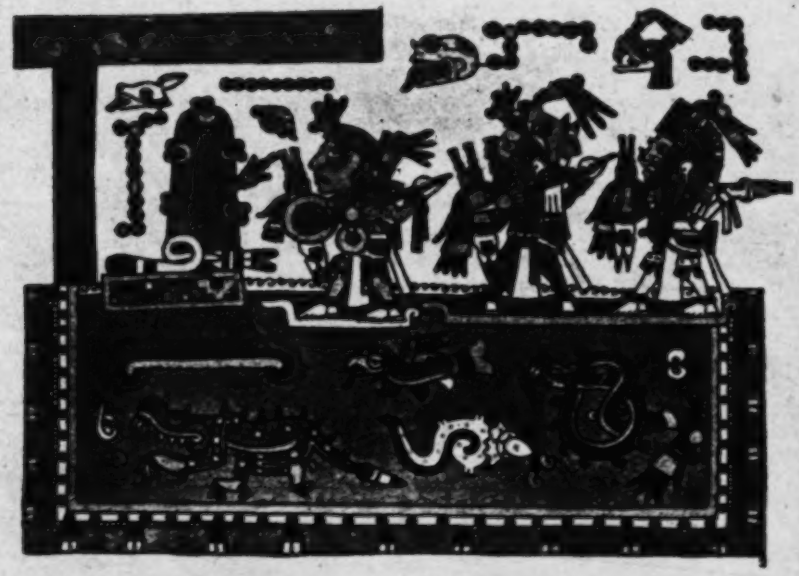

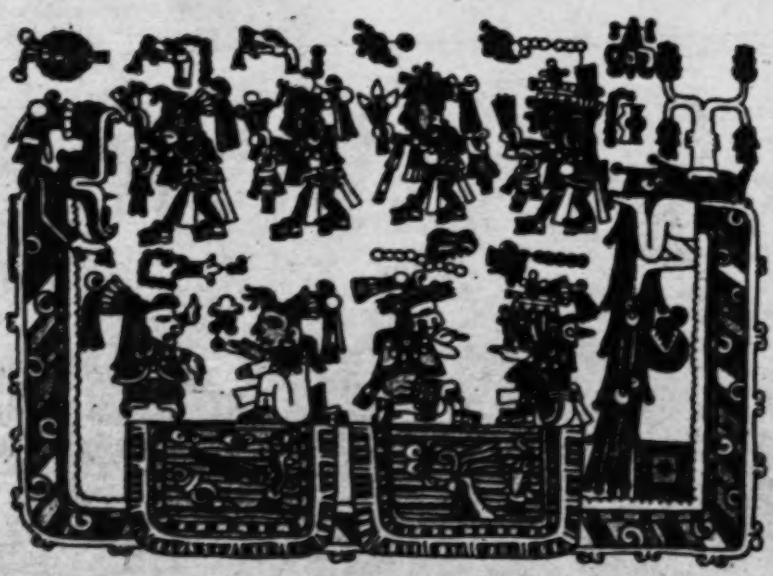

[End plate II b]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

Hernando Cortés

From an oil-painting in the Municipal Palace, City of Mexico

[frontispiece]

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OF THE

CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN.

BY

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO,

ONE OF ITS CONQUERORS.

From the only exact copy made of the Original Manuscript.

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BY

GENARO GARCÍA.

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BY

ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, M.A.,

HON. PROFESSOR OF ARCHÆOLOGY, NATIONAL MUSEUM, MEXICO.

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[p. iii]

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BOOK V.

THE MARCH TO MEXICO.

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How we went to the City of Cholula,[1] and of the great reception which they gave us there.

ONE morning we started on our march to the city of Cholula and we took the greatest possible precautions, for, as I have often said, where we expected to encounter tumults or wars we were much more on the alert.

That day we went on to sleep at a river which runs within a short league of Cholula, where there is now a stone bridge, and there they put up for us some huts and ranchos. This same night the Caciques of Cholula sent some chieftains to bid us welcome to their country, and they brought supplies of poultry and maize bread, and said that in the morning all the Caciques and priests would come out to receive us, and they asked us to forgive their not having come sooner. Cortés told them

[1] Blotted out in the original "On the twelfth day of October in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen."—G. G.

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through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

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Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

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us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—"Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797 [782 266] [838]

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648 them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their
797 obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could
648 not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

721 AFTER the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

[1] *Acapillasen;* literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

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of us that they could [capture] bound to Mexico. And he 721
sent grand promises together with many presents of jewels
and cloths, also a golden drum, and he also sent word to
the priests of the city that they were to retain twenty of [782]
us to sacrifice to their idols.

All was in readiness and the warriors whom Montezuma 725
quickly sent were stationed in some ranchos and some
rocky thickets about half a league from Cholula and some
were already posted within the houses, and all had their
arms ready for use, and had built up breastworks on the
Azoteas and had dug holes and ditches in the streets so as
to impede the horsemen, and they had already filled some
houses with long poles and leather collars and cords with
which they were to bind us and lead us to Mexico; but
our Lord God so ordained that all their plots should be
turned against them.

Let us leave this now and go back to say that when, 721
as I have said, they had taken us to our quarters they fed
us very well for the first two days, and although we saw
them so peacefully inclined, we never gave up our good
custom of keeping fully prepared, and on the third day
they neither gave us anything to eat nor did any of the
Caciques or priests make their appearance, and if any
Indians came to look at us, they did not approach us, but
remained some distance off, laughing at us as though
mocking us. When our Captain saw this, he told our
interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar to
tell the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, who
remained with us, to order the Caciques to bring some
food, but all they brought was water and fire wood, and
the old men who brought it said that there was no more
maize.

That same day other Ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, and joined those who were already with us and they said to Cortés, very impudently, that their Prince had

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721 sent them to say that we were not to go to his city because he had nothing to give us to eat, and that they wished at once to return to Mexico with our reply. When Cortés saw that their speech was unfriendly, he replied to the Ambassadors in the blandest manner, that he marvelled how such a great Prince as Montezuma should be so vacillating, and he begged them not to return to Mexico, for he wished to start himself on the next day, to see their Prince, and act according to his orders, and I believe that he gave the Ambassadors some strings of beads and they agreed to stay.

When this had been done, our Captain called us together, and said to us—"I see that these people are very much disturbed, and it behoves us to keep on the alert, in case some trouble is brewing among them," and he at once sent for the principal Cacique, whose name I now forget, telling him either to come himself or to send some other chieftains. The Cacique replied that he was ill and could not come.

721 When our Captain heard this, he ordered us to bring
793 before him, with kindly persuasion, two of the numerous priests who were in the great Cue* near our quarters. We brought two of them, without doing them any disrespect, and Cortés ordered each of them to be given a chalchihuite, which are held by them to be as valuable as emeralds, and addressing them with friendly words he asked them what was the reason that the Cacique and chieftains and most of the priests were frightened, for he had sent to summon them and they did not want to come. It seems that one of these priests was a very important personage among them, who had charge of or command over all the Cues in the City, and was a sort of Bishop among the priests and was held in great respect. He replied that they, who were priests, had no fear of us, and if the Cacique and chieftain did not wish to come, he would go himself and summon them, and that if he spoke to them he

* [i.e., temple pyramid.—Analyst]

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Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

CHOLULA.

The foundation mound of the Great Temple, now surmounted by a Christian Church.

[facing p. 6]

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721 believed they would do as he told them and would
783 come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his
721 company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Montezuma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Montezuma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

721 While this conversation was taking place, three of our friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to
725 Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Azoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At
721 this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians
782 whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

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721 "Take heed, Malinche, for this City is ill disposed, and we
782 know that this night they have sacrificed to their Idol, which is the God of War, seven persons, five of them children, so that the God may give them victory over you, and we have further seen that they are moving all their baggage and women and children out of the city." When
721 Cortés heard this, he immediately sent these Tlaxcalans back to their Captains, with orders to be fully prepared if we should send to summon them, and he turned to speak to the Cacique, priests and chieftains of Cholula and told them to have no fear and show no alarm, but to remember the obedience which they had promised to him, and not to swerve from it, lest he should have to chastise them. That he had already told them that we wished to set out on the morrow and that he had need of two thousand[1] warriors from the city to accompany us, just as the Tlaxcalans had provided them, for they were necessary on the road. They
721 replied that the men would be given, and asked leave to go
723 at once to get them ready, and they went away very well contented, for they thought that between the warriors with whom they were to supply us, and the regiments sent by Montezuma, which were hidden in the rocky thickets and barrancas, we could not escape death or capture, for the horses would not be able to charge on account of certain breastworks and barricades which they immediately advised the troops to construct, so that only a narrow lane would be left through which it would be impossible for us to pass. They warned the Mexicans to be in readiness as we intended to start on the next day and told them that they were going to give us two thousand[2] warriors to accompany us, so that as we marched along, off our guard, between the two forces our capture would

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[1] "Blotted out "three or four."—G. G.

[2] Blotted out "four."—G. G.

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be sure and they would be able to bind us, and this they might look on as a certainty, for they [the Cholulans] had made sacrifices to their War Idols who had promised them victory. 721 723

Let us cease speaking of this which they looked on as a sure thing and return to our Captain who, as he wished to be more thoroughly informed about the plot and all that was happening, told Doña Marina to take more chalchihuites to the two priests who had been the first to speak, for they were not afraid, and to tell them with friendly words that Malinche wished them to come back and speak to him, and to bring them back with her. Doña Marina went and spoke to the priests in the manner she knew so well how to use, and thanks to the presents they at once accompanied her. Cortés addressed them and asked them to say truly what they knew, for they were the priests of Idols and chieftains and ought not to lie, and that what they should say would not be disclosed in any manner, for we were going to leave the next morning, and he would give them a large quantity of cloth. They said the truth was that their Lord Montezuma knew that we were coming to their city, and that every day he was of many minds and could not come to any decision on the matter, that sometimes he sent to order them to pay us much respect when we arrived and to guide us on the way to his city, and at other times he would send word that it was not his wish that we should go to Mexico, and now recently his [Gods] Tescatepuca and Huichilobos, [787] to whom he paid great devotion, had counselled him that we should either be killed here in Cholula or should be sent, bound, to Mexico. That the day before he had sent out twenty thousand warriors, and half of them were already within this city and the other half were stationed near by in some gullies, and that they already knew that we were about to start to-morrow; they also 721

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72 told us about the barricades which they had ordered to be made and the two thousand warriors that were to be given to us, and how it had already been agreed that twenty of us were to be kept to be sacrificed to the Idols of Cholula.

Cortés ordered these men to be given a present of richly embroidered cloth, and told them not to say anything [about the information they had given us] for, if they disclosed it, on our return from Mexico we would kill them. He also told them that we should start early the next morning, and he asked them to summon all the Caciques to come then so that he might speak to them.

That night Cortés took counsel of us as to what should be done, for he had very able men with him whose advice was worth having, but as in such cases frequently happens, some said that it would be advisable to change our course and go by Huexotzingo, others that we must manage to preserve the peace by every possible means and that it would be better to return to Tlaxcala, others of us gave our opinion that if we allowed such treachery to pass unpunished, wherever we went we should be treated to worse [treachery], and that being there in the town, with ample provisions, we ought to make an attack, for the Indians would feel the effect of it more in their own homes than they would in the open, and that we should at once warn the Tlaxcalans so that they might join in it. All thought well of this last advice. As Cortés had already told them that we were going to set out on the following day, for this reason we should make a show of tying together our baggage, which was little enough, and then in the large courts with high walls, where we were lodged, we should fall on the Indian warriors, who well deserved their fate. As regards the Ambassadors of Montezuma, we should dissemble and tell them that the evil-minded Cholulans had intended treachery and had attempted to put the blame for it on their Lord Montezuma, and on themselves

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as his Ambassadors, but we did not believe Montezuma had given any such orders, and we begged them to stay in their apartments and not have any further converse with the people of the city, so that we should not have reason to think they were in league with them in their treachery, and we asked them to go with us as our guides to Mexico.

They replied that neither they themselves nor their Lord Montezuma knew anything about that which we were telling them. Although they did not like it, we placed guards over the Ambassadors, so that they could not go out without our permission, and Montezuma should not come to know that we were well aware how it was he who had ordered it to be done.

All that night we were on the alert and under arms with the horses saddled and bridled, and with many sentinels and patrols, although indeed it was always our custom to keep a good watch, for we thought that for certain all the companies of the Mexicans as well as the Cholulans would attack us during the night.

There was an old Indian woman, the wife of a Cacique, who knew all about the plot and trap which had been arranged, and she had come secretly to Doña Marina our interpreter, having noticed that she was young and good looking and rich, and advised her, if she wanted to escape with her life, to come with her to her house, for it was certain that on that night or during the next day we were all going to be killed, for the Great Montezuma had so arranged and commanded that the Mexicans and the people of the city were to join forces, and not one of us was to be left alive, except those who would be carried bound to Mexico. Because she knew of this, and on account of the compassion she felt for Doña Marina, she had come to tell her that she had better get all her possessions together and come with her to her house, and

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721 she would there marry her to her son, the brother of a youth who was with another old woman who accompanied her.

When Doña Marina understood this (as she was always very shrewd) she said to her, "O mother, thank you much for this that you have told me, I would go with you at once but that I have no one here whom I can trust to carry my clothes and jewels of gold of which I have many, for goodness sake, mother, wait here a little while, you and your son, and to-night we will set out, for now, as you can see, these Teules are on the watch and will hear us."

The old woman believed what she said, and remained chatting with her, and Doña Marina asked her how they were going to kill us all, and how and when and where the plot was made. The old woman told her neither more nor less than what the two priests had already stated, and Doña Marina replied—"If this affair is such a secret, how is it that you came to know about it?" and the old woman replied that her husband had told her, for he was a captain of one of the parties in the city, and as captain he was now away with his warriors giving orders for them to join the squadrons of Montezuma in the barrancas, and she thought that they were already assembled waiting for us to set out, and that they would kill us there; as to the plot she had known about it for three days, for a gilded drum had been sent to her husband from Mexico, and rich cloaks and jewels of gold had been sent to three other captains to induce them to bring us bound to their Lord Montezuma.

When Doña Marina heard this she deceived the old woman and said—"How delighted I am to hear that your son to whom you wish to marry me is a man of distinction. We have already talked a good deal, and I do not want them to notice us, so Mother you wait here while I begin to bring my property, for I cannot bring it all at once, and you and your son, my brother, will take care of it, and then

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we shall be able to go." The old woman believed all that was told her, and she and her son sat down to rest. Then Doña Marina went swiftly to the Captain and told him all that had passed with the Indian woman. Cortés at once ordered her to be brought before him, and questioned her about these treasons and plots, and she told him neither more nor less than the priests had already said, so he placed a guard over the woman so that she could not escape.

When dawn broke, it was a sight to see the haste with which the Caciques and priests brought in the warriors, laughing and contented as though they had already caught us in their traps and nets, and they brought more Indian warriors than we had asked for, and large as they are (for they still stand as a memorial of the past) the courtyards would not hold them all.

Early as it was when the Cholulans arrived with the warriors, we were already quite prepared for what had to be done. The soldiers with swords and shields were stationed at the gate of the great court so as not to let a single armed Indian pass out. Our Captain was mounted on horseback with many soldiers round him, as a guard, and when he saw how very early the Caciques and priests and warriors had arrived, he said—"How these traitors long to see us among the barrancas so as to gorge on our flesh, but Our Lord will do better for us." Then he asked for the two priests who had let out the secret, and they told him that they were at the gate of the courtyard with the other Caciques who wished to come in, and he sent our interpreter, Aguilar, to tell them to go to their houses, for he had no need of their presence now. This was in order that, as they had done us a good turn, they should not suffer for it, and should not get killed. Cortés was on horseback and Doña Marina near to him, and he asked the Caciques, why was it, as we had done them no harm what-

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721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

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us should be sacrificed before it, and that three nights ago they had sacrificed seven Indians to it so as to ensure victory, which was promised them; but as the Idol was both evil and false, it neither had, nor would have power against us, and all these evil and traitorous designs which they had planned and put into effect were about to recoil on themselves. Doña Marina told all this to them and made them understand it very clearly, and when the priests, Caciques, and captains had heard it, they said that what had been stated was true but that they were not to blame for it, for the Ambassadors of Montezuma had ordered it at the command of their Prince. 721

Then Cortés told them that the royal laws decreed that such treasons as those should not remain unpunished and that for their crime they must die. Then he ordered a musket to be fired, which was the signal that we had agreed upon for that purpose, and a blow was given to them which they will remember for ever, for we killed many of them,[1] so that they gained nothing from the promises of their false Idols. 000

Not two hours had passed before our allies, the Tlaxcalans, arrived, whom I have already said we had left out in the fields, and they had fought very fiercely in the streets where the Cholulans had posted other companies to defend the streets and prevent their being entered, but these were soon defeated. They [the Tlaxcalans] went about the city, plundering and making prisoners and we could not stop them, and the next day more companies from the Tlaxcalan towns arrived, and did great damage, for they were very hostile to the people of Cholula, and when we saw this, both Cortés and the captains and the soldiers, on account of the compassion that we had felt for them, restrained the Tlaxcalans from doing further damage, and [648]

[1] Blotted out: "and others were burned."—G. G.

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Cortés ordered Cristóbal de Olid to bring him all the Tlaxcalan captains together so that he could speak to them, and they did not delay in coming; then he ordered them to gather together all their men and go and camp in the fields, and this they did, and only the men from Cempoala remained with us.

648 Just then certain Caciques and priests of Cholula who belonged to other districts of the town, and said that they were not concerned in the treasons against us (for it is [665] a large city and they have parties and factions among themselves), asked Cortés and all of us to pardon the provocation of the treachery that had been plotted against us, for the traitors had already paid with their lives. Then there came the two priests who were our friends and had disclosed the secret to us, and the old woman, the wife of the captain, who wanted to be the mother-in-law of Doña Marina, as I have already related, and all prayed Cortés for pardon.

When they spoke to him, Cortés made a show of great anger and ordered the Ambassadors of Montezuma, who were detained in our company, to be summoned. He then said that the whole city deserved to be destroyed, but that out of respect for their Lord Montezuma, whose vassals they were, he would pardon them, and that from now on they must be well behaved, and let them beware of such affairs as the last happening again, lest they should die for it.

Then, he ordered the Chiefs of Tlaxcala, who were in the fields, to be summoned, and told them to return the men and women whom they had taken prisoners, for the damage they had done was sufficient. Giving up the prisoners went against the grain with them [the Tlaxcalans], and they said that the Cholulans had deserved far greater punishment for the many treacheries they had constantly received at their hands. Nevertheless as Cortés

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ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still 648
remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth, salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken.

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm would be done to them. They replied that within five days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it [643]
was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique] so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until he should receive other orders.

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was 797
reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety, he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking the truth; let them remember the lies which they told only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil, he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves we would do it for them. He also ordered them to whitewash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there.

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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the 323 438 city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain.

346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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I must stop talking about this City and all that happened there, and say that the Squadrons sent by the Great Montezuma, which were already stationed in the ravines near Cholula and had, as was agreed, constructed barricades and narrow passages so that the horses could not gallop, as I have already related, as soon as they learned what had happened, returned, faster than at a walk, to Mexico and told Montezuma how it all happened. But fast as they went the news had already reached him, through the two Chieftains who had been with us and who went to him post-haste. We learned on good authority that when Montezuma heard the news he was greatly grieved and very angry, and at once sacrificed some Indians to his Idol Huichilobos, whom they looked on as the God of War, so that he might tell him what was to be the result of our going to Mexico, or if he would permit us to enter the city. We even knew that he was shut in at his devotions and sacrifices for two days in company with ten of the Chief Priests, and that a reply came from those Idols which was, that they advised him to send messengers to us to disclaim all blame for the Cholulan affair, and that with demonstrations of peace we should be allowed to enter into Mexico, and that when we were inside, by depriving us of food and water, or by raising some of the bridges, they would kill us; that one day only would suffice, if he attacked us, to leave none of us alive, and then he could offer his sacrifices to Huichilobos who had given this reply, and to Tescatepuca the god of Hell, and they could feast on our thighs and legs and arms, and the snakes and serpents and tigers which they kept in wooden cages, (as I shall tell later on at the proper time and place,) could gorge on our entrails and bodies and all that was left of us.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma felt and say how this affair and punishment at Cholula became known throughout the provinces of New Spain and if we had a

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648 reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

346 782 26 I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

797 Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las [114] Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

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they will find it to be very different the one from the other. 797
I also wish to say that some good Franciscan monks, who were the first friars whom his Majesty sent to this New Spain after the Conquest of Mexico, as I shall relate further on, went to Cholula to inform themselves and find out how and in what way that punishment was carried out, and for what reason, and the enquiry that they made was from the same priests and elders of the city, and after fully informing themselves from these very men, they found it to be neither more nor less than what I have written down in this narrative, and not as the Bishop has related it. If perchance we had not inflicted that punishment, our lives would have been in great danger on account of the squadrons and companies of Mexican and Cholulan warriors who were there, and the barricades and breastworks, and if to our misfortune they had killed us there, this New Spain would not have been so speedily conquered, nor would another Armada have dared to have come, and if it did, it would have been under greater difficulty, for the Mexicans would have defended their ports, and they would still have continued in a state of Idolatry.

I have heard a Franciscan Friar called Fray Toribio Motolinea, who led a good life, say that it would have been better if that punishment could have been prevented, and they had not given cause for its being carried out; but, as it had been carried out, it was a good thing that all the Indians of the provinces of New Spain should see and understand that those Idols and all the rest of them were evil and lying, for it showed that all their promises turned out false, and they lost the adoration which the people had hitherto given them, and thenceforth they would not sacrifice to them, nor come on pilgrimages to them from other parts, as they used to do. From that time they did not care for it [the principal Idol] and removed it from the lofty car where it had stood, and either hid it or broke it up, so

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797 that it never appeared again, and they have put up another Idol in its place. Let us leave this subject and I will relate what we went on to do.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

About certain messages and messengers that we sent to the Great Montezuma.

648 As fourteen days had already passed since we had come to Cholula we had nothing more to do there, for we saw that the city was again fully peopled, and that they held their markets, and we had established friendship between them and the people of Tlaxcala; and we had also set up a cross, and informed them about matters concerning our holy faith. But as we saw that the Great Montezuma was secretly sending spies to our camp to enquire and find out what our plans were and if we intended to go on to his city (for he came to know everything very thoroughly through the two Ambassadors who were in our company), our Captain determined to take counsel of certain captains and soldiers, whom he knew to be well disposed towards him (who besides being very valiant, were wise counsellors), because he never did anything without first asking our advice about it. It was agreed that we should send to tell the Great Montezuma, gently and amicably, that in order to carry out the purpose for which our Lord and King had sent us to these parts, (which was only to see him and tell him certain things which would be greatly to his benefit when he understood them), we had crossed many seas and distant lands, and that while we were marching towards his city, his ambassadors had guided us by way of Cholula, where they said the people were his vassals, and for the first two days after our arrival the people treated us very well, but on the next day they had

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plotted a treason with the intention of killing us; and as we are men of such character that it would be impossible to hide any matter of double dealing, or treachery, or iniquity, which they might wish to enact against us without our knowing of it at once, for this reason we punished some of those who intended to carry out the plot. As he [our Captain] knew that they were his [Montezuma's] subjects, [it was only] out of respect for his person, and on account of our great friendship, that he refrained from destroying and killing all those who were concerned in the treason. However, the worst of it all is that the priests and Caciques say it was on his advice and command, and that of his ambassadors, that they intended to do it. This of course we never believed, that such a great prince as he is could issue such orders, especially as he had declared himself our friend, and we had inferred from his character that since his Idols had put such an evil thought as making war on us into his head, he would surely fight us in the open field; however, whether he fought in the open or in a town, by day or by night, we would kill those who thought of doing such a thing. But as we look upon him as our great friend and wish to see and speak to him, we are setting out at once for his city to give him a more complete account of what Our Lord the King had commanded us to do.

648

When Montezuma heard this message and learned through the people of Cholula that we did not lay all the blame on him, we heard it said that he returned again with his priests to fast and make sacrifices to his Idols, to know if they would again repeat their permission to allow us to enter into the city or no, and whether they would reiterate the commands they had already given him. The answer which they gave was the same as the first, that he should allow us to enter and that once inside the city he could kill us when he chose. His captains and

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648 priests also advised him that if he should place obstacles in the way of our entry, we would make war on him through his subject towns, seeing that we had as our friends the Tlaxcalans, and all the Totonacs of the hills, and other towns which had accepted our alliance, and to avoid these evils the best and most sensible advice was that which Huichilobos had given.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma had decided, and I will relate what he did about it and how we agreed to set out for Mexico, and that when we were ready to start messengers arrived from Montezuma with a present, and what he sent to say.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

How the Great Montezuma sent a present of gold, and what he sent to say to us, and how we decided to set out for Mexico, and what else happened about it.

So the great Montezuma again took counsel with his Huichilobos, and his priests and captains, and all advised him to allow us to enter the city, as there he could kill us in safety. When he heard the message which we sent to him concerning our friendship and the other fearless remarks, (to the effect that we were men from whom no treason which was plotted against us could be hidden without our finding it out, and that as for fighting, nothing suited us better, either in the open fields or in the towns, either by night or by day or in any way whatever) and as he had heard about our war with Tlaxcala, and knew of the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and Cingapacinga, and now about that at Cholula, he was dazed and even afraid. After much deliberation he despatched six chieftains with a present of gold and jewels of a variety of shapes which were estimated to be worth over two thousand dollars,

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and he sent certain loads of very rich mantles beautifully 648
worked.

When the Chiefs came before Cortés with the present they touched the ground with their hands and with great reverence, such as they use among themselves, they said—"Malinche, Our Lord the Great Montezuma, sends thee this present, and asks thee to accept it with the great affection which he has for thee and all thy brethren, and he says that the annoyance that the people of Cholula have caused him weighs heavily on him, and he wishes to punish them more in their persons, for they are an evil and a lying people in that they have thrown the blame of the wickedness which they wished to commit upon him and his ambassadors," that we might take it as very certain that he was our friend, and that we could go to his City whenever we liked, for he wished to do us every honour as very valiant men, and the messengers of such a great King as you say that he (your King) is. But because he had [361 433] nothing to give us to eat, for everything has to be carried into the city by carriers as it is built on the lake, he could not entertain us very satisfactorily, but he would endeavour to do us all the honour that was possible, and he had ordered all the towns through which we had to pass to give us what we might need. He also made many other complimentary speeches. When Cortés understood them through our interpreters, he received the present with demonstrations of affection and embraced the messengers, and ordered them to be given certain twisted cut glass beads. All our captains and soldiers were delighted at such good news, as that he [Montezuma] should bid us to come to his city, for, from day to day, the greater number of us soldiers were wishing for it, especially those who had left nothing behind them in the Island of Cuba, and had been on the two expeditions of discovery before this one with Cortés.

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Let us leave this subject and say that the Captain gave the Ambassadors a suitable and affectionate reply and ordered the messengers who had come with the present to remain with us as guides and the other three to return with the answer to their Prince, and to advise him that we were already on the road.

When the Chief Caciques of Tlaxcala, whom I have often mentioned before, named Xicotenga the elder and the blind, and Mase Escasi, understood that we were going, their souls were afflicted and they sent to say to Cortés that they had already warned him many times that he should be careful what he was about, and should refrain from entering such a strong city where there was so much war-like preparation and such a multitude of warriors, for one day or the other we would be attacked, and they feared that we would not escape alive, and on account of the good will that they bore us, they wished to send ten thousand men under brave captains to go with us and carry food for the journey.

Cortés thanked them heartily for their good wishes and told them that it was not just to enter into Mexico with such a host of warrors, especially when one party was so hostile to the other, that he only had need of one thousand men to carry the tepusques and the baggage, and to clear some of the roads, (I have already said that *tepusques* was the name they gave in these parts to the iron cannon which we carried with us) and they at once sent us the thousand Indians very well equipped.

Just as we were ready to set out, there came to Cortés, all the Caciques and all the principal warriors whom we had brought from Cempoala, who had marched in our company and served us well and loyally, and said that they wanted to go back to Cempoala and not to proceed beyond Cholula in the direction of Mexico, for they felt certain that if they went there it would be for them and for us to go to

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our deaths. The Great Montezuma would order them to be killed because they were leading chiefs of Cempoala, and had broken their fealty by refusing to pay him tribute and by imprisoning his tax gatherers when the rebellion took place which I have already written about in the course of this story.

When Cortés observed the determination with which they demanded permission, he answered them through Doña Marina and Aguilar that they need not have the slighest fear that they would come to any harm, for, as they would go in our company, who would dare to annoy either them or us? and he begged them to change their minds and stay with us, and he promised to make them rich. Although Cortés pressed them to stay, and Doña Marina put it in the most warm-hearted manner, they never wished to stay, but only to return to their homes. When Cortés perceived this he said, "God forbid that these Indians who have served us so well should be forced to go," and he sent for many loads of rich mantles and divided them among them, and he also sent to our friend the fat Cacique who was Lord of Cempoala two loads of mantles for himself and for his nephew the other great Cacique named Cuesco. He also wrote to his lieutenant Juan de Escalante whom we had left there as Captain, and who at that time was Alguacil Mayor, and told him all that had happened to us, and how we were now on our way to Mexico, and he told him to look well after his neighbours, and to keep a good watch, and by day and night to be on the alert, and to finish building the fortress, and to help the natives of those towns against the Mexicans, and not to let any of the soldiers who were with him annoy the [friendly] natives in any way whatever. When this letter was written and the people of Cempoala had left us, we set out on our journey, keeping well on the alert.

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CHAPTER LXXXVI.

How we began our march to the City of Mexico, what happened to us on the road, and what Montezuma sent to say.

WE set out from Cholula in carefully arranged order as we were always accustomed to do, the mounted scouts examining the country ahead and some very active foot soldiers accompanying them, so that should they come to any bad ground or other obstacle they might help one another; then [followed] our cannon all ready for action, and the musketeers and crossbowmen, and then the horsemen in parties of three so that they could help one another, then all the rest of the soldiers in good order. I don't know why I call all this so clearly to mind, but when writing about war, one feels obliged to make mention of it, so that it can be seen how we marched always "with chin on shoulder." Marching in this way we arrived that day at some ranchos standing on a hill about four leagues from Cholula, they are peopled from Huexotzingo, and I think they are called the Ranchos of Yscalpan. To this place soon came the Caciques and priests of the towns of Huexotzingo which were near by, and they were friends and allies of the Tlaxcalans, and there also came people from other small towns, which stand on the slopes of the volcano near their boundary line, who brought us food and a present of golden jewels of small value, and they asked Cortés to accept them and not consider the insignificance of the gift but the good will with which it was offered. They advised him not to go to Mexico as it was a very strong city and full of warriors, where we should run much risk. They also told us to look out, if we had decided upon going, for when we had ascended to the pass we should find two broad roads, one leading to a town named Chalco, and the other to another

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HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

Popocatepetl

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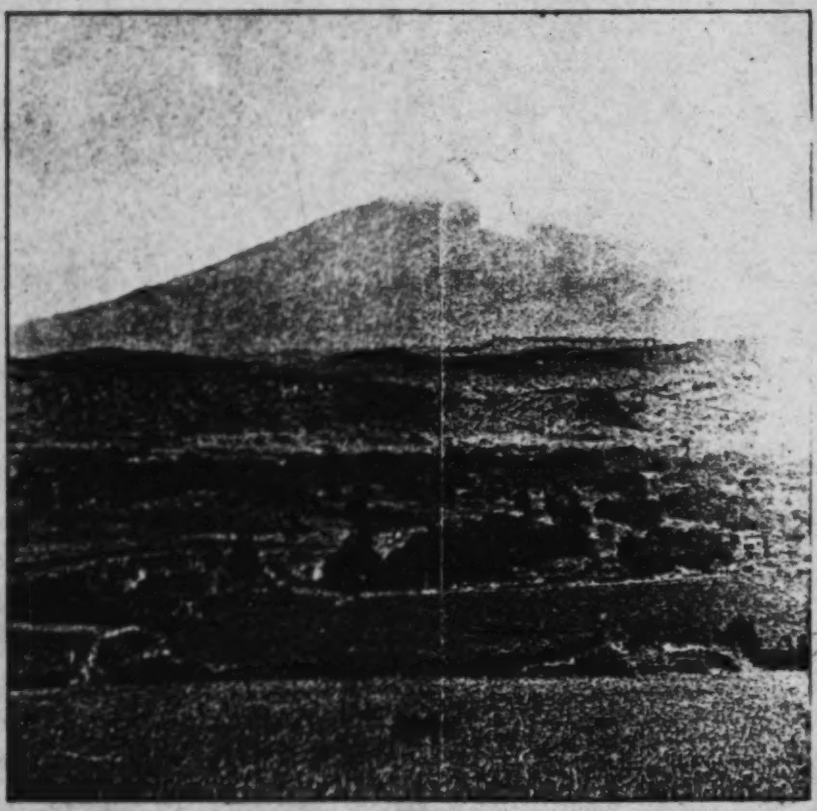

[facing p. 28 (A)]

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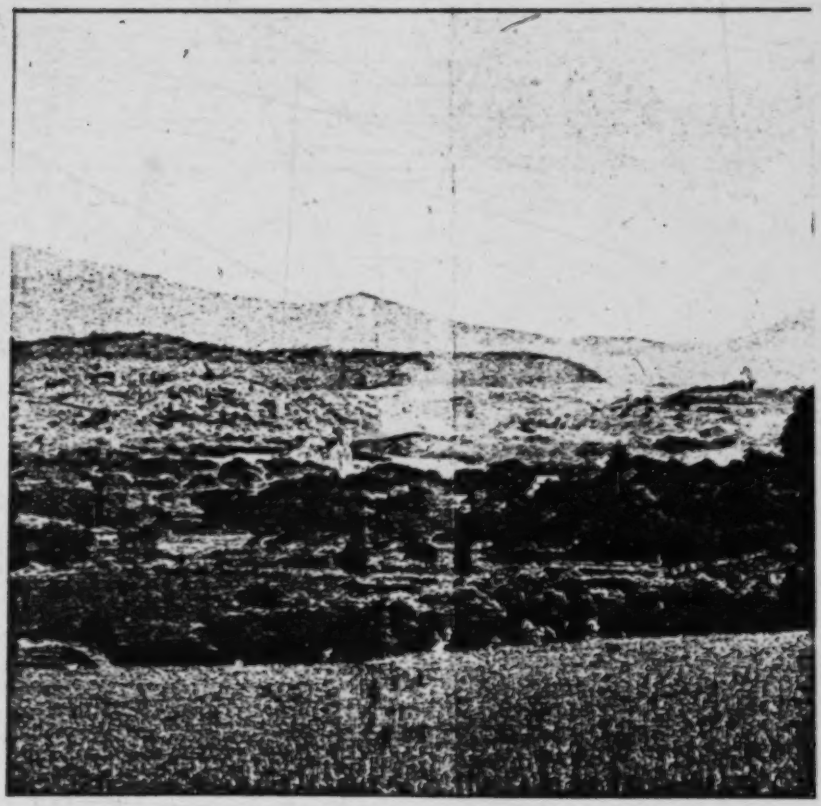

ON THE ROAD FROM CHOLULA TO MEXICO. THE PASS BETWEEN
Photograph taken from near the Ranchos of Yacalpan. See

[facing p. 28 (B)]

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ASS BETWEEN POPOCATEPETL AND IXTACCIHUATL.
hos of Yecalpan. See page 28.

[Facing p. 28 (C)]

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Iztaccihuatl.

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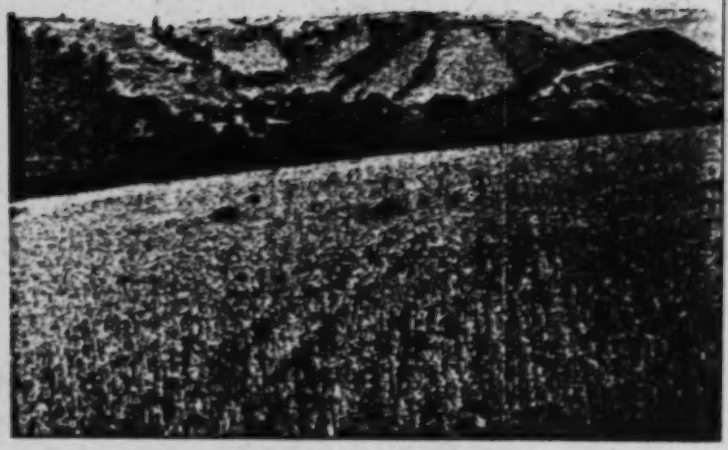

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

[Facing p. 28 (D)]

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491 town called Tlamanalco,[1] both of them subject to Mexico;
[636] that the one road was well swept and cleared so as to induce us to take it, and that the other road had been closed up and many great pines and other trees had been cut down so that horses could not use it and we could not march along it. That a little way down the side of the
491 mountain along the road that had been cleared, the
723 Mexicans (thinking that we must take that road) had cut away a piece of the hill side, and had made ditches and barricades, and that certain squadrons of Mexicans had waited at that point so as to kill us there. So they counselled us not to go by the road which was clear, but by the road where the felled trees were, saying that they would send many men with us to clear it, and as the Tlascalans were also with us, between them they would clear away the trees, and they said that that road came out at Tlamanalco.

000 Cortés received their present very kindly and told them that he thanked them for the counsel they had given him, and that with God's help he would not abandon his march but would go the way they advised him. Early the next morning we began our march, and it was nearly midday when we arrived at the ridge of the mountain where we found the roads just as the people of Huexotzingo had said. There we rested a little and began to think about the Mexican squadrons on the intrenched hillside where the earth works were that they had told us about.

Then Cortés ordered the Ambassadors of the great Montezuma who came in our company to be summoned, and he asked them how it was that those two roads were

[1] Bernal Díaz seems to have gone wrong in his topography. At the gap between the two volcanoes the roads probably divided, one (to the right) going by way of Tlamanalco to Chalco, the other (more direct) going to Amecameca. The Spaniards probably took the more direct (the blocked up) road to Amecameca, and did not go to Tlamanalco at all. Cortés, in his second letter, says that he went to Amecameca, and does not mention Tlamanalco.

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in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).
[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

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and fifty pesos and they said:—"Malinche, accept these presents which we give you and look on us in the future as your friends." Cortés received them with great good will and promised to help them in whatever they needed, and when he saw them together he told the Padre de la Merced to counsel them regarding matters touching our holy faith, and that they should give up their Idols, and he told them all that we were accustomed to say in all the towns through which we had passed, and to all this they replied that it was well said and that they would see to it in the future. Cortés also explained to them about the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and how we had come to right wrongs and to stop robbery, for it was for this purpose that our Emperor sent us to these countries.

When they heard this, all these towns that I have named, secretly, so that the Mexican Ambassadors should not hear them, made great complaints about Montezuma and his tax gatherers, who robbed them of all they possessed, and violated their wives and daughters, if they were handsome, before them and their husbands, and carried them off, and made the men work as though they were slaves, and made them carry pine timber and stone and firewood and maize either in their canoes or over land, and many other services such as planting cornfields, and they took their lands for the service of the Idols. They made many other complaints, which, as it was many years ago, I do not remember.

Cortés comforted them with kindly words which he knew well how to say to them through Doña Marina, but added that at the present moment, he could not undertake to see justice done them and they must bear it awhile [and] he would [presently] free them from that rule, and he secretly ordered two of their chiefs to go with four of our Tlaxcalan allies, and inspect the cleared road, which the people of Huexotzingo had told us not to follow, and to

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see what ditches and ramparts there were there, and if there were any squadrons of warriors. But the Caciques answered him—" Malinche, there is no necessity to go and see, for it is now all levelled and put right, for you should know that six days ago there was a difficult pass there, for they had cut away the hill so that you could not get by, and many warriors of the Great Montezuma [were stationed there], but we have learnt that their Huichilobos, who is their god of War, advised them to allow you to pass, for when you have entered the city of Mexico there they will kill you. Therefore, we are of opinion that you should stay here with us, and we will give you what we possess, and that you should give up going to Mexico, as we know for certain it is very strong and full of warriors, and they will not spare your lives."

Cortés replied to them, with a cheerful mien, that we had no fear that the Mexicans, or any other nation, could destroy us, only our Lord God in whom we believe, and, so that they should understand, we were going to explain to Montezuma himself and all his Caciques and priests, what our God had commanded. As we wished to start at once, he asked them to give him twenty of their principal men to go in his company; and he would do much for them, and would have justice done to them as soon as he arrived in Mexico, so that neither Montezuma nor his tax gatherers should perpetrate the abuses nor use the violence which they said had been used towards them.

With cheerful faces the people from all these towns I have named gave satisfactory replies to this speech and they brought us the twenty Indians, and just as we were ready to set out, messengers arrived from the Great Montezuma, and what they said I will go on to relate.

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CHAPTER LXXXVII.

How the great Montezuma again sent other Ambassadors to us with a present of gold and cloths, and what they said to Cortés and what he replied to them.

As we were starting on our march to Mexico there came before Cortés four Mexican chiefs sent by Montezuma who brought a present of gold and cloths. After they had made obeisance according to their custom, they said —" Malinche, our Lord the Great Montezuma sends you this present and says that he is greatly concerned for the hardships you have endured in coming from such a distant land in order to see him, and that he has already sent to tell you that he will give you much gold and silver and chalchihuites as tribute for your Emperor and for yourself and the other Teules in your company, provided you will not come to Mexico, and now again he begs as a favour, that you will not advance any further but return whence you have come, and he promises to send you to the port a great quantity of gold and silver and rich stones for that King of yours, and, as for you, he will give you four loads of gold and for each of your brothers one load, but as for going on to Mexico your entrance into it is forbidden, for all his vassals have risen in arms to prevent your entry, and besides this there is no road thither, only a very narrow one, and there is no food for you to eat." And he used many other arguments about the difficulties to the end that we should advance no further. 648

Cortés with much show of affection embraced the Ambassadors, although the message grieved him, and he accepted the present; I forget how much it was worth, but, as far as I could see and understand, Montezuma never omitted to send gold, little or much, when he sent messengers, as I have already related. To return to our

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story, Cortés answered them that he marvelled how the Lord Montezuma, having given himself out as our friend, and being such a great Prince, should be so inconstant; that one time he says one thing and another time sends to order the contrary, and regarding what he says about giving gold to our Lord the Emperor and to ourselves, he is grateful to him for it, and what he sends him now he will pay for in good works as time goes on. How can he deem it befitting that being so near to his city, we should think it right to return on our road without carrying through what our Prince has commanded us to do? If the Lord Montezuma had sent his messengers and ambassadors to some great prince such as he is himself, and if, after nearly reaching his house, those messengers whom he sent should turn back without speaking to the Prince about that which they were sent to say, when they came back into his [Montezuma's] presence with such a story, what favour would he show them? He would merely treat them as cowards of little worth; and this is what our Emperor would do with us, so that in one way or another we were determined to enter his city, and from this time forth he must not send any more excuses on the subject, for he [Cortés] was bound to see him, and talk to him and explain the whole purpose for which we had come, and this he must do to him personally. Then after he understood it all, if our presence in the city did not seem good to him, we would return whence we had come. As for what he said about there being little or no food, not enough to support us, we were men who could get along even if we have but little to eat, and we were already on the way to his city, so let him take our coming in good part.

As soon as the messengers had been despatched, we set out for Mexico, and as the people of Huexotzingo and Chalco had told us that Montezuma had held consultations with his Idols and priests whether he should allow us to

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enter Mexico, or whether he should attack us, and all the priests had answered that his Huichilobos had said he was to allow us to enter and that then he could kill us, as I have already related in the chapter that deals with the subject, and as we are but human and feared death, we never ceased thinking about it. As that country is very thickly peopled we made short marches, and commended ourselves to God and to Our Lady his blessed Mother, and talked about how and by what means we could enter [the City], and it put courage into our hearts to think that as our Lord Jesus Christ had vouchsafed us protection through past dangers, he would likewise guard us from the power of the Mexicans. 648

We went to sleep at a town called Iztapalatengo[1] where half the houses are in the water and the other half on dry land, where there is a small mountain, (and now there is an Inn there) and there they gave us a good supper. 361

Let us leave this and return to the Great Montezuma who, when his messengers arrived and he heard the reply which Cortés had sent to him, at once determined to send his nephew named Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, with great pomp to bid welcome to Cortés and to all of us, and as we were always accustomed to post sentinels and scouts, one of the scouts came in to tell us that a large crowd of friendly Mexicans was coming along the road, and that to all appearance they were coming clad in rich mantles. It was very early in the morning when this happened, and we were ready to start, and Cortés ordered us to wait in our quarters until he could see what the matter was. 648

At that moment four chieftains arrived, who made deep obeisance to Cortés and said that close by there was approaching Cacamatzin, the great Lord of Texcoco, a

[1] This is clearly a mistake, the town was Ayotzingo.

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C48 nephew of the Great Montezuma, and he begged us to have the goodness to wait until he arrived.

He did not tarry long, for he soon arrived with greater pomp and splendour than we had ever beheld in a Mexican [493] Prince, for he came in a litter richly worked in green feathers, with many silver borderings, and rich stones set in bosses made out of the finest gold. Eight Chieftains, who, it was said, were all Lords of Towns, bore the litter on their shoulders. When they came near to the house where Cortés was quartered, the Chieftains assisted [643] Cacamatzin to descend from the litter, and they swept the ground, and removed the straws where he had to pass, and when they came before our Captain they made him a deep reverence, and Cacamatzin said—

"Malinche, here we have come, I and these Chieftains to place ourselves at your service, and to give you all that you may need for yourself and your companions and to place you in your home, which is our city, for so the Great Montezuma our Prince has ordered us to do, and he asks your pardon that he did not come with us himself, but it is on account of ill-health that he did not do so, and not from want of very good will which he bears towards you."

When our Captain and all of us, beheld such pomp and majesty in those chiefs, especially in the nephew of Montezuma, we considered it a matter of the greatest importance, and said among ourselves, if this Cacique bears himself with such dignity, what will the Great Montezuma do?

When Cacamatzin had delivered his speech, Cortés embraced him, and gave many caresses to him and all the other Chieftains, and gave him three stones which are called Margaritas, which have within them many markings of different colours, and to the other chieftains he gave blue glass beads, and he told them that he thanked them

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and when he was able he would repay the Lord Montezuma 648
for all the favours which every day he was granting us.

As soon as the speech-making was over, we at once set out, and as the Caicques whom I have spoken about brought many followers with them, and as many people came out to see us from the neighbouring towns, all the roads were full of them.[1]

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad 361
Causeway,[2] and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, [363]
and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream? It is not to be wondered at that. I here write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about.

Thus, we arrived near Iztapalapa, to behold the 648

[1] Blotted out in the original—"So that we could not proceed and the Caciques themselves told their vassals to make room for us, and to remember that we were Teules, and that if they did not make room we would be angry with them. On account of these words that were said they cleared the road for us, and we went on to sleep at another town, which is built in the water, which I think was called Mezquique,[2] and was afterwards named Venezuela, and it had many whitened towers and Cues, and the Cacique and chieftains treated us with much honour and gave Cortés a present of gold and rich mantles, and the gold was worth four hundred dollars and Cortés gave them many thanks for it. There we told them things about our holy faith as we did in all towns we came to. It seemed that the people of that town were on very bad terms with Montezuma on account of the many injuries he had done them and they complained of them and Cortés told them that he would soon remedy their ills if it should please God that we should soon reach Mexico."

[2] Mexquic.

[3] The Causeway of Cuitlahuac separating the lake of Chalco from the lake of Xochimilco.

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648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma.

342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. [501 503] There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

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our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of 648
our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, 361
half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant [243]
corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception 000
given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of 363
those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what 361
to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

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361 one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we,—we did not even number four hundred soldiers! and we well remembered the words and warnings given us by the people of Huexotzingo and Tlaxcala and Tlamanalco, and the many other warnings that had been given that we should beware of entering Mexico, where they would kill us, as soon as they had us inside.

Let the curious readers consider whether there is not much to ponder over in this that I am writing. What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring? But let us get on, and march along the Causeway. [363] When we arrived where another small causeway branches 648 off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there were some buildings like towers, which are their oratories, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them. The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with the hand.

There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma, who was approaching[1] in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques, who owned vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the Great Montezuma

[1] Que venia cerca.

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got down from his litter, and those great Caciques 648
supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired 292
according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals 643
[*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think [576]
of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was 576
approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted 643
from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they 648
simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

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576 diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and
643 with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he
648 placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him, and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace him, for they considered it an indignity.

648 Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms, the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacán, to go with us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city, and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains
[576] who had come with him returned in his train. As they
000 turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude of men and women and boys who were in the streets and on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

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into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

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648 fastened, Cortés thanked Montezuma through our interpreters, and Montezuma replied—"Malinche you and your brethren are in your own house, rest awhile," and then he went to his palaces which were not far away, and we divided our lodgings by companies, and placed the artillery pointing in a convenient direction, and the order which we had to keep was clearly explained to us, and that we were to be much on the alert, both the cavalry and all of us soldiers. A sumptuous dinner was provided for us according to their use and custom, and we ate it at once. So this was our lucky and daring entry into the great city of Tenochtitlan[1] Mexico on the 8th day of November the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1519.

Thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ for it all. And if I have not said anything that I ought to have said, may your honours pardon me, for I do not know now even at the present time how better to express it.

Let us leave this talk and go back to our story of what else happened to us, which I will go on to relate.

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[1] Tenustitan in the text.

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NEAR XOCHIMILCO.

[facing p. 44 (A)]

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To face p. 44.

NEAR XOCHIMILCO.

Photo by A. P. Maudslay

[Facing p. 44 (B)]

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THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.

Introductory Notes to Book VI.

133 THE Valley of Mexico is a level plain about 7424 feet above the sea, completely surrounded by mountains which leave no exit for the escape of the water from a fairly abundant rainfall, and as a consequence the whole valley at one period must have formed one vast lake, whose volume was limited only by soakage and the very rapid evaporation due to a tropical sun. At the time of the Conquest the area of the surface of the lakes was (very roughly) 442 square miles.

A red line on the map[1] marks the shape and size of this basin, taking as a limit the crests of the mountains and hills that surround it and the dividing line of the watershed; this includes about 3110 square miles.

The mountains surrounding the valley may be roughly divided into three ranges. To the East the Sierra Nevada, with the great peaks of Popocatepetl (17,887 ft.) and Ixtaccihuatl (17,342 ft.) capped with perpetual snow, and the three lower peaks to the North, Papayo, Telapon and Tlaloc; to the South lies the great volcanic barrier of Ajusco, to the West the range of Las Cruces, and to the North that of Pachuca. Towards the south part of the valley the intrusion of the low volcanic cones of Chimalhuacan, Santa Catarina, la Estrella and their neighbours, reduced the water surface between the lakes of Xochimilco and Texcoco to a narrow space, and, to the north of the valley, the northern end of the Sierra de Guadalupe and the volcano of Chiconahutla narrowed the water space between the lakes of Texcoco and Xaltocan. The rainfall appears to be more considerable on the western than on the eastern side of the lakes. The streams flowing into the lakes are of necessity short in their courses and mostly torrential, by far the most important being the Rio de Guatitlan on the North-west.

Although the lakes have received different names, the water surface must have been continuous until separated by the earth-works of the Indians. Starting from the North the lakes are named Zumpango, Xaltocan (the southern part was called San Cristóbal by the Spaniards), Texcoco, Xochimilco and Chalco.

Of this chain of lakes Texcoco lies lowest, and measurements made in recent years, after much of the water had been drained away, show the following heights above the level of Texcoco. To this list is also

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[1] Map No. 1.
[This map was not processed for the Aztec File.]

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133 appended the depths of the lakes as determined by the drainage commission of 1861.

Name.	Level above Texcoco in Metres.	Depth in Metres.
Texcoco	0.00 ...	0.50
Zumpango ...	6.06 ...	0.80
Xaltocan	3.47 ...	0.40
San Cristóbal ...	3.60 ...	0.60
Xochimilco ...	3.14 ...	2.40 to 3.00
Chalco	3.08 ...	2.40
City of Mexico ...	1.90 ...	—

Silt may have made a considerable difference to the level of the lakes during four hundred years, but no possible allowance for silt could alter the conclusion that at the time of the Conquest the lakes must have been very shallow.

241 The site of the City was originally, in all probability, two reed-covered mud banks or islands, which may have been cultivated in
361 much the same manner as were the *chinampas* or floating gardens at the time of the Conquest, or as the chinampas of Xochimilco are at the present day, and these two islands became respectively the sites of the towns of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan, and the space between them was eventually reduced to a rather broad canal.

361 Islands in lakes, or rocky knolls on the land surrounded by deep barrancas or gulches, were frequently chosen by the Indians tribes as sites for towns on account of the facility for defence, and the number of such sites in Mexico and Central America[1] still either occupied by towns or containing the ruins of ancient buildings are evidence of a continual state of intertribal walfare.

241 The chinampas were formed by heaping up the soft mud from the lake on to wattles in order to form seed beds for flowers and vegetables, and these floating gardens gradually increased in size and became more compact from the growth of the interlacing roots of the willows and other water-loving plants until they may have supported a small hut for the owner and his family, and the lengthening roots eventually anchored them on the shallow margin of the lake. Two large groups of such gardens are shown on the map published in Clavigero's *History of Mexico* lying off

[1] Cf. Mixquic, Tlahuac and Xochimilco in the lakes of Mexico, Tayasal in the lake of Peten, and the island homes of the Lacandones in Guatemala. Towns almost surrounded by barrancas are Cuernavaca and Yacapistla in Mexico, and Utatlan and Iximché, etc., in Guatemala. It is as well to note here that such sites were not chosen for cities of the older culture such as Teotihuacan, Cholula, Mitla, Palenque, Copan, etc.

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241

CHINAMPAS ON LAKE XOCHIMILCO.

[facing p. 46 (A)]

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To face p. 46.

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Photo by A. P. Hendrickson

CHINAMPAS ON LAKE XOCHIMILCO.

[Facing p. 46 (B)]

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241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 503 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 503 731 These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Albarradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 503 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remensis." [2] Ten miles.

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731 and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was pro-
503 tected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The
133 great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or
134 in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was
133 converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

503 It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake
[226] of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of
312 numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

133 The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great
312 number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

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[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

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[facing p. 48]

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

NATIVE HOUSES ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CITY OF MEXICO.

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133 Such springs were also to be seen in and around the Lake of
312 Mexico, but not in such considerable numbers, and there must also have been one or more on the site of the City which supplied its earliest inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

161 "The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

134 The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes are composed of *tepetatle*, a mixture of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all.
[241] The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

241 Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

Note on the Drainage.

000 From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley became the preoccupation of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Netzahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin, known in Mexico as Enrico Martinez, planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountain rim to the north-east of the valley, but this work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zampango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

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[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*.
[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.
[3] Text page 72.

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600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplated, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:— 363 "The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the [501] principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

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a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza." 342

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says:—

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Monteruma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1] [644 565]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses 600

[1] Cortés' second letter.

[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour.

[3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.

[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

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of poles and thatch of Indian tribes, none of whom had risen above a state of barbarism. Much no doubt was due to the natural surroundings; the white City with its numerous teocallis was embowered in trees and surrounded by the blue waters of the lake sparkling under a tropical sun, a lake that was alive with a multitude of canoes passing and repassing to the other white cities on its shores, and in every direction the horizon was closed with a splendid panorama of forest-covered hills, while to the south-east the eye always rested with delight on the beautiful slopes and snow-covered peaks of the two great volcanoes. It is an enchanting scene to-day, in spite of the shrinkage of the lakes, the smoke from factory chimneys, and the somewhat squalid surroundings of a modern city, and but little effort of imagination is needed to appreciate the charm that it must have exercised in the days of Montezuma.

The Viga Canal still survives as a water-way by which produce is brought into Mexico from the market gardens or chinampas of Lake Zochimilco, and it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that the canal which ran from the Viga Canal along the south side of the great square past the convent of San Francisco was finally filled in. For many years the roadway beside it was known as the "Calle de Canoas," and the names Puente de la Leña (Fire wood bridge), Portal de las Flores, etc., still mark the localities where the different commodities were sold on the banks of the Canal. Indeed, the course of many an old water-way can still be traced in the modern City by the names which have clung to the localities since the days of the conquest and are now attached to the streets.

The Upsala map seems to show that there was an embankment or pallisade along the east side of the City, necessary as a protection against the wash of the waves from the lake, but on the other sides the entrance of the numerous canals was probably through tree-lined chinampas and orchards, similar to the approach to Xochimilco at the present day. Gardens and groves were evidently numerous in the City itself; the Mexicans were distinguished for their love of flowers, and there is no climate where gardening is more remunerative than in these tropical highlands when water is plentiful. The flowering plants cultivated on the roofs of the houses must have added greatly to the picturesque aspect of the streets and canals.

Bernal Díaz tells us how clean the surroundings of the great temple were kept, where not a straw or a spot of dust could be seen (filth seems to have been confined to the temples themselves where the horrid rites of their religion were performed), and this cleanliness probably extended to the City itself, for it will be observed by any traveller in Mexico or Central America that the purely Indian villages of considerable size are almost always kept swept and tidy, while this is not the case in the towns and villages inhabited by the mixed race.

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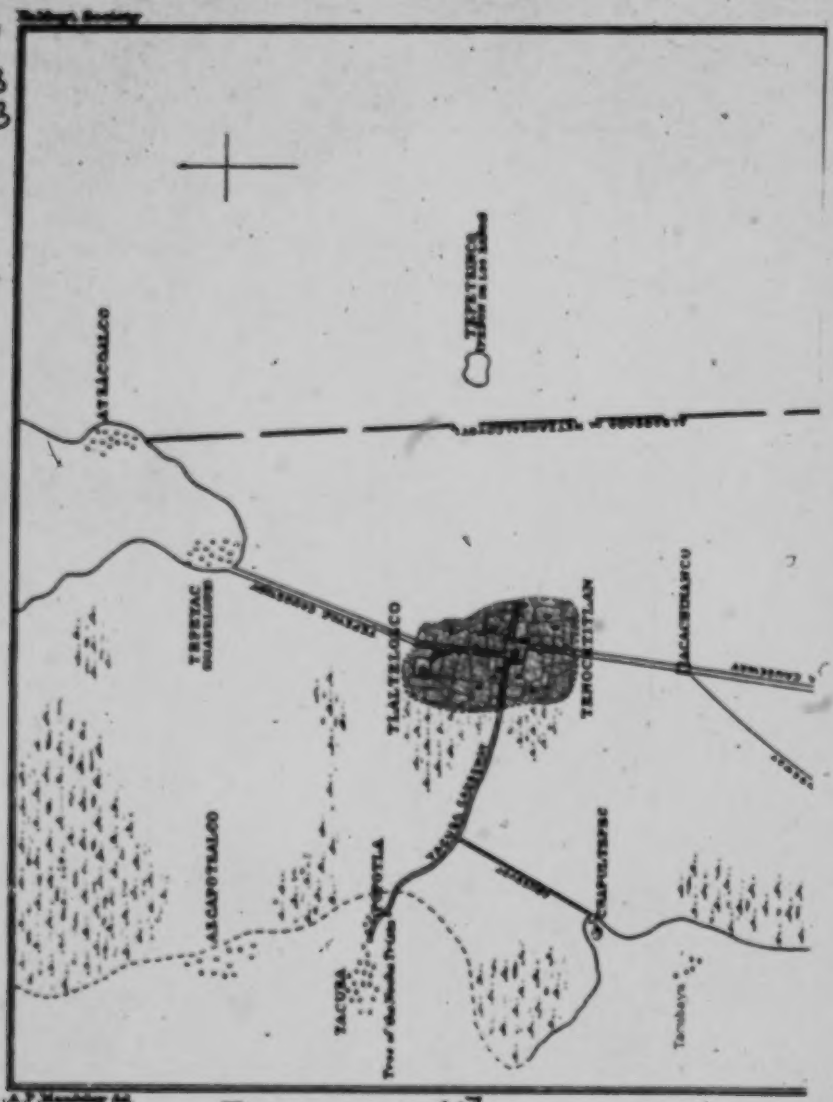

[facing p. 52 (1)]

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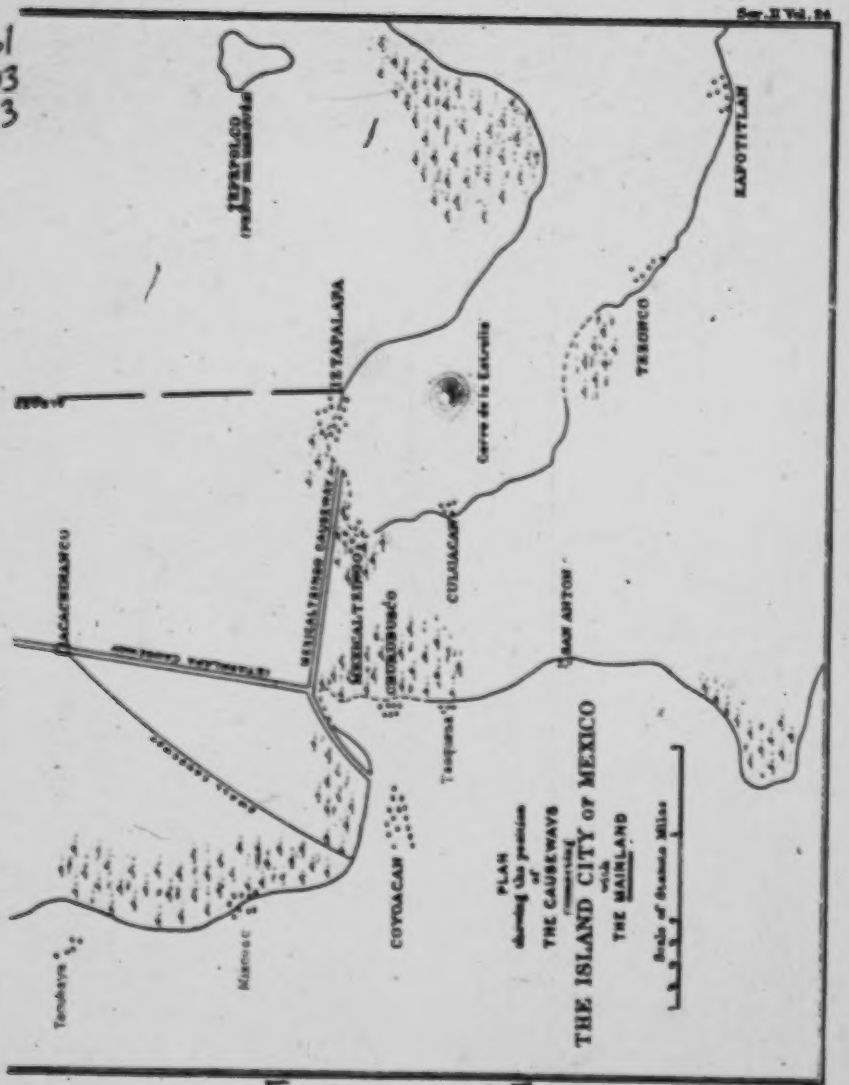

[facing p. 52 (B)]

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BOOK VI.

THE STAY IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

How the Great Montezuma came to our quarters wtih many Caciques accompanying him, and the conversation that he had with our Captain.

648 WHEN the Great Montezuma had dined and he knew that some time had passed since our Captain and all of us had done the same, he came in the greatest state to our quarters with a numerous company of chieftains, all of them his kinsmen. When Cortés was told that he was approaching he came out to the middle of the Hall to receive him, and [352] Montezuma took him by the hand, and they brought some seats, made according to their usage and very richly decorated and embroidered with gold in many designs, and Montezuma asked our Captain to be seated, and both of them sat down each on his chair. Then Montezuma began a very good speech, saying that he was greatly rejoiced to have in his house and his kingdom such valiant gentlemen as were Cortés and all of us. That two years ago he had received news of another Captain who came to

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648 Chanpoton, and likewise last year they had brought him news of another Captain who came with four ships, and that each time he had wished to see them, and now that he had us with him he was at our service, and would give us of all that he possessed; that it must indeed be true that we were those of whom his ancestors in years long past had spoken, saying that men would come from where the sun rose to rule over these lands, and that we must be those men, as we had fought so valiantly in the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and against the Tlaxcalans; for they had brought him pictures of the battles true to life.

797 Cortés answered him through our interpreters who always accompanied him, especially Doña Marina, and said to him that he and all of us did not know how to repay him the great favours we received from him every day. It was true that we came from where the sun rose, and were the vassals and servants of a great Prince called the Emperor Don Carlos, who held beneath his sway many and great princes, and that the Emperor having heard of him and what a great prince he was, had sent us to these parts to see him, and to beg them to become Christians, the same as our Emperor and all of us, so that his soul and those of all his vassals might be saved. Later on he would further explain how and in what manner this should be done, and how we worship one only true God, and who He is, and many other good things which he should listen to, such as he had already told to his ambassadors Tendile, and Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor when we were on the sand dunes. When this conference was over, the Great Montezuma had already at hand some very rich golden jewels, of many patterns, which he gave to our Captain, and in the same manner to each one of our Captains he gave trifles of gold, and three loads of mantles of rich feather work, and to the soldiers also he gave to each one

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two loads of mantles, and he did it cheerfully and in every way he seemed to be a great Prince. When these things had been distributed, he asked Cortés if we were all brethren and vassals of our great Emperor, and Cortés replied yes, we were brothers in affection and friendship, and persons of great distinction, and servants of our great King and Prince. Further polite speeches passed between Montezuma and Cortés, and as this was the first time he had come to visit us, and so as not to be wearisome, they ceased talking. Montezuma had ordered his stewards that, according to our own use and customs in all things, we should be provided with maize and [grinding] stones, and women to make bread, and fowls and fruit, and much fodder for the horses. Then Montezuma took leave of our Captain and all of us with the greatest courtesy, and we went out with him as far as the street. Cortés ordered us not to go far from our quarters for the present, until we knew better what was expedient. I will stop here and go on to tell what happened later.

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CHAPTER XC.

How on the following day our Captain Cortés went to see the Great Montezuma, and about a certain conversation that took place.

THE next day Cortés decided to go to Montezuma's palace, and he first sent to find out what he intended doing and to let him know that we were coming. He took with him four captains, namely Pedro de Alvarado Juan Velásquez de Leon, Diego de Ordás, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, and five of us soldiers also went with him.

When Montezuma knew of our coming he advanced to the middle of the hall to receive us, accompanied by many of his nephews, for no other chiefs were permitted to

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797 enter or hold communication with Montezuma where he then was, unless it were on important business. Cortés and he paid the greatest reverence to each other and then they took one another by the hand and Montezuma made him sit down on his couch[1] on his right hand, and he also bade all of us to be seated on seats which he ordered to be brought.

Then Cortés began to make an explanation through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and said that he and all of us were rested, and that in coming to see and converse with such a great Prince as he was, we had completed the journey and fulfilled the command which our great King and Prince had laid on us. But what he chiefly came to say on behalf of our Lord God had already been brought to his [Montezuma's] knowledge through his ambassadors, Tendile, Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor, at the time when he did us the favour to send the golden sun and moon to the sand dunes; for we told them then that we were Christians and worshipped one true and only God, named Jesus Christ, who suffered death and passion to save us, and we told them that a cross (when they asked us why we worshipped it) was a sign of the other Cross on which our Lord God was crucified for our salvation, and that the death and passion which He suffered was for the salvation of the whole human race, which was lost, and that this our God rose on the third day and is now in heaven, and it is He who made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the sands, and created all the things there are in the world, and He sends the rain and the dew, and nothing happens in the world without His holy will. That we believe in Him and worship Him, but that those whom they look upon as gods are not so, but are devils, which are evil things, and if their looks are bad their deeds are worse, and they could

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see that they were evil and of little worth, for where we had set up crosses such as those his ambassadors had seen, they dared not appear before them, through fear of them, and that as time went on they would notice this. 797

The favour he now begged of him was his attention to the words that he now wished to tell him; then he explained to him very clearly about the creation of the world, and how we are all brothers, sons of one father and one mother who were called Adam and Eve, and how such a brother as our great Emperor, grieving for the perdition of so many souls, such as those which their idols were leading to Hell, where they burn in living flames, had sent us, so that after what he [Montezuma] had now heard he would put a stop to it and they would no longer adore these Idols or sacrifice Indian men and women to them, for we were all brethren, nor should they commit sodomy or thefts. He also told them that, in course of time, our Lord and King would send some men who among us lead very holy lives, much better than we do, who will explain to them all about it, for at present we merely came to give them due warning, and so he prayed him to do what he was asked and carry it into effect.

As Montezuma appeared to wish to reply, Cortés broke off his argument, and to all of us who were with him he said: "with this we have done our duty considering it is the first attempt."

Montezuma replied—"Señor Malinche, I have understood your words and arguments very well before now, from what you said to my servants at the sand dunes, this about three Gods and the Cross, and all those things that you have preached in the towns through which you have come. We have not made any answer to it because here throughout all time we have worshipped our own gods, and thought they were good, as no doubt yours are, so do not trouble to speak to us any more about them at present. Regarding the creation of the world, we have held the same [773]

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797 belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for
773 certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

648 Cortés replied, "Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

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well that these people of Tlaxcala with whom you are such good friends have told you that I am a sort of God or Teul, and that everything in my houses is made of gold and silver and precious stones, I know well enough that you are wise and did not believe it but took it as a joke. Behold now, Señor Malinche, my body is of flesh and bone like yours, my houses and palaces of stone and wood and lime; that I am a great king and inherit the riches of my ancestors is true, but not all the nonsense and lies that they have told you about me, although of course you treated it as a joke, as I did your thunder and lightning."

648

Cortés answered him also laughing, and said that opponents and enemies always say evil things, without truth in them, of those whom they hate, and that he well knew that he could not hope to find another Prince more magnificent in these countries, and that not without reason had he been so vaunted to our Emperor.

While this conversation was going on, Montezuma secretly sent a great Cacique, one of his nephews who was in his company, to order his stewards to bring certain pieces of gold, which it seems must have been put apart to give to Cortés, and ten loads of fine cloth, which he apportioned, the gold and mantles between Cortés and the four captains, and to each of us soldiers he gave two golden necklaces, each necklace being worth ten pesos, and two loads of mantles. The gold that he then gave us was worth in all more than a thousand pesos and he gave it all cheerfully and with the air of a great and valiant prince. As it was now past midday, so as not to appear importunate, Cortés said to him: "Señor Montezuma, you always have the habit of heaping load upon load in every day conferring favours on us, and it is already your dinner time." Montezuma replied that he thanked us for coming to see him, and then we took our leave with the greatest courtesy and we went to our lodgings.

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And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

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to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their 643
eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his 644
face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared 643
by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they 252
placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him 643
the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of 252
dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in 262
seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals
[374] of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
[352] worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

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dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate 643
standing up with much reverence and without looking at 264
his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either [415]
red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From [415
time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels 832
of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which 272]
they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very [522
ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies 732]
almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men 643
of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 643 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [276 314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 411 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

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zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many [344] of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. 411 There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton 714 armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am 231 forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird 136 that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

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231 136 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 266 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and 782
banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and 266
the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to
these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house 231
many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their 136
tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst
vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery
vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs
and rear their young, and they give them to eat the
bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the
flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We
even knew for certain that when they drove us out of
Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that
they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days
on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and
season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated
to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them
company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions
and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled
and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it
seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled 463
workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that
was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries
and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work,
which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to
admire, and of these there were a great number of the
best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from
Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchi-
huites, which are like emeralds, there were other great
artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather
work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined;
from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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463 judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

[837] In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the
463 daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always
581 wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

463 Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews,* and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he
463 wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers
351 and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

* [i.e., buffoons.—Runyst]

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were of them, and the arrangement of them and the walks, and the ponds and tanks of fresh water where the water entered at one end and flowed out at the other; and the baths which he had there, and the variety of small birds that nested in the branches, and the medicinal and useful herbs that were in the gardens. It was a wonder to see, and to take care of it there were many gardeners. Everything was made in masonry and well cemented, baths and walks and closets, and apartments like summer houses where they danced and sang. There was as much to be seen in these gardens as there was everywhere else, and we could not tire of witnessing his great power. Thus as a consequence of so many crafts being practised among them, a large number of skilled Indians were employed.

As I am almost tired of writing about this subject and my interested readers will be even more so, I will stop talking about it and tell how our Cortés in company with many of our captains and soldiers went to see Tlaltelolco,[1] which is the great market place of Mexico, and how we ascended the great Cue where stand the Idols Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos. This was the first time that our Captain went out to see the City, and I will relate what else happened.

CHAPTER XCII.

How our Captain went out to see the City of Mexico and Tlaltelolco, which is the great market place and the great Cue of Huichilobos, and what else happened.

As we had already been four days in Mexico and neither the Captain nor any of us had left our lodgings except to go to the houses and gardens, Cortés said to us that it would be well to go to the great Plaza and see the great

[1] Tutelulco in the text.

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Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. (When he went in his litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

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that it contained, and at the good order and control that 443
was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other [567]
wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There [283 286 824 291 262]
were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In [281]
another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and 443
sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to 262
those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and
373] other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the
364] creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that
514] on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full
289 386] of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort
276] are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment,
344] and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who [324 sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they 262] get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and [325 gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could 415] wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were 436 already approaching its great courts, before leaving the [443] market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look 346 at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these [364] stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

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346 down from above, where he was making his sacrifices, six priests and two chieftains to accompany our Captain. On ascending the steps, which are one hundred and fourteen in number, they attempted to take him by the arms so as to help him to ascend, (thinking that he would get tired,) as they were accustomed to assist their lord Montezuma, but Cortés would not allow them to come near him. When we got to the top of the great Cue, on a small plaza which has been made on the top where there was a space like a platform with some large stones placed on it, on which they put the poor Indians for sacrifice, there was a bulky image like a dragon and other evil figures and much blood shed that very day.

361 When we arrived there Montezuma came out of an oratory where his cursed idols were, at the summit of the great Cue, and two priests came with him, and after paying great reverence to Cortés and to all of us he said: "You must be tired, Señor Malinche, from ascending this our great Cue," and Cortés replied through our interpreters who were with us that he and his companions were never tired by anything. Then Montezuma took him by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water, and the many other towns on the land round the lake, and that if he had not seen the great market place well, that from where they were they could see it better.

So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico, that is the causeway of Iztapalapa by which we had entered four days before, and that of Tacuba, along which later on we fled on the night of our great defeat, when Cuitlahuac[1] the new prince drove us

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

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out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of 361
Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from [312]
Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the
bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain
distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed
in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on [505]
that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming
with supplies of food and others returning loaded with
cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every
house of that great city and of all the other cities that were
built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to
house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or
in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like
towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a
wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs,
and on the causeways other small towers and oratories
which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had 361
seen we turned to look at the great market place and the 443
crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others
selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and
words that they used could be heard more than a league
off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many
parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy,
and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full
of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had
never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to 797
Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned
by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to
me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw
out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow
us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

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797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls [381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

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of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood 346
that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole 778
place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the
left hand there stood the other great image the same
height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and [416]
eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call
Tezcat, and the body plastered with precious stones like
that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; [776]
and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge
of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with
figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were
so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in
the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another
stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's
sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a
recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and
in it was another image half man and half lizard, with
precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered
with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure [776]
is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and
they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest,
but I do not remember its name, and everything was
covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench
was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out
of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when 346
they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to [534]
say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could
hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the
skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In
that small place there were many diabolical things to be [534]
seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of
Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols,
and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

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346 so much of it, that I curse the whole of it, and as it stank like a slaughter house we hastened to clear out of such a bad stench and worse sight. Our Captain said to Montezuma through our interpreter, half laughing: "Señor Montezuma, I do not understand how such a great Prince and wise man as you are has not come to the conclusion, in your mind, that these idols of yours are not gods, but evil things that are called devils, and so that you may know it and all your priests may see it clearly, do me the favour to approve of my placing a cross here on the top of this tower, and that in one part of these oratories where your Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca stand we may divide off a space where we can set up an image of Our Lady (an image which Montezuma had already seen) and you will see by the fear in which these Idols hold it that they are deceiving you."

776 Montezuma replied half angrily, (and the two priests who were with him showed great annoyance,) and said: "Señor Malinche, if I had known that you would have said such defamatory things I would not have shown you my gods, we consider them to be very good, for they give us health and rains and good seed times and seasons and as many victories as we desire, and we are obliged to worship them and make sacrifices, and I pray you not to say another word to their dishonour."

783 When our Captain heard that and noted the angry looks he did not refer again to the subject, but said with a cheerful manner: "It is time for your Excellency and for us to return," and Montezuma replied that it was well, but that he had to pray and offer certain sacrifices on account of the great *tatacul*, that is to say sin, which he had committed in allowing us to ascend his great Cue, and being the cause of our being permitted to see his gods, and of our dishonouring them by speaking evil of them, so that before he left he must pray and worship.

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Then Cortés said "I ask your pardon if it be so," and then we went down the steps, and as they numbered one hundred and fourteen, and as some of our soldiers were suffering from tumours and abscesses, their legs were tired by the descent. 346

I will leave off talking about the oratory, and I will give my impresions of its surroundings, and if I do not describe it as accurately as I should do, do not wonder at it, for at that time I had other things to think about, regarding what we had on hand, that is to say my soldier's duties and what my Captain ordered me to do, and not about telling stories. To go back to the facts, it seems to me that the circuit of the great Cue was equal to [that of] six large sites,[1] such as they measure in this country, and from below up to where a small tower stood, where they kept their idols, it narrowed, and in the middle of the lofty Cue up to its highest point, there were five hollows like barbicans, but open, without screens, and as there are many Cues painted on the banners of the conquerors, and on one which I possess, any one who has seen them can infer what they looked like from outside, better that I myself saw and understood it. There was a report that at the time they began to build that great Cue, all the inhabitants of that mighty city had placed as offerings in the foundations, gold and silver and pearls and precious stones, and had bathed them with the blood of the many Indian prisoners of war who were sacrificed, and had placed there every sort and kind of seed that the land produces, so that their Idols should give them victories and riches, and large crops. Some of my inquisitive readers will ask, how could we come to know that into the foundations of that great Cue they cast gold and silver and precious chalchihuites and seeds, and watered them with the human

[1] Solares. Solar is a town lot for house building.

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346 blood of the Indians whom they sacrificed, when it was more than a thousand years ago that they built and made it? The answer I give to this is that after we took that great and strong city, and the sites were apportioned, it was then proposed that in [the place of] that great *Cue* we should build a church to our patron and guide Señor Santiago, and a great part of the site of the great temple of Huichilobos was occupied by the site of the holy church, and when they opened the foundations in order to strengthen them, they found much gold and silver and chalchihuites and pearls and seed pearls and other stones. And a settler in Mexico who occupied another part of the same site found the same things, and the officers of His Majesty's treasury demanded them saying that they belonged by right to His Majesty, and there was a lawsuit about it. I do not remember what happened except that they sought information from the Caciques and Chieftains of Mexico, and from Guatémoc, who was then alive, and they said that it was true that all the inhabitants of Mexico at that time cast into the foundations those jewels and all the rest of the things, and that so it was [212] noted in their books and pictures of ancient things, and from this cause those riches were preserved for the building of the holy church of Santiago.

Let us leave this and speak of the great and splendid Courts which were in front of the [temple of] Huichilobos, where now stands [the church of] Señor Santiago, which was called Tlaltelolco, for so they were accustomed to call it.

I have already said that there were two walls of masonry [which had to be passed] before entering, and that the court was paved with white stones, like flagstones, carefully whitewashed and burnished and clean, and it was as large and as broad as the plaza of Salamanca. A little way

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were 266]
sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and [412]
chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, [292]
and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood. Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from
346 where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

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a splendid Cue; but it is of another form from that of Mexico although the courts are the same, very large with a double wall. I may add that the Cue in the City of Texcoco was very lofty, having one hundred and seventeen steps, and the Courts were broad and fine, shaped in a different form from the others. It is a laughable matter that every province had its Idols and those of one province or city were of no use to the others, thus they had an infinite number of Idols and they made sacrifices to them all.

After our Captain and all of us were tired of walking about and seeing such a diversity of Idols and their sacrifices, we returned to our quarters, all the time accompanied by many Caciques and chieftains whom Montezuma sent with us. I will stop here and go on to say what more we did.

CHAPTER XCIII.

How we made our Church and altar in our quarters and placed a Cross outside the chamber, and what else happened, and how we found the hall and treasure chamber of Montezuma's father, and how we decided to seize Montezuma.

WHEN our Captain and the Friar of the Order of Mercy saw that Montezuma was not willing that we should set up a cross on the Temple of Huichilobos nor build a church there, and because, ever since we entered this city of Mexico, when Mass was said, we had to place an altar on tables and then to dismantle it again, it was decided that we should ask Montezuma's stewards for masons so that we could make a church in our quarters.

The stewards said that they would tell Montezuma of our wishes, and our Captain also sent to tell him so by Doña Marina and Aguilar and his page Orteguilla, who

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797 already understood something of the language, and Montezuma gave his permission and ordered us to be supplied with all the material we needed. In two days we had our church finished and the holy cross set up in front of our apartments, and Mass was said there every day until the wine gave out. As Cortés and some of the other Captains and the Friar had been ill during the war in Tlaxcala, they made the wine that we had for Mass go too fast, but after it was all finished we [still] went to the church daily and prayed on our knees before the altar and images, for one reason, because we were obliged to do so as Christians and it was a good habit, and for another reason, in order that Montezuma and all his Captains should observe it, and should witness our adoration and see us on our knees before the Cross, especially when we intoned the Ave Maria, so that it might incline them towards it.

652 When we were all assembled in those chambers, as it was our habit to inquire into and want to know everything, while we were looking for the best and most convenient site to place the altar, two of our soldiers, one of whom was a carpenter, named Alonzo Yañes, noticed on one of the walls marks showing that there had been a door there, and that it had been closed up and carefully plastered over and burnished. Now as there was a rumour and we had heard the story that Montezuma kept the treasure of his father Axayaca in that building, it was suspected that it might be in this chamber which had been closed up and cemented only a few days before. Yañes spoke about it to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo, who were Captains and relations of mine, and Alonzo Yañes had attached himself to their company as a servant, and those Captains told the story to Cortés, and the door was secretly opened. When it was open Cortés and some of his Captains went in first, and they saw such a

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number of jewels and slabs and plates of gold and 652
chálchihuites and other great riches, that they were quite carried away and did not know what to say about such wealth. The news soon spread among all the other Captains and soldiers, and very secretly we went in to see it. When I saw it I marvelled, and as at that time I was a youth and had never seen such riches as those in my life before, I took it for certain that there could not be another such store of wealth in the whole world. It was decided by all our captains and soldiers, that we should not dream of touching a particle of it, but that the stones should immediately be put back in the doorway and it should be sealed up and cemented just as we found it, and that it should not be spoken about, lest it should reach Montezûma's ears, until times should alter.

Let us leave this about the riches, and say that as we 000
had such valiant captains and soldiers of good counsel and judgment, (and first of all we all believed for certain that our Lord Jesus Christ held His Divine hand over all our affairs,) four of our captains took Cortés aside in the church, with a dozen soldiers in whom he trusted and confided, and I was one of them, and we asked him to look at the net and trap in which we found ourselves, and to consider the great strength of that city, and observe the causeways and bridges, and to think over the words of warning that we had been given in all the towns we had passed through, that Montezuma had been advised by his Huichilobos to allow us to enter into the city, and when we were there, to kill us. That he [Cortés] should remember that the hearts of the men are very changeable, especially those of Indians, and he should not repose trust in the good will and affection that Montezuma was showing us, for at some time or other, when the wish occurred to him, he would order us to be attacked, and by the stoppage of our supplies of food or of water, or by the raising of

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any of the bridges, we should be rendered helpless. Then, considering the great multitude of Indian warriors that Montezuma had as his guard, what should we be able to do either in offence or defence? and as all the houses were built in the water, how could our friends the Tlaxcalans enter and come to our aid? He should think over all this that we had said, and if we wished to safeguard our lives, that we should at once, without further delay, seize Montezuma and should not wait until next day to do it. He should also remember that all the gold that Montezuma had given us and all that we had seen in the treasury of his father Axayaca, and all the food which we ate, all would be turned to arsenic poison in our bodies, for we could neither sleep by night nor day nor rest ourselves while these thoughts were in our minds, and that if any of our soldiers should give him other advice short of this, they would be senseless beasts who were dazed by the gold, incapable of looking death in the face.

When Cortés heard this he replied: "Don't you imagine, gentlemen, that I am asleep, or that I am free from the same anxiety, you must have felt that it is so with me; but what possibility is there of our doing a deed of such great daring as to seize such a great prince in his own palace, surrounded as he is by his own guards and warriors, by what scheme or artifice can we carry it out, so that he should not call on his warriors to attack us at once?" Our Captains replied, (that is Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado,) that with smooth speeches he should be got out of his halls and brought to our quarters, and should be told that he must remain a prisoner, and if he made a disturbance or cried out, that he would pay for it with his life; that if Cortés did not want to do this at once, he should give them permission to do it, as they were ready

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for the work, for, between the two great dangers in which we found ourselves, it was better and more to the purpose to seize Montezuma than to wait until he attacked us; for if he began the attack, what chance should we have? Some of us soldiers also told Cortés that it seemed to us that Montezuma's stewards, who were employed in providing us with food, were insolent and did not bring it courteously as during the first days. Also two of our Allies the Tlaxcalan Indians said secretly to Jerónimo de Aguilar, our interpreter, that the Mexicans had not appeared to be well disposed towards us during the last two days. So we stayed a good hour discussing the question whether or not we should take Montezuma prisoner, and how it was to be done, and to our Captain this last advice seemed opportune, that in any case we should take him prisoner, and we left it until the next day. All that night we were praying to God that our plan might tend to His Holy service.

The next morning after these consultations, there arrived, very secretly, two Tlaxcalan Indians with letters from Villa Rica and what they contained was the news that Juan de Escalante, who had remained there as Chief Alguacil, and six of our soldiers had been killed in a battle against the Mexicans, that his horse had also been slain, and many Totonacs who were in his company. Moreover, all the towns of the Sierra and Cempoala and its subject towns were in revolt, and refused to bring food or serve in the fort. They [the Spaniards] did not know what to do, for as formerly they had been taken to be Teules, that now after this disaster, both the Totonacs and Mexicans were like wild animals, and they could hold them to nothing, and did not know what steps to take.

When we heard this news, God knows what sorrow affected us all, for this was the first disaster we had suffered in New Spain. The interested reader may see

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how evil fortune came rolling on us. No one who had seen us enter into that city with such a solemn and triumphant reception, and had seen us in possession of riches which Montezuma gave every day both to our Captain and to us, and had seen the house that I have described full of gold, and how the people took us for Teules, that is for Idols, and that we were conquerors in all our battles, would have thought that now such a great disaster could have befallen us, namely that they no longer attributed to us our former repute, but looked upon us as men liable to be conquered, and that we should have to feel their growing insolence towards us.

As the upshot of much argument it was agreed that, by one means or another, we should seize Montezuma that very day, or we would all die in the attempt.

So that my readers may see how Juan de Escalante fought this battle and was killed in it, he and six soldiers and a horse and the Totonac allies whom he took with him, I wish here to describe it before coming to the seizure of Montezuma, so as not to leave anything behind, for it is necessary that it should be clearly understood.

CHAPTER XCIV.

How the Mexican Captains fought a battle against Juan de Escalante, and killed him and a horse and six soldiers and many of our Totonac allies.

721 It was in this way; you may remember my having said in the chapter that treats of the subject, that when we were camped at a town called Quiahuitztlan, that there came together many allied towns which were friendly with the people of Cempoala, and our Captain persuaded them to agree not to pay any more tribute to Montezuma, and there were more than thirty towns which rebelled against

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him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need. 721

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,[1] and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders. 712 721 721 651 721

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

[1] Mechuacan in the text.

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721 the Mexicans telling them not to annoy or rob those towns, for their Lord Montezuma approved of our all being great friends, and that if they did so he would come against them and attack them. The Mexicans took no notice of that reply or of the threat, but said that we should 726 find them in the field. Juan de Escalante who was a very competent man and prompt in his actions, summoned all our allies from the towns in the Sierra to come with their arms, that is bows, arrows, lances and shields, and he also called together the most active and healthy of his soldiers, (for I have already said that nearly all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica were invalids and sailors,) and with two cannon and a little powder, three crossbows, two muskets, and forty soldiers and over two thousand Totonac Indians, he went in search of the Mexican garrison, who were already out robbing a town of our allies. They met in the fields at dawn of day, and as the Mexicans doubled in number our Totonac allies, and as the latter were always in terror of them on account of their former wars, at the first attack of the Mexicans with arrows, darts, stones and war cries, they took to their heels and left Juan de Escalante to fight the Mexicans alone, in such a manner that he and his poor soldiers barely reached a town called Almeria, which they set on fire and burned the houses. There he rested a little for he was badly wounded.

In those skirmishes and attacks, the Mexicans carried off alive a soldier named Argüello, a native of Leon, a man with a very large head and black curly beard, and he was very sturdy in appearance and a man of great strength. Juan de Escalante and six of his soldiers were very badly wounded and one horse was killed. They returned to Villa Rica and within three days Escalante and the six soldiers were dead.

000 It was in this way that what we call "the affair at Almeria"

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happened, and not as the historian Gomara has written it, 000
for he says in his history that Pedro de Ircio went to settle at Panuco with certain soldiers. I do not know how, owing to a misunderstanding, so eloquent an historian could make such a statement. All the soldiers that Cortés had with him in Mexico did not number four hundred, and most of them had been wounded in the battles at Tlaxcala and Tabasco and we had not sufficient men to keep a good watch, much less for sending to settle at Panuco. Moreover he says that Pedro de Ircio went as their captain, when he was not a captain and not even an officer at that time, and they did not employ him nor take any notice of him, and he remained with us in Mexico. The same historian also says many other things about the imprisonment of Montezuma. I do not understand his writing, and stare at it when he writes such things in his history, for there must be conquistadores alive who were there at the time, who when they read it will tell him, that this did not take place in such a manner. In this other matter he says what he likes, so let us leave him there and return to our story.

The Mexican Captains after the battle with Escalante 727
that I have spoken about, sent the news of it to Montezuma, and even sent and presented to him the head of Argüello, who it seems died of his wounds on the road, for they had carried him off alive. We heard that when they showed the head, which was large and strong looking and had a large curly beard, to Montezuma, he was terrified and feared to look at it, and ordered that it should not be taken as an offering to any temple in Mexico, but to some other Idol in another town. Montezuma asked his Captains how it was that having such thousands of warriors with them, they had not conquered such a small number of Teules, and they replied that their darts and arrows and hard fighting availed them nothing, and they could not drive their enemy

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to flight because a great *Teleçiguata*[1] of Castile marched before them, and this Lady frightened the Mexicans and said words to encourage the Teules. Then Montezuma thought that great Lady must be Saint Mary who we had told him was our protector, and whose image, with her precious Son in her arms, we had given to him some time before. However, I did not see this myself, for I was in Mexico, but certain conquistadores who were present say so, and pray God that it was so, and certainly all the soldiers who were with Cortés believed it and so it is true, and the divine pity of Our Lady the Virgin Mary was ever with us, for which I give her many thanks. I will leave off here and go on to narrate what happened about the seizure of the Great Montezuma.

CHAPTER XCV.

Of the Seizure of Montezuma and what was done about it.

As we had determined the day before to seize Montezuma, we were praying to God all that night that it would turn out in a manner redounding to His Holy service, and the next morning the way it should be done was settled.

Cortés took with him five captains who were Pédro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Francisco de Lugo and Alonzo de Ávila, and he took me and our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and he told us all to keep on the alert, and the horsemen to have their horses saddled and bridled. As for our arms I need not call them to mind, for by day or night we always went armed and with our sandals on our

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[1] Tequeçihuata in the text.

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feet, for at that time such was our footgear, and Montezuma had always seen us armed in that way when we went to speak to him. I mention this because although Cortés and those who went with him to seize Montezuma were all armed, Montezuma did not take it as anything new, nor was he disturbed at all.

When we were all ready, our Captain sent to tell Montezuma that we were coming to his Palace, for this had always been our custom, and so that he should not be alarmed by our arriving suddenly.

Montezuma understood more or less that Cortés was coming because he was annoyed about the Almeria affair, and he was afraid of him, but sent word for him to come and that he would be welcome.

When Cortés entered, after having made his usual salutations, he said to him through our interpreters "Señor Montezuma, I am very much astonished that you, who are such a valiant Prince, after having declared that you are our friend, should order your Captains, whom you have stationed on the coast near to Tuxpan, to take arms against my Spaniards, and that they should dare to rob the towns which are in the keeping and under the protection of our King and master and to demand of them Indian men and women for sacrifice, and should kill a Spaniard, one of my brothers, and a horse." (He did not wish to speak of the Captain nor of the six soldiers who died as soon as they arrived at Villa Rica, for Montezuma did not know about it, nor did the Indian Captains who had attacked them), and Cortés went on to say "being such a friend of yours I ordered my Captains to do all that was possible to help and serve you, and you have done exactly the contrary to us. Also in the affair at Cholula your Captains and a large force of warriors had received your own commands to kill us. I forgave it at the time out of my great regard

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for you, and now again your vassals and Captains have become insolent, and hold secret consultations stating that you wish us to be killed. I do not wish to begin a war on this account nor to destroy this city, I am willing to forgive it all, if silently and without raising any disturbance you will come with us to our quarters, where you will be as well served and attended to as though you were in your own house, but if you cry out or make any disturbance you will immediately be killed by these my Captains, whom I brought solely for this purpose." When Montezuma heard this he was terrified and dumfounded, and replied that he had never ordered his people to take arms against us, and that he would at once send to summon his Captains so that the truth should be known, and he would chastise them, and at that very moment he took from his arm and wrist the sign and seal of Huichilobos, which was only done when he gave an important and weighty command which was to be carried out at once. With regard to being taken prisoner and leaving his Palace against his will, he said that he was not the person to whom such an order could be given, and that it was not his wish to go. Cortés replied to him with very good arguments and Montezuma answered him with even better, showing that he ought not to leave his house. In this way more than half an hour was spent over talk, and when Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains saw that they were wasting time over it and could not longer await the moment when they should remove him from his house and hold him a prisoner, they spoke to Cortés somewhat angrily and said, "what is the good of your making so many words, let us either take him prisoner, or stab him, tell him once more that if he cries out or makes an uproar we will kill him, for it is better at once to save our lives or to lose them," and as Juan Velásquez said this

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with a loud and rather terrifying voice, for such was his way of speaking, Montezuma, who saw that our Captains were angered, asked Doña Marina what they were saying in such loud tones. As Doña Marina was very clever, she said, "Señor Montezuma, what I counsel you, is to go at once to their quarters without any disturbance at all, for I know that they will pay you much honour as a great Prince such as you are, otherwise you will remain here a dead man, but in their quarters you will learn the truth." Then Montezuma said to Cortés "Señor Malinche, if this is what you desire, I have a son and two legitimate daughters, take them as hostages, and do not put this affront on me, what will my chieftains say if they see me taken off as a prisoner?" Cortés replied to him that he must come with them himself, and there was no alternative. At the end of much more discussion that took place, Montezuma said that he would go willingly, and then Cortés and our Captains bestowed many caresses on him and told him that they begged him not to be annoyed, and to tell his captains and the men of his guard that he was going of his own free will, because he had spoken to his Idol Huichilobos and the priests who attended him, and that it was beneficial for his health and the safety of his life that he should be with us. His rich litter, in which he was used to go out with all the Captains who accompanied him was promptly brought, and he went to our quarters where we placed guards and watchmen over him.

All the attentions and amusements which it was possible for him to have, both Cortés and all of us did our best to afford him, and he was not put under any personal restraint, and soon all the principal Mexican Chieftains, and his nephews came to talk with him, and to learn the reason of his seizure, and whether he wished them to attack us. Montezuma answered them, that he was

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000 delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

643 There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great 643 Caciques from distant lands came before him about 695 boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then [212] he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out [693] the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

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and without turning their backs and with three obeisances they retired to the hall, and as soon as they left the presence of Montezuma they put on their rich garments and took walks through Mexico. 643 695

I will not say anything more at present about this imprisonment, and will relate how the messengers whom Montezuma sent with his sign and seal to summon the Captains who had killed our soldiers, brought them before him as prisoners, and what he said to them I do not know, but he sent them on to Cortés, so that he might do justice to them, and their confession was taken when Montezuma was not present and they confessed that what I have already stated was true, that their Prince had ordered them to wage war and to extract tribute, and that if any Teules should appear in defence of the towns, they too should be attacked or killed. When Cortés heard this confession he sent to inform Montezuma how it implicated him in the affair, and Montezuma made all the excuses he could, and our captain sent him word that he believed it [the confession] himself, but that although he [Montezuma] deserved punishment in conformity with the ordinances of our King, to the effect that any person causing others, whether guilty or innocent, to be killed, shall die for it, yet he was so fond of him and wished him so well, that even if that crime lay at his door, he, Cortés, would pay the penalty with his own life sooner than allow Montezuma's to pass away. With all this that he [Cortés] sent to tell him, he [Montezuma] felt anxious, and without any further discussion Cortés sentenced those captains to death and to be burned in front of Montezuma's palace. This sentence was promptly carried out, and, so that there could be no obstruction while they were being burned, Cortés ordered shackles to be put on Montezuma himself, and when this was done Montezuma roared [with rage], and if before this he was scared, he was then much more 000 [202]

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so. After the burning was over our Cortés with five of our captains went to Montezuma's apartment and Cortés himself took off the fetters, and he spoke such loving words to him that his anger soon passed off, for our Cortés told him that he not only regarded him as a brother, but much more, and that, as he was already Lord and King of so many towns and provinces, if it were possible he would make him Lord of many more countries as time went on, such as he had not been able to subdue, and which did not now obey him, and he told him that if he now wished to go to his Palace, that he would give him leave to go. Cortés told him this through our interpreters and while Cortés was saying it the tears apparently sprang to Montezuma's eyes. He answered with great courtesy, that he thanked him for it, (but he well knew that Cortés's speech was mere words,) and that now at present it was better for him to stay there a prisoner, for there was danger, as his chieftains were numerous, and his nephews and relations came every day to him to say that it would be a good thing to attack us and free him from prison, that as soon as they saw him outside they might drive him to it [to attack us]. He did not wish to see revolutions in his city, but if he did not comply with their wishes possibly they would want to set up another Prince in his place, and so he was putting those thoughts out of their heads by saying that Huichilobos had sent him word that he should remain a prisoner. (From what we understood, and there is no doubt about it, Cortés had told Aguilar to tell Montezuma secretly, that although Malinche wished to release him from his imprisonment, that the rest of our captains and soldiers would not agree to it.) When he heard this reply, Cortés threw his arms round him and embraced him and said, "It is not in vain Señor Montezuma that I care for you as I care for myself." Then Montezuma asked Cortés that a Spanish page named Orteguilla who already knew

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something of his language might attend on him, and this was very advantageous both for Montezuma and for us, for through this page Montezuma asked and learned many things about Spain, and we learned what his captains said to him, and in truth this page was so serviceable that Montezuma got to like him very much.

Let us cease talking about how Montezuma became fairly contented with the great flattery and attention he received and the conversation that he had with us, and whenever we passed before him, even if it was Cortés himself, we doffed our mailed caps or helmets, for we always went armed, and he treated us all with politeness and distinction. Now I will give the names of those of Montezuma's captains who were punished by being burned, the principal one was Quetzalpopoca,[1] and the others were named, one of them Coate, and the other Quiavit, and I forget the name of the third, and it is not much use remembering their names. I may say that when the news of this punishment spread about throughout the provinces of New Spain, they were terrified, and the towns of the Coast, where they had killed our soldiers, returned again and rendered good service to the settlers who remained in Villa Rica. My interested readers who peruse these pages must have some respect for the great deeds we did in those days, first of all in destroying our ships, then in daring to enter so strong a city after receiving so many warnings that they would kill us when once they had us inside, then to have such great temerity as to seize Montezuma who was the King of the country in his own city and within his own palace, where he had such a numerous guard of warriors, then to dare to burn his captains in front of his palaces, and to place Montezuma himself in irons while the punishment was being carried out.

[1] Quauhpopoca (Orozco y Berra).

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Now that I am old, I often pause to think over the heroic deeds we did in those days and I think I see them passing again before my eyes, and I say that our deeds were not done of ourselves, but were all guided by God, for what men have there been in the world who, numbering four hundred soldiers, (we did not even reach that number) would have dared to enter into such a strong city as Mexico, which is larger than Venice, and is distant from our own Castile more than fifteen hundred leagues, and take prisoner so great a Prince, and punish his Captains before his eyes! There is indeed much to ponder over but not in the dry-as-dust way in which I tell it.

I will go on and relate how Cortés at once despatched another captain to be stationed at Villa Rica in place of Juan de Escalante who was killed.

CHAPTER XCVI.

How our Cortés sent a gentleman named Alonzo de Grado as his lieutenant and captain to Villa Rica, in place of the Chief Alguacil Juan de Escalante, and how he gave the office of Chief Alguacil to Gonzalo de Sandoval, who from this time on was Alguacil Mayor, and what happened about it I will go on to tell.

AFTER justice had been done on Quetzalpopoca and his captains and the Great Montezuma had been tamed, our Captain decided to send to Villa Rica, as his lieutenant, a soldier named Alonzo de Grado, for he was a very prudent man of good address and presence, and a musician and a great writer.

This Alonzo de Grado was one of those who were always in opposition to our Cortés about going to Mexico, and wished us to go back to Villa Rica. And when at the time of the Tlaxcala affair there were certain meetings of

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the discontented, as I have already stated in the Chapter which treats of the subject, it was always Alonzo de Grado who agitated. Had he been as good a man of war as he was a man of good manners, it would have been to his advantage. I say this because when Cortés gave him this appointment, as he was not a bold man, he was facetious in his remarks, and said to him, "Here, Señor Alonzo de Grado, you have your wish fulfilled for you are going now to Villa Rica as you have wished, and you will take charge of the fortress, and take care that you don't go out on any expeditions and get killed as Juan de Escalante did." And when he was saying this to him Cortés winked his eye, so that we soldiers who were standing round might see it, and we knew why he said this, for it was well known of Alonzo de Grado that he would not go on such an expedition even if he were ordered to do so with threats. When his orders and instructions as to what he was to do had been given him, Alonzo de Grado begged Cortés to do him the favour to give him the wand of Alguacil Mayor, as Juan de Escalante who had been killed by the Indians had held it. Cortés replied that he had already given it to Gonzalo de Sandoval, but that for him, in time to come there would not be wanting some other office even more honourable, and he bade him God speed, and charged him to look well after the settlers and to do them honour, and to see that he should cause no annoyance to our Indian Allies, and should take nothing from them by force and that he should at once send him two thick chains which he had ordered the two blacksmiths who remained in the town to make from the ironwork and anchors of the vessels that had been destroyed, and he told him to get on quickly with the fortress and finish putting in the woodwork and tiling the roof.

When Alonzo de Grado arrived at the town he gave himself great importance towards the settlers, and wished

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to make them do him service as a great Lord, and to the allied towns which numbered more than thirty, he sent to demand jewels of gold and pretty Indian women and he paid no attention at all to the fortress. How he spent his time was in feeding well and in gambling, and what was worse than all this, he secretly called together his friends, and even some who were not his friends and suggested that if Diego Velásquez or any of his captains should come from Cuba to that country, that they should join him and give up the land to him. All this news was at once sent in haste by letter to Cortés in Mexico, and when he heard of it he was angry with himself for having sent Alonzo de Grado, knowing as he did his evil disposition and peevish temper, and as he always had it in his thoughts that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, by some means or other, would get to know that we had sent our attorneys to His Majesty, we should in no case turn to him for assistance, for there was danger that he might send a fleet and some captains against us. So it seemed to Cortés advisable to send some man whom he could trust to the port and town, and he sent Gonzalo de Sandoval who had been Chief Alguacil since the death of Juan de Escalante, and he took in his company Pedro de Ircio, who according to the Historian Gomara had gone to form a settlement at Panuco. So Pedro de Ircio went to the town and Gonzalo de Sandoval took a great liking to him, for Pedro de Ircio had been a servant in the house of the Conde de Ureña and of Don Pedro Giron and he was always telling stories about what happened to them. As Gonzalo de Sandoval was always kindly and had no guile in him, and Pedro de Ircio told those stories to please him, he took such a liking to him, that he promoted him until he became a Captain, and if now at the present time Pedro de Ircio, instead of thanks, has spoken words that should have remained unsaid, for which Gonzalo de Sandoval would have re-

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proved him severely, the Holy Office should punish him for it.

Let us stop talking about outsiders, and return to Gonzalo de Sandoval, who when he arrived at Villa Rica sent Alonzo de Grado as a prisoner to Mexico under a guard of Indians, for so Cortés had told him to do. All the settlers became much attached to Gonzalo de Sandoval, for to those who remained there as invalids, he provided all the comforts that were possible, and showed them much kindness, and to the allied towns he dealt out even justice and assisted them in every way that he was able, and he began to set up the woodwork in the fort and to roof it and do everything else that it falls to the duty of a good Captain to accomplish, and it was very fortunate for Cortés and all of us that he did so, as will be seen later on at the proper time and occasion.

Let us leave Sandoval at the Villa Rica and return to Alonzo de Grado who arrived a prisoner in Mexico, and wished to go and speak to Cortés, but he [Cortés] would not allow him to be brought before him but ordered him to be imprisoned in some wooden stocks which had just been newly made. (I remember that the wood of those stocks had a scent of onions or garlic), and he remained a prisoner for two days.

As Alonzo de Grado was very plausible and a man of many expedients, he made many promises to Cortés that he would be his humble servant and loyal to him in all things, and gave so many indications of his desire to serve him that at length he convinced him, and he gained his release. From that time on I noticed that he was always favoured by Cortés, not that he gave him any command in war, but such things as suited him, and as time went on he gave him the office of auditor, which Alonzo de Ávila had held, for at that time he sent Alonzo as procurator to the Island of Santo Domingo, as I shall

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tell later on, in its proper place. I must not forget to say that when Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval to Villa Rica as his lieutenant, and Captain and Alguacil Mayor, he had ordered him, as soon as he arrived, to send two blacksmiths, with all their apparatus of bellows and tools and much iron from the ships which we had destroyed, and the two great iron chains which were already made, and he told him to send also sails and tackle, and pitch and tow and a mariner's compass, and everything else that was needed to build two sloops to sail on the lake of Mexico. These things Sandoval sent at once following in every particular the orders he had received.

CHAPTER XCVII.

How, when the great Montezuma was a prisoner, Cortés and all of us soldiers always entertained him and cheered him up, and even gave him permission to go hunting, and this was given in order to find out what his intentions were.

As our captain was careful in all things, and seeing that Montezuma was a prisoner, and fearing that he might become depressed at being shut in and confined, he endeavoured every day, after prayers (for we then had no wine for Mass) to go and pay court to him, and he went accompanied by four Captains, usually by Pedro de Alvarado, Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás, and with much reverence they asked Montezuma how he was, and that he should issue his orders and they would all be carried out, so that he should not be weary of his confinement. He answered that on the contrary, being a prisoner rested him, and this was because our gods gave us power to confine him or his Huichilobos permitted it, and in one conversation after another they gave him to

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understand more fully the things about our holy faith, and the great power of the Emperor our Lord.

Then sometimes Montezuma and Cortés would play at Totoloque, which is the name they give to a game played with some very smooth small pellets made of gold for this game, and they toss these pellets to some distance as well as some little slabs which were also made of gold, and in five strokes [tries] they gained or lost certain pieces of gold or rich jewels that they staked. I remember that Pedro de Alvarado was keeping the score for Cortés, and one of his nephews, a great cacique, was marking for Montezuma, and Pedro de Alvarado always marked one point more than Cortés gained, and when Montezuma saw it he said courteously and laughingly that he did not like Tonatio (for so they called Pedro de Alvarado) to keep the score for Cortés, because he made so much *yxaxol* in what he marked, which in their language means to say that he cheated, in that he always marked one point too many. Cortés and all of us soldiers who were on guard at the time, could not restrain our laughter at what the great Montezuma said. It may now be asked why we laughed at that expression, and it was because Pedro de Alvarado, although he was so handsome and well mannered, had a mania for excessive talking, and as we knew his temperament, we all laughed so much. To return to the game, if Cortés won, he gave the jewels to those nephews and favourites of Montezuma who attended on him, and if Montezuma won he divided them among us soldiers on guard, and in addition to what he gave us from the game, he never omitted giving us every day presents of gold and cloth, both to us and to the captain of the Guard who, at that time, was Juan Velásquez de Leon, who showed himself in every way to be the friend and servant of Montezuma.

I also remember that at one time there was on guard

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a soldier named somebody de Trujillo, a very tall man, in good health and very strong, and he was a seaman, and when it was his turn for the night's watch, he was so inconsiderate that—speaking with all respect for the gentlemen who read this—he acted indecently, and Montezuma heard him, and as he was the valiant King of this country, he considered it a proof of bad manners and disrespect that such a thing should be done in a place where he could hear it regardless of his presence. And he asked his page, Orteguilla, who that ill-conditioned and dirty person was, and the page replied that he was a man who was accustomed to travel on the sea and who knew nothing of courtesy and good breeding, and he also gave him information about the quality of all of us soldiers who were there, which was a gentleman and which not, and in continuation told him many things that Montezuma wished to know. To return to the soldier, Trujillo; as soon as it was day Montezuma sent to summon him, and asked him why he was so behaved that he had no consideration for his presence, and did not pay him that respect that was due to him, that he begged him never to do such a thing again, then he ordered him to be given a jewel of gold weighing five pesos. Trujillo paid no attention to what was said to him and the next night did the same again purposely, thinking that Montezuma might give him something else, but Montezuma had Juan Velásquez, Captain of the Guard, informed of it, and the Captain immediately removed Trujillo so that he should not again stand guard and they reprimanded him with rough words. It also happened that another soldier named Pedro López, a great crossbowman, a man in good health but who was not easily understood, was placed as sentinel over Montezuma, and on the question whether it was time to change the watch during the night, he had words with an officer and said, "Oh! curse this dog, I am sick to death of keeping

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constant guard over him." Montezuma heard the expression, and weighed it in his mind, and when Cortés came to pay his court to him, he heard of it, and was so angry about it, that he had Pedro López, good soldier as he was, flogged in our quarters, and from that time on all the soldiers who came on guard, went through their watch in silence and good manners. However it was not necessary to give orders to many of us who stood guard over him about the civility that we ought to show to this great cacique; he knew each one of us and even knew our names and our characters and he was so kind that to all of us he gave jewels and to some mantles, and handsome Indian women. As I was a young man in those days, whenever I was on guard, or passed in front of him, I doffed my headpiece with the greatest respect, and the page Orteguilla had told him that I had been on two expeditions to discover New Spain before the time of Cortés, so I asked Orteguilla to beg Montezuma to do me the favour of giving me a very pretty Indian woman, and when Montezuma heard this he told them to call me, and he said to me: "Bernal Díaz del Castillo, they tell me that you have quantities of cloth and gold, and I will order them to give you to-day a pretty maid. Treat her very well for she is the daughter of a chieftain, and they will also give you gold and mantles," and I answered him with much reverence, that I kissed his hands for his great favour, and might God our Lord prosper him, and it seems that he asked the page what I had replied to him, and he told him; and Montezuma said to him, "Bernal Díaz seems to me to be a gentleman," for as I have said, he knew all our names, and he told them to give me three small slabs of gold and two loads of mantles.

Let us stop talking of this and tell how of a morning after saying his prayers and making sacrifices to his idols, he took his breakfast, which was a small matter, for he ate

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512 [264] no meat, only chili peppers,[1] then he was occupied for an hour in hearing suits from many parts brought by Caciques who came to him from distant lands. I have already stated in the chapter that tells about it, the manner in which they came in to do their business and the reverence that they showed to Montezuma, and that at such times he always [693] had in his company twenty elderly men who were his judges to decide cases, and as this has been already noted I will not repeat it. It was then that we found out that from among the many women whom he had as his mistresses, he gave wives to his Captains and to very favourite chieftains, and he even gave some of them to our soldiers, and the one he gave to me was a lady from among them, and her bearing clearly showed it, and she was called Doña Francisca. So Montezuma passed his life, sometimes laughing and sometimes thinking about his imprisonment.

I wish to state here, although it has nothing to do with our story, as some inquisitive persons have asked me just why the soldier mentioned by me, who called Montezuma a dog, and even that not in his presence, was flogged by order of Cortés, (there being so few of us soldiers), so that the Indians should hear about it. I say so [again], that at that time all of us and even Cortés himself, when we appeared before the great Montezuma, paid respect to him by always doffing our headpieces and besides being King of New Spain, his person and his rank entitled him to it, and he was so kind and well mannered that he did honour to us all. In addition to all this, one may well remember that our lives were at stake, and at a word to his vassals, they would have removed him from his prison and made war on us. Observing his bearing and royal generosity, and seeing that he always had with him

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[1] Ají.

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many chieftains in his company, and the many other chieftains who came from distant lands, who paid great court to him, and the great number of persons to whom he daily gave food and drink, neither more nor less than when he was not in confinement, taking all this into consideration, Cortés was [naturally] very angry when he heard that such a word had been used about him; and being irritated at it, he at once ordered the punishment as I have said, and it was well deserved.

Let us go on and tell how at that moment there arrived from Villa Rica Indians carrying the thick chains which Cortés had ordered the blacksmiths to make, and they also brought all the things necessary for the sloops that I have spoken about, and when they had all arrived, Montezuma was told of it, and I will leave off here and go on to relate what happened about it.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

How Cortés ordered two sloops to be built, of considerable burden and fast sailers, for use on the lake, and how the great Montezuma asked Cortés to give him permission to go and pray at his temples, and what Cortés answered, and how he gave him permission.

As all the materials for building the two sloops had arrived, Cortés at once went to tell the great Montezuma that he wished to build two small ships so as to take pleasure trips on the lake and asked him to send his carpenters to cut the wood, together with our experts in boat-building, who were named Martin López and Andrés Nuñez. As the oak timber was distant about four leagues, it was soon brought and shaped, and as there were many Indian carpenters, the boats were soon built and caulked and tarred, and their rigging was set up and their sails cut to the right size and measurement, and an awning provided

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for each one, and they turned out to be as good and fast as though they had taken a month to set up the models, for Martin López was a past master of the art, and it was he who afterwards built the thirteen sloops to aid in capturing Mexico, as I shall relate further on; he was also a good soldier in war time.

782 Let us leave this and say that Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to go to his temples and make sacrifices, and pay the devotion to his gods that it was his duty to do, so that his Captains and chieftains might observe it, especially certain nephews of his, who came every day to tell him that they wished to free him and to attack us, and he answered them, that it pleased him to be with us, so they should think it was as he had told them, that his God Huichilobos had commanded him to stay with us, as he had made them believe before. Cortés replied that as to this permission he asked for, he should beware not to do anything for which he might lose his life, and so as to prevent any disorders, or commands to his Captains or priests either to release him, or attack us, he would send Captains and soldiers [with him] who would immediately stab him to death, should any change be noticed in his bearing. He might go and welcome, but must not sacrifice any human beings, for that was a great offence against the true God, that was to the God we were preaching to him about, and there stood our altars and the image of Our Lady, before whom he could pray. Montezuma said that he would not sacrifice a single human being, and he set off in his rich litter in great state with many great Caciques in his company as was his custom, and they [293] carried his insignia in front of him in the form of a sort of staff or rod, which was the sign that his royal person was going that way (just as they do [now] to the Viceroys of New Spain). There went with him as a guard four of our Captains, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Pedro de

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Alvarado, Alonzo de Ávila and Francisco de Lugo and one hundred and fifty soldiers, and the Padre de la Merced also went with us to stop the sacrifice if he should offer human beings. So we went to the Cue of Huichilobos and when we came near to that cursed temple, he [Montezuma] ordered them to take him from his litter and he was carried on the shoulders of his nephews and of other Caciques until he arrived at the temple; as I have already stated, as he went through the streets all the chieftains cast down their eyes and never looked at his face. When we arrived at the foot of the steps leading to the oratory there were many priests waiting to help him with their arms in the ascent.

There had already been sacrificed the night before four Indians, and in spite of what our Captain said and the dissuasions of the Padre de la Merced, he paid no heed but persisted in killing men and boys to accomplish his sacrifice, and we could do nothing at that time only pretend not to notice it, for Mexico and the other great cities were very ready to rebel under the nephews of Montezuma, as I shall explain further on. When he [Montezuma] had completed his sacrifices, and he did not tarry much in making them, we returned with him to our quarters, and he was very cheerful, and gave presents of golden jewels to us soldiers who had accompanied him.

Let us leave this here, and I will relate what next happened.

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CHAPTER XCIX.

How we launched the two sloops, and how the Great Montezuma said that he wished to go hunting, and went in the sloops to a rocky Island[1] where there were many deer and much other game, for no one went hunting there under pain of very severe punishment.

000 WHEN the two sloops were finished building and had been launched, and the masts and rigging had been set up and adorned with the Royal and Imperial banners, and the sailors had been got ready to navigate them, they went out in them both rowing and sailing, and they sailed very 643 well. When Montezuma heard of it, he said to Cortés 224 that he wished to go hunting on a rocky Island standing in the lake which was preserved so that no one dared to hunt there, however great a chief he might be, 000 under pain of death. Cortés replied that he was very welcome to go, but he must remember what he had told him on the former occasion when he went to visit his Idols, that to raise any disturbances was more than his life was worth; [moreover] he could go in the sloops, as it was better sailing in them than in the canoes and pirogues however large they might be. Montezuma said that he would be delighted to sail in the sloop that was the swiftest, and he took with him many lords and chieftains, and advised his huntsmen to follow in canoes and pirogues. A son of Montezuma and many Caciques went in the other sloop. Then Cortés ordered Velásquez de Leon who was captain of the Guard and Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila with two hundred soldiers, to accompany Montezuma, and to remember the great responsibility he was placing on them in looking after him, and as all those Captains whom I have named were very alert, they took on board all the soldiers I have spoken about, and four

[1] The *Peñon de Tepepolco* or *del Marques*.

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bronze cannon and all the powder that we possessed, 680
and our gunners, named Mesa and Arvenga, and they put up a highly decorated awning as a protection from the weather, and Montezuma and his chieftains went under it. As at that time there was a strong breeze blowing, and the sailors were delighted to please and content Montezuma, they worked the sails so well that they went flying along, and the canoes which held his huntsmen and chieftains were left far behind in spite of the large number of rowers they carried. Montezuma was charmed, and said that it was a great art this of combining sails and oars together. So he arrived at the 643
Peñol, which was not very far off, and he [Montezuma] 224
killed all the game he wanted, deer and hares and rabbits, and returned very contented to the city. When we arrived 680
near Mexico, Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains ordered the cannon to be discharged, and this delighted Montezuma, and as we saw him so frank and kind, we treated him with the respect in which the Kings of these countries are held, and he behaved in the same manner to us. If I were to relate the traits and qualities that he showed as a great Prince, and the reverence and service that all the Lords of New Spain paid to him, I should never come to an end. There was not a thing that he ordered to be brought that was not immediately there, even if it were flying. I say this 231
because one day three of our Captains and some of us soldiers were in Montezuma's presence, when by chance a hawk swooped down through the halls which were like corridors, after a quail, for near the houses and palaces where Montezuma was confined, there were some tame pigeons and quails kept for breeding purposes by the Indian steward (whose duty it was to keep the rooms swept) so as to give himself importance.

When our Captains saw the hawk swoop and carry off 680

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its quarry, one of them, named Francisco de Sauzedo, the elegant, who had been house steward to the Admiral of Castile, called out, "Oh! what a beautiful hawk! and how well he struck and how well he flew," and most of the soldiers answered that it was capital and that there were hereabouts many good birds for hawking, and Montezuma was watching what we said, and he asked his page Orteguilla about our conversation, and he replied that those Captains were saying that the hawk which came in hunting was a very good one, and that if we had some like it we would show him how it would come to hand, and that in the open, when it was flown at any bird, although it might be rather a large one, it would kill it. Then Montezuma said: "Then I will send now to have that same hawk caught, and we will see if you can tame it and hunt with it." All of us who were present doffed our head-pieces and thanked him for his kindness, and he at once sent to summon his fowlers, and told them to bring him that same hawk, and they were so skilful in its capture, that by the time of Ave Maria they brought that very hawk and gave it to Francisco de Sauzedo, and he showed it the lure, but as other things soon happened to us more important than the chase, I will stop talking about it now, but I have told the story because he was such a great Prince, that not only did he take tribute from nearly all parts of New Spain, and lord it over so many lands, and make himself fully obeyed, but even when he was a prisoner his vassals trembled before him, and they even captured for him the birds that fly in the air. Let us waive this and say how by degrees adverse fortune turned its wheel.

At that time it had been agreed between the nephews and relations of the great Montezuma and other Caciques and throughout all the country that we should be attacked

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and Montezuma released, and that some of them should proclaim themselves as Kings of Mexico, as I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER C.

How the nephews of the great Montezuma went about assembling the other Lords and persuading them to come to Mexico and free the great Montezuma from his imprisonment and drive us out of the City and kill us.

As Cacamatzin, lord of the City of Texcoco, which after Mexico is the largest and most important city that there is in New Spain, knew that his uncle, Montezuma, had been imprisoned for many days, and that we were taking the upper hand in every way that was possible, and also got to know that we had opened the chamber where the great treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was kept, but had not taken anything from it, he determined, before we could take possession of the treasure, to call together all the Lords of Texcoco, who were his vassals, and the lord of Coyoacan, who was his cousin and Montezuma's nephew, and the lord of Tacuba, and the lord of Iztapalapa, and another great Cacique who was lord of Matalçingo, who was very nearly related to Montezuma and of whom it was even said that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom and lordship of Mexico, and who was a chieftain known among the Indians for his personal bravery. While he [Cacamatzin] continued to negotiate with these and other Mexican chieftains that on a given day they should come with all their forces and attack us, it seems that the Cacique whom I have said was known for his personal bravery (whose name I do not know), said that if he [Cacamatzin] would assure to him the Kingship of Mexico, to which he was the rightful heir, that he and all his relations, and the people of the province called Matalçingo,

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631 would be the first to take up arms and turn us out of
643 Mexico, or not leave any one of us alive. It appears that
721 Cacamatzin replied that the Chieftainship of Mexico belonged to him and that he himself must be King, for he was the nephew of Montezuma; and that if he [the Lord of Matalçingo] did not wish to come, that they would make war on us without his help or that of his people, for it seems that Cacamatzin had got ready all the Lords and towns already named by me, and had already arranged the day on which they were to fall on Mexico, and that the chieftains of his faction who were then in the city would facilitate their entry.

721 While these negotiations were going on, Montezuma knew all about them from his powerful relation [the lord of Matalçingo] who would not come to an agreement with Cacamatzin, and to be more sure of it, Montezuma sent to summon all the Caciques and chieftains of that City [Texcoco], and they told him how Cacamatzin was going about persuading them all with words and gifts to join him in an attack on us, and to free his uncle. As Montezuma was prudent and did not wish to see his city rise up in arms or riots, he told Cortés what was happening. Our Captain and all of us soldiers knew a good deal about this disturbance, but not so fully as Montezuma now detailed it. The advice that Cortés now gave him was that he should give us his Mexican followers and we would fall on Texcoco and capture or destroy that city and its neighbourhood. As that advice did not suit Montezuma, Cortés sent to tell Cacamatzin that he should cease his preparations for war, which would be the means of his destruction, for he wished to have him as a friend, and that all that he could do for him personally he would do, and many other compliments. Now Cacamatzin was a young man who found many others, who shared his opinions, ready to support him in the war, so he sent to tell Cortés,

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that he understood his flatteries and did not want to hear any more of them, but that when he saw him coming then he would say to him whatever he liked. Cortés again sent to tell him that he should beware not to do an ill turn to our King and Lord, for he would pay for it with his person, and lose his life for it. He replied that he knew no King and wished he had never known Cortés, who, for all his fair words, had imprisoned his uncle.

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When he [Cacamatzin] sent this answer, our Captain implored Montezuma, as he was such a great Prince, and had among his Captains in Texcoco both great Caciques and kinsmen who were not friendly with Cacamatzin, who was very haughty and much disliked, and as Montezuma had with him there in Mexico a brother of this same Cacamatzin, a youth of a good disposition, who had fled from his own brother to escape being killed by him, (for after Cacamatzin he was the heir to the kingdom of Texcoco,) [our captain implored Montezuma] to concert measures with his people in Texcoco to seize Cacamatzin, or to send secretly to summon him to come [to Mexico,] and if he did come, to lay hands on him and keep him in his power until he had quieted down. Moreover as this (other) nephew was in his house and was subject to him, he should presently promote him to be the Lord and should take the chieftainship from Cacamatzin, who was doing him an injury and going about stirring up all the cities and Caciques of the land to make him Lord over his [Montezuma's] city and kingdom.

Montezuma said that he would at once send to summon him, but he did not think he would come, and that if he did not come he would make arrangements with his Captains and relations to seize him.

Cortés thanked him heartily for this, and even said: "Señor Montezuma, you may indeed believe me that if you wish to go to your Palace, you are free to do so,

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721 for since I understand that you are well disposed towards me, I am so devoted to you, that were I not in such a [difficult] position, I would not even insist upon accompanying you when you proceed to your palace with all your nobility. If I have failed to carry out such a plan, it is on account of my Captains who went to seize you, for they are not willing that I should set you free, and also because you say that you prefer to stay in confinement so as to avoid the disturbances through which your nephews would attempt to obtain power over this City of yours, and deprive you of your rule."

Montezuma answered that he thanked him, and as he began to understand Cortés' flattering speeches and saw that he made them, not with any intention of setting him free, but only to test his good will, and also because his page Orteguilla had told him that it was our captains who had advised Cortés to take him prisoner, and he must not believe that Cortés would set him free without their consent, Montezuma added that it was as well for him to remain a prisoner until he could see whither the treachery of his nephews would lead. Moreover he would immediately send messengers to Cacamatzin, begging him to appear before him, as he wished to speak to him about friendship between him and us, and would send to tell him, that as for his imprisonment he need not trouble himself about it, that had he desired to free himself many opportunities for doing so had offered, and that Malinche had twice told him to return to his palace, but he did not wish to do so, but to fulfil the commands of his Gods that he should remain a prisoner. Indeed if he did not so remain, he would soon be a dead man, and the priests who ministered to the Idols had known this for many days, and for this reason it would be advisable to be on good terms with Malinche and his brothers. Montezuma sent the same message to the Captains of Texcoco, telling

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them that he was sending to summon his nephew to make friends, adding that they should beware how that youth turned their brains so that they would take up arms against us. 721

Let us leave this talk, which Cacamatzin thoroughly understood, for he took counsel with his chiefs as to what should be done. Cacamatzin then began to bluster and say that he would kill us all within four days, and that his uncle was a chicken not to attack us when he advised him to do so, when we were coming down the mountain towards Chalco, where he had the troops all posted and everything ready, that [instead of doing so] he personally received us in his city as though he knew that we had come to confer some benefit on him, and had given us all the gold that had been brought to him as tribute. Moreover we had broken into and opened the house where the treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was stored, and added to all this we had taken Montezuma prisoner, and were already telling him that he must get rid of the Idols of the great Huichilobos, as we wished to set up our own in their places. So that things should not come to a worse pass, and so as to punish such deeds and affronts, he [Cacamatzin] prayed his chieftains to give him their help, for all that he had told them they had seen with their own eyes, even how we had burnt Montezuma's own Captains, and nothing more could be endured, and they ought all to unite as one man and make war on us.

Cacamatzin promised them there and then, that if the Lordship of Mexico should fall to him, he would make them great chieftains, and he also gave them many golden jewels, and told them that he had already made arrangements with his cousins, the lords of Coyoacan and Iztapalapa and Tacuba and other relations, to help him, and there were other chieftains in Mexico itself who would assist him and let him into the city at whatever hour he might

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choose. He said that some of them might go along the causeway and all the rest could go across the lake in their pirogues and small canoes, and they would enter the city without meeting opponents to defend it, for his uncle was a prisoner, and they need have no fear of us, for they knew that only a few days ago, in the affair of Almeria, his uncle's Captains had killed many Teules and a horse, and they had seen the head of the Teul and the body of the horse; that they could kill us all in an hour and could have feasts and stuff themselves with our bodies.

When this speech was finished, they say that the Captains looked at one another, waiting for those who usually spoke first in councils of war, and that four or five of these Captains replied to him, how was it possible for them to go without the permission of their great prince Montezuma, and wage war in his very house and city? that they should first send to let him know about it, and if he consented, they would accompany Cacamatzin with the greatest good will; but otherwise they did not wish to turn traitors. It seems that Cacamatzin was angered with the Captains and ordered three of those who gave that reply to be imprisoned. As there were present at that meeting and council others, who were his relations, who were longing for a riot, they said that they would aid him to the death. So he decided to send to his uncle the great Montezuma to say that he ought to be ashamed of sending him word to come and make friends with those who had done him such harm and dishonour in holding him a prisoner, that such a thing was only possible because we were wizards and had stolen away all his great strength and bravery with our witchcraft, and that our gods and this great lady from Castile, whom we said was our Counsellor, had given us the great power to do what we had done. And in this which he said last he was not in error, for it was certainly the great mercy of God and his

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blessed Mother that helped us. To return to our story, the gist of his message was, that he would come in spite of us and of his uncle to speak to us and to kill us. [72]

When the great Montezuma heard that insolent reply, he was greatly angered, and at once sent to summon six of his most trusted captains. And he gave them his seal, and he also gave them some golden jewels, and ordered them to go to Texcoco, and secretly to show that seal to certain Captains and relations of his, who were on bad terms with Cacamatzin on account of his haughtiness, and so to manage that they should make prisoners of Cacamatzin and those who were in his confidence, and bring them before him at once. When those Captains had departed, and it was understood in Texcoco what it was that Montezuma had ordered, as Cacamatzin was greatly disliked, he was taken prisoner in his own palace while he was discussing the subject of the war with his confederates, and they brought five of them as prisoners in his company. [643]

As that city stands close to the lake, they got ready a great pirogue with awnings, and they placed Cacamatzin and the other prisoners in it and with a great crew of rowers they brought them to Mexico. When they had disembarked, they placed Cacamatzin in a richly adorned litter fit for a king such as he was, and with the greatest show of respect they brought him before Montezuma. [501]

It seems that in his interview with Montezuma, he was even more insolent than he had been before, and Montezuma knew of the plots he had made to raise himself to the lordship of Mexico, about which he learnt further complete details from the other prisoners who had been brought to him. If Montezuma was angry with his nephew before, he was now doubly so, and he promptly sent him to our Captain to be held as a prisoner, and the other prisoners he ordered to be set free.

Cortés went at once to the palace to Montezuma's

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721 chamber to thank him for so great a favour and the order was given that the youth[1] who was in Montezuma's company, who was also his nephew and the brother of Cacamatzin, should be raised to the Kingship of Texcoco.

721 666 I have already said that he had come here to seek the protection of his uncle when his brother wished to kill him, and that he was the next heir to the kingdom of Texcoco. So as to make the appointment with all solemnity and with the consent of all the city, Montezuma summoned before him the principal chieftains of the whole province and after fully discussing the matter, they elected him as King and Lord of that great city, and he was named Don Carlos.

721 After all this was over, when the Caciques and Kinglets, nephews of the great Montezuma, namely the Lord of Coyoacan, and the Lord of Iztapalapa, and he of Tacuba saw and heard of the imprisonment of Cacamatzin, and learnt that the great Montezuma knew that they had joined in the conspiracy to deprive him of his kingdom and give it to Cacamatzin, they were frightened and did not come to pay their court to Montezuma as they were used to do. So with the consent of Cortés, who clamoured and persuaded him to order them to be seized, within eight days they were all in prison and attached to the great chain, and our Captain and all of us felt not a little relieved.

000 The reader who is interested may see what lives we were leading, for every day they were planning to kill us and eat our flesh, if the great mercy of God which always followed us had not come to our rescue, and but for that good Montezuma who always gave a favourable turn to our affairs. Just think what a great Prince he was who, although imprisoned, was so faithfully obeyed, that all was once more made peaceful, and those chieftains were prisoners.

[1] Cuicuitzcatzin.

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Our Cortés and the other Captains and the Friar of the Order of Mercy were always paying court to him, and giving him pleasure in every way that was possible, and they joked with him, not in any way disrespectfully, and I may add that neither Cortés nor any of our Captains ever seated themselves until Montezuma sent for his rich chairs and told them to sit down, and in such things he was so considerate that we all had a great affection for him, for he was truly a great Prince in everything that we saw him do.

To go back to our story; sometimes they explained to him the matters touching our holy faith, especially the Friar, through the page Orteguilla, and apparently some of the good words entered his heart, for he listened to them with more attention than before. They also made him understand about the great power of our Lord the Emperor, and how many great princes from distant lands became his vassals and obeyed his commands, and they told him many other things that he was interested to hear. At other times, as I have said before, Cortés played Totoloque with him. And in such ways we were always paying him court, and he, as he was in no way niggardly, gave us every day jewels of gold and mantles.

I will now stop talking of this, and will go on with my story.

CHAPTER CI.

How the great Montezuma and many Caciques and chieftains of the territory gave their fealty to His Majesty, and what else happened about it.

WHEN Captain Cortés saw that those kinglets named by me were prisoners, and that all the cities were at peace, he said to Montezuma that, before we had entered Mexico, he [Montezuma] had twice sent to say that he wished to pay

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648 tribute to His Majesty, and that as he now understood about the great power of our Lord and King, to whom many lands pay tribute and taxes and many great kings are subject, it would be well for him and all his vassals to give him their fealty, for such is the custom, first to give fealty and then to give tribute and taxes. Montezuma replied that he would gather his vassals together, and talk to them about it. And within ten days nearly all the Caciques of that territory assembled together, but that Cacique who was most nearly related to Montezuma did not come. I have already said that he was reported to be very valiant, and in his bearing and body and limbs and in his face he clearly showed it. He was somewhat blustering, and at that time he was staying at one of his towns named Tula.

It was rumoured that the kingdom of Mexico would come to this Cacique on the death of Montezuma, and when they sent to summon him he replied that he did not wish to come, nor to pay taxes, for he was not able to keep himself with the income from his provinces. Montezuma was very angry at this reply, and at once sent some Captains to take him prisoner, but as he was a great Lord, and had many relations, he was warned of this and withdrew to his province where they were not then able to catch him.

648 787 I must leave him now and state how, in the discussion that Montezuma held with the Caciques of all the territory whom he had called together, after he had made a speech without Cortés or any of us, excepting Orteguilla the page, being present, it was reported that he had told them to consider how for many years past they had known for certain, through the traditions of their ancestors which they had noted down in their books of records, that men would come from the direction of the sunrise to rule these lands, and that then the lordship and kingdom of the

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Mexicans would come to an end. Now he believed, from what his Gods had told him, that we were these men, and the priests had consulted Huichilobos about it and offered up sacrifices, but their Gods would no longer answer them as they had been accustomed to do. 648 787

All that Huichilobos would give them to understand was, that what he had told them before he now again gave as his reply, and they were not to ask him again, so that they took it to mean that they should give their fealty to the King of Spain whose vassals these Teules say that they are:— 648

"As for the present it does not imply anything, and as in time to come we shall see whether we receive another and better reply from our Gods, so we will act according to the time. For the present, what I order and beg you all to do with good will is to give and contribute some sign of vassalage, and I will soon tell you what is most suitable, and as just now I am importuned about it by Malinche, I beg that no one will refuse it. During the eighteen years that I have been your Prince, you have always been very loyal to me, and I have enriched you and have broadened your lands, and have given you power and wealth, and if at this present time our Gods permit me to be held captive here, it would not have happened, unless, as I have told you many times, my great Huichilobos had commanded it."

When they heard these arguments, all of them gave as an answer that they would do as he had ordered them, and they said it with many tears and sighs, and Montezuma more tearful than any of them. Then he sent a chieftain to say that on the following day they would give their fealty and vassalage to His Majesty. This was on the [1] day of the [1] month, in the year 1519.

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[1] Blank spaces left in the original.

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648 Montezuma returned after this to talk about the matter with his Caciques, and in the presence of Cortés and our Captains and many of our soldiers, and of Pedro Hernández, Cortés's secretary, they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they showed much emotion in doing so, and Montezuma could not keep back his tears. He was so dear to us and we were so much affected at seeing him weep, that our own eyes were softened and one soldier wept as much as Montezuma, such was the affection we had for him. I will leave off here, and say that Cortés and the Fraile de la Merced, who was very wise, were constantly in Montezuma's palace, trying to amuse him and to persuade him to give up his Idols.

Now I will go on.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS CII. AND CIII.

000 The description given by Bernal Díaz in Chapters CII. and CIII. of the expeditions sent in search of mines differs considerably from that given by Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor.

Cortés says that there were several expeditions. Bernal Díaz mentions only two—one under Gonzalo de Umbria, the other under Pizarro, neither of whom Cortés mentions by name.

316 Bernal Díaz quotes Montezuma as saying that gold was brought
317 from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from the city, and that the gold was collected in gourds in which the earth was washed, and Bernal Díaz himself gives Zacatula as the name of the town visited by Gonzalo de Umbria. The only Zacatula shown on the maps is situated on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. Placer gold-mining is still carried on in this neighbourhood, and Montezuma may have mentioned the place as a source of gold supply. However, there is no proof that Gonzalo de Umbria visited the Rio de las Balsas, for Cortés says nothing about an expedition in that direction, and mentions only expeditions to Cuzula (Soscola?), Tamazulapa, Malinaltepec, Tenis (Tenetze), and Tuxtepec, all places in the north-western part of the present State of Oaxaca, and he confirms this later on in the same

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[facing p. 126]

CHARLES V.

(From Petrus Martyr, Decades Orbis Novus
Maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio. MDXXIIII.)

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316 letter when he mentions Coastoaca (Coixtlahuaca) and Tamazula
317 (either Tamazola or Tamazulapa), which are in the same neighbourhood, as places visited during these expeditions.

The only slight corroboration of an expedition to Zacatula is the casual mention by Bernal Díaz of Matalzingo, which is near Toluca, and would be on the way to Zacatula, but the frequent repetition of the same names in different localities prevents much reliance being placed on it.

No definite information is given as to the routes by which the expeditions travelled.

The expedition under Pizarro probably travelled by way of Tehuacan or Orizaba to Malinaltepec on the upper waters of the Papaloapan River, where they would be within a short distance both of Tuxtepec and the land of the Chinantecs, and although Cortés is not very clear on the matter, there is no reason to suppose that all three places were not visited by members of the same expedition.

With regard to the expedition under Diego de Ordás in search of a good harbour, Cortés gives the additional information that the party went first to Vera Cruz and then marched all along the coast to Coatzacoalcos, examining in canoes the bays and the mouths of the rivers that were crossed.

CHAPTER CII.

How our Cortés endeavoured to find out about the Gold Mines, what was their value, and in what rivers they were found, and what harbours there were for ships between Panuco and Tabasco, especially about the great river at Coatzacoalcos, and what happened about it.

316 WHEN Cortés and the other Captains were with Montezuma
317 paying him court, among other things that he said through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar and Orteguilla, he asked Montezuma where the mines were, and in which rivers, and how and by what means they collected the gold which they brought him in grains, for he wished to send two of our soldiers who were expert miners to see it. Montezuma replied that there were three

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316 places, but they usually brought most of the gold from a
317 province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from that city (Mexico). The gold was collected in xicales[1] by washing away the earth, so that after the earth was washed away some grains of gold remained. At the present time they also brought it to him from another province called Tustepec near where we disembarked on the north coast where it was gathered from two rivers. Near that province there were other good mines in a land that was not subject to him, named the land of the Chinantecs and
000 Zapotecs, who did not obey his rule. If Cortés wished to send his soldiers he would give them Chieftains to go with them. Cortés thanked him for it, and at once despatched a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, with two other soldiers who were miners to the mines of Zacatula. This Gonzalo de Umbria was the man whose feet Cortés had ordered to be cut off when he hanged Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño[2] and flogged the Peñates for their attempt to carry off a ship at San Juan de Ulua, as I have written down more at length in the chapter which deals with the incident.

Let us stop talking about the past and say how they set out with Umbria, a limit of forty days being allowed them in which to go and return.

To examine the mines on the north coast Cortés sent a captain named Pizarro, a young man about twenty years old, whom he treated as a relation. At that time there was no mention of Peru, nor were the Pizarros talked about in these lands. Pizarro set out with four oldiers, and he also was given forty days in which to go and return, for the distance was about eighty leagues from Mexico, and four Mexican chieftains accompanied him.

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[1] gourds [2] See note on page 207, vol. i.

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After, as I have said, they had set off to inspect the mines, let me go back to say how the great Montezuma gave our Captain a hennequen cloth, on which were painted and marked very true to nature, all the rivers and bays on the Northern coast from Panuco to Tabasco, that is for a matter of one hundred and forty leagues, and the river of Coatzacoalcos was marked on it. As we already knew all the harbours and bays marked on the cloth which Montezuma gave to Cortés, from the time we came on the voyage of discovery with Grijalva, except the river of Coatzacoalcos, which they said was very strong and deep, Cortés determined to send and see what it was like, and to take soundings of the harbour and the entrance. One of our captains named Diego de Ordás, a very prudent and valiant man, who has often been mentioned by me, said to our Captain that he would like to go and see that river, and what sort of country there was there, and what the people were like, and asked for Indian Chieftains to go with him, and Cortés had refused, because he was a man of good counsel and he wished to keep him in his company. However, so as not to displease him, he [now] granted him leave to go. Montezuma told Ordás that his authority did not extend over Coatzacoalcos, that the people there were very bold, and that he should take care what he was about, and if anything happened to him, they must not blame him [Montezuma] for it; that before arriving at that province he would come on the garrison of warriors he kept on the border, and that if he [Ordás] had need of them he might take them with him, and he [Montezuma] paid him many compliments besides. Cortés and Diego de Ordás gave him their thanks, and Ordás set out with two soldiers and some chieftains whom Montezuma sent with him.

This is where the historian Francisco Lopez Gomara says that Juan Velásquez with one hundred soldiers went to form a settlement at Coatzacoalcos, and that Pedro de

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000 Ircio went to settle at Panuco. As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it, and will relate what each of the Captains sent by Cortés, accomplished, and will report how each returned with samples of gold.

CHAPTER CIII.

How the Captains returned whom our Cortés had sent to examine the mines, and take soundings of the harbour and river of Coatzacoalcos.

316 THE first to return to the City of Mexico and to give an
317 account of what Cortés had sent him to do was Gonzalo de
648 Umbria and his companions, who brought a matter of three hundred pesos in grains which the Indians of a town named Zacatula had extracted before their eyes. According to Umbria's description, the Caciques of that province took many Indians to the rivers, and in vessels like small troughs they washed the earth and collected the gold. The gold came from two rivers, and they said that if good miners went and washed the earth as they did in the Island of Santo Domingo or the Island of Cuba, that these would prove to be rich mines. Umbria also brought with him two chieftains sent by the province, and they brought a present of gold made into jewels worth about two hundred pesos, and gave and offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and Cortés was as pleased with this gold as though it were thirty thousand pesos, for he now knew for certain that there were good mines, and he showed much affection to the chieftains who brought the present and ordered them to be given some green beads from Castile, and after friendly speeches they returned to their country well contented.

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Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spoken about. 648

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tochel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former [651 712]

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648 chapter which treats of the subject. Let us go on to say that as soon as the Caciques of Coatzacoalcos understood what the object of Ordás was, they supplied him with many large canoes, and the Cacique Tochel himself and many other chieftains took soundings at the mouth of the river, and they found the depth to be three full fathoms in the shallowest place without counting the ebb.[1] A little further up the river there is room for large ships to navigate, and the higher up they went the deeper it became, and near a town which at that time was inhabited by Indians, there was room for carracks. When Ordás had taken the soundings, he went with the Caciques to the town, and they gave him some jewels of gold and a very beautiful Indian woman, and they offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and they complained of Montezuma and of his garrison of warriors, and said that a short time before they had fought a battle with them near a small town, and that the people of that province had killed many of the Mexicans, and for that reason they now call the place where that battle was fought, Cuylonemiquis, which in their language means "where they killed the Mexican profligates."[2]

Ordás thanked them heartily for the honour he had received, and gave them some Spanish beads which he had brought for that purpose. Then he returned to Mexico and was joyfully received by Cortés and all of us, and he said there was good land for cattle and farming, and the port was convenient for the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, but it was far from Mexico, and there were great swamps there. For this reason we never had much confidence in this harbour for landing goods and trading with Mexico.

000 Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and

[1] Sin la de Çayda, *i.e.*, at low water.
[2] "Putos."

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Let us leave Ordás And speak of Captain Pizarro And
his companions who went in the direction of Tustepec to 316
look for gold and examine the mines. Pizarro returned to 317
make his report to Cortés accompanied by one soldier only, and he brought with him over one thousand pesos in grains of gold taken from the mines, and said that in the province of Tustepec and Malinaltepec and other neighbouring districts, he went to the rivers accompanied by many people who were sent with him, and they gathered a third part of the gold that he had brought, and they went high up in the hills to another province, that of the Chinantecs, and that when they reached their land, many Indians came out to meet them with arms, which were lances, much better than those we had, and bows and arrows and shields, and they said that not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them, but that the Teules should pass in and be welcome; so they went on, and the Mexicans were left behind and did not go any further. As soon as the Caciques of Chinanta understood what they had come for, they got together a large number of their people to wash for gold, and they took them to some rivers where they collected the rest of the gold which he had brought in twisted grains, and the miners said those were the most lasting mines as the gold was formed there. Captain 648
Pizarro also brought two Caciques from that country who came to offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to secure our friendship they even brought a present of gold. One and all of those chieftains said many evil things of the Mexicans, who were so greatly hated in those provinces for the robberies they committed that they [the Chinantecs] could not bear the sight of them or the mention of their names.

Cortés received Pizarro and the chieftains whom he brought with cordiality, and he accepted the present which they gave him, (as it was so many years ago I cannot

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648 remember its value,) and with agreeable speeches he promised to be a friend to the Chinantecas and to assist them. Then he told them to go back to their country, and, so that they should not be molested by the Mexicans on the road, he ordered two Mexican Chieftains to conduct them back to their country and not to leave them until they had seen them in safety; so they went away well contented.

600 To return to our story; Cortés, asked about the other soldiers whom Pizarro had taken in his company, namely, Barrientos and Heredia the elder and Escalona the younger, and Cervantes the Jester, and Pizarro replied that as that seemed to be a very good country and rich in mines, and the towns through which he passed were very peaceful, he ordered them to make a large farm of cacao and maize, and other farms besides for cotton, and told them to collect there many of the birds of the country, and that from that place they should go and examine all the rivers and see what mines there were. Although Cortés said nothing at the time, he was not pleased at his relation for having exceeded his instructions, and we heard that privately he scolded him well about it, and said that he was a poor character to wish to be employed about such things as breeding birds and planting cacao,[1] and he at once sent another soldier named Alonzo Luis to summon the rest whom Pizarro had left behind. Alonzo Luis carried a peremptory order for them to return at once, and what those soldiers did I will relate further on in its proper time and place.

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[1] Cortés does not fail to take great credit to himself in regard to the formation of these plantations when writing his second letter to the Emperor.

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CHAPTER CIV.

How Cortés told the great Montezuma that he should order all his Caciques throughout the land to pay tribute to His Majesty, for it was generally known that they possessed gold, and what was done about it.

As Captain Diego de Ordás and the other soldiers already named by me, arrived with samples of gold and the report that all the land was rich, Cortés, by the advice of Ordás and the other Captains and soldiers, decided to speak to, and demand of Montezuma, that all the Caciques and towns of the land should pay tribute to His Majesty, and that he himself as the greatest Chieftain, should also contribute from his treasure. Montezuma replied that he would send to all his towns to ask for gold, but that many of them did not possess any, only some jewels of little worth which had come to them from their ancestors. He at once despatched chieftains to the places where there were mines and ordered each town to give so many ingots of fine gold, of the same size and thickness as others that they were used to pay as tribute, and the messengers carried with them as samples two small ingots. From other parts they only brought small jewels of little worth.

He also sent to the province whose Cacique and Lord was that near kinsman of his who did not wish to obey him, who has already been mentioned by me. This province was distant from Mexico about twelve leagues, and the reply the messengers brought back was to the effect that he neither wished to give any gold nor to obey Montezuma, that he also was Lord of Mexico and that the dominion belonged to him as much as to Montezuma himself, who was sending to ask him to pay tribute.

When Montezuma heard this he was so enraged that he immediately sent his seal and sign by some faithful

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651 captains with orders to bring him as a prisoner. When this kinsman was brought into Montezuma's presence he spoke to him very disrespectfully and without any fear, and very valiantly, and they say that he had intervals of madness, for he was as though thunderstruck. Cortés came to know all about this, and he sent to beg Montezuma as a favour, to give this man to him as he wished to place a guard over him, for he had been told that Montezuma had ordered him to be killed. When the Cacique was brought before him Cortés spoke to him in a most amiable manner and told him not to act like a madman against his prince, and wished to set him free. However, when Montezuma heard this he said that he should not be set free but should be attached to the great chain like the other Kinglets already named by me.

Let us go back to say that within twenty days all the chieftains whom Montezuma had sent to collect the tribute of gold, as I have already mentioned, came back again. And as they arrived Montezuma sent to summon Cortés and our captains and certain soldiers whom he knew, who belonged to his guard, and said these formal words, or others of like meaning :—

"I wish you to know, Señor Malinche and Señores Captains and soldiers, that I am indebted to your great King, and I bear him good will both for being such a great Prince and for having sent to such distant lands to make inquiries about me; and the thought that most impresses me is that he must be the one who is to rule over us, as our ancestors have told us, and as even our gods have given us to understand in the answers we have received from them. Take this gold which has been collected; on account of haste no more has been brought. That which I have got ready for the Emperor is the whole of the Treasure which I have received from my father, which is in your possession and in your apartments.

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"I know well enough that as soon as you came here you opened the chamber and beheld it all, and that you sealed it up again as it was before. When you send it to him, tell him in your papers and letters, 'This is sent to you by your true vassal Montezuma.' I will also give you some very valuable stones which you will send to him in my name; they are Chalchihuites, and are not to be given to any one else but only to him, your Great Prince. Each stone is worth two loads of gold. I also wish to send him three blow guns with their bags and pellet moulds for they have such good jewelwork on them that he will be pleased to see them, and I also wish to give him of what I possess although it is but little, for all the rest of the gold and jewels that I possessed I have given you from time to time." [411]

When Cortés and all of us heard this we stood amazed at the great goodness and liberality of the Great Montezuma, and with much reverence we all doffed our helmets, and returned him our thanks, and with words of the greatest affection Cortés promised him that he would write to His Majesty of the magnificence and liberality of this gift of gold which he gave us in his own royal name. After some more polite conversation Montezuma at once sent his Mayordomos to hand over all the treasure and gold and wealth that was in that plastered chamber, and in looking it over and taking off all the embroidery with which it was set, we were occupied for three days, and to assist us in undoing it and taking it to pieces, there came Montezuma's goldsmiths from the town named Azcapotzalco,[1] and I say that there was so much, that after it was taken to pieces there were three heaps of gold, and they weighed more than six hundred thousand pesos, as I shall tell further on, without the silver and many other rich [326]

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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000 things, and not counting in this the ingots and slabs of
[326] gold, and the gold in grains from the mines. We began to melt it down with the help of the Indian goldsmiths, who were, as I have said, natives of Azcapotzalco and they made broad bars of it, each bar measuring three fingers of the hand across. When it was already melted and made into bars, they brought another present separately which the Grand Montezuma had said that he would give, and it was a wonderful thing to behold the wealth of gold and the richness of the other jewels that were brought, for some of the Chalchihuites were so fine that among these Caciques they were worth a vast quantity of gold. The three blow guns with their pellet moulds, and their cover-
[532] ings of jewels and pearls, and pictures in feathers of little birds covered with pearlshell and other birds, all were of great value. I will not speak of the plumes and feathers and other rich things for I shall never finish calling them to mind.

Let me say that all the gold I have spoken about was marked with an iron stamp, which had been made by order of Cortés and the King's Officers, who had been appointed by Cortés with the consent of all of us and in the name of His Majesty until he should give other instructions. At that time these were Gonzalo Mejía, who was treasurer, and Alonzo Dávila who was accountant, and the stamp was the royal arms like those on a real[1] and the size of a testoon.[2] The mark was not put on the rich jewels which it did not seem to us should be taken to pieces.

For weighing all these bars of gold and silver, and the jewels which were not taken to pieces, we had neither marked weights nor scales, and it seemed to Cortés and to

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[1] Real, a small silver coin.

[2] "Toston de a quatro," a half peso = four reals.

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these same officers of His Majesty's treasury that it would be as well to make some iron weights, some as much as an arroba,[1] others of half an arroba, two pounds, one pound and half a pound, and of four ounces, and so many ounces, and this not that it would turn out very exact, but within half an ounce more or less in each lot that was weighed.

After the weight was taken the officers of the King said that there was of gold, both that which was cast in bars as well as grains from the mines, and in ingots and jewels, more than six hundred thousand pesos, and this was without counting the silver and many other jewels which were not yet valued.

Some soldiers said that there was more. As there was now nothing more to do than to take out the royal fifth, and to give to each captain and soldier his share, and to set aside the shares of those who remained at the port of Villa Rica, it seems that Cortés endeavoured not to have it divided up so soon, but to wait until there was more gold, and there were good weights, and proper accounts of how it turned out. But most of us captains and soldiers said that it should be divided up at once, for we had seen that at the time when the pieces were given out of the Treasury of Montezuma, there was much more gold in the heaps, and that a third part of it was missing, which they had taken and hidden both on behalf of Cortés, as well as of the Captains and the Fraile de la Merced, and it went on diminishing. In consequence of much argument what was left was weighed out, and they found over 600,000 pesos without the jewels and slabs, and next day they were to distribute the shares, and I will tell how it was divided, and the greater part remained with Captain Cortés and other persons, and what was done about it I will go on to relate.

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[1] An arroba=25 lbs.

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CHAPTER CV.

How the gold which we had obtained was divided, both that which was given by the Great Montezuma, as well as that which had been collected from the towns, and what happened to a soldier about it.

FIRST of all the royal fifth was taken out, then Cortés said that they should take out for him another fifth, the same as for His Majesty, for we had promised it to him at the sand-dunes when we elected him Captain General and Chief Justice, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that matter. After that, he said that he had been put to certain expenses in the Island of Cuba and that what he had spent on the expedition should be taken from the heap, and in addition to this that there should be taken from the same heap the expenses incurred by Diego Velásquez in the ships which we had destroyed, and we all agreed to it, and beside this the expenses of the procurators who were sent to Spain. Then there were the shares of those who remained in Villa Rica, and there were seventy of them, and for his horse that had died, and for the mare which had belonged to Juan Sedeño which the Tlaxcalans had killed with a sword cut; then for the Fraile de la Merced, and the priest Juan Díaz and the Captains and for those who had brought horses, double shares, and for musketeers and crossbowmen the same, and other trickeries, so that very little was left to each as a share, and it was so little that many of the soldiers did not want to take it, and Cortés was left with it all. At that time we could do nothing but hold our tongues, for to ask for justice in the matter was useless. There were other soldiers who took their shares at the rate of one hundred pesos and clamoured for the rest, and to content them Cortés secretly gave to one and

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the other, apparently bestowing favours so as to satisfy them, and with the smooth speeches that he made to them they put up with it. Let us turn to the shares which remained for those who were in Villa Rica which he ordered to be sent to Tlaxcala to be taken care of there, and as it was badly divided, so it ended [badly], as I shall relate at the proper time.

At that time many of our Captains ordered very large golden chains to be made by the Great Montezuma's goldsmiths, who I have already said had a large town of their own called Azcapotzalco, half a league from Mexico. Cortés, too, ordered many jewels made, and a great service of plate. Some of our soldiers had their hands so full, that many ingots of gold, marked and unmarked, and jewels of a great diversity of patterns were openly in circulation. Heavy gaming was always going on with some playing cards which were made from drum skins by Pedro Valenciano and were as well made and painted as the originals. So this was the condition we were in, but let us stop talking of the gold and of the bad way it was divided, and worse way in which it was spent, and say what happened to a soldier named something de Cárdenas. It seems that this soldier had been a pilot and seaman, and was a native of Triana or of that county, and the poor fellow had a wife and family at home, and as happens to many of us he was destined to remain poor, so he came to seek for a livelihood with the intention of returning to his wife and children. As he had seen so much wealth of gold in slabs and in grains from the mines, and in ingots and bars, and when it was divided up he found that they only gave him a hundred pesos, he fell ill at the thought of it through sadness. When one of his friends saw him day by day so depressed and ill, he went to see him and asked him why he was like that and sighed so much from time to time. The Pilot Cárdenas, that is the man who

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was ill, answered him: "Curse it all, have I no right to be ill, seeing that Cortés has carried off all the gold, and like a king takes a fifth, and has charged for his horse that died, and for the ships of Diego Velásquez, and for many other underhand claims, and that my wife and children die of hunger. I might have helped them when the procurators went with our letters, but we gave them all the gold and silver which we had acquired up to that time." Then his friend said to him, "How much gold had you got to send them?" and Cárdenas replied, "If Cortés would give me my share of what is due to me, my wife and children could live on it and even have to spare, but see what tricks he played us, making us sign that we would be doing a service to His Majesty by giving up our shares, and then taking out of the gold over six thousand pesos for his father Martin Cortés, besides what he hid away, while I and other poor men have been fighting by night and by day, as you have seen in the late wars in Tabasco and Tlaxcala, and in those at Cingapacinga and Cholula, and we are now in the greatest danger, looking death in the face every day should there be a rebellion in this city, in order that Cortés may carry off all the gold and take his fifth like a King."

And he said other things about it, and that we ought not to allow him to take that fifth, nor did we want so many kings, we only wanted His Majesty. His companion replied and said to him: "This anxiety is killing you, and now you can see that everything that is brought in by Montezuma and the Caciques is absorbed, by this one under his chin, by that in his pocket, and by another under his arm, and that all goes whither Cortés and his captains choose, they carry off everything even to the food. Get rid of such thoughts as these and pray God that we do not lose our lives in this city." Then the conversation ended, but it reached the ears of Cortés, and as they told him that

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many of the soldiers were discontented over their share of the gold and the way the heaps had been robbed, he determined to make a speech to them all with honeyed words, and he said that all he owned was for us, and he did not want the fifth but only the share that came to him as Captain General, and that if any one had need of anything he would give it to him, and that the gold we had collected was but a breath of air, that we should observe what great cities there were there and rich mines, and that we should be lords of them all and very prosperous and rich, and he used other arguments very well expressed which he knew well how to employ. In addition to this he secretly gave to some of the soldiers jewels of gold and to others he made great promises, and he ordered that the food brought by Montezuma's stewards should be divided among all the soldiers so that he and all of them should share alike. In addition to this he called Cárdenas apart and flattered him with words and promised to send him back to Spain to his wife and children in the first ship that should sail, and he gave him three hundred dollars, and this contented him. I will stop here and will relate in its proper place what happened to Cárdenas when he went to Spain, and how he was very hostile to Cortés in the affairs that were brought before His Majesty.

CHAPTER CVI.

How Juan Velásquez de Leon and the Treasurer, Gonzalo Mejía, had words about the gold that was missing from the heaps before it was melted down, and what Cortés did about it.

As all men in general covet gold, and the more they have the more they want, it happened that as many known pieces of gold were missing from the heaps already mentioned by me, and at the same time Juan Velásquez de

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680 Leon employed Indians of Azcapotzalco, (who were all of them goldsmiths to the Great Montezuma,) to make him large gold chains and pieces of plate for his table service, Gonzalo Mejía, who was treasurer, told him privately to deliver them to him as they had not paid the fifth and were known to belong to the treasure that Montezuma had presented. Juan Velásquez de Leon who was a great favourite with Cortés replied that he was not going to give up anything, and that he had not taken anything from what had been collected, nor from any one else, only what Cortés had given him before the bars were cast. Gonzalo Mejía answered him that what Cortés had hidden and taken from his companions was more than enough, and that, as treasurer, he demanded much gold which had not paid the royal fifth. From words to words they lost control of themselves and drew their swords, and if we had not quickly separated them, both of them would there have ended their lives, for they were men of much merit and brave fighters, and they came out of it wounded, each with two wounds. When Cortés heard of it, he ordered them to be put in prison, and each one to be attached to a heavy chain, and it appears from what many soldiers reported that Cortés said privately to Juan Velásques de Leon that, as he was a great friend of his, he should remain a prisoner for two days tied to this same chain, and that he would release Gonzalo Mejía as he was treasurer. Cortés did this to prove to all the captains and soldiers that he would do justice and that although Juan Velásquez was hand and glove with him, he would keep him prisoner. Many other things happened with regard to Gonzalo Mejía, who told Cortés that he had taken on the sly much of the gold that was missing, and that all the soldiers were complaining of it to him as the treasurer, and they wanted to know why he did not demand restitution from the Captain; but because it is all a very long story I will omit it, and I will go on

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now to tell how Juan Velásquez de Leon was imprisoned in a hall near to Montezuma's chamber, and attached to a heavy chain. Juan Velásquez was a man of great stature and very strong, and when he moved about the hall he dragged the chain after him and it made a great noise, and Montezuma heard it and asked of his page Orteguilla who it was that Cortés held a prisoner in chains; the page replied that it was Juan Velásquez who had formerly been the guard over his person, (for at that time he was no longer Captain of the Guard but Cristóbal de Olid), and Montezuma asked what was the reason of his imprisonment, and the page told him that it was on account of some gold that was missing.

That same day Cortés went to pay his court to Montezuma, and after the usual civilities and some conversation had passed, Montezuma asked Cortés, why he made a prisoner of Juan Velásquez, seeing that he was such a good and valiant captain; for, as I have said before, Montezuma knew us all and even our characters. Cortés answered half laughingly, that Juan Velásquez was touched, which means mad, because they had not given him much gold, and he wished to go to Montezuma's towns and cities and demand it from the Caciques, and so as to prevent him killing any one he had put him in prison.

Montezuma replied that he begged Cortés to release him and send him to look for more gold, and said that he would give him some of his own. Cortés pretended that it went against the grain with him to release him, but at last he said that to please Montezuma it should be done, and he sentenced him to be banished from the camp and to go to a town named Cholula with some of Montezuma's messengers to seek for gold. First of all Juan Velásquez and Gonzalo de Mejía were reconciled. I noticed that he [Juan Velásquez] returned from his banishment within six days, and brought more gold with him, and that from that

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time on Gonzalo Mejía and Cortés were not very good friends. I have called all this to mind although it is outside my story, so that one may see that Cortés, under colour of doing justice, so that we should fear him, was full of craftiness, and I will leave off here.

CHAPTER CVII.

How the Great Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and what Cortés answered. *Nevertheless he took* her and they served and honoured her as was becoming to the daughter of such a Prince.

I HAVE many times said that Cortés and all of us always endeavoured to please and serve Montezuma and to pay him court. One day Montezuma said, "Look here, Malinche, I love you so much that I want to give you one of my daughters, who is very beautiful, so that you can marry her and treat her as your legitimate wife"; Cortés doffed his cap in thanks, and said that it was a great favour that Montezuma was conferring on him, but that he was already married and had a wife, and that among us we were not permitted to have more than one wife, he would however keep her [Montezuma's daughter] in the rank to which the daughter of so great a prince was entitled, but that first of all he desired her to become a Christian, as other ladies, the daughters of Chieftains, already were; and to this Montezuma consented.

The Great Montezuma always showed his accustomed good will to us, but from one day to the other he never ceased his sacrifices at which human beings were killed, and Cortés tried to dissuade him from this but met with no success. So Cortés took counsel with his captains as to what should be done in the matter, for he did not dare to put an end to it for fear of a rising in the City and of the

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priests who were in charge of Huichilobos. The advice that the captains and soldiers gave about this was, that he should pretend that he wished to go and throw down the Idols from the lofty temples of Huichilobos, and that if we saw that they intended to defend them, and were going to rise in revolt, that we should then demand permission to set up an altar inside the Great Cue, and place a Crucifix there and an image of Our Lady. When this was settled Cortés went to the Palace where Montezuma was imprisoned and took seven captains and soldiers with him, and said to Montezuma: "Señor, I have often asked you not to sacrifice any more human beings to your gods who are deceiving you, and you will not cease doing it, I wish you to know that all my companions and these captains who are with me have come to beg you to give them leave to remove the gods from your temple and put our Lady Santa Maria and a Cross in their place, and, if you will not give them leave now, they will go and remove them, and I would not like them to kill any priests."

When Montezuma heard those words and saw that the Captains were rather angry, he said, "Oh! Malinche, how can you wish to destroy the city entirely! for our gods are very angry with us, and I do not know that they will stop even at your lives, what I pray you to do for the present is to be patient, and I will send to summon all the priests and I will see their reply." When Cortés heard this he made a sign that he wished to speak quite privately to Montezuma without the presence of the captains whom he had brought in his company, so he ordered them to go out and leave him alone. When they had left the hall he said to Montezuma, that in order to prevent this affair from becoming known and causing a disturbance and becoming an offence to the priests on account of their Idols being overturned, that he would arrange with these Captains to the effect that they should do nothing of the sort, provided

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797 they were given an apartment in the Great Cue where they might make an altar on which to place the Image of Our Lady and set up a Cross, and that as time went on it would be made plain how good and advantageous it was for their souls, and for giving them health and good harvests and prosperity. Then Montezuma, with sighs and a very sorrowful countenance, said that he would confer with his priests. After much discussion had taken place about it, on the [1] day of the month of [1] in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen, this was done and our altars and an image of Our Lady and a Cross were set up, apart from their curséd Idols, with great reverence and with thanks to God from all of us, and the Padre de la Merced chanted Mass, assisted by the priest Juan Díaz and many of our soldiers. Our captain ordered an old soldier to be stationed there as guardian, and begged Montezuma to order the priests not to touch the altar, but only to keep it swept and to burn incense and keep wax candles burning there by day and night, and to decorate it with branches and flowers.

I will leave off here and say what it led to.

CHAPTER CVIII.

How the great Montezuma told our Captain Cortés to leave Mexico with all his soldiers, for all the Caciques and priests wanted to rise and wage war on us until they killed us, for so it had been decreed and advised by their Idols, and what Cortés did about it.

000 THERE was never a time when we were not subject to surprises of such a kind, that had our Lord God not assisted us, they would have cost us our lives. Thus as

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[1] Blank spaces in the original.

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Thus As
soon as we had placed the image of Our Lady and the 787
Cross on the Altar which we had made on the Great Cue and the Holy Gospel had been preached and Mass said, it seems that Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca spoke to the priests, and told them that they wished to leave their country as they were so badly treated by the Teules, and they did not wish to stay where those figures and the Cross had been placed, nor would they remain there unless we were killed, and this was their answer and they need not expect any other, and they should inform Montezuma and all his Captains, so that they might at once go to war and kill us. The Idols further told them that they could see how all the gold that used to be kept for their honour, had been broken up by us and made into ingots, and let them beware how we were making ourselves lords over the country, and were holding five great Caciques prisoners, and they told them of other misdeeds so as to induce them to attack us. In order that Cortés and all of us 880
should know about this, the Great Montezuma sent word to tell Cortés that he wished to speak to him on very important matters, and the page Orteguilla came and said to him that Montezuma was very sad and much disturbed, and that during the previous night and part of the day many priests and leading Captains had been with him and had said things to him privately that he [the page] could not understand.

When Cortés heard this he went in haste to the palace where Montezuma was staying and took with him Cristóval de Olid, who was Captain of the Guard, and four other Captains and Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, and, after they had paid much respect to him, Montezuma said: "Oh! Señor Malinche and Captains, how distressed I am at the reply and command which our Teules have given to our priests and to me and all my Captains, which is that we should make war on you and

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kill you, and drive you back across the sea. I have thought it over, and what seems to me best is that you should at once leave this city before you are attacked, and that not one of you should remain here. This, Señor Malinche, I say that you should not fail to do, for it is to your interest, if not you will be killed, remember it is a question of your lives." Cortés and our Captains felt grief at what he said and were even a good deal disquieted, and it was not to be wondered at, the affair coming so suddenly and with such insistence that our lives were at once placed in the greatest danger by it, for the warning was given us with the greatest urgency. Cortés replied that he thanked Montezuma sincerely for the warning, and that at the present time there were two things that troubled him, one was that he had no vessels in which to sail, for he had ordered those in which he had come to be broken up, and the other was that Montezuma would be forced to come with us so that our Great Emperor might see him, and that he begged as a favour that he would place restraint on his priests and captains while three ships were being built at the sand dunes, as it would be more advantageous to them, for if they began the war they would all of them be killed.

He also asked, so that Montezuma might see that he wished to carry out what he had said without delay, that carpenters might be sent with two of our soldiers who were great experts in shipbuilding, to cut wood near to the sand dunes.

Montezuma was even more sorrowful than before because Cortés told him that he would have to come with us before the Emperor; he said that he would send the carpenters, and that they should hurry and not waste time in talk, but work, and that meanwhile he would command the priests and captains not to ferment disturbances in the city and he would order Huichilobos to

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be appeased with sacrifices, but not of human lives. After this exciting conversation Cortés and his captains took leave of Montezuma, and we were all in the greatest anxiety wondering when they would begin the attack.

Then Cortés ordered Martin López, the ship carpenter, to be summoned and Andrés Nuñez, and the Indian carpenters whom the Great Montezuma had given him and after some discussion as to the size of the three vessels to be built he ordered him at once to set about the work and to get them ready, for in Villa Rica there was everything necessary in the way of iron and blacksmiths, tackle, tow, and calkers and pitch. So they set out and cut the wood on the coast near Villa Rica, and in haste began to build the ships.

What were the instructions given by Cortés to Martin López I do not know, and I say this because the historian Gomara in his history says that he ordered him to make a show, as though it were all a farce of building them, merely so that Montezuma should hear of it. I will defer to what those say who, thank God, are still alive to this day; moreover, Martin Lopez told me in secret that he really worked at them with all speed and left three ships in the dockyard.

Let us leave him building the ships and say how we all went about in that city very much depressed, fearing that at any moment they might attack us; and our friends from Tlaxcala and Doña Marina also told the captain that an attack was probable, and Orteguilla, Montezuma's page, was always in tears. We all kept on the alert and placed a strong Guard over Montezuma, I say that we were on the alert, but there is no necessity to repeat it so often, for neither by day or night did we ever take off our arms or our gorgets or leggings, and we slept in them. May be some will ask when we slept and what our beds were like,—they were nothing but a little straw and a mat, and

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if one had a curtain, he placed it beneath him, and we slept shod and armed and with all our weapons to hand. The horses stood saddled and bridled all day long, and everything so fully prepared that on a call to arms we stood as though we had already been posted and were waiting for it. Sentinels were posted every night, and there was not a soldier who did not keep watch. There is another thing I must say, but not with the intention of boasting about it, that I grew so accustomed to go about armed, and to sleep in the way I have said, that after the conquest of New Spain I kept to the habit of sleeping in my clothes and without a bed, and I slept thus better than on a mattress.

Now when I go to the towns of my *encomienda* I do not take a bed, and if sometimes I do take one with me, it is not that I want it, but because some gentlemen may happen to go with me, and I do not wish them to think that I have not brought a bed because I do not possess a good one, but in truth I always lie on it dressed. There is another thing I must say. I am only able to sleep for a short time of a night, and have to get up and look at the heavens and the stars, and have to walk about for a time in the dew, and this I do without putting a cap or handkerchief on my head, and I am so used to it that thank God it does me no harm. I have said all this that it may be known how we the true conquistadores lived, and how accustomed we became to our arms and to keeping watch.

Let us stop speaking of this, for I am wandering from my story, and say how our Lord Jesus Christ always showed us many favours and how, in the Island of Cuba, Diego Velásquez was hastening on his armada as I shall go on to relate, and how at this very time a Captain named Pánfilo de Narvaez was setting out for New Spain.

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[Since the whole volume is an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and is therefore a historical document, this source has not been marked for category 175 (Recorded History). Researchers are referred to cateogyr 116.]

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MAYA, NAHUATL, AND TARASCAN KINSHIP TERMS

By PAUL RADIN

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THE MAYA, Nahuatl, and Tarascan kinship terms presented below were extracted from the works of Spanish authors, as the citations will show. This work was financially supported by the New York Academy of Sciences.

Maya Kinship Terms[1]

M
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yum. Father.
naa. Mother.

*zucum. Father's father.
*mam. Mother's father.
mim. Father's mother.
chich. Mother's mother.

*zucum. Older brother.
cic. Older sister.
ich. Uterine sibling.

ɔeyún. Father's brother.
ixcit. Father's sister.
acan. Mother's brother.
ɔena. Mother's sister.

caazucum. Male cousin.
caacic. Female cousin.

icham. Husband.

*hazn. Wife's father.
nohyum. Husband's father.
ixhaan. Wife's mother.
nohcó. Husband's mother.

mú. Spouse's brother.
bal. Wife's brother.

hachil. Child's parents-in-law.

*mehen. Son, man's brother's child.
ixmehen. Daughter.

i. Son's child.
abil. Daughter's child.
*ixin. Son's son.
*mam. Daughter's son.

*ixin. Younger brother.
*ixin. Younger sister.

*mehen. Brother's child.
*mehen. Woman's sister's child.
achak. Sister's child.
al. Woman's brother's daughter.

*mam. Father's brother's child.

atan. Wife.

*haan. Son-in-law.
ilib. Daughter-in-law.

haauan. Woman's sister-in-law.

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* Indicates that the term is used elsewhere in the system.
[1] From Beltrán, Arte del Idioma Maya, 1742.

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NAHUATL KINSHIP TERMS[2]

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tatli. Father.
mantli. Mother.

tepil-(tzin). Son.
noconeuh. Son.
yacapantli. Daughter.
teconeuh. Daughter.

colli. Grandfather.
citli. Grandmother.

*yxuiuhtli. Grandson.
teixuih. Granddaughter.

*teachcauh. Older brother.
*teueltiuh. Older sister.

*teiccauh. Younger brother.
*teicu. Younger sister.

tlatli. Uncle.
auitl. Aunt.

*yxuiuhtli. Father's brother's son.

teixuiuh. Father's brother's daughter.

*teachcauh. Older male cousin except father's brother's son.
*teueltiuh. Older female cousin except father's brother's daughter.
*teiccauh. Younger male cousin except father's brother's son.
*teicu. Younger female cousin except father's brother's daughter.

teoquichui. Husband.

teciuauh. Wife.

montatli. Wife's father.
monnantli. Wife's mother.
textli. Wife's brother.

montli. Son-in-law.
ciua-montli. Daughter-in-law.
vezuatli. Husband's sister.

vepulli, Husband's brother, wife's sister.

TARASCAN KINSHIP TERMS[3]

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*tata. Father.
nana. Mother.

*vuache. Son.
vuache cuzareti. Daughter.

cura. Grandfather.

nimatequa. Grandchild, older brother's grandchild.

cucu. Grandmother.

*yhtza. Older son's daughter.

vreti. Older brother and sister.
mimi. Older brother.
pipi. Older sister.

*vuengamberi. Brother.
*vuengamberi. Sister.
vuece. Sister.

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[2] From Molina, Vocabulario de la Lengua Mexicana, 1571.
[3] From Gilberti, Diccionario de la Lengua Tarasca, 1559.

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*tata. Father's brother.
auita. Father's brother.
papa. Mother's brother.
vaua. Father's sister.
tzitzi. Mother's sister.

auitaequaro vauche. Older brother's son.
*yhtza. Older sister's son.

*vuache. Parent's brother's child.
*yhtza. Parent's sister's child.

In addition to the above, the term for cousin is given in a descriptive manner, simply as son or daughter of my uncle or aunt.

minguarehpeti. Husband.

minguarecata. Wife.
quahchacucata. Wife.

tarascue. Wife's parent.

ytsicue. Husband's brother.
yuscue. Wife's brother, husband's sister.

tuuiscue. Wife's sister.

Christ College,
Cambridge, England.

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THE METAL INDUSTRY OF THE AZTECS

By GEORGE BRINTON PHILLIPS

I

121 THE collections of many thousand copper objects, tools,
325 weapons, and ornaments from ancient Indian burial mounds and village sites in the Unites States of North America is strong evidence in favor of a pre-Columbian copper industry with which the aborigines were familiar before they reached the Iron Age. Did this knowledge and use of copper extend into Mexico and adjacent country of Central America?

325 Prescott in his *Conquest of Mexico* gives a picturesque account of the splendors of the court of the Montezumas with its silver and gold ornaments and utensils, but the knowledge of metals does not seem to have extended to the general use of copper or bronze for tools and weapons. The Aztec in the production of ornaments in the precious metal showed great skill and artistic workmanship and specimens sent over to Spain were greatly admired by the Spanish goldsmiths. Owing to scarcity of copper [412] in their immediate vicinity, the ancient Mexicans confined its use to adze blades, chisels and some copper objects, possibly ceremonial implements. The tools were hardened by hammering and used in wood carving. The stone cutting it is believed was still done with flint tools.

317 Copper was obtained from the mines of Zocotallan where it
325 occurred in masses on the surface and also from the galleries opened in the rock. Ancient workings have been discovered at Cerro del Aguilar in Guerrero, and the Zapotec country was well known for its copper mines. Deposits of tin were also found in Guerrero at the mines of Tasco, and it is said that Cortez obtained enough tin from that source with the copper to cast several large cannon, which he used in his fortress at the siege of Mexico. This use of tin in making a suitable alloy it is believed was due to the familiarity the Spaniards had of bronze, rather than to Aztec knowledge of the art.

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NU7 Aztec NU7

Tarasco N434

Zapotec N444

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones." A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

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NU7 Aztec NU7

325 copper ore. A chisel reported in the "Anales del Museo de Mexico" quoted by Sir John Evans, in his *Ancient Mexican Implements* when analyzed gave copper 97.87%, tin 2.13%, not sufficient to make a true bronze. Copper axes from Oaxaca, some heavy metal, apparently cast in a mould, others thin, shaped from sheet copper, have been analyzed and yielded only copper, showing they were *not* bronze.

A recent analysis was made for the writer of a portion of a metal chisel of Aztec origin from the village of Acatlan, in the State of Guerrero, Mexico. It was doubtless authentic being sent by Dr. Manuel Gamio, Direccion Anthropologia, Mexico, for analysis, which was made by Dr. D. L. Wallace of the University of Pennsylvania, Analytical Department. The piece of metal apparently broken from the middle of the chisel weighed 88 gms. It was 30 mm. long, 20 mm. wide and 15 mm. thick. It had a brown patina of oxidation, gave clean metal borings (used in the analysis) of dark red bronze color, and had the appearance of having been cast in an open mould. The specific gravity of the metal was 8.00 compared with Lake Superior native copper 7.50. The analyses yielded results as follows:

Copper	91.40%
Tin	3.07%
Lead	0.82%
Iron	0.53%
Cobalt	0.09%
Sulphur	0.82%
	96.73%
Thallium	?

Other metals often associated with Copper were tested for and not found, but tests indicated Thallium. This element Thallium occurs in some copper ores in Mexico as the mineral Crookesite, a copper Thallium selenite sulphide; and it is believed the portion unaccounted for in the analysis was due to the Thallium. [317]

325 The little copper bells in the Museum collections seem to have
301 been found in Mexican sites as well as in Central America, and are quite abundant in some localities. Some of these bells were about one half to three-quarters of an inch long, others of more than two inches and of different shape.

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S. G. Morley in his description of Copan says:

"The discovery of copper bells of Mexican origin at a number of archeaological sites in Arizona and New Mexico clearly point to trade relations between the Pueblo Indians and the tribes of Central America in pre-Columbian times; these bells very closely resemble the copper bells found in the sacred Cenates of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, which can hardly have been carried there before 1200 A. D. [439]

Analysis has proved these metal bells to be copper with some little impurities; and it is believed they were cast by what is known as the *cire perdue* process. This method consists in using a wax model, or a core of clay covered with a wax pattern, the mould being heated, the wax melted and ran out, leaving the shape of the object to be cast, which was then filled with the melted metal. This is interesting because this process was well known to the makers of bronze ornaments in Europe, and it is a question if these little bells found in the Aztec or Maya burials were made by the *cire perdue* process; was it a discovery by the American race independent of foreign knowledge? 171 321

This might suggest a greater antiquity for this art of casting than that in Europe and would show a considerable amount of experience in metallurgy for the aborigines, and it is surprising that more elaborate objects were not made by them. Judging from the character and variety of cast objects of bronze from South America, the ancient Peruvians were familiar with the *cire perdue* method. Did the Inca discover it? They were certainly the earliest users of the alloy bronze in America with the exception of the unknown builders of Tiahuanaco, among whose ruins have been found bronze tools. With regard to the knowledge the Aztecs had of bronze, it is difficult to establish their claim until more analyses are made of specimens of undoubted Mexican origin, indicating an alloy with a composition of about 90% copper and 10% tin. The following analyses by P. Rivet, taken from his contribution in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* show to what extent tin was used by the Aztecs in their metal objects. 325

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Objects from Mexico

Locality	*Object*	*Copper*	*Tin*
Valley of Mexico	Chisel	97.87%	2.13%
Atotonilco	Hatchet	98.05%	1.91%
Tlaxiaco	"	99.61%	0.17%
Tlacolula	"	Copper	No tin
Oaxaca	"	"	"
Mexican	Bell	"	"

Other metal objects of Mexican origin yielded thus:

Currency hatchets	25 samples	All copper	No tin
Knife hatchets	5 "	"	"
Flat hatchets	7 "	"	"
Chisels	8 "	"	"
[41] Hatchets	13 "	3 samples with no tin	
Lance points	7 "	1 " " " "	
Bells	26 "	Copper " "	

Some 28 objects, when analyzed, showed the presence of tin was intentional. Punches, lance points and needles were bronze, while money hatchets, and thin hatchet blades contained no tin. Of 108 samples of metals analyzed, only 38 contained tin. Lance points and chisel hatchets had from 2.13% to 3.4% tin. Two specimens of hatchets contained 9.3% of tin. But it is a question, were they of pre-Columbian origin or made *after* the arrival of the Spaniards?

From the analyses of the Mexican metal objects it is evident that tin was not generally employed for obtaining a hard alloy, which required about 10%. The small amount of tin usually found would rather indicate an accidental impurity in the copper than an intentional ingredient in the alloy.

That the ancient Mexicans or Aztec people were familiar with the metallurgy of gold, silver and copper, the process of hammering, fusing and casting, there is no doubt, and that they understood soldering and even the plating of gold and silver on copper is suggested by the specimens in the museum collections.

The Bronze Age as determined by analyses of the specimens described, is still a matter of doubt for the Aztec, and must

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remain an open question until it can be decided by finding more specimens of recognized bronze composition, and of undoubted Mexican manufacture of pre-Columbian date.

II

MA 325

The Maya were in the Stone Age in pre-Columbian times, although in the latter part of the Second Empire, they seem to have developed a knowledge of working the precious metals and copper; possibly this was due to the facility of obtaining copper and other metals from the neighboring provinces of Mexico with whom they traded. Copper objects said to be from Central America are not numerous in our museums, and although the old Spanish writers speak of "Bronze" it is doubtful if they knew the chemical composition of that metal and how it differed from Copper. Some metal specimens from Central America have been analysed. Small bells, needles and figurines from Chiriqui proved to be copper with no tin. Some bells contained 80% of Copper and 20% of gold. Of course none of these were Bronze. Some little bells from Bolivia and Argentina analysed Copper 99.35% and Tin 0.65%. The tin doubtless was an impurity in the Copper.

MA [439]
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Another metal object said to be found in Central America is a T-shaped implement like those common in Mexico. A specimen said to be of Maya origin from the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, when analysed, proved to be simply *Copper*. A small copper bell from Yucatan upon analysis gave;

Mi MA 325 171

Copper	97.00%
Tin	.34%
Lead	1.00
Iron	.07%
	98.41%

A small bell from a cenote at Chichen Itza, Yucatan, yielded:[1]

Copper	98.44%
Iron	0.78%
Nickel	trace
	99.22%

[1] Analyses made at University of Pennsylvania by Dr. D. L. Wallace.

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NU7 Aztec
MAYA NU4
Bolivian Prehistory SF4

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The effigy of a Jaguar from a sacrificial deposit at Chichen Itza gave:[1]

Copper	60.00%
Gold	35.00%
Silver	3.00%
Iron	0.40%
	98.40%

Some metal objects from Tiahuanaco gave interesting results:[2]

Object	Copper	Tin	Iron
Knife	93.80%	6.17%	0
"	96.44%	2.93%	0
Chisel	96.99%	2.51%	0.30%
Hatchet	95.92%	3.27%	0
Pin	91.41%	7.70%	0.41%
Clamp	95.65%	0	1.63%

The following are from the Island of Titicaca:[3]

Object	Copper	Tin	
Hatchet	90.00%	10.02%	True Bronze
Chisel	Copper	None	
"	90.51%	8.92%	True Bronze
Knife	90.00%	9.12%	Bronze
"	97.60%	3.06%	
Drill	94.81%	7.56%	Bronze
Needle	96.00%	4.00%	

These analyses of tools from Tiahuanaco, and the Island of Titicaca are instructive, for they show that while the other nations (with the exception of the Inca) in South America, were undoubtedly in the Stone Age, the builders of Tiahuanaco it seemed had advanced into the Bronze Age and produced tools and implements of that metal.

MA
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With regard to the Maya civilization it certainly had reached a triumph of architecture and sculpture, but there is little to

[1] Analyses taken from Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris.

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NU7 Aztec
MAYA NV4
Middle American Civilization NY1

show it had reached the Bronze Age. It is doubtful if any specimens of metal work have been found from the First Empire, and such metal objects as have been claimed by the Second Empire may be the copper tools or implements made from the Copper of Oaxaca, Mexico, and possibly were fashioned by the ancient Aztec people.

MA 325

The surprising part of the massive and highly decorated stone structures in Central America, is their elaborate and artistic ornamentation as well as the skill required in quarrying large blocks of stone and joining them together with the cabinet-maker's *accuracy*, and all this with *stone tools*.

Mi 324

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ON THE

ART OF WAR AND MODE OF WARFARE

OF THE

ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By AD. F. BANDELIER.

114 Not only the history of Ancient Mexico, but the true condition and degree of culture of its aboriginal inhabitants, are yet but imperfectly known. Nearly all architectural remains have disappeared; the descendants of the former aborigines have modified their plan of life, and we are almost exclusively reduced, for our knowledge of Mexican antiquities, to the printed and written testimony of those who saw Indian society at Mexico either at the time of, or not too long after, its downfall. But these authors, whether eye-witnesses of the conquest, like Cortés, Bernal Diez del Castillo, Andres de Tapia, and others; or missionaries sent to New Spain at an early date,—as Toribio of Benavent (Motolinia), Sahagun or (towards the close of the 16th, or beginning of the 17th century) Acosta, Davila, Mendieta, and Torquemada,—they are sometimes, on many questions, in direct opposition to each other. Thus the uncertainty is still increased, and the most difficult critical labor heaped upon the student. Furthermore, to magnify the task, we are placed in presence of several Indian writers of the 16th and 17th centuries (like Duran, Tezozomoc, and Ixtlilxochitl), who disagree with each other on the most important questions, quite as much as the Spanish authors themselves.

114 It may appear presumptuous, while knowing of the existence of
121 such difficulties, to attempt the description of even a single feature of life of Mexico's former Indian Society. Still, while engaged upon translating the Mexican chronicle of Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc into the English language, I was so struck by the picture which, unintentionally perhaps, that author exhibits of the condition and organization of the Mexican tribe, that I could not refrain from investigating more closely several features

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114 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which
121 is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

[101] [1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Mexitla* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar. Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios-occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1615), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

[173] [3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóztoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Teoculuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 6.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (see "His-"tory of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzales de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hacklyt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."

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might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But |105
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my
"chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in
"all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my
"duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for
"many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-
"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently* given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I
"shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and
"I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this |74
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently |81
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 459). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 187 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenochtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta (Historia eclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 143. "Y luego se hicieron fuertes en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "embescadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de las Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas choças, rodeados "de carrizo, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 448. " . . . . y dividiendose una parte y otra, por toda aquella espessura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, comenzaron à buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.") [311]

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado à Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 459, 461 and 462, of Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also. [77]

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181 like customs and propensities. *War*, at first *defensive*, afterwards *offensive*, became the *life of the tribe*. Religion demanded it for its bloody rites; revenge, so deeply rooted in Indian nature, called for it at every moment. But especially was it required for the *subsistence* of the tribe, whose increasing numbers could not live from agriculture on the scanty soil allotted to them, and who, therefore, were compelled to depend upon the spoils gathered from inroads upon their neighbours. *If there was no war in progress, the Mexicans deemed themselves "idle."*[7] We may therefore presume that the military organization of the Mexicans, their preparations for warfare, and the mode of the latter, are features of
701 importance, and worthy of serious attention.

[852] Every male of the Mexican tribe was born a warrior. When still a babe his father placed alongside of the child a small bow[8] and some arrows, in token of its future duties. There was no military caste at Tenuchtitlan or Mexico; with the exception of children, old people, infirm or crippled persons, and sometimes priests, every one had to go to war. Boys fifteen years old were taken along, and in some instances it was even directed "that no "youth over fifteen years of age should remain; that all had to "go, except children and old people."[9] Thus there was no "standing army" the available force being composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe of Mexico.[10]

[7] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 32). "Pasados algunos años dijo el rey Moctezuma á "Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin general y oydor: pareceme que ha muchos dias que estamos "muy *ociosos*." This term, "idle," applies to the lack of any war, since immediately thereafter the war against Chalco was kindled by the most wanton provocation on the part of the Mexicans.

[8] Fr. X. Clavigero (Storia del Messico. Cesena, 1780. Lib. VI, cap. XXXVI). Francisco Lopez de Gomara ("Historia general de las Indias." Second part, "Conquista "de Méjico." contained in the collection of Vedia, volume I,—"This done, they put in "the right hand of the child, an arrow if a boy, a shuttle if a girl, to mark that he would "have to improve by the use of arms, and she by spinning and weaving," p. 438, Vedia, I). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 430, of Vol. II, says this was done four days after the birth of the child). Clavigero intimates that only those children "whose fathers were warriors," received the token, but this is not at all confirmed. Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España" in "Coleccion de Documentos para la "Historia de Mexico," by Señor Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1866, volume I. "Y entonces si "era varon ponianle una saeta en la mano, . . . el varon porque fuese valiente para "defender à si y á la patria, porque las guerras eran muy ordinarias cada año." Tra-
463 tado I, cap. V, p. 37). There were no hereditary professions or trades, so to say.

[9] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 141, and cap. XC, p. 158). Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. XXVI, pp. 442 and 443).

[10] What the Germans call "*Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*," existed among the Mexicans on the most extensive scale. But their forces, although always ready, never went *permanently* outside of the pueblo, for they were not numerous enough, and did not gather

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We have not the slightest reliable indication concerning the [101] *strength* and numbers of that force.[11] This point is as vague and indefinite as the number of the population of the pueblo itself. Both, being closely connected, suffer from the same contradictions and exaggerations.[12] It is true that a "guard" of 10,000 men is mentioned as having occupied always the square of the main temple ("teocalli").[13] But, aside from the grossly exaggerated numbers, "guards," in the sense of a military body doing permanent duty, were unknown to the Mexicans.[14] The scanty mention of a body guard of Montezuma appears an imaginary tale if we look for its presence where and when it should have been most conspicuous: at the meeting of Montezuma and Cortés on the causeway,[15] and when Cortés carried that chieftain away from his house as a hostage. It is an established fact, that only unarmed Indians [648] met Cortés on his entrance to Mexico, and it is equally positive, that no "guard" came to Montezuma's rescue.

stores in sufficient quantities for such a purpose. Within the pueblo of Mexico there was no need of being armed, and therefore every Mexican went unarmed in the pueblo. The "guards" of which Gomara and Bernal-Diez both speak, never existed. See Gomara ("En la ciudad nadie trae armas, ..." p. 345, vol. I, Vedia). [114]

[11] Not even Bernal-Diez contains a statement. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," Relacion XIIIa, in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, "De la venida de los Españoles," translated also into the French by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, and published under the title of "Cruautés Horribles des conquérants du Mexique," in the first series of his inestimable collection of translations) says: "the Mexicans lost over 240,000 men" during the siege of Mexico. The only reasonable approximate I found in Durán (Hist. de las Indias, etc., cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288). Before the Mexicans (including Tezcuco and Tlacopan and the others of the valley) set out against Michhuacan, in 1479, they counted their forces and found 24,000 men ("allaron que auia veinte y cuatro mil combatientes"). This is possible.

[12] The population of Mexico is variously reported. The extremes are: 60,000 *souls* ("sessanta mila habitatori") of the "Anonymous Conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Icazbalceta. Vol. I, p. 391), and 60,000 *families*. [161]

[13] The length of the walls of that square was "one cross-bow shot," after Gomara. How could 10,000 men *remain there always*, besides the priests and their numerous assistants?

[14] "Guardas" are mentioned by Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva-España" in vol. II, of Sr. Vedia's collection, cap. XCV); by Gomara (p. 342 of vol. I, Vedia). Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. VI, p. 344, vol. II), and others. But Cortés and Andrés de Tapia make no mention of them.

[15] Three eye-witnesses of that celebrated meeting have described it: Cortés ("Cartas de Relacion," in Vedia, I, "Carta Segunda," p. 25). Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 82), and Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tapia, sobre la conquista de Mexico," in vol. II, of Icazbalceta's Col. de Documentos, p. 578). Neither of them would have omitted to notice armed men among the Indians, had there been any with Montezuma.

The Mexicans, on their part, could not have failed to make an ostentatious display of armed soldiery, had they existed, when they met the armed strangers at the entrance to the pueblo.

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701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 560.) The capture of Montezuma did
[643] not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopocheo, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia
[651] says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

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When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22] 871 702

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa- 796 702

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maitres du temple et du *collège militaire*, . . . " The boy (Mexican "piltontli") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97). [561]

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España," in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "cap-"tains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness." [705]

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.) [642]

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castel-"lanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

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796 sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and
702 learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster
[72] and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlat-
702 ilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

702 These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious
726 character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding
712 temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al otro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 250 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

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public storehouses connected with the temples of each tribal subdivision.[28]

The name given to these public store-houses was "houses of darts" (tlacochcalco).[29] They were, probably, not limited to the immediate vicinity of the chief temple, but each subdivision of the pueblo had its "house of darts" as well as its central "teocalli."[30] The following description of an aboriginal Mexican "pueblo," furnished by a missionary who arrived in New-Spain as early as

712

[28] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121. Immediately preceding the foray against Xoconochco, "each day the youth went to the quarters, to practise at the school of arms, "telpuchcalco . . . . " *Idem*, cap. LXXVIII, p. 134). The *Anonymous Conqueror*, whose relation is contained in vol. I of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos." both in the original Italian taken from Ramusio ("Relatione di alcune cose della Nuova "Spagna, & Della Gran Citta di Temestitan Messico, fatta per uno Gentil' homo del "Signor Fernando Cortese"), and in the Spanish translation by the distinguished Mexican scholar, says (p. 394, "Del tempii, é Meschite che havevano"): "Before they left "(for war), they all went to the principal *mosque* ("meschita maggiore"—main teocalli) "and provided themselves with the arms stored over the main entrances" (of the square around the temple). We have few positive indications as to the true situation of the store-houses, beyond that they were probably connected with the "school, houses" ("telpuchcalco"), and therefore with the temples. Torquemada, who gives an elaborate description of the chief temple of Mexico (Lib. VIII, of 2d volume), says (Cap. XI, p. 146): "and at each one of the four entrances to the court of the temple- "there was an extensive (very large) hall, connected with numerous rooms and closets, "high as well as low, which served as houses of arms, where these were kept together "with the ammunition. For, as they regarded the temples as their strongest places, "and their retreats in case of danger, they held there their arms and means of defence." He further mentions, under the uncouth name of "Tlacochcalcoacatlyacapan," "an- "other hall . . . . Here they kept a quantity of arrows (or darts, 'saetas') which "were made every year, and there deposited until wanted." See also Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVII). Gomara (Vedia, I. "El templo de Méjico," p. 349). "At each door (of "the four) of the court of the principal temple there was a large hall surrounded by "high and low additions. These were filled with arms, like public and communal "houses, for the temples were the strongholds of each pueblo, and therefore contained "the arms and ammunition." Of course the square of the great "teocalli" of Mexico attracted principal attention.

[29] "Tlacochalco," or "Tlacochcalli," derives from "tlacochtli," dart, and "calli," house.

[30] Every author concedes that there were several "houses of arms" at Mexico. Bernal-Diez says there were two (Cap. XCI, p. 87, of vol. II, Vedia). Gomara ("Casas de armas," Vedia, I, p. 345) says: "Montezuma had some (rather 'several' 'algunas') houses of arms, whose blazon were a bow and two quivers over each door." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 186) says; "he had, not one, but many houses for the "keeping and storage of arms;" (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 197) he copies almost textually Gomara's statement about the halls over the entrances of the court to the temple of Mexico, and adds also, like Gomara, "porque los templos, aliende de que "servian de casas de Oracion, eran las Fortaleças con que en tiempo de Guerra mas se "defendian, i tenian en ellos la municion, i Almacen." Previously he says (p. 196): "There were many temples in Mexico; according to the parishes, or quarters, of which "there were many." See also Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 186): "porque tenian "muchas casas de varas con sus puntas de pedernal, etc., etc." It shows that the storehouses *were distributed over the pueblo, and not only limited to the main temple.* Cortés, when he burnt Quauhpopoca, emptied for that purpose the arsenals of the main

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712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over
361 "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great "quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places "it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of "which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking "towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at "the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, "they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and "three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness "from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and "the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to "the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content "himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in "each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were "other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes "three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are
421 often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (500 cartloads, says Tapia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX, p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello mui aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"ters (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

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Even ornaments and dresses were also preserved at some of those places.[33]

We may divide the *armament* of the Mexicans into weapons for offence and defensive armour for protection.

Among the offensive arms the *missiles* occupy the principal place, as we may infer from the general mode of Indian warfare, which consists in striking an enemy, if possible, from a distance, and with as little risk to the assailant as possible, too. *Darts* or *javelins*, *bows* and *arrows*, *slings* and *stones*, were therefore of primary importance to the Mexican warrior.

The dart or javelin ("*tlacochtli*," "*tlatzontectli*") was the main weapon of the Mexicans.[34] It consisted of a short spear made of hard and elastic canewood ("*otlatl*"), whose point, shaped after the manner of the well known arrow-head, was mostly of flint, of obsidian, and perhaps, occasionally, of copper. This point or head was inserted into the stem or rod through a slit at its end, gummed in, and fastened besides by a strong thread wound around it.[35] The javelin sometimes had two or three branches with points, so as to strike several wounds at once,[36] the warrior often had it tied to his arm by a long cord, but sometimes, also, he carried a number of darts loose.[37]

49.) Bernal-Diez says that "mayordomos" had control of the "houses of arms." (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia, II.) At their head was the "Petlacalcatl." "or man of the house of chests," from "petlacalli," chest or box made out of canes. Bernal-Diez mentions that functionary, but says they called him Tapia, his Indian title he does not remember (Cap. XCI). Each tribe subject to Mexico had a "calpixqui" residing among it.

[33] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXV, p. 35, and LXX, p. 119).

[34] Tezozomoc never mentions the bow and arrow, but always "varas tostadas," "varas arrojadiças," "tlatzontectli." Rods hardened by fire were used *once* by the Mexicans, at the time of their most abject misery, when fighting for the Culhua against Xochimilco (Clavigero, lib. II, cap. XVI). Even the poor aborigines of the Lucayos (Bahamas) used points of fish-bone, and not simply hardened points of wood. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[35] Gomara ("Conquista," p. 343. Vedia, vol. I).

[36] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[37] It would be difficult, otherwise, to account for the number of darts "spent" in the engagements, had each warrior carried but one javelin. Torquemada (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 43) mentions a sort of cross-bow (ballesta), which he calls "atlatl," by the means of which they are said to have sped their darts ("que tiraban con cierto artificio, que llamaron Atlatl"). "Atlatl," however, means a strap ("amiento") fastening the helmet around the chin. Mendieta says: "Al principio jugaban de hondas y varas "como dardos que sacaban con jugaderas y las tiraban muy recias." "Jugadera" means a shuttle. In his note to Durán (Cap. IV, p. 31), "inventando aquel modo de ar-"mas y varas arrojadizas que llamamos flegas." Señor Ramirez says: "Refiérese pro-"bablemente al arma Mexicana llamada Atlatl, especie de ballesta, que segun la tradi-"cion fué inventada en Tacubaya . . . ." "Flega" is a trident or harpoon. The use of the cross-bow, therefore, by the Mexicans, as the term "ballesta" implies, while

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411 Bows and arrows were used, probably, by every warrior, but they were a less *convenient* weapon than the simple dart.[38] The bow ("*tlauitolli*")[39] was made of the same wood as the stem of the javelins ("otlatl"), its length varied according to the tribes, but those of the Mexicans were short.[40] The chord was made [237] out of the hair or sinews of deer. The arrow ("*mitl*") needs no description. Sometimes it was with several branches or heads. They carried the arrows in quivers suspended from the shoulder. Poisoned arrows were not in use among the Mexicans.[41]

Last among the missiles, though not least in importance, were pebbles and stones, thrown by slings or by hand.[42] The store-

we shall not deny it, appears to us not yet established as a fact. They may have had something similar to it, however, but it was no commonly used weapon, and we would beg to suggest that the "invention" of the "atlatl" at Tacubaya relates, not to the cross-bow, as Sr. Ramirez indicates, but simply to the "harpoon" (fisga) or javelin fastened to its carrier by a long cord. The Mexicans, besides, had a very characteristic name for cross-bow (Molina, I, p. 116). It is "tepuztlauitolli," composed of "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "tlauitolli," bow,—*a bow of* IRON,—plainly indicating that the weapon became known to them only after or during the conquest. Gonzala Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés "Historia general y natural de Indias," written towards the middle of the 16th century, but published in full only 1853, by the Academy of Madrid, gives (Vol. III, plate I, figs. 2 and 3) a drawing of an instrument used by the Indians of Cueva (Coyba), on the Isthmus of Darien, for throwing their darts. He says (Lib. XXIX, cap. XXVI, p. 127): "In some sections of the country the Indians are warlike, in other "sections not. They hardly ever use the bow, but fight with macanas, long lances, "and with darts which they throw by means of *estóricas* (a kind of *avientos*), a well-"made wooden contrivance. With this they hurl the javelin, always keeping the 'es-"tórica' in hand." The drawing referred to represents a wooden slide, shorter than the dart itself. The latter was laid on it. On each side of the slide there was a ring through which they passed the first and second fingers, holding it between and resting it on the palm of the hand. This gave them considerable accuracy and power in throwing the dart. An uncouth but very plain representation of a similar contrivance is found on plate V to the fifth chapter of the 2d Treatise of Durán, thus showing that the "atlatl" was nothing else but Oviedo's "estórica." Furthermore, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, identifies the "atlatl" in all probability with the "throwing stick" of the Aleutians of the Northwest, and still in use among them.

[38] Although the bow and arrow are a very deadly weapon, the *dart* was most convenient, and therefore most popular among the Mexicans; at least to open the combat (Mendieta, lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[39] Molina (Vocabulario I, p. 13).

[40] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Some tribes are mentioned as using bows 5½ feet long. The natives of Tehuacan are stated to have been extraordinarily good archers (Mendieta, lib. II, pp. 135 and 131).

[41] There is no trace of poisoned arrows north of the Isthmus of Darien. (See "Re-"lacion de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla "del oro," etc., etc., "escrita por el Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya," in vol. III of "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos," by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Madrid, 1829.) Also, Pedro de Cieza, of Leon ("Crónica del Peru," in Vedia, vol. II, cap. VII. p. 361).

[42] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Stones were picked up while fighting and thrown at each other in the field. Tezozomoc mentions "stones sent off with cords" ("con cordeles"), otherwise we have no description of the sling.

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houses contained supplies of slings ("*tematlatl*"),[43] while the mis- 411
siles themselves were accumulated for defence on the flat house-tops,[44] or, in the open field, taken up "ad libitum" for aggressive use.[45]

Next in importance to the aggressive *missiles*, as weapons intended for *closer quarters*, were, to the Mexicans, the *sword* and *club*. The spear ("*tepuztopilli*"[46]) was probably not an *original* Mexican weapon, but, while they used it against the Spaniards towards the close of their defence, it still appears to have been most in use among more southerly tribes.

The *sword* ("maccuahuitl") was 3½ to 4 feet long, and 4 to 5 inches wide.[47] The anonymous conqueror says:[48] "In order to "make their swords, they cut out a blade of the shape of our *two-* "*handers*, but with a shorter hilt, and about three fingers thick. "They cut a groove along the edge, and insert into this groove a "hard stone, cutting like our blades of Toledo."[49] This stone was *obsidian* ("Iztli"), and the edge of the sword, composed of fragments "three inches long and two inches broad," became at the outset as sharp as a razor. These fragments were very firmly cemented into the wood, but, although the sword was double-edged, it soon became transformed into an ordinary club, since obsidian is very brittle, and splintered after the first heavy blows upon iron armour. At the *beginning* of an engagement, this weapon was much feared by the Spaniards.[50] The warrior carried

[43] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Motolinia (Tratado III. cap. VIII. p. 188). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII. cap. XI, p. 187). The word "tematlatl" is difficult to etymologize. It *may* derive from "Temac," *in somebody's hands*, and "atlatl," *strap*, or from "Temalli," substance or body, and "atlatl."

[44] Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXXXIII and CXXVI). Cortés (Carta. IIIa. Vedia, I, p. 41). Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 373).

[45] Cortés (Cart. IIa. Vedia, I, p. 56). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[46] From "tepustli," iron or copper, and "topilli," rod or pole. The long spears or lances were mostly used by the inhabitants of Chiapas. During the siege of Mexico, the aborigines defending it used "long lances of ours, or scythes ('dalles,' spears), "much longer than ours, from the arms which they had captured at our defeat and dis- "comfiture in Mexico" (Bernal-Diez, cap. CLI; Vedia, II, p. 178).

[47] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII and LXV). The latter calls them "espadas de dos manos."

[48] "El Conquistador Anónimo" ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, p. 373).

[49] See also Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 130). Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 188).

[50] Clavigero positively asserts that the edge was of *obsidian*, and flint could never have given such a cutting blade. Mendieta (Lib. V, Parte II, cap. VII, pp. 737 and 738) calls the sword "macana," and says it was double-edged: "cercada de navajas de piedra por ambas partes." The first blows were terrific, but only these, then the edge broke. See Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187. "I encontan las Espadas de Palo

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411 his sword attached or suspended from the wrist.[51] Clubs ("quanhololli") may have been also in use. But battle-axes, or anything like the Peruvian "chumpi," do not appear to have been known to the Mexicans.[52]

714 If now we turn to the *defensive* arms, to the *protective armour* proper, of the Mexicans, we meet in the first instance the *shield* ("chimalli"). Not the merely ornamental shields used and carried by warriors and chiefs on festive occasions only,[53] but the

"con agudos Pedernales, engeridos por los filos, . . . que dando grandes golpes no se "deshacia; cortaban en lo blando, quanto topaban, pero en lo duro resurtian, como eran "los filos muy delgados"). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). "The first blows alone "were fearful. As the edge soon wore out." (The name "Macuahuitl" may derive from "maitl," hand, and "cuahuitl," tree). The tables accompanying the work of Durán have many representations of the maccuahintl. The "handle" or hilt is usually formed by a ball or knob, sometimes by a ring.

[51] H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America. Vol. II, p. 411). If we have not heretofore quoted, and may perhaps not quote hereafter, this splendid compilation, it is merely because we revert to original authorities, and not at all out of disregard for the highly valuable assemblage of data which the distinguished author has furnished to science.

[17] [52] Mr. Bancroft has given a fine illustration of a club used by some of the Indians of the *present Republic of Mexico*. But among the Mexicans proper, the sword, "maccuahuitl," was the most common and frequently used weapon. Clavigero figures it like the blade of a saw-fish, with teeth; and Tezozomoc calls it "espadarte." But there can be no doubt that the intention of the Indians was to make a *continuous blade* (or edge), and not a *row of teeth*. (Along the sea-coast the "proboscis" of the saw-fish may have been *used occasionally as a weapon*, but it certainly never furnished a *type*.) The Peruvian "chumpi" was a peculiar weapon, and has nothing analogous elsewhere on this continent. It required both hands to wield it. An illustration of it is found in Herrera, Frontispiece to the fifth Decade, where the portraits of thirteen Yncas are given. Both Manco-Capac and Viracocha each hold a "chumpi" or spear terminating in a broad star, like the "Morgenstern" of the Swiss. Some authors persist in giving to the Mexican sword the name of "macana," but this word is not Mexican. Neither is it Carib. It was imported from the Antilles by the Spaniards, and is probably "arua." Von Tschudi "Peru, Reise-skizzen" (St. Gall, 1846) describes, vol. 2, chap. 7, p. 231, the macana still in use among the wild Indians of the Peruvian "Montañas," East of the Andes. He says: "the sword, macana, is also, like the bow, made out of the hard "chunta. This wood is dark brown, very hard and heavy. The macana is four feet "long, one inch thick, and five to six inches broad; at the handle it is only three inches "wide and rounded, both edges are as sharp as those of a sabre." The same author describes also the club, "matusino," of the same tribes. It is a rough imitation of the "chumpi" of the Incas, deer-prongs taking the places of the metallic star. Its length is about four to five feet. Durán also has drawings of a *Mexican* club, corresponding to the figure given by Mr. H. H. Bancroft.

[53] These shields, richly ornamented with featherwork, were used at great festivals, at the dances. Illustrations are given in Herrera, Frontispiece to the second Decade, in Clavigero, and especially in the "Raccolta di Mendoza," printed in Lord Kingsborough. They were frequently sent as presents, and among the presents which Cortés received while at Vera-Cruz, Gomara mentions once twenty-four, and again five, of such shields. "Cinco rodelas de pluma y plata," and "veinte y cuatro rodelas de oro y "pluma y aljofar, vistosos y de mucho primor" (Vedia I, p. 322). He distinguishes them from the war-shield which he describes as "una rodela de palo y cuero, y á la re-"donda campanillas de laton morisco, y la capa de una plancha de oro, esculpida en "ella Vitcilopuchtli, dios de las batallas, y en aspa cuatro cabezas con su pluma é pelo, "al vivo y desollado, que eran de leon, de tigre, de aquila, y de un buarro."

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round, small, "target," worn by the "brave" on his left arm and 714
made of "canes netted together and interwoven with cotton 'two-
"fold,' covered on the outside with gilded boards and with feath-
"ers, and so strong that a hard cross-bow shot could alone pene-
"trate them . . . ."[54]

With this shield they warded off blows in close combat.[55] and
even arrows and darts at full speed. Each warrior probably car-
ried his own shield, although it is sometimes stated that the ar- [726]
chers, while shooting, were shielded by others.[56] This, however,
would necessarily imply a greater progress of the military art
among the Mexicans than we may safely allow.

The remainder of the protective armour of the Mexicans is in-
timately connected with their *costume*.

The ordinary dress of a Mexican consisted of a sleeveless jacket 291
("huepil") fastened on the right shoulder, and of the breechcloth 714
("maxtlatl"). The head, arms, and legs from the knees down-
wards, were bare. A mantle, short among the common Indians,
longer among the chiefs, completed the costume.[57] Sometimes 714
they went to war without any other protection, but in most cases
the warrior wore a frock of quilted cotton, about three-quarters of

[54] The "anonymous conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373). Compare Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 423), and Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[55] See the description of a single combat between a Cempoaltecan and Tlaxcaltecan (Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. VI, p. 143, and Torquemada, Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422).

[56] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII) and the anonymous conqueror both assert, that each warrior had a shield. But Fray G. de Mendieta is still more positive (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Tras estos llegaban los golpes de espada y rodela, con los cuales iban "arrodelados los de arco y flecha, y alli gastaban su almacen." However, Fray Diego Durán says: (Cap. XIV, p. 121) "y llegados á un lugar que llaman Tecuitlatenco, hicie-"ron alto y esperaron la armada de Mexico que venian por la laguna, que eran mill "canoas, muy bien Adereçadas de gente y paueses con gran numero de flagas y varas "arrojadiças, flechas y rodelas y de hombres para defensa de los flecheros, los quales "estaban tan diestros en desviar flechas con las rodelas, que era espanto, porque en "viendola venir, luego la dauan con la rodela que la echauan à través." This seems to indicate that there were special men detailed to protect the archers, and therefore a division into different arms, although there is no other evidence of such a fact. It may have been the case here, since the fight (against Cuitlahuac) was to take place on water chiefly, but nowhere else do we meet a division into kinds of arms, like archers, spearmen, swordsmen, etc., etc. All Mexican warriors were armed as nearly alike as possible. The Anonymous Conqueror, after mentioning the different weapons, says: "y "molti, ò la maggior parti di esse portano tutte queste sorti di armi con che combattono." ("Relatione, etc.," in Vol. I. of Col. de Doc., p. 374.)

[57] Gomara (Conquista de Méjico. Vedia, Tom. I. p. 440. "Calzan unos zapatos como "alpargates, pannicos por bragas. Visten una manta quadrada, añudada al hombro "derecho como gitanas"). The Anonymous Conqueror (p. 376. "La maniera del ves-"tire de gli huomini"). Tezozomoc (Crónica, Cap. XXXVI, p. 56. "the macehuals "of lower grade, wore short mantles, plain, of cotton or nequen"). The "maxlatl" is described by the Anonymous Conqueror as follows: "a towel, like unto a sheet

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714 an inch thick, up to one and one-half inches, and therefore strong enough to resist an arrow-shot, or even the dart at long range. This was the cotton-armour subsequently adopted by the Spaniards under the name of "Escaupil" ("Ichcahuipilli").[58] Sometimes even the limbs were encased in such quilted armour,[59] and the outside of the "ichcahuipil" was adorned with feathers and plates of gold or silver. The *feet* were protected by leather soles or moccasin-like shoes ("cactli," "cotaras"), but the use of them was not general.[60] Warriors of merit especially, inserted their *heads*

[291] "worn over the head while travelling, of various colors, and variously adorned, with "the ends hanging downwards, one in front and the other behind." It was common to the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, and is represented on the sculptures of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Chichen-Itza. The tables of Durán give, perhaps, the most reliable picture of these costumes.

[58] "Ichcahuipilli" derives from "Ichcatl," cotton, and "huepil," jacket. Alvarado, in his second letter to Cortés, dated 28 July, 1524 (Vedia, Vol. I), mentions an ichcahuipili used by Indians of Guatemala, which was three inches thick and reached as far down as the ankle: "porque venian tan armados, que el que caia en el suelo no se po-"dia levantar; y con sus armas coseletes de tres dedos de algodon, y hasta en los "pies. . . . ." (p. 462.)

[59] There are several representations of such protection of the thighs, and also of the arms, especially in the splendid work of Lord Kingsborough, taken from the Mendoza codex. The entire costume, from the neck to the knee, seems to be of one piece. We have no accurate *description*, however, of them. It is doubtful whether they terminated into upper "leggings," or whether into a frock-like continuation, reaching from the girdle to the knee. Perhaps both; at least there are traces of both. (Anonymous Conqueror, p. 374. Clavigero, Lib. VII, cap. XXIII.) The absence of the "Ichcahuipil" was not, however, always a sign of low rank. Some warriors of particular merit even went to war almost naked (See Humboldt, "Vues de Cordilléres," Tab. XIV, fig. 4), and Herrera (Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 257, speaking of the natives of Tepeaca, who were subject to Mexico: "and the most valiant ones went only in breech-cloth, painting their naked body black and red"). There was, consequently, no absolute uniformity and uniform distinction in dress and armament, and this was still increased by the variety of customs among the numerous tribes which assisted the Mexicans in war, each tribe having its own manner of dress, and keeping separate on the battlefield. A Mexican army must have been a rather strange, motley crowd. Still there was, in all probability, less variety than among the Peruvian warlike bodies. Of the latter's variegated array the report of Francisco de Xeres, secretary of Pizarro, gives a good illustration (Vedia, vol. II).

[60] "Cactli," corrupted into "catle," is rendered by Molina (II, p. 11) as "shoes, or sandals." Torquemada says (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 430, vol. I): "the King wore "golden shoes, which they call cacles, and are after the fashion of those of the ancient "Romans, adorned with much jewelry, the soles fastened with cords." (Idem: Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 305) "they gave to him cotaras or sandals . . . ." Gomara (Conquista, etc., p. 322), in the list of presents sent by Cortés to the Emperor, mentions: "many shoes like as of grass, made of deer-hides, some with golden thread, and the "soles of certain white and blue stones . . . ." "other shoes, six pairs, of leather "of different color, adorned with gold or silver or pearls." The question is, whether they were moccasins or sandals. The sculptures of Palenqué show an approach to either. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), in speaking of the distinctions of dress, says: "And [643] "thus it was ordained, first: that the Kings should not appear in public, except in ur-"gent cases; that the King alone might wear a crown in the city, but that in war all the "great chiefs and valiant captains might wear crowns also, and royal tokens . . . .

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into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imi- 714
tating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes [643
"in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes
"on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those [645
"who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their
"bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and
"painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli"
or "cotarsa" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to
notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and
reputation *achieved in war*, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the
life of the tribe."

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 372). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 2d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-"meria, doradas y labradas con diuersas labores y pinturas y diferencialias quando á "él le paréciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó haçaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que alli se le señalaba con sus coñidores y bragueros, que "aludian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, salió determinado que nenguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de neguen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, saluo si "no tuviese alguna senual en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 38). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 37). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 343). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war [302
"they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once,
"since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names.

[64] The head-dress, or "diviza,"—"tlauiztli," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of [293
sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 222, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty-"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

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714 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the
287 question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of
237 the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each sub-division of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time;
[302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 88) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototl." It is "*Trogon resplendens*." (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 39, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquecho!" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1809, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anonymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 189, in vol. II, of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 267, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to *imitate* the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face *yellow* ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was *blue* (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tiznándose las caras con la tizne divina, quellos asi llamauan, y el rey Auitzotl vestido de ricas mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas azules . . ."

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Almost insensibly we have here abandoned the field of the arma- 701
ment of the Mexicans, entering, nay, trespassing, upon that of their *military organization*.

This organization is but imperfectly known to us. Still, its knowledge is of the highest importance, since, with a tribe as essentially warlike as the Mexicans, military institutions are often blended with those of civil life, and we may presume that the same principle pervades both; that the degree of development of the one gives a clue to that of the other. According as we picture to ourselves the condition of ancient Mexican society, we shall view and judge their military organization.

All the older authors upon Mexico; and they have been implic- 114
itly followed by the great mass of subsequent writers, describe to us a Mexican empire, with an hereditary nobility and an *elective* despot at its head. This autocrat was not only absolute civil chief, he was also Judge and military commander. He declared peace and war, directed the forces, he nominated and deposed officers at his pleasure. Some restraints are allowed, occasionally, to have existed, upon such a power analogous only to that of the despots of Asia, but even the most distinguished writers of *modern* times have unhesitatingly accepted the picture of an absolute Indian monarchy in Mexico.[69]

Still this picture, however tempting and fascinating, to imagination especially, has not always satisfied the student's mind. Without placing much stress on the clumsy attacks of James Adair[70] upon the Spanish authors on Mexico, or on De Pauw's injudicious "Researches,"[71] we meet, however, with an earnest and careful criticism in Robertson's classical work. While the great

[69] A. de Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," 1825, Lib. II, chap. VI, p. 274. "Leur systeme de féodalité, leur hiérarchie civile et militaire se trouvant dès "lors si compliquées, qu'il faut supposer une longue suite, d'événements politiques pour "que l'enchaînement singulier des autorités de la noblesse et du clergé ait pu s'établir; "et pour qu'une petite portion du peuple, esclave elle-même du sultan Méxicain, ait "pu subjuguer la grande masse de la nation"). W. H. Prescott ("History of the Con-"quest of Mexico," Book I, chapter II, p. 23. Book II, chapter VI, p. 312). Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale"), and H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States"). I quote but the most prominent writers on Mexico of this (19th) century.

[70] James Adair ("History of the American Indians," London, 1775).

[71] "Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains," a very injudicious book, which, by its extravagance and audacity, created a great deal of harm. It permitted Clavigero to attack even Robertson, because the latter had also applied sound criticism to the study of American aboriginal history, and by artfully placing both as upon the same platform, to counteract much of the good effects of Robertson's work.

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114 historian admits and acknowledges whatever appears to him as true and sound in the works of his predecessors, he still takes a different view of the condition of the Mexican aborigines, and indicates, so to say, an entirely new path.[72] It has been the work of the distinguished American ethnologist, Lewis H. Morgan, to open this path fully.[73]

But whereas it is very easy and plain to trace the institutions of the aborigines where they are still in vigor, it is extremely difficult to obtain anything like a clear conception thereof in Mexico, since, as we have already stated, those institutions are gone like their architectural remains, and the other sources for a knowledge thereof are often diffuse, and conflicting in their accounts. Moreover, all the older authorities on Spanish America are under the influence of eastern (European or Asiatic) ideas, whatever appeared to them strange or new in America they compared with what they thought might be analogous to it among nations of the Old World.[74] What, in their first process of thinking was merely a *comparative* became very soon a *positive*, *terminology*, for the

[72] "History of America" (9th edition, 1800. Vol. III, book VII, p. 274). "The Mexi-"cans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the useful metals, or the aid of domestic "animals, laboured under disadvantages which must have greatly retarded their pro-"gress, and in their highest state of improvement their power was so limited, and their "operations so feeble, that they can hardly be considered as having advanced beyond "the infancy of civil life." If the first part of this quotation is evidently incorrect, since the Mexicans used copper, silver, and gold, even tin, perhaps, and the Peruvians made alloys;—the latter portion of it is undoubtedly true. He further sustains it by the following remark (Id. p. 281): "The infancy of nations is so long, and, even when every "circumstance is favourable to their progress, they advance so slowly towards any "maturity of strength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans seems to be a "strong presumption of some exaggeration, in the splendid descriptions which have "been given of their government and manners." Notwithstanding those very clear and judicious remarks, Robertson has, though reluctantly, bowed to the admission of feudalism, and of feudal monarchy in Mexico (Id. p. 282).

[73] See "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family." Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Chapter VI, p. 468, "The communal family." Also, "Mon-"tezuma's Dinner," in the "North American Review," April, 1876. The learned author has made a bold stroke for the establishment of American ethnology on a new basis.

[74] "Montezuma's Dinner," p. 267. "All the grand terminology of the Old World, "created under despotic and monarchical institutions during several thousand years "of civilization, to decorate particular men and classes of men, has been lavished by "our author with American prodigality upon plain Indian sachems and war-chiefs, "without perceiving that thereby the poor Indian was grievously wronged, for he had "not invented such institutions nor formed such a society as these terms imply." Mr. Morgan, to whose kindness and friendly protection I am so largely indebted, will not misunderstand it if I say here, that while his criticism of the current of ideas running through all the sources in ancient Mexico appears to me the most true and logical one, his remarks upon the writers themselves are not always justified. This observation, from one whom he has honored by becoming his guide and teacher, will, we trust, be regarded in a kindly spirit.

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purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminology never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[73]

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sections, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of

[73] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II. p. 141), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads."

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 43). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh." Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatilulco, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God). "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *barrio* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa María la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatilulco became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545) " . . . . y así estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que eso Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

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[74 numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to
619 four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-
701 bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

701 Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrange-*
555 *ment* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever,*

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 29). "Rapport sur les differentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonso de Zurita. French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 33).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together the four lead-"ers of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 82, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diez, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371), "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata, in tal modo ligata sopra le spalle, che non gli da alcun disturbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli puo sligare, ne torglielamai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "pani," above.

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no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-* 701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank 555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-* 565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and 643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two 701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were 701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the 554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, "they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, "that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had "been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de "Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient "un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.:" p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were "called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If "one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of "it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been "invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Montezuma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéké" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

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701 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of
554 those animals.[87] Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.[88]

701 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through
555 appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.[89]

[87] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepec (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 280 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a "peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody "might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that "he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII, cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . . the head "was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and "with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

[88] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 289). " . . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos "los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cua-"chic, que eran una órden de caballeria que no auia de volver piè atras ó morir . . " . ." Tezozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachi, and Tequihuaques . . . . being "always leaders" ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 83) says: " . . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths "a Cuachic, to five others an Otomi, then again an Achcauhtli, and a Tequihua; all "conquerors." This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The "Otomitl" is also called by Tezozomoc a "general" occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ò varon "fuerte llamado Coachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos "etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 565) calls the "Quachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

[89] By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-
[685] cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for "abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ò de "noche, o tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladron que se "adjudicaba y queria para si el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this vigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcautin," "quauhtin," and "ococelo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

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The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the 701
Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending or- 565
ders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the 701
young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauh-* 702
tin," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," suffixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 562; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 542): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus proprias personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every [555]
one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title.

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 225) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 203), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil maior." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 23), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them: "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 118), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 60) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

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701 posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests ex-
702 cepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

[293] As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

701 A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "mi-
619 nor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

701 Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI. p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad, que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que cuelga atras, y bezote y "oregeras. y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces," "De l'ordre de succession," p. 225), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport." p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra. que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas apretadas á la caneça y unas oregeras de concha, largas, y unas besotes "en los labios. muy bien armados, y empeçaron á componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI. p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Cuyuacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, *then* they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 24, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

[98] Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 499) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[99] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-

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members of the chief council,[100] and we suggest their titles to have been, respectively: "cutter of men" ("Tlacateccatl"), "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), "blood-shedder" ("Ezhuahuacatl"), and "chief of the eagle and tuna" ("Cuauhnochtecuhtli," or, abbreviated, "Cuauhnochtli").[101] We have no in-

tion of the existence of feudal institutions in Mexico. The divisions were treated as geographical sections only, the sub-divisions by kin were overlooked, and little importance was attached to the fact that every office was filled by election only, and never by appointment. Thus, says Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), " . . . . y asi electo uno destos "cuatro, luego poniau otro en su lugar." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Despues del rey era el grado de los quatro como principes electores, los quales despues "de eligido el Rey, tambien ellos eran eligidos y de ordinario eran hermanos o' parientos muy cercanos del Rey." Clavigero says positively (Lib. VII, cap. XXI): "The "highest military dignity-was that of commanding general of the army. There were "four different classes of generals, among which the Tlacochcalcatl had the highest "rank. Each class had its particular tokens, but we are unable to determine how far "the three other classes were subordinate to the first. Neither can we give their names, "since the authors differ with each other on the subject. To the generals succeeded "the captains, each of which commanded a certain number of soldiers." See, besides, note below.

[100] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), after naming the four grades, or rather dignities, proceeds: "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos principes los hacian del "consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, sin parecer de los "quales nenguna cosa se auia de hacer." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

[101] "Tlacochcalcatl," from "Tlacochtli," dart, "calli," house, "tlacatl," man. "Tlacateccatl,"—"tlacatl," man, "tequi," to cut or carve. "Ezhuahuacatl,"—"ezti," blood, "uauana," to scratch, "tlacatl," man. "Cuauhnochtecuhtli,"—"cuauhtli," eagle, "nochtli," tuna, "tecuhtli," chief. These four titles, as pertaining to the four principal Mexican chiefs, are given by Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441). Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 24), and Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II. cap. XIX, p. 73), who copies, evidently, Acosta. Tezozomoc says: "All these were like principal "caciques and titularies ('señores de titulo') in the government and command of the "Mexican tribe, and after them come the Tlacanes, valorous soldiers, surnamed captains, in their order; . . . ." But all those authors substitute "Tlillancalqui," in place of "Cuauhnochtli." Nevertheless, we have ventured to accept "Cuauhnochtli," since "Tlillancalqui" (from "Tlillic," black object, "tlan," affixum denoting place, and "tlacatl," man), man of the black place or black house, denotes a *civil and religious* office, and not a warrior proper. Durán says: "We must know that there was an idol "of blackness, and that of this idol, and of his house, came forth the title for this "chief." Acosta affirms positively that the three first named titles were "those of warriors" ("eran de guerreros"). On the other hand, "Cuauhnochtli" is frequently mentioned, both by Tezozomoc and by Durán, as "captain-general," and the bishop of Santo Domingo. Ramirez de Fuenleal, in his letter to Charles V, dated Mexico, 3 Nov., 1532, says: "An officer, called Guauuchil, fills the office of 'alguacil maior!'" (Coll. Ternaux-Compans: "Recueil de Pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique," p. 249). Torquemada, also, after calling "Cuauhnoctli" a "judge," calls him subsequently a chief executioner (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, pp. 352 and 354). Finally, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57), after enumerating the principal chieftains of Mexico, "three of which, "Cuauhnoctli, Tlacatecatl, and Tlacochcalcatl, called Chachi as much as any of the "others, and who, for their high valor, had their hair bound behind the occiput with "red leather."

The "Chachi" of Tezozomoc are identical with the "Quachictin" of Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543), "and one of the highest degrees and honors which could be "attained was to be allowed to tie the hair, being the token of great captain, and these "were called Quachictin, which was the most honorific title given to captains, a title held

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701 formation regarding the title of the principal war-chief of Tlatilulco, the names given occasionally being personal.[109]

701 The distinctive mark of these chieftains consisted in having the
554 hair tied behind or above the occiput with a strap of red leather;

"by few only." "Cuauhnoctli," therefore, being "Chachi," or "Quachictin," whereas "Tiliancalqui" is but a civil or religious chief, as it is furthermore shown by his being sent as a delegate to Cortés, to the coast (Tezozomoc, Cap. CVII, p. 191). I have ventured to substitute the former as one of the four war-chiefs, each commanding the warriors of one of the four great quarters of Mexico. It may be objected that, aside from Tezozomoc, I have not adduced any other direct proof of the actual existence of these four chieftains. I have already alluded to the probable reason why they are not mentioned as such by the sources of Mexican aboriginal history. Their true position, the nature of their office was simply overlooked. But we know that the tribe of Mexico had divided into four quarters; we know, further, that not only in Mexico, but all over Central America, this same division existed, for civil as well as for military purposes. Each of these four great sections must have had, therefore, its civil, and its military
[555] head, and it is but natural to admit, that those heads were the *most distinguished warriors of the tribe*, since *merit, and not descendancy or wealth*, entitled alone to *promotion in rank and office*. Therefore the military chiefs of the four quarters must have been the four "chachi" of Mexico. On the other hand, those four dignities were each elective, and not filled by appointment. But, for an election, there must be electors, and a constituency. We know that the "captains were elected (by the kin which they should "command)", and it is but logical to admit that the *four greatest military chiefs* of the tribe were elected to command its *four greatest subdivisions*. Therefore, again, the "chachi" of Tezozomoc must have been the military chiefs of the four quarters of Mexico. Besides, we may ask: Why *four* chiefs, and not any other number? if not that these four principal chieftains corresponded to, and actually represented, a like number of greatest fractions of the whole tribe.

If the older authors observe a certain uniformity in their enumeration of these four chiefs, always beginning with the "Tiacochcalcatl," we must not infer from it that one or the other of the four was inferior or superior to the others. They were all alike in rank, although Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) places the "Tiacochcalcatl" above the others. The very confusion among some of the statements shows that no reliance can be placed upon their assertions in that respect. (Compare, for inst.: Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXII, p. 185, with cap. LXV, p. 189, and lib. IV, cap. 13, p. 379.) It results from all these statements, but especially from the positive and consistent assertions of Tezozomoc, that while the four were equal in rank, it still sometimes happened that one or the other, from age or experience, took the superior command according to emergency. Their influence was even decisive, sometimes, with the head war-chief of Mexico himself. See the part played by "Tiacochcalcatl" in the attack upon Tlatilulco (Tezozomoc, Cap. XLV, p. 73), and the resolute action of "Tiacateccatl" in the battle against the Tarasca of Michhuacan, which occurred in 1477, when he compelled Axayaca to retreat before the victorious enemy (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII, p. 84). Also, the assertion of Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), "without whose consent he could do nothing."

[109] "Itzquauhtin" is mentioned by Torquemada (Vol. IV). This would be "eagle
[554] of obsidian," or "flint-eagle." We must always distinguish *personal* names from *titles*. In most cases only the latter were given, and the presumption therefore arises that the *title took the place of the name*. Says my friend Sr. J. M. Melgar y Serrano, of Vera Cruz: "Creo deber aconsejar a V no tome como nombres de las personas muchas "de las palabras con que estaban designadas, pues eran el que se los daban el titulo "del cargo que tenian." (Letter under date of 26 January, 1875.)

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a distinction reserved exclusively for them and for the head war-chiefs of the Mexican tribe.[103] 701 554

Highest in military command, as head war-chief of the Mexican tribe, was the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"),[104] represented to us as the king or emperor[105] of Mexico. But he was neither a monarch nor an autocrat, nor a despot. Elected out of a certain kin or descendancy[106] for life, but upon the condition of good behaviour, he could be deposed and degraded, should he incur the 643 701

[103] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 97). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). "Los mas preeminentes destos eran, los que tenian "atada la corona del cabello con una cinta colorada, y un plumaje rico, del qual col-"ganan unos ramales hazia las espaldas con unas borlas del mismo al cabo; estas "borlas eran tantas en numero, quantas hazañas auia hecho. Desta orden de Caualle-"ros era el mismo Rey tambien, y asi se hallaba pintado, con esto genero de plumajes, "y en Chapultepec, donde estan Motecuma y su hijo esculpidos en unas peñas que son "de ver, ..." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) condenses the statement of Acosta only. Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères, etc.," V . I): "il (Montezuma) a les cheveux "réunis au sommet de la tête, et liés avec un ruban rouge, distinction militaire des prin-"ces et des capitaines les plus vaillants." The figure is from the "Codex anonymous," of the Vatican.

[104] This title is given by Tezozomoc, and also by Ramirez de Fuenleal, in Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pièces," p. 247): "Mutizuma portait le nom de 'tacatecli,' "'tatuan,' 'jutiacal.'" It is easy to discern "tlacatecuhtli," and "tlatoani,"—of the latter title we shall hereafter speak. Also: "Il existe parmi eux une espèce de chef à "qui ils donnent le nom de tacatecle ou tlatuan."

[105] The Mexican language has no word for emperor (Molina I, p. 51). But Tezozomoc renders the expression "cemanahuac tlatoani" by "emperor of the world." It signifies, however, simply "speaker for what dwells near the water."

[106] The question of succession in office among the Mexicans is a very difficult one. Still, it certainly never descended from father to son, but was always transmitted by election, either to a brother or to a nephew of the former incumbent. The manner of electing the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" of Mexico is very fully described by Sahagun: "When "the king or lord died, all the senators, called Tecutlatoques, and the old men of the "tribe, called Achcacauhti, and also the captains and old warriors, called Yautequioa-"ques, and other prominent captains in warlike matters, and also the satraps (priests), "called Tlenamacaque and Papaoaqui,—all these assembled in the royal houses. "There they deliberated and determined upon who had to be lord, and chose one of "the most noble of the descendancy (lineage) of the past lords, who would be a val-"iant man, experienced in warlike matters, daring and brave, who should not drink "wine, should be prudent and wise, raised in the Calmecac, a good speaker, of good "understanding, esteemed and loving. When they agreed upon one, they at once nom-"inated him as lord, but this election was not made by ballot or votes, but, all confer-"ring together, they at last agreed upon the man." Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), speaking of the four war-chiefs: "y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros, "y tampoco podian ser puestos en este cargo y ditados sino eran hijos ò hermanos de "reyes; . . . . nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los "señorios, sino por election." "Y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado "y señorio, eligiéndolos poco a poco." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Lo pri-"mero en que parece auer sido muy politico el govierno de Mexicanos, es en el orden "que tenian, y guardauan inviolablemente de eligir Rey." Whether we are authorized to go any further than to say that the Tlacatecuhtli had to belong to a certain *kin*, is very doubtful.

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displeasure of the tribe.[107] He was but the commander-in-chief of the Mexican warriors; an office which, among a nation so essentially warlike, was of the highest importance and rank, and which might have procured to the incumbent an influence tending to impair the freedom of its institutions. But there was a wholesome check placed upon such encroachments by the commanding war-chief, through the election of an associate, which carried the singular and strange title of "snake-woman," or "female-snake" ("Cihua-cohuatl") and who, while being more of a civil chieftain, still alternated with him in command, as emergency required.[108] Through this arrangement, the tribe of Mexico became always provided with at least one military head, and if the "chief of men" was out leading a foray, the "Cihua-cohuatl" remained at the pueblo, or vice-versa. The chief command of a campaign, could, besides, be delegated by them to a subordinate leader.[109]

We know too little of the office of "Cihua-cohuatl" to enter into any details regarding it. The "chief of men," however, has become famous in history through the last three incumbents of the office,[110] It required an extraordinary man, among the tribe, to fill it. He was to be "an earnest and sober man" (says Sahagun), "wise, affable, and a fluent speaker." But especially was he required to be one of the most prominent warriors, who had given proofs of undaunted bravery, ability, and of great circum-

[107] Montezuma was deposed during his life-time, and Cuitlahua was appointed his successor. Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, p. 132, cap. CXXVI): when they spoke to Montezuma they said: "Hacemosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por "señor, ... y allí le nombró cómo se llamaba, que se decia Coadlauaca, señor "de Iztapalapa, que no fué Guatemuz, el cual desde á dos meses fué señor." Cortés (Note 2 to "Segunda Relacion," p. 42, Vedia I): "Los Indios le mataron por cobarde." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494, and cap. LXX, p. 497). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. X. cap. X, p. 267).

[108] The "Cihua-cohuatl" (from "cihuatl," woman, and "cohuatl," snake) is variously designated as "vice-roy," "captain-general," "supreme judge," "coadjutor of the king," "second king." He was a warrior, too, and during the siege officiated as commander in chief, together with Quauhtemotzin. It results from the statement of Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 252) that he was equal to the so-called "king." What the exact functions of this office were, it is not here the place to discuss; it is sufficient for the purpose of this essay, to determine that there were, in all likelihood, two head-chiefs of the Mexican tribe, or two principal war-chiefs, like those of the Iroquois. The "Cihuacohuatl," according to Tezozomoc, was also elective.

[109] Thus we see, sometimes "Tlacochcalcatl," then again "Tlacatecatl," and "Cuauhnortli," made commanders-in-chief.

[110] These were: Montezuma II (Motecuhzuma Xocoyotzin), Cuitlahuatzin, and Quauhtemotzin.

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spection.[111] Therefore, he was always one of the four great war-chiefs of the quarters[112] previous to his election, and his war-dress differed in fact but little from that of the latter. As we have already stated, he wore the hair bound up behind the occiput with red leather, and on his helmet or on the bare head a towering bush of green feathers.[113] A long and wide mantle covered his armour, which was otherwise similar to that of the other chiefs.[114] But his ear-rings of gold,[115] and the green stone-pendant from the bridge of his nose,[116] the golden lip-ring,[117] his wristbands of featherwork and leather,[118] the upper-arm-bands of gold,[119] the

[111] Sahagun (Historia Universal, Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 264): "El capitan general tiene "por su oficio, mandar en la batalla, y dar orden y manera para efectuarla, y concertar "los escuadrones, teniendose por grande aguila y leon, y presumiendo de ser victo-"rioso por los buenos aderezos con que va adornado á la guerra á manera de aguila, y "dando á entender que su oficio es morir en la guerra por los Suyos." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Ordinarily they elected young men for their kings, because "the kings always went to war, and it was almost the principal object of this office; "therefore they looked to their being proper to military duty, and fond of it, also." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap, XXVII, p. 132): "Tenian estos naturales en mucho cuando su "señor era esforzado y valiente, porque teniendo tal señor capitan, salian con mucho "ánimo á la guerra." (Idem) "Demas de esto, tenian respeto entre los hijos' á aquel "que en las guerras se habia mostrado animoso, y á este elegian." Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 257).

[112] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 105): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos "principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, "sin parecer de los quales ninguna cosa se auia de hacer, y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos "estos ditados eran del consejo supremo, ... ; y muerto el Rey, auia de ser "eligido por Rey, hombre que tuuiesse algun ditado destos quatro."

[113] This distinction was worn by the Indian chiefs of Mexico at least twenty years after the conquest. See, in Vol. II. of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos:" "Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor "natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco, Provincia de Chalco, con el Señor Visorey "Don Antonia de Mendoza, etc., etc." (in 1541). "Don Francisco Acazitli llevó por "divisa y armas cuando fué á la guerra de los chichimecas, una calavera de plumeria "con sus penachos verdes, una rodela de lo mismo, y en ella un bezote de oro retor-"cido, con su espada y su ichcahuipil, y vestido con un jubon colorado, y sus zara-"güelles, zapatos y borceguies, y un sombrero blanco, y un pañuelo grande con que "se amarraba la cabeza, y un collar de pedreria con dos cadenas" (p. 307). (Idem, p. 253) "Relacion de la Entrada de Nuño de Guzman," by Garcia del Pilar. "Y viendose "asi los señores destas comarcas, que eran Tapiezuela, señor desta ciudad, y el señor "de Tatelulco, y el de Guaxucingo, y el de Tascaltectle, y otros muchos señores y prin-"cipales destas comarcas, le fueron à rogar y suplicar, ... que se sirviese de "todas sus divisas que eran de oro y de plumas verdes muy galanas, ..." Also (Relacion de Acazitli, p. 311. "con su divisa de quetzalpatzatli de plumeria verde").

[114] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215).

[115] "nacochtli" (Molina, I. p. 91).

[116] "Tatzaxiuitl," from "Yacatl," nose, "xiuitl," turquoise, or fine green stone in general.

[117] "tenteti," from "tentli," lips, and "tetl," stone.

[118] "matzopetzli" (Molina, II, p. 84). "braçalete."

[119] "maitemocatl," "braçalete [illegible]ro, o cosa semejante" (Molina, II, p. 53).

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701 643 293 golden tubes enclosing his ankles,[120]—they were all of a more elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Cihua-cohuatl" were entitled to wear them thus.[121]

But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123]

A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

[120] "Coxcatl," or "coxcapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Coxcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordénose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaciel pudiesen "traer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro-"vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la caueça con plumeria." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Camé" and "Vuku'b-Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1695. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, re-"duccion y progresos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "subtle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "vitoriose tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcance." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con que los reyes hazian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, ò sus generales, los quales tocanan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure may be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of *chiefs*, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure,—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Minutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatimala." Berlin, 1832) has: Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada,

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Both the "chief of men," and his "*coadjutor*," the "Cihuacohuatl," while exercising, under certain extraordinary circumstances, discretionary powers in military matters, were still subject to a *higher* authority. This was the *council of chiefs*[125] ("tlatocan"), of which they were, ex-officio, members, with the additional title of "speakers" ("tlatoani"), and occupying, therefore, the "speaker's-seat" ("tlatoca-ycpalli").[126] In this council the *ultimate power of government* was vested, its functions were equally *legislative* and *judiciary;* the execution of its decrees belonged to the war-chiefs. *Peace and war* lay in its hands, the war-chiefs alone could not decide upon either.[127] The existence of this council as

is plainly recognizable. In all those figures of Central American reliefs we discern the characteristic parts of the Mexican costume: the breech-cloth ("maxtlatl") and the head-dress. Several of them have the jacket, "huepil," and the chiefs have, as ornaments, the "coacati," the "matzopetztli," and especially, the ear-rings and the towering plumage. Lip-pendants and nose-rings are very prominent on the statues of Copan. An illustration of the costume of the two chiefs, both being dressed exactly alike, is given by Durán on plate 8 (to chapter 23 of the first part of his work). Axayaca is also represented in full armour on plates 10 and 11.

[125] The word is from Molina (Vocab. II, p. 141,—"tlatocan,"—"corte ò palacio de "grandes señores." Id. I, p. 30, "consejo real," "tlatocanecentlalilistli"). It derives from "ni-tlatoa," to speak. A very good illustration of this council is found in the "Popol-Vuh" (Part II, cap. VIII), notwithstanding the diffuse language, we can easily discern how the council of chiefs was constituted at "Xibalba," "Hunahpu," and "Xbalanqué," upon their arrival at the council-hall, found there twelve chiefs, the names of which are all given (p. 147). After Montezuma was captured and brought to Spanish quarters "there were always in his company twenty great lords and compan-"ions and councillors" (Bernal-Diez, Cap. XCV, p. 96, vol. II, Vedia). These were probably the members of the supreme council.

[126] "Tlatoani,"—"hablador, ò gran señor" (Molina, II, p. 141). Bernal-Diez says (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 32, Vedia. II) that when they arrived at San Juan de Ulloa: "vini-"eron dos canoas muy grandes, ... y en ellas vinieren muchos Indios Mejica-"nos, y como vieron los estandartes y navio grande, conocieron que alli habian de ir à "hablar al capitan, y fuéronse derechos al navio, y entran dentro y preguntan quien era "el Tlatoan, que en su lengua dicen el señor." Señor Icazbalceta, in his note No. 36 (p. 12 of Vol. II of "Coleccion de Documentos") defines "Tlatoani" as follows: " . . . " . . era la dedominacion que se daba à los superiores y gobernantes, equivalente à "la antigua nuestra señor, y con la cual llamaban à los españoles." ("Real Ejecutoria "de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente à los caciques de "Axapusco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba.") "Tlatoca-ycpalli," from "tlatoca," and "icpalli," stool.

[127] The fact of the supremacy of the council in all matters is amply proven (Durán, Cap. XIV, p. 117; cap. XVI, p. 133). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "All these "four titularies were of the supreme council, without whose advice the king neither "made, nor could make, anything of importance." But especially the remarkable paragraph from Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332), speaking of the "Cihuacohuatl:" "Este Juez parece tener veces, y autoridad de Virrei, à los quales comunica el Rei au-"toridad absoluta, para governar, y despachar negocios, cometidos a su sola, y abso-"luta determinacion, ... pues en cosas de su Govierno, *conoce la audiencia, que* "*toda junta se hace persona de Rei, y con su autoridad la pueden reprimir, y reprimen.*" It is unfortunate that we have not any definite and detailed knowledge of the composition of this council. All we can say positively is, that it existed, and was supreme.

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642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It [782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi- [724] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the forny against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 80; cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXI, p. 46). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 159.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in- "auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar à los dioses y cebar à los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 98; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizocic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 131, 132, and 133). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 196).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

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The question of peace or war could only be decided by the supreme council of chiefs.[133] If war was to take place it was *sometimes*, but *not always*, resolved to send delegates to the tribe concerned, challenging it to fight or to submit and to become tributary to the Mexicans.[134] These delegates carried particular distinctive tokens;[135] they proceeded unmolested to the pueblo which they were to notify, and, entering the council-house, briefly exposed the object of their coming to the chiefs there gathered. If, after deliberation, the tribe thus threatened agreed to submit and to give tribute, then all was well, and the delegates departed again, loaded with presents. But if any reparation or proposal for accommodation other than *actual submission* was proffered, or if the reply was even defiant, the Mexican delegates at once stepped up to the head war-chief of the enemy, and with white paint (which they carried in their casket of supplies) anointed his arms. Further, they placed feathers on his head and gave to him a shield and sword. This was the declaration of war.[136] Thereupon they withdrew, but if a custom prevailing among all the tribes then inhabiting the

[133] We have, on this point, the positive declaration of the last Montezuma himself. When the tribe of Huexotzinco sent delegates to Mexico, proposing an alliance against Tlaxcallan, Montezuma replied to them: "Brothers and sons, you are welcome, rest "Yourselves a while, for although I am king indeed, I alone cannot satisfy you, but "only together with all the chiefs of the sacred Mexican senate" ("To solo no puede "valeros, sino con todos los principales del sacro senado Mexicano." Tezozomoc, Cap. XCVII). Also, Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I).

[134] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI. p. 129): "This was the common way, although "sometimes they took them by surprise."

[135] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I. p. 534): "In the right carried an arrow, holding it "by its head, the feathered end upwards, and in the left hand a small shield."

[136] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des Anciens rois de Texcuco," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 269, 270, 271, and 272) claims that they sent three different summons, one by the Mexicans, one by the Texcucans, and another by the Tlacopans. But this is not otherwise confirmed. The answer, unless time was positively requested, and the Mexicans deemed it politic to delay, decided the very first time.

Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129): "Determined and resolved that there should "be war, they sent certain shields and robes to those whom they intended to assail (as "it was their custom to never send a message without a present)." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537, almost a literal copy from Mendieta). Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15; cap. XXVII, p. 40, etc., etc.). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXVIII). Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74; cap. LVII, p. 450. Montezuma being challenged by the Huexotzinca, and Cap. LIX, p. 464, by the Cholulteca). The white paint, "tizatl" (Molina, II, p. 113, "cierto barniz, o tierra blanca." See, also, Tezozomoc, Cap. VIII), was an emblem of *death*, the shield, "for to defend himself therewith," and the sword, "for to offend if "he was able." The latter is analogous to the red tomahawk sent in token of war by northern savages (Loskiel: "Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter "den Indianern in Nord-Amerika." Barby, 1789, Part I, cap. XI, p. 187. Also, Adair: "History of the American Indians").

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72 country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it*. Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous [203] drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

726 Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 555): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax-"adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, teniendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanecatl Tlacaelelitzin" returned for the second time to Azcaputzalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezozomoctli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "maccuahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanecatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 482 and 483), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Montezuma. ("Huehue-Montezuma," or "Montezuma Ylhuicamina.")

[139] Bernal-Diez (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y alli tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tanian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infernos, y mas de "dos leguas de alli se oia; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 382, of Vol. II).

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armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished 726
with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried 726
mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each 724
household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,—shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ("tlatzontectli"), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used 508
for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojes y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes 262
"gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacacintopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chiaz, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "viscocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y corru-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolatli," which possessed particularly vivifying 272
qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been 554
slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of 558
newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this *degrading* work (*because women-like!!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not na-

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726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc. Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the macuies." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers; they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jeanequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fueron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proves that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

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pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future opportunity;[147] it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes, whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico.*[148] Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,[149] calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.[150]

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,[151] still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.[152] The force,

[147] It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tescuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

[148] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133): "Con Mexico estaban confederados "los Señores de Tescuco, i Tlacopan, que hora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que gana-"ban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecuhtli." (Zurita, p. 11).

[149] This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the Cronica Mexicana, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

[150] When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinco-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 88). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 266). Axayacatl: "mandó partiese el exercito de "la ciudad y que en sus capitanias fuesen à los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que alli "se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos terminos de Matlatzinco y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,—"commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three "days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Mestitlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu-"rana la uncion y estar velando salve sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la "gente que estuviese apercebida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que alli "aguardasen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

[151] There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

[152] Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with *kindred* tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalca of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Anahuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

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726 therefore, that sallied out of Mexico was sure to find at the meet-
728 ing-place appointed, numerous reinforcements from various tribes, fully armed and equipped, with an organization similar to their own,[153] ready for the onward march, at the end of which, if successful, a certain share of human victims and of plunder would reward their efforts.[154]

As soon as the entire force was duly collected at the appointed meeting-place, it began to move forward speedily and swiftly, and in a straight line, if possible, towards the enemy's country. The various tribes, as well as their respective subdivisions, kept distinct from each other, led by their own native chiefs. The Mexicans were mostly in the rear. The approach of this body of warriors was not always pleasant to tributary or friendly settlements situated along the marchroute. These were expected to come out with reinforcements, with food and presents, and if any one of them failed or neglected to comply with these requisitions, it became exposed to the most barbarous violence. Such pueblos were sacked, plundered, the people ill-treated. In their fury the Mexicans sometimes went so far as to empty and destroy the stores of maize, and to kill wantonly the few domestic animals (dogs and fowls) of the unfortunate inhabitants.[155]

[724] The tribute which the valley pueblos paid to Mexico may yet, perhaps, prove to have been more a religious offering than anything else. They were certainly more on terms of equality, whereas the foreign tribes were held in subjection proper. The word "popoluca," stammerers, applied by the Mexicans to those of the coast, and which has induced Clavigero to adopt the erroneous idea of a "Popoluca" language, shows the disdain and hatred nourished by tribes of different stock towards each other.

[153] Each tribe had to prepare its own arms and supplies, it remained under its own chiefs and captains. Tezozomoc and Durán both agree on this point. Their organization was essentially the same as that of the Mexicans. Everywhere in the valley, and even in Matlaltzinco, we find the characteristic division of the Mexicans,—the two head-war-chiefs, the four quarters, and the minor captains and braves.

[154] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 273) says that Mexico and Tescuco had each two-fifths, Tlacopan one-fifth, of the spoils. Tezozomoc claims three-fourths for Mexico alone. The point is yet in doubt. (Zurita, "Rapport, etc.," p. 18.)

[724] [155] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "The Mexicans never lacked food nor supplies," when on the march, since they "were so much feared by all the tribes, that as soon as "they arrived they were well received and treated. When their forces were on the "war-path neither man nor woman remained outside of their dwellings, out of fear of "the warriors, and if these perchance met any one, any laborer or trader, they robbed "him even up to his very clothes. Such tribes as did not go out to meet them they plun-"dered and robbed of everything, emptying their stores of maize, killing their fowls "and even their dogs." (Id. Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147.) Durán (Cap. XXI, p. 183): "porque "para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proveian de todo lo necesario, como tengo "dicho, so pena de ser destruidos." It thus appears that for the march the Mexicans did not have to provide any food, since the settlements along the route had to maintain

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The objective point of this march was, as we have already stated, the enemy's territory. There was no strict boundary-line dividing the tribes of Mexico from each other; a belt of uninhabited or deserted land merely surrounded and thus isolated every tribe.[156] This neutral strip was the ground on which the enemy expected the Mexicans (provided they knew of their coming, and felt strong enough to meet them in the open field).[157] It was, therefore, commonly called "ground of war or battle" ("Yaotlalli"),[158] and as soon as the Mexican force approached this region, its movements grew less swift and proportionately more cautious. At dusk they halted on this dangerous area, selecting for their encampment, if possible, an elevated, open position, unfavorable for surprise. The huts (and perhaps tents) and bowers, for which some materials had been taken along, were hurriedly

them, Duran positively saying, on the same page, after a lengthy enumeration of the supplies and provisions prepared for the journey: "lo qual, luego fue en seguimiento "de la gente; lo qual no se proueia sino para el lugar donde se avia de asentar el real, "porque para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proueian de todo lo necessario, etc., "etc., etc." The same author continues (p. 184): "Hacianse seruir como dioses, y en "todos los caminos no parecia gente por donde iban los soldados y la gente de guerra, "todos se encerraban que no osauan andar por los caminos, porque los soldados les "quitaban quanto llevaban en sus cargas, y si acaso le queria defender, los apaleauan "y herian, y algunos mataban y iban robando las sementeras y matando quantas galli-"nas y perillos topaban; iban haciendo quanto mal podian, como lo hacen agora "nuestros españoles, si no los van a' la mano. . . . . y asi en sabiendo que auia "guerra, todos los vecinos de los pueblos, por donde auian de pasar los del exercito, se "escondian y escondian el maiz, el chile, las gallinas y los perros, finalmente escondian "quanto tenian." This shows a very simple mode of subsistance,—they lived upon the country through which they passed. But it also shows the barbarous condition of the Nahuatl tribes. Even on their march through a friendly country from whose annual tribute they partly subsisted, they behaved little better than a large horde of savages, or at least of cut-throats and highway robbers. The "civilized" troops of Europe were little better at that time, and even up to the close of the 17th century.

[156] Gomara ("De las guerras," Vedia, I, p. 442): "They call quiahtlali the space and "area which they left depopulated between the boundaries of each province for to fight "there, and it is like unto sacred." See Tezozomoc (Cap. LXVIII, p. 113; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151; cap. XCV, p. 167, etc., etc.). The delegates sent by Tlaxcallan, Hüexotzinco, and Cholula, to assist at the festivals in Mexico, were always met "half way in the woods" ("la mitad del monte") separating the tribes. Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. XXXIII, p. 125) mentions a boundary line between the territories of Mexico and Tezcuco, but the description of it is such that the statement remains more than doubtful.

[157] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 538: "Quando se admitia la Batalla, y venian "los unos, contra los otros, salian los de la Provincia, o' Pueblo a' un lugar particular, "que tenian entre sus terminos los quales llamaban Yauhtlalli, que quiere decir; Ter-"mino o' Lugar de la Guerra. Aqui salian los Proprietarios de la Tierra a' recibir a los "contrarios." Also, Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 442).

[158] From "yaotl," enemy, or "yaoyotl," battle or war, and "tlalli," ground or soil.

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726 erected, each tribe camping distinct from the other, the Mexicans occupying the centre of the entire camp.[159]

It was customary with the Mexicans to send out spies who, under different disguises, penetrated the hostile country ere the force had reached its neighborhood.[160] Besides, as soon as the latter halted on the "war-ground," numerous braves ventured out in advance, as scouts, stealthily creeping through the woods, as near the enemy as possible, to ascertain its position and numbers, as well as armament. The information gathered from these sources was reported during the night to the Mexican chieftain in command, who sat in council of war with the other principal leaders. This meeting, guided partly by the information thus obtained, devised the plan of attack for the coming day. The tactics of the 725 Mexicans were extremely simple: a decoy, in the shape of a precipitate retreat, and an ambush at the termination of it, seem to have been their highest conception. Therefore, during the night, they often dug pits far in advance of the encampment, wherein, at the close of the council, the most daring braves (and even the Mexican commander himself, occasionally) concealed themselves, their bodies covered with straw, branches, or foliage.[161] Meanwhile the warriors were overhauling their arms, painting them-

[159] Duran (Cap. XIX, p. 166): "Asi se partio' el exercito de Tulancingo y caminó "hasta llegar á vista de los enemigos, donde empeçaron a' hacer tiendas y xacales, "cada provincia y nacion para si." (Idem, Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 184; cap. XXII, p. 190; cap. XXXVII, p. 288; "donde a' tercer dia se juntaron todos los soldados y gente de "guerra con toda la priesa posible y mandaron asentar el real, el qual asentaron con "muchas tiendas y casas de esteras, quellos usauan en sus guerras y oy en dia las usan "en los mercados, que son unos tendejones de juncos que echan las espadañas.") Tezozomoc (Cap. LI, p. 83; cap. LXXVIII, p. 125). This author contains so many details on this subject that we forbear quoting him further with reference to chapter and page. He distinctly says that each tribe camped by itself, the Mexicans in the middle.

[160] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "enviaban delante sus espias muy disim-"uladas y pláticas en las lenguas de la provincia a' do iban a' dar guerra." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 539) copies almost textually.

725 [161] Tezozomoc mentions this very frequently. (Cap. XLVIII, he relates how the chief Axayaca hid himself in such a pit, in the foray against the Matlaltzinca. This is confirmed by Durán, Cap. XXXV, p. 277: "Y quedandóse en celada el rey, metidos en-"tre las ramas y otros debaxo de la tierra escondidos todos los soldados viejos y princi-"pales valerosos.") He also mentions (Cap. XIX, pp. 169 and 170) a very extensive ambush of that kind against the Huaxtecas. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 141): "They used ambushes, and often very artificial ones, since they laid down on the "ground, covering themselves with straw or herbs, etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 539) agrees almost literally with the above. Also Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV): "They used ambushes frequently, and concealed themselves in bushy places, "or even in pits made for that purpose, as the Spaniards often experienced it. Fre-"quently they took to flight in order to draw the enemy into dangerous positions, or to "assail his rear with fresh troops." We shall revert to this point hereafter.

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selves afresh, and the captains attended to their respective detach- 726
ments, exhorting the men to courage and endurance. Each tribe agreed upon its particular war-cry, to be used in action only. Finally, the whole encampment sometimes joined in an awful yell: the defiant war-whoop of thousands of Indians, and intended to mark, not their presence (which they supposed to be known), but their numbers and ferocity. This shout not unfrequently called forth a response from the enemy lurking in front of them.[162] Then the stillness of the night, of the gloomy and treacherous night preceding an Indian engagement, settled at last upon the "land of war."

This quietness did not last very long. Even if neither of the opposing parties attempted to surprise the other under cover of darkness, both were certainly alert before daybreak.[163] The Mexican force, preceded by a cloud of scattered braves as skirmishers or scouts, advanced cautiously, not in one solid body, but by tribes and subdivisions of tribes, as upon the march. Very soon their extreme outposts encountered those of the enemy, the war-whoop was raised on both sides, and a series of personal combats engaged along the whole line. Pebbles, carried along for that purpose, were hurled by means of the sling; stones picked up from the field were thrown at each other, accompanied by hideous yells and defiant epithets. Then followed darts and arrows, both parties dancing about to avoid the missiles. Meanwhile accessions from the main bodies moved up, the fight came to closer quarters, the sword and club being resorted to. If the enemy was sufficiently strong so as not to give way at once, the Mexicans feigned to retreat, rushing back towards the place where an ambush had been prepared. The pursuing foe, once caught in the trap, was roughly handled, their adversaries pressing upon them from all sides, and his efforts to disentangle himself were always accompanied with the heaviest loss, either in prisoners or in killed. At other points of the line similar snares were extended to the Mexicans by their opponents. Thus the fight progressed like an extensive skirmish, each party bent upon weakening the other by partial losses through rude stratagems, until the enemy, reduced in numbers and dis-

[162] The war-whoop ("alarido," or "la grita," as the Spanish authors call it) is distinct from the war-cry, the latter serving to identify the warriors of the same tribe or "quarter." The former is "izatzilizitli," the latter, "yaotzatzilizitli."

[163] The usual time for such attacks was daybreak or dawn (Tezozomoc, Caps. LXXXIV, p. 148, and LXXXVIII, p. 185: "al amanecer del alva").

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72b heartened by the death or capture of many principal warriors, gave way in an unmistakable manner.[164] Then a precipitate

[164] Besides Tezozomoc, who is so full of details on these fights that it is wasting space to quote him extensively, we find the most concise and reliable statements in Mendieta's "Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana." The descriptions of Mendieta agree perfectly with those of Tezozomoc (less with those of Duran), while the two authors had nothing in common, besides, Mendieta, the revered Franciscan father, terminating his work about 1596, and Tezozomoc, the simple Indian, his MS. in 1598. Neither of these works were printed previous to this century. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI): "At "the outset they sped stones by slings, and rods like darts. . . . . They also threw "stones by hand. Thereafter they resorted to sword and shield, and the archers went "in at the same time well protected thereby, and thus they spent their ammunition. "The archers from Tehuacan sometimes were so dexterous that they sped two or three "arrows at once with the same precision as one bowman would shoot one alone. Af-"ter the vanguard had spent a good deal of their munition they charged with sword "and dart, the sword being of wood, long, and lined with cutting pieces of flint. It "was tied to the wrist, in order that dropping it they might seize an enemy (as "their main object was to capture men alive) without losing the weapon. They had no "style of fencing, neither did they charge directly, but skirmished and rushed back "and forth. At first one party would turn to flee, as it seemed, the others pursuing, "killing and wounding and capturing all those lagging in the rear. Then the party "fleeing would suddenly turn back upon the pursuers, which fled in turn. Thus they "proceeded as in a tournament ('juego de cañas'), until they were tired, when fresh "bodies moved up to take up the fight. They had well disposed and agile people to "care for the wounded, bringing them to the rear where their surgeons were with the "medicines, healing and nursing them." See also, Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV), and the Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 374): "during the fight they shout "and sing, uttering sometimes the most horrid shrieks." (Mr. Prescott speaks of hospitals which "were established in the principal cities." This is doubtful, at least.) The most detailed account of such an engagement is found in Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 84), confirmed in the main by Durán (Cap. XXXVII, pp. 289 and 290), where he describes the disastrous fight of the Mexicans (1479) against the Tarasca of Michhuacan. It appears from the description of the former that during this bloody conflict, lasting a whole day, the different tribes moved up in succession and distinct from each other. There is but one instance of a higher tactical move, and this is found in Tezozomoc also (Cap. XCVIII, p. 93). When the Mexicans sallied against Tlaxcallan: "the gen-"eral Cuauhnochtli commanded that the Chalca should go by one road or path, those "of Aculhuacan by another, the Tecpaneca by another, and the Mexicans in the centre "where the Tlaxcallans were expected to be; all the other tribes extended in order to "take the Tlaxcalteca in the middle" (surround them). Notwithstanding the glowing descriptions of Clavigero, Torquemada, and Ixtlilxochitl, those engagements turn out to be ordinary Indian skirmishes on a large scale, in proportion to numbers, of course, but still after the same principle. These same authors even indicate, involuntarily, that there were less actions of masses, than individual exploits. For instance, Torquemada relates (Lib. II, cap. LXI, p. 183) that the principal chief, dressing himself in the garb of a common warrior, challenged the prominent chieftain of the enemy to single combat and overcame him, which deed decided the fortunes of the day. Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. XLV) even tells us how a single Tezcucan brave alone fell upon the enemy while his own army was yet at breakfast, and put them all to flight. If such stories are true, they militate strongly against the impression which these same authors would convey to us, of formidable hosts, well organized, opposing each other. A commander, responsible for the fate of tens of thousands committed to his guidance, could not expose his own person in such a manner. Either these stories, or the representation of the numbers engaged, and their tactics, are untrue.

[159] "Surgeons" are mentioned both by Mendieta and Torquemada. The Mexican name of surgeon is "texoxotla ticiti" (Molina, I, p. 25). "Texoxqui" means a sorcerer, and

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retreat began on one side, and an equally rapid pursuit on the 726
other.[165] The objective point of this retreat was the settlement or "pueblo" of the attacked tribe, but if the vanquished succeeded in placing between them and their pursuers some natural obstacle, like a river, or deep ravine, or if they took refuge upon a wooded range of steep hills, then the victors were arrested, as they seldom ventured to attack when this attack necessitated a strong simultaneous effort on the part of the whole force.[166] Still less could they execute rapid flank-movements. In course of time they might circumvent certain obstacles, but then their supplies were so limited that, if there was no positive indication of success, either in storming the position *without great danger*, or in carrying it within a very *short time* by some rude feint, they preferred to desist from further endeavors, and to return home with whatever spoils the battlefield alone had furnished. Thus they "collared"[167] their captives (which had been carefully watched behind the battle-front) and returned to Mexico in moderate triumph, leaving it to future times to proclaim: that such and such a tribe had been subdued by them, whereas they had only defeated it in one engagement, and the tribe had still preserved afterwards its complete independence.[168] [127]

"ticitl" a physician or diviner. Both agree very well with the conception of an Indian "medicine-man." There are, besides, evidences that priests went to war also, and I would suggest that it may have been a part of their duties to care for the wounded. A certain class of priests were called "tlamacazqui," certainly derived from "tlama," physician or doctor. [759]

[165] A slow and orderly retreat is a movement hardly known to Indians. They rush either way, advancing or retiring. Even the return of the Mexicans from the unsuccessful onslaught on the Tarasca (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII. p. 84) was as near to a disorderly flight as possible. Durán says (Cap. XXXVII, p. 291): "El rey Axayacatl mandó, "alçar su real, y asi como huyendo y medio afrentado, con la poca gente que le auia "quedada, todo desbaratado y lo mas de la gente herida."

[166] Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 131): "Those who gained the battle continued the pursuit "until the opponents reached some place where they could fortify themselves." Also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXII, p. 34, and cap. LVII, p. 94).

[167] If, on the battlefield, a captive still resisted, they cut the tendons of his feet, thus rendering him incapable of motion. After the action the prisoners were secured by wooden collars ("cuauh-cozcatl") and thus they were led home in the van of the returning force. Arrived at Mexico they were conducted first to the chief-teocalli, and after prostrating themselves before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, *were marched around the great stone of sacrifice*. (Compare the relation of Adair, "History of the American Indians," Argument XVI, pp. 165 and 167.—Return of a Chikkasah war party from a foray into Illinois, in 1765.)

[168] Such was the case with Meztitlan (Cap. LVII, p. 94, of Tezozomoc, and Durán, Cap. XL, p. 314). Tizocic made about 40 prisoners, and returned with the loss of 300 men ("Y que con aquello auian los contrarios recogidose a' sus lugares"). Still it is mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl as subject and tributary to the valley tribes.

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726 If the vanquished tribe found no such point of refuge, then the pursuit continued without relenting until the town or settlement itself was reached. Frequently both pursuers and pursued entered it almost at the same time. The torch was applied to the temple first, and an indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants began.[169]

728 Nothing short of speedy submission to tribute could arrest this butchery. The vanquished, therefore, if not prepared to flee from their homes forever,[170] made signals of peace. A parley ensued, and to it succeeded a surrender on the part of the defeated tribe. Generally one year of tribute was paid in advance, and thus the Mexicans might return homewards loaded, both with the spoils acquired on the battlefield and with the first guarantee of future contributions from the vanquished tribe.[171]

726 It sometimes occurred, however, that the tribe attacked had provided its settlement with artificial defenses, and the Mexicans, victorious in the open field, found themselves in presence of the simple fortifications, which we shall hereafter describe, like palisades or even platforms of earth or stone surmounted by parapets. An attack upon these was only attempted if there appeared no doubt as to the result, in consequence of the superiority of the Mexicans, or of the great losses sustained by their defenders in the previous fights.[172] Then, but only then, ladders were con-

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[169] The "teo-calli" or temple being in the centre of the settlement, and also its highest, and therefore, according to Indian notions, its strongest edifice, the destruction thereof by fire was the signal of decisive victory of the assailants. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31). Durán (Cap. XV, p. 129).

[170] In cases where the pueblo of the enemy had been completely deserted, either through flight of its inhabitants, or through their extermination, as was the case with Alahuitzlán, these sections were repeopled by colonies from Nahuatl stock. Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXIV, pp. 125 and 126) and Durán (Cap. XLV, p. 364, etc.) both relate in detail how it occurred. This may account in some degree for the presence of Nahuatlac stock at a distance from the valley, and may yet throw some light even upon the singular colonization of the Peruvian "Mitimáes."

[171] This suing for peace, where the tribe was of foreign stock-language, took place, sometimes through interpreters, "nahuatlata," sometimes merely by signs. The defeated generally fled to the top of a hill and from there beckoned to the pursuing Mexicans to stop the carnage, with humble and pitiful gestures. But the first parley did not always result in peace. The massacre of women and children recommenced often twice, ere the tribute offered by the vanquished satisfied the Mexicans. This tribute was exacted in proportion to the resistance offered and to the resources of the tribe. After peace was agreed upon the Mexicans still feasted from the food of those whom they had ruthlessly conquered. The prisoners, once taken, were never released nor exchanged. They had to carry the spoils and tribute to Mexico, but were generally well fed and cared for until the day when they were slaughtered to the idols.

[172] A good illustration is found in Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI), describing the foray against Tututepec and Quetzaltepec. But Durán is still more explicit on the same events. According to him (Cap. LVI, p. 547), after the unfortified pueblo of Tu-

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then, but only then, ladders were con-
structed,[173] and with due precaution and under cover of various [417]
feints, the walls were scaled.[174] A regular siege was out of the 726
question, the Mexicans not being provided for a protracted stay outside of their territory. They might lie in wait or hover around the enemy's defenses for a short time, bent upon attempting a surprise of some kind, but if the place could not be carried at a rush in some way the assailants finally had to abandon the attack and return home.[175]

We have heretofore presupposed that the tribe assailed by the Mexicans had been formally challenged, or at least notified of their coming. But this was not always the case. In many instances the Mexicans made their attack without previous warning, and a nocturnal surprise was attempted which was almost sure to succeed.

It is next to superfluous to venture a description of such a nightly onslaught. The scene, like that of the surprise of any settlement whatever by Indians during the hours of darkness, may be faintly imagined, but not adequately told. The main sallies and entries were occupied by the assailants,—creeping up stealthily,—the chief "teo-calli" surrounded, then the war-whoop was raised, and the miserable inhabitants of the pueblo realized at once that they were doomed. Few survivors only remained on such occa- 726
sions, and even these, unless the tribe surrendered at the first on- 727

tutepec had been sacked, the Mexicans moved upon Quetzaltepec, which was well fortified, and whose people sallied forth to meet the Mexicans in the open field three days in succession, until the third day at last they were signally defeated, and the defenses scaled in a rush.

[173] Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI). Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 448). The former describes these ladders ("escalas") minutely, giving their size and the number used.

[174] Tezozomoc speaks of archers posted outside, protecting by a shower of missiles the ascent of the scaling party or parties, while other bodies were burrowing through the wall. Durán gives a more plausible statement (p. 448): "Otro dia salió al campo la "gente tepaneca con toda su provincia, que era gran numero de gente, la qual se ove "tan valerosamente, que no los pudiendo resistir los de la ciudad, se empeçaron a' re-"traer hacia el muro. Montecuma, viendo que los tepanecas peleaban tan valerosamente "y que hacian retirar al enemigo, mandó tocar al arma, y en un punto salió el Mexicano "al campo y por otra parte el tezcucano, y arremetiendo todos de trapel, apellidando "los unos Mexico, Mexico, los otros Tezcuco, Tezcuco, acudieron cada uno por su "parte rompiendo por el exercito de los enemigos; y aunque de las murallas recibias "gran daño de las piedras grandes y trocos de palos que arrojaban, llegaron a' ella y "arrimando escalas, y otros, como gatos, subieron por ella, y otros cabando por el "cimiento ganaron la primera cerca." This shows that indeed it was carried at a rush.

[175] For this reason the wars with the neighboring tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholulan, took the shape of regular fights at stated times. A long campaign was out of all question. We may, in the course of this essay, investigate shortly the question of the wars between Mexico and Tlaxcallan, although it is not properly pertaining to the object of the present discussion.

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their 175 numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Ycpatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York." pp. 297–312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chávero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por-"que los naturales della eran amigos de Mutecsuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mutecsuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaros), at the confines of Tolnca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 85): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi-"maros, que dizen Tlazimoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Tolnca se volvieron, viendo que su campo no llegava: al iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with arrows, but no close combats are mentioned.

[180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

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Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in conflict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines.

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of*, *settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[161] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 460). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in those fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezozomoc.

[161] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an-"cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada dobladas la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebelin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. 88). "El primer rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

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712 area of the settlement thus enclosed, forming a terrace or platform, or whether it merely constituted a *belt around it*. As principal means of *protection*, they resorted to *elevation*.[162]

The pueblo of "Quauhquechollan (now Huacachula, in the State of La Puebla), lying to the South-east of Mexico, and tributary to the Mexicans in 1520, was considered very strong, and Cortés has left us the following description of its natural as well as of its
A artificial defenses:—

712 "This town of Guacachula lies on a plane, protected on one
361 "side by a high and steep hilly range, and on two sides by two "rivers, distant from each other about two cross-bow shots. Both "rivers run in deep and precipitous gorges; there are, conse-"quently, but few places where an entrance could be effected, "and even these are of difficult access, steep of descent and of "ascent, on horseback. The place is surrounded by a strong "wall of line and stone, outside of the city as high as four fath-"oms, and almost level with the ground inside. A parapet one-"half fathom in height runs along the top of this wall. For to "sally there are four entrances wide enough for a horse-man to "pass through; at each entrance there are three or four folds of "the enclosure entering one into the other; on each fold of the "wall a corresponding breastwork. Along the entire enclosure
T "they have heaps of stones and pebbles, with which they fight."[163]

712 This idea of constructing the pueblos on a mountain declivity, so as to be compelled to artificially protect *but one or two sides alone*, we find in several instances. The place of Chamula in the present State of Chiapas, when attacked by the Spaniards under

[162] Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España." Trat. III. Cap. XVI. p. 229), speaking of Tlaxcallan: "Their reason for building in high places was that in "order to feel more safe during their frequent wars, they looked to high and open "places, where they might sleep with less anxiety, since they had neither doors nor "walled enclosures, although they had entrenchments and fortifications ('albarradas "y reparos') in some places, they being sure of war to occur every year." The Mexican name for tribe, or settlement, or pueblo, "altepetl," itself indicates an elevated object, the word "tepetl" signifying "mountain" or "hill."

[163] "Carta Segunda (Vedia I. p. 50); also, Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXXII. p. 163), and several others. Clavigero (Lib. IX. cap. XXVIII) says that the walls of Quauhquechollan were fully 20 feet high, 12 feet wide, and had a parapet of 3 feet in elevation. The fathom: "Estado," "Braza," or "toesa," is equal to 2 "varas," or to 6 Castilian feet. According to this the wall would have been about 6.68–100 metres above the outer surface, or 22 feet. English. The text of Cortés reads: "tan alto como cuatro "estados por de fuera de la ciudad, e' *por de dentro esta' casi igual con el suelo.*" This would indicate that the "wall" was rather a *facing* of stone to a *large terrace*, upon which the pueblo itself had been erected.

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Diego Godoy, in 1524, was situated on a high and steep hill or ridge, surrounded by a gorge. The ascent was very difficult, and when the Spaniards had reached a certain height they met a palisade of timbers set crosswise into the ground, and tied together. Higher up there was a wall two fathoms high and four feet wide, of earth and stone, with some posts. In the most rugged corner there was a ladder leading upwards. The wall was surmounted by a guard of strong planking held between timbers set both within and without. Besides, vines of great thickness, and ropes, were fastened to the planks.[184] 7/12

In some cases, several tiers of enclosures or platforms, one above the other and surmounted by parapets, covered one side of a mountain-declivity. The dwellings of the people rested on the highest terrace, within the uppermost circumvallation, but huts or bowers sheltering the warriors were erected even on the outermost defenses. Such appears to have been the condition of Quetzaltepec,[185] before it was captured under the last Montezuma, A 7/12

[184] Chamula, or "Chambó," according to the late Mr. Brasseur ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 33, Note No. 19) is still the most populous place of the State of Chiapas, and lies about three leagues to the N. W. of San Cristobal. Its inhabitants speak the "Zotzil" language. They were never conquered, perhaps not even attacked, by the Mexicans. The description of its fortifications is from the "Relacion hecha por "Diego Godoy a' Hernando Cortés" (Vedia I, p. 406). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI) and Herrera (Dec. III, lib. V, cap. VIII, p. 163) mention it also. We meet here with a plain description of earthen or stone embankments surmounted by *guards of wood*. This may throw some light on some of the circumvallations found in the United States, and ascribed to the "mound-builders." (A still more detailed description, of a similarly fortified place, is given by Cortés himself in his fifth letter. 3 Sept., 1526. (Vedia, I, p. 128). Compare "Hist. de la Conq. y Reduccion de los Itzaes." Lib. I, cap. VII, p. 41).

[185] For a description of Quetzaltepec ("Mountain of brilliant or changing green "hues") see Tezozomoc (Cap. XC, pp. 158 and 159), and especially Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 443): "porque Tototepec, demas de tener el rio grande por amparo, hiço hacer cinco "cercas las mas fuertes que pudo, todas de piedra y tierra muy apisonada y de maderas "grandes y de todo género de fagina. Acauadas estas cercas, que la que cercaua el "pueblo era de seis braças en alto y de quatro en ancho, siendo los demas que se les "iban siguiendo de a' quatro y de cinco en alto, ..." Although Durán uses the expression "cerca" (enclosure), there is little doubt but that they were but *platforms*, surmounted by stone or wooden parapets. Tezozomoc (Cap. XC), while speaking of six works ("albarrada," or "paredon"), distinctly mentions that there were huts or houses on them ("Luego mandó poner fuego á la segunda albarrada, que tenian *encima* "mucha caseria de buhios. . . ." "El primer paredon era de cinco braças de ancho, "y de tres de altura, y mucha peña encima; la segunda, tercera y quarta al proprie "tenor, excepto la cesta que era de dos brazas de altura y de seis brazas de ancho, *muchos* "*buhios encima, xacales, y mucha gente*," p. 158). We are forcibly reminded here of the hill of Sacsa-huaman, at Cuzco, in Peru, whose defenses consist, according to the Hon. E. G. Squier: "of three lines of massive walls, each supporting a terrace and a parapet. "The walls are nearly parallel, and have approximately accurate entering and reenter-"ing angles for their total existing length of 1,800 feet. The first or outer wall has an "average present height of 27 feet; the second wall is 35 feet within it, and is 18 feet high;

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712 and it is not improbable that the celebrated "pyramid of Xochicalco" may yet prove to have been a fortified pueblo, analogous to or of the type just described.[186]

"the third is 16 feet within the second, and is, in its highest part, 14 feet in elevation. The "total elevation of the works is therefore 30 feet." According to the descriptions of Tezozomoc and Durán the fortifications of Quetzaltepec were very similar to, only perhaps more extensive, even, than those of the Inca stronghold, at Cuzco. In the art of fortification, however, the Inca of Peru were far in advance of the other American aborigines. Nowhere else, on this continent, do we find anything near alike to Ollantay-tambo, Pisac, or Piquillacta. Mexican fortified pueblos were probably analogous to the "pucara" or strongholds of the Aymara Indians on the Bolivian high-plateau. (See E. G. Squier: "Peru, Incid. of Travel and Explor. in the land of the Incas," New York, 1877.)

172 [186] "Xochicalco," the "place of the house of flowers" ("xochiti," flower, — "calli," house), is situated near Temisco, S. E. of Cuernavaca (the ancient "Quauhnahuac"), in the State of Mexico proper. The pyramid was probably first described by Don Joseph Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, Mexico, 1791. "Descripcion de las Antiquidades de "Xochicalco." Robertson (Note XXXIX, to p. 139, of vol. III) describes a pyramid: "a "temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco." The most complete descriptions, however, are those of Pietro Marquez ("Due antichi monumenti di architettura Messicana," Roma, 1804); of Baron A. von Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères "et Monuments des peuples indigénes de l'Amérique," pp. 129 to 137 of the Edition 8vo "of 1816, vol. I, and plate No. IX of the Atlas in folio); of Nebel; of E. Tylor ("Anahuac"), and of Brantz-Mayer ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1847). Lord Kingsborough has of course furnished splendid illustrations of the monument, in vol. IV of the "Antiquities of Mexico," and a description by Capt. Dupaix, in vol. VI, p. 430. Also has Mr. H. H. Bancroft, with the usual faithfulness to his sources, characteristic of this eminent compilator. We quote from Brantz-Mayer (p. 178): "From this eminence the guide . . . . pointed out to me a small mountain, at the "extremity of the plain in front, on which was situated the Pyramid of Xochicalco, "the subject of our day's explorations. The *cerro* appears to rise directly out of the "levels between two mountains, and the plain continuing to its very foot, might seem-"ingly be traversed in half an hour." But this intervening space was cut up by deep gullies (barrancas), making the trip to the hill very tedious, difficult, and lengthy. The author's general description of the eminence is as follows (pp. 180 and 181): "At the "distance of six leagues from the city of Cuernevaca, lies a cerro, three hundred feet "in height, which, with the ruins that crown it, is known by the name of Xochicalco, "or 'the Hill of Flowers.' The base of this eminence is surrounded by the very dis-"tinct remains of a deep and wide ditch; its summit is attained by five spiral terraces; "the walls that support them are built of stone, joined by cement, and are still quite "perfect; and, at regular distances, as if to buttress these terraces, there are remains "of bulwarks shaped like the bastions of a fortification. The summit of the hill is a "wide esplanade, on the eastern side of which are still perceptible three truncated "cones, resembling the tumuli found among many similar ruins in Mexico. On the "other sides there are also large heaps of stones of irregular shape, which seem to "have formed portions of similar mounds or tumuli, or, perhaps, parts of fortifications "in connection with the wall that is alleged by the old writers to have surrounded the "base of the pyramid, but of which I could discern no traces." On the top of this esplanade there seems to have been an edifice of five terraces (as Alzate relates) or stories, but only the lowest one is yet in existence. Nebel has given an ideal reconstruction of this building ("Viaje pintoresco y arqueologico a' la Republica de Mexico"), also Alzate. Closing his investigation of the ornaments and sculptures still visible in the ruins of the summit, Brantz-Mayer remarks: "The day was far advanced when I "stood for the last time on the corner-stone of the upper terrace and looked at the "beautiful prospect around me. It was the centre of a mighty plain. Running due "north were the remains of an ancient paved road, leading over prairie and barranca

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But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were 000

"to the city (Quanhnahuac) distinctly visible at the foot of the Sierra Madre" (p. 187). 172
Baron Humboldt gives the measurements as follows: Height of the hill from its base, 117 mètres (about 380 feet), divided into five tiers. Each tier is about 20 mètres high. Circumference of the hill-base about 4,000 mètres (13,000 feet). Summit platform 72 mètres long, from N. to S., and 36 m. from E. to W. The wall once enclosing this platform was about 2 m. in height. Base of the top-edifice, 20 m. 7' by 17 m. 4'. On the north side there are a number of excavations in the rocks, artificial caverns, whose openings Brantz-Mayer found "at the foot of the first terrace on the northern side of "the hill." These excavations *are said* to have been visited in 1825.

Baron v. Humboldt concludes: "Le fossé dont la colline est entourée, le revêtement "des assises, le grand nombre d'appartemens souterrains creusés dans le roc du coté "du nord, le mur qui défend l'approche de la plate-forme, tout concourt à donner au "monument de Xochicalco le caractère d'un monument militaire. Les naturels desig-"nent même encore aujourd'hui les ruines de la pyramide qui s'élevait au milieu de la "plate-forme, par un nom qui équivaut à celui de château fort ou de citadelle. La "grande analogie de forme que l'on remarque entre cette prétendue citadelle et les mai-"sons des dieux aztèques (teocallis), me fait soupçonner que la colline de Xochicalco "n'était autre chose qu'un temple fortifié" (p. 134, vol. I of ed. 8vo).

E. B. Tylor ("Anáhuac," Cap. VII, p. 188), speaking of Xochicalco, says: "It was "a fortified hill of great strength." Humboldt makes of it: "a fortified temple." But the hill is too high and too large for such a purpose alone. Besides, the rooms excavated in the rock, analogous to the "cliff-houses" of Arizona, the road leading originally towards Quanhnahuac, the central position of the hill itself;—all tends to indicate that "Xochicalco" was once a *pueblo, fortified after the principles prevailing among the aborigines*, and whose inhabitants dwelt partly in the rock, partly on the tiers or on the esplanade into which the summit had been levelled. The "tpocalli," or temple, occupied the hill-top, being there as well in the *centre of the population* as in *any pueblo* situated on the *level of the plain*. The five tiers or terraces were probably lined with wooden parapets, long since decayed, and only the uppermost platform had a stone enclosure.

Another pyramidal structure, found by Capt. Gul. Dupaix, near Old Tepexe, in Tehuantepec, is represented on Plate I, part III, vol. IV, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico." It is composed of eight stories or tiers. Capt. Dupaix remarks (Kingsborough, Vol. VI, p. 467): "This wall exhibits a species of fortifications which I "cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent." This structure has more analogy, in its outlines, with the picture given by Clavigero of the great "teo-calli" of Mexico, than any other. The drawing by the learned Abbé is entirely faultive as far as the Mexican temple is concerned, but it is not out of place when applied to a fortified pueblo, occupying an entire hill.

When the Mexicans, previous to their flight into Culhuacan and subsequently into 712
the lagune, were hemmed in on the hill of Chapultepec by the tribes of the valley, they [173]
fortified the hill in the following manner, according to Durán (Cap. III, pp. 27 and 28): Their newly elected war-chief (Huitzilihuitl) directed that "along the entire declivity "of the hill many stone walls should be constructed, arising one above the other like "steps, one fathom in width, thus leaving above a spacious square where all gathered "and fortified themselves, keeping watch diligently day and night, placing the women "and children into the centre of their troop, preparing arrows, macanas, darts, cutting "stones, making slings for their defence." According to this paragraph, the hill of Chapultepec would have presented an appearance, perhaps, not entirely dissimilar to that of Xochicalco, or Tepexe,—terraced, like the "andenes" of Peru. Cervántes-Salazar, whose "Tres Diálogos latinos," or "Mexico, in 1554," have been republished, in 1875, by Sr. Icazbalceta (to whose great kindness I take occasion to offer a humble tribute of gratitude), seems to allude to remains of this original grading in his 3d dialogue, when Alfaro (one of his personages) inquires (p. 277): "Para que son estas cre-"das tan anchas y largas, que llegan hasta arriba, y rodean casi todo el cerro?" Fur-

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361 But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were open places, without circumvallations or enclosures,[187] constructed after the plan which we have already exposed,[188] and without any other strongholds than their massive communal dwellings, and the 361 pyramidal temple, or "teo-calli."[189] On the flat roofs of the former 712 heaps of stones could be collected and hurled down upon the enemy from behind a guard of planks or adobe running along the edge of the roof.[190] The truncated pyramid, on its graded ascent, afforded room for a number of combatants.[191] Both gave the re-

[712] ther on he says: "Como se va adelgazando el cerro hasta la cremka," and "Zuazo" makes the very characteristic reply: "Asi vino bien para que se pudiera ver todo lo "que esta' abajo." (As a military position would indeed require.) In the Introduction to this Dialogue (p. 256), the learned Mexican scholar remarks: "Parece que estas al-"barradas o' escalones se conservaron hasta despues de la conquista, y que los emper, "adores Aztecas los habian llenado de tierra, convirtiéndoles en jardines, por no tener "ya objeto como obras de fortificacion."

[187] The letter written by "Fray Francisco de Bologna," from Mexico, to the provincial of Bologna, published in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil "de pièces, etc.") says: "Généralement leurs villes n'étaient pas fermées, mais les es-"pagnols leur ont appris à les entourer de murailles" (p. 212). The Mexican tongue distinguishes "altepetl," a pueblo (or tribe), from "tename-altepetl," a pueblo surrounded by a wall ("tenamitl" "muro," walled enclosure). The Quiche-language of Guatemala has adopted the Nahuatl word "tenamitl," changing it into "tinamit," to signify a tribe or place.

[188] Motolinia ("Hist. de los Ind. de N. España," "Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 62-65.

[189] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229. Id. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXVI).

[190] When the Spaniards entered Cholula they soon found out, according to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 20) and Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. LXIII, p. 75), "that "the roofs were covered with pebbles and lined with guards of adobe." The Tlaxcallans had previously warned Cortés about Cholula, saying (p. 19 "Carta Segunda,"): "y "que tenian muchas de la calles tapiadas, y por las azoteas de las casas muchas pie-"dras, para que despues que entráscemos en la ciudad tomarnos seguramente y aprove-"charse de nosotros á su voluntad." They also warned him about Mexico, saying: "that all the roofs were flat, with guards like breastworks, so that they might fight "from the house-tops" (Bernal-Diez, cap. LXXVIII). During the street fights previous to the retreat of Cortés on July 1st, 1520, and also during the gradual capture of Mexico, the Mexicans fought desperately from the roofs, hurling stones, rocks and pebbles upon the assailants. See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 41, 42 and 43; "Carta "Tercera, pp. 74, 76, 84, 86). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CXXVI, pp. 130, 131; cap. CLI, p. 183). I refrain from quoting later writers, who copied mostly from the eye-witnesses' reports, and merely add the words of Fray Toribio de Paredes (Motolinia), in his History, written about 1540. ("Coll. de Doc.," I, trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187 "Estaba "Mexico muy fuerte y bien ordenada, ... Tenia por fortaleza los templos del "demonio y las casas de Motecuzoma, señor principal, y las de los otros señores."

[191] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 42): "Y en la torre muy alta y mas principal della se "subieron fasta quinientos Indios, qué segun me parécio, eran personas muy princi-"pales. Y en ella subieron mucho mantenimiento de pan y agua y otras cosas de comer-"y muchas piedras; é todos los mas tenian lanças muy largas con unos hierros de pe-"dernal mas anchos que las de las nuestras, y no ménos agudos; è de alli hacian mucho "daño a' la gente de la fortaleza, porque estaba muy cerca della. La cual dicha torre "combatieron los españoles dos a' tres veces y la acometieron a' subir; y como era mu-"alta y tenia la subida agra, porque tiene ciento y tantos escalones; y los de arriba es-

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source of fighting *under shelter from above*, while the assailant had to struggle *unprotected from below*. As against an *Indian* foe, these massive constructions were *indeed strongholds*, and even, as we shall hereafter see, they opposed strong obstacles to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, as often as it was possible, the aborigines added to the defensive means of their architecture the resource of a *strong natural position*, and *those* tribes proved to be most *powerful* and *aggressive*, whose *defensive* position was either naturally or artificially, or in both respects, *the least vulnerable*.[192]

We have already mentioned the pueblo of Mexico as one of the strongest positions ever occupied by Indians up to the sixteenth century. Still, it was an open place, without circumvallations or

"taban bien pertrechados de piedra y otras armas, ..." Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXVI, p. 131). The latter, in the very "likely" style of the "Historia Verdadera" (?) mentions 4.000 men as having occupied "*one* teocalli." Cortés is more modest and certainly nearer the truth. See, also, Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187. "Ténia por fortaleza los templos del demonio"). When the Mexicans conquered Tlatlulco, the principal stronghold of the Tlatilulcans was their *temple*. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XLV, p. 74). Durán (Cap. XXXIV, p. 268): "el rey subió a' lo alto del templo con "otros canalleros suyos aunque con mucho trabajo por la mucha resistencia que halló"). We again refer to what has already been stated: that the temple being the highest, and therefore strongest, part of the pueblo, its capture or destruction was the signal of victory.

[192] The tribes of Chiapas were much feared on account of their ferocity, and of their naturally and artificially strong places. Compare Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI, p. 223, "porque ciertamente eran en aquel tiempo los mayores guerreros que yo había visto "en toda la Nueva-España"). Cachula, Chiapas, and Chamula, were all naturally and by art well fortified. We have already alluded to Atitlan, in Guatimala (Report of Alvarado, Vedia I, p. 460. Bernal-Diez, Vedia II, cap. CLXIV, p. 221: "y que eran "muy malos y de malas condiciones"). Tlaxcallan itself enjoyed a very strong defensive position, although the place was open and not enclosed. Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 239: "El señor mas antiguo y que primero lo fundó, edificó en un cerro-"jon alto, que se llama Tepeticpac, que quiere decir encima de sierra"). Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18: "porque es muy mayor que Granada y muy mas fuerte"). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XII, p. 263). Gomara ("De Tlaxcallan," Vedia I, p. 323), etc., etc. Utlatlan, or rather "Gumarcaah," the QQuiché pueblo of Guatemala, of which Fuentes especially has made the capital of a vast "empire of Quiché," was a very strongly situated place. (See Stevens' "Travels in Central America, Yucatan, and Chiapas.") The village of Santa Cruz del QQuiche now stands in the vicinity. Alvarado, its conqueror, reports (Vedia I, p. 456): "as the city is most remarkably strong, and has not more "than two entrances, one by thirty and some, high steps of stone, and the other by a "dyke made by hand." The Abbé Brasseur describes it as follows ("Popol-Vuh," cap. IX, pp. 212 and 213, foot-note): "Utatlan or Gumarcaah was composed of three distinct "plateaux, surrounded by ravines communicating however by paths (or roads) flanked "by cut stones . . . . There was but one entrance to this great town, the same "by which it is now reached. (The QQuiché text says: "where the town with its ra-"vines was built of stone and lime and covered with cement.") Thus we have the principal pueblos of Middle America all established in strong defensive places, for Mexico, as we have already said, was perhaps the least vulnerable of all, and also the one which occupied the most prominent position.

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361 walled enclosures.[193] But it was surrounded by *water* on all sides.
712 This was a *natural* protection, *apparently*. However, the lake around Mexico was the work of the Mexicans themselves, and deserves, as such, to be regarded as an evidence of no ordinary
712 skill on their part. When they fled into the space subsequently
361 transformed into a lagune, it was an extensive swamp, covered with canebrake. Many parts of it could be waded through with ease, at some places the streams emptying into it from the West filtered through the deeper channels into Lake Tezcuco. Flakes of turf or of sand occasionally protruded over the surface, and on one of these dry spots the Mexicans huddled together for existence.[194] Unmolested on account of their extreme weakness, they could extend this area of dry soil by additions of sod, by scanty artificial foundations of turf thrown into the shallow morass and, erecting upon it their frail dwellings, they lived in poverty until they found out the great advantage which this isolated position gave to them over the surrounding tribes. They realized that, while *they* might sally forth with impunity, having a safe retreat behind them, an attack upon *their* position was both difficult and dangerous for the assailant. Once *their* first attempt crowned with success they continued and, valuing their situation as the main element of strength, they improved the foothold on the mainland by compelling subjected tribes to build for them a causeway, running from the outlet of Lake Xochimilco northward, to the pueblo of Mexico.[195] This dyke, while it insured communication with the mainland, penned up the waters flowing into the swamp from the west-side, and *accumulated* them there.[196] On

[193] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). When the Tlaxcallans represented to Cortés the dangers to which he exposed himself by going to Mexico, they did not mention fortifications (Bernal-Diez, LXXVIII, p. 70), but simply how the place was surrounded by water, the strength of the houses, and their difficult access.

[194] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 5). Durán ("Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España," Cap. IV, pp. 36 and 37) is very explicit: "y pasaslos por la otra parte del rio (the outlet of "Lake Xochimilco) metieronse en los carriçales y tulares de la laguna." "Deste lugar "vinieron buscando y mirando si allarian algun lugar que fuese abomodado para po "der hacer asiento, y andando desta manera por unas partes y otras entre las espa- "dañas y carriçales, allaron un ojo de agua hermosissimo." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X and cap. XI, p. 99).

[195] Durán (Cap. XII, p. 112): "pues vuelto a' los de Xochimilco les mandó que luego, "sin mas tardar, mandasen a' todos los de la ciudad hiciesen una calçada de tres bra- "çes en ancho desde su pueblo hasta la ciudad de Mexico, de piedra y tierra, cegas- "en el agua quel termino desta calçada tomase, y hiciesen sus puentes á trechos para "que el agua tuviese por donde salir de una parte a' otra." (Also, Cap. XIII, p. 113.)

[196] We must remember that the level of the "plaza mayor" of Mexico was, towards the beginning of this century, but one "vara" (of three Castilian feet), one foot and

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the other hand, the fresh water emptying out of Lake Xochimilco 312
was thrown to the east side of the dyke into Lake Tezcuco. By 361
this simple contrivance the Mexicans surrounded their pueblo with a huge pond on all sides, isolating, or rather *fortifying* it beyond all conceivable means of Indian assault.[197] *The causeways leading to* 711
Mexico were, therefore, military constructions.[198] Subsequently the dyke was continued to the north until where Guadalupe Hidalgo now stands (anciently Tepeyacac), thus closing up the western basin completely, and another causeway, running east and west was constructed to Tacuba. From the southern dyke a branch ran to Cuyuacan, starting at Xoloc and extending to the southwest. In order to insure free circulation of the waters, sluices were cut, which interrupted the causeways at several places. Wooden 312
bridges, easily removable, were laid across these ditches. Thus 361
Mexico needed no outer fortifications nor walled enclosures.[199] 712

one inch higher than the level of Lake Tescuco. This elevation was purely artificial (Humboldt, "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Paris, 1827. Vol. II, pp. 96, 97 and 98). After the causeways running north and south had been constructed, the waters emptying into the swamp from the west side could not any longer run freely into the salt-water basin of Tezcuco. They were actually kept around the pueblo, and the swamp thus changed into a lagune. That those sources were powerful enough for such a purpose is amply shown by the great inundation which their careless opening occasioned under Ahuitzotl, in 1498 ("Essai politique," Vol. II, p. 101), of which the old authors bear ample testimony. (Durán, Cap. XLVIII and XLIX.) (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXX.) (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. LXVI.) (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXVII, pp. 198 and 199.)

[197] The levels of Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco are 1 vara 11 inches higher than the "plaza mayor" of Mexico. Their outlet is to the northwest, between Churubusco and Iztapalapan. Previously, when Mexico was surrounded by water, this outlet was between Mexicalzinco and Churubusco (then called "Huitzilopocheo"). At Churubusco the great causeway began, and the waters emptying out of Lake Xochimilco flowed along its right hand side into Lake Tezcuco. The causeways thus increased the effects of natural drainage upon the central basin. It was certainly a very primitive but very effective work on the part of the Mexicans. We find a parallel to it, at a comparatively recent date, in Bolivia. When Andrés Tupac Amaru, the son of the unfortunate José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was blockading Sorata, in 1783, he could not, without artillery, hope to succeed against the well fortified town. Therefore, by a system of circumvallation, he enclosed the town with the waters of the Sierra, which finally destroyed the earthworks, leaving the entrance free to the infuriated Indians. 22,000 whites perished in the massacre ensuing.

[198] It is to the Hon. L. H. Morgan that we owe the first intimation in regard to the true character and purpose of these causeways. They were not merely for the purpose of insuring communication with the mainland, but especially for the defence of Mexico. Without them the area extending between the pueblo and the western shore would, at best, have remained a swamp, or would have become, as it now is, dry land. In both cases the defensive power of the Mexicans was at an end, and the course of events in Mexico would have turned quite differently.

[199] Mention is made of a fortification of some kind at "Xoloc," where the branch dyke from Cuyuacan joined the main causeway. (This must have been in the neighborhood of San Antonio.)

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361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
712 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1850. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

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tés against Tlaxcallan, and the celebrated fight near Otumpan, 726
both of which have been so beautifully described by Mr. Prescott. 175
Although in the engagements against the Tlaxcallans the Mexicans proper were not concerned, we know that both tribes were so nearly alike in military resources and faculties, that we can easily substitute the one for the other, taking the action of the one as illustrative of the action of the other in a similar emergency. At Otumpan Mexicans and allied tribes opposed the Spaniards. Both examples will more particularly relate to *offensive* warfare, being combats in the open field.

Purposely we have used the term of "*campaign*" as connected with Tlaxcallan, avoiding the conception of "battles," or "great "battles" even, so liberally employed by the majority of authors. It is erroneous to admit that *regular battles* were ever fought during the time Cortés advanced against the pueblo of Tlaxcallan. As far as we can rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, they merely prove that the Tlaxcallans allured, so to say, by the numerical inferiority of the Spanish invaders, pounced upon them with all the fury of a wild horde and, being saluted by a well nourished fire of murderous effect, they returned to their primitive warfare of decoys, ambushes, and surprises, hoping to tire out the Spaniards through this constant and desultory skirmishing. The tactics of Cortés, on this occasion, were simply to hold out in defensible positions; a task of no small difficulty if we consider that his men during many days could obtain no rest, and scarcely any food. But by persevering in this attitude he "turned the tables" upon the Indians of Tlaxcallan by finally tiring out, and wearing out, their power of *aggression*. Then *he* took the *offensive*, and by successful dashes, both revictualled his people and brought the enemy to favorable terms.[203]

[203] The descriptions furnished by various authors of the 16th century, of this campaign against Tlaxcallan are most contradictory. Ixtlilxochitl says in his 13th Relation ("De la venida de los Españoles") that from Cempoalan to Tlaxcallan "the natives "received them with the greatest joy, feasted them, and there were neither fights nor "quarrels, beyond those which the Spaniards themselves provoked; *if there were any at all.*" In the "Histoire des Chichimèques," however, the same author speaks of an action of two days, in which he estimates the numbers of the Tlaxcallans at 150,000 men (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 189).—Tezozomoc (Cap. CX, p. 196) relates that the Otomies of Tecoac met together and spoke: "are we perhaps the vassals of those that have come? "did they overcome us in just war? come on, Chichimecas, to arms against them!—and "so, as like mountaineers, they forthwith armed themselves, and as they came shouting "and hurling darts, the camp armed also, and gave them a discharge of small arms "and fieldpieces, so that after an hour nothing more was left to do, the entire field "being covered with dead bodies." This agrees almost verbally with Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. X, p. 422).

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726 Of all the actions fought during the conquest none has taken so
175 much the character of a regular battle as that of the 8th of July, 1520, and commonly named the battle of Otumpan. It was, however, but a "running fight," lasting a whole day or nearly. The Spaniards, without fire-arms, almost famished, reduced in numbers, and mostly all wounded, were pursued as soon as they left the pue-

Cortés ("Carta Segunda" Vedia I, p. 16 and 17) gives a clearer description from which we glean the following facts: On entering the Tlaxcallan grounds, the van-guard of the Spaniards fell into an ambush, which they soon forced. "E desque sintiéron que "los nuestros se acercaban se retiraron, porque eran pocos, y nos dejaron el campo." He then moved on to a small stream, one league further, where he established his camp. The next day the Spaniards proceeded further, and were soon assaulted by a number of Indians. "Muy armados y con muy gran grita, y comenzaron a pelear con nosotros. "tirándonos muchas varas y flechas." This attack was a feint, and drew the whites into an ambuscade ("hasta nos meter entre mas de cien mil hombres de pelea, que por todas "partes nos tenian cercados, y peleamos con ellos, y ellos con nosotros, todo el dia, "hasta una hora antes de puesto el sol, que se retrajéron."); *they continued advancing however all day*, and at night occupied the defensive position which Cortés thereafter held until the Tlaxcallans submitted. "Aquella noche me fice fuerte en una torricella "de idolos que estaba en un cerito." On the following day Cortés made a successful razzia upon five or six small settlements, and on the next morning the Tlaxcallans in turn attempted to attack the Spanish camp. This attack was speedily repulsed, the Spaniards fortifying their position so, "que en obra de cuatro horas habiamos fecho "lugar para que en nuestro real no nos ofendiesen, puesto que todavia hacian algunos "arremetidas." In other words, the Tlaxcallans rushed up against the encampment, were beaten back, and then hovered around during the remainder of the day, skirmishing, and attempting to draw their foes into ambushes which they held prepared. From this time on the Indians never assaulted, but Cortés made occasional sallies and forays, revictualling his men, and burning the houses and crops of the natives, until the tribe made propotals of peace.

Andrès de Tapia, another eye witness, an officer of high rank. ("Relacion, Col: "de Doc, II, pp. 567 and 568") fully confirms the statement of Cortés. The first day's engagement he describes as follows: "And about eight in the morning there sallied "forth against us so many men of war, that it strikes me as if there had been one hun-"dred thousand, while some are of opinion that there were many more. Some of them "expected us in certain deep ravines of streams crossing our path, and, traversing "them with much difficulty, we went in against them.....The Marquis always went in "the lead with the horsemen, fighting, and returning from time to time to concert his "men, keeping them close together....Some Indians would close up with the horsemen "so as to seize their lances, and thus while *fighting they proceeded that day* to a house "of idols near which were two or three huts. There the Spaniards established them-"selves during eighteen days, and went out fighting as the Marquis commanded. . ."

. . . . .

According to the above two eye-witnesses, the "great battle" of the 2d Sept: 1519. (Prescott Vol. I, p. 427) appears on the part of the Indians, to have consisted of a wild rush or dash (perhaps a feint) speedily repulsed, an ambush, soon forced, and for the remainder of the day constant skirmishing and harassing of the Spanish march, until the latter reached a strong position. The "decisive victory" of the 8th Sept: 1519 (Prescott, Vol. I, pp. 437–447) was a fierce onslaught upon the Spanish camp at daybreak ("Otro "dia en amaneciendo dan sobre nuestro real mas de ciento y cuarenta y nueve mil "hombres," Cortés, p. 16) which met with a prompt repulse, and the remainder of the day was also filled with more or less heavy skirmishing on both sides. These are the two prominent days of fighting during the entire two weeks of hostilities against Tlaxcallan, and they certainly were not pitched battles, as commonly admitted. An atten-

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blo of Zacamulco in the morning. Harrassed in flank and rear by the Mexicans who, not any longer checked by the volleys of musketry, dashed up to closer quarters, the Spaniards toiled on, fighting and marching, until, in the plains of Apan, they were completely surrounded on all sides. This was the *final ambush* prepared for them by the Mexicans. The engagement *there* must have been of the most desperate character, but it was of *short duration*, the Spaniards, with the courage of despair, cutting their way out. The Indians had so firmly relied upon annihilating their foes on that day that they desisted from future pursuit.[204]

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The engagements near Otumpan were the last conflicts occurring after the terrible night of the 1st of July, 1520, and previous to the resumption of the campaign by Cortés, from his headquarters at Tlaxcallan. The numerous actions which took place after-

tive and critical reading even of the third eye-witness, the too much esteemed Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera" in Vedia II, Caps. LXIII, LXIV, LXV, p. 55 to 58) confirms these views to the fullest possible extent, although the latter, bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position, less acquainted with general operations, enhances the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It must not be inferred from the above that the achievements of the Spaniards are therefore less memorable. If the fighting was on a scale different from that of European wars, it was none the less exhausting. Any charge of a few horsemen could scatter the enemy, but the next moment a new attack, from some unexpected quarter might be looked for. The danger consisted less in injury on the battlefield, than in the gradual wearing out of the men by the never ceasing watchfulness required. The successful result reflects the highest credit upon the military capacity of the Spaniards, as well as upon their great commander.

[204] Cortés ("Carta Segunda") pp. 45, 46. "And it appeared as if the Holy Ghost had "enlightened me by this advice, after what occurred the next day. For, having moved "on in the morning, at the distance of one and a half leagues large numbers of Indians "came to meet us, so that in the van, rear and flanks the field seemed covered with "them, and they assailed us with such violence, that we hardly knew each other, from "being mixed up with them. . . . In this condition *we remained much of the whole "day*, until it pleased God that one of their number was killed, who appeared to be of "such quality, that with his death the fight ceased. Then we proceeded, somewhat "relieved, but nevertheless exhausted, until to a small house in the plain, where we "staid for the night." . . . . .

The ambush had been prepared for several days (Bernal-Diez, Cap. CXXVIII, p. 136), for during their incessant pursuit on the preceding days the Mexicans had shouted to them: "Thither you shall go where none of you will escape alive" (p. 136). Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. XXVII, p. 434) says the Spaniards halted: "Los Españoles como les "vieron ir tras si con gran prisa entendieron que querian pelear y pararonse y pusiéronse "en órden de guerra; y los mexicanos como eran muchos tomaron en media à los Espa-"ñoles y commenzaron à combatirlos de todas partes." See also Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist: "des Chichimeques" Cap. LXXXIX). It was certainly a hand to hand conflict, the Indians, feeling sure to overpower their foes, striving to *capture* as many of them as possible *alive*. This, and the few horses remaining, saved the Spanish troop.

It is upon the statement of Bernal-Diez, that when the emblem or token carried by or near one of the principal chiefs fell, the fight ceased, that the conception has arisen, as if the fall of the chief banner decided the fate of an engagement. But there is no other evidence of the existence of a central banner or emblem.

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726 wards are of minor interest to us up to the time when the siege of
175 Mexico began. A rapid sketch of the events of this siege, however, should illustrate the *defensive* warfare of the Mexicans.

648 It is well known how, by a shrewd policy, as well as by able
175 strategy, Cortés succeeded in *dismembering*, rather than overpow-
726 ering, the Nahuatl confederacy of the valley of Mexico. He thus isolated the Mexican tribe proper, cut off its sources of reinforcement, and, above all, cut off its *subsistence*, by depriving it of tribute and barter. The time came at last when even those pueblos on the lake shores nearest to Mexico could not, or would not, any longer recognize friendly connections with their former military head. The surface of the water-sheet and the causeways were alone left to the tribe and to such additional warriors as had joined them in their abode, from the outside, to share their fate. As long as the lake could be freely navigated by Mexican canoes, any point of the mainland was exposed to attack by their warriors. Therefore Cortés launched his boats or "brigantines," which soon cleared Lake Tezcuco proper, driving the canoes to shelter in the narrow canals which ran all through the pueblo. His land forces occupied three out of the four issues of the causeways on the mainland. *Then* the Mexicans were effectually hemmed in, without any outlet beyond the limited circulation on the ponds lying west of the chief causeways. Cortés' first step was to seize Chapultepec, and to cut off the supply of fresh water running thence along the causeway to Mexico.[205] Thus deprived of drinking water, almost, since that of the lagune was not wholesome, with limited supplies of food only, the Mexican tribe was surrounded by human enemies *without*, whilst two of the greatest plagues of mankind, thirst and famine, were sure to threaten them, ultimately, *within*.

[205] Mexico was provided with a constant supply of fresh water from Chapultepec. (Clavigero, Lib. VII, Cap. LIV.) The channels were constructed of stone, five feet high, and two feet broad (Cortés, "Carta Segunda"). It was one of the first moves of Cortés to seize the spring supplying these channels. The Mexicans, feeling the importance of the action, defended the position desperately. (Bernal-Diez. Cap. CL, p. 176.) "Acordamos que entrambas capitanias juntas fuésemos à quebrar el agua de chapultepeque "de que se proveia la ciudad, que estaba desde alli de Tacuba aun no media legua. "E yendo à los quebrar los caños, toparonnos muchos guerreros, que nos esperaban en "el camino; porque bien entendido tenian que aquello habia de ser el primero en que "los podiamos dañar; y asi como nos encontraron cerca de unos pasos malos, comen-"zaron à nos flechar y tirar vara y piedra con hondas, é nos hirieron à tres soldados; "mas de presto les hicimos volver las espaldas, y nuestros amigos los de Tlascala les "siguieron de manera, que mataron veinte y prendieron siete ò ocho dellos; y como "aquellos grandes escuadrones estuvieron puestos en huida, les quebramos los caños "por donde iba el agua à su ciudad, y desde entonces nunca se fué à Mejico entre tanto "que duró la guerra." (Also Cortés. 1 Carta III, p. 71.)

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Cortés might have quietly *waited* for these two terrible allies to do their work almost alone, had it not been for two reasons: 174 726

The principal reason was, that his position was not secure among the fickle Indian tribes, which the thirst for revenge, the lust of spoil, and dazzling success on his part had temporarily attached to his fate. A protracted siege lay beyond the military conceptions, nay, beyond the military *ability* of the Indians. They could not remain outside of their homes for such a length of time.[206]

On the other hand, the Mexicans, equally unprepared for a lengthy defence, compelled him to aggressive action.

Resorting to their only mode of warfare where a sudden dash with overwhelming numbers was not any longer possible,[207] they made a number of feints, with the intention of drawing their enemies into an ambush. Moving against the Spaniards and their allies upon the causeways, they precipitately fled towards the first cut as soon as that onslaught was repulsed. When the pursuers arrived there, they would be charged in flank by heavy bodies of warriors, while in front it rained missiles of every kind upon them from behind the embankments erected on the inner side of the ditches.[208] The Spaniards, however, knew too well how disastrous

[206] Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, Vedia II) "Dejemos de hablar de los grandes "combates que nos daban; y digamos como nuestros amigos los de Tlascala y de cholu-"la y Guaxocingo, y aun los de Tezcuco, acordaron de se ir à sus tierras." They were disheartened, says the old captain (p. 189), but there is no wonder, since the place had not been carried, Indian-fashion, at a rush, and thus they grew tired of waiting.

It is the most decisive testimony in favor of our views, heretofore already expressed, that the Mexican Indians were not able to carry on a protracted campaign, still less a siege of any duration.

[207] During the siege, there is hardly any doubt but that the Indian allies of Cortés *outnumbered the Mexicans*. It would be, of course, unsafe to rely upon the numerical statements of the old authorities. They all vary. But if we only recollect that Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, Cholula, Chalco, Tezcuco, and some of the other main tribes joined the Spaniards, it necessarily convinces us that the numerical superiority was on the side of the besiegers. The great art of Cortés lay in consolidating the forces of these different tribes, which otherwise, in many cases, were enemies of long standing. With the Spaniards *as their leaders*, the fate of Mexico was sealed, provided they held out long enough. In all the engagements, the European soldiers formed but the nucleus around which their allies agglomerated. If *they* advanced, the others followed, occupying always so many of the Mexicans, and diverting them from falling too heavily upon the whites. In proportion, however, as the power of the Mexicans gave out, the deeds of the allies of Cortés grew more prominent, since there were more non-combatants to slaughter.

[208] The bridges had all been removed, and entrenchments constructed *behind* them. Besides, pits had been dug, with earthworks on both sides, for the express purpose of arresting the cavalry. Long lances, armed with sword blades captured from the Spaniards during the "Noche triste," were used by the Mexicans to attack the horsemen. Against the brigantines, rows of pointed piles had been rammed in below the surface of

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174 a retreat would prove under such circumstances, so, followed by
726 their native allies, they persisted and overcame the obstacles by *storm*. The very Indian tactics intended for the destruction of the whites enabled the latter to gain a foothold on the causeways with less loss than a directly planned assault would have entailed.[209]

175 Until then, the Mexicans could make use of canoes, harassing
726 both flank and rear of their enemies. But Cortés speedily widened the first cut in the causeway, and sent his scows with artillery to the west side.[210] Thence on, while the brigantines could not effect anything against the pueblo itself, they still kept at bay the canoes of the Mexicans, and moving up along the causeways with the land force, they successfully sustained, by a lively cannonade, the efforts of the latter against the defences at the cuts and ditches.[211]

the water. Bernal-Diez (Cap. CL, pp. 176, 177) relates that, after the corps of Alvarado had occupied Tacuba, the Mexicans began to shout to them vociferously from the causeways and the water (then yet free to them). "Y aquellas palabras que nos decian eran "con pensamients de nos indignar para que salliésemos aquella noche à guerrear, y herir-"nos mas á su salvo." Further on he says: "Y como aquello hubimos hecho, acordaron "nuestros capitanes que luego fuésemos á dar una vista y entrar por la calzada de Tacu-"ba y hacer lo que pudiésemos para les ganar una puente; y llegados que fuimos á la "calzada, eràn tantas las canoas que en la laguna estaban llenas de guerreros y en las "mismas canoas y calzadas, que nos admirábamos dello; y tiraron tanta de vara y "flecha y piedra con hondas, que en la primera refriega hirieron treinta de nuestros "soldados é murieron trés; y annque nos hacian tanto daño, todavia les fuimos entrando "por la calzada adelante hasta una puente, y à lo que yo entendi, ellos nos daban lugar "à ello, por meternos de la parte de la puente; y como alli nos tuvieron, digo que car-"garon tanta multitud de guerreros sobre nosotros que no nos podiamos valer." The Mexicans always *provoked* the Spanish attack, until the brigantines were masters of the ponds lying to the west of Mexico, also. (See also Cortés, "Carta tercera," Vedia I, p. 71."

[209] The first attack of Alvarado was repulsed. But subsequently they captured "many works and bridges." The fighting was very obstinate, the Mexicans charging at every hour of the day and night. See Prescott (Vol. III, Book VI, Cap. p. 106 and 107). "During the first five or six days after their encampment, the Spaniards experi-"enced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavored to prevent their "taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the sci-"ence of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to "their usual practice the Indians made their attacks by night as well as by day. The "water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, "but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send "showers of arrows into the Christian camp."

[210] The brigantines were flat-bottomed scows, manned with small guns. Even on the water, the Mexicans resorted to ambushes. The vicinity of the pueblo was surrounded by rows of pointed piles, below the surface of the lake, and squadrons of canoes were sent to decoy the brigantines into such treacherous places. On one occasion they succeeded in capturing one of the vessels in this manner. (Prescott, Vol. III, p. 28, quoting from Bernal-Diez.)

[211] The points occupied by the three Spanish divisions were: Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo), at the north, Tacuba at the west, and Cuyuacan to the southwest. It was originally intended to occupy Iztapalapan, but the position could not be carried, and

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

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175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
[645] allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled*. Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 194). The Council opposed the advice of Quanhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

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iron hand, but by *free common consent*. It is an additional proof of the facts we have advanced: that the Mexicans were not subject to a despotical power, but organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free *military democracy*.

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ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT TO INHERITANCE, AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By Ad. F. Bandelier.

000 In a previous paper we have endeavored to describe the warlike customs and organization of the Mexican tribe.[1] Our conclusions in regard to them are somewhat at variance with those generally adopted, since, instead of the military despotism which heretofore has been admitted as existing in ancient Mexico, we found but the military democracy peculiar to a warlike tribe.[2] It is our purpose
121 now to investigate how far the Mexicans may have progressed in their notions about the tenure and distribution of the soil.

114 The picture which nearly all the authors, ancient as well as modern, trace of the condition of aboriginal Mexico is that of a feudal monarchy.[3] This alone should fix permanently the mode of landed tenure. It implies also the notion of abstract ownership, and thus indicates a high state of culture. But we have already

[1] "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans," in 10th Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. A

[2] "Art of War, etc., etc., of the Ancient Mexicans," pp. 113, 114, 115, to 127 inclusive, especially the notes. See also "Ancient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan. (N. York, 1877.) Part II, chapter VII, "The Aztec Confederacy," pp. 188–214 inclusive.

[3] The first information tending to represent the condition of Mexico as a feudal state was probably furnished by Cortés; or through his expedition at least. The reports of the preceding voyage of Grijalva (1518) contain no positive statements. On the other hand the certificate issued by Cortés (probably about the 20 May, 1519, or 29 days after his landing at Ulna), to the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, already
[643] speaks of "the great Montezuma, which reskles in this great city of Tenochtitlán and all its provinces." We have not Cortés' first letter to the emperor, but in his second report, 30 Oct., 1520, he mentions "a great Lord called Mutezuma." (Vedia, "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vol. I. Carta Segunda, pp. 12 and 13.) The same dispatch contains a number of details on Montezuma's power, from which a feudal empire was necessarily construed as for inst. (p. 33): "There are in this great city many very large and fine houses, the cause of it being that all the *Lords of the land, vassals of the said Mu-*
[642] *tezuma*, have their houses in that city . . . ." "What has been ascertained is: that his sovereignty was almost as large as Spain . . ." (p. 34.) Gomara, who published his "Conquista de Méjico" in 1552, already mentions "thirty lords of one-hundred-thousand vassals each, and three-thousand lords of places." (Vedia I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma.") Oviedo ("Historia general y natural de Indias," Vol. III, Lib.

 [See 14. Bandelier, this file.--Analyst]

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114 seen that the institutions of the Mexicans were democratic and not monarchical, that their chiefs and leaders filled elective, and in no case hereditary positions.[4] This latter fact whose final discussion we reserve for another occasion, speaks strongly against the existence of privileged classes, based upon territory and landed property; therefore it also militates against feudality itself.

121 Still we cannot permit ourselves to become prejudiced by such indications, against the views generally accepted. They merely warn us of the *difficulties of our task*. These difficulties are greater yet than those against which we contended in our first essay. The military life of the Mexicans has furnished the bulk of their history, and through it a number of facts, by which the former could be almost restored. The question of distribution of the soil, however, apparently relates to *customs* only; broken up and to a great extent obliterated centuries ago. Nevertheless, accessory facts, and especially a merely cursory review of the history of the Mexican tribe, may enable us yet to form an idea of these customs. The Mexican rules of inheritance are in direct connection with them also, and lastly, the *acts of the Spaniards* during the first times after the conquest, when they more or less suddenly overturned the ancient order of things, should bring to light many forgotten features of aboriginal tenure and distribution of the soil.

Having thus sketched the programme — so to say — of our work, we have yet to offer two explanations ere we proceed to enter upon the discussion proper, itself.

In the first place: by "accessory facts," we refer to the *social organization* of the Mexicans in particular. It is inseparable from

[6-2] XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 503) again speaks of "more than three thousand lords his subjects, each one of many vassals, and each held his principal dwelling in Temistitan, residing there certain months each year." The author, a friend of Columbus, and personally acquainted with all the eminent men of the conquest, resided at the West Indies and Xicaragua until 1556 (his stay though interrupted by at least six voyages to Spain and back), was one of the most cautious and best situated of the old chroniclers. But the chief originator of the feudal view is Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a half breed of Tezcuco, and belonging to the kin of that tribe's chieftains. He wrote about the year 1600, and both of his works, the "Relaciones historicas," and the "Historia de los Chichimecos ó reyes antiguos de Tezcuco," present, it should not be denied, a picture of logical development of feudal institutions on Mexican soil. Torquemada of course concurs. We hope to be able to investigate, elsewhere, the claims of Ixtlilxochitl to the rank of a reliable source. Fairness, however, compels us here to mention the above authors, as the mainstays of current opinion.

[4] "Art of War," etc., pp. 96, 128 and 161.

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landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the 121
course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient 128
Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on Amer- 114
ican topics, — the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . . "[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal 173
history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit* of *definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by 174
sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes, — that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 83. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of 114
Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 22 May. 1558, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 955 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh." Introduction, page CXI). Clavigero's Chronology begins 596 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2237 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 23), or 1706 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tolantzinco in 607 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 121, of 1st volume). Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 13) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 503 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

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A 174 a common origin, while the sedentary tribes were still further connected together by the bond of language,—and that the original home of these people lay to the north of Mexican territory. We further can infer, that even the sedentary tribes, among which the TOLTECS are most conspicuous, had nowhere advanced to the condition of a *nation* or *state; political society*, based upon territory and landed property, being unknown to them. Their institutions appear to have been *democratic*, their manner of living *communal*, thus excluding the idea of feudality altogether; even at those remote periods of Mexican history.[7] The usual inter-tribal wars,

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[7] Our information in regard to the Toltecs is limited and obscure. The name itself appears to be a surname: "Toltecatl"—"official, de arte mecanica, o maestro" (Molina, Vocabulario, Parte II. p. 149). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37) "I merely say, that Tulteca signifies a skilled worker . . . ." Veytia (Vol. I, cap. XXI, pp. 205 and 206). Sahagun ("Historia general de las cosas de Nueva-España," edited by Don Carlos Maria de Bustamante, Vol. III. Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 106). "First the Tultecas, signifying excellent workmen . . . ." (p. 107) "y no tenian otro nombre particular sino este que tomaron de la curiosidad. y primor de las obras que hacian, que se llamaron obras tultecas, ó sea como si digesemos, officiales pulidos y curiosos . . . ." Their proper name, as we shall hereafter see, was "Chichimecas,"—in common with all the aborigines of Mexico. Even such tribes as are reported to have preceded them, like the Xicalancas and Olmecas, are connected with reports indicating the same origin. Thus Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España" in Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos," Vol. I), says: ("Epistola proemial," p. 7), that the Xicalancas and Mexicans descended from sons of the same father. Gomara ("Conquista de Méjico," Vedia I, p. 432), says the same, and also that "Ulmecatlh" was one of their brothers, and that from him the Olmecas descended. Sahagun, however (Lib. X. p. 147), contradicts, excluding the "Olmecas, Vistoti, and Nonooalca" from the general appellation of Chichimecas, but includes nearly all the other tribes of Mexico under a common origin. But Veytia seems to consider the Ulmecas and Xicalancas as descending from the same stock as the Toltecs (Vol. I, cap. XIII, p. 150); though his statements might be more positive yet. The Toltec language was the "Nahuatl," a fact too frequently mentioned to need any further quotations. Through it their connection with the tribes of the valley of Mexico, with the Tlaxcallans, Huexotzincas, Cholullans,—and also the Niquirans of Nicaragua is established beyond a doubt. Their division of time and numeral system (as far as the language allows a judgment), was the same as that of the natives of Michhuacan, Oajaca, Chiapas, Yucatan, and Guatemala. If we add to these indications those derived from local myths and legends, we become inclined to believe the reports, that the aborigines of Yucatan and Guatemala for instance, are direct descendants of the Toltecs, or at least from their original stock. This fact acquires a certain importance, since it enables us, from the condition of these tribes at the time of their first contact with the Spaniards, and from their local traditions, to judge partly of the status of the Tolteca, and perhaps to reconstruct their condition and organization of society.

In order to attempt an investigation of the true condition of Toltec society, we have to consider three different points which are the following: Reports about the Toltecs, contained in Mexican sources; since only in Mexico they were called by that name. Reports about the condition of the Toltecs in Mexico *after* their reported dispersion. The condition and organization of such tribes, outside of direct Mexican influence, which still acknowledged an original connection with what has been called the Toltecs in Mexico.

If we follow the traditions current in the Mexican valley, as reported *first* by father

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as well between sedentary Indians and roving tribes, as among the Sahagun (hardly any of his predecessors mentioning the Toltecs,—a fact not devoid of importance!) it simply appears that the Toltecs were sedentary people, therefore agricultural and proportionately skilled in the use of metals and stones (Lib. X. cap. XXIX, Vol. 3). The same author, in his tale about the fortunes of Quetzalcohuatl, whom he acknowledged as distinctly connected with the fate of the Toltecs, says that (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 248, of Vol. I) the pueblo of Tollan had *two* chiefs,—that it was engaged in war with another tribe not far distant (Coatepec, cap. VI, p. 249),—thus showing at the same time: that the Toltecs were not subject to a ruler residing in Tula, as is commonly reported, but that Tula (or Tollan), was the settlement of a tribe, without authority over any others. There are other indications, in this very legend of Quetzalcohuatl, to show that the Toltecs of Tula were very independent from their chiefs (See cap. VI to XI). Further on, if we follow the peregrinations of Quetzalcohuatl after the same authority, it strikes us that this mythical personage travels through a singularly disjointed country. Everywhere he meets strange places (Cap. XII to XIV), not subject to the tribe from which he originally went out.

Torquemada ("Monarchia Indiana," Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37), is more detailed. He asserts that the Toltecs were originally led by seven chiefs, but that after their settlement at Tulantzinco they elected a "king," establishing as a rule that no one of these so-called monarchs should "rule" any longer than fifty-two years, and that if he died previously "the republic governed until the expiration of the time." In his relation of the history of Quetzalcohuatl (Lib. III, cap. VII, pp. 254, 255, and 256), whom he distinctly connects with Tula, the same fact is mentioned as in Sahagun, namely; that the inhabitants of the country were divided into independent tribes, such as Tula, Cholula, Quauhquechollan and others.

It is, however, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, whose writings have furnished the chief material for the Toltec history. He gathered his facts from his kinsmen, and, he says, from ancient picture-writings which they explained to him ("Hist. des Chichimèques" Dedication to the vice-roy of Mexico p. XIII, and XIV). Also from songs. It is a slender basis for his otherwise very positive statements, since it may well be accepted that Toltec picture-writings did scarcely exist any more at his time, unless we except such as are analogous to the Dresden-Codex (Humboldt "Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes, etc." Plate XLV of the atlas in folio), regarding them as of Toltec origin. These, however, no Mexican native could have interpreted at that time.

Ixtlilxochitl also speaks of seven chiefs of the Toltecs ("Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entreux pour les gouverner." Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. II, p. 13; also "Segunda Relacion" in Vol. IX, p. 323, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") He equally mentions the 52 year period of the head-chief (Cap. II, p. 13), and in his "Tercera Relacion" (p. 325), but adds in the "Cuarta Relacion" (p. 326): "Este Mitl gobernó 59 años y quebró en la orden antigua de los Tultecas de gobernar 52 años."

But he also tells us in his Second "Relation" that at Tollantzinco "they constructed of planks a house large enough to accommodate the entire nation," and hints at a number of scattered settlements springing up, though he insists that these were all dependencies of a great Toltec "empire." Nevertheless, his description of the wars among the Toltecs ("quinta Relacion") is not in favor of the latter assumption.

It is mostly on such statements that Don Mariano Veytia has based the Toltec history which forms the beginning of the "Historia antigua de Méjico."—But the eminent Mexican scholar (he wrote about the middle of the 18th century) has added some other details, which we dare not neglect here.

In common with all the others, Veytia places the origin of the Toltecs to the North, where he locates the great city of Huehuetlapallan. Of this great city he says: "The houses in which they dwelt, as well in the city as in the other settlements were then (and for many centuries afterwards, although they had Kings and governments already) but natural caverns, which they also imitated. These were all their dwellings, they sub-

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A 174 village-Indians themselves, were waged during these early periods.

PM 114 sisted on fruits, herbs and the chase, and dressed in the skins of wild beasts . . . . ." 174 (Vol. I. cap. III, p. 25.)—From this place there went out bands or families (Cap. II, p. 24), "taking each one a different name, after that of the chief or father of the family leading them," and one of these bands were the Toltecs.

These were again composed of seven lineages (Cap. XXI, p. 207), and the government "resided in the seven principal chiefs" (Cap. XXII, p. 214). Describing the peregrinations of this tribe until they reached central Mexico, he again mentions the large house made at Tollantzinco "in which when completed, all the people found room" (Cap. XXII, p. 221), and finally (Cap. XXIV, p. 227), the formal change made by free common consent of all the Toltecs, of their heretofore democratic government into a despotic monarchy, with descent in the male line, but the term of office of each of these despots limited to fifty-two years (Cap. XXV). We also read of a number of pueblos co-existing with Tollan, but reputed subject to it, in direct opposition to Sahagun and Torquemada, and even sometimes to himself. Of course, there are abundant details about the arts and sciences attributed to the Toltecs, the magnificence of their buildings, etc., etc. To all these we shall refer on another occasion. In regard to weapons and military costume Veytia confirms what we have already said (Art of War, p. 126, and note No. 124), about the great analogy between the Mexicans proper and other tribes of older date (See cap. XXXIII, p. 289).

Veytia was the precursor and cotemporary of the Abbé Clavigero, but the latter's work, "Storia antica del Messico" was printed fifty-six years previous to the writings of the former. Clavigero's statements are, in a condensed form, but a repetition of those of Veytia, with whom he corresponded.

If we now attentively consider the above we shall readily see:

(1). That the Toltecs were descended from at least semi-nomades.

(2). They were organized in consanguine groups, governmentally sovereign, whose chiefs formed the council of the tribe.

(3). They possessed a head war-chief, elected for life, since the limitation of the office for fifty-two years is in itself a concession, that the incumbent held it for life-time.

(4). They practised communism in living.

(5). Consequently, their organization and institution was democratic, not monarchical, and the picture of a feudal empire among them is erroneous.

It is generally admitted that in the 10th or 11th century of our era, the Toltecs of Mexico were dispersed; only a few settlements remaining. Of these the principal were removed to Tezcuco "where they founded four quarters, since the Culhuas, as the Toltecs were then called, formed four families" (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichiméques," cap. XIII, p. 87. Mr. Ternaux has translated "tribes" but the Spanish original has "families.") This is a further evidence of what we have advanced, the four quarters being consanguine groups localized, or "gentes," as Mr. Morgan has established the PY 114 term in "Ancient Society." Feudalism, however, is incompatible with gentile society.

Those of the Toltecs who emigrated are reported to have fled to the South where 174 perhaps others of their language had preceded them. Among such as have been reported of the same origin, the Maya of Yucatan, and the QQuiché of Guatemala are most prominent. Sr. Orozco y Berra, in his excellent work "Geografia de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México," regards the Maya and QQuiché as sister-languages (Part I, cap. IV, p. 18). If the assumption is correct that they are of Toltec descent, the reports about the condition of these tribes at the time of the conquest, or in their undisturbed aboriginal condition, are of weight for this discussion.

Yucatan, at the time of its first discovery (1517), was inhabited by numerous sedentary tribes, not connected with each other (Bernal Diez del Castillo, "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España," cap. XXIX, p. 24, in Vedia, Vol. II. Villagutierre y Sotomayor "Historia de la Conquista y Reduccion de los Itzaex y Lacandones,"

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Sometimes the latter, then again the savages prevailed, until A 174

Lib. I, cap. V, p. 28 and 29. Antonia de Herrera "Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano," Dec. IV, Lib. X, cap. II, p. 206, and cap. III, p. 208), except through their common language. These tribes consisted of Lineages or consanguine groups. Herrera says (Dec. IV, Lib. X, Cap. IV, p. 211): "They are very proud of their ancestry, by which they all regarded themselves as relatives, assisting each other greatly. Their style of living was communal. Lorenzo de Bienvenida, in his letter to the Emperor, dated 10th February, 1548, Yucatan ("Recueil de pièces relatives à la Conquête du Méxique") states: "Your highness must know that it is very rare to find a house with but one inhabitant, all have two, three, four, six, and even more, among which the father of a family is chief (p. 331). When, in 1698, the last pueblo inhabited by Maya Indians,—Tayasál on Lake Peten, was captured by Don Martin Ursúa, it was found that the houses "were dirty within and unswept. All the inhabitants lived brutally together, an entire relationship together in one single house." (Hist. de la Conquista de los Itzaex, Lib. VIII, cap. XII, p. 494). We have already alluded to the fact the Itzaex had two chiefs. ("Art of War," p. 126, note No. 121. The information is taken from the work just mentioned, Lib. VIII). See further, on the Maya, L. H. Morgan's "Ancient Society" (Part II, chapter VI. p. 181). These indications do not, certainly, speak in favor of feudality among the natives of Yucatan. P Y 114 174

The territory of Guatemala, when first visited by Pedro de Alvarado, in 1524, was also divided into a number of sedentary tribes, living in bitter enmity together. Of these tribes the QQuiché of Utlatlan or rather Gumarcaah, near where Santa Cruz del Quiché now stands, are best known. Their history has been written by Juarros ("Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala," 1808–1818), who especially bases upon the MSS. of the Captain Francisco Antonio Fuentes y Guzman, who wrote about 1690, a "Recordacion florida" now acknowledged to be full of exaggerations and misstatements. Juarros makes the QQuiché direct descendants of the Toltecs, and after their settlement in Guatemala under a certain King named "Nimaquiché," he gradually builds up there a mighty feudal Empire, which was in its splendor when the Spaniards overthrew it. The empire is already disproved by the first two letters of Alvarado (See Vol. I of Vedia's collection), by Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. V, Cap. X, p. 106), who also states (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141), that the QQuiché had three chiefs "and that the election was made by the principals in the same way, as it has been told of Mexico," Torquemada (Lib. XII, Cap. VIII, p. 386), goes still further by asserting that the heads of families ("los que eran Cabeças de Familias ó Casas Solariegos") had the right to kill the "king" for misdemeanor. He also considers the Toltecs the first settlers. P 6 114 174

But the document which conveys the most detailed information of the QQuiché is the "Popol-Vuh." This singular production, which we consult in its publication and translation by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, appears to be, for the first chapters, an evident fabrication, or at least accommodation of Indian mythology to christian notions;—a pious fraud. But the bulk is an equally evident collection of original traditions of the Indians of Guatemala, and as such the most valuable work for the aboriginal history and ethnology of Central America. We cannot here enter into a bibliographical discussion. A few quotations from the third part of the Popol-Vuh will, however, be indispensable (Cap. III, p. 297). After having given the names of the four *mothers* of the QQuiché: "Balam Quitzé is the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of Cavek; Balam Agab is the ancestor and father of the nine great houses of Nimhaib; Mahucutah the ancestor and father of the four great houses of Ahau Quiché. They existed in three divisions of families without forgetting the name of their grandfather and of their father, which extended and grew in the East." This is the beginning of a true genealogy, and it is carried through with great precision.

Then follows a long description of how each of these "families" received an idol for itself, whereas "one was the name of their God, and they were divided afterwards" (Cap. IV, p. 317). Then they moved to "Tulan-Zuiva, at the seven caves, seven ravines." At that time they had yet but skins of animals to cover themselves with, but "at Zuiva

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A 174 finally the Toltecs, who represented the sedentary class, were either exterminated or expelled; only a few scattered settlements remaining on Mexican territory.[8] Their successors on the soil were tribes of utter savages hailing from the north also, and to whom the vague and indefinite appellation of Chichimecas is given. (If the word is Mexican, it might derive from "Chichiltic" red,

P 114 174 Tulan they forthwith acquired wisdom." This is a striking analogy indeed with the Mexican traditions above reported about the first times of the Toltecs. Settling at Izmachi, they occupied four quarters "they already covered four hills who together bore the names of their tribe" (Mr. Brasseur translates "tinamit" sometimes by tribe and again by town. I prefer the former). At Izmachi they built houses of lime and stone (Cap. VII, p. 301). "But only three palaces were erected at Izmachi, the twenty-four palaces were not yet erected, but only three, one of those of Cavek, one single palace at the face of those of Nihäib, as likewise a single one, possession of those of Ahau Quiché." Recapitulating the festivals it is mentioned "For this reason the three branches assembled in the palaces named after them, where they drank their beverages, and ate their meals, price of their sisters and daughters, and with their hearts full of joy, they but ate and drank out of their painted cups within their palaces" (p. 305). This is a plain indication of communal meals, and of communal living. Finally it is related that at these places "they came to put names, there they took their titles, divided into families, organized into seven "chinamit" (kins not tribes), and classed themselves by quarters." Moving to Gumarcaah or Utlatlan, there they subdivided into twenty-four "great houses"—"the title of all their honors being distributed to each of the princes, *there* formed nine families with the nine princes of Cavek, nine with the princes of Nihaib, four with the princes of Ahau-Quiché, and two with the Lords of Zakik" (p. 309, cap. VIII).

It is easy to detect the following points:

(1). The QQuiché were originally organized in three consanguine groups, to which latterly a fourth was added.

(2). These kinships localized as four quarters, their mode of life was communal.

(3). They subsequently divided into twenty-four kindred groups, constituting so many gentes.

(4). The government of the tribe lay in the hands of the chiefs of these gentes.

This government, as the last chapter of the Popol-Vuh plainly states, was composed of twenty-four chiefs. Of these, three, one from each of three of the "quarters," had the title "Nim-Chocoh" or "great elected one." "There were consequently three Nim-Chocoh (great elected), acting as the fathers of all the chiefs of Quiché, they met together, commanded together, as the fathers and mothers of speech, and their condition is of the most exalted one." They commanded the forces of the tribe.

We have here consequently the organization of the QQuiché as a military democracy, based upon consanguine groups, with three *elective* war-chiefs at its head. The analogy of this organization with that of the Iroquois is really striking. It utterly discards all notions of feudality.

If now, as most of the older sources admit, the QQuiché really belonged to Toltec stock, we believe that the foregoing certainly sustains our views of the condition of these tribes, and justifies our statement that the Toltecs had "nowhere advanced to the condition of a nation or state" and that their institutions were democratic, their manner of living communal; monarchy and feudality being unknown to them.

[8] Compare the legend of Quetzalcohuatl, as related by Sahagun (Lib. III, cap. III to XIV, Vol. I); by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. VII), and contained also in the Popol-Vuh, where he is, of course, called Gukumatz (Part III, cap. VIII). See further Veytia (Cap. XXII, to the close of Vol. I).

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and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, thus: "the kin of red men.")[9] Enough is told us of the condition of these people to establish; that they were roving nomades for whom the soil had no other importance than for temporary occupancy as hunters,—that even the maize plant was unknown to them, and that they re-

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[9] The etymology of the word "Chichimecatl" which we have ventured to propose, is not sustained, to our knowledge, by any author. We give it for what it may be worth. Much has been said about its probable derivation. Durán ("Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España é Islas de Tierra-firme," cap. II, p. 13), says: "Chichimeca, que quiere decir cazadores ó gente que vives de aquel oficio agreste y campesino . . . . " thus showing that the word is Nahuatl, and its explanation to be sought for in Nahuatl terms. Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," 2nd part, "Historia de los Señores Chichimecas" — "Relacion primera,") says: "the Toltecs, Acolhuas, Mexicans, and all the other nations of this land pretend to be derived from the Chichimecas race, thus called after its king Chichimecatl who brought it to the New World" (p. 320 and 326). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XV, p. 30), affirms: "These people took the name of Chichimecas, because Chichimecatl signifies one who sucks; for Chichilizitli is the act of sucking . . . .; and since these people in the origin ate the raw flesh of beasts and drank their blood, sucking it, they called themselves Chichimecas or suckers." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 453), "they were a very barbarous people, living solely from the chase, and therefore they called them Chichimecas." Betancourt even derives the word from "chichini"—house of a dog. It is again Veytia who, with his clear and positive judgment has gone further than any of his predecessors. He has been the first (we think) to discover the term "mecatl" which signifies a cord (Cap. XII, p. 143), in the last two syllables of the word. It naturally led him to the allied term "mecayotl" which designated a consanguine relationship, and finally to the etymology of "kinship of Chichen" assuming Chichen to have been the name of their first chieftain. There is hardly any proof of the latter however, and still less that "Chichimecatl" was his personal name. On the other hand, all the authors agree in stating, that the locality inhabited originally by the Chichimecas was called "Huehuetlapallan"—the old red place—that one of the stations said to have been occupied by tribes on their migrations towards Mexico bears the name "Chichilticalli" or red house. Our suggestion is, therefore, not altogether improbable: that Chichimecatl may have derived from "chichiltic" a red object, and "mecayotl"—kin—therefore signifying "the kin of red men."

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Señor Manuel Orozco y Berra, the distinguished author of the "Geografía de las Lenguas," makes it very likely that the Chichimecas which invaded Mexico after the dispersion of the Toltecs, or inhabited it jointly with them, spoke a different language (Part I, cap. I, p. 8), which has since disappeared. His opinion is sustained by that of another eminent Mexican scholar, Don Francisco Pimentel ("Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de la lenguas indígenas de Mexico," Vol. I, p. 183). Nevertheless, the unity of origin of the Chichimecas, Toltecs and other tribes of "Nahuatl" stock, Mexicans of course included, is admitted, not only by Ixtlilxochitl, but already by Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), who resumes as follows: "All these families call themselves Chichimecas, and even pride and glorify themselves of such a name, and it is because like Chichimecas they went wandering over those lands aforesaid, and thence turned towards these parts, although really such lands were not called lands of Chichimecas, but Tlacotlalpan, Tlacochalco, Mictlanpan, which means, wide and spacious plains, lying towards the north." Veytia, who almost incorporates the statements of all his predecessors, confirms it as follows: (Cap. II, p. 34). "Of this empire (of the Chichimecas) Huehuetlapallan was the famous court, and from it sallied at various periods bands and squads to people remote countries, each one taking its own name, after the chief or father of family which governed it, and becoming in course of time distinct nations with different languages or dialects, so that according to the belief of these nations and from their history, all the inhabitants of this new world have sprung

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A 174 sorted to caves and thickets for shelter and residence. Landed tenure of any kind we cannot expect to find among them, and still less the system of feudality.[10]

Ethnographically, central Mexico must have presented an appearance, at those times, similar to that of the State of New Mexico and the territory of Arizona at present, in respect to their aboriginal population. Savage tribes swayed and roamed over the greater part of the country, while in the valley of Mexico proper, and east of it, some few "pueblos" of village Indians remained, barely protecting their crops and themselves from the inroads of marauding tribes.[11]

P 114 174 from these seven families, and this city of Huehuetlapallan has the glory of having been the first settlement made in it since the flood, and of being the cradle of all its people, whose memory those of New Spain have preserved, calling it their ancient home."

(Compare, with this view of the peopling of Mexico, the beautiful exposé of Morgan, of the peopling of America from centres of subsistence as initial points of migration, in "Ancient Society" (Part II, cap. IV, p. 108). Mr. Morgan recognizes three such centres in N. America, the most prominent of which is the Valley of the Columbia.)

The title of "Chichimecatl," often extended to "Chichimecatl-tecuhtli," is found very frequently, not only among the Mexicans, but also the Tezcucans and Tlaxcallans. It was an appellation given in reward of personal merit in war.

[10] Ixtlilxochitl has depicted to us a feudal Chichimecan Empire, more complete and typical than the feudal institutions of England. But at the same time he describes the Chichimecas as mere *sauvages* ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. IV, p. 30). "He arrived in a place called Tenayucan Oztopolco, where there were many grottoes and caves, which formed the principal dwellings of that nation." Id. cap. IX. p. 65 and 66), Torquemada (Lib. I. cap. XV, p. 38 and 39), describes them a "people naked, without robes of cotton, of wool, or any other covering but the skins of beasts. Their appearance was wild, they were great warriors, whose weapons are bows and arrows." . . . . "This nation of Chichimecas was governed and ruled by valiant and valorous captains . . . . ." Ixtlilxochitl further states ("Hist. Chichimeca," cap. IX, p. 66): "Every family lived together, and such as had no caves which were their chief dwellings, built huts of straw. The game was divided among the family of the hunter but the hide belonged exclusively to him who had killed it." The soil, therefore, had no other value for them than as "hunting grounds." Nevertheless, both of the authors just quoted report a distribution of the land by their chiefs, in the shape of individual donations, and feoées at an early date. But Ixtlilxochitl (Cap. IX, p. 63 and 64) asserts that the culture of the soil, even the maize plant, was unknown to them until the twelfth century of our era. Torquemada is still more explicit (Lib. I, cap. XLII, p. 67): "Neither did the Chichimecas pay any attention to it (agriculture or horticulture) for the reason that the Lords and Kings had parks ("Bosques") of rabbits and deer, which supplied them with meat, and the common people and Macecuales went after it through the fields, thus sustaining themselves without any other kind of work, and without the toil of sowing or planting, to which they had not been accustomed." More than a century elapsed, according to the above sources, ere horticulture, and therefore sedentary living, began to appear among them. How could feudal tenure of the ground exist meanwhile? We need not refer here to other authors, neither to the descriptions furnished of the condition of the Chichimecas north of the Mexican valley, at the time of the conquest (Motelinia, Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185). "Tuvieon Señores en esta tierra, como ahora son y estan los Españoles, porque se enseñorearon de la tierra, no de la manera que los Españoles."

A 174 [11] See "Zwoelf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas," by Albert S. Gatschet

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While thus the high Mexican tableland especially was in a condition but little different from that of a fertile waste, migrations were in progress from that same undefined "north," which gradually carried thither tribes, or at least *kindred groups detached* from tribes, of horticultural sedentary Indians.[12] These bodies moved slowly, and independently from each other, and they settled down at last in the beautiful valley, near the watersheets in its centre. There they occupied *independent territories which they held as their own;*[13] and while they, in all probability, did not always maintain friendly relations towards each other, it is still not improbable that, owing to the bond of common stock-language, they 174

Weimar, 1877 (a valuable contribution to Linguistics and Ethnography). Also "Lieut. G. M. Wheeler's Zweite Expedition nach Neu Mexiko und Colorado, 1876," by Oscar Loew (in Vol. 22 of Dr. Petermann's "Geographische Mittheilungen," p. 209). "The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico," by W. W. H. Davis, 1869. The sedentary Indians occupying the most limited expanse, and being also inferior in numbers to the roving bands among and around them.

[12] These facts are generally acknowledged, as well as that they migrated from the North. In addition to the authors already named in the course of this and of our previous paper, we shall merely quote: Gregorio Garcia: "El Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo é Indias Occidentales" Madrid, 1729 (2nd Edition, Original appeared in print about 1606). "New Mexico whence came the seven lineages, which peopled New Spain" (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81), (Lib. X, cap. III, p. 321). "Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia," written by the Licentiate Don Matias de la Mota Padilla, in 1742, and published by the Geogr. and Stat. Soc'y of Mexico in 1870 (Cap. I, p. 21). They were the seven tribes of "Nahuatl" stock, the community of language alone being sufficient to demonstrate their common origin.

[13] All the older authors agree in stating that the different tribes settled independent of each other. See Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de Nueva España," in Col: de Docum: Vol. I. "Epistola proemial") Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 145). "Successivamente se volvieron los Nahoas, que son los Tepanecas, los Acolhoaques, los Chalcas los Vexotzincas, y los Tlaxcaltecas, cada familia por si, y vinieron à estas partes de México . . . . y asi venidos todos à estas partes y tomada la posesion de las tierras, y puestas las mohoneras entre cada familia." Durán ("Hist: de las Yndias" (Cap. II, p. 10). "He of Xuchimilca after having gone around the entire lagune, was pleased with the site which they now occupy, settled there and took what he needed, without damage to anybody nor any contradiction" (p. 11). The Chalcas settled near the Xuchimilcas "quietly and peaceably." The Tecpanecas did the same, also the Texcucans and the remainder (pp. 12, 13. and 14). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. III, p. 436). "At the time these nations settled, the Chichimecas made no show of opposition, nor resistance, only they became estranged and like unto astonished retired into the rocky fastnesses." (It is not devoid of interest to connect herewith the proper assertions of Cortés about the utterances of Montezuma, "Carta Segunda," p. 25, in Vol. I of Vedia.) Gomara ("Conquista de Méjico," p. 432, etc., Vedia, Vol. I). Fray Geronimo Mendieta ("Hist. ecclesiastica Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, etc.) Ixtilixochitl and Torquemada however, have made the opinion current, that all these tribes settled upon Chichimecan *domain*, and were *assigned* to special territories by the original holder of the entire country. But we have already established the nature of Chichimecan occupation of the land, and from it we cannot infer that any *title was held*, neither that any could be *given to new comers*.

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174 sometimes associated (or even perhaps *confederated*) against surrounding tribes.[14]

These settlers, who all spoke closely related dialects of the same language as their predecessors the Toltecs, namely: the "Nahuatl" or *good sound*, were: the *Aculhuans or Tezcucans*, the *Tecpanecas*, the *Xochimilcas*, and the *Chalcas*. The first settled on the Eastern shore of the central lagune, the second to the west of it, while the two last-named tribes clustered around the fresh-water basins of the southeast. In this manner the valley was eventually mastered again by sedentary Indians, who held at bay the surrounding savages;—also defending it from neighbors of their own stock who, occupying at the same time contiguous areas placed under different geographical conditions, while their organization and plan of life were similar, and the language but dialectically varied;—still, eventually, became their most inveterate enemies.[15]

184 Although quite a respectable literature has arisen on the subject
174 of the organization, customs and manners of these "Nahuatl" tribes of the valley of Mexico, this literature is much richer in facts purporting to be *historical* than in satisfactory *details* on *that subject itself*. We can but discern among the confusions and contradictions (of older authors particularly)—that the different tribes were democratic societies, based upon consanguine groups as units. Chiefs, *elected by the people*, formed their governments, whose highest authorities were the *councils*. The Tezcucans and Tecpanecans seem to have had each *one*, the Chalcas *two*, *head war-chiefs*, elected for life. In regard to their mode of holding and distributing the soil the most varied statements are given, most of these, however, based upon the assumption of monarchial institutions, and even of a great feudal empire with Tezcuco as its capital. Both of

[14] The reports about a preponderance of certain tribes, such as the Tezcucans or the Tecpanecans, resolve themselves into a result of intertribal relations in the valley of Mexico. We need but consult the writings of Ixtlilxochitl for that purpose. (See "Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XI, XII, XIV, and XVI). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XXXVII, p. [illegible]).

[15] For a history of the different tribes composing the specifically latest immigration of "Nahuatl" stock, we refer to all the older authors on Mexican topics. Those of their kindred who settled outside of the valley were especially the Tlaxcallans. The relations of the latter to the valley-tribes were always rather unfriendly. See Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. IX, p. 258, and 259. Cap. XI, p. 264, and 265). Durán (Cap. II, p. 13). But the continuous wars between Tlaxcallan and the tribes of the valley commenced when the latter began to extend their sway under the leadership of the Mexicans (Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XLI, p. 292). It is corroborated by the statements of the Tlaxcaltecas themselves to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 13, Vedia, Vol. I).

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these assumptions are disproved by the facts, related even by such authors as have most contributed towards fixing them upon the public mind as recognized truths.[16] We need hardly say here,

[16] In regard to the Tecpanecas, Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 477): "From this it may be inferred, that among them the King exercised no absolute command and rule, and that he was rather a consul, or Dux, than a king." He further compares the Tecpanecas with the "reges" of ancient Rome (See Morgan's "Ancient Society," Part II, cap. XI, p. 297). The council was supreme among the Tecpanecans. See Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Lord Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. IV, p. 11; also cap. V, p. 12, cap. VI, p. 13, "a esto respondió el rey y senado Tecpaneca: Digéronle: mira atempanecatl (que muy bien le conocian) bien conozco la humillacion y sugecion de los Mexicanos; ya es por demas, porque estan alborotados, y corajudos los Tecpanecas:") Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 64, and 68).

The Xuchimilcas were governed by two chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XVI, p. 25. Durán, cap. XII, p. 104. "Their chiefs, of which there were two, one of the chief-place ("cabecera" rather lineage) of Xuchimilco called Yacaxapotecutli, and the other from the milpa (this is to be interpreted as descendancy), which is called Pachimalcatlecutli, and together with them meeting many principale, said"): a joint meal after communal style is also attributed to them by Tezozomoc (Cap. XVI, p. 26).

The Chalcas also had two chiefs: (Durán, cap. XVI, p. 134, Montezuma Ilhuicamina said to Tlacaelel: "I wish, if thou agreest, to send messengers to Chalco to the chief of Chalco Quateotl and to his companion Toteocitecutli . . . ."—Tezozomoc, cap. XXII, p. 33. Cap. XXIV, p. 36. Confirmed by the action of Cortés after the voluntary surrender of Chalco, when he installed two chiefs. Bernal Diez: cap. CXXXIX, p. 154 and 155, Vedia, II).

With the Texcucans or Acolhuas there appears always but one head-chief, but it is equally positive that the office, while remaining in a certain kin, was elective still. The fact is interesting and requires close proof. We adduce here, in a general way, Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX. "De la Manera que tuvieron en elegir los señores," p. 318, of 2d Vol.): Durán (Cap. LXIV, p. 496). "Montezuma sent his messengers to Tezcuco, and had all the chiefs of that city and kingdom called to learn from them whom they were inclined to elect . . . ." (p. 497), "the which came, electing for King to Quetzalacoyatzin, Nezahualpilli's son . . . ." Tezozomoc (Cap. CI and CII). Ixtlilxochitl concurs ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. LXXXVI). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 257, 258 and 259), acknowledges that, while the choice was among the *sons* exclusively, there still was a *choice* left, but he contradicts the statements of Juan Bautista Pomar (who wrote about 1582) who says, that this choice extended to the entire *kin* of the deceased head chief. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 153). "Although the Indians of this New Spain inherited the chieftaincy in direct lines, they took great care in ascertaining which one of his sons had to succeed to him." He mentions the succession in the cases of Netzahualcoyotl and of Netzahualpilli, each of whom were respectively followed by what he calls an illegitimate offspring, but whose mother was a *Mexicana* woman. Veytia (Cap. XIV, p. 367). "The council hardly had been informed of the King's death, when it thought proper to elect a successor, after the manner of the Mexicans . . . ." Carlos Maria de Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," Mexico, 1826. Part III, cap. IV, pp. 218, 219 and 220). Alonzo de Zarita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, p. 12). "The order of succession varied according to the provinces, the same custom, with slight differences, prevailing in Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba."

The assumption of a feudal empire at Tezcuco has already been discussed. It was an invention of chroniclers, who had a direct interest, or thought to have one, in advancing the claims of the Tezcucan tribe to an original supremacy. Tribal jealousy and rivalry, such a powerful ally of the Spaniards during the conquest, continued to subsist where the Spanish domination was fully established.

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114 that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock, 174 speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

174 While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquiraus of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340–348).

[648] [18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical.—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

[131] [19] See "Art of War," p. 133. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III. p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time, and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

[226] [20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlaca." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacatl," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Azteca" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.

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this office may not have, at that time, been permanently established;[21]—only temporarily, for emergency's sake.[22] It is barely possible for us to follow the migrations of the Mexicans with any degree of certainty; we can but gather from the various and varied reports and traditions, that being horticultural Indians, fertile lands were sought for by them, and only when they reached the lake-basin did they begin to hope for realization of their desires.[23] —There was yet much unoccupied space around the lagunes, still the newcomers were hardly welcome to the other occupants, who harassed them so long, that at last they fled into the marsh or swamp which then covered the area subsequently converted into the western lagune of Mexico.[24] Thus they retired to ground *which was neither held nor claimed by any of the surrounding tribes*, and on the few solid patches protruding above the morass, they settled, glad to have escaped pursuit and found a resting place on

[21] We have adopted the number seven for these kinships, although the interpreter of the Mendoza Codex (Tab. I, of Vol. I, Lord Kingsborough) says there were ten. "El exercito Mexicano tubo por caudillos diez personas nombradas . . . ." (Vol. V, p. 40). Durán and Tezozomoc both say seven, so does Veytia. The two former authors even give the names of the idols which each of these seven clusters worshipped, carrying it along on their migrations. It is needless here to prove in detail the democratic nature of these seven "lineages." Veytia, for instance (Lib. II, cap. XII and XIII), quotes Chimalpain as authority, and although he assigns to the Mexicans a leader ("caudillo") called Huitziton, he still implies that at Chapultepec only "they, emulating the other nations there located, resolved upon electing a King to govern them" (p. 109). Durán (Cap. III, p. 27). Clavigero mentions an "Aristocratic" organization of the Mexicans until the year 1352. "The entire nation was below a senate or conclave of the most respected persons, distinguished through nobility and knowledge. At the foundation of Mexico there were 20 of these" (Lib. III, cap. I). This is a new version. See also Gregorio Garcia ("Origen de los Indios" Lib. V, cap. III). If we eliminate the mythical Huitziton, we find *occasional* head war-chiefs. Veytia even assures us that after Mexico was founded, they elected "one to govern them, although not in the capacity of a King, but as a leader or captain" (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 159).

[22] The *regular* series of Mexican head war-chiefs ("tlaca-tecuhtli") commences about the middle of the 14th century. Previous to it, the office appears to have been filled by occasional braves, as emergency required. Compare Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XII and XIII, with cap. XV, p. 131, and cap. XVIII, p. 159, and cap. XXI, p. 186 and 187). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. III, p. 83. Cap. IV, p. 84. Cap. XII, p. 95). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, p. 148), and Acosta (Lib. VII. cap. 8, p. 468 and 469), etc., etc.

[23] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 186). Durán (Cap. III). Tezozomoc (Cap. I, II and III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. 4, p. 459). Garcia ("Origen, etc." Lib. III. cap. III, § V, p. 99 and 100. "que los haria Principes, i Señores de todas los Provincias, que havian poblado las otras seis naciones, que antes en ellos havian salido.")

[24] "Art of War, etc.," p. 87 note 5. Idem, p. 150, and note 194, 185, and p. 151, notes 197 and 198.—L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, p. 190 and 191). Among the older authors, Mendieta is very explicit (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, p. 148). "Y eso asiento les cuadró mucho por hallarlo abundante de cazas de aves y pescados y marisco con que se poder sustentar y aprovechar en sus granjerias entre los pueblos comarcanos, y por el reparo de las aguas con que no les pudiesen empecer sus vecinos."

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[74 soil *which they might hold as their own.*[25] It would appear that, through loss of numbers in the course of their migrations, as well as through divisions among themselves, the original consanguine groups composing the body, had been reduced to *five.*[26] Now a further and last division took place, one of these kindred clusters seceding from the rest, and establishing itself apart on another sandy expanse where, close to the others however, it grew to become the tribe of Mexico-Tlatilulco.[27] It remained independent until about forty years before the conquest.[28]—The other *four* settled *each one by itself*, but still acknowledging a *common government*, in token of which the tribal place of worship was erected at the spot where these four areas met. Thus the "pueblo" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan was founded; the seat and home of the Mexicans proper.[29]

[25] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. X, p. 72), says that the Mexicans "asked the King of Azcaputzalco for soil" (to settle upon). Torquemada represents their settlement as a flight to a safe place (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 92). Also Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, pp. 147 and 148). Durán (Cap. V, p. 41), has the remarkable passage following: "que aun el suelo no era suyo, pues era sitio y término de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque alli llegaban los términos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del Mediodia, términos de Culhuacan;" (This shows they were on neutral ground, dividing the tribes of their surroundings.) Tezozomoc confirms (Cap. III, p. 9), "estando en terminos de los de Atzcapuzalco, Acuihuaques Tezcucanos y los de Culhuacan." Durán (2d p. 41) further says that they contended to be masters of their soil, without owing allegiance or obedience to any one. See also Tezozomoc (Cap. III) and Motolinia ("Epistola proemial," p. 5). Gomara ("Conquista," p. 431. Vedia, 1st volume).

[619 642] [26] We have already alluded to the number of chiefs leading the Mexicans at the time of their settlement in the lagune. It varies from four to twenty. But the fact that four "quarters" composed it originally, leads me to the belief that four Mexican kinships remained, one seceding as the tribe of Tlatilulco. This division into four is the only fact reliably ascertained. (See notes 27, 29, 30 and 31).

[27] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. How it occurred we cannot ascertain, since it is related in the most varied manner by the different sources of authority. If the statement is correct that even during their migrations, the Mexicans proper and the Tlatilulcás kept apart, as tribal components, or probably "phratries,"—then the fact of their localizing as tribes independent from each other is easily accounted for. See Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

[28] The date of its conquest by the Mexicans is about 1473 ("Art of War, etc." p. 102). It can easily be verified from the date on the so-called "calendar stone" at the city of Mexico. (See "Calendario Azteca" by Señor Chavero.)

[615 618] [29] The question remains yet undecided as to whether these four "quarters" ("barrios") were four original kinships, or whether they were already four "brotherhoods of kinships" (phratries), analogous to the Roman curiæ formed by (or rather remaining as the last vestige of) original kinships disaggregated. The latter might appear likely from the fact of the greater number of chiefs (than four), mentioned by the old authors. The existence of still lesser groups is plainly acknowledged at the same time. Durán says (Cap. V, p. 42): "On the night after the Mexicans finished the place of worship ("hermita donde su dios estaba"), a large area of the lagune being filled up and room made for the houses, Vitzilopochtli spoke to his priest or keeper and said to him:

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Four "quarters" had been formed by the localizing of four relationships composing them respectively, and it is expressly stated that each one "might build in its quarter (barrio) as it liked."[30] The term for these relationships, in the Nahuatl tonguc, and used among all the tribes speaking it was: "Calpulli." It is also used to designate a great hall or house, and we may therefore infer that, originally at least, all the members of one kinship *dwelt under one common roof*.[31] The ground thus occupied by the "Calpulli" was 618

"Say to the congregation Mexican that the chiefs, each one with his relatives, friends and connections, shall divide themselves into four principal quarters, my house being in the centre among them, and that each cluster may build in its quarter as it pleases." These quarters are those which now remain in Mexico, that is, the quarters of San Pablo, of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda, and of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places, their God commanded them to distribute among themselves the idols ("los dioses"), and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these particular idols should be worshipped. Thus each quarter was divided into many small ones, according to the number of the idols called Calpulteona (it should be "Calpulteoltzin" composed of Calpulli-quarter, and teotl-god), which signifies god of the quarter." (See Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467.) Tezozomoc, cap. III, p. 9, "y siendo de noche hicieron junta y les dijo el sacerdote Quanhtloquetzqui: hermanos, ya es tiempo que os dividais un trecho unos de otros en cuatro partes cercando en medio el templo de Huitzilopochtli, y nombrad los barrios cada una parte, y asi concertados para dividirse . . . ." Torquemada confirms these statements (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), although he protests against the origin of this division. He says: "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains other smaller ones included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." He further says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). "These clusters ("parcialidades" kinships) were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of these clusters held three, four, or more calpules, according to the number of its people . . . ." (We shall investigate hereafter the objection of Torquemada). The same author, however, acknowledges (Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 288), that the founders of Mexico were "nine families . . . These families commenced the foundation of this illustrious and magnificent city . . . ." One fact results beyond all doubt, that the first settlement of Mexico was made upon the basis of a division into kinships or consanguine groups, localizing on certain areas, which jointly composed the tribe. That the government was democratic has already been established previously. 615 618

[30] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[31] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LXVIII, p. 194. "Estaba de ordinario, recogido en una grande Sala (ó calpul)." (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. IV, cap. XIX, p. 396, (que asi llaman las Salas grandes de Comunidad. ú de Cabildo). We find, under the corrupted name of "Galpon," the "calpulli" in Nicaragua among the Niquirans, which speak a dialect of the Mexican (Nahuatl) language. See E. G. Squier ("Nicaragua," Vol. II, p. 343. "The council houses were called grepons, surrounded by broad corridors called galpons, beneath which the arms were kept, protected by a guard of young men"). Mr. Squier evidently bases upon Oviedo ("Hist. general," Lib. XLII, cap. III, p. 51. "Esta casa de cabildo llaman galpon . . . ." It is another evidence in favor of our statements, that the kinship formed the original unit of the tribe, and at the same time a hint that, as in New Mexico, originally an entire kin inhabited a single large house. See Molina's Vocab. (p. 11). [171]

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NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled, were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe" and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51-63). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

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The soil built over by each "calpulli" probably remained for 174
some time the only *solid* expanse held by the Mexicans. Gradually, 241
however, the necessity was felt for an increase of this soil. Remaining unmolested "in the midst of canes and reeds," their numbers had augmented, and for residence as well as for food, a greater area was needed. Fishing and hunting no longer satisfied a people whose original propensities were horticultural; they aspired to cultivate the soil as they had once been accustomed to, and after the manner of the kindred tribes surrounding them. For this purpose they began throwing up *little artificial garden-beds*, "chinampas,"[36] on which they planted Indian corn and perhaps some other vegetables. Such plots are still found, as "floating gardens," in the vicinity of the present city of Mexico, and they are described, as follows, by a traveller of this century:

"They are artificial gardens, about fifty or sixty yards long, and 241
not more than four or five wide. They are separated by ditches of three or four yards, and are made by taking the soil from the

Méjico," p. 443. Vedia, I). "Many married people ("muchos casados") live in one house, either on account of the brothers and relations being together, as they do not divide their grounds ("heredades"), or on account of the limited space of the pueblos; although the pueblos are large, and even the houses." Peter Martyr of Angleria ("De [342]
Novo Orbe," translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, London, 1612. Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228), says: "But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the lake through the floode, or washing flote of the Ryvers fallying into it. Vpon those greate foundations, they buylde the reste of the house, with Bricke dryed, or burned in the sunne, intermingled with Beames of Tymber, and the common houses have but one floore or planchin." We are forcibly reminded here of the houses of Itza on Lake Peten, which were found in [171]
1695. "Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XII. p. 494." "It was all filled with houses, some with stone walls more than one rod high, and higher up of wood, and the roofs of straw, and some only of wood and straw. There lived in them all the Inhabitants of the Island brutally together, one relationship occupying a single house." See also the highly valuable Introduction to the second Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar ("Mexico in 1554") by my excellent friend Sr. Icazbalceta (pp. 73 and 74).

[36] "Chinampa," derives from "Chinamitl." "Seta o cerca de canás," (enclosure of canes or reeds). Molina "Vocabulario", Parte II, p. 21). This mode of enclosing the ground was very common in the valley. A cluster of settlements between Churubusco and the Eastern lagoon has even obtained from it the name of "Chinampanecas (frequently mentioned in Tezozomoc and Durán.) The word "Chinamitl" has been adopted by the Qquiché of Guatemala, changed into "Chinamit," and used to designate a *kinship*. (See "Popol-Vuh., pp. 201, 204, 208, where "Chinamit" is translated as family.) Even in those remote regions where the territories of Yucatan and Guatemala join, or rather merge into each other, around Lake Peten, where the Nahuatl language is hardly known, we find in the 17th and 18th century, a tribe of "Chinamitas," who are said to have inhabited an area surrounded by Mexican agaves ("Magueyes") as a defensive hedge. ("Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XI, pp. 489-493.) It shows that the original signification of the word, at least, was connected with the notion of a family-lot.

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244 intervening ditch, and throwing it on the chinampa, by which means the ground is raised generally about a yard, and thus forms a small fertile garden, covered with the finest culinary vegetables, fruits and flowers . . . . . ."[37]

421 423 174 Each consanguine relationship thus gradually surrounded the surface on which it dwelt with a number of garden plots sufficient to the wants of its members.[38] The aggregate area thereof, including the abodes, formed the "*calpullalli*"—soil of the "calpulli,"[39] *and was held by it as a unit;* the *single tracts*, however, being tilled and used for the benefit of the *single families.*[40] The mode of tenure of land among the Mexicans at that period was therefore very simple. The tribe claimed its *territory*, "ALTEPETLALLI," an undefined expanse over which it *might extend*, —the "calpules," however, *held* and *possessed within that territory* such portions of it as were *productive;* each "calpulli" being *sovereign* within its limits, and assigning to its individual members *for their use* the minor tracts into which the soil was parcelled in consequence of their mode of cultivation. If, therefore, the terms "altepetlalli" and "calpulalli" are occasionally regarded as *identical*, it is because the former indicates the *occupancy*, the 618 latter *the distribution* of the soil [41] We thus recognize in the calpulli, or kindred group, the unit of tenure of whatever soil the 618 Mexicans deemed worthy of definite possession. Further on we

[37] "Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico," by W. Bullock. London, 1824. Cap. XIII, p. 179. It is not devoid of interest to compare the descriptions of this rather superficial, though still truthful observer, with the account of the ancient Chinampas as preserved to us in Tezozomoc (cap. III, p. 9). Durán (cap. VI, pp. 50 and 51). The floats or rafts mentioned by these old authors were nothing else but the chinampas or "floating gardens." Therefore also Tezozomoc uses the term "camellon," or garden-bed. (See also Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 472.) Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXII, p. 483). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142).

[38] Durán (Cap. V). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 8). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXXIII, p. 291. Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 101). Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XVII).

[39] Alonzo de Zurita (p. 51). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguas Reyes," p. 232).

[40] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 52, 56, 57, 60).—De l'Ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens, etc., etc. (copy of an anonymous MSS. from Simancas, contained in the Uguina collection, and translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Recueil de pièces, etc., pp. 223 and 224.)

[41] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 51-64). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo (Letter of 3 Nov., 1532, Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. "Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 253). See also the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga. Pertenecientes á los Caciques de Axapusco," in "Col. de Doc." of Icazbalceta (Vol. II, p. XIII).

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shall investigate how far individuals, as members of this communal unit, participated in the aggregate tenure.

In the course of time, as the population further increased, *segmentation* occurred within the four original "quarters;" new "calpulli," being formed.[42] For *governmental* purposes this segmentation produced a new result by leaving, more particularly in military affairs, the first four clusters as *great subdivisions*.[43] But these, as soon as they had disaggregated, *ceased* to be any longer *units* of territorial possession, their original areas being held thereafter by the "minor quarters" (as Herrera, for instance, calls them), who exercised, each one within its limits, the same sovereignty which the original "calpulli" formerly held over the whole.[44] A further consequence of this disaggregation was (by removing the tribal council farther from the calpules) the necessity for an *official building*, exclusively devoted to the business of the *whole* tribe alone.[45]

[42] This successive formation of new "calpulli" is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is implied by the passage of Durán which we have already quoted (Cap. V, p. 42). It also results from their military organization as described in the "Art of War," (p. 115). With the increase of population, the original kinships necessarily disaggregated further, as we have seen it to have occurred among the Qquiché (See "Popol-Vuh" quoted in our note 7), forming smaller groups of consanguinei. After the successful war against the Tecpanecas, of which we shall speak hereafter, we find at least twenty chiefs, representing as many kins (Durán, cap. XI. p. 97), besides three more, adopted then from those of Culhuacan (Id. pp. 98 and 99). This indicates an increase.

[43] "Art of War, etc.," pp. 115 and 120.

[44] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295). "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains others, smaller ones, included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 58-64). That the smaller subdivisions were those who held the soil, and not the four original groups, must be inferred from the fact, that the ground was attached to the calpulli. Says Zurita (p. 51.) "They (the lands) do not belong to each inhabitant of the village, but to the calpulli which possesses them in common." On the other hand Torquemada states (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545): "that in each pueblo, according to the number of people, there should be (were) clusters ("parcialidades") of diverse people and families . . . . These clusters were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of the aforesaid clusters sometimes contained three, four, and more, calpules, according to the population of the place ("pueblo") or tribe." The same author further affirms: "These quarters, and streets, were all assorted and levelled, with so much accuracy, that those of one quarter or street could not take a palm of land from those of another, and the same was with the streets, their lots running (being scattered) all over the pueblo." Consequently, there were no communal lands allotted to the four great quarters of Mexico as such, but each one of the kinships (calpules) held its part of the original aggregate. Compare Gomara (Vedia, Vol. I, "Conq. de Méjico," p. 434. "Among tributaries it is a custom, etc., etc." Also p. 440). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "Each quarter has its own tract, without the least connection with the others."

[45] Compare Durán (Cap. XI, p. 87). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXXI, p. 470). It appears as if the "tecpan" had not been constructed previous to the middle of the 14th cen-

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This building was the "*tecpan*"[46] called, even by Torquemada "house of the community;"[47] it was, therefore, since the council of chiefs was the highest authority in the government, the "council house" proper. It was erected near the centre of the "pueblo," and fronting the open space reserved for public celebrations. But, whereas formerly occasional, gradually merging into *regular*, meetings of the chiefs were sufficient, constant daily attendance at the "tecpan" became required, even to such an extent, that a permanent *residence* of the head-chiefs *there*, resulted from it, and was *one of the duties of the office*. Consequently the "tlacatecuhtli," his family, and such assistants as he needed (like runners), dwelt at the "official house." But this occupancy was in no manner connected with a possessory right by the occupant, whose family relinquished the abode, as soon as the time of office expired through death of its incumbent. The "tecpan" was occupied by the head war-chiefs only as long as they exercised the functions of that office.[48]

tury,—the meetings of the tribe being previously called together by priests, and probably in the open space around the main house of worship. The fact of the priests calling the public meetings is proved by Durán (Cap. IV, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 468). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, pp. 156, 159. Cap. XXI, p. 186). Acosta first mentions "unos palacios, aunque harto pobres." (Lib. VII, cap. 8, p. 470), on the occasion of the election of the first regular "tlacatecuhtli:" Acamapichtli,—Torquemada says (Lib. XII, cap. XXII, p. 290), that they lived in miserable huts of reeds and straw, erected around the open space where the altar or place of worship of Huitzilopochtli was built. The public building was certainly their latest kind of construction.

[46] From "tecuhtli" chief, and the affixum "pan," denoting a place. Therefore "place of the chiefs." Molina translates: "casa ó palacio real, ó de algun señor de Saluo" (II. p. 33). The word is also found in the Qquiché of the "Popol-Vuh" (p. 306). "Qui ticpan quib"—Mr. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg acknowledges the Mexican origin of the word, and renders it by "to divide into quarters," although he says that in Mexican it signifies: palace or municipality.

[47] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XIV. pp. 269 and 270). "Tecpancalli, que quiere decir, los Palacios Reales, ó el Alcaçar, y casas de Señorio" (Id: Lib. VII, cap. XXI. p. 119. Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477). But especially in the Sixth Book, 27th chapter, page 48, when, referring to the statements of Father Bernardino de Sahagun who says, that "being in the city of Xuchimilco, he heard one night, etc. etc. . . . . and that inquiring next day why that shouting had taken place,—the Indians answered, that from the Tecpan, or community (municipal house), they had been calling the macehuales to work."

[48] Nearly every author who attempts to describe minutely the "chief-house" (tecpan) mentions it as containing great halls (council-rooms). See the description of the tecpan of Tezcuco by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," cap. XXXVI, p. 247. "The palace had two courts, the first and largest one serving as public square and market, for which it is still used at present. The second and interior one, was surrounded by the hall of the royal councils, where the King held two tribunals. In the centre of this court a large brasier was burning, which was never extinguished." Id. cap. XXXVIII), by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. II, cap. XLIV, pp. 146 and 147. Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

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About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI. pp. 334 and 335). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Muteczuma." Bernal-Díez del Castillo (Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 343 and 343. "Adonde él moraba y residia á la continua, llaman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . — . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 302. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenia muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaiáca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 76, etc.).

Bernal-Dies (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montèzuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemada, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of Mexico were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kinship of the chief lived*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 237), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 100), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tilancalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap. LXI, p. 100). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimecs, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hezhuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-four years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?

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ment of the Mexican tribe.[49] Nearly at the same time also, the
[45] Mexicans felt the necessity of opening communications with the tribes inhabiting the shores of the great marsh in the midst of which they were living,—in order to obtain some of the commodities produced or held by these tribes. Strong enough for *defence*, but too weak yet for *offence*, the Mexicans approached cautiously their nearest and most powerful neighbors, the Tecpanecas, with the view of securing permission to trade and barter, also for the purpose of obtaining the use of one of the springs of the mainland. This permission was granted, on condition that the Mexicans should pay a certain tribute. This was, however, no kind of feudal prestation, not being in the least connected with the tenure of the soil or occupancy of the territory,—but simply like unto a toll or tax placed on the faculty of barter. The further condition of military assistance being, in all likelihood, also exacted, the Mexicans thus became, not the subjects as it is commonly stated, but the weaker allies of the Tecpanecas.[50]

[45] [49] We have previously alluded (note 22), to the fact that, anterior to Acamapitzin, the series of Mexican head-chiefs appear broken, whereas from the latter onward the office is reported as having been regularly filled. From that time on the term "palacio," as *connected with the office*, appears in the Spanish historians. See Durán, Tezozomoc, Acosta and Torquemada. (Especially "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 98).

[50] All the authors agree upon the fact that the early life of the Mexican tribe on the site of Tenuchtitlan was one of secluded poverty, even of misery. See especially Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI. pp. 92 and 93). "In this place they settled ("se ranchearon") erecting poor and small habitations, surrounded by canes and grasses, called by them Xacalli, . . . where they spent their life miserably, the place being poor and destitute, and as people abandoned and poor, persecuted by all the inhabitants of the mainland, they subsisted upon roots of Tulli and other herbs, which grew on the place and on its surroundings." Then they began to fish. (See also Tezozomoc, cap. III. Durán, cap. V. Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. XVII. Sahagun, Lib. X, cap XXIX, pp. 145 and 146. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142). Durán and Tezozomoc both assert, that their first step, when the population began to increase, was to seek for traffic, which could only be secured through some kind of connection with their nearest and most warlike neighbors, which at that time were the Tecpanecas. ("Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España," cap. V, pp. 41 and 42. "Empero juntandose todos en consejo ovo algunos que fueron de parecer que con mucha omildad se fuesen à los de Azcaputzalco y á los Tepanecas, que son los de Cuyuacan y Tacuba, y que se les ofreciesen y diesen por amigos y se les subjetasen con intencion de pedillos piedra y madera para el edificio de su ciudad . . . ." "Crónica Mexicana," cap. III, p. 9. It was finally agreed to barter, with as little concession as possible on their part). Most of the other authors have transformed this alliance with the Tecpanecas into a feudal allegiance, resulting from the occupation of the soil and from intermarriage. Both are disproved by Durán (Cap. V, p. 41: "pues era sitio y termino de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tescuco; porque alli llegaban los terminos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del mediodia, terminos de Culhuacan; . ." "y que como señores ya de aquel sitio, sin hacer bux ni reconocer subjecion à ninguno, pues su dios les avia dado aquel sitio, fuesen y comprasen piedra y madera, etc., etc.") and Tezozomoc (Cap. III, pp. 9 and 10).

Even Torquemada acknowledges the fact, that the Mexicans were originally independent (Lib. II, cap. XI), and that they were connected with the Tecpanecas through trib-

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Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[51]

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nis (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 236, 237, 238. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241-243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

[51] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 35, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Muteczuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,000 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 534, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico had to entertain (Cap. XX, pp. 175 and 176. Cap. XXIII, p. 195. The chiefs of Tezcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xuchimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fuéron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 416-421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholulian, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mesmo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 459). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 33. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "y los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandoles, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necessario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándolos para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendóles en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *llamarlos cada dia al palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 65). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 128).

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174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
574 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618] [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 215. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

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however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[33] 643 651

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 171 648

[33] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America." Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "ceualli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the grants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196, Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

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174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

[54] Durán (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, XII, XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII, XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I, pp. 15 and 18).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 63). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 478. "Con esta ocasion, ora sea que ellos de proposito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los auia hecho merced, no pedian aprovecharse, por auerseles desbaratado el caño por muchas partes. por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbaratasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera," p. 71, Vedia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero, Lib. X. cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 236 and 237). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los últ: Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

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tribute was gathered by stewards, the only Mexicans permanently 728
residing on Tecpanecan soil, and it was distributed in accordance with the tribal organization: among the calpules for the use of their public households and of their individual members, and to the "tecpan" for the maintenance of the tribal government and business; out of the former, a certain share was reserved for the purpose of religious worship.[56]

This tribute consisted of objects held and acquired by the 651
Tecpanecas through trade, war and their own manufacture. But it also included the products of their *horticulture*. These had to be raised annually either on their own garden-beds, or on a certain expanse reserved in each "calpulli" for the production of tribute. The Tecpanecas having the same system of distribution of the soil as the Mexicans, and the kindred group being the unit of their organization also, the latter method was naturally resorted to. Therefore in each one of the areas held by the calpules of the conquered tribe, a certain plot was set off, to be tilled in common by the members of the kin, for the benefit of their conquerors.

[56] Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 483), that they took all the lands for themselves: "with this, those of Azcapuzalco were left so poor, that they had not even crops of their own." Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79. "They went to Azcaputzalco and seized ('se entregaron') its lands and distributed them among themselves.") Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16 and 17). It is difficult to connect these and similar statements with the positive facts asserted by Zurita (Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne.") "The sovereign of Mexico had beneath him, in all matters relating to warfare, those of Tacuba and of Texcuco; in regard to all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them intervened in the government of the others" (p. 11),— by Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 161), and even by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXIV, p. 233), which establish the complete *territorial* independence of the Tecpanecas from the Mexicans; even after their defeat. Durán also says (Cap. IX, p. 77): that the Tecpanecas promised tribute and lands. Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16) confirms, stating that they offered tribute, personal service, and assistance in war. We cannot conciliate these different reports except by admitting that the Tecpanecas submitted to the ordinary manner of Indian conquest, namely: to tribute, to military aid, and for the purpose of tribute, to the reservation of certain tracts whose crops were to go exclusively to the conquerors. Of the latter we have positive proof. See Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 17). Only these authors mention that these tracts went to persons or individuals. But how is this possible, since no individual possession of land appears in Mexico, at the time of the conquest even; as we shall see further on. The tracts in question must, therefore, have been given to such persons as representatives of certain kinships, or "calpules," as Tezozomoc intimates, saying (Cap. XV, p. 21): "and let us distribute the lands among all of us, in order to hold of them some pastime and sustenance for us, our children and heirs." Besides, Durán asserts: that the division took place for the benefit of the chiefs, and of the quarters ("barrios," or calpules), which tends to prove that there were "official lands" and "lands of the kinship" set off for the conquerors on the conquered territory. That a portion of the latter provided for religious purposes, is established by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 483), and by Durán (Cap. IX).

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651 The crops raised thereon were again apportioned by the latter among themselves as we have explained previously, but they did not acquire any title to the *possession*, still less to the *ownership* ovv of the soil itself.[57] Once started on their career of conquest, the

728 [57] See Durán (Cap. IX. p. 79 and 80). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 18. "Para amansar y traher á paz á los Mexicanos que tan pujantes y orgullosos estavan contra los Tecpanecas, digéron estos: señores Mexicanos, como vencidos que somos de vostros, y os tenemos dadas nuestras hermanas y hijas que os sirvan y nuestras mugeres, y nos proferimos á vasallage, y de todas las veces que fuéredes en guerras y batallas con estrañas, irémos nosotros como vasallos, y llevarémos à cuestas vuestro matalotage, y llevarémos á cuestas vuestras armas, y en caso que en las guerras, algunos, à alguno de los Mexicanos muriere, nos proférimos á traheros los cuerpos cargados á vuestra tierra, ciudad, á ser con honra enterrados, y venidos que seais de las guerras, y antes y despues barerémos, y regarémos, vuestras casas, tendrémos cuidado de vosotros con nuestro servicio personal, pues asi estamos obligados conforme á usanza de guerra, y nosotros de servidumbre." The Mexicans then spoke to themselves and said: "you now have heard the promises, subjection, and domination to which the Tecpanecas of Azcaputzalco submit, offering to give us wood, planking, stones and lime for our houses, to plant for us maize, beans, calabashes, spices of the country, chile, and tomate, and to be our servants, and the principals of them to become our stewards . . . .") This expresses about the amount and measure of subjection of one tribe to another. Zurita further informs us (pp. 66 and 67). "When the Kings of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba conquered a province, they used to retain all the native chieftains in their offices; whether they were supreme or but inferior. The people always kept its property, finally the usages and customs of the established government were respected. These sovereigns designated territories proportionate to their conquests: the vanquished tilled them in common and made plantings appropriate to the soil. This kind of tribute, or homage ("homage-lige"), was paid to officers ("des intendants") established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or Tacuba, according as the vanquished had become vassals of one or of the other prince. Besides, they were liable to military service, which obligation rested indiscriminately on all the conquered provinces. The chiefs remaining Lords as before the war, preserved civil and criminal jurisdiction in the full extent of their domain." Nevertheless, we have detailed reports about certain lands having been applied by the Mexicans to certain chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XV, p. 24): it was done at the time that such chiefs received certain titles or dignities. These titles and dignities, however, were not hereditary, but elective (Durán, cap. XI, p. 103). "To these four chiefs and titularies, after they were elected princes) they made them belong to the royal council as presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion (or consent, advice "parecer") nothing could be done, and the King being dead, from these and no others his successor had to be chosen, and neither could they be placed in such positions unless they were sons or brothers of Kings, and thus, if one of these four had been promoted, they put another one in his place, and it is to know that they never chose a son of him whom they elected for King, or of him who died, because as I have said, the sons did not obtain the titles through inheritance, but by election. Thus, whether son, brother, or cousin, if the King and his council elected him to any title, it was given to him,—it being sufficient that he belonged to that lineage and was a near relative, and thus the sons and brothers went succeeding little by little, and the title and Lordship remained in that generation (descendancy), being elected successively. These Lords had vassals who to them paid tribute, small pueblos, rented lands ("estancias terrazgueros") that gave them all kinds of supplies and clothing . . . . ." It is also stated that the Mexicans, when they conquered the Tecpanecas, distributed of their lands to the quarters (Cap. IX. p. 79. Durán,—and Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 488. "Señalaron tambien tierras de comun para los barrios de Mexico a cada uno las suyas, para que con ellas acudiessen al culto y sacrificio de sus dioses.")

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Mexicans, supported by their allies, sought to extend their power. The tribes of the southeast, the Xochimilcas, the Chinampanecas, (also called the four chieftaincies: "Nauhteuctli") were the first to become their prey. Their fate, after they had once submitted, was the same as that of the Tecpanecans. The territory was not annexed, neither was the organization changed. But they were held to military assistance, and especially to tribute. The latter drew forth, as a consequence, the establishment of tribute-lands, like those which we have already met with at the close of the Tecpanecan war.[58]

When finally, after a contest of unusual length and bitterness, the tribe of Chalco also had to submit to the same conditions of tribute and warlike control,[59] — the Mexicans were really the leading power of the valley.[60] Their means of subsistence, besides, had greatly increased through tribute, among which the crops of the tribute-lands were most conspicuous — as well as through trade. One single tribe of the "Nahuatl" of the valley remained unsubdued, the Aculhuas of Tezcuco. Instead, however, of engaging in a deadly conflict, the result of which might have been equally

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If we attentively consider the above, we find:

(1). That no change was made in the tenure of lands, and no conversion of the Tecpanecan territory into a Mexican domain was effected by the conquest.

(2). That certain expanses were set aside, which continued to be held by the conquered, and worked by them after the usual communal plan, but whose crops went exclusively towards the *tribute*.

(3). That these crops were divided, corresponding to the organization of the Mexicans, — between the official requirements — ("tecpan" —) ("calpulli" as official house for the quarters)—the people (quarters "barrios,") and worship. The analogy with Peru (Inca, worship and people), is striking.

The distribution of lands to certain chiefs therefore, mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Tecpanecas, simply indicates that these lands were applied to the maintenance of such offices, and not an hereditary "fief" to a certain family. Durán positively expresses, that the office belonged in the "kin" ("lignea" — "generacion,") and was not hereditary. The lands therefore pertained to the office as a governmental feature of the kinship or calpulli, and not to the person or offspring of any incumbent. In the same way, certain tracts (or rather their crops), went to the tecpan or its occupants, as a governmental feature of the *tribe* (Bustamante, Parte III cap. V, p. 233).

[58] Durán (Cap. XII, Id. XIII, p. 114. XIV, p. 122). Tezozomoc (Cap. XVII, p. 28, XVIII, p. 29), and Acosta.

[59] Durán (Cap. XVII, p. 152). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXVI, pp. 39 and 40). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 493), etc. etc.

[60] Out of the five Nahuatl tribes who had originally settled in the valley of Mexico, three were then subjected to the Mexicans. Consequently the Tezcucans or Aculhuacans alone remained. Territorially, the latter probably covered the larger expanse, but the Mexicans and their allies had the advantage in position and numbers.

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648 disastrous for both parties, negotiations commenced, terminating with the formation of a *military confederacy*, under the *leadership* of Mexico.[61]

It appears that in this, as in all other transactions of the same nature, mutual concessions had to be made. Thus, while the Tezcucans conceded the military command to the Mexicans, the latter had to admit into the confederacy that part of the Tecpanecas who, since the destruction of Azcaputzalco, recognized in Tlacopan (Tacuba) their chief pueblo. Through *tezcucan* influence it is even probable that the tribute heretofore paid to the Mexicans by that tribe, was relinquished by the former.[62]

The following seem to have been the leading features of the confederacy.

648 651 It consisted of the three tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Each of these tribes was territorially independent; as well as in the management of its own affairs: from the two others.[63]

The military command of the forces belonged to the head-war-

[61] Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 124. Cap. XV, pp. 125–132), mentions a *sham* fight between the Mexicans and Tezcucans, ending in a confederacy. Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 490), confirms. Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 64), speaks of a voluntary "submission" by the Tezcucans. Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX and XX), asserts that the Tezcucans were actually conquered by the Mexicans. On the other hand, Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim." Cap. XXXIV). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 175). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. V). Bustamante ("Tezcoco" Parte IIa. cap. V), affirm that a fight took place, in which the Mexicans were worsted, and after which the Tezcucan feudal "empire" was firmly established. The truth probably lies between the two extremes, and is recognized as such by Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 175). Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 124), and finally expressed by Zurita ("Rapport." p. 11), as follows: "The sovereign of Mexico was superior to those of Tacuba and Tezcuco in matters touching warfare; in all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them meddled with the government of the others." Herrera has adopted this view, copying almost textually (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 122, of chapter XV).

[62] The only confession found in specifically Mexican authors on the subject of the Tecpanecas of Tlacopan is the quotation from Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 123). But Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.." Cap. XXXII, pp. 219 and 220.) says: "It is plainly visible from this song that the three dynasties named were the principal ones of Mexico, and that the King of Tlacopan was regarded as equal to those of Mexico and Tezcuco.") Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 175. Cap. XXXIX, p. 141). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III). Clavigero (Lib. IV, caps. II and III), and Bustamante (Parte IIIa. cap. II, pp. 161, 162 and 163).— All are positive in affirming that the Tezcucans insisted upon having the Tecpanecas as a third member. The Mexican authors not contradicting, and impartial sources, like Zurita and Herrera,— establishing the fact of equality of power, and territorial autonomy (See note 61), we, therefore, feel justified in recognizing the fact as established.

[63] Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," p. 11).

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chief of the Mexican tribe, with power probably to delegate the same.[64] 648 651

Each of the three tribes elected its head war-chiefs according to its own customs; but the installation in office, *the investiture*, took place with the concurrence of the head-chiefs of the other tribes. This was especially the case in Mexico, where the "tlacatecuhtli" became commander-in-chief of the confederacy.[65]

Each tribe could carry on its own wars, defensive as well as offensive, independently; but if required, the others had to assist, in which case the Mexicans took the lead.[66]

Consequently, each tribe could have its *own conquests*, and levy its *own tribute* upon tribes which it had conquered *alone*.[67]

But wherever the *confederacy* had subjugated a foreign tribe, the spoils as well as all the subsequent tribute were divided among the three members as follows: Mexico and Tezcuco each two-fifths, and Tlacopan one-fifth.[68]

The establishment of this confederacy did not, in any manner whatever, alter the principles already recognized for the tenure and distribution of the soil. It only shows, and the subsequent career of the confederation further supports it, that these principles were common among the three tribes concerned. Wherever their conquests extended, the conquered were not annexed, but simply subjected to tribute, their territory and tribal autonomy were preserved, and no change introduced in the distribution of the soil beyond the reservation of tracts for the raising of tribute. Stewards, "calpixca," were the only representatives of the confederacy or of any of its members, residing permanently with the 423 648

[64] Zurita (p. 11). Herrera (Déc. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[65] Mendieta (Lib. II. cap. XXXVII. p. 133). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 333). Durán (Cap. XXXII, p. 233; cap. XXXIX, p. 303; cap. XLI. p. 325; cap. LII, p. 409). Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI, p. 67; cap. LVI, p. 91; caps. LX and LXI, p. 100; cap. LXXXII, pp. 142 and 143). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. I, pp. 2 and 3; cap. LX, p. 49; cap. LXX, p. 102). See also Veytia.—but especially Clavigero, who is very positive (Lib. IV. cap. III. "Besides, the two Kings (of Tezcuco and Tacuba), were honorary assistants to the election of the Mexican Kings. They had but to sanction the election . . . .")

[66] Zurita (p. 67). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 546 and 547).

[67] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[68] Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. LVII, p. 175; cap. XXXIX. p. 144; lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 546, 547 and 548). Zurita ("Rapport," p. 12). Ixtlilxochitl (Cap. XXXII, pp. 219 and 220). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, pp. 164 and 165). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte II, cap. III, pp. 163 and 165). Clavigero (Lib. IV, cap. III).

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423 tributaries.[69] In short, the same treatment to which the Tecpanecas had once submitted, at the hands of the Mexicans *alone*, was the one received by foreign tribes from the confederacy, from the time of its formation down to its overthrow by the Spaniards. All the conquests intervening did not therefore result in the formation of a *state* based upon feudal notions of territorial domain and vassalage, but simply in a conglomerate of scattered tribes often mutually inimical, who looked with terror to the valley of Mexico as the abode of their conquerors. Over these conquerors the Mexicans held military direction, and the name of Mexico, or its equivalent of "Culhua," was best known. As early as 1518, Juan de Grijalva heard it on the coast of Tabasco.[70] This wide diffusion of the *name*, coupled with the still more extensive spread of the language,[71] and the undisguised dread of the natives before that very name, has created in the minds of Europeans the picture of a Mexican nation, state, and feudal Empire; whereas there was nothing else but the military confederacy of the three leading Nahuatl tribes of the valley of Mexico.[72]

423 This rapid sketch of the history of the Mexicans, up to the time when they confederated with the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, has shown to us that in no case was the notion of public domain, of governmental lands, current among the tribes of Mexico. The tribe held no domain,—conquest of another tribe by it did not (as feudal conditions would imply) convert the conquered territory into an annex or dependency of the conqueror, as far as the possession of the soil was concerned. Finally, the confederacy itself, as such, did not even hold a territory of its own, still less did it claim possession of areas occupied by tributary tribes.

It remains now for us to revert again to the distribution of the

[69] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 67). "This kind of tribute or allegiance ("homagelige") was paid to officers established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or of Tacuba, etc., etc. . . . . The chief remaining sovereign, as before the wars, retained the civil and criminal jurisdiction over all their dominions" (Id. p. 66). Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion, etc." Col. de Documentos," vol. II, p. 579). "Art of War" (p. 100, note 17). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 197).

[70] "Itinerario de l'Armata del Re Catholico in India Verso la Isola de Inchathan del Anno M.D. XVIII," in Col. de Docum, vol. I, p. 293, taken from Ramusio. Originally published (1522), in the "Itinerario de Varthema," an exceedingly rare book. Bernal-Diaz ("Hist. verdadera," Vedia II, cap. XI, p. 16).

[71] Orozco y Berra ("Geografia de las Lenguas, etc.," Parte II, p. 83, and the splendid ethnographical chart).

[72] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 11. "The province of Mexico was subject to three principal chiefs, etc. etc. . . ."

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soil, and to establish its customs at the time when the Europeans 423
first trod the Mexican shore.

We readily distinguish several classes of lands, bearing each a different name, besides the "altepetlalli," or tribal territory or range. The latter was the widest circumscription for which the Nahuatl language had a term. (The word "Anahuac," which is often used, is utterly inapplicable, as we have elsewhere shown).[73] No other idea of tenure was connected with it, beyond that of *tribal occupation.*

Each of the numerous tribal areas, overrun by the confederacy 423
(provided the natives were of a sedentary character), contained 651
what we have ventured to call tribute-lots. The name given to 648
these tracts was possibly "yaotlalli," but rather "milchimalli" ("lands of war," and "shield-lands").[74] As before said, the soil of these tracts was still held in original tenure by the kinships composing the conquered tribe, but the *crops* went towards the tribute. There is no indication about the size of these areas, and they were the only ones directly connected with the conquerors.

Of those tracts whose products were exclusively applied to the 651
governmental needs of the pueblo or tribe itself (taken as an in- 423
dependent unit) there were, as we have already seen, two particular classes:

The first was the "tecpan-tlalli:"—land of the house of the community, whose crops were applied to the sustenance of such as employed themselves in the construction, ornamentation, and repairs of the public house. Of these there were sometimes several within the tribal area. They were tilled in common by special families who resided on them, using the crops in compensation for the work they performed on the official buildings.[75]

[73] Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 32, and note 10) makes the very sensible remark that the name "Anahuac" did not at all apply to a "state" or "empire," etc., but in general to all countries situated in the neighborhood of considerable bodies of water;—such as lakes or large streams; or the shores of the sea. [104]

[74] MSS. from Simancas "De l'ordre de succession observé par les Indiens relativement à leurs Terres et de leurs Territoires communaux," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in "Recueil de Pièces," etc., pp. 223 and 224. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV. He includes them positively in the soil of the kinships, and treats them as communal lands, the produce of which furnished military supplies). "Yaotlalli" is improper (see "Art of War," p. 135, note 158), but "Milchimalli" is possible.

[75] From "tecpan," chief-house (Molina, Parte II, p. 95), and "tlalli," soil (Id. p. 124). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). "There was another class of lands which belonged to the chief's income; and those who dwelt on them and cultivated them were

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651 The second class was called "tlatoca-tlalli"—land of the speak-
423 ers. Of these there was but one tract in each tribe, which was to be "four-hundred of their measures long on each side, each measure being equal to three Castilian rods."[76] The crops raised on such went exclusively to the requirements of the household at the "tecpan," comprising the head-chief and his family with the assistants.[77] The tract was worked in turn by the other members

called Tecpanponhqui, or Tecpantlaca, which signifies: people of the palace and renters of the King. Such were held to keep in repair the royal palaces, clean the gardens, and to attend to the cleanliness and to the necessities of the royal palaces. They were regarded with much respect, as people most directly connected with the houses of the King. When the Lord sallied forth, they accompanied him, and they paid no other tribute but bouquets (Itamilletes," flower-bunches) and birds of all kind, which they offered to the King. Such lands descended from father to son, but they could not sell them, nor dispose of them in any way, and if one of them died without heirs, or left the place, his house and lands remained for those of his kin ("parcialidad") to put another in his place, according to the commands of the King, or of the Lord."—Herrera (Dec. III, lib. cap. XV, p. 135).—Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196). "Besides these each pueblo also had other kinds of lands called tecpantlalli, or lands of the palace or rentals of the chief, because its crops also went integrally towards the constructions and repairs of the palaces of the Kings, and towards other expenses aside from the sustenance. The people who cultivated them were also plebeians, but they were set apart for it in each place, and were called tecpanpuhque or tecplantlaca, that is, people pertaining to the palaces, and they could not work any other lands." Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques cap. XXXV, p. 242. "There were others known by the name of Tecpantlali, or lands which depend from the palaces of the Lords. The Indians tilling them were called tecpanpouhque, or people connected with the palaces of the Lords"). Bustamante ("Tezcoco," etc., Parte III, cap. V, pp. 233 and 234). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "The ownership of the crownlands, called Tecpantlalli, remained in the King, but certain gentlemen called Tecpanpouhque or Tecpantlaca, *i. e.* people of the palace, had the enjoyment thereof. These paid no tribute but flowers and certain birds which they offered to the King in token of allegiance. But they were obligated to keep the royal palace in repair, or to construct new ones if needed; to tend to the royal gardens, and to care for the vassals in their district. It was their duty to attend court, to escort the King, if he appeared in public; and thus they were highly considered. If one of them died, his son succeeded in all his duties, but he lost his rights by removing from the place, in which case the King gave him the use of another tract, or left it to the community, in whose area the land lay, to assign to him another piece."

The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the King, and only the crops went to certain official purposes. The occupants thereof were not serfs, since it is implied that they might remove at their pleasure, but, as any other members of a calpulli, in accordance with what we shall hereafter show, they lost by removal their right of use to that particular tract. They were properly the "official artisans."

[804] [76] Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Veitia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "This had to be four-hundred of their measures in square ('encuadro,' each side long); each one of these being equal to three castilian rods. . . ." See "Art of War" (p. 944, note 183). "The rod" (vara) is equal to 2.7869 feet English (Guyot).

[77] From "tlatoca" speakers, or "tlatoani" speaker, and "tlalli." Simancas M. S. S. on the customs of succession ("Recueil de Pièces, etc." p. 223). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "There were other kinds of lands that were attached to the lordship (office?), which they called of the lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, and rented them to whom they pleased, drawing much rent from them,

[Erratum, should be "Kin". See 16: Bandelier, cat. 116, p. 663, note 216. - Analyst]

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of the tribe, and it remained always public ground, reserved for the same purposes.[78] 651 423

Both of these kinds were often comprised in one, and it is even not improbable that the first one may have been but a variety of the general tribute-lands devoted to the benefit of the conquering confederates. Still, the evidence on this point is too indefinite to warrant such an assumption.

While the crops raised on the "tecpan-tlalli," as well as on the "tlatoca-tlalli," were consumed exclusively by the official houses and households of the tribe, the soil itself which produced these crops was neither claimed nor possessed by the chiefs themselves, or their descendants. It was simply, as far as its products were concerned, official soil.[79]

The establishing and maintaining of these areal subdivisions was very simple with the tribes of the mainland, since they all possessed ample territories for their wants and for the requirements of their organizations. *Their* soil formed a contiguous unit. It was not so, however, with the Mexicans proper. With all their industry in adding artificial sod to the patch on which 423 311

spending it in the house of the King.") Ixtlilxochitl (Ibid. cap. XXXV, p. 242. "In the best location of the territory there was set off a field, which held exactly four hundred measures in length and breadth. This was called Tlatocatlali or Tlatocamilli that is: land or plantation of the Lord, and also Itonal Yutlacal, or lands on which the inhabitants are compelled to work.") Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 537). Veytia, (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 125, confirms Ixtlilxochitl almost verbally, adding: "For the sowing and cultivation of these the calpixque, which was an officer of the community in each pueblo, daily designated those who had to attend to it, out of the plebeians and tributaries, and all the crops went to the Lord for the maintenance of his house ('casa' family)." Zurita does not use the term which we have adopted, because he is chiefly struck by the communal tenure, as exhibited in the "calpulalli." The fact of their being communal land, though set off for a special purpose, and *not owned* by the chiefs, is plain.

[78] Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 125). It is superfluous to revert to the erroneous impression, that the chiefs might dispose of it.

[79] "Patrimonial Estates" are mentioned frequently, but the point is, where are they to be found. Neither the "tecpantlalli" nor the "tlatoca-tlalli," still less the "calpulalli," show any trace of individual ownership. "Eredad" (heirloom) is called indiscriminately "milli" and "cuemitl" (Molina Parte Ia. p. 57). The latter is also rendered as "tierra labrada, ó camellon" (Molina. Parte IIa. p. 26). It thus reminds us of the "chinamitl" or garden-bed (as the name "camellon" also implies), and reduces it to the proportion of an ordinary cultivated lot among the others contained within the area of the calpulli. It is also called "tlalli," but that is the general name for soil or ground. "Tierras o eredades de particulares, juntas en alguna vega," is called "tlalmilli." This decomposes into "tlalli" soil, and "milli." But "vega" signifies a fertile tract or field, and thus we have again the conception of communal lands, divided into lots improved by particular families, as the idea of communal tenure necessarily implies.

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423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 190 and 191).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII,
[351] p. 56). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population,—in the
[312 764] North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 24). See note 57.

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tracts were but "official tracts," and they were apart from those 651
reserved for the special use of the kinships. The latter may have 423
furnished that *general* tribute which, although given nominally to the head war-chief still was, "for all the Mexicans in common."[84]

The various classes of lands which we have mentioned were, as 618
far as their tenure is concerned, included in the "calpulalli" or 423
lands of the kinships. Since the kin, or "calpulli," was the unit of governmental organization, it also was the unit of *landed tenure.* Clavigero says: "The lands called altepetlalli, that is: those who belonged to the communities of the towns and villages, were divided into as many parts as there were quarters in a town, and each quarter held its own for itself, and without the least connection with the rest. Such lands could in no manner be alienated."[85] These "quarters" were the "Calpulli," hence it follows *that the consanguine groups* held the "altepetlalli" or *Soil of the tribe.*[86]

We have, therefore, in Mexico, the identical mode of tenure of 423
lands, which Polo de Ondogardo had noted in Peru and reported to the king of Spain as follows: ". . . . . although the crops and other produce of these lands were devoted to the tribute, the land itself belonged to the people themselves. Hence a thing will be apparent which has not hitherto been properly understood. When any one wants land, it is considered sufficient if it can be shown that it belonged to the Inca or to the sun. But in this the Indians are treated with great injustice. For in those days they paid the tribute, and *the land was theirs.* . . . . ."[87]

The expanse held and occupied by the calpulli, and therefore 618
called calpulalli," was possessed by the kin in *joint* tenure.[88] It 423

[84] Tezozomoc (Cap. X. p. 18). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 227). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138. "I no era en mano del Señor disponer de estos Tributos á su voluntad, porque se alteraba la Gente, i los Principales." This refers specially to the tribute by quarters "barrios."

[85] Storia del Messico" (Lib. VII, cap. XIV).

[86] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichim.," Cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545).

[87] "Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, translated from the original Spanish manuscripts, and edited by Clement R. Markham." Publication of the "Hackluyt Society," 1873. "Report of Polo de Ondegardo" who was "Regidor" of Cuzco, in 1560; and a very important authority (See Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," note to Book I, cap. V). Confirmed by Garcia ("El Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 102).

[88] Zurita ("Rapport, etc., etc., p. 50). "The chiefs of the second class are yet called Calpullec in the singular and Chinancallec in the plural. (This is evidently incorrect, since the words "Calpulli" and "Chinancalli" can easily be distinguished from each other. "Chinancalli," however, after Molina means "cercado de seto" (Parte IIa, p.

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423 could neither be alienated nor sold; in fact, there is no trace of
[425] barter or sale of land, previous to the conquest.[89] If, however, any calpulli weakened, through loss of numbers from any cause whatever, it might farm out its area to another similar group, deriving subsistence from the rent.[90] If the kinship died out, and its lands therefore became vacant, then they were either added to those of another whose share was not adequate for its wants, or they were distributed among all the remaining calpulli.[91] The calpulli was

21), or an enclosed area, and if we connect it with the old original "chinamitl" we are forcibly carried back to the early times, when the Mexicans but dwelt on a few flakes of more or less solid ground. This is an additional evidence in favor of the views we have taken, of the growth of landed tenure among the Mexican tribe. We must never forget, that the term is "Nahuatl" and as such recognized by all the other tribes, outside of the Mexicans proper. The interpretation as "family" in the QQuiché tongue of Guatemala, which we have already mentioned, turns up here as of further importance), th. is chiefs of an old race or family, from the word Calpulli or Chinancalli, which is the same, and signifies a quarter (barrio), inhabited by a family known, or of old origin, which possesses since long time, a territory whose limits are known, and whose members are of the same lineage." "The calpullis, families or quarters, are very common in each province. Among the lands which were given to the chiefs of the second class, there were also calpullis. These lands are the property of the people in general ("de la masse du peuple") from the time the Indians reached this land. Each family or tribe received a portion of the soil for perpetual enjoyment. They also had the name of calpulli, and until now this property has been respected. They do not belong to each inhabitant of the village in particular, but to the calpulli, which possesses them in common." Don Ramirez de Fuenleal, letter dated Mexico, 3 Nov. 1532 ("Recueil de pièces, etc., Ternaux-Compans, p. 253). "There are very few people in the villages which have lands of their own . . . . the lands are held in common and cultivated in common." Herrera (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135) confirms, in a condensed form, the statements of Zurita: "and they are not private lands of each one, but held in common." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Veytia (Lib. III, cap, VI, p. 196). "Finally there were other tracts of lands in each tribe, called calpulalli, which is, land of the calpules (barrios), which also were worked in common." Oviedo (Lib. XXXII, cap. LI, pp. 536 and 537). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa. cap. V, p. 232).

[89] Zurita (p. 32). "He who obtained them from the sovereign has not the right to dispose of them." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135), "he who possessed them, could not alienate them, although he enjoyed their use for his lifetime." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Disputes about lands are frequently mentioned but they refer to the enjoyment and possession, and not the transfer of the land. Baron Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments indigènes des peuples de l' Amérique," Vol. I, Tab. V), reproduces a Mexican painting representing a litigation about land. But this painting was made subsequent to the conquest, as the fact that the parties contending are Indians and Spaniards sufficiently asserts. Occasional mention is made that certain lands "could be sold." All such tracts, however, like the "pillali" have been shown by us to be held in communal tenure of the soil, their *enjoyment* alone being given to individuals and their families.

[90] Zurita (p. 33). "In case of need it was permitted to farm out the lands of a calpulli to the inhabitants of another quarter." Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 134). "They could be rented out to another lineage."

[91] Zurita (p. 33). "When a family dies out, its lands revert to the calpulli, and the chief distributes them among such members of the quarter as are most in need of it."

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a democratic organization. Its business lay in the hands of elec- 68
tive chiefs:—"old men," promoted to that dignity, as we intend 423
to prove in a subsequent paper, for their merits and experience, and after severe religious ordeals. These chiefs formed the council of the kin or quarter, but their authority was not absolute since on all important occasions a general meeting of the kindred was convened.[92] The council in turn selected an executive, the "calpullec" or "chinancallec" who, in war, officiated as "achcacauhtin" or "teachcauhtin" (elder brother).[93]—This office was for life or during good behavior.[94] It was one of his duties to keep a reckoning of the soil of the calpulli, or "calpulalli," together with a record of its members, and of the areas assigned to each family,—and to note also whatever changes occurred in their distribution.[95] Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;

[92] Zurita (pp. 60, 61, 62). Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Letter, etc." Ternaux-Compans, p. 249).

[93] Zurita (p. 60). "The calpulli have a chief taken necessarily from among the tribe, he must be one of the principal inhabitants, an able man who can assist and defend the people. The election takes place among them. . . . The office of this chief is not hereditary; when any one dies, they elect in his place the most respected old man. . . . If the deceased has left a son who is able the choice falls upon him, and a relative of the former incumbent is always preferred" (Id. pp. 50 and 222). Simancas M. S. S. ("De l'ordre de succession, etc.;" "Recueil," p. 225). "As to the mode of regulating the jurisdiction and election of the alcaldes and regidors of the villages, they nominated men of note who had the title of achcacaulitin. . . . . There were no other elections of officers . . ." "Art of War, etc." (pp. 119 and 120).

[94] Zurita (pp. 60 and 61). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, cap. 125). "I le elegian entre si y tenian por maior."

[95] Zurita (pp. 61 and 62). "This chief has charge of the lands of the calpulli. It is his duty to defend their possession. He keeps paintings showing the tracts, the names of their holders, the situation, the limits, the number of men tilling them, the wealth of private individuals, the designations of such as are vacant, of others that belong to the Spaniards, the date of donation, to whom and by whom they were given. These [212] paintings he constantly renews, according to the changes occurring, and in this they are very skilful." It is singular that Motolinia, in his "Epistola proëmial" ("Col. de Doc.:" Icazbalceta, Vol. I, p. 5), among the five "books of paintings" which he says the Mexicans had, makes no mention of the above. Neither does he notice it in his letter dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," Ternaux-Compans). Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304) says, "porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como haziendas, casas, ó maizales" (Id. cap. XXV, p. 314). This tends to prove the existence of such paintings. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 125). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 546), "and in order to prevent any confusion in these lands they painted them on long strips ("lienzos") in the following manner. The lands of the calpules light yellow, those of the principals flesh-red, and the lands of the Kings income of a fiery red color,—so that, on opening one of these rolls, the entire pueblo, its limits and outlines could be seen at a glance." This is another confirmation of our views about the distribution of the soil, and the fact that the two latter classes had but different shades of red, is somewhat significant. See Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV), who confirms. The explanation of Zurita covers the whole ground, however, and explains both of the last statements.

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618 Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;
423 more important ones, or contested cases, had to be referred to the
[627] council of the kinship, which in turn often appealed to a gathering of the entire quarter.[96]

The "calpulalli" was divided into lots or arable beds, "tlalmilli."[97] These were assigned each to one of the married males of the kinship, to be worked by him for his use and that of his family. If one of these lots remained unimproved for the term of two consecutive years, it fell back to the quarter for redistribution. The same occurred if the family enjoying its possession removed from the calpulli. But it does not appear that the cultivation had always to be performed by the holders of the tract themselves. The fact of improvement under the *name* of a certain tenant was only required, to insure this tenant's rights.[98]

622 Therefore the chiefs and their families, although they could not,
618 from the nature of their duties, till the land themselves, still could
423 remain entitled to their share of "tlalmilpa," as members of the calpulli. Such tracts were cultivated by others for their use. They were called by the specific name of "pillali" (lands of the chiefs or of the children, from "piltontli" boy, or "piltzintli,"

[96] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 56 and 62). We quote him in preference, since no other author, known to us, has been so detailed.

[97] "tlalmilli" "tierras, á heredades de particulares, que estan juntas en alguna vega." (Molina, Part IIa, p. 124).

[98] Each family, represented by its male head, obtained a certain tract or lot for cultivation and use, Zurita (p. 55). "The party (member of the calpulli, because no member of another one, had the right to settle within the area of it. See Id. p. 53), who has no lands, applies to the chief of the calpulli who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him such as correspond to his ability and wants. These lands go to his heirs . . . . . ." Id. (p. 56.) "The proprietor who did not cultivate during two years, either through his own fault or through negligence, without just cause . . . . . he was called upon to improve them, and if he failed to do so, they were given to another the following year." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa, p. 199, cap. I). The fact, that
[427] any holder of a "tlalmilli" might *rent* out his share, if he himself was occupied in a line precluding him from actual work on it, results from the lands of the "calpulli" being represented alternately treated as communal, and again as private lands. Besides, it is said of the traders who, from the nature of their occupation, were mostly absent, that they were also members and participants of a "calpulli" (Zurita, p. 223. Sahagun Lib. VIII, cap. III, p. 349). Now, as every Mexican belonged to a kinship, which held lands after the plan exposed above, it follows that such as were not able to work themselves, on account of their performing other duties subservient to the interests of the community, still preserved their tracts by having others to work them for their benefit. It was not the right of tenancy which authorizes the improvement, but the fact of improvement for a certain purpose and benefit, which secured the possession or tenancy.

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child),[99] and those who cultivated them carried the appellation of "tlalmaitl"—hands of the soil.[100]

The "tlalmilpa," whether held by chiefs or by ordinary members 423
of the kin ("macehuales") were, therefore, the only tracts of land possessed for use by individuals in ancient Mexico. They were so far distinguished from the "tecpantlalli" and "tlatocatlalli" in their mode of tenure as, whereas the latter two were dependent

[99] It is just the "pillali" which oppose the greatest difficulties to this investigation, and to a clear conception of the mode of tenure of lands in ancient Mexico. They are generally represented (whenever mentioned), as private domains of the chiefs. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, pp. 545 and 546), distinguishes two kinds of "pillali." The first one he says might be sold.—but he places the restriction upon them, that such as held lands through conquest ("sujecion") or through gift ("merced") of the chief, had to go to the descendants, as majorat; and if they died without heirs, the King, or Lord [428] became such, and they were incorporated into his royal Estates." The other kind was not transmissible at all. Clavigero (Lib. XVII, cap. XIV). We notice here a confusion between official tracts and such lots of the "calpulli" as pertained to the chief's family in consequence of their membership of the Kin. Also between "tribute-lots" and the official tracts, of conquered tribes. Torquemada acknowledges, that the "pillali," upon the death of the family, were incorporated in the calpulli to which that family belonged, "in order that they might pay tribute." This ought to define their true position and nature.

[100] From "tlalli" soil, and "maitl" hand. Hands of the soil. Molina (Parte IIa, p. 427
124), has: "tlalmaitl"—"labrador, ó gañan." This name is given in distinction of the "macehuales" or people working the soil in general. The tlalmàites are identical with the "mayeques." See Zurita (p. 224), "tlalmaites or mayeques, which signifies tillers of the soil of others . . . ." He distinguishes them plainly from the "tecallec" [566] which are the "tecpanpouhque" or "tecpantlaca" formerly mentioned as attending to a class of official lands (p. 221, Zurita). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These mayeques could not go from one tract to another, neither leave those which they cultivated, and they paid a rent to its masters according as they agreed upon ("en lo que se concertaban") in what they raised. They paid tribute to nobody else but the master of the land." This tends to show that there existed, not an established obligation, a serfdom, but a voluntary contract, that the "tlalmaites" were not serfs, but simply renters. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). ". . . . those that were knights ("caballeros") and descendants of the families of the Kings, and Lords, had their particular lands and their rentals, where many of them held renters ("terrazgueros") which served them, tilled the crops and served them in their houses. These lands were called pillali or "land of nobles and knights." We prefer the etymology "piltontli" "niño ò niña, muchacho ó muchacha" (Molina, II, p. 82), or "piltzintli" niño ó niña" therefore lands of the children,—to the derivation from "pilli." The title of chief was "tecuhtli," and the word "pilli" substituted for it is certainly but in connection with the occupation of a particular place of office, and not a title itself. Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 330. "The sovereigns as well as the inferior Lords and other principals had their own patrimonial estates, and in them their mayeques or Tlalmayes, what these gave of rent were tributes of the Lord," Id. pp. 233 and 234).

The "tlalmaites" appear to have been free from other tributes, and free from com- [446]
monal labor outside of the "pillali" (Bustamante, p. 233. Herrera, Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). It is not very clear, however, whether this applies simply to the conquering tribe alone, or also to the tlalmaites of conquered tribes, as towards the tribute due by that tribe to their conquerors. The detailed relations between the two are yet somewhat obscure and confuse in some points.

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423 from a certain office, the incumbent of which changed at each election, the "tlalmilli" was assigned to a certain family, and its possession, therefore, connected with *customs* of *inheritance*.[101]

428 Being thus led to investigate the customs of Inheritance of the ancient Mexicans, we have to premise here, that the personal effects of a deceased can be but slightly considered. The rule was in general, that whatever a man held, descended to his offspring.[102] Among most of the northern Indians a larger cluster participated.[103] In conformity with the organization of Society based upon kin, when in the first stage of its development, the kindred group inherited, and the common ancestor of this kin being considered a female, it follows that if a man died, not his children, still less his wife, but his mother's descendants, that is: his brothers, sisters, in fact the entire consanguine relationship from which he derived on his mother's side, were his heirs.[104] Such may have been the case even among the Muysca of New-

[101] Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Letter," see "Recueil, etc.," p. 253). "De l' ordre de succession, etc., etc." Simancas MSS. (Id. p. 224). Herrera (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). These authors mention only the "pillali," but Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, pp. 120 and 121), and Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434), apply it in general, and the latter is even very positive about the tributaries ("los pecheros.") Also Zurita (p. 56), although contradictory on p. 51).

[102] Motolinia (Tratado II, cap. V. p. 120), "but they left their houses and lands to their children . . ." Gomara (p. 434). "Es costumbre de pecheros que el hijo mayor herede al padre en toda la hacienda raiz y mueble, y que tenga y mantenga todos los hermanos y sobrinos, con tal que hagan ellos lo que el les mandare." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). "In Mexico and nearly the entire realm, the royal family excepted as already told, the sons succeeded to the father's rights.—and if there were no sons, then the brothers, and the brothers sons inherited." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 219). In all these cases, Bustamante only speaks of chiefs; but the quotations from Motolinia and Gomara directly apply to the people in general.

[103] Mr. L. H. Morgan has investigated the customs of inheritance, not only among the northern Indians, but also among the pueblo Indians of New Mexico. He establishes the fact, that the "kinship" or "Gens," which we may justly consider as the unit of organization in American Aboriginal Society, participated in the property of the deceased. He proves it among the Iroquois ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. II, pp. 75 and 76). Wyandottes, Id. cap. VII, p. 153. Missouri-tribes, p. 155. Winnebagoes, p. 157. Mandans, p. 158. Minnitarees, p. 159. Creeks, p. 161. Choctas, p. 162. Chickasas, p. 163. Ojibwas, p. 167; also Potowattomies and Crees, Miamis, p. 168. Shawnees, p. 169. Sauks, Foxes and Menominies, p. 170. Delawares, p. 172. Munsees and Mohegans, p. 173. Finally, the pueblo Indians of New Mexico are shown to have, if not the identical at least a similar mode of inheritance. It would be easy to secure further evidence, from South America also.

[104] "Ancient Society" (Part II, cap. II, p. 75. Part IV, cap. I, pp. 528, 530, 531, 536 and 537).

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Granada.[105] It was different, however, in Mexico, where we meet 428
with traces of a decided progress. Not only had descent been changed to the male line,[106] but heirship was limited, to the exclusion of the kin and of the agnates themselves, to the children of the male sex.[107] Whatever personal effects a father left, which were [768
not offered up in sacrifice at the ceremonies of his funeral,[108] they 764]
were distributed among his male offsprings, and if there were none, they went to his brothers. Females held nothing whatever, beyond [562]
their wearing apparel and some few ornaments for personal use.

The "tlalmilli" itself, at the demise of a father, went to his oldest son, with the obligation to improve it for the benefit of the entire family until the other children had been disposed of by marriage.[109] But the other males could apply to the chief of the calpulli for a "tlalmilli" of their own:[110] the females went with

[105] Gomara ("Historia de las Indios," Vedia I, p. 201). Garcia ("Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. 23, p. 247). Piedrahita (Parte 1, lib. I, cap. 5, p. 27). Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimients y Colonisazion de la Nueva-Granada," Cap. XI, p. 201). Ternaux-Compans ("L'ancien Cundinamarca," pp. 21 and 38).

[106] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Gomara (p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). Zurita (pp. 12 and 43).

[107] Letter of Motolinia and Diego d'Olarte, to Don Luis de Velasco, Cholula, 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 407). "The daughters did not inherit, it was the principal, wife's son . . . ." Besides, nearly every author designates but a son, or sons,—as the heirs. There is no mention made of daughters at all. In Tlaxcallan, it is also expressly mentioned that the daughters did not inherit (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 348). In general, the position of woman in ancient Mexico was a very inferior one, and but [562]
little above that which it occupies among Indians in general. (Compare the description of Gomara, p. 440. Vedia I, with those of Sahagun, Lib. X, cap. I, p. 1; cap. XIII, pp. 30, 31, 32 and 33. The fact is generally conceded). H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races." Vol. II, Cap. VI, p. 224, etc.

[108] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XLII to XLVIII, pp. 513 to 529). Acosta (Lib. V, cap. VIII, pp. 320, 321 and 322). Gomara (pp. 436 and 437, Vedia, I). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 162 and 163). Clavigero (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX. "They burnt the clothes, arrows, and a portion of the household utensils . . . . .")

[109] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120), "el cual hacer de testamento no se acostumbraba en esta tierra, sino que dejaban las casas y heredades á sus hijos, y el mayor, siera hombre, lo poseia y tenia cuidado de sus hermanos y hermanas, y yendo los hermanos creciendo y casándose, el hermano mayor partia con ellos segun tenia; y si los hijos eran por casar, entrábanse en la hacienda los mismos hermanos, digo en las heredades, y de ellas mantenian á sus sobrinos y de la otra hacienda." Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 434). "It is customary among tributary classes that the oldest son shall inherit the father's property, real and personal, and shall maintain and support all the brothers and nephews, provided they do what he commands them. The reason why they do not partition the estates is in order not to decrease it through such a partition . . . . ." Simancas M. S. S ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 22[illegible]). "Relative to the calpulalli . . . . the sons mostly inherite."

[110] Zurita (p. 55). "He who has no land applies to the chief of the tribe (calpulli), who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him a tract suitable for his wants, and corresponding to his abilities and to his strength." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 125).

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428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case [589 734] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship, or in case of great infirmities, for which the çalpulli provided.[111] No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the [587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

428 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same 764 with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs 428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

[793] [111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 347–333), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1514, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1865, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 108, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164–167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV, p. 177. Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 356, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

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office in the *family*, and with it also the possession of certain lands, 428
attached to that officer's functions and duties. But it is quite certain too that this stage of development had not yet been reached by any of the tribes of Mexico at the time of its conquest by the Spaniards. The principal idea had not yet been developed, namely, that of the *domain*, which, in eastern countries at least, gradually segregated into individually hereditary tenures and ownerships.

There was consequently, at the time when the Spaniards first 642
came into contact with the Mexican aborigines, no established feudal system among the Indians of Mexico. Based exclusively upon kin, aboriginal society then presented to the first Europeans who witnessed it a strange and partly dazzling, partly repulsive; at all events a bewildering, aspect. It is not devoid of interest, and it is even important for us to consider what were the effects of this contact of a people imbued with the principles of medieval feudality with tribes still adhering to far more primitive ideas, upon the latter's mode of tenure and distribution of their lands.

The ostensible basis, on which the Spaniards established a 648
claim to any parts of America whatever, is expressed in the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, executed at Rome on the fourth day of May, 1493. By this act of the Holy See the kings of Spain (Ferdinand and Isabella), in consideration of their devotion to the Catholic religion, and of their zeal in propagating the Christian faith even over the remotest parts of the earth's surface, are made and created absolute possessors, for themselves, their heirs and successors, of all the lands already discovered and still to discover by them or their agents in the new world. The conditions accompanying this grant were that they "manage to send to the said mainlands and islands good men, fearing God, learned, well taught and expert, for to instruct their aforesaid inhabitants and natives in the Catholic faith, and to teach them good manners, with all due diligence."[116] This title, although it partakes of the nature of a

[116] Martin Fernandez de Navarrete ("Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV," Madrid, 1825. Tom. IIo, pp. 29-35). "Et insupre mandamus vobis in virtute sanctae obedientie, est (sicut pollicemini et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et Regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad terras firmas et insulas praedictas viros probos, et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos et expertos ad instruendam incolas et habitatores praefatos in Fide Catholica, et in bonis moribus imbuendam destinare debeatis, omnum debitam diligentiam in praemisis adhibentes." Mendieta ("Hist. Eccles. Ind.," Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 20 and 22). Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Gomara ("Historia de las Indias," Vedia I, pp. 168 and 169). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII).

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648 fief, still virtually created,—what his subsequently became in Spanish America,—a *domain* of the Spanish crown. Armed with it, and fully convinced of its validity,[117] the Spaniards regarded at once the soil of Mexico as their king's own, and therefore claimed the right as his agents, to dispose of it through distribution according to their home-laws and customs. But, instead of proclaiming this title at once after the landing, as was done on many other points of the American coast,[118] Cortés found it advisable to delay such a formal declaration until after he had, by his own inspection, satisfied himself of the proper ways and means to secure possession. He quickly found out the disconnected state of the country, although he attributed it to causes which were not really existing,[119] and it is well known how he improved it for his plans. He therefore treated secretly, as much as possible, with members of tribes subjected (or rather tributary) to the Mexicans and their confederates,[120] and in consideration of their espousing the Spanish cause, he promised them sundry favors.[121] The oldest document issued by Europeans on Mexican soil embodies such a negotiation with chiefs of the tribes of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, both pueblos being situated within the valley of Mexico itself.[122] It promises

[117] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 31 and 32). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 108). Mendieta (Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 18-20), and many others. All these authorities can be summed up in Robertson's classical words: "The Pope, as vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth" ("History of America," 9th Edition, 1800. Vol. I, Book II, p. 150). It appears that already Grijalva had, in 1518, taken possession formally of the Mexican coast. (Oviedo, Lib. XVII, cap. XV, p. 525)

[118] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. VII, cap. XIV, pp. 197 and 198). Robertson (Vol. I, Book III, p. 271; also note XXIII, p. 378).

[119] Cortés supposed a Mexican state or empire and his measures were taken in consequence. ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 12). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 313). Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Hist. verd. de la conq. de N. España," Vedia II, pp. 32 and 33). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, pp. 386 and 387), etc. etc.

[120] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 13 and 15). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. XLI, p. 36). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Andrés de Tapia ("Col. de Documentos," of Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 561 and 562). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," Vedia, I, p. 320). But the main evidence is furnished by the document published by Icazbalceta in his second volume of the "Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," in the 2d volume, and entitled: "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente á los Caciques de Axapusco, de la jurisdiccion de Otumba" (pp. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9).

[121] "Real Ejecutoria" (Col. de doc. II, p. 7). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 320). Clavigero (Lib. VIII, cap. XI).

[122] The pueblos of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco are situated along the road leading from the city of Mexico to Tullanzinco, in the state of Mexico proper, northwest of San Juan de Teotihuacan. As the Document to which we have already referred im-

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to those chiefs lands of their own. The grantees had no conception 648
of the true import of what they accepted, neither did Cortés conceive the nature of *their* ideas. It was the object of the Indians

plies, they were under Spanish rule included in the jurisdiction of Otumba. This document itself requires particular attention. It has been published by Sr. Icazbalceta in 114 648 423
the second volume of his documentary collections, and its authenticity has been carefully examined—and, we think, successfully proven—by Sr. José F. Ramirez. Its history is not devoid of interest, and we record it here, partly from the document itself, and partly from the introduction and notes by the late Sr. Ramirez.

On the 9th day of March, 1617, there appeared before the viceroy of New Spain (Marques of Guadalcazar), Leonardo de Salazar "in the name of the governor, alcalde and fiscals" of the pueblo of San Esteban Axapusco and Santiago Tepeyahualco, "of the jurisdiction of Otumba," praying for a confirmation in writing by the viceroy, of a certain grant made by Cortés, and approved by the King and his royal council under seal,—to the aforesaid pueblos. In order to obtain said confirmation it was alleged: that the grant, written on "nine leaves" was so torn and damaged, that it would no longer bear handling,—and that through its loss the inhabitants of said settlements might come to grief. The petition was immediately granted and it was ordained, on the 19 of March 1617, that a copy of the original grant should be executed, and that in such places where the text was torn or obliterated through damage to the originals, common belief or tradition should prevail as far as it related to the contents of the document ("obre la fé que hubiere lugar en derecho"). The desired copy and certificates were accordingly issued on the 21st day of March, 1617.

This copy embodies the mutilated text of a very singular official paper. It appears from it that on the 20th day of May 1519, Cortés executed, in favor of two Indian chiefs of the two aforesaid pueblos, and at their request, a certificate (signed by himself at San Juan de Ulúa on that day and countersigned: Pedro Hernandez), stating that the said chiefs had joined the messengers sent from Mexico to greet and copy Cortés upon his arrival at the coast,—with the intention of approaching him secretly and offering him their assistance in any designs he might have against the Mexicans, whom they said held them severely to tribute. This they achieved, and took allegiance to the crown of Spain. In return Cortés promised to them that "after our journey should be accomplished . . . . . to them should in the first place be made the greatest honor possible in return for so much noble subtility and good-will." He also promised "to make them grandees and Lords of lands where they now have their pueblos." The facts thus alleged were contained in the original document, written consequently about 30 days after the landing of Cortés on the coast of Vera Cruz. But this act itself was included, as a copy, in a further grant, dated 16 December, 1526, in which Cortés acknowledges the services rendered by the two chiefs during the conquest of Mexico, and that after that pueblo had been captured, the said chiefs returned to their tribes "well paid with the booty," relying upon the fulfilment of his original promises. It further states that: six years having elapsed since, and to most of the chiefs who had assisted the Spanish cause, lands had been given, he remembered the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, "and by these presents in the royal name of His majesty gave them four tracts ("cuatro sitios de estancias") . . . . . in the territory of their said pueblos." These lands were freed from all taxes and impositions, and the chiefs and their heirs were invested forever with the lordship and the office of governors ("gobernadores") of the pueblo to which they belonged. This grant of Cortés was confirmed by the Emperor Charles V, and the royal council of the Indies, 3d November, 1537, and on the 9 and 10 February, 1548, the said chieftains were duly installed in their new hereditary positions, and their lands measured off to them.

Doubts were raised as to the genuineness of the document, but these are set aside completely by the fact that, not more than 98 years after its first execution, the Spanish authorities have legally acknowledged it. Some objections relating to imperfections in the text, apparent anachronisms, have been eliminated through the judicious

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648 merely to become free of tribute to the Mexicans, as they had been previously; but no thought entered their mind, at that time, of ownership of the soil.[123] This earliest transaction (probably 20th of May, 1519) was in itself a perfect revolution, or at least the initiatory step thereto. Unbeknown to themselves, these Indians became feudatories to the crown of Spain, and thus the first germ was planted, which, in its development, subverted gradually the aboriginal order of things in Mexico.[124]

Every tribe, which subsequently surrendered to the Spaniards, bowed in the same manner to the new principle introduced. The Indians did not realize it, and as the idea of territorial domain was unknown to them, they could not see the construction placed upon their submission by the European invaders. It was not possible for them to feel or know that, if the council of a tribe agreed to accept the Spaniards in place of their former Mexican conquerors, their *territory* thereby might become alienated. On the other hand the Spaniards, not understanding the principles of Indian organization, completely misunderstood the nature of the contract. They took it for granted, that the tribal government had power and authority over the tribal soil.

When at last Montezuma and such chiefs as were with him, from Mexico as well as from Tezcuco and Tlacopan, being then

notes of Sr. Ramirez, as well as by the careful and thorough treatment of the editor, Sr. Icazbalceta. We cannot refrain from accepting the "Real Ejecutoria" as genuine and from calling the reader's attention to it, as one of the most important documents on the subject of ancient Mexican tenure of the soil. For the purpose of this note, we exclusively dwell on its *authenticity*, reserving the other points concerned for subsequent annotations; two items excepted which we must mention here, namely: It results from the grant of Cortés:

(1). That the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco held no lands as their own property, until Cortés granted such to them.

(2). That their offices were *not hereditary*, until Cortés established them as such; through his aforesaid grant. The two conclusions just stated are of great importance for the subject of this paper, and they should be kept present in mind, since we shall have occasion to make further use of the document.

123 "Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." ("Col. de Docum." Vol. II, p. 6). Andrés de Tápia ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 561, etc.) Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia, I, pp. 12 and 13). Gomara ("Conq. de Mejico," Vedia I, p. 318. Very explicit and positive). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, pp. 261, 262 and 263). Bernal-Diez ("Hist. verdadera, etc." Vedia II, cap. XLVI and XLVII). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," cap. LXXX, pp. 173, 174 and 175). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XX, pp. 297, 298 and 299). Clavigero (Lib. VIII, cap. IX and XI). Robertson ("History of America," Vol. II, Book V, p. 290). (Present Book II, cap. VII).

124 "Real Ejecutoria, etc." ("Col. de Doc." II, p. 6, "y que desde agora en adelante y para siempre se ofrecian fieles y leales vasallos de su majestad ò emperador . . ." p. 7, "y me suplicaron les diese testimonio de la obediencia que dieron à Dios nuestro Señor y à S. M.")

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in Spanish power, consented to the ceremonies required for their 648
"swearing allegiance" to Spain, Cortés thenceforth regarded the annexation of Mexico to the domains of his liege lord as complete.[125] Montezuma was hereafter considered as a feudatory of the Spanish crown, and it became the duty of that crown's other dependents to protect him. Consequently, when the Mexicans took up arms against their obnoxious guests, they became, in the eyes of the latter, rebels against what was assumed to be their legitimate lord, Montezuma, and, he in turn having been converted into a vassal of Spain, rebels also towards that power itself.[126] This act of rebellion entailed for those participating in it, forfeiture of life and property, at the option of their conquerors. Thus a further title was created for the Spaniards, to seize even lands used or held by individuals, outside of what they believed to be public or lordly domains, and a theoretical right was construed to be a complete and violent revolution.

After the pueblo of Mexico had fallen, the first step of Cortés in regard to the Indians was, therefore, to establish the system of "Repartimientos."[127] This mode had come into existence during the life-time of Columbus, through a Patent dated 22d of July, 1497, authorizing the great admiral to distribute lands in the West Indian Islands among the Spanish settlers for their own use and exclusive ownership.[128] No mention is made, in these letters patent, of the aboriginal occupants of the soil, but Columbus, in a later act of *his own, decided that the Indians should work such lands for the benefit of those to whom he had given them* "and thus" says Herrera, "the Repartimientos or Encomiendas all over the Indies originated."[129] The Indians on such tracts became serfs to their Span-

[125] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 30). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CI, Vedia II, p. 103). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. IX).

[126] The term "rebellion" is frequently applied to the uprising of the Mexicans during Cortés' short absence on his expedition against Narvaez, and their subsequent resistance to Spanish power. In fact, it appears so frequently in documents and chronicles of the 16th century, that we may well refrain from special quotations.

[127] Cortés ("Carta Cuarta," Vedia I, pp. 113, 114, 115 and 116). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, Cap. CLXIX, pp. 237 and 238). Gomara (Vedia I. p. 204). Letter of the troops of Cortés to the Emperor ("Col. de Doc.," I. p. 431). It is also acknowledged by Cortés himself in his letter of 15 October, 1524, to the Emperor, wherein he expressly states ("Col. de Doc.," I. pp. 472 and 473), that he dared not promulgate the latest despatches received by him from the Spanish court, since these enjoined him to abstain from "repartir ni encomendar." Thus he acknowledges having already made "repartimientos."

[128] Navarrete ("Coleccion de Viajes, etc." Tom. II, pp. 215 and 216). Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III, cap. II, p. 66).

[129] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III, cap. XVI, p. 85). Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72).

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64 ish conquerors, they could not, at least in later times, be separated from the soil on which they dwelt.[130]

The country of Mexico being very extensive, while the number of the original Spanish conquerors was comparatively small, it followed that, sometimes at least, large areas inhabited by entire tribes, or at least by entire kinships, fell to the lot of a single man. The new owner in such cases found an organized community established upon his grant, and he usually preferred not to disturb this organization, contenting himself with exacting for his individual benefit a tribute levied in a manner approximate to that which had been customary previous to the conquest.[131] Nevertheless, several disturbing influences soon appeared.

The first one was the construction placed upon the obligation of personal labor to be performed by the Indians. It was gradually so extended, that instead of remaining confined to the *land*, it attached to the *person* of the new owner, and thus tended, by admitting forcible displacement, to disrupt the ties of kinship, which formed the basis of the tenure of lands.[132]

In the second place the Spaniards looked upon all tracts set apart by the Indians for governmental purposes, as public domain of the Mexicans, and so, wherever a tribe had resisted their invasion, such official lands were of course regarded as forfeited. They became either property of the crown, or were assigned to some one of the early Spanish immigrants. We have already seen that these lots, although their crops were destined to special uses, were properly communal soil. This mode of tenure was now suddenly abolished, and the principle of *private* or *public ownership* established

[130] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III cap. XVI, p. 95). Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72). Mendieta (Lib. I. cap. VI, pp. 28 and 33).

[131] Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo ("Recueil, etc.," p. 244). Letter of the Licentiate Ceynos ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, pp. 162 and 163). Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Col. de Doc." Vol. II, pp. 170. 171 and 172, etc., etc.). Letter of Father Domingo de Betanzos ("Col. de Doc.," II, pp. 190-197). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CCX, p. 313. Vedia II).

[132] That the original intention was merely to have the Indians work the soil for the benefit of the Spanish owners, is proved by Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III, cap. XVI, p. 95), and by Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72). The latter was a contemporary. But it results, principally from the complaints about the ill treatments of the Indians, and the suggestions for remedy,—that the Spaniards very soon converted this position into one of personal slavery. See Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal, of 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," II. pp. 147 and 169), of Alonzo del Castillo (Col. II, p. 292). Opinion of the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar, 9 Oct., 1536 ("Col. de Doc." II, pp. 545 and 546). Joint letter to the Emperor, of 9 Franciscan and Dominican monks ("Col. de Doc." pp. 549-553). Letter of Motolinia ("Col. de Doc." Vol. I), 2 Jan., 1555.

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in its place. It is not surprising therefore, to find in the "Libro 648 del Cabildo," or book of the municipality of the young city of Mexico, between the years 1524 and 1529, numerous entries recording the petitions of Spaniards for sites occupied, according to their belief, by private dwellings of Mexican chiefs, and the grants issued in consequence thereof.[133] This applied not only to the "lands of the houses of the community" (tecpan-tlalli), and "lands of the speakers" (tlatoca-tlalli), but especially to the "pillali" or lots assigned to each chieftain as member of a particular quarter. In this manner the soil of the consanguine group, the basis of landed tenure in Mexico, was directly invaded; portions of it being torn from its original connection.

Lastly the Spaniards, finding Indian communities too strongly and permanently organized for a sudden and violent reform, acceded to their maintenance as far as they understood it. But, fully convinced that the chiefs were monarchical or despotic rulers—masters of the soil as well as of its inhabitants,—wherever these chiefs had been personally friendly to them or wherever they regarded it as politic, they confirmed what they conceived to be *their prerogatives*.[134] Thus, regarding them as *owners* of the different classes of official lots, this ownership was formally recognized, and it was acknowledged that they were "lawfully seized in fee thereof." The "tlalmaites" became in law the vassals of those whom they formerly but considered as elective functionaries.

Not content with this, and in order to reward certain chiefs for services rendered during the conquest or good behavior afterwards, the Spanish conquerors also issued to them "Repartimientos, or gave them lands, sometimes unoccupied wastes, as their *own pri-*

[133] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Vol. II. lib. III, cap. VIII, pp. 64 and 65).

[134] Letter of Father Turibio de Paredes (Motolinia) 2 Jan'y, 1555 (Col. de Doc. I), and especially the long letter of Mendieta, dated Toluca, 1st day of the year 1562 ("Col. de Doc." II). "Sixth: it appears to me that the native and legitimate Lords should be taken into account . . . . . I treat of the particular Lords, touching their lordship of their Indians and pueblos, which they formerly possessed. For I think that some are expelled, and I do not know even if they were not reduced to macehuales and tributaries, and others, although some tribe is given to them it is in the shape of a governorship and in such a manner that, once despoiled from it, they are left destitute" ("se quedan á buenas noches") (p. 536). The good father here represents the true conceptions of the Europeans about the Indian chieftainey (as a feudal lordship) at the time of the conquest. Also; Letter of the Archbishop of Mexico, Fray Alonso de Montufar, dated 20 Nov., 1554. ("Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique" Ternaux-Compans, pp. 328, 330 and 360, appendix.)

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648 *vate property.*[135] Among these is to be classed the grant already mentioned to the caciques of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco.[136]

The documents partaking of the nature of "Repartimientos" contain among their number a donation by Cortés to Doña Isabel Montezuma, daughter of the former Mexican "Tlaca-tecuhtli," which is very interesting for the purposes of this investigation. It is dated 26 of June, 1526, and gives to the grantee, in consideration of the aid lent to Cortés by her father, *the entire territory of the Tecpanecan tribe, at the same time acknowledging that it belonged to her by right "as patrimonal estate."*[137] We know, however, that the Tecpanecas formed the third member of the

[135] "Real Ejecutoria, etc." ("Col. de Doc." Vol. II, p. 20). Grant of Cortés to Doña Isabel Montezuma (Prescott, "Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico," Vol. III, Appendix, pp. 460, 461, 462, 463 and 464). Petition addressed to Charles V, by several Mexican chiefs in 1533 (Appendix to "Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique" Ternaux-Compans, p. 261).

[136] It says: ("Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." Col. de Doc. II, p. 18, "and since they were such (faithful) servants of H. M., they should be freed, together with their pueblos, from all impositions and contributions forever, and to them should be given four tracts of land ("estancias de tierras"), and they should become perpetual governors of their tribes, and none of their inferiors should ever obtain the office" p. 21. The King and his council of the Indies consequently ordained "by these presents we declare the aforesaid to be free and discharged ("quitos"), not bound to tributes, tenths, premices and other duties or contributions customary or yet to be introduced, and that they and their descendants shall perpetually hold the government of their pueblos, with all the advantages and appurtenances to the four tracts, as Lords thereof, and that it is our pleasure and will . . . ." Lastly, in describing the lands surveyed for the said caciques it says: "and they are rough timbered lands, without any water, of which the aforesaid took possession" p. 24). This shows that certain tracts were set off from the communal soil, to become private property of the chiefs. It is interesting to connect therewith the following statement by Zurita (p. 57). "These lands belonging to the calpullis, it was unjust to give them to the Spaniards, as it is still done. The latter seeing uncultivated lands, demand them from the persons who govern."

[137] This grant has fortunately been published by Mr. Prescott, in the Appendix to the "History of the Conquest of Mexico" (Vol. III, pp. 461–464). It bears the title: "Privilegio de Doña Isabel Montezuma, Hija del gran Motezuma último Rey Indio del gran Reyno y Cibdad de México, que bautizada y siendo Christiana casò con Alonso Grado, natural de la villa de Alcantara, Hidalgo, y criado de su Magestad, que habia servido y servia en muchos oficios de aquel Reyno. Otorgado por Don Hernando Cortes, conquistador del dicho Reyno, etc., etc." Its date is 26 June, 1526. The Doña Isabel is mentioned as "the principal and legitimate heiress of the said Lord Motequma," and the concession itself is worded as follows: "con la qual dicha Doña Isabel le prometo y doi en dote y arras á la dicha Doña Isabel y sus descendientos, en nombre de S. M. y cómo su governador y capitan general destas partes, y porque de derecho le pertenece de su patrimonso y legitima, el Señoria y naturales del Pueblo de Tacuba, etc., etc." The following pueblos are added: Tetzve, Tzqui-Luca, Chimalpan, Chapulmaloyan, Escapultzango, Xiloango, Ocolacaqua, Castepeque, Talanco, Gatserio, Ducotepeque, Tacala. Notwithstanding the defective orthography (Escapultango in place of Azcaputzalco, Ductepeque instead of Ometepec, etc.) we easily discern the territory of the Tecpanecan tribe; a fact still further proven by the own words of the grant: "the aforesaid settlements and pueblos are subjected to the pueblo of Tacuba and to its Lord."

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"Nahuatl" confederacy of the valley of Mexico, that they and 648
their soil were totally independent from the Mexicans.[138] Still, Cortés honestly assumed it to have been a part of the Mexican domain, and on this assumption based his disposition of it, fully convinced that he was performing an act of honest restitution. This gives a measure of the erroneous ideas then prevailing among the Spaniards on the mode of tenure and distribution of lands in ancient Mexico.

Thus a state of things was inaugurated which could not fail, 648
eventually, to create the most unfortunate results. The Indians 172
among themselves were placed on very unequal footings. In some sections the calpulli, even the whole tribe, were left undisturbed, in others their lands were assigned to Spanish individuals. Again, certain tracts were taken away from the communal soil, and became private property of individual conquerors. But the most disastrous influence certainly was exercised by the assignment of landed property to individual Indians. It created an inequality of condition in each and every aboriginal community against which those least favored revolted, whereas the preferred ones, now combining authority with landed property, were tempted to abuse their new position.[139] Of this division and strife among the

[138] In addition to the testimony already adduced, we refer here to the Letter of Fray Toribio (Motolinia) and Fray Diego d' Olarte, dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554. "All the others obeyed to Montezuma, to the sovereign of Tezcuco, and to him of Tacuba. These three princes were closely confederated; they divided among themselves the lands (countries) which they conquered." ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," p. 403.) In the "Relation of the services rendered by the Marquis of the Valley (Cortés)," executed between 1532 and 1535—and presented to the Emperor by the Licentiate Nuñez, reference is made to the original grant to Cortés, of lands containing: "23,000 vassals" which territory included the Tecpanecan pueblos of Cuyuacan and Atacubaya. These pueblos were claimed "through the intrigues of the president Nuño de Guzman and of the auditors Matienzo and Delgadillo" as belonging to Mexico, but the case was tried in New Spain, and Cortés furnished ample proof "how the said lands are distinct, in limits and jurisdiction, from the city of Mexico, and that the Lords of Cuyuacan and Atacubaya always possessed them peaceably and in fact" ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, p. 86). If now this was the fact with those two villages, how much more so was it with Tacuba and its surroundings, which were the chief places of the Tecpanecan tribe; as third member of the Nahuatl confederacy of the Mexican valley.

[139] The grant to Cortés mentioned in the preceding note, is an instance of the agglomeration of several pueblos under a single owner. There must have been many more: since he created originally but 900 "Repartimientos" over the whole territory. The Licentiate Ceynos, in his letter of 22 June, 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, p. 150), mentions "until 400 persons" of which 200 had to settle in the city of Mexico. The Bishop Fuenleal in his "Opinion" of 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 176), mentions (among others) the following Repartimientos: "Huexotzinco to Diego de Ordáz." The province of

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648 178 Aborigines themselves the Spaniards naturally profited for further encroachments. Many "encomenderos" used the authority of the chiefs to turn their Indian serfs into actual slaves, others in turn improved the new perspective opened to the natives towards the acquisition of private lands, for the purpose of undermining the influence and authority of the chieftains.[140] Frequently, also, the ignorance in which the Indians were, as to the

Tepeaca to Pedro Armildez Chirino,— Chilchota to Juan de Sámano, etc., etc. Each of these, especially the first one, comprised several villages, nay a whole tribe.

Compare the letter of the Archbishop Montufar, 30 Nov., 1534 ("Cruautés horribles, etc." Appendix, 255-260). Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). The complaints are principally, against such as held offices under the conquerors, and such to whom lands were given out of the calpulalli. The petition of Montufar is a terrible accusation against the Indian chiefs. Gomara, however, qualifies it as one of the good effects of the conquest that the Indians since that time "hold lands" (Vedia I). Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17) is very severe on the collectors of rent for the whites. But these collectors must have been mostly Indians,— *chiefs*, as he himself acknowledges in his Cholula-letters.

[140] Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17). Montufar (pp. 255-260) Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Cayuos, Second Letter, 1 March, 1565 (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 240 and 241). Zurita (p. 83) is of special importance, exposing the intrigues of the Spanish conquerors among the Indian communities, inciting the natives to litigations against their chiefs. Mendieta, in his remarkable letter from Tolnca, 1 Jan'y, 1572, to Fray Francisco de Bustamante, commissary general, at Mexico, devotes his principal attention to the pernicious influence of the Spanish interpreters and lawyers, inciting the Indians to litigation before the "Audiencia" and not before the viceroy. He says for inst. (p. 582), "that without comparison their condition and behavior was better at their time of gentility than now. For at the time they were heathens they did not know of lawyers ("letrado" properly men of letters), scribes, nor attorneys, neither of litigations, nor to spend in such (squabbles) their properties and ruin their souls. To-day, since the opportunity is afforded to them, and they being naturally quarrelsome, disposed to tackle and injure each other, they are so fond of it as to have them continually on hand, without cause nor reason, and (such are) always the worst and most abject of the tribe. Therefore not a single community is found in New Spain which is not disturbed, and does not spend nearly as much in litigation as they pay of tribute to H. M., or to the encomendero every year. And since they are of little understanding, and not versed in law, I hold all what the interpreters and attorneys gain by it as so much of a robbery as if they would take it from the houses at night. Such do not even deny their base actions, but confess openly that they do it, without any other excuse than that H. M. gives them permission." On p. 536, he says: "certain particular Indians in all the settlements do great mischief, knowing that they have recourse to the court, and among the pretenses to cover their malice they use two most commonly, which are: demand account of the communal property, pretending that the principals spend it, and the other, to have the conduct of their officers investigated under color that these abuse of their position (power)." Zurita (p. 83), speaking of the intrigues against the chiefs says: "the ordinary tribute and prestations falling, they fall into the most abject misery, become dejected, dare not speak, and do not know where to apply for protection. For all this the rebels do not cause any loss to the encomendero as to his tribute . . . . In this manner they ruin the chiefs in a very short time, for all their property consists in the work of their vassals, as soon as that ceases, if it was but for a single day, they lack every requisite for life." (This quotation is in itself, we think, the most ample confirmation of what we have advanced upon the subject of aboriginal tenure of the soil, and fully disproves what has been assumed in regard to the chiefs holding and owning lands of their own). See also Memorial of Bartolomé de Las Casas (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 229 and 230).

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real import and value of landed concessions, was taken advantage 648
of to deprive them of such subsequently, either through litiga- 178
tion or through barter for worthless trifles.[141] Unacquainted with the new order of things suddenly forced upon them, unable therefore to profit by it for subsistence, the natives of Mexico could not help being *degraded* instead of *elevated* and bettered in condition by such a transition which displaced them, in the course of a few years, from a state of tribal and communal society into one of civilization.[142]

Consequently a state of disorganization began to prevail, which threatened to ruin the country. At the same time, however, while the Indians, forlorn in the maze of difficulties in which their conquerors themselves also floundered about, were in a perfectly helpless condition, a sudden protection and relief arose to them. On the 13th of May, 1524, "one day previous to the vigils of 797
Pentecost," there landed at San Juan de Ulúa, a cluster of twelve Franciscan friars, sent to Mexico in response to the original call of Cortès, for the purpose of converting the Indians.[143] These monks

[141] Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Mendieta (Letter, in Col. de Doc. II).

[142] The Europeans opened a wide field for activity. They were superior to the Mexican aborigines, not only in organization, but especially in mechanical arts and inventions for the purpose of subsistence. It was now required of the Indians to suddenly take hold of all these improvements, which it had taken the Europeans centuries upon centuries to secure through long experimenting,—and to become familiar with them in a short time, as well as to feel happy and contented at once under a state of society which tore asunder all those ties of kinship forming, since time immemorial, the basis of their organization. It was asking too much of them altogether, and if besides what was asked was even enforced violently,—then the degrading consequences could not be avoided. Therefore, the most ardent advocates of the Indian cause took great care to insist upon letting the natives alone in their communities; even prohibiting the access thereto to the Spanish colonists. Bartolomé de las Casas, in his joint memorial with Fray Domingo de Santa Tomás, in favor of the Indians of Peru, written about 1560 ("Col. de Doc." Bibliographical notes, p. XLII,) says: "Lo segundo, que porque los Españoles son siempre del bien de los indios contrarios, y en especial lo son y han de ser impedidores de aquesto negocio y concierto, que han de estorbar por cuantas vias pudieren que los indios no paguen à S. M. ni puedan pagar este servicio; por tanto es necesario que se prohiba que ningun comendero èntre por ninguna causa ni razon en los pueblos de los indios que tienen encomendados, ni sus mujeres, que son las mas crueles y perniciosas, ni negro, ni criado, ni otra persona suya (p. 233)." Alonzo de Zurita, in his memorial written at Mexico between 1534 and 1564 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. XLVII), insists strongly upon keeping the Indians apart from the Whites (p. 235). In regard to the actual degradation, see Mendieta's letter, of 1 Jan'y, 1562 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 532). Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de N. España," Trat. I, cap. I).

[143] The Franciscan friars obtained their first concession from Pope Leo X, by a bull dated 25 April, 1521 (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. V, pp. 183–190). This bull was executed in favor of Fray Francisco de Quiñones (de los Angeles), and Fray Juan Clapion. But these fathers never reached Mexico. Previous to it, three Flemish missionaries, Fray Juan de Tecto, Fray Juan de Aora, and Fray Pedro of Ghent had gone to New Spain

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797 fully realized what was asked of them, but they went still further by becoming, not only the spiritual advisers, but actually the material protectors, of the aborigines. Basing upon the authority conferred by the Pontiff at Rome, they publicly denounced, not only the individual acts of the Spaniards, but even those of the royal officers.[144] This could not fail to incite the Indians to resistance, and when the conquerors resorted to violence, not only did the oppressed find refuge and protection in the newly erected convents, but one of the most distinguished Franciscans, Fray Toribio, of Benavent (Motolinia), even notified the agents of the royal "audiencia,"—who had come to Huexotzinco to seize the fugitives and bring them to justice,—to leave the settlement forthwith, threatening, in case of non-compliance, with excommunication.[145]

The protection thus afforded would have been far more efficacious, had the good Friars understood at that time the true nature of Indian land tenure, and their usages with respect to the distribution of the soil. They might then have accompanied their violent protests with a rational remedy. Restoration of the ancient customs, limiting the Indian clusters to their territories actually tilled, without disturbing their original organization, would have been the proper way. Alongside of such communities, ample room would have remained for the settlements of whites, and the unavoidable contact between both races would have changed slowly and more permanently the condition of the natives, lifting them up gradually to the practical appreciation of ideas of civilization. But

of their own accord, and without Papal sanction. But, while Fray Pedro de Gante, for instance, rendered valuable service to science through one of his letters, it is among the "twelve apostles of Mexico" that we find those who have equally combined heroism in protecting the Indians, with due regard to the conservation of their memories and historical traditions. These "twelve" were: Fray Martin de Valencia, Fray Francisco de Soto, Fray Martin de Cornña, Fr. Juan Xuares, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Fr. Toribio of Benavente, Fr. García de Cisneros, Fr. Luis de Fuensalida, Fr. Juan de Ribas, Fr. Francisco Ximenez, Fr. Andrés de Cordoba, Fray Juan de Palos (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. X. also cap. XI, etc.). We shall have further occasion to use their writings, therefore this humble tribute of gratitude to their memories.

[144] Compare the beautiful introduction to Motolinia's "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," by Sr. José F. Ramirez, in Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos" (Vol. I, Introd. p. XLVII to p. I), which quotes an act of Gonzalo de Salazar, 29 July, 1525 (contained in the first "Libro de Cabildo" of Mexico), containing a complaint, against the Franciscan friars for "meddling with matters of civil jurisdiction and government." See also the report of Herrera about the convention ("Junta") at Barcelona, in Spain in 1529 (Dec. IV, lib. VI, cap. XI, p. 118, etc).

[145] Introduction to Motolinia ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, p. L). Torquemada (Lib. XV, cap. XXII, pp. 56, 57-58).

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even in their letter to the emperor, dated 1st of September, 1526,[146] 797 the "apostles of Mexico" insisted upon a thorough establishment of what Mr. Prescott so justly calls the "vicious" system of Repartimientos, representing that an immediate and thorough intermingling of both races alone could promote the interests of conversion.[147]

Still, an improvement in the system gradually took place. The 648 civil and criminal jurisdiction over the natives, which formerly had been vested in each landholder,[148] was placed in the hands of special officers of the crown. It was directed that the owner should reside on his property, that the Indians could not be separated from the soil and finally, on the 20th of November, 1542, the "new laws and ordonnances for the government of the Indies" were promulgated, which contained such restrictions upon the "Repartimientos," that their further extension and increase was rendered impossible, and the number of those existing, greatly limited. The Indians themselves were declared direct vassals to the crown of Spain.[149]

Although in many parts of Spanish America these laws were but "obeyed though not executed,"[150] they still called forth a

[146] "Col. de Documentos" (Vol. II, pp. 155, 156 and 157). Joint letter of Franciscan and Dominican monks (p. 549, etc.).

[147] "Col. de Doc.," II, pp. 155-157, 549, etc.; also letter of Fray Domingo de Betanzos (pp. 190-197). Notwithstanding the agreement between Franciscan and Dominican monks on that point, Las Casas continued to protest in the most vehement manner, against the "Repartimiento." See his memorial, jointly with Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (Col. II, pp. 231-236), and to the council of the Indies, of 1562 or 1563 (Col. II, pp. 565-306), in which he says: "Thirdly, that the encomiendas or repartimientos of Indians are iniquitous, per se wrong, therefore tyrannical, and such administration is tyrannical also. Fourth, that such as give them commit a mortal sin, like those who maintain them, and if they do not give them up, they cannot be saved."

[148] It was customary for each "encomendero" to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within his "Repartimiento."

[149] "Nuevas Leyes y Ordenanzas para la Goberzacion de las Indias" (Col. de Doc., II, pp. 204-227), dated Valladolid (Spain), 4 June, 1543, promulgated at Mexico, 24 March, 1544. Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VI, cap. V, pp. 110-113). These new laws were the cause of bloody disturbances in Spanish America. Gomara (Vedia I, pp. 249 and 250).

[150] "Se obedece, pero no se cumple." There are many evidences of this saying having been put in actual practice. Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y de la Colonizacion de Nueva Granada," 1848, cap. XVII, p. 316). At the arrival of the Licentiate Armendariz in Cauca, sent to enforce the new laws, Belalcazar at once had them promulgated, but took the responsibility of forthwith also suspending their execution. He wrote to the King from Cali, in 1544, in regard to his action. Acosta says: "Entonces comenzó en el nuevo mundo Español á campear la formula irrisoria de se obedece, pero no se cumple; con que se eludian las ordenes que no les convenia ejecutar á los funcionarios de aquellas apartados comarcas." Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VII, cap. XXIII, pp. 137 and 138).

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618 marked improvement, at least in the personal condition of the Indians. They were, hereafter, at least to some extent, protected from the bodily slavery in which the former acts had plunged them. In regard to the tenure of lands, however, the laws wrought no change. Further direct spoliations became more difficult, but the new principle of private ownership had been firmly implanted, not merely *around* but *among* the natives themselves, and the obliteration of the ancient usages, by the extension of this principle, could not be stayed.

618 423 Of the aboriginal mode of tenure of lands and of their distribution, but one vestige remained—the last monument so to say, and the one which embodies, happily, all its principal features. These are the lands of *kinship*, held in common by the consanguine group or calpulli, and called as we have seen, "calpulalli," by the Mexicans.

Although their order had been very much disturbed since in many cases the official tracts, "tecpan-tlalli" and "tlatoca- tlalli," as well as those apportioned to the chiefs as members of the kin, "tlalmilli," were appropriated by the conquerors,—the bulk of the "calpulalli" could not, for a long time, be disintegrated for private uses, notwithstanding the still more nefarious influence exercised by the donation of lands to individuals, with the faculty of barter or sale, in the very heart of the organization itself. Even up to the present time, these communal tracts are still found in Mexico, occupied and tilled by the aborigines after their original customs.[151]

[151] Mr. James Pascoe, an English gentleman, resident of Toluca, has in a letter reported upon by the French "Journal des Missions Evangéliques" (1874), given a detailed description of the condition of the Indians in his vicinity. His statements about their communal system of tenure, the eligibility of their chiefs, etc., etc. ("gobernadores") are very positive and plain.

Mr. Stephens, in "Travels in Yucatan" (Vol. II, cap. I, pp. 14 and 15), described the mode of life of the settlement ("rancho") of Schawill near Nohcacab, which settlement contained about "one hundred labradores, or working men, their lands are held and worked in common, and the products are shared by all. Their food is prepared at one hut, and every family sends for its portion, etc., etc."

Brantz-Mayer: ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1827). While at the hacienda of Temisco near Cuernavaca: "he pointed out to us the site of an Indian village, at the distance of three leagues, the inhabitants of which are almost in their native state. He told us, that they do not permit the visits of white people; and that, numbering more than three thousand, they come out in delegations to work at the haciendas, being governed at home by their own magistrates, administering their own lands, and employing a Catholic priest to shrive them of their sins; once a year. The money they receive in payment of wages, at the haciendas, is taken home and buried; and as they produce the cotton and skin for their dresses, and the corn and beans for their food, they purchase nothing at the stores" (p. 175). Hon. E. G. Squier, in his ex-

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At a late hour, comparatively, the government of Spain recognized the importance of maintaining this last vestige of Indian land tenure. It was brought to it, not only by the incessant clamor of ecclesiastics of various orders,[152] by the necessity of restraining the power of the new settlers over the aborigines, which power threatened (as in Peru) to endanger Spanish domination itself,[153]—but especially from the conviction, that it was best suited to the wants of the Mexican natives, being the mode of

cellent work on Nicaragua, makes the following very important observations on the tenure of lands there: (Vol. I, cap. 290 and 291). "The municipality of Subtiaba, in common with the barrios of some of the towns, holds lands, as I have said, in virtue of royal grants, in its corporate capacity. These lands are inalienable, and are leased to the inhabitants at low and almost nominal rates. Every citizen is entitled to a sufficient quantity to enable him to support himself and his family; for which he pays from four rials (half a dollar), to two dollars a year. This practice seems to have been of aboriginal institution; for under the ancient Indian organization, the right to live was recognized as a fundamental principle in the civil and social system. No man was supposed to be entitled to more land than was necessary to his support; nor was he permitted to hold more than that, to the exclusion or injury of others. In fact, many of the institutions of the Indians in this country were recognized, and have been perpetuated by the Spaniards." The bearings of these remarks, upon our subject, are easily noticed, and need no further comments. That part of the indigenous population of which the learned traveller treats, are from the same stock as the Mexicans.

The document which has already occupied our attention, namely: the grant of Cortés to the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco (See note 136) also furnishes evidence of the existence of these communal tracts in Mexico, and their recognizance by the Spanish government. This grant was the object or cause of a long suit, which we shall refer to hereafter,—the inhabitants of the two pueblos suing their chiefs for restitution of the communal property. This shows that the "calpulli" in *fact*, if not in name perhaps, still existed at least in the past century. The litigation alluded to occurred between the years 1755 and 1764.

[152] These protestations were mainly issued at the example of the indefatigable Las Casas. It would be superfluous to refer to them in detail. But it is remarkable with what freedom of language this violent though noble character was permitted to speak. We have already quoted (note 147), his memorial to the council of the Indies (written in 1562 or 1563). In that document he goes so far as to say: "First, that all the wars called conquests ("conquistas" applying it to the New World exclusively), were and are unjust and the very acts of tyrants. Second, that all the Kingdoms and Lordships of the Indies are held by us through usurpation only . . . . Fifth: that the King our Lord, whom God may keep safe and prosperous, cannot, with all the power God has given him, justify the wars and robberies made to these people, nor the Repartimientos and encomiendas,—more than he could justify the wars and robberies committed against the Christian by the Turks . . . . . Eighth: that the natives of all these parts and wherever we may have entered the Indies have a perfect right to make war upon us or to expel us and wipe us off the face of the earth, which right they will preserve until the day of judgment" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 508). This is strong talk from the Bishop of Chiapas, not only against the Emperor, but against the Holy See, which had *donated* the Indies to Spain.

[153] It is well known that the liberation of the Indians from personal servitude was a measure, not only of humanity and justice, but also of policy, on the part of the Spanish government, to weaken the growing power of the conquerors and early colonists. The troubles in Peru give a good example of the state of affairs.

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648 tenure of lands corresponding to undisturbed aboriginal society. Thus the calpulli were, to a limited extent, protected, nay fostered, and recognized in law, even as late as the past century.[154] Like all remains of "ancient society," *they* also are bound to disappear, or be transformed in a manner suitable to the exigencies of a higher culture. But it may not be amiss to quote, at the close of this investigation, a tribute paid to their value for the wants of Indian society by Alonzo de Zurita, a Spanish official of perspicacity, deep knowledge, and honest judgment, in his memorial to the King of Spain, written about the year 1560.[155]

618 [154] The litigation over the grant to the caciques of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, to which we referred in note 151,— is commented upon as follows by Señore J. F. Ramirez in his letter proving the authenticity of the document, dated 30 Sept., 1865, and printed in the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." "D. Juan de los Santos, D. Antonio Estéban, D. Juan and D. Lorenzo Morales, with the title of caciques and principals of Tepeyahualco, and with the right of successors and lawful descendants of D. Juan and D. Fernando Morales "companions (they said), of the illustrious Hernan Cortés in the conquest and pacification of these kingdoms" had been in possession of the municipal government of that pueblo and of Axapusco, and consequently of the administration of their communal property. The dexterous policy of the Spanish government soon conceived the danger of that system, *which was very general in its origin*, and therefore sought to undermine it in its own particular way. It sought, therefore, to develop the municipal (communal) principle of institutions, and setting the democratic element to action, thus placed the caciques in opposition with their former subordinates, destroying their influence and power. In the present case, the viceroy authorized the pueblos mentioned to elect their municipal authorities, and thereby Santos and the Morales were removed from the administration of the properties." These remarks are very important. But the parties appealed from this division and a long suit ensued. The chiefs based their claims upon the grant of Cortés *exclusively* (pp. XIII and XIV), and the pueblos attacked the authenticity of that document; at the same time invoking the right of possession ("plenario de posesion.") The result of the litigation is described as follows: "declaring the possession in favor of the pueblos, condemning Santos to restitution of the fruits (proceeds), but leaving aside the rights of the parties upon the point of ownership" (juicio de propiedad). The whole case shows that the Spanish government recognized:

First: The communal organization of the tribes, and the elective constituency of its chieftains.

Second: That the hereditary office of chiefs, and the hereditary ownership of lands, were Spanish innovations ("que á su principio fué muy ordinario"). Now this origin ("principio") is certainly not intended to go farther back than the conquest.

Third: That the only right and title, as claimed by the chiefs, was derived from the grant of Cortés, and that they did not claim any prior right, connected with descendancy or with privilege of caste.

Fourth: Consequently, that the Spanish government itself recognized the anterior democratic constituency of the Indian community, and its customs, regarding them as prevailing even over the acts and disposition of Cortés,— although to him the Spaniards owed the conquest of the country.

[155] Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne," pp. 63 and 64. The original of this highly important report to the King of Spain, has been printed once, but very defectively, in the "Collecion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, etc., etc." It is much to be regretted that my learned friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, has not incorporated that copy of it pertaining to Sr. Ramirez, in his valuable

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"The good order reigning in the calpullis is a strong reason to 648
protect them in law, and to prevent them from becoming intermingled, as they are already nearly everywhere; for once broken up, the harmony which they originally exhibited can never be reëstablished again. The ignorance about these institutions, and the little regard paid to them, are the cause that many Indians were given lands out of their calpullis, which they (originally) had received only to cultivate, and (this) on their simple assertion that they and their ancestors had held and tilled them. In doing this, they but follow the advice of the Spaniards (mestizoes) and mulattoes, who involve them in litigations, and who live from these squabbles. . . . . In vain the chiefs deny such assertions, claiming that the lands belong to the calpulli; they are not heeded, the rightful owners are despoiled, and those to whom they are adjudged do not profit by it, since they sell them, or alienate them (otherwise) to the detriment of the calpulli."

Out of the scanty remains thus left of certain features of abo- 423
riginal life in ancient Mexico, as well as out of the conflicting statements about that country's early history, we have now attempted to reconstruct the conceptions of the Mexican aborigines about tenure of lands, as well as their manner of distribution thereof. Our inquiries seem to justify the following conclusions:

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, either by a nation or state, or by the head of its government, or by individuals, was unknown to the ancient Mexicans.

2. Definite possessory right was vested in the kinships com-

"Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México."— Alonso de Zurita lived in America from 1540 till 1570; or about nineteen years. Of these he spent two at St. Domingo, three years in N. Granada, Sa. Marta, Cartagena, and the Cabo de la Vela, three years in Guatemala, and about eleven in Mexico. His "Report" consists of a series of answers to queries put by the King, and sent from Valladolid, Dec., 1553. If we could obtain all the answers given to these questions from all parts of Spanish America, and all as elaborate and truthful as those of Zurita, Palacio and Ondegardo, our knowledge of aboriginal history and ethnology of Spanish America would be much advanced.

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423 posing the tribe; but the idea of sale, barter, or conveyance or alienation of such by the kin had not been conceived.

3. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, held but the right to use certain defined lots for their sustenance, which right, although hereditary in the male line, was nevertheless limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom the said lots were assigned.

4. No possessory rights to land were attached to any office or chieftaincy. As members of a kin, each chief had the use of a certain lot, which he could rent or farm to others, for his benefit.

5. For the requirements of tribal business, and of the governmental features of the kinships (public hospitality included), certain tracts were set apart as official lands, out of which the official households were supplied and sustained; but these lands and their products were totally independent from the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

648 6. Conquest of any tribe by the Mexicans was not followed by
651 an annexation of that tribe's territory, nor by an apportionment of its soil among the conquerors. Tribute was exacted, and, for the purpose of raising that tribute (in part), special tracts were set off; the crops of which were gathered for the storehouses of Mexico.

631 7. Consequently, as our previous investigation (of the warlike
642 institutions and customs of the ancient Mexicans) have disproved the generally received notion of a military despotism prevailing among them,—so the results of this review of Tenure and distribution of lands tend to establish: "that the principle and institution of feudality did not exist in aboriginal Mexico."

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ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MODE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

BY AD. F. BANDELIER.

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Two previous papers have already been devoted to some of the most prominent features of the life of the ancient Mexicans, namely: warlike customs, and their mode of distributing and occupying the soil and their rules of Inheritance.[1] The conclusions of both essays were chiefly negative, in so far as they tended to establish the non-existence of a condition which has, for three centuries, been regarded as prevailing. Thus, in the first, we have attempted to disprove the existence of a military despotism[2], and in the second, the existence of feudalism[3] among the natives of Mexico. More positive results were, however, foreshadowed in both instances by the suggestion, if not by the demonstration, that aboriginal society in Mexico rested on a democratic principle. The present essay is intended to show—if the organization of the natives of Mexico was *not* as it is commonly represented—what that organization really was, according to our conception, and what status

[1] *Tenth Report of the Peabody Museum: "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans." Eleventh Report: "On the Tenure and Distribution of Lands among the Ancient Mexicans, and the Customs with Respect to Inheritance."*

[2] *"Art of War,"* pp. (127, 128, and 161).

[3] *"Tenure of Lands,"* (pp. 418 and 448). In both instances, as well as in the present discussion, the works of the Hon. L. H. Morgan have furnished to the writer his points of departure and lines of investigation; besides, the distinguished American ethnologist has watched with more than friendly solicitude the progress of all these essays. If I seize the opportunity to recall here the debt of gratitude under which I stand toward him, it is coupled with the wish to express heartfelt thanks to several of my friends, to whose liberal assistance these and the preceding pages owe their existence, nearly as much as to my individual work. Let me name here, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, Col. Fred Herker, of Summerfield, Illinois, Dr. G. Brühl, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the officers of the Mercantile Library at St. Louis, Missouri. Lastly, because most remote, though certainly not least, am I deeply indebted to the great documentary historian of the City of Mexico, Sr. Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta for nearly all information which could not be obtained from the usually known sources.

[See 14:Bandelier and 15:Bandelier, this file.--Analyst] (837)

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of progress in Institutions can be assigned to the remarkable tribe 642
which has become so prominent in history. In other words, our 121
object is to reconstruct the mode of government of the ancient Mexicans, the nature of its offices and dignities, and especially the principles ruling and guiding their social agglomeration.

The distinguished Mexican scholar, Manuel Orozco y Berra, ex- 631
plains, as well as qualifies, the condition of the aborigines of Mexico in the following manner:

"If, from the boundary-lines of the empire [of Mexico, according to his views] we now turn to the races peopling its area, we find it to be a truth undeniable that no common nor mutual tie connected these numerous and diverse tribes. Each one was independent under its chiefs.[4]"

[4] "*Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México*," por *Manuel Orozco y Berra*, Mexico, 1864, (Tercera Parte, IX México, p. 252). "Si de las demarcaciones del imperio pasamos á considerar las razas que lo poblaban, encontraremos como una verdad innegable que tanta tribu diversa no tenia un lazo comun de union. Cada una era independiente bajo el mando de sus señores. Las ambiciones particulares encendian la guerra, y la misma familia se fraccionaba. A su semejanza, cada pueblo tenia un gefe que de nombre reconocia al señor principal, y todas las provincias estaban subdividas hasta formar un sistema bajo algunos puntos semejante al feudal. Rencores y odios apartaban las tribus, y la guerra era constante, porque siendo una de sus principales virtudes la valentia, no podian verse sin combatirse, á imitacion de los orgullosos animales que sirven de diversion en los palenques. Por instinto ó porque las generaciones son arrastradas aun á su pesar por la corriente de los tiempos, los Mexicanos emprendieron la tarea de reunir en un solo haz todos aquellos pueblos, de formar de ellos una nacion, y de asimilar sus intereses con los intereses del imperio. Para llevar á cabo semejante tarea era preciso, la fuerza para poder triunfar; un sistema proseguido con tino, y con tenacidad, y el tiempo bastante para que el odio se borrara y dejara nacer las simpatías. Pero la unidad que solicitaban los Mexicanos llevaba á las tribus al mas espantoso de los despotismos; el imperio era muy nuevo para haber alcanzado otra cosa que reducir á la servidumbre, sin poder contar con el amor de sus vasallos; de manera que en lugar de amigos, tenia enemigos solapados, y su grandeza era solo engañosa apparienciа. En esta sazon se presentaron los conquistadores españoles. Cualquiera fuerza extraña habia de hacer vacilar al coloso; las tribus, mal halladas con la servidumbre, vieron en los invasores á quienes podrán salvarles del yugo; en su juicio rencoroso no quisieron advertir, que por alcanzar una estéril venganza aventuraban su propia existencia, y corrieron de tropel á colocarse bajo las banderas de los estranjeros." It may be interesting to compare this weighty authority with my remarks on the same subject in "*Art of War*," (pp. 109, also note 17), and "*Tenure of Lands*," (pp. 416, 417, and 418, and annotations.) The difference consists in that Sr. Orozco y Berra ascribes to the ancient Mexicans a decided tendency to "nationalize," so to say, the aboriginal people of their conquered area, to force uniformity of customs and organization upon them, and establish a true despotism. To this I beg leave to suggest in reply:—

(1). That the Mexicans, *alone*, formed only a *part* (two-fifths in amount of tribute) of that power which is commonly termed "an Empire" (El Imperio) and which was but the Nahuatl confederacy of the Mexican valley. In evidence of it I will take the liberty to quote his own words, (same part and chapter, pp. 240, 241): "El reino de Atolhuacan era el segundo en poderio; su capital era Tetzcoco, á la orilla del lago de su nombre. Pequeña hoy y sin material interes, en lo antiguo fué rival de México y

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631 648 This eliminates at once the notion of a Mexican state or empire, embracing in the folds of political society[5] all the groups of abor-

la segunda poblacion de las del Valle." Farther on, quoting *Juan Bautista Pomar*, "*Relacion de la ciudad de Tezcuco*," (MSS., belonging to Sr. Icazbalceta, and dated 1582) who says of Tezcuco: "La extension del reino era desde el mar del N. á la del Sur, con todo lo que se comprende á la banda del Poniente hasta el puerto de la Vera Cruz, salvo la Ciudad de Tlachcala y Huexotzinco," the learned ethnographer adds, (p. 241), "Juan B. Pomar fija las limites del reino con toda la exaggeracion que puede infundir el orgullo de raza. Por nuestra parte, hemos leido con cuidado las relaciones que á la monarquía corresponden, y hemos estudiado en el plano los lugares à que se refieren, y ni de las unas ni de las otras llegamos á sacar jamas que los reyes de Acolhuacan mandaron sobre las tribus avecindadas in la costa del Pacífico, no ya à la misma de México, sino aun á menores latitudes." He then enters upon a discussion of the number and names of settlements which gave tribute exclusively to Tezcuco. We can only refer to it in general here, as one of the most valuable contributions to Mexican history, and based upon authorities which ought to be published as soon as potaible, some of which we mention for the benefit of students:—

[114] (1). "*Memorial dirigido al rey por Don Hernando Pimentel Nezcarualcuyutl, cacique y gobernador de la provincia de Tezcuco, etc.*" This is the celebrated Report used by Torquemada and Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl, and which the Cavaliere Boturini Benaducci owned.

(2). "*Relacion de Senpahuala del corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(3). "*Relacion de Epazoyuca por el corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(4). "*Relacion de Tetlixtaca por el corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(5). "*Relacion de Mextitlan por el alcalde mayor Gabriel de Chavez*," 1580, MSS.

(6). "*Relacion de Atengo por el corregidor Juan de Padilla*," 1579, MSS.

(7). "*Relacion de Atlatlxaca por el corregidor Gaspar de Solis*," 1580, MSS.

(8). "*Relacion de Acapixtla por el alcalde mayor Juan Gutierrez de Liebana*," 1580, MSS.

(9). "*Relacion de Culhuacan por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego*," 1580, MSS.

(10). "*Relacion de Iztapalapa por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego*," 1580, MSS.

Since most of these valuable MSS. are the property of Sr. J. G. Icazbalceta, an early publication thereof may be hoped for.

Sr. Orozco y Berra now reaches the important conclusion:

(a). That Acolhuacan or Tezcuco had settlements tributary to it alone, (p. 246).

(b). That the "Empire" had tributaries of itself.

(c). That certain pueblos paid tribute both to Tezcuco and to Mexico, (p. 246), Epazoyuca, "pertenecieron tambien á Tetzcoco, y en el reinado de Itzcoatl quedaron por mitad para México y para Tetzcoco, á fin de que de alli sacaran los imperiales las navajas para sus macanas." Taken probably from Relacion 3.

The "Imperiales" were, therefore, the confederates, and the "Imperio" the confederacy. But if, within the area conquered by these confederates, each one of them received its share of tributary tribes, how could it be their task or tendency to unify or nationalize, since each of the three associates composed but a part of that power, and their association was a voluntary one?

(2). None of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond the exclusively military direction delegated to the Mexicans proper. "*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne, Par Alonzo de Zurita*," translated from the Spanish original by Mr. Ternaux Compans, and printed in 1840, by him in his "*Voyages Relations et Mémoires origina ux pour servir à l' histoire de la découverte de l' Amérique*," (p. 11). "La province de Mexico était soumise à trois principaux chefs: celui de Mexico, celui de Tezcuco et celui de Tlacopan, que l'on nomme aujourd' hui Tacuba. Tous les chefs inférieurs relevaient de ces souverains et leur obéissaient. Les trois chefs supérieurs formaient une confédération et se partagaient les provinces dont ils s'emparaient. Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tezcuco et de Tacuba pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l' un d' eux ne se mêlait jamais du

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igines settled within the area tributary to the valley-tribes. Con- 631
sequently we need not look beyond the tribe, for any *larger group* 648

gouvernment des autres," (p. 16). "Chaque souverain confirmait l' election de ses vassaux, car, ainsi qu' on l' a déja dit, leur jurisdiction était indépendante pour les affaires civiles et criminelles."

Fray Toribio de Motolinia, "*Historia de los Indios de Nueva España*," in Vol. I, of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos, etc." (Epistola proemial, p. 5). "Despues el señorio de Tetzcoco fué tan grande como el de México." (Id. p. 11) "Los de Tetzcoco, que en antigüedad y señorio no son menos que los Mexicanos." (Tratado III, Cap. VII, p. 182) "Esta ciudad de Tetzcoco era la segunda cosa principal de la tierra, y asimismo el señor de ella era el segundo señor de la tierra; sujetaba debajo de si quince provincias hasta la provincia de Tuxapan, que está á la costa del Mar del Norte. . . . . á la parte de Oriente tiene México Tenuchtitlan á una legua la ciudad ó pueblo de Tlacopan, adonde residia el tercero señor de la tierra, al cual estaban sujetas diez provincias: estos dos señores ya dichos se podrian bien llamar reyes, porque no les faltaba nada para lo ser. (p. 183) "Las de las provincias y principales pueblos eran como señores de ditado ó salva, y sobre todos eran los mas principales los dos, el de Tetzcoco y el de Tlacopan; y estos con todos los otros todo lo mas del tiempo residian en México, y tenian corte á Moteuczoma." We know, however, that the fact of *residence* of the head-war-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan at Mexico, is not true, though their frequent visits there on military business, and their protracted stay after the Spaniards had entered the pueblo, may explain the error. The latter passage is amended by the good father (Trat. III. cap. VIII. p. 187), as follows: "y si de esto algun señor tenia exencion era el de Tetzcoco."

Fernando Cortés, Carta Segunda, (in *Vedia's* "*Historiadores primitivos, etc.*" Vol. I, p. 29). Speaking of Cacamatzin, he says: "é segun lo que despues dél supe, era él muy cercano deudo de Muteczuma, y tenia su señorio junto al del dicho Muteczuma; cuyo nombre era Haculuacan." Cortés further relates that when Cacamatzin threatened to take up arms, he requested Montezuma to direct him to come to Mexico, but the chieftain of Tezcuco refused, saying, "that if they wanted something of him, they might come over on his land, where they would find out who he was, and what kind of obedience he was held to." Montezuma even was afraid, upon this reply, to suggest open violence, dissuading Cortés from it altogether. This shows clearly that the Mexicans had no authority over the Tezcucans, and even were loth to assail them.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara. Conquista de Méjico (in Vedia. Tom. I, p. 346). "Habia asimesmo otros muchos señores y reyes, como los de Tescuco y Tlacopan, que no le debian nada, sino la obediencia y homenaje." Also, on the treacherous seizure of Cacamatzin, he confirms Cortés (p. 235), "La prision de Cacama, rey de Tezcuco." (Id. p. 433), "a Chimapopoca sucedió el otra su hermano, dicho Izcona. Este Izcona señoréo á Azcupuzalco, Cuanhnan, Chalco, Couatlichan y Huexocinco, mas tuvo por accompañados en el gobierno á Nezaualcoyocin, señor de Tezcuco, y al señor de Tlacopan, y de aqui adelante mandaron y gobernaron estos tres señores cuantos reinos y pueblos obedecian y tributaban á los de Culhúa; bien que el principal y el mayor dellos era el rey de Méjico, el segundo el de Tezcuco, y el menor el de Tlacopan."

Bernal Diaz de Castillo. Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España. (Vedia, Vol. II, Cap. C. p. 109.) "Como el Cacamatzin, señor de la ciudad de Tezcuco que despues de Méjico era la mayor y mas principal ciudad que hay en la Nueva España." Also on the seizure of Cacamatzin, confirmatory of Cortés and of Gomara (pp. 101 and 102).

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. Historia natural y general de Indias. Madrid. 1853 (Lib. XXXIII, cap. VIII, pp. 294 and 296). The entire chapter is devoted to the seizure of Cacamatzin, and is almost a verbal copy of the report made by Cortés, (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LII, p. 339). It contains a letter written to Oviedo, by the vice-roy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, under date of 6 October, 1541, in which this functionary says: "Y lo de aqui no es tan poco que no pudiera hacer libro dello, é no será pequeño; porque aunque Montecuma é México es lo que entre nosotros ha sonado,

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631 of social organization. The confederacy of tribes, as we have
648 already shown, carried no influence whatever on the organization.

no era menor señor el Caconci de Mechuacan, y otros que reconoscian al uno si al otro." We quote this passage merely as a general illustration.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva-España, published by Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, in 1829 (Vol. II. lib. VIII. cap. III. p. 276), "El cuarto señor de Tezcoco se llamó Netzahoalcoiotzin, y reinó setenta y un años, y en tiempo de este se comenzaron las guerras, y tuvo el señorio de Tezcoco siendo señor del de México Itzcoatzin, y estos entrambos hicieron guerra á los de Tecpaneca, de Atzcaptzalco, y á otros pueblos y provincias, y el fué fundador del señorio de Tezcoco in Acolhoacan." (Id. Vol. III. lib. XII. cap. XLI, page 59, close of chapter.)

Fray Diego Durán. Historia de los Yndias de Nueva España é Islas de Tierra Firme. Published by Sr. José Fernandez Ramirez at Mexico, in 1867, (Cap. XIV, p. 123). "El rey Itzcoatl, aunque mal dispuesto, holgó de la victoria y dió las gracias á todos los señores y principales, al qual, agravándosele la enfermedad, entendiendo de se acertarsele la muerte, mandó llamar al Señor de Tezcuco, Neçaualcoyotl, pariente cercano suyo, y aconsejóle que no tuviese guerra con los Mexicanos, sus parientes y amigos, sino que antes se hiciese con ellos y fuese en su favor siempre: y dexó ordenado que desde en adelante fuese de Tezcuco el segundo rey de la comarca y el tercero el de Tacuba, á quien llamauan el rey de Tlaluacpan. . . ." (p. 124). " . . . y solo estos tres reynos mandaron y governaron la tierra, de hoy en adelante, siendo el de México sobre todos ellos, y casi como emperador y monarca del nueuo mundo." Nearly the whole of Cap. XV is devoted to the formation of the confederacy, but cannot be inserted here. The editor, Sr. J. F. Ramirez, appears to incline to the opinion, however, that there was a confederacy on equal terms, (note 2, p. 130). The same author also
[796] states repeatedly that the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan sacrificed (slaughtered) captives at the chief teo-calli of Mexico, on very solemn occasions, together with the head-chief of Mexico, thus showing equal rights. (Cap. XXIII, p. 197 and others.) But his plainest statement is found (Cap. XLIII, p. 347), and reads as follows: "Algunos han querido decir quel reyno de Tezcuco era libre de todo reconocimiento y parias al monarca, y que en nada le era sujeto, lo qual allo al contrario en esta ystoria Mexicana; porque aunque á la verdad no tributauan á Mexico mantas ni joias ni plumas ni cosas de comida, como otras provincias tributauan, hallo empero á los Mexicanos metidos en las tierras tezcucanas donde sembraban y cogian, y algunos dellos hechos terrazgueros de los señores de México; y allo que en ofreciéndose estas fiestas y solenidades, daban tributo desciaños para ella, de lo qual ninguno estaua esento ni reservado. Tambien allo que ofreciéndose dar guerra á alguna ciudad y provincia, al primero que llamauan y acudian para que apercibiese sus gentes, era al rey de Tezcuco, y como abemos, notado en esta ystoria, le hacian venir á Mexico todas las veces que se ofrecia ocasion, loqual no era poca sujecion, dado que tuviese sus prêeminencias y libertades de rey y señor de aquella provincia de Aculuaçan; . . . ."

Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc. Crónica Mexicana. (9th Vol. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") This author agrees so closely with Durán in most instances, that we can dispense with full quotations. See Cap. XIX and XX, on the pretended conquest of Tezcuco by the Mexicans. Tezozomoc is very positive on the question of joint sacrifice (Cap. LXIX, p. 117). A singular remark is, however, found (Cap. XCVII, p. 172). After the Huexotzincas had sent delegates to Mexico to sue for
[728] peace, the Mexican council was called together: "dijo zihuacoatl resoluto: Señor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra los reyes de Acolhuacan-Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi." This important incident shows that not even the Mexicans had the right to treat alone with a power hostile to the three tribes, consequently that the other two were their *confederates*, and *not their feudal vassals*. Fray Durán confirms the incident in chapter LX, p. 473, of his work, precedingly quoted.

Joseph de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, Madrid, 1608, derives his information from the same source as the two preceding, namely: the Codex Rami

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it was only a partnership, formed for the purpose of carrying on 631
the business of warfare, and that intended not for the extension of 648

res, now in process of publication at Mexico. Acosta mentions and describes (Lib. VII, Cap. XV, p. 490), the traditionary war between the Mexicans and Tezcucans concluding: "Con esto quedó el Rey de Mexico por supremo Rey de Tezcuco, y no quitandoles su Rey, sino haziendole del supremo Consejo suyo." (Cap. XVI, p. 490.) Both chiefs, of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, are mentioned by him as "electors" of the Mexican head-chiefs.

Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo and President of the Royal Audiencia at Mexico. "*Lettre . . . à sa majesté Charles V*," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Premier Recueil de Pièces relatives à la Nouvelle-Espagne," and bearing date 4 Nov. 1532 (p. 254). "Les souverains de Tezcoco, de Tacuba, qui étaient très puissants dans cette contrée, agissaient de même que Mutizuma. Ils partageaient entre eux et ce souverain le fruit de leurs conquêtes; cependant les souverains de Mexico étaient les plus puissants, et ils eurent toujours une plus grande différence." The same words about are repeated in the "*Second Recueil*," printed 1840, (the first "Recueil" appeared in 1838), on p. 222. The Report is therein stated to be by the President and the Audiencia.

"*Lettre des Chapelains Frère Toribio et Frère Diego D'Olarte à Don Luis de Velasco* etc.," date: St. François de Cholula, 27 Août, 1554. (Ternaux, "Recueil," 1, p. 403), "Toutes les autres obéissaient à Montezuma, au souverain de Tezcuco, et à celui de Tlacopa. Ces trois princes étaient étroitement confédérés; ils partageaient entre eux tous les pays qu'ils subjuguaient. Montezuma exerçait la toute-puissance dans les affaires relatives à la guerre et au gouvernement de la confédération."

Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta. "*Historia eclesiastica Indiana*," published by Icazbalceta in 1870. After having mentioned (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129) that the chiefs of Mexico and Tezcuco sent challenges to foreign tribes to recognize "the chief of Mexico" as their superior, and to give him tribute, he says (Cap. XXVIII, p. 134), "Es de saber que los señores de México, Tezcuco y Tacuba, como reyes y señores supremos de esta tierra. . . . ." (Cap. XXXVII, p. 186.) "Los señores de las provincias ó pueblos que inmediatamente eran subjetos à Mexico, iban luego alli à ser confirmados en sus señorias, despues que los principales de sus provincias los habian elegido, y con algunos. . . . . En los pueblos y provincias que inmediatamente eran subjetos à Tezcuco y à Tacuba tenian recurso por la confirmacion à sus señores; *que en esto y otras cosas estos dos señores no reconocian superior*." Italics are my own.

Antonio de Herrera. "*Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra-Firme del mar Oceano*." 1725, Madrid. (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XII, p. 190). He almost copies Gomara, and in regard to the seizure of Cacamatzin he not only confirms Cortés, Gomara, and Bernal Diez, but is much more detailed and positive yet. (Dec. II, lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 217, 218.) Finally he asserts: (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV. p. 123), "Con Mexico estaban confederados los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que aora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que ganaban; i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra, i tenian algunos Pueblos comunes en sucesion, asi de los Señorios, como de los Maiorazgos, i haciendas."

We now turn to an author who plainly takes an opposite view of the question, claiming, in place of a *Mexican* "Empire," the supremacy for the *Tezcucans*, or an ancient "Empire" of the Chichimecas. The latter claim has already been discussed in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 204, note 10). This assumption,—which strongly combats the view that there was anything at all like an Empire, while it implies the existence of a mere confederacy,—is set forth by the following well known Tezcucan native author.

Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl. "*Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens Rois de Tezcuco*." This is too french translation of the original "Historia de los Chichimecos, etc., etc.," contained in Lord Kingsborough's 9th volume. Since abstracts might prove too lengthy, I merely refer to (Cap. XXXII), on the formation of the confederacy as containing some very plain and remarkable passages (pp. 218, 219, and 220), among

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631 territorial ownership, but only for an increase of the means of sub-
643 sistence.[6]

which is one: "ces trois dynasties gouvernaient la Nouvelle-Espagne jusqu'à l'arrivée des chrétiens. Cependant, quoiqu'elles fussent égales en rang, en puissance et en revenu, il y avait de certains tributs dont le roi de Tlacopan ne recevait qu'un cinquième, tandis que ceux de Mexico et de Tezcuco en recevaient chacun deux." See also (Cap. XXXIV, cap. XXXVI, pp. 245 and 248; cap. XXXVIII, pp. 269 and 273; 2d vol., Cap. LXXI, pp. 109 and 110), and others. Nevertheless, Ixtlilxochitl reproaches bitterly Montezuma with having usurped the leading power which belonged to the Tezcucans (according to him), and having taken the direction of the confederacy into his hands. (Cap. LXXV, p. 128, to XXVI, p. 132, etc.). These charges are violently repeated in his other and more extensive work: "*Relaciones historicas.*" Also in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough. As a specimen, I refer to the "Venida de los Españoles" translated also by Mr. Ternaux under the title of "*Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique.*" In regard to the war between Tezcuco and Mexico, in which he, of course, attributes the fullest victory to the former see also "*Undécima Relacion*" (Kingsborough, IX, pp. 407 and 408). Ixtlilxochitl is seconded and followed by his illustrious contemporary. *Fray Juan de Torquemada.* "*Los veintiun Libros Rituales i monarchia Indiana*, etc., etc.' Edition of 1723. This distinguished ecclesiastic is such a consistent advocate of feudalism, that he even assigns the division of Tenochtitlan into four quarters to an "edict" of the "Chichimecan Emperor" Techotlalatzin (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 88 and 89), or to an order of Mexican "Lords" (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 285). Still he is very plain about Tezcuco being equal and not subject to Mexico. Compare for instance (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 304), "nunca perdió su antigua estimacion, y siempre tuvo Rei, y Señor legitimo, que la regia, y governaba, y era igual con el de Mexico," (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 144), about the confederacy; (Cap. XI, p. 166). About the pretended war between the two tribes (Cap. XLII, p. 149. "Y no solo no es verdad; pero es directamente contra ella." On the supposed intrigues of Montezuma against the Tezcucans (Lib. II, caps. LXXXIII, LXXXIV, etc., etc.), until the first passage of Cap. LXXXVII, (p. 237), "muerto el Rei Nezahualpilli de Tetzcuco, y entrando en su lugar su Hijo Cacama . . . . corrió la confederacion de los Reies, como hasta entonces lo avian acostumbrado . . . ." also (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 353), " . . . . no deja de ser su igual, y semejante el de Tetzcuco . . . . ." (Cap. XXVII, p. 358; cap. XXVIII, p. 361.) Copy of Mendieta. About warfare of the Confederates (Lib. XII, cap. VI, p. 382; Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 522; Cap. II, p. 527). Division of Spoils and of Tributes Idem. (cap. VIII, pp. 546, 547 and 548), "porque cierto es asi, que el Rei de Mexico no era maior en Autoridad, que el de Tetzcuco . . . . ." From these, but especially from Torquemada's history of the conquest, which occupies the entire fourth Book (Vol. I), enough can be gathered to show that this cumbrous but important authority admits no Mexican Empire, but only a confederacy of Mexicans, Tezcucans, and Tlacopans.

Fray Agustin de Vetancourt, "*Teatro Mexicano*," (Edition of 1870), admits the supremacy of the Mexicans (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XIV, p. 291), "y remataron la fiesta que dando Itzcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que nezahualcoyotl, y este por rey de los acolhuas, y al de Tacuba le hicieron rey de la parte de mazahuacan, etc. . . . . ." But the confederacy "liga," of the three chiefs is acknowledged everywhere. (Also Trat. II°, cap. III, p. 362), "cuando los Mexicanos, los tezcocanos ó de Tlacopan (que eran los reyes que estaban confederados para las guerras, etc. . . . ."

To this lengthy collection of quotations many others might be added, from the same period as well as of a later date. They appear to justify the proposition advanced, namely: none of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond that of *exclusively military* leadership, which had been awarded to the Mexicans proper.

The conquerors never interfered with the government, organization, and mode of life of tribes whom they had overpowered. No attempt, either direct or implied, was made to assimilate or incorporate them.

My friend *Dr. G. Brühl*, author of the highly interesting and conscientious work

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Our investigations are therefore confined to the limits of the single tribe, and we have selected for that purpose the Mexicans 128

"*Die Culturwelter des alten Amerika*" (Cincinnati, 1876, '77, '78), has, in regard to the statements made in "*Art of War*" (p. 100, note 17; p. 133, note 152), and in "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 412 and 413, also note 56; pp. 417 and 418, also note 60), called my attention to a passage from *Sahagun*, "*Historia general*" (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313), "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados, para que cada un año los diesen al señor que les habia conquistado, y el tributo era de lo que en ella se criaba y se hacia, y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." The author himself, however, gives the explanation of what he intends to designate by such "governors and officials who should preside in said province." In his 12th Book, (Cap. II, p. 5, Vol. III), he says: "La primera vez que parecieron navios en la costa de esta Nueva-España, los capitanes de Moctheuzoma que se llamaban *Calpixques* que estaban cerca de la costa luego fueron á ver que era aquello que vino, que nunca habian visto navios, uno de los cuales fue el calpixque de Cuextocati que se llamaba Pinoti: llevaba consigo otros calpixques uno que se llamaba Yactzin, que residia en el pueblo de Mictlanquauhtla, y otro que se llamaba Teozinzocati, que residia en el pueblo de Teociniocan, y otro que se llamaba Cuitlalpitoc, este no era calpixque sino criado de uno de estos calpixques, y principalejo que se llamaba Tentlil." In this Sahagun about agrees with *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*, Cap. CVI, CVII, CVIII, CIX), inasmuch as the latter also states the officers to have been calpixques, th. is, "Stewards" or *gatherers of tribute*. Compare *Alonzo de Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," (Parte IIa, p. 12.) 631 648

The names of these Indians who received Cortés are found nearly alike in all the authors, but we are struck by the fact that many of them call the natives "governors" of Montezuma. I quote *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 22 and 23, Vedia, Vol. II) *Gomara* (pp. 312, 313, 314, etc., Vedia I). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. LXXIX, p. 100). "*Crusutés horribles*," (p. 3.) *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 116; Cap. V, p. 117). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 267; Cap. XVII, p. 268, etc.). *Velancourt* (Vol. II, cap. IV, p. 43). *Fray Joseph Joaquin Granados y Galvez*, ("*Tardes Americanas*" Mexico, 1778, 9th evening, p. 234). *Abbate F. X. Clavigero* ("*Geschichte von Mexico*," Leipzig, 1790, a german translation of the Italian original which appeared at Cesena in 1780. Vol. II, Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 16). These *governors* therefore were but "calpixques," in other words *collectors of tribute*. This is already stated by *Oviedo y Valdés* (Vol. III, Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 250), speaking of Cempoal, "porque los indios è ministros, que alli estaban para mandarlos, eran oficiales è mayordomos de la cibdad de México." The "*Real Ejecutoria de S. M., Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga pertenecienté á os Caciques de Axapuseo, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba*," (Col. de Doc'a, Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 5), calls all the Indians in question "enviados por el gran Montezuma."

This explains the evident contradictions of Sahagun.

It is a singular fact, but one amply proven by the records of the conquest, that nowhere did the Spaniards, on their whole march from the coast to Mexico, meet with Mexican *administrators or rulers* of subjected tribes. Quotations are useless, we only refer to the remarkable descriptions furnished by Bernal Diez of the events at Quiahuistlan (Vedia II, Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41), which culminated in the violence done to the "recaudadores de Montezuma." This scene, which is highly characteristic, has been beautifully "remodeled," through a few omissions, by our own great *W. H. Prescott* ("*History of the conquest of Mexico*," 1843, Book II, chap. VII, p. 349). There is, finally, abundant proof of the fact that neither the Mexicans, nor any of their confederates, ever attempted to change or subvert the organization and mode of government of any of the tribes whom they overthrew. I refer to *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 303). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). *Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*, (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 274). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista* 631 636 648

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[28] proper, who dwelt, as elsewhere established by us, on the partly artificial islands in the lagune of the Mexican valley.[7] Besides the prominence acquired by them in the annals of history, it may safely be assumed that, in a general manner, their Institutions are typical of those of other sedentary tribes.[8]

[21] *Tribal* society, based according to Lewis H. Morgan upon KIN, and not *political* society which rests, according to the same author, upon TERRITORY and PROPERTY, must therefore be looked for among the ancient Mexicans. It remains for us to establish its degree of development, its details, and the manner of its working.

In order to comprehend the true nature of these questions, we should secure as much information as possible of the *past* of the tribe under consideration. Institutions are never wilfully or accidentally created, but evolved; in other words, they are the result of growth in knowledge and experience.[9] The great difference existing between tribal society and political is explained as a dif-

[63] [36] [48]

de México," Col. de Doc., Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 561, and especially p. 592), "México tenia en su tiempo en el hacer guerra esta órden; que yendo á la guerra, al que se daba de paz no tenia sobre él tributo cierto, sino que tantas veces en el año lo llevaban presente á su discrecion del que lo llevaba; pero si era poco mostrábales mal rostro, y si mucho agradeciaselo. Y en estos no ponia mayordomo ni recaudador ni cosa; el señor se era señor. Los que tomaba de guerra decian *tequitin tlacatl*, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los Señores mandaban su gente, eran debajo de la mano destos de México . . . . ." *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185), *Granados y Galvez*. (5th night, p. 168), a singular picture of purest feudality, for which Gomara may be responsible in part. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Letter of 4th Nov.*, 1532, 1st; "*Recueil*," (pp. 245, 246, and 247). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 16), to be compared with Mendieta and Torquemada.

Consequently there was no tendency towards unification or nationalization in all the successful and extensive raids which the Nahuatlaca of the valley of Mexico carried on for a full century. No organic body, larger than the tribe, resulted from these sanguinary forays; because the confederacy itself was not the end, but the beginning of these undertakings. This justifies the view which I shall hereafter advocate in regard to the nature of that confederacy namely: as a mere partnership to carry on the business of warfare the latter in turn being part of the mode of subsistence.

[6] "Based upon territory and property" according to L. H. Morgan, in contra-distinction to tribal-society, based upon "Kin." ("*Ancient Society*," chapter II, page 62).

[8] "*Art of War*," p. 98.

[7] "*Art of War*," p. 150. "*Tenure of Lands*," pp. 421, 423.

[8] "*Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 243). "Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit de Tezcuco doit s'entendre aussi des deux autres, ..." *Gomara* (p. 440, Vedia, I). "To speak of the Mexicans, signifies as much as speaking of all New Spain." The title of the section is: "Costumbres de los hombres," and the original text reads: "Hablando de méjicanos, es hablar en general de toda la Nueva-España." Although *Zurita* (p. 5) insists upon the variety of customs among the aborigines,—changing from settlement to settlement, from tribe to tribe,—his own report furnishes the proof of the contrary, and it is evident from the text that he alludes principally to the diversity in languages and dialects.

[9] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Chap. I, p. 6).

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ferent state of progress. But Institutions have grown out of the relations between the sexes, and the increase of the human species and its propagation. Had political society existed in Mexico, we should be entitled to find there a plain and definite conception of the family.[10] Whether such is the case a glance at the system of consanguinity of the ancient Mexicans, as far as it may be possible, will tell us. |21|

Among American aborigines of low culture, in fact over the widest area once held by the "Indian" race, "mother-right" ruled supreme. The tangible fact, coarsely expressed, that a child was always sure of his *mother*, whereas it might not be equally certain of his *father*,[11] created in course of time and with increased numbers a tendency to aggregate into clusters whose basis was certainty of descent in common. These clusters were the KINS, significantly termed "lineages" by Spanish authors. Such as traced back their descent to a common mother therefore composed one of these, regardless of their male procreators. The family—consisting of a group which includes children as descendants of *both* parents—was not yet recognized, and the kin took its place for all purposes of public life. It formed the *unit of social organization*. With the growth of knowledge and experience however, and a corresponding increase of wants, the importance of man rose correspondingly. "Mother-right" began to yield; female descent to change to "descent in the male line." Nevertheless the kin remained the unit of social agglomeration, with the only difference that it was reckoned through males instead of by females. It required the final overthrow of the kin as a public Institution to bring about the present shape of that intimate group, the family, among the most highly advanced nations.[12]

The two extremes of growth of the family, as characterized by the inception of the kin, and by the family after the obliteration

[10] (*Ancient Society*," Chap. II. p. 73.) For the so-called "Descriptive System of Relationship," compare. *L. H. Morgan* ("*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*," Chap. II, pp. 10, 12, 13).

[11] This assertion is found in various authors. I shall quote but one: *Gregorio Garcia*, ("*Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales*," second edition, 1729, Madrid, Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII, p. 247).

[12] Although it is entirely out of the line of these researches to enter upon a discussion of Primitive Marriage, I was compelled to refer to the question of kin in such a manner as to explain at least the importance of that group in the history of society. For anything else, the works of Mr. Morgan, Sir Henry S. Maine, John F. Mc Lennan, and some publications of Dr. Ad. Bastian, should be consulted, besides a great number of others too numerous to mention here.

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121 of the former, are distinguished by the terminology of relationship. In the case of the former, relatives are at once classified; in the latter instance, they are merely described. Now, our investiga-
611 tions of the customs of Inheritance among the ancient Mexicans have led us to the conclusion that they had already achieved progress to *descent in the male line.*[13] *Actual* family existed among them in its incipient form at least.

601 But we meet here with a singular feature in designating relationships. *Ascending* from the "Ego," as point of departure, we find the following terms in the Mexican (Nahuatl) language.

Father: "tatli"—"teta."[14]

Brother of father or mother (paternal or maternal uncle): "tlatli"—"tetla."[15]

Grandfather: "tecul." Granduncle: "tecol."[16]

Great-grandfather: "achtontli."[17]

[13] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, note 106).

[14] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*," Part Ia, p. 91; IIa, pp. 106, 91). Besides the plural "tetatzin," the names, "yzcacauhti," "teizcacauh," are also mentioned (I, p. 91). The former is defined (II, p. 48) as "natural father." It derives from "Izcalia" or "ninoizcalia"—"to give life" and "acauhtli." The latter evidently is an abbreviation or corruption from "nitla teachcauhtia"—"to be preferred in what is distributed, or in a distribution" (II, p. 2), which in turn is at the root of "teachcauhtin"—"elder brother" (II, p. 91). It is superfluous here to quote authorities in support of the fact that "ach" is frequently corrupted to "ac," or the inverse. In Cakchiquel: "Tata" See *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Grammaire de la Langue Quichée, etc.*" pp. 217, 218). The root "Ta" is also found in other Indian idioms, See: *Gatschet* (*Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas*," p. 137).

[15] *Molina* (I, p. 180; II, p. 140.) All the difference consists in the insertion of the letter "l" after the "t." "Tetla" is but an abbreviation of 'Te-tatli," from "Tehuatl" thou, p. 94, and father, which is also shown in the alteration of "tatli" to "tayta" or "tata;" the name given by children to their father (p. 91, II). Corresponds to the qquiché "tat" (*Brasseur de Bourbourg*, "*Grammaire, etc.*" p. 218), and to the Muysca "Ze paba" ("Pâba" father). *Moryan* after *Uricoechea* ("*Systeme of consanguinity*," p. 285).

[16] *Molina* (II, p. 94; II, p. 96). Here again the change from "u" to "o" appears, which is so frequent among older authors. For inst., *Tuccoco* and *Tzucco*, *Omstochtli* and *Omstuchtli*, *Tlacopan* and *Tlacohuapan*, *Olli* and *Ulli*, etc. etc. Such changes are very excusable, they proceed from the Indian pronunciation of vowels. On this subject compare, although it concerns properly but the Qquichua idiom of Peru, the excellent essay of Señor Don *Gavino Pacheco y Zegarra* of Puno, entitled "*Alphabet phonétique de la langue Qquichua*," published in the 2nd volume of the "*Compte Rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes*," at Nancy, in 1875. He says (p. 305) "D'autre part, le kehua différant essentiellement des langues romanes, surtout en ce qui concerne les sons élémentaires, il est impossible de donner une idée exacte de ces sons au moyen du seul alphabet latin. . . ." In regard to "O" and "U," see pp. 306, 307, 308, etc. What the author says of the Qquichua applies exactly to the Nahuatl also. See *Molina* ("Prologo y Avisos," 3d page "Aviso septimo").

[17] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, p. 2). Literally, "little preferred one." Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. I, p. 3, 3d Vol).

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Mother: "nantli"—"tenantzin"—"teciztli."[18]

Aunt: "anitl"—"teaui."[19]

Grandmother as well as grand-aunt: "citli."[20]

Great-grandmother "piptontli."[21]

Descending from the "Ego."

Son: "tepiltzin," "tetelpuch." But the women (mother, sisters, etc.), call him "noconeuh."[22]

[18] *Molina* (I, p. 80; II, pp. 63, 92, 96). "Ciztli" is probably the same as "Citli,"—hare, or grandaunt. The fact that the same name should be given to a near female relative or even to the mother, and to a fleet, timid, quadruped, is very singular. It may be that the timidity of the animal has given occasion to bestow the name, or, since hare's hair was frequently woven into fine mantles, together with feathers, that this also may have given rise to it. The latter is first mentioned by *Peter Martyr, of Anghiera*, "*De nouo Orbe*," *or the* "*Historie of the West Indies, etc., etc.*" London, 1612. An English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden, of the famous "Decades," also entitled "*De Rebus Oceanicis*," (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 229), he mentions having seen among the objects brought to the court of Spain by Juan de Ribera, garments; "they compact of Conies haire, and they set these feathers in such order between the Cony haire, and intermingle them between the thriddes of the cotton, and weave them in such difficulty, that we do not well understande how they might do it." *Sahagun* (Lib. XI, Cap. 1, p. 157) mentions another animal to which the name "cioatlamacazqui" is given. which he translated "little old woman," basing upon its other designation of "tlamaton." [237 286]

The reverend father is, however, in error. The first name signifies literally, "woman medicine-man," or "female doctor" (Indian notion of course), and the second "little medicine-man," from "ciuatl" woman, Molina, II, p. 22, "tlama"—medicine-man, (II, 125). This animal seems to be the Raccoon, as the following quotations prove: *Joannis Eusebius Nieremberg*, ("*Historia naturæ maxime peregrinæ*," Antwerp, 1635 Lib. IX, Cap. XLII, p. 175). "Antra canitates montium atque collium Tzozocolci hospitatur animal peregrinum, quod cuncta manibus praetentatur Mapach ab Indis dicitur, sed non firmo nomine; alij cioatlamacazque seu sacerdotissam." *Oviédo y Valdés* (Lib. XII, Cap. XXXIX, p. 422), he calls "Coçumatle," an animal which is probably the Coati, makes no mention of the "mapach," but *Clavigero* (Lib. I, Cap. X, p. 76) treats of this animal fully.

The naming of a female relationship, "Citli" appears the more strange, as this name is given, in the Mexican mythological tales, to a *god* who tried to compel the sun to move, and lost his life in the attempt. This story is due to *Andrés de Olmos*, neither Sahagun nor Motolinia mention the occurrence in this manner. Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. VII. Cap. II, p. 245, etc., etc.); *Mendieta* (Lib. II, Cap. I, pp. 77, 78) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, Cap. XLI, p. 76). Both refer it to his authority. We shall refer to it in our essay on "Creed and Belief." [773]

[19] *Molina* (I, 113; II, 9, 91).

[20] *Molina* (I, 113; II. 22). See note 18.

[21] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, 82). There is also, "nipipinia"—"pararse flaco de vejez," and "Pipinqui ynacayo"—"viejo flaco y arrugado." The affix "tontli" is a diminutive.

[22] *Molina* (I, p. 71). A singular etymology is shown here: The man says, {"*Thy*" / "*Their*"} boy" or {"*Thy*" / "*Their*"} youth." ("Te-piltzin"—"Te-telpuch" {from "Tehuatl" / or "Te"} {"thou" / "their"} and "Piltzintli," child, male or female, (II, p. 82,) and "Telpochtli," youth, (p. 96). The woman, however, calls: "*my* child" (or boy, since the same name is for both

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601 Daughter: "teichpuch," "tepiltzin." Women call her "teconeuh."[23]

Grandson or granddaughter, male or female cousin, are called alike, to wit: "yxiuhtli"—"teixiuh."[24]

Nephew and niece are called: "machtli"—"temach" by the males. The females however address them: "nopilo."[25]

This brings to light some very curious facts.

In the first place, the following grades of consanguinity are called by the same names respectively: grandfather and grand-uncle, grandmother and grand-aunt, father and uncle, grand-daughter, grandson and cousin, nephew and niece.

sexes), from "coneti"—"niño o niña" (II. p. 24), and the possessive pronoun "no" according to *H. H. Bancroft*, "*Native Races of the Pacific States*." (Vol. III, Cap. IX, p. 734), or "noca"—"of me" (*Molina*, II, 72). These are, however, not the only appellations. We have besides:

Children of both sexes and grandchildren, collectively: "tepilhuan, teixhuan" (I. p. 71). The first one is easily decomposed into "te" theirs, "piltzuitli" child, and a possessive affix "huan" *Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. III, Cap. IX, p. 722).

Oldest son or daughter "teyacapan" "yacapantli" (p. 71, I). From "nicyacatia," to be the first or leader (II, p. 22), "yacatl"—nose probably on account of its protuberance, (II, p. 22).

Second son or daughter, "tlacoyeua" "tetlamamallo" (p. 71, I). The first one might possibly derive from "centlacol"—one-half (I. p. 63), since Molina adds (II, p. 118), "el segundo hijo ó hija, o de tres o quatro engendrados ó nacidos." The etymology of the other, if correct, would be singular. It is either from "tetla" uncle, and "tetlan nina mamali" "hender, meterse entre mucha gente" (II, p. 52), or from "te" their and, "Tlamama" carrier of a load (II, p. 125). In both cases it indicates an inferior position.

Youngest son or daughter "xocoyotl" "texocoyonh" (I, p. 71). Definitions too doubtful. Finally, there are the surnames, or caresses, like, "cuzcatiquetzalli"—collar of changing green hues,—"tecuzcauan"—"tequetzalhuan" (I, p. 71), which all have the same significance, in a general way, of "precious gem" or "jewel." These metaphorical names are found profusely in *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*.")

The fact, above noticed, that while men, if strangers, address boys, "their boy," while women call them "my boy," is perhaps significant. It might be a lingering remnant of "mother-right."

[23] *Molina* (I. 71), derives from "Ichpocatl" (girl, II, p. 32.) So far teichpeuh,—the other two are already explained.

[24] *Molina* (I, pp. 66, 98). But there is also. "Nieto ó nieta dos vezes," "yentontli" "teienton." Now, according to the same authority (II, p. 34), the older brother or sister calls the younger "n. icuh" ("n" as abbreviation to "no"). Consequently, the signification would be, "little younger brother or sister."

[25] *Molina* (I. p. 109; II, 51, 73). In this case the woman again calls them "my child" ("no" my, and "piltzintli" child). The custom of giving different names to relationships, by women and by men, is found in Peru among the Qquichua and Inca. Compare *Garcilasso de la Vega*, "*Histoire des Incas Rois du Pérou*." (French translation from the original Spanish, by J. Bandouin, Amsterdam, 1704. Lib. IV, Cap. XI, Vol. I, pp. 350, 360). *J. J. von Tschudi* ("*Peru*" *Reiseskizzen*, St. Gall, 1846, an excellent book. Vol. II, Cap. X, p. 300). A similar custom also appears in New-Granada among the Muysca. *L. H. Morgan* ("*Systems of Consanguinity, etc.*" p. 265, after *Uricoechea*).

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Secondly, the relationships in the descending scale are more closely described than those in the ascending scale.

Thirdly, in some instances women give different names from those given by men.

It results from it, that the classificatory system still, to a great extent, predominated in the ancient Mexican nomenclature for relationship, while the more modern descriptive system appears in a minority of cases only. This leads to the inference that the Mexican family itself was yet but imperfectly constituted. It was not yet so established as to form a definite group and hence cannot be expected to exercise any influence in the matter of public social life. We are, therefore, again justified in looking to the *kin* as the unit of social organization, within the limits of that widest aggregate, the tribe.[26]

Traditionary tales about the earliest settlement of man in Mexico as well as in Central America, distinctly ascribe it to "lineages" or relationships. The tribe is merely implied, and appears in a definite form only *after* this settlement has already occurred.

The "Popol-Vuh," or gathering of the cosmological and traditionary records of the QQuiché tribe of Guatemala, after enumerating the four wives of the four first men created, even says: "These [their spouses], engendered mankind, the large and small tribes: and they were the stock of us, of the QQuiché tribe." This indicates, perhaps, descent in the female line at a very early date.[27]

[26] *Dr. Adolphus Bastian*, "*Ueber die Eheverhältnisse.*" ("*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,*" Berlin. Vol. V, 1874) presupposes a family, definite and distinct: "Aus der Ehe, als erster Kreisung der Gesellschaft geht die Familie hervor, in ausgedehnter Peripherie als gens (unter Erweiterung durch die Agnaten) aus ursprunglichen Patriciern; wo der Clan unter Aufnahme fictiver Verwandten und zugehörigen seinen abschluss unter den Patriarchen bewahrt." Such views offer a sufficient explanation, when applied indiscriminately to the inhabitants of *all* the continents, why the organization of some aborigines of this continent is still regarded as monarchical. The nature and functions of the Indian kin are completely misunderstood and proportionately misrepresented. (See also Id., p. 396.)

[27] "*Popol-Vuh*" (Translated from the original QQuiché by the *Abbé Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg*. Paris, 1861, Part III, cap. III, p. 265). "E pogol vinak, chuti amag, nima amag; are cut u xe kech. ri oh Queche-vinak; tzatz cut x-uxie ri Ahqixb Ahqahb; mana xa E cahib chic x-uxic. xere cahib ri qui chuch oh quiche vinak." Mr. Brasseur translates "vinak" alternately as men, tribes, and nations. According to his own vocabulary, however, it means but "man" or "the increase" (See "*Grammaire QQuiché,*" p. 233). In his translation of the "*Rabinal-Achi*" ("*Grammaire*" First Scene, pp. 27 and 35, and other places), "vinak" is also rendered as chief. But the true QQuiché word for tribe is "amag" ("*Grammaire,*" p. 167). This alters the sense to the extent that instead of "QQuiché tribe" it should read "men of QQuiché" or rather "QQuiché

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The first settlement of Chiapas is ascribed, in the tale of Votan, to *seven families*.[98] But there is still another and more remarkable tradition connected with it. Like the Aborigines of Mexico of *Nahuatl* stock, the *Tarasca* of Michhuacan, the *Maya* of Yucatan, and the *QQuiché*, *Cakchiquel* and *Zutuhil* of Guatemala, the Aborigines of Chiapas had a month composed of twenty days, bearing each a particular name. It is positively asserted by very old authority, that these twenty days were named after as many chiefs of an equal number of lineages or kins, the latter being the earliest settlers of the country. Furthermore, among these twenty names, four are everywhere prominently distinguished.

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men." The last words "xere cahib ri qui chuch oh Quiché vinak," are literally: "though *four* these (which, who) certainly (surely) mother us (we) QQuiché men." The note by the celebrated Abbé (p. 207, note 3), in which he states that "mother" is often applied to chief, finds a parallel in many passages of *Tezozomoc* when the tribe is also addressed as father and mother. Also *Durán* (Cap. XV, p. 127).

The creation of these four men and four women immediately precedes, in the Popol-Vuh, the tale of the first sacrifice and the distribution of the idols, and is distinctly stated as having occurred during the time of obscurity, the morning star being their only guide and most brilliant luminary ("*Popol-Vuh*," pp. 209, 211, and 213). Now an analogous tale is told by *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 248, etc.), about the first appearance of both sun and moon. The Gods disputed about the place where the two celestial bodies would rise, and *four* of them, together with *four* women, looked to the *east* for their coming. The QQuiché tradition (p. 207), places the coming of these first people also in the East. It appears to be, therefore, a tradition originally common to the "Nahuatl" and to the "QQuiché," and its bearing upon the question at issue becomes still more prominent.

[98] The two leading sources on Chiapas namely: *Nuñez de la Vega* ("*Constitution diocesana del Estado de Chiapas*, Roma, 1702), and *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Santo Domingo*," 1619), not being at my command now,—I can but refer the student to them, and to the following works besides: *Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci* ("*Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*," Madrid, 1776, § XVI, p. 115, copying *Nuñez de la Vega*, 34, § XXX), *Mariano Veytia y Echeverria* ("*Historia antigua de México*," 1836, by Ortega, Vol. I, cap. II, p. 15). *Clavigero* (Lib. II. cap. XII, pp. 164 and 165). *Paul Feliz Cabrera* ("*Teatro critico Americano*," german translation by Lieut. *General J. H. von Minutoli*, incorporated in the latter's book. "*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt, die in Guatimala (Neuspanien) unfern Palenque entdeckt worden ist*," p. 30, etc., after Vega also). *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*" Introduction, pp. LXXIII, LXXXVII, CXII, etc). *Alex. von Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*," 1861, Vol. I, pp. 362 and 363; II, pp. 356 and 357). *Bancroft, H. H.*, (Vol. III, cap. X, pp. 450 and 454; and especially Vol. V, cap. III, from p. 139 on). As usual, very full and valuable, although he does not mention any source older than Nuñez de la Vega. Finally, *A. Bastian* ("*Die Culturländer des alten Amerika*," 1878, Vol. II, pp. 360 and 362). The latter says that Votan found Chiapas already peopled. This is not confirmed by what I know of Vega and of the other (later) authority *Don Ramon Ordoñez y Aguiar* ("*Historia de la Creación del Cielo y de la Tierra*" MSS. at the "Museo Nacional" of Mexico). Votan was "sent to divide and distribute the land" *Cabrera* says ("*Beschreibung*, etc.," "*Teatro*," p. 23), basing upon verbal communications of *Ordonnez y Aguiar*: "He (Votan) assures, that he brought seven families to this continent, of Valum Votan, and assigned land to them."

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They not only indicate the first day of each "week" of five days, but they also designate the years of the calendar. It is well-known that the largest authentically established cycle of Central American and Mexican natives consisted of 52 years, that is of a thirteen-fold recurrence of the same series of four, named alike, respectively as one of the four initial days of the weekly indictions. This peculiarity, coupled with the positive description furnished in the "Popol-Vuh" of the segmentation of four original kins into a number of smaller ones, and with the fact that nearly every aboriginal settlement, at the present time, divides into four principal groups of inhabitants, becomes suggestive of the inference, not only that the consanguine group was the original type of social organization at the remotest period, but that the ethnography of Mexico and Central America may even be derived from a segmentation of primitive kins, and reassociation of these fragments into tribes, under the influence of time and mutation of residence, dialectical variation aiding.[29]

[29] Without quoting superfluously to prove well-known facts—household words so to say, in Mexican and Central-American archæology—we will place side by side the names of the days of the Mexican, Nicaraguan, Yucatecan, QQuiché, Chiapanecan, and Tarascan month.

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NAHUATL.			MAYA.		TZENDAL.
Mexican.	*Niquiran.*	*Tarascan.*	*Maya.*	*QQuiché.*	*Chiapas* and *Soconusco.*
Cipactli,	Cipat,	Inbeari,	Ymix,	Imox,	Imox,
Ehecatl,	Ecat or Hecat,	Inthaati,	Yk,	Ig,	Igh,
Calli,	Call,	Inbani,	Akbal,	Akbal,	Votan,
Cuetzpalin,	Quespal,	Inxichari,	Kan,	Qat,	Chanan,
Cohuatl,	Coat,	Inchini,	Chicchan,	Can,	Abah,
Miquixtli,	Missiste,	Inrini,	Quimij,	Camey,	Tox,
Mazatl,	Macet,	Inpari,	Manik,	Quich,	Moxic,
Tochtli,	Toste,	Inchon,	Lamat,	Ganel,	Lambat,
Atl,	At,	Inthahui,	Muluc,	Toh,	Molo,
Itzcuintli,	Yzquindi,	Intzini,	Oc,	Tzy,	Elab,
Ozomatli,	Ocomate,	Intzoniabi,	Chuen,	Batz,	Batz,
Malinalli,	Malinal,	Intzimbi,	Eb,	Ci,	Evob,
Acatl,	Acate,	Inthibui,	Been,	Ah,	Been,
Ocelotl,	Ocelot,	Inixotzini,	Gix,	Itz,	Hix,
Quauhtli,	Oate,	Inichini,	Men,	Tziquin,	Tzibin,
Cozcaquauhtli,	Coscaguate,	Iniabi,	Quib,	Ahmak,	Chabin,
Ollin,	Olin,	Intapiri,	Caban,	Noh,	Chic,
Tecpatl,	Tapecat,	Inodon,	Edznab,	Tibax,	Chinax,
Quiahuitl,	Quiaüit,	Inimbi,	Cauac,	Caok,	Cahogh,
Xochitl.	Sochit.	Inettuni.	Ajau.	Hunahpu.	Aghual.

The four leaders (as I may be permitted to call them), are respectively: In Mexico, *Tochtli, Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli.* In Michhuacan, *Inchon, Inthihui, Inodon, Inbani.* In Chiapas, *Votan, Lambat, Been, Chinax.* In Guatemala, *Abbal, Ganel, Ah, Tibax.* Finally in Yucatan, *Kan, Muluc, Gix, Cauac.*

I have not the means of discussing the Tarascan calendar of Michhuacan; it is suf-

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It is not surprising therefore if, of the earliest traces which are met with concerning such Aborigines as spoke the "good sound" ficient for my purpose to establish its identity, in system, with the others. The Nicaraguan days are corruptions of the Mexican names, the "Niquiran" being a "Nahuatl" dialect.

Taking now the four remaining groups, we place opposite to each word its translation or interpretation so far as I can trace it, which is of course not always possible.

Mexican.	*QQuiché.*	*Maya.*	*Chiapaneco.*
Cipactli, *Marine monster.*	Imox. *Swordfish.*	Ymix. *Dragon.*	Imox.
Ehecatl, *Wind.*	Iz. *Breath.*	Yk, *Breath or wind.*	Izh.
Calli, House.	*Akbal, chaos* (?).	Akbal. (See below).	*Votan.*
Cuetzpalin. *Lizard.*	Cat, *Lizard.*	*Kan. Snake.*	Chanan. *Snake.*
Cohuatl. *Snake.*	Can. *Snake.*	Chechan.	Abah, *Stone* (?).
Miquiztli. *Skull.*	Camey. *Death.*	Quimij, *Death.*	Tox.
Mazatl, *Deer.*	Quich. *Deer.*	Manik, (See below).	Moxic.
Tochtli, Rabbit.	*Ganel. Rabbit.*	Lamat.	*Lambat.*
Atl, *Water.*	Toh. *Shower.*	*Muluc.*	Molo.
Itzcuintli. *Dog.*	Tzy. *Dog.*	Oc.	Elab.
Ozomatli, *Monkey.*	Batz. *Monkey.*	Chuen. (See below).	Batz, *Monkey* (?).
Malinalli. *Knot or twist*	Ci, *Broom.*	Eb, *Staircase.*	Eoob.
Acatl, Cane.	*Ah, Cane.*	Been.	*Been.*
Ocelotl, *Wild cat or tiger.*	Itz, *Wizard.*	*Gix, Wizard.*	Hix.
Quauhtli. *Eagle.*	Tziquin. *Bird.*	Men. *Builder* (?).	Tzibin.
Cozcaquauhtli, *Vulture.*	Ahmak, *Owl.*	Quib, *Gum or wax.*	Chabin.
Ollin, *Motion.*	Noh, *Temperature.*	Caban.	Chic.
Tecpatl, flint.	*Tihax. Obsidian.*	Edznab.	*Chinax.*
Quiahuitl. *Rain.*	Caok, *Rain.*	*Cauac.*	Cahogh.
Xochitl, *flower.*	Hunahpu, *Shooter out of a tube.*	Ajau, *Chief.*	Aghual.

For the interpretation, as above attempted, I have consulted the following very limited number of authors:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Relation des choses de Yucatan, etc.*" "*Popol-Vuh,*" "*Grammaire Quiché,*" "*Ruines de Palenqué.*") *H. H. Bancroft,* (Vol. II and III). *Orozco y Berra,* ("*Geografia de las Lenguas.*") and other sources. Mr. Bancroft translates the QQuiché "akbal" by *chaos.* I would suggest "*household,*" basing upon the following note of Mr. Brasseur: ("*Chronologia antigua de Yucatan, etc.,*" por *Don Juan Pio Perez* in "Choses de Yucatan," p. 375). "*Akbol,* mot vielli qu' on retrouve dans la langue Quiché avec le sens de marmite, vase, peut être le même que le mot *cos* ou *comitl* des Mexicains." Sr. Perez says about the word: "desconocido: tambien se halla entre los dias chispanecas, escrito *Aghual,*" (p. 374). In this the learned Yucatan is mistaken, for Aghual corresponds to the Maya and QQuiché "Ajau" or "Ahau." Now the pot or rather kettle, was distinctly connected with the housewife, and the word "Akbal" being, as the Abbé tells us, out of use, the suggestion that it may have been used to indicate something like the Mexican "Calli"—house,—is at least permitted.

I have deliberately translated "Kan" by snake, instead of by "cord of henequen" as Pio-Perez has it (p. 372). Compare note 1 by the Abbé.

Manik is interpreted by Pio-Perez as follows: "es perdida su verdadera acepcion; pero si se divide la espresion man-ik viento que pasa, quizá se entenderia lo que fué." If this is accepted, then the signification might be: "fleetness," "swiftness," or "rapidity,"—some of the attributes of the *deer,* which is the corresponding sign in both the Mexican and QQuiché.

Chuen, for the reasons indicated by Brasseur (note 3, p. 372 of "*Chronologia,* etc.,") should be "monkey," as well as in the three other idioms.

In regard to "Gix" *Sr. Orozco y Berra* (Part II, V, p. 103), copies the three interpretations of Don Pio-Perez, one of which amounts to "the act of plundering or rob-

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

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bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Canac" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 32, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 65, note 5).

"Batz" as *monkey*, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh, Hix, and Cahogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Been, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

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This origin is stated as follows:—

Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 587), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, ... This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 124), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 465), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cuculcan or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 52. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Boturini* ("*Idea, etc.*," § XVI, pp. 115 to 121). Quoting *Nuñez de la Vega* (32, § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que *al que llamaban Coslahuntox (que es el Demonio, segun los Indios dicen, con trece potestades) le tienen pintado en Silla, y con hastas en la cabeza como de carnero*, quando dicho Coslabúntox se ha de corregir en Ymos, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Toltecs,"[30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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sino por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symboloe de los dias de el Año, y assi viene á ser el primer Symbolo de ellos." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 33, 34, and 35), "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiappa, y Soconusco con el Tultéco, ... pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Tècpatl, Calli, Tóchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiäppa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Bèen, y Chinax, etc., etc."

Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 164). "The Chiapanècs, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México*," 1865, Vol. II, p. 222.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 412, Vol. I) "The Chiapanecs . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Been, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 633, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1780. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapanecs are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnez y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

Brasseur de Bourbourg ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologia*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 374, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper leads to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tzendal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprang through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 301, 302, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

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About the middle of the thirteenth century the Mexicans while on a migration towards more southern regions, made

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by the so-called calendars just named, which peculiarities may throw some light on the questions raised, as to whether they originally denoted kins or not.

With a single exception (Cipactli), the Mexican and allied calendars contained the name of not one object, or phenomenon, which might not be met with *somewhere* over the wide area which the three linguistical stocks occupied at the time of the Conquest. Still, as Sr. Orozco y Berra strikingly proves ("*Geografia de las Lenguas*," Parte IIa, Cap. V, p, 107), the Mexican month contains the names of animals unknown to the ultimate home of the tribe as well as to more *northern* regions. Thus the *monkey* ("Ozomatli") is not found on the high central tableland. In regard to the sign Cipactli, I shall elsewhere refer to this sign, which may perhaps denote a "cuttle-fish" of monstrous dimensions.

Supposing now (since we have no proof yet to the contrary), that this "marine monster" was also an inhabitant of tropical seas, it must strike us that the twenty signs for the days of the aboriginal calendars under consideration

(1). Represent types and phenomena which are met with, *not exclusively, but still all*, within the area of Mexico and Central America.

(2). That some of the animal types are limited to tropical and low regions only.

(3). That none of the animals belong exclusively to the temperate zone of North America.

Consequently, that these signs are of a meridional origin, and even, taking into account that the monkey is not found in the valley of Mexico, that they originated to the *south* of it. Still, the four "Leaders," as I have called them (the first signs of each "week" of five days), namely: Rabbit, cane, flint, and house,—might as well have been selected at the *north*.

It is a fact abundantly proven, that the kins or gentes composing the tribes of North America are named after a principle identical with that found in the naming of the days among the aborigines of more southerly latitudes, namely: after objects and natural phenomena. Mr. Morgan has given the names of the gentes of at least thirty tribes, consisting in all of two hundred and ninety-six gentes. Of these two hundred and ninety-six names, ninety-eight are signs of the Mexican days, repeatedly found in the different tribes. These signs are as follows:—

Itzcuintli, Dog, mostly found, however, as wolf	22 times.
Quauhtli, Eagle	12 "
Coxcequauhtli, Hawk (although it is the "ringed vulture")	6 "
Mazatl, Deer, Elk, Caribou, Antelope	20 "
Cohuatl, Snake	9 "
Atl, Water (also as "Ice," "Sea," etc.)	4 "
Mequiztli, Skull (as "Head")	1 time.
Ollin (as "many seasons" and "Sun")	2 times.
Calli, House (as "high village" and "lodge")	3 "
Tecpatl, Flint (as "knife")	2 "
Ocelotl, Tiger (also as "panther" and "wild cat")	5 "
Ehecatl, Wind	1 time.
Acatl, Cane (also as "Indian corn")	3 times.
Tochtli, Rabbit (also as "hare")	3 "
Cuetzpalin, Lizard ("frog")	1 time.
Xochitl, Flower (as "Tobacco")	1 "
Quiahuitl, Rain	1 "

I beg to observe, that if I have added "Coxcequauhtli" to this list, supposing it to be the equivalent of "Hawk," this is a mere suggestion, and not an affirmation on my part.

Thus sixteen, if not seventeen, of the twenty signs of days of the Mexican month, are found in North America as "*totems*" *probably of aboriginal clans or kins.*

It is further interesting to note, that of the nine clans composing the Moqui tribes of Arizona, the names of seven correspond to signs of Mexican days, ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, p. 179). What little is known of the Laguna Indians foreshadows a similar result (p. 189), thus permitting the query, whether the pueblo Indians of the

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their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[32] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[33] We may as well add here, that these

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central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

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[32] *Ixtlilxochitl* (" *Relaciones historicas*" " *Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) " y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also " *Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de America llamada Nueva-España*" (" *Tercera Relacion de los Tulteras*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 393), " Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinièron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." (" *Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), " Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Tolteca in " *Tenure of Lands*" (p. 388, note 7, to p. 392). I refer to *Velancurt* (" *Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 254). *Granados y Galvez* (2a Tarde, p. 31).

[33] " *Tardes Americanas*" (p. 31), " bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vaguearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full, I but refer to " *Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. V, pp. 38, 39; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. I, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 434, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *García* (" *Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 59, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Velancurt* (Vol. I. " *Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[34] The number *seven* (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare " *Tenure of Lands*" (p. 389, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* (" *Die Culturlaender des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 400, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mimutoli's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[35] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitznagoa.	Huitznahuac.	Huitznahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cihuatecpaneca.	Cihuatecpaneca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.
Yzquiteca.	Yzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.

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Indian wards, their peculiar organization, and their communal lands, disappeared only after the secession of Mexico from Spain, not more than fifty years ago.[34]

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There is, however, a fundamental difference between Durán on one hand, and Veytia and Tezozomoc on the other, inasmuch as the former says that these seven names were those of the *tutelar deities* of the seven kins ("barrios"), whereas the latter two give them as the names of *these kins themselves*. The seven tutelar deities are also named by them, and called as follows: "Quetzalcohuatl, Tlazolteotl, Macuilxochiquetzalli, Chichilticcentecotl, Piltzintecuhtli, Tezcatlipuca, and Mictlantecuhtli" (*Veytia*, as above quoted). *Tezozomoc* (p. 6), calls these gods: "Quetzalcohuatl, Oxomoco, Matlaxochiquetzal, Chichilticzenteutl, Piltzintecutli, Meteutl, Tezcatlipuca, Mictlantecuhtli y Tlamacazqui, y otros dioses con ellas. . . . . ." A discussion of these names is very difficult, and its results appear doubtful. Still, we distinctly recognize: "Tlacochcalca," plural of "Tlacochcalcatl," therefore, "men of the house of darts." (See "*Art of War*," p. 121, note 104). "Huitznahuac," according to *Molina* (II*a*, p. 157), "uitztic" is a pointed object, "uitztli" a large thorn, but "uitztlan" is the south. "Nahuac," in this instance, probably (or rather possibly), signifies "among" or "near to," thus perhaps, "people from the south" or "from near the thorns." (Example: "Quauhnahuac"—"por de los arboles," *Molina*, II, p. 63. *Pimentel* "*Cuadro descriptivo*, Vol. I. pp. 170, etc.) "Cihuatecpaneca" from "Cihuatl" woman, and "tecpan" official house. "Tlacatecpaneca" from "Tlacatl" man, and "tecpan." Finally, "Itzcuintecatl" seems to derive from "Itzcuintli" Dog, and "tecatl." The latter again decomposes into: "nitla tequi" to cut (*Molina*, II, p. 105), and "tlacatl" man, therefore the whole would be "dogcutters." "Yzquitecatl" gives a still more curious etymology, which is, however, so improbable, that we refrain from mentioning it even

It will be seen at a glance that none of these seven kins were named after the Mexican days, the last one alone containing, perhaps, the word "Itzcuintli," but even this is very doubtful yet. I shall but refer here to a singular passage in *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 20). "Ya hemos dicho como traian á su principal dios, sin cuyo mandado no se osaban menear: traian empero otros siete dioses, que á contemplacion de los siete cuevas donde auian auitado siete congregaciones de gentes ó siete parcialidades, los reverenciaban con mucha grandeza."

After the capture of Tenochtitlan by Cortés, its site was reserved by him for the erection thereupon of the Spanish city, whereas the site of Tlatilulco became the Indian settlement for a time, or rather was intended for that purpose. *Cortés* ("*Carta*. IV, pp. 110, 111, Vedia I). *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180, 181). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLIX, pp. 528, 530). *Juan de Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 572.- Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 299). *Herrera* ("*Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*," Cap. IX, p. 17. "*Historia*," Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. VIII, p. 122). *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México*" 4th Part of the "Teatro," pp. 124, 131, 132, 212, and 213).

It is the latter author, *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," pp. 131, 132, 212, and 213), who gives us the names and numbers of the Mexican quarters, "barrios," or localized kins who, under the form of "Indian wards," still existed in 1600. I assume this date from the fact that the "Licencia" of the "Comisario general de Indias," is dated 17 April, 1692, (p. 12, Vol. I, "*Teatro*"). Besides mentioning the four great quarters of Mexico (p. 124), of which we shall hereafter speak, he says: "Los barrios son veinte, donde están once ermitas fabricadas que sirven para sacramentar en ellas á los que no tienen casa, decente, sirviendo de oratorios del barrio, donde en las fiestas particulares se suelen decir misas rezadas, y en algunas fiestas de devocion cuando la piden." He also gives us (pp. 212, 213) information about Tlatelulco,—information which proves that the aborigines settled there "en seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios, y veinte ermitas con sus titulares que celebran." This is rather obscure, and I shall

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618 While the seven consanguine clusters above mentioned com-
174 posed, to all intents and purposes, one tribe as towards outsiders, there still appear among them germs of discord which, at a later date, caused a disruption of mutual ties. The details are too vague and too contradictory to allow any inference even as to the real nature of such dissensions.[35] One fact, however, is ascertained, namely: that the whole group bore in common all the hardships and vicissitudes of a wandering life and the encroachments, aggressions and temptations from outsiders; that they had sheltered together in a safe retreat, and that only when relative safety from violence was secured, a permanent division took place. These considerations should dispose of the

[173 therefore give the names of the Mexican "barrios" by the side of the "ermitas" of
619 Tlatelulco, leaving the reader to notice coincidences himself.

"Barrios" of Mexico.	*"Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.*
Santo Cristo de Tzapotla.	Santa Ana Atenantitech.
Santa Véronica de Huehuecalco.	Santa Lucia Telpochcalcititlan.
Santa Cruz de Tecpancaltitlan.	La Concepcion de Atenantitlan.
San Pedro de Cihuateocaltitlan.	San Francisco Mecantalinco.
Espiritu Santo de *Yopico*.	La Asuncion de Apazhuacan.
San Felipe de Jesus de Teocaltitlan.	San Martin Atezcapan.
Santiago de Tlaxilpan.	Santa Catalina Cohuatlan.
Los Reyes de Tequicaltitlan.	San Pablo Tolquechiucan.
La Candelaria de Atlampa.	Nuestra Señora de Belen Tlaxoxiuhco.
La Ascension de Tlacacomoco.	Los Reyes de Capoltitlan.
San Diego de Amanalco.	San Simon Iztatla.
El Niño Jesus de Tepetitlan.	Santa Inés Huelpantónco.
El Descendimiento de Atizapan.	San Francisco Izcatla.
San Salvador de Xihuitongo.	Santa Cruz Azococolocan.
La Navidad de Tequixquipan.	San Antonio Tepiton.
San Salvador de Necaltitlan.	La Asuncion de Tlayacaltitlan.
La Concepcion de Xoloco.	San Francisco *Cihuatecpan*.
San Juan de Chichimecapan.	San Juan *Huitzmoluac*.
San Antonio de Tezcatzonco.	Sa Asuncion de Izayoc.
San Sebastian Copolco.	Santa Clara Acozac.

I have italicized those names which are also found among those of the seven original kins above enumerated, and thus we find three of them, one in Mexico, and two among the "Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.

[35] *Fernan Gonzalez de Eslava* ("*Coloquios espirituales y Sacramentales, y Poesias Sagradas*," Second Edition, 1877, by Sr. Icazbalceta.) The learned editor makes the following note, 50, to page 57. "Cuando se reedificó la ciudad de México, despues de la conquista, se colocaron en el Centro las casas de los españoles, y los Indios levantaron las suyas alrededor de aquellas. Esta poblacion india se dividió en cuatro barrios ó *parcialidades*, regidos por caciques de su nacion, sujetos á un gobernador de la misma. Los barrios principales eran San Juan y Santiago." Calling my attention to this note in his letter of 14 Nov., 1878, my esteemed friend adds: "Con el tiempo se confundió la poblacion y desaparecieron esos barrios; pero aun quedó el nombre y los bienes que poseian las 'parcialidades' los cuales desaparecieron tambien en mi tiempo."

[36] The dissensions between what subsequently became the Mexicans and the Tlatelulcans are so variously described by the authorities, that it is hardly worth while to discuss them.

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assumption, frequently made, that the Mexicans were divided into two distinct clusters at the outset.

A council of chiefs, representing the seven kins meeting on equal terms, composed the government of the ancient Mexicans at that period of their history. Among these, occasional "old men" of particular ability loom up as leading advisers. But no permanent general office of an executive nature is mentioned; although even occasional braves acquired historical prominence through their deeds of valor and of sagacity.[36]

But, while the organization was thus amply sufficient for the needs of a straggling band, Indian worship or "medicine" (as the native term implies) represented, inside of that organization, the lingering remains of what we have already suggested to be the oldest aboriginal clusters of society. Corresponding to the *four* original kins of the QQuiché, to the *four* leading days of the calendar with the traditions attached to their origin, we find among the ancient Mexicans at that period *four* chief medicine men, or "old men," who at the same time are "carriers of the God."[37]

[36] "*Tenure of Lands*" (P. 398 and 399, Notes 21 and 22). In addition to the authorities quoted there, I refer to: *Gomara* ("*Conquista de Méjico*" Vedia I, p. 431). "y dicen que no trajeron señores, sino capitanes." (Idem p. 433. "De los reyes de Méjico"). *Motolinia* ("Epistola proémial," p. 5). "aunque se sabe que estos Mexicanos fueron los postreros, y que no tuvieron señores principales, mas de que se gobernaron por capitanes." —*Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). "Dicen que el èjército mexicano trajo por caudillos ò capitanes diez principales que los regian, ... Entre estos eligieron, luego como hicieron su asiento, por rey y principal señor á Tenuch." *Torquemada*. (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78; cap. XII, pp. 94 and 95).

The fact of the election of the *first* so-called "King" of the ancient Mexicans, so generally acknowledged that no evidence of it is needed, is proof enough that, previous to it, the government of the Mexicans was at least, not monarchical. The words of Torquemada, (p. 94, vol. I.) "Dicese, que aviendo pasado veinte y siete años, que se governaban en comun, los unos, y los otros, les tomó gana de eligir Rey, ..." are plain enough.

Aside from the "leaders" (caudillos) of the Kins frequently mentioned, occasional war-chiefs or directing braves turn up during this period of their wandering existence. Thus, a chief whom they called "Mexi" is mentioned by *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV, p. 480), *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 138 and 139), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X, p. 60); and another very famous warrior, "Humming Bird." (Huitzilihuitl) led the Mexicans during their fray with the valley-tribes at Chapultepec, losing his life in the sally by which they broke through their surrounding enemies. *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 27; IV, 30). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 463). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. III, p. 42; IV, p. 84; Lib III, cap. XXII, p. 289). *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. Io, cap. IX, p. 261; cap. X, p. 265 and 266). *Granados y Galvez* (*Tarde Quinta*, p. 151). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 97; cap. XIII, p. 110; cap. XIV, p. 116, 124; cap. XV. p. 130 and 131). He affirms that "Humming Bird" was the first "King of the Mexicans," which, however, is expressly disproved by other authors.

[37] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. I, p. 6), mentions the four old men who carried the so-called sister of Huitzilopochtli, "y á esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli á los viejos

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174 It seems to indicate, that as relics of four very ancient kins, a
618 kind of superstitious ("standing over") deference was paid to
624 them, implying a voice and vote in the councils of the tribe.[38]

que la solian traer cargada, (que se llamavan Quauhtlonquetzaque, y Axolos el segundo, y el tercero llamado Tlamacazqui Cuauhcoatl, y el cuarto Ococaltzin"). (Cap. III. p. 8), at Chapultepec "y alli los habló Huitzilopochtli á los sacerdotes, que son nombrados Teomamaques, cargadores del dios, que eran Cuauhtloquetzaqui, Axolos, Tlamacazqui y Aococaltzin, á estos cargadores de este idolo, llamados sacerdotes, les dijo."—*Durán* (Cap. III. p. 21). Llegados a aquel lugar de *Puzcuaro*, viéndole tan apacible y alegre, consultaron á su dios los sacerdotes y pidiéronle: . . . . . el dios *Vitzilopochtli* respondió á sus sacerdotes, en sueños . . . " These words repeat themselves almost, several times in cap. IV. V, and VI. Finally he is very positive, (Cap. VI, p. 46), "con los quatro ayos de *Vitzilopochtli*, los quales le vian visiblemente y lo hablaban, que se llamauan *Cuauhtloquetzaqui*, el segundo *Ococatl* el tercero *Chachalaitl* y el cuarto *Axolous*, los quales eran como ayos, padres, amparo y reparo de aquella gente," *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 459), "Con esto salieron lleuando á su ydolo metido en una arca de juncos, la qual lleuavan quatro Sacerdotes principales, con quien el se communicava, y dezia en secreto los successos de su camino auisandoles lo que les auia de suceder, dandoles leyes, y enseñandoles ritos y ceremonias, y sacrificios. No se mouian un punto sin parecer y mandato deste ydolo." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X, p. 60). "Llevaron este Idolo en una Arca de Juncia en hombros de quatro Sacerdotes, los quales enseñaban los Ritos, i Sacrificios, i daban Leies, i sin su parecer no se movian en nada." Besides these specifically and exclusively Mexican sources, to which others will be added hereafter, the fact of these four chief-medicine men "tlamacazqui" from "tlama"—medicine-man, (*Molina* II, p. 135), is proven by authors who rather incline to the tezcucan side. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78), "y ordenó, que quatro de ellos, fuesen sus ministros, para lo qual, fuéron nombrados Quauhcohuatl, Apanecatl, Tezcacohuatl, Chimalman," (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 41, but especially Lib. IX. cap. XIX, p. 205). "De los primeros Mexicanos, que vinieron á estas Tierras, sabemos, que no traxeron Rei, ni otro Caudillo particular (contra los que tienen, ó afirman lo contrario) sino que venian regidos de los Sacerdotes, y ministros del Demonio; sobre cuios hombros venia la Imagen del Dios Huitzilupuchtli, y á los consejos, y determinaciones de estos ministros eran obedecientes." The most explicit of all, however, is again *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 92). At the death of Huitziton, "y aqui fué dondo empezaron las embustes de los viejos y sacerdotes que con mas inmediacion trataban á Huitziton; porque, ó concebido ya el ambicioso deseo de quedarse con el mando del pueblo, ó para disminiurle á este el dolor que debia causarle tan gran pérdida, ..." (p. 94). "Esto es el origen de la famosa deidad Huitzilopuchtli," (p. 99), here Veytia is in error in stating that *Tezozomoc* reports that the four priests were left with Malinalxochitl in Malinalco. This author mentions them again at Chapultepec, "*Crónica*," (Cap. III, p. 8). Further on (Cap. XIII, p. 109), "Yo me persuado á que es distinto, que Ocelopan y sus tres compañeros fueron los cuatro Tlamacazquis que fingieron el embuste del rapto de Huitziton," (p. 109), he says that the "old priests" opposed the election of a head-war-chief ("rey") "por no dejar el mando." (Also Cap XV, p. 131.)

It results from these statements, that the four "Carriers of the God" indeed exercised, or at least claimed some governmental power. In tribal society such power can only come through some *kin*, hence the four "medicine-men" represented four very old clans or relationships, whose names even may have been lost, whereas the former power "stood over," in the form of a participation of "medicine" or worship in the tribal business. I here recall the important utterance of *Boturini* ("*Idea*," pp. 111 and 112 of § XVI), "como fué costumbre de los Indios poner muy pocas Figuras en los mapas, baxo de cuya sombra se hallan numerosos Pueblos, y gentes; y assi dichos siete Tultécos, cuyos nombres refiere el mencionada Don Fernando, se entiende haver sido siete principales Cabezas de dilatados Parentescos, que se escondian baxo los

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When the Mexicans, thus constituting a migratory cluster of 174
kins, reached the present central valley of Mexico, they found it occupied by a number of tribes of the same language as their own, though dialectically varied. The arrival of the new-comers was to those who had already settled, a matter of either war or of adoption. Adoption became very difficult, as well on account of the number of the immigrants as of the rivalry between already settled tribes. Therefore the Mexicans were tossed to and fro, until at last the straggling remnant found a shelter on some dry patches protruding from the marsh along which the other tribes had formed their settlements.

This settlement occurred about 196 years previous to the Spanish conquest, and it limits therefore the time, within which the

nombres de sus Conductores." What the unfortunate Italian Cavaliere here says of the Toltecs, is applicable to all the other branches of the Nahuatl stock, and bears also on the four "Carriers of the God," under discussion.

Fletcher affirms (Cap. XIII, p. 110, lib. II), that after the election of the Huitzilihuitl mentioned in my note 36, the god Huitzilopochtli "did not dare to claim the government of the people." Is this an indication to the effect that the four "priests" exercised a military command?

Referring to note 29, concerning the four names of the years and leading days in the [801 173] Mexican and Central American Calendars, and their probable connection with as many very ancient kinships, I beg leave to add here some additional data in regard to the singular part played by the number four, in Central American and Mexican mythology and earliest tradition. In note 27, I have already alluded to the four original pairs, as mentioned by the "*Popol-Vuh*" as well as by *Sahagun*. Previous to the creation of the four men, the "*Popol-Vuh*" has the following remarkable passage: (Part III, cap. I, pp. 195–197), "In Paxil and in Cayalá, as this place is called, there came the ears of yellow and of white corn. These are the names of the barbarians (? Chicop), who went after subsistence: the fox (Yac), the wolf (Utiu) the parrot (Qui), and the raven (Hoh), four barbarians (?) who brought them the news of the ears of yellow corn and of white corn which grew in Paxil, and who showed them the road to Paxil." "There they found at last the nourishment which went into the flesh of man made, of man formed, this was his blood, it became the blood of man, this corn which went into him by the care of him who engenders and of him who gives being." This QQuiché tale of *four* animals or "barbarians" (the latter is an interpretation of Mr. Brasseur, since "chicop" signifies simply a *beast*) carrying the material out of which man was made, also finds an equivalent in Mexican traditions, as reported by *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX. § 13, p. 140), of four wise men who remained in the earthly paradise of "Tamoanchan" inventing there "judicial astrology, and the art of interpreting dreams. They composed the account of the days, of the nights, of the hours, and the differences of time, which were kept while the chiefs of the Toltecs, of the Mexicans, and of the Chichimecs ruled and governed." "Tamoanchan" as paradise, is strictly equivalent to "Paxil in Cayalá" of the QQuiché. The tradition of the four "Tutul-Xiu" among the maya of Yucatan, may also be classed among these tales. "*Series of Katunes.*" "*Epochs of Maya History.*" "*This is the Series of Katunes in Maya.*" ("*helo lai u Tsolan Katunili Ti Mayab*") in Mr. *Brasseur's* ("*Relation des choses du Yucatan*") also in *J. L. Stephens* ("*Travels in Yucatan,*" Vol. II, p. 465, appendix.) Also *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, pp. 222, 224).

[a] *Tylor* ("*Early History of Mankind,*" Edition of 1878, p. 165). "Super-stitio" or "Standing Over,"—the German "Abergiaube" in the sense of "what has remained."

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174 organization and Institutions of the ancient Mexicans must have reached their ultimate development, to less than two centuries.[39]

"In the midst of canes of reeds" the remains of the Mexican tribe found their future home upon a limited expanse of sod, which even their enemies on the mainland seemed to regard but as a spot fit to die upon.[40] Although much reduced in numbers, the kins themselves remained and a settlement necessitated at once their localization. How this took place, can best be told in the words of one of the native chroniclers, the Dominican monk, Fray Diego Durán.

174 "During the night following, after the Mexicans had finished
618 to improve the abode of their god, and the greatest part of the
615 lagune being filled up and fit for to build thereon, Vitzilopochtli spoke unto his priest or keeper and said to him: "Say unto the Mexican community that the chiefs, each with their relatives, friends and connections, should divide themselves in four principal quarters, with the house which you have built for my resting place in the middle, and that each kin might build within its quarter as best it liked." These quarters are those remaining in Mexico to this day, to wit: the ward of San Pablo, that of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda as it is called, and the ward of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places their god sent word to them that they should distribute among themselves their gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these gods should be worshipped. Thus each of these quarters divided into many small ones according to the number of idols called by them Calpulteona, which is to say god of the quarter. I shall not recall here their names because they are not of importance to history, but we shall know that these quarters are like upto what in Spain they call a collation of such and such a saint."[41]

This statement we do not hesitate to accept as expressing gen-

[39] My friend, Prof. Ph. Valentini, of New York, has in hand the study of Central American Chronology proper, as well as Mexican. In his latest work "*The Mexican Calendar stone*" (published first in German as a "Lecture," and afterwards in No. 71, of the "*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*"), he has given a general idea of his researches, but not any details yet about their results. If, therefore, I here admit 1325, A. D. as about the date of the so-called "foundation" of Tenuchtitlan-Mexico, it is subject to correction by him.

[40] *Durán* (Cap. IV, p, 32), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[41] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 400, note 29, and p. 401, notes 32 and 33). In addition to the authorities quoted, I refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61), and *Samuel Purchas* ("*His Pilgrimages*," 1625, Part III, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 1065).

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nine aboriginal traditions, notwithstanding the attempt, on the 174
part of Fray Juan de Torquemada, to impugn its truthfulness and 618
consequently its validity.[42] It results from it that while the kins, 615
which for the first time in Mexican history are distinctly identified here with the "calpulli," are settling, "as best they liked;" the creation of four geographical divisions, composed each of a number of kins, is attributed here to the influence of worship or, as we have already termed it, of "medicine." This connects those, who subsequently became the four "Indian wards" of Mexico, with the four "carriers of the gods" already mentioned, and this perhaps may be considered a reminiscence of the four original relationships. Of these the sections mentioned appear like a shell, geographically enclosing a number of settled kins. The supposition is not, therefore, devoid of interest that they may have represented brotherhoods of kins, for purposes of worship and warfare. If now we substitute for *kin* the term "*gens*" adopted by Mr. Morgan, those *brotherhoods* necessarily appear in the light of as many "*phratries*."[43]

The time of this occurrence seems almost to coincide with a 174
division (already indicated as in progress) of the original Mexican 619
band into *two* sections. It now culminated in the secession of a part of the tribe and its settlement apart from the main body, though not far away from it and within the lagune also. While the "place of the stone and prickly pear" (Tenuchtitlan) remained, virtually, ancient Mexico, the seceding group founded the Pueblo of Tlatilulco as an independent community at the very door of the former. It appears as its rival even until forty-eight years previous to the Spanish conquest.[44]

[42] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 402, notes 32 and 33).

[43] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. III, p. 88) "The phratry is a brotherhood, as the term imports, and a natural growth from the organization into gentes. It is an organic union or association of two or more gentes of the same tribe, for certain common objects. These gentes were usually such as had been formed by the segmentation of an original gens." If we recall the manner in which the four "quarters" or Mexico first appeared, it will easily be seen that the analogy with phratries is indeed striking. Compare, "*Art of War*" (p. 101, and note 22, and pp. 120, 121, and notes 97, 99, 100, and 101). In "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 400 and (401), I have rather favored the view that these four were "calpulli" which subsequently segregated into minor quarters or 'barrios." I now correct this, having become convinced that the so-called minor *quarters already existed at the time of settlement* (*compare notes 37 and 41*).

[44] *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 180), mentions a division into but two "barrios' in course of time through increase of population. "Despues andando el tiempo y multiplicandose el pueblo y creciendo la vecindad, hizóse esta ciudad dos barrios ó dos ciudades," *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichim.*" Cap. p. 73), merely states they were

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174 It is much to be regretted that our information on this point
114 is so meagre and unsatisfactory, as not to enable us to ascertain
619 whether several *entire kins* separated from the rest to form the new tribe, or whether *fragments of kins* only composed the secessionists. In fact even the cause of the division is stated in such a varied and contradictory manner, that we must withhold any expression of positive views on the subject.

618 Without losing sight altogether of the tribe of Tlatilulco, we still must devote our attention chiefly to the inhabitants of Tenuchtitlan, in which we recognize the ancient Mexicans proper. The number of kins composing the latter at the time of their

divided in two "bands," without saying why and how this division occurred. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 43), "Hecha esta division y puestos ya en su órden y concierto de barrios, algunos de los viejos y ancianos, entendiendo merecian mas de lo que les daban y que no se les hacia aquella honra que merecian, se amotinaron y determinaron ir a buscar nuevo asiento, y andando por entre aquellos carriçales y espadañales allaron una albarrada pequeña, y dando noticia della á sus aliados y amigos fuéronse á hacer alli asiento, el qual lugar se llamaba Xaltelulli y el qual lugar agora llamamos Tlatilulco, ques el barrio de Santiago. Los viejos y principales que alli se pasauan fuéron quatro; el uno dellos se llamaba Atlaquauiti, el segundo Huicto, el tercero Opocòtli, el quarto Atlacol. Estos quatro señores se dividieron y apartaron de los demas y se fuéron á vivir á este lugar del Tlatilulco, y segun opinion tenidos por hombres inquietos y revoltosos y de malas intenciones, porque desde el dia que alli se pasaron nunca tuvieron paz ni se llevaron bien con sus hermanos los mexicanos; la qual inquietud a ido de mano en mano hasta el dia de hoy, pues siempre a auido y ay bandos y rancor entre los unos y los otros." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 468), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62), both are but concise repetitions of the above. *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, pp. 294 and 296), opposes both Acosta and Herrera, as well as the "*Codex Ramirez*," and substitutes a story about voluntary settlement of the Tlatilulca on a sandy patch near by, but apart from the others, in consequence of the old grudge or feud already mentioned. There is but little difference between this version and the preceding, the act of secession, in both, being voluntary. One singular fact is mentioned by *Vetancurt* (Part II, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 269), namely: that the Tlatilulca made a market-place for *both* parties. Otherwise (p. 257), he concurs with Torquemada. *Granados y Galvez* (Tarde 6a, p. 174), after saying that both "eran deudos y parientes unos con otros" adds "whether this division proceeded from past quarrels, or out of the incommodities which they suffered among canes and reeds; it is certain that they divided peaceably . . ." *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, pp. 135 and 142), reporting on all the various traditions about the foundation of Tlatilulco, comes to the conclusion that the "nobles" retired to Tlatilulco, whereas the "common people" remained at Mexico. *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 178), agrees with Veytia in regard to the real import of the fables told concerning the ancient feuds among the migratory band, but (Cap. XVII, pp. 187 and 188), he accepts the version that these old dissensions were the causes of the final division.

I have not been able, yet, to find whether the seceding Tlatilulca formed one kin, or one brotherhood of kins, or whether they were discontented fractions of kins removing. Had Vetancurt given us the names of the "barrios" of Tlatilulco, we might possibly infer something from them. As it is, the fact of the four "principals" mentioned by Durán, seems to indicate four kins, or rather (perhaps) fractions from four kins, whom want of space probably caused to remove. They may have been crowded out, and in course of time the feeling of jealousy and rivalry sprung up of which the authorities speak both freely and frequently. See *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

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settlement is not stated, but while some sources mention *twenty* 618
chiefs as composing the original council of the tribe, others speak of but *ten leaders*. This might, according to the view taken, indicate in both instances *ten* kins, or *twenty* in the former and *ten* in the latter. At any rate the number is larger than that originally composing the tribe, thus showing that the segmentation so characteristic of tribal society according to Mr. Morgan, had already begun. Of the government of the tribe Clavigero says: "The 645
whole nation was under a senate or college of the most promi- 643
nent men."[43] No mention is made anywhere of a head-war-chief

[43] *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 94. Lib. III, 618
cap. XXII. pp. 289, 290, and 291). *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47).

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of kins composing the Mexican tribe at at that time. The number of chiefs and their names are variously stated. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47), mentions six chiefs and four priests. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), mentions ten chiefs. The "*Codex Mendoza*" also says ten chiefs (Tab. I, Vol. I, Kingsborough). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p, 190. note r). mentions twenty. It is interesting to compare the names, also those of the twenty leaders of *Torquemada* (Lib II, cap, III, p. 83), with those of the twenty "barrios" of Vetancurt.

Durán.	*Mendieta.*	*Torquemada.*	*Clavigero.*	*"Barrios" of Vetancurt.*
Acocilli,	*Acocilli,*	*Acocilli,*	*Acocilli,*	Tzapotla,
Tenoch,	*Tenuch.*	*Tenoca,*	*Tenoch,*	Huehuecalco,
Meci.	Tecinentl,	*Nanacatzin,*	*Nanacatzin,*	Tecpancaltitlan,
Ahuexotl,	*Auexotl.*	*Ahuexotl,*	*Ahuexotl,*	Cihuateocaltitlan,
Ocelopan,	*Ocelopan,*	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan.*	Topico,
Tecocatetl,	Quahpan.	*Tecocatetl,*	*Tezcatl,*	Teocaltitlan,
Quauhtloquetzqui,	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	*xomimitl,*	Tlaxilpan,
Ococal,	Xocoyal.	*Quentzin,*	*Quentzin,*	Tequicaltitlan,
Chachalaitl,	*Xiuhcoqui.*	*Xiuhcoac,*	*Xiuhcoac,*	Atlampa,
Axoloua.	Atototl.	*Axolohua,*	*Axolohua,*	Tlacacomoco,
		Tlalala,	Tlalala.	Amanalco,
		Tzontliyayauh,	Tzontligaguti,	Tepetitlan,
		Tuzpan,	Tochpan,	Atizapan,
		Tetepan,	Tetepan,	Xihuitengo,
		Cozca,	Cozcatl,	Tequixquipan,
		Ahati,	Atzin.	Mecaltitlan,
		Achitomecatl,	Achitomecatl,	Xoloco,
		Acohnatl,	Acohatl,	Chichimecapan,
		Mimich,	Mimich,	Copolco,
		Tenca.	*Tezcatl.*	*Tezcatzonco.*

I have italicized such names as are alike. We see that of the ten chiefs named by Durán and Mendieta, six are also named by the two other authorities. As might be expected, there is hardly any concordance between these names of chiefs and those of the Mexican "barrios."

If it were known to us whether, in this case, each "chief" represented a kin only, 618
or whether Durán, Tezozomoc, and Mendieta alone indicated the true number, we 773
could or might, of course, determine the number of the calpulli. That the chief is used to denote his kinship in the old authors is distinctly stated by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 236). This chapter relates the mission of sixty "wizards" ("brujos"-"hechiceros,") sent by the chief "Montezuma Ilhuicamina" (the first "stern or wrathy chief" of that name), to an old woman or goddess purported to be "Huitzilopochtli's" mother. Arrived before the old hag (as she is described), she inquires of them for her son and for

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as yet; this peculiarly military office was not yet established in permanence. However, there are indications that one executive chieftain for tribal affairs may, at least rudimentarily, have existed namely: the "Snake-woman" (cihuacohuatl). But the attributes of this office did not assign to it any marked prominence.[46]

The position of the Mexican tribe, about the middle of the fourteenth century, was still a very precarious one. With barely sufficient sod to dwell upon, blockaded, so to say, by powerful tribes along the lake shore; with the independent cluster of Tlatilulco, jealous and threatening, within an arrow-shot of its homes, it was forced into a peculiar attitude of military defence. The elements for a warlike organization were contained in the autonomous kins, which were grouped into the still larger cluster of the brotherhood, and all together composing the tribe. The leaders were found in the officers and chiefs of the kins. But the state of insecurity then prevailing required an office whose incumbent should be in constant charge of the military affairs of the tribe. This was plainly within the scope of tribal society; such functions had already been exercised previously, in times of particular need. Now, under the pressure of circumstances, and with a permanent settlement, permanence of the charge became a necessity.[47]

the seven chiefs "which seven went for leaders of each quarter" (p. 222). The wizards reply (among other things): "Great and powerful Lady (?) we have neither seen, nor spoken to, the chiefs of the *colpules*." Judging from this, the original number of them was ten, and it is presumable that if such was the case they were the *war-chiefs*, whereas the others were more properly the administrative officers analogous to the "*sachems*" of the Iroquois. (Compare *Morgan*, "*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Cap. IV, p. 114. Cap. V, pp. 129, 130, etc., etc., to 148). We shall have occasion to return to this again in a subsequent note.

"The office of "Cihuacohuatl" is very old. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones*" "*Segunda Relacion*," pp. 323 and 324), after speaking of the seven leaders of the Tolteca, mentions "Ziuhcoatl" tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores" as discoverer of Jalisco. Confirmed (the last mention excepted) by *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 57). *Veytia* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 230). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (Plate II in Vol. I of Lord Kingsborough), represents the first regular head-war-chief of the Mexicans, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli) with a head and face of a woman and snake surmounting his own head or rather the forehead, whereas the "name" proper stands, as usual, behind the occiput. The expanatory note thereto (Vol. VI, p. 8), says: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuatl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a Monarchy this title was retained."

"*Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 44). *Acosta* (Lib. III, cap. 8, p. 486). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 92). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 92). "The cause of his election was the increase in numbers, and their being surrounded by enemies who made war upon them and damaged them." "La causa de su eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian guerra, y afligian."

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Therefore, near the eighth decade of the fourteenth century, or about thirty years after the settlement of Mexico, the office of "chief of men" (Tlacatecuhtli) appears to have been established.[48] This is commonly heralded as the creation of monarchy, thus abolishing the basis of organization, or tribal society itself. It is however overlooked that only an office was created, and not a hereditary dignity with power to rule.[49] Its first incumbent, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli), was duly elected, and so were his successors.[50] We have already seen that the Mexican family itself was so imperfectly constituted as to preclude the notion of a dynasty, and it was therefore, as we shall further establish, to the "kin" that the so-called succession or rather the choice was limited.[51] We do not know, nor would it be safe to guess, *which*

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Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 189; cap. XXI, pp. 196 and 187). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, pp. 190 and 191). It was a military measure.

[48] The dates are variously given. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 53). says 1364, or rather he states that "Handful of Reeds" died at the age of 60, and that his death occurred 1404. He had been elected when 20 years old, therefore forty years previous to the latter date, or in 1364, A. D. *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270), says 3d of May, 1361, or 1368. According to *Sahagun*, and from his lists of Mexican "Kings" (Lib. VIII, cap. I, pp. 268-271), it would be about 1369, but (Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 280), he says he was elected in 1364. *Veytia* (quoting also *Carlos de Siguenza*), says (Lib. II, cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 188), 1361. *Clavigero* (Lib. III. cap. I, p. 190. Appendix to 1st Vol., p. 598. Vol. II, Sec'd Dissertation, Cap. II, p. 327), says 1352. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), 1375. In the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 9), a date 1384 appears, but this date is of doubtful origin. The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Vol. I, Kingsb., Plate I, and Explanation, Vol. VI, p. 134), says in the year 11. cane, ("Acatl") or 1399. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, cap. VI, p. 358), 1350. *Prof. Valentini* ("The Mexican Calendar-Stone," p. 108), 12, Acatl, or 1375.

In regard to the title of "Tlacatecuhtli" compare "*Art of War*," (p. 123, note 104). There is a singular analogy between it and the title of "*Great War Soldier*," given by the Iroquois confederacy to its head-war-chiefs ("*Ancient Society*," p. 146). Under-"men" the Mexicans also understood "braves." Therefore "chief of the braves" also.

[49] In a general way, the following passages are interesting. *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), "because in these times the brothers, sons of the King inherited one another, although from what I have noted of this history, there was no heredity nor succession, but that only those which the electors chose, whether brother or son, nephew or cousin, in the second degree, of him who died, and this order it strikes me they carried (on) in all their elections, and so I believe that many of those who clamor and pray for lordships ("señorios") because of their fathers having been Kings and Lords at the time of their infidelity do not, as I understand, justly claim ("no piden justicia"). For according to their ancient law there were rather elections than successions and inheritances, in all kinds of lordships." I shall give the full text of this very important passage further on. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). "Of the Mexican republic I confess this manner of succession, and that sometimes they were elected without regard to anything save their personal qualification."

[50] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[51] Compare *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). The former says in addition to what is quoted in note 49. "In all the other lordship I only found but elections and the will of the electors, and thus they never could fail to have a King of that lineage, even to the end of the world, because if to-

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174 643 666 was the particular "calpulli" of Mexico who furnished the Mexican head-war-chiefs down to 1520 A. D.

174 643 Analogous to the New Mexican pueblo, the tribe of Mexico had, from that time on, its supreme council and finally two executive head-chiefs; for with the creation of the military office of "chief of men," the "Snake-woman" rose correspondingly in importance.[52] No change in that organization took place until the Spanish conquest although within the period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (approximately) thus indicated, we find, at three distinct epochs, mention of virtual changes or subversions of the aboriginal institutions of the Mexican tribe.

174 631 The first one of these critical dates agrees with the third decade of the fifteenth century, or the time when, through a well executed dash, the Mexicans overthrew the power of the Tecpanecas on the mainland.

This successful move, perhaps originally conceived in self-defence, finally brought about the confederacy of the "nahuatl" tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and of Tlacopan. We have nothing to add to our first picture of this military partnership, as drawn in "Tenure of Lands."[53] Still the event deserves special men-

day they elected the brother, to-morrow they elected the "grandson, and the day after the nephew, and thus they went through the whole lineage without any end" This is a plain description of the succession of office in the kin. Torquemada is about equally explicit, and this agreement between two authors who represent antagonistic tribal traditions, is certainly of great weight. To this should be added the statement of *Sahagun* (Vol. II, p. 318), "and (they) selected one of the most noble ones of the lineage ("linea") of the lords post." Even the series of contradictions of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp. 12-20), contain a plain description (if attentively studied) of succession in the kin, and not in the family.

[52] At the time Francisco Vasquez de Coronado reached and conquered New Mexico, its sedentary Indians were governed by a council of old men, and besides they had governors and captains. This is explicitly stated by *Pedro de Castañeda y Nagera*, ("*Relation du Voyage de Cibola, entrepris en 1540,*"), who went with Coronado in 1540, in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1838 (Cap. XI, p. 61), about Tuscayan Cibola, although flatly contradicted again by himself (Part. II. cap. III, p. 164), in regard to Cibola. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XL. p. 681), mentions the "mandòn" (commander) and after him what he calls a "crier" "y despues de èl, es el que prègona, y avisa las cosas, que son de Republica, y que se han de hacer en el Pueblo." The same author is also very explicit (Lib. XI, cap. XVII, p. 237), when he distinctly states: "El Govierno de los del Nuevo-Mexico parece de Senado, ù de Señoria," mentioning also the two other officers.

For the actually prevailing governmental system of the New-Mexican Pueblos the sources are very numerous. I simply refer to *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. I, pp. 546 and 547), *W. W. H. Davis* ("*The Spanish Conquest of New-Mexico*," 1869, p. 415, note 4), *Oscar Loew* ("*Lieutenant G. M. Wheeler's Zweite Expedition nach New-Mexiko und Colorado*, 1874," in Petermann's "*Geographische Mittheilungen*," Vol. 22, p. 212). All the other main sources it would be useless to enumerate.

[53] Pp. 416, 417, and 418, and notes 61 to 70 inclusive. Also note 4 of this paper. In re-

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tion here, because of its unveiling, so to say, the full organization 174
of the ancient Mexicans as they preserved it until the time of 631
their downfall.

Upon the occasion of the division of spoils gathered from the 174
defeated Tecpanecas, and of the establishment of regular tribute, 642
there appear the following war captains and leaders of the Mexicans, as representatives of the latter's organization.

The "chief of men."

Four captains of the four principal quarters of Mexico.

Twenty war-chiefs of as many kins composing the tribe.

One chief representing the element of worship, or "medicine."

The "Snake-woman."[54]

gard to the date of its occurrence, *Bancroft* (Vol. V, p. 395), says about, or immediately after, 1431, following Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. III, p. 251), 1426, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. Chichimeca.*" Cap. XXXII, p. 217), also 1431, *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 165) 1431, The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Kingsb., Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VI, p. 136), has it 7, "Tochtli" or 1404.

[54] *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 96). Besides distributing land "juntamente con daros y repartiros las tierras que aveis ganado, para que tengais renta para el sustento de vuestros estados y personas segun el mérito dellas," he gave them "ditados" or titles "y (quiere) haceros señores de titulo" (the latter would be to make them noblemen). I must advert here that "ditado o titulo de honra" is expressed in the Mexican language by "tecuyotl" "tlatocazotl" "maniçotl" (*Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," Part I, p. 46). These words however mean but, respectively "chieftainship," "speakership," and "honor," (the latter see *Molina* II, p. 54), all of them terms which, as we shall hereafter see, apply to *personal merit*, and not to hereditary privilege among the Mexican aborigines. Durán then proceeds (p. 97) to give these titles as follows:— 565 618

"Primeramente á su general dió por ditado				*Tlacochcalcatitecutli.*
A Vene Motençuma, Tlacacleltzin dió por ditado				*Tlacatecatl.*
A Tlacauspan,	d.	p.	d.	*Ezuauacatl.*
A Cuatlecoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlillancalqui.*
A Veneçacan,	d.	p.	d.	*Tezcacoacatl.*
A Aztacoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tocuilltecatl.*
A Canaltzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Acolnauacatl.*
A Tzompantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Huetlecutli.*
A Epcotiuatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Temillotzin.*
A Citlalcoatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Tecpanecatl.*
A Tlauelloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Calmimelolcatl.*
A Ixcuetlatoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Mexicaltecutli.*
A Cuauhtzitzimitl,	d.	p.	d.	*Huitznauatl.*
A Xicouac,	d.	p.	d.	y renombre, *Tepanecatlitecutli.*
A Tlazolteotl,	d.	p.	d.	*Quetzalteocatl.*
A Axicyotzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Teuctlamacazqui.*
A Ixnauatilloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlepolitecatl.*
A Mecantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Cuauhquauacatl.*
A Tenamastli,	d.	p.	d.	*Coatecatl.*
A Tzontemoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Pantecatl.*
A Tlacacochtoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Huecauacatl.*

To these he adds (pp. 98 and 99), five more, namely: *Quauhnochtecutli, Cuauhquiauacatl, Yopicatltecutli, Cuitlauacatl, and Ilcotecatl.* The three last were from Culhuacan. Adding to this the "chief of men" himself, who was "Flint-Snake," or

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174 618 The existence of *twenty* autonomous consanguine groups is thus revealed, and we find them again at the time of the conquest,

565 618 "Obsidian-Snake" (*Itzcohuatl*), we have twenty-five chiefs in all. Now we cannot fail to notice:—

[70] (1). "Itzcohuatl," the "chief of men" or head-war-chief.

(2). "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," and "Cuauhnochtli," the four military leaders of the four great quarters ("phratries") of Tenuchtitlan. (See "*Art of War*," pp. 120, 121, and 122, also notes 97 to 101 inclusive.)

(3). "Tlillancalqui"—"Man of the black-house," a chief connected with "medicine" or worship, as I shall hereafter show. He was rather a counsellor or advisor, than a captain, as *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II. cap. XIX, p. 75) positively state, whereas *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 108) asserts the religious origin of his office.

(4). "Tlacaelel," who, as Durán and Tezozomoc both repeatedly and plainly assert, was the snake-woman or "Cihuacohuatl." In this instance, however, he is graced with the title of "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), and thus made one of the four leaders of the "phratries." This is an evident mistake, as the latter title belonged to Montezuma (the first, or "old one"). Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVI, p. 140; cap. XLIII, p. 150, where he is called "captain-general"), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XV, p. 293), also *Durán* (Lam. 8a, Parte Ia).

(5). Twenty war-chiefs, each one of whom commanded the warriors of one kin or calpulli, hence they were the military leaders of twenty Mexican kins. Besides the indications to that effect furnished by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224), "á los señores de los *calpules* no los vimos ni nos hablaron," said the sorcerers which had been sent to Huitzilopochtli's mother, after she had asked them about the chiefs or captains, seven in number, which had led the Mexicans originally, (see note 33). *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), while corroborating the statements of Durán (with the exception that he omits the chief "Mexicatlitecutli," and thus gives only twenty-seven chieftains), inserts the following explanation about these twenty (or twenty-one after Durán) captains: "After these four (the four first ones), go the Tlacanes, called valorous soldiers, surnamed captains." The "Tlacan" or "tlacanh," properly "teachcanhtin," *Elder brother*, was the military chief of each "barrio" or "calpulli," therefore of each *kin* ("*Art of War*," p. 119, notes 91, 92, and 93), consequently these twenty chieftains represent here as many consanguine relationships composing the tribe of the ancient Mexicans.

It will be noticed, however, that Durán has twenty-one chiefs, whereas we assume but twenty, according to Tezozomoc. The latter omits "Mexicatl-tecutli" and, perhaps properly too. This word signifies but "Mexican chief," in general, and cannot therefore well be the title of one particular leader. It recurs occasionally in the course of Mexican history. Still, this is only a suggestion on my part, for the matter is far from being proven. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571) mentions "*Mexicatl-achcauhtli*" among the chiefs who went with Quauhtemotzin before Cortés on the day after the resistance of the Mexicans had ended. Again Tezozomoc mentions two chiefs of the same title "Cuauhquinacatl," as also does Durán. Now this would be impossible, since Tezozomoc calls the second one of that name, a son of "Cuauhnochtli." It may be now that the latter author has omitted the "Mexicatl-tecutli," and that "Cuauhquinacatl" is to be counted but once. It results from the statements of Vetancurt already alluded to, that there were twenty Mexican "calpulli," consequently there were but twenty leaders of kins. The analogy between these "barrios" and the chiefs of Durán and Tezozomoc is greatly increased by the fact that for the three chiefs of Culhuacan mentioned by the latter, we have also three barrios of "Otomites," therefore, in each case but seventeen original kins of Mexicans proper (*Vetancurt* "Crónica," Vol. III, p. 132).

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while their last vestiges were perpetuated until after 1690, when 174
Fray Augustin de Vetancurt mentions four chief quarters with 618
their original Indian names, comprising and subdivided into *twenty* "barrios." Now the Spanish word "Barrio" is equivalent to the Mexican term "calpulli." Both indicate the kin, localized and settled with the view to permanence.[55]

What is often conceived as the establishment of a vast feudal 174
monarchy at the time just treated of, resolves itself therefore into two very plain features. One of these consists in the establishment of the confederacy, the other is but the appearance in broad daylight of the peculiar organization of aboriginal society among the Mexicans. Thus we have no sudden change of base, no revolution in the institutions of the tribe; the only progress achieved consisted in the extension of inter-tribal relations and in their assuming the shape of a military partnership. 174

The year 1473 witnessed another event which seemed to affect 648

All these titles were permanent, though not hereditary, as it is plainly seen in the 565
case of the four leaders of the four "phratries" about which *Sahagun* says: (Lib. 618
VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318) "The chief elected, forthwith they elected others four which were like senators that always had to be by his side . . . . (these four had different names in different places) . . . ." *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 163). "To these four lords and titularies, after they were elected princes, they made them of the royal council, like presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion nothing should be done. When the king died, his successor had to be taken from those, neither could any others but brothers or sons of kings be clothed with these dignities. Thus if one of these was elected, they put another in his place. We must know that they never put a son of him who had been elected ("King") or of the deceased, since, as it has been said, the sons never succeeded (in office) by inheritance, to the titles or lordships, but through election. Therefore, whether son, brother, or cousin, if elected by the king and those of his council, to that dignity, it was given to him,—it being sufficient his being of that lineage and near relative, and so the sons and brothers went on inheriting gradually, little by little . . . . and the title and lordship never went outside of that descendancy ("generation" also kin), being filled by election, little by little."

The other titles are frequently met with up to the time of the conquest, as a few in- [648]
stances will abundantly prove. Assuming, with the majority of authors, the date of 1431, for that of the formation of the confederacy, we meet, during the unlucky foray of the confederates against Michhuacan, about fifty years later, with the following war-chiefs of the Mexicans. Tescacoatl, Huitzahuacatl, and Quetzaltocatl (*Tezozomoc*, Cap. LII, pp. 84 and 85), also Costecatl (Cuauhtecatl). At the time of Cortés' first arrival off the coast (1518) we meet in the council of Mexico with Huitzahuacatl, Huey-camocatl (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. XIII, p. 370). Finally when, after the resistance of the Mexicans had ceased, Cortés assembled all the chiefs in his presence, we again meet with Huitzahuatl, Mexicatltecuhtli, Teuctlamacazqui (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571). Evidence of this kind could be produced in profusion, but it would only increase unnecessarily the size of this annotation. Compare the titles of the Iroquois sachemships in *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. V, pp. 130 and 131).

[55] Compare note 31. Also *Molina* (Parte I, p. 18), and others.

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174 the Mexican tribe in a more direct manner. It was the overthrow
648 and capture, after a short but bloody struggle, of the pueblo of Tlatilulco.[56] Owing to the close connection of the latter with the Mexicans both had remained on a non-hostile footing; for the suspicious watchfulness with which each viewed the other did not comport with any more intimate relations, those of trade and exchange excepted. When the confederacy came into existence, Tlatilulco was counted in as a part of Mexico, since its people acknowledged themselves to be Mexicans; but there is no evidence authorizing the conclusion that the Tlatilulca played any other role, beyond that of auxiliaries to their kindred of Tenuchtitlan.[57] The rash attempt of the former at the organization of a conspiracy to become "Mexico alone" terminated fatally; their place was taken and barbarously sacked, their leaders were killed in the fray or sacrificed afterwards, and the Mexicans, exasperated at the conduct of their treacherous kinsmen treated them in an unusually severe manner. We have seen already that, in any conquest, the conquered tribe, if not exterminated, was only subjected to more or less heavy tribute. But the Tlatilulca were dealt with far worse:
[562] they were degraded to the rank of "*women*," their public market
174 was ordered closed, their council-house left to decay and their
648 young men, expressly debarred from the privilege of carrying
727 arms in aid of the Mexicans, were required to become the carriers of supplies to their captors. Such a punishment was unknown in the annals of Indian conquest, and appears even to militate against our views of aboriginal society in Mexico; still it was in perfect harmony with the institutions of the latter. The Tlatilulca were, as we should never forget, not only a tribe

[56] The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Plate XIV, also explanation Vol. VI, p. 138), concurs in this date, or the year seven "calli" which is indeed 1473.

[57] This acknowledgment—"to be Mexicans"—on the part of the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, was in the nature of a *claim*, and with a spirit of jealousy and envy. Although *Durán* says (Cap. XXXII, p. 267), "aviendo estado hasta entonces sujetos á la corona real de Méjico," this affirmation is utterly disproven, not only by all the other sources, but by his own statements (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 46). The confused and contradictory tales about the state of war preceding the formation of the confederacy still make the Tlatilulca always appear as assisting their neighbors of Tenuchtitlan, more or less. Sometimes they were neutral only, and at times they may have felt inclined to foster attempts at destruction of their rivals by outsiders, but they still were afraid of the consequences of it for their own independence. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 46). The singular statement that the Tlatilulca even attempted, though fruitlessly, to withdraw the Texcucans and Tlacopans from Tenuchtitlan, inducing them to become their associates in the work of its overthrew, is significant. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LVIII, p. 178) "Quisose aliar con los de Tlacupa, y Tetzcuco, los quales no le acudieron."

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connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

[58] The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("*Idea*" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Européo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos i Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretès. Y estos dos apellidos tenvieron grandes diferencias: é Monteçuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con esté debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeodar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, desterrólos de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los quel quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de alli, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mezquique, é que le sirvirssen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dendé aquella maldad cometida por Monteçuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatilulco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 335 and 336).

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 133): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

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174 Still, this low condition did not remain forever. The Tlatilulca
618 were in a measure "re-adopted" into the tribe. After this, they
[615] formed a fifth quarter, or "phratry," which Father Vetancurt (in 1690) mentions as containing six "parcialidades." But this rehabilitation never extinguished the fire of revenge kindled once among the Tlatilulca towards the Mexicans. The latter treated the former therefore, not as a tribe subject to tribute, but as a suspicious group, to which the rights and privileges resulting from consanguinity could not well be denied, but to which voice and vote in the leading councils should not be accorded. In this singular position, not strictly inferior, but evidently more "distant," we find the Tlatilulca at Mexico at the time of the conquest.[59]

or tribes, in which there were of both kinds, were those who divided themselves from the rest." (See note 44.) It is much to be regretted that the eminent Mexican scholar has not given us the names of these "Algunos escritores nacionales modernos."

[59] According to *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), they remained in a degraded condition for 160 days at least, or eight aboriginal months: "y que les turase esta penitencia y castigo hasta los ochenta dias del segundo tributo." But they were, according to him, relieved of it but conditionally: "y asi les quitauan aquellos entredichos que e contado, los quales, en faltándóles, eran tornados á poner." In order to comply with the demands of the Mexicans for slaves, the Tlatilulca were forced to carry arms again, so as to take part in the wars. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, p. 75) confirms, but implies previously (p. 75) that the Tlatilulca were specially obligated to be the traders for Mexico: "y haveis de ser nuestros tratantos y mercadres en los tianguis de Huexotzinco, Tlaxcalan, Tilinquitepec, Zacatlan, y Cholula." A similar punishment was meted out to them by "Stern chief" the younger (the last Montezuma), after an unsuccessful campaign against Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Atlixco. *Durán* (Cap. LIX, pp. 468, 469), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XCVI, p. 170). It is, besides, positively asserted by the former (p. 271) that the "medicine lodge," or temple of Tlatilulco, was closed thereafter, abandoned and left to ruin and decay ("y asi dice la ystoria questuvò hasta entonces lleno de yerba y de vasura y caidas las paredes y dormitorios del"). It is, of course, confirmed by *Tezozomoc* (p. 75, cap. XLVI): "y asi fué que lo estuvo muchos años hasta la venida que hizo Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis del Valle, en esta nueva España, como adelante se dirá, á que me refiere." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these statements with those of *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, pp. 88, 89, 90, 91, Vedia, Vol. II), and of *Sr. Icazbalceta* in *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," note 40 to 2d Dial., p. 201) to the effect that Cortes visited that temple of Tlatilulco and found "Stern
[114] chief" worshipping in it, and still more difficult is it to reconcile the relation of Bernal Diez with that of *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion, etc., etc.*," pp. 565-566, Col. de Doc. II), who, as an eye-witness too, deserves similar credit.

Tlatilulco formed a quarter, a fifth great one, of Mexico at the time of the conquest. This is distinctly stated by *Motolinia* (*Historia, etc.*, Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180 and 181), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93) confirms Motolinia in general, (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. II, p. 182), "en el barrio llamado Tlatelulco;" (Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 414), "y el barrio se dice Tlatelulco," adding (p. 418) "que son del mismo pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Cap. XVII, p. 423), "El convento de Santiago de Tlatelulco que es como barrio de Mexico;" (Cap. XXVIII, p. 466), "pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Id., p. 483, Cap. XXIX). That this fifth great quarter was again divided into six smaller ones, is proven by *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*, etc.," pp. 207 and 212): "Tiene cuatro religiosos que con el ministro colado administran á más de mil quinientas personas en

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This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *kins*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Velancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X, p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 551, 552), Yacocalco (p. 552), Tlacuchcalco (p. 552), Amazac, Coyonacazco (p. 552). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 533), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI. p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX. pp. 486, 489). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 181). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 153).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 550) and *Velancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 192) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron á la tierra no les dejaron tornar á libertad ninguna, ni á tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (9th Edition, 1860, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

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not all, of these good or bad actions, and this simply for the reason that he had not the power to commit them. Thus he is charged with remodelling his household, removing certain assistants, and filling the vacancies with "scions of noble stock," creating, at the same time, hereditary charges. It may be that, in the case of simple runners for instance, the "chief of men" held ample authority to select his men, consequently to remove them; but it is certain that for any office of permanence with the kin or tribe, he had not the least discretionary power. How insignificant his influence even was, when severed from organized tribal government, is amply shown by his utter helplessness from the very moment that the Spaniards had *once* treated him as a fettered captive.[61]

[61] The name is variously written "Mutizuma," "Muteczuma," "Moctezuma," "Montezuma," "Mocthenzoma," "Motecuhzoma;" and "Señor severo," is the most current interpretation. On the tables of *Durán* (Trat. I. Lam. 7, 8, 9, 21. 22, 23, 26) and in general, the "name" is painted as the head-dress ("Xiuhhuitzolli") of a chieftain, transpierced by an arrow. The etymology may be: "mo"—"thine," "tecuhtli"—"chief," and "çumale"—"furious and wrathy" (*Molina*, II, p. 28), therefore "wrathy chief," or "stern chief." Aside from the charges prefered against him by Ixtlilxochitl and his "school" of subverting gradually the basis of the confederacy, Mexican authors accuse him of having revolutionized the institutions of his own tribe. These reports have been beautifully remodelled into classical English by *Mr. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book II, cap. VI, pp. 209 and 210). *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, pp. 457, 473, 474, 475, etc.). is equally careful in reproducing all such tales, or a résumé thereof, in a shape more palatable to refined and impressionable readers.

The substance of these accusations becomes, however, reduced to the following statements, as expressed by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, pp. 145 and 146): "He said once to Zihuacoatl Tilpotonqui: I have thought it might be well to change the manner in which the chiefs and messengers should be selected and to establish a different way from that introduced under my uncle Ahuitzotl. Let those serving within their lifetime, be dismissed and others put in their places, elected from the four quarters of Moyotlan, Teopan, Aztacualco, and Cuepopan,—which shall be children of chiefs, and shall stay at the huehuecalli, or houses of the community, with the chief-steward dwelling near by. Some of the principals of this tribe now have sons, begotten from slaves, now—these are principals, and let them become delegates (ambassadors, messengers, "embajadores"), and not be cast aside for a miserable macehual who because he is Tequihua, Cacanhtli, or Cuachic, Otomies, should therefore be set over the principal Mexican chiefs, and the sons of head-chiefs (Kings, "reyes") . . . . . What I want is to bring forth those children of chieftains, which have been forgotten so long, and that such as hold the office under the chief Ahuitzotl and your father Zihuacoatl may return to rest. . . . . Zihuacoatl then called together the council: "al palacio comun," and submitted to them this suggestion, "of which they were all satisfied." With this resolution Zihuacoatl went to the chief and said: I do not want them to be of age now, but only ten or twelve years old, that they may be instructed properly, and become skilled in speaking, well disposed, like unto pages to the chieftain. When they had come before Zihuacoatl, as second person of the chief, he made a long speech to them concerning their line of conduct: Every day you shall attend to Huitzilopochtli and to the chief, rising early for orations, and doing the same at nightfall, to become expert in the ways of penitence and sacrifice. Then you shall cleanse the temple, and the chief-house, afterwards have it swept before he comes

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It is therefore vain to look for any important change in the 174
institutions of the ancient Mexicans even at this third and latest date, which was the last chance, so to say, if any at all, for such

out. Keep your dresses clean and in order, also his own dress and ornaments; his 175
tress, medal, and chain; also every five days his blow-tube and bow, that he may 642
recreate himself with it. Attend to him at meal-time, morning and evening, serving 643
him with cacao, roses, perfumes, with much humility and respect, never looking into his face under pain of death. Take care that the cooking be well done, and that the stewards provide for everything. But, while there you stay, beware, for many women of worth are seen there, and to whose needs you have also to attend,—watch your behavior, for should you attempt anything against them, you and your relations will be driven off, and if you commit any bad action with any of these women, your fathers houses will be razed, salt strewn over their ruins, and you and your lineage must perish." At the close of this and other (less important) talk it is said: "and in course of time they became so well bred, refined, and instructed, and skilful, that they were of the most prominent chieftains and leading men in this house and court." *Durán* (Cap. LII, pp. 416–422) does not fail to confirm the statements of Tezozomoc, extending, however, the removals to nearly all the offices: "asi en el servicio de sus casa y persona, como en el régimen de la provincia y reyno" (p. 417); also excluding illegitimate offspring ("nengun bastardo"), and giving a number of more or less pertinent details. He even asserts that the officers of the kins were removed. In short, he represents it as the introduction of absolute despotism, surrounding at the same time the throne by a powerful nobility. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 21. p. 566) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 66), "porqué mandó, que no le sirviesen sino nobles, i que la Gente Ilustre estuviese en su Palacio, i exercitase oficios de su Casa, i Corte." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIX, p. 196), *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XIX, p. 328), and others, confirm, although in a more concise style than the first named authors. It is evident that all these authors must have gathered from the same source, which cannot be *Sahagun*, nor *Mololinia*, neither *Mendieta*, nor any of the known conquerors. The story, as told and detailed by Durán, presupposes a class of hereditary nobles, already formed and in full vigor, but excluded in part from tenure of office or rather sharing such right of tenure equally with those of the common class. This is distinctly acknowledged by Tezozomoc, and more particularly yet by Durán himself: "y mudar todos los que su tio Auitzotl auia puesto y de los que se auia servido, porque munchas dellos eran de baxa suerte y hijos de hombres baxos," p. 417, etc. Now I have proven ("*Tenure of Lands*, pp. 419, 420, 421, etc., to p. 448) that there was no privileged class based on tenure of the soil. The revolution assumed presupposes that there was, up to the last "wrathy chief," no class of nobles in exclusive possession of the offices, consequently, even if the "chief of men" in question had any inclination or desire to oust the "common people" from their official positions, the main desideratum, namely, the "uncommon" ones wherewith to replace them, and for whose benefit the whole affair was planned, were not on hand. For nobility not based on hereditary ownership, or hereditary command of some kind, is no nobility at all. As far as heredity of office is concerned, Durán himself is one of the most powerful witnesses against it (*e. g.*, Cap. LXIV, pp. 490 and 499). If, therefore, "wrathy chief" created a class of privileged office-holders about the year 1503, it must have been very short-lived, for it was certainly out of existence sixteen years later, at the beginning of the Spanish conquest.

The version of Tezozomoc is evidently the correct one, and thus the whole story dwindles down to the selection of certain boys, probably of his own kin, for the special service of the tribal house of government, which took place *with the knowledge and consent of the council only*. Whether this act, if converted into a custom, might have gradually merged into prevalence of a certain kin over the rest, is another question, which the intervening conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, has left without decisive answer. About the helplessness of Montezuma while a captive, see authors on the Conquest in general.

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174a revolution before the advent of Europeans. We are consequently, by this investigation of the history of aboriginal Mexico, justified in claiming the state of its society to be as yet exclusively tribal.

121 Tribal society presupposes equality of rights among all members
174 of the kins composing the tribe. Hence it follows that "caste" and hereditary rank could not exist, that there could not be any division, among the ancient Mexicans, into higher and lower classes, into "nobles" and "common people," or into hereditary professions or vocations like "priests," "warriors," "merchants," "artisans," and "tillers of the soil." In vindication however of our assertion, which might otherwise appear as too sweeping, we may be permitted here to dwell at some greater length on this particular question.

565 Nobility is based upon hereditary privilege of some kind. Either it consists in landed property with hereditability of title and (at least originally) office, or in a hereditary charge alone, or privilege or power over others transmitted with the blood. While the former has become more usually known and is therefore regarded as characteristic, the latter, always accompanied by "loose wealth" at least, is still found among pastoral nations.[62] It may even have been the incipient form of the other. Now, among the ancient Mexicans, we have seen that:—

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, in any shape, had not yet arisen.

2. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, had but a right to use certain tracts, and no possessory rights, even, to land were attached to any office or dignity.

3. No office itself, whether of the kin or tribe, was hereditary in any family, since the Mexican family, as such, was yet in but a nascent state.[63]

4. Futhermore loose property was subject to such diminutions occasioned by the mode of worship,[64] and especially of burial,[65]

[62] The Arabs for instance. See *Kremer* ("*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islam*").

[63] For these three points see "*Tenure of Lands*" in general, and pp. 447–48 in particular.

[64] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31). "Otros trabajaban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adendaban, de manera que tenian que servir y trabajar otro año y aun otros dos para salir de deuda; . . ."

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that it could not accumulate so as to exert any influence in the 565
hands and in behalf of any individual or of his immediate relatives.

Consequently, aboriginal Mexico could have neither nobility nor patriciate, and when such a privileged class does not exist, it is useless to seek for another to which the term "unprivileged" or "common" can be applied.

In a future essay we shall attempt to prove that the Mexicans 000
had no hereditary caste of "medicine men" or priests. We have elsewhere shown that there was no caste of warriors.[66] The mode of Tenure and distribution of the soil precludes all possibility of the existence of a permanent class of "tillers." It yet remains to cast a glance at the so-called artisans, and at the traders or "merchants."

Neither of these two professions were held to personal improve- 463
ment of their garden lots ("tlalmilli") but, like officers, they could have them improved by others under their names and for their benefit.[67] The statement of Zurita "that a quarter was composed of all kinds of people"[68] disposes of the opinion, that such quarters contained each but members *practising a single trade*. Thus there was no geographical agglomeration by professions.[69] Again, no rule existed enforcing or establishing hereditament in kind of work, or manner of sustenance. The son might embrace, at his choice, his father's occupation, but *nothing*

[66] Compare the burial rites of the Mexicans as reported by the majority of old sources.

[67] "*Art of War*" (p. 98, notes 8, 9, 40). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 48), "Ils étaient tenus seulement au service militaire, pour lequel aucune excuse n'était admise."

[67] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426, note 98). Consult the authorities therein quoted.

[68] "*Rapport*" (p. 224).

[69] It is mostly on the authority of *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, vol. II), that the settlement by professional clusters is admitted. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 262 and 263, "*Duodécima Relacion*," p. 298, Kingsborough, Vol. IX) also says that, at Tezcuco, each profession had its own quarter in the pueblo. But an attentive reading of the first author named (Cap. XVIII, p. 292), where he treats of the featherworkers "De los officiales que labran pluma, que hacen plumajes, y otras cosas de la misma," satisfies us at once of the fact, that the venerable author only refers to worship of certain idols in a certain quarter, and not to compulsory residence therein, of certain kinds of working men. Nowhere does he say that the "Amantecas" were *all* featherworkers. He mentions a barrio "Amatlan" or "Amantla." Might it be the "Amanalco" of Vetancurt? Compare also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXX, pp. 89 and 90), *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 67 and 68). "*El conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Doc. Vol. I). "Le piazze de i mercati," (pp. 392 and 393), although concerning the markets exclusively. *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 138, cap. 138), "i estos andaban por los Barrios, porque en ellos havia de todo género de gentes." Copied after Zurita *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. IV), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. LI, p. 361).

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463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlatl") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlatl") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient [556] disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Burlia* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Les chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 438). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostrallos otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos María de Bustamante. Tezcoco en los últimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes*," 1826. Parte tercera, (Cap. III, p. 212). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, [564] cap. V, p. 462). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49). "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlatl" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 243), "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estas artes todos inviéron principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, [685] p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 487). *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes de los Mexicanos").

287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works—those made of feathers—is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 488, and, with slight variations, also by *Velancurt*, Vol. I, p. 389.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See in general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 187 and 188), also *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

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life:[73] hence little was left to him beyond his legitimate wants. 463
We see thus, that hardly any chance was given for the formation of a class which, resting upon the kind of occupation, might assume the position of "caste" in the organization of aboriginal Mexican society.

It is repeatedly asserted, and on high authority, that the mer- 441
chants or traders of Mexico enjoyed particular privileges. We must premise here that merchants, in the sense of venders of other people's manufactures or products (thus living off of the difference between cost and proceeds) were known only in one way.[74] The name for merchant was "man who exchanges one

[73] That the artisans or mechanics contributed a portion of their wares in the shape of tribute, is amply proven. See for instance, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap LI, p. 530. Easily misunderstood!) This passage of Oviedo explains the action of "wrathy chief" towards the "jewellers" and "goldsmiths" at the arrival of Cortés, as related by Tezozomoc, Durán, and by Sahagun. See also: *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 223). *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*, etc.," Parte III, cap. V, p. 232). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 126). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 480). *Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. VI, pp. 231 and 232). [651]

[74] The existence of currency, or of money, in the shape of grains of cacao, T shapen 436
pieces of tin or copper, and quills filled with gold dust is generally admitted. See 437
for instance, *Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book IV, cap. II, p. 140). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, pp. 381, 382, and 383). Cacao played, among the ancient Mexicans, the same role as "wampum" did among the northern Indians, for purposes of exchange, but did not go beyond it. In regard to the so-called copper or tin coins, or rather marks or checks, it is well to examine the matter more closely. *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*" in Vedia I, p. 111), says very positively that at Tachco, he obtained sundry small pieces of tin like very thin money ("á manera de moneda muy delgada"), which he indeed found to have been used as currency by the natives. ("halló que en dicha provincia, aun en otras, se trataba por moneda"). *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCII, p. 89, Vedia II) mentions axes of "brass, copper, and tin" ("hachas de laton y cobre y estaño"), bartered at the market place of Tlatelulco, "and before we left this square ("plaza") we met with other traders, who from what they said, sold gold in grains as they obtained it from the mines, and enclosed in quills of the geese of the land, and so thin ("asi blancos" so white) that the gold might be seen, and by the length and size of the quills they determined how many mantles or "jiquipiles" (bags of 8000 grains) of cacao they were worth, or slaves, or any other things for which they bartered it," ("ó otra qualquier cosa á que lo trocaban"). *Gomara* ("Conquista, etc.," pp. 348 and 349). "But the chief one is cacahuatl, which serves as coin. . . ." "Their buying and selling consists in exchanging one thing for another. . . ." (Id., p. 451). "No tenian moneda, teniendo mucha plata, oro y cobre, y sabiéndolo hundir y labrar, y contratando mucho en ferias y mercados. Su moneda usual y corriente es cacauatl ó cacao." *Oviedo* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, pp. 316, 317. Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 530) mentions only cacao as currency. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIV, p. 260). "It was customary at these marts ('en estos mercados') to exchange ('trocar') one thing for another, and even nowadays this is sometimes practised; but everywhere cacao is most commonly used. In other parts they used, besides, some small mantles which they call Patolquachtli. . . . . Elsewhere they used plentifully some copper coins, almost like unto ("de hechura") a Tau T, two or three fingers wide and made of thin plates ("planchuela") some thicker, other less thick. Where there was much gold ("donde avia mucho Oro"), small quills filled with it, circulated among the Indians," ("traian unos Canutillos de ello, y andaba entre los Indios mucho de esto"). *Alonso Zuazo* ("Carta

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441 thing for another" ("tlanamacani"),[75] and such was every artisan, since, in the market place of aboriginal Mexico, every artisan bartered his own manufactures for whatever he needed for sub-

436 *al Padre Fray Luis de Figueroa.*" Santiago de Cuba, 14 Nov., 1521. Col. de Doc. Vol. I,
437 p. 361). "Hay una moneda entre ellos con que venden y compran, que se llama cacahuate, . . ." *Anonymous Conqueror* (p. 280, etc.) mentions Cacao, "e é moneta la piu comune, ma molto incomoda dopo l'oro é l'argento . . . . *Acosta* (Lib. IV, cap. 3, p. 196) "No se halla, que los Indios usassen oro, ni plata, ni metal para moneda, ni para precio de la cosas, usauanlo para ornato, como esta dicho." The statement of Torquemada is plain. While it explains the gradual ascent and development of the notion that the Mexicans had an equivalent to money, it clearly proves that only barter and exchange, and no actual buying, took place. The copper-plates which, as Mr. Bancroft justly remarks, "constituted perhaps the nearest approach to coined money," still were not intended even for such a purpose, since they were of varying size and thickness. But the story of the *copper* or *golden "Eagles"* given to the Mexican traders as money wherewith to buy, as faithfully reported and gravely discussed by Mr. Bancroft also, deserves some special ventilation. This story is taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 342) "y dábales 1600 toldillos, que ellos llaman quauhtli para rescatar." These toldillos they divided into two parts of 800 each. Now Sahagun's editor, Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, very confidently asserts in note a, (p. 342): "Era una moneda que consistia en unos pedazos de cobre cortados en figurá de T.—Clavigero, tom. I, pág. 349." The reference to *Clavigero* is for Lib. VII, cap. XXXVI. Now "Toldillo" is derived from "toldár" that is, to shroud or cover, and means merely a *cover*, and not a piece of metal. Used also for a covered litter or portable chair. Besides, "quauhtli" indeed signifies Eagle, but it is an evident misprint and should read "quachtli," which signifies a *mantle* or *sheet*, thus perfectly agreeing both with the "toldillo" and with the "patolquachtli" of Torquemada. The "golden eagles" of Mr. Brasseur are therefore rendered utterly useless.

291 Anyone reading *Tezozomoc* will see at a glance what a conspicuous part these mantles "Quachtli," (*Molina*, II, p. 84) played in intercourse and barter. According to *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, etc., Col. de Doc's conc. le Méxique, I, p. 251) they formed to a certain extent the basis of tribute. These cotton-sheets are well described by *Peter Martyr* ("*De nouo Orbe.*" Dec. V., cap. X, p. 230): "Concerning the shape and fashion of their garments, it is ridiculous to behold: they call it a garmente, because they couer themselves therewith, but it hath no resemblance with any other garment, of any fashion: it is only a square couering like unto that, which your holiness cast on your shoulders, sometimes in my presence, when you are about to kimbe your heade, to preserve your garments, least haire, or any other filth should fal upon them. That couering they cast about their necke, and then knitting two of the four corners under their throate, they lette the couering hang downe, which scarce coureth the bodie as lowe as the legges. Having seen these garments I ceased to wonder, that so great a number of garments was sent to Cortes, as we mentioned before: for they are all of small moment, and many of them take uppe but little roome."

441 With the absence of money the profession of merchant as one who lives from the
439 profits of his sales, becomes limited almost to what he can gather from outside of his
437 own community, in other words, to what he can *import*. Their main and almost exclusive business consisted in effecting intercourse between the tribes. At home, every artisan sold or rather exchanged his own wares in the public markets. See *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, pp. 31 and 32), *Bernal Díaz* ("*Hist. verdad.*," etc., Vedia II, p. 88, cap. XCII), *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 348, Vedia I), "Cada oficio y cada mercaderia tiene su lugar señalado . . . .", *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 41), "El que vende piedras preciosas, ó lapidario es de esta propriedad, que sabe labrar entilmente las piedras preciosas y pulirlas. . . ." He mentions as manufacturers of their own goods the following: "plateros de oro" (41), "Tratantes en mantas" (Cap. XVII, 41), "que venden mantas," "que venden ocaras" (Cap. XX, pp. 48, 49 and 51), "oliveros," "que

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sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man 441
who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men 439
gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the 441
market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products 648
for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of 441
Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The recep- 527
tion was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

vendan comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 86, etc.), 441
"oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 89). In general, nearly 439
all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of
their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 383 and 384, cap. XII). 437

[76] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tianamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 127, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[77] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 86). From "nite-tiamicoquitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[78] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 86, 94). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "nacalcotomoca," literally "peddlers of the Nahuatl." *Molina* (II, p. 79). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

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441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

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and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.[78]

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[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 397, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 397 and 398) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 56), that the Tlatilaica were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II), and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "pochtecatlailotlac, ó acxótecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 346 and 347), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 373), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Tezquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 566), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 326 and 327) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. These authors are *Durán* and *Tezcomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Purlia*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que habia de ellos en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 283, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 246, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: "y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por sí; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcél, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 339–342), how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 56. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

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565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilulcan* sources ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily
556 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.
565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 360 and 361). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with *fiesta*. See on fiesta: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 31. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 288, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 508 and 527. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 300. Lib. VII, cap.
[681] XXXVIII, p. 336, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or
[618] merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I. cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III. p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Acachtlan, y otro Atlauhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; puesto el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 336, speech of one of the traders) "Cuando llegamos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las orejeras que se llaman quetzaloeyoloacochtli, y los aventadores y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxilles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras preseas que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo elios las usaron en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now,
[482] even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cada uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen sementas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les productions personnelles et les Tamemes*, *ler* Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1552, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

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to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes 565 within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. [482] XL, p. 359), sixty pounds.

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially 441 to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer 556 to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 126), who embodies in a few words the 565 statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 70), "No se desvelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 81), "otros trabajan y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrios," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers.

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fuese honrado en el pueblo, y tenido por valiente: ponianle un barbote de ámbar, que es una piedra larga amarilla trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 338-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas"). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un traité*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 223 and 224). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("tecuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique à Charles V en faveur des Macehuales*, Mexico, 30 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Crucauté horribles des Conquérants du Mexique*," p. 267). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 30): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlaltelolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 343) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la sinlayasen." *Burtin* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 288) "Ils jouissaient de certains privilèges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("*Tucecas*," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 236). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only by the Mexicans, but against the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Motolinia* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 199) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 334).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, p. 68, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. 488 and 489).

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565 of any connection by kin. This presupposes *a class of outcasts from the bond of kinship.*

There is no evidence of the formation of such a cluster prior to the permanent settlement of the tribe. Neither can we trace its gradual increase from a given time. But a glance at some of the rules of kinship, and at the practical working of these rules finally crystallizing into an equivalent for laws, will enable us to discern its origin.

121 The relation of sexes being at the bottom of society based upon kin, it follows that sexual intercourse gradually assumed a regulated shape, proportionate to the progress in institutions. The ancient Mexicans had, as we have already established, advanced into descent in the male line, and had secured a nascent state of the modern family. Marriage was well known to them [581] as a *rule*. But so powerful was the influence exercised by the kin, as unit of public life that, once the ritual union of a couple acknowledged as a necessity for future joint life, it exacted of its male members the obligation to marry for the purpose of propagating and increasing the kin. Only such as were naturally helpless, and such as in view of "medicine" made vows of permanent [587] chastity, were excused. Any other youth therefore, who refused to take a wife at the proper age, was treated with contempt and consequently expelled from the kin.[80]

662 Woman, among the aboriginal Mexicans, was in a singular predicament. Through the establishment of descent in the male line she lost her hold on public life, (which she latterly regained through the establishment of the family proper) and thus remained little else than a *chattel* in the power of man. Still, the ritual act 562 of marriage being once adopted, the same obligation to marry, 589 which we have already found incumbent upon the male, also devolved upon the female, and any girl therefore, who did not "take vows" for "medicine," or who was physically not mis-

[80] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 461). *Durán* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp 133 and 134) "s'ils ne voulaient pas prendre des femmes, ou les congédiait." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 129), "Llegados á la edad de casarse, ... Si pasando la edad se descuidaban, y veian que no se querian casar, tresquilábanlos, y despedianlos de la compañia de los mancebos." This meant exclusion from the kin since, as soon as they were married, "they were classified, since, according to their custom, they were divided into sections each of which had a chief or captain, as well for the collection of taxes as for other reasons." These "chiefs or captains" were those of the calpulli. *Durán*, (p. 128), also *Bustamante*, ("*Tezcoco*," Part III, cap. III, p. 215), "Cuando se casaban los empadronaban. . . . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 166, almost a copy of Mendieta).

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shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was also regarded as a reprobate.[81] 562 589

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship.* Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82] 689

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live.* Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave.* 565 567

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversion to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 267): "A gente che stima meno le donne di quanti natiosi sono al mondo, perchi non gli comunicherebbe mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscesse che il farlo gli potesse melter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 236). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 306), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XV, p. 27); *Durán* (p. 129). If a girl abandoned her house, she might finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("on les abandonnait").

[82] *Durán* (p. 84): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre." (Id. p. 84): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demourer dans un autre, on lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Doc. III, lib: IV, cap. XV, p. 128). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 563 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 426).

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565 doms, had other ways to make slaves) we say: that many condi-
567 tions were lacking, to create them actual slaves. For of these slaves of this New-Spain, some had means, might own and possess them of their own, and they could not be sold again except under the conditions mentioned hereafter. The service rendered to their master was limited, not for always, nor ordinary. Some, upon marrying, became released, their relatives or brothers taking their place. There were also skilful slaves who, besides serving their masters, still kept house, with wife and children, purchasing and holding slaves themselves. The children of slaves were born free."[84]

567 The Mexican term for slave was, literally a "purchased man" ("tlacotli.") He was in fact but a "bondsman." Through a special contract, made before authorized witnesses, his services, the proceeds of his labor, *and not his person*, became pledged to another. The member of a kin had no direct ownership in him whom he employed, he could not sell him again without that employer's consent, nor could he take his life in punishment of crime. If the latter broke his contract through repeated
[685] evasion he might finally be "collared," that is, his neck was enclosed in a wooden yoke, by means of which he was fastened to a wall at night. If the man still contrived to escape, then he was turned over to worship and sacrificed; but in case he succeeded in secreting himself in the official house without being intercepted by his master or one of that master's people, then he was spared, and even liberated from his bonds.[85] In addition to the supply furnished to the class of outcasts in the manner above indicated, there were accessions to it from outside. Fugitives were of rare occurrence, since such, if from a tribe against which war was waged, were regarded as precious additions, too important to be ranged among the outcasts.[86] But we have several instances, in the ancient history of Mexico, of destructive
[731] drouths as well as of disastrous inundations, depriving the inhabi-

[84] "*Monarchia Indiana*" (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 564).

[85] I have gathered these details mostly from *Torquemada* (Vol. II, pp. 564-566). Compare besides others, *Velasco* (Vol. I, pp. 482, 484, and 486) and nearly all modern writers.

[86] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Y si de la parte contraria salia alguno á descubrir y dar aviso cómo su señor ó su gente venian sobre ellos, al tal débanle mantas y pagábanle bien." Copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 558), and *Velasco* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. III, p. 204).

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tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape 567
threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their 731
children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or 562
of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for 565
the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether 837
different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such [684]
purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became [548
tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in 595]
the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 130) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1402. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 266) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 233) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 269), agrees with *Durán* and Tezozomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 268): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451–1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 156) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

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565 We thus witness, among the ancient Mexicans and beneath the kins composing the tribe, a lower class of society, a floating

595 one, was a mere matter of subsistence. As already remarked by *Peter Martyr* (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 328): "He further saith, that the common sort of people content themselves with one wife; but that every Prince may maintayne hariotts at his pleasure." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia I, p. 438): "Cuatro causas dan para tener tantas mujeres: la primera es el vicio de la carne, en que mucho se deleitan; le segunda es por tener muchos hijos; la tercera por reputacion y servicio; la cuarta es por granjèria; y esta postrera usan mas que otros, los hombres de guerra, los de palacio, los holgazanes y taberos; hacèmlas trabajar como esclavas, etc." The same author adds: "Aunque toman muchas mugeres, á unas tienen per légitimas, á otras por amigas, y á otras por mancebas. Amiga llaman á la que despues de casados demandaban, y manceba á la que ellos se tomaban." According to this statement, a husband could entertain three classes of women: one legitimate wife, concubines which he obtained with permission of their parents and prostitutes or mistresses. *Veritas delectat! Torquemada*, however (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 370), says: "Otra especie de mancebas havia, y se permitia, que era la que los Señores principales, ó las tomaban ellos, ó las pedian despues de ió cásados, con la Señora, y muger legitima, que llamaban cihuapilli." This reduces the "stock" to two kinds, at least. *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII, pp. 124-126) mentions polygamy as a rule, and describes the infinite trouble of the priests to find out the legitimate wife, assuming it to be "aquella con quien estando en su gentilidad primero habian contraido matrimonio" (p. 127). According to him the first legitimate marriage took place 14 October, 1526 (p. 134), but nevertheless for three or four years afterwards: "no se velaban, . . sino que todos se estaban con las mujeres que querian, y habia algunos que tenian hasta doscientas mujeres, y de alli abajo cada uno tenia las que queria" (p. 135). In defence of this state of polygamy the Indians alleged "tambien las tenian par manera de granjéria, porque las hacian á todos tejer y hacer mantas y otros oficios de esta manera" (p. 135). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVII and XLVIII, pp. 300-306) is very explicit on the same question. He asserts that the early missionaries found: "Por otra parte se hallaba que el comun de la gente vulgar y pobre no tenian ni habian tomado sino sola una mujer . . . . . sino que los señores y principales, como poderosos, excederian los limites del uso matrimonial, tomando despues otras, las que se les antojaba" (p. 301). The final result of these troublesome disputes and investigations is expressed as follows (p. 303): "y que sabiendose cual era la primera mujer, era cierta cosa ser aquella la legitima, y viviendo aquella, otra cualquiera habia de ser manceba." The question is as to whether a daughter of any member of the kin could ever lawfully become a concubine, or whether this was only the case with female outcasts? The stories about "Handful of Reeds," who, his first wife being sterile, was subsequently married to a number of daughters of chieftains (see *Durán*, Cap. VI, pp. 48 and 49, *Torquemada*, Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 56, *Vetancurt*, Parte II, Trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270, *Clavigero*, Lib. III, cap. III, p. 184) is manifestly untrue. The object of these subsequent marriages is given as in order to obtain heirs to the throne. Now it is well known that there was no "succession," but only an "election," consequently there was no such object as the one claimed. The chief certainly had concubines, but there is no evidence to show that he obtained them from the kins. Again we are treated to long descriptions of the dazzling polygamy of the chiefs of Tezcuco. For instance, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XLIII, pp. 306 and 308) relates of "Fasting wolf" "nezahualcoyotl," from "nezanalitztli," "ayuno," etc., (*Molina*, II. 64), and "coyotl" how he had a number of concubines previous to his marriage with an Indian girl of Coatlichan. Further on he relates the well known "Uriah and Bathsheba" story (pp. 309-313), attributed to the same chief, and which has been so often recopied. His successor in office, "Fasting boy" (Nezahualpilli," compare the picture of this name in *Durán*, *Lam.* 23 and 24, Trat. 1o), is reported by him to have had 2000 concubines, "But, besides the queen, he had intercourse with forty" (Cap. LVII, p. 35 of 2d Vol.). His marriage with that only legitimate spouse is described (Cap. LXIV, p. 66, Vol. II). He is, of course, supported by *Torquemada*

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population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not 565
very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 154-155; cap. LXII, p. 194; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H.* 595
Bancroft (Vol. II. p. 296) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 200): "Tenia esto Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, á las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 226) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 91), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou, "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 38), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II. 36). See in a furt[illegible] note.

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia 595
and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept* 567
these women for their work. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir sueltas, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban à necesitarse mucho, y haciance Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 568): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Andúmo* says (p. 397): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, li che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre."

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have [727]
been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Andúmo*," p. 373), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 29).

[89] They were the "tamenes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from [482]
"tlacatl"—man, and "nitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 81). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 358. Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 230, 231, and 236) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos et Quiroga a l'Empereur*." (Mexico, 30 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Les Indiens ont de tout temps porté des fardeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . ."

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "macehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

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565 Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,
[565] that for actions of merit such people might be re-adopted, and thus restored to their original rights. The anonymous conqueror asserts that the performer of any valorous deed was highly rewarded and made a chieftain, "even if he was the vilest slave."[91] But without such formal re-adoption, no outcast could emerge from his inferior and unprotected condition. The overwhelming majority of Mexico's aboriginal people, however, consisted of members of the twenty kins shown to have composed the tribe. These all enjoyed equal rights; consequently all had the same duty. Both right and obligation were governed by the organization of kinship. While it is impossible for us to follow here strictly the order of enumeration of these rights and obligations, established in the admirable researches of Mr. Morgan, we still can distinctly trace all of them in ancient Mexican society, operating with more or less unimpaired vitality.

[618] *The kin claimed the right to name its members.*[92] A family name
553 was unknown to the ancient Mexicans,[93] and thus our assertion that the modern family was not yet established among them, acquires further support. Within a few days after the child's birth, its mother in presence of all the neighbors (consequently of the "calpulli" or kin) gave the child a name through the medium of the women assisting her delivery. This name, generally taken from that of the day of birth, had a superstitious bearing, and was to accompany the child during the period of its utter helplessness.[94] A second "naming" took place several

[91] "*Relationes di alcune Cose della Nuova Spagna*" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 371). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVII, p. 585): "y Esclavos havia que regian, y mandaban la casa de su Señor, como hacen los Maiordomos."

[92] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 71 and 78).

[93] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Todos los Niños cuando nacian tomaban nombre del dia en que nacian." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, pp. 454 and 455). The family name was introduced by the Spaniards, who gave other names at the time of baptism.

[94] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Sahagun* (Lib. IV, cap. I, pp. 223 and 234, in general the entire fourth Book, which gives a very full idea of all the superstitions connected with birthdays; more especially Cap. XXXV and XXXVI and Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 217-231). All the children of the quarter were invited to the festival: "En este tiempo que estas cosas se hacian, juntabanse los mosuelos de todo aquel barrio, y acabadas todas estas ceremonias, entran en la casa del y toman la comida que alli les tenian aparejada. . . . . ." The naming took place in presence of "todos los parientas y parientos del niño, viejos y viejas" (p. 218). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 167): "Estos nombres tomaban de los idolos ó de las fiestas que en aquellas signos caian, y á veces de aves y animales y de otras cosas insensatas, como se les antojaba." (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXV, p. 267). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 450: "Luego hacian convocacion de todos los Deudos, y Parientes, de los Padres, y de todos los Amigos, y

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months later, which was performed by the medicine-man of the 553
kin.[95] Both of these names were preserved, but if the full-grown man ever performed some action of merit in the service of the whole tribe, then the tribe bestowed upon him a third name as an honorable title attached to his person in reward for his deeds.[96]

It was the duty of the kin to educate or train its members to every 871
branch of public life. For all public purposes, *man* only must be 868
taken into account. This appears obvious from what was said already concerning the position of women in general. Now each calpulli, or localized kin, among the ancient Mexicans had, as we have shown in "Art of War,"[97] its "House of the Youth" ("telpuch-calli") joined to its "medicine-lodge" or temple. Thither the boys were brought at an early age, to be instructed in whatever was needed for after-life. In order to train their bodies they were held to manual labor, and to the ordinary duties of worship. The use of weapons was made a prominent object of teaching; so was the dance and song, the latter coupled with ordinary Indian rhetorics.[98] These houses of education were under the

Vecinos, que para este acto se juntavan . . . y entonces le ponian el nombre." Also (Cap. XXII, p. 455; cap. XXIII, p. 456): "De la misma manera, que quando alguna de estas Indias paria, se usaba juntarse toda la Parentela. y las vecinas, y amigas, ... De esta misma manera lo acostumbraban hacer para el fingido Bantismo." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I. p. 438): "En este lavatorio les ponian nombre, no como querian, sino el del mismo dia en que nacieron.' *Fetancurt* (Parte II, Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 402).

[95] This is stated by *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 438): "y dende á tres meses, que son de los nuestros dos, los llevaban al templo, donde un sacerdote que tenia la cuenta y ciencia del calendario y signos, les daba otro sobrenombre, haciendo muchas ceremonias, y declaraba las gracias y virtudes del idolo cuyo nombre les ponia, pronosticándoles buenos hados." *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Despues desde á tres meses presentaban aquella criatura en el templo del demonio, y dabanle su nombre, no dejando el que tenia, y tambien entonces comian de regocijo, . . . "

[96] *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, p. 456). *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 437, 438). *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 96, 97, and 98).

[97] "*Art of War*," p. 101. Relying on Humboldt, I assumed fifteen years to be the age when military instruction began, but the general instruction began much sooner. See note 98.

[98] "*Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. IV, cap. V, p. 263): "Habiendo entrado en la casa del Telpuchcali el niño, dábanle cargo de barrer, limpiar la casa, poner lumbre, y hacer los servicios de penitencia á qué se obligaba. Era costumbre que á la puesta del sol, todos los mancebos iban á bailar, y danzar á la casa que se llamaba Cuicacalco cada noche, y el muchacho tambien bailaba con los otros mancebos; llegando á los quince años. y siendo ya mancebillo, llevábanle consigo los mancebos mayores al monte á traer la leña, que era necesaria para la casa del Telpuchcali. y Cuicacalco, y cargabánle las rodelas para que las llevase acuestas;" (p. 269): "La vida que tenian era muy áspera . . . " (Cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271; Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 284), and other incidental notices. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124, 125). *Torque-*

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871 These houses of education were under the
868 special direction of experienced men, called therefore "Speakers
875 of the Youth" ("telpuchtlatoca") and "elder brothers" ("teachcauhtin,") in another capacity. They had not only to provide for the physical training of their pupils, but also for their intellectual development, as far as the state of knowledge permitted.[99] Such places of training were called also "the place where I grow" ("nezcaltiloyan"), or "the place where I learn" ("nemachtiloyan.")[100] It is not true that the youth were constrained
871 868 to a permanent, almost monastic residence in such houses; but while there they improved in common certain special plots of land, in all likelihood the so-called "temple-tracts," out of which the daily wants of worship were supplied.[101] In connection with this mode of education, we have to consider here an objection which cannot fail to be raised against our views.

565 It is frequently given out as a fact, that besides the "Houses
871 of the Youth" mentioned, there was a *special* place of education for the children of "*noblemen*" and this is adduced as a proof of

mode (Lib. IX, cap. XII, pp. 165 and 166; Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, XXIX and XXX) and others.

[99] "*Art of War*" (pp. 101, 119 and 120). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 134 and 135): "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada barrio, habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir, guarda ó capitan de los mancebos." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 165): "y tenian un Rector, que los regia, y governaba, que se llamaba Telpochtlato, que quiere decir, Guarda, ó Caudillo de los Mancebos, el qual Telpochtlato tenia gran cuidado de doctrinarlos, y enseñarles, en buenas costumbres." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 209): "y si era ya hombre valiente y diestro, elegianle para regir á todos los mancebos, y para castigarlos, y entonces se llamba Telpuchtlato." (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301): "Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos, . . ." (Cap. XVII, p. 305): "en este lugar se juntaban los maestros de los mancebos que se llamaban tiachcaoan, y telpuchtlatoques . . ." (Also Cap. XXXVIII, p. 311). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, cap. VI, p. 451): "y un rector que llamaban Telpochtlato, el que habia y gobierna á los mancebos." *Codex Mendoza* (Vol. I of Kingsborough plates 62 and 63).

Sahagun usually calls the "achcauhtli," "alguaziles," or executors of justice. But above we see that he calls the "tiachcaoan," also "masters of the youth." Both names are corruptions of "teachcauhtlin." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60) calls the "Achcacauhtin, mayorales de armas y de doctrina y de ejemplo." (Cap. LVII, p. 96): "Tras ellos vinieron los que llaman Achcauhtin, señores de los varrios, y maestros de mancebos." (Cap. LXXI, p. 121): "mayorales y ministros, y los hicieron juntar como escuelas en cada un varrio que llamaban telpochcalli." (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 134): "Los mancebos iban cada dia á los varrios al egercicio de las armas á la escuela de armas telpochcalco, adonde los enseñaban con valerosos ánimos, y las maneras de combatir." Finally *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 482) refers also to the 53d picture of the Mendoza Codex, representing a boy of fifteen years, who is turned over to an "achcauhtli, or officer," to be instructed in the art of war.

[100] *Molina* (*Vocabulario* II, pp. 66 and 72). *P. Ignacio de Paredes* ("*Doctrina Breve sacada del Catecismo Mexicano*," Reprint of 1898).

[101] *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 209) says that, whereas they slept at home, that is, at the "house of youth," they ate with their families ("aunque comian en sus casas propias").

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the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pias"). *Burrin* (pp. 131-133) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 289; cap. VIII, p. 273). *Burrin* (p. 131): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 185): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredados para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 68).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que alli se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap, IV, p. 266): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmecac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 283): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 18th edifice "Tillancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

19th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vitznaoac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 206)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 208).

28th edifice, "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

54th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac," "monasterio á oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tzcámoico-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Xiuhtecutli," (p. 207).

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the abodes of such men as underwent the severe trials preliminary to their investiture with the rank of chief ("tecuhtli.") The word "calmecac" is often interpreted as "dark house" but its etymology is probably quite different. In no case, however, was that building a school for a "privileged class of children.[105]

The kin had the right to regulate and to control marriage.[106] We have seen that the obligation to marry rested upon every member of a "calpulli." Where tribal society is still in its pure and original condition marriage in the same kin is absolutely prohibited. The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans were closely scrutinized by the Catholic church, and a rigid investigation by the early missionaries has proven that not only was marriage between close relations strictly prohibited, but it was also discouraged (if not forbidden) between members of the same kin.[107] Mr.

In all, seven "calmecs" within the enclosure surrounding the great "house of god" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan. *Torquemada* (Lib. VIII, cap. XI to XVI) also describes the various places, mentioning "Huitanahuacalmecac." "Casa de recogimiento, y habitacion de los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este lugar" (p. 150). "Tlamatzinco calmecac," donde vivian y tenian su asistencia los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este dicho Templos" (p. 151). "Yopico calmecac" "donde habitaban, y se criaban los muchachos" (p. 152). "Calmecac"—"donde se criavan los niños" (p. 149). Besides these statements, the two authors just quoted allude to the Calmecac in the same manner at various places. *Sahagun* (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VII, and especially Cap. VIII, pp. 274-278). Already the title of this chapter is significant: "De las costumbres que se guardaban en la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, donde se criaban los Sacerdotes, y ministros del templo desde niños." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, pp. 468-471). *Johannes Eusebius Nierenberg* ("*Historiæ Naturæ*," Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, pp. 143-148). He copies Hernandez who, in turn, almost verbally agrees with Sahagun. *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302; Cap. LI. p. 337). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 438).

[105] *Molina* (II, p. 11). "Calmeca tlatolli," "palabras dichas en corredores largos" and "Calmeizcti," "Sala grande y prolongada, ó corredor de la casa." The word may be decomposed into "Calli"—house, and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, or "mecatl" a cord or tie. "House of Ties"?

[106] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 74).

[107] Already *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII) pictures vividly the difficulties encountered by the priests in regard to regular marriage. The first question to be determined was that of the legitimate spouse. This has already been investigated in a former note. The next question was that of the degrees of consanguinity, or affinity. It was rigidly inquired into whether perhaps, custom had sanctioned intermarriage of brothers and sisters. *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 439): "No casan con su madre ni con su hija, ni con su hermana; en lo demas poco parentesco guardan; aunque algunos se hallaron casados con sus propias hermanas;" thus admitting the fact that intermarriage of that kind existed. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 305) also concedes that such may have been the case, and infers that these marriages should be regarded as valid. The question of intermarriage between children of the same issue becomes important through the statements and discussion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. VII, p. 469) about the matrimonial customs of the Indians of *Vera-Paz*: "The Indians of Vera-Paz were compelled frequently, on account of their customs of relationship, to marry brothers with sisters for this reason: It was not customary for those of one clan, or tribe, to marry the women of the same tribe (pueblo), and thus they sought for them from others, because

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H. H. Bancroft to whom every student of American antiquities must look with a deep feeling of gratitude for his valuable services, says on the subject: "marriages between blood relations or those descended from a common ancestor were not allowed."[108] The act of marriage itself was preceded by negotiations on the part of one calpulli (that of the man) with another (that of the woman), the negotiations terminating in something like a *purchase* of the girl.[109] It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the 582

they did not reckon the children, born in foreign tribes or lineages, as belonging to their family; although if the mother had issued from their lineage, and the reason for this was, that this relationship was only attributed to the men." Now this is a very plain statement and picture of "descent in the male line," with the rules of kinship as strongly and fully in vigor as, with "descent in the female line" among the Iroquois. The inhabitants of Vera-Paz spoke, according to *Herrera* (Dec. IV, cap. X, cap. XIV, p. 229), "varios Lenguages," but they selected one at the instance of the Dominican fathers, "to use it in general." *Dr. Berendt* ("*Remarks on the Centres of Ancient Civilization in Central America and their Geographical Distribution*," address read July 10, 1876, pp. 9 and 10) mentions in Vera-Paz three idioms: the "Kekchi" (Alta Verapaz), "Pokoman" (in the South), and the "QQuiché" (Western Verapaz). See also *E. G. Squier*, ("*Monograph of Authors who have written on the Languages of Central America*," Introd., p. IX). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. IX, p. 700). *Diego García de Palacio* ("*Report to the King of Spain in 1576*," German translation by the late *Dr. Alex von Frantzius*, pp. 4 and 64). *Pimentel* ("*Cuadro descriptivo de las Lenguas*," etc., Vol. I, pp. 81–84). The close connection in customs and Institutions (see my notes in regard to the calendars of Mexico and Central America) between the QQuiché and the Mexicans, and the probable identity of their origin, make it not unlikely that the latter had also the same rule, "not to marry within the tribe or lineage," or rather in the kin. As every tribe in Mexico consisted of a number of Calpulli, there was no need of selecting the wife from outside of the settlement. The manner of arranging marriages furnishes direct evidence of the fact, that the wife was, at least usually, from another kinship. (See note 109.) See especially, besides, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 228). 171

[108] "*Native Races*" (Vol II, cap. VII, p. 251).

[109] Not only the consent of the young man's parents was requisite, but also that of the "telpuchtlato" (speaker to the youth) of his "barrio" or calpulli, *i. e.*, of his kin. This fact is abundantly proven. *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIII, pp. 152, 153) says: The "speaker" was invited to the house and after having "eaten and smoked," "the old parents of the young man, and the old men of the barrio sat down," and the case was told to them. The "speaker" then took formal leave of the youth "y dejaban al moso en su casa de su padre." (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VI, p. 271), he again insists that the consent of the "maestros de los mancebos" was required. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 132): "Lorsqu'ils étaient d'âge à se marier, c'est à dire à vingt ans ou un pen plus, ils en demandaient l'autorisation" (p. 134). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125): "Llegados á la edad de casarse . . . pedian licencia para buscar mujer; y sin licencia por maravilla alguno se casaba, y al que lo hacia, demas de darle su penitencia, lo tenian por ingrato, malcriado y como apóstata" . . . *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX). It was the kin of the male which solicited the girl, and this solicitation was carried on by women, who brought presents. Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 251 to 262). *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. II, cap. XII, p. 477. "*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I). If the male needed it, "the community" assisted him. See above authorities, and others. 583 584

The controlling influence of the *Kin*, in matters of marriage, was officially recognized, as late as 1555, by the first provincial "concile" held at Mexico in that year. It was ordained: "That since it is customary among the Indians Maceguales not to marry without permission ("licencia") of their principals, nor to take any women, unless it

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582 It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the
[562] ritual details themselves, but we must lay particular stress on the fact, that the wife became the *property* of her husband and that she was, as such, placed under the direct protection of his kinsmen. Such marriages could be annulled by mutual consent,
[586] provided the kin gave its approbation. In such a case the woman was at liberty to marry again, and also to return to the calpulli from which she issued.[110]

764 We might now be expected to cast a glance at the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans since it was *one of the attributes of the kin to enjoy common burial.*[111] But this question is so intimately connected with that of creed and belief that we refrain from trespassing too much on that field. The Mexicans practised cremation and, in the case of warriors slain in battle, at least, it is known that the exercises were conducted by the officers and leaders of each kin, *all its members*, and not the special relatives and friends only of the deceased, attending the ceremony.[112] Our knowledge of the burial places of aboriginal Mexico is still very indefi-

583 was given by their hand, out of which there arise great discomforts, and marriage
584 among free persons is not as free as it should be, therefore, we ordain and command: that no Indian principal of whichever condition or rank ("estado,") shall of his own accord or authority give away any wife to anybody whatsoever, nor shall he prevent any Macegual from marrying freely the woman whom he may wish, and who may like him,— under penalty of thirty days of imprisonment, and other penalties which the Judge may determine upon."

("*Concilios Provinciales, Primero y Segundo, celebrados por la muy noble, y muy Leal ciudad de México etc., etc. Dados á Luz el Ill'mo Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia* Año de 1768). The "principales Indios" are the officers of the "Kins," and thus we have, thirty five years after the conquest, a formal recognition of the custom among the Mexican Indians that marriage was controlled by the Kin. How the "encomenderos" subsequently interfered with that custom, in order to conceal their own criminal doings, is plainly told by *Fray Antonio de Remesal "Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala, etc., etc."* Madrid, 1619 (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 327).

[110] It is singular that some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers imply that there was no rule of repudiation or divorce among the ancient Mexicans. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 303). The same authority, however, attributes this to the baneful effects of contact with the Spaniards, in consequence of which the customs of the natives grew more or less dissolute and immoral (p. 304). *Zurita* (p. 97) confirms, and *Torquemada* (Lib. XVI, cap. XXIV. p. 196), copies Mendieta literally. For the customs of divorce see *Zurita* (p. 97), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 304), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII. cap. XV, pp. 441 and 442). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. C, XVII, pp. 72 and 73), *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196), and others. The division of property mentioned as accompanying the divorce, applies only to personal effects, since the wife brought nothing else. See "*Traurs of Lands*" (p. 429, and note 107).

The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans will be more thoroughly discussed by me in another monograph, subsequent to one on "Religious Beliefs."

[111] "*Ancient Society*" (pp. 71 and 83).

[112] Compare *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 154 and 156), and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXV, pp. 37 and 38).

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nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the 764
Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a de- 771
tailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religions rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli 618
had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, 346
within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of [782]
the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, etc.), we have also the testimony of *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 42 and 43, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 80), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturae*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 146).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

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618 only established within that kin's territory, but it is also recog-
346 nized even at the central medicine-lodge of the tribe.

727 A further evidence of it is found in the manner of distribution of the captives, upon the return of a successful war-party. It is known that prisoners were always offered up to the idols. Such a person, therefore, as soon as secured, became an object of "medicine;" he was so to say a sacred object. Well treated as long as he was not needed for the slaughter-block, nothing could in the end save him from sacrifice. But this sacrifice itself was not made in behalf of his captor, but on behalf and for the *kin* to whom the captor belonged. Therefore upon arrival at the pueblo, the prisoners of war were turned over to the respective calpulli as their share thus furnishing another illustration of "Separate Rites of Worship" of the kins composing the ancient Mexicans.[118]

000 Having already discussed, in a former paper, the *tenure of Lands and customs of Inheritance*[119] we now pass on to one of the most essential features of tribal society, and one which involves some of the vital points of organization and customs.

618 *The kin was obligated to protect and defend the persons and prop-*
681 *erty of its members, and to resent and punish any injury done to them, as if it were a crime committed against the kin itself.*[120]

The impression justly prevails, that the so-called "penal code" of the Mexicans was simple but severe, death being, in most instances, the punishment of offenders. This resulted, in a great measure, from the fact that any offence against an individual

[118] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII. p. 128), rather contradicts himself when he says first: that the captive belonged to his captor, but at the same time, that this captor was even killed if he *gave* away his prisoner to another man. Second: that each one had to watch his own prisoners, and at the same time they were guarded in common, and at the risk of the "barrio" or kin, which was responsible for their safe keeping. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 340) copies this almost literally. Much more positive and clear is *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 179 and 122): "mandó Tlacaelel repartir los cautivos, porque eran muchos, por todos los barrios y que cada barrio se encargase de guardar y sustentar tantos . . . . . Los mandones de los barrios repartieron los presos á cada barrio, á como les cuaia." (Cap. XXI, p. 186): "Montezuma los mandaua vestir y adereçar y llamauaya á los Calpixques, que son los mandoncillos de los barrios, y entreganaslas, para que tuviesen cuidado dellos, diciendo que eran la merced del sol, señor de la tierra, que los daua para el sacrificio." (Id., cap. XXII, p. 198. Cap. XXVIII, p. 287): "luego fueron repartidos entre los barrios y encomendados á los mandoncillos." (Cap. XLII, p. 343, etc.). *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," cap. XXIX, p. 45; XXXII, p. 51; XXXIII, p. 53; XXXVIII, p. 62; XLIX, p. 68, etc.), confirms Durán as might be expected.

[119] "*Tenure of Lands and Customs of Inheritance*," 11th *Report of Peabody Museum*, 1878.

[120] "*Ancient Society*," (pp. 76 and 77). Compare *H. Leden* ("*Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*," pp. 501 and 502), among the ancient Germans.

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became, according to rules of kinship, one against the social group to which he belonged. This presupposes again a general division of crimes into two classes, one of which includes such as were committed by members of the kin against other members thereof or against institutions of the same group to which they belonged. The other comprised offenses committed by inhabitants of one calpulli against those of another. It is only the first class which we take under consideration here, the second we reserve for our discussion of the mode of government. Crimes committed within the kin can be classified as against persons, against property, and against medicine. 618 681

The aborigines of Mexico are generally represented as being, in their every-day's intercourse, of a quiet, peaceable, inoffensive disposition, contrasting strongly with their savage ferocity in warfare. This was not however due to any innate gentleness and mildness of nature, but only to the peculiar restraint enforced upon them by the law of retaliation or revenge.[121] Brawls resulting in bodily injury were therefore of extremely rare occurrence, and then it was left to the parties to settle it among themselves. In such cases, as in the event of mutual jealousy, a challenge often passed between them, and this challenge brought about an encounter at *the next campaign* when, while the warriors were engaged with the enemies of the tribe, the contestants fought as if they had belonged to opposite camps, until one of them [181] 626

[121] The character of the Mexican Aborigines is variously depicted by older writers. It appears as a mixture of childlike docility and fierce passions. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 18. Vedia, Vol. I), speaks of them according to the reports of the Tlaxcaltecans. *Bernal Díaz* ("*Historia* etc.," pp. 209 and 210. Cap. CCVIII. Vedia II), specially dwells on their vices and their cruelty, as evidenced in their sacrifices. "*El Conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Docum., I, pp. 271, 283, 287, and 297), places great stress on their ferocity, although he also says that they are very obedient. The missionaries generally exalt their good sides—their docility and faithfulness. Compare *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XIV, pp. 76 and 77). The same (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 28 and 29), mentions, however, their vices also, attributing nearly all of them (idolatry excepted), to their inclination towards intemperance. (Trat. II, cap. IV, p. 112): "Lo que de esta generacion se puede decir es, que son muy extraños de nuestra condicion . . . ." *Sartin* (p. 197—207), is very bitter against such as treat the Indians as barbarians. (Id., 42 and 45). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLIII, p. 260), says that they were very willing to forgive and ask to be forgiven, the latter taking place, before going to confess themselves, sometimes before all the relationship and the neighbors: "suelen algunos juntar (al tiempo que se quieren confesar) toda su parentela y vecinos con quien communican, y pedirles perdon en la manera dicha." Against this, it is reported by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 555), that "these people were naturally more vindictive, than all the rest of the world." Compare also the descriptions of the character of the Mexicans in *Clavigero* (Lib. I, cap. XV).

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was disabled or until he voluntarily withdrew.[122] Slanderers, however, were punished by the kin, having their lips cut off or publicly sliced.[123] Homicide, and murder, were invariably punished by death.[124]

Intemperance in public was free to people more than seventy years old, while if grown men below that age appeared in a drunken state (festivities excepted), their heads were shorn clean in punishment. But whenever the delinquent was a chief he was publicly degraded; and any officer was forthwith removed and relieved of his duties.[125] Women who attempted to act as

[122] *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440): "no traen armas sino en la guerra, y allí averiguan sus pendencias por desafios." *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Historia apologéticа de Indias*," cap. 213 and 214. Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough, note XLV, p. 194). Bystanders interfered, separating the parties, if they came to blows. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, p. 25), says that such strife and quarrels only occurred when they were drunk: "Y fuera de estar beodos son tan pacíficos, que cuando riñen mucho se empujan uno á otro, y apenas nunca dan voces, si no es las mugeres que algunos veces riñendo dan gritos." (Cap. XIV, p. 76): "Sin rencillos ni enemistades pasan su vida." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. XV, pp. 208 and 209). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136).

[123] *Burdin* ("Rapport," etc., pp. 109 and 130) speaks only of children, punished by splitting the lips for lying. This is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 476). *Velascurt* (Part II, Trat. III, p. 485), however, declares this punishment to have been meted out to adults, adding: "to-day there would be many without lips, so much do they lie." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 438, Vedia I) speaks of this punishment as having been instituted by Quetzalcohuatl, and for adults as well as for children. This, attributing it to Quetzalcohuatl, is an evident error. Compare *Sahagun*, (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 244). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 480) is positive about adults. *Bustamante* ("Tucoco," p. 198) says that slanderers were killed.

[124] *Las Casas* ("*Historia Apologética*," cap. 213, Kingsb: Vol. VIII, p. 193): Destos era el que mataba à otro, el cual moria por ello." *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 442): "Matan al matador sin excepcion ninguna." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 126): "Sentenciaban á muerte á los que cometian enormes y graves delitos, asi como á los homicidos. El que mataba á otro, moria por ello." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. VIII, p. 287), almost copies the preceding. Nearly all the authors agree on this point, except, according to *Mr. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol II, p. 436, note 50), Durán, who is said to assert: "that the murderer did not suffer death, but became the slave for life of the wife or relatives of the deceased." In this Durán agrees with the "*Codice Ramirez*." *Velascurt* ("*Teatro*," Vol. I, p. 465) says that even for murder committed in a drunken state, the culprit was killed (hung). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 484) briefly states that all homicide was punished with death. As to the manner of execution, it is variously stated. It would be unsafe to attempt going into details.

[125] It is well known that there was an idol for the drunkards. *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 40) even gives the names of thirteen "dioses del vino." According to *Gregorio Garcia* ("*Origen de los Indios*," etc. Lib. III, cap. II, §VI, p. 92, who mentions as authority *Fray Esteven de Salazar*, "*Historia, ó Relacion de la Teologia de los Indios Mexicanos*" lost in a shipwreck, 1564), they had three hundred gods of the drunkards "que de solos los borrachos tienen 300 Dioses." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 38) and others. The punishments are given by me after *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXX, pp. 139 and 140). Copied textually by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. X, p. 550). Besides these, *Burdin* (pp. 110–112) asserts the same, even more explicitly, and he is followed by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136). *Velascurt* (Vol. I, p. 465). *Clavigero* (Lib.

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procureresses were severely punished, though not with loss of 689
life.[126]

While clandestine relations between young men and girls were [836]
known to exist and, if not sanctioned, still were not punished,[127] 684
it was different if a married man attempted to seduce a maiden who was not an outcast. The seducer was invariably punished.[128] Intercourse between unmarried people was tolerated, as a preliminary to marriage and the consequent increase of kinship, but if a husband, in contravention of the obligation "not to marry in the kin," endeavored to satisfy his lusts upon one of that kin's wards, as the daughters of members all were, then he committed

VII, cap. XVII, p. 488). all affirm, besides, that young people, while yet in care of the "houses of training," if intoxicated, were killed. This is also confirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib. I'I. appendix, cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271). Except by *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), it is generally conceded that drunkenness was well controlled in aboriginal Mexico.

[126] Although prostitution was tolerated, still, houses of ill-fame did not exist. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. II, p. 276): "Esto parece, porque permitieron, que huviesse Mugeres, que se daban à los que querian, y se andaba á esta vida suelta, y ganancioso, como las de nuestra España, y otros Reinos; puesto que no tenian casa señalada, ni publica para la execucion de su mal oficio, sino que cada qual moraba donde le parecia, y el acto deshonesto, en que se ocupaba, servia de lugar publico, y en el mismo vicio se hacia publica y se manifestaba." *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "Permitian los mexicanos, mujeres que ganasen con sus cuerpos, aunque no tenian lugares señalados." It is, therefore, not quite clear what may be meant by the term "alcahueta." In the sense of the French word "entremetteuse," alone, they were amenable to punishment, since it was the duty of the man to hunt his "female," although he sometimes employed women called "cihuatlanqui" for that purpose I suppose that such women were punished, not for the *immorality* of their conduct, but for their *unauthorized forwardness* in [562] addressing themselves to men, and thus trespassing upon the dignity of that superior being. In regard to authorities on the mode of punishment, I but refer to those quoted by *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 469, note 161).

[127] I have already shown that young people held intimate relations with each other before the formalities of marriage were arranged. Thus, while he was yet at the "Telpuchcalli," the youth had his female friend, "amiga" or "manceba," outside. This is positively stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, p. 271): "y estos mancebos tenian sus amigas cada uno dos ó tres, la una tenian en su casa, y las otras estaban en las de sus familias." and *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 276). That these female "friends" were regarded with more than a feeling of platonic love, is dryly expressed by *Sahagun* (Id: cap. V, p. 270): "y los que eran amancebados ibanse á dormir con sus amigas." It is also asserted by *Torquemada* (see above): "que despues que aquel mancebo havia un Hijo, en la dicha manceba, luego le era forzoso, ó dejarla, ó recibirla por muger legitima." *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "los mancebos antes de casarse tenian sus mancebas, y solian pedirlas á las madres." This almost establishes promiscuity among the ancient Mexicans, as a preliminary to formal marriage.

[128] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 485) says that the punishment was not like that of the adulterer, "because the husband was not required to the same amount of conjugal fidelity as the wife." With "slaves" concubinage was permitted, and the result of childbirth was freedom to the child. Death was invariably the punishment of those who held, or attempted to hold, intercourse with girls in care of the house of worship. *Sartin* (p. 156, etc.). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): "El que hazia fuerza à virgen, era fuese en el campo, ora en casa del padre moria por ello."

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684 a crime which the calpulli was bound to punish in the most exemplary manner.

689 While we are not at all surprised at such severity in the cases
562 above stated, it cannot fail to astonish us, that such apparently harmless acts as those of a *man wearing female dress* and of a *woman appearing in male attire* were visited upon the offenders with death.[130] Still, the ancient Mexicans could assign from their peculiar point of departure good cause for such cruel punishments. The position of woman was so inferior, they were regarded as so far beneath the male, that the most degrading epithet that could be applied to any Mexican, aside from calling him a dog, was that of "woman." It was more injurious than coward. Now, for a man to assume the garb of such an inferior being became almost equivalent to a crime against nature. It was an act of wilful degradation which was a deadly insult to his own kin. On the other hand, if a woman presumed to don the dress of her lord and master, it again was a crime of an equally heinous nature. In both cases the dignity of the whole consanguine group became deeply affected, and death alone could satisfy its honor. After this, it is needless to say how the actual crimes against nature were regarded and punished.[130]

687 It was also a capital crime for any man, to assume the dress or ornaments peculiar to an office, without being himself that office's lawful incumbent. Besides being a grave insult to the rightful officer, it was a dangerous offence towards the kin, especially in case of war, when it amounted to actual treason.[131]

684 Since it was the kin's duty to protect, not only the persons, but also the property of its members, it follows that adultery committed with a married woman entailed deadly punishment upon the male, whether he was married or not. His crime was that of stealing the most precious chattel of one member of the calpulli.

[130] This is so generally mentioned by all authors, that special references are superfluous.

[684] [130] All authors insist that incest was punished with death. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. IV, p. 280): "Todos los que cometian incesto en el primer grado de consanguinidad, tenian pena de muerte, si no eran cuñados, y cuñadas." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 137). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 481). All these authors appear to have gathered their information from the same source, or rather Torquemada is frequently Mendieta's plagiary, while Vetancurt often copies Torquemada. To avoid superfluous quotation, I beg to refer, on the subject of "unnatural crimes," to *Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 466, 467 and 468, "*Native Races*").

[131] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 123), copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540), *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, pp. 214, 215 and 216), and others.

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The woman, as participant in the offence, was also killed. Both were executed in public.[132] Theft of objects was variously punished. If the article was of small value and could be returned, its restitution settled the matter;[133] but if it were of greater value and could not be returned, then the thief became "bondsman" to the injured owner or even suffered death for his crime.[134] The [635]

[132] If, however, the husband killed the wife himself, even if he caught her *flagrante delicto*, he lost his own life. This shows clearly, that the crime was considered as one not so much against the man, as against the cluster of kindred to which he belonged, and they were consequently not only bound but *entitled* to avenge it. Evidence of this punishment of the injured husband in case he avenged himself, is found in many authors. See *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136), *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. IV, p. 276), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 484), and *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 462).

In strange contrast with the frequent assertions of the high-handed manner in which the chiefs are said to have used, at their will and good pleasure, the women of the land, as for instance in *Gomara* (Vedia I, pp. 438 and 439), *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 125) and others, we find it positively stated that adultery and rape were severely punished even in the case of the highest officers and chieftains. Thus, the case of the chief of Tlaxcallan, who was executed for adultery, is related with full details by *Las Casas* ("*Hist. apologética*," Cap. 212, in Vol. VIII, of Kingsborough, p. 112), *Zurita* (pp. 107 and 108). *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. XV, p. 300). Another story of a son of the chief of Tezcuco, killed for intercourse with girls then in the houses of worship, is also fully given. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XLIV, pp. 315-320); *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXV, p. 159), etc. These are strange contradictions and are, sometimes, found even between fact and fact as told by the same author.

[133] *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 448), says: "El ladron era esclavo por el primer hurto," but this is not sustained by others, in the case of small thefts. For instance, *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): "El ladron que hurtaba hurto notable, ... por la primera vez era hecho esclavo." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 261), but especially (Lib. XIV, cap. XXI, p. 564): "Al que hurtaba pequeños hurtos, si no eran muy frequentados, con pagar lo que hurtaba hacia pago." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII).

[134] The statements are positive to that effect. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136), *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 261), *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 463). "*Anónimo*" (Col. de Doc: I, p. 266) exaggerates. "*De l'ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens*" Mr. Ternaux Compans' translation of a Simancas MSS., (1st Recueil, p. 229) confirms the "anonymous." *Fray Francisco de Bologna* ("*Lettre au R. P. Clément de Mendès*," 1st Recueil, p. 211): "Ils n'étaient pas tres cruels dans les punitions qu'ils infligaient aux coupables." *Gabriel de Chaves* ("*Rapport sur la province de Mestitlan*," French translation by Mr. Ternaux, 2d Recueil, p. 312,—original held by Sr. Icazbalceta). *Herrera* (Déc. III, lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 131), about Nicaragua: "Cortaban los Cabellos al Ladron, i quedaba Esclavo del Dueño de lo hurtado, hasta qeg pagase." (Lib. III, cap. XV, p. 101), at Ixcatlan: "con los bienes del Ladron, despues de justiciado, satisfacian al agraviado. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 296): "Celui qui volait dans les villages ou dans les maisons devenait l'esclave du volé, quand il n'avait pas commis d'effraction, et que le vol était de peu d'importance; dans le cas contraire il était pendu." *C. Ortega* (Appendix to Veytia, Vol. III, p. 253): "Casi siempre se castigaba con pena de muerte, á menos de que la parte ofendida convinieses en ser indemnizada por el ladron. Tambien tenia el ladron la pena de ser esclavo del dueño de lo que robaba; y si este no lo queria, era vendido por los jueces, y con su precio se pagaba el robo." *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte IIIa, cap. I, p. 197).

Several of the authors above quoted, relate the well known tale about "wealthy chief" (Montezuma) picking some ears of corn in a gardenplot, for which he was ap-

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685 duration of this bond, whether for certain time or for life, is not stated. If any one changed the limits (lines) of the individual lots ("talmilpa"), or of the official tracts, he lost his life. His offence was not so much against the occupant as against the kin, who had fixed the destination of each particular plot of land, and determined its boundaries.[135] It is also mentioned that "he
686 who squandered the property of minors left to his care" suffered death for it. The case could only be that of an oldest son, or of a father's brother, in whose care the "tlalmilli" improved by the deceased was left, to be improved for the benefit of the latter's children. If now this warden failed to have that lot tilled for two years, it became lost to his wards, who were thereby left without means of subsistence. There was no restitution possible, therefore the negligent administrator paid with his life for the neglect.[136]

685 In general, we discern the ruling principle: that for theft there were but two ways of atonement. One consisted in the return of the stolen property, and if that was no longer possible, then the person of the thief had to suffer for it. Wherever no bodily labor could replace the value of the loss (as in the last case mentioned) the life of the criminal became forfeited to the kin, since the sufferers looked to that cluster for redress.[137] This carries us

prehended by its owner or at least occupant. This story shows, that no chief was exempt from punishment even for slight misdemeanors.

I refer to *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXI, p. 394), *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Vol. I, p. 482), *Bustamante* ("*Tezozoco*," p. 197) for the assertion that the *kin* of the thief assisted him in discharging the penalty for his crime. The former says: "y si no tenia de que pagar, una, y dos veces, los parientes se juntaban, y repartian entre sí el valor del hurto, y pagaban por el, diez, y doce mantas, y desde arriba: ni es de créer, que hacian Esclavo por quarenta, ni cinquenta mazorcas de maiz, ni por otra cosa de mas precio, si él tenia de que pagar, ó los Parientes." On this important point—the *solidarity of the kindred* in the case of the crime of one of their number, see, further on, note 137.

[135] To the authorities so frequently quoted on other subjects, I will add here *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones históricas*," Vol. IX, Lord Kingsborough, p. 367).

[136] *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. VII, p. 335) calls this an "extravagant law." Further quotations useless.

[137] It is stated by *A. de Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*, Vol. I, p. 482): "En los hurtos era ley general que siendo cosa de valor tenian pena de muerte; y si la parte se convenia, pagaba en mantas la cantidad al dueño, y otra mas para el fisco real; á esto acudian los parientes." This "obligation to help" on the part of the kin we have already met with in the case of marriage, where the kin assisted the newly married couple. (See *Eurkin*, "*Rapport*," p. 122): "Si le jeune homme était pauvre, la communauté où il avait été élevé l'aidait." We find it subsisting after the conquest, as when an Indian died, leaving debts, his kinship paid them for his estate (which in most cases was insolvent), or "worked it out for him." This is asserted as follows by *Fray Augustin Davila Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de*

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to a class of thefts and other similar offenses, committed against 685
worship or "medicine."

Any attempt at seduction of a female who had taken the 688
pledge of chastity in behalf of medicine, was most cruelly punished, both in the persons of the seducer and the female; and if a medicine-man broke his vows, he suffered a horrible death.[138]

We have already mentioned that it was a capital crime on the 687
part of a warrior to take for himself a prisoner of war secured by 688
another.[139] Such cases occurred only during an engagement or immediately after it. Why an action of that kind should entail so rigorous a punishment can be easily inferred, if we recollect that a captive of that kind became at once sacred — an object of medicine. No return could atone for the offence, since it had been committed against the "rites of worship," one of the kin's most sacred and important attributes. Under the same head must be placed the capital punishment of such as wrongfully appropriated to themselves gold or silver. Both of these metals were regarded as objects of medicine, and whoever seized them unlawfully, committed a crime against worship also.[140]

Santiago de México," 2d Edition, 1625, Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83): "Si muere alguno dellos con deudas, como si los deudos las heredassen por parecerse deudas y deudas en el nombre, procuran luego entre los parientes pagarlas, porque el anima de su difunto no dilate la entrada en el cielo. Y si no tienen caudal para pagar, procuran que se perdone la deuda, y sino salen con esta traça, se dan luego todos en servicio al acreedor hasta que del todo se pague lo que el difunto devia. Y viviendo yo en el colegio de San Luys de predicadores el año de 1586, sucedió morir un Indio que trabajaua en aquel sumptuoso edificio, y era muy diestro cantero; auia recibido dineros adelantados, y quando murió quedava deviendo veynte pesos, ó reales de á ocho. Viniéron luego al colegio los parientes reconociendo la deuda, y pidiendo que los ocupasen en servicio del colegio, para que se descontasse lo que su defunto denia. No se les daua mucho a los padres del colegio por cobrar estos dineros; porque demas de ser pocos no parecia que auia modo para cobrarlos; y mas por acudir á la devocion de los deudos, le dixéron á uno, que viniesse à trabajar en la huerta. Era marauilloso el cuydado del Indio, ansi en venir cada dia, como en venir muy de mañana; y preguntandole un religioso la causa de su cuydado, dixo, que le tenia porque su pariente se fuesse al cielo, y desde alla le ayudasse con Dios, y no estuviesse en el infierno chiquito, que los predicadores llaman purgatorio."

My friend Col. F. Hecker, to whom I communicated the above, at once recognized in it an analogue to the ancient Teutonic "*Gesammt-Burgschaft*." He called my attention to the remarkable organization of the Germans. Compare *Luden* ("*Geschichte*," etc., Vol. I, p. 502), which valuable source I also owe to the kindness of the distinguished German jurist.

[138] In regard to "priests" it is also stated that they were merely degraded and cast away; but this is hardly probable, since, the higher the position of the culprit, the severer was his punishment.

[139] Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 419). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, chapter II, p. 67).

[140] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 128). *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 484): "Al que hurtaba

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685 In the above review of those offences and their punishments,
671 immediately connected with that rule of tribal society which
212 places the persons and property of the members of a kin under that kin's special protection, we cannot pretend to have furnished more than illustrations, and not at all a full catalogue. Still, enough has been told, we believe, to explain what is frequently styled the "penal code" of the ancient Mexicans. It is well known, that no actual written laws existed, but on the other hand, at the time of the Spanish conquest, the natives still had a large number of paintings which represented their own manners and customs. Since a considerable proportion of these picture-leaves bore on the same subjects, the inference could be easily drawn that they indicated forms for the guidance of the people, or in other words, that they were a substitute for a written code. This was not at all their object. They were simply efforts of native art intended to represent scenes of everyday life, since these were the most handy subjects for such purposes. Therefore such pictures are to be regarded as convenient remains of aboriginal art, out of which many details concerning aboriginal customs may be gathered, but not as "official" sources, from which to seek information as to the "law of the land."[141]

plata y oro lo desollaban vivo y sacrificaban al dios de los plateros, que llamaban Xipe, y lo sacaban por las calles para escarmiento de otros, por ser el delito contra el dios fingido." This sacrifice to one particular Idol, however, is neither mentioned by Torquemada nor by his predecessor and main source, Mendieta. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII. p. 487) copies Vetancurt almost textually. So does *Ortega* (Vol. III, p. 225, Appendix to *Veytia's "Hist. Antigua"*). *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196) copies the former again. Still it is singular that the older the source, that is, the nearer in date to the time of the conquest, the less positive it is on the point of sacrifice. It will be safe to admit that the criminal was killed for a crime committed against worship, without insisting upon a particular place or mode of punishment.

[141] Elsewhere ("*On the Sources for Aboriginal History of Spanish America*," in Vol. XXVII of the "*Proceedings of the American Association for Advancement of Science*," 1878) I have attempted a discussion of the nature of Mexican paintings, and of their value as sources of history. I will add here but two positive declarations, on the subjects of the paintings, which I had not noticed at the time the above paper was read at St. Louis, Missouri, Aug., 1878. *Juan de Solorzano-Pereyra* ("*Disputationes de Indiarum Jure*," 1629, Vol. I, Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 331, § 96): "Quod de Phœnicibus tradit etiam Lucanus, et in Mexicanis nostris experti fuimus, qui si non litteris, imaginibus tamen, et figuris ea omnia, quæ sibi memoranda videbantur, significabant, et conservabant." The other is of recent date, being taken from a discourse delivered before the "Académia Mexicana," by my friend Señor *D. J. G. Icazbalceta* ("*Las Bibliotecas de Eguígra y de Beristain*," p. 333 of No. 4, Vol. I, of "*Memorias de la Academia*"): "El antiguo pueblo que ocupaba este suelo no conocia las letras, y con eso está dicho que no podia tener escritores ni literatura. Su imperfectísimo sistema de representar los objetos é ideas, tenia que limitarse á satisfacer, hasta donde podia, las necesidades más urgentes de la sociedad, sin aspirar á otra cosa. Así es que no se empleaba sino en registrar los tributos de los pueblos, en señalar los límites de las

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In this rapid sketch, we have failed to find, among aboriginal 681
modes of punishment, two which were common to almost every nation of the old world, namely: whipping, and imprisonment.

Whipping, beating, or lashing was, among the Mexicans as well as amongst all American natives, known only as a *deadly insult*. It is nevertheless true that the Mendoza Codex contains pictures representing a Mexican father who applies to a son the rod of punishment.[142] Again, the candidate for the office of chief had to endure beating[143] along with the other sufferings incident to his time of trial. But no "bondsman" was ever whipped or flogged, neither was a criminal subjected to this degrading penalty, for which death would have been a thousand times preferable.[144]

The Mexicans had places of confinement—dark and gloomy 697
recesses with entrances compared to "pigeon-holes."[145] Every official building, and also the places of worship contained them. They were called: "place of the taken one," "teilpiloyan;"[146] "place of entombment or confinement," "Tecaltzaqualoyan,"[147] and "house of wood," Quauhcalli."[148] The latter, which is particularly described as a wooden cage placed within a dark chamber, was reserved for those whose doom was sealed, whether they were criminals sentenced to immediate execution, or captives to

heredados. en recordar las ceremonias de la religion. y en contribuir á conservar la [212]
memoria de los sucesos más notables, que aun con ese auxilio habria perecido, á no perpetuarse en las tradiciones recogidas por los primeros predicadores del Evangelio."

[142] "*Mendoza Codex*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plates LX, part 3), the boy being nine years old.

[143] *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII. p. 157). *Torquemada* (Lib XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII. p. 472), etc., etc.

[144] It was no dishonor to suffer tortures, but whipping was a deadly insult, as among other Indians.

[145] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 128): "Tenian las cárceles dentro de una casa oscura y de poca claridad, y en ella hacian su jaula ó jaulas; y la puerta de la casa que era pequeña como puerto de palomar, cerrada por defuera con tablas, y arrimadas grandes piedras." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 353).

[146] *Molina* (II, p. 94), "teilpi"—el que prende o encarcela a otro"—"teilpiliztli" "prendimiento tal." (Id. I, p. 98). "prender" "niteylpia." Among the 78 edifices of the great central place of worship, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix. p. 210) mentions one place "Acatlayiscapan Veicalpolli" "esta era una casa donde juntaban los esclavos que habian de matar á honra de los Tlaloques." (Id., Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 364. Cap. XXI, p. 369) mentions "jails" in connection with the official house or "tecpan." That the different calpulli or "barrios" had each its places of confinement is noticed by *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 187): "Los calpixques los recesian y los ponian en las casas de sus comunidades ó del sacerdote de tal barrio."

[147] *Molina* (II. p. 91): "Tecalli" a vault, "casa de bóveda." Since the Mexicans had no arches, it meant actually a tomb.

[148] *Molina* (II, p. 86): "Jaula grande de palo, adonde estanan los presos por sus delictos."

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697 be sacrificed forthwith.[149] The two former kinds of prisons were used for lighter degrees of offenders. At any rate they were but temporary places of detention, for any prisoner left there for any length of time invariably died of hunger, filth, and bad air. Permanent confinement simply meant death.[150]

618 The execution of all these penalties necessarily presupposed for the kin a regulated administration. It therefore leads us to the governmental machinery proper of the calpulli. The nature of this government is expressed by the following rule of kinship, already found in vigor among more northern Indians.

The kin had the right to elect its officers, as well as the right to remove or depose them for misbehavior.[151]

This at once establishes the calpulli, as we have already stated in several places, to be an autonomous body, enjoying self-government, consequently a DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION. The truth of this we intend to show by an investigation of the different offices to which the care of the kin's business was committed.

A *council*, consisting of a number of old men, formed the highest authority of the calpulli. How many they were is not stated, but it is probable that their number varied according to that of the members of the kin. Medicine-men may, also, have been members of this body, which held its meetings at intervals in the official house of the "quarter." It exercised criminal jurisdiction as well as civil, and attended to all grave questions affecting the kinship. It is also stated that, on certain occasions, a general meeting of all the members of the calpulli was convened.[152]

[149] No better illustration of the "Quauhcalli" can be found than that given by *H. H. Bancroft* ("Native Races," cap. XIV, p. 453. Volume II).

[150] The cruel and unwholesome nature of aboriginal places of detention previous to the conquest is amply stated. As it is very justly remarked by *Mr. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 453): "They had prisons, it is true, and very cruel ones, according to all accounts, but it appears that they were more for the purpose of confining prisoners previous to their trial, or between their condemnation and execution, than permanently, for punishment." To the authorities quoted by the celebrated Californian, I will add here in further support of his views (and mine), *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 442): "Las cárceles eran bajas, húmedas y escuras, para que temiesen de entrar allí." *Veincurt* (Vol. I, Part II. Trat. II, cap. I, p. 370). *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. XCIX, p. 176): "mandóles llevar á la carcel á todos, que llamaban cuancalco, que era á manera de una caja, como cuando entapian ahora alguna persona, que les dan de cómer por onzas."

[151] "*Ancient Society*" (Part. II, chapter II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Chap. VIII, p. 225, Cap. XI. pp. 265 and 267).

[152] It is singular that this council of the kin or "gens," while some parts of its functions are preserved in nearly every author, has as a body been so generally overlooked. *Zurita* (pp. 55 and 56) says: "the chief does nothing without consulting the other old men of the calpulli." Indirect evidence of it is given by *Sahagun* (Lib. II, cap.

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This council however, while it thus united both the highest 618
administrative and judiciary powers, required other officers for

XXXVII, p. 186), in his description of the feast of the month "Izcalli." These "old men" reappear again in connection with celebrations affecting the calpulli, at least occasionally. This council however, still existed at a recent date (1871) among the natives of Guatemala. *Sr. D. Juan Gamarda* of the City of Guatemala (La Nueva) writes to me under date of 14th March, 1879: "Cuando en el pueblo hay varias parcialidades ó calpules, ... cada una de ellas tiene su calpul ó consejo de cierto número de Ancianos y estos reunides eligen las Autoridades comunes del pueblo, nombrando tambien alcaldes subalternos para las diversas parcialidades." In his Introduction to the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc. II, pp. XII and XIII), the late *Sr. José F. Ramírez* attributes the creation of an elective municipal council to an act of policy of the Spanish government. It is clear, however, from the authors of the XVIth century, especially from Zurita, that this "democratic element" ("el elemento democrático" as Sr. Ramirez calls it), was an *aboriginal* one. Therefore the council still subsisting in Guatemala is an original feature, with changes in names and functions, made to suit the laws of Spain. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter of 3d Nov., 1532. 1st Recueil, p. 249), mentions "other officers called *viejos* (old men)" in "each quarter or as they were now called, parishes." The following quotation from *Juan de Solórzano* ("*De Indiarum Jure*," Vol. II, lib. I, cap. XXIII, pp. 210, § 21), is of interest upon the question raised by Sr. Ramirez: "In Nova quoque Hispania, cum hae reductiones, quas ibi *Agrupationes* vocant, I praestanti illo, et prudenti Duce Ferdinando Cortesio stabilitae, et constitutae fuissent, et postea, temporum, et Hispanorum iniuriae, valde collapsae, ac subversae; alias deuo fieri et factae instaurari curavit Excellentissimus ille, et Pijissimus Prorex Canes de Monte Regio, schedulis etiam, et provisionibus Regijis sibe ad hoc demandatis, morem gerere cupiens: in quibus tamen exequendis, magnae difficultates, et Indorum strages expertae sunt, quia eorum aliqui voluntario suspendio vitam finire maluerunt, quam in designata sibi municipia reduci." This was published in 1629."

In all likelihood there was no regular time of meeting of these "old men." They met as emergency required, and as they were called together. There is even a trace of a general meeting of the inhabitants of a calpulli, in *Burila* (p. 68): "Dans ces circonstances, les habitants du calpulli se réunissent pour traiter les intérets communs, et régler la répartition des impôts, etc." We thus witness in the calpulli the following methods of exercising authority: through the joint meeting of all its members for the discussion of matters affecting the whole community, through the "old men" controlling the regular business, and, through what the older authorities called "chiefs" or executive officers, of whom I shall treat hereafter. An important question remains to be examined here namely: whether the calpulli really had, as I have asserted, criminal jurisdiction over its members, or whether this pertained to higher officers or so-called "tribunals."

Against the assumption, that questions of life and death could be decided by the "quarters," "barrios," or "calpulli," there is we confess it, apparently weighty evidence. In order to examine this vital question critically, I am compelled to take each author by himself, comparing his various statements (if there are more than one) on the same subject with each other. I must premise, however, that neither *Cortés*, nor *Andrés de Tápia*, nor *Bernal Díes de Castillo* mentions having seen any one judged and condemned by the head-war-chief of the Mexican tribe. This, however, may be a simple omission on their part.

Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 314): "y los casos muy dificultosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase. juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian. Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque: estos examinaban con gran diligencia las causas que iban á sus manos; y cuando quiera que esta audiencia que era la mayor, sentenciaba alguno á muerte, luego lo entregaban á los ejecutores de la justicia." Thus far the jurisdiction of the tribal officers only comes into play. But the same author also mentions the

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618 everyday business, who should at the same time be the executors of its decrees. Of these officers there were two, both strictly

power of certain officers of the kin to kill in punishment of certain crimes, (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VI. p. 271). If a young man was caught drunk: "castigábanle dandole de palos hasta matarle, ó le daban garrote delante de todos réunidos." This being done in the case of a youth committed to the "telpuchcalli," it necessarily follows that the power to punish by death, was vested in the kin to which the particular "telpuchcalli" belonged.

Zurita (p. 101 and 108) intimates rather than asserts, that all grave matters, including life and death had to be submitted to the highest "court of appeals," "les douze juges d'appel" over which the king presided. But he does not state that this body had *exclusive* jurisdiction.

Gomara (Vedia I, p. 442, "*Conquista*") evidently mistakes in confounding the gatherers of tributes with judicial officers and says nothing in regard to criminal jurisdiction. His statements will be examined elsewhere.

Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 134-136) says that all the "Judges" remained in the official house of each tribe: "cada uno de ellos en su propio palacio tenia sus audiencias de oidores que determinaban las causas y negocios que se ofrecian, asi civiles como criminales, repartidos por sus salas, y de unas habia apelacion para otras." Further on he says that every eighty days "se sentenciaban todos los casos criminales, y duraba esta consulta diez ó doce dias." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI. cap. XXV, pp. 330 and 333) is remarkably indefinite on the point. To him, the tribal officers alone appear prominent in the case. (Cap. XXVI, pp. 334 and 355), however, wherein he fully treats of the judicial organization of *Tezcuco*, enables us to discern the separate jurisdiction of each calpulli. The textual rendering of the whole chapter would be too lengthy, and I must therefore confine myself to abstracts. He begins by saying that, while Tezcuco had fifteen "provinces" subject to it ("sujetas á su Señoria"), "not all of them had supreme Judges" ("pero no en todas havia Jueces de estos inmediatos, y Supremos"). Therefore it was ordained, "that there should be six courts ("audiencias"), like chancery-offices ("como chancillerias") in six particular pueblos, to which all the other said Provinces were reduced, and to them they applied from all over the kingdom." He further states that at each of these houses (which he subsequently calls "tecpans") were stored the "royal tributes;" "se recogian todos los Tributos Reales, por los mismos Jueces." Besides, there were "four Judges" at the "palace," and at each of these six "courts," two "Judges" and one "executive officer" (alguazil).

From further details given, it follows that these six "pueblos" were so near to the official house of the tribe, as to make it more than likely that they were the six *Calpulli* of Tezcuco, mentioned by *Ixtlilxochitl* (12th "*Relacion*" or "*Pintura de México*," Vol. IX of Kingsborough, p. 387) as having been established by "Fasting wolf" (Nezahualcoyotl), which story he repeats in the "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 263 and 264).

The description of Tezcuco by *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 304): "pero no se ha de entender, que toda esta Caseria estaba recogida, y junta; porque aunque en su maior parte lo estaba, otra mucha estaba repartida, como en Familias, y Barrios; y de tal manera corria esta Poblacion, desde el corazon de ella (que era la Morada, y Palacios del Rei) que se iba dilatando, por tres ó quatro Leguas," shows that the calpulli of that ancient pueblo were scattered over a great expanse. At the close of the 17th century (1690, about) it is stated by *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México*," pp. 159 and 160), that, besides the "city," there were "29 pueblos de visita, en cinco parcialidades repartidos." All this corroborates our assumption: that the six "pueblos" of Torquemada were in fact but the six "barrios" or kins, each of which exercised, for itself and through its officers, *criminal jurisdiction over its members*.

There is no need of proving the fact that the several tribes of the valley had identical customs, and that their Institutions had reached about the same degree of development. It is even asserted by some (*Prescott*, Book I, cap. II, p. 30) that "in Tezcuco

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elective and therefore liable to be deposed, one of whom represented more properly the administrative, the other the executive (consequently military) authority. The first one of these was the "calpullec" or "chinancallec;"[153] the second, the "elder brother"

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the judicial arrangements were of a more refined character." If now, as I have shown, the council of the Kin exercised power over life and death among them, it certainly had the same power among the ancient Mexicans. Besides, the same thing is inferable from the nature of many of the crimes punished by death. Conspicuous among these are the cases wherein tenure of lands became affected. If a member of the kin changed the limits of a "tialmilli," it was a crime over which the calpulli alone had jurisdiction, and the same occurred if any one member neglected to attend to the lots of children placed in his care. We have seen that in both instances the penalty was death.

It is of course understood, that this power did not go beyond the limits of the kin and of such outcasts as were attached to its members. Over members of other kins it had no jurisdiction. The adjustment of matters between kin and kin became exclusively the duty of the tribe.

One of the most characteristic remarks, however, on the general functions of the kin is that of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 53): "Finally, what is called in New Spain Calpulli, answers to what among the Israelites was called a tribe."

[153] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 56): "The chiefs of the third classes are still called Calpullec in the singular, and in the plural Chinancallec, that is to say: chiefs of very ancient race or family, from the word Calpulli or Chinancalli, which is the same, and signifies a quarter (*barrio*) inhabited by a family, known as of very ancient origin, which for a long time owns a territory with well defined boundaries and all the members of the same lineage." This statement is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135), with the exception that he omits the names, substituting that of "pariente mayor." In regard to this it is added by *Zurita* (pp. 60 and 61): "The calpullis have always a chief necessarily in the tribe. He must be one of the principal inhabitants, an able subject who can assist and defend them. The election is made among them. They are much attached to him, as the inhabitants of Biscay and of the mountains are to him who is called *pariente mayor*. The office of these chiefs is not hereditary: whenever one dies they elect in his place the most respected, the ablest and wisest old man. If the deceased has left a son who is qualified, he is chosen, and a relative of the former chief is always preferred." *Herrera* (Id. p. 135).

Although the above two authors speak but indefinitely of the "chief" of the calpulli, it is likely that they mean two chiefs, one of which is the calpullec, and the other the teachcauhtin. This is indicated by the name of "pariente mayor." Zurita does not say, according to Mr. Ternaux's translation, that this chief was thus called, but Herrera, who copies him, writes very distinctly: "que *llamaban* parientes maiores." Now, according to *Molina* (II, p. 91), "teachcauhtin" signifies elder brother. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544) gives to each "barrio ó parcialidad" two officers, namely, a calpixqui or gatherer of tributs or stores, and a "regidor, un Tecuhtli, que se ocupaba en executar lo que mustros Regidores executan, y hacen." But it is plainly evident, from the details given by the celebrated Franciscan, that he has lost sight of the peculiar position of officers of a *kin*, and looks to *tribal* functions and offices. Else, how could he assert of his "Regidor" that he was always in the "palace:" "y todos los Dias se hallaban en el Palacio, á ver lo que se les ordenaba, y mandaba; y ellos, en una grande Sala, que llaman Calpulli, se juntaban, y trataban de los negocios tocantes á su cargo."

"*De l'ordre de succession observé par les Indiens*" ("1st Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 225): "quant au mode adopté pour régler la juridiction et l'élection des alcades et des régidors des villages; ils nommaient des personnes notables qui portaient le titre de *achcacautlin* qui est un nom de charge, comme l'est aujourd'hui celui d'alguazil. Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." . . . "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." And further on the same document says (p. 227): "Ces achcacau-

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618 "teachcanhtin" or "achcacanhtin."[154] Both were, in turn, ex-officio members of the council itself.[155] The "calpullec" or "chinancallec" was, in fact, what is still known among Indian communities of Mexico, Central America and New Mexico, as the "governor;" or rather his office was, for the *kin*, what the office of "gobernador" now is for the whole *tribe*.[156] Upon his

litis, c'est ainsi qu'on les nommait, remplissaient les fonctions d'alcade. Pour le moindre petit vol, c'est à dire pour avoir dérobé seulement du maïs, ils condamnaient à la potence." The singular feature is here asserted to exist, that the same officer should have been Judge ("alcalde") and executioner of his own decrees ("alguazil"). We meet also with the flagrant contradiction of "alguazils," elected for the villages, but whose courts resided "at the capital." Everywhere the same lack of distinctness is witnessed; the confusion between aboriginal institutions and Spanish organization is apparent.

Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Lettre," 3 Nov., 1533, p. 347) gives quite a clear picture of the "calpulli," adding: "Ces contribuables ont un chef et des commandants" (p. 349): "Ils ont parmi eux des officiers que nous appelons principales (chefs); *il y en a deux dans chaque quartier qui portent aujourd'hui le nom de parcisco.*"

Finally, I refer to what has been said in the preceding note (152) about Tezcuco and the two officers of each so-called "pueblo." The fact that there were two of them is thus fully established, likewise [illegible] of their election; and as for their titles, they are found in the quotations just ref[illegible] to and copied.

It is further confirmed through [illegible] statement of *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I, p. 371): "en cada parcialidad, que llamaban calpulli y ahora tlaxilacalli; habia uno como regidor que llamaban teuhtli: estos asistian á palacio todos los dias á saber lo que el mayordomo les ordenaba; éstos entre sí elegian cada año dos en lugar de alcaldes, que llamaban tlayacanque y tequitlatoque, que ejecutaban lo que por los teuhtles se les mandaba; y para ejecutores tenian unos alguaciles que hoy llaman topile."

The term "tlayacanqui" is defined by *Sahagun* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 143) as "cuadrillero." *Molina* (II, p. 120) has "tlayacantli," "el que es regido, guiado, y gouernado de otro, o el ciego que es aliestrado de alguno" ("Tlayacati," "cosa primera, o delantera"). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 345) calls the Tlayacanque "en lugar de merinos."

[154] *Molina* (I, p. 56).

[155] This results necessarily from the duties of the officers alone, as permanent representatives of the council of the kin or calpulli.

[156] The "Gobernador," as we shall hereafter see, was the successor to the "Cihuacohuatl," according to the Spaniard's notion of the nature of the latter's office. It is very interesting to notice that the "Cihuacohuatl" was, in the tribal government, the exact counterpart of the "Calpullec", in the kin. I am indebted to *Sr. Don Juan Gavarrete*, of the City of Guatemala (la Nueva), for the following description of the office of "Gobernador," as it is still found among the aboriginal settlements of Guatemala. This gentleman, (whose name is associated with that of my friend Dr. Valentini, in a noble effort to preserve the historical treasures of his country), writes to me under date of 16th of March, 1879: "Los pueblos formados por la antiguos misioneros ó por los conquistadores, y que son los que subsisten hasta el dia de hoy, han sido siempre gobernados por un *Gobernador* vitalicio elegido entre las familias nobles de la tribu (*cacique*), y un consejo á la usanza española compuesto de dos Alcaldes, cierto número de consejeros llamados Regidores entre quienes se distribuyen las comisiones de servici público y un secretario.

"La dignidad ó cargo de Gobernador, para la cual elegian en nombre del Rey los antiguos Capitanes Generales y despues los Presidentes de la República, es muy apetecida por los indios nobles y mientras el que la egerce no dá motivo por su mala conducta para ser removido puede contar con la perpétuidad y aun con dejarla á sus hijos

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death "they elected, to fill his place, the most respected old man, 618
the most able and most popular." It appears though that the choice often fell upon a son or near relative of the deceased, provided he evinced sufficient ability.[157]

It was the duty of this officer to preserve a plat of the territory dwelt upon by the kin, showing the location of each "tlalmilli," of the official tracts, of those of the "houses of the youth" and of worship; if the latter two were not, as we suspect, perhaps identical. These simple records he had to renew from time to time, according as mutations or additions occurred. The *stores* of the kin were under his supervision, though he could not dispose of them at his pleasure, but only for public purposes. Thus, aside from the presents, which always had to go with any public act of importance, it was his duty to provide, out of these stores, for everything requisite for the numerous religious and other festivities.[158] He had, under his immediate orders, the "stewards," "calpixqui," which attended to the details connected with the gathering, housing, and dispensing of all supplies.[159] It is prob-

si los tiene capaces de agerocçia . . . . . El cargo de Gobernador traia consigo los privilegios de usar *Don*, montar á caballo, ... usar baston y tener una numerosa servidumbre, no tenian jurisdiccion civil, pues esta competia á los Alcaldes, pero si la tenian en lo criminal en los délitos leves, siendo su poder principal sobre lo economico y gubernativo."

[157] *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 60 and 61).

[158] *Sahagun* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 51 to 66). Copied in a condensed form by *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 134).

[159] The term "calpixqui," gatherer of crops, is so indiscriminately applied that it becomes necessary to investigate what class of officers were really meant by it. In general the "calpixca" were sent to subjected tribes, as representatives of their conquerors. For each such officer abroad there was one in the pueblo of Mexico, to receive and to house the tribute which the former collected and sent. The calpulli or kins, however, needed no officer of the same kind properly, because they owed no tribute to the tribe. The assertion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 545): "que el Maiordomo maior del Rei, se llamaba Huey calpixqui, á diferencia de otros muchos, que havia, que se llamaban Menores; porque tenia cada parcialidad el suio," applies in this case to the tax-collectors and stewards themselves, and not to the stewards of the kins. The confused notions about the true nature of the office is also shown in the name of the official house. It is called by Torquemada alternately "tecpan," "calpul," finally also "calpixca, que era la casa del comun del Pueblo," (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 504). In confirmation of what has already been said in "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 412–426), I here refer to *Durán* (pp. 238–242), "*De l'Ordre de succession*" (p. 239), *Motolinia* et *d'Olarte* ("*Lettre*," 27 Aug., 1554, pp. 422–426). We must never forget that tribute or tax was only due from a conquered tribe to its conquerors. No reference is made anywhere to tribute or tax gathered inside the pueblo of Mexico, but Tlatilulco, however, was obliged to pay a certain contribution (*Durán*, Cap. XXXIV, p. 270).

Nevertheless, the term "calpixqui" is found applied very distinctly to an office of the kin. *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 186) calls them "mandonéllios de los barrios." With equal propriety the calpixca are termed "governors" and "captains." It only proves that, while each kin had its stewards, they were under the direction of a "mandon,"

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618 able that he himself, appointed the stewards subject to approval by the council.[160] Aside from these subalterns, the "calpullec" had his runners and attendants, mostly members of the household, perhaps "bonded" people. His judicial power was limited to minor cases, and it is more than doubtful if he held, alone, any authority to decide upon matters of life and death. But it is stated on high authority, that it was the duty of this officer, "to defend the members of a calpulli, and to speak for them."[161] We may be permitted to inquire, whether this, perhaps indicated, that the "calpullec" was also the "tlatoani" or speaker, who represented the kin in the tribe's supreme council. This must, however, be answered in the negative, for the obvious reason that he could not be in two places at the same time. The kin's official building was assigned to him as a residence, that he might be there on duty *always*, consequently he could not spend his time outside of it at the official house of the tribe.[162] Alongside of this officer (who corresponds almost to the "Sachem" of north-eastern tribes), we find the "elder brother"—"teachcauhtin," "achcacauhtin," or through corruption, "tiacauh." He was, as already stated, the kin's military commander or war-captain, and the youth's instructor in warlike exercises; but besides he was also the executor of justice—not the police magistrate, but the chief of police (to use a modern term of comparison) or rather "sheriff" of the calpulli.[163] As military commander he could

or superior officer. This could only be the "calpullec," since it is positively stated by *Durán* (p. 68): "car lors des assemblées annuelles, qui sont très nombreuses, il distribue gratuitement des vivres et des boissons." This had to be done out of the stores of the kin.

The term "tequitlato" is probably equivalent to "calpullec." It is derived from "ni-tequiti," to work or pay tribute (*Molina*, II, p. 145), and "ni-tlatoa," to speak (Id., II, p. 149); therefore "tributary speaker," or "speaker of tribute." But this is only used in the case of subjected tribes, where the "calpullec" was the one who cared for the tribute due by his kin, even collecting it. See *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* ("*Lettre*," Chalco 26 Sept., 1584, in *Ad Rem.*, p. 245), "les tequitlatos ou percepteurs." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 389-391) devotes a whole chapter to "De los grados por donde subian hasta hacerse Tequitlatos," without saying, however, what the latter means. I suspect it to be intended for "Tecuhtlatoquas."

[160] This may be inferred from the nature of the office.

[161] *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 68): "Il a soin de défendre les membres du calpulli, de parler pour eux devant la justice et les gouverneurs."

[162] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 410 and note 52). *Durán* (p. 266).

[163] It has already been shown that "achcauhtli," "achcacauhtli," and "teachcauhtin" or "tiacauh" are synonyms. I refer to "*Art of War*" (p. 119 and note 81) in regard to the various and contradictory notions about the nature of the office. Still, the prevailing idea is that, besides being the "teachers" and the "captains," they also were the "executioners" of the kin. *De l'ordre de succession*" (p. 265): "Ils nommaient des

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appoint his subalterns in the field, and as executor of justice he had the same privilege while at the pueblo. The "teachcauhtin," therefore selected his own assistants and runners. Accompanied by them and carrying his staff of office, whose tuft of white feathers intimated that his coming might threaten death,[164] the "elder brother" circulated through his calpulli, preserving order and quietness in every public place thereof. If he found or heard of any one committing a nuisance or crime, he could seize him forthwith and have him carried to the official house, there to be disposed of as the custom and law of the kin required. But it is doubtful whether, except in extraordinary instances, he was authorized to do justice himself without the council's knowledge and consent.[165]

Ere we pass over now from the functions of the kin to those of the ancient Mexican tribe, we must however dwell at some length on a peculiar institution, yet shared by the Mexicans in common with Indian tribes in general. We refer to the rank and dignity of CHIEF among them. Chieftaincy and office are far from being equivalent. The former is a purely personal, non-hereditary distinction, bestowed in reward of merit only, whereas the latter is a part of the governmental machinery.[166] Hence it follows that a chief might fill an office or not, and still remain a chief, whereas

personnes notables qui portaient le titre de achcacauhtin qui est uá nom de charge, comme l'est aujourd'hui celui d'alguazils." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XVII, p. 365) calls the Achcacauhtli "(á verdugos) que tenian cargo de matar á los que condenaba el señor." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 333), "llamabanse Achcauhtli, que quiere decir matores." There is hardly any doubt as to their functions.

[164] White was the color of death. (Bleaching skulls and bones!) This is amply proven by their mode of declaring, or rather announcing, war. The custom of carrying "staffs of office" is well established.

[165] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI. cap. XXVI, p. 335). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI. p. 482) calls those "who arrested" delinquents "topilli." But this word means simply "rod, or baton of justice, staff. etc." (*Molina*, II, p. 150), and not office. There is no evidence that these officers might kill, without previous decision of the council, except perhaps in the great market place. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 33): "Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 261) copies Cortés, adding, however, "é quiebran lo que está falso, é penan al que usaba dello." *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 88) simply remarks: "y otros como alguaziles ejecutores que miraban las mercaderias," (Vedia, Vol. II). I hardly need any reference in regard to the manner of acting and mode of appearance of the "elder brothers." Their functions of "police" are repeatedly described in the older sources.

[166] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 71): "Nearly all the American Indian tribes had two grades of chiefs, who may be distinguished as sachems and common chiefs. Of these two primary grades all other grades were varieties. . . . The office of sachem was hereditary in the gens, in the sense that it was filled as often as a vacancy occurred; while the office of chief was non-hereditary, because it was bestowed in reward of per-

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618 It was not necessary to become a chief in order to fill certain offices. Still it is evident that, as chiefs were always men of peculiar ability, the higher charges were generally filled by chieftains.

618 554 555 The title and rank of "grandfather" ("Tecuhtli,")[167] which was the Mexican term for chieftain in general, was open to any one who strove to deserve it. It was conferred:

1. In recompense for warlike prowess, and actions of personal intrepidity and superior shrewdness. Courage alone could not secure it; therefore the "distinguished braves" were not always chiefs.[168]

2. In reward for actions denoting particular wisdom and sagacity, and in acknowledgement of services in the councils, or as tradéra.[169]

sonal merit, and died with the individual." I have selected the term "officer" as a substitute for Mr. Morgan's "sachem," because the latter is a northern Indian word, whereas the former, while it expresses the nature of the charge and dignity, is more widely known, and therefore better understood. It is out of the union of the attributes, of both officer and chief, that nobility and monarchy have been claimed to exist. Among the Mexicans, in fact among the most highly advanced Indian tribes (the Inca of Peru not excluded), the dignity of chief was still a personal matter, and not necessarily connected with office. The chiefs are the "knights," mentioned by *Garcilasso de la Vega* ("*Histoire des Yncas*," Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, XXV, XXVI) and *Herrera* (Dec. V, Lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 68; Lib. IV, cap. I, p. 83). With the Muyscas of Bogotá, compare *H. Ternaux-Compans* ("*L'ancien Cundinamarca*," § XXVII, pp. 57 and 58). *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXVI, cap. XXXI. p. 410). *Herrera* (Dec. VI, Lib. V, cap. VI, pp 116 and 117). Compare also, in regard to the dignity of "military chief" among the wild tribes of the Rio Orinoco and of its tributaries, *P. José Gumilla* "*Histoire naturelle, civile, et géographique de l'Orénoque*," translated by Mr. Eidous, 1758, (Vol. II, chapter XXXV, pp. 200-208). Very important.

[167] *Molina* (II, p. 86), "abuelo," "tecul." It evidently should be "abuelo," and is therefore only a misprint. The older reports have the word "tecle," and only the later writers (those after the year 1580) begin to write it "tecutli," "tecuhtli," "tecutli." Whether the "teules" meant really "gods," or rather "tecuhtin," as plural of "tecutli," is yet doubtful. It is almost a truism to recall here the Roman "senex," and the German "grave" or "Graf." Among American tribes we have, in QQuiché, "auta," old, "ahau,"—chief; in Maya, "Hachyum,"—father, and "ahau,"—chief—also "achi,"—brave.

[168] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 329-333): "De Los grados por donde subian hasta hacerse Tequitlatos," especially (p. 331): "y á los que por si prendian cuatro cautivas, mandaba el rey que les cortasen los cabellos como á capitan, llamalhanle tal diciendo . . . . . el capitan mexicati. ó el capitan tolnacocsti, ó otros nombres que cuadraban á los capitanes. De alli adelante se podian sentar en los estrados que ellos usaban de petates é icpales en la sala donde se sentaban los otros capitanes y Valientes hombres, los cuales son primeros y principales en los asuntos, y tienen barbotes largos, orejeras de cuero, y borlas en las cabezas conque están compuestas;" *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47): "Les chefs qui, comme nous l'avons dit, se nommaient Ten Tecutacoin, ou Teutley au pluriel, n'exerçaient le commandement qu'à vie, parce que les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient à ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits à la guerre, et des services rendus à l'état ou au prince"). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 186). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 361). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, pp. 471 and 472), and others.

[169] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 348): "Estos mercaderes

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In both the above instances (or kinds of instances) actions of particular merit facilitated, at least, the acquisition of the title; but it could, also, be obtained:— 618 554 555

3. By the observance of rigorous and even cruel rites of "medicine" for a stated time, which put the courage, fortitude, and self-control of the candidate to the severest tests.[170] Although a detailed account of these rites might perhaps be withheld for a subsequent sketch of ancient Mexican worship, yet they equally deserve a place here. 555 785 618

The candidate appears to have been presented at the great central place of worship by the representatives of his kin, perhaps, also, by the other chiefs of his tribe. There he underwent four days and four nights of the most cruel torments. While but little nourishment was allowed him (some went even so far as not to eat anything at all during this time), his blood was drawn freely, and no sleep was permitted to settle on his weary eyes. From time to time he was exposed to taunts, to injurious words, to blows and even to stripes. While he was thus hungry and thirsty, weakened from loss of blood through self-sacrifice, others ate and drank plentifully before his eyes. Finally, his clothes were torn from his body, and with nothing on but the breech-cloth or diaper, he was at last left alone at the "calmecac," there to do the rest of his penance. When these four initiatory days were past, the candidate went back to his calpulli, to spend the remainder of the time (about a full year), in retirement, and abstinence, frequently attended with more or less self-inflicted bodily suffering. When the kin had secured the necessary amount of articles to be offered up in worship, or given to the medicine-men, officers, chiefs, and guests attending the installation, this final solemnity was allowed to take place, provided always that the courage and personal strength of the novice had not forsaken him. Another period of fasting, sacrifice, and torture, similar to the one at the opening of the career of preparation, closed the probation. Some of the ordeals were again of the most trying nature. Finally the store of gifts was distributed; eating and drinking alternated with

era ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas." . . . *Fray Alonso de Montúfar* ("Supplique," etc., 30 Nov., 1554. "*Troisième relation d'Ixtlilxochitl*," Appendix, p. 287). [170] *Des Cérémonies observées ensuite par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Tlatoani*." (1st "Recueil," p. 296). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156). [170] *Gomara* ("Conquista," Vedia I, p. 479). [170] *Des Cérémonies observées*," etc. (pp. 298, etc.). *Mendieta* (p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX and XXX, etc.).

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555 solemn dances to the monotonous rythmic noise called Indian music.
785 The candidate was, at last, once more dressed in becoming apparel,
618 and could recuperate, being himself now the "feasted one."[171]

618 Men, however young in years, who had successfully endured such
554 great trials, certainly deserved to be looked upon thereafter as persons of uncommon fortitude. Hence indeed the chiefs or "tecuhtli" were particularly fitted for responsible offices of any kind. They were looked upon with deference, their voice was heard and listened to, and it is no wonder if higher charges, especially those of a military nature, were filled by such as had, in one way or another, achieved this distinction.[172] But no privilege was connected with their dignity, except that of wearing certain peculiar ornaments, and none was transmitted through them to their descendants.[173] That the "tecuhtli," besides, did

[171] For the above description of the formalities of creating a "Tecuhtli," I refer to the sources quoted in the preceding three notes. It is interesting to compare similar ceremonies used by the Indians of the Orinoco, *Gumilla* ("*Histoire*," etc., Vol. II, cap. XXXV). Of the Yncas, *Garcilasso de la Vega* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV to XXVI). *Cristoval de Molina* ("*An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*," translated by C. R. Markham, in Hackluyt Society's Volume of 1873). "*Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas.*" *Herrera* (Dec. V, lib. III, cap. VII, p. 63, etc.). We are forcibly reminded of the words of the quaint old poet and soldier, *Alonzo de Ercilla*.

"Los cargos de la Guerra, y prehemineneia
No son por flacos medios proveidos,
Ni vàn por calidad, ni por herencia,
Ni por hacienda, i ser mejor nacidos;
Más la virtud del brazo, y la excelencia,
Esta hace á los hombres preferidos,
Esta ilustra, habilita, perficiona,
Y quilata el valor de la persona."

("*La Araucana*." Parte Ia, Canto Ia. Edition of 1733, p. 2).

[172] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161: "Los que tenian el ditado de Tecutli, tenian muchas preeminencias, y entre ellas era que en los concilios y ayuntamientos sus votos eran principales." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366). It should always be remembered, that the dignity of Tecuhtli appears most prominent in Tlaxcallan. This people however, was but a league, very similar to that of the northern Iroquois, only consisting of four, instead of six tribes. Among them, the peculiar nature of the dignity of chief became more evident than it was among the Mexicans to the Spaniards. But there is no difference between the "Tecuhtli" of Tlaxcallan, and the "Tecuhtli" of Mexico or Tescuco. That the head-chiefs of Mexico were always "Tecuhtli" themselves, previous to their election, needs hardly any proof. *Domingo Munoz Camargo* ("*Histoire de la République de Tlaxcallan.*" Translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, in Vol. 88 and 89 of "*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*," 1843. See Vol. 88, p. 176, etc.)

[173] About the privileges of the Tecuhtli, compare *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161), *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366), *Zurita* (p. 48, etc.). It is evident however, that the latter confounds the rank of chief with the particular office which might have been entrusted to him, else the "cultivation of lands" could not be included in the list of advantages derived from the position. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*," *Bustamante* ("*Tezoco*," etc., p. 285). Sr. Bustamante frequently copies Zurita. *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 186). In regard to the non-heredity of the dignity, I refer to the above authorities, and more especially to *A. de Bustia* ("*Rapport*," p. 49: "Lorsqu'un de ces chefs mourait, le prince accordait

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not form as it is often stated, an order of chivalry, is amply proven 618
by the fact that the bond of kinship interposed a barrier between 554
them and such an imaginary association and furthermore, because their number could not be very great. The formalities required were so numerous and dilatory, the material for distribution in the shape of gifts was so large, that a frequent repetition of the occurrence lay beyond the power of the kin.[174] After this necessary digression, we return once more to the Mexican calpulli.

Besides being as already established in "Tenure of Lands," 618
the unit of territorial possession, we found the Mexican kin to be a *self-governing*, therefore *democratic* cluster. Every one of these clusters had, within itself, all the elements required for independent existence as an organized society. Except for assistance and protection against outsiders, it needed no associates. Hence it follows, that since we find twenty Mexican kins aggregated into a tribe, this tribe was a *voluntary* association, formed for mutual protection.

Three attributes of the tribe are next to self-evident: 619

1. A particular territory;
2. A common dialect;
3. Common tribal worship.[175]

sa charge á celui qui s'en était rendu digne par ses services, car les fils du défunt n'en héritaient pas s'ils n'en étaient investis." The very fact of the election, and the manner in which it was performed is also evidence. See the various documents in *Ternaux-Compans, 2d Recueil.*

[174] That such a festival or ceremony necessitated the accumulation of much provision and many articles for presents and offerings, is proven by numerous authorities. *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436): "En fin, en semejantes fiestas no habia pariente pobre. Daban á los señores tecutles y principales convidados plumajes, mantas, tocas, zapatos, bezotes, y orejeras de oro ó plata ó piedras de precia. Esto era mas ó menos, segun la riqueza y animo del nuevo tecutli, y conforme á las personas que se daba. Tambien hacia grandes ofrendas al templo y á los sacerdotes." *Zurita* ("*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs* etc.," p. 28): "Ces solennités occasionnaient de grandes dépenses, car les assistants étaient fort nombreux; c'étaient les parents, les alliés et les domestiques du nouveau dignitaire. L'on faisait aussi des aumones considérables aux pauvres." "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Tecle.*" (1st *Recueil*, p. 235): "Celui que l'on nommait *Tecle*, devait d'abord posséder de grands biens, qu'il put donner aux prêtres et aux autres nobles." (P. 237): "Un grand nombre ne pouvait pas se procurer en si peu de temps la quantité suffisante, etc., etc." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156): "Y asi les costaba excesivo trabajo y gasto, como aqui se dirá." (Id., cap. XXXIX, pp. 160 and 161.) *Veytia* ("*Historia Antigua*," Lib. II, cap. IX, pp. 65 and 66): "Y era exhorbitantisimo el gasto, por cuya causa algunos, cuyas facultades y caudal no era suficiente á reportarlos, dejaban de tomar este dictado." *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 199): "As before remarked, the vast expenses entailed upon a Tecuhtli debarred from the honor many who were really worthy of it."

[175] For these three attributes of tribal organization I refer to *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 113).

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642 All three we find very plainly among the ancient Mexicans.[176]
646 Since the tribe was formed of kins associating together voluntarily, it must be admitted that they stood on an equal footing, and had, all, an equal share in the tribal government. It was scarcely possible, however, from what we know of the population of aboriginal Mexico, that all the male members of the kins, at a general gathering, could form its directive power.[177] The latter consisted of delegates, elected by the kins to represent them; which body of delegates was the supreme authority, from whose decisions there should be no appeal.[178]

[176] "*Ancient Society*," (Part II, cap. VII).

[177] There is no evidence of a general gathering of the tribe of Mexico, subsequent to the election of "Humming-Bird" (Huitzilihuitl) to the office of "chief of men." This occurrence which, according to the *Codex Mendoza* (Plate III), took place in 1396, is mentioned by *Durán* (Cap. VII, p. 53): "Y asi haciendo su consulta y cauildo entre los grandes y mucha de la gente comun." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*" edited by *Sr. Jose M. Vigil* and annotated by *Sr. Orozco y Berra*, Mexico, 1878, cap. IV, p. 233), distinctly mentions delegates: "Casi con esto los mas principales, viejos, y sacerdotes de los Mexicanos, de los cuatro barrios." The "*Codice Ramirez*" ("*Relacion del Origen de los Indios que Habitan esta Nueva-España segun sus Historias*." "*Biblioteca Mexicana*," p. 38), uses the same words as Durán. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318), gives probably the best and clearest picture of the most important meetings of the tribe,—those for election of the chiefs, and distinctly mentions only old men, officers and medicine-men.

[178] Evidence in regard to the existence and to the supreme authority of this body is found in many authors. In the first place we have the direct admission, that they elected the "chief of men" or so-called "King," and that the "matters of government" lay in their hands, in that (yet) anonymous Relation taken from the Archives of Simancas, translated and printed by Mr. H. Ternaux-Compans under the title: "*De l'ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens*" (1er *Recueil*, p. 226): "Des conseilleurs étaient chargés des affaires d'état; c'étaient pour la plupart des gens de distinction et des tecuelli ou chevaliers comme nous les appelons. On choisissait toujours des personnes âgées, pour lesquelles le souverain avait beaucoup de vénération et de respect, et qu'il honorait comme ses pères." The supremacy of the council is positively affirmed, besides, in the following authorities:—

(1). In a fragmentary MSS. of the sixteenth century, found along with the "*Codice Ramirez*," and incorporated with the latter in the "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" ("*Crónica*," *Fragmento* 2, Cap. . . p. 147): "Considerando el nuevo Rey de México la fuerza que el español traia, juntó á consejo y hizoles representacion de aquesto, y lo que estaba prometido que de Ixtlilxuchitl habia de salir la ruina de los Mexicanos, que se diesen con buenas condiciones, pues era menos mal que no morir á sus manos y á las de los españoles. No quisieron por tener concepto destos que eran insufribles y cudiciosos. Tornóles otra vez á tratar aquesto, y aún otras dos, diciéndoles ser entónces tiempo cómodo: dijéron que querian mas morir, que hazerse esclavos de gente tan mala como los españoles; y asi quedó combenido que era mejor morir; la qual determinacion sabida por Cortés andaba dando órden á Ixtlilxuchitl de como sitiar la ciudad." This shows how decisive the voice and vote of the council was, over and above the wishes and counsels of the so-called "King" (at that time Quauhtemotzin), even at the time of greatest danger, immediately before the last siege. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 160) on the same subject.

(2). In same collection—*Fragmento* 1 (pp. 124 and 125), acknowledging the final decisions of the council at the time of the older "wrathy chief": "y assi en este tiempo

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It is therefore a TRIBAL COUNCIL, called in the Mexican language "place of speech" ("Tlatocan"), which constituted the highest power among the ancient Mexicans.[179] In all probability it consisted of as many members as there were kins in the tribe,[180]

comenzó á edificar el templo á su dios Huitzilopochtli á imitacion de Salomon, por consejo de Tlacaelel y de todos sus grandes." Idem (p. 117): "y luego llamó á Tlacaelel y á sus cónsejeros, y diziendóles lo que pasaba, de comun acuerdo se determinó que se hiziesse guerra á los de Tepeaca."

(3). The proper words of the last "wrathy chief" (Montezuma II), as reported by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Vol. IX of Kingsborough, Cap. XCVII, p. 172) are: "hijos y hermanos, seais muy bien venidos, descansad, que aunque es verdad yo soy rey y señor, yo solo no puede valeros, sino con todos los principales Mexicanos del sacro senado Mexicano descansad." This reply was given by the reputed "despot" to the delegates from Huexotzinco, who came to negotiate for peace and alliance against the Tlaxcallans. In connection with this we meet with the remarkable passage already quoted, which, while proving the fact that the Mexican tribe could not, alone, even treat, for itself, with a hostile tribe, establishes incidentally, also, the supremacy of the Mexican council over its head-chief: "Habiendo venido ante Moctezuma todo el senado Mexicano, y consultado sobre ello, dijo Zihuacoatl resoluto: Señor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra, los reyes de Acolhuacan Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi."

(4). *Diego Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, sin parecer de los quales ninguna cosa se auia de hacer." (Cap. XII, p. 108): "El rey tomó parecer con los grandes de lo que auia de hacer. Tlacaelel, príncipe de los exercitos, y los quatro del supremo consejo." (Cap. XIV, pp. 117 and 118) describes a called meeting of "los mas principales de toda la ciudad de México" with the two chiefs. (Cap. XVI, p. 122): "Tlacaelel respondió, que le parecia cosa muy acertada y justa, y todos los del consejo determinaron de que se hiciese." (P. 123): "Montezuma aprobó el consejo y dixo: perdonad me, señores, que yo aunque soy rey no acertaré en todo: para eso tengo vuestro favor, para que me auiseis de lo que á la autoridad desta ciudad y nuestra conviniere." I further refer to Cap. XVIII (p. 156), and other places.

(5). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 11, p. 477): "De donde se puede entender, que entre estos el Rey no tenia absoluto mando é imperio, y que mas gouernaua a modo de Consul, o Dux, que de Rey, aunque despues con el poder crecio tambien el mando de los Reyes, hasta ser puro tyrannico, como se vera en los ultimos Reyes." This latter assertion has already been refuted in a previous note. (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos estos quatro eran del supremo Consejo, sin cuyo parecer el Rey no hazia, ni podia hazer cosa de importancia."

(6). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 76): "Estos quatro Ditados, eran del Consejo supremo, sin cuyo parcer no podia hacer el Rei cosa de importancia."

(7). Indirect evidence of the supreme power of the council is found in the descriptions of the mode of consultation about war or peace, as given by *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 120), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537). The latter even mentions old women along with the men, as participating in the debate on peace or war, and describes this debate as truly "Indian."

[179] *Molina* (II, p. 140): "*tlatocan*," "corte ó palacio de grandes señores." (Id., I, p. 29): "consejo real," "tlatocanecentlalilistli." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 545): "si no era en la corte, ó la qual llaman Tlatocan, que es lugar de Juzgado, ó Audiencia."

[180] We have already noticed that there were twenty "barrios" (kins) in the tribe. Now we are told by *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*," etc., Vedia II, cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la continua estaban en su compañia veinte grandes señores y consejeros y capitanes, y se hizo á estar preso sin mostrar pasion en ello." (Cap. XCVII, p. 98): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que estaban á

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646 each calpulli sending a "speaker" ("Tlatoani") to represent it. Such positions could only be filled by men of acknowledged ability and reputation, who had acquired the distinction of *chiefs*, and hence their other title—"speaking chiefs" ("Tecuthatoca,") which was everywhere recognized, in aboriginal Mexico, as the highest office and charge.[181]

negociar y el acato que le tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran Jueces; y porque está ya referido, no lo torné á referir." Furthermore, it is positively asserted by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544): "En lugar de Regidores, ponian en cada Barrio, ó Parcialidad, un Tecuhtli, que se ocupaba en executar lo que nuestros Regidores executan, y hacen, y todos los Dias se hallaban en el Palacio, á ver lo que se les ordenaba, y mandaba." Consequently each calpulli or kin held one representative constantly at the official house of the tribe, and as there were twenty kins, we necessarily have here the twenty chiefs or "Judges," mentioned by Bernal Diez. The above statement of Torquemada is repeated (or copied?) by *Velancurt* ("Teatro," Vol. I, p. 371).

Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215) mentions: "los grandes señores, que eran hasta doce." *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 296) says "there were fourteen great lords in the kingdom of Mexico." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, Kingsb., Vol. IX) enumerates first twelve, then three more. This is the more singular after the detailed list giving *twenty* chiefs, which list I have already referred to in a previous note.

That the members of the tribal council were elected each one by his calpulli or kin follows from the statements of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 60): "Les calpullis ont toujours un chef pris nécessairement dans la tribu. . . . L'élection se fait entre eux. . . . La charge de ces chefs n'est pas héréditaire. . ." (P. 61): "Ce chef est chargé du soin des terres du calpulli et d'en défendre la possession. . . . . ." (P. 62): "Il a soin de défendre les membres du calpulli, de parler pour eux devant la justice et les gouverneurs." Consequently this officer *represented the kin* towards the other kins of the same tribe, and this could only be done in the tribal council, as one of its members. How this election took place, the same authority tells us (p. 61), also that the office was *for* life, and that as capacity was the first condition, incapacity or unfaithfulness necessarily brought about removal.

[181] *Molina* (II, p. 14): "Tlatoani," "hablador, ó gran señor." The plural is "Tlatoca." *Pimentel* ("*Cuadro*," p. 174). There is ample evidence of the high offices which bore this title. Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 696): "los Tlatoques (que son los Señores, y Poderosos.)" . . . . *Tezozomoc* uses the term "Zemanahuac-tlatoani." *Zurita* (p. 43): "Les souverains se nommaient et se nomment encore Tlatoques, mot qui vient du verbe tlatoa, qui veut dire parler." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 32, Vedia, II). "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 12 and note 36). In this document the word is used in the *plural*: "y diciendo que ya habian estado alli los Tlatoanis Tencames." It would be useless to quote further authorities. I shall only state that, according to *Sr. D. Juan Gavarrete*, the term, as applied to "principales" or "old men," is still used among the Indians of Guatemala: "Los ancianos que á su edad agregan servicios publicos se llaman en algunos pueblos Tatoques; pero esta denominacion casi ha desaparecido." (*Letter to the writer* 14 *March*, 1879.)

The term "tecutlatoca" decomposes into "tecutli" and "tlatoca." It is found in *Molina* (II, p. 36), as "in Tecutlatoa." "tener audiencia, o entender en su oficio el presidente, oydor, alcalde, etc." "Tecutlatolizilli." "judicatura, o el acto de exercitar su oficio el Juez." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 353): "y á los Jueces, Tecuhtlatoque, Señores, que goviernan el bien publico, y lo habian." I have already noticed that the "Tequitlato" mentioned by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, p. 329) might be a misprint or misspelling for "tecutlatoca." The same author says (Id., Cap. XXV, p. 314): "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban *tecutlatoque*." *Molina* (I, p. 106): "senador," "tecutlatoca."

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The place where this council assembled, was necessarily the official house of the tribe or "tecpan,"[162] and there they met at stated intervals, possibly twice every Mexican month of twenty days.[163] Such meetings were fully attended, and they could be called, besides, at any time.[164] There is evidence that, during

Bustamante ("*Tezcoco*," p. 191): "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban Tepantlátoani (el que habla por otro)."

[162] *Molina* (II, p. 93): "casa ò palacio real, ó de algun señor de salna." But of special importance is the following definition (I, p. 91): "Palacio real"—"tecpan, tlatocan, totecuacan." This shows that the tecpan was really the place where the council met." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIV, pp. 302 and 303. Cap. XXV, p. 314). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, pp. 247-252). *Veytia* (III. cap. VII, p. 199). *Torquemada* ("*Monarquia*," Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544), identifying "la Corte" with the "lugar de Juzgado, ó Audiencia." Further quotations are useless.

[163] This fact is implied by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," cap. XXXVIII, pp. 267, 268 and 269), when he affirms that, in notifying a hostile tribe of the intention to make war upon it, the notification was repeated thrice, at intervals of twenty days. *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua de Méjico*," Lib. III, cap. VII. p. 209), says that every twelve days "cada doce dias," the courts met to report to the "emperor." This is rather strange since (Id., p. 208, etc.), he says that these courts sat daily in what he calls the "palace." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 355): "De diez à diez Dias, y á mas tardar, de doce à doce, hacia junta el Rei de todos los jueces, asi de las Audiencias del Reino, como de los de sus Consejos." In this case he speaks of Tezcuco. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135): "Y asi, á lo mas largo, los pleitos árduos, se concluian á la consulta de los ochenta dias, que llamaban nappoaltlatolli, demas que cada diez ó doce dias el señor con todos los jueces tenian acuerdo sobre los casos árduos y de mas calidad." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 101): "Tous les douze jours il y avait une assemblée générale des juges présidié par le prince. On y jugeait les affaires difficiles, celles de crimes qualifiés, et l'on examinait minutieusement tous les détails." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 482), is very positive: "Each Mexican month, or within twenty days, a meeting of all the judges was held in presence of the King, to decide upon all cases not yet disposed of." He evidently bases the statement upon *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 442). "Consultan con los señores cada mes una vez todos los negocios," according to *Sr. Orozco y Berra* ("*Ojeada sobre Cronologia Mexicana*," Introduction to the "Crónica Mexicana," published under the supervision of Señor José M. Vigil, pp. 174 and 175). Gomara rests principally upon an unpublished series of documents, entitled "*Libro de Oro*," now in possession of my friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, which collection was formed by the Franciscans under the auspices of the unjustly abused Fray Juan de Zumárraga, between 1531 and 1547. The statement of Clavigero is, therefore, not to be rejected. The "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 65) says: "los quales daban noticia al Rey cada cierto tiempo de todo lo que en su Reyno pasaba y se habia hecho." It is, therefore, to say the least, likely, that the full council met once a month, but, as we have stated in order to be just towards all, it is equally possible that it may have met twice. The reference to "Judges" needs no explanation. It is self-evident that for judiciary matters, alone, such meetings of executive officers were superfluous. Matters of government came up also,—and this is decisive of the kind of officers that were members of the tribal council, since they alone could fill such positions. These meetings were, therefore, full meetings of the council, and nothing else.

[164] This is abundantly proven by what has at last been recognized by *Sr. Orozco y Berra* as well as by my friend, *Sr. Chavero* ("*Ojeada*," etc.) as specifically Mexican sources of aboriginal history. See for inst.: "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 53, 62, 66, 67, 80). "*Fragmento No.* 1" (pp. 124, 127, 132, etc.). "*Fragmento No.* 2" (pp. 137, 147, etc.).

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646 the critical period of Cortés' first stay at Tenuchtitlan, the twenty "speakers" held daily meetings at the official house.[185]

In a society based upon kin we cannot expect a clear division of the powers of government, particularly as there were no written laws,[186] and custom alone ruled. The functions of the ancient Mexican council were not properly legislative, but they were rather *directive* and *judicial* combined. One of its first duties was, however, to maintain harmony among the kins.

The twenty independent social units composing the Mexican tribe, while bound together by the necessity of mutual aid to secure territorial independence, could not be expected always to live in peace with one another. Difficulties would necessarily arise between kin and kin, and to prevent such disputes from leading to actual warfare,[187] the council as a body of *official arbitrators* was needed.

618 According to the rules of kinship, the calpulli was not only
646 bound to avenge any wrongs suffered by one of its members, but
695 it was also responsible for the offences committed by the kinfolk towards any outsider.[188] Hence theft committed outside of the

Durán (cap. X, p. 83. XI. pp. 107, 108, 109, XIV, pp. 117, 123, XVI, p. 132, XVIII, p. 156), etc., etc. We forbear further quotations, since they would be too numerous. All go to prove that the council was frequently called together between the times of regular meeting. Quotations from *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*") are useless, since they are very numerous and agree with those of Durán in the main. The fact of irregular meetings of the council having been called during the conquest, is further proven by *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. III. p. 7), and *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XIV, p. 283).

[184] *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, Vol. II. cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la cantina estaban en su compañia veinte grande señores y consejeros y capitanes." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á negociar y el acato que el tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces."

[185] A number of paintings are mentioned as representing the customs and manners
[212 532] of the natives. Specimens of these are found in *Codex Mendoza*, Lam., 58 to 72 inclusive. But none of these contained, or could contain or express, anything like a *law*. Compare, on Mexican paintings in general and their value, "*On the Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America*," in Vol. 27 of "*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*." Señor *Orozco y Berra* ("*Códice Mendozino,– Ensayo de descifracion geroglifica*," beginning in No. 2, of Vol. I, "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*") has commenced a publication which can be expected to shed much light on such picture-leaves, and the true position which they held among the ancient Mexicans.

[187] Conflicts between the inhabitants of different "barrios" during festive turnouts and religious gatherings could not always be prevented.

[188] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 76 and 77). *Davila-Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*," Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83). The custom is general among other tribes and Mr. Morgan has adverted to it among the Maya of Yucatan and the Peruvians. It would be unnecessary display to produce further evidence: the remarkably clear statements of Mr. Morgan fully "cover the case."

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calpulli, and especially the slaying, wilful or accidental, of members of one kin by those of another, became the cause of a claim by the offended calpulli upon that of the offender.[189] This claim was submitted to the tribal council by the "speaker" of the complainant kinship. He produced his evidence, sometimes even in the shape of paintings, not so much to prove the facts as to sustain his claim. From the opposite side, the "speaker" defended the interests of his clan, and he also supported his pleadings with whatever testimony he might command.[190] The remaining "tlatoca" listened attentively to both parties, and when the argument was concluded, they deliberated among

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[189] *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, pp. 458 and 459) was the first, to my knowledge, to call attention (in note 59) to the difference of opinion among authors, in regard to the punishment of murderers. He refers to the unpublished parts of the work of Fray *Diego Durán*. We find in the *Codice Ramirez* ("*Tratado de los Ritos y Ceremonias y Dioses que en su Gentilidad usaban los Indios desta Nueva España*," Cap. I, p. 105): "El matar uno á otro era muy prohibido, y aunque no se pagaba con muerte, hazian al homicida esclavo perpétuo de la mujer ò parientes del muerto, para que les sirviesse y supliesse la falta del muerto, ganando el sustento de los hijos que dejaba." This is very interesting since it shows the autonomy of the kins. The murderer stood, towards the calpulli of the slain, in the same relation as, among northern Indians, a prisoner of war did towards the hostile tribe. Both could be adopted, and this condoned the deed. The offending kin lost one member; the offended kin obtained one in return for the one that had been killed. However, this was only in exceptional cases: the rule, as established by the majority of authors was that life alone could atone for life. In the same manner, and under the same head, the contradictory reports must be placed, about the punishment of theft, which have already been noticed. There are consequently, for each crime or kind of crime, two classes; one, of such as were committed within the kin, and the other, of such as were committed without.

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[190] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304): "Otra sala del palacio se llamaba teccali, ó teccalco. En este lugar residian los senadores y los ancianos para oír pleitos y peticiones, que les ofrecian la gente popular, y los jueces procuraban de hacer su oficio con mucha prudencia y sagacidad, y presto los despachaban; porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como hacienda, casas, ó maizales; y despues cuando ya se queria acabar el pleito, buscaban los senadores los testigos." I quote this passage, although it applies particularly to the judicial functions of the council, because the mode of proceedings is therein illustrated. *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207), speaking of Tezcuco, is very positive: "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban tepantlatoani, que quiere decir *el que habla por otro*. . . . ." I need not recall here that "tlatoani" (plural "tlatoca") was the title of the members of the council, and that consequently these "attorneys" belonged thereto. The same statement (derived from Veytia also) is found in *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte II, cap. VII, p. 191). These two works contain (in the chapters indicated) the most detailed information as to the proceedings. Still, there is evident confusion in the minds of these authors in general: they fail to discriminate between arbitration and tribal jurisdiction. The bulk of the other authorities commit the same mistake. Compare *Burlia* ("Rapport," pp. 102–103), whom *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 136) has almost verbally copied. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

The absolute lack of division of powers which characterizes so well ancient Mexican society is well established by *Veytia* (III, cap. VII, p. 206), speaking of what he

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618 themselves until they finally agreed upon an award.[191] The
646 same thing occurred when two calpulli claimed possession or
695 enjoyment of the same piece of land.[192] No appeal was possible to any higher authority; but every eighty days an extraordinary gathering took place at the "tecpan," consisting of the council and the executive chieftains, the war-captains of the four great quarters, the "elder brothers" of the kins, and the leading medicine-men, and any cause pending before the "tlatocan" might be deferred until the next of these general meetings; and even in case a decision had been rendered, a reconsideration thereof, on that occasion, was sometimes agreed upon.[193]

calls "supremo consejo:" "Tratábanse en este consejo todo género de negocios de estado, justicia, guerra, hacienda etc., etc."

[191] This picture is mainly based upon *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," III. cap. VII), and *Bustamente* ("*Tezcoco*," pp. 191 and 192). The statement in the latter is only worthy of credit because copied from the former.

[192] *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, v. 483). For a copy of the paintings reproduced, see *A. de Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères*," etc., Vol. I, plate V. Ed. 8vo).

[643 695] [193] I affirm this in the face of all the authorities on the subject, who, without exception, assert that there was an appeal to the "king." The *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXX, "Declaracion de la figurado") is even very positive: "Y si era negocio de calidad del consejo, havia apelacion por via de agravio ante Montecuma, en donde habia conclusion de la causa." My opinion is based on what precedes about the authority of the council, on what I expect to prove in relation to the true nature of the duties of the head-chiefs and which will hereafter follow, and on the contradictions among the authors themselves. Thus the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58) places the supreme power into the hands of the councils "sin parecer de los quales ninguna cosa se habia de hacer," and (pp. 64 and 65) it does not mention any power of appeal whatever. *Zurita* (pp. 100 and 101): "Les appels étaient portés devant douze autres juges supérieurs qui prononçaient d'après l'avis du souverain." It is queer to notice, how the writers of the tezcucan school, appear eager to place the power of final decree or the decision of final appeal in a "high tribunal," or rather simply a supreme council of their tribe. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXXI, p. 146) mentions a supreme council, "á los quales avian de venir todas las cosas graves, y criminales, para que ellos, con el Rei, las determinasen." (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 354): "Para estos dos Jueces Supremos se apelaban las causas graves, los quales las admitian, pero no determinaban, ni sentenciaban, sin parecer, y acuerdo de el Rei." *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 199) speaks of the establishment of "tribunals" by "Fasting wolf" ("Nezahualcoyotl"—properly "fasting coyote"), and adds: "pero concediendo á las partes el recurso de apelacion para el gran tribunal de justicia que erigió en su corte de Tezcuco." This so-called tribunal was, as we have shown at the close of note 190, the "Council of the tribe." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 125) almost copies Zurita. *Sahagun* ("*Historia general*," etc., Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 314): "y los casos muy dificultosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase, juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian." "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque. . . ." In this case the learned father speaks of tribal jurisdiction and not of arbitration. Still it is plain that he admits the *council's decree as final*. The chief, "señor," appears only as member of this council, a position of which we shall hereafter speak. Without making any further quotations from similar authorities, I beg to revert to those which place, *by the side of the so-called "King,"* an independent "supreme Judge"—the "Cihuacohuatl," whose tribunal

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Aside from these arbitrative functions, other duties occupied the 646
council's time at its full meetings. If any calpulli felt wronged 618
in the distribution of the incoming tribute, it might through its delegate or "speaker,"[194] complain about the tribal officers answerable for it to the "tlatocan." The investiture of chiefs and officers of the kins belonged to the highest authority of the tribe

is positively mentioned as the final court of appeals. That this "Cihuacohuatl" [643
occupied a high position, was already noticed by *Cortés* ("*Carta tercera*," Vedia I, 693]
p. 89), and subsequently, when he became still more prominent, by *Tezozomoc*. But *Torquemada* has been to my knowledge, the first one to establish his position as independent supreme Judge. It is not devoid of interest to notice what he writes about this office. ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352): "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y Juez maior, cuio nombre, por raçon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl . . . . . De este Presidente no se apelaba para el Rei, ni para otro Juez alguno, ni podia tener Teniente, ni substituto, sino que por su misma persona havia de determinar, y decidir todos los negocios de su juzgado, y audiencia." He further adds; "lo qual no corria en este dicho Juez Cihuacohuatl; porque de su ultima determinacion no habia recurso á otro." *Fray Augustin de Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I, Parte 2a, Trat. 2°, cap. I, p. 369): "Despues del *Rey* . . . habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion á otro. Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." These statements distinctly hint at the existence of an appellate judicial body, of which this Cihuacohuatl was foreman, and over which the so-called "King" had no control. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481) even states that while there was no appeal from the Cihuacohuatl whatever, there was one of these officers "at the court and the principal cities of the kingdom." These views in regard to the "Cihuacohuatl" have been plainly accepted by *W. H. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Vol. I, p. 29): "There was no appeal from his sentence to any other tribunal, not even to the king," and *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435).

The confusion is apparent, for we have here three different views of the same case. One is that the "head-chief" was the highest appellate authority, the other that the head-chief, *with the council*, formed the court of last resort, and the third that a "supreme Judge" was appointed by the so-called "King" to render final decisions. Now we have already seen that the supreme authority was the council or "tlatocan," consequently what is commonly called the "king" could not be the last resort in judiciary matters, still less could he appoint an officer for that purpose. Our proposition appears, therefore, sustained, that there was no appeal from the decisions of the council to any superior authority whatever.

But, finally, it was possible to reconsider, so to say, the cases decided by the council, and for such the so-called "*Nauhpohualtlatolli*" or "*eighty days-talk*" was instituted. Authorities are almost unanimous on this point, although it is commonly ascribed to Tezozomoc alone, and I refrain from quoting them in detail, referring but to *Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, p. 439, etc.).

[194] This becomes evident from the relative positions of kin and tribe. As we shall hereafter see, the officers gathering and those receiving the tribute were tribal officers, consequently subject to the council. It was to the council, therefore, that any complaint had to be brought against them, and this could be done only through the "speaker" of a particular kin. That the tribute was distributed partly among the "calpulli" is indicated by *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 79): "Tambien dieron á sus barrios para el culto de sus dioses, á cada barrio una suerte, etc.," and *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. X, p. 18): "y aunque venian á darlo á Ytzcoatl, era para todos los Mexicanos en comun."

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646 also.[195] This "right to invest officers and chiefs of the kins" is
618 commonly distorted into a right to appoint or at least to confirm an appointment or election,[196] whereas it was merely an act of courtesy ultimately converted into an established custom. But paramount in importance was the preservation of independence towards the outside world, and hence all relations with other tribes, and all final decisions concerning alliances, declarations of war and treaties of peace were, as we have elsewhere stated, in the hands of the council.[197] No raid or foray could be started unless by its direction; and delegates from foreign or hostile tribes, though not always admitted into the presence of the "tlatocan," always had to wait until that body agreed upon and formulated an answer.[198]

[195] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 361): . . "elegian Dia de buen signo: en el qual llamaban á todos los señores, y principales de la Republica. y á todos los Parientes. y Amigos: los quales acompañaban al mancebo, etc., etc." (Cap. XXX, pp. 364, 365). This author copies from *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII and XXXIX, pp. 156 to 161) who partly gathers from *Zurita* ("*Rapport*." pp. 25 to 29). *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 435): "Los señores, los amigos y parientes que convidados estaban, lo subian por las gradas al altar. . . . . El dia que habia de salir venian todos los que primero le honraron, y luego por la mañana le lavaban y limpiaban muy bien, y le tornaban al templo de Camaxtle con mucha música, danzas y regocijo. Subianle á cerca del altar, etc., etc. . . ." Although these quotations apply mostly to Tlaxcala, the dignity of "Tecuhtli" was common among all the sedentary tribes, and the customs of investiture were also about identical. Compare, "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un tecle*" ("*Pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique*," Ternaux-Compans, pp. 233 and 234.

[196] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 47): "parceque les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient á ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits á la guerre," etc. Besides, thereare numerous evidences that the older authors all believed the officers to be nominated by the highest tribal authority. The distinction was never made as between officers of the kins and officers of the tribe. I have formerly discussed the point.

[197] "*Art of War*" (p. 129). In addition to the authorities there quoted, and those alluded to in note 178 of the present essay, I beg to refer with great pleasure to a paper written by a learned Peruvian, *Sr. José Fernandez Nodal* ("*Législation civile comparée des Mexicains sous les empereurs Aztecs et des Péruviens à l'époque des Incas*"). This memoir was presented at the "Congrés international des Américanistes," at Luxembourg in 1877, but only a short summary of it was published in the "*Compte Rendu*" (Vol. I, pp. 235-237). Sr. Nodal states that among the Mexicans' monarchy (?) was elective and controlled by a Council. "Controlée par un conseil suprême." It is to be sincerely regretted that this interesting paper was thus neglected.

[198] Evidences in regard to this latter detail are numerous. Compare *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. XCVII, p. 172). *Durán* (Cap. XV. p. 127): "El rey Montequma le respondió con rostro muy alegre y amoroso, que se lo agradecia el amor que les tenian y quel era muy contento de conservar la paz y de tener con ellos perpetua amistad; pero para questas treguas estuviesen con mas seguridad y vinculo, quel lo queria communicar con sus grandes señores y principales y quel le daria su respuesta. El rey de Tezcuco fué aposentado á descansar en un aposento de la casa real, con mucha onra, y luego el rey mandó venir á todos los de su consejo y á los demas señores y principales, y estando presentes, luego los propuso la plática

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Such were, in a general way, the higher functions of the Mexi- 646
can council, and they appear, if we are permitted to characterize 692
them to be only arbitrative and directive. Yet the members of that council had other duties of a purely judicial nature.

No conflict occurred between its jurisdiction and that of the kins. It was neither superior nor inferior to it, but wholly independent, even without any connection with it. Hence it extended:

1. Over the unattached class, the hangers-on to the tribe, or outcasts from the bond of kinship.[19]

2. Over all the people composing the tribe, irrespective of kinship, at places specially placed under tribal care, or reserved for tribal business, and therefore *neutral ground* for the members of all the calpulli. These neutral localities were the official buildings, the central or tribal "house of god," and especially the great "tianquiz" or market places.

The outcasts were, happily for the preservation of tribal society, not very numerous. Still, from their very origin, they were the most disorderly part of the people and crimes were certainly more common among them than among those upon whose passions the tie of kinship and the obligations resulting therefrom acted like a wholesome check. It required a judiciary power constantly on hand to repress and punish the misdemeanors committed among this class.

The "tecpan," the great central "teocalli" and the square on 368
which it stood, and the market, were regular meeting-places of 621
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siguiente, etc. . . . . ." (Cap. LX. p. 473): "Montezuma, apiadándose dellos, los mandó aposentar, y llamando su consejo, propusoles la demanda que traian." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 61): "El Rey Itzcohuatl mostró gran contento con la embajada respondiendo con muy gratas palabras; mandó aposentar á los mensajeros, y honrarlos, y tratar como á su propia persona, diziéndoles que descansassen, que el dia siguiente les daria la respuesta." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap I, p. 333): "Acabada la Embaxada, si el Embaxador no era de mui gran Principe, no se le respondia cosa, hasta otro Dia; salian con él algunos, acompañandole á la Calpixca, adonde se proveia de lo necesario, y en el entretanto el Señor comunicaba con los de su Consejo lo que se havia de responder, lo qual hacia uno de ellos, y no él." But the most complete picture of such delegations and the manner in which they were received is found in *Velascurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte II^a Trat. IIa, cap. II. pp. 378 and 379). It is too long to be copied. I merely allude to the words: "Acabada la embajada, le volvian á la posada mientras se juntaban para la respuesta." It has been adopted by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, pp. 470 and 471).

[19] The unattached class was under protection of no kin; therefore, if such a "bonded man" made his escape to the Tecpan, he became liberated from his bond. Already mentioned by *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia, I. p. 442), and subsequently confirmed by others.

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368 people from *all* the calpulli, but over which no single kin could
621 exercise any control.[200] This control had been delegated to the
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[200] In regard to the "tecpan," the simple term "casa de comunidad," used particularly by *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48, and again Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477): la "Tecpan, que es el palacio," explains much. It is, besides, self-evident that the tribal places of business and of worship were under the control of no particular kin, being expressly reserved for the tribe. There is, however, no definite expression as yet, in fact it hardly amounts to a clear conception, of the number and position or location of the original "tianquiz" of Tenuchtitlan. There are four eye-witnesses of the conquest reporting upon the markets: Cortés, Andrés de Tapia, the anonymous conqueror, and Bernal-Diez de Castillo. I quote these in succession. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia, I, p. 32): "Tiene esta ciudad muchas plazas, donde hay continuos mercados y trato de comprar y vender. Tiene otra plaza tan grande como dos vezes la ciudad de Salamanca, toda cercada de portales al rededor, donde hay cotidianamente arriba de sesenta-mil animas comprando y vendiendo, . . ." "*Carta Tercera*," (p. 74): "hasta otra puente que está junto á la plaza de los principales aposentamientos de la ciudad." Note 2 of the Archbishop Lorenzana: "Antes de llegar á la plaza de la Universidad hay muchas puentes, y naturalmente habia aqui desta plaza ó mercado, que era muy grande." Id., (p. 78): "E porque este trabajo era incompartable, acordó de pasar el real al cabo de la calzada que va á dar al mercado de Temixtitan, que es una plaza harto mayor que la de Salamanca, y toda cercada de portales á la redonda;" (Id., p. 79): "seguimos nuestro camino, y entramos en la ciudad, á la cual llegados, yo reparti la gente desta manera; habia tres calles desde lo que teniamos ganado, que iban á dar al mercado, al cual los indios llaman Tianguizco, y á todo aquel sitio donde está llámen de Tlaltelulco; y la una destas calles era la principal, que iba á dicho mercado, . . Las otras dos calles van desde la calle de Tacuba á dar al mercado." Id. (p. 81), after the repulse of the Spaniards: "todos los españoles vivos y muertos que tomaron los llevaron al Tlatelulco, que es el mercado." Id. (p. 85): "E aquel dia acabamos de ganar toda la calle de Tacuba y de adobar los malos pasos della, en tal manera que los del real de Pedro de Albarado se podian communicar con nosotros por la ciudad, é por la calle principal, que iba al mercado, se ganaron otras dos puentes y se cegó bien el agua. . . ." Id., "y seguimos la calle grande, que iba á dar al mercado;" (p. 86): "Otro dia siguiente, estando aderezando para volver á entrar en la ciudad, á los nueve horas del dia vimos de nuestro real salir humo de dos torres muy altas que estaban en el Tatelulco ó mercado de la ciudad." *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., in *Col. de Doc.*, II, p. 582): mentions only the "patio de los idolos." "*El Conquistador anónimo*" (Col. de Doc., I. p. 392): "Sono nella città di Temestitan Messico grandissime et bellissime piazze, dove si vendono tutte le cose che usana fra loro, et specialmente la piazza maggiore che essi chiamano el Tatelula, che puo esser cosi grande como sarebbe tre volte la piazza di Salamanca, et seno all'intorno di essa tutti portici; . ." (p. 394): "Et oltra q'uesta gran piazza ve no sono dell'altre et mercati in che si vendono cose da mangiare in diverse parti della città." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, II, cap. XCII, p. 89): "y cuando llegamos á la gran plaza, que se dice el Tatelulco, como no habiamos visto tal cosa, quedamos admirados de la multitud de gente y mercaderias que en ella habia, . ." He also states that the "gran plaza" was "cercado de portales." (Cap. CLII, p. 183): "que si nos parecia que fuesemos entrando de golpe en la ciudad hasta entrar y llegar al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor Méjico, que es muy ancha, . . ." (Cap. CLV, p. 188): "que les entrásemos todo cuanto pudiésemos hasta llegalles al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor, adonde estaban sus altos cues y adoratorios." We notice at once a contradiction. Cortés first mentions a market of Tenuchtitlan, and afterward he calls it of Tlatelulco. Archbishop Lorenzana identifies it with the "plaza de la Universidad," or in the neighborhood of the Cathedral. See *Cervántes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," p. 9): "en la esquina de las calles del Arzobispado y Seminario."

366 There were two great market-places in ancient Mexico, one of which was in Tenuchtitlan, and the other in the conquered neighboring pueblo of Tlatelulco. This is very

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"tlatocan" as a consequence of the formation of the tribe. Crimes committed at such localities were punished with unusual severity, because they were offences desecrating *neutral* ground which was 368 621 693

plainly stated by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555), and it would even appear as if, notwithstanding the importance attached to Tlatelulco by many authors, that the principal market was the one mentioned by this author as "el que está en la Poblacion de San Juan . . . ," and consequently the proper "tianquiz" of the Mexican tribe. This could only be neutral ground, over which no single kin exercised any authority. It may have been different in regard to the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco; at least the following indications of *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 270) deserve full attention: "Fecho esto mandó el rey que aquella plaça y mercado que ellos ganaron, pues los tlatelulcas no tenian mas tierra, que fuese repartido entre los señores y que la parte que á cada uno cupiese, que de todos los tlatelulcas que allí hiciesen asiento, de todo lo que vendiesen les diesen alcanala, de cinco uno, y así se repartió la plaça entre todos, de donde cada uno cabraua alcanala de lo que en el lugar que le auia caido se vendia." The above is not quite definite enough, because the "plaza y mercado" of which the friar speaks, is evidently the one mentioned by him (p. 260): "y encerrándoles en la plaça de su mercado, haciéndose los tlatelulcas fuertes, no dexauan entrar á la plaça ninguno de los Mexicanos en ella," whereas he says (p. 270): "que allí hiciesen asiento," as if the place was built over. The fact that the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco was "distributed among the Mexicans" is further asserted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XLVI, p. 75, Kingsborough, Vol. 9): "Axayaca mandó tambien se hiciese repartimiento del tianquiz de Tlatilolco á los Mexicanos, y comenzaron á medir primera suerte Axayaca, luego á Zihuacoatl Tlacaelcltzin, luego par su orden Tlacochcalcatl, y á todos los capitanes, que fué tenido el tianquiz en mas de sí ganaran cien pueblos." It would therefore appear, if we interpret this "distribution" as it should be done, namely: *as a division of spoils among the kins*, that the latter claimed a share of tribute from the traffic or barter going on in the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco, a fact corroborated besides by that other statement of *Durán* (p. 269): "El rey le mandó, que pues auian sido traidores á su corona real, que de allí adelante queria y era su voluntad que aquella parcialidad Mexicana del tlatelulco le fuesen tributarios y pecheros como las demas ciudades y provincias, . . ." This, and the uncertainty as to which tianquiz is always meant, favors the assumption that *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 349. Vedia I) mentions Tlatelulco when he says: "Los que venden pagan algo del asiento al Rey, ó por alcabala ó porque los guarden de ladrones." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," pp. 23, 33 and 34) does not mention it, for the words: "donde están personas por guardas y que reciben certum quid de cada cosa que entra" do not apply to the market which he describes as having visited and which, in spite of *Bernal-Diez* ("*Hist. Verdadera*," Cap. XCII, p. 89) I still believe to have been that of Tenuchtitlan, and *not* that of Tlatelulco. Cortés is strictly followed by *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, pp. 300 and 301) whereas *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 195) copies Gomara. 364

I have dwelt thus long on this question because it disposes of the notion that the "government" of Mexico levied a tax on the traffic of the members of the tribe. This tax limits itself to a tribute paid by the subjected tribe of Tlatelulco alone, because, as *Durán* says (p. 270) "they had no more soil than that of their tianquiz." This tax was distributed among the kins, like any other tribute. But it does not follow that therefore the kins exercised judicial power over the Tlatelulcan market. This power either remained with the Tlatelulcan tribe, or devolved upon the officers of the tribe of Tenuchtitlan. The former is more likely, although the latter might also have been the case since the Tlatelulcans were treated with great severity, as traitors and outcasts (*Durán*, Cap. XXXIV, pp. 269-271), in which case the tribal authorities would have had to punish them. 651

That the central or tribal "teocalli" and the courts surrounding it were committed to the care of the tribe, as representing all the kins, on equal terms, in the share which each had in it, is self-evident, and needs no further proof.

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368 621 693 then respected as open to use for all the kins in common.[201] So many people met there daily, that the daily exercise, at least the presence, of judicial authority was absolutely necessary.[202]

[201] *Las Casas* ("*Historia apologética*," Cap. 214, in note XLV of Lord Kingsborough, Vol. VIII, p. 124): "pero cuando reñian en los mercados, como á escandalosos y alborotadores del pueblo eran muy gravemente castigados." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, p. 325) says even of those who disposed of stolen articles: "the Judges and chiefs took them and sentenced them to death." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 381): "El que hurtaba en la Plaça ó Mercado, que llaman Tianquizco, luego alli era muerto á palos, por tener por muy grave culpa, que en semejante lugar, y tan publico, huviese tanto atrevimiento." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 484): "He who changed the measures established by the government, in open market, was executed on the spot," and (p. 487): "He who stole in the market, was at once beaten to death." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 138): "Porque tenian por grave el pecado cometido en la plaza ó mercado."

[202] We have again here the eye-witnesses. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*." Vedia, I, p. 22): "Hay en esta gran plaza una muy buena casa como de audiencia, donde están siempre sentados diez ó doce personas, que son jueces y libran todos los casos y cosas que en el dicho mercado acaecen, y mandan castigar los delinquentes. Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89): Vedia, II, "y tenian alli sus casas, donde juzgaban tres jueces y otros como alguaciles ejecutores que miraban las mercaderias." These two statements, with more or less variation, are at the base of all that has been subsequently said on this subject, except by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, p. 323): "El señor tambien cuidaba del tianguiz y de todas las cosas que en el se vendian por amor de la gente popular, y de toda la gente forastera que alli venia, para que nadie los hiciese fraude, ni sin razon en el comercio de la feria. Por esta causa ponian por órden todas las cosas, que se vendian cada una en su lugar, y elegian por la misma oficiales que se llamaban tianquizpantlayacaque, los cuales tenian cargo del mercado, y todas las cosas que alli se vendian de cada género de mantenimientos ó mercaderias; tenia uno de estos cargo para poner los precios de las cosas que se vendian y para que no huvrise fraude entre los compradores y vendedores." "Tianquizpantlayacaque" decomposes into "Tianquizpan," "feriar, o tratar en mercado," *Molina* (II, p. 114), and "Tlayacatia," "cosa primera o delantera" (Id., p. 120); consequently, "the foremost or first ones of those who trade in open market." We have to discriminate therefore between these and such officers as "*sat*" ("están siempre sentados," says Cortés) within that "very good house" in the market, or rather close by, and acted as Judges. *Herrera* (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 195) says this house was "cerca del Mercado"—a statement which he afterwards changes to "en la plaza de Mexico" (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 137). We are now informed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555) that the *tecpan* of Tlatelulco "que son las Casas de Cabildo, y Audiencia" was, at his time, on one of the sides ("acera") of the *market* of Tlatelulco, and it appears to have been customary for the natives to have the official building facing the "tianquiz." Such was the case at Tezcuco if we are to believe *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 247): "Le palais avait deux cours, dont la première, qui était la plus grande, servait de place publique et de marché; elle est même encore aujourd'hui destinée à cet usage;" and if the market of Tenuchtitlan really was where Archbishop Lorenzana places it (see note 200), then it is evident that the Mexican tecpan must have been very near it, if not actually facing the square. The "great house" mentioned by the eye-witnesses quoted, was therefore, in all probability, but the council or official-house of the tribe, and the old men who, in number from three to twelve, are said to have officiated as "Judges," were members of the "tlatocan" or supreme council on judicial duty, as we shall hereafter see. Those officers who circulated among the people maintaining peace and order, were executive

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It therefore demanded the daily attendance at the official house 368
of the tribe of a body of men sitting as "judges." The decisions 621
of these judges had to be final even in matters of life and death. 693
Therefore the chiefs composing the highest authority of the tribe, the members of the council or "tlatoca," were also its supreme judges. It is stated that for this daily work the twenty "speakers" were subdivided into two bodies sitting simultaneously in two different halls of the "tecpan." One of these bodies is called "court [565]
of the nobles" because it attended, not merely to tribal cases, but especially to the preparatory business of government in general, whereas the other limited its decrees to judicial questions only.[203]

officers delegated for that special purpose, and, as we shall find, probably under orders of the military commanders of the tribe.

[203] This division of the council into two bodies for the purpose of greater dispatch of judicial work is particularly affirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib VIII, cap. XIV, p. 303. Cap. XV, p. 304, and Cap. XXV, pp. 313 and 314), who, however, contradicts himself in regard to the position and rank of his "Judges." Thus (p. 303) he calls his officers of the "sala de la judicatura," "el rey, los señores, cónsules, oidores, principales nobles" as distinguished from those of the "audiencia de la causas civiles," whom he designates as "los senadores y los ancianos," thus intimating, if not asserting, that the former were superior to the latter in rank and power. The hall wherein the former met, is called "tlacxitlan," the latter "teccalli." I shall return to these terms again. He further asserts (p. 314), speaking of the former: "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoques," and establishes them as a court of appeal for the lower court. Now (Cap. XXX, p. 318) he says: "juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoques . . ." Consequently, he tacitly admits that the "senadores" who, according to him, composed the "lower" court were also the *equals* of those of the higher, and all belonged to the same class of officers. Finally, his picture of the duties of both bodies is rather obscure. He even (p. 314) might be construed so as to establish *three* courts. If we now examine the names given by him, we find that of the "lower" to be "house of chiefs," from "tecuhtli" and "calli," house. Indeed, *Molina* (II, p. 92) has "teccalli," "casa, o audiencia real." "Tlacxitlan," however, signifies (II, p. 120) "en lo baxo, o al pie de los arboles, o de cosa semejante." The proper derivation, however, is from "ni tlacxitoca" "to correct writings, or count over what has been already counted" (p. 120), which would indeed correspond to a "court of appeals." "To appeal" is "nitlacuepa;" "appeal," "tlacuepaliztli; occeccan neteihuiliztli," *Molina* (I, p. 12). It stands properly for the act of demurring, or of returning, folding, doubling up, and it is not likely to have been used by the natives to define an appeal in our sense of the word. Father Sahagun has probably introduced the word "tlacxitlan" himself. At all events, he is responsible for the notion of a superior body of judges, to whom a lower court, sitting in the same house, referred all cases of importance, contenting itself with taking testimony and despatching unimportant cases; while at the same time he tells us that the members of *both* groups *held the same office*, and were consequently equal and had the same title. This title we have found to be that of the members of the council, consequently the two groups formed but fractions of that body, co-ordinated and assisting each other, and not a higher and a lower branch of a tribal judiciary.

Father Sahagun and contemporary authors of the Franciscan school, whose writings have just now come to light in the "*Libro de Oro*," can easily be traced as the source of most of the later pictures of Mexican judicial customs as in the present instance. Thus his highest tribunal of *thirteen* "senadores" reappears in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 442,

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646 We thus have found in the "tlatocan" or council, the high directive authority of the tribe, the arbitrator between its organic component parts, and the chief judicial power within the tribe. It is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the council of the kin.

643 Like the kin also which, subordinate ~~to its~~ councils decrees had two superior officers for the execution thereof, the tribe had *two chief executive functionaries.*

Even at a comparatively remote period in the history of the ancient Mexicans we may discern two offices, not formally created, but naturally growing from what was left of tribal organization, which mark the beginning of a chief tribal executive. One of these is the "wise old man" conducting the "talk;"[204] the other is the "big warrior" who led the braves to battle.[205] The former subsequently became "foreman" in the council, the latter "war-chief" to the tribe. There are indications to the effect that, for a while, both offices were held by one person. From the time the confederacy had been formed, however, we recognize two chief executive agents,[206] one of which is called the "Snake-woman"

Vedia I): "Los Jueces eran doce . . ." with a higher court of two; therefore, in all fourteen, equal to the thirteen of Sahagun with the "Señor" added. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 100 and 105): "Les douze juges d'appel . . ." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) copies Zurita almost literally. By the side of this early Franciscan group of writers, there is the picture drawn by the two great Franciscans, Torquemada and Vetancurt, representing a supreme Judge, "Cihnacohuatl," and four tribunals beneath him in authority. This picture is evidently based on such paintings as the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plates LXIX and LXX). In my opinion the thirteen Judges of Sahagun should be connected with the judicial offices mentioned by Cortés as sitting at the "tecpan" (see note 202), rather than regarded as constituting a court of appeals.

Finally, I refer to *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimques*," Cap. XXXVI and XXXVII), *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, pp. 199 and 200) and others, in regard to Tezcuco. While they distinctly prove the subdivision, for judicial work, of the supreme council into two sections, they also show in a very marked manner, the confusion and contradiction arising from a misconception of the real case.

[204] Perhaps the earliest mention of such a "wise old man," foremost in the "talk," among the Mexicans proper, is that of the tale of the crafty old men, Huitziton and Tecpatzin, who are said to have persuaded the Mexicans to emigrate from Aztlan, as related by *Torquemada*, who is often copied (Lib. II, cap I, p. 78). In early times they are also called Captains and leaders, and must not be confounded with the "medicine-men" (Id., p. 78). Subsequently these latter sometimes appear as leading speakers. Much information can be gathered on this point by carefully and critically reading *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, XIII, XV and XVIII), *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 25 to 38), *Durán* (Cap. IV, V and VI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, II and III).

[205] *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. II, pp. 80 and 81). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 260, 261 and 262). They merely show that the office of "big warrior," existed.

[17] [206] This apportionment of the duties of chief-executive among two heads is found in many tribes of Mexico and Central America. Thus in Tlaxcallan, Maxiscatzin and Xicotencatl, the two head-chiefs, were alike and equal in power. (*Cortés*, "*Carta Segunda*" (pp. 18, 46). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. LXVII, p. 60): "los dos mas prin-

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("Cihua-cohuatl,") and the other (erroneously termed "King"), 643
the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli").

The "CIHUA-COHUATL" was elected by the council for life, or

cipales caciques." "*Anonymous Conqueror*" (p. 388): "anchora che in certo modo si habbia rispetto á uno che e'el maggior Signore, che tiene teneva un Capitano generale per la guerra." *Motolinia*, "*Hist de los Indios*," etc. (Trat. III, cap. XVI, pp. 229 and 230). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII. cap. III, p. 272) copies Cortés. *Gomara* (p. 233). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 347) says four, of which Maxiscatzin was captain; though this is contradicted by the conquerors. Xicotencatl being war-chief. *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. X, p. 152) reports the speech of Xicotencatl: "que bien debia de saber, que era Xicotencatl Capitan General de la Republica de Tlaxcala," and especially his interesting tale of the Tlaxcaltecan council in Cap. III, pp. 139 and 140. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXVI, p. 150): "el rey Xicotencatl," (Cap. LXXXVII, p. 152): "el rey Maxiscatzin." About Chalco, compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 397, note 16), also about Xochimilco and the Tecpanecas. In regard to the Matlatzinca, *Zurita* ("Rapport," etc., p. 369) says there were three chiefs, who occupied the highest power in succession. This statement is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib IV, cap. XVIII, p. 139). The *Totonacas* had two chiefs. *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 181. Cap. XXIV, p. 206). The "Cazonzi" of Michuacan is represented by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. III, cap. V, p. 86, VI, p. 87) as being assisted by "his captain-general," and the anonymous document copied by *Don Florencio Janér* from the Codex C-IV-5 of the Escurial Library and published, without date, though evidently written between 1534 and 1551, entitled "*Relacion de las ceremonias y ritos, poblacion y gobierno de los indios de la provincia de Mechuacan, hecha el Ill'mo Sr. D. Antonio de Mendoza, Virey y Gobernador de Nueva España*" says ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "pues habia un rey y tenia su gobernador, y un capitan general en las guerras, y componiase como el mismo cazonci." This is very significant, especially because it is represented as being instituted by divine will. "Dicho sea en la primera parte, hablando de la historia del dios Curicaberis, como los dioses del cielo le dijeron como habia de ser rey, y que habia de conquistar toda la tierra, y que habia de haber uno que estuviese en su lugar, que entendiese en mandar traer leña para los ques." The evidence is positive about the QQuiché of Guatemala, and furthermore very interesting. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 405 and 406) mentions three chiefs, in a manner exactly similar to those of Matlatzinco, and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140) follows him implicitly. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XVIII, pp. 338 and 339) is of the same opinion, although it is easy to see that in fact there were *two* head-chiefs and not three, since he says: "Era el primero de todos el Rey actual; es á saber, el Abuelo: luego el Rey electo para despues de sus Dias; tras él, el que tenia nombre de Electo, etc." Consequently there were always two with the principal title. *Pedro de Alvarado* ("*Relacion á Hernando Cortés*," Utlatlan, 11 of April, 1524, Vedia I, p. 458) speaks of "cuatro señores de la ciudad de Utlatan." Another eye-witness of the conquest of Guatemala, *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CLXIV, p. 230) speaks of "dos capitanes señores de Utatlan." We have fortunately, in regard to the tribes of QQuiché language, a very positive source of great value. This is the "*Popol-Vuh*" (p. 329). Enumerating the "Nim-Ha Chi Cavikib," it specifies from the fourth generation on ("U. cah. le"), always *two* chiefs, stating positively: "Oxib-Quieh, Belehob-Tzi, u cablahu-le ahauab. Are-cut que ahauaric ta x-ul Donadiu, x-e hitzaxic rumal Caxtulan vinak" (p. 338). Consequently Alvarado executed *two* chiefs. Besides (p. 340), it even mentions their last successors, with Spanish names. At the close three "great-elected ones" ("Nim-Chocoh") are mentioned, but only two are named, the one from "Nihaib" and the other from "Ahau-QQuiche." We find here the exact counterpart of the Mexicans, before their fight with Tlatelulco,—two chiefs of Mexico, and two chiefs of Tlatelulco, Moquihuix and Teconal. See the authors on that subject. In regard to the Maya of Yucatan, see *Lizana* ("*Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Itzmal*," § IV), also *Villagutierre y Sotomayor* ("*Historia de la Conquista y Reducciones de los Itzaex y Lacandones*," Lib. VIII, cap. XVI, p. 514)

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during good behavior.[207] We find in the Codex Mendoza — the earliest date connected with the office — the symbol of "snake-woman" affixed to the head of "Handful of Reeds," who was inaugurated "chief of men" in 1375.[208] The inference may be permitted, therefore, that at one time both offices were held by one and the same incumbent. At all events, the "Cihuacohuatl" becomes prominent only after the formation of the tri-partite confederacy embracing the Nahuatl tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[209] But the position which he occupies thereafter is a

[207] Most of the older authors assert that the "Cihuacohuatl" was appointed by the "King." How was it possible for an officer to appoint his own equal, or associate officer? *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332), says: "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y juez mayor, cuio nombre, por raçon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl: esto oficio se proveia por el mismo Rei;" and again he concedes to the Cihuacohuatl "porque de su ultima determinacion no havia recurso à otro . . . . . aqui parece lo mismo que reservando el Rei Mexicano para si, la autoridad Real, le hace su igual en la judicatura; y añade, que parte de sus Determinaciones, y Sentencias, no tengan recurso al Rei. que es condicion, y calidad, que engrandece mas la Persona de el Cihuacohuatl." Now, either the Mexicans were under a constitutional monarchy of the most improved kind,— of which there is no evidence since there was not even a division of powers,— or else the Cihuacohuatl was not appointed, but *elected* in true democratic fashion. *Velancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. I. p. 369) is still plainer; "Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." Such an officer could only be appointed (if he was appointed and not elected), by the highest authority of the tribe, which was the council. Such is the version of *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" Cap. LXXIX, p. 137): "y acabado de celebrar su entierro y quemazon de su cuerpo, que lo sintió mucho el rey Ahuitzotl, *pusieron* en su lugar su hijo Tilipotonqui, Zihuacohuatl por sobrenombre." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 67): "Antes que fuesse coronado recien electo adolesció el famoso y sabio capitan Tlacaelliel, de la qual enfermedad murió; en el articulo de su muerte llamó al Rey electo y le encargó mucho á sus hijos, especialmente al mayor, que daba muestras de ser muy valeroso, y habia hecho grandes hazañas en las guerras. El nuevo Rey por consolarle despues de haberle hablado muy tiernamente con muchas lágrimas, hizo llamar á los de su consejo real y rodeados todos del lecho de Tlacaelliel mandó llamar el Rey al hijo mayor de Tlacaelliel, y alli en presencia de su padre y de su consejo, le dió el mismo oficio de su padre, de capitan general y segundo de su corte con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenia." Even if there had been such an officer as a "King of Mexico" he could not have "appointed" anybody before his coronation. The ceremony indicated was therefore an *election by the council*. This is fully confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 381): "llamando al hijo mayor, con parecer de todos los grandes, lo puso en la misma dinidad que el padre ania tenido, que era ser segundo despues del Rey en la corte, y mandó fuese honrado con la mesma veneracion que su padre ania sido jurándoles todos por principe de México, al qual le fué puesto el nombre de Ciuacoatl."

[208] "*Codex Mendoza*" (Tab. II), and the explanation says: "Las dos figuras con sus titulos é nombres de Acamapichtli son una misma cosa reservida en substancia, por que la primera figura demuestra el principio subcesion del dicho señorio . ." In note (p. 8, Vol. VI) of "*Antiquities of Mexico*," Lord Kingsborough adds the very sensible remark: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected King, possessed the title of Cihuacohuatl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a monarchy, this title was retained." The token for "Cihuacohuatl" a female head surmounted by a snake, is also found in the pictures of *Durán* (Lam. 8a).

[209] *Durán* (Cap. XXIV, p. 205): "Monteçuma se voluió a ciuacoatl Tlacaelliel, que

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very important one. The most specific Mexican chronicles call 643
him "coadjutor to the King," "second King," "governor."[210] By other authorities he is mentioned as "vice-roy,"[211] and more frequently yet as "supreme judge."[212] Finally, eye-witnesses of the conquest apply to the "snake-woman" the titles of "keeper of the tribute"[213] and "captain-general" of the Mexicans.[214]

le avia puesto por renombre y grandeça aquel nuevo ditado que." *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," cap. XXXIX, p. 35) mentions the title together with the first actions of "wrathy chief," the Elder. But it also appears to have been very much older. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones Históricas*" *Segunda Relacion*, p. 282, Vol. IX of Kingsborough), speaking of the migrations of the Toltecs says: "llegaron á Xalisco, tierra que estaba cerca de la mar, y aquí estuvieron ocho años, siendo desaubridor Zulhcohuatl, tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores." *Veytia* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 220) attributes to the same the discovery of another region. It appears as if this title,— whose origin we may speculate upon but, as yet, without any hope of positive results,— was always in existence, but appeared as a distinct office only after the confederacy had been formed. A historical question of some interest looms up here: whether or not the first reported incumbent of the office after the formation of the confederacy, Atempanecatl Tlacaelelitzin, really existed. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 171) denies his existence, and perhaps hints at the "Codice Ramirez" when he speaks of "la mala, y falsa Relacion, que de esto tuve, que yo tengo en mi poder escrita de mano, con el mismo lenguage, y estilo." *Sr. José F. Ramirez* already noticed this sally of the provincial, in note 1 (p. 282) of *Durán*, "*Hist. de las Indias*," etc., and recognized it at once as applying to the Codice R. *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap I, p. 82, etc.) acknowledges the existence of Tlacaelel, so does of course *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18), and all those who followed the same sources as the "Codex Ramirez." The present city of Mexico, however, has two monuments which, to my judgment, establish beyond a doubt the existence of this [778] Tlacaelel. One of these is the "Stone of Sacrifice," and the other a commemorative slab, figured and described in No. 2 of Vol. I. "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*," by the great Mexican scholar, Sr. Orozco y Berra. See my article in No. I, Vol. II of the "*American Antiquarian*," "*The National Museum of Mexico and the Sacrificial Stone*" (pp. 23 and 27).

[210] For these titles I refer in general to the *Codice Ramirez*, *Durán*, and *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are useless and would only serve to increase the size of the volume.

[211] Already *Tezozomoc* mentions him a "teniente." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 353). *Velascurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Trat. IIº, cap. I, p. 369): "Despues del Rey que heredaba, como se ha visto guardando el órden de la sangre real, habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion al rey."

[212] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 353). *Velascurt* ("*Teatro*," p. 369). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," B'k I, cap. II, p. 29). *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435). *Codex Mendoza* (Tab. LXIX, "Myxcoatlatlotlac, Justicia mayor").

[213] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera, etc.*," Cap. XCI, p. 67, Vedia II): "Acordóme que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia. y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos." Now this "Tapia" reappears again as "governor" of Mexico in different places. "*Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor Natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco*" ("Col. de Documentos." Icazbalceta, p. 315, Vol. II): "y á solas los Mexicanos llevó, y fueron por sus candillos Tapia y D. Martin el de Tlatelulco." "*Cuarta Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman*" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 471): "Viendo el señor desta cibdad de México, que se llama Tapia." *Letter of the "Oydores" Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos, and Quiroga*

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643 Every one of these designations conveys a certain amount of truth, though none of them adequately defines the office, the true nature and position of which become clear only through a glance at its 643 early history. Tribal executive as a permanent office, (which 174 must always be distinguished from a hereditary dignity), was created under the pressure of extreme need. The warrior who enjoyed the confidence of the tribe, who was not only daring and brave, but had also given proof of wisdom in the councils, became the people's choice as leader. The Mexicans were then in an attitude of defence; their own existence was at stake, and it was but natural, therefore, that the leading "talk" should be on military subjects, and that consequently the prominent war-captain should become the prominent "speaker," or foreman of the council.[215] In this manner we come to notice but *one* executive chief until the confederacy was formed. His duties were plain, even simple, at that time. He resided at the official house and superintended the exercise of tribal hospitality there; he was foreman to the council, and the leading executor of its decrees as far as tribal jurisdiction extended; he controlled the receiving and housing of the modest crops gathered from the "lands of the official-house" (tecpan-talli),[216] which, together with the customary pres-

(3d "*Recueil*" *of* "*Ternaux Compans*," dated Mexico, 14 August, 1531): "Ainsi l'on dit qu'un certain Tapico, qui gouvernait la partie du Mexique que l'on appelle Temixtitan." I find also the following in the municipal records of Mexico: "*Actas de Cabildo*" (Vol. I. p. 75; "Viernes 17 de Agosto 1526, años"): "Este dia de pedimento de Diego de Ordáz vecino de está Cibdad le hizieron merced de le confirmar cierta compra que hize de Guanachel cacique que se llama Tapia de un sitio de casa que esta cabe San Francisco."

The "gobernador" of Mexico, after the conquest, and restoration under Spanish rule, was the former "*Cihuacohuatl*." This is plainly stated by *Cortés* ("*Carta Cuarta*," Vedia I, p. 110): "hice á un capitan general que en la guerra tenia, y yo conocia del tiempo de Muteczuma, que tomase cargo de la tornar á poblar. Y para que mas autoridad su persona tuviese, tornéle á dar el mismo cargo que en tiempo del señor tenia, que es cignacoat, que quiere tanto decir como lugar-teniente del señor." Therefore the appellation of Bernal-Diez, applies evidently to this officer.

[214] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 93. "*Carta Cuarta*," p. 110, both in Vedia I). *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 392): "Vino Xihuacoa, gobernador y capitan general." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. VII, p. 53) calls him "Guacoazin, Principal consejero del Rei, i su Lágar teniente," *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. C, p. 567): "Salió un capitan, llamado Cihuacohuatl Tlacotzin."

[215] *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 34 and 35): "Mira, Señor, que vienes á ser amparo y sombra y abrigo desta nacion Mexicana . . . ." *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 468) *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 95): "La causa de su Eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár aui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian Guerra, y afligian."

[216] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 405, 406 and 419). I beg leave to correct here a mistake of mine in note 73, p. 420. At the close of said note it reads: "The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the *King*

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ents, constituted the tribal stores; finally he commanded the 643
people when in arms. The overthrow of the tribes of Azcaput- 174
zalco and Cuyuacan, by rendering these pueblos tributary, and compulsory allies of the Mexicans in warfare, suddenly increased these duties to such an extent that an assistant or colleague, a second head-chief, became necessary. Finally, when the confederacy came into existence, the first of these two chiefs was made its military commander, thus burthening him with duties of an extra-tribal nature.[217] He, therefore, had to relinquish a corresponding share of tribal business, which naturally fell to his associate. This associate, as we have already stated, was the "snake-woman" or "Cihuacóhuatl," the proper head-chief of the Mexicans.

As daily leader of the council's "talk," the forenian of its delib- 643
erations, the "snake-woman" appears in the light of a judge, even of a supreme judge. But while, on all important occasions, he was the spokesman[218] of the council, and the awards he declared and the sentences he pronounced, were final and admitted of no appeal, yet it was only so because they emanated from the council, and not because they were his own individual decrees. He remained always subject to the authority of that body, and, in a general way, he can be said to have superintended the execution

. . ." In place of it, "vested in the *Kin*" is the proper reading. The mistake is wholly and exclusively mine — a "slip of the pen," which I neglected to correct in time.

[217] The Tezcucan writers, represented by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII and XXXIV) claim the leadership for Tezcuco, but the facts disprove it. Compare also "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 416, 417 and 418).

[218] *Fragmento No.* 1 ("*Biblioteca Mexicana*"—"*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*," p. 124): "Juntos los principales Mexicanos, el Rey les dixo lo que el Rey de Tetzcuco pedia, y todos dieron la mano á Tlacaellel, el cual respondió en nombre de todos á su Rey." *Durán* (Cap. XIV, p. 118): "Tlacaellel, que en todo era el primer voto y á quien se dava la mano en responder." (Cap. XV, p. 128): "Todos dieron la mano á Tlacaellel para que respondiese al rey." (Cap. XXIX, p. 240): "Tlacaellel, poniendose en pié, dixo desta manera, etc., etc." (Cap. XXXII, pp. 254 and 255, Cap. LIII, p. 417.) *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVIII, p. 28. Cap. XIX, p. 30): "Y asi oydo esto por los principales Mexicanos tomó la mano de hablar Cihualcoatl Tlacaeleltzin y dijo: hijo y nuestro muy querido rey, os encargaos que veais muy bien lo que quereis hacer . . ." (Cap. XXI, p. 33): "Pasados algunos dias dijo el rey Moctezuma á Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin general y oydor . . ." "Llegados todos los señores de los dichos pueblos al palacio del rey Moctezuma, y sentados cada señor segun su merecimiento y valor de sus personas, digéron el rey Moctezuma, y su presidente y capitan general Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin." (Cap. XXXI. p. 48). (Cap. XXXVI. p. 57): "que el primero era su real consejero Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin, . . ." (Cap, XXXIX, p. 62, Cap. XLIII, p. 69): "Luego en el palacio del rey Axayaca sin salir los grandes, ni nadie, prosiguió Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin . . ." Further quotations are superfluous, particularly from this author.

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643 of its judicial decisions, although, as will be seen hereafter, this part of the duty was properly assigned to other officers.

The "Cihuacohuatl" was responsible to the council for the careful housing of the tribute received, as far as it was applied to tribal requirements, and for the faithful distribution of the remainder[219] among the kins. This, and the fact that he kept the [65] [212] paintings recording the tribute, has caused Bernal Diez de Castillo to call him "mayordomo mayor," or general Intendant, and "keeper of the tribute" as we have already mentioned.[220]

How the "snake-woman" was the actual associate and colleague of that other chieftain who, after having been originally principal war-chief of the Mexicans, became at last commander of the confederate forces, we have already noticed.[221] We shall yet recur

[219] This results from the authority exercised by the Zihuacoatl over the captives in war. I have already alluded to this feature, and now, but recapitulate the following quotations: *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173). Also *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXIX. p. 45, Cap. XL, pp. 64 and 65, Cap. LXII, p. 104, Cap. LXVI, pp. 110, 111, Cap. LXX, p. 119), etc., etc.

[220] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia II): "Acuérdome que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo mayor un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de su papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos."

[221] There is no doubt in regard to the *equality of rank*, though the duties were somewhat different. "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66): "Concluidas las obsequias, el capitan general Tlacaelel que todavia era vivo, juntó los del consejo supremo . . . . . Estos juntos . . . . trataron de elegir nuevo Rey, y todos se encaminaban al valeroso Tlacaelel, el qual como otras veces, nunca quiso admitir el Reyno, dando por razon que más útil era á la República que hubiese Rey y coadjutor que le ayudasse como era él, y no solo el Rey . . . . . Pero no por esto dejaba de tener tanta y mas autoridad que el mismo Rey, porque le respetaban y honraban, servian y tributaban como á Rey, y con mas temor, porque no se hazia en todo el Reyno mas que lo que él mandaba. Y assi usaba tiara y insignias de Rey, saliendo con ellas todas las vezes que el mismo Rey las sacaba." (P. 67), when the old Zihuacoatl died, his successor was elected: "con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenia." The "*Fragmento No. 1*" ("*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*") is very positive also, almost always mentioning both officers together. *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenóse que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaelel pudiese traer çapatos en la casa Real y que ningun grande entrase calçado en palacio, so pena de la vida, y solo ellos pudiesen traer çapatos por la ciudad, y ningun otro . . . ." ; (Cap. XXXII, p. 255): "Tlacaelel respondió: qué mas honra puedo yo tener que la que hasta aqui é tenido? qué mas señorio puedo tener del que tengo y e tenido? pues ninguna cosa los reyes pasados an hecho sin mi parecer y consejo en todos los negocios civiles y criminales . . ." ; (Cap. LXI, p. 336), the speech of Tlacaelel there reported is rather too lengthy to copy. Its substance is contained in the closing words: "luego rey soy y por tal me aueis tenido; pues qué mas rey quereis que sea? y asi como asi tengo de tener el mismo oficio y exercicio, hasta que me muera . . . . Sosegaos, hijos mios, y hace mi voluntad, que ya yo soy rey, y rey me seré hasta que muera; . . ." (Cap. XLIV, p. 357): "el viejo Tlacaelel, á la mesma manera, al qual, dice esta ystoria, respetauan como á rey;" (Cap. XLVIII. p. 361): "el nombre de Cinacoatl, que el padre tenia, el qual era ditado de mucha grandeça creado de los dioses; y asi desde aquel dia le llamauavan Tilpotonqui Cinalcoatl, que era sobre nombre diuino." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap.

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to the relative positions occupied by both officers, and merely advert, here, to the fact, that, since the latter has commonly been called a monarch, the designations of "coadjutor to the King," "second-King," previously quoted, are explained, though not justified. The same explanation applies to the title of "vice-roy," or "royal lieutenant." 643

Finally, the "Cihuacohuatl" was ex-officio commander-in-chief of the Mexicans proper, whenever his colleague directed the entire confederate force.[222] If, however, this was not the case, then the

XXXIII. p. 55): "De la manera que fué vestido y adornado Moctezuma, lo fueron tambien Zihuacoatl y Tlacaelelitzin;" (Cap. XXXVI. p. 58): "pues solos dos eran los que havian de tener calles, que eran Moctezuma, Zihuacoatl y Tlacaelelitzin, como segunda persona del rey, porque se entendiese havian de ser temidos de todos los grandes del imperio;" (Cap. XL, p. 66). Speech of Tlacaelel: "tocante á lo que tratais del señorio, yo siempre lo he tenido y tengo, ... porque yo como segunda persona que siempre fui del rey y de los reyes pasados, etc." Further quotations from this author would become too numerous, consequently too bulky. Besides these sources, to which should be added *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral.*" Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 494, Cap. XVIII, p. 495), we find significant testimony in two authors who certainly did not gather their information at the source, from which the above series of authors obtained theirs. I refer to *Juan de Torquemada* ("*Monarchia Indiana,*" Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332): "Aqui parece lo mismo, que reservando el Rei Mexicano para si, la autoridad Real, le hace su igual en la Judicatura." *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano,*" Parte IIa, Tratado II°, cap. I, p. 369): "Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." In regard to the fact that both chiefs wore the same characteristic ornaments and dress, see *Durán* (Lámina 6a to Cap. XXIII of Trat. I°), also "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis,*" comparing it with the head-dress of the leading figure of the sculptures on the rim of the cylinder known as the "stone of sacrifice," in the Museo Nacional of Mexico.

[222] "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 59, 60, 61, 62 and 63), treating of the "capitan-general Tlacaelel:" haziendo hazañas dignas de gran memoria por medio de su general Tlacaelel." The war against Chalco was waged by the Mexicans *and* their confederates, therefore we read (p. 4): "Y asi fué que acudiendo esto Rey en personas á la guerra." (P. 67) his office was: "de capitan-general y segundo de su corte. . . *Durán* (Cap. XVII, pp. 147 and 148), war against Chalco, when both chiefs went along. (Cap. XVIII. p. 158), foray against Tepeaca, both chieftains in the field, as both Mexicans and confederates participated. (Cap. XIX). against the Huaxteca. (Cap. XXII, p. 189): "Tlacaelel, principe de la milicia," in the raid against Coayxtlahuacan. In place of Tlacaelel, "era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada," Cuauhnochtli commanded the Mexicans. The most explicit and positive author of all is *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana,*" Cap. XIX, p. 22, Cap. XXI, p. 23): "Zihuacoatl Tlacaelelitzin general y oydor,"—"y su presidente y capitan-general Zihuacoatl Tlacatlelitzin." In regard to the protracted hostilities against the tribe of Chalco, it is stated that the "Cihuacohuatl" alone commanded (Cap. XXII, p. 34); but it follows from p. 35, that after the first bloody though indecisive fight, the allies were called upon for assistance, although Tezozomoc says it was only a delegation to insure their quiet. This explains the contradiction between him and the two preceding authors. In (Cap. XXIV, p. 37), he acknowledges that Montezuma Ilhuicamina went along, together with Cihuacohuatl. The fact, that the conquest of Chalco was made by the Mexicans, with the assistance of allies, is conceded by other authors. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLIV and L). *Ortega* ("Apendice" to Veytia, Cap. III, pp. 240-242). Therefore the Cihuacohuatl commanded the Mexicans. In the foray against Tepeaca and Tecamachalco, the confederate forces sallied out, (Cap. XVII): "cada uno con su capitan y 701

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643 latter led the Mexicans in person, or a substitute for either of them might take the command.[223] During the last days of aboriginal Mexico, when warriors from different tribes, together with the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, crowded into the invested pueblo, the so-called "King of Mexico" appeared as the *confederate* commander, while the "snake-woman" only wielded the authority and performed the duties of "captain-general" of the *Mexican* contingent.[224]

All these different attributes may be united in the functions of one office, namely: that of head-chief of the tribe. As such, we must consider the "Cihuacohuatl," and as such was he recognized by Cortés when in 1521, he created the last "snake-woman" "governor" of the remnants of the Mexican tribe and of the so-called Indian wards within which they "were" subsequently settled.[225]

We have seen that the "snake-woman" was the colleague, or associate in matters of tribal importance, of another officer, who had originally filled his place, but whose sphere of action had been so much extended through the formation of the confederacy, that a colleague became needed in tribal affairs. This officer, commonly entitled "King of Mexico," sometimes even "Emperor of Anahuac," was the "chief of men," "Tlaca-tecuhtli".[226]

[701] capitanes señalados," and both war-chiefs of Mexico were present and in the field (p. 41). Not to increase the volume of quotations beyond measure, I shall simply add that, as the Cihuacohuatl grew older and could not well go to war, other captains took his place. These captains I will refer to hereafter. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII).

[223] Evidence to that effect is found in *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 189), and especially in *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 76): "Cuauhnochtli, capitan general." (Cap. LXXI, LXXII and XCI, pp. 160 and 161, etc., etc.). This explains why the title of chief-commander of the Mexicans is so variously stated. See the very sensible remarks of *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494, etc.). These chiefs were, in this instance, temporarily appointed, since it was not the creation of an office, but simply a delegation of power for a certain special purpose. When the foray was over, the charge ceased to exist, the war-chief returning to his original rank.

[224] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," Vedia I. p. 89): E desde a poco volvió con ellos uno de los mas principales de todos aquellos que se llamaba Cignacoacin, y era el capitan y gobernador de todos ellos, é por su consejo se seguian todas las cosas de guerra." This fact is generally accepted, and needs no further proof.

[225] *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*," Vedia I, p. 110). *Petition to Charles V, by four Indian chiefs of Mexico*, June 18, 1532, in "*Crónicas horribles des Conquérants espagnols*," of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1st Series (Appendix, pp. 265, 268 and 269): "Moi, don Hernando de Tapia, je suis fen de Tapia, et ancien Tacotecle, gouverneur de Mexico, sous le marquis del Valle." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. VIII, pp. 122 and 123). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CLVII, Vedia II, pp. 198 and 199). *Sandoval in Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Diálogos*," Introd. to 2d Dialogue, pp. 75 and 76).

[114] [226] I have used this title, perhaps for the first time among recent writers, in "*Art of War*," (p. 122). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 145). *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Letter*,

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In the year 1375, according to the Mendoza Codex, the first 643
incumbent of this office was elected by popular vote.[227] From that time on, the office remained strictly elective and non-hereditary, in so far as, like the chief officers of the calpulli, the descendants of the former incumbent were preferred to succeed him; provided they were undoubtedly competent.[228] But no rule of succession

etc." in 1st *Recueil* of Ternaux-Compans, p. 247). *Codex Mendoza* (Plate XVIII): [114]
"Tlacatecutli gobernador" also the "Declaracion de la figurado." *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX, pp. 136 and 138). This very remarkable chapter deserves to be closely studied, since it embodies the principles upon which the aborigines of Mexico filled their offices, and the bases of their mode of government. It would be too long to attempt a full analysis of it, and anything short of a careful study would fail to give an adequate conception of its importance. I merely refer to the statements of the celebrated Franciscan in regard to the title under consideration: "porque ya está en la dignidad y estrado, y tiene ya el principal lugar donde le puso nuestro señor? ya le llaman por estos nombres teotlato, tlacatecutli, por estos nombres le nombran todos los populares . . . ." This passage and the succeeding one: "y alguno de estos tomado de la república por rey y señor," clearly indicate that the title is that of the so-called "King" or "chief of men;" (p. 138); however, he mentions the "tlacatecutli" as one of "dos senadores para lo que toca al regimiento del pueblo." There is an evident contradiction here, which is very similar to the one already noticed in regard to the two sections of the council, in a former note.

[227] *Codex Mendoza* (Plate II). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). In regard to this Chronology, compare the late and highly valuable work of *Don M. Orozco y Berra*, ("*Ojeada sobre la Cronologia Mexicana*" in *the* "*Biblioteca Mexicana*,"—an Introduction to a reprint of Tezozomoc). The learned author has brought to light many highly valuable facts. That "Acamapichtli" or "Handful of Reeds" was *elected*, is abundantly proven by many authorities, so that detailed quotations are useless.

[228] The fullest report is contained in *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 118): "Cuando moria el señor ó rey para elegir otro, juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatequc, y tambien los viejos del pueblo que llamaban achcacauhti, y tambien los capitanes soldados viejos de la guerra que llamaban Iauequioaques (should be Iau-Tequioaques), y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y tambien los Sátrapas que llamaban Tlenamacazques ó papaoaque: todos estos se juntaban en las casas reales, y alli deliberaban y determinaban quien habia de ser señor, y escogian uno de los mas nobles de la linó de los señores antepasados, que fuese hombre valiente y ejercitado en las cosas de guerra, osado, animoso, y que no supiese beber vino: que fuese prudente y sábio, y que fuese criado en el Calmecac: que supiese bien hablar, y fuese entendido, recatado y animoso, y cuando todos ó los mas concurrian en uno, luego le nombraban por señor. No se hacia esta eleccion por escrutinio ó por votos, sino todos juntos confiriendo los unos con los otros, venian à concertarse en uno." To this should be added the testimony of the same author (Lib. VI, cap. XX, pp. 136–139). *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103): "y es de saner que no ponian hijo del que elexian por rey, ó del que moria, porque como ya tengo dicho, nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados si los señorios, sino por eleccion; y asi, agora fuese hijo, agora fuese hermano, agora primo, como fuese elesto por el rey y por los de su consejo para aquel ditado, le era dado, bastana ser de aquella linguia y pariente cercano; y asi iban siempre los hijos y los hermanos heredándolo, poco á poco, si no esta vez, la otra, ó si no la otra, y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado y señorio, eligiéndolos poco á poco." (Cap. LXIV, p. 498): "por que en aquel tiempo heredábanse los hermanos hijos del rey unos á otros, aunque de lo que desta hystoria e notado, ni auia herencia ni ditados, sino eslos aquellos que los electores escogian, como fuese hijo ó hermano del que moria, ó sobrino ó primo, en segundo grado, y este órden me parece que llevan en todas sus elecciones, y asi creo que muchos de los que claman y piden vendiles por herencia los señores, porque en su infidelidad sus padres fueron reyes y señores,

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643 limited the choice to a family, perhaps not even to a kin.[229] Like every other office it had to be *deserved*,[230] and could not be obtained by birth or through craft;[231] neither could it be transmitted through inheritance.[232].

643 The history of this office may be divided into two periods: the
174 first, closing with the formation of the confederacy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century; the second, beginning at that time, and lasting until the final abrogation of the office by the Spaniards, in 1521.[233] During the former period the "chief of men" was, as we have already said, but the executive chieftain

entiendo no piden justicia, porque en su ley antigua mas eran elecciones, en todo género de señores, que no herencias ni sucesiones." The author of the above was a native Mexican, and knew the customs of his people. "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 56): "porque como queda referido, nunca heredaron los hijos de los Reyes en los señorios, sino por eleccion daban el Reyno á uno destos quatro principes, á los quales tampoco heredaban sus hijos en estos ditados y cargos; sino que muerto uno escogian otro en su lugar al que les parescia, y con este modo siempre tuvo este Reyno muy suficientes hombres en sus Repúblicas, porque elegian los mas valerosos." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXII, pp. 142 and 143), confirming the mode of election as reported by Sahagun. *Zurita* ("*Rapport, etc.*," p. 14): "Ainsi, ils préférèrent laisser apres eux un successeur qui fut capable de bien gouverner, plutôt que d'abandonner cette charge à leurs fils, à leurs petits-fils ou à leurs lieutenants, comme le fit Alexandre le Grand." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, pp. 153 and 154). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356): "Confieso de la Republica Mexicana esta manera de sucesion, y que se elegian algunas veces, sin diferencias, notando solamente las qualidades de las personas, y de estos fue Itzcohuatl, valeroso Rei Mexicano, que por el valor de su persona, y la grandeça de su animo, no se advirtió, ni reparó para eligirle, en que era Hijo de una Esclava; pero no es maravilla, que el bien publico, prefiera al particular." I forbear quoting the tales about the election of sundry Mexican chiefs, as related by the above and other authors.

[229] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI. p. 463), has distinctly formulated the idea: "that the crown should always remain in the house of Acamapitzin." Enough has been said about the Mexican family to dispel the notions of an "Indian dynasty" in Mexico. At best, a succession or perpetuation of the *office* in a certain *Xin* or *calpulli*, might be conceded. *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103), *Codice Ramirez*, (p. 56), and *Zurita* (p. 14), make even this somewhat doubtful; so does the election of Itzcohuatl, *as conceived* by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI. cap. XXVII, p. 356). The origin of "Flinty Snake" is, however, reported in too many different ways to justify any conclusion based on it. The fact, that one of the four leading war-captains should become "chief of men," militates against descent of office in a certain kin. See also *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral de los Indias*," Lib. VI, cap. 24, pp. 439 and 440).

[230] *Sahagun* (Lib. VI. cap. XX; Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). *Acosta* (Lib. VI. cap. 24).

[231] *Las Casas* ("*Hist. apologética*" quoted on p. 124 of Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough's collection): "Quando algun señor moria y dexava muchos hijos, si alguno se alzava en palacio y se queria preferir á los otros, aunque fuese el mayor, no lo consentia el Señor á quien pertenecia la confirmacion, y menos el pueblo. Antes dexavan pasar un año, ó mas de otro, en el qual consideravan bien qual era mejor para regir ó gobernar el estado, y aquel permaneció por señor." *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 18 and 19). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 356 and 359). Further quotations would be useless.

[232] In addition to the authorities named in note 228, I refer to *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI, p. 463); with the restriction mentioned in note 229. "*De l'ordre de Succession, etc.*" (*1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans*, p. 228).

[233] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 60). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 272). The death of Cuauhtemotzin put an end to the office in the eyes of the Spaniards, although it had

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of the tribe, and the duties of his office, at that time embracing 643
those of the "Cihuacohuatl," have been stated by us already. 174
The confederation had so far wrought a change that he became "general" of its allied warriors,[234] and consequently to a certain extent, an extra-tribal officer residing at Tenuchtitlan, Mexico, because the military supremacy was vested in that tribe. We have previously alluded to the fact that it was the "chief of men" upon whom we have been heretofore accustomed to look as a monarch, even a despot. His office and its attributes have been the mainstays of the notion that a high degree of civilization prevailed in aboriginal Mexico, in so far as its people were ruled after the manner of eastern despotisms.

Not only was this pretended monarch strictly elective, but he 643
could also be deposed for misdemeanor.[235] "Wrathy chief" the younger, better known as the last Montezuma, was removed from office and his successor elected before that ill-starred chieftain's violent death.[236]

been formally abrogated by the capture of that chieftain, to whom no successor was appointed by the whites.

[234] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 417). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII, p. 219), claims for his Tezcucan chief the military command, in the shape of an "imperial" title: "He of Tezcuco was greeted by the title of Acolhua Tecuhtli, as also by that of Chichimecatl-Tecuhtli which his ancestors carried, and which was the distinctive mark of the empire." I believe this claim was disposed of in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 394, notes 9 and 10). See also *Velancurt* (Part IIn. Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 291): "y remataron la fiesta quedando Izcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que Netzahualcoyotl." See also the tacit acknowledgments by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist: des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, LXXIV, LXXV).

[235] *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte II, Trat. II, cap. XV, p. 485): "Otras muchas leyes extravagantes que con el instinto natural, con maduro consejo confirmaron y que inviolablemente guardaban, tenian los Mexicanos y los de Guatimala, como el de deponer al rey con junta y consejo de la nobleza."

[236] That "wrathy chief" had lost all his authority during the time Cortés went against Narvaez, is clearly stated in "*Carta Segunda*" (Vedia I, pp. 41 and 42) already, though the fact of his removal from office is not noticed by the Spanish commander himself. It is, however, mentioned by *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. CXXVI, p. 122). Montezuma said to Olid and to the "Padre de la Merced:" "Yo tengo creido que no aprovecharé cosa ninguna para que cese la guerra, porque ya tienen alzado otro señor . . . ;" and again the Mexicans themselves are reported as answering to Montezuma: "Hacémosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por señor." *Las Casas* ("*Brevissima Relacion*," p. 49), Alvarado: "Ponen un puñal a los pechos al preso Motençuma que se pusiesse à los corredores, y mandasse, que los Yndios no combatiessen la casa, si no que se pusiessen en paz. Ellos no curaron entonces de obedecelle en nada; antes platicauan de elegir otro Señor, y capitan, que guiasse sus batallas." *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XXI, pp. 28 and 29): "Oidas estas voces por los Mexicanos y Tlatilulcas, commençaron entre si á bravear, y maldecir á Mocthezuma diciendo que dice el puto de Mocthezuma y tá bellaco con él? no cesaremos de la guerra; luego comenzaron á dar alaridos y á tirar saetas y dardos ácia donde estaba el que hablaba junto con Mochthecuzuma." This was before Cortés had even captured Narvaez, and shows that at that time the "chief of men" had already lost all authority. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 39). When the other chief who was with Montezuma had spoken:

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643 Among the duties of the "chief of men," we notice first that
644 of residence at the "tecpan" or official house.[237] This is commonly stated to be a royal privilege, whereas it was, in fact, a burthen, as it simply meant that he occupied the position of head of the official household of the tribe.[238] The formation of this household we have elsewhere described.[239] It was a communal group, consisting of the head-war-chief and his family, together with such assistants (and their families, if any), as were required for the transaction of daily business.[240] The "tecpan" is appropriately called: "house of the community," "casa de comunidad," by Fray Juan de Torquemada,[241] and its residents were placed and kept there for the purpose of extending tribal hospitality, and for the furtherance of tribal business and extra-tribal relations. This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who

"un animoso capitan llamado Quauhtemoc de edad de diez y ocho años que ya le querian elegir por Rey dijo en alta voz:" "Qué es lo que diss este bellaco de Motecuzuma, muger de los españoles, que tal se puede llamar, pues con ánimo mugeril se entregó à ellos de puro miedo y asegurándonos nos ha puesto todos en este trabajo? No le queremos obedecer porque ya no es nuestro Rey, y como à vil hombre le hemos de dar el castigo y pago." *Fragmento No.* 2 (*Noticias Relations á la Conquista*," etc., p. 143): "y ellos le deshonraron y llamaron el Cobarde." *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494): "soltó á un Hermano de Motecuhçuma, Señor de Iztapalapan, y los Mexicanos, ni hicieron el Mercado, ni le dexaron bolver á la Prision, y le eligieron por su Caudillo" (Id. Cap. LXX, p. 497). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIIa. Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 125, cap. XV, pp. 130, 131). *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. VIII, p. 264). It is very interesting to notice that Torquemada and Herrera use identically the same words. Their versions are the fullest.

[237] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410). *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, etc., etc." It is scarcely necessary to prove this at any length, by quotations.

[238] *Tenure of Lands* (p. 409). *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138): "Estos Tributos eran para el bien publico, para las Guerras, para pagar á los Governadores, i Ministros de Justicia, i Capitanes, porque toda esta Gente comia, de ordinario, en el Palacio del Rey, adonde cada uno tenia su asiento, i lugar conocido, segun su oficio, i Calidad, . . ." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIII, p. 301): "Y despues que habia comido el señor, mandaba á sus pages, ó servidores, que diesen de comer á todos los señores y embajadores que habian venido de algunos pueblos, y tambien daban de comer á los que guardaban el palacio. Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos y á los Sátrapas de los ídolos. Asimismo daban de comer á los cantores, á los pages, á todos los del palacio, etc., etc. . . ." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXII, p. 144). The latter is very positive, mentioning it as a duty.

[239] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410).

[240] The information on this point goes back to *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas personales, los cuales se sentaban, y otros andaban por unas salas y corredores que habian en la dicha casa, etc., etc." The other eye-witnesses are hardly as positive. The exaggerated reports of *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 565), *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296), *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa. Trat. I°. cap. XXIII, pp. 358, 357, etc.), *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII. cap. IX, pp. 183, 184) and others, simply prove that the "tecpan" was permanently occupied by a numerous household, of which the "chief of men" was the head.

[241] "*Monarquia Indiana*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48).

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This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who 643
dally transacted affairs at the "tecpan," to carry their victuals 644
to the halls in which their sessions were held and also to wait upon [674]
the foreign official guests (often enemies) who were received in separate, even secluded, quarters.[942] But their main duty con-

[942] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301, as copied in note 238). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 96): "Il y avait dans les palais des souverains des appartements vastes, élevés de sept à huit marches comme nos entre-sol, et destinés à la résidence des juges." (P. 100): "De bonne heure on apportait au palais même les repas des magistrats." This would imply that the food was brought to the "tecpan" from the places where the members of the council ("tecutlatoca") actually resided. This is positively contradicted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXXXII, p. 144), who makes it one of the duties of the "chief of men," "con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales, teniéndolos en mucho, y dándoles la honra que merecen: llamarles cada dia al palacio que común con vos, ganándoles las voluntades, que con ellos está el sostener el imperio, buenos consegeros, buenos amigos, que por ellos os es dado el asiento, silla, estrados, honra, señorio, mando y ser." Such an extensive meal of the tribal officers is also intimated by the same author as having been customary with the Xochimilcas,—a tribe well known as being closely allied to the Mexicans,—where he says (Cap. XVI, pp. 25 and 26): "Las Indias mugeres de las Xochimilcas, lavando muy bien el itzcahuitl, tecuitlatl, y otras cosas salidas de la laguna, y lavado, y limpiamente lleuándolo al palacio de Tecpan para que le comiesen los principales, y comenzándolo á comer estava muy sabroso, y prosiguiendo en su comida, etc., etc. . . ." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 49), speaking of certain chiefs, says: "Outre ces avantages, le souverain suprême payait une solde à ces chefs, et leur faisait délivrer des rations. Ceux ci se tenaient continuellement dans son palais pour former sa cour." It is to these "chiefs," which were none other than the members of the council, that *Gomara* (Vedia I. p. 342) refers, copying *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I. p. 35), who adds, however: "E al tiempo que traian de comer al dicho Muteczuma. asimismo lo traian á todos aquellos señores tan cumplidamente cuanto á su persona. y tambien á los servidores y gentes destos les daban sus raciones. Habia cotidianamente la dispensa y botilleria abierta para todos aquellos que quisiesen comer y beber." The chaplain has added to Cortés' relation some items tending to increase or enhance the importance of the meals, whereas he has suppressed the above, very important, passage. Compare Vedia: (Tom I. p. 345). His statements agree far better with those of *Bernal Diaz* ("*Hist. verd.*" Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87). The fact of the "official household" being entrusted with the dispensation of tribal hospitality is therefore certain. The members of the council ate there also, as proven by *Zurita* (p. 96), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134): "trahanies algo temprano la comida de palacio," and it is implied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 252): "Estos Jueces oian de ordinario, en especial de causas criminales, todos los Dias á mañana, y tarde, ... asistian en sus Salas, que las havia en la casa del Rei, particulares, ..." He is even very positive (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296): "No solo tenia este Grande, y Magnifico Emperador casas muy cumplidas, y Salas, y Aposentos grandiosas, para su Morada, para sus Consejos. y Señores, y toda la demas Gente, que llegaba á ser digna de su hospedage, y recibimiento, donde como su misma Persona Real eran servidos, y acariciados . . ," also (Lib. IV, cap. L. p. 450). He also says of "Fasting Wolf," headchief of Tezcuco (Lib. II, cap. LIII, p. 167): "no fué menos en el gasto de su Casa, asi para su Persona, como para hacer Hospicio ordinario á todos los que servian en su Palacio, y otros muchos Señores, que comian en su Casa, cada Dia, . . ." *Petrus Martyr of Anghiera* ("*De novo Orbe*," etc., Dec. III, cap. X, pp. 231 and 232). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, p. 468), about Tezcuco. In regard to Mexico he is very positive (Lib. V, cap. III, p. 304). Further quotations are useless. I shall merely refer to the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXX) and, for the sake of analogy with the tribes of QQuiché-stock in Guatemala, to the "*Popol Vuh*" (p. 308): "Are qui cuchbal quib ri-oxib chi nim-ha u bi cacmal, chiri cut chi c'uqab-vi c'uquya, ..."

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643 644 sisted in preparing and serving every day an extensive meal, of which not only all the members of the household, several hundreds in number, partook, but every one who, either on business or as an idler, happened to be on or about the premises.[243] It was the duty of the "chief of men" himself to open this rude clannish feast,[244] and it pertained to his office to represent the hospitality and dignity of the tribe on such occasions. Hence the peculiar

574 That the delegates from foreign tribes were quartered at the "tecpan" is plainly stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIX, p. 306): "Habia otra sola que se llamaba Coacalli: en este lugar se aposentaban todos los señores forasteros, que eran amigos ó enemigos del señor. . . . . ."; "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 75): "Vinieron á estas fiestas hasta los propios enemigos de los Mexicanos, como eran los de Michhuacan y los de la provincia de Tlaxcala, á los quales hizo aposentar el Rey y tratar como á su misma persona, y hazerles tan ricos miradores desde donde viessen las fiestas, como los suyos;" *Durán* (Cap. XL, p. 317, cap. XLIII, p. 347): "Fasting child" of Tezcuco "aposentándole en un lugar que ellos llaman Teccalli, que quiere decir, palacio Real." "Luego llegó el rey de Tacuba con todos sus principales y señores. . . . . á quien no menos honra y cortesia se hizo que al de Tezcuco, poniéndole en el mismo palacio, junto á Neçaualpilli." The delegates from Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula were: "Llevados al palacio real, donde les tenian aparejado un retraimiento oculto y escondido," and "fueron aposentados en el mismo lugar" those of Michhuacan and others (pp. 350 and 351); also (Cap. LIV, pp. 428 and 429, and LVIII, p. 459, etc.). These authors are also fully confirmed by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXIV. pp. 106 and 107; cap. LXVIII, p. 111; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 254, speaking of Tezcuco). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 534 and 535). The latter distinguishes between the "calpixca" and "el palacio," stating that delegates were quartered at the former. But since he himself (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48) calls the "tecpan" casa del comun"—a name given by him to the "calpixca"—and we know from *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIX, p. 307) that the "calpixcacalli" was a hall of the "tecpan," there can be no doubt as to the fact, that the "tecpan" was also the place where delegates were received, lodged and fed, at the expense of the tribe.

When, in 1537, the Bishop Las Casas sent certain traders with full instructions and "implements for conversion," to the Indians of "Tuzulutlan" or of the "Tierra de Guerra" *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa*," etc., etc., Lib. III, cap. XV, p. 135): Y como en aquel tiempo no auia mesones ni casas de comunidad, todos los forasteros que llegauan al lugar acudian á pasar en casa del señor, que los recebia humanamente, hospedaua y daua de comer conforme la calidad de la persona, y el forastero reconocia el bien recibido, ó que auia de recibir, poniendo á los pies del señor algun presente conforme á su posibilidad." The traders, therefore, "took lodgings" at the official house,—the tecpan,—and staid there (as we may read p. 136 of the Friar's history) until they had performed their work of opening the country to the preaching of the gospel. The comparison with Cortés, being also quartered at the "tecpan" of Mexico, is indeed striking.

[243] Descriptions of this meal are so abundant, that it is hardly worth while to refer to them in detail. I would only call particular attention to the statements of *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 35), *Bernal diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87, of Vedia II). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista de México*," Col. de Doc's II, p. 561). These statements, made by eye-witnesses, if viewed in their proper light and compared with those of subsequent writers, fully corroborate the views of *L. H. Morgan* ("*Montezuma's Dinner*" in *N. American Review*, 1876), that this meal was but an official communal one, given by the official household of the tribe, as part of its daily duties and obligations.

[244] I cannot refrain here from recalling the description of the meal given to the Clan McIvor by its chief "Fergus McIvor, Vich Ian Vohr,"—so graphically pictured by Sir

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earnestness of his manner which eye-witnesses have mistaken for 643 644 the haughtiness of a tyrant.[245]

These duties not only necessitated official residence at the "official house," but even permanent stay there, unless important business required the chief's absence.[246] Such absence, however, could only be justified by official duties, and then the "chief of men" had to appear with all the tokens and emblems of his rank.[247] If otherwise, he might indeed, go about, but he lost all claim to official recognition.[248] Hence the statements are true in the main, however exaggerated in detail, that great decorum was observed towards the "chief of men" whenever he appeared in public, that he was addressed with marked deference, and that a certain pomp surrounded him on such occasions.[249] These occasions were, of course, opportunities for the display of Indian

Walter Scott in "Waverley." As to the part played by the "chief of men" see particularly *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II).

[245] This particularly earnest mien is noticed by all authors. It is strictly Indian, and found among the rudest tribes.

[246] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI. p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, sino á cosas muy necesarias y forçosas." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 76): "De ordinario estaba retirado saliendo muy pocas vezes á vista del pueblo."

[247] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. X, p. 291). It is distinctly asserted by the former that, what he has called "corona real" could only be worn by the "chief of men" and the "snake-woman." This head-dress, very appropriately [293] termed by the Spaniards, "half mitre" ("media mitra") is figured by many authors of native origin. See *Codex Mendoza* (plates II to XIV, also LXX), *Durán* (Láminas 2 to 14, also 16. 18. to 24 etc.), *Codice Ramirez* (plates 4 and 5). It is called "Xiuhuitzolli" by the Mexicans. See also *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 30 and IIa, p. 160) from "Xiuitl" turquoise or green stone, and is totally different from the head-dress worn by the "chief of men" in the field. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 126).

[248] This explains the stories about the "incognito" ramblings of "Fasting Wolf" of Tezcuco, so frequently repeated after the Ixtlilxochitls, as well as that of the arrest of "Wrathy Chief" (the last Montezuma) for appropriating corn out of a field. The latter tale is beautifully told by *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 451, 452) after the best authorities.

[249] No author has been more prolific in pictures of pomp, regal wealth and magnificence, than *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. LXXXVIII, XCI and XCII, etc.). Most of the later writers have placed undue reliance on his [114] statements, assuming that the truthfulness with which he "gave vent" to his own individual feelings and impressions, was the result of cool, impassionate observation. Anyone who has read attentively (and not merely glanced over at random for the purpose of obtaining quotations) his protracted "Mémoires," will become convinced that he is, in fact, one of the most unreliable eye-witnesses, as far as general principles are concerned. In every detail where his personal feelings are not involved or by which, even at the late date when he wrote, they were not involuntarily aroused, he is much more trustworthy than when he takes special pride or pains to be very explicit. Thus, it is curious to compare his description of "Wrathy Chief's" reception of Cortés with that given subsequently by the "Marquis del Valle" himself, ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 25). It was doubtlessly the greatest effort at pomp and display ever attempted by the Mexicans, since they went to meet and greet the most incom-

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643 644 finery, when a number of articles were used to deck the "chief of men" as his official insignia, but the custom of speaking to

114 prehensible beings ever heard of by them. It is interesting to place both versions side by side. The translation is my own and I therefore beg for indulgence.

Cortés. Second Dispatch.

"At that place more than a thousand principal people came to greet and to speak to me, all citizens of the said city, and all dressed alike and according to their custom very richly, and when they [576] came to speak to me, every one of them made, before coming up, a particular ceremony, customary among them, which consisted in each one of them putting his hand on the ground, kissing it; and in this manner I waited almost an hour until each one had made his ceremony." ". . . . . After we had passed that bridge, this lord Muteczuma came to receive us with about two hundred Lords, all barefooted and dressed in other livery or manner of clothing, also very rich after their custom, and more so than that of the others. They came in two processions, closely hugging the walls of the street which is very broad, fine, and straight, so that from one end of it the other end may be seen, and two-thirds of a league ("legua") in length, with very good buildings on both sides, dwellings as well as temples. And the said Muteczuma went in the middle of the street with two chiefs, one to his right and the other to his left. One of these was the same one who, as I said, had come to speak to me in the litter, and the other was the said Muteczuma's brother, lord of that city of Iztapalapa which I had left that day. All three were dressed alike, except Muteczuma who wore soles to his feet, whereas the other two chiefs had none and supported him by his arms. . . . . ."

Bernal Diez de Castillo. Cap. 88.

"When we reached the place where another pathway (dyke) branched off to Cuyoacan, ... many principals and caciques came, covered with very rich mantles, with ornaments and liveries, those of one cacique different from those of another, and the dykes were filled by them. These great caciques were sent by the great Montezuma ahead to receive us, and as they arrived before Cortés they bid us welcome, touching the ground and kissing it in token thereof." "Thus we were detained a good while, and from there the Cacamacan, chief of Tezcuco, and the chief of Iztapalapa, and the chief of Tacuba and the chief of Cuyoacan went forward to meet the great Montezuma who approached in a rich litter, accompanied by other great Lords and caciques holding vassals. And when we neared Mexico, where there were other small towers, the great Montezuma descended from his litter, and these great caciques took hold of his arms, advancing with him under a marvellously rich canopy of green plumes with large golden ornaments, much silver, and pearls and stones of "Chalchihuis" suspended from it as fringes, and very dazzling to the eye. The great Montezuma was very richly dressed after their custom, with cotaras on his feet (as they are called), with golden soles and much jewelry over them. The four lords who came with him were also richly dressed, though not in the same manner as when they had come out to receive us,—as if they changed dress on purpose under way. Besides these Lords, there came other great caciques who bore the canopy over their heads, and other many Lords preceded the great Montezuma sweeping the ground before him and placing ropes for him to step upon. None of these Lords ventured to look him in the face, but all had their eyes cast down, except those of his relatives and nephews who supported him by the arms.

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him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular 643 644
respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., Col. de Doc'a, II, p. 579), 114
simply says: "The said Mutezuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Diez is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500), from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcaltecs (*"Art of War,"* p. 155, note 203), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diez de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw *more* of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to magnify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of his troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). 727
Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecamachalco and 114
Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlalpiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuacuiltzin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 62), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Mazatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhnelnequen, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipilles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenuchtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the Matlatzincas;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with groans, and wails of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 326). "They went in pro- 114
cession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in 576

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643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

114 the pueblo of Acochinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at them. See *Bernal Diaz* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 479). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 325) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 321), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1789, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

764 [251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, cap. LXIX, p. 115, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 6, Trat I°).

[252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Históricos obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las exequias conforme á persona tal se deuian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 486): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes auian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 80 and 81), as late as 1733 or 1734, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

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again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also 643
dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, 644
more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed 644
many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially [202]
did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of 643
the community," that is the place where the business of the entire 644
social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was transacted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan" 314

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don* 764
J. F. Ramírez ("*Durán*," p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 65). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96, also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramírez* (p. 65): "Puso assi mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelilel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 169).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 496), which is very interesting in a general way.

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643
644 was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-
344 ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal Interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan.[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council [202] clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 328; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 92; cap. LXI. pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII, p. 109): "Vuelto á Tlacaellel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que ablasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 132, 134 and 138; cap. XXI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 40, cap. XXVIII, p. 42, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 59, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 154, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 158). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 166, cap, XXI, p. 182, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).

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back to the "chief of men."[258] In case delegates arrived from 643
other tribes, they had to be provided with lodgings. The "tecpan" was the place reserved for that purpose, and there they were accordingly quartered. They, consequently, first came into contact with the "chief of men," who was, officially, "mine host" for them, and who acted as intermediate between them and the supreme tribal authorities.[259]

No more striking illustrations of the foregoing can be found 643
than the reception, by the Mexicans, of Cortés and his troops, at 574
the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The house where the Spaniards were quartered was the "tecpan" or official house of the tribe, vacated by the official household for that purpose.[260] In sallying forth to

In addition to these authorities I add in a general way, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 587). This author has evidently either copied from, or at least used the same sources as *Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 139). My learned and highly esteemed friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, ascribes to the statements of both authors "a common origin" i. e. "Tabla de Correspondencias," (p. 36). This common source, however, is found in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 118 and 119). From whom he, in turn, derived his information, has not as yet been ascertained.

[258] See the authors quoted above. Also *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 502).

[259] This follows from the facts already proven in regard to the duties of the "chief of men" as head of the official household. I would particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XCVII, pp. 172 and 173).

[260] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 87): "y con esto el gran Motecuczuma, por el mismo órden que vino se volvió con el capitan Don Hernando Cortés, al qual y á los suyos mandó que aposentassen en las casas reales, donde se les dió muy buen recando á cada uno, segun las calidades de las diversas gentes que iban con el capitan . . . . . El dia siguiente el capitan Don Hernando Cortés hizo juntar á Motecuczuma, etc., etc. . . . . en una pieza que en la casa habia muy á propósito para esto." . . . . ; (p. 88): "Porque acabada de hazer esta plática el buen capitan Don Hernando Cortés, los soldados saquearon las casas reales, y las demas principales donde sentian que habia riquezas . . . . . En este tiempo recelándose el Marquis no resultasse desto algun inconveniente prendió al gran Rey Motecuczuma, poniéndole con grillos, y á buen recaudo en las casas reales junto á su mismo aposento . . . . ;" (p. 89): "comenzaron á pelear con los españoles con tal furia que los hizieron retraer á las casas reales donde estaban aposentados." This is plain enough. It is commonly stated that the Spaniards were quartered at a great house belonging formerly to "Wrathy Chief's" father, "Face in the Water." The anonymous "*Fragmento No.* 2" (p. 139) has the following: "apartando la gente hasta que llegaron al palacio Real que habia sido de su padre de Motecuzuma Axayacatzin, y entrando en una gran sala en donde tenia Motecuzuma su estado, se sentó y á su derecha mano á Cortés, y hizo señas Cacama que se apartasen todos y diesen órden en aposentar los cristianos y amigos que traian en aquellos grandes palacios . . . . ." This anonymous fragment is evidently of Tenucan origin. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. XVI, p. 24): "Luego D. Hernando Cortés tomó por la mano á Moctheczuzuma, y se fueron ambos juntos á la par para las casas reales;" (Cap. XVII, p. 25): "De que los Españoles llegaron á las casas reales con Moctheczuzoma, luego le detuvieron consigo;" (Cap. XXI, p. 28): "Como comenzó la guerra entre los Indios y las Españoles, estos se fortalecieron en las casas reales con el mismo Moctheczuzoma . . . . ." (Id. p. 29, Cap. XXIII, p. 31, etc., etc.). These statements are very positive, and the less suspicious, since they represent traditions from three different sources, all evidently furnished by eye-witnesses, namely: *Mexicans* ("Cod. Ramirez"),

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643 greet the newcomers at the dyke, "Wrathy chief" acted simply, as
574 the representative of the tribal hospitality, extending unusual

Tezozomoc (Fragment No. 2) and *Tlatilulcan* (Sahagun). The statements by Spanish eye-witnesses are of doubtful authority in this case, since none of them knew, or could know anything positive; and the pueblo was subsequently, so utterly destroyed that even its site could hardly be recognized. Nevertheless, the "old and new palaces of Montezuma" have become household words.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to compare the reports of eye-witnesses with the above quotations from aboriginal sources. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, (p. 25): "y torné á seguir por é la calle en la forma ya dicha. fasta llegar á una muy grande y hermosa casa, que él tenia para nos aposentar, bien aderezada." The house where "Wrathy Chief" staid with his household, appears to have been some distance from the Spanish quarters, since we read (p. 27): "dejando buen recando en las encruciljadas de las calles"—thus showing that crossings intervened. The following, however, is very plain, if not decisive ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 76): "E porque lo sintiesen mas, este dia fice poner fuego á estas casas grandes de la plaza, donde la otra vez que nos echaron de la ciudad, los españoles y yo estábamos aposentados; que eran tan grandes. que un principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio se podian aposentar en ellas; y otras que estaban junto á ellas, que aunque algo menores eran muy mas frescas y gentiles, y tenia en ellas Muteczuma todos los linajes de aves que en estas partes habia." This remark about the "principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio" evidently agrees with his previous statement concerning the household of "Wrathy Chief" ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas principales, los cuales se sentaban . . . . . Y los servidores destos, y personas de quien se acompañaban benchian dos ó tres grandes patios, y la calle . . . ." Consequently, Cortés himself plainly confirms the native authors above quoted. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 379): "é hizo aposentar al marqués en un patio donde era la recámara de los idolos, é en este patio habia salas asaz grandes donde cupieron toda la gente del dicho marqués é muchos indios de los de Tascala é Churula que se habian llegado á los españoles para los servir." This eye-witness, therefore, does not mention either of the two "houses of Montezuma." The father of the tale is found in *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Vedia II, Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84): "E volvamos á nuestra entrada en México, que nos llevaron á aposentar á unas grandes casas, donde habia aposentos para todos nosotros, que habian sido de su padre del gran Montezuma, que se decia Axayaca, adonde en aquella sazon tenia el gran Montezuma sus grandes adoratorios de Idolos . . . . ."

Thus Cortés, who is the principal eye-witness in the case, unmistakably states that the Spaniards were quartered at the "tecpan." Of the other two conquerors, only the last mentions the Spanish quarters as being the "house of Montezuma's father," whereas Tápia is silent on the subject. Taken in connection with the assertions of the native writers, the statements of Cortés become of great weight.

It is but natural to expect (and the fact needs no proof) that the subsequent writers have followed either one or the other of the two versions. After having transcribed the letters of Cortés, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500) mentions also: "aposentó allí á los christianos, en unas casas que avian seydo de su padre," which statement he gathers from other conquerors (p. 494) whose names he fails to give; (Cap. XLVII, p. 507) he calls the said house "la morada de su abuelo." I forbear further abstracts.

[344] Fortunately an official document of early date informs us of the exact situation of these two buildings. It is the "*Merced á Hernan Cortés de Tierras inmediatas á México, y Solares en la Ciudad*" (Col. de Doc's Icazbaleeta, Vol. II, pp. 28 and 29). It bears date, Barcelona, 23 July, 1529, and conveys to Cortés: "los solares é casas son la casa nueva que era de Montezuma, que alinda por la una parte con la plaza mayor é la calle de Iztapalapa. é por la otra la calle de Furo Gonzalez de Truxillo, é de Martin López. carpintero; è por la otra la calle en donde están las casas de Juan Rodrigues, albañil; é por la otra la calle pública que pasa por las espaldas: è la casa vieja que era

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courtesies to unusual, mysterious, and therefore dreaded guests. 643
Leaving these in possession of the "tecpan," he retired to another 574
of the large communal buildings surrounding the central square, where the official business was, meanwhile, transacted.[261] His return to the Spanish quarters, even if compulsory, had less in it to strike the natives than is commonly believed. It was a re-installation in old quarters, and therefore the "Tlatocan," itself, felt no hesitancy in meeting there again, until the real nature of the dangerous visitors was ascertained, when the council gradually withdrew from the snare, leaving the unfortunate "chief of men" in Spanish hands.[262]

We have qualified the position of the "Tlacatecuhtli" towards 643
the council as intermediate between tribe and confederacy. In the latter body, he was but the general-in-chief and had no other duties or power.[263] Therefore, when Cortés seized the head-chief of Tezcuco, "Wrathy chief" had no authority to assure the Spaniards, although they called upon him for that purpose.[264] He ex-

de Montezuma, donde vivis, que alinda por la frontera con la plaza mayor é solares de la iglesia, y la placeta; por un lado la calle nueva de Tacuba, é por otro la calle que va de la plaza mayor á S. Francisco; por las espaldas la calle donde están las casas de Rodrigo Rangel, é de Pero Sanchez Farfán, é de Francisco de Terrazas, è de Zamudio." [344]

From these data it is easy to recognize in the present National Palace the site of the so-called "new houses of Montezuma," and in the buildings facing the "Empedradillo" the "Old houses." Both faced the central square of the pueblo.

The so-called "old houses" were also immediately in front of the central "house of God." It is said by Tezozomoc (Cap. LXX, p. 117): "Este templo y cerro estaba puesto alonde fueron las casas de Alonzo de Avila y Don Luis de Castilla, hasta las casas de Antonio de la Mota, en cuadro." Now according to *Icaslaceta* ("Los tres Diálogos," etc., notes to Sec'd Dialogue, p. 218): "La casa de Alonzo de Àvila estaba en la la calle del Reloj, esquina á la de Sta Teresa la Antigua." Consequently the "old houses" were indeed those which Bernal Diez mentions as "where Montezuma at that time had his great adoratories." Now these "old houses" were, as we have seen, the "tecpan" or official house of the Mexican tribe. This again fully sustains our proposition that the Spaniards were quartered there, and that the official household had vacated it for that purpose.

[261] This fully explains the designation by, "New houses of Montezuma" mentioned in the preceding note.

[262] That the council met at the Spanish quarters, is plainly stated by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, pp. 95 and 96, Cap. XCVII, p. 98). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVII, p. 569). That the members of the council gradually withdrew, is equally certain, from the fact that a successor to "Wrathy Chief" was elected, while the latter was still alive and a captive of the Spaniards.

[263] *Durán* (Cap. XLIII, p. 347). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 11): "Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tacuba et de Tezcuco pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l'un d'eux ne se mêlait jamais du gouvernement des autres;" Id. (pp. 98 and 99). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 156). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 143). The two latter authors evidently have followed Zurita. See also note 4.

[264] See note 4. *Fragmento No. 2*, in "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (pp. 142 and 143).

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643 ercised no command over the other tribes except in the field. Still, his position, as confederate leader, was important enough to make the right to invest him with that dignity one of the conditions of the agreement under which the confederacy was formed. Hence the two head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan are frequently mentioned as "electors" of the "chief of men." But their presence at the inauguration of every new officer of that rank did not imply the right to control his election.[265] It was a mere act of courtesy which the Mexicans returned, as often as their associates performed the same ceremony,[266] with this difference, however, that in the case of the Mexican chieftain, the two confederates appeared personally as being thereafter his military subordinates.

The military organization of the ancient Mexicans has already been described elsewhere,[267] and, so far, we have nothing to add to that picture. In it, as well as in social organization, the kin formed the basis, and since we have found, in the autonomous kin, that the military chieftains were the officers of justice, we are justified in looking for the officers of *tribal* justice among the chiefs of highest grade in the tribal forces. The "Cihuacohuatl" as ex-officio war-chief of the tribe could not, as we have already seen, officiate in that capacity; but the "chief of men" was very distinctly clothed with the power to punish, even to such an extent as to impart to it the character of arbitrariness and despotism. If, however, we examine closely the instances reported, they appear to limit themselves: —

1. To cases of insubordination, unfaithfulness, or treachery within the official household:[268]

[265] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 417). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 15): "Si le souverain de Mexico mourait sans héritier, les principaux chefs lui choisissaient un successeur dont l'élection était confirmée par les chefs supérieurs de Tezcoco et Tacuba." "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 66, 67 and 72). The chiefs, of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, are mentioned as "electors," but stress is placed only on the fact, that they "*crowned* the King." This evidently means investiture only. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII and XXXIV). Although very full of details, he plainly avoids mentioning the chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan as taking part in the election (p. 318). *Durán* (Cap. XXXII, p. 258, XXXIX, pp. 302 and 303, Cap. XLI, p. 325).

[266] *Zurita* (p. 16). *Gomara* ("*Conquista de México*," Vedia I, p. 435). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CI. p. 179).

[267] "*Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans*," 16th Report Peabody Museum, 1877.

[268] Therefore the recommendation, by the "Cihuacohuatl," to the newly appointed servants and runners in the official household: "and behold that, where you enter, there are many valuable women, and also slaves, watch that you do not go astray, for at once you will be destroyed without the knowledge of any living soul . . . . ." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 146). It is evident that the "chief of men" had, in such

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2. To cases of military insubordination, or treachery:[269]

3. To instances of great importance, demanding sudden action in order to avoid public danger.[270]

cases, the right of summary punishment, as well as in the case of unfaithful stewards or disobedient subordinates in general. Compare, on the same subject, *Durán* (Cap. LIII, pp. 419 and 420). The fact, that the "Cihuacohuatl" spoke to the young men, further shows that the exercise of such extreme power was known to, and sanctioned by, the council.

[269] Quotations are useless, the necessity for such a power being too plain. But it is well, here, to state that among much ruder tribes even, and where the democratic element was carried to its greatest extremes, arbitrary punishment by war-captains sometimes occurred. Thus it is asserted that, at the bloody engagement of Point Pleasant, Va., 10 of October, 1774, "Cornstalk," the great Shawnee war-chief, tomahawked one near him who had "by trepidation and reluctance to proceed to the charge, evinced a dastardly disposition." *Alex S. Withers* ("*Chronicles of Border Warfare*," Chap. VII, p. 129). It explains also the summary punishment of traitors and deserters, as well as of those who assumed the dress of the prominent war-chiefs during a raid or an engagement.

[270] The incarceration of runners or messengers may be (and has been to me in conversation by an aged friend) brought up in proof of the belief, that the "chief of men" had a despotic power. Instances of that kind are related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CVI, p. 189). This is the truly admirable description of the first news brought to México of the approach of European ships. It is too lengthy to be inserted here. A runner from the coast carried the news, and "Wrathy Chief" said to Petlacalcatl, take him to the cell made of logs (probably split logs, "tablon") and look after him. This was done to keep the news secret until the matter could be investigated, and was, therefore, a preliminary measure of policy. But, aside from the fact that the isolation rather than incarceration (since the latter would have been death) of a news-carrier was a matter of policy, and as such a *duty* of the "chief of men," it was also an established custom among the Mexicans. This is stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288): "Habiendo cautivado á alguno, luego los mensageros que se llamaban tequipantitlanti, venian á dar las nuevas al rey de aquellos que habian cautivado á sus enemigos, y de la victoria que habian obtenido los de su parte . . . . . y el señor los respondia diciéndoles: "Seais muy bien venidos, huélgome de oir esas nuevas, sentad y esperad, porque me quiero certificar mas de ellas, y así los mandaba guardar, y si hallaba que aquellas nuevas eran mentirosas, hacíalos matar." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 536): "y que no le dejasen salir de Palacio hasta tener segundo Correo, que confirmase aquella buena nueva, que él havia traido. *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa, Trat. II°, cap. II, p. 281), almost a textual copy of the preceding author, as might be expected.

Among the many tales of prodigies, supernatural warnings, witchcraft, etc., etc., [787] connected with the months and years immediately preceding the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, there is, also, one bearing a particularly pure Indian character. See *Durán* (Cap. LXVIII, pp. 321-330). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CVI, p. 188 and 189). "Wrathy Chief," alarmed by mysterious prognostics, called upon all the old men, women, and the medicine-men, to report what they *might dream* or *had dreamt* within a certain lapse of time. It is well known what high value is attached by the Indians in general to *dreams*. There can be no doubt that, with the prevailing notion that dreams contained important and solemn premonitions, warnings from a higher source (*Sahagun* Lib. V), the request to communicate such dreams for the benefit of the tribe, to the "chief of men," was very natural. According to *Motolinia* ("*Hist. de los Indios de la Nueva-España*," Col. de Doc., Trat. II, cap. VIII, p. 189), certain men were particularly expert in explaining and interpreting dreams, so much so, that they were generally applied to for such purposes. If now, as the story in question has it, the said people refused to comply with such requests, the "chief of men" might, of his own accord,

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643 The power to appoint, which the "chief of men" enjoyed within the limits of the official household, implied, to the same extent, the power to remove and to punish. It was not even necessary to refer such cases to the action of the council.

In punishing summarily acts of insubordination, or of treachery, when committed during warfare, the "chief of men" acted as commander-in-chief and in strict compliance with the duties of that office.

Lastly, a certain amount of discretionary power was necessarily vested in the chief commander for the public good. Placed at the "tecpan" to "watch, guard and protect" the tribe and the confederacy, it was necessary to empower the "Tlacatecuhtlli" in cases of great urgency, to act "on the spur of the moment." It was not a privilege of royalty or a despotic right, but an obligation resulting from the nature of the office.

643 692 Consequently the "chief of men" was not, properly, the executioner of tribal justice either. This duty devolved upon other war-chiefs of lower rank, who, although superior in command to the leaders of the kins, when on the war-path, never otherwise interfered with the duties of the latter, any more than tribal jurisdiction conflicted with that of the autonomous kins. These chiefs were the "four leaders of the four great quarters of Mexico Tenuchtitlan,"[271] or, as we have already intimated, of the four *phratries* into which the twenty kins had again agglomerated for religious and military purposes. These four "great quarters," named respectively, "Moyotlan," "Teopan," "Aztacalco" and "Cuepopan,"[272] were not, as the current notion has it, so many governmental subsections, or wards of aboriginal Mexico. Shells

even treat them as traitors, and secure their persons to prevent injury to the public cause. All this, of course, provided the story be true!

The cases where secrecy is enjoined under penalty of death, are so plain that no illustration is needed. The "chief of men" had the right, in preparing general business, to give secret orders, to detail particular persons on secret missions. Anyone divulging the secrets entrusted to him, committed an act of treason, and therefore it was necessary that he should be chastised on the spot and on the spur of the moment, to obviate further mischief.

[271] "*Art of War*" (pp. 120, 121 and 122, especially notes 97, 99 and 101).

103 [272] The formation of these geographical circumscriptions I have already explained. The names can, in part, be etymologized. They are respectively: "Moyotlan" or place of the mosquito, from "moyotl," mosquito (*Molina* II. p. 55); "Teopan" or place of God, from "Teotl," God; "Aztacalco," "place of the house of the heron," from "Aztatl," heron (*Molina* I, p. 65 and II, p. 10), and "calli," house; "Cuepopan" or "place of the dyke," from "cuepotli," dyke (*Molina* I, p. 22, II, p. 26). All of which are, respectfully, submitted.

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of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common 643
leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic 692
cluster.[273] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, 701
are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

[273] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original 103
kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, 701
named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Aztacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," 633
etc., p. 134). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "councillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli"—"barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 494 and 495) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Michuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 15): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 101 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpaneca, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 236) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 488), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con- [643]

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701 office was, of course, elective and non-hereditary, and the election took place in the same manner and (sometimes, at least) at the same time as that of the "chief of men."[276] In case the latter was unable to lead the confederate forces on the war-path, and the "Cihuacohuatl" himself was not available either, then the posts of chief commander as well as of leader of the Mexicans proper, might be filled by one or the other of them.[277] This, however, was always a temporary situation, and there appears to have been no difference of rank between the four, since the Mexican

[643] cerning "Eshuahuacatl," Cap. XXII, p. 189): "y luego Tlacaelel, príncipe de la milicia, mandó en nombre del rey que fuesen apercibidos, etc., etc. . . ." "Llamó el rey á un señor que se llamaua Cuauhnochtli y hizolo general de toda la moltitud diciéndole que Tlacaelel era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada, dándole todas las exenciones y autoridad que semejante oficio requeria, ..." (Cap. XXXIV, p. 287, etc., etc.). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVII. p. 27), Tlacaelel, subsequently elected "Cihuacohuatl," was then only "Tlacochcalcatl," and he is, at that time, merely mentioned as "uno de ellos de los capitanes." Still (p. 28) he appears as "capitan general de ellos." (Cap. XXII, p. 34): "Respondió Tlacatelitzin y dijo: quiero dar aviso á Tlacatecatl. y á Tlacochcalcatl, para que publiquen luego en toda esta república esta guerra por los varrios, . . ." (Cap. XXVIII, p. 43): "mandaron el rey Moctezuma y Zihuacoatl, á los capitanes Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Cuauhnochtli. y Tilancalqui, que luego al tercer dia se apercibiesen y pusiesen en camino con sus armas y vitualias," etc., etc. This entire "Crónica" bristles with facts of that kind, too numerous to quote. The fact, amply proven heretofore, that the "Zihuacoatl" was also ex-officio head-war-chief of the tribe of Mexico, is alone sufficient to establish the inferiority of the four others. See "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67).

[276] In evidence of this there is the entire series of specifically Mexican authors, starting with the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 57): "Primeramente ordenaron que siempre se guardasse este estatuto en la corte Mexicana, y es que despues de electo Rey en ella, eligiessen quatro señores, hermanos ó parientes mas cercanos del mismo Rey, los quales tuviessen ditados de principes: los ditados que entonces dieron á estos quatro al primero Tlac . . . (follow the four names and titles). . . ." The same version has been adopted with more or less variation, by *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 103 and 105), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 23), *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap XIX, pp. 75 and 76). Besides, there is the independent version of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap, XXX and XXXI, pp. 318 and 319), who is even too positive, stating, or at least leading to the inference, that at every election of a "chief of men," the four offices were also newly filled, and invested at the same time. This appears to be a misconception, explained by the Codice Ramirez and by Durán.

It may be in place here to refer to a different version, which reduces the number of these assistants to the "chief of men" to two only. We find it in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 448): "Las apelaciones iban á otros dos Jueces mayores, que llaman tecutlato, y que siempre solian ser parientes del señor . . . ." and also in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 95). By reference, however, to *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX), it will be seen that the celebrated Franciscan speaks of only two of the four which he mentions (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). These two are "Tlacochcalcatl" and "Tlacatecatl" ("Tlacochtecutli" and "Tlacatecutli" by abbreviation), whom he again calls (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311) "principal captains, of which there were always two," while (Lib. IX. cap I, p. 326) he calls the same, "governors of Tlatilulco." The Tlatilulcan tradition appears very plainly in the writings of the learned friar, which writings have wielded such a vast influence in literature on aboriginal Mexico.

[277] "*Art of War*" (p. 122), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311), *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 189), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494).

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chroniclers mention them indiscriminately as military captains of the highest rank. Still, while this fact remains undisputed, we notice among later authors that two of the four, namely: "Ezhuahuacatl" and "Tlacateccatl" are called: "judges."[279] How the duties of a judge sitting permanently, could be performed by a war-chief, is rather difficult to comprehend, whereas those of a chief executioner of judicial decisions agree well with those of a military office, in primitive society. "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" is positively stated to have been "chief executioner" ("alguazil maior") or sheriff."[279] The Codex Mendoza, however, makes all four equal, by calling each of them "executive officer." Samuel Purchas, in his "Pilgrimage," renders this incorrectly by "officer of dispatch."[280] Such was indeed their true position. What the "elder brother" was to the kin, the four great war-captains were to the tribe. To them the judicial decisions of the council were communicated through the "Cihuacohuatl" or the "Tlacatecuhtli," and *they* were intrusted with their execution. Consequently they superintended the maintenance of order and quietness at every place where the tribal authorities exercised control, as, for instance, in the markets, and in the central square encompassing the great "house of God." But they were also the immediate military assistants of the "chief of men," and as such, as far as he exercised any power to punish, they also acted as his "executive officers" when necessary.[281] It is doubtful, however, if the four leaders

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[279] The "Tlacatecatl" is called a "Judge," second in jurisdiction only to the "Cihuacohuatl" by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 256). The same author calls him a "valiant captain" (Lib. II, cap. LXXVI, p. 211). After this author, he has been called a Judge by *Veteancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat II°, cap. I, p. 370), by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). It is singular to notice that for instance *Veteancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XVIII, p. 280) mentions that "Water-Rat" ("Ahuitzotl") was "Tlacatecatlo, captain general of the Mexicans." In this he follows *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. LXIII, p. 186), who, in turn, agrees with his predecessor, *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXV and XXXVI, p. 131). The latter is particularly explicit. His statements agree with those of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XIII and XVIII). "Ezhuahuacatl" is also represented as "alcaldo" in the *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXIX, tercera Partida, No. 18), which again represents him as "executor" (plate LXVI, tercera Partida, No. 10). All this tends to show that these officers, besides being principal war-captains, were also executors of judicial decrees.

[280] *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Lettre*, Mexico, 3 Nov., 1532, "*Premier Recueil*," etc., p. 248): "Un officier, nommé Guamuchil, remplit les fonctions d'alguazil mayor. . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, pp. 256 and 258), *Veteancurt* (Vol. I, p. 370, etc.), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXVI, tercera Partida, No. 7) calls him "executor," like "Tilancalqui" and "Ezhuahuacatl."

[281] *Codex Mendoza* (plates LXVI and LXVIII). In the latter he calls them "Valientes." For the interpretation of Purchas see *Kingsborough* (Vol. VI, pp. 73 and 74).

[282] Instances of that kind are frequently found, both in Durán and Tezozomoc.

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701 had the right to appoint the assistants whom they needed, beyond sending out subordinates, or rather detailing them on particular errands. As to watchmen in the market-places,—the officers who circulated about preserving peace and order there—they were placed at their posts by the tribe. But it was their duty to report to the chief executive officers, nay, to apply to them for assistance, whenever anything happened which required the exercise of higher power. On the other hand, these subalterns obeyed their orders in the interests of tribal business.

701 643 We have already noticed that, among the four, "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" is most distinctly mentioned as judicial executioner, even prominently before the others. But this officer again is lost sight of at the election of a "chief of men." Then another looms up in his place. This is the "man of the black house," Tlilancalqui. It appears that each of the three first-named positions namely: "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacateccatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," was, together with the last-named "Tlilancalqui," a preparatory stage for the office of "chief of men."[262] "One of these four had to be elected king" says the Codex Ramirez.[263] While it is difficult to

[262] This statement rests upon the authority of the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58), which document agrees almost verbatim with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103). Aside from *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV) and *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), who both, though rather vaguely, confirm the above, there are other indications confirming it. For instance *Codex Mendoza* (plate XI, interpretation or rather text): "Yten el dicho Tiçoçicatzi fue por estremo valiente y veliçoso en armas, y antes que subcediese en el dicho señorio, hizo por su persona en las guerras çeçeas hazañosas de valentia, pordonde alcanzó tomar dictado de Tlacatecati, que tenia por titulo de gran calidad y estado, y en el punto de que en vacando dicho señorio, el tal punto y grado subcedia luego en el dicho señorio, lo qual assimismo sus antecesores hermanos altras contenidos y padre, y agudlo tuviéron el mismo curso de los titulos y dictado, por donde subiéron a ser señores de México." Again (plate LXVIII, tercera partida), no difference is made between "Tlacatecatl" and "Tlacochcalcatl;" both are called "valientes" and "capitanes de los exercitos Mexicanos." *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. LV, p. 172): "y que Axayacatl, Hijo de Teçoçomoctli (Señor Mexicano) era Hombre Valeroso, y de mui gran fuerte, para el Reinado, fue de comun consentimiento, pasando á esta Dignidad, de la que tenia de Tlacochcalcatl. y Capitan General, y hecho Rei." (Cap. LXIII, p. 186): "Ahuitzotl, Hermano del Difunto, y de su Antecesor Axayacatl, era Tlacatecatl. ó Capitan General de los Mexicanos. . . ." Thus he acknowledges that both Tlacatecatl and Tlacochtecatl were alike eligible. It is but natural to read similar assertions in *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XVI, p. 305, cap. XVIII, p. 320), and *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 263, cap. XXII, p. 287). This author speaks of the different "chiefs of men" having been "generals in chief" of the Mexicans. Now since (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494) he states that the "Tlacochcalcatl" was the "principal" among the war-captains, it follows, that the chiefs named by him had all attained that rank. But we know that other authorities frequently give them another title also, therefore the conclusion is but natural that there were *several* head-chiefs for military purposes, etc., from whom the "chief of men" might be chosen.

[263] "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (p. 56).

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conceive why the captain "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" should *not* be one 701
of the privileged four, it is easy to understand why the "man of 643
the black house" should be of that number. The dark house, "Casa Lobrega" of Nuñez de la Vega, in Chiapas, plays a conspicuous part in the worship, or "medicine" of the aborigines of Mexico and Central America.[284] The "man of the black, or dark house," was therefore an intermediate between "medicine" and tribal government. As such, he appears to occupy a stage preparatory to the high office of "chief of men," and represents, together with the "satraps and papaoaqui" named by Sahagun,[285] the element of medicine or worship in the election of that officer. "Tlilancalqui" is occasionally, though rarely, mentioned as a war-chief,[286] but missions of importance appear to have been intrusted to him; and Joseph de Acosta calls the three other chiefs "warriors,"[287] to his exclusion; and finally, he is made a confidential advisor in times of great public danger. This is about all we know of this office, in relation to the government of the Mexican tribe.

The fact, amply proven as it is, that the "chief of men" had to be selected from among the four chiefs and officers enumerated, bears directly on the nature of the dignity with which the "Tlacatecuhtli" was invested. It fully disposes of the assumptions, that this officer was anything but an Indian war-chief of the highest order, or that heredity was attached to the office, though it does not disprove succession of office limited to any single *kin*. While it thus explains many incidental features of organization and government, it leads us back to the office of "chief of men" and through it, recalls some of the fundamental attributes of the tribe.

[284] *J. H. von Minutoli* ("*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala*," etc., "*Teatro Critico Americano*," by *Felix Cabrera*, German translation, p. 81): "house of darkness which he (Votan) had built in the space of a few respirations." But the dark house is yet more positively noticed in Guatemala. *Popol Vuh* (Part II. chap. II, p. 85): "Gekuma Ha," from "Gek" black, "*Grammaire QQuiché*" (p. 180). Also (Chap. VIII, p. 147, cap. IX, pp. 148 and 149). It is interesting to notice, in connection with this, that the same gathering of aboriginal traditions also mentions (p. 81) a house filled with lances (darts): "E'oo chicut Chayim-ha u bi, utuquel chakol chupam zakielohre chi cha, chi tziinic, chi yohohic, chiri pa ha." (Cap. IX, p. 154): "qate chicut ta x-e oc chi qaholab pa Chaim-ha." This corresponds with the Mexican "Tlacochcalcatl." Again we are treated (p. 85) to a "house of tigers" also repeated (p. 154), and it is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the "Tlacatecatl." Thus again the analogy between the Guatemaltecans and the Mexicans, appears sustained to some extent. [712]

[285] "*Historia general*," etc. (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[286] By *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are superfluous. See his "*Crónica*."

[287] "*Historia natural y moral de Indias*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

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642 We have already stated that the tribe was a voluntary association of kins for mutual protection. Though this was undoubtedly the original purpose, it becomes evident that, in course of time and as a result of success in warfare, the tribe, as a military organization, grew into a cluster for procuring and increasing subsistence.[288] This was achieved by gathering booty in successful raids, and by imposing tribute upon tribes whose military power had been overcome in such dashes and forays.

642 Previous to the formation of the confederacy, but few tribes had 648 been conquered by the Mexicans.[289] In fact, it was the nearly equally balanced power of the Pueblos occupying the lake basin, that made the formation of that confederacy possible. Such a course was necessary to prevent them from destroying each other for the benefit of expectant neighbors.[290] But when once this confederacy was formed, then their joint efforts were directed to conquest, and to the acquisition of the means of subsistence through tribute. As the imposition of tribute was a military measure, so, also, its collection was in the hands of the *military* branch of the tribal government. This is evident from the fact that the kins had delegated to the tribe all authority over outside [643] matters.[291] Hence the "chief of men" became the official head of tribute-gatherers.[292]

[288] "*Art of War*" (pp. 96, 97 and 98, also notes).

[289] The number and names of these tribes are yet undefined. The specifically *Mexican* sources insisting upon a *conquest* of Texcoco (by force of arms) by the Mexicans, it follows that, according to the *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 51 to 61), the tribes subjected before that supposed event, were the Tecpaneca, the Xochimilca, and those of Cuitlahuac, or the settlements to the west and southwest. *Durán* (Cap. IX to XV) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. VIII to XX) concur; so does, of course, *Acosta* (Lib. VII. cap. XII to XV). The *Codex Mendoza* (plates V and VI) adds to the above the pueblos of Chalco, Acolhuacan and of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca). If we compare it with the *Texcucan* tradition, as reported by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXI, p. 216) we notice that it is claimed for that tribe, that it assisted the Mexicans in the conquest of Xochimilco and Cuitlahuac, although the formal confederation took place (according to the same authority, Cap. XXXII) some years later. According to *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLII, pp. 148, etc.), *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XIV, p. 291), the Xochimilcas were conquered by the confederates. According to *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," Lib. III. cap. I, p. 150), the Texcucans subjected Xochimilco. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. V, p. 255) agrees with the Mexican version.

[290] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 61).

[291] This resulted from the constitution of the tribe, as an association of kins for mutual protection and sustenance.

[651] [292] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X. p. 18): "y aunque envian á dario á Ytzcoatl era para todos los Mexicanos en comun." The fact that the gathering of tribute was directly controlled by the "chief of men" is so generally admitted that it hardly needs any further proof. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Lettre*," etc., p. 248, 1er *Recueil*) ascribes the gathering of tribute to an officer whom he calls "tecuxcalcatectli." This should be, properly,

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Whenever any tribe, with or without a struggle, yielded to the warlike power of the Mexicans and their associates, the amount and kind of articles to be delivered, as tribute, at fixed periods, was at once determined between "the parties.[293] For the faithful performance of that contract, the vanquished stood in daily peril of their lives;[294] and in order to watch them constantly, and to regulate the delivery and transmission of the tribute, special officers were maintained among the conquered pueblos by their conquerors. These officers were called "gatherers of the crops," calpixqui. Each one of the three confederates sent its own "calpixqui" among the tribes which had become its exclusive prey, and where, as sometimes occurred, one pueblo paid tribute to all three confederates, it had to submit to the residence in its midst, of as many representative gatherers of duties.[295]

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"tlacochcalcatl-tecuhtli." But we know that the duties of the latter officer were quite different. Still, the collection of tribute being a branch of military life, the mistake is easily accounted for. The military chronicles of the Mexican tribe teem with instances where the stewards are described as under direct orders of the "chief of men," as in *Zurita* (pp. 68, 69, 70). It may also be inferred from the exaggerated statements about the tribute system among the Tezcucans, contained in *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV, pp. 239-241).

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[293] I refer to the following passages of *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. IX, p. 16, Capture of Azcaputzalco; Cap. XV, p 24, Cuyuacan; XVII, p. 28, Xochimilco; XVIII, p. 29, Cuitlahuac; XXVI, p. 40, Chalco; XXVII, p. 41, Tepeacac and Tecamachalco; XXIX, pp. 44 and 45, Tzicocac and Tucpan; XXXII, p. 50, Ahuilizapan, and the Totonaca; XXXVIII, p. 52, Coayxtlahuacan; XXXVIII, p. 61, Huaxaca; Cap. LXI, p. 102, Chiapan and Xilotepec; Cap. LXV, p. 110, Cuextlan; Cap. LXXII, p. 122; Teloloapan; LXXVI, p. 130, Tecuantepec and others; LXXIX, p. 136, Xocoanchco; LXXXIV, p. 148, Nopallan; LXXXVIII, Xaltepec; XCI, p. 159, Quetzaltepec). *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 77; X, p. 96; XII. p. 112; XVII, p. 151; XVIII, p. 159; XIX, p. 171; XXI, p. 185; XXII. p. 191; XXIV, p. 205; XXXIV, p. 269; XLI, p. 331; XLVI, p. 373, etc.). These passages fully illustrate the manner in which the tribute was imposed on the vanquished, at the close of a successful foray. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 271 to 273). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados. . . ."

[294] *Durán* (Cap. LIII, p. 621). Also the complaints of the Indians of Cempohual and Quishuiztlan (Totonacoeas) (on the coast), to Cortés, about the dread in which they continually stood of being overrun again by the Mexicans and their confederates. (*Cortés* "*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I), *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XLV, p. 40; XLVI, p. 41, Vedia II), "*Real Ejécutoria, etc.*" (Col. de Doc's II, p. 12).

[295] This results from the "articles of agreement" of the confederacy. See besides: *Zurita* (p. 67). *Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotl* ("*Memorial dirigido al rey, etc.*" "*Géografía de las Lenguas*," *Orozco y Berra* pp. 244 and 245) also states: "The pueblos whose tributes were distributed among Mexico and Tezcuco and Tacuba were the following: Coayxtlavacan, Cuauhtuchco, Cotlaxtlan, Avilizapan, Tepeaca." Against this there stands the version of *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XLI, p. 59): "Luego allí habló otro principal que se llamaba Mixcoatlayotlacauelitectzin, dile al señor capitan, que cuando vivia Moctheczuzoma el estilo que se tenia en conquistar, era este, que iban los Mexicanos, y los Tezcucanos, y los de Tlacupan, y los de las Chinampas, todos

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648 Thus the Mexicans had a number of such officers scattered
651 among tributary settlements. The "chief of men" controlled their actions, but his power did not extend over the "calpixca" of the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan. He could not even appoint the stewards sent to dwell among the tributary foreigners,[296] this power being vested in the council alone.[297] Such an office was by no means a post of honor and enjoyment. On the contrary, there was no more responsible or dangerous duty within or without the tribe. The "calpixqui" while he had not the slightest authority to meddle with the affairs of the tribe where he lived,[298] was expected to watch closely the dispositions and incli-

juntos iban sobre el pueblo ó provincia que querian conquistar, y despues que lo habian conquistado, luego se volvian á sus casas, y á sus pueblos, y despues venian los señores de los pueblos que habian sido conquistados, y traian su tributo de oro y de piedras preciosas, y de plumages ricos, y todo lo daban à Mocthecuzoma, y asi todo el oro venia à su poder." This plain and very natural statement, from a Tlatilulcan chief who afterwards became "gobernador" of Tlatilulco (*Sahagun*, Lib. VIII, cap. II, p. 274), has been twisted by *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 572), so as to say among other things: "and they had the tributes gathered at Mexico, and here it was distributed among the three Lords according to the directions given by him of Mexico." *Torquemada* has, in this instance, evidently changed the text of his predecessor. There is also an undeniable confusion here between booty and tribute. The former had to be divided among the conquerors while they were yet together; the latter occurred regularly afterwards, and hence did not need to go through the hands of Mexicans again. The story of Torquemada is corroborated by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIX, p. 282), who clearly says that "Fasting Wolf" put stewards only when the tribute belonged to his tribe, but that the whole tribute was brought to Mexico and there "the agents of the three chiefs divided it among themselves. Finally, we have the obscure statements of *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (pp. 244, 247, in 1er Recueil of Mr. Ternaux).

[296] The "Calpixcayotl" was a permanent office, not a temporary duty or mission; consequently its incumbents could not be appointed by a single war-chief. There is evidence to that effect. According to *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, p. 164), after those of Tepeacac had been conquered, "Cihuacohuatl" placed a steward in their midst: "Miré que en ello no aya falta ni quiebra; y para questo mejor se cumpla, os quiero poner un
[643] gobernador de los señores Mexicanos, al qual aneis de obedecer y tener en lugar de la real persona, el qual se llama Coacuech, y con esto os podeis ir en norabuena à vuestras tierras y ciudades porque al rey no le podeis hablar." (Cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). The steward for Cuetlaxtlan was chosen by the "Snake-woman;" or at least his choice was proclaimed by that officer. (Cap. XXIII, p. 199): "Acauado el sacrificio y despedidos los ghespedes, Tlacaelel, con consejo del rey, enuió un virey á Coaixtlavac para que tuviese cargo de aquella provincia y de los tributos reales, el qual se llamaua Cuauxochitl. . . . ."

[297] This results from the fact that the "Cihuacohuatl" announced the newly chosen "Calpixqui." In this case he plainly acted as *foreman of the council*, proclaiming their choice.

[298] I have already, in note 4, disposed of the statements of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." In further explanation thereof, I beg to call attention to some statements of the interpreters of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XX and XXI): "Los pueblos figurados en los dos planos siguientes, resumidos aqui, son diez y ocho pueblos, segun que están entitulados. Por

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nations of those by whom he was surrounded and to report forth- 648
with any suspicious movements or utterances that came to his 651
notice. Thus he appeared, in the eyes of the people among whom he resided, as a spy, whose reports might, at any time, bring down upon them the wrath of their conquerors. Again, it was his duty to control the bringing in of the articles promised as tribute, at stated times. Consequently he was the hateful tax-gatherer, the living monument of their defeat with all its unfortu-

los Señores de Mexico tenian puesto un gobernador llamado Petlacalcatl, aunque en cada un pueblo tenian puesto un Calpixque, que es como Mayordomo, que tenian á cargo de hacer recojer las rentas y tributos que los dichos Señores tributaban al Señorio de México y todos los dichos mayordomos acudian al dicho Petlacalcatl, como su governador;" (plates XXII and XXIII): ". . . . tenian puestos Calpixques, en cada uno de ellos, y en lo mas principal dominaba sobre todos ellos un governador, para que los mantubiese en paz y justicia, y les hiciese cumplir sus tributos y porque no se rebelasen;" (plates XXIV and XXV): "Y á que fuesen bien regidos y governados, los Señores de Mexico en cada uno de ellos tenian puestos Calpixques, y sobre todos los Calpixques un governador, persona principal de México, y ansi mismo los Calpixques eran Mexicanos, lo qual se hacia é probeya por los dichos Señores y á seguridad, para que no les rebelasen, y á que les administrasen justicia y oyesen en policia." It follows from the above that the "Governors" were placed, not so much over the tribes, as over the "calpixca" themselves, and indeed the "Petlacalcatl," "man of the house of chests," was the head-steward, to whom all the other stewards had to direct their consignments of tribute. Consequently, it is not to be understood as "governor of a province," but only "governor of the stewards," which is totally different.

Besides, there is positive evidence to the effect, that the Mexicans and their associates never interfered with the autonomy of tributary tribes. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 592): "Los que tomaba de guerra decian tequitin tlacotle, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recandadores; y aunque los señores mandaban su gente, era debajo de la mano destos de México. . . . *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 66): "Les chefs, restant seigneurs comme avant la guerre, conservaient la jurisdiction civile et criminelle dans toute l'étendue de leurs domaines."

When the tribes of the gulf coast (the Totonacas, etc.) arose against the Mexicans, [669]
murdering the stewards who had been placed among them, they were speedily overcome again, and when they attributed their revolt to the intrigues of their head-chiefs, asking the Mexicans to punish them for it, the Mexicans replied, according to *Durán* (Cap. XXIV, p. 204): "nosotros no tracmos autoridad para matar á nadie sino es en guerra: vuestros señores no han parecido en esta guerra ni los emos visto, pero no por eso se escaparán, pues vuestras razones y deseo y lo que pedis, se dirá al rey nuestro señor Montequma, y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado, y luego sin mas dilacion los traed aqui á todos ante nosotros y á muy buen recaudo." Afterwards: "enviaron á Cuaunochtli y á Tilancalqui, que eran de los mayores oydores del consejo supremo, para que executasen aquella justicia." The two chiefs were cruelly butchered (p. 206). This story is also related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV, pp. 55 and 56), and it is evidently the instance referred to and illustrated by the *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXVII). The foregoing tells us that even in a case of dangerous treachery and rebellion such as the above, the Mexicans did not claim the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the conquered tribe, of their own accord, but that it required the positive request of that tribe to cause them to act in the premises. Furthermore, the position of the "chief of men" as military executor is clearly defined: "y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado." A very important statement!

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648 nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience
651 to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

648 The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered
651 their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in
202 annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-
[727] Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[299] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII. inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 555, 56 and 77), *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XV). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 167 and 168) confining himself to the Tezcucans and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Zurita* (pp. 246, 247 and 248), *Ramírez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 251). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 20 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans. pp. 333 and 334): on *Matlatzinco*, *Zurita* (pp. 294-297), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramírez*" (pp. 63 and 65), and especially from the traditions on the forays and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 52, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.), *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues mirá que lo aueis de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que les placia de lo lleuar allá y seruillos, ..." (Cap. XXII. p. 191): "y que se obligasen á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 208, Cap. XXV, p. 206, etc., etc., etc.)

567 [302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 212 and 213). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of medicine subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "outcasts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traianlos atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuezos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonaca's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 12, Vedia I).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied 648
the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication 651
might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, 202
it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all 487
through the land roads should be opened which would be prac- 202
ticable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly 491
increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely 651
escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by 489
the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[303] "*Recueil de Pièces sur le Mexique*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 328) figures a bridge at Huejutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Metlaltoyuca shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 461): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere *runners*. ("Correos"—"Yeiuhca titlantli" *Molina* I, p. 30, from "Iciuhca"—quick and "titlantli"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 23 and 113). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 525 and 526), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codice Ramírez*" (p. 68).

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651 tives to whom it was delivered.[307] If the gathering of tribute
489 thus required a set of officers necessarily placed beneath the orders of the military chieftain, another set was needed for its preservation and judicious distribution. If the one consisted of stewards dwelling outside of the pueblo, the other was composed exclusively of home-stewards. Every convoy was therefore "consigned" to a proper officer, whose duty it was to receive it and then abide the directions of his superiors as to its apportionment.[308]

[643] We have already mentioned the "Cihuacohuatl" as the officer,
647 who was responsible to the council for the administration of the
651 stores and the proper distribution thereof, though he had beneath him another officer, to whom this duty was really and practically assigned. Torquemada and those who have followed his school, call this subordinate "great crop-gatherer," "Hueycalpixqui,"[309] whereas Tezozomoc and Durán apply to him the title of "man of the house of chests" "Petlacalcatl"[310] In both cases, however, he is represented as "chief steward," to whom all the others should render account. He superintended the distribution of the tribute,[311] and to him the kins came for their share—perhaps the largest of all. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish the principles upon which the division took place. All that we know is, that the tribe received one portion and the kins or "calpulli" the other, and that the "man of the house of chests," under whose eyes the distribution took place, afterwards looked to those stores, in particular, which were reserved for the tribe, i. e.: for the demands of the tribal government.[312] Therefore, the "man of the house of chests" frequently appears to be under the direct orders of the "chief of men," who could apply to him, more particularly, for such articles as were required for the exercise of tribal hospitality including gifts, and for displays of finery on particularly solemn occasions.[313] It is true that, as we have elsewhere shown, particular tracts of land, "tecpan-tlalli," were reserved among tributary tribes for the demands of the official

[307] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X, p. 18). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138).

[308] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXII, p. 51): "A los dichos pueblos fué un mayordomo para cobrar este tributo, como para todos los demas pueblos, que en Mexico havia un mayordomo, y otro en el mismo pueblo para mayor sugecion y vasallage."

[309] *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, pp. 544, 545), copied by Vetancurt (Parte IIa, Trat. II°, cap. I°, pp. 370 and 371), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. X, pp. 468 and 469).

[310] Also by the *Codex Mendoza* (Interpretation to plates XX, XXI, etc.).

[311] See note 300, also *Tezozomoc* and *Durán*.

[312] This is so frequently mentioned by *Tezozomoc*, that I forbear detailed quotations.

[313] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," sundry places, too numerous to refer to).

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households,[314] still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the 647
hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and 651
thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.[315]
Over these stores the "Petlacalcatl" presided. This officer was,
in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was account- [212]
able in the first place to the "Cihuacohuatl," who kept a register
or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment.
These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise
to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of [217]
Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[316]

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,— not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,— and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society — the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is 648
superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

[314] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 419 and 426).

[315] See the concurrent reports about the great drouth, while "Wrathy chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Montezuma Ilhuicamina") was "chief of men."

[316] This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.

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648 to cast the heterogeneous elements into one uniform mould, because there was no idea of any form of society other than that based upon kin, and of this, the tribe, characterized by independent territory, a dialect of its own and a common name and worship, formed the highest governmental expression.

000 We have thus, involuntarily almost, retraced our steps to the point of departure and justified, as we believe, our original propositions. We have tried to show that there was, in aboriginal Mexico, neither state, nor nation, nor political society of any kind. We have found a population separated into tribes representing dialectical variations of speech, each tribe autonomous in matters of government, and occasionally forming confederacies for purposes of self-defence and conquest. Out of that confederacy, brought so prominently forward by the events of the Spanish conquest, we have selected on account of its military pre-eminence, one tribe,—the ancient Mexicans—and we have shown that it was an organic body composed of twenty autonomous kins for purposes of mutual protection and subsistence. A social organization resting upon such a foundation must, of necessity, have been a democratic body. Indeed, we have found that each kin was governed by strictly elective officers, subject to removal at the pleasure of their constituents; that the twenty kins, for their mutual benefit, had delegated their powers to transact business with outsiders to a council of the tribe, in which every kin was represented, by one member and consequently, had the same voice and vote as either one of the others. The execution of the decrees of this council was left to elective officers, whose power was limited to military command, and whom the tribe might depose at pleasure. With the exception of some very inferior positions, these officers had not the power of appointing others to office, not even their assistants of high rank. The dignity of chief, so commonly transformed into hereditary nobility, has been found to have been, merely, a reward of merit and carried with it no other prerogatives than personal consideration and occasional indulgence in finery. Taking all this together, and adding to it the results of our investigations into the military organization of the ancient Mexicans, as well as of their communal mode of holding and enjoying the soil, we feel authorized to conclude *that the social organization and mode of government of the ancient Mexicans was a military democracy, originally based upon communism in living.*

Florentine Codex

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General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

[p. ii]

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Book 4 – The Soothsayers
and
Book 5 – The Omens

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

Charles E. Dibble
University of Utah

Arthur J. O. Anderson
School of American Research

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PARTS V AND VI

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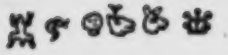

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De la Arte Adivinatoria

FOURTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE BOOK OF DAYS WHICH THE MEXICANS HANDED DOWN. THIS WAS IN ORDER THAT THE READERS OF THE DAY SIGNS[1] MIGHT STUDY THE GOOD AND EVIL DAYS. IN IT WERE SET FORTH THE DAY SIGNS HERE RECOUNTED, AND HOW THOSE WOULD FARE WHO WERE BORN ON THEM. AND THIS BOOK OF DAYS IS MORE CORRECTLY CALLED SORCERY, FOR IT BELONGED TO THE SORCERERS.

INJC NAVI AMUXTLI: YTECHPA TLATOA, IN TONALAMATL, IN QUJTITLANJA MEXICA: IEHOATL INJC QUJTTAIA TONALPOUHQUE, IN QUALLI CEMJLHUJTL, IOAN AMO QUALLI: YN JPAN MONEZCAIOTITIUH TONALLI, IN NJCAN MOTENEOA: AUH IN QUENAMJQUE IEZQUE IN JPAN TLACATIA. AUH IN, Y, TONALAMATL OC CENCA IE MELAOAC, IC MOTOCAIOTIZ, NAOALLOTL, CA NAOALTI INTECH POVIA.

X787 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the first sign, which was named One Crocodile, and of the good fortune which they merited who were born then — men or women. These same destroyed and ruined it because of their negligence.[2]

Injc ce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, injc centetl machiotl: in jtoca ce cipactli, ioan in qualli tonalli in quijmáceoaia, in vncan tlacatia, in toqujchti, in cioa: çan iehoantin quijpoloaia, qujmotlacalhujaiá, yn jpampa in jntlatziviliz.

805 Here beginneth the count of each day. Just as each week was reckoned, so each of the thirteen-day periods went taking its place until one year had passed. Once more at its start began the count of each day.

The first day count was named One Crocodile.[3] It was the very beginning and precise starting point of all the day counts, whereby began, continued, and came to an end the year [of 260 days].[4]

Nican peoa in cecemjlhujtlapoalli in iuhquj cecentetl semana ic mopoaia, matlatlaqujlhujtl omeey motlalitiuh, injc otlatocatiuh ce xivitl: Oc ceppa itzintlan oalpeoa in cecemjlhujtl tlapoalli.

Achto tonalpoalli ytoca ce cipactli: vel ipeuhca, vel itzin in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ynic vmpeuhtiuh, ôtlatocatiuh: ioan injc ontlantiuh ce xivitl.

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1. Cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Angel María Garibay K., ed.; México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1956; hereafter referred to as Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 359 (*Tonalpouhqui*); also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), pp. 423 ff., where in conjugation of the verb *poa*, the preferred meaning is "to read." Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (John Pharaoah, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), give the meanings "to read," "to relate," etc., besides "to count." See also Miguel León Portilla: *La filosofía náhuatl estudiada en sus fuentes* (México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1956), p. 205; on pp. 204 ff. there is a discussion of the makers and reading of day signs.

2. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), Vol. VII (hereafter referred to as *Real Palacio MS*), pp. 280 ff., the text has been divided into the chapters which appear in the *Florentine Codex*, and each one gives a descriptive heading, in Spanish and in Sahagún's handwriting. The Aztec heading appears to be a rendition in Nahuatl of Sahagún's Spanish. It will be noted that some of the chapter divisions to be found below appear to be arbitrary.

3. In the "Primeros Memoriales" of the *Real Palacio MS* (Vol. VI of the Paso y Troncoso ed.), pp. 73-74, 187, Sahagún begins the day count with One Dog (or dissolved).

4. *Xivitl*. Though the term means a year of 365 days, a 260-day ceremonial year is meant.

805 It became as the leader of this group of thirteen days which belonged with it: Two [Wind],[5] Three House, Four Lizard, Five Serpent, Six Death, Seven Deer, Eight Rabbit, Nine Water, Ten Dog, Eleven Monkey, Twelve Grass, and Thirteen Reed.

*787 These various days, as it was said, all were good. He who was then born a nobleman, it was stated, would be a lord, a ruler; he would prosper; he would be rich and wealthy. And if a commoner were then born, he would be a brave warrior — a valiant chief, esteemed, honored, and great. He would always eat. And if a woman were then born, she would also prosper and be rich. She would have drink and food available. She would have food for others to eat; she would invite others to feast. She would be respectful. She would be visited by others; she would await them with drink and food, with which to revive and refresh the spirits and bodies of those who lived in misery on earth, who, as they slept so they awoke — the destitute old men and women, and orphans; the forsaken; and all would be realized and come to pass that was undertaken; nothing would fail; of her fatigue and effort, nothing would be in vain. Successful would be her dealings around the market place, in the place of business; it was as if it would sprinkle, shower, and rain her wares upon her.

And furthermore they said that even though favorable was the day sign on which he had been born, if he did not strictly perform his penances, if he took not good thought, if he did not accept the reprimands and punishment meted out to him, the punishment with which he was punished and the correction with which he was corrected, the exhortations of the old men and the old women; if he became bad and perverse and followed not the way of righteousness, succeeded in nothing, and entirely by his own acts brought himself to ruin, despised himself, brought harm to himself, failed, lost through his own neglect, gave up, and endangered that which might be his good fortune, — his reward, and his lot: then he tarnished, polluted, and ruined with debauchery his birthright. Thus he found and merited affliction. As was the sleep, so was the awakening.[6] Nowhere was he content, nowhere

Injn matlactetl vmei in tonalli, in iuhquj itlavilanoan muchioa, yn itech povi: ichoatl in vme acatl, ey calli, navi cuetzpali, macujlli coatl, chiquacen mjqujztli, chicome maçatl, chicuei tochtli, chicunavi atl, matlactli itzcujntli, matlactli oce ocomatli, matlactli vmome malinalli, matlactli omej acatl.

In jzqujztel in tonalli: iuh mjtoaia, muchi qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli; mjtoaia tecutiz, tlatocatiz, motlacamatiz, mocujltonoz, motlamachtiz: Auh intla maceoalli ipan tlacatia, oqujchtiz, tiacauhtiz, maviztiz, panvetziz, motleiotiz, onca qujquanj iez: auh intla çioatl ipan tlacati, no motlacamatiz, mocujltonoz, oniez in qujz, in qujquazz, tetlaqualtiz, tecoanotzaz, tetlacamatiz, ipan calacoaz, qujtechielti in atl, in tlaqualli: ypal ihiiocujoaz, ypal ceviz in jiollo, in jnacaio, in tlaihiiovitinemj tlalticpac, in iuhquj cochi, in iuhquj meoa, in jcnoveve, yn jcnoilama, in jcnopiltzintli, in tlacnocaoalli: yoan muchi neltiz, muchi onieoatiz, in tlein maaiia, atle nenqujçaz, in jçiaviz, yn jtlapaliviz, atle nenvetziz, vel motitianqujz in tianquiznaoac, in nentlamachoian: iuhqujn pipixaviz, ipan tepeviz, ipan tzetzeliviz in jtiamjc.

Auh no yoã quitoaia: ma nel ivi in qualli itonal ipan otlacat, intlacamo vellamaceoa, intlacamo vel monotza, intlacamo qujcuj, intlacamo itech qujpachoa, in atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli, yn inonotzaloca, in izcaliloca, in veuetlatolli, yn jlamatlatolli, in çan tlaueliloti, tlavelilocati, in çan ãe vtli qujtoca, atle onqujça, çan ynevian mopopoloa, motelchioa, mjxpoposomjctia, mjjecoa, conmjxcaoaltia conmocavilia, qujmjtlacalhuja, yn jmlcecoal iezquja, yn itonal, yn jnemac, qujteuhiotia, qujtlaçollotia,[7] qujtlaçolmjctia yn itlacatiliz: ic cococ, teupouhquj qujmottitia, qujmomaçevia, in iuhquj cochcaiotl, iuhquj neuhcaiotl, acan avia, acan vellamati, ompa onqujça in qujtzaqua tlalticpac netolinjliztli: ca nel omoneviiavi, yn jpampa yn jtlauelilocaio, inj atle ipan tlattaliz, yn iaquentlattaliz, yn jtlaaujlmachiliz, aiac oconcaujli, ca itcoian ynevian oqujmochichivili in tonevizti, in chichinaqujztli, ic telchioalo, aoc tle ipan itto, aoc ac

5. *Omo ceuil* has been corrected to read *omo ceuil* in the *Real Palacio* MS, p. 238.

6. *In iuhquj cochcaiotl, iuhquj neuhcaiotl*: Cuevchi, op. cit., pp. 455, 456, favors the meaning of a general statement (*cuecuechoa cuechaqui, cuechaqui*), though his examples do not parallel the phrasing here found. Possibly the rendering should be: "As for sentiments, nowhere was he content."

7. *Qujtlaçollotia, qujtlaçolmjctia*

happy. He was destitute; on earth misery engulfed him. For verily he brought it on himself — because of his wickedness, disregard, shamelessness, and neglect. No one bequeathed it to him, for by his own will and of his own fault he brought unto himself injury, torment, and pain. Hence he was despised and disregarded. No one any longer obeyed him; no one became his friend; he stood by himself. No one took account of his personality. Everywhere he was hated; nowhere was he liked; nowhere did he give pleasure. But he was regarded as a thing, and looked at, for now he was a vagabond, proscribed, completely outlawed; he was on the outside, lingering on the outskirts; impudent and shameless. He went about haughty[7] and drunk. For truly he was abandoned to evil and feared. His side was sore; his head ached — it was in pain — so that he was incorrigible, suffering, and dejected. For he was full of evil — so perverse was he.

And of anyone who had gained merit and reward being then born, his fathers and mothers said: "Upon a good day sign hath he been born and created and come forth on earth; he hath arrived upon the earth on [the day sign] One Crocodile. Let him be bathed."[8]

Whereupon they gave him a name. They called him Cipac. Or else, they gave him the name of another one of his grandparents. Etc.

And, on the other hand, if it were the wish [of the parents], perchance they passed over the days; perchance they settled upon still another day for him to be bathed. For One Crocodile bore with it all favorable day signs.

And if it were a man who was born, when they bathed him they adorned for him a small shield, upon which they put four small arrows. And to it they bound his umbilical cord. They entrusted it to and sent it in the charge of brave chieftains, who left it at the battlefield. Right there where they fought, where there was fierce battle, at the crossing of the waters, they buried it.

And if it were a woman, when they bathed her, they put into the vessel in which she was bathed, the large earthen bathing vessel, her spindle, her cotton,

qujtlacamati, aiac icnjuh qujchioa, yioca quetzalo, aoc ac iiel qujrta, novian tlaelitto, ácan velitolo, ácan tlapaqujltia, ça tlatto, ça itto, ca ie tlaztlacolli, ie tlaltolli, ie centlaltolli, ie tetenco cáca, ie tetenco pipilcac, ie tepan onoc: injc ácquen tlatta, injc moquatlaztinemj, mjvintitinemj, ca nel otlauelcaoaloc, otlaellelaxiti, otlaxillãquauhtili, otlatzonteconquauhtili, otlatzonquauhtili inic auel monotza, ca iiolaçic, iiellelaçic, qujmaxilti, ynjc tlaueliloc. 787X

Auh in aca vel mâcoaale, ilhujle, ipan otlacat: njman qujtoaia in jtaboan, in jnaoan, ca qualli tonalli in jpan otlacat, oiecoc, otlalticpacquijz, omotlalticpacquijxti, ce cipactli: ma njman malti,

ic qujtocamacaia, ic qujnotzaia, cipac: anoço itla oc centlamantli, icolhoan intoca in qujmacaia, etc.: [553]

auh tel çan triollotlama; in açoc conchololtizque, açoc contlalinque oc centetl tonalli, ipan maltiz: ca ie qujcenvica in ce cipactli, ca muchi qualli tonalli.

Auh intla oquijchtli otlacat: in jquac caltiaia, chimaltoatli qujchichiviliaia, ipã temj navi mjtotonti: auh itech quijpiaia in jxic, intech qujcaoaia, intech qujpiloaia in tiacaoan, iaopan concaoaia: vel oncan in necalioa, in tlaieculo, yn japaniocan contocaia. 787X 844

Auh intla çioatl otlacat: ynjc caltiaia imalac, ichcauh, itzaoalcax, ioan ipopouh, iochpanoaz ipan contemaia yn jnealtilcax, in jnealtilapaz: yc qujnextiaia,

7. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 3 (1947), pp. 239 and 247 (n. 61), where [illegible] translated *donar la cabeza desmedidamente*.

8. The corresponding Spanish text usually uses "bautizar" for *mallia*, etc.; see however, Ch. 37, *infra* (*despanamquia*, etc.).

X 787 her spinning bowl, her sweeper, and her broom.
844 Thus they showed that the girl was one who went nowhere; only the house was her abode. Hence, near the grinding stone, at the edge of the hearth, they buried her umbilical cord.

X 787 And [this count of days—so was it claimed—
791 was an invention of the two called and named Oxomoco and Cipactonal, who gave it to the people.
805 Oxomoco they painted as a woman, and Cipactonal [as] a man. They who were readers of day signs embellished their book of days with their representations, which they placed in the middle when they painted them. For it was so said that there they became lords of all the day count.

in ·ſcampa ianj cioatzintli, çan cali ichan: ic çan metlatitlan, tlecujlnacazco contocaia yn jxic.

Auh inin tonalpoalli, iuh mjtoaia: ichoan inthanezttil, ichoan qujtemacaque, in vmentin teneoalo, intoca Oxomoco, ioan cipactonal: in Oxomoco cioatl inic qujcujloaia: auh in Cipactonal oqujchtli: in tonalpouhque catca yn jntonalamauh qujiollotiaia, yn jmjxiptla ynepantla qujntlaliaia, injc qujcujcujloaia: ca iuh mjtoaia: vncan tlatoque muchioa yn jpan ixquich tonalpoalli.

[p. 4]

Second Chapter, which telleth of the second [day] sign, which was named One Ocelot, and which was not a good day sign for those who were born on it—men and women—to obtain reward; but, nevertheless, he who showed prudence might well be saved through forethought; and of those born on [this day sign] almost all became slaves.

Injc vme capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc vnteti machivtl, in jtoca ce ocelutl: ioan in amo qualli tonalli, in qujmomâceviaia in aqujque ipan tlacatia, in toqujchti, in cioa: auh tel in jca innezcaliliz, in vel nenotzalizpatia: auh in aqujque in jpan tlacatia, y, achi muchintin tlatlacoti muchioaia. 787X

The second day sign which set in was named One Ocelot. When it set in, it was said to be an evil day sign, one of fierce beasts.

It bore with it and presided over all its series[1] of thirteen, which belonged to it: Two Eagle, Three Vulture, Four Motion, Five Flint Knife, Six Rain, Seven Flower, Eight Crocodile, Nine Wind, Ten House, Eleven Lizard, Twelve Serpent, and Thirteen Death.

And those who were then born, whether nobleman or commoner, so it was said, would die in war, be taken away, abandoned, imprisoned, seized. And all had was his lot; misery befell him. He only wallowed in evil and he was covered with filth. Nowhere had he good repute. He committed adultery, was an adulterer, adulterous, one who seized other skirts and blouses, one who remained on female navels.

And even though one such became a valiant chieftain, brave, a taker of captives, indeed he sold and yielded himself to slavery; he became someone's digging stick and tump line; he yielded to the digging stick and tump line. So it was said: "Thus was his day sign; thus was his life. On such a day was he born; thus was his birthright."

But [if] he emerged great, some brave chieftain, he was not sold [but] lived on earth in tranquillity: one who was not lazy; diligent and careful, vigilant, a receiver of [ritual] benefits, a doer of penances, one who fasted and bled himself; who swept, shook out clothing, gathered up rubbish, laid fires, and at night held vigil, rose in vigor, and was circumspect; who

Injc ome moquetza tonalli: ytoca ce oçelutl. In jquac in moquetza, mjtoaia amo qualli tonalli, tequantonalli, 787X 805

qujcenvica, qujcentlaça, yn itlavilan matlactli vmei, in jtech povi, ichoantin, y, vme quauhtli, ei cozcaquauhtli, navi olin, macujlli tecpatl, chiquaçen quja-vitl, chicome xochitl, chicuey cipactli, chicunavi hecatl, matlactli calli, matlactli oce, cuetzpali, matlactli vmome coatl, matlactli vmei mjequjztli:

auh in aqujque ipan tlacatia, y, in aço pilli, anoço macteualli: iuh mjtoa isomjquja, vicoia, caoaloia, calaqujloia, axioaia, ioan muchi amo qualli in jmâceual, in jcnopil muchioaia, çan teuhtli, tlaçolli, ic mjlacatzotinemj, teuhtli tlaçolli cololotinemj: acan tlacaitolo, tetlaxima, tepan iauh, tetlan aaquj, cueitl, vipilli tepan cana, icioaxic ietinemj. 787X

Auh intlanel aca tiacauh, oquichtli, tlamanj muchioaia, vel monamacaia, motlacocaouia, tevic, temecapal muchioaia, victli, mecapalli qujmottitiaia, iuh mjtoaia: ca iuhquj itonal, iuhquj iol, iuhquj ipan tlacat, iuhquj itlacatiliz:

auh çâ vei qujçaia in aca tiacauh, amo monamacaia, in jvian oalnemja tlaticpac: ichoatl in amo tlatziuhquj, in jeel, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochiçanj, in tlâcelianj, in tlamaceoanj, in moçaoanj, in mjçonj, in tlachpananj, in tlatzetzeloanj, in tlacujcujnj, in tletlalianj, in ioalli qujtztoc, in popoxiuhtzoa, in mocujtivetzi, in amo motetecа, in amo moxiocaoa, in

1. The linguistic concepts illustrated in this sentence by the use of quivicoia and itlavilan presents a semantic problem difficult to put into English. Therefore in this Book we generally translate xiuh as "year with it," and itlavilan, or itlavilaxiuhtl, as "its series," or companions, or group.

787 was chaste and conscientious; who was audacious, who saved all, who sought his sustenance; who planned, sought, and watched for that which might alleviate, for that which he might lay hand on in the near future, and for what he might offer his children; for what might be obtained, and what he could quickly seize if sickness and misfortune came.

vmpilcatoc, in jaqujch caana, in qujtemoa in jcochca, yn jneuhca, in qujlnamjquj, in conjttilia, in contlachielia, tle itech vmpatiz, tle itech ontlaanaz in macujl, in matlac, tlẽ qujmonmacaz in jpilhoan, çan onmaçouz, tlẽ concujtivetziz in ocalla cocoliztli icnoiotl:

Thus, everywhere he watched for, considered, and sought whatsoever he might use as merchandise, whatsoever his manner of wares might be; whatsoever he might live by, by which he might increase and augment his goods and his gains.

ic noviiampa mjxtia tlanemjlia, qujtemoa, in tlein qujmonanauhtiz, in catleoatl inanauh vmmuchioaz, in tlein vel ic onnemjz, ic onmacoquetzaz, ic ontlapiujaz itlatquj icnopillouh.

And this one emerged, and rose to honor, if he deliberated well, and was attentive, not resentful of criticism, nor lazy. The counsel with which he was counseled and the rearing with which he was reared took effect; he seized and held fast to it. And if he was made fun of, he took no revenge; he made no reprisals. He returned nothing in kind.

Ioan ichoatl qujçaia, panvetzia, in vel monotza, in tlacacquj, in amo qujquammati, qujtemati in onotzaloca, izcaliloca, içan itech qujpachoa, içan qujmacuj, qujmapiquj: auh intla ica necacaiaoalo, amo qujtecuepiliaia, amo qujcuepcaiotia, atle ic qujlochtia.

[684 565] And if a woman were then born, it likewise befell her as hath been said and told above. If a noble-woman was an adulteress, her head was crushed between two stones so that she died. And only in misery and affliction was she given to dwell. She encountered misery and want. Nowhere on earth was her face radiant; nowhere on earth was she [of any account]; nowhere was she regarded; nowhere did she hold a husband. Thus was it stated: "Just so is her nature; so is her life; so her birthright; and so her day sign. Thus, on such [a day], was she bathed; at such a time was she born. Monstrous was her day sign; a wild beast was she; hers was the day of the wild beast, etc."

Auh intla çioatl ipan otlacat: no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, in tlacpac omjto, omotenouh: intla cioapilli tetlãximaia, quatepipitzinjloia injc mjquja: auh çan icnoiotica, cococaiotica, in monenemjtiaia, icnoiotl, netolinjliztli qujtztinemj, ãcan ixtona in tlalticpac, ãcan tlalticpac ca, ãcan motztica, ãcan vel oqujchpia: ic mjtoaia, ca njman iuh quiz, iuhquj iiohliz, iuhquj itlacatiliz, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan malti, iuhcan tlacat, ãtlacacemelle in jtonal, ca tequanj, tequantonale. Etc.

782 And they venerated Four Movement as a day sign. Thus did they say, that it was the day sign of the sun. Moctezuma paid great honor to it. When it was this day, when Four Movement set in, they slew quail and offered incense before the image of the sun; they placed on it what was known as the spreading red arara feather device. And at noon captives died and were slain [as sacrifices].

821

Auh in naolin qujtonaltiaia: iuh qujtoaia, itonal in tonatiuh, cenca qujmaviztiliaia in Motecuçuma: yn jquac, y, moquetzaia naolin, tlacotonaia, tlenamacaia, yn ixpan ixiptla tonatiuh, qujtlaliaia itoca cueçaltonameiotl: auh in nepantla tonatiuh, mjqujia, mjctiloia, in mamalti:

787 And for him who was then born, no [true sign] appeared. In two ways might it fall. They said that if it were a man, he might either take captives or die in war. As they said, "With this the sun is nourished." Hence everyone did penances when it was this sign. At this time all came together from all parts; none remained or did otherwise. Verily, everyone — men, women, children — cut their ears and

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, atle vel inezca, vme vitz qujtoa. Yntla oqujchtli aço tlamaz, anoço iaomjquiz: in iuh qujtoaia, ca ica mozcaltia in tonatiuh, ic muchi tlacatl tlamaceoaia. yn jquac, y in vncã, y, cenvetzi, ipanoca, aiac mocaoa, aiac ixcavi, vel mochi tlacatl in oqujchtli, in çioatl, im piltzintli, monacaztequia, mjçoia, mjtoaia: ic izcaltilo in tonatiuh.

787x

drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã âqualli: ynjc qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztiliaia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxiptla, qujtlamanjliaia: no iehoan in cioa tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, aca vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel aizque mjmatizque, toltecatizque, vellalalizque, vellacujlozque: in jpan intlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mâaltiaia, maujujxoaia, yn jquac neoalco, in vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, chicome xochitl:

787x 782 286 785

And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla aca tlãmachchiuhquj, yneçaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã âavilnemjz, âavienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mâavilriaia in tlamachchiuhque,

787x 286 785 548

It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

qujlmach iehoatl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquequeloaia in intzouh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia, xochiciujztli, palanjliztli:

787x 286 776

But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

auh in aqujn vel ontlamaceoa in vel monotza, ca oncã qujçaia, maviztia, momavizçotiaia, çana motztica, vel moiezztica tepaltzinco in tẽc:

787x 286

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tôtoltecatiz, tlatlanemjliz, iõiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz: auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iaujlqujzca, iquequeloloca in qujmomacevizia.

787x

And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept; nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wandering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wish for public esteem — to become a mer-

Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujtica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelnezca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhqujn ecatocotinemj, avic iatinemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atleti: ca nel iuhquj itonal, conjxtoca, ipan onmjxpoa, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, teaachti, tetlãtlavicalti, tecãcamanalhuj. Etc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan nẽia motlatlamotla, mone-

X 787 chant, or even a singer, or a page, or a bearer of burdens, or a jester, etc. He was capable of nothing; he only quarrelled. To no purpose did he struggle; in vain did he travail. Even though he became a brave warrior, nowhere was he considered, nowhere admitted. It was said: "No one [needed] the sweat of his brow; no one paid attention to him or sought him out." And although it appeared that thus he gained a livelihood, and something he put aside for himself, he was a failure; like the wind, like the water were his results. Nothing could he retain, nothing could he keep. Unfortunate were his efforts.

nencoa, moquauhtlaça in manel tiacauhti: anocan ompouhquj, ꞓcan onaqujlo, mjtoa: aiac itztocujtl, aiac ica, aiac qujtemoa: auh intlanel neçi ic motlaiecultia, intlanel itla ic motlãtlamachia aonicoati, çan iuhqujn ehecatl, iuhqujn atl onqujça, atle qujtlaçaloltia, atle qujtlatricoltia, çan nen vetzi yn jtlapaliviz.

Third Chapter, which telleth of the third sign, named One Deer; and the good fortune which those then born — men or women — merited. And if it were not realized, these lost it through laziness.

In third place set in a day sign, the one [named] One Deer, and it also bore with it thirteen [days]. These are: Two Rabbit, and Three Water, Four Dog, Five Monkey, Six Grass, Seven Reed, Eight Ocelot, Nine Eagle, Ten Vulture, Eleven Motion, Twelve Flint Knife, and Thirteen Rain.

Many of these day signs, it was said, were good and of a propitious time. Nevertheless, some mixed and mingled with them, so that they corrupted, as will be told. Here are told their qualities as they went in order.

He who was then born a nobleman, who was of noble lineage,[1] became a ruler and gained fame. Because of him there was drink and food; he rewarded others and bestowed upon and laid before them capes, breech clouts, head bands, lip pendants, and ear plugs.

And if it were only a commoner who was then born, the same likewise befell him. He attained his ends; he succeeded. He lived. He became a brave warrior, a valiant chieftain. He surpassed others; he left them overcome. He did not wish to lose stature. Nowhere did he hang on at the end. Nowhere was he inferior, the younger brother, the child, the blighted one. Proceeding everywhere mature, [like] something well-developed; going first and foremost, at the head, he brought his life to successful fruition. Nowhere did he deal in shameful things; he was ashamed of nothing and ashamed of no one. Nothing deserved him; he did not live in humiliation; nowhere did he turn tail in battle. In nothing did they consider him a woman.

Inje ei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: injc etetl machiotl, in jtoca ce maçatl: yoan in qualli tonalli, in qujmomaceviaia yn ipan tlacatia, in toqujchti, in cioa: auh intlacamo inpan neltiaia, çan ichoantin in tlatriviliztica qujpoloaia. 787X

Injc expa moquetza tonalli: ichoatl in ce maçatl, no matlactlomej qujvica, ichoatl in vme tochtli, ey atl, navi itzcujntli, macujlli oçomatli, chiquacen malinalli, chicome acatl, chicuei ocelotl, chicunavi quauhtli, matlactli concaquauhtli, matlactli oce olin, matlactlomome tecpatl, matlactlomei qujavitl. 787X 805

In jzqujtetl in tonalli, mjtoaia: qualli, ieccan: auh tel cequj iitla actiuh, itzalan actiuh, injc itlacauhtiuh, in iuh moteneoaz: vncan mjtoa inneneixcaujtoca, injc tecpantivi: 787X

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And if it were only a commoner who was then born, the same likewise befell him. He attained his ends; he succeeded. He lived. He became a brave warrior, a valiant chieftain. He surpassed others; he left them overcome. He did not wish to lose stature. Nowhere did he hang on at the end. Nowhere was he inferior, the younger brother, the child, the blighted one. Proceeding everywhere mature, [like] something well-developed; going first and foremost, at the head, he brought his life to successful fruition. Nowhere did he deal in shameful things; he was ashamed of nothing and ashamed of no one. Nothing deserved him; he did not live in humiliation; nowhere did he turn tail in battle. In nothing did they consider him a woman.

in aquja ipan tlacati pilli, in tetzon, in teizti, in tetzicueuhca, in tetzicueoallo, in tetlapanca, in tetechpa qujz, iol, in teujztzo, in teaoaio, in tetentzon, in teinquamol, in teezqo, in tetlapallo, tlatocaiotia, oalmotenioiziaia, ipal atlioaia, ipallaqualoia, tetlauhtiaia, qujtemacaia, tetech qujtlalicia in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in tlalpilonj, in teçacatl, in nacochtli:

auh intla çan macoualli ipan tlacatia, no iuhquj ypan muchioaia, oallacnopilhuiaia, oalquiçaia, oalnemja, oqujchtia, tlacauhtia, teckcaoaia, teihicaoaia: amo mopatzaoallanj, ican tlatzimpiloa, ican tetzacuja, ican teiccauhti, xoxoioti, amo patzactzintli, noviian mochamauhtiuh, tlachamauhtiuh, tachcauh icatiuh, tlaiacatitiuh, panj icatiuh, conqujxtilitiuh yn jnemjliz, ican pinaviztlamati, atle qujmamati, aiac qujmamati, atle quitzicololtia, amo pipinonemj, ican tzinqujxcatlaiecoa, atle qujcioatlamachtia.

1. Andrés de Olmos, in *Gramática de la lengua mexicana* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 212, groups most of these terms in conjunction with "Parientes de algunos que salen de sus casas"; Sahagún, in "Vocabulario con sus reglas," *Academia de la Historia MS* (Vol. VI of the Pinz y Tuxtucano ed.), cap iv, pp. 206, 208, defines the terms figuratively as persons who show successes. Simeón, op. cit., as well as Sahagún, loc. cit., gives literal meanings of most of them. See also Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiii, fol. 28b.

X-787 And if it were a noblewoman, or only a common [woman], who was then born, so likewise it was her lot. She was considered as a man, esteemed as if a man; a comforter. Hence she caused others no apprehension, was not negligent, and did not dishearten others.

And also it was said that one who was born upon this [day sign], One Deer — it was told that he was exceedingly timorous; he lived thinking only of his fears; he walked with his terrors, and only lived afraid, indeed frightened to death. When he witnessed a thunder clap, or a bolt of lightning, or lightning flash — a flash of lightning — then he could not endure it. Indeed the lightning and thundering frightened him and caused him to be in terror and dread.

And so they said that sometimes, on some occasions, it happened to him; for his fear followed him and persisted with him; his fears came upon him as a judgment. For his dread came upon him. Verily, he was struck by lightning; that befell him which he feared and of which he lived in anxiety. And even if it was summer, he was still smitten by a summer flash. Also, when he bathed in the water, there he died, drowned; his eyes were torn out;[2] his finger nails were removed and torn out.

Hence was it said: "Verily, so was his lot; so was he born. Even as the deer is a great coward, just so was he, whose day sign this is, a great coward; fearful." So seldom did his kin, his parents, trouble themselves; they did nothing for him.

776 782 And also it was told that then, too, was one of the times when those known as the Goddesses descended. They made offerings to them, and then they clothed [their images] in their paper vestments and their paper adornments.

Auh intla çioapilli: anoço çã maceoalli ipan tlacatia, no iuh mãceoale catca, teoqujchtlamachti: iubqujn oqujchpovi, teacotlaz, atle ic tenentlamachti, amo tenmachonj, amo tecuetlaxo.

Auh no ioan mjtoa: in aqujn ipan tlacati ce maçatl: qujlmach cẽca momauhtiaia, çan jmaviz in qujmattinenca, çan imauhcac in nemja, çan mamauhcanenca, vel iolmjquja, in jquac qujcaquja tlatlatzinjliztli, anoço tlavitequjliztli, tlapetlanaliztli, tlapetlanjllotl: njman ỳconiecoaia, vel qujçaviaia, qujcujcujtiuetziltia, qujmavizcujtia in onotlapetlan, onotlatlatzin.

Auh iuh qujtoa, in quẽman, in quenmanjan çã ipan neltiaia, ca imaviz contocaia, ipã ontlamelaoa, çã imaviz qujtlamachiliaia, ca inemauhtil ipan oniauh, vel vitecoia, ipan muchioaia in qujmacaci, in qujmamattinemj. Auh intlacanelmo zopantla, çan tonalhujteco: no ioan in jquac atlan maltia, vncan mjquja, ilaquilo, ixtelolococopinalo, ixtitlatlaxo, ixtiococopinalo,

ic mjtoa, ca nel iubquj itonal, iubquj ipan motlacatili: in iubquj maçatl, cenca momauhtianj: çan no iubquj in aqujn itonal catca, vel mauhca tlacatl, mavizoco: ic çanyca mellaquaoa, in joaniolque, in jtaoan, aquẽ commatia.

Auh ioan mjtoa: no vncan ceppa ipan temoia, in moteneoa çioateteu: vncan qujntlamanjliaia, ioan vncan ic qujntlaquentiaia yn jmamatlaquen, in jmamanechichiolal

2. Cf. Spanish text.

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the second house, when it was the time of this sign, named Two Rabbit; and those then born in it did nothing but drink wine.

Injc nauj capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc onteti calli, in jpan, y, machiotl, in jtoca vme tochtli: auh in vncan tlacatia, ichoan in çan qujxcavia tlatlaoana. 787x

And of Two Rabbit, which followed, it was said that he who was then born was a great drunkard. Indeed, he rispired, lusted for, and used wine like a pig, he gorged himself and was a glutton with wine. Only to it did he dedicate himself; he depended upon it, consumed it to excess, and overindulged himself in it. He took it to himself inhumanly and needed it immoderately. Only his drinking did he consider. With it he awoke, with it he arose; never did he arouse himself, take notice, or sober up.[1]

Auh in qujoaltoqujlia vme tochtli: mjtoa, in aquin ipan tlacatia, cenca ~~tlaoltani~~, vel qujxolina qujztlaquj, qujpiznonequj in vctli, vel ocpoça, ocxixicuj; çan iee in qujmotequjuhtia, ipã mjxpoa, qujmotequjmaca, qujmotlaclmaca, ãqujmotlacamaca, qujtlaclinequj, çan jauh povi, ipan caliiça, ipan calmeua, aic moncalia, aic tlachia, aic ix qujcuj: 787x 733

In truth, sometimes he no longer took food. At such a time he only became a slave to it. No longer did he take to his bed. Night after night, when he arose, he visited various wine makers' houses begging wine. Never did he come to his right mind. He was not well even when he drank nothing. And he did not bother about it, nor abhor it, nor become distressed nor nauseated by it even though it were only the dregs, which indeed were like spoiled clots, with dirt, or full of gnats — full of filth and rubbish. So he swallowed it, sucked it in, and gulped it. Like a dog he licked his lips.

in nel quenman, aoc qujtlaquallotia, ça iuhcapan in conmomaca, aocmo qujpepechtia, ioionac in moquetza, tlachicque inchã cacalaquj, tlatlapevia, aquenmã tlapohuj in jiollo, ãvel ca in maca tle conj: auh aoc quen qujmati, amo qujtlatzilhuja, amo yric coa, amo qujtlaclitia, in manel ça xaiocujtlarl, in çan iuhquj tetzacpol, chapantica, anoce moca çaioli, çaiollo, moca tlaçolli, tiãtlaçollo, ça iuhquj qujçoiotza, qujhoquj: iuhqujn chichi motempapaloa.

If he did not find wherewith he could become drunk, in order to buy wine he hurriedly seized his cape, or his breech clout, thereby finding for himself poverty. He could not abstain or steel himself.

Intlaca oc tle qujtta, qujtlaoanaz, ic moccoviz, qujcujtivetzi in jtilma, yn jmaxtli: icneiiotl ipampa qujmottitia, aocmo vel motlacaoaltia, meiollotechicoa:

Nevermore thereafter did he live in bliss and contentment. Still, when indeed he passed a calm day, once again he was quite drunk, very drunk, lying stupefied, filthily drunk. No longer did he take heed. He pitched forward upon his face; he fell head first. He went wallowing in ordure,[2] with blanched or reddened face, debauched, with hair tangled, uncoiled, twisted, and matted; no more did he tend

njman aoqujc vellacaconemj, tlacaco tlamati, in ma oc ivian oncemjlhujti, onocuel ivintic, tequjxcomjc, onocuellapolo, tlaclivintic, aocmo qujmati, ça mjxicquetza, motzonjcquetza, cujtlanexiuhtinemj, iztenexiuhtinemj, ixchichilivi, ixchichilpul, quapõpoliuhtinemj, quatzomaiuhtinemj, quapõpolpol, quatzõmapol, aoc onmomatoca, aoc onmopepetla, aoc onmoquapepetla, intlanel cana momaiavi, mjx-

1. *Se quejxoj.* See *Anónimo* in Bibliton, op. cit., and Bandon, op. cit.

2. Cf. Olmos, op. cit., p. 256; *yac tzomopolpol, yac cuilonmopol tzomoxilo.*

X 787
733

it with his hands, or comb and arrange it. If somewhere he threw himself down, and fell on his face, or his nose, or his knees — if he fell and skinned his knees; or he broke a hand or a foot, etc., — no longer did he heed or note the pain. Nowhere was there peace or virtue in his face.

And his hands only quaked, quivered, and shook. And his speech was no longer prudent; it only quavered. He only spoke as a drunkard; intemperate words emerged from his lips, which he should not have said. Continually he shouted at others, harangued them, affronted them, and quarreled with them. All that he said was not fit to be repeated. He went howling and shouting, boasting that he was a brave man. He danced in a circle, opening wide his mouth as he sang. He was disrespectful and impudent. He seized everything to brandish and raise as a threat — the beast, the stone, the club.[3] He went carrying his stone or his piece of wood with him, constantly troubling and threatening people, and blocking the way.

He brought poverty to his children — always causing them fear, constantly terrifying them, scattering them.

Never did he sleep or rest easily. In time he fell exhausted, consumed by pain and affliction. No more did he say: "Wherewith will my home appear attractive?" — [for] he thought of nothing but his wine. Only rubbish prevailed and ashes were strewn throughout. In his home, no one swept; no fire burned. It remained in darkness. Misery reigned.

It mattered not where with others he slept and lay down to sleep. [For] his heart was only there in the taverns, the wine shops. When he found no wine, he seemed anguished of heart, as if he hung high, or tumbled into a pitfall, like a vagabond.

And if somewhere he found a drinking place, there he satisfied his longing, quieted his anguish, as if gladdened and calmed.[4] There he sat firmly and fast, dedicated to sitting, seated happily. No more did he think to depart.

And if he were bidden to drink somewhere, as never before did he spring up to run and take pains to enter. As if spontaneously,[5] he suddenly ran,

tonaoa, mxiacatenaoa, motlanquaxipeoa, momapoxtequj, mocxipuxtequj. Etc. aocmo qujmati, aocmo qujtococoamati, aoccan tlacaemelle, aoccan tlacaiectli yn jxaiac:

auh in jmo ça cuecuechca, ça viviioca, papatlaca, ioan in jtlatol aocmo mjmati, ça cuecuechca, çan tlatlaoancatlatoa, ça much tlacaçollaxolli in jcamacpa quiça, in qujcacamacaoa, çan jc nemj in tetiazzilia, in tetlacaquijtia, in tepinauhtia in teaoa: much qujtoa in aixolonj oioultinemj, tzatzitinemj, moqujchitotinemj, momamantinemj, mocamatzaiana in cujca, atle qujmauhcaitta, atle qujmamati, much qujcujtivetzi, cacocuj, cacolcoa in tequanj, in tetl, in quavitl: iteuh iquauh ietinemj, tlacatl qujcocoxoxja, tlacatl qujcuecuetlanja, vtli qujtzatzacutinemj:

icnoiotl qojmjtitia in ipilhoan, machipa qujnmamauhtia, qujmjçavia, qujnccenmana,

aic tlacacochi, motlacateca: qujnjquac quauhtenvetzi, in jellel onacic in onmellelaxiti, aocmo qujtoa, in tlein ic ontlavelnecia nochan: ça mache in jvc qujmati, ça tlaçolli qujztoc, tequjzaqujtl cozontoc, in jchan, aiac tlachpana, amo tlatia, tlaioaticac, icnoiotl qujztoc,

ça canjn tetlan cocochi, tetlan mocochieca, ça vmpan ca iiollo tlachiccan, vctlaliloia, in atle qujtta vctli, iuhqujn nentlamati yiollo, iuhqujn aco pilcac, iuhqujn lactivetzi, iuhqujn zvic iauh.

Auh intlacana otlaipantili tlaoanoia: iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia yiollo, iuhqujn iioiolipan, iuhqujn iiollo yiztaia, yiollo cecelia. vncan motetzuhtlalia, moteçiztlalia, mocentlalia, mopaccatlalia, aoc tlacaalistlamati.

Auh intlacana tlaoancanotzalo: iuhqujn aoc ie cholotoca, ie çomocacaquj, iuhqujn ce inacaz, iuhqujn onvicinj onmotlalos, mjçiuhcatlalos, momama-

3. Cf. Simeón, op. cit. (*coyoni*) and Olmos, op. cit., pp. 240, 242, and elsewhere (*tol, quauitl*), where the terms *coyoni, tol,* and *quauitl* are used metaphorically for "chastisement." Sahagún, however, renders them literally.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xli, fol. 193r.

5. Cf. Sahagún, "Huitzilopochtli con mexicanos," p. 204 (plate 8).

dashed, and went hurling himself along. He had no shame; no one now shushed or embarrassed him.

And yet they reviled him. No one gave him the name of a man of consequence; nowhere had he the name of a man. Everywhere he was simply detested and hated. Nowhere could he approach people; everywhere he made confusion. If somewhere there was a reunion, he dispersed them — he scattered and disbanded them. They let him alone; he was avoided. There was silence [when he came]; a bristling antagonism and withdrawing of friends.

Hence was it said: "Verily, thus was his day sign. What is to be done?" And seldom was there courage or hope in his behalf. It was said that he would go to fall down somewhere; to meet destruction, to die, to collapse somewhere. Perhaps he would fall from some cliff; or down into a chasm, or into the water; he would cast himself into the river and drown. Or somewhere he would fall into the hands of evil men and die at their hands.[6] They would rob, plunder, and despoil him, leaving him quite bare.

And more: not only could all this happen, but he embraced vice and evil. Sometimes he committed adultery; he stole; he scaled walls to tempt and seduce [women]. His drunkenness caused him to do it. Wine showed and was apparent on his face. And when it dawned, his eyes were inflamed, his eyelids drooped, ached, and watered: a decrepit drunkard's face. Nowhere was he regarded as a man. Continually his lips moved from side to side.

And if one was not a great drinker, when it dawned it made him very sick, sickened and affected by the wine. Also, his eyelids burned and his eyes ached; it made him sick in the head and made it sore. He wished not to arise from bed; rather, he lay wrapped in blankets, and slept all day. Neither could he eat; he was nauseated and wished to vomit. With difficulty could he dispel and overcome it.

inuhtiuh, auc tle ipinauiz, aocac quimomati, aocac quipinaoa. 787 X

Auh tel aocac no tle ipan quijta, aocac quitlacatoca, aoccan itlacatocaia, çan nouian tlachiuo, tlaquahanja, aoccan vel tetlan motlaia: nouian tlapaçoua: Intlacana cemiclouac: tecocomana, teuixitinja, temomoiaua: ipan macaui, tlalcaxilo, ipan cactiuetzi, ye-nippaçalli, icnjmanoiactli. 533

Ic yeolo: ca nel yuhqui ytonal, quenuel chiualoa: auh ça ica neellaquanalo, yca netlapalolo, yeolo: ça can vetziuh, ça can popoliuiz, ça can mjqquja, ça can quauhtenvetziz: aço cana motepeztiuiz, motlaxapochhujz, motlauiz, matoiauiz, atlan mjquja, anoço cana inmac vetziz in tlavelilloque, inmac mjqquja, quitlacuicujlinque, quitlaccencujlinque, quitlanamoializque, quipetzteoccaouaque:

yoan amo çan quexquich in ipan iauh, in quimonamjctia yaviltquiaca, yn jxoloca: in quenman tetlan aquj, ichtequj, tepan tepantemo, tecamanalhuja, tetzitzaquja: ytlacoancaio maitia, vetli quimozaiacatia, yvcxaiac ietincmj: in oallathuj yxpupuçaoa, ixtenmjmjlivi, ixquatoleoua, ichchichiztintincmj, yxowcpul, aoccan motlacaitta: achcan cochcamachalua.

Auh in amo cenca tlacaanjnj in oallathuj cenca quiçoua, muccôcôa, mucuia: no ixquatoleoua, iaeoua, itzontecon quiçoua, quiçzontecaneua, aiel meuhtuc: çan quimjliuhtec, comjlhuiçochi, ano yellaquaz: çan motomaua, motlachtia: aiaxcan in quiçaua in quimopopolohtia.

6. Alegado in the Real Palacio MS.

[p. 14 is blank]

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth how many kinds of drunkards there were.

And it was said that the wine was known as Four Hundred Rabbits.

One drinker might not harm or belittle his day sign. The wine did not irritate him; it did not cause him irritation or make a fool of him. He only went to sleep, and continued to sleep. He became pale and remained pale, sitting with drooping head — remaining with head bowed; he sat rolled up like a ball, and remained coiled; he sat embracing himself, hugging himself; he rested on his shins, and remained on his shins; he squatted on his heels and remained on his heels. He was only by himself, and calmly went off by himself. Peacefully he stretched out; quietly he fell down exhausted. In no way did he offend one. He stretched out, rumbling as he slept, groaning, snoring, as if he had turn off his nose, as if he enjoyed the sleep.

And one of them only wept. He loosed tears as if bringing good to himself, sobbing as he pressed them out. Like hail stones they showered down, a great course of water simply streaming down. His tears buried him. He could not stop. Verily, that which the wine made him remember ate his heart out.

And for one of them his only joy and pleasure was in song, in singing. He wished not to talk; he neglected listening to jests, to counsel, to stories. As if it unleashed his song, when he drank the wine, he so recalled his song, as if it engulfed him. So the wine worked on him.

And another did not sing; he did nothing but talk. Uncontrolled he talked; he spoke much. He chattered, jabbered, gibbered, and mumbled. With ill-will he eavesdropped and betrayed others. He blustered, vaunted, and sang praises of himself; he esteemed and made himself out as great. He belittled what others said, speaking deceitfully and constantly shaking his head. He pretended to be rich and reprimanded the poor; he pretended to be superior, to be

Inje macujlli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in quenjn tlatlamantiticate tlaoanque.

Ioan mjtoa, in vetli ic moteneoa centzontotochti:

in aca tlaoanquj, amo qujtlaveliaia, amo ica mocaiaoa, in jtonal, amo qujçuma in vetli, amo ipan tlaneçomaltia, amo qujtlavelilotilia: çan cochtimotlalia, cochtica, mjctimotlalia, mjctica, tolotimotlalia, tolotica, motapaiollalia, tapaiolca, momalcochotimotlalia, monaoatectimotlalia, çan mocototztlalia, cotozca, moxozolotlalia, xoxoloca, çan mocauhtica, çan jviian tetlalcavia, iviian moteca, iviian quauhtenvetzi, atle ic teixco nemj, quaqualacatoc in cochi, cotalotoc, icotocatoc, iuhqujn moiacatzaiana, iuhqujn qujtlamachtia cochiztli.

Auh in aca çan ie choca, qujxaiovitoma, iuhqujn mocnelia, iuhqujn tzitzicunoa, iuhqujn mopataca, iuhqujn teciviti pixavi, iuhqujn açi cempantli qujteca ixaio, auel motlacaoaltia, vel iiollo conqua in tlein qujlnamjctia vetli.

Auh in aca çan ie ipac, çan ie ivelmach, in cujcatl, in cujqujztli: amo tlatlatoznequj, aiel qujcaqujz in camanalli, in nenonotzalli, in tlatolli: iuhqujn ie qujtlapolhuja ycujc, in onoconjc vetli, iuhqujn qujtlalnamjctia, iuhqujnma conapotzavia ycujc, iuhqujn conanjlia vetli.

Auh in aca amo cujca, çan mache tlatoa: çan ie vnmanantlatoa, çan ie tlatlatoa, tlatetoa, tequjtlatlatoa, popolocatjca, qujqujnacatica, mjtleuhtica, tecacaca, techicoitoa, mochachamaoa, motlatlanjztia, moçiçinoa, moieoaitoa, movevilia, movcinectica, tepupetzauhtica, xixictlatotica, moquaquacuecuechotica, mocujltonocanectica, teicnotlacaaoatica, motachcauhnectica, machicanectica: iuhqujn ac çan momattica, ãmopetzacallanj, ãmotempanavillanj, ãmoten-

X 787 273 one in authority. Haughtily, he thought well of himself. He did not deflate himself; he did not overcome nor chastise his tongue. No one could force him to recant. He thought himself superior, better than others.

aequjllanj, aiac vel qujtlatolilochtia: vel moieoatoca, motepanaviltoca,

Indistinct was his speech. What did he say? He was as if stirred, and his words bubbled up and burst forth. It was as if he argued, harangued, enforced silence, and drove all people away, put them to flight, numbed them with terror, visited them with afflictions, made them shrink with fright, and assailed them with his words.

aixnezqujn itlatol, tlein mach qujtoa, iuhqujn momoloca, iuhqujn qujmomolotza ytlatol, iuhqujn qujcuecuepotza itlatol, iuhqujn mdolhuja, iuhqujn motitirza, iuhqujn cactoc qujteteca, iuhqujn tececentlaça, iuhqujn tetotocaticalac, iuhqujn tepôpouhtitlaz, iuhqujn tetotoliuhtitlali, iuhqujn tecocototztlali, iuhqujn tecujcujtiuetz, itlatol:

It seemed that he disgusted others, and did not inquire what they said. Wherever they may have spoken, or undertaken something, he seemed to make little of it and kick it aside. But when he had drunk nothing, he seemed to be dumb, one who whispered, fearful of people, quite frightened.

iuhqujn tequacêrepouh, iuhqujn acontetemoa, tlein qujtoa: canjn mach ontlatoa, canjn mach ontlaana, iuhquj tlatlacnotla, iuhqujn tlaquêqueça: auh in ie atle conj, iuhqujn nontli iuhqujn anaoatl, vel teimacazquj, vel mauhquj,

For all this he excused himself by saying: "It is because I no longer knew what I said; for I was drunk. The wine had taken effect upon me; I was overwrought."

ça izquich injc mopdtia, in qujteilhuja: ca aocmo njcma, in tlein njequjto, ca njvintic, ca notech motlali, njtlaneçomalti.

And another drunkard was very suspicious. He misunderstood; not as things were did he hear them. Often he blamed his wife. If anyone only looked at her, he then said to him: "Why dost thou make eyes at my wife?" Then he gave rise to hatred, fury, and murder, etc. And all that which was spoken he took as applying to him. He suspected that when there was occasion for mirth, he was thereby being defamed, the object of ridicule. Without reason he belabored the people. The wine and drinking cursed him.

Auh in aca tlaoõquj vel ipan chicotlamati, chlchicotlacaquj, amo iuh tlâtlacaquj: mjiecpa tetech qujtlamja yn jcioauh: in açaca çan conjtta, ie cuel qujlhuja: tle ic tiqujxnotza in nonamjc: vncan qujpeoaltia in qualantli, in tlauelli, in nemjctilizztli. Etc. Ioan moch qujmocujtia, in tlein tlatolli mjtoa: ioã in tlein vetzqujlilo, in momatica iehoatl in ica nenonotzalo in vetzqujlilo, çan jliviz in teaaoa, qujveuezcatlachieltia in vetli, in tlaïlli.

And if it were a woman, she simply went to her knees; she remained on her knees. No longer was she rational. She sat with legs outstretched; she remained with legs outstretched. And if she were much besotted, if she were much affected, her hair simply formed a mantle over her. She tumbled there, with hair streaming out, etc.

Auh intla çioatl: ça papachiuhtimotlalia, ça pâpachca, aocmo qujmati, momemelauhtimotlalia, momemelauhtica: auh intla cenca vel oivintic, in vel oiellelacic, ça itzon qujquentica; vncan quauhtenvetzi, itzon patlaoatoc. Etc.

X 787 273 776 All of these kinds [of drunkenness] here mentioned, each one, showed upon and were the doing of the drunkard. It was said: "So is his rabbit. Thus was his day sign; in this way did the wine gods manifest themselves on him." And if a drunkard fell over a precipice, or else fell somewhere [else], it was said: "He was affected by the wine gods." Because in many ways the wine showed its power,

In jzquitlamantli in: njcã omoteneuh, iceceiaca itech neci, iceceiaca itlachical tlaoanquj, mjtoa: ca iuhquj itech, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ic ipan mjzeoa, in totochtin: ioan intla omotepexivi tlaoanquj, in anoço cana ovetz, mjtoa: omotochvi: ichica in mjeccã qujça itlachical vetli, ic mjtoa: centzontotochti: ipanpa ca amo çan quezqujch in jtech qujça ãqualli.

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it was called the Four Hundred Rabbits; for very few did it affect favorably.

And when, it was said, the day Two Rabbit set in, then was celebrated the feast day of the principal wine god, who was called Izquitecatl. And although only he alone was named, yet at that time they remembered all the wine gods, who became the wine. Thus was Izquitecatl greatly revered. They set up his image in his temple. There they laid gifts before him; for him they sang and provided music with gourd tubes. And before him stood a stone basin, called two-rabbit basin — full, to the brim. Into the wine dipped the drinking tubes, extending from it so that those who sampled the wine stood drinking it: but only those who could drink, the old men, the old women, the intrepid warriors, the bold, the foolish, who paid the debt with their heads and their breasts. That is, they would be captured sometime when war was declared; or else on issuing forth [to battle] they would capture others and take prisoners. So [by drinking] they went about mocking death.

And the wine which they drank never came to an end; [the basin] never stood empty. The wine makers, the wine making officials, continued pouring it into [the basin]. All came assembling there where they cut the maguey, when everywhere it was the time and season for breaking into the maguey. This was because then they offered new wine. If someone for the first time broke into the maguey, he first poured the extracted material there. Thus they said he poured out wine and offered the wine-pouring to Izquitecatl; they gave him wine to drink.

But not only at this time did they pour wine; rather, always were offerings so made in his temple.

Ioan in jquac mjtoaia, moquetza tonalli, vme tochtli: vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, in jmachcauh totochti: in moteneoa Izquitecatl: auh macivin çan jcel moteneoa, ca oncan quincemjlnamjquia, in totochti, ovcti, ic cenca mavizttililoia in izquitecatl, quitlaliaia ixiptla in jteupan: vncan quitlamanjlia, quicujcatia, quitlapichilia acocotica: yoan ixpan icaca tecomjtl, itoca vmetochtecomatl, tentimanj, pexontimanj, in vctli: ipã manj piaztli, piazçotimanj, mamazço ic conjtimanj in aquiquc vmpa ontlatlapaloa: tel çan [415] iehoan in ie tlaoananj, in veuetque, in jlamatque ioan in iaotlaueliloque, in mjivintia: in aquen tlatta, in quipopoa, yn intzontecon, yn jmekchiquiuh, quitoznequj: ca onvicozque in quenmã, in ooalmjto iaoiotl: auh no ce onquiçativi, oaltecalaquizque ontlamatiuj: ic mbenjquizquequelotinenca:

auh in vctli quia, aquenman tlamja, ãquẽman cactoc, in contecatimanj tlachicque, tecutlachique: ixquich oalacitimanj in tetlãchic, yn noviian tlachicpan, tlachicoaian, ca vncan vitzmana intla aca iãcujcan otlatlapan, vncã achto quiteca in jtlachic: ic quitoaia tlatoiaoa, quimanjlia itlatoiaoal in Izquitecatl, quitlatoiavilia:

auh amo çanjio iquac, y, in tlatoiaoaia: ca çan muchipa iuh tlamanca, in iteupan.

[p. 18 is blank]

X 787 **Sixth Chapter, which telleth of still another house on the sign [One Deer], called Three Water. It was in part good, in part adverse, in part only in between.**

On the day sign Three Water, there was said to be good and ill.

For he who was born on it, so it was said, would prosper. All his wealth would come easily. He would be successful in gaining a living.

But, on the other hand, quickly would vanish that which had come to him. Like water it would pass away—as if carried off by the river, as if engulfed by the water. Never was he content; never happy. In vain did he cast and hurl himself against obstacles. Nowhere could he feel tranquil. Indeed, in all the things which he undertook, though he went on elbow, shank, and knee, vain and fruitless were his efforts and fatigue. He only frustrated himself.

The day sign Four Dog: whosoever was then born—so it was said—would prosper. Swiftly would appear that which he required—his drink, his food. Even if he did nothing all day, it was not apparent whence or through whom his heart was calmed, whence he gained strength, whence he took sustenance, there where he whiled away the whole day. But somewhere by the intercession of others, he secured that which his children needed to eat. Without his forethought came what they were to eat. He did not know whence his sustenance, his [provision for] journeying, came. Though he did and worked at little, forthwith appeared his consolation and he achieved something.

X 787 23 And thus they said: if he bred dogs, he whose day sign was the dog, all would mate. His dogs would grow; none would die of sickness. As he trafficked in them, so they became as [numerous as] the sands, and so they barked.

It was said: "How can it be otherwise? The dogs share a day sign with him. Thus the breeding of dogs resulted well for him."

He sold them all. And all which were born, all came to be capes [for him]. Also owners and breeders of dogs became rich, and the price of dogs

Injc chiquacen capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc ce calli, in jpan jn machiotl: in jtoca ei atl, cequj qualli, cequj tetolinj, cequj çan tlanepantla ca.

In jpan ei atl tonalli: mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli:

ipampa in aquin ipan tlacatia, iuh mjtoaia motlacamatiz, in izquijch itlatquj, aiovi necia, vel motlaiecoltianj:

auh iece çan jciuhca, vmpoliuhtiuetzi in tlein quj-monextiliaia, iuhquin atl onquiça, iuhquin atoco, iuhquin amoiaoa, aic avia, aic vellamati, çan nenia motlatlamotla, çan nenia moquauhtlaça, ácan tlacaco tlamati, nelli mach in jxquijch cána, yn jmolicpi, ietepon, itlãqua ic moquequetza, çan atleti, çan nen vetzi yn jçiaujz, in itlapaliviz çan monenencoa.

Navi itzcujntli, cemjlhujtonalli: in aquí ipan tlacatia, iuh mjtoaia motlacamatiz, iciuhca neciz, in jtech monequj in jauh, yn itlaqual, in maca nelle ai cemjlhujtl: anextica in campa tepal cevi iiollo, in vmpa pãti, vmpa ihiiocuj, vmpa qujtlaça cemjlhujtl: auh ça vmpa cana tepal quicnopilhuja, in jntech monequj ipilhoan, injc ihiiocujaque, ainemachpan in neçi quijqua: amo quimati in campa oallauh inenca ivtlatocaia: intlanel çan tepitoa, itla onai, itla contequipanoa, njman neçi in jneiollaliliz, itla quicnopilhuja:

ioan iuh quitoaia intla itzcujnnemjti, in itzcujntli itonal, mvch vel moquetzazque: oapaozque in jtzcujoa, aiac cocolmjquiz, iuhquin tlanecujlivi, iuhquin tlatzaliuj, iuhquin tlapipitzca,

mjtoaia: quenel noço itonalecapoca in itzcujnti, injc vel itech mochioa itzcujnnemjtilirtli,

izquijch quinnamaca, auh izquijch tlacati, moch quachquiçaia no ic mocujltonoaia, no ic vncatca in itzcuinpatiiouh, itzcujne, in jtzcujnnemjtianj: ichica

X 787 was so high, because they were eaten and needed by the people in days of old. They were in the market
231 place—they arranged them[1] in their respective places. When dogs were sold, they seemed to have great jowls and mouths; they were judged, sought after, and coveted; whatever kind would be taken, whether short haired or long haired. Since they barked and whined, they bound, tied, and wrapped the muzzles of each of them; they were there frothing at the mouth.

And when they killed them, they dug a hole; they plunged and pressed their heads down in it with their hands, thus simply suffocating them in the mud. And the owner of a dog which had died put a cotton cord about its neck, stroked and caressed it with his hand, and said to it: "Stand guard for me there! Thou shalt pass me over the place of the nine rivers."

And some slew them only when they stole the dogs. They just fell upon and caught them in nooses; they were pounced upon and lassoed about the necks.

X 787 Five Monkey was said to be a good day. He who was then born was like the workings and qualities of the day: the telling of tales, and jesting; the amusement and entertainment of others. Neither did he thereby cause anger. That which was his joke or his story thus brought forth smiles and laughter. Everything amused and brought joy to the people; everything gave them contentment and consolation; everything was pleasing to hear. No one did he disgust. But if in something he offended someone, sometimes letting slip an evil word, so mistating what he repeated in haste without reflection, he himself made it good so that the humiliation was not noticed. So he corrected and made good his words. Thus there was no anger.

For so was it said that such was his day sign; so was he born on the day of the monkey; for he gave people pleasure; was friendly to all—everyman's friend, a desirable person.

Six Grass, so they said, was evil, a day sign of wild beasts. For he who was then born lived only in torment on earth, suffered pain and trouble, and found afflictions. And of his children, not one survived, nor became strong, nor matured; all simply

ca qualoia, tetech monequja, in ie vecauh, vnmanca in tiaoquizco, quinaoaltemaia in chichinamacoia, in itzcuinnamacoia, iuhquin tlatemmetlapilivi, iuhquin tlatentomaoa netlàtlàtililo, netlatlaoectilo, neiiotilo, in catle onanoz: in aço tetzictic, anoço paçoltic, iuhquin tlamanalca, iuhquin tlanenecivi, mochintin teteniaoaletoque, tlatetenjlpilti, tètenjlpitoque, in tetenpopoçoquillo ietoc:

auh injc quinmjctiaia, quitlatataquia in jntzontecon, vncan quimonpolactia, quinteteppachoa, injc çan quimjhiioenjctia çoquitatilan: auh in itzcuine, in ie onmjquj itzcuin, icpatl concoetatia, conpeptla, conmapeptla, quilhuia: Xinechalmochieli, tinechalmopanavilis in chicunaoapan:

auh in cepujnti ic quinmjctiaia, in jquac çan quimjchtequja, chichime, çã quinvitonja, quintzonvia, movitonja, moquechtzonvia.

Macujl oçomatli, mjtoa, qualton tonalli: in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan vel ie itequjuh ilhujl, ynemac catca, in tlatlaquetzaliztli, in cacamanalli, in teellelquizniliztli, tecocemeltilizztli, amo no ic tlaqualanja, in tlein icacamanal, in itlatlaquetzal, injc queoa vetzquiztli, injc tlauetaquitia, moch tececemelti, moch tlapactia, moch tepac, moch teiolipan, moch mouelcaquj, aiac quijolitlacoa: auh intla noço itla teiolitlaco quèman quicamacaoa, ic moenpatilia, in ainemachpan tlein quitotiuetzi, çan no ie compatia, ineztica in tleinton ic convellalia, ic contlamachia itlatol: ic amo tlaqualanja,

ipampa iuh mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan tlacat, in oçomatli ca teaavilia, mochi tlacatl icnjuh, tececemjcnjuh, nenequjztontli.

Chiquacen malinalli iuh mjtoa: amo qualli, tequanj tonalli: ipampa in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan tlaihiovitinemjz tlaticpac, tonecotinemj, chichinacatinemj, cococ teopouhquj, quitzinemj: auh in jpilhoan amo cenne moquetza, avel oapauj, amo vel mo-

1. *Quinmolhuiaia*: *quinmolhuiaia* in the *Real Palacio* MS. Reference to the *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, cap. i, ff. 16v–17r, suggests that the terms *chichili*, *tlamacazqui*, etc., were not strongly differentiated; *mulatamacazqui* is described in the *ghiberna* variety (*chichili que vienen hasta la frente*).

died. And sometimes they became slaves and sold themselves.

Seven Reed was said to be good. Whosoever was then born, man or woman, was one who merited, deserved, received, and found that which he required. He would have his property, goods, and wealth. And that which was done, all endured; all prospered. Nothing failed; nothing perished in vain. Through his pains and fatigue, without struggle, he achieved his effort.

Eight Ocelot and Nine Eagle, Ten Vulture, Eleven Motion, Twelve Flint Knife—all of these were days in no way good. So it was said that he who was then born was without merit, deserts, or blessings. He was quite purposeless on earth.

And Thirteen Rain, so they said, was good, because it was the last day. He who was then born, man or woman, was fortunate. He would have all he required to eat and drink. His home needed nothing. And also it was said that he would become an old man, [or she] an old woman. He would grow old, bent with age, because this day sign on which he was born ended the series.

oapaoa, çan moch onmjctivi: auh in quēman vellacutli mocuepuia, monaruacaia.

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Chicome acatl: mjtouia qualli, in aqujn ipan tlacatia in oqujchtli, in cioatl, mácozoale, ilhujle, nemaque, necinj in jtech monequj: onca in jaxca, in jtlatquj, in jioca: auh in tlein maxilia, moch tlaçaloa, moch oniehoati, atle nenquijça, atle nenpolivi, in jnecocol, yn jçiaviz, in aitlaxxcanvil, in jtlapaliviztica quijtta.

Chicuei ocelotl, ioan chicunavi quauhtli, matlactli concaquauhtli, matlactloce olin, matlactlomome teepatl. Yn jzquijtetl in, atle qualli in tonalli, iuh mjtouia: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle imacroal, atle ilhujlti, inemacti, çan oalocnenquijçan tlalticpac:

auh in matlactlomey qujavitl, iuh mjtna qualli: ipampa iça tonaltzontli, in aqujn ipan tlacatia, in oqujchtli, in cioatl, tlacnopilhujanj, moch onca in jtech monequj, in quijqua, in quj, atle monectoc in jchan: auh ioan mjtouia vevetiz, ylamatiz, tlachicalhujz, coliviz: ipampa ca qujtlamja in tonalli ipan otlacat.

[p 22 is blank]

X 787 **Seventh Chapter, which telleth of the fourth sign, named One Flower. And the man born upon it, they said, and it was averred, would be happy, quite able, and much given to song and joy: a jester, an entertainer. And it was said that the women were great embroiders. It was said that this sign was indifferent; that is to say, a little bad and a little good.**

X 787 **One Flower and all of its various companions set in, so forming [a set of] thirteen days. Two Crocodile followed it, and Three Reed,[1] Four House, Five Lizard, Six Serpent, Seven Death, Eight Deer, Nine Rabbit, Ten Water, Eleven Dog, Twelve Monkey, and Thirteen Grass.**

X 787 **These various ones, it was said, were evil; but also it was said that they were somewhat good.**

In this manner was considered the one then born, nobleman or only commoner. He would become a singer, a bearer of joy, a teller of tales, an artisan. And he found and merited his consolation, his riches. He lived content and happy when he was devoted to his day sign; that is, when he reflected and did his penance well.

And [as for] him who was not devoted to it, who disregarded it, who only disdained his day sign, then, so was it said, when one such was a singer, or some artisan or skilled craftsman, if there was food on hand and wealth was there, he became presumptuous, superior, ungrateful, proud, haughty, disrespectful, filled with pride. So he acted superior in mind and heart, in his songs, and in his wisdom, as a poet, a designer, a composer, a master of song.

**And if somewhere there were an invitation to a feast and to song, to discussion and the forgiveness of differences, he disregarded and ignored the sweetness of the protector of all,[2] the flowers, tobacco, sustenance, the food, the tortillas, the tamales, the chocolate, the cacao, the tender ears of green corn, the tender ears of green corn roasted in the ashes, the tender ears of green corn roasted in the ashes with chile, the tender ears of green corn roasted in the ashes with chile and salt, the tender ears of green corn roasted in the ashes with chile and salt and tomato, the tender ears of green corn roasted in the ashes with chile and salt and tomato and avocado, the tender ears of green corn roasted in the ashes with chile and salt and tomato and avocado and

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nance, and even the cage. For verily there was everything in his home. Nothing was required; he had an abundance, so he thought.

And the mothers and fathers, the lord, the captain of the guard,[3] the seasoned warrior[4] he despised; he no longer respected nor regarded one. He no longer addressed one with solicitude. When some poor old men and women, or a youth, met and greeted him, he despised them. He only talked through his nose; addressed one through clenched teeth; and growled and snuffled at him.

So it was said that truly his wealth had made him proud, for he by whom we live no longer esteemed him. However, he by whom we live, who had endowed him, took from and deprived him of his deserts. Not without result were his pride and presumption.

Then sickness came upon him. Perchance he became blind, or had a malady of the groin or decaying of the genitals; or paralysis, or the gout; or he became dumb, speechless; or deaf, hard of hearing; or he lost his teeth; he had haemorrhoids, or a cancer. Sores came upon him. Our lord consigned him to oblivion, and abandoned him. He went about shaking and tossing his head, which ached and was inflamed. He went about exhausted and in agony. At this time he wished death to free him from his torment and suffering. No longer was it a time for pride; he could endure no more; he asked for death. O that there might be an end! No longer was anyone concerned with him; no one recognized him as superior. He was only glanced at.

Indeed he came upon and lived in great misery. Dissipated, even as water flowed away, were his possessions which had brought superiority, thrown away like rubbish. Sickness left him divested to the same degree that he had lived in pride when nothing was needed in his home.

And when he died, he only aroused pity. Nothing was laid over him; he was only cast out naked; there was nothing at hand to be used as wrappings for the dead. He went in pain and affliction. Misery lay ahead of him. Just as he had lived, just so he perished, because he had neglected his deserts. For he had lived in deceit in the rituals of song and dance.

tli, ipampa ca nel ie muchi vnca in jchan, ca aoc tle monectoc, aoc tle quitemachia, in iuh momati,

ioan in tenan, in teta, in tecutli, in achcauhtli, yiaotequjoa, aoc tle ipan qujtta, aoc ac tle conpoa, aoc ac quixtilia, aoc no iellatoa, in aca qujnamjquj, in qujmotlapalhuia, in icnoveve, yn jcnoilama, in tlapaltzintli: aocmo vmpa conjtta, ça iiacacpan tlatoa, ça onqujqujnaca, ça conqujqujnatza, ça iacaqujqujntlatoa,

ic mjtoa ca nel ie ca tlamachtia in jnecuiltonol, ca aoc tle ipan qujtlattilia, in jpalnemoanj: auh in tel ie oqujmanjli, in jpalnemoanj, in oqujmotzitzqujli, conmocaoaltilia in jmâceoal, amo nenqujça yn jatlamachiliz, ymatlamatiliz:

njmã cocoliztli itech motlalia, aço ixpopoioti, quexilivi anoço tlapalanaltia, cocototzavi, cooaçivi, anoço nonti, nonõti, nacatzatzati, nacaztzatzaivi, anoço tlanquaalaviliztli, xuchiçiviztli, qualocatl, qualoc itech motlalia, xomolli, caltechtli conjttitia in totecujo, caltechtli contocatimoteca, motzõntlaujtzotinemj, moquatlaujtzotinemj, iquatla mantinemj, mjpitztinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhquetztinemj; ie vncan in momjqujtlanj, itoneuhcopa, itoneuhcacopa, aoc iatlamatian, acontlaiecoa, in qujmjtlanjtoc mjqujztli, in ma cuele popolivi, aoc ac no ica, aoc ac qujmocujtia, aoc ac qujmjximatcatoca, ça tlatlâtto:

vel conjtta vmpa onqujça in jcnotlacaiotl, tlatlatlamj, iuhqujn ati onqujça in jzqujch ocatlamachtiaia ytlatquj, vellanoac tlavica, qujpetztoccaoa in cocoliztli, izqujmpan atlamattinemj, in atle monectoc ichan:

auh injc onmjquj, ça tetlaoculti, aoc tle itech vetztotiuh, ça petlauhtiuh, aoc neçinj in tlein iqujmjliuh ca, vel totoneoatiuh, chichichinacatiuh in jiollo, vel iiacacpa qujqujztiuh in netolinjliztli, ça iuhquj oniauh, iuhquj onpôpolivi ipampa ca ueli no concauh ymâceoal, injc oiztlacattinen vevetitlan, aiacachtitlan:

3. Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de las oberas rituales i ceremonias indianas* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco. 1723), pp. 544-545.

4. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, "The Ceremonies" (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1951), p. 102.

For, so was it said, he had fallen into great sin.[5] There rags and tatters lay strung out; there misery and orphanhood were the reward. And there was the great flood, the great crag, the pit, where there was a falling into the flood, or from the crag, or into the pit.[6] And there lay the snare, where one was snared.

So was it said of him to whom it so befell that his fate and merits had been good; only of his own will and by his own act he had harmed, destroyed, and ruined it, etc.

And if a woman were born upon the day One Flower, it was said that she would be an able embroiderer. But nevertheless, in order to gain her deserts, and to achieve skill in embroidering, she should do great penances, and fast, and draw blood when the day sign One Flower set in. But if she did not do penances, if she took not good heed, if her upbringing and training were not good, she herself harmed her day sign.

Likewise it befell her (as was told here) that her labors were in vain; she merited complete poverty and misery. Thus her deserts only came to an end, to naught; they became corruption. She became a harlot, a courtesan. She sold herself; she became a paramour. For it was said that just so was her day sign, One Flower; for it fell two ways. They said it was good and evil.

Also it was said that when One Flower set in, then began, continued, and was always held, a dance, a procession. But only Moctezuma in his own heart knew — [for] no one [else] determined — for how many days he established his dance. Perchance for forty days there would be dancing.

And that it might be known that a dance had been arranged, two poles with flowers were set up; they remained at the palace of the ruler. Thus was made known the day of the flowers: there would be enjoyment of and rejoicing over the day of flowers.

At that time the ruler determined and requested the kinds of song to be intoned — perhaps after the manner of those of Cuextlan,[7] the drunkards of Cuextlan;[8] or of Huexotzinco or Anahuac; or the merchants; or those of Nonoalco, or Coxcatlan; or of

ca iuh mjtoa, tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi, âtlacacemellecan vncan vilantoc in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, vncã mâceoalo in jcnoiotl, in jcnotlacaiotl: auh vncan icac, in vei atoiatl, in vei tepexitl, in tlaxapûchtli, vncã neatoiavilo, netepexivilo, netlaxapuchvilo: ioan vncan manj in tzonoaztli, vncan netzonoazvilo: 787X

ic mjtoa, in aquin iuhquj ipan muchioaia, y, qualli ocatca: in jtonal, in jmâceoal, ça inêviian, ça onmonevianvi, in oconmjtlacalhuj, in oconmopôpolhuj, yn oconmotlaçolmjctili. Etc.

Auh intla aca cioatl, ipan tlacatia ce suchitl: mjtoaia, vuellamachchiuhquj iez: auh iece injc vel quicnopilhujz imâceoal, injc vel qujttaz tlâmachtli, cêca tlamaceoaia, moçaoaia, mjçoia in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl tonalli: auh intlacamo tlamaceoa, intlacamo vel monotza, intlacamo vellaoapaoalli, vellazcaltilli mochioa, çan no qujtlaueliaia yn jtonal: [785]

no iuhquj ipan muchioaia (in iuh omjto njcan) atle onqujçaia, çan moch icnoiotl, netoliniliztli in qujmomaceviac auh injc ça ontlatzontia, ontlatzonqujxtia, ça aujlqujzcaiotl, in jnemac mochioa, aavienjti, mazujltia, monanamaca, motzitzinnamaca: ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal in ce suchitl, ca vme vitz qujtoa, qualli, ioã âqualli.

No yoan mjtoa, in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl: vncan oncempeoa, vncan vnmocemana, in muchipa maceoalo, netotilo, çan iee qujmati in Motecuçuma yiollotlâma aiac qujiocoia, in quezquilhujtl, qujtlaliz ymaceoaliz in aço vmpoalilhujtl manjz mâceoaliztli: 527 535

auh injc necia, ynjc temaceoaliztlalhujloia, vme suchiquavitl oalmoquetzaia, oalmomanaia tecpan, tlatocan: yc monextia in suchilhujtl, suchipacoa, nexuchitlamachtilo:

vncã tlatlâtlamj, tlanenequj in tlatoanj, in catle cujcatl coneoaz, in anoço cuextecaiotl, tlaoancacuextecaiotl, vexotzincaiotl, anaoacaiotl, oxtomecaiotl, nonoalcaiotl, coxcatecaiotl, tenjcaiotl, tepetlacaiotl, chichimecaiotl, metztitlancalcaiotl, otoncujcatl, quata- 527 533

5. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 191r: *daubaq, dapanaaq in tlahlipar*. See also fol. 210r.

6. Cf. also loc. cit. The passage is metaphorical.

7. Probably Huaxtecs. See, however, Sahagún (Guilbay ed.), X, 29, 78-82 (cf. Vol. I, p. 9, for reference system, to be used hereafter except in special cases).

8. Cf. ibid., IV, 7, 5.

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tuchcujcatl, teponazzujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, izcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quatreçoquicujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in suchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã qujcenqujxtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxqujch imãcoollatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, qujtlãtlattitia, in catle coneleujz, ipan onmjtoriz, ipan ontetlattitiz:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujccaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
643 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums — the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mãceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaqujtotianj, tlamoiauhquj, tozcacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
262 — tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtectli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamalteti, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoztli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaoio.

And when they had tired and were wearied of
527 dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj mãceoalizti, njman qujcalaqujaia, qujtlatiaia, in vme suchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic qujxipdaiotiaia,

9. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 29, 94-95; *genre Mixtecs* was a term generally endorsed by *nemine*.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel *Sahagún*, Book V, chap. vi, reads *auh tonjc tlamo pipilaoa, tonjquin mapipilaoaz, tocuepilaoa mapipilaoa. . . .* See also, Ohmann, op. cit., p. 235 (*mondeuse*).

another flowered pole. This they ignited, set fire to, and burned. And so silence reigned and it was still; it remained calm in the city; no one stirred or made a noise. For the flowers had burned; they had been destroyed by fire.

But none the less, in the home of each nobleman and lord there was much singing and rejoicing. Only and alone at the palace was the dancing ended. All the people rejoiced completely.

qujchichioaia, çan no xuchiquavitl: ichoutl tlatlaia, 527
qujtlatiaia, qujtecaviaia: ic cactimomanaia, cactiuetzia tlamattinomana in altepetl, aoc ac tlaolinja, tlachalanja: ipampa ca omotlati otlatlac in xuchitl:

auh tel in ẽceiaca inchan pipilti, tlatoque, vel cujcoia pacoaia, çaniio, çaniiocan in tecpan mocxoaia in mãcecaliztli, in mochi tlacatl in cempaquja.

[p 28 is blank]

787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth house, named Nine Crocodile — they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

Injc chicuei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc macujltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce acatl: auh amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, qujlmach in aqujque vncan tlacatia, intla vncan tlacatia, injc chicunauhtetl calli, in jtoca chicunavi cipactli: qujtoaia qujlmach cenca techicoitoanj, ioan tetzixpanvianj: auh qujlmach injn machiotl, iehoatl itonal in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatoque, in pipilti, vncan mixtlaoaia ioan tlamanaia.

787 805 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time. Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in amo qualli, in amo ieccan izquj!bujtl,

qujtoqujlitica yn jpan vme ocelutl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cozcaquauhtli, macujlli olin, chiquacen tecpatl: in jzqujtetl in tonalli mjtoaia amo qualli, amo ieccan,

787 776 778 782 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noblemen paid him great honors. They made offerings at the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

qujlmach itonal catca itonalpan in quetzalcoatl. Iehica in quetzalcoatl, i ehecatl ipan mjxeoaia, injc tevtocoia: auh in jquac in moquetzaia ce acatl tonalli, cenca tlamavizztiliaia in tlatoque, in pipilti, tlamanaia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jxiptla Quetzalcoatl, ixpan qujtlatequjliaia, qujtlamâmacaia much iquac qujcencaviliaia, itech qujtlaliliaia, in jzqujtlamantli inechichioal, yn iamatlatquj, ioan ixpan qujtequjliaia suchitl, yetl, qujcopaltemjliaia atl, tlaqualli, qujmanjlia, iuh qujtoaia vncan qujtonaltia, qujtonalquechia in Quetzalcoatl.

787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life. It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; for such was his nature. The same befell her if it was a woman.

Auh injc mjtoa: amo ieccan, in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço macegalli, atle cenca imâceoal, ilhujl catca, çan iuhqujn ehecatl ipâ povia inemiliz, ẽcatocoia, atle itlaanca, inelhoaio mochioaia: ipampa in jtonalpan quetzalcoatl, ẽecatl otlacat, ca njman iuhcan oquiz, no iuhquj ipan mochioaia, intla çiuatl,

1. The calmecac, house of priestly learning, is defined as "*lugar de linaje de la casa' y casada de nobles*" by Arturo Monzón in *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochcas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 77. There were six, in the *nobles' calpulli*, probably pertaining to clans (as the term is used by Monzón): Yopico, Huitznahuac, Tlacatecpan, Tlillancalco, Tetamazoa, and Mexico (pp. 47-52).

787 553 851

And in this way did the readers of the day signs remedy it: if someone were born on these several days, they passed over them and waited for Seven Rain. At that time they bathed him, that they might give him a name. For in that way they remedied his fate; then they brought him out at a good time and it resulted at a propitious moment. They made it partly good. Thus they expected that perchance his fate and deserts might become something — if he lived, were well reared, and played his part well; because later, there, they had set in Seven Rain;[2] they put their trust in Seven Rain.

auh injc quipatiaia tonalpouhque, intla aca ipan ethcaz inquilhujtl oc conchololtiaia, quichieltiaia in chiconquijavitl quinjquac caltixia inic quitocamacazque, ipampa ic quipatia in jtonal, vncan quijeccaquixtia, iccan quiça, chicoqualtia, ic conjttilia, in aço ça itla ilhujl, imâceoal, muchioatiuh intla nemiz, intla uel capaoaz, intla uel moquetzaz ipampa oc vncan in chiconatl quitlaliaia, vel quitemachiaia in chiconquijavitl.

787

They said it was a good day. Merciful, pitying, and compassionate was the one born precisely upon it. He became fortunate. It was as if his fortune, his deserts, his good luck rained down upon him: as if it sprinkled on or swirled about him. It was said that verily so was his day sign, Seven Rain.

qujtoaia ca qualli tonalli, icnoca, teicnoittanj, tetlaocolianj, in aquijn vel ipan tlacatia, tlacnopilhujanj muchioaia, iuhquijn ipan tnetzelivi, iuhquijn ipan pipixauj, iuhquijn momoloca ilhujl, imâceoal, icnopil, mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal in chiconquijavitl.

[851] And he who was born on it was forthwith bathed, and they gave him a name. No longer did they pass over it, or delay or postpone it.

Auh in aquijn ipan tlacatia, çan niman iquac maltia, quitocamaca, aocmo conchololtia, aocmo quitlatvihtia, aocmo connechcatlaça:

Nevertheless, the morrow, Eight Flower, which came next and following, was also the same. It, so they said, was also good. If someone were born on it, they also at once bathed him and gave him a name. For this reason they did so: they feared the one which followed in order — Nine Crocodile.

[851]

auh tel no iuhquj in imoztlaioc quitztica, in quitoquilitica. Chicuey suchitl: iuh quitoaia no qualli, intla aca ipan tlacatia: çan njman no iquac caltiaia, quitocamacaia, ipampa iuh quichioaia, y, iehoatl quimacaçia in oallatoquilia, chicunavi cipactli:

This, so they said, was in no way good; it was perverse, full of vice. It accorded one rags and tatters. Nothing could become a remedy or cure for the day sign which had followed.

iuh quitoaia njman amo qualli, amo tlacacemelle, motequitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, tzotzomatli, tatapatli, quitzilhujltia, aoc tle ipatica, aoc tle ipaio mochioa, in quitoaltoquilia tonalli,

Only and exclusively immersed in and dedicated to evil was the one then born. He was given only to talking; he went wrapped in discussion. Words were his hair. He was hot-tempered.[3] He twisted words. Great was his glee if somewhere there was a shout; there he ran and listened to what was said. If somewhere there was discussion and something was said, he went among the people sowing discord; he went causing disagreements and dissension; he confounded and disunited them.

çaniioca tetlaactica mjxcaujtica, injc amo qualli in aquj ipan tlacatia, çan tlatolli cololotinemj, tlâtolli cololhujtinemj, tlâtoltzon, tlâtolli, itlaqual tlâtolnecujl, cenca ivelmach intla cana nezio, vmpa motlaloa, tecacaquj, intla cana nenonotzalo, itla itolo, tetzalan, tenepantla, motecatinemj, techalanjtinemj, tenetecheuhtinemj, tetlatolçaçaca triolloc&coltia:

He disregarded and showed no regret for insinuations, spreading rumors, and continued lying. Falsehood and deceit he went about sowing here and there among the people. He interrupted conversa-

atle ipan quitta, amo quitequanmati in ovitlatolli, in tetzauhtlatolli, ihiztlacati, iztlactli, tenqualactli, tetlaquiquanjtinemj, motlatolcujcujtlavia, quitlatlâtlalilia in tlatolli, tlâtolpiquinj, tlatolcampax, tlatolcacam-

1. We have read *chicuey* as *chicuna* ed, possibly a misreading of *Chicuey quiauitl*.

2. *Tlatolli ilhuqual*. See Florentine Codex, Book VI, cap. xii; Sahagún (Cuelbay ed.), VI, vi, 10: "Había como gracias de ilhuatia. Este refrán se dice de aquellos que tuvieron un poco con algunos palabras largas salieron en ellaria y vivió y salieron pensando por la boca, y cuando eyan hablar mal de otro largo aquellos."

3. *Tlatolli*. *Tlâtolpiquinj*, *tlatolcampax*, *tlatolcacam-*

tions, deceived, and distorted and twisted the words in his mouth. He spoke incoherently and let fall rumors; he listened secretly. He loitered among people and raised questions among them. He kept his own counsel. He never guarded a secret nor held a trust. He would straightway divulge and make known one's sins, one's words. In public disgrace, he thus went from house to house.

He was ignorant and uninformed as to his livelihood. Always he faced and continued to be with misery. He wore an old cape and threadbare breech clout. He owned no miserable rags, had nothing to cover his hips or spread over his shoulders. He lived in poverty, in his house, exposed to inclement weather. Never was it warm; old, worn mats and seats were strewn about. No one swept. Rubbish was all about and surrounded him.

And he only lived in sorrow and anger, emerging in wrath, groaning. He sought for something that might give him joy, or solace his heart, or bring him contentment. But what could he do? For verily, at such a time was he born; his alms were misery. For so was his day sign — one of vice.

And Ten Wind, as hath been said, was a good day sign, as well as the three following it — Eleven House, and Twelve Lizard, and Thirteen Serpent. All were favorable. Ten Wind bore them all along and influenced them.

So it was said that he who was then born had as all his gifts fame, honor, valor, riches, and wealth. As was said, strong was the day sign. None could mock, chide, or belittle him, because he had been born in a "time of ten."[4] So it befell man and woman.

pax, tlatolchochopoc, tenênenotla, motepâpachivia, teca nênemj, teca tlâtlâtlanj, mononotza, atle vel itic tlalilo, atle vel ixpan mjtoa: njman tepan qujcenmana, tepan qujmoiaoa in tetlatlacol, in tetlatol, tetenco qujtlaztinemj, ic tepan cacalaquj, 787

an iê qujmati, an iê qujlhuja, in tlein inenca, ic muchipa icnoiotl, qujtztinemj, itech eostinemj, itilmaçol, imaxtlaçol ietinemj, aonmonamjquj in jtatapa, ioalnecinj yn jquezpan onoz, in jquechtlan pilcaz, aoneoatinemj, in jcalitic calceceoazco, aic tlatotonja, petlaçolli icpalçolli, ueuetztoc, aiac tlachpana, tlaçolli moteujlacachoa, tlaçolli imoteujlacachoaian,

auh çan moxixicotinemj, moçêçoematinemj, mjhitleuhtinemj, qujqujnacatinemj, qujtemoa in ma itla ic ompaquj, in ma itla ic oncevi in jiolo, in ma ic onvellamati, quen çan nel conchioaz: ca nel iuhcan otlacat, in icnoiotl iieoaia, ca iuhquj itonal, in tlaçolli, teuhtli.

Auh in matlactli hecatl: iuh mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: ioan in oc etetl qujtoqujltica in matlactloce calli, ioan matlactlomome cuetzpali, matlactlomei coatl: muchi qualli, qujncenvica, qujcentlatalhuja, in matlactli hecatl:

iuh mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia, muchi inemac in teniotl in maviçotl, in oqujchiotl, in necujltonolli, netlacamachiliztli, iuh mjtoaia: cenca tonalchicaoac, aiac vel qujquequeloa, aiac vel ica mocacaiaoa, aiac vel qujmoxiriictia: ipampa ca tlamatlactica in otlacat, iuhquj ipan muchioaia, in oqujchtli, in çioatl.

4. The term decemdecimus can be translated only imperfectly, because of the unique feature of the system of reading the day signs. The numbers we to thirteen all include the term matlactli (ten); and, generally, to days including and following ten, good, or at least similar, qualities were attributed.

[p. 32 is blank]

X 787 Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the sixth sign, called One Death, and of the good fortune belonging to it. It was said to be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. And many were the offerings and blood sacrifices with which they did him honor. And each person provided much pleasure to the slaves.

Inje chicunavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chiquacentetl machioti, in jtoca ce mjquiztli: ioan in qualli tonalli itech ca, qujlmach itonal in Tezcatlipuca: auh mjec in ventli, in nextlaoalli injc qujmaviztiliaia, ioan cenca qujnpapaquiltiaia in tlatlacoti.

One Death set in. This was said to be a good day sign, but also somewhat bad, as will here appear in its discussion. For it was said that when this occurred, then they honored Tezcatlipoca. The lords greatly venerated [the day sign]. Each one made offerings and beheaded quail at his personal [altar] in his house and in each of the tribal quarters in the temples called *teocalli*.

Moquetza ce mjquiztli: ynjn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: auh ioan achi amo qualli, in iuh neçiz nican, ipan itlatollo, ca mjtoa in jquac, y, vncan qujtonaltiaia in Tezcatlipoca, cenca tlamaviztiliaia, in tlatoque, tlamanaia, tlacotonaia, ceceniaca yn jncalitic, in jmjxcoian in cacalpulco, in moteneoa in teucalli, in teucalco:

Thus did they speak: "This one is he by whom we live, Titlacauan, master of the earth, master of the lords of the earth, who now hath his blessed day."

iuh qujtoaia, ca ichoatl in jpal tinemj, in titlacaoan, in tlalticpaque, in tlaltecue, in axcan itonalpantzinco,

For everyone then showed devotion, was humbled, and sorrowed, in order that he would show them favor. And not alone did the lords thus act, but also the brave warriors, the seasoned warriors, and the wealthy, the rich, and he who was wise; for the day sign of Titlacauan had set in. They also observed the day sign and made offerings in his dwelling place in his tribal temple. For this reason they showed great devotion, for this was the time to pray for favors.

ic muchi tlacatl vncan tlatemachiaia, nentlamatia, tlaocuiaia, injc qujcnelix: auh amo çanioque in tlatoque, iuh qujchioaia, y, no ichoan in tiacaoã, in tequjoaque, yoan in mocujltonoa, in motlacamati, ioan in aquin qujmatia, ca itonal moquetza in titlacahoã, no tlatonaltiaia, tlamanaia, in jchã, in jcalpulco: ypampa injc cenca tlatemachiaia, ca vncan tlaitlanjliloia, injc teicnelix:

X 787 And as for its not being accounted a good and favorable time: there then was fear and dread lest this same one be wrathful and wilful. For thus did they say: "He whom he had favored and honored, and to whom he had revealed his sweetness, fragrance, and mercy, from this same one he might withdraw and remove it." Yet it was not without reason; when [the man] became vain and haughty, he disregarded and neglected what was his birthright. Still [the god] showed compassion and gave it as a gift to the one who sought him diligently and who went about weeping and sighing for his sake. So was it said that everywhere he was awaited; everywhere there was humility and sorrow before him. Nowhere was the dwelling place of the war [god]

auh injc amo qualcan, ieccan, ipan machoia, ca vncan nemauhtiloia, ynacaxoia, injc amo çan no iẽ moçomaz, monenequjz, ca iuh qujtoaia, in aquin qujcnelia, in oconmaviçolti, in oixpan conqujxti, in jxtopelica, in javiiaca, in jetlaocoliliz: çan no iẽ conjnaiilia, conjquanjlia, tel amo çan nen iquac in ie atlamati, in ie cuecuenoti in aoc tle ipan tlatta, conmjxcaoaltia, in jmãcoaa, ocatca, oc iẽ qujcnoixta, connemactia, in qujtlamatataqujlia, in jca chocatinemj, ekiciuhtinemj, ic mjtoaia: noviian chialo, noviian ivicpa nentlamacho, tlaocoiaio, ican vel ichan in iaotl Tezcatlipuca: çan jtlan conantinemj in jpetl, jcpal.

X 787
776 Tezcatlipoca: he only went withdrawing rule and power from others.

X 787 And of him who was born on the day sign One Death it was said that he would prosper and be rich, whether a nobleman or only a poor vassal. Many were his gifts. Honor came his way and rested on him when he performed well his penances and humbled himself. But if he did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign.

X 787 If, at this time, someone were born, then they
553 bathed him and gave him a name. Small children performed the naming ceremony.[1] If a boy had been born, they therefore called forth [as his name] Mi-
851 quiz, or Yaotl, Cenyaotl, Necoc yaotl, Chicoyaotl, or Yaomauitl. So they placed on him a name of Tezcatlipoca. Of this one it was said: "None may wish him harm: none may wish him to die." If anyone should wish or desire his death, he would simply sicken and suddenly die.

567 At this time it was the day sign of the slaves, the wretched slaves, whose dwelling places were by the hones for sharpening and the grinding stones. None of the slave-owners could scold them, or abuse them with vile words, or call angrily or indignantly to them when they learned that the morrow would be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. They then, first, took from them, struck off, and removed from them the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee. Then they soaped them and bathed them, and made much of and flattered them. They showed them great esteem, because, so they thought, they were his likenesses and representatives:[2] his beloved
[825] sons. It was said that they were like the blue cotingas, the trupials, the precious birds of Tezcatlipoca. And those who owned slaves warned and on threat of death[3] ordered their children, youths, and growing sons, commanding them sternly and rigorously, not to chide, deal vainly with, nor strike the slaves.

Auh in aquja ipã tlacatia itonal ce mjquiztli: mjtoaia mocujtonos, motlamachtiz, intla pilli, anoço çan macegoaltzintli, muchi inemactia, itech açia, itech pochivia, in maviçotl: iquac in tlauellamaceua, mocnomati: auh intlacamo uellamaceua, ca çan yneujian conmocaujlia, qujmjtlacalhuja yn itonal.

yn jquac, y, tla aca otlacat, njman caltiaia, qujtocamaca, qujxicvenquaqualia in pipiltotonti, intla oqujchtli otlacat, ic qujnotza mjqujz, anoço iaotl, ceniaotl, necoc iaotl, chicoiaotl, iaomauitl, ic qujtocamamaia in Tezcatlipoca: injn mjtoaia, aiac vel qujcocoliz, aiac vel qujmjquitlanjz, intla aca qujmjquitlanj, qujmjqujztemachia çan ic in mococolia onmjctiuetzi.

Auh in jquac in catca ipan tonalli: in tlatlacoti, in tlatlacotzitzinti, in teatexatitlan, temetlatitlan innemjan: aiac vel qujmaoaia, aiac vel qujntenquanviaia, qujntlauelnotzaia, qujnqualancanotzaia, in tlacaoaque, in oqujmatque, ca muztla itonalpan iez in Tezcatlipoca: njman achto qujntomaia, qujtequjlia, qujntlaxjlia in quauhcozcatl, in coliuhqui, injc pielosa, intla ilpitinenca, injc amo cholozque: njman ic qujmamovaia, qujmaltiaia, cenca qujntlaçotlaia, qujnxozocoiohnatia, vel qujnmavizmatia, ipampa iuh qujmatia, ca ixiptlaoa, ipatilloua, ytlaçopilhoan, mjtoa iuhqujn iquechollhoan, içaquantotoua, itlaçototoan in Tezcatlipoca: auh in tlacaoaque, vel qujnnemachtiaia, qujnmjqujznaoatiaia, qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, qujntepitznaoatiaia, in ipilhoan, in jntlazcaltilhoan, yn intlaoapaoalhoan: injc amo qujmaoazque qujncuecuenochichioazque, anoço qujnvitequjzque in tlacatl:

1. Of this ceremony, the Spanish text reads: "combidauan a los niños, y les daban de comer: para q̃ nuestros el nombre, del que avia nacido y le diesseyen a beuer, por los calles." Eduard Seler, in Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), p. 315, translates an explanatory passage from the *Academia de la Historia* MS: *niman ye ic quinnamaca in ouacchipilhtontli in iquac ouallaqui niman ye ic quinnamaca in tiotzaca ouilaloni[o] in ilcio yiuac auh quintlaia in ayo yaual anoço ualcuiti auh niman ye ic mamiliui quikiuaz tlatlauiz tlatlauiz tlacatiuanquanqui i yaual yquac quinquichilia in tlaca inic ouelti tlacatl ic quinnaua — daun ruft er die Knaben. Nachdem sie gekommen sind, gibt er ihnen die Nahrungen Opfergabe und trägt (die Angehörigen), wie es heisst, und er nennt ihnen (die Namen) Yaotl oder Tiuitl (Krieger oder Kahler). Und darnach fangen sie an zu schreien und sprechen: "Kommt her, Freunde, das Nahrungsopfer Yaotl ist ausgerufen." Dann machten sie seinen Namen (der Kinder), mit dem alle er nennen sollen.*

2. See *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 39b.

3. *Quanquimmatlaiaia*: the term so appears in the Nahuatl column.

[i.e., One Death.—ANALYST]

And if any chid them, so it was said, thereby he brought upon and burdened and visited upon himself misery and affliction. It was as if pustulate sores had covered and been fastened on him; it seemed that, as a gift, it has been transferred to and left with him. At that time were given him his deserts, for he had brought upon himself great sin and wrong.[4] Furthermore, he had put on the wooden collar. Even so would he be, even so would he attain, as had become the lot of the beloved son of Tezcatlipoca. He would be struck and beaten; he would be pursued from one place to another. Never would he be settled on the land, nor let alone, nor found in repose. He would not rest. Thus was it said: never would the cooking pot rest filled; never would he work with security.

And as it had been said that he had brought upon himself great sin and wrong, so was looked upon with great terror that which he might do. In this way did Tezcatlipoca ridicule, make sport of, mock, and curse him. Perchance somewhere he would be ceremonially bathed; he would die in sacrifice as a bathed victim. And it was said: "He will die sacrificed as a war captive. They will cook him in an olla and eat him." Because at one time the wretched slave was beaten, [the god] transferred his sins upon him. So he feared this, for it befell one that although he became rich, swiftly misery came to him, poverty frayed him. [Of the god], thus was it said: "He only maketh sport of one. Of no one can he be a friend, to no one true." They said Tezcatlipoca enriched one, and thereby visited him with pain and affliction.

Then if someone out of his torment cursed him as a sodomite, it was no longer his time of pride when he said to him: "O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Thou wretched sodomite! Thou hast made fun of and mocked me!" So also did he speak if someone had let his captive flee: "Thou sodomite, O Titlacauan! O that this had likewise befallen thee! Be accursed, that thou hast given me a captive only to make sport of me!" When he said this, which was only his word of torment, what good was it? For so had he been mocked, it was said. Those whom this had befallen were the foolish, who disregarded, destroyed, and dissipated that which was their riches and merit.

auh intla aca oquimaxac, iuh mjtoaia, ichoatl ica oalmjlacatzoa, conmomaxalhia, ic movizquj in vicetli, in mecapalli, iuhquje tzotzovizzli itech oalmotlalia, itech oalmoçaloa, iuhquje manoçe mactli, itech oaltzopi, itech oalmocaoa, vncan conmocaujlia, in jmácxoal ic matoiavia, motepexivja, oc ichoatl onmaquja in quauhcoxcatl, oc ichoatl oniez, iuhquj conjttaz, y, in iuhquj ittitilo, itlaçopiltzin Tezcatlipoca, vitzcoz, tzoczonaloz, avic cholelitiloz, aquezman tlaltechpa cholox, aonjzcaoaloz, aquêman tlaliloz, aiac moceujz, iuh mjtoa: aquenman caxtenmanaloz, aic tlacaco quichioaz:

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auh injc mjtoa: matoiavia, motepexivia, ynjc cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, in nel qujchioaz, injc ica mocaiaoa Tezcatlipoca: injc qujquequeloa, injc ica maviltia, injc qujtelchioa, aço cana altiloz, tlaaltilmjquja: ioan mjtoaia tetumjquja, qujpaoacinque, qujquazque: ipampa ca ica omoquavitec, in tlacoxxintli, ytech oqujcauh in jtlatlacol, injc qujmacacia, y, ca tepan mochioaia, in manel mocujltonoa, ca içiuhca ytech pachiujtiuh in icnoiotl: itech eostiuh in netolinjliztli: ichoatl injc mjtoa: çan teca maujltia, aiac vel icnjuh, aiac nellin qujlhuja Tezcatlipoca, tecujltonoa, ioan ic temotla in cococ, in teopouhquj,

. ic vncan in aca qujcujlonaoa, itoneuhcacopa, aoc iatlamatian in quilhuja: Titlacaoane, cujlonpole, cujlonepole, otonmotlamachti, otonmoçequelo: no iuh qujtoaia, intla aca oqujcholoki imal, cujlonpole, titlacaoane, ma ça njman iê iuh tienj, ma motelchioanj, in tinechmaca malli, ca çan notech otonmoçequelo: in iuh qujtoaia, y, ca ça itoneuhcatlaml, iê tle ça ne, ca ica onesujltiloc, mjtoa: ichoan in iuh inpam mochioaia, y, in aquj mamatcaoaque, in atle ipan tlatta, in oconpopouhque, yn jmjxoa, yn jcpac oqujmanque, in jnnecujhonol, yn jnmácxoal ocatca, in ocacica, injc otenecualoia, itolola in tlaticpac oqujchtli, tlaticpac tlacaoan, ca mjtoa: in iuhqij

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4. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 210: [illegible]; in the Garibay ed., VI, 63, 37, this is translated as "*Y a veinte se les dirigiaban. Se decía por el que por su culpa caía en algún gran estorbo o peligro.*"

567 Those who attained [captives] were hence known
787 as and called "earth warrior" or "earth chieftain." For, it was said, just as in battle the chieftain was a captor, just so he was rich and attained worldly goods. Hence was it said, "earth warrior," "earth chieftain."

And in this manner poor slaves achieved glory and honor. For it came to pass that if some poor slave, mocked, beaten, and made to suffer, still escaped, he became rich and wealthy. This same one bought slaves and prospered, governed, and was ruler of all. His kin were attentive of him. When this had happened, perhaps when all was abandoned and desolate, those who had been householders were perchance not there — had gone, — for perchance all was destroyed and wasted. But this same is he who set up the house; he set up the light and torch and brought fame to the slave-buyer's house, where the slave-owners were. Thus was it said: in truth the master of the earth, he through whom we live, causeth no one to lose by negligence; he hath wasted and destroyed the house of those who bought slaves, and to him who was only a poor slave, our lord gave honor and favor. Thus he honored him. Perhaps now often he entertained guests and gave them food. He assembled and gathered people together. He had them dance. He gave them gifts — this [slave] who thus appeared, who was born upon such a day sign, One Death. Hence it was called good and somewhat evil.

iaoc tiacauh tlamanj, no iuhquj in mocujtonoa, cáçi in tlaticpacaiotl, ic moteneoa: tlaticpac oquichtli, tlaticpac tiacauh:

auh injc moteniotia, momaujçotia, tlacotzitzinti, ca muchioaia, intla aca tlacotzintli, ica onecaiçoaloc, oujtecoc, otlamaceoaltiloc, oc ie qujça mocujtonoa, motlacamati, ie ne teoa, ie nẽ onca, ie nẽ ivic mocemjtquj, ipan moceniacatia, ie nẽ quicemjtta in teoaniolque, in jquac, y, açó ipan tlacacaoaltic, açó ipan eactiuetz, acaçó caque, açó centlanque in chaneque ocatca, açó tlalpoliuh, açó tlaliooac, auh ie nẽ calli qujmantica, ie nẽ tlaujlli ocotl quiquetztica, ie ne tlateniotitica, in jchan tecoanj in tlacaoaque ocatca, ic mjtoa: ca nel aiac qujmoxiccavilia in tlaticpaque, in jpalnemoanj, ontlahooac, otlalpopoliuh in jnchan ocatca tecoanjme auh ça tlacotzintli inic ontlateniotia moqujmocnelili totecujo: injc quimaviçoaia, y, açó ie quezquipa, tecoanotza, tetlaqualtia, tenechicoa, tecentlalia teitotia, tetlauhtia, ichoatl in ic neçi, in iuhquj tonalli ipan tlacatioaia, ce mjquiztli, injc mjtoa qualli, ioan achi amo qualli.

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Tenth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses, which were called in part good, and in part evil and miserable.

That which followed, which came second and took second place, was named Two Deer. As was said, so they ascertained and proved it to be an evil day. Only misery did it yield one. Of him who was then born, nothing became his reward: he would only ever live in woe. And he was much afraid and cowardly—an arrant coward. In fear he dashed into the crowds; he came full of fear, dissolved in timidity, faint-hearted. Everywhere he hid himself—he lived in hiding. He concealed himself from others and lived apart.[1] He took sudden frights, and trembled as with chills and fever. When he heard some unusual and terrifying talk, he was alarmed. If someone shouted, or if someone banged or stamped his feet, he blanched and turned white with fear, as if he had no more blood; just like white paper. His heart thumped and fluttered as if shaken like a rattle. His lips quivered and trembled. No longer as usual could his speech come forth, if he pondered or had something in mind, or if something occurred to him.

And Three Rabbit, as it was said, was good. For him then born, that which he ate appeared. It was not apparent nor understandable whence he obtained his reward. So it was said that he was like a rabbit. Without its being apparent, grass, herbs, and maize straw served him as food. Vegetation burst forth over the land, spreading green; fresh, tender, germinating, sending forth shoots, growing green—very green, extending a rich green; a twisted tangle of plants, deep green, matted, growing together, everlasting. Only in grassy fields and swards were the rabbit's dwelling place, burrow, and grazing place. He hopped and sucked up the dew; with nodding head and nipping teeth he nibbled up his food. Just so was the vassal or the man when the time of his day sign was Three Rabbit. It was not apparent how

Inje matlactli capítulo, itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequi calli, in omotecaoh cequi qualli, cequi amo qualli tetolinj.

In centoquijlia, in cononcaiotia, in tlaoncaiotia, itoca vnac mocçtl: iuh mjtoaia, iuh quijnnotiuia, iuh quijnchiliaia amo qualli tonalli, çan icnoiotl quijtemoca: in aquin ipan tlacatia, atle imdçcual machiotia, çan muchipa motelinjtinenca: auh cenca momauhtinj, vel mimauhqui, mahmauhqui, mauhcatepetla, mavizoca, mauhcaçtecquijnj, mauhcaiollo, mjtinia, mjtoantinemj, motemachiolia, tenemocaquiztinemj, mocujcujivetzi, iuhquin ilotenevi, viviuca, yn jtla ovi tlatolli, mauhca tlatolli quicaqui, mjçavia in aca tlaquamhtlatoa, amoço aca tlaconomatza, tlatiticujtza, çiiocopinj, intzia, iuhquin aoc ezço, çe iuhquin amantalli, yiollo chichiolos, yiollo papatlaca, iuhquin tlacacalatzintiuetzi iiollo, itzin papatlaca, itzin viviuca, aocmo iuhquj quiça in jtlatol, intla çe itla iiollo cnemati, intla itla yiolipan, intla itla iiollo contoca.

Auh in ey tochtli: iuh mjtoaia qualli, in aquin ipan tlacatia, necj in quijquanj, ilnentica, ilnachintli, incampa quijcnopilhuia, in jmhçcual, iuh mjtoa in iuhquj tochan, ilnentica in jtlaqual, çacatl, xinhentli, cloçacatl, in quijnenquaqualtia, popoçocatoc, cecelintoc, cecelia, cecelpetic, itzmolinj, onitzmalintiuh, xonujztoc, xonopalcatoc, xiximatic, xiximalihtoc, xiximhcatic, popotzmhtoc, pepettoc, ipolivitlanqui, çi çacatla, çacatitlan, in jnemjtan, in jquijçaian in jtlacuiquaian tochan, ilnachquiquan, mochichiuia, quijnimatlatica, quijn tlatlamatlatica, in jtlaqual. No iuhquj in macuxalli in tlacatl, in jmalpan ci tochtli, amo nentica, in quenjn necj itlaqual, ilnentica in quenjn ipan ontlauh incuica, yenujhtiuia.

1. The Red Rabbit [illegible] (cuitlapanitlahtoloni) (cuitlapa pan ne tapan ane ana, something in Molina, op. cit.), other [illegible] relating.

X 787 his food appeared, nor known how came his sustenance, his daily ration.

And Four Water, so it was said, was an evil day sign. It offered one only misery. He who was then born nowhere was content. He lived only harassed and struggling for the necessities of life. And if perchance something were his reward, just like water it passed by, carried away and scattered by the current.

Likewise Five Dog was evil, as was said. Then they celebrated the day sign of Mictlan tecutli; it was his day sign. Similarly, neither was Six Monkey good, so it was said. Thereafter, all the different days in the time of Seven Grass became good. He who was born upon the various day signs mentioned, they did not yet bathe nor give a name. Later all were bathed together on Seven Grass, because, as it was said, it was claimed always to be a favorable time on the seventh day sign, the one which then became seventh and took seventh place. This was a time of one's merit and reward. And he who was then born they then at that very time bathed and gave a name.

And Eight Reed and Nine Ocelot, as was said, were by no means good day signs but days of wild beasts. He who was born upon them merited only misery. Not yet did they bathe him; later they considered it on Ten Eagle. Till then[3] they waited for it, in order to cause his day sign to result favorably, so that perchance something might come as his merit, if he lived. But nevertheless he might not weaken; still, painfully he could acquire and in torment seek it.[3]

And when well established and apparent, Ten Eagle, so it was said, was a good day sign. Of him who was then born, favorable were the deserts. It was a time of manliness, valor, grandeur, and bravery. It was a day sign of strength and courage. He urged people on; he was spirited toward others; he instilled courage and valor; he was fearless of death. He hurled himself against the foe; he joined in the fray; he shook others off scornfully, drove them into corners, broke into enemy ranks, took after those who fled, and threw himself upon them, was most intent upon the foe, and aroused complete terror. No one would give him occasion to quarrel; no one would dare him,[4] nor contain him, nor sur-

Auh in nauj atl: iuh mjtoa, amo qualli tonalli, çan icnoiotl qujtemaca, in aquja ipan tlacatia, acan aviaia in jiollo, çan tlaçiiauhtinoca, qujhiouitinenca: auh intlaçanoço itla ymâcteoal, çan iuhquja atl ooquiça, onatoco, onamoioca.

No iuhquj in macujlli itacujntli: amo no qualli, iuh mjtoa: vncan qujtonaltiaia, in mjctlan tecutli, itonalpan catca. No iuhquj in chiquacen oçomatli, amo no qualli, iuh mjtoa: quja cen vncâ qualtiaia, in iaqujtetl in tonalli, yn jpan chicome malinalli: yn aquja ipan tlacatia, in jaqujlhujtl in omoteneuh aiamo caltiaia, aiamo qujtocamacaia, quja cen jpan maltiaia, in chicome malinalli: ipampa iuh mjtoa, qujlmach muchipa qualcan, yn jpan chicome tonalli, in vncan tlachiometi, chicometicoaia: vncan ca teilhujl, temâcteoal: auh in aquja ipan otlacat, njmâ vel iquac caltiaia, qujtocamacaia.

Auh in chicuei acatl, ioan chicunavi ocelotl, iuh mjtoa: njman amo qualli tonalli, tequantonalli, in aquja ipan tlacatia, çan netolinjliztli in qujmaccoaia: auh aiamo caltiaia, quja jpan qujmattiuja, in matlactli quauhtli, vm cuatlachicltia, injc qujeccanquixtia, itonal, in aço ça itla imâcteoaltitiuh intla nemjz: auh icce camo catauja, oc ivivi in qujcuja, in qujttaz, toneujztica.

Auh in vel icatia, iaxcia, matlactli quauhtli, iuh mjtoa: qualli tonalli, in aquja ipan tlacatia, vel mâcteoale catca, in jpan oqujchiotl, tiacauhiotl, quauhiotl, oçelotl, tonalchicaoac, tonallapalivi, vel teujuj, teujc mjxtlapalcanj, tetlaquauhtlamachti, teoqujchtlamachti, ßmjquixmauhquj, teca momotlanj, teviz mopetlatiuh, texoxocoa, texoxomolaquja, tepetlaticalaquj, tetocaticalaquj, teitquitiuetzi, vel motzixcaujanj, centlamauhtia, aiac vel quipeoaltia, aiac vel ixco ieoa, aiac vel qujiacaolinja, aiac vel qujiacapeionja, aiac uel qujquequeloa: njman temotzoloa, temotzolquitzquja, teujc moçoneoa, tepan mozittomonja: ipampa ca iuhquj itonal in tecoçauhquj, icxicoçauhquj, vei quauhtli:

2. *Vac: ompa in the Real Palacio MS.*

3. *The Real Palacio MS continues with the words* [illegible]

4. *Ban in ibid.*

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round him, nor ridicule him. He would then seize one, grip him firmly,[5] and rise up against and burst forth upon him. This was because so was the day sign of the valiant, courageous, great warrior.

Then was the time when the one who had been born was bathed, [whether] man or woman.

And Eleven Vulture, so it was said, was also a good day sign. He who was then born, they said, would grow old; he would become bent with age. The sun would fulfill him and take him into his house. Because the vulture was aged, he who was then born would share [the attribute].

Likewise Twelve Motion and Thirteen Flint Knife, which ended the series, were each good. Ten Eagle bore and favored all these, and made them all good, so that they fell together as favorable day signs. For so was it said the different day signs in the tenth place were always a favorable time.[6] He who was then born was very well regarded. They said that there were three more day signs until the series in which he was born ended; three more days to arrange one's life and favorable aspects of one's life.

njman iquac malhia, in aquijn ipã tlacatia, in oquijchtli, in cioatl.

Auh in matlactioce cuzcaquauhtli: iuh mjtoa, ao qualli tonalli, in aquijn ipan tlacatia, qujtoaia vevetitz, colinjz, qujtlamjz, qujcalaqujz in tonatiuh: ypampa ca veve, in cuecaquauhtli ipan otlacat vevetiouia.

No iuhquj in matlactiomome olin, iuan in tlatzonqujxtia, matlactiomej tecpatl: izqujtetl qualli, mochi qujncenvica, qujnoentlatalhuja, qujnoenqualtilia, in matlactli quauhtli, injc cenvetzi qualtin tonaltin: ca iuh mjtoa in izqujcan matlactiouian: in aquijn ipan tlacatia oica qualittoia, qujtouia: ca oc Ettetl tonalli, in qujtzacuja, ipan omotlacatili, oc ettetl tonalli, injc vnnemjx, in qujmoqualtitinemjx.

5. Transcribing as *Mil*.

6. Following emendation, the additional phrase *ipan tonalli* omitted in the *Real Palacio* MS. makes this condition possible.

[p. 40 is blank]

X-787 **Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the seventh sign, named One Rain, and of the evil day signs which belonged with it. They said that those then born were sorcerers and soothsayers and demons.** — And *tlacatecolotl* meaneth demon. — Almost all the houses belonging to this [sign] were evil and unfavorable. Only the thirteenth was good.[1]

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Injc matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicuetetl machiotl, in jtoca ce qujaviztl: ioan in amo qualli tonalli, in jtech catca: quilmach in aquiquc vncan tlacatia, nanaoalti catca, ioan tetlachivianj, tlatlacatecolo: auh in tlacatecoiotl, ca ichoatl quitoznequj in Diablo, achi muchi in calli itech pouhquj, in amo qualli, in amo ictli: çanjio inic matlactetl vmey qualli.

X-787 One Rain set in, of which it was said that it was in no way a good day sign. It was full of evil, vice, misery, orphanhood, affliction, suffering, anguish, misfortune, and indigence.

Moquetza ce quiauitl: injn mjtonia, njnan amo qualli tonalli, motequjtica teuhtli, tlaçolli, icnoiotl, icnotlacaiotl, tlaciaujliztli, tlacoxocavilizti, teopouhcaiotl, atle onquiçalizti, atle oncoztinemjliztli:

X-787 This was because during the time of this day sign, so it was said, then descended those known as the Goddesses, inhuman ones, mockers of the people. Hence most sternly [parents] commanded their children not to go out; not to travel along the roads. They should only remain at home. Thus did they speak to them: "Go not forth. You will encounter the Princesses, for they descend and arrive upon earth." Hence the fathers regarded them with fear, lest one of [the children] might develop misshapen lips, or crossed eyes, or a hare lip, or be possessed.

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ipampa in jpan, y, tonalli, iuh mjtoa: ca vncan temoia, in moteneoa cioatteo, itlacacemelleque, teca mocaiaoanj: ic oncca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia, in tepilhoan, in aiac quiçaz, aiac vtli quitocaz: çan cali onoque: iuh quimjlhuiaia maca xonquiçaca, anmotenamjctizque, ca temo, ca tlalpan açi in çioapipilti: ic quintlamauhcaittiliaia in tetaoan: injc amo aca tennecujliviz, iznecujliuiz, tenpatziuiz, itech quinequiz:

When this [day came], everywhere in the Goddesses' sanctuaries and temples — everywhere offerings were made. For in every single place stood a temple of Goddesses, in each neighborhood,[2] there at crossroads. They covered with white streamers each of the images which were there — five [figures] of stone, placed in a row, their faces rubbed and painted with liquid rubber. He who made a vow to them covered them at the time of their descent, at the time of their day count, on the day sign of their descent. As many of them as there were he covered with white paper streamers.

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in jquac in, in noviian çioatecpan, çioateucalli, noujian tlamanaloia, ca noviian cecentetl mica, in çioateucalli, cecentlaxillacalpi vncan in omaxac, teteujtl quinnonequentia, in vmpa catca, ymjxiptlacaan, macujltene in teme, tecpantoca, tlaolxaoalti, moolxauhque in aquin iviepa monetoltiaia, quintlaquentia yn jquac in intemoia, yn jntlapoalpan, in jpan tonalli temoia, inquitene amatecujtl quinquentia.

1. The Spanish text reads, in part: "*Los que en este signo nacen, son nigromanticos, brujos, hechiceros, embaydores. Es de notar, que este escaldo characterizad, propiamente quiere decir, nigromantico, o brujo; impropiamente se usa, por diablo: casi todos los nacen deste signo: eran de malo dispositos. Pero la decima casa, y la treyta decima casa, entiendase que 8 todos los signos: eran felices.*" See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book XII, "The Conquest of Mexico," p. 21, nn. 1, 2, 3, on *nanaoalti*, *characterizad*, and *tlalacatecolotl*. Depending upon the context, we have at times translated *characterizad* as demon.

2. *Ibid.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 58, n. 13.

681 And then also at that time[1] died those who were in jail, who were there for something which de-
696 manded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic catz, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momezati, in moteneoa tlaçokchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oquitlaco: no ichoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he
761 was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: ca ichoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonakhicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquixtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilquixtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujaçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

A 787 And when someone was then born,[3] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend.
851 But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

A 787 And also it was said that he who was then born
754 a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into
791 something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

No yoan mjtouia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlâciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla macoalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moquixtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynacal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jnqujch tlatelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teiosolmala-

3. An additional phrase in the Real Palacio MS will change the meaning somewhat: *oyome mahiaya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K.: "Periódimatos de Sahagún." *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del ejipcio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*] . . . *De esta primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicidad de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se consulta el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejercer otras que no son del hombre común; hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un nahualli poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahuali*, *nahuala*, "*verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que son embaucadores, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embaucos a los genios. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: nahualoaqui, contar disimulado, con equívoco, sutilmente; nahualcaltia, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; nahualtlachia, cambiar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de nahualli, o un derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., is it said that "*se decía entonces al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llaman nahualli. . . .*

". . . *quando el niño nace, el demonio por el punto expresado o suerte que sus padres tienen con él, le dedica o asigna el animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como dicen por dueño de su natividad y sirbe de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste punto guarda el niño supra o nadie los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierte la denominación y significación del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raíces que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio; la tercera, ocultarse o rebozarse, y aunque es controversia para que se acomodan las dos primeras significaciones, no quedan mas la tercera, que es del verbo nahualtia que es acomodarse cubriendose con algo, que viene a ser lo mismo que rebozarse, y así, nahualli dice rebozado, o disfrazado debajo de la apariencia del tal animal, como allas comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 33, n. 1, *infra*.

1/2 [i.e., the day One Rain. – Analyst]

he knew their secrets. He recovered things for people. He provoked and incited people, and caused them to believe diverse things. And [he was] a demon; he caused demons to enter one; he destroyed people and brought them to ruin. He swept people's paths for them [indicating sins which they must confess];[6] he set up ceremonial wooden figures of those killed in war, and caused them to burn for people.[7] He was a magician, one who removed his leg.[8] These were only the works of this person.

He hired and lent himself to others in order to make his living. When at night he went forth somewhere to ruin people, he changed himself into, perhaps, a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. He who hated someone hired him to destroy his enemy, when he wished and willed death upon him. Four times, on four nights, he performed his task when he destroyed people.

This same one sought out an evil day sign; then was the time to destroy someone. When he had done his task well on one, when already four times he had returned to the victim's home, it was said: "He hath drawn him forth." But sometimes [the evildoer] fell into [his victim's] hands; he fell and was taken into the hands of others, and was seized and quickly captured. The brave one who was to be destroyed, who was hated, vigilantly stalked him in order to catch him. He seized his hair; from the top, the crown, he pulled hair from his head. He jerked off his hair; he seized, wrenched, and tore it off; he removed his hair. No more did he escape. Forthwith he died; he could only reach his home to die.

And if in vain he tried to remedy, or, indirectly, to palliate [the situation], so that he might not die, still seeking to follow his work and control and establish his fate, in vain he contrived to take or borrow something — perchance water or fire, or a bowl, which he borrowed from the house of the one he had gone forth to destroy, who had there seized him. But if the one to be destroyed were indeed wise, prudent,[9] and well advised, he gave nothing at all to anyone. All during the day, until [the next] dawn came, he lent nothing to anyone. On the morrow,

cacho, tciollapan, teiciollapan, tetlatlaneltoqujti, ioan tlacatecolotl, tetlatlacatecolovia, tepoloa, tlãtlalpoloa, tecacalochpana, teevillotlatia, tetlatlatoqujlia, tlaujpuchtli, mometzcopina, çan vel iẽ itequjuh, 787x 759 791

ic tlaqueoalo, ic motetlaqueoaltia, ic motlaiecoltia, in cana iooaltica tepolotiuh, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipã mocuepa, in aqujn tecocolianj qujtlaqueoa, injc qujpolotiuh itlacocolil, in qujmjqujtlanj, qujmjqujztemachia, nappa nauhiooal in ontepoloa, in qujchioa itequjuh:

çan no iẽ qujtztiuh, in aqualli tonalli, in vncan itepoloaia, in aca ouel qujchiuh, in ic nappa oilo ichan, mjtoa: ocontlaqujxtili, auh in quenman temac vetzi, temac aquj, temac maquja, axioa, cujtiuecho, in aqujn iolchicaoac pololonj, cocolilonj, uel qujmopachiuia injc caci, qujtzoncuj, iquanepantla, yquaiolloco qujmomotzalhuja in jtzon, qujquatemotzoltzitzquia qujquavivitla, qujtzoncopina, aocmo qujça, njman iquac mjquj, ça onmjctaci in jchan:

auh in oc nen, ic mopatiznequj, ic mopaiaoalochtiznequj, injc amo mjqujz, oc motlaiecoltia, motonalanaznequj, motonallalilizznequj, oc nen itla qujmocujcujcachioa, qujmotlatlanevia, aço atl, aço tletl, aço caxitl, in conmotlaneuja ichan in oqujpoloto, in vmpa ocacique: auh in vel qujmati, in tlaueuemachtilli, in tlanonotzalli in pololonj: njman aoc tle qujtemaca, in iuh cemjlhujtl in oallatvic, aoc tle qujtetlaneuhtia, yn jmoztlaioc: ic vncan vel tematlac maquja, in tlacatecolotl, onmjquj, ca nel ie oncan ca itequjuh, ca iẽ in qujtetemoa, ca ie vncan ca ipoliujz:

6. Cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Weltanschauung, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1950), p. 350: "*Der Fest der Wegkehrer wurde in Ehren der Göttermutter Tlazoltéotl gefeiert, deren Priester die Beichte derer entgegennahmen, die sich geschlechtlich verfehlt hatten. Das Wort besagt dies: Er fegt den Leuten den Zugangsweg zu den Himmeln wieder sauber; in übertragenem Sinn: Er bewirkt dass die Leute geschlechtliche Sünden zu beichten haben und dadurch ihrer ledig werden.*"

7. Cf. *Infra*, Chap. 19, where a full description appears.

8. Cf. various translations in Jena, *op. cit.*, p. 141: "*Und hinter ihm kommt eine Hexe her, eine vom Monde, die genau so gut jenen Arbeit tut.*"

9. Thunderstorm in the Red Palace 183.

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then, indeed, the demon was enclosed in one's net. He died. For in truth this was his destiny, for they sought him continually, and it then was the time of his ruin. For he knew in his heart, while yet he lived, that perchance somewhere he might be seized. For so had he been born only to die.[10] Never was he content nor happy; he went about in rags, poorly clothed. And he lived only in suffering. He raged over drink and food. Everywhere was he feared; nowhere could he enter among people. No one was his friend.

But although he were seized and taken, he was not frightened, nor did he therefore cease. He paid no heed. If he had children, always he lived the same, never wishing to mend his ways. There he went to his end, and they punished him. Thus all went; thus all was destroyed.

Just so if it were a woman, all evil were her works. She lived in great misery. Nowhere was her home. Even though she were a noblewoman, nowhere was she favored or noticed. Just as if dead, she lived in affliction. It was said that just so was her day sign one of misery.

ca njmã iuh iiollo quimatia in oc nemj, in aço cana axioaz: ca njman iuh ipan tlacat içan miquiz: njman aic avia, aic vellamati, itzotzoma, itatapa ietinêmj auh çan motixicotinemj, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, noviian imacaxo, acan vel tepan calaquj, aiac icnjuh:

auh in manel ie oanõc, oxxioac, amo ic momauhtia, amo ic motzaqua, amo ic quicaquj, intla oncate ipilhoã, çan mochipa iuh nemj, amo quicioaliztlamati, vncan activi quitzacutiuj, much iuh vi, much iuh polivi,

çan no iuhquj itequjuh catca intla çioatl, muchi amo qualli in jtequjuh catca, cenca motolinjtinenca, âcan ichan, in manel cioapilli, âcan ixtona, âcan motztica, can iuhquj onmjquj, totoneoatiuh in jiollo, mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal in jcnoiotl.

10. *Ye çan can miquiz in ihiol.*

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Injc matlactlomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

!n jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, quinquechmecanjaia, quinquechtzonviaia, quinmecanjaia, quinpiloa, quincuecochvivitequj, quinquatepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallavi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan quimonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecaloo noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, quipopotzaqujaia, quicacacatztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic quinpeviaia. 681 684 727 761 789 824

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away—the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iē quivcimatia, quimaviztiliaia, ca vncan quitotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli quitlatiaia, in chalchiuitl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixquich cozcatl, in coacapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jxquich nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xocoxitzli.* — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *jocoxitz — Bromelia pinguin L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un metro de altura y otras hojas semejantes a las de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbática."*

2. Translatable also as "men of Pochtlan," a *barrio* of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlipan, Mexallotzalcó, Xilotl, Tlaxi, Xilo, Tepanécatl, Cuyotlinchuel, Chicome xochitl, Xochiquetzal, Yacatecuhtli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 58). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Acxotecatl* or *pochtecatlahtolchiuhque*, "*mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dijéramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre dos nombres . . . se entienden al que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes*" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 60): "*oberchirkmeijsterlicher Volksmann in der eldstirlich der Sees von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco.*" Acxotlan was a merchant's *barrio* in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nezi Ehecatl, Chicomquiauitl, Xomecatl, Cuchimeli, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecacizcatl (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 19 and n. 5. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 328, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Name aus dem Orte Ozomatlan . . . . der auf Wanderschaft gelernde Kleiner und Marktschreiber zuweilen als der auf weiter Reisen gelernte Grosskaufmann, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

5. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

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tomatoes, the cylindrical ones;[6] and all the neck bands, and the matted neck bands; and large and small pieces of turquoise; and all the different kinds of feathers — quetzal tail feathers: the well-pointed ones, the well-curved ones, the wide ones, the long ones, which, they said, indeed extended a fathom. And these were just the tail feathers. And those they called down feathers,[7] the very small ones, the chili-green ones and the crest feathers of the quetzal;[8] and feathers of the red spoonbill[9] [*teoquechol*], which is now called *tlauhquechol;* and the blue cotinga, the amethyst-colored ones,[10] the yellow parrot,[11] the multicolored parrot, the trupial,[12] the red and yellow parrot,[13] the scarlet parrot,[14] the blue parrot,[15] the dove; and aquamarine feathers, etc. And skins of wild animals, and mats of wild animal [skins]; and wooden chocolate-beaters; and gourd stoppers.[16]

Verily, all their goods, which lay strewn [and scattered in the tribal quarter] temples[17] they arranged in order and in rows upon precious capes. They sorted, ordered, and disposed them. Then they offered incense and beheaded quail. Of this it was thus said: "They place things in the sun." And when they had placed them in the sun, and when they had offered incense during the day, later,[18]

in vel iaque in vel vitoliuj, in patlaoac, in viiac, in qujlhuja cenciacatl içan moteca: auh in çan totocujtlapiltic, ioan in qujlhuja quetzaliacatl, in çan tepitoton, in chilchotic, ioan in tzinjtzcan, in teoquechol: in axcan mjtoa tlauhquechol, ioan in xiuhtototl, in aiopal, in toztli, in toucujcujl, in çaquan, in cochoivitl, in chamolin, in cujtlatzxotli, in coçôtli, in xiuhapalli. Etc. yoan in tequaneoatl, in tequanpetlatl, auh in aquaujtl, in atzaçcaiotl:

in ie mochi intlatquj in tzintoc, [9 pixauhtoc. yn calpulco] in teucali, tlaçotilmapan qujcentecaia, qujcuecuentiliaia, qujtlatlamantiliaia, qujviujpania, qujtetecpanaia, vncan tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia, iehoatl injc mjtoa: tlatotonija, auh in jquac otlatotonjque; in otlenamacaque, cemjlhujtl, catepan tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, mopixtoque, in pochteca veuetque, nepiclotoc, tlachichinalotoc, tlaneutoc, tlaujaxtoc, pactlenatoc,

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6. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, cap. viii, fol. 295: *injc tlatolilli, ahaiac, anaic xicoc, xomatic, chiquimolec, tlachiquimalotetl, tlachiquimalilli, tlacomecalli, tlachiquimalchichilchilli*, for which the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Labrados como piedras como redondas y apretadas, otras largas y redondas, y apretadas, otras triangulados, otras cortados al cuejo, otras redondas.*"

7. Quetzal tail plug, in *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

8. *Tzinitzcan.* Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 3 and 4, describes both the crest of the quetzal and a bird of the same name: *Tzinitzcan tzacuaxoc. 7. cuitlajuac* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 366). In Seler, *Collected Works* (; Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. V, p. 2, it is quetzal tail and shoulder feathers of dark green with metallic sheen; in *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 137, a bird with black and green feathers.

9. *Tlauhquechol.* In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 42, white and red spoonbill; Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 63, red heron; p. 124, red spoonbill; p. 137, rose-colored heron. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 5: *Ajaja ajaja* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 354).

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10. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 9) mentions an *ayoquan* found in mountains about Cuernavaca and Michoacan — of painted, black beak and black feathers except those of the tail, which are half-white; another bird of the same name is a waterfowl of yellow beak; feathers at joint of wing are green; long wing and tail feathers are brown, with white and green; body feathers are red. *Aguamiel ayoqui* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 324).

In "L'oiseleurie des anciens mexicains et leur art de travailler la plume et de faire des ornements en plumes," Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte-Rendu* de la Huitième Session Tenue à Paris en 1890 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), note to § 48, Edward Seler translates *ayoqui* as *hoque colorado*, referring to Molina, *op. cit.*, *chivisal amarillo — ayoquichichal.*

11. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 16; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 210.

12. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 114. *Cyanocitta Mexicanus* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 372).

13. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371: "*especie de loro, del género Chrysotis.*" *Cuetlo* or *cuetlat* — "*Papagayo rojo y morado.*" *Amazona albifrons albifrons* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 328).

14. *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 2. Cf. also, however, *chamolin* (*chamol*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461: "*Nombre vulgar que en el Reino de Guatemala, en Méjico, se da al tucuchito o chamolichichil.*" *Chamolichichil*: Aztec, *chamolli* (*pinacho*) — "*tucuchito o fior del camarón* (Poinciana pulcherrima)."

15. Cf. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *cucpaderas de calabaças para cacomates.*

17. An omission in the *Florentine Codex*, to be noted in comparing the passage with the text of the Real Palacio MS, placed in brackets, brings the Nahuatl closer to Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

18. *Canpan*: the cedilla is missing in the original.

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

puctli mantic, tlaqualli quiquiztoc, atle monectic, ichoatl injc mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatotonja, in puchteca. 441 527 556

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, mocecentlalia in puchteca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujntic, vncan qujmopopoaltia, qujmecoaltia, ic mjamotlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmoqujchtiliz, oc cenca ichoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, qujtoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexqujch ic conmati, in quexqujch imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, injc qujlacatzotinemj anaoatl, injc ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, injc atlauhtli quitemovitinemj, in noviian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan qujztinemj: auh in nel cana impan oalmotzaqua, qujnpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in tematitlampa qujça, in qujoalcaoa tlatolli, in oalteitoa, ichoan achtopa qujpetla, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli, 441 527 554 521

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, faultfinding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refuting, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

ic vncan qujquequeloa, ica maujltia, qujtlatlacaqujtia, qujcocoa, qujtotoneoa, qujcoenlhuja, qujchichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inexitilan mooqujchitoa, çan njcan tianqujzco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapalotinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ic vncan in jtoncuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoã, injc vel imjtic oaaçic intecoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoan, injc vncan in necentlaliaia masca, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopãpatla, mopapatzaoa, moquezicçatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, motlatzoujlitoque, moquãquatoque, mjxquãquatoque, motlatolzopeuhtoque, moichoatocatoque, ãmotenaqujlmatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jzmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecenteti itlatol, atle ipan qujmotztilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtil: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mococenteepoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

19. *Mocopãpatzaoa* in the *Real Palacio* MS. *Mizoaw*: *ahuaw* is meant.
20. *Mimoiotoni* in *loc. cit.*
21. Possibly *amotenpanavillanqui* and *amo tenpanavillanj* are intended.
22. *Chachalacatoque* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

441 527 554 521

held in no esteem the riches and prosperity of others. Indeed, each one alone wished to be best; each one thought himself a lord, a superior person; each one thought of himself as the only one, the best. Each spoke for himself; none would talk to them or say a word in their behalf, unless he were a vanguard merchant, one who knew distant lands; unless he were very rich, dealt in goods in his house, or were a buyer of slaves,[23] a ceremonial bather of captives to be sacrificed; unless in his house were carrying frames stuffed and creaking; unless in his house one drank from black jars, gourd vessels, etc.

This was because each one of the merchants himself placed things in the sun at his own house on the day sign Four Wind.

mati, mocecocamati, nononqua motlatalhuja, aiac vel inoan tlatoa, aiac vel inpal onmocencamavia: intlacamo oztomecatl, intlacamo veca matinj: ioan intlacamo cenca mocujltonoa, intlacamo ontlaaaquj ichan, intlacamo tecoanj, intlacamo tealtianj, intlacamo câcatzcatoc, nânatzcatoc ichan cacaxtli: intlacamo poctecontica, aiotectica atlioa ichan et.[a].

Ipampa injc ceceniaca tlatonaltiaia, puchteca in jncacaljtic: in jpan jn tonalli navecatl.

23. Or "one who [illegible] guests."

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is told and mentioned what was an evil manifestation for him who stumbled or fell at this time; and the evil which befell those born at this time, in the eighth house, called Eight Death. Here are told all the various kinds of evil which belonged with [the day signs].

Likewise was it said: no one [on the day sign Four Wind] might quarrel, nor fall, nor trip, nor stumble, nor sprain an ankle, nor break nor twist a foot. So there was apprehension. It was said: "O that this may not always be! He is affected by Four Wind." That is to say, he was hurt on Four Wind.

And also it is told that as to him who was then born, the readers of the day signs made it favorable for him and provided him with merits. He would, so they said, become rich and a chieftain, a brave warrior; he would become terrifying and menacing; he would gain honor; he would be of a strong day sign. And they did not yet bathe him, [they bathed him later][1] on Seven Serpent. So they said that they made the day sign even stronger for him so that he became very rich, provided with merits, gifts, and good deserts. For [the day sign] Seven Serpent represented our sustenance — grains of dried maize, completely edible. And so they said that the days of the seventh place were always a time of good.

But Five House and Six Lizard, which followed, as hath been said, were in no way good day signs. Both were the times of ritual to Macuilxochitl and Mictlan tecutli. For the one born at this time, man or woman, nothing resulted as his deserts. He labored only in vain; his fate, deserts, and gifts were full of misery. And he was only given to talk, completely enveloped in talk. He was hot-tempered.[2] He reprimanded people; he only knew how to agitate them and cause them to riot. So it was said, so was he reprimanded, when he restrained one from doing something, belabored one in something, or besmirched someone: "At least sometimes the brute is human! The vile brute, the mean and vile-tongued one, the fool! What can be done? His is the day

Injc matlactli vmey capitulo, vncan mjtoa: quijlmach amo qualli inezca catca, in aqujn moteputlamjaia, in anoço vetzia, yn ipan jn: ioan in amo qualli inpan muchioaia, in aquique vncan tlacatia, in jpã ic chicuetetl calli: yn jtoca chicuey mjquiztli: vncan moteneoa in jzquitlamantli in amo qualli intech ca 787x

No ioan mjtoa: aiac vel maoaia, anoço motlaujtequja, motepotlamja, motecujnja, moxoquechaquja, moxocuetlanja, mocxicueloa: ic tlatenmachililoia, ltoloia, ma qujcencuj, ca omonauecauj, qujtoznequj: ca nauecatl in jpan omococo. 784

No ioan mjtoa: in aqujn ypan tlacatia, qujpãtiaia, qujnemactiaia, in tonalpouhque, iuh qujtoaia: mocujltonoz, ioan tiacauhtiz, equjchtiz, tlamauhtiz, tlamamauhtiz, momaujzçotiz, tonalchicaoac iez: auh aiamo caltiaia, in jpan chicome coatl, iuh qujtoaia: oc cenca vel ipan qujtonalchicaoaia, injc cenca mocujltonoz, injc mãceoale, nemaque, ilhujle, mochioaz: ipampa in chiçome coatl ca qujxiptlatiaia in tonacaiotl, in tlaolli, motqujtica qualonj: ioan in iuh qujtoa, in chicometioaia ipan tonalli, muchipa qualcan. 787x [851]

Auh in quioahtoqujlia macujlli calli, ioan chiquacen cuetzpalin: iuh mjtoaia: njmã amo qualli tonalli, in jonteixtin, y, in tlatoaian macujlxochitl, ioan mjctlan tecutli: in aqujn ipan tlacatia in oqujchtli, in çioatl, njman atle imãceoal mochioaia, çan oalnenenquçaia, motqujtica netolinjliztli, in ilhujl, in jmãceoal, ynemac, ioan çan tlatolli cololotinemj, tlatolli cololhujtinemj, tlatolli itlaqual, tlacatl qujcaoatztinemj, çan ic nemj in tlacatl qujcuecuetlanja, tlacatl qujcocomonja, iuh mjtoa injc aio: in iquac on oitla contechioalti, in on oitla conteecaujlti, in on oitla ic onteatlatzicujnj, macel ica ontlacanemj in tlapalpul, iollochicopul, iollopatlachpul, iollotlauelilocapul, quennel noço macujltonale, ca ie iuhque in mamacujltonaleque, aquen tlatta, ca nel ic monoiz-

1. The words quin ocyqui cuitiaia in the Real Palacio MS give this phrase.
2. See Note 3, Chapter 8, supra.

A 787 sign in fifth position." Just so were those who had their day signs in the fifth position mischievous. This is why they considered that not one of them was a decent person. For such was the time of their birth.

And so the readers of the day signs made it good; they told the people that not then, at the time of his birth, should he be bathed, but that they should wait until Seven Serpent. For at this time, it was still vain to do it. Only later they took care of it. If he were to live, it was not hopeless; something would become his lot; with his penance he would reverse his day sign. Because, as they said, the day signs of the seventh place, it was said, were always a time of good. Just then was the time of the ritual of[3] Chicome coatl, which represented our sustenance, which was real wealth. Likewise they said that if one were to have charge of, or to administer something, he would become solicitous and very diligent; for so his day sign would cause him to develop. That is to say, he made good, undid, and destroyed the day sign upon which he had been born and which was regarded with fear. Thus he himself, by his own penances, caused his day sign to result in good; he did it himself through his prudence.

On Eight Death, it was evil; likewise Nine Deer was in no way a good day sign. For, as it was said, the day signs taking ninth place were in no way a time of good. For whosoever was born on it, man or woman, nothing became one's fate or deserts. Born then were those who became evil-tempered on earth — who vented their wrath; the completely perverted and mad, who lived surrounded by vice, sin, given to talk,[4] the dissolute, living in deceit; the prodigals, fearing no one, presumptuous, respecting no one, esteeming no one; treating no one with reserve. They regarded no one with much consideration, cherished no one much, valued no one. They were very presumptuous, immodest, brazen, and impudent; meddlesome,[5] troublesome, and respecters of nothing; discourteous, evil-spoken, great talkers, big-mouthed, great-mouthed, belittling and depreciating others in their speech. They were mockers and liars. Nothing could be said in the presence of one of these. They were inconsiderate, not given to silence; impudent; evil-talkers, who guarded no

que, in amo cenne tlacacemelleque, ca iuhcan tlacatque.

Auh injc qujqualtiliaia tonalpouhque, qujteilhuiaia aiamo vel ipan maltiz, in ipan otlacat, ma oc qujchia in chicome coatl: ca vmpa oc nen titlatemachia, ça qujn iẽ qujmattiuh, intla nemjz, aço ça nen itla imâceoaltitiuh, ca itla maçeoaliztica qujmocuepililitiuh yn jtonal: ipampa in iuh qujtoaia, in jpan chicome tonalli: qujlmach mochipa qualcan, vel vncan in tlatoaia in chicome coatl, in qujxiptlatiaia tonacaiotl, motqujtica necujltonolli. Ioan no qujtoaia intla tlamocujtlaujz, motlacujtlaujz, iel, iẽel, mochioaz, ca ic qujacaltiaia in jtonal, qujtoznequj: ic qujqualtilia: vncan qujmotlaxilia, qujmopopolhuja, injc otlamauhcaittililoc ipan tonalli otlacat, ic ixcoian inôma, jtlamaceoaliztica, qujmoieccaqujxtilia in jtonal, qujmonomâvilia inezcaliliztica.

In jpan chicuei mjqujztli: amo qualli, no ioan in chicunavi maçatl: njman amono qualli, tonalli, iuh mjtoaia: ca in chicunavitioaia ipan tonalli njman amo qualcan, in aquin ipan tlacatia in oqujchtli, in cioatl, njman atle ilhujl, imâceoal mochioa: ichoantin vncan tlacati in çan tlatlaneçomaltia tẽc tlaneçomaltitinemj, çan tlatlaueliloc, iollotlaueliloc, teuhtli, tlaçolli cololotinemj, tlalli cololotinemj, atlacanemj, iztlacattinemj, tlaavilqujztitinemj, aiac qujmauhcaitta, aiac ixco tlachia, aiac qujxitta, aiac qujztilia, aiac qujmamati, aiac tle ipan qujtta, aiac tle cõpoa, aiac compoa, cenca izmoqujxtia, vel ixquaujtl, yixquauhti, acan ixmavi, nônoviia, aquen tlatta, atle ipan tlatta, ãtlatlacatlaţoa, tetenquauhti, tetennemj, tenxaxacalpul, camazacalpul, tlatolcampax, tetenpatztlatoa, tetentlamati, yiztlacati, atle vel ixpan mjtoa, amo iollotlaquaoac, amo tetenpachiuhquj, amo motenmamati, iollocamachal, atle uel itic tlalilo, nenepilmaxal, tenenauotla nenepilixtlapal, tepapantlaça, teixnecujloa, teixtlaça, teoeuetlaça, amo patziaoallanj, axicchioaliztli, çan iee ipan mjxpoa, çan iee qujcemmati, çan iee

3. *Real Palacio MS: ytlamayan.*
4. *Real Palacio MS: tlacatill.*
5. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 183v.

secret. They were sowers of discord, of gossip,* who spoke with tongue in cheek; spreaders of tales. They confused, confounded, and rejected the counsel of elders. They wished not to be deflated. They were not people of honor. These same dedicated themselves to and paid strict attention to constant evil. It was their only labor. All [their] acts and efforts were repeated adultery, thievery, absconding with tribute; making off with many things by trickery, coveting, and deceiving. They were trouble-makers, interpreters of dreams, who brought others into sin, sold goods in secret, sold people in secret, spirited people away, and misled them, calling them by trickery.

None of his own food did he eat. He lived with other people, going from house to house, entering others' dwellings.

As he had been born, so he grew, shameful and deranged. Then at the start of his childhood, as he had grown in years, incorrigible, too lazy to heed the discourse, he answered impudently or blamed someone else. He was one who became wroth, who turned his face aside in rage and tossed his head in anger, who hung his head. Anger was in his face. He was completely full of evil; wickedness was deep in him. He was perverted, rude; of wicked, evil tongue. Everyone dreaded his tongue and his words. None could equal him in conversation nor best him in talking. So it was said of him: "He is perverted; only words are his lot; he is of evil temper." No man's name gave they him. Everywhere he remained aside from people. He was infamous; he remained a burden to people. Hence was he reviled, proscribed, suspected. Everywhere his life and deeds were regarded with dread. For truly, he had been born in a time of vice and sin. That is to say, indeed, only to be reviled was his gift: nothing good, nothing fine.

And the readers of the day signs bettered and remedied the nature of the day sign on which the useless one was born. They arranged that later, upon Ten Rabbit, he would be bathed and given a name. They said that if he should live, perhaps something would be his deserts, though not forthwith. Still by pain and suffering of mind and body, by his penances, he would achieve that which was to be his gift. Later, himself and of his own effort, he would achieve and acquire it, as hath already been said in many places.

icentequjuh in tlatlauelilocaiotl, much ichivil, much itequjuh, tetlâtlanxima, yichtequj, tlâtlaixpachoa, tlathanoalchioa, tetlâtlaixtoqujlia, tetlâtlaxiqujtilia, teoovicanaquja, tetlatlanamjctia, tetlatlacolnamjctia, tlatlachtacanamaca, teiichtacanamaca, teiichtacaujca, tenanaoalhujca, tenanaoalnotza, 787x

much aitlaqual in qujqua, teca nenemj, tecacalpanoa, tepan cacalactinemj:

njman iuh qujça, njman iuh motecaltia, in aquen tlatta, in atlacacemelle njmâ ipan pilpeoa, njman ipan mooapaoa, in auel monotza, aiel qujcaquja in tlatolli, çan ie tenanaoqujlia, tepan qujcuepa, tlatlauelchioanj, mjixtlaça, moquaquatlaça, iixcueloa, mjixcueloa, vel qujmaxilti, iiolaçic, tlxueliloc, vel iollocujcujtla, âtentlacatl, tentlauelilloc, muchi tlacatl qujtenjmacaçi, qujtlatolimacaçi, aiac qujtenaci, aiac vel qujtempanavia, iee injc mjtoa: atlacacemelle, çan tlatolli ilhujl, tlatolli itlaqual, aiac itlacatocaia, noviian tetenco caca, tepan onoc, tepan cenmantoc, injc aujlqujzquj, tlaitolli, tlaztacolli, noviian mauhcaitto in jnemjlix, in jtlachioal, ca nel iuhcan tlacat, in tlaçoltitlan, teuhtitlan, qujtoznequj: ca çan motqujtica aujlqujzcaiotl, in jnemac, atle qualli, atle iectli:

auh in nen ic qujqualtiaia, qujqualtiliaia tonalpouhque, in iuhquj itonal ipan otlacat, qujn ipan quitlatlaliliaia, in matlactetl tochtli: injc ipan maltiz, qujtocamacazque, qujtoaia: intla nemjz aço ça itla imâceoaltiz, iece camo caxcanviz, oc totoneoaz, chichichinacaz in jiollo, in jnacaio, itla macoaliztica qujcnopilhujz, in jnemac mochioaz, qujn inoma, qujn izcoian qujmjxnextiliz, qujn qujnomaviz, qujn qujmonomaviliz: in iuh ie mjiccan omoteûuh. [851 553]

6. *Tenanoaqui* in the *Real Academia MS.*

[p.52 is blank]

X 787 **Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the good day signs which correspond to the four houses in this sign; and it was said that the day signs of those then born were good.**

And the one day sign, the one day count Ten Rabbit, so it was said, was a very good time. Whoever was then born, whether man or woman, was of great deserts, great gifts, and riches. For just so was it said of the tenth position, when [the day sign] became the tenth. On the tenth day sign, it was always a favorable time, of gifts and recompense, as in its separate accounts[1] hath already been told. But not then, at that time, did they bathe him, on the day sign on which he had been born. They always directed their attention there to the closing day sign, later, when they bathed him and gave him a name, on [Thirteen][2] Monkey; because thereby they greatly strengthened the day sign; they improved his day sign. For, so it was said, a very good time was the closing day sign, the ending and concluding day sign, as will be told in its account.

[851] 553

And the following Eleven Water, and Twelve Dog, and the concluding Thirteen Monkey, as many as these were favorable. Ten Rabbit drew, dragged, amplified, and helped all of them, so that all four were good. It was said that anyone who was born upon these various day signs became a highly favored person; he succeeded and endured on earth.

That is to say, he was not deflated; not one of the least nor the last; nor a man without recognition. He was well respected and recognized; he was famed and honored; hence he was one who prospered, enjoyed glory, was compassionate, and served others. As a chieftain, he was strong, daring in battle, esteemed, intrepid, able, sharp-witted, quick-acting[3] prudent, sage, learned, and discreet; an able talker, and attentive. It seemed as if he set forth his dis-

Injc matlactli on navi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in qualli, tonalli: in jntech ca in nauhtetl calli: in ipan in machiotl, ioan qujl qualli intonal catca, in aquijque vncan tlacati.

Auh in ipan in cemjlhujtonalli cemjlhujtlapoalli, in matlactli tochtli: iuh mjtoa, cenca qualcan in aquin vncan tlacatia, in oquichtli, in çioatl, cenca mâceoale, ilhujle, mocujltonoanj: ipampa no iuh mjtoa, in matlactioaia, in vncâ tlamatlacti, in ipan matlactli tonalli, muchipa qualcan, vncan ca ilhujili, mâceoalli, in iuh ca itlatlatollo, in ie mjeccan omoteneuh: auh aiamo njman caltiaia, in ipan in tonalli otlacat, quin cen ompa contlachialtiaia in tonaltzonco, ipan caltiaia, quitocamacaia: in ipan matlactlonnauj oçomatli ipampa injc cenca quitonalchicaoaia, quiuecapanoaia itonal, ca iuh mjtoa: cenca qualcan in tonaltzonco, in jca tlantica tonalli, in quitlamjtica tonalli, in iuh ipan moteneoaz itlatollo.

Auh in quitoquilia matlactloce atl, ioan matlactlomome itzcuintli, ioan in tlatzonquixtia, matlactli vnej oçomatli, izquitetl qualli, muchi quicentilinja, quicenvilana, quincentetecoana, quincentlatalhuia in matlactli tochtli, ic nauhteixtin qualtin. Mitoa: in aquin vncan ipan tlacatia in izquitetl in tonalli: cenca tlacnopilhujanj muchioaia, oalquiçaia, oalnemia in tlaticpac,

quitoznequj: amo patzactzintli, amo çan tetzacuia, amo tlatzinpiloa, amo çan can nenemj, vel ixmacho teixpan icac, moteniotia momauizçotia, injc mocujltonoanj, injc maujztli, injc tetlaocolianj, injc teca muchioanj: auh injc tiacauh injc chicaoac, injc iaotlauelilloc, injc amo tetlaçaltoca, amo ixmauhquj, ioan injc motecalianj, ixe, iollo, iollotecujcujl, iolizmatquj, iolistlamatquj, tlanemjlianj, tolteca tl, mjmatinj: ioan vellatoa, vellacaquj, iuhquin mjtic quite

1. Malinalli. The Nahuatl text could also read Malinalli.
2. Read nauhtetl cozcatl.
3. Cf. yollotecujcujl in "Memoriales con escolios," pp. 299, 711.

[197] course in meditation,* full of sorrow and compassion: one who understood others well, who animated and consoled them, and was understanding. To everyone he brought happiness, as much as to comfort the afflicted and provide succor. So of him it was said that he was a deserver of merit, one of good fortune; that all then resulted as his various gifts here mentioned.

Likewise so became the desert of the woman; she became wealthy and achieved honor; she prospered at the market places as a seller of merchandise; as one who served and showed pity for others, etc.

And if such did not befall one, it was said that he himself, by his own doing, neglected and destroyed his day sign through vice, because perchance he took not good heed, perhaps did not perform the penances well, as hath already been told in many different places.

And hence was it said that it was a very favorable time on the closing day sign, on Thirteen Monkey (and the other closing day signs); hence then was when they bathed the one born on the various day signs mentioned which Ten Rabbit influenced. This was said because it was averred that four governed at this time. These [each] tarried for a day and made favorable the concluding day signs. Their names were Tlauizcalpan tecutli, and Citlalli icue, and then Tonatiuh, and Tonacatecutli. The readers of the day signs hence considered it favorable and said that precisely at this time were fortune and favor. And likewise they said that the one then born would become aged; they said that he would finish his work, endure on earth, and be admired.

itlatol, choqujaço tlaocollo, vel teitic açic, teiollapan, teiollali, vel mocaquj, muchi tlacatl qujpaqujltia, iuhqujn teaacotlaz, teiizcali: iehoatl injc mjtoa, ca mâceoale, tlacnopilhujanj, ca much oncan qujçaia, in iuhquj inemactia in jzqujtlamantli, njcan moteneoa.

No iuhquj imâceoal muchioaia in cioatl, mocujltonoaia, momaujaçotiaia, vel motitianqujanj, tiamjcaqujnj, teca muchioanj, tepan tlaocoianj. Etc.

auh intla aca amo iuhquj ipan mochioaia, mjtoa: ca ça ixcoian, inêviiâ conmocaujlia, qujmotlaçolmjctilia in jtonal: ipampa acaço uel omonotz, acaçomo uel otlamîceuh, in iuh ie mjieccan omjto.

Auh injc mjtoa: cenca qualcan in tonaltzonco, in jpan matlactlomej oçomâtli (ioan in oc cequj ipan tonaltzontli) injc vmpa qujnjquac qujmaltiaia in tlacatia in jpan in izqujtetl tonalli omoteneuh in qujncenteteoana, matlactli tochtli ipampa mjtoa, qujlmach muchipa navintin vncan tlatoa: iehoan tlacemjlhujtiltia, qujtlatalhuja in tonaltzontli itoca Tlauizcalpan tecutli, ioan citlalli icue, njman ic tonatiuh, ioan Tonacatecutli: iehoatl injc qujquallittaia tonalpouhque, in qujtoaia: ca uel vncan ca ilhujlli, nemactli, ioan no qujtoaia, veuetioaia, in aquin vncan tlacatia, qujtoaia, qujtlamjz, monemjtiz in tlalticpac, tlamaujçoz

* Quietness in the Real Palacio MS.

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Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the eighth sign, called One Grass, and the evil day signs with it. But it was said that the second house was good. And all the others, of ninth place, and all the others which started with the ninth — the tenth, the eleventh, the twelfth, and the thirteenth[1] — were said all to be good.[2]

One Grass set in. This was said to be in no wise a good day sign: a day of wild beasts, dreadful. The one then born lived only in misery. Though he found his consolation, yet it only disappeared and faded away.

And he begat children. All his children grew, like dense hair, as if in abundance. They were like trees, like rocks; the earth swelled up. But when he had already begotten, soon he experienced how his children were torn away, faded away, quickly fled, and suddenly died, en masse; all scraped clean, going along their way, buried, receding, cleared away. None remained. Death, mortality, claimed still another.

Like a wide road he gave support to his parents.[3] He was as if struck by lightning. Father and mother, each one by himself, arose, sat meditating, and bemoaned tears for the loss of his children, only afflicted, always preoccupied, deprived of everything. Gone were those who had made them proud and esteemed, those received in payment, as offerings; those who had lived together, assembled, gathered, united, esteemed, appropriated. Behold, in truth he had begotten children; in truth he had beheld them. Hence this was said to be an evil day; one only of wild beasts, full of misery.

And he who was then born, they did not then bathe; later, on the day sign Three Ocelot, they bathed him. The readers of the day signs so said that the third position was always a favorable time. It

Inje caxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicuetetl machiotl, in jtoca ce malinalli: ioan in amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, auh qujl injc onmetl calli qualli: ioan in jxqujch oc cequj chicunauhtetl in jxqujch oc cequj, in jtech vmpeoa injc chicunauhtetl calli, ie injc matlactetl, ioan injc oce, injc omome, inic vmei, qujlmach qualli catca.

Moquetza ce malinalli, injn mjtoa: njman amo qualli tonalli, tequanj, imacaxonj, in aqujn ipã tlacatia, çan motolinjtinenca, tel qujttaia in jneiollaliliz: auh çan ompoli, çan onqujztiquiça,

ioan mopilhoatiaia, muchintin moquetzaia, in jpilhoan, iuhqujn tlaquauhtzonquiça, iuhqujn tlaneujuja, iuhqujn quavitl manj, tetemmanj, tlalli cuecuetlaca: auh in ie oqujchiuh çan jc qujmati, in iuhquj motlãpevia ypilhoan, onmototocatiuetzi, onmototocatiquiça, muchintin onmjctiuetzi, ololiuhtiuj, mocempjchictivi, oncemoti, onmotoca, onmototocatiuj, onjchictiuj, aocac mocaoa, in oc ce conpeoalti mjquiztli, mjquilizzli,

iuhqujn otli patlaoac qujmonquechilia, yoampoaan, icetcaiooan, itlapancaiooa, itzicuecoallooa, ycotoncaoa, icotoncaioa, icaçoan, itlapalloa iuhqujn ipan tlatlatzinj in teta, in tenan, iioca moquetztiquiça, motztimotlalia, mjxaioujtoma, injc oqujmonpolo ypilhoan, ça itolol, ymalcoch qujchiuhtica, centlamjc qujmattica, qujcentlamjtica, oiaque in intech ontlamatia, in jntech ocuecuenotia, in oqujmonpopoaia, in jxco oqujnmanaia, in oqujtepeujtinenca, in ocololhujtinenca, in oqujtztepeujaia, ocololhujaia, oqujmomactocac, omonelchiuh, ie on ma nelli omopilhoati, ie on ma nelli oqujmjttac: ichoatl injc mjtoa, amo qualli tonalli, çan tequanj, motqujica icnoiotl:

auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, aiamo caltiaia, quje jpan caltiaia, in cy oçelotl, cemilhujtonalli, iuh quj-[851]
ttaia, in tonalpouhque, ca muchipa qualcã in citiotia, amo netemmachoia, ichoatl injc qujoallatotoquj-

1. *Mixcóatl is mentioned in the last three numbers.*

2. *Corresponding Spanish text: "Capítulo quinze, del octauo signo. Ruinosa es malinalli, y de su abuenos pronosticos. Los segundos eran dessi signos: tenjendo por buenos, y conforuadoiuntos todos los otros, de nouaui ordiba, i 10. 11. 12. 13: los tenjan por buenos."*

3. Cf. Olmos, op. cit., p. 212.

A 787 was not hopeless. This one the readers of the day signs thus sought out so that they might then somewhat better the day sign of the one born on One Grass.

liaia tonalpouhque, injc achi vncan quijqualtiliaia itonal, in jpan tlacatia ce malinalli.

778 And the day sign Two Reed, which followed, they said was a very good day sign; because also at that time they honored Tezcatlipoca Titlacauan by placing the image of [a god] called Omacatl. In the same manner [as Tezcatlipoca][4] was the face painted; they ornamented it when they placed it.

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Auh in quitoquilia, vme acatl tonalli quitoaia vel qualli in tonalli: ipampa ca no vncan quitonaltiaia yn Tezcatlipuca, titlacaoa, injc quitlaliaia ixiptla itoca Omacatl: çan no ivi in mjchioaia, ic quichichioaia, injc quitlaliaia:

And whosoever wished to place the image of Omacatl guarded it in his home for two hundred [days]. He placed it on the day sign Two Reed. And if he who placed it did something well, that is, if now his goods and possesions increased and appeared, no more did he wish to relinquish it. He just placed and introduced it permanently into his home, and guarded it for a long time.

auh in aquin quinequja, quitlaliaia in jxiptla Omacatl, matlacpoaltica in quipiaia ychan, ipan in quitlaliaia, vme acatl tonalli, auh intla ie itla vel maaiiia, in aquin oquitlali, quitoznequj: intla ie tlapiuja, ixneçi, iaxca itlatquj, aocmo quicaoaliztlamatia, çan quicentlaliaia, quicencalaquiaia in jchan, vecauhtica quipiaia:

And if now he wished to abandon it, and no longer to guard it, he likewise abandoned it on the day sign Two Reed. This same one chose his day sign; on [the day sign] in which he had placed it, on it likewise he abandoned it. He left it there at his temple in the tribal district of Omacatl, and went offering it incense. And there, to take it, would go he who earlier had wished to guard it in his home. The old men of the tribal district accompanied it with song; the [new] householder served food to the people; there was feasting and drinking in his home. And when it grew dark there was drunkenness. In the same way was the placing and termination. Then was the breaking off and the finishing; then they observed the two hundred days of guarding it in one's home when [the image] entered as well as when it left.

auh intla ie oquinec in quicaoaz, in aocmo quipiaz: çan no ipan in quicaoaia vme acatl tonalli, çan iee quimattiuja in itonal, ipan in quitlaliaia, no ipan in quicaoaia: vmpa concanaia in jteupan, in jcalpulco omacatl, quitlenamaquilitiuh: auh vmpa canatiuh, in aquin oc ie oquinec, quipiaz ichan, quicuicatiaia in calpuleque, ic tetlatlaqualtia in chane, tlatlaqualo, aztlioa, yn jchan: auh in oiooac tlatlacoano, çan ie iuh tlatlahili, çan ie iuh tlatecolli, çan vncan tectica, çan ie vncan tlantica, çan ie vncan quimattiaia, in matlacpoaltica pialoia techan iquac calaquia, no iquac quiçaia:

A 787 And, it was said, he who was then born, they said, would become rich and wealthy. And well would he gain his livelihood. What he might do would not fail. He would find his consolation.

auh mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, quitoaia mocuiltonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan vel muchioaz in jnetlaiecoltiliz, in tlein maaiiiz, amo nenquiçaz, vel quittaz in jneiollaliliz.

And on Four Eagle, and Five Vulture, and Six Motion, so it was said, these various day signs were in no way good. They were always as hath been said. For him who was then born, his fate, his gifts, were the same: misery. He lived given to talking; he would bear false witness; accusations were made; there were outcries; among others he lived in vice, corruption, and evil, as hath already in many places

Auh yn jpan nauj quauhtli, yoan macuijlli cozcaquauhtli, yoan chiquacen olin, iuh mjtoa: njman amo tle qualli in jxquitetl yn, tonalli, çan muchipa iuh mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan yee in jlhuijl, inemac in netolinjliztli, yoan tlatolli cololhujtinemj, tetlatolevia, yoan tlatolevilo, oiovilo, tenepantla quitlalitinemj in xixtli, cujtlatl, in aqualli: in juhquj ye mjieccan omoteneuh. Auh in oc nen ic quijqualtiliaia

4. At this place in the Real Palacio MS a marginal note in Sahagún's hand reads: "de la ceremonia de la yma[g]e de Tezcatlipuca."

been said. But for him who yet lived, the readers of the day signs made it good. Later, when Seven Flint Knife took its place, they then bathed him,[3] because, as was said, the seventh place was always a favorable time. Nothing thus damaged the day sign; precisely at this time were fortune and gifts, for it was the time of the rituals of [the goddess] Chicome coatl, etc.

And Eight Rain and Nine Flower: already hath it been told and revealed how then was a time of evil. For then was when were born the thieves, the adulterers, etc. — those to be feared and dreaded on earth, who mocked people, the perverted, as many times is mentioned in the separate accounts.

And on Ten Crocodile, so they said, it was a favorable time. Then were born the rich, the wealthy, the satisfied, the content, the happy on earth, men and women. Just so were the following — Eleven Wind, and Twelve House, and Thirteen Lizard. Ten Crocodile bore them all with *it*, and favored them all. These different concluding four day signs were good. So all went traveling in their course. Those there which achieved the "ten"[1] position were all of a favorable time. Thus came arriving the thirteenth day sign, which concluded [the group of day signs].

tonalpouhque: quijn jpan qujtlaliaia in chicome tecpatl, iquac caltiaia ipampa ca omjto, ca muchipa qualcan in chicometioaia: atle ye itlacauhtica in tonalli, vel vncan ca ilhujlli, nemactli: ca ytlatoaia in chicome coatl. et.[2]

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Auh in chicuei qujaujtl, ycan chicunavi xuchitl: ie omito, ye omoteittiu in quenjn amo qualcan vncan yn: ca vncan in tlacatia, in qujçaia in jchtequjnj, in tetlatlixima. Etc. yn imacaxonj, in mauhcaittonj tlalticpac, in teca mocacaiaoa, in atlacacemelleque in iuh mjec tlamantli omoteneuh itlatlatolla.

Auh in jpan matlactli cipactli: iuh qujtoa, qualcan vncan tlacatia, in mocujltonoa, in motlacamati, in avia, in vellamati, in pacuj tlalticpac, in oquichtli, in çioatl, çan ie no iuhçuj, in qujtoqujlitica matlactloce hecatl, ioan matlactlomome calli, ioan matlactlomej cuetzpalin, qujncenvica qujocentlatalhuja in matlactli cipactli, izquiteme qualtin in ontlatzonquixtia, nauhteme tonaltin, çan moch iuh otlatocatiuj, in vncā oaçic matlactioaia ie qualcan, in jzquich ie onacitica matlactli vmej tonalli, in tlatzonquixtia.

1 A [i.e., A person born on Four Eagle, Five Vulture, or Six Motion, all unlucky days. – Analyst]

[p. 58 is blank]

3. The (unclear) is an element in the Nahuatl terms for shrine, temple, and thrown.

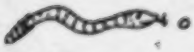

A 187 **Sixteenth Chapter**, which telleth of the ninth sign, called One Serpent.[1] It was considered a good day sign, if those same ones then born did not harm it. And the merchants expected much of it, because of their way of livelihood.

One Serpent set in. It was said to be a good day sign. Of one born on it, they said his deserts and merits would be to become wealthy. There would be wherewith to eat and drink. And in war, in time of battle, he would become a brave warrior and a chieftain; he would attain renown, honor, glory, and fame. Perchance he would be a ruler or a lord. And if it were a woman, she would be quite rich; she would be a good provider; she would be well-born. She would look to and guard the services and the property of our lord. She would be a guardian and administrator. Much would she gather, collect, save, and justly distribute among her children.

But it was also said that although such became the deserts of one then born (as is already said in many places), if he did not diligently do penance, if he paid not good heed, he indeed failed, and personally brought upon himself that he lost through neglect, and destroyed and ruined what were his deserts. This was because he neglected things, worked unwillingly, was lukewarm, and lacked forethought and diligence. Indolent, he let nothing be done. He was careless, exceedingly careless, slothful, negligent, listless, and slow; a great and heavy sleeper. And he was incorrigible. He would only neglect things through laziness; advice offended and angered him.

So it was said of him: "So he is; he made no provision for food, for there was constant running about." There was no getting to bed, no arising; he stretched his limbs, quite exhausted by fatigue and effort. To no purpose did he give or publicly display wealth and prosperity, and the joys and comforts of wealth.

A 187 And it was said that on One Serpent the merchants and vanguard merchants,[2] the exploring

Injc castolli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicunauhtetl machiotl, in jtoca ce coatl: quijmach qualli tonalli: intlacamo çan ichoantin quijtlacouque in vncan tlacati: auh in puchteca cenca quijmatatacaia, in jpampa in jnnetlaiecoltiliz.

Moquetza ce coatl: injn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: in aquijn ipã tlacatia, quijtoaia: ilhujle, maceoale iez, mocujltonoz, oniez in quijquaz, in quijz, auh in iaoc, in iaopan, ocpujchtiz, tiacauhtiz, momaviçoaiz panvetziz, maviçoaz, motenjotiz, ,aço tlatocatiz, tecutiz, auh intla cioatl, vel motlacamatiz, vel motlaiecoltiz, vel motlacatiz, quijtlaz, quijpiaz in jteicneliliz, in jcocoauh totecujo, tlaçaloanj, tlapachoanj iez. vel quijntlaçalhujz, quijntlapachilhujz, quijntetzontiz, quijntlatlamachiz in jpilhoan,

auh ioan mjtoa, maçivi in iuhquj in inemac mochioa, in jpan tlacati (ca ie omjto mjeccan) intlacamo iẽ vellamaceoa, intlaczmo vel mototeza, catle vioquiça, ca ixcoian conmocauilia, quijmjxcaoaltia, quijmopolhuja, quijmopopolhuja, in jmaceoal ocatca: ipampa içan tlatlacomati, tlazvilmati, tlaquelchioa, tlatlacanequj, quijtenmati, acontlaeltia, aiel atle conmochichioaltia, vel cujtlatzcopic, cujtlatzcocopic, cujtlananaca, cujtlaçotlac, cujtlatzol, quijtenmatitl, cochpal, cochmjmjl: ioan auel monetza, çan quijtenmati, quiçquammati, quijtlauelchioa, in tlatolli,

ichoatl injc mjtoa: ca nel amatcauja, in qualonj, ca netotoquililo, amo neteteco, amo nequequetzalo: vel iuquich maana, vel ontlamj in ciaujztli, in tlapaliuiztli, amo çan motenenmaca, amo çan teixpanvetzi, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli, in netlacamatilizzli, in netlacamachilizzli.

Ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce coatl, cenca quijqualittaia in puchteca, in ortomeca, in jaque, in nẽnemjnj, in

1. In the MS. apparently an epithet has been corrected to read *ce coatl*.
2. P. *supra*, Chap. 12.

1 — 27 merchants[3] and traveling men, those who entered diaz x lands, regarded [the day] as very favorable. It was their day sign and time count, when [a merchant] took to the road and set forth to far lands.

And he who was about to set forth, when he had prepared himself and filled and made ready the carrying-frames, then summoned, gathered, assembled together, assembled together,[4] and notified his elders, the old merchants. They were given drink, food, and wine, in order to make it publicly known that this one now wished to depart and go hence; to break away; that he still wished to abandon the people and disappear. And, it was said, he still wished to be extinguished from view for a time. In this way he made it clear to the people; he made it very clear to the people. That is to say, it was well known to those who yet tarried in their homes, to those who went nowhere.

vecacalaquijnj, innonalpan catca, intlapoalpan catca, ichoatl qujxtivia, vncan vmpeuaia in veca:

auh in aquja ic vmpeoaz in omochichinah, in otlacacaxten, in otlacacaxchichinh: nijman tetlhuja, qujncentlalia, qujnoechicoa, qujnoechicoa, qujnochitia in jveveiovan, in puchteca veuetque, atlaca, tlaquaio, tlacaoa, injc teixpan motlalia, in aquja ic onchoiotecoaznequj, ic onnonpatzteoaznequj, ic onueotzteoaznequj, in oc ontlalcaujznequj, oc onpolihuiteoaznequj, ioan mjtua: oc onnjacaujznequj, quexqujch caujtl injc teixco oncuetz, onoch teixcoveuetz, qujtoznequj cenca ic mucho, in jc ic vecaoa ichan, in jc aoccanpa inah.

3. Cf. Sahagún (Cuevas ed.), Vol. IV, p. 271.

4. In the MS. quatro-form is repeated.

The Seventeenth Chapter telleth of the admonitions of the old merchants when they counseled their sons as they were about to depart and gain their livelihoods in distant places, when for the first time they wished to go and set forth.

Injc cauitilli omonne capitulo: ierehpa tlatoa, in jnnemoouiztzalis puchteca, in veuetque, in quijnjlhujain inpilhoan, in jequac ic omeuauque, in veca motlaiccoltizque, in quja jiepa iaznequi, vmpeoaznequi.

And then the old men brought each one; they greeted, animated, and encouraged him; they prepared and singled him out; they greeted him with tears, prepared him to receive misery and torment, etc.

Auh njmuan ic oncoiaca quiclatlauhtia in veuetque: quijlapaloa, qujchicaoa, quellaquaua, qujeznilos, ko quijpia, quichoquiztlapaloa, quiztlaquammaca in netolinjliztli, in tlalhiovilizttli. Er°.

They said to him: "Thou art here, O my son, my beloved son; O youth, my beloved youth! O noble youth, thou hast sought out, beckoned to, and commanded thy mothers and fathers, the merchants, the vanguard merchants, the exploring merchants. Verily, here thou looksest into their faces; thou knowest them. Ah! They will leave and offer their a word of advice and counsel. This they have carried and borne; it turned and trained,[1] so that they benefited in such places as the mountains and the deserts.

Quijlhuja ca njcan tonca nopiltze, nopilxine, telpuchtle, notelpuxe, telpuxtzze: ca otiquimontemo, otiquimontzatzili, otiquimonenenotzallan, in monocan, in motaheuan, in puchteca, in ectoneca, in iaque: ca njcan imjxco, ymjcpac, titlachia, tiquimonjximati, ỳ mjexcavilizque, ỳ mjxmacazque in oztentli, yn oencamatl, in jntlatequja, yn jntlamomaia, in jntlacacabtiaia, in jntlacaxapoaia, injc otlamaviçoque, in iuhcan in quauhtla, in çacatla:

"And this is the word of advice and counsel with which I counsele thee, who art my beloved son. So I became thy mother and father; so thou hast me as protector and comforter. Thou who art poor shalt already set forth from and leave the city, thy house—Mexico, Tlatelolco, or Tenochtitlan. Already thou art about to abandon and forsake thy kinsmen; already thou art about to abandon thy home, the room of thy house, thy homeland, the resting-place of thy head, thy child's crib, thy hair-tuft. Already thou cannot to One Serpent, the straight way, the wide road;[2] already thou followest along and greet toward the desert and the plain.

auh injn ca njcan oztentli, oencamatl, ic njmjxiollalia, ic njmjxchicaoa in tinopilxin, inic njmona, njmota, injc timomonmati, injc timotamati: timotelinja, ca ic tonmoquetzaz, ic tocuatlalcaviz in aheperl, in mochan in mexico, in tlatlulco, anoço in tenochtitlan, ic tiquimonenehiaz, ic tiquimilcuahcoaz, in mozoniolque: ic tontlacauhcoaz in mochan, in mocalitic, in moquijcaua, in moiolcaz ỹ moquechcozcan iauacan, in momanaual, anoço momatzcan, ic tocomamjquiz in oc coatl, in vtli melauac, in vchpantli, ic tocuitocoa, ic tonmomjquiz in jztlaoatl, in vei tlalli.

"Wretched art thou, O my son, O youth! Exert all thy force. Where, in truth, shalt thou live? Shalt thou purchase die here? O that somewhere the

Timotelinja nopiltze, telpuchtle, ma xinellaquaua, can nel timomemjxia? cuix njcan timomjquiliz? ma caca iatlauhco, popouhto: in inchoquiz, in jztlaocol,

1. Cf. Angel Maria Garibay K., *Elogio del sabiduría* (Mexico: Imprenta Mayfl, S. A., 1958), p. 169, for use of imperfect, charqui, chocolate, chocolatillo, and chocolatero could be considered as "punctuation." Cf. Olmos, op. cit., p. 311, and Sahagún, op. cit.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), IX, 3, 2: "Ca ueuel otli tonhuetzi, quiz ic ueue de los ueuetzi cuauhtzin o tlipan de la ueue ollitzinoanda."

441 tears, the pity of thy elders, the old ones, may go as
442 reward and recompense, to gird and clothe thee.
461 For[3] thus did thy elders go. For they went learning of war, performing the way of life of the road. So with struggle they gained and sought [honors] from him by whom we live. So they prayed.[4]

"But [as for] this: then to it! Be covered and engulfed by torment. For now shalt thou come to know, feel, and deal exclusively with misery, hunger, starvation, thirst, emptiness,[5] fatigue.[6] For verily thy provisions have ended--that with which one hath traveled. Pyhaps thou shalt chew dry tortillas — parched tortillas, wretched, tough-cooked things, ill-smelling tamales. Perhaps thou shalt drink sour, bitter water, dirty and foul.

"And verily, thou shalt draw near to, approach, and come against the menacing river, which seemeth a torrent, roaring and crashing as it sweepeth by. It carrieth everything with it and goeth destroying great trees. And there shalt thou wait some days; thou shalt be isolated by the water; thou shalt suffer with thy pangs of hunger and unrest.

"If thou wouldst gain honor by such as this, O my son, be not shameless; do not faint; be not womanish. Give thyself completely to the torment; enter into it; deliver thyself to it with all thy force, so preparing for it, etc. For verily thou seekest and travelest into such places as thy elders, the old men, served. For they thus hurled themselves at and delivered to torment, and exposed themselves to danger and adversity. For not without reason did the merchants take and find leadership and the wisdom of old age, become leaders, and receive their authority in exchange.

"And of this, O poor youth, if something should be thy reward and deserts, if our lord should show esteem by something for thee, thou must first feel and profit by the pain, the afflictions, the privations, the ambushes. Such is exacted from those who go from city to city. Yet there will be times of need. Thou shalt become tired and worn out; thou shalt stand exhausted; thou shalt go wearied by heat, spent by winds. Thy face will become dust-covered and

in mauchihuacoua, in vevetique: in ajcan ic mijxapapa, ic mijxaqujmilpa: a ninhiquac in mauchihuacoua, ca intoxuah, intlachiaul oquijmoxtiuiquac, oquijchichiaque in vili, in xenecujlistli, injc oquijlamatzaquijlaque oquijtlatlanjlistiquac in tlaqui in necaqui, injc ixillan, ixuacalan ommatlahtiquac:

auh inja, mocuric timalinj, ma xocontimalo in tlaihiovilistli, ca ic ticonmatia, ic ticonjacaqui, ic ticoncorrmatiz in netolinjlistli, in ajquinjquijlistli, in teociujlistli, in anijquilistli, in atecocoquijlistli, in cinnamiquijlistli: auh in nel otlatlan in motacatzin, in motlaocacia: cujx a tiomoquahia, in tlacalaquapitztli, in tlaxcalhuaquchtli, in teoquechtzintli, in tamaliacatzintli: auh cujx a tiomjxin in xococ atl, in alchichic, in tlachtli, in atzaatl.

Auh ca itech tacjtiah, itech tipachiujtiah, itech timomatzonatiah in temamauhti atl, in inhuqui çolonj, in inhuqui teteocjcatiah xaxamacatiah ic itah, in mach quijujca quijxiacohtiah, vevei quaujtl: auh ca vncan tiquecaquijhuijx, timotzaqua, tiltlahtiuiqu in mocujlaxoahica, in mocuetequijtica:

inclu tiomaujqua, in inhuqui in, nopilzac, ma titlapinauhti, ma titlacocoxtiuiqo, ma timocicuitlamachti, if xicmocenmaca, itlan xaqui, xicmoxlaquamaca, ic ximotezilo in tlaihiovilistli. Ea.[6] ca nel ic in tictomoa, ca ic in tictotocac, ca inhuan otlacotique in mauchihuacoua, in vevetique, ca ic ommotlaque oquijmomacaque in tlaihiovilistli: injc amo oquijlaçotlaque in jntomocoua, yn jmatchiquijuh, ca amo cacujque quijcacujque injc oquijtaque in tachcauhtiul, in vevetiol, injc ic petlati, ic icpahi, injc ic cuatlanevi in jequtl, in jmicpal in puchuca.

Auh in y, timotelinja teipachtic, intla itla mocaqui, momakonal mochiouac intla itla ipan mijxpoua tatecujo: ca oc tacoujxua, oc tacomaujqua in tococo, in tewilinj, in aicoltiztli, in teiacaqua quijquijx: in iuh quijmotaqua in aoacan, teponacan: ca oc vmpa onoçiqua, tiolamujquijx, timocicuppoua, timocicuhquetztica, timoalicuetzica, tevcachuahtica, tiltlahtzin timochichuhtica, tiztlahcuhpipiacuhtica, mijquatzin tlatlatica, mijxualtzin tiomacujxica, vel timo-

3. *Real Palacio MS.*: ca.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y en esto, generoso de hombre que mereciere, como de quien los hombres valieren, en la guerra, con esto ganaban, alcançaban de nuestro señor, los alcançaban que decaron." Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiii, fol. 28b (modified, emendation equal).

5. *Amoxcuepaqui*: problematical; *a-ix-mocuepaqui* equal?

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "es necessario que te esforçes, y dispida andares, para traer los trabajos, que es como aparejarlos, que son, hambre, y sed, y cansancio, y falta de mantenimientos."

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deathly white. Thy forehead will burn; thou shalt wipe the sweat off with thy hand; indeed thou shalt be bathed [in it]. In the corner, by the wall, behind the door, thou shalt hang thy head. Thy stomach will stick to thee [from hunger].'

'Thou shalt go into, entering, and leaving, city after city. Thou shalt be in danger; it will not be well with thee. That is to say, perchance it will not prosper; perhaps thy stock of goods, thy just deserts, thy dealings, will not result well. Thou shalt be long-suffering; thou shalt shed tears. Thy good deeds will not bear fruit, for fatigue will take thy measure. Indeed, thy breath and courage will end.[8]

'Perhaps somewhere in a gorge, at the mouth of a canyon, on some high place, at the base of a rock, at the foot of a tree, shalt thou sleep. Perchance somewhere thou shalt be destroyed; our lord will end thy existence. And perhaps thou shalt never come to make thy way back. For no one knoweth.

'Yet may it be well with thee. Go praying to our lord for mercy. Be not negligent. Think only of and be dedicated to penances. Be diligent in providing water for the washing of the face and hands, and in sweeping and gathering up rubbish.[9]

'Leave no one behind them, etc.[10] Do not take to thy feet leaving one unaided behind thee. That is to say, do not go retreating in haste, running to the rear, fleeing in battle, following thy rear back. Remember one thing: go knowing, devoted, and dedicated to suffering. Perhaps he by whom we live will give thee something as thy desert and merit.

'Perhaps once more thy mothers, thy fathers, and thy kinsmen will look thee in the face. Verily, what thou shalt eat and drink will be the advice we here give thee. For with all this we gird, fortify, and bind thee. We thy mothers and fathers implore thee: pay good attention; look well; take care, O my son. Go in peace, having thy mom and uncles, etc.'

In this manner did they animate and encourage the one not yet much experienced — who perhaps

livis in texamulo, in tecalitech, in tetlatzacujhtitlan, timotlahtiniex, mocujtlaxcol motech motemacaxex,

timotlaquix, timocacalaquix, timoquijquijxtix: in aoacan, tepetlacan, timotzotzonoaz, timocacapanja, quijxnaxquj: ac aço can tle uel oemochiouz, ac aço can tle omomaquixix in motianujc, in mocnopillo, in monenthuatzia, ca uel icnoiouz in moiollo, mjxaiotzin ticmaxnotlaz: amo ticazcauia, in mocnelloca, ca timjhiotzmochiouz, vel ontlamja in mjhiio in motlapalinja:

in aço cana atlauhtic, atlauhcamac, tlacopac, uel itzintlan, quauitl itzintlan timocochitia, in aço cana timopopolinjx, mjxtlatia totecujo: auh in anoçoc mjlech, momecxepol tlochinaquixuh: caiac vetlamati,

ma oc iê moiolic: xicxotlaocolmoochilitiuh in totecujo, ma timoniccauh, ma xoconjacauj, xocôcenmati in tlamacoualiztli, xicmocujtlauj in tecuaapaquixtli, in tendequjlizti: auh in tlachpanaliztli, in tlacujcujlizti,

macamo oc mdnjca, motepuzaco xiqual. Et macamo oc mdnjca, motepuzaco xiqual. Et macamo ommjcampa, motepuzaco xiqualquetzinuh in mocxi, quijxnaxquj, macamo xitzintlaccatiuh, macamo xitzinquijxtiuh, macamo xitzinquijxcatlaiccotiuh, xicalnacazitzinuh, maca tle xiquallimamjctiuh: ma çan ontlamjc xocomamatiuh, ma xocomomamatiuh, xocomacaquiuh, in tlalhinujlizti, açiela mjtzmocualtia, mjtzilhujtia in tloque, nauaque:

açoc oppa mjaco, mocpac tlachianque in mocnoan, in motecuan, in mocnoniolque: ca tioquan, ca tiquin in nican ic timjxnomotza, a inquich ic timjxnolquza, timjxnomotzilos, aço timjxilquia in timocnoan, in timotecuan, timjxtlatlauhtia, tlê ticmati, tle ticmomachtia, tlê ticmaxcaxinti nequlizz, ma iolic xinoviciuh, xiquimotlaiccuj in manjoli in motlaxan. Et.

Ivin in quellaquoxia, in quichicauia, in xiuno ceuca intlamati, in aço quin jiqua uvica, motevicalhia,

7. *Ibid.*: "tendrás la lengua pegada a las mandíbulas de tanudez."

8. *Ibid.*: "Y durmas dentro, en ellugar la dicha de la cerca de cualquier manadeiro; que por ventura no te acontezca, y dentro andarás cansado, y llorarás; y ahumado algun cuidado, o buenas ocasiones: aunque de ser afligido, y cansado, hasta la ultima de guardado."

9. *Ibid.*: "Ahogando lamentaciones a los compañeros en cosas humildes; cosas en dar agua a manos, y barrer, etc."

10. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book III, "The Origin of the Gods," p. 40; Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 204 (*Ale hier, hinter dir* [*zurückgeblieben sind*]); Garibay, op. cit., p. 330 (*[illegible]*). For *ciquil*, read *ciquilnaquiuh* or a similar form. The text is garbled, as is seen in the Anderson edition of the MS.

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for the first time went with and was one of a company of others [going to] places of which he wished to know, and departing for distant lands. Yet everywhere they cared for him, teaching and instructing him with these words. In such places as the forests and deserts he realized the estate of merchant or vanguard merchant.[11]

in canqa ic ontlamatiz. ynic, injc ic vmpeua veca, oc nevian quincuitia, qu, ·itlatiztia, quiititlachiellitia in jniantitica, in iuhcan quenhtia, çacatla in amaxacavia in puchtecaiotl, in ozomecaiotl.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "Desde manera los mercaderes viejos, o los mercaderes, que mercaderear iuntos con otros mercaderes, o nuevos estudios o mercaderes: los habiamos, y enseñauan: y porque deseauan los trabajos, y dificultades, en que se mapan de ver: assi en los poblados, como en los desiertos con la procuracion de su oficio, de mercaderia."

Eighteenth Chapter. Here are told [what] the talk and discourse were of these same old merchants which they repeated to their sons who already knew distant lands.

And [as for] him who already many times had returned and come back from there and who already had beheld such [distant] places as the inhabited and populated areas, dangerous and ominous places, places of torment, they said little to him; only something well-chosen, measured,[1] approved, complimentary, discreet, agreeable, moderate, pleasing, and commending. No more was it very long and extended; no more on all occasions did they speak, nor annoy him, nor speak lightly, nor harangue inconsiderately.

Only this did they say to him: "Here thou art, O youth. No more art thou a child; no longer art thou like one afraid. For already thou hast regarded and witnessed thy dust-covered places, thy explored places, thy traveled areas which thou hast wished to know.

"In such places as forests, deserts, and cities, there is nothing to bring thee defeat, to frighten, daze, impede, or terrify thee. For already thou hast beheld all places, such as the markets, places where the merchants deal. Behold, we know not whether thy mothers and fathers lose thee forever. Perhaps thou goest for good; perhaps thou goest to be lost; perhaps somewhere into a canyon or a desert thou shalt be forced, and shalt perish; perchance in some city thou shalt come to an end. Perhaps once and for all thou art seen. Yet know and carry in thy heart that thou goest fortified by the tears and compassion of thy mothers and fathers. And if still something may become the reward of us, the old men, perhaps yet thou shalt come back and make thy return, that once more we may know thee.

"And now, take care. Travel the road with caution, lest thou stumble upon something. For desolate,

Injc caxtolli vmei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in tlatolli, in jntenonotzalia catca, in çan ie no ichoantin, puchteca veuetque, in qujmjlhujaia in inpilhoan in ie onmatia veca. 491 484

Auh in aquin ie mjiecpa ileti, ie mjiecpa mocuepa, in ie onjtztica in iuhcan incntla, inemja, in oujcan, in temamauhtian, in tlaihiioujliztitlan: ça quexqujch in qujlhuja, ca eecauhquj, ca ixieecauhquj, ça tlaiecolli, ça tlauelittalli, ça tamachiuhquj, ça tlaqualittalli, ça ipan qualli, ça ipan tlauelittalli, ça ipan tlaiecolli, aocmo cenca viiac, aocmo cenca vitlatztic, aocmo cenca noviian ontlatoa, aocmo noviian qujnemjtia, aocmo çan ilhujztlatoa, aocmo ça iliviz tlatztoa:

ça ixquich in qujlhuja. Ca njcan tonca telpuchtle: ca aocmo tipiltontli, aocmo tiuhquj titenmachonj, ca ie tonjztica, ie tontlachixtica, ie mjxtlalopan, ie mjxnentla, ie mjxonjcac, in vmpa tontlamatixnequj,

in iuhcan in quauhtla, çacatla, in aoacan, in tepeocti, aocmo tle ic tontlapolotiaz, aoc tle ic tonjxmamauhtiaz, tonjxmjmjctiaz, aoc tle mjtztzicololtiz, aoc tle mjtzixtilquetzaz: ca ic noviian tonjztica, in iuhcan in tlaiecoaian, in tlacotia in oztomeca: ca amo ticmati, anoço ie iccen mjtzixcaoa, in monaoan, in motaoan, aço ie iccen tiauh, aço ie cana tonuetztiiuh, aço cana atlauhtli, ixtlaoatl itic timaquiltitoz, timopopoliujtitoz, aço cana tictlastoz in altepetl, aço ie cenmanian mjxco mocpac ontlitlachia, ca tel iuh qujmattiuh in moiollo, ca moiollo itlan ietiuh, ca ic timellaquauhtiuh, yn juchoquja, yn jntlaocol in monaoan, in motaoan: auh intla ontjtla tomiiceoal, in tiveuetque, in açoc mjloch, monecuepal ticmochiujliqujuh, ca oc cppa timjtzixiximatizque.

Auh in axcan tlê ticmomachitia: ma iiolic xoconmotoqujli in vtli, ma itla tocontjcxinamjc: ca amo

1. *Real Palacio MS: ça yuuuuhqui, ça tiuuhuuhqui.*

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ferocious, cruel, and peopled by evil men, spreadeth the wasteland.[2] Carefully thou shalt go taking by the hand, each of them, gathering in groups, ordering, assembling, and bringing together, thy younger brethren. Do not abandon them disdainfully. Advise them as thou goest, that they may take grass and reeds and with them fashion seats [for their elders], there at the places of rest. However, all this we have given — our sighs, our discourses — to such as teachers, forest people, desert people, merchants, travelers, etc. But no longer is it necessary to relate so much to thee. For here we only encourage thee somewhat. Little by little offer thyself to the torment. Use all thy force. Thou knowest what is required, O my beloved son."

When he had been supplicated, then he also returned a few words. Thus he answered and said:

"I thank you for the favor you have shown me, O brave men. You have left me consolation. Who am I? What am I that I deserve this short talk, your encouragement, your motherliness and fatherliness? For you have opened to me [counsel] which was in your bowels, your breasts, which lay resting, guarded, and folded like precious feathers well-curved and well-pointed; like a green stone, round and well-polished; like fine turquoise, well-rubbed and glistening. Doubtless I shall treasure you; for so, covering me, penetrating my bowels and my breast, and resting in my heart, go your fatherliness and motherliness, which are not due from you. Etc.

"But this I beg you. What will our lord grant? Perchance I shall yet come to look you in the face. For now I leave you. See to the sweeping and cleaning — the little tasks of sweeping, gathering of rubbish, and laying of fires. Let it not grow dark, nor rubbish stand cast about, in my humble house. Continue to do this. I go leaving only my beloved mother, my beloved great aunt, my beloved elder sister,[3] my beloved aunt, etc. For I go troubled and saddened on their account. Do your duty to them; advise them. Let no one make sport of them. Perchance our lord may somewhere destroy me. So all I thus entrust to you, and my heart is content."

tlacacemelletoc: ca tequanicaoc, motequanioticoc, amo tlaca onoc in çacatl in tlacotl, ma ivian in matitech xiquimonantiuh, xiquimonkantiuh, xiquimonololotiuh, xiquimotepeujtiuh, xiquimoncenquixtitiuh, xiquimõnechicotiuh in mateiccaoan: ma tiquimonnoxiccaujli, ma xiquimonnoxtiuh: injc contecaujlizque in çacatzintli, in pepetzintli: ioan injc contetlalilizque, intsicpaltzin, in campa necuijoian, ca tel ixquich o, in otiquinmacaque in tihiio, in totlatol, in iuhquj in tlacaoapaoaia, in quauhtlaca, in çacatlaca, in puchteca in jaque et.[a] ca aocmo monequj in quexquich timjtzacaqujtizque, ca çã nican achitzin ic timjtzonchicaoa, ma iocuica itlã nonmaquijti in tlaihiiovilizztli, ma ixquich motlapaltzin, tle ticmomachitia nopiltze:

in jquac otlathauhtiloc, nijman no ic cen camatzintli ic tlacuepa, ic tlananequjlia, qujtoa

Oannechmocnelilique in ocelequjchtle: otlacauhquj in amoiollotzin, ac nehoatl, ac nijnomati, in nican cen camatzintli nijquicnopilhuja, yn amotechicaoalitzin, in amotenaniotzin, amotetaiotzin, ca nocontlapoa in amoxillantzinco, amotozcatlantzinco actica, in cepouhtoc, in cepoatoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc, in iuhquj quetzalli, in vel vitoliuhquj, in vel iaque, auh in iuhquj chalchiujtl, in ololiuhquj, in vel petlaoac, in iuhquj teoxiujtl, in tlamatilolli, in uel cuecuecioca, açe cana namechonnotlaziliiiz, ca ic nonnapantiuh, noxillan, notozcatlan onactiuh, noiollo itlan oniztiuh, in amonaiotzin, in amotaiotzin, in amono anquijmazcaujlique. Et.[a]

Auh inin ca namechonnotlathauhtilia quẽ tlacaoaz in jiollotzin totecujo, açoc amijtzinco amocpactzinco njtlachiequj.ah ca ie namechonnotlalcaujlia, ma ipan anmotlatoltizque in tlachpanalizztli, in tlachpanalli, in tlachpanaltzintli in tlacujcujlizztli, in tletlalilizztli: macamo ontlaioticaz, tlaçolli onqujzticaz, l. onqujztoz, in nocnoxacalco, ma oc conjacauj in çã iin noconcauhtiuh in nonantzin, in noteçitzin, in nouelltioatzin, in naujtzin. Et.[a] ca ica nonnotequipachotiuh, ica nontlacoxtiuh, ma ipan anoalmoquijztizque, ipan anmotlatoltizque, ma caiac ica mocaçaiaoaz, in açe cana nechmopopolhujz totecujo: ca ixquich no ic amotetzinco nonnocauhtiuh, vel oniztiuh in noiollo.

2. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xliii, fol. 214: *Indeuoxi inpapatzi in ennepaqui*; the corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Esto es la broña y ganadal de los antiguos. Por metaphora quiere decir. Aquí es este lugar que era de broñas y ganadales se poblaron primeramente nuestros antepasados, aquí hizieron primeramente sus casas: le injuebras y sus casas de ganado o heno."*

Note, however, that in Book IX, cap. iii, Tlacotzontli and Çacatzontli are identified as *diosas del camino*.

3. In "Memoriales con Escolios" (*Academia de la Historia MS*), p. 207, *nohtlaoli* is translated *almohada*.

Then all his household wept over it. There were tearful greetings by all the old merchants, men and women. But he who could not weep only continued to sob behind the others, seeming to weep. And afterwards there was a little rejoicing, consolation, and drinking, to drive away and disperse sorrow. So afterwards all departed and went, and each one entered his own home.

Niman ic nechoqujlilo, in jchantlaca, nechoqujztlapalolo, in ic muchintin puchteca veuetque, puchteca ilamatque: auh in aca auel choca, çan teicampa tañtzoiontica, mochoqujzacanenequj, auh çatepan achitzin ic papacoa, neiollalilo, tlaoano, injc motlaocolpopoloa, motlaocolcecemana: ic çatepan netlatlalcaujlo, viuilo, cacalacoa in techachan. 441 484

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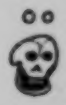

000 **Ninetenth Chapter. Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.**

Injc caxtolli vnnavi capitulo: vncan motecoua, in ventli in qujchioaia, im impãpa vecanemja ioan injc mouitlacoaia in jpampa in mjqujq.

441 And his household thereupon began the penances.
984 They let themselves become dirty. No longer did
585 they wash their heads with soap, though they could bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

Auh in jchantlaca: nijman iquac compeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzoiotia, aocmo mãmovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, icce, aocmo polaquj: auh nanapoaltica qujmattiuj, in mamovitiuj: injc qujnextia, qujtemachitia, ca ipampa tlamãçeoa in jnconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jacauhque, izqujch caujtl iuh quj-chiuhtinemj, in jquin quiçaqujuh:

441 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were
765 notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual[1] for their child.

auh intla noce omjquito, ichoan achto caquitiio, in puchteca veuetque, intequjuh in teiolmelacaozque, in teiolpachiujtizque, ichoantin qujcalaquja in choquj-tli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjquito, ic qujtemachitia, injc nauilhujtl ilnamjcoz, mjccaoztizque in jchantlaca, injc tlapalolonque, ellaquacalonque, qujmjlo-lox in inconeuh:

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

auh in oquix navilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlaca: ic mjtoa, moomjccaaltia injc compopoéna, conjilcaoa intlaocul:

441 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set
765 up an image of him made of pine torches bound together.[2] They made and formed his image; they
778 adorned his likeness. This *cuillotl* was only a statue of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

auh intla cana oiaomjc, qujtlaliaia icujllo, qucujllo-tia, qocujllotlalilia, ixipela qujchichiujtia, injn Evil-lotl: çan ocoquavitl in qujzatzaiaaaia, çatepan quj-cujtlalpia: auh izqujch itech qujtlalia, in amatlat-qujtl, in amanechichaoalli, in amaxicolli, in amacoe-catl, in amaneapantli, qujtlaololtia, qujtlatepeoaltia qujtlamamaca, injc mochi ioan qujtlatiuque: in ic iuhquj in oqujcencauhque cvillotl, in jquac ic cho-qujlilox oiaomjc, oc cemjlhujoca, in jenjllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in eoatica: auh quja-jquac in ioalnepantla, qujtlatiuia, vmpa in qujtocaoi-tiaia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tuompantitlan:

1. *Quiçaqujuh*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.
2. *Cuillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "*un cuerpo de tea, cuadro como, con cruz.*"

441 his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One
765 day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And
778 then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in [the place] which they called the god's courtyard, at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground? — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his house did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

[851 He who was then born they did not yet bathe;
553] they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

ooh intla çá ohdaniçe ommocuel, çqipiocuçqi: intlacamo oiiçaçqi, in aqo çan omocalaçqi, çan iz no ivi in çqichichiuaia ioçqiln, iacz çan ichan in tlatlaia, aaao iaaiaçqaaia, oc achi tamatiah, içquac in iz omocuaiaia, oaaaçqiln tamatiah çqiçhiaia.

No iaaa mjaaa: in jqaac çqaa in oc ooaal tamalli, intla içqaaa, içqaa mamalia, in jqaac oiaaiaaiac, oaiaaiaçqiac, in aaçqia, in oaaaçqiçiac iaaiaal, ual iqaa içqaa vaçqaaia in iaac: vacaa iaaçqiçaaia, içqaa oiiaaaaia, içqaa vaaaaiaaaia, vaaaaiaaa, oaaaaaaçqi, oaaaçqiçia, oaa, aiaaçqi, iciiaaaaaa, in jaçqiçh çqaaiaiaaiaal:

aah in aaçqia içqaa oiiaaaa oc oçqiaal tamalli, çqiçqaia, çqiçqaiaia, çqiçqaaaaiaia in tamalçqaaçqaa, iaaaçqiçhiçqaçqi, içhaçqia, oaiaaçqaia aaaçhiaaa, aaaçqiçqaaçqi iaa: aah iaiiaaa aaaçqiçhiaaaaaa, in iaiçqaçqi iaaaal in, aaaa içqaa aaçhiaaa in jaaaaac, in jaaçqiçl: çqa içhaaal çqiçqaiiaçqiçqia, çqiçqaaçqiçqiçqia, aqiçqaa. iaaaiaaa aaaaaaçqiçqia, çqiçqaaçqiçqiçqia. Ea.

ya aqiçqia içqi oiiaaaa ia, aiaaaa oiiçaia, çqiçqa içqi oiiçaia in Ey aaçqiçl: içqaaa çqiçqaaaaaaa, içqaaçqa in aqiçqaaa aaçqiaa: in oiiçaiaia tamalli, in jqaaac iaaaaçqiçhiçqia, çqiçqaçqiçaia in tamalçqaaçqaa: iaaaal in aaaçhiaaaçqiçqia, vaaçqa çqiçhiaçqiçqiçqia, vaaçqa aaaçhiçhiçqia, iaçqi aaaaa çqiçqaaçqiçhiçqaaaia.

Aah in çqiçqaçqiçia, vaaa aaçqiçqiçqi, iah çqiçqaa: aaaa çqaçqi, aiçi vaçqi oc aiaaaçqi. Aah in oy aaçqiçl: iah çqiçqaa çqaçqi tamalli, in aaçqiaa: in oiiçaia aaaçhiçqa çqaçqaa, vaaaa oc çqaçqiçqiçqiçqi in iah çqiçqiçqiçqia tamalçqaaçqaa. Aah in aaaçqi tamalli, in çqaaçqaçqiçqia tamalli, in aaçqaçqia çqaaçqia, çqaaaa-

3. Gilbert, ibid., "If it did not succeed, it was, as we understand."
4. Molina, op. cit. (Spanish Vocabulary), Lado diestro.
5. The text reads or spelled; it is correct in the Bad Palacio MS.

Rabbit, the day sign taking fourth place, accompanying the fourth position, they postponed. It also was evil. As they said, each and all of the day signs in the fourth place were evil; there were no good gifts at this time.

Likewise Five Water was also evil. As they said, each and all of the day signs taking the fifth place were bad. Those who were then born were perverted, inhumane, evil. And also they said that at this time, the day sign which took fifth place, was indifferent. Also they said that in this manner was it indifferent: if someone's day sign came as five, if he were well taught and advised, so he grew; it would not befall him as was his day sign — that he might become perverse. Reversed and substituted would be his decree. By something marvelous[6] he gained fame and honor. It was said that this was during his lifetime. When he was born, a cause of apprehension was his day sign [number] five. They regarded it with fear[7] and apprehension. But as for the present one, it was not inevitable that it would be dangerous. It gained for him merit, fame, honor. Yet it was because he himself, by his penances, had complied and saved himself. For he had taken and heeded the counsel of the elders and the sage advice[8] of his childhood, etc.

jihuiztitia, amo ao qualli, iuh quitoa: in jaquican 787A
tlamachcaiopan tonalli, mochi amo qualli, ate vncan
ca qualli nemactli.

No iuhquj in macujlli xtl: amo ao qualli, iuh quitoa: in jaquican tlamacujhtilia tonalli, mochi amo qualli: in aquiquac vncan tlacati, amo tlacacemelleque, amo tlaca, tlauelilloque: auh ioan quitoa, in vncan y, tonalli, macujhtiouia, chico qualli no quitoua: injc chico qualli intla aca itonal omochiuh macujlli, intla uel mocaltia, vel monotza ic moupoua, amo iuhquj ipan mochiuaia, in quenamj itonal itenemac, injc atlacacemelle icaquja, çan jcuepca, çan jc mopotla, in jmdceoal mochiua tlamaujztic ic oalmoteniotia, oalmoteuiçuzia, itolo in ic nemj, injn iquac tlacat ic tenmachoc in itonal macujlli: quitlamauhcaittilique, quitlatenmachilique: auh in axcan amo oipantic, injc oviziuquja, çan iê teniotl, meuiçotl, in oquimomaloui, tel ca indma. itlamaceoalizticia omoquixti, omocneli, ca oquitecuili, oquitecaquili in vecthoalli, in jpilhian, ic oualizthama. &c.

6. In Ms., the phrase is yolo ueuetlatl.
7. In Ms., quitlaueuiquilique (they regarded it as dangerous) quitlaueuiquilique.
8. Huehuetlatolli in Ms.

[p. 72 is blank]

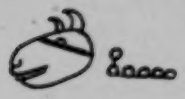

787 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the remaining houses belonging to the sign mentioned.

Hoc capitulo: ipchpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, in jtech pouhquj machiotl, omjto.

Also the one which followed it, Six Dog, was known as evil. Already related is the nature of those born on all day signs of the sixth position. Nothing at all good because one's gift.

On this one they loaded and heaped up gossip and bad repute. Everything was bequeathed, forced upon, and made a burden to them. They were forced to pay. And these made one embrace, undertake, commit, and seize upon evil. They mistreated, perverted, embezzled, and defamed one; they ignored, confused, confounded, disgraced, and dishonored their elders;[1] they shamed them and sowed confusion. They spotted, ruined, sullied, smudged, and destroyed one's good reputation.[2]

Likewise was it said that he who was born upon this sixth day sign, the readers of day signs also predicted, would be only sickly and weak; or he would soon fall dead. And if he lived, he would live only in suffering; he would wander about, or spend his time in bed, or go about constantly and continuously coughing, pallid, green-faced, white with cold, etc.

Auh in cotoqujlia, chipnacen icxcujntli: amo no quelli ipan machoia, ic omjto in quenamj inicliz vncan tlacati, in jpan muchi chiquacen tonalli, çan atle qualli in jnemac muchioa,

çan iẽ qujcenmama qujcemeloloa in tlacatlatolli, in aujlquijxcaiotl, muchi iccaujltilo, cujtilo, mamaltilo, intech onxiopi, ioan ichoan qujtecujtia, qujtecaujltia, qujtechioaltia, contemaxcoltia in aqualli, in teiçolo, in tecatzauh, in tepaçolo, in teaujlquijxti, in teueuetlaz, in teixtlaz, in teixnecujlo, in teixcouj, in teixolotlac, in tetlaitoltili, in tepan tececenma, in teatlatzicujnj, in quiçoquijuja, in quiçoquimotla, in quipopoiotilia, in qujxpopoloa in jtilllo, in jtlapallo tenemjliz.

Este mismo fue el que nacía en el signo de perro, que se tenía por malo. Ya se ha dicho la suerte de los que nacían en todos los signos del sexto puesto. Nada en absoluto bueno por su gracia.

En este cargaban y acumulaban chismes y mala reputación. Todo era legado, forzado y hecho carga para ellos. Los obligaban a pagar. Y estos hacían que uno abrazara, emprendiera, cometiera y se apoderara del mal. Maltrataban, pervertían, malversaban y difamaban a uno; ignoraban, confundían, confundían, deshonraban y deshonraban a sus ancianos;[1] los avergonzaban y sembraban confusión. Manchaban, arruinaban, ensuciaban, manchaban y destruían la buena reputación de uno.[2]

Asimismo se decía que el que nacía en este sexto signo del día, los adivinadores del signo del día también predecían, sólo estaría enfermizo y débil; o pronto caería muerto. Y si vivía, sólo vivía en sufrimiento; deambulaba, o pasaba su tiempo en la cama, o iba de un lugar a otro constantemente y continuamente tosiendo, pálido, verdoso, blanco por el frío, etc.

[851] And those born upon this irremediable day sign they did not yet bathe; they looked ahead later to Seven Monkey. Thus they somewhat alleviated their day sign. They said: "If they live, perhaps by their penances the evil with which they were born, created, came forth on earth, budded and formed, persisted, and hatched, will reverse and be substituted."

Auh in aquijque ipan tlacatia in, amo qualtitica tonalli, aiamo qujmaltiaia, qujn jpan qujmattitiviia, in chicome oçomatli: ic achi vmpa, qujqualtiliaia yn jntonal, qujtoaia: intla nemjzque, açe intlamacceltitica cuepiz, mopatlaz in aqualli ipan otlacatque, oiecoque, otlaticpac qujzque, oxotlaque, oixmolinque, oxicueoque, otlaplque.

Y los que nacían en este signo del día, no los bañaban; miraban más tarde a Siete Mono. Así aliviaban un poco su signo del día. Decían: "Si viven, quizás por sus penitencias el mal con el que nacieron, creado, salió a la tierra, brotó y se formó, persistió, y se quedó, se revierte y se sustituye."

And Seven Monkey they regarded as very good, because, as hath been said in many places, it is a day sign of the seventh place. It was said that it was the time of ritual of Chicome coatl, the likeness of our sustenance, of genuine wealth and prosperity, as the readers of the day signs said.

Auh in chicome oçomatli: cenca qujqualittaia, ypampa in iuh mjieccan omjto, in chicomettoaia tonalli: qujlmach itlatoaia in chicome coatl, in jxiptla tonacaiotl, mozqujtica necujltonolli, netlamachtilli, in iuh qujtoaia tonalpouhque:

Y Siete Mono lo consideraban muy bueno, porque, como se ha dicho en muchos lugares, es un signo del día del séptimo puesto. Se decía que era el momento del ritual de Chicome coatl, la imagen de nuestro sustento, de la verdadera riqueza y prosperidad, como decían los adivinadores del signo del día.

1. *Tetlaitoltilo*: possibly the negative *a* or *ame* should be understood.

2. "*Mamaltilo* ou *I colomaxac*" (*Académie de la Historia* 165), p. 287. The *Pelerin Bad* 145 gives *mamaltiztlaltiri* for *mamaltiztzqui*. For *mamaltiztlaltiri* and *tzqquiztlaltiri*, Olmos, op. cit., p. 313, gives *desenojar el rubor, o quererlo el prójimo*.

787 And to him who was then born she gave all things as gifts — that he would be happy, merry, a great giver of diversion and amusement to others; a witty, well-spoken one who aroused laughter; a true friend, a wholehearted friend of the people, esteemed by all. He could visit everywhere. Everywhere was he heeded, regarded by others.[3] He offended no one. This was because so was the day sign of the Monkey.

And if it were a woman, she would be very rich. She would produce well, make her wares well, and bargain astutely. She would be of good birth, and would arrange and distribute her merchandise and her people. Not failing or diminishing, her dealings, that which she might handle as merchandise, would turn out well. For hers was a day sign of the seventh place; so were her gifts.

And Eight Grass they also regarded as somewhat good, just like all day signs of the eighth position everywhere.

But Nine Reed was in no way good, because, it was said, it was the time of ritual and the day set apart for Tlaçolteotl. Purely vicious was the one then born. This hath already been told. No good at all did one gain as his deserts; only, at this time, his disdain, his abuse, his presumptuous and haughty deeds, etc. Everywhere, this one was like all which became ninth in position, as already hath in many places been told.

And on Ten Ocelot: this was a very good position, as already in many places hath been told in its account. Thus they said, and it was claimed, were the day signs in the tenth [and following] positions, all the day signs which bore [the word] *matlactli*. Then was the time of Tezcatlipoca's ritual, of him who was known as our lord. He who was then born they considered highly favored. They said that his time of birth was the time of the ritual of our noble Lord Tezcatlipoca. If he should live, he would be a person of merit. At once, then, they bathed him.

But if they had their own reasons, they might yet pass over it. Later, then, they looked ahead to the end of the day count when they bathed him, on Thirteen Motion. For all of the end of the day count they considered very favorable. Thus they then very much strengthened for them the day signs in which they bathed them.

auh in aquiçn vncan tlacatia, mach quiçemactiuia in papaquiçnj iez, aznjenj, teoteçhianj, tecetcmelhianj, camanale, camanalonj, vetzquintli quecos, cemjniuhtli, teoteçnjuh, muchi tlacatl itlaço, noviian vel tetlan motlalia, noviian tepal vntlaqua, ontlachia, aiac quijolitlacoa: ipampa in iuhquj iconal oçomatli:

auh intla cioatl cenca mocujlhoaoz, itla uel mailiz, uel machioaz in jtiamjc, vellanecujloz, vel motlacktiz, qujhiamatiz, qujtlitlamachiz in jtiamjc, in jtlaca, amo actiuetziz, amo caxaoaz, vel mochioaz in jnanauh, in tlein qujmonanauhtiz ipampa in chicomotiouia tonale, ca iuh ca iocmac.

Auh in chicuei malinalli: no achi quiçqualittaia, çan noviian iuhquj in izquiçh chichicueey tonalli.

Auh in chicunavi acatl: çan njman amo qualli, ipampa qujlmach itlatoaia, itlacemjlhujtilitiaian Tlaçolteotl, motequjtica tlaçolli: in aquiçn vncan tlacatl, ic omjto: njman atle qualli qujmdçeoa, çan vncan ca itelchiouloca, iquequeloloca, icuecueno chichicaloca, iauilquiztiloca. Er. Noviian iuhcan jn, in izquiçcan chicunavitiouaia, in iuh ic mjiecqan omjto.

Auh in jpan matlactli ocelotl: ic vel qualcan, in iuh ic mjiecoan omjto itlatolio, iuh quiçtoa: quilmach in matlactiouian tonalli, in izquiçtel tlamatlactetilia tonalli, vncan itlatoaia in Tezcatlipoca: in jpan machoia tr. in aquiçn vncan tlacatl, cenca quiçqualittaia, quiçtoaia: ca temotian in ochacat, imotian itlatoaia, in tlacatl totecujo Tezcatlipoca: intla nemjz ca mdcoale iez, ic njman iquac caltitia:

auh intla quiçnequiçque in iolothana, in oc cenchololtiuque, quiçn cf vmpa quimotiviia, in tonaltzonco iquac caltitia in jpan matlactiomej, olin, ipampa in mochi tonaltzontli, cenca quiçqualittaia, ic cenca uel vncan quiçtonalchicaoaia, in jpan, quimaltitia.

3. This tradition is based on *Ohuapan* for *ontlaqua* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

And Eleven Eagle, and Twelve Vulture, so they said, were both only indifferent, not considered only one way; they said they fell both ways. Those who were born on both these day signs they always bathed later, at the end of the day count. At this position they made their day signs favorable.

This one, which is here the end of the day count of the group — Thirteen Motion — this one they regarded as best. For it came concluding, and with it was finished and came to an end, the thirteen day signs. Whatsoever were the deserts of the one then born hath already been told in many places.

Auh in matlactli oce quauhtli, ioan matlactli omome cozcaquauhtli, iuh quitoa onteixti çan chico qualli, amo çan cenettitica, vme vitz quitoa, in aquique ipan tlacatia in, onteixti tonalli, quin cen ipan quimaltiaia in tonaltzontli, vmpa quiqualtiliaia in intonal. 787X [851]

Iehoatl in, in nican cencalpan tonaltzontli, matlactli omej olin: inin oc cenca quiqualittaia, ipampa in quitlamitica, yn ica tlantica, ica tzonquiztica matlactli omej tonalli, auh in quenami imdccoal: vncan tlacatia, ie miieccan omito.

[p.76 is blank]

X 787 776 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the tenth sign, called One Flint Knife. And it was said that it was of good fortune, and claimed that those then born were brave and became seasoned warriors. And it was said that the women then born were forceful; they were able in all things and made their goods very well. And it was said to be the day sign of Uitzilopochtli, to whom it was dedicated. His domain was war. It was said also to be the day sign of Camaxtli. And when this sign began, they observed the feast [of Uitzilopochtli]. And it was said that all the day signs were good—[all] thirteen.

Injc ompouallí ooc cuptiuhtec: inchipa tlatoa, injc matlactecí machiztl, in jnca oc tecpatl: ioan quiqj quallí in jpouallo, auh quiqj in aquiqjpac vncan tlacatia chicoexpac catca, ioan teqjpuccatia: auh quiqj in ôoc vncan tlacatia oqujchiallopac catca, mochi in vell catca, ceaca uel quinnotlaia in juhtaqj: auh quiqj ioual catca in Vitzilopochtli, in jtech pouhqj catca, in jeuqjuh catca iooqtl, quiqj no ioual in Camaxtle: auh in jpoac vnpeoaia injn machiztl, quijhcuqjxitilaia, auh quiqj mochi quallí catca in juqujlhujtl, matlaqujlhujtl vmei.

776 782 One Flint Knife set in. On this One Flint Knife, when it tarried for a day, they then made offerings to Uitzilopochtli, whose day sign it was, and to Camaxtli, god of the Uexotzinca.

Moquetza oc tecpatl: inin oc tecpatl, in jpoac tlacemilhujxitiloia, vncan quiqjmaltiloia, yoomalpan catca in Vitzilopochtli, ioan in camaxtle, vexotzinca iteouh.

776 782 776 Thus it is said they made offerings and paid great honor [to Uitzilopochtli] there at his temple, in his tribal district, at the place whose name was Tlacatecco. There was his image guarded, and all his array. They had it all spread out before him and laid in the sun; they offered incense and presented him[1] what were called the quetzal feather cape, the blue cotinga feather cape, the red spoonbill feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the humming bird feather cape.[2] But only after them came [825] lost the no longer very precious feathers, like the white heron feather cape or the reed thrush feather cape.[3] Severally they laid all of them down, offered them separately, arranged them in rows, placed them in order, etc.

injc mjtoa: quiqjmaltiloia, ceaca quimavizitilaia, in vncan itempan icalpaco in jtocaiocan catca tlacatecco, vncan pielloia in jxiqtla in juqujch itlaqujl, much ixpan quijcequjlaia, quijcoxujaia, quijchcuauaquujlaia quijtlacotonjlaia, in motecoua quetzalquezqujtl, xiuhcotoquezqujtl, tlauhquechcolquezqujtl, tozquezqujtl, vitzitzilquezqujtl, auh ça quijtocqujlia, quijtacujia, in aocmo ceaca tlaçoviid, in iuhqujj aztaquezqujtl, tonaquezqujtl: mochi nonotzqua quijccoia, quijtlalmantilia, quijcuecuentilia, quijvivipana. Er'.

And all these precious capes, when they spread them out, remained there a day. By doing this, it was said, they named them for Uitzilopochtli. And 782 there offerings were made; there they laid out all the gifts, called fiat foods. And all the good, prepared

auh much ie in tlaçotilmatli ipan quijccoia, vncan ccmjlhujxia: ichoual injc mjtoa quijtocmujlia in Vitzilopochtli, ioan vncan tlamamalaia, vncan quijccoia in juqujch vestli, in motecoua tlacatlaquali: ioan in juqujch ictli, in tlachichinalli tlaquali, in

1. Quijtocmujlia literally could mean "they hobbled quail for him."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "tomo se llamaua quetzalquezqujtl, que quiere decir: capa de quetzales verdes, y xuxhcolchichiltotl, como se llamaua xiuhcotoquezqujtl, que quiere decir: capa de plumas azules, y tlauhquechcolchichiltotl, como se llamaua tozquezqujtl, que quiere decir: capa de plumas amarillas, y vitzitzilquezqujtl, como se llamaua vitzitzilquezqujtl, que quiere decir: capa hecha de plumas resplandecientes de colibrises."

3. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 233. In ibid., p. 160, n. 2, it is jacksbiro.

782 foods came forth from the palace; and from the houses in the "summoners'" localities they [also] emerged and came forth.

But only for a little while it was, remained, and rested there. Then the old men of the temple district [of Ulzilopochtli] removed, continued to take and transport, divided, and distributed, what pertained to them. They removed it to a number of places. They consumed all. No one remained alone. Everyone came to it: the devout of the place, those who had fasted for a year; those who had danced and fasted for Ulzilopochtli.

[824] And Moctezuma then offered all manner of precious flowers [before the image] — varied flowers which were sweet-smelling and fragrant: magnolia,[4] maize flowers,[5] cacao flowers,[6] popcorn flowers,[7] and garlands of maize ears,[8] which grew everywhere; basket flowers,[9] raven flowers;[10] yellow and blue tobacco flowers;[11] milky corn silk flowers;[12] and all manner of precious flowers, prepared, — well-formed, well-arranged, made as shields of flowers, circular, radiating, and spreading; and the pleasant-smelling ones. It seemed as if the fragrance, the perfume, spread and blanketed his temple.

And so they burned [tubes of] tobacco — only in bundles. First they bound them about the middle. As they burned them, they filled [the area] before [the image].[13] It was as if the smoke arose, spread a cloud, extended, came to settle, and lay billowing.

782 Likewise it was said at the time of the day sign
274 One Flint Knife, that the wine-makers showed special concern. At that time they cut and bored

tlaxcan cuiquiçqui: ioan in çan calla, mocuecalpi cal-
cuaia, cuiquiçqui:

auh çan achiton ca, in vncan vmanaj, vncan omoc,
vncan onmoteca: nimaan ic quiçquanja çan ic concuj-
timanj, ic cruiçquanjtimanj, intech poui in calpulve-
uetqoc, quiçmocuelihuja, quiçmocuamaca, quecinquj-
can quiçnçuanjlia, vuetlamj, aiac iaxaj, inuchi tla-
catl itech aci, in vncan tlamacxuhqoc, in mocxuih-
çauhqoc, in jtech xiçtotiznemj, in quiçnçanjlia Vitzil-
opuchtli:

auh in Motecuçoma in jxquich tlaçomochiti, in
nepapan xochitl, in velic, in aviiac vncan quiçmoua
in iolloxochitl, in elxuochitl, in cacaoxuchitl, in ie-
quiçxochitl, ioan cacaocincoocatl, in iaquiçcan icac,
oacalxochitl, in cacalaxochitl, in cortic iixochitl, auh
in xoxouhqui iixochitl, in xiloxochitl, ioan in ic ie-
quich nepapan tlaçomochitl, in tlamantli, in velhala-
lilli, in tlatecujcujlolli, in mjnaxi, in chimalxochitl,
in ololiuhqui, in momoiaoa, in xcaclivi: auh in çaçan
tlachanecutli, iuhquin tlaujaxtoc, tlaueueliztoc, tla-
uajiztimanj, tlaueueliztimanj, in jtecpan:

auh inic quiztlatiaia iitetl, çan ce cemmecatl çan iuh
cujtlalpitiuh in quiztlatiaia, contenecuj ixpan, iuhquin
puchtecatoc, aiavitl mantoc, aiavitl quiztoc, iuhquin
mahmomolocatoc.

No ioan mjoa in jpan in tonalli ce tecpatl, cenca
vncan tlacemachiaia in tlachicqoc, vncan quiztlapa-
naia in iuneuh, ic quiçemachiaia inic cenca meiac,

4. *Ielhuxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana* D. C. Don) — Mexican magnolia, a flower reserved solely for the nobility. — Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin, 241*), *Vatican Library. An Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 318.

5. *Mizxochitl*: probably *Cosmopolitan* (?) (Emmart, op. cit., p. 275). In Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1943), Vol. III, p. 941, it is classed with *yoyoxochitl*. Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 588, identifies it as Magnolia dealbata Zucc.; also called *yolloxochitl*.

6. *Cacaoxochitl*: *Tlalcacaoxochitl* D. C. (a cacao plant). — Emmart, op. cit., p. 311. Hernández, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 931, calls it *Quetzalcacaoxochitl* (Libro) Recdi. See also Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 270.

7. *Iuquiçxochitl*: *Bauhinia jacuica* (La Sieve & Lex.) Benth. (Emmart, op. cit., p. 277).

8. Cf. Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 240.

9. *Cuauhxochitl*: *Xanthosoma* sp. (Emmart, op. cit., p. 279); *Philodendron* sp(p)., Hernández, "Una planta cultivada, de las orchidas, cultivada en [México]" (Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 102).

10. *Cuauhxochitl*: *Plumeria rubra* L., synthesis of important pharmacopia, according to Sahagún (Emmart, op. cit., p. 280). Hernández, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 986, says *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir, "flor de cuervo."

11. *Xiuxochitl*: *flor de tabaco* (an botanical term given); "El Tonxochitl, que algunos llaman xiuxochitl o *ma flor de ciuxi*, y otros *cuauhquiyauxochitl* o *yoxochitl amarillo*" (Hernández, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 941, 942).

12. *Xilxochitl*: *Bouchea odoratissima* H. B. K., according to Hernández, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 938, and Paul C. Standley, "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States National Herbarium* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), pp. 793-794; Calliandra *anomala* (Kunth) McVaugh, according to Emmart, op. cit., p. 301.

13. *Ibid.* Folio 165: commentary.

their maguey plants;[14] so they showed special concern in order that their maguey plants would flow much and produce well. And so they offered gifts in the temple of Uitzilopochtli. There they offered their wine, which had been newly brewed, called octli; they went pouring it into bowls on which rested sucking tubes. And the ones who there partook of it were the already aged, called quauhxocotzqui, who already had the privilege of drinking wine. These drank; they continued drinking with the sucking tubes.

And he who was born on this [day], One Flint Knife, they said, would be valiant, a chieftain; he would gain honor and riches.

Likewise, if it were a woman, she would be of merit, gifted, and deserving. Her labors would be good; there would be wherewith to eat and drink; there would be sustenance. She would become rich and wealthy; courageous, strong, reckoned as a man, and hardy. She would give honor as a man. And, [among] all her gifts, she would speak well, be eloquent, give good counsel, and arrange her conversation and manner of speaking well in her house. She would be observant, of good memory, discreet, etc.

And Two Rain, and Three Flower, Four Crocodile, Five Wind, Six House, Seven Lizard, Eight Serpent, Nine Death, Ten Deer, Eleven Rabbit, Twelve Water, Thirteen Dog—all, in truth all, were as hath been told in their account. All went to be considered and were observed as of, and they followed, the same pattern. They were only one, regarded as only one in their relation and account, as they went in order there day by day, each one of the days in its proper place, so proceeding in order, one, two, three, henceforth[15] until they reached and completed the end of the day count, thirteen.

782 274 [888]

ontlaiez iaxcuh: auh injc tlruenchioaia, in jtcupan Vitzilopochtli: vmpa conmonaia in jmoc, in iancujcan tlachictli, in moteneoa vitztli, acatecomac, contecatimanj: vncan ipan icaca cr piaztli: auh in aqujn vmpa vntlatlapaloaia, in ie chicaoaque, in moteneoa quiveuetque: in ie ianemac tlacoanaiatli, ichoan conja, ic conjtimanj in piaztli:

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auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, y, cr tecpatl qujtoaia, oqujchtiz tiacauhtiz, maujztiz, mocujltonez:

no iuhquj intla çioatl, maçeoale iez, nemaque, ilhujle, vel itla maiiiz, onież in qujquaz, in qujz, vnca qujquanj iez, mocujltonez, motlacamatiz, ioan oqujchnacaio, chicaoac, oqujchtlamatiz, moqujchpouz, oqujcheoaz, teoqujchtlamachti iez: ioan much inemac vellatoz, motlatoljmatiz, vel tenonotzaz, vellatolteepanaz, yicician, icacatian, in qujtlaliz, tlatolli, vel ixc, iollo, moecalianj iez. Er[e].

Auh in vme qujavitl, ioan ei zochitl, nauj cipactli, macujlli ócatl, chiquacen calli, chicome cuetzpalin, chicuei coatl, chicunavi mjqujztli, matlactli maçatl, matlactloce tochtli, matlactli omome atl, matlactlomej itzcuintli: in jaqujch in çan moch iuhquj in jtlatollo omjto: çá much umpa itztiuh, çan much vmpa tlachia, çan much vmpa tlaujca, cá ie centetl, çan centettitiuh in jtlatlatollo, in jtoloca, in iuh tecpantiuh, in vncan tlacecemjlhujtiltitiuj, cecenteme tonaltia, in jnicician ic tecpantiuj in cr, in vme, in ei: inqujchica, injc onacitiuh, injc entlatlantiuh tonaltzontli matlatlactlomeri.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "Los sabios de los magueyes, o sabedores que crecían el pulque, curiosos, y agradecidos los magueyes, para que crecieses mucho en este oficio, crecieses que por agradecerlos en este oficio, no crecieses escaso."

15. Bernardino Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Valentiner et Mena, 1829), has *ocpaulcan* and *hiac* (henceforth, from here on), for *hiquiztlan*.

[p. 80 is blank]

X787 **Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of the eleventh sign, called One Monkey, and of its fortune.**
776 It was said of those then born that one was a man of good standing, friendly, amiable, and happy, given
753 to music and the other arts. And it was said that at
784 this time descended to earth those who were the "Goddesses"; and that those whom they met on the road or in paths between houses they injured and visited with sickness. And for this reason, when it was this day sign, no one could fare forth. And one who then sickened the physicians forthwith abandoned.

Injc cempoalli vnome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl oce machiotl, in jtoca ce oçomatli: ioan in jtonallo, quijmach in aquijque vncan tlacatia quall: iiollo catca, teicnjoan, tlaçotlaloni, papaquijnj, quijmocujtlaviaia in cujcatl, ioan in oc cequj tolteca-iotl: auh quijl in jquac oaltemoia, in aquijque cioatetu in tlalticpac: auh quijl in aquijque quijnnamjquja, in vtlica, in anoço caltzala qujtlaueliaia cocolizti itech quijtlalia: auh ipampa in jpan in tonalli catca, aiac vel quiçaia: auh in aquin iquac mococoaia, çan njman quijxnaoatiaia in tiricj.

X787 One Monkey set in. This Monkey [day sign] they regarded as favorable.
776 But also they said that at that time the so-called "Princesses" or "Goddesses" descended. It was the
784 time when they were expected, the time of their arrival. At this time they looked upon the children
855 with much apprehension. They simply shut them in the houses; they did not wish them to appear at the entrances or on the road, so that [the Goddesses] would not come upon or harm them. Perhaps one of them would have twisted lips, or a shrunken mouth; or be cross-eyed or of weak vision; or his lips would quiver or quake; or he would be maddened — a devil would possess him and he would foam at the mouth; or he would have withered, twisted arms; or be lame, etc.

Moquetza ce oçomatli: inin oçomatli, quiçqualittaia:

auh ioan quijtoa, no uncan temoaia inchielpan, imaçia, in moteneoaia cioapipilti, cioatetu, oncz vncã quijntlamauhcaittiliaia in tepilhoan, çã quijntzatzaquaia calitic, amo quijmonquijxtidanja, in quijaoac, in vtlica, injc amo motenamjctizque, quijmjtlacozque, aço aca tennecujliviz, tempatziviz, ixnecujliujz, ixvitzaliviz, iten papatlacaz, iten viujiocaz, iollotlauelilotiz, itech quijneoaz, tenqualacquiçaz, matzicoliujz, macopichaujz, icxi quijujlanaz. Etc.

And if someone began to sicken, the physicians
776 told him that he would become dangerously sick;
753 he would not recover. For he had come upon the Princesses, and they had set upon him; it was the time of their descent and arrival when [this sickness] began. For it was [so] willed.

auh intla aca ipan opeuh moçococa, qujtcilhujaia in tiricj, ca tlanauiz, aocmo quiçaz, ca omotenamjcti, ipan oquijque in cioapipilti, ca intemoian, imẽcoian in opeuh, ca oelcujloc:

And likewise it was said that if someone were of good standing, of a good day sign, and able, if at this time they injured him, they said that the Princesses had indeed willed it upon him and that he had contended with them.[1]

auh no ioan mjtoa, intla aca qualli yiollo, in qualli itonal, ioan qualli itlachicliz: vncan quijtlacallhujaia, quijtoaia: ca çan oqueleujque, oquijnnonamjcti in cioapipilti.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si alguno que era bien dispuesto, enfermaba en este dia, decian: que los dioses le estaban demandando la enfermedad, y en la enfermo quedaba."

X787 And he who was then born they regarded favorably. They said that if it were a man who was then born, he would entertain others and give them solace. Nowhere would he be hated; everyone would be his friend. And [he would be], perchance, a singer, a dancer, or a scribe; he would produce some work of art. For such, then, was his day sign, One Monkey. So they said that indeed thus it came to pass on each of the different Monkey [day signs], as hath been told in many places of the gifts of those then born.

And Two Grass was in no way good. They said it was a wild beast. He who was then born would beget very many sons; they would stand like stones; like spawned fish would his sons be. Nevertheless not one would grow, but all merely died, etc. (So hath it been told.)

And Three Reed, and Four Occiot, Five Eagle, Six Vulture, Seven Motion, Eight Flint Knife, Nine Rain, Ten Flower, Eleven Crocodile, Twelve Wind, Thirteen House: these were all the group of day signs. However, all were as their account told elsewhere. But they were so regarded as they went arranged in their order as [is told] in their separate accounts. There the third place was mentioned as good, and [others] evil.[2]

Auh in aquijn ipan tlacatia, ic quiqualitztia, qujtoia: intla ocujchtli ipan otlacat, ca motenamjtiliz, motecocemeltiliz, acan tlaclitoz, muchi tlacatl icnjuh iez, ioan aço cujcanj, mjxtianj, anoço tlacujlo, itla ic teoltecatiz: ipampa ca njman iuhquj, in jtonal ce oçomatli, inh qujtoa: çan ie much iuhquj, in jxquj-tetl oçomatli in ie mjieccan omjto, in qoenamj inne-mac, ipan tlacati.

Auh in vme malinalli: njman amo qualli, qujtoa tequamj: in aquijn vncã tlacati, oncca vel mopilhoa-tia, iuhquijn tetl icaque, iuhquijn mjchaiatza ipilhoan, çan iẽ amo ce moqueza, çan much vamjctiuj. Etc. (in iuh omjto).

Auh in ei acatl, ioan nauj ocelotl, macujlli quauh-tli, chiquaoen cuacaquauhtli, chicome olin, chicuei tecpatl, chicuaui quiauitl, matlactli xochitl, matlac-tlooc cipactli, matlactlomome hecatl, matlactli vmei calli: in jxquijch in oncalpan tonalli, çan ie much iuhquj in jtoloca in oc ceqtuj omoteneuh, çan iẽ ic mocentiuh, in iuh tecpantiuj, in iuhca ca imjxoloca, vncan inician in motenesa qualli, ioan amo qualli.

2. *Ibid.*: "Todos los otros nacen, dicen algunos: nacen los cumplidores de los nacimientos, en que nacen: nacen ya este dicho arriba. Que los nacidos nacen, son buenos: los cantores y quienes, y escribas, nacen: y los engendrados, buenos: y los nacidos, y nacen, quedan: y los dichosos, y nacidos dichosos, buenos."

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Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the twelfth sign, called One Lizard. It was said that those then born were as if agile. Very strong were they of body and spirit. The fourth house, and the fifth, and the sixth, it was said, were unfavorable. And the second and eighth, it was stated, came to be only indifferent.

One Lizard set in. This they regarded as favorable. They said that he who was born upon it was very strong—of powerful body. He never sickened much. And if, somewhere, he fell down, it had no effect; he quickly got up and arose with vigor. So they regarded him as favored, like his day sign of the lizard. If, somewhere, it hurled itself down from the top of a wall, and suddenly slapped the ground and stirred up the dust, it took no effect; quickly it ran, reached the wall, and scrambled up. Here ended the account. So was it cried out when some became wroth; perhaps death was wished for one. They said: "O friend, there to the earth I shall hurl thee. Thou wilt stir up the dust;[1] thou wilt suddenly be enclosed in the jaws of the lizard!"

Likewise very solid[2] was his body—firm, hard, stout, robust, they said; lithe, mature, hardy, vigorous; and he was a good worker and diligent. He cared for and dedicated himself to not only one thing; indeed everywhere was returned that which made him rich.[3] He dealt in many things. Whatsoever it was, it resulted well. It was not apparent nor known how that which he required appeared.

And Two Serpent, and Three Death—thus they proceeded, in order—Four Deer, Five Rabbit, Six Water, Seven Dog, Eight Monkey, Nine Grass, Ten Reed, Eleven Ocelot, Twelve Eagle, Thirteen Vulture: all these thus being to a conclusion the two, three, [etc.]. Only one is the account of the various day signs here which go well and badly. When the family of day signs ended—[4]

Inic ceppoalli vmei capitulo: itechpa tlatia, inic matlactetl onvme machiotl, in jtoca ꝯ cuetzpalli: quijl in aquijque vncan tlacatia, iuhquin tlatlaloqueppel catca, ceuca chicaoac catca in innacaio in iẽel: inic nauhtetl calli, iofi inic macujhetl, ioan inic chiquacentetl, quijl amo qualli catca: auh inic vnetl, ioan inic chicuetetl, quijmach ça tlanepantla quijça.

Moquetza ꝯ cuetzpalli: inin quijqualittaia, quijtoaia: in aquj ipan tlacatia, ceuca chicaoac, chicaoacanacaio aic ceuca moococa: auh iotla cana oalhuetzi ꝯquen connati, meuhtiuetzi, popoxiuhtoca: ic ipan quijualittaia, in iuhquj itoual cuetzpalli, iotla cana tepanticpac oalmomaiauj, oalcapantiuetzi, tlalli quijpotoztiuetzi, ꝯquen cõnati, ijiuhca motlaloa, ꝯ ceppa tepantli quẽcauijxiquijça, quijmotocatiquijça, vncan oquijz in tlatolli ic nelio in iquac acame omequalanijque, aço ic momjctizaequj, quijmolhuja: nocne ompa on tlalli ic njmjctizjteequijz, tlalli tiquijtetoztiuetziz, timocuetzpaltempictiuetziz.

No ioan vellachictic in jnacaio, pipinquj, tepitzic, chicaoac, chicactic, quijlhuja tlãtlalhoa tlãpaliuj, tlãpaltic, pupuztli, ioan vel motlaiecoltia, iẽel, açan centetl in quijmocujtlauja, in jpan mjxpoa, vel noviianqua mocuechepa in tlein ic motlacamatia, mjtec in quijmoxanauhtia, in catlenatl vel onmochioaz, inertica, ãmachiotli inic neci itech monequj.

Auh in vme cuatl, ioan ei mjquijztli, inic tecpantiuh, navi maçatl, macujlli tochtli, chiquacen ozl, chicume itzcuintli, chicuei ocomatli, chicunavi malinalli, matlactli acatl, matlactloce ocelotl, matlactli vmome quauhtli, matlactlomei cuecaquauhtli: in jequijch in, inic oetlatlanxiuh vme cy, çan centetl in jxtoca, in vncan ioquijxtl qualittiuh, ioan ꝯqualittiuh tonalli, in oquijz in otocalli tonalli.

1. Tlapalcuetzaloaz, tlapalcuetzaloaz in the Bad Paleale MS.
2. Yollochiotic, yollochiotic in Ibid.
3. Mochiotic in Ibid.
4. Here and in a number of later chapters, the concluding sentence is completed by the opening phrase of the next chapter.

[p 84 is blank]

787 Twenty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of the thirteen signs, named One Motion. And it was said [of] those then born that, if they performed penances and if they were well reared—it was said—good would befall them. But if they performed no penances, it was said that suffering would befall them.

Inje compoualli omuuri capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, inje mathactiri omey machiotl: in jnoca ce olin, auh quijtoach in aquijque vncan tlacatis: intla tlamacoaia, ioan intla uel ixcaltilloia: quijl qualli ipan machiotia: auh in amo tlamacoaia, quijl nemoujlijtiztli inpan machiotia.

—then sit in One Motion. Of this they said that it was only half good. He who was then born, man or woman, who did penance well, who took good heed, who was well reared, succeeded and found his deserts and gifts.

Niman oalmoquetza in ce olin: inje quijtoaia, çan chico qualli in aquijn vncan tlacati, in oquichtli, in çioatl in vellamacoua, in vel moomotza, in uel moopaua, ichaual quijçaia, quijtaia in jnacoual, in jnemac:

But if he did not take good heed, and were not well reared, the opposite resulted. He met misery; it was visited upon him in good measure. He was a worthless person, who nowhere made an impression. He was a vagabond, wandering from place to place. Even as the night,[1] so nowhere did he show brilliance, etc.

auh intlacamo vel momotza, intlacamo uel mocaltiz: çan icuepca in quijnonamictiaia icnoiotl, itech costinemij, çan nentlacatl, acan petzitl, çan quauhtlamelaua, ilamatij, çan iuh otiua, acan ixtoua. Er.

And Two Flint Knife, and Three Rain, Four Flower, Five Crocodile, Six Wind, Seven House, Eight Lizard, Nine Serpent, Ten Death, Eleven Deer, Twelve Rabbit; and thus it came to an end with Thirteen Water. Later, then, they made them all favorable. So they regarded as good the conclusion of a series of day signs, as hath been told in many places. When this group of day signs ended—

Auh in vme tecpatl, ioan ie quijuijtl, nauj ochitl, macuijlli cipactli, chiquacen hecatl, chicome calli, chicuei cuetzpalli, chicomauj coatl, matlactli mijquijtzli, matlactlioce maçatl, matlactlionome tochtli: ioan inje tlilnica ynetlactlomej atl, quijn cen vupa qualtiaia, ic quiquallitaia in tonalmoantli, in iuh mjeccan omjjo: yn ontlan ja omcalpan tonalli.

1. Obscure; appears in the Red Palace MS.

[p.86 is blank]

X 787 Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the fourteenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was
776 a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the
666 day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxicueztica.[1] They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

Inic ompauallí on mocuíllí cuípitzoc: ixcuípa tlatoa, inic matlactetl omevi machiotl, in joca or ixcuipatli: inin quíjnauh qualli tonalli, ynin quíl itonal ceuca, in xiuhtecutli: in quíjnaia Tlalxicueztica, ceuca vei iXmjtl quíjchiuia: iuan ypan mochtocuahuia in tlatoque.

X 787 —then set in the one named One Dog. This, they
776 said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedi-
cated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli.
They formed his image there in his temple. There
778 they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated
782 quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight
it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provided it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] ocuilamilli. All the food [and array of] Tlalxicueztica[3] they burned before him.

Nimman omocquetzca in joca, or ixcuipatli:[4] inic quíjnaia qualli tonalli, vncan quíjnauhtiuia in itel, in joca Xiuhtecutli: quíjtlalaia yaiptla in vmpa iccopan: vncan quíjtlamanjlíuia, ixpan tlacotona, cuapeltona, quíjchichiua, quíjcocencua, in jnquíjch amatlacquíjtl, ixmac iccaqia in motocoonia amatecpac, amatlamatepac, quíjvicotinia, quíjvitetacha, quíjcuepaniviniotia, tlaqtlapica quíjcuepaniviniotacha: iuan quíjchachalchihuiotia, quíjocociotia ocuilamilli, ihquac in tlalxicueztica, mach ixpan quíjtlatlaia:

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and Amantlan,[5] they made [the gods] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It seemed that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They spattered and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

ach in neviian onmocalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujtomoloa, in pochtlan, in amantlan: ceuca quíjvichiuia inic quíjmavizticiuia, tlatlaquaiaia, atlcuia, netlacamacho, necuamotzalo, or uecx iuac, ceuca oc tlaujocalpan in quíjtlatlaia amatl, in mjxin ic quíjtlamaca tletl, quíjvicatlah, quíjocotlah in cuapilli, ceuca petlacalli, ova petlacalli in cuaupan tlecu, chipauac, iuac cuapilli: iuan quíjcocoua çaçaltin, ihquíjn tlecujlíquac tlíquatlaca, tlaquatlaca, inyo nemamacaoua, tlalli ic nenquíjnco tlecujlíquac quíjtzinzicujtica, quíjnonequja in jmcuyo: iuan no achtoc tlecujlíquac quíjcocoua in octli: ach çaçapan tlecujlíquac nauhcampaiaiti quíjcocoua:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Este dexaron por el signo del dios del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, y dedicaronle."
2. Ibid.: "Los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica: hacian la fiesta de su election."
3. Ibid.: "Luego de la mesma, quemaron los aderezos de papel, y cuipil, diciendo que eran como comer, dando de comer al fuego."
4. Hernandez, op. cit., pp. 58, 61, 68: cuilapilli of amatlacuilo, feather vestment, etc.

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw copal incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the disconsolate, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

692 And it is said that the lords and rulers were installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a
693 celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6] on Four Rain. At that time the lords over the cities
431 came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and however far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

[482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

ach in çan macoxahuiztli, in motelinja, çan copalxalli in theco qujcoma: ach in çe ixquac qujtzacuja, in mollujcuetlacatl, xuqujcuetlacatl, in ixtla, in ocelhuatl: çan ic in jaxhuti theco qujçepeua, ic qujtlamaca in jacoian itech:

ioan mjnja in tlatoque vecan mocuechtlaiain motlatocatlaiain, in jpan in ce itzcuintli: ach ipan mocualtiuia, motecpecuia, motlatocapacuia, in ouhcacatl, iquac nevilian calhuja, in ahcpetl ipan tlatoque, cuonotzalo, ic machitilo in ioncujcan tlatoani omotlali, mjjec: injc calhuj, in jnnetlapalouia, in jnnetlapalol quiualuj, quiualtequj in macuxtli, in tilmatli, in xuchitl, in jetl, in çaçe theia inxuxuxinjça, yaxuchocça imalhiqouh, in camqa, in quexquychca oaloua, quitlamamaca, quitlatequjlia in tlatoani, ioan quitlapalou, quitlatlauhtia, ouhcotlalia in jnnechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlauhtoani, quitlacuepilia, quitlauanequjlilia:

ach çan no inj in chiualo, in nanjjco, çan ic mocuepa in jnnetlaçotlalia, injc motlaneuj, injc mjximati, injc momalcochoa, injc mocochiua, quipanamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: ach in tilmatli çan quipapajlhuiuh, çan quipajlhuiuh, çan quipajlictiuh, çan quipajltica in quipanamaca, in, in quipotlauhtia, quipiaxcaua in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel ioxoal icaliric ochioxloc, otlachan, iquac inpan quipapepena, inpan quipachiua, quipatlachtilia, quipajpantia, quipapapantia, quipapapanjtia, in quenamj quipanacatiquac ahcpetl ipan tlatoque: injc nonoquja quipanajtzilia, quipoxcepana, inxtlujcalhoan.

tlaliuj, tlitlaliuj, tlitlalhuipinj, tlitlaliuca, in tlamamalo, in tlitlatequjca, quaxpaltjtiuh in netlaxtilli: ach in netlacaçilli, ixtic tlaçotli, ixtulaçotli, tla-

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Los pobres ofrecian un incienso, que llaman copalxalli, en vez mayor hogar: y los muy pobres, ofrecian una yerba medida, que se llama pacalxil en su mayor hogarcito.*" — In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, & in Thompson: *Modern Sahagun Corona* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 105.

6. Rigaurat, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Redfear, in *Le calendrier chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 95, identifies pacalxil as a species of chocolate; A. Gomez, in *Notes sur le calendrier et la hiérarchie des aztèques* (Rouen: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaubenard, 1889), p. 54, says it is definitely mescalin. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar las idolatrías de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otros costumbres gentílicas de los nuevos aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies pacalxil as peyote, which, according to Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is "*Hombre cuelgar que es el nuevo del pelo, es México,*" or *de a una planta parecida al compañelil* (Tagetes minuta), *cuyos hojas huelen a anis.*"

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64, Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: "*Se hacía de su elección, que llamaban mocuepanqui.*"

were loaded upon their shoulders tied in bundles. Their cold things the lords caused to be carried away to where they came to be kept; and some of it was only conveyed to others.[7]

cuitlapotzonmaulo, cuicuitlaipiztiuh in jxtlaçcuji, qui- 431
mjxpujlia tlatequjc, in cencopiztoc, iuan in cequjn çan
cencopiztlico.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "y quando heuia de llamar una cosa dexaua dicho, diuia muchas cosas, y muchas diuia a los mesmos señores, que eraijn ensijdos, de manera que eran ensijados juntos, de la que traijan dicho, que no eraijn ensijdos, de la que le eraijn ensijados. Las mesmas que diuia al señor, eran todas juntamente, hacian un mesmo; y muchas, o la mitad de diuersas maneras, conforme a los personas, o quien se traijan de dar; tambien las diuersas muchas obuiadas de ensijdas, y pocas ensijdas de los señores, para sus casas."

[p. 98 is blank]

721 696 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which it is told how these rulers (upon the day sign mentioned) proclaimed war. And at that time were sentenced those who were to die.**[1]

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo: vncan motenecoa, in quenja ichoantin tlatequa (in jpan in tonalli omotenevh) iactlatoaia, ioan vncan tlatzontequjlilloia in mjqujztli ipan catca.

701 721 When already the election ceremony had taken place, with festivity,[2] [the newly-elected rulers] dispersed themselves for war to be declared. Also in this way it was said that for a second time, in war, the rulers would hold the election ceremony. Then to a considerable degree did the chieftains, the strong, cast their lot with him. They were urged and thrust upon him that they might show him their skill and aid him; so that they might take captives for him. This was because in this way they sought, dedicated themselves to, and gained their drink and food, and their capes, through the help of which they would live and have raiment; and he would honor them, etc. They would become his standard-bearing warriors, who, it was said, courted danger, hurled themselves against the foe, and joined in the fray.

In jquac ic omotecpac teconcentzalistica: njman ic no cuele oalmotlalia injc iactlatolo, no ic mjtoa ic oppa iaoc motecpacan in tlatoanj, iquac cenca ipan mopepena in tiacaoan, in chicaoanque, ipan netotocholo, nemamalioa, injc qujtlamatiliaque, qujpaleviaque, injc ichoan uel qujtlamaltizque, ipampa ca qujxtoca, ipan mjxpoa, qujmotetequjlilia in jauh, in jtlaqual, in jtilma, injc ipal nemjzque, ipallaquemjaque, qujomauizaçotia, Etc. itlaujcecacoan mochiouzque in mjtoa: injc aqujtiaçotia in jntzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, teca momotla, teujc mopetlatiuj:

696 And it was also said that on this [day sign] One Dog a court of justice was held. Then was sentence pronounced upon those who were to die. And at this time were released and freed those who had done nothing serious. And they absolved of their crimes those who had suffered injustice for no apparent crime or discernible fault, and had served and paid a penalty for it: those who had only wrongly been imprisoned for some invented wrong, who only paid and atoned another's fault or crime, or perhaps served in another's place. Perhaps they imprisoned one for another's fault. So they had been forced into bondage and had become slaves. At once they bathed there at Chapultepec to lay aside their crimes.[3]

ioan mjtoa no ipan tecutlatolcia injo ce itzcuintli, vncan tlatzontequjlilloia in jmpan ca mjqujztli: auh iquac qujxtlloia, cacaloia, in amo cenca ovi ic caze, ioan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti, in amo cenca melaoac, in amo uel ixnezquj, in amo cenca uel nextica ic tlacoti, ic tlanamjquj in aço çan tlapictli qujtzaqua, çan tlapiqujloque, çan ixpopoiotlanamjctiloque, ixpopoiotlanamjcque, aço çan tepon in tlaicoa, aço çan tecujtl in qujtzaqua, injc cujtiloque in victli, mecapalli, injc victique, mecapaloique, iquac njman vmpa onmaltia, in chapulteper, injc qujncaoa, intlatlacul:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en el mismo convocaban a vencer, a los que por algún gran crimen, estaban presos."*

2. *Ibid.*: *"Ha acabado de hacer la fiesta de la dedicación de su señorío. . . . asia de vencer la grandeza de su señorío."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, loc. cit.

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chapter xii: *Ma chapultepec ximaltl.* In the Guthrie ed., VI, 41, 67, the corresponding Spanish text reads: "Dicen [eran a beber a Chapultepec, o quería poder [eran a beber a Chapultepec. — *Esto refiere dice el que los tenían algunos grave enfermedad o algún cargo pesado, con deseo de cuerpo libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad; dice:* Ma chapultepec ximaltl, *que quiere decir, bañarse los que en aquos tiempos cuando con cargo o enfermedad se iba quitar. Chapultepec es como fuente que está cerca de México, muy buena; los que se bañan en ella piensan que les hace dicho gran merced. Así, este adagio es de los mexicanos.*"

And one then born they hence regarded as fortunate and said that he would be rich. Our lord would reward him; through his grace he would buy slaves and ceremonially bathe them for sacrifice. Or many times he would have others sing and dance. And[a] when they gave him a name, they arranged it for Four Reed. Then they gave food to the young boys and had them perform the naming ceremony.[1] This was because that time was the time of the election rites, of the election of the rulers of the cities.

And also it was said that on One Dog the owners and breeders of dogs rubbed ochre on all the dogs' heads.[2]

And [the day signs] which followed it were Two Monkey, and Three Grass, Four Reed, Five Ocelot, Six Eagle, Seven Vulture, Eight Motion, Nine Flint Knife,[3] Ten Rain, Eleven Flower, Twelve Crocodile, Thirteen Wind. These were all the group of day signs.

All were as in their account, as mentioned. Each day went related as to the manner of gifts of those then born. This is already explained; in many places hath it been made quite apparent. And when [these had] ended, thereupon set in —

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, injc quitonalittaia, quitoaia: mocuitlhonoz, ipal icz, quitlamauiçalhuia in totecujo: aço tecoua, tealtia, aço quezaquipa cuicuica teitotiz: uh inic quitocamacaua, quin no ipan quimartiuia in nacocatl, iquac quitlaelqualiaia, quitzicvenquaqualiaia in pipiltotonti: ipampa in vncan motlatocapaca, in netlatocapaçaian tlatoque, altepeme.

No ioan mitoa: in ipan in ce itzcuintli, in iaquichtin chichime, quinquatlaviaia in itzcuinqueue, in itzcuinnemjtique.

Auh in quitoquilia vme oçomatli, ioan ey malinalli, navi acatl, macuilli oçelotl, chiquacen quauhtli, chicome coatlaquaxtli, chicuei olin, chicuaui tecpac, matlactli quiauitl, matlactlocze xochitl, matlactlomome cipactli, matlactli vmei hecatl, in iaquitetl in cencalpā tonalli,

ça ie much iuhqui in itoleca omoteneuh, injc ce, cemjlhuitl tlapoaltitiuh, in quenamj innemmac ipan tlacati, ie omomelauh mijeccan vei omonenextiz: auh in iquac onquiz in nimian ic oalmoquetza.

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4. Or: and is intended.

5. See Chapter 5, n. 1.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tambien tenian una ceremonia que en este signo, los que criaban los perrillos, que luegos daban los colaqueos con los colaqueos."

7. Tenpoa: tenpoal is uncertain.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned the fifteenth sign, named One House. And it was said to be evil. It was said that the men then born were thieves, patrons of vice and sin. All which befell them was bad. And it was said that the women [then born] were very lazy and much given to sleep, and did nothing useful.

—One House. This One House, they said, was a totally evil day sign, the breeding-place of vice and sin. And also, at that time, descended the so-called Goddesses; and what then came to pass hath already been told in many places. The midwives especially paid them honor; each one individually made offerings to them in her own home.

He who was then born, they fully expected, would thus come to a bad end: perhaps he would die in battle, or be taken captive; or perish at the crossing of the waters; or he would enter [among the foe] and be carried off. Perhaps he would be offered as a striped one in gladiatorial sacrifice, or be shot full of arrows; or his head would be burst in the fire, or he would be cast into the flames. Perhaps they would twist him in a net, or smash him, or tear out his entrails—violently tear out his entrails: or just destroy him like a water rat, pushing him under the water, spearing and stabbing him; or they would just cook him [in the steam bath].

And in this way he would come to a bad end. Perchance he would commit adultery. Perhaps he would covet a woman. Perhaps he would covet another's woman. Perhaps he would eat another's food, lift his head from another's [bed]. And the woman would be his companion in death; they would break and smash both their heads. Hence were adulterers called "broken heads" or "smashed heads."

And so in this way he came to a bad end. Perchance he would sell himself, would eat and drink his substance, would swallow himself, would put an end to himself.[1] Disconsented, nowhere did he feel tranquil. Thus he lived a thief. He robbed, he

Inic cempoalli on chiccome capitulo: vncan motenena, inic caxtolteti machiotl, in jtoca ce calli: ioan quji amo qualli, quji in vncan tlacatia toqujchti, ichtecque catca, teuhtli tlaçolli quimocujtlaviaia: mochi amo qualli in jnpan mochioaia: auh quji in çioa cenca tlatziujnj, cenca cochinj, njman atle qualli qujchioa. 787X

In ce calli: jnjn ce calli, qujtoaia, njmon amo qualli tonalli, tlaçolli, teuhtli iolian, ioan no ipan temoia in omoteneuhque cioatetco, auh in tlein vncan mochioaia, ic mjeccan omjto: in ichoan titici, oc cenca ichoan quinmaujztiliaia, occeniaca qujntlamanjliaia in jnchachan, 787X 776 844

in aqujn ipan tlacatia, cenca qujtlatenmachiliaia, inic obujcan quiçaz, aço iaomjquiz, axioaz, iapanioca̦n popoliuja, anoço calaqujz, vicoz, aço onoanaloz, onoanoz, aco cácalioaz, aço quatlecueponjloz, aço tlepan tlaxoz, anoço qujmatlapatzcazque, quevitequjzque, anoço qujxicanazque, qujxicteteoanazque, anoço çan catoçanpoloaque, catlanpapachozque, vncan qujxiliizque, tlatzotzopotztinemj, anoço çan qujtemazque, 787X

ioan inic ovican quiçaz, aço tetlanximaz, aço tetlan aquiz, aço cacitl, vipilli tepan canaz, aço tetlaqualiz, tetlan quateujz: auh in cioatl imjquiztevical iez, vmextin qujnquatepipitzinjzque, qujnquatexaxamanjzque, ic tocaiotilo in tetlanxinquj, quatepitzic, quatexamac: 787X 684

ioan inic ovican quiçaz, aço monamacaz, moquaz, mjz motolos, motlamjz, çcan avia, acan tlacaco tlamati, inic nemj, iichtequj, motlitlacuja, tetlitlatlalochtia, tetlacujcujlia, tetlatlaçaltia, tecacalxaputla, tequjquimjliquanja, 787X

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "durmiendo, que nada sintiendo, que el mesmo se vendaria, y remataria, y hacaria su provecho."

X787 plundered and fled, he pilfered, he stole from people in the streets; he broke into people's houses; he deprived them of their raiment.

çan iuh aviloujti, much qujmotequjtia in olli, in patolli, pãpatoa, ôollama, motlatlanjtoa, tetlatlanjtoa, moxixicoa, texixicoa, texixictlanj, onxtlatlalia, muchi qujtlanjtoa in jchan onoc, muchi patoloo, tlachco, qujtlamja, in jntetzon, in jnnepachol itatzin, inantzin, muchi qujchteccaqujxtia, in açoc cana itlatzin tlatilo, çan nen qujpiqui, çan nempanca in motlanjtoa, aoc tle in qujxquetza, aoc tle in jtlatlanjtol, injc tlanamjctiz, injc vel oviti, aoc tepapatla, patoloo, tlachco, oviti, chiquati, qujchiquatilia, anoçe qujmomachtia in ollatolli, patollatolli, ollatole, patollatole:

X787 Living only in dangerous luxury, he was completely given to the rubber ball game, and to *patolli*. He continually played *patolli*, or the *tlachtli* game.[2] He lost; he lost the possessions of others. He was deceived. He deceived others or tried to deceive them. He detained others. He wagered everything which was in his home. He used up everything in *patolli* and *tlachtli*. All the treasures and support of his beloved mother and father he spirited away, even if some little thing had been hidden. In vain he practised deceit; to no purpose he wagered. There was no more that he could lay down as stakes, nothing more for him to wager, to match, to embarrass [rivals]. He no longer overcame others in *patolli* or *tlachtli*, or embarrassed, despoiled, or took all the wagers, even though he understood the language, the rules, of *tlachtli* and *patolli*.

X787 And he was not of good condition; he in no way excelled others. He was completely clothed in rags and tatters. He had no bowl nor jar. And he visited and inflicted pain, misery, and suffering on one.

auh amo ivian iectli, amo ivian tecauh, motqujtica tzotzomatli, tatapatli, ácaxe, ácome: ioan tecoco, tetolinj, cocolíztli qujteititia, ic temotla:

And although he might take captives in war, it was said that he achieved only misery. Though he might become a seasoned warrior, he lived only in complete misery, torment, poverty, and need. He went about with his rags and tatters in pieces about his neck. His old maguey fiber cape hung from him in shreds. Indeed, he went about on earth very destitute.[3] Or else somewhere he would be sacrificed as a captive; he would die as a ceremonially bathed captive; he would be ritually bathed as a sacrificial captive.

auh in manellamaz iaoc, mjtoa çan icnoiotl in caci, in manel tequjoacati, çan icnoiotl ic mãpãtinemj, totoneoatinemj, in jiollo, aoneoatinemj, aonmonamjquj, in jtzotzoma, in jtatapa, iquechtlan cotontinemj, in jaiaçol qujchichiquailpia, uel ompa onqujzztinemj in tlalticpac, anoço cana teumjquiz, tlaaltilmjquiz altilox:

But if perchance something should be his deserts, it would not endure. He might become very deserving in his youth; at once, in his youth, the good counsel and teaching begin. On emerging mature, *not* genuine on earth was the little which he might attain.[4]

auh intla ça noço itla imãceoaltiz, amo cazcanviz, vellamaceoaz, in jpiltian, çan njman ipan pilpeoaz in vel monotzaz, vel moxcaliz, çan vei qujçaz, amo iviian, tetitlan, quauhtitlan, in jtla qujcnopilhujz.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," Chapter 10.

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xii: *ompa onquiça tlalticpac*: "He would a cautivado pobreza, o estuvo en cautivado pobreza" (Garibay ed., VI, 41, 16).

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*por ventura que haga provecho, desde pequeño: no se pudra ocupar de toda ventura.*"

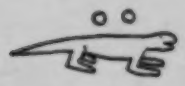

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth still more of the nature and condition of women born on this sign.

And if it were a woman, similar were the deserts which visited her, and which were inflicted and laden upon her. She could do nothing. She could not twirl the spindle; she could not move nor raise the batten. She was incapable, witless, negligent, stupid, jeering, and impudent. She did nothing but talk in a loud voice; she went about snapping her chewing gum. She was of evil, inhuman tongue. Without effort, evil came from her lips.[1] Like flowing water she talked; her vile words swirled up like foam. Indeed, she was given to defaming people.

And she devoted herself only to sloth, negligence, and shiftlessness. She was a harlot, too lazy to do anything, careless, indolent, and a constant sleeper. And from what she did, they at once knew, and it was at once known, that her rearing was endangered and brought to shame, and that she delivered herself to servitude.

And in just the same way she achieved nothing and was not diligent at the place of her owner, where the slave-owner was. She could not prepare drink nor use the grinding stone for others. She was just uselessly attractive[2] and vain.[3] Furthermore, she was a great lump of flesh with eyes,[4] of no value and untouchable.

Wherefore they left her in the hands of the slave-dealers there at Azcapotzalco; she became a slave to be sold. And later she died, ceremonially bathed and sacrificed. This became her condemnation, her eternal fate.[5] She entered the place of the sacrificial stone.[6] For in truth her incorrigibility had been left to and had descended upon her. To no avail had

Injc ompoualli on chicuey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj iniriliz, in jmjuhcatiliz cioa in jpan tlacatia in machiotl. 787X

Auh intla cioatl, çan ie no iuhquj in jmacecaltj, in jtech eva, injc movitequj, in jtech motzotziona, atle vel ai, avel qujtotia in malacatl, avel colinja, auel cacocuj in tzotzopaxtli, maoolol, mateteepo, ixqujqujmjl, ixtepetla, vetzquj̨ztomac, ẖquetztzana, çan ic nemjntlapitzaoa, itzic qujtlatlatztzatinemj, tentlauelilloc, ẖtentlacatl, atle ovi in qujcacamacaoa: iuhqujn acontetemoa qujtoa, iuhqujn qujmonolotza itlaellatol, vel tepapacanj:

auh çan qujzcauja in cujtlaçotlaoatinemj, tlatenmattinemj, moquẽquẽquetza, maaviltia, aiel itla aiz, cujtlatacopic, cujtlaçotlac, cochmjmjl auh in ie oqujchiuh, çan jc qujmati, çan ic imachitilo, in movicanaquja, in movitilia, in oalmozcalia, ic tevic, ic temecapal muchiuhtinemj:

auh çan no iui aontlaiccoa, aontlaeltia, in jtecuacan in vmpa tetlacauh, ẖvel atl, ẖvel metlatl contechiujlia, çan neian qualpul, qualtepul, ixtimalpul, iece çan molhuj tlacamjmjlli, atle inecoca, atle ic temachilo:

ic njman inmac concaoa in tlacanecujloque in vmpa azcaputzalco, tlacanecujlolli muchioa, auh çatepan tlaaltilmjquj, ieoatl ipopoliuhca, yceniaca muchioa, vncan tzomoccalaquj, ca nel iauelnenotzaliz in oconcaujli, in ocontemovi, aocmo tlatollin tlatolli, avmpa oqujttac in jzcaliloca, çan jpan otlamelauh in iuhquj itonal, in jpan tlacat: [567]

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "salen de la boca, las malas palabras."

2. Meaning: coquettish.

3. Sahagún: cf. Florentine Codex, Book VI, cap. xii, fol. 192 (facsimile), and Sahagún (Cuelbay ed.), VI, 41, 58: Tiene buenas cara: tiene buenos aparimientos. — Esta refiere se dice de las personas que son en gesto y disposición parecer que son para muchos, y no son para nada en la verdad, o son para poco; de donde se dice por ella de mujer liviana, cara galviana."

4. Sahagún, "Manuscrito con enmiendas," p. 215, glosa No. 12 (facsimile): "lo que decimos pedaço de carne con dos ojos."

5. Translation in the Real Palacio MS.

6. Tzomoccalaquj: we have interpreted tzomoc as commodus; cf. corresponding Spanish text: "dió cuenta a mando en el tajon, de las palabras."

been repeated counsel.[7] She had ignored her rearing. Just so was it substantiated upon her as was the day sign on which she was born.

But in order to improve one's day sign somewhat, they bathed one on Three Serpent, for the reason that was told of all the third day signs. If they waited a day, they made it good. And if still they should wish it, perhaps they bathed him later, on Seven Water, likewise because of the goodness of each individual day sign with the number seven, as [is said] above.

And so we shall not repeat uselessly[7] nor reopen the discussion. Not just mixed, twisted, disordered, unconsidered, and profitless discussion shall we make use of or continue to work over.[8] And in order not to do this, we shall continue to mention, return, and go back to all that was said and stated. Here only one part is mentioned.[9] A word is said of the account. For all are just as in the separate accounts. All hath been mentioned—how one by one they proceeded in order: the day sign which came as good, or as somewhat good, or as in no way good. All thirteen thus go to their conclusion; because of this, all of the day signs are brought together in one group, beginning with One House, and [then] Two Lizard, Three Serpent, Four Death, Five Deer, Six Rabbit, Seven Water, Eight Dog, Nine Monkey, Ten Grass, Eleven Reed, Twelve Ocelot, Thirteen Eagle. And when all these days had ended, then set in—

auh inic achi qujqualtilinque itenal, ipan caltiaia in Ei coatl: ipampa omjto, in jxquijch eri tonalli, intla cemjlhujxitia qujqualtitaia: auh intla noço qujnequjzque, aço quja jpan caltizque, in chicome atl: no ipampa in jqualtica in jxquijch chichicovme tonalli, vt supra.

Auh injc amo ça nen totlatlatoxque: titlatolçacamuzque, in amo çan tlatolxaqualli, tlatolnechicolli, tlatolnenel, iliviztlatolli, çan nen tlatolli toconnemjtizque, ticcueptinemjzque ioan injc amo çan ieehoati, tiquitotinemjzque, ticcueptinemjzque, ticcujtlacueptinemjzque in jxquijch omjto, omoteneuh, ça njcan onmocentenoa, onmocencamaitos, in tlatolli, ca çan ie much iuhquj in jtlatlatolio ixquijch omoteneuh, in iuh tetecpantivi, in vncan qualutiuh tonalli, ioan in achi qualtitiuh: ioan in njman amo qualtitiuh, in jxquijch ic ontlatlatoiuh, matlatlactlomeei: ipampa in ça njcan onmocentlalia, izquijtemo cencalpá tonaltin, in qujnpeoalitica ce calli, ioan vme cuezpalin, ei coatl, nauj mjquijztli, macujlli maçatl, chiquacé tochtli, chicome atl, chicuei izcuintli, chicunauj ocomatli, matlactli malinalli, matlactlooe acatl, matlactlomome ocelutl, matlactlomej quauhtli, auh in jquac ontlan izquilhujtl in, njman oalmoquetza.

7. After *mej*, the *Real Palacio* MS has *amo ça yaloaia*.

8. *Tzoontlalmamaqui* in *ibid.*

9. *Amoonmoteneuh* in *ibid.*

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of the sixteenth sign. It was said to be a good day sign; and it was said that those then born became aged. Nevertheless, it was not certain that this would so come to pass, because many then born soon died.

—One Vulture. This Vulture was said to be the day sign of the aged, as hath been told in its account in various places. Whoever was then born they regarded favorably; they said he would become an old man or an old woman. He would partake; he would go partaking of happiness. And he would be wealthy and admired on earth.

But even though one who attained this (day sign) might so realize, nevertheless, many people born at this time died.

And if there were at hand perishable and expendable things, good food, wherewith to gather, assemble, arrange, acknowledge, render homage to, and banquet others, then at once they bathed [the child] on this day sign and therefore called him Coscaquauh. But if there were nothing to expend, the parents still deferred while they acquired wealth and provided all the different things to be required. They bathed [the child] later, on Seven Wind.

And Two House[1] followed [One Vulture], and Three Flint Knife, Four Rain, Five Flower, Six Crocodile, Seven Wind, Eight House, Nine Lizard, Ten Serpent, Eleven Death, Twelve Deer, Thirteen Rabbit.

Of all of these, the designations were the same, as they proceeded in proper order. No longer is it necessary for us to continue repeating only worn-out, useless discussion, so much unfit talk, so many lazy words. Hence a few short words concerning only the beginning day sign, whereby we make manifest how it was to be considered all the twenty times it fell, as each group marched along its course and went following in order. When the group of day signs ended, which became as one week, considered as a Sunday, then One Water set in and took up its task and labors.

Iqic cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc caxtoltecl oce machiotl: qujlmach qualli tonalli: auh qujlmach in aquijque vncan tlacatia, vecaoaia, ieoc amo nelli iuh muchioaia, ichica ca mjequjntin iciuhca mjquja, in vncan tlacatia.

In ce coscaquauhtli: injn coscaquauhtli, mjtoa veue tonalli, ca quezqujcan omjto, in iuhquj itlatlatollo: in aquijn vncan tlacatia, quijquallitaia, qujtoa veuetia, ilamatiz, qujtlamjz, qujtlamjteoaz in paquijlitztli, ioan mocujltonoz, tlamaujçoz in tlaltícpac:

auh tel çan no ipantia, in aquijn iuhquj ipan mochioaia, ichica ca injec tlacatl mjquja, in jpan tlacatia:

auh intla onca poliujnj, popoliujnj, in qualonj, tenechicolonj, tecentlalilonj, teremolonj, teixtimachonj, tetlacamachonj, tecoanotzalonj, njman iquac caltia in jpan itonal ic qujnotza Coscaquauh: auh intlaca ie tle popoliujz, oc conchololtia in pilhoaque, oquje onmotlamachia, oquje conjhimati, in jxqujch monênênequjz, qujn jpan caltia in chicome hecatl.

Auh in contoqujlia vme calli, ioan ei tecpatl, nauj qujavitl, macujlli xuchitl, chiquacen cipactli, chicome hecatl, chicuei calli, chicunauj cuetzpalin, matlactli coatl, matlactloce mjqujztli, matlactlomome maçatl, matlactli vmei tochtli.

In jxqujch in, çan ie centetl injn tenesaloca, in iuh tecpantiuj, aocmo monequj in ça tlatolçolli, ça nentlatlatolli, in omachcamatzopetziuh, omachtlatziuh tlatolli tiquijtoinemjzque: ipampa in çaiio tonalpeoallotl, achitzitzin tlatolli ic toconoztia, injc motta, in jxquipa vetzi cempoalpa, injc cecencalpan otlatocatiuj: ioan oalmotoquijlitiuj: in jquac ogtlan in cencalpan tonalli, in iuhquj ce Semana muchioa, in jpan machoia ce Domingo: njman ic oalmoquetza, vmpeoa, ontequjana, ontequjcuj in ce atl.

1. Two Monkey should follow One Vulture. In Chapter 32, Two House is in correct sequence.

[p. 98 is blank]

X 787 Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the seventeenth sign, called One Water. It was said to be an evil day sign. And it was said of those then born that they rejoiced a little only at the beginning of their lives, and that they ended in evil. And it was said always to be evil when they died. And it was said to be the day sign of Chalchiuitl icue, whose feast day the water folk observed.

Inic cempoualli on matlactli capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, inic cuitolli omome machiotl, in jtoca ce atl: quijlmach amo qualli tonalli: auh quijl in aquijque vncan tlacatia, çan ipeuhian in jnnemjlix achi pequja: auh injc tzonquijçaia amo qualli, auh quijlmach mochipa, amo qualli, injc mjequja: auh quijl itonal cenca in chalchiujtl icue, quijlhujquijxmiliaia in atlaca.

One Water. This One Water, they said, was also evil. And they said it was quite varied, of different qualities, all good or all bad.

Ce atl: injn ce atl: quijtoa, amono qualli: yoan quijtoa, çan chictlapanoli, chictlapantica: ixquich qualli, ixquich amo qualli:

At this time they made offerings to the one named Chalchiuhtli icue, who represented the water. Especially did the sellers of water, the owners of boats — those who transported water with boats — and those who launched boats, made offerings to her. These formed her image; they set in place the framework [for her image] at her temple, in her tribal districts.

vncan quitonaltiaia: in jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue, in jpan mjxcoaia atl: oc cenca ichoan quitlamanjliaia, yn anamacaque, in acaleque, acaltica atlacuj, yoan acalquetzque: ichoan quixiptlatiuia quitlaliaia ycoloio in jtzupan, in jcalpulco.

And thus was it said to be diverse [in fortune], one which could not attain and carry with it very much good. That is to say, of the one then born, very few resulted great and fortunate at this time. For according to his deserts, his day sign, he was only all evil, completely surrounded by vice. And in evil he would go; in it he would die. Perchance somewhere he would be stoned — he would be felled by a stone; or else he would be drowned — he would perish in the water.

Auh injc mjtoa çan chictlapanquj yn amo vel macitica motquitica ic qualli, quitoznequi in aquja ipan tlacatia, çan vej quiçaia cenca çan aca in vncan quiçaia tlacnopilhujani, ca in juh ca vel inmacoual, itonal çan muchi ꝗualli in coloutica motquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, auh amo qualli yujc izz, inic miquiz, aço çan cana tetepacholoz, tetica uetziz, anoço, atocoz, atlan mjquiz,

But even if, on the other hand,[1] he merited some reward, only for a miserable moment, only for a short time, a very short time, and frequently for a brief space, a moment, for a time only, would he partake of his riches.[2] So of him were said the words of the talkative inhabitants, that in the world there are bad days. Sometimes one succeeded; sometimes one failed; if, in his childhood, he should suffer

auh intla ça noço itla imacoualtiz, çi cotocpol, çan cuel achic, can cuecuel achic, çan achica, çan achitenca, çi achitzinca, çan ixquich casijd in, in jxpan onquijçaz in jnecujltonol, ic ipi mjtoa, in jndatol tlaticpac tlatlatoanj, çan tatacapitz uel in tlaticpac, quehman veli, quenman ueli, intla ipiltian motolinia, quin itzonco in achi moiollalia:

1. *Intla ça noço:* Simeoli, op. cit., has *and* (although, yet) or *quantoever* (as you will) for *intla*ça, and *noço* (and not) for *noço*.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y el algunos tiempos duraba muchos; muchos pocos tiempos, por ventura el mayor tiempo, o por ventura la ultima."

X 787

misery, later, in the end, he would be somewhat content.[3]

But if by chance his wealth began in his childhood, his youthful years, he received, in exchange, destruction, a miserable portion, and ended and finished with misery. And if it were a merchant, it was said, perhaps his goods would be swept away by a river and lost. And if one then, at this time, lacked zeal, it was as if his life were swept away and immersed in evil. For just of that nature was his day sign, Ore Water.

But we shall speak in a few places and take the matter up. We shall go returning to,[4] explaining considerably, and explaining much, the expressions which are different. We shall hang on to it. We shall reflect much; we shall repeat, like one not tired of talking or of lazy tongue. We only merely quickly develop and superficially dispense with, hastily and superficially dispense with the above words which are quite apparent and manifest, *ut supra*.

He who was then born was, like the day sign, evil. They later sought out and importuned a time of good. Then they bathed him. It was said that thus in part they reversed and made good his birth. No one knew nor understood whether perhaps something would be his reward, if he would perform his penances well, etc.

[85]

For so are evident the many places, if there have been so many times, where each of the day signs known as good, go. Because here are assembled and mentioned together the different ones which were made to proceed and go along in each series, each group.[5] For Two Dog taketh second place still followeth. Then come in order, following along, Three Monkey, Four Grass, Five Reed, Six Ocelot, Seven Eagle, Eight Vulture, Nine Motion, Ten Flint Knife, Eleven Rain, Twelve Flower, Thirteen Crocodile.

When the different days which followed along at this time had laid down their burdens, ceased their labors, ended their functions, and run their course, then set in and took up the burden—

auh intla noce njman ipã pilpeua, quipilpilpeualti inetlamachtil, çan tlantica, çan cotocpol, injc conmotlanevia: auh ça icnoiotl: injc ontlatzonequjxtia, ontlatzontia: auh intla puchtecatl, mjtoa, aço cana tlatzetiz, tlapoloz: auh in aca çan njman ic atle onquiça, çan iuh amoiaua, aujlquiça in jnemjliz: ipampa ca njman iuhquin itonal oc atl:

auh injc amo cenca oc noujian tontlatonque, tontlaanazque in amo çan iec tlatolli ticcueptinemjzque, tictequjmattinemjzque, tictequjmatiaque, ipan tonpipilcatozque, titotequjmatiaque, titlatlatoque, in iuhquj atocnquauhtinj, atientlatziujnj, ça inquich ic onmaatiquiça tocnpapanqua, tocnpapanquatiquiça, in çan uel nenetica, inmetica, panj caca tlatelli vt supra.

In aquin ipã tlacatia, in iuhquj in tonalli, in amo qualli, quin jpan contlatotoquilizia, vmpa quin contlatequjviaia, in qualcan, iquac caltiaia, mjtoa ic quichicoquixtia, quiqualtilia, in jtlacatiliz, aiac quimati, aiac ontlaman, in aço ça itla imacecaltiz, intla uellamaçeoaz. Et[6].

Ca ic nextica in quecizujcan intla quecizquicaopan ietetiuh in moteneoa qualli tonalli: ipampa in ça njcan onmocecentlalia, onmocentenco in inquj-teme in tlaotlatoctia, tlanenemjtia cencalpan, cencalopan: ca ichoatl ontlaoncaiotia, ontlatoquilia, in vme itzcujntli, ic tecpantiõj, mototoquilitiuh in ey ocomatli, nauj malinalli, macujlli acatl, chiquacen ocelotl, chicome quauhtli, chicuey cozcaquauhtli, chicunauj olin, matlactli tecpatl, matlactloce quiauitl, matlactlomome xuchitl, matlactlomei cipactli:

in jquac onnetz intequjuh in in ontequjcauhque in oconmotlaxilique in tlanenemjtiaia in inquilhuitl vncan tlaotlatoctia njmã oalmoquetza, ontequjana.

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3. Ibid.: "y por esto amaba su hombre el mejor, que dicen: que no el mesmo en dia bueno, y era malo."

4. *Tlamatzinchiquipal* in the *Codd Palacio* MS.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "a los que nombran en este signo: no los hagamos, hago, diferenciar; quero el mesmo dia, o quero el mesmo, o quero el diferente, o quero alegrarse, de los que alegrarse. Porque diferente: quero mal de mesmo, diente el trasmesmo, tendere alegrarse bebiendo."

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of the eighteenth sign, named One Wind, and the evil, the bad, which was with it. It was said that those then born gained as reward an evil day sign.

— One Wind. This One Wind, they said, was evil. At this time they made offerings to the one called Quetzalcoatl, who was the representative of the wind, the whirlwind.

And of him who was then born, they said that, if he were a nobleman, he would be a wizard,[1] inhuman; an astrologer,[2] one who had spells to cast.[3] It was evident to them that he was a man; nevertheless he was evil, corrupt, one who deluded, laid enchantments — the devil's works. He breathed [evil] on people, or cast the evil eye at them, or said spells over them, brought harm on them, or invoked the god [to do evil] to one. All his doings he mastered — all. Perhaps his was the disguise of a fierce beast, or a coyote, etc.

And if it were a commoner, in just the same way it was said of him that he was a demon; he caused one to be possessed, or to become demented; he danced with the arm taken from a woman dead in first childbed; he was a destroyer of men; he burned images for one.[4] Likewise, if it were a woman, she could enchant by taking apart or disarticulating the bones of the foot,[5] etc.

Injc cempoalli en matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa injc caxtolli vnei machiotl, in jtoca ce hecatl: ioan in amo qualli, in amo iectli in jtech ca: quijl amo qualli tonalli qujmaceoaia, in vncan tlacatia. 787x

In ce hecatl: ínin ce hecatl, qujtoa amo qualli, vncan qujtonaltiaia, in motenoa quetzalcoatl, in jxiptla catca hecatl, hecamalacotl:

auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, qujtoa intla pilli, nacalli iez, amo tlacatl, tlaciuhquj, nenonotzale, impanj neçi ca tlacatl, iecé amo qualli, itlacauhquj, itla qujmati, tlacatecolotlatolli, tlacatecoloiotl, teipitzanj, texotanj, tetlachiujanj, tetlanonochili, tetlateononochili, much ichiujl much qujmati, aço tequanñaoale, coionaoale. Er[a]. 787x 754

auh intla macehalli çan ie no iuhquj, ichoatl in mjtoa: tlacatecolotl, tetlatlacatecolouja, tepupuxaquavia, temamacpalitoaiti, tepoloanj, terujllotlatia: no iuhquj intla cioatl monenetzcopinquj, monenetzcopinanj. Er[a].

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*sería enhechizador . . . se transfiguraría en muchas formas . . . sería supersticioso, y hechicero, y maléfico.*" Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 1-2, p. 55) describes the *nanahuatl* as a magician and sorcerer of high class. His attributes marked him since his youth; he knew the hidden things of heaven and hell; he had supernatural powers, such as of foretelling rain, dispersing hail and pestilence, and protecting against violent imaginations; he lived unmarried, as a priest, in a temple, and advised the king and the people; he feasted, and for his arts used tobacco and such narcotics as chiohiqui and peyote.

See also Chapter 11, n. 4, *supra*.

2. "*Hombre nada o menos valeroso*[illegible] *[*[illegible]*, cobarde, gruñidor, hall-thrower]. *La raíz ciuh, parece derivar [illegible] mesoamericanos*" (Gurbop, "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171). Bandelier, *op. cit.*, defines *ciuhchiqui* as "*[illegible] un parecido del diablo, que [illegible] más parecido al Demonio al que Fue [illegible] [illegible] de [illegible] [illegible]* (Ind.)."

3. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *ehecatlachiki*. *Nenamaca*, however, could imply a pact or an understanding with the demonic as in Chapter 11, n. 4.

4. Cf. *supra*, Chapter 19.

5. *Mamapiqui*, in Harold Key and Mary Ritchie: *Vocabulario mixteno de la Sierra de Zacapoaxtla, Puebla* (México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano and Dirección General de Alfabetización Indígena, 1953), is defined as *se suda (el pie)*; *sudorar*, in Simeonovicz, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 308, is "*Desarticular, desarticular los huesos.*"

Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 56, describes one who "uses himself up. He lays his hands and feet in separate places. He dislocates all the joints. Then he covers the mangled members with a light cloth, and then they begin to operate and to grow again, so that it seems as if he had not been cut up, and thus he proves that this too is a juggler's trick."

See also Mamapiqui in Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 344.

X 787 754 And when he brought destruction on one, then he chose an evil day sign; he sought and searched it out. They said that he did great evil to one on Nine Dog, or Nine Death, or Nine Grass, and indeed on all the ninth positions, and the other bad day signs mentioned—each of the different positions named.[6]

sub in ipan tepoloaia, vncan quimmaiaia in aqualli tocalli, ichoatl contoxcaia, contlaxtoquijlaia, quijtoa ceuca ipan tepoloaia in chicuacuj izcoçiqui, aneço chicuacuj mjqujztli, chicuacuj malinalli, ihuan in ic muchi chichicuacuaiuj, ioan in oc ceçuj ixtoteuca aqualli tocalli, in jaquican omoteuah,

X 787 And of such different positions, it is told that he who had work of this sort, whose labors became these separate tasks, who undertook these various burdens, was never content. He had no food. He lived only in poverty, destitute, without a house or home; nowhere was he a householder; nowhere was he of a happy home, a householder of tranquility. He went looking forward only to misery. He went eating and consuming food for himself only if somewhere something were given him, if he were offered something in order to destroy people as a reward for doing evil to them. Perhaps somewhere he was seized when already he became negligent, slothful, or developed an aversion [to evil]. Then he was seized, and they cut hair from the crown of his head; they took his renown from him and damaged his day sign for him. Thus he was abandoned to his death by the hands of others.

sub in iuh quaquaican omjto, in aquiçu nihquj in itequjuh, itequjuh muchiua, quimoteuequjlia, aic auia, atle quiçuauj, çan motolinjtinetiliz aneçotinemj, ican ichã, ican chanca, aneo chane caca, acan chantlamatica: acan chane ca tlamatica, çan icnoxotl quiçtzinemj, çan ic conjiaztiuh, çan ic onmotlamjtiuh, instla cana itla maco, nemaqujlilo injc tepoloa, injc netlaquevilo: finoce-ean zzioa in jquac ic otlatlaziujti, ic ondaxujti, ic otlatlezilliuj, vncan ano quitzoncuj, quitkiçcujlia, quitonalitlacoa: ic ça tlmac onmomjquiçacaca:

X 787 754 And the ones known as men who danced with a dead woman's forearm, who crazed people,[7] when perhaps they would commit a robbery somewhere and spirit something from someone's home, would adorn the image of One Wind [Quetzalcoatl]. It went as their guide, at their head, guiding, marching in front. And they went bearing with them the forearm[8] of a woman who had died in childbed, and could not give birth to what was in her womb. When they took it from the one who had died, they only stole it during the night: they cut it off at midnight.

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sub in ichoanin moteneua, temaniacpalivouque, tepuptzaquauiquc, in jquac tla cana ichtequjzque, techan tlaquixtinque, quichichioaia in ixiptla oc hecatl: quiniacantinja iniacac, inixpan icatinja, ioan quiçquçiuj in jmacpal moçoçaquetzaquj, in iti ic iztuh in axcl mjxiuj iquac quiçcujliaia in quçn ommjquj, çan oquichtecacuja, icaltica in quitequjliaia, iocalli iti:

And so did they bury her, not at her home, but only leaving her there in the road; there at the very crossroads they buried her. They went skirmishing, fighting over her, and howling as they carried her. And as they brought her out of her house, it was not from the front; only at the back of the house,

sub injc quitocaia ano ichan, çan vmpa concaoaia in vtlica, vncan in uel oeuacac contoca, quitocalilitiuj, ipan necaliouiuh, cioviziuj injn quiçuca: sub injc quiçoalquixtia ichan, ano ixcopa in çcal, çan quiçujtlacoionja in calli, vmpa quiçquixtia, injc concaoa vmeac:

6. "Omoteuah in the Stad Palacio MS."

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible]."

8. Ibid.: "Un brazo desde el codo, hacia la mano, de alguna mujer, que estaba muerta, del primer parto: los cuadrillas, o barrios, el brazo [illegible]." Sahag. Ms. ut. dicuntur hospitium "when breaking on the threshold of a house with the hand of a woman who died in childbed; and the other household into a purified and innocuous state, and then plunder with impunity the whole house and commit every possible infamy upon its [illegible]."

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they broke a hole, through which they removed her so that they could leave her at the crossroads.[9]

And when those who danced with the forearm would somewhere destroy or rob people, one person carried and bore the forearm of the woman who had died in childbirth, on his shoulder. It was the one on her left, her left forearm. When he came to reach one's house, but had not yet entered the house, first of all he struck the mid-point of the courtyard with the forearm. Twice he struck. On reaching the entrance of the house, he struck the portal, the lintel, and then he passed by the square, wooden pillar. Then he once again struck there before the hearth.

When such came to pass, it was said, no more did one speak out. No one could be aroused. Verily, the householders had swooned with fear. And some of them were in a deep sleep, snoring and rumbling: there was sleeping as if one's nose were broken. And if now some only in vain sat looking, they could not move, nor stir, nor resist. They were stunned; their arms and legs were deadened. For verily they were spread out gazing upward with unseeing, glassy, and staring eyes.

And those great, evil thieves thereupon lit up the torches and sought out the food. First of all they ate; they took it for themselves. None could restrain them. For in truth they had overcome and bewitched the people. When they had satisfied themselves, then they entered the storerooms, the storage chambers, and bundled up and removed all the capes; the large, cotton blankets; the green stone; the gold. Indeed, everything that had been hidden away — the treasures, the guarded things, — all was laden on their backs; all was appropriated and sorted out. Whatsoever it was, they placed as much on their backs, and with it arrayed themselves.

And in very truth, so it is said and so it is known, they did not leave them having done nothing; nor, with no result, did they take their pleasure with them taking advantage of their sleep, of the sleep into which the common folk had been thrown, to hang on to [the women], line them up, rolling them aside and enjoying another's place. There where each one lay apart, where she was stretched out, they simply rolled her over to another place. How much the wicked ones made sport of them cannot be said.[10]

suh in ieoantin in temamacpalitotique, in jquac cana tepolouque, ichtequjzque, oc tlacatl conquechpanoa conmoquechpanoltia in jmacpal, mocioquetzquj, ichoatl in in jopuch, iopuchana, in jquac oacito techan, in siamo calaquj calitic: oc ic achto itoalnepantla ic tlaujtequj in macpalli, ic oppa tlaujtequj, in oacique, calteempan, qujujtequj in calizquatl, in tlaixquatl: njman iee in tlaquetzalli, ic conmocaoa in tlecujlizquac, oc oppa oncan tlaujtequj,

in jquac in iuh mjtoa njman aocac naoati, aocac uel mopoçaoa, vel ioiolmjquj in chaneque, auh in cequjn çan vel cocochmjquj, tlacotaliuj, tlaquaqualaca, iuhqujn neacatzaianalocochioa, auh intla ça oc aca nenizztoc, aoc vel molinja, aoc uel mocuechinja, aoc vel momapatla, vel çoçotlaoa, çoçotlacmjquj yn jnma, in jmjcxi, ca nelli mach in acopa teiizztoque, ixtepeptzteme, ixpeptzteme onoque, ixpeptzinteque:

auh in ieoantin ichtecpatlachpopul, njman ic ic tlepitza, qujtemoa in tlaqualli, achtopa tlaqua, vel motlacauja aiac qujquelleitia, ca nel contepoloque, ontepuxaquaujque in jquac onmoiollalique njman ic calaqui in tlecopa, in tlatlacikali, tlamaololoa, tlaqujxtia in jaqujch tilmatli, in quachtli, in chalchiujtl, in teocujtlatl, in ic izqujch tlatilonj, in tezontli, in pielli, netlacujtlapuztzmamaltilo, netlanêuectilo, netlatlatililo, in çaço ac quexqujch ic conmotlamamaltia, ic onmochichica:

auh in nel cenca iuh onmjtoa, in iuh onmachizti, amo nentecaoa, amo nenequjça, teca maujltiteca in iuh cochioa, nezochitilo macoxalpan pilcoatoc, vipanuztoc, teiiquanja, tepapatla, in vncan ceoiaca ionoia, inetecaia, oc ic cecni conteca, amo vel mjtoa, in quexqujch ic teca maujltia tlauelloque:

9. Cf. [illegible] Kupfel, pp. 186 ff.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible], y deponíanlas en las mayores, de aquellos otros."

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And as they went along the road, nowhere did they rest or refresh themselves. They immediately sought out their homes. It was so said and affirmed that if any of them rested by the road, he could no longer go, rise up, nor travel. There the dawn would overtake him. He would betray his fellow thieves. They would be seized; each one seized and imprisoned, despoiled, and firmly bound.

-auh ioic vi ohca ocan mocuepa, ocan mojuqueuia, ça quiju cõ vinqa quimattiuj in jochan: iuh mijua, quihmach intla ocachi mocuepa vtlica: aioc uel yaz, aio uel mouaz, aioc uel ohtaocan: vncan ipan thuaqa, quipanoaia in jchtecoiaiqua, anoaqua, çaçaqua, nauaiolouqua, tecuztilpiloa.

Thirty-second Chapter, which telleth of the tears, the lamentations, and the misery of those who had been robbed, whom those who had danced with the dead forearm had plundered; and of the rest of the houses belonging to [One Wind].

And those who had been despoiled later then revived, moved, continued to stir, and rose up; they arose one by one. They to whose home the thieves had come stood up. They looked into the hearth, and into their coffers, woven reed containers, and palm leaf baskets. The bracelets, the green stone, and the quetzal feather mats, the mats of quetzal feathers, no more lay about. All was bare and laid waste.

They had carried away all the goods with them. All was gone. They had borne all away from them. They had heaped and massed the goods together, had robbed and looted them; they had stripped all of value. They had caused ruin and left them bare. They had worked thoroughly and wrought misery for them. They had plunged them into misery, destroyed them, and brought them to disaster.

In vain there was desperate searching. The women raised wails and howls, continuous howls; they raised a cry, beat their hands, pounded with their fists, and wept tears. Verily, how could it be? What could they do? Truly, of what profit was it? Of what profit was their work? What was left? What still could they say? Nothing more could be said. Where in truth could it be told? Each one even threw herself to the ground, cast herself on her face, beat her face, and wept, for it was carried away, scraped all together,—scraped clean—swept bare. They had stripped the necessities of life [procured] by drudgery; the things arduously established and founded; the solace of [the labor of] the elbow and the knee; that which had appeared and accumulated with effort, to increase and augment the property and possessions of our lord, etc.

In this manner they said that those who danced with a dead woman's forearm destroyed people, those known verily as genuine thieves, struck by

Inj cempoalli onmatlactli omome capiralo: ytechpa tlatoa in jochoquja, in jntlaocul, yoan in jnnezolinjliz in jchtequjlilioa: in qujmjchtequjliaia in tmamacpalitotique: yoan in oc cequj calli, in jtech poubquj yn. 787X 674

Auh in ichoantin otlaqujxiiiloque: qujnjquac muscalia, modlinja, mocuecuechinja, meoa, meoca, mpoatiquetza, in oecique inchan ychtecque: yn ontlachia in tlecopa, yoan yn jntopco, in jnpetlacalco: in jtamioc in maqujztli in chalchivitl: auh in quetzalpetlatl, yn jpetlaioc in quetzalli, aioc tle onvetztoc, ça cácactoc, ça nemjnhian:

oslacemjtquijque, otlaczia, oqujmontlacemjtquijlique, ontlamaololoque, oqujmontlamaolollujque, ontlanamixque, oqujmontlannamojelique, otlanavac ontlavicaque, ontlanemjuhcantilique, oqujmonpetztoccauhque, ovelqujmonchiuhque, oqujmonjcnochiuhque, icnoiotl oqujmontlazilitiaque, oqujmontlaixpulvique, oqujmontlacecemmanjlique:

çan ßia, ça nelli mach in mootta, tlachoqujztleoa, tlatecoioua, tlatecoioua, tlatzatzittleoa, momamatlatzinja, momamapuztequj, mjxaiopatzca in cioa: que çan nel oc nen, quen oc, tle ça nel nen, tle ça nen, tle ec nen, tle oc ytlatollo: ac onnelhujloa, campa nel onmjtoa, in manel momamaiavi, motzentinaiavi, mjxtezotzona choca, ca onitequjoac, ontlacemjchictia, onocemjchictia, ontlachichictiaque, oconcemjchictiaque, yn atlaxcavilli, in aixcaio, in aixcan otzintic, onclosiooac, in jpatiuh in molicpitl, in tetepuntli, in aixcan ßezz, oçaçaliuh: injc omocoquetz, omotlapivi in jococauh in totecujo in tlatequjtl er.

Iuja in quijna tepeloaia: in motenecuia vel teuchtecque, tezôtzoome, tepetlachti: in ichoantia temamacpalitoque. Auh injc tocaiotlo tezotzoque: 787X 674 685

X 787 674 685 stones, crushed-by-stones. And hence were they named "struck-by-stones"; if somewhere they could be taken, they just stoned them. They set upon them with stones; they were felled by stones; they beat and mangled them with stopes; they crushed their heads with stones. Then and there were taken and plundered practically all their stolen goods and lost, etc.

X 787 And as was said above, so that it be not mere idle words, we shall consider it, and it will be discussed and explained in detail; we shall elucidate and explain at great length, expound it, develop it, and enlarge upon it. That which is different we shall go on explaining in detail; we shall do it twice, thrice, or four times. But to make it clear, we reflect upon, try to realize and give form to that not yet apparent, and not determined above; that which is still being established, considered, denied;[1] that which is not yet in the's heart, not yet understood or comprehended — not yet taken to heart, the discussion not yet clear. For many times we have gone hurrying back to all which hath been told. For that reason, that which is here present we pass over, we quickly skip over, we hurriedly leap over the fragment. No more do we correct or deal with what hath been mentioned: the different accounts of the day signs each in its proper place. So only here they are gathered, assembled, brought together, amassed, and arranged in succession. We place them in clusters and join and put them together. So only these are being clustered, brought together, joined together, set separately, arranged in procession and in succession, the different numbers of the series, with their assigned tasks: Two House, Three Lizard, Four Serpent, Five Death, Six Deer, Seven Rabbit, Eight Water, Nine Dog, Ten Monkey, Eleven Grass, Twelve Reed, Thirteen Ocelot.

When the count of these different days, the time of each one of the days, had ended, then set in — intla cana ovel anoque, çan quijnetepachoa, quijnecicali, tetica vetzi, quijnetzotzona, quijnepatzca, quijnquatepipiccinja: yquac vecas cuitilo, nannialilo in anno çan quezquijch imjchtech, inchapijtil. er.

Auh in juh oinjto tlacpac: injc anio çan ilinjztlatlolli tocoonemjtinque, onmijtac, onmoltecquijnatiz, ipan tontlatepeoanque, tontlaecquijtepeoanque, tocoetlatepecalxinque, tocontlaaaquijlinque, tocontlatlatlalilinque: in anno çan ichoatl tiquinquatinemjnque, tiovppaviaque, tiquecxpaviaque, tiquanappaviaque: çan ichoatl ipan tontzipoa, tontzicolpoa, tocoujxtoça, ipan tontlancicocolia, in aiamo necci, in aiamo panj oalmotlalia: in oc thapachiuhtica, mocujlitica, mocujcujlitica, in aiamo teyollipan, in aiamo triollo quinamjquj, in aiamo triollo contoca, in aiamo triollo contoca, yn aiamo triollo itlan quiça, triollo ipan inuh tlatolli: ca mjiccpa omocujcujdacuepinen, in jnquich oenjto: ipampa in ça njcan ixco tonquiça, tonconchôcholhujtiquiça, tocoachuechcholhujtiquiça. Aiocmo vmpa tontlavica: aiocmo tocoxichouilhuja yn omotencuh, injc nonanqua tlatollotoque inquijcme tonalti: yn çan njcan ommocentlalia, ommotecpichoa, ommonechicoa, ommocenquijxtia, ommototoquijlia, tiquijmonencnectollalia, tiquijmonencnetechçaloa, tiquijmonencnectlatlalia: ic çan omnenetnolcate, nen tectecate, nenetech çalitticate, moquequetzticate, mototocaticate, mototoquijlitticate, yn inquijcme njcan cencalpan tequippanoque: in ichoatl vme calli: ey cuetzpalin, navi coatl, macujlli mjquijztli, chiquacen maçatl, chicome tochtli, chicuei atl, chicunavi ytzcuintli, matlactli oçnetli, matlactli oçe malinalli, matlactli omome acatl, matlactli omey ocelotl.

Yn jquac oontlan izquijlhujtl yn, in tlapoalpan: yn jntlacemjlhujtitinian: njman oalmoquetza.

1. Repetition of an among middle sentence is lightly unusual one in the National text.

Thirty-third Chapter, in which is mentioned the nineteenth sign, named One Eagle. It was said to be an evil day sign, and he who was then born was beautiful, and brave, daring, fearing nothing and no one. And it was said that the women also were daring, of ill fame, of evil tongue, shameless, and immodest. And it was said that at this time descended the lesser Goddesses; and they did evil to the small children. Hence they did not let them go out of doors, nor did they bathe them at that time.[1]

—One Eagle. This One Eagle, it was said, was an evil day sign. Also at that time descended those named the "Goddesses." It was said, and it was so stated, that they were only the youngest ones, only the sisters,[2] who then came down. Nevertheless, [the people] took great fright, because it was said that they were very harmful, furious, hateful, hostile, and merciless. As they could not be resisted, so they made sport of people, as is told in various places and mentioned here and now. None of the small children might go naked. They were carefully watched, because at this time they might be violently possessed, their lips twisted and withered, their eyes crossed and cloudy, their noses crooked, etc.

And therefore they paid them great honor there in the places where they were awaited, there in the different Goddesses' temples. In each neighborhood, in the house clusters and their vicinities, reeds were strewn and scattered; sand was sprinkled on the roads and at street crossings and crossroads—places where roads came together.

One who made a vow to them that he would cover and wrap them, adorned their offerings, the paper banners of the Goddesses painted and spattered with liquid rubber. There he covered the different images of the Goddesses, as they were arranged in order. It was at midnight, just at the dividing of the night, that the making of offerings

Inic cẽpoalli ẽnauhtlacatli vmey capitulo: vncan motenecoa ynic caxtolli vnnavi machiotl, yn itoca ce quauhtli: quil amo qualli in tonalli, auh in ipan tlacatia, mochachamacoanj, yoã chicaoque, niac itoa tlachia, atle ypan tlatta, atle ypã teitta: yoan quil in cihoa, ano tle ypã tlachia, yoan cenca tlavilquixtianj, tentlavelilloque, ixquauhti, amo pinacoanj: auh quil yn iquac, oahcmoia yn aquique tepitoton cihoteitru: auã quintlaueliaia in conetoenni, yc amo quinõalquixtiaia in qujiacoc; amoneo quimaltiaia yn iquac. 787A

In ce quauhtli: ynjn ce quauhtli, mjtoa amo qualli tonalli, no vncan temoia, in quintocaiotia cihoateteu, quilmach yn juh onmjtoa ça xoxocoio, ça teiccaoan yn vncan temoia, ieoc cenca vellamauhtiaia, ypampa quil cenca ihjioque, tlavelioque, tetlavelique, amo elleleculique, amo icnocaque, njmaa aixnamjquixti, ynjc teca mavilitianj, yn juh onmjto quenquican: yn juh conitoa in iquac hin, njmã niac vel petlauhtinenca in pipiltotõi, cenca malhujloia, ypampa cenca tlaquauh vncan tetech quineoaia, tennecujlooaia, temptzicoaia, ixnecujlicoaia, iscatzicoaia, iscanecuilooia. etc. 787A 776 855

auh inic cenca quinmavizitiliaia in vncan inchichpã yn izquicã cicihoatecucalco, in tlatlazilacalpã, tetlatzilacalloc, tetlatlazilacaltian, tõtoltzetzelolo, tlatoltzetzelolo, tlaixallujlo yn velica, yn vmxxac, yn inepanijjian vtli. 776 782

Jn aquin jrvicpa monectultia: in quinquentia quinthaquentia, quinchichivilia yn jnnecutlacal, in cihoatecutl amatl, tlacoltzaoalli, coltpeiaoac, vmpa quinmaquentia yn izquijcmã, tecpantoque, yn inixiptlacan iocalnepantla, ça ic omellivi, iocalli ian pena tlamanililo, auh iquac mocaoã yic nepantla tonatiuh, yic tlaquaiizpã auh in aquin amo quintlaquentia, ça [788]

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "no les dexaoan salir de casa, ni lauarse, al menos que estos signos reynassen."

2. Translation: see "Notes/Aztec on I calendar," p. 212.

776 began. And when it ceased, it was midday, when it
782 was already time to eat. And he who did not cover them only offered and arranged a little drink and food, or white incense, or coarse incense. The youths, the young seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths,[3] the guardians there at the Goddesses' temple, who watched and kept vigil for one night, kept the food as a gift, took and appropriated it to themselves.

And when silence fell, when at each place there was a cessation of offerings, then forthwith began the libations. Only in each person's house, each person's house, was it done. No more did one practise restraint: no more were there inhibitions. They made the old men and the old women drink and poured out the wine for them. So there were tearful greetings of one another and animation of one another, etc.

X 787 And it was said that he who was then born, was perverted. If a man, he became a chieftain, a man-at-arms, debauched, evil, and daring. Only his exploits, his chieftainship, did he relate and make public. He considered that no one rejected him. He pretended to excel others. He respected no one. He wished others destroyed. He despised others. He became presumptuous. And then, being of ungovernable tongue, he interrupted people and belittled the word of others, and scoffed and grumbled at them. He rose up in rage; he constantly shook his head; he interfered in others' affairs; he pretended to know all; he praised himself. He pretended that he spoke well and truthfully. He would not be outdone in talk. He was vainglorious; he was a flatterer. He pretended to be virtuous, but to see no virtue in others. He belittled others' words. He contradicted, denied, and twisted his own words. All his works, all corresponded to him; he merited all; all indeed became him: vices, drunkenness,[4] and corruption. And sometimes, if he became neglectful, he was captured and imprisoned, or died in battle, etc.

It was just the same if it were a woman. She was truly of evil tongue, vile-mouthed, inhuman in speech—big-mouthed, of biting words. Her great joy, her great pleasure, was evil speaking. She was one who vituperated others, who insulted and affronted them. Like a dog, [she let] no one head her

atzintli, tlaqualtzintli in cõmanaia, in contecpanaia, anoço iztac copalli, copaltzalli, in tlaqualli ichoã quimovevenja quimocuilia, quimotechtia in telpupuchti, telpuchtequjoaque, yoan titiachcaoã, in vmpa tlapiztoque cihoatecalco, in vmpa ceiocal oyztoçoque, otoçoque,

auh yn ocactivetz, yn onecacaoaloc tlamanalo, njman ic peoa ĩ tlatlatoiavililo, ça techachan, ça tecacaltitic yn muchioa, aocac õtemamati, aocmo onnemamacho, ichoãti quintlaoomiiia, quintlatoiavilia yn vevetque, yn ilamatque, ic mochochoquiztlapaloa, meellaquaoa er[a].

Auh mjtoa yn aquin vncan tlacati, atlacacemelle, intla oquichtli, tiacauhti, oquichti, âquen tlatta, âquen tlatlatta, aiac izco tlachia, çan jioquichio, ytiacauhio in conpopoa, yn izco quimana, njman aiac qujmotlaçaltoca, motepanaviltoca, aiac tle compoa, motepololtoca, atle ontepõa, cenca izmoquiztia, yoã njmã ãtentlacatl. vel tepãpatzoa, tepãpatzaoa, tetlitlivia, tequiquinatza, mãitleoa, moquaquacuecuechoa, motlãtlamachiztia, motlatlamachitoca, motlatlanitztia, movevellatoltoca, moiciectlatoltoca, âmotẽpanavillanj, momamachotla, temãmachotla, moiẽiectoca, ãteiectoca, tetẽpatztlatoa, motẽtencuepa, tlatlatolcuepa, tlatlatolmalacachoa, ĩmuch ychivil, much qujmopanjtia, much quimolhujltia, much vel itech muchioa in tlatlauelilocaiotl, yn ehi iujntilizztli, yn avilquizciaiotl, auh in quẽman intla otlatlatziviti vico, calaqujlo, iaomjquj er[a].

Çan ie no iuhquj intla cihoatl, vel tentlaveliloc, camatlaveliloc, ahtentlacatl, tentzaxacal, camatlatecoa, cenca ipac, cenca ivelmach yn tentlauelilocaiotl, vel tepapacanj, tenovjiantocanj, tepacpotlaoanj, iuhqujnma chichi aiac vel qujiacaolinia, qujiacapeionja, yntlaca itech onaci, njmã quitlecavitiquiça, ytech mo-

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "los ayjojotes, de aquellos oratorios."—Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 142.

4. Bibliotheca in the Real Palacio MS.

off or trap her. If someone approached her, at once she quickly sprang on and clung to her. She gripped her, and scratched, clawed, tore, and hacked her face; she divested and stripped her face; she pricked, beat, smashed, and struck it. She smashed and banged her head. It was as if she shattered the grey-haired head. She tore out, plucked, pulled, and jerked out her hair. She struck her nose; she bloodied her nose. She struck and broke her teeth. She broke her jaw. She struck her in the face. She tore up her clothes; she rent her clothes into pieces; she ripped them into fragments and made bits of them. Each rag she destroyed. She tore her cape and shift into tatters and disrobed her.

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pilloa, quiteteuhtzitzaquja, quiztataca, qujxmomotzoa, qujxcocotona, qujxcocototza, qujxcujcui, quixnamoia, quitzzeltilia, quitzotzona, quiztitipitza, quitzitzilitza, quiquatitipitza, quiquatzitzilitza, iuhquin tequaiztatlapana, tequamomotzoa, tequaçacamoa, tequaçacapi, teiquavivilana, tequavivitla, teiacatzotzona, teiacachachaquanja, tetlantzotzona, tetlanpepetla, tetenaana, teitzzotzona, tetlatzatzaianilia, tetlatetetzomuchilia, qujtetetzomotza, achchiqujtlalia, cécêçtl qujvica, qujtzeltilia yntetilma, inteujpil, teixnamoia

[p. 110 is blank]

846 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which are told and mentioned what they did when they visited women recently delivered, and other things which were done where a woman recently delivered dwelt.**

And here it is told that when a child was born, and when [the mother's] relatives knew of it, and it was known and the news spread and was noised abroad, her family and blood relations were assembled and brought together. They set forth, and came and proceeded to visit the much revered child.

When they entered, at the very first, they took ashes; they anointed their knees with ashes; they rubbed themselves. And also they put ashes on the knees of their children yet in the cradles; or those still crawling, going on all fours; those who stood, who already took to their feet; the boys, girls, youths, young men, unmarried girls, and young women. Everywhere, on all parts of the body they placed ashes; on every joint and articulation: their ankles, their elbows, their buttocks, over the kidneys, the napes of their necks, their shoulders, but especially their knees.

[751] And it was so said and averred that thereby they would not become lame. But if this were not so done, they would become lame, and all the joints, in every place, would creak.

846 And also for four days they carefully watched the
372 fire. It never went out. It continued to flare up, to grow and increase, to flare red. They thus carefully started it; it was well set. And no one might take the fire. And if anyone wished to take the fire, or a light, they would not give it to him, lest he take renown from the child who had been born, until the
[851] four days had ended, or for still a few days, when they bathed him.

Injc cempoalli onnnatlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa, moteneoa: in tlein qujchioaia in qujmontlapaloaia in mjxiuhque: yoan in oc cequj in muchioaia, in vncan onoca mjxiuhquj.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jquac aqujn tla otlacat piltontli: in oconnatque yoaiolque, in onmachoc, in otepan ocenman, in otepan onmotecac. Niman ic nenechicolo, necenqujxtilo, in jtlacaiooan, in jcujtlaxcolloc eoa, viloa, pipilioca in qujtlapaloaque, in jxco, ijcpac, tlachiazque piltontli.

In iquac oncalacque, oc ic achto concuj in nextli: ic onmotlanquanexvia, onmomamatiloa: yoan no qujmontlanquanexuja in inpilhoan, in oc coçulti, anoço in ic movilana, coionenemj, in ic moquequetza, in ic imjcxi caana in oqujchpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in telpupuchpipil, telpucatoton, ichpupuchpipil, ichpucatoton: novian qujntlatlalilia in nextli, in jzqujcan inçaçaliuhian, in jmjhilpicaiocan, in jnquequeiultitech, in jnmolicpi ytech, yn jntzintenpan, in incujtlacaxiuhian, in jnquechtepultitech, in jmacolpan: oc cenca ichoatl in jntlanquac.

Iuh mjtoa, qujlmach ic amo tlanquananatzinjzque: auh intlacamo yuh muchioa, tlanquananatzinjzque: yoan nanatzinjz, in jzqujcan in çaçaliuhian.

Auh yoan navilhujtl in vel qujpia tletl aquēman cevi, xotlatica, oalantica, oaoalantica, mopipitzticа, vel qujcpeoa, vel ic peuhtica: yoan aiac vel ontlecuj. Auh intla aca ontlecujznequj tletlecujc: amo qujmaca, injc amo qujtleiocujlizque piltontli, in otlacat: ixqujchica in ontlamj navilhujtl: anoço in oc izqujlhujtl caltizque.

[p. 112 is blank]

851 553 **Thirty-fifth Chapter.** Here is told what was done when they bathed their children, and how food was eaten when they gave them their names; and the discourse which the old people gave when they addressed the child and the mother.

Inic ompoalli on caxtolli capitulo: vncan mjtoa yn tlein muchioaia, yn iquac quimaltiaia impilhoan, yoan inic tlaqualoia yn iquac qujntocamacaia: yoan in tlatolli in qujtoaia vevetque, in quilhuiaia, piltontli: yoan in tenã.

553 And when he was bathed, quite early in the morning, in the morning light, when the sun appeared, they had the small children perform the naming ceremony. They went out shouting and panting on the roads; to the entrances they ran. Thus they went calling out what he had been given as a name, as hath already been mentioned, in a certain place. They took the naming ceremony gift, parched maize toasted with beans. They provided it with beans, many beans, offered in a vessel.

Auh in iquac maltia, çan iocatzinco, tlavincalpã, iquac yn oalmomã-tonatiuh, quixicvenquaqualia im pipiltotonti tzatzatzitiui, yhicaoaca, yn vtlicapa, quiaoacpa, motlatlaloa, ic quinotzttiui, in tlein ẽtocaiotiloc piltontli, in juh ic omoteneuh, cecẽã quinanamoia, in xicventli, izquitl in quicequi, herio, quẽeiotia, moca ietl, xicaltica quimana.

851 And it is said that so was the custom if someone were born on a day sign beginning in the first position (as hath been said in many places). If it were a good time, then at once they quickly bathed him. Or later, they set it aside and skipped a day, so that they could make good the feasting and drinking for the child.[1]

Yoã mjtoa iuh tlamanca intla aca ipã otlacat ynic cemilhuitl vmpeoa tonalli (ca mjeccã omito). yntla qualcan njmã iciuhca conaltitivetzi, auh qujn nonqua, contlalilia oc conchololtia, ynic quitlatlaqualia, pillaqua'o, pillaoano:

But if they could not do so then, they bathed him later, on the third day sign. As here it appeareth in [the series of] One Eagle, the one perhaps then born they would bathe later; on Three Movement.

auh intlaca ie moveliti, quin ipã caltia yn Ey tonalli, yn juh nican neci ipã ce quauhtli, yn aquin tla ipã otlacat, quin ipã caltizque in Ey olin,

Those whose fathers and mothers were poor, the indigent, who were in misery, and had nothing to use, with which to gather together and assemble people, only with affliction, sickness, and misery bathed their child. For they only aggravated and worsened it when they did not delay, defer, retard, procrastinate, or postpone [the day of bathing].

iehoã in çã tlacococavia ytahoan ynãoã in çan icnotlaca, in ça quitzacuia icnoiotl, atlettzin in polivini, in tecentlaliloni, in tenechicolonj, ic çan cococatzin, cococaiotica, icnotlacaiotica conaltia yn jnconeuh, ipãpa in çan quitototztivetzi, quitototztiquiça, in aocmo cõvecatlaça, cõuecatilia, cõnechcatilia, cõnechcatlaça, cõchololtia,

But if the fathers were rich and prosperous, if there was wherewith to eat, they selected for one a later date, on the seventh day sign; at that time they bathed the child and placed him in the cradle. This was because, as hath been said, they always considered the seventh day sign good. At that time they held an important banquet. There was drink and

auh intla motlacamati, mocuiltonoa tetahoã, in vncã quiquanj, qujn ce vmpa quimattivi yn ipã chicome tonalli, yquac caltia, yoan quicoçolaquja im piltontli, ypampa yn juh omjto muchipa quiqualittaia yn 7. tonalli, yquac quivecchiua in tecoanotzalitzli, atlioa, tlaqualo, novjiampa, xoxochitlano, oalhuj in xochicauhque, nequequeçalo, nepopotzolo, auh in

1. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), I, 13, 11, and II, 38, 7-8; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit. Book II, "The Ceremonies," pp. 152-153.

851 hood. From all parts flowers were taken; all the flower bearers came. There was jostling and crowding. And the old men and old women greeted the small boy and his newly delivered mother. They said:

"O my beloved grandson, thou hast endured suffering and fatigue. For thou hast come here to earth; thou hast appeared on earth. Thou shalt behold, come to know, and feel pain, affliction, and suffering. It is a place of torment and affliction; of constant torment and affliction; a time of torment and a time of affliction to which thou hast come; a place of bitterness, a place of much work and affliction. Perhaps we shall receive as merits and as good deserts that for a short time thou shalt be lent to us. For thou art the living image, the likeness, the noble child, and the offspring[2] of thy ancestors, thy beloved grandsires, thy great-grandsires, thy great-grandmothers, the grandfathers of thy nephews, who already have gone beyond, who a short time ago came to stand guard for a little while, here where thou liest and hast endured suffering and fatigue, O my beloved grandson. For our lord hath sent thee."

Forthwith they petted him and stroked him with their hands, to show that they loved the child. Also at once they addressed and greeted his newly delivered mother. They said:

"O my daughter, O my beloved daughter, my lady, my beloved lady, thou hast endured suffering and fatigue. For in some way thou hast separated thyself from and left the jeweled necklace, the precious feather which was within thee. Now that he is come forth on earth, you are not indivisible; you will not be joined together, for you are separated. What will our lord require? Perhaps for a little day we shall take him as lent to us. We shall love him like a precious necklace or a precious stone bracelet. Be calm and modest; take care. Do not relapse into sickness nor let accident befall thee. Do not try to be up and about. Be careful, in convalescing, when they place thee in the sweatbath. And do not neglect the child. Take care of him. Even in thy sleep, be fearful for him. Do not pierce his palate, [in nursing him]; do not crush him in thy sleep; do not let him sleep unwatched, so that thou nowhere

piltontli quitlapalos in vevetq̃, yn ilamatque, yoã in inãtzin mixiuhquj, Quilhuja.

Nozhujuhtze, otiquihjovi, oticçiauh, ca otioalmovicac in tlalticpac, otimotlalticpacquixtti, tiquittze, ticmatiz, ticichecoz, in tecoco, in tetolinj, in tlaihjovilizztli, ca tetoneuhcã, techichinatzcan, tetoneuhcan, techichichinatzcã, tetoneuhian, techichinatzian, yn otioalla, cococ yicouiã, teicnotlamachtican, aço titolhujltiz, titomãceoaltiz, aço achitzinca timitztotlanevizque: ca timixjptla, timpatillo, timezaço, tintlapallo, tintzicuevilo in motechiuhcaoã, in mocoltzittinoa, ỹ machtooã, yn mopiptoca, in machcocolhoã, yn ie nechca mantivi, yno cuel achic, yno cemilhujtl, ontlapieco, yn vncã timonoltitoc, otiquihjiovi, oticiauh nozhujuhtzine, ca omitzoalmioali in totecujo,

njmã ic compẽpetla, cõmapẽpetla, ic quinextia, ynjc cõtlaçotla piltontli. Nimã no ic cõnotza contlapaloa yn inãtzin mixiuhquj, Quilhuja.

Nochputze, nochputzine, ciuapille, cioapiltzintle, otiquihjiovi, oticiauh, ca oquẽtcltzin mitztlalloti, mitztlalcavi in cozcatl, in quetzalli, ynjc otimapãticatca, ca otlalticpacquiz, acenononqua yn amonmotlanamjctzizque, ca oanmotlallotique, quẽ qujmonequiltia in totecujo, aço cemilhujtzintli, tictotlanevizque, ticoncateuhtlamatizque, timacuextruhtlamatizque, ma oc yvjiã, ma oc iocuxca, ma oc xõmomalhuj, ma tõmocaxanj, ma tõmonevjiavi, macamo xõmopõpuxcanequj, ma yvjian in tioalmimatiz, in temazcaltzinco mitzoncalaquizque, auh ma tocõmoxiccavili in piltzintli, ma xocõmocuitlavi, ma oc mocuchpan xocõmamatto, ma tocõtẽtzoponj, ma tocõcochpacho, ma toconcochcauh, ma çã tellostl tocõneviãvi, ma çã ic tocõquelo, ca oqujnomacavili in totec.[a]

2. Cf. Sahagún, "Memoriales con sentencias," p. 280: "*quedaremos de la piedra que se labra o saca o hija.*"

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mayest bring mishap to him. Do not do so intentionally; for our lord hath given him."

Thus only briefly they greeted her, lest they tire her by useless talk.[3]

Yc çan achitzin ic contlapaloa, injc amo quitzoñteconeoazque.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*[illegible] hijo, y tomad cuydado de vuestra cabeça; mirad no seais en enfermedad por vuestro culpa; y tomad cuydado de vro hijo (sic). Mirad que los vuestros, vosotros mismos, vuestro a vro hijo desmayando, o quando vuestro. si no los quieres la tera, con tiento; vosotros agujerar el palabar, y vosotros. Mirad que pues: que nos le a dado vuestro señor: no le perdiessis, por vuestro culpa; y no es vuestro [illegible], con vuestra palabra.*"

[p. 116 is blank]

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Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth how a feast was held, and what the order of service was, and how there was drinking of wine.

Injc cempoalli on caxtulli oce capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn juh mocoanotzaia, yoan in juh caica tlatecpãtli, yoan in juh tlacoanaia.

And as to the invited guests: already there was jostling among the guests. All took their respective places; the houses were entered. There was disorder and scattering about; there was wandering and there were disputes, rushing about like fools, hurrying, hastening, and unrest.

Auh in tlacoanotzalti, ic cuel itl, nequequeçalo in coamẽ, netẽteco, calaoa, tlaixnelivi, tlaixmoiaoa, neixpololo, neixmanamico, tlaixtomaoa, tlãtlacivi, ycioa, netetequipacholo,

For everything, assignments were made and work distributed. First came the tobacco servers. Tobacco was served; one was provided with tobacco; tobacco was smoked. Then the flower servers followed them. They provided and gave them flowers; they favored them with crowns and garlands of flowers; they provided them with flower crowns and garlands. They arranged before them bowls with tobacco tubes. They sat smoking, inhaling the fragrance. All smelled it. There was a pleasant and fragrant odor.

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ccentlamãtli ipã neyhinquetzalo, netetequjmaco, iacattiuh, in teyiemacac, teyiemaco, teyietilo, yietlatilo, njmã contoquilia yn texochimacac, texochitia, texochimaca, contesquia in icpaczochitl in xochicoacatl, teicpaczochitia, texochicoacatia, teixpãmomãmana yn jiecaxitl, tlachichinaloac, tlaneczuac, tlaneco, tlaxvixxtoc, tlavevelixtoc:

And thereupon went the server, and following him those who changed the courses and carried [the food] in their arms. They served the people, placed them in order, went placing the people in line, putting them all in line. Thereupon all ate. [But] first they cast on the ground [a mouthful of food].[1] Later something was reserved, put aside for their servants.[2]

auh njmã ic ic iauh in tetlamacac, quitocativi, in tetlanamjctilique, in tlanpaloque, tetlamaca, tevipana, tepilotiuh, tecempilotiuh, njmã ic ic tlaqualo, achtopa, ontlatlatiaça, çatepã netlacavilo, ic tlaquanja yntetlavicalhoã:

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And thereupon also went the chocolate[3] server. In just the same way he went arranging the people in order, placing them in line. He neglected no one; he was very careful with each one. He went placing for each one the stirring sticks with which the chocolate was beaten, whereby the chocolate was consumed. Chocolate was put aside for each of them — they put aside chocolate for their servants, [as well

auh njmã ic no ic iauh in teamacac, çan ic no ivi tevipantiuh, tecempilotiuh, aiac quixcaoa, vel mixpepetzitza, contetequilitiuh in aquavitl, ynic moncloa cacaoati, ic ahatlioa, teastlacavilo, quimatlacavjia, intetlavicalhoã, in viconj, in tlacaoanj, in quitquinj netlacavilli,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*antes que comenzassen a comer: los combidados, la comida que les mejor parecia: tomaban un bocado de la comida, y arrojaban al suelo: a honra del dios Tlahuizcalli.*"

2. *Ibid.*: "*los servidores de la comida . . . traygan comida a cada uno, segun su comida [sic]: y la ponian delante, del que estaua ordenado: una orden de chiquitaiaes, con diuersas maneras de pan: y parauales en las chiquitaiaes: otras vasijas cauaas, con diuersas maneras de comida, con carne, o pescado. . . . Despues comydo, daban las sobras a sus criados, y tambien les ganaua, y chiquitaiaes.*"

3. *Atl* is sometimes used to mean chocolate. Cf. Molina, op. cit. (Spanish-Nahuatl section), "*Beuer agua, vino o cauaa. o, atl.*"

574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the leavings.[4]

851 Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncã achitzinca ompacoutoc, nepiclotoc, vellamachotoc in nepieloian, in tecoanotzaloian: auh in cequjn in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati, yn atica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica et.[a] çan motlavellaloa, moquetztecoa, moquetztiquiça, cholotecoa, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, tlãtlatotivi, popolocativj, tlatetotiuj, tlãtlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanauhpactiuj, ic oallatepachoticate, moxixicoticate, yn omotlalito inchã, yn jncalitic: auh intla oittoque in iuh oquizque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin imuztlaioc oc ceppa qujnana, qujmonjcxiana, qujniolcetuja, in iquac ic apeualco, inca nechioalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chía* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chía*,[8] which they drank.
[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, aço chiantzotzolatolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiooachpanj,

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women
273 drank wine. They gathered around and congre-
851 gated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

auh yn oioac in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlatlaoana, mohololoa, mococentlalia, ymjxpan quioalquetza yn intlaoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoã yn intlaoancax, in jntetlaoã, in tetlamamaconj,

[554] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

achto iẽ vmpeoa in tetlaoanti, in tetlamamacac, njmã ie ic iauh yn jiacac, in tlaiacac, yn jiacaiocã, ic tevipãtiuh, tecempilotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quioaltecatimanj in vetli, aço iztavetli, anoço aivetli, tlachioalvetli, yn otlaliloc ochichioaloc ic pillaoanoz, ontlaçaço inxaiocomjc, inoccomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: *"y las sobras del vino, daban a sus criados."* See n. 2.

5. The term is apparently incompletely corrected to read *disappearing*; cf. *Real Palacio MS.*

6. *Or cerpa quinocoma in ibid.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"a esto dia llamaban, Apendoc: porque en el, se acabaua todo el combite."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as *"ofrendiera a lo que estaba comido y bebido."*

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (*chianpinolli*).

9. In the *Real Palacio MS.* yn tlavetoni, ỹ notlamamaconi (ellipses notlamamaconi).

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"hechico de agua, y miel cocido, con la raya: al qual llamaua ayacali, que quiere decir, pulcro de agua: lo qual tenia aparejado, y guardado al cabo del combite: de algunos dias antes."* See also Oswaldo Gonçalves de Lima: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), *passim*, and esp. pp. 107 ff.

And the wine server, if he saw that those whom he gave wine did not become intoxicated and in a stupor, but only sat staring and grimacing, once again turned to the left, made a beginning from the left — that is, beginning where he had left off, with those of last place, the lesser in rank. So at that place he made a beginning in order to make them drunk. Thus he went reversing and rearranging the process of making them drunk.

So there was singing: there were songs of sadness and tears; or only broken singing, each one as he liked, each outdoing the others. There was the giving of pleasure, of much contentment. There was the encouragement of one another, and tearful greetings. And some only hummed, singing secretly, or did nothing. And some did nothing else but sit content and rejoicing, laughing and making witty remarks, making others burst into laughter as if their sides were sore. They sat exhausted with mirth[11] if they heard something which moved them to or diverted them with laughter. It was as if dogs were barking.[12]

Just so was it done at banquets and feasting, and assemblages and gatherings of people, and their recreation and the giving of dances, etc., when someone had a feast for the child to place it in the cradle, and the place where he was put in the cradle was watched.

auh in tetlaoanti intla quimjtta quintlaoantia, yn amo ivinti, in amo jamanja, in çan itztoque, izpepeiontoque, ic no cuel iĉ copuchilochtia, tlaopuchcopa quipeoaltia. q. n. in ync̃ oquicauh, in tlatzaccan, in tlacuitlapilco, ic nĉ vncan quipeoaltia, ynjc tetlamamaca, ynjc tetlaoantia, ic quicueptiuh, quipapatlatiuh in itetlaoãtiliz: 574 273 851

ic necuicatilo, netlaoculcujcatilo, nechoquizcuicatilc, anoço çan cuicaçacamolo, no çac tle queoa, necujcapanauilo, necemeltilo, nececemeltilo, neellaquaçalo, nechoquiztlapalolo, auh in aca çan tẽtencuicatica, yhichtacacujcatica, aiac ica quichiuhtica: auh cequjn çan qujxcavia in pactoque, im papactoque, vevetzcatoque, camanalotoque, vetzquiztequitoque, iuhqujn inxillã quaquauhti, ommimjctoque in veutzca, yn onoitla quicacque, in tevetziquiti, tevetzquiceuh, iuhqujn tlananalco. 851 574 [533] [522]

Oyvin in muchioaia coaiotl in tecoanotzaliztli, in tecẽtlaliliztli, tenechicoliztli, teceviliztli, teitfotiliztli. et.[a] Yn iquac ica quitlaqualiaia in piltzintli, ynjc tlacoçolaquja, tlacoçolaquiloian nepielo.

11. *Fumigation in the Real Palacio MS.*

12. *Translated subtext in ibid.*

[p. 120 is blank]

574 **Thirty-seventh Chapter,** in which is mentioned how the festivity was performed; and how the rulers and merchants of old provided banquets, even as to this day they have been doing.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omvme capitulo: vncan moteneoa in cujcujcaliztli catca in quenjn muchioaia, yoã in juh tecoanotzaia in veveintin tlatoque, yoan in pochteca, yn juh noma axcan quichioaia.

574 And the manner of doing nowadays: when one boldeth a banquet for the sake of his child, so it is
851 said, they baptize; the head is washed; food is given. So was it done; just so were guests procured and invited; [as] in other banquets were the distribution and the seating according to rank.

Auh in axcã ie ic tlamanj yn iquac aca ypampa tecoanotza ypiltzin, ie mitoa tlaquaatequia, tlaquatequiloia tetlatlaqualtilo, çan ie muchioaia, çan ie iuh coatioaia, çan ie iuh tecoanotzaloia yn oc cequj ypan cooaiotl, tetlacamachiliztli, tetemoliztli.

574 So here a little is divulged of the invitation to banquet. But among the rulers, the princes and noblemen, those of illustrious lineage, or when somewhere riches and wealth had been procured, then there was avarice, among the merchants of Pochtlan, [or among the artisans, the craftsmen,][1] the skilled workers, by each group separately there was bringing of goods according to custom; guests were procured, wealth was procured, and there were invitations.

Jc çan njcan tepiton onmonextia in tecoanotzaliztlatolli, tel in tlatoca, im pilpã, im pillovã, tecpilpan, yn anoço cana netlacamachoian, necuiltonoloia, tlatlamepã, im puchtla, in puchtecapã, toltecaiopan, cecentetl injc netquioaia, ynjc tlamanja, ynjc tlamanca, ynjc cooatioaia, netlacamachoia, necoachioaloia,

When somewhere there was great congregating, there was indeed trampling, shoving, and crowding. Entry was impossible. There was no recognition of the invited guests. Indeed, there was trampling, crowding, jostling, and shoving to one side. Nowhere were available seating places, spaces to occupy, or seats to use.[2]

in cana vel moveychioa, vel môocça, tzinzica, cãcatzca, aonneaquilo, ahmixtimati, yn tlacoanotzali, vel nequequeçalo, nepopotzolo, nezozocolo, ahujc zoquiooa, ãcan veli, in netlaliloia, in ieloaia, in tetlaliloia,

However, it was the task, concern, and charge especially of the attendants, those who greeted [the guests] — their great concern — to search and watch well. [The host] commissioned them each as servants, officials, and servitors, so that they could look with care to recognize one, no matter from where the banquet guests, those bidden to the feast, the invited ones, had come.

oc cenca iehoan intequjuh, innecuitlavil, ymix intequjuh, vel innecuitlavil, vel mixpetztza, mixpetzoa, quimiiscaniantia, quintetequippantia, quincôcocoltia in techixque, in tetlalique, ynjc iehoan vellachia, teixtimati, in cãpa iẽ ooallaque coame, tlacoanotzalti, tecooaoa,

574 These ascertained well what could be done for them, so that they might be well received, and that,
431 in the distribution of goods, none might be forgotten. All which they came by and received as gifts,

iehoan vel quiteilhuja, ynic inca nechioaloz, ynjc vel namicozque, aiac ilcaoaloz, ypan tlacotoniz, much intech aciz, yn nemactiz, yn jxquich ic otlatequililoque, in chieltilo, ynjn ca oytoloc, yiemacoz-

1. In the *Real Palacio MS*, the words *amoyo xlachichinkopan, xoloyopan*, follow *puchtecapã*.

2. In *ibid.*, *ad* follows *netlalilloia*.

57N 43J all the things which had been set aside and placed apart [by the host]—this hath been told. They would be given tobacco; they would be plied with and provided tobacco; they would be plied with and given flowers. They would be feasted; they would be given to drink. They would be plied with gifts—capes, clothing, vestments, mantles, and breech clouts. And after they had rejoiced for a little while, they would be provided with dancing, and they would set out in the sun for them the flowers, the tobacco, the capes, and the breech clouts, in order to meet the obligations of banqueting, lest it be said [of the host] that the guests were slighted and found discontent there.

que, miictizque, yietilozque, momochimacazque, momochitizque, xochimacozque, tlaquazque, atlizque, motlauhtizque, mocilmatizque, moquentiscq, motlaquentizque, motlalpilizq, momaxtlatizque: auh çatepã ymellel onquiçaz achitzinca, õmitozizque, ontlatotonizque, yn xochitl, yn jiezl, in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, injc conjxtlaoa, coosiotl, ontlaiolpachivitia, injc amo itolozque, ca çã moiolitlacoa, ahtlavelmati.

574 And where, in this manner, there was considerable congregating, one augmented, increased, and multiplied the flowers and edible things. It was as if his nourishing goods rested everywhere, covered and spread over the ground, spread all about; as if the food brought there spread souring; all the tamales became mouldy. Musty were the tamales which had been set out.

Auh in cana tel çan ie no yui, vel moveichioa, tonacatica miequia, tlapiviia, ĩ suchitl, in qualonj, iuhqujn papachivi, tlalpan aci, tlalpan actimoteca, tlalpan acitimoteca, yn jcococauh ipalnemoanj, iuhqujn tlaxoxocoixxtoc, yn vmpa oalquiça tlaqualli, ixqujch pupuxcavi in tamalli, tamalpupuxcauhqui, yn temaco,

57N 554 But there at the flower places, where the flowers were placed and arranged, the pleasing odor and fragrance spread to all parts. No one wished to be deflated or to lose stature. All persons wished[3] that they be given recognition, fame, and distinction; that they might not, on the contrary, be shamed, receive blame, be embarrassed, confused, belittled, confounded, or excluded from others. Each and everyone paid attention to, took great care with, [and] gloried in his invitations to others. Each and everyone therefore made him resplendent and admirable, each one separately proceeding with exclusive and undivided attention to feasting. They exalted and raised themselves; they surpassed and much exceeded themselves. There was vying and competition.

auh in vmpa yonoia, itecõia, ivipanaloian suchitl, iuhqujn tlavevelixtimanj, tlaavjixtimanj, aiac mopatzaoallanj, aiac patzactzintli ieznequi, muchi tlacatl iuh connequi, in ma ça vel onixpatlaoa, onteioca, onitauhcaioca, in maca tle ic õmopinauhti, ompinavizcui, ompinaviztlamati, ommomamati, ontzinquiça, ommixtilquetza, ic tevicpa ontzicolo, muchi tlacatl cecentetl ic qujmati, quitlamachia, quivcilia, yn itecoanotzaliz, muchi tlacatl cecẽtetl ic quicueponia, ic tetlamaviçoltia, nonõqua micaubtiuh, micauhcaiauh in coxiotl, macoctiuh, macoquetztiuh, mopanavitiuh, mopapanavitiuh, nepanaviltoco, nepapanavilo,

On the other hand, one might not wish to do it, preferring not to enter into it, and not desiring it, lest his favors should fall away or fail. And if it was not brought about, everyone wondered, was chagrined, and made much of it. This same one, when he learned of it, became troubled and continued in fear[4] that possibly his efforts would fail, pass away, or miscarry. O that none might ever speak to him of

noçac yn ãconnequj, acõãquinequi, aquin maca quinequi, yn ma vel onvetzi, onquiça itlaocul, auh yn aiamo muchioa muchi tlacatl, motẽmati, tlatẽmati, tlaveymati, çan iẽ in qujmati, ic motequjpachoa, q'nmattinemi, in quẽmach nenti onquiçaz, contlalcaviz ynetequipachol, macaiac tle ic conitotiaz, conixaoatiaz, conjxmotlatiaz, onahioz, onteputzcomonilotz.

3. In ibid., y ma ça vel onmati yuaqui follows tlaà onnequi.

4. Quimmattinemi in ibid.

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in bad grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much preoccupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Paths were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; sand was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.[5] This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

auh in ie oallathui coatiouz, nepiclouz tecoanotzaloz, cêca neahamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatlaccencaoalo, vchichioalo, ithoalchichioalo, tlatlaixmanalo, tlatlaltemalo, tlatlacujcujoa, tlaatemalo, tlaavililo, tlaatzelhujlo, tlaixxalhujlo, tolquatecteco, tlapipilolo, tolquatectli moteca, mopipiloa, ĩ vncã netotiloz, tlatzetzelolo, ẽin iehoã intequjuh inocol, cocolilio, in cujcanjme. 574 [554]

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or skew, singed, and dressed dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the ashes was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a seashell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis—different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant awaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

auh in cequjn tlavivitla, totolhuivitla, totolchichioa, itzcujnmjctia, itzcujnchichinoa, itzcujnchichioa, nacachichioa, nacapaoaci, côcontlatia, in cequjn yietlalchioa, yietlahxqualooa, yietema teçacatica, auh in nextitlan, iehoan intequjuh yn ilamatque quichioa tamalli, piqui, tamaloa, tlatlaoiotia, quatecuicuilli quichioa, nacatlaoio, nacatamalli quichioa, cequjn tamalpaoaci, cequjn nextamalpaca cequjn açaçaca, atlatlacuj, ateteca, cequjn cacaoatl quixamanjx, cacaoteci, tlacuechoa, cequjn tlanextlamalneloa, cequjn molchichioa, chilizca, chichilizca, çan iuh ceioual in nemoa tozçolo, tozçoa totozçolo tlavilli quiztoc, chachalacoatoc, 574 252 [887]

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and lined up all which might be required.

auh yn otlavizcalleoac, njman ie ic tlatlachpano, petlateteco, icpalteteco, çacapechtli moteteca, motevimoloa, tlatenvimollolli, ie ic tlaonoc, ie omocnecuentilli, in ixqujch monenequiz, 574

Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the care, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

ie omotetecpanque, ie in mãmania, omotẽtequippantique, in tlatequipanozque, in tenamiquizque, aocmo quen ipã in tecoanotzqui, in tecoanotzanj, ça ixqujch ynecuitlavil in teca muchioa, ĩ tepantlatoa, in maca onxiccaoalo, onjacaoalo, 574 357

5. In Bkl., subsequently follows [illegible].

574 357 Poised and prepared were the tobacco servers, who provided tobacco; the flower servers, who provided flowers; the servers, those who changed the servings; the bearers. Then there was the chocolate drink maker, who prepared chocolate; who made it foam and froth; and the server of chocolate. Then there were the attendants, those who greeted the guests.

574 But among those who were only commoners, among the poor folk, among the workers of the fields and the water folk, it is already told, only miserably, in poverty and want, were receptions and invitations made. Not as much was offered one as was required and customary; as was possible or of one's capability. Many things were omitted or spoiled. Thus [the feast] was a failure and fruitless when someone received or realized nothing more. Perhaps only old, withered flowers could he find or come by; perhaps only leftover, bitter sauces, and stale tamales and tortillas were offered them.

And if one had been sitting to no purpose and in vain, [he was] only forgotten there for a long time, for a considerable time. And when he grew tired of waiting, he only continued vexing himself, anxious to go, no longer able to endure it, continuing to stir, unable to sit anywhere. His seat was benumbed, stiffened, tired of sitting. So he leaped up, sprang to his feet, and ran off discontented; because perhaps whatever was served had come to an end; the banqueting had increased and grown in numbers, and become crowded. And he simply entered various houses and visited different places, begging and asking alms at each one, etc.

X 787 805 In this place is only mentioned Two Vulture, which followed and came in second place after One Eagle. All these, the companion day signs in the series, have been chronicled and mentioned here. Of this, Two Vulture, there is no more need to relate anything, just to please; to invent, arrange, and contemplate some brief words. For already hath been mentioned the manner of the separate accounts of all day signs in the second [position]. For indeed all are similar as they proceed and go together there. Similar are their accounts as they advance in order, as all the days accompany one another.

805 So here we have only added and mentioned as a group the different day signs, which went in their courses as a series, as each day went traveling, following along, and changing: Three Motion, Four Flint

ie vncan ie ic hicac yn teyiemacac in teyiuti, in teruchimacac, in teruchiti, tetlamacac, tetlanamjctili, tlanapaloque, njmã ic ichoatl yn achiuhqui, aquetzque, tlaamjnoquj, tlaaminanj, yoan in teamacac, njmã ieoan in techixque, in tetlalique.

auh in çan maceoalpã, in çan jcnotlacapã, millacapã, atlacapan, ie omjto çan cococatzi, icnoiotica, icnotlacaiotica, in tetlacamacho, in tecoanotzalo, amo cenca onteixioa yn juh monequj, in ic ivi, in ic vel ivi, in ic teveli, mjiec tlamantli mjxcaoa, ytlacavi, ic tlatlacavi, tlãtlatlacavi, yn aca aoc tle ipan aci, aoc tle ipan mopoos, aço ça xuchiçolli, tlacevilli yn ipanti, in quipantilia, yn ipã mopoa, yoan aço ça mollacaoalli, molchichictli, tamalçolli, tlaxcalçolli, yn nemaquililo,

auh intla ça oc nẽ tlalilo, nempancatlalilo, vecauhtica, ieoatica, çan vncã ylcaoalo: auh yn õmopatlac, ça motetectica, yiollo cholotica, injc iar, aocmo ontlaiecoa mocueptinemj, achcan vel motlalia, itzintepitzquãquauhti, quãquauhtitica, tzintepitzquãquauhtitica, ic cholotcoa, moquetzteoa, motlauellaloa, ypampa aço otlatlatlan, acaçoc tlẽ temaconj, omiequix, omnacat, omoquequex in tlacoanotzalli, yoan in çan cacalacquj, tetlatlapalo, motlatlaievi, motlatlaitlanj. et.

Nican ça onmoteneoa in vme coxcaquauhtli, in contoquilia, in cononcaiotia ce quauhtli, yn jxqujch in, ic omotlatlatolloti nican omoteneuh, ynjc cencalpan tlavica tonalli, yn ichoatl y, 2. coxcaquauhtli, aocmo monequj yn itla ic motlatollotiz, in ça onmoqualittaz, onmovelittaz, ommopipiquiz, ommovevellaliz, itlatlatoltotonti, ca ie omoteneuh in quenamj intlãtlatollo ixqujch õvme tonalli, ca çan ie much iuhquj, çan much vmpa itztivi, çan much vmpa tlavica, çan ie cẽteti yn imitoloca, yn juh tetecpantivi, ynjc tlavica cecemilhujtl,

ypampa in çã njcã, tiqujmontecpichoa, tiqujmõcenteneoa yn ixquiteme in tonalti, in njcã cencalpan tlaotlatoctia, ynic cecemilhujtl motztiui, motoquilitivi, mopatlativi, in ichoatl Ey olin, 4. tecpatl, 5. quij-

Knife, Five Rain, Six Flower, Seven Crocodile, Eight Wind, Nine House, Ten Lizard, Eleven Serpent, Twelve Death, and Thirteen Deer.[6] When the day sign ended, then—

iavitl, 6. suchitl, 7. cipactli, 8. hecatl, 9. calli, 10. cuetzpallii, 11. coatl, 12. miquiztli, 13. maçatl. 11. 12. 13. yn ôtlan jn tonalli, ojma. 805

6. The figures "11. 12. 13." are part of an extraneous 1-13 series in ibid.

[p. 126 is blank]

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ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK IV

[p. 126 a]

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Libro. 4.

Y esta astrologia, o nigromancia fue tomada, y auia auido de vna muger: que llamauan Oxomoco, y de vn hombre que llamauan Cipactonal. Y los mas ofuos, desta astrologia, o nigromancia: que continuan estos signos, que llamauan tonalpohualli: pintauan a esta muger Oxomoco, y a este hombre Cipactonal: y los ponian en medio de los libros: donde estauan escritos, todos los caracteres de cada dia; porque decian: que eran señores desta astrologia, o nigromancia, como principales astrologos: porque la inventaron, y hizieron esta cuenta, de todos los caracteres.

¶ Capitulo segundo, del segundo signo: llamado ce

tan, cuepon, ceuuacatl: vel ce can, in cocolizqui, in ñiquecoli, y cuepon, ic ceu, cuetzpalin. Ad interpretandum eadem: ynic ellehuia in calac, ichtecatl, in ipalnemoa, ipan ipopoyal, ic ipanoaya ipan ostomecatl y ynic ellehuia, in ic ellehuiaya, ye qui nocichiua, in ilhuiaya in ynj cocolizqui, in ixcahuitl, in ic ceu mohuitiliaz, in ic qui tzaqui cuetzpalin, in ic qui ñiquecoli, in ic qui ñiquecoa, in ic qui ñiquecoa, in ic qui ñiquecoa

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Apendis y Appologia. fo. 81.

Page from the Appendix of Book IV, with Sahagún's signature.

[p. 126c]

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— *tiro Pano ; Tresorino*

1. Ornamento and Cipactonal (Chapter 1). 2-5. One Gaulet and following signs (Chapter 2). 6. One Deer (Chapter 3). 7. Mother with child (Chapter 3). 8, 9. Two Rabbit: drunkenness and drunkards (Chapters 4, 5).

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

10-13. Two Rabbit: drunkenness and drunkards (Chapters 4, 5). 14, 15. One Flower: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (Chapter 7).

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[534]

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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

14-20. One Flower: musicians, courtesans, embroiderers (Chapter 7). 21. Seven Rain (Chapter 8). 22, 23. Eight Flower and bathing of child (Chapter 8).

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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

24. Eight Flower: bathing of child (Chapter 8). 25-31. One Death and associated good and ill fortune (Chapter 9).

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— After Paso y Troncoso

32. Eight Water (Chapter 10; the text correctly refers to Eight Reed). 33, 34. Nine Ocelots and bathing of child (Chapter 10). 35, 36. Ten Eagle and bathing of child (Chapter 10). 37. One Rain (Chapter 11). 38. Dancers of the "Goddesses" (Chapter 11). 39. Imprisoned soldiers (Chapter 11). 40. Bathing of child (Three Crocodile, Chapter 11).

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— After Paso y Troncoso

41. Bathing of child (Three Crocodile; Chapter 11). 42-46. Four Wind and associated scenes (Chapter 12). 47. Marriage feast (Chapter 13). 48. Seven Serpent (Chapter 13).

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— After Paso y Troncoso

49-51. Eagle Death and New Date, and bathing of child (Chapter 13). 52. Ten Rabbit (Chapter 14). 53-55. One Grass and its numerics (Chapter 15).

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— After Paso y Troncoso

56. Twelve House, Thirteen Lizard, and Ten Crocodile (Chapter 15). 57. Umilopochli (Chapter 17). 58, 59. Merchants (Chapter 18). 60, 61. Three Deer and bathing of child (Chapter 19). 62. Umilopochli (Chapter 20).

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—*After Pano y Troncoso*

63. Women and child (Chapter 20). 64. Eleven Eagle and Twelve Vulture (Chapter 20). 65. One Dog (Chapter 25). 66. One House (Chapter 27). 67, 68. Women and child; cross breeding (Chapter 28). 69, 70. One House and following day signs (Chapter 28).

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

71, 72. One water and bathing of child (Chapter 30). 73. [Eleven] Rain (Chapter 30). 74. One Wind and Quetzalcoatl (Chapter 31). 75, 76. Thirteen (Chapter 32). 77. One Eagle (Chapter 33).

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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

78-82. Dances of the "Guidewoman" and attendant ceremonies (Chapter 33). 83-85. Visit to the recently delivered mother (Chapter 35).

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— After Paso y Troncoso

86-91. Feast in honor of a new-born child (Chapter 37). 92. Two Eagle and following day signs (Chapter 37). 93. One Rabbit's good fortune (Chapter 38).

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— *After Pano y Troncoso*

94-101. Our Rabbit's good foreman (Chapter 38).

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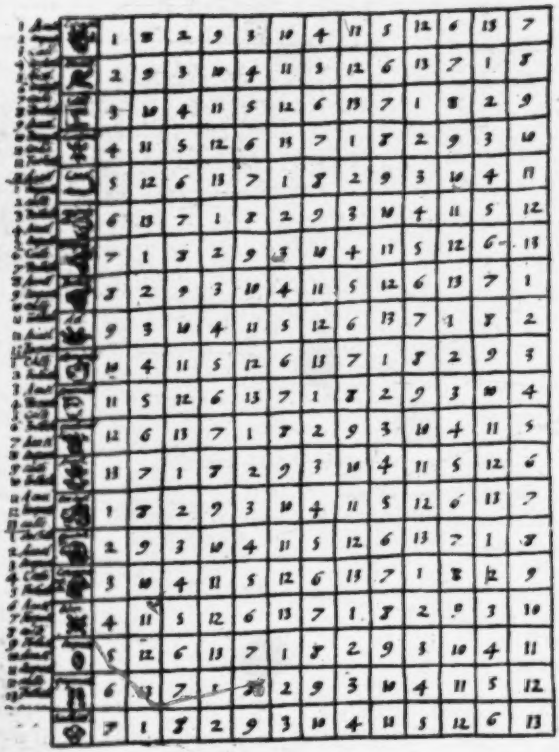

— After Paso y Troncoso

102. First chart for reckoning the day sign count (Appendix).

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— After Paso y Troncoso

103. First half of second chart for reckoning the day sign count (Appendix).

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— After Paso y Troncoso

304. Second half of second chart for reckoning the day sign count (Appendix).

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17: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK V

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Page from *Florentine Codex*, Book V.

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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

1. The howling beast (Chapter 1). 2. The night sun (Chapter 3). 3. The owl (Chapter 4). 4. The frog (Chapter 10). 5. The towering mass (Chapter 11). 6. Cuitlapantun (Chapter 13). 7. The corpse in wrappings for the dead (Chapter 13). 8. Placing maize in the cooking pot (Appendix, Chapter 4). 9. The elder brother drinks before the younger (Appendix, Chapter 6).

[p. 126 V]

X787 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the twentieth and closing sign, called One Rabbit. It is said that those then born were ample providers, good workers, and rich.**

—One Rabbit set in, with which ended all the twenty houses of day signs carried together in groups of thirteen.

It was said that this One Rabbit was a good day sign. He who was then born would be rich. There was what he might eat. But his wealth he did not just appropriate without purpose, nor fail to take; neither did it just fall to him. He took to everything and exerted his utmost efforts, such as not lying down, hurrying, and hastening.

Never suffering from being defrauded, not losing anything through mismanagement, he sought diligently in all parts for advantageous dealings, and continued to seek them out. He bought all things in all places, all things for gaining a livelihood. He was very diligent, careful, and vig'lant. He sought and dedicated himself not to only one thing. He never tired; he was not lazy nor listless. Indeed, he attended to his affairs day and night. Not vain nor futile was his work. He labored industriously to gain sustenance, his daily bread, his trail rations, his livelihood, his maintenance, the source of life, the means of living, and provisions for traveling. He looked to the future and saw before him that sometimes poverty and misery would develop for and strike him. He would meet it.

He saved up wealth to protect and divide justly among his children.

Everything frightened him, lest sometime something be brought upon him: gossip, calumny, slander, perjury, covetous deeds, greedy dealings. Perhaps they might thus snare or snatch something of his goods and property. They might covet or seek after it. Or in something justice might be demanded; there would be accusations, and it would be made public. Then he might have to pay; he would lose

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli vmey capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa, ynic cempoaltetl: yoan in ça ontlatzacuja machiotl yn itoca ce tochtli: quilmach yn aquique vncan tlacatia cenca motlaecoltianj, tlatequipanoanj mocuiltonoanj.

Ic oalmoquetza yn ce tochtli yc ontlamj in izquitetl cempoalcalli tonalli, yn matlatlaquilhujtl vmeEy tlauica,

mjtoa injn ce tochtli qualli tonalli, yn aqujn vncã tlacatia mocuiltonoanj. õca quiquanj, auh amo çan quinencuj, câcuj, amo çã ixpanvetzi yn inecujltonol, vel ixqujch caana, ixquich itlapal quichioa, iuhqujn âmo teteca, vel õpilcatoc, õtlalhujtoc,

njmã âmonenencaoa, âmoxixiccaoa, vel noviiampa mixpetzoa, mixpepetztza, tlacentoca, tlacencoltoca yn jxqujch netlaiecoltiloni, cenca yiehel, motlacujtlavianj, cochiçanj, tlâcelianj, âçan centlamãtli in quixtoca, yn ipan mixpooa, njmã âmo ciiauhcanequinj, âmo tlatziuhcanequini, amo tlaquelchioanj, vel quitemachia in cemilhujtl, in ceiooal, amo nêvetzi, amo avetzi, in itlapaliuiz, vellaixnextia, injc qujtemoa, ycochca, yneuhca, yn icemilhujtiaia, yn iotlatocaia, yn inêca, yn nêcaiotl, in nemoanj, in nemoalonj, yn otlatoconj, vehca õmotlachielia, ixpan õtlachie, yn ma quenmanjã ytech coa, itech motzotzo, qujmonamjcti netoliniliztli, icnoiotl,

quĩtetzontia, qujntlapachilhuja, qujntlatlamachia ympilhoã

much iê in qujmauhtia in ma quĕmanjan itla ipan oalla tlacatlatolli, tetlatoleviliztli, tetlatolchichivililiztli, tetlatoltequililiztli, netlaixtoquililiztli, tetlaixtoquililiztli, yn aço itla ic quitzouizque, quitzouilizque yaxca, ytlatquj, quixtocazque, qujxtoquilizque, anoce itla ic teilhujloz, tlatoleviloz, teixpannemitiloz, vncan tlacalaquiz, tlapopoliviz, tlaixpoliviz, tlaamoiaoaz, can nen onmznaz, can onmaiaviz, can onmaçooaz,

X787 all, lose his property, scatter it. Where could he save himself, find repose, or extend his arm? What could he quickly take? Well did he save, hide, and store his sustenance for himself.

tlẽ conaltiteziz, vel motẽtetzõtia, monepachoãtia, quitetzontlalia, yn inenca,

X787 164 Everything frightened him lest pestilence sometime come upon him: fearful sickness, the gout, lameness, cramps, paralysis; sickness of the eyes—ophthalmia, or crossed eyes, or watering, withered, or shattered eyes, and blindness; or cancer,[1] piles, some major corruption; or the king's evil; or inflammation of glands might settle in and affect his throat, scarring and marking it;[2] or a bloody flux and loss of blood;[3] or a sore throat, and hoarseness; or pustules, etc.; or possession by a demon and insanity.

muchi iẽ ynjc motlamauhcaittilia in ma quẽmã ipan oalla in temuztli, hecatl, in temamauhti cocolizttli, in coaciviztli, in cocototzavilizttli, in oapaoalizttli, quãquauhtilizttli, yn anoço izcocolizttli, ijchichitinalizttli, in teixnecueponi, in teixcatatili, teixpatzauh, teixcacazo, tlaiocuiantetlali, anoço qualocatl, xochiciviztli, itla veypalanalizttli, anoço toçanpotzalli, coatetl in tequechtlanmotlalia motlattilia, tequechtitilo tequechtitiquijlo, tequechmomotzolo, anoço tlaelli, ezcuicuiltic, anoço tetzamiiaoaciviztli, yçaoquilizttli, nanaoatl. et.[3] anoço tetechquinecoalizttli, iollothwelilocatilizttli.

X787 This man was the one on whom these ailments did not settle; who benefited and provided for himself, and provided for and benefited his children and grandchildren; who lived in wealth.

Jehoatl in ynic ãmotlatlalia, ynic mocnelia, ynjc monavilia, yoan quijnnavilia, quimjcnelia yn ipilhoã, yn jxvioan, ynjc motlãtlamachitinemj,

X787 241 And if he were a gardener, a worker of the soil, a laborer, one who tilled the land, one who broke and reworked the fields, he planted and sowed all things on his land, in his garden, in his worked fields. And when [the seed] had sprouted, and formed shoots, he hoed the ground; he built up mounds; he broke the clods of earth, and went stirring up the dust.

auh intla millacatl, tlalchiuhquj, elimjoqui, elimiquinj, çacamo, çacamoanj, izquich qujtoca, ontlatepeoa, yn imilpan, yn imilco yn icuentla, auh yn oixhoac, in ie papatlacatoc, ytoc, tlapupuxoa, tlatlalhuja, tlacuentlapapa, ixtlalilhujuhtinemj;

And if it were irrigated land, he opened his plot for irrigating. And if he had swamp land, and were a dweller in swamp country, he cultivated and planted maize for tamales, transplanted and set out chilis, and fertilized the land.

auh intla amilli, chãtlaxilia, auh intla chiname, chinãpanecatl, cintamaloa, cintamalaquja, chiltecа, chilquetza, tlaçoquipachoa,

X787 After this, he witnessed the successful results of his fatigue and pains. Thus he attained his wealth and his contentment. When he had realized and procured his products of the soil, he was content, rejoicing, and happy.

ie vncan jnin quitta, yn amo nenvetzi, yn iciaviz, yn inecõcol, ynjc qujtta ynecuiltonol, yneiollaliliz, yn otlamuchiuh yn oquittac itonacaiouh, moiollalia, paqui, vellamati,

X787 251 He stored it; everything he stored up: his ears of maize, black, white, yellow, or red. And when he harvested and gathered it, he put aside, sorted out, and chose the large ears of maize. Some he formed into clusters, separate clusters; some he formed into caltrops. On the beams at the front of the house he hung the bunches and the caltrop-shaped bunches.

tlacalaquia, izqujch quicalaquja yn icin in iauitl, yn iztac, in coztic, in xiuhtoctli, auh in iquac pixca, in tlacuicui nononqua quitema, quicõquixtia, quipepeña, in vevej cintli, cequi cochollalia, cõocholalia, cequi colchicalua, ycalizquac quijpipilos yn iochol, yn iolchical, iuhqujn tlapipilcac ocholli, yn olchicalli, auh in molquitl nonoqua quitema, yoan im popoiotl

1. *Cocoliztli*, in Sahagún (Carlisle ed.), Vol. IV, p. 331, is "*Nigrum, pustulae quae se introducunt hujus le piel. Dermatophyles pulex penetrans L.*"
2. *Mofletzilia*, unparalleled does not appear in the corresponding *Real Palacio MS* text.
3. *Ilamatzilia* in *Ibid.*; it is followed by *anoço ayaiotl*, unparalleled (possibly meaning "or a bad taste in the mouth"; cf. *ayaiotl*).

It was as if the clusters and caltrop bunches hung suspended. And the undeveloped ears he laid apart, as well as the smutty ones. He kept all, he left nothing. He removed all the grains of maize, and the various things which were with the grains of maize.

ate quincaoa, tlacêtoca much cohoia, yn inquistel ytech caca tlaolli, 787x 251

And the harvesters, those who gathered the harvest, he provided with and gave bunches of ears of maize. He garlanded them with clusters of ears of maize. The harvesters, those who harvested for him, were provided and given clusters of ears of maize; they were garlanded with clusters of ears of maize, and with [single] ears.

auh in pixcaque in quipixquilia, quimochavia, quimocholtia, quimocholcoucatia, mochavia, mocholtia, mocholcoucatia, mocicoucatia, in pixcaque, in tepixquilique, 787x 241

And some walked about as gleaners. They gleaned, gathered, and searched for themselves the forgotten ears of maize, or the small, undeveloped ones, which the harvesters had not gathered. They hurried to all places[4] and went everywhere, feeling with their feet among the dry maize stalks, the leaves, and the husks, in order to place their gleanings in the fold of their capes.

auh cequjn onnemj motitixique, qujmotitixia, qujmocuicuilia, qujmotetemolia in çan oilcaoaloc cintli, anoço molquitotooti, in amo quicuicuique pixcaque, tlacencoltoca, quipanocvitivi, tlatlacxitemotivi in oncquauhtitlan inoatitlan, totomochtitlan, ic motitixiquipilquentia yn jntitix,

And the owner of the garden then filled storage bins. He packed and filled his storage bins with his amaranth,[5] his *chia*, his beans. First he threshed, purified, sorted, and gathered them up, and winnowed and fanned out the chaff; he let the wind carry off and scatter the impurities. He threw away the dirt among the bean pods. Then he filled up each vessel. He filled the vessels with his food, sealed them up separately, etc.

auh in mile çatepan tlacuezcôtema, tlacuecuezcontema, tlacuezcomatema, yn iiaouh, yn ichie, yn ieuh achtopa quivitequi, quiiectia, quitlaiectilia, quitlacuicuilia, cácana, quehecaquetza, quêcatoctia, quitepena in polocatl, quitlaça yn exotlaçolli, çatepâ tlacocôtema, qujcoocôtema, quipepepechoa, in ie iuqujch itonacaiouh. et.[6]. 787x 251

4. After quipanocvitivi the Real Palacio MS reads: in milli onoijch chocoalaloi . . . This would change it to read: *they hurried to all places and went from field to field. Everywhere they went stirring, feeling with their feet . . .*

5. Iouh in *Ibid.*; otherwise (iouh), his aromatic herbs.

[p. 130 is blank]

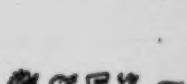

X 787 **Thirty-ninth Chapter, which speaketh of all the day signs (those which have been mentioned).**

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli ōnavi capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa yn ixquich yn machiotl (yn onoteneuhque).

Here, in only a word, a statement, is made plain, as hath many times been told, the manner of its significance, its account, exposition, history, and discussion; and in what manner the sign of each day came to pass, how they proceeded in order, so following along; those which came good; and the evil, of unfavorable time. For not for the first time, nor the second; not for the four hundredth, nor the eight hundredth time, nor for countless times, but for very many times hath it been told of the various groups of day signs, the twenty which went beginning and becoming the starters. In many places they have been discussed. For all these same ones proceeded, changing places, changing one by one; substituting, substituting one by one.

Nican ça cencamatica, cententica onmotlectia, in quenjn cenca ie mjiecpa omjto, yn juhquj inenenca, ytoloca, yteneoaloca, ytlatollo, ytlatlatollo: yn quēnamj cecemjlhujtl tonalli ipan muchioa, in juh tecpantivi, yc otlatoca: yn vncan qualtitiuh, yoan yn amo qualli, in amo ieccan, ca amo qujn ceppa, amo qujn vppa, amo qujn centzompa amo qujn vntzompa, amo qujn tlapoalpa: ca cenca ic vel mjiecpa omjto, in jzqujcalpan inqujtetl tonalli cempoaltetl in tlapeoaltitiliuj, in tonalpeuhcaiome muchioa: ca mjieccan otlatlatolloaque, ca çan ie much ichoan, çan mopatlativi, mopapatlativi, mopatilitivi, mopapatilitivi, mopatilicavi

The order, the designations, of the twenties, or scores, all remained the same. But each one fell once, each one took the lead once. Sometimes it became good; sometimes it was not harmful, not complete destruction. Sometimes it fell in two ways, they said: perhaps good, perhaps evil; if good, also perhaps evil, or only indifferent. And elsewhere are told the good aspects and characteristics of each of the day signs which accompanied it.

yn jzqujteme cempoaltetl, cempoalteme: in tlatecpantin, tlateneoaltin much iuhticate: ca muchtin ceceppa vetzi, ceceppa tziacana: in quenman qualtia, in quenmā amo itlacavi, cempopolivi, in quenman vme vitz quitoa, yn aço qualli ic anoçomo qualli, intla qualli, intlacanoçomo qualli, yn anocē çan ilivia, yoan in cequi omito, in vel nenenqui, yn juh ynneixcavil cecemilhuitl ic tlavica tonaltin,

All that then happened hath been told. If it was a good time, they then bathed the one born at this time. But if not, they still sought one of the day signs on which he was to be bathed. So the old men sought to make it good — the little, shriveled, old men, wicked and vile, decrepit, stupid, and foolish, who came to live in obscurity and darkness,[1] in practising deceit, and losing their reason, living in error, crazed by omens.

ca omuch mjto in tlein vncan muchichioaia, intla qualcan, njman caltiaia yn ipā otlacat. auh intlacamo, oc quitemoaia in catlehoatl tonalli ipan maltiz yn iuhquj ic quiquallittaia vevetque, veventotoa, vevenpipal, tlahelvevetl, avilvevetque, aoc quimati vevetque, nextecuilvevetque, totumputlavevetque: yn onemico mixtecomac, tlaioca, ynjc omoetlacavitinenca, omotlapolohtitiaque, omixcueptiaque, omixtetzappolotiaque.

Jpampa yn ça nica tocōcmitotiquiça, ynic amo ça nen tictequipachoaque tetlacaquiliz, titenacazzitiztzque, ça yliviz tlatoltica titetlhontetilizque, titotzontetilizque, titzontetiezque, yn ma iuh tlaqualli momati tlatolli, ca omuch mito in iamanqui, in totonqui, in velic, in avjiac, auh in oapaoac, yn oapactic yn oquappitzauh, in quappitzzic, yn oitztiz, yn ocecex, in itz-

1. *Tlapoaqui* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

787 frozen; or to be like bad tortillas, burning with lime, which scald the mouth, badly made, with coarse meal; or like tamales, hot, burning, scalding the roof of one's mouth, those with the steam still rising — the hot foods; or like stale tamales, cold, soggy, slimy and slippery, sticky, and stinking, [so] is all that hath been said.

Wherefore here we shall abbreviate and shorten the discourse, in order to bring it to a close, in order no longer again to repeat all the small statements which have been recalled, which are as prattling. Like a wall is the account constructed. Little, a little at a time, was it laid on and joined. In part it was well joined, constructed, and leveled off. When finished it was ordered, completed, and made good in all parts. It was given a core of rock, and filled with small stones; with small stones [set in] a core of rock, and chinked with clay. [So] with the separate words. But in part they were only broken, reduced to fragments, in pieces, dismembered, with holes; with unevenness and breaks; not regarded as complete; with interruptions; bruised, altered, and changed. [So] each group proceeded on its way; all the day signs mentioned, of which there hath been discourse and discussion.

tic, in cecec, yn anoço pâpaian, in nexcococ, in cocopatic, yn âvmpa icheoa, yn acuechtic, yoan in anoce iuhquj tamalli, in totonquj, i totontlapetztic, in techichino, in tecopacchichino, yn oc ipotocquiztivitz, in totoncatlaqualli, yn ânoce, ça tamalçolli, tamalcecec, yn opuzcauh yn oalaoac, oalactix, yn oçaçalix, yn oiiax, ca omuch mjto.

Jehica yn ça njcan ontitisquiltzopâ, tocontitisquiltzopa tlatolli, ynjc ontlatzonquiça, ynjc aocmo ceppa, ticceceppavizque, yn izq'ch cecencamatotonti omolnamjc, in juhqui omoçaçanilo, in ma iuh tepantli oealmochiuhtia tlatolli, achchi, achchinoton oealmotlalitia, oealmoçalotia, cequj vel omoçaçalo otzoczop, otzotzõma, yn itlamjâ vel omotlamamacac, omotlaaquili, omotlatlaqualti, omoteiolloti, omotetzicueoalloti, tetzicueçaltica, teiollotica, ynjc vel oealçoquicoallotia tlatlatoltica, auh cequj çan omococoton, omococototz, côcotonqui, cocotontica, cocotocatica, cocoiontica xixipuchauhtica, xixipuchauhtoc, amo centlachixtoc, xixiquipiltic, xixiquipiliuhtoc, cocomotztic, cocomotzauhtoc, ynjc cecencalpan oeallotlatocac, in ie muchi tonalli omoteneuh, yn ipan otlatlatoloc, otlatlatolloac.

Fortieth Chapter, which telleth of the rest [of the day signs] which formed a part of the day count; these still remaining, belonging to the day sign [One Rabbit]. Also it telleth of the chart and the counters of the different day signs, and of the thirteen [numbers] which belonged to the day sign.

Inic vmpoalli capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn oc cequi ic xxxcliuhtoc tonalpoalli yn vc mocaoe yn itech pov: in tonalli, no itechpa tlatoa yn itabla, yoan in iposloca in izquiterl tonalli, yoã in matlaquilhujtl vmey in itech povia in tonalli. 787 X

And now when already is ended and concluded just this one day sign starter, the one here named One Rabbit, and the different companions, which follow it, then nothing more appeareth of what is well concluded, well finished, and well terminated. Because of what hath been said, it is only abbreviated. Thus the other brief statements which are here, are pieced together. Moreover, there are still ideas yet to appear, which are still being guarded and hidden, yet to be unearthed, which have not been apparent; as may be said, like captives yet in bonds, who thus can be brought to an end and arraigned.

Auh in xxcan in ie ic õtlami yn ie ic ontzonquiça in çayio tonalpeuhcaiotl nican omoteneuh y ichoatl cz tochtli, yoã in izquiteme ytlavilanoan, in quitoquilia, ca aoc tle neci in vel ic tzopiz, vel ic tlamiz, vel ic iecaviz, ypampa in mitoa çã ontitiquiltzopi, ic ommochichichi yn oc quezqui camatotonti, nican omolnamjc, ca tel vncah in tetlalnamiquiliz, yn oc neciz, yn oc motlatitica, yn oc tlapachiuhtica, yn oc motstacaz, yn ãnezztica in mitoa iuhquj oc vixtoylpitica, in vel ic tzotzopiz, in vel ic mocencaoaz.

Wherefore, for the moment, we have here only gathered, hastily brought together and assembled, [the day signs], as if they were a necklace, a bracelet. Here like a precious necklace or bracelet, with paintings, we have strung and threaded them together. We strung them into necklaces and placed them in sequence. Hence it is no longer very necessary that each separate day sign be dealt with and chronicled separately.

Jehica yn xxcan çã nican tiquijmoncentlalia, tiquijmõcentlalitivetzi, tiquinxoncentlalitiquiça, tiquijmontecpana, tiquimovtecpantivetzi, timoquimontecpantiquiça in ma iuh concatl, macuextli, nican concatenh, macuextenh, tiltica, tlapaltica, tlilantica, tiquijmonçoçoa, tiquimoncõçõa, tiquincozcaçoa, tiquijmoncenvipana, ynjc aocmo cenca monequj nonõqua ontlatlatolloaz, õnotlatlatolloticz, yn cecenterl tonalli,

So here, quickly and without reflection, as if in a hurry, as if in our boredom and desperation, frenzy and despair, we have rapidly repeated these different [day signs]. Here they end and conclude; selected, brought to a head, and made known (for so the discussion is already arrived to the time of its maturity), are these named here: the second, taking second place, Two Water, and Three Dog, Four Monkey, Five Grass, Six Reed, Seven Ocelot, Eight Eagle, Nine Vulture, Ten Motion, Eleven Flint Knife, Twelve Rain, and Thirteen Flower.

yc çã njcã yciuhca, ixtomaoaca, çã iuhquin netlalolpã, yoan çã iuhquin tonepatlalco, tonexiuhtlatilco, tonexiuhtlatilcopa, tonexiuhtlaticopa, tiquijmocemitotivetzi yn izquiteme in njcan ontlatzonquixtia, ontlatzopa, ontlatzõmana, ontlatzonmjiaoaiotia, ontlapantlaça (ynjc ic ixiloiocan, yn imjiaosiocan oacico tlatolli), yn ichoantin nican motencoa, yn vncan in tlaoncaiotia 2. atl, yoã Ey itzcuintli, 4. oçomatli, 5. malinalli. 6. acatl. 7. ocelotl. 8. quauhtli. 9. cozcaquauhtli. 10. olin. 11. tecpatl. 12. quiavitl. 13. xuchitl.

[p.134 is blank]

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APPENDIX

Apendiz del quarto libro

[p. 135, p. 136 is blank]

APPENDIX OF THE FOURTH BOOK, IN THE SPANISH VERNACULAR, WHICH IS JUSTIFICATION IN DEFENSE OF THE TRUTH CONTAINED HEREIN.

APENDIZ DEL QUARTO LIBRO EN ROMÃCE Y ES VNA APPOLOGIA EN DEFENSION DA LA VERDAD QUE EN EL SE CONTIENE.

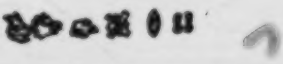

805 Because some have been deceived, and the delusion even today endureth, concerning certain [systems of] counting which these natives used in days of old, I consider it helpful to place here an explanation of three kinds of counting [systems] which they used and in some places still use.

The first count is the division of the year into its months. The fact is that they divided the year into eighteen parts, and to each part they gave twenty days. These may be called months. Thus their year had eighteen months, which comprised three hundred and sixty days. The five left over to make a full year are not counted: rather, they called them idle [171] and unlucky days, because to no god were they dedicated. The purpose for which they established this division was that they dedicated each month or [period of] twenty days to a god, and during each they held celebrations and made sacrifices; except that in two of the months they celebrated the feasts of four gods, [in each] assigning ten days to one and another ten to the other. And so, although there were eighteen months, the feasts celebrated in them were twenty. This count is called a calendar in which all the days of the year are dedicated to the gods except the five which, as is told, they considered idle and of evil fortune. This count, which is the calendar these natives had had from time immemorial, has nothing to do with the other two counts which will now be described.

805 212 The second count which these natives used is called the year-count, because [by it] they counted a certain number of years in the following way. They had four characters placed in four positions with respect to a circle. One of these characters they called Ce acatl, meaning One Reed. This character was represented as a green reed, and, with reference to the circle, was to the east. The second character they called Ce tecpatl, meaning One Flint Knife. [It was] made in the manner of a lance head, half of it blood-stained. This was placed to the north with

Porque algunos se an engañado, y aun todavia dura el engaño, cerca de ciertas cuentas, que estos naturales vsauan antiguamente: tengo por cosa provechosa poner aquj, la declaracion de tres maneras de cuentas, que vsauan, y avn en algunas partes las vsan.

Es la primera cuenta, la division del año por sus meses. Es el caso que ellos repartian el año, en deziocho partes, y a cada parte, le dauan veinte dias; estos se poeden llamar meses: de manera, que su año tenja deziocho meses: los quales contienen trezientos y setenta [*sic*] dias, y los cinco que sobran, para ser año cumplido, no entran en cuenta, sino llamauanlos dias baldios, y aziagos, porque a njngun dios eran dedicados. El fin a que enderecauan [*sic*] esta dinjsion es, que cada mes o cada veinte dias, los dedicauan a un dios, y en ellos le hazian fiestas, y sacrificios, excepto que en dos meses hazian fiesta a quatro dioses, dedicando diez dias a al vno, y otros diez al otro. Y ansi con ser los meses deziocho, las fiestas que celebrauan en ellos eran veinte. Esta cuenta, se llama calendario, donde todos los dias del año, se dedican a los dioses, excepto los cinco que como esta dicho los tenjan baldios y aziagos. Esta cuenta, que es el calendario que estos naturales tenjan de tiempo sin memoriá, no tiene que hazer, con las otras dos cuentas, que luego se dirá.

La segunda cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, se llama cuenta de los años, porque contauan cierto numero de años, por la forma que se sigue: tenjan quatro caracteres, puestos en quatro partes en respecto de vn circulo redondo. A al vno destos caracteres llamauã, Ce acatl, que quiere decir, vna caña: este caracter, era como vna caña verde pintada, y en respecto del circulo, estaua hacia al oriente. Al segundo caracter, llamauan ce tecpatl, que quiere decir vn pedernal: hecho a manera de hierro de lança tiñido la mjtad del con sangre: este estaua puesto

805 reference to the circle. The third character was the
representation of a house, which they call Ce calli
212 [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference
to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a
rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is
placed to the south with reference to the circle. By
means of these characters they counted fifty-two
years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And
they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint
Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so
describing circles by means of these characters, until
each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether,
805 make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two
796 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to
renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract,
372 or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the
fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn
x787 feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old
[fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain
took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the
statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as
well as the intention of serving them for the next
fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or
oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these
periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the
art of divination of the fortune or luck which those
212 born would have, whether men or women. It was
done in this way. They had twenty characters. The
x787 first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the
third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent,
etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at
the end of this Appendix.* They said that each of
these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all
together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some
say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of
the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the
number of days in which the sign or character
[443] reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days,
and so there are, in each month, four weeks; and the
tianquistli, or markets, are fixed according to this
number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by
periods of five days they established the markets or
fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days],
but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in
many places, they set the markets and fairs accord-
ing to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llaman ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llaman ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres treze años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y ansi dando bueltas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliessen treze años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes treze que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servjr a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nueuo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las prouincias desta nueua españa fuego nueuo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de serujrlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o uentura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el qujnto coatl. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apēdiz: dezian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua treze dias, que todos juntos son dozientos y setenta [*sic*] dias. Algunos dizen que estos treze dias son semanas del mes y no es ansi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y ansi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [*sic*] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauā los mercados, o ferias, y ansi no tenjan semana, sino qujntana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entreponense los caracteres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es caña,

* See Plates 102-104.

count are interspersed the characters of the year-count; that is, those four characters mentioned above, which are Reed, Flint Knife, House, and Rabbit, by which they counted the hebdomad of their years, which is fifty-two.

This very pernicious count, superstitious, and full of idolatry, as is to be seen in this Fourth Book, some praise highly, saying that it was very ingenious and contained no blemish. This they said because they did not understand for what purpose this count, which is very evil and idolatrous, was established. Little did they appreciate the multitude of superstitions, feasts, and idolatrous sacrifices involved in it. And they called this count the calendar of the Indians, not understanding that this count doth not extend through all of the year; because it hath only two hundred and sixty days in its round, and then cometh back to its beginning. And so it cannot be and never was a calendar; for the calendar, as hath been said, is represented in the opening of the Second Book, and containeth all the days of the year, and [all] the feasts of the year. And this they who say that this soothsaying art is a calendar, do not know. And surely it was great carelessness and culpable ignorance to praise by word of mouth and in writing something so evil and full of idolatry.

The zeal for truth and for the Catholic Faith compels me to place here the very words of a treatise which a member of one of the religious Orders wrote in praise of this art of soothsaying, declaring that it is a calendar; so that wherever one may see it, he may know that it is something very pernicious to our holy Catholic Faith; and it may be destroyed and burned.

The following is the introduction of the aforementioned treatise.

Introduction and explanation, newly made, of the calendar of the Indians of Anauac, that is, of New Spain.

By means of the wheels reproduced above, the Indians count their days, weeks, months, years, olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and hebdomads, starting their year, like ours, with the beginning of January. In [their system] are found the means of reckoning time which all nations have had. And as is seen, the Indians who established and knew it well certainly showed themselves to be natural philosophers. They were at fault only as to the leap year.

pedernal, casa, conejo, por donde contauan la hebdomada de sus años, que son cincuenta y dos. 805 212 787x

Esta cuenta muy perjudicial, y muy supersticiosa, y muy llena de idolatria, como parece en este libro quarto, algunos la alaban mucho: diziendo, que era muy ingenjosa y que njnguna macula tenja, esto dixerõ por no entender a que fin se endereza, esta cuenta el qual es muy malo ydolatrico de poco entendieron la muchedumbre de supersticiones y fiestas y sacrificios idolatricos, que en ella se contienen, y llamaron a esta cuenta, el calendario de los indios: no entendiendo que esta cuenta no alcança a todo el año, porque no tiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias de circulo, y luego torna a su principio, y ansi no poede ser calendario y nj nunca lo fue, porque el calendario, como esta dicho, y esta pintado, en el principio del segundo libro, contiene todos los dias del año, y las fiestas del año: y esto ignoraron los que dizen que esta arte adiujnatoria es calendario: y cierto fue grande inaduertencia, y culpable ignorancia loar por palabra, y por escrito vna cosa tan mala y tan llena de idolatria. 805 787x

El zelo de la verdad, y de la fe catholica, me compele a poner aquj, las mjsmas palabras de vn tratado, que vn religioso escriujo en loor desta arte adiujnatoria; diziendo que es calendario, para que dondequjera que alguno le viere, sepa que es cosa muy perjudicial, a nuestra sancta fe catholica, y sea destruydo, y quemado. 805 114

Siguese la introducion del tractado sobredicho.

Introducion, i declaracion nueuamente sacada, que es el calendario de los indios de Anaoac, esto es de la nueua españa.

Por las ruedas aquj anteporestas, cuentan los indios sus dias, semanas, meses, años, olimpiadas lustros indiciones, y hebdomadas: començando su año, con el nuestro desde el principio de henero: en la qual se hallan las maneras de contar los tiempos que tuujeron todas las naciones, y segun parece los indios que la composieron, y sabian bien, ciertamente se mostraron philosophos naturales, solamente faltaron en el bizesto: pero tambien paso el gran philosopho

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But this was the case also as to the great philosopher Aristotle and his teacher Plato, and many other wise men who did not attain [knowledge of] it. And it should be known that in this calendar there is nothing idolatrous; and this is praiseworthy for many reasons, but to mention one will be enough. And it is that in this land it was not very many years ago that idolatry began. And this calendar is exceedingly ancient, and if the names of the days, weeks, and years, and their representations, are of animals and beasts, and other creatures, it is nothing to wonder at; for if we look at ours, they also are of planets and of gods which the pagans had. Even if many rites, falsehoods, and ancient sacrifices are written of here [in connection with] a thing so good, of such excellence and truth as these natives possessed, there is no reason to condemn it. For we know that all good and truth, no matter who expresseth it, is of the Holy Ghost.

Aristotiles, y su maestro platon, y otros muchos sabios que no lo alcançaron. Y es de saber, que en este calendario, no ay cosa de idolatria: y esto se poede de alabar, por muchas razones, pero bastara dezir vna: y es que en esta tierra no ha muy muchos años, que començaron las idolatrias: y este calendario es antiquissimo y si los nombres de los dias, semanas, y años, y sus figuras, son de anjmales, y de bestias, y de otras criaturas; no se deuen marauillar, pues si mjramos los muestros: tambien son de planetas, y de dioses que los gentiles tuujeron: y pues que aquj se escriuen muchos ritos, ficciones, y antiguos sacrificios, vnia cosa tan buena, y de tanto primor, y verdadera que estos naturales tuujeron: no es razon de reprobarla: pues sabemos que todo bien y verdad, quienquiera que la diga, es del espiritu sancto.

Refutation of the above[1]

As to what he first saith, that by means of this count the Indians reckoned [their] weeks, months, and years: this is most false. For this count containeth only two hundred and sixty days, and lacketh one hundred and five days to be the count of an entire year. Neither did they reckon their months by this count, because their months are eighteen in a year, and each one hath twenty days, which maketh three hundred and sixty days. This count doth not reach that number. Neither do they reckon their weeks by this count; for what they say, that they had thirteen days in a week, is false, because thus there would be a week of thirteen days and another week [which] would go into the next month with three days,[2] and so no month would have two entire weeks. But more important, their weeks were of five days, which were better called five-day periods than weeks, and there are in each month four of these five-day periods.

What he saith of olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and the like, is false and pure invention.

What he saith, that the year started in January, like ours, is most incorrect; for what they call a year by this count is of only two hundred and sixty days,

Confutacion de lo arriba dicho.

En lo primeró que dize, que por esta cuenta: los indios contauan seis [*sic*] semanas, meses, y años, es falsissimo: porque esta cuenta no contiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias, y faltale ciento y cinco dias, para ser cuenta de vn año entero; nj tanpoco contauan sus meses por esta cuenta, porque sus meses son deziocho en vn año, y cada vno tiene viente dias que son trezientos y sesenta dias; al qual numero, no llega esta cuenta; nj tampoco cuentan, por esta cuenta sus semanas, porque aquello que dizen, que tenjan treze dias por semana es falso, porque desta manera seria vna semana de treze dias, y otra semana entredia con tres dias en el mes sigujente, y ansi cada mes no tendria dos semanas enteras: mayormente, que sus semanas eran de cinco dias las quales mejor se llamaran quintanas, que no semanas, y ay en cada mes quatro destas quintanas.

Lo que dize de Olimpiades, y lustros, y indiciones o la mesma razon es falso, y mera ficciõ.

Lo que dize, que el año, comencaua [*sic*] en Enero, como el nuestro, es falsissimo: porque lo que llaman vn año por esta cuenta no son mas doscientos y sesenta

1. On the controversy between Sahagún and Motolinía regarding the nature of the calendar, see L. Nicolau d'Olwer: *Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía): Relaciones de la Nueva España* (México: Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1956), pp. LV-LVI.

2. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), IV, Ap. 6, has *entrada*. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 612, defines *entrada*, as used in Cuba, by saying "*Dizese . . . de cualquier momento del dia solar.*"

and of necessity it would have to end one hundred and five days before our year. And so it could not start with our year, except with some, and very rarely.

As to what he saith, that the Indians [who] devised this count showed themselves to be natural philosophers: this is most false. For they do not carry out this count according to any natural order; for it was an invention of the devil and an art of soothsaying.

As to what he saith, that they lacked the leap year, it is wrong; because in the count which may be called a true calendar they count three hundred and sixty-five days, and once every four years they counted three hundred and sixty-six days with a feast which for this reason they observed every four years.

As to what he saith, that in this calendar there is no idolatry, it is a very great lie. For it is no calendar but a soothsaying device in which are contained a great deal of idolatry, many superstitions, and many invocations to the demòns, tacitly and openly, as is shown in all of this preceding Fourth Book. So that the treatise aforementioned, which that member of a religious Order wrote, containeth no truth but rather very pernicious error and falsehood.

The treatise by that member of a religious Order proceedeth.

The Indians who well understood the secrets of these wheels and calendar showed and explained them to but few, because through their knowledge they gained their livelihood and were held in esteem and considered wise and intelligent. Nevertheless, almost all adult Indians knew and were informed about the year, as to both the number and house in which they were. But of the names of the days and weeks, and many other secrets and counts which they possessed, only those masters who worked with them attained knowledge.

Now, in order to understand the count which these natives had, in order to know how they kept a time-count by means of the wheels and figures here recorded, rules are given. These are written below.

Refutation of the above.

It is already said that the calendar is different from this count and hath nothing in common with it. The calendar dealeth with the months of the whole year, the days of the whole year, the weeks of the

dias, y de necesidad se avia de acabar ciento y cinco dias, antes de nuestro año: y ansi no podia començar con el nuestro año, si no algunas y muy raro:

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en lo que dize que los indios se composiero desta cuenta, se mostraron philosophos naturales, es falsissimo: porque esta cuenta, no le lleuan por njnguna orden natural: porque fue invencion del demonjo, y arte de adiujnacion,

en lo que dize que faltaron en el bixesto es falso, porque en la cuenta que se llama, calendario verdadero, cuentan trescientos y sesenta y cinco dias, y cada quatro años, contauan trecientos, y sesenta y seis dias en fiesta, que para esto haziã de quatro en quatro años.

En lo que dize que en este calendario no ay cosa de idolatria, es falsissima mẽtira: porque no es calendario, sino arte adiujnatoria, donde se contienen, muchas cosas de idolatria, y muchas supersticiones, y muchas invocaciones de los demonjos, tacita, y espressamente, como parece en todo este quarto libro precediente: de manera que ninguna verdad contiene aquel tratado arriba puesto: que aquel religioso escriujo, mas antes cõtiene falsedad y mentira muy pernjciosa.

Siguese adelante en el tratado de aquel religioso.

Los indios, que bien entendian los secretos destas ruedas, y calendario, no los enseñauan, nj descubrian, sino a muy pocos, porque por ello ganauan de comer, y eran estimados, y tenjdos por hombres sabios, y entendidos, empero sabian casi todos los indios adultos y tenjan noticia del año, ansi del numero como de la casa en que andauan: mas de los nombres de los dias, y semanas, y otros muchos secretos, y cuentas que tenjan: solos aquellos maestros compotistas, lo alcançauanla de saber.

Agora para entender la cuenta, que estos naturales tenjan, y para saber, como contauan los tiempos: por las ruedas, y figuras aquj escritas: se ponen reglas, que son las infra escritas.

Confutacion de lo arriba dicho.

Ya esta dicho, que el calendario es distincto desta cuenta, y no tiene nada que ver con ella. Y el calendario tracta de los meses de todo el año, y de los dias de todo el año, y de las semanas de todo el año, y de las

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whole year, and the fixed feasts of the whole year. All the priests and servants of the idols knew it, as well as many of the populace, because it is a simple matter which toucheth all. But the count of the soothsaying art, which he wrongly calleth a calendar, is a particular kind of count, because its purpose was established to foretell circumstances and events to befall those born under each sign or character. This count only the soothsayers and those who had the skill to learn it, knew; because it containeth many difficulties and obscurities. Those who knew this count they called *tonalpouhque;* they esteemed and honored them greatly. They considered them to be prophets and knowers of future things. Hence they depended upon them for many things, as in days of old the sons of Israel depended upon the prophets.

This [author] saith that the months are twenty in a year. This is not true, for there are only eighteen. Likewise he saith that the weeks are of thirteen days, and this is not true, for they are of only five days, so that there are four weeks or rather five-day periods in a month. The thirteen days which he wrongly calleth a week are only the number of days in which each of the twenty characters in this soothsaying art reigned, as is made clear in the preceding Fourth Book, which dealeth with this soothsaying art.

The chart and [explanation of] the manner of counting used by the soothsayers for this art, now follow.

To the reader.

805 This chart[1] before the friendly reader is the count of the characters or signs with which we have dealt in this Fourth Book. It proceedeth in this order. First are placed twenty characters, and by them their names; and after them are placed the days over which they reign, in numerical notation; and it beginneth one, two, three, etc. The character by or facing the number one reigneth over those thirteen days [beginning with it], and the counting is started from above to below. Reaching thirteen, one then returneth to the number one, and the character before which that number one standeth, reigneth during the thirteen following days. And so with all the remaining numbers and characters. So each one of the characters cometh to reign for thirteen days, and the number of all of these days is two hundred and sixty. From there it returneth again to the beginning.

1. See Plate 142.

fiestas fixas de todo el año: sabianle todos los sacrapas, y todos los mijnjstros de los idolos, y mucha de la otra gente popular, porque es cosa facil, y toca a todos. Empero la cuenta de la arte adiujnatoria, a la qual falsamente llama calendario, es cuenta por si, porque su fin, se enderesa a adiujnar las condiciones, y sucessos de los que nacen en cada signo, o caracter; esta cuenta sabianla solamẽte los adiujnos, y los que tenian abilidad, para deprenderla porque contiene muchas dificultades, y obscuridades: y a estos que sabiã esta cuenta, llamauanlos Tonalpouhque y tenjanlos en mucho y honrauanlos mucho: tenjanlos como prophetas, y sabidores de las cosas futuras, y ansi acudian a ellos, en muchas cosas, como antiguamente los hijos de Israel, acudian a los prophetas,

dize este; que los meses, son viente en vn año, y no es verdad, porque no son mas de deziocho: dize ansimjsmo que las semanas, son de treze dias, y no es verdad: porque no son mas de a cinco dias, y ansi son quatro semanas o por mejor dezir quintanas en vn mes: los treze dias, a que falsamente llama semana, no son, sino el numero de dias, que reynaua cada vno de los veinte caracteres, desta arte adiujnatoria, como esta claro, en el quarto libro precedente, que tracta desta arte adiujnatoria.

Siguese la tabla y manera de contar que tenjan los adiujnos en esta arte.

Al lector.

Esta tabla, que esta frontera Amigo lector, es la cuenta de los caracteres, o signos de que en este quarto libro auemos tractado, la qual procede por esta orden, que primeramente se ponen viente caracteres, y junto a ellos sus nombres, y despues dellos se ponen los dias, en que reinan por cifras del algurismo: y comjença, vno, dos, tres, &c. El caracter donde esta junto el vno o frontero del, es el que reina aquellos treze dias, y comjençase a contar desde arriba hazia abaxo: y llegando a treze luego buelue a vno, y el caracter en frente de quien esta aquel vno, es el que reina los treze dias que se siguen: y ansi de todos los demas numeros y caracteres. De manera, que cada vn caracter viene a reinar treze dias, y el numero de todos estos dias son dozientos y sesenta, y de alli buelue otra vez al principio.

1 [See p. 126a, cat. 116. — Analyst]

Also at the opening of this count is placed the manner of counting the years, because these two counts are linked or matched.

Here followeth the reckoning of all the time-counts which these natives had.

The longest time-count which they reckoned was up to one hundred and four years. And this count they called a century.

Half of this count, fifty-two years, they called a bundle of years. This period of years they had reckoned from times past; it is not known when it began. But they considered it well established and a matter of belief that the world would come to an end at the conclusion of one of these bundles of years. They had a prophecy or oracle that at that time the movement of the heavens would cease, and they took as a sign [of this] the movement of the Pleiades. On the night of this feast, which they called Toxiimmolpilia [the Binding of the Years], it so befell that the Pleiades were at the zenith at midnight, with respect to the horizon in Mexico. On this night they made new fire, and before they made it, they extinguished all the fires in all the provinces, towns, and houses in all of this New Spain. And they went in a great and solemn procession. All of the priests and servants of the temple departed from here, the Temple of Mexico, during the first quarter of the night, and went to the summit of that mountain near Itztapalapan which they call Uixachtecatl. They reached the summit at midnight, or almost, where stood a great pyramid built for that ceremony. Having reached there, they looked at the Pleiades to see if they were at the zenith, and if they were not, they waited until they were. And when they saw that now they passed the zenith, they knew that the movement of the heavens had not ceased and that the end of the world was not then, but that they would have another fifty-two years, assured that the world would not come to an end.

At this hour a great multitude of people was on the mountains surrounding this province of Mexico — Texcoco, Xochimilco, and Quauhtitlan — waiting to see the new fire, which was a signal that the world would continue. And when the priests made the fire, with great ceremony, upon the pyramid on that mountain, then it was seen from all the surrounding

Tambien en el principio desta cuenta se pone la manera de contar de los años, porque estas dos cuentas andã vinculadas o pareadas. 805

La cuenta de todos los tiempos, que tenjan estos naturales, es la que se sigue.

La mayor cuenta de tiempo, que contauan era hasta ciento y quatro años, y a esta cuenta llamauan vn siglo,

a la mitad desta cuẽta, que son cincuenta y dos años llamauan vna gavilla de años, este tiempo de años, trayanla ab antiquo contados, no se sabe quando començo: pero tenjan por muy aueriguado, y como de fe, que el mũdo se auja de acabar en el fin de vna destas gabillas de años: y tenjan prenostico o oraculo, que entonce avia de cesar el moujmjento de los cielos, y tomauan por señal al moujmjento de las cabrillas: la noche desta fiesta, que ellos llamauan Toximmolpilia: de tal manera caya que las cabrillas, estauan en medio del cielo: a la media noche, en respecto deste orizonte mexicano. En esta noche sacauan fuego nueuo, y primero que los sacassen, apagauan todo el fuego, en todas las prouincias, pueblos, y casas de toda esta nueua españa: y iban con gran procession, y solemnidad. Todos los satrapas, y mjnjstros del templo: partian daquj del templo de mexico, a prima noche: y iban hasta la cumbre de aquel cerro, que esta cabe Itztapalapan: que ellos llaman Vixachtecatl, y llegauan a la cumbre a la media noche, o casi, donde estaua vn solemne cu, edificado para aquella cerimonja. Llegados alli, mjrauan a las cabrillas; si estauan en el medio, y si no estauan esperauan hasta que llegassen. Y quando vian, que ya passauan del medio, entendian que el moujmjento del cielo no cessaua, y que no era alli el fin del mundo, sino que avian de tener otros cincuenta y dos años, seguros, que no se acabaria el mundo. 805 787x 821 796 372

En esta hora estauan en los cerros circunstantes que cercan a toda esta prouincia de mexico, Texcucu, y Suchimjlco y quauhtitlan, gran cantidad de gente, esperando a ver el fuego nueuo; que era señal, que el mundo iba adelante, y como sacauan el fuego, los satrapas, con gran cerimonja, en el cu de aquel cerro: luego se parecia, en todo lo circunstante de los cerros: 796 372

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to
778 serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years—[the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion
785 they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited: and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced
304 the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it
805 Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which
they divided into eighteen months, to each of which
796 they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and
443 during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mira, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y qujnjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y qujnjętos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años; que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y qujnjento: y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrętandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziã su bisexto, contando seis de nemontemj.

Ia otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en deziocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-

[still] another [town]. So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five-day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[4] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of error, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit than rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

4. See Plates 103 and 104.

tanario, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguja: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y haziages: y ansi no hazian cuenta dellos para njnguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con todos los meses del año, y con todas las quintanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

Otra cuenta tenjan, estos naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quintanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan treze dias: en las quales reinaua uno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua treze dias, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son dozientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciessen. Es cuenta delicada, y muy mentirosa, y sin njngun fundamento de astrologia natural. Porque el arte de la astrologia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursus y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun fundamento natural av, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en njnguna sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embuste o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erã muy hõrrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque njnguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por ierro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dixeron, y afirmaron falsamẽte.

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[See cnt. 116, pp. 126r, 126s. - Analyst]

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Because the foregoing chart of the soothsaying art is difficult to understand and to reckon by, I have provided the following chart, because it is clearer and the count is easier and in conformity with the way they counted. And let no one think that this chart is a calendar; because, as is said, it is only a soothsaying device. The calendar of these natives is found at the beginning of the Second Book, and it is very easily understood because of the letters of the alphabet which it hath. On one side are counted their months, which are of twenty days each. And on the other side are counted our months, which are of thirty days, one more or less. And since this count is so given, it is easy to know, of their feasts, in which of our months they fell, and on which day of each month. The other count, which is of the years, is placed in the Seventh Book of this history. There it may be seen, if it please Our Lord that it be published.

Porque la tabla precedente del arte adiuinatoria esta difficultuosa de entender, y de contar: puse esta tabla que se sigue, porque esta muy mas clara y la cuenta muy mas facil, y conforme a como ellos contauan. Y no piense nadie, que esta tabla es Kalendario porque como dicho es, no es sino arte adiuinatoria. El Kalendario destos naturales se pone en el principio del segundo libro esta muy claro de entender, porque las letras del a. b. c. que tiene: de vna parte, se cuentan los meses suyos, que son de veynte en veynte dias. Y de la otra parte, se cuentan los nuestros meses: que son de a treynta dias, vno mas o menos. Y por estar esta cuenta desta manera, facil cosa es saber sus fiestas, en que mes de los nuestros cayan: y a quantos dias de cada mes. La otra cuenta que es de los años, se pone en el septimo libro desta historia: alli se podra ver, si plugujere a nuestro señor, que salga a luz.

[See cat. 116, pp. 126u, 126v. - Annlyst]

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BOOK FIVE -- THE OMENS

Libro quinto, que trata de
los agueros, y prenosticos: que
estos naturales, toma-
uan: de algunas a
ues, animales,
y sauandijas,
para adiuj
nar las co
sas futu
ras.

[p. 149]

[pp. 147 and 148 are blank]

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[p.150]

De los Agueros

FIFTH BOOK, IN WHICH ARE TOLD THE OMENS IN WHICH THE MEXICANS BELIEVED.

IC MACUJLLI AMUXTLI, VNCAN MOTENEOA: IN TETZAUJTL CATCA, IN QUJTETZAMMATIA IN IEHOANTIN MEXICA.

First Chapter. Here are related the omens in which they believed when, at night, someone heard some wild animal cry out, or when it seemed as if some old woman wept; and also what the readers of the day signs said, they who were called wise ones.

In olden times, when false gods were still being worshipped, thus said some of the old men, the ancient people, when we yet were concerned with nothing else, when we believed these things to be true, when still in our land we spoke of that which the departed ones testified to us — our ancestors who are no more. They told us of all these things which they knew to be omens, and knew as evil, the portents they heeded, which all considered portentous; the things which they thought ominous.[1]

First is this: when anyone heard that a wild animal cried out — that a wild beast howled at him like one who blew a shell trumpet, and the mountains answered him. It wailed; [a sound] issued from its mouth as if a poor old woman wept. On this, they said, now he would perish in war, or die — he would die a slave's death.[2] Or now he would meet some kind of mischance. Perhaps he would be sold [into bondage] — he would incur a penalty; or he would have some of his children sold — he would bring the penalties and visit his sins upon them.[3] Misery would come upon his house, his fireside, and his hearth. Disaster would repeatedly appear in his house.[4]

Ic ce capitulo, vncan mitoa, in tetzaujtl in qujtetzammatia: in iquac ioaltica, aca quicaquja: in chocaia itla tequanj, in anocz, iuhquj aca ilamachocaia: auh iequene, in tlejn qujtoaia, tonalpouhque: in mjtovaia tlamatinjme catca.

In ie vecauh, in oc tlatecotoco: in juh quitoa, cequjntin veuetque, veuetlaca: in oc titiscavitoque, in oc titomattoque, in oc totlalpan tiqujtoaia: in aiaque technelotoque: in aiaque totlah onoque. Yzqujtlamantii, y, in qujtetzammatia, in quitetzaujtiaia, in tetzaujtl ipan quimatia in netetzaujloia, in tlatetzaujaia.

Jnic centlamantli, iehoatl, in iquac aca quicaquia: in tequanj choca, tequanj ipan choca: in juhquj tecciztli qujpitza: tepetl qujnanqujlia: tehcuiotoa, tlaoalanja: iuhqujn ilamapul choca. Ynjn, qujtovaia ie iaomjqujz: anoço ie mjqujz, tlalmiqujz: anoço, ie itla commonamjctiz, icnoiotl: aço monamacaz, motlanamjctiz: anoço ipilhoan ceme qujnmonamaqujliz, qujntlanamjctiz: qujntlatlaculnamjctiz, icnoiotl calaqujz, in jnextitlan, in jtlecujllan: atl neneciz in jchan.

1. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 308.

2. Cf. Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), *ahtlamiqui*, to die a slave's death. Below (Chapter 12, n. 21), Sahagún translates *ahtlamiqui* as to die of a sickness.

3. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Weltanschauung, Philosophie und Kalender der alten Azteken* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1950), p. 5: "*wer ausrede die ausmachen, wurde an ihnen sich schadlos halten.*"

4. The corresponding Spanish text refers to documents.

X 787 When it so befell him, because of it he went to see the reader of the day signs, [who] then encouraged and greeted him. He said to him:

"Thou art unfortunate, O slave, O servant, O lad, O youth, O chieftain! In truth thou seekest and askest encouragement. For so hast thou come that thou mightest come to see thy reflection,[5] to use the sacred book for thyself. Behold what thou hast merited; it is not gentle and good, not righteous and not fitting to one of good standing. For so said that which the ancients have left to us. For they have made fall [upon us] the digging stick and tump line of poverty. But, on the other hand, enough! Perchance thou hast been negligent. Perchance already, tomorrow or the day after, he by whom we live will be wroth or require appeasement. Await the command. For here it is depicted in the book of days, which the common folk have caused to be guarded for thee. Shall I, perchance, in truth, frighten and terrify thee? For the lord our god hath wished this upon thee. By no means hath the beast become as man.[6] Unfortunate art thou; for at such a time, truly, wert thou born. For so was thy day sign not a time of peace. But this hath indeed been verified: perchance thou mayest do honor to whatever may be thy deserts.[7] Take courage; be not sad, and use all thy force; be above the hardness of thy heart, thy tears and grief. For take care [lest] in vain I deck thee with flags and paper streamers, cure thee, and surround thee with medicines. Perform penances; forthwith and quickly prepare the papers. Thy blood offerings shall be made. Buy for thyself everything —paper, incense, rubber, etc. When [thou hast done] this, and thou knowest that the day is here upon which thou shalt make offerings to Tlalxictentica,[8] arising, thou shalt here return. Here I shall use my own hands; I shall arrange and place in order all that is needed. Everywhere will be standing thy paper streamers, thy blood offerings. For I, myself, shall go to burn them in thy home. I shall go to do it with my own hands."

Just so did they who believed in omens and were affected by them. Etc.

Yn jõc oiuh ipan muchiuh, y: njman ic iauh, qujttaz in tonalpouhquj: vmpa quellaquaoa, qujtlapaloa: qujlvia:

Timotolinja xole, xolotze, telpuchtle, tiacave: ca nel tictemoa, tiqujtlanj, in mellaquaoaloca: ca ic otiualla, in timotezcaujco, in timamuxvico: xicchie, in tlein oticmomaceuj: ca amo iuijan qualli: amo tlacaiectli, amo tlacaçemelle: ca iuh conjtotiuj, in techcauhtiuj, in vevetque: ca ujctli, mecapalli, icnoiotl, qujtemouja: ioan anoce, ie ixqujch: aço titlatlatziujti, aço ie muztla, viptla, moçomaz, monenequjz, in jpalnemoanj: ma xicmotlatolchieli, ca iuh machiotica, intonal amapan: in vncan tictlapielia, in cujtlapilli, atlapalli: cujx çan nel njmjtzihiçaviz, njmjtzmamauhtiz? ca mopan oqujnec, in tlacatl totecujo: camo motlacaiocoia, in tequanj: timotolinja, ca nel iuhcan timotlacatili: ca iuh ca motonal, in amo tlacacemellecan. Auh injn, ca oneltico: aço ie tocommaujçoz, in quenamj momaceval: ma ximellaquaoa, ma titlaocux, ixqujch motlapal: oc motepitziollo, oc mochoqujz, motlaocul ipan xonie. Ca izca, ça oc nen ic njmjtzpantia, njmjtzteteuhtia, ic njmjtzpatia, ic njmjtzpaiaoalochtia: xitlamaceoa, ma iciuhca oniecauhtiuetzi, in amatzintli: in monextlaoal, onmuchioaz: xoconmococouj, in jzqujtlamantli in amatl: in copalli in olli &c. Iquac, yn, ticmattiuj: izca tonalli, in jpan tictlamacazque, tlalxictentica: in meujltitica, tioalmoujcaz: nican njcnomaujz, njccencaoaz, njctlatlamantiliz, in jxqujch monequjz: in jzqujcan icaz, toteteuh, tonextlaoal: ca nehoatl, nonoma njctlatitiuh, in mochan: njcnomaujtiuh.

Ivin, in qujchioaia, motetzaujanj, motetzauj. etc.

5. *Ibid.*: "*venisse a ver el espejo donde esta la declaracion de lo q̃ sois.*"

6. *Ibid.*: "*no es q̃ culpar al animal, porque el no sabe lo q̃ se hace, por q̃ carece de entendimiento de razõ.*"

7. *Ibid.*: "*aguarda mortificarte en ti, la voluntad del signo en q̃ nasciste.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*cobrar tal dia, que es oportuno para hacer la offrida q̃ es menester al señor dios fuego.*" Tlalxictentica: identical with the fire god Xiuhtecutli; cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Angel María Garibay K., ed.; México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1956; hereafter referred to as Garibay ed.), IX, 3. Cf. Vol. I, p. 9, for reference system.

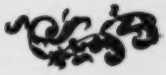

Second Chapter, in which is related the evil omen which they regarded in two ways: so it was when they heard that the white hooded hawk[1] cried out; and what the merchants did when somewhere on the road such befell them; perhaps it cried out at them.

Ic ome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in çan necoc tlachiaia: in juhquj catca, in jquac qujcaquja, in tzatzia oactli: ioan in tlein qujchioaia, puchteca in jquac cana iuhquj vtlica, in jnpan muchioaia in anoço inpan tzatzia.

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Likewise they considered it an omen of evil when the white hooded hawk screeched at someone. As they said, it spoke in two [ways],[2] sometimes good and sometimes bad.

No ioan, qujtetzammatia: in jq̃c aca ipan veuetzca, oactli: in juh conjtoa, vme vitz qujtoa: in quenman qualli, quenman amo qualli.

When it displayed good, then they heard its words which it said as it screamed: "A good time! A good time!" When this was the case, none were frightened; the travelers were in no way terrified by it. Rather, they rejoiced. It was as if their hearts were gladdened, because perhaps they would come upon something pleasing; perchance in something they would be favored; they would attain something beneficial.

In jq̃c qualli qujnextia, ic qujcaquj in jtlatol injc vevetzca qujtoa: ieccan, ieccan, in jquac, yn, amo netemmacho: atle ic momauhtia, in nenenque: çan ie papaquj: iuhqujn acovetzi in iniollo: ipampa, aço itla qualtzin, in jpan ie oniazque: aço itla ipan mopovatiuj: itla qualli, qujcnopilujzque.

But when they heard that it laughed too long, in a high pitch, — as if its bosom and side were in pain; or as if it screamed swollen with joy, [then], as if they were sick and frozen, none spoke aloud. They went with heads hanging, with necks loose. No longer [was there] control. Because of this they felt that perhaps something woeful would now betide them; they would come upon something perilous. Either some one of them would die; or sickness would come or somewhere they would be ambushed. This befell them when, perhaps, [they were] somewhere among the mountains, in a gorge, in the midst of the desert,[3] in the middle of the woods, in a thicket, within and among the trees. And if it were merchants, vanguard merchants, wayfarers, whom it befell that at them the white hooded hawk laughed, they said that perhaps now they should come upon something, or their goods would be carried away by the water, or some evil men, thieves

Auh in ie oqujcaeque, in juhquj ommjmjctoc, ic vetzca, tlatlapitzaoa: in juhquj, ixillan, ijomotlan, onquaquauhti: in juhquj, mocacanaoa, paquj, vevetzca: iuhqujn ontlanavi, iuhqujn ocevetzi, aocac naoati: ça tlatoliuj, ça tlaquechpiliuj, aiocmo tenaoatili: ic qujmatia, aço itla ovi, inpan ie ommuchioaz: itla ouj, ie commonamjctizque: anoço cenne aca ie mjqujz: aço ie vitz cocoliztli, anoço cana inpan, ie oalmotzaquaz. In jnpan muchioa, yn, aço cana tepetzalan, atlauhitic, ixtlaoatl itic, quauhnepantla, quauhiooacatla, quauhitic, quaujtl itic: auh intla puchteca, oztomeca, nenemjnj: iuhquj inpan omochiuh, in jnpan ovevetzcac oactli: qujtoaia. Aço, ie itla, commonamjctizque: aço ie ontlaatoctizque: anoço ie acame, tlaveliloque, inmac ie ommaqujzque, ichtecque, tetlaçcujcujlique, tetlatlaçaltique, tetlanamoelique, inmac ie ontlatlaçazque, qujntlacujcujlizque, qujntlacencujlizque, qujntlatlaçaltizque, qujntlanamoelizque: anoço cana cenne, ie onquauhtenue-

1. Cf. Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis G. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. IV, p. 48; he comments that the bird was thought an evil omen to traveling merchants.

2. Probably idiomatic. More literally, *ome vitz qujtoa* could be rendered "in two ways came what it said."

3. *Quauhnepantla*. Alonso de Molina, in *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), translates the term as either woods or desert.

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who had escaped from their hands, who pilfered, plundered, and robbed, would now wrest goods from their hands, and plunder, strip, sack, and rob them. Or somewhere, some of them might now faint and collapse, to be cast aside. Or they would be eaten by wild animals — the fare of brutes; they would become the game of wild beasts. Or somewhere they would be encircled by, and encounter, war.

trizque, ie onvetzizque, ie ommomaiaujzque: noce, ie ontequancoalozque, tequãtlaqualtin, tequanjme intlaqualhoan, ie ommuchioazque: anoçe, cana inpan ie oalmotzaquaz iaoiotl: ie conmonamjctizque.

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When this was so, he who was leader, who went commissioned leader, who proceeded as principal there along the road, then began to encourage them. He greeted his younger brethren with tears, his charges who were being taught. Along the way he instructed them and said to them:

In jquac yn, in aqujn tachcauh, in tachcauhchiuhtiuh, in tachcauh icatiuh vtlipan, vncan peoz, in qujmelaquaoa, in qujnchoqujztlapaloa, iteiccaoan, itlahoapavalvan: in vtli ipan qujmixtlamachtia, qujmjlvia.

"Be of good cheer, O my sons, O my younger brothers. Of what profit is it that we are afflicted? Let no one be sad or heavy of heart. In truth for this we came: we came to die; so went our hearts heavy and foreboding. Thus we went from and left our homes and the houses of others:[4] our aunts, our uncles, our nephews, our elder sisters. For this reason they shed tears for us; they poured out upon us their weeping, their sorrow, that perhaps here, somewhere, on the desert, on the plains, in the gorge, in the forest, in various places will lie scattered our bones and our hair; in many places our blood, our redness, will spread, poured out and slippery. For in truth this hath been our reward. Let no one feel womanish in heart. Yield completely to death; pray to our lord. Let none think of or brood over [our condition]; for only later shall we know of whatsoever things[5] we may strike against. Then, in the end, we may weep for ourselves.

Ximellaquauacan, nopilhoane, noteiccaoane, quennel titotolinja: macaiac tlaocuja, nentlamati in jiollo, ca nel ic tioallaque, in timjqujco: ca iuh oalietia, iuh qujoalmattia in toiollo: injc ticoalalcaujque, tiquallalotique in tonca, in teca: in tauj, in totla, in tomach, in toueltiuh: ca ie injc techchoqujli, injc topan qujpixo, in ichoqujz, in jtlaocul: aço cana njcan, ixtlahoatl, atlauhtli itic, quavitl itic, cecemmantoz in tomjo: in totzon, nonoqujuhtoz, aalacatoz in tezço, in totlapallo: ca nel otomaceoaltic, ma caiac qujcioatlamachti in ijollo: xicmotlaquammacacan in mjqujztli, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo: ma caiac tle itic qujnemjti, qujlnamjqujz: ma ça qujn jc ticmatizque, in çaço tle itech titotzotzonativi: vncan ic cemmaian, tontochochoqujlizque:

"For truly, this is how we come giving honor[6] and luster to our lords, the merchants who lead, raising them to glory and lifting high their heads. Ere now they have gone knowing and marveling at such things. We are not then the first to discover and behold what will befall us. Strengthen your hearts, O my sons!"

ca nel iehoatl injc tiquinteiotico, tiqujmjtauhcaiotico, tiqujntonaleoaco, tiqujntzonteconacocujco intotechiuhcaoan, in puchteca, in jiaque: ca ieeppa iuh quimattivi, iuh qujmaujçotiuj, camo qujn tehoan iancujcan ie toconnertizque, ie toconjttazque, in tlein topan muchioaz: ximellaquaoacan, nopilhoane.

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And if somewhere night fell, they gathered, joined, crowded, and assembled themselves somewhere at the foot of a tree or the opening of a gorge,

Auh intla cana oimpan ioac, cana quaujtl itzintlan, anoço atlauhcamac, ommololoa, ommocemololoa, ommotepeuhtitlalia, monechicoa, qujcujtlalpia, quj-

4. Probably *nenoa* and *tete* are to read *tuaal* and *taal*. In Bernardino de Sahagún, "Memoriales en 3 columnas," *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1986), Vol. VII, p. 398, the phrase is *ya tuaal, ya taal*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando parientes de nuestras casas.*"

5. "Memoriales en 3 columnas," p. 391, *ahor in quyo ale*, insert *ximomamatiztiui, in quyo ale*.

6. In *loc. cit.*, it is *ximotlamatiquiza*.

and bound and tied, fastened together, and placed on the ground, all their staves, which represented their god Yiacatecutli. Here, before him, they did penances, bled themselves, cut their ears, and drew straws through them; so they only yielded to whatsoever might befall them. But no one worried or speculated whether it might befall them as the white hooded hawk had foreboded to them.

And perhaps they quite escaped, [or] perchance nothing happened to them who were then terrified when the time of their fright had occurred. If nothing befell them, their hearts were therefore again a little lifted; they raised their heads and revived their spirits; for their fates were so established that fear should no longer be with them.

But the fearful ones, the younger brothers who were not of firm fortune, not of rugged day signs, when they learned of [the omen], went fearing it. No longer were they happy; they talked no more — no longer did they speak aloud; nowhere were their hearts content. Things only worsened as they traveled; they only went engraving on their minds whatever they imagined. No longer with calm, but vainly, did they a little way follow the land; rather, they thought that perchance soon they would somewhere come upon what in truth meant the omen which had occurred and by which they had been frightened.

It hath already been said, nevertheless, that no one knew whether, indeed, it would be verified, or would not be so. For its words were understood, since it spoke in two [ways], to be good and evil.

cencujtlalpia, qujcemjlpia, qujcemmana in jntopil, in jpan qujzcoaia in intecuh: Yiacatecutli. Vncan ixpan tlamaceoa, mjço, monacaztequj, tlacoqujztia, ça qujmocemmacatoque, in tlein inpan, ic ommuchioaz: auh aocac ontlamati, aocac itlamatia, intla iuhquj inpan muchioa, in juhquj ic oqujntetzauj eactli. 787x 484 782

Auh anoçe çan maqujça, acaço tle inpan muchioa: in vncan in nemauhtiaia, in jnmaujzcujian omochiuhca. Intla catle inpan omochiuh, ic oc ceppa achitzin, oalmoiolizcalia: oalaquetza onmoquaahaiouja: ic ommotonallalilia: injc intech oacca maujztli: 787x 484

auh in mauhcatlaca tetriccaoa, in amo tonalchicaoaque, in amo tonallapaliuj: ça ie in qujmattiuj, in qujmamattiuj: aocmo paquj, aocmo tlatoa, aocmo naoati, aoccan auja in jiollo: ça tlanauhtiuj, in nenemj, ça imjtic tlacujcujlotiuj, in tleinmach qujlnamiquj: aiocmo iujian, in oc nen achi qujtoca tlalli: ça ie in qujmati, aço quin cana in ie commoaamjctizaque, in tlein vel qujtoznequj, intetzauh omochiuh: injc omotetzaujque.

Ie omjto, tel aiac qujmati, in aço vel neltiz: in acanoçomo, ca itlatol itech mocaquj: injc ome vitz qujtoa, qualli ioan amo qualli.

[pa 156 is blank]

X 787 776 Third Chapter, in which is told the omen taken as a portent when at night they heard as if someone shot iron arrows into something or as if he chopped wood; this they called the night axe.

Ic ei capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in tetzammachoia: in jquac iooaltica qujcaquja, in juhquj aca, tlatepuzmjuja: in juhquj quauhzeloaia, in qujtoaia, ioaltepuztli.

Likewise there was an omen which was taken as and considered portentous; its name was the night axe. When it made itself heard, it was well into the night,[1] when none spoke aloud.

No ioan, tetzaujtl catca, netetzaujloia, tetzammachoia: in jtoca ioaltepuztli. Iquac caquijztia, in ouellallimjctimotecac: in aocac naoati.

[789] When the priests went forth to do penances and to lay down fir branches at their places of doing penance on mountain tops, wheresoever they all went, then it was heard that it resounded like someone chopping and splitting wood. It rang out for a great distance; much did it frighten the people. It made them faint and swoon with fear. This night axe, so we are told—it was said that it took the form of Tezcatlipoca, to make sport and fun of people.

In ontlamaceoaio, in onacaoiatlaliio tlamacazque: in jntlamaceoaian tepeticpac, in çaço campa ie, onuja, injc mocaquja, injc caquiztia, iuhqujn aca, tlaxeloa, quauhzeloa: cenca veca caquijzti, cenca temamauhti, teiolmjcti, teçotlauh. Inin, ioaltepuztli, iuh mjtoa, qujlmach ichoatl, ipan mjzcoaia, in tezcatlipuca: injc teca mocaciaoaia, teca maujltiaia.

They said that he who looked upon it, one who was bold and wise, and not given to fright, of strong spirit,[2] could then hurl himself at it. He seized it and would no more give up, in order to see it. He would call to it as to a person and, indeed, hang on to it—force himself on it—as he pursued it. He followed at its back and forced it on; because thus he could catch it and see what manner of omen his was. Thus do they say, that whosoever would catch it when he saw it could with difficulty approach it; yet he pursued it and made it go everywhere; everywhere he came up to it.

qujtoa. In aqujn qujttaia, in mjhiujntia, in jiollo qujmati, in amo momauhtianj, in tonallapaliuj, vel ic momotla: qujmomaca, aiocmo qujcaoa, injc vel qujttaz, qujtlacanotzaz, vel itech mopiloa, itech motlapaltilia, injc qujtoca: qujtepuztoca, qujtlalochtoca, ipampa injc vel cacix: qujttaz, in quenamj itetzauh: in juh conjtoa, in aqujn vel cacia, in qujttaia: aiaxcan in vel itech pachiuj: oc qujtotoca, noujiã qujnemjtia: noujan caaxitia.

When he tired it, somewhere on the road he awaited it without fear. And when now he saw it, he beheld it like a man without a head—a headless one, with neck severed at the nape, and with chest framework and belly broken open. Thus they said it was thought that that which was heard was his [split] chest framework when its halves met [like] a mouth continually opening and closing, with a sucking sound.[3]

Iquac in oquijciammjcti, cana otlica qujoalmuchieltia: auh in ie qujtta in ie qujtzticac, iuhqujn tlacatl quechcotonquj, quechcotoctic, quechtepultic: ioan elchiqujuhtlapanquj, ellapanquj: in juh conjtoa: qujlmach ichoatl, in caquijzti, ielchiqujuh: iuhqujn ommonamjquj onmocacamapiqujq, ommopipiqujq, onchachaquanj.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "el primer cuarto de la noche: quando todos durmeen profundamente."
2. Ibid.: "alguno hombre animoso y esforçado y exercitado en la guerra."
3. Ibid.: "el pecho arrojado abierto: y tenia cada parte como una porcezilla, que se abriaa, y se cerraaa, haziendose en el medio: y al cerrar, deziaa: que hazian aquellos golpes, que se oyan lexos." Bus Pl. 2.

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And of this [apparition] he to whom it appeared, whether priest or bold one, or reckless warrior, when he had succeeded in reaching and seeing it, then saw his heart. He seized it; he clutched it and took it tightly in his fist; he tore it out. So he demanded what it would give, grant, or award him — perhaps riches, perhaps the taking of captives, perhaps valor; or poverty — perhaps the hoe or the tump line. So was it said that all which it thus awarded him became his gift.[4]

And if it spoke to him, it said: "O our friend, O humming bird, O warrior. What dost thou say to me? What wilt thou have of me? Unhand me, and I shall give thee what thou wishest." At once did it then address him, calling him by his name as a man — whatever was his name — and his name as a nobleman.

And the vassal to whom it had appeared said to it: "I shall not let thee go, for I have taken thee."

Then it said to him: "Behold one thorn; I give it to thee. Leave me alone."

The brave-hearted one liked this not;[5] he thought it not well. At last he left it if it gave him three or four thorns. Thus these showed and made evident that he went skillfully to war, not going forth in vain.[6] As many [captives] would he take as it showed and gave him thorns. Thus he then received as reward all earthly happiness and contentment — flowers, tobacco, riches; capes, lip pendants, head bands.

And also it was said, and so was the common opinion and report, that whosoever could not make it talk, immediately tore and ripped out its heart. He who had cut out its heart fled from it and ran away. He buried it somewhere: he wrapped it up thoroughly and tightly, and later, when it had dawned, he looked at it, and then it showed him whether [his fortune were] good and propitious. When he saw a soft, white feather, or thorns — perchance one, or two — then it appeared that his lot would be good. But if it were not good, he saw a piece of charcoal or a rag. Thus it indicated that his reward had become only poverty and misery.

And whosoever was not of strong spirit, who was not well based — of poor foundations — the coward,

Auh ie ichcatl, in, yn aqujn oqujmottiti: in aço tlamacazquj, in anoço çan mihiujntia in jaotlaueli-loc: in jquac in ouel cacic, in ouel quittac, ajman ie qujmotilia in jiollo: qujcujtiuetzi, qujtlalochana, qujmotzolteitzquja, qujcotonilia: ic qujtlaitlanjlia, in tlein qujmacaz, in tlen qujoemactiz, in tlein quj-macceoaltiz: aço necujhtonolli, aço tlamalistli, aço oqujchiotl: anoço netolinjliztli, aço victli, aço mecapalli: iuh mjtoa, ca much ie qujtemacemaltiaia, ie-namac muchiuaia.

Auh intla ie qujnotza, qujluja: Tocnjuhtze, vitzitle, iaotle: tle tinechiluja, tle tinechnequjlia, xinech-caoa: njmjtzmacaz in tlein ticnequj: vel njman ic tenotzaia, ic qujtlacatocaiotiaia, in aqujn tlein itoca, in jpiltoca.

Auh qujluja in macceoalli, in oqujmottiti: amo nj-mjtzcaoaz, ca onjmjtzan.

Ic vncan qujluja, itca ce vitztli: njmjtzmaca, xi-nechcaoa:

amo qujcelia, amo qujuelitta, in jollochicaoac: qujnjquac quicaoa, intla eci, anoço ie nauj, qujmaca vitztli: ic qujnextia, qujnencaiotia, ca tlamatiuh in iave, amo nenqujcaz: izquj caciz in oqujtenevili, in oqujmacac vitztli: ic much vncan, qujmacceoaltia in tlalticpac pequjliztli, neiollaliliztli: in xuchitl, in jietl, in netlamachtilli: in tilmatli, in tençacatl, in tlalpilonj.

Auh yoi mjtoa, iuhca in nenonotzalli, in tlatla-tolli: in aqujn amo qujtlatlatoltia, çan vel njman qujcotonjlia, qujtlatzcotonjlia in ijollo: ixpampa ie-hoa, motlaloa in oqujcotonjli yiollo: cana qujtlatia, vel qujququjmjloa, qujtepiztilacatzoa: qujnjquac in otlathujc qujttac, in qujteititia, intla qualli, intla iectli: in conjtta: iztac ivitl in molontica, anoço vitz-tli, aço çe, anoço vme, ic qujnextia ca qualli, in jma-ceoal: omochiuh. Auh intlacamo qualli, in conjtta: tecolli, anoço tzotzomatli, ic qujnextia, in çan icno-iotl, netolinjliztli, oqujmaceoalti.

Auh in aqujn, amo çenca tonallapaliuj, in amo itzin, amo itzitzin, in mauhcatlacatl: amo can vel

4. "Whatever/also an I celebrated" has *tlamacazquj*.

5. *Quiqelia*: either *qu-ielia* or *qui-elia* may be read. Cf. Molina, op. cit.

6. *Nenquiecaz*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

could nowhere seize [the specter]. He only heard it, and, giving up the chase, left it in terror. He could not pursue it; he was exhausted, vexed; deadened was his body; he only went flattened on the ground; he could walk no more. So he knew that the night one was an omen to him, only making sport and fun of him. Perchance sickness or death, or misery, slavery, and sin, [the specter] gave him when it came upon him.

cana, çanijo qujcaquj, çan icampa ontlacuecuetlaxoa, ontlacuecuechcaoa: amo vel qujtoca, çan onciammjquj, onmocisuhcanequj, mjmjquj in jnacaio, ça vtlica chachapantiuh, aiocmo vel nenemj: ic qujmati in çan oqujtetaauj ioaltepuztli, çan ica onmocacaiauh, ica onmauijlti: aço cocoliztli, mjquijliztli: anoço icnoiotl, tlacujutl, tlatlaculli, in oqujmacac: injc oqujmotlac.

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[p. 160 is blank]

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Fourth Chapter, in which is told the omen taken as a portent when the horned owl[1] hooted.

Likewise all took it as an omen and an augury, and it was considered a portent, when the horned owl hooted, when perchance on someone's roof terrace or on his roof top, or up in his tree, it was hooting when they heard it, and it was saying, "Tecolo-o-o! Tecolo-o-o!"[2] In this wise it sounded when it hooted.

They said that when it was heard, it signified death or sickness; it was an omen of death. He who heard it would perhaps die, or beg, or be slothful; he would die in bondage or in war; or one of his sons would die; or his slave would flee. Perhaps now his house would be destroyed, his land would shrink; water would continually appear; weeds would cover at the gateway or the courtyard; the walls would lie crumbled, in ruins—lie devastated. There all would answer the calls of nature—would urinate and defecate—and rubbish would be cast. Salts would lie evaporated; the earth would lie smoldering.

Then it would be said, so that all might marvel: "Once, in this place, here, was the house of one who came commanding reverence. Here came a householder enjoying fame;[3] there was always honor, and [the house] was swept clean. At least the rubbish was cast aside somewhere. And none might urinate on his walls, [or] he would chide him.

"But now in his very place only the walls remain standing."[4]

Ic naui capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzinjtl injc mjztetzaujoia, in jquac tecuiutl chocoia.

No yoan netetzaujloia, tlaztzaujoia, tetzammachoia, in tecuiutl choca: in jquac tla aca ytlapantenco, anoço ixacalticpac, iquauhticpac chocatica: in qujcaquj qujtotica: Tecolo, o, o, tecolo o o, yvin in caqujzti, in choca.

Qujtoa in jquac in caczia, qujnezttia mjqujztli: cocolizztli, mjqujztetzaujtl: in aquja oqujcac: aço ie mjquja: aço tlaciujti, aço tlaltlatziujti tlalmjquja, anoço isomjquja, anoce aca ce ipiltzin ie mjquaz, anoço itlacauh ie choloz, aço ie tlalpolinja in jchan, tlalli canaoaz, atl netencia, acxoxtimanja in quinoztl, in jtholli, tepanzli xiztinoaz, tlauiquanoaz, tlaueuelonoaz, vncan nezxizaloz, nezxizaloz, nemauanjloz, tlaçollaoaz, tequjzq'tl conoaz, tlalli ipetocoaz:

iquac itolo: injc tlamauiçoloz: ie iuhcan ocatca in, ichan in vncan ontlamauhtlicoc: in vncan onnetetistico chane: muchipa otlamatimanoaca, otlaccacalihtimanca: ma cel cana ce tlaçolli ouetzoca: auh in jcaltech ainc vel omazxizaia, teuaia:

auh yn xacan ie çe iuhcan, çe tepanzli ieoaz.

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1. *Tecolotl.* According to Seler, op. cit., Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 15, it is a horned owl or eagle owl. In Vol. IV, p. 48, he refers to it as a large owl "ornamented with feathers, eyelids, and decorations indicated as eyelids." Francisco J. Santamarina, in *Diccionario general de americanismos* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. III, p. 147, identifies it with the barbacoa (see, however, Chapter 5, n. 1, infra).

2. Garibay, op. cit., p. 108, n. 6, referring to the reproduction, "*Cuando el tecolote canta, el indio canora,*" translates "*Tecolo-o-o!*" as "*Pajarillos a alguien.*" He identifies the bird as *Bubo virginianus* L. (*Indio de Antillas*).

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Un otro lugar blanco cosa poseyente de muchos señores, y conservadora, y embellidad.*"

4. In *ibid.*, this is rendered: "*Un otro cosa: el que aya otro cosa, del indio: luego sentado el que declarando cosa aquesta: para que le dicesse, la que mejo de honor.*"

[p. 162 is blank]

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Fifth Chapter, in which is told what was the omen of the screech owl.[1]

Likewise all held and regarded the screech owl[2] as an omen, when it screeched from the front of someone's roof terrace, and went screaming.

They said: so, therefore, they thought that now someone would die; now some of the householders would die; now some would sicken. And if now twice or thrice it passed screeching, in the very same place, the front of the roof terrace or upon the house, so much were they frightened and filled with dread, that verily they believed that because of this, [misfortune] would not miss its mark — that in truth it would come to pass as the screech owl screeched at them.

Likewise, if someone were already sick when it let out a scream at him, they said that now he would not issue forth; now we would take our leave of him.[3]

For they said this: it was thought that this screech owl was the messenger, the envoy, of Mictlan tecutli and of Mictecaciuatl. It knew the land of the dead. Hence [the gods of the underworld] named it "seasoned warrior"; because it was the one who called and summoned people for Mictlan tecutli and Mictecaciuatl.

And when they heard it screech and rasp its claws,[4] then the men chid it and said to it: "Go quietly, O knave, thou with the big eyes sunk deep! Thou hast lain with thy mother!" And the women said to it, and thus chid it: "Vanish quietly, O sodomite! Hast thou perchance made a hole in the hair, with which I may drink [in the land of the dead]?[5] For not until then shall I go!"

When thus they had chidden it, it was thought that thus all were made secure. Thus they hindered, reversed, and headed off its warning, so that what he screeched at them would not befall them.

Ic macujlli capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in jtechpa chiquatli.

No yoan netetzaujkoia, tetzaujttoia, in chiquatli: anoço chichtli yn jquac aca, itlapanjxquac tzatzi: tzatzitiquijça,

in quitoa: cuel, ic quijoeltocaia, ca ie aca mjquijz: ic ceme mjquijxque in chaneque: ie ceme cocolizcuijxque. Auh intla ie oppa, ie expa tzatzitiquijça: in çan ie vncan, in tlapanjxquac, anoço in calipan, ic cenca momauhtia, motemmati: vel ic qujneltocaia, ca amo çan tlaneoa: ca vel neltiz, injc inpan otzatzic chiquatli.

No ioan, intla ie aca mococoa, in jpan tzatzitiquijça, quitoaia ca aiocmo quijçaz: ca ticcaoazque.

Ipampa iuh quitoaia, quiltmach, in ichoatl chiquatli: intitlan, intlaioal, in mjctlan tecutli: yoan mjctecacioatl: ommat in mjctlan, ic quitocaiotiaia, inotequjoa: ipampa ca inteancauh, intenotzcauh, in mjctlan tecutli: ioan mjctecacioatl.

Auh in jquac, quicaquja tzatzi: ioan in mortícacalatza njman conaoa, conjluja in toquich: ma xitlamattiuh nocne, tiatecocoiocpul: monan ticieco. Auh in cihoa conjluja, injc caoa: ma xitlamatpolotiuh, cujloepul: cuix oticcoionj in tzontli ic natlitiaz: ca iamo cuel in njiaz.

Injc iuh conaoa in, quiltmach iuhquin ic onepatilo, ic queleltia, ic quijlochtia, ic quijacatzacuilia, in itenotzalit: injc amo inpan neltix, ic quintzatzilia.

1. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 52, says that the *chiquatli* is a smaller owl, the screech owl. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 494, says of *chicuatli* that it is "*ave de rapiña de las aves de la clase de los halcones, llamada también halcón tlauco y chicuatzoni* (Spodylio cunicularia hypogaea Bidgw.)."

2. *Chiquatli* and *chichtli* are interchangeable terms. See corresponding Spanish note and Molina, *op. cit.*

3. Corresponding Spanish note: "*luego le presentaban la muerte.*"

4. *Ibid.*: "*rasguaba con las uñas.*"

5. *Ibid.*: "*con que cosa de hacer ella en el infierno.*"

[p. 164 is blank]

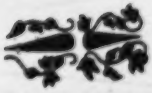

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Sixth Chapter, in which is told what the omen was, so that they took it as a portent, when someone saw a weasel which crossed in front of him.

Likewise all regarded the weasel[1] as an omen when it entered someone's house or else he came upon it on the road and it crossed over in front of him and appeared before him.

They said that now perhaps he would meet an affliction; perchance something would spring upon him. He would not arrive where he planned to go. Perhaps he would fall into the hands of some men who would slay him; or now words would be raised against him. Maybe now someone would make a declaration about him, adding lies and inventing things about him.[2]

And when it was seen, all shuddered with fright, were terror-struck, stunned; their flesh crept.[3] — We became numbed and quivered; our hair stood on end. It brought one woe and affliction.

And thus, in this manner, was it marked: with a large, varicolored, yellowish belly. And when it spoke, it squealed, as if one whistled through one's fingers. "Tocuileua," "Tocuileclua."[4] And also "seasoned warrior" did they name it.

Ic chiqueoca capiualo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl catca, injc motetzaujaia: in jquac aca qujttaia, coçamatl in teixpan tlaujltequja.

No ioan netetzaujloia in coçamatl, anoço coçatli: in jquac aca ichan calaquja: anoço vtlica, cana quj-namjquj: qujiacaujltequj, ixpan tlaxtlapaloa:

qujtoaia, aço ie itla conmonamjctiz tetolinj: aço ie itla ipan oncholoz, amo vel iaz in campa izxnequj: aço acame inmac vetzitiuh, qujmjctizque: anoço ie tlatolli, itech oneoaz: aço ie aca, tlatolli conecaltiz: contlatollaqujliz, contlatolchichiujliz.

Auh in jquac itto, netlacmauhtilo: necujtiocho, ceoepoca, cuecueioca, in tetacaio, tiocoepoca, tiocuecueioca, tiquaceoepoca, titocujtivetzi: tetequjpachoa, teiollitlacoa.

Auh in juhquj, ic muchichiuh: yxtecujcujlpul centic: auh injc tlatoa pipitzca, iuhqujn mapipitzoa: tocujleua tocujlechoa: no iactequjoa qujtocaiotiaia.

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1. *Coçamatl* and *coçatli* are interchangeable terms; see Molina, op. cit., *coçatli*.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Se mojan de hazaxar algo verdadero.*"
3. Ibid.: "*se les espantaron los cabellos, alguno se pusiera jerez, o garnacha.*"
4. Jens, op. cit., p. 300, suggests that these terms may be the title of a ruler of the dead, like the rank and priestly name tecuhtli. See, however, Andrés de Olmos: *Gramática de la lengua mexicana en castellano* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 235.

[p. 166 is blank]

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Seventh Chapter, in which is told the omen so taken as a portent concerning the rabbit when they saw that now it entered one's house.

Likewise all regarded as an omen the rabbit when it entered someone's house. The field workers, the people of the maize fields, said that now his house would be laid waste. Or else now someone would flee [from it]: he would follow the trail of the rabbit, or of the deer. Now he would be a rabbit or a deer; he would turn into a rabbit or a deer.[1]

Thus was marked the rabbit—with very long ears,[2] a blunt, very blunt snout, a white breast, and very much shortened tail.

Ie chicome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl injc motetzauja, in jtechpa tochin: in jquac qujttaia in je vncalaquj ichan.

No ioan, netetzaujloia in tochin: in jquac aca ichan calaquja, qujtoa in mjllaca, in mjlpan tlaca: ie tlalpoliujz in jchan. Anoço ie aca cholox, ie contocaz in tochtli, in maçatl ivuj: ie tochtiz, ie maçatiz, ie motochtiliz, ie momaçatiliz.

Injc muchichiuh tochin, nacazpapatlactic, tentipontic, tententepontic, elixtac: ioan çan cujtlapiltetepontic.

1. Cf. Molina, op. cit. (vocabulio): "[illegible]."
2. If from [illegible], to lengthen; an alternative is [illegible], to quiver.

[p. 168 is blank]

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Eighth Chapter, in which is told the omen which all took as a portent when they saw the chafer.[1]

Likewise all regarded as an omen the chafer, [which was] like a bright, brilliant red spider.

When it entered someone's house, and he saw it, or he intercepted it on the road, they said: "Now cometh sickness"; or, "Now we will meet some [evil]." Perhaps now someone would chide him — something would shame him.

And when it was seen in one's house, he who saw it forthwith seized it. He traced lines on the ground in the four directions: he made marks on the ground which he caused to take the form of a cross. And in the middle, at its center, he placed [the chafer] and there spat upon it.[2]

Thereupon he exhorted it; he said to it: "Wherefore didst thou come? Let me see, [that] I may hasten to marvel at it!"[3] Then he placed himself facing and looked toward the direction in which it would proceed.

If now it went northward, thus he who looked knew that soon he was to die. But if it did not go toward there, thereby he knew that perchance it meant something [else] perhaps of no great consequence.[4]

He who was shown the omen said: "Let it do [what it will]; let the little insect be aspersed! Shall we none the less be involved with it? Shall we none the less go with it? Later let us know what it meaneth."[5] Then he seized it and left it at a crossroads.

And some only threaded it on a hair and hung it up. If at dawn they saw that it no longer was there,

Ic chicuei capinalo, vncan mjtoa; in tetzaujtl, injc motetzaujaia: in jquac qujttaia pinaujztli.

No ioan, netetzaujloia in pinaujztli: iuhqujn tocatl tlatlauhquj, tlatlactic.

In jquac aca, ichan calaquj, in qujtta: anoço vtlica qujiacanamjquj, qujtoa ie vitz cocoliztli, anoço ie itla conimonamjctiz: aço ie aca conaoaz, itla ic conpinauhtiz:

auh in jquac, tla oittoc techan: in aqujn oqujttac: njman ic conana, nauhcampa qujtlallacujlhvia, qujtlalxochilia: iuhqujn cruz qujquechilia: auh nepantla yiolloco contlalia, vncan onchicha:

njman ie ic qujtlatoltia, qujluja. Tlen jc otivalla, tla njqujtta, tlacuele nocommaujço: njman ic qujtztimotlalia, qujtztica in campa ie itztiaz.

Intla ie vmpa itztiuh, mjctlampa: ic qujmatí ca ie mjquiz, in oqujmottiti: auh intlacamo vmpa itztiuh, ic qujmati, aço çan itla in qujtoznequj, acaçoono cenca veiztica:

qujtoaia in motetzauj, tla qujioculi, tla motelchioa, in ioioliton: cujx çan ie toconmattiezque? cujx çan ie ipan toiezque? ma ça qujn jc ticmatizque in tlein, qujtoznequj. Niman ic conana: homazac concaoa.

Auh in aca çan contzonuja, aco compilova: intla otlathvic aocac qujtta: ic cenca vel qujtetzammati.

1. Sahagun, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 4, calls it a kind of chafer which the Mexicans considered an evil omen (citing Bustos); he connects it with the *tzitzimime*. Molina, op. cit., defines it as "*cierto escarabajo de verdi por agouro.*" Garibay, op. cit., p. 310, n. 10, defines it as *Cotinis mutabilis, Strategus fallomae*, or the like.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hacian dos rayas en cruz en el suelo, y ponianla en medio dellas y escupiala.*"

3. *Ibid.*: "*A que se venjdo, quiero ver a que se venjdo.*"

4. *Ibid.*: "*algun otro informonjo de poca importancia.*"

5. *Ibid.*: "*mala cosa donde quejiere, no se me da nada de ti, y de andar pensando por ventura en lo que quisiere decir, ello se parecera mas de mucho, no me curo de ti.*"

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they were then filled with much dread. But if it dawned and it hung at this very same place, they were consoled thereby. Little did they think of it; as nothing did they esteem it. And when they placed it in the midst of spittle or wine, they said it was made drunk by it. And also it was stated that sometimes it spoke in two [ways]: it also boded good. Perhaps something fortunate would be one's reward.

Auh intla çan ipã otlatvic, in çan ie vncan pilcac, ic moiollalia: amo oenca qujueimati, atle ipan conjtta. Auh injc contlalia tlanepantla, chichitl, anoço vctli: mjtoa ic contlaoantia: ioan no mjtoa, in quenman ome vitz qujtoa: no qualli qujnextia, aço itla qualli temacehoal muchioa

Ninth Chapter, in which is related the omen which they regarded as a portent when an animal of strong stench, called a skunk,[1] now entered one's home or else sprayed and loosed an odor,

Likewise all regarded as an omen the skunk when it entered someone's home or there bore its young.

They said: "Now the householder will die"; because, so they said, its abode, its dwelling place, was by no means among houses, in one's home. Maize fields, meadows, maguey and cactus fields [were] its dwelling places and abodes.

Also, they supposed that it was the likeness of the demon Tezcatlipoca. And when it loosed an odor, when it loosed a foul odor at one, they said: "Tezcatlipoca breaketh wind."

And if someone tried to capture or chase it, thus it mocked and gibed him: it raised and lifted high its tail, and then, if it drew quite near one, it forthwith loosed its stench at him. Like one sprinkling, its spray appeared and was seen; like a rainbow it arose. And it penetrated one; its evil stench entered into one. With difficulty did it abandon him. So one's cape dropped—was cast aside, thrown away. [Its stench] was spread all over the area; it extended all over the region. It reached everywhere, and spread on people. So did its stink-sicken one and molest one's nose.

And they said that when it arrived, when it was smelled, one should not spit. It was believed that if one spat, his hair would whiten; it would flare brightly. Hence they severely warned the children not to spit. When its stench was smelled, they only covered their mouths.

Ic chicomnauj capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujd in qujmoetzaujaia, in jquac centetl iolquj, in cenca hijac, in jtoca Epatl: in jquac ic oncalaquj ichan, auh anoço in jquac moxixa: mjexi. 787K 825

No ioan in epatl, netetzaujloia: in jquac aca ichan calaquj, anoço vncan mopilhoatia:

qujtoa, ic mjqujz in chane: ipampa iuh qujtoaia, ca amo inentla, amo inemja in calla, in techan: ca mjlpan, çacatla, memetla, nonopalla, in jnemjia, in jqujçaia.

No ipan qujmatia, ca ixiptla in tlacateculotl, tezcatlipuca: auh in jquac mjexi, in teiexi, qujtoaia: omjex in tezcatlipuca. [176]

Auh intla aca canaznequj, in ace qujtoca: çan ic qujquetoa, ic ica mocaiaoa: cenca qujquetza, cacoquetza in jcujtlapil: auh qujnjquac, intla ic uel itech onaci: njman ic qujualiexi, iuhqujn aca tlaalpichia, vel neci, vel itto, in jiel: iuhqujn aiauhcoçamalotl, ic moquetza: auh vel temaoa, tetechaquj in ijel, aiazcan tecaoa: ic vetzi, ic tlaxo, ic tlaçalo in tetilma: vel centlalli momana, centlalli manj: nouijan aci, tepan motoca, injc yiac, injc tetlaelti: teiacaxolocho.

Auh qujtoa, in jquac in eco, mjnecuj, auel onchicha: qujlmach intla aca onchichaz, quaztaliujz, comonjz: ic cenca qujntlacaoaltia, in tepilhoã: injc amo onchichazque: in jquac ineco yel: çan onmotempachoa. [827]

1. Sahag., op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 28.

[p. 172 is blank]

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Tenth Chapter, in which is related the omen, by which a portent was drawn, of ants or frogs, and mice.

Ic matlactli capítulo, vncan mjtoa: ín tetzaujtl injc motetzaujsia, in jntechpa azcame, anoço cuecueia: ioan in qujqujmjchtin.

Likewise all regarded as an omen ants, whether red or black. When they lived and formed an ant hill in someone's home, they indicated persecution. They said, when they were seen, "Perhaps one of our enemies is come to visit something upon us."[1] So was said and made known that that which the enemy buried became these ants. When the ones which had been buried remained, they always were attributed to the enemy, who would have one dead,[2] who wished one to perish — who hoped one would die; those of great lust; inhuman; demons, the so-called destroyers of men. These buried and placed the ants.

No ioan, netetzaujloia in azcame, in tlatlauhque, anoço tiltique: in jquac aca, ichan molonj, mopotza: qujnextiaia in tecocoliiztli: qujtoaia in jquac oittoque, aço aca totecocolicauh itla otechtoqujlico: iuh mjtoa, iuh nemacho in tlein qujtetoqujlia, tecocolianj: ichoan in mocuepa azcame, iquac in ie vecaoa, tlein oqujtocaque: muchi ichoan intech tlamj in tecocolianj, in temjquitlanjnj, in temjquiztemachique, in temjquiztemachianj, in tevcijecoanj, in atlaca in tlatlacateculo: in motenecoa, tepoloanj ichoã qujntoca, qujntlalia in azcame.

When they swarmed in someone's house, thus they boded and required[3] his death. He who was envious, hoped, wished, and desired that one might die, that one might perish. So he caused anger; he tormented, troubled, affronted, and afflicted;[4] and he rendered no aid.

In jquac aca ichan molonj, ic qujtetzauja, ic qujtlanja in jmjqujz: in aqujn tlacocua, connectia, connequjlia, connequjltia: in macuele mjquj, in macuel ompopoliuj: injc tlaqualanja, injc tlaiolqujztia, injc tlaamana, injc teiollo izco icac, injc tlatequjpachoa, injc atetloc monequj.

In the same manner all such [men] bore and determined an ominous death. The enemy perchance placed house frogs[5] somewhere in an opening of the wall or in the roof of the house. When they spoke, they croaked, and continued croaking.

Ça ie no iuhquj, muchiuhquj: qujcenujca, qujcemjtoa in mjqujztetzaujtl. In ichoatl calcujatl, aço cana tepancamac: calquac in qujntlalia tecocolianj: cotaloa, cotalotica injc tlatoa.

So also the ominous mice, perhaps [as reported in] tales,[6] all these, the inhuman people, the enemies, placed and buried. When they spoke, so were they heard; so did they sound. Much and everywhere did they squeak; they squeaked continuously.

No iuhquj in tetzauhqujmjchin, anoço tetlaquechililli. Pl' chililti: muchi ichoan qujntlalisia, qujntetoqujliaia, in atlaca, in tecocolianj: injc caco, injc mocaquj: vel pipitzca, pipipitzca, pipitzcaticate, injc tlatoa.

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "mejor de nuestros parientes los de aquellos casa de parte de algun enfermedad, o inhibicion."

2. *Matchi* informs: "Manuscriptum est 3 columnae" reads something.

3. Jens, op. cit., p. 23, translates this passage thus: "Dasselbe[illegible] sah die Ameisenhaufen einen (nur ein Haufe) verfolgen, es sahen auch sie, die Ameisen, auch wieder sagte[illegible]. Wenn man das, was dasselbe[illegible] hatten, verfolgt, so bemerkte sich dieses (der wieder hervorkriechenden Ameisen) auch die Ameisenhaufen für immer die Treulosen."

4. "Manuscriptum est 3 columnae," p. 197, has quitoaia for qujtlanja.

5. Tzahqueztlilli. *Pl' chilili*: probably an accidentally inserted grammatical term.

6. The corresponding Spanish text adds at the end of the chapter: "De todos estos agueros, pues a recordar a los agueros que los declaraban, y daban remedio contra ellos."

[p.174 is blank]

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Eleventh Chapter, in which is told the omen from which a portent was drawn when, at night, they saw the towering men, the giants.[1]

Ic matlactli oce capitulo, vncan motenecoa in tetzaujtl: injc motetzaujsia: in jquac iocaltica, quijnjttaia tlacaujaque, quijnameti.

Likewise all regarded as an omen the towering man[2] when it was seen as an apparition at night. It was said: "But all this is the disguise, the transformation, of the demon Tezcatlipoca, with all of which he maketh sport of men."

No youn, netetzaujloia in tlacaujiac: in jquac iovaltica moteittitia, mjtoa: çan ie muche inaoal, inecuepaliz in tlacateculotl tezcatlipoca, much ic teca mocaiaoa:

When it was thus visible to someone, he thereby held it as an omen that he would either die in war or be carried off. But one who was very bold,[3] strong of heart or spirit, would not more let [it] go. He seized it firmly in his hands and hung on to it. He demanded thorns of it, thus seeking valor and the taking of captives.[4]

in jquac aca iuh quijmottitia, ic qujtetzauja in aço ie iaomjquiz, aço ie vicoz. Auh in aquin vel mjhivintia, in jollotlapaliuj, in tonalchicavac, aiocmo qujcaoa, qujtetzuhtzitzquja, itech mopiloa: qujtlanjlia in vitztli, injc qujtemolia oqujchiotl, in tlamaliztli.

And it was said that one who was of simple mind, neither prudent nor determined, when he saw it only spat or hurled dung at it. But in nothing at all would it benefit him; it only cursed him with some misery, afflicted him, smote and brought disaster on him thereby, and visited him with the digging stick and the tump line.

Auh mjtoa in aquin abquimamatcaoa, in amo iolizmatquj, in amo nenoonotzale: in jquac oquittac çan conchicha, anoço cujtlatl ic contepachoa: auh amo tle ic qujcnelia, çan no qujtelchioa, itla netolinjliztli ic qujteopoa, ic qujmotla, ic qujnzipoloa, aço victli, mecapalli qujttitia.

And [when] he who was only a coward saw an apparition, in no way did he banish his fears. Indeed, he fainted and swooned away; he no longer had saliva—the roof of his mouth was all dry; his mouth was parched. His mouth stuck fast, no longer moist. Not now was his mouth wet. With caution he withdrew, leaving its presence. He no longer wished to look at it. He fled in terror, feeling, thinking that someone would now snatch him away. In some manner he went to reach his home and rushed inside it, bursting in through its door, coming in on all fours and throwing himself with outspread arms upon those who slept.

Auh in aquin, çan vel mauhcatlacatl qujmottitia: njman amo coniecoa, in jnemamauhtiliz: vel çotlaoa, iolmjquj, aocmo chiche: vel icopac tlaoaquj, icamac tlapoliuj, icamac tlaçaçalia: aocmo tlapalti, aocmo tlapaltia in jcamac: çan tlamach contlalcavia, ispampa ieoa: aocmo qujoalittaznequj, momauhcatlaloa: in juh nimati, ic omma aca ic qujcujctiuetziz: in oquenteltzin acito ichan, molaloticalaquj, quipetlaticalaquj in jtlatzacujl: tepan mimenentical-aquj: tepan mamaçouhtiuetzi, in vncan cochiloa.

1. See N. 5. The corresponding Spanish text translates the terms as *centinajas*. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 731, has the following notation: "QUIMAMETZIN. *m. pl. Los gigantes; primitivos pobladores del Anáhuac, considerados a los ojos de la leyenda antigua tales de gigantes y que ocuparon las riberas del Atoyac, en Puebla, principalmente.*"

2. Gueboy, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311, n. 13: "El 'hombre largo' (*ilamahuayac*), *a lo que parece, era una fantasma que se alargaba hacia el cielo, como los cometas, a diferencia de los remolinos.*"

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*alguno valiente valiente, y esforçado.*"

4. *Ibid.*: "*que ningún de capitanear en la guerra tenían capitanes, quantos capitanes le dieron.*"

[p 176 is blank]

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Twelfth Chapter, in which is related what was another omen, whose name was "bundle of ashes."[1]

Likewise there was an omen, which was a portent to them, the "bundle of ashes." Thus was it said: "Indeed, all this is the disguise, the reappearance, the apparition of Tezcatlipoca."[2]

When it was seen, it only went rolling, groaning, and billowing. He who saw it then held it as an omen that he would die, either in war or of some sickness;[3] or that something evil would meet and fall upon him.

Whoever was not strong and sturdy of heart, who was just a coward, if it appeared to him, only fled and ran from its presence. Then it frightened and terrified him, lest soon he die or something evil should come upon him, etc.

But he who was sturdy of heart, one who was renowned as intrepid in war, then prepared, arrayed, and bedight himself. Then he thus took counsel with himself: at night he would hunt the wizards who walk everywhere. He went in pursuit of them —on all the wide ways where they dwelt at night. He went seeking it, that perchance somewhere it would appear to him; that he might demand from it his reward, his gift — thorns.

And if now one appeared before him like this one, he sought it out and seized it; he grasped it firmly in his hands, and clung to it. Not now did he let it go; he tortured it. He said to it: "Who art thou, O rogue? Speak to me! Fail not to speak! For I have taken thee, and I shall not let thee go." For a long time he persisted in torturing it.

When it spoke to and answered him, if now he vexed it, when, perhaps, it was about to dawn and morning to break, it said to him: "Loose me now! Thou harmest me! Whatsoever thy heart wisheth, I shall give thee. What shall I give thee?" It said: "Take it. I give thee a thorn."

"I will not have it; I will not take it!"

Ic matlactli omome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in oc centlamantli tetzaujtl catca: in jtoca catca: tlacanexqujmilli.

No yoan, tetzaujtl catca, tetetzaujaia: in tlacanexqujmjlli, iuh mjtoa: çan ic muchi ich inaoal, inecuepaliz, inenextiliz in tezcatlipuca:

in jquac ittoia, çan momjmjlotiuh, qujqujnacatiuh, tehtentiuh. In aqujn qujttaia, ic qujtetzanuja, in ic mjqujz: aço iavc, anoço çan tlalmjqujz: anoce ytla, amo qualli ic qujmonamjctiz, ipan vetziz.

In aqujn amo iollochicaoac, in amo iollatlapaliuj, in çan mauhcatlacatl, intla oqujmottiti: çan ixpampa iehoa, motlaloa: vncan qujtonalcaoaltia, qujhiçavia: injc yciuhca mjqujz, anoço itla amo qualli qujmonamjctiz. etc.

Auh in aqujn, vel iollotlapaliuj: in moteneoa: iaotlaueliloc, ic nomanja, ic muchichioa, ic mocencaoa: njman iuh qujmolhujia in iooaltica, naoaltetemoz, novijan nenemj: qujtotocatinemj, in jzquj vchpantli, iooalnenemj, qujtetemotinemj, in aço cana itla qujmottitiz: injc qujtlanjliz itenemac, iteiçneliliz vitztli.

Auh intla ie oqujmottiti in juhquj y, qujtetemoa: qujcujtiuetzi, qujtetzuhtzitzquja, itech mopiloa: aocmo qujcaoa qujtlatoltia, qujluja: ac tehoatl jn nocne? xinechnotza, amommaca titlatoz: ca onjmjtzan, amo njmjtzcaoaz: vecauhtica qujnemjtia, in qujtlatoltia:

iquac qujnotza, qujnanqujlia intla ie caamana: in ace ipan tlathviznequj, in ace qujtlathujltia, qujlvia: xinechcaoa ie tinechitlacoa, tlein qujnequj moiollo: njmjtzmacaz, tlein tinechmacaz: qujluja, yzca njmjtzmaca, ce vitztli:

amo njcia, amo njccelia

1. Cf. Orellana, op. cit., p. 311, n. 14. The corresponding Spanish text describes them as *unos fantasmas: que no tienen pies, ni cabeça: las quales andan rodando por el suelo, y dando gemidos, como enfermos.*"

2. Ibid.: "*nuevo . . . en lugar de su enfermedad.*"

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"What shall I do?" It offered him two, three, four [thorns].

Verily, not for them did he loose it. Later, when it gratified and satisfied him, it now said: "I give thee all prosperity. Thou shalt be honored on earth." Then he released it;[3] for in truth he had realized what his heart sought—for which he had lived sighing and in discontent, etc.

tle njcchioaz, ꝏme, Ey, nauj qujmaca:

ça nel amo ic qujcaoa: qujnjquac in oqujiolpachiujti, in oqujiolpachiuhcaioti in ic qujluja: muchi njmjtzmaca in necujltonolli, titlamaviçoz in tlalticpac: ỵquac qujcoa: ca nel oconjttac in qujtemoa ijollo, injc oelciciuhtinenca, onentlamattinenca. Etc.

3. Qujcoa: quicoaz le mazat.

Thirteenth Chapter, in which are told the rest of the omens which showed themselves at night.

Ic matlactli omei capitulo, vncan motenecoa: yn oc cequj tetzavitl, in iooaltica monextiaia.

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Likewise all took as an omen [what] appeared before them called "bunched shoulder," or "little maize basket." In Acolhuacan it was called "little squashed one."[1] Thus were they named.

No yoan, netetzaujloia moteittitiaia: in jtoca cujtlapanton, anoço cintanaton: mjtoa in acolhoacan centlapachton: iuh tocaiotilo.

They said that they showed themselves to men only at the latrines, the dung heaps. If someone wished to urinate, and went forth quite alone at night, when, perhaps, the moon shone or it was dark, then they appeared to him. All this now only revealed to him an omen of death. He to whom it appeared thus took it as a portent that now he would die, or something would now befall him. But if he did not so do, it only terrified him.

Qujtoa, çan vncan in neàxitaloian, in tlaçulpan moteittitiaia: intla ie aca axixmjquj, in çan icel ioaltica qujça: in aço metztona, anoço tlaioca: iquac qujmottitia: çan ieh much ie qujnextiaia in mjqujztetzaujtl. In aquja qujmottitia, ic qujtetzanvia in ace miqujz, anoço itla ipan ie muchioaz: auh yn acanoço tlei, çan conmamauhtia:

And thus did it look — like a little girl, indeed, quite small; a very little girl, not a bit tall — only small like a sandal, a little cooking pot; a squat dwarf, pressed down like dung. She had hair, much hair, [flowing] like a garment, a mantle of hair, hanging. Clear to her hips did her hair fall — her mantle of hair. And as she walked, she only went creeping on the surface of the ground, waddling.[2]

auh injc ittoia, iuhqujn civapiltontli, çan vel tepiton, civapiltepiton: amo achi quauhtic: çan cacapanton, chachapaton, tzapaton, cujtlapachton, tzonqueme, tzotzonqueme, tzotzoquenpile: vel icujtlacxiuhian vetzi, in jtzon, in jtzonquen: auh injc nenemj çan tlalli itco onotiuh, pepeiocatiuh,

He to whom she appeared could not catch her. If, now, he pursued her, she only disappeared from before him; thus she only mocked him. Further off, apart, she appeared. He pursued her there, he who tried to catch her; she vanished away. So he only let her alone, in terror; she tired him out; he was defrauded.

amo vel cana in qujmottitia: intla ie qujtoca çan ixpan ompolivi, çan jc qujquelo: iene ocenj, in valmonextia: vmpa qujtoca in canaznequj ompoliuhtiuh: çan iuh commauhcacaoa, conciaubcaoa, ommonenencoa.

Just so, the severed head also appeared to the people at night. To him to whom it appeared, it often made known [its presence] by suddenly springing at the calf of his leg. Or else he heard it behind him, coming rattling[3] as it took after him.

Çan ie no iuhquj in tzontecomatl, no moteittitia in iooaltica: in aquja qujmottitia, çan jc qujmachitia, amo inemachpan in jcotzco cholo: anoce icampa, concaquj chachalcativitz, in qujualtoca: ic ixpampa iehoa, icampa chachalcatiuh in qujtoca.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "era mugar pequeño enano." Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 326: "'El enanillo.' Ser pandiculado que era agüero." Cuadrupeces is enapillo (ibid., p. 332).

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "era mugar pequeño enano . . . que traía los cabellos largos: hasta la cintura, y su andar, era como era andando."

3. Cf. *ibid.* In Molina, *op. cit.*, however, *chachalca* is to mold. On *chachalaca*, see Hernández Corzo: *Aves de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1897), p. 476.

X 787 776 So he fled from its presence; back of him it went rattling at him as it pursued him. And if he stood, if he stopped in alarm, it also sat, and remained rattling. And if he gathered courage to seize it quickly, it only mocked him for doing so. Far did it rise when it jumped; he could not catch it. Hence, in the same manner, he let it alone in his fear; from its presence he fled, exerting all force in order to run terrified to his home.

Auh intla moquetza, motilquetza, no motlalia chachalcatinemj: auh intla omoiollochichili, injc qujcujtiuetziz çan jc qujquelua, ueca ieoa in choloa, amo uel cana: çan no iuh conmauhcacaoa: ixpampa ieoa: ixqujch qujtoctia, injc momauhcatlaloa ichan.

X 787 775 Just so the dead also appeared to people. They were in [funeral] wrappings, with head wrappings, and were groaning. If, somewhere, one appeared before one, it moaned at him. Only the valiant could venture toward it in order to seize it and cling to it. But then it only made sport of them: perhaps a clump of grass or a hard clod remained in their hands. [776] Thus they quickly transformed themselves. So it was said that all this was only a disguise of Tezcatlipoca by which he mocked men. Etc.

Çan ie no iuhquj in mjcquj, no moteittitiaia: yilpitica, quaquailpitica, quiqujnacatica: in cana moteittitiaia; tequjqujnatza: çan iehoan in jollochicavaque, vel iujc motlapaloa in qujcujtiuetzi: itech mopiloa. Auh injc çan inca mocacaiaoa, aço tlachcujtl, anoço tlaquavac tetl in jmmac mocauhtiquijça: injc mocyepotiuetzi: iuh mjtoa, ca çan muchi ich, inacal in tezcatlipuca injc teca mocacaiaoaia etc.

The omen of the linnet.[4]

X 787 825 The linnet is a bird like a woodpecker,[5] and far into the forest is its home. And when it cried out at someone, it was taken as an omen.[6] They said: "It is not a good time that we have come; for something will spring out on us."

Tetzauitl itechpa chiqujmoli.

In chiqujmoli, ca centetl tototl, iuhquin quauhchochopitli: auh veca quauhtla in jchan. Auh in iiçc tepan tzatzia, netetzauiloia: qujtovaia, ca amo qualcan, in otioallaque: ca itla ipan tícholoznque.

The omen of the coyote.

[776] They said it was Tezcatlipoca. Often he disguised himself as a coyote; and this coyote often intercepted men on the road. And when he did this, then was heard: "This is by no means a good time for him who goeth; perhaps thieves or robbers are somewhere on the road, or something harmful will spring out at them."

Tetzauitl itechpa in coiotl.

Qujtoaia, ca in tezcatlipuca: mjiecpa qujmonaoltiaia in Coiotl: auh injn coiotl, mjiecpa teiaiacatzacujlia in vtlica. Auh in jquac iuh qujchioa y, njman ic mocaquj, ca amo qualcan in viloa: aço ichtecque, anoço tetlatlaçaltique, cana vtlica cate: anoço itla ipan cholokoatiuh, in tecoco.

Here end the omens which the natives of New Spain took as portents.

Nican tzonquiça in tetzauitl, yn qujtzummatia, njcan nauac españa tlaca.

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4. Molina, op. cit.: *chiquimoli pájaro*; Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 514 (*chiquimoli*): *jilguerillo—especie de jilguero*. Sahagún (Carochy ed.), Vol. IV, p. 334: "*Ave canora, carpintero; pájaro.* . . . Dryobates scalaris hasidi."

5. *Quauhchochopitli*: Nardo Antonio Recchi, in *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus seu Plantarum Animalium Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia ex Francisci Hernandez* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1651), p. 33, appendix, book Chap. XXIV, "*De Quauhchochopitli, seu Avicula Ligni comminuta*," and states: "*Avicula est, Mexicanae Cuauxicio forma, & magnitudine, plumis nigris, aut pullis, linea albis, transversim discriminibus distinctis; ventre, pectoribus, nativi coloris. Singas picarum more, quarum ait operiae profitur: nisi in frigidis, & arboribus vetere conspicuis penitus nunquam.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los hombres del pico* [woggie]: *quando le oyan hombre en los montados.*"

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APPENDIX

Apendiz del quinto libro,
de las abusiones: que vsauan
estos naturales.

[p 181]

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[p. 182]

BEHOLD THE APPENDIX OF THE FIFTH BOOK. HERE ARE TOLD THE DIFFERENT THINGS WHICH GOD'S CREATURES, THE IDOLATERS, WRONGLY BELIEVED.

IZCATQUJ YANCA INJC MACUJLLI AMUXTLI: VNCAN MJTOA, YN JZQUJTLAMĀTLI ITECHPA CHICOTLAMATIA IN JTLACHIVALOAN DIOS, IN TLATEOTOCANJME.

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First Chapter, which telleth of the white amaryllis.[1]

This kind of flower was thus called — white amaryllis (*omixochitl*). And also a kind of sickness — decaying of the genitals — was also called *omixochitl*, because indeed in some such manner as [the flower], so was [the member] scarified. And so did the ancients invent, and so deceive themselves. It was said of him upon whom this sickness, which they called *omixochitl*, settled, that it began thus: perhaps one had urinated or stepped upon it; or one had smelled it many times. It was as if it had thereby bewitched him. In such manner did they deceive themselves.

Injc ce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in omixuchitl.

Injn centlamantli suchitl: iuh motocayotia in omixuchitl. Auh no centlamantli cocoliztli, tlapalanaltiliztli: no motocayotia omixuchitl: iehica ca çan vel iee injc ca, injc tzitziquiltic: auh injc compjquj, in iuh moztlacaviaia venetque: qujlmach in aqujn ytech motlalia, injn cocoliztli, in motocayotia omixuchitl: ic peoa, in açe ypan omaxix, anoço oipan moquetz: in anoço mjiecpa oqujnecu, iubquj injc quixoxa, in iuh moztlacavia.

Second Chapter, which telleth of the poinsettia.[2]

This kind of flower [was] fragrant. And yet another kind of sickness of the genitals was called *cuetlaxochitl* (poinsettia). And this sickness was especially the lot of women — particularly their sickness; not of men. And of this ill it was said that thus did it begin — so were the ancients deceived: they had perchance stepped over it, or smelled it, or else sat upon it. Therefore it then cast a spell upon her; thus it befell her. And hence mothers restrained and scolded their daughters; they said to them: "Do not smell it; do not jump over this flower; [the sickness] will be settled upon you."

Injc vme capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in cuetlaxuchitl.

Injn centlamantli suchitl, ineconj. Auh oc no centlamantli tlapalanaltiliztli, no motocayotia cuetlaxuchitl: auh ynjn cocoliztli, oc cenca inpan muchioa in cioa, oc cenca incocoliz: amo no yehoan in toqujchtin. Auh injn cocoliztli: qujlmach ic peoa, in iuh moztlacavia vevetque: in açe oqujcuencolhuj, in anoço oqujnecu, in anoce oipan motlali: ipampa in iuhquj ic quixoxa, ic itech motlalia. Auh ipāpa in tenanoan quintlacavaltiaia, quimauaya in jmjchpuchoan, quimjlhujaya: macamo xiquinecujcan, ma ypan ancholoti injn xuchitl, amotech momanaz.

1. *Omixochitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 254, is the same as *amaquaxiliz* (*Polianthes tuberosa* L., *P. mexicana* Zucc., *P. graciilis* Link), a fragrant flower appearing in July and August, used as a fabrifuge. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 347: *Polianthes tuberosa*, *P. mexicana*. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 89: "bone flower" — "a white flowering Amaryllidacee or Iridacee."

2. *Cuetlaxochitl*. Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), Vol. III, p. 958: *Euphorbia* (*poinsettia*) *pulcherrima* Willd. Paul C. Standley: "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States Herbarium*, Vol. 23 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), Part 3, p. 608: *cuitlaxochitl*, used in a decoction for nursing women to increase lactation. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 351: *Euphorbia pulcherrima*.

824 531 **Third Chapter, which telleth of flowers artificially arranged.**[3]

Flowers arranged with artifice: there were many kinds thus named, flowers artificially arranged — flower shields; flowers for clipped heads, or for shorn ones, or drums; or spreading [flowers]. As to these flowers the ancients were also deluded. They said: "It is not our right to smell in the midst — the center — of them; he alone, he who pervadeth all, Titlacauan, may smell that place. Our right is only to smell them there at the edges."

Injc ey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in suchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.

Suchitl ie tlatlalilli: ca mjiec tlamantli injc motocaiotia in suchitl tlatlalilli, chimalsuchitl, quatençonsuchitl, quachic, vevetl, moisuac: In jtechpa yn suchitl, no motlapololtiaya in vevetque, quitoaia: ca amo tonemac in tlanepantla, in jnepantla tiquinecujzque ca çan icelteizin vel vncan motlanecujltia in tloque naoaque, in titlacaoan: çanijo tonemac, in vncan titlanecujzque in jtenco.

824 **Fourth Chapter, which telleth of dried grains of maize.**

As to dried grains of maize, in many ways were the women none the less deluded. First, when they [252] cooked it or set it in ashes — behold their folly: when they would place it in the olla with ashes, first of all they breathed upon it. It was held that in this way it would not take fright; thus it would not fear the heat. It was said that thus they mitigated the heat.

Second, they deceived themselves in this way: if they saw or came upon dried grains of maize lying scattered on the ground, then they quickly gathered them up. They said: "Our sustenance suffereth: it lieth weeping. If we should not gather it up, it would accuse us before our lord. It would say: 'O our lord, this vassal picked me not up when I lay scattered upon the ground. Punish him!' Or perhaps we should starve."

Injc nauj capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tlaulli.

In jtechpa in tlaulli: mjiec tlamantli oc noma, ic motlapololtia in cioa. Injc centlamantli: in jquac qujcuxitia, in anoço qujnezquetza: izcatquj in jnnetlapololtiliz, in jquac ie contemazque in nezcomjc: oc achtopa conahaiovia, qujlmach ic amo momauhtiz, ic amo motonalmauhtiz: qujlmach ic contonallalilia.

Injc vntlamantli, injc muztlacavia: intla oquittaque, in anoço oypan qujçato tlaulli chachaiauatoc tlalpan: njman conpepentiuetzi, quitoa: motolinja in tonacaiutl, mochochoqujlitoc: ca intlacamo ticpepenazque, ca techteixpanujz in jzpantzinco totecujo: ca qujmolhujliz. Totecujoe, injn maceoalli: ca amo nechpepen, in jquac tlalpan njcenmantoca: ma xicmotlatzacujltili: auh anoce timaianazque.

856 **Fifth Chapter, which telleth of stepping over one.**

As to stepping over one, the natives also [were] deluded. When some child lay stretched out across one's path, if someone stepped over him, then they chid him who passed over him, saying to him: "Why dost thou step over him?"

It was said that thereby the child would grow no more; he would be only small. And in order to cure him, so that [this] might not befall the child, once again he stepped back over him.[4] Thus was it remedied.

Injc macuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tecuencholhujlizti.

In jtechpa tecuencholhujlizti: no centlamantli innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tla aca melavatoc piltontli, necujliuhtoc: intla aca oconcuencholhuj, njman caoa in aquin otecuencholhuj, quijlhuja. Tle ipampa in ticcuencholhuja:

qujlmach ic ayocmo manaz in piltontli, ça izqujchton iez: auh injc compatiaia, injc amo ipan muchioaz pihontli, oc ceppa qujoalpancholhuja: ic vmpatia.

3. *Suchitl ye ye tlatlalilli.* Corresponding Spanish text: "*las flores, que se compusieron de muchas flores.*"

4. *Quioalpancholhuja.* Corresponding Spanish text: "*otra vez volvió a pasar sobre el, por la parte contraria.*"

Sixth Chapter, which telleth of drinking.[5]

As to drinking, there, also was a delusion of the ancients, somewhat like the account of stepping over one.

And in this wise was the account of it: when, perchance, one drank; if one yet a small child drank first, and afterwards one drank who was a little older, already grown, then [the elder] restrained and took the water from the small child. He said to him: "Why dost thou wish to drink first? Thou wilt not grow large, but remain small. Now let thy elder brother drink, for he is already bigger."[6]

Injc chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in atlilizti. 271

In jtechpa atlilizti: no vncatca innezttlacavilizz in 856
vevexque: çan ie achi no iuhquj in jtlatlatollo in tecuencholhujlizti.

Auh ivin in, ca itlatlatollo: in jquac tla ie atli, in tle ie achto atli oc piltontli: auh intla çatepan atli in ie achi tachcauh, in ie quauhtic: njman qujtlacaqltia, qujcujlia in atl in piltontli, qujlhuja: tle ipampa in achto tatliznequi, amo tiquauhtiez, çan ye tizqujchtontiez: ma oc ie conj in motiachcauh, achic ca ie quauhtic.

Seventh Chapter, which telleth of him who dipped into the cooking pot.

Of this there was also a delusion of the natives, known especially of the men. And in this wise was it known: when, perhaps, men ate, and one only dipped into the cooking pot — not into a sauce dish — then also the mothers and fathers restrained him. They said to him: "Do not dip into the cooking pot; there [in war] thou wilt leave thy captives. If thou goest to war, none wilt thou seize; no one will become thy captive."

Injc chicome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in aquin zocco ontlapaloa. 264

In jtechpa in: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: oc cenca intechpa mocaquj in toqujchtin. 726
Auh ivin in mocaquj: in jquac intla tlaqua toqujchti: auh çan zocco, in ontlapalotica, amo molcaxic: njman no qujtlacaoaltia in tenanoan, in tetaoan, qujlhvia: macamo zocco xontlatlapalo, vncan tiqujmoocaoa in momalhoan: intla tiaz iavc, aiac ticaciz, aiac momal muchiuaz.

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of tamales stuck [to the cooking pot].

Concerning tamales stuck [to the cooking pot] as another deception of the natives, it was said that the men and women would not eat them. It was stated that if the men were to eat them, when they would shoot arrows in warfare, the arrow which was shot would not find its mark. Or perchance therefore they might die, or one's wife would with difficulty bear children.

And just so was it as to a woman. If she were to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot], she could not bear children. Her child would only adhere to and thus die in her womb. Therefore the mothers sternly forbade them to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot].

Injc chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jxqujuhquj tamalli. 264

In jtechpa in jxqujuhquj tamalli: oc no centlamantli innezttlacavilizz in njcan tlaca, qujlmach amo yel qujquexque, in oqujchtin, ioan cioa: qujlmach intla qujquazque toqujchti, amo xican in qujçaz mjtl, injc qujmjnazque iuc: auh anoçe ic mjqujz, yoan aiaxcan tlacachioez in jnamic.

Auh çan ie no yuhquj in jtechpa cioatl: intla qujquaz ixqujuhquj tamalli, amo vellacachioez: çan itech ixqujviz in jconeuh, ic mjquiz in ijti: ipampa cenca qujtecaoaltiaia in tenanoan, injc amo moquaz, in jxqujuhquj tamalli.

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*quinto donde, hablar el comer, como del mugar.*"

6. *Ibid.*: "*el hombre dos hermanos. Si el comer hombre primero, decidor, el mugar; no hemos primero, que yo: porque el hombre primero, no crecer: mas quedarse de, como mas agora.*" See also Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 326: "*dicho, se advierte, con que se manera . . . que el diferencia entre mas personas, o mas, y otra.*"

844 **Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the umbilical cord.**[7]

Injc chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tuxic.

The time of cutting the umbilical cord of small children was also [one of] their delusions. If it were the umbilical cord of a boy, they buried it far away. The brave warriors hung it on themselves and bore it with them into battle.[8] And if the father were skilled in war, he left it; he buried it there, in the midst of the battle ground. It was said that [the child] would be skilled in war, if he grew.

In jquac quijxictequja pipiltotonti: no oncatca innetlapololtiliz. Intla oquijchtli ixic, veca in contocaia: vmpan iauc, tetech conpiloaia, quitquja in tiacoan: auh intla iavc matinj teta, ichoatl concaaaia: vmpa contocaia in iaunepantla, quijlmach: iavc matinj yez intla veijac.

And if it were the umbilical cord of a girl, they only buried it at the edge of the hearth. It was said that this was because her abode was only the house; only and alone she took charge of drink and food, dwelling by the grinding stone. For this reason only in the house did they bury her umbilical cord.

Auh intla cioapiltontli ixic: çan netlecujltenco in contocaia, quijlmach ipampa: yn çan cali ynentla, in çan ic izquich quimocujtlavia atl, tlaqualli, metlatitlan nenemj: ipampa yn, çan calitic contocaia in jxic.

843 **Tenth Chapter, which telleth of the pregnant woman.**

Injc matlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ozztli.

Of the pregnant woman there also was a delusion of the natives. If a pregnant woman wished to go walking during the night,[9] then she placed a little ash in her bosom.[10] It was said that thereby she protected the child within her, in order that he should not meet [an apparition] somewhere. In this wise she took care of her child.

In jtechpa in ozztli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in ozztli, intla iocaltica nenemjznequj: njman ixillan contlalia aquijton nezztli, quijlmach ic quijpalevia in jxic ca piltontli: injc amo quijtenamjctiz caxa, iuhquin ic quijmalvitiuh yconeuh.

846 **Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the woman lately delivered.**

Injc matlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in cioatl, in quinoallacachiua.

Another thing the natives did in their folly. When they would visit one who had [just] borne a child, if they took their [own] children with them, they then quickly placed ashes on their temples, knees, and shins, and everywhere [did they place ashes]. And the woman who applied the ashes sat before the hearth. It was said, if they did not place ashes on the knees of the children, that when they walked, their knees, wrists, ankles, and foreheads would crackle.[11]

No centlamantli a imaquijmamatcaio maytia, in njcan tlaca: yn jquac tla quijtlapaloaque mixiuhquj, intla inpilhoan quijuica: njman yciuhca quijnecatiuja incanaoacan, in jntlanquac, in jntlanjtzco, in ye izquican toçaçaliuhcan: ican quijmocavia, nevian: auh in tenexhuja tlecnjlizquac motlalia, cioatl: quijlmach intlacamo quijtlanquanexviaque yn pipiltontl: çan tlatlatzintinemjz in jntlanqua, in jnmaquechtlan, in jnzoquechtlan, yn jmjzquac.

7. Literally, "our navel." Edward Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschlechtsleben der Frau Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Camillo Sofer-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, and Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), pp. 314 ff., translates a comparable passage found in the *Academia de la Historia* MS.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: *"al lugar, donde se donase las batallas."*

9. *Ibid.*, *"andar de noche, sin ser amenigaua."*

10. *Ibid.*, *"en el seno, o en la cintura hasta a la cara."*

11. *Ibid.*, *"si esto no se hacia espallar crujidos, quando nuestros de los muchachos; y . . . dedos ellos, crujidos: quando los tenaiaua."*

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of earthquakes.

When the earth quivered, a delusion of the natives was to be seen. When the earth quaked, then they quickly took their children by the neck and lifted them,[12] so that they might soon grow big — so that they might mature quickly. It was said that if they did not take them by the neck and lift them quickly, they would with difficulty wax larger.. And they said that the earthquake would bear [the child] away if they did not grasp him by the neck and lift him. And they sprinkled water upon their faces.

And their houses, their square wooden beams, their food storage bins, their cooking pots, and indeed all their goods, everything, they sprinkled with water. And if they forgot something, they wrangled over it; it was said that the earthquake would take it away. And everyone raised a din and cried out while striking the hand to the lips in order to make known [the earthquake] to those who knew not of it.[13]

Injc matlactli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn tlallolinjliztli. 823

In jquac tlallolinj, centlamantli neci innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tlallolinj, njman iciuhca quinquechaana in jnpilhoan, injc yciuhca quaquauhtiezque, injc yciuhca manazque: quilmach intlacamo quinquechaanazque iciuhça, ayazcan quauhtiazque: yoan quitoaia, quivica in tlallolinjliztli, intlacamo quiquechaanazque; yoan quimizalpichiaia. 856

Auh yn jncal, in jntlaquetzal, in jncuezcon, in jnxuc, in ye inquich intlatquj, muchi catzelhuja: auh intla ytla oquilcauhque, yc maoaia: quilmach quivica in tlallolinjliztli: yoan inquich tlaçatl ycaoacaia, motenvitequja: yc quinmachiltiaya, in amo quimiti. 823

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the [three] hearth stones.

Concerning the [three] hearth stones there was also a delusion of the natives. When they saw someone kicking[14] the hearth stones, they restrained him from doing so. They said to him: "Do not kick the hearth stones. It will deaden thy feet when, perchance, thou goest to war." They said to him that now he would not be able to walk or run in time of battle. His feet would be numbed; quickly he would fall into the hands of their foes. Hence the natives restrained their youths, that this might not befall them.

Injc matlactli vmey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tenamastli. 354

In jtechpa in tenamastli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: in jquac in aca quijtta, in quijtlicçatica in tenamastli: yc quitlacaoaltiaia, quilhujaia: macamo xictiliçatia in tenamastli mitzjcximjmjctiz in jquac intla tiaz iave, quilhuja: aiocmo vel nenemjz, aiocmo vel motlalos in iaupan: ça ycximjmjquiz, yciuhca ynmac vetziz in jniaovan: ynic quintlacaoaltiaia in jntelpuchoan, in njcan tlaca, injc amo yuh inpan muchioaz.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the tortilla doubled over on the griddle.

When a woman made tortillas, if her tortilla doubled over, there was also a delusion of theirs. She said: "Someone who now cometh hath kicked

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in comalco mocuelpachoa tlaxcalli. 252

In jquac tlaxcalos in cioa, intla ocuelpachiuh itlaxcal: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, quijtoa: aquin ie vitz oquiualtilicçac: auh in anoce yoquichvi, in ca-

12. Quinquechaana: literally, they took them by the neck. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*tomaban a sus niños con ambas las manos, por cabo las cienes, y los levantaban en alto.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*para que cuando adivinaban, que andaban le sieres.*"

14. Quintlacaoaltiaia: literally, were kicking it (cf. Olivera, Molina, op. cit.); corresponding Spanish text: "*Los que pasaban al fin cuando los tenhadan, que con los pisaban.*"

252 it over." Or if, perchance, her husband had gone somewhere distant, she said: "Now he cometh, for he hath kicked over my tortilla."

napa veca oya, quijtoaia: ca ye hujtz, ca quijoaltilioçac yn notlaxcal.

861 Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of small children who licked the surface of the grinding stone.

Injc caxtolli cupitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn pipiltotonti quijxpaloa metlatl.

When small children licked the surface of the grinding stone, the mothers chid and scolded their young ones for it, and restrained them from it, saying to them: "Do not lick the grinding stone; your teeth will thus quickly break and fall out." Because of this, they filled their small children with great fear, so that this would not befall them.

In jquac pipiltotonti quijxpapaloa metlatl: ye teaoaia, ye quijmaoaia, ye quijtlacaoaltiaia in tenaoan yn inpilhoan, quijmjlhujaia: macamo xicpapaloca in metlatl, ye icichca cocotonix, yeichca vevetztz in amotlan. Ipampa yn, cenca quijmjmacaxiltiaia in pipiltotonti: injc amo ith ynpan muchioaz.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of him who leaned against a square pillar.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn aquin itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli.

When they saw one who leaned against a square pillar, there also was folly of the natives;[15] they chid him for it, and restrained him from doing so; they prevented their children from doing it. They said to them: "Do not lean against the pillar; it is a liar." Thus did they speak: "It giveth one lies; it is like unto one who lieth." [With] this, they terrified the children lest such might befall them and they tell lies.

In jquac aca quijtaia, in itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in ajcan tla: ye teaoaia, ic tetlacaoaltiaia, ic quijtlacaoaltiaia in ynpilhoan, quijmjlhujaia: macamo itech ximotlaxtica in tlaquetzalli, yhjxtlacati: ith quijtoaia: ca ichoxtl quijtemaca in jxtlacatiliztli, itech quicuj: in aquin ihiztlacati. Injo, cenca quijmjmacaxiltiaia in tepilhoan: injc amo ith inpan muchioaz, ynjc amo yhiztlacatizque.

861 264 Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the maidens who are standing.

Injc caxtolli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn jchpupuchti in çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua.

In times past, when the natives saw their maidens eat standing, they also restrained them from it. They prevented their children from doing so. They said to them: "Eat not while thou art standing. Thou wilt marry far from here.—Who will follow thee?" It was said that it would befall one that she would marry in a distant place; she would be taken somewhere far away, not in her own city where she lived.

In ie vecauh in ajcan tlaca: in jquac in quijmjtaia in jmjchpuchoan y çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua: no ye tetlacaoaltiaia, ic quijtlacaoaltiaia in jnpilhoan, quijmjlhujaia: macamo ximoquetztica in titlaqua, veca timocchetix, ac mjxicuitocaz: quijmach ichoxtl ipan muchioaia, in veca moquichvaia, in cana veca vico: in amo yalteperah ipan nemj.

846 753 Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth how maize cobs were burned.

Injc caxtolli omey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in quenjn motlatia olotl.

When one had just given birth to a child, she who, residing there, had given birth should not then burn maize cobs. It was said that if there [maize cobs]

In jquac aca mjxivia, avel vncan quijdatiaia in olotl: in vncan onoc mjxiuhquj, quijl intla vncan tlatlaz: ye ichchichitinjz in piltontli. Auh intla ça

15. In ajcan ihc: usual form.

were to be burned, because of it the child's face would be pock-marked.[16] And if maize cobs were to burn there, first she passed and carried them before the child's face,[17] so that such would not befall him — so that his face would not be pock-marked.

vncan tlatlaz in olotl: achtopa ijxco conquiçquiztilia, ijxco conuivica in piltontli: injc amo iuh ipan mochiuaz, injc amo ichichitinja. 846 753

Ninetenth Chapter, which telleth of the woman with child.

Injc extetlli nenavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn cioatl otztli. 843

The woman with child might not look at one whom they had hanged, because, it was said, when she gave birth, the child would come forth with a cord of flesh wrapped about his neck. Wherefore in times past they frightened pregnant women from doing so.

In cioatl otztli, amo vel quijttaz in aquin ic quijpiloa: yehica, quilmach in jquac mixiviz, nacatica oalquechmecaiotiaz in piltontli. Ipampa yn, ic quijnjmacaxiltiaia in ie vecauh in ootzti.

Likewise, when a woman was with child during an eclipse of the sun or moon, she might might not look at it. It was said that if she saw it, her child would be harelipped. But in order to forestall this, the woman with child placed an obsidian knife in her bosom; it was said that thereby her child would not be harelipped.

No yoan yn jquac otztli cioatl, in jquac qualo tonatiuh, anoço metztli: amo vel quijttaia, quilmach intla quijttaz: tenquatic iez in jconeuh. Auh injc quijpaleviaia otztli: ytztli ixillan contecaia, quil ic amo tenquaiviz in piltontli. [821]

Neither might she chew asphalt,[18] it was stated, lest the child be harmed in suckling[19] when he was born. And she could not walk about at night; it was felt that her child would be one who cried much. Likewise men might not walk about by night; perhaps they would come upon a ghost; perhaps the child would suffer a sickness of the heart. And so that this would not happen, the woman with child placed a pebble, or ashes from the hearth, or wormwood,[20] in her bosom. And the men [carried] a pebble, or tobacco [on the chest]; for it was said that also, at that time, [the child] might acquire what they called a swelling.[21]

Amono vel quijquaquaz in chapuputli, quil ic amo motentzoponja in piltontli: in jquac otlacat. Yoan amo vel ioual nenemiz, quil cenca chocanj iez in jconeuh: no iuhquj in toquijchtin: amono vel ioual nenemjz, anoçe itla quijmonamjctiz, aço mjmjçquiz. Auh injc amo iuh ipan muchiouaz otztli: xaltetl, anoço tleconextli ixillan quijtema, anoço itzauhiatl. Auh in toquijchtin xaltetl, anoço picietl: iehica quil no vncan quiçoj, in quijtoa: aiomama. 843 753

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*la cara del niño, que saje semejaba: esta parecia a leprosa.*"

17. *Ibid.*: "*primeramente primero en la cara del niño, haziendolos por encima, sin tocar en la cara.*"

18. *Chapopotli*: "*betún de judea; betún de judea. . . . Los indios le vsaban antiguamente como mantenimiento*" (*chapopotzo* — Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 402). The corresponding Spanish text has "*aquel humo, que llamó tzicli.*" On the relationship between *tzicli* and *chapopotli*, see Sahagún (Guthrey ed.), X, 24, 12 and 27; and also Vol. IV, pp. 333, 364, for definitions.

19. Corresponding Spanish text: "*arremeterse aquello, que llamaban mocentzoponia, que nuestra dolla, los criaturas recien nacidos; y arremete de que quando nacen la criatura, si es varon de pecho le sale la sea, de la boca, lastimosos en el palador; y luego quedo muerto.*" Cf. also Sahagún (Guthrey ed.), Vol. IV, p. 344; and Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Carlos Maria Bustamante, ed.: México: Alejandro Valdés, 1829), Vol. II: "*mocentzoponia (hoy mocentzolo) o sea enfermedad en la respiración, que nuestra de ello los criaturas recien nacidos.*"

20. *Iztauhiatl*: "*vna yerba de olmos*" (corresponding Spanish text); *ceniçiaxo* (*ceniçiaxo* WBd.) — "*los hajas despidan fuerte olor arrimadas y tienen sabor amargo. Vsan vnos cauallaleros poderosos*" (Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 426).

21. Cf. Sahagún (Guthrey ed.), Vol. IV, p. 324.

843 752 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue bump. Or [he might catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc: ueci ximomaua, yoqijlquan co, iuhqujn pououeli, iuhqujn tzonic: auaqc: cuetzpalicuetli. injc: ueci cuetzpalicui pilcuetli: cocoioui in chocu, yuan yquxuiica, yuiacac: mauiztlalin nacatzuaui, ohtlatzuaui, uelacatzuaui. Auh injc: pati: quijmoteli, quij quijquijxtia in nacatzuaui.

843 821 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or she will be hunchbacked!"

Iuan in ontli: in jquac ximoo vel tlacatl mauiztlalin in jcuocuh, quijtlacuaxiltiuia, in jquac cuiuxmaua metztli: injc: amo cuaxquixtiaqueque, quijnjlhuiqui: macamo xcoxquixtiaca in metztli, mijnjquqja, amoqc tenquixtiuia in amocoxcuh.

825 777 441 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's hand.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly a monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and seen all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

Injc omppouali ompitulo, yuchqa tlatoa: in ompouali yuaqcpal.

In ompouali iuacpal: in pochteca oncca quijnamiia, quijnepiahtiuia: in jquac in campa tlamajquja, in tlaxonacaia: vacaa quijnecaia, quijlmach ic icuiuca aquj, icuiuca mochi onalo in tlein quijnamaca: quij ichoual iuh quijchiua in ompouali yuan: yuje mochipolaiia.

777 264 824 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere was disposed of that which they sold, when no one bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoaxtin in tilmatlamacaque: in jquac acan aquj in quijnamaca, in niac quijcua: in ayo tilmatli, in amoqo cueitl, amoqo vipilli, quijlmach: quijchiliquaqualiia, injc aquj. Auh injc quijchiuaia: in jquac ualvia inchan, quijnaia: acan oncc in totimajc: aua xocoxchiliquaqualiicua: ajnaan ic ipiic contenua, ayo vnac, amoqo Ey in chilli: quijlmach ic aquja, injc iuh quijchiuaia in, ic quijnac: quijchiliquaqualiia.

777 525 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle and the griddle.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his home, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

Injc omppouali ome capitulo, inchqa tlatoa in temoloti, yuan comalli.

In jquac aquja petoaia, in jchan, in jtecuiloch, iuan in jcomal, iuan in jmetl: intlapach quijtocaia: auh in temoloti cana xoxoxco quijpilaia; quijlmach: ic ueuo quijtlaniaque in chane, qua ic tlehuaja.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "una enfermedad, que llaman ancopalchicuitli, o una lobadillas en las ingles." Wim dos Cruze Rios (*El manuscrito mexicano Vaticano 3738 llamado El Codice Rios* [Mexico: Biblioteca Enseñ, 1989], p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to patolli, which is an error.

And [concerning] this pestle: when they caught, trapped mice,[24] they cast the pestle out the doorway. It was thought that if it were in the house, they could not be caught; it was said that it would warn them.[25]

Yoan in ichoatl tezoloti: in jquac qujmaci, in qujmoôvia qujqujmjchtin: in tezoloti qujnoac qujcallaça, qujlmach: intla çan cali iez: amo vel macizque in qujqujmjchti, qujlmach çan qujmonjoatica.

825 412

Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of mice.

Injc omppoalli onnonne capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in qujqujmjchti.

825 837

They said, in times past, that it was thought that mice knew well him who had a paramour, whether a young man or a woman. In order for it to be evident, the mouse made a hole in a large basket, or gnawed the edges of gourd dishes or bowls. Likewise, if man, or a woman, were married, he made holes in their mats, or the men's mantles. In the same way, he gnawed through a woman's shift or skirt. And everywhere the mouse made holes. It was said that thereby he made known that one's spouse had committed adultery.

Qujmaia in ie vecauh, qujlmach in qujqujmjchti vel qujmati, in aquja momemecatia: in aço telpuchtli, anoço cioatl. Injc neci in qujmjchin qujcoionja in chiqujvitl, anoço tecomatl, anoço xicalli qujtenquaquaia. Na iuhque intla namjque toqujchtin, anoço cioatl: yn jnpetl, anoço yn jtilma toqujchtin qujcoionjaia: çã no iuhqujn cioatl, yn jcue, anoço yn jvipil qujcoionja: yoan noujan tlacocoionja in qujmjchin, qujl ic qujnexaiotia: ca oqujtlaxin yn jnamjc.

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of turkey hens.

Injc omppoalli omey capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in totolme.

825 235

Turkey hens: when they were brooding, one who wore sandals might not go in among them. Especially when the chicks were about to break [the shells], it was said that [the hens] sat paralyzed. [The chicks] could not break [the shells, and] some would die. But some, when they hatched, it was thought, would only be paralyzed, those which were there in the shells. And it was said that in order that this might not happen, they placed old sandals among them when [the hens] brooded.

In totolme: in jquac tlapachoa, amo vel inpan calaquj in mocactia: oc cenca yquac in ie tlapanjaque totolti, qujlmach ic mocotoztlalia: amo vel tlapanjaque, cequjntin ic mjquj: auh in cequjntin yn jquac tlacati qujl çan cocotzapipil, in vncan catz in cacalloc. Auh qujl injc amo ioh mochioazque yn, cacçolli intlan qujtenna in tlapachoa.

Twenty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of turkey chicks.[26]

Injc omppoalli onnavi capitulo, intechpa tlatoa yn totolconentoton.

825 235 837

And when turkey chicks hatched, one might not enter among them who had a paramour, whether woman or man, or those who were married. When perchance the spouse [of one of them] had committed adultery, if he were to go in among [the chicks], they said: "He killeth them through filth."

Auh in jquac otlacatque in totolconentoton: avel inpan calaquj in momecatianj, in aço cioatl, in anoço toqujchtin, in anoço namjqueque: in jquac in aço oqujtlaxin inamjc, intla inpan ocalac, qujnia: qujntlaçolinjctia.

24. Ibid.: "quando atrapaban ratones en casa."

25. Ibid.: "no entrase los ratones; porque el entrarlos, los avisaba para que no entrasen."

26. Pardoconentoton: read totolconentoton.

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjquj totolpipil, ic qujtoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaqujco, anoço oquimjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oquintlaçolmjcti: ic qujmatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi totolme, injc mjquj.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
236 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse,
837 whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Quil no iuh inpan muchiua in namjquequc: in aço cana quitlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toquichtin: injc qujmati, çan quipiqui in aaquetztivetzi, anoce cana motlavitequj.

286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

Injc cempoalli omomacujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl quiquiti.

In icpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cuetitl: in iquac quiquiti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviquixtiuh, in tennecujliuhtiuh, quitoaia: quilmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj, çan tlatlavelilloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chia field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

In iquac quiavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquin vncan imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli quiiaoac quioaltepeoa, itvalco: quilmach yc amo tecivilos in imjl, quil ic poliui in tecivitl.

754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**
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789 At night walked demons — perchance wizards and sorcerers — where they harmed one in one's house. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

Injc cempoalli on chiconse capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

In ioualtica, nemj tlatlacateculo: aço nanacalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepolos in techan: in oquimjttaque in aço itla ic quinpolos in chaneque: niman atlan contoca ytztli puertatitlan, anoço inualco quimana in ioualtica, quitoaia: quilmach vncan onmotztcavia in tlatlacateculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepolia: aço mjouaz, anoce cocolizztli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los pollos se cayan muertos, los ponen arriba: y esto, llamaan despolmjqui."*

28. Corresponding Spanish text: *"se parecia, en que la tela, se parecia biscurrada."* Cuarenaya, in Simeon, op. cit., is to make a false seam.

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At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman choloa, aiocmo ceppa tepolotivi: in jquac oqujttaque itztli, atlan onoc.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

825

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal.

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[29]

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualaia, qujlmach in aqujn qujqualia yn q'caoa qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oqujchtequjco in qujmjchin, oqujchtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoz: in aqujn qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

826
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Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztitl.

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Qujlmach in tozti, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in ichoatl avitzotl, qualli qujxoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aqujn qujlaqujaia, qujqujxtiliaia in jzti, ioan ixtelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

827

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli.

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, qujtoaia in ie vecauh: aqujn nechitoa, aqujn nechteneoa: anoce qujtoaia: aqujn nêchicoitoa, anoçe qujtoa: aqujque in noca mononotza. Qujl ichoatl qujnezcaiotiaia, ichoatl ic qujmatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca qujnteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

853

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltotonti.

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

In ichoantin in pipiltotonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaqualo, anoço itla mjz, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, qujlmach ic amo tzitzicunoz, amo motolinjz in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

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29. Corresponding Spanish text: *"de harto, o de sabaturio, o de otra cosa."*

30. *Animal*: Sahagun, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2. 21, refers to it as a spotted water animal or otter "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of immersed men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66 (*ahuizote*), calls it *nutria o perro del agua* (Lutra felina).

31. Corresponding Spanish text: *"quando comejan, o bevejan en provecho de algun niño."*

32. *Ibid.*: *"en la boca."*

T53 264

Thirty-second Chapter, which telleth of green stalks of maize.

Of green stalks of maize, it was said that no one should chew them at night. One who chewed them at night, it was said, would thereby have toothache.[33] Whosoever had toothache had done this: he had chewed green stalks of maize at night. But if one were to chew a little, first he heated it in the fire. It was said that in this way nothing would befall him.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omoome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ooatl —

In iehoatl ooatl: quijlmach aiac vel iocaltica quijquaquaz: in aquin iocaltica quijquaquaz, quijlmach ic tlanqualoz: iehoatl iuh quichioa in aquin tlanqualo: in iocaltica oquijquaqua ooatl. Auh intlaca quijquaquaz tepiton: achtopa quitotonja tleco, quil ic amo iuh ipan muchioaz.

787

Thirty-third Chapter, which telleth of creaking roof beams.

When during the day, or at night, the roof beams creaked, like the snapping of sticks, or, indeed, the roof beam itself broke, they said and it was thought that it indicated that perhaps the householder would die; or he would be sick, or else his children and kin living there in his house.

Injc cempoalli ommatlacomey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in calquavitl nanatzca.

In jquac cemjlhuitl, anqo iocaltica in tlatlatzca, in juhquj popoztequj: anoce vel poztequj in calquavitl, quitoaia: quil iehoatl quinezcaiotia in aço ie mjquiz in chane, anoce ie mococoz, anoce ypilhoan, anoce yoajulque in vel vncā nemj ichan.

Thirty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of grinding stones.

The grinding stone was an omen of evil to the natives, when someone was grinding there, and it broke. Thus it appeared, it was said, that she who ground would die; or else the householder, or[34] their children, or some of their household would die.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in metlatl.

In iehoatl metlatl, quimotetzaujaia in njcan tlaca: in jquac aca vncan teztoc in oalpuztequj: ic necia: quijlmach ie mjquiz in otecia, anoce iehoatl in chane, anoco inpilhoan, anoce ceme mjquizque in jnchantlaca.

372

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of drilling a new fire in the house.

When someone made himself a house, when he drilled a new fire for it, he assembled all the old men, and before them he drew the new fire. If quickly he made a fire — if it did not take long — they said and it was believed that the householder who had erected the house would rejoice and be content. But if with difficulty the fire fell, it was said that thus the old men saw that the householder would not be happy and content.

[787]

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn calmamaliliztli.

In jquac aquin mocaltiaia: in jquac calmamali, muchintin quicentlalia in vevetque, imixpan in tlequauhtlaçaia. Intla iciuhca quitlaça, in amo vecauhtica, quitoa: quijlmach mopaquiltitiez, vellamattiez in chane: in omocalti. Auh intlacaiaxcan vetzi in tletl, quijlmach ic quittaia in vevetque: amo pactiez, amo vellamattiez in chane.

33. Cf. Molina, op. cit.: "tener ruquidos, o gusano en los dientes y muelas."

34. *Anoce.* The suffix is omitted in the MS.

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of the sweat house.

Although the sweat house were very hot, where all bathed, if one known as a twin went there, then he would dispel the steam and destroy [the heat], however hot the sweat house were — even if he went to stand only at the doorway; even more so if he were to bathe among [the others]. But thus could he remedy it; it was said that four times he himself cast potsherds on the ground and sprinkled them with water. It was thought that thus he would not dispel the heat. It would be even hotter.

And when two were born who were called twins, it was said that wherever something was dyed, when [someone] dyed rabbit fur, they might not enter there. If they were to enter there, it was said, they would cast a spell over it; they would blow the colors off. It would come out badly — it would become multicolored, especially [if the dye were] chili red. But thus was it remedied: [the dyer] made him taste the dye water. It was said that in this way the rabbit fur would not be damaged.

Likewise, neither might those known as twins enter where tamales were cooking; because, it was said, if they came in there, they would also bewitch the tamales and the cooking pot. They would not cook, though [left there] all day. The tamales would each one cook only on one side. And in order to remedy it, so that it would not thus happen, when perhaps they went to enter, they placed the cooking pot on the fire. And if by chance the tamales were placed in the pot in [their] presence, they made them lay one [of them] in place. It was said that thus the tamales would not be harmed.

Injc ompoalli on castolli ocs capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in temazcalli. 343 515

In temazcalli, in vncan netemalo: intlanel cenca totonquj, intla vmpa iaz, in moteneoa cocoa: njmã quipouhtitlaça, quipoloa injc cenca totonquj ocatca in temazcalli: intlanel çan quijiaoac onmoquetzatiuh: oc cenca intla tehoan motemaz. Auh injc patiz quijl nappa in vel inoma contlaçaz, in conatequjx tapalcatl: quijl ic amo quipoloz, injc totonquj: çan oc cenca totonquj iez. 845

Ioan in vmẽtin tlacati, in mjtoa cocoa, quijlmach in canjn tlapalo, in quipa tochomjtl: amo vel vmpa calaquj: yntla vmpa calaquiz, quijlmach quiznoza, quipitza in tlapalli: amo qualli in quiça, çan mocujcujcujloa: oc cenca yehoatl in chichiltic. Auh injc pati, achi contlapaloltia in tlapalatl: quijl ic amo ytlacaviz in tochomjtl. 845 386

No yoan in ichoantin in mjtoa cocoa, in cahjn mopaoaci tamalli: amono vel vmpa calaquj: ichica quijlmach intla vmpa calaquizque, no quiznoza in tamalli, yoan in comjtl: amo vel ycuci, intlanel cemjlhujtl: çan chichicoycuciz in tamalli. Auh injc pati, injc amo iuh muchioaz: in jquac tla ocalaquijto, contlatiz in comjtl. Auh intlanoçe ijxpan mocontema tamalli, centetl ipan contlalilia: quijl ic amo ytlacaviz in tamalli. 845 252

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the time when the teeth of small children dropped.

When the teeth of small children dropped out, the mothers cast them into a mouse-hole, or they said to their children: "Place it in the mouse-hole." For it was said that if they were not to do this, the small child's teeth could not grow; he would remain quite toothless.

• • •

Injc ompoalli on castolli onnoma capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti. 856

In jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti: yn tenanoan itlacoiocco contlaça in quijnjchin, anoçe inpilhoan, quijnjlhuja: ytlacoiocco xictlali in quijnjchin: ichica quijl intlacamo iuh quichiozque, amo vel inoez in jtlan piltontli: çan tlanoctoctic iez.

• • •

Estas abusiones, empecen a la fe: y por esso, conviene sabellas, y predicar, contra ellas. Anse puesto, 000

been recorded, though there are many more. But diligent preachers and confessors should seek them out, in order to understand them in confessions and to preach against them; for they are like a mange which sickeneth the Faith.

estas pocas: aunque ay otras muchas, mas los diligentes predicadores, y confessores, busquenlas, para entenderlas, en las confessiones: y para predicar, contra ellas: porque son como vna sarna, que enferma a la fe.

[For information on divination and soothsaying, see category 116, pp. 1-25, 29-45, 49-60, 70-77, 79-87, 92-109, 124, 126d-126s, 126v-133, 138-139, 143, 145-46, 151-180, 194.]

17: Sahagún
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[For information concerning the Aztec ideas about the day of birth and its effects upon the personality type, see category 787.]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 2: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

9:Monzon--2 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

/p. 7/ INTRODUCTION

/p. 9/ Chapter 1

THEORIES CONCERNING THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TENOCHCAS

/2/ This work considers some aspects of the social organization of the Tenochcas, inhabitants of what was the island of Mexico Tenochtitlan (1), as it existed about the time of the arrival of the Spanish around

1. The term used to designate the inhabitants of this place at that time has traditionally been Aztecs. Actually it is an inadequate term because it includes other groups in other places. The term, that for this reason will be used to designate them, will be Tenochcas, which can be translated as "inhabitants of Tenochtitlan."

the year 1519.

By 1877 it could be said that in relation to its importance, no subject had been written so much about as that of the Mexican aborigines and the Spanish Conquest (2). Now, seventy years later, this is

2. Morgan, L. H., 1877, p. 204.

even more the case, and there is an enormous number of works, of every kind and length, about the inhabitants of Mexico, especially those living in the central part of the Valley of Mexico. A contributing factor in creating this situation is the attraction which is exercised on the investigator, in part by the cultural richness of ancient Mexico, in part by the dissatisfaction with the way in which past authors, in accord with the ideas of their day, dealt with, presented or interpreted the unrelated and meager data at our disposal about this area in the period with which we are dealing.

The study which is here presented tries to justify itself for the same reasons. Its subject, the calpulli in the social organization of the Tenochcas, had been originally much more ambitious (3),

3. Kinship and Property as a Basis of the Social Organization of the Tenochcas.

● /2/ attempting to elucidate all the characteristics of their social organization, and had to be reduced for various reasons. It was suggested to the author by the courses "Archeology of Mexico and Central America" given by Professor Alfonso Caso, "Analysis of the Sources for Mexican History" given by Professor W. Jiménez Moreno, and "Social and Economic Organization" given by Dr. Paul Kirchhoff, in which it was noted that /p. 10/ many fundamental aspects of the social organization of the inhabitants of Mexico which obtained at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, were unknown, particularly the basis for their organization; and that there was historical material and theoretical possibilities for making a reinterpretation, even with the scant data available in this respect.

Of course the basis of the social organization of the Tenochcas is not the only unknown aspect of a community as complex as was that of Mexico Tenochtitlan. There are a great many unknown aspects, which are very different in nature, but which do not have the same relative importance for all investigators: some are fundamental for those scholars who are interested in making universal generalizations (4) such as, for example, the manner in which those laws which are

4. Tax, Sol., 1937, p. 3.

valid for all societies, obtained in the Tenochca community. In the social organization of the Tenochcas one can also look for the pattern of happenings, dates, and persons, that is, the unique and outstanding occurrences in the Tenochca historic community. And one can have an interest in finding historic laws, that is, the principles which governed the development of the social events in the Tenochca community in the evolutionary phase through which it was passing just prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

With respect to the first group of problems, the aspects common to all societies, the author holds to the position that it is not of great scientific interest to show that the same happened in the Tenochca community as has happened in all human societies. The second group of subjects—the more particular—do not make up the content of this study either, because they are already being investigated by other people and it appears to him urgent that the singular social events of our community be examined scientifically, which entails their consideration as a result of the social forces which were active in the period in which they appeared. In the third group of subjects are

•121 included the problems which this study addresses: it begins with the principles which governed the social life of the Tenochca community in its historical context without discussing if this was the result of divergent, convergent or internal evolution, or of degeneration, or of acculturation, etc.

The problems treated here can be traced in the following terms:

a) To elucidate if there were clans among the inhabitants of Mexico Tenochtitlan just before the arrival of the Spanish, and if in the affirmative, what type they were.

b) To elucidate if at this time there existed any deep social stratification among them and what were its characteristics. /p. 11/

c) To elucidate if, about the time of the arrival of the Spanish, their social relations were molded by one or other of these previously mentioned factors, or by neither of them (5).

5. To elucidate the type of government—as a manifestation and proof of the existence of a determined type of society among the Tenochcas—is undoubtedly a problem which can be resolved on its own after knowing the basic social organization. It is not attempted in this study except in so far as it helps resolve the other problems.

114 Regarding these problems, the opinions of investigators—although they may not have outlined them exactily in the same terms—have been divided into two camps which make completely different affirmations and neither of which by itself explains the characteristics which we know the Tenochcas had. Some authors—among whom are those who actually initiated the discussion of this subject—like Bandelier (6) and Lehman (7), considered essentially that, in the

6. Bandelier, 1878, 1, 11.

7. Lehman, W., 1909, p. 107, 108.

period to which we refer, the Tenochcas "still" had a gentile organization, putting a great stress on the existence of the calpullis which they considered equalitarian exogamous clans. Other authors such as Moreno (8), Caso, (9), Kroeber (10), White (11), Toscano (12), etc.,

114 strata of a community whose social role is determined by /p. 18/ the possession of basically different, but complementary means of production, such as land, tools or simply personal working capacity (42),

42. Marx, K., 1909, p. 1034.

and in which there is great interclass mobility (43). There are other

43. Mombert, P., 1944.

121 societies which evince castes. As we lack a definition of caste in terms of kinship and economy (since they are at times considered like clans but tentatively endogamous (44), it is proposed here, also

44. Forde, D., 1934, p. 273; Kroeber, A.L., 1944.

tentatively, to put forward such a definition; a caste being (1) a subdivision of a society, (2) with a strong endogamous tendency (3) to which one belongs by birth, (4) which automatically determines the rank of all the members of the society, and (5) which determines every individual's role in the social division of labor (45).

45. This is a definition tentatively arrived at through conversations with Dr. P. Kirchhoff.

In this work it has been the author's intention only to elucidate whether the social organization of the Tenochcas was rooted in phenomena of kinship through common descent, in light of earlier theoretical attainments, in order to attempt to explain its function and its place within the undeniable social evolution of humanity. Outside of this work has remained the discussion of social relations rising directly from economic production, as are commerce (46), slavery (47), and

46. In this respect there is a most interesting work of Acosta Saignes, The Pochtecas [Los Pocheteca], (1945), and his thesis on the same subject.

47. See the work of Bosch, Carbs: Prehispanic Slavery among the Aztecs [La Esclavitud Prehispánica entre los Aztecas] (1945).

121 the organization of the empire, based fundamentally on the tribute of groups not related to the dominators. These are very extensive parts of the social organization of the Tenochcas, and very important; but they can be left aside in treating our problem because they can be considered surely as forms derived from a fundamental structure. Nor is the attempt made in this work to describe all the functioning of the Tenochca society, nor to discuss all the positions which have been adopted with respect to various particular aspects of their social organization: these are so many and so intricate that the discussion would constitute many works such as the present; only a few have been dealt with, those which appeared to me relevant to the discussion of the central theme. Thus this work is limited to elucidating if there were clans among the Tenochcas and what were the characteristics of the social classes. In Part I is an exposition of the data which have permitted certain investigators to think /p. 19/ that the Tenochcas had social classes. In Part II an attempt is made to demonstrate that in Tenochca society there existed an organism based on kinship through common descent, an ambilateral clan, by nature clearly stratified: the calpulli; and that the phenomena which might lead us to think that the society of the Tenochcas had classes are explained by the existence of groups of this type.

127 The sources consulted to obtain data which would serve as the basis for my conclusions are practically the same as those utilized by Bandelier and by Moreno, M., to which are added a few more items furnished later to investigators. The sources consulted naturally are very many more than the sources used and cited, for actually there is an enormous lack of data with respect to the problems which I treat in this work. Data from other regions had to be utilized (Tlaxcalla, Texcoco, for example) in order to complement certain information, and it was necessary to utilize data from very much later periods than the one whose reconstruction is attempted in this work; but this was impossible to avoid. In order to standardize the criterion regarding the validity of information, I regarded the documents immediately after the conquest of Mexico as describing the situation with some errors: (1) The limitations of inquiry and information, stemming from the fact that neither the chroniclers nor the informants had special training; (2) the stress given certain subjects by the way the informants or the recorders saw them, according to their interests; (3) the difficulty that the Spanish had in understanding a society so different from their own in some respects and so similar in others; (4) the difficulty the informants had in analyzing their own society. The

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

●121 It would be too much to pretend that the high cultures of Middle America depended on lakes for their development, but lakes are of extreme importance to domestic economy wherever they exist, and the role they have played in shaping culture has not been insignificant. The lakes of Mexico and Central America have not only played this role to a degree that is out of the ordinary, but they are part of a scene that has no parallel, either in importance or in drama, in the entire history of western culture. New lands and strange peoples had been discovered before 1519, and the astonishing fact of the existence of "primitive" societies was not at all new to western thinkers who had read Herodotus. What the 16th-century Spaniards found in Middle America, however, was something altogether new and totally unexpected: a new civilization, with all that the term implies. The Aztecs and the Mayas lived in cities, and performed great engineering feats; they had a developed art and literature, and a body of scientific knowledge at least as well founded as that of Egypt; their scholars were interested in history, and demonstrated in elaborate ceremonials a philosophy that was highly sophisticated (repellantly so to the Spaniards, of course) on the theological side.

The impact of these facts was quickly muffled by Spain's closed-door policy for the Indies, and dwindled almost to nothing in the exciting centuries that followed the Spanish Conquest. It is only in our own day that the full meaning of the Middle American civilization is becoming apparent, and historians, aware of the powerful tool that the comparative method provides, have seen the necessity of comparing *independent* civilizations and the cultural lineages that produced them. Such a comparison is the best way, perhaps the only way, to deduce laws of societal evolution, and Middle America provides the only phyletic series of cultures outside the Old World that was independent enough, and progressed far enough, to be useful.

121 127 An investigation of the history of Mexican limnology (and the

[p. 220]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

limnology of Mexican history) has a small but not negligible part to play in the writing of the general history that is needed. In what follows we present some notes on the subject, but it has to be said at once that the state of scientific knowledge among the aboriginal Middle Americans can probably never be satisfactorily appraised. The reason is, of course, that most of the written sources have disappeared. Only a handful of genuine pre-Conquest manuscripts have been preserved, while many are known to have been wantonly destroyed as heretical. Copies of some of them, probably fairly accurate copies in some cases, were made shortly after the Conquest. Numerous histories were written by learned and intelligent friars, using these documents and other sources of information that have since disappeared in their turn. For some purposes, as for reconstructing tribal movements and genealogies, particularly those within a couple of centuries of 1519, it matters little that the records are copies, as Radin (1920) has shown. The events they show are real enough, and their historicity has in general been confirmed by archaeology. For events that were more remote in time and space from the memories of the educated natives who set them down, the validity of the records is highly problematical, and the documentary history of Toltec times is "una inextricable maraña", as Mendizábal (1947) called it.

Ideas are much easier to garble than events, and the reconstruction of Middle American science involves a distressing amount of that sterilizing activity, the history of historiography. That is, confronted by the fact that the native ideas have filtered through the minds of Europeans, we must investigate the quality of those minds before we can get on with the subject. This difficulty is particularly apparent to the historian of limnology, in that the earlier writers were singularly uninterested in lakes and ill-informed about them. No doubt this is because they came from Spain, the one country in Europe that is least likely to have produced a limnologically minded historian. Whatever the reason, the data reported below are as fragmentary as they are fascinating. At most one can hope to have it said, as Prescott (n. d.) said of Veytía, "Every page bears testimony to the extent and fidelity of his researches; and, if we feel but moderate confidence in the results, the fault is not imputable to him, so much as to the dark and doubtful nature of the subject."

AZTEC LIMNOLOGY

For knowledge of limnology among the Aztecs, as for all matters concerning Aztec customs and beliefs, one turns first to the great *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España,* by the Franciscan friar

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
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THE METAL INDUSTRY OF THE AZTECS

By GEORGE BRINTON PHILLIPS

I

•121 325 THE collections of many thousand copper objects, tools, weapons, and ornaments from ancient Indian burial mounds and village sites in the Unites States of North America is strong evidence in favor of a pre-Columbian copper industry with which the aborigines were familiar before they reached the Iron Age. Did this knowledge and use of copper extend into Mexico and adjacent country of Central America?

325 Prescott in his *Conquest of Mexico* gives a picturesque account of the splendors of the court of the Montezumas with its silver and gold ornaments and utensils, but the knowledge of metals does not seem to have extended to the general use of copper or bronze for tools and weapons. The Aztec in the production of ornaments in the precious metal showed great skill and artistic workmanship and specimens sent over to Spain were greatly admired by the Spanish goldsmiths. Owing to scarcity of copper [412] in their immediate vicinity, the ancient Mexicans confined its use to adze blades, chisels and some copper objects, possibly ceremonial implements. The tools were hardened by hammering and used in wood carving. The stone cutting it is believed was still done with flint tools.

317 Copper was obtained from the mines of Zocotallan where it occurred in masses on the surface and also from the galleries 325 opened in the rock. Ancient workings have been discovered at Cerro del Aguilar in Guerrero, and the Zapotec country was well known for its copper mines. Deposits of tin were also found in Guerrero at the mines of Tasco, and it is said that Cortez obtained enough tin from that source with the copper to cast several large cannon, which he used in his fortress at the siege of Mexico. This use of tin in making a suitable alloy it is believed was due to the familiarity the Spaniards had of bronze, rather than to Aztec knowledge of the art.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

ON THE

ART OF WAR AND MODE OF WARFARE

OF THE

ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By AD. F. BANDELIER.

114 Not only the history of Ancient Mexico, but the true condition and degree of culture of its aboriginal inhabitants, are yet but imperfectly known. Nearly all architectural remains have disappeared; the descendants of the former aborigines have modified their plan of life, and we are almost exclusively reduced, for our knowledge of Mexican antiquities, to the printed and written testimony of those who saw Indian society at Mexico either at the time of, or not too long after, its downfall. But these authors, whether eye-witnesses of the conquest, like Cortés, Bernal Diez del Castillo, Andres de Tapia, and others; or missionaries sent to New Spain at an early date,—as Toribio of Benavent (Motolinia), Sahagun or (towards the close of the 16th, or beginning of the 17th century) Acosta, Davila, Mendieta, and Torquemada,—they are sometimes, on many questions, in direct opposition to each other. Thus the uncertainty is still increased, and the most difficult critical labor heaped upon the student. Furthermore, to magnify the task, we are placed in presence of several Indian writers of the 16th and 17th centuries (like Duran, Tezozomoc, and Ixtlilxochitl), who disagree with each other on the most important questions, quite as much as the Spanish authors themselves.

114 It may appear presumptuous, while knowing of the existence of
● 121 such difficulties, to attempt the description of even a single feature of life of Mexico's former Indian Society. Still, while engaged upon translating the Mexican chronicle of Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc into the English language, I was so struck by the picture which, unintentionally perhaps, that author exhibits of the condition and organization of the Mexican tribe, that I could not refrain from investigating more closely several features

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which
121 is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

[101] [1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Mexitla* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar. Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1613), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

[173] [3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóstoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Teoculuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 8.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (See "Hist-"orie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hacklurt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT TO INHERITANCE, AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By Ad. F. Bandelier.

000 In a previous paper we have endeavored to describe the warlike customs and organization of the Mexican tribe.[1] Our conclusions in regard to them are somewhat at variance with those generally adopted, since, instead of the military despotism which heretofore has been admitted as existing in ancient Mexico, we found but the military democracy peculiar to a warlike tribe.[2] It is our purpose 121 now to investigate how far the Mexicans may have progressed in their notions about the tenure and distribution of the soil.

114 The picture which nearly all the authors, ancient as well as modern, trace of the condition of aboriginal Mexico is that of a feudal monarchy.[3] This alone should fix permanently the mode of landed tenure. It implies also the notion of abstract ownership, and thus indicates a high state of culture. But we have already

[1] "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans," in 10th Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. A

[2] "Art of War, etc., etc., of the Ancient Mexicans," pp. 113, 114, 115, to 137 inclusive, especially the notes. See also "Ancient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan. (N. York, 1877.) Part II, chapter VII, "The Aztec Confederacy," pp. 188–214 inclusive.

[3] The first information tending to represent the condition of Mexico as a feudal state was probably furnished by Cortés; or through his expedition at least. The reports of the preceding voyage of Grijalva (1518) contain no positive statements. On the other hand the certificate issued by Cortés (probably about the 20 May, 1519, or 29 days after his landing at Ulua), to the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, already [643] speaks of "the great Montezuma, which *reskies* in this great city of Tenochtitlán and all its provinces." We have not Cortés' first letter to the emperor, but in his second report, 30 Oct., 1520, he mentions "a great Lord called Mutezuma." (Vedia, "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vol. I. Carta Segunda, pp. 12 and 13.) The same dispatch contains a number of details on Montezuma's power, from which a feudal empire was necessarily construed as for inst. (p. 33): "There are in this great city many very large and fine houses, the cause of it being that all the *Lords of the land, vassals of the said Mutezuma*, have their houses in that city . . . ." [642] "What has been ascertained is: that his sovereignty was almost as large as Spain . . ." (p. 34.) Gomara, who published his "Conquista de Méjico" in 1552, already mentions "thirty lords of one-hundred-thousand vassals each, and three-thousand lords of places." (Vedia I, p. 343. "Corte y guarda de Motecuzuma.") Oviedo ("Historia general y natural de Indias," Vol. III, Lib.

[See 14, Bandelier, this file.--Analyst]

[p. 385]

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114 seen that the institutions of the Mexicans were democratic and not monarchical, that their chiefs and leaders filled elective, and in no case hereditary positions.[4] This latter fact whose final discussion we reserve for another occasion, speaks strongly against the existence of privileged classes, based upon territory and landed property; therefore it also militates against feudality itself.

121 Still we cannot permit ourselves to become prejudiced by such indications, against the views generally accepted. They merely warn us of the *difficulties of our task*. These difficulties are greater yet than those against which we contended in our first essay. The military life of the Mexicans has furnished the bulk of their history, and through it a number of facts, by which the former could be almost restored. The question of distribution of the soil, however, apparently relates to *customs* only; broken up and to a great extent obliterated centuries ago. Nevertheless, accessory facts, and especially a merely cursory review of the history of the Mexican tribe, may enable us yet to form an idea of these customs. The Mexican rules of inheritance are in direct connection with them also, and lastly, the *acts of the Spaniards* during the first times after the conquest, when they more or less suddenly overturned the ancient order of things, should bring to light many forgotten features of aboriginal tenure and distribution of the soil.

Having thus sketched the programme — so to say — of our work, we have yet to offer two explanations ere we proceed to enter upon the discussion proper, itself.

In the first place: by "accessory facts," we refer to the *social organization* of the Mexicans in particular. It is inseparable from

[6 72] XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 503) again speaks of "more than three thousand lords his subjects, each one of many vassals, and each held his principal dwelling in Temistitan, residing there certain months each year." The author, a friend of Columbus, and personally acquainted with all the eminent men of the conquest, resided at the West Indies and Nicaragua until 1556 (his stay though interrupted by at least six voyages to Spain and back), was one of the most cautious and best situated of the old chroniclers. But the chief originator of the feudal view is Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a half breed of Texcuco, and belonging to the kin of that tribe's chieftains. He wrote about the year 1600, and both of his works, the "Relaciones historicas," and the "Historia de los Chichimecos ó reyes antiguos de Texcuco," present, it should not be denied, a picture of logical development of feudal institutions on Mexican soil. Torquemada of course concurs. We hope to be able to investigate, elsewhere, the claims of Ixtlilxochitl to the rank of a reliable source. Fairness, however, compels us here to mention the above authors, as the mainstays of current opinion.

[4] "Art of War," etc., pp. 96, 128 and 161.

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landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the [121
course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient [128
Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on Amer- [114
ican topics,—the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . . "[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal [173
history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit of definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by [174
sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes,—that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 83. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of [114
Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 22 May, 1556, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 925 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh." Introduction, page CXI). Clavigero's Chronology begins 596 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2237 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 22), or 1796 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tolantzinco in 667 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 121, of 1st volume). Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 13) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 568 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

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ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MODE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By Ad. F. Bandelier.

642 121 Two previous papers have already been devoted to some of the most prominent features of the life of the ancient Mexicans, namely: warlike customs, and their mode of distributing and occupying the soil and their rules of Inheritance.[1] The conclusions of both essays were chiefly negative, in so far as they tended to establish the non-existence of a condition which has, for three centuries, been regarded as prevailing. Thus, in the first, we have attempted to disprove the existence of a military despotism[2], and in the second, the existence of feudalism[3] among the natives of Mexico. More positive results were, however, foreshadowed in both instances by the suggestion, if not by the demonstration, that aboriginal society in Mexico rested on a democratic principle. The present essay is intended to show—if the organization of the natives of Mexico was *not* as it is commonly represented—what that organization really was, according to our conception, and what status

[1] *Tenth Report of the Peabody Museum: "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans." Eleventh Report: "On the Tenure and Distribution of Lands among the Ancient Mexicans, and the Customs with Respect to Inheritance."*

[2] "*Art of War*," pp. (127, 128, and 161).

[3] "*Tenure of Lands*," (pp. 418 and 442). In both instances, as well as in the present discussion, the works of the Hon. L. H. Morgan have furnished to the writer his points of departure and lines of investigation; besides, the distinguished American ethnologist has watched with more than friendly solicitude the progress of all these essays. If I seize the opportunity to recall here the debt of gratitude under which I stand toward him, it is coupled with the wish to express heartfelt thanks to several of my friends, to whose liberal assistance these and the preceding pages owe their existence, nearly as much as to my individual work. Let me name here, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, Col. Fred Hecker, of Summerfield, Illinois, Dr. G. Brühl, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the officers of the Mercantile Library at St. Louis, Missouri. Lastly, because most remote, though certainly not least, am I deeply indebted to the great documentary historian of the City of Mexico, Sr. Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta for nearly all information which could not be obtained from the usually known sources.

[See 14:Bandelier and 15:Bandelier, this file.—Analyst] (557)

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of progress in Institutions can be assigned to the remarkable tribe 642
which has become so prominent in history. In other words, our 121
object is to reconstruct the mode of government of the ancient Mexicans, the nature of its offices and dignities, and especially the principles ruling and guiding their social agglomeration.

The distinguished Mexican scholar, Manuel Orozco y Berra, ex- 631
plains, as well as qualifies, the condition of the aborigines of Mexico in the following manner:

"If, from the boundary-lines of the empire [of Mexico, according to his views] we now turn to the races peopling its area, we find it to be a truth undeniable that no common nor mutual tie connected these numerous and diverse tribes. Each one was independent under its chiefs.[4]"

[4] "*Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México*," por *Manuel Orozco y Berra*, Mexico, 1864, (Tercera Parte, IX México, p. 252). "Si de las demarcaciones del imperio pasamos á considerar las razas que lo poblaban, encontraremos como una verdad innegable que tanta tribu diversa no tenia un lazo comun de union. Cada una era independiente bajo el mando de sus señores. Las ambiciones particulares encendian la guerra, y la misma familia se fraccionaba. A su semejanza, cada pueblo tenia un gefe que de nombre reconocia al señor principal, y todas las provincias estaban subdividas hasta formar un sistema bajo algunos puntos semejante al feudal. Rencores y odios apartaban las tribus, y la guerra era constante, porque siendo una de sus principales virtudes la valentia, no podian verse sin combatirse, á imitacion de los orgullosos animales que sirven de diversion en los palenques. Por instinto ó porque las generaciones son arrastradas aun á su pesar por la corriente de los tiempos, los Mexicanos emprendieron la tarea de reunir en un solo haz todos aquellos pueblos, de formar de ellos una nacion, y de asimilar sus intereses con los intereses del imperio. Para llevar á cabo semejante tarea era preciso, la fuerza para poder triunfar; un sistema proseguido con tino, y con tenacidad, y el tiempo bastante para que el odio se borrara y dejara nacer las simpatías. Pero la unidad que solicitaban los Mexicanos llevaba á las tribus al mas espantoso de los despotismos; el imperio era muy nuevo para haber alcanzado otra cosa que reducir á la servidumbre, sin poder contar con el amor de sus vasallos; de manera que en lugar de amigos, tenia enemigos solapados, y su grandeza era solo engañosa apparienciа. En esta sazon se presentaron los conquistadores españoles. Cualquiera fuerza extraña habia de hacer vacilar al coloso; las tribus, mal halladas con la servidumbre, vieron en los invasores á quienes podrán salvarles del yugo; en su juicio rencoroso no quisieron advertir, que por alcanzar una estéril venganza aventuraban su propia existencia, y corrieron de tropel á colocarse bajo las banderas de los estranjeros." It may be interesting to compare this weighty authority with my remarks on the same subject in "*Art of War*," (pp. 100, also note 17), and "*Tenure of Lands*," (pp. 416, 417, and 418, and annotations.) The difference consists in that Sr. Orozco y Berra ascribes to the ancient Mexicans a decided tendency to "nationalize," so to say, the aboriginal people of their conquered area, to force uniformity of customs and organization upon them, and establish a true despotism. To this I beg leave to suggest in reply:—

(1). That the Mexicans, *alone*, formed only a *part* (two-fifths in amount of tribute) of that power which is commonly termed "an Empire" (El Imperio) and which was but the Nahuatl confederacy of the Mexican valley. In evidence of it I will take the liberty to quote his own words, (same part and chapter, pp. 216, 241): "El reino de Acolhuacan era el segundo en poderio; su capital era Tetzcoco, á la orilla del lago de su nombre. Pequeña hoy y sin material interes, en lo antiguo fué rival de México y

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120 proper, who dwelt, as elsewhere established by us, on the partly artificial islands in the lagune of the Mexican valley.[7] Besides the prominence acquired by them in the annals of history, it may safely be assumed that, in a general manner, their Institutions are typical of those of other sedentary tribes.[8]

121 *Tribal* society, based according to Lewis H. Morgan upon KIN, and not *political* society which rests, according to the same author, upon TERRITORY and PROPERTY, must therefore be looked for among the ancient Mexicans. It remains for us to establish its degree of development, its details, and the manner of its working.

In order to comprehend the true nature of these questions, we should secure as much information as possible of the *past* of the tribe under consideration. Institutions are never wilfully or accidentally created, but evolved; in other words, they are the result of growth in knowledge and experience.[9] The great difference existing between tribal society and political is explained as a dif-

[63] [36] [48] *de México*," Col. de Doc., Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 561, and especially p. 562), "México tenia en su tiempo en el hacer guerra esta órden; que yendo á la guerra, al que se daba de paz no tenia sobre él tributo cierto, sino que tantas veces en el año lo llevaban presente á su discrecion del que lo llevaba; pero si era poco mostrábales mal rostro, y si mucho agradeciaselo. Y en estos no ponia mayordomo ni recaudador ni cosa; el señor se era señor. Los que tomaba de guerra decian *tequitin tlacoti*, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los Señores mandaban su gente, eran debajo de la mano destos de México . . . . ." *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 186), *Granados y Galvez*. (5th night, p. 166), a singular picture of purest feudality, for which Gomara may be responsible in part. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Letter of 4th Nov.*, 1532, 1st; "*Recueil*," (pp. 245, 246, and 247). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 16), to be compared with Mendieta and Torquemada.

Consequently there was no tendency towards unification or nationalization in all the successful and extensive raids which the Nahuatlaca of the valley of Mexico carried on for a full century. No organic body, larger than the tribe, resulted from these sanguinary forays; because the confederacy itself was not the end, but the beginning of these undertakings. This justifies the view which I shall hereafter advocate in regard to the nature of that confederacy namely: as a mere partnership to carry on the business of warfare the latter in turn being part of the mode of subsistence.

[8] "Based upon territory and property" according to L. H. Morgan, in contra-distinction to tribal-society, based upon "Kin." ("*Ancient Society*," chapter II, page 61).

[9] "*Art of War*," p. 95.

[7] "*Art of War*," p. 150. "*Tenure of Lands*," pp. 421, 422.

[8] "*Ixtilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 243). "Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit de Tezcoco doit s'entendre aussi des deux autres, ..." *Gomara* (p. 440, Vedia, I). "To speak of the Mexicans, signifies as much as speaking of all New Spain." The title of the section is: "Costumbres de los hombres," and the original text reads: "Hablando de méjicanos, es hablar en general de toda la Nueva-España." Although *Zurita* (p. 5) insists upon the variety of customs among the aborigines,—changing from settlement to settlement, from tribe to tribe,—his own report furnishes the proof of the contrary, and it is evident from the text that he alludes principally to the diversity in languages and dialects.

[9] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Chap. I, p. 6).

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ferent state of progress. But Institutions have grown out of the relations between the sexes, and the increase of the human species and its propagation. Had political society existed in Mexico, we should be entitled to find there a plain and definite conception of the family.[10] Whether such is the case a glance at the system of consanguinity of the ancient Mexicans, as far as it may be possible, will tell us. |21|

Among American aborigines of low culture, in fact over the widest area once held by the "Indian" race, "mother-right" ruled supreme. The tangible fact, coarsely expressed, that a child was always sure of his *mother*, whereas it might not be equally certain of his *father*,[11] created in course of time and with increased numbers a tendency to aggregate into clusters whose basis was certainty of descent in common. These clusters were the KINS, significantly termed "lineages" by Spanish authors. Such as traced back their descent to a common mother therefore composed one of these, regardless of their male procreators. The family—consisting of a group which includes children as descendants of *both* parents—was not yet recognized, and the kin took its place for all purposes of public life. It formed the *unit of social organization*. With the growth of knowledge and experience however, and a corresponding increase of wants, the importance of man rose correspondingly. "Mother-right" began to yield; female descent to change to "descent in the male line." Nevertheless the kin remained the unit of social agglomeration, with the only difference that it was reckoned through males instead of by females. It required the final overthrow of the kin as a public Institution to bring about the present shape of that intimate group, the family, among the most highly advanced nations.[12]

The two extremes of growth of the family, as characterized by the inception of the kin, and by the family after the obliteration

[10] (*Ancient Society*," Chap. II. p. 78.) For the so-called "Descriptive System of Relationship," compare. *L. H. Morgan* ("*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*," Chap. II, pp. 16, 12, 13).

[11] This assertion is found in various authors. I shall quote but one: *Gregorio Garcia*, ("*Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales*," second edition, 1729, Madrid, Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII, p. 247).

[12] Although it is entirely out of the line of these researches to enter upon a discussion of Primitive Marriage, I was compelled to refer to the question of kin in such a manner as to explain at least the importance of that group in the history of society. For anything else, the works of Mr. Morgan, Sir Henry S. Maine, John F. Mc Lennan, and some publications of Dr. Ad. Bastian, should be consulted, besides a great number of others too numerous to mention here.

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121 of the former, are distinguished by the terminology of relationship. In the case of the former, relatives are at once classified; in the latter instance, they are merely described. Now, our investiga-
611 tions of the customs of Inheritance among the ancient Mexicans have led us to the conclusion that they had already achieved progress to *descent in the male line.*[13] *Actual* family existed among them in its incipient form at least.

601 But we meet here with a singular feature in designating relationships. *Ascending* from the "Ego," as point of departure, we find the following terms in the Mexican (Nahuatl) language.

Father: "tatli"—"teta."[14]

Brother of father or mother (paternal or maternal uncle): "tlatli"—"tetla."[15]

Grandfather: "tecul." Granduncle: "tecol."[16]

Great-grandfather: "achtontli."[17]

[13] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, note 106).

[14] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario.*" Part Ia, p. 91; IIa, pp. 106, 91). Besides the plural "tetatzin," the names, "yzcacauhti," "teizcacauh," are also mentioned (I, p. 91). The former is defined (II, p. 48) as "natural father." It derives from "Izcalia" or "ninoizcalia"—"to give life" and "acauhtli." The latter evidently is an abbreviation or corruption from "nitla teachcauhtlia"—"to be preferred in what is distributed, or in a distribution" (II, p. 2), which in turn is at the root of "teachcauhtin"—"elder brother" (II, p. 91). It is superfluous here to quote authorities in support of the fact that "ach" is frequently corrupted to "ac," or the inverse. In Cakchiquel: "Tata" See *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Grammaire de la Langue Quichée, etc.*" pp. 217, 218). The root "Ta" is also found in other Indian idioms, See: *Gatschet* (*Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas,*" p. 137).

[15] *Molina* (I, p. 100; II, p. 140.) All the difference consists in the insertion of the letter "l" after the "t." "Tetla" is but an abbreviation of 'Te-tatli," from "Tehuatl" thou, p. 94, and father, which is also shown in the alteration of "tatli" to "tayta" or "tata;" the name given by children to their father (p. 91, II). Corresponds to the qquiché "tat" (*Brasseur de Bourbourg*, "*Grammaire, etc.*" p. 218), and to the Muysca "Ze paba" ("Pába" father). *Morgan* after *Uricoechea* ("*Systems of consanguinity,*" p. 265).

[16] *Molina* (II, p. 94; II, p. 93). Here again the change from "n" to "o" appears, which is so frequent among older authors. For inst., *Tescoco* and *Tezcuco*, *Omeiochtli* and *Ometéchtli*, *Tlacopan* and *Tlacohuapan*, *Olli* and *Ulli*, etc. etc. Such changes are very excusable, they proceed from the Indian pronunciation of vowels. On this subject compare, although it concerns properly but the Qquichua idiom of Peru, the excellent essay of Señor Don *Garino Pacheco y Zegarra* of Puno, entitled "*Alphabet phonétique de la langue Qquichua,*" published in the 2nd volume of the "*Compte Rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes,*" at Nancy, in 1875. He says (p. 303) "D'autre part, le kehua différant essentiellement des langues romanes, surtout en ce qui concerne les sons élémentaires, il est impossible de donner une idée exacte de ces sons au moyen du seul alphabet latin. . . ." In regard to "O" and "U," see pp. 306, 307, 308. etc. What the author says of the Qquichua applies exactly to the Nahuatl also. See *Molina* ("Prologo y Avisos," 3d page "Aviso septimo").

[17] *Molina* (I. p. 117; II, p. 2). Literally, "little preferred one." Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. I, p. 3, 3d Vol).

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174 a revolution before the advent of Europeans. We are consequently, by this investigation of the history of aboriginal Mexico, justified in claiming the state of its society to be as yet exclusively tribal.

121 Tribal society presupposes equality of rights among all members
174 of the kins composing the tribe. Hence it follows that "caste" and hereditary rank could not exist, that there could not be any division, among the ancient Mexicans, into higher and lower classes, into "nobles" and "common people," or into hereditary professions or vocations like "priests," "warriors," "merchants," "artisans," and "tillers of the soil." In vindication however of our assertion, which might otherwise appear as too sweeping, we may be permitted here to dwell at some greater length on this particular question.

565 Nobility is based upon hereditary privilege of some kind. Either it consists in landed property with hereditability of title and (at least originally) office, or in a hereditary charge alone, or privilege or power over others transmitted with the blood. While the former has become more usually known and is therefore regarded as characteristic, the latter, always accompanied by "loose wealth" at least, is still found among pastoral nations.[62] It may even have been the incipient form of the other. Now, among the ancient Mexicans, we have seen that:—

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, in any shape, had not yet arisen.

2. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, had but a right to use certain tracts, and no possessory rights, even, to land were attached to any office or dignity.

3. No office itself, whether of the kin or tribe, was hereditary in any family, since the Mexican family, as such, was yet in but a nascent state.[63]

4. Futhermore loose property was subject to such diminutions occasioned by the mode of worship,[64] and especially of burial,[65]

[62] The Arabs for instance. See *Kremer* ("*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islam*").

[63] For these three points see "*Tenure of Lands*" in general, and pp. 447–48 in particular.

[64] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31). "Otros trabajaban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adendaban, de manera que tenian que servir y trabajar otro año y aun otros dos para salir de deuda; . . ."

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565 of any connection by kin. This presupposes a *class of outcasts from the bond of kinship.*

There is no evidence of the formation of such a cluster prior to the permanent settlement of the tribe. Neither can we trace its gradual increase from a given time. But a glance at some of the rules of kinship, and at the practical working of these rules finally crystallizing into an equivalent for laws, will enable us to discern its origin.

●121 The relation of sexes being at the bottom of society based upon kin, it follows that sexual intercourse gradually assumed a regulated shape, proportionate to the progress in institutions. The ancient Mexicans had, as we have already established, advanced into descent in the male line, and had secured a nascent state of the modern family. Marriage was well known to them [581] as a *rule*. But so powerful was the influence exercised by the kin, as unit of public life that, once the ritual union of a couple acknowledged as a necessity for future joint life, it exacted of its male members the obligation to marry for the purpose of propagating and increasing the kin. Only such as were naturally helpless, and such as in view of "medicine" made vows of permanent [581] chastity, were excused. Any other youth therefore, who refused to take a wife at the proper age, was treated with contempt and consequently expelled from the kin.[80]

562 WOMAN, among the aboriginal Mexicans, was in a singular predicament. Through the establishment of descent in the male line she lost her hold on public life, (which she latterly regained through the establishment of the family proper) and thus remained little else than a *chattel* in the power of man. Still, the ritual act 562 of marriage being once adopted, the same obligation to marry, 589 which we have already found incumbent upon the male, also devolved upon the female, and any girl therefore, who did not "take vows" for "medicine," or who was physically not mis-

[80] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 481). *Burlin* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp 133 and 134) "s'ils ne voulaient pas prendre des femmes, on les congéliait." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 135), "Llegados á la edad de casarse, ... Si pasando la edad se descuidaban, y veian que no se querian casar, tresquilábanlos, y despedianlos de la compañia de los mancebos." This meant exclusion from the kin since, as soon as they were married, "they were classified, since, according to their custom, they were divided into sections each of which had a chief or captain, as well for the collection of taxes as for other reasons." These "chiefs or captains" were those of the calpulli. *Burlin*, (p. 135), also *Bustamante*, ("*Tezozoc*," Part III, cap. III, p. 215), "Cuando se casaban los empadronaban. . . . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 186, almost a copy of Mendieta).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

crystal-clear process, for their customs, habits and motives differed from ours. However, I hope that I shall be able to show that it was a perfectly good way of life and the result of considerable experience. Our Western civilization, on the social side, is nothing to boast of today, so we need not be scornful of the Aztecs.

I want here to express my thanks to some of the many people who helped me write this book: to the authorities of the American Museum of Natural History for providing me with the sinews of research and the time to exercise them, to the authorities of the Mexican government for their consistent courtesy and co-operation in making my work possible, to my colleagues in my own and other lands, who by their friendship, counsel and collaboration make one proud to be an Americanist. To my wife I owe especial thanks for her unfailing aid and comfort during the long hours spent in the field and laboratory and in the preparation of this book.

To Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Mr A. P. Tedesco and Mrs Mary Slavin of Doubleday, Doran I am grateful for stimulation and counsel. To Dr Edward Weyer I am under deep obligation for permission to incorporate illustrations and articles from Natural History. *I wish to thank Miss D. Levett Bradley for her excellent end sheet maps of Aztec Mexico and, last, but by no means least, Miss Frances Jay for her unflagging patience and judgment in preparing this manuscript and smoothing the path of the reader who traverses the ill-marked trail of this aspect of Indian history.*

To Mr Clarence L. Hay I am deeply indebted for collaboration in field and laboratory as well as for supporting much of my research and to Mr Willard Carr for underwriting our last field season, which brought this book into being.

then seized upon a great chieftain named Tlapaltecatl opochtzin, whose home was Coatlan. Thereupon they arrayed him, and put on him the quetzal feather owl[13] which had been the device of Auitzotzin. Quauhtemoc said: "This device was the device of my begetter, of my father Auitzotzin.[14] Let him wear it. Let him die in it. May he gain honor before the people. May he become a portent in it. May our foes see and marvel at him."[15] And when they put it on him, he was indeed terrifying. Truly wonderful he appeared. And [Quauhtemoctzin] commanded four to aid him and be at his side. They gave him the darts[16] [and dart thrower] which were the devil's—the throwing spears with flint points.

And when they had done this, it became like a portent for the lords of the Mexicans. The ruler's vicar Tlacotzin said: "O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! Hath Mexico been nothing—that on which Mexican rule was founded? It is said to be with the power of Uitzilopochtli, which he hurled at one. It is none other than the fire serpent, the fire drill, with which he walked, casting it at our foes—which you, O Mexicans, have held as his power of the dart. Forthwith you will aim it against our foes. You will cast it not to the earth; you will hurl it with strength at [the foe]. And if one or two will be struck—if one or two of our enemies will be reached,—it is in truth a token for us [that] yet, for a little, we shall look to favor; [that] yet our lord [the god] may desire it." Thereupon went the quetzal-owl [bedight warrior], with quetzal feathers as if parted.

And when our foes saw him, [it was] as if a mountain had burst. In truth, all the Spaniards took fright; much did he terrify them, as if they had seen in him something [inhuman]. Then the quetzal-owl [warrior] climbed up to the roof-terrace. And some of our foes, who could see him, stood up. Then they forced him to turn back, and took after

tlauhtzin. Nimã ic conanõ ce vei tiacauh, itoca Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin coatlan ichã njman ie ic qujchichios, conaqujque, in quetzalteculotl: itlaviz catca in Aujtzotzin: qujto in Quauhtemoctzin. Injn tlavizztli, itlaviz catca in notechiuhcauh in notatzi Aujtzotzin, ma iehoatl conjtquj ma ipan ommjquj ma cõtemaviçolti ma ipan tetlatiti ma qujttacan in toiaovan ma qujmaviçocan. Auh in oconaqujque vel temamauhti, vel maviztic in neci: auh navinti in qujnnavatique in qujvalpalevitiazque, in qujvallamatilitiazque, qujvalmacaque in jmjuh catca tlacateculotl, tlacumjtl, iacatecpaio.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuhque in, iuhqujnma intlapoal muchiuh in tlatoque in Mexica: qujto in Civacoatl tlacutzin. Mexicae tlatilulcae, atlei injc mexico ocatca, injc ommanca mexicaiutl: in mjtoa in vncan inavatil in vitzilobuchtli in tepã qujtlaça ca çan ice in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli in otepã qujtlaztinenca in toiaupan in ie anconcuj Mexicae in jnaoatil in mjtl: çan njmã vmpa anqujtlachieltizque in ivicpa toiaovan, amo çan tlalpan anqujmaiavizque cenca intech in anqujtlaçazque: auh intla ce, anoço vme momjnaz: auh in ano ce, anoço vme in maçiz toiaouh ca nel totlapoal, oc ãchitzin tinacaxitztiazque, oc quenjn qujmonequjltiz in totecujo: njman ie ic iauh in quetzalteculotl, in quetzalli iuhqujn xxeliuhtiuh.

Auh in oqujttaque in toiaovan, iuhqujn tepetl vitoonj vel muchintin momauhtique in Españoles, cenca qujnmauhti, iuhqujnma itla ipãn qujttaque: njman ic tlapanco tlecoc in quetzalteculotl. Auh in cequjntin toiaovan in ovel qujttaque moquetaque: njman ic qujvalcuepque, qujvaltocaque: ie no ceppa no qujncuep qujntocac in quetzalteculotl, njman

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[693]
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[122]

13. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 211: "un buho (Ancho de plumaje rico y espantable)."

14. While Book XII was in press Dr. Anderson wrote the following comment from Florence, Italy: "The word is almost illegible in the MS. Examination of the original (Med.-Palat. 218-220, Laurenzian Library, Florence), in connection with researches in Europe made possible by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, suggests that xxeelichuauitl (any rather or bugeyer) is meant."

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "Entonces ya los mexicanos arrancaron de todas partes de los enemigos, aterrieron de temor grandemente o espanto el cual ya embaldo en mexicanos o si los quedaron lugar de escapar de espanto gran peligro en que estaban. y hablo el señor de mexico que es llamado Quauhtemoctzin, y dice a los principales que con el estaban . . . hagamos experimento a ver si podemos escapar deste peligro I que estamos amigos que de los mas enbestan que no entre mexicanos y alcance los arrenas y dinjan que gran de mi padre Auitzotzin: luego llamaron a cuatro valientes hombres que se llamaron Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin que era del barrio de coatlan llamado en agora la parroquia de s." estaban en el dicho."

16. The Aztec text may read *huj hujuh*. *In jmjuh* is probably correct.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

PREFACE

THE PRESENT PAPER was prepared between March and December, 1943, under the auspices of the University of California at Berkeley, while the author was a research assistant in the Department of Anthropology. The data were assembled in the Bancroft Library, under ideal working conditions. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the staff of that Library for its coöperation, and to Professors Alfred Kroeber and Carl Sauer for their critical aid. Mrs. C. A. Block, Editor of the Department of Anthropology, contributed valuable advice on the technical problems of format. As for the translations scattered through the text, the author has chosen to make them loose, being aware that translations are at best worthless toys. No amount of ingenious paraphrase can possibly supplant the original documents, to which those wishing to investigate the problems of the paper will turn. (Certain emendations of the text have been made in Mexico during the succeeding five years.)

R. H. BARLOW

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Maya NV4

MAYA, NAHUATL, AND TARASCAN KINSHIP TERMS

By PAUL RADIN

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THE MAYA, Nahuatl, and Tarascan kinship terms presented below were extracted from the works of Spanish authors, as the citations will show. This work was financially supported by the New York Academy of Sciences.

Maya Kinship Terms[1]

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yum. Father.
naa. Mother.

*zucum. Father's father.
*mam. Mother's father.
mim. Father's mother.
chich. Mother's mother.

*zucum. Older brother.
cic. Older sister.
ich. Uterine sibling.

ɔeyún. Father's brother.
ixcit. Father's sister.
acan. Mother's brother.
ɔena. Mother's sister.

caazucum. Male cousin.
caacic. Female cousin.

icham. Husband.

*haan. Wife's father.
nohyum. Husband's father.
ixhaan. Wife's mother.
nohcó. Husband's mother.

mú. Spouse's brother.
bal. Wife's brother.

hachil. Child's parents-in-law.

*mehen. Son, man's brother's child.
ixmehen. Daughter.

i. Son's child.
abil. Daughter's child.
*ɪɔin. Son's son.
*mam. Daughter's son.

*ɪɔin. Younger brother.
*ɪɔin. Younger sister.

*mehen. Brother's child.
*mehen. Woman's sister's child.
achak. Sister's child.
al. Woman's brother's daughter.

*mam. Father's brother's child.

atan. Wife.

*haan. Son-in-law.
ilib. Daughter-in-law.

haauan. Woman's sister-in-law.

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* Indicates that the term is used elsewhere in the system.
[1] From Beltrán, Arte del Idioma Maya, 1742.

121 the organization of the empire, based fundamentally on the tribute of groups not related to the dominators. These are very extensive parts of the social organization of the Tenochcas, and very important; but they can be left aside in treating our problem because they can be considered surely as forms derived from a fundamental structure. Nor is the attempt made in this work to describe all the functioning of the Tenochca society, nor to discuss all the positions which have been adopted with respect to various particular aspects of their social organization: these are so many and so intricate that the discussion would constitute many works such as the present; only a few have been dealt with, those which appeared to me relevant to the discussion of the central theme. Thus this work is limited to elucidating if there were clans among the Tenochcas and what were the characteristics of the social classes. In Part I is an exposition of the data which have permitted certain investigators to think /p. 19/ that the Tenochcas had social classes. In Part II an attempt is made to demonstrate that in Tenochca society there existed an organism based on kinship through common descent, an ambilateral clan, by nature clearly stratified: the calpulli; and that the phenomena which might lead us to think that the society of the Tenochcas had classes are explained by the existence of groups of this type.

●127 The sources consulted to obtain data which would serve as the basis for my conclusions are practically the same as those utilized by Bandelier and by Moreno, M., to which are added a few more items furnished later to investigators. The sources consulted naturally are very many more than the sources used and cited, for actually there is an enormous lack of data with respect to the problems which I treat in this work. Data from other regions had to be utilized (Tlaxcalla, Texcoco, for example) in order to complement certain information, and it was necessary to utilize data from very much later periods than the one whose reconstruction is attempted in this work; but this was impossible to avoid. In order to standardize the criterion regarding the validity of information, I regarded the documents immediately after the conquest of Mexico as describing the situation with some errors: (1) The limitations of inquiry and information, stemming from the fact that neither the chroniclers nor the informants had special training; (2) the stress given certain subjects by the way the informants or the recorders saw them, according to their interests; (3) the difficulty that the Spanish had in understanding a society so different from their own in some respects and so similar in others; (4) the difficulty the informants had in analyzing their own society. The

●127 majority of the data which could not be considered as a result of Spanish influence were taken as remains of situations from before the Spanish conquest. In every case the principal citerion of accuracy was the congruity presented by the data themselves; particularly in the sifting of data in works written long after the conquest or by authors who did not come to Mexico in this period (Acosta, Torquemada, Clavijero, Gómara, etc.) but who had at hand information and documents which we now lack, or who saw remains atill little modified of the ancient social organization of Tenochtitlan.

The contorted form reflected by some arguments derives principally from the necessity of taking advantage of the few facts about the subject, which are not always specific or categorized, but which refer to secondary or derived cultural traits; and which suggest a prior basic situation necessary to their appearance.

/p. 21/ THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CALPULLI

/p. 23/ Chapter 2

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

565 463 In the sources for the history of Mexico we find data which beyond doubt demonstrate the existence of social stratification among the Tenochcas and which have let a few authors think that the Tenochcas had social classes. These data are very diverse in nature and very abundant, but here only the more significant will be presented: the division between manual laborers and directors, the paying of tribute, the differentiation in the living standard, the relation between the strata and the calpullis, and the inheritance of property to a determined stratum.

With respect to the division of labor we find a great difference of activities between two types of people: those who undertook manual labor and those who undertook essentially directive tasks. We are told that the macehuales were the common people and laborers (1) and that

1. Zurita, p. 94.

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

121 It would be too much to pretend that the high cultures of Middle America depended on lakes for their development, but lakes are of extreme importance to domestic economy wherever they exist, and the role they have played in shaping culture has not been insignificant. The lakes of Mexico and Central America have not only played this role to a degree that is out of the ordinary, but they are part of a scene that has no parallel, either in importance or in drama, in the entire history of western culture. New lands and strange peoples had been discovered before 1519, and the astonishing fact of the existence of "primitive" societies was not at all new to western thinkers who had read Herodotus. What the 16th-century Spaniards found in Middle America, however, was something altogether new and totally unexpected: a new civilization, with all that the term implies. The Aztecs and the Mayas lived in cities, and performed great engineering feats; they had a developed art and literature, and a body of scientific knowledge at least as well founded as that of Egypt; their scholars were interested in history, and demonstrated in elaborate ceremonials a philosophy that was highly sophisticated (repellantly so to the Spaniards, of course) on the theological side.

The impact of these facts was quickly muffled by Spain's closed-door policy for the Indies, and dwindled almost to nothing in the exciting centuries that followed the Spanish Conquest. It is only in our own day that the full meaning of the Middle American civilization is becoming apparent, and historians, aware of the powerful tool that the comparative method provides, have seen the necessity of comparing *independent* civilizations and the cultural lineages that produced them. Such a comparison is the best way, perhaps the only way, to deduce laws of societal evolution, and Middle America provides the only phyletic series of cultures outside the Old World that was independent enough, and progressed far enough, to be useful.

121 An investigation of the history of Mexican limnology (and the

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[p. 220]

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limnology of Mexican history) has a small but not negligible part to play in the writing of the general history that is needed. In what follows we present some notes on the subject, but it has to be said at once that the state of scientific knowledge among the aboriginal Middle Americans can probably never be satisfactorily appraised. The reason is, of course, that most of the written sources have disappeared. Only a handful of genuine pre-Conquest manuscripts have been preserved, while many are known to have been wantonly destroyed as heretical. Copies of some of them, probably fairly accurate copies in some cases, were made shortly after the Conquest. Numerous histories were written by learned and intelligent friars, using these documents and other sources of information that have since disappeared in their turn. For some purposes, as for reconstructing tribal movements and genealogies, particularly those within a couple of centuries of 1519, it matters little that the records are copies, as Radin (1920) has shown. The events they show are real enough, and their historicity has in general been confirmed by archaeology. For events that were more remote in time and space from the memories of the educated natives who set them down, the validity of the records is highly problematical, and the documentary history of Toltec times is "una inextricable maraña", as Mendizábal (1947) called it.

Ideas are much easier to garble than events, and the reconstruction of Middle American science involves a distressing amount of that sterilizing activity, the history of historiography. That is, confronted by the fact that the native ideas have filtered through the minds of Europeans, we must investigate the quality of those minds before we can get on with the subject. This difficulty is particularly apparent to the historian of limnology, in that the earlier writers were singularly uninterested in lakes and ill-informed about them. No doubt this is because they came from Spain, the one country in Europe that is least likely to have produced a limnologically minded historian. Whatever the reason, the data reported below are as fragmentary as they are fascinating. At most one can hope to have it said, as Prescott (n. d.) said of Veytia, "Every page bears testimony to the extent and fidelity of his researches; and, if we feel but moderate confidence in the results, the fault is not imputable to him, so much as to the dark and doubtful nature of the subject."

AZTEC LIMNOLOGY

For knowledge of limnology among the Aztecs, as for all matters concerning Aztec customs and beliefs, one turns first to the great *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, by the Franciscan friar

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127 Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), who came to Mexico in 1529. It is unfortunate that there is still no complete edition of this work in a European language. The Spanish version, written by the author toward the end of his life, was not published until the early 19th century, and is in part a condensation of the Nahuatl work written about 1547. This is particularly true of Book Eleven, which contains most of the natural history, and has therefore attracted less attention from scholars than the books dealing with ceremonies and the calendar. The edition by Anderson and Dibble (1950–54), which gives Nahuatl and English in parallel columns, has not yet reached Book Eleven, so we must rely on the 1938 Robredo edition of the Spanish text, while the illustrations
127 are to be found in the Madrid edition of 1905–07. Sahagún's vertebrate
136 zoology has recently received careful treatment at the hands of Martin del Campo (1938, 1940, 1941). Some of the flavor of his ornithology can be given by "listening to the mockingbird" (actually the curved-bill thrasher, *Toxostoma curvirostre)* when he sings in Nahuatl:

"There is a bird in this country called *cuitlacochtótotl* or *cuitlacochin;* it has longish and slender feet, and a thin and sharp beak, somewhat
[825] curved; it is of a muddy color, tending toward purplish; it sings very well; it is so called by reason of its song, which says *cuitlacoch, cuitlacoch, taratitarat, tatatati, etc.*" (Robredo edition, vol. 3, p. 189).

127 Sahagún's botany will not be discussed here, since it appears not to bear significantly on limnology. It is treated from the medical point of view by Alcocer (1938) in an appendix to the Robredo edition. Aztec medical botany, however, is much more thoroughly covered in Emmart's magnificent edition (1940) of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal of 1552, and in a memoir by Paso y Troncoso (1886), while Sahagún's general botany is competently treated by Rivera (1941).

A general impression of Sahagún's work is that it is the achievement of a man who knew no natural history when he came from Spain, but whose consuming passion for all things Mexican drove him to learn and record all he could from native informants. If so, we are entitled to read between the lines an enormous amount of information that was not recorded. It is of course no new discovery that "primitive" people are very skilful naturalists. Raymond Paynter informs me that more kinds of Yucatecan birds are named in modern Maya than in Latin, and ethnographers have repeatedly found natives to be better naturalists than themselves. This does not diminish the fact that the lacustrine flora and fauna were exceedingly well known to the Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico, many of whom spent most of their lives in canoes and depended on limnologic knowledge for their livelihood. And, though the available sources emphasize the economic basis of this knowledge, so that "comenlos"—"they eat them"—is a monotonous refrain in

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Sahagún, it does not follow that Aztec limnology was exclusively motivated by exploitation. Scientific curiosity in the modern sense was not a dominant quality of 16th-century Spain, and the stress on practical matters is at least as likely to be a property of the Spanish as of the Aztec mind. Moreover, as Maldonado-Koerdell (1946) points out, an essential basis of Aztec interest in natural history, at least in vertebrates and plants, was magical and totemic. 127

FAUNA. It is characteristic, and exasperating, to find that Sahagún's Chapter 12 "De las diversidades de las aguas" discusses the sea, the rivers, and the springs, and omits the lakes. A much more impressive amount of limnologic information is given in Chapter 2, with its list of 41 aquatic birds, practically all of which can be identified (Martin del Campo, 1940). Nahuatl names and brief descriptions are given, but what is more important is that food habits are listed for nearly every species, and that most of them are illustrated. Chapter 3 deals with aquatic animals, including crustaceans, turtles, amphibians (including the axolotl), the marine iguana, and a disappointingly short list of fishes. Crocodiles are separated off with several mythical water creatures in Chapter 4, "De otras animales del agua que no son comestibles". Since Sahagún wrote in the century of Gesner, we need not be surprised to find a certain amount of credulity displayed; the account of the *yacapitzanac* or *nacatzone*, a bird (the eared grebe, *Colymbos nigricollis californicus*) that subsists on its own feathers, is particularly enchanting. 127 136

Fishing on Lake Texcoco is probably not what it was before the Valley lakes were finally lowered in 1900, but statements that the salt lake is lacking in fishes are erroneous. At the time of the Conquest, the Anonymous Conqueror remarked "in the sweet water there are some small fish; in the salt part they are still smaller" (1917 edition, p. 59). Cortés, on the other hand, tells us that the fisheating birds in Montezuma's menagerie were fed daily on two hundred and fifty pounds of fish, caught in the salt lakes (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 266). The two statements do not conflict, since small but numerous members of the families Atheriniidae and Goodeidae were doubless the staples of the fishery. The aboriginal methods of fishing may be seen within a few miles of Mexico City today, as Linné shows (1937, 1948). All are illustrated in the Florentine Codex, i.e. the work of Sahagún, and in the fascinating pictures that decorate the mid-16th-century map "attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz", now in the library of the University of Uppsala. This map serves as the focal point of Linné's remarkable book (1948), which synthesizes archaeologic, historic, and ethnographic knowledge into a convincing picture of the Valley of Mexico in 1550. 127 136 226 127

The fishing methods include rod-and-line, nets of two of three sorts, 226

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127 226 and spearing. It is not certain that the rod-and-line method involved fishhooks, for these are not known archaeologically from the Valley, but the line may have carried a gorge instead of a hook, and in any case *golden* fishhooks were found in use in 1518 by Grijalva on the island of Cozumel. The types of nets used are the gill net, the pole net, and possibly the throw-net; the latter was used for rabbits but may not have been used for fish. Spearing is of particular interest to ethnologists, because Mexico is one of the few places in the world where the atlatl is still in use. This fact was discovered on Lake Pátzcuaro by Seler in 1892 and on Texcoco by Beyer in 1925.

127 223 Water birds are mainly hunted in the fall and winter, when migrants swell their numbers. On Pátzcuaro the Tarascans surround them with canoes and kill them with tridentiform atlatls, as described by León (1934) and Foster (1948), but in the shallower lakes of the Valley the birds are caught in long nets stretched just above the water. This practice is fully depicted in the two 16th-century pictorial sources, and survives today (Linné, 1940).

127 262 Exploitation of the Valley lakes for animal food was not restricted to fishing and fowling. If it had been, we should have no reason to impute any special limnologic knowledge to the Aztecs, but the use they made of their lacustrine environment goes far beyond that of the usual "primitive" society. In addition to tadpoles and frogs, and the axolotl, of which Sahagún says "es muy bueno de comer; es comida de los señores", the historian lists a number of invertebrate foods in Chapter 3. These items of diet have bewildered most subsequent writers, and without a thorough ethnographic survey it is impossible to be sure that the following remarks are not compounding the confusion. However, there are certain points that a limnologist finds obvious and that have been missed by all the authorities. In discussing the invertebrates we rely not only on Sahagún and the relevant illustrations in Plate I, but on Hernandez' *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae liber unicus,* written in the 1570's and appended to the 1651 Rome edition of the great work on Mexican medical botany.[2]

127 [2] Mrs. Emmart, in her edition of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (1940), remarked that the five copies of Hernandez' work that she was able to collate are all of different editions, though all bear the year 1651. Presumably these all have the title *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus,* but the copy in the Yale University Library, also imprinted 1651, is entitled *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium Mexicanorum Historia.* In any case this is a very incomplete version of what must be the greatest work on Mexican natural history ever written. Hernandez' Latin work ran to 15 or 17 volumes, and is believed to have been destroyed in the fire at the Escorial in 1671. George Kubler informs me, however, that a Nahuatl translation was made by 1576, and this or a copy of the original may yet come to light.

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The most famous of the edible invertebrates is the *axayácatl*, referred to as *axaxayácatl* by Sahagún and Hernandez. Although modern writers (Vaillant, 1941; Apenes, 1943; Linné, 1948; Anderson and Dibble, 1954) persist in calling these insects flies, it has been known for more than a century that they are corixid waterbugs. Sahagún's Spanish word was *coquillo*, not *mosco* or *mosquillo*, so the confusion is not his fault. In post-Conquest times the dried adult insects have been widely sold in the markets of the world as food for caged birds, but they were also used as human food; Hernandez says that they were cooked in maize leaves in nitrous water. Hernandez also makes it clear that these insects are the source of *ahuautli*, a cake made from the eggs that is still much eaten in Mexico, particularly on watch-nights such as Christmas Eve and Holy Thursday. That *ahuautli* was formerly a staple that survives as a delicacy is suggested by its name, which is derived from *atl*, water, and *huautli*, amaranth seed. Now that Sauer (1950) has cleared up some of the indescribable confusion surrounding the use of grain amaranths in aboriginal Mexico, we can begin to appreciate that *ahuautli* was really "water grain", though not in the literal sense of "water wheat" implied by Tylor (1861), whose etymology has confused such later writers as Packard (1871). The identity of the insects is an equally tangled bibliographic problem in which the zoologists have hardly been more helpful than the historians. 127 136 252 262

The fullest and most authoritative-sounding account is that of Orozco y Berra, given in his memoir on the hydrography of the Valley of Mexico (1864). This historian quoted in full de la Llave's description (1832; reprinted 1887) of the adult insect under the name *Ahuautlea mexicana* (which appears to be the correct name, though it has been ignored by zoological writers; it has priority over the generic name *Krisousacorixa* Hungerford 1930 and the specific name *Corixa femorata* Guérin-Meneville 1857). He described the cultivation of *ahuautli*, which is accomplished by placing bundles of *tules* (*Scirpus* or *Typha*) in the water of Lake Texcoco, stripping off the eggs which the insects lay in countless millions, and processing them into cakes. This much of Orozco y Berra's work is correct; it is fully confirmed by the modern observations of Ancona (1933), and, if there is any doubt that the practice is an aboriginal one, the doubt is removed by Sahagún's figures, reproduced in Plate I, nos. 220–221. Professor Hutchinson assures me that no. 220 is certainly the oldest known figure of a corixid waterbug. Oddly enough, Sahagún does not describe the practice or mention *ahuautli* with the edible insects in Book Eleven, though he lists it among the products sold in the market in the 19th chapter of Book Eight. Hernandez repairs the omission. [222]

Ancona's account (1933) is the only one by a modern zoologist, and 127 136

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●127 136 suggests that the *axayácatl* is ordinarily *Krisousacorixa azteca* Jaczewski, 1931; it may also be *K. femorata* (Guérin-Meneville, 1857), while *Corisella texcocana* Jaczewski and *C. mercenaria* (Say) may be less important components of the market product, along with the backswimmer *Notonecta unifasciata* Guérin-Meneville. Which species contributes most eggs to *ahuautli* is not made clear even by Ancona's paper, although it is certainly one of the species of *Krisousacorixa*.

Unfortunately Orozco y Berra went on to confuse the issue by discussing the *cuculin*. This word does not occur in Sahagún's text, so far as I have been able to discover, though it is mentioned by Hernandez, by Alvarado Tezozomoc (Orozco y Berra's edition, p. 236), and by Pomar in his *Relación de Tezcoco* (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 59). Orozco y Berra considered it to be composed of "nests" of the "larvae" of the *axayácatl*, which come to the surface under circumstances unknown and are scooped from the water and made into cakes. The "larvae", furthermore, are said to be eaten as *puxi*, so that the miraculous corixids are eaten in four different forms under as many names. Corixids, of course, have neither larvae nor nests, and it appears that Orozco y Berra attributed to the *axayácatl* some of the properties of the insect products *cuculin* and *izcauitli* and of the vegetable product *tecuitlatl*. I have not traced the word *puxi* back of Orozco y Berra, but the *cuculin* and the *izcauitli* appear to be pupal and larval stages, respectively, of a salt fly, probably *Ephydra hians* Say. Sahagún describes the *izcauitli* as having "no head, but two tails, and reddish", and the featureless animals shown in Plate I, no. 223, certainly do not disagree with that description.[3] At the risk of introducing still another false etymology I suggest that the name itself has something to do with salt, *iztatl*, but in any case Pomar's description, in the *Relación de Texcoco*, written in 1582 and published by García Icazbalceta in 1891, leaves little doubt that a salt fly is meant: "There grows another sort of food called *ezcauhitli*, which is made of certain little grubs like earthworms, so slender and so pullulent in their multitude and density, that one can scarcely judge whether or not the substance is alive" (p. 59). Salt-fly larvae are almost the only grubs that would occur in such quantities in

[3] In the original codex (of which there is a photostatic copy in the Yale library) the illustrations are interlarded with the Spanish text, and not separated as in the published editions. This arrangement is of little help in identifying the animals, as the association of pictures and text appears to be arbitrary, probably through the copyist's mistake. Thus, while Figure 223 stands with the *ocuiliztac*, making it conceivable that this, and not *izcauitli*, was Sahagún's word for Ephydrid larvae, Figure 220 stands with *ameneztli*. The subsequent paragraph on *axaxayácatl* contains Figure 221, making it clear that the location of Figure 220 is a mistake.

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a salt lake, and Aldrich (1912) gives a graphic account of *Ephydra gracilis* Packard on the Great Salt Lake, Utah, and of *Ephydra hians* on Mono Lake, California. The latter are not only collected in quantity and eaten by Paiute Indians, but were bred out of supposed "larvae" of the *axayácatl* of Lake Texcoco by Peñafiel (1884) and identified by Williston, who referred to Peñafiel's specimens in 1883 and again in 1896. Even Ancona overlooked the fact that Peñafiel's larvae could have nothing to do with a corixid, so that Aldrich's remark, "it seems that the Diptera and the Hemiptera are mingled together in the quotations", is an understatement. 127 136

The pupae of ephydrids come to the surface and undergo mass emergence, and it is then (in September) that they are collected and processed as *Koosabe* by the Paiutes of Mono Lake. In all probability this is the product that the Aztecs called *cuculin*. (The words sound distantly related, which is not inconceivable, as Paiute is a member of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic group). The substance is definitely confounded with *tecuitlatl* by Orozco y Berra, however, and the suggestion that it is made of the pupae of *Ephydra hians* is made with due hesitation. As Aldrich said, "only an investigation by an entomologist at the lake can clear up the confusion" (1912, p. 92). Though Sahagún does not mention *cuculin*, nos. 224 to 227 in Plate I appear to depict stages in its manufacture, or in the collection of the larvae, *izcauitli*.

The puzzling stuff called *tecuitlatl* is mentioned by Sahagún in Book Eight, and listed (as *tecuiltlatl*) with the lower animals in Book Eleven. He describes it as *"urronas"* (*"urrosas"* in Lord Kingsborough's edition (1831–48), but neither form occurs in any dictionary I have consulted nor does my own reading "orroras") which grow on the water, have a purple color, and are harvested, dried on mud, and made into cakes. Anderson and Dibble translate the Nahuatl word as "scum", and the material is probably algal. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, p. 59) refers to it as "green sheets that grow, which, when made into a cake and baked, take on a dark green color, and which the Spaniards call *queso de la tierra*". Hernandez, who lists it among the minerals, confirms the purple or green color ("color adhuc recenti cyaneus, aut viridis"). López de Gómara, who was never in Mexico, but who published in 1552 a delightful book on the Conquest that has been a best-seller for four hundred years, adds the suggestive detail that the substance (which he does not name) was gathered on "threshing floors" (*eras*) like those in which salt is made. He said that it is eaten as we eat cheese, and described its flavor as salty, but very good with *chilmolli* (1943 edition, pp. 238–239); continuing with the sonorous text of the first English edition (1578, reprinted in facsimile 1940) from 127 136 222 252

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which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Castillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not improbable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli*, and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no attention from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identified with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón*, or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocuiliztac*, which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *anenezili*, which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 222 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas*, 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

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the salt is commonly extracted from soil of several types rather from the water itself. This practice would be expected to arise in a country of inland salines, not along the seacoast. Moreover, fractional evaporation is used to give different products, according to Apenes, the last of the liquors being the source of saltpeter. We cannot yet be sure that the whole complex is pre-Cortesian, but it suggests a knowledge of limnologic and soil chemistry among the Aztecs that was at least as great as their ceramic and metallurgic skill would imply.[4] The point is not only of considerable importance, but is capable of verification by chemical archaeology; that no attempt to do so has been made so far is another indication that the scientific knowledge of non-Western peoples exceeds in some respects that of the historians and ethnographers who study them.

Salt is one of the seldom-considered essentials of human welfare. Mendizábal makes the provocative point that if the Aztecs had been more generous with their salt, the Tlaxcalans (who had no salines in their domain) might not have been so ready to ally themselves with Cortés, and the course of history might have been rather different.

HYDROGRAPHY. The demonstration that the Aztecs had detailed knowledge of all aspects of their lakes that might be used for human sustenance is not itself a proof that they had a developed limnologic science. Far more primitive people have known and done as much, and none of the practices mentioned, with the possible exception of fractional evaporation of salt water, are beyond the capabilities of the Banyoro, for example, who live on Lake Albert in Africa (Worthington and Worthington, 1933). The urbanization of Tenochtitlán, however, brought problems in its train that simpler societies could hardly have faced. Lake *villages* are known all over the world, but lake cities are much less usual. In meeting these problems the Aztecs and their

[4] A piece of chemical knowledge that has been entirely overlooked is the manufacture of some salt from urine. Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1910 edition, p. 72) mentions the sale of "many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use for making salt or tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared". The reference to tanning of skins shows clearly that the excrement was urine and not feces, for the tanning properties of uric acid are still taken advantage of in modern Mexico; moreover, Bernal Diaz goes on to describe the collection of feces and their use as fertilizer. What "salt" other than uric acid or sodium chloride could have been extracted from urine is problematical; nitrates would have been the most valuable, and they could conceivably have been separated from the chlorides by fractional evaporation, as in the case of salt water. In the history of western chemistry the most important salt found in urine was microcosmic salt, $NH_4\ NaHPO_4 \cdot 2H_2O$, which served Brand as the source of phosphorus.

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823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 133 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second [312] letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 58) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, [782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 133 312 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan- [241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, 127 133 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the 731 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches,[1] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[1] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. — Analyst]

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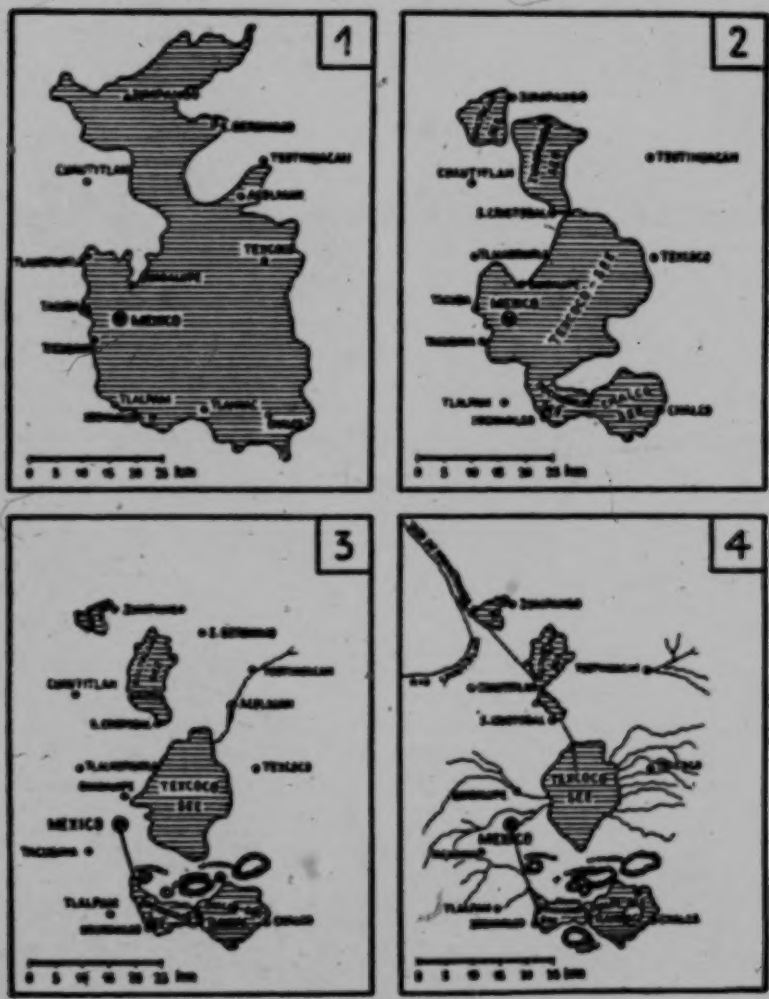

Fig. 1. Sketch maps of the lakes of the Valley of Mexico, (1) during the Ice Age, (2) at the beginning of the 16th century, (3) at the beginning of the 19th century, (4) in 1889. Reproduced from Schilling (1939).

the salt lake from the streams on the eastern side of the Valley, were described by Motolinía in 1540 (Steck edition 1951, p. 263). That seiches also occurred may be inferred from Cortés' reference to "tides" (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 256). Moreover, Sahagún records in Book Eight a tradition, regarded later as an omen of the coming of the Spaniards, to the effect that "the water of the lake foamed up, and 127 133 731

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127 133 731 the wind did not stir it up. It was as welled up .... and it reached the lower parts of the houses" (1954 edition, p. 18). There appear to be no modern observations of seiches, but the extraordinary Gómara remarks (1940 edition, pp. 195–196) that "the salte water ebbeth and floweth, accordyng to the wynde that bloweth".

127 312 Whether irrigation was practiced in Middle America is a question that has never been adequately considered (Millon, 1954; Palerm, 1955). Clearly it would not have been necessary in Aztec times in the Valley of Mexico; *chinampa* agriculture, which substituted for irrigation, has an ancient history in the Valley (Apenes, 1943), but it is not known elsewhere nearer than the Vale of Kashmir (West and Armillas, 1950). At other times and in other places it seems certain that the dense population could not have been maintained without irrigation. The great ceremonial center of Teotihuacán lies in a subdivision of the Valley that receives less precipitation than Mexico City, and some irrigation is practiced there today. We know from the work of Apenes (1943) and Sears (1952) that just prior to Teotihuacán times (about 500 B. C.) the Valley lakes were appreciably lower than today, and the conclusion is inescapable that Teotihuacán culture was founded on high ground and flourished during a dry time when irrigation must have been essential. Deforestation (Vaillant, 1941) complicates the hydrographic picture for Teotihuacán times but it is evident that the rise and spread of Aztec culture was related to increased moisture, reflected in high lake levels during the 14th to 16th centuries. The high levels would doubtless have continued through the 18th century, in agreement with climatic oscillations elsewhere, if sporadic attempts to drain the Valley had not been partially successful in the early 17th century (they were not completely successful until 1900).

Aztec control of hydrography, then, did not include irrigation where it was unnecessary, but was devoted, in the last centuries before the Conquest, to regulating the levels of the lakes. Before the Aztecs entered the Valley, however, they lived in many places, not all of 127 which were lacustrine. So far archaeology has made little progress in reconstructing the details of their history during the migration period. The problem is exceedingly complicated, and four centuries of scholarship have not made it less so. The Aztecs were interested in their own history, and attempted to draw it together in pictorial manuscripts. These have been lost, and what have come down to us are copies, made, probably from memory, by hispanicized Indians under the prodding of the 16th-century friars. In the interpretation and verbalization of these pictorial histories we have to contend with ideas implanted by the friars, and the result is a picture of the migration period that is strongly reminiscent of the wandering of the Israelites, joined to a

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conception of city states within the Valley that owes much to the history of Greece and medieval Italy.

For the special purpose of this limnologic history, we need to wade into the "inextricable maraña" at only one or two points. On one point the sources, such as they are, are almost unanimous: there was a city called Tollán or Tula ("place of reeds" i. e. of *Typha*, the modern *tule*). Tollán is where the Toltecs came from, etymologically at least; the Toltecs were the predecessors of the Aztecs and the other Valley peoples, and were also regarded as ancestors by the Mexicanized Mayas of Yucatán, with whose tangled history we are fortunately not concerned here. The chief source of confusion, apart from the loss of the documents themselves, is the tendency, surely not a post-Conquest invention, for the relatively barbaric Valley people to identify themselves dynastically with the legendary founders of the civilization they inherited. The cultural picture is not an unfamiliar one, and probably was in actuality similar to that presented by the Etruscan foundations of Roman civilization; unfortunately, it comes to us on the testimony of friars who were only too well aware of such historic parallels, and could not refrain from asking leading questions. Be that as it may, Vaillant (1941), on the basis of archaeologic and historic researches, arrived at a satisfying conception of Aztec prehistory, in which the real and classic Tula (Tollán) was Teotihuacán, while memories of it played out their part in synthetic genealogies of "dynastic Toltecs", the chiefs of the wandering "Chichimec" tribes who entered the Valley after the decline of Tula in the 12th century.

Vaillant's picture was considerably upset by the excavations at Tula, Hidalgo (Acosta, 1940, 1941, 1944; see also Du Solier, 1941, and other papers in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, T. 5, no. 2–3, 1941). These showed clearly that Tula, not Teotihuacán, was the Tollán from which emanated the Mexicanization of Chichén Itzá. Thus Tula was the Mayas' Tula, but whether it was necessarily the Mexicans' Tula is not so easily admitted, and is still in sharp dispute. What interests us here is whether Tula was a lacustrine city, for Teotihuacán was not.

The Codex Ramírez, authoritatively regarded as a manuscript copy of the *Relación del origén de los yndios*, probably 1583–87, by the Mexican Jesuit Juan de Tovar (see Kubler and Gibson, 1951, for discussion), is one of several almost identical histories of the migration period from the Aztec (i. e. not from the Texcocan) point of view. It happens to be the only one of which a convenient English translation exists (Radin, 1920), and from it we quote the following account of Tula.

"The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark

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●127 174 arrived at the town called Tula, quite diminished in numbers on account of the divisions that had taken place. There they remained some time, replenishing their provisions and increasing their number, living in a cerro called Cohuatepec, that is to say, the snake-mountain. Here, in dreams, their idol ordered his priests to deflect the water of a very full river that flowed through that region so that it might spread over the whole valley and then be brought to the middle of the mountain on which they were living, for he wished to show them the appearance of the land he had promised them. They constructed the dyke and the water spread out and extended over the whole valley, turning it into a very beautiful lagoon lined with willows, poplars, and sabines. In the lagoon grew many rushes and reeds, and on that account the place was called Tula, meaning the-place-of-the-rushes (*junca*) or reeds (*espadaña*).

"The place soon abounded in fish and waterfowl, such as ducks, herons, *gallareta* [coots], with which, together with many other species of birds, the entire lagoon seemed to be completely covered. And to the present day the lagoon of Mexico abounds in these animals.[8] The place was thickly covered with rushes (*carrizales*) and marine flowers, and inhabited by differently colored thrushes, some red, others yellow, which were accustomed to gather at the place and which harmonized with the songbirds in the trees, of which there were quite a number; all this making the place delightful and pleasant, and as such it was painted in their books.

"The Mexicans, quite oblivious to what their idol had told them, namely that this place was merely an imitation and pattern of the land they were to be given, stayed in this delightful place (a long time) and began to feel that it was quite satisfactory, some even saying that they desired to stay there permanently, and that this was really the place selected by their god Huitzilopochtli; that it was from that place that they were to follow their desires, being the rulers of the four parts of the world, etc.

"Their idol, seeing this, waxed so angry that he said to the priests, 'Who are these who thus wish to transgress and put obstacles in the way of my orders and commands? Are they perhaps greater than my-

[114] [8] The *Crónica Mexicana* of Alvarado Tezozomoc (1598), another of this group of closely similar histories, is more explicit about these animals, listing frogs, *axolotl*, *camarón*, *axayácatl*, *izcauitli* and *tecuitlatl*, and adds that the Mexicans regarded the red *izcauitli* (identified above as Ephydridae, but possibly Chironomidae in this context) as the body and blood of the war god Huitzilopochtli (Orozco y Berra's edition, 1878, p. 228). A more probable explanation of the attribution of red color to *izcauitli* is that some one, not necessarily Tezozomoc, confused the Nahuatl words *iztatl*, salt, and *eztli*, blood.

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self? Tell them that I will take vengeance before tomorrow and that they should not dare to give advice about matters which are for me to determine. Let them know that all they have to do is to obey'. Having said this, those who saw assert that the idol looked so ugly and frightful, that all were terrified and frightened. On that very night, it is said, when everything was quiet, a loud noise was heard in part of the camp and when the people rushed there in the morning, they found that all those who had spoken in favor of remaining in this place were dead with their breasts torn open and their hearts torn out. In this way it was that they were taught that most cruel of sacrifices, a custom they always practiced after that, which consisted of cutting open a man's chest in order to tear out his heart and offer it to their idols. (The reason they did that) they claimed was because (their god) ate only hearts.

"Having thus punished them, Huitzilopochtli ordered his priests to tear down the dykes and repairs they had made when they deflected the course of the water to form the lagoon and instructed them to make the river take its former bed. This they did, and the entire lagoon being thus emptied of water the place became as dry as it had been before. When the Mexicans, after some time, saw how sterile the place had become, and realized also that their god was incensed at them, they consulted him, raised their camp, and set out from the neighborhood of Tula in the year 1168 A. D."

— — Radin's translation, 1920, pp. 73–74.

This circumstantial account, alas, cannot be taken as showing that there was an artificial lake at Tula. The more operational suggestion that emerges is that Tula, as understood by Tovar's Aztec informants, was whatever place can be shown to have had an artificial lake. But even this suggestion is hardly worth following up, as the following argument implies.

The "pure" glyph for Tollán (Tula), as it occurs in the Codex Xólotl (Dibble 1951) and the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938) consists (Figure 3) of a row of cattails, *Typha* (identified as *Cyperus flavicomus* Michx. by Clark, whose botanical identifications are undocumented and not always reliable). In the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Anonymous, 1944), commonly known outside Mexico as the Codex Boturini, we have an Aztec pictorial history that is somewhat more influenced by European draughtsmanship; it shows Tula (Figure 2) as cattails in a lake, accompanied by a large-scaled fish that looks remarkably like a carp. Tula is also shown in the pictures that accompany Tovar's *Relación* (the Codex Ramírez, Orozco y Berra's edition, 1944, Lam. II), which, like the text, represent a version of Diego Durán's

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127 212 *Historia de las indias de Nueva-España y islas de Tierra Firme,* 1579 (Mexico, 1867–80). In this scene the most important glyphic element is the hill with a snake (Coatepec, the hill near Tula). It stands in the middle of lake beset by cattails, in which are swimming a bird, a fish, and a seal, while pollarded trees stand around, each with a bird on top. Two dignitaries are seated at either side, the male with a glyphic name representing a bird and a cactus, while the female is provided with a standard on which is seen an axolotl, rampant, with enormous external gills.

Fig. 2. Contaminated glyph for Tula, as it appears in the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini) (Anon., 1944).

The implication of this curious inconography is clear and disheartening. The details about the lake of Tula were concocted by native informants to explain the glyph, probably in a manuscript now lost. Later, the pictures were drawn to illustrate the story. The glyph that provoked the story need not have been that of Tollán, for any place with *tules* in its etymology would have sufficed. We must conclude that we do not know whether Tula was situated on an artificial lake, or even whether its name was Tollán.

127 The hydrographic knowledge of the Aztecs, then, must not be judged by what was told to credulous friars by acculturated Indians fifty years after the Conquest. Cortés' account, though doubtless somewhat colored, has more of the ring of truth. In the famous Second Letter to Charles V, he said:

127 231 312 "Along one of the causeways which lead into the city, there are two conduits of masonry each two paces broad, and five feet deep, through one of which a volume of very good fresh water, the bulk of a man's body, flows into the heart of the city, from which all supply themselves, and drink. The other which is empty brings the water, when they wish to clean the first conduit, for, while one is being cleaned, the water flows through the other" (MacNutt edition, vol. 1, p. 262). Again, describing one of Montezuma's lesser palaces, he said: "It had ten pools of water, in which were kept all the many and divers breeds of waterfowl found in these parts, all domesticated; for the sea-birds, too, there were pools of salt water, and, for those of the rivers and lakes, there was fresh water, which for the sake of cleanliness, they renewed at certain times by means of pipes. To each kind of bird they gave the food which suited its habits in its free state, so that to those which ate fish they gave it; and likewise, worms, maize, and smaller

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seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 212 *chilacaxtli* = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water", all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli*, teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes*, though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone*, whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

127 823 If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.*, 1938) that shows part of the [289] city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

and in the 1556 Ramusio edition of the "Anonymous Conqueror") are obviously imaginary, it may be said that the Boturini picture is possibly the oldest surviving map of a New World lake, and it is ironic that we cannot say what lake it represents. 127 823

About this famous picture all that can be said with confidence is that it shows a lake with an island. The island is universally identified as *Aztlán*, the legendary home of the Aztecs, yet the glyph at the top 127 212 823

Fig. 4. Origin of the Aztecs, from the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini). The town, here labelled *Aacatl*, but identified by authorities as *Aztlán*, is situated on an island in a lake, presumably in western Mexico.

designates it as *Aacatl* (*atl*, water + *acatl*, reed). *Aacatl* turns up on a later page as a personal name, and it may indeed be the name of the male figure at the right of the island, for he is otherwise nameless, though his female companion is named *Matlalin*, from *matlatl*, a fish-net. It would be idle sport to list all the places that Aztlán is supposed to have been; Orozco y Berra (1880, p. 66–68) considered it to be the island of Mexcalli in Lake Chapala, while Seler (n.d.) rejected all the legendary wanderings of the Aztecs in western Mexico and brought Aztlán, full circle, back to the Valley of Mexico itself. Escalona (1943) argues with some plausibility for the lake of Metztitlán, in Hidalgo, while Rendón (1948), with even greater plausibility, prefers the lake at the headwaters of the Río Lerma, just west of the Valley. The truth is that the Aztlán part of the Aztecs' history appears full-blown in the circle of Jesuit histories stemming from the Dominican Durán, while 127

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

the Franciscan version, as embodied for example in Sahagún, makes no mention of it. Since some of the "sources" place the Aztecs on Lake Pátzcuaro at one stage of their wanderings, it is amusing, in this work that started from limnologic experience on that lake, to consider that Aztlán may have been the island of Janicho. Certainly the possibility cannot be dismissed that Pátzcuaro was in the mind of the acculturated artist who drew the picture.

If Aztlán had no more reality than the artificial lake at Tula, the delightful possibility arises that the name *Aztec* itself is a chimaera. Clark (1938) actually takes this position, and it is true that the inhabitants of Tenochtitlán were Tenochca, the speakers of Nahuatl were Nahua, and we are left with *Aztec* as a book-name that is conveniently applied to a culture. Barlow (1945) accepted the tradition, found in most of the post-Conquest sources, that the Aztecs changed their name to Mexica when they learned to worship Huitzilopochtli, and he therefore preferred "Empire of the Culhua Mexica" to "Aztec Empire" for the political unit of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. What is reasonably clear is that the etymology of the name was a late invention. The basis of the name *Aztlán*, which means "near the [place of the] egret", was probably a glyph containing an egret, or an egret-feather ornament. Doubtless it was through some long-forgotten pun that the name came to be associated with the word *Aztec*. Remembering that the pun need not have arisen in the Nahuatl language, but could have been in Mixtec, we can hardly hope to recover the ultimate ancestry of Aztec culture from etymology, particularly when the supposed sources so obviously confuse the derivation of words with the derivation of peoples.

But if we cannot prove that the Aztecs sprang from an island in a lake, we cannot deny that that is where they lived and died. The remarkable people who harvested salt-flies and practiced water-bug husbandry, who piped fresh water and farmed salt, and who thought of lakes in profile, had ample reason to associate themselves with egrets.

MICHOACAN

In marked contrast to the wealth of 16th-century source material on the Valley of Mexico, information on the lake district of Michoacán is scanty. The province was relatively fortunate in its 17th-century chroniclers, but by the time these men came to write their histories there was little native culture left to write about. The Tarascan civilization was evidently as well developed as the Aztec; comparative material on ceremonials and customs is given, though briefly, by Sahagún, and

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

Plate I.

127
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Nos. 218–227 from the Codex Florentino (Sahagún, 1905–07), illustrating parts of Book Eleven "Of the properties of animals, birds, fishes, trees, herbs, flowers, metals, and rocks, and of colors". No. 218, the first figure of the axolotl, *Amblystoma mexicanum;* No. 219, *a*, the crayfish, *acocili; b*, a dytiscid larva, presumably the *ocuilixtac;* Fig. 220, the first figure of a corixid waterbug, the *axayácatl, Abauitlea mexicana* de la Ilave (?=*Kristonectacorixa azteca* Jaczewski); 221, the *axayácatl* laying its eggs (*abauitli*) on a cultch of reeds; No. 222, presumed to be Odonata and identified as *anenextli;* No. 223, presumed to be the ephydrid larvae (*Ephydra bioculata* Say) with which the *izcauitli* is identified; Nos. 224–225, presumably the harvesting of *cuculin* (not mentioned in Sahagún's text), identified as probably ephydrid pupae; Nos. 226–227, possibly continuing the subject matter of the previous two pictures, or perhaps depicting the harvest and manufacture of the algal cake *tecuitlatl.*

[end plate I a]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

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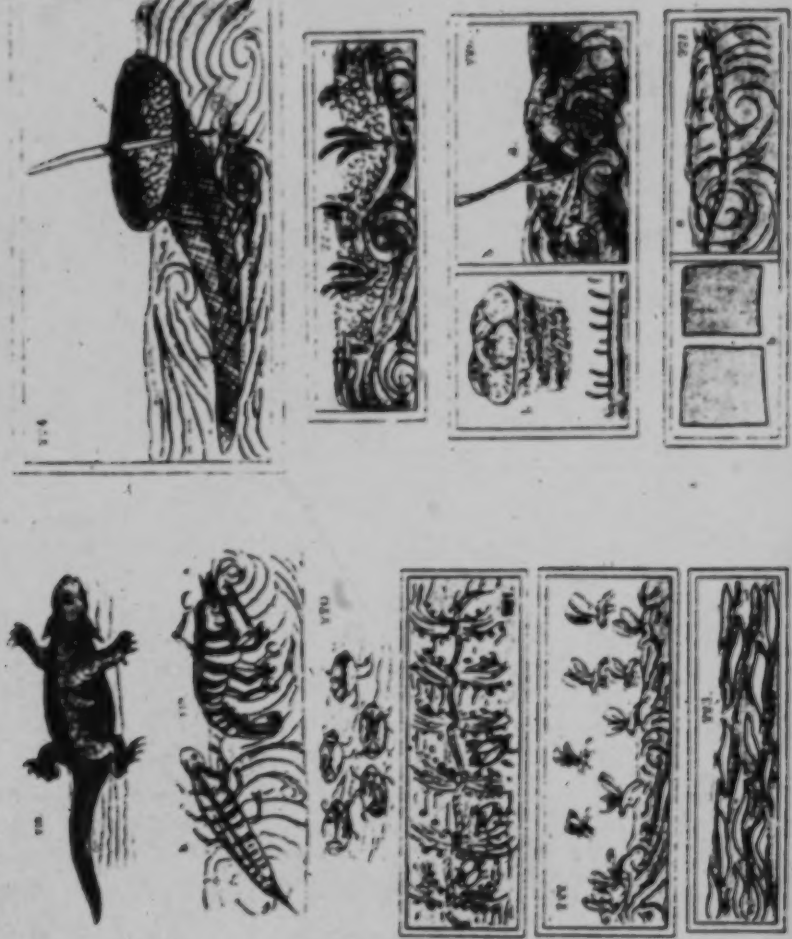

[End plate I b]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

● 127
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Plate II.

Top: No. 75 from the Codex Nuttall (Nuttall, 1902), a pre-Conquest Mixtec pictorial manuscript on deerhide, depicting (according to Vaillant, 1941) "warriors attacking a town in a lake".

Below: No. 36 from the Codex Nuttall, possibly depicting two lacustrine scenes, but more probably to be interpreted as place names containing "lake" or "water" in their etymologies. The pictures at the right are surely some sort of rebus containing "water" as in the Aztec system. Note, in the "water" symbol, that all the waves bear jewels, while the shells (with viscera) are shown in midstream. Compare the Aztec *Atocolco* (Fig. 4, B).

[End plate II a]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

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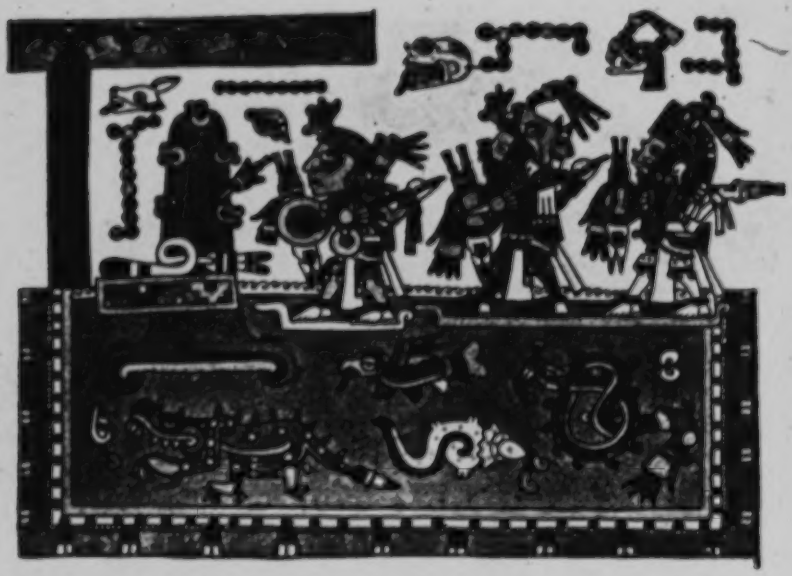

[End plate II b]

12: Radin E-4 (no date) 1925 NU7 Aztec NU7
Maya NV4

MAYA, NAHUATL, AND TARASCAN KINSHIP TERMS

By PAUL RADIN

A
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THE MAYA, Nahuatl, and Tarascan kinship terms presented below were extracted from the works of Spanish authors, as the citations will show. This work was financially supported by the New York Academy of Sciences.

Maya Kinship Terms[1]

M
601

yum. Father.
naa. Mother.

*zucum. Father's father.
*mam. Mother's father.
mim. Father's mother.
chich. Mother's mother.

*zucum. Older brother.
cic. Older sister.
ich. Uterine sibling.

ɔeyún. Father's brother.
ixcit. Father's sister.
acan. Mother's brother.
ɔena. Mother's sister.

caazucum. Male cousin.
caacic. Female cousin.

icham. Husband.

*haan. Wife's father.
nohyum. Husband's father.
ixhaan. Wife's mother.
nohcó. Husband's mother.

mú. Spouse's brother.
bal. Wife's brother.

hachil. Child's parents-in-law.

*mehen. Son, man's brother's child.
ixmehen. Daughter.

i. Son's child.
abil. Daughter's child.
*ɔin. Son's son.
*mam. Daughter's son.

*ɔin. Younger brother.
*ɔin. Younger sister.

*mehen. Brother's child.
*mehen. Woman's sister's child.
achak. Sister's child.
al. Woman's brother's daughter.

*mam. Father's brother's child.

atan. Wife.

*haan. Son-in-law.
ilib. Daughter-in-law.

haauan. Woman's sister-in-law.

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* Indicates that the term is used elsewhere in the system.
[1] From Beltrán, Arte del Idioma Maya, 1742.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Foreword

●128 THIS BOOK *is a history of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico and the civilizations which they wrought. It was a hard book to write. It will be a hard book to read. There are two reasons for this unfortunate circumstance. First, the Indians did not have the same goals in life which we have, so that their pattern of life is different from our own and difficult to understand. Second, Indian history has to be reconstructed from what we can find, so that much of the material, like techniques of making household implements, does not fall within the scope of our usual historical reading. The first four chapters deal with such reconstruction, and the reader is warned in advance that the going will be very difficult. These pages may be skipped if he is not particularly interested in such a historical background.*

000 *The remaining chapters are based on contemporary observations made by the conquering Spaniards and by the Aztecs themselves. They deal with people who were seen alive, their culture functioning. We can form an impression of what the Aztecs were like, and this makes easier reading, since we can envisage people in terms of what they did, not in terms of the objects which they made. Even so, this will not be a*

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

payment without declaring a new war and making a fresh campaign. Consequently a bond of sympathy forged from mutually shared ill-fortune grew up between otherwise somewhat hostile communities. Tenochtitlan and Thacopan,* towns at the backdoor of Tepanec territory, made a pact with Texcoco across the lake; and the allies, rising suddenly, overthrew the new power. Maxtla was slain, his city burned and, contrary to the practice of the time, his people incorporated into the allied tribes. Land was apportioned to warriors who had performed notable feats of valor. So completely did the allies break the Tepanecs, that all that remains of their history is the memory of Tezozomoc and Maxtla and some petty local chieftains who succeeded them.

The Texcocans regained their prestige after this war, but the Tenochcas, who had begun as mere vassals, grew so rapidly in strength that at the coming of the Spaniards they had managed to eclipse their former lords, as we shall see in the following chapter.

These events disclose a picture of expanding populations and ensuing intertribal conflict. This cultural history shows a diffuse background of tribal arts and practices gradually welded into a closely similar whole, Aztec civilization. The [128] process was achieved before Tenochtitlan attained eminence, so at the cost of academic tediousness the term Aztec has been reserved for the civilization, Tenochca for the people who so conspicuously made it known.

The civilization of Teotihuacan disappeared before the infiltration of intruding tribes. The nomadic groups referred to in the chronicles have left no identifiable remains. Hunters reduced to the bare necessities which they can carry on their

*Ta-co'-pan.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 painted along the outer and lower margins of the page, the rest of the
128 page being taken up by the items of tribute for which these towns
[211 were jointly responsible. The place names on a given page prove to
65]] be geographically contiguous on modern maps, and so it is evident that the towns were regarded as a unit, as all having something in common. I have called each region thus indicated a "province," partly in order to provide some territorial division, but also because these groupings of towns were in some measure expressions of former political or linguistic units. Most of the Matlatzinca-speaking towns, for example, cluster on a page of their own; moreover, they were all conquered in a continuous campaign of a few years. These provinces (indicated on the map by large arabic numerals) I have named after the introductory glyphs, assuming the first glyph on each page to represent the most important town. Other available sources justify this. In another source, for instance, in the province I have named Tepequacuilco, Tepequacuilco is stated to be the "presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recogieron de toda la cuisca [Cohuixca]";[8] in that which I have named Coayxtlahuacan, Coayxtlahuacan is called "donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."[9] The borders of the provinces as they existed in 1519 have been commented on in detail where these were adjacent to non-Mexican lands.

Most of these invaluable place glyphs of the *Matricula* could be read even if they were all we had, and they are of course the final authorities. The task of reading them, however, is greatly simplified by the annotations they bear; the *Matricula* itself contains scattered and not always reliable identifications in roman letters, and the copy of the *Matricula* in the *Codex Mendocino* contains a complete series of highly reliable ones. In order to have some norm for spelling, I have everywhere followed these *Mendocino* versions. There are objections to this procedure—which gives us "Tuluca" for what is better rendered "Tolocan,"—but it shows how one Indian pronounced all the names of the Empire before the corrupting European influences set in.

[8] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223.

[9] *PNE*, 4: 165; 4: 19[9] agrees. Likewise, Tochpan (Tuchpa in *Mendocino*) has seven towns, and Iztlilsochit' (*Obras historicas* [1892], II: 197) says that "La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias." The fact that the initial glyph is often the only one identified in roman letters in the *Matricula* is also taken into account.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

I have included a certain amount of related ethnographic material which has appeared in the course of accumulating data on place names and locations. Names for certain stretches of territory, names of language groups (these two often intertwined), reasons for such names, and occasional remarks on customs or gods form the main part of this supplementary material, which shows the great diversity of the Empire. (This diversity is still present: even today, a traveler in Mexico can see twenty countries in one.)

Here, however, the supplement stops. I have reluctantly excluded every scrap of the historical sections originally written to accompany these provinces. By suppressing an approximate history now, I can give an accurate history later. Nor has it been possible here to touch on the question of government and administration of tribute,[4] and on the topics of the motivations and formulae of native warfare, all of which need reëxamination.

In view of the nature of the authority for this map of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica—a tribute reckoning—it has, however, seemed appropriate to add some data on tribute. These data come chiefly from two sources: the *Matricula*, which gives the tribute from provinces as units, but not from their component towns; and the geographical *relaciones* of the 1580's, which often record the kind of tribute from a given town. Here again, I have omitted incidental materials in order to focus on the map. I have treated the *Matricula* tribute data in a summary fashion,[5] but have given all other tribute information in full.

[4] Manuel Moreno, *La organización política y social de los aztecas* (1931), gives something on these points.

[5] I.e., by simply presenting whatever the Spanish annotations of the *Mendocino* copy say (for these give the frequency of payment, which is not deducible from the *Matricula* pictures alone), and by correcting a few errors in regard to quantities of goods. This method leaves much to be desired. A real study of the *Matricula* tributes would involve that document and its two copies—the checking of all items in all variant drawings and annotations from different hands, with special note taken of the quite unexploited annotations in Náhuatl on the *Matricula*; the investigation of native measurements and weights; the detailed itemization of various styles of mantles, skirts, and warriors' costumes portrayed (each of which has a name and a symbolism and many of which are badges of certain social categories); the question how often payment was made and into whose hands, where it was stored, and many other matters. Until such a study is prepared, the student should consult Cooper Clark's edition of the *Mendocino*, supplementing this with the works of Eduard Seler, especially his *Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen*. On the frequency of tribute payment, some observations have been made by R. C. E. Long, *The Payment of Tribute in the Codex Mendoza* (1942), and by R. H. Barlow, *The Periods of Tribute Collection in Moctezuma's Empire* (1943). Those interested in place glyphs and etymologies should see Peñafiel's imperfect, but still not superseded, *Nombres geográficos de México* (1885).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

II. THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

128 BECAUSE there were many provinces in the Empire which it is our purpose to delimit, some few grand divisions seem advisable. These have been made in a rather arbitrary way, with varying criteria. In certain regions it is possible to point out a particular zone as the special sphere of influence of some one or another member of the Triple Alliance. The six provinces described below, however, have been grouped on the basis of their common enemy and peril, the Purépecha or Tarascans, against whom they formed a long frontier. Brand has published a useful map of the Tarascan dominions and their fortified towns facing the Mexica, from the Río de las Balsas north.[1]

1. ÇIHUATLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the sixteenth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 38' of the *Codex*
114 *Mendocino* appear the twelve towns of the most westerly province of the Empire we are about to depict. This province, now the "Costa Grande" of Guerrero, extends west of Acapulco to the outlet of the Río de las Balsas. In the *Matricula*, seven of the towns are identified by annotations in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The province of Çihuatlan was in a region which is wretchedly mapped to this day, where half the place names seem to have disappeared. If it were not for a "Relación de los pueblos que visitó Gaspar Xuarez en la provincia de Çacatula," of the mid-sixteenth century, the present map would scarcely be possible. There is supplementary information in the relación of Zacatula itself, dating from the 1580's, which the writer has published from a nineteenth-century copy—the original remaining unpublished and apparently unpublishable, for some mysterious reason known only to its present guardians.

635 Since this relación was available only after the printing of the map,
114 two or three inconsistencies between map and text have inevitably
128 resulted.

The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet

[1] Brand, "An Historical Sketch of Geography and Anthropology in the Tarascan Region. Part I," *New Mexico Anthropologist* (1943), Vol. 6–7, facing p. 80.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecã (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panoslan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihustlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matrícula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas ... . Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cosian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[] "Relación de Soltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[] *PNE*, 7: 191: "por los muchos codorniices que ay se nombraron asi.

[] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[108] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matrícula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present
[126] map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

[103]

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacã, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[109]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matrícula* annotation.
114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

34-6 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center.
635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[108] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matrícula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.
[109] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].[1] Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the relación of Tecpatepec (1579),[2] one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also[3]—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the *Matricula* and on the copy of that page, folio 32' of the *Codex Mendocino*, and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

[1] "Memorial de los pueblos subjetos a esta cabecera de tlacupan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE*, 14: 118.

[2] *PNE*, 6: 35.

[3] E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlauhca, Cepayauhtla, and Ciuhtepec. *GPM*, pp. 163–164.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[241 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quauhmimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matrícula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[16] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[17] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[16] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[17] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlazomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[27]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
714 400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[28]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
● [128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[27] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[28] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[20]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[21]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[22]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca,* in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[20] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[21] *GPM*, p. 263.
[22] *PNE*, 3: 33, n. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[294 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[42] 651 632

12. Axocopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex,* folio 27'.[43] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below: 635 114 [128] [103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquiahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayā, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpā, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpā, 10	Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[42] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[43] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[53]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[54]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula,* only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino,* all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists
131 another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[53] *PNE,* 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[54] *PNE,* 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54'). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 193, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

16. Tuchpa

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[26] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Miahuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to 131 Lehmann.[27] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[28]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[29]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[26] See Introduction, p. 7.

[27] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[28] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[29] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma naçiese ni eredase este rreyno no estauan estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron dende á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á monteçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[30]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[31]

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30′ of the *Codex Mendocino.* There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30′ may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino,* as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

[30] RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
[31] RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.**

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula,* which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino,* which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco, but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

[28]

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapã, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

** *PNE,* 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seysçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camissas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

THERE IS a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the 631 Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about 648 to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names 175 nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and [128] Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. CHALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41' of the *Codex* 635 *Mendocino* appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal 114 towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been [128] identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP	[103]
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco	
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco	
Tepuztlan, 3	Tepoztlan	

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

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frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[7] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23r, with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23v. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[7] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e conjundmente corronpemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

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651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

[323
289]

OTHER GOODS

2,000 pottery bowls**
8,000 reams of native paper**

651
632

Tribute of the component towns.—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

Sources of the Map

635
114

The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24ᵛ and 25ᵛ of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and
[128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present
103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayoxochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

** *PNE*, 1: No. 163.

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651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[80]
[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[81]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40r. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco,* according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[82]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[83]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[84] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[85]

---

[80] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[81] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," later stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[82] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[83] *GPM*, p. 112.

[84] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[85] *GPM*, p. 194.

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This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

16 pieces of colored lacquer
268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[33]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quauhtecomatla may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[34] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[35]

Quiauhteopan was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[36] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[33] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[34] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[35] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[36] *PNE*, 5: 210.

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VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf 175
coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to 128
chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, ex- 635
tending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the 114
recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51r. Of the eleven principal [128]
towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotoxco
Teotlalpan, 1	Hueytlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonoctla, 3	Jonotla
Yaunahuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yayauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Ytztepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introducion, p. 7.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar**[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/A] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

1/A [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

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FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.[a]

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.[b] 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.[c] [131]

[a] According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

[b] RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dixe que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

[c] Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^ced a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^o de myctlanquauatla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

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29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in northeastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matriculc*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapā, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpā, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Toztlan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Teteutian
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlā	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michtlan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

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the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[46]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[47]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[48]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[46] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE*, 5: 2).

[47] *PNE*, 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[48] *PNE*, 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

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VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 197 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42r of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the [128] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlã, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcã, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlã, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

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32. Yoaltepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified. 635 114

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names: [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalā (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayā (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piazzla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[30] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[31] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[32] 632 131

[30] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Moctezuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[31] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[32] *PNE*, 1: No. 6.

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Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y esentos". (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian cón mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]
[316 263 237] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted - Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the
114 glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based
[128] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacā, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapā, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzululā, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[79] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[80]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[79] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llama ran 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[80] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotidan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco pasauan bastimentos."

[] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que conpravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecçuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de zuzula."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula,* our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17', ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located; and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen
[128] on the 1: 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula,* Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ....." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20" of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the [121
course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient [128
Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on Amer- [114
ican topics,—the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . . "[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal [73
history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit of definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by [74
sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes,—that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 83. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of [114
Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 22 May. 1558, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 955 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh." Introduction, page CXI). Clavigero's Chronology begins 596 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2237 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 23), or 1796 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tolantzinco in 607 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 121, of 1st volume). Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Texcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 13) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 503 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Our investigations are therefore confined to the limits of the single tribe, and we have selected for that purpose the Mexicans 128

"*Die Culturvoelker des alten Amerika*" (Cincinnati, 1876, '77, '78), has, in regard to the statements made in "*Art of War*" (p. 100, note 17; p. 133, note 132), and in "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 412 and 413, also note 56; pp. 417 and 418, also note 60), called my attention to a passage from *Sahagun*, "*Historia general*" (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313), "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados, para que cada un año los diesen al señor que les habia conquistado, y el tributo era de lo que en ella se criaba y se hacia, y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." The author himself, however, gives the explanation of what he intends to designate by such "governors and officials who should preside in said province." In his 12th Book, (Cap. II, p. 5, Vol. III), he says: "La primera vez que parecieron navios en la costa de esta Nueva-España, los capitanes de Moctheuzoma que se llamaban *Calpixques* que estaban cerca de la costa luego fueron á ver que era aquello que vino, que nunca habian visto navios, uno de los cuales fue el calpixque de Cuextecati que se llamaba Pinotl: llevaba consigo otros calpixques uno que se llamaba Yaotzin, que residia en el pueblo de Mictlanquauhtla, y otro que se llamaba Teozinzocati, que residia en el pueblo de Teociniocan, y otro que se llamaba Cuitlalpitoc, este no era calpixque sino criado de uno de estos calpixques, y principalejo que se llamaba Tentlil." In this Sahagun about agrees with *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*, Cap. CVI, CVII, CVIII, CIX), inasmuch as the latter also states the officers to have been calpixques, th. is, "Stewards" or *gatherers of tribute*. Compare *Alonzo de Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," (Parte IIa, p. 12.) 631 648

The names of these Indians who received Cortés are found nearly alike in all the authors, but we are struck by the fact that many of them call the natives "governors" of Montezuma. I quote *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 32 and 33, Vedia, Vol. II) *Gomara* (pp. 312, 313, 314, etc., Vedia I). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. LXXIX, p. 100). "*Crueautés horribles*," (p. 3.) *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 116; Cap. V, p. 117). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 367; Cap. XVII, p. 369, etc.). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. IV, p. 43). *Fray Joseph Joaquin Granados y Galvez*, ("*Tardes Americanas*" Mexico, 1778, 9th evening, p. 234). *Abbate F. X. Clavigero* ("*Geschichte von Mexico*," Leipzig, 1790, a german translation of the Italian original which appeared at Cesena in 1780. Vol. II, Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 16). These *governors* therefore were but "calpixques," in other words *collectors of tribute*. This is already stated by *Oviedo y Valdés* (Vol. III, Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 259), speaking of Cempoal, "porque los indios è ministros, que alli estaban para mandarlos, eran oficiales è mayordomos de la cibdad de México." The "*Real Ejecutoria de S. M., Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga pertenecientes á los Cuciques de Axapuseo, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba*," (Col. de Doc's, Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 5), calls all the Indians in question "enviados por el gran Montezuma."

This explains the evident contradictions of Sahagun.

It is a singular fact, but one amply proven by the records of the conquest, that nowhere did the Spaniards, on their whole march from the coast to Mexico, meet with Mexican *administrators* or *rulers* of subjected tribes. Quotations are useless, we only refer to the remarkable description furnished by Bernal Diez of the events at Quiahuistlan (Vedia II, Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41), which culminated in the violence done to the "recaudadores de Montezuma." This scene, which is highly characteristic, has been beautifully "remodeled," through a few omissions, by our own great *W. H. Prescott* ("*History of the conquest of Mexico*," 1843, Book II, chap. VII, p. 349). There is, finally, abundant proof of the fact that neither the Mexicans, nor any of their confederates, ever attempted to change or subvert the organization and mode of government of any of the tribes whom they overthrew. I refer to *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 502). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). *Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*, (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 276). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista* 631 636 648

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

128 proper, who dwelt, as elsewhere established by us, on the partly artificial islands in the lagune of the Mexican valley.[7] Besides the prominence acquired by them in the annals of history, it may safely be assumed that, in a general manner, their Institutions are typical of those of other sedentary tribes.[8]

121 *Tribal* society, based according to Lewis H. Morgan upon KIN, and not *political* society which rests, according to the same author, upon TERRITORY and PROPERTY, must therefore be looked for among the ancient Mexicans. It remains for us to establish its degree of development, its details, and the manner of its working.

In order to comprehend the true nature of these questions, we should secure as much information as possible of the *past* of the tribe under consideration. Institutions are never wilfully or accidentally created, but evolved; in other words, they are the result of growth in knowledge and experience.[9] The great difference existing between tribal society and political is explained as a dif-

[63] [636] [48] *de México,*" Col. de Doc., Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 561, and especially p. 562), "México tenia en su tiempo en el hacer guerra esta órden; que yendo á la guerra, al que se daba de paz no tenia sobre él tributo cierto, sino que tantas veces en el año lo llevaban presente á su discrecion del que lo llevaba; pero si era poco mostrábales mal rostro, y si mucho agradeciaselo. Y en estos no ponia mayordomo ni recaudador ni cosa; el señor se era señor. Los que tomaba de guerra decian *tequitin tlacotl*, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los Señores mandaban su gente, eran debajo de la mano destos de México . . . . ." *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185), *Granados y Galvez.* (5th night, p. 168), a singular picture of purest feudality, for which Gomara may be responsible in part. *Ramires de Fuenleal* (*Letter of 4th Nov.*, 1532, 1st; "*Recueil,*" (pp. 245, 246, and 247). *Zurita* "*Rapport,*" (p. 16), to be compared with Mendieta and Torquemada.

Consequently there was no tendency towards unification or nationalization in all the successful and extensive raids which the Nahuatlaca of the valley of Mexico carried on for a full century. No organic body, larger than the tribe, resulted from these sanguinary forays; because the confederacy itself was not the end, but the beginning of these undertakings. This justifies the view which I shall hereafter advocate in regard to the nature of that confederacy namely: as a mere partnership to carry on the business of warfare the latter in turn being part of the mode of subsistence.

[8] "Based upon territory and property" according to L. H. Morgan, in contra-distinction to tribal-society, based upon "Kin." ("*Ancient Society,*" chapter II, page 64).

[8] "*Art of War,*" p. 95.

[7] "*Art of War,*" p. 150. "*Tenure of Lands,*" pp. 421, 422.

[6] "*Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques,*" Cap. XXXVI, p. 245). "Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit de Tezcuco doit s'entendre aussi des deux autres, ..." *Gomara* (p. 440, Vedia, I). "To speak of the Mexicans, signifies as much as speaking of all New Spain." The title of the section is: "Costumbres de los hombres," and the original text reads: "Hablando de méjicanos, es hablar en general de toda la Nueva-España." Although *Zurita* (p. 5) insists upon the variety of customs among the aborigines,—changing from settlement to settlement, from tribe to tribe,—his own report furnishes the proof of the contrary, and it is evident from the text that he alludes principally to the diversity in languages and dialects.

[9] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society,*" Chap. I, p. 6).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
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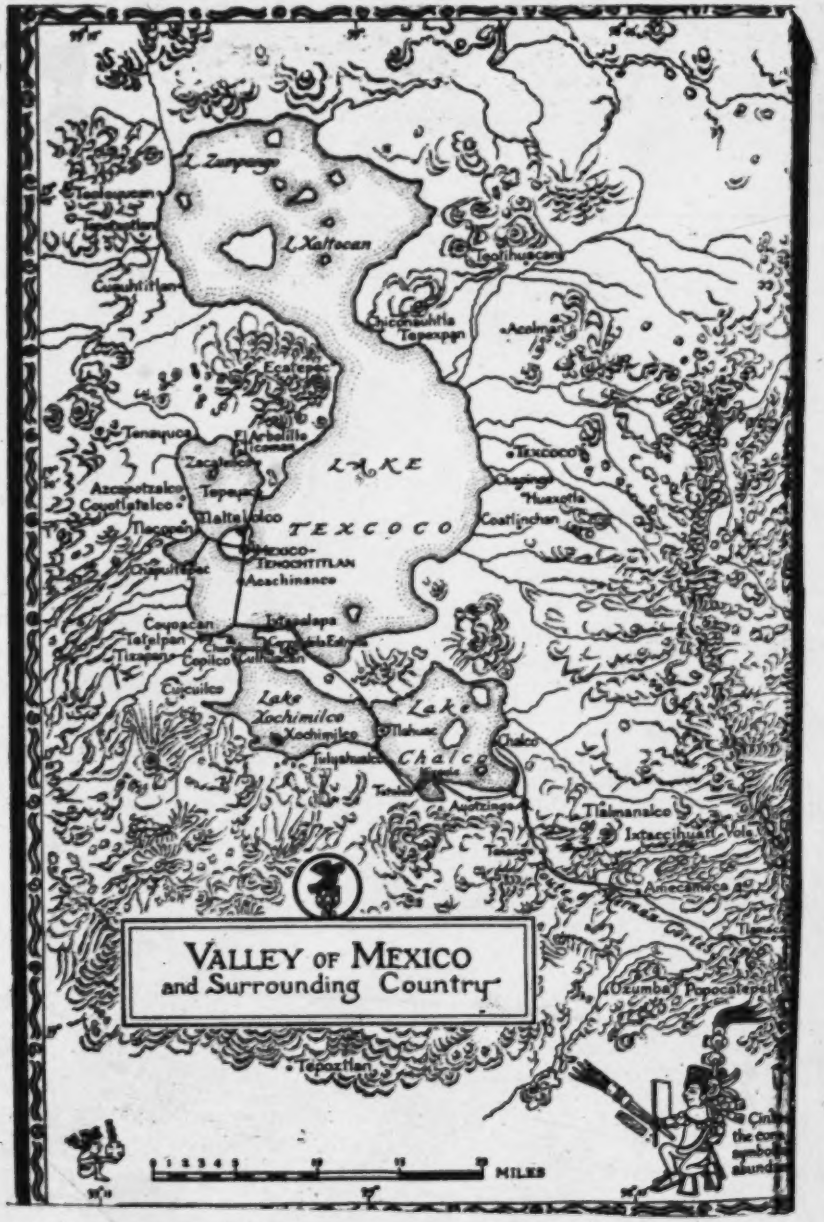

VALLEY OF MEXICO
and Surrounding Country

[END PAPER MAP(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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133
776
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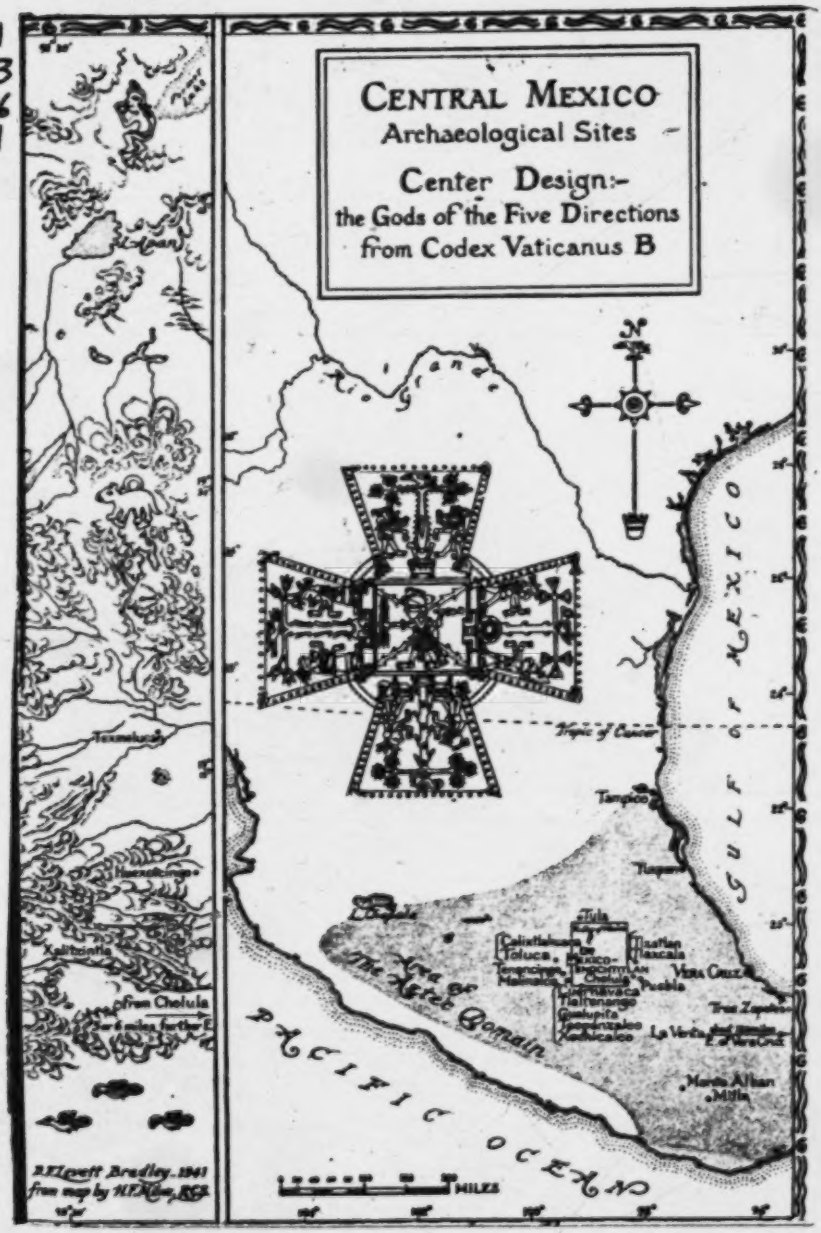

[END PAPER MAP (B)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

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503

VALLEY OF MEXICO

[p. XV]

131
361
621

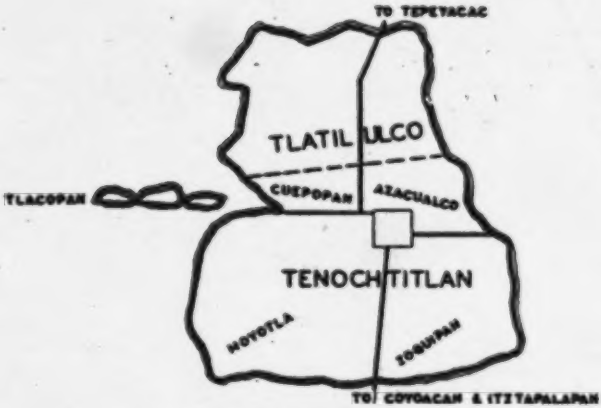

Chart showing two-fold division of the island and four-fold division of Tenochtitlan

KEY TO MAP OF TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

1. Palace of Moctezuma
2. Tonacalco
3. Quauhquiauac
4. Tepantitlan
5. Acatl yiacapan
6. Tezcacac
7. Temple of Huitzilopochli
8. Palace of Moctezuma the Elder
9. Tenayac
10. Coinacalco
11. Ulcitlan
12. Xalaco
13. Port Xoloco
14. Azachimalco
15. Tepaneccatitlan
16. Tepanatlaco
17. Tzapotlan
18. Atenchicalco
19. Mixcoacochitlitlan
20. Tlalnepantlaco
21. Petlacalco
22. Papalotlan
23. Cuepopan
24. Nextetelco
25. Ilacac
26. Ayauhcalitlan
27. Yaoltenco
28. Market of Tlatilulco
29. Tenochtitlan and Tlaxcapan
30. Atecocolcan
31. Coyonacazco and Amaxac
32. Cuauhtemocatzin
33. Ayacac
34. Atlixcohuyan
35. Tomico
36. Quauxocotitlan
37. Apanecatl
38. Tlacochcalco
39. Tlamatzinpancco and Atecpanco
40. Xochicalco and Quauhquechollan
41. Yacacolco
42. Tlilhuacac and Atzompan
43. Cuitlahuacatenco
44. Xocotitlan or Cihuatempan
45. Tetzcocalco-tecpan
46. Atlamaco
47. Tlemaquilco

(After Orozco y Berra, with modifications suggested mainly by reference to Alfonso Caso, *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatilulco*. The locations of many of the places are provisional.)

[p. XVI]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

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491
361
363

TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

[p. xvii]

[p. xviii is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7
103, 131

Chart of map facing page 144

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; 635
the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which 114
have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing 128
their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecã (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nocheoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matrícula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by 632
Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight impor- [505]
tance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities 131
meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-
[114] century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are
131 included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[5] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua
[491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal
[133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[6] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[7] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[8] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names
[103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like
[101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca
[491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[9] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[5] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[6] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[7] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[9] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Coyucac is probably not the Coyuca de Benítez of today, but the one 632 described by Xuarez as twenty-five leagues from Zacatula, near the 131 sea, and adjacent to Axapoteca[7] (which in turn is adjacent to Xolochiuyan and Panotlan, *q.v.*).[8] This is the only Coyuca he describes in his report on his tour of the coast. Today it is called Coyuquilla.

Nochcoc is certainly the present Nuxco, also described by Xuarez.[9]

Panotlan is mentioned by Xuarez both as "Panutla" and as "Pamutla."[10] He places it at thirty leagues from the Villa and one league from the sea, confining with Çihautlan and Nochcoc. This rules out the present Pantla, west of the Río Ixtapa.

Petlatlan is one of the few surviving names, appearing today as Petatlán. It is given by Xuarez as twenty leagues from the Villa.[11]

Xihuacan has vanished. Xuarez places it nineteen leagues from the Villa and adjacent to Petlatlan and Cihuatanejo—both well-established places. He adds, "tiene en su termino una laguna de mucha pezqueria y donde se haze sal en cantidad."[12] This salty lagoon suggests the Salinas de Potosí, southwest of Petatlán on the "Millionth Map."

Xolochiuhyan, described by Xuarez as "Solochuca" and also as "Cholochuca"[13] and placed twenty-two leagues from the Villa, near the sea, has become Jolochuca of today, another of the towns of this province which may be definitely localized.

According to the writer's chronological study and the "Relación de [175] Zacatula," Xolochiuhyan was the scene of Ahuizotl's first breakthrough to the coast and became his "frontier"—against whom, is doubtful.

Yztapan is given as the name of two towns by Xuarez. One[14] belonged to the encomendero, Anton Sánchez the younger, and was seventeen leagues from the Villa. The other, belonging to His Majesty, was thirteen leagues from the Villa,[15] close to the sea, and two leagues from the "Puerto de Çiguatanejo." Thus the pueblo belonging to

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 900.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 899.
[9] He gives it as 33 leagues from the Villa. *PNE*, 1: No. 903.
[10] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 900 and 902.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 896.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 895.
[13] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 897 and 898.
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 879.
[15] *PNE*, 1: No. 892.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Sánchez was right at the Bay of Cihuatenejo, and it appears there in
131 a manuscript map of *circa* 1760.[26] The other pueblo, His Majesty's, appears on the "Guerrero State Map" of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, being situated on the Río Rincon. By means of the Salinas de Camotlán, which appear on both this latter map and the "Millionth Map," we see that this Río Rincon is the Río Ixtapan of the "Millionth Map," though the pueblo is omitted here. It is this Ixtapan belonging to His Majesty which has been selected as probably identical with the pre-Hispanic town, both because it gave its name to the Río and Punta de Iztapa (a), a promontory which may be found on most maps, and because it was reserved for His Majesty, a fact implying a special desirability and importance.

Çacatulan lay one league south of modern Zacatula, near the mouth
[101] of the Río de las Balsas. (On the accompanying map, it appears too far east.)

Çihuatlan (Çiguatlan de Salzedo and Panotlan), which gave its name to the province, is missing from all available maps. It might have been any of three vanished towns, but the one which seems most probable is Çiguatlan de Salzedo. This lay thirty leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and bordering Pamutla and Nusco—the modern Nuxco, near Tecpan. Çiguatlan and Panutla, or Pamutla, lay on the same river five leagues from Tecpan.[27] Judging by the distances east of Zacatula assigned to other localizable towns (Jolochuca, 22; Coyuca—Coyuquilla—28; Nuxco, 33; and Tecpan, 35), this river is the modern San Luís. Çiguatlan de Salzedo may be San Luís de la Loma today. In any case, according to the relación of Zacatula, Çiguatlan was divided from Panotlan only by a river ("entre estos dos pueblos está el río"). For that reason, it has been given the same number, 9.

Çiguatlan de Salzedo lay right in the middle of the province, which is the writer's reason for identifying it as the old cabecera, despite the claims of two remoter homonyms.[28]

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[26] Bancroft Library, University of California, MS map F 1226 176–, G. 9. The author is Santos Alonso Guerra.

[27] "Relación de Zacatula," *Tlalocan*, 2: 261; *PNE* (*Suma*), 1: No. 901.

[28] The other possibilities are Çigua (*PNE*, 1: No. 864) and Çiguatlan de Su Magestad (*PNE*, 1: No. 883). Çigua extended between Zacatula and the sea. Çiguatlan de Su Magestad [sy seventeen leagues from the Villa and four from the sea. (It bordered

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[29] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[30] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetizila and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[31] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[32]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Axochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyutla and Piquitla [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çigua are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çiguatlan de Su Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanejo itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[29] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[30] "'Jentes que binieron de algun lugar de muncho hierro' o 'jentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepoztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[31] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[32] In a town called Chiantepec, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[80] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco,[81] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[82]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[83] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[84] Ychcateopan,[85] Oztoma,[86] Totoltetec,[87] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[88] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[89]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[90] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[91]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather
● 131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[92] Alahuiztlan

[80] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[81] *PNE*, 6: 315.
[82] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[83] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[84] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[85] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[86] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[87] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[88] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[89] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[90] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[91] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[92] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha gerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motezuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded 632
a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there [317]
is no salt from this province in the tribute list. 131

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after [712]
the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a [712]
local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels [648]
with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer va fuerte, de manera questiviese xente en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espugnable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacoxpeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[m] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[n]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17') accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[o] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[n]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[p] of mantles *colchadas***
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white**
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
1,600 bundles of large mantles**
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)*

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian**
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[m] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[n] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[o] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[p] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[q] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[30]

[567 727] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[31] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[32]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula,* copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino.* This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacã, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapã, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpã (10).

[30] "Motoçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE,* 6: 123).

[31] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que estos le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE,* 6: 317).

[32] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE,* 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[114] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[***] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[***] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca. 635 131

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[100] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here. 635

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles** [714]
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli* [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point. [632]

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with 635 114

[100] *PNF* 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[111]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenanzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiteca*, de dificil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

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MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acaxochic, 6	Santa Fe
Ameyalco, 8	[No change]
Coatepec, 14	Coatepec Bateas
Chichicquautla, 4	Xochiquauhtla
Huizquilocan, 5	Huixquilucan
Quahuacan, 1	Cahuacan
Quauhpanoayā, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecpan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tlalatlauhco, 13	Xalatlaco

Two other towns have been found elsewhere; Huitziçilapa (3) and Tlalachco (?) (2).

Two towns of the tribute list have not been found: Chapolmoloyā and Ocotepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acaxochic,* "que ahora es Santa Fé," is located on the authority of Tezozomoc.[4] It lies southwest of Tacubaya.

Chichicquautla has become the modern Xochiquautla, between Huixquilucan and Toluca. The boundaries of "Chichiguautla" given in a sixteenth-century document confirm this identification.[5]

Huitzilçilapa, under the transitional form of "Vçiçilapa," is referred to in the sixteenth century as being adjacent to Tacuba and as having a barrio called Tamimilulpa[6]—which description applies perfectly to the Huitzilapan of the 1937 map.

Quauhpanoayan has vanished from the map. It was divided between two hills, one section being called San Joan Baptista and the other San Francisco. It was a league from Atlapulco (11), a league and a half from Capulhuac (12), "y de los otros dos á media legua." As one of "los otras dos" is known to have been Ocoyacac (10), Quauhpanoayan may be placed with fair accuracy.[7]

Tecpan has long since disappeared from the map. In the late sixteenth century, according to the 1579 map of Ortelius, it lay south of Teocalhuiacan and northeast of Mimimiyauuapan [*sic*]. Ortelius gives

[4] *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 530.
[5] *PNE*, 1: No. 113, places it seven leagues from México and touching the jurisdictions of Tacuba, Toluca, and "Vçiçilapa."
[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[7] *GPM*, p. 232.

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the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[9] 632
Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the 131
path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli,* "sand," and *tlalli,* "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] 635
and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the 197
north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old 101
Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are: 635

Atlapulco, 11	Cuauximalpan, 7
Capulhuac, 12	Chichicquauhtla, 4
Coatepec, 14	Huizquilocan, 5

Tlalatlauhco, 13

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other 635
Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east 131
those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[9] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[9] Cf. preceding note.
[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[11] *PNE,* 1: No. 561.
[12] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos annales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[14] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131 ●
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING [291]

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen**

FOOD [262]

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)**

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of 651
the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single 632
town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[31] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the
114 north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpā, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.
●131 *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[20]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28r of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[21]

[20] *PNE,* 1: No. 1.

[21] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepesic ce comēdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

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The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; 632
moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, 131
Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlaz- 191
pan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, 579
whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was 101
accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have 635
not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its 131
neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir nuñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los ymilios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suzeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás Léon (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of Léon and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468). [114]

[30] According to Léon, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[29]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[30]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[31]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca,* in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[29] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[30] *GPM*, p. 263.
[31] *PNE*, 3: 33, n. 1.

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212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[36] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the verv Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely
635 stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province
131 of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[37] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[38] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[39] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[40] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[41]

[36] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[37] Cf. n. 35 above.
[38] *PNE,* 6: 201.
[39] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[40] Corrected from 400.
[41] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atenco,* now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[44] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[45] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[46] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[47] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[48] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the following towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[49]

[44] *GPM*, p. 185.
[45] *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.
[46] *PNE*, 6: 36.
[47] *PNE*, 6: 205.
[48] *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.
[49] *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metztitlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[a] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses."[b] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography,* and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[c]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[a] Axocopan, *PNE,* 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE,* 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE,* 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE,* 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE,* 3: 73).

[b] *PNE,* 6: 14 and *passim.*

[c] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE,* 6: 15).

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651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[80]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[81]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists
● 131 another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[80] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[81] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

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subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called 632
Atucpan.[28] Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of 131
the towns against which that state made war.

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec[29] is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.[30] It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,[31] two long leagues southeast of Axocopan[32] and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.[33]

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan[34] and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.[35] It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.[36]

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.[37]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province 635
were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitla- 632
pilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was pre- 197
dominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.[38]

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bor- 635
dered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.[39] To 131
the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

[28] *PNE*, 6: 24 and 35.
[29] The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.
[30] Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.
[31] *GPM*, p. 188.
[32] *PNE*, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[34] *PNE*, 6: 15.
[35] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[36] *PNE*, 3: 42.
[37] *PNE*, 6: 27.
[38] In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Tolnacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (*PNE*, 6: 24).
[39] "Relación de Meztitlan."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

IV. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE NORTH

JUST AS THE PRECEDING GROUP of provinces may be linked conveniently as the Old Tepanec Domain, those which we are about to consider belong predominantly to another member of the triumvirate, Acolhuacan Texcoco. The chief authority for this is the chronicler Ixtlilxochitl, who tells us in some detail how Nezahualcoyotl placed governors and mayordomos in Cuauhchinanco, Tuchpa, and other towns we shall consider—enough to imply that the whole northeast was under the dominion of the Acolhuaque in late pre-Hispanic days. He explains that these were the towns "allotted to the realm of Texcoco, the other two kings having no share in them."[1] Though Ixtlilxochitl is accused of mendacious nationalism, we may accept his word, inasmuch as such sources as a list of pueblos subject to Texcoco[2] and the conquest lists of that city-state, which the writer will publish later in a chronology of the Empire, confirm his statements absolutely.

14. OXITIPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The last leaf of the *Matricula* as it exists today (p. 28) deals with the province of Ctzicoac (*Mendocino*, fol. 55r). Following this page there was originally at least one more leaf in the *Matricula*—a leaf which is known only from the *Mendocino* copy. At this point in the *Mendocino* appear the words "fin de la parte segunda," that is, the end of the tribute section of this tripartite codex. Presumably the lost *Matricula* leaf was blank upon its verso when the *Mendocino* copyist had it before him, or he would not have written "fin." The long array of tributaries ended here.

What must have been the recto of the original leaf not only is the end of the manuscript, but also represents the end of the Empire of the Mexica, as far as the north is concerned, for there is but one town

[1] "Esta provincia y las demas en donde puso sus mayordomos y cobradores, fueron las que se ajuficaron al reino de Texcoco, sin entrar en participacion los otros dos reyes" (Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* [1892], II: 198).

[2] In the *Anales del Museo Nacional de ... México*, Epoca I (1897), 4: 48–51 and Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), vs. 1343, among other places.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 114 [31] represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1 Ojitipa de Mirador

Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to [651] judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[3] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[4]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[5]

635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly estreeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[3] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tamboloa"—now a rancho of Valles.
[4] Meade, *La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[5] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI: 275.

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [439]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.* 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING** [291]

2,010 bundles* of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles* of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD* [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE* [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of *axi*
9 jars of honey
... maize

* *ENE*, 10: 126. * Corrected from 2,000. * Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54'). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
● 131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communications with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *FNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 193, and *FNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxcoac* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 189–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxcoac* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[16] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[17] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[18]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[19] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[20] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[21]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

[16] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[17] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[19] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[21] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

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16. Tuchpa

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[26] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Miahuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (2), according to Lehmann.[27] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[28]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[29]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[26] See Introduction, p. 7.

[27] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (2), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[28] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[29] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma nasçiese ni eredase este rreyno no estauan estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron dende á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á monteçuma."

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[*] 632 131

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197 belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635 still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648 of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[*] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[*]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635 of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131 south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635 coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103 part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651 cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[**] [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[**]
400 bundles of loincloths[**]
808 bundles[*] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[**]

[*] RHE, 1: 487.
[*] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[*] Corrected from 800.

1 [p.58.— Analyst] 2 [p.56.— Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.[a]

17. Atlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.[b] In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.[c] Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."[d]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two.

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "... otra capitania ... a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte ...."[e]

[a] RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."
[b] Cf. Malinalco, above.
[c] *FNE*, 3: 97.
[d] *ENE*, 8: 160.
[e] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

[a] Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación.[a] 632 131

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"[b] finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were important towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.[c] Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."[d] The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.[e] 635 635 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces. 635 131

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone called Totonacapan. 635

[a] RHE, 1: 481: "tenian ... governador antiguamente puesto por monteçuma."
[b] ENE, 8: 159.
[c] Christensen, "El Teponaztli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3: 179–180.
[d] RHE, 1: 480: "son yndios muy tontos yncliados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferent de la mexicana."
[e] See the *proceso* of the *cacique* of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 209–215.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[a] 633
and seventeen leagues from México.[b] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears 131
eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[c] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[d]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[e]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiq- 635
uity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún com- 175
ments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[f] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[g] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[h] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande 635
lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and 131
probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atoto- 651
nilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING [291
714]

800 bundles of rich mantles**
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[a] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[c] *GPM*, p. 250.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[e] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuiquiloca [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[f] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[g] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

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Matixco (Maquixco), southwest of Teotihuacan, possesses a homonym, Maquixco Santa Maria, northeast of the same center. Either one of these may be the *Matricula* town. The choice which has been made is frankly arbitrary.

Otompan, now Otumba, was the scene of Cortés' last great battle with "los de Culua" as he escaped into Tlaxcala, the frontiers of which lay near by.

Pachuca (1) at first belonged to the Acolhuaque, and later was shared by them with the Mexica.[]

Quauhyocan appears in another source as "San Marcos Quacyocan" and "Quauhyoca." It was subject to Acolman, but no further detail is given.[]

Teacalco appears on the map of the State of Mexico of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotihuacan, at first a Chichimec republic in the Tepanec sphere, was conquered by Nezahualcoyotl—who eventually had to share it with the Mexica.[]

Tepepulco "parte terminos" with Tulançinco, in the adjacent province of Atotonilco el Grande, and Hueyotlipan, pertaining to enemy Tlaxcala.[] Paso y Troncoso has pointed out Tepepulco's close association with Texcoco.[] It was in Tepepulco that Sahagún began to gather materials for his vast ethnographic work.[]

Tetlyztaca may be located from references. According to the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 151), Tulançinco was four leagues to the [north]east, Tepepulco two leagues to the southeast, and Cenpoala one and one-half to the west: "... los pueblos comarcanos son tulançingo cuatro leguas acia levante tepeapulco dos leguas entre leuante y sur la congregación de Cenpoala legua y media cay açia el poniente." Tetlyztaca lay near Tepechupilco [? now Tepechichilco].

[] Cf. n. 82 below.

[] *PNE,* 6: 210, 212.

[] *PNE,* 6: 221: "En tienpo de su gentilidad fueron gente y republica sobre si, sin reconocer a nadie sino a sus señores naturales que llamaban chichimecas, hasta que Nezagualcoyotzin, señor de Tescuco, tiranizo toda la comarca matando a los hijos de Tetzotzomoctli, señor de Escapuzzalco a quien todos reconocian, por guerra, e despues de su muerte de Tetzotzomoctli el dicho Netzagualcoyotzi se hizo poderoso aliandose con Montezuma señor de Mexico; repartieron las tierras del pueblo de San Juan."

[] *PNE,* 6: 295.

[] *PNE,* 6: 297.

[] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: xvii.

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632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[70] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[71]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[72]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[73] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the 131 province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

[70] RHE, 1: 152.

[71] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.

[72] Cf. n. 82 below.

[73] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de tezcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

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635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
● 131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otra."

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frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[7] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23". The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[7] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corronpemos agora aqõel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[12] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[13]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[14] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[15]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[16]

[12] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[13] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[14] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[15] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[16] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matricula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl tozttli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

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MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloztoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilcaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven 632 los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, 175 respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as 632 "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición." 131

Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[30] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[31] but cannot be found today.

[30] *PNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la principall subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilco."

[31] *PNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopualco [Nepozualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

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632 *Tetela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoztlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[30]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province
197 of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[31] and Yacapichtla.[32] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[33]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[34] and so were the Tlalhuica.[35]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow
131 province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[30] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman syacapiztla." The *Matrícula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[31] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[32] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimilco."

[33] See pp. 76–77.

[34] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimilco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[35] See pp. 76–77.

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[28] while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[29]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[30] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[31]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

[28] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[29] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Tascala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[30] "Estan las dichas tres cabeseras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[31] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas calienta questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

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651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[88]
[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[89]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco*, according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[90]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[91]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[92] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[93]

[88] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[89] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[90] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[91] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[92] *GPM*, p. 112.

[93] *GPM*, p. 104.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[a]

[a] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis hazeas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas tesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[a] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] 16 pieces of colored lacquer
[313] 268 fine *jícaras* and *tecomates*
314 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[30]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the *Matrícula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 40r, as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[31] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[32]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[33] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[30] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[32] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108v. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[33] *PNE*, 5: 210.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaxtla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabacera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

[63] *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

[712] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[3]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecçuma."[4] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[5]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the
197 Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[9] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[2] *GPM*, p. 9: *ENE*, 14: 79.

[3] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[4] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar**[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[32] and liquidambar.[33]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[34]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[35] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 462: "eran basallos de montesçuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

[Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl. — Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, [175] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[32]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[33]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[34] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[35]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[36] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[37] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[791] 400 large mantles**

[32] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵒ cuescomatepeque de la jurisdizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[33] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[34] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[35] Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[36] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[37] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.[m]

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.[n] 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.[o] [131]

[m] According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

[n] RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

[o] Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^{d} hago mrd a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^{o} de myctlanquauatla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla.[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

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[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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It appears in De Mo-
632 *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[20] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it[1] was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[21] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[22] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
● 131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[23] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[24]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[25] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[26]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[27] The chief language of the

[20] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[21] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[22] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[23] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[24] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[26] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra." (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[27] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecian al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

1 [i.e., Chinantlan.— Analyst]

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province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sujuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y vicnte de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y vicnte piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Ucila.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18′) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[b]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[b]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[b]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[c]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[d]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81. Identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chiltecpintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yççochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[2] and Quauhtinchan.[3] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[4] 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[5] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace. 635 131 [648]

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[6] 635 175

[2] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[3] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Toltecs-Chichimecs* (1937).

[4] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

32. Yoaltepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 635
of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40' of the *Codex Mendo-* 114
cino. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable [128]
number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalã (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayã (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and 632
claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[36] It has been placed 131
in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[37] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[38]

[36] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Motectzuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[37] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[38] *PNE*, 1: No. 6.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 [712] *Ayoxochiquilazala* seems to have been the anchor of the Empire in this region. A local Mexican garrison consumed all the tribute, which never reached Mexico.[29]

Ehuacalco, suggests Troncoso,[30] may be the Calihualá [Cal-eual-lan] of today. The proposed identification seems reasonable.

Patlanalan is a name which apparently survives only in documents. The town was subject to Tonalá (a) and was half a league from "Çilacajoapa."[31]

Piaztla was probably "Old Piaztlan" (Huehuepiaztlan), which lay to the west of the site of the modern town. Among the towns subject to Piaztla in 1581—and probably also linked with it in 1519—were Tuzantlan (c) and Ilamatzinco (b). These appear on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, 1908.

632 131

Yxicayan became "Xicayan de Tovar" in colonial days.[32] It confined with Puctla and Tlacomayztlauaca,[33] which are the Putla Santa Maria and Tecomaxtlahuacan of today. Xicayan de Tovar was nine leagues southwest of "Instlauaca" (Juxtlahuaca)[34] and four leagues in the same direction from Ayoxochiquilazala.[35] Northeast of the ancient Acuitlapan, Guerrero, are a C. Jicayan and a R. Jicayan which indicate the site. It should be pointed out that the Jicayán of today (near Tlacamama), also existing in the sixteenth century,[36] is a quite different pueblo.

Ycpatepec, which enjoyed a certain pre-Hispanic fame, may be located by piecing together a variety of references. Though it is described in the relación of Cuauhuitlan along with towns of the modern district of Jamiltepec on the Oaxaca coast, it is stated to be no less than thirty-five leagues to the northeast of those towns,[37] beyond a sierra, in the Mixteca Baja.[38] Elsewhere it is given as ten leagues from Mixtepec

[29] See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
[30] *PNE,* 5: 238.
[31] *PNE,* 5: 238; *GPM,* p. 20. Its estancias were called Guastepec and Santa Clara.
[32] *PNE,* 1: No. 810; *GPM,* p. 65; *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[33] *PNE,* 1: No. 810.
[34] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 137.
[35] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[36] *PNE,* 1: No. 808.
[37] *PNE,* 4: 158.
[38] *PNE,* 4: 155: "muy apartado [de Cuahuitlan] porque cae en la provincia de la Mixteca Baja." Its encomendero was Francisco de Alfaro.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

(subject to Tlaxiaco)[] and three leagues from "Cilacayoapan."[] With all this information, the town may be placed fairly well. In the present map it is identified tentatively with Montañas, a town on the Oaxaca map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.[] This lies south of Silacayoapam and may have fallen under the jurisdiction of south-lying Cuauhuitlan.[]

Ychcastoyac, which has not been found, is also called "Atojocinapa" in a list which names its encomendero as "el hijo de Pierres Gómez."[]

Yoaltepec has been located from references only. When the Mexicans invaded the south, they took, in succession, the towns of Oaxtepec, Izucar, and Youaltepec.[] "Ygualtepec" (the name suffered the same change as Yoallan–Iguala) was held by the encomendero of Ayoxochiquilazala.[] The clearest reference, however, comes from a document dealing with Piaztla, which places Yoaltepec ten leagues straight south of that town.[]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—With Yoaltepec we enter the Mixtec provinces. A codex in purely Mixtec style, for example, is preserved from Tecomaixtlahuacan,[] and the relación of that town[] tells us it is of Mixtec speech, as proves to be true of Ycpatepec.[] The northern part of the province, on the other hand, seems to have been mexicano rustico, "because it is the province of Totolan"—a quite mysterious reference.[]

[] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 142–143.

[] *GPM*, p. 20; *PNE*, 5: 238.

[] Ycpatepec was celebratedly mountainous.

[] Three hints which may lead to its exact identification at a later time are: (*a*) the linking of "Hycpatepeque" with Tlacotepec, Tepexillo, and Los Remedios in a list of "Curatos Mixtecos" of the reign of Philip V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Mex. MS No. 8, fol. 221); (*b*) the Mixtec name, "yucu yua" ("Relación of Cuahuitlan," *PNE*, 4: 158) or "yucu nuuyuh" (Reyes, *Arte en lengua mixteca* [1889], p. 90); and, finally (*c*), the names of the estancias of Ycpatepec (*PNE*, 5: 238), which are Santa María, Santiago, and San Juan. (*PNE*, 4: 155, adds San Pablo.)

[] *ENE*, 9: 17.

[] Discussed in the writer's forthcoming chronological study.

[] I.e., García de Aguilar. See *GPM*, p. 157.

[] *PNE*, 5: 77: "al sur tiene al pueblo de Ygualtepec questa desta cabeçera dies leguas, toda tierra entre doblada y llana y caminos derechos." In the same document Acatlan is placed at five leagues from Piaztla.

[] Published in Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Geog., Vol. 4 (1930), Appendix I.

[] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 136.

[] *PNE*, 4: 158.

[] *PNE*, 5: 78.

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635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

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[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 56, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarnicion aperçébida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y esentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

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103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acuitlapã, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Chipetlan, 1	Chiepetlán
Malinaltepec, 6	[No change]
Tetenanco, 3	Tenango Tepexi
Tlapã, 4	Tlapa
Totomixtlahuacã, 5	Totomixtlahuaca
Ychcateopã, 2	Ixcateopan

The remaining seven towns of the *Matricula* cannot be located with any certainty, though there are some additional data available regarding them. These towns are:

Acocozpã	Huitzannola
Ahuacatla	Ocoapan
Amaxac	Xocotla

Yualan

On the other hand, we may confidently add and locate the following subject towns, thanks to another source: Ayutla (8), Cintla (?) (10), Copalitech (11), and Tototepec (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acuitlapan* is the Quitlapa of today, located southeast of Metlatonoc in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. It is described in colonial days as "Cuytlapa," twelve leagues from Tlapan.[a]

Ahuacatla, not located, was five leagues from Tlapan, according to a report which gives it as "Ahuacatitlan."[b]

Amaxac probably corresponds to "Atlemaxac" or "Atlimaxax," which was a cabecera one league from Tlapan.[c]

Ayutla was clearly tributary,[d] and with it a series of seaboard towns including Cintla and Copalitech.[e]

Cintla seems to have lain close to the modern Juchitán(a).[f] It was one of the seaboard towns subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).

[a] *GPM*, p. 106; *PNE*, 1: No. 217.
[b] *GPM*, p. 101.
[c] *GPM*, p. 101; *PNE*, 1: No. 82.
[d] *PNE*, 4: 260: "aquel pueblo de Ayutla antiguamente era de Motecçuma, [con] todos los demas pueblos de la jurisdiçion que fueron sugetos."
[e] *PNE*, 4: 259: "antes que se ganase la tierra, eran todos los pueblos maritimos sujetos al dicho pueblo de Ayutla."
[f] Identification by the writer, in "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 361.

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[632]

Huitzannola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[632]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[712] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[632] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecçuma." [101] The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast.

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[632] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo.[131]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[632] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[632] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla-

[101] 197

[632] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[632] *GPM*, p. 106.

[632] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[632] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[632] *GPM*, p. 98.

[632] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Náhuatl.

[632] *GPM*, p. 27.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[18] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[19]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal [316
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[20] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[18] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[19] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[20] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoca."

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paying tribute, but "the lords of Chila, when it pleased them to," ex- 632
changed presents with Moctezuma."

Icxitlan was a subject town which gave no tribute beyond feeding the highland troops that passed through it."

Malinaltepec (10) sent its tribute to Coayxtlahuacan." This Malinaltepec, which is stated to lie eight leagues northeast of Atlatlaucca and [131] five leagues west of "los Yolos" [Yoloxonecuilan], appears on Bevan's map." It should not be confused with the nearest of several homonyms, that is, with the Malinaltepec southwest of Atlatlaucca.

Mictlan, as Jiménez Moreno has pointed out," must be the present Mitlatongo.

Papaloticpac paid tribute to its cacique, and he to Moctezuma;" probably the Papalotiquipaque of the sixteenth century" is one of two towns called Papalo today, southeast of Quiotepec.

Petlaltzinco, like Icxitlan, paid its tribute by supplying the armies of the Empire with food and men."

Tepeucila had been subjected by Moctezuma shortly before the Spaniards arrived."

Xaltepec appears on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Yancuitlan may be found on the 1912 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Çoçolan was conquered by the younger Moctezuma, as will be detailed in the second part of this work. It is mentioned as a garrison [712] town on folio 17' of the *Mendocino*, with two governors—a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli" (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

" *PNE*, 5: 66: "era subjeto al ymperio de la ciudad de México ... embialle [a Moctezuma] los senores de Chila, quando les agradaua, algunos presentes de joyas de oro y mantas," etc.

" *PNE*, 5: 75.

" See Atlatlaucca, above.

" Bevan, *The Chinantec* (1938).

" *Códice de Yanhuitlán* (1940).

" *PNE*, 4: 90: "tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma ... que llevavan a las guarniciones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra."

" *PNE*, 4: 88.

" "El dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo passuan bastimentos, y asi mismo servian con alguna gente de guerra, y no otra cosa alguna" (*PNE*, 5: 70).

" *PNE*, 4: 95: "Al tiempo que vinieron los españoles era Señor natural de este pueblo vn cacique que se dezia cauchuchu camiñas, y en tiempo de este los sujeto Montecçuma."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the 197
predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, 174
especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one 635
of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced un- 131
friendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, [712]
however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid 651
the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles [291]
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian) [262]

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger [816 257]
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

but this space may be filled very precisely with the administratively 635
separate center of Tlatelolco and its dependencies. The position given to Tlatelolco in the *Matricula* (the American Philosophical Society fragment) and in the *Mendocino* (fol. 19' constitutes a problem with which the writer has dealt elsewhere.[8]

A glance at the map will explain why the Çitlaltepec group and Tlatelolco have been treated together here, although administratively they formed separate tributary provinces.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

The Lake of Texcoco formed the common geographic denominator 131 ●
of these towns.

Acalhuacan, with its miniscule population of forty houses, was the 632
subject of a dispute between the encomendero of Quauhtitlan (BX, 2) and the natives of Tlatelolco in the year 1537,[9] and the record of this dispute is sufficiently enlightening to enable one to find the approximate location of Acalhuacan. Since it was disputed along with Atzompan, it has been placed, like that town, to the north of the Sierra de Guadalupe, but on the western (Quauhtitlan) side of the lake—all quite provisionally. The name, "Place of Canoe-Owners," indicates the lacustrine site.

Acolnahuac (located after the printing of the map) was a point on the Azteca-Mexica migration route—now San Bernabé, on the Calzada de Camarones, between Azcapotzalco and the Nonoalco highway.[10]

Coatlayauhcan is mentioned by at least one source, "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," as one of the stopping places of the migrating Azteca-Mexica.

Huixachtitlan probably lay a little south of Xaloztoc. Studies made after the printing of the map indicate that it lay on the migration route of the *Códice Huitzilopochtli,* between Tequepayuca (now Cerro de

[8] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 204–207.

[9] "Carta de los indios principales," in S. Montoto, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América* (1927), I: 84. It is also mentioned in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), par. 472.

[10] Barlow, "Los caciques coloniales de Tlatelolco," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1944), 3: 552–553.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

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[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1943), 4: 208–213.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. Petlacalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101
the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197
little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635
flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131
manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635
longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col 651
lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields [291
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth 714]
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans [262]
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

[facing p. 144 (A)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

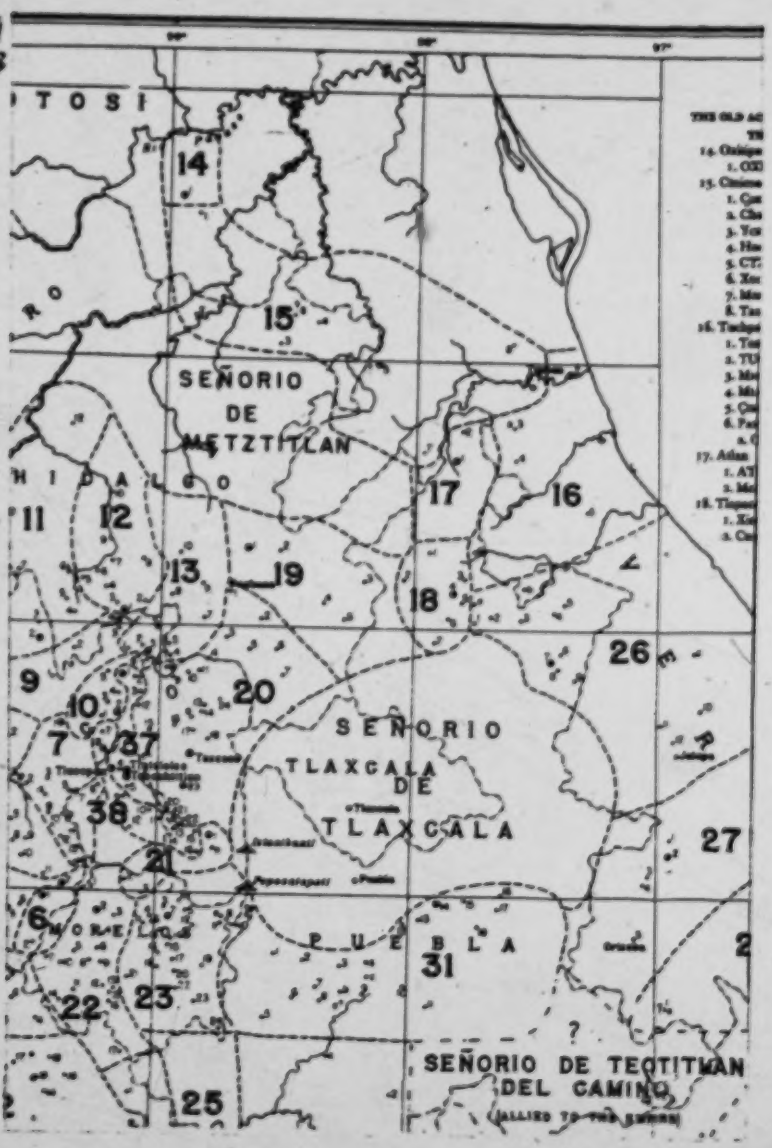

[Facing p. 144 (B)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

98° 99° 94°

THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN:
THE NORTH

14. Coixiqua
1. OXITIPAN
15. Cuauac
1. Cuauatenitlan
2. Chapolhuacan
3. Yeecatlan
4. Huamantla de Hidalgo
5. CTZICOAC (?)
6. Xocoyucan (?)
7. Mixlaico
8. Tamapachan
16. Tuchipa
1. Tonantzinpac
2. TUCHPA
3. Mictlan
4. Mixtlalpá
5. Quiyatzinca
6. Papantla
7. Castillo de Teayo
17. Atlan
1. ATLA
2. Metztlayucan
18. Tlapacoyan
1. Xiuitepec
2. Cuauhchinanco
3. Chila
4. TLAPACOYAN
5. Xocotlaxochitlan
6. Xilotzinctlan
7. Acaçacotla
19. Axomulco el Grande
1. ATOTONILCO
2. Quacuapitzçalco
3. Acaxochitla
4. Tlilanquiaco
5. Huitzipan
20. Acolhuacan
1. Pachuca
2. Epazoyucá
3. Tlaquilpá
4. Tonantzinpac
5. Cuautzalan
6. Tulyehualco
7. Tepopoxco
8. Tlaxcucá
9. Huexçilan
10. Tezontecomá
11. Tecalco
12. Tlamayula
13. Tlacolulan
14. Matlaco
15. Ecatepec
16. Tepexpa
17. Tlaxcucá
18. Tlapetlahuyoc
19. (Number omitted)
20. Chimalhuacanayac
21. Chicualoapan
22. Cuauapec Chalco
a. Acolman
23. ACOLHUACÁ
24. Otompan

THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN:
THE SOUTHWEST

25. Chalco
1. CHALCO
2. Quauhtenanco
3. Tepoztlan
a. Amaquemecan
22. Quauhnahuac
1. Huexotlá
2. QUAUHNAHUAC
3. Xochitepec
4. Acatlipac
5. Micacatla
6. Xochitepec
7. Cuitlan
8. Atlixco
9. Atlachiahuayan
10. Maquixco
11. Yecla
12. Cacatepec
13. Tlaquiltenango
14. Amacuitzila
15. Xochitla
16. Cuernavaca
17. Tlacalçinco
23. Huaxtepec
1. Nepopoalco
2. Tovilapá
3. Tlayacapá
4. Cuacalco
5. Atlatlauca
6. Tlamatitla
7. HUAXTEPEC
8. Totola [del Valedo]
9. Ocuapalayuca
10. Huayapan
11. Yautepec
12. Yacapichtla
13. Xochimilcatzinco
14. Quahuitlixco
15. Quauhtlan
16. Ahuehuetzco
17. Tlayacac
18. Olintepec
19. Amilçingo
20. Xalostoc
21. Tlaltizapá
22. Huexçilan
23. Tecpaçinco
24. Ayotzinapá
a. Xaxalipac
b. Ocuitco
24. Tlalnepantlatlan
1. Tolimán
2. TLALCOÇAUHYTLÁ
3. Mixtlico
4. Amilçingo
25. Quinchicuapan
1. Olinalá
2. Qualac
3. QUIAUHTEOPAN (?)

THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN:
THE SOUTHEAST

26. Tlatlauhquitepec
1. Tepetlalpan
2. Tyetenpec
3. Xonotla
4. Yatzaquitlalpa
5. Ayutuchco
6. Yauhnahuac
7. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC
8. Atenco
9. Tepeyolan
10. Acatlan
11. Tlacuilola
12. Xilotzinco
a. Xalapanco
b. Tlamacazco
c. Mazatlan
27. Quauhtochco
1. Totoltlan
2. QUAUHTOCHCO
3. Tuchipanco
4. Yyetetocan
5. Axutlilapan
28. Cuetlaxtlan
1. Tlaçicican (?)
2. CUETLAXTLAN
3. Ixcuintlanquitzila
a. Zongolica
b. Veracruz
c. Boca del Río
29. Tochtepec
1. Tepetlilan
2. Ohitlan
3. TOCHTEPEC
4. Oyiatitlan
5. Pactlan (of Orizaba)
6. Tlacotlalpá
7. Tiltlan
8. Uxila
9. Tepeyolpac
10. Chinantlan
11. Yematlatlan
12. Ocçaxalapá
13. Mixtlan
a. Pactlan
(near Alvarado)
14. Michapan (?)
30. Xuxuchco
1. Mapachtepec
2. Acapetlayolan
3. Huiztlan

27
28
29
MAN

[facing p. 144 (c)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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4. Huehuetlan
5. Maquetlan
6. XOCONOCHCO
7. Ayotlan

The Road to Xoconochco

1. Xalapa*
2. Quetzalapan
3. Itzcuintepec
4. Xalapa
5. Tecuantepec (Tehuantepec)
6. Xochotlan (Jochitán)
7. Ixhuatlan (Ixhuatán)
8. Tuxtepec (Tuxtepán)
9. Chiapan (Chiapa de Corzo)
10. Teoxacatepec
11. Huixtlan (Huixtla)
12. Cuauhtlan (Cuautitán)

THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

31. Tepexic
1. Quetzalpochtlan
2. Teotenchitlá
3. Tlapantlan
4. Huehuetlá
5. Cihuatlan
6. Yuhuan
7. Epatlan
8. Nacochtlan
9. Cuyuhuco
10. Quetzlavlaxinká
11. Tlipexic
12. Quauhtlatoxinco
13. Tecalco
14. TEPEACAC
15. Acotlemic
16. Teyetlancco
17. Quechtlac
18. Tlipetlaxcalco
a. Ahuatlan
b. Tezalanco
c. Çipotlánzingo
32. Tonalapec
1. Ytzmin
2. Acatlan
3. YOALTEPEC (?)
4. Ehecatlco
5. Petlanxlá (?)
6. Tlelacapan
7. Yopanapec (?)
8. Tecuanxochitlan
9. Apanxochipalcatla
10. Tlaxiaxá (?)
a. Tonalá
b. Ixcuintlanco
c. Tlacuilan
33. Tlapan
1. Cuauhtlan
2. Yoltotlaxá
3. Teyuxquanco
4. TLAPA
5. Tlacuatzintlaxinxá
6. Malinaltepec
7. Acatlaxá
8. Ayutla
9. Tonatepec
10. Cuale (?)
11. Cuquilinch
a. Jochitán
34. Tlachquiauco
1. Tlacotepec
2. Ilitzapec
3. TLACHQUIAUCO
4. Acatlatlan
35. Cuayuchatlan
1. Petlalcalco
2. Chilo
3. Ixcuintlan
4. Tamaquilaxá
5. Tlemaco
6. COATZTLAHUACA
7. Cincatlan
8. Papalotepec
9. Tepexcilla
10. Malinalapec
11. Chalmecatlco
12. Atlatlahuca
13. Tlapanchicalá
14. Yancuitlan
15. Nochtlan
16. Çiçinlan
17. Xaltepec
18. Mixtlan
19. Tamaçulac
36. Cuyuhapan
1. Yolomanxitlan
2. Atapec
3. Cuauhtlan
4. Xalitzinco
5. Tecuanxilco
6. Itzuxtlan
7. Çoquiapan
8. Iztapexi
9. Xitlan
10. Quauhtlotitlan
11. Teotzacualco
12. Itzquintepec
13. Estetlan (?)
14. Quauxiloticpac
15. Huixtepec
16. Tonomechapa
17. Xilotepec
18. Zoyomatepec
19. Guaxacac
20. Tlalitzincac
21. COYOLAPAN
22. Macuilxochic
23. Teotitlan del Valle
24. Tlalcuechahuaxá
25. Tezapotlan
26. Texicpac
27. Tlacolula
28. Mictlan
29. Octlan
30. Chichicapan
31. Michuxtlan
32. Cuixtlan
33. Cuetlan

THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE

37. Çiçaltepec and Tlatelolco
1. ÇITLALTEPEC
2. Tenpanco
3. Xaltocan
4. Pipotlan
5. Teyacalco
6. Chalco Atenco
38. Petlacalco†
7. Tecolopan
8. PETLACALCATL
9. Huiçilopochco
10. Tlapotitlan
11. Cuitlahuac
12. Olac
13. Xico
14. Mixquic
15. Cuopilan
16. Tenpetlan

* There are two towns of the same name.

† The numbering of towns in this province is continuous with that of the preceding province.

[facing p. 144 (D)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

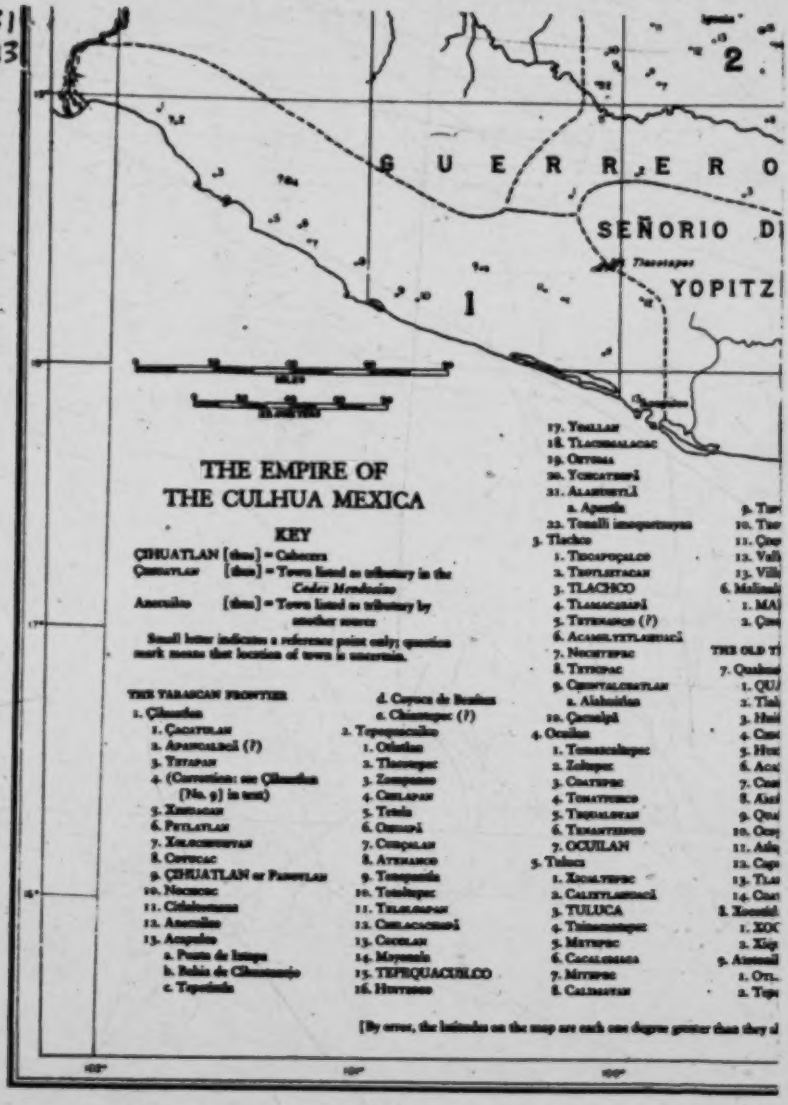

[facing p. 144(E)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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103

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

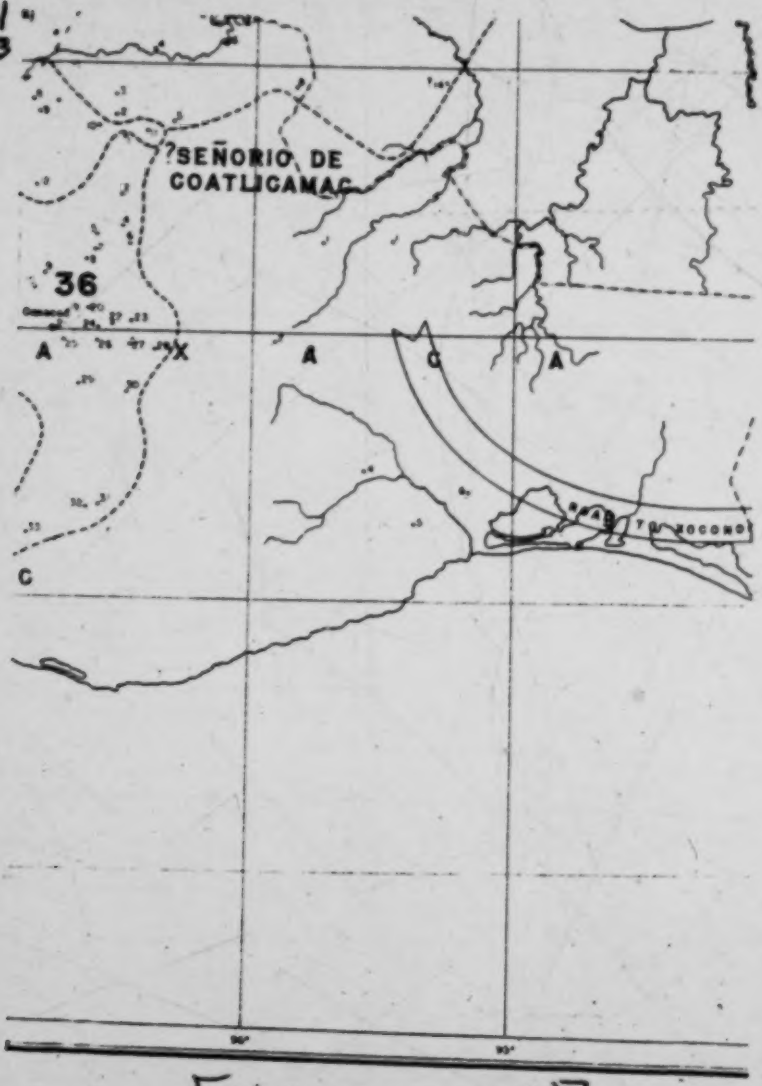

[Facing p. 144(G)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

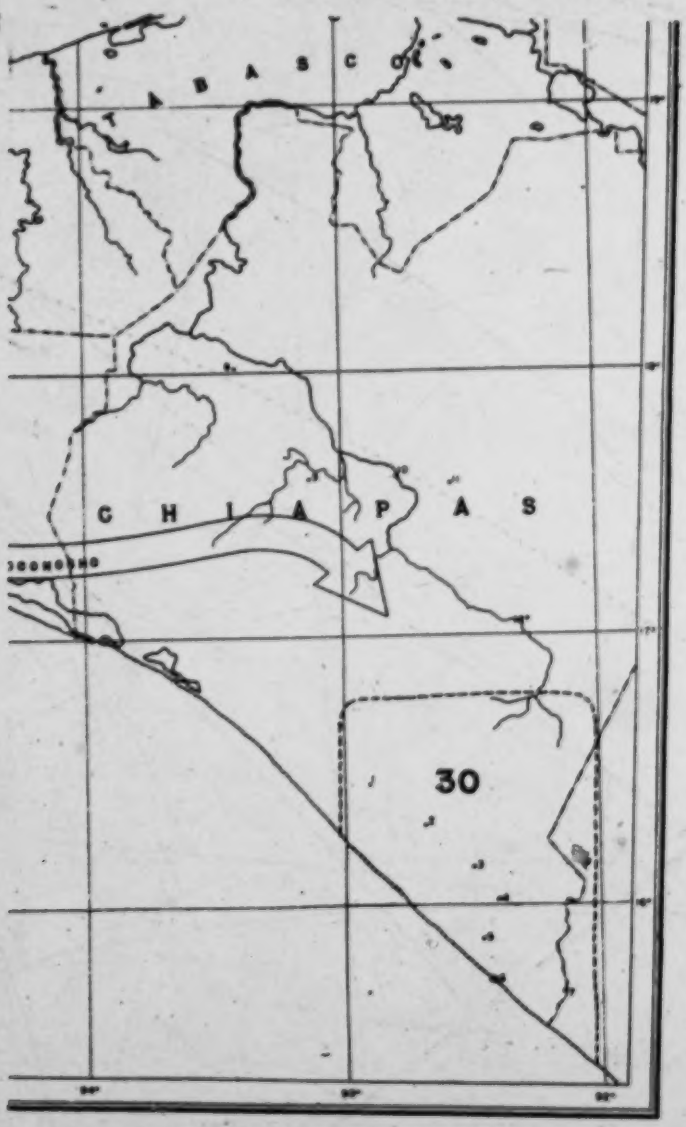

[facing p.144(H)]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The objective point of this march was, as we have already 726
stated, the enemy's territory. There was no strict boundary-line [131]
dividing the tribes of Mexico from each other; a belt of uninhabited or deserted land merely surrounded and thus isolated every tribe.[156] This neutral strip was the ground on which the enemy expected the Mexicans (provided they knew of their coming, and felt strong enough to meet them in the open field).[157] It was, therefore, commonly called "ground of war or battle" ("Yaomalli"),[158] and as soon as the Mexican force approached this region, its movements grew less swift and proportionately more cautious. At dusk they halted on this dangerous area, selecting for their encampment, if possible, an elevated, open position, unfavorable for surprise. The huts (and perhaps tents) and bowers, for which some materials had been taken along, were hurriedly

them, Duran positively saying, on the same page, after a lengthy enumeration of the [724]
supplies and provisions prepared for the journey: "lo qual, luego fue en seguimiento "de la gente; lo qual no se proueia sino para el lugar donde se avia de asentar el real, "porque para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proueian de todo lo necessario, etc., "etc., etc." The same author continues (p. 184): "Haciansе seruir como dioses, y en "todos los caminos no parecia gente por donde iban los soldados y la gente de guerra, "todos se encerraban que no osauan andar por los caminos, porque los soldados les "quitaban quanto llevaban en sus cargas, y si acaso le queria defender, los apaleauan "y herian, y algunos mataban y iban robando las sementeras y matando quantas galli-"nas y perillos topaban; iban haciendo quanto mal podian, como lo hacen agora "nuestros españoles, si no los van a' la mano, ... y asi eñ sabiendo que auia "guerra, todos los vecinos de los pueblos, por donde auian de pasar los del exercito, se "escondian y escondian el maiz, el chile, las gallinas y los perros, finalmente escondian "quanto tenian." This shows a very simple mode of subsistance,—they lived upon the country through which they passed. But it also shows the barbarous condition of the Nahuatl tribes. Even on their march through a friendly country from whose annual tribute they partly subsisted, they behaved little better than a large horde of savages, or at least of cut-throats and highway robbers. The "civilized" troops of Europe were little better at that time, and even up to the close of the 17th century.

[156] Gomara ("De las guerras," Vedia, I, p. 442): "They call quiahtlali the space and "area which they left depopulated between the boundaries of each province for to fight "there, and it is like unto sacred." See Tezozomoc (Cap. LXVIII, p. 113; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151; cap. XCV, p. 167, etc., etc.). The delegates sent by Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, to assist at the festivals in Mexico, were always met "half way in the woods" ("la mitad del monte") separating the tribes. Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. XXXIII, p. 125) mentions a boundary line between the territories of Mexico and Tezcuco, but the description of it is such that the statement remains more than doubtful.

[157] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 538): "Quando se admitia la Batalla, y venian "los unos, contra los otros, salian los de la Provincia, o' Pueblo a' un lugar particular, "que tenian entre sus terminos los quales llamaban Yauhtlalli, que quiere decir; Ter-"mino o' Lugar de la Guerra. Aqui salian los Proprietarios de la Tierra a' recibir a los "contrarios." Also, Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 442).

[158] From "yaoti," enemy, or "yaoyotl," battle or war, and "tlalli," ground or soil.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock,
174 speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

174 While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquirans of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340–348).

[648] [18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical.—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

[131] [19] See "Art of War," p. 135. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III. p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time, and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

[226] [20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlaca." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacati," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Aztecs" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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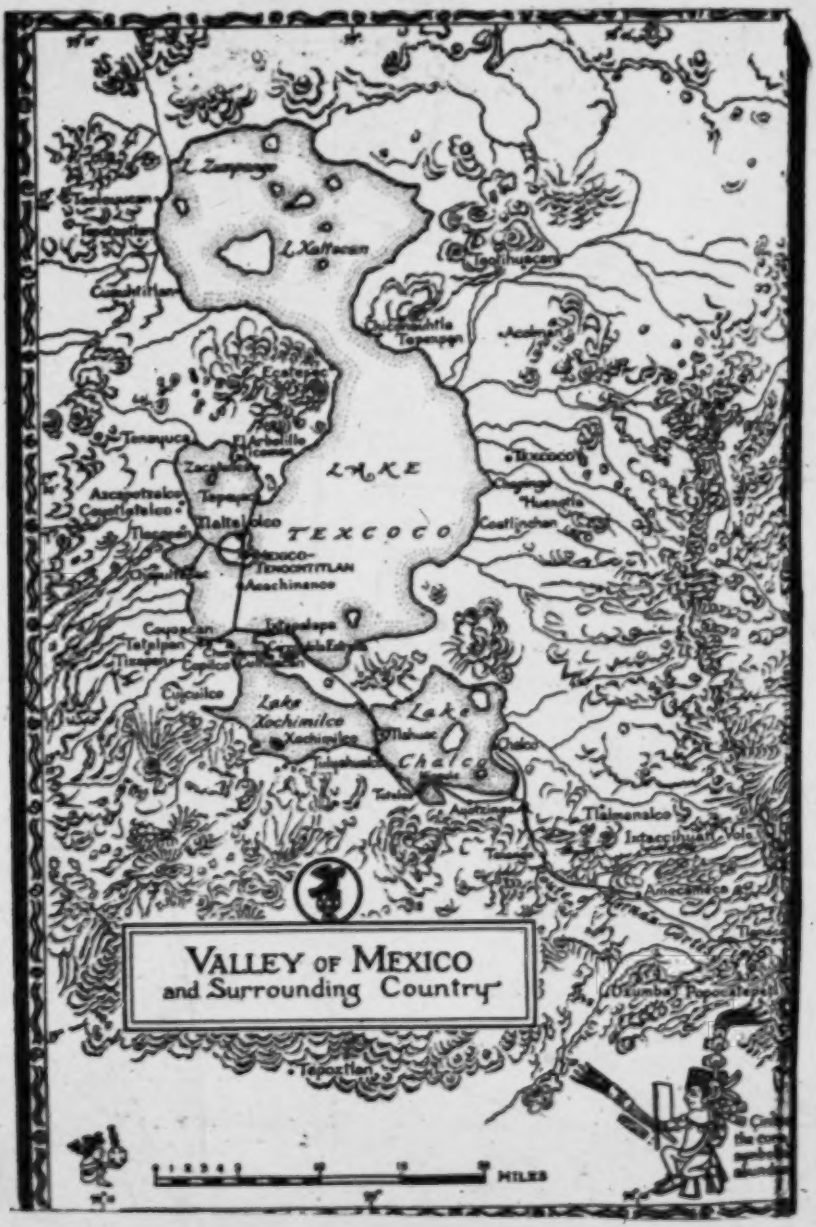

[END PAPER MAP (A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[END PAPER MAP (B)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-
[114] century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are
131 included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[a] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua
[491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal
[133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[b] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[c] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[d] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names
[103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like
[101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca
[491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[e] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[a] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[b] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[e] *PNE*, 6: 159–159.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 An extensive zone to the south of Lake Chalco is rendered uninhabit-
[133 able by the lava flow, or "Pedregal," emitted by the Ajusco Mountains,
311] which form the valley rim. If any small settlements existed in this area, their tribute was probably reckoned as a part of that collected from some major town in the region of Xochimilco or Tepoztlan.

Auchpanco is identified by Acosta with Ayapango.

Colhuacacinco,[8] later San Cristobal, lay on the shore of Lake Xaltocan, east of Tzonpanco (2).

Olac is a barrio of Xochimilco.[9]

632 *Petlacalcatl* is the inscription under the glyph of a house made of
114 grass mats, in the *Mendocino*. It occupies the usual place of the cabecera in the manuscript, and like all the other towns was originally followed by the word "pu[ebl]o." A later hand has struck this out and has replaced it with the word "gobernador," perhaps under the influence of the double (and doubtful) annotation about "Acolhuacā" and "Acolmecatl calpixqui" (tribute collector) which heads Acolhuacan Province.

That something is wrong is evident from the form of the original annotation. It is probably a place glyph, but the annotation takes the form of a personal glyph. I have chosen to read it as Petlacalco. The result is the same, for the Petlacalcatl, on the facing *Mendocino* page, was a head tribute collector, and the Petlacalco[10] was the "audiencia" building in the Tenochtitlan palace, which also housed a majordomo in charge of the granaries.[11]

632 *Texcacoac*[12] is a barrio of Tepotzotlan, and consequently we should judge that it lay north of Tecoloapan (7).

[8] Located after the printing of the map, "dista del pueblo de Tiçayuca vna legua hazia el sueste" (*PNE*, 3: 44 and n. 2).

[9] Olaguibel, *Onomatologia del estado de México* (1894), p. 96.

[10] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], I: 166.

[11] *Ibid.*, II: 311.

[12] Located after the printing of the map; it is mentioned in the Ayer "Fragment of a Village Book," and, as Texcacoa, in García Cubas' *Diccionario*.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches sum-
●133 marized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second
[312] letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 58) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3,
[782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the fresh-
133 water part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is
312 now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan-
[241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*,
127 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the
133 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along
731 the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches[1] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[1] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. — Analyst]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

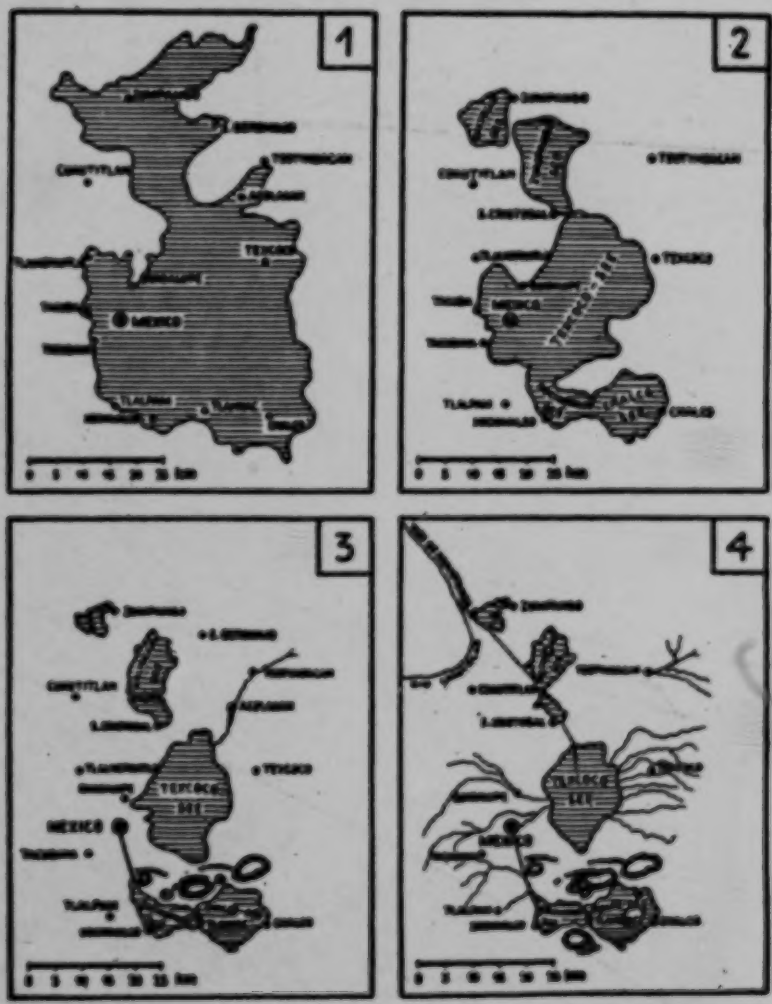

Fig. 1. Sketch maps of the lakes of the Valley of Mexico, (1) during the Ice Age, (2) at the beginning of the 16th century, (3) at the beginning of the 19th century, (4) in 1889. Reproduced from Schilling (1939).

the salt lake from the streams on the eastern side of the Valley, were described by Motolinía in 1540 (Steck edition 1951, p. 263). That seiches also occurred may be inferred from Cortés' reference to "tides" (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 256). Moreover, Sahagún records in Book Eight a tradition, regarded later as an omen of the coming of the Spaniards, to the effect that "the water of the lake foamed up, and

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 the wind did not stir it up. It was as welled up .... and it reached the
133 lower parts of the houses" (1954 edition, p. 18). There appear to
731 be no modern observations of seiches, but the extraordinary Gómara remarks (1940 edition, pp. 195–196) that "the salte water ebbeth and floweth, accordyng to the wynde that bloweth".

127 Whether irrigation was practiced in Middle America is a question
312 that has never been adequately considered (Millon, 1954; Palerm, 1955). Clearly it would not have been necessary in Aztec times in the Valley of Mexico; *chinampa* agriculture, which substituted for irrigation, has an ancient history in the Valley (Apenes, 1943), but it is not known elsewhere nearer than the Vale of Kashmir (West and Armillas, 1950). At other times and in other places it seems certain that the dense population could not have been maintained without irrigation. The great ceremonial center of Teotihuacán lies in a subdivision of the Valley that receives less precipitation than Mexico City, and some irrigation is practiced there today. We know from the work of Apenes (1943) and Sears (1952) that just prior to Teotihuacán times (about 500 B. C.) the Valley lakes were appreciably lower than today, and the conclusion is inescapable that Teotihuacán culture was founded on high ground and flourished during a dry time when irrigation must have been essential. Deforestation (Vaillant, 1941) complicates the hydrographic picture for Teotihuacán times but it is evident that the rise and spread of Aztec culture was related to increased moisture, reflected in high lake levels during the 14th to 16th centuries. The high levels would doubtless have continued through the 18th century, in agreement with climatic oscillations elsewhere, if sporadic attempts to drain the Valley had not been partially successful in the early 17th century (they were not completely successful until 1900).

Aztec control of hydrography, then, did not include irrigation where it was unnecessary, but was devoted, in the last centuries before the Conquest, to regulating the levels of the lakes. Before the Aztecs entered the Valley, however, they lived in many places, not all of
127 which were lacustrine. So far archaeology has made little progress in reconstructing the details of their history during the migration period. The problem is exceedingly complicated, and four centuries of scholarship have not made it less so. The Aztecs were interested in their own history, and attempted to draw it together in pictorial manuscripts. These have been lost, and what have come down to us are copies, made, probably from memory, by hispanicized Indians under the prodding of the 16th-century friars. In the interpretation and verbalization of these pictorial histories we have to contend with ideas implanted by the friars, and the result is a picture of the migration period that is strongly reminiscent of the wandering of the Israelites, joined to a

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

self? Tell them that I will take vengeance before tomorrow and that they should not dare to give advice about matters which are for me to determine. Let them know that all they have to do is to obey'. Having said this, those who saw assert that the idol looked so ugly and frightful, that all were terrified and frightened. On that very night, it is said, when everything was quiet, a loud noise was heard in part of the camp and when the people rushed there in the morning, they found that all those who had spoken in favor of remaining in this place were dead with their breasts torn open and their hearts torn out. In this way it was that they were taught that most cruel of sacrifices, a custom they always practiced after that, which consisted of cutting open a man's chest in order to tear out his heart and offer it to their idols. (The reason they did that) they claimed was because (their god) ate only hearts. 127 174

"Having thus punished them, Huitzilopochtli ordered his priests to tear down the dykes and repairs they had made when they deflected the course of the water to form the lagoon and instructed them to make the river take its former bed. This they did, and the entire lagoon being thus emptied of water the place became as dry as it had been before. When the Mexicans, after some time, saw how sterile the place had become, and realized also that their god was incensed at them, they consulted him, raised their camp, and set out from the neighborhood of Tula in the year 1168 A. D."

– – Radin's translation, 1920, pp. 73–74.

This circumstantial account, alas, cannot be taken as showing that there was an artificial lake at Tula. The more operational suggestion that emerges is that Tula, as understood by Tovar's Aztec informants, was whatever place can be shown to have had an artificial lake. But even this suggestion is hardly worth following up, as the following argument implies. 133●

The "pure" glyph for Tollán (Tula), as it occurs in the Codex Xólotl (Dibble 1951) and the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938) consists (Figure 3) of a row of cattails, *Typha* (identified as *Cyperus flavicomus* Michx. by Clark, whose botanical identifications are undocumented and not always reliable). In the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Anonymous, 1944), commonly known outside Mexico as the Codex Boturini, we have an Aztec pictorial history that is somewhat more influenced by European draughtsmanship; it shows Tula (Figure 2) as cattails in a lake, accompanied by a large-scaled fish that looks remarkably like a carp. Tula is also shown in the pictures that accompany Tovar's *Relación* (the Codex Ramírez, Orozco y Berra's edition, 1944, Lam. II), which, like the text, represent a version of Diego Durán's 127 212

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.

Introductory Notes to Book VI.

●133 THE Valley of Mexico is a level plain about 7424 feet above the sea, completely surrounded by mountains which leave no exit for the escape of the water from a fairly abundant rainfall, and as a consequence the whole valley at one period must have formed one vast lake, whose volume was limited only by soakage and the very rapid evaporation due to a tropical sun. At the time of the Conquest the area of the surface of the lakes was (very roughly) 442 square miles.

A red line on the map[1] marks the shape and size of this basin, taking as a limit the crests of the mountains and hills that surround it and the dividing line of the watershed; this includes about 3110 square miles.

The mountains surrounding the valley may be roughly divided into three ranges. To the East the Sierra Nevada, with the great peaks of Popocatepetl (17,887 ft.) and Ixtaccihuatl (17,342 ft.) capped with perpetual snow, and the three lower peaks to the North, Papayo, Telapon and Tlaloc; to the South lies the great volcanic barrier of Ajusco, to the West the range of Las Cruces, and to the North that of Pachuca. Towards the south part of the valley the intrusion of the low volcanic cones of Chimalhuacan, Santa Catarina, la Estrella and their neighbours, reduced the water surface between the lakes of Xochimilco and Texcoco to a narrow space, and, to the north of the valley, the northern end of the Sierra de Guadalupe and the volcano of Chiconahutla narrowed the water space between the lakes of Texcoco and Xaltocan. The rainfall appears to be more considerable on the western than on the eastern side of the lakes. The streams flowing into the lakes are of necessity short in their courses and mostly torrential, by far the most important being the Rio de Guatitlan on the North-west.

Although the lakes have received different names, the water surface must have been continuous until separated by the earth-works of the Indians. Starting from the North the lakes are named Zumpango, Xaltocan (the southern part was called San Cristóbal by the Spaniards), Texcoco, Xochimilco and Chalco.

Of this chain of lakes Texcoco lies lowest, and measurements made in recent years, after much of the water had been drained away, show the following heights above the level of Texcoco. To this list is also

[1] Map No. 1.[1]

[1] [This map was not processed for the Aztec File.]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

133 appended the depths of the lakes as determined by the drainage commission of 1861.

Name.	Level above Texcoco in Metres.	Depth in Metres.
Texcoco	0.00 ...	0.50
Zumpango ...	6.06 ...	0.80
Xaltocan	3.47 ...	0.40
San Cristóbal ...	3.60 ...	0.60
Xochimilco ...	3.14 ...	2.40 to 3.00
Chalco	3.08 ...	2.40
City of Mexico ...	1.90 ...	—

Silt may have made a considerable difference to the level of the lakes during four hundred years, but no possible allowance for silt could alter the conclusion that at the time of the Conquest the lakes must have been very shallow.

241 The site of the City was originally, in all probability, two reed-covered mud banks or islands, which may have been cultivated in 361 much the same manner as were the *chinampas* or floating gardens at the time of the Conquest, or as the chinampas of Xochimilco are at the present day, and these two islands became respectively the sites of the towns of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan, and the space between them was eventually reduced to a rather broad canal.

361 Islands in lakes, or rocky knolls on the land surrounded by deep barrancas or gulches, were frequently chosen by the Indians tribes as sites for towns on account of the facility for defence, and the number of such sites in Mexico and Central America[1] still either occupied by towns or containing the ruins of ancient buildings are evidence of a continual state of intertribal walfare.

241 The chinampas were formed by heaping up the soft mud from the lake on to wattles in order to form seed beds for flowers and vegetables, and these floating gardens gradually increased in size and became more compact from the growth of the interlacing roots of the willows and other water-loving plants until they may have supported a small hut for the owner and his family, and the lengthening roots eventually anchored them on the shallow margin of the lake. Two large groups of such gardens are shown on the map published in Clavigero's *History of Mexico* lying off

[1] Cf. Mixquic, Tlahuac and Xochimilco in the lakes of Mexico, Tayasal in the lake of Peten, and the island homes of the Lacandones in Guatemala. Towns almost surrounded by barrancas are Cuernavaca and Yacapistla in Mexico, and Utatlan and Iximché, etc., in Guatemala. It is as well to note here that such sites were not chosen for cities of the older culture such as Teotihuacan, Cholula, Mitla, Palenque, Copan, etc.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was protected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

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[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes históricos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

133 Such springs were also to be seen in and around the Lake of Mexico, but not in such considerable numbers, and there must also have been one or more on the site of the City which supplied its earliest inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

161 "The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

134 The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes are composed of *tepetatle*, a mixture of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all. [241] The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

241 Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

Note on the Drainage.

000 From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley became the preoccupation of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Netzahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin, known in Mexico as Enrico Martínez, planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountain rim to the north-east of the valley, but this work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zumpango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

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[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*.
[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.
[3] Text page 72.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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731 and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was pro-
503 tected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The
133 great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or
● 134 in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke
133 of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

503 It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake
[226] of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of
312 numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

133 The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco
312 were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

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[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

133 Such springs were also to be seen in and around the Lake of
312 Mexico, but not in such considerable numbers, and there must also have been one or more on the site of the City which supplied its earliest inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

161 "The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

●134 The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes are composed of *tepetatle*, a mixture of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all.
[241] The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

241 Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

Note on the Drainage.

000 From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley became the preoccupation of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Netzahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin, known in Mexico as Enrico Martínez, planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountain rim to the north-east of the valley, but this work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zumpango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

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[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico.*
[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.
[3] Text page 72.

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat clipper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *magney* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *magney* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Vilos, *ynnevemalo*, tlapizalotinh, quijpizzinj, in tezzizzli, cohcoxuiac chilliali.

Auh in nauchintin tlamacazqueque, quijmamma yn imiyiequach, ynnecacozquj, innemecacozquj, itech pipilcatinh yn iuuiequach, onteztinh yiaqualli: yoan quijnacazzinh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietinh, yoan yuitz ietinh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiquijpil.

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiscazzinh, quijquechpanotinh, xiochicaoazzli, no itoca nacalquauijl, petlaoac, petlactic, petlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlazztic, yoan cacalaca, quijcacalazzinh

socac ce ommocaoa calmecac, cemjchictinh, cacimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan nauijntin in ynpa ommocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, xiochiuhtoque, xiacachoaque; quijpizzinque in quijqujztli, quijquijçotoque.

Auh yn oncito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazqueque: nauhcampa in manca yn xiauhcalli, njman ic ic neteteco, netlalilo, tlatzittzilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzizilizzalo:

in ic iulquij njman ic tlatoa, in vene itoca chalchiuhquaquijlli: quijtoa.

Coatl yçomocaiil, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcoacuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ic ic onnenepanaloa atla, tlachachaquazzinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacziujtecinemj, atlacziuitectinemj, tzazzitinemj, ycaoacatinemj, qujadaichecalhuja yn izqujchtin totome:

coquj canaiihtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'tzin qujatdaichecalhuja, in pihpinzi, pipizzitlatoa: cequjntin quintlaichecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin azzatlatoa, cequjntin azzequentlatoa, cequjn tocujlcoiotlatoa:

yn vncan maldaia yn, tlacepantla manca in cuem-

10. CARDÓS: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (México: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21; *cuahuaxilot; cuauxilo (cuauh)*(?).

11. "*Todos llevaban a cuestas, como salpicadas, atados con unas cordelejas de ixtlí, con unas bolsas de cuero; y de unas cuelgaban, como unas de papel pintadas, atados con los mismos ixtlejos, que llamaban pilapantlí; y en aquellas colgaba llenaba con unos de hierba, hecha a la manera de polvos de tabaco, que ellos llamaban poquietl, que son colorados con tinta, y con polvos de una yerba que ellos llamaban yiauí, que es como holaldre de cuchillo*" (corresponding Spanish text).

Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: "*Magney*: *acuil* cane, *yuil* tobacco. The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the *yuil* or Nicotiana rustica Sahl.; the *quauhyuil*; *quauhtlalo* nicotiana, *yuil* tobacco, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and *poctoli*; *pinolco* *mecali*, *yuil* tobacco, or Nicotiana tabacum L. tobacco either as snuff or chewed in pellets called *poquietl*; *yuil* tobacco, *quauhtl*, *yuil*, or smoked as cigars or pipes; *pacoli* smoke, *yuil* tobacco. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *xochicuauhtl*, aromatic herbs, and charcoal." Cf. also ibid., Vol. II, p. 134.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. 2, § 1 of Sahagún. Cf. Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 149-51. Saldívar defines them respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; blue American egret or heron; kingfisher (*amapola* or *amapantli*); and sandhill crane (*Mexico Antiguo*, p. 124, items 3-7).

X 796 selves in line and came up the youths and small boys, who offered the old men serpents which they had captured. The old men took these from them and cast them into the fire—everything, whatever they had captured; all the birds—the thrush, the precious [136] thrush, small birds found among the reeds—all the varied kinds of birds; and the water dogs, scorpions, striped lizards, trout, the white fish,[3] the sand fish, crabs, frogs, gulls[4]—all these they cast into the fire.

[262] Then appeared [the boys], and [the priests] offered each one a *tamal* stuffed with greens. And all the common folk made themselves *tamales* stuffed with greens. They laid them before [the image of] Xiuhtecutli. As many as offered to Xiuhtecutli did so purely voluntarily. And some laid them as offerings only in the tribal temples.

And the *tamales* stuffed with greens they also named precious green stone *tamales*. And all the common folk presented among themselves their *tamales* stuffed with greens; they were presented among themselves. Whoever first cooked her *tamal* of greens then went to offer it to her kin. Thus she showed her self-esteem.

[262] And the sauce of the *tamales* stuffed with greens was a sauce of crabs.[4] And the sauce was called *chamolmolli*. And when the good common folk ate, they stood sweating and burning themselves. And the *tamales* stuffed with greens were very hot and gleaming; and they ate them hot, [so that even] their noses streamed. And the husks they set apart; no one let them reach the fire. They strewed all of them in the water.

[273] And when this was done, when all was eaten, thereupon wine was drunk. It was said: "They are refreshed; the old men refresh [themselves] there in the Temple of Xiuhtecutli." And thus they refreshed [themselves] with wine; they sat drinking and singing until it was dark. Here ended and concluded [the time when] *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten; the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens.

X 796 778 And when Iacalli came, when twenty days were counted, [this was] when Milintoc roasted something for himself—[he who] likewise [was god of] fire. They also set up his image, which was only a frame-

pipiltecuiti, quimomacatimanj, in vevetque, in cuecua in oquimacique: quinoalcuijlitimanj in vevetque, tleco quimontlastimanj, yuan in ic inquijch, in aquin çaço tlein ocacic, in jnquijch tozcul, in acatzanacl, in tecuzanacl, in acatechichictl, in ic inquijch nepapá tozcul, yuan in axoloti, in acalteçpos, in mijquanechtli, xovili, in amjlotl, in xalmjchi, in acocilin, in cuijatl, anemer, moch tleco quimótlastimanj:

njmã ic oalquijtimanj, quinoalmacatimani, ocentetl in oauhquijtamalli. Auh inquijch tlacatl in macoalli moouhquijtamalhuja: ixpan ontlamanaia in xiuhtecutli: çan teiollotlama, in quexquj ontlamanaia ixpan Xiuhtecutli: auh in coquijntin çan in cacalpulco in tlamanaia.

Auh in oauhquijtamalli, no quijtocaiotiaia, chalchiuhtamalli: auh in jxquijch macoalli netech quimomacaia, in inoauhquijtamal: netech motlatlamacaia: in aquin achto oicucic, ioauhquijtamal: moc iauh quimacaz in jaliolquj, ic quinextia in netlaçotlaliztli.

Auh in oauhquijtamalli in jmollo caica, acocitlatonjlli: auh in tlatonjlli, motocaiotiaia, chamolmolli: auh in jquac tlaquaia macoaltzitzinti, mjltonjtoque, mochichinotoque: auh in oauhquijtamalli, vel tozonquj tozontlapeztic quitoxoncaqua, iaiacapoçontoque: auh in jxoaio, çan nonqua quitlaliaia, aiac tleco conaxitiaia: muchi atlan contepeoaia.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ontlatlaqualoc, njmã ic ic tlaxano: mjtoa, texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vmpa itrupan xiuhtecutli: auh injc texcalcevia vetli, tlaoantoque, cujcatoque, çan iuh ioon, njcã tlamj ic tzonquiça, in oauhquijtamalli quale, in anoço vauhquijtamalqualiztli.

Auh in onacic Iacalli, in jquac tlacempoalti: iquac motlaxquijaia in Milintoc, çan no ic in tletl: no quitlaliaia ixiptla, çan no cototli in quichioaia, conaquja ixaiac, tapachtli in tlachioalli, motentlilhuj, in tilli

3. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. III, p. 194 (*[illegible]*, *[illegible]*); p. 199 (*[illegible]*, *[illegible]*); p. 196 (*[illegible]*); pp. 167-8 (*[illegible]*); p. 189 (*[illegible]*). *[illegible]* in *[illegible]* according to Garibay (*Libro del cielo*, p. 198), and *[illegible]* (*[illegible]*) according to Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 75); Robert Lehmann-Nitsche ("Tlacalepan und Quauhtlacuaxi," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. LXX, p. 76) says it is a "*[illegible]*" (*Fischkorb*)." For *[illegible]*, Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 90) has *Cyprinus [illegible]*: *fin smelled* (Vol. II, p. 75) "a white fish like a small eel." Cf. also Seler, *Ausgw. Kapitel*, p. 233.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 155-6.

539 Then it became the office of Ecatl to slay the gods. But they say thus: that Xolotl wished not to die. He said to the gods: "Let me not die, O gods." Wherefore he wept much; his eyes and his eyelids swelled.

Niná ic ieh itequiuh ômochiuh, in hecatl, ic quinmjctia in tetru: auh in iuh conitoa, ay xolotl, amo momiquitlania: quimilhui in tetru. Macamo nimiqui tetenie. Ic cêca chocaia, vel ispopoçaoac, isquatolpopoçaoac.

And when he who dealt death was to overtake him, he fled from his presence; he ran; he quickly entered a field of green maize, and took the form of, and quickly turned into, two young maize stalks [growing] from a single root, which the workers in the field have named *xolotl*. But there, in the field of green maize, he was seen. Then once again he fled from him; once more he quickly entered a maguey field. There also he quickly changed himself into a maguey plant [consisting of] two [parts] called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and once more he quickly entered into the water and went to take the shape of [an amphibious animal called] *axolotl*. There they could go to seize him, that they might slay him.

Auh in ic itech onaci miquiztli, çan tripâpa eoac, cholo, tocitlan calactiuetz: ipan onmixuch, ic mocueptiuetz, in toctli ome manj, maxaltic: in quitocaiotia millaca, xolotl. Auh vncan itoc in tocitlan: ic no ceppa teispampa eoac, ic no cuele metitlan calactiuetz: no ic ômocuepiuetz in metl, ome manj, in itoca mexolotl. Ic no ceppa itoc, ic no cuele atlan calactiuetz, axolotl mocuepano: ic vel vmpa canato, inic conmictique.

[136]

And they say that though all the gods died, even then the sun god could not move and follow his path. Thus it became the charge of Ecatl, the wind, who arose and exerted himself fiercely and violently as he blew. At once he could move him, who thereupon went on his way. And when he had already followed his course, only the moon remained there. At the time when the sun came to enter the place where he set, then once more the moon moved. So, there, they passed each other and went each one his own way. Thus the sun cometh forth once, and spendeth the whole day [in his work]; and the moon undertaketh the night's task; he worketh all night; he doth his labor at night.

Auh quitoa, in manel muchintin teteu omicque, ça nel amo ic olin, amo vel ic otlatocac in teutl tonatiuh: ic itequiuh ommuchiuh in hecatl, moquetz in checatl, cenca molhui, totocac, in checat: quin ieheatl vel colinj, nimah ic ic otlatoca. Auh in icoac, ic otlatoca, çan vmpa ommocauh in metztli: quinicoac in ocalaquito icalaquian tonatiuh, ic no cuele ic oalcoac in metztli: ic vncan mopatilique, motlallotique. Inic ceppa oalquiça tlacemilhuitiltia in tonatiuh: auh in metztli ioealtequitl quitlaça cêioual quitlaça, iealtequitl.

From this it appeareth, it is said, that the moon, Tecuciztecatl, would have been the sun if he had been first to cast himself into the fire; because he had presented himself first and all [his offerings] had been costly in the penances.

Ic vncâ hin neci, mitoa: ca iehoatl tonatiuh iesquia in metztli tecuciztecatl, intla ic achto onuetzinj tleco: ipampa ca iehoatl achto misquetz, inic muchi tlaçotli ipan tlamacoth.

Here endeth this legend and fable, which was told in times past, and was in the keeping of the old people.

Nican tlami, in hin nenonotzalli, çaçanilli: in ie uecauh ic tlatlanonotzaia, vnicque, in impiel catca.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821 843 When the moon eclipsed, his face grew dark and sooty; blackness and darkness spread. When this came to pass, women with child feared evil; they thought it portentous; they were terrified [lest], perchance, their [unborn] children might be changed

Metztli quale.

In icoac, quale metztli: ithlaoa, iecuichoa, cuichoonimomana, thiocotimomana. In icoac, y, muchioa: uel motêmatia in ocezzin, tlauiznaria, momauhtiaia: ma nelli moquimichcuepti, ma quiquimichtinmocuepti, in impilhoan.

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, içan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujiehecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujnomachtiz, mochi ic meçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçolocrli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mãcehoallatqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaiehecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anauacaiotl meoaz, motlaiehecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaiehecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaiehecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

[302 304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ococtochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amanteca after the district of Amantlan, in Tonalitlan, where they lived" (Clark, op. cit., I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nepanpixque* for *nepanpiaque*, and begins with the term a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún binds the section, "*Cosas de las fieras.*"

[p.46 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,* and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.*

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles* of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

* See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

* See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

* The *Mendocino résumé*, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

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127 Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), who came to Mexico in 1529. It is unfortunate that there is still no complete edition of this work in a European language. The Spanish version, written by the author toward the end of his life, was not published until the early 19th century, and is in part a condensation of the Nahuatl work written about 1547. This is particularly true of Book Eleven, which contains most of the natural history, and has therefore attracted less attention from scholars than the books dealing with ceremonies and the calendar. The edition by Anderson and Dibble (1950–54), which gives Nahuatl and English in parallel columns, has not yet reached Book Eleven, so we must rely on the 1938 Robredo edition of the Spanish text, while the illustrations
127 are to be found in the Madrid edition of 1905–07. Sahagún's vertebrate
●136 zoology has recently received careful treatment at the hands of Martin del Campo (1938, 1940, 1941). Some of the flavor of his ornithology can be given by "listening to the mockingbird" (actually the curved-bill thrasher, *Toxostoma curvirostre*) when he sings in Nahuatl:

"There is a bird in this country called *cuitlacochtótotl* or *cuitlacochin;* it has longish and slender feet, and a thin and sharp beak, somewhat
[825] curved; it is of a muddy color, tending toward purplish; it sings very well; it is so called by reason of its song, which says *cuitlacoch, cuitlacoch, taratitarat, tatatati, etc.*" (Robredo edition, vol. 3, p. 189).

127 Sahagún's botany will not be discussed here, since it appears not to bear significantly on limnology. It is treated from the medical point of view by Alcocer (1938) in an appendix to the Robredo edition. Aztec medical botany, however, is much more thoroughly covered in Emmart's magnificent edition (1940) of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal of 1552, and in a memoir by Paso y Troncoso (1886), while Sahagún's general botany is competently treated by Rivera (1941).

A general impression of Sahagún's work is that it is the achievement of a man who knew no natural history when he came from Spain, but whose consuming passion for all things Mexican drove him to learn and record all he could from native informants. If so, we are entitled to read between the lines an enormous amount of information that was not recorded. It is of course no new discovery that "primitive" people are very skilful naturalists. Raymond Paynter informs me that more kinds of Yucatecan birds are named in modern Maya than in Latin, and ethnographers have repeatedly found natives to be better naturalists than themselves. This does not diminish the fact that the lacustrine flora and fauna were exceedingly well known to the Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico, many of whom spent most of their lives in canoes and depended on limnologic knowledge for their livelihood. And, though the available sources emphasize the economic basis of this knowledge, so that "comenlos"—"they eat them"—is a monotonous refrain in

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Sahagún, it does not follow that Aztec limnology was exclusively motivated by exploitation. Scientific curiosity in the modern sense was not a dominant quality of 16th-century Spain, and the stress on practical matters is at least as likely to be a property of the Spanish as of the Aztec mind. Moreover, as Maldonado-Koerdell (1946) points out, an essential basis of Aztec interest in natural history, at least in vertebrates and plants, was magical and totemic. 127

FAUNA. It is characteristic, and exasperating, to find that Sahagún's Chapter 12 "De las diversidades de las aguas" discusses the sea, the rivers, and the springs, and omits the lakes. A much more impressive amount of limnologic information is given in Chapter 2, with its list of 41 aquatic birds, practically all of which can be identified (Martin del Campo, 1940). Nahuatl names and brief descriptions are given, but what is more important is that food habits are listed for nearly every species, and that most of them are illustrated. Chapter 3 deals with aquatic animals, including crustaceans, turtles, amphibians (including the axolotl), the marine iguana, and a disappointingly short list of fishes. Crocodiles are separated off with several mythical water creatures in Chapter 4, "De otras animales del agua que no son comestibles". Since Sahagún wrote in the century of Gesner, we need not be surprised to find a certain amount of credulity displayed; the account of the *pacapitzanac* or *nacatzone*, a bird (the eared grebe, *Colymbos nigricollis californicus*) that subsists on its own feathers, is particularly enchanting. 127 136

Fishing on Lake Texcoco is probably not what it was before the Valley lakes were finally lowered in 1900, but statements that the salt lake is lacking in fishes are erroneous. At the time of the Conquest, the Anonymous Conqueror remarked "in the sweet water there are some small fish; in the salt part they are still smaller" (1917 edition, p. 59). Cortés, on the other hand, tells us that the fisheating birds in Montezuma's menagerie were fed daily on two hundred and fifty pounds of fish, caught in the salt lakes (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 266). The two statements do not conflict, since small but numerous members of the families Atheriniidae and Goodeidae were doubtless the staples of the fishery. The aboriginal methods of fishing may be seen within a few miles of Mexico City today, as Linné shows (1937, 1948). All are illustrated in the Florentine Codex, i.e. the work of Sahagún, and in the fascinating pictures that decorate the mid-16th-century map "attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz", now in the library of the University of Uppsala. This map serves as the focal point of Linné's remarkable book (1948), which synthesizes archaeologic, historic, and ethnographic knowledge into a convincing picture of the Valley of Mexico in 1550. 127 136 226 127

The fishing methods include rod-and-line, nets of two of three sorts, 226

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The most famous of the edible invertebrates is the *axayácatl*, referred to as *axaxayácatl* by Sahagún and Hernandez. Although modern writers (Vaillant, 1941; Apenes, 1943; Linné, 1948; Anderson and Dibble, 1954) persist in calling these insects flies, it has been known for more than a century that they are corixid waterbugs. Sahagún's Spanish word was *coquillo*, not *mosco* or *mosquillo*, so the confusion is not his fault. In post-Conquest times the dried adult insects have been widely sold in the markets of the world as food for caged birds, but they were also used as human food; Hernandez says that they were cooked in maize leaves in nitrous water. Hernandez also makes it clear that these insects are the source of *abuautli*, a cake made from the eggs that is still much eaten in Mexico, particularly on watch-nights such as Christmas Eve and Holy Thursday. That *abuautli* was formerly a staple that survives as a delicacy is suggested by its name, which is derived from *atl*, water, and *huautli*, amaranth seed. Now that Sauer (1950) has cleared up some of the indescribable confusion surrounding the use of grain amaranths in aboriginal Mexico, we can begin to appreciate that *abuautli* was really "water grain", though not in the literal sense of "water wheat" implied by Tylor (1861), whose etymology has confused such later writers as Packard (1871). The identity of the insects is an equally tangled bibliographic problem in which the zoologists have hardly been more helpful than the historians.

The fullest and most authoritative-sounding account is that of Orozco y Berra, given in his memoir on the hydrography of the Valley of Mexico (1864). This historian quoted in full de la Llave's description (1832; reprinted 1887) of the adult insect under the name *Abuautlea mexicana* (which appears to be the correct name, though it has been ignored by zoological writers; it has priority over the generic name *Krisousacorixa* Hungerford 1930 and the specific name *Corixa femorata* Guérin-Meneville 1857). He described the cultivation of *abuautli*, which is accomplished by placing bundles of *tules* (*Scirpus* or *Typha*) in the water of Lake Texcoco, stripping off the eggs which the insects lay in countless millions, and processing them into cakes. This much of Orozco y Berra's work is correct; it is fully confirmed by the modern observations of Ancona (1933), and, if there is any doubt that the practice is an aboriginal one, the doubt is removed by Sahagún's figures, reproduced in Plate II nos. 220–221. Professor Hutchinson assures me that no. 220 is certainly the oldest known figure of a corixid waterbug. Oddly enough, Sahagún does not describe the practice or mention *abuautli* with the edible insects in Book Eleven, though he lists it among the products sold in the market in the 19th chapter of Book Eight. Hernandez repairs the omission.

Ancona's account (1933) is the only one by a modern zoologist, and

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127 suggests that the *axayácatl* is ordinarily *Krisousacorixa azteca* Jaczewski, 1931; it may also be *K. femorata* (Guérin-Meneville, 1857), while 136 *Corisella texcocana* Jaczewski and *C. mercenaria* (Say) may be less important components of the market product, along with the backswimmer *Notonecta unifasciata* Guérin-Meneville. Which species contributes most eggs to *ahuautli* is not made clear even by Ancona's paper, although it is certainly one of the species of *Krisousacorixa*.

Unfortunately Orozco y Berra went on to confuse the issue by discussing the *cuculin*. This word does not occur in Sahagún's text, so far as I have been able to discover, though it is mentioned by Hernandez, by Alvarado Tezozomoc (Orozco y Berra's edition, p. 236), and by Pomar in his *Relación de Tezcoco* (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 59). Orozco y Berra considered it to be composed of "nests" of the "larvae" of the *axayácatl*, which come to the surface under circumstances unknown and are scooped from the water and made into cakes. The "larvae", furthermore, are said to be eaten as *puxi*, so that the miraculous corixids are eaten in four different forms under as many names. Corixids, of course, have neither larvae nor nests, and it appears that Orozco y Berra attributed to the *axayácatl* some of the properties of the insect products *cuculin* and *izcauitli* and of the vegetable product *tecuitlatl*. I have not traced the word *puxi* back of Orozco y Berra, but the *cuculin* and the *izcauitli* appear to be pupal and larval stages, respectively, of a salt fly, probably *Ephydra hians* Say. Sahagún describes the *izcauitli* as having "no head, but two tails, and reddish", and the featureless animals shown in Plate I, no. 223, certainly do not disagree with that description.[3] At the risk of introducing still another false etymology I suggest that the name itself has something to do with salt, *iztatl*, but in any case Pomar's description, in the *Relación de Texcoco*, written in 1582 and published by García Icazbalceta in 1891, leaves little doubt that a salt fly is meant: "There grows another sort of food called *ezcauhitli*, which is made of certain little grubs like earthworms, so slender and so pullulent in their multitude and density, that one can scarcely judge whether or not the substance is alive" (p. 59). Salt-fly larvae are almost the only grubs that would occur in such quantities in

[3] In the original codex (of which there is a photostatic copy in the Yale library) the illustrations are interlarded with the Spanish text, and not separated as in the published editions. This arrangement is of little help in identifying the animals, as the association of pictures and text appears to be arbitrary, probably through the copyist's mistake. Thus, while Figure 223 stands with the *oculiztac*, making it conceivable that this, and not *izcauitli*, was Sahagún's word for Ephydrid larvae, Figure 220 stands with *ahuauhtli*. The subsequent paragraph on *axayácatl* contains Figure 221, making it clear that the location of Figure 220 is a mistake.

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a salt lake, and Aldrich (1912) gives a graphic account of *Ephydra gracilis* Packard on the Great Salt Lake, Utah, and of *Ephydra hians* on Mono Lake, California. The latter are not only collected in quantity and eaten by Paiute Indians, but were bred out of supposed "larvae" of the *axayácatl* of Lake Texcoco by Peñafiel (1884) and identified by Williston, who referred to Peñafiel's specimens in 1883 and again in 1896. Even Ancona overlooked the fact that Peñafiel's larvae could have nothing to do with a corixid, so that Aldrich's remark, "it seems that the Diptera and the Hemiptera are mingled together in the quotations", is an understatement.

The pupae of ephydrids come to the surface and undergo mass emergence, and it is then (in September) that they are collected and processed as *kootsabe* by the Paiutes of Mono Lake. In all probability this is the product that the Aztecs called *cuculin*. (The words sound distantly related, which is not inconceivable, as Paiute is a member of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic group). The substance is definitely confounded with *tecuitlatl* by Orozco y Berra, however, and the suggestion that it is made of the pupae of *Ephydra hians* is made with due hesitation. As Aldrich said, "only an investigation by an entomologist at the lake can clear up the confusion" (1912, p. 92). Though Sahagún does not mention *cuculin*, nos. 224 to 227 in Plate I appear to depict stages in its manufacture, or in the collection of the larvae, *izcauitli*.

The puzzling stuff called *tecuitlatl* is mentioned by Sahagún in Book Eight, and listed (as *tecuiltlatl*) with the lower animals in Book Eleven. He describes it as "*urronas*" ("*urrosas*" in Lord Kingsborough's edition (1831–48), but neither form occurs in any dictionary I have consulted nor does my own reading "orroras") which grow on the water, have a purple color, and are harvested, dried on mud, and made into cakes. Anderson and Dibble translate the Nahuatl word as "scum", and the material is probably algal. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, p. 59) refers to it as "green sheets that grow, which, when made into a cake and baked, take on a dark green color, and which the Spaniards call *queso de la tierra*". Hernandez, who lists it among the minerals, confirms the purple or green color ("color adhuc recenti cyaneus, aut viridis"). López de Gómara, who was never in Mexico, but who published in 1552 a delightful book on the Conquest that has been a best-seller for four hundred years, adds the suggestive detail that the substance (which he does not name) was gathered on "threshing floors" (*eras*) like those in which salt is made. He said that it is eaten as we eat cheese, and described its flavor as salty, but very good with *chilmolli* (1943 edition, pp. 238–239); continuing with the sonorous text of the first English edition (1578, reprinted in facsimile 1940) from

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127 which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that
136 this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number
222 of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."
252

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is
127 no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Cas-
136 tillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described
252 as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not im-
262 probable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli*, and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

127 The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no atten-
136 tion from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identified with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón*, or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocuiliztac*, which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *aneneztli*, which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 222 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

127 One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

127 CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected
317 by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas*, 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

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Plate I.

127 Nos. 218–227 from the Codex Florentino (Sahagún, 1905–07), illustrating parts of Book Eleven "Of the properties of animals, birds, fishes, trees, herbs, flowers, metals, and rocks, and of colors". No. 218, the first figure of the axolotl, *Amblystoma mexicanum*; No. 219, *a*, the crayfish, *acocili*; *b*, a dystiscid larva, presumably the *ocuiliztac*; Fig. 220, the first figure of a corixid waterbug, the *axayácatl*, *Abuautlea mexicana* de la Ilave (?=*Krissonacorixa azteca* Jaczewski); 221, the *axayácatl* laying its eggs (*abuautli*) on a cultch of reeds; No. 222, presumed to be Odonata and identified as *ouauezili*; No. 223, presumed to be the ephydrid larvae (*Ephydra hians* Say) with which the *izcauitli* is identified; Nos. 224–225, presumably the harvesting of *cuculin* (not mentioned in Sahagún's text), identified as probably ephydrid pupae; Nos. 226–227, possibly continuing the subject matter of the previous two pictures, or perhaps depicting the harvest and manufacture of the algal cake *tecuitlatl*.

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222

[end plate I a]

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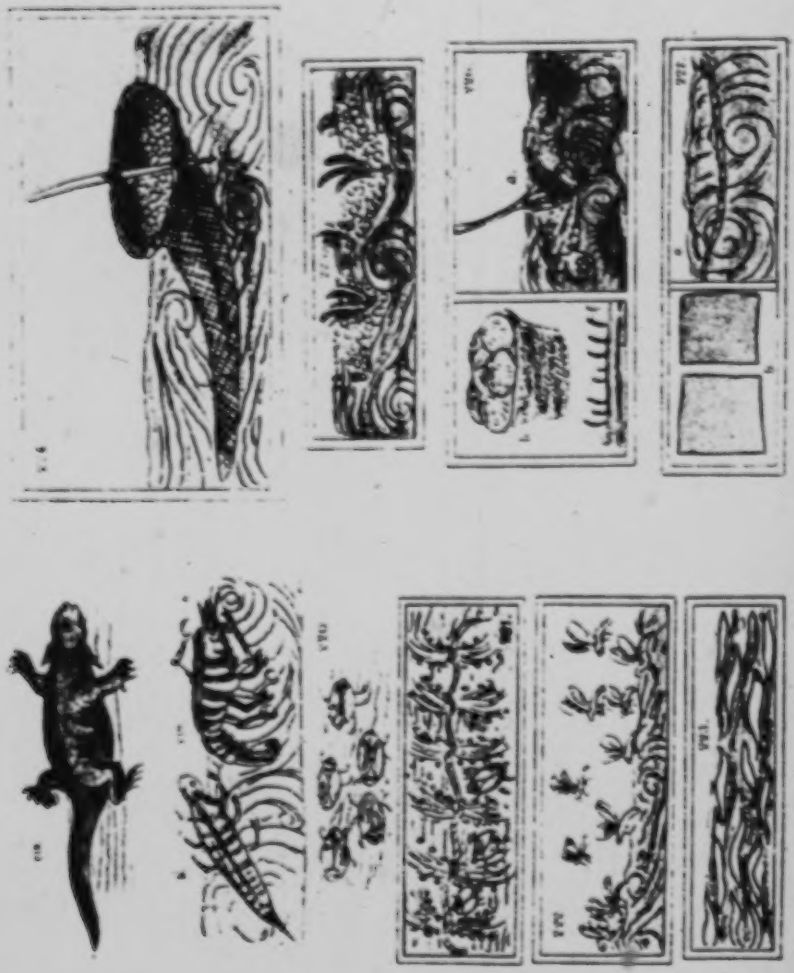

[End plate I b]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many [344] of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. 411 There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton 714 armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am 231 forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird 136 that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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231 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of
●136 five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give
782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols
782 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off
266

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and 782
banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and 266
the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to
these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house 231
many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their 136
tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst
vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery
vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs
and rear their young, and they give them to eat the
bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the
flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We
even knew for certain that when they drove us out of
Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that
they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days
on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and
season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated
to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them
company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions
and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled
and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it
seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled 463
workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that
was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries
and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work,
which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to
admire, and of these there were a great number of the
best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from
Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchi-
huites, which are like emeralds, there were other great
artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather
work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined;
from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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tomatoes, the cylindrical ones;[6] and all the neck bands, and the matted neck bands; and large and small pieces of turquoise; and all the different kinds of feathers — quetzal tail feathers: the well-pointed ones, the well-curved ones, the wide ones, the long ones, which, they said, indeed extended a fathom. And these were just the tail feathers. And those they called down feathers,[7] the very small ones, the chili-green ones and the crest feathers of the quetzal;[8] and feathers of the red spoonbill[9] [*teoquechol*], which is now called *tlauhquechol;* and the blue cotinga, the amethyst-colored ones,[10] the yellow parrot,[11] the multicolored parrot, the trupial,[12] the red and yellow parrot,[13] the scarlet parrot,[14] the blue parrot,[15] the dove; and aquamarine feathers, etc. And skins of wild animals, and mats of wild animal [skins]; and wooden chocolate-beaters; and gourd stoppers.[16]

Verily, all their goods, which lay strewn [and scattered in the tribal quarter] temples[17] they arranged in order and in rows upon precious capes. They sorted, ordered, and disposed them. Then they offered incense and beheaded quail. Of this it was thus said: "They place things in the sun." And when they had placed them in the sun, and when they had offered incense during the day, later,[18]

in vel iaque in vel vitoliuj, in patlaoac, in viiac, in quijlhuja oeaciacatl içan moteca: auh in çan tosocujtlapiltic, ioan in quijlhuja quetzaliacatl, in çan tepitoton, in chilchotic, ioan in tzinjtzcan, in teoquechol: in azcan mjtoa tlauhquechol, ioan in xiuhtototl, in aiopal, in toatli, in tosucujcujl, in çaquan, in cochoivitl, in chamolin, in cujtlatezotli, in coçôtli, in xiuhapalli. Etc. yoan in tequanecotl, in tequanpetlatl, auh in aquaujtl, in atzaccaiotl:

in ie mochi intlatquj in teintoc, [§ pixauhtoc. yn calpulco] in teucali, tlaçotilmapan qujcentecaia, qujcuecuentiliaia, qujtlatlamantiliaia, qujviujpanaia, qujtetecpanaia, vncan tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia, iehoatl injc mjtoa: tlatotonja, auh in jquac otlatotonjque, in otlenamacaque, cemjlhujtl, catepan tlatlaquaio, aatlioa, mopintoque, in pocheca veuetque, nepiclotoc, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlaaujaxtoc, puctleoatoc,

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6. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, cap. viii, fol. 205: *ceyc tlaololli, ahuiac, ayatic xicoc, tomatic, chiquimulic, tlachiquimulcuitl, tlachiquimulli, tlacomaulli, tlacoltecuilocuitlatlalli*, for which the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Labrosse estas piedras unas redondas y aguzadas, otras largas y rollizas, y aguzadas, otras triangulados, otras cornudas di angu, otras anchadas.*"

7. Quetzal tail plug, in jonn, *loc. cit.*

8. *Tzinitzcan.* Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 2 and 4, describes both the crest of the quetzal and a bird of the same name: *Tzquanoxtic mocuexaue, T. ambiguus* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 366). In Seler, *Collected Works* (), Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. V, p. 2, it is quetzal tail and *tlaxcilin* feathers of dark green with metallic sheen, in *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 137, a bird with black and green feathers.

9. *Tlauhquechol.* In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 42, white and red spoonbill; Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 65, red heron; p. 124, red spoonbill; p. 127, rose-colored heron. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 5; *Ajauc ciuac* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 356).

[136] 10. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 9) mentions an *ayauquan* found in mountains above Cuernáva and Michoacan — of painted, black beak and black feathers except those of the tail, which are half-white; another bird of the same name is a waterfowl of yellow beak; feathers at joint of wing are green, long wing and tail feathers are brown, with white and green; body feathers are red. *Ayauxic ayauxi* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 324).

In "L'orfèvrerie des anciens mexicains et leur art de travailler le pierre et de faire des ornements en plumes," Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte-Rendu* de la Huitième Session Tenue à Paris en 1890 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), note to § 68, Edward Seler translates *ayauqui* as *trogon citrinelle*, referring to Molina, *op. cit.*, *chivini amarillo* — *ayauquichivini*.

11. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Cf also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 14; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 210.

12. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 114. *Gymnostinops Montezumae* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 372).

13. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371: "*aquaxic de lava, del género Chrysotis.*" *Cuetlo ce cuichul* — "*Papagayo rojo y amarillo.*" *Amaxonia ahuiyac ahuiyac* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 328).

14. *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 2. Cf. also, however, *chamolin* (*chamol*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461: "*Hombre colgar que es el Remedio de Guerrero, es Mejico, es de el colorado o chamolcichid.*" *Chamolcichid.* Ant., *chamolli* (*pimienta*) — "*colorado o fier del camarón* (Palaemon palaemonis)."

15. Cf. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *ampolletas de galapagos para mezcalmiz.*

17. An omission in the *Florentine Codex*, to be noted in comparing the passage with the text of the *Real Palacio MS*, placed in brackets, brings the Nahuatl closer to Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

18. *Campo*: the ending is missing in the original.

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuia: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

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785

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

1 g KL
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjeros,
4 c yvã por juncas a Citlaltepec: que se
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se sb-
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto
12 d traya hastã dexalle en pelo, y si se
13 e defendia: maltrataulle de tal manera
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se
16 A le tomãtan: y por esto njnguna pena
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn-
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna dito que los dexauã por muertõ: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cautiuos y otros

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[346]
[651]
[681]
[262]
[786]
[688]

1. Marginal notations: *Jueves los diez esos.*

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They were held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all were garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *composalsochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

al septimo mes llamauan Tecuilhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtociuatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

KL. La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y moças y muchachas yvan asidas de vnas cuerdas cortas que llevauan en las manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan xochimecatl: llevauan todas guirnaldas de axenxos desta tierra que se llama iztauhiatl: guiauales vnos viejos, y regian al canto en medio dellas yva la muger que era la ymagen desta diosa, y que avia de morir adereçada con ricos ornamentos.

La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de morir, y cantauan, y dançaman toda la noche: venida la mañana: adereçanse todos los sacrapas, y hazian vn areyto muy solemne: y todos los que estauan presentes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman composalsochitl: assi bailando llevauan muchos cativos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtociuatl: alli matauan primero a los captivos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76.

1. Marginal notation: Mexicalli, pueblo, cuya Diosa.

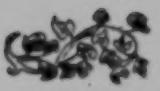

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que quiere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

796x
[805
776]

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoal'rochitl.* This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Marginal notation: September 1st day.

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjztli.

1 *h* KL Cinco dias antes que començasse este
2 *c* mes: cessauan todas las fiestas y regoçi-
3 *d* jos del mes pasado entrando este mes,
4 *e* baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin
5 *f* tepenaztli: los quales pasados, salia la
6 *g* muger que era ymágen de la diosa q̃
7 *A* llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los
8 *b* ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la
9 *c* mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de
10 *d* mugeres con ella: especialmente las
11 *e* medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos
12 *f* vandos y peleauan apedreandose con
13 *g* pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas
14 *A* y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa-
15 *b* dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal-
16 *c* sochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro
17 *d* dias.
18 *e*
19 *f* Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras
20 *g* desta calidad: procurauan que aquella
muger no entendiesse que auia de morir porque no
llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal
agouero: venjda la noche en que auia de morir, ata-
ujauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la
lleuauan para que durmjesse con ella algun gran
señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auia
de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas es-
paldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la
cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto
vestiase el pelejo.

b 21
c 22
d 23
e 24
f 25
g 26
A 27
b 28
c 29
d 30
e 31
f 1
g 2
A 3
b 4
c 5
d 6
e 7
f 8
g 9

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535]
[754]
[524
137]
[787]

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

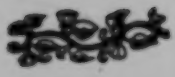

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the tenth month, which was called Ezzalqualiztli.**[1]

Ezzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily at that place were formed very long reeds called *zacapelin* or *tolmimulli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.

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And these they pulled up, cutting them at their white ends, at a place in the water called Temilco, or Tepexic Oztoc.

And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

[182] Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.

X 796 688 And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and when they returned, the road [which they followed] was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.

And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them, they wrested from them all that they had; they marched away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

Jnic cempoalli ommocuilli capítulo, itechpa tlamo yn illuijtl, yoan yn jntlamanaliz in quichionia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in mononeonia Ezzalqualiztli.

Ezzalqualiztli: ynin illuijtl, yn aiamo onaxiuo, in ipan muchionia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inihecaoaliz achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: ichica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchionia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmimjlli: cenca viiac, cenca vitlaxtic, yoan cenca tzinizta: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, quitzacopiqua, inocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

auh yn oconanque, njmã ic ic quixhichioa, quicuj-cujtlalpia, quiçquimilloa, quitotolquimjlloa:

njman ic ic quimecapallotia, quimemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaixquamamalo: njman ic ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloatz, aiac quitzlapal-mama yn aztapili, çan moch queoacamatia.

Auh ynic vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic oalmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac quijnca, aocmo quitoca in nenenque:

auh yntla acame oquinnamicque, njman vncan quintlacujcujlia, quintlanamoielia, quintlacencujlia, quintlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapatla, njman quin-mjctia, quintetentimaiauj, quimihicça quitintilecça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic quiujuiequj, quintlatlal-

1. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: "*Iaciaba una manera de parlar, o palabra, que se llama ezzalli*"; and in *ibid.*, p. 148, "*una ezzalli era hecha de mais verde, a manera de arma, y era muy amarilla.*" Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210, defines *ezzalli* as boiled corn and beans. Pozo y Tornesano (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his interpretation of the *Codex Borbonicus* ceremony of this month, refers to "*las palmadas de ezzalli hechas de jarpal, cosas semejantes largas como alli sobre la cosa, y de maiz, cosas grandes blancas alrededor con las cosas largas.*" Seler (*Besondere Kapitel*, p. 112) has Beherzeprozesse bei Ezzalqualiztli. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89) regards Ezzalqualiztli as derived from *ell* (bean), *zoalca* (amongst us), and *qualiztli* (eating). In "Relación breve," p. 298, Gardner has "*Comida de maiz de frijoles*," and in his *Liber del colloquio* vocabulary, "*ezzalli de frijoles*."

Tovar (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 75) identifies the feast of this month as that of the working people and hence does not mention other agricultural work. Hence the offering of *ezzalli* to them.

2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *zacapelin* as "*pesaros largos de jaraiz blancos y verdes.*" *Tolmimulli*, in the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, is a kind of pottery. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 58, explains *zacapelin* with *zacapilin*, and quotes Molina ("*pesaros largos, gordos y redondos*"). Jourdanet and Simeón, in their translation (p. 104, n. 3) wrote that it is the equivalent of *zacapilin*, "*de maiz verde, de pelo, principal, grueso*"; of *tolmimulli*, they wrote: "*maiz de tallos, fuerte, de mulli, colorado cubierto*" (*loc. cit.*).

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cords, called flower cords, and thus went stretched out in line. They went with wormwood flowers[14] placed upon their heads.

And they went singing, crying out loudly, singing in a very high treble. As the *cenzontli* bird takes [its song, so was] their song. Like a bell their voices [rang out].

The old men led [the singing women]; they loosed the song and went directing them—the men and elders of the tribal temple. And they were named keepers of the god[dess].

And [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl went in the midst of them. Before her went a brilliant feather ornament which an old man carried in his arms. And this [ornament] was called Uixtociuatl's brilliant plumage.[14]

And for [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was sung the women's song every day until all ten days had been reached. And when the tenth day had come to pass, that night she began her vigil. They sang [and danced] all night. At no time did they rest; they passed the night sleepless. Thus they passed the night in vigil.

And as [the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl danced, the old women seized her and held her as they made her dance.

Likewise the captives danced all the night—those who would come first, who would die [first], as her fundament; those whom they would make her fundament.

X 796 792

And when dawn broke, when verily the feast day [came], then were arrayed the priests who would slay the victims. These were called Uixtoti. They were adorned and painted like Uixtotin; they were painted with the face painting of Uixtotin. They carried their paper neck rosettes and their paper shoulder rosettes. And their [head] insignia were made [like] the claws of eagles, [made] of quetzal head feathers and eagle down.

X 796 293

And the legs of the eagle were also made of eagle down. These insignia [were supported] upon wooden head rests with holes [in the head rests, in which the insignia were inserted]. Here lay the insignia, tied [across the back], bound around the stomach with cotton bands, tied firmly and tightly. And their cords were bands, narrow woven bands.

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And all the common folk who looked on, all car-

motitilinjiuj: yn jhiztauhizzochiuh, yn icpac contecatiuj:

yoan cujcatiuj, cenca tzatti, cenca tlapitzaoa: iuhquin tzontli cana incuic: iuhquj in coielli intzquj:

qujniacana in uetztque, cuicatlaça qujocujcatlazilitiuj, in calpuleque, in calpulueuetque: yoan motocaiotia teuaque.

Auh in Vixtociuatl, tlanepantla icatjuh, ce petlacotl qujiacana, ce tlacatl veue in qujnapaloa: auh ynjn mitoaia vixtopetlacotl.

Auh in ichoatl vixtociuatl, momuztlae in qujcioapalcujcatiaia, yn ixqujchica matlaqujlhujtl onaci: auh yn oacito matlaqujlhujtl, teutlacpa im peua qujtoçauja, qujcujcatia iuh cioaal, aquenman cochi, acochiztli qujmochioaltia, iuh vetzi in ioalli.

Auh in Vixtociuatl, mitoia caana, caantinemj yn ylamatque in qujtoia:

no iuh ceioaal in mjtoia mamalti, in iacatiazque mjquizque, in iuhquj ypepechoan iezque, in qujnmopepechtizque.

Auh yn otlathujc, yn iquac ie vel ilhujtl, mec muchichiua in tlamacazque, in tlamictizque: ifi iehoan y, motocaiotiaia Vixtoti, movixtochichioa, moujxtoyehiua, injlatlaquichpaiouh, yoan ymaamacuezpal: auh yn jntlauiz, quaviztitl muchioa, quetzaltzontecomaio quãmolocio.

Auh in quauhtli imetz muchioa, no quãmolocio, ynjn tlaviztli cãcacazo, cõcocoio, yn vncã onmana tlauizzli, ic maapana, ic motixillancujtlalpia, ic motetvilpia, ic mocacatzilpia: auh yn jmecaio, yn jmemecaio, tlazochtli, tlazochpitzactli.

Auh in jquijch tlacatl macoualli, in tlatlatu, mu-

13. Cf. p. 63, n. 27. Sandoval (*op. cit.*) defines it as *arrancadas lastimosas*; see, further, note 15, below. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*lamentarse, arrancadas o suspiros pesar*"; Simeón (*loc. cit.*) has the same. See also Rodríguez etc., Vol. III, p. 252.

14. "*Un plumaje muy hermoso, hecho a manera de manga de cruz*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish).

And all the common folk who looked on
All car-

ried flowers—artimisia[15]—and some carried wormwood flowers.

And when this was done, they bore [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl to the summit of the Temple of Tlaloc. And they took up the captives, who were to be as a fundament [for her]—those who would be her companions, her fellows in death; who were to be first, who would die [first].

And when they had taken them up to the Temple of Tlaloc, then were slain as sacrifices the captives. And after they had slain the captives, only [then] Uixtociuatl['s impersonator] followed; she came only at the last. They came to the end and finished only with her.

And when this was done, thereupon they laid her down upon the offering stone. They stretched her out upon her back. They laid hold of her; they pulled and stretched out her arms and legs, bending [up] her breast greatly, bending [down] her back, and stretching down her head taut, toward the earth. And they bore down upon her neck with the tightly pressed snout of a sword fish,[16] barbed, spiny; spined on either side.

And the slayer stood there; he stood up. Thereupon he cut open her breast.

And when he opened her breast, the blood gushed up high; it welled up far as it poured forth, as it boiled up.

And when this was done, then he raised her heart as an offering[17] [to the god] and placed it in the green jar, which was called the green stone jar.

And as this was done, loudly were the trumpets blown. And when it was over, then they lowered the body and the heart of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, covered by a precious mantle.

And this came to pass in the early dawn. And when they were finished, when it was done, when they were through, all the people dispersed and went, scattered, and betook themselves to their houses. Those who had provided the feast, carried out and celebrated it; a feast was celebrated. They banqueted one another and accepted summons to banquets.

And the old women and the old men, those who

chintin inxmochiuh incecempoaltzochiuh: yoan cequjntin ymiiztauhiaxochiuh. 796x

Auh in ie iuhquj mec qujtlecauja in Vixtociuatl, yn icpac tlaloc: yoan qujntlecauja in mamalti, in iuhqujma ypepechoan, in q'nmopechitiaz, in qujnmoujcaltia, yn imiquirteujcalhoan, yn iacatiazque miquizque. [137]

Auh yn oq'ntlecaujque tlalocan, mec temictilo in mamalti: auh yn onmjcque mamalti, ça ontlatoqujlia in Vixtociuatl, ça ontlatzacuja, ça ontlatzacutiuh, ça ontetzacutiuh, ça tlatzinpachotiuh.

Auh yn ie iuhquj, njman ie ic conteca in techcac, conaquetztiteca, caanjlia, qujtitilinjlia, yn jma, yn jcxi, cenca uel quelcueloa, qujcujtlachicueloa: auh yn itzonteco, ynjc qujtilinjliaia, cẽca tlaltitech qujujcaia: auh ynic qujquechpachoa, acipaqujtli itlaujtequja, chichiqujltic, tzitziqujltic, viuitztic, necoc campa in ujujtztic. [413]

Auh in tlamjcti, ça yc icac, omach ic moquetz, njman ie ic quelitequj:

auh yn ompet yielchiqujuh, yn eztli oalmopipiazquetza, veca in onmopiaçoa, iuhquin momoloca, iuhqujn pipica, iuhqujn popoçoca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalia xoxoujc xicalco: qujtocaiotiaia chalchiuhxicalli. [415]

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, cenca tlapitzalo: auh in ie iuhquj mec qujoaltemouja yn jnacaio, yoan yn iiollo Vixtociuatl, tlatlapachiuhtiujtz tlaçotilmatica.

Auh ynin muchioaia, çan iostzinco: auh yn ontzonquiz, yic iuhquj yn onecacaoaloc, njman ic viujloa, cecẽn anoa, viujloa in techachan, yn jlhujoaque, hiyhujchioa, hiilhujtlamati, ilhujtla, hiilhujtla, iilhujtlamacho, ilvichioalo, mococoanotza, motlatlacamati:

yoan yn jlamatque in venetque, yn iztatlaca yn

15. See pp. 98, 101, 110. Simeon and Jourdanet, in their translation of Sahagún, p. 64, n. 3, translate *artimisia* as *Tagetes erecta*; Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 134) has *Tagetes sp.*; in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 78, *Tagetes erecta*.

Of this flower, Sahagún (Rubiales ed., Vol. III, p. 273) writes: *Estas flores se llaman artimisia, son amarillas y de buen olor, y unas son y hermosas, que dicen se usan, y otras que las mandaban en los hombros; son de dos maneras, unas que llaman hembras artimisia y son grandes y hermosas, y otras que hay los llaman machos artimisia y son no tan hermosas ni tan grandes.*" Dorsey, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 174) refers to them as "*esas guirnaldas de rosas amarillas grandes.*"

16. "*Pescado sobre la carpanta en palo redondo, el qual tenjan dos, aparejados: para que no pudiesse dar vuelta, el dicupij que la abriamos los pechos. Otros dicen que este era en vezes de espadarte, que es un pez marino, que tiene un arma, como espada: en el mesmo, que tiene colmillos, de ambas partes: con este le apretaban la carpanta*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). See Rubiales ed., Vol. III, p. 197, for description.

17. Cf. corresponding Spanish. We have no transparent correlate.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty-days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauhelozochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *excobedia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Inic cēpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanalizti: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in motenecoua Tlaxuchimaco. 796^x

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: motenecoa tlaxuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl: [205]

viptlatica in xuchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixquich xuchitl, in nepapan xuchitl, in tepepan xuchitl, yn acocozuchitl, vitzitzillacuxuchitl, tepecempoalxuchitl, nextamalxuchitl, tlacozuchitl, ocelozuchitl, cacalozuchitl, ocuxuchitl, anoço acozuxuchitl, quavelozuchitl, iollozuchitl, tlalcacalozuchitl, cempoalxuchitl, acazuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolxuchitl. 796^x 137

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaxitico xuchitl, yn oxxiaoco, yn otlatujc, njmā ic moçoçn, tlaçolo, tlaçoz: auh yn omoçoçoc, xuchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic. 796^x

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn ixquich macoalli cenuetzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujtla totoltl, yoā in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoa, techichinolo, in monequizque, ioatzico: [231 252]

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yilhujnemoa, iuhqujn tlatlaciuj, netetequipacholo, injc tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in ichoantin tenpizque, njman ic ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujxuchicuzcatia, conicpaxuchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequilja, qujtecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetacpiloa, in ixquich 796^x 778

1. Cf. Gomara y Barra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 38): "Miccailhuitzintli, Tlaxochimaco. *El primero era nuestro mes; por los de Tlaxcala. . . . El nuestro nuestro es Tlaxochimaco, palabra que Tlaxcaltecas interpretan, cuando son dueños y respetados los flores; nuestros Veynte dias, cuanto de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, consagrada á Huitzilopochtli, le ponian de flores y los demas dioses eran adornados profusamente con flores. . . .*" Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 142-3) further writes: "*. . . adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, no solamente a los que se veneraban en los templos, sino tambien a los que tenian por domestico en sus casas; que por esto dedicaban el mes al nombre de Tlaxochimaco.*"

2. See Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 275-6; Cf. also Bernardino, *op. cit.*, passim, and Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 156 (where a few German equivalents are given). Some are described also in Martín Armando Sandoz: *Barrera Medicinarum Florae Mexicanae Thesaurus* (Rotter: Vindo Monacorum, 1681).

775 [137] from the flowers] there where they dwelt. And here upon earth they came to suck [honey] from all the varied flowers—the *erythrina coralloides*,[5] the *cavolines princeps*,[6] the *collimdra*.[7]

tlaticpac calhui in quicalchichina, in jiquich nepapan xochitl in equimjtl, anoço tzonpanquavitl xilohxochitl, tlacozilohxochitl.

5. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. 1-2, p. 53, Pt. 3-4, p. 174; and *Bierige Kapitel*, p. 302. He says *equimitl* is the leaf of the *tzonpanquavitl*, the *erythrina coralloides* or *coralloides*. Apparently it was used magically; cf. Sahagún, Lib. IX, caps. iii-iv, and Seler's translations of the Nahuatl text in Sahagún (Robredo ed., V, p. 234). Sahagún (Robredo ed., III, p. 279) writes: "*Hay también unos árboles que se plantan en las floresta que se llaman tzonpanquahuitl; es árbol mediano, tiene ramas apretadas, tiene la cuya colorada y de buen parecer; tiene unas flores que se llaman equimitchitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; se hojas de este árbol se llaman equimitl.*"

6. Cf. Seler, *Bierige Kapitel*, loc. cit. In *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, pp. 132-3, he defines it as "*palo de rosa*" (name in Chiapas), "*cabello de dogal*" (*miscanthus collimdra*). The former is *Bonplandia expansiveum* K. *Schumann* or *cavolinum principe* L. *fil.* Seler believes *xilocuechtl* is a name given two distinct flowers. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, 276) describes them as "*colorados y a manera de hilos desbilachados; tienen en una hierba que se llama xilocuechtl: es una olorosa, pero son muy hermosas.*" See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, cap. xxviii.

7. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5: This passage is related to one in the song chanted every eight years when water tunnels were cleaned. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, pp. 136, 143 ff.; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 212.

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

The Lord of Tlaloccan

821
776

He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chía*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

[137]

821
793
785

And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Tlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishment. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once; for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or foreboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Ic macuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in mixtli.

Tlaloca tecutli.

Teuxl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quimixtl, in atl: iuh quitoaia, ie quichioa in ticcoa, in tiqui, in qualoni, in joani, in tonenca, in tolola, in tocochca, in tonexhca, in tocemilhuitiaia, in tonacaiotl: in ie isquich xopaniotl, in itzmolintoc, in celixtoc, in quauitl, in ozohtli, in chian, in aiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: yoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in xuchitl, in xiuitl.

Auh in icoac ilhuiquiztililoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçaoaia, motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazqui: in mõteneoa calmecac moospaoa, moxcaltia.

In icoac oacic nauilhuitl, in ie neoilco, in ie ilhuitl muchioa: matlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uei apan: amo iuiian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmotzotzopontitlaça, onmotzotzopontimaisui: çan monetechuja, vncan çoquititlan quinemjtia, quipopolactia, quiuuilana: icpac cantitlemi, quititilicça, atlã tlatzotzopoztinemj, aicozotztinemi, tlamomolocztinemi: inmac mouiuitlatinemi, in tlapacazqui,

in otlatlaco, in calmecac itlã onchelo: intlanel çan aca ãmotepotlami, itlã oconicxixopeuh, oc uel ic conacique, ie ic inmal ça quipipia, aocmo conjcaoa, inic catlampapachoaque.

Auh amo çan quenjn quipolou: uel quicocoltia, quiellelaxitia, ça quen quimattoc, ça mopopoçauhtoc, ça içomocatoc, ça micqui in quicalmaisui atenco: aiac uel ipan tlatoa, vncan quimonana in intlhoan, in inçahoan. Auh in aquin quitlamauhcaztilia, in quitlaõmachilia ipiltzin, inic amo catlampapachoaque: conquistiaia itlatzin quinmacaia in tlamacazqui, aço tonãn, aço tlaqualli: ic quicaoia.

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and, lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow
35] magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
[301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

648 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met
431 them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them;-he placed chains of flowers on them

Injc caxtolli occe capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca qujnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocencaoã in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujz: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõmamãque in tlaçosuchitl, in chimalsuchitl, in ollosuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujsuchitl, in coztic iiesuchitl, in cacaosuchitl, icpacnuchitl, in suchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, coxochimacac, concozcati in cozcatl, consuchicozcati, consuchiapan, conjcpacsuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

[312]

1. Xoloco or Xoluco served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzadas of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios aztecas de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6° Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a barrio bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Iturbide; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lucas Alamán; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Tobar's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 30.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*En llegando los españoles a aquel río que esta cabe las casas de alvarado que se llama Xoloco.*"

4. *Chimalonecuhtli. Chimalonecuhtli* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). Chimalonecuhtl (Ibid., p. 100), "*tiene . . . flores redondas amarillas (parece prodigio) de un palmo, amarillo rojizo con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media*"; *Helianthus annuus* L. Linn.; *ground, chimalonecuhtl, cuale de tejer. Chimalonecuhtli* is classified as "*compuesta*."

5. *Yolloxochitl. Yolloxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*), *Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún), "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as *tlacuilolxochitl*."

6. *Izquixochitl. Izquixochitl*: in Chiapas, *planta del incienso — Bourreria farinosa*; *B. heterix*; *B. literalis* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 626). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria heterix* [La Llave and Lex] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 69 — a rare and covered plant whose flowers were used to flavor cacao. In Sahagún (Anderson and Dibble ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is noted that "*Como flor sirve sur l'arbre izquixochitl, ressemble heterix, de la famille des asperifolies.*"

7. *Yeuxochitl.* Nardo Antonio Recchi (*Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographia Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 238) gives *elocuchitl* as an alternative (*quam alii* Elocuchitl, *seu* Flores Eloti, *alii verò* Cocuxhuipinichitl [*cuxuhuipil?*] *seu* Yeuxchitl *pulchrum, ornatum*"), a cold climate plant ("*provenit regionibus frigidis, & temperatis locis*"). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it *elocuchitl* as *Magnolia dealbata* Zucc. Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 275) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a *magnolia*, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacaoxochitl. Cacaoxochitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Anderson and Dibble ed.), III, p. 348, it is identified as "*Rosita de cacao. Myrodia funebris. Bonp. Kunthiana.*" Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[3] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

in onoca, in çoçotoca, tonatiuh quixnamjctoca. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl, amo quinçoçoque in intzontecō in veca tlaca. auh in axioaque Españoles ontecpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos:

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalioa: amo ic mocaoa in tlapieliztli, in novian techiaoalotinemj ir xuchmjlca in acaltica, necoccampa tlamalo, necoccampa mjcoa.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *colorin* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

[137]

Auh in jxqujch macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia maianoia, mjec in mapizmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoā mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxqujçacatl: yoan quijquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan quijquasquaque in tzacuruchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, qujmoozquijaia qujtototopotzaia, qujtotoponjaia injc quijquaia yoā in tetzmetl, yoan in xanterl qujtetexoaia: aoc tle iuhquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los españoles eran altos . . . los eran indios eran bajos . . . los caballos eran bajos.*"

4. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 550, omits this passage.

5. *Elocacatl*: literally, *ear* straw, of maize, which Mexican cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados). — In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as "*hierba . . . es muy verde y tiene parecido como a trigo, y es blanco, edionda las canyas y eran animales.*" Remmert, *op. cit.*, p. 239, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

6. *Tequixquiçacatl*: probably pasture on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados). — For this, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 271, has "*hierba muy dañosa y espinosa, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . es buena para quemar.*" Remmert, *op. cit.*, p. 223, citing Hernández (*op. cit.*), calls it silver grass or couch grass, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. *Grama* (*tequixquiçacatl* in Molina, *op. cit.*), Santamaría (*op. cit.*, II, p. 31) identifies as *Paniceum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

7. *Tzumpanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 275), "*es árbol mediano, tiene ramas acopadas, tiene la copa redonda y de buen parecer, tiene una flor que se llama coquinchichil; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman coquinil*"; p. 348: "Tepalcuil. *Árbol, flor y fruto del Colorín. Erythrina corallodendron. D.C. Leguminosas.*" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 521, giving the name botanical identification and *E. americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompanda*), and observes of the bean (*colorín*) that it is "*especie de frijolillo rojo, duro que contiene un alcaloide muy venenoso.*"

8. *Tzacuruchitl*. Remmert, *op. cit.*, p. 209, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Mexite zompanadana* La Llave and Lex. (?), *Epidendrum parviflorum* La Llave and Lex. (?), *Oncidium macrobulbum* Kunth (?) — all orchids. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuruchitl o tzacuchili florido. Mexite zompanadana* La Llave y Lex, or *B. coccinea* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, *op. cit.*, tlaquilli is cluster or stamen. *Tlaquilin*, however, is given by Remmert, *op. cit.*, p. 226, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as marvanilla. It is medicinal. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 186, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arvolaria, and zompanilla.*

10. *Tzomuel*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 249, says it is like *xocoxiuhi*: "*hojas muy verdes y carnosas y redondillas, y también mana leche, y tiene las ramas colorudas. . . . raíces . . . dulces, y asaban y hervían . . . la hierba de esta raíz medicina*" (medicinal). Remmert identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moziño and Sessé — commonly, *siempreviva* (*op. cit.*, p. 223). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85, adds *S. quinarium* H. B. K. and *S. rosenum* Rose.

11. Cf., however, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 550: "*and Stock and Leder und Mörtelkuet, de brieuen, huiten, rieuuen, brouuen, ueter et ce, und Tuuuelgras und Lehmzeigel und ouen Tzomel.*" Of *tzomel* or *tzomuel*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 249) says it is a hot country plant used for coloring. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 143 (*zompanil*), says it is "*nombre vulgar de varias plantas medicinales, como el capulincillo o nigua* (Cassiopeia *tulaynensis*), *el tempanite* (Mimosa *farnesiana*), y otras."

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8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[789] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
248] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

[262 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
212] were asked."[***] No data are available on the tribute of other component
137] towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[***] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[6]

[566]

Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[7]

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The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *kins*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatiluico. *Velancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X, p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 551, 552), Yacocalco (p. 552), Tlacuchcalco (p. 552), Amazac, Coyonacazco (p. 552). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatiluico. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 552), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatiluico remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatiluica. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatiluico was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI, p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, pp. 498, 499). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 132). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 153).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatiluica the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 550) and *Velancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 193) mention the flight of the former into Tlatiluico as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron à la tierra no les dejaron tornar à libertad ninguna, ni à tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (9th Edition, 1800, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

17: Sahagún
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[For information concerning the Aztec ideas about the day of birth and its effects upon the personality type, see category 787.]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER XV

THE AZTECS AFTER THEIR CONQUEST

The history of the Aztecs after the Conquest and suggestions for a tour through their domain

AZTEC civilization died, but the Aztecs still live. Remove 161 the pure-blooded Indian from Mexico, and you lose two fifths of the population; take out those with Indian blood in their veins, and a bare twentieth of the population will remain. The face of Mexico is an Indian face. Yet travel in Mexico and read its history, and you will see, as if in strata, the impress of the colonial period, the republic, the empire of Maximilian, the dictatorship of Diaz and the modern social thinking of the Revolution. The Indian civilization you do not see, except for its descendants, who are everywhere, who are the Mexican people. Though their outward aspect and their material and social culture are European, the stamp of the Aztec character is on their minds, just as the masonry of broken Aztec temples is built into the walls of their churches.[1]

The original purpose of the Crown and the Church was to 636 convert the Indian population into Spanish citizens with full civic rights. For two generations the authorities almost succeeded in their intent; but finally the individualism so emphasized in European culture broke through their legislative controls, and the white conquerors reduced the Indians to

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

133 Such springs were also to be seen in and around the Lake of
312 Mexico, but not in such considerable numbers, and there must also have been one or more on the site of the City which supplied its earliest inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

● 161 "The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

134 The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes are composed of *tepetatle*, a mixture of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all.
[244] The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

241 Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

Note on the Drainage.

000 From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley became the preoccupation of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Netzahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin, known in Mexico as Enrico Martínez, planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountain rim to the north-east of the valley, but this work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zumpango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

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[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*.
[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.
[3] Text page 72.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

We have not the slightest reliable indication concerning the 701
strength and numbers of that force.[11] This point is as vague and indefinite as the number of the population of the pueblo itself. Both, being closely connected, suffer from the same contradictions and exaggerations.[12] It is true that a "guard" of 10,000 men is mentioned as having occupied always the square of the main temple ("teocalli").[13] But, aside from the grossly exaggerated numbers, "guards," in the sense of a military body doing permanent duty, were unknown to the Mexicans.[14] The scanty mention of a body guard of Montezuma appears an imaginary tale if we look for its presence where and when it should have been most conspicuous: at the meeting of Montezuma and Cortés on the causeway,[15] and when Cortés carried that chieftain away from his house as a hostage. It is an established fact, that only unarmed Indians [648]
met Cortés on his entrance to Mexico, and it is equally positive, that no "guard" came to Montezuma's rescue.

stores in sufficient quantities for such a purpose. Within the pueblo of Mexico there was no need of being armed, and therefore every Mexican went unarmed in the pueblo. The "guards" of which Gomara and Bernal-Diez both speak, never existed. See Go- [114]
mara ("En la ciudad nadie trae armas, ..." p. 345, vol. I, Vedia).

[11] Not even Bernal-Diez contains a statement. Fernando de Alva Ixtilxochitl ("Re-"laciones históricas," Relacion XIIIa, in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, "De la venida de los Españoles," translated also into the French by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, and published under the title of "Cruautés Horribles des conquérants "du Mexique," in the first series of his inestimable collection of translations) says: "the Mexicans lost over 240.000 men" during the siege of Mexico. The only reasonable approximate I found in Durán (Hist. de las Indias, etc., cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288). Before the Mexicans (including Tezcuco and Tlacopan and the others of the valley) set out against Michhuacan, in 1479, they counted their forces and found 24,000 men ("allaron que auia veinte y cuatro mil combatientes"). This is possible.

[12] The population of Mexico is variously reported. The extremes are: 60,000 *souls* [161]
("sessanta mila habitatori") of the "Anonymous Conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Icazbalceta. Vol. I, p. 391), and 60,000 *families*.

[13] The length of the walls of that square was "one cross-bow shot," after Gomara. How could 10,000 *men remain there always*, besides the priests and their numerous assistants?

[14] "Guardas" are mentioned by Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva-España" in vol. II, of Sr. Vedia's collection, cap. XCV); by Gomara (p. 342 of vol. I, Vedia). Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. VI, p. 544, vol. II), and others. But Cortés and Andrés de Tapia make no mention of them.

[15] Three eye-witnesses of that celebrated meeting have described it: Cortés ("Cartas de Relacion," in Vedia, I, "Carta Segunda," p. 25). Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 83), and Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tápia, sobre la conquista de Mexico," in vol. II, of Icazbalceta's Col. de Documentos, p. 578). Neither of them would have omitted to notice armed men among the Indians, had there been any with Montezuma.

The Mexicans, on their part, could not have failed to make an ostentatious display of armed soldiery, had they existed, when they met the armed strangers at the entrance to the pueblo.

Priests' House at Uitznauac.

x 796
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Priests' house at Uitznauac: here dwelt the priest, the fire priest, who offered incense and who cast it upon the fire in the temple above [on the pyramid], which was named Uitznauac. Every day was this done.

Vitznaoac calmecac.

In vitznaoac calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhquj, in tlenamacac: in ontlenamacaia, in ontletemaia in teucalli icpac: in jtoca catca vitznaoác: çan mumuztlae in juh muchioaia.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: at this place they placed and raised a skull-frame in the center [of the pyramid compound of him] whose name was Omacatl; who was carved in wood, taking human form—[this] Omacatl. And it came to pass that they nourished him [with the blood of captives] every thirteen days, upon the day-sign of Omacatl.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan qujtlaliaia, vncan qujzcaltiaia in tzumpantli yiollo: in jtoca catca vmacatl, quavitl tlaxixintli, tlacaietiuh in vmacatl: auh in muchioaia in qujzcaltiaia matlacpovaltica vmeitica: ipan in cemjlhujtonalli vmacatl.

Temple of Macuilcipactli.

Temple of Macuilcipactli: here were men slain; here captives died—at night only, and only those chosen for the day-sign [of Macuilcipactli].

Macujlcipactli yteupan.

In macujlcipactli iteupan: vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti: çan iooaltica, çan no tonalpepenaloia.

Priests' House at Tetlanman.

Priests' House at Tetlanman: at this place dwelt the fire priest, he who was devoted [to the service of Quazolotl Chantico].

Tetlanman calmecac

In tetlanman calmecac: vncan onoca in tlenamacac, in tlamaceuhquj.

Temple of the White Cinteotl.

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Temple of the White Cinteotl: here captives died—only those who were leprous.[10] And when they died, then [the priests] buried them; they were not eaten. They died upon the feast of the Fasting for the Sun.

Ittac cinteutl yteupan.

In jttac cinteoutl yteupan: vncan mjquja in mamalti, çan iehoantin in xixijoti: auh in jquac ommjque, njman qujntocaia, amo qualoia: ipan in netonatiuhçavaloia mjquja.

Tetlanman.

Tetlanman: here died [she who was the likeness of] Quazolotl Chantico. [This came to pass] only when the lords determined; only when it was fated. And [it took place] during the day-count of ce xochitl.

Tetlanman.

In tetlanman: vncan mjquja, yn jxiptla quazolotl chanticon: çan qujlnamjquja in tlatoque, in jquja mjquja: çan tepan yetiuh: auh ipan in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ce xuchitl.

10. In translation of xixijoti, we have follow Sahagún, although elsewhere our translation of this word differs. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

X787 all, lose his property, scatter it. Where could he save himself, find repose, or extend his arm? What could he quickly take? Well did he save, hide, and store his sustenance for himself.

X787 Everything frightened him lest pestilence sometime come upon him: fearful sickness, the gout, lameness, cramps, paralysis; sickness of the eyes—
●164 ophthalmia, or crossed eyes, or watering, withered, or shattered eyes, and blindness; or cancer,[1] piles, some major corruption; or the king's evil; or inflammation of glands might settle in and affect his throat, scarring and marking it;[2] or a bloody flux and loss of blood;[3] or a sore throat, and hoarseness; or pustules, etc.; or possession by a demon and insanity.

X787 This man was the one on whom these ailments did not settle; who benefited and provided for himself, and provided for and benefited his children and grandchildren; who lived in wealth.

X787 And if he were a gardener, a worker of the soil, a laborer, one who tilled the land, one who broke
241 and reworked the fields, he planted and sowed all things on his land, in his garden, in his worked fields. And when [the seed] had sprouted, and formed shoots, he hoed the ground; he built up mounds; he broke the clods of earth, and went stirring up the dust.

And if it were irrigated land, he opened his plot for irrigating. And if he had swamp land, and were a dweller in swamp country, he cultivated and planted maize for tamales, transplanted and set out chilis, and fertilized the land.

X787 After this, he witnessed the successful results of his fatigue and pains. Thus he attained his wealth and his contentment. When he had realized and procured his products of the soil, he was content, rejoicing, and happy.

X787 He stored it; everything he stored up: his ears of maize, black, white, yellow, or red. And when he
251 harvested and gathered it, he put aside, sorted out, and chose the large ears of maize. Some he formed into clusters, separate clusters; some he formed into caltrops. On the beams at the front of the house he hung the bunches and the caltrop-shaped bunches.

tlẽ concuitivetziz, vel motẽtezõtia, monepacholtia, quiterzontlalia, yn inenca,

muchi iẽ ynjc motlamauhcaittilia in ma quẽmã ipan calla in temuxtli, hecatl, in temamauhti cocoliztli, in coacivizti, in cocotozzaviliztli, in oapeoaliztli, quẽquauhtiliztli, yn anoço ixcocoliztli, ijchichitinaliztli, in teixcuecueponi, in teixcatatili, teixpetzauh, teixcacazo, tlaiocaiantetlali, anoço quaiocatl, xochicivizti, itla veypalanaliztli, anoço toçanpotzalli, coatetl in tequechtlanmotlalia motlatitilia, tequechtitilo tequechtitiquijlo, tequechmomotzolo, anoço tlaelli, excuicuiltic, anoço tetzamiiaoacivilizti, yçaoquiliztli, nanaoatl. et.[4] anoço tetechquineoaliztli, iollotlavelilocatiliztli.

Jehoatl in ynic ãmotlatlalia, ynic mocnelia, ynjc monavilia, yoan quinnavilia, quimjcnelia yn ipilhoã, yn jxvioan, ynjc motlãtlamachitinemj,

auh intla millacatl, tlalchiuhquj, elimjcequi, elimiquinj, çacamo, çacamoanj, ixquich quitoca, ontlatepeoa, yn imilpan, yn imilco yn icuentla, auh yn oixhoac, in ie papatlacatoc, ytoc, tlapupuxoa, tlatlalhuja, tlacuentlapana, ixtlalilhujuhtinemj;

auh intla amilli, chãtlaxilia, auh intla chiname, chinãpanecatl, cintamaloa, cintamalaquja, chiltecq, chilquetza, tlaçoquipachoa,

ie vncan jnin quitta, yn amo nenvetzi, yn icizviz, yn inecõcol, ynjc quitta ynecuiltonol, yneiollaliliz, yn otlamuchiuh yn oquittac itonacaiouh, moiollalia, pequi, vellamati,

tlacalaquia, ixquich quicalaquja yn icin in iauitl, yn iztac, in coztic, in xiuhtoctli, auh in iquac pizca, in tlacuicui nononqua quitema, quicẽquixtia, quipepena, in vevej cintli, cequi cochollalia, cõcholalia, cequi colchicaloa, ycalinquac quipipiloa yn iochol, yn iolchical, iuhquin tlapipilcac ocholli, yn olchicalli, auh in molquitl nonqua quitema, yoan im popoiotl

1. *Cuahuatl*, in Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 331, is "*Hígado, parásitos que se introducen bajo la piel. Dermatophyles penetrans L.*"
2. *Motlatilia*, teqpo-xi'ziki does not appear in the corresponding *Real Palacio MS* text.
3. *Tlamimilli* in *ibid.*; it is followed by *ceuqui amitoli*, *ceuxiuitoli* (possibly meaning "or a bad taste in the mouth"; cf. *amitoli*).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable migrations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[8]

The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldly to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.[2]

651 648 The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

5. Tuluca

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33' of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacã, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepec, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Teotenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xícaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Çoquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan.

Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master.[*]

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rrachan y ocote, ques tea para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocotlili."

[*] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,[*] and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states[**] to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

[*] *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

[**] Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

X618 It appears, after all, that the doubts concerning whether the Tenochcas had clans or whether they had exogamous clans, derives solely from some investigator's limitation in their concept of clan, which did not include every organization based on kinship through common descent. It is useful, nevertheless, to make a few comments on the reasons which have been given in holding other positions.

X618 All the data which we have analyzed fit well within this scheme
●171 which I propose for the Tenochcan society, and, according to what I have found out, also the majority of data on this society which are not presented here fit into this scheme. I believe also that /p. 80/ many of the Meso-american groups (2) fit into a similar scheme,

2. Kirchhoff, P., 1943, p. 101E

even when many investigators tell us that there were "something like castes" among peoples like the Huaxtecs, Mixtecs, Zapotecs (3),

3. Radin, P., 1931, p. 1, 2.

and Tarascans (4), probably because all, and above all these latter,

4. Beals, R., 1932, p. 469, 470.

had endogamous marriages. It has also been said that among the Tenochcas there are traces of caste system, for the same reason (5).

5. Moreno, M., 1932.

It must be said that in reality it resembles it, through frequent endogamy. But various characteristics are lacking among the Tenochcas and certainly also in all these groups to characterize them as organized in castes: the calpullis (or the corresponding organisms with endogamous tendency in the other groups) must have been made up of a very small number of people, whereas castes appear to be true tribes subdivided in exogamous or endogamous clans (in various castes). Among the Tenochcas (and surely among the other tribes) the typical priest and warrior castes were lacking (which in Tenochtitlan belonged to different calpullis). Also in Tenochtitlan there was a certain freedom for individual development which does not exist in typical caste societies, and the social division of labor

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by calpullis was not very strict. Furthermore it must be said that the term "family" used by some investigators to refer to ambilateral groups, would better be left for groups of affinal and consanguineal relatives consolidated by marriage, and not for groups of people united by their kinship through common descent which is basic in clans. The Otomis also had groups resembling the calpullis (6) and their so-

6. Carrasco, Pedro, 1945, p. 86.

cial organization certainly was similar to that of the Tenochcas. With respect to the Mayas, Roys tells us that there were exogamous clans (7) and at the same time that there were social classes and that

7. Roys, R.; 1945, p. 67.

the nobles reckoned their descent through both lines (8). Therefore

8. Roys, R., 1945, p. 33.

I think that, at least among the nobles, there were also groups of the ambilateral clan type.

All these groups fill geographically the gap left in Mesoamerica by Olson (9) and Beals (10) in their maps which include all the groups

9. Olson, R., 1933.

10. Beals, R., 1932.

about which it was possible to acertain that they had exogamous clans, all of which endorses the position maintained in this /p. 83/ work, as regards the Tenochcas, as well as regards these other groups which appear to be similar to them.

Another of the generally accepted arguments against the thesis that the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan had clans consists in the assertion that the latter had disappeared a long time before the arrival of the Spanish (11). But if we analyze the authority which they invoke

11. Hernández, Régulo, 1931, p. 60; and Freund, Georg, 1944.

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Concerning these tribes data is mentioned which leads us to believe that they had clans of the calpulli type. Perhaps the intermediate linguistic groups also had them. The boundaries marked are linguistic, based on the Map of Prehistoric Distribution [Mapa de destribución prehispánica...] by W. Jiménez Moreno and M. Othón de Mendizabal (1939).

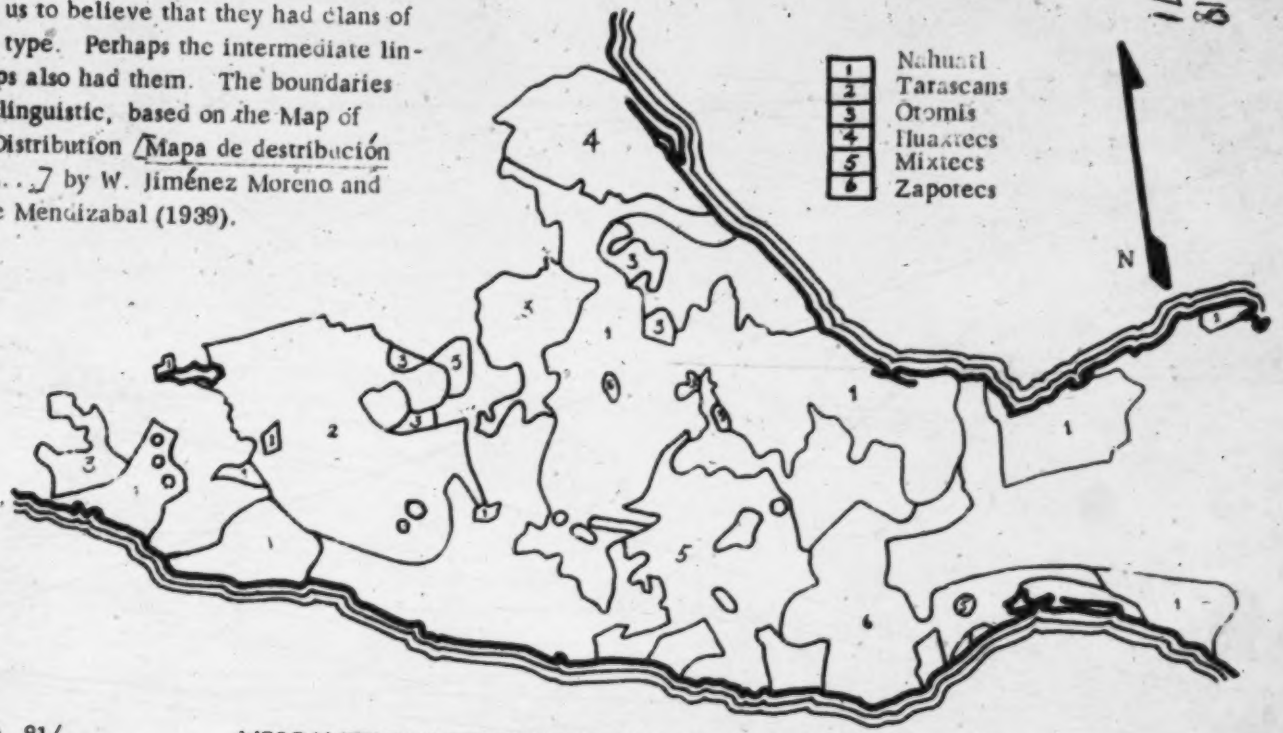

/p. 81/

MESOAMERICAN TRIBES WHICH POSSIBLY HAD AMBILATERAL CLANS WITH ENDOGAMOUS TENDENCY

X618 in support of their argument, we find that in the first place it [the
●171 authority] does not speak of the Tenochcas and in the second place it does not give a basis for affirming the assumed disappearance of clans, even in the communities to which it refers. These authors base their assertion on a reference that Techotlalatzin, ruler of the Chichimecs, "divided the soil of all the land into parcels in a certain manner and each town, according to the number of people which it had had its population redistributed propotionately; so that if in a Tecpanec town there were six thousand inhabitants, he would take two thousand from there and pass them on to another Metzotec or Chichimec town and from that Metzotec town he would take two thousand inhabitants and move them to the Tecpanec town from which he had brought the others. And if the town had two thousand he would take a fifth and move them on to a another enemy nation and from there he would take the same number and pass them to this other place whence the former had been taken. And the Tecpanec ruler who was of that town whence were taken the two thousand inhabitants, although he did not have them in the same city, recognized them as his own in the other place where they were. And the Culhua, the Metzotec, and the Aculhua rulers did the same thing, so that although he had the same number of people under him, he did not have them all in the area of his rule, but mixed in with others" (12). This cannot

12. Torquemada, I, p. 89.

indicate that the clans had been broken up among the Tenochcas since in the first place the information refers to groups other than the Tenochcas (the Metzotecs, etc.) and only can explain to us or complement other indications; and cannot serve as a basis for assertions of this nature. But there is in addition another argument against the position which we criticize: we cannot say that the Metzotecs, Culhuas, etc., formed, each one, a clan which was then dismembered, it being far otherwise since if there were indeed clans there would be several [clans] in each one of these groups (several among the Metzotecs, several among the Culhuas, etc.). We can add that if what united a ruler with the transferred people was the bonds of kinship, then we are clearly told that they [the clans] were not broken. And finally it must be said that in later cases in which the transfer of people was resorted to, this was done taking into account the "parcel" ["parcialidad"] and "generation" of the transferred

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people, which probably meant, in general terms, /p. 84/ taking the clans into account. With these data we can find out nothing about the existence of clans, or of those communities, or of the Tenochcas.

It is frequently said that the calpullis were not clans—that is exogamous clans—but rather remains of exogamous clans (13). The

13. Kroeber, A. L., 1923, p. 357, 360; Moreno, M., 1931, p. 14-16; Radin, P., 1937, p. 102; etc.

only prop for this supposition is that the calpullis, being structures which presented some characteristics of the structures based on kinship through common descent, and these not being the same characteristics as those of exogamous clans, then they could not be clans, but rather their remains. I believe it would be extraordinary to find arguments in the sources for Mexican history to prove that the calpullis were remains of such clans. Even now we find many communities which evince characteristics which recall unilateral and exogamous structures (14). But these do not resemble what we know the

14. Pozas, Ricardo, 1945; Monzón, Arturo, 1945.

calpullis of Tenochtitlán were in the 16th Century, nor those of Tepoztlán in the 20th Century in spite of having suffered from the aftermath of the conquest a much more destructive influence than that which the calpullis would have suffered if it is that there were groups in Mesoamerica with a different and more advanced social structure prior to the period of the conquest. Only if there were no indications that the calpullis were ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies could the possibility of their being remains of exogamous clans be countenanced.

The local restriction of the calpullis has been another argument against the existence of clans in the community which we are studying (15). But this cannot be of value, even as an argument that they

15. Kroeber, A. L., 1923, p. 357, 358, note.

were exogamous clans, since we have innumerable tribes including those with exogamous clans in which individuals of a determined sex

are restricted as to locality, which only goes to indicate that their clan organization has influence in determining location. In the case of tribes such as the Maoris, with ambilateral clans, the local restriction applies to both sexes—as with the calpulli—and is certainly no reason for denying the importance of kinship through common descent in their social organization.

The division of labor by calpullis has also been presented as an argument against the thesis that the calpullis were clans (16). The

16. Kroeber, A. L., 1923.

reasoning to combat this position is simple: if the members of a calpulli evinced characteristics of members of a clan, it may be that these clan characteristics determined the social division of labor; but it is not /p. 85/ possible to accept that the social division of labor determined their characteristics of kinship through common descent. As in the case of local restriction, this would mean nothing more than that the clan organization also determined the organization of labor.

The existence of a strong social stratification (17) and of land

17. Kroeber, A. L., 1923; Moreno, M., 1931, p. 29 ff.

ownership (18) are not proofs either against the Tenochcas having

18. Toscano, S., 1946, p. 781.

had clans since we find in tribes the world over cases in which characteristics of ambilateral groups signal the existence of marked social strata such as happened among the Maoris (19) and the Incas (20).

19. Mishkin, B., 1937.

20. Kirchhoff, P., 1942 and 1948.

The argument for the existence of the social strata can be used very effectively against the idea that the Tenochcas had an exogamous clan organization, but it is not proof enough to deny that the bonds of kinship through common descent had great importance in the

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determination of social relationships, even as basic elements in the form of ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies and stratified.

The absence of totemism has also been used against the idea that the Tenochcas had clans (21). This is no proof at all because, since

21. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 25.

there are exogamous clans without totemism, the calpullis could even have been exogamous clans (although they were not) without totemism being present.

The similarity between the Greek gens, the Egyptian nome, etc., and the calpulli has also been flourished as an argument against the thesis that there were clans among the Tenochcas (22). But the

22. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 8; Toscano, S., 1946, p. 784.

similarity between these structures would have to be proved, on the one hand, which has not been done; and it would have to be proved, on the other hand, that neither the gens nor the nome had their basis in kinship through common descent, which has not been done either. Moreover, if we take into account that the Greek gens has been considered by many authors as a clan and even that it possibly was an ambilateral clan, the similarity between the calpulli and the gens would reinforce the position that the calpulli was a clan.

Really no proofs have been brought against the very existence of the clans, the most widespread and cogent being the supposed possibility of proving that the social relations of the members of Central Mexican communities, among which was the Tenochcan, stemmed from territorial division, ownership of land, or production of /p. 86/ objects; elements which we have already seen were within the limits of the organization based on kinship through common descent. Also it has been said that the Tenochcan government had the character of a "state" (23). Against this we can only pose two assertions: one

23. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 33; Radin, P., 1937, p. 104.

is that there are sufficient proofs that among the Tenochcas the principal social relationships were based on phenomena of kinship through

X 618 ●171 common descent; the other is that there are proofs that the social strata of the Tenochca community were not social classes, and that therefore their government could not have the character of a "state" if by this we mean that it had a class and non-"gentile" character.

/p. 87/ CONCLUSIONS

/p. 89/ Chapter 10

THE EVOLUTIONARY STAGE OF TENOCHCA SOCIETY

X 618 178 Let us now see concisely what are the conclusions arrived at regarding the questions posed upon undertaking this investigation in accord with the theoretical possibilities at our disposal; and try to express the evolutionary stage of the Tenochcan society in accord with such conclusions.

Systemizing our data we can say that:

a) The Tenochcas had permanent structures—the calpullis—based on kinship through common descent of its members, that is, structures which possessed the necessary qualities for accepting that there were indications of clans among the Tenochcas.

b) We can also say that, taking into consideration the different forms which clans can assume, the information which we have regarding the Tenochcan clans present them to us as ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies, among which, through having as a formative principal the reckoning of closeness of kinship to ancestors, there arose a marked internal differentiation, a veritable pyramid of ranks and of economic positions, the highest position being that of the calpulli chiefs.

c) We can say that there are many indications of there having been a differentiation in rank as between entire clans, the principal one being the one to which the chiefs of the whole Tenochcan group belonged.

d) We can say that there are also indications that the internal differentiation of the ranks of each clan is intimately bound to the differentiation between entire clans in the whole Tenochcan group through the realization of marriages between members of different clans.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7
Zapotec NU44

A 648 through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

A Z [29] ●171] A [314]

Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco NU34
Zapotec NU44

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones." A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

301
325

S. G. Morley in his description of Copan says:

"The discovery of copper bells of Mexican origin at a number of archeaological sites in Arizona and New Mexico clearly point to trade relations between the Pueblo Indians and the tribes of Central America in pre-Columbian times; these bells very closely resemble the copper bells found in the sacred Cenates of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, which can hardly have been carried there before 1200 A. D. [439]

Analysis has proved these metal bells to be copper with some little impurities; and it is believed they were cast by what is known as the *cire perdue* process. This method consists in using a wax model, or a core of clay covered with a wax pattern, the mould being heated, the wax melted and ran out, leaving the shape of the object to be cast, which was then filled with the melted metal. This is interesting because this process was well known to the 171 ●
makers of bronze ornaments in Europe, and it is a question if 321
these little bells found in the Aztec or Maya burials were made by the *cire perdue* process; was it a discovery by the American race independent of foreign knowledge?

This might suggest a greater antiquity for this art of casting than that in Europe and would show a considerable amount of experience in metallurgy for the aborigines, and it is surprising that more elaborate objects were not made by them. Judging from the character and variety of cast objects of bronze from South America, the ancient Peruvians were familiar with the *cire perdue* method. Did the Inca discover it? They were certainly the earliest users of the alloy bronze in America with the exception of the unknown builders of Tiahuanaco, among whose ruins have been found bronze tools. With regard to the knowledge the Aztecs 325
had of bronze, it is difficult to establish their claim until more analyses are made of specimens of undoubted Mexican origin, indicating an alloy with a composition of about 90% copper and 10% tin. The following analyses by P. Rivet, taken from his contribution in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* show to what extent tin was used by the Aztecs in their metal objects.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But 105
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my
"chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in
"all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my
"duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for
"many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-
"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently*
given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I
"shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and
"I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this 174
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their
appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico
as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as
such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a
naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and
marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently 181
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to
the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 459). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 137 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenuchtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Géronimo de Mendieta (Historia ecclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hiciéron fuertes, en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de los Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequéñas choças, rodeados "de carriço, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 463. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espessura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.") [311]

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 460, 461 and 462, of Vol. I, of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also. [171]

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411 his sword attached or suspended from the wrist.[51] Clubs ("quauhololli") may have been also in use. But battle-axes, or anything like the Peruvian "chumpi," do not appear to have been known to the Mexicans.[52]

714 If now we turn to the *defensive* arms, to the *protective armour* proper, of the Mexicans, we meet in the first instance the *shield* ("chimalli"). Not the merely ornamental shields used and carried by warriors and chiefs on festive occasions only,[53] but the

"con agudos Pedernales, engeridos por los filos, . . . que dando grandes golpes no se "deshacia; cortaban en lo blando, quanto topaban, pero en lo duro resurtian, como eran "los filos muy delgados". Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). "The first blows alone "were fearful, as the edge soon wore out." (The name "Macuahuitl" may derive from "maitl," hand, and "cuahuitl," tree). The tables accompanying the work of Durán have many representations of the maccuahintl. The "handle" or hilt is usually formed by a ball or knob, sometimes by a ring.

[51] H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America. Vol. II, p. 411). If we have not heretofore quoted, and may perhaps not quote hereafter, this splendid compilation, it is merely because we revert to original authorities, and not at all out of disregard for the highly valuable assemblage of data which the distinguished author has furnished to science.

[17] [52] Mr. Bancroft has given a fine illustration of a club used by some of the Indians of the *present Republic of Mexico*. But among the Mexicans proper, the sword, "maccuahuitl," was the most common and frequently used weapon. Clavigero figures it like the blade of a saw-fish, with teeth; and Tezozomoc calls it "espadarte." But there can be no doubt that the intention of the Indians was to make a *continuous blade* (or edge), and not a *row of teeth*. (Along the sea-coast the "proboscis" of the saw-fish may have been *used occasionally as a weapon*, but it certainly never furnished a *type*.) The Peruvian "chumpi" was a peculiar weapon, and has nothing analogous elsewhere on this continent. It required both hands to wield it. An illustration of it is found in Herrera, Frontispiece to the fifth Decade, where the portraits of thirteen Yncas are given. Both Manco-Capac and Viracocha each hold a "chumpi" or spear terminating in a broad star, like the "Morgenstern" of the Swiss. Some authors persist in giving to the Mexican sword the name of "macana," but this word is not Mexican. Neither is it Carib. It was imported from the Antilles by the Spaniards, and is probably "arua." Von Tschudi "Peru, Reise-skizzen" (St. Gall, 1846) describes, vol. 2, chap. 7, p. 231, the macana still in use among the wild Indians of the Peruvian "Montañas," East of the Andes. He says: "the sword, macana, is also, like the bow, made out of the hard "chunta This wood is dark brown, very hard and heavy. The macana is four feet "long, one inch thick, and five to six inches broad; at the handle it is only three inches "wide and rounded, both edges are as sharp as those of a sabre." The same author describes also the club, "matusino," of the same tribes. It is a rough imitation of the "chumpi" of the Incas, deer-prongs taking the places of the metallic star. Its length is about four to five feet. Durán also has drawings of a *Mexican* club, corresponding to the figure given by Mr. H. H. Bancroft.

[53] These shields, richly ornamented with featherwork, were used at great festivals, at the dances. Illustrations are given in Herrera, Frontispiece to the second Decade, in Clavigero, and especially in the "Raccolta di Mendoza," printed in Lord Kingsborough. They were frequently sent as presents, and among the presents which Cortés received while at Vera-Cruz, Gomara mentions once twenty-four, and again five, of such shields. "Cinco rodelas de pluma y plata," and "veinte y cuatro rodelas de oro y "pluma y aljofar, vistosos y de mucho primor" (Vedia I, p. 322). He distinguishes them from the war-shield which he describes as "una rodela de palo y cuero, y á la re-"donda campanillas de laton morisco, y la capa de una plancha de oro, esculpida en "ella Vitcilopuchtli, dios de las batallas, y en aspa cuatro cabezas con su pluma é pelo, "al vivo y desollado, que eran de leon, de tigre, de aquila, y de un buarro."

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Four "quarters" had been formed by the localizing of four relationships composing them respectively, and it is expressly stated that each one "might build in its quarter (barrio) as it liked."[30] The term for these relationships, in the Nahuatl tongue, and used among all the tribes speaking it was: "Calpulli." It is also used to designate a great hall or house, and we may therefore infer that, originally at least, all the members of one kinship *dwelt under one common roof*.[31] The ground thus occupied by the "Calpulli" was 618

"Say to the congregation Mexican that the chiefs, each one with his relatives, friends and connections, shall divide themselves into four principal quarters, my house being in the centre among them, and that each cluster may build in its quarter as it pleases." 615 618 These quarters are those which now remain in Mexico, that is, the quarters of San Pablo, of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda, and of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places, their God commanded them to distribute among themselves the idols ("los dioses"), and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these particular idols should be worshipped. Thus each quarter was divided into many small ones, according to the number of the idols called Calpulteona (it should be "Calpulteoltzin" composed of Calpulli-quarter, and teotl-god), which signifies god of the quarter." (See Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467.) Tezozomoc, cap. III, p. 9, "y siendo de noche hicieron junta y les dijo el sacerdote Quauhtlequetzqui: hermanos, ya es tiempo que os dividais un trecho unos de otros en cuatro partes cercando en medio el templo de Huitzilopochtli, y nombrad los barrios cada una parte, y asi concertados para dividirse . . . ." Torquemada confirms these statements (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), although he protests against the origin of this division. He says: "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains other smaller ones included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." He further says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). "These clusters ("parcialidades" kinships) were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of these clusters held three, four, or more calpules, according to the number of its people . . . ." (We shall investigate hereafter the objection of Torquemada). The same author, however, acknowledges (Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 288), that the founders of Mexico were "nine families . . . These families commenced the foundation of this illustrious and magnificent city . . . ." One fact results beyond all doubt, that the first settlement of Mexico was made upon the basis of a division into kinships or consanguine groups, localizing on certain areas, which jointly composed the tribe. That the government was democratic has already been established previously.

[30] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[31] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LXVIII, p. 194. "Estaba de ordinario, recogido en una grande Sala (ó calpul)." (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. IV, cap. XIX, p. 396, (que asi llaman las Salas grandes de Comunidad. ó de Cabildo). We find, under the corrupted name of "Galpon," the "calpulli" in Nicaragua among the Niquirans, which spoke a dialect of the Mexican (Nahuatl) language. See E. G. Squier ("Nicaragua," Vol. II, p. 342. "The council houses were called grepons, surrounded by broad corridors called galpons, beneath which the arms were kept, protected by a guard of young men"). Mr. Squier evidently bases upon Oviedo ("Hist. general," Lib. XLII, cap. III, p. 53: "Esta casa de cabildo llaman galpon . . . ." It is another evidence in favor of our statements, that the kinship formed the original unit of the tribe, and at the same time a hint that, as in New Mexico, originally an entire kin inhabited a single large house. See Molina's Vocab. (p. 11). [L7]

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The soil built over by each "calpulli" probably remained for 174
some time the only *solid* expanse held by the Mexicans. Gradually, 241
however, the necessity was felt for an increase of this soil. Remaining unmolested "in the midst of canes and reeds," their numbers had augmented, and for residence as well as for food, a greater area was needed. Fishing and hunting no longer satisfied a people whose original propensities were horticultural; they aspired to cultivate the soil as they had once been accustomed to, and after the manner of the kindred tribes surrounding them. For this purpose they began throwing up *little artificial garden-beds*, "chinampas,"[36] on which they planted Indian corn and perhaps some other vegetables. Such plots are still found, as "floating gardens," in the vicinity of the present city of Mexico, and they are described, as follows, by a traveller of this century:

"They are artificial gardens, about fifty or sixty yards long, and 241
not more than four or five wide. They are separated by ditches of three or four yards, and are made by taking the soil from the

Méjico," p. 443. Vedia, I). "Many married people ("muchos casados") live in one house, either on account of the brothers and relations being together, as they do not divide their grounds ("heredades"), or on account of the limited space of the pueblos; although the pueblos are large, and even the houses." Peter Martyr of Angleria ("De Novo Orbe," translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, London, 1612. Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228), says: "But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the lake through the floode, or washing flote of the Ryvers fallying into it. Vpon those greate foundations, they builde the reste of the house, with Bricke dryed, or burned in the sunne, intermingled with Beames of Tymber, and the common houses have but one floore or planchin." We are forcibly reminded here of the houses of Itza on Lake Peten, which were found in 1695. "Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XII. p. 494." "It was all filled with houses, some with stone walls more than one rod high, and higher up of wood, and the roofs of straw, and some only of wood and straw. There lived in them all the Inhabitants of the Island brutally together, one relationship occupying a single house." See also the highly valuable Introduction to the second Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar ("Mexico in 1554") by my excellent friend Sr. Icazbalceta (pp. 73 and 74). [342] [171]

[36] "Chinampa," derives from "Chinamitl." "Seta o cerca de caña," (enclosure of canes or reeds). Molina "Vocabulario", Parte II, p. 21). This mode of enclosing the ground was very common in the valley. A cluster of settlements between Churubusco and the Eastern lagoon has even obtained from it the name of "Chinampanecas (frequently mentioned in Tezozomoc and Durán.) The word "Chinamiti" has been adopted by the Qquiché of Guatemala, changed into "Chinamit," and used to designate a *kinship*. (See "Popol-Vuh., pp. 301, 304, 306, where "Chinamit" is translated as family.) Even in those remote regions where the territories of Yucatan and Guatemala join, or rather merge into each other, around Lake Peten, where the Nahuatl language is hardly known, we find in the 17th and 18th century, a tribe of "Chinamitas," who are said to have inhabited an area surrounded by Mexican agaves ("Magueyes") as a defensive hedge. ("Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XI, pp. 490–493.) It shows that the original signification of the word, at least, was connected with the notion of a family-lot.

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marked improvement, at least in the personal condition of the Indians. They were, hereafter, at least to some extent, protected from the bodily slavery in which the former acts had plunged them. In regard to the tenure of lands, however, the laws wrought no change. Further direct spoliations became more difficult, but the new principle of private ownership had been firmly implanted, not merely *around* but *among* the natives themselves, and the obliteration of the ancient usages, by the extension of this principle, could not be stayed.

Of the aboriginal mode of tenure of lands and of their distribution, but one vestige remained—the last monument so to say, and the one which embodies, happily, all its principal features. These are the lands of *kinship*, held in common by the consanguine group or calpulli, and called as we have seen, "calpulalli," by the Mexicans.

Although their order had been very much disturbed since in many cases the official tracts, "tecpan-tlalli" and "tlatoca- tlalli," as well as those apportioned to the chiefs as members of the kin, "tlalmilli," were appropriated by the conquerors,—the bulk of the "calpulalli" could not, for a long time, be disintegrated for private uses, notwithstanding the still more nefarious influence exercised by the donation of lands to individuals, with the faculty of barter or sale, in the very heart of the organization itself. Even up to the present time, these communal tracts are still found in Mexico, occupied and tilled by the aborigines after their original customs.[151]

[151] Mr. James Pascoe, an English gentleman, resident of Toluca, has in a letter reported upon by the French "Journal des Missions Evangéliques" (1874), given a detailed description of the condition of the Indians in his vicinity. His statements about their communal system of tenure, the eligibility of their chiefs, etc., etc. ("gobernadores") are very positive and plain.

Mr. Stephens, in "Travels in Yucatan" (Vol. II, cap. I, pp. 14 and 15), described the mode of life of the settlement ("rancho") of Schawill near Nohcacab, which settlement contained about "one hundred labradores, or working men, their lands are held and worked in common, and the products are shared by all. Their food is prepared at one hut, and every family sends for its portion, etc., etc."

Brantz-Mayer: ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1837). While at the hacienda of Temisco near Cuernavaca: "he pointed out to us the site of an Indian village, at the distance of three leagues, the inhabitants of which are almost in their native state. He told us, that they do not permit the visits of white people; and that, numbering more than three thousand, they come out in delegations to work at the haciendas, being governed at home by their own magistrates, administering their own lands, and employing a Catholic priest to shrive them of their sins; once a year. The money they receive in payment of wages, at the haciendas, is taken home and buried; and as they produce the cotton and skin for their dresses, and the corn and beans for their food, they purchase nothing at the stores" (p. 173). Hon. E. G. Squier, in his ex-

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At a late hour, comparatively, the government of Spain recognized the importance of maintaining this last vestige of Indian land tenure. It was brought to it, not only by the incessant clamor of ecclesiastics of various orders,[152] by the necessity of restraining the power of the new settlers over the aborigines, which power threatened (as in Peru) to endanger Spanish domination itself,[153]—but especially from the conviction, that it was best suited to the wants of the Mexican natives, being the mode of

cellent work on Nicaragua, makes the following very important observations on the tenure of lands there: (Vol. I, cap. 290 and 291). "The municipality of Subtiaba, in common with the barrios of some of the towns, holds lands, as I have said, in virtue of royal grants, in its corporate capacity. These lands are inalienable, and are leased to the inhabitants at low and almost nominal rates. Every citizen is entitled to a sufficient quantity to enable him to support himself and his family; for which he pays from four rials (half a dollar), to two dollars a year. This practice seems to have been of aboriginal institution; for under the ancient Indian organization, the right to live was recognized as a fundamental principle in the civil and social system. No man was supposed to be entitled to more land than was necessary to his support; nor was he permitted to hold more than that, to the exclusion or injury of others. In fact, many of the institutions of the Indians in this country were recognized, and have been perpetuated by the Spaniards." The bearings of these remarks, upon our subject, are easily noticed, and need no further comments. That part of the indigenous population of which the learned traveller treats, are from the same stock as the Mexicans.

The document which has already occupied our attention, namely: the grant of Cortés to the chiefs of Axapuseo and Tepeyahualco (See note 136) also furnishes evidence of the existence of these communal tracts in Mexico, and their recognizance by the Spanish government. This grant was the object or cause of a long suit, which we shall refer to hereafter,—the inhabitants of the two pueblos suing their chiefs for restitution of the communal property. This shows that the "calpulli" in *fact*, if not in name perhaps, still existed at least in the past century. The litigation alluded to occurred between the years 1755 and 1764.

[152] These protestations were mainly issued at the example of the indefatigable Las Casas. It would be superfluous to refer to them in detail. But it is remarkable with what freedom of language this violent though noble character was permitted to speak. We have already quoted (note 147), his memorial to the council of the Indies (written in 1562 or 1563). In that document he goes so far as to say: "First, that all the wars called conquests ("conquistas" applying it to the New World exclusively), were and are unjust and the very acts of tyrants. Second, that all the Kingdoms and Lordships of the Indies are held by us through usurpation only . . . . Fifth: that the King our Lord, whom God may keep safe and prosperous, cannot, with all the power God has given him, justify the wars and robberies made to these people, nor the Repartimientos and encomiendas,—more than he could justify the wars and robberies committed against the Christian by the Turks . . . . . Eighth: that the natives of all these parts and wherever we may have entered the Indies have a perfect right to make war upon us or to expel us and wipe us off the face of the earth, which right they will preserve until the day of judgment" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 306). This is strong talk from the Bishop of Chiapas, not only against the Emperor, but against the Holy See, which had *donated* the Indies to Spain.

[153] It is well known that the liberation of the Indians from personal servitude was a measure, not only of humanity and justice, but also of policy, on the part of the Spanish government, to weaken the growing power of the conquerors and early colonists. The troubles in Peru give a good example of the state of affairs.

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Cauac" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 32, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 63, note 5).

"Batz" as *monkey*, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh. Hix, and Cahogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Been, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

This origin is stated as follows:—

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Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 537), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, ... This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 124), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 465), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cuculcan or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 32. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Boturini* ("*Idea, etc.*," § XVI, pp. 115 to 121). Quoting *Nuñez de la Vega* (34, § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que *al que llamaban Coslahuntox (que es el Demonio, segun los Indios dicen, con trece potestades) le tienen pintado en Bilu, y con hastas en la cabeza como de carnero*, quando dicho Coslahuntox se ha de corregir en Ymos, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Toltecs,"[30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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sino por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symbolos de los dias de el Año, y assi viene á ser el primer Symbolo de ellos." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 33, 34, and 35), "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiappa, y Soconusco con el Tultéco, ... pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Tècpatl, Calli, Tóchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiappa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Been, y Chinax, etc., etc."

Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 164). "The Chiapanecs, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indigénas de México*," 1865, Vol. II, p. 222.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 412, Vol. I) "The Chiapanecs . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Been, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 533, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1780. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapanecs are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnes y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

Brasseur de Bourbourg ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologie*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 374, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper leads to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tacondal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprang through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 391, 392, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

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About the middle of the thirteenth century the Mexicans while on a migration towards more southern regions, made

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by the so-called calendars just named, which peculiarities may throw some light on the questions raised, as to whether they originally denoted kins or not.

With a single exception (Cipactli), the Mexican and allied calendars contained the name of not one object, or phenomenon, which might not be met with *somewhere* over the wide area which the three linguistical stocks occupied at the time of the Conquest. Still, as Sr. Orozco y Berra strikingly proves ("*Geografía de las Lenguas*," Parte IIa, Cap. V, p. 167), the Mexican month contains the names of animals unknown to the ultimate home of the tribe as well as to more *northern* regions. Thus the *monkey* ("Ozomatli") is not found on the high central tableland. In regard to the sign Cipactli, I shall elsewhere refer to this sign, which may perhaps denote a "cuttle-fish" of monstrous dimensions.

Supposing now (since we have no proof yet to the contrary), that this "marine monster" was also an inhabitant of tropical seas, it must strike us that the twenty signs for the days of the aboriginal calendars under consideration

(1). Represent types and phenomena which are met with, *not exclusively, but still all*, within the area of Mexico and Central America.

(2). That some of the animal types are limited to tropical and low regions only.

(3). That none of the animals belong exclusively to the temperate zone of North America.

Consequently, that these signs are of a meridional origin, and even, taking into account that the monkey is not found in the valley of Mexico, that they originated to the *south* of it. Still, the four "Leaders," as I have called them (the first signs of each "week" of five days), namely: Rabbit, cane, flint, and house,—might as well have been selected at the *north*.

It is a fact abundantly proven, that the kins or gentes composing the tribes of North America are named after a principle identical with that found in the naming of the days among the aborigines of more southerly latitudes, namely: after objects and natural phenomena. Mr. Morgan has given the names of the gentes of at least thirty tribes, consisting in all of two hundred and ninety-six gentes. Of these two hundred and ninety-six names, ninety-eight are signs of the Mexican days, repeatedly found in the different tribes. These signs are as follows:—

Itzcuintli, Dog, mostly found, however, as wolf	22 times.
Quauhtli, Eagle	14 "
Coxcaquauhtli, Hawk (although it is the "ringed vulture")	8 "
Mazatl, Deer, Elk, Caribou, Antelope	20 "
Cohuatl, Snake	9 "
Atl, Water (also as "Ice," "Sea," etc.)	4 "
Miquiztli, Skull (as "Head")	1 time.
Ollin (as "many seasons" and "Sun")	2 times.
Calli, House (as "high village" and "lodge")	3 "
Tecpatl, Flint (as "knife")	2 "
Ocelotl, Tiger (also as "panther" and "wild cat")	5 "
Ehecatl, Wind	1 time.
Acatl, Cane (also as "Indian corn")	3 times.
Tochtli, Rabbit (also as "hare")	3 "
Cuetzpalin, Lizard ("frog")	1 time.
Xochitl, Flower (as "Tobacco")	1 "
Quiahuitl, Rain	1 "

I beg to observe, that if I have added "Coxcaquauhtli" to this list, supposing it to be the equivalent of "Hawk," this is a mere suggestion, and not an affirmation on my part.

Thus sixteen, if not seventeen, of the twenty signs of days of the Mexican month, are found in North America as "*totems*" *probably of aboriginal clans or kins.*

It is further interesting to note, that of the nine clans composing the Moqui tribes of Arizona, the names of seven correspond to signs of Mexican days, ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, p. 179). What little is known of the Laguna Indians foreshadows a similar result (p. 180), thus permitting the query, whether the pueblo Indians of the

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A 173 618 their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[32] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[33] We may as well add here, that these

A M central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

[305 171] After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

A [197 173 621] [32] *Iztlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones historicas*" "*Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) "y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also "*Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de America llamada Nueva-España*" ("*Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 393), "Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinieron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), "Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 388, note 7, to p. 302). I refer to *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (2a Tarde, p. 31).

[33] "*Tardes Americanas*" (p. 31), "bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vaguearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full, I but refer to "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. V, pp. 38, 39; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. 1, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *Garcia* ("*Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 59, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Velancurt* (Vol. I. "*Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[34] The number *seven* (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 309, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* ("*Die Culturlaender des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 400, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Minutoli's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[35] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitznagoa.	Huitznahuac.	Huitznahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cihuatecpaneca.	Cihuatecpaneca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.
Yzquiteca.	Yzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.

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346 the abodes of such men as underwent the severe trials preliminary
793 to their investiture with the rank of chief ("tecuhtli.") The word "calmecac" is often interpreted as "dark house" but its etymology is probably quite different. In no case, however, was that building a school for a "privileged class of children.[105]

582 *The kin had the right to regulate and to control marriage.*[106] We have seen that the obligation to marry rested upon every member of a "calpulli." Where tribal society is still in its pure and original condition marriage in the same kin is absolutely prohibited. The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans were closely scrutinized by the Catholic church, and a rigid investigation by the early missionaries has proven that not only was marriage between close relations strictly prohibited, but it was also discouraged (if not forbidden) between members of the same kin.[107] Mr.

In all, seven "calmeca" within the enclosure surrounding the great "house of god" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan. *Torquemada* (Lib. VIII, cap. XI to XVI) also describes the various places, mentioning "Huitznahuacalmecac." "Casa de recogimiento, y habitacion de los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este lugar" (p. 150). "Tlamatzinco calmecac." donde vivian y tenian su asistencia los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este dicho Templos" (p. 151). "Yopico calmecac" "donde habitaban, y se criaban los muchachos" (p. 153). "Calmecac"—"donde se criavan los ninos" (p. 149). Besides these statements, the two authors just quoted allude to the Calmecac in the same manner at various places. *Sahagun* (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VII, and especially Cap. VIII, pp. 274-276). Already the title of this chapter is significant: "De las costumbres que se guardaban en la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, donde se criaban los Sacerdotes, y ministros del templo desde niños." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, pp. 468-471). *Johannes Eusebius Nieremberg* ("*Historia Naturæ*," Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, pp. 143-146). He copies Hernandez who, in turn, almost verbally agrees with Sahagun. *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302; Cap. LI, p. 537). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 428).

[105] *Molina* (II, p. 11). "Calmeca tlatolli," "palabras dichas en corredores largos" and "Calmelzetli," "Sala grande y prolongada, ó corredor de la casa." The word may be decomposed into "Calli"—house, and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, or "mecatl" a cord or tie. "House of Ties"?

[106] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 74).

● 171 [107] Already *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII) pictures vividly the difficulties encountered by the priests in regard to regular marriage. The first question to be determined was that of the legitimate spouse. This has already been investigated in a former note. The next question was that of the degrees of consanguinity, or affinity. It was rigidly inquired into whether perhaps, custom had sanctioned intermarriage of brothers and sisters. *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 439): "No casan con su madre ni con su hija, ni con su hermana; en lo demas poco parentesco guardan; aunque algunos se hallaron casados con sus propias hermanas;" thus admitting the fact that intermarriage of that kind existed. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 305) also concedes that such may have been the case, and infers that these marriages should be regarded as valid. The question of intermarriage between children of the same issue becomes important through the statements and discussion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. VII, p. 489) about the matrimonial customs of the Indians of *Vera-Paz*: "The Indians of Vera-Paz were compelled frequently, on account of their customs of relationship, to marry brothers with sisters for this reason: It was not customary for those of one clan, or tribe, to marry the women of the same tribe (pueblo), and thus they sought for them from others, because

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H. H. Bancroft to whom every student of American antiquities must look with a deep feeling of gratitude for his valuable services, says on the subject: "marriages between blood relations or those descended from a common ancestor were not allowed."[108] The act of marriage itself was preceded by negotiations on the part of one calpulli (that of the man) with another (that of the woman), the negotiations terminating in something like a *purchase* of the girl.[109] It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the 582

they did not reckon the children, born in foreign tribes or lineages, as belonging to their family; although if the mother had issued from their lineage, and the reason for this was, that this relationship was only attributed to the men." Now this is a very plain statement and picture of "descent in the male line," with the rules of kinship as strongly and fully in vigor as, with "descent in the female line" among the Iroquois. The inhabitants of Vera-Paz spoke, according to *Herrera* (Dec. IV, cap. X, cap. XIV, p. 229), "varios Languages," but they selected one at the instance of the Dominican fathers, "to use it in general." *Dr. Berendt* ("*Remarks on the Centres of Ancient Civilization in Central America and their Geographical Distribution*," address read July 10, 1876. pp. 9 and 10) mentions in Vera-Paz three idioms: the "Kekchi" (Alta Verapaz), "Pokoman" (in the South), and the "QQuiché" (Western Verapaz). See also *E. G. Squier*, ("*Monograph of Authors who have written on the Languages of Central America*," Introd., p. IX). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. IX. p. 700). *Diego Garcia de Palacio* ("*Report to the King of Spain in 1576*," German translation by the late *Dr. Alex von Frantzius*, pp. 4 and 64). *Pimentel* ("*Cuadro descriptivo de las Lenguas*," etc., Vol. I, pp. 81–84). The close connection in customs and Institutions (see my notes in regard to the calendars of Mexico and Central America) between the QQuiché and the Mexicans, and the probable identity of their origin, make it not unlikely that the latter had also the same rule, "not to marry within the tribe or lineage," or rather in the kin. As every tribe in Mexico consisted of a number of Calpulli, there was no need of selecting the wife from outside of the settlement. The manner of arranging marriages furnishes direct evidence of the fact, that the wife was, at least usually, from another kinship. (See note 109.) See especially, besides, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 228). 171

[108] "*Native Races*" (Vol II, cap. VII, p. 251).

[109] Not only the consent of the young man's parents was requisite, but also that of the "telpuchtlato" (speaker to the youth) of his "barrio" or calpulli, *i. e.*, of his kin. This fact is abundantly proven. *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIII, pp. 152, 159) says: The "speaker" was invited to the house and after having "eaten and smoked," "the old parents of the young man, and the old men of the barrio sat down," and the case was told to them. The "speaker" then took formal leave of the youth "y dejaban al moso en su casa de su padre." (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VI, p. 271), he again insists that the consent of the "maestros de los mancebos" was required. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 132): "Lorsqu'ils étaient d'âge à se marier, c'est à dire à vingt ans ou un peu plus, ils en demandaient l'autorisation" (p. 134). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125): "Llegados á la edad de casarse . . . pedian licencia para buscar mujer; y sin licencia por maravilla alguno se casaba, y al que lo hacia, demas de darle su penitencia, lo tenian por ingrato, malcriado y como apóstata" . . . *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX). It was the kin of the male which solicited the girl, and this solicitation was carried on by women, who brought presents. Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 251 to 262). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. II, cap. XII, p. 477. "*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I). If the male needed it, "the community" assisted him. See above authorities, and others. 583 584

The controlling influence of the *Kin*, in matters of marriage, was officially recognized, as late as 1555, by the first provincial "concile" held at Mexico in that year. It was ordained: "That since it is customary among the Indians Maceguales not to marry without permission ("licencia") of their principals, nor to take any women, unless it

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646 We thus have found in the "tlatocan" or council, the high directive authority of the tribe, the arbitrator between its organic component parts, and the chief judicial power within the tribe. It is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the council of the kin.

643 Like the kin also which, subordinate ~~to its~~ councils decrees had two superior officers for the execution thereof, the tribe had *two chief executive functionaries.*

Even at a comparatively remote period in the history of the ancient Mexicans we may discern two offices, not formally created, but naturally growing from what was left of tribal organization, which mark the beginning of a chief tribal executive. One of these is the "wise old man" conducting the "talk;"[204] the other is the "big warrior" who led the braves to battle.[205] The former subsequently became "foreman" in the council, the latter "war-chief" to the tribe. There are indications to the effect that, for a while, both offices were held by one person. From the time the confederacy had been formed, however, we recognize two chief executive agents,[206] one of which is called the "Snake-woman"

Vedia I): "Los Jueces eran doce . . ." with a higher court of two; therefore, in all fourteen, equal to the thirteen of Sahagun with the "Señor" added. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 100 and 105): "Les douze juges d'appel . . ." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) copies Zurita almost literally. By the side of this early Franciscan group of writers, there is the picture drawn by the two great Franciscans, Torquemada and Vetancurt, representing a supreme Judge, "Cihnacohuatl," and four tribunals beneath him in authority. This picture is evidently based on such paintings as the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plates LXIX and LXX). In my opinion the thirteen Judges of Sahagun should be connected with the judicial offices mentioned by Cortés as sitting at the "tecpan" (see note 202), rather than regarded as constituting a court of appeals.

Finally, I refer to *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimques.*" Cap. XXXVI and XXXVII), *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, pp. 199 and 200) and others, in regard to Texcuco. While they distinctly prove the subdivision, for judicial work, of the supreme council into two sections, they also show in a very marked manner, the confusion and contradiction arising from a misconception of the real case.

[204] Perhaps the earliest mention of such a "wise old man," foremost in the "talk," among the Mexicans proper, is that of the tale of the crafty old men, Huitziton and Tecpatzin, who are said to have persuaded the Mexicans to emigrate from Aztlan, as related by *Torquemada*, who is often copied (Lib. II, cap I, p. 78). In early times they are also called Captains and leaders, and must not be confounded with the "medicine-men" (Id., p. 78). Subsequently these latter sometimes appear as leading speakers. Much information can be gathered on this point by carefully and critically reading *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, XIII, XV and XVIII), *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 25 to 38), *Durán* (Cap. IV, V and VI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, II and III).

[205] *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. II, pp. 80 and 81). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 260, 261 and 262). They merely show that the office of "big warrior," existed.

[171] [206] This apportionment of the duties of chief-executive among two heads is found in many tribes of Mexico and Central America. Thus in Tlaxcallan, Maxiscatzin and Xicotencatl, the two head-chiefs, were alike and equal in power. (*Cortés*, "*Carta Segunda*" (pp. 18, 46). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. LXVII, p. 60): "los dos mas prin-

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("Cihua-cohuatl,") and the other (erroneously termed "King"), the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli").

The "CIHUA-COHUATL" was elected by the council for life, or

cipales caciques." "*Anonymous Conqueror*" (p. 288): "anchora che in certo modo si habbia rispetto á uno che e'el maggior Signore, che tiene teneva un Capitano generale per la guerra." *Motolinia*, "*Hist de los Indios*," etc. (Trat. III, cap. XVI, pp. 229 and 230). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII. cap. III. p. 272) copies Cortés. *Gomara* (p. 232). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 347) says four, of which Maxiscatzin was captain; though this is contradicted by the conquerors. Xicotencatl being war-chief. *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. X, p. 152) reports the speech of Xicotencatl: "que bien debia de saber, que era Xicotencatl Capitan General de la Republica de Tlaxcala," and especially his interesting tale of the Tlaxcaltecan council in Cap. III, pp. 139 and 140. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXVI, p. 150): "el rey Xicotencatl," (Cap. LXXXVII, p. 152): "el rey Maxiscatzin." About Chalco, compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 397, note 16), also about Xochimilco and the Tecpanecas. In regard to the Matlatzinca, *Zurita* ("Rapport," etc., p. 389) says there were three chiefs, who occupied the highest power in succession. This statement is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib IV, cap. XVIII, p. 139). The *Totonacas* had two chiefs. *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 181. Cap. XXIV, p. 206). The "Cazonzi" of Michuacan is represented by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. III, cap. V, p. 86, VI, p. 87) as being assisted by "his captain-general," and the anonymous document copied by *Don Florencio Janér* from the Codex C-IV-5 of the Escurial Library and published, without date, though evidently written between 1534 and 1551, entitled "*Relacion de las ceremonias y ritos, poblacion y gobierno de los indios de la provincia de Mechuacan, hecha al Ill'mo Sr. D. Antonio de Mendoza, Virey y Gobernador de Nueva España*" says ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "pues habia un rey y tenia su gobernador, y un capitan general en las guerras, y componiase como el mismo cazonci." This is very significant, especially because it is represented as being instituted by divine will. "Dicho sea en la primera parte, hablando de la historia del dios Curicaberis, como los dioses del cielo le dijeron como habia de ser *rey*, y que habia de conquistar toda la tierra, y que habia de haber uno que estuviese en su lugar, que entendiese en mandar traer leña para los ques." The evidence is positive about the QQuiché of Guatemala, and furthermore very interesting. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 405 and 406) mentions three chiefs, in a manner exactly similar to those of Matlatzinco, and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140) follows him implicitly. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XVIII, pp. 328 and 329) is of the same opinion, although it is easy to see that in fact there were *two* head-chiefs and not three, since he says: "Era el primero de todos el Rey actual; es á saber, el Abuelo: luego el Rey electo para despues de sus Dias; tras él, el que tenia nombre de Electo, etc." Consequently there were always two with the principal title. *Pedro de Alvarado* ("*Relacion á Hernando Cortés*," Utlatlan, 11 of April, 1524, Vedia I, p. 458) speaks of "cuatro señores de la ciudad de Utlatan." Another eye-witness of the conquest of Guatemala, *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CLXIV, p. 220) speaks of "dos capitanes señores de Utatlan." We have fortunately, in regard to the tribes of QQuiché language, a very positive source of great value. This is the "*Popol-Vuh*" (p. 229). Enumerating the "Nim-Ha Chi Cavikib," it specifies from the fourth generation on ("U. cah. le"), always *two* chiefs, stating positively: "Oxib-Quich, Beleheb-Tzi, u cablahu-le ahanab. Are-cut que ahanario ta x-ul Donadiu, x-e hitzaxic rumal Caxtulan vinak" (p. 236). Consequently Alvarado executed two chiefs. Besides (p. 240), it even mentions their last successors, with Spanish names. At the close three "great-elected ones" ("Nim-Chocoh") are mentioned, but only two are named, the one from "Nihaib" and the other from "Ahau-QQuiche." We find here the exact counterpart of the Mexicans, before their fight with Tlatelulco,—two chiefs of Mexico, and two chiefs of Tlatelulco, Moquihuix and Teconal. See the authors on that subject. In regard to the Maya of Yucatan, see *Lizana* ("*Devocionário de Nuestra Señora de Itzmal*," § IV), also *Villagutierre y Sotomayor* ("*Historia de la Conquista y Reducciones de los Itzaes y Lacandones*," Lib. VIII, cap. XVI, p. 514)

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643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamente* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at them. See *Bernal Diaz* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 470). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 335) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 351), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1789, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

[251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, cap. LXIX, p. 115, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 8, Trat I°).

764 [252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hizléronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus ceniças enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las ossequias conforme á persona tal se deuian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandeças pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 496): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes auian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 80 and 81), as late as 1753 or 1754, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

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TABLE I

PRINCIPAL CULTURE SEQUENCES IN MIDDLE, NORTH, AND SOUTH AMERICA

Approximate Dates	NORTH AMERICA		MIDDLE AMERICA						SOUTH AMERICA		Approximate Dates
	U.S. Southeast	U.S. Southwest	Central Mexico	Cholula	Oaxaca	Vera Cruz	Highland Maya	Lowland Maya	Peru North Coast	Peru South Highland	
			MIXTECA-PUEBLA PERIOD								
1600		Pueblo V									1600
1500	Temple Mound II		Aztec 4	Cholula 5	Monte Alban 5		Chipal 3		Late Chimu plus Incas		1500
1400	Temple Mound I	Pueblo IV	Aztec 3			Cempoala		Chichen Itza 3	Incas Conquest	Incas	1400
1300	Burial Mound II		Aztec 2	Cholula 4					Late Chimu		1300
1200	Burial Mound I	Pueblo III	Aztec 1				Chipal 2	Chichen Itza 2		Incas Conquest	1200
1100			Mazapan	Cholula 3		Cerro Montoso			Black-White-Red		1100
			LATE INDEPENDENT CIVILIZATIONS								
1000	Early Stages	Pueblo II	Teotihuacan 5		Monte Alban 4		Chipal 1	San José 3-5		Decadent Tiahuanaco	1000
900			Teotihuacan 4			Ranchito de las Animas	Chamá 4	Uaxactun 3	Tiahuanaco		900
800		Pueblo I	Teotihuacan 3			Tres Zapotes 3	Chamá 3	Holmul 5	Gallinazo-Chavin II	Chiripa	800

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			Full Independent Civilizations								
700					Monte Alban 3		Kaminaljuyú		Early Chimu B	Pukara Classic Tiahuanaco	700
600		Basket Maker III	Teotihuacan 2	Cholula 2			Chamá 2	San José 2 Holmul 2-4 Uaxactun 2			600
500											500
400		Basket Maker II	Teotihuacan 1 Cuicuilco Ticomán Gualupita 1		Monte Alban 2	Tres Zapotes 2	Chamá 1	Holmul 1	Early Chimu A		400
			Middle Cultures								
300		Basket Maker I(?)	Gualupita 1	Cholula 1	Monte Alban 1	Tres Zapotes 1		Uaxactun 1b	Chavin I	Early Tiahuanaco	300
200			Copilco-Zacatenco			La Venta		Uaxactun 1a			200
100			Early Zacatenco				Miraflores				100
0			Early El Arbolillo I								0
100											100
200											200
			Early Cultures								
1000											1000
2000		Desert Cultures(?)									2000
5000		Cochise								Argentine Caves	5000
10000		Folsom									10000
20000											20000

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P 172 174 Hill of the Star, behind Culhuacan. Dr Tozzer, who named the ware, found it mixed with late Teotihuacan material at the type site, but my wife and I excavated a Teotihuacan site of the same period without finding a single sherd among the 200,000 fragments we examined. At one or two places west of Tenayuca, Coyotlatelco sherds have appeared with Mazapan material. Mr Noguera found the extreme limit in lateness at Tenayuca where Coyotlatelco and Aztec II fragments were mixed. The geographical and chronological associations of this ware suggest that the makers were Culhuas or Tepanecs.

A 172 174 Culhuacan, so important in the annals as the seat of a famous line of chiefs, shows today little sign of its past greatness. Yet excavations undertaken twenty-five years ago prove that its historical importance was not overestimated, for it seems to have been the base from which Aztec culture spread over the Valley. Pottery, so dismal to read about, so important in reflecting tribal patterns, tells the story of this process.[8]

A 172 174 [796] Aztec pottery is found everywhere in the Valley of Mexico, and, due to the Aztec custom of destroying household goods at the end of each fifty-two-year cycle, it can be identified in terms of relatively exact periods: IV, 1507–19 (the date of the Spanish Conquest, which prevented the cyclical celebration of 1559); IIIb, 1455–1507; IIIa, 1403–55; II early and late, perhaps a century prior to 1403, and I. Periods III and IV are represented everywhere. Period II is common on the mainland but less so in Tenochtitlan, which was politically insignificant until after 1400. To date, Period I is represented in quantity only at Culhuacan. The standard ware of Periods II–IV goes through a consecutive evolution but has a close

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generic resemblance throughout, while Period I pottery is 172 much closer to the fine orange wares of Puebla which were 174 traded widely throughout southeastern Mexico. There is also a trade connection between Aztec I and Mazapan.[9] (See Plates 25, 29.)

In the history of Culhuacan digested on pp. 72–73 the fact was noted that there was first a Toltec dynasty, which was succeeded by a Chichimec or foreign regime. It may not be stretching the manipulations of the historian too far if we suggest that the Culhuas changed their culture with their dynasty. Coyotlatelco ceramics, which have vague affiliations with Teotihuacan pottery, may represent the material culture of the Toltec dynasty, while the Aztec I pottery, completely alien to the preceding styles, seems to embody the material presence of the new regime.

Seeming confirmation of this situation comes from the 172 site of Tenayuca, where great Mexican archaeologists like 346 the late José Reygadas Vertiz, Ignacio Marquina, Alfonso Caso, Eduardo Noguera and others have carried out a superb dissection of one of the temples. It was completely rebuilt five, or possibly six, times. The renovation answered the ceremonial requirement of rebuilding and refurnishing at the beginning of each fifty-two-year cycle in compensation for the destruction at the close of the previously elapsed period. As the site was occupied during the Conquest, the reconstructions probably followed the cyclical ceremonies of 1507, 1455, 1403, 1351 and 1299, with the first building erected some time earlier. The fourth, fifth and sixth constructions (1403, 1455, 1507) are purely Aztec; the third temple built (1351) is a transition between the Aztec style and the simpler, more archaic methods employed in the two earliest

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A 172 346 structures (1299 and the original temple). The three completely developed Aztec temples correspond closely to the distribution of Aztec III and IV pottery, between 1403 and 1519. The transitional temple and the second building suggest that cyclical renovations were adopted everywhere along with the Aztec II pottery of the fourteenth century. The original platform of this Tenayuca temple could have been constructed almost any time in the thirteenth century, since the building of a shrine did not entail the celebration of the beginning of a fifty-two-year cycle.[10] (See Plates 25; 26, bottom; 29.)

A 174 The Aztec civilization was brought into the valley at Culhuacan, where it gradually supplanted the defined local cultures. Where, then, was its true source? The most probable answer is Cholula, in the state of Puebla, where still exists the largest structure in the world in terms of cubic content. The devoted group of Mexican archaeologists, whose co-ordinated efforts have organized the rich background of their Indian past, have been analyzing this monument by excavation and archival research for many years. The results are important. (See Plate 26, top, middle.)

P 174 346 Originally Cholula was occupied by an Upper Middle Culture tribe which later fell under the domination of Teotihuacan-Toltec civilization. At this time the inhabitants built a large ceremonial precinct, a maze of temples, platforms and stairs, constructed of rubble covered with plaster. Eventually newcomers, possibly with the aid of the resident population, performed the stupendous task of converting the Toltec precinct into a single great platform, traditionally in honor of the god Quetzalcoatl. This mammoth construction entailed filling in every building and courtyard with

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Mexican origin spread through the length and breadth of Middle America. Just so the Christian religion had a ready acceptance in Indian America when the missionaries were backed by such redoubtable exponents of our gentle faith as Cortes, Pizarro and their coadjutors.

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF CHICHIMEC AND DYNASTIC TOLTEC HISTORY

p 172 174 175

950–1100, Early Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Contact with Toltecs at Tula (Teotihuacan) under Xolotl; Tenayuca I pottery; rude culture.

Western Phase: Teotihuacan V and western Toltec Empire at Tula (Azcapotzalco).

1100–1247, Middle Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Tenayuca occupation by immigrants; replacement of Toltecs at Tula (Tula); tribal government; foundation of Texcocan Chichimec lineage in 1232; development of fiefs; introduction of Mazapan culture.

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Western Phase: Destruction of Toltecs at Tula (Azcapotzalco); movement to Culhuacan; foundation of Culhuacan "Toltec" lin-

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cage in 1114; adoption of Coyotlatelco ceramics; first Aztec cycle counted, 1143–95; second Aztec cycle counted, 1195–1247.

RULERS

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl (d. 1124 after 60 years)			Xolotl 1115–1232	
Cuauhtexpetlatzin 1124–81	Teiztlacohuatzin 1160–1226			
Huetzin 1181–1202				
Nonoalcatl 1202–1223				
Achitometl 1223–37	Quinatzin 1226–99			
Cuauhtonal 1237–51				

1247–99, LATE CHICHIMEC-AZTEC I PERIOD

Eastern Phase: Establishment of Texcoco as Chichimec capital under Quinatzin in 1298; persistence of Mazapan culture in east; penetration of Coyotlatelco and temple cult to Tenayuca(?).

Western Phase: Foundation of new dynasty at Culhuacan in 1251; introduction of Aztec I pottery at Culhuacan, with Pueblan origins; construction of Building I at Tenayuca(?); Cholula rebuilt (Altar de los Craneos); Cholula III pottery; Tenochcas at Chapultepec; third Aztec cycle counted, 1247–99.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
New Lineage Mazatzin 1251–74			*Lineage Begins* Nopaltzin 1232–63	
Quetzaltzin 1274–87		Costomatzin 1282–88	Tlotzin 1263–98	Huitzilhuitl 1235–98
Chalchihuitlacoxoc 1287–1304				

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TABLE VII

MIGRANT TRIBES, ACCORDING TO VARIOUS AUTHORITIES, COMPARED TO CERAMIC GROUPS IN CENTRAL MEXICO

	Histoire Mexicaine[a]	*Codex of 1519*[b]	*Codex of 1576*[c]	*Cuhac—cd. Mullos Camargo*[d]	*Historia de los Mexicanos*[e]	*Codice Ramirez*[f]	*Codex Boturini*[g]	*Durán*[h]	*Sahagun*[i]	*Codex Telleriano—Remensis*[j]	*Codex Vaticanus A*[k]	*Clavigero*[l]	*Motolinia*[m]	*Mullos Camargo*[n]	*de Mendieta*[o]	*Suggested Correlation of Pottery Styles with Tribal Groups*
Aztec	x	x	(x)*	–	x	x	(x)*	(x)*	(x)*	–	–	(x)*	x	–	x	Regulation Aztec of Tenochtitlan[p]
Zochimilca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(?)
Tepaneca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Tenayuca II (?)[q]
Acolhua	–	x	–	–	[x]†	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(x)*	(x)*	–	Mazapan[r]
Culhua	–	–	–	x	x	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Culhuacan (like Aztec)[s]
Cuitlahuaca	x	x*	x	–	–	–	x*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Chalca	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[v]
Tlahuica	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	Guadupita III[r]
Tlaxcaltecs	–	–	–	–	[x]†	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	(x)*	–	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[v]
Cholultecs	–	x*	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Cholula wares[r]
Huexotzincs	x	x	x	x	[x]†	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Matlatzincs	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Matlatzincs[s]
Malinalca	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Quauhquechollan-Xelhua	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	(?)

Chichimecs	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	x	x	–	(x)*	–	–		(?)
Nonoalca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Michoacs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	(x)*	–	–		(?)
Coaixca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Totonaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Cuexteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Xicalanga-Olmeca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	x	(x)*	x		(?)
Mixteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		Monte Alban 5**
Otomi	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		(?)

*Implied but not specifically listed.

†"These people, say the Mexicans, and no more sallied forth, although those of Tezcoco and Tlaxcala and Huexotziacs boast . . . that they too . . . are also of that land." Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, p. 615.

[a]Histoire Mexicaine in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 60.

[b]Codex of 1590 in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 24; Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 8, footnote.

[c]Codex of 1576 in Aubin, Histoire, 1893, p. 4, both of text and translation.

[d]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7. A footnote by Chavero gives a list taken from Cuadro Historico-Jeroglifico de la Peregrinacion de las Tribus Aztecas Que Poblaron el Valle de Mexico, No. 2, published in the Atlas Geografico of Antonio Garcia Cubas, Mexico, 1858, usually called the Codex Boturini.

[e]Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, pp. 624–25. Forty tribes.

[f]Historia de los Mexicanos in Biblioteca Mexicana, 1878, p. 18.

[g]Radin, Sources, 1920, p. 33, Pl. I taken from Kingsborough, Vol. 1.

[h]Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, p. 10.

[i]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 11.

[j]Codex Telleriano-Remensis, 1899, p. 34, Pl. 25.

[k]Codex Vaticanus A, 1900, Pl. 67.

[l]Clavigero, History, 1787.

[m]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, pp. 7–10.

[n]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, pp. 5–68. The list of tribes given under this authority has been extracted at random points from the text. Muñoz Camargo does not specify the list of migrants.

[o]de Mendieta, Historia, 1870, p. 145.

[p]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 32.

[q]Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[r]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

[s]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–36; Brenner, Influence of Technique, 1931.

[t]Chavero, in Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7, misreads this sign Cholula.

[u]Radin, Sources, 1920, misreads this sign Cholula.

[v]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1935, Figs. 19, 27.

[w]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[x]Peñafiel, Nomenclatura Geografica, 1897, gives this sign as Cholula.

[y]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[z]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 6.

**Caso, Monte Alban, 1938.

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TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY BEFORE THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1299–1351, Early Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Introduction of picture writing and other arts at Texcoco by people from the Mixteca; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery.

Western or Culhua Phase: Cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building II; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery, retention of Coyotlatelco (?) pottery; revolt of Tenochcas at Chapultepec, settlement of Tenochtitlan; fourth Aztec cycle counted, 1299–1351.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Cuauhtlix 1304–11	Tezcaltecutli 1299–1338	Mishuatonaltzin 1290–1300		
Yohuallatonac 1311–21		Axayaltzin 1300–08		Tenoch (?)
Tzishtecatzin 1321–34	Vactli 1339–49	Atzitzimaltzin 1308–24	Quinatzin 1298–1357	
Xihuitlemoc 1334–52		Totepeuhtecutli 1324–43		*Lineage Begins*
		Epcoatzin 1343–54		Queen Ilancueitl 1349–83

1351–1403, Late Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Unification of language by Techotlala; political and cultural dominance of Texcoco; Aztec IIb pottery and homogeneity of culture; Cholula IV pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Decadence of Culhuacan; rise of Tepanecs at Azcapotzalco; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building IV, Aztec transition; captive Tenochcas escape to build in stone and adopt lineage pattern with Acamapichtli; fifth Aztec cycle counted, 1351–1403.

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Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Coxcox 1352–76	Queen Ehualyenitzin 1368–72	Quetzalmichin 1354–65		
				Acamapichtli 1375–95
Acamapichtli 1376–88	Tematzacocuitzin 1373–78	Mamatzin 1369–89	Techodala 1357–1409	
Achitometl 1388–1400	Tlacateotzin 1379–89	Pichatzin 1389–92		Huitzilhuitl II 1395–1414

TABLE IX

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY AFTER THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1403–55, Early Aztec III Period

Eastern Phase: Political elimination of Texcoco in first half of period with later recovery; prosperity and cultural advance under Nezahualcoyotl; expansion of palace at Chiconauhtla; Aztec IIIa pottery; Cholula V pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla and Los Melones, Texcoco.

Western Phase: Political extinction of Culhuacan; rise and fall of Tepanecs; rise of Tenochtitlan with organization of Triple Alliance; growth of conquest and war-captive pattern; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building IV; cyclical dump in Zocalo, Mexico City; broad diffusion of Aztec IIIa pottery; sixth Aztec cycle counted, 1403–55.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl 1400–13	Xaltemoc 1390–98 (1408)	Tepolozmayotl 1393–1415	Ixtlilxochitl 1409–18	Chimalpopoca 1414–28
			Tepanec Tyrants Tezozomoc 1343–1427	Itzcoatl 1428–40
			Maxtla 1427–29	
			Texcocan Lineage Resumed Nezahualcoyotl 1418–72	Montezuma I 1440–69

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1455–1507, Late Aztec III Period

172 174 175 *Eastern Phase:* Continued development of culture at Texcoco; growth of Chiconauhtla palace; elaboration of ceramics; Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical dump at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Political power of Tenochtitlan; extension of conquest over Mexico and Guatemala; reconstruction of great temple; increase in captive sacrifice; elaboration of ritual; diffusion of Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building V; cyclical dump at Nonoalco, Mexico City; seventh Aztec cycle counted, 1455–1507.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
unimportant	unimportant	unimportant	Nezahualpilli 1472–1516	Axayacatl 1469–81
				Tizoc 1481–86
				Ahuitzotl 1486–1503

1507–1519 (Conquest) Aztec IV

Eastern Phase: Growing friction between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan; last expansion of Chiconauhtla palace; Aztec IV pottery styles with good life forms. Conquest.

Western Phase: Tenochtitlan domination with coercion of Texcoco; maintenance of old conquests rather than success of new ones; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building VI; Aztec IV pottery with many life forms; eighth Aztec cycle counted, 1507–59, incomplete with Conquest.

Texcoco	*Tenochtitlan*
Cacama 1516–19	Montezuma II 1503–20
	Cuitlahuac 1520 (4 months)
	Cuauhtemoc 1520–24 (murdered on way to Honduras)

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PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP ROW: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the natives, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2–4 from Codex Tellerino-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). SECOND ROW: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. THIRD ROW: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520–21. FOURTH ROW: *First* two, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

conception of city states within the Valley that owes much to the history 127
of Greece and medieval Italy.

For the special purpose of this limnologic history, we need to wade 127
into the "inextricable maraña" at only one or two points. On one 174
point the sources, such as they are, are almost unanimous: there was a 361
city called Tollán or Tula ("place of reeds" i. e. of *Typha,* the modern *tule*). Tollán is where the Toltecs came from, etymologically at least; the Toltecs were the predecessors of the Aztecs and the other Valley peoples, and were also regarded as ancestors by the Mexicanized Mayas of Yucatán, with whose tangled history we are fortunately not concerned here. The chief source of confusion, apart from the loss of the documents themselves, is the tendency, surely not a post-Conquest invention, for the relatively barbaric Valley people to identify themselves dynastically with the legendary founders of the civilization they inherited. The cultural picture is not an unfamiliar one, and probably was in actuality similar to that presented by the Etruscan foundations of Roman civilization; unfortunately, it comes to us on the testimony of friars who were only too well aware of such historic parallels, and could not refrain from asking leading questions. Be that as it may, Vaillant (1941), on the basis of archaeologic and historic researches, arrived at a satisfying conception of Aztec prehistory, in which the real and classic Tula (Tollán) was Teotihuacán, while memories of it played out their part in synthetic genealogies of "dynastic Toltecs", the chiefs of the wandering "Chichimec" tribes who entered the Valley after the decline of Tula in the 12th century.

Vaillant's picture was considerably upset by the excavations at Tula, 172 ●
Hidalgo (Acosta, 1940, 1941, 1944; see also Du Solier, 1941, and 361
other papers in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos,* T. 5, no. 2–3, 1941). These showed clearly that Tula, not Teotihuacán, was the Tollán from which emanated the Mexicanization of Chichén Itzá. Thus Tula was the Mayas' Tula, but whether it was necessarily the Mexicans' Tula is not so easily admitted, and is still in sharp dispute. What interests us here is whether Tula was a lacustrine city, for Teotihuacán was not.

The Codex Ramírez, authoritatively regarded as a manuscript copy 127
of the *Relación del origén de los yndios,* probably 1583–87, by the 174
Mexican Jesuit Juan de Tovar (see Kubler and Gibson, 1951, for discussion), is one of several almost identical histories of the migration period from the Aztec (i. e. not from the Texcocan) point of view. It happens to be the only one of which a convenient English translation exists (Radin, 1920), and from it we quote the following account of Tula.

"The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

712 and it is not improbable that the celebrated "pyramid of Xochicalco" may yet prove to have been a fortified pueblo, analogous to or of the type just described.[186]

"the third is 18 feet within the second, and is, in its highest part, 14 feet in elevation. The "total elevation of the works is therefore 59 feet." According to the descriptions of Tezozomoc and Durán the fortifications of Quetzaltepec were very similar to, only perhaps more extensive, even, than those of the Ynca stronghold, at Cuzco. In the art of fortification, however, the Ynca of Peru were far in advance of the other American aborigines. Nowhere else, on this continent, do we find anything near alike to Ollantay-tambo, Pisac, or Piquillacta. Mexican fortified pueblos were probably analogous to the "pucara" or strongholds of the Aymara Indians on the Bolivian high-plateau. (See E. G. Squier: "Peru, Incid. of Travel and Explor. in the land of the Incas," New York, 1877.)

172 [186] "Xochicalco," the "place of the house of flowers" ("xochitl," flower, — "calli," house), is situated near Temisco, S. E. of Cuernavaca (the ancient "Quauhnahuac"), in the State of Mexico proper. The pyramid was probably first described by Don Joseph Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, Mexico, 1791. "Descripcion de las Antiquidades de "Xochicalco." Robertson (Note XXXIX, to p. 139, of vol. III) describes a pyramid: "a "temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco." The most complete descriptions, however, are those of Pietro Marquez ("Due antichi monumenti di architettura Messicana," Roma, 1804); of Baron A. von Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères "et Monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique," pp. 129 to 137 of the Edition 8vo "of 1816, vol. I, and plate No. IX of the Atlas in folio); of Nebel; of E. Tylor ("Anahuac"), and of Brantz-Mayer ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1847). Lord Kingsborough has of course furnished splendid illustrations of the monument, in vol. IV of the "Antiquities of Mexico," and a description by Capt. Dupaix, in vol. VI, p. 430. Also has Mr. H. H. Bancroft, with the usual faithfulness to his sources, characteristic of this eminent compilator. We quote from Brantz-Mayer (p. 178): "From this eminence the guide . . . . pointed out to me a small mountain, at the "extremity of the plain in front, on which was situated the Pyramid of Xochicalco, "the subject of our day's explorations. The *cerro* appears to rise directly out of the "levels between two mountains, and the plain continuing to its very foot, might seem-"ingly be traversed in half an hour." But this intervening space was cut up by deep gullies (barrancas), making the trip to the hill very tedious, difficult, and lengthy. The author's general description of the eminence is as follows (pp. 180 and 181): "At the "distance of six leagues from the city of Cuernevaca, lies a cerro, three hundred feet "in height, which, with the ruins that crown it, is known by the name of Xochicalco, "or 'the Hill of Flowers.' The base of this eminence is surrounded by the very dis-"tinct remains of a deep and wide ditch; its summit is attained by five spiral terraces; "the walls that support them are built of stone, joined by cement, and are still quite "perfect; and, at regular distances, as if to buttress these terraces, there are remains "of bulwarks shaped like the bastions of a fortification. The summit of the hill is a "wide esplanade, on the eastern side of which are still perceptible three truncated "cones, resembling the tumuli found among many similar ruins in Mexico. On the "other sides there are also large heaps of stones of irregular shape, which seem to "have formed portions of similar mounds or tumuli, or, perhaps, parts of fortifications "in connection with the wall that is alleged by the old writers to have surrounded the "base of the pyramid, but of which I could discern no traces." On the top of this esplanade there seems to have been an edifice of five terraces (as Alzate relates), or stories, but only the lowest one is yet in existence. Nebel has given an ideal reconstruction of this building ("Viaje pintoresco y arqueologico a' la Republica de Mexico"), also Alzate. Closing his investigation of the ornaments and sculptures still visible in the ruins of the summit, Brantz-Mayer remarks: "The day was far advanced when I "stood for the last time on the corner-stone of the upper terrace and looked at the "beautiful prospect around me. It was the centre of a mighty plain. Running due "north were the remains of an ancient paved road, leading over prairie and barranca

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were 000

"to the city (Quanhnahuac) distinctly visible at the foot of the Sierra Madre" (p. 187). 172
Baron Humboldt gives the measurements as follows: Height of the hill from its base, 117 mètres (about 380 feet), divided into five tiers. Each tier is about 20 mètres high. Circumference of the hill-base about 4,000 mètres (13,000 feet). Summit platform 72 mètres long, from N. to S., and 86 m. from E. to W. The wall once enclosing this platform was about 2 m. in height. Base of the top-edifice, 20 m. 7' by 17 m. 4'. On the north side there are a number of excavations in the rocks, artificial caverns, whose openings Brantz-Mayer found "at the foot of the first terrace on the northern side of "the hill." These excavations *are said* to have been visited in 1825.

Baron v. Humboldt concludes: "Le fossé dont la colline est entourée, le revêtement "des assises, le grand nombre d'appartemens souterrains creusés dans le roc du coté "du nord, le mur qui défend l'approche de la plate-forme, tout concourt à donner au "monument de Xochicalco le caractère d'un monument militaire. Les naturels desig-"nent même encore aujourd'hui les ruines de la pyramide qui s'élevait au milieu de la "plate-forme, par un nom qui équivaut à celui de château fort ou de citadelle. La "grande analogie de forme que l'on remarque entre cette prétendue citadelle et les mai-"sons des dieux aztèques (teocallis), me fait soupçonner que la colline de Xochicalco "n'était autre chose qu'un temple fortifié" (p. 134, vol. I of ed. 8vo).

E. B. Tylor ("Anahuac," Cap. VII, p. 188), speaking of Xochicalco, says: "It was "a fortified hill of great strength." Humboldt makes of it: "a fortified temple." But the hill is too high and too large for such a purpose alone. Besides, the rooms excavated in the rock, analogous to the "cliff-houses" of Arizona, the road leading originally towards Quanhnahuac, the central position of the hill itself;—all tends to indicate that "Xochicalco" was once a *pueblo, fortified after the principles prevailing among the aborigines*, and whose inhabitants dwelt partly in the rock, partly on the tiers or on the esplanade into which the summit had been levelled. The "teocalli," or temple, occupied the hill-top, being there as well in the *centre of the population* as in *any pueblo* situated on the *level of the plain*. The five tiers or terraces were probably lined with wooden parapets, long since decayed, and only the uppermost platform had a stone enclosure.

Another pyramidal structure, found by Capt. Gul. Dupaix, near Old Tepexe, in Tehuantepec, is represented on Plate I, part III, vol. IV, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico." It is composed of eight stories or tiers. Capt. Dupaix remarks (Kingsborough, Vol. VI, p. 467): "This wall exhibits a species of fortifications which I "cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent." This structure has more analogy, in its outlines, with the picture given by Clavigero of the great "teo-calli" of Mexico, than any other. The drawing by the learned Abbé is entirely faultive as far as the Mexican temple is concerned, but it is not out of place when applied to a fortified pueblo, occupying an entire hill.

When the Mexicans, previous to their flight into Culhuacan and subsequently into 712
the lagune, were hemmed in on the hill of Chapultepec by the tribes of the valley, they [173]
fortified the hill in the following manner, according to Durán (Cap. III, pp. 27 and 28): Their newly elected war-chief (Huitzilihuitl) directed that "along the entire declivity "of the hill many stone walls should be constructed, arising one above the other like "steps, one fathom in width, thus leaving above a spacious square where all gathered "and fortified themselves, keeping watch diligently day and night, placing the women "and children into the centre of their troop, preparing arrows, macanas, darts, cutting "stones, making slings for their defence." According to this paragraph, the hill of Chapultepec would have presented an appearance, perhaps, not entirely dissimilar to that of Xochicalco, or Tepexe,—terraced, like the "andenes" of Peru. Cervántes-Salazar, whose "Tres Diálogos latinos," or "Mexico, in 1554," have been republished, in 1875, by Sr. Icazbalceta (to whose great kindness I take occasion to offer a humble tribute of gratitude), seems to allude to remains of this original grading in his 3d dialogue, when Alfaro (one of his personages) inquires (p. 277): "Para que son estas gra-"das tan anchas y largas, que llegan hasta arriba, y rodean casi todo el cerro?" Fur-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER V

THE AZTEC PERIOD

In which is recorded the history of the Tenochcas and the political background of Aztec civilization

THE CHICHIMEC PERIOD witnessed invasion of the Valley 174
of Mexico by various tribes and the gradual domination of these tribes by a culture and manner of life that seems to have emanated from Puebla and northern Oaxaca. The basic political unit consisted of a tribe resident in a town supporting itself from its own land with the supplement, if possible, of supplies derived from the tribute payments of vassals. At the head of the state was a chief of lineage who also performed ecclesiastical functions. Craftsmanship was highly skilled, and trade flourished to furnish raw materials for the artisans. This productivity, however, was directed toward religion and ritual rather than the creation of personal wealth. Religion was an elaborate polytheism based on nature worship, with some god or gods singled out for special adoration, but the working of the *tonalpohualli*,* or sacred almanac, brought the full force of divine powers to aid man in his life on earth. (See Plate 29.)

The history of the Tenochcas, the Mexico City Aztecs, 173 ●
shows how a tribal body lived and acquired the position of an 805
important state. According to their own records, the Tenoch-

*to-nal-po-wa'hl-li.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

*Mich-o-a-ca'n.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 lips render him an easily recognized figure in the Mexican pantheon. At Tenochtitlan he shared the great temples with Huitzilopochtli, and his control of rain made the attraction of his powers essential to survival on the Mexican plateau. (See Plate 59, bottom left.)

Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent," God of Civilization and the planet Venus, seems to have been widely venerated but under different guises. In contrast to Tezcatlipoca, whose functions and appearance were assigned to tribal gods with different names, Quetzalcoatl had several forms shared by distinctive divinities. The sculptures of Teotihuacan and Chichen Itza show that a feathered snake was honored, and the local records mention Quetzalcoatl and Kukulcan, Nahuatl and Maya names having the same meaning. At Tenochtitlan there is ample evidence of a feathered-serpent cult, but the records refer to Xiuhcoatl,* "Fire Snake," as well as to the standard sacred variety. The term Quetzalcoatl applies as well to a bearded god with a projecting mask, also called Ehecatl, the "Wind God." In parts of the Mixteca-Puebla area and the Valley, as we have seen, there is evidence that the "white" Tezcatlipoca had the name "One Reed," the date name synonymous with Quetzalcoatl.[8] (See Plates 23, 53; 59, bottom left.)

776 In addition to this confusion over Quetzalcoatl, the God
173 of Civilization, the annals and myths tell of Quetzalcoatl, the great king, who civilized the Toltecs and left for the east to return again. The friars seized upon this myth as evidence that St Thomas the Apostle had visited Mexico and converted its inhabitants, who later slid back into pagan ways. Therefore, the friars, to justify the Conquest, made

*She'e-co-co-atl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people,
173 promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

554 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many
174 guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find
177 to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. We could write: "I can be hospitable," in terms of the sounds given to pictures of an eye, a tin can, a bee, a horse, a hole in the ground and a table. The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone *tena* from which sprouted a nopal cactus, *nochtli*, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, *pantli*, on a conventionalized hill, *tepec*. Color, position, puns and abbreviations all contributed to recording sounds by this means. Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel or movement, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations of action.[19] (See Fig. 2.)

Aztec writing offered no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas. Yet the full accounts of historical events, set down after the Conquest in Spanish or Nahuatl, indicate that oral traditions, possibly learned as a chant or saga, supplemented these ideographic records.

Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 × 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 × 20 × 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans. (See Fig. 2.)

De los Reyes

EIGHTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE GREAT RULERS AND NOBLEMEN AND OF THE WAY IN WHICH THEY OBSERVED THE ELECTIONS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

JNIC CHICUEI AMOXTLI INTECHPA TLATOA YN HUEHUEY TLATOQUE IOAN IN PIPILTI YOAN IN QUENIN QUIPIAIA TLAPEPENALIZTLI YN IPAN TLATOCAIOTL.

173
648

First Chapter, which telleth of the rulers and governors who reigned in Mexico from the beginning of [their] rule until the year 1560.

Inic ce capitulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque ioan in gouernadores in otlatocatque mexico in isquichica ipeuhcan tlatocaiotl ioan in ixquichica xihuitl de 1560.

The first ruler of Mexico.

Acamapichtli first made the beginning, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. There was peace and quiet; wars had not yet come in his reign.

Inic ce mexico tlatoani

Acamapichtli achto compeoalti tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oce iuian iocoxca in catca, aiatle iaoiotl ipan mochiuh.

The second ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Uitziliuitl was second, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. He began wars and conquered the people of Colhuacan.

Inic ome tenochtitlã tlatoanj.

Vitzilihuitl ic ome tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oçe ichoatl quipeoalti in iauiotl, quinpeuh in colhoacan tlaca.

The third ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Chimalpopoca was third. He ruled Tenochtitlan ten years.

Ic ei tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Chimalpopoca ic ei tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl.

The fourth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Itzcoatzin was fourth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. He conquered the people of Azcapotzalco and Xochimilco.

Ic naui tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Itzcoatzin ic naui tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl onnaui qujnpeuh in azcaputzalca ioan xuchmilca

The fifth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma the Elder was fifth, and ruled Tenochtitlan thirty years. He conquered and made war on all the people of Chalco; and on Quauhnauac and on all who were subject to Quauhnauac; and on Maçauacan. And in his reign there came a great

Inic macuilli tenochtitlan tlatoani

Veue motecuçoma, ic macuilli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: cempoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiuitl, quipeuh qujiauchiuh in jxqujch chalcatl ioan quauhnaoac ioan in ixquich moquauhnaoacaitoa ioan maçaoacan, ioan ipan mochiuh in vei maianaliztli, nauhxiuitl ih

And in his reign there came a great
173 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jxquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Gallixtlauacan, Ecatepec, Cozcaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxaualco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipã nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcnac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in ichoatl axaiaca, quipeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, callixtlaoaca, hecatepec, cozcaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenãco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxaoalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Thillatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcaatl, and Coaatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered those of Tziuhcoac, and Molloaco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: cattolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itenopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl oztotl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, thillatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, coahatl, inma in coioacã ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl qujztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in xiamo mjqui aujtzutl. Auh in jcnac oallaque Españoles, ic iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaioatimanca, nezque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oahemozque in tritzimime, tequanque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiutlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecuçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. *Inma in coioacã.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ỹ* *coaatl* for *coma*.

Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Tezcoco, and as many years as they governed.

Injc ej capitulo vncan mjtoa in tezcuco tlatoque, injc izqui xiuitl tlatocatque. 173

The first ruler, who began the reign in Tezcoco, was Tlaltecatzin. He ruled only eighty days, and nothing [of note] happened in his time. This one [was one of] the Chichimeca rulers.

Injc ce tezcuco tlatoanj, Quijpeoalti in tlatocaiutl in tezcuco ichoatl in tlaltecatzin çan napoalilhujtl in tlatocat atle ipan muchiuh, chichimeca tlatoque, y.

And the second who became ruler, who followed Tlaltecatzin, was Techotlalatzin the Chichimeca. And he ruled seventy years; nor did anything [of note] occur in his time.

Auh injc vme tlatoanj muchiuh, in qujoaltoqujli in tlaltecatzin ichoatl in techotlalatzin chichimecatl, auh in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the third who became ruler of Acolhuacan[1] was Ixtlilxuchitl the Elder. He ruled for sixty-five years. [And] nothing [of note] befell in his time.

Auh injc ej, tlatoanj muchiuh acolhoacan ichoatl in veue ixtlilxochitl in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ioan macujlxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the fourth who became ruler of Tezcoco was Neçaualcoyotzin. He ruled seventy-one years. And at this time, in the time of Neçaualcoyotzin, the war was begun. The two, [Neçaualcoyotzin and] the ruler of Tenochtitlan, Itzcoatzin, conquered the Tepaneca, and they conquered people everywhere. Thereafter this Neçaualcoyotzin founded and laid down the seat of authority[2] of Acolhuacan or Tezcoco.

Auh injc nauj tlatoanj muchiuh tezcuco ichoatl in neçaoalcoiotzin in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan cexiujtl, auh in ichoatl, y, in neçaoalcoiotzin ipan peuh in iaoiutl im omextin in tenochtitlan tlatoanj. Itzcoatzin inic qujpeuhque tepaneca: auh in noujian tepeuhque qujn ichoatl qujpeoalti in neçaoalcoiotzin in qujtecac in petlatl in jcpalli in acolhoacan tezcuco. 173 648

And the fifth who became ruler of Tezcoco was Neçaualpilli, and he ruled for fifty-three years. In his time war was made in all parts through which people were conquered. And when these two, Neçaualcoyotzin and Neçaualpilli, ruled, they were besieged by Tlaxcala and Uexotzinco.

Auh injc macujlli, muchiuh tlatoanj tezcuco, ichoatl in neçaoalpilli auh in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl vn matlactli ioã cxiujtl in jpan muchiuh iauiutl in noujian ic tepeualoia auh in ichoantin im omextin in neçaoalcoiotzin ioan neçaoalpilli in jcoac tlatocatque tzacuticatca in tlaxcalla ioan vexotzinco.

And in the time of Neçaualpilli began what kept appearing, in the heavens, like a light, like a flame of quetzaia ilhujcatitech in iuhquj tlanextlj in iuhquj

Auh in neçaoalpilli ipan peuh in tlein oalmoquetzaia ilhujcatitech in iuhquj tlanextlj in iuhquj 173 787

1. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*señor de Texcoco, o de Acolhuacan*"; cf. also Charles E. Dibble: *Código Ramírez* (México: Universidades de Utah y de México, 1951), Pls. IIII. The term Acolhua refers to a grouping held together by kinship and political alliance occupying territory east of Lake Texcoco, with Texcoco as its center. Their main competitors for dominance in the valley were the Tepaneca, centered at Azcapotzalco. On the Acolhua, see Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl: *Historia Chichimeca* (México, 1952), pp. 41, 42, 49; also *Relaciones* (México, 1891), p. 303. "*Y así pasó los estados y pueblos que eran de su parte de los acolhuas, que era Texcoco, Huexotla, Coatlichan.*" "Coatlichan de los acolhuas" is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 280; "*Al distinto de estos tres, que era Texcocoman, señorío de poca edad, señor de los acolhuas, le dió á Coatlichan con cuyo señorío pusiése y lugares donde los mayor pobláron como los demás que conquistaron*" (*ibid.*, p. 269).

2. *In petlatl, in icpalli*—the green mat and the seat. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún uses the term *señorío*. The expression is illustrated also figuratively in Andrés de Olmos: *Gramática de la lengua mexicana* (Rémi Siméon, ed.: Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), pp. 218, 221.

173 787 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

tlemjiaoatl icelioal tlatoxtirica, auh nauhxiujtl in jpan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancujcan necico auh impoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactloce tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiujtl mjeccan xiti tepetl in texcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiujtl aciquiuj in Españoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaualpilli aocmo ixpan

175 648 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiujtl. Iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Coanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, iehoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica im omextin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocohtzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tecocohtzin in tlatocat cexiujtl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiauchichiuh injc qujmpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Itzlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[a] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in itzlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicuexiujtl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica qujujcatiuja in marques itlan ommoquetz ioã qujuicaia in vej mollan iehoãtin imjxpan muchiuh injc vel motlatlali altepetl injc tlaoellalali marques neboan coanacochtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in ioiontzin in tlatocat cexiujtl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauemetzquititzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactloçe tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tetlauemetzquititzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in don Antonjo tlaujtoltzin in tlatocat chicocexiujtl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

3. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (J. M. Anders: *Histoire de la nation mexicaine. . . . Reproduction du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve/Pilon, Editeurs, 1991]), p. 87, and *Mapa de Tepeolpan*.

173 **Fourth Chapter, in which are recorded the rulers of Uexotla.**

Injc nahuj capitulo vncan motenehoa in tlatoque vexotla.

Behold, the Chichimeca rulers of Uexotla were known as Acolhua. There the Acolhua Chichimeca first arrived.

Iacate in chichimeca tlatoque catca vexotla in moteneoa aculoaque in vmpa achto açico aculhoacan chichimeca.

The first who became ruler of Uexotla [was] Maçatzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-eight years.

Injc ce tlatoanj muchiuh uexotla Maçatzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The second ruler [was] Tochin tecutli. He ruled thirty-eight years.

Injc vme tlatoanj tochin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The third ruler [was] Ayotzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-four years.

Injc ei tlatoanj aiotzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipã matlacxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl.

The fourth ruler [was] Quatlauiçe tecutli. He ruled fifty-five years.

Injc nahuj tlatoanj quatlauiçe tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl.

173 648 **The fifth ruler was named Totomochtzin; he ruled fifty-two years. And these five Chichimeca rulers, who maintained well the government [of Uexotla], exacted tribute from no one in the three hundred[1] years in which they [thus] maintained well their sovereignty.**

Injc macujlli tlatoanj itoca totomochtzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiujtl ioan vnxiujtl auh in jmacujlixtin, y, chichimeca tlatoque in uel quipiaia in jtlatocaio in acampa tequjtia caxtolpoalxiujtl in uel quipix in jtlatocaio.

The sixth ruler was named Iaotzin tecutli; he ruled fifty-eight years.[2] In his time the Acolhua Chichimeca began to exact tribute of [those of] Tepanecayan.

Injc chiquacen tlatoanj itoca iautzin tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ipan exiujtl iehoatl ipan peuh injc tequjtque tepanoaia chichimeca aculhoaque.

173 **The seventh ruler was named Xilotzin tecutli. He ruled twenty-eight years.**

Injc chicome tlatoanj itoca xilotzin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The eighth ruler was named Itlacauhtzin. He ruled twenty-eight years.

Injc chicuej tlatoanj itoca itlacauhtzin in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The ninth ruler was named Tlaçolyaotzin; he ruled fifty-eight years.[3] At about this time it came

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj itoca tlaçoliautzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl quj

1. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS (*Primeros memoriales*, Chap. III), the Nahuatl text reads [illegible] (313 years).
2. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.
3. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.

173 to pass that the seat of authority was established in Texcoco, so that Neçaualcoyotzin was invested with rule. [Their periods of rule] came together—[that of] Tlaçolyauxtzin of Ucxotla [and that of Neçaualcoyotzin].

ichoatl ipan muchiuh injc motecac petlal icpalli tetzcuco injc motecutlali neçaualcuiotzin monamicque tlaçoliauxtzin vexotla.

The tenth ruler was named Tzontemoctzin. He ruled fifteen years.

Injc matlactli tlatoanj, itoca tzontemoctzin: in tlatocat cattolxiujtl.

The eleventh ruler was named Cuitlauatzin. He ruled forty-one years.

Injc matlactloce tlatoanj, itoca Cuitlaoatzin: in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan cexiujtl.

The twelfth ruler was named Tzapocuetzin. He ruled thirteen years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj, itoca tzapocuetzin: in tlatocat matlacxiujtl ioan eximjtl.

The thirteenth ruler was likewise called Cuitlauatzin; only he succeeded [the former]. He ruled thirteen years.

Injc matlactli omej tlatoanj, çan no itoca Cuitlaoatzin, çã tetoca: in tlatocat matlacxiujtl ioan eximjtl.

And all the time [until] now, up to the year we are in—when the government was held in Uexotla—thus is added up to five hundred and sixty-two years, until the present year-sign, Two Reed.

Auh in ie ixquich caujtl, axcan .pan in xiujtl ticate: in ie ic mocempoa, in mopia tlatocaiotl vexotla: ie centzonxiujtl, ioan chicuepoalxiujtl ioan oxiujtl, in ixqujchica ipan axcan xiuhtonalli, vmacatl.

Fifth Chapter, in which it is told how many four hundreds of years ago Tollan was destroyed, up to [the present] year of 1565.

The city of Tollan [was] a very large city, and truly a marvel. A great many powerful and wise men lived there. Their history will be told in the Tenth Book. And how they were destroyed, how they dispersed and people fled—all [this] will be related there. But in this chapter, all that is to be said is how many four hundreds of years [it hath been] since the Tolteca were destroyed.

This was in [the year] one thousand, one hundred and ten; from there [the count] reacheth and endeth at this year, 1565.[1] And twenty-two years after Tollan was destroyed, the Chichimeca came to reach and take the land and establish themselves there in Tenoxtitlan.

And the first who became their leader, something like their ruler, became so in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1246. And the [first] ruler of Axcapuzalco, who was named Teçoçomoctli, [became so] in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1348. And the [first] ruler of Mexico, Acamapichtli, [became so] in [the year] of the birth [of Our Lord], 1384. And the ruler of Tlacopan, whose name was Chimalpopoca, died[2] in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1489.

Inic macujlli capitulo, ipan mjtoa: in ie quezquj- 173
tzonxiujtl poliuh tullan, in jxquichica xiujtl, de 1565.

In altepetl tullan, cenca vej altepetl, uel maujztic: cenca mjeçquintin vncan nenca, in chicaoaque, in tlamatinj in jntlaçollo mjtoz in jpan ic matlactli amoxtli. Ioan in quen opoliuh, in quenjn oxixitin, onoçoçoaac: muchi oncan mjtoz. Auh in jpan, y, capitulo çan ie ixquich vncan mjtoa, in ie quezquj-tzonxiujtl, in opoliuhque tulteca.

Ca ie ontzonxiujtl ipan caxtolpoaltiujtl, ipan matlacxiujtl: oncan oallaci, oncan oallamj injn xiujtl, 1565. Auh ie iuh, cempoaltiujtl onome, opoliuh in tullan: in açico in tlalmaçeoaco: onotecaco in chichimeca, in vncan tetacuco.

Auh in iaxcujcan intiacancauh muchiuh, in iuhquima intlatocauh muchiuh ipan in tlacat in jxiuhtzin in totecujo iesu xpo. 1246. Auh in azcapuzalco tlatoanj in motenoa teçoçomoctli ipan in tlacat in jxiuhtzin totecujo Iesu xpo. 1348. Auh in mexico tlatoanj, in acamapichtli ipan in tlacat, 1384. Auh in tlacopã tlatoanj, catca in jtoca chimalpopoca, ipan in mic ixiuhtzin totecujo Iesu xpo. 1489.

1. Corresponding Spanish text reads 1571.
2. Mic: in the MS. this could be read either mic or ioiq.

[p. 16 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[111]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenantzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiteca*, de dificil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which
121 is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

[101] [1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Mexitis* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar. Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1613), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 96, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

[173] [3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóztoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Teocuhuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 8.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (See "His-"torie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hacklnyt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were 000

"to the city (Quanhnahuac) distinctly visible at the foot of the Sierra Madre" (p. 187). 172
Baron Humboldt gives the measurements as follows: Height of the hill from its base, 117 mètres (about 380 feet), divided into five tiers. Each tier is about 20 mètres high. Circumference of the hill-base about 4,000 mètres (13,000 feet). Summit platform 72 mètres long, from N. to S., and 68 m. from E. to W. The wall once enclosing this platform was about 2 m. in height. Base of the top-edifice, 20 m. 7' by 17 m. 4'. On the north side there are a number of excavations in the rocks, artificial caverns, whose openings Brantz-Mayer found "at the foot of the first terrace on the northern side of "the hill." These excavations *are said* to have been visited in 1835.

Baron v. Humboldt concludes: "Le fossé dont la colline est entourée, le revêtement "des assises, le grand nombre d'appartemens souterrains creusés dans le roc du coté "du nord, le mur qui défend l'approche de la plate-forme, tout concourt à donner au "monument de Xochicalco le caractère d'un monument militaire. Les naturels desig-"nent même encore aujourd'hui les ruines de la pyramide qui s'élevait au milieu de la "plate-forme, par un nom qui équivaut à-celui de château fort ou de citadelle. La "grande analogie de forme que l'on remarque entre cette prétendue citadelle et les mai-"sons des dieux azteques (teocallis), me fait soupçonner que la colline de Xochicalco "n'était autre chose qu'un temple fortifié" (p. 134, vol. I of ed. 8vo).

E. B. Tylor ("Anahuac," Cap. VII, p. 186), speaking of Xochicalco, says: "It was "a fortified hill of great strength." Humboldt makes of it: "a fortified temple." But the hill is too high and too large for such a purpose alone. Besides, the rooms excavated in the rock, analogous to the "cliff-houses" of Arizona, the road leading originally towards Quanhnahuac, the central position of the hill itself;—all tends to indicate that "Xochicalco" was once a *pueblo, fortified after the principles prevailing among the aborigines*, and whose inhabitants dwelt partly in the rock, partly on the tiers or on the esplanade into which the summit had been levelled. The "teocalli," or temple, occupied the hill-top, being there as well in the *centre of the population* as in *any pueblo* situated on the *level of the plain*. The five tiers or terraces were probably lined with wooden parapets, long since decayed, and only the uppermost platform had a stone enclosure.

Another pyramidal structure, found by Capt. Gul. Dupaix, near Old Tepexe, in Tehuantepec, is represented on Plate I, part III, vol. IV, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico." It is composed of eight stories or tiers. Capt. Dupaix remarks (Kingsborough, Vol. VI, p. 467): "This wall exhibits a species of fortifications which I "cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent." This structure has more analogy, in its outlines, with the picture given by Clavigero of the great "teo-calli" of Mexico, than any other. The drawing by the learned Abbé is entirely faultive as far as the Mexican temple is concerned, but it is not out of place when applied to a fortified pueblo, occupying an entire hill.

When the Mexicans, previous to their flight into Culhuacan and subsequently into 712
the lagune, were hemmed in on the hill of Chapultepec by the tribes of the valley, they [173]
fortified the hill in the following manner, according to Durán (Cap. III, pp. 27 and 28): Their newly elected war-chief (Huitzilihuitl) directed that "along the entire declivity "of the hill many stone walls should be constructed, arising one above the other like "steps, one fathom in width, thus leaving above a spacious square where all gathered "and fortified themselves, keeping watch diligently day and night, placing the women "and children into the centre of their troop, preparing arrows, macanas, darts, cutting "stones, making slings for their defence." According to this paragraph, the hill of Chapultepec would have presented an appearance, perhaps, not entirely dissimilar to that of Xochicalco, or Tepexe,—terraced, like the "andenes" of Peru. Cervántes-Salazar, whose "Tres Diálogos latinos," or "Mexico, in 1554," have been republished, in 1875, by Sr. Icazbalceta (to whose great kindness I take occasion to offer a humble tribute of gratitude), seems to allude to remains of this original grading in his 3d dialogue, when Alfaro (one of his personages) inquires (p. 277): "Para que son estas gra-"das tan anchas y largas, que llegan hasta arriba, y rodean casi todo el cerro?" Fur-

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the 121
course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient 128
Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on Amer- 114
ican topics,—the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . ."[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal 173
history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit of definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by 174
sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes,—that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 83. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of 114
Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 22 May, 1558, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 955 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh," Introduction, page CXI). Clavigero's Chronology begins 596 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2237 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 23), or 1796 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tolantzinco in 667 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 121, of 1st volume). Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 13) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 503 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

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Secondly, the relationships in the descending scale are more 601
closely described than those in the ascending scale.

Thirdly, in some instances women give different names from those given by men.

It results from it, that the classificatory system still, to a great extent, predominated in the ancient Mexican nomenclature for relationship, while the more modern descriptive system appears in a minority of cases only. This leads to the inference that the Mexican family itself was yet but imperfectly constituted. It was not yet so established as to form a definite group and hence cannot be expected to exercise any influence in the matter of public social life. We are, therefore, again justified in looking to the *kin* as the unit of social organization, within the limits of that widest aggregate, the tribe.[26]

Traditionary tales about the earliest settlement of man in Mex- 173
ico as well as in Central America, distinctly ascribe it to "lineages" 619
or relationships. The tribe is merely implied, and appears in a definite form only *after* this settlement has already occurred.

The "Popol-Vuh," or gathering of the cosmological and tradi- 600
tionary records of the QQuiché tribe of Guatemala, after enumerating the four wives of the four first men created, even says: "These [their spouses], engendered mankind, the large and small tribes: and they were the stock of us, of the QQuiché tribe." This indicates, perhaps, descent in the female line at a very early date.[27]

[26] *Dr. Adolphus Bastian*, "*Ueber die Eheverhältnisse*," ("*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*," Berlin, Vol. V, 1874) presupposes a family, definite and distinct: "Aus der Ehe, als erster Kreisung der Gesellschaft geht die Familie hervor, in ausgedehnter Peripherie als gens (unter Erweiterung durch die Agnaten) aus ursprunglichen Patriciern; wo der Clan unter Aufnahme fictiver Verwandten und zugehörigen seinen abschluss unter den Patriarchen bewahrt." Such views offer a sufficient explanation, when applied indiscriminately to the inhabitants of *all* the continents, why the organization of some aborigines of this continent is still regarded as monarchical. The nature and functions of the Indian kin are completely misunderstood and proportionately misrepresented. (See also Id., p. 356.)

[27] "*Popol-Vuh*" (Translated from the original QQuiché by the *Abbé Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg*, Paris, 1861, Part III, cap. III, p. 205). "E pogol vinak, chuti amag, nima amag; are cut u xe kech. ri oh Quoche-vinak; tzats cut x-uxic ri Ahqixb Ahqahb; mana xa E cahib chic x-uxic. xere cahib ri qui chuch oh quiche vinak." Mr. Brasseur translates "vinak" alternately as men, tribes, and nations. According to his own vocabulary, however, it means but "man" or "the increase" (See "*Grammaire QQuiché*," p. 233). In his translation of the "*Rabinal-Achi*" ("*Grammaire*" First Scene, pp. 27 and 35, and other places), "vinak" is also rendered as chief. But the true QQuiché word for tribe is "amag" ("*Grammaire*," p. 167). This alters the sense to the extent that instead of "QQuiché tribe" it should read "men of QQuiché" or rather "QQuiché

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A M 173 The first settlement of Chiapas is ascribed, in the tale of Votan, to *seven families*.[26] But there is still another and more remarkable tradition connected with it. Like the Aborigines of Mexico of *Nahuatl* stock, the *Tarasca* of Michhuacan, the *Maya* of Yucatan, and the *QQuiché*, *Cakchiquel* and *Zutuhil* of Guatemala, the Aborigines of Chiapas had a month composed of twenty days, bearing each a particular name. It is positively asserted by very old authority, that these twenty days were named after as many chiefs of an equal number of lineages or kins, the latter being the earliest settlers of the country. Furthermore, among these twenty names, four are everywhere prominently distinguished.

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men." The last words "xere cahib ri qui chuch oh Quiché vinak," are literally: "though four these (which, who) certainly (surely) mother us (we) QQuiché men." The note by the celebrated Abbé (p. 207, note 3), in which he states that "mother" is often applied to chief, finds a parallel in many passages of *Tezozomoc* when the tribe is also addressed as father and mother. Also *Durán* (Cap. XV, p. 127).

The creation of these four men and four women immediately precedes, in the Popol-Vuh, the tale of the first sacrifice and the distribution of the idols, and is distinctly stated as having occurred during the time of obscurity, the morning star being their only guide and most brilliant luminary ("*Popol-Vuh*," pp. 209, 211, and 213). Now an analogous tale is told by *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 248, etc.), about the first appearance of both sun and moon. The Gods disputed about the place where the two celestial bodies would rise, and *four* of them, together with *four* women, looked to the *east* for their coming. The QQuiché tradition (p. 207), places the coming of these first people also in the East. It appears to be, therefore, a tradition originally common to the "Nahuatl" and to the "QQuiché," and its bearing upon the question at issue becomes still more prominent.

[26] The two leading sources on Chiapas namely: *Nuñez de la Vega* ("*Constitution diocesana del Estado de Chiapas*, Roma, 1702), and *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Santo Domingo*," 1619), not being at my command now,—I can but refer the student to them, and to the following works besides: *Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci* ("*Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*," Madrid, 1776, § XVI, p. 115, copying *Nuñez de la Vega*, 34, § XXX), *Mariano Veytia y Echeverria* ("*Historia antigua de México*," 1836, by Ortega, Vol. I, cap. II, p. 15). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XII, pp. 164 and 165). *Paul Felix Cabrera* ("*Teatro critico Americano*," german translation by Lieut. *General J. H. von Minutoli*, incorporated in the latter's book. "*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt, die in Guatimala (Neuspanien) unfern Palenque entdeckt worden ist*," p. 30, etc., after Vega also). *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*" Introduction, pp. LXXIII, LXXXVII, CXII, etc). *Alex. von Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l' Amérique*," 1861, Vol. I, pp. 269 and 268; II, pp. 356 and 357). *Bancroft, H. H.*, (Vol. III, cap. X, pp. 450 and 454; and especially Vol. V, cap. III, from p. 159 on). As usual, very full and valuable, although he does not mention any source older than Nuñez de la Vega. Finally, *A. Bastian* ("*Die Culturlaender des alten Amerika*," 1878, Vol. II, pp. 360 and 362). The latter says that Votan found Chiapas already peopled. This is not confirmed by what I know of Vega and of the other (later) authority *Don Ramon Ordoñez y Aguiar* ("*Historia de la Creacion del Cielo y de la Tierra*" MSS. at the "Museo Nacional" of Mexico). Votan was "sent to divide and distribute the land" *Cabrera* says ("*Beschreibung*, etc.," "*Teatro*," p. 33), basing upon verbal communications of *Ordonnez y Aguiar*: "He (Votan) assures, that he brought seven families to this continent, of Valum Votan, and assigned land to them."

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It is not surprising therefore if, of the earliest traces which are met with concerning such Aborigines as spoke the "good sound" sufficient for my purpose to establish its identity, in system, with the others. The Nicaraguan days are corruptions of the Mexican names, the "Niquiran" being a "Nahuatl" dialect.

Taking now the four remaining groups, we place opposite to each word its translation or interpretation so far as I can trace it, which is of course not always possible.

Mexican.	*QQuiché.*	*Maya.*	*Chiapaneco.*
Cipactli, *Marine monster.*	Imox. *Swordfish.*	Ymix. *Dragon.*	Imox.
Ehecatl, *Wind.*	Iz. *Breath.*	Yk, *Breath or wind.*	Izh.
Calli, House.	*Akbal, chaos* (?).	Akbal, (See below).	*Votan.*
Cuetzpalin, *Lizard.*	Cat, *Lizard.*	*Kan, Snake.*	Chanan, *Snake.*
Cohuatl, *Snake.*	Can, *Snake.*	Chicchan.	Abah, *Stone* (?).
Miquiztli, *Skull.*	Camey, *Death.*	Quimij, *Death.*	Tox.
Mazatl, *Deer.*	Quich, *Deer.*	Manik, (See below).	Moxic.
Tochtli, Rabbit.	*Ganel, Rabbit.*	Lamat.	*Lambat.*
Atl, *Water.*	Toh, *Shower.*	*Muluc.*	Molo.
Ytzcuintli, *Dog.*	Tzy, *Dog.*	Oc.	Elah.
Ozomatli, *Monkey.*	Batz, *Monkey.*	Chuen, (See below).	Batz, *Monkey* (?).
Malinalli, *Knot or twist*	Ci, *Broom.*	Eb, *Staircase.*	Eoob.
Acatl, Cane.	Ah, *Cane.*	Been.	*Been.*
Ocelotl, *Wild cat or tiger.*	Itz, *Wizard.*	*Gix, Wizard.*	Hix.
Quauhtli, *Eagle.*	Tziquin, *Bird.*	Men, *Builder* (?).	Tzibin.
Cozcaquauhtli, *Vulture.*	Ahmak, *Owl.*	Quib, *Gum or wax.*	Chabin.
Ollin, *Motion.*	Noh, *Temperature.*	Cahan.	Chic.
Tecpatl, flint.	*Tihax, Obsidian.*	Eznab.	*Chinaz.*
Quiahuitl, *Rain.*	Caok, *Rain.*	*Cauac.*	Cahogh.
Xochitl, *flower.*	Hunahpu, *Shooter out of a tube.*	Ajau, *Chief.*	Aghual.

For the interpretation, as above attempted, I have consulted the following very limited number of authors:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Relation des choses de Yucatan, etc.*" "*Popol-Vuh,*" "*Grammaire Quiché,*" "*Ruines de Palenqué.*") *H. H. Bancroft,* (Vol. II and III). *Orosco y Berra,* ("*Geografia de las Lenguas.*") and other sources. Mr. Bancroft translates the QQuiché "akbal" by *chaos.* I would suggest "*household,*" basing upon the following note of Mr. Brasseur: ("*Chronologie antigua de Yucatan, etc.,*" por *Don Juan Pio Perez* in "Choses de Yucatan," p. 373). "*Akbal,* mot vieilli qu' on retrouve dans la langue Quiché avec le sens de marmite, vase, peut être le même que le mot *cox* ou *comitl* des Mexicains." Sr. Perez says about the word: "desconocido: tambien se halla entre los dias chiapanecas, escrito *Aghual,*" (p. 374). In this the learned Yucatan is mistaken, for Aghual corresponds to the Maya and QQuiché "Ajau" or "Ahau." Now the pot or rather kettle, was distinctly connected with the housewife, and the word "Akbal" being, as the Abbé tells us, out of use, the suggestion that it may have been used to indicate something like the Mexican "Calli"—house,—is at least permitted.

I have deliberately translated "Kan" by snake, instead of by "cord of henneqnen" as Pio-Perez has it (p. 372). Compare note 1 by the Abbé.

Manik is interpreted by Pio-Perez as follows: "es perdida su verdadera acepcion; pero si se divide la espresion man-ik viento que pasa, quizá se entenderia lo que fué." If this is accepted, then the signification might be: "fleetness," "swiftness," or "rapidity,"—some of the attributes of the *deer,* which is the corresponding sign in both the Mexican and QQuiché.

Chuen, for the reasons indicated by Brasseur (note 3, p. 372 of "*Chronologia, etc.,*") should be "monkey," as well as in the three other idioms.

In regard to "Gix" *Sr. Orosco y Berra* (Part II, V, p. 108), copies the three interpretations of Don Pio-Perez, one of which amounts to "the act of plundering or rob-

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Canac" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 32, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 65, note 5).

"Batz" as *monkey*, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh. Hix, and Cahogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Been, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

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This origin is stated as follows:—

Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 537), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, ... This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 124), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 465), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cuculcan or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 52. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Boturini* ("*Idea, etc.*," § XVI, pp. 115 to 121). Quoting *Nuñez de la Vega* (32, § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "*y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que al que llamaban Coslahuntox (que es el Demonio, segun los Indios dicen, con treca potestades) le tienen pintado en Silla, y con hastas en la cabeza como de carnero*, quando dicho Coslahuntox se ha de corregir en Ymos, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Toltecs,"[30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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sino por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symbolos de los dias de el Año, y assi viene á ser el primer Symbolo de ellos." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 33, 34, and 35), "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiäppa, y Soconüsco con el Tultéco, ... pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Tècpatl, Calli, Tóchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiäppa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Been, y Chinax, etc., etc."

Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 164). "The Chiapanecs, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indigénas de México*," 1863, Vol. II, p. 222.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 412, Vol. I) "The Chiapanecs . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Been, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 633, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1786. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapanecs are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnez y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

Brasseur de Bourbourg ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologia*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 374, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper leads to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tzendal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprang through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 391, 392, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

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About the middle of the thirteenth century the Mexicans while on a migration towards more southern regions, made

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by the so-called calendars just named, which peculiarities may throw some light on the questions raised, as to whether they originally denoted kins or not.

With a single exception (Cipactli), the Mexican and allied calendars contained the name of not one object, or phenomenon, which might not be met with *somewhere* over the wide area which the three linguistical stocks occupied at the time of the Conquest. Still, as Sr. Orozco y Berra strikingly proves ("*Géografía de las Lenguas*," Parte IIa, Cap. V, p, 107), the Mexican month contains the names of animals unknown to the ultimate home of the tribe as well as to more *northern* regions. Thus the *monkey* ("Ozomatli") is not found on the high central tableland. In regard to the sign Cipactli, I shall elsewhere refer to this sign, which may perhaps denote a "cuttle-fish" of monstrous dimensions.

Supposing now (since we have no proof yet to the contrary), that this "marine monster" was also an inhabitant of tropical seas, it must strike us that the twenty signs for the days of the aboriginal calendars under consideration

(1). Represent types and phenomena which are met with, *not exclusively, but still all*, within the area of Mexico and Central America.

(2). That some of the animal types are limited to tropical and low regions only.

(3). That none of the animals belong exclusively to the temperate zone of North America.

Consequently, that these signs are of a meridional origin, and even, taking into account that the monkey is not found in the valley of Mexico, that they originated to the *south* of it. Still, the four "Leaders," as I have called them (the first signs of each "week" of five days), namely: Rabbit, cane, flint, and house,—might as well have been selected at the *north*.

It is a fact abundantly proven, that the kins or gentes composing the tribes of North America are named after a principle identical with that found in the naming of the days among the aborigines of more southerly latitudes, namely: after objects and natural phenomena. Mr. Morgan has given the names of the gentes of at least thirty tribes, consisting in all of two hundred and ninety-six gentes. Of these two hundred and ninety-six names, ninety-eight are signs of the Mexican days, repeatedly found in the different tribes. These signs are as follows:—

Itzcuintli, Dog, mostly found, however, as wolf	22 times.
Quauhtli, Eagle	12 "
Coxcaquauhtli, Hawk (although it is the "ringed vulture")	8 "
Mazatl, Deer, Elk, Caribou, Antelope	20 "
Cohuatl, Snake	9 "
Atl, Water (also as "Ice," "Sea," etc.)	4 "
Miquistli, Skull (as "Head")	1 time.
Ollin (as "many seasons" and "Sun")	2 times.
Calli, House (as "high village" and "lodge")	3 "
Tecpatl, Flint (as "knife")	2 "
Ocelotl, Tiger (also as "panther" and "wild cat")	5 "
Ehecatl, Wind	1 time.
Acatl, Cane (also as "Indian corn")	3 times.
Tochtli, Rabbit (also as "hare")	3 "
Cuetzpalin, Lizard ("frog")	1 time.
Xochitl, Flower (as "Tobacco")	1 "
Quiahuitl, Rain	1 "

I beg to observe, that if I have added "Coxcaquauhtli" to this list, supposing it to be the equivalent of "Hawk," this is a mere suggestion, and not an affirmation on my part.

Thus sixteen, if not seventeen, of the twenty signs of days of the Mexican month, are found in North America as "*totems*" *probably of aboriginal clans or kins*.

It is further interesting to note, that of the nine clans composing the Moqui tribes of Arizona, the names of seven correspond to signs of Mexican days, ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, p. 179). What little is known of the Laguna Indians foreshadows a similar result (p. 180), thus permitting the query, whether the pueblo Indians of the

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A 173 618 their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[32] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[33] We may as well add here, that these

A M central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

[805 171] After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

A [197 173 621] [32] *Iztlilxochitl* (" *Relaciones Historicas* " " *Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) " y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also " *Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de America llamada Nueva-España* " (" *Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 393), " Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinieron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." (" *Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), " Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in " *Tenure of Lands* " (p. 388, note 7, to p. 392). I refer to *Velascurt* (" *Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (2a Tarde, p. 31).

[31] " *Tardes Americanas* " (p. 31), " bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vaguearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full. I but refer to " *Histoire des Chichimèques* " (Cap. V, pp. 38, 39; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. I, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *Garcia* (" *Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 59, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Velascurt* (Vol. I, " *Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[32] The number seven (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare " *Tenure of Lands* " (p. 389, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* (" *Die Culturlaender des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 400, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mauotell's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[33] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitznagoa.	Huitznahuac.	Huitznahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cihuatecpaneca.	Cihuatecpaneca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.
Yzquiteca.	Yzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.

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Indian wards, their peculiar organization, and their communal lands, disappeared only after the secession of Mexico from Spain, not more than fifty years ago.[34]

There is, however, a fundamental difference between Durán on one hand, and Veytia and Tezozomoc on the other, inasmuch as the former says that these seven names were those of the *tutelar deities* of the seven kins ("barrios"), whereas the latter two give them as the names of *these kins themselves*. The seven tutelar deities are also named by them, and called as follows: "Quetzalcohuatl, Tlazolteotl, Macuilxochiquetzalli, Chichilticcenteotl, Piltzintecuhtli, Tezcatlipuca, and Mictlantecuhtli" (*Veytia*, as above quoted). *Tezozomoc* (p. 6), calls these gods: "Quetzalcohuatl, Oxomoco, Matlaxochiquetzal, Chichilticzenteutl, Piltzintecutli, Metzutl, Tezcatlipuca, Mictlantecuhtli y Tlamacazqui, y otros dioses con ellas. . . . . ." A discussion of these names is very difficult, and its results appear doubtful. Still, we distinctly recognize: "Tlacochcalca," plural of "Tlacochcalcatl," therefore, "men of the house of darts." (See "*Art of War*," p. 121, note 104). "Huitznahuac," according to *Molina* (IIa, p. 157), "uitztic" is a pointed object, "uitztli" a large thorn, but "uitztlan" is the south. "Nahuac," in this instance, probably (or rather possibly), signifies "among" or "near to," thus perhaps, "people from the south" or "from near the thorns." (Example: "Quauhnahuac"—"por de los arboles," *Molina*, II, p. 63. *Pimentel* "*Cuadro descriptivo*, Vol. I, pp. 170, etc.) "Cihuatecpaneca" from "Cihuatl" woman, and "tecpan" official house. "Tlacatecpaneca" from "Tlacatl" man, and "tecpan." Finally, "Itzcuintecatl" seems to derive from "Itzcuintli" Dog, and "tecatl." The latter again decomposes into: "nitla tequi" to cut (*Molina*, II, p. 105), and "tlacatl" man, therefore the whole would be "dogcutters." "Yzquitecatl" gives a still more curious etymology, which is, however, so improbable, that we refrain from mentioning it even

It will be seen at a glance that none of these seven kins were named after the Mexican days, the last one alone containing, perhaps, the word "Itzcuintli," but even this is very doubtful yet. I shall but refer here to a singular passage in *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 20). "Ya hemos dicho como traian á su principal dios, sin cuyo mandado no se osaban menear: traian empero otros siete dioses, que á contemplacion de los siete cuevas donde anian anitado siete congregaciones de gentes ó siete parcialidades, los reverenciaban con mucha grandeza."

After the captnre of Tenochtitlan by Cortés, its site was reserved by him for the erection thereupon of the Spanish city, whereas the site of Tlatilulco became the Indian settlement for a time, or rather was intended for that purpose. *Cortés* ("*Carta*, IV, pp. 110, 111, Vedia I). *Motolinía* (Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180, 181). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLIX, pp. 528, 530). *Juan de Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 572.- Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 290). *Herrera* ("*Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*," Cap. IX, p. 17. "*Historia*," Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. VIII, p. 122). *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México*" 4th Part of the "Teatro," pp. 124, 131, 132, 212, and 213).

It is the latter author, *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," pp. 131, 132, 212, and 213), who gives us the names and numbers of the Mexican quarters, "barrios," or localized kins who, under the form of "Indian wards," still existed in 1600. I assume this date from the fact that the "Licencia" of the "Comisario general de Indias," is dated 17 April, 1692, (p. 12, Vol. I, "*Teatro*"). Besides mentioning the four great quarters of Mexico (p. 124), of which we shall hereafter speak, he says: "Los barrios son veinte, donde están once ermitas fabricadas que sirven para sacramentar en ellas á los que no tienen casa, decente, sirviendo de oratorios del barrio, donde en las fiestas particulares se suelen decir misas rezadas, y en algunas fiestas de devocion cuando la piden." He also gives us (pp. 212, 213) information about Tlatelulco,—information which proves that the aborigines settled there "en seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios, y veinte ermitas con sus titulares que celebran." This is rather obscure, and I shall

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618 While the seven consanguine clusters above mentioned com-
174 posed, to all intents and purposes, one tribe as towards outsiders, there still appear among them germs of discord which, at a later date, caused a disruption of mutual ties. The details are too vague and too contradictory to allow any inference even as to the real nature of such dissensions.[35] One fact, however, is ascertained, namely: that the whole group bore in common all the hardships and vicissitudes of a wandering life and the encroachments, aggressions and temptations from outsiders; that they had sheltered together in a safe retreat, and that only when relative safety from violence was secured, a permanent division took place. These considerations should dispose of the

● [173 therefore give the names of the Mexican "barrios" by the side of the "ermitas" of
619 Tlatelulco, leaving the reader to notice coincidences himself.

"Barrios" of Mexico.	*"Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.*
Santo Cristo de Tzapotla.	Santa Ana Atenantitech.
Santa Véronica de Huehuecalco.	Santa Lucia Telpochcaltitlan.
Santa Cruz de Teopancaltitlan.	La Concepcion de Atenantitlan.
San Pedro de Cihuateocaltitlan.	San Francisco Mecantalinco.
Espiritu Santo de *Yopico*.	La Asuncion de Apazhuacan.
San Felipe de Jesus de Teocaltitlan.	San Martin Atezcapan.
Santiago de Tlaxilpan.	Santa Catalina Cohuatlan.
Los Reyes de Tequicaltitlan.	San Pablo Tolquechiucan.
La Candelaria de Atlampa.	Nuestra Señora de Belen Tlaxoxiuhco.
La Ascension de Tlacacomoco.	Los Reyes de Capolititlan.
San Diego de Amanalco.	San Simon Iztatla.
El Niño Jesus de Tepetitlan.	Santa Inés Hueipantonco.
El Descendimiento de Atizapan.	San Francisco Izcatla.
San Salvador de Xihuitongo.	Santa Cruz Azcococolocan.
La Navidad de Tequixquipan.	San Antonio Tepiton.
San Salvador de Necaltitlan.	La Asuncion de Tlayacaltitlan.
La Concepcion de Xoloco.	San Francisco *Cihuatecpan*.
San Juan de Chichimecapan.	San Juan *Huitznahuac*.
San Antonio de Tezcatzoncco.	Sa Asuncion de Izayoc.
San Sebastian Cupolco.	Santa Clara Acozac.

I have italicized those names which are also found among those of the seven original kins above enumerated, and thus we find three of them, one in Mexico, and two among the "Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.

[34] *Fernan Gonzales de Eslava* ("*Coloquios espirituales y Sacramentales, y Poesias Sagradas*," Second Edition, 1877, by Sr. Icazbalceta.) The learned editor makes the following note, 50, to page 57. "Cuando se reedificó la ciudad de México, despues de la conquista, se colocaron en el Centro las casas de los españoles, y los Indios levantaron las suyas alrededor de aquellas. Esta poblacion india se dividió en cuatro barrios ó *parcialidades*, regidos por caciques de su nacion, sujetos á un gobernador de la misma, Los barrios principales eran San Juan y Santiago." Calling my attention to this note in his letter of 14 Nov., 1878, my esteemed friend adds: "Con el tiempo se confundió la poblacion y desaparecieron esos barrios; pero aun quedò el nombre y los bienes que poseian las 'parcialidades' los cuales desaparecieron tambien en mi tiempo."

[35] The dissensions between what subsequently became the Mexicans and the Tlatelulcans are so variously described by the authorities, that it is hardly worth while to discuss them.

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When the Mexicans, thus constituting a migratory cluster of 174
kins, reached the present central valley of Mexico, they found it occupied by a number of tribes of the same language as their own, though dialectically varied. The arrival of the new-comers was to those who had already settled, a matter of either war or of adoption. Adoption became very difficult, as well on account of the number of the immigrants as of the rivalry between already settled tribes. Therefore the Mexicans were tossed to and fro, until at last the straggling remnant found a shelter on some dry patches protruding from the marsh along which the other tribes had formed their settlements.

This settlement occurred about 196 years previous to the Spanish conquest, and it limits therefore the time, within which the

nombres de sus Conductores." What the unfortunate Italian Cavaliere here says of the Toltecs, is applicable to all the other branches of the Nahuatl stock, and bears also on the four "Carriers of the God," under discussion.

Veytia affirms (Cap. XIII, p. 110, lib. II), that after the election of the Huitzilihuitl mentioned in my note 36, the god Huitzilopochtli "did not dare to claim the government of the people." Is this an indication to the effect that the four "priests" exercised a military command?

Referring to note 29, concerning the four names of the years and leading days in the 180r
Mexican and Central American Calendars, and their probable connection with as many 173]
very ancient kinships, I beg leave to add here some additional data in regard to the singular part played by the number four, in Central American and Mexican mythology and earliest tradition. In note 27, I have already alluded to the four original pairs, as mentioned by the "*Popol-Vuh*" as well as by *Sahagun*. Previous to the creation of the four men, the "*Popol-Vuh*" has the following remarkable passage: (Part III, cap. I, pp. 195–197), "In Paxil and in Cayalá, as this place is called, there came the ears of yellow and of white corn. These are the names of the barbarians (? Chicop), who went after subsistence: the fox (Yac), the wolf (Utiu) the parrot (Qel), and the raven (Hoh), four barbarians (?) who brought them the news of the ears of yellow corn and of white corn which grew in Paxil, and who showed them the road to Paxil." "There they found at last the nourishment which went into the flesh of man made, of man formed, this was his blood, it became the blood of man, this corn which went into him by the care of him who engenders and of him who gives being." This QQuiché tale of *four* animals or "barbarians" (the latter is an interpretation of Mr. Brasseur, since "chicop" signifies simply a *beast*) carrying the material out of which man was made, also finds an equivalent in Mexican traditions, as reported by *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, § 12, p. 140), of four wise men who remained in the earthly paradise of "Tamoanchan" inventing there "judicial astrology, and the art of interpreting dreams. They composed the account of the days, of the nights, of the hours, and the differences of time, which were kept while the chiefs of the Toltecs, of the Mexicans, and of the Chichimécs ruled and governed." "Tamoanchan" as paradise, is strictly equivalent to "Paxil in Cayalá" of the QQuiché. The tradition of the four "Tutul-Xiu" among the maya of Yucatan, may also be classed among these tales. "*Series of Katunes.*" "*Epochs of Maya History.*" "*This is the Series of Katunes in Maya.*" ("*helo lai u Tzolan Katunil Ti Mayab*") in Mr. *Brasseur's* ("*Relation des choses du Yucatan*") also in *J. L. Stephens* ("*Travels in Yucatan,*" Vol. II, p. 465, appendix.) Also *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, pp. 222, 224).

[34] *Tylor* ("*Early History of Mankind,*" Edition of 1878, p. 165), "Super-stitio" or "Standing Over,"—the German "Aberglaube" in the sense of "what has remained."

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In Central Mexico, at the northwestern frontier of the zone of high civilization, we find the same sort of sequence which we have set forth for the Mayas, the Olmecs and the Zapotecs. First, there was a long Middle Culture occupation; second, a shift in culture whereby another group, basically Middle Culture, took on the beginnings of a civilized status as shown by the presence of mounds and the sculptural definition of one or two gods. Out of a branch of this Upper Middle Culture a third phase developed, a majestic ceremonial civilization called Teotihuacan* or classical Toltec, which was surpassed by its southern contemporaries only through their superior development of sculpture and the religious calendar. A fourth interval in the history of the Valley of Mexico was known as the Chichimec† Period and comprised a phase of decline when the Teotihuacan Toltecs disintegrated and migrant tribes vied with each other for supremacy. Finally a fifth phase saw the introduction of the ceremonial civilization, developed by the Mixteca-Puebla peoples, which culminated in the domination of the Aztecs.[22]

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The Aztecs and their forebears grew up on the outer borders of an intensely civilized area in which the cultural history of its various peoples seems to have been very similar. Out of a long period of exploration and experimentation, the processes of which we have to reconstruct from our knowledge of the archaeology and ethnology of surviving cultures in North America, some of the tribes developed the sedentary life based on agriculture, typical of the Middle Cultures. This economy persisted for many centuries and in some places was never modified. However, somewhere in Guatemala or southern Mexico the conception of a cere-

*Tayo-ti-wa-ca'n. †Che'e-chee-mec.

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174 monial center for religious practices changed the older pattern of life. Conditions in forested country, as we have noted, would seem to offer the most urgent reasons for such a practice, but it spread over the Highland area as well.

In the train of this ceremonial architecture followed closely the ritualistic definition of the gods and, elaborated in various degrees, a calendric system closely tied in with their worship. The development of these practices followed tribal lines, creating regional art styles and special religious modifications. There seems to be a correlation between the evolution of these tribal styles and the spreading out of an increasing population. Yet these populations at first do not seem to have had close enough contact to modify specifically the patterns and styles of each other's cultures. Eventually this protracted phase of independent civilization ended with a spread of ideas and peoples, derived from Central Mexico, which continued for the last four centuries before the Spanish Conquest.

Estimates of time are hard to make in the absence of specific dates. Yet to allow eight centuries for the duration of the independent civilizations does not seem excessive, and to assume a similar length of time for the Middle Culture phases appears to be well within the bounds of probability. However, several thousand years could have elapsed between the first immigrations to America and the establishment of sedentary agricultural settlements like those of the Middle Cultures.

Rhythms of development are obviously not the same in all areas. The conditions of the natural environment had a profound effect on the progress of the American Indians, and the causes which affect the rise and decline of the birth rate

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likewise played a part in their history. The forces leading to invention and to the development of techniques, the status of the various tribal societies, and many other important factors must have operated in this historical evolution, but it is next to impossible to reconstruct them from the mute evidence of archaeological remains.

Since the history of the Aztecs and their forebears is better known than that of any other American Indian population, it is worth while to see how closely we can reconstruct the social, economic and environmental forces which affected them. Indian and Spanish sources illuminate the Aztec period, and dim traditions shed a faint light on the decline and fall of the Toltecs of Teotihuacan. Only for the Middle Culture peoples do we have to rely solely on material remains; nevertheless, in the Valley of Mexico the deep refuse heaps accumulated through the centuries present a record more detailed and capable of interpretation than elsewhere in Middle America. Therefore, the history of the Aztecs and their forebears presents in small compass the major trends which governed the rise of Middle American civilization.

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TABLE IV

SEQUENCE OF TRIBES IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO ACCORDING TO VARIOUS AUTHORITIES

		Phillips[a]	*Ixtlilxochitl I*[b]	*Ixtlilxochitl II*[c]	*Veytia*[d]	*Duran*[e]	*Muñoz Camargo*[f]	*Clavigero*[g]	*Sahagun*[h]	*de Jonghe*[i]	*Mapa Tlotzin*[j]	*Mapa, Quinatzin*[k]	*Codex Xolotl*[l]	*Motolinia*[m]	*Garcia Icazbalceta*[n]
Maceguales (created by Gods)		1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Quinames (Giants)		2	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tarasco		–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Olmecs-Xicalanga		–	2	2	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Zacatecs		–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Toltec		4	3	3	4	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Nomad Chichimec		3	4	4	2	–	–	2	–	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chichimec		–	–	–	5	2	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Teo-Chichimec		–	–	–	–	–	4	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Otomi		–	–	5	6	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–
Acolhus I Thaltoque		–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Chimalpanecs		–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–
Chalco-Toltec		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
Acolhus II Texcoco		–	6	5	6	–	3	3	–	(4)	3	–	–	2	2
Culhus	7 Tribes	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	3	3	–	–	–	–	–
	Tepanec	–	6	5	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–
	Culhus	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–
	Aztec	–	6	6	7	4	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	3	3
	Huitznahus	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–

[a]Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, 618–19, 622–24.
[b]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891, 17–21, 73–103.
[c]Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1892, 21–45, 61–65, 69–71.
[d]Veytia, Historia Antigua, 1836, Vol. 1, 139–156; Vol. 2, 3–10, 39–46, 87–101.
[e]Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, 10–14.
[f]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, 5–116.
[g]Clavigero, History, 1787, 93–136.
[h]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book II, 106, 116–17, 138–47.
[i]de Jonghe, ed., Histoire de Mechique, 1903, 8–20.
[j]Aubin, Peinture Didactique, 1885, 58–74.
[k]Aubin, Peinture Didactique, 1885, 73–85.
[l]Radin, Sources, 1920, 41–45.
[m]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, 3–5.
[n]Origen in Garcia Icazbalceta, 1886–92, Vol. 3, Origen de los Mexicanos, 283–92.

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There is evidence, too, that the Valley was not completely settled, for in the mid-thirteenth century the Tenochca were able to thread their way south to Chapultepec* without coming into serious conflict with the settled populations.[5]

However, in the mid-fourteenth century there was serious conflict. A tribe called the Tepanec, which lived at Azcapotzalco, outgrew its boundaries. Led by an able and vicious chief, Tezozomoc,† it began to extend its territories. Culhuacan felt the pressure first, and internal discord developed, as it must when a nation cannot feed itself and has no room to expand. Some of the Culhuas moved up to Texcoco along the eastern shore and added their long-practiced skills to those of the Texcocan community. The Tepanec, blocked to the south by dense populations and to the west by high mountain walls, turned north and east to raid and occupy Texcocan lands. Otomi‡ tribes, whose territory lay on the islands and the eastern shore of Lake Xaltocan, were pinched between the opposing forces who would brook no neutrality. They moved north, and the two great powers, Tepanecs and Texcocans, came into direct contact and war ensued. Tezozomoc won a signal victory, broke Texcoco and alienated her vassals. He quickly dominated the rest of the Valley towns, almost obliterating the empty shell of Culhuacan's former dominance. His son Maxtla§ succeeded this vigorous and ruthless conqueror in 1427. Having the northern Valley at his feet, he oppressed the conquered and interfered in the affairs of former allies like Tenochtitlan. Yet he was to enjoy his conquests only a bare two years.[6]

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Indian governmental practice extracted tribute from conquered tribes, but had not developed a technique for forcing 174 175

*Cha-pol'-tepec. †Te-zo'z-o-moc. ‡Ot-o-me'e. §Ma'sh-tla.

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payment without declaring a new war and making a fresh campaign. Consequently a bond of sympathy forged from mutually shared ill-fortune grew up between otherwise somewhat hostile communities. Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan,* towns at the backdoor of Tepanec territory, made a pact with Texcoco across the lake; and the allies, rising suddenly, overthrew the new power. Maxtla was slain, his city burned and, contrary to the practice of the time, his people incorporated into the allied tribes. Land was apportioned to warriors who had performed notable feats of valor. So completely did the allies break the Tepanecs, that all that remains of their history is the memory of Tezozomoc and Maxtla and some petty local chieftains who succeeded them.

The Texcocans regained their prestige after this war, but the Tenochcas, who had begun as mere vassals, grew so rapidly in strength that at the coming of the Spaniards they had managed to eclipse their former lords, as we shall see in the following chapter.

These events disclose a picture of expanding populations and ensuing intertribal conflict. This cultural history shows a diffuse background of tribal arts and practices gradually welded into a closely similar whole, Aztec civilization. The process was achieved before Tenochtitlan attained eminence, so at the cost of academic tediousness the term Aztec has been reserved for the civilization, Tenochca for the people who so conspicuously made it known.

The civilization of Teotihuacan disappeared before the infiltration of intruding tribes. The nomadic groups referred to in the chronicles have left no identifiable remains. Hunters reduced to the bare necessities which they can carry on their

*Tla-co'-pan.

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P 172 174 Hill of the Star, behind Culhuacan. Dr Tozzer, who named the ware, found it mixed with late Teotihuacan material at the type site, but my wife and I excavated a Teotihuacan site of the same period without finding a single sherd among the 200,000 fragments we examined. At one or two places west of Tenayuca, Coyotlatelco sherds have appeared with Mazapan material. Mr Noguera found the extreme limit in lateness at Tenayuca where Coyotlatelco and Aztec II fragments were mixed. The geographical and chronological associations of this ware suggest that the makers were Culhuas or Tepanecs.

A 172 174 Culhuacan, so important in the annals as the seat of a famous line of chiefs, shows today little sign of its past greatness. Yet excavations undertaken twenty-five years ago prove that its historical importance was not overestimated, for it seems to have been the base from which Aztec culture spread over the Valley. Pottery, so dismal to read about, so important in reflecting tribal patterns, tells the story of this process.*

A 172 174 [796] Aztec pottery is found everywhere in the Valley of Mexico, and, due to the Aztec custom of destroying household goods at the end of each fifty-two-year cycle, it can be identified in terms of relatively exact periods: IV, 1507–19 (the date of the Spanish Conquest, which prevented the cyclical celebration of 1559); IIIb, 1455–1507; IIIa, 1403–55; II early and late, perhaps a century prior to 1403, and I. Periods III and IV are represented everywhere. Period II is common on the mainland but less so in Tenochtitlan, which was politically insignificant until after 1400. To date, Period I is represented in quantity only at Culhuacan. The standard ware of Periods II–IV goes through a consecutive evolution but has a close

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generic resemblance throughout, while Period I pottery is 172
much closer to the fine orange wares of Puebla which were 174
traded widely throughout southeastern Mexico. There is also a trade connection between Aztec I and Mazapan.* (See Plates 25, 29.)

In the history of Culhuacán digested on pp. 72–73 the fact was noted that there was first a Toltec dynasty, which was succeeded by a Chichimec or foreign regime. It may not be stretching the manipulations of the historian too far if we suggest that the Culhuas changed their culture with their dynasty. Coyotlatelco ceramics, which have vague affiliations with Teotihuacan pottery, may represent the material culture of the Toltec dynasty, while the Aztec I pottery, completely alien to the preceding styles, seems to embody the material presence of the new regime.

Seeming confirmation of this situation comes from the 172
site of Tenayuca, where great Mexican archaeologists like 346
the late José Reygadas Vertiz, Ignacio Marquina, Alfonso Caso, Eduardo Noguera and others have carried out a superb dissection of one of the temples. It was completely rebuilt five, or possibly six, times. The renovation answered the ceremonial requirement of rebuilding and refurnishing at the beginning of each fifty-two-year cycle in compensation for the destruction at the close of the previously elapsed period. As the site was occupied during the Conquest, the reconstructions probably followed the cyclical ceremonies of 1507, 1455, 1403, 1351 and 1299, with the first building erected some time earlier. The fourth, fifth and sixth constructions (1403, 1455, 1507) are purely Aztec; the third temple built (1351) is a transition between the Aztec style and the simpler, more archaic methods employed in the two earliest

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structures (1299 and the original temple). The three completely developed Aztec temples correspond closely to the distribution of Aztec III and IV pottery, between 1403 and 1519. The transitional temple and the second building suggest that cyclical renovations were adopted everywhere along with the Aztec II pottery of the fourteenth century. The original platform of this Tenayuca temple could have been constructed almost any time in the thirteenth century, since the building of a shrine did not entail the celebration of the beginning of a fifty-two-year cycle.[20] (See Plates 25; 26, bottom; 29.)

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The Aztec civilization was brought into the valley at Culhuacan, where it gradually supplanted the defined local cultures. Where, then, was its true source? The most probable answer is Cholula, in the state of Puebla, where still exists the largest structure in the world in terms of cubic content. The devoted group of Mexican archaeologists, whose co-ordinated efforts have organized the rich background of their Indian past, have been analyzing this monument by excavation and archival research for many years. The results are important. (See Plate 26, top, middle.)

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Originally Cholula was occupied by an Upper Middle Culture tribe which later fell under the domination of Teotihuacan-Toltec civilization. At this time the inhabitants built a large ceremonial precinct, a maze of temples, platforms and stairs, constructed of rubble covered with plaster. Eventually newcomers, possibly with the aid of the resident population, performed the stupendous task of converting the Toltec precinct into a single great platform, traditionally in honor of the god Quetzalcoatl. This mammoth construction entailed filling in every building and courtyard with

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Mexican origin spread through the length and breadth of 174
Middle America. Just so the Christian religion had a ready 177
acceptance in Indian America when the missionaries were backed by such redoubtable exponents of our gentle faith as Cortes, Pizarro and their coadjutors.

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF CHICHIMEC AND DYNASTIC TOLTEC HISTORY

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950–1100, Early Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Contact with Toltecs at Tula (Teotihuacan) under Xolotl; Tenayuca I pottery; rude culture.

Western Phase: Teotihuacan V and western Toltec Empire at Tula (Azcapotzalco).

1100–1247, Middle Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Tenayuca occupation by immigrants; replacement of Toltecs at Tula (Tula); tribal government; foundation of Texcocan Chichimec lineage in 1232; development of fiefs; introduction of Mazapan culture.

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Western Phase: Destruction of Toltecs at Tula (Azcapotzalco); movement to Culhuacan; foundation of Culhuacan "Toltec" lin-

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eage in 1114; adoption of Coyotlatelco ceramics; first Aztec cycle counted, 1143–95; second Aztec cycle counted, 1195–1247.

RULERS

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl (d. 1124 after 60 years)			Xolotl 1115–1232	
Cuauhtexpetlatzin 1124–81	Teizdacohuatzin 1160–1226			
Hoetzin 1181–1202				
Nonoalcatl 1202–1223				
Achitometl 1223–37	Quinatzin 1226–99			
Cuauhtonal 1237–51				

1247–99, LATE CHICHIMEC-AZTEC I PERIOD

Eastern Phase: Establishment of Texcoco as Chichimec capital under Quinatzin in 1298; persistence of Mazapan culture in east; penetration of Coyotlatelco and temple cult to Tenayuca(?).

Western Phase: Foundation of new dynasty at Culhuacan in 1251; introduction of Aztec I pottery at Culhuacan, with Pueblan origins; construction of Building I at Tenayuca(?); Cholula rebuilt (Altar de los Craneos); Cholula III pottery; Tenochcas at Chapultepec; third Aztec cycle counted, 1247–99.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
New Lineage Mazatzin 1251–74			*Lineage Begins* Nopaltzin 1232–63	
Quetzaltzin 1274–87		Coatomatzin 1282–88	Tlotzin 1263–98	Huitzilhuitl 1235–98
Chalchiuhtlatonac 1287–1304				

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CHAPTER V

THE AZTEC PERIOD

In which is recorded the history of the Tenochcas and the political background of Aztec civilization

THE CHICHIMEC PERIOD witnessed invasion of the Valley 174 of Mexico by various tribes and the gradual domination of these tribes by a culture and manner of life that seems to have emanated from Puebla and northern Oaxaca. The basic political unit consisted of a tribe resident in a town supporting itself from its own land with the supplement, if possible, of supplies derived from the tribute payments of vassals. At the head of the state was a chief of lineage who also performed ecclesiastical functions. Craftsmanship was highly skilled, and trade flourished to furnish raw materials for the artisans. This productivity, however, was directed toward religion and ritual rather than the creation of personal wealth. Religion was an elaborate polytheism based on nature worship, with some god or gods singled out for special adoration, but the working of the *tonalpohualli*,* or sacred almanac, brought the full force of divine powers to aid man in his life on earth. (See Plate 29.)

The history of the Tenochcas, the Mexico City Aztecs, 173 shows how a tribal body lived and acquired the position of an 805 important state. According to their own records, the Tenoch-

*to-nal-po-wa'hl-li.

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TABLE VII

MIGRANT TRIBES, ACCORDING TO VARIOUS AUTHORITIES, COMPARED TO CERAMIC GROUPS IN CENTRAL MEXICO

	Histoire Mexicaine[a]	*Codex of 1590*[b]	*Codex of 1576*[c]	*Cuhas—ed. Muñoz Camargo*[d]	*Historia de los Mexicanos*[e]	*Codice Ramirez*[f]	*Codex Boturini*[g]	*Durán*[h]	*Sahagun*[i]	*Codex Telleriano—Remensis*[j]	*Codex Vaticanus A*[k]	*Clavigero*[l]	*Motolinia*[m]	*Muñoz Camargo*[n]	*de Mendieta*[o]	*Suggested Correlation of Pottery Styles with Tribal Groups*
Aztec	x	x	(x)*	–	x	x	(x)*	(x)*	(x)*	–	–	(x)*	x	–	x	Regulation Aztec of Tenochtitlan[p]
Zochimilca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(?)
Tepaneca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Tenayuca II (?)[q]
Acolhua	–	x	–	–	[x]†	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(x)*	(x)*	–	Mazapan[r]
Culhua	–	–	–	x	x	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Culhuacan (like Aztec)[s]
Cuitlahuaca	x	x[t]	x	–	–	–	x[u]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Chalca	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[v]
Tlahuica	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	Gualupita III[r]
Tlaxcalteca	–	–	–	–	[x]†	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	(x)*	–	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[v]
Cholulteca	–	x[w]	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Cholula wares[v]
Huexotzinca	x	x	x	x	[x]†	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Matlatzinca	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Matlatzinca[x]
Malinalca	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Quauhquechollan-Xelhua	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	(?)

Chichimeca	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	x	x	–	(x)*	–	–		(?)
Nonoalca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Michoaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	(x)*	–	–		(?)
Comaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Totonaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Cuexteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Xicalanga-Olmeca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	x	(x)*	x		(?)
Mixteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		Monte Alban 5**
Otomi	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		(?)

*Implied but not specifically listed.

†"These people, say the Mexicans, and no more sallied forth, although those of Tezcoco and Tlaxcala and Huexotziaca boast . . . that they too . . . are also of that land." Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, p. 625.

[1]Histoire Mexicaine in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 60.

[2]Codex of 1590 in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 24; Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 8, footnote.

[3]Codex of 1576 in Aubin, Histoire, 1893, p. 4, both of text and translation.

[4]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7. A footnote by Chavero gives a list taken from Cuadro Historico-Jeroglifico de la Peregrinacion de las Tribus Aztecas Que Poblaron el Valle de Mexico, No. 2, published in the Atlas Geografico of Antonio Garcia Cubas, Mexico, 1858, usually called the Codex Boturini.

[5]Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, pp. 624–25. Forty tribes.

[6]Historia de los Mexicanos in Biblioteca Mexicana, 1878, p. 18.

[7]Radin, Sources, 1920, p. 33, Pl. I taken from Kingsborough, Vol. 1.

[8]Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, p. 10.

[9]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 11.

[10]Codex Telleriano-Remensis, 1899, p. 34, Pl. 25.

[11]Codex Vaticanus A, 1900, Pl. 67.

[12]Clavigero, History, 1787.

[13]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, pp. 7–10.

[14]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, pp. 5–68. The list of tribes given under this authority has been extracted at random points from the text. Muñoz Camargo does not specify the list of migrants.

[15]de Mendieta, Historia, 1870, p. 145.

[16]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 32.

[17]Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[18]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

[19]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–36; Brenner, Influence of Technique, 1931.

[20]Chavero, in Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7, misreads this sign Cholula.

[21]Radin, Sources, 1920, misreads this sign Cholula.

[22]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1935, Figs. 19, 27.

[23]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[24]Peñafiel, Nomenclatura Geografica, 1897, gives this sign as Cholula.

[25]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[26]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 6.

[27]Caso, Monte Alban, 1938.

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TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY BEFORE THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1299–1351, Early Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Introduction of picture writing and other arts at Texcoco by people from the Mixteca; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery.

Western or Culhua Phase: Cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building II; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery, retention of Coyotlatelco (?) pottery; revolt of Tenochcas at Chapultepec, settlement of Tenochtitlan; fourth Aztec cycle counted, 1299–1351.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Cuauhtlix 1304–11	Tencaltecutli 1299–1338	Miahuatonaltzin 1290–1300		
Yohuallatonac 1311–21		Axayaltzin 1300–08		Tenoch(?)
Trishuecatzin 1321–34	Vactli 1339–49	Atzatzamaltzin 1308–24	Quinatzin 1298–1357	
Xihuitlemoc 1334–52		Totepeuhtecutli 1324–43		*Lineage Begins*
		Epcoatzin 1343–54		Queen Ilancueitl 1349–83

1351–1403, Late Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Unification of language by Techotlala; political and cultural dominance of Texcoco; Aztec IIb pottery and homogeneity of culture; Cholula IV pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Decadence of Culhuacan; rise of Tepanecs at Azcapotzalco; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building IV, Aztec transition; captive Tenochcas escape to build in stone and adopt lineage pattern with Acamapichtli; fifth Aztec cycle counted, 1351–1403.

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Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Coxcox 1352–76	Queen Ehualyuxitzin 1368–72	Quetzalmichin 1354–65		
				Acamapichtli 1375–95
Acamapichtli 1376–88	Temazacocuitzin 1373–78	Mamatzin 1369–89	Techodala 1357–1409	
Achitomel 1388–1400	Tlacatecotzin 1379–89	Pichatzin 1389–92		Huitzilhuitl II 1395–1414

TABLE IX

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY AFTER THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1403–55, Early Aztec III Period

Eastern Phase: Political elimination of Texcoco in first half of period with later recovery; prosperity and cultural advance under Nezahualcoyotl; expansion of palace at Chiconauhtla; Aztec IIIa pottery; Cholula V pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla and Los Melones, Texcoco.

Western Phase: Political extinction of Culhuacan; rise and fall of Tepanecs; rise of Tenochtitlan with organization of Triple Alliance; growth of conquest and war-captive pattern; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building IV; cyclical dump in Zocalo, Mexico City; broad diffusion of Aztec IIIa pottery; sixth Aztec cycle counted, 1403–55.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nezhyotl 1400–13	Xaltemoc 1390–98 (1408)	Tepolomayotl 1393–1415	Ixtlilxochitl 1409–18	Chimalpopoca 1414–28
			Tepanec Tyrants Tezozomoc 1343–1427	Itzcoatl 1428–40
			Maxtla 1427–29	
			Texcocan Lineage Restored Nezahualcoyotl 1418–72	Montezuma I 1440–69

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1455–1507, Late Aztec III Period

172 *Eastern Phase:* Continued development of culture at Texcoco;
●174 growth of Chiconauhtla palace; elaboration of ceramics; Aztec
175 IIIb pottery; cyclical dump at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Political power of Tenochtitlan; extension of conquest over Mexico and Guatemala; reconstruction of great temple; increase in captive sacrifice; elaboration of ritual; diffusion of Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building V; cyclical dump at Nonoalco, Mexico City; seventh Aztec cycle counted, 1455–1507.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
unimportant	unimportant	unimportant	Nezahualpilli 1472–1516	Axayacatl 1469–81
				Tizoc 1481–86
				Ahuitzotl 1486–1503

1507–1519 (Conquest) Aztec IV

Eastern Phase: Growing friction between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan; last expansion of Chiconauhtla palace; Aztec IV pottery styles with good life forms. Conquest.

Western Phase: Tenochtitlan domination with coercion of Texcoco; maintenance of old conquests rather than success of new ones; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building VI; Aztec IV pottery with many life forms; eighth Aztec cycle counted, 1507–59, incomplete with Conquest.

Texcoco	*Tenochtitlan*
Cacama 1516–19	Montezuma II 1503–20
	Cuitlahuac 1520 (4 months)
	Cuauhtemoc 1520–24 (murdered on way to Honduras)

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PLATE 33

PROCESSION OF NOTABLES, DOING HONOR TO MONTEZUMA

This drawing by Keith Henderson, in the Henry Holt Edition of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, was adapted from native picture records. The artist reconciles the crabbed fidelity of the Indian drawing with our own representational standards.

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PLATE 36

AZTEC WOMEN

Rich embroidery enlivened the simple dress of Aztec women, as shown in this drawing by Keith Henderson. The measure of this artist's accuracy may be taken by comparing this plate and Plate 33 with the Codex Florentino paintings on Plates 34-35.

[P. 112(D)]

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471 the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the
421 heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave
[428] labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

174 The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable mi-
[167] grations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[8]

241 The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time
311 when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

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ing of the arm thereby giving the missile an increased propulsive force. Some of these *atl-atls* were most delicately carved and represent the best of Aztec design. (See Plate 54, bottom.)

Metallurgy was in its infancy. Copper was cold-hammered; the art of adding alloys to make bronze had not reached Mexico from the south, but the gilding of copper and mixing of gold and copper were adopted by Mexican goldsmiths. Copper was cast into bells and ornaments, and the process, used also for gold, was the cire-perdue, or lost-wax, method. The desired shape was modeled in clay, over which was dusted finely ground charcoal, followed by an even layer of wax. This coating was also dusted with charcoal and the whole enclosed in clay, which was perforated at the top and bottom. The molten metal was poured in at the upper hole after the wax was melted and the lower orifice plugged. When the metal cooled the cast was broken and the finished object removed.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

Although most of the native goldwork found its way to the Spanish melting pot, a few lovely ornaments survived; in 1932 the quantity was more than doubled by Dr Alfonso Caso's discovery of the undisturbed tomb of a high Mixtec official. The design and shape of these necklaces, earplugs and rings, by their sheer intricacy and bulk, make one realize that the Spanish descriptions of Cortes' loot understated the rich ability of the Aztec goldsmiths.[12]

Metalworking, without much question, had its origin in Ecuador or Peru, and various techniques were transmitted up the Pacific coast to Panama and Costa Rica, where important goldworking industries were founded. Although the intervening area produced little metal, another center was

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325 established in Oaxaca in Mixtec times. The Oaxacan orna-
174 ments, although deficient in some of the southern technical developments, surpass in design and workmanship the best of the older goldwork of Peru and Ecuador.[18]

Metallurgy seems to have arrived late in Mexico, certainly not before the eleventh century. Mentions of copper in Toltec times refer more probably to the Dynastic Period than to that of Teotihuacan. I know of neither copper nor gold which comes from the early or middle periods of the great Middle American civilizations, although some hollow clay bells from the late Toltec occupation of Azcapotzalco tantalizingly suggest metal prototypes. Toward the close of the Independent Civilization phase, and more especially during the domination of Mixteca-Puebla culture, there are consistant occurrences of metal objects.

316 Mining methods were rudimentary. Gold was collected in nugget form or panned as dust; copper also was mined as nodules or nuggets; silver, which seldom occurs pure in nature, was for this reason rarely converted into ornaments. The melting furnaces were heated with charcoal and their draft forced by a man blowing on the embers through a tube. The casting we have already described. This work in gold, one of the great wonders of the Conquest, was achieved by the same simple methods of all Aztec handiwork and was another triumph of sheer skill, unassisted by technical aids.

323 Pottery making was the greatest New World craft, and probably no other continent has such a complex range of form and design. The malleability of clay made it easy to work, and firing was simple, so that pottery products were an important part of Indian craftsmanship. In the Valley of Mexico we have no trace of people before the introduction

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Pottery was not confined to household chattels; great roof 323
ornaments of baked clay were made to adorn the temples. 333
Sun-dried adobes were commonly used for general house construction. However, they were sometimes fired into bricks which formed the back walls of fireplaces or were substituted for dressed stone in the corners of buildings. A temple at Tizatlan carries brick construction in the pillars before the altar, but rubble faced with cut stone was preferred as a general building material for temples. Before the great temples, braziers the height of a man, combined ritualistic usefulness with architectural ornament. Cones of baked clay were used as studding to keep the plaster from slipping off the temple walls and to serve as a decorative element as well.[21]

The Mexican crasftsman had at hand an abundance of 174
good pottery clay, which from the earliest times provided a medium for plastic experiment and experience. Work in clay created the background for that sureness and security in creation that stands out in the later Mexican sculpture in stone and wood. According to our Western standards, clay is a substance inferior to wood or stone for plastic expression. However, the ancient Mexicans, like the old Chinese, considered it fit for the finest examples of their arts and crafts.

Mexican craftsmanship, whatever the tribe and whatever 182
the era, was superb in that it answered the necessities and ideals of both the time and the people. There is little evidence of a wide gap between superior and inferior workmanship, as in our Western civilization, where there is less need or opportunity for high-grade handwork. In unindividualized societies the general skills of the tribesmen, so far as can be judged by their work, follow a more even course than in

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174 346 Teotihuacan was probably the result of the co-operation of communities scattered over a large part of the Valley. Its scale and vastness could not have been achieved by a single resident community. In Chichimec times, when there was no central authority, each community built its temple or temples as best it could, and few survived. Tenayuca still has a temple of this period, the platform walls of which ascend almost vertically. Apparently shrines to two gods rested on the summit. At this same time, across the mountains in Puebla, the Cholulans were piling sun-dried brick on sun-dried brick to make a man-made mountain. So huge is this structure that the priests' quarters as well as the temple were located on top of one of the platforms. A large colonial church founded on the pyramid has obliterated evidence of the ancient temple proper, which tradition dedicated to Quetzalcoatl. It would seem logical to assume that the priests' houses were on a lower level than the shrine, since the tenets of Aztec religious architecture required a dominating position for the earthly residence of the god.[8] (See Plate 26.)

However, in the Valley of Mexico the communities prospered and their peoples multiplied. As resources and man power increased, the temples became larger and more numerous. Yet so complete was the destruction by the Spaniards and their Indian converts who transformed many a temple on its platform into a large parochial church, that the modern visitor finds little to suggest the architecture of the past. Archaeology has abundantly confirmed, in fragmentary form, the amazed descriptions of the conquerors.

The last two reconstructions at Tenayuca bear witness to the excellent proportions and dramatic principles of Aztec architecture. Excavations in the hill above the railway station

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at Cuernavaca revealed a temple intact in all except its roof. 174 The temple of the Tepozteco, perched high in the hills over 346 Tepoztlan,* is another nearly perfect example of Aztec architecture on a small scale. A pit sunk in a vacant lot across the street from the cathedral in Mexico City reached the corner between the stair and the western wall of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli, War God of the Aztecs, and the massive size and ornate decoration prove that the startled descriptions of the Spaniards did less than justice to this tremendous monument. A recent excavation in a cliff overhanging Malinalco, near Tenancingo, state of Mexico, brought to light a temple complex, largely hewed from living rock, which thrusts the famous Egyptian rock tombs of Abu-Simbel into the limbo of provincial opera-house scenery.* (See Plates 28, bottom; 37, top; 50–51.)

The Aztec temple had a platform, the sloping sides of 346 which were generally broken by three terraces. A steep, broad 532 stair flanked by balustrades, occasionally with a third dividing it into two, gave access to the top. Carved stone blocks, projecting in rows from the sides of the platform, represented snakeheads, skulls or some other symbolic form of the cult. At the foot of the balustrades huge serpent heads with gaping jaws added to the architectural design and created awe in the beholder. The stair rose broad and steep, focusing the attention on the sacrificial block at the top, over which victims were stretched to await the searching knives of priests.

Behind the block stood the temple or temples, which generally had a back room for the idol and an antechamber for the priests. The walls were usually of dressed stone and

*Te-pos-tla'n.

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776 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people,
173 promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

554 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many
174 guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find
177 to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

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796 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[24]
526 (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 There were also games of chance which were played with
796 a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[25]

796 Another important entertainment involved the erection of
526 a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[26]

782 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple cere-
174 monial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. 782
Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the 174
world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the 782
braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. [727]
Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances [567]
women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure
growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

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CHAPTER XII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WAR

The relationships of Aztec tribes to each other in peace and war, the nature of the Aztec domain and methods of military organization and warfare

THE COMMUNITY or tribe was the center of the political 182
and economic life of the Aztecs. Existence depended on the 621
favor of the gods, who participated directly in the tribal fortunes, so that the degree of elaboration of the ceremonial structures was an accurate gauge of tribal prosperity. A man's position in the civil life of the community had a corresponding level in the hierarchy, since conspicuous fulfillment of civil obligations entailed an equal attainment in piety and observance of ritual. The basic design for living was a communal agriculture. The early tribal existence sought to achieve this pattern by avoiding other peoples and finding new land to settle. There is an essential affinity between agriculture and political isolation, just as commerce and manufacture require successively broader political contacts.[1]

In the early history of the Valley of Mexico there appear 174
to have been a series of small isolated settlements which carried on a vague process of exchange. The Toltec civilization seems to have attained uniform development over a wide area spread by a population which gradually filled up unoccupied territory. There was little to suggest war or con-

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174 quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldly to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.[8]

651 648 The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

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ing on such wonderful sights," wrote Bernal Diaz, "we did not know what to say or whether what appeared before us was real, for on one side in the land there were great cities and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we . . . we did not even number four hundred soldiers."[2]

Although socially and governmentally Tenochtitlan was distinctly an American Indian tribal town, outwardly it appeared the capital city of an empire. A bird's-eye view would have revealed an oval island connected with the mainland by three causeways which converged at the center of the city. These roads were cut by waterways over which removable bridges extended. The edges of the island were fringed by the green of the "floating gardens," while at the center the shiny white of the houses predominated, and the verdure was reduced to tiny green squares in the patio gardens. Thrust above the quadrate masses of the roof tops loomed the various clan temples, each set on its platform in the form of a truncated pyramid. The city had few streets or open spaces but was gridded with canals crossed by portable bridges. The two principal plazas were those of the Temple of Tlaltelolco and of the religious center of Tenochtitlan proper, open spaces which gave a welcome relief from the pyramids and official palaces clustered about them. There must have been a curiously living quality about this grouping, the temples seeming to ride like horsemen among the serrated ranks of the houses. (See Plate 37, top.)

Were a visitor to traverse Tenochtitlan from south to north, he would have been struck by the rich variety of sights.

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361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held [241] in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously [311] [501] poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

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tion grounds as arteries of traffic. Thus people out to see the sights, people on errands, people on their way to the myriad functions of religious import, swallowed up the long lines of trotting carriers who, bowed under their burdens, went to the city with produce and tribute or left with goods for barter. Not a wheel turned or a pack animal neighed; transport was on the backs of men or in the bottoms of boats.

Outside the city limits the monotony of antlike columns of laden folk had been but rarely relieved by the passage of a civil functionary, all pomp and feathers, or by a stern merchant with a handful of fighting men, followed by a chain of apprentices, showing the whites of their eyes as they peered from under the press of their tumplines. Now could be seen clan leaders, wearing rich mantles and sniffing flowers as they watched the milling crowd, and black-robed priests whose ears were shredded and whose hair was matted with the blood of self-inflicted penance. There was little sound, little hurry, save for the carriers trotting to reach relief from their burdens. There was an intense vitality, nonetheless, that of a multitude of units participating in complex action, knowing each its allotted part but never the substance of the whole. (See Plates 33–36.)

A glance into the doorway of a house gave welcome relief from the cold-blooded, almost insectlike quality of life outside. A shaded patio was flanked by buildings whose interiors were cool and spacious. Mats and straw cushions on the polished red of the cement floor welcomed the visitor to repose, while the rhythmic clap of hands and the scrape of stone on stone told that tortillas were being made and corn meal ground in a kitchen at the back. Seated in a corner, an elderly man was talking to two small boys, whose

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serious faces showed that, already conscious of their participation in the tribal life, they heeded their uncle's precepts as to conduct befitting boys and men. A fat little girl squatting in the doorway vainly tried to imitate with her stubby fingers and toy implements the graceful movements of her mother as she produced fine threads by the cunning manipulation of her spindle. Lolling on a cushion, a young man idly smoked a cigarette in a cane holder as he picked thoughtfully at the scarcely healed lobe of his ear, tattered by penitential bloodletting with cactus spine and obsidian blade.

A fiesta was going on in another house, and one heard the rich vibration of wooden drums and the high squeal of reed flutes. The patio was full of people, gay in the bright colors of their holiday clothes, and the air was heavy with the cloying scent of lilies. The sharp smells of rich sauces cunningly mixed from many peppers embroidered this odor, and occasionally a light breeze wafted the cool, mystic scent of incense. Somebody was celebrating his birthday, since in the background one saw a painted figure adorned with amate paper, representing the god who presided over that event. A little apart from the feasters, who partook of their entertainment with dignified pleasure, were a group of old men whose clownish gestures and burlesque solemnity could be easily associated with the cups of pulque that a slave was industriously filling for them. Not for nothing had these elders passed through the rigid self-denial of young manhood; they were permitted alcoholic indulgence in their old age whenever a feast came to pass. A last backward glance revealed the musicians, garlanded with flowers, blowing their flutes and conch shells, while one man beat the head of a cylin-

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drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli*.

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

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was set with razor-sharp obsidian blades. Usually he was killed in the most honorable of deaths, that of sacrificial victim to the Sun God, Tonatiuh, but sometimes he would resist so successfully that he gained a pardon. Other disk-shaped stones were placed about the plaza. One, thirteen feet in diameter, was set vertically on a special platform. Carved with a consummate mastery of design, it represented the symbolic history of the world. Another disk, set flat, was hollowed in the center, so that hearts wrung from war captives might be burned to nourish the great gods. This was carved on its surface and edge to commemorate the many conquests of War Chief Tizoc, who was shown dressed as a god, with his captives before him.

In another part of the plaza a sacrifice was to be made. Before a small temple dedicated to one of the myriad Aztec gods a group was gathered, some in the gay panoply of merchants and others wearing the sinister black of the priesthood. A tightly pinioned slave stood in their midst and looked unseeingly before him, resignation, not fear, on his face. The priests rushed him up the steep steps of the temple, followed by the merchants at a more leisurely pace. Two priests seized the slave by either arm, forcing him backward, while two others pulled his legs from under him until his body curved, belly upward, over the altar. A fifth priest plowed his flint knife in a long sweep from the breastbone to the base of the stomach and, reaching into the aperture, with a dexterous twist tore out the heart. This he burned, while it was still throbbing, in a carved stone vase, while the merchants, swinging long ladles of smoking incense, chanted their thanks for a safe and profitable excursion into the hot country. (See Plate 60.)

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Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was planning an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefoofed, with downcast eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pie-

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174 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its
644 quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings
[367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great
517 plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide
174 road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

868 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led
174 to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

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a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

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life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

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row of vendors of implements and tools, such as obsidian 174
blades, carved and burnished pottery, spindle whorls, deer- 438
horn awls, bone bodkins and a few copper axes and needles. A brilliant mass of color characterized the booths of the feather salesmen. Some sold merely bunches of plumes, the lovely green of the quetzal, or trogon, and the multicoloréd plumage of parrots. At the other stands feather cloaks, mats and shields gave evidence of charming fancy in their design and patient toil in their execution. (See Plates 38–39.)

Jewelers displayed jade ornaments and gold worked into 174
precious rings of filigree or massive beaten gorgets. It was 438
the jade, however, that caught the envious eye and was pro- 301
duced with furtive circumspection as a material of great price. Other merchants sold ornaments of shell, and the pinks, whites and subtle mottled browns of sea shells contrasted with the rich dark sheen of tortoise carapaces. At one booth a rich warrior earnestly bargained with the proprietor for an exquisite pair of earplugs, cunningly inlaid with a mosaic of turquoise and mother-of-pearl.

The smiling whispers and admiring glances of the crowd 174
at the jeweler's abruptly changed in the slave quarters to 438
appraising stares. Some of the chattels wore wooden collars, 567
and their brutish faces had a hopeless expression. These had sunk to servitude long ago as a result of crime or of capture in war. Others were thin and emaciated but did not wear the collar of bondage. They had met with misfortune and were selling themselves for the first time to ensure food and shelter.

A low hum rose from the market place; there was none of 174
the strident shouting of the European fair. The bargaining 438
for goods was carried on slowly, quietly, but, nonetheless,

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●174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples, distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

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 174

completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces 346 broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impres- 361 sion of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side 174 by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood 346 coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could 778 clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 diabolic images to which they ministered. In front of the
346 temples stood the great drum which was soon to throb across
778 the lake as a nation suffered its death agony.

000 It was from this point that Montezuma showed Cortes his empire, and Berral Diaz, who witnessed the scene, left us this unforgettable description:

"Then Montezuma took Cortes by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water and the many other towns and the land around the lake. . . . So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico . . . and we saw the [aqueduct of] fresh water that comes from Chapultepec, which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart . . . and we beheld on the lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food, others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise, and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house except by drawbridges, which were made of wood, or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues [temples] and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold!"[9]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixtecas y zapotecas* (1939).

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

conception of city states within the Valley that owes much to the history 127
of Greece and medieval Italy.

For the special purpose of this limnologic history, we need to wade 127
into the "inextricable maraña" at only one or two points. On one 174
point the sources, such as they are, are almost unanimous: there was a 361
city called Tollán or Tula ("place of reeds" i. e. of *Typha*, the modern *tule*). Tollán is where the Toltecs came from, etymologically at least; the Toltecs were the predecessors of the Aztecs and the other Valley peoples, and were also regarded as ancestors by the Mexicanized Mayas of Yucatán, with whose tangled history we are fortunately not concerned here. The chief source of confusion, apart from the loss of the documents themselves, is the tendency, surely not a post-Conquest invention, for the relatively barbaric Valley people to identify themselves dynastically with the legendary founders of the civilization they inherited. The cultural picture is not an unfamiliar one, and probably was in actuality similar to that presented by the Etruscan foundations of Roman civilization; unfortunately, it comes to us on the testimony of friars who were only too well aware of such historic parallels, and could not refrain from asking leading questions. Be that as it may, Vaillant (1941), on the basis of archaeologic and historic researches, arrived at a satisfying conception of Aztec prehistory, in which the real and classic Tula (Tollán) was Teotihuacán, while memories of it played out their part in synthetic genealogies of "dynastic Toltecs", the chiefs of the wandering "Chichimec" tribes who entered the Valley after the decline of Tula in the 12th century.

Vaillant's picture was considerably upset by the excavations at Tula, 172
Hidalgo (Acosta, 1940, 1941, 1944; see also Du Solier, 1941, and 361
other papers in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, T. 5, no. 2–3, 1941). These showed clearly that Tula, not Teotihuacán, was the Tollán from which emanated the Mexicanization of Chichén Itzá. Thus Tula was the Mayas' Tula, but whether it was necessarily the Mexicans' Tula is not so easily admitted, and is still in sharp dispute. What interests us here is whether Tula was a lacustrine city, for Teotihuacán was not.

The Codex Ramírez, authoritatively regarded as a manuscript copy 127
of the *Relación del origén de los yndios*, probably 1583–87, by the 174
Mexican Jesuit Juan de [illegible]ar (see Kubler and Gibson, 1951, for discussion), is one of several almost identical histories of the migration period from the Aztec (i. e. not from the Texcocan) point of view. It happens to be the only one of which a convenient English translation exists (Radin, 1920), and from it we quote the following account of Tula.

"The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 arrived at the town called Tula, quite diminished in numbers on account of the divisions that had taken place. There they remained some time, 174 replenishing their provisions and increasing their number, living in a cerro called Cohuatepec, that is to say, the snake-mountain. Here, in dreams, their idol ordered his priests to deflect the water of a very full river that flowed through that region so that it might spread over the whole valley and then be brought to the middle of the mountain on which they were living, for he wished to show them the appearance of the land he had promised them. They constructed the dyke and the water spread out and extended over the whole valley, turning it into a very beautiful lagoon lined with willows, poplars, and sabines. In the lagoon grew many rushes and reeds, and on that account the place was called Tula, meaning the-place-of-the-rushes (*junca*) or reeds (*espadaña*).

"The place soon abounded in fish and waterfowl, such as ducks, herons, *gallareta* [coots], with which, together with many other species of birds, the entire lagoon seemed to be completely covered. And to the present day the lagoon of Mexico abounds in these animals.[5] The place was thickly covered with rushes (*carrizales*) and marine flowers, and inhabited by differently colored thrushes, some red, others yellow, which were accustomed to gather at the place and which harmonized with the songbirds in the trees, of which there were quite a number; all this making the place delightful and pleasant, and as such it was painted in their books.

"The Mexicans, quite oblivious to what their idol had told them, namely that this place was merely an imitation and pattern of the land they were to be given, stayed in this delightful place (a long time) and began to feel that it was quite satisfactory, some even saying that they desired to stay there permanently, and that this was really the place selected by their god Huitzilopochtli; that it was from that place that they were to follow their desires, being the rulers of the four parts of the world, etc.

"Their idol, seeing this, waxed so angry that he said to the priests, 'Who are these who thus wish to transgress and put obstacles in the way of my orders and commands? Are they perhaps greater than my-

[114] [5] The *Crónica Mexicana* of Alvarado Tezozomoc (1598), another of this group of closely similar histories, is more explicit about these animals, listing frogs, *axolotl*, *camarón*, *axayácatl*, *izcauitli* and *tecuitlatl*, and adds that the Mexicans regarded the red *izcauitli* (identified above as Ephydridae, but possibly Chironomidae in this context) as the body and blood of the war god Huitzilopochtli (Orozco y Berra's edition, 1878, p. 228). A more probable explanation of the attribution of red color to *izcauitli* is that some one, not necessarily Tezozomoc, confused the Nahuatl words *iztatl*, salt, and *eztli*, blood.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

self? Tell them that I will take vengeance before tomorrow and that they should not dare to give advice about matters which are for me to determine. Let them know that all they have to do is to obey'. Having said this, those who saw assert that the idol looked so ugly and frightful, that all were terrified and frightened. On that very night, it is said, when everything was quiet, a loud noise was heard in part of the camp and when the people rushed there in the morning, they found that all those who had spoken in favor of remaining in this place were dead with their breasts torn open and their hearts torn out. In this way it was that they were taught that most cruel of sacrifices, a custom they always practiced after that, which consisted of cutting open a man's chest in order to tear out his heart and offer it to their idols. (The reason they did that) they claimed was because (their god) ate only hearts.

"Having thus punished them, Huitzilopochtli ordered his priests to tear down the dykes and repairs they had made when they deflected the course of the water to form the lagoon and instructed them to make the river take its former bed. This they did, and the entire lagoon being thus emptied of water the place became as dry as it had been before. When the Mexicans, after some time, saw how sterile the place had become, and realized also that their god was incensed at them, they consulted him, raised their camp, and set out from the neighborhood of Tula in the year 1168 A. D."

– – Radin's translation, 1920, pp. 73–74.

This circumstantial account, alas, cannot be taken as showing that there was an artificial lake at Tula. The more operational suggestion that emerges is that Tula, as understood by Tovar's Aztec informants, was whatever place can be shown to have had an artificial lake. But even this suggestion is hardly worth following up, as the following argument implies.

The "pure" glyph for Tollán (Tula), as it occurs in the Codex Xólotl (Dibble 1951) and the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938) consists (Figure 3) of a row of cattails, *Typha* (identified as *Cyperus flavicomus* Michx. by Clark, whose botanical identifications are undocumented and not always reliable). In the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Anonymous, 1944), commonly known outside Mexico as the Codex Boturini, we have an Aztec pictorial history that is somewhat more influenced by European draughtsmanship; it shows Tula (Figure 2) as cattails in a lake, accompanied by a large-scaled fish that looks remarkably like a carp. Tula is also shown in the pictures that accompany Tovar's *Relación* (the Codex Ramírez, Orozco y Berra's edition, 1944, Lam. II), which, like the text, represent a version of Diego Durán's

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But 105
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my
"chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in
"all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my
"duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for
"many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-
"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently*
given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I
"shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and
"I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this 174
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their
appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico
as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as
such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a
naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and
marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently 181
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to
the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 450). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 127 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenuchtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Géronimo de Mendieta (Historia ecclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hiciéron fuertes en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de los Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas choças, rodeados "de carriço, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 465. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espesura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la reveiacion el lugar tan deseado.") [311]

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 460, 461 and 462, of Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also. [171]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminology never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[75] 114

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sections, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of 174 619 701

[75] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II, p. 141), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads." [643]

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh," Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatilulco, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God), "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *barrios* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa María la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatilulco became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545) " . . . . y asi estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que son Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to
619 four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-
701 bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

701 Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrange-*
555 *ment* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever,*

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 29). "Rapport sur les differentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonzo de Zurita. French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 53).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together the four lead-"ers of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 82, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diaz, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371). "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata, en tal modo ligata sopra le spalle, che non gli da alcun disturbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli puo sligare, ne torglielamai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "pani," above.

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Cortés might have quietly *waited* for these two terrible allies to do their work almost alone, had it not been for two reasons: 174 726

The principal reason was, that his position was not secure among the fickle Indian tribes, which the thirst for revenge, the lust of spoil, and dazzling success on his part had temporarily attached to his fate. A protracted siege lay beyond the military conceptions, nay, beyond the military *ability* of the Indians. They could not remain outside of their homes for such a length of time.[206]

On the other hand, the Mexicans, equally unprepared for a lengthy defence, compelled him to aggressive action.

Resorting to their only mode of warfare where a sudden dash with overwhelming numbers was not any longer possible,[207] they made a number of feints, with the intention of drawing their enemies into an ambush. Moving against the Spaniards and their allies upon the causeways, they precipitately fled towards the first cut as soon as that onslaught was repulsed. When the pursuers arrived there, they would be charged in flank by heavy bodies of warriors, while in front it rained missiles of every kind upon them from behind the embankments erected on the inner side of the ditches.[208] The Spaniards, however, knew too well how disastrous

[206] Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, Vedia II) "Dejemos de hablar de los grandes "combates que nos daban; y digamos como nuestros amigos los de Tlascala y de cholu-"la y Guaxocingo. y aun los de Tezcuco, acordaron de se ir à sus tierras." They were disheartened, says the old captain (p. 189), but there is no wonder, since the place had not been carried, Indian-fashion, at a rush, and thus they grew tired of waiting.

It is the most decisive testimony in favor of our views, heretofore already expressed, that the Mexican Indians were not able to carry on a protracted campaign, still less a siege of any duration.

[207] During the siege, there is hardly any doubt but that the Indian allies of Cortés *outnumbered the Mexicans*. It would be, of course, unsafe to rely upon the numerical statements of the old authorities. They all vary. But if we only recollect that Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, Cholula, Chalco, Tezcuco, and some of the other main tribes joined the Spaniards, it necessarily convinces us that the numerical superiority was on the side of the besiegers. The great art of Cortés lay in consolidating the forces of these different tribes, which otherwise, in many cases, were enemies of long standing. With the Spaniards *as their leaders*, the fate of Mexico was sealed, provided they held out long enough. In all the engagements, the European soldiers formed but the nucleus around which their allies agglomerated. *If they* advanced, the others followed, occupying always so many of the Mexicans, and diverting them from falling too heavily upon the whites. In proportion, however, as the power of the Mexicans gave out, the deeds of the allies of Cortés grew more prominent, since there were more non-combatants to slaughter.

[208] The bridges had all been removed, and entrenchments constructed *behind* them. Besides, pits had been dug, with earthworks on both sides, for the express purpose of arresting the cavalry. Long lances, armed with sword blades captured from the Spaniards during the "Noche triste," were used by the Mexicans to attack the horsemen. Against the brigantines, rows of pointed piles had been rammed in below the surface of

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174 a retreat would prove under such circumstances, so, followed by
726 their native allies, they persisted and overcame the obstacles by *storm*. The very Indian tactics intended for the destruction of the whites enabled the latter to gain a foothold on the causeways with less loss than a directly planned assault would have entailed.[209]

175 Until then, the Mexicans could make use of canoes, harassing
726 both flank and rear of their enemies. But Cortés speedily widened the first cut in the causeway, and sent his scows with artillery to the west side.[210] Thence on, while the brigantines could not effect anything against the pueblo itself, they still kept at bay the canoes of the Mexicans, and moving up along the causeways with the land force, they successfully sustained, by a lively cannonade, the efforts of the latter against the defences at the cuts and ditches.[211]

the water. Bernal-Diez (Cap. CL, pp. 176, 177) relates that, after the corps of Alvarado had occupied Tacuba, the Mexicans began to shout to them vociferously from the causeways and the water (then yet free to them). "Y aquellas palabras que nos decian eran "con pensamiento de nos indignar para que saliésemos aquella noche à guerrear, y herir-"nos mas á su salvo." Further on he says: "Y como aquello hubimos hecho, acordaron "nuestros capitanes que luego fuésemos á dar una vista y entrar por la calzada de Tacu-"ba y hacer lo que pudiésemos para les ganar una puente; y llegados que fuimos à la "calzada, eran tantas las canoas que en la laguna estaban llenas de guerreros y en las "mismas canoas y calzadas, que nos admirábamos dello; y tiraron tanta de vara y "flecha y piedra con hondas, que en la primera refriega hirieron treinta de nuestros "soldados é murieron trés; y aunque nos hacian tanto daño, todavia les fuimos entrando "por la calzada adelante hasta una puente, y à lo que yo entendí, ellos nos daban lugar "à ello, por meternos de la parte de la puente; y como alli nos tuvieron, digo que car-"garon tanta multitud de guerreros sobre nosotros que no nos podiamos valer." The Mexicans always *provoked* the Spanish attack, until the brigantines were masters of the ponds lying to the west of Mexico, also. (See also Cortés, "Carta tercera," Vedia I, p. 71."

[209] The first attack of Alvarado was repulsed. But subsequently they captured "many works and bridges." The fighting was very obstinate, the Mexicans charging at every hour of the day and night. See Prescott (Vol. III, Book VI, Cap. p. 106 and 107). "During the first five or six days after their encampment, the Spaniards experi-"enced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavored to prevent their "taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the sci-"ence of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to "their usual practice the Indians made their attacks by night as well as by day. The "water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, "but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send "showers of arrows into the Christian camp."

[210] The brigantines were flat-bottomed scows, manned with small guns. Even on the water, the Mexicans resorted to ambushes. The vicinity of the pueblo was surrounded by rows of pointed piles, below the surface of the lake, and squadrons of canoes were sent to decoy the brigantines into such treacherous places. On one occasion they succeeded in capturing one of the vessels in this manner. (Prescott, Vol. III, p. 28, quoting from Bernal-Diez.)

[211] The points occupied by the three Spanish divisions were: Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo), at the north, Tacuba at the west, and Cuyuacan to the southwest. It was originally intended to occupy Iztapalapan, but the position could not be carried, and

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landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the 121
course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient 128
Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on Amer- 114
ican topics,—the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . . "[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal 173
history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit* of *definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by 174
sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes,—that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 63. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of 114
Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 22 May, 1556, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 955 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh," Introduction, page CXI). Clavigero's Chronology begins 806 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2237 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 23), or 1796 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tulantzinco in 607 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 111, of 1st volume). Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 15) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 503 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

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a common origin, while the sedentary tribes were still further connected together by the bond of language,—and that the original home of these people lay to the north of Mexican territory. We further can infer, that even the sedentary tribes, among which the TOLTECS are most conspicuous, had nowhere advanced to the condition of a *nation* or *state; political society*, based upon territory and landed property, being unknown to them. Their institutions appear to have been *democratic*, their manner of living *communal*, thus excluding the idea of feudality altogether; even at those remote periods of Mexican history.[7] The usual inter-tribal wars,

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[7] Our information in regard to the Toltecs is limited and obscure. The name itself appears to be a surname: "Toltecatl"—"official, de arte mecanica, o maestro" (Molina, Vocabulario, Parte II. p. 149). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37) "I merely say, that Tulteca signifies a skilled worker . . . ." Veytia (Vol. I, cap. XXI, pp. 205 and 206). Sahagun ("Historia general de las cosas de Nueva-España," edited by Don Carlos Maria de Bustamante, Vol. III. Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 106). "First the Tultecas, signifying excellent workmen . . . ." (p. 107) "y no tenian otro nombre particular sino este que tomaron de la curiosidad, y primor de las obras que hacian, que se llamaron obras tultecas, ó sea como si digesemos, officiales pulidos y curiosos . . . ." Their proper name, as we shall hereafter see, was "Chichimecas,"—in common with all the aborigines of Mexico. Even such tribes as are reported to have preceded them, like the Xicalancas and Olmecas, are connected with reports indicating the same origin. Thus Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España" in Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos," Vol. I), says: ("Epistola proemial," p. 7), that the Xicalancas and Mexicans descended from sons of the same father. Gomara ("Conquista de Méjico," Vedia I. p. 432), says the same, and also that "Ulmecatlh" was one of their brothers, and that from him the Olmecas descended. Sahagun, however (Lib. X. p. 147), contradicts, excluding the "Olmecas, Vistoti, and Nonoualca" from the general appellation of Chichimecas, but includes nearly all the other tribes of Mexico under a common origin. But Veytia seems to consider the Ulmecas and Xicalancas as descending from the same stock as the Toltecs (Vol. I. cap. XIII. p. 150); though his statements might be more positive yet. The Toltec language was the "Nahuatl," a fact too frequently mentioned to need any further quotations. Through it their connection with the tribes of the valley of Mexico, with the Tlaxcallans, Huexotzincas, Cholullans,—and also the Niquirans of Nicaragua is established beyond a doubt. Their division of time and numeral system (as far as the language allows a judgment), was the same as that of the natives of Michhuacan, Oajaca, Chiapas, Yucatan, and Guatemala. If we add to these indications those derived from local myths and legends, we become inclined to believe the reports, that the aborigines of Yucatan and Guatemala for instance, are direct descendants of the Toltecs, or at least from their original stock. This fact acquires a certain importance, since it enables us, from the condition of these tribes at the time of their first contact with the Spaniards, and from their local traditions, to judge partly of the status of the Toltecs, and perhaps to reconstruct their condition and organization of society.

In order to attempt an investigation of the true condition of Toltec society, we have to consider three different points which are the following: Reports about the Toltecs, contained in Mexican sources; since only in Mexico they were called by that name. Reports about the condition of the Toltecs in Mexico *after* their reported dispersion. The condition and organization of such tribes, outside of direct Mexican influence, which still acknowledged an original connection with what has been called the Toltecs in Mexico.

If we follow the traditions current in the Mexican valley, as reported *first* by father

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as well between sedentary Indians and roving tribes, as among the Sahagun (hardly any of his predecessors mentioning the Toltecs,—a fact not devoid of importance!) it simply appears that the Toltecs were sedentary people, therefore agricultural and proportionately skilled in the use of metals and stones (Lib. X. cap. XXIX, Vol. II). The same author, in his tale about the fortunes of Quetzalcohuatl, whom he acknowledged as distinctly connected with the fate of the Toltecs, says that (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 248, of Vol. I): the pueblo of Tollan had *two* chiefs,—that it was engaged in war with another tribe not far distant (Coatepec, cap. VI, p. 249),—thus showing at the same time: that the Toltecs were not subject to a ruler residing in Tula, as is commonly reported, but that Tula (or Tollan) was the settlement of a tribe, without authority over any others. There are other indications, in this very legend of Quetzalcohuatl, to show that the Toltecs of Tula were very independent from their chiefs (See cap. VI to XI). Further on, if we follow the peregrinations of Quetzalcohuatl after the same authority, it strikes us that this mythical personage travels through a singularly disjointed country. Everywhere he meets strange places (Cap. XII to XIV), not subject to the tribe from which he originally went out.

Torquemada ("Monarchia Indiana," Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37), is more detailed. He asserts that the Toltecs were originally led by seven chiefs, but that after their settlement at Tollantzinco they elected a "king," establishing as a rule that no one of these so-called monarchs should "rule" any longer than fifty-two years, and that if he died previously "the republic governed until the expiration of the time." In his relation of the history of Quetzalcohuatl (Lib. III, cap. VII, pp. 254, 255, and 256), whom he distinctly connects with Tula, the same fact is mentioned as in Sahagun, namely; that the inhabitants of the country were divided into independent tribes, such as Tula, Cholula, Quauhquechollan and others.

It is, however, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, whose writings have furnished the chief material for the Toltec history. He gathered his facts from his kinsmen, and, he says, from ancient picture-writings which they explained to him ("Hist. des Chichimèques" Dedication to the vice-roy of Mexico p. XIII, and XIV). Also from songs. It is a slender basis for his otherwise very positive statements, since it may well be accepted that Toltec picture-writings did scarcely exist any more at his time, unless we except such as are analogous to the Dresden-Codex (Humboldt "Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes, etc." Plate XLV of the atlas in folio), regarding them as of Toltec origin. These, however, no Mexican native could have interpreted at that time.

Ixtlilxochitl also speaks of seven chiefs of the Toltecs ("Ils avaient sept chefs, et chéstassaient alternativement un d'entreux pour les gouverner." Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. II, p. 13; also "Segunda Relacion" in Vol. IX, p. 323, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") He equally mentions the 52 year period of the head-chief (Cap. II, p. 13), and in his "Tercera Relacion" (p. 325), but adds in the "Cuarta Relacion" (p. 326): "Este Mitl gobernó 52 años y quebró en la orden antigua de los Tultecas de gobernar 52 años."

But he also tells us in his Second "Relation" that at Tollantzinco "they constructed of planks a house large enough to accommodate the entire nation," and hints at a number of scattered settlements springing up, though he insists that these were all dependencies of a great Toltec "empire." Nevertheless, his description of the wars among the Toltecs ("quinta Relacion") is not in favor of the latter assumption.

It is mostly on such statements that Don Mariano Veytia has based the Toltec history which forms the beginning of the "Historia antigua de Méjico."—But the eminent Mexican scholar (he wrote about the middle of the 18th century) has added some other details, which we dare not neglect here.

In common with all the others, Veytia places the origin of the Toltecs to the North, where he locates the great city of Huehuetlapallan. Of this great city he says: "The houses in which they dwelt, as well in the city as in the other settlements were then (and for many centuries afterwards, although they had Kings and governments already) but natural caverns, which they also imitated. These were all their dwellings, they sub-

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A 174 village-Indians themselves, were waged during these early periods.

PM 114 174 sisted on fruits, herbs and the chase, and dressed in the skins of wild beasts . . . . ." (Vol. I. cap. III, p. 23.)—From this place there went out bands or families (Cap. II, p. 24), "taking each one a different name, after that of the chief or father of the family leading them," and one of these bands were the Tolteca.

These were again composed of seven lineages (Cap. XXI, p. 207), and the government "resided in the seven principal chiefs" (Cap. XXII, p. 214). Describing the peregrinations of this tribe until they reached central Mexico, he again mentions the large house made at Tollantzinco "in which when completed, all the people found room" (Cap. XXII, p. 221), and finally (Cap. XXIV, p. 227), the formal change made by free common consent of all the Toltecs, of their heretofore democratic government into a despotic monarchy, with descent in the male line, but the term of office of each of these despots limited to fifty-two years (Cap. XXV). We also read of a number of pueblos co-existing with Tollan, but reputed subject to it, in direct opposition to Sahagun and Torquemada, and even sometimes to himself. Of course, there are abundant details about the arts and sciences attributed to the Toltecs, the magnificence of their buildings, etc., etc. To all these we shall refer on another occasion. In regard to weapons and military costume Veytia confirms what we have already said (Art of War, p. 126, and note No. 124), about the great analogy between the Mexicans proper and other tribes of older date (See cap. XXXIII, p. 289).

Veytia was the precursor and cotemporary of the Abbé Clavigero, but the latter's work, "Storia antica del Messico" was printed fifty-six years previous to the writings of the former. Clavigero's statements are, in a condensed form, but a repetition of those of Veytia, with whom he corresponded.

If we now attentively consider the above we shall readily see:

(1). That the Toltecs were descended from at least semi-nomades.

(2). They were organized in consanguine groups, governmentally sovereign, whose chiefs formed the council of the tribe.

(3). They possessed a head war-chief, elected for life, since the limitation of the office for fifty-two years is in itself a concession, that the incumbent held it for lifetime.

(4). They practised communism in living.

(5). Consequently, their organization and institution was democratic, not monarchical, and the picture of a feudal empire among them is erroneous.

It is generally admitted that in the 10th or 11th century of our era, the Toltecs of Mexico were dispersed; only a few settlements remaining. Of these the principal were removed to Tezcuco "where they founded four quarters, since the Culhuas, as the Toltecs were then called, formed four families" (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichiméques," cap. XIII, p. 67. Mr. Ternaux has translated "tribes" but the Spanish original has "families.") This is a further evidence of what we have advanced, the four quarters being consanguine groups localized, or "gentes," as Mr. Morgan has established the term in "Ancient Society." Feudalism, however, is incompatible with gentile society.

PY 114 174 Those of the Toltecs who emigrated are reported to have fled to the South where perhaps others of their language had preceded them. Among such as have been reported of the same origin, the Maya of Yucatan, and the QQuiché of Guatemala are most prominent. Sr. Orozco y Berra, in his excellent work "Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México," regards the Maya and QQuiché as sister-languages (Part I, cap. IV, p. 16). If the assumption is correct that they are of Toltec descent, the reports about the condition of these tribes at the time of the conquest, or in their undisturbed aboriginal condition, are of weight for this discussion.

Yucatan, at the time of its first discovery (1517), was inhabited by numerous sedentary tribes, not connected with each other (Bernal Diez del Castillo, "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España," cap. XXIX, p. 34, in Vedia, Vol. II. Villagutierre y Sotomayor "Historia de la Conquista y Reduccion de los Itzaex y Lacandones,"

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Sometimes the latter, then again the savages prevailed, until

Lib. I, cap. V, p. 28 and 29. Antonia de Herrera "Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano," Dec. IV, Lib. X, cap. II, p. 206, and cap. III, p. 208), except through their common language. These tribes consisted of Lineages or consanguine groups. Herrera says (Dec. IV, Lib. X, Cap. IV, p. 211): "They are very proud of their ancestry, by which they all regarded themselves as relatives, assisting each other greatly. Their style of living was communal. Lorenzo de Bienvenida, in his letter to the Emperor, dated 10th February, 1548, Yucatan ("Recueil de pièces relatives à la Conquête du Méxique") states: "Your highness must know that it is very rare to find a house with but one inhabitant, all have two, three, four, six, and even more, among which the father of a family is chief (p. 331). When, in 1698, the last pueblo inhabited by Maya Indians,—Tayasál on Lake Peten, was captured by Don Martin Ursúa, it was found that the houses "were dirty within and unswept. All the inhabitants lived brutally together, an entire relationship together in one single house." (Hist. de la Conquista de los Itzaex, Lib. VIII, cap. XII, p. 494). We have already alluded to the fact the Itzaex had two chiefs. ("Art of War," p. 136, note No. 121. The information is taken from the work just mentioned, Lib. VIII). See further, on the Maya, L. H. Morgan's "Ancient Society" (Part II, chapter VI. p. 181). These indications do not, certainly, speak in favor of feudality among the natives of Yucatan.

The territory of Guatemala, when first visited by Pedro de Alvarado, in 1524, was also divided into a number of sedentary tribes, living in bitter enmity together. Of these tribes the QQuiché of Utlatlan or rather Gumarcaah, near where Santa Cruz del Quiché now stands, are best known. Their history has been written by Juarros ("Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala," 1808–1818), who especially bases upon the MSS. of the Captain Francisco Antonio Fuentes y Guzman, who wrote about 1690, a "Recordacion florida" now acknowledged to be full of exaggerations and misstatements. Juarros makes the QQuiché direct descendants of the Toltecs, and after their settlement in Guatemala under a certain King named "Nimaquiché," he gradually builds up there a mighty feudal Empire, which was in its splendor when the Spaniards overthrew it. The empire is already disproved by the first two letters of Alvarado (See Vol. I of Vedia's collection), by Hererra (Dec. III, Lib. V, Cap. X, p. 166), who also states (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141), that the QQuiché had three chiefs "and that the election was made by the principals in the same way, as it has been told of Mexico," Torquemada (Lib. XII, Cap. VIII, p. 386), goes still further by asserting that the heads of families ("los que eran Cabeças de Familias ó Casas Solariegos") had the right to kill the "king" for misdemeanor. He also considers the Toltecs the first settlers.

But the document which conveys the most detailed information of the QQuiché is the "Popol-Vuh." This singular production, which we consult in its publication and translation by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, appears to be, for the first chapters, an evident fabrication, or at least accommodation of Indian mythology to christian notions;—a pious fraud. But the bulk is an equally evident collection of original traditions of the Indians of Guatemala, and as such the most valuable work for the aboriginal history and ethnology of Central America. We cannot here enter into a bibliographical discussion. A few quotations from the third part of the Popol-Vuh will, however, be indispensable (Cap. III, p. 207). After having given the names of the four *mothers* of the QQuiché: "Balam Quitzé is the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of Cavek; Balam Agab is the ancestor and father of the nine great houses of Nimhaib; Mahucutah the ancestor and father of the four great houses of Ahau Quiché. They existed in three divisions of families without forgetting the name of their grandfather and of their father, which extended and grew in the East." This is the beginning of a true genealogy, and it is carried through with great precision.

Then follows a long description of how each of these "families" received an idol for itself, whereas "one was the name of their God, and they were divided afterwards" (Cap. IV, p. 217). Then they moved to "Tulan-Zuiva, at the seven caves, seven ravines." At that time they had yet but skins of animals to cover themselves with, but "at Zuiva

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A 174 finally the Toltecs, who represented the sedentary class, were either exterminated or expelled; only a few scattered settlements remaining on Mexican territory.[8] Their successors on the soil were tribes of utter savages hailing from the north also, and to whom the vague and indefinite appellation of Chichimecas is given. (If the word is Mexican, it might derive from "Chichiltic" red,

P 114 174 Tulan they forthwith acquired wisdom." This is a striking analogy indeed with the Mexican traditions above reported about the first times of the Toltecs. Settling at Izmachi, they occupied four quarters "they already covered four hills who together bore the names of their tribe" (Mr. Brasseur translates "tinamit" sometimes by tribe and again by town. I prefer the former). At Izmachi they built houses of lime and stone (Cap. VII, p. 301). "But only three palaces were erected at Izmachi, the twenty-four palaces were not yet erected, but only three, one of those of Cavek, one single palace at the face of those of Nihaib, as likewise a single one, possession of those of Ahau Quiché." Recapitulating the festivals it is mentioned "For this reason the three branches assembled in the palaces named after them, where they drank their beverages, and ate their meals, price of their sisters and daughters, and with their hearts full of joy, they but ate and drank out of their painted cups within their palaces" (p. 306). This is a plain indication of communal meals, and of communal living. Finally it is related that at these places "they came to put names, there they took their titles, divided into families, organized into seven "chinamit" (kins not tribes), and classed themselves by quarters." Moving to Gumarcaah or Utiatlan, there they subdivided into twenty-four "great houses"—"the title of all their honors being distributed to each of the princes, *there* formed nine families with the nine princes of Cavek, nine with the princes of Nihaib, four with the princes of Ahau-Quiché, and two with the Lords of Zakik" (p. 309, cap. VIII).

It is easy to detect the following points:

(1). The QQuiché were originally organized in three consanguine groups, to which latterly a fourth was added.

(2). These kinships localized as four quarters, their mode of life was communal.

(3). They subsequently divided into twenty-four kindred groups, constituting so many gentes.

(4). The government of the tribe lay in the hands of the chiefs of these gentes.

This government, as the last chapter of the Popol-Vuh plainly states, was composed of twenty-four chiefs. Of these, three, one from each of three of the "quarters," had the title "Nim-Chocoh" or "great elected one." "There were consequently three Nim-Chocoh (great elected), acting as the fathers of all the chiefs of Quiché, they met together, commanded together, as the fathers and mothers of speech, and their condition is of the most exalted one." They commanded the forces of the tribe.

We have here consequently the organization of the QQuiché as a military democracy, based upon consanguine groups, with three *elective* war-chiefs at its head. The analogy of this organization with that of the Iroquois is really striking. It utterly discards all notions of feudality.

If now, as most of the older sources admit, the QQuiché really belonged to Toltec stock, we believe that the foregoing certainly sustains our views of the condition of these tribes, and justifies our statement that the Toltecs had "nowhere advanced to the condition of a nation or state" and that their institutions were democratic, their manner of living communal; monarchy and feudality being unknown to them.

[8] Compare the legend of Quetzalcohuatl, as related by Sahagun (Lib. III, cap. III to XIV, Vol. I); by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. VII), and contained also in the Popol-Vuh, where he is, of course, called Gukumatz (Part III, cap. VIII). See further Veytia (Cap. XXII, to the close of Vol. I).

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and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, thus: "the kin of red men.")[9] Enough is told us of the condition of these people to establish; that they were roving nomades for whom the soil had no other importance than for temporary occupancy as hunters,—that even the maize plant was unknown to them, and that they re-

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[9] The etymology of the word "Chichimecatl" which we have ventured to propose, is not sustained, to our knowledge, by any author. We give it for what it may be worth. Much has been said about its probable derivation. Durán ("Historia de las Yndias de Nueva-España é Islas de Tierra-firme," cap. II, p. 13), says: "Chichimeca, que quiere decir cazadores á gente que viven de aquel oficio agreste y campesina . . . . "thus showing that the word is Nahuatl, and its explanation to be sought for in Nahuatl terms. Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," 2nd part, "Historia de los Señores Chichimecas" —"Relacion primera,") says: "the Toltecs, Acolhuas, Mexicans, and all the other nations of this land pretend to be derived from the Chichimecan race, thus called after its king Chichimecatl who brought it to the New World" (p. 335 and 336). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XV, p. 39), affirms: "These people took the name of Chichimecas, because Chichimecatl signifies one who sucks; for Chichilizti is the act of sucking . . . .; and since these people in the origin ate the raw flesh of beasts and drank their blood, sucking it, they called themselves Chichimecas or suckers." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 453), "they were a very barbarous people, living solely from the chase, and therefore they called them Chichimecas." Betancourt even derives the word from "chichini"—bones of a dog. It is again Veytia who, with his clear and positive judgment has gone further than any of his predecessors. He has been the first (we think) to discover the term "mecatl" which signifies a cord (Cap. XII, p. 143), in the last two syllables of the word. It naturally led him to the allied term "mecayotl" which designated a consanguine relationship, and finally to the etymology of "kinship of Chichen" assuming Chichen to have been the name of their first chieftain. There is hardly any proof of the latter however, and still less that "Chichimecatl" was his personal name. On the other hand, all the authors agree in stating, that the locality inhabited originally by the Chichimecas was called "Huehuetlapallan"—the old red place—that one of the stations said to have been occupied by tribes on their migrations towards Mexico bears the name "Chichiltticalli" or red house. Our suggestion is, therefore, not altogether improbable: that Chichimecatl may have derived from "chichiltic" a red object, and "mecayotl"—kin—therefore signifying "the kin of red men."

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Señor Manuel Orozco y Berra, the distinguished author of the "Geografia de las Lenguas," makes it very likely that the Chichimecas which invaded Mexico after the dispersion of the Toltecs, or inhabited it jointly with them, spoke a different language (Part I, cap. I, p. 8), which has since disappeared. His opinion is sustained by that of another eminent Mexican scholar, Don Francisco Pimentel ("Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de la lenguas indigenas de Mexico," Vol. I, p. 155). Nevertheless, the unity of origin of the Chichimecas, Toltecs and other tribes of "Nahuatl" stock, Mexicans of course included, is admitted, not only by Ixtlilxochitl, but already by Sahagun (Lib. X. cap. XXIX, p. 147), who resumes as follows: "All these families call themselves Chichimecas, and even pride and glorify themselves of such a name, and it is because like Chichimecas they went wandering over those lands aforesaid, and thence turned towards these parts, although really such lands were not called lands of Chichimecas, but Tlaotlalpan, Tlacohcalco, Mictlanpan, which means, wide and spacious plains, lying towards the north." Veytia, who almost incorporates the statements of all his predecessors, confirms it as follows: (Cap. II, p. 34). "Of this empire (of the Chichimecas) Huehuetlapallan was the famous court, and from it sallied at various periods bands and squads to people remote countries, each one taking its own name, after the chief or father of family which governed it, and becoming in course of time distinct nations with different languages or dialects, so that according to the belief of these nations and from their history, all the inhabitants of this new world have sprung

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174 sorted to caves and thickets for shelter and residence. Landed tenure of any kind we cannot expect to find among them, and still less the system of feudality.[10]

Ethnographically, central Mexico must have presented an appearance, at those times, similar to that of the State of New Mexico and the territory of Arizona at present, in respect to their aboriginal population. Savage tribes swayed and roamed over the greater part of the country, while in the valley of Mexico proper, and east of it, some few "pueblos" of village Indians remained, barely protecting their crops and themselves from the inroads of marauding tribes.[11]

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114 from these seven families, and this city of Huehuetlapallan has the glory of having been
174 the first settlement made in it since the flood, and of being the cradle of all its people, whose memory those of New Spain have preserved, calling it their ancient home."

(Compare, with this view of the peopling of Mexico, the beautiful exposé of Morgan, of the peopling of America from centres of subsistence as initial points of migration, in "Ancient Society" (Part II, cap. IV, p. 108). Mr. Morgan recognizes three such centres in N. America, the most prominent of which is the Valley of the Columbia.)

The title of "Chichimecatl," often extended to "Chichimecatl-tecuhtli," is found very frequently, not only among the Mexicans, but also the Tezcucans and Tlaxcallans. It was an appellation given in reward of personal merit in war.

[10] Ixtlilxochitl has depicted to us a feudal Chichimecan Empire, more complete and typical than the feudal institutions of England. But at the same time he describes the Chichimecas as mere *sauvages* ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. IV, p. 30). "He arrived in a place called Tenayucan Oztopolco, where there were many grottoes and caves, which formed the principal dwellings of that nation." Id. cap. IX. p. 65 and 66), Torquemada (Lib. I. cap. XV, p. 38 and 39), describes them a "people naked, without robes of cotton, of wool, or any other covering but the skins of beasts. Their appearance was wild, they were great warriors, whose weapons are bows and arrows." . . . . "This nation of Chichimecas was governed and ruled by valiant and valorous captains . . . . ." Ixtlilxochitl further states ("Hist. Chichimeca," cap. IX, p. 66): "Every family lived together, and such as had no caves which were their chief dwellings, built huts of straw. The game was divided among the family of the hunter but the hide belonged exclusively to him who had killed it." The soil, therefore, had no other value for them than as "hunting grounds." Nevertheless, both of the authors just quoted report a distribution of the land by their chiefs, in the shape of individual donations, and feoées at an early date. But Ixtlilxochitl (Cap. IX, p. 63 and 64) asserts that the culture of the soil, even the maize plant, was unknown to them until the twelfth century of our era. Torquemada is still more explicit (Lib. I, cap. XLII, p. 67): "Neither did the Chichimecas pay any attention to it (agriculture or horticulture) for the reason that the Lords and Kings had parks ("Bosques") of rabbits and deer, which supplied them with meat, and the common people and Macehales went after it through the fiel is, thus sustaining themselves without any other kind of work, and without the toil of sowing or planting, to which they had not been accustomed." More than a century elapsed, according to the above sources, ere horticulture, and therefore sedentary living, began to appear among them. How could feudal tenure of the ground exist meanwhile? We need not refer here to other authors, neither to the descriptions furnished of the condition of the Chichimecas north of the Mexican valley, at the time of the conquest (Motolinia, Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185). "Tuvieon Senôres en esta tierra, como ahora son y estan los Espanôles, porque se enseñorearon de la tierra, no de la manera que los Españoles."

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174 [11] See "Zwoelf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas," by Albert S. Gatschet

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While thus the high Mexican tableland especially was in a condition but little different from that of a fertile waste, migrations were in progress from that same undefined "north," which gradually carried thither tribes, or at least *kindred groups detached* from tribes, of horticultural sedentary Indians.[12] These bodies moved slowly, and independently from each other, and they settled down at last in the beautiful valley, near the watersheets in its centre. There they occupied *independent territories which they held as their own;*[13] and while they, in all probability, did not always maintain friendly relations towards each other, it is still not improbable that, owing to the bond of common stock-language, they 174

Weimar, 1877 (a valuable contribution to Linguistics and Ethnography). Also "Lieut. G. M. Wheeler's Zweite Expedition nach Neu Mexiko und Colorado, 1876," by Oscar Loew (in Vol. 22 of Dr. Petermann's "Geographische Mittheilungen," p. 209). "The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico," by W. W. H. Davis, 1869. The sedentary Indians occupying the most-limited expanse, and being also inferior in numbers to the roving bands among and around them.

[12] These facts are generally acknowledged, as well as that they migrated from the North. In addition to the authors already named in the course of this and of our previous paper, we shall merely quote: Gregorio Garcia: "El Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo é Indias Occidentales" Madrid, 1729 (2nd Edition, Original appeared in print about 1606). "New Mexico whence came the seven lineages, which peopled New Spain" (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81), (Lib. X, cap. III, p. 321). "Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia," written by the Licentiate Don Matias de la Mota Padilla, in 1742, and published by the Geogr. and Stat. Soc'y of Mexico in 1870 (Cap. I, p. 21). They were the seven tribes of "Nahuatl" stock, the community of language alone being sufficient to demonstrate their common origin.

[13] All the older authors agree in stating that the different tribes settled independent of each other. See Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de Nueva España," in Col: de Docum: Vol. I. "Epistola proemial") Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 145). "Successivamente se volvieron los Nahoas, que son los Tepanecas, los Acolhoaques, los Chalcas los Vexotzincas, y los Tlaxcaltecas, cada familia por si, y vinieron à estas partes de México . . . . y asi venidos todos à estas partes y tomada la posesion de las tierras, y puestas las mohoneras entre cada familia." Durán ("Hist: de las Yndias" (Cap. II, p. 10). "He of Xuchimilca after having gone around the entire lagune, was pleased with the site which they now occupy, settled there and took what he needed, without damage to anybody nor any contradiction" (p. 11). The Chalcas settled near the Xuchimilcas "quietly and peaceably." The Tecpanecas did the same, also the Tezcucans and the remainder (pp. 12, 13, and 14). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. III, p. 456). "At the time these nations settled, the Chichimecas made no show of opposition, nor resistance, only they became estranged and like unto astonished retired into the rocky fastnesses." (It is not devoid of interest to connect herewith the proper assertions of Cortés about the utterances of Montezuma, "Carta Segunda," p. 25, in Vol. I of Vedia.) Gomara ("Conquista de Méjico," p. 432, etc., Vedia, Vol. I). Fray Geronimo Mendieta ("Hist. ecclesiastica Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, etc.) Ixtlilxochitl and Torquemada however, have made the opinion current, that all these tribes settled upon Chichimecan *domain*, and were *assigned* to special territories by the original holder of the entire country. But we have already established the nature of Chichimecan occupation of the land, and from it we cannot infer that any *title was held*, neither that any could be *given to new comers.*

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174 sometimes associated (or even perhaps *confederated*) against surrounding tribes.[14]

These settlers, who all spoke closely related dialects of the same language as their predecessors the Toltecs, namely: the "Nahuatl" or *good sound*, were: the *Aculhuans or Tezcucans*, the *Tecpanecas*, the *Xochimilcas*, and the *Chalcas*. The first settled on the Eastern shore of the central lagune, the second to the west of it, while the two last-named tribes clustered around the fresh-water basins of the southeast. In this manner the valley was eventually mastered again by sedentary Indians, who held at bay the surrounding savages;—also defending it from neighbors of their own stock who, occupying at the same time contiguous areas placed under different geographical conditions, while their organization and plan of life were similar, and the language but dialectically varied;—still, eventually, became their most inveterate enemies.[15]

114 Although quite a respectable literature has arisen on the subject
174 of the organization, customs and manners of these "Nahuatl" tribes of the valley of Mexico, this literature is much richer in facts purporting to be *historical* than in satisfactory *details* on *that subject itself*. We can but discern among the confusions and contradictions (of older authors particularly)—that the different tribes were democratic societies, based upon consanguine groups as units. Chiefs, *elected by the people*, formed their governments, whose highest authorities were the *councils*. The Tezcucans and Tecpanecans seem to have had each *one*, the Chalcas *two*, *head war-chiefs*, elected for life. In regard to their mode of holding and distributing the soil the most varied statements are given, most of these, however, based upon the assumption of monarchial institutions, and even of a great feudal empire with Tezcuco as its capital. Both of

[14] The reports about a preponderance of certain tribes, such as the Tezcucans or the Tecpanecans, resolve themselves into a result of intertribal relations in the valley of Mexico. We need but consult the writings of Ixtlilxochitl for that purpose. (See "Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XI, XII, XIV, and XVI). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XXXVII, p. 68).

[15] For a history of the different tribes composing the specifically latest immigration of "Nahuatl" stock, we refer to all the older authors on Mexican topics. Those of their kindred who settled outside of the valley were especially the Tlaxcallans. The relations of the latter to the valley-tribes were always rather unfriendly. See Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. IX, p. 258, and 259. Cap. XI, p. 264, and 265). Durán (Cap. II, p. 15). But the continuous wars between Tlaxcallan and the tribes of the valley commenced when the latter began to extend their sway under the leadership of the Mexicans (Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XLI, p. 292). It is corroborated by the statements of the Tlaxcaltecas themselves to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18, Vedia, Vol. I).

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these assumptions are disproved by the facts, related even by such authors as have most contributed towards fixing them upon the public mind as recognized truths.[16] We need hardly say here,

[16] In regard to the Tecpanecas, Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 477): "From this it may be inferred, that among them the King exercised no absolute command and rule, and that he was rather a consul, or Dux, than a king." He further compares the Tecpanecas with the "reges" of ancient Rome (See Morgan's "Ancient Society," Part II, cap. XI, p. 297). The council was supreme among the Tecpanecans. See Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Lord Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. IV, p. 11; also cap. V, p. 12, cap. VI, p. 13, "a esto respondió el rey y senado Tecpaneca: Digéroule: mira atempanecatl (que muy bien le conocian) bien conozco la humillacion y sugecion de los Mexicanos; ya es por demas, porque estan alborotados, y corajudos los Tecpanecas:") Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 64, and 65).

The Xuchimilcas were governed by two chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XVI, p. 25. Durán, cap. XII, p. 104. "Their chiefs, of which there were two, one of the chief-place ("cabecera" rather lineage) of Xuchimilco called Yacaxapotecutli, and the other from the milpa (this is to be interpreted as descendancy), which is called Pachimalcatltecutli, and together with them meeting many principale, said"): a joint meal after communal style is also attributed to them by Tezozomoc (Cap. XVI, p. 26).

The Chalcas also had two chiefs: (Durán, cap. XVI, p. 134, Montezuma Ilhuicamina said to Tlacaelel: "I wish, if thou agreest, to send messengers to Chalco to the chief of Chalcó Quateotl and to his companion Toteocitecutli . . . ."—Tezozomoc, cap. XXII, p. 33. Cap. XXIV, p. 36. Confirmed by the action of Cortés after the voluntary surrender of Chalco, when he installed two chiefs. Bernal Diez: cap. CXXXIX, p. 154 and 155, Vedia, II).

With the Tezcucans or Aculhuas there appears always but one head-chief, but it is equally positive that the office, while remaining in a certain kin, was elective still. The fact is interesting and requires close proof. We adduce here, in a general way, Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX. "De la Manera que tuvieron en elegir los señores," p. 318, of 2d Vol.): Durán (Cap. LXIV, p. 496). "Montezuma sent his messengers to Tezcuco, and had all the chiefs of that city and kingdom called to learn from them whom they were inclined to elect . . . ." (p. 497), "the which came, electing for King to Quetzalacxoyatzin, Neçaualpilli's son . . . ." Tezozomoc (Cap. CI and CII). Ixtlilxochitl concurs ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. LXXXVI). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 357, 358 and 359), acknowledges that, while the choice was among the *sons* exclusively, there still was a *choice* left, but he contradicts the statements of Juan Bautista Pomar (who wrote about 1582) who says, that this choice extended to the entire *kin* of the deceased head chief. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 153). "Although the Indians of this New Spain inherited the chieftaincy in direct lines, they took great care in ascertaining which one of his sons had to succeed to him." He mentions the succession in the cases of Netzahualcoyotl and of Netzahualpilli, each of whom were respectively followed by what he calls an illegitimate offspring, but whose mother was a *Mexican* woman. Veytia (Cap. XIV, p. 367). "The council hardly had been informed of the King's death, when it thought proper to elect a successor, after the manner of the Mexicans . . . ." Carlos María de Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," Mexico, 1826. Part III, cap. IV, pp. 218, 219 and 220). Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, p. 12). "The order of succession varied according to the provinces, the same custom, with slight differences, prevailing in Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba."

The assumption of a feudal empire at Tezcuco has already been discussed. It was an invention of chroniclers, who had a direct interest, or thought to have one, in advancing the claims of the Tezcucan tribe to an original supremacy. Tribal jealousy and rivalry, such a powerful ally of the Spaniards during the conquest, continued to subsist where the Spanish domination was fully established.

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114 that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock, 174 speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

174 While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquirans of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340-348).

[648] [18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical,—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

[131] [19] See "Art of War," p. 135. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III. p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time, and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

[226] [20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlacá." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacatl," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Aztecs" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.

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this office may not have, at that time, been permanently established;[21]—only temporarily, for emergency's sake.[22] It is barely possible for us to follow the migrations of the Mexicans with any degree of certainty; we can but gather from the various and varied reports and traditions, that being horticultural Indians, fertile lands were sought for by them, and only when they reached the lake-basin did they begin to hope for realization of their desires.[23] —There was yet much unoccupied space around the lagunes, still the newcomers were hardly welcome to the other occupants, who harassed them so long, that at last they fled into the marsh or swamp which then covered the area subsequently converted into the western lagune of Mexico.[24] Thus they retired to ground *which was neither held nor claimed by any of the surrounding tribes*, and on the few solid patches protruding above the morass, they settled, glad to have escaped pursuit and found a resting place on

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[21] We have adopted the number seven for these kinships, although the interpreter of the Mendoza Codex (Tab. I, of Vol. I, Lord Kingsborough) says there were ten. "El exercito Mexicano tubo por caudillos diez personas nombradas . . . ." (Vol. V, p. 40). Durán and Tezozomoc both say seven, so does Veytia. The two former authors even give the names of the idols which each of these seven clusters worshipped, carrying it along on their migrations. It is needless heré to prove in detail the democratic nature of these seven "lineages." Veytia, for instance (Lib. II, cap. XII and XIII), quotes Chimalpain as authority, and although he assigns to the Mexicans a leader ("caudillo") called Huitziton, he still implies that at Chapultepec only "they, emulating the other nations there located, resolved upon electing a King to govern them" (p. 109). Durán (Cap. III, p. 27). Clavigero mentions an "Aristocratic" organization of the Mexicans until the year 1352. "The entire nation was below a senate or conclave of the most respected persons, distinguished through nobility and knowledge. At the foundation of Mexico there were 20 of these" (Lib. III, cap. I). This is a new version. See also Gregorio Garcia ("Origen de los Indios" Lib. V, cap. III). If we eliminate the mythical Huitziton, we find *occasional* head war-chiefs. Veytia even assures us that after Mexico was founded, they elected "one to govern them, although not in the capacity of a King, but as a leader or captain" (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 150). [642]

[22] The *regular* series of Mexican head war-chiefs ("tlaca-tecuhtli") commences about the middle of the 14th century. Previous to it, the office appears to have been filled by occasional braves, as emergency required. Compare Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XII and XIII, with cap. XV, p. 131, and cap. XVIII, p. 150, and cap. XXI, p. 186 and 187). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. III, p. 83. Cap. IV, p. 84. Cap. XII, p. 95). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, p. 148), and Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. 8, p. 468 and 469), etc., etc.

[23] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 186). Durán (Cap. III). Tezozomoc (Cap. I, II and III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. 4, p. 459). Garcia ("Origen, etc." Lib. III, cap. III, § V, p. 99 and 100. "que los haria Principes, i Señores de todas los Provincias, que havian poblado las otras seis naciones, que antes en ellos havian salido.")

[24] "Art of War, etc.," p. 87 note 5. Idem, p. 150, and note 194, 195, and p. 151, notes 197 and 198.—L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, p. 190 and 191). Among the older authors, Mendieta is very explicit (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, p. 148). "Y eso asiento les cuadró mucho por hallarlo abundante de cazas de aves y pescados y marisco con que se poder sustentar y aprovechar en sus granjerias entre los pueblos comarcanos, y por el reparo de las aguas con que no les pudiesen empecer sus vecinos."

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[74 soil *which they might hold as their own.*[25] It would appear that, through loss of numbers in the course of their migrations, as well as through divisions among themselves, the original consanguine groups composing the body, had been reduced to *five.*[26] Now a further and last division took place, one of these kindred clusters seceding from the rest, and establishing itself apart on another sandy expanse where, close to the others however, it grew to become the tribe of Mexico-Tlatilulco.[27] It remained independent until about forty years before the conquest.[28]—The other *four* settled *each one by itself*, but still acknowledging a *common government*, in token of which the tribal place of worship was erected at the spot where these four areas met. Thus the "pueblo" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan was founded; the seat and home of the Mexicans proper.[29]

[25] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. X, p. 72), says that the Mexicans "asked the King of Azcaputzalco for soil" (to settle upon). Torquemada represents their settlement as a flight to a safe place (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 92). Also Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, pp. 147 and 148). Durán (Cap. V, p. 41), has the remarkable passage following: "que aun el suelo no era suyo, pues era sitio y término de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque allí llegaban los términos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del Mediodía, términos de Culhuacan:" (This shows they were on neutral ground, dividing the tribes of their surroundings.) Tezozomoc confirms (Cap. III, p. 9), "estando en terminos de los de Atzcapuzalco, Acuihuaques Tezcucanos y los de Culhuacan." Durán (2° p. 41) further says that they contended to be masters of their soil, without owing allegiance or obedience to any one. See also Tezozomoc (Cap. III) and Motolinia ("Epistola proemial," p. 5). Gomara ("Conquista," p. 431. Vedia, 1st volume).

[619 642] [26] We have already alluded to the number of chiefs leading the Mexicans at the time of their settlement in the lagune. It varies from four to twenty. But the fact that four "quarters" composed it originally, leads me to the belief that four Mexican kinships remained, one seceding as the tribe of Tlatilulco. This division into four is the only fact reliably ascertained. (See notes 27, 29, 30 and 31).

[27] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. How it occurred we cannot ascertain, since it is related in the most varied manner by the different sources of authority. If the statement is correct that even during their migrations, the Mexicans proper and the Tlatilulcás kept apart, as tribal components, or probably "phratries,"—then the fact of their localizing as tribes independent from each other is easily accounted for. See Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

[28] The date of its conquest by the Mexicans is about 1473 ("Art of War, etc." p. 102). It can easily be verified from the date on the so-called "calendar stone" at the city of Mexico. (See "Calendario Azteca" by Señor Chavero.)

[615 618] [29] The question remains yet undecided as to whether these four "quarters" ("barrios") were four original kinships, or whether they were already four "brotherhoods of kinships" (phratries), analogous to the Roman curiæ formed by (or rather remaining as the last vestige of) original kinships disaggregated. The latter might appear likely from the fact of the greater number of chiefs (than four), mentioned by the old authors. The existence of still lesser groups is plainly acknowledged at the same time. Durán says (Cap. V, p. 42): "On the night after the Mexicans finished the place of worship ("hermita donde su dios estaba"), a large area of the lagune being filled up and room made for the houses, Vitzilopochtli spoke to his priest or keeper and said to him:

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NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled, were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe" and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51–65). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242), "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

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The soil built over by each "calpulli" probably remained for 174 some time the only *solid* expanse held by the Mexicans. Gradually, 241 however, the necessity was felt for an increase of this soil. Remaining unmolested "in the midst of canes and reeds," their numbers had augmented, and for residence as well as for food, a greater area was needed. Fishing and hunting no longer satisfied a people whose original propensities were horticultural; they aspired to cultivate the soil as they had once been accustomed to, and after the manner of the kindred tribes surrounding them. For this purpose they began throwing up *little artificial garden-beds*, "chinampas,"[36] on which they planted Indian corn and perhaps some other vegetables. Such plots are still found, as "floating gardens," in the vicinity of the present city of Mexico, and they are described, as follows, by a traveller of this century:

"They are artificial gardens, about fifty or sixty yards long, and 241 not more than four or five wide. They are separated by ditches of three or four yards, and are made by taking the soil from the

Méjico," p. 442. Vedia, I). "Many married people ("muchos casados") live in one house, either on account of the brothers and relations being together, as they do not divide their grounds ("heredades"), or on account of the limited space of the pueblos; although the pueblos are large, and even the houses." Peter Martyr of Angleria ("De Novo Orbe," translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, London, 1612. Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228), says: "But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the lake through the floode, or washing flote of the Ryvers fallying into it. Vpon those greate foundations, they builde the reste of the house, with Bricke dryed, or burned in the sunne, intermingled with Beames of Tymber, and the common houses have but one floore or planchin." We are forcibly reminded here of the houses of Itza on Lake Peten, which were found in 1695. "Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XII. p. 494." "It was all filled with houses, some with stone walls more than one rod high, and higher up of wood, and the roofs of straw, and some only of wood and straw. There lived in them all the Inhabitants of the Island brutally together, one relationship occupying a single house." See also the highly valuable Introduction to the second Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar ("Mexico in 1554") by my excellent friend Sr. Icazbalceta (pp. 73 and 74). [342] [171]

[36] "Chinampa," derives from "Chinamitl." "Seta o cerca de canas," (enclosure of canes or reeds). Molina "Vocabulario", Parte II, p. 21). This mode of enclosing the ground was very common in the valley. A cluster of settlements between Churubusco and the Eastern lagoon has even obtained from it the name of "Chinampanecas (frequently mentioned in Tezozomoc and Durán.) The word "Chinamitl" has been adopted by the Qquiché of Guatemala, changed into "Chinamit," and used to designate a *kinship*. (See "Popol-Vuh., pp. 301, 304, 306, where "Chinamit" is translated as family.) Even in those remote regions where the territories of Yucatan and Guatemala join, or rather merge into each other, around Lake Peten, where the Nahuatl language is hardly known, we find in the 17th and 18th century, a tribe of "Chinamitas," who are said to have inhabited an area surrounded by Mexican agaves ("Magueyes") as a defensive hedge. ("Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XI, pp. 490-493.) It shows that the original signification of the word, at least, was connected with the notion of a family-lot.

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244 intervening ditch, and throwing it on the chinampa, by which means the ground is raised generally about a yard, and thus forms a small fertile garden, covered with the finest culinary vegetables, fruits and flowers . . . . . ."[37]

421 Each consanguine relationship thus gradually surrounded the
423 surface on which it dwelt with a number of garden plots suf-
174 ficient to the wants of its members.[38] The aggregate area thereof, including the abodes, formed the "*calpullalli*"—soil of the "calpulli,"[39] *and was held by it as a unit;* the *single tracts*, however, being tilled and used for the benefit of the *single families.*[40] The mode of tenure of land among the Mexicans at that period was therefore very simple. The tribe claimed its *territory*, "ALTEPETLALLI," an undefined expanse over which it *might extend*, —the "calpules," however, *held* and *possessed within that territory* such portions of it as were *productive;* each "calpulli" being *sovereign* within its limits, and assigning to its individual members *for their use* the minor tracts into which the soil was parcelled in consequence of their mode of cultivation. If, therefore, the terms "altepetlalli" and "calpulalli" are occasionally regarded as *identical*, it is because the former indicates the *occupancy*, the
618 latter *the distribution* of the soil.[41] We thus recognize in the calpulli, or kindred group, the unit of tenure of whatever soil the
000 Mexicans deemed worthy of definite possession. Further on we

[37] "Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico," by W. Bullock. London, 1824. Cap. XIII, p. 179. It is not devoid of interest to compare the descriptions of this rather superficial, though still truthful observer, with the account of the ancient Chinampas as preserved to us in Tezozomoc (cap. III, p. 9). Durán (cap. VI, pp. 50 and 51). The floats or rafts mentioned by these old authors were nothing else but the chinampas or "floating gardens." Therefore also Tezozomoc uses the term "camellon," or garden-bed. (See also Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 472.) Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXII, p. 483). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142).

[38] Durán (Cap. V). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 8). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXXIII, p. 291. Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 101). Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XVII).

[39] Alonzo de Zurita (p. 51). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguas Reyes," p. 232).

[40] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 52, 56, 57, 60).—De l'Ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens, etc., etc. (copy of an anonymous MSS. from Simancas, contained in the Uguina collection, and translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Recueil de pièces, etc., pp. 223 and 224.)

[41] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 51-64). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo (Letter of 3 Nov., 1532, Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. "Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 253). See also the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga. Perteneciente á los Caciques de Axapusco," in "Col. de Doc." of Icazbalceta (Vol. II, p. XIII).

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shall investigate how far individuals, as members of this communal unit, participated in the aggregate tenure.

In the course of time, as the population further increased, *segmentation* occurred within the four original "quarters;" new "calpulli," being formed.[42] For *governmental* purposes this segmentation produced a new result by leaving, more particularly in military affairs, the first four clusters as *great subdivisions*.[43] But these, as soon as they had disaggregated, *ceased* to be any longer *units* of territorial possession, their original areas being held thereafter by the "minor quarters" (as Herrera, for instance, calls them), who exercised, each one within its limits, the same sovereignty which the original "calpulli" formerly held over the whole.[44] A further consequence of this disaggregation was (by removing the tribal council farther from the calpules) the necessity for an *official building*, exclusively devoted to the business of the *whole* tribe alone.[45]

[42] This successive formation of new "calpulli" is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is implied by the passage of Durán which we have already quoted (Cap. V, p. 42). It also results from their military organization as described in the "Art of War," (p. 115). With the increase of population, the original kinships necessarily disaggregated further, as we have seen it to have occurred among the Qquiché (See "Popol-Vuh" quoted in our note 7), forming smaller groups of consanguinei. After the successful war against the Tecpanecas, of which we shall speak hereafter, we find at least twenty chiefs, representing as many kins (Durán, cap. XI. p. 97), besides three more, adopted then from those of Culhuacan (Id. pp. 98 and 99). This indicates an increase.

[43] "Art of War, etc.," pp. 115 and 120.

[44] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295). "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains others, smaller ones, included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 58-64). That the smaller subdivisions were those who held the soil, and not the four original groups, must be inferred from the fact, that the ground was attached to the calpulli. Says Zurita (p. 51.) "They (the lands) do not belong to each inhabitant of the village, but to the calpulli which possesses them in common." On the other hand Torquemada states (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545): "that in each pueblo, according to the number of people, there should be (were) clusters ("parcialidades") of diverse people and families . . . . These clusters were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of the aforesaid clusters sometimes contained three, four, and more, calpules, according to the population of the place ("pueblo") or tribe." The same author further affirms: "These quarters, and streets, were all assorted and levelled, with so much accuracy, that those of one quarter or street could not take a palm of land from those of another, and the same was with the streets, their lots running (being scattered) all over the pueblo." Consequently, there were no communal lands allotted to the four great quarters of Mexico as such, but each one of the kinships (calpules) held its part of the original aggregate. Compare Gomara (Vedia, Vol. I, "Conq. de Méjico," p. 424. "Among tributaries it is a custom, etc., etc." Also p. 440). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "Each quarter has its own tract, without the least connection with the others."

[45] Compare Durán (Cap. XI, p. 87). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXXI, p. 470). It appears as if the "tecpan" had not been constructed previous to the middle of the 14th cen-

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174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
374 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618 [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 215. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 58). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

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however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[33] 643 651

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 174 648

[33] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America." Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "ceualli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located*, in *order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

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174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

[54] Durán (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, XII, XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII, XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I, pp. 15 and 18).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 63). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 476. "Con esta ocasion, ora sea que ellos de proposito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los auia hecho merced, no podian aprovecharse, por auerseles desbaratado el caño por muchas partes. por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbarastasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera," p. 71, Vedia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero, Lib. X. cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 256 and 257). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los últ: Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

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618 While the seven consanguine clusters above mentioned com-
174 posed, to all intents and purposes, one tribe as towards outsiders, there still appear among them germs of discord which, at a later date, caused a disruption of mutual ties. The details are too vague and too contradictory to allow any inference even as to the real nature of such dissensions.[35] One fact, however, is ascertained, namely: that the whole group bore in common all the hardships and vicissitudes of a wandering life and the encroachments, aggressions and temptations from outsiders; that they had sheltered together in a safe retreat, and that only when relative safety from violence was secured, a permanent division took place. These considerations should dispose of the

173 therefore give the names of the Mexican "barrios" by the side of the "ermitas" of
619 Tlatelulco, leaving the reader to notice coincidences himself.

"Barrios" of Mexico.	*"Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.*
Santo Cristo de Tzapotla.	Santa Ana Atenantitech.
Santa Véronica de Huehuecalco.	Santa Lucia Telpochcaltitlan.
Santa Cruz de Tecpancaltitlan.	La Concepcion de Atenantitlan.
San Pedro de Cihuateocaltitlan.	San Francisco Mecantalinco.
Espiritu Santo de *Yopico*.	La Asuncion de Apazhuacan.
San Felipe de Jesus de Teocaltitlan.	San Martin Atezcapan.
Santiago de Tlaxilpan.	Santa Catalina Cohuatlan.
Los Reyes de Tequicaltitlan.	San Pablo Tolquechiucan.
La Candelaria de Atlampa.	Nuestra Señora de Belen Tlaxoxiuhco.
La Ascension de Tlacacomoco.	Los Reyes de Capoltitlan.
San Diego de Amanalco.	San Simon Iztatla.
El Niño Jesus de Tepetitlan.	Santa Inés Huelpantonco.
El Descendimiento de Atizapan.	San Francisco Izcatla.
San Salvador de Xihuitongo.	Santa Cruz Azococolocan.
La Navidad de Tequixquipan.	San Antonio Tepiton.
San Salvador de Necaltitlan.	La Asuncion de Tlayacaltitlan.
La Concepcion de Xoloco.	San Francisco *Cihuatecpan*.
San Juan de Chichimecapan.	San Juan *Huitznahuac*.
San Antonio de Tezcatzonco.	Sa Asuncion de Izayoc.
San Sebastian Copolco.	Santa Clara Acozac.

I have italicized those names which are also found among those of the seven original kins above enumerated, and thus we find three of them, one in Mexico, and two among the "Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.

[34] *Fernan Gonzalez de Eslava* ("*Coloquio espirituales y Sacramentales, y Poesias Sagradas*," Second Edition, 1877, by Sr. Icazbalceta.) The learned editor makes the following note, 50. to page 57. "Cuando se reedificó la ciudad de México, despues de la conquista, se colocaron en el Centro las casas de los españoles, y los Indios levantaron las suyas alrededor de aquellas. Esta poblacion india se dividió en cuatro barrios ó *parcialidades*, regidos por caciques de su nacion, sujetos á un gobernador de la misma. Los barrios principales eran San Juan y Santiago." Calling my attention to this note in his letter of 14 Nov., 1878, my esteemed friend adds: "Con el tiempo se confundió la poblacion y desaparecieron esos barrios; pero aun quedò el nombre y los bienes que poseian las 'parcialidades' los cuales desaparecieron tambien en mi tiempo."

[35] The dissensions between what subsequently became the Mexicans and the Tlatelulcans are so variously described by the authorities, that it is hardly worth while to discuss them.

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assumption, frequently made, that the Mexicans were divided into two distinct clusters at the outset.

A council of chiefs, representing the seven kins meeting on equal terms, composed the government of the ancient Mexicans at that period of their history. Among these, occasional "old men" of particular ability loom up as leading advisers. But no permanent general office of an executive nature is mentioned; although even occasional braves acquired historical prominence through their deeds of valor and of sagacity.[36]

But, while the organization was thus amply sufficient for the needs of a straggling band, Indian worship or "medicine" (as the native term implies) represented, inside of that organization, the lingering remains of what we have already suggested to be the oldest aboriginal clusters of society. Corresponding to the *four* original kins of the QQuiché, to the *four* leading days of the calendar with the traditions attached to their origin, we find among the ancient Mexicans at that period *four* chief medicine men, or "old men," who at the same time are "carriers of the God."[37]

[36] "*Tenure of Lands*" (P. 398 and 399, Notes 21 and 22). In addition to the authorities quoted there, I refer to: *Gomara* ("*Conquista de Méjico*" Vedia I, p. 431). "y dicen que no trajeron señores, sino capitanes." (Idem p. 433. "De los reyes de Méjico"). *Motolinia* ("Epistola proémial," p. 5). "aunque se sabe que estos Mexicanos fueron los postreros, y que no tuvieron señores principales, mas de que se gobernaron por capitanes." —*Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). "Dicen que el ejército mexicano trajo por caudillos ò capitanes diez principales que los regian, ... Entre estos eligieron, luego como hicieron su asiento, por rey y principal señor á Tenuch." *Torquemada*. (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78; cap. XII, pp. 94 and 95).

The fact of the election of the *first* so-called "King" of the ancient Mexicans, so generally acknowledged that no evidence of it is needed, is proof enough that, previous to it, the government of the Mexicans was at least, not monarchical. The words of Torquemada, (p. 94, vol. I.) "Dicese, que aviendo pasado veinte y siete años, que se governaban en comun, los unos, y los otros, les tomó gana de eligir Rey, ..." are plain enough.

Aside from the "leaders" (caudillos) of the Kins frequently mentioned, occasional war-chiefs or directing braves turn up during this period of their wandering existence. Thus, a chief whom they called "Mexi" is mentioned by *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 460), *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 138 and 139), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X, p. 60); and another very famous warrior, "Humming Bird." (Huitzilihuitl) led the Mexicans during their fray with the valley-tribes at Chapultepec, losing his life in the sally by which they broke through their surrounding enemies. *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 27; IV, 30). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 463). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. III, p. 82; IV, p. 84; Lib III, cap. XXII, p. 289). *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. Io, cap. IX, p. 261; cap. X, p. 265 and 266). *Granados y Galvez* (*Tarde Quinta*, p. 151). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 97; cap. XIII, p. 110; cap. XIV, p. 116, 124; cap. XV. p. 130 and 131). He affirms that "Humming Bird" was the first "King of the Mexicans," which, however, is expressly disproved by other authors.

[37] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. I, p. 6), mentions the four old men who carried the so-called sister of Huitzilopochtli, "y á esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli á los viejos

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174 618 624 It seems to indicate, that as relics of four very ancient kins, a kind of superstitious ("standing over") deference was paid to them, implying a voice and vote in the councils of the tribe.[38]

que la solian traer cargada, (que se llamavan Quauhtlonquetzque, y Axoloa el segundo, y el tercero llamado Tlamacazqui Cuauhcoatl, y el cuarto Ococaltzin"). (Cap. III. p. 8), at Chapultepec "y alli les habló Huitzilopochtli á los sacerdotes, que son nombrados Teomamaques, cargadores del dios, que eran Cuauhtloquetzqui, Axoloa, Tlamacazqui y Aococaltzin, á estos cargadores de este idolo, llamados sacerdotes, les dijo."—*Durán* (Cap. III. p. 21). Llegados a aquel lugar de *Pazcuaro*, viéndole tan apacible y alegre, consultaron á su dios los sacerdotes y pidiéronle: . . . . . el dios *Vitzilopochtli* respondió á sus sacerdotes, en sueños . . . " These words repeat themselves almost, several times in cap. IV. V, and VI. Finally he is very positive, (Cap. VI, p. 46), "con los quatro ayos de *Vitzilopochtli*. los quales le vian visiblemente y lo hablaban, que se llamanan *Cuauhtloquetzqui*, el segundo *Ococatl* el tercero *Chochalaitl* y el cuarto *Axoloua*, los quales eran como ayos, padres, amparo y reparo de aquella gente," *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 459), "Con esto salieron lleuando á su ydolo metido en una arca de juncos, la qual lleuavan quatro Sacerdotes principales, con quien el se communicava, y dezia en secreto los successos de su camino auisandoles lo que les auia de suceder, dandoles leyes, y enseñandolos ritos y ceremonias, y sacrificios. No se mouian un punto sin parecer y mandato deste ydolo." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X, p. 60). "Llevaron este Idolo en una Arca de Juncia en hombros de quatro Sacerdotes, los quales enseñaban los Ritos, i Sacrificios. i daban Leies, i sin su parecer no se movian en nada." Besides these specifically and exclusively Mexican sources, to which others will be added hereafter, the fact of these four chief-medicine men "tlamacazqui" from "tlama"—medicine-man, (*Molina* II, p. 125), is proven by authors who rather incline to the tezcucan side. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78), "y ordenó, que quatro de ellos, fuesen sus ministros, para lo qual, fuéron nombrados Quauhcohuatl, Apanecatl, Tezcacohuatl, Chimalman," (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 41, but especially Lib. IX. cap. XIX, p. 205). "De los primeros Mexicanos, que vinieron á estas Tierras, sabemos, que no traxeron Rei, ni otro Caudillo particular (contra los que tienen, ó afirman lo contrario) sino que venian regidos de los Sacerdotes, y ministros del Demonio; sobre cuios hombros venía la Imagen del Dios Huitzilupuchtli, y á los consejos, y determinaciones de estos ministros eran obedecientes." The most explicit of all, however, is again *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 92). At the death of Huitziton, "y aqui fué dondo empezaron las embustes de los viejos y sacerdotes que con mas inmediacion trataban á Huitziton; porque, ó concebido ya el ambicioso deseo de quedarse con el mando del pueblo, ó para disminiurle á este el dolor que debia causarle tan gran pérdida, ..." (p. 94). "Esto es el origen de la famosa deidad Huitzilopuchtli," (p. 99), here Veytia is in error in stating that *Tezozomoc* reports that the four priests were left with Malinalxochitl in Malinalco. This author mentions them again at Chapultepec, "*Crónica*," (Cap. III, p. 8). Further on (Cap. XIII, p. 102), "Yo me persuado á que es distinto, que Ocelopan y sus tres compañeros fueron los cuatro Tlamacazquis que fingieron el embuste del rapto de Huitziton," (p. 109), he says that the "old priests" opposed the election of a head-war-chief ("rey") "por no dejar el mando." (Also Cap XV, p. 131.)

It results from these statements, that the four "Carriers of the God" indeed exercised, or at least claimed some governmental power. In tribal society such power can only come through some *kin*, hence the four "medicine-men" represented four very old clans or relationships, whose names even may have been lost, whereas the former power "stood over," in the form of a participation of "medicine" or worship in the tribal business. I here recall the important utterance of *Boturini* ("*Idea*," pp. 111 and 112 of § XVI), "como fué costumbre de los Indios poner muy pocas Figuras en los mapas, baxo de cuya sombra se hallan numerosos Pueblos, y gentes; y assi dichos siete Tultécos, cuyos nombres refiere el mencionada Don Fernando, se entiende haver sido siete principales Cabezas de dilatados Parentescos, que se escondian baxo los

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When the Mexicans, thus constituting a migratory cluster of 174
kins, reached the present central valley of Mexico, they found it occupied by a number of tribes of the same language as their own, though dialectically varied. The arrival of the new-comers was to those who had already settled, a matter of either war or of adoption. Adoption became very difficult, as well on account of the number of the immigrants as of the rivalry between already settled tribes. Therefore the Mexicans were tossed to and fro, until at last the straggling remnant found a shelter on some dry patches protruding from the marsh along which the other tribes had formed their settlements.

This settlement occurred about 196 years previous to the Spanish conquest, and it limits therefore the time, within which the

nombres de sus Conductores." What the unfortunate Italian Cavaliere here says of the Toltecs, is applicable to all the other branches of the Nahuatl stock, and bears also on the four "Carriers of the God," under discussion.

Veytia affirms (Cap. XIII, p. 110, lib. II), that after the election of the Huitzilihuitl mentioned in my note 36, the god Huitzilopochtli "did not dare to claim the government of the people." Is this an indication to the effect that the four "priests" exercised a military command?

Referring to note 29, concerning the four names of the years and leading days in the Mexican and Central American Calendars, and their probable connection with as many very ancient kinships, I beg leave to add here some additional data in regard to the singular part played by the number four, in Central American and Mexican mythology and earliest tradition. In note 27, I have already alluded to the four original pairs, as mentioned by the "*Popol-Vuh*" as well as by *Sahagun*. Previous to the creation of the four men, the "*Popol-Vuh*" has the following remarkable passage: (Part III, cap. I, pp. 196-197), "In Paxil and in Cayalá, as this place is called, there came the ears of yellow and of white corn. These are the names of the barbarians (? Chicop), who went after subsistence: the fox (Yac), the wolf (Utiu) the parrot (Qel), and the raven (Hoh), four barbarians (?) who brought them the news of the ears of yellow corn and of white corn which grew in Paxil, and who showed them the road to Paxil." "There they found at last the nourishment which went into the flesh of man made, of man formed, this was his blood, it became the blood of man, this corn which went into him by the care of him who engenders and of him who gives being." This QQuiché tale of *four* animals or "barbarians" (the latter is an interpretation of Mr. Brasseur, since "chicop" signifies simply a *beast*) carrying the material out of which man was made, also finds an equivalent in Mexican traditions, as reported by *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, § 12, p. 140), of four wise men who remained in the earthly paradise of "Tamoanchan" inventing there "judicial astrology, and the art of interpreting dreams. They composed the account of the days, of the nights, of the hours, and the differences of time, which were kept while the chiefs of the Toltecs, of the Mexicans, and of the Chichimecs ruled and governed." "Tamoanchan" as paradise, is strictly equivalent to "Paxil in Cayalá" of the QQuiché. The tradition of the four "Tutul-Xiu" among the maya of Yucatan, may also be classed among these tales. "*Series of Katunes.*" "*Epochs of Maya History.*" "*This is the Series of Katunes in Maya.*" ("*helo lai u Tvolan Katunil Ti Mayab*") in Mr. *Brasseur's* ("*Relation des choses du Yucatan*") also in *J. L. Stephens* ("*Travels in Yucatan,*" Vol. II, p. 465, appendix.) Also *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, pp. 222, 224). 801 173

[36] *Tylor* ("*Early History of Mankind,*" Edition of 1878, p. 165), "Super-stitio" or "Standing Over,"—the German "Aberglaube" in the sense of "what has remained."

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174 organization and Institutions of the ancient Mexicans must have reached their ultimate development, to less than two centuries.[39]

"In the midst of canes of reeds" the remains of the Mexican tribe found their future home upon a limited expanse of sod, which even their enemies on the mainland seemed to regard but as a spot fit to die upon.[40] Although much reduced in numbers, the kins themselves remained and a settlement necessitated at once their localization. How this took place, can best be told in the words of one of the native chroniclers, the Dominican monk, Fray Diego Durán.

174 "During the night following, after the Mexicans had finished
618 to improve the abode of their god, and the greatest part of the
615 lagune being filled up and fit for to build thereon, Vitzilopochtli spoke unto his priest or keeper and said to him: "Say unto the Mexican community that the chiefs, each with their relatives, friends and connections, should divide themselves in four principal quarters, with the house which you have built for my resting place in the middle, and that each kin might build within its quarter as best it liked." These quarters are those remaining in Mexico to this day, to wit: the ward of San Pablo, that of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda as it is called, and the ward of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places their god sent word to them that they should distribute among themselves their gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these gods should be worshipped. Thus each of these quarters divided into many small ones according to the number of idols called by them Calpulteona, which is to say god of the quarter. I shall not recall here their names because they are not of importance to history, but we shall know that these quarters are like unto what in Spain they call a collation of such and such a saint."[41]

This statement we do not hesitate to accept as expressing gen-

[39] My friend, Prof. Ph. Valentini, of New York, has in hand the study of Central American Chronology proper, as well as Mexican. In his latest work "*The Mexican Calendar stone*" (published first in German as a "Lecture," and afterwards in No. 71, of the "*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*"), he has given a general idea of his researches, but not any details yet about their results. If, therefore, I here admit 1325, A. D. as about the date of the so-called "foundation" of Tenuchtitlan-Mexico, it is subject to correction by him.

[40] *Durán* (Cap. IV, p. 32), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[41] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 400, note 29, and p. 402, notes 32 and 33). In addition to the authorities quoted, I refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61), and *Samuel Purchas* ("*His Pilgrimages*," 1625, Part III, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 1005).

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nine aboriginal traditions, notwithstanding the attempt, on the 174
part of Fray Juan de Torquemada, to impugn its truthfulness and 618
consequently its validity,[42] It results from it that while the kins, 615
which for the first time in Mexican history are distinctly identified here with the "calpulli," are settling, "as best they liked;" the creation of four geographical divisions, composed each of a number of kins, is attributed here to the influence of worship or, as we have already termed it, of "medicine." This connects those, who subsequently became the four "Indian wards" of Mexico, with the four "carriers of the gods" already mentioned, and this perhaps may be considered a reminiscence of the four original relationships. Of these the sections mentioned appear like a shell, geographically enclosing a number of settled kins. The supposition is not, therefore, devoid of interest that they may have represented brotherhoods of kins, for purposes of worship and warfare. If now we substitute for *kin* the term "*gens*" adopted by Mr. Morgan, those *brotherhoods* necessarily appear in the light of as many "*phratries*."[43]

The time of this occurrence seems almost to coincide with a 174
division (already indicated as in progress) of the original Mexican 619
band into *two* sections. It now culminated in the secession of a part of the tribe and its settlement apart from the main body, though not far away from it and within the lagune also. While the "place of the stone and prickly pear" (Tenuchtitlan) remained, virtually, ancient Mexico, the seceding group founded the Pueblo of Tlatilulco as an independent community at the very door of the former. It appears as its rival even until forty-eight years previous to the Spanish conquest.[44]

[42] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 402, notes 22 and 23).

[43] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. III, p. 88) "The phratry is a brotherhood, as the term imports, and a natural growth from the organization into gentes. It is an organic union or association of two or more gentes of the same tribe, for certain common objects. These gentes were usually such as had been formed by the segmentation of an original gens." If we recall the manner in which the four "quarters" or Mexico first appeared, it will easily be seen that the analogy with phratries is indeed striking. Compare, "*Art of War*" (p. 101, and note 22, and pp. 120, 121, and notes 97, 99, 100, and 101). In "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 400 and (401), I have rather favored the view that these four were "calpulli" which subsequently segregated into minor quarters or 'barrios.' I now correct this, having become convinced that the so-called minor *quarters already existed at the time of settlement* (*compare notes* 37 *and* 41).

[44] *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 180), mentions a division into but two "barrios' in course of time through increase of population. "Despues andando el tiempo y multiplicandose el pueblo y creciendo la vecindad, hizóse esta ciudad dos barrios ó dos ciudades," *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichim.*" Cap. p. 72), merely states they were

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174 It is much to be regretted that our information on this point
114 is so meagre and unsatisfactory, as not to enable us to ascertain
619 whether several *entire kins* separated from the rest to form the new tribe, or whether *fragments of kins* only composed the secessionists. In fact even the cause of the division is stated in such a varied and contradictory manner, that we must withhold any expression of positive views on the subject.

618 Without losing sight altogether of the tribe of Tlatilulco, we still must devote our attention chiefly to the inhabitants of Tenuchtitlan, in which we recognize the ancient Mexicans proper. The number of kins composing the latter at the time of their

divided in two "bands," without saying why and how this division occurred. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 43), "Hecha esta division y puestos ya en su órden y concierto de barrios, algunos de los viejos y ancianos, entendiendo merecian mas de lo que les daban y que no se les hacia aquella honra que merecian, se amotinaron y determinaron ir a buscar nuevo asiento, y andando por entre aquellos carriçales y espadañales allaron una albarrada pequeña, y dando noticia della á sus aliados y amigos fuéronse á hacer alli asiento, el qual lugar se llamaba Xaltelulli y el qual lugar agora llamamos Tlatilulco, ques el barrio de Santiago. Los viejos y principales que alli se pasauan fuéron quatro; el uno dellos se llamaba Atlaquauiti, el segundo Huicto, el tercero Opochtli, el quarto Atlacol. Estos quatro señores se dividieron y apartaron de los demas y se fuéron á vivir á este lugar del Tlatilulco, y segun opinion tenidos por hombres inquietos y revoltosos y de malas intenciones, porque desde el dia que alli se pasaron nunca tuvieron paz ni se llevaron bien con sus hermanos los mexicanos; la qual inquietud a ido de mano en mano hasta el dia de hoy, pues siempre a auido y ay bandos y rancor entre los unos y los otros." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 468), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62), both are but concise repetitions of the above. *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, pp. 294 and 295), opposes both Acosta and Herrera, as well as the "*Codex Ramirez*," and substitutes a story about voluntary settlement of the Tlatilulca on a sandy patch near by, but apart from the others, in consequence of the old grudge or feud already mentioned. There is but little difference between this version and the preceding, the act of secession, in both, being voluntary. One singular fact is mentioned by *Vetancurt* (Part II, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 269), namely: that the Tlatilulca made a market-place for *both* parties. Otherwise (p. 257), he concurs with Torquemada. *Granados y Galvez* (Tarde 6a, p. 174), after saying that both "eran deudos y parientes unos con otros" adds "whether this division proceeded from past quarrels, or out of the incommodities which they suffered among canes and reeds; it is certain that they divided peaceably . . ." *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, pp. 135 and 142), reporting on all the various traditions about the foundation of Tlatilulco, comes to the conclusion that the "nobles" retired to Tlatilulco, whereas the "common people" remained at Mexico. *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 178), agrees with Veytia in regard to the real import of the fables told concerning the ancient feuds among the migratory band, but (Cap. XVII, pp. 187 and 188), he accepts the version that these old dissensions were the causes of the final division.

I have not been able, yet, to find whether the seceding Tlatilulca formed one kin, or one brotherhood of kins, or whether they were discontented fractions of kins removing. Had Vetancurt given us the names of the "barrios" of Tlatilulco, we might possibly infer something from them. As it is, the fact of the four "principals" mentioned by Durán, seems to indicate four kins, or rather (perhaps) fractions from four kins, whom want of space probably caused to remove. They may have been crowded out, and in course of time the feeling of jealousy and rivalry sprung up of which the authorities speak both freely and frequently. See *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

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as yet; this peculiarly military office was not yet established in permanence. However, there are indications that one executive chieftain for tribal affairs may, at least rudimentarily, have existed namely: the "Snake-woman" (cihuacohuatl). But the attributes of this office did not assign to it any marked prominence.[46]

174 The position of the Mexican tribe, about the middle of the fourteenth century, was still a very precarious one. With barely sufficient sod to dwell upon, blockaded, so to say, by powerful tribes along the lake shore; with the independent cluster of Tlatilulco, jealous and threatening, within an arrow-shot of its homes, it was forced into a peculiar attitude of military defence. The elements for a warlike organization were contained in the autonomous kins, which were grouped into the still larger cluster of the brotherhood, and all together composing the tribe. The leaders were found in the officers and chiefs of the kins. But the state of insecurity then prevailing required an office whose incumbent should be in constant charge of the military affairs of the tribe. This was plainly within the scope of tribal society; such functions had already been exercised previously, in times of particular need. Now, under the pressure of circumstances, and with a permanent settlement, permanence of the charge became a necessity.[47]

the seven chiefs "which seven went for leaders of each quarter" (p. 222). The wizards reply (among other things): "Great and powerful Lady (?) we have neither seen, nor spoken to, the chiefs of the *calpules*." Judging from this, the original number of them was *ten*, and it is presumable that if such was the case they were the *war-chiefs*, whereas the others were more properly the administrative officers analogous to the "*sachems*" of the Iroquois. (Compare *Morgan*, "*Ancient Society*." Part II, cap. II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Cap. IV, p. 114. Cap. V, pp. 129, 130, etc., etc., to 148). We shall have occasion to return to this again in a subsequent note.

[46] The office of "Cihuacohuatl" is very old. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones*" "*Segunda Relacion*," pp. 223 and 304), after speaking of the seven leaders of the Tollecs, mentions "Ziuhcoatl" tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores" as discoverer of Jalisco. Confirmed (the last mention excepted) by *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37). *Veytia* (Lib. I. cap. XXII, p. 290). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (Plate II in Vol. I of Lord Kingsborough), represents the first regular head-war-chief of the Mexicans, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli) with a head and face of a woman and snake surmounting his own head or rather the forehead, whereas the "name" proper stands, as usual, behind the occiput. The expanatory note thereto (Vol. VI, p. 8), says: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuotl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a Monarchy this title was retained."

[47] *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 44). *Acosta* (Lib. III, cap. 8, p. 468). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 95). "The cause of his election was the increase in numbers, and their being surrounded by enemies who made war upon them and damaged them." "La causa de su eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian guerra, y afligian."

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Therefore, near the eighth decade of the fourteenth century, or about thirty years after the settlement of Mexico, the office of "chief of men" (Tlacatecuhtli) appears to have been established.[48] This is commonly heralded as the creation of monarchy, thus abolishing the basis of organization, or tribal society itself. It is however overlooked that only an office was created, and not a hereditary dignity with power to rule.[49] Its first incumbent, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli), was duly elected, and so were his successors.[50] We have already seen that the Mexican family itself was so imperfectly constituted as to preclude the notion of a dynasty, and it was therefore, as we shall further establish, to the "kin" that the so-called succession or rather the choice was limited.[51] We do not know, nor would it be safe to guess, *which*

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Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 159; cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, pp. 190 and 191). It was a military measure.

[48] The dates are variously given. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 53), says 1364, or rather he states that "Handful of Reeds" died at the age of 60, and that his death occurred 1404. He had been elected when 20 years old, therefore forty years previous to the latter date, or in 1364, A. D. *Velancourt* (Parte IIa, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270), says 3d of May, 1361, or 1368. According to *Sahagun*, and from his lists of Mexican "Kings" (Lib. VIII, cap. I, pp. 268-271), it would be about 1369, but (Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 280), he says he was elected in 1384. *Veytia* (quoting also *Carlos de Siguenza*), says (Lib. II, cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 188), 1361. *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190. Appendix to 1st Vol., p. 596. Vol. II, Sec'd Dissertation, Cap. II, p. 327), says 1352. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), 1375. In the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 9), a date 1384 appears, but this date is of doubtful origin. The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Vol. I, Kingsb., Plate I, and Explanation, Vol. VI, p. 134), says in the year 11. cane, ("Acatl") or 1399. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, cap. VI, p. 356), 1350. *Prof. Valentini* ("The Mexican Calendar-Stone," p. 108), 13, Acatl, or 1375.

In regard to the title of "Tlacatecuhtli" compare "*Art of War*," (p. 122, note 104). There is a singular analogy between it and the title of "*Great War Soldier*," given by the Iroquois confederacy to its head-war-chiefs ("*Ancient Society*," p. 146). Under-"men" the Mexicans also understood "braves." Therefore "chief of the braves" also.

[49] In a general way, the following passages are interesting. *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), "because in these times the brothers, sons of the King inherited one another, although from what I have noted of this history, there was no heredity nor succession, but that only those which the electors chose, whether brother or son, nephew or cousin, in the second degree, of him who died, and this order it strikes me they carried (on) in all their elections, and so I believe that many of those who clamor and pray for lordships ("señorios") because of their fathers having been Kings and Lords at the time of their infidelity do not, as I understand, justly claim ("no piden justicia"). For according to their ancient law there were rather elections than successions and inheritances, in all kinds of lordships." I shall give the full text of this very important passage further on. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 358). "Of the Mexican republic I confess this manner of succession, and that sometimes they were elected without regard to anything save their personal qualification."

[50] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[51] Compare *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 358). The former says in addition to what is quoted in note 49. "In all the other lordship I only found but elections and the will of the electors, and thus they never ought fail to have a King of that lineage, even to the end of the world, because if to-

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174 643 was the particular "calpulli" of Mexico who furnished the Mexi-
666 can head-war-chiefs down to 1520 A. D.

174 643 Analogous to the New Mexican pueblo, the tribe of Mexico had, from that time on, its supreme council and finally two executive head-chiefs; for with the creation of the military office of "chief of men," the "Snake-woman" rose correspondingly in importance.[52] No change in that organization took place until the Spanish conquest although within the period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (approximately) thus indicated, we find, at three distinct epochs, mention of virtual changes or subversions of the aboriginal institutions of the Mexican tribe.

174 631 The first one of these critical dates agrees with the third decade of the fifteenth century, or the time when, through a well executed dash, the Mexicans overthrew the power of the Tecpanecas on the mainland.

This successful move, perhaps originally conceived in self-defence, finally brought about the confederacy of the "nahuatl" tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and of Tlacopan. We have nothing to add to our first picture of this military partnership, as drawn in "Tenure of Lands."[53] Still the event deserves special men-

day they elected the brother, to-morrow they elected the "grandson, and the day after the nephew, and thus they went through the whole lineage without any end" This is a plain description of the succession of office in the kin. Torquemada is about equally explicit, and this agreement between two authors who represent antagonistic tribal traditions, is certainly of great weight. To this should be added the statement of *Sahagun* (Vol. II, p. 318), "and (they) selected one of the most noble ones of the lineage ("linea") of the lords post." Even the series of contradictions of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp. 12-20), contain a plain description (if attentively studied) of succession in the kin, and not in the family.

[52] At the time Francisco Vasquez de Coronado reached and conquered New Mexico, its sedentary Indians were governed by a council of old men, and besides they had governors and captains. This is explicitly stated by *Pedro de Castañeda y Nagera*, ("*Relation du Voyage de Cibola, entrepris en* 1540,"), who went with Coronado in 1540, in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1838 (Cap. XI, p. 61), about Tuscayan Cibola, although flatly contradicted again by himself (Part. II, cap. III, p. 164), in regard to Cibola. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XL. p. 681), mentions the "mandòn" (commander) and after him what he calls a "crier" "y despues de èl, es el que prègona, y avisa las cosas, que son de Republica, y que se han de hacer en el Pueblo." The same author is also very explicit (Lib. XI, cap. XVII, p. 337), when he distinctly states: "El Govierno de los del Nuevo-Mexico parece de Senado, ù de Señoria," mentioning also the two other officers.

For the actually prevailing governmental system of the New-Mexican Pueblos the sources are very numerous. I simply refer to *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. I, pp. 546 and 547), *W. W. H. Davis* ("*The Spanish Conquest of New-Mexico*," 1869, p. 415, note 4), *Oscar Loew* ("*Lieutenant G. M. Wheeler's Excite Expedition nach New-Mexiko und Colorado*, 1874," in Petermann's "*Geographische Mitthellungen*," Vol. 22, p. 212). All the other main sources it would be useless to enumerate.

[53] Pp. 416, 417, and 418, and notes 61 to 70 inclusive. Also note 4 of this paper. In re-

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tion here, because of its unveiling, so to say, the full organization of the ancient Mexicans as they preserved it until the time of their downfall. 174 631

Upon the occasion of the division of spoils gathered from the defeated Tecpanecas, and of the establishment of regular tribute, there appear the following war captains and leaders of the Mexicans, as representatives of the latter's organization. 174 642

The "chief of men."

Four captains of the four principal quarters of Mexico.

Twenty war-chiefs of as many kins composing the tribe.

One chief representing the element of worship, or "medicine."

The "Snake-woman."[54]

gard to the date of its occurrence, *Bancroft* (Vol. V, p. 395), says about, or immediately after, 1431, following Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. III, p. 251), 1436, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. Chichimeca.*" Cap. XXXII, p. 217), also 1431, *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 165) 1431, The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Kingsb., Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VI, p. 138), has it 7, "Tochtli" or 1404.

[54] *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 96). Besides distributing land "juntamente con daros y repartiros las tierras que aveis ganado, para que tengais renta para el sustento de vuestros estados y personas segun el mérito dellas," he gave them "ditados" or titles "y (quiere) haceros señores de titulo" (the latter would be to make them noblemen). I must advert here that "ditado o titulo de honra" is expressed in the Mexican language by "tecuyotl" "tlatocazotl" "maniçotl" (*Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," Part I, p. 46). These words however mean but, respectively "chieftainship," "speakership," and "honor," (the latter see *Molina* II, p. 54), all of them terms which, as we shall hereafter see, apply to *personal merit*, and not to hereditary privilege among the Mexican aborigines. Durán then proceeds (p. 97) to give these titles as follows:— 565 618

"Primeramente á su general dió por ditado				*Tlacochcalcatitecutli.*
A Vene Moteuçcuma, Tlacaelteltzin dió por ditado				*Tlacatecatl.*
A Tlacaupan,	d.	p.	d.	*Ezuauacatl.*
A Cuatlecoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlillancalqui.*
A Veueçacan,	d.	p.	d.	*Tezcaconcatl.*
A Aztacoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tocuiltecatl.*
A Canaltzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Acolnauacatl.*
A Tzonpantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Hueiteuctli.*
A Epcotinatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Temillotzin.*
A Citlalcoatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Tecpanecatl.*
A Tlaneloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Calmimeloloatl.*
A Ixcuetlatoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Mexicalteuctli.*
A Cuauhtzitzimitl,	d.	p.	d.	*Huitznauatl.*
A Xiconoc,	d.	p.	d.	y renombre, *Tepanocatliteuctli.*
A Tlazolteotl,	d.	p.	d.	*Quetzaltoçatl.*
A Axicyotzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Teuctlamacazqui.*
A Izanatilloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlepoltecatl.*
A Mecantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Cuauhyauacatl.*
A Tenamastil,	d.	p.	d.	*Coatecatl.*
A Tzontemoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Pantecatl.*
A Tlacaezchtoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Huecamecatl.*

To these he adds (pp. 98 and 99), five more, namely: *Quauhnochtecutli, Cuauhquiauacatl, Yopicatltecutli, Cvitznauatl, and Itcotecatl.* The three last were from Culhuacan. Adding to this the "chief of men" himself, who was "Flint-Snake," or

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174 618 The existence of *twenty* autonomous consanguine groups is thus revealed, and we find them again at the time of the conquest,

565 618 "Obsidian-Snake" (*Itzcohuatl*), we have twenty-five chiefs in all. Now we cannot fail to notice:—

[70]

(1). "Itzcohuatl," the "chief of men" or head-war-chief.

(2). "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," and "Cuauhnochtli," the four military leaders of the four great quarters ("phratries") of Tenuchtitlan. (See "*Art of War*," pp. 120, 121, and 122, also notes 97 to 101 inclusive.)

(3). "Tlillancalqui"—"Man of the black-house," a chief connected with "medicine" or worship, as I shall hereafter show. He was rather a counsellor or advisor, than a captain, as *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 75) positively state, whereas *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) asserts the religious origin of his office.

(4). "Tlacaelel," who, as Durán and Tezozomoc both repeatedly and plainly assert, was the snake-woman or "Cihuacohuatl." In this instance, however, he is graced with the title of "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), and thus made one of the four leaders of the "phratries." This is an evident mistake, as the latter title belonged to Montezuma (the first, or "old one"). Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVI, p. 140; cap. XLIII, p. 150, where he is called "captain-general"), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XV, p. 293), also *Durán* (Lam. 8a, Parte Ia).

(5). Twenty war-chiefs, each one of whom commanded the warriors of one kin or calpulli, hence they were the military leaders of twenty Mexican kins. Besides the indications to that effect furnished by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224), "& los señorés de los *calpules* no los vimos ni nos hablaron," said the sorcerers which had been sent to Huitzilopochtli's mother, after she had asked them about the chiefs or captains, seven in number, which had led the Mexicans originally, (see note 33). *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), while corroborating the statements of Durán (with the exception that he omits the chief "Mexicatlteuctli," and thus gives only twenty-seven chieftains), inserts the following explanation about these twenty (or twenty-one after Durán) captains: "After these four (the four first ones), go the Tiacanes, called valorous soldiers, surnamed captains." The "Tiacan" or "tiacauh," properly "teachcauhtin," *Elder brother*, was the military chief of each "barrio" or "calpulli," therefore of each *kin* ("*Art of War*," p. 119, notes 91, 92, and 93), consequently these twenty chieftains represent here as many consanguine relationships composing the tribe of the ancient Mexicans.

It will be noticed, however, that Durán has twenty-one chiefs, whereas we assume but twenty, according to Tezozomoc. The latter omits "Mexicatl-tecutli" and, perhaps properly too. This word signifies but "Mexican chief," in general, and cannot therefore well be the title of one particular leader. It recurs occasionally in the course of Mexican history. Still, this is only a suggestion on my part, for the matter is far from being proven. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571) mentions "*Mexicatl-achcauhtli*" among the chiefs who went with Quauhtemotzin before Cortés on the day after the resistance of the Mexicans had ended. Again Tezozomoc mentions two chiefs of the same title "Cuauhquiauacatl," as also does Durán. Now this would be impossible, since Tezozomoc calls the second one of that name, a son of "Cuauhnochtli." It may be now that the latter author has omitted the "Mexicatl-tecutli," and that "Cuauhquiauacatl" is to be counted but once. It results from the statements of Vetancurt already alluded to, that there were twenty Mexican "calpulli," consequently there were but twenty leaders of kins. The analogy between these "barrios" and the chiefs of Durán and Tezozomoc is greatly increased by the fact that for the three chiefs of Culhuacan mentioned by the latter, we have also three barrios of "Otomites," therefore, in each case but seventeen original kins of Mexicans proper (*Vetancurt* "*Crónica*," Vol. III, p. 122).

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while their last vestiges were perpetuated until after 1690, when 174
Fray Augustin de Vetancurt mentions four chief quarters with 618
their original Indian names, comprising and subdivided into *twenty* "barrios." Now the Spanish word "Barrio" is equivalent to the Mexican term "calpulli." Both indicate the kin, localized and settled with the view to permanence.[55]

What is often conceived as the establishment of a vast feudal 174
monarchy at the time just treated of, resolves itself therefore into two very plain features. One of these consists in the establishment of the confederacy, the other is but the appearance in broad daylight of the peculiar organization of aboriginal society among the Mexicans. Thus we have no sudden change of base, no revolution in the institutions of the tribe; the only progress achieved consisted in the extension of inter-tribal relations and in their assuming the shape of a military partnership.

The year 1473 witnessed another event which seemed to affect 174 648

All these titles were permanent, though not hereditary, as it is plainly seen in the 565
case of the four leaders of the four "phratries" about which *Sahagun* says: (Lib. 618
VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318) "The chief elected, forthwith they elected others four which were like senators that always had to be by his side . . . . (these four had different names in different places) . . . . " *Durán* (Cap. XI. p. 103). "To these four lords and titularies, after they were elected princes, they made them of the royal council, like presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion nothing should be done. When the king died, his successor had to be taken from those, neither could any others but brothers or sons of kings be clothed with these dignities. Thus if one of these was elected, they put another in his place. We must know that they never put a son of him who had been elected ("King") or of the deceased, since, as it has been said, the sons never succeeded (in office) by inheritance, to the titles or lordships, but through election. Therefore, whether son, brother, or cousin, if elected by the king and those of his council, to that dignity, it was given to him,—it being sufficient his being of that lineage and near relative, and so the sons and brothers went on inheriting gradually, little by little . . . . and the title and lordship never went outside of that descendancy ("generation" also kin), being filled by election, little by little."

The other titles are frequently met with up to the time of the conquest, as a few in- [648]
stances will abundantly prove. Assuming, with the majority of authors, the date of 1431, for that of the formation of the confederacy, we meet, during the unlucky foray of the confederates against Michhuacan, about fifty years later, with the following war-chiefs of the Mexicans. Tezcacoatl, Huitznahuacatl, and Quetzaltocatl (*Tezozomoc*, Cap. LII, pp. 84 and 85), also Coatecatl (Cuauhtecatl). At the time of Cortés' first arrival off the coast (1518) we meet in the council of Mexico with Huitznahuacatl, Huey-camecatl (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. XIII, p. 379). Finally when, after the resistance of the Mexicans had ceased, Cortés assembled all the chiefs in his presence, we again meet with Huitznahuatl, Mexicatitecuhtli, Teuctlamacazqui (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571). Evidence of this kind could be produced in profusion, but it would only increase unnecessarily the size of this annotation. Compare the titles of the Iroquois sachemships in *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. V, pp. 130 and 131).

[55] Compare note 33. Also *Molina* (Parte I, p. 18), and others.

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174 648 the Mexican tribe in a more direct manner. It was the overthrow and capture, after a short but bloody struggle, of the pueblo of Tlatilulco.[56] Owing to the close connection of the latter with the Mexicans both had remained on a non-hostile footing; for the suspicious watchfulness with which each viewed the other did not comport with any more intimate relations, those of trade and exchange excepted. When the confederacy came into existence, Tlatilulco was counted in as a part of Mexico, since its people acknowledged themselves to be Mexicans; but there is no evidence authorizing the conclusion that the Tlatilulca played any other role, beyond that of auxiliaries to their kindred of Tenuchtitlan.[57] The rash attempt of the former at the organization of a conspiracy to become "Mexico alone" terminated fatally; their place was taken and barbarously sacked, their leaders were killed in the fray or sacrificed afterwards, and the Mexicans, exasperated at the conduct of their treacherous kinsmen treated them in an unusually severe manner. We have seen already that, in any conquest, the conquered tribe, if not exterminated, was only subjected to more or less heavy tribute. But the Tlatilulca were dealt with far worse: they were degraded to the rank of "*women*," their public market was ordered closed, their council-house left to decay and their young men, expressly debarred from the privilege of carrying arms in aid of the Mexicans, were required to become the carriers of supplies to their captors. Such a punishment was unknown in the annals of Indian conquest, and appears even to militate against our views of aboriginal society in Mexico; still it was in perfect harmony with the institutions of the latter. The Tlatilulca were, as we should never forget, not only a tribe

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[56] The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Plate XIV, also explanation Vol. VI, p. 138), concurs in this date, or the year seven "calli" which is indeed 1473.

[57] This acknowledgment—"to be Mexicans"—on the part of the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, was in the nature of a *claim*, and with a spirit of jealousy and envy. Although *Durán* says (Cap. XXXII, p. 257), "aniendo estado hasta entonces sujetos á la corona real de Méjico," this affirmation is utterly disproven, not only by all the other sources, but by his own statements (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 46). The confused and contradictory tales about the state of war preceding the formation of the confederacy still make the Tlatilulca always appear as assisting their neighbors of Tenuchtitlan, more or less. Sometimes they were neutral only, and at times they may have felt inclined to foster attempts at destruction of their rivals by outsiders, but they still were afraid of the consequences of it for their own independence. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 46). The singular statement that the Tlatilulca even attempted, though fruitlessly, to withdraw the Tezcucans and Tlacopans from Tenuchtitlan, inducing them to become their associates in the work of its overthrew, is significant. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LVIII, p. 176) "Quisose aliar con los de Tlacupa, y Tetzcuco, los quales no le acudieron."

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connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

[58] The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("*Idea*" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Europeo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos ó Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos tenvieron grandes diferencias: é Monteçuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeodar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, desterrólos de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los quel quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de alli, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mezquique, é que le sirviressen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Monteçuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatilnco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 333 and 336).

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

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174 618 [615] Still, this low condition did not remain forever. The Tlatilulca were in a measure "re-adopted" into the tribe. After this, they formed a fifth quarter, or "phratry," which Father Vetancurt (in 1690) mentions as containing six "parcialidades." But this rehabilitation never extinguished the fire of revenge kindled once among the Tlatilulca towards the Mexicans. The latter treated the former therefore, not as a tribe subject to tribute, but as a suspicious group, to which the rights and privileges resulting from consanguinity could not well be denied, but to which voice and vote in the leading councils should not be accorded. In this singular position, not strictly inferior, but evidently more "distant," we find the Tlatilulca at Mexico at the time of the conquest.[39]

or tribes, in which there were of both kinds, were those who divided themselves from the rest." (See note 44.) It is much to be regretted that the eminent Mexican scholar has not given us the names of these "Algunos escritores nacionales modernos."

[39] According to *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), they remained in a degraded condition for 160 days at least, or eight aboriginal months: "y que les turase esta penitencia y castigo hasta los ochenta dias del segundo tributo." But they were, according to him, relieved of it but conditionally: "y asi les quitauan aquellos entredichos que e contado, los quales, en faltándoles, eran tornados á poner." In order to comply with the demands of the Mexicans for slaves, the Tlatilulca were forced to carry arms again, so as to take part in the wars. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, p. 75) confirms, but implies previously (p. 75) that the Tlatilulca were specially obligated to be the traders for Mexico: "y haveis de ser nuestros tratantos y mercadres en los tianguis de Huexotzinco, Tlaxcalan, Tlilinquitepec, Zacatlan, y Cholula." A similar punishment was meted out to them by "Stern chief" the younger (the last Montezuma), after an unsuccessful campaign against Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Atlixco. *Durán* (Cap. LIX, pp. 468, 469), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XCVI, p. 170). It is, besides, positively asserted by the former (p. 271) that the "medicine lodge," or temple of Tlatilulco, was closed thereafter, abandoned and left to ruin and decay ("y asi dice la ystoria questuvo hasta entonces lleno de yerba y de vasura y caidas las paredes y dormitorios del"). It is, of course, confirmed by *Tezozomoc* (p. 75, cap. XLVI): "y asi fué que lo estuvo muchos años hasta la venida que hizo Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis del Valle, en esta nueva España, como adelante se dirá, á que me refiere." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these statements with those of *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, pp. 88, 89, 90, 91. Vedia, Vol. II), and of *Sr. Icazbalceta* in *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," note 40 to 2d Dial., p. 201) to the effect that Cortes visited that temple of Tlatilulco and found "Stern [114] chief" worshipping in it, and still more difficult is it to reconcile the relation of Bernal Diez with that of *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion, etc., etc.*," pp. 582-586, Col. de Doc. II), who, as an eye-witness too, deserves similar credit.

Tlatilulco formed a quarter, a fifth great one, of Mexico at the time of the conquest. This is distinctly stated by *Motolinia* (*Historia, etc.*, Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180 and 181), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93) confirms Motolinia in general, (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. II, p. 181), "en el barrio llamado Tlatelulco;" (Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 414), "y el barrio se dice Tlatelulco," adding (p. 418) "que son del mismo pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Cap. XVII, p. 423), "El convento de Santiago de Tlatelulco que es como barrio de Mexico;" (Cap. XXVIII, p. 466), "pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Id., p. 483, Cap. XXIX). That this fifth great quarter was again divided into six smaller ones, is proven by *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*, etc.," pp. 207 and 212): "Tiene cuatro religiosos que con el ministro colado administran á más de mil quinientas personas en

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It is therefore vain to look for any important change in the 174
institutions of the ancient Mexicans even at this third and latest date, which was the last chance, so to say, if any at all, for such

out. Keep your dresses clean and in order, also his own dress and ornaments; his 175
tress, medal, and chain; also every five days his blow-tube and bow, that he may 642
recreate himself with it. Attend to him at meal-time, morning and evening, serving 643
him with cacao, roses, perfumes, with much humility and respect, never looking into his face under pain of death. Take care that the cooking be well done, and that the stewards provide for everything. But, while there you stay, beware, for many women of worth are seen there, and to whose beeds you have also to attend,—watch your behavior, for should you attempt anything against them, you and your relations will be driven off, and if you commit any bad action with any of these women, your fathers houses will be razed, salt strewn over their ruins, and you and your lineage must perish." At the close of this and other (less important) talk it is said: "and in course of time they became so well bred, refined, and instructed, and skilful, that they were of the most prominent chieftains and leading men in this house and court." *Durán* (Cap. LII, pp. 416–422) does not fail to confirm the statements of Tezozomoc, extending, however, the removals to nearly all the offices: "asi en el servicio de sus casa y persona, como en el régimen de la provincia y reyno" (p. 417); also excluding illegitimate offspring ("nengun bastardo"), and giving a number of more or less pertinent details. He even asserts that the officers of the kins were removed. In short, he represents it as the introduction of absolute despotism, surrounding at the same time the throne by a powerful nobility. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 21. p. 506) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 66), "porqué mandó, que no le sirviesen sino nobles, i que la Gente Ilustre estuviese en su Palacio, i exercitase oficios de su Casa, i Corte." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIX, p. 196), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XIX, p. 328), and others, confirm, although in a more concise style than the first named authors. It is evident that all these authors must have gathered from the same source, which cannot be *Sahagun*, nor *Motolinia*, neither *Mendieta*, nor any of the known conquerors. The story, as told and detailed by Durán, presupposes a class of hereditary nobles, already formed and in full vigor, but excluded in part from tenure of office or rather sharing such right of tenure equally with those of the common class. This is distinctly acknowledged by Tezozomoc, and more particularly yet by Durán himself: "y mudar todos los que su tio Auitzotl apia puesto y de los que se auia servido, porque munchas dellos eran de baxa suerte y hijos de hombres baxos," p. 417, etc. Now I have proven ("*Tenure of Lands*, pp. 419, 420, 421, etc., to p. 448) that there was no privileged class based on tenure of the soil. The revolution assumed presupposes that there was, up to the last "wrathy chief," no class of nobles in exclusive possession of the offices, consequently, even if the "chief of men" in question had any inclination or desire to oust the "common people" from their official positions, the main desideratum, namely, the "uncommon" ones wherewith to replace them, and for whose benefit the whole affair was planned, were not on hand. For nobility not based on hereditary ownership, or hereditary command of some kind, is no nobility at all. As far as heredity of office is concerned, Durán himself is one of the most powerful witnesses against it (*e. g.*, Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). If, therefore, "wrathy chief" created a class of privileged office-holders about the year 1503, it must have been very short-lived, for it was certainly out of existence sixteen years later, at the beginning of the Spanish conquest.

The version of Tezozomoc is evidently the correct one, and thus the whole story dwindles down to the selection of certain boys, probably of his own kin, for the special service of the tribal house of government, which took place *with the knowledge and consent of the council only*. Whether this act, if converted into a custom, might have gradually merged into prevalence of a certain kin over the rest, is another question, which the intervening conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, has left without decisive answer. About the helplessness of Montezuma while a captive, see authors on the Conquest in general.

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174a revolution before the advent of Europeans. We are consequently, by this investigation of the history of aboriginal Mexico, justified in claiming the state of its society to be as yet exclusively tribal.

121 Tribal society presupposes equality of rights among all members
174 of the kins composing the tribe. Hence it follows that "caste" and hereditary rank could not exist, that there could not be any division, among the ancient Mexicans, into higher and lower classes, into "nobles" and "common people," or into hereditary professions or vocations like "priests," "warriors," "merchants," "artisans," and "tillers of the soil." In vindication however of our assertion, which might otherwise appear as too sweeping, we may be permitted here to dwell at some greater length on this particular question.

565 Nobility is based upon hereditary privilege of some kind. Either it consists in landed property with hereditability of title and (at least originally) office, or in a hereditary charge alone, or privilege or power over others transmitted with the blood. While the former has become more usually known and is therefore regarded as characteristic, the latter, always accompanied by "loose wealth" at least, is still found among pastoral nations.[62] It may even have been the incipient form of the other. Now, among the ancient Mexicans, we have seen that:—

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, in any shape, had not yet arisen.

2. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, had but a right to use certain tracts, and no possessory rights, even, to land were attached to any office or dignity.

3. No office itself, whether of the kin or tribe, was hereditary in any family, since the Mexican family, as such, was yet in but a nascent state.[63]

4. Futhermore loose property was subject to such diminutions occasioned by the mode of worship,[64] and especially of burial,[65]

[62] The Arabs for instance. See *Kremer ("Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islam")*.

[63] For these three points see "*Tenure of Lands*" in general, and pp. 447–48 in particular.

[64] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31). "Otros trabajaban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban, de manera que tenian que servir y trabajar otro año y aun otros dos para salir de deuda; . . ."

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643 Every one of these designations conveys a certain amount of truth, though none of them adequately defines the office, the true nature and position of which become clear only through a glance at its 643 early history. Tribal executive as a permanent office, (which 174 must always be distinguished from a hereditary dignity), was created under the pressure of extreme need. The warrior who enjoyed the confidence of the tribe, who was not only daring and brave, but had also given proof of wisdom in the councils, became the people's choice as leader. The Mexicans were then in an attitude of defence; their own existence was at stake, and it was but natural, therefore, that the leading "talk" should be on military subjects, and that consequently the prominent war-captain should become the prominent "speaker," or foreman of the council.[215] In this manner we come to notice but *one* executive chief until the confederacy was formed. His duties were plain, even simple, at that time. He resided at the official house and superintended the exercise of tribal hospitality there; he was foreman to the council, and the leading executor of its decrees as far as tribal jurisdiction extended; he controlled the receiving and housing of the modest crops gathered from the "lands of the official-house" (tecpan-talli),[216] which, together with the customary pres-

(2d "*Recueil*" *of* "*Ternaux Compans*," dated Mexico, 14 August, 1531): "Ainsi l'on dit qu'un certain Tapico, qui gouvernait la partie du Mexique que l'on appelle Temixtitan." I find also the following in the municipal records of Mexico: "*Actas de Cabildo*" (Vol. I. p. 73; "Viernes 17 de Agosto 1526, años"): "Este dia de pedimento de Diego de Ordáz vecino de esta Cibdad le hizieron merced de le confirmar cierta compra que hize de Guanachel cacique que se llama Tapia de un sitio de casa que esta cabe San Francisco."

The "gobernador" of Mexico, after the conquest, and restoration under Spanish rule, was the former "*Cihuacohuatl*." This is plainly stated by *Cortés* ("*Carta Cuarta*," Vedia I, p. 110): "hice á un capitan general que en la guerra tenia. y yo conocia del tiempo de Muteczuma, que tomase cargo de la tornar á poblar. Y para que mas autoridad su persona tuviese, tornéle á dar el mismo cargo que en tiempo del señor tenia, que es cignacoat, que quiere tanto decir como lugar-teniente del señor." Therefore the appellation of Bernal-Diez. applies evidently to this officer.

[214] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 89. "*Carta Cuarta*," p. 110, both in Vedia I). *Gomara* ("*Conquista*." etc., Vedia I, p. 392): "Vino Xihuacoa, gobernador y capitan general." *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. II, cap. VII, p. 53) calls him "Guacoazin, Principal consejero del Rei, i su Lúgar teniente," *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. C, p. 567): "Salió un capitan, llamado Cihuacohuatl Tlacotzin."

[215] *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 34 and 35): "Mira, Señor, que vienes á ser amparo y sombra y abrigo desta nacion Mexicana . . . ." *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 466) *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 95): "La causa de su Eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero. y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian Guerra, y afligian."

[216] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 405, 406 and 419). I beg leave to correct here a mistake of mine in note 75, p. 420. At the close of said note it reads: "The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the *King*

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enta, constituted the tribal stores; finally he commanded the 643
people when in arms. The overthrow of the tribes of Azcaput- 174
zalco and Cuyuacan, by rendering these pueblos tributary, and compulsory allies of the Mexicans in warfare, suddenly increased these duties to such an extent that an assistant or colleague, a second head-chief, became necessary. Finally, when the confederacy came into existence, the first of these two chiefs was made its military commander, thus burthening him with duties of an extra-tribal nature.[217] He, therefore, had to relinquish a corresponding share of tribal business, which naturally fell to his associate. This associate, as we have already stated, was the "snake-woman" or "Cihuacohuatl," the proper head-chief of the Mexicans.

As daily leader of the council's "talk," the foreman of its delib- 648
erations, the "snake-woman" appears in the light of a judge, even of a supreme judge. But while, on all important occasions, he was the spokesman[218] of the council, and the awards he declared and the sentences he pronounced, were final and admitted of no appeal, yet it was only so because they emanated from the council, and not because they were his own individual decrees. He remained always subject to the authority of that body, and, in a general way, he can be said to have superintended the execution

. . ." In place of it, "vested in the *Kin*" is the proper reading. The mistake is wholly and exclusively mine — a "slip of the pen," which I neglected to correct in time.

[217] The Tezcucan writers, represented by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII and XXXIV) claim the leadership for Tezcuco, but the facts disprove it. Compare also "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 416, 417 and 418).

[218] *Fragmento No.* 1 ("*Biblioteca Mexicana*"—"*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*," p. 124): "Juntos los principales Mexicanos, el Rey les dixo lo que el Rey de Tetzcuco pedia, y todos dieron la mano á Tlacaellel, el cual respondió en nombre de todos á su Rey." *Durán* (Cap. XIV, p. 118): "Tlacaellel, que en todo era el primer voto y á quien se dava la mano en responder." (Cap. XV, p. 126): "Todos dieron la mano á Tlacaellel para que respondiese al rey." (Cap. XXIX, p. 240): "Tlacaellel, poniendose en pié, dixo desta manera, etc., etc." (Cap. XXXII, pp. 254 and 255, Cap. LIII, p. 417.) *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVIII, p. 28. Cap. XIX, p. 30): "Y asi oydo esto por los principales Mexicanos tomé la mano de hablar Cihualcoatl Tlacaeleltzin y dijo: hijo y nuestro muy querido rey, os encargaos que veais muy bien lo que quereis hacer . . ." (Cap. XXI, p. 32): "Pasados algunos dias dijo el rey Moctezuma á Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin general y oydor . . ." "Llegados todos los señores de los dichos pueblos al palacio del rey Moctezuma, y sentados cada señor segun su merecimiento y valor de sus personas, digéron el rey Moctezuma, y su presidente y capitan general Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin." (Cap. XXXI. p. 48). (Cap. XXXVI. p. 57): "que el primero era su real consejero Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin, . . ." (Cap, XXXIX, p. 62, Cap. XLIII. p. 69): "Luego en el palacio del rey Axayaca sin salir los grandes, ni nadie, prosiguió Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin . . ." Further quotations are superfluous, particularly from this author.

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643 limited the choice to a family, perhaps not even to a kin.[229] Like every other office it had to be *deserved*,[230] and could not be obtained by birth or through craft;[231] neither could it be transmitted through inheritance.[232].

643 The history of this office may be divided into two periods: the
174 first, closing with the formation of the confederacy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century; the second, beginning at that time, and lasting until the final abrogation of the office by the Spaniards, in 1521.[233] During the former period the "chief of men" was, as we have already said, but the executive chieftain

estiendo no piden justicia, porque en su ley antigua mas eran elecciones, en todo género de señores, que no herencias ni sucesiones." The author of the above was a native Mexican, and knew the customs of his people. "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58): "porque como queda referido, nunca heredaron los hijos de los Reyes en los señorios, sino por eleccion daban el Reyno á uno destos quatro principes, á los quales tampoco heredaban sus hijos en estos ditados y cargos; sino que muerto uno escogian otro en su lugar al que les parescia, y con este modo siempre tuvo este Reyno muy suficientes hombres en sus Repúblicas, porque elegian los mas valerosos." *Tezcocomoc* (Cap. LXXXII, pp. 142 and 143), confirming the mode of election as reported by Sahagun. *Zurita* ("*Rapport, etc.*," p. 14): "Ainsi, ils préféraient laisser apres eux un successeur qui fut capable de bien gouverner, plutôt que d'abandonner cette charge à leurs fils, à leurs petits-fils ou à leurs lieutenants, comme le fit Alexandre le Grand." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, pp. 153 and 154). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356): "Confieso de la Republica Mexicana esta manera de sucesion, y que se elegian algunas veces, sin diferencias, notando solamente las qualidades de las personas, y de estos fue Itzcohuatl, valeroso Rei Mexicano, que por el valor de su persona, y la grandeza de su animo, no se advirtió, ni reparó para eligirle, en que era Hijo de una Esclava; pero no es maravilla, que el bien publico, prefiera al particular." I forbear quoting the tales about the election of sundry Mexican chiefs, as related by the above and other authors.

[229] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI. p. 463), has distinctly formulated the idea: "that the crown should always remain in the house of Acamapitzin." Enough has been said about the Mexican family to dispel the notions of an "Indian dynasty" in Mexico. At best, a succession or perpetuation of the *office* in a certain *Kin* or *calpulli*, might be conceded. *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103), *Codice Ramirez*, (p. 56), and *Zurita* (p. 14), make even this somewhat doubtful; so does the election of Itzcohuatl, *as conceived* by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). The origin of "Flinty Snake" is, however, reported in too many different ways to justify any conclusion based on it. The fact, that one of the four leading war-captains should become "chief of men," militates against descent of office in a certain kin. See also *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral de los Indias*," Lib. VI, cap. 24, pp. 439 and 440).

[230] *Sahagun* (Lib. VI. cap. XX; Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). *Acosta* (Lib. VI. cap. 24).

[231] *Las Casas* ("*Hist. apologética*" quoted on p. 134 of Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough's collection): "Quando algun señor moria y dexava muchos hijos, al alguno se alzava en palacio y se queria preferir á los otros, aunque fuese el mayor, no lo consentia el Señor á quien pertenecia la confirmacion, y menos el pueblo. Antes dexavan pasar un año, ó mas de otro, en el qual consideravan bien qual era mejor para regir ó gobernar el estado, y aquel permaneció por señor." *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 18 and 19). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 358 and 359). Further quotations would be useless.

[232] In addition to the authorities named in note 228, I refer to *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI, p. 463); with the restriction mentioned in note 229. "*De l'ordre de Succession, etc.*" (1st *Recueil of Terrnaux-Campana*, p. 228).

[233] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 69). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 372). The death of Cuauhtemotzin put an end to the office in the eyes of the Spaniards, although it had

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of the tribe, and the duties of his office, at that time embracing 643
those of the "Cihuacohuatl," have been stated by us already. 174
The confederation had so far wrought a change that he became "general" of its allied warriors,[234] and consequently to a certain extent, an extra-tribal officer residing at Tenuchtitlan, Mexico, because the military supremacy was vested in that tribe. We have previously alluded to the fact that it was the "chief of men" upon whom we have been heretofore accustomed to look as a monarch, even a despot. His office and its attributes have been the mainstays of the notion that a high degree of civilization prevailed in aboriginal Mexico, in so far as its people were ruled after the manner of eastern despotisms.

Not only was this pretended monarch strictly elective, but he 643
could also be deposed for misdemeanor.[235] "Wrathy chief" the younger, better known as the last Montezuma, was removed from office and his successor elected before that ill-starred chieftain's violent death.[236]

been formally abrogated by the capture of that chieftain, to whom no successor was appointed by the whites.

[234] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 417). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII, p. 219), claims for his Tezcucan chief the military command, in the shape of an "imperial" title: "He of Tezcuco was greeted by the title of Aculhua Tecuhtli, as also by that of Chichimecatl-Tecuhtli which his ancestors carried, and which was the distinctive mark of the empire." I believe this claim was disposed of in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 394, notes 9 and 10). See also *Vetancurt* (Part IIa, Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 291): "y remataron la fiesta quedando Izcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que Netzahualcoyotl." See also the tacit acknowledgments by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist: des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, LXXIV, LXXV).

[235] *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte II, Trat. II, cap. XV, p. 485): "Otras muchas leyes extravagantes que con el instinto natural, con maduro consejo confirmaron y que inviolablemente guardaban, tenian los Mexicanos y los de Guatimala, como el de deponer al rey con junta y consejo de la nobleza."

[236] That "wrathy chief" had lost all his authority during the time Cortés went against Narvaez, is clearly stated in "*Carta Segunda*" (Vetia I, pp. 41 and 42) already, though the fact of his removal from office is not noticed by the Spanish commander himself. It is, however, mentioned by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CXXVI, p. 132). Montezuma said to Olid and to the "Padre de la Merced:" "Yo tengo creido que no aprovecharé cosa ninguna para que cese la guerra, porque ya tienen alzado otro señor . . . ;" and again the Mexicans themselves are reported as answering to Montezuma: "Hacémosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por señor." *Las Casas* ("*Brevissima Relacion*," p. 49), Alvarado: "Ponen un puñal a los pechos al preso Motençuma que se pusiesse à los corredores, y mandasse, que los Yndios no combatiessen la casa, si no que se pusiessen en paz. Ellos no curaron entonces de obedecelle en nada; antes platicauan de elegir otro Señor, y capitan, que guiasse sus batallas." *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XXI, pp. 28 and 29): "Oidas estas voces por los Mexicanos y Tlatilulcas, commençaron entre si á bravear, y maldecir á Mocthezuma diciendo que dice el puto de Mocthezuma y tú bellaco con él? no cesaremos de la guerra; luego comenzaron á dar alaridos y á tirar saetas y dardos ácia donde estaba el que hablaba junto con Mochthecuzuma." This was before Cortés had even captured Narvaez, and shows that at that time the "chief of men" had already lost all authority. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 89). When the other chief who was with Montezuma had spoken:

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174 clear picture of what went on. As each tribe recorded its own affairs with relatively little attention to those of its neighbors, cross references are rare. History, in our modern sense of utilizing past trends to chart the present and the future, did not exist in the intellectual structure of ancient Mexico, and the traditions of the successive tribal immigrations are in confusing disagreement (Table IV).

P A 175 The histories of five towns summarize this period: Culhuacan,* Texcoco, Azcapotzalco, Cholula,† and Tenochtitlan‡ (Table VI). According to the *Annals of Cuauhtitlan*,§ a long, confused record referring to Culhuacan, Tenochtitlan and the politically insignificant Cuauhtitlan, the Culhuas conquered the Toltecs and lived for a time at their ancient capital Tula. The location of this Toltec capital is not clearly stated, but it was on the west side of the lake and may have been either the late Toltec site of Azcapotzalco or the modern Tula, which has some late Toltec remains but presents more evidence of a heavy Mazapan occupation.[1]

The Culhuas later withdrew southward to Culhuacan, where they established a lineage of chiefs, the length of whose reigns they carefully recorded in their annals. In the middle of the thirteenth century a new dynasty came in which the historians called "Chichimec"; it replaced the older line which they called "Toltec." References were made to struggles with other tribes, chiefly at the northern end of the lakes, but there was trouble with the southern towns as well (Table VI).

At the end of the fourteenth century civil war broke out and people deserted Culhuacan, which became weak and a

*Cool-wah-ca'n.
†Cho-lo'o-la.
‡Ten-otch-ti-tla'n.
§Kwow-ti-tla'n.

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shadow of its former self. The rise of a new power, the Tepanec, who had as allies the vigorous but ill-established Tenochcas,* contributed to its downfall. Yet before Culhuacan succumbed completely to vassalage under the new order, members of its reigning house had twice been sought to found the lineage of Tenochtitlan.

On the documentary evidences Culhuacan was an extremely important city-state. The consecutive reigns of its chiefs stretched from the time of the fall of the western Toltec Empire to that of the rise of the important Aztec state of Tenochtitlan. Culhuacan was considered a center of civilization and for three centuries was a major power in the Valley of Mexico. Yet a visit to the modern town discloses no lofty remains, for the ancient city is razed completely. Only the temple on the Hill of the Star, which rises behind the town and dominates the lakes, is a memorial to its past splendor. For here took place, even after the Culhuas had lost their power, the New Fire Ceremony which ushered in each new cycle of fifty-two years and epitomized the spirit of Aztec religion. P A [796]

Texcoco on the eastern shore of the lakes of Mexico was the most civilized town in the Valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the ruling house, had access to the annals of his people and left a full history, distorted though it was by his wish to make his lineage rival the noble lines of Castile; but he had a strong historical sense, doubtless absorbed from the Spanish priests who educated him. His ancestors were a nomadic group which lived mainly by hunting and eventually, under a chief named Xolotl,† occupied the territory around Teotihuacan. P A 175 114 P A 175

*Te-no'tch-cas. †Sho'-lottle.

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They pushed west to Tenayuca* and in the process learned agriculture and assumed a sedentary life. While there they met other tribes of varying degrees of culture and assumed the practice of choosing a chief from a special lineage instead of electing him directly from the clan leaders.[2]

About 1300 two brothers were in line for succession to the chieftainship and one Tlotzin, who was not selected, moved back to Texcoco and headed his own line. When he died and his son Quinatzin† took the throne two tribes moved into his territory from the Mixteca area in northern Oaxaca and southern Puebla. They brought with them the worship of the god Tezcatlipoca, the art of writing and many other useful skills. So completely did these people transform life at Texcoco that the picture manuscripts portrayed the local population clad in skins and the immigrants in woven clothing to emphasize the contrast between their own culture and the superior talents of the newcomers. Quinatzin, who was an extraordinarily competent ruler, extended his dominions greatly by conquering many adjacent communities. The idea of absorbing conquered towns into the victorious state, so obvious to a modern member of western civilization, had not yet occurred to the Mexicans. Instead, defeated towns retained their local autonomy; but they paid a yearly tribute and their chiefs had to make a state visit to acknowledge their fealty to the conqueror. Quinatzin had some seventy towns as fiefs, and his dominion projected down to the shore of Vera Cruz. His successor, Techotlala, succeeded in unifying the Valley dialects into one language, Aztec.

Texcoco and Culhuacan never came into direct conflict, for they were situated at opposite ends of the Lake of Mexico.

*Te-nah-yo'o-ca. †Kee-nat-se'en.

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There is evidence, too, that the Valley was not completely settled, for in the mid-thirteenth century the Tenochca were able to thread their way south to Chapultepec* without coming into serious conflict with the settled populations.[8]

However, in the mid-fourteenth century there was serious conflict. A tribe called the Tepanec, which lived at Azcapotzalco, outgrew its boundaries. Led by an able and vicious chief, Tezozomoc,† it began to extend its territories. Culhuacan felt the pressure first, and internal discord developed, as it must when a nation cannot feed itself and has no room to expand. Some of the Culhuas moved up to Texcoco along the eastern shore and added their long-practiced skills to those of the Texcocan community. The Tepanec, blocked to the south by dense populations and to the west by high mountain walls, turned north and east to raid and occupy Texcocan lands. Otomi‡ tribes, whose territory lay on the islands and the eastern shore of Lake Xaltocan, were pinched between the opposing forces who would brook no neutrality. They moved north, and the two great powers, Tepanecs and Texcocans, came into direct contact and war ensued. Tezozomoc won a signal victory, broke Texcoco and alienated her vassals. He quickly dominated the rest of the Valley towns, almost obliterating the empty shell of Culhuacan's former dominance. His son Maxtla§ succeeded this vigorous and ruthless conqueror in 1427. Having the northern Valley at his feet, he oppressed the conquered and interfered in the affairs of former allies like Tenochtitlan. Yet he was to enjoy his conquests only a bare two years.[9]

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Indian governmental practice extracted tribute from conquered tribes, but had not developed a technique for forcing 174 175

*Cha-po'cl-tepec. †Te-zo'z-o-moc. ‡Ot-o-me'e. §Ma'sh-tla.

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payment without declaring a new war and making a fresh campaign. Consequently a bond of sympathy forged from mutually shared ill-fortune grew up between otherwise somewhat hostile communities. Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan,* towns at the backdoor of Tepanec territory, made a pact with Texcoco across the lake; and the allies, rising suddenly, overthrew the new power. Maxtla was slain, his city burned and, contrary to the practice of the time, his people incorporated into the allied tribes. Land was apportioned to warriors who had performed notable feats of valor. So completely did the allies break the Tepanecs, that all that remains of their history is the memory of Tezozomoc and Maxtla and some petty local chieftains who succeeded them.

The Texcocans regained their prestige after this war, but the Tenochcas, who had begun as mere vassals, grew so rapidly in strength that at the coming of the Spaniards they had managed to eclipse their former lords, as we shall see in the following chapter.

These events disclose a picture of expanding populations and ensuing intertribal conflict. This cultural history shows a diffuse background of tribal arts and practices gradually welded into a closely similar whole, Aztec civilization. The process was achieved before Tenochtitlan attained eminence, so at the cost of academic tediousness the term Aztec has been reserved for the civilization, Tenochca for the people who so conspicuously made it known.

The civilization of Teotihuacan disappeared before the infiltration of intruding tribes. The nomadic groups referred to in the chronicles have left no identifiable remains. Hunters reduced to the bare necessities which they can carry on their

*Tla-co'-pan.

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Mexican origin spread through the length and breadth of 174
Middle America. Just so the Christian religion had a ready 177
acceptance in Indian America when the missionaries were backed by such redoubtable exponents of our gentle faith as Cortes, Pizarro and their coadjutors.

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF CHICHIMEC AND DYNASTIC TOLTEC HISTORY

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950–1100, Early Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Contact with Toltecs at Tula (Teotihuacan) under Xolotl; Tenayuca I pottery; rude culture.

Western Phase: Teotihuacan V and western Toltec Empire at Tula (Azcapotzalco).

1100–1247, Middle Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Tenayuca occupation by immigrants; replacement of Toltecs at Tula (Tula); tribal government; foundation of Texcocan Chichimec lineage in 1232; development of fiefs; introduction of Mazapan culture.

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Western Phase: Destruction of Toltecs at Tula (Azcapotzalco); movement to Culhuacan; foundation of Culhuacan "Toltec" lin-

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eage in 1114; adoption of Coyotlatelco ceramics; first Aztec cycle counted, 1143–95; second Aztec cycle counted, 1195–1247.

RULERS

Culhuacan	Cuauhtitlan	Coatlalpac	Texcoco	Tenochtitlan
Nauhyotl (d. 1124 after 60 years)			Xolotl 1115–1232	
Cuauhtexpetlatzin 1124–81	Teizlacohuatzin 1160–1226			
Hoatzin 1181–1202				
Nonoalcatl 1202–1223				
Achitometl 1223–37	Quinatzin 1226–99			
Cuauhtonal 1237–51				

1247–99, LATE CHICHIMEC-AZTEC I PERIOD

Eastern Phase: Establishment of Texcoco as Chichimec capital under Quinatzin in 1298; persistence of Mazapan culture in east; penetration of Coyotlatelco and temple cult to Tenayuca(?).

Western Phase: Foundation of new dynasty at Culhuacan in 1251; introduction of Aztec I pottery at Culhuacan, with Pueblan origins; construction of Building I at Tenayuca(?); Cholula rebuilt (Altar de los Craneos); Cholula III pottery; Tenochcas at Chapultepec; third Aztec cycle counted, 1247–99.

Culhuacan	Cuauhtitlan	Coatlalpac	Texcoco	Tenochtitlan
New Lineage Mazatzin 1251–74			*Lineage Begins* Nopaltzin 1232–63	
Quetzaltzin 1274–87		Cosconaztzin 1282–88	Tlotzin 1263–98	Huitzilihuitl 1235–98
Chalchiuhtlatonac 1287–1304				

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173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

• 175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

*Mich-o-a-ca'n.

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At one place they split up; at another they sac- 175
rificed three individuals, according to the prescribed ritual [782]
of opening up the stomach and tearing out the heart; and at a third place they learned how to make pulque.

Their records make little reference to the tribes already in 175
the Valley, and their own entrance was relatively unnoticed 648
by the others. However, the hieroglyph of Tezozomoc in one manuscript suggests the obvious conclusion that they had to have Tepanec permission to pass through Azcapotzalco and settle at Chapultepec, where the beautiful park now is. Here they remained happily for nearly a generation. Their neighbors seem to have been small but growing communities, so that conflict was inevitable. The Tenochcas began the [583]
strife because their young men went up the lake to Tenayuca to raid and steal wives, a common North American Indian method of gaining prestige. Their more powerful neighbors became irritated and made up a punitive expedition in which Tepanecs, Culhuas and Xochimilcas took part. The result was horrid: the Tenochca chief Huitzilhuitl* and most of the tribe had to go to Culhuacan territory to dwell in serfdom, while the rest escaped to the lake where some low-lying islands offered refuge. The main body stayed in Tizapan,† near the present San Angel, where they were under the eye of Coxcox,‡ the chief of Culhuacan. The Tenochcas detested the waste which was barren in all except poisonous snakes and insects. Huitzilopochtli they still enshrined, but his worth had sunk so low that the Culhuas came to mock him at his shrine and toss nameless filth into the temple.[a]

Finally, however, the tide turned. Coxcox became involved in a war with Xochimilco and called upon his vassals to aid him. When the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

*Wee-tze'el-weetl. †Tee-za-pa'n. ‡Cosh-cosh.

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648 when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

175 they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty pris-
[304] oners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the
175 battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces
727 in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears, proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly
[721] the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

175 So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

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have become an entity in 1325, and Tlaltelolco,* which was founded about the same time. They both were havens for malcontents from the mainland, and about the middle of the century each was large enough to petition the mainland tribes for a chief to found a dynasty. Tlaltelolco received a leader from the Tepanecs, and the Tenochcas again induced Culhuacan to provide them with a chief, Acamapichtli.† The accounts vary as to whether or not he arrived as a lad accompanied by his mother. The *Annals of Cuauhtitlan* mention that at this time the Tenochcas were erecting houses of stone, an indication that a community had to reach a definite stage of development before enjoying the prestige of an important lineage.[4]

In the time of Acamapichtli the Tenochcas were tributaries and allies of the Tepanec and fought successfully against Tenayuca and Culhuacan. Yet their field of operations was minute, and a morning's automobile ride will enable the curious to see the whole scene of Tenochcan history. Huitzilhuitl II succeeded Acamapichtli at his death and prudently ensured the future of the nascent state by marrying the daughter of Tezozomoc. He was chief during the final struggle between the two great lake powers, the Tepanecs and the Texcocans, a war which ended in the death of the Texcocan chief, Ixtlilxochitl, and the dispersal of his fiefs.

Chimalpopoca‡ succeeded his half brother Huitzilhuitl, and his reign was fraught with disaster. Tezozomoc died, and his son Maxtla succeeded him at the cost of murdering a brother. Maxtla was frankly out for power and kept the city-

*Tlal-tel-o'l-co. ‡Chee-mal-po-po'-ca.
†Ah-cam-a-pe'ech-tli.

[text continues on p. 97]

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TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY BEFORE THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1299–1351, Early Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Introduction of picture writing and other arts at Texcoco by people from the Mixteca; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery.

Western or Culhua Phase: Cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building II; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery, retention of Coyotlatelco (?) pottery; revolt of Tenochcas at Chapultepec, settlement of Tenochtitlan; fourth Aztec cycle counted, 1299–1351.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Cuauhtlix 1304–11	Tezcaltecutli 1299–1338	Mishuatonaltzin 1290–1300		
Yohuallatonac 1311–21		Axayaltzin 1300–08		Tenoch(?)
Tziuhtecatzin 1321–34	Vactli 1339–49	Atzatzamaltzin 1308–24	Quinatzin 1298–1357	
Xihuitlemoc 1334–52		Totepeuhtecutli 1324–43		*Lineage Begins*
		Epcoatzin 1343–54		Queen Ilancueitl 1349–83

1351–1403, Late Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Unification of language by Techotlala; political and cultural dominance of Texcoco; Aztec IIb pottery and homogeneity of culture; Cholula IV pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Decadence of Culhuacan; rise of Tepanecs at Azcapotzalco; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building IV, Aztec transition; captive Tenochcas escape to build in stone and adopt lineage pattern with Acamapichtli; fifth Aztec cycle counted, 1351–1403.

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Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Coxcox 1352–76	Queen Ehualyenizzin 1368–72	Quetzalmichin 1354–65		
				Acamapichtli 1375–95
Acamapichtli 1376–88	Tematzacocuitzin 1373–78	Mamatzin 1369–89	Techotlala 1357–1409	
Achitomel 1388–1400	Tlacateotzin 1379–89	Pichatzin 1389–92		Huitzilhuitl II 1395–1414

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TABLE IX

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY AFTER THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1403–55, Early Aztec III Period

Eastern Phase: Political elimination of Texcoco in first half of period with later recovery; prosperity and cultural advance under Nezahualcoyotl; expansion of palace at Chiconauhtla; Aztec IIIa pottery; Cholula V pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla and Los Melones, Texcoco.

Western Phase: Political extinction of Culhuacan; rise and fall of Tepanecs; rise of Tenochtitlan with organization of Triple Alliance; growth of conquest and war-captive pattern; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building IV; cyclical dump in Zocalo, Mexico City; broad diffusion of Aztec IIIa pottery; sixth Aztec cycle counted, 1403–55.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl 1400–13	Xaltemoc 1390–98 (1408)	Tepolozmayotl 1393–1415	Ixtlilxochitl 1409–18	Chimalpopoca 1414–28
			Tepanec Tyrants Tezozomoc 1343–1427	Itzcoatl 1428–40
			Maxtla 1427–29	
			Texcocan Lineage Resumed Nezahualcoyotl 1418–72	Montezuma I 1440–69

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1455–1507, Late Aztec III Period

172 174 ●175 *Eastern Phase:* Continued development of culture at Texcoco; growth of Chiconauhtla palace; elaboration of ceramics; Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical dump at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Political power of Tenochtitlan; extension of conquest over Mexico and Guatemala; reconstruction of great temple; increase in captive sacrifice; elaboration of ritual; diffusion of Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building V; cyclical dump at Nonoalco, Mexico City; seventh Aztec cycle counted, 1455–1507.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
unimportant	unimportant	unimportant	Nezahualpilli 1472–1516	Axayacatl 1469–81
				Tizoc 1481–86
				Ahuitzotl 1486–1503

1507–1519 (Conquest) Aztec IV

Eastern Phase: Growing friction between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan; last expansion of Chiconauhtla palace; Aztec IV pottery styles with good life forms. Conquest.

Western Phase: Tenochtitlan domination with coercion of Texcoco; maintenance of old conquests rather than success of new ones; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building VI; Aztec IV pottery with many life forms; eighth Aztec cycle counted, 1507–59, incomplete with Conquest.

Texcoco	*Tenochtitlan*
Cacama 1516–19	Montezuma II 1503–20
	Cuitlahuac 1520 (4 months)
	Cuauhtemoc 1520–24 (murdered on way to Honduras)

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175 states of the valley in a ferment of intrigue and oppression. Finally he murdered Chimalpopoca and also the chief of the neighboring town of Tlaltelolco, adding insult to injury, according to Indian thinking, by stepping up the tribute payments as well.

The people of Tenochtitlan were seething with indignation, and the small mainland town of Tlacopan (Tacuba) was sympathetic to the oppressed. Nezahualcoyotl,* the legitimate successor to the chieftainship of Texcoco, had taken to the hills after the defeat of his nation and was stirring up opposition to the enemy. He induced the Tenochcas under their new chief Itzcoatl† to attack Azcapotzalco through the back door of Tlacopan, while he rallied the Texcocans and their tributaries to assault the enemy with columns coming both by canoe and overland around the lakes. After a long war of several weeks the allies were successful. (See Plate 63.)

Nezahualcoyotl doubtless intended that his state should regain its position as the dominant power in the northern lake country. But he did not realize that when he formed the triple alliance for mutual defense and offensive profit he laid the foundation for a rival state which would surpass Texcoco. The Tenochcas and the Texcocans were each to receive two shares of all loot, the Tlacopans one, but the division was probably liberally interpreted by whichever chanced to be the strongest of the three allies. The Tenochcas gained land on the lake shore, which gave them a strong foothold for further conquest. Since this new territory was granted to the leading warriors, a caste of power and wealth was established. Thus outwardly the conquest brought the Te-

*Ne-za-wal-co'y-otl. †Eet'z-co-atl.

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●175 nochcas from the condition of a feudal tributary to that of an independent state. Inwardly there was a change of feeling, a shift from an inferiority to a superiority complex. Itzcoatl, the fourth Tenochcan chief, expressed this attitude by ordering all the historical picture manuscripts to be burned, "as they were not appreciated by the ordinary people."[8]

From the time of Itzcoatl the state histories are in very close accord. Those written prior to his accession in 1428 exhibit considerable conflict, often resulting in discrepancies of a fifty-two-year cycle or more. I think this lack of agreement arose from the split in the tribal continuity at the time of the Chapultepec defeat in 1300. Part of the tribe refugeed to the islands in the lake and founded a town in 1325 or thereabouts, ruling it under a tribal council and a main chief. The other group was taken to Tizapan and became civilized according to Culhuacan standards. The founding of Tenochtitlan, from their point of view, did not take place until they joined the original colony on the lake where, as soon as possible, they erected stone temples and tried to found a dynasty.

Itzcoatl enabled the Tenochcas to assume Aztec civilization. His historical reforms doubtless coincided with ritualistic regulations as well, for he undertook the construction of temples and the ordering of a religious hierarchy. He ordained the ranks of the civil government and superintended the building of the city, constructing causeways to the mainland to ensure easy access. Systematically Itzcoatl began to mop up those independent Valley tribes not subject to Texcoco; he also won victories and acknowledgments of supremacy from the powerful Chalcas and Xochimilcas, tribes culturally allied more closely to the Puebla groups than to

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those of the northern Valley. To show his independence Itzcoatl had a brush with Nezahualcoyotl's Texcocans, and thereafter the peace between the former allies was somewhat precarious. 175

Montezuma* I, surnamed Ilhuicamina,† the Wrathy, succeeded Itzcoatl after his death in 1440. This chief, already marked as a leader in the wars of Itzcoatl, extended the domination of Tenochtitlan even further. He successfully fought the Chalcas, who detested the tribes of the northern Valley, and crossed the mountains to raid eastward into Puebla and Vera Cruz and southward to conquer towns in Morelos and Guerrero. A fairly close military co-operation must have existed between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan, for conquests claimed for Tenochtitlan by Tenochcan historians appear as gains for Texcoco in the Texcocan annals. Poor Tlacopan disappears from the scene, possibly independent still but certainly unconsidered in the division of pelf, a situation recalling that of Italy in 1918.

Under Montezuma I the cultural aspects of Tenochtitlan progressed mightily. He took measures to ensure the health of his people, building an aqueduct from the springs of Chapultepec to bring an abundance of sweet water to the city. Around the eastern rim of his capital he caused a great dike to be erected to dam off the spread of the lakes during the rainy season.

The conquests into Puebla brought the Tenochcas in touch with the highly developed religion of that area, so that many additional temples were built in honor of gods and goddesses which were revered by the conquered tribes. In times of relative peace he revived the War of Flowers, a

*Mon-tay-zo'o-ma. †Il-wee-cah-me'en-a.

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175 ceremonial contest between warriors of two tribes or groups of tribes, in order that prisoners might be taken for sacrifice without the economic dislocation of formal war. This practice was known long before in the Valley, the Tenochcas participating in such struggles with the Chalcas in 1376–84, but the Tenochcas had been so continuously at war that they were accustomed to take their prisoners the hard way.

175 731 The crops failed from 1451–56, owing to severe storms and frost. Many people died, and others, unable to support themselves, adopted voluntary slavery in order to share the bounty of the more fortunate. Usually a famine led to increased military activity to replenish the empty larders with supplies exacted as tribute. But in this case the situation was so severe and the Tenochcas so weak that they had to be content with a War of Flowers.

175 Axayacatl* succeeded his father Montezuma I in 1469. He extended Tenochcan domination over a still-wider area, spreading west into the Matlatzinca country and south to Oaxaca and Tehuantepec. He conducted a campaign into the Tarascan territory and met with a dreadful defeat which ensured the independence of these tribes of Michoacan up to their conquest by the Spaniards. This was the only serious Tenochcan military disaster until the grim days of 1519.

Neither Axayacatl nor his successors were able to transform domination of a region into dominion. He did succeed, nevertheless, in reducing the neighboring town of Tlaltelolco, killing its chief and denying its council the right to meet with the Tenochcas in matters of tribal importance. Tlaltelolco up to that time had maintained its independence

*Ash-ay-a'h-catl.

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and had grown at the same rate as Tenochtitlan, aiding in 175●
many of the campaigns. It was famous for its merchants; and its market, even after its subjugation, was the greatest in Mexico. Local jealousy, however, did not lead to war until both towns competed in building temples to Huitzilopochtli, the War God. Apparently this competition for divine favor led to war, whereas economic conflict did not. Ridiculously [578]
enough the open break was induced by the insulting behavior of the Tlaltelolcan women, who flaunted their backsides at the enraged Tenochcan visitors.[8]

The religious arts reached their full development under 175
Axayacatl. In his time was made the great Calendar Stone 805
which weighs over twenty tons and is twelve feet in diameter. The block was quarried on the mainland, and the allied rulers sent help to drag this gigantic mass across the causeways. Designed to symbolize the Aztec universe, it is a masterly example of a pattern, the detail of which adds, rather than detracts from, the spaciousness of the concept.[9] (See Plate 52, top.)

In 1472, early in the reign of Axayacatl, the life of a great 175
figure in American Indian history, Nezahualcoyotl, came to an end. This Texcocan chief had begun his manhood in political exile fleeing from Tepanec vengeance, but had fought and intrigued his way back into power. He even restored the fortunes of his people who, in the previous century, had rivaled the Culhuacanos in the formative years of Aztec civilization. Nezahualcoyotl had a broad judicial sense which enabled him successfully to elaborate the administrative structure of a far-flung realm. Since the Texcocans, before the Tepanec domination in 1419–28 already had a chain of tribute-paying vassals, this resumption of control in

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•175 after years was not so much a conquest as the forceful exercise of due rights.[20]

He took a lively interest in the construction of temples and public buildings so that, for all its tattered decay today, Texcoco was one of the most imposing cities on the Central Plateau. His palace near by and his bath, hewn from the solid rock of Texcotzingo, are visible proof of the rich luxury of his life.

Nezahualcoyotl took a profound interest in religion and the arts. He transformed theological speculation into a philosophy of religion and worshiped a single god, the force through which nature manifests itself and from which the lesser gods derived their power and being. He encouraged the arts and in his own right attained great renown as a poet and orator. The lore of the stars fascinated him, and he had a deep knowledge of the astrological astronomy of his day and age. In contrast to the bleakly austere records of the Tenochca overlords, his career was a model of wise administration. Not the least of Nezahualcoyotl's achievements was his keeping the peace with his arrogant island ally, Tenochtitlan, which was ever ready by intrigue, murder or open warfare to add to its wealth and power.

Nezahualcoyotl was succéeded by his son Nezahualpilli,* who ruled until 1516. The length of his reign indicates the possession of an administrative skill equal to his father's. He successfully undertook a number of conquests, but they are not so dramatized as those of the Tenochcan chiefs.

Nezahualpilli had an interest in astrology, religion and necromancy, as would be natural in a chief whose religious obligations were as onerous as his civil and military duties.

*Ne-zoo-al-pe'el-li.

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His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[11]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[12]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zotl.

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175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the 796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[13]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was [669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan. [731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence, [782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[14]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-ot-se'en.

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world, were especially ominous, since in addition to earthquakes and other supernatural portents word came in of white strangers, propelled in odd craft, who were ranging along the coast. But the ceremony took place, and the world continued. (See Plate 29, top.) 175

Montezuma fought an unsuccessful war against the Tlaxcalans, but at the same time he succeeded in avenging himself on his Texcocan allies for the death of his sister, by allowing their force to be ambushed and wiped out. In 1516, at the death of Nezahualpilli, he appointed his successor without recognizing the choice of the Texcocan council. The ousted candidate revolted and the already strained alliance was broken.[18]

A year later Grijalva* reached Vera Cruz, and in 1519 Cortes started his march to Mexico. Montezuma died that winter, stoned by his own people, according to Spanish accounts; strangled by the Spaniards, in the Indian versions. Cacama succeeded him but died of smallpox within a month, and the last of the free chiefs, Cuauhtemoc,† conducted the heroic defense of Tenochtitlan, only to be hanged four years later on Cortes' march to Honduras.[19]

Thus ends the bare record of Tenochcan history, without a description of the people, their government, their laws, their gods or their arts. Lacking, also, is an account of the clash between the two civilizations: Aztec and Spanish. The records are abundant, and we can form a lifelike picture of the time. Before we examine the nature of Aztec civilization and the causes of its downfall, let us recapitulate briefly the history of the valley tribes before the Conquest.

This chapter has covered the rise of the Tenochcas and

*Gree-ha'l-va. †Kwow-ta'y-moc.

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175 how they came to be the greatest example of Aztec civilization. Yet the events set forth show quite clearly that they did not originate this civilization or, beyond the sacrifice cult, contribute much to it. During their migration period, from 1168 to 1248, they were simple primitive folk. In their sedentary period, from the settlement at Chapultepec in 1248 to the election of Acamapichtli in 1376, they were busily absorbing the culture of their neighbors and overlords, especially that of the Culhuas. The tributary period, from 1376 to 1428, saw the Tenochcas under the control of the Tepanec, cautiously trying out the formal Aztec city-state organization. Not until Itzcoatl assumed the chieftaincy in 1429 did Tenochtitlan really advance, at which time the city took part in the general great rise of Aztec civilization.

On the other hand, Culhuacan was associated with the earliest phase of Aztec culture in the Valley and was contemporaneous with such distinctive styles as Coyotlatelco and Mazapan. The evolving Aztec culture in its ceramic aspect superseded and obliterated these earlier folk arts and was well established throughout the Valley at a date when the Tenochcas were nonentities. The historical position of Culhuacan closely paralleled the archaeological record, yet this early Culhuacan phase did not seem to be a spontaneous development so much as a derivative from Puebla and the Mixteca.

The availability of annals and the existence of competent excavations in sites like Tenochtitlan, Texcoco and Culhuacan have caused us to weight heavily the testimony of the people on the northern half of the lakes. Chalco and Xochimilco, to the south, whose annals have disappeared and whose sites are largely unexcavated, may have had a far more

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important part in the history of the Valley than appears here. Pueblan influence is far stronger in these southern city-states.

Aztec civilization, therefore, was a dynamic composite of many elements, some developed as an answer to tribal needs, others incorporated by contact with foreign peoples. Constant change took place, as in all other human societies, resulting from the continual adjustments man must make to fresh situations. Since individual men and women make up a community, let us in the following chapters begin with a single person and work our way through his social obligations and economics to his tribal organization and religion, finally reaching the Conquest and its aftermath.

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FIG. 2. AZTEC NUMBERS AND METHODS OF ENUMERATION

a. one, a dot or finger b. twenty, a flag c. four hundred, a sign denoting hairs d. eight thousand, a bag e. ten masks of precious stone f. twenty bags of cochineal dye g. one hundred bags of cacao h. four hundred bales of cotton i. four hundred jars of honey of tuna j. eight thousand leaf-bundles of copal gum k. twenty baskets each containing one thousand six hundred ground cacao nibs l. four hundred and two cotton blankets of this type

A post-Conquest manuscript shows devices that may not have been of native origin but European adaptations of the Aztec system. For example, fractions are shown by blacking in segments of a quarter, a half or three quarters of a disk. Similarly fives and multiples of five are indicated by coloring the requisite spaces in the flag of the sign for twenty, and hundreds by showing the proportionate lines in the four-hundred symbol.[20]

175 Aztec histories consisted of annals of ancient times, contemporary events, year counts, accounts compiled yearly, specific records for each year, books of each day and day-by-day counts or diaries.[21] Some of the ancient and contemporary histories have been published, but none of

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PLATE 62

AZTEC RECORDS

TOP: *Left:* Conquests of Montezuma II; see Plate 63 for method of reading (Telleriano-Remensis). MIDDLE: *Left:* The migration of the Aztec tribes. They leave an island by boat and reach a hill with a cave, where Huitzilopochtli lives. They divide into several migrant groups. The list here includes, from top to bottom, Matlatzincas, Tepanecas, Chichimecas, Malinalcas, Cuitlahuacas, Xochimilcas, Chalcas and Huexotzincas (Codex Boturini). *Right:* Meeting of Montezuma, Cortes, and Marina (Lienzo de Tlaxcala). BOTTOM: *Left:* Monthly Ceremony (Codex Borbonicus). *Right:* Tribute Roll (Codex Mendoza).

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PLATE 63

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Codex Telleriano-Remensis describes the period from 1429-39. The cartouches give the year names, indicating the succession of the four days with the thirteen numbers. The sequence may be readily followed: Ten Knife, Eleven House, Twelve Rabbit, Thirteen Reed, One Knife, Two House, etc. The death of Chimalpopoca (Smoking Shield) is recorded for the year Twelve Rabbit (1426), as is the accession of Itzcoatl (Snake of Knives). Each ruler is designated by his hieroglyph. The defeat of Maxtla (Brooch Cloud) is depicted as well as an eclipse of the sun shown by the disk obscured by a moon. The figures and descriptions were inserted after the Conquest by two priests (to judge from the handwriting), who made use of native informants. (Compare Plate 62, top left.)

[p. 208(C)]

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PLATE 64

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Tribute Roll of Montezuma (after Spinden, 1928). The tributary towns are in the columns at bottom and right, designated by numbers. The goods comprised: (a) two strings of jade beads; (b) 20 gourd dishes of gold dust; (c) a royal headdress; (d) 800 bunches of feathers; (e) 40 bags of cochineal dye; (f–g) 2 warriors' costumes; (h) 400 cotton blankets of this pattern; (i) 400 blankets; (j) 404 blankets; (k) 400 blankets; (l) 400 blankets. Note the use of fingers for units, flags for twenties and trestlike signs for four hundreds. The sign for eight thousand may be found on Plate 62 (*bottom right*) in the top left-hand corner, designating the number of containers of honey.

[p. 208(D)]

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175 the shorter records have reached print, even if they survive in some library. These histories followed two main styles. One, exemplified in the Mapa Tlotzin and Codex Xolotl, sets forth events, the people or tribes involved and the places, each designated by its hieroglyph. Year names were appended to give the dates. These Texcocan records are highly complicated to follow, but fortunately some have glossaries appended after the Conquest.[22] (See Plates 25, top row; 63, middle right.)

The other style recorded the succession of the years, one after the other, for the whole time covered by the history. Events, like conquests or the death of chiefs, were appropriately drawn near the proper year sign and sometimes were connected by a line. This type of history seemed largely confined to Tenochtitlan. Since Tenochcan history is much more accurate after 1400 A.D. than before, one wonders whether the destruction of the books, ordered by Itzcoatl, did not really pave the way for a new style of writing.[23] (See Plates 62, top; 63.)

In addition to the histories and the sacred almanacs tribal records were kept. These are most useful to the modern student, for the names of the towns are inscribed in one column, while the rest of the page records the amount of gold, ornaments or cloth that was paid in as tribute. Since the geographical location of most of these towns is known, the chief products of each area can be determined. Other records showed lines of descent, lands occupied and other data essential to family economics.[24] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

212 Fortunately, after the Conquest the Spaniards utilized the
177 native methods of writing as well as their own in civil records,

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787 destroyed, one by a sudden fire, the other by lightning unaccompanied by thunder. A comet was seen by day, and sudden waves came up on the Lake of Texcoco. A sixth sign was a woman's voice crying, "My children, we are lost." Monsters appeared and were brought before the chief, only to disappear as soon as he had seen them. Most sinister of all

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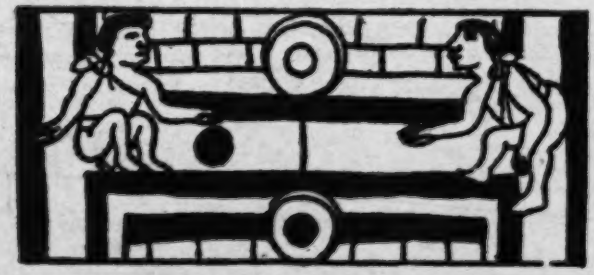

FIG. 3. The years before the Spanish Conquest had been full of evil omens for the Aztecs. To determine whether the dire predictions of Nezahualpilli, chief of Texcoco, were correct, Montezuma played and lost a ritualistic game of "basketball" with him as depicted above. *Codex Florentino*

was a bird brought in by some hunters. This bird had a mirror in its head, revealing the heavens, and when Montezuma peered at it a second time a host of armed men was disclosed. When the chief brought his soothsayers to witness this augury and to explain its significance, the bird flew away. Distorted as these occurrences seem to us, they must have had a most upsetting effect on the population of the Valley of Mexico.[2] (See Figs. 4, 28A–B.)

175 Consequently the emotional condition of the people was peculiarly receptive to the rumors, drifting in from the southeast, which told of four-legged monsters with human bodies issuing from their backs. As these strange beings moved up the coast Montezuma's spies and ambassadors began to bring

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back more precise reports as to their nature, and even presents and messages for their chief. (See Fig. 5.) 175

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FIG. 4. Montezuma views the magical bird in the head of which was a mirror, showing first the heavens, then hosts of armed men, foretelling, according to tradition, the Spanish Conquest. *Codex Florentino*

The strangers were human, for they were vulnerable, receiving wounds and dying from assaults upon them. They had new and strange weapons, noisy and lethal, for cannon, muskets, crossbows and steel swords were unknown to the Aztecs. Also novel and dreadful adjuncts of war were the horses and the savage mastiffs of the Spaniards. In battle the strangers were invincible, operating in a manner completely

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FIG. 5. The Spaniards land in 1519 at the site of Vera Cruz. Their ship and equipment are carefully drawn. At the right, Marina, Cortes' interpreter, is exercising her diplomacy on a native. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

[754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, scorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[8] (See Fig. 6.)

~~175~~ When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a politi-
669 cal problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

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city-states, or pueblos, between the Valley of Mexico and the coast were independent communities and, even if tributary to the Valley powers, were often reluctantly so. Therefore, many of these tribes, like the Totonacs, welcomed the invaders as the spearhead for an open revolt. Others, like the completely independent and warlike Tlaxcalans, put the power of Cortes to a practical test in open battle and, when the Spaniards won, became the most loyal of Cortes' supporters. Cholula, a large town loosely allied to the Aztecs, met the Spaniards as friends, plotting to overcome them by treachery, a good Indian political maneuver instigated, perhaps, by Montezuma. The Spaniards, suspecting such a move, counteracted its efficacy by a judiciously executed massacre, thus, if not gaining a friendly community, at least creating a noncombatant one. (See Figs. 7–9.)

Montezuma and his more cautious counselors watched this

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FIG. 7. Cortes and his army, on passing the great volcanoes southeast of Mexico City, ask the way. Note the smoke issuing from the crater of Popocatepetl. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 8. Montezuma, upset by the magical premonitions of disaster and by the failure of his sorcerers, does not know whether to flee or hide in a cave. *Codex Florentino*

slow ascent from the coast with apprehensive interest. He has been condemned by many commentators as an appeaser and has been made the scapegoat of this great debacle of Indian civilization. Yet consider his position. While the leading man in his community, he was not an authoritarian monarch. For mass action he had to rely on the group decision of the clans comprising his tribe, as well as on the very doubtful allegiances of the vassal states, whose immediate needs transcended any sacrifice of a far-reaching political nature. Thus not only the demands of the harvest season but also the fear of damage to the communal property made communities loath for war. Montezuma had no method of enforcing a long-range diplomatic policy, such as is so characteristic of European and oriental political history. Nor must the extraordinary gifts of Cortes and his Indian mistress Marina be underrated. The pair played on Indian psychology as master pianists would execute a duet on the piano.

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His hands tied by both practical and psychological considerations, Montezuma received Cortes and the Spaniards without having struck a positive blow. Then ensued a new chapter in the story. Cortes promptly seized Montezuma as a hostage, and the latter's power to influence his tribesmen disintegrated. A mass revulsion against the invaders slowly began to crystallize, but it was confined to the city itself, without extending to the neighboring towns. People kept themselves within their houses; the market closed, yet no overt act was made. Cortes was allowed to leave for the coast to subjugate his new commander Narvaez, without open hostilities on the part of the Aztecs. (See Figs. 10–13.)

The storm broke during Cortes' absence. Some inhabitants

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FIG. 9. Cortes meets high dignitaries from Tlaxcala, the pueblo most loyal to the conquerors. Marina interprets while supplies of corn, tortillas, turkeys, etc., are accumulated. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[Text continues on p. 249. --- Analyst]

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FIG. 10. The Spanish forces reach Tenochtitlan, the modern Mexico City, and Montezuma and his nobles come to greet Cortes. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 11. Marina's value to Cortes cannot be underestimated. Here she is ordering an Aztec to perform some duty. To judge from the speech scrolls he complies with ill grace. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 12. A great aid to the Spanish military success was the use of cavalry. Here we see unusual crossbowmen, whose weapons were no less deadly than the firearms of the day. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 13. Cortes takes Montezuma as a hostage. The Aztec chief tries to calm his rebellious subjects who treat him with the contempt due a traitor. *Codex Florentino*

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175 of Tenochtitlan had assembled to celebrate the feast of the god Huitzilopochtli. Alvarado, a tough soldier, lacking all Cortes' gifts of intrigue, scented trouble in this gathering, the actual innocence of which he had no way of knowing. Following the Spanish technique at Cholula, he fell upon the celebrants and killed them all. The city rose like one man and drove the garrison to cover. Actuated by the single motive of revenge against the invaders, the Aztecs were ready to destroy the Spanish garrison. However, the structural weakness of the Indian government became bitterly evident when the chiefs permitted Cortes and his reinforce-

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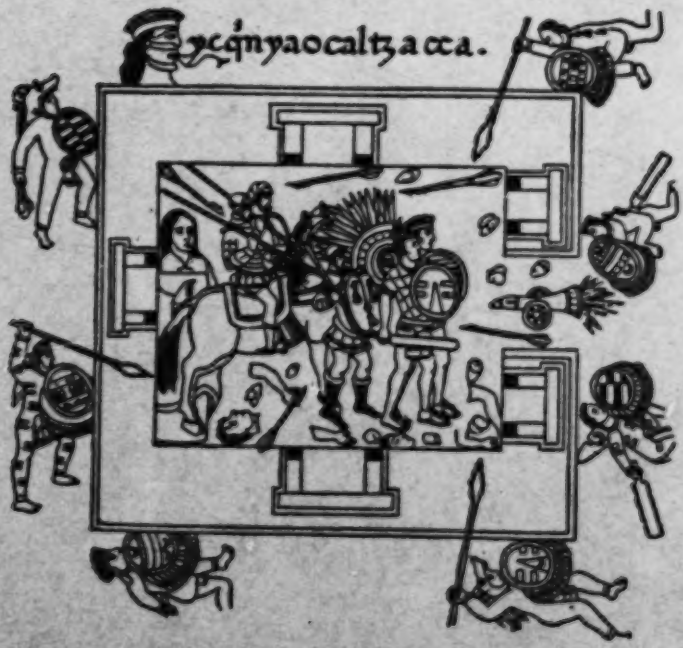

FIG. 14. Following a series of outrages committed by the invaders, the citizens rise in arms against the Spanish. The Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies are besieged in the palace of Axayacatl. In this scene a field piece is shown in action, while the horsemen are held in reserve for a sortie. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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ments from the army of Narvaez to join the beleaguered [726] troops of Alvarado. The ceremonial aspect of war in Indian Mexico did not envisage the splitting of an adversary's army and the separate destruction of its weakened parts, a rudimentary law of European military tactics.

Yet once the Spaniards were united in the city they ceased to be a military problem and became the emotional focus of the Indians' wrath and fear. They had to shut themselves up in the palace of Axayacatl to resist the force of this uprising in which the whole tribe participated. The Aztecs, having immobilized their enemies, visited their hate and rage in a manner unparalleled in the annals of Indian campaigns. Every citizen joined in hurling missiles at the besieged in-

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FIG. 15. Here the Spanish are dislodging the Aztecs from a temple, where the Indians had gathered to ambush them. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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FIG. 16. Wooden tanks were built by Cortes to protect his men when Aztecs took up positions on the housetops out of reach of the sallies of Spanish cavalry. This spirited picture reveals the tanks separated by a canal into which a horse had fallen. The Aztecs on the roofs impede its rescue. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

vaders, and masses of warriors blocked every sally the Spaniards made from their refuge. (See Figs. 14–15.)

The Spaniards could not maneuver in the narrow footpaths along the canals, and the portable fortresses they constructed of wood, the first tanks used in the New World, were useless against enemies on housetops and in canoes.[4] (See Fig. 16.) The Spaniards lost heavily, and the unfortunate Montezuma met his death either at the hands of his own people, whom he was trying to calm, or, as two excellent authorities have it, at those of the Spaniards.[5] After having passed a week shut up in the palace Cortes decided to withdraw from Tenochtitlan. Just before dawn his forces made

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175 their way through the hushed streets out along the causeway to Tacuba.

A woman getting water from a canal, saw them and raised the alarm. The whole male population surged forth along the roofs and through the streets. Some seized canoes and attacked the flanks of the marching column. The Aztecs tore up the bridges, and many Spaniards, laden down with gold, sank ignominiously beneath the waters or, while trying to keep afloat, were clubbed to death by warriors in boats. Alvarado, ever the precipitous man of action, confronted a wide gap in the causeway, plunged his lance into the lake bottom and in full armor vaulted over to the other side.* The panic increased, and order was not restored until the Spaniards reached Tacuba. Cortes sat under a giant cypress and wept as he took toll of his losses. Three quarters of the Spanish army had been lost in this rout and in the preceding siege. (See Fig. 18.)

The Spaniards found a temporary sanctuary on the hill of Los Remedios. Their adversaries, instead of following up

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FIG. 17. A handful of the Spaniards reach the mainland. The Aztecs, instead of following up their advantages, plunder the bodies of the killed and drowned. Be it remembered, however, the Spanish carried off the entire Aztec treasure. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 18. Supplies run low and Cortes secretly tries to reach the mainland along a causeway. His retreat is discovered and the Aztecs, massing their forces in canoes, wreak havoc on the Spanish forces. Tearing up the bridges, the Aztecs further hindered the retreat and all but destroyed the invading army. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

their advantage, plundered the dead and tried to recover the booty stolen by the Spaniards from the Aztec treasury. They lost a precious opportunity to destroy the remnants of the Spanish army by not carrying their attack to its logical conclusion. (See Fig. 17.)

However, the Indians did make some effort toward concerted action later. The Texcocans, formerly the principal allies of the Aztecs, gathered their forces together and tried to intercept the Spaniards as they made their way cross country to the homeland of their allies, the Tlaxcalans. At Otumba battle was joined. The Indians in their battle formation could not overcome the mobility and tactical sense of the Spaniards. Wounded as every man was, and exhausted from lack of food and sleep, they kept their discipline; and a desperate charge by the cavalry reached the chiefs, who fell before the Spanish swords. Once their leaders were slain, the

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scant Indian discipline dissolved, and the tribesmen took flight. The Spaniards made their way to Tlaxcala to recuperate and to await reinforcements.

Montezuma was succeeded by his brother Cuitlahuac, and he, dying of the fever after four months, was replaced as war chief by their nephew, the heroic Cuauhtemoc. This strong and courageous leader was unable to overcome the mutual distrust of the Indian communities for each other. When the Aztecs might have joined together with other tribes to overwhelm the Spaniards by sheer weight of numbers, they did nothing.

In the meantime Cortes, having rested his army, began to consolidate his position. He made two series of campaigns, one eastward to the sea and the other in a south and westerly direction in the present state of Morelos. Utilizing Indian allies both as carriers and as a screen to conceal his more serious tactical movements, he subjugated town after town.

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FIG. 19. Due to the bravery of the Aztecs, Cortes was able to reach Tlaxcala and rally his army. Here we see military supplies being brought from the coast. In the left corner a volcano discharges, heralding the drowning of several Indian allies, as depicted. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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FIG. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[726] In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

175 648 Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

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FIG. 21. Cortes built brigantines to defend his flanks while moving along the causeways into Tenochtitlan. In this picture a brigantine comes to the aid of Cortes and his allies, who are beset by Aztecs afoot and in canoes. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

of their success, resented the part Montezuma had taken in forcing the election of a war chief. When the Aztecs had had a strong chance of maintaining their supremacy after Cortes' retreat from Mexico the Texcocans valiantly took the field at Otumba. Now they switched to the Spanish side, seeing a chance of assuming a dominant position in Valley of Mexico affairs. Their defection gave the Spaniards a base on the Lake of Mexico and a means of mopping up whatever tribes remained unsubjugated in the previous campaign.

175 Having quieted the countryside, Cortes put into effect his plan of siege. He launched a fleet of small galleys armed with cannon, which had been constructed in Tlaxcala and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

brought piecemeal across the mountains, to be assembled on /175 the lake. These ships were to sweep the lake clear of canoes and protect the Spanish flanks as they moved in across the three causeways to the island city, Tenochtitlan. Cortes divided his forces in three parts to move along these approaches and close in on the capital. (See Figs. 20, 22.)

The galleys soon cleared the lake of any hostile fleets of canoes, and the Spaniards began to invest the city. The Aztecs, fighting for their lives, stubbornly defended their position. Every night they sallied forth to destroy the bridges the Spaniards had made across the canals during the day. In fighting of this kind the Spaniards could not manipulate

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FIG. 22. The Spanish flotilla puts to sea. These galleys, equipped with oars and a sail and armed with a cannon in the bow, could play havoc with the Aztec war canoes. *Codex Florentino*

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175 their troops, and neither side had any great advantage. The Aztecs, however, still persisted in trying to take prisoners to sacrifice to their War God instead of exterminating their enemies whenever the occasion offered. To offset this gain the thousands of Indian allies, who flocked to the Spanish side to participate in the expected victory, jammed the causeways and hampered rather than helped the besiegers. (See Fig. 21.)

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FIG. 23. Time and again the brigantines relieved situations like this where armed tribesmen in canoes sailed up to attack the Spanish rear. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 24. The Spanish military problem was to raze enough of the city to permit the use of cavalry. The drawing at the right shows the gunboats taking part in an offensive with this end in view. *Codex Florentino*

Cortes decided to change his manner of campaign, and his solution, while reasonable to us, must have been little short of miraculous to the tribesmen. He sent the Indian allies forward to tear down all the houses they could find and fill the canals with the debris. When counterattacked, the allies retired, leaving room for the Spaniards on horse and foot to deal with the Aztecs. Each day the Spanish forces gained more room to maneuver and thus could count on recovering more ground on the morrow. The Aztecs, animated by a rare unity, fought desperately but without avail. (See Figs. 23–24.)

Toward the end of the siege an event occurred which 175
indicated to the now-desperate Aztecs hope of eventual re- 648
lease in a common rising against the invaders. The people from the islands at the south of the lake, the Xochimilcas and

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175 their neighbor tribesmen, filtered through the Spanish galleys by night and told the Aztecs that, as neighbors, they would make common cause against the whites. Overjoyed, Cuauhtemoc and his chiefs loaded them with ornaments, fine mantles and cacao beans, precious for the favorite drink of the Aztecs, chocolate. When night closed in again on the beleaguered city the Aztecs were startled by a great commotion. The new allies were trying to drag off the Aztec women and children as slaves. It is pleasant to record that this knavery received its just reward, and the Xochimilcas were all either slaughtered or disposed of in sacrifice.[7]

175 Only when its members were too weak to resist and could

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FIG. 25. Pestilence was a formidable ally on the Spanish side. Colds, smallpox, measles, and the like, were unknown to the Indians who, lacking any sort of immunity, died by the thousands. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 26. A factor in the downfall of the Aztecs was their custom of taking captives for sacrifice rather than to kill in direct battle. The heads of the sacrificed victims, both men and horses, were displayed in front of the temples. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 27. Cuauhtemoc, who conducted the defense of Tenochtitlan, is received with all the honors of war by Cortes and his consort, Marina. In the upper right Cortes may be seen greeting Cuauhtemoc's wife and family. The legend translated reads: "With this event, the Mexicans were finished." *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

no longer deal wounding blows did the garrison yield. Cuauhtemoc and his family took to the lake in a canoe, as did many others. He was picked up by one of the Spanish galleys and brought before Cortes, where his dignity and chiefly demeanor received the respectful attention of the Spanish general staff. The request for treasure brought the answer that there was none: it lay under the lake with the Spaniards who were slain the preceding winter in their disastrous flight from the city. Cuauhtemoc then underwent

[Text continues on p. 264.--- Analyst]

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FIGS. 28A–28B. The story of the Conquest of Mexico in native characters. In the cartouches are to be seen the symbols One Reed and Two Knife, the Aztec names for the years 1519 and 1520. Under One Reed is a Spaniard from whose horse's foot depends the shield, club and arrows symbolic of war. At the right the bearded Cortes

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sits in the temple of Tenochtitlan, represented by the cactus. An Indian with the glyph of Montezuma offers a tribute of gold beads. Under Two Knife we find Alvarado massacring the Indians at the great temple and at upper right a comet in the sky. *Codex Vaticanus A*

[Fig. 28 B]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 prison and torture, to be murdered years later on Cortes' march to Honduras. He is now revered in Mexico as a national hero. (See Figs. 25–27.)

The downfall of the Aztecs cannot be explained in terms of European history, and the standard reasons give a false picture. Montezuma, singled out by European authors as a weak and vacillating monarch, was a tribal leader devoid of the constitutional rights of a European sovereign. His empire is also a European creation, since it consisted, in reality, of communities sufficiently intimidated to pay tribute but in no wise bound to Aztec governmental conventions. Warriors the Aztecs were, but not soldiers in the European sense. Given, as we have said, the requisite leadership and organization, any European expeditionary force could have taken Mexico. The tragically courageous resistance at Tenochtitlan was not a military defense so much as a heroic group action by individuals fighting for their lives.

Hunger and thirst, plagues and wounds, had literally so weakened the Aztecs that they could not resist. The horrors of the last stand made by these desperate people is too awful to describe. For long after, the memory of the tragedy lingered about the place, a sort of exhalation of spiritual uncleanliness like that of a haunted house or the scene of a crime. All through the Colonial era, and even up to now, the northern district of Mexico has found favor neither as a residential quarter nor as a business center. Today there are railroad yards and slums where the Aztec civilization bled to death. The ghosts of its heroic defenders still haunt the place.

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797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[8]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

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munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[8]

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Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[7]

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The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

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And in his reign there came a great
173 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiaoac m jaquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Calliixtlauacan, Ecatepec, Cuecaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxaualco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipã nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in ichoatl axaiaca, qujpeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, calliixtlaoaca, hecatepec, cuecaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenãco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxaoalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Tillatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcaatl, and Coaatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered those of Tzinhcoac, and Mollanco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayutlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itencopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl oztotl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tillatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, coahatl, inma in coioacã ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl qujtztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in aiamo mjqui auitzutl. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ic iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaiootimanca, nezque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oaltemoque in tzitzimime, tequazque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiutlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

● 175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecnçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. Some in colonial. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has 3 usual for 5 years.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Ciuacoatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iolloxonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlauapan,[4] Nopalan, Iztac tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichiualtatacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

caxtolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maianaliztli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian tepan cenman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in maianaliztica. 175 [731]

Çã no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlaelmpaloa, queuh veiah noqueztepole uel xomjtotia, atlã tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachizti in Españoles. [787]

Çã no ichoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho.ia qujtoaia. Nonopilhoantxitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no ichoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocoliztli, njman motocac yitoalco ipan qujtemanque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac in cihoatl micquj mozcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in vncan motocaca tlatlatacco motlapo, auh in tetl ic motemanca vẽca veuetzito: auh in ichoatl cihoatl in oiuh mozcali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in motecuçuma in tlein qujttac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca inic onjnozcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie itzqujch ca tehoatl moca tzonqujça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca tehoatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aquiqque in ie uitze ca ichoantin tlalmaceoaqujuj, ichoantin ononque in mexico: auh in ichoatl mjcca çihoatl ie no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh iconeuh oquichtli: 175 787

Ioan miiec in altepetl qujpeuh motecuçuma in jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlaoacan, çocollan, tecomaixtlaoacã, çacatepec, tlachqujauhco, iolloxonecuillan, atepec, mjctlan, tloapan, nopalan iztec tlalocan, cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichioaltatacalan. 175 648 [103]

Çan no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl aciqujui españoles mottaia netezahujloa, in ioaltica oalmoquetzaia cenca tomaoac in tlanextli iuhqujn tlemjiaoatl icoual tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçaiampa oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalquiça tonatiuh, 175 787

2. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. Cuicac ce nepantla tecoc. The Real Academia de la Historia M3 has cui panti. Nepantla is clearly an error.
4. Tlauapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

175 787 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac polliuh oc iuh nauhxiujtl açiqujui in españoles

175 646 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçique injc qujpeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancujc españa de mjll e qujnjenaas y dezinueue.

175 731 646 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cujtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhujtl ösuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchiuh in oalla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in noujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej tozomonaliztli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, qujtlacalhui in jxaiac: injc qujquiztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcoque, çi muchi atlan qujmcutlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca noujian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaixtimomã, injc hijxcque mjmjcque.

175 646 797 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc iehoantin españoles quipeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in noujian ic qujiaoalotoc ixquich altepetl. Icoac tlãtocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen tenpixque in ipilhoan Sanct frãcisco, in qujtecaoaltico tlateoxquilitztli: ioan qujtemachtique tlaneltoqujliztli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactlomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl icpan españoles noujian iauqujçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in iehoatl nonum de guzman, qujuicac in vej culhoacan vmpa mjquijto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

5. *Ça omoch ahuan. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has ça ha ça.*
6. *Icpan: ça tempan in ihiol.*

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The fourteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Diego Vanitl was fourteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc matlactli onnauj tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don Diego vanjtl, ic matlactli onnauj tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

The fifteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Diego Teuetzquiti was fifteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for thirteen years. It came to pass in his time that a great sickness came to be prevalent, known as a plague. From people's noses, blood issued; there was much death everywhere because of it, and there was death from famine. Very many were buried every day, everywhere. And in his time it was that the Chichimeca—those of Xochipilla—and the people of Cibola were destroyed and conquered.

Injc castolli tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don Diego teuetzquijti, ic castolli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiujtl ipan exiujtl, ipan mochiuh inic momanaco vei cocoliztli mjtoa pestilencia teiacapa quiz eztli cenca ic mjcoac in noujian ioan apizmjcoac cenca mjec in motocaia cemjlhujtl in noujiã. ioan ipan muchiuh injc poliuhque, peoaloque chichimeca, xochipilieca ioan Scipola tlaca. 731 [648]

The sixteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Cristóbal Cecepatic was sixteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc caxtolli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don xpoual cecepatic, ic caxtolli oce, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

[p. 6 is blank]

175
648

Second Chapter, which telleth of the rulers who governed in Tlatilulco when the reign had not yet perished and when, later, once again the Spaniards gave back and restored [it] to them, until the year 1560.

Injc vme capítulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque in otlatocatque tlatilulco, in aiamo poliuj tlatocaiotl, ioan in çatepan oc ceppa oquijnmacaque oquijncuepilique españoles in ixquichica ipan xiujtl de 1560.

The first ruler of Tlatilulco, Quaquapitzauac, who first began [the reign], governed Tlatilulco for sixty-two years. He conquered the people of Tenayuca, and Coacalco, and Xaltocan. When this one then ruled, two rulers of Tenochtitlan came together [one after the other], who were named Acamapichtli and Uitziliuitl.

Injc ce tlatilulco tlatoanj Quaquappitzaoac achto compeoalti tlatocat in tlatilulco iepoalxiujtl omome, quijmpeuh in tenaiocan tlaca, ioan coacalco ioan xaltocan, in iehoatl, y, ic tlatocat quijnnamjcticatca vmentin tlatoque in tenochtitlan in omoteneuhque Acamapichtli ioan vitziliujtl.

The second ruler of Tlatilulco.

Tlacateotl [was] the second, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. It came to pass in his time that all the people of Acolhuacan and those of Coyoacan were conquered.

Injc vme tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Tlacateutl ic vme, tlatocat in tlatilulco, cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl omej, ipan muchiuh injc peoaloc ixquich aculhoacatl ioan coioacatl.

The third ruler of Tlatilulco.

Quauhtlatoa [was] the third, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. Two rulers, also, came together [one after the other], in Tenochtitlan. These [were] Itzcoatl and Moctezuma the Elder. It came to pass in his reign that the people of Azcapotzalco, and Coaixtlauacan, and Cuetlaxtlan, and Quauhtlinchan, and Xochimilco and all the people of Quauhnauac were destroyed and conquered.

Injc ei tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Quauhtlatoa, ic ei tlatocat in tlatilulco cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolli omej xiujtl, quijnnamjcticatca no vmentin tlatoque catca in tenochtitlan, iehoatl itzcoatl, ioã veue motecuçuma. Ipan muchiuh injc poliuh injc peoaloc, azcaputzalcatl ioan coaixtlaoacã, ioã cuetlaxtlan, ioan quauhtlinchan, ioan xochimjlco ioan in ixquich quauhnaoacatl.

The Fourth ruler of Tlatilulco.

Moquiuixtli [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco nine years. In his time the reign of Tlatilulco came to an end; for he and his brother-in-law, Axayacatl, ruler of Tenochtitlan, quarreled. [The latter] then made war upon Moquiuixtli and the people of Tlatilulco. And this Moquiuixtli of his own will quickly
[762] ascended to the summit of a [pyramid] temple, that he might cast himself from there; wherefore he then died.

Injc nauj tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Moquijxtli, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco: chicunauhxiujtl, ipã impoliuh tlatocaiotl tlatilulco, inic çan mococolique in jtex axaiaca tlatoanj tenochtitlan, injc qujiauchiuh moquijxtli ioan tlatilulca. Auh in iehoatl moquiujxtli çan jnoma in tlecotiuetz iicpac teucalli injc vmpa oalmomaiauh injc vncan mjc.

Don Pedro Temilo: when he was made ruler of Tlatilulco, he was the one who again started the

Don pedro temjlo icoac omotlatocatlali in tlatilulco, iehoatl ie no compeoalti in tlatocaiotl, in oiuh

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175 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the
148 City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçique compeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vēca españoles injc tepeuhque in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Cuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Aacapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden
[231] cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

Don Iuan ēcatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Cuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Aacapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden

173 787 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

tlemjiacatl icxiual tlaxcxitiica, auh nauhxiujtl in jpan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancujcan necico auh impoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactloce tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiujtl mjieccan xiti tepetl in texcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiujtl aciquiuj in Españoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaualpilli aocmo ixpan

175 648 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiujtl. Ichoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Çoanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, ichoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl ichoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica im omextin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocoltzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in tecocoltzin in tlatocat cexiujtl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiauchichiuh injc qujmpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Ixtlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[3] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in ixtlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicuexiujtl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica qujujcatiuja in marques itlan ommoquetz ioã qujuicaia in vej mollan ichoãtin imjxpan muchiuh injc vel motlatlali ahtepetl injc tlauellalali marques nehoan coanacochtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in ioiontzin in tlatocat cexiujtl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauevetzquititzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactloçe tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in tetlauevetzqujtitzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in don Antonjo tlauitoltzin in tlatocat chicoacexiujtl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

3. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (J. M. Aubin: *Histoire de la nation mexicaine. . . . Reproduction du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, Editeurs, 1893]), p. 87, and *Mapa de Tepechpan*.

the present ruler, Don Hernando Pimentel, who hath governed nearly twenty years.[4]

And in all the time that the Acolhua kept the reign, in all, have been counted three hundred and four years until the time the Spaniards arrived.[5]

ichoatl in axcan tlatoanj don hernando pimentel in/175
otlatocat achi cẽpoalxiujtl

Auh ic ixquich cauitl quijpia in tlatocaiotl in acul-
hoaque in ic mocempoa caxtolpoalxiujtl ioan
nauhxiujtl. in ixquich cauitl in oacico españoles

4. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS (Primeros memoriales, Chap. III) has, for *achi cempoalxiujtl* (nearly twenty years), *cemxiujtl* (fifteen years).

5. In *ibid.*, this last paragraph reads, in part, varying from the *Florentine Codex*: "y ye le mocempoa cemxiujtl yoan caxtolxiujtl yoan cenxiujtl ye ipquichiac cauitl ipan ohtlatocatiliz cuauhtli" (304 years until the year sign Two Reed in which we now are).

[p. 12 is blank]

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Sixth Chapter, in which it is told how signs and omens appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, and when they were yet unknown to the dwellers here.

When the Spaniards were not to arrive here for ten years, an omen first appeared in the heavens like a flame, a tongue of fire, as if it were showering the light of the dawn.[1] It appeared as if it were piercing the heavens; it was wide at the base and pointed at the top. Well into the midst of the heavens, well into their center it stood reaching; well into the heart of the heavens it was arriving. [That which] thus was seen arose there to the east,[2] and when midnight had passed, it appeared that dawn was breaking. When day broke, soon the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a whole year it came forth (it was in [the year sign] Twelve House that it began), and when it appeared, there was much crying out as they struck their mouths with their hands. All were frightened; all waited in dread.

The second omen came to pass here in Mexico. Of its own accord, fire broke out and burned fiercely in the house of the devil Uitzilopochtli. No one set fire to it; of its own accord it took fire. It is said that the name of the place[3] was Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the squared, wooden pillars were blazing. From within, the flame, the tongues and flames of fire, came forth. Very quickly it consumed all the house beams. Then there was shouting; [the priests] said: "Mexicans! Run here to extinguish [the fire! Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they poured water upon it, when they tried to put it out, still more did it flare up. It could not be extinguished, and it burned completely.

[As] the third omen, a temple was struck by a thunder bolt.[4] It was only a straw hut, a place named

Ic chiquacen capítulo, vncan mjtoa in nez, in mottac, in machiotl, ioan in tetzaujtl, in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, ioan in aiamo ixima-choia, in njcan chaneque.

In aiamo oallaci españoles, oc matlacxiujtl: centlamantli tetzaujtl achto nez ilhujcatitech, iuhquj in tlemjiaoztl, iuhqujn tlecueçallotl, iuhqujn tlaujzcalli pipixauhticaca, injc neçia iuhqujn ilhujcatl quiçoiac, tzimpatlaoac, quapitzaoac, uel inepantla in jlhujcatl, uel iolloço in açiticac ilhujcatl, vel ilhujcaiollotitech açiticac in iuh ittoia vmpa tlapcopa in oalmoquetzaia, oiuh onquiz ioalnepantla in neçia tlathujliaia, ipan tlathuja. Quin ichoztl quiçoalpoloaia in tonatiuh, in jcoac oalquiçaia: uel cexiujtl in oalmoquetzaia (ipan matlactlomome calli in peuh) auh in jcoac neçia tlacaoacaia, netemujtecoia, neiçaujloia, tlatemmachoia.

Injc vntetl tetzaujtl muchiuh, njcan mexico, çan monomauj in tlatlac cuetlan, aiac ma quitlecauj çan monoena tlecauj, in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli mjtoaia itocaiocan tlacatecca in nez ic tlatla in tlaquetzalli iiric oalquiça in tlemjiaoztl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçallutl, cenca çan iciuhca compalo in ixquich calquaujtl. Niman ic ic tlacaoaca quitoa. Mexicae, ma oallatztoca, tlaceujloz, amapilol: auh in jcoac caatequiaia, in quicesujznequja, çan ic ilhujce mopitza aocmo uel çeuh uellallac.

Injc etetl tetzaujtl, vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzommolco, itcupan in

1. This may be clarified by reference to Pl. 4, Book XII.
2. Cf. various versions in Chaps. I and III, and in Book XII, Chap. I, as well as in the Nahuatl version in the *Real Palacio* MS. the corresponding Spanish text, and Eduard Seler: *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Gesellschaft Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwartzer, 1927), p. 453. Alternative translations appear to be possible.
3. *Mjtoaia tlacatecca*: in a similar passage, the *Mercurio peruano* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún—Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España* [Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906], VII, p. 93) has *mitoapa, pepeyac, pinczyoc*. Cf. also Pl. 5, Book XII.
4. Cf. Pl. 7, Book XII.

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● 175 787 Tzonmulco, the Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was not raining hard, but only sprinkling. This was taken as an omen of evil, [for] it was said that it was only a summer flash, and that thunder did not sound.

[As] the fourth sign of evil, [while] there was still sun, a comet fell. It became three parts and began from where the sun set and went toward where he arose. It went as if showering sparks; for a great distance its wake went extending; far out did its tail reach. And when it was seen, there was much shouting; like [the rattle of] shells[5] it spread about.

[As] the fifth omen, the water [of the lake] foamed up, and the wind did not stir it up. It was as if it welled up, as if it boiled up with a cracking noise. Very far did it go as it rose upward, and it reached the lower parts of the houses; and, wet by the water, the houses crumbled. This was the great lake which extendeth by us here in Mexico.[5a]

[As] the sixth omen, often was heard a woman, who went weeping and crying out at night. She cried out loudly; she went about saying: "O my beloved sons, now we are at the point of going!" Sometimes she said: "My beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

[223] [As] the seventh omen, at one time the fisher folk hunted or snared with nets. They took a bird of ashen hue, like a crane. Then they came to show it to Moctezuma, [who was in] the Tlillan calmecac.[6] The sun was past his zenith, and there was yet daylight. There was what was like a mirror upon its head—round, disc-like, and as if pierced. From it appeared the heavens—the fire drill, the stars. And Moctezuma took it as a most evil omen when he saw the stars and the fire drill. And when he gazed a second time at the bird's head, beyond, he beheld what appeared to be like a number of people, coming massed, coming as conquerors, coming in war panoply. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the astrologers[7] and the wise men, and said to them: "Do you not know what I have

xiuhtecutli, amo tilacoxia, çan acochqujauja in iuh tetzammachoc, iuh mjto in ca çã tonalhujtecor, amono caquiztic in tlatlatzinjlizti.

Injc nauhtetl tetzaamachiotl, oc vnca in tonatiuh in xiujtl vetz: ietertia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaquiampa, iuh vmpa itztia in jquiçaiampa, iuhquin tlexuchtli pipixauhtiuh, ueca mocujtlapilticiuh, veca açitiuh in jcuitlapil. Auh in oitoc cenca tlacaoacac, iuhquin oioalli onmoma.

Injc macujltetl tetzaujtl, poçon in atl amo i ehecatl quipoçonalti, iuhquj mumuloca, iuhquj xixitemumoloca: cenca veca in ia injc macoquetz, auh in calli tzitzintla cacic auh capapachiuh xititin in calli iehoatl in vej atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzaujtl mjiecpa çihoatl cacoxa chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioalnca, cenca tzatzi: quitotinemj, nonopilhoantzitzin ie ic çan ie touj: in quenmanja quitoa, nonopilheantzitzin campa namechnoujquiliz.

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzaujtl, ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamaitlaujaia in atlaca, centetl caçique tototl, nextic: iuhquin tocujlcoiotl. Niman quitilico in motecuçuma, tlillan calmecac omotzcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca: iuhquin teacatl icpac manj, malacachtic, teujlacachtic, iuhquj xapotticac: vmpa onneçia in ilhujcatl: inmamalhoaz in çiçitlalti. Auh in motecuçuma cenca quimotetzauj in jcoac quimjttac çiçitlalti ioan mamalhoaztli: suh injc oppa ontlachix, in jcpac tototl: ene quittac iuhquj on in ma acame moquequetztiujtzac, tepeuhtiujtzac moiauchichiuhtiuitzac quimama mamaça, auh njman quinnotz in tlaçiuhque in tlamatinjm: quimjlhuj. Amo anquimati, in tlein onoconjttac iuhquin acame moquequetztiujtzac. Auh ie quinanquilizquia in conjttaque opoliuh aoc tle uel quitoque.

5. The term *ocoalli* appears to be capable of interpretation as turtle, bell, or shell. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, *The Gods* (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 1, and Book VII, *Sun, Moon, and Stars* (1953), *Appendix*, where, under *Tzonmulco* glosses, Sahagún's note 7 mentions *ocoalli* omens. Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904), II, pp. 428, 462.

5a. *Altar azul*, the Memoriales en 3 Columnas reads: "*dioh ouj' papachioh ouqui xiuitzi*"; *altar mauj*: "*dioh yuie ououuj yuie ououuh yã ne ouqui ye ỹ ouqui xuitzi ỹ ouj apiqui.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en la palacio, en una sala, que llamamos Tillan calmecac.*" Cf. Pedro Hernández de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), IV, pp. 34-35 (note c).

7. *Tlapizque*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 3 (1946), pp. 167, 171.

Altar azul, the Memoriales en 3 Columnas reads: "*ouc ie uel q'ouqui. ne ueppa q'ouiliui ỹ diuinolqui. ya tlamatinjme, ie yuie ouuel quillioque omo ne yehuatl in quimanauil.*"

seen there, like a number of people coming massed?" And when they were about to answer, that which they looked at vanished. They could say nothing.

[As] eighth omen, often were discovered misshapen people. They had two heads, but only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecac, where Moctezuma beheld them. When he had looked at them, then they vanished.

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Injc chicuetetl tetzaujtl, mjiecpa motenextiliaia tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, ça cc in jntlac vnpa qujmonujcaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa qujmjttaia in motecuçuma: in oquittac njman poliujia. [732]

[p.20 is blank]

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Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50.*

Injc chicome capitulo, vncan mjtoa mjiec tlamantli in ipan muchiuh in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, in jxqujchica vnpoalxiujtl ommatlactli. 175

In the year 1519, when the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, came to sally forth, very many boats came, in which the Spanish host traveled. And when Moctezuma knew of it, then he sent his emissaries, and they carried as greetings very many and costly articles.

And they thought that Quetzalcoatl had come. And when he went to arrive, then they gave and took all [which they carried] as greetings to this Captain, Don Hernando Cortés.

And when these Spaniards came to enter [the land], then the Tlaxcalans' Otomí[1] [warriors] went to meet them in battle. Not few, but very many thus fought and waged war with the Spaniards. And all of the Tlaxcalans' Otomí [warriors] died; the Spaniards slew them. By this were the Tlaxcalans much frightened, and these Tlaxcalans then sent messengers, [who] went to offer them food and all which they might need. And they welcomed them and escorted them to the homes of Tlaxcala.

And for a few days the Spaniards tarried and rested there. And the Spaniards then went there to Cholula. There they slew many Cholulans.

And after this, when Moctezuma had heard of it, he was much frightened; and all the people of Tenochtitlan were exceeding fearful. So once again he sent messengers. These whom this Moctezuma sent, lords and noblemen, went to meet the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés; they took with them a great deal of gold. And they went to meet him there between Popocatepetl and Iztac cíuatl, [at a place] named Itzalco.[2] There they conferred [with Cortés; one of]

In jpan xiujtl 1519 icoac quiçaco in capitan don hernando cortes, cenca mjiec in acalli oalla in vncan oalietiaque in españoles in iauqujxque: auh in oiuh qujma in ichoatl motecuçuma, njman tlaihoaiaque in jtitlanhoan, auh in qujtqujque in tetlapalolizzli cenca mjiec, ioan cenca tlaçotli in tlatequjtl. 175 648

Auh momatque, ca ichoatl in quetzalcoatl ohoalla: auh in jcoac oaçito njman mochi qujmamacaque in qujtqujque tetlapaloliztli, in ichoatl, capitan don hernando cortes.

Auh in jcoac ic calactiujtze, in ichoantin españoles: njman qujiaunamjqujto, in tlaxcalteca, imotonhoan: amo çan quexqujchtin, cenca mjiequjntin, ic oqujmjcalque, oqujniauchiuhque, in españoles. Auh mochintin, mjcque in tlaxcalteca imotonhoan, qujnmjctique, in españoles: ic cenca momauhtique, in tlaxcalteca, auh in ichoantin, in tlaxcalteca, njmã ic tlaihoaque, qujnmacato in tlaqualli, in jxqujch intech monequj: ioan qujnpaccatlapaloto: ioan qujnhujcaque, in vmpa inchan in tlaxcallan.

Auh çan quexqujlhujtl, in vncan motlalique, moçeujque, in ichoantin españoles. Auh in ichoantin, españoles njman iaque in vmpa cholotan: vncan mjiequjntin, qujnmjctique, in cholotteca.

Auh in jcoac, oiuh qujcac, in ichoatl motecuçuma, cenca momauhti: ioã yn jxqujchtin, in tenochca cenca momauhtique: ic oc ceppa tlaihoa, in ichoatl motecuçuma ichoantin in qujmjhoa in tetecuti, in pipiltin, qujnamjqujto, in capitan, don hernando cortes: cenca mjiec, in qujtqujque, in teucujtlatl. Auh vncan in qujnamjqujto, in jtzalan popoca tepetl: ioan in jztac tepetl, in motenecoa ithoalco. Vncan qujnonotzque, qujmacaque in jtlatol, in jta motecu- [202]

* Corresponding Spanish text: "Auto el año de 50."

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102; Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 474, n. 1, citing Torquemada, cap. 66. Cf. also Sahagún (Bulwarde ed.), IV, pp. 48ff., 149-150, n. 1.

See also Book XII, Chap. xi.

2. Mendoza: in Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), it is described as a "Mont qui domine à l'ouest la vallée de México."

175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctezuma.

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. [731] And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

[797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

çuma: ioan quijmacaque in jxquich in jnterlapalouia, injn tetech açia, in teucujtlatl, ioan oc cequj.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in iehoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoisuchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in quinamjquijto in calteneo, in vmpa xolloco, çan quipeccanamjquijto: ioan quitlatlauhti, quitlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman qujujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jaquijchtin españoles.

Auh in jquezquilhujioc, in iehoatl capitan oquilpi in motecuçuma:

auh in jcoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in iehoatl capitan oquinnamjquijto, cequjntin quinujcac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan quicauhtia in don pedro aluarado, ioan oc cequjntin españoles in tecpan tlapixia.

Auh in jquac in oquiz ilhujuh vicilobuchtli, in iehoatl don p° aluarado, ioan in espanoles in jtlan casca, mjiequjntin, quinmjctique in mexica, in quilhujquiztiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

Auh in jcoac in oealmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjiequjntin, quinoalhujcac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca quitototzaia in iaujutl.

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1520 icoac omjc in motecuçuma, auh in iehoantin españoles, oquizque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocoliztli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatioac: ioan cenca mjiequjntin mjoque, in njcan tlaca.

In jpan xiujtl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcuco, uecauhtica quinisochiuhque, quimpeuhque, quimjcalque, in mexica.

In jpan xiujtl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xiuinca in jpampa iauiotl.

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmomen ilcc francisco padreme, in quiztlanchoquitique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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532
643
292

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[188]

—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Huitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Huanitl. 16. Don Diego Tecuichpoch. 17. Don Cristóbal Cuauhtemoc. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauhquauhtzin. 19. Tlacatecatl. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquihuixtli. 22. Don Pablo Tezozomoc. 23. Don Martín Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Axoltzinco. 25. Don Martín Tlacatecatl. 26. Don Diego Huanitzintzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhtemoctzin. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

643
175
532
292
[787]

[787]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Rulers of Tenoco. 29. Tlaloccatzin. 30. Techeltlatzin. 31. Ixtlilxochitl. 32. Nezahualcoyotzin. 33. Nezahualpilli. 34. Cacamatzin. 35. Cuauhtemoc. 36. Tecuichpotzin. 37. Ixtlilxochitl. 38. Yopontzin. 39. Tetlahuehuetzquititzin. 40. Don Antonio Tlacotzin. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

33. Omens observed in Tenoco (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uexotla. 42. Mixcoatl texcoli. 43. Tochin texcoli. 44. [illegible] texcoli. 45. Quetzalmiz texcoli. 46. Tezozomoctzin. 47. [illegible] texcoli. 48. Xilotzin texcoli. 49. Ixtlilxochitl texcoli. 50. Ixtlilxochitl. 51. Tlacotzin. 52. Cuitlahuatzin. 53. Itzquauhtzin. 54. Cuitlahuatzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Comet weeping. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]

[p. 36(D) is blank]

—*Mexico Pass y Tremoan*

Omens (concluded), 61. Tu—healed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlaxcalan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Otomitlan (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tlaxpitzahuac (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

7: Sahagún
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[Since the whole volume is an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and is therefore a historical document, this source has not been marked for category 175 (Recorded History). Researchers are referred to category 116.]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Coyucac is probably not the Coyuca de Benítez of today, but the one 632
described by Xuarez as twenty-five leagues from Zacatula, near the 131
sea, and adjacent to Axapoteca[7] (which in turn is adjacent to Xolochiuyan and Panotlan, *q.v.*).[8] This is the only Coyuca he describes in his report on his tour of the coast. Today it is called Coyuquilla.

Nochcoc is certainly the present Nuxco, also described by Xuarez.[9]

Panotlan is mentioned by Xuarez both as "Panutla" and as "Pamutla."[10] He places it at thirty leagues from the Villa and one league from the sea, confining with Çihautlan and Nochcoc. This rules out the present Pantla, west of the Río Ixtapa.

Petlatlan is one of the few surviving names, appearing today as Petatlán. It is given by Xuarez as twenty leagues from the Villa.[11]

Xihuacan has vanished. Xuarez places it nineteen leagues from the Villa and adjacent to Petlatlan and Cihuatanejo—both well-established places. He adds, "tiene en su termino una laguna de mucha pezqueria y donde se haze sal en cantidad."[12] This salty lagoon suggests the Salinas de Potosí, southwest of Petatlán on the "Millionth Map."

Xolochiuhyan, described by Xuarez as "Solochuca" and also as "Cholochuca"[13] and placed twenty-two leagues from the Villa, near the sea, has become Jolochuca of today, another of the towns of this province which may be definitely localized.

According to the writer's chronological study and the "Relación de [175]
Zacatula," Xolochiuhyan was the scene of Ahuizotl's first breakthrough to the coast and became his "frontier"—against whom, is doubtful.

Yztapan is given as the name of two towns by Xuarez. One[14] belonged to the encomendero, Anton Sánchez the younger, and was seventeen leagues from the Villa. The other, belonging to His Majesty, was thirteen leagues from the Villa,[15] close to the sea, and two leagues from the "Puerto de Çiguatanejo." Thus the pueblo belonging to

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 900.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 899.
[9] He gives it as 33 leagues from the Villa. *PNE*, 1: No. 903.
[10] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 900 and 902.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 896.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 895.
[13] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 897 and 898.
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 879.
[15] *PNE*, 1: No. 892.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[27] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[28] Tetela (5),[29] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[30] Totoltepec (10);[31] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[32]

[175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[33] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[34] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[35] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[36] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

[27] "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[28] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."

[29] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."

[30] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernase."

[31] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayscatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."

[32] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Moteçuma."

[33] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.

[34] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.

[35] *PNE*, 6: 113: "En otro tienpo estuvo poblado en un peñol que enespugnable y muy fuerte."

[36] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs, "¿Es el Azco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two 632
even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[a] "Escuridad" 103
(*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they 197
speak Mexican and are rich.[b] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town 101
specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[c] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[d] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[e] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla re- 175
membered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[f]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 197
1580's are Yoallan,[g] Cocolan,[h] Mayanala (14),[i] and Huitzoco.[j] Since

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.
[b] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[c] "Estos coaixcas y dapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman coaixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, es la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).
[d] *GPM*, p. 105.
[e] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran rujetos á la caidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).
[f] *PNE*, 5: 249.
[g] *PNE*, 5: 86.
[h] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[i] *GPM*, p. 98.
[j] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."
[k] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acamilyxtlahuacan apparently underwent the same sort of abbre- 632
viation which made "Amacusac" out of near-by "Amacoztitlan" in Quauhnahuac Province.[30]

Teotlixtacan suffered the fate of other names bearing the prefix *teo-* from *teotl* ("divine, godly"), a sacrilege to Spanish ears. The partly synonymous *huey* ("great") supplanted the earlier prefix here.[31] In 1581, Teulistaca and Hueyztaca were used alternately;[32] since then, the name has atrophied unrecognizably to Huiztac.

Tetenanco. Although there is no modern mention of the town, this is presumably the Real and Pueblo of Tenango which existed close to the west of colonial Taxco. Its borders are given as Nochtepec, Ichcateopan, Tasco, Acamistlauacan, Coatlan, and Teticpac, which enables us to place it.[33] And the name Tenanco—often interchangeable with this common place name—appears in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 7', as a conquest of Moctezuma I, who was prominent in the reduction of this area.

It may be remarked that both *Tenan*guillo and Cacalo*tenango* lie within the area mentioned.

Tlachco was not the modern Taxco de Alarcón, but somewhat south and lower, the present Taxco Viejo.

Tzicapuçalco was the same town as the present Ixcapuzalco, we learn from a relación of 1569. Anciently it bore still another name, "Pindexo," perhaps applied by the aboriginal Mazatecos who were established in the Chontal region here.[34]

Çacualpan was a conquest of Itzcoatl, according to the historical [175] ●
section of the *Codex Mendocino,* and, as Itzacualpa, figures among the subject towns which received Ahuizotl after the conquest of Teloloapan (Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528).

[30] On location, see *GPM,* p. 178; *PNE,* 1: No. 37 and 6: 269.
[31] *PNE,* 6: 270, has a note on such changes.
[32] The latter in *PNE,* 1: No. 273, which gives its boundaries, also given in *GPM,* p. 174.
[33] *PNE,* 1: No. 671: "junto a Tasco"; *ibid.,* 6: 266: "a la parte del occidente"; *ibid.,* 6: 275.
[34] *PNE,* 6: 94, which also provides its location. *Pindexo* is said to be the name of the admin town.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[*]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[*]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[*]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[*] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[*] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della coxian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Montecuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[*] "Relación de Soltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[*] *PNE*, 7: 101: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

[*] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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5. Tuluca

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33' of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacā, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepec, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Teotenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xicaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Çoquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan.

Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master.[20]

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rachan y ocote, que tes para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocodili."

[20] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaulq" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino* which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[111]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ... ," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenazingo: "Los Ydios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el Ocuiltecu, de dificil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].[1] Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the relación of Tecpatepec (1579),[2] one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also[3]—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the *Matrícula* and on the copy of that page, folio 32' of the *Codex Mendocino*, and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

[1] "Memorial de los pueblos subjetos a esta cabecera de tlacopan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE*, 14: 118.

[2] *PNE*, 6: 35.

[3] E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlauhca, Cepayauhtla, and Cuahtepec. *GPM*, pp. 163–164.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[10] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[11] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[10] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[20]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[21]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[22]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca,* in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[20] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[21] *GPM*, p. 263.
[22] *PNE*, 3: 33, n. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [439]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.* 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING** [291]

2,010 bundles[7] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[8] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD* [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE* [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "SAVANAS"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

---

* *ENE*, 10: 126. [7] Corrected from 2,000. [8] Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *FNE*, 6: 183–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[20] 632
and seventeen leagues from México.[21] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears 131
eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[22] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[23]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[24]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiq- 635
uity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún com- 175
ments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[25] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[26] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[27] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande 635
lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and 131
probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atoto- 651
nilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING [291
714]

800 bundles of rich mantles**
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[20] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[21] *PNE*, 2: No. 133.
[22] *GPM*, p. 250.
[23] *PNE*, 2: No. 21.
[24] *RHE*, 2: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tilinquiloca [*sic*] y tetlystaca y el pueblo de tepequlco está cinco leguas cumbre llano."
[25] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[26] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[27] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 199.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

THERE IS a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the 631
Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about 648
to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names 175
nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and [128]
Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. CHALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41' of the *Codex* 635
Mendocino appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal 114
towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been [128]
identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP	[103]
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco	
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco	
Tepuztlan, 3	Tepoztlan	

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras Históricas* (1890), II: 256.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloxtoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilcaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century. 632 175

Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición." 632 131

Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[10] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[11] but cannot be found today.

[10] *PNE*, 6: 285: "eran amignamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la principal subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilca."

[11] *PNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopoalco [Nepozualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf 175
coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to 128
chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, ex- 635
tending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the 114
recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51'. Of the eleven principal [128]
towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotozco
Teodalpan, 1	Hueytlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonoctla, 3	Jonotla
Ysunahuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ysyauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Ytztepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan was a Mexican garrison town.[5]

[71] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[6] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo*>*huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[5]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecuma."[7] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[8]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[5]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[9]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the 197 Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[5] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[6] *GPM*, p. 9; *ENE*, 14: 79.

[7] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[8] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[9] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... reconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Montecuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), 1: 320.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17' of the [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matrícula* as a pre-Hispanic town, [715] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[30]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[31]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[32] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[33]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17' of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[34] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[35] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[791] 400 large mantles[36]

[30] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 56 and 40: 170', speaks of "tuçonqo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san ju° cuescomatepequc de la juriadizion de guatuaco." Domínguez (*Cuecomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[31] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[32] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 56, calls it "yuteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 303', "ytzuyuca."

[33] Domínguez, *Cuecomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1952), I: 320 and II: 196.

[35] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

652 *Teopiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[28] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[29]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[30] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla." The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

291
400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
714 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
317 1 string of chalchiuites*
237 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
301 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

262
200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[31]

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[30] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[31] RHE, 1: 131.
[32] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

It appears in the Mo-
632 *ctezuma*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[a] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[b] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[c] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[d] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[e]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[f] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[g]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[h] The chief language of the

[a] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[b] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[c] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[d] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[e] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[f] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[g] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

[Lies, Chinantlan — Analyd]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chiltecpintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yççochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[7] and Quauhtinchan.[8] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[9] 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[10] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace. 635 131 [648]

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[11] 635 175

[7] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[8] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Toltecа-Chichimeca* (1937).

[9] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[10] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[11] *PNE*, 3: No. 248.

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)*

OTHER GOODS

[317 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[11]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[12]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[13]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[14]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[15]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquessado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ymfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
803 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the 632
proper spelling.

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Mocteçuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[110]

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teoza- [648]
potlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[111] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula*.

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma a few years before the Spanish invasion.[112]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional 632
seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, 648
in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teoza- 175
potlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[113] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[114] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican [651]
garrison "only in order to be friendly."[115] Tribute is tribute.

[110] *PNE*, 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles biniesen, a Moteçuma."

[111] *PNE*, 4: 195.

[112] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles biniesen los sujeto mocteçuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[113] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[114] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE*, 4: 102: " ... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula*; also, by the relación of Tetícpac (*PNE*, 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Moteçuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula*.

[115] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo avian los de Tuxtepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran

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VIII. THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE

37. Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

175 On pages 1 and 2 of the *Matricula* and on folios 17' and 18' of the *Codex Mendocino* appear the glyphs of the towns of a tributary province, together with a group of glyphs of a different nature. To segregate the information useful for this study, a minute examination of these pages is unavoidable.

The body of the *Matricula* follows a certain scheme: around the outer edges of the page a band of place glyphs ordinarily appears and, within this three-sided frame, figure paintings of the objects paid as tribute by the towns listed. The first leaf, however, departs from this scheme on both its recto and verso sides, and forms the object of the present remarks.

These pages of towns and tributes (pp. 3–28 of the *Matricula* as it exists today), together with two leaves which were separated from the manuscript more than a century ago (the oft-mentioned American Philosophical Society leaves) are copied, more or less faithfully, as "la segunda parte de esta ystoria" in that tripartite compilation, the *Codex Mendocino*, which is divided into: (1) "History of Conquests," (2) "Tribute," and (3) "Ethnography."

In the body of the *Matricula* and its copy ("la segunda parte de esta ystoria") the tributary condition of a wide area is told in detail, but no mention is made of the very environs of the capital, Tenochtitlan.

Preceding the beginning of section 2 ("Tribute") of the *Codex Mendocino* there appears a double page (fols. 17' and 18') which is partly equivalent to the first leaf of the battered *Matricula*. The copy is infinitely more legible than the original, and must be drawn on to understand the latter. Rather exceptionally, in this copy (*Mendocino*, fols. 17'–18') the materials of the original (*Matricula*, pp. 1–2) are rearranged, and, since it is the more complete, we cannot be entirely sure of the order of the original glyphs, though we may be certain that their content was copied faithfully.

The content of these pages (which indicates that the first part of the *Mendocino* is a copy of a lost group of pages of the *Matricula*) is two-

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fold: we have a list of certain garrison towns with their governors—the framework of the Empire—and we have a list of those towns near Tenochtitlan of which no mention is made in the long series of tribute pages. (Even here, however, only the towns are listed, and not their tribute.)

Frontier garrison towns mentioned with Çitlaltepec.—Page 2 of the *Matricula* is divided in two by a horizontal line, and the upper half is subdivided by a vertical line, three divisions resulting. In the upper left appears a glyph of a box filled with water. The *Mendocino* identifies it as Atzacan (unlocated). Beside it is a nopal, which is identified in both manuscripts as Xoconochco (Soconusco). Below are two towns which lay close together in the northern extreme of Puebla (see chap. iv, pp. 61-62): Atlan and Teçapotitlan (also identified in both manuscripts).

Glyphs representing the four garrison towns appear on folio 18' of the *Mendocino,* accompanied by the comment that these towns and certain others had special governors "porque no se rrebelasen." To this group the *Mendocino* adds a town glyph from the preceding page of the *Matricula:* Oztoma, the great Guerrero fortress on the Tarascan frontier.

Page 1 of the *Matricula* is badly effaced, but we can recognize the remnants of four town glyphs: Oztoma, in the lower left-hand corner (copied out of place in the *Mendocino,* as noted above); and three others (*Mendocino* copy, fol. 17'), Poctepec (lower right, unlocated) and, identifiable with the two remaining tepetl-glyphs of the *Mendocino* (fol. 17'), Huaxac[ac] (Guaxacac) and Çoçolan in the upper part of the drawing.

This is all the *Matricula* tells us. Probably a whole sheaf of pages is lost from the beginning of this remarkable manuscript: a section referring chiefly to the conquests of the Tenochca and their allies, which we know only through the *Mendocino* (sec. 1). In the present case, however, we need not lament the lack of further information, for we have it—though certainly rearranged—in the copy (e.g., Oztoma).

Three other glyphs of key towns in various parts of the Empire appear in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 17', in the upper center, upper right corner, and right margin center respectively: Quauhtochco

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
65! *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located;
and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen
[128] on the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de gustimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nombre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzacualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

11: Díaz
●175

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[Since the whole volume is an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and is therefore a historical document, this source has not been marked for category 175 (Recorded History). Researchers are referred to cateogyr 116.]

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 175 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Yepatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York." pp. 297-312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[48] [178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por "que los naturales della eran amigos de Mateczuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mateczuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Tolnca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 86): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi-"maroa, que dicen Tlaximoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Tolnca se volvieron, viendo que su campo no llegava: al iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with archers, but no close combats are mentioned.

[48] 727 [180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

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361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
712 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1850. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

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tés against Tlaxcallan, and the celebrated fight near Otumpan, 726
both of which have been so beautifully described by Mr. Prescott. 175
Although in the engagements against the Tlaxcallans the Mexicans proper were not concerned, we know that both tribes were so nearly alike in military resources and faculties, that we can easily substitute the one for the other, taking the action of the one as illustrative of the action of the other in a similar emergency. At Otumpan Mexicans and allied tribes opposed the Spaniards. Both examples will more particularly relate to *offensive* warfare, being combats in the open field.

Purposely we have used the term of "*campaign*" as connected with Tlaxcallan, avoiding the conception of "battles," or "great "battles" even, so liberally employed by the majority of authors. It is erroneous to admit that *regular battles* were ever fought during the time Cortés advanced against the pueblo of Tlaxcallan. As far as we can rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, they merely prove that the Tlaxcallans allured, so to say, by the numerical inferiority of the Spanish invaders, pounced upon them with all the fury of a wild horde and, being saluted by a well nourished fire of murderous effect, they returned to their primitive warfare of decoys, ambushes, and surprises, hoping to tire out the Spaniards through this constant and desultory skirmishing. The tactics of Cortés, on this occasion, were simply to hold out in defensible positions; a task of no small difficulty if we consider that his men during many days could obtain no rest, and scarcely any food. But by persevering in this attitude he "turned the tables" upon the Indians of Tlaxcallan by finally tiring out, and wearing out, their power of *aggression*. Then *he* took the *offensive*, and by successful dashes, both revictualled his people and brought the enemy to favorable terms.[203]

[203] The descriptions furnished by various authors of the 16th century, of this campaign against Tlaxcallan are most contradictory. Ixtlilxochitl says in his 13th Relation ("De la venida de los Españoles") that from Cempoalan to Tlaxcallan "the natives "received them with the greatest joy, feasted them, and there were neither fights nor "quarrels, beyond those which the Spaniards themselves provoked; *if there were any at all.*" In the "Histoire des Chichimèques," however, the same author speaks of an action of two days, in which he estimates the numbers of the Tlaxcallans at 150,000 men (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 189).—Tezozomoc (Cap. CX, p. 196) relates that the Otomies of Tecoac met together and spoke: "are we perhaps the vassals of those that have come? "did they overcome us in just war? come on, Chichimecas, to arms against them!—and "so, as like mountaineers, they forthwith armed themselves, and as they came shouting "and hurling darts, the camp armed also, and gave them a discharge of small arms "and fieldpieces, so that after an hour nothing more was left to do, the entire field "being covered with dead bodies." This agrees almost verbally with Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. X, p. 433).

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726 175 Of all the actions fought during the conquest none has taken so much the character of a regular battle as that of the 8th of July, 1520, and commonly named the battle of Otumpan. It was, however, but a "running fight," lasting a whole day or nearly. The Spaniards, without fire-arms, almost famished, reduced in numbers, and mostly all wounded, were pursued as soon as they left the pue-

Cortés ("Carta Segunda" Vedia I, p. 16 and 17) gives a clearer description from which we glean the following facts: On entering the Tlaxcallan grounds, the van-guard of the Spaniards fell into an ambush, which they soon forced. "E desque sintiéron que "los nuestros se acercaban se retiraron, porque eran pocos, y nos dejaron el campo." He then moved on to a small stream, one league further, where he established his camp. The next day the Spaniards proceeded further, and were soon assaulted by a number of Indians. "Muy armados y con muy gran grita. y comenzaron a pelear con nosotros. "tirándonos muchas varas y flechas." This attack was a feint, and drew the whites into an ambuscade ("hasta nos meter entre mas de cien mil hombres de pelea, que por todas "partes nos tenian cercados, y peleamos con ellos, y ellos con nosotros, todo el dia, "hasta una hora antes de puesto el sol, que se retrajéron."); *they continued advancing however all day*, and at night occupied the defensive position which Cortés thereafter held until the Tlaxcallans submitted. "Aquella noche me fice fuerte en una torricella "de idolos que estaba en un cerito." On the following day Cortés made a successful razzia upon five or six small settlements, and on the next morning the Tlaxcallans in turn attempted to attack the Spanish camp. This attack was speedily repulsed, the Spaniards fortifying their position so, "que en obra de cuatro horas habiamos fecho "lugar para que en nuestro real no nos ofendiesen, puesto que todavia hacian algunos "arremetidas." In other words, the Tlaxcallans rushed up against the encampment, were beaten back, and then hovered around during the remainder of the day, skirmishing, and attempting to draw their foes into ambushes which they held prepared. From this time on the Indians never assaulted, but Cortés made occasional sallies and forays, revictualling his men, and burning the houses and crops of the natives, until the tribe made proposals of peace.

Andrès de Tapia, another eye witness, an officer of high rank. ("Relacion, Col: "de Doc, II, pp. 567 and 568") fully confirms the statement of Cortés. The first day's engagement he describes as follows: "And about eight in the morning there sallied "forth against us so many men of war, that it strikes me as if there had been one hun-"dred thousand, while some are of opinion that there were many more. Some of them "expected us in certain deep ravines of streams crossing our path, and, traversing "them with much difficulty, we went in against them.....The Marquis always went in "the lead with the horsemen, fighting, and returning from time to time to concert his "men, keeping them close together.....Some Indians would close up with the horsemen "so as to seize their lances, and thus while *fighting they proceeded that day* to a house "of idols near which were two or three huts. There the Spaniards established them-"selves during eighteen days, and went out fighting as the Marquis commanded. . ."

. . . . .

According to the above two eye-witnesses, the "great battle" of the 2d Sept: 1519. (Prescott Vol. I, p. 427) appears on the part of the Indians, to have consisted of a wild rush or dash (perhaps a feint) speedily repulsed, an ambush, soon forced, and for the remainder of the day constant skirmishing and harassing of the Spanish march, until the latter reached a strong position. The "decisive victory" of the 8th Sept: 1519 (Prescott, Vol. I, pp. 437–447) was a fierce onslaught upon the Spanish camp at daybreak ("Otro "dia en amaneciendo dan sobre nuestro real mas de ciento y cuarenta y nueve mil "hombres," Cortés, p. 16) which met with a prompt repulse, and the remainder of the day was also filled with more or less heavy skirmishing on both sides. These are the two prominent days of fighting during the entire two weeks of hostilities against Tlaxcallan, and they certainly were not pitched battles, as commonly admitted. An atten-

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bio of Zacamulco in the morning. Harrassed in flank and rear by the Mexicans who, not any longer checked by the volleys of musketry, dashed up to closer quarters, the Spaniards toiled on, fighting and marching, until, in the plains of Apan, they were completely surrounded on all sides. This was the *final ambush* prepared for them by the Mexicans. The engagement *there* must have been of the most desperate character, but it was of *short duration*, the Spaniards, with the courage of despair, cutting their way out. The Indians had so firmly relied upon annihilating their foes on that day that they desisted from future pursuit.[204]

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The engagements near Otumpan were the last conflicts occurring after the terrible night of the 1st of July, 1520, and previous to the resumption of the campaign by Cortés, from his headquarters at Tlaxcallan. The numerous actions which took place after-

tive and critical reading even of the third eye-witness, the too much esteemed Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera" in Vedia II, Caps. LXIII, LXIV, LXV, p. 35 to 38) confirms those views to the fullest possible extent, although the latter, bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position, less acquainted with general operations, enhances the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It must not be inferred from the above that the achievements of the Spaniards are therefore less memorable. If the fighting was on a scale different from that of European wars, it was none the less exhausting. Any charge of a few horsemen could scatter the enemy, but the next moment a new attack, from some unexpected quarter might be looked for. The danger consisted less in injury on the battlefield, than in the gradual wearing out of the men by the never ceasing watchfulness required. The successful result reflects the highest credit upon the military capacity of the Spaniards, as well as upon their great commander.

[204] Cortés ("Carta Segunda.") pp. 45, 46. "And it appeared as if the Holy Ghost had "enlightened me by this advice, after what occurred the next day. For, having moved "on in the morning, at the distance of one and a half leagues large numbers of Indians "came to meet us, so that in the van, rear and flanks the field seemed covered with "them, and they assailed us with such violence, that we hardly knew each other, from "being mixed up with them. . . . In this condition we *remained much of the whole* "*day*, until it pleased God that one of their number was killed, who appeared to be of "such quality, that with his death the fight ceased. Then we proceeded, somewhat "relieved, but nevertheless exhausted, until to a small house in the plain, where we "staid for the night." . . . . .

The ambush had been prepared for several days (Bernal-Diez, Cap. CXXVIII, p. 136), for during their incessant pursuit on the preceding days the Mexicans had shouted to them: "Thither you shall go where none of you will escape alive" (p. 136). Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. XXVII, p. 434) says the Spaniards halted: "Los Españoles como los "vieron ir tras si con gran prisa estendieron que querian pelear y pararonse y pusiéronse "en órden de guerra; y los mexicanos como eran muchos tomaron en media á los Espa-"ñoles y commenzaron á combatirlos de todas partes." See also Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist: "des Chichimeques" Cap. LXXXIX). It was certainly a hand to hand conflict, the Indians, feeling sure to overpower their foes, striving to *capture* as many of them as possible alive. This, and the few horses remaining, saved the Spanish troop.

It is upon the statement of Bernal-Diez, that when the emblem or token carried by or near one of the principal chiefs fell, the fight ceased, that the conception has arisen, as if the fall of the chief banner decided the fate of an engagement. But there is no other evidence of the existence of a central banner or emblem.

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726 wards are of minor interest to us up to the time when the siege of
175 Mexico began. A rapid sketch of the events of this siege, however, should illustrate the *defensive* warfare of the Mexicans.

648 It is well known how, by a shrewd policy, as well as by able
175 strategy, Cortés succeeded in *dismembering*, rather than overpow-
726 ering, the Nahuatl confederacy of the valley of Mexico. He thus isolated the Mexican tribe proper, cut off its sources of reinforcement, and, above all, cut off its *subsistence*, by depriving it of tribute and barter. The time came at last when even those pueblos on the lake shores nearest to Mexico could not, or would not, any longer recognize friendly connections with their former military head. The surface of the water-sheet and the causeways were alone left to the tribe and to such additional warriors as had joined them in their abode, from the outside, to share their fate. As long as the lake could be freely navigated by Mexican canoes, any point of the mainland was exposed to attack by their warriors. Therefore Cortés launched his boats or "brigantines," which soon cleared Lake Tezcuco proper, driving the canoes to shelter in the narrow canals which ran all through the pueblo. His land forces occupied three out of the four issues of the causeways on the mainland. Thus the Mexicans were effectually hemmed in, without any outlet beyond the limited circulation on the ponds lying west of the chief causeways. Cortés' first step was to seize Chapultepec, and to cut off the supply of fresh water running thence along the causeway to Mexico.[265] Thus deprived of drinking water, almost, since that of the lagune was not wholesome, with limited supplies of food only, the Mexican tribe was surrounded by human enemies *without*, whilst two of the greatest plagues of mankind, thirst and famine, were sure to threaten them, ultimately, *within*.

[265] Mexico was provided with a constant supply of fresh water from Chapultepec. (Clavigero, Lib. VII, Cap. LIV.) The channels were constructed of stone, five feet high, and two feet broad (Cortés, "Carta Segunda"). It was one of the first moves of Cortés to seize the spring supplying these channels. The Mexicans, feeling the importance of the action, defended the position desperately. (Bernal-Diaz. Cap. CL., p. 176.) "Acordamos que entrambas capitanias juntas fuésemos à quebrar el agua de chapultepeque de que se proveia la ciudad, que estaba donde allí de Tacuba aun no media legua. E yendo à los quebrar los caños, toparonnos muchos guerreros, que nos esperaban en el camino; porque bien entendido tenian que aquello habia de ser el primero en que los podiamos dañar; y así como nos encontraron cerca de unos pasos malos, comenzaron à nos flechar y tirar vara y piedra con hondas, é nos hirieron à tres soldados; mas de presto los hicimos volver las espaldas, y nuestros amigos los de Tlacopia les siguieron de manera, que mataron veinte y prendieron siete ó ocho dellos; y como aquellos grandes escuadrones estuvieron puestos en huida, los quebramos los caños por donde iba el agua à su ciudad, y desde entonces nunca se fué à Mejico entre tanto que duró la guerra." (Also Cortés. 1 Carta III, p. 71.)

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174 a retreat would prove under such circumstances, so, followed by
726 their native allies, they persisted and overcame the obstacles by *storm*. The very Indian tactics intended for the destruction of the whites enabled the latter to gain a foothold on the causeways with less loss than a directly planned assault would have entailed.[209]

● 175 Until then, the Mexicans could make use of canoes, harassing
726 both flank and rear of their enemies. But Cortés speedily widened the first cut in the causeway, and sent his scows with artillery to the west side.[210] Thence on, while the brigantines could not effect anything against the pueblo itself, they still kept at bay the canoes of the Mexicans, and moving up along the causeways with the land force, they successfully sustained, by a lively cannonade, the efforts of the latter against the defences at the cuts and ditches.[211]

the water. Bernal-Diez (Cap. CL, pp. 176, 177) relates that, after the corps of Alvarado had occupied Tacuba, the Mexicans began to shout to them vociferously from the causeways and the water (then yet free to them). "Y aquellas palabras que nos decian eran "con pensamiento de nos indignar para que saliésemos aquella noche à guerrear, y herir-"nos mas á su salvo." Further on he says: "Y como aquello hubimos hecho, acordaron "nuestros capitanes que luego fuésemos á dar una vista y entrar por la calzada de Tacu-"ba y hacer lo que pudiésemos para les ganar una puente; y llegados que fuimos á la "calzada, eran tantas las canoas que en la laguna estaban llenas de guerreros y en las "mismas canoas y calzadas, que nos admirábamos dello; y tiraron tanta de vara y "flecha y piedra con hondas, que en la primera refriega hirieron treinta de nuestros "soldados é murieron trés; y aunque nos hacian tanto daño, todavia les fuimos entrando "por la calzada adelante hasta una puente, y à lo que yo entendi, ellos nos daban lugar "à ello, por meternos de la parte de la puente; y como alli nos tuvieron, digo que car-"garon tanta multitud de guerreros sobre nosotros que no nos podiamos valer." The Mexicans always *provoked* the Spanish attack, until the brigantines were masters of the ponds lying to the west of Mexico, also. (See also Cortés, "Carta tercera," Vedia I, p. 71."

[209] The first attack of Alvarado was repulsed. But subsequently they captured "many works and bridges." The fighting was very obstinate, the Mexicans charging at every hour of the day and night. See Prescott (Vol. III, Book VI, Cap. p. 106 and 107). "During the first five or six days after their encampment, the Spaniards experi-"enced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavored to prevent their "taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the sci-"ence of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to "their usual practice the Indians made their attacks by night as well as by day. The "water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, "but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send "showers of arrows into the Christian camp."

[210] The brigantines were flat-bottomed scows, manned with small guns. Even on the water, the Mexicans resorted to ambushes. The vicinity of the pueblo was surrounded by rows of pointed piles, below the surface of the lake, and squadrons of canoes were sent to decoy the brigantines into such treacherous places. On one occasion they succeeded in capturing one of the vessels in this manner. (Prescott, Vol. III, p. 28, quoting from Bernal-Diez.)

[211] The points occupied by the three Spanish divisions were: Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo), at the north, Tacuba at the west, and Cuyuacan to the southwest. It was originally intended to occupy Iztapalapan, but the position could not be carried, and

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

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175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
[645] allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled*. Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 191). The Council opposed the advice of Quauhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

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This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *Ward*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Velancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacoloco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X. p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 561, 562), Yacocalco (p. 536), Tlacuchcalco (p. 553), Amazac, Coyonacazco (p. 562). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 552), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tlaxchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI. p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX. pp. 488, 489). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 132). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 153).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 560) and *Velancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 24 Trat., p. 136) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron à la tierra no les dejaron tornar à libertad ninguna, ni à tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (8th Edition, 1809, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

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not all, of these good or bad actions, and this simply for the reason that he had not the power to commit them. Thus he is charged with remodelling his household, removing certain assistants, and filling the vacancies with "scions of noble stock," creating, at the same time, hereditary charges. It may be that, in the case of simple runners for instance, the "chief of men" held ample authority to select his men, consequently to remove them; but it is certain that for any office of permanence with the kin or tribe, he had not the least discretionary power. How insignificant his influence even was, when severed from organized tribal government, is amply shown by his utter helplessness from the very moment that the Spaniards had *once* treated him as a fettered captive.[61]

[61] The name is variously written "Mutizuma," "Muteczuma," "Moctezuma," "Montezuma," "Moctheuzoma," "Motecuhzoma;" and "Señor severo," is the most current interpretation. On the tables of *Durán* (Trat. I. Lam. 7, 8, 9, 21, 22, 23, 26) and in general, the "name" is painted as the head-dress ("Xiuhhuitzolli") of a chieftain, transpierced by an arrow. The etymology may be: "mo"—"thine," "tecuhtli"—"chief," and "çumale"—"furious and wrathy" (*Molina*, II, p. 28), therefore "wrathy chief," or "stern chief." Aside from the charges prefered against him by Ixtlilxochitl and his "school" of subverting gradually the basis of the confederacy, Mexican authors accuse him of having revolutionized the institutions of his own tribe. These reports have been beautifully remodelled into classical English by *Mr. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book II, cap. VI, pp. 309 and 310). *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, pp. 457, 473, 474, 475, etc.), is equally careful in reproducing all such tales, or a résumé thereof, in a shape more palatable to refined and impressionable readers.

The substance of these accusations becomes, however, reduced to the following statements, as expressed by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, pp. 145 and 146): "He said once to Zihuacoatl Tilpotonqui: I have thought it might be well to change the manner in which the chiefs and messengers should be selected and to establish a different way from that introduced under my uncle Ahuitzotl. Let those serving within their lifetime, be dismissed and others put in their places, elected from the four quarters of Moyotlan, Teopan, Aztacualco, and Cuepopan,—which shall be children of chiefs, and shall stay at the huehuecalli, or houses of the community, with the chief-steward dwelling near by. Some of the principals of this tribe now have sons, begotten from slaves, now—these are principals, and let them become delegates (ambassadors, messengers, "embajadores"), and not be cast aside for a miserable macehual who because he is Tequihua, Cacauhtli, or Cuachic, Otomies, should therefore be set over the principal Mexican chiefs, and the sons of head-chiefs (Kings, "reyes") . . . . . What I want is to bring forth those children of chieftains, which have been forgotten so long, and that such as hold the office under the chief Ahuitzotl and your father Zihuacoatl may return to rest. . . . . Zihuacoatl then called together the council: "al palacio tlamun," and submitted to them this suggestion, "of which they were all satisfied." With this resolution Zihuacoatl went to the chief and said: I do not want them to be of age now, but only ten or twelve years old, that they may be instructed properly, and become skilled in speaking, well disposed, like unto pages to the chieftain. When they had come before Zihuacoatl, as second person of the chief, he made a long speech to them concerning their line of conduct: Every day you shall attend to Huitzilopochtli and to the chief, rising early for orations, and doing the same at nightfall, to become expert in the ways of penitence and sacrifice. Then you shall cleanse the temple, and the chief-house, afterwards have it swept before he comes

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It is therefore vain to look for any important change in the 174
institutions of the ancient Mexicans even at this third and latest date, which was the last chance, so to say, if any at all, for such

ent. Keep your dresses clean and in order, also his own dress and ornaments; his 175
trees, medal, and chain; also every five days his blow-tube and bow, that he may 642
recreate himself with it. Attend to him at meal-time, morning and evening, serving 643
him with cacao, roses, perfumes, with much humility and respect, never looking into his face under pain of death. Take care that the cooking be well done, and that the stewards provide for everything. But, while there you stay, beware, for many women of worth are seen there, and to whose needs you have also to attend,—watch your behavior, for should you attempt anything against them, you and your relations will be driven off, and if you commit any bad action with any of these women, your fathers houses will be razed, salt strewn over their ruins, and you and your lineage must perish." At the close of this and other (less important) talk it is said: "and in course of time they became so well bred, refined, and instructed, and skilful, that they were of the most prominent chieftains and leading men in this house and court." *Durán* (Cap. LII, pp. 416–422) does not fail to confirm the statements of Tezozomoc, extending, however, the removals to nearly all the offices: "asi en el servicio de sus casa y persona, como en el régimen de la provincia y reyno" (p. 417); also excluding illegitimate offspring ("segun bastardo"), and giving a number of more or less pertinent details. He even asserts that the officers of the kins were removed. In short, he represents it as the introduction of absolute despotism, surrounding at the same time the throne by a powerful nobility. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 21. p. 505) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 66), "porqué mandó, que no le sirviesen sino nobles, i que la Gente Ilustre estuviese en su Palacio, i exercitase oficios de su Casa, i Corte." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIX, p. 196), *Veiancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XIX, p. 328), and others, confirm, although in a more concise style than the first named authors. It is evident that all these authors must have gathered from the same source, which cannot be *Sahagun*, nor *Motolinia*, neither *Mendieta*, nor any of the known conquerors. The story, as told and detailed by Durán, presupposes a class of hereditary nobles, already formed and in full vigor, but excluded in part from tenure of office or rather sharing such right of tenure equally with those of the common class. This is distinctly acknowledged by Tezozomoc, and more particularly yet by Durán himself: "y mudar todos los que su tio Auitzotl auia puesto y de los que se auia servido, porque munchas dellos eran de baxa suerte y hijos de hombres baxos," p. 417, etc. Now I have proven ("*Tenure of Lands*, pp. 419, 420, 421, etc., to p. 448) that there was no privileged class based on tenure of the soil. The revolution assumed presupposes that there was, up to the last "wrathy chief," no class of nobles in exclusive possession of the offices, consequently, even if the "chief of men" in question had any inclination or desire to oust the "common people" from their official positions, the main desideratum, namely, the "uncommon" onsé wherewith to replace them, and for whose benefit the whole affair was planned, were not on hand. For nobility not based on hereditary ownership, or hereditary command of some kind, is no nobility at all. As far as heredity of office is concerned, Durán himself is one of the most powerful witnesses against it (*e. g.*, Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). If, therefore, "wrathy chief" created a class of privileged office-holders, about the year 1503, it must have been very short-lived, for it was certainly out of existence sixteen years later, at the beginning of the Spanish conquest.

The version of Tezozomoc is evidently the correct one, and thus the whole story dwindles down to the selection of certain boys, probably of his own kin, for the special service of the tribal house of government, which took place *with the knowledge and consent of the council only*. Whether this act, if converted into a custom, might have gradually merged into prevalence of a certain kin over the rest, is another question, which the intervening conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, has left without decisive answer. About the helplessness of Montezuma while a captive, see authors on the Conquest in general.

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412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and orna-
ments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were
[286 323] sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

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imagination and opened a rich life for their military conquerors. The humble farming skill of the tribesmen of North America's eastern seaboard sustained religious exiles until they could live off the land and create their own type of commonwealth. The Indian and his culture were soon plowed under, but they enriched a soil which otherwise would never have produced the lavish harvest of Pan-American civilization.

The most violent clash between the Indians and the Europeans took place in the Valley of Mexico during the early summer of 1520, when Cortes and his Spaniards achieved the Conquest of Mexico and overthrew the Aztec civilization, the most advanced Indian culture at that time. Cortes' success was the loadstone which drew to the Americas the iron might of Europe. Stone could not withstand steel, and the days of the Indian were numbered. The history of the Aztecs and their forebears is a synopsis of the rise of Indian civilization and its doom.

The Aztecs were a populous group of independent Indian tribes who occupied a restricted section of central Mexico. Their history and social customs are better known than their neighbors' because their conquest had such a far-reaching significance for the European world. Spanish observers of military, priestly and civil status wrote careful accounts of the Aztec life and history, and Indian authors a generation later augmented these records, drawing on the tribal lore still only thinly veneered by Christianity. A few pictographic records, either prepared before the Conquest or copied afterward, are precious additions to the Aztec annals. However, our chief data on Indian history come from archaeology, that branch of research which recovers social his-

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court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the 342
wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[14] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chico- 342
nauhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the 177
growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a [362]
Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spacious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[15] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular 361
form, since the division of the land among the clans usually [471]
followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

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that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and 324
this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better 412
made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and 177
Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burn- 324
ing and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out 532
of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs, [796]
referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (cuauhxicalli*) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.[a] (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

*kwow-shee-ca'lli.

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ing of the arm thereby giving the missile an increased propulsive force. Some of these *atl-atls* were most delicately carved and represent the best of Aztec design. (See Plate 54, bottom.)

Metallurgy was in its infancy. Copper was cold-hammered; the art of adding alloys to make bronze had not reached Mexico from the south, but the gilding of copper and mixing of gold and copper were adopted by Mexican goldsmiths. Copper was cast into bells and ornaments, and the process, used also for gold, was the cire-perdue, or lost-wax, method. The desired shape was modeled in clay, over which was dusted finely ground charcoal, followed by an even layer of wax. This coating was also dusted with charcoal and the whole enclosed in clay, which was perforated at the top and bottom. The molten metal was poured in at the upper hole after the wax was melted and the lower orifice plugged. When the metal cooled the cast was broken and the finished object removed.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

Although most of the native goldwork found its way to the Spanish melting pot, a few lovely ornaments survived; in 1932 the quantity was more than doubled by Dr Alfonso Caso's discovery of the undisturbed tomb of a high Mixtec official. The design and shape of these necklaces, earplugs and rings, by their sheer intricacy and bulk, make one realize that the Spanish descriptions of Cortes' loot understated the rich ability of the Aztec goldsmiths.[12]

Metalworking, without much question, had its origin in Ecuador or Peru, and various techniques were transmitted up the Pacific coast to Panama and Costa Rica, where important goldworking industries were founded. Although the intervening area produced little metal, another center was

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of pottery, and in the chapters in Indian history we have 323
seen how every tribe, almost every village, had its own particular style, which changed gradually through slow shifts in the popular taste as time wore on. In the absence of written records the archaeologists fortunately have been able to rely on pottery styles to peg out in time and space the relationships of these ancient and forgotten tribes and thus lay a basis for New World history.[14]

The Aztecs, like all the other New World peoples, did not use the potter's wheel but built up their vessels with strips of clay, relying on their keen eye and sensitive fingers to achieve the desired shape. They did not use molds to form their vessels, as was occasionally done in late Teotihuacan times; nor, apparently, did they make use of the *kabal*, a block on which Yucatecan potters rested their vessels and which they turned with their feet in shaping the raw clay.

The Aztecs had an abundance of finely textured clay, 323
orange after firing, from which they fashioned vessels for 531
the storage and service of food. The potters of Culhuacan used this ware first, making plates with flat bottoms resting on cylindrical legs.[15] On the floors they painted curvilinear designs which were sometimes faintly naturalistic. In the second period, when the manufacture of this ware became popular all over the northern Valley, the vessels were made more coarsely, and the hollow legs degenerated to thick, elongated cones.[16] The decoration was converted into an abstract combination of curvilinear *motifs* that had the quality of European script writing. In contrast to the usual recti- 212
linear quality of Middle American design, it may be more 171
than a coincidence that the introduction of this style at the beginning of the fourteenth century was contemporaneous

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with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, perhaps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of concentrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

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emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

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economic, social and religious stimulation of their sudden 532
rise to power as a license to convert craftsmanship into great religious art.

The Aztecs did not create their art forms or their religion, 532
which seems to have seeped in from the Mixteca-Puebla 771
country. There the religious manuscripts and the ritualistic 177
concepts hewn in stone and painted on vases were more complex and better drawn than their Aztec equivalents. Unfortunately, as yet, archaeological investigation has not extended to more than a sampling of this potentially rich area of Mexican civilization. However, the Valley people, given the opportunity, eagerly accepted these forms and created their own versions of the parent art.[14] (See Plates 57, top; 58, 59.)

The same elements portrayed in stone monuments ap- 532
peared in smaller objects. Wooden drums and *atl-atls* had relief carvings the equal of the temple ornaments in all except scale. The same divinities were graven in bone against a background of turquoise mosaic. The goldworkers reproduced in miniature the images of the gods and goddesses and the symbols of their cult, carrying out in costume ornament the elements of the ritual in which they were used. Lapidaries succeeded in reducing jade, obsidian, rock crystal, opal, moonstone and amethyst into tiny sculptures which carry the same emotional authority as the grand-scale art. The bulk of first-rate material is enormous. It would seem that the products of tribal craftsmanship had been raised en masse into arts. Virtually overnight a cluster of primitive villages had transformed themselves into great creative centers.[15] (See Plates 45–48; 55, bottom left.)

Painting and drawing did not reflect this transmutation.

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sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. 532
In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars 533
quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian 534
needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom 535
persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for [177 ● 197]
they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

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776 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people,
173 promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

554 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many
174 guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find
177 to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

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175 the shorter records have reached print, even if they survive in some library. These histories followed two main styles. One, exemplified in the Mapa Tlotzin and Codex Xolotl, sets forth events, the people or tribes involved and the places, each designated by its hieroglyph. Year names were appended to give the dates. These Texcocan records are highly complicated to follow, but fortunately some have glossaries appended after the Conquest.[22] (See Plates 25, top row; 63, middle right.)

The other style recorded the succession of the years, one after the other, for the whole time covered by the history. Events, like conquests or the death of chiefs, were appropriately drawn near the proper year sign and sometimes were connected by a line. This type of history seemed largely confined to Tenochtitlan. Since Tenochcan history is much more accurate after 1400 A.D. than before, one wonders whether the destruction of the books, ordered by Itzcoatl, did not really pave the way for a new style of writing.[23] (See Plates 62, top; 63.)

In addition to the histories and the sacred almanacs tribal records were kept. These are most useful to the modern student, for the names of the towns are inscribed in one column, while the rest of the page records the amount of gold, ornaments or cloth that was paid in as tribute. Since the geographical location of most of these towns is known, the chief products of each area can be determined. Other records showed lines of descent, lands occupied and other data essential to family economics.[24] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

212 Fortunately, after the Conquest the Spaniards utilized the
177 native methods of writing as well as their own in civil records,

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212 such as tax rolls, lawsuits, and the like, so that the Indians
177 could understand the Spanish legal code and present their complaints.[28] Friar Nicolas Tester even made an attempt to shift the picture writing over to syllabic writing—the effect of the Lord's Prayer in Aztec glyphs is startling.[29] This was too cumbersome a plan and was soon abandoned for the recording of Nahuatl words in Roman characters. However, it is due to this usage of Aztec pictographs that so much survives of the records, many of which, with their oral accompaniment, were copied into Roman characters both in Spanish and Nahuatl. From these we derive such knowledge as we have of Aztec history and customs. (See Plate 44.)

212 The drawback of picture writing is its rigidity and its uselessness for the expression of abstract ideas. The cyclical count created great confusion as to the particular cycle in which an event took place. Exact and careful drawing was essential for the glyphs, and a slurred line might result in a totally different reading. However, the worst feature of Aztec history is its provincialism, for the scribes saw things only in terms of the tribe and took no heed of internal events in other communities. The picture writings show how communal interests extended vertically, as it were, from the tribe to the pantheon. There is no reflection of a horizontal interest outward to the lives and occupations of other peoples. The attitude of the Aztec communities to foreign affairs merits a chapter in itself.

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themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their 797
descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly 636
families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the 177
records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec picto- [217]
graphic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. [291]
The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging [415]
fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed 797
to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours 346
in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. 177
The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

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797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[5]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

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munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[6]

Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[7]

The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[14]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-weaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl:

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca ichoatl in tlaçotlaqujq: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapilos, ichoatl in qujmomaca cuextecatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn suchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaiaoalo in teucalli.

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id est, iaoiutl, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic cenizzque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, iteputzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn taõli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaqujq in tonatiuh.

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuztlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujnjquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quezqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço-

14. See Sahagún, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1308f. Sahagún mentions (pp. 131, 132) a pointed, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose piece; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. Either these relate to the wars of Axayacatl among the Huaxtecs, or else "the Mexicans were [then to proclaim] themselves to be the servants, followers, kinsmen, of the old mother of the gods, Tetes innan, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxtecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from there."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [126]

> ...they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [139]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[a] 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING** [291]

2,010 bundles[b] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[c] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD* [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE* [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

[a] *ENE*, 10: 126. [b] Corrected from 2,000. [c] Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54'). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 123, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

X 618 171 common descent; the other is that there are proofs that the social strata of the Tenochca community were not social classes, and that therefore their government could not have the character of a "state" if by this we mean that it had a class and non-"gentile" character.

/p. 87/ CONCLUSIONS

/p. 89/ Chapter 10

THE EVOLUTIONARY STAGE OF TENOCHCA SOCIETY

X 618 ●178 Let us now see concisely what are the conclusions arrived at regarding the questions posed upon undertaking this investigation in accord with the theoretical possibilities at our disposal; and try to express the evolutionary stage of the Tenochcan society in accord with such conclusions.

Systemizing our data we can say that:

a) The Tenochcas had permanent structures—the calpullis—based on kinship through common descent of its members, that is, structures which possessed the necessary qualities for accepting that there were indications of clans among the Tenochcas.

b) We can also say that, taking into consideration the different forms which clans can assume, the information which we have regarding the Tenochcan clans present them to us as ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies, among which, through having as a formative principal the reckoning of closeness of kinship to ancestors, there arose a marked internal differentiation, a veritable pyramid of ranks and of economic positions, the highest position being that of the calpulli chiefs.

c) We can say that there are many indications of there having been a differentiation in rank as between entire clans, the principal one being the one to which the chiefs of the whole Tenochcan group belonged.

d) We can say that there are also indications that the internal differentiation of the ranks of each clan is intimately bound to the differentiation between entire clans in the whole Tenochcan group through the realization of marriages between members of different clans.

X 618 178

e) We can say, finally, that there are very numerous indications that the principal social relationships of the whole Tenochcan population were /p. 90/ determined by these ambilateral clan structure types which were greatly stratified and had endogamous tendencies. The more important of these relationships determined by the existence of clans were: 1st) Social stratification which was not independent from the clan organization although it had caused many investigators to think that they were real social classes or the beginnings of social classes. 2nd) The social division of labor, not only manual [labor], which had caused some authors to think that there were guilds among the Tenochcas. 3rd) The forms of land ownership, save two exceptions (the parcels of the valiant macehuales and those of the lords not subject to a determined entailed estate), which had caused it to be thought that the ownership of land was the base of the supposed classic type differences. 4th) The territorial division of the population.

Therefore we can affirm that there were clans among the Tenochcas around the time of the arrival of the Spanish; but that these clans were not of the nature of exogamous and equalitarian unilateral clans which have generally served as examples of clans, but were ambilateral clans with a great tendency towards exogamy and strongly stratified through having as their basic principal the reckoning of the closeness of kinship of their members to common ancestors.

Now then, what does all this mean from the point of view of the evolutionary stage of Tenochca society? There are several considerations that we can make in this respect: in the first place, that the Tenochcas were not in the same evolutionary stage as the Iroquois or other similar groups whose structure is equalitarian and democratic, but rather evinced a marked internal and external stratification and were markedly aristocratic. In the second place we can say that the Tenochcas were not in the same evolutionary line of exogamous clans whose structure does not permit of great development through internal evolution, but rather that the Tenochcas were in an evolutionary line of ambilateral clans which has always been susceptible to undergoing great changes. In the third place we can say that these changes —principally in the tributary system, but also in the clan system were in fact taking place in the society of the Tenochcas and that the more important of them were: a) the beginning of the separation of two hereditary strata—the pillis and the macehuales—of a graded [estamental] type; b) the beginning of the social division of labor by groups of a guild type, c) perhaps the beginning of territorial

X 618 178 division based on personal location—as appears to have occurred with the valiants who were not tributary, and with the owners of alienable land; and d) the beginning of /p. 91/ non-communal and non-alienable property, as was that of the nobles not subject to entailed estates. In the fourth place one must note that the beginning of the evolutionary changes permitted by the structure of Tenochca society formed basically by clans was really hardly a beginning, and that it still had not come to constitute a structure which could even be called graded [estamental] let alone a class type. One also has to note that the premises of productivity of work and of technical advance were not present among the Tenochcas, such as allowed in other parts of the world, the appearance of grades [estamentos] and of social classes, since among the Tenochcas a) there were no great irrigation works or intensive cultivation, although there was a quite advanced hoe cultivation with horticultural techniques (fertilization, selection, etc.); b) machines were absolutely unknown; d) [sic. :c), or c) omitted in printing] there were no domestic animals which might have permitted a great accumulation of wealth, etc. Furthermore there were no possibilities that these technical premises were to obtain in the near future, although they were indispensible for a subsequent evolution. It must also be said that Tenochca life had an economic base of cultivation, of artisan specialization, and of division of labor quite sufficient to allow and require a structure as complex as that which appears in the data, and that the economic relations were of a fundamental importance for the social life of the group; but there is no doubt that they had not come to have sufficient force to break with the limitations of an organization based on kinship through common descent.

Of course, to look at Tenochca society, as has been done in this study, isolated from the groups with which it sustained commercial relations and from those bound to it by tributary relations, achieving almost a parasitic life at their cost, is to see it very fragmentarily. The same can be said as to the lack of a complete study of the whole process of the evolution of Tenochcan society. But precisely because of having found that Tenochca society, in its dominant position, still had not changed its clan structure or even enjoyed an economic well-being that other contemporary groups did not enjoy, reinforces the idea for us that they had not reached a level of evolution similar to the high oriental type cultures of India, Egypt, or China. Furthermore we have to think that in the event that the Tenochca society had continued its evolution uninterrupted by the arrival of the Spanish, it

would have arrived at an evolutionary stage precisely similar to such civilizations, not grounded in great works /p. 92/ of irrigation, but in cultivation by terracing, and by small scale irrigation.

The typical form of the appearance of social classes—that of Greece—is precisely the beginning of the break up of the hereditary limitations of social stratification into grades [estamentos]. In Mexico the falling apart of the clans and the hereditary stratification associated with them began only at the arrival of the Spanish and not through internal evolution but through imposition in a rough manner, and the new social organization spread in a regular and gradual way with the introduction of the new forms of production: the Spanish did not accelerate an internal process already initiated in Tenochca society, rather they introduced forms to which various of the their internal processes could be easily adapted.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[33] 643 651

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 174 648

[33] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America." Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1809), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "ceualli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located*, in *order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

178 174 423 565 651 428

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

"Nahuatl" confederacy of the valley of Mexico, that they and 648 their soil were totally independent from the Mexicans.[138] Still, Cortés honestly assumed it to have been a part of the Mexican domain, and on this assumption based his disposition of it, fully convinced that he was performing an act of honest restitution. This gives a measure of the erroneous ideas then prevailing among the Spaniards on the mode of tenure and distribution of lands in ancient Mexico.

Thus a state of things was inaugurated which could not fail, 648 eventually, to create the most unfortunate results. The Indians 178 among themselves were placed on very unequal footings. In some sections the calpulli, even the whole tribe, were left undisturbed, in others their lands were assigned to Spanish individuals. Again, certain tracts were taken away from the communal soil, and became private property of individual conquerors. But the most disastrous influence certainly was exercised by the assignment of landed property to individual Indians. It created an inequality of condition in each and every aboriginal community against which those least favored revolted, whereas the preferred ones, now combining authority with landed property, were tempted to abuse their new position.[139] Of this division and strife among the

[138] In addition to the testimony already adduced, we refer here to the Letter of Fray Toribio (Motolinia) and Fray Diego d' Olarte, dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554. "All the others obeyed to Montezuma, to the sovereign of Tezcuco, and to him of Tacuba. These three princes were closely confederated; they divided among themselves the lands (countries) which they conquered." ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," p. 403.) In the "Relation of the services rendered by the Marquis of the Valley (Cortés)," executed between 1532 and 1535—and presented to the Emperor by the Licentiate Nuñez, reference is made to the original grant *to* Cortés, of lands containing: "23,000 vassals" which territory included the Tecpanecan pueblos of Cuyuacan and Atacubaya. These pueblos were claimed "through the intrigues of the president Nuño de Guzman and of the auditors Matienzo and Delgadillo" as belonging to Mexico, but the case was tried in New Spain, and Cortés furnished ample proof "how the said lands are distinct, in limits and jurisdiction, from the city of Mexico, and that the Lords of Cuyuacan and Atacubaya always possessed them peaceably and in fact" ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, p. 56). If now this was the fact with those two villages, how much more so was it with Tacuba and its surroundings, which were the chief places of the Tecpanecan tribe; a third member of the Nahuatl confederacy of the Mexican valley.

[139] The grant to Cortés mentioned in the preceding note, is an instance of the agglomeration of several pueblos under a single owner. There must have been many more: since he created originally but 200 "Repartimientos" over the whole territory. The Licentiate Ceynos, in his letter of 22 June, 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, p. 159), mentions "until 400 persons" of which 200 had to settle in the city of Mexico. The Bishop Fuenleal in his "Opinion" of 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 176), mentions (among others) the following Repartimientos: "Huexotzinco to Diego de Ordáz." The province of

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648 178 Aborigines themselves the Spaniards naturally profited for further encroachments. Many "encomenderos" used the authority of the chiefs to turn their Indian serfs into actual slaves, others in turn improved the new perspective opened to the natives towards the acquisition of private lands, for the purpose of undermining the influence and authority of the chieftains.[140] Frequently, also, the ignorance in which the Indians were, as to the

Tepeaca to Pedro Armildez Chirino,— Chilchota to Juan de Sámano, etc., etc. Each of these, especially the first one, comprised several villages, nay a whole tribe.

Compare the letter of the Archbishop Montufar, 30 Nov., 1554 ("Cruautés horribles, etc." Appendix, 255–260). Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). The complaints are principally, against such as held offices under the conquerors, and such to whom lands were given out of the calpulalli. The petition of Montufar is a terrible accusation against the Indian chiefs. Gomara, however, qualifies it as one of the good effects of the conquest that the Indians since that time "hold lands" (Vedia I). Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17) is very severe on the collectors of rent for the whites. But these collectors must have been mostly Indians,— *chiefs*, as he himself acknowledges in his Cholula-letters.

[140] Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17). Montufar (pp. 255–260). Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Ceynos, Second Letter, 1 March, 1565 (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 240 and 241). Zurita (p. 83) is of special importance, exposing the intrigues of the Spanish conquerors among the Indian communities, inciting the natives to litigations against their chiefs. Mendieta, in his remarkable letter from Toluca, 1 Jan'y, 1562, to Fray Francisco de Bustamante, commissary general, at Mexico, devotes his principal attention to the pernicious influence of the Spanish interpreters and lawyers, inciting the Indians to litigation before the "Audiencia" and not before the viceroy. He says for inst. (p. 532), "that without comparison their condition and behavior was better at their time of gentility than now. For at the time they were heathens they did not know of lawyers ("letrado" properly men of letters), scribes, nor attorneys, neither of litigations, nor to spend in such (squabbles) their properties and ruin their souls. To-day, since the opportunity is afforded to them, and they being naturally quarrelsome, disposed to tackle and injure each other, they are so fond of it as to have them continually on hand, without cause nor reason, and (such are) always the worst and most abject of the tribe. Therefore not a single community is found in New Spain which is not disturbed, and does not spend nearly as much in litigation as they pay of tribute to H. M., or to the encomendero every year. And since they are of little understanding, and not versed in law, I hold all what the interpreters and attorneys gain by it as so much of a robbery as if they would take it from the houses at night. Such do not even deny their base actions, but confess openly that they do it, without any other excuse than that H. M. gives them permission." On p. 536, he says: "certain particular Indians in all the settlements do great mischief, knowing that they have recourse to the court, and among the pretenses to cover their malice they use two most commonly, which are: demand account of the communal property, pretending that the principals spend it, and the other, to have the conduct of their officers investigated under color that these abuse of their position (power)." Zurita (p. 83), speaking of the intrigues against the chiefs says: "the ordinary tribute and prestations falling, they fall into the most abject misery, become dejected, dare not speak, and do not know where to apply for protection. For all this the rebels do not cause any loss to the encomendero as to his tribute . . . . In this manner they ruin the chiefs in a very short time, for all their property consists in the work of their vassals, as soon as that ceases, if it was but for a single day, they lack every requisite for life." (This quotation is in itself, we think, the most ample confirmation of what we have advanced upon the subject of aboriginal tenure of the soil, and fully disproves what has been assumed in regard to the chiefs holding and owning lands of their own). See also Memorial of Bartolomé de Las Casas (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 229 and 230).

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real import and value of landed concessions, was taken advantage of to deprive them of such subsequently, either through litigation or through barter for worthless trifles.[141] Unacquainted with the new order of things suddenly forced upon them, unable therefore to profit by it for subsistence, the natives of Mexico could not help being *degraded* instead of *elevated* and bettered in condition by such a transition which displaced them, in the course of a few years, from a state of tribal and communal society into one of civilization.[142]

Consequently a state of disorganization began to prevail, which threatened to ruin the country. At the same time, however, while the Indians, forlorn in the maze of difficulties in which their conquerors themselves also floundered about, were in a perfectly helpless condition, a sudden protection and relief arose to them. On the 13th of May, 1524, "one day previous to the vigils of Pentecost," there landed at San Juan de Ulúa, a cluster of twelve Franciscan friars, sent to Mexico in response to the original call of Cortès, for the purpose of converting the Indians.[143] These monks

[141] Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Mendieta (Letter, in Col. de Doc. II).

[142] The Europeans opened a wide field for activity. They were superior to the Mexican aborigines, not only in organization, but especially in mechanical arts and inventions for the purpose of subsistence. It was now required of the Indians to suddenly take hold of all these improvements, which it had taken the Europeans centuries upon centuries to secure through long experimenting,—and to become familiar with them in a short time, as well as to feel happy and contented at once under a state of society which tore asunder all those ties of kinship forming, since time immemorial, the basis of their organization. It was asking too much of them altogether, and if besides what was asked was even enforced violently,—then the degrading consequences could not be avoided. Therefore, the most ardent advocates of the Indian cause took great care to insist upon letting the natives alone in their communities; even prohibiting the access thereto to the Spanish colonists. Bartolomé de las Casas, in his joint memorial with Fray Domingo de Santa Tomás, in favor of the Indians of Peru, written about 1560 ("Col. de Doc." Bibliographical notes, p. XLII,) says: "Lo segundo, que porque los Españoles son siempre del bien de los indios contrarios, y en especial lo son y han de ser impedidores de aqueste negocio y concierto, que han de estorbar por cuantas vias pudieren que los indios no paguen à S. M. ni puedan pagar este servicio; por tanto es necesario que se prohiba que ningun comendero èntre por ninguna causa ni razon en los pueblos de los indios que tienen encomendados, ni sus mujeres, que son las mas crueles y perniciosas, ni negro, ni criado, ni otra persona suya (p. 233)." Alonzo de Zurita, in his memorial written at Mexico between 1554 and 1564 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. XLVII), insists strongly upon keeping the Indians apart from the Whites (p. 335). In regard to the actual degradation, see Mendieta's letter, of 1 Jan'y, 1592 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 332). Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de N. España," Trat. I, cap. I).

[143] The Franciscan friars obtained their first concession from Pope Leo X, by a bull dated 25 April, 1521 (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. V, pp. 185–190). This bull was executed in favor of Fray Francisco de Quiñones (de los Angeles), and Fray Juan Clapion. But these fathers never reached Mexico. Previous to it, three Flemish missionaries, Fray Juan de Tecto, Fray Juan de Aora, and Fray Pedro of Ghent had gone to New Spain

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421 surrounding our own property concepts was unnecessary.

186 There was little to harass the individual intellectually or
181 economically. Existence was subject to divine favor, and a man fared much as did his fellows. Large as some towns were—Mexico City had three hundred thousand people—the sense of community was strong. Freedom of thought, individual liberty, personal fortunes, were nonexistent, but people lived according to a code that had worked well and continuously for centuries. An Aztec would have been horrified at the naked isolation of an individual's life in our Western world.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMY

The Domestic and Tribal Economy of the Aztec People

THE AZTEC SOCIAL SYSTEM provided a means by which 181 people could exist harmoniously together in considerable numbers. The domestic and tribal economy of the Aztecs offered the food, shelter, tools and clothing to which man largely owes his dominant position on earth. The measure of a human society may be gauged by the relationship between the organization of the people themselves and their use of materials to build houses and equip them. The Aztecs' economy had the same basic simplicity as had their social organization; likewise it had the same flexibility in expanding to meet the needs of a growing population.[1]

Agriculture was the basis of Aztec life, and corn, *zea mays*, 241 was the chief food plant. The cultivation of plants ensured 471 a food supply near at hand, which was not subject to the fluctuations of game and thereby enabled man to take thought for the morrow. The clan system, as we have seen, recognized that the fruits of the land supported the tribe. Therefore, it was only natural that the tribe should own and control the land which supported its members.[2] (See Plate 38.)

The tribal council divided the land among the clans, and 471 421

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so
181 the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold
[325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and
241 wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and
[567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work
466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with
[135] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

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CHAPTER VIII

CRAFTSMANSHIP

A consideration of how the Aztecs attained a high degree of skillful craftsmanship with relatively few mechanical aids

CRAFTSMANSHIP allows an exercise of the creative impulse, satisfying the individual through his domination of the raw material. In our modern mechanized age most of us suffer from the lack of opportunity to create, since almost everything we use comes machine-made, and not even the skilled mechanic feels that his ingenuity and craftsmanship alone have produced a useful and attractive object. The ordinary modern floats like Mohammed's coffin, without contact with the earth on which he lives or the universe of which he is an infinitesimal part. The Aztec, however, lived in the most intimate contact with nature in its finite and infinite manifestations. Because his conscious being was set in terms of the group mind, he seldom felt that sensation, common to the Western intellect, of having cut himself from the tree of natural existence with the saw of his own reason.

The home production of articles for daily use gave an impetus to craftsmanship, since wealth and prosperity lay in a man's possessions, not in the abstract ownership of rights to the work of others. Thus a successful man had a well-made house, finely fashioned and decorative clothing, care-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

182 elaborated and specialized groups. To turn such craftsmanship into art required a mere flick of the switch of social demand. The arts, as considered in the next chapters, were just projections of the craft background.

181 The measure of Aztec civilization cannot be gauged solely by its technical achievements. The arts and crafts transcend the products of Old World peoples at the same mechanical level. The spirit of the Aztec people, as exemplified in their religious art, soared to the lofty heights attained by the creators of all those ancient civilizations, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, whose monuments reflect the glory of their builders' religious devotion.

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The lag between the calendric and the solar year, for which 796 we compensate by adding a day every four years as the 805 twenty-ninth of February, was difficult to adjust by Aztec standards since so much of the time count hinged on the orderly mathematical sequence of days. Some authorities believe that the Aztecs let the calendar drop behind, others that compensation was made during the unlucky period of five days. A third suggestion interprets the celebration of a feast held every eight years as a sign that a dateless day was introduced, unrecognized in the *tonalpohualli* of the year but honored with special rites.[1] (See Plate 58, middle.)

However the matter of the leap year was settled, the close of one cycle and the beginning of a new one was celebrated with great pomp each year Two Reed chosen as the first day of each cycle for some ritualistic reason. In the Mixteca-Puebla area the *tonalamatls* show evidence that the priests observed the planet Venus and took note of a Venus Year of 584 days. At the end of two cycles (104 years) there was a tremendous ceremony of great ritualistic significance, for at the same time as the beginning of a Venus count, a solar count, a fifty-two-year cycle, and a *tonalpohualli* all coincided. That four mystical rhythms, affecting such diverse aspects of the universe and the gods that dwelt therein, could [181] meet must have produced great satisfaction and occasioned the utmost rejoicing among people for whom pattern and form had such great significance.[2]

Although the Valley of Mexico Aztecs did not use the 796 Venus count they celebrated the cyclical change with the utmost ceremony. They thought of the change from one cycle to another as the death of one life and the beginning of a new one. The realization that nature could withhold the

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) N949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[9] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[9] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[32] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[33]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[34] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[35]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[36]

[32] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[33] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[35] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[36] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matrícula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl toztli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 609–610).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But 105
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my
"chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in
"all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my
"duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for
"many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-
"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently* given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I
"shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and
"I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this 174
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently 181
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 450). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 137 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenuchtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 8, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Géronimo de Mendieta (Historia ecclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hiciéron fuertes en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubiérta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de los Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequéñas choças, rodeados "de carriço, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 465. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espessura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan dessado.") [311]

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 460, 461 and 462, of Vol. I, of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1853.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also. [171]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

●181 like customs and propensities. *War*, at first *defensive*, afterwards *offensive*, became the *life of the tribe*. Religion demanded it for its bloody rites; revenge, so deeply rooted in Indian nature, called for it at every moment. But especially was it required for the *subsistence* of the tribe, whose increasing numbers could not live from agriculture on the scanty soil allotted to them, and who, therefore, were compelled to depend upon the spoils gathered from inroads upon their neighbours. *If there was no war in progress, the Mexicans deemed themselves "idle."*[7] We may therefore presume that the military organization of the Mexicans, their preparations for warfare, and the mode of the latter, are features of
701 importance, and worthy of serious attention.

[852] Every male of the Mexican tribe was born a warrior. When still a babe his father placed alongside of the child a small bow[8] and some arrows, in token of its future duties. There was no military caste at Tenuchtitlan or Mexico; with the exception of children, old people, infirm or crippled persons, and sometimes priests, every one had to go to war. Boys fifteen years old were taken along, and in some instances it was even directed "that no "youth over fifteen years of age should remain; that all had to "go, except children and old people."[9] Thus there was no "standing army" the available force being composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe of Mexico.[10]

[7] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 32). "Pasados algunos años dijo el rey Moctezuma á "Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin general y oydor: pareceme que ha muchos dias que estamos "muy *ociosos*." This term, "idle," applies to the lack of any war, since immediately thereafter the war against Chalco was kindled by the most wanton provocation on the part of the Mexicans.

[8] Fr. X. Clavigero (Storia del Messico. Cesena, 1780. Lib. VI, cap. XXXVI). Francisco Lopez de Gomara ("Historia general de las Indias." Second part, "Conquista "de Méjico." contained in the collection of Vedia, volume I,—"This done, they put in "the right hand of the child, an arrow if a boy, a shuttle if a girl, to mark that he would "have to improve by the use of arms, and she by spinning and weaving," p. 438, Vedia, I). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 430, of Vol. II, says this was done four days after the birth of the child). Clavigero intimates that only those children "whose fathers were warriors," received the token, but this is not at all confirmed. Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España" in "Coleccion de Documentos para la "Historia de Mexico," by Señor Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1866, volume I. "Y entonces si "era varon ponianle una saeta en la mano, . . . el varon porque fuese valiente para "defender à si y á la patria, porque las guerras eran muy ordinarias cada año." Tra-
[463] tado I, cap. V, p. 37). There were no hereditary professions or trades, so to say.

[9] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 141, and cap. XC, p. 158). Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. XXVI, pp. 442 and 443).

[10] What the Germans call "*Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*," existed among the Mexicans on the most extensive scale. But their forces, although always ready, never went *permanently* outside of the pueblo, for they were not numerous enough, and did not gather

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

became, according to rules of kinship, one against the social 618
group to which he belonged. This presupposes again a general 681
division of crimes into two classes, one of which includes such as were committed by members of the kin against other members thereof or against institutions of the same group to which they belonged. The other comprises offenses committed by inhabitants of one calpulli against those of another. It is only the first class which we take under consideration here, the second we reserve for our discussion of the mode of government. Crimes committed within the kin can be classified as against persons, against property, and against medicine.

The aborigines of Mexico are generally represented as being, [181] ●
in their every-day's intercourse, of a quiet, peaceable, inoffensive 626
disposition, contrasting strongly with their savage ferocity in warfare. This was not however due to any innate gentleness and mildness of nature, but only to the peculiar restraint enforced upon them by the law of retaliation or revenge.[191] Brawls resulting in bodily injury were therefore of extremely rare occurrence, and then it was left to the parties to settle it among themselves. In such cases, as in the event of mutual jealousy, a challenge often passed between them, and this challenge brought about an encounter at *the next campaign* when, while the warriors were engaged with the enemies of the tribe, the contestants fought as if they had belonged to opposite camps, until one of them

[191] The character of the Mexican Aborigines is variously depicted by older writers. It appears as a mixture of childlike docility and fierce passions. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 18. Vedia, Vol. I). speaks of them according to the reports of the Tlaxcaltecans. *Bernal Diez* ("*Historia* etc.," pp. 309 and 310. Cap. CCVIII. Vedia II). specially dwells on their vices and their cruelty, as evidenced in their sacrifices. "*El Conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Docum., I, pp. 371, 383, 387, and 397), places great stress on their ferocity, although he also says that they are very obedient. The missionaries generally exalt their good sides—their docility and faithfulness. Compare *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XIV, pp. 76 and 77). The same (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), mentions, however, their vices also, attributing nearly all of them (idolatry excepted), to their inclination towards intemperance. (Trat. II, cap. IV, p. 113): "Lo que de esta generacion se puede decir es, que son muy extranos de nuestra condicion . . . ." *Zurita* (p. 197—207), is very bitter against such as treat the Indians as barbarians. (Id., 42 and 45). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLIII, p. 200), says that they were very willing to forgive and ask to be forgiven, the latter taking place, before going to confess themselves, sometimes before all the relationship and the neighbors: "suelen algunos juntar (al tiempo que se quieren confesar) toda su parentela y vecinos con quien communican, y pedirles perdon en la manera dicha." Against this, it is reported by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 533), that "these people were naturally more vindictive, than all the rest of the world." Compare also the descriptions of the character of the Mexicans in *Clavigero* (Lib. I, cap. XV).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Pottery was not confined to household chattels; great roof 323
ornaments of baked clay were made to adorn the temples. 333
Sun-dried adobes were commonly used for general house construction. However, they were sometimes fired into bricks which formed the back walls of fireplaces or were substituted for dressed stone in the corners of buildings. A temple at Tizatlan carries brick construction in the pillars before the altar, but rubble faced with cut stone was preferred as a general building material for temples. Before the great temples, braziers the height of a man, combined ritualistic usefulness with architectural ornament. Cones of baked clay were used as studding to keep the plaster from slipping off the temple walls and to serve as a decorative element as well.[21]

The Mexican crasftsman had at hand an abundance of 174
good pottery clay, which from the earliest times provided a medium for plastic experiment and experience. Work in clay created the background for that sureness and security in creation that stands out in the later Mexican sculpture in stone and wood. According to our Western standards, clay is a substance inferior to wood or stone for plastic expression. However, the ancient Mexicans, like the old Chinese, considered it fit for the finest examples of their arts and crafts.

Mexican craftsmanship, whatever the tribe and whatever 182 ●
the era, was superb in that it answered the necessities and ideals of both the time and the people. There is little evidence of a wide gap between superior and inferior workmanship, as in our Western civilization, where there is less need or opportunity for high-grade handwork. In unindividualized societies the general skills of the tribesmen, so far as can be judged by their work, follow a more even course than in

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

182 elaborated and specialized groups. To turn such craftsmanship into art required a mere flick of the switch of social demand. The arts, as considered in the next chapters, were just projections of the craft background.

181 The measure of Aztec civilization cannot be gauged solely by its technical achievements. The arts and crafts transcend the products of Old World peoples at the same mechanical level. The spirit of the Aztec people, as exemplified in their religious art, soared to the lofty heights attained by the creators of all those ancient civilizations, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, whose monuments reflect the glory of their builders' religious devotion.

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CHAPTER XII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WAR

The relationships of Aztec tribes to each other in peace and war, the nature of the Aztec domain and methods of military organization and warfare

THE COMMUNITY or tribe was the center of the political and economic life of the Aztecs. Existence depended on the favor of the gods, who participated directly in the tribal fortunes, so that the degree of elaboration of the ceremonial structures was an accurate gauge of tribal prosperity. A man's position in the civil life of the community had a corresponding level in the hierarchy, since conspicuous fulfillment of civil obligations entailed an equal attainment in piety and observance of ritual. The basic design for living was a communal agriculture. The early tribal existence sought to achieve this pattern by avoiding other peoples and finding new land to settle. There is an essential affinity between agriculture and political isolation, just as commerce and manufacture require successively broader political contacts.[1]

In the early history of the Valley of Mexico there appear to have been a series of small isolated settlements which carried on a vague process of exchange. The Toltec civilization seems to have attained uniform development over a wide area spread by a population which gradually filled up unoccupied territory. There was little to suggest war or con-

De las Cerimonjas

SECOND BOOK, WHICH TREATETH OF THE FEASTS AND SACRIFICES BY WHICH THESE NATIVES HONORED THEIR GODS IN THEIR STATE OF INFIDELITY.

LIBRO SEGUNDO QUE TRATA DE LAS FIESTAS, Y SACRIFICIOS: CON QUE ESTOS NATURALES, HONRRAUAN A SUS DIOSES, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU INFIDELIDAD.

805 x796 **First Chapter**, concerning the calendar and the feasts of fixed date, the first of which is the one which followeth.[2]

The first month of the year was called, among the Mexicans, Atl caualo, and in other parts Quauitl eua. This month began upon the second day of February, when we celebrate the Purification of Our Lady. On the first day of this month, they celebrated a feast in honor—according to some—of the Tlaloc gods, whom they held to be gods of rain; [or]—according to others—of their sister, the goddess of water, Chalchiuhtli icue; [or]—according to [still] others—in honor of the great priest or god of the winds, Quetzalcoatl. And we may say that [they celebrated the feast] in honor of all of these. This month and all the rest, which are eighteen [in number], each have twenty days.

[176 ●184]

Capitulo primero, del canlendario, de las fiestas fixas, la primera de las quales es lo que se sigue.

El primero mes, del año se llamaua entre los mexicanos Atl caoalo: y en otras partes quavitl eoa. Este mes començaua en el segundo dia del mes de Hebrero quando nosotros celebramos, la purificacion, de nuestra señora. En el primero dia deste mes: celebrauan vna fiesta a honrra (segun algunos) de los dioses tlaloques, que los tenjan por dioses de la pluuja: y segun otros de su hermana, la diosa del agua, chalchiuhtli ycue: y segun otros a honrra del gran sacerdote, o dios de los vientos quetzalcoatl: y podemos dezir, que a hõrra de todos estos. Este mes, con todos los de mas, que son deziocho tienen a cada veynte dias.

Atl caualo or Quauitl eua

x796 In this month they slew many children; they sacrificed them in many places upon the mountain tops, tearing from them their hearts, in honor of the gods of water, so that these might give them water or rain.

[493] The children whom they slew they decked in rich finery to take them to be killed; and they carried them in litters upon their shoulders. And the litter went adorned with feathers and flowers. [The

5ª	d	KL. Atl caoalo, o quavitl eoa	d	1ª
1	e	En este mes matauan muchos njños	e	2
2	f	sacrificavanlos, en muchos lugares en	f	3
3	g	las cumbres de los montes: sacandoles	g	4
4	A	los coraçones a hõrra de los dioses del	A	5
5	b	agua, para que les diessẽ agua o llujia.	b	6
6	c	A los njños, que mataũan: com-	c	7
7	d	ponjanlos con ricos ataujos para lleuar-	d	8
8	e	los a matar, y lleuauanlos, en vnas	e	9
9	f	literas, sobre los hõbros: y las literas,	f	10

1. The first nineteen chapters, largely a digest of more expanded material in Chapters 20-38, are presented unannotated; most of the translators' notes will be found in this later section. For these nineteen chapters the original has no corresponding Nahuatl text.
2. Marginal notation: *Cabeza deste calendario.* 3. Marginal notation: *Cuenta del calldario romano.*

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

these assumptions are disproved by the facts, related even by such authors as have most contributed towards fixing them upon the public mind as recognized truths.[16] We need hardly say here,

[16] In regard to the Tecpanecas, Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 477): "From this it may be inferred, that among them the King exercised no absolute command and rule, and that he was rather a consul, or Dux, than a king." He further compares the Tecpanecas with the "reges" of ancient Rome (See Morgan's "Ancient Society," Part II, cap. XI, p. 297). The council was supreme among the Tecpanecans. See Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Lord Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. IV, p. 11; also cap. V, p. 12, cap. VI, p. 13, "a esto respondió el rey y senado Tecpaneca: Digéroule: mira atempanecatl (que muy bien le conocian) bien conozco la humillacion y sugecion de los Mexicanos; ya es por demas, porque estan alborotados, y corajudos los Tecpanecas:") Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 64, and 65).

The Xuchimilcas were governed by two chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XVI, p. 25. Durán, cap. XII, p. 104. "Their chiefs, of which there were two, one of the chief-place ("cabecera" rather lineage) of Xuchimilco called Yacaxapotecutli, and the other from the milpa (this is to be interpreted as descendancy), which is called Pachimalcatltecutli, and together with them meeting many principals, said"): a joint meal after communal style is also attributed to them by Tezozomoc (Cap. XVI, p. 26).

The Chalcas also had two chiefs: (Durán, cap. XVI, p. 134, Montezuma Ilhuicamina said to Tlacaelel: "I wish, if thou agreest, to send messengers to Chalco to the chief of Chalco Quateotl and to his companion Toteocitecutli . . . ."—Tezozomoc, cap. XXII, p. 33. Cap. XXIV, p. 36. Confirmed by the action of Cortés after the voluntary surrender of Chalco, when he installed two chiefs. Bernal Diez: cap. CXXXIX, p. 154 and 155, Vedia, II).

With the Tezcucans or Aculhuas there appears always but one head-chief, but it is equally positive that the office, while remaining in a certain kin, was elective still. The fact is interesting and requires close proof. We adduce here, in a general way, Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX. "De la Manera que tuvieron en elegir los señores," p. 318, of 2d Vol.): Durán (Cap. LXIV, p. 496). "Montezuma sent his messengers to Tezcuco, and had all the chiefs of that city and kingdom called to learn from them whom they were inclined to elect . . . ." (p. 497), "the which came, electing for King to Quetzalacxoyatzin, Neçaualpilli's son . . . ." Tezozomoc (Cap. CI and CII). Ixtlilxochitl concurs ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. LXXXVI). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 357, 358 and 359), acknowledges that, while the choice was among the *sons* exclusively, there still was a *choice* left, but he contradicts the statements of Juan Bautista Pomar (who wrote about 1582) who says, that this choice extended to the entire *kin* of the deceased head chief. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 153). "Although the Indians of this New Spain inherited the chieftaincy in direct lines, they took great care in ascertaining which one of his sons had to succeed to him." He mentions the succession in the cases of Netzahualcoyotl and of Netzahualpilli, each of whom were respectively followed by what he calls an illegitimate offspring, but whose mother was a *Mexican* woman. Veytia (Cap. XIV, p. 367). "The council hardly had been informed of the King's death, when it thought proper to elect a successor, after the manner of the Mexicans . . . ." Carlos Maria de Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," Mexico, 1826. Part III, cap. IV, pp. 218, 219 and 220). Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, p. 12). "The order of succession varied according to the provinces, the same custom, with slight differences, prevailing in Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba."

The assumption of a feudal empire at Tezcuco has already been discussed. It was an invention of chroniclers, who had a direct interest, or thought to have one, in advancing the claims of the Tezcucan tribe to an original supremacy. Tribal jealousy and rivalry, such a powerful ally of the Spaniards during the conquest, continued to subsist where the Spanish domination was fully established.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to 567
provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prostitutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan [426]
from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made the slave live at home and perform only personal services. Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or even have slaves of his own. His children were always born free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office, which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his commission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs in- [689]
volved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial 626
acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human behavior. Membership in the community brought safety and subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown existed in the field of public service rather than in the acquisition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held to a minimum.*

Growth of the community to a size where none but the 692
great were known to society at large probably tended to 186
break down the sense of membership and participation, so

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692 that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsi-
[186] bility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were
775 rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

421 surrounding our own property concepts was unnecessary.

● 186 181 There was little to harass the individual intellectually or economically. Existence was subject to divine favor, and a man fared much as did his fellows. Large as some towns were—Mexico City had three hundred thousand people—the sense of community was strong. Freedom of thought, individual liberty, personal fortunes, were nonexistent, but people lived according to a code that had worked well and continuously for centuries. An Aztec would have been horrified at the naked isolation of an individual's life in our Western world.

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648 mid-fifteenth century both Tenochtitlan and Texcoco had grown to the point where they had to have additional supplies or else starve, so, because of this common necessity, the alliance endured fairly well.[4]

●186 Despite their common background of language, thought, religion, custom and material culture, the Aztecs had no sense of unity. Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco, both of which are within the city limits of modern Mexico, existed side by side in complete independence for many years; not until 1473 did the Tenochcas make up their minds to conquer their neighbors. Each town and hamlet was sufficient unto itself, and its members felt no larger loyalty. In modern Teotihuacan this feeling still persists, and the members of one *barrio*, or ward, look upon those of the adjacent one as a congregation of the most horrible criminals. Not even the Spanish siege of Mexico brought unity to the Aztecs, and the Texcocans blithely joined the invaders to exterminate their former ally Tenochtitlan.

648 439 Although community was potentially hostile to community, individuals could move freely about the countryside. Trade in simple commodities was carried on extensively from the early times of the Middle Cultures. In the Aztec period the traveling merchants became a special class, and their security of body and property, preserved at first for the advantages which each town could derive from their wares, was guaranteed by the force of Aztec arms. Pilgrims [788] going to worship at special shrines had free and unmolested passage; and a suggestion that such journeys were made in the distant past is given by the Middle Culture figurines of foreign origin. One site especially, Tetelpan, produced so great a variety of idols from such a wide area that it must

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Cuauteçpancatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[5] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[6] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[8] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[9] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic nauí caci ich icoac quitequioacaxima in 701
motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, ayh no icoac compeoaltia in tequioacatocaitl açe mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnauacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in iaquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac contlalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquixtoque in ueuei tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociauacatl, tocuiltecatl, itenpanecatl, ichoantin quauhiaca i, tẽçacoaque cuitlamacochique quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. [293]

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, açe tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlixco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui tẽçacatl ioan tlalpiloni açe iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no icoac maco in tilmatli chicoapalnacazzminqui, ioan cuetlastilmatli. [43 293 301]

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlixco anoco vexotzinco ie ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in cozttic tẽçacatl iiomesti quititlani in xoxouhqui tẽçacatl. [293 301]

fin

3. *Tenitl:* "Vino sabor al Emperador [Ottomo, Uitzilin, Mitzon] entre Indios al mexicanoco del sol, y Hiaxuchio xoxhiuo, porque habian tomado Indios"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *tolpiloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Amoxo* should be read *amoyo*.

6. *Quitzitzoni:* a marginal gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS suggests that the term is translated *ouar*. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text, and, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, *ídem*, *ídem*, *ídem*.

7. Following *cuecuelpoli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *in centic*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no test material]

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munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[6]

Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[7]

The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

Tenth Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came — when already they had come and were making their way forward — first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoac,[1] on land of the people of Tlaxcalla, there dwelt their [subject] Otomí. And the Otomí met them in battle; with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.[2]

And when [the region of] Tecoac had perished, those of Tlaxcalla — when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told — could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time — in but the flutter of an eyelid —

Injc matlactli Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles çan jvian, oallalhoaccaquizque, oallotlatocatiaque yoã in quenjn Motecuçoma qujcauh in vei tecpan, vmpa ia in jpilchan.

Niman qujoallalcavi in jvevechan in vei tecpan, vncan oallamartia, vncan oallama, qujoalma, qujoaltocac in jpilchan in iehoatl Motecuçoma. 342

Auh in iequene vitze, in ie vitze, in ie ovalmolinjque: ce tlacatl, cempoaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl, no achto canaco; in jquac qujttato tlalli, in altepetl, no oalnaoatlatotia, q'noaloquechilitia, qujnoalotlaxilitia, qujnoallaixtlatitia, qujnoaliacan, qujnoaliacantia. 648 [191]

Auh in oacico Tecoac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan onoque imotonoan. Auh in otomj iautica qujnnamjcque, chimaltica qujnnamjcque: auh in otomj in Tecoaca vel qujmjxtlatique, vel ixpoliuhque, qujnxixilque, texixilioac, qujntlequjqujzvique, qujntepuzmjvique, qujntlavitolhujque, amo çan quexqujchtin, vel ixachintin, in jxpoliuhque.

Auh in ontlalpoliuh tecoac, in tlaxcalteca in oconcacque in ocõmatque, in onjlhujloto, cenca mauhcaçonecque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in mavizcujque:

njmã mocentlalique mononotzque, motecuiononotzque, motlatocanononotzque, qujnoottitique in tlatolli: 635 648

qujtoque. Quen toiezque, cujx tiqujnnamjqujzque: ca vei oqujchtli vei tiacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oqujttac, atle ipan oconjttac, çan ixqujch cavitontli in çan ixpeioctli in oconpopolo maceoalli. Auh in uncan ma çan itlan toncalaqujcã, ma çan tictoc-

1. Tecoac: today Molino, in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

2. This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilar, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porrúa e Hijos, Sucs., 1954), pp. 33ssq. References to important contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilar, Díaz, Cervantes, Cortés, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points often not in the *Florentine Codex* and other Aztec accounts.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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INDEX

194 The rules for the pronunciation of Aztec names are simple despite the horrifying assemblage of consonants and vowels. *X* in general has a *Sh* sound; *Qu* has a *K* value; *Hu* and *Gu* have a *W* sound when preceding a vowel. All consonants and vowels are sounded as in Spanish. Rough English phonetic equivalents have been provided in the text and the index to guide the errant tongue.

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And if any chid them, so it was said, thereby he brought upon and burdened and visited upon himself misery and affliction. It was as if pustulate sores had covered and been fastened on him; it seemed that, as a gift, it has been transferred to and left with him. At that time were given him his deserts, for he had brought upon himself great sin and wrong.[4] Furthermore, he had put on the wooden collar. Even so would he be, even so would he attain, as had become the lot of the beloved son of Tezcatlipoca. He would be struck and beaten; he would be pursued from one place to another. Never would he be settled on the land, nor let alone, nor found in repose. He would not rest. Thus was it said: never would the cooking pot rest filled; never would he work with security.

And as it had been said that he had brought upon himself great sin and wrong, so was looked upon with great terror that which he might do. In this way did Tezcatlipoca ridicule, make sport of, mock, and curse him. Perchance somewhere he would be ceremonially bathed; he would die in sacrifice as a bathed victim. And it was said: "He will die sacrificed as a war captive. They will cook him in an olla and eat him." Because at one time the wretched slave was beaten, [the god] transferred his sins upon him. So he feared this, for it befell one that although he became rich, swiftly misery came to him, poverty frayed him. [Of the god], thus was it said: "He only maketh sport of one. Of no one can he be a friend, to no one true." They said Tezcatlipoca enriched one, and thereby visited him with pain and affliction.

Then if someone out of his torment cursed him as a sodomite, it was no longer his time of pride when he said to him: "O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Thou wretched sodomite! Thou hast made fun of and mocked me!" So also did he ipeak if someone had let his captive flee: "Thou sodomite, O Titlacauan! O that this had likewise befallen thee! Be accursed, that thou hast given me a captive only to make sport of me!" When he said this, which was only his word of torment, what good was it? For so had he been mocked, it was said. Those whom this had befallen were the foolish, who disregarded, destroyed, and dissipated that which was their riches and merit.

auh intla aca oqujmaoac, iuh mjtoaia, ichoatl ica oalmjlacatzoa, conmomamaltia, ic movitequj in vic- 567
tli, in mecapalli, iuhqujn tzotzovizzli itech oalmotla- 787x
lia, itech oalmoçaloa, iuhqujn manoçe mactli, itech oaltzopi, itech oalmocaoa, vncan conmocaujlia, in jmâceoal ic matoiavia, motepexiuja, oc ichoatl onmaquja in quauhcoxcatl, oc ichoatl oniez, iuhquj conjttaz, y, in iuhquj ittitilo, itlaçopiltzin Tezcatlipuca, vitzcoz, tzotzonaloz, avic chololtiloz, aquenman tlaltechpa choloz, aonjxcaoaloz, aquêman tlaliloz, aiac mocrujz, iuh mjtoa: aquenman cartenmanaloz, aic tlacaco quichioaz:

auh injc mjtoa: matoiavia, motepexivia, ynjc cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, in nel qujchioaz, injc ica mocaiaoa Tezcatlipuca: injc qujquequeloa, injc ica maviltia, injc qujtelchioa, aço cana altiloz, tlaaltilmjqujz: ioan mjtoaia trumjqujz, qujpaoacizque, qujquazque: ipampa ca ica omoquavitec, in tlacotzintli, ytech oqujcauh in jtlaftlacol, injc qujmacacia, y, ca tepan mochioaia, in manel mocujltonoa, ca içiuhca ytech pachiujtiuh in icnoiotl: itech enatiuh in netolinjlizztli: ichoatl injc mjtoa: çan teca maujltia, aiac vel icnjuh, aiac nellin qujlhuja Tezcatlipuca, tecujltonoa, ioan ic temotla in cococ, in teopouhqujj,

ic vncan in aca qujcujlonaoa, itoneuhcacopa, aoc [195]
iatlamatian in quilhuja: Titlacaoane, cujlonpole, cujlontepole, otonmotlamachti, otonmoquequelo: no iuh qujtoaia, intla aca oqujcholoiti imal, cujlonpole, titlacaoane, ma ça njman iê iuh tienj, ma motelchioanj, in tinechmaca malli, ca çan notech otonmoquequelo: in iuh qujtoaia, y, ca ça itoneuhcatlatol, iê tle ça ne, ca ica oneujltiloc, mjtoa: ichoan in iuh inpam mochioaia, y, in aquj mamatcaoaque, in atle ipan tlatta, in oconpopouhque, yn jmjxco, yn jcpac oqujmanque, in jnnecujltonol, yn jnmâceoal ocatca, in ocacica, injc oteneoaloia, itoloia in tlalticpac oqujchtli, tlalticpac tiacaoan, ca mjtoa: in iuhquj

4. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 21b: *ximomaiani, ximomopaxiuj: qujpamaqujz: ximomaiali, ximomaxiuiali*; in the Guthrey ed., VI, 43, 37, this is translated as "*Te estoy a ver, te has despedido. Se dice por el que por su culpa cayó en algún gran crimen o peligro.*"

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[29] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[30] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetiztla and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[31] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[32]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Axochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyutla and Piquitla [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çigua are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çiguatlan de Su Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanejo itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[29] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[30] "'Jentes que binieron de algun lugar de muncho hierro' o 'jentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepoztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[31] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[32] In a town called Chiantepec, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

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197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,[33] and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.[34]

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino,* the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles[35] of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

[33] See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

[34] See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

[35] The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec.[98]

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[99] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[100] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[101] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[102] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[103] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[104]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[105] Cocolan,[106] Mayanala (14),[107] and Huitzoco.[108] Since

[98] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[99] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[100] "Estos couixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).

[101] *GPM*, p. 105.

[102] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).

[103] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[104] *PNE*, 5: 86.

[105] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[106] *GPM*, p. 98.

[107] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[45] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco,[46] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[47]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[48] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[49] Ychcateopan,[50] Oztoma,[51] Totoltetec,[52] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[53] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[54]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[55] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[56]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather
131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[57] Alahuiztlan

[45] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[46] *PNE*, 6: 315.
[47] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[48] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[49] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[50] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[51] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[52] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[53] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[54] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[55] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[56] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[57] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha gerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motetzuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[30]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[31]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *xollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[32]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[33] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[30] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas ... . Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della coxian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[31] "Relación de Soltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[32] *PNE*, 7: 101: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nonbraron asi.

[33] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[***] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[***] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) 197 and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various [732 103] etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7.
[101] See p. 23 above.
[102] *PNE*, 7: 4.
[103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.
[104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

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the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[29] 632
Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the 131
path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[8] it is not difficult to place approximately.[30]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[31] and Huitziçilapa.[32] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli,* "sand," and *tlalli,* "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[33]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[34] 635
and Matlatzinca[35] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the 197
north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old 101
Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are: 635

Atlapulco, 11	Cuauximalpan, 7
Capulhuac, 12	Chichicquauhtla, 4
Coatepec, 14	Huizquilocan, 5

Tlalatlauhco, 13

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other 635
Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east 131
those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[8] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.

[29] Cf. preceding note.

[30] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.

[31] *PNE,* 1: No. 561.

[32] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.

[33] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).

[34] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.

[35] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)**[30]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[31] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

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The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; 632
moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, 131
Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlaz- 197
pan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, 579
whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was 101
accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have 635
not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its 131
neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir nuñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los ynDios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suxeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás Léon (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of Léon and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468). [114]

[30] According to Léon, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequizquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[a]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[b]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[c]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[a] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[b] *GPM*, p. 263.
[c] *PNE*, 3: 33, nº 1.

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Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[22] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[23] and Zimapan (12).[24]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[25] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[22] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[23] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tieculutl ycatxia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[24] *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[25] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atenco*, now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[44] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[45] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[46] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[47] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[48] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the following towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[49]

[44] *GPM*, p. 185.
[45] *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.
[46] *PNE*, 6: 36.
[47] *PNE*, 6: 205.
[48] *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.
[49] *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

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subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called Atucpan.[28] Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of the towns against which that state made war.[29]

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec[30] is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.[31] It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,[32] two long leagues southeast of Axocopan[33] and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.[34]

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan[35] and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.[36] It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.[37]

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.[38]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitlapilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was predominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.[39]

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bordered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.[40] To the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

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[28] *PNE*, 6: 24 and 35.
[29] The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.
[30] Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.
[31] *GPM*, p. 188.
[32] *PNE*, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[34] *PNE*, 6: 15.
[35] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[36] *PNE*, 3: 42.
[37] *PNE*, 6: 27.
[38] In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Tolnacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (*PNE*, 6: 24).
[39] "Relación de Meztitlan."

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Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 189–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

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635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[26] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[27] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[28]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[29] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[30] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[31]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[26] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[27] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[29] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[31] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of 632
Tlatlauhquitepec.** 131

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197
belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635
still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648
of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.** As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.**

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635
of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131
south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635
coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103
part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651
cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles** [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
808 bundles** of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**

** RHE, 1: 487.
** Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
** Corrected from 800.

1 [p.58.—Analyst] 2 [p.56.—Analyst]

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Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been 632
tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación.[a] 131

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"[b] finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were im- 635
portant towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.[c] Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the 635
Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the 197
people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."[d] The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.[e]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces 635
hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was 131
Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces.

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone 635
called Totonacapan.

[a] RHE, 1: 481: "tenían ... governador antiguamente puesto por montecuma."
[b] *ENE*, 8: 159.
[c] Christensen, "El Teponaztli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3: 179–180.
[d] RHE, 1: 480: "son yndios muy tonsos yncliados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferente de la mexicana."
[e] See the *proceso* of the *cacique* of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

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632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[70] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[71]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[72]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[73] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the
131 province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

[70] RHE, 1: 152.
[71] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.
[72] Cf. n. 82 below.
[73] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de texcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

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635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
● 197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

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635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Tetela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoztlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[20]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province
● 197 of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[21] and Yacapichtla.[22] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[23]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[24] and so were the Tlalhuica.[25]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow
131 province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[20] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matrícula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[21] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[22] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimillco."

[23] See pp. 76–77.

[24] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimillco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[25] See pp. 76–77.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl,* "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[***]

[**] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[***] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[a] *FNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabacera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

63 *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

[712] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[4]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecuma."[5] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[6]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhçbitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the
197 Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[9] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

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[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[2] *GPM*, p. 9: *ENE*, 14: 79.

[4] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[6] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quauauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [712] *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

[175] *Tuchçonco,* though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[28]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[29]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[30] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[31]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[32] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[33] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[791] 400 large mantles**

[28] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵃ cuescomatepeque de la jurisdizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[29] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[30] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ystcyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[31] Dominguez, *Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[32] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1538), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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It appears in the Mo-
632 *tecuzoma*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[20] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[21] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[22] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[23] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[24]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[25] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[26]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[27] The chief language of the

[20] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[21] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[22] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[23] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[24] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[26] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra." (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[27] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecian al patrimonio del rey de Tezcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

1/2 [i.e., Chinantlan — Analyst]

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province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matrícula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Ucila.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 8v. Identified as *Cyanga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 197 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. *Tepeacac*

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matrícula*, copied on folio 42' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the [128] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlā, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcā, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlā, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cōzamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

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103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacã, Chiltecpintlã, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[7] and Quauhtinchan.[8] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[9] 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[10] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace. 635 131 [648]

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[11] 635 175

[7] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probiçia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la más natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[8] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Toltecc-Chichimecc* (1937).

[9] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[10] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

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(subject to Tlaxiaco)[illegible] and three leagues from "Cilacayoapan."[illegible] With 632
all this information, the town may be placed fairly well. In the present 131
map it is identified tentatively with Montañas, a town on the Oaxaca map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.[illegible] This lies south of Silacayoapam and may have fallen under the jurisdiction of south-lying Cuauhuitlan.[illegible]

Ychcastoyac, which has not been found, is also called "Atojocinapa" 632
in a list which names its encomendero as "el hijo de Pierres Gómez."[illegible]

Yoaltepec has been located from references only. When the Mexicans invaded the south, they took, in succession, the towns of Oaxtepec, Izucar, and Youaltepec.[illegible] "Ygualtepec" (the name suffered the same change as Yoallan–Iguala) was held by the encomendero of Ayoxochiquilazala.[illegible] The clearest reference, however, comes from a document [131]
dealing with Piaztla, which places Yoaltepec ten leagues straight south of that town.[illegible]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—With Yoaltepec we enter the Mixtec 197
provinces. A codex in purely Mixtec style, for example, is preserved from Tecomaixtlahuacan,[illegible] and the relación of that town[illegible] tells us it is of Mixtec speech, as proves to be true of Ycpatepec.[illegible] The northern part of the province, on the other hand, seems to have been mexicano rustico, "because it is the province of Totolan"—a quite mysterious reference.[illegible]

[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 142–143.

[illegible] *GPM*, p. 20; *FNE*, 5: 238.

[illegible] Ycpatepec was celebratedly mountainous.

[illegible] Three hints which may lead to its exact identification at a later time are: (*a*) the linking of "Hycpatepeque" with Tlacotepec, Tepexillo, and Los Remedios in a list of "Curatos Mixtecos" of the reign of Philip V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Mex. MS No. 8, fol. 221); (*b*) the Mixtec name, "yucu yus" ("Relación of Cuahuitlan," *FNE*, 4: 158) or "yucu nuuyuh" (Reyes, *Arte en lengua mixteca* [1889], p. 90); and, finally (*c*), the names of the estancias of Ycpatepec (*FNE*, 5: 238), which are Santa María, Santiago, and San Juan. (*FNE*, 4: 155, adds San Pablo.)

[illegible] *FNE*, 9: 17.

[illegible] Discussed in the writer's forthcoming chronological study.

[illegible] I.e., García de Aguilar. See *GPM*, p. 157.

[illegible] *FNE*, 5: 77: "al sur tiene al pueblo de Ygualtepec questa desta cabeçera diez leguas, toda tierra entre doblada y llana y caminos derechos." In the same document Acatlan is placed at five leagues from Piaztla.

[illegible] Published in Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Geog., Vol. 4 (1930), Appendix I.

[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 136.

[illegible] *FNE*, 4: 158.

[illegible] *FNE*, 5: 78.

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[]

Huitzannola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecçuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast.

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla-

[] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[] *GPM*, p. 106.

[] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[] *GPM*, p. 98.

[] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Náhuatl.

[] *GPM*, p. 27.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

● 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
803 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north; the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matrícula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

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[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208–213.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101
the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197
little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635
flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131
manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635
longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col 651
lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields [291
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles 714]
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans [242]
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Maya NU4

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It is not surprising therefore if, of the earliest traces which are met with concerning such Aborigines as spoke the "good sound" ficient for my purpose to establish its identity, in system, with the others. The Nicaraguan days are corruptions of the Mexican names, the "Niquiran" being a "Nahuatl" dialect.

Taking now the four remaining groups, we place opposite to each word its translation or interpretation so far as I can trace it, which is of course not always possible.

Mexican.	*QQuiché.*	*Maya.*	*Chiapaneco.*
Cipactli, *Marine monster.*	Imox. *Swordfish.*	Ymix. *Dragon.*	Imox.
Ehecatl, *Wind.*	Ix. *Breath.*	Yk, *Breath or wind.*	Ich.
Calli, House.	*Akbal, chaos* (?).	Akbal, (See below).	*Votan.*
Cuetzpalin, *Lizard.*	Cat, *Lizard.*	*Kan, Snake.*	Chanan, *Snake.*
Cohuatl, *Snake.*	Can, *Snake.*	Chicchan.	Abah, *Stone* (?).
Miquiztli, *Skull.*	Camey, *Death.*	Quimij, *Death.*	Tox.
Mazatl, *Deer.*	Quich, *Deer.*	Manik, (See below).	Moxic.
Tochtli, Rabbit.	*Ganel, Rabbit.*	Lamat.	*Lambat.*
Atl, *Water.*	Toh, *Shower.*	*Muluc.*	Molo.
Itzcuintli, *Dog.*	Tzy, *Dog.*	Oc.	Elab.
Ozomatli, *Monkey.*	Batz, *Monkey.*	Chuen, (See below).	Batz, *Monkey* (?).
Malinalli, *Knot or twist*	Ci, *Broom*	Eb, *Staircase.*	Eoob.
Acatl, Cane.	*Ah, Cane.*	Been.	*Been.*
Ocelotl, *Wild cat or tiger.*	Itz, *Wizard.*	*Gix, Wizard.*	Hix.
Quauhtli, *Eagle.*	Tziquin, *Bird.*	Men, *Builder* (?).	Tzibin.
Cozcaquauhtli, *Vulture.*	Ahmak, *Owl.*	Quib, *Gum or wax.*	Chabin.
Ollin, *Motion.*	Noh, *Temperature.*	Cahan.	Chic
Tecpatl, Flint.	Tihax, *Obsidian.*	Edznab.	*Chimax.*
Quiahuitl, *Rain.*	Caok, *Rain.*	*Cauac.*	Cahogh.
Xochitl, *flower.*	Hunahpu, *Shooter out of a tube.*	Ajau, *Chief.*	Aghual.

For the interpretation, as above attempted, I have consulted the following very limited number of authors:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Relation des choses de Yucatan, etc.*" "*Popol-Vuh,*" "*Grammaire Quiché,*" "*Ruines de Palenqué.*") *H. H. Bancroft,* (Vol. II and III). *Orozco y Berra,* ("*Geografia de las Lenguas.*") and other sources. Mr. Bancroft translates the QQuiché "akbal" by *chaos.* I would suggest "*household,*" basing upon the following note of Mr. Brasseur: ("*Chronologia antigua de Yucatan, etc.,*" par *Don Juan Pio Perez* in "Choses de Yucatan," p. 375). "*Akbal,* mot vieilli qu' on retrouve dans la langue Quiché avec le sens de marmite, vase, peut être le même que le mot *cos* ou *comitl* des Mexicains." Sr. Perez says about the word: "desconocido: tambien se halla entre los dias chiapanecas, escrito *Aghual,*" (p. 374). In this the learned Yucatan is mistaken, for Aghual corresponds to the Maya and QQuiché "Ajau" or "Ahau." Now the pot or rather kettle, was distinctly connected with the housewife, and the word "Akbal" being, as the Abbé tells us, out of use, the suggestion that it may have been used to indicate something like the Mexican "Calli"—house,—is at least permitted.

I have deliberately translated "Kan" by snake, instead of by "cord of hennequen" as Pio-Perez has it (p. 372). Compare note 1 by the Abbé.

Manik is interpreted by Pio-Perez as follows: "es perdida su verdadera acepcion; pero si se divide la espresion man-ik viento que pasa, quizá se entenderia lo que fué." If this is accepted, then the signification might be: "fleetness," "swiftness," or "rapidity,"—some of the attributes of the *deer,* which is the corresponding sign in both the Mexican and QQuiché.

Chuen, for the reasons indicated by Brasseur (note 3, p. 372 of "*Chronologia, etc.,*") should be "monkey," as well as in the three other idioms.

In regard to "Gix" *Sr. Orozco y Berra* (Part II, V, p. 103), copies the three interpretations of Don Pio-Perez, one of which amounts to "the act of plundering or rob-

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

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bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Cauac" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 32, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 65, note 5).

"Batz" as *monkey*, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh, Hix, and Cahogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Been, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

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This origin is stated as follows:—

Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 537), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, ... This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 134), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 465), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cacalcan or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 34. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Boturini* ("*Idea, etc.*," § XVI, pp. 115 to 121). Quoting *Nuñez de la Vega* (32, § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que *al que llamaban Coalahuntox (que es el Demonio, segun los Indios dicen, con tres potestades) le tienen pintado en Bilin, y con hastas en la cabeza como de carnero*, quando dicho Coalahuntox se ha de corregir en Ymos, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Toltecs,"[30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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also por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symbolos de los dias de el Año, y assi viene à ser el primer Symbolo de ellos." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 33, 34, and 35), "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiàppa, y Soconùsco con el Tultéco, ... pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Tècpatl, Calli, Tóchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiàppa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Bèen, y Chinax, etc., etc."

Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 164). "The Chiapanecs, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptico y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indigénas de México*," 1865, Vol. II, p. 233.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 412, Vol. I) "The Chiapanecs . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Been, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 633, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1780. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapanecs are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnez y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

Brasseur de Bourbourg ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologia*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 374, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper leads to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tzendal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprang through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 391, 392, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Maya NU4

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their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[32] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[33] We may as well add here, that these

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central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

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[30] *Ixtlilxochitl* (" *Relaciones historicas* " " *Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) " y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also " *Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de America llamada Nueva-España* " (" *Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 393). " Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinieron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." (" *Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), " Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in " *Tenure of Lands* " (p. 388, note 7, to p. 392). I refer to *Vetancurt* (" *Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (2a Tarde, p. 31).

[31] " *Tardes Americanas* " (p. 31), " bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vaguearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full, I but refer to " *Histoire des Chichimèques* " (Cap. V, pp. 38, 39; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. 1, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *García* (" *Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 59, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, " *Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[32] The number *seven* (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare " *Tenure of Lands* " (p. 399, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* (" *Die Culturlaender des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 400, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mimutoli's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[33] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitznagoa.	Huitznahuac.	Huitznahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cibuatecpaneca.	Cibuatecpaneca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.
Yzquiteca.	Yzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.

776 782 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl yeca, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac
tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vowed to make representations.

532 And they represented the mountains, they made their
782 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
made in human form, made to look like men.

755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 289] And they made papers, and they spattered them with
liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fas-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded cane [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cured.
Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None
of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

[198 533] They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their caps, who cut capers, and amused
[273 463] people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton
figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme there-
upon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

popocatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaçe
quenquijtetl tepetl in quintemoan in quijpiqui.

Auh in quijpiquija, in quimixiptlatiaia in ytepe, çan
tenalli, quintlacatlaliaia, quintlacatlachieltivia, tlacatlachi-
ticatica:

quintlantiaia aiocachtli, auh in quimjxtelolotiaia aiecutli:
in quemanj yntlatquj in quimixiptlatiaia, in quipiquija
çan no iuhquj yeja quinchichiouia.

Auh yoan quichiouia, amatemujtl, colchachapatrria,
colchipiniaia, quinquequemiaia:

auh in ceqej amatemvid, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapa-
tzalli, mecatitech quijpipilouia, mecatitech quinemetechilpiaia,
quinemetechçalouia, ymixpan antec, ic itzacutequa in
tepicme:

hiçanacatec papapatlacatec, papatlantec, ontepilquaujtl,
necec, nenecec, necococampa tlatlalaticac, tetzotontica, yn
itech antec temujtl.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaixtitatactli: ymixpan
mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipan poujia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic
mamanca.

Auh çan inhoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequiuh, in
machiocque catca, yn quinchichiouia, in quintlaliaia: aiac
çan moiocuiaia, in calla in quinchichiouia.

Auh macujltica in quintlallujaia, mjtoa: quinmolcaoal-
tiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ic cauhque tepicme, njman ic ic quintoçoviia,
quincujcatia:

in caiocal zapa in quintlamanjlia, tamalololli in
quinmacaia, quinmanaia ymixpá, in tlamacazque, in
tepicujca:

no zapa in quintlamacaia caiocal, yoan quintlapichilia,

quinmaquipajtilia tecuicitli in quinpichilia, yoan
vilacapitzli, cocujlod,

vilacapitzoaia, çan tolpopochi, papaqujnj, haxvinj,
mikivintianj, tecomeltianj, cocoloque, no tlamacaia.

Auh yn otlatvic njman quinmictia yn tepicme, quinquech-
cotona, quinquechcuj, quinquechilpacatzoa, çatepan quincua-
ololo, cancicuj, in tepictoualli, quijtquj yn calmecac yn
vempa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiquinj, njman ic yc calaquih yn itlacamatcal-
hoan, yn jcoaxoan, vncan onopia, mopiniquo:

auh in ic iouinah, in ic tevtlac niman ic ic tlacoana,
motlacamacatlalia in vuetlaca, yn ic chicnauque, yn otlachi-

117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain* (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac cloud) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. *Masks of dough* (*raw maize*), in the Spanish *colmena*; *Sobre tendrán ir geroglíficos Lamas dos Sacrificadores* (*Ensiqe Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llamados de goma de ule, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatemalli*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 120).

X 796 Yet again an eagle[-costumed warrior] came out, doing just as had been done. All four [acted as if] fighting. They raised their shields and war clubs [as offerings] to the sun.

Oc no cepa centetl oalquiça, in quauhtli, çan ie muchiuj in quichioaia, oallachecoaia in nauhxti: conjaujliaia yn inchimal, yn jnmacquauh iiii tonatiuh:

Now no longer did they delay, by turning back. When they came out, they came out dancing, they went in order. As if lying down on the ground, as if crawling along, flat on the ground, they went looking from side to side; they went up leaping and fighting.

aocmo oahuecaoaia, ynic oaltzinilotia, çan njman ic oalquixtimanca, mitotitiujtze, momamantiuj: iuhquin tlalli izco motetecatiuj, iuhqujn tlaltitech ôujujh, mocacanauhtiuj, nanacaztlachixtiuj, haococholotiuj, tlatlaieecotiuj.

And thereafter the Youallauan came forth, garbed like Totec; only he came last, after the others, behind the four great eagle and ocelot [warriors]; they lifted up their shields and war clubs, offering them and dedicating them to the sun.

Auh in ie iuhquj njman oalquiça, yioaallaoan, totec ipan quiztiujtz, ça oallatoquijlia, ça oallatzacujtiuh, ça oallacujtlapiloca, ça quinoalcentzacujtiuh in nauhxtin, vencinti in quaquauhti, yn ocelo, ça oalmaçoa, oalmaana, conjaujlia yn inchimal yn jmaquauh in tonatiuh:

Then all the impersonators, the proxies, of all the gods[15] emerged in order, ahead of all. They were called the lieutenants, the delegates, the images.

njman ie ic oalquiça oalmoiacatia, oalmotecpana, yn ixquichtin teixiptlaoan, yn jnpatilooan in ixquichtin teteu: motocaiotiaia tepatiuhti, tepatiloonn, teixiptlati:

Similarly, they proceeded; they came in order; they came together. All came down. They came hence, from Iopico, from the very top of the [pyramid] Temple of Iopitli.

çan ie no yuj in ujh motecpantiuj, cemonotiuj, ynic oalteno: vmpa oalpeoa in iopico, vel icpac in teucalli iopitli.

And when they had come down below, on the ground, on the earth, they gathered around the circular, flat, sacrificial stone; they seated themselves according to rank on large chairs called *quecholicpalli*.

Auh yn oacico tlatzintla, in tlalchi, in tlaltitech: njman qujiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn oconiaoaloque, motlatlalia tecpantoque, ypan veuey icpalli, itoca quecholicpalli.

And when they were seated, when they were arranged according to their importance, again the first in order was the chief priest, the Youallauan;[16] because it was his right, his office, that he should slay, offer as sacrifice, [that] with his hands he should destroy—with his hands hack open each of the captives destined for sacrifice.

Auh ynjc onoque, ynjc tecpantoque, eneteiacantica, ie no cuele teiacantica, tlaiacatitica, in iooallaoa: iehica ca itequjuh, yneixcaujl catca, in tlamictix, in tetlatlatiz, ynac polioux, ynac xamaniztl yn ixquich quauhtecatl:

When this was done, then trumpets were sounded; conch shells, large sea shells, were blown; men put their fingers in their mouths and whistled, and there was singing. With singing of songs and blowing of trumpets, they arrived. The Cuezcateca placed themselves in order, their shoulders decked with feather banners, and they encircled the offering-stone.

in ie iuhquj njman tlapitzalo, tecciztli mopitza, quijquijztli, mapipitzoa, yoan cujco: cujcapan tlapitzalpan, in oalmoiacatia: motecpana in cuezateca, quijquequechpanotiuj, ztapanjtl, quijaoaloa in temalacatl.

One [of the captors] quickly seized a captive. The captor, he who owned the captive, seized him by the head to bring him to the offering-stone.

Ce cantiquiça in malli, icpac cantiuh in tlamanj, in male, ynic qujujca temalacac:

When he had brought him there, he offered him wine:[17] and the captive raised the wine four times

yn ocxitique, qujmaca vetli: auh yn vetli nappa coniavilia in malli: auh çatepan conj piastica:

15. Durán, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 ff., names Uitzilopochtli, Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, and Xipe.
16. Corresponding Spanish qualifies "*el principal sacerdote, de aquella fiesta que se llamaua tlaolloan.*"
17. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 69) says the captor raised the wine; Sahagún says the prisoner.

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat copper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *maguey* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *maguey* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Viloa, onnevtemalo, tlapitzalotiuh, qujpitztiuj, in tecciztli, cohcouiloc chililiti. 1796 534

Auh in muchintin tlamacazque, qujmamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan qujniacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiqujpil. 276

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, quj.quechpanotiuh, aiochicaoaztli, no itoca naoalquaujtl, petlacac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, qujcacalatztiuh 789

aocac ce onmocaoã calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachotoque; qujpitztoque in qujqujztli, qujqujçotoque. 534

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn xiauhcalli, njman ie ic netetecu, netlalilo, tlatzitzilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo: 823

in ie iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in veue itoca chalchiuhquaqujlli: qujtoa. 793

Coatl yçomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ie ic onnetepeualon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, atlacxiuitectinemj, tzatzitinemj, ycaocatinemj, qujntlaichecalhuja yn inqujchtin totome: 198

cequj canauhtlama, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin qujntlaichecalhuja, in pihpizti, pipitztlatoa: cequjotin qujntlaichecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin aztatlatoa, cequjntin azoquentlatoa, cequjn tocujlcoiotlatoa: 825

yn vncan mahtisia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuer-

10. Chilili: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21; *cohcouiloc: cascabeles (sonajas)*(?).

11. "*Todos llevaban a cuestas, como sahagunlos atados con sus cordelejos de ixtli, con unos hechos al cabo: y de otros colgaban, como tiras de papel picado, cuadrados con los cuernos tahqui, que llamamos pinpinchili; y en aquellos tahqui llevaban unos manojos de hierba, hecho a la manera de cabezal de cama, que ellos llamamos pipinzoli, que era colorado en tinta, y con polvos de unos yerros que ellos llaman yiel, que es como hollín de sartén*" (corresponding Spanish text).

Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: "*Acopalxiquipil* and *ococa*, *yiel* tobacco. The Mexicans had these kinds in use: the *yiel* or Mexican tobacco (*yiel*, the greenhead); *quauhtlatl* tobacco, *yiel* tobacco, or Mexican tobacco I.; and *picietl*: *pinchiu* small, *yiel* tobacco, or Mexican tobacco I., taken either as snuff or chewed in pellets called *pepinzoli*; *yiel* tobacco, *quauhtlatl*: *yiel*, or smoked in cigars or *pipes*: *picietl* smoke, *yiel* tobacco. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *cuchiaxocotl*, *ococatic* herbs, and charcoal." Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 156.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. 4, § 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 140-41. Bder defines them respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; ibis; American egret or heron; kingfisher (*martapescatores* or *martapescadores*); and sandhill crane (*Glosario Náutico*, p. 118, items 3-7). 136

X 796 Izcoçauhqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came
[776] last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

X 796 And when they were being cast into the fire, there then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He
292 was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a
535 crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which
● [198] was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was
[534] he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

X 796 They took one another's hands, grasping them firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken,
535 where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hands."

And next day all assembled at the same time to
[237] dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasure songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here ẽndeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eca.

quj, ichoatl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca intenuh catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoquilitivia, ça qujoalcentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlaxo, vncan in teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in quintlepantlaçaia, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaxo, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiquiltone, quachichiquile, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujmamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoatzaltontli: in jquac ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

yoan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhquin tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vntetl in jaiacach, vccampa in aiacachotinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazque: injc oaltemo, imaamaneapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca moteteuhtzitzquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhquin mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic movitequj, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin moteneoa mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in coztic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xoxoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca ixquich tlacatl, çan ichoantin in oquichtin:

njman ie ic peoalo in necocololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle queoa, çan avilcujcatl: auh in necacaoalo, ie ioca: auh in aca cenca compaquj, vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jiomjlhujixti y, ie cuel cõcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je ixquich njcan tlamj, njcan tzonquiça in ilhujtl Teutl eca.

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8. ". . . en en donde cada año celebran cierto en un gran monasterio de fuego muchos cautivos, en la fiesta que se llamaba tecalco; y hacían los ofrecer aquella ceremonia que se llamaba atamalcualiztlaua, como se dijo en la nuevas fiestas de xuchiml" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 221).
9. ". . . porque en los hombres nació el dios Arohmaxth" (Ibid., p. 236). Cf. Chavero, op. cit., p. 166.

x 796 782 they might not become slothful was this done in the houses.

quimixitiaia inic amo tlatziviscujsque techan in muchioaia yn.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

Copaltemaliztli.

Auh in copaltemaliztli ic muchioaia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ic mitoz, aço tecutlatolli ic mitoz, achto contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in aquin ic tlatoz, çan vncan manca in copalli xicaltica: anoço cujcanj in ic cujcaz, ic peoaz, achto contema in copalli in tlequazco, njman ic peoa in cujcanj.

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

[201 576] The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

[626] And thus was protested, thus was avouched one's word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, thus he said unto him:

"If what thou sayest is true, do thou kiss the earth."

Whosoever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

Tlalqualiztli.

In tlalqualiztli ic muchioaia, iquac in campa oalhujlooaia, muchi tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imapil, aço ispan diablo, anoço tlecujlixquac:

yoan ic tlaneltililoia, ic neltia in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca neltocoia tlatolli: ic teilhujloia

intla nelli in tiqujtea, tlaxontlalqua:
ic njman tlalquaia in aquin, ic qujneltiliaia itlatol.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

x 796 782 264 And thus was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first ate [before], indeed, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

Tlatlaçaliztli.

Auh inic muchioaia tlatlacaliztli, iquac in tlein qualoz yn aiamo qualo, aço tlaqualli, achtopa achiton tepitõ mocotonaia, tlecujlixquac onmotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc njman ic peoa inic tlaqualoz: aiac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlatlaçaloia, in tlecujlixquac.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

x 796 782 273 Thus was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when thus it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

Tlatoiaoaliztli.

Inic muchioaia tlatoiaoaliztli, iquac in tlamanaloia, aço vitziecoloia: iquac in aca iancujcan qujtlalia vctli, yn iquac oqujtlapiuj, iquac ic tenoztaia, qujoalmana apaxtica tlecujlisquac, yoan tetlaoancaxtepiton.

war club of the captive lay in his hand, but his war club lacked obsidian points. And they who striped had their shields and war clubs, in order to fight in gladiatorial sacrifice in supposed battle with the captive or slave.

onoc aoc moitztzo in imaquauh. auh in tlavavanque inchimal inmacquauh ieticac injc tlavavanaia iuhqujn qujcali malli anoço tlacutli. 796X 782

Lying in the Sacred Place.

For five days all lay stretched out in the reed [swamp]. Thus was penance done for Tlaloc when in the cave were laid the two *culnauati*.

Teupan onolistli

Macujlilhujtl in tulpan netecoia injc neçavihloia tlaloc in iquac vztoc tlaliloia vme culnavati.

Placing of Men upon the Straw.

The placing of men upon the straw: Of those who flayed men, some put on the [flayed] skins. Such were named Xipes. And straw was shaken out, upon which they placed [the Xipes]. Hence was it said that they were set forth upon the straw.

Çacapan nemanalistli

In çacapan nemanalistli, iehoantin in quixipevaia tlaca in imevaio cequjntin conmaquijaia in ehoatl in motenevaia xixipeme, auh motzetzeloaia in çacatl ipan qujnvalmanaia ipampa in motenevaia çacapan valnemanalo.

Quickening [the Sun or the Fire].

The quickening was thus done: When the ears were cut, they spattered the blood upward, [or] perchance sprayed it into the fire. Thus, it was said, they caused the fire and the sun to quicken.

Tlazcaltilistli.

In tlazcaltilistli ic muchivaia iquac in monacaztequja acopa contzetzeloaia in eztli anoço tleco contzitzicujnjaia injc mjtoaia quizcaltia in tletl yoan in tonatiuh.

The Spreading of Greens.

The spreading of greens was thus done: when greens had been plucked, then they were spread everywhere upon the altars. No one, anywhere, failed to do so. This was known as the spreading of things which had been plucked by hand.

Tlatzmolintemalistli

In tlatzmolintemalistli injc muchivaia, in iquac omocujto tlatzmolin, njman ic motetema in novjian momuzco, acan mocava vel novjian, iehoatl in mjtoaia tlamacujtemalistli.

The Spreading of a Bed of Straw.

The spreading of a bed of straw was thus done: Like the kissing of the earth, it was fitting when anywhere one entered a door where stood the image of the devil. Thus, [when] one entered in his presence, he pulled up straw and shook it out before the devil when he came forth before him.

Others followed the roads, and when there was

Neçacapechtemalistli.

In neçacapechtemalistli injc muchivaia çan no iuhqoj in tlalqualistli ipan povia in iquac campa qujxovaia in canjn ycac ixiptla Diablo injc ixpã qujxoaia compia in çacatl ixpan contzetzeloaia in Diablo, in iquac tlaixpan qujçaia [20]

Oc cequjntin in vtli qujtocaia, ioã in iquac iavc, [788]

648 hath laid all manner of tribute upon us. But this [Moctezuma] is our lord and our ruler. And if [the gods] hasten to quit us — for the Mexicans are inhuman and very unrighteous — if [the gods] quickly leave us, if they stay away long, [the Mexicans] will return; they will come back here. The Mexicans have not made an end of and destroyed us. But great is their evil; they are full of sin."

And when Marina had informed the Captain of these words, he then answered them: "Let them not be grieved. I shall not tarry; shortly shall I return and speedily shall I find them. Here will be the ruling: here will be the place of governing. The Mexicans will be destroyed, so that they shall not harm you."

And when the people of Teocalhueyacan heard this, they rejoiced greatly. They became proud and haughty because of it. Behold, they therefore rose up and held themselves as better than others, as if they knew all. The more they listened foolishly, the more they were vainly presumptuous; as if then they had lost fear. They took this to be true; they thought that this was already so.

[534 201] And when this was over, and they had slept, when it was still deep night, flutes were blown, they sounded the muted flutes and the wooden whistles,[2] and drums were beaten. War drums were sounded. Then the Spaniards all arose and got up, and arrayed themselves. And after this, then they departed and filled the road. They went crowding the road.

Then they went on to and reached Tepotzotlan. Before long, in good time, they quartered themselves [there]. Only a short distance had they marched. And the people of Tepotzotlan then scattered and departed, fleeing from them and entering the forest. Some climbed the mountain; some [went into] the gorge. [The town] was quite abandoned to the Spaniards.[3] None dealt with them, because very great were they in destruction of men. Therefore they took flight and ran off. Only their bodies did they save. And all their goods they scattered in haste; they dropped them in their hurry. [The Spaniards] entered the palace; they went into the palace to quarter themselves. There they slept, being all together, all crowded and heaped together. For they were quite frightened; they went in fear.

qujli: auh inin ca totecujo ca totlatocatzin. Auh intla techmocavilitiqujça ca tlacatl in mexicatl, vellaveliloc, intla techmocavilitiqujçaz, intla movecavitiz, in oalmovicaz in valmocueptzinoz, aotechtlamjque, aotechpopoloque in Mexicatl: ca vel huei tlaveliloc, ca vel qujmaziltí injc tlaueliloc.

Auh in ocõcaqujti in Malintzin in tlatolli in capitan: njmã qujnoalhuj. Macamo motequipachoã camo njvecaoaz, iciuhca njoallaz, iciuhca njqujnmatiqujuh, njcan tlatoloz, njcan tlatoloian iez, popoliviz in Mexicatl, macamo amechiolitlacocan.

Auh in oiuh qujcaque in teucalhujaque cenca papacque, ic aatlamatque, ic cuecuenotque, iz ic moquetzque, ic moichoatocaque, qujmolhujltocaque, ilhujz iuhqujn mocacaq ilhujz iuhqujn aatlamati, iuhqujn vncã motlatlalia iniollo moneichiuhque, ie om ma nelli iuh momatque.

Auh inic iuhquj in ociuhque oc veca iovan in ie tlapitzalo, in qujpitza quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapitztli, yoan tlatzotzonalo, iautlatzotzonalo: ie ic necoalo, meeva in Españoles, nechichivalo: Auh in ie iuhquj, ie ic onecalo neutemalo, pepesocatiuh in vtli:

njmã ic onacito in teputzutla, aia vel quẽman oc qualcan in ommotlalito, çan achi qujtocatiaque: auh in teputzoteca njman ic tzomonque olinque, ic cholo que, quauhtlacalacque: cequjntin tepetl qujtlecavique: cequjntin atlauhtli, çan inpan macauh in Espanoles, aiac inca muchiuh: iehica ca cenca vei in intepololiz, ipampa mochololtique, mocholtique: çan ixqujch in innacaio qujmaqujxtique: auh in ixqujch in intlatquj qujtepeuhtiqujxque, çan iuh tlacauhtiqujxque: tecpan in oncalacque, onimotepancalcmato, vncã cochque, çan cenietivi, çan cemololiuhtivi, çan centepeuhtivi: iehica ca çan mauhcavi, çan momauhtitivi.

2. [illegible]; cf. Edward Sapir, *Collected Works* (J. Eds & Thompson and Frances B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1949), II, Pt. 3-4, p. 143; Alvaro Tarcevoz: *Historia de Mexico* (M. Tarazo-Campero, ed.; Paris: 9. Imnet, 1953), I, p. 121.

3. *Expunder*: the slide is omitted in the Nahuatl text

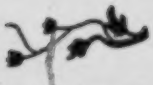

X 796 **Twentieth Chapter**, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [805] [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloca.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[799] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenmanti*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed [202 314 289] white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

Jaic 20. capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoalitztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in quitocaiotiaia, in quitoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eua.

Quauitl eua, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujztililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã neteteuhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concanaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauitl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa quimoncaoaia pipiltzitzintli, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiztiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel quinpaccacelia quinnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca quijauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian quijquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquauitl, itech quitlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitlehua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "Xilomanaliztli,—Atlacahualoa,—Cuahuitlehua,—Cihuailhuitl. *Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de vino é plantas; nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitlehua, quemarse de los árboles: nombre peculiarmente á lugares fuera de México. Atlacahualoa ó Atlacahualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos; regio el P. Leon, derrotion de las aguas, y es la interpretación de todos que nada nos satisface. Cihuailhuitl, fiesta de la mujer. El símbolo religioso es la imágen de Tláloc y un árbol reverdecido, con el agua entre las raíces.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . *el primer mes, cuyo nombre Atcahualco o Atlacahualco, significa la conversión del agua, pues en el mes de marzo crecen las fuentes del reverno en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o tolteco. Le llamaban también Quauhitlehua, la que significa la regeneración de los árboles, que se verifica en este tiempo en los países fríos. Los tlaxcaltecas llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, ofrenda de las materias de maíz, porque en él ofrecían a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la siembra que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (Tlalocan, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuitl ichoa: se pone en alto.* Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun über Azteken* (Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde, ed.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwartz, 1927), Vol. I, p. 55, translates: *die Bäume in ein Banner erhoben wird (machen sich auf dem Weg).*

2. *Nextlaoaloa.* Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *Informe de Alonso de Molina: Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Jules Pinkerton, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Rémi Simeón: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1960), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nextlaoaloa*: 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *teteujtl* as *tiras sagradas.*

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacateteuhti* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl sentence No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opfermorden* (*Opfergegenstände an Menschengestalt*). They were actually labe been paper amulets, surrounded by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 60) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de gotas de cáli a los quales papeles llamamos amarillos.*" *Tlaulchipinilli*: cf. *chiaulquan*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw theft toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[14] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çaçalti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomaxla:

" auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmiztaioujia, qujmiztaoquauhouatza: [251 265]

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujntonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapitlecax, amo ichoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla. [374]

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn ieinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoalteua, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin in tetiuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn ocoxiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexico:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan iztlteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tlitica tlacujlolli, moxaoaxia acaxilquj: [202 289]

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujnnama, amapapaiocatzontli, çan quchpanmama. [302] [417]

qujpeualtilia yn cioa in netzilistli, ynic mjxnia chocholoa, çan mocoxitzotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jxmoch cozamanja, qujxitimanj, 796X 535

14. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 187.

[IS the captive was] A man, he burned

his streamers, and his cloak, and his breech clout, and all the things he had received, and his water gourd. All these he burned.

And a woman burned all her womanly array—her basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her cane stalks, her batten, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went to bring them down when they died, and a flag-bearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

And when they had brought them [there], four captives to be slain went ahead. At the landing at

yoan imaxtli, yoã in quezquj itlaçqvil, yoã ĩuzcõ muchi qujtlatia.

Auh in cioatl, muchi qujtlatia in jxqujch icioatlaquj: in jtana in jmalac, in jtiçauh, in jzaoalcaz, in jtzaztaz, in jotlauh, in jzaztopaz, in jteçac, in jmecamaxal, ineanaia, yoã itzopuia, yoan ivitz, yoan iquatzon, ixiouh, yoan yioctacauh: muchi qujtlatia inoma.

Injc inh qujchioa y, qujlmach vmpa intech monequjz in vmpa iazque, in jquac mjquiz vmpa qujoalchiaz.

Auh in oelatvic, mec tecĩcaoalo, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in amatlatqujtl, in jpan mjquijxque: in oqujmõchichiuhque, mec tevico in vmpa mjquizque, qujnvica in teanque, vmentin qujntlecavizque, in macana çotlaoa, qujntzitzquizque: yoã vmẽtin tetemovizque, in qujnoaltemovizque, in jquac ommjcque: yoan ce panoa, in qujvicatiuh panjtl: yoan vmentin, teixamjque cioa: çan muchivi in qujnvivica, cezenme tlaaltilti.

Auh in oqujmaxitique: iacativi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apetlac in qujmjilpilia imjcxi yoã inma:

7. These weaving implements have been tentatively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, School of American Research, Santa Fé. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Paso y Troncoso.

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they seized what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mist House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the hidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." None came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

iuh ceioal in quincujcatia, quintoçavia, yoan quintlapichilia, quinvilacapitzalhuja. 796x 778

Auh in tlapitzaia amo ichoan in tequippanoque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaitiloia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopastli, njmã ie ic quinmonaquijlia in iollopan. [284]

Auh in oconaquili, njmã ic quioalquecheoflalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchioa, quioalmaca in tepiqujnj, xonovic xicalco, in quioallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in oquimõmjctique tzoalti: njmã ie ic quincenquiztia, quitecpichoa, in jxquich imamatlatquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cõtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxototon, in quauhcaxiotonti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxquijxh ixtapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan oztopilquavitl, yoan in jxquich in tlaquaia in caxtotonti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl much vmpa concaoa in xiauhcalco.

In ie vi quicaoazque, njmã ie ic onmoiacatia, in tlacoanotzalti, in tepictlaquazque: mec tetlamaco, cececnj, neixcavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmã ie ic quinmaca in vetli. 796x

auh in cioa no calaqui, motencoa ontamalcaoa, ainc çan iuh iauh, muchi tlacati itlaol quitequitiuh in cioa quicuecuexanotivi: auh in aca icintzin in quitequj, aço caxtolotl, anoço tlamjc.

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec quintlamaca tetlamaco: njmã no quimaca in vetli, quintlaoitia, quioealmanjlia tlilapastica in vetli, yoã quioalmaca in tetlaoan, in tlaoanonj, in tlaoãcaxitl, çan no tlilric. [273 416]

Auh in jqnac concaoa teuvid, in neztlacoalli cõmac [202]

7. The Pedrazo MS version differs (Quelhas, op. cit., p. 319): "[illegible] los de [illegible]"—"[illegible] los dioses [illegible] del cielo." Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 304) also describes it: "[illegible] por los pechos, como en Tlaxcala, que es un palo [illegible], como que tienen los Mogoses, [illegible] de [illegible], [illegible] el [illegible], que [illegible] los [illegible] de la [illegible], y [illegible] los [illegible], [illegible] los Xaxiplados, y [illegible]."

X 796 [202] banners, the offerings, they set them in order, and bound them upon the pole.[8]

Enough. Here endeth [the telling of] this feast, which was named Atemoztli.

mana, conjilpia cuenmantitech.

Iic ixquich, njcan tzonquiça inj ilhujtl in moteneoa Atemuztli.

8. The same pole is mentioned in the month of Tlaxipehualiztli. See pp. 77-8, 84.

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eleventh Chapter, in which is told what they did when it was seen and was evident that the new fire burst out.

Inic matlactloce capitulo, vncan mitoa: in tlein quichioaia, in icoac omottac, onez, in ocuepon iãcuic tletl.

And then everyone—the priests and fire priests—took the fire from there. [Having come] from all directions, the fire priests of Mexico had been sent there, charged with the task, as well as those who had come from distant [places] everywhere—messengers and runners. For these were all only chosen ones, strong warriors, valiant men, picked as best; the fleet, the swift, who could run like the wind. Because through them they could quickly have fire come to their cities.

Auh quinicoac, isquich tlacatl vmpa tlecui, in tlamacazque, in tletlenamacaque: inic ie nouiiampa vmpa oioaloque, oisquetzaloque, in mexico tlenamacaque, yoan in ie nouiian veca oaleoa, titlanti, tlaioaltin: ca çan much iehoan in pepenaloia, chicaoaque, in oquichtin, in tiacaoan in tlatzonanti, in painanj, in tlacçani, in iuhqui hecatoca ic motlaioa: ipampa inic iciuhca, caxititiuetzizque tletl imaltepeuh ipan:

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First, the fire brand was prepared and adorned. It was called *tlepilli*. And this the fire priests brought. Before [doing] anything else, they took it up, direct, to the top of the temple [pyramid], where was kept the image of Uitzilopochtli, and placed it in the fire holder.[16] Then they scattered and strewed white incense [over it]. And then they came down, and, also before [doing] anything further, they brought and took it direct to the priests' house, the place named Mexico.[17] Later, this was dispersed, and fires were started everywhere in each priests' house and each tribal temple; whereupon it went everywhere to each of the young men's houses. At that time all of the common folk came to the flame, hurled themselves at it, and blistered themselves as fire was taken. When thus the fire had been quickly distributed everywhere among them, each one laid a fire, and was quieted in his heart.

ca achtopa ic nenemachtiloia, muchichioaia in tlecuioani: itoca tlepilli. Auh ieehoatl, ic quioalaxitiaia in tlenamacaque: oc ie achto, vmpa quitlecauiaia, quitlamelaoaltiaia in iicpac teucalli: in vmpa mopieia ixiptla vitzilobuchtli, tlequazco contlaliaia: nimã ic contepeoa, contoxaoa in iztac copalli. Auh niman ic oaltemo, oc ie no achto, vmpa quitqui, quitlamelaualtia in calmecac, itocaiocã mexico: ic çatepan moiaoa, tletletlalilo in nouiian cacalmecac, cacalpuico: niman ie ic iauh, in nouiian tetelpuchcalli. Ie vncan in isquich onxoquiui, onmotepeoa, ontapaliui maceoalli, in motlecuilia: icoac ic nouiian, tepan moiaoatiuetzi in tletl netletletlalilolo, neioiollalilo.

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This same all the village fire priests did. That is, they carried the fire and made it hasten. Much did they goad [the runners] and make them hurry, so that they might speedily bring it to their homes. They hurried to give it to one another and take it from one another; in this way they went alternating with one another. Without delay, with ease, in a

Çã no iuh quichioa, in isquich altepeoa tlenamacac: inic quitquia, quinenemitiaia tletl, cẽca quitototzaia, quimotlalochtiaia: inic iciuhca caxitizque inchan, quimoamamacatiquiça, quimocuicuilitiquiça: ic mopapatlatiui. Amo uecauh, amo machiztli, çan isquich caxitl, y, in conaxitiaia, in quicueponaltiaia: çan achitonca in nouiiampa, cuecuepocatimoteca

16. "Pe candelero, hecho de cal y canas, puesto delante del pueblo"—corresponding Spanish text.

17. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, thus explains this distribution: "I de alli tomaual y llevauan al aposento de los sacerdotes, que se dicel mexicamac: y despues a otros aposentos, de los dichos sacerdotes, de pueblos: y de alli tomauan, y llevauan todos por mexicos, de la ciudad."

Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50.*

In the year 1519, when the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, came to sally forth, very many boats came, in which the Spanish host traveled. And when Moctezuma knew of it, then he sent his emissaries, and they carried as greetings very many and costly articles.

And they thought that Quetzalcoatl had come. And when he went to arrive, then they gave and took all [which they carried] as greetings to this Captain, Don Hernando Cortés.

And when these Spaniards came to enter [the land], then the Tlaxcalans' Otomí[1] [warriors] went to meet them in battle. Not few, but very many thus fought and waged war with the Spaniards. And all of the Tlaxcalans' Otomí [warriors] died; the Spaniards slew them. By this were the Tlaxcalans much frightened, and these Tlaxcalans then sent messengers, [who] went to offer them food and all which they might need. And they welcomed them and escorted them to the homes of Tlaxcala.

And for a few days the Spaniards tarried and rested there. And the Spaniards then went there to Cholula. There they slew many Cholulans.

And after this, when Moctezuma had heard of it, he was much frightened; and all the people of Tenochtitlan were exceeding fearful. So once again he sent messengers. These whom this Moctezuma sent, lords and noblemen, went to meet the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés; they took with them a great deal of gold. And they went to meet him there between Popocatepetl and Iztac cíuatl, [at a place] named Ituaico.[2] There they conferred [with Cortés; one of]

Injc chicome capitulo, vncan mjtoa mjiec tlamantli in inpan muchiub in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, in jxqujchica vnpoalxiujtl oemmatlactli. 175

In jpan xiujtl 1519 icoac quiçaco in capitan don hernando cortes, cenca mjiec in acalli oalla in vncan oalietiaque in españoles in iauqujxque: auh in oiuh qujma in ichoatl motecuçuma, njman tlaihoaiaque in jtitlanhoan, auh in qujtqujque in tetlapalolíztli cenca mjiec, ioan cenca tlaçotli in tlatqujtl. 175 648

Auh momatque, ca ichoatl in quetzalcoatl ohoalla: auh in jcoac oaçito njman mochi qujmamacaque in qujtqujque tetlapalolíztli, in ichoatl, capitan don hernando cortes.

Auh in jcoac ie calactiujtze, in ichoantin españoles: njman qujiaunamjqujto, in tlaxcalteca, imotonhoan: amo çan quexqujchtin, cenca mjiequjntin, ic oqujmjcalque, oqujniauchiuhque, in españoles. Auh mochintin, mjcque in tlaxcalteca imotonhoan, qujnmjctique, in españoles: ic cenca momauhtique, in tlaxcalteca, auh in ichoantin, in tlaxcalteca, njmã ic tlaihoaque, qujnmacato in tlaqualli, in jxqujch intech monequj: ioan qujnpaccatlapaloto: ioan qujnhujcaque, in vmpa inchan in tlaxcallan.

Auh çan quezqujlhujtl, in vncan motlalique, moçeujque, in ichoantin españoles. Auh in ichoantin, españoles njman iaque in vmpa chololan: vncan mjiequjntin, qujnmjctique, in choloteca.

Auh in jcoac, oiuh qujcac, in ichoatl motecuçuma, cenca momauhti: ioã yn jxqujchtin, in tenochca cenca momauhtique: ic oc ceppa tlaihoa, in ichoatl motecuçuma ichoantin in qujmjhoa in tetecuti, in pipiltin, qujnamjqujto, in capitan, don hernando cortes: cenca mjiec, in qujtqujque, in teucujtlatl. Auh vncan in qujnamjqujto, in jtzalan popoca tepetl: ioan in jztac tepetl, in moteneoa ithoaico. Vncan qujnonotzaque, qujmacaque in jtlatol, in jta motecu- [202]

* Corresponding Spanish text: "*Iuan el año de 50.*"

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102; Seler, *Einige Zapiteil*, p. 476, n. 1, citing Torquemada, cap. 66. Cf. also Sahagún (Rubiendo ed.), IV, pp. 43ff., 149-150, n. 1.

See also Book XII, Chap. xi.

2. Molinier: in Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), it is described as a "*Mont qui domine à l'orient la vallée de Mexico.*"

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

nemjx qujcujtlaujltia in tlamaceoaliztli, in ioaltica in acaxiatlaliliztli içaçocampa acxoiatlalitiuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali qujcalaquja, inmac concaoa in tiachcaoan, qujcujtlaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianoliztli, in jxquich tlamantli tlamaçeoaliztli mochioaia.

565 868 701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

Auh in jcoac ie caxtolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamachtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl injc qujça iauc, in ichoantin tequjoaque achtopa qujnnotza qujntlaqualtia. qujmatlitia, ioan qujntlauhtia in jxqujchtin tequjoaque, in qujnmaca aço quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman qujtlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ie no iuhquj in omjto tlacpac injc qujntlatlauhtia.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[2] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

Auh njman ic qujhujca, in iauc: vel qujmocujtlaujtiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel qujmachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautioa, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcoac ie mochioa iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, uel conjttitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlamaz: aço njmã tepallama, anoço njman vel ic açi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochioa.

● [202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiqujça in tequjtque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in qujoalnonotzziuetzi motecuçuma:

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[3] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Matlatzinca,

auh in oacico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma qujlhuja. Totecujoe notelpoxtine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujcxilobuchtli, ca otepan qujtopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca oia in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatiticiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepanecatl, in acolhoa, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie iaquich tlalhoacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. *Vel ie cauc: the Real Academia de la Historia MS has ce for ie.*
3. *Tlachcauhtiaque: Rimbaud, op. cit.—dedicated.*

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiauhque, oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican açoçan annechixtlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlatia qujnpepoloa.

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Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompofiuh, altepetl, njman ie mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacahtitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omochiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj ichoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezqujntin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, açoçequjntin motequjoacaxima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnqujxtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, açoçe vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujxtilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjtaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in quipachoa altepetl, auh quinjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

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4. *Chimalpopoca*: Sahagún's comment on fol. 1r of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y he de la dicha cosa, que son los valientes de los chimapanecas."

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[3] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monestítiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im maceualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz maceualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

. auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

auh ỹ yeoatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpiaqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in q̃pieztque. 727

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.

This passage originally, in the *Real Academia* MS, completed the section ending *tlahuel quintlachaua motlalanhia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-que* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *tlatocatequalia*, and *centlatoca tequalia*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (Einige Kapitel, p. 331)—*ipa uel y molauaca intecuitoaca*—is "in richtiger Weise die Zahl der Fürstenleute."

4. Above: cf. Angel Maria Garibay K.: *Libro del Nilhuatl* (Cuernavaca, Méx.: [Impresos Mayli], 1940), p. 109; also Hernán Cortés: *Seis de la Imprenta* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1893), p. 519.

000 Third Chapter, where is told what Moctezuma commanded when he heard the account of those who saw the boat which first came.

Injc ei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma in jquac oqujcac intlatol, in iehoantin in qujttaque acalli in achto valla.

Moctezuma thereupon commanded [Pinotl] of Cuetlaxtlan and the others, and said unto them: "Ye shall order that guard be kept everywhere on the shores [at the places] thus named: Nauhtlan, Tuxtlan, and Mictlanquauhtla — wheresoever [the strangers] would come to land."

Then the stewards departed. They gave the command that watch be kept.

In motecuçoma, njman ic ic q'nnaoatia in Cuetlaxtecatl, yoan in jaqujntin: qujmjlhuj. Xitlanacaticã, ma tlapiclo, in noviã atenco; injc mjtoa. Nauhtlan Tuxtlan, mjctlan quauhtla: in campa ie qujçaqujvi:

njmã ic iaque in calpixque, tlanaoatique injc tlapiclola.

644 And Moctezuma assembled his lords: the ruler's vicar Tlilpotonqui, the commanding general Quappiaztzin, the army commander Quetzalaztatzin, and the uitznauatlailotlac Ecatenpatiltzin.[1] He acquainted them with the news and he showed and discovered to them the necklaces which [the messengers] had brought him.

He said to them: "We have marveled at [this] fine, blue turquoise. It shall be well guarded. The keepers will protect it well. If they lose one [piece, their houses will be] our houses; [their children,] our children; [their women with child,] our women with child."[2]

Auh in motecuçoma: qujncentlali in jtecuioan, Cioacoatl, Tlilpotonqui, Tlacochcalcatl, Quappiaztzin, Ticociaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Vitznaoatlailotlac, hecatenpatiltzin: qujncaqujti in tlatolli, yoan qujmjttiti, qujmjxpanti in qujoalcujque coxcatl:

qujmjlhuj. Ca oticmaviçoque in matlaltzuxivitl, vel mopiaz, in tlatlatique vel qujpiazque: intla centetl qujchitonizque tocacal, topipilhoan, titeheoan.

000 And then the year made its round. When [the year] Thirteen Rabbit met [One Reed], when already it was about to end, at the time of the closing of [Thirteen][3] Rabbit, then [the Spaniards] came to arrive. Then once again were they seen.[4]

Auh njman ie mocuepa in xivitl, ie imonamjcioc in matlactli omei tochtli: auh ie tlamjznequj, ie itzonqujzian in xivitl omei tochtli, in qujçaco, in ie no ceppa ittoque.

773 And then [the stewards] hastened to inform Moctezuma. When he learned of it, then speedily [202] he dispatched messengers. For thus he thought, and it was so regarded, that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had arrived. For thus was it [held] in their hearts that indeed he would come — that he would come to land on and visit his domain.[5] For

Auh njman qujnonotztivetzico in Motecuçoma, in oqujcac, njman iciuhca tlaioa, in iuh qujma, in iuh moma, ca iehoatl in topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in oquijçaco: ca iuh catca iniollo in çan oallaz, in çan qujçaqujuh, qujoalmatiz in jpetl, in jcpal: ipampa ca vmitztia, in jquac ia. Auh in qujmjoa macujltio, in qujnanjqujtivi, in qujtlamamacativi: in teiacantia

1. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), II, p. 339; also James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), Vol. I, p. 56. For some time, this uitznauatlailotlac, a middle-century English equivalent is difficult to suggest.

2. Cf. Ibid., op. cit., p. 340; also corresponding Spanish text: "*pequeña en las que tienen cuenta de guardar la tesorería.*"

3. Bribes error, in the Aztec text, probably matlactli should be read.

4. Arrival of Cortés in 1519.

5. In Angel Maria Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba: [Impresora Mayfil], 1940), p. 108, the passage "*Ca yuh catca in iquallo in ca hualloc, in ca quinquixtiuh quihualmatiz in ipetl in icpal*" is thus translated: "*Así fue su determinación, que hubiese de venir, hubiese de regresar, hubiese de tornar a su tierra y arribar.*"

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

yoã hecaxnnecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 431 776 301 292

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Oca inqujtlamãtli in, in motenema teutlatquitl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in qujtquijque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli tozcuitlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

Niman ie ic flatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichicoalo. Auh in omoteneubque macujltin; njman ie ic qujnnaostia in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: iztatquj mjtzalmomaqujlia, ca omaritico in jchãtzinco mexico: 431 482 202

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Auh in oncito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan onenaq̃ acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal. 505

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa anoallaque? 648

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujjpiquj, aço çã toca anmocacaiaoa.

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliscatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopilitica, ic qujnoalhilinjque: njman no quicalquetzaque ocacatli.

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18. *Ibid.*: "*Ie qual rodaba estaba hordada con plumas verdes en la hora de la rodadla [sic] salia una corada de plumas verdes.*"

19. *Ibid.*: "*un bordo labrado de manojos de zacatones y en la hordas de cirilla pusieron unas plumas verdes o perlas amarillas en la cima de arriba.*"

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchihuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "*una cofera de oro hecha a manera de cerrado sombrero de plumas verdes que colgaban hasta las espaldas.*"

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*una cofera llana.*"

[p. 14 is blank]

000 smarteth. Where, in truth, [may we turn], O our lord?"

Then [the messengers] commanded those who watched; they said to those at the head of the guard: "Even though he sleepeth, tell him: 'Lo, they whom thou hast sent over the water have come!'"

And when they went to tell him, then he replied: "I shall not hear it here; I shall hear it in the Coacalli. There let them go." And he commanded and said: "Let two captives be covered with chalk."

727 782 [202]

And then the messengers went to the Coacalli,[1] and also the noble Moctezuma himself.

Thereupon, before them, were slain the captives; they slashed open their breasts; they sprinkled the messengers with their blood. For this reason did they so do: that they had traveled into very perilous places; that they had gone to see — had looked into the faces and at the heads of, and had verily spoken to — the gods.

Niman qujmõnaoatique in qujpia in jtzontlan tlapia qujmonjlhujque intla mocochitia xicmolhujlican ca ovallaque in tiqujnmotitlanj atl itic.

Auh in oconjlhujto: njman qujoalito. Amo njcan njccaquja, vmpa njccaquja in coacalco, ma vmpa vian, yoan oallanaosti: qujoalito: ma ontetiçavilo in mamalti.

Auh njman vmpa iaque in coacalco in titlanti: no ichoatl in motecuçomatzin,

njmã ic ic imjxpan mjcoa qujmeltetequj in mamalti, in jpezio ic qujmonatzelhujaia in titlanti (ipampa in juh qujchiuhque in, ca cenca ovican in ovia ca oqujmjttato, imjxco imjcpac otlachiato, vel oqujnnotzique in teteu.

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 44.

000 **Ninth Chapter. Here it is told how Moctezuma wept; and the Mexicans wept when they learned that the Spaniards were very powerful.**

Inic chicunavi capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn chocac Motecuçomatzin, yoan in chocaque mexica, in jquac oquimarque, ca cenca chicaoaque in Españolex.

And Moctezuma became very fearful; he felt foreboding and was frightened and terrified, and foresaw evil for the city.

Auh in motecuçoma cenca tlatenma, motenma, momauhti, mjçàvi, qujtlatenmachili in altepetl,

And everyone was sore afraid. There were fear, terror, dread, and apprehension. There were discussion, the forming of single groups, and hastening by. All wept—wept much; they shed tears for the people. They went with heads hanging and countenances fallen. All greeted one another tearfully and spoke to others with tears. They gave them comfort and consoled themselves. They stroked the heads of [their young]; the hair of the small boys was smoothed down. Fathers said: "Woe, my sons! How may you withstand what hath befallen you and what will come to pass?" And mothers said: "My sons, how may you withstand what you will marvel at and what is now to befall us?"

yoan in ie ixqujch tlacatl, cenca momauhtique, nemauhtiloc neiçaviloc, tlatẽmachoc, netenmachoc, nenonotzalo, nececentlalilo, neohololoo, nechoqujlilo, nechochoqujlilo, techoqujlilo, ça tlaquechpilivi, ça tlaquechvi, nechoqujztlapalolo, techoqujztlapalolo, teellaquaoalo, neellaquáoalo, tepepetlalo, pepetlalo in pipiltzitzinti: in tetaoan qujtoa: Veh nopilhoštzitzine, quen vel ameoantin in o amopan muchiuh, in tlein ie muchioaz: auh in tenanoan qujtoa. Nonopilhoantzitzin, que ço uel amehoanti in anqujmaviçozque in tlein ie topan muchioaz:

And it was told, discovered, shown, set forth, announced, and given as assurance to Moctezuma that a woman of our people here, was bringing them here and interpreted [for them]. Her name [was] Marina; Teticpac [was] her home. There at the coast they had first come upon and taken her.[1]

yoan ilhujloc ixpantiloc, machtiloc, nonotzaloc, caqujtiloc, yiollo itlan tlaliloc in Motecuçoma. ce cioatl njcan titlaca in qujnoalhujcac in oalnaoutlatotia: itoca Malintzi teticpac ichan, in vmpa atenco, ichto canaco.

202 And at that time they began no longer to place themselves at [the Spaniards'] feet; the messengers simply went fleeing—they who had overseen the various things of which everywhere they stood in need.

Auh njman iquac peuh: in aocmo onnecxitlalilo, in ça mocujtlacueptinemj in titlanti, in jpan ontlatoa in jzqujtlamantli, in jzqujcan icac in intech monequjx.

And at this same time, [the Spaniards] came inquiring about Moctezuma: "What sort [of man is he]? Perchance a youth? Perchance mature? Or already old? Perhaps he is already advanced in years, already approaching a ripe age?—An old man, already white-haired?" And they replied to the gods, the Spaniards: "He is a mature man, not fat but rather slender; spare—small and thin."

Auh çan njmã no iquac in qujtemotivitze Motecuçoma: quenamj cujx telpuchtli, cujx yiolloco oqujchtli, cujx ie veve, cujx ie tlachicalhuja, cujx ie veve tlamati, cujx ie veve tlacatl, cujx ie quaiztac? Auh qujnnanqujliaia in teteu in Españoles: ca yiolloco oqujchtli, amo tomaoac, çan pitzactẽtli, çan pipitzactentli, çan cujlloeic, cujlloteoatli.

1. It appears well established that the birthplace of la Malinche (Malina, Malinzin) was Painala, a town now disappeared, which was south of Coatzacoalcos. It is shown in the map in Francisco Javier Clavijero's *Historia Antigua de México* (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

202 And all which came to pass, all [this] news they laid before, told, and related to Moctezuma. And the messengers all came, all set forth, took flight. It was no longer a time of calm to listen — for the message to be heard. For all the common folk went in uproar; there were frequent disorders. It was as if the earth quaked, as if the earth quivered — as if the surface [of the land] circled in tumult. There was terror.

And when death had come to Cholulla, then [the Spaniards] started forth in order to come to Mexico. Marshaled together, in a concourse, they came stirring up the dust. Their iron lances, their iron halberds glistened [from afar], and their iron swords moved in a wavy line like a water [course]. Their iron shirts and iron head gear jingled. And what some wore was all iron; they came turned into iron, gleaming. Hence they caused astonishment; thereby they aroused great terror. Because of it they were regarded with much dread — they were greatly feared.

And their dogs came ahead. They went before them. At the vanguard they came, in the lead. They came at their head. They came panting, foam dropping [from their mouths].

Auh in ixqujch muchioaia, muchi qujoalmacaia, qujoalilhujaia, qujoalcaqujtiaia in tlatolli in Motecuçoma. Auh in titlanti, ixqujch oalaci, ixqujch vmpeoa, çan mocujtlacueptinemj, aoc quenman cactoc in qujcaquj, in caqujtilo tlatolli: auh in ie ixqujch tlacatl maceoalli, ça mâcomantinemj, ça achcan mocomonja, ça iuhqujn tlallolinj, ça iuhqujn tlalli xoxoqujvi, ça iuhqujn tlaixmalacachivi, mavizcujoac.

Auh in ommjcoac cholollan: njmã oalpeuhque in ie ic vitze Mexico, ololiuhtivitze, tepeuhtivitze, teuhtli, qujquetztivitze, in intepuztopil, in intzinacantopil iuhqujn tlapepetlaca: auh in intepuzmaquauh, iuhqujn atl monecujloa, iuhqujn tlacacalaca in intepuzvipil, in intepuzquacalala. Auh cequjntin vel much tepuztli motqujtivitze, tetepuztin muchiuhtivitze, pepetlacativitze: ic cenca valmomavizçotitiaque, ic cenca oalmotlamauhtilitiaque: ic cenca mauhcaittoia, ic cenca imacaxoia.

Auh in jmjtzcujnoan iacattivitze, qujniacantivitze iniacac icativitze, iniacac onotivitze, hiicicativitze, intenqualac pipilcativitz.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

and without turning their backs and with three obeisances they retired to the hall, and as soon as they left the presence of Montezuma they put on their rich garments and took walks through Mexico.

I will not say anything more at present about this imprisonment, and will relate how the messengers whom Montezuma sent with his sign and seal to summon the Captains who had killed our soldiers, brought them before him as prisoners, and what he said to them I do not know, but he sent them on to Cortés, so that he might do justice to them, and their confession was taken when Montezuma was not present and they confessed that what I have already stated was true, that their Prince had ordered them to wage war and to extract tribute, and that if any Teules should appear in defence of the towns, they too should be attacked or killed. When Cortés heard this confession he sent to inform Montezuma how it implicated him in the affair, and Montezuma made all the excuses he could, and our captain sent him word that he believed it [the confession] himself, but that although he [Montezuma] deserved punishment in conformity with the ordinances of our King, to the effect that any person causing others, whether guilty or innocent, to be killed, shall die for it, yet he was so fond of him and wished him so well, that even if that crime lay at his door, he, Cortés, would pay the penalty with his own life sooner than allow Montezuma's to pass away. With all this that he [Cortés] sent to tell him, he [Montezuma] felt anxious, and without any further discussion Cortés sentenced those captains to death and to be burned in front of Montezuma's palace. This sentence was promptly carried out, and, so that there could be no obstruction while they were being burned, Cortés ordered shackles to be put on Montezuma himself, and when this was done Montezuma roared [with rage], and if before this he was scared, he was then much more

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

72 country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it.* Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous [202] drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

72 Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax-"adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, teniendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanecatl Tlacaelelitzin" returned for the second time to Azcaputzalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezozomoctli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "maccuahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanecatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 482 and 483), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Monteruma. ("Huehue-Monteruma," or "Monteruma Ilhuicamina.")

[534] [139] Bernal-Diez (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y alli tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tanian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infernos, y mas de "dos leguas de alli se oia; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 361, of Vol. II).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also 643 dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, 644 more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed 644 many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially [202] did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of 643 the community," that is the place where the business of the entire 644 social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was trans- 344 acted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don* 764 *J. F. Ramirez* ("*Durán*," p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also of* the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 65). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 98, also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopædia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 65): "Puso asi mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 169).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 496), which is very interesting in a general way.

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643
644 was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-
644 ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal Interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan."[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council [202] clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 328; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 92; cap. LXI. pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII. p. 109): "Vuelto á Tlacaelel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que ablasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 122, 124 and 126; cap. XXI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 32; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 46, cap. XXVIII, p. 47, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 58, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 154, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 158). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 166, cap, XXI, p. 182, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).

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648 nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience
651 to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

648 The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered
651 their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in
202 annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-
[727] Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[299] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII. inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 355, 356 and 77), *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XV), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 187 and 188) confining himself to the Tezcucans and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Zurita* (pp. 346, 347 and 348), *Ramírez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 251). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 26 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 333 and 334): on *Malinalcinco*, *Zurita* (pp. 394-397), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 149). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramírez*" (pp. 65 and 66), and especially from the traditions on the forays and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tezcucomoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 52, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.), *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues miré que lo suele de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que les placia de lo llevar allá y serullos, ..." (Cap. XXII, p. 291): "y que se obligasen á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 298, Cap. XXV, p. 302, etc., etc., etc.)

567 [302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 212 and 213). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of mediate subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 33, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "contracts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Díez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 68, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traíanlos atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuezos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonaca's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I).

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assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all through the land roads should be opened which would be practicable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[303] "*Second Bunell de Pieces sur le Mexique*" (H. Terrauxx-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 808) figures a bridge at Huejutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Metlaltoyuca shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 681): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transport, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere runners. ("Correos"—? Yeiuhca Ohtentli" *Molina* I, p. 36, from "Ieiuhca"—quick and "ohtentli"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 72 and 112). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 585 and 586), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codex Ramirez*" (p. 68).

the sweet-smelling herbs should be gathered together which [the goddess] Xilonen needed when her feast was observed. And he arranged for all [things] and the incense-ladles which the temple needed when [the impersonator of] Xilonen died.

nen in jquac illuijuh quiçaia, ynan muchi ipan tlatovaia, in tlemaitl in jtech monequja o calli in jquac mjquja xilonen. 793

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan.

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan—behold what were his duties. This one required, and hence commanded, that there should be gathered together the feathers, the eagle-down and the painted eagle plumes, with which [she who was ornamented in the likeness of] Toci was adorned, when she died.

And this one cried out [summoning] the Huaxtec youths to do penances here at Atempan.

Atempan teuhoatzin.

In atempan teuhoatzin, inca in jtequjuh catca, ichoatl ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicovaia ihujtl, in quauhtlachcaiutl, ynan in quauhtevitztli injc moqueçonjaia toci in iquac miquja

ynan ichoatl quiçaatziliaia in cuecuextecа in telpuchtin, injc moçavanque vncã atempan. [203]

The Caretaker.

The Caretaker took charge of the songs of the devils, of indeed all the sacred songs, that none might do ill [with them]. Greatly was he concerned that they teach the sacred songs, and he cried [the summons] that the singers be gathered, or the chiefs, that they might be taught the songs.

Tlapiscatzin.

In tlapiscatzin quimocuitlavjaia in jncujc Diablome in ic muchi teucujcatl injc siac tlatlacoz, vel quimocuitlavjaia, injc quitemachtiaia in teucujcatl, ynan quiçaatziliaia injc monechicozque in cujcanjme anoço tetecutin injc quimomachtizque in teucujcatl. [533] [203]

The Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan.

The duties of the Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan were similar to what were the duties of the Keeper of the God of Atempan; for he was concerned with, and commanded that there should be gathered together all the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the sweet-smelling herbs which [she who was arrayed in the likeness of] Tzapotla tenan needed when she died.

Tzapotla teuhoatzin.

In tzapotla teuhoatzin, çi no inhquj in jtequjuh catca, in inhquj itequjuh catca: Atempa teuhoatzin, ichica çi no muchi ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, inic monechicovaia amatl in copalli, in vlli, ynan in jiauhtli, in jtech monequja in tzapotla tenan in iquac mjquja

The Keeper of the God of Tezcatzoncatl.

The Keeper of the God of Tezcatzoncatl was concerned that there should be torches, or bundles of resinous wood used as torches. And the charge of this one was that he should collect the red ochre, the black stain, and the foam sandals, the decorated jacket, and the bells which [the impersonator] of Xiuhtecutli, the old god, needed when he died.

Tezcatzoncatl teuhoa.

In tezcatzoncatl teuhoa ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in ocutl in tlepilli ien ynan ichoatl itequjuh catca, in quijnechicovaia in tlavitl, in tilli ynan in papoloactli, in xicolli, in tzizilli in jtech monequja xiuhtecutli, vecatecutl in iquac mjquja

[373]

might provide the singers and make them sound well, when they went to sing in the house of him who molded figures [of the mountain gods]. Verily, this one, the Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton, passed judgment upon [the songs].

injc quicativi in jchan in aquin tepiquiz, vel iehoatl quiznontequja in Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton. 793 [532]

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton.

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton was upon [the pyramid], and his charge was that he caused it to be cried abroad that offerings [should be made]. When the little children, whether men[-children] or women[-children, first] began to talk, they went carrying their offerings of *copal* [incense], or flowers, or whatever sorts of gifts were made. Each of [these] things they bore with them.

Ixtlilco teuhos.

In ixtlilco teuhos ipan jcaca, ipan tlatovaia, quizztziliaia in ventli injc motenmamalia pipiltzitzinti in in aço oquichçin, in anoço cihoa quijtquitivi in jnwen in copalli, in aiioço xuchitl in ie iaquich ventli muchivaia cecentlamantli in quiquja. [203]

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli at Aticpac.

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli, at [the Temple of] Aticpac, had enchanged to him [her who was arrayed in the likeness of the Goddess] Aticpac calqui cioatl, [and that] they should collect the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber which Aticpac calqui cioatl needed when she died. And they flayed her, and the fire-priest put on her skin and went forth holding a [live] quail in his teeth, which went dangling from his mouth.

Aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli.

In aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli ipã tlatovaia, in aticpac calquj cihoatl quinechicovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in jxch monequja aticpac calquj cihoatl in iquac mjquja, auh quixipehoaia in jichoaio cõmaquiaia tlenamacac, yoan quitlanquativia çolin icamac pilcatiuh.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli, at Atlixeliuhqui.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli at Atlixeliuhqui was charged with collecting the adornment, the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the sweet-smelling herbs, the chalk, the black stain, and the heron feather headdress and the tousled hair which [he who was arrayed like] Opochtli would need when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Atlixeliuhquj teuhos obuchtli.

In atlixeliuhquj teuhos obuchtli, ipan tlatovaia, quinechicovaia in jxchichival, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in jiauhtli, in tiçatl, in jaiapalli, yoan aztatzõtli, papatli, in jxch monequja obuchtli in iquac mjquja ipan tepeilhuitl.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico, took care, when that one [arrayed in the likeness of the god Tezcatlipoca] died, of the paper, the *copal* [incense],

Xippe iopico teuhos.

In xippe iopico teuhos quimocuitlavjaia, in ipan mjquja in iehoatl tezcatlipoca, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tlahuitl, auh injc momomaiaia in-

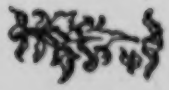

Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards and those of Tlaxcalla set out and fled from Mexico by night.

And after dark, when midnight came, thereupon came out the Spaniards, crowded together, and all of the men of Tlaxcalla. The Spaniards took the lead, and the Tlaxcallans followed behind, covering the rear, like their walls, their rear guard. They went carrying a wooden bridge, which they proceeded to lay across the canal over which they passed.[1]

At the time, it was drizzling; there was a fine sprinkle, a gentle spray, of rain. They crossed easily some of the canals, at Tecpantzinco, Tzaputlan, and Atenchicalco. But when they went to attain Mixcoatechialtitlan,[2] the fourth canal, then it was seen that they were leaving. A woman fetching water spied them, whereupon she cried out and said: "Mexicans! Come here quickly! Already they leave! Your foes are already slinking away!" Then also a man cried out from the top of the [pyramid] temple of Uitzilopochtli. His cries spread well out over the people; everyone heard him. He said: "O chieftains, O Mexicans! Your foes are already setting out! Hasten here by war boat and along the roads!"

And when it was heard, then there was an outcry. On this, the war boatmen broke forth. They rushed; they plied the poles furiously; the boats struck and bumped one another. They came to [a place called] Mictlantonco Macuilcuitlapilco.[3] And from two sides the war boats came upon them. They pressed upon them, the war boats of those of Tenochtitlan and the war boats of those of Tlatilulco. And a number went afoot, direct to Nonoalco, making their way toward Tlacopan, intending to cut off their advance.

Injc cenpouallj onnavi Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles yoan in tlaxcalteca qujnque, choloque in mexico ioalica. 726

Auh in ovallovac in oncic ioalnepantla, njmã ie ic quiça in Españoles: onmotencque, yoan in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl: in españoles iacattivi, auh in tlaxcalteca tlatoquiltivi, tlatzinpachotivi, iuhquijnma intenanoan, iuztzacujlhoan muchiuhti, quivcatiaque quauhtlapechtli contecatiaque in acaloco in jpan onpanotiaque: [312]

in jcpac in aoachquinuhtimanj, aoachtzetzelijuhtimanj, aoachpixauhtimanj, oc cequj in vel conpanavique acalotli Tecpantzinco, Tzaputla Atenchicalco. Auh in oncito mjxcoa mjxcoatechialtitlã injc nauhcan acaloco: ie vncan itoque, in ie quiça: oc atlacujc civatl, in quimjttac: njman ie ic tzatzi: quito. Mexica, xioalnenemjcan, ie quiça, ie navalquiça in amoiaovan: njmã no oc tlacatl tzatzic in jcpac vitzilobuchtli vel tepan motecac in jtzatziliz, ixquich tlacatl quicac: quito. Tlacavane, mexicae, ie onquiça in amoiaovan, vallatoteca in acalchimalli, yoan in vtli ipan. 487 [203]

Auh in ocazoc: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca: njmã ie ic tlatzomanj in acalchimaleque, totoca, tequjtlaneloa, macalhujpequj, macalhujpectivi, tlamattivi mjctlantonco, macujcuitlapilco: auh in acalchimalli, necoc in inpan valnoovanjc, in inpan valnopic, in tenochca imacalchimal, yoã in tlatilulca imacalchimal: yoan cequjnaxin icxipã iaque, nonoalco tlamelauhque, tlacopanpa izxiaque, qujniacatzacujliaquja: 726

1. The Aztec would permit reading "bridge" and "canals." — According to all other sources, they carried only one wooden bridge, which was mined in the first canal (that is, at Tecpantzinco, before the present site of the Post Office) and could not be used for the rest of the canals (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. Mixcoa is repeated in the Nahuatl MS.

Those places were all at canals near the main temple square, on the road to Tlacopan. Cano (op. cit.) says of Atenchicalco and Mixcoatechialtitlan that they were on the Calzada de Tacuba between S. Juan de Letrán and Guerrero; Tzaputlan was on the same calzada in the barrio of Tlacopan.

3. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "en lugar que se llamaua mjctlantonco, macuilcuitlapilco"; Cano (op. cit.) mentions a Macuilcuitlapilco, "que pertenecen a los Pueblo y ceruanicas Sahagún (IV:147)."

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

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114 painted along the outer and lower margins of the page, the rest of the
128 page being taken up by the items of tribute for which these towns
[211 were jointly responsible. The place names on a given page prove to
65]] be geographically contiguous on modern maps, and so it is evident that the towns were regarded as a unit, as all having something in common. I have called each region thus indicated a "province," partly in order to provide some territorial division, but also because these groupings of towns were in some measure expressions of former political or linguistic units. Most of the Matlatzinca-speaking towns, for example, cluster on a page of their own; moreover, they were all conquered in a continuous campaign of a few years. These provinces (indicated on the map by large arabic numerals) I have named after the introductory glyphs, assuming the first glyph on each page to represent the most important town. Other available sources justify this. In another source, for instance, in the province I have named Tepequacuilco, Tepequacuilco is stated to be the "presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recogieron de toda la cuisca [Cohuixca]";[8] in that which I have named Coayxtlahuacan, Coayxtlahuacan is called "donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."[9] The borders of the provinces as they existed in 1519 have been commented on in detail where these were adjacent to non-Mexican lands.

Most of these invaluable place glyphs of the *Matricula* could be read even if they were all we had, and they are of course the final authorities. The task of reading them, however, is greatly simplified by the annotations they bear; the *Matricula* itself contains scattered and not always reliable identifications in roman letters, and the copy of the *Matricula* in the *Codex Mendocino* contains a complete series of highly reliable ones. In order to have some norm for spelling, I have everywhere followed these *Mendocino* versions. There are objections to this procedure—which gives us "Tuluca" for what is better rendered "Tolocan,"—but it shows how one Indian pronounced all the names of the Empire before the corrupting European influences set in.

[8] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223.

[9] *PNE*, 4: 165; 4: 198 agrees. Likewise, Tochpan (Tuchpa in *Mendocino*) has seven towns, and Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras historicas* [1892], II: 197) says that "La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias." The fact that the initial glyph is often the only one identified in roman letters in the *Matricula* is also taken into account.

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PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

The Row: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2-4 from Codex Telleriano-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). Second Row: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. Third Row: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520-21. Fourth Row: *First two*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

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The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

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of pottery, and in the chapters in Indian history we have 323
seen how every tribe, almost every village, had its own particular style, which changed gradually through slow shifts in the popular taste as time wore on. In the absence of written records the archaeologists fortunately have been able to rely on pottery styles to peg out in time and space the relationships of these ancient and forgotten tribes and thus lay a basis for New World history.[14]

The Aztecs, like all the other New World peoples, did not use the potter's wheel but built up their vessels with strips of clay, relying on their keen eye and sensitive fingers to achieve the desired shape. They did not use molds to form their vessels, as was occasionally done in late Teotihuacan times; nor, apparently, did they make use of the *kabal*, a block on which Yucatecan potters rested their vessels and which they turned with their feet in shaping the raw clay.

The Aztecs had an abundance of finely textured clay, 323
orange after firing, from which they fashioned vessels for 531
the storage and service of food. The potters of Culhuacan used this ware first, making plates with flat bottoms resting on cylindrical legs.[15] On the floors they painted curvilinear designs which were sometimes faintly naturalistic. In the second period, when the manufacture of this ware became popular all over the northern Valley, the vessels were made more coarsely, and the hollow legs degenerated to thick, elongated cones.[16] The decoration was converted into an abstract combination of curvilinear *motifs* that had the quality of European script writing. In contrast to the usual recti- 512
linear quality of Middle American design, it may be more 177
than a coincidence that the introduction of this style at the beginning of the fourteenth century was contemporaneous

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531 with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing
[212 by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)
177]

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, per-
[177] haps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of con-
[532] centrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters
223 loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated
531 designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever
177 made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

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535 chants survive without, alas, the musical notation. These dancers, acting out mythical events pertaining to the lives of the gods, must usually have been highly theatrical. Thus as with other peoples of the past, religious service fulfilled the function of the drama.[19] (See Plate 62, bottom left.)

[212] The pictographic writing of the Aztecs was too simple to 537 record a literature. However, the many references to oratory 538 and the wealth of allusions and synonyms referring to the gods and goddesses give a picture of rich fantasy and poetic imagination. The emphasis on the spoken word, the complex background of the religion, the closeness of the supernatural world, would not have produced lean, accurate prose. Rather a semipoetic, highly symbolic verbiage came from the practice of oratory and the chanting of prayers. Thus a rhythmic and rich verbosity existed as a form of polite address that, given a system of writing, might have been transmuted into literature.[20]

517 These activities, which we sanction in our own culture under the terms of arts and letters and to the practitioners of which we assign honor as creative artists, were existent in Aztec society. The status of these practices, however, was very different from their position in our own culture. Much of that area of our own life divided up into the infinite gradation of commercial, legal and governmental pursuits fell within the span of the individual Aztec's normal social life. That energy and activity which we exhaust in religion, art, belles-lettres and science was combined by the Aztecs in the observance of their religious requirements. The nature of their religion and its position in Aztec life and social practice are fundamental to a realization of the nature of their culture.

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PLATE 59

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Tlaloc, God of Rain. *Right:* Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning, in guise of Ehecatl, God of Wind. BOTTOM: Page from *Tonalamatl* of Codex Borbonicus. The goddess Itzpapalotl, presiding over the fifteenth week, One House, is shown in the large division. The broken tree signifies Tamoanchan, a legendary homeland; the house below, with a man on top and the night sign in the door and the spider above, signifies the realm of darkness. The other symbols are offerings. The rectangular divisions refer to the days and their Gods. The day signs and numbers begin at the lower left with One House and end at top left with Thirteen Eagle. A Night God is drawn in each day square, beginning with Pilzintecuhtli and ending with Chalchihuitlicue (Table XVI, 194). The squares above the bottom row and to the right of the vertical row reveal the Gods of the Day Hours and their birds, beginning at the left with Xiuhtecuhtli and ending at the top with Ilamatecuhtli (Table XV).

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[p. 176 (C)]

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[212]

FIG. 1. AZTEC DAY SIGNS FROM CODEX

Cipactli Crocodile	*Ehecatl* Wind	*Calli* House	*Cuetzpallin* Lizard	*Coatl* Snake
Miquiztli Death	*Mazatl* Deer	*Tochtli* Rabbit	*Atl* Water	*Itzcuintli* Dog
Ozomatli Monkey	*Malinalli* Herb	*Acatl* Reed	*Ocelotl* Jaguar	*Cuauhtli* Eagle
Cozcaquauhtli Vulture	*Ollin* Motion	*Tecpatl* Flint Knife	*Quiauitl* Rain	*Xochitl* Flower

finement whereby the nine gods and goddesses succeeded each other in governing the nights of the *tonalpohualli*, or sacred period (Table XVI). Finally thirteen of these gods influenced the thirteen stations of the Aztec day (Table XV), and nine held sway over the night hours (Table XVI). The names and characters of these divinities are set forth in the accompanying tables.

The array of gods had to be placated and honored at the appropriate time by the priesthood; but the individual, before embarking on an undertaking, could find out the proper 796

[Text continues on p. 195.--- Analyst]

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divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is im- 796
probable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity.

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These ref- 212
erence books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten [289]
from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird- or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.* (See Plate 59, top.)

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in ac- 796
cordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months 805
of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do

[Text continues on p. 198.--- Analyst]

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782 growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Cere-
[266] monial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood
[785 was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did hor-
304] rible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

212 The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice
782 and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

793. The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling
212 acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth
[871] in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. We could write: "I can be hospitable," in terms of the sounds given to pictures of an eye, a tin can, a bee, a horse, a hole in the ground and a table. The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone *tena* from which sprouted a nopal cactus, *nochtli*, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, *pantli*, on a conventionalized hill, *tepec*. Color, position, puns and abbreviations all contributed to recording sounds by this means. Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel or movement, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations of action.[19] (See Fig. 2.)

Aztec writing offered no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas. Yet the full accounts of historical events, set down after the Conquest in Spanish or Nahuatl, indicate that oral traditions, possibly learned as a chant or saga, supplemented these ideographic records.

Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 × 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 × 20 × 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans. (See Fig. 2.)

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PLATE 61

AZTEC RITUAL

TOP: *Left:* Dressing a victim and equipping him with the proper headdress, shield and magical mirror to play the part of Tezcatlipoca. *Right:* Sacrifice of the victim after a year. Note the flutes discarded by him as he ascended the stair. MIDDLE: *Left:* Dressing a priest in the costume of Xipe, the Flayed God, who wears a human skin. *Right:* Musicians with rattle and skin-covered drum, *huehuetl*. BOTTOM: *Right:* Ceremonial cannibalism. The Codex Florentino artist had obviously never taken part in such a feast, fairly common before the Conquest.

[p. 208(A)]

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PLATE 62

AZTEC RECORDS

TOP: *Left:* Conquests of Montezuma II; see Plate 63 for method of reading (Telleriano-Remensis). MIDDLE: *Left:* The migration of the Aztec tribes. They leave an island by boat and reach a hill with a cave, where Huitzilopochtli lives. They divide into several migrant groups. The list here includes, from top to bottom, Matlatzincas, Tepanecas, Chichimecas, Malinalcas, Cuitlahuacas, Xochimilcas, Chalcas and Huexotzincas (Codex Boturini). *Right:* Meeting of Montezuma, Cortes, and Marina (Lienzo de Tlaxcala). BOTTOM: *Left:* Monthly Ceremony (Codex Borbonicus). *Right:* Tribute Roll (Codex Mendoza).

[p. 208(B)]

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PLATE 63

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Codex Telleriano-Remensis describes the period from 1424–39. The cartouches give the year names, indicating the succession of the four days with the thirteen numbers. The sequence may be readily followed: Ten Knife, Eleven House, Twelve Rabbit, Thirteen Reed, One Knife, Two House, etc. The death of Chimalpopoca (Smoking Shield) is recorded for the year Twelve Rabbit (1426), as is the accession of Itzcoatl (Snake of Knives). Each ruler is designated by his hieroglyph. The defeat of Maxtla (Breech Clout) is depicted as well as an eclipse of the sun shown by the disk obscured by a stone. The figures and descriptions were inserted after the Conquest by two priests (to judge from the handwriting), who made use of native informants. (Compare Plate 62, *top left*.)

[p. 208(C)]

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PLATE 64

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Tribute Roll of Montezuma (after Spinden, 1928). The tributary towns are in the columns at bottom and right, designated by numbers. The goods comprised: (a) two strings of jade beads; (b) 20 gourd dishes of gold dust; (c) 2 royal headdress; (d) 800 bunches of feathers; (e) 40 bags of cochineal dye; (f–g) 2 warriors' costumes; (h) 402 cotton blankets of this pattern; (i) 400 blankets; (j) 404 blankets; (k) 400 blankets; (l) 400 blankets. Note the use of fingers for units, flags for twenties and treelike signs for four hundreds. The sign for eight thousand may be found on Plate 62 (*bottom right*) in the top left-hand corner, designating the number of containers of honey.

[p. 208(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 the shorter records have reached print, even if they survive in some library. These histories followed two main styles. One, exemplified in the Mapa Tlotzin and Codex Xolotl, sets forth events, the people or tribes involved and the places, each designated by its hieroglyph. Year names were appended to give the dates. These Texcocan records are highly complicated to follow, but fortunately some have glossaries appended after the Conquest.[23] (See Plates 25, top row; 63, middle right.)

The other style recorded the succession of the years, one after the other, for the whole time covered by the history. Events, like conquests or the death of chiefs, were appropriately drawn near the proper year sign and sometimes were connected by a line. This type of history seemed largely confined to Tenochtitlan. Since Tenochcan history is much more accurate after 1400 A.D. than before, one wonders whether the destruction of the books, ordered by Itzcoatl, did not really pave the way for a new style of writing.[23] (See Plates 62, top; 63.)

In addition to the histories and the sacred almanacs tribal records were kept. These are most useful to the modern student, for the names of the towns are inscribed in one column, while the rest of the page records the amount of gold, ornaments or cloth that was paid in as tribute. Since the geographical location of most of these towns is known, the chief products of each area can be determined. Other records showed lines of descent, lands occupied and other data essential to family economics.[24] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

●212 Fortunately, after the Conquest the Spaniards utilized the
177 native methods of writing as well as their own in civil records,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

212 such as tax rolls, lawsuits, and the like, so that the Indians
177 could understand the Spanish legal code and present their complaints.[28] Friar Nicolas Tester even made an attempt to shift the picture writing over to syllabic writing—the effect of the Lord's Prayer in Aztec glyphs is startling.[29] This was too cumbersome a plan and was soon abandoned for the recording of Nahuatl words in Roman characters. However, it is due to this usage of Aztec pictographs that so much survives of the records, many of which, with their oral accompaniment, were copied into Roman characters both in Spanish and Nahuatl. From these we derive such knowledge as we have of Aztec history and customs. (See Plate 44.)

212 The drawback of picture writing is its rigidity and its uselessness for the expression of abstract ideas. The cyclical count created great confusion as to the particular cycle in which an event took place. Exact and careful drawing was essential for the glyphs, and a slurred line might result in a totally different reading. However, the worst feature of Aztec history is its provincialism, for the scribes saw things only in terms of the tribe and took no heed of internal events in other communities. The picture writings show how communal interests extended vertically, as it were, from the tribe to the pantheon. There is no reflection of a horizontal interest outward to the lives and occupations of other peoples. The attitude of the Aztec communities to foreign affairs merits a chapter in itself.

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FIGS. 28A–28B. The story of the Conquest of Mexico in native characters. In the cartouches are to be seen the symbols One Reed and Two Knife, the Aztec names for the years 1519 and 1520. Under One Reed is a Spaniard from whose horse's foot depends the shield, club and arrows symbolic of war. At the right the bearded Cortes

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sits in the temple of Tenochtitlan, represented by the cactus. An Indian with the glyph of Montezuma offers a tribute of gold beads. Under Two Knife we find Alvarado massacring the Indians at the great temple and at upper right a comet in the sky. *Codex Vaticanus A*

[Fig. 28 B]

692 695 nounced. And in what was there made known, the lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caquitiloia tlatoque atle quicnjuhchioaia atle tlaxtlaujltica quixpachoaia, anoço quiuecaoaia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

[212]

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Itzlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toqual. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiencia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlat..que.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuztlae imjxpan moteilhujaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuica, in quicaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in quipoaia, in quittaia neteilhujlli: auh injc quinneltiliaia, quinternoaia, quimjtlanja in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in quimachilia moteilhujque, in tlein quimocujcujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhuja.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla quinmachili in iehoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic quiuecana, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uiuujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl quinemjtia in amo uel quitzontecuj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoaiolcaiotl: njman quimjlpia, quauhcalco quinttlalia, quitzacutiuj, quimjctia, injc mauhca ieixque tecutlatoque.

Tlatocati motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in quinmachili tecutlatoque mixcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, itztaca mixcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinqui, tlatilulco in amo melaoac quichioaia in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman quimjlpi, quauhcalco quinttlali, quitzacutiaque, quinmjcti.

692 565 684 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the place of discussion where were the brave warriors and the noblemen.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan tajtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oquichti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla quimachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman quitlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznauatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpanaique in-

5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 267, explains that "En cada barrio de México había un tecalli, clase ennoblecente por los antiguos; determinaba de cuatro lienzos, donde cuenta diaria-mente á los jueces superiores." Clark, (*op. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The four round figures behind the judges, called *teccli*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that as time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also fl. 67r and 68r of the *Mendoza Codex*.)

7. Tiacauh, pili, tecpilli: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. Tlaçopilli: cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhtli,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan icnque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlianque, 643
in vncan quicaquiaque in jaquich tlamãtli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzontequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuhca quitzontequja intenetcilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan 693
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca quicaquja, in jnetcilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchipauhque, in oqujiectilique netcilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan qujtlalia, injc vmpa quitquj tlacxitlan in jpã quintlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. [344] 566 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica injc quitquj in tlatoanj injc 695
ichoantl quitzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteça tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequixquinaoacatl, ichoantin, y, in tecutlatoque quinemjliaia, quichiquja, quipetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, quintemoaia in machicetque, in tlanchilianj, in aço ic nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caquitilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlaliloc.

Auh intla aca quitlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjquix, 693
njman quimjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achicacauhtli, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc ichoantin quimjctia, quimecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan quitetepachoa, anoço quitetequj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn 535
netotilos. 643

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia, in maçeoliztli, in papaquiliztli, injc quimellaquaoa, injc quinicollalia, in jaquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tlacatecan: ioan in jaquich in cuitlapilli, atlapalli, in maçeoalli:

achtopa quitonia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz 643
quinanoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc quichecoaque injc 533
quichicaoaque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oyen, muy diligentemente, y graues, llamandos el señor: para que los sentenciasse juntamente con estos principales, muy cuidadosos, que eran el audiencia, y residen."
7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezoaoacatl; ezquauatl appears in ejemplarcatl.
The date Tlaxiuhcauitl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.
8. Can diquit: que le probable manar (cf. ibid.).
9. Achcacauhtli: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 291, 299; II, pp. 310, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 109, and III, p. 53.

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197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[780] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
248 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

[262 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
212 were asked."[***] No data are available on the tribute of other component
137] towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinoltícpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[***] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se hace de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan cangos con que senbo-

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Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[28] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[29] and Zimapan (12).[30]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[31] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[28] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[29] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct mathieo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tleculuti ycatzia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[30] *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[31] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

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212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[86] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 635 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[87] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[88] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[89] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[90] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[91]

[86] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[87] Cf. n. 35 above.
[88] *PNE*, 6: 201.
[89] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[90] Corrected from 400.
[91] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcocauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze-Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Tóscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[*]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses**
402 bundles[*] of little red-striped mantles**
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust; each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates; "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[*] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[*]

[*] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[*] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[*] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiso de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quartenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

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self? Tell them that I will take vengeance before tomorrow and that they should not dare to give advice about matters which are for me to determine. Let them know that all they have to do is to obey'. Having said this, those who saw assert that the idol looked so ugly and frightful, that all were terrified and frightened. On that very night, it is said, when everything was quiet, a loud noise was heard in part of the camp and when the people rushed there in the morning, they found that all those who had spoken in favor of remaining in this place were dead with their breasts torn open and their hearts torn out. In this way it was that they were taught that most cruel of sacrifices, a custom they always practiced after that, which consisted of cutting open a man's chest in order to tear out his heart and offer it to their idols. (The reason they did that) they claimed was because (their god) ate only hearts.

"Having thus punished them, Huitzilopochtli ordered his priests to tear down the dykes and repairs they had made when they deflected the course of the water to form the lagoon and instructed them to make the river take its former bed. This they did, and the entire lagoon being thus emptied of water the place became as dry as it had been before. When the Mexicans, after some time, saw how sterile the place had become, and realized also that their god was incensed at them, they consulted him, raised their camp, and set out from the neighborhood of Tula in the year 1168 A. D."

— — Radin's translation, 1920, pp. 73–74.

This circumstantial account, alas, cannot be taken as showing that there was an artificial lake at Tula. The more operational suggestion that emerges is that Tula, as understood by Tovar's Aztec informants, was whatever place can be shown to have had an artificial lake. But even this suggestion is hardly worth following up, as the following argument implies.

The "pure" glyph for Tollán (Tula), as it occurs in the Codex Xólotl (Dibble 1951) and the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938) consists (Figure 3) of a row of cattails, *Typha* (identified as *Cyperus flavicomus* Michx. by Clark, whose botanical identifications are undocumented and not always reliable). In the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Anonymous, 1944), commonly known outside Mexico as the Codex Boturini, we have an Aztec pictorial history that is somewhat more influenced by European draughtsmanship; it shows Tula (Figure 2) as cattails in a lake, accompanied by a large-scaled fish that looks remarkably like a carp. Tula is also shown in the pictures that accompany Tovar's *Relación* (the Codex Ramírez, Orozco y Berra's edition, 1944, Lam. II), which, like the text, represent a version of Diego Durán's

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127 *Historia de las indias de Nueva-España y islas de Tierra Firme*, 1579
● 212 (Mexico, 1867–80). In this scene the most important glyphic element is the hill with a snake (Coatepec, the hill near Tula). It stands in the middle of lake beset by cattails, in which are swimming a bird, a fish, and a seal, while pollarded trees stand around, each with a bird on top. Two dignitaries are seated at either side, the male with a glyphic name representing a bird and a cactus, while the female is provided with a standard on which is seen an axolotl, rampant, with enormous external gills.

Fig. 2. Contaminated glyph for Tula, as it appears in the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini) (Anon., 1944).

The implication of this curious inconography is clear and disheartening. The details about the lake of Tula were concocted by native informants to explain the glyph, probably in a manuscript now lost. Later, the pictures were drawn to illustrate the story. The glyph that provoked the story need not have been that of Tollán, for any place with *tules* in its etymology would have sufficed. We must conclude that we do not know whether Tula was situated on an artificial lake, or even whether its name was Tollán.

127 The hydrographic knowledge of the Aztecs, then, must not be judged by what was told to credulous friars by acculturated Indians fifty years after the Conquest. Cortés' account, though doubtless somewhat colored, has more of the ring of truth. In the famous Second Letter to Charles V, he said:

127 "Along one of the causeways which lead into the city, there are two
231 conduits of masonry each two paces broad, and five feet deep, through
312 one of which a volume of very good fresh water, the bulk of a man's body, flows into the heart of the city, from which all supply themselves, and drink. The other which is empty brings the water, when they wish to clean the first conduit, for, while one is being cleaned, the water flows through the other" (MacNutt edition, vol. 1, p. 262). Again, describing one of Montezuma's lesser palaces, he said: "It had ten pools of water, in which were kept all the many and divers breeds of waterfowl found in these parts, all domesticated; for the sea-birds, too, there were pools of salt water, and, for those of the rivers and lakes, there was fresh water, which for the sake of cleanliness, they renewed at certain times by means of pipes. To each kind of bird they gave the food which suited its habits in its free state, so that to those which ate fish they gave it; and likewise, worms, maize, and smaller

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seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

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103 pre-Conquest (Spinden, 1935). Some lacustrine scenes (if that is what they are) are reproduced on Plate II from the Codex Nuttall, published 212 by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University in 1908.

As may be seen in the case of *Acocolco,* "twisted water" (Figure 3 B), the glyph for water is compound, and its several elements reappear in other contexts. Essentially it consists of a stream, painted

Fig. 3. Some Aztec place-name glyphs referring to water, lakes, and salt, redrawn by Martha Dimock from the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938). A, Hueyapán, "on the lake" (*ueiatl,* lake + *pantli,* banner, ideograph for *pan,* on) (Clark's no. 192). B, *Acocolco,* "twisted water" (*atl,* water + *cocoloa,* to go by twisting and turning) (Clark's no. 352). C, Acozpan, "yellow water" (*atl,* water + *coztic,* yellow) (Clark's no. 578). D, Xalac, "sandy water" (*xalla,* sandy + *atl,* water) (Clark's no. 355). E, Atlán, "near the water" (*atl,* water + *tlanti,* teeth, ideograph for *tlan,* place of) (Clark's no. 606). F, Chilacachapán, "place of *chilacaxtli*" (*chili* + *acaxitl,* small lake, ideograph for *chilacaxtli, Azolla* sp.; combined with *atl,* water) (Clark's no. 430). G, Tequixquiac, "saltpeter water" (*tequixquitl,* saltpeter + *atl,* water) (Clark's no. 16). H, Zilán, "shells" (Clark's no. 116). I, Tamazolan, "toad" (Clark's no. 517). J, Iztatlán, "near the salt" (*iztatl,* salt + *tlantli,* teeth, ideograph for *tlan,* near) (Clark's no. 161). K, Iztacalco, "salt house" (Clark's no. 232). L, Ayotlán, "turtle" (Clark's no. 560). M, Tollán, "cattails" (Clarks's no. 66). N, Chalco, "jewel" (*chalchiuhtl,* jadeite + *co,* in).

turquoise-blue, with eddies and waves. At the tips of the waves, usually in alternation, the Aztec glyph shows two sorts of symbols, and these alone may represent water, as in *Acozpan,* "yellow water" (3C). One of these is a shell, and reappears by itself in *Zilán* (3H). The other, though interpreted as a drop by Clark, is almost certainly a precious

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stone, *chalchiuhtl*, and is a miniature of the full glyph as it occurs in the name *Chalco* (3N). The relation among shells, jewels, and water is made clear on Plate 103 of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (Emmart's edition, 1940), where it is said that whoever would cross a river or a lake in safety is to carry in his hand a beryl, both "head" and viscera of a snail, and a sardonyx, while in his mouth he should carry the eye of a large fish. Presumably either "beryl" or "sardonyx" of both stem from mis-translations into Latin of the Nahuatl *chalchiuhtl*, which is ordinarily jadeite, but in this context is probably green turquoise. The stone was sacred to the water goddess *Chalchiuhtlicue* and would be understandably related to water on account of its color. As to the snails, four or five kinds, all with viscera, are illustrated in the Mixtec codex, one (at the left side of the top figure of Plate II) being obviously identical with the shell of the Aztec glyphs. It is probably an *Oliva*, judging from the wide use of this type for ornaments in Mesoamerica, but from the picture itself it could equally well be a freshwater melaniid. This or a similar gastropod also forms the basis of the most famous of all Mesoamerican symbols, the Maya glyph for zero. The larger snails with spines are probably *Murex* or *Purpura*, which, as the source of purple dye that was used in this codex, have both a magical and a practical connection with water.

The fact that some or all of the shells are marine presumably led Spinden (1928, p. 247) to identify the page from the Codex Nuttall (here shown at the top of Plate II) as "the conquest of a town situated on an island of the sea", and Thompson (1933, p. 245) made the same inference. The alligator, on the other hand, is not marine, and two other creatures appear to be partly mythical: the serpent, and the fish with the head of a bird, which answers the description of Sahagún's *totomichin*. The association is clearly with water in general, and if the painting represents any particular body of water the fact that it is enclosed by banks suggests that a lake is intended. The question can probably be settled eventually by identification of the island; for example, if the frieze at the base of the island in Plate II top, were black and white, instead of brown, red, and blue, we would know it to be Tilantongo (Caso, 1949).

What is particularly interesting is that while water in general is commonly represented by a stream drawn in plan, even when the stream is dry, as in *Xalac* (3D), "sandy water", lakes are commonly shown in section. *Hueyapán* (3A), "on the lake", is an exception, but as waves, jewels, and shells are all missing from this glyph it has a close resemblance to the glyph for "mirror" that is probably intentional. *Atlán* (3E), "near the water", *Chilacachapán* (3F), "place of

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103 *chilacaxtli* = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water",
●212 all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli,* teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes,* though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone,* whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

127 If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they
823 were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.,* 1938) that shows part of the
[289] city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

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and in the 1556 Ramusio edition of the "Anonymous Conqueror") are obviously imaginary, it may be said that the Boturini picture is possibly the oldest surviving map of a New World lake, and it is ironic that we cannot say what lake it represents. 127 823

About this famous picture all that can be said with confidence is that it shows a lake with an island. The island is universally identified as *Aztlán*, the legendary home of the Aztecs, yet the glyph at the top 127 212 823

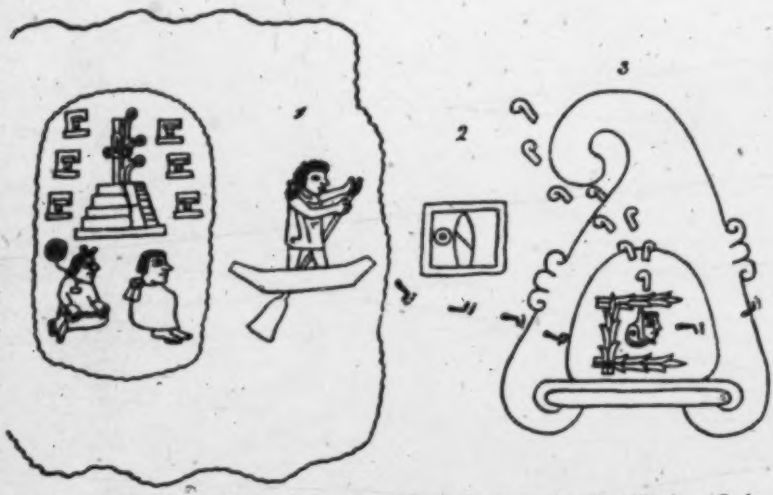

Fig. 4. Origin of the Aztecs, from the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini). The town, here labelled *Aacatl*, but identified by authorities as *Aztlán*, is situated on an island in a lake, presumably in western Mexico.

designates it as *Aacatl* (*atl*, water + *acatl*, reed). *Aacatl* turns up on a later page as a personal name, and it may indeed be the name of the male figure at the right of the island, for he is otherwise nameless, though his female companion is named *Matlalin*, from *matlatl*, a fish-net. It would be idle sport to list all the places that Aztlán is supposed to have been; Orozco y Berra (1880, p. 66–68) considered it to be the island of Mexcalli in Lake Chapala, while Seler (n.d.) rejected all the legendary wanderings of the Aztecs in western Mexico and brought Aztlán, full circle, back to the Valley of Mexico itself. Escalona (1943) argues with some plausibility for the lake of Metztitlán, in Hidalgo, while Rendón (1948), with even greater plausibility, prefers the lake at the headwaters of the Río Lerma, just west of the Valley. The truth is that the Aztlán part of the Aztecs' history appears full-blown in the circle of Jesuit histories stemming from the Dominican Durán, while 127

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Plate II.

Top: No. 75 from the Codex Nuttall (Nuttall, 1902), a pre-Conquest Mixtec pictorial manuscript on deerhide, depicting (according to Vaillant, 1941) "warriors attacking a town in a lake".

Below: No. 36 from the Codex Nuttall, possibly depicting two lacustrine scenes, but more probably to be interpreted as place names containing "lake" or "water" in their etymologies. The pictures at the right are surely some sort of rebus containing "water" as in the Aztec system. Note, in the "water" symbol, that all the waves bear jewels, while the shells (with viscera) are shown in midstream. Compare the Aztec *Acocolco* (Fig. 4, B).

[End plate II a]

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127
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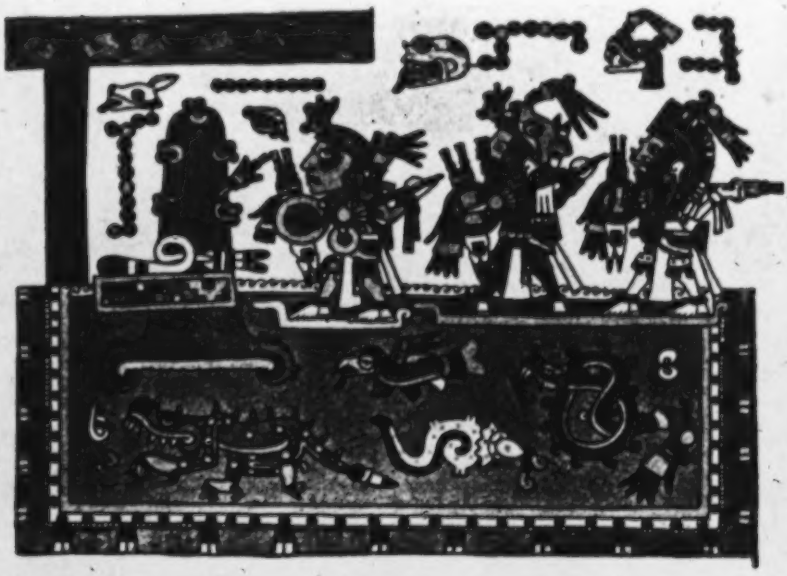

[End plate II b]

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on 643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [276 314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte- 411

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346 blood of the Indians whom they sacrificed, when it was more than a thousand years ago that they built and made it? The answer I give to this is that after we took that great and strong city, and the sites were apportioned, it was then proposed that in [the place of] that great *Cue* we should build a church to our patron and guide Señor Santiago, and a great part of the site of the great temple of Huichilobos was occupied by the site of the holy church, and when they opened the foundations in order to strengthen them, they found much gold and silver and chalchihuites and pearls and seed pearls and other stones. And a settler in Mexico who occupied another part of the same site found the same things, and the officers of His Majesty's treasury demanded them saying that they belonged by right to His Majesty, and there was a lawsuit about it. I do not remember what happened except that they sought information from the Caciques and Chieftains of Mexico, and from Guatémoc, who was then alive, and they said that it was true that all the inhabitants of Mexico at that time cast into the foundations those jewels and all the rest of the things, and that so it was [212] noted in their books and pictures of ancient things, and from this cause those riches were preserved for the building of the holy church of Santiago.

Let us leave this and speak of the great and splendid Courts which were in front of the [temple of] Huichilobos, where now stands [the church of] Señor Santiago, which was called Tlaltelolco, for so they were accustomed to call it.

I have already said that there were two walls of masonry [which had to be passed] before entering, and that the court was paved with white stones, like flagstones, carefully whitewashed and burnished and clean, and it was as large and as broad as the plaza of Salamanca. A little way

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000 delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

643 There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great 643 Caciques from distant lands came before him about 695 boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired [212] to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great [693] Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

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After, as I have said, they had set off to inspect the mines, let me go back to say how the great Montezuma gave our Captain a hennequen cloth, on which were painted and marked very true to nature, all the rivers and bays on the Northern coast from Panuco to Tabasco, that is for a matter of one hundred and forty leagues, and the river of Coatzacoalcos was marked on it. As we already knew all the harbours and bays marked on the cloth which Montezuma gave to Cortés, from the time we came on the voyage of discovery with Grijalva, except the river of Coatzacoalcos, which they said was very strong and deep, Cortés determined to send and see what it was like, and to take soundings of the harbour and the entrance. One of our captains named Diego de Ordás, a very prudent and valiant man, who has often been mentioned by me, said to our Captain that he would like to go and see that river, and what sort of country there was there, and what the people were like, and asked for Indian Chieftains to go with him, and Cortés had refused, because he was a man of good counsel and he wished to keep him in his company. However, so as not to displease him, he [now] granted him leave to go. Montezuma told Ordás that his authority did not extend over Coatzacoalcos, that the people there were very bold, and that he should take care what he was about, and if anything happened to him, they must not blame him [Montezuma] for it; that before arriving at that province he would come on the garrison of warriors he kept on the border, and that if he [Ordás] had need of them he might take them with him, and he [Montezuma] paid him many compliments besides. Cortés and Diego de Ordás gave him their thanks, and Ordás set out with two soldiers and some chieftains whom Montezuma sent with him.

This is where the historian Francisco Lopez Gomara says that Juan Velásquez with one hundred soldiers went to form a settlement at Coatzacoalcos, and that Pedro de

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a democratic organization. Its business lay in the hands of elective chiefs:—"old men," promoted to that dignity, as we intend to prove in a subsequent paper, for their merits and experience, and after severe religious ordeals. These chiefs formed the council of the kin or quarter, but their authority was not absolute since on all important occasions a general meeting of the kindred was convened.[92] The council in turn selected an executive, the "calpullec" or "chinancallec" who, in war, officiated as "achcacauhtin" or "teachcauhtin" (elder brother).[93]—This office was for life or during good behavior.[94] It was one of his duties to keep a reckoning of the soil of the calpulli, or "calpulalli," together with a record of its members, and of the areas assigned to each family,—and to note also whatever changes occurred in their distribution.[95] Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;

[92] Zurita (pp. 60, 61, 62). Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Letter, etc." Ternaux-Compans, p. 249).

[93] Zurita (p. 60). "The calpulli have a chief taken necessarily from among the tribe, he must be one of the principal inhabitants, an able man who can assist and defend the people. The election takes place among them. . . . The office of this chief is not hereditary; when any one dies, they elect in his place the most respected old man. . . . If the deceased has left a son who is able the choice falls upon him, and a relative of the former incumbent is always preferred" (Id. pp 50 and 222). Simancas M. S. S. ("De l'ordre de succession, etc.;" "Recueil," p. 225). "As to the mode of regulating the jurisdiction and election of the alcaldes and regidors of the villages, they nominated men of note who had the title of achcacaulitin. . . . . There were no other elections of officers . . ." "Art of War, etc." (pp. 119 and 120).

[94] Zurita (pp. 60 and 61). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, cap. 125). "I le elegian entre si y tenian por maior."

[95] Zurita (pp. 61 and 62). "This chief has charge of the lands of the calpulli. It is his duty to defend their possession. He keeps paintings showing the tracts, the names of their holders, the situation, the limits, the number of men tilling them, the wealth of private individuals, the designations of such as are vacant, of others that belong to the Spaniards, the date of donation, to whom and by whom they were given. These paintings he constantly renews, according to the changes occurring, and in this they are very skilful." It is singular that Motolinia, in his "Epistola proémial" ("Col. de Doc.:" Icazbalceta, Vol. I, p. 5), among the five "books of paintings" which he says the Mexicans had, makes no mention of the above. Neither does he notice it in his letter dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," Ternaux-Compans). Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304) says, "porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como haziendas, casas, ó maizales" (Id. cap. XXV, p. 314). This tends to prove the existence of such paintings. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 135). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 546), "and in order to prevent any confusion in these lands they painted them on long strips ("lienzos") in the following manner. The lands of the calpules light yellow, those of the principals flesh-red, and the lands of the Kings income of a fiery red color,—so that, on opening one of these rolls, the entire pueblo, its limits and outlines could be seen at a glance." This is another confirmation of our views about the distribution of the soil, and the fact that the two latter classes had but different shades of red, is somewhat significant. See Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV), who confirms. The explanation of Zurita covers the whole ground, however, and explains both of the last statements.

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685 In the above review of those offences and their punishments,
671 immediately connected with that rule of tribal society which
212 places the persons and property of the members of a kin under that kin's special protection, we cannot pretend to have furnished more than illustrations, and not at all a full catalogue. Still, enough has been told, we believe, to explain what is frequently styled the "penal code" of the ancient Mexicans. It is well known, that no actual written laws existed, but on the other hand, at the time of the Spanish conquest, the natives still had a large number of paintings which represented their own manners and customs. Since a considerable proportion of these picture-leaves bore on the same subjects, the inference could be easily drawn that they indicated forms for the guidance of the people, or in other words, that they were a substitute for a written code. This was not at all their object. They were simply efforts of native art intended to represent scenes of everyday life, since these were the most handy subjects for such purposes. Therefore such pictures are to be regarded as convenient remains of aboriginal art, out of which many details concerning aboriginal customs may be gathered, but not as "official" sources, from which to seek information as to the "law of the land."[141]

plata y oro lo desollaban vivo y sacrificaban al dios de los plateros, que llamaban Xipe, y lo sacaban por las calles para escarmiento de otros, por ser el delito contra el dios fingido." This sacrifice to one particular Idol, however, is neither mentioned by Torquemada nor by his predecessor and main source, Mendieta. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII. p. 487) copies Vetancurt almost textually. So does *Ortega* (Vol. III, p. 225, Appendix to *Veytiais "Hist. Antigua"*). *Bustamante* ("*Texcoco*," p. 196) copies the former again. Still it is singular that the older the source, that is, the nearer in date to the time of the conquest, the less positive it is on the point of sacrifice. It will be safe to admit that the criminal was killed for a crime committed against worship, without insisting upon a particular place or mode of punishment.

[141] Elsewhere ("*On the Sources for Aboriginal History of Spanish America*," in Vol. XXVII of the "*Proceedings of the American Association for Advancement of Science*," 1878) I have attempted a discussion of the nature of Mexican paintings, and of their value as sources of history. I will add here but two positive declarations, on the subjects of the paintings, which I had not noticed at the time the above paper was read at St. Louis, Missouri, Aug., 1878. *Juan de Solorzano-Pereyra* ("*Disputationem de Indiarum Jure*," 1629, Vol. I, Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 331, § 96): "Quod de Phœnicibus tradit etiam Lucanus, et in Mexicanis nostris experti fuimus, qui si non litteris, imaginibus tamen, et figuris ea omnia, quæ sibi memoranda videbantur, significabant, et conservabant." The other is of recent date, being taken from a discourse delivered before the "Academia Mexicana," by my friend Señor *D. J. G. Icazbalceta* ("*Las Bibliotecas de Eguiara y de Beristain*," p. 353 of No. 4. Vol. I, of "*Memorias de la Academia*"): "El antiguo pueblo que ocupaba este suelo no conocia las letras, y con eso está dicho que no podia tener escritores ni literatura. Su imperfectisimo sistema de representar los objetos é ideas, tenia que limitarse á satisfacer, hasta donde podia, las necesidades más urgentes de la sociedad, sin aspirar á otra cosa. Asi es que no se empleaba sino en registrar los tributos de los pueblos, en señalar los limites de las

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In this rapid sketch, we have failed to find, among aboriginal 681
modes of punishment, two which were common to almost every nation of the old world, namely: whipping, and imprisonment.

Whipping, beating, or lashing was, among the Mexicans as well as amongst all American natives, known only as a *deadly insult*. It is nevertheless true that the Mendoza Codex contains pictures representing a Mexican father who applies to a son the rod of punishment.[142] Again, the candidate for the office of chief had to endure beating[143] along with the other sufferings incident to his time of trial. But no "bondsman" was ever whipped or flogged, neither was a criminal subjected to this degrading penalty, for which death would have been a thousand times preferable.[144]

The Mexicans had places of confinement—dark and gloomy 697
recesses with entrances compared to "pigeon-holes."[145] Every official building, and also the places of worship contained them. They were called: "place of the taken one," "teilpiloyan;"[146] "place of entombment, or confinement," "Tecaltzaqualoyan,"[147] and "house of wood," Quauhcalli."[148] The latter, which is particularly described as a wooden cage placed within a dark chamber, was reserved for those whose doom was sealed, whether they were criminals sentenced to immediate execution, or captives to

heredades. en recordar las ceremonias de la religion. y en contribuir á conservar la memoria de los sucesos más notables, que aun con ese auxilio habria perecido, á no perpetuarse en las tradiciones recogidas por los primeros predicadores del Evangelio." [212]

[142] "*Mendoza Codex*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plates LX, part 3), the boy being nine years old.

[143] *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII. p. 157). *Torquemada* (Lib XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII. p. 472), etc., etc.

[144] It was no dishonor to suffer tortures, but whipping was a deadly insult, as among other Indians.

[145] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 138): "Tenian las cárceles dentro de una casa oscura y de poca claridad, y en ella hacian su jaula ó jaulas; y la puerta de la casa que era pequeña como puerto de palomar, cerrada por defuera con tablas, y arrimadas grandes piedras." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 353).

[146] *Molina* (II, p. 94), "teilpi"—el que prende o encarcela a otro"—"teilpiliztli" "prendimiento tal." (Id. I, p. 98). "prender" "niteylpia." Among the 78 edifices of the great central place of worship, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix. p. 210) mentions one place "Acatlayiacapan Veicalpulli" "esta era una casa donde juntaban los esclavos que habian de matar á honra de los Tlaloques." (Id., Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304. Cap. XXI, p. 309) mentions "jaila" in connection with the official house or "tecpan." That the different calpulli or "barrios" had each its places of confinement is noticed by *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 187): "Los calpixques los receulan y los ponian en las casas de sus comunidades ó del sacerdote de tal barrio."

[147] *Molina* (II, p. 91): "Tecalli" a vault, "casa de bóveda." Since the Mexicans had no arches, it meant actually a tomb.

[148] *Molina* (II, p. 85): "Jaula grande de palo, adonde estanan los presos por sus delictos."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

646 the critical period of Cortés' first stay at Tenuchtitlan, the twenty "speakers" held daily meetings at the official house.[185]

In a society based upon kin we cannot expect a clear division of the powers of government, particularly as there were no written laws,[186] and custom alone ruled. The functions of the ancient Mexican council were not properly legislative, but they were rather *directive* and *judicial* combined. One of its first duties was, however, to maintain harmony among the kins.

The twenty independent social units composing the Mexican tribe, while bound together by the necessity of mutual aid to secure territorial independence, could not be expected always to live in peace with one another. Difficulties would necessarily arise between kin and kin, and to prevent such disputes from leading to actual warfare,[187] the council as a body of *official arbitrators* was needed.

618 According to the rules of kinship, the calpulli was not only
646 bound to avenge any wrongs suffered by one of its members, but
695 it was also responsible for the offences committed by the kinfolk towards any outsider.[188] Hence theft committed outside of the

Durán (cap. X, p. 83. XI. pp. 107, 108. 109, XIV, pp. 117, 123. XVI, p. 132, XVIII, p. 156), etc., etc. We forbear further quotations, since they would be too numerous. All go to prove that the council was frequently called together between the times of regular meeting. Quotations from *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*") are useless, since they are very numerous and agree with those of Durán in the main. The fact of irregular meetings of the council having been called during the conquest, is further proven by *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. III. p. 7). and *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XIV, p. 385).

[185] *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* ("*Historia verdaderu*," Vedia, Vol. II. cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la continua estaban en su compañia veinte grande señores y consejeros y capitanes." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á negociar y el acato que el tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces."

[212 532] [186] A number of paintings are mentioned as representing the customs and manners of the natives. Specimens of these are found in *Codex Mendoza*, Lam., 58 to 72 inclusive. But none of these contained, or could contain or express, anything like a *law*. Compare, on Mexican paintings in general and their value, "*On the Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America*," in Vol. 27 of "*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*." Señor *Orozco y Berra* ("*Códice Mendozino,– Ensayo de descifracion geroglifica*," beginning in No. 3, of Vol. I, "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*") has commenced a publication which can be expected to shed much light on such picture-leaves, and the true position which they held among the ancient Mexicans.

[187] Conflicts between the inhabitants of different "barrios" during festive turnouts and religious gatherings could not always be prevented.

[188] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 76 and 77). *Davila-Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*," Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83). The custom is general among other tribes and Mr. Morgan has adverted to it among the Maya of Yucatan and the Peruvians. It would be unnecessary display to produce further evidence: the remarkably clear statements of Mr. Morgan fully "cover the case."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 of its judicial decisions, although, as will be seen hereafter, this part of the duty was properly assigned to other officers.

The "Cihuacohuatl" was responsible to the council for the careful housing of the tribute received, as far as it was applied to tribal requirements, and for the faithful distribution of the remainder[219] among the kins. This, and the fact that he kept the [65] paintings recording the tribute, has caused Bernal Diez de Castillo [212] to call him "mayordomo mayor," or general Intendant, and "keeper of the tribute" as we have already mentioned.[220]

How the "snake-woman" was the actual associate and colleague of that other chieftain who, after having been originally principal war-chief of the Mexicans, became at last commander of the confederate forces, we have already noticed.[221] We shall yet recur

[219] This results from the authority exercised by the Zihuacoatl over the captives in war. I have already alluded to this feature, and now but recapitulate the following quotations: *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173). Also *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXIX. p. 45, Cap. XL. pp. 64 and 65, Cap. LXII, p. 104, Cap. LXVI, pp. 110, 111, Cap. LXX, p. 119), etc., etc.

[220] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia II): "Acuérdome que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo mayor un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de su papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos."

[221] There is no doubt in regard to the *equality of rank*, though the duties were somewhat different. "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66): "Concluidas las obsequias, el capitan general Tlacaellel que todavia era vivo, juntó los del consejo supremo . . . . . Estos juntos . . . . trataron de elegir nuevo Rey, y todos se encaminaban al valeroso Tlacaellel, el qual como otras veces, nunca quizo admitir el Reyno, dando por razon que más útil era á la República que hubiese Rey y coadjutor que le ayudasse como era él, y no solo el Rey . . . . . Pero no por esto dejaba de tener tanta y mas autoridad que el mismo Rey, porque le respetaban y honraban, servian y tributaban como á Rey, y con mas temor, porque no se hazia en todo el Reyno mas que lo que él mandaba. Y assi usaba tiara y insignias de Rey, saliendo con ellas todas las vezes que el mismo Rey las sacaba." (P. 67), when the old Zihuacoatl died, his successor was elected: "con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenia." The "*Fragmento No.* 1" ("*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*") is very positive also, almost always mentioning both officers together. *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenóse que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaellel pudiese traer çapatos en la casa Real y que ningun grande entrase calçado en palacio, so pena de la vida, y solo ellos pudiessen traer çapatos por la ciudad, y ningun otro . . . ."; (Cap. XXXII, p. 255): "Tlacaellel respondió: qué mas honra puedo yo tener que la que hasta aqui é tenido? qué mas señorio puedo tener del que tengo y e tenido? pues ninguna cosa los reyes pasados an hecho sin mi parecer y consejo en todos los negocios civiles y criminales . . ."; (Cap. LXI, p. 336), the speech of Tlacaellel there reported is rather too lengthy to copy. Its substance is contained in the closing words: "luego rey soy y por tal me aueis tenido; pues qué mas rey quereis que sea? y asi como asi tengo de tener el mismo oficio y exercicio, hasta que me muera . . . . Sosegaos, hijos mios, y hace mi voluntad, que ya yo soy rey, y rey me seré hasta que muera; . . ." (Cap. XLIV, p. 357): "el viejo Tlacaellel, á la mesma manera, al qual, dice esta ystoria, respetauan como á rey;" (Cap. XLVIII. p. 381): "el nombre de Cinacoatl, que el padre tenia, el qual era ditado de mucha grandeça eredado de los dioses; y asi desde aquel dia le llamauavan Tiilpotonqui Cinalcoatl, que era sobre nombre diuino." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

households,[314] still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the 647
hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and 651
thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.[315] Over these stores the "Petlacalcatl" presided. This officer was, in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was account- [212]
able in the first place to the "Cihuacohuatl," who kept a register or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment. These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of [217]
Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[316]

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,— not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,— and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society — the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is 648
superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

[314] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 419 and 426).

[315] See the concurrent reports about the great drouth, while "Wrathy chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Montezuma Ilhuicamina") was "chief of men."

[316] This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.

APPENDIX OF THE FOURTH BOOK, IN THE SPANISH VERNACULAR, WHICH IS JUSTIFICATION IN DEFENSE OF THE TRUTH CONTAINED HEREIN.

APENDIZ DEL QUARTO LIBRO EN ROMÃCE Y ES VNA APPOLOGIA EN DEFENSION DA LA VERDAD QUE EN EL SE CONTIENE.

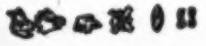

806 Because some have been deceived, and the delusion even today endureth, concerning certain [systems of] counting which these natives used in days of old, I consider it helpful to place here an explanation of three kinds of counting [systems] which they used and in some places still use.

The first count is the division of the year into its months. The fact is that they divided the year into eighteen parts, and to each part they gave twenty days. These may be called months. Thus their year had eighteen months, which comprised three hundred and sixty days. The five left over to make a full [177] year are not counted: rather, they called them idle and unlucky days, because to no god were they dedicated. The purpose for which they established this division was that they dedicated each month or [period of] twenty days to a god, and during each they held celebrations and made sacrifices; except that in two of the months they celebrated the feasts of four gods, [in each] assigning ten days to one and another ten to the other. And so, although there were eighteen months, the feasts celebrated in them were twenty. This count is called a calendar in which all the days of the year are dedicated to the gods except the five which, as is told, they considered idle and of evil fortune. This count, which is the calendar these natives had had from time immemorial, has nothing to do with the other two counts which will now be described.

805 The second count which these natives used is called the year-count, because [by it] they counted
● 212 a certain number of years in the following way. They had four characters placed in four positions with respect to a circle. One of these characters they called Ce acatl, meaning One Reed. This character was represented as a green reed, and, with reference to the circle, was to the east. The second character they called Ce tecpatl, meaning One Flint Knife. [It was] made in the manner of a lance head, half of it blood-stained. This was placed to the north with

Porque algunos se an engañado, y aun todavia dura el engaño, cerca de ciertas cuentas, que estos naturales vsauan antiguamente: tengo por cosa prouechosa poner aquj, la declaracion de tres maneras de cuentas, que vsauan, y avn en algunas partes las vsan.

Es la primera cuenta, la division del año por sus meses. Es el caso que ellos repartian el año, en deziocho partes, y a cada parte, le dauan veinte dias; estos se poeden llamar meses: de manera, que su año tenja deziocho meses: los quales contienen trezientos y setenta [*sic*] dias, y los cinco que sobran, para ser año cumplido, no entran en cuenta, sino llamauanlos dias baldios, y aziagos, porque a njngun dios eran dedicados. El fin a que enderecauan [*sic*] esta diujsion es, que cada mes o cada veinte dias, los dedicauan a un dios, y en ellos le hazian fiestas, y sacrificios, exceto que en dos meses hazian fiesta a quatro dioses, dedicando diez dias a al vno, y otros diez al otro. Y ansi con ser los meses deziocho, las fiestas que celebrauan en ellos eran veinte. Esta cuenta, se llama calendario, donde todos los dias del año, se dedican a los dioses, excepto los cinco que como esta dicho los tenjan baldios y aziagos. Esta cuenta, que es el calendario que estos naturales tenjan de tiempo sin memoria, no tiene que hazer, con las otras dos cuentas, que luego se dirã.

La segunda cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, se llama cuenta de los años, porque contauan cierto numero de años, por la forma que se sigue: tenjan quatro caracteres, puestos en quatro partes en respecto de vn circulo redondo. A al vno destos caracteres llamauã, Ce acatl, que quiere dezir, vna caña: este caracter, era como vna caña verde pintada, y en respecto del circulo, estaua hazia al oriente. Al segundo caracter, llamauan ce tecpatl, que quiere dezir vn pedernal: hecho a manera de hierro de lança tiñido la mjtad del con sangre: este estaua puesto

805 reference to the circle. The third character was the representation of a house, which they call Ce calli
212 [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is placed to the south with reference to the circle. By means of these characters they counted fifty-two years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so describing circles by means of these characters, until
805 each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether, make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two
796 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract,
372 or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn
x787 feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewéd all the statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the art of divination of the fortune or luck which those
212 born would have, whether men or women. It was done in this way. They had twenty characters. The
x787 first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent, etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at the end of this Appendix.* They said that each of these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the number of days in which the sign or character
[443] reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days, and so there are, in each month, four weeks; and the *tianquiztli*, or markets, are fixed according to this number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by periods of five days they established the markets or fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days], but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in many places, they set the markets and fairs according to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llaman ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llaman ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres treze años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y ansi dando bueltas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliessen treze años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes treze que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servjr a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nueuo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las proujncias desta nueua españa fuego nueuo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de serujrlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o uentura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el quinto coatl. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apēdiz: dezian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua treze dias, que todos juntos son dozientos y setenta [*sic*] dias. Algunos dizen que estos treze dias son semanas del mes y no es ansi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y ansi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [*sic*] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauā los mercados, o ferias, y ansi no tenjan semana, sino quintana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entreponense los caracteres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es caña,

* See Plates 102-104.

count are interspersed the characters of the year-count; that is, those four characters mentioned above, which are Reed, Flint Knife, House, and Rabbit, by which they counted the hebdomad of their years, which is fifty-two.

This very pernicious count, superstitious, and full of idolatry, as is to be seen in this Fourth Book, some praise highly, saying that it was very ingenious and contained no blemish. This they said because they did not understand for what purpose this count, which is very evil and idolatrous, was established. Little did they appreciate the multitude of superstitions, feasts, and idolatrous sacrifices involved in it. And they called this count the calendar of the Indians, not understanding that this count doth not extend through all of the year; because it hath only two hundred and sixty days in its round, and then cometh back to its beginning. And so it cannot be and never was a calendar; for the calendar, as hath been said, is represented in the opening of the Second Book, and containeth all the days of the year, and [all] the feasts of the year. And this they who say that this soothsaying art is a calendar, do not know. And surely it was great carelessness and culpable ignorance to praise by word of mouth and in writing something so evil and full of idolatry.

The zeal for truth and for the Catholic Faith compels me to place here the very words of a treatise which a member of one of the religious Orders wrote in praise of this art of soothsaying, declaring that it is a calendar; so that wherever one may see it, he may know that it is something very pernicious to our holy Catholic Faith; and it may be destroyed and burned.

The following is the introduction of the aforementioned treatise.

Introduction and explanation, newly made, of the calendar of the Indians of Anauac, that is, of New Spain.

By means of the wheels reproduced above, the Indians count their days, weeks, months, years, olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and hebdomads, starting their year, like ours, with the beginning of January. In [their system] are found the means of reckoning time which all nations have had. And as is seen, the Indians who established and knew it well certainly showed themselves to be natural philosophers. They were at fault only as to the leap year.

pedernal, casa, conejo, por donde contauan la hebdomada de sus años, que son cincuenta y dos.

805 212 787x

Esta cuenta muy perjudicial, y muy supersticiosa, y muy llena de idolatria, como parece en este libro quarto, algunos la alaban mucho: diziendo, que era muy ingenjosa y que njnguna macula tenja, esto dizerõ por no entender a que fin se endereza, esta cuenta el qual es muy malo ydolatrico de poco entendieron la muchedumbre de supersticiones y fiestas y sacrificios idolatricos, que en ella se contienen, y llamaron a esta cuenta, el calendario de los indios: no entendiendo que esta cuenta no alcança a todo el año, porque no tiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias de circulo, y luego torna a su principio, y ansi no poede ser calendario y nj nunca lo fue, porque el calendario, como esta dicho, y esta pintado, en el principio del segundo libro, contiene todos los dias del año, y las fiestas del año: y esto ignoraron los que dizen que esta arte adiujnatoria es calendario: y cierto fue grande inaduertencia, y culpable ignorancia loar por palabra, y por escrito vna cosa tan mala y tan llena de idolatria.

805 787x

El zelo de la verdad, y de la fe catholica, me compele a poner aquj, las mjsmas palabras de vn tratado, que vn religioso escriujo en loor desta arte adiujnatoria; diziendo que es calendario, para que dondequjera que alguno le viere, sepa que es cosa muy perjudicial, a nuestra sancta fe catholica, y sea destruydo, y quemado.

805 114

Siguese la introducion del tractado sobredicho.

Introducion, i declaracion nueuamente sacada, que es el calendario de los indios de Anaoac, esto es de la nueua españa.

Por las ruedas aquj antepuestas, cuentan los indios sus dias, semanas, meses, años, olimpiadas lustros indiciones, y hebdomadas: començando su año, con el nuestro desde el principio de henero: en la qual se hallan las maneras de contar los tiempos que tuujeron todas las naciones, y segun parece los indios que la composieron, y sabian bien, ciertamente se mostraron philosophos naturales, solamente faltaron en el bixesto: pero tambien paso el gran philosopho

[still] another [town]. So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five-day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[4] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of error, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit than rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

4. See Plates 103 and 104.

tanario, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguja: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y haziagos: y ansi no hazian cuenta dellos para njnguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con todos los meses del año, y con todas las quintanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

Otra cuenta tenjan, estos naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quintanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan treze dias: en las quales reinaua uno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua treze diaì, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son dozientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciessen. Es cuenta delicada, y muy mentirosa, y sin njngun fundamento de astrologia natural. Porque el arte de la astrologia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursus y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun fundamento natural ay, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en njnguna sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embuste o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erã muy hõrrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque njnguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por ierro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dixeron, y afirmaron falsamẽte.

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½ [see cat. 116, pp. 126r, 126s. - Analyst 145]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their 797
descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly 636
families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the 177
records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec picto- [217]
graphic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. [291]
The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging [415]
fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed 797
to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours 346
in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. 177
The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

households,[314] still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the 647
hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and 651
thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.[315] Over these stores the "Petlacalcatl" presided. This officer was, in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was account- [212]
able in the first place to the "Cihuacohuatl," who kept a register or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment. These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of [217]
Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[316]

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,—not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,—and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society — the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is 648
superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

[314] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 419 and 426).

[315] See the concurrent reports about the great drouth, while "Wrathy chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Montezuma Ilhuicamina") was "chief of men."

[316] This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.**[1]

Jnic cempoalli ommacuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa yn ilhujtl, yoan yn jotlamanaliz in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in motenoaia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily at that place were formed very long reeds called *aztapilin* or *tolmimilli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.

Etzalqualiztli: ynin ilhujtl, yn aiamo onaxiox, in ipan muchioaia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inneçaoalizt achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: ichica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchioaia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, yoan cenca tzinizztac: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

[137]

And these they pulled up, cutting them at their white ends, at a place in the water called Temilco, or Tepexic Oztoc.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, qujtezcopina, itocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

auh yn oconanque, njmã ie ic qujchichioa, qujcujcujtlalpia, qujqujmiloa, qujtotolqujmjloa:

[482] Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.

njman ie ic qujmecapallotia, qujmemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaixquamamalo: njman ie ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloatz, aiac qujxtlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch queoacamama.

X 796 And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and when they returned, the road [which they followed] was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.

688

Auh ynjc vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic oalmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac qujtoca, aocmo qujtoca in nenenque:

And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them, they wrested from them all that they had: they snatched away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

auh yntla acame oquinnamjcque, njman vncan qujntlacujcujlia, qujntlanamoielia, qujntlacencujlia, qujntlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapatla, njman qujnmjctia, qujntetentimaiauj, qujmihicça qujntitilicça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic qujojujtequj, qujntlatlal-

1. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: "*hacían una manera de panes, o pelotas, que se llamaa ezcalli*"; and in *ibid.*, p. 149: "*este ezcalli era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210, defines *ezcalli* as boiled corn and beans. Pozo y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his interpretation of the *Codex Borbonicus*' account of this month, says of "*las pelotas de ezcalli hechas de frijol, cuyas semillas surgen arriba allí sobre la cuenca, y de maíz, cuyos granos blancos aparecen con los cabos negros.*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 112) has *Bohnenpresswurst* for Etzalqualiztli. Clavi (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89) regards Etzalqualiztli as derived from *ed* (bean), *malan* (amongst us), and *qualiztli* (eating). In "Rebolledo brevo," p. 298, Gardney has "*Comida de manojo de frijoles*," and in his *Libro del náhuatl vocabulary*, "*comida de puchas.*"

Tovar (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 25) identifies the feast of this month as those of the working people and lower class, now coming after agricultural work. Hence the offering of *ezcalli* to them.

[22] 565

2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *mimilpoalcal* as "*panes jaspeados de jaspear blancos y verdes.*" *Tolmimilli*, in the Rebolledo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, is a kind of potato. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 53, equates *aztapilin* with *aztapilli*, and quotes Molina ("*pasmo largo, gordo y redondo*"). Jourdanet and Simeón, in their translation (p. 104, n. 3) write that it is the equivalent of *aztapilli*, "*de ocotl, especie de caña verde, es gilli, principal, grande*"; of *tolmimilli*, they write: "*cosa de tallos, pues, es tallo, cilindro redondo*" (*loc. cit.*).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
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animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains.
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also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
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fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the
Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

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10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

The most famous of the edible invertebrates is the *axayácatl,* referred to as *axaxayácatl* by Sahagún and Hernandez. Although modern writers (Vaillant, 1941; Apenes, 1943; Linné, 1948; Anderson and Dibble, 1954) persist in calling these insects flies, it has been known for more than a century that they are corixid waterbugs. Sahagún's Spanish word was *coquillo,* not *mosco* or *mosquillo,* so the confusion is not his fault. In post-Conquest times the dried adult insects have been widely sold in the markets of the world as food for caged birds, but they were also used as human food; Hernandez says that they were cooked in maize leaves in nitrous water. Hernandez also makes it clear that these insects are the source of *ahuautli,* a cake made from the eggs that is still much eaten in Mexico, particularly on watch-nights such as Christmas Eve and Holy Thursday. That *ahuautli* was formerly a staple that survives as a delicacy is suggested by its name, which is derived from *atl,* water, and *huautli,* amaranth seed. Now that Sauer (1950) has cleared up some of the indescribable confusion surrounding the use of grain amaranths in aboriginal Mexico, we can begin to appreciate that *ahuautli* was really "water grain", though not in the literal sense of "water wheat" implied by Tylor (1861), whose etymology has confused such later writers as Packard (1871). The identity of the insects is an equally tangled bibliographic problem in which the zoologists have hardly been more helpful than the historians. 127 136 252 262

The fullest and most authoritative-sounding account is that of Orozco y Berra, given in his memoir on the hydrography of the Valley of Mexico (1864). This historian quoted in full de la Llave's description (1832; reprinted 1887) of the adult insect under the name *Ahuautlea mexicana* (which appears to be the correct name, though it has been ignored by zoological writers; it has priority over the generic name *Krisousacorixa* Hungerford 1930 and the specific name *Corixa femorata* Guérin-Meneville 1857). He described the cultivation of *ahuautli,* which is accomplished by placing bundles of *tules* (*Scirpus* or *Typha*) in the water of Lake Texcoco, stripping off the eggs which the insects lay in countless millions, and processing them into cakes. This much of Orozco y Berra's work is correct; it is fully confirmed by the modern observations of Ancona (1933), and, if there is any doubt that the practice is an aboriginal one, the doubt is removed by Sahagún's figures, reproduced in Plate I, nos. 220–221. Professor Hutchinson assures me that no. 220 is certainly the oldest known figure of a corixid waterbug. Oddly enough, Sahagún does not describe the practice or mention *ahuautli* with the edible insects in Book Eleven, though he lists it among the products sold in the market in the 19th chapter of Book Eight. Hernandez repairs the omission. [222]

Ancona's account (1933) is the only one by a modern zoologist, and 127 136

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

a salt lake, and Aldrich (1912) gives a graphic account of *Ephydra gracilis* Packard on the Great Salt Lake, Utah, and of *Ephydra hians* on Mono Lake, California. The latter are not only collected in quantity and eaten by Paiute Indians, but were bred out of supposed "larvae" of the *axayácatl* of Lake Texcoco by Peñafiel (1884) and identified by Williston, who referred to Peñafiel's specimens in 1883 and again in 1896. Even Ancona overlooked the fact that Peñafiel's larvae could have nothing to do with a corixid, so that Aldrich's remark, "it seems that the Diptera and the Hemiptera are mingled together in the quotations", is an understatement. 127 136

The pupae of ephydrids come to the surface and undergo mass emergence, and it is then (in September) that they are collected and processed as *kootsabe* by the Paiutes of Mono Lake. In all probability this is the product that the Aztecs called *cuculin*. (The words sound distantly related, which is not inconceivable, as Paiute is a member of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic group). The substance is definitely confounded with *tecuitlatl* by Orozco y Berra, however, and the suggestion that it is made of the pupae of *Ephydra hians* is made with due hesitation. As Aldrich said, "only an investigation by an entomologist at the lake can clear up the confusion" (1912, p. 92). Though Sahagún does not mention *cuculin*, nos. 224 to 227 in Plate I appear to depict stages in its manufacture, or in the collection of the larvae, *izcauitli*.

The puzzling stuff called *tecuitlatl* is mentioned by Sahagún in Book Eight, and listed (as *tecuiltlatl*) with the lower animals in Book Eleven. He describes it as *"urronas"* (*"urrosas"* in Lord Kingsborough's edition (1831–48), but neither form occurs in any dictionary I have consulted nor does my own reading "orroras") which grow on the water, have a purple color, and are harvested, dried on mud, and made into cakes. Anderson and Dibble translate the Nahuatl word as "scum", and the material is probably algal. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, p. 59) refers to it as "green sheets that grow, which, when made into a cake and baked, take on a dark green color, and which the Spaniards call *queso de la tierra*". Hernandez, who lists it among the minerals, confirms the purple or green color ("color adhuc recenti cyaneus, aut viridis"). López de Gómara, who was never in Mexico, but who published in 1552 a delightful book on the Conquest that has been a best-seller for four hundred years, adds the suggestive detail that the substance (which he does not name) was gathered on "threshing floors" (*eras*) like those in which salt is made. He said that it is eaten as we eat cheese, and described its flavor as salty, but very good with *chilmolli* (1943 edition, pp. 238–239); continuing with the sonorous text of the first English edition (1578, reprinted in facsimile 1940) from 127 136 222 252

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that
136 this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number
222 of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."
252

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is
127 no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Cas-
136 tillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described
252 as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not im-
262 probable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli,* and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

127 The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no atten-
tion from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identi-
136 fied with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón,* or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocuiliztac,* which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *anenezti,* which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 222 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

127 One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

127 CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected
317 by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas,* 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

Plate I.

127
136
222

Nos. 218–227 from the Codex Florentino (Sahagún, 1905–07), illustrating parts of Book Eleven "Of the properties of animals, birds, fishes, trees, herbs, flowers, metals, and rocks, and of colors". No. 218, the first figure of the axolotl, *Amóystoma mexicanum;* No. 219, *a*, the crayfish, *acocili; b*, a dystiscid larva, presumably the *ocuiliztac;* Fig. 220, the first figure of a corixid waterbug, the *axayácatl, Abuautlea mexicana* de la Ilave (*?=Krisousacorixa azteca* Jaczewski); 221, the *axayácatl* laying its eggs (*ahuautli*) on a cultch of reeds; No. 222, presumed to be Odonata and identified as *aneneztli;* No. 223, presumed to be the ephydrid larvae (*Ephydra hians* Say) with which the *izcauitli* is identified; Nos. 224–225, presumably the harvesting of *cuculin* (not mentioned in Sahagún's text), identified as probably ephydrid pupae; Nos. 226–227, possibly continuing the subject matter of the previous two pictures, or perhaps depicting the harvest and manufacture of the algal cake *tecuitlatl.*

[end plate I. a]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127
136
222

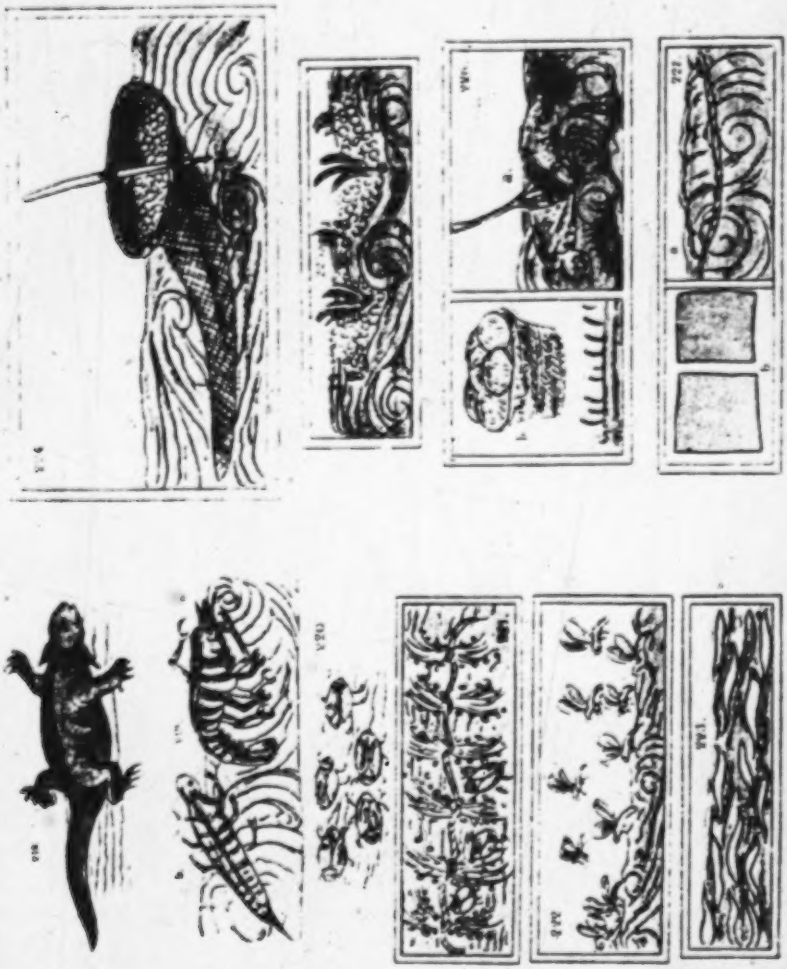

[End plate I b]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531 with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing
[212 by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)
177]

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, per-
[177] haps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of con-
[532] centrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters
● 223 loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated
531 designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever
177 made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

175 787 Tzonmulco, the Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was not raining hard, but only sprinkling. This was taken as an omen of evil, [for] it was said that it was only a summer flash, and that thunder did not sound.

[As] the fourth sign of evil, [while] there was still sun, a comet fell. It became three parts and began from where the sun set and went toward where he arose. It went as if showering sparks; for a great distance its wake went extending; far out did its tail reach. And when it was seen, there was much shouting; like [the rattle of] shells[5] it spread about.

[As] the fifth omen, the water [of the lake] foamed up, and the wind did not stir it up. It was as if it welled up, as if it boiled up with a cracking noise. Very far did it go as it rose upward, and it reached the lower parts of the houses; and, wet by the water, the houses crumbled. This was the great lake which extendeth by us here in Mexico.[5a]

[As] the sixth omen, often was heard a woman, who went weeping and crying out at night. She cried out loudly; she went about saying: "O my beloved sons, now we are at the point of going!" Sometimes she said: "My beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

[223] [As] the seventh omen, at one time the fisher folk hunted or snared with nets. They took a bird of ashen hue, like a crane. Then they came to show it to Moctezuma, [who was in] the Tlillan calmecac.[6] The sun was past his zenith, and there was yet daylight. There was what was like a mirror upon its head—round, disc-like, and as if pierced. From it appeared the heavens—the fire drill, the stars. And Moctezuma took it as a most evil omen when he saw the stars and the fire drill. And when he gazed a second time at the bird's head, beyond, he beheld what appeared to be like a number of people, coming massed, coming as conquerors, coming in war panoply. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the astrologers[7] and the wise men, and said to them: "Do you not know what I have

xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aouchqujauja in iuh tetzammachoc, iuh mjto in ca çã tonalhujtecoc, amono caquiztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

Injc nauhtetl tetzamachiotl, oc vnca in tonatiuh in xiujtl vetz: ieteetia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa, auh vmpa itztia in jquiçaiampa, iuhqujn tlexuchtli pipixauhtiuh, ueca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca açitiuh in jcuitlapil. Auh in oittoc cenca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oioalli onmoma.

Injc macujltetl tetzaujtl, poçon in atl amo i ehecatl qujpoçonalti, iuhquj mumuloca, iuhquj xixitemumoloca: cenca veca in ia injc macoquetz, auh in calli tzitzintla cacic auh capapachiuh xixitin in calli iehoatl in vej atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzaujt mjiecpa çihoatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltoca, cenca tzatzi: qujtotinemj, nonopilhoantzitzin ie ic çan ie touj: in quenmanja qujtoa, nonopilhoantzitzin campa namechnoujqujliz.

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzaujtl, ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamaitlaujaia in atlaca, centetl açique tototl, nextic: iuhqujn tocujlcoiotl. Niman qujttilico in motecuçuma, tlillan calmecac omotzcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca: iuhqujn tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, teujlacachtic, iuhquj xapotticac: vnpa onneçia in ilhujcatl: inmamalhoaz in çiçitlalti. Auh in motecuçuma cenca qujmotetzauj in jcoac qujmjttac çiçitlalti ioan mamalhoaztli: auh injc oppa ontlachix, in jcpac tototl: ene qujttac iuhquj on in ma acame moquequetztitiujtze, tepeuhtiujtze moiauchichiuhtiuitze qujnmama mamaça, auh njman qujnnotz in tlaçiuhque in tlamatinjme qujmjlhuj. Amo anquimati, in tlein onoconjttac iuhqujn acame moquequetztiujtze. Auh ie qujnanqujlizquja in conjttaque opoliuh aoc tle uel qujtoque.

5. The term *oioalli* appears to be capable of interpretation as rattle, bell, or shell. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, *The Gods* (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 1, and Book VII, *Sun, Moon, and Stars* (1953), Appendix, where, under *Tonamiah qualo*, Sahagún's note 7 translates *oyoualli* *moteca*. Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904), II, pp. 428, 462.

Cf. also Zelia Nuttall: *The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans* (Berkeley: University of California, 1903), Part I, fols. 8, 48, where the *oyoualli* are pictured in an anonymous Codex in Florence, Italy.

5a. After *cacic*, the *Memoriales en 3 Columnas* reads: "*Auh ceq' papachiuh cequi xixitin*"; after *manj*: "*Auh yuic mocuep yuic cecenuh çã no ompa pa § ompa ximmic § ceq apdpa.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en la palacio, en una sala, que llamaban Tillan calmecac.*" Cf. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), IV, pp. 24-25 (note c).

7. *Tlapixqui*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), pp. 167, 171.

Altur *apolinh*, the *Memoriales en 3 Columnas* reads: "*auc tle uel q'inqa, ac ceppa q'mikai § tlacichqa, ye tlamatinime, de yuin tonal quilhiqa amo ne yehual in quamocuil.*"

524 won[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

ololiuhquj anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, xomoiujtilmatli. Auh in aqujn patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic teequechili, in moquetzticaz etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tezzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan mottaia: njman muchi qujtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezqujtetl aquilli, injc netennonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301] stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about
643 his wrist.

Tlatlamjna tlaujtoltica, tipontica, totomjtica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

Tlatlacãloazuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoaztli, iujcallo telolomatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

mozochimjltia, mozochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

vncatca intetlaveuetzqujticahoan in qujmellelqujxtiaia, in qujcecemeltia: ioan quaujlacatzoque in qujpaqujltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzqujti, ioan maujztic, in jca ixocpal tlanjpa injc tlãmati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quanmjmjlli in qujtotia ica ixocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli ça ichoatl in jxocpal ic tlamati,

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[732] were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

mjiec tlamãtli, in tececemelti in qujchioa, vncatca imaachoan, ixoloan in qujnujcatinenca in qujmehellelqujxtiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, qujnpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cuicujtlachtin, ocotochtin, nepapan tototl.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads *quidaminoa* (be wagered) instead of *qujdamjlia*.

beloved sons, now we are about to go!"[10] Sometimes she said: "O my beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

A seventh omen: at one time the fisher folk who hunted or snared with nets took captive an ashen hued bird like a crane. Then they went to show it to Moctezuma, [who was] in the Tlillan calmecatl.[11] It was past noon, and still daytime. On its head was as it were a mirror, round, circular, and as if pierced in the middle,[12] where were to be seen the heavens, the stars—the Fire Drill [constellation]. And Moctezuma took it as an omen of great evil when he saw the stars and the Fire Drill. And when he looked at the bird's head a second time, a little beyond[13] [the stars] he saw people who came as though massed, who came as conquerors, girt in war array. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the soothsayers and the sages.[14] He said to them: "Do you not know what I have seen there, which was as if people came massed?" And when they would answer him, that which they looked at vanished. They could tell [him] nothing more.[15]

An eighth omen: often were discovered men of monstrous form, having two heads [but] only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecatl, where Moctezuma beheld them; but when he looked at them, they then vanished.

quenmanjan qujtea. Nonopilhoantzitzin, campa namechnoviqujliz. 787

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzavitl: ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamatlaviaia in atlaca; centetl cacique tototl- [723]
neztic, iuhqujn tocujlcoiotl: njmã qujttitito in Motecuçoma, tlillan, calmecac: ommotzcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca, iuhq'n tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, tevilacachtic, iuhqujn xapotticac: vmpa onnecia in ilhujcatl, in cicitlaltin, in mamalhoaztli. Auh in motecuçoma, cenca qujmotetzavi in jquac qujmjttac cicitlaltin, yoã mamalhoaztli. Auh injc vppa ontlachix in jcpac tototl, ene qujttac, iuhquj on in ma acame, moquequetztivitze, tepeuhtivitze, moiaochichiuhtivitze, qujnmama mamaça. Auh njman qujnnotz in tlaciuhque, in tlamatinjme: qujmjlhuj: Amo anqujmati in tlein onoconjttac, iuhqujn acame moquequetztivitze: auh ie qujnanqujlizquja, in conjttaque, opoliuh, aoc tle qujtoque.

Injc chicuetetl tetzavitl: mjecpa motenezttiliaia, [732]
tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, çan çe in intlac, vmpa qujmõvicaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa qujmjttaia in motecuçoma, in oqujmjttac njmã polivia.

10. Cf. *loc. cit.*, where *yã yoã tini* appears.

11. In Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 16, this is explained: *"la Escuela ó gramática de Moctezuma, al cual por excesos estaba en unos palacios que se llamaban Tlillancalmecatl (quiere decir, palacios tenidos de negro) y parece que como tenía otros palacios para deleytarse, viniaseele edificados, este Tlillancalmecatl tenía para recogerse en el tiempo de adversidad y tristeza."*

12. A *tlachieloni* (instrument for seeing), emblem of Tezcatlipoca and the fire god (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 4).

13. In the *Real Palacio* MS, a similar phrase is written: *"Zoc q'mizter, yohq'n ocomo mocpopoctiniztiniz."* On *mocpopoctiniztiniz*, see Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880) — *pocpoctoa*. In corresponding Spanish passage, Sahagún translates as "*mucho de gente junta*" or "*mucha gente junta*."

14. *Tlacuilopan*: see Angel María Garibay K.: "Parallelismos de Sahagún," Tlalocan, II, 2 (1946), p. 171. *Amatlapa* is favored as translation: *"Lo más cierto, parece decantar fundamento universalísimo."*

15. In the *Real Palacio* MS, following *opoliuh*, we read: *"aoc tle oal q'mopõ. ac ceppa q'mitlhui ỹ tlamatlapa in tlamatinjme, tle yoio tocuel qualitlaqui ayoc oal yohuatl yo quatecuel."* (In the original, the abbreviation for *-que* resembles *-qui*; hence it is thus reproduced here.)

[p. 4 is blank]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 226 and spearing. It is not certain that the rod-and-line method involved fishhooks, for these are not known archaeologically from the Valley, but the line may have carried a gorge instead of a hook, and in any case *golden* fishhooks were found in use in 1518 by Grijalva on the island of Cozumel. The types of nets used are the gill net, the pole net, and possibly the throw-net; the latter was used for rabbits but may not have been used for fish. Spearing is of particular interest to ethnologists, because Mexico is one of the few places in the world where the atlatl is still in use. This fact was discovered on Lake Pátzcuaro by Seler in 1892 and on Texcoco by Beyer in 1925.

127 223 Water birds are mainly hunted in the fall and winter, when migrants swell their numbers. On Pátzcuaro the Tarascans surround them with canoes and kill them with tridentiform atlatls, as described by León (1934) and Foster (1948), but in the shallower lakes of the Valley the birds are caught in long nets stretched just above the water. This practice is fully depicted in the two 16th-century pictorial sources, and survives today (Linné, 1940).

127 262 Exploitation of the Valley lakes for animal food was not restricted to fishing and fowling. If it had been, we should have no reason to impute any special limnologic knowledge to the Aztecs, but the use they made of their lacustrine environment goes far beyond that of the usual "primitive" society. In addition to tadpoles and frogs, and the axolotl, of which Sahagún says "es muy bueno de comer; es comida de los señores", the historian lists a number of invertebrate foods in Chapter 3. These items of diet have bewildered most subsequent writers, and without a thorough ethnographic survey it is impossible to be sure that the following remarks are not compounding the confusion. However, there are certain points that a limnologist finds obvious and that have been missed by all the authorities. In discussing the invertebrates we rely not only on Sahagún and the relevant illustrations in Plate I, but on Hernandez' *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae liber unicus*, written in the 1570's and appended to the 1651 Rome edition of the great work on Mexican medical botany.[2]

127 [2] Mrs. Emmart, in her edition of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (1940), remarked that the five copies of Hernandez' work that she was able to collate are all of different editions, though all bear the year 1651. Presumably these all have the title *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus*, but the copy in the Yale University Library, also imprinted 1651, is entitled *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium Mexicanorum Historia*. In any case this is a very incomplete version of what must be the greatest work on Mexican natural history ever written. Hernandez' Latin work ran to 15 or 17 volumes, and is believed to have been destroyed in the fire at the Escorial in 1671. George Kubler informs me, however, that a Nahuatl translation was made by 1576, and this or a copy of the original may yet come to light.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their
ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog,
one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains.
The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail
also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when
crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident,
were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly
lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own
fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the
Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief
farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

411
796x
[805
776]

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f KL Quando hazian las saetas por espa- f 20
2 g cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan g 21
3 A de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan A 22
4 b dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si- b 23
5 c enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias c 24
6 d para yr a caçar venados: los que no se d 25
7 e sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en e 26
8 f pena: njngun hombre se echaua con f 27
9 g su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni g 28
10 A viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian A 29
11 b penjtencia. b 30
12 c c 31
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha- d 1'
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas e 2
15 f saetas chiqujtas y atauanlas de quatro f 3
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi g 4
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, A 5
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so- b 6
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon- c 7
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas d 8
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

796x
796x
[785]
834
273]
765
796x

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x
[778
342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796x
224

1. Marginal notation: *November 1st deer run.*

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter,** in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

Injc cempoalli ōmatlactli omei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in illhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in qujchioaia, in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in moteneoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Quecholli:

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

in ōquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

[482]

auh in ōqujz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncã in neacamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncã in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ōnemacoc, njmã ic qujitqujtze qujquequechpanoa.

And upon the morrow, once again all departed to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

[441]

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ie no cr, pa ic viloa in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoalor, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixquich, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriageable age. And the small boys they took up [the pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

X 796 785

[224]

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa viloa, mootquj in acatl, vel ixquich cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oqujchpipiltotonti, qujtletlecavia in teucalli, vncã tlatlapitztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmeçaço compatzca, incanaoacã coualaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

Auh in occõqujaoato teuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmã ie ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

And when arrows were being formed, all did penances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen

X 796 785 688

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixquich tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 309). Chavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 167-8) states that the month was named for the bird of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 280) writes similarly— "... *nombre de un Pajaro de plumas azul, y colorada, que al en este Tierra, en especial en unos manantiales, y ojos de Agua, que se junto del Pueblo de Quecholli*"; see also p. 299. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *fiesta arrojadiza*.

Tovar, while mentioning the bird of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of terror and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

X 796 And when they had burned, they there buried their
[766] charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton
[237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places
[793] the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast
[776] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all
[342 513] made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

X 796 Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All,
224 in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jxcoallo, youn incuo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaonijquac in iuuccapan, youn intlaçapan, youn inchimal, yoã intilmaa, youn iuuauzõ, oouquauhcõtech in quijtlalaia, quijlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonqui ic tlamalinõ, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonuztzõl, mjec in mecatl, quijpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh zuzõl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlathaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamatl: moteneoa, çacapã quijxoa: auh injc moteneoa, çacapan quijxoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: ichoud in ocoçacatl, vncan moterpeua in jlamatque, ce petlatl injxpan onoc.

Nimã ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujhtcl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujhtcl contema: quijnõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, quijnoalantimanj in pipilhotzõtl, njmã quijmonjxtia inmac: njmã ic quijmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oquijmonjxtilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic istimanj in inchuchua, oc iouxtinco in peoaia. Auh in ic tlaqualixpan in necacolo: auh in ic iuhqui, njman iccvikoa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamativi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan quijlhujquijxtilioia, in iztcuah otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjo moteneoaz.

Auh in onazioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioia, çan oc quijxquijch hazxioa nezzuacalhilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlathalhilo, nezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ic ic tlatlaqualo ilatlica: njmã ic ic nechichioalo, nchaxpanalo:

mec vikoa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im jxh, quijniaoalo in jxquichtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in cifli: çan jvian impan ommonamjqui.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoiolo,

3. "Ils vont sur le gazon" (zaxapan quizaqui), according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

seized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and slew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeoatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivecho, izquich in tematitlampa quiça, in 796x
ziamo imjquja.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aquin maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, quintlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli: 224 [292]

intla tlamanj, qujmoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujtlatiz tanaco, anoço qujmonamaqujliz: yoan in tlamanjme qujntlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atii.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic viloatz, çaiio in intzontecon qujoalhujvica intlan qujmaana, chichipicativitz in eatli, in oacico inchachan, aco qujnpipiloa auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan qujzooaia: iquac qujnmacaia in imamatlatquj in jzqujntin mjqujzque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequjntin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome ichoatl in Izquitecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: iehoan qujmaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique: 796 [776] [463]

injquein, mjquja iehoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in qujnnextiaia: auh no iehoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izquitecatl: no iquac qujcuja in jmamatlatquj. [624]

Aũh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjqujzque: vmmoezcalo, in tonatiuh: mec qujnvica in vmpa mjqujzque: qujmõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõiaoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa qujnvivica in incacalpulco, ceioal in qujntoçavia, qujnpia, qujnpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncujva: auh in oqujmõtzoncujque, njmã ie ic motlatlatilia: in oqujchtli, qujtlatia, in jpan yoan itilma,

4. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *que quan-pelaiolo* might better be read for *inquinA*. Cf. also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 199).
5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. I, n. 5.
6. Cf. *supra*, p. 97, n. 7.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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CHAPTER XCIX.

How we launched the two sloops, and how the Great Montezuma said that he wished to go hunting, and went in the sloops to a rocky Island[1] where there were many deer and much other game, for no one went hunting there under pain of very severe punishment.

000 WHEN the two sloops were finished building and had been launched, and the masts and rigging had been set up and adorned with the Royal and Imperial banners, and the sailors had been got ready to navigate them, they went out in them both rowing and sailing, and they sailed very 643 well. When Montezuma heard of it, he said to Cortés ● 224 that he wished to go hunting on a rocky Island standing in the lake which was preserved so that no one dared to hunt there, however great a chief he might be, 000 under pain of death. Cortés replied that he was very welcome to go, but he must remember what he had told him on the former occasion when he went to visit his Idols, that to raise any disturbances was more than his life was worth; [moreover] he could go in the sloops, as it was better sailing in them than in the canoes and pirogues however large they might be. Montezuma said that he would be delighted to sail in the sloop that was the swiftest, and he took with him many lords and chieftains, and advised his huntsmen to follow in canoes and pirogues. A son of Montezuma and many Caciques went in the other sloop. Then Cortés ordered Velásquez de Leon who was captain of the Guard and Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila with two hundred soldiers, to accompany Montezuma, and to remember the great responsibility he was placing on them in looking after him, and as all those Captains whom I have named were very alert, they took on board all the soldiers I have spoken about, and four

[1] The *Peñon de Tepepolco* or *del Marques.*

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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bronze cannon and all the powder that we possessed, and our gunners, named Mesa and Arvenga, and they put up a highly decorated awning as a protection from the weather, and Montezuma and his chieftains went under it. As at that time there was a strong breeze blowing, and the sailors were delighted to please and content Montezuma, they worked the sails so well that they went flying along, and the canoes which held his huntsmen and chieftains were left far behind in spite of the large number of rowers they carried. Montezuma was charmed, and said that it was a great art this of combining sails and oars together. So he arrived at the Peñol, which was not very far off, and he [Montezuma] killed all the game he wanted, deer and hares and rabbits, and returned very contented to the city. When we arrived near Mexico, Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains ordered the cannon to be discharged, and this delighted Montezuma, and as we saw him so frank and kind, we treated him with the respect in which the Kings of these countries are held, and he behaved in the same manner to us. If I were to relate the traits and qualities that he showed as a great Prince, and the reverence and service that all the Lords of New Spain paid to him, I should never come to an end. There was not a thing that he ordered to be brought that was not immediately there, even if it were flying. I say this because one day three of our Captains and some of us soldiers were in Montezuma's presence, when by chance a hawk swooped down through the halls which were like corridors, after a quail, for near the houses and palaces where Montezuma was confined, there were some tame pigeons and quails kept for breeding purposes by the Indian steward (whose duty it was to keep the rooms swept) so as to give himself importance.

When our Captains saw the hawk swoop and carry off

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [537]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

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Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
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the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

Sahagún, it does not follow that Aztec limnology was exclusively motivated by exploitation. Scientific curiosity in the modern sense was not a dominant quality of 16th-century Spain, and the stress on practical matters is at least as likely to be a property of the Spanish as of the Aztec mind. Moreover, as Maldonado-Koerdell (1946) points out, an essential basis of Aztec interest in natural history, at least in vertebrates and plants, was magical and totemic. 127

FAUNA. It is characteristic, and exasperating, to find that Sahagún's Chapter 12 "De las diversidades de las aguas" discusses the sea, the rivers, and the springs, and omits the lakes. A much more impressive amount of limnologic information is given in Chapter 2, with its list of 41 aquatic birds, practically all of which can be identified (Martin del Campo, 1940). Nahuatl names and brief descriptions are given, but what is more important is that food habits are listed for nearly every species, and that most of them are illustrated. Chapter 3 deals with aquatic animals, including crustaceans, turtles, amphibians (including the axolotl), the marine iguana, and a disappointingly short list of fishes. Crocodiles are separated off with several mythical water creatures in Chapter 4, "De otras animales del agua que no son comestibles". Since Sahagún wrote in the century of Gesner, we need not be surprised to find a certain amount of credulity displayed; the account of the *yacapitzauac* or *nacatzone*, a bird (the eared grebe, *Colymbos nigricollis californicus*) that subsists on its own feathers, is particularly enchanting. 127 136

Fishing on Lake Texcoco is probably not what it was before the Valley lakes were finally lowered in 1900, but statements that the salt lake is lacking in fishes are erroneous. At the time of the Conquest, the Anonymous Conqueror remarked "in the sweet water there are some small fish; in the salt part they are still smaller" (1917 edition, p. 59). Cortés, on the other hand, tells us that the fisheating birds in Montezuma's menagerie were fed daily on two hundred and fifty pounds of fish, caught in the salt lakes (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 266). The two statements do not conflict, since small but numerous members of the families Atheriniidae and Goodeidae were doubless the staples of the fishery. The aboriginal methods of fishing may be seen within a few miles of Mexico City today, as Linné shows (1937, 1948). All are illustrated in the Florentine Codex, i.e. the work of Sahagún, and in the fascinating pictures that decorate the mid-16th-century map "attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz", now in the library of the University of Uppsala. This map serves as the focal point of Linné's remarkable book (1948), which synthesizes archaeologic, historic, and ethnographic knowledge into a convincing picture of the Valley of Mexico in 1550. 127 136 226 127

The fishing methods include rod-and-line, nets of two of three sorts, 226

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 and spearing. It is not certain that the rod-and-line method involved
226 fishhooks, for these are not known archaeologically from the Valley, but the line may have carried a gorge instead of a hook, and in any case *golden* fishhooks were found in use in 1518 by Grijalva on the island of Cozumel. The types of nets used are the gill net, the pole net, and possibly the throw-net; the latter was used for rabbits but may not have been used for fish. Spearing is of particular interest to ethnologists, because Mexico is one of the few places in the world where the atlatl is still in use. This fact was discovered on Lake Pátzcuaro by Seler in 1892 and on Texcoco by Beyer in 1925.

127 Water birds are mainly hunted in the fall and winter, when migrants
223 swell their numbers. On Pátzcuaro the Tarascans surround them with canoes and kill them with tridentiform atlatls, as described by León (1934) and Foster (1948), but in the shallower lakes of the Valley the birds are caught in long nets stretched just above the water. This practice is fully depicted in the two 16th-century pictorial sources, and survives today (Linné, 1940).

127 Exploitation of the Valley lakes for animal food was not restricted
262 to fishing and fowling. If it had been, we should have no reason to impute any special limnologic knowledge to the Aztecs, but the use they made of their lacustrine environment goes far beyond that of the usual "primitive" society. In addition to tadpoles and frogs, and the axolotl, of which Sahagún says "es muy bueno de comer; es comida de los señores", the historian lists a number of invertebrate foods in Chapter 3. These items of diet have bewildered most subsequent writers, and without a thorough ethnographic survey it is impossible to be sure that the following remarks are not compounding the confusion. However, there are certain points that a limnologist finds obvious and that have been missed by all the authorities. In discussing the invertebrates we rely not only on Sahagún and the relevant illustrations in Plate I, but on Hernandez' *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae liber unicus,* written in the 1570's and appended to the 1651 Rome edition of the great work on Mexican medical botany.[2]

127 [2] Mrs. Emmart, in her edition of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (1940), remarked that the five copies of Hernandez' work that she was able to collate are all of different editions, though all bear the year 1651. Presumably these all have the title *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus,* but the copy in the Yale University Library, also imprinted 1651, is entitled *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium Mexicanorum Historia.* In any case this is a very incomplete version of what must be the greatest work on Mexican natural history ever written. Hernandez' Latin work ran to 15 or 17 volumes, and is believed to have been destroyed in the fire at the Escorial in 1671. George Kubler informs me, however, that a Nahuatl translation was made by 1576, and this or a copy of the original may yet come to light.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was protected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock,
174 speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

174 While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquirans of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340–348).

[648] [18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical.—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

[131] [19] See "Art of War," p. 135. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III. p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time, and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

[226] [20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlaca." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacatl," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Aztecs" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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X 796 [805 776]

The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[23] 262 [778]

On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 535

Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

[534 778]

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

[273]

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1 *d* KL
2 *e* La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa-
3 *f* uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros
4 *g* para comer, en hazer tamales y otras
5 *A* cosas concernjentes a la comida: luego
6 *b* de mañanjta el dia desta fiesta: los
7 *c* satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ
8 *d* muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des-
9 *e* pues de compuesta la estatua deste
10 *f* dios: componjan las estatuas de los
11 *g* otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales
12 *A* y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan
13 *b* todas las otras estatuas de los calpules,
14 *c* y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cai-
15 *d* pisques y principales y maceguales,
16 *e* todos componjan las estatuas que ten-
17 *f* jan en sus casas con flores.
18 *g* Compuestas las estatuas todos los
19 *A* dioses: luego començauan a comer
20 *b* aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas

d 12
e 13
f 14
g 15
A 16
b 17
c 18
d 19
e 20
f 21
g 22
A 23
b 24
c 25
d 26
e 27
f 28
g 29
A 30
b 31

de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Duraua este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos reziamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

they placed before all the *xipeme*, they who had put on the skins of men.

And others, who had become drunk, unruly [like] warriors, daring, foolhardy, full of spirit, lively, proud of their valor, playing the part of men, started brawls, forced them to join issue, and battled as if in war, and fought.

And to arouse their wrath, verily to move them, that they might become enraged and angry, they snatched at and pinched their navels.

Whereupon the *xipeme* made them run. Behind them stood a *totec*, named the Youallauan; he followed them and went skirmishing with all the *tototecti*.

Then [the *tototecti*] set upon [the warriors] and took after them; they went on fighting them, seeking to seize and lay hands upon them, like holding those who had detained them by the leg.

And [the warriors] went whirling around, circling back, fighting the others with pine staves.

And if some were taken who had detained [the *xipeme*], these *xipeme* beat them; they struck [such an one] with their rattle sticks, showing their anger.

And they carried him to the Temple of Iopitli; and not for nothing did he come out, not for nothing was he let free. Something was given as ransom; something was taken—perchance a turkey-hen, mayhap a great cotton mantle he offered, etc.

As hath been told in the description of Xipe, just so was it done. Afterwards visits were made and entertainments provided for the *tototecti* and *xipeme*.

Thereupon began the gladiatorial sacrifice. The captives were spread out in order; the captors stood arranging and accompanying them. Then also the striped ones came forth; swiftly the ocelot[-costumed warrior] led and guided them; he came quickly to meet [the captives], displaying his shield and war club and lifting them up toward the sun [in dedication].[14]

Then he turned back, retreated, turned to the rear; once again he went back.

In the same manner there then followed him, coming second, the eagle[-costumed warrior], who similarly lifted up [as an offering] to the sun his shield and his war club.

Once again emerged another ocelot[-costumed warrior], who came out as third, doing the same as he quickly came out.

tlaixco qujnoalmana in xipeme, yn onmaqujaia tlacaeoatl.

Auh yn aqujque, mihivintia iautlaueliloque, mixtlapaloanj, acan ixmauhque, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, quipopoanj yn jntiiacauhio moqujchnenequj, qujmoonpepeoaltia, qujmontlaehecalhuja, oiaiaopeoa, qujnmoiaiaopeoaltia.

Auh inic vel qujntlauelcujtiaia, ynic vel qujmolinjaia, ynic vel in tlauel, in qualan qujcuja, qujmonxiccuja, qujmõxiccuj, qujmonxiccotona:

ic njman in xipeme tlapoynaltiaia ymjcampa in teputzco icatiuh ce Totec, itoca iocallaoan, qujhtoca qujntlaichecalhujtiuh, in muchintin tototecti:

ic njman intech ietiquiça, qujntlalochtoca, qujniaochiuhtiuj, qujmaacitiuj, qujnmamacujtiuj iuhq'n in cotztitech ietiuj, in teçaloanj:

auh oalmocueptiuj, oalmomalacachotiuj, ocoquauhtica quinoallaheecalhujtiuj.

Auh intla ceme anoia, in teçaloanj, qujnujujtequj in xipeme, in chicaoaztica, qujxixilia, vel qujncocoltia.

Auh iopico conujcaia, amo çan nen oalquiçaia, amo çan nen caoaloia, itla ic moqujxtiaia, itla ic onanoia, aço totoli, aço quachtli qujtemacaia. Ez.a

Yn o iuh mito ipan itlatollo xippe, çan ie no iuh mochioaia: çatepan, in ontetotocaque, yn onteaujeltique, yn ontlapactique tototecti, xipeme:

njman ic peoa in tlaoaoano, tecpantimanj in mamalti, qujnnanamjctimani, qujujujcatimanj in tlamanj: njman no oalquiça in tlaoaoanque, yiacatiujtz, qujiacatitiujtz, in teiacantiujtz ocelutl ipan quixtiujtz, conjttitia, conjaujlia yn ichimal, yn imaquauh, in tonatiuh:

njman oc cepa tzinquiça, tzinnenemj, tziniloti: oc cepa ycujtlaujc iauh:

in ie iuhquj njman qujoaltoquilia, qujoaloncaiotia, oallaoncaiotia in quauhtli, çan no yuj in conjaujlia tonatiuh, yn ichimal, yn imacquauh:

oc cepa no oalquiça, oc ce ocelotl, oallaecaiotitiuh, teecaiotitiujtz, çan no iuh qujchioaia calactiuetzi.

14. Sahagún's Spanish has: "*Lavantaban la rodela, y la espada hacia el sol, como demandando esfuerzo al sol.*" Cf. also Pl. 5.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauheloxochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *escobedia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Jnic cẽpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanalizt̃li: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in moteneoaia Tlasuchimaco. 796^

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: moteneoa tlasuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl: [805]

viptlatica in suchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixqujch suchitl, in nepapan suchitl, in tepepan suchitl, yn acocosuchitl, vitzitzillacusuchitl, tepecempoalsuchitl, nextamalsuchitl, tlacosuchitl, ocelusuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocusuchitl, anoço aocusuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iollosuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalsuchitl, acasuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolsuchitl. 796^ 137

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaaxitico suchitl, yn oaxioaco, yn otlatujc, njmã ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoa: auh yn omoçoçoc, suchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic. 796^

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn ixqujch maceoalli, cenuetzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujtla totolti, yoã in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoa, techichinolo, in monequizque ioatzico: [231 252]

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yilhujnemoa, iuhqujn tlatlaciuj, netetequjpacholo, injc tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in ichoantin teupixque, njman ie ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujsuchicuzcatia, conicpanuchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtetecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in ixqujch 796^ 778

1. Cf. Ossuna y Bezta (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 38): "Micailhuitzintli, Tlaxochimaco. *El primero era nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. . . . El nombre mexicano es Tlaxochimaco, palabra que Torquemada interpreta, cuando son dados y repartidas las flores: nuestra Veytia dice, entra de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, consagrada á Huitzilopochtli, la estatua de dicho y los demas dioses eran adornadas profusamente con flores. . . .*" Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 162-3) further writes: ". . . *adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, no solamente a los que se veneraban en los templos, sino tambien a los que tenian por devoción en sus casas; que por esto daban el mes el nombre de* Tlaxochimaco."

2. See Rubrado ed., Vol. III, pp. 275-6; Cf. also Bénz Sandoz, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and Sahagún, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 156 (where a few German equivalents are given). Some are described also in Nicolás Antonio Bocchus: *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1651).

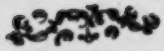

X 796 782 **Here Are Told, in Very Truth, the Offerings Which They Made, in Order to Pay Honor to the Devil.**

Nican mitoa, in vel nelli tlamanaliztli, in qujchioaia, inic qujmavizilia tlacateculotl.

The Swallowing of Serpents.

Thus was done by those who swallowed serpents, when they observed [the feast of] Atamalqualiztli. They who were named *maçateca* swallowed [the serpents] while they were quite alive, holding them only in their mouths, cutting them to pieces [with their teeth] that they might swallow them. And when they had swallowed them, thereupon they were offered gifts, as hath been told in its place, and water *tamales* were eaten. [This happened] every eight years.

Coostololiztli.

Inic muchioaia, in coatl qujtoloaia, iquac yn atamalqualoia qujchioaia: moteneoaia maçateca, çan ioltiuja in qujntoloaia, çan incamatica in qujmonanaia, qujmxaxamatztiuja, ynic qujntoloaia. Auh yn jquac oq'ntoloque, çatepan motlauhtiaia, yn iuhquj ipan omito, atamalqualoia chicuexiuhtica.

The Swallowing of Frogs.

And thus they swallowed frogs, likewise alive. When this was similarly done, these very same *maçateca* performed [the swallowing].

Cuciatololiztli.

Auh injc cuecueia qujntoloaia çan no ioltivia, çan no iquac muchivaia, çan no ichoantin in maçateca qujchivaia.

Making Birds Fly.

[231] Thus was it done [when] birds were made to fly at the time of the feast of Etzalqualiztli: The youths tied birds to wooden rods; thus they danced as all [the birds, fastened by strings], circled [the wooden rods].

Totopatlanaltiliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia, totopatlanaltiloia iquac in etzalqualiztli, in telpupuchtin quauhtitech quimjlpiaia in totome ic mjtotiaia in iquac tlaiaoaloloia.

Processions.

Processions were thus undertaken. For whatever feast was established, when this was done, all the people went in procession, perchance at dawn, or at sundown. Then they all dispersed.

Thaiavaloliztli.

Jn tlaiavaloliztli, ic muchivaia in tlein illhujtl motlalitivia iquac muchivaia, muchi tlacatl tlaiavalovaia, aço iohoxtzinco, anoço ie teutlac, ic tlaxitinjaia.

Singing in the Manner of Women.

X 796 782 533 And the singing in the manner of women was thus done, when, mayhap, they formed [the image of] whatever devil. Then everywhere all the women

Cihoapâcuiquiztli.

Auh in jcihoapan cuiquiztli ic muchivaia iquac in aço tlacatia Diablo, in tlein, iquac muchintin

175 648 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçique compeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vẽca españoles injc tepeuhque in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Ciuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Azcapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden [231] cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

Don Martin bẽca ic vme tlatocat in tlatilulco: exiujtl ie impan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çioacoatl qujqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa azcaputzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncã tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motetique tlatlazque, oontetl in quauhtetl quitlazque icecentetl quauhtli.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Iuan avellittoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Iuan quauic onoc, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoxiujtl ioan icoac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlã, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamaujçolli vej neixcujtilli injc tlamjz cemanaoac

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco oxjujtl.

[731] Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth, and he ruled Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cibola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

Don Martin Tlacateccatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocoliztli ioan in iaoiutl injc pecaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoça visorrej in njcan iancujc España

[731] Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocoliztli, itoca quechpoçaoaliztli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in ieboatl matlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

1. *Vt manca no manca*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *manca no nonqua*.
2. In *ibid.*, *xochipilloca*, *yoan tonolan tlaca*, *yoan tollowa nochtlan tlaca*.

524 won[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

ololiuhquj anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepechtli, vetuej tilmatli: chalchiuhtenteti, teucujtlanacochtli, xomoiujtilmatli. Auh in aquin patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic tzequechili, in moquetzticac etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamsujçolli ipan mottaia: njman muchi qnjtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezquj-tetl aqujlli, injc netennonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301] stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about
643 his wrist.

Tlatlamjna tlaujtolica, tipontica, totomjtica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

Tlatlacaloazujs, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoaztli, iujcallo telolonatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

mozochimjltia, mozochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

vncatca intetlaveuetzqujticahoan in qujmellelqujztiaia, in qujcecemelhia: ioan quaujlacatzoque in quj-paqujltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzqujti, ioan maujztic, in jca izocpal tlanjpa injc tlâmati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quammjmjlli in qujtotia ica izocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli ça ichoatl in jxocpal ic tlamati,

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[732] were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

mjiec tlamâtli, in tececemelti in qujchios, vncatca imaachoan, ixoloan in qujnujcatinenca in qujmehellelqujztiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, qujnpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cujcujtlachtin, ocotochtin, nepapan tototi.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads *quidemine* (he wagered) instead of *quidemjlle*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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—After Paso y Troncoso

Tonsure (concluded). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatecatl (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujichecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mãcehoallatqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacozzique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

[302. 304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototi: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, cozoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called *amanteca* after the district of Amantlan, in Tonacfuiclan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 178.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nepanpipiqui* for *nepanpipiqui*, and begins with the term a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Cuez de las fieras*."

[p.46 is blank]

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212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[30] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the verv Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 635 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[31] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[32] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[33] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[33] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[34]

[30] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.

[31] Cf. n. 35 above.

[32] *PNE*, 6: 201.

[33] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.

[34] Corrected from 400.

[34] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[*] as did Tequixquiac[**] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[***]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[*]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[**]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[***]

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[*] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[**] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[***] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[**] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[***] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [439]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.* 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING** [291]

2,010 bundles† of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles‡ of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD* [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE* [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

* *ENE*, 101 126. † Corrected from 2,000. ‡ Corrected from 800.

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651

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 71±
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.** [357]

* Corrected from 800.

** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalaoti" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[48] 632 651 [231]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[49]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[50]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula,* and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino.* Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huixtlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

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[48] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE,* 5: 2).

[49] *PNE,* 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[50] *PNE,* 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que citaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

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OTHER GOODS[*] 651

2 strings of chalchiuites [316
800 bunches of quetzal feathers
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni* 231]
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning 632
the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which [436]
served as money. They also gave military aid.[**]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.[***]

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.[****]

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.[*****]

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.[******]

[*] *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescatauan a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Munteçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

[**] *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

[***] See Chila, above.

[****] *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

[*****] "En tienpo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, basimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

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127 212 *Historia de las indias de Nueva-España y islas de Tierra Firme,* 1579 (Mexico, 1867–80). In this scene the most important glyphic element is the hill with a snake (Coatepec, the hill near Tula). It stands in the middle of lake beset by cattails, in which are swimming a bird, a fish, and a seal, while pollarded trees stand around, each with a bird on top. Two dignitaries are seated at either side, the male with a glyphic name representing a bird and a cactus, while the female is provided with a standard on which is seen an axolotl, rampant, with enormous external gills.

Fig. 2. Contaminated glyph for Tula, as it appears in the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini) (Anon., 1944).

The implication of this curious inconography is clear and disheartening. The details about the lake of Tula were concocted by native informants to explain the glyph, probably in a manuscript now lost. Later, the pictures were drawn to illustrate the story. The glyph that provoked the story need not have been that of Tollán, for any place with *tules* in its etymology would have sufficed. We must conclude that we do not know whether Tula was situated on an artificial lake, or even whether its name was Tollán.

127 The hydrographic knowledge of the Aztecs, then, must not be judged by what was told to credulous friars by acculturated Indians fifty years after the Conquest. Cortés' account, though doubtless somewhat colored, has more of the ring of truth. In the famous Second Letter to Charles V, he said:

127 231 312 "Along one of the causeways which lead into the city, there are two conduits of masonry each two paces broad, and five feet deep, through one of which a volume of very good fresh water, the bulk of a man's body, flows into the heart of the city, from which all supply themselves, and drink. The other which is empty brings the water, when they wish to clean the first conduit, for, while one is being cleaned, the water flows through the other" (MacNutt edition, vol. 1, p. 262). Again, describing one of Montezuma's lesser palaces, he said: "It had ten pools of water, in which were kept all the many and divers breeds of waterfowl found in these parts, all domesticated; for the sea-birds, too, there were pools of salt water, and, for those of the rivers and lakes, there was fresh water, which for the sake of cleanliness, they renewed at certain times by means of pipes. To each kind of bird they gave the food which suited its habits in its free state, so that to those which ate fish they gave it; and likewise, worms, maize, and smaller

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seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many [344] of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. 411 There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton 714 armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am 231 forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird 136 that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

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231 136 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 266 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and 782
banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and 266
the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to
these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house 231
many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their 136
tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled 463
workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

bronze cannon and all the powder that we possessed, and our gunners, named Mesa and Arvenga, and they put up a highly decorated awning as a protection from the weather, and Montezuma and his chieftains went under it. As at that time there was a strong breeze blowing, and the sailors were delighted to please and content Montezuma, they worked the sails so well that they went flying along, and the canoes which held his huntsmen and chieftains were left far behind in spite of the large number of rowers they carried. Montezuma was charmed, and said that it was a great art this of combining sails and oars together. So he arrived at the Peñol, which was not very far off, and he [Montezuma] killed all the game he wanted, deer and hares and rabbits, and returned very contented to the city. When we arrived near Mexico, Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains ordered the cannon to be discharged, and this delighted Montezuma, and as we saw him so frank and kind, we treated him with the respect in which the Kings of these countries are held, and he behaved in the same manner to us. If I were to relate the traits and qualities that he showed as a great Prince, and the reverence and service that all the Lords of New Spain paid to him, I should never come to an end. There was not a thing that he ordered to be brought that was not immediately there, even if it were flying. I say this because one day three of our Captains and some of us soldiers were in Montezuma's presence, when by chance a hawk swooped down through the halls which were like corridors, after a quail, for near the houses and palaces where Montezuma was confined, there were some tame pigeons and quails kept for breeding purposes by the Indian steward (whose duty it was to keep the rooms swept) so as to give himself importance.

When our Captains saw the hawk swoop and carry off

726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc. Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

X 787 Sixth Chapter, which telleth of still another house on the sign [One Deer], called Three Water. It was in part good, in part adverse, in part only in between.

Injc chiquacen capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc ce calli, in jpan jn machiotl: in jtoca ei atl, cequj qualli, cequj tetolinj, cequj çan tlanepantla ca.

On the day sign Three Water, there was said to be good and ill.

For he who was born on it, so it was said, would prosper. All his wealth would come easily. He would be successful in gaining a living.

But, on the other hand, quickly would vanish that which had come to him. Like water it would pass away—as if carried off by the river, as if engulfed by the water. Never was he content; never happy. In vain did he cast and hurl himself against obstacles. Nowhere could he feel tranquil. Indeed, in all the things which he undertook, though he went on elbow, shank, and knee, vain and fruitless were his efforts and fatigue. He only frustrated himself.

The day sign Four Dog: whosoever was then born—so it was said—would prosper. Swiftly would appear that which he required—his drink, his food. Even if he did nothing all day, it was not apparent whence or through whom his heart was calmed, whence he gained strength, whence he took sustenance, there where he whiled away the whole day. But somewhere by the intercession of others, he secured that which his children needed to eat. Without his forethought came what they were to eat. He did not know whence his sustenance, his [provision for] journeying, came. Though he did and worked at little, forthwith appeared his consolation and he achieved something.

X 787 ●231 And thus they said: if he bred dogs, he whose day sign was the dog, all would mate. His dogs would grow; none would die of sickness. As he trafficked in them, so they became as [numerous as] the sands, and so they barked.

It was said: "How can it be otherwise? The dogs share a day sign with him. Thus the breeding of dogs resulted well for him."

He sold them all. And all which were born, all came to be capes [for him]. Also owners and breeders of dogs became rich, and the price of dogs

In jpan ei atl tonalli: mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli:

ipampa in aqujn ipan tlacatia, iuh mjtoaia motlacamatiz, in ixqujch itlatquj, aiovi necia, vel motlaiecoltianj:

auh iece çan jciuhca, vmpoliuhtiuetzi in tlein qujmonextiliaia, iuhqujn atl onquiça, iuhqujn atoco, iuhqujn amoiaoa, aic avia, aic vellamati, çan nenia motlatlamotla, çan nenia moquauhtlaça, âcan tlacaco tlamati, nelli mach in jxqujch câana, yn jmolicpi, ietepon, itlâqua ic moquequetza, çan atleti, çan nen vetzi yn jçiaujz, in itlapaliviz çan monenencoa.

Navi itzcujntli, cemjlhujtonalli: in aquí ipan tlacatia, iuh mjtoaia motlacamatiz, iciuhca neciz, in jtech monequj in jauh, yn itlaqual, in maca nelle ai cemjlhujtl: anextica in campa tepal cevi iiollo, in vmpa pâti, vmpa ihiiocuj, vmpa qujtlaça cemjlhujtl: auh ça vmpa cana tepal qujcnopilhuja, in jntech monequj ipilhoan, injc ihiiocujxque, ainemachpan in neçi qujqua: amo quimati in campa oallauh inenca ivtlatocaia: intlanel çan tepiton, itla onai, itla contequjpanoa, njman neçi in jneiollaliliz, itla qujcnopilhuja:

yoan iuh qujtoaia intla itzcujnnemjti, in itzcujntli itonal, mvch vel moquetzazque: oapaoazque in jtzcujoa, aiac cocolmjqujz, iuhquja tlamecujlivi, iuhquja tlatzaliuj, iuhquja tlapipitzca,

mjtoaia: quenel noço itonalecapoca in itzcujnti, injc vel itech mochioa itzcujnnemjtilizti,

ixqujch qujnnamaca, auh ixqujch tlacati, moch quachqujçaia no ic mocujltonoaia, no ic vncatca in itzcujnpatiiouh, itzcujne, in jtzcujnnemjtianj: ichica

X 787 was so high, because they were eaten and needed by the people in days of old. They were in the market place—they arranged them[1] in their respective places. When dogs were sold, they seemed to have great jowls and mouths; they were judged, sought after, and coveted; whatever kind would be taken, whether short haired or long haired. Since they barked and whined, they bound, tied, and wrapped the muzzles of each of them; they were there frothing at the mouth.

●231

ca qualoia, tetech monequja, in ie vecauh, vnmanca in tianquijsco, quinaoaltemaia in chichinamacoia, in itzcujnnamacoia, iuhquin tlatenmetlapilivi, iuhquin tlatentomaoa netlâtlârtililo, netlatlanectilo, neiicoltilo, in catle onanoz: in aço tetzictic, anoço paçoltic, iuhquin tlananalca, iuhquin tlanenecivi, mochintin teteniaoaletoque, tlatetenjlpilti, têtenjlpitoque, in tetenpopoçoquillo ietoc:

And when they killed them, they dug a hole; they plunged and pressed their heads down in it with their hands, thus simply suffocating them in the mud. And the owner of a dog which had died put a cotton cord about its neck, stroked and caressed it with his hand, and said to it: "Stand guard for me there! Thou shalt pass me over the place of the nine rivers."

auh injc quinmjctiaia, quitlatatequja in jntzontecon, vncan quimonpolactia, quinteteppachoa, injc çan quimjhiiomjctia çoquiatitlan: auh in itzcujne, in ie onmjquj itzcujn, icpatl concozcatia, conpepetla, conmapepetla, quilhuja: Xinechalmochieli, tinechalmopanaviliz in chicunaoapan:

And some slew them only when they stole the dogs. They just fell upon and caught them in nooses; they were pounced upon and lassoed about the necks.

auh in cequjnti ic quinmjctiaia, in jquac çan quimjchtequja, chichime, çã quinvitonja, quinttzonvia, movitonja, moquechtzonvia.

X 787 Five Monkey was said to be a good day. He who was then born was like the workings and qualities of the day: the telling of tales, and jesting; the amusement and entertainment of others. Neither did he thereby cause anger. That which was his joke or his story thus brought forth smiles and laughter. Everything amused and brought joy to the people; everything gave them contentment and consolation; everything was pleasing to hear. No one did he disgust. But if in something he offended someone, sometimes letting slip an evil word, so misstating what he repeated in haste without reflection, he himself made it good so that the humiliation was not noticed. So he corrected and made good his words. Thus there was no anger.

Macujl oçomatli, mjtoa, qualton tonalli: in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan vel iẽ itequjuh ilhujl, ynemac catca, in tlatlaquetzaliztli, in cacamanalli, in teellekquixtiliztli, tececemeltiliztli, amo no ic tlaqualanja, in tlein icacamanal, in jtlatlaquetzal, injc queoa vetzqujztli, injc tlauetzquitia, moch tececemelti, moch tlapactia, moch tepac, moch teiolipan, moch mouelcaquj, aiac quijiolitlacoa: auh intla noço itla teiolitlaco quẽman quicamacaoa, ic motenpatilia, in ainemachpan tlein quitotiuetzi, çan no ie compatia, ãneztica in tleinton ic convellalia, ic contlamachia itlatol: ic amo tlaqualanja,

For so was it said that such was his day sign; so was he born on the day of the monkey; for he gave people pleasure; was friendly to all—everyman's friend, a desirable person.

ipampa iuh mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan tlacat, in oçomatli ca teaavilia, mochi tlacatl icnjuh, tececemjcnjuh, nenequjztontli.

Six Grass, so they said, was evil, a day sign of wild beasts. For he who was then born lived only in torment on earth, suffered pain and trouble, and found afflictions. And of his children, not one survived, nor became strong, nor matured; all simply

Chiquacen malinalli iuh mjtoa: amo qualli, tequanj tonalli: ipampa in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan tlaihiiovitinemja tlaticpac, toneostinemj, chichinacatinemj, cecoc teopouhquj, quitzttinemj: auh in jpilhoan amo cenne moquetza, avel oapauj, amo vel mo-

1. *Quinmolocaia*: *quinmolocaia* in the *Real Palacio MS*. Reference to the *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, cap. i, ff. 16r-17v, suggests that the terms *cuicuilli*, *tlamatilli*, etc., were not strongly differentiated; *molocaiaiaiti* is described as the glabrous variety (*cuicuilli* *pan ninal hasta su punta*).

And one then born they hence regarded as fortunate and said that he would be rich. Our lord would reward him; through his grace he would buy slaves and ceremonially bathe them for sacrifice. Or many times he would have others sing and dance. And[4] when they gave him a name, they arranged it for Four Reed. Then they gave food to the young boys and had them perform the naming ceremony.[5] This was because that time was the time of the election rites, of the election of the rulers of the cities.

And also it was said that on One Dog the owners and breeders of dogs rubbed ochre on all the dogs' heads.[6]

And [the day signs] which followed it were Two Monkey, and Three Grass, Four Reed, Five Ocelot, Six Eagle, Seven Vulture, Eight Motion, Nine Flint Knife,[7] Ten Rain, Eleven Flower, Twelve Crocodile, Thirteen Wind. These were all the group of day signs.

All were as in their account, as mentioned. Each day went related as to the manner of gifts of those then born. This is already explained; in many places hath it been made quite apparent. And when [these had] ended, thereupon set in —

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, injc qujtonalittaia, qujtoaia: mocujltonoz, ipal iez, qujtlamaujçalhujz in totecujo: açe tecoaz, tealtiz, açe quezqujpa cujcujcaz teitotiz: uh inic qujtocamacaia, qujn no ipan qujmattiuja in naoacatl, iquac qujtlatlaqualiaia, qujxicvenquaqualiaia in pipiltotonti: ipampa in vncan motlatocapaca, in netlatocapacaian tlatoque, altepeme.

No ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce itzcujntli, in jzqujchtin chichime, qujnquatlaviaia in itzcujneque, in jtzcujnnemjtique.

Auh in qujtoqujlia vme oçomatli, ioan ey malinalli, navi acatl, macujlli oçelotl, chiquacen quauhtli, chicome cozcaquauhtli, chicuei olin, chicunauj tecpac, matlactli qujaujtl, matlactloce xochitl, matlactlomome cipactli, matlactli vmei hecatl, in jzqujtetl in cencalpā tonalli,

ça ie much iuhquj in jtoloca omoteneuh, injc cecemjlhujpā tlapoaltitiuh, in quenamj innenemac ipan tlacati, ic omomelauh mjieccan vel omonenenti: auh in jquac onquiz in njman ic oalmoquetza.

4. *Uh*: *auh* is intended.

5. See Chapter 9, n. 1.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Tambien tenjan esta ceremonia: que en este signo, los que criauan los perrillos, que hinjan dentro: los almagraban los cabeças."*

7. *Tecpatl* is masc.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their
ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog,
one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains.
The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail
also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when
crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident,
were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly
lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own
fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the
Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[12]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief
farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz- 635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[30] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography,* and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles** [291
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border** 714]
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262
400 large jars of thick maguey honey 263]

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[31]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[30] Axocopan, *PNE,* 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE,* I: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE,* 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE,* 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE,* 3: 73).

[31] *PNE,* 6: 14 and *passim.*

[32] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE,* 6: 15).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[48]

Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[49]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atocpan has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[48] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[49] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

And [concerning] this pestle: when they caught, trapped mice,[24] they cast the pestle out the doorway. It was thought that if it were in the house, they could not be caught; it was said that it would warn them.[25]

Yoan in ichoatl tezoiotl: in jquac quijmaci, in quijmômvia quiçquijmjchtin: in tezoiotl quijaoac quiçallaça, quijlmach: intla çan cali iex: amo vel macizque in quiçquijmjchti, quijlmach çan quijmonjoatica. 825 412

Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of mice.

Injc cempoalli onoome capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in quiçquijmjchti. 825 837

They said, in times past, that it was thought that mice knew well him who had a paramour, whether a young man or a woman. In order for it to be evident, the mouse made a hole in a large basket, or gnawed the edges of gourd dishes or bowls. Likewise, if men, or a woman, were married, he made holes in their mats, or the men's mantles. In the same way, he gnawed through a woman's shift or skirt. And everywhere the mouse made holes. It was said that thereby he made known that one's spouse had committed adultery.

Quitoaia in ie vecauh, quijlmach in quiçquijmjchti vel quijmati, in aquja momemecatia: in aço telpuchtli, anoço cioatl. Injc neci in quijmjchin quiçoionja in chiequjvitl, anoço tecomatl, anoço xicalli quitenquaquaia. No iuhque intla namjque toquijchtin, anoço cioatl: yn jnpetl, anoço yn jtilma toquijchtin quiçoionjaia: çã no iuhquin cioatl, yn jcue, anoço yn jvipil quiçoionja: yoan noujan tlacoçoionja in quijmjchin, quijl ic quinezcaiotia: ca oquijtlaxin yn jnamjc.

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of turkey hens.

Injc cempoalli oney capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in totolme. 825 235

Turkey hens: when they were brooding, one who wore sandals might not go in among them. Especially when the chicks were about to break [the shells], it was said that [the hens] sat paralyzed. [The chicks] could not break [the shells, and] some would die. But some, when they hatched, it was thought, would only be paralyzed, those which were there in the shells. And it was said that in order that this might not happen, they placed old sandals among them when [the hens] brooded.

In totolme: in jquac tlapachoa, amo vel inpan calaquj in mocactia: oc cenca yquac in ie tlapanjzque totolti, quijlmach ic mocotoztlalia: amo vel tlapanjzque, cequjntin ic mjquj: auh in cequjntin yn jquac tlacati quijl çan cocotoztpipil, in vncan cate in cacalloc. Auh quijl injc amo iuh muchioazque yn, cacçolli intlan quijtema in tlapachoa.

Twenty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of turkey chicks.[26]

Injc cempoalli onnavi capitulo, intechpa tlatoa yn totolconentoton. 825 235 837

And when turkey chicks hatched, one might not enter among them who had a paramour, whether woman or man, or those who were married. When perchance the spouse [of one of them] had committed adultery, if he were to go in among [the chicks], they said: "He killeth them through filth."

Auh in jquac otlacatque in totolconentoton: avel inpan calaquj in momecatianj, in aço cioatl, in anoço toquijchtin, in anoço namjqueque: in jquac in aço oquijtlaxin inamjc, intla inpan ocalac, quijtoa: quijntlaçolmjctia.

24. Ibid.: "quando se mostraba ratonar en casa."

25. Ibid.: "no entrar los ratones, porque el maldiciera, los mejoraria: para que no entrasen."

26. Textbook-translation: read totolconentoton.

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
● 235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjquj totolpipil, ic qujtoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaquijco, anoço oquimjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oquintlaçolmjcti: ic qujmatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi totolme, injc mjquj.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
236 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse,
837 whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Quil no iuh inpan muchiou in namjqueque: in aço cana quitlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toquichtin: injc qujmati, çan quipiqui in aaquetztivetzi, anoce cana motlavitequj.

286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

Injc cempoalli omnacuilli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl quiquiti.

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

In icpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in iquac quiquiti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviaquixtiuh, in tennecuiliuhtiuh, quitoaia: quilmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj, çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chia field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

In iquac quiavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquin vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli quiiacoac quiioaltepeoa, itvalco: quilmach yc amo tecivilos in imjl, quil ic poliui in tecivitl.

754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**

Injc cempoalli on chicoeue capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

776
787 At night walked demons—perchance wizards and sorcerers—where they harmed one in one's house. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

In iooaltica nemj tlatlacateculo: aço nanaoalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oquimjttaque in aço itla ic qujnpoloa in chaneque: niman atlan contica ytztli puertatitlan, anoço itoalco qujmana in iooaltica, qujtoaia: quilmach vncan onmotencavia in tlatlacateculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa: aço mjotiaz, anoce cocolitzli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los pollos se cayan muertos, los pusos arriba; y esto, llamaan diçolmjquj.*"

28. Corresponding Spanish text: "*se parecia, en que la tela, se parecia biscurrada.*" Cuenoyo, in Sandoz, op. cit., is in error a false seam.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into containers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles [412] and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their
ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog,
one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains.
The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail
also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when
crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored—part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vccã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj.

Jnic excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miquijia nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin mauizçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

[4. Mapa of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times bears most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is an issue confounding. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*es una sierra cerquesta que esta cerca del Tlaxiaco.*"
7. Tlapaltic, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *bermejo* (lion colored, fulvous) for yiapalli. For paper, Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 56) has *pardinegro*; Molina (*op. cit.*), *color tirado de negro*; Simeon (*op. cit.*), brown or black.
8. The Spanish text explains: "*es una sierra cuadrada que esta cabe guadalupe.*"
9. *Loc. cit.*: "*es aquel monteçillo, que esta detrás dicho Tepetzinco, frontero del Santuario.*"
10. *Loc. cit.*: "*es un remanso, que esta en los cerrejones de Santiago, y alli cabe aquellos.*"
11. *Loc. cit.*: "*es un remanso que esta cabe chalco cerrado.*"
12. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 57) reads *pamacuextiuh*, which he translates as the *eigentümliche Priester*.
14. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says "*pusiqueles unas alas de papel como angeles.*"]

feathers, and in these [the children]
were kept.

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan qujxtilo, teinitilo, teiximachtilo, qujntlamamaca, qujnmamaca yn jmamanechichioal:

796x 289 292

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

ynjc ceppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatquj.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichioal.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

Jnic expa, oc cepa ichoatl yn intlatquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

The fourth time, white.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

iccen qujnchichioaia, iccen qujnmacaia, iccen qujtquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic qujntlatlatizque, ynjo ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oaoanozque ça iccen qujcuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

aocmo quipatla, aocmo qujpapatla: yoan vltica qujnoahoanchichioa.

[314] 796x

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac totoliujtica.

292 [237]

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalitotiaia:

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlatitia, ynjc oaoano ymal:

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoaçotiuh, qujtilquetztiuh in chicaoztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

[714 534]

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh muchinti, iuh muchichioaia, yn ixquichtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oahoanozque, yn iquac oacic ilhujtl tlacaxipeualiztli.

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search and University of Utah, 1950; Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of same paper, and its relevance to Xipe totec, see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 80.

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[8]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[9] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oqujcheoztiuh, moqujchitotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmoozztzilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlateniotitiuh, qujiaubcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo quimattiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annechonjtouque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn oazitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca oajmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquacencaujxia, qujnaquetzztiteca, qujmeltetequi, yca ixquaoac, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnochtli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in ichoantin mjquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Coauhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjloa, qujnoaltetecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maiotzincueptiujtze, motzotzoniquetztiujtze, mocuecuepiujtze, ynjc oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacujlti, calpulvevetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, oenjto, omonetolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynjc qujquazque: vmpa qujxexeloa, qujtetequj, qujueveloa: oc ie achto qujtonaltia in motecuçuma ce ynetz, mantiuh in qujujquilia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan qui-

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6. In op. cit., p. 63, Seler qualifies a "*dicho benito Feuerzeremonie*," Simeon (op. cit.) defines *inquemoa* as "*Coutume pour les sacrifices humains, fait avec du silex ou de l'obsidienne. . . .*" Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Mexico: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 48, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as "*un cuchillo como hoiva de lanza, no muchos agudo porque . . . no es grande hasta una agudo. . . .*"

7. *Quauhxicalli*: probably *quauhtlaxicalli* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtlaxal*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) translates as meaning the sun.

8. Seler inaccurately translates the term *quauhxicalli* as *Adlerschale* (cf. *Einige Kapitel*, p. 44). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 155, he breaks the word down into *quauhtl* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauh* was always understood to mean eagle. The words were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less consistently than Seler, uses the term *vasos de madera*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 18 *v*, Sahagún writes: "*Despues sacaban los corazones, los llamaban quauhnoca*." In *loc. cit.*, Seler translates *quauhnocatl* as "*the one from the eagle-land*," the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, or the sun's image and representation (p. 157).

10. *Apetlac* (cf. Seler, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Seler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, caps. 29 and 33.

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. These who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vexed them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncã oncoa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, amo qujnmamatiloaia, çan qujntzotzona, qujntlatlatzinja, iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel qujça in chiaoaliztli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja: 796x 515 [388]

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, qujnmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, qujquetza in male, qujtlalia quxuhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech qujtlatlalia: yn jamatlatquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796x [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlauelitalli chicaoac: ie no ceppa ie ic mochichioaia, ipan tetotoca, tececenmana, tlacatl qujcocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, qujcacalatztiuh ychicaoaz qujcaoatztiuj, qujtetoca, q'tepachotiuj, qujtecicali:

mochi tlacatl qujmauhtia, ipan macauj: qujtoa, Ie uitz tetzompacquj:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca qujcujtiuetzi, qujpepetlaoa, qujtlatlalochtia yn jtilma: in quezçuj qujtecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic qujojojtequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco qujquetza, itlacatzipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic qujnextia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796x 778

Auh yoan yn jquac y, tlacopiloaia: auh ynaca oc concholoktiaia, yn iquextepol malli: yoan mecatzicolli, atzapotlactzotli itech pilcac. [291 237]

Auh in quextepolli, amatica qujqujqujmiloaia, qujxaiocxiaia: auh ynjn motocaiotiaia, malteutl. [289]

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9. Molina: *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl section (*amolar*).
10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*un globo redondo, hecho de paxaro.*"
11. *Ibid.*: "*pusoso vestir los papeles con que se suele adornarlo, al muerto quando muere.*"
12. Cf. Sahagún: *Historia de Nueva España*, p. 93, n. 1: *xotonquiquapol*—"*Cortado-de-los-pies que refresca (pasqui) la cuijauez, la cuidar (tocado, en compuesto) con tamaza, que (compuesto) xotonquiquapol quiere decir cuido d'aver hecho (cuidado).*" This would imply a double composition.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text suggests that the thigh bone was then suspended. Seler, in *Biologia Mexicana*, p. 81, has "*rompky.*"
14. *Gottesgefangenheit*, in Seler, *loc. cit.*

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *magey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[13] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan ui vitznauac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia: [796]

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, nauintin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon: [778] [352] [532]

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque: [524]

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli: [292]

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanquj: [293] [237]

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli. [237]

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchiosuhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezzepolli, omjcicujlli, tlaniztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca. [532]

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl: [289] [292]

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapalos: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapalonque, ynjc monapalos ymaxtli: [411]

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc ecenj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamaçocan: [411] [237]

13. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Kelemsky edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Señor Antonio Quezadamatl on "la materia mencionada por la capa de fiber de algunos árboles de gruesa fibra. Sirvió de papel para las pinturas o los libros, y de tela para hacer las cobertas, vestidos y otros adornos que el rudo de los dioses requería."

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[16] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çeçolti in equechcotonaloque, tlapapatlatztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

"auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmixtaioujia, qujmiztaioquauhoatza: [251 263]

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujtonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapãtlecax, amo ichoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeualli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla. [374]

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn ieinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoaltema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin in teteuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan intẽteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tliltica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acaxilquj: [202 289]

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama. [302] [417]

quinpeualtilia yn cioa in netotilitztli, ynic mjtotia chocholoa, çan mocioaittotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jnteteuh coonemauja, qujtotitimanj, 796X 535

16. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 105.

796 [535] leapt about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

796 302 293 [537]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

796 And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells. [534]

796 535 And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

[301] 302 And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

796 684 688 Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitoa toxcachocholoa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaleque, moquaquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzintelokoio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acazilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaiacoloa, ic tlaxiniltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate cheoticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aioujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn izqujch teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, motenena mococoloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococoloa, ichica zujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicozquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxteleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn izqujchtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujntzilicça, qujmiicça:

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17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*salar c bayler de la fiesta de toxcatl*"; Ortiloy (*op. cit.*, p. 258) translates *toxcachocholoya* as "*se salta el salto de Toxcatl.*"

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Rokendo edition, Vol. III, pp. 162-3 and 187. The last-mentioned reference to *tzanatl* is: "*Hay una ave que se llama tzanatl; es negra y tiene el pico corvo.*" Seler (*op cit.*, p. 186, n. 2) calls *tzanatl* jackdaw or daw; or (*ibid.*, p. 233) rook thrush. Of this and of *cuitlacochin* he says it is "*ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und dessen Schrei, nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Landregen verkündete zeigte. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Es wird wohl ein Vogel mit ähnlichem schnarrenden Geschrei gewesen sein wie der der tzanatl oder Dohlen.*" Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: "*a que entre Españoles llamamos cuitlacochin, por razon de la burla, que llamamos chanza, en el romance.*" See also *supra*, p. 44.

[796] mat cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crowns] [793] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of [292] his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, [302] he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

[314] And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite [237] round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

tzitziuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpanioti, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

yoan mixquauexoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetztujaia, conapetzotiaia:

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatzatli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatzatli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatzatli:

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoztli:

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vltzteu:

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiacoiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj § otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

Auh in çequjchtin, yn ouxioaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzitzitzqujtimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemotzoltzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

Auh in tlamaztoton, yn ouxioaque, toliaoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

Auh yn iquac ie oncoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

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16. *"Vna manta delgada mexicana, que se llama cimichpanqui"* (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions *"manta delgada que llaman ayoli"* (Rubendo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. *"Vna flor de papel grande redondo, redonda a manera de rodela"* (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the disguisedpriest as *"ornamentado, que va sobre el pescuezo."*

18. *"El colodrillo, vna flores de papel, nombrado francisca, que embrazan a ombros parte de la cabeça a manera de orejas de papel, como medias alondas,"* and, later in the same chapter, *"va ornamentado, que se pasaua traz el colodrillo, como vna flor hecha de papel"* (*loc. cit.*).

19. "Mexican warriors (*aquilanimes*) colored the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (*aquetzali*)" (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. *"Hay otra que se llama yauhtli. Es muy verde, muy muchas ramas y crecen todas puntas hacia arriba: (y) siempre huele; se mezclaba medicinal para las que tenían calenturas, molido y bebido con el cacao: hace de resina, y después molida y mezclada con el cacao. Aprovecha también para las que siempre sangran; y para las que tienen calenturas"* (Sahagún, Rubendo ed., Vol. III, p. 276).

21. Probably the singular of quaquaquilitic is meant by quaquilli. Sahagún, however, defines *quaquilli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to love in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following *mec viloa*, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh ninoquitlalo yoatiuh yoan ninoquilli, ayamo, in ilachichiualli yoan pepe y yoatiuh oncac, ayamo yoan yolcaiuiuh, yoan ilamolilli ayamo, quinoquitoca, ayamo quinmoxitlaoa,*—and in the midst of them went what is called a reed mat, made of reeds, with two feathers (upright) upon it. Paper were hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They were carrying it with much reverence.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *teuxolloat*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xxxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica, 796x [301]

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujtli, ynjc tlamaiqujtli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ic in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ic no ic yn potonquj: 796x 292

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanicuilolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, tozzlapilollo: 796x 293

Auh in tozzlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, tozzenoloio in chimalli. [237]

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana: [535]

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: cxcan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio: [314]

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh. 796x 535

Auh matlaqújlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixqujchtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ic ichpupuchchicacti: [463]

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tonz in pena mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

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6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 12.

7. "*Waxxoxoc*," in *Índice*, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Nappa tecuhtli (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish column reads: "*Traía una rodela pintada, que venía que parecía, de la yerba que se llama acuxoxoyna.*" In Vol. III of the Bulmarde ed., p. 136, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "Ensayo de nomenclatura e clasificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Nos. 368 a 965) del libro XI, de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," *acuxoxoyna* is defined as "*cabeza de negro. Nimphaea elegans, Hook, Nimphaeae.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llamaba tecuhtli y son estos mismos cuando ya son grandes y crecidos y crecidos y crecidos; entonces tienen las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; entonces están muy crecidos en edad, estos papagayos tienen esta su amarillez, y por esto le llamaban tecuhtli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Bulmarde ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

9. "*Con flores en las colas, hechas de plumas de aquéllos*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulín*, however, may be an element in *flamboyanta*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamaban cuxhio (y) es muy semejante al que llamaban tecuxoxoc; tiene el pico amarillo y curvo, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo moradas, las redillas y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado cenizo, manchado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñitas que están sobre la cabeza del ala que llaman tzitzil, son amarillas manchadas de colorado; el rabo, como palo tosto, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado manchado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Bulmarde ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

12. Cf. *Anales* (Tamoanchan, *op. cit.*: "*Entre cantando, entre en danzando*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando bailaba en el areyto, yendo caminando al bailar, y danzando [sic] a compas del bagón.*"

1 A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

X 796 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or
292 youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets
301 on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].
304 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

X 796 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of
293 the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

[301 And the captains carried upon their shoulders
714] feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

237 And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form
X 796 of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

X 796 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed
302 a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in izquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoli, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn jncuechin, muchi tenjzo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, quinamictia, cequj aujtlatztli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocolequc, ymaachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn izquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh y.a quaquachicti quinamjctia, iehoatl in tototenpilolli: auh yn otomj quinamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in mococenmati, in tiacaoan, quimococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin quimocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetzztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in quimamaia, excan yiztiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelueoatica in tlaquimilolli: auh in itzintlã excan in chichilicpatica tlacujztli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotol in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçaeoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tlilxotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has down Perlenkleidung für yxomamachchapac.

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
778 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

auh in ie iuhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoã comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmã ie ic quitetema: muchi ichoatl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omoteten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic viviloa, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were
[302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained
[237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles
[293] or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmama tlaviztli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic moteneoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

[535] And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with
[30] white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper
[302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and
292 they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmã ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomoloa.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan ommotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in qujça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked.
[413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquitzon intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

[413] After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

in ie juhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Bird [illegible], however, renders *ocelopanti* as *tibia*.
8. The context suggests a distinction between *domestica* and *cuitlapan*.

X 796 714 richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

X 796 And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[15] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the [244] onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven [314] ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, 289 well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had [302] their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden [317] vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. 237 And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocatencujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj momatlaçaxque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauizçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no tototectl: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in intetecupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in otlecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: izzac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoã xiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, mozaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixooa njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oalteno in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltenovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmoczolotiqujça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

15. "*Los sacerdotes, de la diosa chicomecoatl*" (corresponding Spanish text).
16. "*Estos se subieron, encima en un pequeño, que se llamaban [sic] la casa de adoratorio*" (loc. cit.). *Codex Borbonicus*, mentioned at Orthographic, illustration 11. Pino y Tovar, op. cit., p. 143.
17. *Xiuhtocatlalli*, in Simeon (op. cit.) is defined as made orange, fine, however, n. 12, p. 62.
18. "*Pusiqnolo abajo, en un lugar que se llamaba ocatzalpa, que era un espacio, que mejo entre las gradas del cu, y al patio abajo, al qual espacio subia por cinco, o seys, gradas*" (corresponding Spanish text).

X 796 Iacoçauhqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came
[796] last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

X 796 And when they were being cast into the fire, there then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He
292 was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a
535 crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which
[198] was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was
[534] he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

X 796 They took one another's hands, grasping them firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken,
535 where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hands."

And next day all assembled at the same time to
● [237] dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasure songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here endeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

quj, ichoatl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca intecuh catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoqujlitivia, ça qujoalcentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlaxo, vncan in teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in qujntlepantlaçaia, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaxo, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiqujltone, quachichiqujle, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujmamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoetzaltontli: in jquac ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

youn ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhqujn tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vntetl in jniacach, vccampa in aiacachotinemj.

.Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazque: injc oaltemo, imaamaneapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca motetevhtzitzquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhqujn mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic movitequj, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin moteneoa mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in coztic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xoxoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca ixujch tlacatl, çan ichoantin in oqujchtin:

njman ie ic peoalo in necocololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle queoa, çan avilcujcatl: auh in necacaoalo, ie ioca: auh in aca cenca-compaquj, vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jiomjlhujixti y, ie cuel cõcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je ixujch njcan tlamj, njcan tzonquiça in ilhujtl Teutl eco.

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8. ". . . en un círculo cada año sacaban vivos en un gran incendio de fuego muchos cautivos, en la forma que se llamaba teotlaco; y hacían los ciertos aquella ceremonia que se llamaba mamaltzitzinti, como se dijo en la misma fiesta de teotleco" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 221).

9. ". . . porque no los hacían (sic) el dios Acolmiztli" (ibid., p. 234). Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., p. 166.

And when they had burned, they there buried their charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan incuo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaomjcque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, oonquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaxtatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: moteneoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc moteneoa, çacapan qujxoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: ichoatl in ocoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, ce petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjtoia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in peoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iecvilos in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in iteouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn moteneoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujxqujch haxxioa nexaxacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in etlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo latlioa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nehaapanalo:

mec vilos, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniaoaloa in jxqujchtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoialo,

3. "*Ie calle a le grama*" (*zacapan quimoqui*), according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

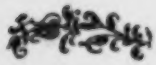

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Izcalli.

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood ohe on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his mat was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was dawn, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

Jnic cempoalli on caxtolli omome, capt. ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequjpanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtoltetl omey metztli, in mjtoaia in motenenoaia Yzcalli. 796[x]

Inic caxtoltetl omey ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualoia oauhqujltamalli, moteneoa, mitoaia, motlaxqujan tota, ichoatl in tletl, qujtlaliaia; yxiptla, çan colotli, in qujchioaia, qujxaiacatiaia, yn ixaiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, xiujtl ynic ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca iuhqujn cuecueioca, cenca mihiiotia: 796[x] 778 [262]

yoan conaquja yn itzontecō quetzalcomjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn xexeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquaquauh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzaltzontecomaio yiomextli: auh yn jxintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencā quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxxiuhian vetztica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli. [237]

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhqujn ma nelli itzon:

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motqujtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in ehecatl itlan calaquj, iuhqujn maacomana, iuhq'n cuecueioca, iuhqujn cuecueiaoa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, ocelueoatl, oclupetlatl mamaçouhtoc, çan iuh ca in jxtontecon, ixtlapach onoc: auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, iooalnepantla in tlequauhtlaça. Auh in ovetz tletl, njman ie ic qujpizza, mec tletlalia: [281] [372]

auh in omotlali tletl, in oclavic, in otlatlalchipaoac, mec ommotecpana, ômaiacatia in telpopochti, in 796[x]

1. "Growth," or "the growing," according to Clavigero, op. cit., p. 316. Torquemada favors the meaning "rebirth" (op. cit., p. 308): "quiere decir: Renovadora, o el de la renovacion; porque por espacio de tiempo, ni quarta mudar el tiempo, y parece de frio à calor, y renovaque la Primavera." In Clavigero (op. cit., p. 172, n. 54) it is suggested that the literal translation of Izcalli is "born in the house."

2. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text says: "hacian la estatua del dios, del fuego de madera, y poniale máscara, como una cara, que dicen Ilamaca esmeralda, que quiere decir esmeralda, o esmalte."

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *teoxtli*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, ichoatl in tiltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teuteti, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, texcapoctli ica: 796 778 [301 302] 257

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolxuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquã çã no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc.

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmã catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmã ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio. 796 [253]

Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoálti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpã motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmõmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in õmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaxtimanj, vncã motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque. 796 262

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujxtimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmã ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmã ie ic texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in ynean iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitoõ, 796 274

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hacian una cara, asemeja del diablo, del hoyo, de pedrillas y cárdenas azules, como una cara. . . .*"
6. *Tonalquechtapalcatl*: in Lib. XII, Cap. i, §4 (Rubiales ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexican eagle, "*las plumas del cuello y de las hombros, hasta la cola, eran de hombros de cuervillos (y) blancuzcos tapalcatl. . . .*"
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y correspondian como pretadas de plumas pintadas, que parecian como pretadas de aquisque.*"
8. *Ulocpalli*: "*una manera de tortas que llamaban ulocpalli, de maiz molido, harina sin cocer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Rubiales ed., Vol. III, p. 186).

×796 when he had been living in the likeness of another,
[548] had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said,
[827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants;
[824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

×796 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to
pass, every four years, the bringing out of the chil-
852 dren and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and
[301] covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited.
[608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they
[431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

[304] At midnight they took [the children] to the priests' dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And
[302 they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers
237] and soft down.

And the women who became aunts were pasted
[608 with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms,
302] and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

oaquetztinēca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinēca omovelitztinenca.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaana, qujnacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujmizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, moaspaouazque:

yoã in metl qujiollotzeloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollotlapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatzpeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, mozcaltiz, moaspaouz.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpilloaan: yoan cuntlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiã vetzia in tlatoque.

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilqujxtilo, yn jxqujchtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemoliaia, in qujnvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oqujchtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmavitĩa, tetlati, teaviti:

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toqujchtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

ioalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnacazzapotla, qujnnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conqujxtia, vncã qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzaztzitleoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoqujztleoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoã ixmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamazochiuh contecaxivia: mjtoa, intecuzochiuh.

In jquac oqujmõnacazzapotlaque, njmã ic qujnoalhujujca in inchachan, vncan qujchichitoque ixtoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlatvilitoque, qujchixtoque in

643 **Ninth Chapter**, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.

Inic chicuacuaj capitulo vncan motenecoa injn nechchiouia in tlatoque in jcoac macoaia.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontlj tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal uetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which [314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan quj:lalia ujtziloxitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 112, identifies quetzalcoatl as Phaeomarbrus mexicanus mexicanus.
2. Platalea ajaja L. (Sahagún, op. cit., p. 124).
3. One such is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 67.
4. Clark, op. cit., p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as Cotinga amabilis.
5. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 182.
6. Quauhtecuani: quauh could mean wooden; elsewhere we always give preference to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has chalchiuhtencolotentetl coztic teucujtlatl yoallo—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhcoxcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac coxcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

[237] A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzaltotoxcpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquauitl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecacoaztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcoxcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcoxcatl,

643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, ineixcaujl tlatoanj, teixcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in iuqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[276 416]

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçelotocactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[292 281] [534] [533] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl xiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in iuqujch omjto. Veuej topanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tziquaoztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 943; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1096, on etymology of *amanteca*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

643
714 **Twelfth Chapter**, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold.

[237]

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *xapote* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

[237] The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers.

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

All quetzal feathers was its *xapote* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of this gold [plate].

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

Its *xapote* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

[531] The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches.

The shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Injc matlactlomome capítulo, vncan mjtoa: injc muchichioaia in tlatoque, in qujztlauja iuspan.

Tlauhquecholtzontli tlaçotlaqui cuztic teucujtlaio: oncca mjiec in quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio: injcal in tlamamalli, veuetl in cototli tlachiuhtli, cuztic teucujtlaio:

auh in ichoutl cuauaqujja tlatlauhqui, tlauhquecholiujtl injc tlachiuhtli: cuztic teucujtlatl in jtetepaio, auh in jxtapocue mochiuhtoc çan moch quetzalli.

Chimalli, cuztic teucujtlatl, in tlatzotzontli inuauaxio, tlaçoiujtl in jtentlapilolloo muchiuhtoc,

chalchiuhcoxcatl, tlacuauqujxtilli in ololiuhqui, in veuej, chalchiujtl, iuan teuxiujtl

xiuhtotoztontli, cuztic teucujtlaio, quetzalli in jcuecuetlacacaio, in jtuentecon conmaquja tlatoanj: auh in jtlac conaquja xiuhtotoeuatl,

auh in tlamamalli xuxouhqui veuetl in cototli tlachiuhtli cuztic teucujtlaio

çan muchi quetzalli in jtxapocue, mochi tlaçiujtl in jtlapilolloo, cuztic teucujtlatl in tlacuaualli in jtetecpaio, in xiuhtuetenetl,

ocelotetec, oçelocuatl injc tlachiuhtli, cuztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli in jtetecpaio,

çan muchi quetzalli in jtxapocue,

oçelouiuetl in tlamamalli cuztic teucujtlatl injc tlotlouijtequj.

Chimalli xiuhtotoxica tzuequj, cuztic teucujtlatl in itixapo,

1. *Tetecpaio*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *vapor de oro* where our translation uses "flint knives." The shape of the *vapo* is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also Simeon, *op. cit.*, and Seler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 590, where *Itetecpaio* is used consistently.
2. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* follows *matlatlauhtoc* with *ye mochi quetzalli, ye tlatlauhquilli muchiuhtoc*—"now quetzal feathers, to which small greenhoppers [of gold] are added at the points."
3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y *colgaua detras yluanas, hecho los cuquillos, en manera pequeñuelos, puestos en vna rodaxuela, como para llenar carga.*" This passage Seler (*op. cit.*, II, p. 591) translates as "*Dann wird auf den Rücken eine Trageand gemacht, mit einem Gestell hergerichtet, der mit Gold überzogen ist.*"

431 776 292 301 The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Texcatlipoca — the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] [416] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlatoca cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan cozcatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centetu tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: [237] the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone [416] neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalartatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tiztzile; tenchilnaoacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzal- [237] coatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[½] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, conoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcololli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itizapo, quetzalhençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

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9. *Ibid.:* "una cabellera hecha de plumas ricas que colgaua por la parte deuas hasta cerca de la cintura, ensima cembrada toda de cuentas de oro."

10. *Ibid.:* "unos arejeros de oro que llamauã colgados como cascabellitos de oro y sartales de caracolitos marinos blancos y hermosos decorados cuentas; colgaua en cuatro que era como pasto y llamauale cenjalo [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaua este pasto muchos cascabellitos arrebolados y colgados por todo el."

11. *Ibid.:* "era cuanto de cada blanca pintado la orilla de abajo hasta cuanto yua bordada con plumas blancas tres listas por todo el rededor."

12. *Ibid.:* "una manta rica de cada della era en aquel claro y tenia labrada ensima de muchos labores de un aquel muy fino llamauase esta manta tzitzilli esta manta se pesaja por las cantonas atado por las cuatro al cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.:* "una rodadilla de cuarzo, atada al cuerpo cabo [illegible] espaldas."

14. *Ibid.:* "unos arejeros de chalchiuitl, muchos que tenia [illegible] como cascabeles de chalchiuites."

15. Tzachilnaoac is probably cognate in the Aztec colonial.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "una mujer de cuero de tigre, y colmaquan [sic] de la cintura, cubre las espaldas, que espalda grande, hecha de plumas de cuerua, llamauase la mujer con chalchiuitl gaddir, y rodaudo, en la punta."

17. *Ibid.:* "de cuarzo de cuerpuesto."

12

½ [There is no known genus of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Analyst]

796 And when he had already taken shape, then they
778 pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecwyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After
[237] that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs
[532] and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and
[289] members [of men: it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was][7] only of paper: it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife as the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

Auh in ic utlacat, njmã quijquapotonja, yoan quj-
chioa, ixtlã tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxivitl in tlaça-
lolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl,
teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxoxopiltectli, yoã yiacapitol,
mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan
tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlatzicujlolli: no itech pilcaia
moteneoa vitznaoaiutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan
tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan tlcuxtli yoã icpac
conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmã contoquijlia, itoca
anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin
vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmã ie ic in toxpololli
icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuex-
palli, yoã itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in
tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmololotica, yoan
in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio,
oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc
tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncã icujliuhtoc in
tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapach-
tli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in
maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no
tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujttli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan
amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl:
auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli tezoacaxilquj,
auh injquezpan qujmamanticatca iacatecpaio: in
jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc
tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli,
çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan
ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauh-
can tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapan-
quj, moteneoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no
iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi injuh
ic qujcentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex
imaçpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pil-
catica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

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6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, mentions as *ortiga* (*Urtica* sp.?); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica* sp.; others are *Urera baccifera*, var. *angustifolia*; *Bernardinia urtipedis* Kunth; Chiang ("quemadura," "ortiga"); and *W. corymosa* — H. B. K. ("ortiga de tierra caliente"). Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 698, writes of *chichicaste*: "*La ortiga ciruelana. . . . La especie principal es la jarocpha ocoma L. . . . Es blijiza, planta herbácea, arrimándose, cuando se les acaba ellida y arrojada*" (*Malpighia dumicolum*, *Euporbiaceae dendrobacea*). Also, "*Planta arrimosa, llamada también ortiga, mal hombre, mala mujer, quemador, chichicastillo, chichiscle, es blijiza.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicastli* (*Urera caracasana* [Jacq.] Gaudich.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *jpal*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 500, has supplied *-maxtli*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the evidence is *-maxtli*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 60, *amatl-amatl* is given as "coarse, double-layered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bell's bark acacia (*Acacia cornigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), V, p. 211, reads: "*La materia convertida por la capa de libar de algunos arbolitos del género ficus. Sirvió de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las colaxas, cuéldas y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter.** Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiuhq̃ in jquac oquizque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237] on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
[293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oacic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujquixtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn izquijch in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diabloene, ie no ceppa quinceecencauhque, quintlaquentique, quinquequetzallotique, quincocozcatique, quimcnaasquijque xiuhxaiacatl, yoan quinquequentia in tequemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in tozquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatquitl in monec, quipiaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it
805 Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman qujoaltoqujlia in Tlaxuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã qujvaltoqujlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eoa. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjcque tulteca acaloco.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ie no ceppa quiçaco, in ie no ceppa tiquijmjttaque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in quiçaco, onmotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchicoenjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoaltiio. Auh ie no ceppa quiçaco, çan quiztiquizque quauhtitlampa izxiaque: çan tequjtl ontemjctitiquizque in

1. So the Aztec reads (compatibles: see Molina, op. cit., *xocotlvitzi*, *xocotlvitzi*). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observance of feast days (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. See various translations in Seler, op. cit., p. 320.

3. The fifteenth and eighteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

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651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

● [237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[80]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[81]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists
131 another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[80] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornices, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[81] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

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808 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[b] [651]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[b] [291]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[b] [714]

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers[b] [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton[b] [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
. . . . . plain mantles
. . . . . women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
200 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285]
400 deerskins [281]
100 live deer [231]
100 large (live) parrots [237]
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.[a] [357]

[a] Corrected from 800.

[a] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras Históricas* (1891), II: 195. The province of "Tlacobuacolcos" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas bordadas de todos colores, que servían para estupidar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, cinguas y huipiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacotzinhque [Ilacotzinhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de plumas blancas con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las unas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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[65] [29] 816 bundles[a] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
408 bundles[b] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[c] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

[26] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

[23] [301] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[d] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[e] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[f]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[g]

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[a] Corrected from 800.
[b] Corrected from 400.
[c] Corrected from 400.
[d] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[e] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[f] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenian todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[g] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Las antiguas* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[***]

[**] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis hateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[*] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[237] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
[301] 20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

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[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[39]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
114 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[40]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
651 may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[41]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[39] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[40] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlztitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[41] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81. Identified as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino,* all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE,* 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y escutos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE,* 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]

[316] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50
[243] measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 723: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted - Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[18] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[19]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING [291

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino.* It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[20] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxáca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[18] *PNE,* 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[19] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[20] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

411 Bows and arrows were used, probably, by every warrior, but they were a less *convenient* weapon than the simple dart.[38] The bow ("*tlauitolli*")[39] was made of the same wood as the stem of the javelins ("otlatl"), its length varied according to the tribes, but those of the Mexicans were short.[40] The chord was made [237] out of the hair or sinews of deer. The arrow ("*mitl*") needs no description. Sometimes it was with several branches or heads. They carried the arrows in quivers suspended from the shoulder. Poisoned arrows were not in use among the Mexicans.[41]

Last among the missiles, though not least in importance, were pebbles and stones, thrown by slings or by hand.[42] The store-

we shall not deny it, appears to us not yet established as a fact. They may have had something similar to it, however, but it was no commonly used weapon, and we would beg to suggest that the "invention" of the "atlatl" at Tacubaya relates, not to the cross-bow, as Sr. Ramirez indicates, but simply to the "harpoon" (fisga) or javelin fastened to its carrier by a long cord. The Mexicans, besides, had a very characteristic name for cross-bow (Molina, I, p. 116). It is "tepuztlauitolli," composed of "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "tlauitolli," bow,—*a bow of* IRON,—plainly indicating that the weapon became known to them only after or during the conquest. Gonzala Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés "Historia general y natural de Indias," written towards the middle of the 16th century, but published in full only 1853, by the Academy of Madrid, gives (Vol. III, plate I, figs. 2 and 3) a drawing of an instrument used by the Indians of Cueva (Coyba), on the Isthmus of Darien, for throwing their darts. He says (Lib. XXIX, cap. XXVI, p. 127): "In some sections of the country the Indians are warlike, in other "sections not. They hardly ever use the bow, but fight with macanas, long lances, "and with darts which they throw by means of *estóricas* (a kind of *atlatlos*), a well-"made wooden contrivance. With this they hurl the javelin, always keeping the 'es-"tórica' in hand." The drawing referred to represents a wooden slide, shorter than the dart itself. The latter was laid on it. On each side of the slide there was a ring through which they passed the first and second fingers, holding it between and resting it on the palm of the hand. This gave them considerable accuracy and power in throwing the dart. An uncouth but very plain representation of a similar contrivance is found on plate V to the fifth chapter of the 2d Treatise of Durán, thus showing that the "atlatl" was nothing else but Oviedo's "estórica." Furthermore, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, identifies the "atlatl" in all probability with the "throwing stick" of the Aleutians of the Northwest, and still in use among them.

[38] Although the bow and arrow are a very deadly weapon, the *dart* was most convenient, and therefore most popular among the Mexicans; at least to open the combat (Mendieta, lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[39] Molina (Vocabulario I, p. 13).

[40] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Some tribes are mentioned as using bows 3½ feet long. The natives of Tehuacan are stated to have been extraordinarily good archers (Mendieta, lib. II, pp. 130 and 131).

[41] There is no trace of poisoned arrows north of the Isthmus of Darien. (See "Relacion de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla "del oro," etc., etc., "escrita por el Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya," in vol. III of "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos," by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Madrid, 1829.) Also, Pedro de Cieza, of Leon ("Crónica del Peru," in Vedia, vol. II, cap. VII, p. 361).

[42] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Stones were picked up while fighting and thrown at each other in the field. Tezozomoc mentions "stones sent off with cords" ("con cordeles"), otherwise we have no description of the sling.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the
287 question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of
237 the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each sub-division of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time;
[302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 88) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototl." It is "*Trogon resplendens.*" (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 30, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquechol" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1869, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 189, in vol. II, of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to *imitate* the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face *yellow* ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was *blue* (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tiznándose las caras con la tizne divina, quellos asi llamaban, y el rey Auit-"zotl vestido de riesa mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas aqules . ."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Mother: "nantli"—"tenantzin"—"teciztli."[18]

Aunt: "auitl"—"teaui."[19]

Grandmother as well as grand-aunt: "citli."[20]

Great-grandmother "piptontli."[21]

Descending from the "Ego."

Son: "tepiltzin," "tetelpuch." But the women (mother, sisters, etc.), call him "noconeuh."[22]

[18] *Molina* (I, p. 80; II, pp. 62, 92, 96). "Ciatli" is probably the same as "Citli."—hare, or grandaunt. The fact that the same name should be given to a near female relative or even to the mother, and to a fleet, timid, quadruped, is very singular. It may be that the timidity of the animal has given occasion to bestow the name, or, since hare's hair was frequently woven into fine mantles, together with feathers, that this also may have given rise to it. The latter is first mentioned by *Peter Martyr, of Anghiera*, "*De nouo Orbe*," *or the* "*Historie of the West Indies, etc., etc.*" London, 1612. An English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden, of the famous "Decades," also entitled "*De Rebus Oceanicis*," (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 229), he mentions having seen among the objects brought to the court of Spain by Juan de Ribera, garments; "they compact of Conies haire, and they set these feathers in such order between the Cony haire, and intermingle them between the thriddes of the cotton, and weave them in such difficulty, that we do not well understande how they might do it." *Sahagun* (Lib. XI, Cap. I, p. 157) mentions another animal to which the name "cioatlamacaxqui" is given, which he translated "little old woman," basing upon its other designation of "tlamaton." [237] [286]

The reverend father is, however, in error. The first name signifies literally, "woman medicine-man," or "female doctor" (Indian notion of course), and the second "little medicine-man," from "ciuatl" woman, Molina, II, p. 22, "tlama"—medicine-man, (II, 125). This animal seems to be the Raccoon, as the following quotations prove: *Joannis Eusebius Nieremberg*, ("*Historia naturæ maxime peregrinæ*," Antwerp, 1635 Lib. IX, Cap. XLII, p. 175). "Antra canitates montium atque collium Tazocolci hospitatur animal peregrinum, quod cuncta manibus prætentat. Mapach ab Indis dicitur, sed non firmo nomine; alij illamaton seu vetulam appellant, alij maxtle seu gossypinum cingulum, alij cioatlamacazque seu sacerdotissam." *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XII, Cap. XXXIX, p. 422), he calls "Coqumatle," an animal which is probably the Coati, makes no mention of the "mapach," but *Clavigero* (Lib. I, Cap. X, p. 76) treats of this animal fully.

The naming of a female relationship, "Citli" appears the more strange, as this name is given, in the Mexican mythological tales, to a *god* who tried to compel the sun to move, and lost his life in the attempt. This story is due to *Andrés de Olmos*, neither Sahagun nor Motolinia mention the occurrence in this manner. Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. VII. Cap. II, p. 245, etc., etc.); *Mendieta* (Lib. II, Cap. I, pp. 77, 78) and *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, Cap. XLI, p. 76). Both refer it to his authority. We shall refer to it in our essay on "Creed and Belief." [773]

[19] *Molina* (I, 118; II, 8, 91).

[20] *Molina* (I, 118; II, 92). See note 18.

[21] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, 92). There is also, "nipipinia"—"pararse flaco de vejez," and "Pipinqui yuacayo"—"viejo flaco y arrugado." The affix "tontli" is a diminutive.

[22] *Molina* (I, p. 71). A singular etymology is shown here: The man says, "*Thy*" / "*Their*" boy" or "*Thy*" / "*Their*" youth." ("Te-piltzin"—"Te-telpuch" from "Tehuatl" or "Te" "thou" / "their") and "Pilzintli," child, male or female, (II, p. 22,) and "Telpochtli," youth, (p. 96). The woman, however, calls: "my child" (or boy, since the same name is for both

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMY

The Domestic and Tribal Economy of the Aztec People

THE AZTEC SOCIAL SYSTEM provided a means by which 181
people could exist harmoniously together in considerable numbers. The domestic and tribal economy of the Aztecs offered the food, shelter, tools and clothing to which man largely owes his dominant position on earth. The measure of a human society may be gauged by the relationship between the organization of the people themselves and their use of materials to build houses and equip them. The Aztecs' economy had the same basic simplicity as had their social organization; likewise it had the same flexibility in expanding to meet the needs of a growing population.[1]

Agriculture was the basis of Aztec life, and corn, *zea mays*, 241
was the chief food plant. The cultivation of plants ensured 471
a food supply near at hand, which was not subject to the fluctuations of game and thereby enabled man to take thought for the morrow. The clan system, as we have seen, recognized that the fruits of the land supported the tribe. Therefore, it was only natural that the tribe should own and control the land which supported its members.[2] (See Plate 38.)

The tribal council divided the land among the clans, and 471
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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

471 the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the
421 heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave
[428] labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

174 The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable mi-
[161] grations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[8]

● 241 The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time
311 when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

treat to islands in the lake, they met the land problem in the same ingenious way as did the Chalcas, Xochimilcas and the tribes to the northwest, in Lake Zumpango. 241 311

This method was to create *chinampas*, the so-called "floating gardens." The *chinampa* was, in reality, a small artificial island, made by scooping up mud from the marshy borders of the lakes and at first holding it in place by a revetment of reeds and later by trees whose roots bound the earth solidly together. Water flowed into the narrow pits, making them into canals. Fresh mud was always added before planting, so that the fertility of the earth was constantly renewed. The Tenochcas and their neighbors thus converted great sections of otherwise unproductive marsh, flooded in the rainy season, into a grid of canals and fields, the fertility of which is equaled only by the river-flooded lands of the Nile Delta. *Chinampa* agriculture continues today in the districts of Xochimilco and Chalco, where most of the vegetables are grown for the modern metropolis of Mexico City. The inhabitants still use the Aztec language and occupy the same land as did their ancestors, renewing them each year by the same methods used in Aztec times. The outlines of former beds may be seen for a considerable distance round about, since the modern draining of Lake Texcoco has dried up much of the lake area of the Valley of Mexico.[4] (See Plate 37, bottom.)

When the Tenochcas moved into the lake they achieved living room. As the city grew it could incorporate the adjacent garden beds for house foundations, while the increase in population could be fed by building new *chinampas* on the outskirts of the farming area. Thus much of their success may be attributed to the freedom from internal strife 311 578

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 • 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [113 southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously [241 311 501] poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

The fourth month they called Uei tepeztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey tocoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazia fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteotl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

[796] [805] [776] [785]

Chapter 4
Uei tecuilli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli*; and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chia*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all these things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

1. Marginal notation: *Sacrificio ante el hail fiesta*.

Cap. 4.
Vey tecuilli

1 b KL. *b 3*
2 c En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a *c 4* [785]
3 d las puertas de las casas ensangrenta- *d 5*
4 e uanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de *e 6*
5 f las espinjillas: los nobles y los ricos, *f 7*
6 g de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan *g 8*
7 A sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman *A 9*
8 b acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus *b 10*
9 c dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada *c 11*
10 d vno tenja en su casa. *d 12*
11 e Despues desto, yuan por los ma- *e 13*
12 f hizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que *f 14*
13 g aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas *g 15*
14 A con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de *A 16*
15 b sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan *b 17*
16 c calpulli: y tambien ponjan comida *c 18*
17 d delante dellos. *d 19*
18 e Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: *e 20* [776]
19 f yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan *f 21*
20 g chicome coatl: y alli delante della *g 22*[1]
hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año passado: yuan en procesion, a presentarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semilla, para sembrar el año venidero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las trojes, por estar bendito. [241]

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente. [778]

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[431] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

● [241] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *magney* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[178] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, five *tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonoua*, "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them: there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

oncuzcoac, yn omotlali, hi tzomoliuhtimanj, iolocuimanj.

Auh yn otlathujc, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, qujcenocujtiuj in calli, no ichoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlacujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlaelia, ic motlaoelitta, ic mihixnamiquj:
in telpepochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa quipaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izqujcan manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cocentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujcalitquj, yn inchachan:
qujnxonochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujntlaquentia, quintlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujltetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icaçuh cujiatlaoatzalli, tepioacquj, quappitztic, tlaixtecoujlli. quitzincuetia: yoan cen chiquijujtl pinolli, yoan ceio izquijtl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli quitequj acatl vncan quitemjtia, quitentiquetza, yn izquitlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepixcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa quicuj, quimamalhia in cujxtl.

Auh yn iquac y, motenoua calonoac, cali ononac: ichica ca çan cali çan techachan in mauixtililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ic teutlac, vmpa quimoncacana, cinteupan yn itcupan chicome coatl: vmpa quinamoc, ic neaujltilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepizolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn itcupan chicome coatl, quinmamaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca atzoxocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cobar de maíz* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates the term as *mazo de maíz*; Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*porrón o mazo de maíz antes de que sazone.*"
7. "*Unas yerbas, que llamamos, mayney*," in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330), referring to the *magney*, says: "*Las raíces gruesas mayney, revelan de sabio.*"
8. Gruel, roasted maize mixed with chia seed, cacao, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 95).

the small ears of maize beside the main ear;[18] the ripened green maize.[19]

Then the beans—white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans;[20] black beans; flesh-colored beans;[21] fat, red beans; wild beans;[22] amaranth; the variety of amaranth call *cuexal*;[23] fine, red amaranth seed:[24] [common] red amaranth;[25] black amaranth; bright red or *chili*-red amaranth;[27] fish-amaranth [*michinamili* or *chicalosl*];[28] brilliant black amaranth seed;[29] the bird-seed called *pezacatl*;[30]

also *chia*—white *chia*, black *chia*, and wrinkled *chia*.

All these things, thus mentioned, all these they offered to [the goddess]. When her feast day was celebrated, they formed her image, and laid all before her; the old men of the tribal temple sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red—completely red on her arms, her legs, her feet. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shirt also was red; her skirt was the color of ripe fruit. She had a chief's shield, painted with designs and embellished in red. She carried in either hand her double ear of maize.

Thus ended the festival of Uei tecuilhuitl, and thus ended and passed the vigil songs. And then the winding dance, the dance with song, began. This ended at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

njman ichoxtl in etl, yn itzac etl, ecuxtli, ychichilli, çoletl, tlileti, xquijtetl, xiecotli, quavecoc, ouuhtli, cocotl, tlapalhouuhtli, xochiouuhtli, tliliouuhtli, teuouuhtli, anoço chichiloouuhtli, mjchiouuhtli, chicalotl, ynecauuhtli, pezxicatl:

no yoan in chien, itzac chien, tlilticchien, chiantzonzol.

Jn ixquich y, iuh quitoa, ca moch ichoxtl, quitemaca: in iquac ilhujuh, quitlacatilia, muchi ixpan quimanaia, quicuicatia in veuetque, calpulequc: quitlacotonjlia.

Auh yn jnechichioal motlaoçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxic, yn jaco: muchi tlacemxquilli, tlaujtl yn jamacal yn iviqil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icue cacamoliuhqui, tlaolchinali cuitlolli, tlauhpoiaoac, ycinma nenecoxampa quitquitica.

ic ontlamj, in vey tecuilli: yoan ic vntlamj ic quiça, in tecuacuicatl. Auh iquac vmpeoa in necololo, cuicoanolo: vmpa vntlami, yn ipan tocatl.

796X
824
243
796X
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826

796X

796X
532

796X

19. Glass in the *Florentine Codex* (loc. cit.): "Mazorquillas de maiz que son hijos de las mazorcas." Sahagun (op. cit.) has "*pequeñas hijas de maiz que pesaron el chal de Diosa principal*."

20. Orozco y Berra, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 314, has as follows: "[Made] *De maridos hombre que casó con poco crecido, se decía . . . Xiloti, jilote, la mazorca de maiz tierno y por maqar. Etzli, elote, la mazorca tierna aunque con los granos crecidos. . . . Cuitli, cuitli, el maiz que se mastica; ya desgranado tlaxilli, tlaxquilli, tlaxilli. . . . Oloti, oloti, el cogollo de la mazorca; Elotlaxcali, elotlaxcalchichi—los hijos que la remedaban.*"

21. In loc. cit., Sahagún has "*Frisoles pintados de color de colorado.*" See also Bolaños ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 363.

22. Glass in *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.: "*Frisoles de color encarnado.*"

23. Cf. Bolaños ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 232: "*Hay una raíz que se llama cuexal; la hierba de esta raíz blanca quemada y cernida tiñe. Esta hierba hace unas bolas que son como frijoles grandes, y son frijoles silvestres.*"

24. "*Granos blancos que son como semillas o cenizas de España*"—Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.

25. "*Una mazorca diestra blanca colorada fina*" (loc. cit.) Clavijero (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 61) has Pseudomo (amaranth) *Pseudomo oleraceus* L. Par.

26. "*Una mazorca diestra blanca colorada*" (*Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.)

27. [illegible] "*Una mazorca de blanco muy colorado y muy bonito*" (loc. cit.).

28. "*Blanco o ceniciso delito como hormiga de pescado*"; [illegible] (loc. cit.).

29. "*Una blanco negro ceniciso o muy negro*" (loc. cit.).

30. "*Una pocos negro ceniciso como las gallinas [sic]*" (loc. cit.)

X 796 714

richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

X 796

And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[15] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

[244]

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

[314] 289 [302]

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

[317] 237

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocateucujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj moenatlaçaque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauiçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cencr veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoalôc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxipdaoan no tototectli: in jquac mjqui toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in inteteupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in oncecque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iaviti, ziuhtoctli, yoã aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: motencoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, mmaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixooa njman ie ic vi in motlatiaque: njmã ie ic oaltemo in tiçatl yoã hiviti, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlaxistlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiqujça in jviti: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

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15. "*Los sacerdotes, de la diosa chicomecoatl*" (corresponding Spanish text).

16. "*Entre el tabaque, cuatrero en el pequeño, que se llamaban [del] la mesa 'de satanás'*" (loc. cit.). *Codex Borbonicus*, month of Ochpaniztli. Guzmán n. Peso y Troncoso, op. cit., p. 143.

17. *Kochenillenfeld*, in Seler (op. cit.) is defined as *rude image*. See, however, n. 12, p. 62.

18. "*Pequeño abaxo, en un lugar que se llamaban cuauhfal, que era un aparato, que iaqa entre las gradas del co, y el patio abaxo, al qual aparato subia por cuaxo, o tayr, gradas*" (corresponding Spanish text).

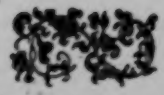

Thirty-second Chapter, in which are related the feasts and sacrifices which they made, in the days of the thirteenth month, which was known as, and named, Tepeilhuitl.

The thirteenth feast was known as the "Mountain Feast."

All the digging sticks which were kept in men's houses, and the heavier sticks,[1] made as [representations of] mountains, they covered with a coating of dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And their bones were likewise fashioned of a dough of [ground] amaranth seeds, long and cylindrical in shape. Either fish amaranth[2] or *chia* [was used].[3]

And also they fashioned [images in the form of] mountains for, perchance, one who had died in the water—having drowned—or had been struck by lightning.

And for whosoever had been [thus] slain and not burned but only buried,[4] [to honor him] they also made images of the mountains; they made them all of the dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And upon the eve of the feast, toward sundown, they were bathed, their faces were washed.[5] When they [went to] wash them, they went blowing and sounding little clay whistles and little sea shell whistles for [the images].[6]

And they bathed them there at the Mist House; [with] fresh cane shoots they washed their faces. And some [men] washed them only at nearby shores.[7]

And when they had been washed, then the return was made whence they had come; in the same manner they came blowing whistles, with a great din as of shouting. Thereupon were given human form

Inic cempoalli on matlactli omome capitulo: vncan motenecoa in jlhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl omei metztli in motenecoaia, in mjtoaia Tepilhujtl. 796X

Injc matlactetl omei ilhujtl ichoatl in motenecoa tepeilhujtl:

in jtzujchtin cocoa im pipialo techachan, yoan in ecatotonti, qujtetepetlaliaia, tzoalli injc qujnpepechoaia: [241] 796X 778

auh in jmomjo muchioaia, çan no tzoalli, mjmjmjltic, aço mjchioauhtli, anoço cócotl:

auh no qujtepetlaliaia, in açaca atlan mjc, in jlaqujlo, in anoçe viteco: [765 778]

yoã in aqujn omomjqujli, in amo tlatilo, in çan qujtoca, no tepetl ipan qujqujxtiaia, çan moch tzoalli in qujnchichioaia: 796X

Auh in oqujuh muztla ilhujtl teutlacpa in tezaltilo, anoço teixamjlo: injc qujmonaltia qujntlapichilitivi, in qujnpichilitivi, cocovilotl, yoan tecciztotonti. [534]

Auh in qujmonaltiaia, vmpan aiztubcalco, acatzontli ichoatl in celtic ic qujmjxamja: auh in cequjntin çan imatenco in qujmonaltia.

Auh in ontealtiloc, mec oaltecuepialo, çã no ivi, [534] 796X 778

1. See corresponding Spanish text. Cap. XIII has: "*Amid ídolos como troyas de palo grandes como la moderna horca Romanesca Romanesca.*" Of these and of cocoa, Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, Lib. II, p. 279) writes: "*Para cada colonendad, la primera era, hacer unos colodros de palo, ó de cabos de árboles, labrándolos las cabezas lo mas pulidamente que sabian. Hacian tambien de trapadas pequeñas unas figurillas, á manera de los Mythenai, que acostumbran los Nobles, en nuestro Reyno Español, los quales llamaban Romanesca.* . . . " Chavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7, writes similarly.

2. *Mexican Manuscripts* in Mahkuz, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary. In this chapter, however, Sahagún refers to *michhuauhtli* as yellow amaranth. See also p. 63, n. 28.

3. In the Bolognese ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 364, Nicolás León has defined *cocoil* as "*Tórtola (Chia del)*"; in his study he used the manuscript illustrations in Pozo y Tezozomoc's reproductions. *Cocoil* is No. 955.

4. Tezozomoc (*loc. cit.*) further explains: ". . . *en necesario de el poner difunto, en especial de los que se avian ahogado en Agua, ó avian muerto de muerte, que no pudieron los quemados sus cuerpos, ó fueron enterrados por algunos causas.*"

5. Both Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) and Seler (*op. cit.*, pp. 190-91) differ from this version. In Sahagún, the people wash the stone upon which the images stand; in Seler, the people are washed.

6. Though the entirely verses to refer to the images, in the Spanish text Sahagún writes: "*Lo ejidos de aquellas figuras ó hacer como cuando el vino o a la furata. . . .*"

7. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) has: "*el agua que pasaba junto a su casa.*"

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823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 133 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second [312] letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 58) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, [782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 133 312 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan- [241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, 127 133 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the 731 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches,[2] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[2] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. — Analyst]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city
241 was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were
273 many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they
323 make their wine. They make very good pottery in the
438 city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain.
346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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133 appended the depths of the lakes as determined by the drainage commission of 1861.

Name.	Level above Texcoco in Metres.	Depth in Metres.
Texcoco	0.00 ...	0.50
Zumpango ...	6.06 ...	0.80
Xaltocan	3.47 ...	0.40
San Cristóbal ...	3.60 ...	0.60
Xochimilco ...	3.14 ...	2.40 to 3.00
Chalco	3.08 ...	2.40
City of Mexico ...	1.90 ...	—

Silt may have made a considerable difference to the level of the lakes during four hundred years, but no possible allowance for silt could alter the conclusion that at the time of the Conquest the lakes must have been very shallow.

241 The site of the City was originally, in all probability, two reed-covered mud banks or islands, which may have been cultivated in
361 much the same manner as were the *chinampas* or floating gardens at the time of the Conquest, or as the chinampas of Xochimilco are at the present day, and these two islands became respectively the sites of the towns of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan, and the space between them was eventually reduced to a rather broad canal.

361 Islands in lakes, or rocky knolls on the land surrounded by deep barrancas or gulches, were frequently chosen by the Indians tribes as sites for towns on account of the facility for defence, and the number of such sites in Mexico and Central America[1] still either occupied by towns or containing the ruins of ancient buildings are evidence of a continual state of intertribal walfare.

241 The chinampas were formed by heaping up the soft mud from the lake on to wattles in order to form seed beds for flowers and vegetables, and these floating gardens gradually increased in size and became more compact from the growth of the interlacing roots of the willows and other water-loving plants until they may have supported a small hut for the owner and his family, and the lengthening roots eventually anchored them on the shallow margin of the lake. Two large groups of such gardens are shown on the map published in Clavigero's *History of Mexico* lying off

[1] Cf. Mixquic, Tlahuac and Xochimilco in the lakes of Mexico, Tayasal in the lake of Peten, and the island homes of the Lacandones in Guatemala. Towns almost surrounded by barrancas are Cuernavaca and Yacapistla in Mexico, and Utatlan and Iximché, etc., in Guatemala. It is as well to note here that such sites were not chosen for cities of the older culture such as Teotihuacan, Cholula, Mitla, Palenque, Copan, etc.

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241

CHINAMPAS ON LAKE XOCHIMILCO.

[Facing p. 46 (A)]

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To face p. 46.

●24

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

CHINAMPAS ON LAKE XOCHIMILCO.

[Facing p. 46 (B)]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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•241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and 503 the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 These various causeways did much to control the movement of 503 the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and 731 a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Alharradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and 503 followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

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133 Such springs were also to be seen in and around the Lake of
312 Mexico, but not in such considerable numbers, and there must also have been one or more on the site of the City which supplied its earliest inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

161 "The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

134 The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes are composed of *tepetatle*, a mixture of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all.
● [241] The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

241 Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

Note on the Drainage.

000 From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley became the preoccupation of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Neixahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin, known in Mexico as Enrico Martínez, planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountain rim to the north-east of the valley, but this work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zumpango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

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[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*.
[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.
[3] Text page 72.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The soil built over by each "calpulli" probably remained for 174
some time the only *solid* expanse held by the Mexicans. Gradually, 241
however, the necessity was felt for an increase of this soil. Remaining unmolested "in the midst of canes and reeds," their numbers had augmented, and for residence as well as for food, a greater area was needed. Fishing and hunting no longer satisfied a people whose original propensities were horticultural; they aspired to cultivate the soil as they had once been accustomed to, and after the manner of the kindred tribes surrounding them. For this purpose they began throwing up *little artificial garden-beds*, "chinampas,"[36] on which they planted Indian corn and perhaps some other vegetables. Such plots are still found, as "floating gardens," in the vicinity of the present city of Mexico, and they are described, as follows, by a traveller of this century:

"They are artificial gardens, about fifty or sixty yards long, and 241
not more than four or five wide. They are separated by ditches of three or four yards, and are made by taking the soil from the

Méjico," p. 442. Vedia, I). "Many married people ("muchos casados") live in one house, either on account of the brothers and relations being together, as they do not divide their grounds ("heredades"), or on account of the limited space of the pueblos; although the pueblos are large, and even the houses." Peter Martyr of Angleria ("De Novo Orbe," translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, London, 1612. Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228), says: "But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the lake ihrough the floode, or washing floto of the Ryvers fallying into it. Vpon those greate foundations, they builde the reste of the house, with Bricke dryed, or barned in the sunne, intermingled with Beames of Tymber, and the common houses have but one floore or planchin." We are forcibly reminded here of the houses of Itza on Lake Peten, which were found in 1695. "Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XII. p. 494." "It was all filled with houses, some with stone walls more than one rod high, and higher up of wood, and the roofs of straw, and some only of wood and straw. There lived in them all the Inhabitants of the Island brutally together, one relationship occupying a single house." See also the highly valuable Introduction to the second Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar ("Mexico in 1554") by my excellent friend Sr. Icazbalceta (pp. 73 and 74).

[36] "Chinampa," derives from "Chinamitl." "Seta o cerca de canas," (enclosure of canes or reeds). Molina "Vocabulario", Parte II, p. 21). This mode of enclosing the ground was very common in the valley. A cluster of settlements between Churubusco and the Eastern lagoon has even obtained from it the name of "Chinampanocas (frequently mentioned in Tezozomoc and Durán.) The word "Chinamitl" has been adopted by the Qquiché of Guatemala, changed into "Chinamit," and used to designate a *kinship*. (See "Popol-Vuh., pp. 301, 304, 306, where "Chinamit" is translated as family.) Even in those remote regions where the territories of Yucatan and Guatemala join, or rather merge into each other, around Lake Peten, where the Nahuatl language is hardly known, we find in the 17th and 18th century, a tribe of "Chinamitea," who are said to have inhabited an area surrounded by Mexican agaves ("Magueyes") as a defensive hedge. ("Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XI, pp. 489-495.) It shows that the original signification of the word, at least, was connected with the notion of a family-lot.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

244 intervening ditch, and throwing it on the chinampa, by which means the ground is raised generally about a yard, and thus forms a small fertile garden, covered with the finest culinary vegetables, fruits and flowers . . . . . ."[37]

421 Each consanguine relationship thus gradually surrounded the
423 surface on which it dwelt with a number of garden plots suf-
174 ficient to the wants of its members.[38] The aggregate area thereof, including the abodes, formed the "*calpullalli*"—soil of the "calpulli,"[39] *and was held by it as a unit;* the *single tracts*, however, being tilled and used for the benefit of the *single families*.[40] The mode of tenure of land among the Mexicans at that period was therefore very simple. The tribe claimed its *territory*, "ALTEPETLALLI," an undefined expanse over which it *might extend*, —the "calpules," however, *held* and *possessed within that territory* such portions of it as were *productive;* each "calpulli" being *sovereign* within its limits, and assigning to its individual members *for their use* the minor tracts into which the soil was parcelled in consequence of their mode of cultivation. If, therefore, the terms "altepetlalli" and "calpulalli" are occasionally regarded as *identical*, it is because the former indicates the *occupancy*, the
618 latter *the distribution* of the soil.[41] We thus recognize in the calpulli, or kindred group, the unit of tenure of whatever soil the
one Mexicans deemed worthy of definite possession. Further on we

[37] "Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico," by W. Bullock. London, 1824. Cap. XIII, p. 179. It is not devoid of interest to compare the descriptions of this rather superficial, though still truthful observer, with the account of the ancient Chinampas as preserved to us in Tezozomoc (cap. III, p. 9). Durán (cap. VI, pp. 50 and 51). The floats or rafts mentioned by these old authors were nothing else but the chinampas or "floating gardens." Therefore also Tezozomoc uses the term "camellon," or garden-bed. (See also Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473.) Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXII, p. 488). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 148).

[38] Durán (Cap. V). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 6). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXXIII, p. 291. Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 101). Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XVII).

[39] Alonzo de Zurita (p. 51). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 341). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 548). Bustamante ("Tezozoc en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," p. 232).

[40] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 55, 56, 57, 60).—De l'Ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens, etc., etc. (copy of an anonymous MSS. from Simancas, contained in the Uguina collection, and translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Recueil de pièces, etc., pp. 223 and 224.)

[41] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 51-44). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 130). Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo (Letter of 3 Nov., 1532, Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. "Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 232). See also the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pueblos y Pagos. Pertenecientes á los Cacíques de Axapusco," in "Col. de Doc." of Icazbalceta (Vol. II, p. XIII).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pias"). *Zurita* (pp. 131–133) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 269; cap. VIII, p. 275). *Zurita* (p. 131): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 188): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredados para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 69).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que alli se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap, IV, p. 266): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmecac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 285): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 12th edifice "Tillancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

13th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vitznaoac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 202)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 203).

35th edifice. "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

54th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac, "monastario ó oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tzoalmolco-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Xiuhtecutli," (p. 207).

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[241]

[415]

94-101. Our Rabbit's good fortune (Chapter 36).

— After Pury y Tovosa

[p. 126 p]

X 787 all, lose his property, scatter it. Where could he save himself, find repose, or extend his arm? What could he quickly take? Well did he save, hide, and store his sustenance for himself.

X 787 164 Everything frightened him: lest pestilence sometime come upon him: fearful sickness, the gout, lameness, cramps, paralysis; sickness of the eyes—ophthalmia, or crusted eyes, or watering, withered, or shattered eyes, and blindness; or cancer,[1] piles, some major corruption; or the king's evil; or inflammation of glands might settle in and affect his throat, scarring and marking it;[2] or a bloody flux and loss of blood;[3] or a sore throat, and hoarseness; or pustules, etc.; or possession by a demon and insanity.

X 787 This man was the one on whom these ailments did not settle; who benefited and provided for himself, and provided for and benefited his children and grandchildren; who lived in wealth.

X 787 ●241 And if he were a gardener, a worker of the soil, a laborer, one who tilled the land, one who broke and reworked the fields, he planted and sowed all things on his land, in his garden, in his worked fields. And when [the seed] had sprouted, and formed shoots, he hoed the ground; he built up mounds; he broke the clods of earth, and went stirring up the dust.

And if it were irrigated land, he opened his plot for irrigating. And if he had swamp land, and were a dweller in swamp country, he cultivated and planted maize for tamales, transplanted and set out chile, and fertilized the land.

X 787 After this, he witnessed the successful results of his fatigue and pains. Thus he attained his wealth and his contentment. When he had realized and procured his products of the soil, he was content, rejoicing, and happy.

X 787 251 He stored it; everything he stored up: his ears of maize, black, white, yellow, or red. And when he harvested and gathered it, he put aside, sorted out, and chose the large ears of maize. Some he formed into clusters, separate clusters; some he formed into caltrops. On the beams at the front of the house he hung the bunches and the caltrop-shaped bunches.

tlẽ concuitiuetzia, vel motlamatõia, momepachoãia, quietzaontlalia, yn iuenca,

muchi ie ỳnjc motlamauhcaitilia in ma quẽmá ipan oalla in temuztli, hecatl, in temamauhti cocoliztli, in cocivitzli, in cocoztzavilizti, in ozpacaliztli, quiquauhtilizti, yn anoço iuncoliztli, ichichtinaliztli, in teiztcocueponi, in teiztatatili, teixpetzauh, teiztcacozo, tlaiocuiaoztlali, anoço quaiocatl, xochicivitzli, itla veypulanaliztli, anoço teçanpozalli, cuatzi in tequechlamortalia motlatilia, tequechtitilo tequechtitiquijlo, tequechomomotzolo, anoço tlacilli, cacuicuiltic, anoço tetcamiiacacivilizti, ycaquilizti, nanaozti. et.[2] anoço tetechquinecaliztli, ixtlatlevilitocaliztli.

Jehozti in ynic ỳmoztlatlalia, ynic mocuelia, ynjc mocuavilia, yuan quijnavilia, quimjcuelia yn ipilhoã, yn jxviuan, ynjc motlãtlamachitinemj,

auh itla millacatl, tlalchiuhqui, elimjoqui, elimjquinj, çacamo, çacamoanj, izquich quijtoca, ontlatepeoa, yn imilpan, yn imilco yn icuentla, auh yn oizhoac, in ie papatlacatoc, ynoc, tlapupuzoa, tlatlalhuja, tlacuentlapana, ixtlalilhujuhtinemj;

auh itla amilli, cistlazilia, auh itla chinamc, chinãpanecatl, cintamalca, cintamalaquja, chiltecа, chilquetza, tlaçoqipachoa,

ie vncan jnin quitta, yn amo nenvetzi, yn icizvis, yn iuecõcol, ynjc quijta yneculiznol, yneiollalilis, yn ochamachiuh yn oquittac iemacaiouh, moiollalia, pequi, vellamati,

tlacalaquia, izquijch quicalaquja yn icin in iauitl, yn iztac, in cuztic, in xiuhtoctli, auh in iquac pixca, in tlacuicui nopoxqua quitema, quicẽquixtia, quipepena, in vewej cintli, cequi cochollalia, cãocholalia, cequi colchicalca, ycaliquac quijpipilqui yn iochol, yn iolchical, inhquijn tlapipilcac ocholli, yn olchicalli, auh in molquitl nonqui quitema, yuan im popoiol

1. *Cuculcatl*, in Sahagún (Cuevas ed.), Vol. IV, p. 211, is "*Hígado, produce que se introduce bajo la piel. Dermatophyhs pedes penetrans L.*"
2. *Mixtlatilli*, *mixpetzhtli* does not appear in the corresponding *Real Palacio* MS text.
3. *Xuxuchilli* in *ibid.*; it is followed by *anoço xuxuchi*, *xuxuchilcatl* (possibly meaning "or a bad taste in the mouth"); cf. *xuxuchi*.

It was as if the clusters and caltrop bunches hung suspended. And the undeveloped ears he laid apart, as well as the smutty ones. He kept all, he left nothing. He removed all the grains of maize, and the various things which were with the grains of maize.

And the harvesters, those who gathered the harvest, he provided with and gave bunches of ears of maize. He garlanded them with clusters of ears of maize. The harvesters, those who harvested for him, were provided and given clusters of ears of maize; they were garlanded with clusters of ears of maize, and with [single] ears.

And some walked about as gleaners. They gleaned, gathered, and searched for themselves the forgotten ears of maize, or the small, undeveloped ones, which the harvesters had not gathered. They hurried to all places[4] and went everywhere, feeling with their feet among the dry maize stalks, the leaves, and the husks, in order to place their gleanings in the fold of their capes.

And the owner of the garden then filled storage bins. He packed and filled his storage bins with his amaranth,[5] his *chía*, his beans. First he threshed, purified, sorted, and gathered them up, and winnowed and fanned out the chaff; he let the wind carry off and scatter the impurities. He threw away the dirt among the bean pods. Then he filled up each vessel. He filled the vessels with his food, sealed them up separately, etc.

atle quizaca, tlacetoca much cohoia, yn inquinel ytech caca tlaolli, 787X 251

auh in pizaque in quipizquilia, quimochavia, quimocholtia, quimocholoaxcatia, mochavia, mocholtia, mocholoaxcatia, mocioxcatia, in pizaque, in tepizquilique, 787X 241

auh cequjn oaxcmj motitixique, qujmotitixia, qujmocuicuilia, qujmoxexemolia in çan oilcaoaloc cintli, anoço molquitotoni, in amo quicuicuique pizaque, tlacencoltoca, quipanocvitivi, tlatlacxitenotivi in oaxquauhtitlan inontitlan, tetemochtitlan, ic motixiquipilquentia yn jntitix,

auh in mile çatepan tlacuecoçtema, tlacuecuecoxtema, tlacuecomaxtema, yn iiaouh, yn ichie, yn icuh achtopa quivitequi, quiiectia, quitlaiectilia, quitlacuicuilia, cicana, quchecaquetza, quicatoctia, quitepeua in polocatl, quitlaça yn cxotlaçolli, çatepil tlacoçtema, quicoçtema, quipepepechoa, in ic inquich inmacaiouh. etc.[6]. 787X 251

4. After quipizquilique the Real Palacio MS reads: *in milli mocuiqui chimalchichi* . . . This would change it to read: *they hurried to all places and went from field to field. Everywhere they entered stirring, feeling with their feet* . . .

5. Found in *Hist.*; otherwise (*Florent*), his amaranth bushes.

[p. 130 is blank]

X 796 us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth thus the women could torment [young
702 men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

X 796 And when [the young girls] went carrying upon
[316] their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

[532] They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *tortillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly; there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

X 796 And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—
824 white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[12]
● 243 black maize,[13] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[14] large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[15] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[16] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[17] the after-fruit;[18] double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toqujchti, ca çanenpanca, ca ça in toneubcatlatol: ca uel ic qujmontzintopeoaia in cioa iaoc, ic teioltoneoa, ic teioleoa, ic teiollo tlacujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca qujttoa, in toqujchti

eço tecoco, yn jntlatol cioa, eço teittic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiqujtoque, yn abtinemizque: aço itla tomaceoal tocnjuhtze.

Auh in qujmamatiuj in cicinteteuh, yn oqujtquja iteupan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuezcomaiollo muchioa, cuezcomac contema.

Auh yn iquac totoco, in ie toquizpã, iehoatl qujtocaia qujxinachioaia, qujxinachioa.

Auh injn qujlhujtlaltia, qujlhujchiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhqujn cioatl qujtlaliaia ixiptla. Qujtoaia, ca uel iehoatl in tonacaiutl: iuhq'nma qujtoznequi, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tiioltonemj, tooapaoaca: intlacamo iehoatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn aqujn, atle qujqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlaoa, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipã momana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in iehoatl chicome coatl, ca qujchioa yn ixqujch tonacaiutl:

in iztac tlaolli, in coztic tlaolli, in xiuhtoctli, yiaujtl, yiauhnenel, iauhcacalquj, tlaolpatlachtli, in totoiontic, in tlaolpícilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhqujn ezoaoanquj, ezcujcujltic:

njman iee in quappachcindi: iuhqujn quappachtli, itlachieliz, momochicintli, in molqujtl, cinmaitl, cintzatzapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamatl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI, cap. xii, of the *Florentine Codex* defines *xinkintli* as "*Pies de maya verdes, pequeños y redondos.*"

13. "*Espigas de maya negro*" (*loc. cit.*). Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*maya morena o negra.*"

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*) defines *ayapichtlatoni* as "*Espigas de maya por diversos colores.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The Nahuatl text reads: "*xochicuitl itzac cintli tlapalomanqui, tlapalomajqhic tetzauajqhic, tetzauajchichiqui, tetzauacchic, mocuecuechic, mocuecuechic, mocuepachic tetzauac, mocuepachic.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Espigas de maya leonadas.*" In the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 102, there is reference to "*cierto maiz de color de vaca que nace cerbat y pequeño, e leonado, que en la Nueva se llaman tzatzapalli tochicintli, quappachcintli.*" A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that *tzatzapalli* are "*Espigas de maya que nacen de dos en dos.*" In Simeon (*op. cit.*) *quappachtli* is given as tawny or violet. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*color leonado, y medio morado.*" But *quappachcintli*, Simeon has "*maiz gruesa y brava, que servia à guisar las gonfermas procedentes de la hinchazon de su (Lab.).*"

17. Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 90) defines *momochiti* as "*maiz tostado y reventado,*" and on fo. 37r of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagún states that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que cada grano es como una flor blanquecina.*"

18. *Redrojo de mazorca* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

the small ears of maize beside the main ear;[18] the ripened green maize.[19]

Then the beans—white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans;[20] black beans; flesh-colored beans;[21] fat, red beans; wild beans;[22] amaranth; the variety of amaranth call *cocoil*;[23] fine, red amaranth seed;[24] [common] red amaranth;[25] black amaranth; bright red or *chili*-red amaranth;[27] fish-amaranth [*michinoutli* or *chicalotl*];[28] brilliant black amaranth seed;[29] the bird-seed called *petzicatl*;[30]

also *chia*—white *chia*, black *chia*, and wrinkled *chia*.

All these things, thus mentioned, all these they offered to [the goddess]. When her feast day was celebrated, they formed her image, and laid all before her; the old men of the tribal temple sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red—completely red on her arms, her legs, her face. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shirt also was red; her skirt was the color of ripe fruit. She had a chief's shield, painted with designs and embellished in red. She carried in either hand her double ear of maize.

Thus ended the festival of Uei toçoztli, and thus ended and passed the vigil songs. And then the winding-dance, the dance with song, began. This ended at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

njman ichoatl in etl, yn iztac etl, ecoztli, echichilli, çoletl, tlileti, aquijtetl, aiecotli, quavecoc, ouhtli, cocotl, tlapalhoauhtli, xochioauhtli, tliloauhtli, teuoauhtli, anoço chichiloauhtli, mjchioauhtli, chicalotl, tezcaoauhtli, petzicatl:

no yoan in chien, iztac chien, tlilric chien, chianiztocziol.

Jn ixqujch y, iuh qujtoa, ca moch ichoatl, qujtemaca: in iquac ilhujuh, qujtlacatilia, muchi ixpan qujmanaia, qujcujcatis in veuetque, calpuleque: qujtlacotonjlia.

Auh yn jnechichioal motlaoçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxic, yn jxco: muchi tlacemaquilli, tlaujtl yn jamacal yn ivipil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icue cacamoliuhquj, tlatolchimali cujlolli, tlauhpoiaoac, ycinma nenecoccampa qujtqujtica.

ic ontlamj, in vey toçoztli: yoan ic vntlamj ic qujça, in toçoztcujcatl. Auh iquac vmpeua in necocololo, cujcoanolo: vmpa vntlami, yn ipan toxcatl.

796X
824
243
796X
241
826

796X

796X
532

796X

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19. Given in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*): "*Mazorquillas de maiz que son hijas de las mazorcas.*" Simeon (*op. cit.*) has "*pelo tipi de maiz que nasce à cabal de l'épi principal.*"

20. Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 314, lists as follows: "[Mide] *De varido hasta que está en pasto crecido, es tlatli . . . Xiloti, jilote, la mazorca de maiz tierno y por cocer. Elotl, elote, la mazorca tierna aunque con los granos cuajados. . . . Centli, cintli, el maiz seco en mazorca; ya desgranado tlaolli, tlaqolli, tlaolli. . . . Oloti, oloto, el cocinado de la mazorca; Elotlaxcalli, elotetamalcalli—las hojas que la envuelven.*"

21. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún has "*Frisoles pintados de color de coloradas.*" See also Rodrado ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 343.

22. Given in *Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*: "*Frisoles de color encarnado.*"

23. Cf. Rodrado ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 232: "*Hay una raíz que se llama cimatl; la hierba de esta raíz llámase quauacoc; y semblás cimatl. Esta hierba hace unas hojas que son como frijoles grandes, y aquí frijoles silvestres.*"

24. "*Granos blancos que son como arenas o cenizas de Kiauhtl*"—*ibid.*, *Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*

25. "*Tres maneras destos blancos colorados finos*" (*loc. cit.*) Clark (*op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61) has Pendexon (xuchilt) *Peruvianus viteuseus L. Var.*

26. "*Tres maneras destos blancos colorados*" (*Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*).

27. *Same as see xuxuchi*—"*Tres maneras de blancos muy colorados y muy buenos*" (*loc. cit.*).

28. "*Blancos o arenjlas delles grandes buenos de comer*"; *mismo as chicalotl*—*Michinoutli*: *iuan iuan chicalotl* (*loc. cit.*).

29. "*Tres blancos cuyas semillas son muy negras*" (*loc. cit.*).

30. "*Tres yerbas cuyas semillas comen los gallinas [sic]*" (*loc. cit.*)

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of 648
our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, 361
half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant [243]
corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception 000
given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of 363
those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what 361
to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,[*] and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.[**]

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles[***] of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

[*] See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

[**] See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

[***] The *Mendocino résumé*, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulqué used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into containers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles [412] and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole sometimes were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. [342] Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our [314] modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

* See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendricks, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

* See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

* The *Mendocino résumé*, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[114] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4:297–328.

[] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de noquen, que se hace de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que enbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 71+]
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237]
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalsotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles** of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

** Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on fólio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the
present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn enrriquez ac por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^ed a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^o de myctlanquauhtla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexi- 651
cano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the 212
tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[*]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify: 651

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses[**] [291
402 bundles[**] of little red-striped mantles[**] 714]
800 bundles of large mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[*]

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos [316
de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity 415]
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding 632
the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the 651
early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following [415
every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer 291
and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[**] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 248
40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as 262]
well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[**]

[*] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[**] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[**] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçisco de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[**] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quartenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw theiff toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[16] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlatztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmiztaioujia, qujmiztaioquauhoatza: [251 263]

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujntonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapãtlecax, amo iehoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla. [374]

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoaltema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoã intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin in teteuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan intêteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tlitica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acaxilquj: [302 289]

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, hacomanj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama. [502] [417]

qujnpeoaltilia yn cioa in netotilitti, ynic mjtotia chocholoa, çan mocioaittotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jnteteuh coomemauja, qujtotitimanj, 796X 535

16. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 105.

561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

●251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
[697] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injc qujpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in oauhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiooachpetlatl, quauhaiooachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhçalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
651 house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the
681 majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he
344 require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmácaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnquixtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from
574 everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them
431 all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech
344 clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* contains an account of the Culhuacac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcayan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de pesar leve; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

X 787 all, lose his property, scatter it. Where could he save himself, find repose, or extend his arm? What could he quickly take? Well did he save, hide, and store his sustenance for himself.

tlẽ concuitivetziz, vel motẽtetzõtia, monepacholtia, quietzoontlalia, yn iuenca,

X 787 164 Everything frightened him lest pestilence sometime come upon him: fearful sickness, the gout, lameness, cramps, paralysis; sickness of the eyes—ophthalmia, or crossed eyes, or watering, withered, or shattered eyes, and blindness; or cancer,[1] piles, some major corruption; or the king's evil; or inflammation of glands might settle in and affect his throat, scarring and marking it;[2] or a bloody flux and loss of blood;[3] or a sore throat, and hoarseness; or pustules, etc.; or possession by a demon and insanity.

muchi iẽ ynjc motlamauhcaittilia in ma quẽmã ipan oalla in tzmuxtli, hecatl, in temamauhti cocolizztli, in coaciviztli, in cocototzaviliztli, in oapaoalizztli, quãquauhtiliztli, yn anoço izcocoliztli, ijchichitinaliztli, in teixcuecueponi, in teixcatatili, teixpatzauh, teixcacazo, tlaiooaiantetlali, anoço qualocatl, xochiciviztli, itla veypalanaliztli, anoço toçanpotzalli, coatetl in tequechtlanmotlalia motlattilia, tequechtitilo tequechtitiquijlo, tequechmomotzolo, anoço tlaelli, ezcuicuiltic, anoço tetzamiiaoaciviliztli, yçaoquiliztli, nanaõatl. et.[a] anoço tetechquineoaliztli, iollotlavelilocatilizztli.

This man was the one on whom these ailments did not settle; who benefited and provided for himself, and provided for and benefited his children and grandchildren; who lived in wealth.

Jehoatl in ynic ãmotlatlalia, ynic mocnelia, ynjc monavilia, yuan quijnnavilia, quimjcnelia yn ipilhoã, yn jxvioan, ynjc motlãtlamachitinemj,

X 787 241 And if he were a gardener, a worker of the soil, a laborer, one who tilled the land, one who broke and reworked the fields, he planted and sowed all things on his land, in his garden, in his worked fields. And when [the seed] had sprouted, and formed shoots, he hoed the ground; he built up mounds; he broke the clods of earth, and went stirring up the dust.

auh intla millacatl, tlalchiuhqui, elimjoqui, elimiquinj, çacamo, çacamoanj, ixquich qujtoca, ontlatepeoa, yn imilpan, yn imilco yn icuentla, auh yn oixhoac, in ie papatlacatoc, ytoc, tlapupuxoa, tlatlalhuja, tlacuentlapana, ixtlalilhujuhtinemj;

And if it were irrigated land, he opened his plot for irrigating. And if he had swamp land, and were a dweller in swamp country, he cultivated and planted maize for tamales, transplanted and set out chilis, and fertilized the land.

auh intla amilli, cãtlaxilia, auh intla chiname, chinãpanecatl, cintamaloa, cintamalaquja, chilteca, chilquetza, tlaçoquipachoa,

X 787 After this, he witnessed the successful results of his fatigue and pains. Thus he attained his wealth and his contentment. When he had realized and procured his products of the soil, he was content, rejoicing, and happy.

je vncan jnin quitta, yn amo nenvetzi, yn iciaviz, yn inecõcol, ynjc qujtta yneculltonol, yneiollaliliz, yn otlamuchiuh yn oquittac itonacaiouh, moiollalia, pequi, vellamati,

X 787 ● 251 He stored it; everything he stored up: his ears of maize, black, white, yellow, or red. And when he harvested and gathered it, he put aside, sorted out, and chose the large ears of maize. Some he formed into clusters, separate clusters; some he formed into caltrops. On the beams at the front of the house he hung the bunches and the caltrop-shaped bunches.

tlacalaquia, ixquich quicalaquja yn icin in iauitl, yn iztac, in coztic, in xiuhtoctli, auh in iquac pixca, in tlacuicui nononqua quitema, quicẽquixtia, quipepena, in vevej cintli, cequi cochollalia, cõcholalia, cequi colchicaloa, ycalixquac qujpipiloa yn iochol, yn iolchical, inhqujn tlapipilcac ocholli, yn olchicalli, auh in molquitl nonqua quitema, yoan inn popoioti

1. *Cuahuatli*, in Sahagún (Cuelbay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 331, is "*Higuera, parásitos que se introducen bajo la piel. Dermatophyles pulex penetrans L.*"
2. *Motlattilia*, *teixcatatili* does not appear in the corresponding *Real Palacio MS* text.
3. *Ezcuicuiltic* in *Ibid.*; it is followed by *anoço ezcuiuli*, *ezcuiculiuli* (possibly meaning "or a bad taste in the mouth"; cf. *ezcuiuc*).

It was as if the clusters and caltrop bunches hung suspended. And the undeveloped ears he laid apart, as well as the smutty ones. He kept all, he left nothing. He removed all the grains of maize, and the various things which were with the grains of maize.

And the harvesters, those who gathered the harvest, he provided with and gave bunches of ears of maize. He garlanded them with clusters of ears of maize. The harvesters, those who harvested for him, were provided and given clusters of ears of maize; they were garlanded with clusters of ears of maize, and with [single] ears.

And some walked about as gleaners. They gleaned, gathered, and searched for themselves the forgotten ears of maize, or the small, undeveloped ones, which the harvesters had not gathered. They hurried to all places[4] and went everywhere, feeling with their feet among the dry maize stalks, the leaves, and the husks, in order to place their gleanings in the fold of their capes.

And the owner of the garden then filled storage bins. He packed and filled his storage bins with his amaranth,[5] his *chia*, his beans. First he threshed, purified, sorted, and gathered them up, and winnowed and fanned out the chaff; he let the wind carry off and scatter the impurities. He threw away the dirt among the bean pods. Then he filled up each vessel. He filled the vessels with his food, sealed them up separately, etc.

atle quixcaoa, tlacẽtoca much cohoia, yn izquiteti ytech caca tlaolli, 787X 251

auh in pixcaque in quipixquilia, quimochavia, quimocholtia, quimocholcoxcatia, mochavia, mocholtia, mocholcoxcatia, mocíçoxcatia, in pixcaque, in tepixquilique, 787X 241

auh cequjn onnemj motitixique, quimotitixia, qujmocuicuilia, qujmotetemolia in çan oilcaoaloc cintli, anoço molquitotonti, in amo quicuicuique pixcaque, tlacencoltoca, qujpanocvitivi, tlatlacxitemotivi in ooquauhtitlan izoatitlan, totomochtitlan, ic motixiquipilquentia yn jntitix,

auh in mile çatepan tlacuẽxcõtema, tlacuecuexcontema, tlacuexcomatema, yn iiaouh, yn ichie, ym ieuh achtopa quivitequi, quiiectia, quitlaiectilia, quitlacuicuilia, cícana, quchecaquetza, quẽcatoctia, quitepeoa in polocatl, quitlaça yn exotlaçolli, çatepã tlacocõtema, qujcocõtema, quipepepechoa, in ie izquijch itonacaiouh. etc[6]. 787X 251

4. After *quipanocvitivi* the Real Palacio MS reads: *in milli mexijt chamolulutl* . . . This would change it to read: *they hurried to all places and went from fold to fold. Everywhere they went stirring, feeling with their feet* . . .

5. Found in *ibid.*; otherwise (*Ximenez*), his aromatic herbs.

[p. 130 is blank]

The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al doseno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que quijere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado. 796x [805 776]

Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Cap. 12
Teutl eco

1 A KL
2 b A los qujnze dias deste mes: los
3 c moços y muchachos, enrramauan
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de los
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de
6 f las casas como por los camjnos y en-
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que
8 A hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan
9 b vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros
10 c dos o tres maçorcas.
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios
12 e (que siempre es mancebo que le
13 f llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titla-
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y
15 A rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua pri-
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comjda en su cu,
17 c y aquella noche comjan y beujan y
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los
19 e viejos, y viejos que beujan vino, por la
20 f llegada del dios: y dezian que lo
A 10 b 11 c 12 d 13 e 14 f 15 g 16 A 17 b 18 c 19 d 20 e 21 f 22 g 23 A 24 b 25 c 26 d 27 e 28 f 29[1]

[465] [776] [273]

lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada.

[252]

En vinjendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los

[534]

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio templi Mexicani.*

which they then used.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tageter*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauhelotxochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *escobedia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Jnic cẽpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanalizzli: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in moteneoaia Tlasuchimaco. 796^

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: moteneoa tlasuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl: [805]

viptlatica in suchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixqujch suchitl, in nepapan suchitl, in tepepan suchitl, yn acocosuchitl, vitzitzillacusuchitl, tepecempoalsuchitl, nextamalsuchitl, tlacosuchitl, ocelusuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocusuchitl, anoço aocusuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iollosuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalsuchitl, acasuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolsuchitl. 796^ 137

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaxitico suchitl, yn oaxioaco, yn otlatujc, njmã ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoa: auh yn omoçoçoc, suchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic. 796^

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn ixqujch maceoalli, cenuetzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujtla totolti, yoã in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoa, techichinolo, in monequizque ioãzico: [231 252]

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yilhujnemoa, iuhqujn tlatlaciuj, nettetequjpacholo, injc tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in ichoantin teupixque, njman ie ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujsuchicuzcatia, conicpasuchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtetecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujteteepiloa, in ixqujch 796^ 778

1. Cf. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 38): "Micailhuitzintli, Tlaxochimaco. *El primero era nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. . . . El nombre mexicano es Tlaxochimaco, palabra que Torquemada interpreta, cuando con dadas y repartidas las flores; mientras Veytia dice, entera de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, consagrada á Huitzilopochtli, la estatua de éste y las demas diosas eran adornadas profusamente con flores. . . .*" Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 162-3) further writes: ". . . *adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, no solamente a los que se veneraban en los templos, sino tambien a los que tenian por devoción en sus casas; que por esto daban el mes el nombre de* Tlaxochimaco."

2. See Rehnelo ed., Vol. III, pp. 273-6; Cf. also Max Gordon, *op. cit.*, passim, and Sahr, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 156 (where a few German equivalents are given): Some are described also in Nardo Antonio Recchi: *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1651).

X 796 **Thirty-first Chapter,** which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli; in muchioaia, in jpã vel ic cemjlhujtl, injc matlactetl om ume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

Injc matlactetl om ume ilhujtl: iehoatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound together. Only the young men laid them down, on [346] every small pyramid, in the temples of the Çiuateteo,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

in ie iuh tlamacujlti, njmã vncan vmpeoa in acxoiatemalo: in acxoiatl, iehoatl in acatl, ẽci in qujlpiaia; çan iehoantin in telpopochtin qujtemaia, novian in momozco, in cioateucalco, yoan in novian techachan, in vncan pipielo in jmjxiptlaoan diablome:

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was [252] named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

auh in techachã novian onacxoiatemaia, qujnoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhtzintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, naolotl: in cana ieolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli qujoaltemaca: moteneoa, cacalotl ca qujmocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nẽ mocalhujaia, can iehoantin injmel, in tlacelianj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochicanj, in amo tlatlacanequjnj in jmel.

And on the third day of the spreading out of [776] branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

Auh in ie ic ieilhujtl acxoiatemalo: iquac heco in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, iehoatl achto heco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlaççanj, cotze:

X 796 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offerings for him. They offered him fish amaranth seed, 252 ground and made into a ball of dough.

ipampa in achto oalaci, yoan qujtlamanjliaia: in qujmanjliaia, mjchioauhtli, in tlapololli:

First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

achtopa qujcequj, qujtzomotza comalco, çatepan qujteci: auh in oqujtezque, çatepã qujpoloaia, atica: cequj necutica, in qujpoloaia: aço macujltetl, aço

1. *Teteu hevo—Los dioses llegan*, in Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 307. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 165, refers to *tenijjoo se le fiesta de la venida de los dioses*. The spelling "Tetl eco" is in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. See note 3, p. 59. In Cap. XXXIV (Panquetzaliztli), Sahagún explains that "*por ramos llevaban cañas verdes y espinas de magney*," and, in Cap. XXV (Ezaalqualiztli), "*donde no había estos ramos cortaban cañas verdes en lugar de acxoyatl*."

3. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that "*Tenían edificados oratorios a honra de estos dioses en todos los barrios donde había dos calles; los cuales llamaban cihuateocalli, o por otro nombre cihuatempan; en estos oratorios tenían las imágenes de estos dioses. . . .*" Clavigero, (*loc. cit.*) says: "*enramaban los templos y las encrucijadas de las calles.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

4. Olotl is more properly corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 32; however, he usually renders it maize ear.

5. "*Cuerno, o tenazuela . . . para comer granos de maíz tostado en el rescoldo*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the term *apixtlaoaliz*.

6. These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[7] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still,

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzauac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coolololoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec quitquitiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia. [716 x] [252]

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, quitlmach quicxipaca. [888 273]

Auh in oacic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoiatemaliztli: iquac quitepeoa in acxoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in quichioaia, iotextli, quitepitztlaliaia, quipachoaia, iaoaltic inic quitlaliaia, petlapã in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, quicencaoaia, cemolinja, inic iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan ic nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta iotextli, moteneoa: icxi. [793]

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza iotextli, texxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca ohecoque in teteu: [787]

njman ic quioalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, quitzacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu. [534]

Auh in jzquich macoalli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanazque inteupã, in inteteupan diablome: çã moche in tlapololli, in quinmanjlia:

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie ioa: çan ie no ivi in quichioa, tlatlaoana in veveque, in jlamatzitzin, quitlmach, quimicxipaca in ohecoque teteu. [888 273]

Auh in jmuztlaioc, iquac heco in Jacapitzaoac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca inteouh catca, yoa in Ixcoçauh- [776]

7. The word ohiniz is explained by Guthrey (op. cit., p. 307): "dado que el suelo se iczar rellenio como ohiniz in ichqui nemiz ohuiczcuil"—"y dieron cuando vinieron los dioses, en pasando el suelo ohiniz de harina de maíz."

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vctli mja itoca matlalvctli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vctli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vctli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel mõxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittozque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machilikoeque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoã qujnquatexoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelaxitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 637

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic maviztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yiell, yn iiepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contitlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vctli ipan icac, yn vctlaḷi: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276] [252]

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacalioa, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotizia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn ỏqujcencauhque chõchaiotl, mec moxeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

19. See Pl. 31.

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *tesetel*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

muchioa, ichoatl in tliltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teutetl, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, tezcapoctli ica: 796x 798 [301 302]

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of hir head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itzíuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc. 237]

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmā ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio. 796x [252]

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmōmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoá, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in ōmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaztimanj, vncā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque. 796x 262

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

njmā ie ic tezcalcevilo, tezcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicoque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vctli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotō, 796x 274

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hacían otro vso, estatua del diez, del fuego, de pajillas y cárcolas azules, vsaos con cárcol. . . .*"
6. *Tonalquechtapalcatl*: in Lib. XII, Cap. i, 14 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexican eagles, "*las plumas del cuello y de las lamas, hasta la cola, son de hechura de conchas* (y) *llámanlas tapalcatl. . . .*"
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y enrrepastaos vnas pennachas de plumas paladas, que parecían como pennachas de tafetan.*"
8. *Uilocpalli*: "*vna manera de tortas que llamaua vilocpalli, de maiz molido, hechas sin cocer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. II, p. 326).

X 796 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast which was named Uauhquiltamalqualiztli,[1] which was celebrated after the days of the month named above; and when [it was this feast], they celebrated it to honor him who was their god, whose name was Ixcoçauhqui.**

Injc cempoalli on caxiolli omei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, in moteneoaia: Oauhquiltamalqualiztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic tlamatlacti in metztli in tlacpac omjto: auh in jquac y, quilhujquiztiliaia, in inteouh catca, in jtoca Ixoçauhquj.

Izcalli and the end of Izcalli are placed verily in the month of January, after eight days, when it was already the eighth day. By custom, it was upon the eighth day. When this [day came], *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. In all places they observed [the custom]; everywhere. Nowhere was this not done. In every house, in every village, two [*tamales*] were eaten, when it was the feast of the *tamales* stuffed with greens; all made *tamales* thus stuffed. And all offered [this] food, one to another. In this wise were they given; they were given among themselves—to their companions, to those whom they knew. They were offered not in ill will but in gladness.

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Izcalli, yoan Izcalli tlamj: inin vel ipan motlalia in metztli henero, ie iuh chicueilhujtl manj, ie ichicueilhujoc, ie iuh chicueilhujtica: in jquac in, oauhquiltamalli qualoia: novian qujtzacutimāca, ipanoca, acā cavia: in cecencalpan, yoan in cecemaltepetl ipan, vel ontetlamja in neoauhquiltamalhujlo, in neoauhquiltamaltilo: auh nepanotl nemacoia, nepanotl nemamacoia, ic netlatlamacoia, necepāmacoia, nenetech macoia, necnjuhmacoia, neiximatcamacoia, amo netlavelmacoia, nepaccamacoi.

Whoever first cooked her *tamales* stuffed with greens then went to offer it in her tribal temple, to her neighbor, to those who lived in nearby houses. And if her kin lived in distant parts, first she made an offering for them.

in aquin achto oicucic ioauhquiltamal njman ic iauh qujmacaz in jcalpo, in jealecapo, in jcalnaoac tlacatl: yoan in vecapa ivaniolquj, achto contonaltiaia.

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And when this was done, when she had offered it everywhere to others, then they [all] sat down to eat their *tamales* stuffed with greens. They were arranged in a circle; they brought—assembled and gathered together—their children, forming family groups.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in onoviampa qujtemamacac njmā motlalia in qujquazque, in inoauhquiltamal, moiaoaloa, qujncemololoa qujnnechicoa, qujncentlalia qujntecpichoa in impilhoā inin cencaltia.

And first they made an offering to the fire; they offered five *tamales* stuffed with greens before the hearth. These were in a wooden vessel. Then they each set in place and made an offering for their dead, where they lay buried.

Auh achtopa contlamanjlia in tletl, tlecujlixquac cōmana in oauhquiltamalli macujltetl, quauhcaxtica mantiuh, mollotiuh, çatepan cecentetl q'ntlatlaliliaia, qujnmamanjlia in immjccaoan, in vncā totoctoque:

And as they ate, they sat burning themselves, sweating with heat. Steam arose [from the *tamales*]. As they ate, they ate with relish, sucking upon it and gulping, sitting panting, and smearing it upon their lips.

njmā ie ic tlaqua, muchichinotoque, in jitonjtoque, vel totontlapetztic ipotoquiztiuh in qujqua, in qujpaccaqua tlatlaltequj, ontlaltectivi, neneciuhtoque, cocociuhtoque:

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And the [corn] husks [in which were wrapped] the *tamales* stuffed with greens [were laid] apart;

auh in jzoaio, oauhquiltamalli, çan nōqua, cecnj qujtlaliaia, atlan cōtepeoaia: auh aiac vel qujpalooaia

1. *Uauhquiltamalqualiztli*—the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens: Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 12, n. 66. Much of the material in this chapter is discussed also in the previous one (Izcalli).

they placed them to one side. They strewed them in the water, and none, verily, might taste the husks. Because of this, care was therefore taken that none should be scorched, burned, or dropped into the fire.

And only during one day were they eaten. By night they were done; all finished. They left nothing for the next day.

And when it grew dark, the old men and the old women drank, alone. It was said: "They refresh themselves."

And after this they set up the image of the fire [god], Ixcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyouevue. They gave him figure and substance of a dough of amaranth seed. These things they whose office it was, did—the men of the tribal temple, known as the Tzonmulca[2]—who especially worshipped [fire] as a god.

And when the twentieth day came, it was said: "Izcalli hath ended." They who provided ceremonially bathed victims then published and made it known to others [that they had secured sacrificial victims, each] setting forth in public his ceremonially bathed one, a slave whom he had bought, made [to be] the likeness of Ixcoçauhqui; the owner then adorned him, causing to be placed upon him all the array of Ixcoçauhqui. Thus it was said: "The bather [of the victim] gathereth [his wealth]."

And for this reason did one say "the bather [of a victim]": he continually bathed his victim with hot water all the time until he went to his death; all the time he caused him to know that death would be his lot at an appointed time; that he would die in the count of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And before he died, he favored him greatly. The bather was careful of [the victim]; he enriched him [with gifts]; he restored all to him. All the food which he offered him was good.

And a harlot was provided as his guardian. Constantly she amused him; she caressed him; she made him laugh and be merry. Taking him about the neck, she rejoiced, she embraced him. She caught his lice [for him]; she combed his hair and arranged his hairdress. She made him forget his sorrows. And when the time came for the bathed one to die, the harlot took everything; she rolled and bundled up all the belongings of the bathed one. That which he wore he placed upon her; that which he had used

in izoàtl: ipampa ic momalhujaia inic amo aca mochichinoz, motlatiz, tleco onvetziz. 796x [252]

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ie iooa otlatlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuzthioc.

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalcevia. [273]

Auh in jquac y, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla tletl Ixcoçauhquj, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzopalli in qujtlacatlaliaia, in qujnacaiotiaia: ichoan qujchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, moteneoa: Tzommulca, oc cenca ichoan in qujmoteutiaia.

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Izcalli tlamj: in tealtianj, iquac qujteittitia, qujteiximachtia, teixpan qujquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oqujcouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Ixcoçauhquj, iquac ic qujchichioa itech qujtlalilia in jxqujch in jnechichioal Ixcoçauhquj ic mjtoaia, tlaixnextia in tealtianj: [567]

auh injc mjtoa, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxqujch cavitl mjqujtiuh, in jxqujch cavitl qujmatitiuh in vncã imjqujz tequjpã in jtlapoalpan: in mjqujz ipan tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Auh in aiamo mjquj, cenca qujmavizmatia, qujçeçẽmatia in tealtianj, qujtlanenectia qujtlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in qujmacaia:

auh ce avienj, in jtepizcauh muchioaia: muchipa caviltia, caavilia, qujcamanalhuja, qujvetzqujtia, qujquequeloa, iquechtlan ãaquj, qujquechnaoa, caatemja, qujtzitziquaoazvia, qujpepepetla, qujtlaoculpopoloa: auh in jquac ie imjquizpan tlaaltilli: in avienj moch concuj, ontlacemololoa, concemololoa in jxquich in jtlatquj tlaaltilli: in oqujquequemja, in jtech oqujtlatlaliaia in oqujtitlanja, in jpã oiztlacattinenca, 796x 548 [515]

2. Tzonmulco: temple of the fire god; also one of the district of Tenochtitlan. It is mentioned in the Appendix, p. 177, as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. V, p. 74).

874 793 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

vitztlalia, itecciz ietiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oncito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

[473] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

[252] Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl mecoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

[273 836 688] Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *maguey* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo iioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ie tachcaoa, atlã õmaltiaia.

[785] Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "*Tlapaloa, ai. comer el pan con poco, quedo comer*" (Molina, op. cit.).

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The most famous of the edible invertebrates is the *axayácatl*, referred to as *axaxayácatl* by Sahagún and Hernandez. Although modern writers (Vaillant, 1941; Apenes, 1943; Linné, 1948; Anderson and Dibble, 1954) persist in calling these insects flies, it has been known for more than a century that they are corixid waterbugs. Sahagún's Spanish word was *coquillo*, not *mosco* or *mosquillo*, so the confusion is not his fault. In post-Conquest times the dried adult insects have been widely sold in the markets of the world as food for caged birds, but they were also used as human food; Hernandez says that they were cooked in maize leaves in nitrous water. Hernandez also makes it clear that these insects are the source of *ahuautli*, a cake made from the eggs that is still much eaten in Mexico, particularly on watch-nights such as Christmas Eve and Holy Thursday. That *ahuautli* was formerly a staple that survives as a delicacy is suggested by its name, which is derived from *atl*, water, and *huautli*, amaranth seed. Now that Sauer (1950) has cleared up some of the indescribable confusion surrounding the use of grain amaranths in aboriginal Mexico, we can begin to appreciate that *ahuautli* was really "water grain", though not in the literal sense of "water wheat" implied by Tylor (1861), whose etymology has confused such later writers as Packard (1871). The identity of the insects is an equally tangled bibliographic problem in which the zoologists have hardly been more helpful than the historians.

The fullest and most authoritative-sounding account is that of Orozco y Berra, given in his memoir on the hydrography of the Valley of Mexico (1864). This historian quoted in full de la Llave's description (1832; reprinted 1887) of the adult insect under the name *Ahuautlea mexicana* (which appears to be the correct name, though it has been ignored by zoological writers; it has priority over the generic name *Krisousacorixa* Hungerford 1930 and the specific name *Corixa femorata* Guérin-Meneville 1857). He described the cultivation of *ahuautli*, which is accomplished by placing bundles of *tules* (*Scirpus* or *Typha*) in the water of Lake Texcoco, stripping off the eggs which the insects lay in countless millions, and processing them into cakes. This much of Orozco y Berra's work is correct; it is fully confirmed by the modern observations of Ancona (1933), and, if there is any doubt that the practice is an aboriginal one, the doubt is removed by Sahagún's figures, reproduced in Plate I, nos. 220–221. Professor Hutchinson assures me that no. 220 is certainly the oldest known figure of a corixid waterbug. Oddly enough, Sahagún does not describe the practice or mention *ahuautli* with the edible insects in Book Eleven, though he lists it among the products sold in the market in the 19th chapter of Book Eight. Hernandez repairs the omission.

Ancona's account (1933) is the only one by a modern zoologist, and

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a salt lake, and Aldrich (1912) gives a graphic account of *Ephydra gracilis* Packard on the Great Salt Lake, Utah, and of *Ephydra hians* on Mono Lake, California. The latter are not only collected in quantity and eaten by Paiute Indians, but were bred out of supposed "larvae" of the *axayácatl* of Lake Texcoco by Peñafiel (1884) and identified by Williston, who referred to Peñafiel's specimens in 1883 and again in 1896. Even Ancona overlooked the fact that Peñafiel's larvae could have nothing to do with a corixid, so that Aldrich's remark, "it seems that the Diptera and the Hemiptera are mingled together in the quotations", is an understatement. 127 136

The pupae of ephydrids come to the surface and undergo mass emergence, and it is then (in September) that they are collected and processed as *kootsabe* by the Paiutes of Mono Lake. In all probability this is the product that the Aztecs called *cuculin*. (The words sound distantly related, which is not inconceivable, as Paiute is a member of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic group). The substance is definitely confounded with *tecuitlatl* by Orozco y Berra, however, and the suggestion that it is made of the pupae of *Ephydra hians* is made with due hesitation. As Aldrich said, "only an investigation by an entomologist at the lake can clear up the confusion" (1912, p. 92). Though Sahagún does not mention *cuculin*, nos. 224 to 227 in Plate I appear to depict stages in its manufacture, or in the collection of the larvae, *izcauitli*.

The puzzling stuff called *tecuitlatl* is mentioned by Sahagún in Book Eight, and listed (as *tecuiltlatl*) with the lower animals in Book Eleven. He describes it as *"urronas"* (*"urrosas"* in Lord Kingsborough's edition (1831–48), but neither form occurs in any dictionary I have consulted nor does my own reading "orroras") which grow on the water, have a purple color, and are harvested, dried on mud, and made into cakes. Anderson and Dibble translate the Nahuatl word as "scum", and the material is probably algal. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, p. 59) refers to it as "green sheets that grow, which, when made into a cake and baked, take on a dark green color, and which the Spaniards call *queso de la tierra*". Hernandez, who lists it among the minerals, confirms the purple or green color ("color adhuc recenti cyaneus, aut viridis"). López de Gómara, who was never in Mexico, but who published in 1552 a delightful book on the Conquest that has been a best-seller for four hundred years, adds the suggestive detail that the substance (which he does not name) was gathered on "threshing floors" (*eras*) like those in which salt is made. He said that it is eaten as we eat cheese, and described its flavor as salty, but very good with *chilmolli* (1943 edition, pp. 238–239); continuing with the sonorous text of the first English edition (1578, reprinted in facsimile 1940) from 127 136 222 252

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127 which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that
136 this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number
222 of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."
252

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is
127 no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Cas-
136 tillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described
252 as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not im-
262 probable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli,* and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

127 The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no atten-
136 tion from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identified with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón,* or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocúiliztac,* which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *anenezili,* which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 220 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

127 One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

127 CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected
317 by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas,* 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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two loads of mantles, and he did it cheerfully and in every way he seemed to be a great Prince. When these things had been distributed, he asked Cortés if we were all brethren and vassals of our great Emperor, and Cortés replied yes, we were brothers in affection and friendship, and persons of great distinction, and servants of our great King and Prince. Further polite speeches passed between Montezuma and Cortés, and as this was the first time he had come to visit us, and so as not to be wearisome, they ceased talking. Montezuma had ordered his stewards that, according to our own use and customs in all things, we should be provided with maize and [grinding] stones, and women to make bread, and fowls and fruit, and much fodder for the horses. Then Montezuma took leave of our Captain and all of us with the greatest courtesy, and we went out with him as far as the street. Cortés ordered us not to go far from our quarters for the present, until we knew better what was expedient. I will stop here and go on to tell what happened later.

797

[252]

CHAPTER XC.

How on the following day our Captain Cortés went to see the Great Montezuma, and about a certain conversation that took place.

THE next day Cortés decided to go to Montezuma's palace, and he first sent to find out what he intended doing and to let him know that we were coming. He took with him four captains, namely Pedro de Alvarado Juan Velásquez de Leon, Diego de Ordás, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, and five of us soldiers also went with him.

When Montezuma knew of our coming he advanced to the middle of the hall to receive us, accompanied by many of his nephews, for no other chiefs were permitted to

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their 643
eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his 644
face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared 643
by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they 252
placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him 643
the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of 252
dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in 262
seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals
[374] of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
[352] worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in bad grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much preoccupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Paths were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; sand was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.[5] This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or slew, singed, and dressed dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the ashes was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a seashell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis — different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant swaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and lined up all which might be required.

Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the care, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

5. In ibid., subsequently follows dancemaids.

574 [554]

auh in ie oallathui coatiozz, nepiclozz tecoanotzzalozz, cêca neahamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatlacencaoalo, vchichioalo, itboalchichioalo, tlatlaixmanalo, tlatlaltemalo, tlatlacujcujoa, tlaatemalo, tlazvililo, tlatzelhujlo, tlaixxalhujlo, tolquatecteco, tlapipilolo, tolquatectli moteca, mopipiloa, ĩ vncã netotilozz, tlatzetzclolo, ſin ichoã intequjuh incocol, cocoltilo, in cujcanjme.

574

auh in cequjn tlavivitla, totolhuivitla, totolchichioa, itzcujnmjctia, itzcujnchichinoa, itzcujnchichioa, nacachichioa, nacapaoaci, côcontlatia, in cequjn yietlalchioa, yietlahxqualooa, yietema teçacatica, auh in nextitlan, ichoan intequjuh yn ilamatque quichioa tamalli, piqui, tamaloa, tlatlaoiotia, quatecuicuilli quichioa, nacatlaoio, nacatamalli quichioa, cequjn tamalpaoaci, cequjn nextamalpaca cequjn açaçaca, atlatlacuj, ateteca, cequjn cacaoatl quixamanja, cacaoteci, tlacuechoa, cequjn tlanextlamalneloa, cequjn molchichioa, chilixca, chichilixca, çan iuh ceioual in nemoa tozçolo, tozçoa totozçolo tlavilli quixtoc, chachalacoatoc,

574 252 [887]

. auh yn otlavizcalleoac, njman ie ic tlatlachpano, petlateteco, icpalteteco, çacapechtli moteteca, motevmoloa, tlatenvimollolli, ie ic tlaonoc, ie omocuecuentilli, in ixqujch monenequiz,

574

ie omotetecpanque, ie in mãmania, omotẽtequippantique, in tlatequipanozque, in tenamiquizque, aocmo quen ipã in tecoanotzqui, in tecoanotzanj, çã ixqujch ynecuitlavil in teca muchioa, ĩ tepantlatoa, in maca onxiccaoalo, onjxcaoalo,

574 357

824 531 **Third Chapter, which telleth of flowers artificially arranged.**[3]

Flowers arranged with artifice: there were many kinds thus named, flowers artificially arranged — flower shields; flowers for clipped heads, or for shorn ones, or drums; or spreading [flowers]. As to these flowers the ancients were also deluded. They said: "It is not our right to smell in the midst — the center — of them; he alone, he who pervadeth all, Titlacauan, may smell that place. Our right is only to smell them there at the edges."

Injc ey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in suchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.

Suchitl ie tlatlalilli: ca mjiec tlamantli injc motocaiotia in suchitl tlatlalilli, chimalsuchitl, quateçonsuchitl, quachic, vevetl, moiauac: In jtechpa yn suchitl, no motlapololtiaya in vevetque, qujtoaia: ca amo tonemac in tlanepantla, in jnepantla tiqujnecujzque ca çan iceltzin vel vncan motlanecujltia in tloque naoaque, in titlacaoan: çanijo tonemac, in vncan titlanecujzquê in jtenco.

824 **Fourth Chapter, which telleth of dried grains of maize.**

Injc navi capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tlaulli.

As to dried grains of maize, in many ways were the women none the less deluded. First, when they cooked it or set it in ashes — behold their folly: when they would place it in the olla with ashes, first of all they breathed upon it. It was held that in this way it would not take fright; thus it would not fear the heat. It was said that thus they mitigated the heat.

[352]

Second, they deceived themselves in this way: if they saw or came upon dried grains of maize lying scattered on the ground, then they quickly gathered them up. They said: "Our sustenance suffereth: it lieth weeping. If we should not gather it up, it would accuse us before our lord. It would say: 'O our lord, this vassal picked me not up when I lay scattered upon the ground. Punish him!' Or perhaps we should starve."

In jtechpa in tlaulli: mjiec tlamantli oc noma, ic motlapololtia in cioa. Injc centlamantli: in jquac qujcuritia, in anoço qujnezquetza: izcatquj in jnnetlapololtiliz, in jquac ie contemazque in nezcomjc: oc achtopa conahaiovia, qujlmach ic amo momauhtiz, ic amo motonalmauhtiz: qujlmach ic contonallalilia.

Injc vntlamantli, injc muztlacavia: intla oquijtaque, in anoço oypan quiçato tlaulli chachaiauatoc tlalpan: njman conpepentiuetzi, qujtoa: motolinja in tonacaiutl, mochochoqujlitoc: ca intlacamo ticpepenazque, ca techtcixpanujz in jxpantzinco totecujo: ca qujmolhujliz. Totecujoe, injn maccoalli: ca amo nechpepen, in jquac tlalpan njcenmantoca: ma xicmotlatzacujltili: auh anoce timaianazque.

856 **Fifth Chapter, which telleth of stepping over one.**

Injc macujlli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tecuencholhujliztli.

As to stepping over one, the natives also [were] deluded. When some child lay stretched out across one's path, if someone stepped over him, then they chid him who passed over him, saying to him: "Why dost thou step over him?"

It was said that thereby the child would grow no more; he would be only small. And in order to cure him, so that [this] might not befall the child, once again he stepped back over him.[4] Thus was it remedied.

In jtechpa tecuencholhujliztli: no centlamantli innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tla aca melavatoc piltontli, necujliuhtoc: intla aca oconcuencholhuj, njman caoa in aquja otecuencholhuj, qujlhuja. Tle ipampa in tiecuencholhuja:

qujlmach ic ayocmo manaz in piltontli, ça izqujchton iez: auh injc compatiaia, injc amo ipan muchioaz piltontli, oc ceppa qujoalpancholhuja: ic vmpatia.

3. *Suchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.* Corresponding Spanish text: *"las flores, que se compusieron de muchas flores."*

4. *Qujoalpancholhuja.* Corresponding Spanish text: *"otra vez mandaba tornar a pasar sobre él, por la parte contraria."*

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of earthquakes.

When the earth quivered, a delusion of the natives was to be seen. When the earth quaked, then they quickly took their children by the neck and lifted them,[12] so that they might soon grow big — so that they might mature quickly. It was said that if they did not take them by the neck and lift them quickly, they would with difficulty wax larger. And they said that the earthquake would bear [the child] away if they did not grasp him by the neck and lift him. And they sprinkled water upon their faces.

And th[illegible]es, their square wooden beams, their food storage bins, their cooking pots, and indeed all their goods, everything, they sprinkled with water. And if they forgot something, they wrangled over it; it was said that the earthquake would take it away. And everyone raised a din and cried out while striking the hand to the lips in order to make known [the earthquake] to those who knew not of it.[13]

Injc matlactli vnoome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn tlallolinjlizztli. 823

In jquac tlallolinj, centlamantli neci innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tlallolinj, njman iciuhca qujnquechaana in jnpilhoan, injc yciuhca quaquauhtiezque, injc yciuhca manazque: qujlmach intlacamo qujnquechaanazque iciuhca, ayazcan quauhtiazque: yoan qujtoaia, qujvica in tlallolinjlizztli, intlacamo qujquechaanazque, yoan qujmjxalpichiaia. 856

Auh yn jncal, in jntlaquetzal, in jncuezcon, in jxxuc, in ye ixquich intlatquj, muchi catzelhuja: auh intla ytla oqujlcauhque, yc maoaia: qujlmach qujvica in tlallolinjlizztli: yoan ixquich tlacatl ycacoaia, motenvitequja: yc qujnmachiltiaya, in amo qujmati. 823

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the [three] hearth stones.

Concerning the [three] hearth stones there was also a delusion of the natives. When they saw someone kicking[14] the hearth stones, they restrained him from doing so. They said to him: "Do not kick the hearth stones. It will deaden thy feet when, perchance, thou goest to war." They said to him that now he would not be able to walk or run in time of battle. His feet would be numbed; quickly he would fall into the hands of their foes. Hence the natives restrained their youths, that this might not befall them.

Injc matlactli vney capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tenamaztli. 354

In jtechpa in tenamaztli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: in jquac in aca qujtta, in qujtlicçatica in tenamaztli: yc qujtlacaoaltiaia, qujlhujaia: macamo xictiliçatia in tenamaztli mitzjcxinmjmjctiz in jquac intla tiaz iavc, qujlhuja: aiocmo vel nenemjz, aiocmo vel motlaloz in iaupan: ça yczinmjmjquiz, yciuhca ynmac vetziz in jniaovan: ynjc qujntlacaoaltiaia in jntelpuchoan, in njcan tlaca, injc amo yuh inpan mochioaz.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the tortilla doubled over on the griddle.

When a woman made tortillas, if her tortilla doubled over, there was also a delusion of theirs. She said: "Someone who now cometh hath kicked

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in comalco mocuelpachoa tlaxcalli. 252

In jquac tlaxcaloa in cioa, intla ocuelpachiuh itlaxcal: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, qujtoa: aqujn ie vitz oqujoaltilicçac: auh in anoce yoqujchvi, in ca-

12. Quiquechaana: literally, they took them by the neck. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*tomaban a sus niños con ambas las manos, por cuelo los alzaban, y los levantaban en alto.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*para que no los arrebatasse, que arrebataba la tierra.*"

14. Quitilicçatica: literally, were kicking it (cf. tilicçaz, Molina, op. cit.); corresponding Spanish text: "*los que pisaban el pie sobre las tenamaxtes, que eso era pisarlos.*"

252 it over." Or if, perchance, her husband had gone somewhere distant, she said: "Now he cometh, for he hath kicked over my tortilla."

napa veca oya, qujtoaia: ca ye hujtz, ca qujoaltilicçac yn notlaxcal.

861 **Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of small children who licked the surface of the grinding stone.**

When small children licked the surface of the grinding stone, the mothers chid and scolded their young ones for it, and restrained them from it, saying to them: "Do not lick the grinding stone; your teeth will thus quickly break and fall out." Because of this, they filled their small children with great fear, so that this would not befall them.

Injc caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn pipiltotonti qujxpaloa metlatl.

In jquac pipiltotonti qujxpapaloa metlatl: yc teacaia, yc qujmacaia, yc qujntlacaoaltiaia in tenanoan yn jnpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo xicpapalocan in metlatl, yc iciuhca cocotoniz, yciuhca veveztiz in amotlan. Ipampa yn, cenca qujmjmacaxiltiaia in pipiltotonti: injc amo iuh ynpan muchioaz.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of him who leaned against a square pillar.

When they saw one who leaned against a square pillar, there also was folly of the natives;[15] they chid him for it, and restrained him from doing so; they prevented their children from doing it. They said to them: "Do not lean against the pillar; it is a liar." Thus did they speak: "It giveth one lies; it is like unto one who lieth." [With] this, they terrified the children lest such might befall them and they tell lies.

Injc caxtolli ocs capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn aqujn itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli.

In jquac aca qujttaia, in jtech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tla: yc teacaia, ic tetlacaoaltiaia, ic qujntlacaoaltiaia in ynpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ytech ximotlaxtica in tlaquetzalli, yhjztlacati: iuh qujtoaia: ca ichoatl qujtemaca in jztlacatilizztli, itech qujcuj: in aqujn ihiztlacati. Injn, cenca qujmjmacaxiltiaia in tepilhoan: injc amo iuh inpan muchioaz, ynjc amo yhiztlacatizque.

861 264 **Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the maidens who ate standing.**

In times past, when the natives saw their maidens eat standing, they also restrained them from it. They prevented their children from doing so. They said to them: "Eat not while thou art standing. Thou wilt marry far from here.—Who will follow thee?" It was said that it would befall one that she would marry in a distant place; she would be taken somewhere far away, not in her own city where she lived.

Injc caxtolli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn jchpupuchti in çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua.

In ie vecauh in njcan tlaca: in jquac in qujmjttaia in jmjchpuchoan ꝯ çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua: no yc tetlacaoaltiaia; ic qujntlacaoaltiaia in jnpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ximoquetztica in titlaqua, veca timocchotiz, ac mjtzicxitocaz: qujlmach ichoatl ipan muchioaia, in veca moqujchvatia, in cana veca vico: in amo yaltepeuh ipan nemj.

846 753 **Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth how maize cobs were burned.**

When one had just given birth to a child, she who, residing there, had given birth should not then burn maize cobs. It was said that if there [maize cobs]

Injc caxtolli omey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in quenjn motlatia olotl.

In jquac aca mjxivia, avel vncan qujtlatiaia in olotl: in vncan onoc mjxiuhquj, qujl intla vncan tlatlaz: yc ichchichitinjz in piltontli. Auh intla ça

15. *In spite thy* [illegible]

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of the sweat house.

Although the sweat house were very hot, where all bathed, if one known as a twin went there, then he would dispel the steam and destroy [the heat], however hot the sweat house were — even if he went to stand only at the doorway; even more so if he were to bathe among [the others]. But thus could he remedy it; it was said that four times he himself cast potsherds on the ground and sprinkled them with water. It was thought that thus he would not dispel the heat. It would be even hotter.

And when two were born who were called twins, it was said that wherever something was dyed, when [someone] dyed rabbit fur, they might not enter there. If they were to enter there, it was said, they would cast a spell over it; they would blow the colors off. It would come out badly — it would become multicolored, especially [if the dye were] chili red. But thus was it remedied: [the dyer] made him taste the dye water. It was said that in this way the rabbit fur would not be damaged.

Likewise, neither might those known as twins enter where tamales were cooking; because, it was said, if they came in there, they would also bewitch the tamales and the cooking pot. They would not cook, though [left there] all day. The tamales would each one cook only on one side. And in order to remedy it, so that it would not thus happen, when perhaps they went to enter, they placed the cooking pot on the fire. And if by chance the tamales were placed in the pot in [their] presence, they made them lay one [of them] in place. It was said that thus the tamales would not be harmed.

Injc cempoalli on castolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in temazcalli. 343

In temazcalli, in vncan netemalo: intlanel cenca totonquj, intla vmpa iaz, in moteneoa cocoa: njmã quipouhtitlaça, quipoloa injc cenca totonquj ocatca in temazcalli: intlanel çan quijsoac onmoquetzatiuh: oc cenca intla tehoan motemaz. Auh injc patiz quil nappa in vel inoma contlaçaz, in conatequjx tapalcatl: quil ic amo quipoloz, injc totonquj: çan oc cenca totonquj iez. 515 845

Ioan in vmẽtin tlacati, in mjtoa cocoa, quilmach in canjn tlapalo, in quipa tochomjtl: amo vel vmpa calaquj: yntla vmpa calaquiz, quilmach quizoxa, quipitza in tlapalli: amo qualli in quiça, çan mocujcujcujloa: oc cenca yehoatl in chichiltic. Auh injc pati, achi contlapaloltia in tlapalatl: quil ic amo ytlacaviz in tochomjtl. 845 386

No yoan in iehoantin in mjtoa cocoa, in cahjn mopacaci tamalli: amono vel vmpa calaquj: iehica quilmach intla vmpa calaquizque, no quizoxa in tamalli, yoan in comjtl: amo vel ycuci, intlanel cemjlhujtl: çan chichicuycuciz in tamalli. Auh injc pati, injc amo iuh muchioaz: in iquac tla ocalaquito, contlatiz in comjtl. Auh intlanoçe iixpan mocontema tamalli, centetl ipan contlalilia: quil ic amo ytlacaviz in tamalli. 845 252

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the time when the teeth of small children dropped.

When the teeth of small children dropped out, the mothers cast them into a mouse-hole, or they said to their children: "Place it in the mouse-hole." For it was said that if they were not to do this, the small child's teeth could not grow; he would remain quite toothless.

Injc cempoalli on castolli omome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in iquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti. 856

In iquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti: yn tetanoan itlacoiocco contlaça in quimjchin, anoçe inpilhoan, quimjlhuja: ytlacoiocco xictlali in quimjchin: iehica quil intlacamo iuh quichioazque, amo vel ixoaz in itlan piltontli: çan tlancotoctic iez.

* * *

These superstitions harm the Faith, and therefore it is well to recognize them. Only these few have

* * *

Estas abusiones, enpecen a la fe: y por eso, conujene sabellas, y predicar, contra ellas. Anse puesto, 000

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

● 262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [43] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their
ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog,
one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains.
The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail
also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when
crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident,
were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly
lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own
fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the
Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief
farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

● [262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man
431] [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Iztocçauhqui. There [the
[304 parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon
852] them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

776 [Iztocçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujoujxtililoia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan
yxcalli: quixiptlatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacozmaloia,
copaltemjlilo,

oauhqujltamalli nechivililoia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan
qujmanjliaia in tletl, çatepan qualoia.

Auh yn jxtevicoan, iuh cemjlhujtl, in qujcujcatia,
qujtecciapichilia, qujteponacilhuja, cuiacachilhuja:
auh aiac vel cõmaçoaia in comalco, tetlacaoalililoia, ynjc
amo aca motlatiz, mochichinoa: ipampa in iancujcan oqualoc
oauhqujltamalli, ynjc etlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin qujntlaxqujaia: yn aca
cuatl: cujiatl, xnujli, axolotl, totod: in çaçe tlein ocacic iciolí,
ycamac contlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxquja yn
tota.

Auh yn cioeoac, noujan tlatlauanaia in veveteque,
ylamatque: iuh qujtoaia, qujtlatoiaujliaia yn tletl, tezcal-
cruja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauiztililoia, ilhuiuh:
iquac motecujtociaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jtecal,
xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzonmulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no ixquich tlacatl,
qujpaloaia, qujltequja, in vctli, in pipiltotonti: ic moto-
caiocia, pillaoano:

yoan vncã qujntlatiaia, qujnmahujtiaia in pipiltotonti.
Ce cioatl, ce oquichtli, in qujntemoaia pilhoaque, qujntlauh-
tiaia; ieheantin qujnmamatihuja, vmpa qujmoncaoaia, yn
itzupan iacoçauhqui: vmpa qujnnacazxapotlaia, qujnna-
caocoionjaia: iuhqujn ic qujnmachiotiaia, ynjc qujmitta,
yntlacoan, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jxechichioal catca: tiltica motenujltec, chalchiuhtetele,
xiuhtocomacale, quetzalmjjaoaio, mjtzome, tlacotztzone,
xiuhcoainacoche, amacomeapanale, no tzitzile, cocujole,
xiuhtezcatlatlapanqui yn jchimal, tlachieltopile.

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66. "Uno de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y atillas, tiene las hojas orejudas. Las tallas de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a tenizos, exprimese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hacense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilitac." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 231. On p. 318, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranteae*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 209; see *temalacuya* in Simeon: op. cit.

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; patron or protector). Molina (op. cit.) translates the words *tlatli* and *xnujl* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchihuitetelli*—a strap for the hand, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*xiuhtototi*); *quetzalomitl* or *xiuhtzontecatli quetzalmiauayo*—a class of feather mosaic work in the form of a revolved cone, broadening upwards; *mitzontli tlacochtzonitl* or

fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

776

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, hæmorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Juic matlactli vnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nenezuhque, ynjc netzutiloia tecpantzinca intzuh: 776
yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca tequjchti ipan cioacochiz, 688
anoço ciostl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoaia, qujatlaçulmjctia 753
yn jneçaualis,
ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujteilhujltiaia, qujtema- [785
ceualtiaia, in xochiciuirtli, yn menezoalistli, tlapalanaltilirtli, 834]
quexiliuilirtli,

yuicpa netoloa, nenetoltiloia, ynjc qujcenis, ynjc
qujçuanis ynjc qujcaxaoaz, cuculirtli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xuchilhujtl: achtopa 776
navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chil- 796
caoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, [264]
iualnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli
yn ipan ca, mexochiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh
qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujxcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli
qujquaia, etle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl
qujmixipelatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtoriaia,
qujtlatocenjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ic nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia,
tlacoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in [785]
qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey
ipan ycatich xuchmjtl:

776
yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan centoquiliaia [415]
oc no macuiltetl tamalnepitoten, mellotiuja: yoan vntetl 262
tnoalli yiol peujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl
tiltic, centetl tlatlauhquj. 796

Auh yn aca isquitl, açoço necuzquitl, anoço zonecujlli,
papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tnoallaxcalli, tnoalchimalli,
tnoalmjtl, tnoalmaquaujtl, tnoalnenetl:

yoan noujian oalcaoaloia, in mamalti ujcan mexico, 776
motenecoa maltequjma, yn jzquich techiaoaloroc, yn 796
727

cuac quauhmalhuaxtli—corn arrow shafts or wooden drills, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *cuac xoxal* ("2 reed") or the *mamalhuaxtli* (fire-drill) (see illus.). *Solar: The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 73. *Tlacotzyoaz*, in the Aztec text, *should probably be tlacochtzyoaz.*

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*bocio, cosa enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, divisas, sarnoso, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text "*pasas asinas.*"

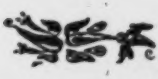

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

1 g KL. g 13
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los A 14
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, b 15
4 c yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se c 16
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en d 17
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli e 18
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los f 19
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie g 20
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- A 21
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con b 22
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãtõ c 23
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se d 24
13 e defendia: maltrataualle de tal manera e 25
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque f 26
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se g 27
16 A le tomauan: y por esto ninguna pena A 28
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de b 29
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer c 30
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- d 31
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian e 1[1]
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cativos y otros

1. Marginal caution: *Junjor la dier ere.*

X 796 **The eighth month** they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On
[805 the first day of this month they observed a feast to
776 the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender
maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor
men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—
[735 in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the
tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments
with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lós ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they
fed men and women, young and old. Then, very
735 early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind
of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank
● 262 as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all
in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them
tamales. He who gave them [out], gave each one as
many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of
them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to
take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took
from him those which he had, and he went with
nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in
order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time,
ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 All these eight days they danced and moved in
rhythm, men and women together performing the
ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with
536 rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their
[302 hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing
and singing with the men. This dance began at sun-
down, and they continued in it until nine o'clock.
[373 They carried many lights (like great torches) of resin-
ous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires
which burned in the same courtyard in which they
danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went
with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or
embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of
another as in an embrace, and the other likewise
[holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Cap. 8.

1	e	KL	Vei tecujlhujtl	e	22[1]
2	f		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	f	23
3	g		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	g	24
4	A		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	A	25
5	b		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	b	26
6	c		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	c	27
7	d		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	d	28
8	e		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	e	29
9	f		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	f	30
10	g		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	g	1[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	A	2
12	b		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	b	3
13	c		tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y to-	c	4
14	d		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	d	5
15	e		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	e	6
16	f		solar a los pobres: porque en este	f	7
17	g		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	g	8
18	A		mãtenjmjentos.	A	9
19	b		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	b	10
20	c		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	c	11[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseueraua en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

1. Marginal notation: *Sancti gaudent* [illegible] *et cant.*
2. Marginal notation: *Pij pauper et Mart.*
3. Marginal notation: *fallar la dia sant.*

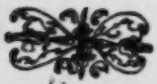

X 796 [805 776] The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[23] [262] On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this [778] feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers: and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 535 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but [534 778] they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1	d	KL	Tlaxochimaco	d	12
2	e		La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa-	e	13
3	f		uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros	f	14
4	g		para comer, en hazer tamales y otras	g	15
5	A		cosas concernientes a la comida: luego	A	16
6	b		de mañanita el dia desta fiesta: los	b	17
7	c		satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ	c	18
8	d		muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des-	d	19
9	e		pues de compuesta la estatua deste	e	20
10	f		dios: componjan las estatuas de los	f	21
11	g		otros dioses con guirnaldas y sartales	g	22
12	A		y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan	A	23
13	b		todas las otras estatuas de los calpules,	b	24
14	c		y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cal-	c	25
15	d		pisques y principales y maceguales,	d	26
16	e		todos componjan las estatuas que ten-	e	27
17	f		jan en sus casas con flores.	f	28
18	g		Compuestas las estatuas todos los	g	29
19	A		dioses: luego començauan a comer	A	30
20	b		aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas	b	31

de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Duraua este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos reziamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Ixcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

796X [805 778] 776 [852 304 608]

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *uauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bisexxtile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Izcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1	b	KL.	Izcalli	b	8
2	c	A los diez	dias deste mes: sacauã	c	9
3	d	fuego nueuo a	media noche delante	d	10
4	e	la ymagẽ de	Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa-	e	11
5	f	mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos,		f	12
6	g	luego en amaneciendo venjan los man-		g	13
7	A	cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos		A	14
8	b	anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez		b	15
9	c	dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de		c	16
10	d	tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que		d	17
11	e	tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y		e	18
12	f	ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque-		f	19
13	g	llos anjmales para que se asassen: y		g	20
14	A	dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu-		A	21
15	b	chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que		b	22
16	c	ellos llamauã Vauhquiltamalli: los		c	23
17	d	quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia.		d	24
18	e	y todos comjan dellos por honrra de		e	25
19	f	la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y		f	26
20	g	beujan y regozijauanse.		g	27

[262]

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del bisexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, vestuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo con muchos y preciosos y curiosos ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Ixcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

[535]

X 796 266 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who had taken the captive.

[262] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set be-before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

[346] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototecti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn joaniolque qujntlalhuja, qujcentlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa qujntotonaltia cecen molcaxitl in tlaolpaccatli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan ieietiuh cecen tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhqujn ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo, vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miqujtiuh, qujxtlaoatiuh, ic qujchoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaca yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jioatziniioc, inic callatuiz qujntoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceioual, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamalti, in oaoanti:

in qujnoaoanazque, oc no cepa qujntzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

ic mitoaia onacoqujxtilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa irztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, qujtoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in qujtzoncuja, qujmopialtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oqujmomacetuj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

ynjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhqujnma ic contleiocujliaiz malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, ixtac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauitl eua.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototecti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan qujnoalmana, qujnoalquetza, qujnoalteititia:

11. See p. 44, Seler, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural ceremonies of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making a fruitful was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'scratching' *mamalti*."
12. See note 9; also Seler (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 65.
13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: "*pusieron todos arriba, sobre unas hojas de lama, o de tejal, o grada estando allí arriba.*"

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cozcateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

quitoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notattzin: auh tel tepal quiquaia intemal. 796X [266]

Auh yn ieoaio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlaeoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaquijlo cemjlhujtl: yn aquijn onmaquja in quexquijch maco, in quexquijch quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quitlaiecultia yn ieoauh. [431]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, quijaoaloa in temalacatl, yn izquijchtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn jntzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia. 796X 535

Auh in cuitlachueue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjisoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhquijn mjccaoati, quijnchoquijlia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque. 796X

Auh no ichoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, quimonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cozcateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamaujçoltiloia: njman ic xitinooa, necacaoalo. 796X 648

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ynjttac ietiuh, vmpa quiquasquatoque. [262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'quixtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: quipeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualizpan quiualcaoaia: njman quimonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynic mjhtotiaia, çan tlancnel, çan nepapā tlatquitl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tzôcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone- 796X 301

24. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 177-88) says that Moctezuma I invited "*los señores de todo lo redondo*"—Texcoco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuauhnahuac, the Huaxteca, and as many more as possible. "*Los señores de las provincias y ciudades,*" he continues, "*advertidos y atemorizados de semejante sacrificio, persuadieron pues sus provincias y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . dieron aquerdos á los forasteros. . . . Donde estaban todos los de las provincias y ciudades estaban dicenos de temor pensando si conocidos eran los mexicanos, viendo quien dichosamente estaban y cómo tratados á sus enemigos.*"

25. Olmapalli: "*tortillas, como empanadillas, que hacían de maíz sin cocer,*" according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of *nacatamalitzcalli*—"*der 'Brot in Gestalt eines Arzkuchens'. . . . Er war ein Gebäck in Rautform, das aus ungegorenem, Tamaule zubereitetem Maisteig bestand, ohne aus Maismehl, nicht aus Maiskorner, hergestellt wurde.*"

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *tamales* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Coateca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, esteemed [these *tamales*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[5]—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jnic cempoali omume capitulo, vncã moteneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in moteneoaia, Tlacaxipeoaliztli. 796[X]

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpuḷueuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico. cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhuitl, in tlacemilhuitiltitoque, ic tlalhujquiztitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in iuquich nepapan xochitl, in iancujcan cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto qujnecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, qujuenchioaz, qujuẽmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotõti quittaia, cuecueponṭoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aquitoton, hacquipipil, hacquitetoton, çan quecizquj, çan quezquitoton, çan quecizquipipil, çan quezquiquauhtoton quicujcujtlalpia, quijlpia. 796[X] 824 [784] [532]

Auh ynic xuchiteremoaia, quicenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj quioalnamacaia, in millaca: 796[X] [432]

auh yn iquac y, quiquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [262]

oc cenca ichoanti quimauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: quitlamanjlia yn inteouh, itoca coatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn itech tlaquauhtlamati, yn innetemachil, yn itech moquauhiotia, yn inquauhio, yn itech motzatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac coatlatilo, onmoxlatia, onmocacoa, yn imeoaio tlaca, vmpa iopico onaactiuj:

1. The corresponding Spanish text specifies: ". . . *que hacían en el primero día del segundo mes, que se decía decaxipeualiztli.*" In Chapter 3, this month is correctly named Tepeilhuitl.
2. Some manuscript variants read—"*Y en dicho 'se sembraron semajas'*" (Garibay: "Rabadilla barra," p. 294). Seler (op. cit., p. 77) has, for *sembrando*, "*Indem man den Amaranthus säte der Rassel.*"
3. "*Los sacerdotes de aquel templo,*" according to Sahagún's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagún: *Histoire des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, p. 92, n. 3: *amaranthe*—"*Pour-dell pour tamaquanalli, de tamaquali, dépiq ou herbe pequeno, et amalli, verd de rassel.*"
5. *Rabadilla*: Seler (op. cit., p. 79) uses the term *rompedores*; Garibay (op. cit., p. 295) has, for *pues mitoque huesillo*, "*y se Rasuda, 'se sembra los pelos'*"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "*amontonan sus dejados cuerpos.*"

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei toçoztli.[1]

Jnic cẽpoualli onnei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in ꝫqujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli.

This [feast of] Uei toçoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic muchioaia, oc achtopa nauilhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: qujquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlacherujlli, heezço, tlaezçotilli noujã:

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia , qujquequetzaia, qujtitiquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aqujn telpuchtli, itech qujqujxtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoiatema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli:

In the middle of these they placed *magueyes*[3a] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Auh in icaltica, yn oqujchiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneoa, aquetzalli:

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic qujtecta in atolli, izqujatecomac,

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapeztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn oiztix, yn

1. Green Vigil (*Gran Velada*), according to Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296). Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 278) refers to Uey tepeuilli as *gran pasamala*, and to Tepeilhuitl as "*pasamalaville . . . porque creíllo pasaba con alguna cosa de una parte á otra.*"

2. Sahagún describes these as *espadañas*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 76, has *Rohrkolben* (*Typha sp.*), and in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rohrkolben* or *Kolbenrohr* as alternatives.

3. Sahagún describes these as *espadañas*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 76, has *Rosenkiefer* (*Typha sp.*), and in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rohrkolben* or *Kolbenrohr* as alternatives.

3a. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican term *maguey* is used in this translation.

4. Sahagún, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 306: "*quauhnexatolli, que es hecho con harina muy espesa y muy blanca, hecho con tequesquite.*" In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 84, Seler specifies that the grains of maize were "*mit Pottasche gekochten.*"

5. A cour good, in Seler, *loc. cit.*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*) states that an odd fruit, which he remembers, was used.

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[241] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *magney* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[778] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

● [262] As fast foods they made, before them, *five tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cintreotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac,* "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cintreopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

otetzaoac, yn omotlali, hi tzotzoliuhtimanj, ioiokcatimanj.

Auh yn otlathujc, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, qujcenocujtiuj in calli, no ichoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlaeujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihiixnamiquj:

in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa qujpaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izquican manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujoalitquj, yn inchachan:

qujnzozochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujntlaquentia, qujntlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujltetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujiatlaoatzalli, tepioacquj, quappitztic, tlaixtexoujlli. qujtzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan ezio izquitl conmana.

Auh çan ixtli qujtequj acatl vncan qujtemjtia, qujtentiquetza, yn izquitlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepizcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa qujcuj, qujmamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, motenena calonooac, cali onooac: ichica ca çan cali çan tecbachan in mauiztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teurlac, vmpa qujmoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa qujnamoc, ic neaujltilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, qujnmaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca atzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cahuc de maiz* is corresponding Spanish text. Carlino (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates the term as *mata de maiz;* Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*persona o mata de maiz verde de que siegan.*"

7. "*Otras yerbas, que llamamos, mayney.*" in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330), referring to the magney, says: "*Las raices gruesas llamadas, yerbas de gabilo.*"

8. Gummed, roasted maize meal with chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 85).

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When they had ornamented [the figure of Uitzilopochtli], the young, seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths, and the youths took it up. His breech clout went stretched and spread out before him. They went in procession; they went dancing [and singing].

When they brought it to the foot of the temple, they carried up [the platform]. Cords fastened it to the four [corners], so that they might take it up, that they might carry it. They went stretching [the cords] that [the platform] might not twist.

Then they began to climb up. They went rolling, winding, and reeling [the breech clout] up, coiling it.

As they went rolling up his breech clout, the officials proceeded to take up, gathering and collecting them together, the ceremonial arrows.

And when they had come to the top, when they had raised [the figure of Uitzilopochtli] to the summit, then they placed upon the serpent bench [the paper roll]. They placed it before him; they bound it to [the serpent bench]; they bound it on tightly and firmly.

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When they had come to place it [there], then all came down; and there remained the officials, the priests, the guardians who guarded it.

Then all the people came down.

And this came to pass, that they went up at sundown, when a little sun still shone; and also at sundown an offering was made.

[262]

And the *tamales* which they ate were fruit *tamales*, [which were] red, or *tamales* made of maize softened with lime, or bean and cornmeal cakes,[14] colored *tamales*, *tamales* of coarse, white flour, and [*tamales*] rolled up in amaranth seed dough.

These cylindrical *tamales*, wrapped up in amaranth seed dough—these *tamales* they offered at the temple.

And when it dawned, then offerings were made in their houses; only some made offerings before the devil [Uitzilopochtli].

And quail were beheaded by everyone, women and men.

Moctezuma began [the offering]. He himself, with his own hands, beheaded four quail.

And the priest beheaded other quail, but only by laying his hands upon them.[15]

Then, breaking [loose], the common people followed. All the people beheaded quail—men and women.

yn oquiencatlhque, cacoquixtia in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in teachcaoan, in telpopochti, ixpan onotiuh, ixpan çouhtiuh yn jmaxtli, tlaiaoaloctiuj, qujtotitiuj:

yn ocxitique yxtintlan teucalli, in ie qujtlecauizque, ca nauhcampa ixticaca mecatl, injc cacoquixtizque, ynjc quinapalouaque, qujtitilinjtiuj, ynjc amo monecujlos:

njman ie ic quipeoaltia in tlecoz, quilacatzotiuj, quicujxtiuj, quitecuja, quitecujxtiuj:

yn jamamaxtli quioallaztiuj, in teumjtl concujtiuj, quinechicotiuj, quicententiuj in tequippaneque.

Auh yn opanuetzito tlacpac, yn oquipantlazque: njman ie ic conteca coatlapechco, ixpan quitequjlia, itech quilpia, quicacatzilpia, quiteteuhilpia,

yn ocontlalito: njmã oaltemoa, vmpa onmocaoa in tequipaneque, tlamacazque, in tlapixque, in quipiaia:

njman ie ic oaltemo in ixquich tlacatl.

Auh ynin mochioaia, in acoquiçaia: teutlacpa oc achi tonatiuh, yoan no teutlacpa muchioa ventli:

yoã in quiquazque tamalli, xocotamalli chichiltic, anoço tenextamalli, anoço quatecujcujlli, tlapactamalli, quauhnextamalli, yoan tzoualilacatzolli:

ynin mjmjltic in tamalli, tzoalli ynic tlailacatzolli, quicõmana ỹ in tamalli in teupan.

Auh yn otlathuic, njman ie ic tlatlamanalo intechachan, çan aca in ontlamanaia vel ixpan tlacatecutl:

yoan tlacotonalo ixquich tlacatl, yn cioatl in toquichti:

conpeoaltia yn *Motecoçuma*, nauhtetl in çolin yn inoma, yn iioma quicotona.

Auh yn oc cequj, çaçolti, tlenamacac, in quincotona, çan inpã conmantiuh yn jma:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, cenuetzi in macoaltzitli, yn ixquich tlacatl in tlacotona, yn oquichtli in cioatl.

14. Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 249, has, for quatequjcuil-tamalli, beans and cornmeal cakes with lard or other meats.

15. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 184) suggests that the priest merely touched them so indeed them symbolically.

X796 he offered incense; he went forth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

in itlema: njman ic ic tlenamaca, quijaosc oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ic iuhquj, contema tlequazco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, onmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

[262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelololi, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oquijmjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

Otimjtzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, moxixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixqujchtin tlamacazque, ceceiaca cõtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelololi.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço izoatomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

cenca vellachicló, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjmjloz, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamaxopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

yoan intla aca ytech qujttazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic neaxioa:

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoã nauhioal, in nemaxcanemoaia.

And after that the old priests[9] took away [the offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: qujmocujlia intech monequj, qujqua: naujlhujtl in qujmocujliaia, in motlaueuenjaia:

[785] And when it was not yet midnight, then shell trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *maguey* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

auh yn aizmo onaci ioalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ic ic mezuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ie iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

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7. Sahagún (Bulmalo ed., Vol. I, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"tlamacazque (*que es como sacerdote*; . . . tlamacazque, *que es como diácono*; . . . *teopixque, que es como sacristán. De estos nuevecientos los mayores eleyan por sumos pontífices. . . .*"

8. *Iztomatl* ball (Simeón, *op. cit.*), or species of tomato (Simeón, *op. cit.*).

9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "*cinco viejos, que llamaban quaquacujilti: los quales traeyan los cuernos retorcidos de ciervo, arrepentidos: salian en la cerimonia de la cabeça, que traeyan los cabellos largos, al modo de los clerigos.*"

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *magney* fiber cape, or a small cotton *mantle*.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[18]

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic axioa. 796X

Auh intla aca, amo qujcxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tchoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aqujque axioa, oc vel momaquixtia, oc vel moquixtia, oc vel maquiça: aço totolin yca, aço maxtlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica. [341]

Auh yn jcnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moquixtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn jxquich nequixtilonj, moch qujmocujlia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moquixtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moquixtiaia, aocmo qujcelia.

Auh in ie iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl macecoalli, qujmochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, aiac yn macamo metzalhujaia: [262]

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech qujmomamaca, nepanotl ic mooncoaochioa.

Auh in cequjntin papaqujnj, yn ahaujcni: yoan in cequjntin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelquixtia:

injc muchichioa mixteiaiaoaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan caantinemj xocujcolli etzalcomjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjxcalxaxipotlaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujoalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlalitiuj yn etzalcomjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoalizti, ioalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necacaoalo, cactiuetzi, [535]

auh yn ooalquiz tonatiuh, njman ic ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, pani ennmololoa aizti, inca nauhquemjtl, anoço aoachquemjtl, [793 292]

18. "Buñuelo de masa" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

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bore [food], who carried [food] in their cloaks, who served at table; [and] the pages. Beginning with the first-comers, he who served at table thus served them as many *tamales* as they could take in one hand. He gave them perchance *tamales* made of maize treated with lime; or else made with fruit; some [he gave] *tamales* of maize blossoms; or with twisted ends, or sweetened with honey. Of the *tamales*, some had twisted ends and were filled with grains of maize; some took the twisting forms of green beans and were filled with grains of maize.[2]

in tetlamacazque, in tetlamamacazque, yiacac valpeoa in tetlamacac, injc tetlamaca, in quexqujch veliti qujtzitzquja tamalli, ixqujch qujcemaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço xocotamalli, cequj mjiaoatamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollaoio, cequj ixxotocolotlaoio:

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And they who served [food] looked to the small children, serving them well, with much concern. And some of the table-servers offered *tamales* only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as their kin or their friends. Twice or thrice they offered them [food].

auh in tetlamacaia in qujmittaia pipiltzintzinti, cenca vel qujntlamacaia, cẽca tlatlaocultiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacaque, çan qujteixitimatcamaca in tamalli: qujmjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, expa in qujntlamaca.

And none might deceive in taking *tamales*. And any whom they saw trying to take *tamales* dishonestly, such, when they saw him, they punished, striking him, leaving bloody welts, with a cord made of reeds. What had been given him, they took from him all; they took all his *tamales*, his own which he had set aside, those which had fallen his lot.

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Auh aiac motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aqujn qujttaia motamalixcuepaznequj, in tlaittvz, qujvivitequj, qujtatacapitzvitequj tolmecatica: in quexqujch omacoca mochi qujcujlia, qujcencujlia in jtamal, inevian conmocavilia, inevian ômonexotla.

And some they did not come to—[those] with whom [the line] broke off, those who came last, at the end, at the tail [of the line], even though they crowded their way forward, going up among the throng. Nothing at all was offered them, for at first there was much crowding and violent forcing, because they feared that with them [the line] might break.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, iehoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temazelotiuh, injc tetlan calaquj: çan njman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachto, cenca nemamaliva, cenca netotocholo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlacoton.

And those with whom [the food supply] ended all wept. They said:

"What shall we do, we who are ill-fated? Evilly hath the feast day come! To what vain end is our ill fortune? Unhappy are our little ones!"

Auh in quexqujchtin impan tlacotonj, nechoqujlilo: qujtoaia,

quennel titotolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen todaihiioviliz motolinja in topilhoantzitzin.

And if they saw that, apart, perchance, [*tamales*] were still being eaten, then they hurried over there. All ran; there they betook themselves; there they jostled them, like clamoring [beggars]. Although [those who ate] came against them and beat and struck their heads, yet they went on breaking in among [the eaters], crowding among them roughly.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaqualo, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlalolo, vmpa motquj, vmpa onxoqujvi, iuh qujnamopevilmatque, in manel qujnoahtoca, qujnvalhujtequj, in qujnvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

X 796 736

And this feasting went on for seven days. And for this reason was this done—purely that the chief might show benevolence to others by giving his bounty to

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh injc mochioaia y, çan jc tetlaoculiaia in tlatoanj, in qujntlaoculiaia in maceoaltzintli: iehica ca

2. "*Cet tamalli donné fait avec* . . . *xocotli, chaux; xocotl, fruit; mimatl, fleur de maïs; yacatolli, espèce de maïs, ou mazolli, miel. Les deux autres tamalli étaient composés, le premier avec le maïs appelé yacatolli, et le second avec des fleurs* (xxxll) *sèches* (xxxbic.) "Ueberlieferungen und Sprachen Mexikos of Sahagún, p. 118, n. 2).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cintéotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Carophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 27.

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in qujmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachuhtli, etc. 796x 793 [301] [267]

Ce tlacatl qujquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, ezcan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quicalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujoalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzna: 796x

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco qujoallalia: iehoã qujmati in machiceque catca in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in ooatl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl. [262] [264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl netoniloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, motaoqia. [302]

Ixqujch tlacatl motamaluja motocotamalujaia: qujotlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan. [868]

Auh in uetuetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpochtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli. [273]

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujtzacutiaz netitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796x 273 689

X 796 778 and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments. [314 289]

qujntlapichilitivitze, iuhqujn tlacaoacativitz, njmã ic ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo qujmpepechoa:

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in qujnpepechoa, injc qujntlacatilia, qujmixolhuja, yoan mjchiouhtli in quimõtlalilia incampan, qujmõquentia in tetevitl, yoan qujmõoquja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11] [766]

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in qujntlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in qujnchichioaia.

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço azali in impã qujtlaliaia:

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them. [262]

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ic ic qujntlamanjlia: in qujnmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan qujntlenamaqujlia.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan izqujch in qujntlamanjliaia.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequjntin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maiauel, representing the *magueY*; the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent. [776]

Injc ce itoca Teposoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maiavel: izjptla metl. Jnjc macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oqujchtli, izjptlan coatl:

Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner. [314 289]

in jniechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them. [493]

ioatzinco in qujmpeoaltia in qujnnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, qujntlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, qujntlatlaioalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, qujocujcatitivi.

8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: *"La cabeça de cada vna vnsaua tenja dos cuernos, vna de persona, y otra de culebra. . . ."*
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), *"vsauan a vnsaua hechos de heno, atados con cuyas de sauce."*
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 118.
12. In the Robredo ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 235, *ocalli* is explained: *"Hay otra que se llama tzanquilitl, es muy seiida y tiene vnos cañitos huecos como aquella hierba que se llama ocalli y criase cerca del agua, y cuando se vnsaua vsauan entre las diosses cuando la vnsauan."*

And of them who aided the Uitznaua, if one were taken, he met his end. In truth, the bathed ones slew [their opponents]; using a two-toned drum [as an offering stone], upon it they cut open their breasts.

And the onlooker, he who oversaw [the battle], when he noted that [he who bore the likeness of] Paynal already approached, then cried out, saying: "Mexicans! Now he cometh! Now already is brought the lord! Enough!"

And when they heard this, then the bathed ones took after [the others]. Then dispersed, melted away, and departed those who had aided [the Uitznaua], who had rolled up the paper.

Thereupon came [he who bore] Paynal. First arrived the standards, two devices for seeing, made of [sprays of] feathers, with a hole in their midst. Two mere boys bore them hence, hastening greatly. Then [from the boys] two warriors took [the standards] quickly—[warriors] who could hasten and run fast.

And when they had run a certain distance, two other [warriors] took it briskly from them. So they carried it in relays.

And when they reached the eagle portal[13] [of the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli], none took these from them; they took the devices up [to the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. These who came ahead, when they had brought up the devices for seeing, cast them upon the image of Uitzilopochtli, which [was made of a dough of] amaranth seed. [There] they fell to the ground, faint, and lay panting.

And the fire priest thereupon came forth and cut their ears with a flint knife, whereupon they came to themselves; thus they revived.

And when they had revived, then they climbed down, taking the amaranth seed dough [image] which they had captured.[14] They took it to their homes, [for] it was in truth their captive, and ate it. They offered it to their kin and to their neighbors, who all ate of it.[15]

Auh in tlapalevia in qujmpalevia vitznaoa, intla çe axioacã, no mjqujx: vel iioma qujmjctia in tlaaltilti, çan teponaztli in jpan coneltequi. 796 [534]

Auh in tlachixqui, in oqujttac, in oconjttac in ie vitz Paynal: mec tzatzi, qujtva, Mexicae, ca ie vitz, ca ie movicatz in tlacatl, ma ixqujch.

Auh in oqujcacque: mec tetoca in tlaaltilti: vncan xixitinj, tlaxitinj, vivi, in otepaleviaia, in otlamaviaia.

Niman ie ic vitz in Paynal: achtopa oaleoa in machiotl, auh in tlachielonj vr·tl hivitl in tlachioalli, yiticoionqui, çã oc pipiltotonti in qujoalitqui, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia, njman qujncujlitiqujça in tiacaqan, in vel paina, in vel totoca:

auh in oquexqujch oqujoaltoctique, oc ceppa no vmẽtin, qujncujlitiqujça, çan juhqujn qujmomamacativi.

Auh in oacico quauhqujiaoac, aocac vel qujncujlia, ie eoan qujpantlaçazque, in jicpac Vitzilobuchtli: in vel iacattiuh, in opanvetzito in tlachielonj, ipan contlaça in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, in tzoalli ça onchachapantivetzi, vel çoçotlaoa, ça cicintoque.

Auh in tlenamacac, njman ie ic iauh, qujnnacaztecpavia, ic oallachia, injc mozcalia. [785]

Auh in omotzcalique mec oaltemo, qujtqujtze in ocacique tzoalli, qujmoqujlla in inchan, ca nel immal, qujqua, qujnmamaca in inoaniolque, yoan in tlaxillacaleque, qujcenqua. [262]

13. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 88): "*y luego se juntaron los capitanes y entraron dentro del un patio que se llamaba quauhquiaoac. . . . En este lugar estaba una figura de piedra grande y alta como un estado de hombre, y por eso llamaban a aquel patio quauhquiaoac; de la una parte del figurado estaba un tigre de piedra, y de la otra un aze también de piedra.*"

14. Clavigero (*op. cit.*, p. 168) says such images had been made of both Uitzilopochtli and Paynal: ". . . *fabricaban . . . dos estatuas de aquellas dioses, de la pasta de varias semillas con sangre de niños sacrificados, y la ponían por huesos algunos leños de acacia.*"

15. In *op. cit.*, pp. 149-70, Clavigero writes: "*aquella noche que era la última del mes, celebran también los sacerdotes y a la mañana siguiente llamaban a la estatua de masa de Huitzilopochtli a una sala que había en el recinto del templo, y en presencia solemnísima del rey, de cuatro dignidades del templo y de cuatro superiores de los seminarios, el sacerdote Quetzalcoatl, que era jefe de los tlamacazques o penitentes arrojaba un dardo a la estatua con que la atravesaba de parte a parte. Con este dardo que ya había consagrado en Dios; uno de los sacerdotes le sacaba el corazón y lo presentaba al rey para que lo comiese; el cuerpo se dividía por medio y la una mitad se daba a los tlaxcaltecas y la otra quedaba para los mexicanos; de esta se hacían cuatro partes para los cuatro cuarteles de la ciudad, y cada parte se dividía en muchas porciones que se distribuían entre todos los individuos del otro mazacalmac. Esta ceremonia explicaban con la palabra teocualo, comer a Dios. Los mujeres no probaban de esta sagrada masa por creerlas, como se puede creer de su perseverar a su sexo al empleo de la guerra.*"

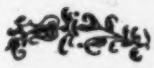

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Izcalli.

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood ohe on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his mat was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was dawn, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli omume, capt. ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequjpanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtoltetl omey metztli, in mjtoaia in moteneoaia Yzcalli. 796x

Inic caxtoltetl omey ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualoia ouuhqujltamalli, moteneoa, mitoaia, motlaxqujan tota, ichoatl in tletl, qujtlaliaia, yxiptla, çan colotli, in qujchioaia, qujxaiacatiaia, yn ixaiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, xiujtl ynic ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticaçca, cenca pepetlaca iuhqujn cuecuecioca, cenca mihiiotia: 796x 778 [262]

yoan conaquja yn itzontecõ quetzalcomjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn xexeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquaquauh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzaltzontecomaio yiomexti: auh yn jtzintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencã quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxiuhian vetztica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli. [237]

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhqujn ma nelli itzon:

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motqujtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in ehecatl itlan calaquj, iuhqujn maacomana, iuhq'n cuecuecioca, iuhqujn cuecuciaoa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, ocelucoatl, ocelupetlatl mamaçouhtoc, çan iuh ca in jtzontecon, ixtlapach onoc: auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, iooalnepantla in tlequauhtlaça. Auh in ovetz tletl, njman ic ic qujpitza, mec tletlalia: [281] [372]

auh in omotlali tletl, in otlavic, in otlatlalchipaoac, mec omotecpana, õmoiacatia in telpopochti, in 796x

1. "Growth," or "the growing," according to Guthrey, op. cit., p. 316. Torquemada knows the meaning "solstice" (op. cit., p. 308): "quiere decir; Remedado, ó el de la renovacion; porque por aquel tiempo, el querio menor el tiempo, y pasar de frio á calor, y comenzar la Primavera." In Clavigero (op. cit., p. 172, n. 94) it is suggested that the literal meaning of izcalli is "born in the house."

2. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text says: "hacian la estatua del dios, del fuego de arcipiste, y ponían encima, como una cerca, que olia Ramos colorados, que quiere decir muchos, o muchos."

X 796 selves in line and came up the youths and small boys, who offered the old men serpents which they had captured. The old men took these from them and cast them into the fire—everything, whatever they had captured; all the birds—the thrush, the precious [136] thrush, small birds found among the reeds—all the varied kinds of birds; and the water dogs, scorpions, striped lizards, trout, the white fish, the sand fish, crabs, frogs, gulls[3]—all these they cast into the fire.

[262] Then appeared [the boys], and [the priests] offered each one a *tamal* stuffed with greens. And all the common folk made themselves *tamales* stuffed with greens. They laid them before [the image of] Xiuhtecutli. As many as offered to Xiuhtecutli did so purely voluntarily. And some laid them as offerings only in the tribal temples.

And the *tamales* stuffed with greens they also named precious green stone *tamales*. And all the common folk presented among themselves their *tamales* stuffed with greens; they were presented among themselves. Whoever first cooked her *tamal* of greens then went to offer it to her kin. Thus she showed her self-esteem.

[262] And the sauce of the *tamales* stuffed with greens was a sauce of crabs.[4] And the sauce was called *chamolmolli*. And when the good common folk ate, they stood sweating and burning themselves. And the *tamales* stuffed with greens were very hot and gleaming; and they ate them hot, [so that even] their noses steamed. And the husks they set apart; no one let them reach the fire. They strewed all of them in the water.

[273] And when this was done, when all was eaten, thereupon wine was drunk. It was said: "They are refreshed; the old men refresh [themselves] there in the Temple of Xiuhtecutli." And thus they refreshed [themselves] with wine; they sat drinking and singing until it was dark. Here ended and concluded [the time when] *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten; the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens.

X 796 And when Izcalli came, when twenty days were 778 counted, [this was] when Milintoc roasted something for himself—[he who] likewise [was god of] fire. They also set up his image, which was only a frame-

pipiltotonti, qujmõmacatimanj, in vevetque, in cocoa in oqujmacique: qujnoalcujlitimanj in vevetque, tleco qujmootlaztimanj, yoan in ie ixqujch, in aqujn çaço tlein ocacic, in jxqujch tototl, in acatzanatl, in teutzanatl, in acatechichictl, in ie ixqujch nepapã tototl, yoan in axoloti, in acaltetepon, in mjlquanochtli, xovili, in amjlotl, in xalmjchi, in acocilin, in cujatl, anenez, moch tlein qujmõtlaztimanj:

njmã ic oalqujztimanj, qujnoalmacatimani, cecentetl in oauhqujltamalli. Auh ixqujch tlacatl in maceoalli moouhqujltamalhuja: ixpan ontlamanaia in xiuhtecutli: çan teiollotlama, in quezquj ontlamanaia ixpan Xiuhtecutli: auh in cequjntin çan in cacalpulco in tlamanaia.

Auh in oauhqujltamalli, no qujtocaiotiaia, chalchiuhtamalli: auh in jxqujch maceoalli netech qujmomacaia, in inoauhqujltamal: netech motlatlamacaia: in aqujn achto oicucic, ioauhqujltamal: mec iauh qujmacaz in joãiolquj, ic qujnextia in netlaçotlaliztli.

Auh in oauhqujltamalli in jmollo catca, acocilitlatonjlli: auh in tlatonjlli, motocaiotiaia, chamolmolli: auh in jquac tlaquaia maceoaltzitzinti, mjltonjtoque, mochichinotoque: auh in oauhqujltamalli, vel totonquj totontlapetztic qujtotoncaqua, iaiacapoçontoque: auh in jzoaio, çan nonqua qujtlaliaia, aiac tleco conaxitiaia: muchi atlan contepeoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ontlatlaqualoc, njmã ie ic tlaoano: mjtoa, texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vmpa iteupan xiuhtecutli: auh injc texcalcevia vetli, tlaoantoque, cujcatoque, çan iuh ioua, njcã tlamj ic tzonqujça, in oauhqujltamalli qualo, in anoço vauhqujltamalqualiztli.

Auh in onacic Izcalli, in jquac tlacempoalti: iquac motlaxqujaia in Milintoc, çan no ie in tletl: no qujtlaliaia ixiptla, çan no colotli in qujchioaia, conaquja ixaiac, tapochtli in tlachioalli, motenthilhuj, in tlilli

3. Cf. Sahagún (Rubendo ed.), Vol. III, p. 194 (*milquawah, pouli, xoalisti*); p. 195 (*xoxoli, xalmichi*); p. 196 (*xuxuxoli*); pp. 187-8 (*xoxalmal*); p. 180 (*xocachichitli*). *Amblystoma dumerilii* according to Gerlach (*Liber del xalmal*, p. 198), and *Amblystoma mexicanum* (mud puppy) according to Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 75); Robert Lehmann-Nitsche ("Tenochtitlan und Quauhtemoc," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. LXX, p. 78) says it is a "*schlangenähnliche Larve (Fischlarve).*" For *xoxolin*, Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 96) has *Cyprinus americanus*; for *xoxalmal* (Vol. II, p. 75) "a white fish like a sand eel." Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 233.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 155-6.

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *teotetl*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, ichoatl in tiltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teutetl, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, texcapoctli ica:

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquẽ çã no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc.

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in je iotextli, njmã catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmã ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpã motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmõmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in õmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaxtimanj, vncã motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque.

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmã ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmã ie ic texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iceupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotõ,

796x 778 [301 302] 237 796x [252] 796x 262 796x 274

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hacían una una, encima del diez, del juego, de pulidas y circulas piedras, como con cirros. . . .*"
6. *Tonalquechtapalcatl*: in Lib. XI, Cap. i, §4 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexican eagles, "*los plumas del cuello y de las hombros, hasta la cola, eran de hechura de cuechas (y) Mimmuchas tapalcatl. . . .*"
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y centelleaban como pretendiendo de plumas pulidas, que parecían como pretendiar de infinas.*"
8. *Vilocpalli*: "*una manera de tortas que llaman vilocpalli, de maíz molido, horiadas sin cocer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. II, p. 186).

X 796 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast which was named Uauhquiltamalqualiztli,**[1] **which was celebrated after the days of the month named above; and when [it was this feast], they celebrated it to honor him who was their god, whose name was Ixcoçauhqui.**

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, in moteneoaia: Oauhquiltamalqualiztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic tlamatlacti in metztli in tlacpac omjto: auh in jquac y, qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in inteouh catca, in jtoca Ixoçauhquj.

Izcalli and the end of Izcalli are placed verily in the month of January, after eight days, when it was already the eighth day. By custom, it was upon the eighth day. When this [day came], *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. In all places they observed [the custom]; everywhere. Nowhere was this not done. In every house, in every village, two [*tamales*] were eaten, when it was the feast of the *tamales* stuffed with greens; all made *tamales* thus stuffed. And all offered [this] food, one to another. In this wise were they given; they were given among themselves—to their companions, to those whom they knew. They were offered not in ill will but in gladness.

[262]

Izcalli, yoan Izcalli tlamj: inin vel ipan motlalia in metztli henero, ie iuh chicueilhujtl manj, ie ichicueilhujoc, ie iuh chicueilhujtica: in jquac in, oauhquiltamalli qualoia: novian qujtzacutimăca, ipanoca, acă cavia: in cecencalpan, yoan in cecemaltepetl ipan, vel ontetlamja in neoauhquiltamalhujlo, in neoauhquiltamaltilo: auh nepanotl nemacoia, nepanotl nemamacoia, ic netlatlamacoia, necepămacoia, nenetech macoia, necnjuhmacoia, neiximatcamacoia, amo netlavelmacoia, nepaccamacoi.

Whoever first cooked her *tamales* stuffed with greens then went to offer it in her tribal temple, to her neighbor, to those who lived in nearby houses. And if her kin lived in distant parts, first she made an offering for them.

in aqujn achto° oicucic ioauhquiltamal njman ic iauh qujmacaz in jcalpo, in jcalecapo, in jcalnaoac tlacatl: yoan in vecapa ivaniolquj, achto contonaltiaia.

X 796 264 And when this was done, when she had offered it everywhere to others, then they [all] sat down to eat their *tamales* stuffed with greens. They were arranged in a circle; they brought—assembled and gathered together—their children, forming family groups.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in onoviampa qujtemamacac njmă motlalia in qujquazque, in inoauhquiltamal, moiaoaloa, qujncemololoa qujnnechicoa, qujncentlalia qujntecpichoa in impilhoă inin cencaltia.

And first they made an offering to the fire; they offered five *tamales* stuffed with greens before the hearth. These were in a wooden vessel. Then they each set in place and made an offering for their dead, where they lay buried.

Auh achtopa contlamanjlia in tletl, tlecujlixquac cōmana in oauhquiltamalli macujltetl, quauhcaxtica mantiuh, mollotiuh, çatepan cecentetl q'ntlatlaliliaia, qujnmamanjlia in immjccaoan, in vncă totoctoque:

And as they ate, they sat burning themselves, sweating with heat. Steam arose [from the *tamales*]. As they ate, they ate with relish, sucking upon it and gulping, sitting panting, and smearing it upon their lips.

njmă ie ic tlaqua, muchichinotoque, in jitonjtoque, vel totontlapetztic ipotoquiztiuh in qujqua, in qujpaccaqua tlatlaltequj, ontlaltectivi, neneciuhtoque, cocociuhtoque:

X 796 252 And the [corn] husks [in which were wrapped] the *tamales* stuffed with greens [were laid] apart;

auh in jzoaio, oauhquiltanialli, çan nōqua, cecnj qujtlaliaia, atlan cōtepeoaia: auh aiac vel qujpalooaia

1. *Uauhquiltamalqualiztli*—the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 66. Much of the material in this chapter is discussed also in the previous one (Izcalli).

Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the rôles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçateca* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Nican mitoa, yn ilhujtli: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia. 796x

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amono tequjxqujo, amono tenexio: s'h tlacatlaqualoia. [785] [262]

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xixiiotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl qujçaia, moteneoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuittotiloia:

yoan ixq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papalotl, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototl, in tzmoli, tecujtlaololo: yn jpan moqujxtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moqujxtiaia in cochiztli, in xocotamalcoxquj, yoan tototlnacatl yn jncoxquj: yoan ymjxpan ycaca, in tonacacuezcomatl, tenticac in xocotamalli. [262]

Auh no muchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjxqujlnamaqujlia, yn motequaquauhnamaqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teucocoxquj ypan moqujxtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in teculutl, in chichtli ipan qujçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moqujxtiaia. [463]

Auh motlaliaia in tlaloc, ixpan mâca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cueiame, yoan in ieboantin moteneoa, maçateca, vncan qujntoloaia in cocoa, çan iosoltiuja, ceceiaca, incamatica in qujmonanaia, amo inmatica: çan qujmontlanquechiaia, ynic qujmon- 796x

6. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 319) translates *tzacualtinque* as "*se cruzaban la cara.*" *Sacrificialtinque* appears in the same text, translated as "*se hacía cruzar cabeza del agua.*" Cf., however, *atecuculli* in Molina, *op. cit.*
7. Textual: *buho: chichili: lechuza* (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel María Garibay K, in *Tlalocan*, Vol. I, p. 369.

793 consuh—fast foods of only three *tamales*. Thereupon they offered a wooden vessel filled with only five [262] *tamales*, and a sauce perchance of turkey or of duck, which they had gathered together as food.

viaia tlacatlaqualli çan ettl, in tamalli, njman ic ic conmana, in quauhcaxitl vncan tentiuh, çan macujltetl in tamalli, auh in mulli, aço totolin, anoço canauhtli, in qujnamjctiaia tlaqualli.

Here Endeth the
Part of Book II
Called the
Appendix.

Nican tlamj in icotonca
inic vme amuxtli
yn jtoca apendix.

therefore pledged the land, they made him leave it; they made him abandon it.

And when their fasting came to an end, much did they make merry. They bathed with water; they washed [their heads] with *amolli* soap.[23] And fruit was eaten—they made fruit *tamales*, and sauces. Or they slew and ate a dog, and they drank wine. Thus they showed that verily they were through with [their tribute]; that their works had fallen behind them.

For no longer a burden upon their backs was their fasting. [It was] as if [now] they could move briskly and with security; now they awoke [from their sleep] with joy and peace; they awoke tranquil. They had no offerings to make. In peace they might make their livings and find the means by which they might subsist either by fishing or in the *maguey* fields; or perchance they might frequent the market places in one town or another. No more did they live in bondage.

Enough.

23. See Ms. 3, 6.

oaia in tlalli, ic quicaoaltiaia, ic quicacaoaltiaia:

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ssuh in iquac in tzonquiçaia in jneçaoaliz, cenca papaquja, maaltiaia, mahamoviaia, yoan mozocoqua-liaia, quichioaia xocotamalli; yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuintli qujmjctiaia qujquaia, yoan tlaoanaia, ic quinextiaia in ca oquimotlaxilique, imicampa ovetz, in jntequjuh,

[262]

i ma iuhqui tlamamalli in neçaoaliztli, in juhqui opouhtivetzque, ic pacca, iococa oaliça oalpaccaiça aoc tle qujmamana çan ivia in motlaecoltia in qui-temoa in cochcaiotl, in neuhcaiotl, anoço tlatlama, in anoço tlachiquj, in aço motitianquiz in ahoócan tepehoócan: aoc tle qujiolitlacotiuh.

Je ixquich.

[p. 10 is blank]

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

Inic nauí Capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

The Comet

It was said [to be] an omen for the ruler. Because of it a ruler was to perish; perchance some person of noble lineage would die. And likewise they said that somewhere he might be imprisoned, or war would begin. Or else there would be famine. The common folk said: "Perhaps this is our hunger; perchance famine," they said.

Citlalin popoca.

Mitoa: tlatocatetzauitl, ic tlatocamicoaz, aço ace uey tlaçopilli ie mjquiz: yoan no quitoaia, aço cana ie oalmotzacoaz, aço ie olinjz teuatl tlachinolli: yoan anoço ie maianaloz. Quitoaia in maceoalti: aço tapiz hi, aço apiztli quitoa.

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The Shooting Star

It was said that the passing of a shooting star rose and fell neither without purpose nor in vain. It brought a worm to something. And of [the animal] wounded by a shooting star, they said: "It hath been wounded by a shooting star; it hath received a worm." [Such] was not to be eaten. It was looked at with fear, abhorred, and shunned. It turned one's stomach.

Citlalin tlamina.

Mitoa: amo nenquiça, amo nẽuetzi, in itlamjnaliz: tlaocuillotia. Auh in tlamintli, mitoa: citlalmjnqui, ocuillo, aocmo qualo, mauhcaitto, tlaelitto, hihielo, tetlaieltia.

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And by night all were well protected. All covered themselves; they clothed themselves, wrapped themselves in mantles, and bound on their garments, for fear of the shooting star.

Auh in iocaltica vel nemalhuilo, neololoio, netlapacholo, nequentilo, netlalpililo: imacazo in itlaminaliz citlalin.

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The S-Shaped Stars

[These] were apart; they appeared by themselves, shining and shimmering. And for this reason were they called *S*-shaped stars—that they were similar to and very much like a [kind of maize] tortilla which was made, or an amaranth seed tortilla. [These] were, at both ends, twisted and rounded over. They were eaten on the day Xochitl, everywhere, in each house. In all places, in men's dwellings everywhere, they were made.

Citlalsunecuilli.

Çan iioca onoc, iioca neztoc, tlanestitoc, cuecuepocatoc: Auh inic mitoa, citlalsunecuilli: ca quinenevilia, vel no iuhqui centlamantli tlachichioalli tlascalli, anoço tzoualli: nenecoc, cecentlapal quacoltic, quateuilacachtic: suchilhuitl ipan in quaqualoia, nouiian cecencalpan: quitzacutimanca, in nouiian techachan nechiuililoia.

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The Scorpion Stars

In the same manner, [these] resembled and appeared in the aspect of the venomous scorpion, with upcurved tail. Arched and upcurled is its tail; wherefore [these] are called the Scorpion Stars.

Citlalcolotl.

Çan no iuhqui: quinenevilia, quinamiqui, in itlachieliz tequani colotl: cuitlapilcocoltic, mamalacachtic, teteuilacachtic in jcuitlapil: ipampa inic mitoa citlalcolotl.

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S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; musty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[13] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. And when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[13]

This was the time when they bought people;[14] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

Inic chicuey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apiztli, in maianaliztli, in icoac tlauicaia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapoalli, ce tochtli.

Auh in icoac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, netetzontilo, netecatilo, mocuezcomatema in tonacaiotl: ioc tle motlaça, muchicoac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilozõtli, in miiaoutl, in metzolli, in nochzochitl, in mescalli, in necutlatotonilli. 805 262

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in ouhtii çan yoã moconoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opatzaoac. Auh icoac, muchi thaiecoa, thaacotlaça tlaihiiocuitia in petzicatl, in chichic ouhtli, anoço teuouhtli, iacacolli:

ie icoac tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlameti, tlaixotiani, atle quiscaoa, tlaistamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuie, tzotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneootinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicqui, in teuciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quiita ihiiocuiia, iceuhca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motoloa: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin: 805 567 565 735

13. *Ie ueuhtli* can yoã in ipolocaio: cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), II, p. 265: "*Iueuhtli* pulcayya, *or la semilla de los cenizos sin limpiar, con todas sus inmundicias.*" Jean, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Ixo "*hierba que nace cuando die Bernardino ess.*"

13. Some of these terms are identified in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. *Yacacolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva-España* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*cogollos de maíz.*" See also the Robredo edition, Vol. I, p. 159.

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jean (*op. cit.*, pp. 69-71), q. v.

Quiciaui appears in the *Real Palacio MS* as *quiqueui*. The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *ie ueuqui* (*ueue* an oneself), toward the end of the paragraph.

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esten. For this reason these people took pains to cover themselves at night, so that the tail of the comet might not fall upon them.

albrigarse de noche porque la inflamacion de la cometa no cayese sobrellos.

The stars which are in the Little Bear these people call Citlalxonecuilli. They represent them in the shape of an *s*, backwards, [of] seven stars. They say they are by themselves, apart from the others, and that they are brilliant. They call them Citlalxonecuilli because they resemble a certain kind of bread which they make like an *s*, which they call *xonecuilli*, which bread was esten in all the houses each year on the day named Xochilhuitl.

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A las estrellas que estan en la boca de la bozina llama este gente citlalxonecuilli. pintanlas a manera de ese reboelta siete estrellas, dizen q̃ estan por si aptadas de las otras y que son resplandecientes. llamanles citlalxonecuilli porq̃ tienẽ semejãça con cierta manera de pan que hazen a manera de ese al qual llaman xonecuilli, el qual pan se comia en todas las casas vn dia el año q̃ se llama xuchilhuitl.

Those stars which, in some places, are called the Great Bear these people called the Scorpion, because they make the outline of a scorpion[23] or *alacrán*.

Aquellas estrellas q̃ en algunas ptes se llama el carro. esta gente las llama esculpiõ porque tienen figura de esculpion o alacran.

23. *Escolpion*. In the original, the *l* may have been changed to *r*.

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[796
643]

[366
262]
415

[643
701]
431

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 19). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the foods which the lords ate.[1]

Ic matlactli vnnej capítulo: vncan mjtoa, in jntlaqual in qujquaia, in tlatoque.

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Hot, white, doubled tortillas;[2] large tortillas; large, thick, coarse tortillas; folded tortillas[3] of maize treated with lime, pleasing [to the taste]; tortillas formed in rolls; leaf-shaped tortillas;

Iztac totonquj tlaxcalli, tlacuelpacholli, vei tlaxcalli quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalpacholli iztac, nexiopapaio, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacepoalli tlaxcalli,

White tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top;[4] white tamales with maize grains thrown in;[4] hard, white tamales with grains of maize thrown in; red tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales made of a dough of maize softened in lime, with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales of maize softened in wood ashes; turkey pasty cooked in a pot, or sprinkled with seeds; tamales of meat cooked with maize and yellow chili; roast turkey hen; roast quail.

quatecujcujlli tamalli, iztac tlatzincujtl, iztac tetamalli tlatzincujtl, chichiltic quatecujcujlli tamalli, nexiotamalli quatecujcujlli, tamalatl quauhnextli, totolnacaquimjlli xocco tlapaoaxtli, anoço tlatentli, nacatlaoio tamalli chilcozio: cihoatotoli tlatleoztralli, çolin tlatleoztralli,

Market food: white tortillas with a flour of uncooked beans; turkey with a sauce of small chilis, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; turkey with red chilis; turkey with yellow chilis; turkey with green chilis; venison sprinkled with seeds; hare with sauce; rabbit with sauce; meat stewed with maize, red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; venison with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; birds with toasted maize; small birds; dried duck; duck stewed in a pot; the *atzitzicuilotl* bird stewed in a pot; roast of meat; fried meat in a sauce of red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; potage of yellow chili; sauces of ordinary tomatoes and small tomatoes and yellow chili, or of tomatoes and green chili; diluted [sauces] with tomatoes; white fish with yellow chili; grey fish with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; frog with green chilis; newt with yellow chili; tadpoles with small chilis; small fish with small chilis; winged ants with savory

tiançujztlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli etica tlasio, totolin patzcalmolli, chiltecpiio, totolin, chilcozio totolin, chilchoio totolin, maçanacatl tlatentli, citli molli, tochtli molli, nacatlaolli patzcallo, maçanacatl patzcallo, totoizquijtl tepitoton tozome, canauhtlaoaxtzalli, canauhtlapaoaxtli, atzitzicujlotlapaoaxtli, nacatlaocctli, tlatezioiojlli nacamolli patzcallo, chilcoztlatoçjlli, chiltecpinmolli xitomaio, chilcozmolli xitolinio, chilchomolli xitomaio, tlamamollalli xitomaio, iztac amjlotl chilcozio, tomaoac xoujli, patzcallo, cujatl chilchoio, azolotl chilcozio, atepocatl chiltecpiio, mjchpili chiltecpijo, tuicatanatli inamjc papaloquijtl, chapolin chichiaoa, mecocujli chiltecpinmollo, chacali patzcallo, topotlimjchi patzcallo, tlacamjchin patzcallo, maçanocomolli iztac mjchio

1. Sahagún's Spanish translations varies somewhat from dictionary and other definitions of the foods named in the Aztec text. In the notes, our translations follow Sahagún's; footnotes take account of the most noticeable variations.

2. *Tlaxcalpacholli, tlacuelpacholli*: hot, white tortillas, doubled, arranged in a large basket, according to the corresponding Spanish text. In Molina, op. cit., the word means "*cosa doblada, o plegada*."—If the root of *-pacholli* is *pachoa*, the term could indicate that the tortillas were smoked, or could refer to the way they were heated out. See also note 3, *infra*.

3. In Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 307, Dr. Ignacio Alcaraz translates *quauhtlaxcalli tamali patzcalcoli tlacuelo* as "*Tamales de cuerpo cuadrado y cada esquinado fuertes*. Alcaraz Tamayoshi, in *Histoire des Mexicains* (tr. Terrien-Compans; Paris: P. Jamet, 1853), I, p. 240, has this explanation: "*Les mets appelés quauhtlaxcalli-tamalli, bouts-doubles [bouts doubles?], durcis-pachelli, grands gâteaux de farine de frêne et de farine de maïs qui sont donc pulmes d'épaisseur, ainsi que tous ceux cuits d'abaisse et de gâtée.*"

4. Cf. Molina, op. cit.

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herbs;[6] locusts with chía; maguey grubs with a sauce of small chilis; lobster with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; sardines[9] with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; large fish with the same; a sauce of unripened plums with white fish;

Red, rough sapotas;[7] red plums; yellow or vermillion plums; ashen sapotas;[8] small sapotas;[9] manioc;[10] sweet potato; avocado; yellow sapotas;[11] tuna cactus fruit of many hues—white, yellow, bright red, green, orange; anonas;[12] *guanábiles;*[13] American cherries; tender maize;[14] green maize; string beans;

Tamales made of maize flowers with ground amaranth seed and cherries added; tortillas of green maize or of tender maize; tamales stuffed with amaranth greens;[15] tortillas made with honey, or with tuna cactus fruit; tamales made with honey; tortillas shaped like hip guards; tamales made of amaranth seed dough; [cakes made of] amaranth seed dough; rabbit with toasted maize; squash cut in pieces; *elchicalli;* green maize cooked in a pot and dried; amaranth greens cooked with dry land chili; sauce of purslain with dry land chili; green amaranth seeds with dry land chili;

Water greens; onions;[16] the evil-smelling herb; the *eloquilite* herb;[17] the *mosser* herb;[18] rabbit-ear greens; *achochoquilit;*[19] thistle; sow thistle; sorrel of various kinds; a water-edge plant called *acuitlacpalli;* squash flowers; tender, young squash; small squash; garden cress; *raphanus;* small tuna cactus fruit with fish eggs;

tlatlauhquj teçontzapotl izochiqual maçazocotl chichiltic, coztic, tlazaleoaltic, cheiotzapotl, xicotzapotl, quauhcamotli, camotli, aoacatl, atzitzapotl, nochtli, tlatlatlapalpoalli, iztac, coztic, chichiltic, zozoctic, camopaltic, matzatli, quammochil, capoli, xilotl, elotl, ezotl,

mijiaostamalli tlaixnamjctilli ouhtli ioan capoli, elotlaxcalli, anoço xantlaxcalli, xilotlaxcalli, ouhquijtamalli, necutlaxcalli, nochtlaxcalli, necutamalli, queçeostlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalli, tochizquijtl, aiotlatlapanalli, elchicalli, elotl tlapaoaxtli tlaoatzalli, ouhquijlmolli tonalchillo, izmjquijlmolli, tonalchillo, ouhtzontli tonalchillo,

tzaiaualquijlitl, xonacatl, hijacaquijlitl, eloquijlitl, moçoquijlitl, nacaztochquijlitl, achochoquijlitl, ujtzquijlitl, chichicaquilitl, iztac xozocoioli, xozocoioluj-ujlan, azozoco acujtlacpalli, aiozochquijlitl, aionanacatl, aioiacaquijlitl, aiotepitoton, mexixquijlitl, popoiauhquijlitl, nopaltepitoton mjchtenhio,

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5. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 746, this is *Pernophyllum macrocephalum* DC.

6. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 199) says of *tapozli:* "*son pardillos: crecen en los montecillos, son buenos de comer y calientan.*"

7. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 276: *Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn. Cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 314—"*amarillo o sapotecolorado que es el verdadero tzapote.*" Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 225) describes the *matzatapozl* as "*de hechura y grandor del corazón de carnero; tienen la corteza de color de tierra.*" Cf. *chiqueo y tzoa, son colorados por de dentro, son muy dulces y muy buenos de comer, y tienen las cortezas negras muy lindas y calientan.*" Cf. *tapozzoc* in Molina, *op. cit.*: "*hacer sapote dipoze cosa.*"

8. "*Son las cortezas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 225); also corresponding Spanish text.

9. "*Llamanlos los españoles zapotillos* [*sic*] *se dicen poco ruy*; *son muy dulces, tienen en cierto colorado*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 273, this is *Achras sapota* L.

10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 525: *Manihot esculenta* Crantz; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335: *quauhcamotli* or *camotli*. *Manihot utilissima* Pohl; in *ibid.*, p. 227, "*las cáscaras de estas dulcises cualquiera y blancas crecen hacia, y son de buen comer.*"

11. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 267 (*amapul*): *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224: "*son amarillos de dentro y de fuera; son muy dulces, tienen a manera de pomo de buen olor, tienen cuatro de color cuando crecen.*"

12. *Anona squamosa*, *guayaba cuauhtli*, in Jiménez, *op. cit.*; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 760: *Annona cherimola*, Schult: *Annona cherimola*.

13. Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 799: *Phthecellobium dulce* (Roxb.) Benth.; cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52 (*Guamúchil*).

14. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 149: "*Maíz: Cabellitos de la mazorca de cuando tierna.*"

15. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, I, p. 12; II, p. 194; *op. cited.*, I, p. 12, n. 66 (*cuauhquilitl*).

See also Jonathan D. Sauer: "The Grain Amaranths: A Survey of Their History and Classification," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, 37: 561-632 (Nov., 1950), where it is suggested that *cuauhtli* may refer to either the *chamapolo* or *amaranto* (p. 564).

16. *Allium* sp., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

17. *Boldoa pilosa* L.—*cf. de indio* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338). See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 337.

18. *Mosser* in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 318. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334, has "*Yerba del Angel*, Experimentos delicadísimos, Inq. Compuestos"; *quauhchiquatl* is the same.

19. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 361: *Sonchus oleraceus* Mich.; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338: *Sonchus asperrimus* D. C.

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Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, tozonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcozio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc chcioatolli, ouhatolli izqujo, mjchioaoatoll: necuio, iztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chianatolli chilcozpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, xiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

in jzqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalquiça tlatoanj.

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And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjili: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman ice in jzqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Auh in jquac in oxlaqua tlatoanj, njman ic mozezloa, in jzqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jzqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlâque, in tlaçopipilhi, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezquitlamantli, izoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlaueuetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapitzque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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[643]
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Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Niman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, zozouhquj cacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, zozouhquj tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vizteccolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, iztac cacaoatl

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237: small tomatoes; Simeón, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 499: "*las más chicas redondas, es decir, de tamaño.*"
21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "Chia *arenqada.* Salvia *gg?*" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 486: *Salvia polystachia*; Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 219: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.
22. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* Dn.—"*De Méjico, chile redondo, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 415, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. baccatum* L.: "*del tamaño de las mazapanes, a las que parece imitar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"
23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salbia hispánica.* L. *Salbia*"; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 498: *Salvia chian*, *S. hispánica* L.
24. The Spanish text has barbaros, which would regular mexicanos.
25. Tiltic and iztac are as they appear in the Codex; chilli and iztac are probably correct.

643
443
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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech cloths, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

● [262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianquijzco: auh in ieheatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquiztli, ioã ixquich tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeoalli, ioan ixquich aoa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaquijia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieeian, çan iioonoian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmixquetzaia, in tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquijztli: ioan ixquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiioaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzaliztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtotoil, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixquich nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tilitochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichcilmatli, ziatl,

ioan in ixquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexouhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tiltic chiã, chiauztoetol, iztal: toeoli, vexolotl, çiacatoeoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vej zacatli*: Cymbopetalum pendulifloruum (Dunal) Baill, in Rzedowski, op. cit., p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "una semilla como hranajas blancas."

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[314] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
[317] rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
412 poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[20a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzioacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcozcli, coujxcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzqujtlamantli zochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjzqujtl, itlaaqujllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcuujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquauujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquauujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixqujch tlamãtli qujlitl qualonj, xonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocoiolj, xoxocoiohujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aiozochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, ezotl, elotl, xilotl, ooatl, mjiaoatamalli,

4. *Atzacuadtli*: "son redondillas, tienen los pies largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos; son crecientes y tienen el pecho blanco; dicen que nacen en la provincia de Anáhuac; corren a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas o lluvia; son muy buenas de comer. Dicen que duran, y los tordos del agua, por tiempo se cuelgan en parte, dicen que las van entrar a hondar en la mar, desaire del agua, y que nunca más parecen" (ibid., p. 170). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Anteqpiomos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilote*) says there are two species—*Phalacrocorax orinomi* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Tipiscaca*: "son blancas y del grandor de palomas, tienen alas anchas, crianse tierra la mar, y al tiempo de coger el maíz vienen así desaire a la tierra; cuando están aquí comen, cambiadas que es tiempo de coger el maíz" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Bish, currently called *apipiscca*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*Anaares metalicas* . . . . grandes como las de España: tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillas; tienen buenas carnes; tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas; las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas carnes para comerlas" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 184, are *Anser albifrons* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*—"Cierto género de chile llamado chilitecpin, muy tostado y metalado con sal" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 182)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *sup.n.*

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Simões, *op. cit.*, note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. Tejocote: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150).

14. Cacomite: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *ocelocacahtl*, of edible root (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

15. Cimate: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 357). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dermodium amplifolium* Hemsl. (p. 659) or *D. parviflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. Chaiotl: *chayote*—*Sicyos edulis*; *Sicyos edulis*; *Cucumis acutangulus* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 149, *Sicyos edulis* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhayacachtli* are identified as *Jacropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Cassia* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. Metlhuatl: *metl* (maguey), *ouilhuatl* (*principio, comienzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Remsen, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that translator must be in error in translating *atzopalli* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the *Bulbinus* MS (Pls. 19, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*ghizpadin*) as, "*Es Méjico especie de alcachofa*" (artichoke).

19a. See Simões, *op. cit.*, pp. 549-4, 549. Simões suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtlatzoli*," a chenopodium: *C. Nuttaliae* and *C. pumilum* are mentioned.

20. *Xocoxocoli*: *xocoqui*—*Oxalis corniculata* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. tetraphylla* Cav.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 354). Remsen (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the term *xocoxocoli* is used also for *Rumex* (*sabrosa Acetosa*), and that contemporary libraries identified two species of *Begonia*.

some; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxqujch qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquauitl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoqujtecomatl, ioã in jxqujch tlamantli çoqujtlatqujtl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in ichoantin tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocujtlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnextiz in aqujn qujcohujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianqujzpantlaca qujchioaia iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan tezoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianqujztli, ioan tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oqujchti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 238, describes quapaltlil as "*hojas y ramas de los frijoles*"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *Mesembryanthemum Nodiflorum* L.

[p. 70 is blank]

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti;* they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontirlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui ommicouac. nimã ye ic mihtoia 796
in tlauahuanqz in oemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. 727
in ipan mihtotia cecenteti in tzontecomatl intlan 793
caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca
q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuãtin ypilhuã in omicqz.

auh i yeuatl malli nimã ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui
ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui][5] in ieuayo. in is-
quichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in ime-
uayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco.
inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh
no mocenq'ztiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan
miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl
in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youã im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle 796
inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani
in quemmã ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz
niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh
in tiacauaz nimã ye ic no motecpana q'misnamictino-
mana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in mootztimani. auh
nimã ye ic ompeua in tiacauaz ỹuicpa ỗuetzi in toto-
tecti q'moncotonilia in itxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mo-
cotoniliqz nimã ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa
q'mõmana in innemanaya in itocayocã totectzonte-
contirlã. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacauaz. çan tequitl
q'mõcauaz.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimã ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz 796
in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techã. uel 431
nouian calaq̃ auh im macuualli ye iuhca ỹyollo quin- 262
chie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallaxcalli.
ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepanca-
calaq' in ontlaçotlalo.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa
quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlacuã. in quehesa cõ-
maca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl.
aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc.
momoztlae yuã.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

Injc chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ie-
hoatl motecuçoma, qujmjoa in nanaoalti in tlatlacateculo, in tetlachivianjme, injc itla impan qujchiouaque in Españoles.

Niman iquac tlaioa in Motecuçoma in qujmjoa mocheoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanaoalti: yoan qujmjoa in achcacauhti, chicaoaque, in tlacaoï in jpan tlatozque in jaqujch intech monequjz in qualonj in totoli in totolteti, in jztac tlaxcalli: yoã in tlein qujtlanjzque, yoan injc ça oc vel pachiviz in iniollo, vel qujmjttazque, qujmjoa in mamalti, ic monemachti, cujx qujnque in jmeçqo: auh iuh qujchiuhque in titlanti.

Auh in jquac oquittaque: cenca modaeltique, chichicha, ixtetenmotzoloa, ihicopi, motzontecõvivixoa: auh in tlaqualli eztica catzelhujque, queezvique, cenca invic coac, qujntlaelti: ichica ca cenca zoquijac in eztli.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuh motecuçoma, ca qujnteuma, teteu impan qujnma qujnteuocac: ic notzaloque, ic tocaiotiloque, teteu ilhujcac vitze: auh in tlitique teucacatzacti mjteque,

qujn ichoatl qujquaque intac tlaxcalli, tlatzincujtl totolteti, totoli, auh in ic inqujch xochiqualli, quauhtzapotl, teçontzapotl, atztzapotl, tozcujtlatzapotl,

1. Godbey, in "Parafiguiteuan de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 170, refers to the "'*Amphitrión de la personal*' o el '*Amphitrionismo*'" in regard to nanaoalti. The term may be related etymologically to *naui* (4) — a quadruple personality, an archaic verb nanaoli, nanaolo (to lead or direct, as in magic rites), or Maya-Quiché *na, nao, naua* (wisdom, science, magic). Godbey favors the second possibility (nanaoli, nanaolo).

2. *Tlachiuhque*: concerning the term *tlacatecolotlatoa*, Godbey refers to an *arte de hombre parecidoso*, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Bulnes ed.), p. 23 — "*tiene pacto con el demonio*" (*Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 170). In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 389, he refers to *tlacatecolotl* as "*brujo*," "*mago*," "*hombre que participa o le gusta, hombre parecido*"; "*participación y parecidos lo nuevo*." There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

3. *Tlatlacateculo*: we have previously used the term "soothsayer." In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), Godbey, noting that Molina translates the term as *cartílago, cuero*: "*La cola cuda, parece decaer fundamento sobre-religioso*," and notes the relationship of the term to *tetlachiuhque*, one who prevents bad from falling. He cites *La publicidad del culto de Tezcatlipoca*, II, p. 404.

4. *Quauhtzapotl*: sapota (*Lucuma chrysomelas* Mill.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), I, p. 274; zapote *no comestible* (genuine name), according to Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — Lucuma zapotillo, *L. hemphilli*, *Achras zapotillo*, *A. zapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Bulnes ed.), III, p. 225.

5. *Teçontzapotl*: mamey (Lucuma mamosum Gaertn.), zapotaceáceas (Santamarina, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316). In Hernández de Sahagún (*Nuevo glosario de voces de la Nueva-España*: D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1889), p. 733, n. 2, this explanation appears: "*Les premiers Espagnoles d'Amérique confondirent* [with various sapotas] *le fruit beaucoup plus gros du* [*teçontzapotl*] *au* [*tozcujtlatzapotl*] *de la famille des sapots, qu'ils appelèrent* [*zapotl*] *bas*." *C'est probablement le même fruit que les Antiques considérèrent comme le vrai de teçontzapotl.*" See also Sahagún (Bulnes ed.), III, p. 225.

6. *Atztzapotl*: probably the same as *zapotl*. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 267-268, this is Lucuma salicifolia Kunth. It is also identified by Santamarina, *loc. cit.*, as Lucuma salicifolia — *zapote blanco* or *zapotillo*. In Sahagún (Bulnes ed.), III, p. 224, it is identified as *zapote amarillo* — *Sapotula grandi* (*vulgare*). The *atztzapotl* (yellow sapota) is now generally known as *zapote Amarillo* (*general americanismo*, called Garcia Gonzalez).

7. *Tozcujtlatzapotl*: *zapote prieto* (*Diospyros ebenaster* Ruiz — *ebenaceae*), in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

262 toes,[8] manihot,[9] white[10] and yellow[11] sweet potatoes, colored sweet potatoes, *jicamas*,[12] plums,[13] *jobos*,[14] guavas,[15] *guajilotes*,[16] avocadoes,[17] carob fruit,[18] *tejocotes*,[19] American cherries,[20] tuna cactus fruit,[21] mulberries,[22] white[23], yellow,[24] and whitish-red cactus fruit,[25] *pitahayas*,[26] water *pitahayas*.[27] And the food for the deer [was] *pipillo*[28] and *tlachicaztli*.

754 648 And it is told why Moctezuma sent magicians and soothsayers — that they might behold what kind [of men] they were, and that perchance they might bewitch and cast a spell over them. Perhaps they might blow them away, or enchant them. Mayhap they might cast something at them, or they might, with some words of the Evil One, utter an incantation over them, so that they might sicken and die, or else because of it turn back.

But these, when they performed their charge and commission upon the Spaniards, were at once powerless. Nothing could they do.

Then they quickly returned and came to tell Moctezuma what they were like and how strong they were: "We cannot contend against them; we are as nothing."

camutli, quauhcamutli, poxcauhcamutli xochicamutli, tlapalcamutli, xicama, maçaxocotl, atoiaxocotl, xalxocotl, in quauhxilotl, xoacatl, oaxi, tezocotl, in capoli, in nochtli, in amacapuli, iztac nochtli, coznochtli, tlatocnochtli, tzaponochtli, anochtli: auh in maçatlaqualli, pipillo, tlachicaztli:

Auh qujl injc qujmjoa Motecuçoma in nanaoalti, in tlaciuhque, injc qujmjttazque in quenamjque in aço vel qujntlacateculovizque, qujntlachivizque, in aço vel qujmjpitzazque qujnxoxazque in aço oc itla ic qujnmotlazque, in aço itla tlacateculotlatolli, ic qujntlanonochilizque, injc aço cocolizcujzque, mjmjqujzque, in anoce ic ilotizque.

Auh in ichoantin in qujchiuhque in intequjuh, in innaoatil in intechpa españoles, çan njmã avelitque, atle vel qujchiuhque:

niman ic oalmocueptivetzque qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma injc iuhque, injc chicaoaque, amo titenamjcoan, iuhqujn atitleme:

8. *Camotli*: sweet potato, *batata* (*Ipomoea batatas* Poir, in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521; *I. batatas* Lam., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

9. *Quauhcamotli*: guacamote or cassava (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl. —*esculenta*) in *ibid.*, p. 334; yuca in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 34, and in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 524 (*M. aconitifolia* Crantz).

10. *Poxcauhcamotli*: probably sweet potato of white skin and interior, Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521).

11. *Xochicamotli*: reddish or yellow sweet potato (*loc. cit.*).

12. *Xicama* (*jicama*): in *ibid.*, II, p. 522, *Pachyrhizus angulatus* Rich.; *P. palmatilobus* H. B. K. in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

13. *Maçaxocotl*: plum — *Spondias* sp. (*anacardiaceae*) (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

14. *Atoiaxocotl*: *Spondias lutea* L. (*anacardiaceae loc. cit.*). *Jobo* (*Spondias mombin*, or *S. lutea*, or *purpurea*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153, 155. See also Sahagún (Bourbourg and Simeon tr.), p. 734, n. 6.

15. *Xalxocotl*: *Psidium guajava* L. (*myrtaceae*), in Sahagún (Rebolledo ed.), III, p. 335; guava.

16. *Quauhxilotl* (*guajilote*): *Parmentiera edulis* D.C., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; *Bignonia pedunculata* S. Wats, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

17. *Aoacatl* (*ahuacate*, *avocado*): *Laurus persea* in Sahagún (Bourbourg and Simeon tr.), p. 734, n. 1.

18. *Oaxi* (*guaje*): *Lonchocarpus occidentalis* Benth. (*leguminosae*), in Sahagún (Rebolledo ed.), III, p. 335.

19. *Tezocotl* (*tejocote*): *Crataegus mexicana* Moc. & Ses., in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150.

20. *Capoli* (*cerezo indígena*): *Prunus capuli* Cav. (*rosaceae*), in Sahagún (Rebolledo ed.), III, p. 334.

21. *Nochtli*: *Nopal opuntia*, in *op. cit.*, p. 335.

22. *Amacapuli*: *moral indio* (*Chlorophora tinctoria* Gaud.; var. *urvillensis*), in *loc. cit.* Black mulberry or blackberry in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 48.

23. *Iztac nochtli*: white cactus fruit (*Opuntia* sp.), in Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 934, 936; *tuna blanca* (cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 330).

24. *Coznochtli*: *cuzcuzcapulli* (*Opuntia pseudo-tuna* Salm. Dyck; *cuzcuzca*), in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335. *Tuna amarilla?*—cf. Santamaría, *loc. cit.* *Opuntia* sp. of yellow fruit in Hernández, *loc. cit.*

25. *Tlatocnochtli*: "*tuna blanca derecha o hermosa*"; *Opuntia* sp., in *loc. cit.*

26. *Tzaponochtli*: (*zapotonochtli*, *pitahaya* — Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 314).

27. *Anochtli*: possibly *tuna de agua*, *pitahaya del agua* (*Pereskiopsis aquosa* Brit. & Rose); cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 229.

28. *Pipillo*: possibly *Arabopsis cornuta* Ph.; cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 495.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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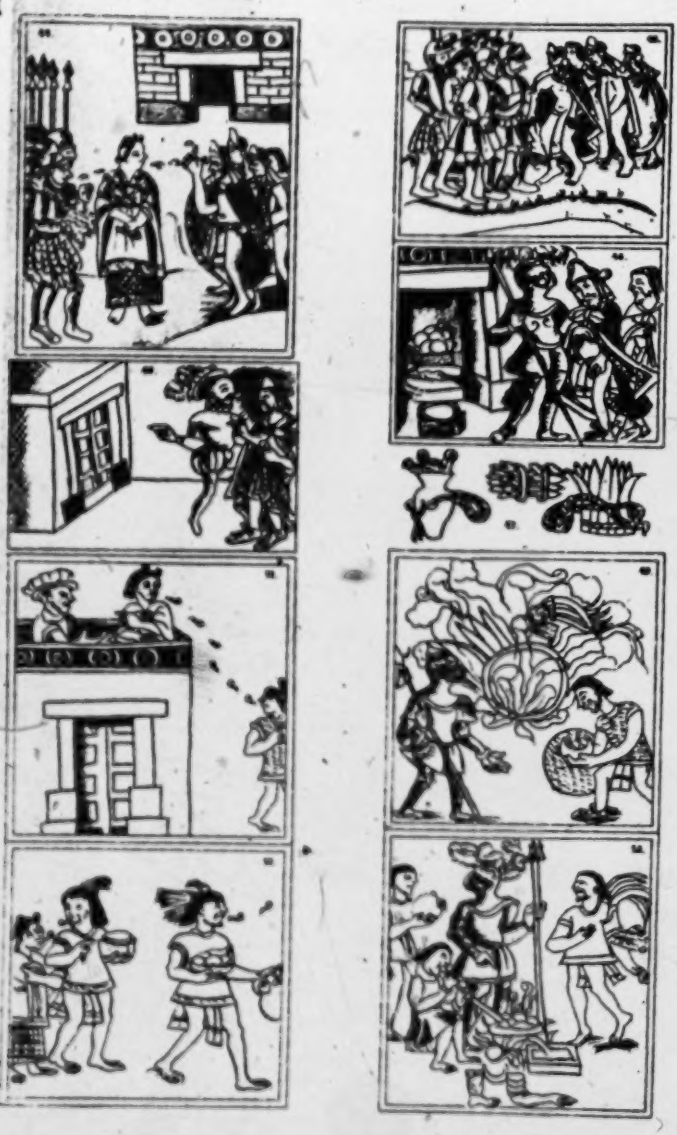

[415
482]
262

[302]

[302]

—*After Pazo y Troncoso*

44. Marina interprets for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 15). 52. Mexicans leave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

[p. 44(H)]

648 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.**

Tlacatecutli was the name, and Otoncoatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked [262] and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, saith: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla, and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman; [302] naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, vncã mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuxca qujnamjqujco in Españoles yoan qujnmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacatecutli itoca, otoncoatl in jpiltoca, in valteiacã, in vncan qujcavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, totolin, totollalevatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, totoltetl, yoa cequjn ioioli in tutultin, yoan cequj nochtli contecaque ixpan in capitan:

qujtoque. Oanqujmjhioviltique, oqujmociaviltique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech mazitican, ma mjhiocujtican:

njmã qujnoalnãqujli in Malintzin: qujto. Notechiuhcavan, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmã qujlhujque. Ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmã qujoalito in Malintzin. Ca ie qualli otechmocnelilique, vmpa tiazque in muztla, vmpa ticuchizque.

Auh njmã vel iquac in otlatlavizcalli icoac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ie izquich Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalcu, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltitlan, tulla, tulitic in qujmamaiavito, qujmõtzotzopontitlaçato, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa qujntlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, coztalanpopul, coztemjloltique in cioa, muchintin qujnpepetlauhq̃ qujntlacujcujlique, qujntlatepevilique, qujnpeztoccauhque.

Auh in Espanoles nonqua qujntetenque, qujnvivipanque, ie on tolcellome, ie õ mextallome, ie on acaxilome ie on tolcellutl innacaio, yoan qujnçaçacaque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in jaqujch in intlatquj in tlamamalchichiuhtiuh muchi namoieloc, mochi maceoaloc, in aquin

Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards reached Teocalhueyacan, and how the people there joyfully received them.

Injc cempoalli onchiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acito Teucalhujacan: auh in quenjn qujnpeccacelique vmpa tlaca. 648

On entering Teocalhueyacan, they went to and quartered themselves in the Otomí tribal temple. They had arrived in good time—shortly before noon.

In teucalhujacan oncalacq̃ onmocacaltemato in otõcalpulco, çan cuel in onacito, xiamo vel nepantla tonatiuh:

And when they arrived, all was at hand [for them]; all was arranged—all the food, fowls, etc. Great comforts did [the people] offer [the Spaniards]; quite peaceably they entered among them and offered them all which they required—fodder for the deer, water, grains of maize, ears of green and of tender maize, boiled ears of green maize, tortillas of tender maize, boiled ears of tender maize, roasted ears of green maize, tamales of green maize; and slices of squash. They lavished and pressed these things upon them, gained their good will, and made friends with them.

auh in onacique, ça temac: moch mocencauh in jxquich qualonj in totoli. &c. cenca qujnpapaquiltique, çan ivian intlan oncalaque, ixquich qujnmacaia in jxquich qujmjtlanjliaia, in maçatlaqualli, in atl, in tlaolli, in elotl, in elotzouhquj, in elopaoaxtli, in elotlaxcalli, in xilopaoaxtli, in eloixcalli, in elotamalli: yoan in aiotlatlapanalli, qujntlanenectiaia, qujntlanenequjltiaia, qujmõmocnjuhtique, onmocnjuhtlaque. 648 262

And the people of Tiliuhquitepec who came there [with the Spaniards] had formed a bond with those of Teocalhueyacan; for those of Tiliuhquitepec were relatives and kin of those of Teocalhueyacan.[1] Teocalhueyacan had been the place from which those of Tiliuhquitepec had set forth and originated—their seat and residence. From that place they had gone forth and issued.

Auh in tiliuhqujtepeca, vncã vallaque, qujmõneloco in teucalhujaque: ichica ca in tiliuhqujtepeca incotonca ioan invaniolque in teucalhujaq̃ in tiliuhqujtepeca, inqujzcã iniolcan, inquechtetzon yionocan in teucalhujacan, vncã qujzticate, 648

There [at Teocalhueyacan] they consulted among themselves, were of one mind, came to common conclusions, and agreed in a common determination to meet with and pray to the Captain—the god—and all the [other] gods: "They have come to reach their revered home here at Teocalhueyacan. Here we, the vassals, the men of Teocalhueyacan and of Tiliuhquitepec, offer our prayers and greetings. And may our lord hear! For Moctezuma and the Mexicans have greatly afflicted and troubled us. To our very noses they have brought misery, for this one

vncã mononotzque vncan qujcemjtoque, vncã qujcentlalique in intlatol, qujnepanvique, contlamãvique in innenonotzal, injc qujnamjcque, injc qujtlatlauhtique in capitan in teutl, yoan in ie mochintin teteu, ca omaxtico in inchantzinco in njcã teucalhujacan, ca njcan tictotlatlauhtilia, tictocisuhquechilia in timaceualhol, in titeucalhujaque, yoan in Tiliuhquitepeca: yoan ma qujmocaquijti in totecuio. Ca in motecuçoma yol in mexicatl, ca cenca otechtolinj, otechtlaciavilti, vel toiacacpa oquijquizti in netolinjlizti: ca ixquich inin techtequjzia in tlacala-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y ellos traían los atavíos de chamelotes que se compraron de la gente amistosa con los de Tlaxcala; porque eran todos parientes y deudos, pues los de Teocalhueyacan salían pues a poblar a Tlaxcala." The statement is shown in Pedro Carrasco Pizana: *Los otomíes* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1950), p. 208, fig. 29.

[redacted]

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans came to and reached the Spaniards as they followed them at the rear.

Also this very time was when the Mexicans advanced and arrived in order that they might cut off [the Spaniards'] progress. The Mexicans went to and established themselves at the foot of a mountain called Tonan. And when dawn broke, the Spaniards[1] arrayed themselves and ate. Likewise the Mexicans bedight themselves and ate and drank. They drank a mixture of *pinole* and water.[2] Some climbed to the top [of the mountain], as scouts and sentinels, to watch for when the Spaniards would depart and move on. In truth, standing guard was their very charge, their concern.

And after this, when the Spaniards[3] already proceeded and followed the road, then the scouts cried out and said: "O Mexicans, your foes are already going! Let us array ourselves! Let us arm ourselves, each one! Let us all proceed! Let us all go together! Let none remain behind!" And when they heard this, there was running; all ran hither and thither and went in pursuit.

And when the Spaniards saw them, they waited for them. They then closed ranks in order to encounter them. They studied them carefully in order to consider how to fare well against them. And after this, [the Mexicans] then ran at them; they hurled themselves at them, so that all were enclosed within [the Spaniards' ranks]. Then they were speared and pierced; indeed, then died in great numbers those of Mexico and Tlatilulco. They went to deliver themselves, cast themselves into [the Spaniards'] hands, and came upon death. But few fled from their hands and so did not die. And those who remained at a distance, who remained following from afar, did not die. And when the Spaniards had dealt death among the people, and had spent their rage, they forthwith departed. All who bore burdens went following them. No one knew of them where they

Inje cempoalli on chicuase capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica intech acito in Españoles injc qujntepuztocaia. 726

No vel iquac in onacito Mexica in qujniacatzacujlizquja: in ommotecato mexica itzintlan tepetl itoca Tona. Auh in otlatvic nec mocencaoa in Espanoles tlatlaqua: no ivi mexica mocecencaoa tlatlaqua, aztli, pinolatl qujy: cequjntin tlacpac tlecoque, iautlachixque, iautlapixque, qujmonjtztoque in quēmā oncazque, in quenman onolinjzque in Españoles: vel imjx intequjuh in ontlachixticate. [262 272]

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie olinj in ie utlatoca in Espanoles: njman ie ic valtzatzi in iautlachixque: qujvalitoa. Mexicae ie iauh in amoiaouh, ticcencaoa, ticcecencaoa, ticemolinj, ticenvi, aiac mocruhtiaz. Auh in oqujcacque nec netlalolo, tlaizqujqujça, tlatotoca.

Auh in oqujnvalittaque in Españoles: qujnvalmochialtique, ic oalmomanque in qujnnamjqujzque, vel qujnnemjlia in quenjn vel qujnchivazque. Auh in ie iuhquj nec qujnzopiloa, qujncujtlaxeloa in quezqujch calitic momantiquiz, nec texizililoa, tetzotzopitzalo, vel vncan tonacamjcque in mexica in tlatilulca, çan qujmōnomacato, inmac ommotlaçato, çā conmotoqujlique in mjqujztli, ça quezqujn in tematitlampa quja in amo mjc: auh in veca manca, in tevecapaviti manca amo mjcque. Auh in ontemjctique in imellel onqujz in Españoles: njman ie ic vi, qujntepuztzvitivi in jzqujchtin tlamama. Ca socac qujnmati in campa cochque in jquac: vncan in in valmocuepato, in qujmonjccxicaoato, qujmonteputzcaoato in Españoles.

1. *Espanoles*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

2. Sahagún (op. cit., II, p. 179) says that it is now a drink of ground toasted maize mixed in water with cocoa, sugar, cinnamon, and chiles (*pinole* — *Mus oculeus* L.).

3. The Spaniards I supply.

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[3] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

in onoca, in çoçotoca, tonatiuh qujxnamjctoca. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl, amo qujnçoçoque in intzontecõ in veca tlaca. auh in axiosque Españoles ontecpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos:

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalioa: amo ic mocaoa in tlapieliztli, in novian techiaoalotinemj ir xuchmjlca in acaltica, necoccampa tlamalo, necoccampa mjcoa.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *coloriu* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

[137]

Auh in jxqujch macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia maianoia, mjec in mapizmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoã mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxqujçacatl: yoan qujquasquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan qujquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, qujmoouxqujaia qujtotoporzaia, qujtotoponjaia injc qujquaia yoã in tetzmetl, yoan in xantetl qujtetexoaia: aoc tle iuhquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los capitanes eran ahora . . . los otros indios eran hasta . . . los caballos eran hasta.*"

4. Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 550, reads this passage.

5. *Elopsuel*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which Mexican cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — In Sahagún (Rubrido ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as "*hierba . . . or many cards y tiene parecer como el trigo, y es blanca, alimenta las conejos y otros animales.*" Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 259, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

6. *Tequixquiyauel*: probably pasture on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 271, has "*hierba muy dañosa y espinosa, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . es buena para quemar.*" Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 223, citing Simeón (*op. cit.*), calls it nitre grass or conch grass, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. *Grama* (*tequixquiyauel* in Molina, *op. cit.*), Santamaría (*op. cit.*, II, p. 31) identifies as *Panicum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

7. *Tzumpanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 275), "*es árbol mediano, tiene ramas acopadas, tiene la corteza colorada y de buen parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman xochiocuitlachi; con muy colorados y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman xoxoloti*"; p. 348: "*Xoxoloti. Árbol, flor y fruto del Colorín.* Erythrina corallodes. *DIC.* Legumínosas." Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 321, giving the same botanical identification and *E. americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompanda*), and observes of the bark (*colorin*) that it is "*especie de frijolillo rojo, dicen que contiene un alcaloide muy venenoso.*"

8. *Tzacuxuchitl*. Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 300, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Mexia ceanopodes* La Llave and Lex (?), *Epidendrum parviflorum* La Llave and Lex (?), *Gomphocarpus mexicanus* Kunth (?) — all orchids. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxuchitl o tzacuchil florido: Mexia ceanopodes* La Llave y Lex, or *B. coccinea* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, *op. cit.*, tlaquilli is plaster or stucco. *Tlaquilli*, however, is given by Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 226, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as marvella. It is medicinal. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 186, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera, and trompetilla.*

10. *Tetexoa*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 249, says it is like serpentin: "*hacen muy verdes y corrosivas y redondillas, y también crecen leche, y tiene las ramas coloradas. . . . calor . . . dura, y esprime y lacrpulla . . . lo lameber de esta raíz mediado*" (medicinal). Ramírez identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moziño and Sessé — commonly, *siempreviva* (*op. cit.*, p. 223). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85, adds *S. quitense* H. B. K. and *S. reusense* Saw.

11. Cf., however, Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 550: "*and Stock and Leder and Hirschhaut, die brinnen, backen, rösten, braunen, sowie es ist, und Tzacuelpur and Lehmziegel und auch Tezcuil.*" Of *tezcuil* or *tecuil*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 269) says it is a hot country plant used for coloring. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 143 (*tequesquite*), says it is "*nombre vulgar de varias plantas halorrendoras, como el equisetillo o tigre (Conocoupia salsoperula), el tamarindo (Adenoia hordigera, y otras.*"

100 -

such suffering. It was terrifying how they were besieged; truly, in great numbers they starved. And quite calmly [the enemy] hemmed us in and contained us.

in apizmjc: auh çan jvian techvalcaltechpachotiaque, 722
çan jviã techololalique. 262

[p. 102 is blank]

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635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[68] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[69] Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17') accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[70] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[71]

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TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[72] of mantles *colchadas***
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white**
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
1,600 bundles of large mantles**
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)*

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian**
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[68] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[69] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[70] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[71] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[72] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[*] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[*] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[*] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked[**]
400 bundles of women's clothing[**]
[248] 1,206 bundles[*] of little mantles of soft henequen[**]
[114] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)[*]

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian[*]
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[*] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[*] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[*] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[*] Corrected from 1,200.

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197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[780] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[*]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
248] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

● [262 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
212] were asked."[*] No data are available on the tribute of other component
137] towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[*] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[*] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que sellbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier 635
against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expan- 131
sion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlat- 635
zinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[**] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles** [714]
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli* [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point. [632]

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, 635
which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections 114
are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[**] PNE 7: 16.

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is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[111]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payón's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monumentos arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenazingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el Ocuiteca, de difícil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

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TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[241] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
714 800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matrícula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan
[128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[*] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[**] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[*] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[**] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen** [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)** [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of 651
the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single 632
town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matrícula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28v of the *Mendocino*.[30] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

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635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[29]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[29] 714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[30]

317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1:228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauhtitlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north [128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[29] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Imperio de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[30] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [ca. 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[291 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114

The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino.* It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula,* the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino,* all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

[128]

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

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212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[30] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the verv Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely
635 stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province
131 of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[31] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[32] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[33] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[34] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[35]

[30] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[31] Cf. n. 35 above.
[32] *PNE*, 6: 201.
[33] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[34] Corrected from 400.
[35] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metztitlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[*] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[*]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[*] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Texcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[*] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[*] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[47] as did Tequixquiac[48] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[49]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[50]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[51]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[52]

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[47] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[48] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[49] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[50] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[51] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[52] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [139]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.* 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING** [291]

2,010 bundles' of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles* of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD* [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE* [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "SAVANAS"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

* *ENE*, 10: 126. ' Corrected from 2,000. * Corrected from 800.

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651

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 71+]
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237]
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tiscohuscalaotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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[65] 816 bundles[a] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long[b]
[291] 408 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long[b]
402 bundles[a] of mantles striped red and yellow[b]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[b]
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles[b]
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields[b]

FOOD[b]

[26] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS[b]

[23] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
301 2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[c] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[d] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[e]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[f]

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[a] Corrected from 800.
[b] Corrected from 400.
[c] Corrected from 400.
[d] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[e] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[f] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huchutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenían todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[g] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.*

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco,
[128] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapã, 10	Temascalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

* *PNE*, 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seyçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD [262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632 of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651 maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412] After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.[a]

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412] Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.[b]

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

[a] RHE, 1: 131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antesesor de monteçuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de bolsteria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Monteçuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

[b] RHE, 1: 142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonces se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

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632 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called
651 "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.[88] However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*[89] gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, *circa* 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomitl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao
● [262] of Xoconochco (2,400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.[90]

[326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."[91]

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se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

[88] *PNE*, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

[89] Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ...," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

[90] *PNE*, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del rreynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodon de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodon de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacao de a beinte e quatro myll cacaos carga, de zoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

[91] RHE, 1: 152.

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frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, 635
and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire. 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the 651
richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields* [291 714]

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli [262]

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by 635
Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed 114
to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23". The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de [128]
Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located: 103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corronpemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323 2,000 pottery bowls**
289] 8,000 reams of native paper**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many
632 decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on
114 the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and
[128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present
103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayozochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[a] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[b]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[c] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[d]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors 323
8,000 reams of native paper 289

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. 727

[a] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[b] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Tascala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[c] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[d] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

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651

FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49r of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632

Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^ced a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p° de myctlanquautla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[237] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
[301] 20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 91 "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectxin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Ucila.

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OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[40]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
114 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[41]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
651 may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[42]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[40] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[41] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlatitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[42] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18′) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

● [262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[a]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[a]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[a] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81. Identified as *Ara militaris* or *Conuropsis carolinensis* Gould.
[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada año y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e cinco pesos cada vno, de ocho quilates: pagando en tostones al Rey."

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
[314] 4,000 loads of thick canes
[281] 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y coseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexi- 651
cano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the 212
tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[*]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify: 651

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses** [291
402 bundles[*] of little red-striped mantles** 714]
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos [316
de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity 415]
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding 632
the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the 651
early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following [415
every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer 291
and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[*] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 248
40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as 262]
well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[*]

[*] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[*] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[*] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Motecçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiso de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en polvo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho manillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the 197
predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, 174
especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one 635
of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced un- 131
friendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, [712]
however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid 651
the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles [291]
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian) [562]

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger [316]
20 bags of cochineal [257]

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xazalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101
the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197
little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635
flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131
manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635
longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col 651
lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth [291
800 loads of colored mantles 714]
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian [262]
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 226 and spearing. It is not certain that the rod-and-line method involved fishhooks, for these are not known archaeologically from the Valley, but the line may have carried a gorge instead of a hook, and in any case *golden* fishhooks were found in use in 1518 by Grijalva on the island of Cozumel. The types of nets used are the gill net, the pole net, and possibly the throw-net; the latter was used for rabbits but may not have been used for fish. Spearing is of particular interest to ethnologists, because Mexico is one of the few places in the world where the atlatl is still in use. This fact was discovered on Lake Pátzcuaro by Seler in 1892 and on Texcoco by Beyer in 1925.

127 223 Water birds are mainly hunted in the fall and winter, when migrants swell their numbers. On Pátzcuaro the Tarascans surround them with canoes and kill them with tridentiform atlatls, as described by León (1934) and Foster (1948), but in the shallower lakes of the Valley the birds are caught in long nets stretched just above the water. This practice is fully depicted in the two 16th-century pictorial sources, and survives today (Linné, 1940).

127 262 Exploitation of the Valley lakes for animal food was not restricted to fishing and fowling. If it had been, we should have no reason to impute any special limnologic knowledge to the Aztecs, but the use they made of their lacustrine environment goes far beyond that of the usual "primitive" society. In addition to tadpoles and frogs, and the axolotl, of which Sahagún says "es muy bueno de comer; es comida de los señores", the historian lists a number of invertebrate foods in Chapter 3. These items of diet have bewildered most subsequent writers, and without a thorough ethnographic survey it is impossible to be sure that the following remarks are not compounding the confusion. However, there are certain points that a limnologist finds obvious and that have been missed by all the authorities. In discussing the invertebrates we rely not only on Sahagún and the relevant illustrations in Plate I, but on Hernandez' *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae liber unicus,* written in the 1570's and appended to the 1651 Rome edition of the great work on Mexican medical botany.[2]

127 [2] Mrs. Emmart, in her edition of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (1940), remarked that the five copies of Hernandez' work that she was able to collate are all of different editions, though all bear the year 1651. Presumably these all have the title *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus,* but the copy in the Yale University Library, also imprinted 1651, is entitled *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium Mexicanorum Historia.* In any case this is a very incomplete version of what must be the greatest work on Mexican natural history ever written. Hernandez' Latin work ran to 15 or 17 volumes, and is believed to have been destroyed in the fire at the Escorial in 1671. George Kubler informs me, however, that a Nahuatl translation was made by 1576, and this or a copy of the original may yet come to light.

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The most famous of the edible invertebrates is the *axayácatl,* referred to as *axaxayácatl* by Sahagún and Hernandez. Although modern writers (Vaillant, 1941; Apenes, 1943; Linné, 1948; Anderson and Dibble, 1954) persist in calling these insects flies, it has been known for more than a century that they are corixid waterbugs. Sahagún's Spanish word was *coquillo,* not *mosco* or *mosquillo,* so the confusion is not his fault. In post-Conquest times the dried adult insects have been widely sold in the markets of the world as food for caged birds, but they were also used as human food; Hernandez says that they were cooked in maize leaves in nitrous water. Hernandez also makes it clear that these insects are the source of *ahuautli,* a cake made from the eggs that is still much eaten in Mexico, particularly on watch-nights such as Christmas Eve and Holy Thursday. That *ahuautli* was formerly a staple that survives as a delicacy is suggested by its name, which is derived from *atl,* water, and *huautli,* amaranth seed. Now that Sauer (1950) has cleared up some of the indescribable confusion surrounding the use of grain amaranths in aboriginal Mexico, we can begin to appreciate that *ahuautli* was really "water grain", though not in the literal sense of "water wheat" implied by Tylor (1861), whose etymology has confused such later writers as Packard (1871). The identity of the insects is an equally tangled bibliographic problem in which the zoologists have hardly been more helpful than the historians. 127 136 252 262

The fullest and most authoritative-sounding account is that of Orozco y Berra, given in his memoir on the hydrography of the Valley of Mexico (1864). This historian quoted in full de la Llave's description (1832; reprinted 1887) of the adult insect under the name *Ahuautlea mexicana* (which appears to be the correct name, though it has been ignored by zoological writers; it has priority over the generic name *Krisousacorixa* Hungerford 1930 and the specific name *Corixa femorata* Guérin-Meneville 1857). He described the cultivation of *ahuautli,* which is accomplished by placing bundles of *tules* (*Scirpus* or *Typha*) in the water of Lake Texcoco, stripping off the eggs which the insects lay in countless millions, and processing them into cakes. This much of Orozco y Berra's work is correct; it is fully confirmed by the modern observations of Ancona (1933), and, if there is any doubt that the practice is an aboriginal one, the doubt is removed by Sahagún's figures, reproduced in Plate I, nos. 220–221. Professor Hutchinson assures me that no. 220 is certainly the oldest known figure of a corixid waterbug. Oddly enough, Sahagún does not describe the practice or mention *ahuautli* with the edible insects in Book Eleven, though he lists it among the products sold in the market in the 19th chapter of Book Eight. Hernandez repairs the omission. [222]

Ancona's account (1933) is the only one by a modern zoologist, and 127 136

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127 which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that
136 this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number
222 of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."
252

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is
127 no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Cas-
136 tillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described
252 as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not im-
● 262 probable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli*, and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

127 The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no atten-
tion from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identi-
136 fied with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón*, or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocuiliztac*, which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *aneneztli*, which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 222 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

127 One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

127 CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully
exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected
317 by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas*, 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

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BOOK V.

THE MARCH TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

How we went to the City of Cholula,[1] and of the great reception which they gave us there.

ONE morning we started on our march to the city of Cholula and we took the greatest possible precautions, for, as I have often said, where we expected to encounter tumults or wars we were much more on the alert.

That day we went on to sleep at a river which runs within a short league of Cholula, where there is now a stone bridge, and there they put up for us some huts and ranchos. This same night the Caciques of Cholula sent some chieftains to bid us welcome to their country, and they brought supplies of poultry and maize bread, and said that in the morning all the Caciques and priests would come out to receive us, and they asked us to forgive their not having come sooner. Cortés told them

[1] Blotted out in the original "On the twelfth day of October in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen."—G. G.

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721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

263 262 266

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to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their 643
eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his 644
face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared 643
by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they 252
placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him 643
the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of 252
dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in 262
seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
●262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this
[374] way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and
[352] richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 643 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [276 314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 441 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

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that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

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off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who [324 sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they 262] get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and [325 gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could 415] wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were 436 already approaching its great courts, before leaving the [443] market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look 346 at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these [364] stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished 726
with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried 726
mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each 724
household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,—shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ('tlatzontectli'), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "ati," water, and "calli," house), were used 505
for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojos y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes 262
"gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "vizcocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan bisocochado, tamales mobosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolati," which possessed particularly vivifying 272
qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been 554
slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of 558
newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this *degrading* work (*because woman-like!!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu-

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichi-
533 meca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponazcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quatepoquijcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã qujcenquiztiaia, in cacalpixque in jxquich imãcoollatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, quj-tlãtlattitia, in catle coneleujz, ipan onmjtoriz, ipan ontetlattitiz:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetla-tujcecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlaçochalca, in teviteçquinj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
643 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums —the ground drums—the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mãcoaalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaqujtotianj, tlamoiauhquj, tozcacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
262 —tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtectli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoztli, totólqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaoio.

And when they had tired and were wearied of
527 dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac ontlatziuh, in ocontlazilhuj mãcoaliztli, njman quicalaquiaia, quitlatiaia, in vme xuchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic quixiptlaiotiaia,

9. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 29, 94-95; *genre Mixtecs* was a term generally understood and by natives.

10. In describing the sound made by the wooden Huitzilopochtli, Book V, chap. vi, reads *auh inic tlatoa pipitzoa, tlachpanic ouapipitzoaia: tlacuilolaca tocuapitzoa . . .* See also, Olmos, op. cit., p. 237 (*mexicana*).

574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the leavings.[4]

851 Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncã achiziniza ompacuatoc, nepielotoc, vellamachotoc in nepieloian, in tecuauoeztaloian: auh in ezquiz in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati, yn atica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica ez.[5] çan motlavellaloa, moquetzteoa, moquetztiquiça, cholotoa, maçoma, modlaqualçoma, tlãtlatotivj, popolocativj, tlatetotiuj, tlãtlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanauhpactiuj, ic oallatepachoticate, mozixicoticate, yn omotlalito inchã, yn jncalitic: auh intla oittoque in iuh oquizque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin imuztlaioc-oc ceppa quinana, quimonjcziana, quinjolcuja, in iquac ic apeoalco, inca nechioalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chia* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chia*,[8] which they drank.

[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, aço chiantzoztolatolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in quinmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiooachpanj,

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women drank wine. They gathered around and congregated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

273 851

auh yn oioac in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlatlaoana, mohololoa, mococentlalia, ymjxpan quioalquetza yn intlaoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoã yn intlaoancax, in jntetlaoã, in tetlamamaconj,

The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

[554]

achto iẽ vmpeoa in tetlaoanti, in tetlamamacac, njmã ie ic iuh yn jiacac, in tlaiacac, yn jiacaiocã, ic tevipãtiuh, tecempilotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quioaltecatimanj in vetli, aço iztavetli, anoço aivetli, tlachioalvetli, yn otlaliloc ochichioaloc ic pillaoanoz, ontlaçaço inxaiocomjc, inoccomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

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4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: *"y las cobras del cacao, dauan a sus criados."* See n. 2.

5. The term is apparently incomprehensibly corrupted to read *tlamappactiuj*; cf. *Ms. Palatino MS.*

6. Or *ceppa quimocuna in ihiõ*.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"a este dia llamauan, Apeoalco: porque en el, se acabaua todo el cocolizio."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as *"ahuilchiua o lo que estaba cocinado y hecho."*

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (chianpinolli).

9. In the *Ms. Palatino MS.* yn tlamamaconj, y tetlamamaconj follows tetlamamacac.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"hechizo de agua, y miel cocida, con la cuya; al qual llamaua apacili, que quiere decir, polvo de agua. Lo qual tenia aparejado, y guardado al orbar del cocolizio: de alguna dias antes."* See also Oswaldo Gonçalves de Lima: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), passim, and esp. pp. 107 ff.

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[416]
[439]

Auh in tecuxtl, in petecuxtl, in xicuxtli, in aquauji, yn ixtecuxtl:

intlaxel iuxtlan, in tzacuj, in tzacuxica, ixtlan omonj, vel calaquj, motlecacuepa in nechichinaliztica, in nexiuica, in tlacatica qujxtlachacalhuja in chamapa.

[292]

Auh intla ołamequalitiqua, intla oitoqua: vecan qujquixmjctia, qujachillatilia: ça xca, aço ce, aço vme yn ce: ni tomatilanpa qujça, ixtlaxel qujxolomotzaia in momoyauma:

[263]
[266]

ic vecan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçmalomoch, yn qujmaviztiaia, ic qujnecuiaia, in tlincuah, vecan ic aqujchia.

[431]
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[501]

Auh yn jquac oalaxia, yuchan: vn jnilloch, yuancuepal aqujchichiuhqua, yn ołalxochacica, yn ołalxochpachiuhqua: inqujch tlacatl qujnecua, in pachtecu: yuan in tlatoqua, ic momiztlaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaua, cenca qujmaviztiliaia yn ieqpil, yn jtlacqaia yiacatecutli:

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oncaa in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yuan intlacu mil momoyauaca, qujtlamanjlia in çan machipa yn jtlaqualia.

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[778]

Auh intla aca tachtic, ixtlaxel calxinia, qujmocaia in jtzmah yiacatecutli: aneço cenca ixtlaxetia yn mochoaia, in qujmomoztlaia in chicomequjauitl, aneço chalmecacioatl, yuan acxoxouitl, yuan nacatl, cuchimatl, iacapitzinoc, ałac qujtocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, aneço vme, ce altic tlacatl:

vmpa cuocuaia yn tlacamecujloca axcapoztalioc: motlahtatilia, motlapaquilia, qujacuecuepa, qujmjhtza, yn qualtic qujxicuepa, yn acan quemanjquac, in tlacatecti, in tlacamolacuepa, yn acan cucuepa, yn atle intlacuah ca:

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ynic ixhuapa qujmictiquac, yn ipan panquetzalistli: yn vecan ilhuiquitzilitzia vitzilxochitl:

yquac qujchichiuia, qujtlamamaca, iatoch qujtlalia yn jchiquj yeochichiual yiacatecutli.

Auh yn oncaa qujmjxcia, achtequa qujmiztlaia: mjtoa qujmjxcia, ic qujmachtia in tachtiquac:

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184. Cf. Tezozómoc (op. cit., p. 77): Yiacatecuhtzin "[illegible] ixtlaxcalan [illegible], que tiene [illegible], é hechiciled, para [illegible] [illegible], y se [illegible], y [illegible] [illegible] de Mexicalzinco" . . .

185. Cf. Sahagún (Libro Kapital, p. 222) citing Mot. Rom. Coll. Mex. B. II [illegible].

186. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De los [illegible] que se hacía a los mercaderes cuando fallaban [illegible] de paz, [illegible] working metals and hands.

187. Sahagún defines calpulli as "[illegible] del barrio, é parentela" (Spanish version).

188. Sahagún defines the tlamanitiani in this manner: "Estos diceban que mantenían a otros mercaderes"—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 218.

189. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 90) recognizes Cuchimatl and Yiacatecutzin as synonyms for Yiacatecutli. "Chicomequitl or Chalmecatzinl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxoxouitl is Tezcatlipoca; Nacatl is Quetzalcoatl.

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[16] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yuiz contlaça yuiz conmaiauj, in Vitzilopochtli.

Auh in çoçaki in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic momojujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcaoan quinpepena, quinnechicoa, quinvihtlada, quintlenatza, quinmizaiouja, quinmizaioquauhcozca:

coquj quitonalcia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj quitonaltiuia yn jtechinhcaoan, çaniioque in pipiltj. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatiquc: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl quitquja yapãtlecax, amo ie hoad in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeualli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocatica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla.

Yoan quitquja iztac copallj: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinnaan, in ic tlenamaco, in tlexochtli quitoalcma, tlemãco, ipan contepeua yn iztac copalli, ic conjauujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic quitotonjlia, ic quitopopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in ve teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, papachujlo in izquitchin in teteoan inpan quinmaxia.

Auh yn ocminahque tletl njmã ic ic contemo tlexico:

auh in cioa ichpopochti, motzaouia, mototonjaia tlapaliujtica:

yoan itatecuh acatica quitquappachoa, tlilica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acaxilquj:

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynic quitquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynic tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcauh mixtlilpeptoque, haco maxj, tlexictli ixpan, quitacatiuinaxj ococalli in quitmama, amapapaioacatoxaxi, çan quelpanamama.

quitpeualilia yn cioa in netzilintli, ynic mitoxia chachalaca, çan mocioinmatia: auh in cioa çan tlatic in maxj, yn jaxcuh ocmamaxja, quitoxinaxj,

796X

[252 263]

[374]

[302 237]

[302 289]

[302]

[417]

796X 535

16. Thus identified by Seler, op. cit., p. 105.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[*] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[*]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17') accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[*] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[*]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[*] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[*] *PNE*, 6: 124: "usyan gerri con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[*] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[*] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[**] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero,"[a] a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[b] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[c] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[d] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matrícula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles* of little mantles of soft henequen**
[114] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huasteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
[319] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Converted from 1,200.

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197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[708] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[m] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[n]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
[248] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
[263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291] above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
[276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
[212] were asked."[o] No data are available on the tribute of other component
[137] towns individually.

[m] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuiltecs," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[n] In Tlachinoltícpac, *FNE*, 3: 130.

[o] *FNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavaale cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metztitlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[a] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[b]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[a] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tencatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaxuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya cosi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[b] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[c] To the ruler in México, "dassanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes laberes; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[*] as did Tequixquiac[**] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[**]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 268] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[*]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[**]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[**]

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[*] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[**] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[**] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[**] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[**] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl,* "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[***]

[**] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitzaltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[*] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jicaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno lin- 101
guistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: 197
Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that [531]
activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province 635
cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north 131
of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining 651
region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291]
1 warrior's costume with shield* 714

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey* [263]

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells** [326]
80 copper axeheads** 317
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth 632
century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money 651
resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

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[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 55, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y exentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian oño mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]

[316] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50
[263] measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[233] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpix-
[146] que.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpizque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [p.c. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted — Analyst]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

263 262 266

574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the leavings.[4]

851 Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncã achitzinca ompacoatoc, nepiekotoc, veilamachotoc in nepiekoian, in tecuanozaloian: auh in cequjn in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, moveimati, yn stica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica et.[6] çan motlavellaloa, moquetzteoa, moquetzticquiça, cholotoua, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, tlãtlatoxivi, popolocativj, tlatztotiuj, tlãtlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanauhpactiuj, ic oallatepachoticate, moxixicoticate, yn omotlabito inchã, yn jncalitic: auh intla oittoque in iuh oquizque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin imuztlaioc oc ceppa qujnana, qujmonjcxiana, qujniolcruja, in iquac ic apeoaloç, inca nechioalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chia* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chia*,[8] which they drank.

●[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, aço chiantzotzolstolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiocschpanj,

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women
273 drank wine. They gathered around and congre-
851 gated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

auh yn oioac in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlatlaoana, mohololoa, mocecentlalia, ymjxpan quioalquetza yn intlaoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoã yn intlaoanaxx, in jntetlaoã, in tetlamamaconj,

[554] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

achto iẽ vmpeoa in tetlaoanti, in tetlamamacac, nõmã ic ic iauh yn jiacac, in tlaiscac, yn jiacaiocã, ic tevipãtiuh, teoempilotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quioaltecatimanj in vetli, aço iztavetli, anoço aivetli, tlachioalvetli, yn otlalilo: ochichioaloc ic pillaoanoz, ontlaçaço inxaiocomjc, inoccomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

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4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: *"y las cubrían del caso, donde a sus criados."* See n. 2.

5. The term is apparently untranslatable; conveyed to mind disappointed; cf. *Real Palacio MS.*

6. Or *ceppa quinmocaoa in ibid.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"a otro día Remanan, Aparecían: porque en el, se acababa todo el comidas."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as *"alhaldiera a la que estaba comiendo y bebiéndo."*

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (*chiapopoli*).

9. In the *Real Palacio MS.* yn tlacuitl, y nolamamaconi falloan nolamamaconi.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"borbiaca de agua, y miel cocida, con la cual Remanan aquella, que quiere decir, palaro de agua. La cual venía aparecida, y guardada el sabor del comidar: de algunos días antes."* See also Gerónimo Gonçalves de Lima: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), passim, and esp. pp. 107 ff.

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fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had conchs and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stones. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which talketh of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk. When people feasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, fast all feasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atoli*," on which small flowers floated. (This was) "the feast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—(instead of offerings of) rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched straws or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnavi capitulo: inchpo tlamo in teuil, yn ioca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan teuxhque, yn jc teuxtlilioia tequanxinca intech: 776
yn jquac oeçaujlilioia, intla aca tequjchti ipan cincochia, 688
anoço cioatl, ipan oquichochiz: mjtoaia, qujtlaçulevjctia 753
yn jnçaçaalia,
ic quimmacaia, teuch qujtlalaia, qujxillujlilaia, qujxma- [785
ovalitiua, in xachicuinti, yn momaxalinti, tlapalanalolinti, 834]
quexilinilinti,

yniepa nenoua, nenoualoliuia, yn jc qujcruia, yn jc
qujçquaxia yn jc qujcaxoua, cuculinti.

Auh yn jquac illujquejxtlilioia, ipan xochilujtl: achnopa 776
tuvilujtl nexachiçaxalo: in ocquijxcia ic moçaxaia, chil- 796
cuxoia, qujnopantia tamatiuh, in tlaquaia, cuxlaquaia. [264]
inaltopantia qujmattiuh, tlacujlolacalli in qujia, xochimeli
yn ipan ca, tomachiçaxa:

mochi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tamatiuh
qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujcaviaia, in ixtlaxcalli
qujçquaia, ezle chilli: no nepantla tamatiuh qujmattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jllujquejxtlilioia, iquac ce tlacatl
qujmixipilaxtiaia, cammaqujaia yn jtlatqui, ipan mjxcoiaia,
qujtlamotemjlioia, qujcujcxtiaia:

yoan in ic nepantla tamatiuh, tlacotonaloia, nequnaia, [785]
tlacuqujxtilioia: yoã tlamanjlilioia yn jxuqpan, macujlxcl in
qujchiujlioia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, omca vevey
ipan yeatiuh xochujtl:

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yn aca quauhcaxitl yujc commanjlioia, yoan contequjlioia
oc no macuilxcl tamalteponoa, mollonuja: yoan vncxcl 262
tamalli yiol poujia, no cemj quauhcaxitia, mantivia, cantxcl 796
tlilxic, omxcl tlatlauhqui.

Auh yn aca inquijl, anoço necuaquijl, anoço xonecujlli,
papalotlaxcalli, ixtlaxcalli, tecuallaxcalli, tecuelchimalli,
tecuainjtl, tecuainquauqui, tecuainxcl:

yoan teujian calteaxaloia, in mamalti ojcan mexica, 776
momoxoa malinquijxoa, yn jnquich tochiçaloloc, yn 796

ceo quauhcuauhtli—two eagle darts or wooden dolls, projecting forward above the frontal bone on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *ceo xiuit* ("1 reed") or the *macuilxochitl* (five-doll) (see illus.). Seler: *The Tonalamatl of the Aztec Collectors*, p. 75. *Tlaxcoyoxo*, as the Aztec text, should probably be *tlaxcoloxoxo*. 727

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*bocio, que enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, dinguas, sarnillas, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text: "*pasas asinas.*"

X 796 poles.[13] For four days this was done. Thereupon they came out of the water and all took up their array. Then all returned and went back whence they came, in the same manner in which they had come, sounding shell trumpets and naked, unclothed.

And when they had reached [home] and had gone into their houses, thereupon were thrown down [352] and spread out the white [and green] reed mats throughout the priests' houses.

Thereupon all wrapped and covered themselves [513] with their capes. Then all threw themselves upon the white [and green] reed mats. Cold, they lay frozen, as if dead—sleeping open-eyed, crouched, hunched up. Some just slept open-eyed; some fell into a stupor; some slept only lightly; some dreamed; some cried out in their sleep; some started up, snored, grunted, groaned, whimpered. They lay twisted in their sleep.

After midday they all arose. And when they had risen, then was adorned the fire priest, that he might offer and burn incense. He went everywhere, among all the temples; the old priests went ahead of him.

X 796 And when they had come to offer incense in all ● 264 [the accustomed] places, then food was eaten; food was eaten by each one. All were gathered in a circle, grouped in a ring. Severally, they were offered food, all kinds of sauce. For four days they only dipped into the sauce.

And if anyone mistook his sauce [for another's], then they detained him, they seized him so that he was taken. And when [the food] was eaten, none let fall a drop of the sauce on to the ground. [If] sauce was dropped on the ground, if anyone spilt [even] a little of the sauce, for all this he was detained and was punished.

X 796 And when this was done, when they had eaten, then all went to gather fir branches,[14] or canes—green maize stalks.

And when they had gone forth, when they had gone to pluck them, [the branches or canes] were bound together; they were tied in small bundles. And when they had made bundles of them, when it was time to strew them about, then they dispersed; all ran, hastening, carrying the reeds upon their shoulders.

Quickly they placed them in all the demons' temples.

mantli: nauilhujd yn juh mochionia yn: auh yn ic iohqui mec oalquixca yn atlan, nechichioalo, njman ic oalnecuepalo, jcuitlauje oalojloa, çan ic no'ñj in Vitze, tlapiztiujtze, pepetlauhtiujtze, tlapet'ruj.

Auh yn onacico, yn onmocacaltemaco, njman ic ic motetesca, moçoçoa yn aztapilpetlatl, yn noujan calmecac:

njman ic ic netlatlalpiloto, nequequentilo, mec netetesco, yn aztapilpetlapan, cecec mjcoatoc, cococztoque, yizztinoque, mococozcztlalia, motatapaiollalia: cequjntin çan iizztoque, cequjntin cocochi, cequjntin çan cochcanacatoque, cequjntin temiquj, cequjntin cochtlatoa, cequjntin cochitlena, tlaquaqualaca, tlacotaliuj, tlaquiçquinaca, tlatetena, tlanecujliuj in cochioa:

quin cennepantla tonatiuh in necheoalo. Auh in onecheoaloc, mec muchichioa in tlenamacac, ynic tlenamacaz tlatoconiz, noujian quiça in jaquican teteupan, quijacantinemj in quaquacujlti.

Auh yn ôtlenamacato noujian: njman ic ic tlaqualo tlatlaqualo, neiaiaoalolo, nenolololo: cecciaca quimonmaca yn intlaqual, yn quenamj molli çujmonmaca, navilhujxti in çan ice quipaloaque.

Auh intla aca quipatilizque ymol, ic caci, ic cônaci, ic onaxioa: yoan in jquac tlaqualo, aiac achi quichipinja yn molli, yn vncan tlalpan; tlatlalteco in molli, intla aca achi quichipinja molli, muchi ic neaxioa, ic netlanamjctilo.

Auh in ic iohqui ynon tlaqualoc, njman ic ic tilloa yn acxoiatl mecuin, ic yn acatl, acxoxouhqui.

Auh yn ocalujloac, yn onmocujro: njman ic ic tlacuitlalpilo, acquj molpia: auh ynon tlacujcujtlalpiloc, in ic inman motemaz, njman ic tlatzomonj, netlalolo, netlatlalolo, quiquechpanoa in acatl:

quiztentiquiça yn iaquican in teteupan tlatlacatecalo.

13. "Pseudo-Alexandre," in Sahagún's Spanish text.
14. Sahagún says: "pues que en ofrenda fueron todo aquello dicho y [illegible] que ellos llamaban [illegible], que es cosa usada por aquel tiempo" (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 211). See also supra, p. 78, n. 3.

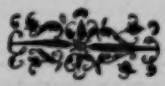

Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the sacrifices which they made upon the days of the eighth month, which was called Uei tecuilhuitl.[1]

Eighth feast: this [was] the Great Feast of the Lords.

And before the celebration had yet begun, first all fasted. A multitude came together—the poor of Mexico. And those who tilled the fields, at dawn all drank only this [drink of] lime-leaved sage powdered and mixed with water, [which] was mixed in a canoe and sweetened with honey. And it was drunk from a vessel called *tiçapanqui*. Each had a vessel for drinking, from which he drank. Each used his vessel, and some filled their vessels twice. All came and consumed [the drink]; none refrained—children, old women, small boys, small girls, everyone.

And of those who could no longer taste or put mouth and lips to it, some placed it in their [own] vessels and gourds; here they kept what remained to them. And any who came unprovided with a vessel, a plate, or a jar, just carried the maize gruel in their aprons; they carried it away in their aprons. None took [any] without leave; none returned again [to take] *atolli*.

And if any returned again [to take] *atolli* dishonestly, if once more [any] tried to approach [the canoe with *atolli*], then they set upon him with green canes; they whacked him sorely.

And thereafter, when all had drunk, all rested a while, all lay down, forming a circle together. All talked, with much murmuring and rustling, like birds twittering. And others who had saved *atolli* for themselves, later drank it; little by little, they kept giving it to their small children to drink.

And when noon came, when it was time to eat, then once more all sat spread out, in order, arranged in order, all with capes outspread. The small children were taken by the hand; they were borne upon their backs.

And when all sat about, then those girded their loins and bound their hair with reed blades who

Juiç cempoalli on chicume capítulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl yoan in nextlaoalizzli, in qujchioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl ynic chicuey metztli: in mitoaia Vei tecujlhujtl. 796x

Inic chicuetetl ilhujtl: iehoatl in vei tecujlhujtl.

Auh yn aiamo onaxiea illhujtl, achtopa tlatlaqualoa: ixqujch tlacatl cenqujçaia, in motolinja in mexica, yoan in millacatzitzinti, in ioatzinco çan oc tlayoa, iehoatl in chian pinolli, mopatlaia acalco, qujnecpanja. Auh ynic tlayoa caxitl, motocaiotia tiçapanqujq: cecen caxitl yn ioa, in quj: cecen caxoa auh in cequjntin, ooncaxoa, cenvetzi, ontetlamj, aiac mocaoa in pipiltzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin, in oqujchpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in ie ixqujch tlacatl. [272] [415]

Auh in aqujn, aocmo vel qujiecoa, in aocmo qujcamaaci, in aocmo qujtenaci, motlacavia: cequjntin qujvivica in inococon cequjntin inxixical in vncan qujteca innetlacavil: auh in aca atle ioõ monemachti, in atle icon, in atle icax; çа qujcuexanoa, concuexanaltia, in atolli, aiac motlapiquja, aiac matolixcuepa:

auh intlaca matolixcuepa, in oc ceppa tetlan calaqujznequj, vmpa qujvivitequj acaxoxoubquj ica, qujtlatlatzvitequj.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlaioac, oc achitonca nececevilo, çã vncan onoac, neololoio, nececẽtlalilo, nenonotzalo, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj, iuhqujn tlatlacaoca, iuhqujn tlachachalaca: auh in oc cequjntin, in oqujmocavica atolli, qujn ice vel qujtoque, yiolic qujmjitiloque in impilhoantzitzin.

Auh in oacic nepantla tonatiuh, in jquac tlaqualizpan, ie no ceppa vel netetecq, nevivipanolo, nececenpanalo, netetecpano, necuecuentililo: in pipiltzitzinti tematitech teauno, temamamalo. 796x 264

Auh ino netetecoc mec mocujcujtlalpia, yoan mequaquailpia tolica: in tequjtque, in tlacuexanoque,

1. "Fiesta grande de los Señores," according to Guillay ("Relación breve," p. 301); "der grosse Herrenfest," according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 135).

X 796 264 bore [food], who carried [food] in their cloaks, who served at table; [and] the pages. Beginning with the first-comers, he who served at table thus served them X 796 as many *tamales* as they could take in one hand. He 262 gave them perchance *tamales* made of maize treated with lime; or else made with fruit; some [he gave] *tamales* of maize blossoms; or with twisted ends, or sweetened with honey. Of the *tamales*, some had twisted ends and were filled with grains of maize; some took the twisting forms of green beans and were filled with grains of maize.[2]

X 796 264 And they who served [food] looked to the small children, serving them well, with much concern. And some of the table-servers offered *tamales* only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as their kin or their friends. Twice or thrice they offered them [food].

And none might deceive in taking *tamales*. And any whom they saw trying to take *tamales* dishonestly, such, when they saw him, they punished, strik- [68/ ing him, leaving bloody welts, with a cord made of 283] reeds. What had been given him, they took from him all; they took all his *tamales*, his own which he had set aside, those which had fallen his lot.

And some they did not come to—[those] with whom [the line] broke off, those who came last, at the end, at the tail [of the line], even though they crowded their way forward, going up among the throng. Nothing at all was offered them, for at first there was much crowding and violent forcing, because they feared that with them [the line] might break.

And those with whom [the food supply] ended all wept. They said:

"What shall we do, we who are ill-fated? Evilly hath the feast day come! To what vain end is our ill fortune? Unhappy are our little ones!"

And if they saw that, apart, perchance, [*tamales*] were still being eaten, then they hurried over there. All ran; there they betook themselves; there they jostled them, like clamoring [beggars]. Although [those who ate] came against them and beat and struck their heads, yet they went on breaking in among [the eaters], crowding among them roughly.

X 796 736 And this feasting went on for seven days. And for this reason was this done—purely that the chief might show benevolence to others by giving his bounty to

in tetlamacazque, in tetlamamacazque, yiacac valpeoa in tetlamacac, injc tetlamaca, in quexquijch velisi qujtzitzquja tamalli, ixqujch qujtemaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço xocotamalli, cequj mjiaostamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollaoio, cequj icnococolotlaoio:

auh in tetlamacaia in qujmittaia pipiltatzintli, cenca vel qujtlamacaia, cẽca tlatlaocultiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacaque, çan qujteixiniatcamaca in tamalli: qujmjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, etpa in qujntlamaca.

Auh aiac motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aqujn qujttaia motamalaixcuepaznoquj, in tlaittva, qujvivitequj, qujtatacapiexvitequj tolmecatica: in quexquijch omacoca nitochi qujcujlia, qujcencujlia in jtamal, inevian conmocavilia, inevian ẽmonenaotla.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, ichoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temaxeloxiuh, injc tetlan calaquj: çan njman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachto, cenca nemamaliva, cenca netotocholo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlacoton.

Auh in quexquijchtin impan tlacotonj, nechoqujlilo: qujtoaia,

quennel titotolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen tetlaihiiovilia motolinja in topilhoantzitzin.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaquale, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlalolo, vmpa motequj, vmpa onxoquivi, iuh qujnamopevilmatque, in manel qujnoaltoca, qujnvalhujtequj, in qujnvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh injc mochioaia y, çan jc tetlaoculiaia in tlatoanj, in qujntlaoculiaia in macoaltzintli: iehica ca

2. "Ces tamalli *tamaxu* faits avec . . . *tamalli, chaux; tamal, fruit; tamamali, fleur de maïs; yamamalli, copies de maïs, et tamalli, maïs. Les deux autres étaient composés, le premier avec le maïs appelé yamamalli, et le second avec des fleurs (tamali) sèches (amalia).* "Quetzalcoatl and Tlemilcan translation of Sahagún, p. 118, n. 2).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was o"ered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caropbyllus* mexicanus and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in qujmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmolocti, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc.

Ce tlacatl quijquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, ezcan in cacalaca: auh yn oncito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quicalnamijquj in tlenamacac, ixpan quijaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, quicacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic quijcalnamiquj, yuicpa quijcalchaiaoa.

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çanpan cinteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepozma:

njman ie ic tlacoti, quijquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlaxique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iollo, xoxouhquj xicalco quijcallalia: iehoi qujmati in machiceque casca in campa quijtlalia, in campa quijnequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in ocqjl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in ouhquijlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in xuchitl, in cempoalxuchitl, in jesuchitl.

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl nenoloia, çan inneixcauijl in cisa, yn jlamaxque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioc cioapiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan quijta oquijcheli, mopotonjaia, moxaoaia.

Iaquich tlacatl motamaluja momoztamalujaia: quijnelatlamanjliaia, in intevoan.

Auh in ueuequc, yoan in jlamaxque, çan inneixcauijl casca in tlacamaia: çan njmã aiac tlacamaia in telpochtli, in tlamacazqui, yn ichpuchtli.

Auh intla ace, tlatoc, vel iujuj ic pactoc, quauhcaloc tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenoneztaio in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço quijxaoatiaz nectitilo, neixpãtitilo: quijpantia intla ie yuemac: auh intlacamo ie yuemac,

11. See Plate 27.

And [the women] who carried [litters] were well and proudly bedight, all in new shirts and skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted and they were arrayed in feathers.

And when the time was favorable that [the victims] should die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they proceeded to leave them there at the [Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there and stretched them out upon the offering stone, then the officiating priests and the slayer came to take their places, and thereupon cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had suffered, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down. And thus they lowered them: they only went rolling them down [the steps], with great care turning them over and over.

And when they had come down with them, then they carried them to the skull rack. And when they had brought them there, then they cut off and severed their heads. There they inserted into their heads [the cross pieces of the rack].

And when they had severed the heads from the bodies, then they took [the bodies] to the tribal temples [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, [took place the ceremony] called "They are dismembered." Thereupon they dismembered the [figures made of] amaranth seed dough. And when [the bodies] were dismembered, then they took them up to the roof tops, there to dry in the sun—to dry stiff and hard. Little by little they kept taking some of it and eating it, and gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular mats which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the rafters of the tribal temples. For one year they cared for them; then they threw them down, scattered, in the Mist House. Only the paper vestments they [then] scattered; the circular mats they returned to their homes.

Here ended the feast which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlazapaloa, vel tzocencaua, iccan moquetza, mochi iancuiz, in intech quitlaliaia in incue, in ievipil, yoã mozaua, mopotonja. [796] [802]

Auh in otlinamdtic in ie iquac mijquijquc: njmã ie ic qcpieca in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, quimoncavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oquimonaxitique, mec quimõteca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequipanoque, in temictianj: njmã ie ic quimchetequj.

Auh in ontlacotique, in omc ;que, njmã ic quinonitzmovia: auh injc quinoalremovia, çan quinoalmjmjlõtivi, cenca çan qõmach, in quincuecuepõvitze.

Auh in oquimõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie tzompantitlan: auh in oquimonaxitique, njmã ic quinquechtequj, quinquechcotonja: vncã quimõçaqo in intzontecõ.

Auh in quimõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã in quivica in iocacalpolco: auh in imuztlaioc, in oealtlavic: in mjtzaia, Texinjlo, tezititinjlo: njmã ic ic quixitinja in tzoalli: auh in oqõjxititinjque, njmã ic tlapanco quitlecavia, vmpa oaquj, quauhvaquj, tepiocquj: achchi cencujtivi in quiqua, can iuh quitlamja. [778]

[264]

Auh in jmamatlaquj ocatca, quijquequentia in jiaoallo ocatca: auh in oquijquequõtique calquac conpilca, calpolco, çe xivitl quimatzuh, in quitlaçativi, in quiçepeuitivi, in vmpa aiauhcalco: çanjo in jmamatlaquj, conmpeua: auh in iaoalli quiçaliuquj. [289]

Nican themj in jlhujtl, in motenoua Tepeilhujtl.

house, going around the fireplace. Then they came out. Then in the lead were those carrying [the gifts] in their arms, quietly going to the tribal temple—the barbed ones following, coming after [the others].

And when they had come to the tribal temple, thereupon the barbed ones danced in the courtyard. And they placed the gifts in the tribal temple. And they placed aside the capes, the breech clouts, the skirts, the shifts. Then first came the hidden guests. [The owners] offered gifts to each of them. And the women stood apart, in line. They also offered gifts to them.

And this was the office of only the merchants, who barbed and purchased [the slaves].

And when those had been completely arrayed who had come together and been given gifts, then they took the victims [that] they might go into the sand.[8] When they reached the [pyramid] temple of the demon, then all climbed up to the temple. When they had come to the top, then they circled about the sacrificial stone, and climbed down [the other] side.

And when they had come down to the ground, when they had reached the earth, then all ran to their tribal temples. And some went slowly. When they entered [the tribal temples], then [the merchants] took from them their paper vestments, and then they were placed upon mats. They served food, or wine, to whoever might wish it. All night they had them keep vigil.

And when midnight arrived, then they ranged them in a row, and cut hair from the crowns of their heads. When they had cut the hair from their heads, then they put it away for themselves (as hath been told in [the account of] Quecholli).

And when this was done, then were eaten [*tamales* of a dough of] amaranth seed; all at the same time, everywhere in the houses of the common folk. None failed to eat the amaranth seed [*tamales*]. And no one broke the amaranth seed [*tamales*] with his hand; they sliced it with [a length of] maguey fiber. And when the amaranth seed [*tamales*] had been eaten, thereupon were taken up the straw mats; they rolled them up and set them, in order, outside the door. Thereupon they lay upon the earth, the cold ground, [on] old capes, or old pieces of maguey fiber cloth, of which they made couches for themselves.

And upon the morrow, when it was still a little dark, then [he who carried the figure of] Paynal

in tlanapaloa, vmpa tlamatiui in calpulco, ça tetocatiui in tlaaltilti, ça tlatzacutiui.

Auh in ouctto calpulco: njman ie ic mjetzia, in tlaaltilti, in jnaako: auh in teilauhcilli, quicalaquja in calpulco: no nonquzo quijtlalia in tilmatli, in mastlatl, in cueitl, in vipilli: mec ommoiacatia in tlaconotzalti, quioalmacatimanj, cuceniaca in innetlauhtil: auh in cioa, nonqua mocempanoa: no quinoalmacatimanj, in innetlauhtil:

auh inin çan mjecavia in pochteca, in tealtianj, in tecoanj.

Auh in ôtecencaoalec, in omomvetz, in ontetlauhtilec: njman ie ic quinvica in tlaaltilti, xalaquinque: in onacique tlacatecuilotl itenpan, mec tleco in teucaltiçpac, in vmpanvetzinto: mec quioalioaloa in techcatl, can ic oalmetztimanj, cenilapal.

Auh in otemoco tlalchi, in otlaltitech acico, mec oalmotlatlalaa in iscacalpulco: auh in cequjntin, çan jvian in istivi: in ocalaqujto, njmã ie ic quintlatlahlia in jmamatlaquj, mec motlalia in petlapã quinchiltia in tlaqualli, anoço vetli, in catle cõnequjnque, ceioal in quintoçavia.

Auh in oacic iocalnepantla: mec quintecpana, in quintoncuinque: in oquinmotzoncuinque, mec motlatlatilia. (in iuh omjto ipan quecholli).

Auh in ommochiuh y, mec tzoalquaio, cêvetzi in [264] ●
nevian macoalpan, niac in maca tzoalque: auh in tzoalli, niac imatica quinteoaia: ichtli injc quinotlaticate: auh in ontzoalquaioc, njmã ie ic motza in petlatl, quijlacatzoa, quijacac quinoalmamana: njmã ie ic notzoco, çan tlalpan, tlalitzticapan, çã tilmaçalli, anoço aiaçalli in ontzoaquepechtia, in ommopepechtia.

[513]

Auh in ohtavic çã oc achi tlathiuetzinc, njmã ie ic oalmmo in tecuitlaçpac in Paynal in jquac Vitzil-

8. Cf. p. 187, n. 7, supra.

X 796 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast which was named Uauhquiltamalqualiztli,[1] which was celebrated after the days of the month named above; and when [it was this feast], they celebrated it to honor him who was their god, whose name was Iztocçauhqui.**

Iscalli and the end of Iscalli are placed verily in the month of January, after eight days, when it was already the eighth day. By custom, it was upon the eighth day. When this [day came], *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. In all places they observed [the custom]; everywhere. Nowhere was this not done. In every house, in every village, two [*tamales*] were eaten, when it was the feast of the *tamales* stuffed with greens; all made *tamales* thus stuffed. And all offered [this] food, one to another. In this wise were they given; they were given among themselves—to their companions, to those whom they knew. They were offered not in ill will but in gladness.

[262]

Whoever first cooked her *tamales* stuffed with greens then went to offer it in her tribal temple, to her neighbor, to those who lived in nearby houses. And if her kin lived in distant parts, first she made an offering for them.

X 796 264

And when this was done, when she had offered it everywhere to others, then they [all] sat down to eat their *tamales* stuffed with greens. They were arranged in a circle; they brought—assembled and gathered together—their children, forming family groups.

And first they made an offering to the fire; they offered five *tamales* stuffed with greens before the hearth. These were in a wooden vessel. Then they each set in place and made an offering for their dead, where they lay buried.

And as they ate, they sat burning themselves, sweating with heat. Steam arose [from the *tamales*]. As they ate, they ate with relish, sucking upon it and gulping, sitting panting, and smearing it upon their lips.

X 796 282

And the [corn] husks [in which were wrapped] the *tamales* stuffed with greens [were laid] apart;

Inic cempoalli on caxxelli omei cuçiculo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, in motecuiaia: Ozuhquiltamalqualiztli, in muchiouia in ipan ic tlamatlacti in metztli in tlacpac onnjto: auh in jquac y, quilhujquiztiliaia, in inteouh catca, in jnoca Iztocçauhquj.

Iscalli, yoan Iscalli tlamj: inin vel ipan motlalia in metztli henero, ic iuh chicueilhujtl manj, ic ichicueilhujoc, ic iuh chicuecilhujtica: in jquac in, ozuhquiltamalli qualoia: novian quitzacutimica, ipanoca, acl cevia: in cecencalpan, yoan in cecemaltepetl ipan, vel onnetlamja in neozuhquiltamalhujlo, in neozuhquiltamaltilo: auh nepanotl nemacoia, nepanotl nemamacoia, ic netlatlamacoia, necepámacoia, nenetech macoia, necnjuhmacoia, neiximatcamacoia, amo netlavelmacoia, nepaccamacoi.

in aquin achto° oicucic iozuhquiltamal njman ic iauh quimacaz in jcalpo, in jcalecapo, in jcalnaoac tlacatl: yoan in vecapa ivaniolquj, achto contenaltiuia.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in onoviampa quitemamacac njmã metlalia in quiquazque, in inozuhquiltamal, moiaoalos, quiocemololos quinnechicos, quincentlalia quintecpichos in impilhoã inin cencaltia.

Auh achtopa centlamanjlia in tletl, tlecujlixquac cõmana in ozuhquiltamalli macujlterl, quauhcaxtica mantiuh, mollotiuh, çatepan cecentetl q'ntlatlaliliaia, quinmamanjlia in immjccacan, in vncã totocteque:

, njmã ic ic tlaqua, muchichinotoque, in jitonjoque, vel totoctlapeztic ipotoquizziuh in quiqua, in quipaccaqua tlatlahtequj, onttlaltectivi, nenecuhtoque, cococuhtoque:

auh in jnonio, ozuhquiltamalli, çan nõqua, cecnj quitlalinia, ailan cõtepeoaia: auh aiac vel quipalaoaia

1. Huauhquiltamalqualiztli—the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 12, n. 68. Much of the material in this chapter is discussed also in the previous one (Iscalli).

X 796 782 they might not become slothful was this done in the houses.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

[201 576] The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

[626] And thus was protested, thus was avouched one's word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, thus he said unto him:

"If what thou sayest is true, do thou kiss the earth."

Whosoever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

X 796 782 264 And thus was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first cast [before], indeed, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

X 796 782 273 Thus was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when thus it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

qujmjxitiaia injc amo tlazivizcojaque techan in muchioaia yn.

Copaltemalistli.

Auh in copaltemalistli ic muchioaia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ic mjtoz, aço tecutlatolli ic mitoz, achto contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in aquja ic tlatoz, çan vncan manca in copalli xicaltica: anoço cujcanj in ic cujcaz; ic peoaz, achto contema in copalli in tlequauco, njmian ic peoa in cujcanj.

Tlalqualistli.

In tlalqualistli ic muchioaia, iquac in campa oalhujlooaia, muchi tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imapil, aço ipan diablo, anoço tlecujlixquac:

yoan ic tlaneltililoia, ic neltia in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca neltocoia tlatolli: ic teilhujloia

intla nelli in tiqujtoa, tlaxontlalqua:
ic njman tlalquaia in aquja, ic qujnehtiliaia itlatol.

Tlatlaçalistli.

Auh inic muchioaia tlatlacalistli, iquac in tlein qualoz yn aiamo qualo, aço tlaqualli, achropa achiton tepitõ mocotonaia, tlecujlixquac onmotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc njman ic peoa inic tlaqualoz: aiac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlatlaçaloia, in tlecujlixquac.

Tlatoiaoalistli.

Inic muchioaia tlatoiaoalistli, iquac in mmanaloia, aço vitziecoloia: iquac in aca iancujcan qujtlalia vctli, yn iquac oqujtlapiuj, iquac ic tenotzaia, qujoalmana apaxtica tlecujlixquac, yoan tetlaoancxxtepiton.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Raw with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chia,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chia,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chia, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chia, covered with small chilis.

toçanatolli, tamaqui atolli, mijec tlamanti, nequatolli, chilcopanatolli, chilcauio, quauhcacatolli tlamincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mijhoatl iamaqui chicoatolli, ouuhatolli izquijo, mjchiocoatolli necuio, iztac atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, aneço chilocpinpanj, iztac chiantolli chilocpanj, chiaqpitzauac atolli, aiohoachpanj chilio, tlaçiocurpalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chiantic chilocpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

in jaqujch tlamanti, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalquijca tlatoanj.

Auh in momoztlac, ice tlacatl calpixqui quijtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonqui tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamanti in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jaqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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[644]
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Auh in jquac in oclaqua tlatoanj, njman ic motexcloa, in jaqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in ahtepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jaqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatiltanti, in moiautitlâque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, tetpuchtlatoque tenpixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quetzaqujtlamanti, ixtolos, iiahachhoan, tetlauetzquijxique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapixque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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[643]
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Niman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaouah, xocoahqui cacaçiatli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xocoahqui tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vixtecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, iztac cacaoatl

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes: Simeón, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 69b: "Son onde ajiotes mahamaxtlan, es decir, de tomates."
21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 241: "Chia verzuela. Salvia gigi" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 66b: *Salvia polyantha* Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 218: *Salvia hispanica* L.sm.
22. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69b: *Capsicum microcarpum* Dn.—"De Méjico, chile redondo, menor del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante." In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 69b, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., var. *baccatum* L.: "del tamaño de las mazapanes, a las que parece tener en la pequeñez y en el color."
23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 241: "*Salvia hispánica*. L. *Salbiá*"; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69b: *Salvia chian*, *S. hispánica* L.
24. The Spanish use his brothers, which would require *mitlapan*.
25. Tilter and tlaxcar are as they appear in the Codex; *chilter* and *laxcar* are probably meant.

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●264
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The chocolate was served in a painted gourd vessel, with a stopper also painted with a design, and [having] a beater; or in a painted gourd, smoky [in color], from neighboring lands, with a gourd stopper, and a jar rest of ocelot skin or of cured leather. In a small net were kept the earthen jars, the strainer with which was purified the chocolate, a large, earthen jar for making the chocolate, a large painted gourd vessel in which the hands were washed, richly designed drinking vessels; [there were] large food baskets, sauce dishes, polished dishes, and wooden dishes.

injc motecaia cacaoatl, teomtlacujlolli, atzaccaiotl tlàcujlolli, aquauitl aiotectli tlacujlolli, poctecomatl anaoacaiotl, atzaccaiotl aiotectli, xiacalli oçtlomatl, cuetlaxxiaoalli, chitatli in vncan mapin tecomatl, atzetzeloaztli, injc moiectia cacaoatl, vevei tecomatl achioalonj, vevej tlacujlolxicalli injc nemaxequijlo, tzuhoacalli tlaioalonj, tlaqualchiquijuitl, molcaxitl, petzcaxitl, qquahcaxitl.

buildings of the temple [pyramid];[6] like black ants they tumbled down. And the Spaniards[7] hurled indeed all of them from the temple [pyramid]; none then escaped. And when they had come from dealing death, thereupon [the Spaniards] entered [the palace] and quickly barricaded themselves.

And this happened during the hour of eating.

And when this had come to pass, then it was made known to the people, and [the dead] were taken forth; and when all who had been cast from the temple [pyramid] had been taken out, then all were burned at the various young men's houses.[8]

nakes vel mochintin quiqueucalhuiqque in jaxujchtin 726
tlecoca in tiiacaxen, vel mochintl moteucalhuiqque,
njman aocac maquix. Auh in ontemjctico, njman ie
ic callacij valmotzatzacutivetzque.

Auh inin muchiuh ie tlaqualizpan: 264
auh in ie iuhquj njmá ie ic teixinmacho, teçaçaco: 764
auh in ie muchintin oçacoque in moteucalhujij,
njmá ie ic tetlatiko in tetelpuchcali.

6. See M. 63.

7. The date is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y luego de aber dado [illegible] a hacer y matar a los que estaban arriba, y muchos dellos se despeñaron por el cimaçio, finalmente todos murieron los que estaban subidos al templo, y los españoles se fueron y barricaronse muy bien. Esto mesmo sucedió entonces a los que allí murieron porque todo era gente principal y de mucha calidad en la guerra."

[p. 62 is blank]

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this
[374] way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
[352] worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

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dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate standing up with much reverence and without looking at his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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constant guard over him." Montezuma heard the expression, and weighed it in his mind, and when Cortés came to pay his court to him, he heard of it, and was so angry about it, that he had Pedro López, good soldier as he was, flogged in our quarters, and from that time on all the soldiers who came on guard, went through their watch in silence and good manners. However it was not necessary to give orders to many of us who stood guard over him about the civility that we ought to show to this great cacique; he knew each one of us and even knew our names and our characters and he was so kind that to all of us he gave jewels and to some mantles, and handsome Indian women. As I was a young man in those days, whenever I was on guard, or passed in front of him, I doffed my headpiece with the greatest respect, and the page Orteguilla had told him that I had been on two expeditions to discover New Spain before the time of Cortés, so I asked Orteguilla to beg Montezuma to do me the favour of giving me a very pretty Indian woman, and when Montezuma heard this he told them to call me, and he said to me: "Bernal Díaz del Castillo, they tell me that you have quantities of cloth and gold, and I will order them to give you to-day a pretty maid. Treat her very well for she is the daughter of a chieftain, and they will also give you gold and mantles," and I answered him with much reverence, that I kissed his hands for his great favour, and might God our Lord prosper him, and it seems that he asked the page what I had replied to him, and he told him; and Montezuma said to him, "Bernal Díaz seems to me to be a gentleman," for as I have said, he knew all our names, and he told them to give me three small slabs of gold and two loads of mantles.

Let us stop talking of this and tell how of a morning after saying his prayers and making sacrifices to his idols, he took his breakfast, which was a small matter, for he ate

[Sig. Montezuma. — Analysis]

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512 [264] no meat, only chili peppers,[1] then he was occupied for an hour in hearing suits from many parts brought by Caciques who came to him from distant lands. I have already stated in the chapter that tells about it, the manner in which they came in to do their business and the reverence that they showed to Montezuma, and that at such times he always [693] had in his company twenty elderly men who were his judges to decide cases, and as this has been already noted I will not repeat it. It was then that we found out that from among the many women whom he had as his mistresses, he gave wives to his Captains and to very favourite chieftains, and he even gave some of them to our soldiers, and the one he gave to me was a lady from among them, and her bearing clearly showed it, and she was called Doña Francisca. So Montezuma passed his life, sometimes laughing and sometimes thinking about his imprisonment.

I wish to state here, although it has nothing to do with our story, as some inquisitive persons have asked me just why the soldier mentioned by me, who called Montezuma a dog, and even that not in his presence, was flogged by order of Cortés, (there being so few of us soldiers), so that the Indians should hear about it. I say so [again], that at that time all of us and even Cortés himself, when we appeared before the great Montezuma, paid respect to him by always doffing our headpieces and besides being King of New Spain, his person and his rank entitled him to it, and he was so kind and well mannered that he did honour to us all. In addition to all this, one may well remember that our lives were at stake, and at a word to his vassals, they would have removed him from his prison and made war on us. Observing his bearing and royal generosity, and seeing that he always had with him

[1] Ají.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

871 These houses of education were under the
868 special direction of experienced men, called therefore "Speakers
875 of the Youth" ("telpuchtlatoca") and "elder brothers" ("teachcanhtin,") in another capacity. They had not only to provide for the physical training of their pupils, but also for their intellectual development, as far as the state of knowledge permitted.[99] Such places of training were called also "the place where I grow" ("nezcaltiloyan"), or "the place where I learn" ("nemachtiloyan.")[100] It is not true that the youth were constrained
871
868 to a permanent, almost monastic residence in such houses; but while there they improved in common certain special plots of land, in all likelihood the so-called "temple-tracts," out of which the daily wants of worship were supplied.[101] In connection with this mode of education, we have to consider here an objection which cannot fail to be raised against our views.

565 It is frequently given out as a fact, that besides the "Houses
871 of the Youth" mentioned, there was a *special* place of education for the children of "*noblemen*" and this is adduced as a proof of

mada (Lib. IX, cap. XII, pp. 185 and 186; Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, XXIX and XXX) and others.

[99] "*Art of War*" (pp. 101, 119 and 120). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125): "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada barrio, habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir, guarda ó capitan de los mancebos." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 185): "y tenian un Rector, que los regia, y governaba, que se llamaba Telpochtlato, que quiere decir, Guarda, ó Caudillo de los Mancebos, el qual Telpochtlato tenia gran cuidado de doctrinarlos, y enseñarles, en buenas costumbres." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 289): "y si era ya hombre valiente y diestro, elegianle para regir á todos los mancebos, y para castigarlos, y entonces se llamba Telpuchtlato." (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301): "Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatoa, . . ." (Cap. XVII, p. 305): "en este lugar se juntaban los maestros de los mancebos que se llamaban tiachcaoan, y telpuchtlatoques . . ." (Also Cap. XXXVIII, p. 331). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, cap. VI, p. 451): "y un rector que llamaban Telpochtlato, el que habia y gobierna á los mancebos." *Codex Mendoza* (Vol. I of Kingsborough plates 62 and 63).

Sahagun usually calls the "achcauhtli," "alguaziles," or executors of justice. But above we see that he calls the "tiachcaoan," also "masters of the youth." Both names are corruptions of "teachcauhtlin." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60) calls the "Achcacauhtin, mayorales de armas y de doctrina y de ejemplo." (Cap. LVII, p. 95): "Tras ellos vinieron los que llaman Achcauhtin, señores de los varrios, y maestros de mancebos." (Cap. LXXI, p. 121): "mayorales y ministros, y los hicieron juntar como escuelas en cada un varrio que llamaban telpochcalli." (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 134): "Los mancebos iban cada dia á los varrios al egercicio de las armas á la escuela de armas telpochcalco, adonde los enseñaban con valerosos ánimos, y las maneras de combatir." Finally *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 492) refers also to the 53d picture of the Mendoza Codex, representing a boy of fifteen years, who is turned over to an "achcauhtli, or officer," to be instructed in the art of war.

[100] *Molina* (*Vocabularia* II, pp. 66 and 73). *P. Ignacio de Paredes* ("*Doctrina Breve sacada del Catecismo Mexicano*," Reprint of 1800).

[101] *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 289) says that, whereas they slept at home, that is, at the "house of youth," they ate with their families ("aunque comian en sus casas propias").

Sixth Chapter, which telleth of drinking.[5]

As to drinking, there, also was a delusion of the ancients, somewhat like the account of stepping over one.

And in this wise was the account of it: when, perchance, one drank; if one yet a small child drank first, and afterwards one drank who was a little older, already grown, then [the elder] restrained and took the water from the small child. He said to him: "Why dost thou wish to drink first? Thou wilt not grow large, but remain small. Now let thy elder brother drink, for he is already bigger."[6]

Injc chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in atliliztli. 271

In jtechpa atliliztli: no vncatca innezcalaqaviliz in 856
vevenque: çan ie achi no ishquj in jtlatlatollo in tecuenchollhujliztli.

Auh ivin in, ca itlatlatollo: in jquac tla ie atli, in tle ie achto atli oc pilhontli: auh intla çatepan atli in ie achi tachcauh, in ie quauhtic: njman qujtlacaoaltia, qujcujlia in atl in pilhontli, qujlhuja: tle ipampa in achto tatlixnequj, amo tiquauhtiez, çan ye tixqujchtontiez: ma oc ie tonj in motiachcauh, achic ca ie quauhtic.

Seventh Chapter, which telleth of him who dipped into the cooking pot.

Of this there was also a delusion of the natives, known especially of the men. And in this wise was it known: when, perhaps, men ate, and one only dipped into the cooking pot — not into a sauce dish — then also the mothers and fathers restrained him. They said to him: "Do not dip into the cooking pot; there [in war] thou wilt leave thy captives. If thou goest to war, none wilt thou seize; no one will become thy captive."

Injc chiconce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in aqujn xocco ontlapalco. 264 ●

In jtechpa in: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: oc cenca intechpa mocaquj in toqujchtin. Auh ivin in mocaquj: in jquac intla tlaqua toqujchti: auh çan xocco, in ontlapalotica, amo molcaxic: njman no qujtlacaoaltia in tenanoan, in tetaoan, qujlhvia: macamo xocco xontlatlapalo, vncan tiqujmoocaoa in momalhoan: intla tiaz iavc, aiac ticaciz, aiac momal machioaz. 726

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of tamales stuck [to the cooking pot].

Concerning tamales stuck [to the cooking pot] as another deception of the natives, it was said that the men and women would not eat them. It was stated that if the men were to eat them, when they would shoot arrows in warfare, the arrow which was shot would not find its mark. Or perchance therefore they might die, or one's wife would with difficulty bear children.

And just so was it as to a woman. If she were to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot], she could not bear children. Her child would only adhere to and thus die in her womb. Therefore the mothers sternly forbade them to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot].

Injc chiouce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jxqujuhquj tamalli. 264

In jtechpa in jxqujuhquj tamalli: oc no centlamantli innezcalaqaviliz in njcan tlaca, qujlmach amo vel qujquazque, in oqujchtin, ioan cioa: qujlmach intla qujquazque toqujchti, amo axcan in qujçaz mjtl, injc qujmjnazque iauc: auh anoçe ic mjqujz, yoan niaxcan tlacachioaz in jnamic.

Auh çan ie no yuhquj in jtechpa cioatl: intla qujquaz ixqujuhquj tamalli, amo vellacachioaz: çan iech ixqujviz in jconeuh, ic mjqujz in ijti: ipampa cenca qujtecaoaltiaia in tenanoan, injc amo moquaz, in jxqujuhquj tamalli.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*quien dende, hacer el menester, como del mesquer.*"

6. Ibid.: "*el hombre dos hermanos. El el menester hacia quienes, dandole: el mesquer, no hacer quienes, que por: porque el hacer quienes, no encontrar: mas quedarse de, menos como esquen.*" See also Garibay, op. cit., p. 92n: "*dicho, se subentiende, esto que se menciona . . . que se diferencia entre esta persona, o cosa, y otra.*"

252 it over." Or if, perchance, her husband had gone somewhere distant, she said: "Now he cometh, for he hath kicked over my tortilla."

napa veca oya, qujtoaia: ca ye hujtz, ca qujoaltilioçac yn notlaxcal.

861 **Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of small children who licked the surface of the grinding stone.**

Injc caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn pipiltotonti quixpaloa metlatl.

When small children licked the surface of the grinding stone, the mothers chid and scolded their young ones for it, and restrained them from it, saying to them: "Do not lick the grinding stone; your teeth will thus quickly break and fall out." Because of this, they filled their small children with great fear, so that this would not befall them.

In jquac pipiltotonti quixpapaloa metlatl: yc teaoaia, yc qujmaoaia, yc qujntlacaoaltiaia in tenanoan yn jnpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo xicpapalocan in metlatl, yc icuihca cocotoniz, yciuhca veveniz in amotlan. Içampa yn, cenca qujmjmacaxiltiaia in pipiltotonti: injc amo iuh ynpan mochiouz.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of him who leaned against a square pillar.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn aquja itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli.

When they saw one who leaned against a square pillar, there also was folly of the natives;[15] they chid him for it, and restrained him from doing so; they prevented their children from doing it. They said to them: "Do not lean against the pillar; it is a liar." Thus did they speak: "It giveth one lies; it is like unto one who lieth." [With] this, they terrified the children lest such might befall them and they tell lies.

In jquac aca qujttaia, in itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tla: yc teaoaia, ic tetlacaoaltiaia, ic qujntlacaoaltiaia in ynpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ytech ximotlaxtica in tlaquetzalli, yhjztlacati: iuh qujtoaia: ca ichoatl qujtemaca in jztlacatiliztli, itech qujcuj: in aquja ihiztlacati. Injn, cenca qujmjmacaxiltiaia in tepilhoan: injc amo iuh ipnan mochiouz, ynjc amo yhiztlacatizque.

861 ●264 **Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the maidens who are standing.**

Injc caxtolli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn jchpopuchti in çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua.

In times past, when the natives saw their maidens eat standing, they also restrained them from it. They prevented their children from doing so. They said to them: "Eat not while thou art standing. Thou wilt marry far from here.—Who will follow thee?" It was said that it would befall one that she would marry in a distant place; she would be taken somewhere far away, not in her own city where she lived.

In ic vecauh in njcan tlaca: in jquac in qujmjttaia in jmjchpuchoan ỹ çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua: no yc tetlacaoaltiaia, ic qujntlacaoaltiaia in jnpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ximoquetztica in titlaqua, veca timocchotiz, ac mjtzicxitocaz: quilmach ichoatl ipan mochiouia, in veca moqujchvatia, in cana veca vico: in amo yaltepeuh ipan nemj.

846 753 **Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth how maize cobs were burned.**

Injc caxtolli omey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in quenjn motlatia elotl.

When one had just given birth to a child, she who, residing there, had given birth should not then burn maize cobs. It was said that if there [maize cobs]

In jquac aca mjxivia, avel vncan qujtlatiaia in elotl: in vncan onoc mjxinhquj, qujl intla vncati tlatlaz: yc ichchichiniuja in piltontli. Auh intla ça

15. In njcan tlaz: read tlaz.

843 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue bump. Or [he might
752 catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh inje neci nicmana, yeujhqua ca, inhqujo poxonoti, inhqujo tenoic: anoço cuetzpalicivitiuh. Injc neci cuetzpalicivi pilnoti: cuecueui in choca, yuan yquzaiko, yoiocac motlelelia necuecueui, ololtotoni, melacatoni. Auh injc peti: quiyamala, quiquijxtia iá nacatoni.

843 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child
821 had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or she will be hamstrung!"

Ioan in ozti: in jquac ximmo vel thcuil motlalia in jcocoxh, quiztlacaoltiaia, in jquac calmomana metztli: injc amo conacquittazque, quimjlhujaia: macamo xocuijttacan in metztli, mijxjqui, anoço tenquiviz in amococoxh.

825 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's
777 hand.

Injc ompoualli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in oçomatli ymacpal.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly
941 monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In oçomatli imacpal: in puchteca ennca quitemoaia, quimiopaltiaia: in jquac in campa tiamjquia, in tlanamacaia: vncan quijtocaia, quijmach ic icuhca aquj, icuhca muchi coalo in tlein quijnamaca: quijl ichoatl iuh quichiua in oçomatli yma: ynjc motlapoloaia.

777 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere
264 was disposed of that which they sold, when no one
824 bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoantin in tilmanamacaque: in jquac acan aquj in quhnamaca, in aiac quicua: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueid, anoço vipilli, quijmach: quichilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc quichioaia: in jquac oalvia inchan, quitoaia: acan oac in totiamjc: ma xoconchilquaqualticua: njmaa ic ijtic contema, aço vmc, anoço Ey in chilli: quijmach ic aquja, injc iuh quichioaia in, ic quitoa: quichilquaqualtia.

777 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle
525 and the griddle.

Injc ompoualli oce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tenolotl, yuan comalli.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his home, and hung the pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aquja patoaia, in jchan, in jtenolouh, ioan in jcomalli, ioan in jmetl: ixtlapach quijnamaia: auh in tenolotl cana xonoloa quipilloaia: quijmach: ic amo quijtlaniaque in chane, çan ic thelaniz.

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22. Corresponding Spanish text: "una enfermedad, que llaman encanpalicivitiuh, a ora inhcuillos en las ingles." Wim van Coolen Rios (El manuscrito mexicano Kanasmi 3770 dentro 2 Codice Ríos [Bonn: Bonn Universitätsverlag, 1989], p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to patolli, which is an error.

753 264

Thirty-second Chapter, which telleth of green stalks of maize.

Of green stalks of maize, it was said that no one should chew them at night. One who chewed them at night, it was said, would thereby have toothache.[33] Whosoever had toothache had done this: he had chewed green stalks of maize at night. But if one were to chew a little, first he heated it in the fire. It was said that in this way nothing would befall him.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ocotl —

In ichoatl ocotl: quijmach xiac vel iocultica quijquaquaz: in aquin iocultica quijquaquaz, quijmach ic tlanqualoz: ichoatl iuh quichica in aquin tlanqualo: in iocultica equijquaqua ocotl. Auh intlaca quijquaquaz tepitzon: achtopa quijtotonja tleco, quijl ic amo iuh ipan muchioaz.

787

Thirty-third Chapter, which telleth of creaking roof beams.

When during the day, or at night, the roof beams creaked, like the snapping of sticks, or, indeed, the roof beam itself broke, they said and it was thought that it indicated that perhaps the householder would die; or he would be sick, or else his children and kin living there in his house.

Injc cempoalli ommatlacomey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in calquavitl nanatzca.

In jquac oemjlhujtl, anoço iocultica in tlatlatzca, in juhquj popoztequj: anoce vel pontequj in calquavitl, quitoaia: quj ichoatl quinezcaltia in aço ic mjqujz in chane, anoce ic mococoa, anoce ypilhoan, anoce yoajulque in vel vncā nemj ichan.

Thirty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of grinding stones.

The grinding stone was an omen of evil to the natives, when someone was grinding there, and it broke. Thus it appeared, it was said, that she who ground would die; or else the householder, or[34] their children, or some of their household would die.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in metlatl.

In ichoatl metlatl, quinotetzaujaia in ajcan tlaca: in jquac aca yncan tzotzc in oalpoztequj: ic necia: quijlmach ic mjqujz in oecia, anoce ichoatl in chane, anoco ipilhoan, anoce ceme mjqujaque in jnchantlaca.

372

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of drilling a new fire in the house.

When someone made himself a house, when he drilled a new fire for it, he assembled all the old men, and before them he drew the new fire. If quickly he made a fire — if it did not take long — they said and it was believed that the householder who had erected the house would rejoice and be content. But if with difficulty the fire fell, it was said that thus the old men saw that the householder would not be happy and content.

[787]

Injc cempoalli on cuatolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn calmamaliztli.

In jquac aquin mocaltiaia: in jquac calmamali, muchintin quijontlalia in vevetque, imjxpan in tlequauhtlaçaia. Intla icuihca quijtlaça, in amo vecauhtica, quitoa: quijlmach mopaquijtiniez, yellamatiez in chane: in omocaltj. Auh intlacaiazcan vezi in tletl, quijlmach ic quitaia in vevetque: amo pactiez, amo yellamatiez in chane.

33. Cf. Molina, op. cit.: "tener ragadias, o grietas en los dientes y muelas."

34. Alternate: The metlatlo is omitted in the MS.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Cere-
[266] monial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood
[785 was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did hor-
304] rible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

212 The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice
782 and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

793 The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling
212 acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth
[871] in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 61

AZTEC RITUAL

TOP: *Left:* Dressing a victim and equipping him with the proper headdress, shield and magical mirror to play the part of Tezcatlipoca. *Right:* Sacrifice of the victim after a year. Note the flutes discarded by him as he ascended the stair. MIDDLE: *Left:* Dressing a priest in the costume of Xipe, the Flayed God, who wears a human skin. *Right:* Musicians with rattle and skin-covered drum, *huehuetl*. BOTTOM: *Right:* Ceremonial cannibalism. The Codex Florentino artist had obviously never taken part in such a feast, fairly common before the Conquest.

[p. 208(A)]

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"And [they brought] vessels, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[106] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[107] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commenced in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[108] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yacatecuti.

In the tribal temple[109] they set it upright. They offered it an offering fire, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[110] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yacatecuti; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomquiauitl, or Chalmecacicuel, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzinac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yacatecuti, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in potzomatl, in aiauctli, in aquauitl, ye ximocuiui:

intlaxel iuxtilan, in tlaxcuj, in tlacuxica, ocelan omomj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in xochichicalistica, in xexistica, in tlaxolica qujxolochcalhuja in chamaqua.

Auh inela ocimaqomalitiqua, inela ximaqua: vncan qujqpoinhjctia, qujxchillotilia: qo aca, aqo ca, aqo vme ya, iic ni temetitlanqa quja, inhuatl qujxolomocuaia in motecuçoma:

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçomaltemuh, ye qujmavistiria, ic qujmacaiotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oqujchtia.

Auh ye jquac oalacia, yeohan: ve jmilloh, yemocuepal oqujchiuhque, ye oxlalmechaxico, ye oxlalmelapachiuhque: inqujch tlacatl qujpoxua, in pochtecatl: yeon in tlamaqua, ic motenitiuia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, ximoa qujmavistiliuia ye inapil, ye jtlaccaia yiacatecutli:

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, ye jquac tetlaqualtia: yeon inelaca nel motecomotza, qujtlamanjlia in qan machiqa ye jtlaquaia.

Auh inela aca tealtia, inhuatl caltiaia, qujxoxoia in jmoch yiacatecutli: amoqo cenca ichoxotin ye machoxoia, in qujmomotitiaia in chicomquiauitl, amoqo chalmecacicuel, yeon acxomocuijl, yeon nacxitl, cochimetl, incapitzinac, aiac qujincuja, yiellotlama, ye aqo ca, amoqo vme, ca ellic tlacatl:

vnpa concovaia ye tlacatecujloca ancapotzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecuepa, qujmjhiza, ye qualtin qujxoxoaqua, ye acan quimanjqua, in tlacatecti, in tlacomelaxoqua, ye acan cacaqua, ye aiic intlaciuh ca:

yejc ichoan qujmictiqua, ye ipan panquetzaliztli: ye vncan ilhuiquitilia vitzilohochtli:

yquac qujnchichiqaia, qujxchomaxoca, intech qujtlalia ye juhquj yaochichiuhl yiacatecutli.

Auh ye ximoo qujmanjtia, achtopa qujxoxoitiuia: mjtoa qujmjxoxoia, ic qujmomachiua in tlaliqua:

104. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 57): Yxcuahchqui "*proporcionaba vestimentas parecidas, que tenia enemigo, á hablidad, para mejor guarecerse, ó engañar, y lo sabia, y supia (que es propio condicion de Mercaderes) . . .*"

105. Cf. Sahagún (Bierige Español, p. 22) citing *Hist. Rerum. Coth. Mex.* B. II §§1.

106. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se tenian tenencias de paz, cuentanos vendiendo cuando and hacia.*

107. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "*iglesia del barrio, ó parroquia*" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the ceremony in this manner: "*Estas dichas que mataban a estos cautivos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they worshiped Huitzilopochtli and a stick of Yacatecuti. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cuetlaxcoa and Yacapitzinac as synonyms for Yacatecuti, "Chicomquiauitl or Chalmecacicuel is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuiltiz, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

*Actually a palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In Webster's Dictionary, the Portuguese palmo is 9.64 in.; in the Encyclopædia Britannica (14th ed.), the Spanish palmo is 0.229 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal notation: Cerbatos canas pues.
2. Marginal notation: Mueuan hasta dar asaz.
3. Marginal notation: hombre arcabiß et cuel.

"Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeualiztli

1 d KL. Tlacaxipeualiztli d 22[3]
2 e A los captiuos que matauan: arran- e 23
3 f cauãlos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y f 24
4 g guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como g 25
5 A por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul A 26
6 b delante del fuego. b 27
7 c Quando lleuauan los señores de los c 28
8 d catiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde d 1[3]
9 e los aujan de matar, lleuauanlos por e 2
10 f los cabellos: y quando los subian, por f 3
11 g las gradas del cu, algunos de los cap- g 4
12 A tiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los A 5
13 b subian arrastrando por los cabellos, b 6
14 c hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir. c 7
15 d Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna d 8
16 e piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco e 9
17 f mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos f 10
18 g sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos g 11
19 A cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por A 12
20 b los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja b 13[3]
luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara.

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer.

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After they had slain them and torn out their hearts, they took them away gently, rolling them down the steps. When they had reached the bottom, they cut off their heads and inserted a rod through them, and they carried the bodies to the houses which they called *calpulli*, where they divided them up in order to eat them. The papers with which they arrayed the images of the mountains, after they had broken them to pieces in order to eat them, they hung in the tribal temple. Many other ceremonies were performed in this feast, which are set down at length in its account.

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Despues que las oujeron muerto, y sacados los coraçones: lleuauanlas passito rodando por las gradas abaxo: llegadas abaxo cortauanlas las cabeças, y espetauanlas en vn palo, y los cuerpos lleuauanlos a las casas que llamauan Calpul: donde los repartian para comer: los papeles con que adereçauan las ymagenes de los montes despues de averlas desbaratado para comer, colgauanlos en el Calpul. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, que estan a la larga puestas en su historia.

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[8]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[9] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[9] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oqujcheoztiuh, moqujchitoztiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmocxatzilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlateniotitiuh, qujiauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo qujmattiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annechonjtozque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn oaxitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquacencaujaia, qujmaquetztiteca, qujmelitequj, yca izquaoac, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnochtli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in iehoantin injquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Coauhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjloa, qujnoaltetecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maõotzincueptiujtze, motzotzoniquetztiujtze, mocuecueptiujtze, ynic oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in vevetzitzin quaquacujlti, calpulvevetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonctolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynic qujquazque: vmpa qujxexeloa, qujtetequj, qujxueloa: oc ie achto qujtonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujqujlia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan quj-

6. In *op. cit.*, p. 63, Seler specifies a "*dicker breiter Feuersteinmesser.*" Simeon (*op. cit.*) defines *itzpanaxi* as "*Cuchillo para los sacrificios humanos, hecho como de dos en de l'cabalbrear. . . .*" Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Mexico: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 48, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as "*un navajon como hueso de buey, no muchos agudo porque . . . no se puede hacer muy agudo. . . .*"

7. *Quauhtemoqui*: probably *quauhtlemoqui* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtlemoal*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers as meaning the sun.

8. Seler consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *Adlerschale* (cf. *Einige Kapitel*, p. 64). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 155, he breaks the word down into *quauhtl* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauh* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, on his commonly close labor, uses the term *xicara de madera*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 18 *v.*, Sahagún writes: "*Despues mandaba los compañeros, los llamaban quauhtemoqui*." In *loc. cit.*, Seler translates *quauhtemoqui* as "the one from the eagle-land," the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, as the sun's image and representative (p. 157).

10. *Apetlac* (cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Seler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, caps. 29 and 33.

X 796 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who
● 266 had taken the captive.

[262] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

[340] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him, as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototecti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn joaniolque qujntlalhuja, qujcentlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa qujntotonaltia cecen molcaxitl in tlaolpaoxtli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan ieietiuh cecen tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl ipampa iuhqujn ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miquitiuh, qujntlaoztiuh, ic qujchôquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jioatzinioc, inic oallatuiz qujntoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceioual, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamalti, in oaoanti:

in qujnoaoanazqûe, oc no cepa qujntzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

'ic mitoaia onacoqujxtilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa itztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, qujtoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in qujtzoncuja, qujmopialtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oqujmomaceuj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

vnjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhqujnma ic contleiocujliaic malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauitl eua.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototecti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan qujnoalmana, qujnoalquetza, qujnoaltzittitia:

11. See p. 44, Seler, *in op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural ceremonies of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making it fruitful was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'stretching' ceremonial."
12. See note 9; also Seler (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 65.
13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: "*pusieron todos arriadas, sobre unas hojas de heno, o de tipal, o grada ensuelo allí estaban.*"

X 796 no more could he use his hands; no longer defend himself; no longer make himself do anything. No longer did he move; he did not speak. Then, faltering and fainting, he fell upon the surface, tumbling as if dead. He wished that he might stop breathing, that he might suffer [no longer], that he might perish, that he might cast off his burden of death.

And thereupon they quickly took and seized him, pushed him, and dragged him, and raised and stretched him out upon the edge of the round sacrificial stone.

And then, when the Youallauan went [forth], in the guise of Totec, he gashed [the captive's] breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun; and the priests placed it in the eagle vessel. And [413] another man, a priest, carried the [hollow] eagle cane[21] and set it in the breast of the captive, there where the heart had been; he stained it with blood; he submerged it well into the blood. Thereupon he offered [the blood] to the sun. It was said: "Thus he giveth [the sun] to drink."

[415] And the captor thereupon took the blood of his captive into a green bowl with a feathered rim. The sacrificing priests came to pour it there. In it went the hollow cane, which also had feathers. And then the captor departed with it so that he might nourish the demons. He went into and came out of all [shrines]; he omitted none; he forgot not the priests' dwellings in the tribal temples. On the lips of the stone images he placed the blood of his captive, giving them nourishment with the hollow cane. He went in festive attire.[22]

X 796 ● 266 And when he had gone to and reached all the places, then he took the insignia to the palace, and he caused his captive to be taken to the tribal quarters, where they had passed the night in vigil; here he flayed him. Afterwards he had [the flayed body] taken to his house, where they cut it up, that it might be eaten and shared, and, as was said, to bestow as a favor to others.[23] It hath been told elsewhere how this was done.

And the captor might not eat the flesh of his captive. He said: "Shall I, then, eat my own flesh?" For when he took [the captive], he had said: "He is as my beloved son." And the captive had said:

aoctle conmochichioaltia, aocmo oalmocuetzoa, aocmo oalnaoati, çan njman iolmjqui, çotlaoa, chapantiuetzi, momiccatlaça: qujnequj, macuelieh yhiiotl onqujça, macuelieh conjhiiouj, macuelieh ompoliuj, macuelieh conmotlaxili, yn jmjquiztequjuh.

Auh niman ic qujcuitiuetzi, cã antiquiça, ca quetztimaiauj, cã quetztiteca, itenco in temalacatl:

auh njman iquac oiauh yn Iooallaoan, totec ipan quiztiuitz coneltetequj, conanjlia yn iiollo, conjaujlia in tonatiuh, quauhxicalco contlalia in tlamacazque: yoan oc no ce tlacatl tlamacazquj, conitqui, quappiaztli, ielpan contilquetza yn malli, yn vncan ocatca yiollo, conezçotia, vel eztitlan conpolactia: njman no ic conjaujlia in tonatiuh, mitoa, ic catlitia.

Auh yn tlamanj njman ic conquj yn iezço ymal, xoxoujc xicalli, tlatenpotonilli, vncan qujoaltequjlia, in tlamictique, ipan icatiuh piaztli no tlapotonilli. Auh njman ic vncã eoa in qujntlatlaqualia diablome, noujian nemj, izqujcan qujça acan qujmocauja, acan qujxcaoa in calmecac, calpulco: in, teme teixiptlaoan, intenco qujmontlatlalilia yn jezço malli, piaztica qujmonpaloltitiuh, tlaujcetinemj.

Auh yn onoviiampaneh, yn onoujampa aacito, njman concaoa in tlauiztli tecpa: auh yn jmal vncan qujoalujqujlia in calpulco, yn vncan oqujtoçaujque ceiooal: vncan qujxipeoa, çatepan concaujliaia yn ichan vmpa qujtetequj, ynjc qualoz, ynjc tetonaltiloz: yoan mjtoaia tetenhtiloz, yn oiuh mito cecnj, çan ie no iuh muchioaia.

Auh in male, amo uel qujquaia, yn jnacaio imal, qujtoaia, cujx çan no ne njnoquaz: ca yn iquac caci,

21. "*Va preñado, de cuka hueca*" (corresponding Spanish text).
22. "*Vna compuesto con sus plumages, y cõ todos sus ornat*" (*ibid.*).
23. *Tenenkalos*: Seler (*Ewige Kapitel*, p. 72, n. 1) holds, of *tenkaloloz*, that it is derived from *tenti*, equivalent to *tenalia*; and is equivalent to *tenamitl* or *tenalli*. Hence the meaning, to apportion as a favor.

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezumà's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cozcateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

quitoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notatzin: auh tel tepal quiquaia intemal. 796[X] [266]

Auh yn ieoaio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlaeoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaquilo cemilhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexquich maco, in quexquich quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quitlaiecultia yn ieoauh. [43]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, quiiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn ixquichtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn intzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia. 796[X] 535

Auh in cuitlachueue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhquin mjccaoati, quinchoquilia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque. 796[X]

Auh no iehoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynin ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, quimonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquia, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cozcateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamauiçoltiloia: njman ic xitinooa, necacaoalo. 796[X] 648

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjttac ietiuh, vmpa quiquaquatoque. [262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'quixtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: quipeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualizpan quioalcaoaia: njman quimonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynic mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapâ tlatqujtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tnôcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone- 796[X] 301

24. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 175-88) says that Moctezuma I invited "*los señores de todo la redonda*"—Texcoco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuauhnáhuac, Matlatzinco, the Mazahuacan, and as many more as possible. "*Los señores de las provincias y ciudades,*" he continues, "*admirados y asombrados de semejante cuestión, perdieron para sus personas y pueblos fuerzas de tener y esperanza . . . dexó esparcidos á los forasteros. . . . Donde estuvieron todos los de las provincias y ciudades convocados dexaron de tener confederaciones ni amistades con los mexicanos, viendo quán adelante estaban y cómo estaban á sus enemigos.*"

25. Uilcapalli: "*tortilla, como pequeñillas, que hacen de maíz en casa,*" according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of *maizenkuchen*—"*das 'Brot in Gestalt einer Armbrust*'. . . . *Es war ein Gebäck in Ringform, das aus ungesäuertem, Zusatzlose zurechtbereiteten Maisteigwaren, also aus Maismehl, nicht aus Maismasse, hergestellt wurde.*"

Priests' House at Uitznauac.

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Priests' house at Uitznauac: here dwelt the priest, the fire priest, who offered incense and who cast it upon the fire in the temple above [on the pyramid], which was named Uitznauac. Every day was this done.

Vitznaoac calmecac.

In vitznaoac calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhquj, in tlenamacac: in ontlenamacaia, in ontletemaia in teucalli icpac: in jtoca catca vitznaoác: çan mumuztlae in juh muchioaia.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: at this place they placed and raised a skull-frame in the center [of the pyramid compound of him] whose name was Omacatl; who was carved in wood, taking human form—[this] Omacatl. And it came to pass that they nourished him [with the blood of captives] every thirteen days, upon the day-sign of Omacatl.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan qujtlaliaia, vncan qujzcaltiaia in tzumpantli yiollo: in jtoca catca vmacatl, quavitl tlaxixintli, tlacaietiuh in vmacatl: auh in muchioaia in qujzcaltiaia matlacpovaltica vmeitica: ipan in cemjlhujtonalli vmacatl.

Temple of Macuilcipactli.

Temple of Macuilcipactli: here were men slain; here captives died—at night only, and only those chosen for the day-sign [of Macuilcipactli].

Macujlcipactli yteupan.

In macujlcipactli iteupan: vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti: çan iooaltica, çan no tonalpepenaloia.

Priests' House at Tetlanman.

Priests' House at Tetlanman: at this place dwelt the fire priest, he who was devoted [to the service of Quazolotl Chantico].

Tetlanman calmecac

In tetlanman calmecac: vncan onoca in tlenamacac, in tlamaceuhquj.

Temple of the White Cinteotl.

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Temple of the White Cinteotl: here captives died—only those who were leprous.[10] And when they died, then [the priests] buried them; they were not eaten. They died upon the feast of the Fasting for the Sun.

Iztac cinteutl yteupan.

In jztac cinteoutl yteupan: vncan mjquja in mamalti, çan iehoantin in xixijoti: auh in jquac ommjcque, njman qujntocaia, amo qualoia: ipan in netonatiuhçavaloia mjquja.

Tetlanman.

Tetlanman: here died [she who was the likeness of] Quazolotl Chantico. [This came to pass] only when the lords determined; only when it was fated. And [it took place] during the day-count of ce xochitl.

Tetlanman.

In tetlanman: vncan mjquja, yn jxiptla quazolotl chanticon: çan qujlnamjquja in tlatoque, in jquin mjquja: çan tepan yetiuh: auh ipan in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ce xuchitl.

10. In translation of *xixijoti*, we here follow Sahagún, although elsewhere our translation of this word differs. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procesion, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atenpan.

In atempan, vncan qujntecpichoaia in tlacateuhti: auh in jquac in oqujntecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiaoalochtia, qujntlapechvia. 796^A 346

Auh in jquac oqujmontlaiaoalochtique: njman ye ic qujnmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tezcacooac tlacochcalco

In tezcacooac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjiec malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenqujxtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oqujcenqujxtique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia: [567]

auh in jquac in oqujmonmjctique, njman vncan qujntetequja, yoan qujnpaoacia, caiosuchqujlhujaia in jnnacaio. [266]

Auh yn jquac oqujnpaoazque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jxqujch tecutlatoque: amono ichoantin in macecaltl, ça yehoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[13]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acxoiatemaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ie muchi caltitonti in tlaiaoalotoc, ioan qujiaoalotoc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan noçaoaloia: 796^X 346 785

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempooaltica,

mjtoaia: nemacujlçaoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc iuh macujlilhujtl quj-

13. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

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us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—" Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797 [782 266] [838]

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721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

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648 reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

346 782 266 I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

797 Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las [114] Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

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231 136 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off 266

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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were 266]
sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and [412]
chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, [292]
and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

Sixth Chapter, which telleth of drinking.[5]

As to drinking, there, also was a delusion of the ancients, somewhat like the account of stepping over one.

And in this wise was the account of it: when, perchance, one drank; if one yet a small child drank first, and afterwards one drank who was a little older, already grown, then [the elder] restrained and took the water from the small child. He said to him: "Why dost thou wish to drink first? Thou wilt not grow large, but remain small. Now let thy elder brother drink, for he is already bigger."[6]

Injc chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in atliliztli. 271

In jtechpa atliliztli: no vncatca inneztlacaviliz in vevetque: çan ie achi no iuhquj in jtlatlatollo in tecuencholhujliztli. 856

Auh ivin in, ca itlatlatollo: in jquac tla ie atli, in tle ie achto atli oc piltontli: auh intla çatepan atli in ie achi tachcauh, in ie quauhtic: njman qujtlacaoaltia, qujcujlia in atl in piltontli, qujlhuja: tle ipampa in achto tatliznequj, amo tiquauhtiez, çan ye tixqujchtontiez: ma oc ie conj in motiachcauh, achic ca ie quauhtic.

Seventh Chapter, which telleth of him who dipped into the cooking pot.

Of this there was also a delusion of the natives, known especially of the men. And in this wise was it known: when, perhaps, men ate, and one only dipped into the cooking pot — not into a sauce dish — then also the mothers and fathers restrained him. They said to him: "Do not dip into the cooking pot; there [in war] thou wilt leave thy captives. If thou goest to war, none wilt thou seize; no one will become thy captive."

Injc chicome capituló, ytechpa tlatoa: in aquja xocco ontlapaloa. 264

In jtechpa in: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: oc cenca intechpa mocaquj in toqujchtin. Auh ivin in mocaquj: in jquac intla tlaqua toqujchti: auh çan xocco, in ontlapalotica, amo molcaxic: njman no qujtlacaoaltia in tenanoan, in tetaoan, qujlhvia: macamo xocco xontlatlapalo, vncan tiqujmoncaoa in momalhoan: intla tiaz iavc, aiac ticaciz, aiac momal muchioaz. 726

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of tamales stuck [to the cooking pot].

Concerning tamales stuck [to the cooking pot] as another deception of the natives, it was said that the men and women would not eat them. It was stated that if the men were to eat them, when they would shoot arrows in warfare, the arrow which was shot would not find its mark. Or perchance therefore they might die, or one's wife would with difficulty bear children.

And just so was it as to a woman. If she were to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot], she could not bear children. Her child would only adhere to and thus die in her womb. Therefore the mothers sternly forbade them to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot].

Injc chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jxqujuhquj tamalli. 264

In jtechpa in jxqujuhquj tamalli: oc no centlamantli inneztlacaviliz in njcan tlaca, qujlmach amo vel qujquazque, in oqujchtin, ioan cioa: qujlmach intla qujquazque toqujchti, amo axcan in qujçaz mjtl, injc qujmjnazque iauc: auh anoçe ic mjqujz, yoan aiaxcan tlacachioaz in jnamic.

Auh çan ie no yuhquj in jtechpa cioatl: intla qujquaz ixqujuhquj tamalli, amo vellacachioaz: çan itech ixqujviz in jconeuh, ic mjqujz in ijti: ipampa cenca qujtecaoaltiaia in tenanoan, injc amo moquaz, in jxqujuhquj tamalli.

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"quiere decir, beber el menor, antes del mayor."*

6. *Ibid.: "si bebian dos hermanos. Si el menor bebia primero, decialo: el mayor: no beuas primero, que yo: porque si beuas primero, no crecerás: sino quedarás ahi, como estas agora."* See also Carochi, *op. cit.*, p. 526: *"Achic, es adverbio, con que se mahuera . . . que si diferencia entre esta persona, o cosa, y otra."*

Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the sacrifices which they made upon the days of the eighth month, which was called Uei tecuilhuitl.[1]

Eighth feast: this [was] the Great Feast of the Lords.

And before the celebration had yet begun, first all feasted. A multitude came together—the poor of Mexico. And those who tilled the fields, at dawn all drank only this [drink of] lime-leaved sage powdered and mixed with water, [which] was mixed in a canoe and sweetened with honey. And it was drunk from a vessel called *tiçapanqui*. Each had a vessel for drinking, from which he drank. Each used his vessel, and some filled their vessels twice. All came and consumed [the drink]; none refrained—children, old women, small boys, small girls, everyone.

And of those who could no longer taste or put mouth and lips to it, some placed it in their [own] vessels and gourds; here they kept what remained to them. And any who came unprovided with a vessel, a plate, or a jar, just carried the maize gruel in their aprons; they carried it away in their aprons. None took [any] without leave; none returned again [to take] *atolli*.

And if any returned again [to take] *atolli* dishonestly, if once more [any] tried to approach [the canoe with *atolli*], then they set upon him with green canes; they whacked him sorely.

And thereafter, when all had drunk, all rested a while, all lay down, forming a circle together. All talked, with much murmuring and rustling, like birds twittering. And others who had saved *atolli* for themselves, later drank it; little by little, they kept giving it to their small children to drink.

And when noon came, when it was time to eat, then once more all sat spread out, in order, arranged in order, all with capes outspread. The small children were taken by the hand; they were borne upon their backs.

And when all sat about, then those girded their loins and bound their hair with reed blades who

Jnic cempoalli on chicume capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl yoan in nextlaoalistli, in qujchioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl ynic chicuey metztli: in mitoaia Vei tecujlhujtl. 796X

Inic chicuetetl ilhujtl: ichoatl in vei tecujlhujtl.

Auh yn aiamo onaxioa ilhujtl, achtopa tlatlaqualoa: ixqujch tlacatl cenquiçaia, in motolinja in mexica, yoan in millacatzitzinti, in ioatzinco çan oc tlayoa, ichoatl in chian pinolli, mopatlaia acalco, qujnecpanja. Auh ynic tlayoa caxitl, motocaiotia tiçapanqui: cecen caxitl yn ioa, in qui: cecen caxoa auh in cequjntin, ooncaxoa, cenvetzi, ontetlamj, aiac mocaoa in pipiltzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin, in oqujchpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in ie ixqujch tlacatl. [272] [415]

Auh in aqujn, aocmo vel qujiecoa, in aocmo qujcamaaci, in aocmo qujtenaci, motlacavia: cequjntin qujvivica in incocon cequjntin inxixical in vncan qujteca innetlacavil: auh in aca atle icõ monemachti, in atle icon, in atle icax; ça qùjcuexanoa, concuexanaltia, in atolli, aiac motlapiquja, aiac matolixcuepa:

auh intlaca matolixcuepa, in oc ceppa tetlan calaqujznequj, vmpa qujvivitequj acaxoxoubquj ica, qujtlatlatzvitequj.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlaioac, oc achitonca nececevilo, çã vncan onoac, neoolololo, nececẽtlalilo, nenonotzalo, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj, iuhqujn tlatlacaoaca, iuhqujn tlachachalaca: auh in oc cequjntin, in oqujmocavica atolli, qujn ice vel qujtoque, yiolic qujmjititoque in impilhoantzitzin.

Auh in oacic nepantla tonatiuh, in jquac tlaqualizpan, ie no ceppa vel neteteco, nevivipanolo, nececenpanalo, netetecpano, necuecuentililo: in pipiltzitzinti tematitech teaano, temamamalo. 796X 264

Auh ino netetecoc mec mocujcujtlalpia, yoan moquaquailpia toltica: in tequjtque, in tlacuexanoque,

1. "Fiesta grande de los Señores," according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 301); "der 'grosse Herrenfest,'" according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 138).

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vetli mja itoca matlalvetli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vetli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vetli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittoaque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machililoaque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoã qujnquatexnloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelxitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 637

Auh in oimellel onquiz, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic mavizztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequipanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iiepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contitlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vetli ipan icac, yn vetlali: yoan in ixqujch tlazilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276] [252]

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacaliua, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oqujcencauhque chõchaiotl, mec moxeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

19. See Pl. 31.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcozio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc cheioatolli, ouuhatolli izqujo, mjchioaoutolli necuio, iztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chianatolli chilcozpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalqujça tlatoanj.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman ice in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Auh in jquac in otlaqua tlatoanj, njman ic moxexeloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlãque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezqujtlamantli, ixoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlaueuetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapitzque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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Njman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, xoxouhqujcacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xoxouhqujtilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, itztac cacaoatl

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; *miltl tomatoes*; Simeon, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 699: "*las nale chiere mihuamme, es decir, de nombre.*"

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Chia arenqada. Salvia ¿sp?*" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 466: *Salvia polymorha*; Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 210: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.

22. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* Dz.—"*En Méjico, chile indígena, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 435, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. baccatum* L.: "*del nombre de los mexicanos, a los que parece imitar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"

23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salvia hispánica.* L. *Salbior*"; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 488: *Salvia chian*, *S. hispánica* L.

24. The Spanish text has barbaros, which would require *mexicanos*.

25. *Tilic* and *itzac* are as they appear in the Codex; *chiltic* and *itzac* are probably meant.

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The chocolate was served in a painted gourd vessel, with a stopper also painted with a design, and [having] a beater; or in a painted gourd, smoky [in color], from neighboring lands, with a gourd stopper, and a jar rest of ocelot skin or of cured leather. In a small net were kept the earthen jars, the strainer with which was purified the chocolate, a large, earthen jar for making the chocolate, a large painted gourd vessel in which the hands were washed, richly designed drinking vessels; [there were] large food baskets, sauce dishes, polished dishes, and wooden dishes.

injc motecaia cacaoatl, tecontlacujlolli, ayaccaiotl tlacujlolli, aquauitl aiotectli tlacujlolli, poctecomatl anaoacaiotl, ayaccaiotl aiotectli, aiacalli oçelocuatl, cuetlaxaiacalli, chitatli in vncan mopia tecomatl, ayaxtaclouatli, injc moiectia cacaoatl, vevei tecomatl achioalonj, vevej tlacujlolxicalli injc nematequjlo, tzohoacalli tlaioalonj, tlaqualchiqujujtl, molcaxitl, petzcaxitl, quauhcaxitl.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans came to and reached the Spaniards as they followed them at the rear.

Injc omppoalli on chicuase capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica intech acito in Españoles injc quijtepuztzocaia. 726

Also this very time was when the Mexicans advanced and arrived in order that they might cut off [the Spaniards'] progress. The Mexicans went to and established themselves at the foot of a mountain called Tonan. And when dawn broke, the Spaniards[1] arrayed themselves and ate. Likewise the Mexicans delight themselves and ate and drank. They drank a mixture of *pinole* and water.[2] Some climbed to the top [of the mountain], as scouts and sentinels, to watch for when the Spaniards would depart and move on. In truth, standing guard was their very charge, their concern.

No vel iquac in onacito Mexica in quijniacatzacujlinquja: in ommotecato mexica itzintlan tepetl itoca Tona. Auh in otlatvic nec mocencaoa in Espanoles tlatlaqua: no ivi mexica mocecencaoa tlatlaqua, aztli, pinolatl quiy: cequintin tlacpac tlecoque, iautlachixque, iautlapixque, quimonjxtoque in quēmā onecozque, in quenman onolinjzque in Españoles: vel imjx intequjuh in ontlachixticate. [262 272]

And after this, when the Spaniards[3] already proceeded and followed the road, then the scouts cried out and said: "O Mexicans, your foes are already going! Let us array ourselves! Let us arm ourselves, each one! Let us all proceed! Let us all go together! Let none remain behind!" And when they heard this, there was running; all ran hither and thither and went in pursuit.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie olinj in ie utlatoca in Espanoles: njman ie ic valtzatzi in iautlachixque: quivalitoa. Mexicae ie iauh in amoiaouh, ticencaoa, ticecencaoa, ticemolinj, ticenvi, aiac mocauhtiaz. Auh in oquicacque nec netlalolo, tlaixquiquiça, tlatoteca.

And when the Spaniards saw them, they waited for them. They then closed ranks in order to encounter them. They studied them carefully in order to consider how to fare well against them. And after this, [the Mexicans] then ran at them; they hurled themselves at them, so that all were enclosed within [the Spaniards' ranks]. Then they were speared and lanced; indeed, then died in great numbers those of Mexico and Tlatilulco. They went to deliver themselves, cast themselves into [the Spaniards'] hands, and came upon death. But few fled from their hands and so did not die. And those who remained at a distance, who remained following from afar, did not die. And when the Spaniards had dealt death among the people, and had spent their rage, they thereupon departed. All who bore burdens went following them. No one knew of them where they

Auh in oquinvalittaque in Españoles: quinvalmochialtique, ic oalmomanque in quinnamjquizque, vel quinnemjlia in quenjn vel quinchivazque. Auh in ie iuhquj nec quinxopēloa, quincujtlaxeloa in quexquich calitic momantiquiz, nec tezixiliva, tetzotzopitzalo, vel vncan tonacamjoque in mexica in tlatilulca, çan quimōmomacato, inmac ommotlaçato, çā conmotoquilique in mjquiztli, ça quexquin in tematitlampa quiz in amo mjc: auh in veca manca, in tevecapaviti manca amo mjcque. Auh in ontemjctique in imelle! onquiz in Españoles: njmán ie ic vi, quintepuztvitivi in jxquichtin tlamama. Ca aocac quinmati in campa cochque in jquac: vncan in in valmocuepato, in quimonjcxicaoato, quimonteputzcaoato in Españoles.

1. *Repandos*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

2. Bernardo (*op. cit.*, II, p. 179) says that it is now a drink of ground toasted maize mixed in water with cocoa, sugar, cinnamon, and chiote (*achiote* — *Bixa orellana* L.).

3. See footnote 1 *supra*.

726 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.**

726 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochi-
648 milco, Minquic, Collhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itz-tapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

[415 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them
431 devices and shields, and they gave them each choco-
● 272 late. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Injc compoualli cemmatlactli omei capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn chinanpaneca in Suchimjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jtztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in qujnpalevizquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in ichoantin suchmjlca, cujtlaoaca mjzqujca, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, qujnonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: qujmjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic iztlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenquijçaco in quauhtli ocelutl in acaltica: ca quijl axcã quicentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol; in ontlanonotzque njman ie ic qujmjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanqujmjhioviltique, oanqujmociaviltique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiciecavi:

njman ie ic qujntlauhtia, qujnmaca in tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan qujncacacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in qujnmacaque cacaoatl: njmã ie ic qujmjlhuja. tlacueleoatl, tla tlaiciecavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in qujnvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in jaqujcan vtlica: njman ie ic necalioa.

Auh in ichoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmã ie ic tenamoia, qujnnamonque in cioatztzintli, yoan in pipiltzitzintli, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'nmjctique vncan ihiod quiz. Auh in oc cequjntin amo qujnmjctique, çan ivian acalco qujmontemoviqueque.

Auh in ie iuh qujchioa inin ie tenacalpoloa: njman ic tzatziqueque in tequjvaque, qujtoque. Mexicae tlein ic qujchioa in, tlaveliloque? ma vallatotoca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, qujntoca acaltica.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate standing up with much reverence and without looking at his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished 726
with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried 726
mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each 724
household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,—shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ('tlatzontectli'), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Yttz-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used 505
for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojes y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. 267
Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes "gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "viscocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolatl," which possessed particularly, vivifying 272
qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been 554
slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this 558
degrading work (*because woman-like!!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu-

574
851

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth how a feast was held, and what the order of service was, and how there was drinking of wine.

Injc cempoalli on extetelli oce capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn juh moccoanotzaia, yoan in juh catca tlatecpãtli, yoan in juh tlacoanaia.

And as to the invited guests: already there was jostling among the guests. All took their respective places; the houses were entered. There was disorder and scattering about; there was wandering and there were disputes, rushing about like fools, hurrying, hastening, and unrest.

Auh in tlacoanotzalti, ie cuel iẽ, nequequeçalo in coame, netẽteco, calaoa, tlaixnelivi, tlaixmoinoa, neixpololo, neixnanamico, tlaixtomaoa, tlãtlacivi, ycioa, netetequipacholo,

[276] For everything, assignments were made and work distributed. First came the tobacco servers. Tobacco was served; one was provided with tobacco; tobacco was smoked. Then the flower servers followed them. They provided and gave them flowers; they favored them with crowns and garlands of flowers; they provided them with flower crowns and garlands. They arranged before them bowls with tobacco tubes. They sat smoking, inhaling the fragrance. All smelled it. There was a pleasant and fragrant odor.

cecentlamãtli ipã neyhinquetzalo, netetequjmaco, iacattiuh, in teyiemacac, teyiemaco, teyietilo, yietlatilo, njmã contoquilia yn tezochimacac, tezochicia, tezochimaca, conteaquia in icpaczochitl in zochiconcatl, teicpaczochitia, tezochiconcatia, teixpãmomãmana yn jiecaxitl, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlaneco, tlaxvixxtoc, tlaveveliztoc:

And thereupon went the server, and following him those who changed the courses and carried [the food] in their arms. They served the people, placed them in order, went placing the people in line, putting them all in line. Thereupon all ate. [But] first they cast on the ground [a mouthful of food].[1] Later something was reserved, put aside for their servants.[2]

auh njmã ie ic iauh in tetlamacac, quitocativi, in tetlanamjctiliquc, in tlanapaloque, tetlamaca, tevipana, tepilotiuh, tecempilotiuh, njmã ie ic tlaqualo, achtopa, ontlatlatlaça, çatepã netlacavilo, ic tlaquanja ynetlavicalhoã:

[277] And thereupon also went the chocolate[3] server. In just the same way he went arranging the people in order, placing them in line. He neglected no one; he was very careful with each one. He went placing for each one the stirring sticks with which the chocolate was beaten, whereby the chocolate was consumed. Chocolate was put aside for each of them — they put aside chocolate for their servants, [as well

auh njmã ie no ic iauh in teamacac, çan ie no ivi tevipantiuh, tecempilotiuh, aiac quixcaoa, vel mixpepetztza, contetequilitiuh in aquavitl, ynic moncloa cacaoatl, ic ahatlioa, teaztlacavilo, quimatlacavjia, intetlavicalhoã, in viconj, in tlacaoanj, in quitquinj netlacavilli,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*antes que començassen a comer: los combidados, la comida que les eraçen puesta: tomaban un bocado de la comida, y arrimaban al suelo: a honra del dios Tlalocatl.*"

2. *Ibid.*: "*los servidores de la comida . . . despues comida a cada uno, aquen no comida [sic]: y la guardan dalante, del que estaua ordenado: asi orden de chiquipites, con diuersas maneras de pan: y parandos en los chiquipites: otros tenian cassuelas, con diuersas maneras de comida, con carne, o pescado. . . . dispuesto comida, dauan las cabras a sus criados, y tambien los cassuelas, y chiquipites.*"

3. *Ad* la verosimilem vocl to means chocolate. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl section), "*Beuer agua, atoa o cacaua. v. atl.*"

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their cere- monial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Bird," were the embodied spirits of young growth and, by 776
analogy, youth and the games. These had as male counterparts such gods as Cinteotl, "Maize God," Xochipilli,* "Flower Prince" and Macuilxochitl, "Four Flower," whose functions, identified with growth, youth and games, are almost synonymous. (See Plates 31; 56, top left; 57, bottom left.)

About the maguey plant revolved another cult embracing 776
the goddess Mayauel, who represented the plant and whose 802
four hundred sons were associated with pulque. According 273
to some accounts, the various styles of drunkenness were recorded in terms of these gods or their associated animal, the rabbit. Four hundred rabbits stood for complete drunkenness, while fifteen or twenty suggested mere conviviality. The chief of these pulque gods was called "Two Rabbit," after his day in the almanac, and another, Tepoztecatl, was the tribal god of Tepoztlan, honored by a temple placed high in the mountains of Morelos.

The gods of the earth and death were highly important, 776
since growth takes place in the earth and the dead are received there. The sun on rising seems to be born in the earth and at its setting to be hidden by it, thus passing apparently to the world of the dead. The gods and goddesses associated with the earth had significance for the solar cults as well as for growth and fertility.

Tlaltecuhtli, "Lord of the Earth," was depicted as a male monster of horrifying aspect, partaking of the attributes of a toad and an alligator. His open mouth could consume even [821]
the sun, since the setting sun passed into the earth, according to Aztec astronomical ideas. The goddesses, however, seem

*Sho-chee-pe'e-ly.

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Ieçilli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[68] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tozzumulco.[69]

●[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man
431] [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Iscoçauhqui. There [the
[304 parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon
852] them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

776 [Iscoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue counga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtilloia, cexiuhtica: ipan ielanjan yacalli: quixipdatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacoxonaloia, cepaltemjlilo,

oauhquiltamalli nechivilloia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan quimanjliaia in tletl, çaxepan qualoia.

Auh yn jxeveioxan, ioh cemjlhujtl, in quicujcatia, quitzoctizpichilia, quitzepoacchihuja, caiacachihuja:

auh aiac vel cõmaçoaia in comalco, tetlacoaltiloia, ynic amo aca motlatiz, mochichinec: ipampa in iancujcan equalec oauhquiltamalli, ynic otlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin quintlazquiaia: yn aca coatl: cuijatl, xoujli, axolotl, totod: in çaçe tlein ocacic ioioli, ycamac centlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlazquia yn tota.

Auh yn cioouac, noujan tlatlaoanaia in vevetque, ylamatque: ioh quimaia, quitlatoianjliaia yn tletl, texcalcruja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauiztililoia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujtotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jxucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tozzumulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no iuquih tlacatl, quijpaloaia, quijtequja, in vetli, in pipiltotonti: ic motocaiotiaia, pillaoano:

yeuan vncã quintlatiaia, quimahujtiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce oquichtli, in quintemoaia pilhoaque, quintlauhtiaia; ihoantin quinnamanhuja, vmpa quimoncaoaia, yn itzupan iscoçauhqui: vmpa quinnacaxapotlaia, quinnacacoionjaia: iuhquin ic quinmachoniaia, ynic quimitta, yndaoan, ymaujoan: çaxepan tlaqualo.

In jxochichioal caica: tiltica motenujltec, chalchiuhtetale, xiuhtotomacale, quetzalmjiaouio, mjtzome, tlacoztzona, xiuhcoonacoche, amacionaspanale, no tzitzile, cocujole, tlahtecatlatlapanquj yn ichimal, tlachieltupila.

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68. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y chillas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Los tallos de esta hierba se llaman huauhxoli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cenizas, exprimese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hacense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilitaz." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 231. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents burned and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 209; see *tenoxtoque* in Simeon: op. cit.

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; parrain or prainrain). Molina (op. cit.) translates the words *tlatli* and *mitl* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchiuhtetelli*—a strap for the head, set with jewelled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a coatinga (*xiuhtototi*); *quetzalcomitl* or *xiuhtotomacalli* *quetzalcomitzyo*—a tiara of feather mosaic work in the form of a curved cone, broadening upwards; *mitzyoali* *tlacochtzoali* or

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of sewing with snail-shells.[78] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for sewing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquauhquemitenchil, nacaxio, ycuechin, ielpancuaqui cyli 776
tzacatlatlapanquj yn jxaiac: yn jnechichioal, ytiçanacoch,
ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachiaia ymac catca, ytolicpal,
acacpalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlalitzcuini).[79]

Jnic castolli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jtoca, catca, ixtlilton, tlalitzcujn.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jteupan catca, ytocaiocan tlacujlocan: in vncan ytzupan, mjac yn apaxtli, tzatzacutimanca, motocaiocia ixtlilauh. [346]

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aquja mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn 776
jteupan ixtlilton: centetl, qujtlapoaia yn apaxtli, conjtiaia 757
yn jxtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aquja qujtotia, cepaltica in cenanaia, ynic 776
qujvicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[80]

Jn oacic ychan, tlatocia, tzytotia: njman tlatlaquaiac, 776
atlhua: yn octaquaiac, njman mjtotia, yn jxtlilton: yn
omjtoti, yn onmacruh, calitic oncalaquj: ichoatl qujtlapoa
in vctli, navilhujtica tzacutimâca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacxapoela, [273]
vitzmana.

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Niman yc vmpeoa, yn ie tlacoano: oc cepa oalqujça itealco,
qujtlapoa yn jxtlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic
macujilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] sowed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic motenemia, intla tlaçolli, yntla tocatzaoalli, [187]
yntla tzontli, intla tecolli, vncan vetzinc: ic mjtoaia, aço
tetlaxima, aço ichoac, anoço ahavilnemj, mahavilitia: ac
aço tlacacemelle, in tlatotia, ic qujxmotlaia, qujacomacaia,
qujxpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla motecca: ichica, ca
qujxicomaca, qujxixpantia, ic tzimotla, yn tetlatlacul.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called *ixpaxn* (face-covering).[81]

Auh ynic oalquiça techâ, quachtli yn qujmacaia motocaio- [292]
tia, ixpaxn.

Thus was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic muchichioaia, moçac, mocemjxtlilpopoez, mjxti- 776
çatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tecpaquachichiqujle, quetzalle,

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79. For description, see illustrations and text in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 513 and 523; and also illustration (Omeacul) —Plate 15.

The term *cuachtli* means the curved cape or mantle, with sea-snail shells fastened where the cords crossed. The *chalcuayel* and the *tecuayel* were presumably the same or similar. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 1, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "*vn ornamento de vn palmo en quadro, hecho en tela rala, al qual llamauan yxpaxtli, atado con vnas cuerdas de algodon a los pechos. . . .*"

78. God of medicine. *Tlalitzcuini* (or *tlalitzcuani*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tzcuinia*. Cf. Seler: *Ensiq Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . *los que nuevamente hereddaban los magueyes y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba xiztli.*" The Spanish use of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamauan tlaiacxapoela, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *ometocatl*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *macuahuitl*.

76. ". . . *demanda mandar: los quales llamauan ixpaxtl: que quiere decir, cubertura de la cara: porque quando, emborçaçaba, aquel que asia hecho, le fazia. . . .*" Loc. cit.

776 white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

cueçalvitzonqui yn jtlamamal, ytonalopan ipan icac, totonaloio yn jmanexpan, totonàloio yn jchimal, tlauhio yiollocopil, xopilcuxque, yamamaxtli, tzitzile, coiole, itonalocac.

Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlalocs. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

776 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water,

796 food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants, acented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they

● [213] spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their rattle-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Jnic castolli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn teutl, yn itoca catca opuchtli: yn qujmoteutiaia ie tecauh, nican tlaca.

Inin opuchtli, ipan mizoaia, tlaloc: atlaca intech catca, qujmoteutiaia.

Juh qujtoaia, ca ichoatl itlatzintli, ytlanextli, qujnezti, qujteittiti in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjnacachalli, yn xvictli, tzonoaztli.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtililo:a, atl, tlaqualli, vctli, in ventli muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xuchitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, qujtepeviliaia, ic qujnanamiquja: chicaoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl qujchaisviliaia: iubqujn tecivitl povia: no yoã qujcujcatiaia, yn ivevicoan, yn jlamaioean, calpoleque.

Jn jnechichioal catca: amacale, tlaõçalli, tlaolaltilli, aztatzone, quetzalmjiaoaie, amamaxtle, amaneapanale, tonaloio.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

He was the god of the sea-shore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

776 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his

753 attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

776 Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would

796 thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All hastened pursuing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

Jnic caxtolli vmey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca, xipe totec.

Anaoatl itecuh: tzapotteca in vel inteuh catca,

yn itequinh pouja, yn iccoian ytlachioal, yn ineincavil: ic temotlaia, ic texoxaia, ichoatl qujtemacoia, in totomonjlistli, papalanilistli, çaçaoatilistli, iccuculistli, iachichitinalistli, intenpipixqujlistli, intamaçoliciuistli, inxiaxohpachiuilistli, inxacapachiuilistli, inxaoacivistli, intotolicivistli, intezcayciuistli.

Jn aquin ipan muchioaia, yn cuculistli toqujchti, yuicpa monetoltiaia, yujcpa mjtoaia: ynjc eamaquja yn jiccoaio, ynjc itlan aquix, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililo: motocaiotia, tlacaxipeoalistli:

tlapainaltiaia, texocaia, mjequjntin momanaia, muchinti eoaiotiuj, chichiiaeatiuj, chichipic-tiuj, tzoxotlantiuj in

79. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 388 (*tezpaquachichiquilli*).

80. Cf. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 531) for explanation of *manta del sol*.

81. ". . . *un dardo de tres puntas que se llama mimacachalli.*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: ". . . *es como fuga, aunque no tiene, sino tres puntas,* (marginal insertion, partly missing: *(o?) triangulo (o?)mo tridente*) *con que hace, a los pazes; y también es el mesmo arco.*"

[501] 82. Standing in the boat, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the term *remo*, oar, which is technically inaccurate.

83. Seler (*Translation of the Aubin Collection*, p. 103) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.*, Lib. III, cap. 15) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Tuxtlan district. A clear discussion of the "*yopimes y tlapanecos*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 133. See also note 89.

84. Meaning problematical.

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Istac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

popocatepetl, istac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: ynan in çaço quezquijtl tepetl in quintemoan in quijpiquiz.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.
755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

Auh in quinpiquia, in quinxipiplatiuia in tepe, çan tzoalli, quintlacatlaliuia, quintlacatlachieltiuia, tlacatlachiticatca:

quintlantiuia xiocachili, auh in quinxtelolotiuia xiecutli: in quenamj yntlatquj in quinxipiplatiuia, in quinpiquia çan no inhquj ynjc quinchichiuia.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

Auh ynan quichiuia, amatetenjtl, colchachapatzia, colchipiniuia, quinquequentiuia:

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

auh in cequj amatetenjtl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatitech quinpipilonia, mecatitech quinnemechilpiuia, quinnemetechçalonia, ynjxpan antec, ic itzacutzoque in tepicme:

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round seeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

hiçamacatec papapatlacatec, papatlantec, ontepilquauhtl, necoc, nenecoc, necococampa tlatlalacticac, tetzontecticac, yn itech antec tetzujtl.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaitlapantli, tlaitiitatactli: ynispan mamanca, chalchiuhtricalli ipan pouia, vetli vnca ca, vetli ic mamanca.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

Auh çan ichoan in tlamacazque, yn jxtequiuh, in machiceque catca, yn quinchichiuia, in quintlaliuia: aiac çan moiocuiaia, in calla in quinchichiuia.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

Auh macujltica in quintlalhujaia, mjtoa: quinmolcaoaltiuia in tlamacazque:

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

yn o ic cauhque tepicme, njman ic ic quintocaviia, quincujcatia:

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

in oxiocal napa in quintlamanjlia, tamalololli in quinmacaia, quinmanaia ynjxpã, in tlamacazque, in tepictujca:

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

no napa in quintlamacaia oxiocal, ynan quintlapichiliaia,

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

quinmaquiquixiliaia tecucitli in quinpichiliaia, ynan vilacapitztli, cocoujlotl,

Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
● [273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.
463]

vilacapitzoaia, çan tolpopochti, papaquinj, haviouj, mihivintianj, tecremeltianj, tecelequa, no tlamacoia.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

Auh yn otlatvic njman quinmictia yn tepicme, quinquachcotona, quinquechcuj, quinquechilacatzoa, çatepan quincomololoa, concolcuj, in tepictzoalli, quitquj yn calmecac yn vnpa onoque, tlamacazque.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

Auh in tepiquinj, njman in yc calaquih yn itlacomotzalhoan, yn jcoxoan, vncan onoque, mopixtoque:

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

auh in ic iocotiuh, in ic tevtlac niman ic ic tlacoxia, motlaocuetlalia in vuetlaca, yn ic chicaoque, yn otlachi-

755

117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain* (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Istac tepetl (Istac cloud) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. *Made of dough* (*vuc matze*), in the Spanish columns; *Salse muchos ie tzoquatechitos Sumos dos Starchdumbres* (*Lenigo Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de goma de ule, a'las cuales papeles llamaban amatetenjtl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 128).

well-natured, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some went shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest [the wine] *sour*.

They *should* look to their strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[120]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[121] to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the green mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the disposal of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the drugs in the vessel, of the wine, of watered wine,[122] of fruit wine,[123] of white wine, of sleep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gout, as was said above, he was thus cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made thus paid his debt and thus fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornments—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their staves of round thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,[124] their cloud-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little sauce bowls with

calhujque, in ie quaintaque, in ie tzonintaque, yoan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque: 273 782

iehoan vel innemac catca, in vctli in quizque. 755

Auh in otlaivintic, niman ie ic viujloa, cocoxmanoia, xixiztinjoa:

yn aca mochoqujlitiuh, yn aca moqujchitoctiuh, mjtoctitiuh, momamaztiuh: yn aca tetzatzilitijuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaualtiloia: çan no onnenca yn inequjuh, yn jchiujl:

tlacaqujtiloia, navilhujtl maçanaia, qujneçaujliaia yn inequjuh, ynic amo zocoiaz:

vel mopiaia, vel motlacaoaltiaia, amo cioacochia, amo oqujchcochia, intla cioatl: [834]

çan niman aiac vel ontlapaloaja yn vctli, yoan in necutli, ynic muchioaia:

aiac inmanel imapil, conaqujaia, vel ymacazoa, vel malhujloia, yn iequjchica, moiacazapotlac yn vctli.

Auh yn aquja, ichtaca tlapaloaia, yn tlachtaca yia inmanel çan tepitoti ocompalo: iuh mjtoaia tenzecujlivia tepantiliviia, avic momamana avic zoqujvi yn itz: 753

yoan in aca matzicoliujia, yma quicuecuetzia, icxi quicuecuetzia, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicuecuechca, yhixatotoco, tempapatlaca, tenviviioca, itech qujpioa: mjtoa, oqujtlavelique in xuxuhque tepicme.

Auh yn otlathujc, nman ie ic apecalo: yn apena çan iehoan, yn ioaxiolque, in vel icalloc, in centlaca, cemeoa, in vel icujtlaxcalloc, yn vel imecaioc: 782 592 755

motenoca apecalo, iquac compoliuja tlatlamj, in quezquijch mocaoaia, in atl, in tlaqualli:

yoan in oc quezquijch omocauh xaiocomjc in vctli, in aiuctli, in tlachicalvctli, in iztac vctli, in cochvctli. [273]

Auh yn tepiqujnj, in tepicquj: intla coacivi, yn juh omjto tlacpac, ic patix: yoan yn aquja atlan miquixquja ynjc amo mjc: iehoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc mostlaoa, ynjc qujnelitilia ynnetol. 755 782

Auh yn jzquijch, yn jnnechichioal, yn jntlaqueo, yn jmamanoupan, yn jnontupil, yn jntlapetlanjlquauh, yn jmaiauhcocol:

yoan yn jxchalchiuhxical, yoã yn jntlaquaia molcaxtomoti,

120. *Cf. Sahag., op. cit.*, p. 29, citing marginal gloss in *MS Bibliotheca del Palacio*. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 38.

121. Probably *tempatlilia* is meant. It does appear in *MS Bibliotheca del Palacio* (*Cf. Sahag., loc. cit.*)

122. Possibly *octli*.

123. See Molina (*Vocabulario*).

124. Alexis Tremaux, *Histoire de Musique* (H. Tremaux-Compans, ed.; Paris: P. Jamet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 300, describes this as a light flame-colored cloth: ". . . *on ait dit qu'il en sortait des flammes et des étincelles.*" Sahag. (*op. cit.*, p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (*Blitzholz*).

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecuilhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtocioatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They went held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all wore garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *ixtauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *cempoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

1 *f* KL. *f* *2*[1]
2 *g* La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y *g* *3*
3 *A* dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y *A* *4*
4 *b* moças y muchachas yvan asidas de *b* *5*
5 *c* vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las *c* *6*
6 *d* manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra *d* *7*
7 *e* por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan *e* *8*
8 *f* sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas *f* *9*
9 *g* de axenxos desta tierra que se llama *g* *10*
10 *A* iztauhiatl: gujsualas vnos viejos, y *A* *11*
11 *b* regian al canto en medio dellas yva la *b* *12*
12 *c* muger que era la ymagen desta diosa, *c* *13*
13 *d* y que avia de morir adereçada con *d* *14*
14 *e* ricos ornamentos. *e* *15*
15 *f* La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan *f* *16*
16 *g* las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de *g* *17*
17 *A* morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la *A* *18*
18 *b* noche: venjda la mañana: adereça- *b* *19*
19 *c* uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn *c* *20*
20 *d* areyto muy solemne: y todos los que *d* *21*
estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman cempoalsochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos catiuos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir [illegible] era imagen de la diosa Vixtocioatl: alli mataua[illegible] primero a los captiuos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76.

1. Marginal notation: Marcellus, pavi, aspi Bon.

X 796 [805 776] The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[23 262] On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this [778] feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared 535 the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but [534 they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who 778] beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And ● [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1	d	KL	Tlaxochimaco	d	12
2	e		La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa-	e	13
3	f		uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros	f	14
4	g		para comer, en hazer tamales y otras	g	15
5	A		cosas concernjentes a la comjda: luego	A	16
6	b		de mañanjta el dia desta fiesta: los	b	17
7	c		satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ	c	18
8	d		muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des-	d	19
9	e		pues de compuesta la estatua deste	e	20
10	f		dios: componjan las estatuas de los	f	21
11	g		otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales	g	22
12	A		y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan	A	23
13	b		todas las otras estatuas de los calpules,	b	24
14	c		y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cal-	c	25
15	d		pisques y principales y maceguales,	d	26
16	e		todos componjan las estatuas que ten-	e	27
17	f		jan en sus casas con flores.	f	28
18	g		Compuestas las estatuas todos los	g	29
19	A		dioses: luego començauan a comer	A	30
20	b		aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas	b	31

de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Durauа este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos rezialmente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al doseno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que quijere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado. 796x [805 776]

Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Cap. 12
Teutl eco

1 A KL
2 b A los qujnze dias deste mes: los
3 c moços y muchachos, enrramauan
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de la
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de
6 f las casas como por los camjnos y en-
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que
8 A hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan
9 b vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros
10 c dos o tres maçorcas.
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios
12 e (que siempre es mancebo que le
13 f llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titla-
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y
15 A rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua pri-
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comjda en su cu,
17 c y aquella noche comjan y beujan y
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los
19 e viejos, y viejos que beujan vino, por la
20 f llegada del dios: y dezian que lo
A 10
b 11
c 12
d 13
e 14
f 15 [465]
g 16
A 17
b 18
c 19
d 20
e 21 [776]
f 22
g 23
A 24 [273]
b 25
c 26
d 27
e 28
f 29[1]

lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada. [252]

En vinjendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los [534]

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio anni Michael.*

which they then used.

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este tiẽs hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes. 796 [805 798]

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnaoatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Marginal notation: Cocolor [illegible]

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

1 g KL Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas
2 A culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles,
3 b y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra:
4 c haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo gru-
5 d esos como la muñeca largos llamauan-
6 e los Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las
7 f culebras los investian cõ aquella masa
8 g que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los in-
9 A vestian a manera de montes, arriba les
10 b ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de per-
11 c sona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes,
12 d en memoria de aquellos que se aujan
13 e ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de
14 f tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino
15 g que los enterrauan.
16 A Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas,
17 b aujan puesto en sus altares a las yma-
18 c genes dichas: ofrecianles tambien ta-
19 d males y otras comjdas: y tambien los
20 e dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

g 30
A 1[1]
b 2
c 3
d 4
e 5
f 6
g 7
A 8
b 9
c 10
d 11
e 12
f 13
g 14
A 15
b 16
c 17
d 18
e 19

[273]

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauiadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar. 796 [289 314 293 493 482]

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miacoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

411 796x [805 776]

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: *November he dier ess.*

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f KL. Quando hazian las saetas por espa- f 20
2 g cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan g 21
3 A de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan A 22
4 b dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si- b 23
5 c enes. Dezian que haziin penjtencias c 24
6 d para yr a caçar venados: los que no se d 25
7 e sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en e 26
8 f pena: njngun hombre se echaua con f 27
9 g su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni g 28
10 A viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian A 29
11 b penjtencia. b 30
12 c c 31
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha- d 1
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas e 2
15 f saetas chiquijtas y arauanlas de quatro f 3
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi g 4
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, A 5
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so- b 6
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon- c 7
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas d 8
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

796x 765 796x

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x [778 342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, cieruos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796x 224

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
X 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they
463 offered quail and incense, and performed other cere-
monies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and
the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses
who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned
their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
● 273 great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the
second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all
[776] the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they
adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and of-
fered him things to eat, and they sang and played
[musical instruments] before him. And in the court-
[463] yard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine,
and those who were wine merchants filled it to over-
flowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine
sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was al-
ways full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the
maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out
they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they
celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the
lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[309] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth
the richest feathers, with which they adorned them-
[438] selves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace
folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the
lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they
observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the
house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where
were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para tezer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornizes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Xochiquetzal.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comida, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

they placed before all the *xipeme*, they who had put on the skins of men.

And others, who had become drunk, unruly [like] warriors, daring, foolhardy, full of spirit, lively, proud of their valor, playing the part of men, started brawls, forced them to join issue, and battled as if in war, and fought.

And to arouse their wrath, verily to move them, that they might become enraged and angry, they snatched at and pinched their navels.

Whereupon the *xipeme* made them run. Behind them stood a *toter*, named the Youallauan; he followed them and went skirmishing with all the *tototecti*.

Then [the *tototecti*] set upon [the warriors] and took after them; they went on fighting them, seeking to seize and lay hands upon them, like holding those who had detained them by the leg.

And [the warriors] went whirling around, circling back, fighting the others with pine staves.

And if some were taken who had detained [the *xipeme*], these *xipeme* beat them; they struck [such an one] with their rattle sticks, showing their anger.

And they carried him to the Temple of Iopitli; and not for nothing did he come out, not for nothing was he let free. Something was given as ransom; something was taken—perchance a turkey-hen, mayhap a great cotton mantle he offered, etc.

As hath been told in the description of Xipe, just so was it done. Afterwards visits were made and entertainments provided for the *tototecti* and *xipeme*.

Thereupon began the gladiatorial sacrifice. The captives were spread out in order; the captors stood arranging and accompanying them. Then also the striped ones came forth; swiftly the ocelot[-costumed warrior] led and guided them; he came quickly to meet [the captives], displaying his shield and war club and lifting them up toward the sun [in dedication].[14]

Then he turned back, retreated, turned to the rear; once again he went back.

In the same manner there then followed him, coming around, the eagle[-costumed warrior], who similarly lifted up [as an offering] to the sun his shield and his war club.

Once again emerged another ocelot[-costumed warrior], who came out as third, doing the same as he quickly came out.

tlaixco qujnoalmana in xipeme, yn onmaqujxia tlacacoatl.

Auh yn aqujque. mihivintia iautlaueliloque, mistlapaloanj, acan ixmauhque, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, quipopoanj yn jntiiacauhio moqujchnenequj, qujmonpepeoaltia, qujmontlachecalhuja, oiaiaopeoa, qujnmoiaiaopeoaltia.

Auh inic vel qujntlauelcujtiaia, ynic vel qujmolinjaia, ynic vel in tlauel, in qualan qujcuja, qujmonxiccuja, qujmôxiccuj, qujmonxiccotona:

ic njman in xipeme tlapaynaltiaia ymjcampa in teputzco icatiuh cr Totec, itoca iooallaoan, qujntoca qujntlaiehecalhujtiuh, in muchintin tototecti:

ic njman intech ietiquiça, qujntlalochtoca, qujniaochiuhtiuj, qujmaacitiuj, qujnmamacujtiuj iuhq'n in cotztitech ietiuj, in teçaloanj:

auh oalmocueptiuj, oalmomalacachotiuj, ocoçuauhtica quinoallaheecalhujtiuj.

Auh intla ceme anoia, in teçaloanj, qujnujujtequj in xipeme, in chicaoaztica, qujxixilia, vel qujncocoltia.

Auh iopico conujçaia, amo çan nen oalqujçaia, amo çan nen caoaloia, itla ic moqujxtiaia, itla ic onanoia, aço totoli, aço quachtli qujtemacaia. Ea

Yn o iuh mito ipan itlatollo xippe, çan ic no iuh mochioaia: çatepan, in ontetotocaque, yn onteaujeltique, yn ontlapactique tototecti, xipeme:

njman ic peoa in tlaouano, tecpantimanj in mamalti, qujnnanamjctimani, qujujujcatimanj in tlamanj: njman no oalqujça in tlaouoanque, yiacatiujtz, qujiacatitiujtz, in teiacantiujtz ocelutl ipan quiztiujtz, conjttitia, conjaujlia yn ichimal, yn imaquauh, in tonatiuh:

njman oc cepa tzinquiça, tzinnenemj, tzinilotl: oc cepa ycujtlaujc iauh:

in ic iuhquj njman qujoaltoquilia, qujoaloncaiotia, oallaoncaiotia in quauhtli, çan no yuj in conjaujlia tonatiuh, yn ichimal, yn imacquauh:

oc cepa no oalquiça, oc cr ocelutl, oallaecaiotitiuh, teecaiotitiujtz, çan no iuh qujchioaia calactiuetzi.

14. Sahagún's Spanish here: "Levantaban la rodela, y la espada hacia el sol, como demandando esfuerzo al sol." Cf. also Pl. 3.

X 796 Yet again an eagle[-costumed warrior] came out, doing just as had been done. All four [acted as if] fighting. They raised their shields and war clubs [as offerings] to the sun.

Now no longer did they delay, by turning back. When they came out, they came out dancing, they went in order. As if lying down on the ground, as if crawling along, flat on the ground, they went looking from side to side; they went up leaping and fighting.

And thereafter the Youallauan came forth, garbed like Totec; only he came last, after the others, behind the four great eagle and ocelot [warriors]; they lifted up their shields and war clubs, offering them and dedicating them to the sun.

Oc no cepa centel oalquiça, in quauhtli, çan ic muchiuj in quichioaia, oallechecoaia in nauijxti: conjaujlizia yn iochimal, yn jumacquauh iõ tonatiuh:

aocmo oaluccaoaia, ynic oaltzinilotia, çan njman ic oalquiztimanca, mitotiujxae, momamantiuj: iuhquin tlalli izco motetecatiuj, iuhquin tlaltitech õujujh, mocacanauhtiuj, nanacaztlachiztiuj, hacocholotiuj, tlatlaiecoaiuj.

Auh in ic iuhquj njman oalquiça, yioaallaoan, totec ipan quiztiujtz, ça oallatoquilia, ça oallatzacujtiuh, ça oallacujtlapiloos, ça quinoalcentzacujtiuh in nauijtin, veucinti in quaquauhti, yn oocelo, ça oalmaçoa, oalmaana, conjaujlia yn inchimal yn jmaquauh in tonatiuh:

Then all the impersonators, the proxies, of all the gods[16] emerged in order, ahead of all. They were called the lieutenants, the delegates, the images.

njman ic ic oalquiça oalmoiacatia, oalmotecpana, yn ixquijchtin teixiptlaoan, yn jnpatilooan in ixquijchtin teteu: motocaiotizia tepatiuhti, tepatillooan, teixiptlati:

Similarly, they proceeded; they came in order; they came together. All came down. They came hence, from Iopico, from the very top of the [pyramid] Temple of Iopitli.

çan ic no yuj in ujh motecpantiuj, cemonotiuj, ynic oaltemo: vmpa oalpeoa in iopico, vel icpac in teucalli iopitli.

And when they had come down below, on the ground, on the earth, they gathered around the circular, flat, sacrificial stone; they seated themselves according to rank on large chairs called *quecholicpalli*.

Auh yn oacico tlatzintla, in tlalchi, in tlaltitech: njman quiiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn oconiaoaloque, motlatlalia tecpantoque, ypan veucy icpalli, itoca quecholicpalli.

And when they were seated, when they were arranged according to their importance, again the first in order was the chief priest, the Youallauan;[18] because it was his right, his office, that he should slay, offer as sacrifice, [that] with his hands he should destroy—with his hands hack open each of the captives destined for sacrifice.

Auh ynjc onoque, ynjc tecpantoque, enetciacantica, ic no cuele teiacantica, tlaiacatiuica, in iooallaoa: ichica ca itequjuh, yneizcauil catca, in tlamictix, in tetlatlatix, ynac polinaz, jmac zamanizõ yn ixquijch quauhtecatl:

[533 534 198] When this was done, then trumpets were sounded; conch shells, large sea shells, were blown; men put their fingers in their mouths and whistled, and there was singing. With singing of songs and blowing of trumpets, they arrived. The Cuecatecca placed themselves in order, their shoulders decked with feather banners, and they encircled the offering-stone.

in ic iuhquj njman tlapitzalo, tecciztli mopitza, quiquijztli, mapipitzoa, yoan cujco: cujcapan tlapitzalpan, in oalmoiacatia: motecpana in cuecatecca, quiquequechpanotiuj, aztapanjtl, quiiaoaloa in temalacatl.

One [of the captors] quickly seized a captive. The captor, he who owned the captive, seized him by the head to bring him to the offering-stone.

Ce cantiquiça in malli, icpac cantiuh in tlamanj, in male, ynic quiujca temalacac:

[415 273] When he had brought him there, he offered him wine;[17] and the captive raised the wine four times

yn ocxitique, quimaca vetli: auh yn vetli nappa coniavilia in malli: auh çatepan conj piaztica:

15. Durán, in op. cit., pp. 176 ff., names Uitzilopochtli, Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, Tlaloc, Xipe, Tezcatlipoca, and Huitzilopochtli.
16. Corresponding Spanish quotation "el principal sacerdote, de aquella fiesta que se llamaua Youallauan."
17. Sahagún (op. cit., p. 68) says the captor raised the wine; Durán says the prisoner.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

796
415
273

[as an offering], and afterwards drank it with a long hollow gourd.

Then still another man, [a priest,] came out and cut the throat of a quail for the captive, him who was to be offered as a sacrifice; and when he had beheaded the quail, he raised [to the sun] the captive's shield, and cast the quail away, behind him.

Having done this, then they made [the captive] climb upon the round sacrificial stone; and when they had lifted him on the offering-stone, the wolf [priest] came to him, representing [a wolf], and known as "Old Wolf."[18] [He came forth] as the uncle of the captive destined for the sacrifice.

Then he took the rope holding the captive, which reached and was attached to the center [of the stone]; then he tied it about the waist[19] of the captive. And he gave him a war club, decked with feathers and not set with obsidian blades.

And he placed before him four pine cudgels, his missiles,[20] with which to lay about him, with which to defend himself. And the captor, when he had left his prisoner on the offering-stone, thereupon went away [to the place where] he had stood [before]. He stood dancing, looking upon, and studying, his captive.

Then [the fight] was begun; the contest [was started]. Carefully they studied where they would smite him in a dangerous place, and cut him—perchance the calf of the leg, or the thigh, or his head, or his middle.

And if some captive was valiant and courageous, with great difficulty he surpassed [his adversary]. He met and fought all four of the ocelot and eagle [warriors]. And if they could not weaken him, then came one who was left-handed. He then wounded his arm and threw him flat upon the surface. This one appeared as [the god] Opochtli. And although the captive might falter and faint, yet he acquitted himself as a man.

And when one went faltering, sinking down on all fours, reeling and overcome in the fray, uselessly and vainly holding the war club, which they snatched from him, thus his adversaries contended with him. And this useless one could now no longer do more;

njman oc no ce tlacatl oallauh, çolin qujcotonjlia, in malli, in oeoantli, yn oconquechcoton çolin, conjaujlia yn ichimal malli: Auh in çolli, icampa conmaiauj.

In ie iuhquj, njman contlecauja in temalacaticpac: auh yn oconquetzque temalacac, çe tlacatl cujtlachtli ipan qujça, ipan mixeoa, itoca cuitlachueue, iuhqujn intla casca in oeoanti:

njman conana, in tonacamecatl, yn iiolloco antica, yn iiollôco ilpitica, njman ic concujtlalpia in malli, yoan conmaca; maquauijtl, tlapotonilli, amo itztzo.

Yoan ixpan contema nauhtetl ocotzontetl itlamotlaia, ic temotlaz ic momapatlaz. Auh in tlamanj, yn oconcaoato ymal temalacac: njman ie ic vitz, vncan oalmoquetza yn icaia, mihtotiticac, ixqujchcapa ontlachixticac, yn jmal conitzicac:

njman ic mopeoaltia, motlatlaichecalhuja, motlachecalhuja, vel qujnmottilia in canjn ymoujcan moujtequizque, qujnmotequjlizque: yn aço in cotzço, anoço in metzpan, anoço in quappa, anoço in tlacotiian.

Auh yn aca malli, iolchicaoac, iollotlapaliuj, vel yujujh in qujcaoa: in naujxtin qujnnamjquj, qujnmaiztlacoa, yn oocelo in quaquauhti. Auh intlaca uel qujhiiocaoaltia, njman oiauh, opuchmaie, qujn iehoatl qujmamimictia, qujmaiauj, qujtentimaiauj: injn ipan mixeonia in opuchtli. Auh intlanel ie çotlaca, intlanel ie ihiiocaoa, no çan oaloqujcheoa: noma oqujcheoa, in oeoantli.

Auh in aca ça çotlaoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, iolmictiuh, ça tlapolotiuh: ça nen panca, ça nen pictli in qujcujtiuetzi, yn imaquauh: ic qujoalnamjquj, in qujcaoana, in tlaoaoanqujj. Auh in neh aca, aoctle conchioa, aoctle onmaitia, aoctle ic oalmomapatla,

18. "Venje con de los sacerdotes, o sujetores del templo, vestido con su cuero de oso"—corresponding Spanish text. *Cuerdo-lobi* is *lenge mexicano*, according to Simeon (*op. cit.*); figuratively, *hombre bueno, temejado* (citing Olmos: *Gramatica de la lengua mexicana en mexicano*). Sobre semejanza *cuerdo-lobi* es bienhechor, in *Rosigr Español*, pp. 48, 73, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 89, and Vol. IV, p. 18. In the last reference, he identifies it as a symbol of the brave warrior.

19. Tied to the captive's ankle, according to Durán, *loc. cit.*

20. In *loc. cit.*, and later (p. 224), descriptions respectively qualify "quatro palomas, hechas de palo de tea," and "quatro tenjas de palo de tea." The captive then dance the ball, and then used his club.

X 796 [27] Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aquin connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlacelcujaia in mihiviniia telpopochti.

[755] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequintin ic monectoltia, yn contlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaosti, anoço ixcocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

[301 289] Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

cecciaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleos conmaqujtiuj in ootl, amatetejtl, ymacolpan mamâtiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

[515] And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aimamjquintli: çan neiacapacholo ynjc namjco, ynic tetla qujça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn ootl, ocotoczauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica quinapaloa, yn ouelteçoac, yn oquelochauh, oquappiçoac.

[431 531 291] And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan.uj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: quimoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminqui, anoço teniujoanquj, yhujtenoapanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oxtioac, yn contlatiloian, yn icpac teocalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa cecciaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaca yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac ootl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin ootl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiquiça, qujoaltentiquiça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 515 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oqujcaosto ootl, yn onmaqujtiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxaqualoa, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixiotexuja:

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6. See Chapter 20, n. 4.

7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *camopalli* as *kastanienbraun* or as *orange-farbene Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kastanienbraun* (*von der Brauen Farbe der Knollen der Batata edulis*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color castaño oscuro*.

For *nochpalli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*carmoisinfarben* (*von der Farbe des Nochtli, der Kaktus-Schildlaus*)."

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and *Einige*, p. 531.

X796 [273] And when he had hung it up, he summoned [his friends and his kin] to a feast. All ate and drank; the old men and the old women drank wine.

And another man was then decked in the captor's attire, and, in jest, leapt about. [And] the old men of the tribal temple sang for him.

[273 415] And he offered white wine in a round gourd, and he threatened it.

Afterwards, in like manner, he shot it with an arrow, and then drank it.

And when he had thus drunk, he had it taken elsewhere, and did similarly; then he did likewise in a third place, and in a fourth place.

Here they finished, when he had done similarly in all places. This was done all in one day.

But song did not cease in the song house[15] until it came to end in [the feast of] Uey toçoztli.

Auh yn jquac tlacopilos, tecoanotzais, tlatlaquaio, atlios, in uetetque, ylamatzitzin, tlaoana.

Auh no ce tlacatl ic muchichioa, yn jtlauiz tlamanj hauuja, chocholoa. motelimana, qujcujcatitoque calpulueuetque.

Auh izqujtecontica qujmana tiçavetli, contlatlaiehecalhuja:

çatepan iuhqujnma conmjna, njman ic ercj:

auh yn oconjc, ie no cecnj coniquanjlia, çan no iuh conchios, çan ie no iuh qujchioa, ynjc excan, çan no yuj, ynic nauhcan:

vncan ontlamj iça ieh no iuh qujchioaia yn izqujtlamantli: ça uel cemilhujtl, in muchioaia.

Auh in cujcatl, amo mocaoaia in cujcacali, izqujchica tlamjtiuh, yn ipan vey Toçoztli.

15. See Plates 19 and 59.

X796 And the old woman and the old man, those who

887 made and refined salt, and sold and trafficked in salt,
463 and those who dwelt in the salt marshes, drank wine.
● 273 Wine was drunk, and one became besotted. In their midst they poured out the wine in a flower-decked jar.

iztachiuhque, yn iztatlatiquiz, yoan yn iztanamacaque, yn istanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlãtlaoana tlãtlaoano, motlatlaoantia, tlanepantla xochapaztica qujoalmana yn vetli:

X796 One of the men poured out [the wine], and prepared it and distributed it. This one was not one who
273 had made [his wife] pregnant, whose wife was with child. If he who poured out the wine had made [his wife] with child, [then] he would not make one drunk; men would not be drunk. They would only counterfeit drunkenness; no one would become besotted [from] the wine.

ce tlacatl tetlaoantia, qujteteca, qujtemamaca, amo ichoatl in tlavtztia, in vtztli yciouh. Auh intla tlaututia tetlaoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntioaz: çan teyujcopina, aiac itechquiçaz in vetli.

And when the feast day had ended, when it had
[579] been celebrated, at nightfall all then lay about. And some who were well-besotted insulted one another, or belabored others, or cried out at others. And at last they fell exhausted, and slept as they fell. And whoever yet had wine which he had left over, which he had left because he had been sated, which was named sleep-producing wine, afterwards, next day, he drank and finished it.

Auh yn ouetz cemjlhujtl, yn onjlhujtlaque yn oiooac, mec neteteco: auh in cequjntin yn oveliujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquauhtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi: auh yn aqujn, yn oc qujcaoa vetli, in qujzujcaoa, itoca cochvetli, qujn imuztlaioc inquj, in qujtlamja:

And any who had mishandled others, or brawled
683 with them, or cried out at them, thereupon, when
X796 day broke, when they had come to their senses, supplicated [the injured ones to drink] this same wine, that they might satisfy them. And those who had not drunk, who had been cried out at or affronted, they let themselves be satisfied with [drinking] the wine; the offense was pardoned, and he held not against [the supplicants] their dispute, their injuries, etc.

auh yn aqujn temicti, yn aço teaoac, yn anoço tetzatzili, qujniquac yn otlatvic, yn omuzcali: çan ie no ie in vetli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic teiolceuja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzililonj, in pinauhtilonj, njman moiolceuja ynica vetli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujmolnamiqujlia, yn inneaoaliz, yn innemictiliz etc.

Here ended and concluded the feast of Tecuilhuitontli.

Nican tlamj, nican tzonquiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cintetl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Carophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in qujmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic tencujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc. 796 793 [30] [264]

Ce tlacatl qujquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, excan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujoalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapian, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzoa: 796

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco qujoallalia: iehoã qujmati in machiceque catca in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in ooatl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl. [262 264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl netotiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, moxaoaia. [302]

Ixqujch tlacatl motamaluja monocotamalujaia: qujntlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan.

Auh in ueuetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli. [868 273]

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujtzacutiaz netitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796 273 689

11. See Plate 27.

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condemned to die. Not now might he leave; no longer was there help for him nor [now] a second judgment; no longer had he hope.

When whosoever [had been tried] had been condemned, all were summoned at sundown, assembled, and set apart, that the words [of the judge] might be published everywhere.

It was said: "On the morrow they will die. All of the common folk will be moved. Some of those who drank we shall leave alone, that, verily, they may fall into fear."

They came with wrists bound together. They placed them in the midst [of the market place]. Thereupon the judges spoke, warning all, speaking of wine, which no youth might drink. Only when they matured, when they had become old, [might they drink]. And those who had youths, who already had maidens [as grown children], verily their privilege it was that they might drink wine.

[681] And thereupon, when [the judge] had delivered his judgment, then Moctezuma's executioners, his slayers, struck the backs of [the criminals'] heads. [The executioners were] the Quauhnochtli, Ezuauacatl, Tiçociauacatl, Tezcacoacatl, Maçatecatl, and

[644] Atenpanecatl.[12] These men were not noblemen, but only lesser officials,[13] who were under command, who were chosen and approved for their office [because of their] strength, vigor, and ingenuity, and because they spoke pleasingly.

And when [the drinkers] had been slain, then all who were reasonable were struck with terror and fright, so that they verily changed their ways. And those who were foolhardy and undisciplined, who could not be spoken to, the effeminate, the stupid—they only laughed; they only jested at the warning. They only listened to it lightly and ill. Not then did they note the words; not thus were they frightened of death.

And thereupon, when all had been slain, then all dispersed in disorder, raising a great dust, shaking out their cloaks—scattering, breaking up, dispersing, all going off to their homes. Then the place where they were became calm.

Here ended the celebration of the feast day called Uei tecuilhuitl.

tlatzontequjlilo, mjquix, aocmo quiçaz, aoctle itzacujl, aocmo ichicomatl, aoctle ynetemachil.

In aq'n oixnaoztilor, teutlaçpa in tetlalujlo, in necenquixtilox, necentecox, in çaço cãpa ie motenenaz, in jdlatollo:

mjtoaia, mazatla micoaz, ixquijch tlacatl oliniz in maçeoalli cequjntin tiqujncaca in tlaoãque, in ca mauiztli uetziz.

Mamailpitiuitze, tlanepantla qujntlalia: njman ie ic tlatoa, in tecutlatoque, tenonotza, itechpa tlatoa in vetli, in aiac quiz in telpuchtli: çã quinjquac in otlachicalujque, yn oueuetique; yoan in telpuche, in ie ichpuche, vel innemac catca in tlaoanazque.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ontzonquiz, in tecutlatolli: njman ic qujncuexcochujujtequj, yn itemicticaoan, in itequacaoan in moteçumatzin in quauhnochtli, iezoaoacatl, ticociaoacatl, tezcacoacatl, maçatecatl, atenpanecatl: in ichoantin yn, amo tetecuti, çan achcacauhti, tlanaoztilti, tlaixquetzalti, tlaqualitalti, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, yoan iolloque, in vellatoa.

Auh yn iquac ie mictilo, ic necujtiuecho, ic mocujtiuetzi in tlacaqujni, in uel monotzanj: auh in iollotlaueliloque, yn atlanonotzalti, yn auel monotza, in tlacioaizcaltilti, in tzonteme, çan qujuetzca, çan qujcamanaloa in tenonotzaliztli, çan qujcamanalcaquj, çan caujlcaquj, avmpa qujtta in tlatolli, amo ic mauhca çonequj, in temjctiliztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onmjcoac: njman ic tlatzomonj neacomanalo, teuhtli qujquetza, netzetzelolo, cecenmanoa, xitinoa, zixitonoa, moiaoa, viujloa, viuj yn jnchachã: njman cactiuetzi yn vncan onoaia.

Nican tlamj, njcan tzonquiça, inic ilhujtl muchioaia: yn jtoca Vey tecujlhujtl.

12. *Quauhnochtli* is the term given the heart of the sacrificed victim. See *supra*, Chapter 21. The others may refer to the towns from which the officials came.

13. "*Y de estos mancebos no se elegían los senadores que regían los pueblos, sino otros oficiales más bajos de la república, que se llamaban tlatocatecatos y tlacochcalcas y achcacauhtis, porque no tenían barras más, por ser amancebados y casados donde pudieran tomar y casar de barba, y habíanse con esfuerzo y esforçaronse*" (Rubiado ed., Vol. I, p. 291).

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bodies nor whirling, nor wander from side to side, nor fall back.

Quite quietly, calmly, evenly, they kept going as they danced. Like a moving serpent was the dance. None disturbed, none intruded, none went out of place nor broke in.

And the women danced with arms about only the great,[5] brave warriors. And those who were only masters of the youths, not with [the women] did they dance, embracing them [about the waist].

And when all ceased dancing, only a little sun remained. When the sun was about to set, all dispersed and departed, each to his place.

And in all the houses there was singing. They sang to their gods—either Omacatl, or Chicome coatl, or Ehecatl, or Coatl Xoxouhqui. Everywhere there was song; song was widespread; war cries resounded; there were battle cries as song was sung; a great din of singing re-echoed.

[273] And only the revered old men and old women drank wine. And those who became drunk cried out at people or boasted of their manly deeds.[6]

momaitotitiuj, amo mopepechoa, amo momamalacachotiuj, amo aujc onviuj, amo tzitzinquiça:

çan yujian çan matca, çan tlamach yn istiuj, yn mjtotitiuj: cẽca çan cosmantiuh, cosnotiuh in netotiliztli, aiac tlaolinja, aiac tlaamana, aiac tlepcionja, aiac tlaiztlica.

Auh in-cioa in q'nnaoa, çan ichoantin in veuey tiacaoah: auh in çan tiachcaoan, amono ichoãtin, amo qujnnaoaia.

Auh in necaoalo in netotilo, ça achi tonatiuh, ie oncalaquiz tonatiuh, cecenmanca viujloa.

Auh in noujan calpan, cujcujco, qujncujcujcatia yn intetecoan: yn aço omacatl, anoço chicome coatl, anoçò hecatl, anoço coatl xoxouhquj, nanachca in cujco, quitzacutimanj, in cujco, tlacaoacatimanj, tlacaoacatinemj in cujco, xaxamacatimanj in cujcatl.

Auh çanyiequc, in ucuentzitzin, yoã yn ilamatzitzin, in tlaoana: auh yn aqujn vel oiujntic, tetzatzilia, anoçe moqujchitoa.

5. Or old (enemy).
6. Of this phase of Tlaxcalteca, Clavigero (op. cit., p. 163) says: "Estas danzas que duraba hasta la noche, terminaba con el sacrificio de varios cautivos. Hacían también en este mes con muchos sacrificios la fiesta de Huitzilopochtli Dios del comercio."

X 796 **Thirtieth Chapter: here are related the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the days of the eleventh month, which was named and known as Ochpaniztli.**

The eleventh feast was known as "The Sweeping of the Way."[1] At this time the actual feast had not yet arrived. For another five days nothing was done; there was then no activity. And when five days had passed, then began the hand-waving dance—when there were fifteen days before Ochpaniztli. It was carried on for eight days.

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And thus they danced the hand-waving dance: All were arranged in order; four rows were formed; all formed four lines. Thus they danced: They went marching only in circles; their hands were filled with Tagetes flowers and branches, which they went grasping in either hand.

They did not sing; none called out; they went in complete silence.

[273] But if some mischievous youths became drunk, they imitated the ground drums. As the ground drums roared, just so they went about doing. [The dancers] went moving their hands here and there; they moved in equal rows. None broke ranks; none turned [another] from his course; none went astray.

And when the hand-waving dance began, it was already near sundown. And when all ceased, the sun had already set. And when eight days had passed, then began the mock-battle [of the medicine women], which they carried on for four days before the house of song and dance.

X 796 [754] In this manner and in this way proceeded all the medicine women—old women, maidens, and some of the harlots:

They were divided [into two bands. The likeness of] Teteo innan went with a certain number [of them, and] as many more went opposing her, skirmishing against her, [that] thus they might banish her sad thoughts, her sorrow; [that] they might amuse her and cause her to laugh; that she might not be sad. For if she should weep, it was said, it would be an omen of evil. It was said that many men who were dexterous as warriors would die in

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: vncã motenecoa in ilhujtl, yoã in tlamavizzililiztli: in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl oce metztli: in mjtoaia, in motenecoaia: Ochpanjztli.

Injc matlactetl oce ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenecoa, Ochpanjztli: in aizmo onaci, in vel iquac vel ilhujtl: oc macujlilhujtl, in aiatle muchioaia, in çan oc cactimanj: auh in õqujz macujlilhujtl njmã ic vmpeoa in nematlaxo, iquac in tlacaxtolti ochpanjztli: chicueilhujtl in muchioaia.

Auh injc nematlaxo, netetecpanaloia, nappantioa, nenappantililo: injc mitotiaia, çan nenentivi, tlatlaiaoaloa, cempoalsuchitla mapoztectli in immac tetẽtiuh, nenecoc in immac qujtzitzitzqujtivi:

amo cujcaia, aiac naoztia; çan nõt .ivi:

tel intla cequjntin in telpuchtlaveliloque, in mjivintia contlaeecalhuja in vevetl: in juh caqujzti vevetl, çan no iuh qujchiuhtivi, necoccampa in conjauhtivi imma, çan tecpantivi, çan cemonotivi, aiac chicopetonj, aiac tepatilia, aiac onchicoqujça.

Auh in peoaia in nematlaxo, ie teutlac: auh in necacaoaloia ic õcalaquj tonatiuh. Auh in otzonqujz chicueilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in çonecali, navilhujtl in muchioaia: vncan in cujcacalli ixpan.

Ivin in muchioaia, iuhquj in, in muchioaia: in jxqujchtin cioatitici, in jlamatque, yoan in jchpupuchti, yoan cequjntin avienjme:

monelloaia, monepãtlaxeloaia, izquj intlan mãtivi, in teteu innan, no izquj in qujnamjctivi, in qujtiiaiavtla, ic qujpopololtiaia in jtlaocul, qujtlatlacaaviloaia, qujvevetzqujtiaia, injc amo tlaocuiaz; auh in tlachocaz, qujlmach tlatetzaviz: qujl mjec iaumj-

1. *Barrizinzato de cuauac*, in Garibay's rendering (*op. cit.*, p. 306); *der "Wegkehrer,"* according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 171); *fiesta barredera*, in Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they parted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[7] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still,

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drink wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzanac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coololoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec quitquitiuh: in oacic itpā mec contema, contemjlia.

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, quijlmach quicxipaca.

Auh in oacic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoiatemalizzli: iquac quitepeoa in acxoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in quichioaia, iotextli, quitepitztlaliaia, quipachoaia, ioaltic injc quitlaliaia, petlapā in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, quicencaoaia, cemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, ioca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquēmā motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquēman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta iotextli, moteneoa: icxi.

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza iotextli, texxitinj: njmā ic neci, ca ohecoque in teteu:

njman ic quicoalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmā ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, quitzacutimomana: njmā ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu.

Auh in jxquich maceoalli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanaxque inteupā, in inteteupan diablome: çā moche in tlapololli, in quinmanjlia:

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie ioa: çan ie no ivi in quichioa, tlatlaoana in vevetque, in jlamatzitzin, quijlmach, quimjcxipaca in ohecoque teteu.

Auh in jmuxtlaioc, iquac hecoa in Jacapitzaoac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca inteouh catca, yoa in Iscoçaub-

7. The word *ololoia* is explained by Guthrey (*op. cit.*, p. 107): "*Auh quil mach in ixmac ololoia inino ololoia in ixhipal nemiti tlaolinnili*"—"*y luego cuando vendan los dioses, se parte el mismo ahuate de harina de maiz.*"

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, never-more restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *maguey* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *maguey* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

in amo mjço quipepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iceen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj.

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vctli.

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalquiça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicaz.

Auh in oõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa.

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenquiz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixquich tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neieiecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aquiqque vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna.

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, ça mjxcaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conococtzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncãn toctitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia:

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 290.

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vctli mja itoca matlalvctli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vctli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vctli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittozque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machililo[illegible]que, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoã qujnquatexoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelaxitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 637

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic maviztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iiepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contitlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vctli ipan icac, yn vctlali: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276] [252]

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacalioa, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oqujcencauhque chõchaiotl, mec moxeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

19. See Pl. 31.

X 796 night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

amaxotlalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl: auh in otlan, in oiecauh, mitlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlaltitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in qujquequetza, vei oncã cemjlhujtia:

X 796 And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

778

auh in tepicque achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque, injc qujnchivilizque imamatlatquj, tepictotõ: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instruments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

[534]

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujtqujtze in inchã tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoã imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquẽtia:

And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço m cujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhqueme, Tepetzintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[4]

Auh in qujnpiquja iehoantin in tetepe: in popocatepetl, in jztactepetl, anoço iztac cioatl, in tlaloc, in iooaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhqueme, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chicome coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceedingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and sauce bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

[415]

Auh in oqujncencauhque, mec qujntlamaca, cecenj mjxcavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çã achitoton, papatlachtotonti papatlachpipil: quauhcaxitotonco in qujntetemjlia, yoã inmolcaxitoton, yoan inçoqujtecõtoton, çan no tepitoton cẽcã achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was [in them]. And the green jars were made of these green gourds.[5] They split them, and took out their seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[6] Thus all night they sang for [the

[415] [275] 824

auh nappa in qujntlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan manj vntetl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, iehoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, qujxtlapanaia, qujoalqujxtilia in jaiovachio, qujoalaiooachqujxtia: yoan qujoalqujxtilia in jcujtlaxcol, in juhquj mecatl, vncan conteca in aioctli,

4. These are located in the chapter on Ad canale. See p. 43. Tepetzintli and Tepepolli probably are the Tepetzinco and Tepepulco named in that chapter.
5. *Cucurbita ferifolia Bouché* (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 221).
6. Cf. Seler (*loc. cit.*)—*Kürbiswein* (*aioctli*). *Aioctli*, however, is defined (Rémi Simeon *op. cit.*) as a mixture of honey and water.

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they seized what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mist House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the bidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." None came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

iuh ceioal in qujncujcatia, qujntoçavia, yoan qujntlapichilia, qujnvilacapitzalhuja. 796x 978

Auh in tlapitzaia amo ichoan in tequjppaneque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaitiloia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopaztli, njmã ie ic qujmonaqujlia in iollopan. [286]

Auh in oconaqujli, njmã ic qujoalquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchioa, qujoalmaca in tepiqujnj, xoxovic xicalco, in qujoallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõmjctique tzoalti: njmã ie ic qujncenqujxtia, qujtecpichoa, in jxqujch imamatlatquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cõtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxxototon, in quauhcaxtotonti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxqujxh aztapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan oxtopilquavitl, yoan in jxqujch in tlaquaia in caxtotonti yoan in chalchiuhteiomatl much vmpa concaoa in aiauhcalco.

In ie vi qujcaoazque, njmã ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlacoanotzalti, in tepictlaquazque: mec tetlamaco, cetecnj, neixcavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmã ie ic qujnmaca in vetli. 796x

auh in cioa no calaquj, moteneoa ontamalcaoa, aiac çan juh iauh, muchi tlacatl itlaol qujtqujtiuh in cioa qujcuecuexanotivi: auh in aca icintzin in qujtquj, aço caxtolotl, anoço tlamjc.

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec qujntlamaca tetlamaco: njmã no qujmaca in vetli, qujntlaõtia, qujnoalmanjlia tlilapaxtica in vetli, yoã qujoalmana in tetlaoan, in tlaoanonj, in tlaoãcaxitl, çan no tiltic. [273 415]

Auh in jquac concaoa tetevitl, in nextlaoalli cõma- [202]

7. The *Primeiro MS* version differs (Ouwehand, *op. cit.*, p. 314): "*aunque quinquanchcuanque ian in intemaquan cinti*"—"*después los desquitaban los mozos con el cuchillo del color.*" Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 294) also describes it: "*clavaban por los pechos, con un Tentzopaztli, que es un palo cuadro, con que tuerce las Mazorcas, ó mazorca de espada, ó cuchillo, sacrificando el corazon, que tambien los ocian pecho, en la tinaxa de la tinta, y contentaba los sabios, como acostumbraban hacer á los Sacrificados, y guardaban.*"

A 796 selves in line and came up the youths and small boys, who offered the old men serpents which they had captured. The old men took these from them and cast them into the fire—everything, whatever they had captured; all the birds—the thrush, the precious [136] thrush, small birds found among the reeds—all the varied kinds of birds; and the water dogs, scorpions, striped lizards, trout, the white fish, the sand fish, crabs, frogs, gulls[3]—all these they cast into the fire.

[262] Then appeared [the boys], and [the priests] offered each one a *tamal* stuffed with greens. And all the common folk made themselves *tamales* stuffed with greens. They laid them before [the image of] Xiuhtecutli. As many as offered to Xiuhtecutli did so purely voluntarily. And some laid them as offerings only in the tribal temples.

And the *tamales* stuffed with greens they also named precious green stone *tamales*. And all the common folk presented among themselves their *tamales* stuffed with greens; they were presented among themselves. Whoever first cooked her *tamal* of greens then went to offer it to her kin. Thus she showed her self-esteem.

[262] And the sauce of the *tamales* stuffed with greens was a sauce of crabs.[4] And the sauce was called *chamolmolli*. And when the good common folk ate, they stood sweating and burning themselves. And the *tamales* stuffed with greens were very hot and gleaming; and they ate them hot, [so that even] their noses steamed. And the husks they set apart; no one let them reach the fire. They strewed all of them in the water.

● [273] And when this was done, when all was eaten, thereupon wine was drunk. It was said: "They are refreshed; the old men refresh [themselves] there in the Temple of Xiuhtecutli." And thus they refreshed [themselves] with wine; they sat drinking and singing until it was dark. Here ended and concluded [the time when] *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten; the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens.

X 796 And when Izcalli came, when twenty days were counted, [this was] when Milintoc roasted something 778 for himself—[he who] likewise [was god of] fire. They also set up his image, which was only a frame-

pipiltotonti, qujmõmacatimanj, in vevetque, in cocoa in oqujmacique: qujnoalcujlitimanj in vevetque, tleco qujmontlaztimanj, yoan in ie ixqujch, in aqujn çaço tlein ocacic, in jxqujch tototl, in acatzanatl, in teutzanatl, in acatechichictl, in ie ixqujch nepapã tototl, yoan in axoloti, in acaltetepon, in mjlquaxochtli, xovili, in amjlotl, in xalmjchi, in acocilin, in cujatl, anenez, moch tleco qujmõtlaztimanj:

njmã ic oalqujztimanj, qujnoalmacatimani, cecentetl in oauhqujltamalli. Auh ixqujch tlacatl in maceoalli mooauhqujltamalhuja: ixpan ontlamanaia in xiuhtecutli: çan teiollotlama, in quezquj ontlamanaia ixpan Xiuhtecutli: auh in cequjntin çan in cacalpulco in tlamanaia.

Auh in oauhqujltamalli, no qujtocaiotiaia, chalchiuhtamalli: auh in jxqujch maceoalli netech qujmomacaia, in inoauhqujltamal: netech motlatlamacaia: in aqujn achto oicucic, ioauhqujltamal: mec iauh qujmacaz in joãiolquj, ic qujnextia in netlaçotlaliztli.

Auh in oauhqujltamalli in jmollo catca, acociltlatonjlli: auh in tlatonjlli, motocaiotiaia, chamolmolli: auh in jquac tlaquaia maceoaltzitzinti, mjltonjtoque, mochichinotoque: auh in oauhqujltamalli, vel totonquj totontlapeztic qujtotoncaqua, iaiacapoçontoque: auh in jzoaio, çan nonqua qujtlaliaia, aiac tleco conaxitiaia: muchi atlan contepeoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ontlatlaqualoc, njmã ie ic tlaoano: mjtoa, texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vmpa iteupan xiuhtecutli: auh injc texcalcevia vetli, tlaoantoque, cujcatoque, çan iuh ioca, njcã tlamj ic tzonqujça, in oauhqujltamalli qualo, in anoço vauhqujltamalqualiztli.

Auh in onacic Izcalli, in jquac tlacempoalti: iquac motlaxqujaia in Milintoc, çan no ie in tletl: no qujtlaliaia ixiptla, çan no colotli in qujchioaia, conaquja ixaiac, tapachtli in tlachioalli, motentilhuj, in tlilli

3. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmado ed.), Vol. III, p. 194 (*milquauich, ovoili, amilol*); p. 195 (*ovoili, xalmjch*); p. 196 (*ouvovoili*); pp. 187-8 (*xoxolaui*); p. 189 (*ouarlachinli*). *Amilol* is *Anablepsoma dimerianus* according to Gerlach (*Liste del náhuatl*, p. 198), and *Anablepsoma mexicanum* (mud puppy) according to Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 75); Robert Lehmann-Nitsche ("Tonadillas und Quartalsmond," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. LXX, p. 78) says it is a "*schlangenähnliche Lurche (Fischlurche)*." For *ovoili*, Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 90) has *Cyprinus americanus; lit. amilol* (Vol. II, p. 75) "a white fish like a sand eel." Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 233.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 155-6.

x 796 hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon
[293] they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known
[535 as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the
628] Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of the ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

x 796 And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers
608 sought out some master of the youths, seasoned warrior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle.
[431] Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

[304] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

x 796 And when they had gone to their homes, there-
upon all ate and drank.

● 273 And then, in the temple, began singing and dan-
535 cing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quicted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal qujtzitzquja amatziqujpilli; njmã ie ic oaltemo mjtotitivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ie ic tlaiaoaloa, çã nappa in tlaiaoaloa: auh in ommjtotique mec, nexixitinjlo, texixitinjlo, njmã ie ic calacoa in tecpan tlatecpanolos. Auh in ichoatl y, moteneoa: netecujtotilo, motecujtotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in muchioaia;

ie iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in peoaloia in tenacazxapotlaloia in qujnnacazxapotla pipiltotonti: yoan qujnpotonja, tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in toztli.

Auh in ventli in gujchioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temooaia, ichoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlanenequja impilhoaque injc Tetlatizque: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitiz, qujtlauhtiaia:

in oqujchtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qujtlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazxapotlaloc; njmã ie ic qujnvivica, in qujnchichinozque pipiltotõti: qujtlalia tletl, tletlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc moteneoa techichinolo in calpulhuevetque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco qujmonjauhtimanj: njman ic qujnoalmacatimanj in tetlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlatzatzatzi, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic iatimanj in inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ie ic tlatlaqualo, hastlioa.

Auh in opeoaloc teupan in ie cujco in ie netotilo, nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa viloa in teupan: in Tetlaoan, in teavicoan qujnvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlatquj ietiuh in vetli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica in qujitquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vncã cujco: njmã ie ic ommomana in mitotia, qujnmamama in pipiltotonti: vncã qujmomacatimanj, qujmomacatinemj in vetli: netech qujmomamaca.

11. The *Real Palacio* MS here contains the line *yoan ye chiamapinolli*, which probably identifies the *pinolli* as ground dried maize and chia seeds.

And for drinking wine [they used] very small drinking vessels. And all gave wine to drink to the small children.

Hence was named [the occasion] "The children all drink wine."

And at sundown this all ceased and all went to their homes. And when they had departed to their homes, once again there was dancing in their courtyards. And the kin [of those who celebrated] drank wine—the revered old men and old women.

Here ended Izcalli.

And for this reason was [the feast] named Izcalli (The Growing): at this time they lifted by the neck all the small children. It was said that thus they grasped them for growth; they grasped them for growth that they might quickly mature.

Enough. Here ended and concluded Izcalli.

Auh injc quja injc tlaoanaia, in tlaoancaxitl, çan tepiton, çã tetepiton: auh muchintin qujntlaoantiaia in pipiltotonti: 796 273 [415]
ie injc moteneoa, pillaoano.

Auh ie teutlac in necacaoaloia, viviloa in techachan: auh in onviviloac techachan, ie no ceppa mjtotia in jmjtoalco, muchintin tlatlaoana in tehoaniolque, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin.

Oncan tlamj in Jzcalli.

Auh injc moteneoa Jzcalli: vncã qujnquechanaia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti: qujlmach, ic qujmizcalloana: qujmjzcalana, injc iciuhca quauhtiazque. 796 [827]

Ie ixqujch njcan tzonquiça, njcan tlamj in jlhujtl Jzcalli.

they placed them to one side. They strewed them in the water, and none, verily, might taste the husks. Because of this, care was therefore taken that none should be scorched, burned, or dropped into the fire.

in izoatl: ipampa ic momalhujaia inic amo aca mochichinoz, motlatiz, tleco onvetziz. 796x [252]

And only during one day were they eaten. By night they were done; all finished. They left nothing for the next day.

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ie iooa otlatlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuztlaioc.

And when it grew dark, the old men and the old women drank, alone. It was said: "They refresh themselves."

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalcevia. [273]

And after this they set up the image of the fire [god], Ixcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyoueue. They gave him figure and substance of a dough of amaranth seed. These things they whose office it was, did—the men of the tribal temple, known as the Tzonmulca[2]—who especially worshipped [fire] as a god.

Auh in jquac y, qujtlaliaia in jxipela tletl Ixcoçauhquj, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzooalli in qujtlacatlaliaia, in qujnacaiotiaia: ichoan qujchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, moteneoa: Tzommulca, oc cenca ichoan in qujmoteutiaia.

And when the twentieth day came, it was said: "Izcalli hath ended." They who provided ceremonially bathed victims then published and made it known to others [that they had secured sacrificial victims, each] setting forth in public his ceremonially bathed one, a slave whom he had bought, made [to be] the likeness of Ixcoçauhqui; the owner then adorned him, causing to be placed upon him all the array of Ixcoçauhqui. Thus it was said: "The bather [of the victim] gathereth [his wealth]."

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Izcalli tlamj: in tealtianj, iquac qujteittitia, qujteixmachtia, teixpan qujquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oqujcouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Ixcoçauhquj, iquac ic qujchichioa itech qujtlalilia in jxqujch in jnechichioal Ixcoçauhquj ic mjtoaia, tlaixnextia in tealtianj: [567]

And for this reason did one say "the bather [of a victim]": he continually bathed his victim with hot water all the time until he went to his death; all the time he caused him to know that death would be his lot at an appointed time; that he would die in the count of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

auh injc mjtoa, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxqujch cavitl mjqujtiuh, in jxqujch cavitl qujmatitiuh in vncã imjqujz tequjpã in jtlapoalpan: in mjqujz ipan tlacaxipeoaliztli.

And before he died, he favored him greatly. The bather was careful of [the victim]; he enriched him [with gifts]; he restored all to him. All the food which he offered him was good.

Auh in aiamo mjquj, cenca qujmavizmatia, qujçeçẽmatia in tealtianj, qujtlanenectia qujtlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in qujmacaia:

And a harlot was provided as his guardian. Constantly she amused him; she caressed him; she made him laugh and be merry. Taking him about the neck, she rejoiced, she embraced him. She caught his lice [for him]; she combed his hair and arranged his hairdress. She made him forget his sorrows. And when the time came for the bathed one to die, the harlot took everything; she rolled and bundled up all the belongings of the bathed one. That which he wore he placed upon her; that which he had used

auh ce avienj, in jtepixcauh muchioaia: muchipa caviltia, caavilia, qujcamanalhuja, qujvetzqujtia, qujquequeloa, iquechtlan ãaquj, qujquechnaoa, caatemja, qujtzitziquaoazvia, qujpepepetla, qujtlaoculpopoloa: auh in jquac ie imjqujzpan tlaaltilli: in avienj moch concuj, ontlacemololoa, concemololoa in jxquich in jtlatquj tlaaltilli: in oqujquequemja, in jtech oqujtlatlaliaia in oqujtitlanja, in jpã oiztlacattinenca, 796x 548 [515]

2. Tzommulco: temple of the fire god; also one of the districts of Tenochtitlan. It is mentioned in the Appendix, p. 177, as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. V, p. 74).

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed awe [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[9]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuiltecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [thus] all entered their homes.

Thus one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And thus ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during those days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

quenman tlatviz, in quenman tlatlavilotleoaz, in quenmã tlatoz cujcujtzcatl. 796'

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, aatlioa: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in qujncujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoàn iavi, vncan qujtotia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oalcenqujxoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotiliztli, in cujqujztli, cepã caoantimoomana, xxxamacatimanj in cujcatl: 852 [535] [533]

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vetli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoãtia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtotoa, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano: 273 796' 852

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vetli,

yoan intlaoancax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: ei icxi, nauhcampa nacace, [415]

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmeztivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexoxocolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech nesano, neaanalo, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalacoa techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vetli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc ontzonoquiça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã oalmotlalia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonalli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpeuhquj cenca imacaxoia, cenca mauhcaitoia: 777 796' 805

ichica ca çan nẽqujzquj, vncã nenenqujztilo, atle vnqujxoa, nenencolo, nenenencolo: ichica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mãcenalli, can vncan icnoiotl, neto-

9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 34.

X 796 782 they might not become slothful was this done in the houses.

qujmjxitiaia injc amo tlatzivizcujxque techan in muchioaia yn.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

Copaltemalizti.

Auh in copaltemalizti ic muchioaia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ie mjtoz, aço tecutlatolli ie mitoz, achto contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in aqujn ie tlatoz, çan vncan manca in copalli xicaltica: anoço cujcanj in ie cujcaz, ic peoaz, achto contema in copalli in tlequazco, njman ic peoa in cujcanj.

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

[201 576] The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

And thus was protested, thus was avouched one's [626] word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, thus he said unto him:

"If what thou sayest is true, do thou kiss the earth."

Whosoever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

Tlalqualizti.

In tlalqualizti ic muchioaia, iquac in campa oalhujlooaia, muchj tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imapil, aço ispan diablo, anoço tlecujlixquac:

yoan ic tlaneltililoia, ic neltia in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca neltocoia tlatolli: ic teilhujloia

intla nelli in tiqujtoa, tlaxontlalqua:
ic njman tlalquaia in aqujn, ic qujneltiliaia itlatol.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

X 796 782 264 And thus was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first ate [before], indeed, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

Tlatlaçalizti.

Auh inic muchioaia tlatlacaliztli, iquac in tlein qualoz yn aiamo qualo, aço tlaqualli, achtopa achiton tepitõ mocotonaia, tlecujlixquac onmotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc njman ic peoa inic tlaqualoz: aiac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlatlaçaloia, in tlecujlixquac.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

X 796 782 273 Thus was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when thus it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

Tlatoiaoalizti.

Inic muchioaia tlatoiaoalizti, iquac in tlamanaloia, aço vitziecoloia: iquac in aca iancujcan qujtlalia vetli, yn iquac oqujtlapiuj, iquac ic tenotzaia, qujoalmana apaztica tlecujlisquac, yoan tetlaoancuxtepiton.

And when men were to drink, they poured wine forth into the drinking vessel, and then poured a libation in front of the hearth. They poured the wine in a libation in the four directions.

And when they had poured a libation of the wine, then everyone drank the wine, then all began the drinking.

Auh yn iquac ic tetlaoantiz, caxopiloa tetlaoanoantica in vctli, njman ic contoiaoa in tlecujlisquac, naubcãpa contoiaoaia in vctli.

Auh yn jquac ocontoiauh vctli, njman ic muchi tlacatl, quja yn vctli, njman ic muchi peoa in tetlaoantiloia.

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793 them. None should fail. And here, over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who was made, as it were, their leader.

vncan tepan icaca im patecatl, iuhqujn tachcauh muchivaia,

793 [805] 273 Then they arranged the rabbit [wine] jars. These they filled with [ceremonial] five[-fold] wine, which they also called sacred wine. Then he brought forth the sucking-tubes, made of reeds, and laid them with the sacred wine—two hundred and three of them, but only one was bored through.

njman ic quiquetza in tochtecomatl vncã contecа in macujlvctli in qujlvjaia teuvctli, njman ic qujvalquirtia in piaztli acatl vncan cõmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlacpoalli vmei, auh çan ce in coionquj,

And when they had set them out, thereupon all danced and went in procession; the Centzontotochtin danced.

auh in ocõma, njman ic ic netotilo, tlaiavalolo, mjtotia in centzontotochtin,

Thereupon they went up to the sacred wine. There was much jostling about until one should see the [sucking tube which was] bored through. And when he who saw it then took up the bored [tube], then they made room for him.

njman ic ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac ichoatl qujttaz coionquj, auh in aquin oquittac, in oquicujc coionquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

Only he alone drank the sacred wine. And when he had drunk the sacred wine, thereupon all dispersed.

ça icel qujticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlacanoc, njman ic viujloua.

Epconaquacuiltzin.

Epconaquacujltzin.

793 [805] The Epconaquacuiltzin—behold what were his duties: when feasts should be celebrated, perchance when a new fifty-two-year cycle should start—verily, all feasts—all of them he announced; or when fire was laid. In truth, all that should be done, all things this man thus commanded and furthered.

In epconaquacujltzin, izca yn jtequjuh catca: Yn iquac ilhujtl quiçaia, yn aço xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ie muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipã tlatoaia, injc tletemaloz in ie muchi muchivaz muchi ichoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloneo.

Moloncoeuhca.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloneo also had this as his duty: In his charge were the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, and all which this one needed when [sacrificial victims] were to die. And he had in his charge the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauecatl, and the incense ladle, the quail, and the black plumes with which [he who was arrayed in the likeness of] Chiconauecatl was feathered.

In moloncoeuhca, çan no ichatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copalli, in vlli, in tilli, in isquich itech monequja in ichoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tilli ic moçaia, in chicunavecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tiltic ic mopotonjaia in chicunavecatl.

The [Priest of] Cinteotl.

Cinteotzin.

The duties of the [Priest of] Cinteotl were that all things which were required be thus commanded, so that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber,

In itequjuh catca cinteotzin çan isquich in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicoaia in amatl in copalli, in vlli in jiauhtli in itech monequja xilo-

Ome Tochtli Tlilhua.

Ome tochtli Tlilhua: likewise this one was concerned with the paper, the *copal* [incense], the sleeveless jacket, the bells, all things which have been mentioned, which also this one, [he who impersonated] Ome tochtli Tlilhua, needed upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tlilhoa ome tochtli.

In tlilhoa vme tochtli, çan no ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in isqujch omjto, çan no ichoatl itech monequja in tlilhoa vme tochtli ipan tepeilhujtl. 793

Ome Tochtli Pãtecatl.

Ome tochtli Pãtecatl: this one produced the five[-fold] wine; he took by the hand and went with the artificer, the one who made the sacred wine, upon the feast of Panquetzaliztli, when they used the five[-fold] wine.

Vme tochtli pãtecatl.

In vme tochtli patecatl ichoatl qujiolitiaia in macujlvctli imac concavaia in tultecatl ichoatl qujchivaia in teuvctli ipan panquetzaliztli in popolivia in macujlvctli. [273]

Ome Tochtli Napa Tecutli.

Ome tochtli Napa tecutli was in charge of the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber—all that was needed when [he who was arrayed as] Napa tecutli died, upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli nappa tecutli.

In vme tochtli nappa tecutli ipã tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli: in ie ixqujch monequja in jquac miquja nappa tecutli, ipan tepeilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Papantac.

Ome tochtli Papantac: this one also made the wine which was called "chalky wine." This one laid it before Moctezuma, and [did so] when all the children, or the men, or the women became drunk upon the feast of [Uei] Toçoztli.

Vme tochtli papantac.

In vme tochtli papantac, çan no ichoatl qujchivaia in vctli in mjtovaia tiçavctli: ichoatl conmacaia in motecoçoma, auh iquac tlanavaia ie ixq'ch pipiltzintin, in anoço oqujchtli, anoço cihoatl ipan toçoztli. [273]

The Same Ome Tochtli.

Similar were his duties. His charge was [like that of] Ome tochtli Papantac; and [these things] were done upon the feast of Atl cualo.

Vme tochtli idem.

Çan no iubquj catca in itequjuh, in itequjuh catca, vme tochtli papantac, auh in muchivaia ipan in atl cavalo. [273]

Cinaqueuilli.

The charges of the cinaqueuilli were all the offerings which were needed by her of the Temple of Atenchicalcan [Toçi]—the flowers, the tobacco which she laid before Toçi; verily, all things which the women offered when the hand-holding dance was danced. All this was the charge of the cinaqueuilli.

Cihoaquacujlli.

In cihoaquacujlli itequjuh catca, in isqujch ventli, in vncan monequja, atenchicalcatl, in xuchitl, in ietl injc qujtlamanjliaia toci vel ixqujch in ontlamanaia in cihoa in jquac navaloia ichoatl muchi itequjuh catca, in cihoaquacujlli.

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And then the old man replied to him: "My grandson, how, in sooth, is thy health?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to him: "Verily, much do I ail in all parts. Nowhere am I well—my hands, my feet. In truth, my body is tired, as if it were undone."

And then the old one said to him: "Here is the potion, good, soothing, and intoxicating. If thou shalt drink of it, it will relieve and heal thy body. And thou shalt weep; thy heart will become troubled. Thou shalt think upon thy death. And also thou shalt think upon where thou shalt go."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Where am I to go, old one?"

Then the old man said to him: "Yea, thou shalt go there to Tollan-Tlapallan. A man there standeth guard, one already aged. Ye shall consult with each other. And when thou shalt return here, thou shalt again have been made a child."

On this, Quetzalcoatl was [much] moved. And the old man once more said: "Be of good cheer. Drink the potion."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Old man, I will not drink of it."

Then the old man said to him: "Drink of it; thou shalt feel a need [for it]. Nay, only place [some of it] before thee [as] thy [small] portion [in case thou feelest] thy desire [for it].[4] Taste only a little of it."

And Quetzalcoatl then tasted a little, and afterwards drank heartily of it.

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "What is this? It is very good. The sickness is now abated. Where went the pain? No longer am I sick."

Then the old man said: "Drink of it once again; the potion is good. Thus will thy body gain strength."

And as soon as he had once more drunk of it—all,—then he became sotted. Thereupon he wept, and, greatly was he moved. Thus, at this time, was Quetzalcoatl aroused; his heart was quickened. No longer could he forget what had happened, but went on reflecting, realizing [that] indeed the devil had tricked him.

[273] And the potion which [the old man] had offered him, it is told, was white wine. And it is said that this [wine] was made of the sap of the *maguey* called *teometl*.[5]

auh njmã quilhui in vevento, nonviuhtzine quen vel ticmomachitia, in monacaiotzin,

njman quilhuj in Quetzalcoatl: ca cenca noviã ninococova acan veli in momac, in nocxic, vel çoçotlaoa in nonacaio, iuhquj ciciotomj:

auh njmã quilhui in vevento, ca nican catquj, in patli cenca qualli, iamanquj, yoan tetech quiz, intla ticmitiz, motech quiçaz, yoan qujiamaniliz in monacaio, yoã tichocaz, icnoiovaz in moiollo tiquilnamiquiz, in momiquiz. auh yoan vel ipan tiquilnamiquiz incampa tiaz.

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl: campa niaz veventze:

njman quilhuj in vevento, ca ça tiaz in vmpa tullan tlapalan: ce tlacatl vmpa tlapia ie vevetlacatl, ĩmononotzazque. auh in iquac tioalmocuepaz, oc ceppa tipiltontli timuchioaz,

njman ic moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl: auh in vevento ie no ceppa quilhuj, tlaoque xocõmiti, in patli,

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl veventze ca amo niquiz,

njman quilhuj in vevẽto, ma ça xoconmjti timotolinix, ma çan nel noço mixquac xocontlali motonal motolinix, ma çan achitõ xoconmopaloltí.

auh in Quetzalcoatl: njman conpalo achiton: auh çatepã vel conjc,

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl: tlen j? ca cenca, qualli, in cocoliztli ca oc ompolo, campan oia cocolli caocmo njnococoa,

njman quilhuj in vevento, ca oc ce xoconj ca qualli in patli ic chicaoaz in monacaio,

auh niman ic ie no ceppa ce conjc, njman ic ivintic, njman ie ic choca vel ielleluquiça, ic vncan moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl, vncã tlapan in jiollo, xocmo conilcacaoaia, ça ie in quimattinenca in qujmattinemja vel qujoalmalacacho in tlacatecuhtl:

auh ĩ patli qujmacac, quilmach ichoatl in iztac vetli, yoan qui ichoatl in teometl ynecuio ic tlachiuhti.

4. In Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 273) and in Angel María Garibay K. (*op. cit.*, p. 136), *tlacatlaoa* and *matlaoa* are translated as *desirable* and *sensible*. The present version follows, however, both the *Real Palacio* MS and the *Florentine Codex*.

5. The medicinal qualities of *teometl* are described in Sahagún (Dibble ed.), Vol. III, p. 239.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,[1] or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].[2] Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

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And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

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When the masters of the youths had consented,[3] when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his house.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals[4] were taken thence. Lords and mar-

Injc. 6. capitulo: vncan moteneoa in tetlatzacuiltiliztli, in tetlamaceoaltiliztli, ynjc qujntlatzacuiltiaia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaoanaia.

Injc nezcaltiloia telpuchcali, cẽca necujtlavilo, in nochpanoaztli, njman aiac quja in vctli.

auh in ie vel oqujchti, ĩ ie chicaõque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vctli, cenca motlatiaia, çan nj.nan amo teispan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quexq'ch in quja,

auh intla ittoia haca telpuchtli tlaoana, in itto in at vctlica namjco, anoço vetztoc anoço quica, anoço cana teoan tlaoantica itto, njman ica necentlalilo, ica nenechicolo:

auh ica mavizttli vetzi, intla çan maceoalli, anoço ça can aqujn, teixpan viviteco, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica mõquj, anoço mecatl quiiecaltia.

auh intla tlaçopilli ichtaca qujmecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchti ohome, ieey in jnmecaoan oncatca, aço ce vel ichã in ca, aço quezqujntin chaiaoatoque. auh in iquac quilhuja motelpuchtlali, tlaxtlaoa injc qujntlalcavia in telpupuchti quachtli, quicaoa aço matlactli, aço cemipilli in mocuiltonoa,

yn oazque in tachcaoan in oquimacauhque njmã (mitoa) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cihoatl conana in ichan qujpia.

auh in moncalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaoa telpuchiotl, cenca ẽcã veveti in telpuchpan; auh yieflotlama in tlatoanj, qujnaoatia,

auh amo cenca mjecpa in telpuchpan anoço in tecuti, çã tlatlacatecca, tlatlacochcalca, achcacauhti yn

1. Quizar probably calco is meant. Sahagún, in *Biblioteca Mexicana*, p. 345, transcribes the Nahuatl as *ceo pequizaz*—"was filled with dirt."
2. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 346, n. 1, says of *quauhtica vetzi quauhtica mõquj*: "Parodia una quadrilla usual, quitian usual—dalendo, *ó* usurpal."
3. Cuapan: reference to the *Real Palacio MS* suggests that this should read *ceiaqua*.
4. See Chapter V, nn. 3, 4.

874 793 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

vitztlalia, itecciz ietiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oncito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

[273] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

[252] Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

[273] 836 688 Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with magney spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanetza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepitoa quitlacoa quiçoçoa yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltzontli ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoçoa in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ic tachcaoa, atlã ãmalhiaia.

[785] Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[26] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoalistli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltzontli. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoalistli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztal quiquaia, amo tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtilõia in qualli tlatolli,

26. "Tlapaloa, ni. *manger de peu ceux qui jeunoit, quelle manoit*" (Molina, op. cit.).

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he danced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimã ye ic quimaca im moteccuiçoma in tlauiztli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech pouia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicauaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him. up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuã quinchiuaya. Auh niman cõmaca ỹ yocotzonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in imal. uel ispã im miq'.

● [273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ỹ ye iuhqui in oçacencauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli mihtouaya teooctli. inic quitq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in õya. niman ic coniaua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cõmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in õya. niman ic cõuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moyehecultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman õmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca ommaquetztiteca niman ic coneliteq' concuilia in iyollo coniauilia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the 323 438 city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain. 346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth how many kinds of drunkards there were.

Inje macujlli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in quenjn tlatlamantiticate tlaoanque.

And it was said that the wine was known as Four Hundred Rabbits.

Ioan mjtoa, in vctli ic moteneoa centzontotochti:

One drinker might not harm or belittle his day sign. The wine did not irritate him; it did not cause him irritation or make a fool of him. He only went to sleep, and continued to sleep. He became pale and remained pale, sitting with drooping head—remaining with head bowed; he sat rolled up like a ball, and remained coiled; he sat embracing himself, hugging himself; he rested on his shins, and remained on his shins; he squatted on his heels and remained on his heels. He was only by himself, and calmly went off by himself. Peacefully he stretched out; quietly he fell down exhausted. In no way did he offend one. He stretched out, rumbling as he slept, groaning, snoring, as if he had torn off his nose, as if he enjoyed the sleep.

in aca tlaoanquj, amo qujtlaveliaia, amo ica mocaiaoa, in jtonal, amo qujçuma in vctli, amo ipan tlaneçomaltia, amo qujtlavelilotilia: çan cochtimotlalia, cochtica, mjctimotlalia, mjctica, tolotimotlalia, tolotica, motapaiollalia, tapaiolca, momalcochotimotlalia, monaoatectimotlalia, çan mocototztlalia, cototzca, moxozolotlalia, xoxoloca, çan mocauhtica, çan jviian tetlalcavia, iviian moteca, iviian quauhtenvetzi, atle ic teixco nemj, quaqualacatoc in cochi, cotalotoc, icotocatoc, iuhqujn moiacatzaiana, iuhqujn qujtlamachtia cochiztli.

And one of them only wept. He loosed tears as if bringing good to himself, sobbing as he pressed them out. Like hail stones they showered down, a great course of water simply streaming down. His tears buried him. He could not stop. Verily, that which the wine made him remember ate his heart out.

Auh in aca çan ie choca, qujxaiovitoma, iuhqujn mocnelia, iuhqujn tzitzicunoa, iuhqujn mopatzca, iuhqujn tecivitl pixavi, iuhqujn açã cempantli qujtoca ixaio, auel motlacaoaltia, vel iiollo conqua in tlein qujlnamjctia vctli.

And for one of them his only joy and pleasure was in song, in singing. He wished not to talk; he neglected listening to jests, to counsel, to stories. As if it unleashed his song, when he drank the wine, he so recalled his song, as if it engulfed him. So the wine worked on him.

Auh in aca çan ie ipac, çan ie ivelmaca in cujcatl, in cujqujztli: amo tlatlatoznequj, aiel quiçaqujz in camanalli, in nenonotzalli, in tlatolli: iuhqujn ie qujtlapolhuja ycujc, in onoconjc vctli, iuhqujn qujtlalnamjctia, iuhqujnma conapotzavia ycujc, iuhqujn conãnjlia vctli.

And another did not sing; he did nothing but talk. Uncontrolled he talked; he spoke much. He chattered, jabbered, gibbered, and mumbled. With ill-will he eavesdropped and betrayed others. He blustered, vaunted, and sang praises of himself; he esteemed and made himself out as great. He belittled what others said, speaking deceitfully and constantly shaking his head. He pretended to be rich and reprimanded the poor; he pretended to be superior, to be

Auh in aca çan ie tlatlatoa, çan ie vamanantlatoa, çan ie tlatlatoa, tlatetoa, tequjtlatlatoa, popolocatjca, qujqujnacatica, mjtleuhtica, tecacaca, techicoitoa, mochachamaoa, motlatlanjtztia, moçiçinoa, moieoaitoa, moveveilia, moveinectica, tepapatzauhtica, xixictlatotica, moquaquacuecuechotica, mocujltonocanectica, teicnotlacaoatica, motachcauhnectica, machicanectica: iuhqujn ac çan momattica, ãmopatzaoallanj, ãmotempanavillanj, ãmoten-

X 787 ●273 one in authority. Haughtily, he thought well of himself. He did not deflate himself; he did not overcome nor chastise his tongue. Ne one could force him to recant. He thought himself superior, better than others.

aquillanj, aiac vel qujtlatolilochtia: vel moieoatoca, motepanaviltoca,

Indistinct was his speech. What did he say? He was as if stirred, and his words bubbled up and burst forth. It was as if he argued, harangued, enforced silence, and drove all people away, put them to flight, numbed them with terror, visited them with afflictions, made them shrink with fright, and assailed them with his words.

aixnezqujn itlatol, tlein mach qujtoa, iuhqujn momoloca, iuhquin qujmomolotza ytlatol, iuhquin qujcuecuepotza itlatol, iuhqujn móolhuja, iuhqujn motitiza, iuhqujn cactoc qujteteza, iuhqujn tececentlaça, iuhqujn tetotocaticalac, iuhqujn tepôpouhtitlaz, iuhqujn tetotoliuhtitlali, iuhqujn tecocototztlali, iuhqujn tecujcujtiuetz, itlatol:

It seemed that he disgusted others, and did not inquire what they said. Wherever they may have spoken, or undertaken something, he seemed to make little of it and kick it aside. But when he had drunk nothing, he seemed to be dumb, one who whispered, fearful of people, quite frightened.

iuhqujn tequacêcepouh, iuhqujn acontetemoa, tlein qujtoa: canjn mach ontlatoa, canjn mach ontlaana, iuhquj tlatlaczotla, iuhqujn tlaquêqueça: auh in ie atle conj, iuhqujn nontli iuhqujn anaoatl, vel teimacazquj, vel mauhquj,

For all this he excused himself by saying: "It is because I no longer knew what I said; for I was drunk. The wine had taken effect upon me; I was overwrought."

ça ixquich injc mopâtia, in qujteilhuja: ca aocmo njcma, in tlein njquijto, ca njvintic, ca notech motlali, njtlaneçomalti.

And another drunkard was very suspicious. He misunderstood; not as things were did he hear them. Often he blamed his wife. If anyone only looked at her, he then said to him: "Why dost thou make eyes at my wife?" Then he gave rise to hatred, fury, and murder, etc. And all that which was spoken he took as applying to him. He suspected that when there was occasion for mirth, he was thereby being defamed, the object of ridicule. Without reason he belabored the people. The wine and drinking cursed him.

Auh in aca tlaoâquj vel ipan chicotlamati, chîchicotlacaquj, amo iuh tlâtlacaquj: mjiecpa tetech qujtlamja yn jcioauh: in açaca çan conjeta, ie cuel quijlhuja: tle ic tiquixnotza in nonamjc: vncan quipeoaltia in qualantli, in tlauellli, in nemjctiliztli. Etc. Ioan moch qujmocujtia, in tlein tlatolli mjtoa: ioâ in tlein vetzquijlilo, in momatica iehoatl in ica nenonotzalo in vetzquijlilo, çan jliviz in teaoa, qujveuexcatlachieltia in vctli, in tlailli.

And if it were a woman, she simply went to her knees; she remained on her knees. No longer was she rational. She sat with legs outstretched; she remained with legs outstretched. And if she were much besotted, if she were much affected, her hair simply formed a mantle over her. She tumbled there, with hair streaming out, etc.

Auh intla çioatl: ça papachiuhtimotlalia, ça pâpachca, aocmo qujmati, momemelauhtimotlalia, momemelauhtica: auh intla cenca vel oivintic, in vel oiellelacic, ça itzon qujquentica; vncan quauhtenvetzi, itzon patlaoatoc. Etc.

X 787 273 776 All of these kinds [of drunkenness] here mentioned, each one, showed upon and were the doing of the drunkard. It was said: "So is his rabbit. Thus was his day sign; in this way did the wine gods manifest themselves on him." And if a drunkard fell over a precipice, or else fell somewhere [else], it was said: "He was affected by the wine gods." Because in many ways the wine showed its power,

In jzquitlamantli in: njcâ omoteneuh, iceceiaca itech neci, iceceiaca itlachioal tlaoanquj, mjtoa: ca iuhquj itoch, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ic ipan mjxeoa, in totochtin: ioan intla omotepexivi tlaoanquj, in anoço cana ovetz, mjtoa: omotochvi: iehica in mjecâ quiça itlachioal vctli, ic mjtoa: centzontotochti: ipanpa ca amo çan quexquijch in jtech quiça âqualli.

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it was called the Four Hundred Rabbits; for very few did it affect favorably.

And when, it was said, the day Two Rabbit set in, then was celebrated the feast day of the principal wine god, who was called Izquitecatl. And although only he alone was named, yet at that time they remembered all the wine gods, who became the wine. Thus was Izquitecatl greatly revered. They set up his image in his temple. There they laid gifts before him; for him they sang and provided music with gourd tubes. And before him stood a stone basin, called two-rabbit basin — full, to the brim. Into the wine dipped the drinking tubes, extending from it so that those who sampled the wine stood drinking it: but only those who could drink, the old men, the old women, the intrepid warriors, the bold, the foolish, who paid the debt with their heads and their breasts. That is, they would be captured sometime when war was declared; or else on issuing forth [to battle] they would capture others and take prisoners. So [by drinking] they went about mocking death.

And the wine which they drank never came to an end; [the basin] never stood empty. The wine makers, the wine making officials, continued pouring it into [the basin]. All came assembling there where they cut the maguey, when everywhere it was the time and season for breaking into the maguey. This was because then they offered new wine. If someone for the first time broke into the maguey, he first poured the extracted material there. Thus they said he poured out wine and offered the wine-pouring to Izquitecatl; they gave him wine to drink.

But not only at this time did they pour wine; rather, always were offerings so made in his temple.

Ioan in jquac mjtoaia, moquetza tonalli, vme tochtli: vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, in jmachcauh totochti: in motenena Izqujtecatl: auh mãcivin çan jcel moteneoa, ca oncan qujncemjlnamjquia, in totochti, ovcti, ic cenca maviztililoia in izqujtecatl, qujtlaliaia ixiptla in jteupan: vncan qujtlamanjlia, quicujcatia, qujtlapichilia acocotica: yoan ixpan icaca tecomjtl, itoca vmetochtecomatl, tentimanj, pexontimanj, in vctli: ipã manj piaztli, piaẓçotimanj, mamaẓço ic conjtimanj in aqujque vmpa ontlatlapaloa: tel çan iehoan in ie tlaoananj, in veuetque, in jlamatque ioan in iaotlauelíloque, in mjivintia: in aquen tlatta, in qujpopoa, yn intzontecon, yn jmekhiqujuh, qujtoznequj: ca onvicozque in quenmã, in ocalmjto iaoiotl: auh no ce onqujçativi, oaltecalaqujzque ontlamatiuj: ic momjqujzquequelotinenca: [415]

auh in vctli quja, aquenman tlamja, ãquẽman cactoc, in contecatimanj tlachicque, tecutlachique: ixqujch oalacirimanj in tetlãchic, yn noviian tlachicpan, tlachicoaian, ca vncan vitzmana intla aca iãcujcan otlatlapan, vncã achto qujteca in jtlachic: ic qujtoaia tlatoiaoa, qujmanjlia itlatoiaoal in Izqujtecatl, qujtlatoiavilia:

auh amo çanjio iquac, y, in tlatoiaoa: ca çan muchipa iuh tlamanca, in itrupan.

[p. 18 is blank]

594 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the leavings.[4]

851 Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncã achitzinca ompacoatoc, nepielotoc, vellamachotoc in nepieloizn, in tecoanotzaloian: auh in cequjn in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati, yn atica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica et.[a] çan motlavellaloa, moquetzteoa, moquetztiquiça, cholotea, maçoma, xaotlaqualçoma, tlãtlatocivi, popolocativj, tlatetotiuj, tlãtlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanauhpactiuj, ic oallatepachoticate, moxixicoticate, yn omotlalito inchã, yn jncalitic: auh intla oittoque in iuh oquizque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin imuztlaioc oc ceppa qujnana, qujmonjcxiana, qujniolceuja, in iquac ic apeoalco, inca nechioalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chia* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chia*,[8] which they drank.

[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, aço chiantzotzolatolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiooachpanj,

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women drank wine. They gathered around and congregated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

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auh yn oioac in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlatlaoana, mohololoa, mocecentlalia, ymixpan quioalquetza yn intlaoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoã yn intlaoancaz, in jntetlaoã, in tetlamamaconj,

The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

[554]

achto iẽ vmpeoa in tetlaoanti, in tetlamamacac, nimã ie ic iauh yn jiacac, in tlaiacac, yn jiacaiocã, ic tevipãtiuh, tecempilotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quioaltecatimanj in vetli, aço iztavetli, anoço aivetli, tlachioalvetli, yn otlaliloc ochichioaloc ic pilhoanoz, ontlaçaço intzaiocomjc, inoccomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: *"y las xícaras del cacao, danan a sus criados."* See n. 2.

5. The text is apparently inexplicably corrected to read *desapparecia*; cf. *Real Palacio MS.*

6. *Or oppa quiccauaca in chiõ.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"a este día llamando, Aparecían: porque en el, se acabaua todo el combite."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Cowley ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as *"chichiliwa a la que estaba comido y bebido."*

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (*chianpinolli*).

9. In the *Real Palacio MS.* yn ilamatque, y mohololoaque follows mohololoaque.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"hechiso de agua, y bien comido, con la rosa: el qual llamaua aquella, que quiere decir, polvo de agua: lo qual venia aparejado, y guardado al orbo del combite: de algunos dias atras."* See also Oviedo Gonçalves de Lima: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1959), passim, and esp. pp. 107 ff.

And the wine server, if he saw that those whom he gave wine did not become intoxicated and in a stupor, but only sat staring and grimacing, once again turned to the left, made a beginning from the left — that is, beginning where he had left off, with those of last place, the lesser in rank. So at that place he made a beginning in order to make them drunk. Thus he went reversing and rearranging the process of making them drunk.

So there was singing: there were songs of sadness and tears; or only broken singing, each one as he liked, each outdoing the others. There was the giving of pleasure, of much contentment. There was the encouragement of one another, and tearful greetings. And some only hummed, singing secretly, or did nothing. And some did nothing else but sit content and rejoicing, laughing and making witty remarks, making others burst into laughter as if their sides were sore. They sat exhausted with mirth[11] if they heard something which moved them to or diverted them with laughter. It was as if dogs were barking.[12]

Just so was it done at banquets and feasting, and assemblages and gatherings of people, and their recreation and the giving of dances, etc., when someone had a feast for the child to place it in the cradle, and the place where he was put in the cradle was watched.

auh in tetlaoanti intla quimjtta quintlaoantia, yn amo ivinti, in amo jamanja, in çan itztoque, ixpepeiontoque, ic no cuel iẽ copuchilochtia, tlaopuchcopa quipeoaltia. q. n. in vncã oquicauh, in tlatzaccan, in tlacuitlapilco, ic nẽ vncan quipeoaltia, ynjc tetlamamaca, ynjc tetlaoantia, ic quicueptiuh, quipapatlatiuh in itetlaoãtiliz: 574 273 851

ic necuicatilo, netlaoculcujcatilo, nechoquizcuicatilo, anoço çan cuicaçacamolo, no çac tle queoa, necujcapanauilo, nezemeltilo, nececemeltilo, neellaquaoalo, nechoquiztlapalolo, auh in aca çan tẽtencuicatica, yhichtacacujcatica, aiac ica quichiuhtica: auh cequjn çan qujxcavia in pactoque, im papactoque, vevetzcatoque, camanalotoque, vetzquiztequittoque, iuhqujn inxillã quaquauhti, ommimjctoque in vetzca, yn onoitla quicacque, in tevetzquiti, tevetzquiccuh, iuhqujn tlananalco. 851 574 [533] [522]

Oyvin in muchioaia coaiotl in tecoanotzaliztli, in tecẽtlaliliztli, tenechicoliztli, tecevilizti, teitotiliztli. et.[a] Yn iquac aca quitlaqualiaia in piltzintli, ynjc tlacoçolaquja, tlacoçolaquiloian nepielo.

11. *Translation by the Real Palacio MS.*
12. *Thousand sources in Ibid.*

[p. 120 is blank]

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[273]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

10-13. Two Rabbits: drunkenness and drunkards (Chapters 4, 5). 14, 15. One Flower: [illegible], [illegible], embroiderers (Chapter 7).

[p. 126 e]

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *teostel*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintec. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, ichoatl in tlitic tetl, motocaiotiaia teutetl, yoan iztlan tlatlaan, tezcapoctli ica: 796X 778 [301 302]

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc. [237]

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmā ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio. 796X [252]

Auh in oquitlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in iosolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tlecu qujmōmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in iosolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in vevcintin cocoa, in ōmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaxtimanj, vncā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque. 796X 262

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmā ie ic tezcalcevilo, tezcalcevia in vevetque in vncan itzupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apilolhepitotō, 796X 274

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hacian otra cosa, ceremonia del dios, del fuego, de pulidos y circulos azules, como una corona. . . .*"
6. *Tonalpouhqui*-feather: in Lib. XII, Cap. i, §4 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexican eagles, "*los plumajes del cuello y de las hombros, hasta la cola, son de hechura de cuchillas (y) blancuzcos tapizados. . . .*"
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y correspondian como pendolas de plumas pulidas, que parecian como pendolas de tejidas.*"
8. Dilcopolli: "*una manera de tortas que llamaban tilcopolli, de maiz molido, hechas sin cocer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. II, p. 380).

X 796 each [of the old men] a bowl of wine, or a gourd for each, or a small earthenware jar for each; quite 274 freely and purely of their own accord they brought with them the wine, pouring it into a large earthenware vessel. And the old men sat drinking wine and refreshing themselves, not, [however,] becoming drunk.

çan in iollocopa, çan in iollotlamati, in concaoa vetli, qujoaltecatimanj apanco: auh tlaoãtoque in vevetque, texcalcevitoque, amo ivinti:

Enough of this.

ic ixqujch.

X 796 For when were ended these twenty days of Izcalli, thereupon set in the five days of *nemontemi*, or *nenontemi*, which are not counted.[9] And the *nemontemi* were feared and held in awe. None commanded others, none quarreled [with others]. And if any, at this time, disputed with others, it was said they would always do thus. And he who was born at this time they named Nemo. They said: "It hath been said that [he hath] no day sign. No reward is his; he will live in misery. He will live in poverty upon the earth."

Auh in onqujx y, cempoalli Izcalli, njmã ie ic oalmotlalia in macujlilhujtl in nemõtemj, anoço nenontemj, acampouhquj: Auh in nemontemj, vel imacaxoia, mauhcaittoia, aiac teaoaia, aiac maoaia: auh in aca vncã teaoa, qujlmach cenqujcuj. Auh in aqujn vncan tlacati: qujtocaiotiaia. Nemo: qujtoaia, qujlmach atle ilhujl, atle imaceoal muchioa, qujhiiovitinemjz, vmpa onqujztinemjz in tlalticpac.

[56] 777

And during [the month of] Izcalli, in the first, second, and third years, nothing [in addition] was done. But on the fourth year, a great [festival] was observed. At that time died those [adorned as] Izcoçauhqui, the impersonators of Xiuhtecutli—ceremonially bathed ones. Sometimes many died; sometimes not many.

Auh in jpan jn Izcalli: injc ce xivitl, yoan ic oxivitl, yoan iquexivitl, atle muchioai : auh qujn ic nauhxivitl in moveichioa, qujniquac mjquja in Izcoçauhque, in jxiptlaoan Xiuhtecutli: tlaaltilti, in quẽmã mjequjntin in mjquja, in quemã amo mjequjnti.

And upon the morrow, on the morning of [the feast of] Izcalli, the bathed ones entered the sand. They brought them into the sand there at Tzonmolco. All the women carried all their womanly array, and the men carried all their array (as hath been told elsewhere). And they carried for them their paper adornment; it went upon a wooden globe.

[293]

Auh in ie iuh muztla, in ie oallatvi Izcalli: in tlaaltilti, onxalaqui, qujmonxalaquja in vmpa tzommolco: in cioa muchi qujtquj, in jxqujch incioatlatquj: yoan in oqujchtin, muchi qujtquj in jxqujch intlatlatquj (in juh omjto cecnj): auh in jmamatlatquj, muchi qujmjtqujlia: quauhtzontapaioltica ieietiuh.

And when they brought them there, thereupon they arrayed them, [so that] all were ornamented. They put upon them their paper array. And when all were prepared and arrayed even as Izcoçauhqui was arrayed, and the women adorned also in the same manner, thereupon all climbed up to [the Temple of] Tzonmolco, in rows. And when they came reaching there, they circled about the offering stone. Then, once again all came down, likewise walking in rows.

Auh in oqujmonaxitiq, njman ie ic qujnchichioa, techichioalo, qujmonaxquja in jxqujch imamatlatquj. Auh in ontecencaoaloc: auh injc muchichioa, ivin muchichioa Izcoçauhquj: auh in cioa, çan ie no ivin muchichioa: njmã ie ic tleco in tzommolco, tecpantivi: auh in vmpan vetzito: njmã ie ic qujoaliaoaloa in techcatl: njmã ic no ceppa, oaltemo, no motecpãtivitze.

And when they came down, thereupon they took them to the tribal temple, and then took apart [the paper vestments], and put [the victims] in a house and guarded them well. And they fastened the men

Auh in otemoco njmã ie ic qujnvica in calpulco, mec qujnxixitinja, vncan mocencaltilia, vel q'npipia: in oqujchtin qujnxillãmecaiotia, in jquac maxixa qujnxitilinjtivi. Auh in oacic iocalnepantla: njmã ie

9. Seler (op. cit., p. 236) refers to the "*Nemontemi* (sonntlose Tage) *die für nichts gerechnet werden*": *i.e.*, they were dedicated to no god. One meaning of the verb *nemi*, however, is to rest.

762 foods came forth from the palace; and from the houses in the commoners' localities they [also] emerged and came forth.

But only for a little while it was, remained, and rested there. Then the old men of the temple district [of Uitzilopochtli] removed, continued to take and transport, divided, and distributed, what pertained to them. They removed it to a number of places. They consumed all. No one remained alone. Everyone came to it: the devout of the place, those who had fasted for a year; those who had danced and fasted for Uitzilopochtli.

[824] And Moctezuma then offered all manner of precious flowers [before the image] — varied flowers which were sweet-smelling and fragrant: magnolia,[4] maize flowers,[5] cacao flowers,[6] popcorn flowers,[7] and garlands of maize ears,[8] which grew everywhere; basket flowers,[9] raven flowers;[10] yellow and blue tobacco flowers;[11] milky corn silk flowers;[12] and all manner of precious flowers, prepared,—well-formed, well-arranged, made as shields of flowers, circular, radiating, and spreading; and the pleasant-smelling ones. It seemed as if the fragrance, the perfume, spread and blanketed his temple.

And so they burned [tubes of] tobacco — only in bundles. First they bound them about the middle. As they burned them, they filled [the area] before [the image].[13] It was as if the smoke arose, spread a cloud, extended, came to settle, and lay billowing.

782 Likewise it was said at the time of the day sign
● 274 One Flint Knife, that the wine-makers showed special concern. At that time they cut and bored

tlatocan oalquiçaia: ioan in çan calla, macuxalpil oalcoaia, oalquiçaia:

auh çan achiton ca, in vncan vmanj, vncan onoc, vncan onmoteca: niman ic quiçquanja çan ic concuitimanj, ic conjquanjtimanj, intech poui in calpulvetequc, quimonzelhuja, quimomamaca, quccinquiçcan quimjcuanjlia, vntetlamj, aiac izcauj, muchi tlacatl itech aci, in vncan tlamacuhquc, in mocezinhçauhquc, in itech mjtotinemj, in quinecçaujlia Vitzilopuchtli:

auh in Motecuçoma in jtquich tlaçonochtil, in nepapan xochitl, in velic, in aviiac vncan quimanz in iolloxochitl, in elouxochitl, in cacaoxochitl, in iquiçxochitl, ioan cacaocincorcatl, in iquiçcan icac, oacalxochtl, in cacaloxochtl, in coztic iicxochtl, auh in xoxouhquj iiexochitl, in xiloxochitl, ioan in ic iquiçch nepapan tlaçonochtil, in tlamantli, in vellalilli, in tlatecujcujlolli, in mjmati, in chimalxochitl, in ololinhquj, in momoiaoa, in xcxelivi: auh in çaçan tlatlanecutli, iuhquiçn tlaujiaxtoc, tlaueuelixtoc, tlasujiaxtimanj, tlaueuelixtimanj, in jtcupan:

auh injc quiçlatinia iietl, çan ce cemonecatl çan iuh cuitlalpitinh in quiçlatinia, contenteuj ixpan, iuhquiçn puchtecatoc, ainvitl mantoc, ainvitl quiçxtoc, iuhquiçn mômomolocatoc.

No ioan mjtoa in jpan in tonalli ce tecpatl, cenca vncan tlatemachinia in tlachicoque, vncan quiçlapanaia in inmeuh, ic quiçtemachinia injc cenca meiac,

4. *Iolloxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana* D. C. Don) — *Mexican magnolia, a flower reserved solely for the nobility.* — Emily Wickersham Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin, 241), Vatican Library. An Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 318.

5. *Elouxochitl: probably Compositae* (?) (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275). In Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), Vol. III, p. 841, it is classed with *yeyemichitl*. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 588, identifies it as *Magnolia dealbata* Zucc.; also called *yolosochitl*.

6. *Cacaoxochitl: Theobroma cacao* L. (a cocoa plant). — Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 311. Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 921, calls it *Quauhtlhuac tamalcacaoatl* (Llave) Standl. See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 298.

7. *Inquiçxochitl: Bouvardia hirsuta* (La Llave & Lex.) Hemsl. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275).

8. Cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 249.

9. *Uuxuchcuitl: Xanthosoma* sp. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 254); *Phyllodendron affine*, Hemsl., "*Una planta exótica, de las aráceas, cultivada en [México]*" (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 162).

10. *Cuauhxochitl: Plumeria rubra* L., emblem of important personages, according to Sahagún (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308). Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 806, says *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir, "*flor de cuervo.*"

11. *Xiuxochitl: flor de tabaco* (no botanical name given); "*El Yeuxochitl, que algunos llaman chuxochitl o xan flor de chiri, y otros cocuxochitl o yeuxochitl amarillo*" (Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 841, 842).

12. *Xilaxochitl: Bouchea ellipticum* H. B. K., according to Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 453, and Paul C. Standley, "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States National Herbarium* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), pp. 793-794; *Calliandra anomala* (Kunth) McBride, according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

13. *Real Palacio MS: cuauhxiuiaui.*

their maguey plants;[14] so they showed special concern in order that their maguey plants would flow much and produce well. And so they offered gifts in the temple of Uitzilopochtli. There they offered their wine, which had been newly brewed, called *uitztli*; they went pouring it into bowls on which rested sucking tubes. And the ones who there partook of it were the already aged, called *quauhcuesque*, who already had the privilege of drinking wine. These drank; they continued drinking with the sucking tubes.

And he who was born on this [day], One Flint Knife, they said, would be valiant, a chieftain; he would gain honor and riches.

Likewise, if it were a woman, she would be of merit, gifted, and deserving. Her labors would be good; there would be wherewith to eat and drink; there would be sustenance. She would become rich and wealthy; courageous, strong, reckoned as a man, and hardy. She would give honor as a man. And, [among] all her gifts, she would speak well, be eloquent, give good counsel, and arrange her conversation and manner of speaking well in her home. She would be observant, of good memory, discreet, etc.

And Two Rain, and Three Flower, Four Crocodile, Five Wind, Six House, Seven Lizard, Eight Serpent, Nine Death, Ten Deer, Eleven Rabbit, Twelve Water, Thirteen Dog—all, in truth all, were as hath been told in their account. All went to be considered and were observed as of, and they followed, the same pattern. They were only one, regarded as only one in their relation and account, as they went in order there day by day, each one of the days in its proper place, so proceeding in order, one, two, three, henceforth[15] until they reached and completed the end of the day count, thirteen.

ontlaiez inmeuh: auh injc tlauenchioaia, in jteupan Vitzilopuchtli: vmpa conmanaia in jmoc, in iancujcan tlachictli, in moteneoa vitztli, acatecomac, contecatimanj: vncan ipan icaca ce piaztli: auh in aquja vmpa vntlatlapaloaia, in ie chicaoaque, in moteneoa quiveuetque: in ie innemac tlaoanalitztli, ichoan conja, ic conjtimanj in piaztli:

782
274
[888]

auh in aquja ipan tlacatia, y, ce tecpatl qujtoaia, oqujchtiz tiacauhtiz, maujztiz, mocujltonoz:

787x

no iuhquj intla çioatl, maçeoale iez, nemaque, ilhujle, vel itla mailiz, oniez in qujquaz, in qujz, vnca qujquanj iez, mocujltonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan oqujchnacaio, chicaoac, oqujchtlamatiz, moqujchpoaz, oqujcheoaz, teoqujchtlamachti iez: ioan much inemac vellatoz, motlatoljmatiz, vel tenonotzaz, vellatoltecpanaz, yicician, icacatian, in qujtlaliz, tlatolli, vel ixe, iollo, mozcalianj iez. Er[a].

Auh in vme qujavitl, ioan ei xochitl, nauj cipactli, macujlli ẽcatl, chiquacen calli, chicome cuetzpalin, chicuei coatl, chicunavi mjqujztli, matlactli maçatl, matlactloc tochtli, matlactli omome atl, matlactlomej itzcujntli: in jxqujch in çan moch iuhquj in jtlatollo omjto: çã much umpa iztiuh, çan much vmpa tlachia, çan much vmpa tlaujca, cã ie centetl, çan centetitiuh in jtlatlatollo, in jxoloca, in iuh tecpantiuh, in vncan tlacecemjlhujtiltitiuj, cecenteme tonaltin, in jnicician ic tecpantiuj in ce, in vme, in ei: ixqujchica, injc onacitiuh, injc ontlatlantiuh tonaltzontli matlatlactlomei.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Los sabios de los magueyes, o sabiamente que cuidan el pulque, cuidaban, y agujereaban los magueyes: para que manasse mejor su este dipuse. Tenjan que por agujerarlos en este dipuse, no manaua muchos.*"

15. Bernardino Sahagún: *Glossaries Aztecan-Latinum et Latino-Aztecum* (Mediolani: Valentinus et Mum, 1889), has *ampodhuc* and *hinc* (henceforth, from here on), for *imposterum*.

[p. 80 is blank]

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249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their cere- monial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

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796 Prisoners of war and their cap-
[276] tors took part in a dance in honor of the god, and the next day
782 the captives ascended to the top of a platform, where a powder, *yauhtli* (Indian hemp), was cast in their faces to anesthetize them against their ghastly fate. After preparing a great fire, each priest seized a captive and, binding him hand and foot, lifted him onto his back. A macabre dance took place around the burning coals, and one by one they dumped their burdens into the flames. Before death could intervene to put an end to their suffering the priests fished out the captives with large hooks and wrenched the hearts from their blistered bodies.[12]

In contrast to the callous brutality of the fire sacrifice, the ceremony in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca was strikingly dramatic, tinged with the pathos with which we view the taking of a life. The handsomest and bravest prisoner of war was selected a year before his execution. Priests taught him the manners of a ruler, and as he walked about, playing divine melodies upon his flute, he received the homage due Tezcatlipoca himself. A month before the day of sacrifice four lovely girls, dressed as goddesses, became his companions and attended to his every want. On the day of his death he took leave of his weeping consorts to lead a procession in his honor, marked by jubilation and feasting. Then he bade farewell to the glittering cortege and left for a small temple, accompanied by the eight priests who had attended him throughout the year. The priests preceded him up the steps of the temple, and he followed, breaking at each step a flute which he had played in the happy hours of his incarnation. At the top of the platform the priests turned him over the sacrificial block and wrenched out his heart. In deference to his former godhood his body was carried, not ignominiously

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

362 174 serious faces showed that, already conscious of their participation in the tribal life, they heeded their uncle's precepts as to conduct befitting boys and men. A fat little girl squatting in the doorway vainly tried to imitate with her stubby fingers and toy implements the graceful movements of her mother as she produced fine threads by the cunning manipulation of her spindle. Lolling on a cushion, a young man [276] idly smoked a cigarette in a cane holder as he picked thoughtfully at the scarcely healed lobe of his ear, tattered by penitential bloodletting with cactus spine and obsidian blade.

174 527 A fiesta was going on in another house, and one heard the rich vibration of wooden drums and the high squeal of reed flutes. The patio was full of people, gay in the bright colors of their holiday clothes, and the air was heavy with the cloying scent of lilies. The sharp smells of rich sauces cunningly mixed from many peppers embroidered this odor, and occasionally a light breeze wafted the cool, mystic scent of incense. Somebody was celebrating his birthday, since in the background one saw a painted figure adorned with amate paper, representing the god who presided over that event. A little apart from the feasters, who partook of their entertainment with dignified pleasure, were a group of old men whose clownish gestures and burlesque solemnity could be easily associated with the cups of pulque that a slave was industriously filling for them. Not for nothing had these elders passed through the rigid self-denial of young manhood; they were permitted alcoholic indulgence in their old age whenever a feast came to pass. A last backward glance revealed the musicians, garlanded with flowers, blowing their flutes and conch shells, while one man beat the head of a cylin-

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had
[412] in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to
[777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed,
● [276] and then began to prepare the necessary articles for the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers.
585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car-
[482 373] ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her
[312] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuuiesse por bueno: y para esto haziande vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja à su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determinauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho combidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas nauas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn mantli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esquijna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

X 796 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who
266 had taken the captive.

[282] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

● [276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

[346] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototecti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn ioaniolque quintlalhuia, quincuitlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa quinnonnaltia ceccn molcaxitl in tlaolpaccatli, q'nnamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan icietiuh ceccn tlaxoctli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhquin ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miquitiuh, quintlaocatiuh, ic quichoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaocoano: yn jeuztinioc, inic oallaruiz quintoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceioal, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamalti, in nauanti:

in quinnocanazque, oc no cepa quintzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

ic mitoaia onacoquixtilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa izztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, quitoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yuan ipampa in quitzoncuja, quimopiahtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oquimomacacuj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

vnjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhquinma ic contlaocujliaiz malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauitl eua.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototecti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan quinoalmana, quinoalquetza, quinoalteititia:

11. See p. 44, below, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural ceremonies of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making a furrow was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'scattering' ceremonial."
12. See note 9; also below (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 65.
13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: "*pusieron todos ordenados, sobre unas hechas de hierba, o de zacatl, o grama estando allí ordenados.*"

a bulbous forehead; not of swollen eyelids, nor enlarged ones; not with swollen cheeks; not of disfigured eyes or cheeks, nor with swollen face; not with cleft chin; not with a gross face, nor a downcast one; not flat-nosed nor with wide nostrils, nor with an arched, Roman nose; nor a bulbous nose, nor bent nor twisted nor crooked—but his nose should be well-placed, straight; not thick-lipped nor gross- nor big-lipped, nor with bowl-like ones, nor enlarged; neither one who stammered, nor [one who talked] as if his tongue were pierced for a ring; nor one with welts on his tongue; nor one who spoke a barbarous language, or spoke thickly, or lisped, or was dumb; nor buck-toothed, nor large-toothed or fang-toothed, nor of yellowed teeth, nor darkened, nor decayed—but his teeth were like seashells, well arrayed in order; his teeth were not shaped like bowls. Neither had he scarred eyes, nor poor vision,[4] nor squinting eyes, nor scarified; not blinded, nor of small, seedlike eyes, nor angry-eyed, nor sunken, nor hollow, nor cuplike, nor stupid-looking, nor gouged, pierced, or wounded; nor had he a scarred neck, [like one which hath been] choked, nor one with lacerations, nor with double chin, nor with pocks on the neck. Nor with protruding or long ears, nor with torpid neck, nor hunch-backed,[5] nor stiff-necked, nor with neck elongated, much elongated, nor twisted, nor kinked; neither with unduly long hands, nor lacking one hand, nor wanting both hands, nor fat-fingered; not emaciated, nor fat, nor big-bellied, nor of prominent, hatchet-shaped navel, nor of wrinkled stomach, nor shrunken stomach; not cringing; not of hatchet-shaped buttocks; nor of flabby buttocks or thighs.

He who was thus, without flaw, who had no [bodily] defects, who had no blemishes, no moles, who had no lacerations or wrinkles on his body, they then looked well that he be taught to blow the flute; that he might pipe and play his flute well; and that with it he hold his flowers and his smoking tube and blow and suck upon it, and smell [the flowers].

Thus he went bearing [his flute], his flowers, and his smoking tube[6] together as he walked through the streets.

And while yet he lived and was cared for in the house of the guardian, before he appeared [before the people], care was taken that he might be prudent

campoponaxtic, amo ixujujlaxtic, amo cuxujujlaxtic, amo ixpopoxtic, amo no camachaloacaltic, amo ixmetlapiltic, amo ixpechtic, amo iacapaxtic, amo iacacocoiactic, amo iacaxxxacaltic, amo iacacaxtic, amo iacachiitoltic, amo iacaujtoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaxtic, amo tenxipaltotomaoac, amo texipaltotomac, texipaltotomactic, amo iacachiitoltic, amo iacujtoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaxtic, amo tenxipalcaiultic, amo popoloc, amo tentxitzipi, amo tentzitzipiclatoa, amo tenmjmjcquj, amo tlanpantic, amo tlancujcujtztic, amo cuetlanc, amo tlancocoztic, amo tlanxoisuhquj, amo tlanpalanquj: iuhquin tecciarli itlan, vel onoc vipantoc, amo tlancaxtic, amo no ixtitiquiltic, amo ixnacatic, amo ixujxaltic, amo ixtzitziquiltic, amo ixpopoiontic, amo ixpipiltic, ixpipicltic, ixcococaltic, amo ixcocomoltic, amo ixxtlacomoltic, amo ixcacaxtic, amo ixxotoiontic, amo ixxotomatic, amo ixxtaxtapixtzic, amo ixxtaxtzamoltic, amo ixtacaltic, amo quechtitiquiltic, quechmatzoltic, quetxtzitziquiltic, quechnacatic quechxixiquipiltic, amo no nacaxpatlactic, amo no nacaxvilaxtic, amo quechtiltic, amo quechtepotzotic, amo quechacquj, amo quechujiac, amo quechujlaxtzic, amo quechnecujltic, amo quechnenetic: amo mavujtlaxtzic, amo matzicoltic, amo macuecuetzin, amo mapilotomactic, amo itiujlaxtic, amo cujtlaxoltic, amo cujtlapetztic, amo xicquinquj, amo xictopoltic, amo xiccucio, amo ititzotzoltic, amo cujtlapechtic, amo tzintopoltic, amo tzincuecuetzactic, tzintamalcuecuezac.

Jn aquin iuhquj y, atle ilacauhca, atle yiaioca, atle ytlaciuhca, atle ytlaciuiaça, atle ytech ca etzotzocatl, xitomaciuiztli: njmã cenca necujtlauijlo, inic vel momachtic, yn tlapiczaz: ynic vel quipitzaz, yujlacapitz: yoan inic vel muchi ipan quitzitzquiz, yxochiuh, yoan yieuh, ipan tlapitztiaz, tlachichintiaz, tlanecutiaz:

iuhquin centlalli mantiuh yn jxochiuh, yn jyieuh, yn iquac vtli quitocaia.

Auh in çan oc nemj, in çan oc cuposoalo, yn ichan calpixquj, yn aiamo ixneci, cenca vel necujtlauijloia,

4. [illegible] (op. cit.): a number of possible variants are suggested.
5. Tlapanlaxtic is suggested in plurimo writings as a hunchback. Cf. [illegible] (op. cit.). Spanish-Nahuatl version, [illegible].
6. "Cuido o cuidaro de quitocaia, cuidar" (ibid.): "cuidar de fumar" in Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text.

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat copper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *magney* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *magney* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Viloa, onnevtemalo, tlapitzalotiuh, quijpitztiuj, in tepiztli, cohcouiloc chililiti.

Auh in muchintin tlamacazque, quijmamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan qujniacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiquijpil.

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, quijquechpanotiuh, aiochicaoaztli, no itoca naoalquauytl, petlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, quijcacalatztiuh

aocac ce onmocaoã calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachotoque; quijpitztoque in quijquijztli, quijquijçotoque.

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn aiauhcalli, njman ie ic netetecq, netlalilo, tlatzitzilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo:

in ie iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in vene itoca chalchiuhquaquijlli: qujtoa.

Coatl ÿçomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ie ic onnetepeoalon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, atlacxiuitectinemj, tzatzitizinmj, ycaoacatinemj, qujntlaichecalhuja yn izqujchtin tóxome:

cequj canauhtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin qujntlaichecalhuja, in pihpiztli, pipiztlatoa: cequjntin qujntlaichecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin aztatlatoa, cequjntiq axnquentlatoa, cequjn tocujlcoiotlatoa:

yn vncan mahiaia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuen-

10. *Chilitili*: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 31: *cascabeles; sonajita (sonaja)*(?).

11. "*Todos llevaban a cuestas, como talegillos atados con unos cordelejos de ixtlí, con unas bolsas al cuello; y de aquí colgaban, como unas de papel pintadas, cuidadosamente con los colores teñidos, que llamaban pinpintlí; y en aquellas talegas llevaban unos manojos de hierba, hecha a la manera de cabezuela de ramillete, que eran llamados yiaqualli, que era chiquitamente con tinta, y con polvos de una yerba que eran llamados yiaú, que se ponía hablando de ramillo*" (corresponding Spanish text).

Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 97n.) writes: "*Aiaqual: small cane, yaú tobacco.* The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the *yaú* or Nicotiana tacamica field; the *quauhyaú*; *quauhtlo tacamica*, *yaú tobacco*, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and *pinintí*, *pinintlí* *mecali*, *yaú tobacco*, or Nicotiana tabacum L., which either is cured or charred in pellets called *pinpintli*; *yaú tobacco*, *quauhtl*, *yaú*, or smoked in cigars or *puros*; *pinintli mecali*, *yaú tobacco*. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *cuchicuetzi*, aromatic herbs, and charcoal." Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 116.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. ii, § 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 148-51. Sobre dichos pájaros respectivamente se (probable) *garza-vaquera* (*ardeola ralloides*) *garza* (*ardea*) *martín pescador* (*alcedo*) *garza* (*ardea*) *cigüeña* (*ciconia ciconia*

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vetli mja itoca matlalvetli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vetli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vetli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittozque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machililoaque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoã qujnquatezolozima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilioçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelaxitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 637

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic mavizzli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iiepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contitlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vetli ipan icac, yn vetlali: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276]

[252]

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacalioa, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oqujcencauhque chõchaiotl, mec moxeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

19. See Pl. 31.

643 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-
301 leafed water plant; apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,
[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,
A green stone nose rod; chalchiuhiacamjtl,
A fine turquoise nose rod; teuxiuhiacamjtl,
A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,
A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] coztic trucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanacalli iitic manj,
A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,
A golden band for the calf of the leg; coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,
[237] A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; quetzalmacpanjtl,
A quetzal bird as headdress; quetzalitotoicpacxuchitl,
Quetzal feather horns; quetzalquaquauijtl,
A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; quetzalecaceoaztli coztic teucujtlaio
A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; xiuhmacopilli,
A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,
A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,
643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. xuchitl, ietl, ineiscauijl tlatoanj, teiacatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isquich imaçeoaia tlatoanj,
● [276
416]
Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. oçelotlacacatli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachicactli,
[280
281]
[There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,
[534]
533
Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,
415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixquich omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,
351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. xuchiquauijtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,
415 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.
314
534

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 319ff., on etymology of *amanteca*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

sums; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquaujtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoqujtecomatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoqujtlatqujtl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in ichoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocujtlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçoilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnextiz in aqujn qujcobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmaçaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca qujchioaia iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoxtzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianqujztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oqujchti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 235, describes quapaltli as "hojas y ramas de las frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mesembryanthemum Aizoon L.

[p. 70 is blank]

.6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense, he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanouya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quirta yn ompa yzquican omoztlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y ichoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn. tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancuican tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli ychoutl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, youn tecucizitli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [781] [276 415]

[534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoztlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiuitze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Glaubenswelt der Alt-Azteken Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 358, says of the form *tutoxi*: "*Da es im Text dazwischen heisst, die dem Copalbaum ungern, wird es sich um Pfeiler handeln.*" The term *tlamecayouia* he translates (*Ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlaue da mit einer Schnur.*"

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[780] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
248] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

[262 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
212 were asked."[***] No data are available on the tribute of other component
137] towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[***] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que sembo-

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at table eating as I have described, there were waiting on 262 643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [276 314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 411 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and
373] other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the
364] creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that
514] on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full
289 of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort
386 are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under
276] the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment,
344] and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

574 851 **Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth how a feast was held, and what the order of service was, and how there was drinking of wine.**

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli ocz capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn juh mocoanotzaia, yoan in juh catca tlatepãtli, yoan in juh tlacoanaia.

And as to the invited guests: already there was jostling among the guests. All took their respective places; the houses were entered. There was disorder and scattering about; there was wandering and there were disputes, rushing about like fools, hurrying, hastening, and unrest.

Auh in tlacoanotzalti, ic cuel iẽ, nequequeçalo in coame, netẽteco, calacoa, tlaixnelivi, tlaixmoiaoa, neixpololo, neixnanamico, tlaixtomaoa, tlãtlacivi, ycioa, netetequipacholo,

[276] For everything, assignments were made and work distributed. First came the tobacco servers. Tobacco was served; one was provided with tobacco; tobacco was smoked. Then the flower servers followed them. They provided and gave them flowers; they favored them with crowns and garlands of flowers; they provided them with flower crowns and garlands. They arranged before them bowls with tobacco tubes. They sat smoking, inhaling the fragrance. All smelled it. There was a pleasant and fragrant odor.

occentlamãtli ipã neyhinquetzalo, netetequjnaco, iacattiuh, in teyicmacac, teyicmaco, teyictilo, yietlatilo, njmã contoquilia yn tezochimacac, tezochitia, tezochimaca, conteaquia in icpactochitl in zochicoscatl, teicpactochitia, tezoch/coscatia, teixpãmomãmana yn jiecaxitl, tlachichin.lotoc, tlaneoto, tlaxvixxtoc, tlaveveliztoc:

And thereupon went the server, and following him those who changed the courses and carried [the food] in their arms. They served the people, placed them in order, went placing the people in line, putting them all in line. Thereupon all ate. [But] first they cast on the ground [a mouthful of food].[1] Later something was reserved, put aside for their servants.[2]

auh njmã ie ic izuh in tetlamacac, quitocativi, in tetlanamjctilique, in tlanapaloque, tetlamaca, tevipana, tepilotiuh, tecempilotiuh, njmã ic ic tlaqualo, achtopa, ontlatlatlaça, çatepã netlacavilo, ic tlaquanja yntetlavicalhoã:

[277] And thereupon also went the chocolate[3] server. In just the same way he went arranging the people in order, placing them in line. He neglected no one; he was very careful with each one. He went placing for each one the stirring sticks with which the chocolate was beaten, whereby the chocolate was consumed. Chocolate was put aside for each of them — they put aside chocolate for their servants, [as well

auh njmã ie no ic izuh in teamacac, çan ie no ivi tevipantiuh, tecempilotiuh, aiac quixcaoa, vel mixpepetztza, contetequilitiuh in aquavid, ynic moselos cacaoatl, ic ahatliua, teaatlacavilo, qujmatlacavjia, intetlavicalhoã, in viconj, in tlacaoanj, in quitquinj netlacavilli,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*antes que començassen a comer: los convidados, la comyda que los mayjor ponyan: tomavan sus lugares de la comyda, y arvoramiento al suelo: a hombre del dios Tlaloc.*"

2. *Ibid.*: "*los servjdores de la comyda . . . traqyan comyda a cada uno, segun su comyda [sic]: y la ponyan delante, del que estava ayuntado: esta orden de chiquititos, con diversas maneras de pan: y parecian en los chiquititos: otras vasos cassos, con diversas maneras de comyda, esos servs, o ponyado. . . . dejando comyda, dexan los sobras a sus criados, y tambien los cassos, y chiquititos.*"

3. *Ibid.* is untranslatable word to mean chocolate. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl section), "*Beber agua, cosa o cacao. o, cell.*"

They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hawk scratches. They went naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mitre-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Toci's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the costume [of Toci issue] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, painted eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, *tzoiziztli*. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

motiçoiaque, motetlaujtocque, çan papetlantiuj, in 776
nemocuauitli: amacalli in qujnamaca, mahmalacaquetzalle, 796
ichcauchiio, hiujquetzalle: [302]

vuqe cencaca, in tocititlan: quauhtlapechco cuetlalaia ya 776
jcoaia.

Auh yajc nechichiuala, mocuauhcopi, tlaxapuchili qujmo-
tlatlalili ya jcamapá ichcauchica, çoiotzmala, cuechcuaia,
mocuechcueti: ic mjtoa, citlalli ycue, citlalcuaia, quavivih,
tzotzelihuqui ya juipil, quauhtzetelihuqui, itzac quavilujio,
quauhtzuitzoc; ya jchimal, tzucujlaytizapa, tetzicaiio,
popoa, iuqujco.

Ninth Chapter, in which one heareth of the goddess named the Goddess of Zeperdan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made turpentine.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;[39] they who were hoarse used the turpentine unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was eaten, [it was used for] the *tentilo-ichcaca*.[41]

Its oil and its heat were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the turpentine unguent bought slaves and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-eared wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like dried poppy-seed pods,[43] and they rattled bone rattles.

Thus was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were spattered over the paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble ocoa-tassels. She carried the nine-rattlehead.[44]

Jnjc chicunauj capitulo: vacan motenoa, ya cioatzul, ya jtuca Tzapotla tena.

Ca cioatl, ipan mjtocaia, ya ozitl yuacaio muchiuaia:

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quipaloujo ya tonacaio, ya aquja quazoonciuj, tonca- 278
mjtoaciuj, motencaoaiuja: chaquachiuj, quaçoozti, tonca- 757
iauj, tontzaiauj, itztuçonauj, matuçonauj, iczitztaziauj,
yoan in quala, ya tlaxcaliciuj:

ya jchiuaca ya jtonal vel miccan monequj.

Auh ya jquac ilhujquintlola, ya ozinamacaque, modaca- 776
coujaia, tlacamjctiaia, qujtzoonallotiaia ya jxipila, qujcujca- 796
tiaia, ya iveveioca, qujtzoonacilhujaia, caioquaonjlia,
caiouiuequjlia, caiacachilhuja, comjchicaocilhuja.

Jnjc nechichiuala omatzacala, amacala, olchachapanquj, tlaolchipinilli ya jamacal, yoan quetzalmjtoaia, aiuchi-
caoaca.

36. See Plate 8.
37. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 132, cells 2 *partim*.
38. Cf. text and illus. in MS *Bibliotheca del Palacio*, cited in Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 448-9, in which these are described as a headband of cotton cotton.
39. ". . . *una manera, de lobos, o cerros, que eran, en la cabeça*" (corresponding Spanish text).
40. ". . . *otra enfermedad . . . así mismo, que eran en la cabeça que se decen lobos*" (loc. cit.).
41. See p. 41, n. 138.
42. Cf. Diego de Durán: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme* (México: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.
43. "*Ayacachtli, semejan hechas a manera de cascabeles*" (Molina, op. cit.).
44. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 474; and *Einige Kapitel*, p. 7—*Nahui-Ramillete* (dead-rattlehead). The same author, cited in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. V ("*Los cantares de los dioses*"), says: "*Esta voz (ayachicauaztli) significa evidentemente la misma y, mantenida a una leve variación en el medio de pronunciar, tuvo origen de ayachiua-cauitl. Sirvió el instrumento para encantamientos de la lluvia. . . .*" (pp. 47-8) ("*El chicauaztli, fábrica de cascajo, instrumento musical que tocan en la cuenta los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la procesión de los sacerdotes en la Huahquilztli, llevan delante el ayachicauaztli, cascajo de cuidado. Es el instrumento religioso, con que*

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Izcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Izcoçauhqui: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

796X
805
776

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

1 c **Kl.** Xocotl vetzi *c 1*[1]
2 d Durante la fiesta de tlasochimaco: *d 2*[1]
3 e yuã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al- *e 3*
4 f tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle *f 4*
5 g arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: *g 5*
6 A alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan- *A 6*
7 b tauan enhiesto y estaua assi enhiesto *b 7*
8 c hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en- *c 8*
9 d tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ *d 9*
10 e mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos *e 10*
11 f para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia *f 11*
12 g desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan *g 12*
13 A muchos carpinteros con sus herrami- *A 13*
14 b ẽtas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso. *b 14*
15 c Despues de mondado y de auerle com- *c 15*
16 d puesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles: *d 16*
17 e atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan- *e 17*
18 f tauanle con muchas bozes y muchos *f 18*
19 g estruendos y afixauanle muy bien. *g 19*
20 A Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã- *A 20*[2]
tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos adereçauãse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiesẽ tanto la muerte, stauanlos

796X
313
[493]
[463]
796X
[302]
[535]
[278]

1. Marginal notation: *despues de dos años.*
2. Marginal notation: *Barrerle ablanar.*

2. Marginal notation: *Pare al colorado.*

pains of] their death.

And when this was done, then he scattered incense. And when he had scattered it, then they gave him his mist rattle board, and he rattled it, he shook it, he raised it as an offering [to the god].

And when they finished, then all departed, [the crowd] broke up, all dispersed and scattered, each one going to his priests' dwelling. [But] the novice priests, them they only took to their houses.

And when they had entered the priests' dwellings, then all put off [their adornments], and sat in order.

And at night, thereupon began and took place a feast, on the top of the Temple of Tlaloc.

The horizontal drum was beaten, flutes were played, conch shells and reed pipes were blown. There was song. The horizontal drums croaked, growled, and droned, and rattles were rattled.

They caused those who were to be slain, the likenesses of the rain gods, to spend the night in vigil.

And when midnight came, when night divided in half, then began the slaying. First to be slain were the captives. They became as the fundament [of those who followed]. And when [these] died, thereupon died [the impersonators of] the rain gods.

Then also [was the time] when they burned all the paper offerings, and the quetzal feathers, and various [other] precious feathers; and some of the green stones—well-formed, those which were in no way blemished, which had no defects, as well as some of the green stones which were rough and brown, or dark.

And when they slashed open the breasts [of the victims], when they opened the breast of one of them, they seized his heart; they placed it in a vessel, painted blue, named the cloud vessel, which was painted with liquid rubber on four sides. And it was decked with paper dotted with drops of liquid rubber, with much rubber,—full of rubber.

Thus they did to all the impersonators, and they cast all their hearts there [into the cloud vessel].

And when this was done, at midnight, when they were slain, all the bystanders, who were watching, all had in their hands their wormwood flowers.[27] They walked thrusting [these], lunging with them to and fro, and fanning their children [with them]. It was said that thus they frightened away the worms, that their [children's] eyes might not become wormy. Some put [the flowers] in their ears. Some just walked carrying them gathered in their hands.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman contepeoa yn jiauhtli: 796x
auh yn oconteqeuh, njman conmaca yn aiochicaoztli, concacalatza, conujujzoa, coniyiaoa.

Auh ỹ ontzonquiz, njman ic viujlooa, cecenmanoa, momoiaooa, xitinooa, viuj yn jncacalmecac: auh yn tlamaztoton, çan qujnujujca yñ inchachan.

Auh yn onnetecoto calmecac, mec nexixitinjlo, netlatlalilo:

auh yn oniooac njman ie ic peoa, in tlalhujmamanj, in teucalticpac tlalocan:

teponaçolo, tlapitzalo, iehoatl in mopitza tecciztli, [534]
yoan acatecciztli: cujoo, yn teponaztli, mjmjlcatoc, nanalcatoc, iuhqujn qujqujnacatoc, yoan aiacacholo:

qujntoçauja in miquizque yn imixiptlaoan tlaloque.

Auh yn oacic ioalnepantla yn iquac xeliuj ioalli: mec peoa in micoa, iacattiuj in mamaltin miquj: iuhqujn inpepechoan muchioa: auh yn onmjcoque, njman ie ic miq' in tlaloque:

njman no yquac tlatla, yn izquich nextlaoalli amatl, yoan in quetzalli, yoan in nepapan tlaçoihujtl: yoan cequj chalchiujtl yn jcucic, yn atle itlaciuiz, yn amo tlaciujce: yoan cequj olchalchiujtl, iaizuhquj, iaiactic, anoço yiauhtic.

Auh yn iquac qujmeltetequj, in ce onpeti yiechiqujuh, conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalitiuj comjc, tlatezoujlli motocaiotia, mixcomjtl, nauhcampa in tlavlxaoalli: auh yn itlaquen amatl tlavlchipinilli, cenca [415]
vllo moca vlli:

much iuh qujnchioa yn izquintin teixiptlaoan, much vmpa contlaztimanj yn jniollo.

Auh yn iquac muchioa ioalnepantla, ynjc mjcoa: yn izquichtin tlatlatzaque, in tlatlachia, muchi imiiztauhiaztochiuh, inmac tetentinemj, qujtlatlaujztotinemj, aujc qujtlaztinemj, ic mẽcapeujtinemj, yn [755
inpilhoã, qujlmach ic qujnpeujaia in ocujlti, yaic 278]
amo yxocujlloazque: cequjntin in nacaztitlan
casaquja, cequjn çan qujmamapictinemj.

27. *Iauhtli*: *iauhqui* is wormwood or ash wort, according to Sahagún, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 70.

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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanalizzli in tianquijzco: auh in ichoatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquizzli, ioã ixquich tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeoalli, ioan ixquich aoa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo zixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaqujlia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iiecian, çan iioonoian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

qujmixquetzaia, in tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquizzli: ioan ixquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia secentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc iiac tetixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiioaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzalitztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototi, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixqujch nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujzzli chimalli.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacazzli, tilixochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, ziatl,

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

ioan in ixqujch qualonj, in terech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tlilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tiltic chiã, chiantzotzol, iztatl: totoli, vexolotl, çiaoatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vej nacazzli: Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Lamarr, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "*una semilla como lentejas blancas*."

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Izcalli.

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood one on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his mat was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was dawn, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli omome, capt. ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequjpanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtolteti omey metztli, in mjtoaia in moteneoaia Yzcalli. 796[K]

Inic caxtoltetl omey ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualcia ouubqujltamalli, moteneoa, mitoaia, motlazqujan teca, ichoatl in tletl, qujtlaliaia; yxiptla, çan colotli, in qujchioaia, qujzaiacatiaia, yn izaiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, xiujtl ynic iztlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca iuhqujn cuecueioca, cenca mihiiotia: 796[K] 778 [262]

yoan conaquja yn itzontecō quetzalcomjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn xexelinj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquaquzuh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzaltzontecomaio yiomexti: auh yn jtxintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencā quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli. [237]

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhqujn ma nelli itzoti:

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motqujtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in ehecatl itlan calaquj, iuhqujn maacomana, iuhq'n cuecueioca, iuhqujn cuecueioa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, occheoatl, occhupetlatl mamaçouhtoc, çan iuh ca in jxontecon, ixtlapach onoc: auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, iocalnepantla in tlequanhtlaça. Auh in ovetz tletl, njman ie ic quipiztza, moc tletlalia: [281] [372]

auh in omotlali tletl, in otlavic, in otlatlalchipaoac, moc omomotzpana, ßmoiacatia in tzipopochti, in 796[K]

1. "Izcalli," or "the growing," according to Guzman, op. cit., p. 314. Torquemada forms the meaning "tahiti" (op. cit., p. 300): "quiere decir florecimiento, y el de la vegetación; porque por aquel tiempo, el quarto menguar el almagre, y pasar de frio á calor, y comenzar la Primavera." In Chimalpain (op. cit., p. 172, n. 54) it is suggested that the literal meaning of Izcalli is "tree is the house."

2. Olmos's corresponding Spanish text says: "hacian la semejança del dios, del fuego de arquijon, y pedia comida, como con carne, que ellos llamaron ichiali, que quiere decir tlatlaiaia, o tatalia."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 **Ninth Chapter**, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.

Injc chácuuuj capítulo vncan moteneoa injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jcoac maceoaia.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontlj tlaçotlanqui, quetzallj icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal uetzetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhqui, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujlalia ujtzilouitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

[314] A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtotoica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boasting pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 112, identifies quetzalbird as *Pharomacrus mocinno mocinno*.
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Seler, op. cit., p. 124).
3. Gold cuff is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 67.
4. Clark, op. cit., p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as *Cotinga amabilis*.
5. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 102.
6. Quauhtemoctzin; quauh could mean warrior; elsewhere we always give preference to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has chalchiuhteuxiuhtencololli coztic teucujtlatl icallo—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacazmjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacazmjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenquixtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

[237] A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzaltotoscpacruchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquaujtl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecacoaztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,

643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, tecatl injc morta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[276] 416

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçelocuacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[292] 281 [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

[534] 533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixqujch omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tziquaoztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, II, p. 543; the corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1096f., on etymology of ezcatecatl.

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

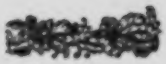

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told what the rulers rested upon.

The ocelot skin seat with a back rest; the mountain lion skin seat with a back rest; the wolf skin seat with a back rest; the mountain cat skin seat with a back rest; the cured leather seat with a back rest; the ocelot skin seat, the mountain lion skin seat, the wolf skin seat, the cured leather seat, the mountain cat[1] skin seat, the coyote skin seat.

The ocelot skin mat,[2] the mountain lion skin mat, the mountain cat skin mat, the coyote skin mat, the hammock, smooth reed mats[3] elaborately painted with designs; seat: with backs, painted with designs; low seats painted with designs.

Injc matlactli oçe capítulo: vncan mjtoa, in jpan motlalaia tlatoque.

643
352
281

Oçeloeoatepotzoicpalli, mjçeoatepotzoicpalli, cujtlacheoatepotzoicpalli, ocotocheoatepotzoicpalli, cuetlaxtepotzoicpalli, oçeloeoaicpalli, mjçeoaicpalli, cujtlacheoaicpalli, cuetlaxicpalli, ocotocheoaicpalli, coioeoaicpalli,

oçeloeoapepechtli, mjçeoapepechtli, ocotocheoapepechtli, coioeoapepechtli, cochizmatlatl alaoacapetlatl, tlatlacujlolli, tepotzoicpalli tlacujlolli, tzinjcpalli tlacujlolli.

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 133.
2. Petlatl: cf. corresponding Spanish text.
3. Ahuacapetlatl: corresponding Spanish text—"mats painted many colorados, y muy curiosas."

[p. 32 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, V: 253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[40]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[41]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29′ of the *Codex Mendocino*
114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists
131 another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[40] *PNE*, 6: 36: "davan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornices, y le hazian una semestera de maiz."

[41] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 71±
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [348]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
. . . . . plain mantles
. . . . . women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalaotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas listadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatzinhque [Ilacatzinhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piernas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pellejos, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)*

OTHER GOODS

[317 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482] 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[11]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[12]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[13]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[14]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[15]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan ÿ ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ymfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

the salt is commonly extracted from soil of several types rather from the water itself. This practice would be expected to arise in a country of inland salines, not along the seacoast. Moreover, fractional evaporation is used to give different products, according to Apenes, the last of the liquors being the source of saltpeter. We cannot yet be sure that the whole complex is pre-Cortesian, but it suggests a knowledge of limnologic and soil chemistry among the Aztecs that was at least as great as their ceramic and metallurgic skill would imply.[4] The point is not only of considerable importance, but is capable of verification by chemical archaeology; that no attempt to do so has been made so far is another indication that the scientific knowledge of non-Western peoples exceeds in some respects that of the historians and ethnographers who study them.

Salt is one of the seldom-considered essentials of human welfare. Mendizábal makes the provocative point that if the Aztecs had been more generous with their salt, the Tlaxcalans (who had no salines in their domain) might not have been so ready to ally themselves with Cortés, and the course of history might have been rather different.

HYDROGRAPHY. The demonstration that the Aztecs had detailed knowledge of all aspects of their lakes that might be used for human sustenance is not itself a proof that they had a developed limnologic science. Far more primitive people have known and done as much, and none of the practices mentioned, with the possible exception of fractional evaporation of salt water, are beyond the capabilities of the Banyoro, for example, who live on Lake Albert in Africa (Worthington and Worthington, 1933). The urbanization of Tenochtitlán, however, brought problems in its train that simpler societies could hardly have faced. Lake *villages* are known all over the world, but lake cities are much less usual. In meeting these problems the Aztecs and their

[4] A piece of chemical knowledge that has been entirely overlooked is the manufacture of some salt from urine. Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1910 edition, p. 72) mentions the sale of "many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use for making salt or tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared". The reference to tanning of skins shows clearly that the excrement was urine and not feces, for the tanning properties of uric acid are still taken advantage of in modern Mexico; moreover, Bernal Diaz goes on to describe the collection of feces and their use as fertilizer. What "salt" other than uric acid or sodium chloride could have been extracted from urine is problematical; nitrates would have been the most valuable, and they could conceivably have been separated from the chlorides by fractional evaporation, as in the case of salt water. In the history of western chemistry the most important salt found in urine was microcosmic salt, $NH_4\ NaHPO_4 \cdot 2H_2O$, which served Brand as the source of phosphorus.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[415] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

283 401 on discussions as to whether or not the Aztecs knew the wheel. The weight had the function of a flywheel in accelerating the rotation of the distaff. The explorer Charnay apparently mistook spindle whorls for wheels which might have been attached to toy clay animals. His ingenuous explanation is not seriously considered today, for later research has proved the existence of jointed dolls both in Toltec and Aztec times. These had holes in their bodies through which strings were passed, attaching the arms and legs, which were similarly perforated. In 1940 Dr Stirling discovered some clay animals which rested on rollers, tubes of clay probably connected by wooden axles, socketed to holes in the legs. This knowledge does not seem to have been put to any efficient use. In the history of invention there are several similar cases, notably the Chinese discovery of gunpowder. They used it to make a noise in ceremonies, but not until the Europeans took over the substance did its application have any practical purpose.

532 323 In Aztec times stone sculpture was the usual medium used in reproducing the human form. The figurine cult, which in Middle Culture and Toltec times manifested the chief development of the plastic arts, became insignificant. The use of the mold did not induce superior craftsmen to fashion even the originals. Yet in these dull reproductions of gods and goddesses there still lurks that ability to capture the spark of essential vitality so characteristic of this field of art in earlier times. Curiously enough, the goddesses, more kindly and less ridden with abstract virtues than the gods, usually awoke a response in these ancient idol makers that resulted in perfectly charming little figures.[20] (See Plate 29, bottom row.)

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatoxin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiouali*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey toçoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlaxonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when campa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa quijpujxtiaia: in moteneua suchincapátli.

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaqujaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachiocalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcuzquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxiquijpilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quijquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quijmetztopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: iehoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquiztli: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in iehoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh teoxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnéchichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhqujnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaztaxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech qujlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: nauintin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlaxona, ynjc nauj, vixtociouatl.

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

796x 301 [306] [292] 796x [584 595] [302 701] [283 301] [833] [551]

8. "Cosas arquilles de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llamaxe a las cajadillas, en ornamento como bolsas, de un palmo en quadro de lienço blanco, con sus bordas y flocadura" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante edition), Vol. II, p. 338.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 143. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma corviana, semejante aquella insignia de los capitanes, dos bordas con sus banderas, bordas de plumas, y una, y morbonegal, fuera corviana, que otros llamaxen corzamalli." Clavi (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 98) describes "The first kind of maxtlatlatl [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, xpanitzcuitl, because of the conchas woven in morbonegal or red cochineal's fur; the ground of xiuhpanitzcuitl is a sequence of dark red, bas siguiente of white bordures. The fringe is also of red morbonegal." From this, it would appear that morbonegal is red string, and morbonegal a red thong of rabbit hide.

X 796 264 bore [food], who carried [food] in their cloaks, who served at table; [and] the pages. Beginning with the first-comers, he who served at table thus served them X 796 262 as many *tamales* as they could take in one hand. He gave them perchance *tamales* made of maize treated with lime; or else made with fruit; some [he gave] *tamales* of maize blossoms; or with twisted ends, or sweetened with honey. Of the *tamales*, some had twisted ends and were filled with grains of maize; some took the twisting forms of green beans and were filled with grains of maize.[2]

in tetlamacazque, in tetlamamacazque, yiacac valpeoa in tetlamacac, injc tetlamaca, in quexqujch veliti qujtxinzquja tamalli, ixqujch qujçmaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço xocotamalli, cequj mjiacotamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollacio, cequj icxocoolotlacio:

X 796 264 And they who served [food] looked to the small children, serving them well, with much concern. And some of the table-servers offered *tamales* only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as their kin or their friends. Twice or thrice they offered them [food].

auh in tetlamacaia in qujmittaia pipiltzintzinti, cenca vel qujntlamacaia, cẽca tlatlaocultiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacaque, çan qujteiximatcamaca in tamalli: qujmjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, cxpa in qujntlamaca.

And none might deceive in taking *tamales*. And any whom they saw trying to take *tamales* dishonestly, such, when they saw him, they punished, striking him, leaving bloody welts, with a cord made of reeds. What had been given him, they took from him all; they took all his *tamales*, his own which he had set aside, those which had fallen his lot.

[68] [283]

Auh aiac motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aquin qujtaia motamalixcuepaznequj, in tlaittvz, qujvivitequj, qujtatacapitzvitequj tolmecatica: in quexqujch omacoca mochi qujcujlia, qujcencujlia in jtamal, inevian conmocavilia, inevian õmonezotla.

And some they did not come to—[those] with whom [the line] broke off, those who came last, at the end, at the tail [of the line], even though they crowded their way forward, going up among the throng. Nothing at all was offered them, for at first there was much crowding and violent forcing, because they feared that with them [the line] might break.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, ichoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temazelotiuh, injc tetlan calaquj: çan njman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachto, cenca nemamaliva, cenca netotocholo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlacotoa.

And those with whom [the food supply] ended all wept. They said:

Auh in quexqujchtin impan tlacotonj, nechoquj-Elo: qujtoaia,

"What shall we do, we who are ill-fated? Evilly hath the feast day come! To what vain end is our ill fortune? Unhappy are our little ones!"

quennel titotolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen totlaihiioviliz motolinja in topilhoantzitzin.

And if they saw that, apart, perchance, [*tamales*] were still being eaten, then they hurried over there. All ran; there they betook themselves; there they jostled them, like clamoring [beggars]. Although [those who ate] came against them and beat and struck their heads, yet they went on breaking in among [the eaters], crowding among them roughly.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaqualo, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlaloło, vmpa motequi, vmpa onxoqujvi, iuh qujnamopevilmatque, in manel qujnoaltoca, qujnvalhujtequj, in qujnvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

X 796 736 And this feasting went on for seven days. And for this reason was this done—purely that the chief might show benevolence to others by giving his bounty to

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh injc mochioaia y, çan jc tetlaoculiaia in tlatoanj, in qujntlaoculiaia in maceoaltzintli: iehica ca

2. "Ces tamalli étaient faits avec . . . tamalli, chaux; tamali, fruit; tamali, fleur de maïs; yamalli, cuphre de maïs, et tamalli, nœud. Les deux autres étaient composés, le premier avec le maïs appelé yamalli, et le second avec des fleurs (tamali) sèches (tamalin)." (Quatrième quadrilatère de Sahagún, p. 118, n. 2).

given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cintéotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together—not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *uaciuli*.[10]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When the had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cintéotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. A little distance, her Huastecs went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech clouts, and had their mirrors on the smalls of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

And the medicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests proceeded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiativitze, vmpa itztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jteupan, in vmpa omjc: oc ceppa vmpa ommoxlalia.

796x
[292]

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotlenac, tlatlavillotl eoa, mec oalmoquetza tlatenpan: auh in jxqujch tlacatl pipilti, ic qujchiztoque ipan ōnetepeoalo: njman ic qujtlatlamaca: in aca qujpotonja icpac, yoan icuic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca qujxaoa: in aca cōmaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjliz: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan iciuhca: njmā ic cactivetzi, njman ic vivilos.

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[292]

Auh in ovivilosc: njmā ic oalquiça in jveitlatquj moteneoa: yiamacal, yoan itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquizpanjtl, macujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoatl in tianquizpanjtl: auh navi nexoccampa oome qujtzatzacutiuh: moteneoa meotli.

[292]

Auh in ocōcencauhque, njmā ic ommoiacatia, in mamalti injxpan, navixtin: mec ce conteca, in techcac: inoma yioma in qujmjctia, qujmeltetequj: navixtin, iuh quinchioa:

in oquimōmjcti in navixtin, oncc immac qujnoalcaoa in tletlenamacaque, injc qujnmjctizque, in oc cequjntin mamalti: mec iauh in vmpa ocanato iconeuh: qujvicatiuh in jconeuh, in cinteutl ano itztlacoliuhquj: qujiacana in jcuecaoan vecapa qujtztivi, omocencauhque, inmemecamaxtli, yoan incujtlatescauh, im jichcaxochiuh, mamalacaquetzallo.

[293]
[283]

Auh in tiōci, yoan in tmacnamacaque, necoc omotivi, cujcativi: qujcencjcatlaxilitivi in quaquacujki,

[463]
796x
534

9. This headdress is illustrated in the Tonalamatl of the Codex Borbonicus and of the Aubin Collection.
10. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 177) relates the term to *cuil*; possibly it could as well be related to *uacal*.

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, never-more restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with maguey fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] maguey plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet tamales. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 298.

in amo mjço qujpepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iccen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj. 796x

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vctli. [755] [683] [834] 273

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalquiça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicaz. 796x 411 [283] [381]

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocoçtzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa. [314]

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenquiz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmonamanato, njmã ic vivilo.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixqujch tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aquiçque vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna. 796x 526

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, çã mjxcaviaia in mjmjçque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conococotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacod: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncan tocitoque, mjmjoque: yoan omtetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan conilecavia: 796x 765

[If the captive was] a man, he burned

X 796 has streamers, and his cloak, and his breech clout,
[415] and all the things he had received, and his water gourd. All these he burned.

[462 And a woman burned all her womanly array—her
283 basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning
286 bowl, her warping frame, her cane stalks, her batten, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went
[202] to bring them down when they died, and a flag-bearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

And when they had brought them [there], four captives to be slain went ahead. At the landing at

yoan imauzli, yoã in quezequj ithaçevil, yoã ixtech mochi quijtlatia.

Auh in cioatl, mochi quijtlatia in jxquijch icioatlatequj: in jtuna in jmalac, in jtiçauh, in jtzaoalcuz, in jtzaztaz, in jxtlauh, in jxotzopuz, in jtoçac, in jmecamaxal, incanzia, yoã itzopaia, yoan iviix, yoan iquatzon, ixiouh, yoan yioctacauh: mochi quijtlatia inoma.

Injc ixh quijchioa y, quijmach vmpa intech monequjz in vmpa iazque, in iquac mjquiz vmpa quijualchiaz.

Auh in otlatviz, mec teoçcauale, techichiuale, quijmonaaquja in amatlatquijl, in jpan mjquijquac: in oquijmõchichiuhque, mec teviico in vmpa mjquijque, quijnvica in teanque, vmentin quijntlecavizque, in macana çotlaoa, quijntzitzquijzque: yoã vmẽtin tetemovjzque, in quijnoaltemovizque, in jquac ommjcque: yoan ce panoa, in quijvicatiuh panjtl: yoan vmentin, teixamjque cioa: çan mochivi in quijavivica, cecenme thaltilti.

Auh in oquijmaxitiqoe: iacattivi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apetlac in quijmjlpilia imjcxi yoã inma:

7. These weaving implements have been tentatively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Paso y Troncoso.

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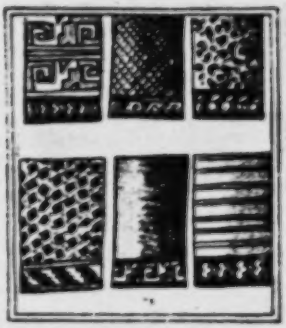

[291
302]

[643
714]

[283
286]

[701
71
793
411]

[723]

—After Paso y Troncoso

72-74. Women's array—*uipilli*, *cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

mecamauj, qujotzatzaxixia, qujnujujequj, qujncujtlaujujequj, qujxiptlavizequj, qujncujtlamelaca. 796[x] 688

stamped upon them, they trampled upon their outstretched bodies, they jumped upon them; they beat them [as they lay stretched] on the ground; they dragged them along; they made them cry out; they beat them—they beat their backs; they beat them soudly; they kicked them as they fled away.

Auh yn ontlacujcujliloque, yn onpeptlaoaloque, çan vncan mocoepa, çan vncan iloxi yn jnchan:

And when these had been robbed, when they had been stripped, then they [could] only turn back, they [could] only go back to their homes.

in tlanelhcalaquilli, vel qujcuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma ichica ca tlamacnihque, compopoa cuecepopoaltizia, qujpopoonia ynic tlamacazque, ynic tlamaceua, ymiaco ymicpac qujmanaia, ynic tlamacazque. [793]

[For] even if [that which was taken] was verily tribute, even this [the priests] took. Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents; he held them in reverence; he feared them because they were priests, because they did penances and laid offerings before [the gods]; for they were priests.

Auh yn oacico, yn ocazitico aztapili: nijman ic ic moço, moçoço, in aztapili: qujchioa yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan qujlpia in toli, tolicpalli qujchiotia, yoan qujchiouia tepozzoicpalli netlazonj: çanoie ic muchiua in aztapili, aztapilepozzoicpalli. 796[x] 285 352

And when they had arrived [at the temple], when the white reeds[5] had been brought, thereupon were sewn together and woven these reeds. They fashioned green and white mats[6] of the reeds, and, binding the reeds, they made stools, and they made seats with backs on which men might rest. In the same manner were fashioned, with the green and white reeds, seats with backs.

Niman ic ic acquj qujcujcujtlalpia, in tuli in tulpizauac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, nijman ic ic monipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacazzilpitiuh menelhoatica metzonmecatica. 796[x] 284

Thereupon they bound some thin reeds in a bundle. And when they had tied them in a bunch, then they were arranged in order, sewed, girt tightly, on the ground, with *magney* roots, with fibers of *magney*.

Auh in ic iuhquj in ic vmpeoaz, netlalocaçoaliztli: yn oiooac nijman mocacaltema, mocacalhemaloa tlamacazque: in tlamacazcatequjoaque tlamacazcayiaque: nijman ichoan in tlamacazque cujcanjme, tlaujtequjnj: nijman ic muchintin, in tlamacazcatecaoan, yoan in oc pipilhotonti tlamacazcatoton, tlamacatoto. 796[x] 793

And when this had come to pass, then were spread upon the ground before the fire the [white and green] mats, the reed beds.

And when they had spread out the reed mats, the fire priest arrayed himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket and placed on his left arm [the maniple] called *matacazcli*.[8]

Auh in ic iuhquj, nijman ic ic onmoteca, tecujlizquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli: 796[x]

And with it he took the incense bag, and he took his incense burner [in his right hand]. Thereupon

auh yn onmoçoub aztapilpetlatl: nijman ic muchichiua in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, yoan conaquja yn iopuchcopa, itoca matacazcli:

yoan itlan conmaa in copalxiquipilli, yoan concuj

1. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies of these reeds: "todo lo *f* con dorado del agua, o verde blanco."
4. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún states that the reeds were dyed (probably between w. tuli).
5. The number of repeats is explained in *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible], n. 8.

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cintéotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

muchichioa, quauhxiztitl in qujuama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmolocti, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teacujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpanouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhti, etc. 796* 793 [30]

Ce tlacatl qujquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, ezcan in cacalaca: auh yn oacico yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujoalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic çontlecauja in cintrupan, çatepan centeca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn ieujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepozoa: 796*

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iollo, noxouhquj xicalco qujoallalia: ichoã qujmati in machiceque caica in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan quaioia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in oozl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in xuchitl, in cempoalxuchitl, in jeuchitl. [262 264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl netotiloia, çan inneixcauijl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn niacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, motaoaia. [302]

Izquojch tlacatl motamaluja momocotamalujaia: qujtlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan.

Auh in uetetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcauijl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli. [888 273]

Auh inda aca, oimac, vel iujuj ic oaoac, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonozzalo in tleiti ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujzacutiaz nectitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796* 273 689

11. See Plate 27.

stamped upon them, they trampled upon their outstretched bodies, they jumped upon them; they beat them [as they lay stretched] on the ground; they dragged them along; they made them cry out; they beat them—they beat their backs; they beat them sorely; they kicked them as they fled away.

And when these had been robbed, when they had been stripped, then they [could] only turn back, they [could] only go back to their homes.

[For] even if [that which was taken] was verily tribute, even this [the priests] took. Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents; he held them in reverence; he feared them because they were priests, because they did penances and laid offerings before [the gods]; for they were priests.

And when they had arrived [at the temple], when the white reeds[4] had been brought, thereupon were sewn together and woven these reeds. They fashioned green and white mats[4] of the reeds, and, binding the reeds, they made stools, and they made seats with backs on which men might rest. In the same manner were fashioned, with the green and white reeds, seats with backs.

Thereupon they bound some thin reeds in a bundle. And when they had tied them in a bunch, then they were arranged in order, sewed, girt tightly, on the ground, with magney roots, with fibers of magney.

And when this had been done, then began the fasting in honor of Tlaloc. When night fell, then the priests all gathered in the priests' dwellings—the warrior-priests [who had taken three or four captives], and the priests [who had captured only one];[5] then those priests who were singers and beaters [of drums]; then all the lesser priests, and those who were yet children, the novice priests.

And when this had come to pass, then were spread upon the ground before the fire the [white and green] mats, the reed beds.

And when they had spread out the reed mats, the fire priest arrayed himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket and placed on his left arm [the maniple] called *mazacuilli*.[6]

And with it he took the incense bag, and he took his incense burner [in his right hand]. Thereupon

mocamani, quiztzatzaztia, quiztzitzqui, quiztzitlauiztzqui, quiztzitlauiztzqui, quiztzitlauiztzqui, quiztzitlauiztzqui, quiztzitlauiztzqui, quiztzitlauiztzqui. 796[X] 688

Auh yn ontlacujcujiloque, yn onpeptlaualoque, çan vncan mocuepa, çan vncan iloti yn jtchan:

in tlaellacalaquijlli, vel quicuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma ichica ca tlamacuhque, compopon conteopopoaltiaia, quipepoonia ynic tlamacaque, ynic tlamacena, ynixco ynicpac quimanaia, ynic tlamacaque. [793]

Auh yn oncico, yn ocatzico aztapilli: niman ic ic moçqo, moçqo, in aztapilli: quichios yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan quijlpia in toli, tolicpalli quichioaia, yoan quichioaia teputzoicpalli netlatzonj: çanoie ic muchioa in aztapilli, aztapilteputzoicpalli. 796[X] 285 352

Niman ic ic acquj quicujcujtlalpia, in tali in tolpitzauac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, niman ic ic momipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacatzilpitiuh momelhoatica metzommecatica. 796[X] 284

Auh in ic iuhquj in ic vmpeuac, netlalocaçualiztli: yn oioac niman mocacalteuia, mocacalteuiuhca tlamacaque: in tlamacazcatequjnoque tlamacazcayiaque: niman ichoan in tlamacaque cujcanjme, tlaujtequipaj: niman ic muchintia, in tlamacazcatzicazan, yoan in oc pipiltotonj tlamacazcatotoc, tlamacazca. 796[X] 793

Auh in ic iuhquj, niman ic ic ommoteca, tlecujiaquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli: 796[X]

auh yn ommoçoah aztapilpetlatl: niman ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, commaquja yn ixtical, yoan conequja yn iepuchcopa, itoca mazacuilli:

yoan idan conana in cepaltzinquipilli, yoan conocuj

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3. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies of these reeds: "todo lo *q* cae de arriba del agua, se vuelve blanco."
4. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún states that the reeds were *blanquecinos* (probably bamboo in mind): "Luego los cortaban, y remojaban, y entrepusieron, y entretejieron, los blancos y los verdes: y hacieron de aquellos petates." Elsewhere, he refers to "petates pintados, de juncos blancos y verdes."
5. The number of captives is explained in *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 6.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[294 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 71+
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizaahuacalaxtl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas hechas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatzinhque [Ilacatzinhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de petates, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las armas y criados necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

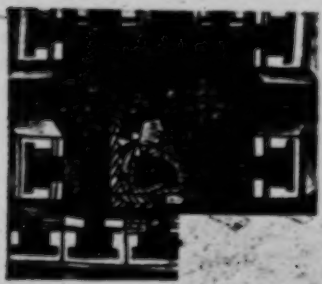

Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

[326]

Thief

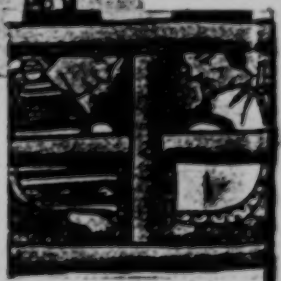

[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

[701
441
714]

[p. 112(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and orna-
ments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were
[286 323] sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

steps in every case. A final polishing with some simple abra- 324
sive like water and sand often completed the process. Some hard stones seem to have been detached from their matrix by applying the abrasive and sawing with a cord of rawhide or a tool of harder stone. The Middle American people also [412]
developed tubular drills of bone and reed, which, rotated by a bow and aided by an abrasive, could hollow out vases or bore out places that were otherwise inaccessible to the clumsy tools of the time.[8]

Save for descriptions and drawings, the destruction of 286
time and man has left us only a few examples of the weaver's art. Weaving of some kind is very old, and no people, however primitive, exist in the world today who do not make at least some kind of basketry. Textiles are made as a rule by higher groups, but they are found in the American continent as part of the material equipment of peoples who had not yet learned how to make pottery. An early example of cloth, combining threads of cotton with some fiber like yucca, was found in the Lower Middle Culture horizon of Zacatenco.

The long practice of weaving must and did have a sig- 286
nificant effect on decoration, for the rectangular patterns, to 531
which the weaver is confined, influence all of Indian art in Continental America. Design and the arrangement of elements are more important than form in Indian art. While many geometrical patterns appear in pictures of Aztec clothing, fine embroidery could produce the effect of curvilinear designs or even naturalistic patterns drawn from the regional flora. Batik and tie dyeing also enriched the decoration of [386]
Aztec clothing. Other processes produced the effect of velvet and brocade, and some garments even imitated in tex-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

286 ture and pattern the skins of animals. Judged on a visual
531 basis, the designs on Aztec clothing were by no means inferior to those of the celebrated textile art of Indian Peru. However, we have no positive evidence that technical development of Aztec weaving was equal to Peruvian, for those ancient South American weavers knew and practiced every method known to man and even a few unique to themselves.[6] (See Plates 33–36; 62, bottom left; 64.)

287 Feather mosaic is probably an old craft, since evidence seems to show that it was known to the Upper Middle Cultures. Feather- and the technically allied fur-cloth appear in primitive horizons in North America. The process consisted in tying the stems of feathers into a fabric during the weaving process. Featherworkers adorned shields in this way, dispersing the feathers to represent animals or else purely decorative designs. They made cloaks, too, and created sumptuous insignia worn on the head or harnessed to the body. In these objects the blending of colors was so delicate and perfect as to rival paintings. As late as the nineteenth century, although the art had declined, the Mexicans still depicted landscapes and scenes from daily life in this medium, and today they make charming pictures for the tourists with cardboard, feathers and glue.[7] (See Plate 45.)

321 Feather mosaic had an early counterpart in stone and
324 shell; we found a turquoise mosaic in a Lower Middle Culture grave. The wooden handles of sacrificial knives were sometimes ornamented in this way, as were masks, shields and even small gold ornaments. A *tour de force* of the mosaic worker is a wooden shield from the Mixteca, on which little pieces of turquoise were fitted together in a relief sculpture depicting a religious scene.[8] (See Plates 48; 60, bottom right.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century 223 531 the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of [177] trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for 323 grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every con- 415 ceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner 323 rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often 286 charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made 283 of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their [531] burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing 283 401

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la plouja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

796X [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

1 *d* KL. *d* 29[1]
2 *e* Quando començaua a tronar· los *e* 30 [314]
3 *f* satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran *f* 1[2]
4 *g* diligencia offrecian copal y otros per- *g* 2
5 *A* fumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas *A* 3
6 *b* dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para *b* 4
7 *c* dar agua: y los populares hazian votos *c* 5
8 *d* de hazer las ymagines de los montes *d* 6
9 *e* que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedi- *e* 7
10 *f* cadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los *f* 8
11 *g* deziseis dias deste mes, todos los popu- *g* 9 [834]
12 *A* lares aparejauan offrendas para offre- *A* 10
13 *b* cer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian *b* 11
14 *c* penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres *c* 12
15 *d* de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los *d* 13
16 *e* hombres. *e* 14
17 *f* Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan *f* 15 [778]
18 *g* el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras *g* 16 [289]
19 *A* de papel, y atauanlas a vnos birales *A* 17
20 *b* desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauan- *b* 18[3]
los en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan. [324]

Despues de sacrlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tuotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que tezen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãlles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si, [413 286]

1. Marginal notation: [illegible]
2. Marginal notation: Repartido Santo Marie V.
3. Marginal notation: Domingo de dos anos.

they placed before all the *xipeme*, they who had put on the skins of men.

And others, who had become drunk, unruly [like] warriors, daring, foolhardy, full of spirit, lively, proud of their valor, playing the part of men, started brawls, forced them to join issue, and battled as if in war, and fought.

And to arouse their wrath, verily to move them, that they might become enraged and angry, they snatched at and pinched their navels.

Whereupon the *xipeme* made them run. Behind them stood a *tatec*, named the Youallauan; he followed them and were skirmishing with all the *tototeci*.

Then [the *tototeci*] set upon [the warriors] and took after them; they went on fighting them, seeking to seize and lay hands upon them, like holding those who had detained them by the leg.

And [the warriors] went whirling around, circling back, fighting the others with pine staves.

And if some were taken who had detained [the *xipeme*], these *xipeme* beat them; they struck [such an one] with their rattle sticks, showing their anger.

And they carried him to the Temple of Iopitli; and not for nothing did he come out, not for nothing was he let free. Something was given as ransom; something was taken—perchance a turkey-hen, mayhap a great cotton mantle he offered, etc.

As hath been told in the description of Xipe, just so was it done. Afterwards visits were made and entertainments provided for the *tototeci* and *xipeme*.

Thereupon began the gladiatorial sacrifice. The captives were spread out in order; the captors stood arranging and accompanying them. Then also the striped ones came forth; swiftly the ocelot[-costumed warrior] led and guided them; he came quickly to meet [the captives], displaying his shield and war club and lifting them up toward the sun [in dedication].[34]

Then he turned back, retreated, turned to the rear; once again he went back.

In the same manner there then followed him, coming second, the eagle[-costumed warrior], who similarly lifted up [as an offering] to the sun his shield and his war club.

Once again emerged another ocelot[-costumed warrior], who came out as third, doing the same as he quickly came out.

tlaixco quiocalmana in xipeme, yn ommaquixia tlacaeoatl.

Auh yn aquique, mihivintia iautlauelilloque, mixtlapaloanj, acan tzmauhque, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, quipopoanj yn iittiacauhio moquichaoaquj, quimonpepeoalkia, quimontlachecalhuja, oiziaopeua, quimoiziaopeoalkia.

Auh inic vel quintlauelcuijxiaia, ynic vel quimolinjaia, ynic vel in tlauel, in qualan quicuja, quimonxiccuja, quimelaiccuj, quimonxiccoteua:

ic njman in xipeme tlapaynaltiaia ymicampa in teputzco icatiuh ce Totec, itoca ioaallaoan, quintoca quintlaichecalhujtiuh, in machiotin tototeci:

ic njman intech ietiquiça, quintlalochtoca, quinnachichihitiuj, quimaacitiuj, quimmamacuptiuj inhq'n in cozztitech ietiuj, in teçaloanj:

auh oalmocueptiuj, oalmomalacachotiuj, ocoquxhtica quinoallahecalhujtiuj.

Auh intla ceme ancia, in teçaloanj, quimujujtequj in xipeme, in chicaoaztica, quijxitilia, vel quimocoltia.

Auh iopico comiçaia, amo çan nen oalquiçaia, amo çan nen caoaloia, itla ic moquixtiaia, itla ic onanoia, aço totoli, aço quachili quimmacaia. Ea

Yn o iuh mito ipan itlatollo xippe, çan ie no iuh mochioaia: çatepan, in ontetotocaque, yn ontzaujeltique, yn ontlapactique tototeci, xipeme:

njman ic pesa in tlamoano, tecpantimanj in mamalti, quimmamjctimani, quiujujcatimanj in tlamanj: njman no oalquiça in tlamoanque, yiacatiujtz, quiacatitiujtz, in teiacantiujtz ocelotl ipan quiztiujtz, conjtitia, conjaujlia yn ichimal, yn imaquauh, in tonatiuh:

njman oc cepa tzinquiça, tzinnenemj, tzinilooi: oc cepa ycujtlauje iauh:

in ic iuhquj njman quiuhtoquilia, quiualoncaiotia, oallaoncaiotia in quauhcli, çan no yoj in conjaujlia tonatiuh, yn ichimal, yn imacquauh:

oc cepa no oalquiça, oc ce ocelotl, oallaocaiotiuh, teocaiotitiujtz, çan no iuh quichioaia calactiuetzi.

34. Sahagún's Spanish here: "Levantaban la rodela, y la espada hacia el sol, como demandando esfuerzo al sol." Cf. also Pl. 5.

[If the captive was] a man, he burned

[415] his streamers, and his cloak, and his breech clout, and all the things he had received, and his water gourd. All these he burned.

[462 283 286] And a woman burned all her womanly array—her basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her *quat* stalks, her batten, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went [202] to bring them down when they died, and a flag-bearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

And when they had brought them [there], Your captives to be slain went ahead. At the landing at yoan imantli, yoã in quezaqui itlaçvil, yoã intech mochi quijtlaia.

Auh in cioatl, mochi quijtlaia in jaquijch icuetlaqui: in jtzaa in jmalac, in jtiçaah, in jxoxoalcuz, in jxuxtuz, in jotlaah, in jxotzopuz, in jteçac, in jmecamaxal, inomaia, yoã itzopaia, yoan ivitz, yoan iquetzoo, ixiuh, yoan yiocteaah: mochi quijtlaia inoma.

Injc iuh quijchioa y, quijmach vmpa intech monequijz in vmpa ianque, in jçnac mijquijz vmpa quijoalchiua.

Auh in otlatvic, mec tectzaoalo, tetchichiualo, quijmonaaquija in amatlaquijtl, in jpan mijquijquac: in oquijnõchichiualque, mec tevico in vmpa mijquijquac, quijavica in teaque, vmentin quijtlecavizque, in macana çotlaca, quijtzizquijque: yoã vmõtin tetemovijque, in quijoaltemovizque, in jpnac omijoque: yoan ce panoa, in quivicatiuh panjtl: yoan vmentin, teizanjque cioa: çan mochivi in quijavica, ceceme tlaaltihi.

Auh in oquijmazitique: iacativi in mamalti mijquij navintin: apctlac in quijmjlpilia imjcxi yoã inma:

7. These weaving implements have been tentatively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Earlen F. Dutton, School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Pozo y Tezozomoc.

[286]

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they seized what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mist House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the hidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." None came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

ioh ceioal in quincuijcatia, quinteçavia, yoan quiotlapichilia, quiovilacapitzalhuja.

Auh in tlapitzaia amo iehoan in tequippanoque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacxia, tlaxikia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopastli, njmã ie ic qujmoiaquijlia in iollopan.

Auh in ocmaquili, njmã ic qujualquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchiua, qujualmaca in tepiquiaj, xmovic xicalco, in qujoallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in ocquimõnjctique tzoalti: njmã ie ic qujncenquixtia, quiteepichoa, in jxquich imamatlaquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cõtlecavia, yoan in iscacaxacoton, in quauhcaxoxonti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxquixh axtapilpetlat in jpan onoca, yoan ontopilquavitl, yoan in jxquich in tlaquaia in caxitonti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl much vmpa concaua in xiuhcalco.

In ie vi qujcaoaque, njmã ie ic onmoiacatia, in tlacoxoxtzahi, in tepictlaquaque: mec tetlamaco, cecenj, xeixcavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmã ie ic qujmaca in vetli.

auh in cioa ño calaquj, motenoua ontamalcaoa, niac çan ioh iauh, muchi tlacatl itlacl quiequixtiuh in cioa quiquecexanotivi: auh in aca icistzin in quiequj, aço cazzolokoti, aoço tlamjc.

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec quintlamaca tetlamaco: njmã no quimoca in vetli, quintlaoltia, quiualmanjlia tilapaztica in vetli, yoã quiualmana in tetlaoua, in tlaxamonj, in tlaoẽcaxitl, çan no tilhic.

Auh in jquac concaua teuvitl, in nentlacolli cõma-

7. The Pedrera MS reading differs (Barlow, op. cit., p. 314), "[illegible]" [illegible] Tlamacazqui (op. cit., p. 206) [illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible]

And a fire priest arrayed himself; he was bedight as a young warrior. He imitated a young warrior, with his netting cape, his forked heron feather device, his deer hoof [rattles], his lip pendant. He departed from the temple above, and brought a *magney leaf* on which was a small banner.

When he came down to the ground, he then went to the eagle vessel, where stood the grain bin, and there he placed the magney leaf.

And when he had placed it there, then appeared the priests, hastening greatly, as if [all] strove to be first. This was known as, and called, "The Flower Race." [For] they climbed up to the temple, where the flower was. It was named "Flower of the God."

And upon reaching the summit, then the priests laid fire to, filed burned, the grain bin. Once again they descended, rushing down with the flower; they cast the flower upon the eagle vessel, in which the grain bin burned. Then all the priests ran off, in all directions. Enough of this.

And upon the morrow, then began [the sport of] casting bags at people. All made bags for themselves. They carried grass nets, and filled them with the flowers of reeds or with scraps of papers. They shredded paper; they shredded it fine and bound it to the inside [of the nets]. And some carried nets [made] as it were like gloves, also filled with reed flowers; [these] were called hand bags. And some only prepared themselves green maize leaves, which were made into bags; they pressed the leaves into balls.

And now it was commanded that none should put stones [in the bags]. Those who were yet small boys played purely in fun when they began the mock-fight with bags; only gradually it quickened. As the mock-fight was fought, as it flared [in intensity], blows were struck, perchance at the heads [of the participants], or their backs, or their breasts, as they dealt blows.

And the older boys cast bags at the maidens—those [yet] with long hair[dress]—whenever these came before them. They cast bags at them, surrounded them, [so that] in truth, they made some of them weep. And when some woman took forethought, if she went forth, she carried her staff, or she [carried the branch of] some kind of thorny plant. If anyone came upon her to cast a bag at her, she pursued him; she was thus defended.

And if she carried nothing for her defense, verily

auh ce tlenamacac in muchichioaia, motelpuchchichioaia, telpuchtli ipan quiça icuechin, yiaztaqui, ichochol itenpilol: vmpa oalcoa in teucaltiçpac, metl quivicaza, pilnoztli itech icativiza. 796 [293]

In oacico tlalchi: njmã ie ic vmpa iauh in quauhxicalco, in vmpa icac cuescomatl, vmpa coetlalia in metl.

Auh in ocõtlali, njmã ie ic eoa in tlamacazque, cenca motlaloa, iuhquin mopapanavizivi: moteneoa, motocaiotia. Suchipaina, quitlecavia in teucalli, vmpa caca suchitl: iuica Teuauchitl.

Auh in opanvechoato: njmã quitlemjna, quitlecavia, in cuescomatl in tlamacazque: no cappa oalteme, quioalcuicuiqui(ça in suchitl: vncã quioallaztimanj in suchitl in vncã quauhxicalco, in vncan tlatla, cuescomatl: njmã motlatlaloa, in tlamacazque, çan ic quitztimanj, çan oc ie ixquich.

Auh in iauiztlaioc: njmã ie peoa in nechichiquavilo, ixquich tlacatl quimuchichiviliaia chichiquatli: in acamatlatl in quçoaia, vncã quitentiquetza in tolcaputl, anoço amatzotzolli: in amatl quipochina, quipopochina, in itic quicacatza: auh in cequintin iuhquin macpalli, quçoaia matlatl, no quitentiquetza in tolcaputl: motocaiotia, macpalchichiquatli: auh in cequinti çan iuatl in quimuchichiviliaia, in quimochichiquatiaia: iuatl in quitatapaiollaliaia. 796 286

Auh in iquac nenauatiloia, inic siac tetl itic quitlalia: çan onavilpeoa, çan oc pipiltotonti in quipeoaltiaia in muchichiquaiautlaia, çan iuh nenti vetia: inic mitaiautla iuhquin cocomonj ic movivizquj, aço imiçpac aço incuitlapan, aço imelpan in quimotlazilia. 796

Auh in telpopochpipil, quinchichiquavizia in ichpopochti, ichoanzin in tzonquemeque, in iquac iniçpan quiça, vacan quichichiquavia, cocolhuia, in aca vel quichochoctia: auh in aca cioatl momachtia, iatla canapa iaz itlaquavid quiçiquj, anoço tlacatzcolococoviztli: iatla aca ie viz, quichichiquavia, ic quiioca, & momapatla.

Auh in aca ale quiçiquj, inemapatlaia, vel cocol-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

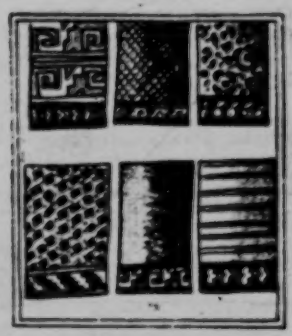

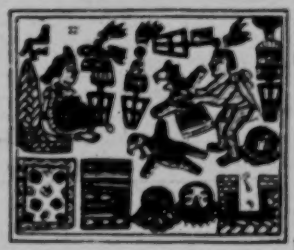

532

[291
302]

[643
714]

[283
286]

[701
714
793
411]

[723]

—After Paso y Troncoso

72-74. Women's array—*ueipilli, cuemi* (Chapter 19). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's seat array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Theirs were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; maguey spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc cuxtolli ocz cxpirulo, vncan mjtoa, injc moiehecoaia çioa. 286 462

Neanonj, mecamaxalli, quatzontli, xiiotl, oclatl, tzotzopaztli cacalaca, patlaoac: tzotzopaztli pitzaoac, omjtzotzopaztli, tzotzopaztepiton, ic tlamachioa: teçacatl, tlaujteconj, malacatl, tzaoalcaxitl, tiçatl, xaxalmilacatl ic iujtzaoa: ichcatanatli, tochomjtanatli, icpatanatli, iujtanatlj, iujtecomatl: tzatzaztli, tlacujlolquaujtl injc qujcujloa icpatl in qujqujti: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan qujpatla intlapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana tlein tlamachtli qujchioa; vitztli injc qujuitzcuj icpatl: [386]

tlaqualchioa, achioa, qujnomauja: vncate in jnnahoan in qujmjscaltia, ioan in cocoa tepotzome çihoa, tzapame, cujca, tlatzotzona: injc meleiquixtia. 462 702 534 522

1. Tlemilpinnauatl. Sahagún (op. cit., III, p. 222) describes the tool as "huesecuelo, y dicen los otros mujeres que parecen planetas sobre el huso; es labrado muy primoroso, porque de él se hacen rapaduras, tenderillas y ollitas. . . ." Otro lo pintaron de Hernández, op. cit., Pl. 60.

[p. 50 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[a] as did Tequixquiac[b] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tézcatepectonco.[c]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[284] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[d]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[e]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[f]

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[a] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[b] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[c] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[d] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[e] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[f] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Mother: "nantli"—"tenantzin"—"teciztli."[18]

Aunt: "auitl"—"teaui."[19]

Grandmother as well as grand-aunt: "citli."[20]

Great-grandmother "piptontli."[21]

Descending from the "Ego."

Son: "tepiltzin," "tetelpuch." But the women (mother, sisters, etc.), call him "noconeuh."[22]

[18] *Molina* (I, p. 80; II, pp. 62, 88, 98). "Citili" is probably the same as "Citli,"—hare, or grandaunt. The fact that the same name should be given to a near female relative or even to the mother, and to a fleet, timid, quadruped, is very singular. It may be that the timidity of the animal has given occasion to bestow the name, or, since hare's hair was frequently woven into fine mantles, together with feathers, that this also may have given rise to it. The latter is first mentioned by *Peter Martyr*, of *Anghiera*, "*De nouo Orbe*," or the "*Historie of the West Indies, etc., etc.*" London, 1612. An English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden, of the famous "Decades," also entitled "*De Rebus Oceanicis*," (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 229), he mentions having seen among the objects brought to the court of Spain by Juan de Ribera, garments; "they compact of Conies haire, and they set those feathers in such order between the Cony haire, and intermingle them between the thriddes of the cotton, and weave them in such difficulty, that we do not well understande how they might do it." *Sahagun* (Lib. XI, Cap. 1, p. 137) mentions another animal to which the name "cioatlamacasqui" is given, which he translated "little old woman," basing upon its other designation of "tlamaton."

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The reverend father is, however, in error. The first name signifies literally, "woman medicine-man," or "female doctor" (Indian notion of course), and the second "little medicine-man," from "cinasi" woman, Molina, II, p. 32, "tlama"—medicine-man, (II, 128). This animal seems to be the Raccoon, as the following quotations prove: *Joannis Eusebius Nierembery*, ("*Historia naturæ maxime peregrinæ*," Antwerp, 1635 Lib. IX, Cap. XLII, p. 175). "Antra canitates montium atque collium Tzozocolci hospitatur animal peregrinum, quod cuncta manibus praetentat. Mapach ab Indis dicitur, sed non firmo nomine; alij illamaton seu vetulam appellant, alij maxile seu goozypinum tinguium, alij cioatlamacasque seu sacerdotissam." *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XII, Cap. XXXIX, p. 429), he calls "Coquamatle," an animal which is probably the Coati, makes no mention of the "mapach," but *Clavigero* (Lib. I, Cap. X, p. 76) treats of this animal fully.

The naming of a female relationship, "Citli" appears the more strange, as this name is given, in the Mexican mythological tales, to a *god* who tried to compel the sun to move, and lost his life in the attempt. This story is due to *Andrés de Olmos*, neither Sahagun nor Motolinia mention the occurrence in this manner. Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. VII. Cap. II, p. 245, etc., etc.); *Mendieta* (Lib. II, Cap. I, pp. 77, 78) and *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, Cap. XLI, p. 76). Both refer it to his authority. We shall refer to it in our essay on "Creed and Belief."

[773]

[19] *Molina* (I, 118; II, 9, 91).

[20] *Molina* (I, 118; II, 22). See note 18.

[21] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, 88). There is also, "alpiptzin"—"parente fraco de vejez," and "Piptzqui yuacayo"—"viejo fraco y arrugado." The affix "tontli" is a diminutive.

[22] *Molina* (I, p. 71). A singular etymology is shown here: The man says, "Thy" / "Thine" boy" or "Thy" / "Thine" youth." ("Te-piltzin"—Te-tetpuch" from "Tehuatl" or "Te") "thou" / "thine" and "Piltzintli," child, male or female, (II, p. 88,) and "Tetpochtli," youth, (p. 98). The woman, however, calls: "my child" (or boy, since the same name is for both

787X

drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven-Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept; nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wandering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wait for public esteem — to become a mer-

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã ãqualli: ynic qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztilisia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxipda, qujdamanjliaia: no iehoan in cios tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achilopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, aca vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel aiaque mjmatizque, toltecatizque, yellalaliziqe, vellacujloxque: in jpan iotlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mãaltiaia, mauju̇jxoaia, yn jquac neoaloo, in vecan ilhujqujztililoia, chicome xochitl:

787X 787X 782 286 785

auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla aca tlãmachchiuhquj, yneçaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã ãavilnemjz, ãavienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mãaviltiaia in tlamachchiuhque,

787X 286 785 548

qujlmach ichoatl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquequeloaia in intecuh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtlemacaia, ic temotlaia, xochiciujztli, palanjliza.

787X 286 776

auh in aquin vel ontlamatcca in vel monotza, ca oncã quçaia, maviztia, momaviçoaiaia, cana motztica, vel moietztica tepeltzinco in tlic:

787X 286

no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aquin ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tõtoltecatiz, tlatlaxemjliz, iõiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz: auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iauhquja, iquequeloca in qujmomacevia.

787X

Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motequjcica, moch centlaotica amo qualli: in aquin ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jncmjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelnenca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhquin ecatocoinemj, avic iatioemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atlati: ca nel iuhquj itonal: conjatoca, ipan onmjxpoa, in ma papuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, teaachti, tetlãtlavicalti, tecicamanalhuj. Enc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan oãia motlachnenoia, mone-

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
236 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse, whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then
837 believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aequetztiuj injc mjqui tetolpipil, ic quijtoa: ca tlaçolmjqui: aço aca inpan ocalaquijco, anoço oquimjztac, anoço aca vel chase in oquintlaçôlmjcti: ic quimatia, in çan muchin aequetztivi totolmac, injc mjqui.

Quil no iuh inpan muchioa in namjquerque: in aço cana quijlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço tequjchtin: injc quimati, çan quijpiqui in aequetztivetzi, anoce cana motlavizequj.

● 286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

. Injc ompoalli ommacuilli capítulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl quijquiti.

In jcpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cuetitl: in jquac quijquiti in chicopacilivi, in chicoviaquijxtiuh, in tennecuijlultiuh, quitoaia: quijlmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciulhquj, çan tlatlavelilloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chia field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

Injc ompoalli on chiquacen capítulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

In jquac quijavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquijn vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli quijaoac quijoalitepeoa, itvalco: quijlmach yc amo tecivilos in jmjl, quil ic poliui in tecivitl.

754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**

776 At night walked demons—perchance wizards
787 and sorcerers—where they harmed one in one's house. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

Injc ompoalli on chicome capítulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

In iooaltica nemj tlatlacatecuio: aço nanaoalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oquimjtlaque in aço itla ic quipoloa in chaneque: niman atlac conteca ytzti puertaxitlan, anoço itoalco quimana in iooaltica, quitoaia: quijlmach vacan onmotencavia in tlatlacatecuio, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa; aço mjcoac, anoce cocoliztli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los pollos se cayan muertos, los pusos arriba, y eran, llamaua diçiendo que.*"

28. Corresponding Spanish text: "*no parecia, no que la vida, si parecia biuiendola.*" Cuaresma, in Simeon, op. cit., is to make a false seam.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

286 ture and pattern the skins of animals. Judged on a visual
531 basis, the designs on Aztec clothing were by no means inferior to those of the celebrated textile art of Indian Peru. However, we have no positive evidence that technical development of Aztec weaving was equal to Peruvian, for those ancient South American weavers knew and practiced every method known to man and even a few unique to themselves.[6] (See Plates 33–36; 62, bottom left; 64.)

287 Feather mosaic is probably an old craft, since evidence seems to show that it was known to the Upper Middle Cultures. Feather- and the technically allied fur-cloth appear in primitive horizons in North America. The process consisted in tying the stems of feathers into a fabric during the weaving process. Featherworkers adorned shields in this way, dispersing the feathers to represent animals or else purely decorative designs. They made cloaks, too, and created sumptuous insignia worn on the head or harnessed to the body. In these objects the blending of colors was so delicate and perfect as to rival paintings. As late as the nineteenth century, although the art had declined, the Mexicans still depicted landscapes and scenes from daily life in this medium, and today they make charming pictures for the tourists with cardboard, feathers and glue.[7] (See Plate 45.)

321 Feather mosaic had an early counterpart in stone and
324 shell; we found a turquoise mosaic in a Lower Middle Culture grave. The wooden handles of sacrificial knives were sometimes ornamented in this way, as were masks, shields and even small gold ornaments. A *tour de force* of the mosaic worker is a wooden shield from the Mixteca, on which little pieces of turquoise were fitted together in a relief sculpture depicting a religious scene.[8] (See Plates 48; 60, bottom right.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 45

AZTEC FEATHERWORK

TOP: Nineteenth-century survival of a famous Aztec craft of which few examples have resisted the ravages of time. BOTTOM: Montezuma's headdress, now in the Vienna Museum. Cortes sent it to the Emperor Charles V, who gave it to his nephew.

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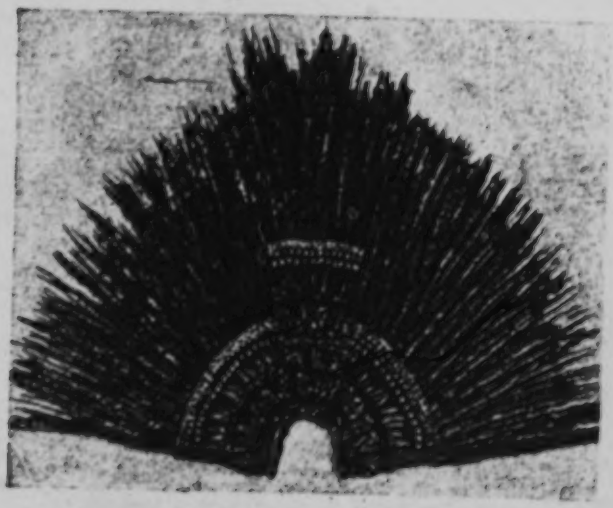

[p. 144(A)]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the 287 question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of 237 the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each sub-division of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time; [302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 88) gives the following description of the figure of Axayacs, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototl." It is "*Trogon resplendens*." (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 39, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquecho!" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1809, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymó) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, in vol. II. of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to *imitate* the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face *yellow* ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was *blue* (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tizñéndose las caras con la tizne divina. quellos asi llamauan, y el rey Auit-"zotl vestido de ricas mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas açules . ."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlatl") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlatl") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient [556] disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Les chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 438). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostralles otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos Maria de Bustamante. Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes*," 1826. Parte tercera, (Cap. III, p. 212). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, [564] cap. V, p. 462). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49), "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlatl" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 243), "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estas artes todos tuviéron principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, [685] p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 487). *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes do los Mexicanos").

● 287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works—those made of feathers—is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 489, and, with slight variations, also by *Vetancurt*, Vol. I, p. 380.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See in general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 187 and 188), also *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is im- 796
probable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity.

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These ref- 212
erence books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten [289]
from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.[8] (See Plate 59, top.)

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in ac- 796
cordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months 805
of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do

[Text continues on p. 198. --- Analyst]

776 Quetzaltepec, Chalchiuitl ytec, Tlaloc, Papoztepec, Iztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fa-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded ones [Tepictoe].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
hold the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepictoe] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepictoe] and set them in place. None
of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictoe were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before those who sang the songs for
the Tepictoeton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictoeton].

[192 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young persons, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoeton [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoeton
figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepictoe there-
upon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, there all the old
782 people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

papoztepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl/ ynic in qeqz
quezquijtzol tepetl in qujxtomaz in qujpiqiz.

Auh in qujpiqiqiz, in qujmixpolotiuia in tepiqz, qan
tzoalli, qujxtlacatlaliuia, qujxtlacatlachtiuiria, tlacatlachi-
tiuiaz:

qujxtlacatiuia xiuauhtli, auh in qujxtzolotiuia xiuauhtli:
in quemanj yxtlacopj in qujmixpolotiuia, in qujpipiqiz
qan no iehuapj yxic qujchichiuia.

Auh ynic qujchiuia, amatemajtl, cuichachapetzria,
cuichipiuia, qujxquapoztiuia:

auh in cuepj amatemitl, tlaalchipinjlli, tlaalchachapa-
tzalli, mecatitech qujpipilouia, mecatitech qujmomochilpiuia,
qujmomochqalouia, ynjxpan amatl, ic itzacuepqui in
tepictoe:

hiçamacatic papapatlacatic, papatlantic, ceuipilquauitl,
acic, nanacic, necoccaxpa tlatlalactiac, tzontemoctiac, yn
iuan amatl tzoujtl.

Auh nikocuintli, tlaimilopanxi, tlaimixactli: ynixpan
mamaniz, chalchiuhxicalli ipan pouijz, ycxi vncz ça, ycxi ic
mamaniz.

Auh çan iehuan in tlamacazqui, yn jaxquixti, in
machiztiquac cuica, yn qujchichiuia, in qujtlalaia: aiac
çan moiecuiaia, in calla in qujchichiuia.

Auh mocujtlaia in qujxtlalhujaia, mjtoa: qujmomocaxal-
tiuia in tlamacazqui:

yn o ic cauhqui tepictoe, ujmoan ic ic qujtocaçtia,
qujxcaqueia:

in cuiouat xapa in qujxtlamanjlia, tamalolli in
qujmocuia, qujmamaia ynjxpã, in tlamacazqui, in
tepiccujca:

no xapa in qujxtlamacaia cuiouat, ynic qujxtlapichiliuia,

qujmocuiqujxjlilouia tocuintli in qujxpichiliuia, ynic
vilacapitzli, cocoxjlol,

vilacapitzoua, çan tlapopochti, papaqujxj, hacxiuj,
tlilxiuhtiaxj, tocomoxtiaxj, cocolqui, no tlamacaia.

Auh yn oncatzic ujmoan qujmicia yn tepictoe, qujxquach-
cocoua, qujxquachcuj, qujxquachilacatzoa, çanpan qujxxoxo-
chiuhtoc, cuechcuj, in oquichtlalli, qujxqui yn calmecac yn
tlapa cuapa, tlamacazqui.

Auh in tepiqujxj, ujmoan in yc calaqujh yn ichtecatzinco-
huan, yn jcxcauan, tocac tlapia, mocuicuitiquac:

auh in ic iccuinah, in ic tecuic: ximoan in ic tlacatzin,
mochocuecuetzalia in tocuitlacac, yn ic chicuacuqui, yn ochichi-

117. Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Snow cloud) are mountain-gods in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*tzoalli*), in the Spanish colonial, Sahagún's contemporaries *Samuel dos Santos* (Ensaye Español, p. 27).

119. ". . . *cubre papeles llenos de goteo de cáli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatemalli*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 130).

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes eminẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatzontli*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnaoatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Mexicanos [illegible] *Cuauhtlehuanitzin* [illegible] *Ecatzontli*.

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

EL Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles, y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra: haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo gruesos como la muñeca largos llamauanlos Ecatotonti: ãsi a estos como a las culebras los investian cõ aquella masa que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los investian a manera de montes, arriba les ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de persona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes, en memoria de aquellos que se aujan ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino que los enterrauan.

Desptes que cõ muchas cerimonjas, aujan puesto en sus altares a las ymagenes dichas: ofrecianles tambien tamales y otras comjdas: y tambien los dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch; la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Xochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauiadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

X 796 After they had slain them and torn out their hearts, they took them away gently, rolling them down the steps. When they had reached the bottom, they cut off their heads and inserted a rod through them, and they carried the bodies to the houses which they called *calpulli*, where they divided them up in order to eat them. The papers with which they arrayed the images of the mountains, after they had broken them to pieces in order to eat them, they hung in the tribal temple. Many other ceremonies were performed in this feast, which are set down at length in its account.

[266]

[289]

Despues que las ouieron muerto, y sacados los coraçones: lleuauanlas passo rodando por las gradas abaxo: llegadas abaxo cortauanlas las cabeças, y espetauanlas en vn palo, y los cuerpos lleuauanlos a las casas que llamauan Calpul: donde los repartian para comer: los papeles con que adereçauan las ymagenes de los montes despues de averlas desbaratado para comer, colgauanlos en el Calpul. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, que estan a la larga puestas en su historia.

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemoztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua. 796 [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *marlete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemoztli.

1	d	KL.	d	29[1]
2	e	Quando començaua a tronar los	e	30
3	f	satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran	f	1[2]
4	g	diligencia offrecian copal y otros per-	g	2
5	A	fumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas	A	3
6	b	dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para	b	4
7	c	dar agua: y los populares hazian votos	c	5
8	d	de hazer las ymagines de los montes	d	6
9	e	que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedi-	e	7
10	f	cadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los	f	8
11	g	dezineis dias deste mes, todos los popu-	g	9
12	A	lares aparejauan offrendas para ofire-	A	10
13	b	cer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian	b	11
14	c	penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres	c	12
15	d	de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los	d	13
16	e	hombres.	e	14
17	f	Llegados á la fiesta que la celebrauan	f	15
18	g	el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras	g	16
19	A	de papel, y stauanlas a vnos barales	A	17
20	b	desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauan-	b	18[3]
		los en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de		
		los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de		
		calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aie-		
		cotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda		
		y los adoraua.		

[314] [834] [778] [289] [324]

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abriãnlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que teuen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si, [413 286]

1. Marginal notation: *Semanas[illegible]*
2. Marginal notation: *Kyrie[illegible] Maio V.*

2. Marginal notation: *Domingo de dias [illegible]*

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
x 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

x 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses
who are named Cinapipilti, because they said that
●[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
273 great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the
[776] second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine,
[463] and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine
[415] sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they
celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the
lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[309] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[432] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called calmecac, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pescar bien y para tener bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornices y encienso, y hazia otras cerimonias los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cinapipilti porque dezian que entonce descebdian a la tierra, seaujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comida, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan cosando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los ãj de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y saçauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde moraua los sacrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce tecuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and cónsuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treueua fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce tecuintli: deziau que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mijmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mijmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solēnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y arrytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796 [314] [289] 778 [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchihtli cue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchihtli cue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comū.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuēta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian bapotizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera-casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comida, y bebida, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: bapteizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, bapteizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los bapteismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

X 796 **Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day**
[805] **[and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl cauaiio or Quauitl eua.**[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloca.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[789] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenmanili*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

[202 314] ● 289

Juic 20. capítulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlacaalizti: in quichiouia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in qujnocaiotiaia, in qujnoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eua.

Quauitl eua, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujquiztililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã netetreuhtililoia, onnertlaualoia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel xytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in tetrujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauitl, motenena tuenmanili, viujtlaczic, çan itech ietiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujnoncaoaia pipiltzitzinti, in motenenoia tlacatecteuhti: ichoštin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquauujl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amatetrujtl, vhica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

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1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitlua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (Mexico: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 16: "*Xilomanaliztli,*—*Atlacahualoa,*—*Cuauhtlaloa,*—*Cihuatlquiyl. Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de sangre de niños; nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuauhtlaloa, quemados de los árboles: nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. Atlcahualoa ó Atlacahualoa, nombre admirado por los mexicanos, según el P. Leon, derrotos de las aguas, y es la interpretación de todo que nada sea superior. Cihuatlquiyl, fiesta de la mujer. El símbolo religioso es la imágen de Tlaloc y su dribal representando, con el agua como los mismos.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . *el primer mes, cuyo nombre Atrahualoa o Atlacahualoa, significa la ceremonia del agua, pues en el mes de marzo eran las lluvias del invierno en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o nahuatl. La llamaban también Quauhtlaloa, la que significa la inundación de los árboles, que se cumplía en este tiempo en los países fríos. Los sacerdotes llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, oblación de las mazorcas de maíz, porque en él ofrecían a sus dioses las del año corriente, para ayudar los nuevos que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (Tlalocan, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuauhtzi eloa* as *palo se abre*. Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún über Altertümer und Religion Mexicos* (Camillo Sofer Sarlo, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 55, translates the terms as *der Baume erbeben sich (machen sich auf den Weg)*.

2. *Nextlaoaloa*: Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of penance of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *informe de Alonso de Molina: Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Serie Plateresca, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Remi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1950), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nextlaoaloli* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *cuenmanili* as *arco triunfal*.

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacatecteuhti* as *niño tlacatecuhtli*, and makes it clear (Subpoint commentary No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opfersoeuhne* (*Opfersoeuhne* or *Menschenopfersöhne*). They may actually have been paper sacrifices surrounded by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 60) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, flores de papel de allí a los quales pegaban hermosos ornamentos.*" *Tlaulchachapatztli*: cf. *chachapaztli*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored—part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiuja, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vccã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, inclacatecujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic oacanquj.

Jnjc excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotinia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epncpanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, coztlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miquja nextlaoalti, tlacatecuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcoaquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaxolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichiosujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujzçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

[6. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is an issue confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*en este sitio compusiste que este sitio del Tlaxcalteca.*"
7. *Vlpiaoac*, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *amarillo* (dusty red, flesh colored); later he has *bermejo* (bean colored, yellow) for *yiapalli*. For *papaloc*, Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 54) has *gelbbraun*; *Molina* (*op. cit.*), *color violeta de mayo*; *Simeon* (*op. cit.*), brown or black.
8. The Spanish text explains: "*en este sitio compusiste que este sitio grandeza.*"
9. *Loc. cit.*: "*en aquel sacrificaste, que este dentro dentro lugar, frente del Tlaxcalteca.*"
10. *Loc. cit.*: "*en su sacrificio, que este en los pensamiento de Tlaxcalteca, y allí este repentino.*"
11. *Loc. cit.*: "*en su sacrificio que este cabo chalco atenco.*"
12. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 57) reads *yenamatlapaltiua*, which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Binde*.
13. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says "*pusiste este alas de papel como angeles.*"]

feathers, and in these [the children] were kept

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm; and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh ñappa teixpan neci, teixpan qujxtilo, teixiteilo, teiximachtilo, qujnelamamaca, qujnmamaca yn jmamanechichioal:

ynjc ceppa maca, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatequj.

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc cepa ichoatl yn intlatequj ietiuh, tlauhia.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

iccen qujnchichioaia, iccen qujnmacaia, iccen qujtequj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic qujxtlatlatizque, ynjc ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oncomozque ça iccen qujcauj, yn intlatequj, tlauhio:

ayemo quipatla, aocmo quipapatla: yoan vltica qujnoalhoanchichiua.

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzemaia yn jma, yn icui iztac tozoliujtica.

Auh no mocoia, tlaçotlaqui tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalinotiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlatitia, ynjc oncano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamatiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoçotiuh, qujtlquetztiuh in chicaoztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

Auh mochiztl, iuh mochichioaia, yn iaquichin, malaque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oncomozque, yn iquac occic ilhujtl tlacaxipeualiztli.

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534]

[illegible] and University of Utah, 1950; Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. IX), p. 12. On use of [illegible] paper, and its relation to Aztec [illegible], see op. cit., p. 27 and n. 88.

X 796 Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aquiçi connequiça, conmonectiaia, entlaeleujaia in mihivintia telpopochti.

[275] And some of them had so made vows that they [755] would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequintin ic moneztoltia, yn eoatlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço ixcoaia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

Each one of the captors came forth from his house, [301] and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] ● 289] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

ceeciaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaquitiuj in eoatl, amateteujtl, ymacolpan mamãtiuh, yoan in tlanitico.

And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving [515] together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaztiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynic yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aixnamjquiztli: çan neiacapacholo ynic namjco, ynic tetla quiça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn eoatl, ocotoczauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiquijuhtica quinapaloa, yn ouelteçioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappizoac.

And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They [431] bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts [531] tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with 291] designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, quiniacan.uj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: quimoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoaoanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn eoatlatiloian, yn çepac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceeciaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn intlema, conujixoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac eoatl, nimen mototoma, mototonticac: yn oquiçoalcopin eoatl, contlaça ica onmaisuj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, quiçoalcauhtiquiça, quiçoaltentiquiça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, 515 which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oquiçaoato eoatl, yn onmaquiçiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaolhextli, inic onmixxaxaqualoa, ynic onmixmamatiloa, mixioteruja:

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6. See Chapter 20, n. 1.

7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *quinoalpilitiuj* as *kastanienfarbene or in orange-farbene Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kastanienfarbenen (aus der braunen Farbe der Kastilien der Bemalte abzuleiten).*" Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado carmesi*.

For *nochpalli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*kaktusfarbenen (aus der Farbe des Nopalkaktus, der Kakteen-Schildlaus).*"

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and illus., p. 531.

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. These who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

vncã oneoa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, amo qujnmamatiloaia, çan qujntlotzona, qujntlatlatzinja, iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel quiça in chiaoaliztli. Auh no yquac, netzompaco in tlamanj, mozopaca, mamouja: 796[x] 515 [388]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, qujnmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotiquẽ:

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

auh çatepan itoalco, qujquetza in male, qujtlalia quauhtzontzapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech qujtlatlalia: yn jamatlatquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796[x] [778]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vexed them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlauelittalli chicaoac: ic no ceppa ic ic muchichioaia, ipan tetotoca, tececenmana, tlacatl qujcocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, qujcacalatztiuh ychicaoaz qujcaoztztiuj, qujtetoca, q'tepachotiuj, qujtecicali:

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

muchi tlacatl qujmauhtia, ipan macãuj: qujtoa, le uitz tetzompacquj:

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

auh intla aca cana, intla aca qujcujtiuetzi, qujpepetlaoa, qujtlatlalochtia yn jtilma: in quezçuj qujtecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic qujujujtequj in tilmatli.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Çatepan itoalco qujquetza, itlacaxipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic qujnextia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[x] 778

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

Auh yoan yn jquac y, tlascopiloaia: auh ynaca oc concholoktiaia, yn iquezteqpol malli: yoan mecaxicolli, aztapatlactontli itech pilcac. [291/237]

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

Auh in quezteqpolli, amatica qujquijquijmiloaia, qujxaiacxiaia: auh ynjn motocaiotiaia, malteotl. [289]

9. Molina: *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl section (*ambos*).
10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*un globo redondo, hecho de paxaro.*"
11. *Ibid.*: "*pusoe sobre los papeles con que se avia adornado, el mesmo quando muerto.*"
12. Cf. Sahagún: *Historia de Mexico*, p. 93, n. 1: *entonces dijeron*—"*C'est-à-dire que celuiçi (parcil) le calçoyer, le mulier* (mentil, *en compatiotes* [illegible], *qui d'empêche subsistance pour dire: noble d'une bonne famille*)." This would imply a double meaning.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text suggests that the thigh bone was then suspended. Seler, in *Besige Kapitel*, p. 91, has "trophy."
14. *Gottesgefangener*, in Seler, *loc. cit.*

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *amenxiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and *not* yellow paper,[18] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan ui vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia: 796

ynjn coatlapechtli, quauitl in tlaxixintli, iuhquin cocoa, nauintin in motzinnamictoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon: 778 [352 532]

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc quipepechoaia, yn jmizquio, ca mizquiquauitl, in tlaxintli, yn iziptla muchipa catca, yn oquipepechoque: [824]

njman ie ic quimamaca yn itlatq': conaquia yn jxicol, tlacoaqualloq, ynic tlacuilolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhquin cuechintli: [292]

yoan conaquia yamacal, yuitica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiuitl ic tlachioalli ezzlapanquj: [293 237]

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacuilolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucuitlacomalli. [237]

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: quitetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacuilolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, queztepolli, omjcicuilli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacuilolli catca. [532]

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo: yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequilia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo teuamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl: [289 292]

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc quinapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc quinapalozque, ynjc monapaloz ymaxtli: [411]

ezcan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc ezcan, vncan yn jmamaçocan: [411 237]

18. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Rahmuño edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Señor Antonio Quezhuatzi: "*Se muestra manuscritado por la capa de libro de algunos árboles de glucera flaca. Sirvió de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las adornos, cuentas y otros adornos que el cuerpo de los dioses requería.*"

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[10] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonnalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotonnaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmizraioujia, qujmiztaioquzuhoatza: [251 263]

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujtonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapãtlecax, amo iehoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla. [374]

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinman, in ic tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoaltema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin in teteuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, mozaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan intẽteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tlitica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acxilquj: [202 289]

auh in motlacamati, cansoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acxilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama. [302] [417]

qujpeoaltilia yn cioa in netotilitzli, ynic mjtotia chocholos, çan mocioaittotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jnteteuh coamemauja, qujtotitimanj, 796X 535

10. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 185.

X 796 714 richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

X 796 And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[15] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then [244] they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They [314] bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ● 289 ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had [302] their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] [317] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. 237 And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocsteucujtla ẽnca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj momatlaçaxque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauiçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no tototecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in inteteupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecipan. Auh in oelecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoã aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn nomotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixooa njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oaltemo in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca tototoca, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmotzolobiqujça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

15. "Los sacerdotes de la diosa chicomecoatl" (corresponding Spanish text).

16. "Entre se subieron, cuatro en un pequeño, que se llamaban [dir] la casa de cimilobuchtli" (loc. cit.). *Codex Borbonicus*, month of Ochpaniztli, illustration 8. Pom y Tezozomoc, op. cit., p. 143.

17. *Xinachpixoaloli*, in Simeon (op. cit.) is defined as maíz crudo. But, however, n. 12, p. 62.

18. "Pusiendo abajo, en un lugar que se llamaba cuauhpil, que era un escalón, que era en cuanto, que iba entre las gradas del cu, y el patio abajo, al qual espacio subia por cinco, o seys, gradas" (corresponding Spanish text).

[796 778] and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments. [314 289]

qujntlapichilitivitze, iuhqujn tlacaoacativitz, njmã ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo qujmpepechoa:

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in qujnpepechoa, injc qujntlacatilia, qujmixolhuja, yoan mjchioauhtli an quimõtlalilia incampan, qujmõquentia in tet:vitl, yoan qujmõequja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11] [765]

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in qujntlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in qujnchichioaia.

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaõac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço axali in impã qujtlaliaia:

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales,* and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them. [262]

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic qujntlamanjlia: in qujnmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan qujntlenamaqujlia.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan izqujch in qujntlamanjliaia.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequjntin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maiauel, representing the *maguey;* the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent. [776]

Injc ce itoca Teporoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maiavel: izxiptla metl. Jnjc macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oqujchtli, izxiptlan coatl:

Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner. [314 289]

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them. [493]

ioatzinco in qujmpeoaltia in qujnnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, qujntlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, qujntlatlaisoalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, qujncujcatitivi.

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8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: *"La cabeça de cada vna manera traxo dos cuernos, vna de persona, y otra de cabaho. . . ."*
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), *"vsaban o vsaron hechas de hoxa, atadas con cuyas de cuerda."*
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 114.
12. In the Rehusko ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 235, *atalli* is explained: *"Hay otra que se llama tecuapilli, es muy verde y tiene unos cabellos hacia como aquella hierba que se llama atalli y crecen cerca del agua, y cuando se vnsan vnsan vnos los dentes cuando la comen."*

And [the women] who carried [litters] were well and proudly bedight, all in new shirts and skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted and they were arrayed in feathers.

And when the time was favorable that [the victims] should die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they proceeded to leave them there at the [Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there and stretched them out upon the offering stone, then the officiating priests and the slayer came to take their places, and thereupon cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had suffered, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down. And thus they lowered them: they only went rolling them down [the steps], with great care turning them over and over.

And when they had come down with them, then they carried them to the skull rack. And when they had brought them there, then they cut off and severed their heads. There they inserted into their heads [the cross pieces of the rack].

And when they had severed the heads from the bodies, then they took [the bodies] to the tribal temples [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, [took place the ceremony] called "They are dismembered." Thereupon they dismembered the [figures made of] amaranth seed dough. And when [the bodies] were dismembered, then they took them up to the roof tops, there to dry in the sun—to dry stiff and hard. Little by little they kept taking some of it and eating it, and gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular mats which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the rafters of the tribal temples. For one year they cared for them; then they threw them down, scattered, in the Mist House. Only the paper vestments they [thus] scattered; the circular mats they returned to their houses.

Here ended the feast which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlanapaloa, vel mocencaoa, ieccan moquetza, mochi iancujc, in intech qujtlaliaia in incue, in invipil, yoã moxaoa, mopotonja. 796 [292]

Auh in otlaimmãtic in ie iquac mjqujzque: njmã ie ic qujteca in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, qujmoncavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oqujmonaxitique, mec qujmõteca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequjpaneque, in temjctianj: njmã ie ic qujmeltetequi.

Auh in ontlacotique, in omt..;oque, njmã ic qujnoaltemovia: auh injc qujnoaltemovia, çan qujnoalmjmjlotivi, cenca çan quẽmach, in qujncuecueptivitze.

Auh in oqujmõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie tzompantitlan: auh in oqujmonaxitique, njmã ic qujnquechtequj, qujnquechcotona: vncã qujmõçoço in intzontecõ.

Auh in qujmõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie qujvica in incacalpolco: auh in jmuztlaioc, in ooallatvic: in mjtoaia, Texinjlo, texixitinjlo: njmã ie ic qujxitinja in tzoalli: auh in oqujxixitinjque, njmã ic tlapanco qujtlecavia, vmpa oaquj, quauhvaquj, tepioaquj: achchi concujtivi in qujqua, can juh qujtlamja. [778]

[264]

Auh in jmamatlatquj ocatca, qujquequentia in jiaoallo ocatca: auh in oqujquequẽtique calquac compiloa, calpulco, çe xivitl qujmattiuh, in qujtlaçativi, in qujtepeoativi, in vmpa aiaubcalco: çanjo in jmamatlatquj, contepeoa: auh in inoalli qujoalitquj. [289]

Nican tlamj in jlhujtl, in moteneoa Tepeilhujtl.

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlaloca descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlaloca. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *magney* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamavizzililiztli, in qujchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtoltetl occe metztli in motenoa Atemuztli. 796

Injc caxtoltetl, oce ilhujtl ichoatl in motenoa Atemuztli:

injc motenoa Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, cocoalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jxqujch macoalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocurrica, tlateumartica, muchixcaca, motemachitica: in quenmã oalanjz qujavitl:

auh in ocalan qujavjtl, njmã ic moquetztiqujça, qujcujtivetzi in jtlema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan qujça: auh in jxontecon coatl no cacalaca, no iollo: [445]

njmã qujxopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian qujça in teujtoalco, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qujnotza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in cequjntin macoalti, monetolõiaia injc tepiqujzque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, yoan olli, yoa itztli, yoan ichtli in qujcoaia: [314 289]

cenca qujmavizziliaia, yoan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiqujzque, yoã tequentizque: amo mamoviaia injc maltiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono oqujchcochia. [515 834]

Auh in ic iuh oallatvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemuztli, iuh cioal in nemoa, vel neixpololo, in

1. "*Bajada de el Agua,*" according to Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 299), "*porque este Mes cada Buvia, y nunca algunos Años.*" Corbley, (*op. cit.*, p. 313) has the same.
Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tovar refers to frequent, extraordinary deluges in the region, attributed to Tlaloc.—Kubler and Olivera, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
2. The *Pebuals MS* (Corbley, *loc. cit.*) places this in the houses of the dials: "*Se acostumbraron de labrarlos amontejados*"—"*se cada uno de los viejos se hacian los dioses chicos* (*Tlaquelites*)."
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

796 And when he had already taken shape, then they
778 pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After
[237] that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was
[532] wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and
●[289] members [of men: it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was][7] only of paper: it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife as the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

Auh in ic utlacat, njmã qujquapotonja, yoan qujchioa, ixtlã tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxivitl in tlaçalolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl, teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxoxopiltectli, yoã yiacapilol, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlatetcujlolli: no itech pilcaia moteneoa vitznaoaiutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan tecuxtli yoã icpac conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmã contoqujlia, itoca anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmã ie ic in tozpololli icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhçuexpalli, yoã itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmololotica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncã icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapachtli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imixtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujttli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli tezoacaxilquj, auh injquezpan qujmamanticatca iacatecpaio: in jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauhcan tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapanquj, moteneoa: Teveelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic qujcentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex imacpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pilcatica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica*, sp.?); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica* sp.; others are *Urtica dioica*, var. *angustifolia*; *Barragindera urgendis* Knuth; Chaiy ("quemadora," "ortiga"); and *W. cuneiner* - H. B. K. ("ortiga de tierra caliente"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496, writes of *chichicaste*: "*la ortiga americana. . . . La especie principal es la Jatropha urens L. . . . En México, plantas herbáceas, semiarpadoras, comúnmente las urens ofilida y tomplada*" (*Mikania denticulata*, *Eupatorium denticulatum*). Also, "*Plantas urticáceas, llamada también ortiga, mal hombre, malo mujer, quemador, chichicastillo, tlachichicaste, en México.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — chichicaxtli (*Urera caracasana* [Jaq.] Gaudich.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *pol*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 500, has supplied *-ezuio*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the ceremonial is *-maxtli*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 60, *amatl-amatl* is given as "amate, thickly fibered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bull's horn acacia (*Acacia cornigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia amacizadada por la capa de liber de algunos árboles del género ficus. Sirvió de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer los calzones, vestidos y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323
2,000 pottery bowls**
● 289]
8,000 reams of native paper**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayonochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[*] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[*]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[*] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[*]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors [323]
8,000 reams of native paper [259]

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. [727]

[*] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[*] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Taxcala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[*] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[*] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 212 *chilacaxtli* = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water", all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli,* teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes,* though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone,* whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

127 823 If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.*, 1938) that shows part of the city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on 643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [276 314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte- 411

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[415] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and
373] other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 Each temple usually had a chamber and an antechamber, and in some cases two or even three shrines rested on the same platform. This platform or substructure gave height and mass to the temple. The usual practice was to lay up rough stone, set in adobe or lime, into a truncated pyramid, the sides of which were broken up by three narrow setbacks and by a steep ramp leading to the top. The surface was of veneered cut-stone slabs, and additional blocks were laid along the ramp to make the stair. Wide balustrades bordered the staircase and often ended in gigantic serpent heads. Aztec construction was the simplest type of engineering, but imposing architectural effects were gained by the consummate artistic sense and superb craftsmanship of the builders.[19] (See Plates 50–51.)

291 554 The adequate, even imposing, housing of the Aztecs and their gods by no means eclipsed their dress. Clothing, besides protecting man from the weather, has an important social function. It is a guide to the sex, age, group, occupation, rank and even character of its wearer. The simple and standardized clothing of our modern society performs the same service, and with a moment's observation one can tell much about a stranger from his clothes. The Aztecs, like many peoples of the world, strove by their dress to accentuate the social differences between people, and pomp and panoply dominated their costume. Or the barbaric splendor of high civilian dress superimposed the fantastic garb of the priests and priestesses in their impersonation of the complex and ornately represented divinities in their pantheon.[20]

[302] The *macehual*, or ordinary tribesman, left his head uncovered, his hair long, and customarily wore a *maxtli*, or loincloth, a mantle knotted over one shoulder, and sandals of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women 291 ●
wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they 554
sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*,
completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, [302]
sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they
wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may
still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates
33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse
cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer
textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many
names given to the different kinds of mantles show their in-
terest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never
made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather
cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather [292]
from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs
had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge
of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich man- 292
tles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some,
who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker support-
ing an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore
costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle.
On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the
gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and
ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identi-
fication. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, 301
shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, 304
opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay,
wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their 797
descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly 636
families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the 177
records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec picto- [217]
graphic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. [291]
The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging [415]
fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed 797
to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours 346
in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. 177
The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

X796 [535] the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *netecuitotilitzli*, which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the [304 291 825 314] boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl*, which is pine resin. Etc.

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnidad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecuitotilitzli, quiere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciesse començauã a agujerar las orejas a los niños y niñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc,

X 796 Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aquin connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlaelcuiaia in mihivintia telpopochti.

[27] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequintin ic monectoltia, yn eoatlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço izcoonia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic peti, in aca amo peti:

[755]

Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[4] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaquitiuj in eoatl, amatreuitl, ymacolpan mamãtiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

[301] 289]

And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynic yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aiamjquiztli: çan neiacapacholo ynic namjco, ynic tetla quiça.

[515]

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn eoatl, ocototzauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica qujnapaloa, yn oueltepioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappizoac.

And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan:iuj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: qujmoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoapanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

[431] 531] 291]

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oazioac, yn eoatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac eoatl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin eoatl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oxtoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiquiça, qujoaltentiquiça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

515

Auh yn oqujcaoato eoatl, yn onmaqujtiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxaqualooa, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixiotexuja:

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6. See Chapter 20, n. 9.

7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *camopalli* as *kastanienfarbene* or as *orange-farbene Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kastanienfarbenen* (*von der braunen Farbe der Kaulles der Banane abolsi*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado oscuro*.

For *nochpalli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*karmoisinfarbenen* (*von der Farbe des Nochtzli, der Kochenille-Schildlaus*)."

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and *Illus.*, p. 531.

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. Those who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vested them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncã otocoa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, amo quijnmamatiloaia, çan qujntzotzona, qujntlatlatzinja, iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel qujça in chiaoaliztli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamoujia: 796[x] 515 [388]

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvezzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, qujnmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, quiquetza in male, qujtlalia quauhtzontzpaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech qujtlatlalia: yn jamatlatquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796[x] [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlauelittalli chicaoac: ic no ceppa ic ic muchichioaia, ipan tetoteca, tecoccenmana, tlacatl qujcocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, qujcacalatztiuh ychicaoac qujcaoatzjiuj, qujtetoca, q'tepachotiuj, qujtecicali:

muchi tlacatl qujmauhtia, ipan macauj: qujtoa, le uitz tetzoompacquj:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca qujcujxiuetzi, qujpeptlaoa, qujtlatlalochtia yn jeilma: in quezçuj qujtecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic qujujujtequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco quiquetza, itlacazipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic quinextia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[x] 778

Auh yoan yn jquac y, tlaacopiloaia: auh ynaca oc conchololtinia, yn iquezzepol malli: yoan mecazzicolli, aztapetlacoonili itech pilcac. [291] 237

Auh in quezzepolli, amatica quiquiquiquiloaia, quiximacuxioia: auh ynin motocaiotiaia, malteutl. [289]

9. Molina: op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl section (*amolar*).
10. Corresponding Spanish text: "un globo redondo, hecho de paxaro."
11. Ibid.: "*paxaro* indica los pequeños cuyos que se usaban sahumerios, el equivalente quemado incienso."
12. Cf. Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas*, p. 93, n. 1: *mitotiqui*—"*El que va dando gran alegría (gozo) la conquista, la mudanza (cambio, en conquistadores), que [illegible] sahumerios quemados gran olor, mucho olor (como humo perfumado).*" This would imply a double ceremony.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text requires that the thigh bone was then suspended. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 61, has "trophy."
14. *Quinquapanahuiztli*, in Seler, *loc. cit.*

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *magney* fiber cape, or a small cotton *mantu*.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[28]

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miacuepaz, ic axiua. 796x

Auh intla aca, amo qujcxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tehoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchiouia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aqujque axiua, oc vel momaqujxtia, oc vel moqujxtia, oc vel maqujça: aço tzolin yca, aço mazatlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica. [291]

Auh yn jcnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moqujxtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn jxquich nequjxtilonj, moch qujmocujlia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ic ic macujlilhujtl, in ic yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moqujxtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moqujxtiaia, aocmo qujcelia.

Auh in ic iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl macecalli, qujmochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, niac yn macamo metzalhujaia: [242]

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaquaio, netech qujmomamaca, nepanotl ic mococoachioa.

Auh in cequjntin papaqujnj, yn ahaujeni: yoan in cequjntin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelqujxtia:

injc muchichiou mixteiaiaoaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan caantinemj xocujcolli etzalcomjd.

Auh ynjc mamaceouia quemia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjtzcalxzapoliaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujcalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlaliciuj yn etzalcomjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chiconme, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmacoualiztli, ioalnepantla in pemia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necxicaoalo, cactiuezti, [535]

auh yn oualquiz tonatiuh, njman ic ic muchichiou in tlemamacac, commaquja yn ixicol, pani commololoa xiuitl, iocca xiuhquemjd, anecc aoachquemjd, [293 292]

28. "Buñuelos de masa" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

30. Ochpaniztli (Chapter 30)
31-32. Panquetzaliztli (Chapter 34)
33. Titil (Chpter 36)
34. Izcalli (Chapter 37)
35-36. Ixcaçauhqui (Chapter 38)

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—After Paso y Troncoso

37-44. Izcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

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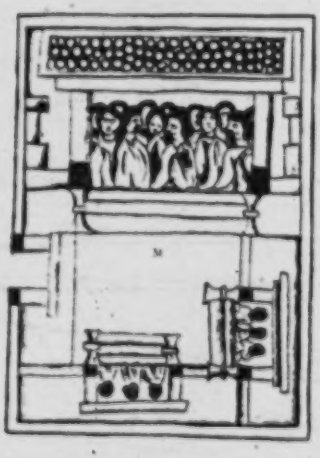

45-49. Iscoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Mecuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

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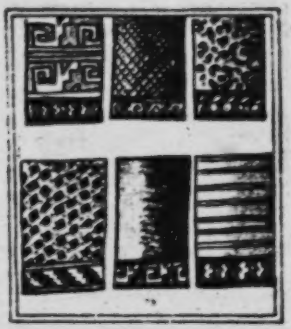

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*ayapilli, cuetl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

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adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcaçoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 672 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl.

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 692 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacàuhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonquixtiaia in ãqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja: 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamancã: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc iohoan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [624] 535 [291] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, aço tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla aço atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, aço qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. Tlacochcalcatl, literally: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 78; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. Aiuy nemacatiliztli, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has amoçe tenlamachiliztli—or adultery.

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Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.

Ic cuatolli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in jnnechichioa in çioa.

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers; the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

Vitzteolcuitlalpic vipilli, xoxoloio uipilli, quechnenecuijlhoazio vipilli, xachimoiaoac uipilli, pocuipilli, veuej tlamachtli itonquj, toltzaianquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachio vipilli, coiocihcaio vipilli, xomouivipilli, tlapaltochomjtica xicalnetzo[illegible] vipilli, acoxuchimoiaoac vipilli, izquiuhcallo potoncaio xoxochiteio vipilli.

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

Chicocuejtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeoallo cueitl, patlaoac in jten, xicalcoliuhquj cueitl, patlaoac in jten, tetenacazio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cueitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamoluhquj iztac cueitl, patlaoac in jten, oçelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtẽ; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tene: cuauhcapipilcac cuejtl tene.

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

Apoçonalnacochtli, teujlonacochtli iztac, coztic tencuijtlanacochtlj: iztac tencuijtlanacochtli, itznacochtli iztac.

302 386 Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impo-

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Moxaoaia, tlapalhoatzaltica: moxaoaia, tecuçauhtica: mochapopoxaoaia: copalaxtica mocxioxiuja, tzonquime, quatequeque, atzotzocoleque, maxtlaoa, motzonquetzaltica, quijquatequj in jntzon, quijaiacanepanoa in jntzon: tlatetecoa, mopatinemj, quijmamaujxmati in jntzontecon: moxiuhquijlpa, injc pepetlaca intzon: motlantlapalhujia, motlãnochezuja, momascujloa, moquechicujloa, moquechtetema, melchiquijuhicujloa, mochichioaticujloa.

1. In Hernández, op. cit., I, p. 24, *cozoxochitl* is identified as *Dahlia coccinea*, Cav. Sahagún (op. cit., I, p. 33), however, says of *cozoxochitl*: "*Es blanca, corridal de colorado cocado, indigoso del pelo, comestible cocido por olores.* (Lagasca vulgaro, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas comestibles de los antiguos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515-529, 519, mentions two kinds of *cozoxochitl* (*cozoxoli, quilite*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores estrelladas purpúreas*." Dr. Oliver is cited (Sess. de Etnografía, II, p. 276), giving *Pennisetum atropurpureum* D. C. for *cozoxochitl*. Urbina thinks it is *Amaranthus atropurpureus* Benth et Hook.

2. After *in jntzon*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *mixquauxpitzo*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

● [291 270] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[292] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianquijzco: auh in ichoatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquijztli, ioã ixqujch tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, aslapalli, maçeoalli, ioan ixqujch aoa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo zixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaqujlia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieeian, çan iioonoian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquijztli: ioan ixqujch tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc aiac texixioz, ioan quenjn tlapatiioaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzaliztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototl, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixqujch nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tilixochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, aiatl,

ioan in ixqujch qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tlilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tliltic chiã, chiantzotzol, iztatl: totoli, vexolotl, çiaoatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vej nacaztli: Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Rimbach, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Rubendo ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "*una semilla como brasejas blancas.*"

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Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For those who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecuciztli yn itlapitzal, ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [785] [281] [276] 415

[534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moxtlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloz mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza-yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiujtze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azteksischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form *xuauc*: "*Da es im Text dieyenigen bezeichnet, die den Copalbeutel trugen, wird es sich um Priester handeln.*" The term *tlamaxquatzi* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlaut sie von einer Schnur.*"

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
648
●291
[431]

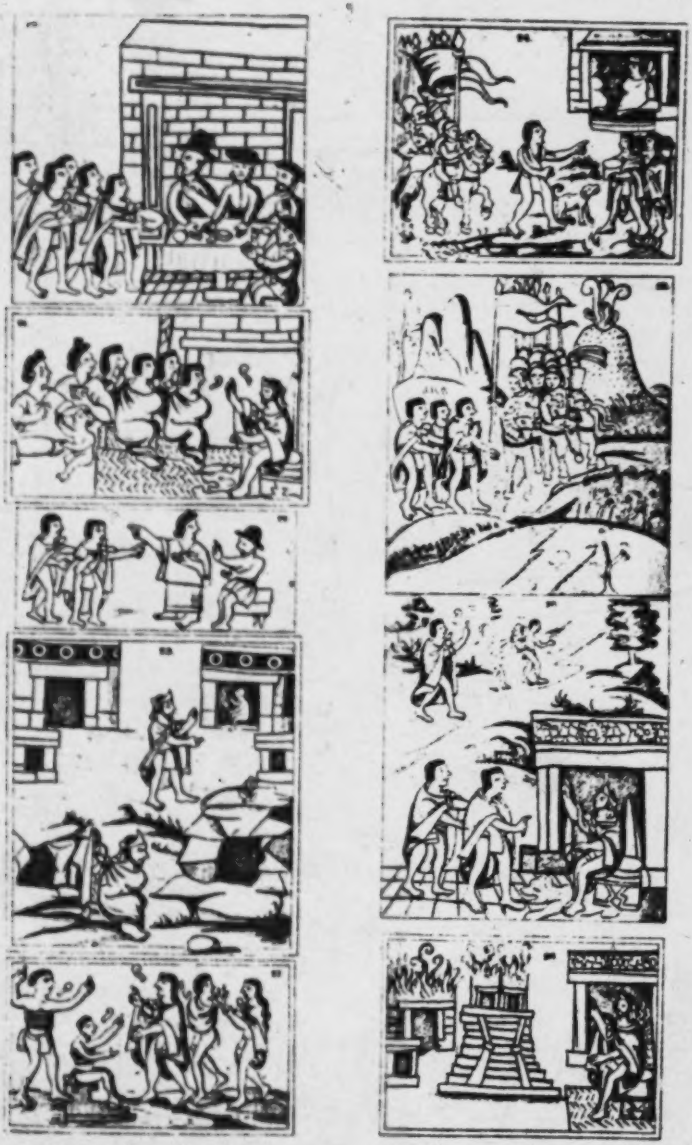

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Istactepetl and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's soothsayers meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,* and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.**

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino,* the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles*** of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of çacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

* See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

** See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

*** The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[m] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[n]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17') accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[o] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[n]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[q] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpaxacuti* headdress)[*]

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[m] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[n] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[o] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[p] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[q] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[314] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[780] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
248] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

[262 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
[212 were asked."[**] No data are available on the tribute of other component
137] towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[**] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de neoquen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[100] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[100] PNF 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[128] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[129] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[130] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[111]

[128] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ... ," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[129] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenanzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiteca*, de dificil comprehencion para los estraños."

[130] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[16] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[17] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[16] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[17] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen** [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)** [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other dimin- 651
utive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of 632
the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[30] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[27]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

•[29] 714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[28]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[27] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[28] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[296 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114

The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

[28]

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[a] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the verv Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely
635 stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province
131 of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[b] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[c] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

● [291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[d] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[d] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[e]

[a] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[b] Cf. n. 35 above.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 201.
[d] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[e] Corrected from 400.
[e] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Ozitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz- 635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[*] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING [291 714]

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD** [262 263]

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[*]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[*] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[*] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[*] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[*] as did Tequixquiac[*] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[*]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[263 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[*]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[*]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[*]

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[*] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[*] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[*] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[*] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ...they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [139]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[6] 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING[7,8] [291]

2,010 bundles[7] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[8] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[8] [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[8] [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of *axi*
9 jars of honey
... maize

[6] *ENE*, 10: 126. [7] Corrected from 2,000. [8] Corrected from 800.

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635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[16] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[17] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> ... they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored ... they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists ...

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. ..."[18]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[19] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[20] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[21]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

[16] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[17] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Mende (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[19] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[21] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

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651

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 71+
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalaotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de paletes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of 632 Tlatlauhquitepec.[*] 131

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197 belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635 still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648 of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[*] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[*]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635 of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131 south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635 coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103 part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651 cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matrícula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[**] [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[**]
400 bundles of loincloths[**]
808 bundles[**] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[**]

[*] RHE, 1: 487.
[*] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payon, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[*] Corrected from 800.

1 [p.58.—Analyst] 2 [p.56.—Analyst]

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[651] 816 bundles[30] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long[**]
[291] 408 bundles[31] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long[**]
402 bundles[32] of mantles striped red and yellow[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles[**]
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields[*]

FOOD[*]

[262] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS[*]

[23] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
[301] 2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[33] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[34] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[35]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[36]

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[30] Corrected from 800.
[31] Corrected from 400.
[32] Corrected from 400.
[33] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[34] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos le mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenian todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[36] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles** of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

** Corrected from 400.

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TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714]

400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[80]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[81]

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino.* There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino,* as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [128] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

[80] RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."

[81] RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[a] and seventeen leagues from México.[b] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[c] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[d] 632 131

Çtzihuinquilocs may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[e]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiquity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún comments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[f] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[g] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[h] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched. 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande lay between two *tierras de guerra.* To the north was Metztitlan, and probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla. 635 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atotonilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below: 651

CLOTHING [291 714]

800 bundles of rich mantles**
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[a] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[c] *GPM*, p. 250.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[e] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuiquilocs [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[f] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[g] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

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TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD [263]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632 of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651 maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412] After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.[a]

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412] Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.[b]

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

[a] RHE, 1:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antesesor de monteçuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de bolateria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Monteçuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

[b] RHE, 1:142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonzes se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23". The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corronpemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a 181
general opinion.[32] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which [632]
they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[33]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was sur- 635
rounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of 131
the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[34] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at 635
least.[35]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted 651
from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles** [291]●
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[36] [714]

[32] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[33] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[35] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[36] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matricula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl toztli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[**] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[**]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[**] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[**]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors 323
8,000 reams of native paper 289

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. [727]

[**] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[**] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Taxcala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[**] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[**] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl,* "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se embixavan"[***]

[**] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[***] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxtéca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal–Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabacera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar**[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/A] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 462: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

[1/A Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl. — Analyst]

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17' of the
[712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town,
[175] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[15]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[16]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[17] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[18]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17' of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauh-
197 tochco itself into the Empire.[19] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[20] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlax-
131 cala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[791] 400 large mantles**

[15] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170', speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san ju° cuesçomatepeque de la jurisdizion de gustusco." Dominguez (*Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[16] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[17] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305', "ystoyuca."

[18] Dominguez, *Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[19] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[20] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[28] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[29]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[30] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[31] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[32]

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[30] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[31] RHE, 1: 131.
[32] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sujuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Ucila.

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OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[80]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
114 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[81]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
651 may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[82]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[80] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[81] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlztitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[82] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaben oro e cacao."

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635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

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[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *FNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daus ... a la jente de guerra que por el passaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarnicion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastivan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexi- 651
cano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the 212
tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify: 651

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses** [291 ●
402 bundles* of little red-striped mantles** 714]
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos [316
de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity 415]
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding 632
the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the 651
early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following [415
every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer 291
and tiger skins; fish and cotton.* In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 248
40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as 262]
well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.*

* Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

* Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

* *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiscn de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

* *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quartenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[28] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING [291 714]

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS* [316 237]

20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[30] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[28] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[29] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[30] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coamoca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixtecas y zapotecas* (1939).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac[7] [358]

38. Petlacalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

[7] San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101
the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197
little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635
flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131
manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635
longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col 651
lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

[291 714]

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[262]

[p. 134 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7
Zapotec NU44

A 648

through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

A Z [29] 171]
A [314]

Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

round, small, "target," worn by the "brave" on his left arm and 714
made of "canes netted together and interwoven with cotton 'two-
"fold,' covered on the outside with gilded boards and with feath-
"ers, and so strong that a hard cross-bow shot could alone pene-
"trate them . . . ."[54]

With this shield they warded off blows in close combat,[55] and even arrows and darts at full speed. Each warrior probably carried his own shield, although it is sometimes stated that the ar- [726]
chers, while shooting, were shielded by others.[56] This, however, would necessarily imply a greater progress of the military art among the Mexicans than we may safely allow.

The remainder of the protective armour of the Mexicans is intimately connected with their *costume*.

The ordinary dress of a Mexican consisted of a sleeveless jacket 291
("huepil") fastened on the right shoulder, and of the breechcloth 714
("maxtlatl"). The head, arms, and legs from the knees downwards, were bare. A mantle, short among the common Indians, longer among the chiefs, completed the costume.[57] Sometimes 714
they went to war without any other protection, but in most cases the warrior wore a frock of quilted cotton, about three-quarters of

[54] The "anonymous conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373). Compare Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 423), and Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[55] See the description of a single combat between a Cempoaltecan and Tlaxcaltecan (Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. VI, p. 143, and Torquemada, Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422).

[56] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII) and the anonymous conqueror both assert, that each warrior had a shield. But Fray G. de Mendieta is still more positive (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Tras estos llegaban los golpes de espada y rodela, con los cuales iban "arrodelados los de arco y flecha, y alli gastaban su almacen." However, Fray Diego Durán says: (Cap. XIV, p. 121) "y llegados á un lugar que llaman Tecuitlatenco, hicie-"ron alto y esperaron la armada de Mexico que venian por la laguna, que eran mill "canoas, muy bien Adereçadas de gente y paueses con gran numero de flagas y varas "arrojadiças, flechas y rodelas y de hombres para defensa de los flecheros, los quales "estauan tan diestros en desviar flechas con las rodelas, que era espanto, porque en "viendola venir, luego la dauan con la rodela que la echauan à través." This seems to indicate that there were special men detailed to protect the archers, and therefore a division into different arms, although there is no other evidence of such a fact. It may have been the case here, since the fight (against Cuitlahuac) was to take place on water chiefly, but nowhere else do we meet a division into kinds of arms, like archers, spearmen, swordsmen, etc., etc. All Mexican warriors were armed as nearly alike as possible. The Anonymous Conqueror, after mentioning the different weapons, says: "y "molti, ò la maggior parti di esse portano tutte queste sorti di armi con che combattono." ("Relatione, etc.," in Vol. I. of Col. de Doc., p. 374.)

[57] Gomara (Conquista de Méjico. Vedia, Tom. I. p. 440. "Calzan unos zapatos como "alpargates, pannicos por bragas. Visten una manta quadrada, afiudada al hombro "derecho como gitanas"). The Anonymous Conqueror (p. 376. "La maniera del ves-"tire de gli huomini"). Tezozomoc (Crónica, Cap. XXXVI, p. 58. "the macehuals "of lower grade, wore short mantles, plain, of cotton or nequen"). The "maxlatl" is described by the Anonymous Conqueror as follows: "a towel, like unto a sheet

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 an inch thick, up to one and one-half inches, and therefore strong enough to resist an arrow-shot, or even the dart at long range. This was the cotton-armour subsequently adopted by the Spaniards under the name of "Escaupil" ("Ichcahuipilli").[58] Sometimes even the limbs were encased in such quilted armour,[59] and the outside of the "ichcahuipil" was adorned with feathers and plates of gold or silver. The *feet* were protected by leather soles or moccasin-like shoes ("cactli," "cotaras"), but the use of them was not general.[60] Warriors of merit especially, inserted their *heads*

[291] "worn over the head while travelling, of various colors, and variously adorned, with "the ends hanging downwards, one in front and the other behind." It was common to the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, and is represented on the sculptures of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Chichen-Itza. The tables of Durán give, perhaps, the most reliable picture of these costumes.

[58] "Ichcahuipilli" derives from "Ichcatl," cotton, and "huepil," jacket. Alvarado, in his second letter to Cortés, dated 28 July, 1524 (Vedia. Vol. I), mentions an ichcahuipil used by Indians of Guatemala, which was three inches thick and reached as far down as the ankle: "porque venian tan armados, que el que caia en el suelo no se po-"dia levantar; y con sus armas coseletes de tres dedos de algodon, y hasta en los "pies. . . . ." (p. 402.)

[59] There are several representations of such protection of the thighs, and also of the arms, especially in the splendid work of Lord Kingsborough, taken from the Mendoza codex. The entire costume, from the neck to the knee, seems to be of one piece. We have no accurate *description*, however, of them. It is doubtful whether they terminated into upper "leggings," or whether into a frock-like continuation, reaching from the girdle to the knee. Perhaps both; at least there are traces of both. (Anonymous Conqueror, p. 374. Clavigero, Lib. VII, cap. XXIII.) The absence of the "Ichcahuipil" was not, however, always a sign of low rank. Some warriors of particular merit even went to war almost naked (See Humboldt, "Vues de Cordilléres," Tab. XIV, fig. 4), and Herrera (Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, speaking of the natives of Tepeaca, who were subject to Mexico: "and the most valiant ones went only in breech-cloth, painting their naked body black and red"). There was, consequently, no absolute uniformity and uniform distinction in dress and armament, and this was still increased by the variety of customs among the numerous tribes which assisted the Mexicans in war, each tribe having its own manner of dress, and keeping separate on the battlefield. A Mexican army must have been a rather strange, motley crowd. Still there was, in all probability, less variety than among the Peruvian warlike bodies. Of the latter's variegated array the report of Francisco de Xeres, secretary of Pizarro, gives a good illustration (Vedia, vol. II).

[60] "Cactli," corrupted into "catle," is rendered by Molina (II, p. 11) as "shoes, or sandals." Torquemada says (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 450, vol. I): "the King wore "golden shoes, which they call cacles, and are after the fashion of those of the ancient "Romans, adorned with much jewelry, the soles fastened with cords." (Idem: Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 365) "they gave to him cotaras or sandals . . . ." Gomara (Conquista, etc., p. 322), in the list of presents sent by Cortés to the Emperor, mentions: "many shoes like as of grass, made of deer-hides, some with golden thread, and the "soles of certain white and blue stones . . . ," "other shoes, six pairs, of leather "of different color, adorned with gold or silver or pearls." The question is, whether they were moccasins or sandals. The sculptures of Palenqué show an approach to either. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), in speaking of the distinctions of dress, says: "And "thus it was ordained, first: that the Kings should not appear in public, except in ur-"gent cases; that the King alone might wear a crown in the city, but that in war all the "great chiefs and valiant captains might wear crowns also, and royal tokens . . . .

[643]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI, p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

441 thing for another" ("tlanamacani"),[75] and such was every artisan, since, in the market place of aboriginal Mexico, every artisan bartered his own manufactures for whatever he needed for sub-

436 *al Padre Fray Luis de Figueroa.*" Santiago de Cuba, 14 Nov., 1521. Col. de Doc. Vol. I,
437 p. 361). "Hay una moneda entre ellos con que venden y compran, que se llama cacahuate, . . ." *Anonymous Conqueror* (p. 380, etc.) mentions Cacao, "e é moneta la piu comune, ma molto incomoda dopo l'oro é l'argento . . . . *Acosta* (Lib. IV, cap. 3, p. 198) "No se halla, que los Indios usassen oro, ni plata, ni metal para moneda, ni para precio de la cosas, usauanlo para ornato, como esta dicho." The statement of Torquemada is plain. While it explains the gradual ascent and development of the notion that the Mexicans had an equivalent to money, it clearly proves that only barter and exchange, and no actual buying, took place. The copper-plates which, as Mr. Bancroft justly remarks, "constituted perhaps the nearest approach to coined money," still were not intended even for such a purpose, since they were of varying size and thickness. But the story of the *copper* or *golden* "*Eagles*" given to the Mexican traders as money wherewith to buy, as faithfully reported and gravely discussed by Mr. Bancroft also, deserves some special ventilation. This story is taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 342) "y dábales 1600 toldillos, que ellos llaman quauhtli para rescatar." These toldillos they divided into two parts of 800 each. Now Sahagun's editor, Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, very confidently asserts in note a, (p. 342): "Era una moneda que consistia en unos pedazos de cobre cortados en figura de T.— Clavigero, tom. I, pág. 349." The reference to *Clavigero* is for Lib. VII, cap. XXXVI. Now "Toldillo" is derived from "toldár" that is, to shroud or cover, and means merely a *cover*, and not a piece of metal. Used also for a covered litter or portable chair. Besides, "quauhtli" indeed signifies Eagle, but it is an evident misprint and should read "quachtli," which signifies a *mantle* or *sheet*, thus perfectly agreeing both with the "toldillo" and with the "patolquachtli" of Torquemada. The "golden eagles" of Mr. Brasseur are therefore rendered utterly useless.

● 291 Anyone reading *Texcocoac* will see at a glance what a conspicuous part these mantles "Quachtli," (*Molina*, II, p. 84) played in intercourse and barter. According to *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, etc., Col. de Doc's conc. le Méxique, I, p. 251) they formed to a certain extent the basis of tribute. These cotton-sheets are well described by *Peter Martyr* ("*De nouo Orbe.*" Dec. V., cap. X, p. 230): "Concerning the shape and fashion of their garments, it is ridiculous to behold: they call it a garmente, because they couer themselves therewith, but it hath no resemblance with any other garment, of any fashion: it is only a square couering like unto that, which your holiness cast on your shoulders, sometimes in my presence, when you are about to kimbe your heade, to preserve your garments, least haire, or any other filth should fal upon them. That couering they cast about their necke, and then knitting two of the four corners under their throate, they lette the couering hang downe, which scarce couereth the bodie as lowe as the legges. Having seen these garments I ceased to wonder, that so great a number of garments was sent to Cortes, as we mentioned before: for they are all of small moment, and many of them take uppe but little roome."

441 With the absence of money the profession of merchant as one who lives from the
439 profits of his sales, becomes limited almost to what he can gather from out-side of his
437 own community, in other words, to what he can *import*. Their main and almost exclusive business consisted in effecting intercourse between the tribes. At home, every artisan sold or rather exchanged his own wares in the public markets. See *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, pp. 32 and 33), *Bernal Diez* ("*Hist. verdad.*," etc., Vedia II, p. 89, cap. XCII), *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 348, Vedia I), "Cada oficio y cada mercaderia tiene su lugar señalado . . . .", *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 41), "El que vende piedras preciosas, ó lapidario es de esta propriedad, que sabe lábrar sutilmente las piedras preciosas y pulirlas. . . ." He mentions as manufacturers of their own goods the following: "plateros de oro" (41), "Tratantes en mantas" (Cap. XVII, 42), "que venden mantas," "que venden cotaras" (Cap. XX, pp. 48, 49 and 51), "olleros," "que

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[896]
[871]
[413
292]
[796]
[644]

PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by stone and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women 291
wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they 554
sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*,
completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, [302]
sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they
wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may
still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates
33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse
cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer
textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many
names given to the different kinds of mantles show their in-
terest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never
made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather
cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather [292]
from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs
had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge
of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich man- 292
tles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some,
who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker support-
ing an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore
costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle.
On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the
gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and
ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identi-
fication. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, 301
shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, 304
opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay,
wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 45

AZTEC FEATHERWORK

TOP: Nineteenth-century survival of a famous Aztec craft of which few examples have resisted the ravages of time. BOTTOM: Montezuma's headdress, now in the Vienna Museum. Cortes sent it to the Emperor Charles V, who gave it to his nephew.

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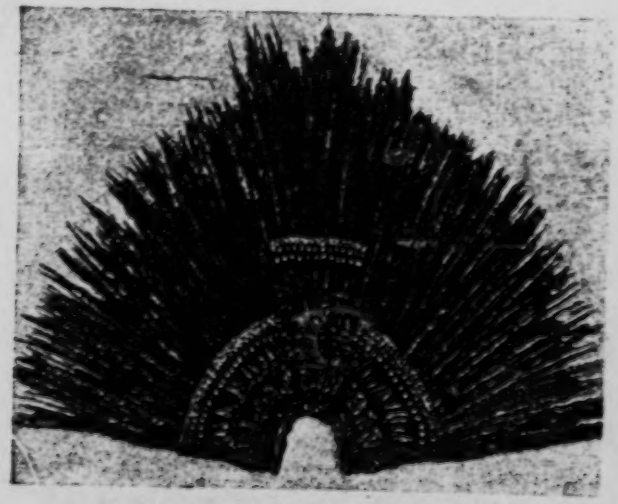

[p. 144(A)]

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[75] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He set upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquauhquentenchil, nacaxio, yxtechin, ixlpancuequi cyli tzacatlatlapanquj yn jxaiac: yn jxochichiual, ytiçacaxch, ytiçachiual, xnapaxin, ytlachiaxia ynac catca, ytolicpal, acacpalli. 776

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlalteteccuini).[76]

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a sorcerer, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] sowed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called iaquen (face-covering).[78]

Thus was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Juic ceztolli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jtoca, catca, ixtlilton, tlalteteccujn.

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jtenpan catca, ytocaiocan tlacujlocan: in vncan ytenpan, mjec yn apantli, tzatzacutimanca, tomotzintia itlilauh. [346]

Auh yn aquja mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn jtenpan ixtlilton: centetl, qujtlapoaia yn apantli, conjtiaia yn jtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli. 776 757

Auh yn aquja qujtoca, cepaltica in conanaia, ynic qujvicaia ychan yn jxipcla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia. 776 535

Jn cuecic ychan, tlatoaia, teytocia: ·ajmaxan tlatlaqualo, atlixo: yn ontlaqualoc, ajmaxan mjtoaia, yn jxtlilton: yn omjtoxi, yn oxmacxuh, calitic oncalaquj: ixhuxtl qujtlapoa in vctli, navilhujtica tzacutimêca: ic mjtoaia, tlaincaxapotla, vitzmaxa. 776 [273]

Nimaxan yc vmpoxa, yn ic tlacoxo: oc cepa onlquiça itoalco, qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

ic mjtoaia, ic motzoxoaia, intla tlaçolli, ynxla tocatzaxolli, ynxla tzontli, intla tecolli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, açe tetlaxina, açe ichtec, anoço ahavilonmj, mahavltia: ac açe tlacacxtenelle, in tlatocia, ic qujxmotlaia, qujxcomocaia, qujçpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla motecx: ichica, ca qujxinomaca, qujxixpantia, ic tzinmotla, yn tetlatlacul. [787]

Auh ynjc onlquiça techâ, quachtli yn qujmacaia motecaitia, ixquen. [292]

Juic muchichioaia, mançac, motemjxtilpopotz, mjnçatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tetpaquachichiqujle, quetzallo, 776

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75. For description, see Sahagún and text in Sahagún: *Garamondo Alhambraquen*, Vol. II, pp. 513 and 523; and also Sahagún (Ossuna) —Plate 23.

The term *cuachtli* means the natural cape or mantle, with sea-snail shells fastened where the cords crossed. The *chalchuiqui* and the *tecuiqui* were presumably the name of similar. Sahagún: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Apendice, cap. 3. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex, fo. 37v*), Sahagún refers to "*un ornamento de un palmo en quadro, hecho en tela rala, al qual llamavan yquauhtecuiqui, atado con unas cuerdas de algodon a los pechos. . . .*"

76. *God of medicine. Tlalteteccuini (or tlalteteccuini) is probably formed from tlalli and teteccuini. Cf. Sahagún: Ensiqo Kapital*, Vol. I, p. 18.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . *las que communmente llamaban las mugeres y hacian vino nuevo, que es llamado octapilli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamavan chiuacxopotla, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *oxmacxuh*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *oxmacxuhqui*.

78. ". . . *delante estaba* [*a*] *las quatro llamas* [*que quiere decir, enhestaron de la cara: porque quadrado, amorçaçado, equal que anda hecho, de fuerte. . . .*" *Loc. cit.*

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[88] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, some resting.[89] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tozoca.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on zapote-fiber seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[90] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[91] was *placed* [a *band*] *with forked ends. He* wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a zapote-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[92] was in his hand.

tetoca, yejc motlamaihtiliaia: qujnnecaliliaia, qujmamjqui in tiacaoan, tlapopoui, tlatzmanti:

yean in iaqujchti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhiviztia, tlatlazati, moqujchnoqui, moqujchnemoqui, amjquizmauhque, tecu momotlanj, iactlavelloque: vncan moieiecoaia, motaemamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalinque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia yn aiac, mjtoaia totecca.

Auh yn tenctli njman ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no tlatlaoca: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuecaçia, qujzochinezpanaltia, qujmicpacuochitia, qujtlaoaantia.

Auh intla aca cioatl, tetemonja, iztococoiaia: qujtoa, ma njctlamaniliz, in totec, iquac tlacazipeoalizti.

Jn iuechichioal, mizcolnechimale, tnemaxaltic vltica, yiopitzon condaliticac maxaliuhquj, commaquiticac tlacaiouatl, yieouia mialli, tzouchaiaoale, teucujtlaoacuche, tzapecuaia, tzizile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoastli yn jmac icac.

Nineteenth Chapter, which treats of the god named Lord or the Vanquished (Yiacancauhqui).[93]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, carrying in paper[94] the sacred traveling staves[95] with

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teuil: yn jueca yiacatecutli.

Puchueca intech catca: cenca qujmavizztilia, qujtlaquentilia amatica: yn jatzopil, ymotlaxopil, yni nenemja, yni

88. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En este festín, bebían como un juego de cabar: de manera que el vino tomado, era de la parte donde iban, o venían del dios totec; y entre todos, unos vestidos de pellejos de hombres que eran muertos, y desollados, en aquello fueron. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y mozos, y personas valientes, y esforçados: que no tenían en nada la muerte: mozos, atrevidos, que de su voluntad salían, a combatirse, con los otros. Allí los unos, con los otros, se exercitaban, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleando los unos, a los otros: hasta su punto, y de allí, holgaban huyendo, hasta su propio punto.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cabar in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antiqua fiesta, juego é ejercicio caballeroso en que tomaban parte dos bandos é cuadrillas convocadas á caballo, concurriendo gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se empuñaban con la colonga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a pitched-pole game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

89. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Sahagún, *Códice Espinosa*, has *ocoaia* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Sahagún translates the passage as "they stopped, rested, at the place called Tozoca."

90. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 126: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestían vestidos muertos, a los cuales llamaban Totecuio.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Totecuio as "*los muertos o heridos del dios Totec.*"

91. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Sahagún, *op. cit.*), the word is *ozpaltlachichiuhca*, translated as "*se hace un Gorrito de Waschlederarbeit.*" Sahagún also (*Translation of the Aztec Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *ozpaltlachichiuhca* (quail face painting).

92. Sahagún (*Gesamtausgabe Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Thepanecs), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

93. "The word *chicoatlli* means 'chicoatlli reaching to south among.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the accomplishing of the superdestiny function, to fructifying, hence we also see the chicoatlli with the fire sign projecting between the human couple in sexual union." Seler: *Translation of the Aztec Collection*, p. 108.

94. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *tecuz-tecuhtli* or *pocoxa-tecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 57). Temporarily (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacancauhqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz equivocada*"); Francisco Javier Clavijero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name *Xiuhtecuhtli*.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacancauhqui as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacancauhtli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the dispersed," explaining the association of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacancauhqui with Iztapalotl. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

95. Cut in four pieces and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

96. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *en una cuba, empiza, que olor Roman valed. Y también usan de otra manera de hacelo,*

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[416]
[439]

Auh in tecmatl, in pocteomatl, in aiztectli, in aquaujd, yn atzaccaiutl:

And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

[292]

intlanel iauticlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaqui, motlacacuepa in nechichioalirtica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica qujntlachocallhuja in chanaque.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

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[265]

Auh intla oclauçomalitique, intla oittoque: vncan qujpqcionjctia, qujnchillatilia: ça nca, aço oc, aço vnc yn oc nõ tematitlanpa qujça, ichoatl qujcalaoaotzaia in motecuçuma:

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

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[301]
[301]

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçonaltenzauh, yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezaiotia, in tiacauh, vncan ic oqujchtia.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

Auh yn jquac oalacia, yuchan: vn jmiloch, yunecuepal oqujchiuhque, yn otlaltachacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: iaqujch tlacatl qujaoza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic momititiaia:

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commencement in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

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mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca qujmavizilliaia yn itopil, yn jtlacçaia yiacatecutli:

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

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[778]

cena in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac oclaqualtia: yoan intlac ac motecuçuma: qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it *as offering first, when they had a feast. And* when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it as offering when they ate.

Auh intla aca tualtia, ichoatl caltiaia, qujtocaia in jutzuh yiacatecutli: anoço cenca ichoatzin yn mochocaia, in qujmomotztaia in chicomquiauitl, anoço chalmocacioatl, yoan acxumccuji, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzoac, atac qujtocuja, yiallotlama, yn aço oc, anoço vnc, oc aiztic tlacatl:

And when they commonly herbed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomquiauitl, or Chalmocacioatl, Acxumccuji, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzoac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

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tuapa cuauxaia yn tlacaxecujloca axcaputz'-oc motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujacxecuepa, qujmjhitza, yn quahtin qujpoxaqui, yn acan quemanjqui, in tlacaiocti, in tlacamelaxaqui, yn acan cucuaqui, yn atle intlaciuh oc:

They bought them then at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

yajc ichoan qujmictia-que, yn içan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujqujtilitia vitzilhuchtli:

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujntlapoaxca, intech qujtlalia yn jubqui yaochichioal yiacatecutli.

Thereupon they garbed them in wrappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

Auh yn oiuno qujmjctia, achtopa qujtzititiaia: mjtoa qujnjauxtia, ic qujmachiztia in tecuique:

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

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104. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 57): Yaomilchiqui "*pregonaron rapsodias poemas, que eran vituperio, é habilidad, para mofar grandemente, é engañar, y ir salvo, y capto (que es propio condición de Mercaderes)* . . . ."

105. Cf. Sahagún (*Escuela Española*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Regn. Colh. Mex.* B. II §63.

106. Book IX of the *Hist.* is general dealing almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes ricos: Ungaban a un caso, que se llama Iacapitzo de pino, mantenian washing mouth and hands.*

107. Sahagún defines calpulli as "*vecindad del barrio, ó parroquia*" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the sacrifices in this manner: "*Entre diaches que mataban a estos esclavos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 93) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzoac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomquiauitl or Chalmocacioatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxumccuji is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech cloth at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *ximci*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo. 585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y animales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro. 796^ [304 854] [535 785]

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored—part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhquemec, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhquemec. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in quijnonecaoaia,

quiauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie itoca etiuja, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatequj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vecā miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatequj, tiltic, chichiltic ic onoanquj.

Jnic cacan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, quitocaiotiuia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlā, çan itzintla, çan izpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiuja in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic mochichiuhtiuja, vipiinoac, tlauhjutectli.

Jnic macujican, vmpa in ātl iric itocajocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhqui.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa quijujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic ehicoccan, icpac yn jiauhquemec: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhquemec, in tlacatecujtl: yn itlatquj ietiuh, tlacetecaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jaquican yn, in miquja nextlaoalli, tlacatecuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxiitilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhconquj ietiuh, yoan momecuexititiuj, quijnomacuexititiuj chalchiuitl: tlaixolujlti, quijnixolhujaia, mjxmichiouujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujaçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanequi, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, quijnamatlapaltia, amatl,

[6. Map of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times leaves most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "es una sierra cualquiera que esta entre del Tlaxcalteca."
7. Tlapaltic, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); here he has *leonado* (lion colored, tawny) for *paapalli*. For *papalli*, Siméon (op. cit., p. 56) has *grisâtre*; Molina (op. cit.), *cosa verdosa de negro*; Simeón (op. cit.), brown or black.
8. The Spanish text explains: "es una sierra pequeña que esta cerca quauhtepec."
9. Lat. ed.: "es aquel monteculillo, que esta derecho delante Ixpaxna, frontero del Quauhtlatlac."
10. Lat. ed.: "es un estanque, que esta en los arenales de Amanalli, y cerca cada cuatro capitulos."
11. Lat. ed.: "es un cerrete que esta cerca chalco ocoyan."
12. Seler (op. cit., p. 57) reads *panquetzaliztli*, which he translates as *Ehrenschmuckstücke Federn*.
13. Sahagún (loc. cit.) says: "*papelpaper como alas de papel*" [illegible].

feathers, and in these [the children] were kept.

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And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipehualiztli came.

Auh nappe teixpan neci, teixpan quiztilo, teixtilo, teixmachtilo, quintlamamaca, quinmamaca yn jmamanechichiual:

ynic eppa maco, ynic chichiualo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlaquj.

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichiual.

Jnic eppa, oc eppa ichoatl yn intlaquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

iccen quinchichiouia, iccen quinmacaia, iccen quinquj, ynic ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic quintlatlaciaque, ynic ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic onoanoque çe iccen quicuj, yn intlaquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo quipapatla: yoan vltica quinoalhoanchichiou.

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac tonalinjcica.

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlaxistli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipá tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momaliztiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic ito, çan ic tetlamasiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlatitia, ynic onoano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoac ietiuh, chicamçotiuh, quitlquetztiuh in chicaoaztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

Auh muchiuj, iuh muchichiouia, yn iequichtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jmalhoan cahomoque, yn iquac onoc ilhujtl tlacaxipehualiztli.

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[illegible] and University of Utah, 1950; Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of some yopi, and its relations to Xipe cults, see op. cit., p. 27 and n. 80.

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatoxin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiouali*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey toçoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl*; and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uiztociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacapa quiquixtiaia: in moteneua xuchinezpãtli.

Auh yn jnacazmitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepololli: yoan onnaquijaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachiouilli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcuzquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapian teccizti: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhquin icpaxiquipilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlulalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel quijtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhquin xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quimetztiopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icnic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: iehoatl inic xazamacatiuh, ynic tztzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in iehoatl miquja oc xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl quijtaia, mocioaoztiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh quijtepeoaia, quijtlatlaiaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhquinma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaxaxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech quijlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtociuatl.

Auh in ie itenila Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

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8. "Como arquillas de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llamaua a las capillas, un ornamento como balas, de un palmo en quadro de lienço blanco, con sus barlas y flecadura" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 163. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma corviua, ensarcada aquella ambra de las cabellos, dos barbas con sus hazuelas, barbas de plumas, y una, y tachiacatl, cosa corriuas, que eran llamauan ensarcadas." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 88) describes "The first lord of quauhxo [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, quauxoxo ichcatl, because of the cotton woven in tachiacatl or red rabbit's fur; the general of ocelotzacatl contained in a square of dark red, his squares of white feathers. The fringe is also of red tachiacatl." From this, it would appear that tachiacatl is red cotton, and tachiacatl is a red dyeing of rabbit hair.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *magney* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a gadly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaqualle*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[10] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopochtli: vncan in vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quauitl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, nauintin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jutzontecon:

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc quipepechoaia, yn jmizquiqujo, ca mizquiquauitl, in tlaxintli, yn ixipela muchipa catca, yn oquipepechoque:

njman ic ic quimamaca yn itlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononolua, panj conquentia, ytzitzicatilma: iuhqujn cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yuitica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiuitl ic tlachioalli ezttlapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: quitetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan conquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezzepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlaconaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc quinapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc quinapaloaque, ynjc monapaloa ymaxtli:

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamaxçocan:

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10. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Bulmolo edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Salvador Quezada quechanual so "la materia manufacturada por la capa de fibra de algunos árboles de gruesa fama. Sirvió de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las adornos, vestidos y otros adornos que el indio de los dioses requería."

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *maguey* fiber cape, or a small cotton mantle.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[18]

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic axioa. 796X

Auh intla aca, amo qujcxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tehoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aquiçque axioa, oc vel momaquixtia, oc vel moquixtia, oc vel maquiça: aço totolin yca, aço maxtlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica. [291]

Auh yn icnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moquixtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn ixquich nequixtilonj, moch quimocuilia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moquixtiaia, inmanel itla cencn vey ic moquixtiaia, aocmo quicelixia.

Auh in ie iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl maceoalli, quimochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, aiac yn macamo metzalhujaia: [262]

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech quimomamaca, nepanotl ic mococoachica.

Auh in cequjntin papaquinj, yn ahaujeni: yoan in cequjntin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelquixtia:

injc muchichioa mixteiaioaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan caantinemj xocujcolli etzalcomjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naic yn naic tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjtzcalxaxapotlaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman quioalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlalitiuj yn etzalcomjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoalizzli, ioalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necacaoalo, cactiuetzi, [535]

auh yn ooalquiz tonatiuh, njman ic ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, commaquja yn ixicol, pani commololoa aiatl, itoca aiauhquemjtl, anoço aoachquemjtl, [793 292]

18. "Buñuelos de maiz" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

[796] must cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] [793] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of [293] his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tzitziuhio: njman connonamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, [302] he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mixquatezoujaia, oc cepa ipan conspetzujaia, conspetzoziaia:

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatazzli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatazzli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatextli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoaztli:

And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [314] [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamaçaçque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlteteu:

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite [237] round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaçquaitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, yiocs quetzalmjjaoaiotl.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ie iuhquj § otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in çaçqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzitzitzqujtimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemoztzoltzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamaztotoa, yn oaxioaque, toliaoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan ichetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ie achi qualtoeua, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ie oneoa, njman iquac qujnpenaltia in qujnctjcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

16. *"Vna manta delgada transparente, que se llama cimalpopoyal"* (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions *"manta delgada que llaman xyal"* (Rubiales ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. *"Vna flor de papel grande arrizada, redonda a manera de rodela"* (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the chapeo ipanmeli as *"ornamento, que va sobre el pescuezo."*

18. *"El cuchillo, vna flor de papel, tambien fruncida, que sobresale a ambas partes de la cabeça a manera de orejas de papel, como medias alondras,"* and, later in the same chapter, *"era ornamento, que se ponjan tras el cuchillo, como vna flor hecha de papel"* (*loc. cit.*).

19. *"Morenos: vestuan (teyamilmanca) cubrend the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (apozuali)"* (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. *"Hay otro que se llama yauhtli. El muy verde, tiene muchas ramas y crecen todas juntas hacia arriba; (y) siempre huele; se tambien medicinal para los que tienen almorrar, molido y bebido con el cacao; hace de tostar, y despues molido y mezclado con el cacao. Aprovecha tambien para los que escupen sangre; y para los que tienen calenturas"* (Sahagún, Rubiales ed., Vol. III, p. 270).

21. Probably the singular of *quaquamilitin* is meant by *quamalli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quamalli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following *mec viloa*, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh ihuqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, yoan cocoxqui, in tlachichioalli yoan papar y pantlati omo, omatl yoan pilonitoh, yoan tlamatlati omoiquat, quinquatlatlati, omoz quimmamalitiuat,*—and in the midst of them went what is called a reed mat, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper went hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted haughtwise with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence.

she[1] walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *tzauxolloti*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica, 796[K] [301]

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujttli, ynic tlamaiqujttli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ic in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ic no ic yn potonquj: 796[K] 292

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonaniczilolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, toztlapilollo: 796[K] 293

Auh in toztlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quzuhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, toztenoloio in chimalli. [237]

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana: [535]

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: excan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio: [314]

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh. 796[K] 535

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixqujchtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ic ichpupuchchicacti: [463]

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

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6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 32.

7. "*Waterlily*," in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Nappa w- di (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish reads: "*Traya una rodela pintada, con una que nacher, de la yerba que se llama ahuaxoyoca.*" In Vol. III of the Rehusdo ed., p. 336, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 98 a 134 (Nos. 368 a 965) del libro XI, de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," *ahuaxoyoca* is defined as "*cabeza de negro. Nimphaea elegans. Hook, Nimphaeae.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llamaban tzauhli y eran como mariposas cuando ya son grandes y redondos y colorados; entonces tienen las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; cuando nace son verdosos en obra, como papagayos tienen todo en amarillo redondo, y por esto le llaman tzauhli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Rehusdo ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

9. "*Con flores en las colas, hechas al plumas de aquéllos*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulín*, however, may be an element in *fitzochapolli*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 101.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamaban cuchan (y) es muy semejante al que llamaban tzauxuxu; tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo amarillas, tan redondas y todo lo amarillo de las alas, tiene colorado encima, mezclado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñitas que están sobre la cerca del ala que llamaban tzilcuil, son amarillas mezcladas de colorado; el rabo, como pelo malo, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado mezclado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Rehusdo ed.; Vol. III, p. 146).

12. Cf. *Anonymous* (Bandelier, *op. cit.*: "*Entre cantando gentes en danzando*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando bailaban en el areyto, yuan andando al bailar, y deteniéndose [sic] a compas del bailo.*"

1 [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[5]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca. 796 736

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, ixqujlhujtl cujcoia: im penaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njnan ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlavilteti viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, artimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: 372

auh in ié iuhquj, mec oalquixoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtoṣitiujtza, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in masujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti: 548

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan. 302 565

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn ĵvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatẽnio, muchi cuetenio. 796 292

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtonquj much uenei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtoia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca. 302

Auh amo mopotonja, amono moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichioia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, ichoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoque, ymixtaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, mococaiotia innochpalcuechin. 622 301 304 701

5. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For more quapanti, Sahagún has "an armful."

X 796 ● 292 301 304

And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729]

And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701]

And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

X 796 293

And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

[301 714]

And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

237 X 796

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293

And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

X 796 302

And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in ixquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn jncuechin, muchi tenjxo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jxtenpilol, qujnamictia, cequj aujtlatztli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apetlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn ixquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan ichoatl yn xiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teschcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: ichoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, ichoatl in tototenpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, ichoatl yn apetlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in mococenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in çatlatzacuja in çatlatoquiaia, ichoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, ẽxcan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, oceluetoatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintli ẽxcan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotoc in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopachcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel ichoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no ichoatl yn maçaeoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacazotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tiltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, *tolompias* [*tecolomias*] *cuyuas*, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has *dieses Perlenhalsband für yyamatzachapac*.

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquixecan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiiauh nocne aço toqujchtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in tiiaouh, maça toqujch miqujcã: 796x 684 836

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoeoatiuh, ça zonauhtiuh, tẽtentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtotoca, in cioatetiachcauh: aoqujc no teoã cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcenmacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanqujj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in ichoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiauceujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn moteneoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itẽco coztic, auh yn ixquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn iconqujj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoã yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja: 796x [302] 301 [292 293]

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muztla: 796x

in cemilhujtl conpeoaltia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vccan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquixecan: ynjc excan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn 796x 805

7. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and logical in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec column is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aqueia* is probably an assimilation of *aquaia*.—Angel Maria Garibay, personal communication.

delos cantares delos dioses. fo. 143. 532 415 534 282

Cochina, cochina, [illegible]
[illegible] ololonqui, iecuicatl, mochinay
tec. [illegible]

¶ Xippe icuic, [illegible] ioualla
vana.

Ioalli tlauana, i3tlacan, [illegible]
[illegible] xipaqui, [illegible] tlauaqui
tlaquemiti, xipamoquenti quetzqui.

Notzuhca chalchiuhtzuna tlaca
pana itzmoia, oiquetzallaueiet,
ay quetzel xiuiuatl nechtaiquiz
catihquet orjia.

Mamiaqia, mjia, mjia pelizis
mivaatsin, achalchiuhtla xoiollo,
atecuijtlatl necoiantlas xoiolec
vizquijtlacatl achtequeti tlaqua
vaia atlacatqui iauhiatoa quet
orjia.

Notzuhca centlaco xoicailiviz de
noa vioatsin nuchepeiocpa mjs
valitla motzuhca, vizquijtla
catl achtequet tlaquauia cha
catqui iauhtlaqueti orjia.

¶ Chicomecoatl icuic.

Chicomolotsin, xaia nechaa,

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Appendix: Song of Xipe)

[p. 102 c]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X796
532
714
411
292

[415]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1-7. Tlacaxipeualizzli (Chapter 21)

[p. 102 D]

3: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

*796
532
242

[534]

—After Paso y Troncoso

15.21. Teocatl (Chapter 24)

[p. 102 F]

796x
532
292
[501]

—After Paso y Troncoso

22-23. Ezzalqualiztli (Chapter 25)
24-25. Tecuilhuitontli (Chapter 26)
26-28. Uei tecuilhuitl (Chapter 27)
29. Tlaxochimaco (Chapter 28)

[p. 102 G]

786x
532
291
292

—After Paso y Troncoso

37-44. Iscçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[415]

[p. 102 I]

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
778 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

auh in ie iuhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoã comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmã ie ic qujtetema: mochi ichostl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omoteten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic viviloa, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were
[302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained
[237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were
[293] decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmama tlaviztli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic moteneoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

[535] And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into
[30] the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper
[302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and
292 they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamanecapanal, njmã ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomoloa.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan ommotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight; in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked.
[413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquijton intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it
[46] into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

in ie iuhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Réné Simeon, however, renders *ocepanalli* as tibia.
8. The context suggests a distinction between *demanzinar* and *mahque*.

Then they climbed up the ropes. On one rope mayhap twenty climbed, like a cluster hanging upon it. Not all reached the point; only some reached the top. The one who led grasped the *xocotl* image, which was made only of a dough of amaranth seeds. He took all—its shield, arrow, dart, and dart-thrower.

And the amaranth seed dough [*tamales*] he scattered down so that they fell to the ground upon those [who watched]. All who stood below looked up. When the amaranth seed dough fell, all stretched forth their hands and shouted as if there were a fight. Some took its head ornaments of amaranth seed dough, which he also scattered upon them. They were carried off by those below.

And when this was done, then he who had captured the *xocotl* [image] came down. When he descended and reached the ground, then they seized him; the old men [of the temple] took him up to the place of sacrifice and offered him gifts. And all thereupon pulled upon the ropes, exerting themselves greatly, verily destroying the work. And the *xocotl* then fell to the ground, raising a cloud of dust, breaking into pieces. Into three or four sections it quickly broke apart.

Upon this, all then went; all was quiet and left clear. And then they accompanied the captor of the *xocotl* to his house, and arrayed him in a brown striped cloak edged with a feathered border.

And if one were a captor [of the *xocotl*], he might well thus array himself, wrapping about him [such a cloak]; none might therefore dispute him [the right]. But if one were not [such a] captor, he might only keep one in his care. And mayhap he might sell it when he was poor or sick.

And thus they accompanied him to his home; two old priests went carrying him, taking him by the arms. Behind came the priests, blowing horns for him as they went, sounding shell trumpets for him. And he bore upon his back his shield. And when they left him, then they returned [to the temple].

Thus in truth ended here, [thus] concluded, the feast day.

njman ie ic tleoa in mecatitech: in ce mecatl, aço cen tecpantli in jtech tleco, iuhqujn tlapipilcac: amo mochintin in vmpanvetzi, çan quezquijntin in vmpanvetzi, in aquin iacatiuh, vel iehoatl caci in xócotl ixiptla, çan tzoalli: muchi qujcujlia in jchimal, in jmjuh tlaoaçoualli, yoan yiatlauh. 796 [43]

Auh in tzoalli, vmpa qujoalteteperoa, tepan qujoalcecẽmana, muchi tlacatl, onacopatlachia in tlatzintlan manj, in jquac oalhuetzi tzoalli muchi tlacatl maçoa, iuhqujn ipan nemjmjctilo, iuhquj tlatlacaoaca: no cequjntin cenaci, in jxõcoiol in tzoalli, no tepã qujoalcecẽmana, namoielo in tlatzintlan.

Auh in ie iuhquj njmã: njman ie ic oalteno, in xócomanj: in ooaltemoc, in odahtitechacico: njmã ie ic conana: in tlacacouhcan, vmpa qujtlecavia in vevetque, vmpa qujtlauhtia: auh in jxqujch, tlacatl, nimã ie ic qujtilinja in mecatl, vel netilinjlo, vel ontlamj in tlapaliviztli: auh in xocotl, njmã ic vetzi tlalpã, tlaliponotztivetzi, popontectivetzi, aço ezcan, anoço nauhcan qujztivetzi. [431]

In ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic vivilua, cactivetzi, cactimomana: auh çatepã, concaoa in jchan in xocomanj, ic caapana camopalli in tilmatli, tenjvivavanquj. [292]

Auh inda tlamanj, vel qujmoquentia, vel qujmolpilitinemjz, aiac ic qujtlatzovilia: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujmotlatilia, çan ipiel iez: auh anoço qujmonamaqujlia, in jquac ie motolinja in jcocoian.

Auh injc cõcaoa ichan: caantivi, qujtzitzitzequjtivi yiacolpã; in quaquacujlti: vmentin, icẽpa mantivi tlamacazque, qujtlapichilitivi: iehoatl in tecciztli qujpichilitivi: yoã qujmomatiuh in jchimal. Auh in ocõcaoato, mec oalmocaepa: [534]

ic vel ezcan ontzonqujça, õtlamj in jlhujtl.

X 796

to die, then they came to seize her; one [of them] took her upon his back, and they swiftly cut off her head. And when they had cut her head off, then, as quickly, they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then in haste a man [priest] flung on her skin. He was called Tecticzquacuilli—a strong [man], powerful, and very tall.

And her thigh they then also quickly flayed, and hastened with it then to Pochtlan. [He who was the likeness of Toci's] son put it on. His name was Cinteotl. There he received it.

And thereupon, when the Tecticzquacuilli donned [her skin], then she[6] quickly went up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid].[7] As she hastily climbed up to place herself [there, she did so] with great speed. Then she as quickly came down [with], on either side of her, two of her Huaxteca, coming [with her].

And the priests, [who] went siding her, came bringing up the rear, surrounding and guarding her. And a number of the noblemen and the great chieftains stood awaiting her.

And when she went, then they set forth spread out ahead of her. Fast, swiftly, they ran; as if flying, they ran. They wheeled about toward her as they went, striking their shields against each other; they went knocking their shields. Again they whirled about, pressing forward, as they ran. All were fearful [of them]; fright came over the people; they were filled with dread.

And when they thus ran, it was called "fighting with grass"; because it was grass, it was a straw [broom], bloody, covered with blood, that they ran holding in their hands. And those whom they set upon scattered and routed; and greatly were they terrified.

And when [Toci's impersonator] had come to the foot, or the base, of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, then she raised her arms, she spread arms and legs, at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. She put herself facing [the god], and then turned about to place herself by her son, Cinteotl.

Here [this one] was waiting. He had his mask made of the skin of the thigh [of her who had been the likeness of Toci];[8] and he put on his peaked cap, which was curved back and serrated. And this was

ana, çan tecujlapan in cõteca, njmã ic quiouapsechcotontivetzi: auh in oõquechcotonoque, njmã no iciuhca quixipeuhtivetzi, quixipeuhtiquiça. Auh in oquixipeuhque: njmã ic cõmaquixivetzi ce tlacatl in jeuuio: itoca Tecizquacujli, cenca chicaoac, chichicactic, yoan cenca quauhtic.

Auh in jmetz njmã no iciuhca quixipeuhtivetzi, quimotlalochtia, in vmpa pochtlan: conaquja in jconeuh: itoca, Cinteutl, in vmpa canauiuh.

Auh in ic iuhqui, in ocõmaqui Teccizquacujlli: mec oalmoquetztivetzi tlatempan: in ooalmoquetztivetz, cencan iciuhca: mec oalitemoivetzi, quixxaxacotivitze, nenecoc, oonemãtivitze in jcuexoan.

Auh in tlamacazque quipalevitivi, icãpa onotivi, quitepevitivi, quipixtivi: auh in cequintin quichixtoque in pipilti, yoan in veve in tiacaoã.

Auh in jquac ic iuuh: njman ic oncca, ixpã mãtivi, ixpã onotivi: cenca motlaloa, cenca paina: iuhquin patlanj, ic motlaloa; oalmocuecueptivi, in jvicpa, quicalhujtectivi in inchimal, oalmochimalhujtectivi: no cppa ic mocueptivetzi, onotemj, ompipilcatoque in motlaloa: cenca nemauhtilo, mavizth tepan moteca, vel tetechaquj in mavizth.

Auh injc iuh iuuh in: motenena, çacacali: ichica ca çacatl, ca popotl in immac tetentiuh, chenço, tlaezvilli: auh injc quijnoca, çan momoiana, omenmanj, cenca momauhtia.

Auh in oacito tlacxitlan, in jicxitlan vitzilobuchtli: njmã ic mauna, motetenana, mamaça in jicxitlã Vitzilobuchtli: conjxnamjctimoquetza, mec oalmocuepa, itlao oalmoquetza in jconeuh in Cinteutl:

in vncan oquichixticaca, imeztiac ictivitz: yoan cõmaquja, icopil, quacoltic, yoan tizizipujltic: auh inin motecaiotinia, itztlacoliuhqui: ichouil in çetl: quivicativitz, neoã mantivitze, amo motlaloa, çe yio-

6. Though a priest, a man, wears the skin, he impersonated Toci. For the purpose of distinguishing the sex of the impersonator of Toci from those of the impersonator of Cinteotl, the former is referred to in subsequent passages as a woman (she) and the latter as a man (he).
7. "*Lenguje se levantaron al cuerpo del cu*" (corresponding Spanish text).
8. Translator: Garibay (op. cit., p. 187) translates this as her endeavor de vestir: Sahagún (loc. cit.) speaks of la envoltura del pellejo.

given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cintéotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together—not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *matiaili*.[10]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cintéotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. A little distance, her Huastecs went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech cloths, and had their mirrors on the small of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

And the medicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests proceeded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiztivitze, vmpa iztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jteupan, in vmpa omjc: oc ceppa vmpa onmotlalia.

796x
[292]

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotleoac, tlatlavilloti eoa, mec oalmoquetza tlatenpan: auh in jxqujch tlacatl pipiltj, ic qujchixtoque ipan ôneteçoalo: njman ic qujtlatlamacn: in aca qujpotonja icpac, yoan içaic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca qujxaoa: in aca cômaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjlia: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan ictuhca: njmã ic cactivetzi, njman ic vivilos.

[302]
[292]

Auh in ovivilosc: njmã ic oalqujça in jveitlatquj motenesa: yiumacal, yoan itianquixpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquixpanjtl, macujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoutl in tianquixpanjtl: auh navi necoccampa oome quj-tzexacutiuh: motenesa meztli.

[292]

Auh in ocficencauhque, njmã ic onmoiacatia, in mamalti injxpan, navintin: mec oc conteca, in techtec: inoma yioma in qujmjctia, qujneltetequj: navintin, ith quinchiua:

in oqujmolnjcti in navintin, mec imnac qujtoalcaua in tletlenamacaque, injc qujnmjctiaque, in oc cequjntin mamalti: mec iauh in vmpa ocanato ice-neuh: quivicatiuh in jcueuh, in cintetul ano itztlacoliuhquj: qujiacana in jcueznan vecapa qujtztivi, omocencauhque, inamomomaxtli, yoan incujtlatecauh, im jichcauchiuh, mamalacaquetzallo.

[293]
[283]

Auh in tititi, yoan in tencuamacaque, necac onotivi, cujcativi: qujncujcatlaulitivi in quaquacujlti,

[463]
796x
534

9. This headdress is illustrated in the Tonalamatl of the Codex Borbonicus and of the Aubin Collection.
10. Cf. contemporary Spanish term *tocado* (Santiago Kapital, p. 177) where the term is *matl*; possibly it could as well be related to *mati*.

X 796 Izaçaubqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came
[796] last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

X 796 And when they were being cast into the fire, there then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He
● 242 was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a
535 crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which
[198] was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was
[534] he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

X 796 They took one another's hands, grasping them firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken,
535 where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hands."

And next day all assembled at the same time to
[237] dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasure songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here ندeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

qui, ichoatl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca iuuan
catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoquijtivia, ça
quiçaitentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlaxo,
vncan ic teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in qujntlepantla-
çaia, mamaltxitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaxo, vncan mjtotitinemj
techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiquijltonẽ, qua-
chichiquijle, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujmamati-
nemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoetzalxontli: in jquac
ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

yoan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel
iuhquin tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vntetl in jaia-
cach, vccampa in aiacachetinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in
tlamacazque: injc oalteno, imaamaneapanal, tlacuj-
lolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca motzcuhxaiaxq-
quja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuh-
quin mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlálli ic moviaequj,
tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin moteneoa mamatlavizzoa.

Auh in jmuxtlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in
necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in cuetic, in chichil-
tic, in vitztecolli, in xonoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa,
muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel çoçolco onoc,
cenca izquich tlacatl, çan ichoantin in oquichtin:

njman ie ic pecalo in necocololo, nepãtla tonatiuh,
neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle queoa, çan avilcujcatl: auh
in necacaoalo, ie ioca: auh in aca cenca compoqui,
vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jiomjlhujixti y, ie cuel cõcujlia in
tepeilhujtl.

Je izquich njcan tlamj, njcan tzonquiça in ilhujtl
Teutl eco.

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8. ". . . en el dicho cadalso echaban vivos en un gran incendio. Y a buenos muchos cautivos, en la llama que se levantaba tendían y hacían los ademanes, especialmente aquellos cautivos que se llamaban cuauhtlamacazque, como se dijo, en la cuarta forma de sacrificar." (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 231).
9. ". . . porque no los hacían mal el dicho hechizamiento" (ibid., p. 234). Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., p. 144.

And [the women] who carried [litters] were well and proudly bedight, all in new shirts and skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted and they were arrayed in feathers.

And when the time was favorable that [the victims] should die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they proceeded to leave them there at the [Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there and stretched them out upon the offering stone, then the officiating priests and the slayer came to take their places, and thereupon cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had suffered, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down. And thus they lowered them: they only went rolling them down [the steps], with great care turning them over and over.

And when they had come down with them, then they carried them to the skull rack. And when they had brought them there, then they cut off and severed their heads. There they inserted into their heads [the cross pieces of the rack].

And when they had severed the heads from the bodies, then they took [the bodies] to the tribal temples [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, [took place the ceremony] called "They are dismembered." Thereupon they dismembered the [figures made of] amaranth seed dough. And when [the bodies] were dismembered, then they took them up to the roof tops, there to dry in the sun—to dry stiff and hard. Little by little they kept taking some of it and eating it, and gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular mats which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the rafters of the tribal temples. For one year they cared for them; then they threw them down, scattered, in the Mint House. Only the paper vestments they [then] scattered; the circular mats they returned to their homes.

Here ended the feast which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlanapaloa, vel mocencaoa, ieccan moquetza, mochi iancuiz, in intech quitlaliaia in incue, in invipil, yoã moxaoa, mopotonja. 796X [292]

Auh in otlaimmãtic in ie iquac mjquizque: njmã ie ic qcjteca in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, quimoncavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oquimonaxitique, mec quimõteca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequipanoque, in temictianj: njmã ie ic quimeltetequi.

Auh in ontlacotique, in omm̃oque, njmã ic quinoaltemovia: auh inic quinoaltemovia, çan quinoalmimilotivi, cenca çan quẽmach, in quincuecueptivize.

Auh in oquimõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie tzompantitlan: auh in oquimonaxitique, njmã ic quinquechtequi, quinquechcotona: vncã quimõçoço in intzontecõ.

Auh in quimõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie quivica in iscacalpolco: auh in imuztlaioc, in ooallatvic: in mitosia, Texinjlo, texixitinjlo: njmã ie ic quixitinja in tzoalli: auh in oquixixitinjque, njmã ic tlapanco quitlecavia, vmpa oaqui, quauhvaqui, tepiõaqui: achchi concuixivi in quiqua, can iuh quitlamja. [178]

[264]

Auh in imamatlaqui ocatca, quiquequentia in iiaoallo ocatca: auh in oquiquequẽtique calquac compiloa, cãlpulco, çe xivitl quimattiuh, in quiçdaçativi, in quitepeoativi, in vmpa aiauhcalco: çanjo in imamatlaqui, contepeoa: auh in iaoalli quiçoalinqui. [289]

Nican tlamj in jlhuitl, in motenoa Tepeilhuitl.

scized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and slew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeoatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivocho, iuqujch in tematitlampa quiça, in 796x
niamo imjquja.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlazitinj, oalnecue- 224
palo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tla-
mjctia: in aquja maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, quin-
tlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli: [292]

intla tlamanj, quimoquentiz: auh intlacamo tla-
manj, çan quitlatiz tanaco, anoço quimonamaquilix:
yoan in tlamanjme quintlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã
ati.

Auh in ic iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacate-
petl: njman ie ic vileatz, çaiio in intzontecon quioal-
hujvica intlan quimaana, chichipicativitz in eatli, in
oacico inchachan, aco quinpipiloa auh çan vmpa
concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan quizoaia: iquac quinma- 796x
caia in inamatlatquj in jzquintin mjequizque: ie-
hoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequintin mochichioaia, [776]
itlaaltilhoan: injc ome ichoatl in Izquitecatl, aço
vmentin, anoço eintin: ichoan quimaltiaia in tlachic- [463]
que, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja ichoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc
cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omentin, çan calpixque [624]
in quinnextiaia: auh no ichoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue:
in inamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izquitecatl: no
iquac quicuja in inamatlatquj.

Aũh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc
tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in
mjquizque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec quinvica
in vmpa mjquizque: quimõiaoalochtia in techcatl,
motecpantivi: auh in ecõiaoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo,
aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa quinvi-
vica in iacacalpulco, coioal in quintoçavia, quinpia,
quinpipia.

Auh in ie omoci, ioalmõãlla: njmã ie ic tetzmo-
cujva: auh in oquimõtzmocujque, njmã ie ic motla-
tlachtilia: in oquichã, quitlatia, in ipan yoan itilma,

4. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *por quemaçiaiio* might better be read the *inquemã*. Cf. also Seler (op. cit., p. 197).
5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 5.
6. Cf. supra, p. 97, n. 7.

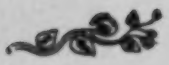

X 796 **Thirty-fourth Chapeer, in which they tell of the feasts and sacrifices which were performed on the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Panquetzaliztli.**[1]

The fifteenth feast day: this one was called Panquetzaliztli.

[785] When the feast of Panquetzaliztli had not yet arrived, the priests fasted for eighty days, and laid down green boughs. When they began [the fast], it was upon the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread the green boughs, on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they laid the green boughs, they [292] went quite naked, wearing nothing. They went carrying green boughs; these [were] green reeds and thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets [534] and pottery whistles.[2] They proceeded blowing [them] alternately.

And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when was intoned the song named the Tlaxotecaiotl—the song of Uitzilopochtli. This was begun at nightfall; and it was ended at the time when the trumpets sounded, when the conch [534] shells were blown.

Also, among them, the women sang and danced—harlots, who went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this, until twenty days [had passed].

X 796 TR And when the ninth day before [the feast] arrived, then were bathed in sacred water [the yictims known as] the ceremonially bathed ones, or those to die the captives' death.[3] The old men of the tribal temple secured the water; they got the water there

Inic 34 capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl, ic caxtoltetl metztli, in mjtoaia: Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtoltetl ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenteoa, Panquetzaliztli:

in aiamo aci ilhujtl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhujtl in moçaoaia, yoan acxoiatlaliaia: iquac quipeoaltiaia, in iuh onquiz imuztlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in ioalnepantla onacxoiatema, in novian tetepeticpac, yoã in momomozco, in veca.

Auh inin qujchioaia, izqujchica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in onacxoiatlaliaia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intech vetztiuh, quitquitivi in acxoiatl, ichoatl in acatl xoxouhqui, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cocovilutl quipitztivi, quipapatlativi in quipitza.

Auh in ôquiz Quecholli ilhujtl: njmã ic peoa in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in eoa itoca tlaxotecaiotl, icujc in Vitzilobuchtli: im peoaloia, iquac in tlatlapoiaoa: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalizpã, in ie tlatlapitzalo:

no teoan cujcoianoa in cica in avienjme, tetzatzalan mantivi (in juh omjto) mumuztlae in muchioa, izqujchica cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in oacic tlachicunaviti, vncan moteualtiaia in tlatlaltilti, anoço tuchimjcque: in calpulvevetque, conannaia atl: vmpa in vitzilobuchco conannaia atl,

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1. "*Elevación de banderas,*" in Gulley, *op. cit.*, p. 312; "*el acto de cuerbolar el pendón*" (Chavero, *op. cit.*, p. 170)—possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the raising of Papaul up to the altar in the Temple of Uitzilopochtli. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 299) writes: "*Embalsamaban de Pendones, ó Vanderas; porque ú por este Tiempo se hacian hechas las cuerchas de sus Pinos; las quales pendian, comenzaban á tomar sus Guerras; y en este tiempo renovaban sus Mozamorras, Aldabas, y Lendreas; y deferendian sus Tornaiuas, y Mosaas, y otras cosas de interés que tenian. De manera, que en todo este Mes estaban las Provincias, en Armas, y continuas todo, y hacian entre ellas sus crueles Guerras, y Batallas; porque muchas veces venian á rompimiento, y morian muchas Gentes, y hacia grandes pérdidas, y despojos, y presas de Cautiuos, y Esclauos, y se templaba Pueblos, y gandian Provincias, en orden de ampliar, cada qual, sus Reinos, y Señorios. Y antes de las cuerchas se acostumbraban cada de esto, porque los Pinos, y Sembrados, no se talaua, ni destruieran; y para esto hacian grandes Ofrendas á su Dios Huitzilopochtli, ó Camazotz, ofreciendole Armas, y otras cosas, pidiendole favor, y ayuda contra sus enemigos.*"

According to Tezozomoc (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32) it was the special festival of the war captains, who set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.

2. "*Trompetas de Caracol cantar Tandas,*" according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; p. 19. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., II, p. 370) says: "*Los sacerdotes hacian un banquete en que daban á comer carne humana; esto hacian en la fiesta que se llama panquetzaliztli. Para esta fiesta compraban esclavos que se llamaban tlacatecolos,*

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feasts and sacrifices which were made in the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Seventeenth feast: this was known by the name of Tititl.

Upon [this] feast died a person named Ilama tecutli—[one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed [slave].[2] The majordomos procured her.

And the adornment of [the likeness of] Ilama tecutli was [as followeth: she had] her white skirt, her white shift—completely white. And over this she was girt with [what was] named the star skirt. This was bedight with small sea shells, on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, [with] shells set at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, much did [the shells] jingle, the pleasant sound [carrying] far. And her sandals had white toes, woven with cotton threads.

And her shield was covered over with white clay and pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers, sewn to the middle [of the shield], and it had pendants at the edges, of heron feathers, and [tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers, hung at the point. And in [the other] hand she bore her weaving stick.[3]

And her face painting was in diverse colors. About the lower part of her face, they spread black. It was said, the lower part of her face was blackened. And upon her nose and forehead, they laid yellow ochre.

And her eagle feather headpiece, a headdress with eagle feathers arrayed upon it, consisted only of hair, twisted, arranged and well disposed, braided and intertwined with itself. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli*.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce, capítule vncan motenena in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtóltetl omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl.

Injc caxtoltetl omume ilhujtl ichoatl in motenena, itoca Tititl:

in jpan in ilhujtl, ce tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, ixiptla, tlaaltilli: calpixque in qujnextia.

Auh in jnechichioal catca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj qujnocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachioalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacaxotlalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic ommotzincuetia: in jquac nenemj cenca xxxamaca, veca caqujzti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jquequetzil: icpatl injc tlaqujztli,

yoan ichimal, çã tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachioalli, inepantla in tlatzõtli, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac: yoan centlapal qujztizquja, itoztopaz:

yoã mozauh mochictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jtenco qujteca tilli: mjtos, motentilhuja: auh in jiac ipan, yoan ixquac tecoçavizl in qujteca,

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjacavia in tzõtli, tlamalintli, tlavipantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanetech itzontli: in tzõcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

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1. "Entronizacion." Gaulley suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 314). Gomez y Romo (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 39) writes: "Titiil. *Temporada trabajar, dormir apaciblemente; Remedial, ahuyentar ó encantar serpientes. Como verdaderas creyeron falsa la interpretacion de Remedial, y como la raya del cuerpo tiñida, enhumor despues de la enfermedad.*" Tompsonville (*op. cit.*, p. 300) completes his version thus: "*porque la era de frios, y helados, los quales mordian muchos, por la gente rayo de que tembian, y porque por esto tiemen temprano, cuidadosos apresurados, con Guerras, y Ambres, que tienen los yerbas Provisiones contra las ortigas, y de tentadas, y desatadas como á ortigas.*"

Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 201-2) writes: "*quiere decir cuidar . . . templandose en el cielo los vientos contrarios al sol de ortiga. . . . Sabido hacer de temporal y bonanza cuidar como con ortiga de los vientos.*"

The Tovar Calendar refers to the gods controlling and thus supporting "the machine of the world" because of the violent winds. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

2. Cf. Andrews and Díbble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; also supra, pp. 120-21 and n. 3.

3. The shield and the spinning implement of the goddess are clearly illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus*. Paso y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 273) thus describes the shield: "*Es redondo, que se asemeja mucho hace á la decorapida que hace después las indias, en Manila; tiene un cerco de plumas de águila pequeñas en el centro; y tiene cuatro repuestos como y chuzo de plumas: unas pequeñas de garzonas, colocadas (que algunas han*

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until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in those times they covered themselves with nothing else. All thus danced, wrapped only in netted capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

mjtotia, izquijchica yn oquix iocalli xelisi, yn oonquix iocalnepantla. [535]

auh njman aiac tle quimokolooaia, in izquijch ic netotilo, çanyio in necokoko chalcaiatl, haçan nel ishqui petlauhtinenca, [592]

yn oquix cuicatl, njman cecenmanoa, muztla yui, muztla yui, in centlazilacalti, mõtequitivi vmpa ôcochi in jncochia, injn telpuchcali.

auh in ie vel oquichtin in ie quiximati tlaltiepaiotl, vmpa onococõchi in jnmecaoa. [836]

[p. 56 is blank]

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Eighth Chapter, in which are told the various articles with which they adorned the rulers and noblemen—which they placed on them when they were bedight in capes and breech clouts.

Injc chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa in jzqujtlamantli: in nechichioaia tlatoque in pipilti in jntechqujtlaliaia, injc mocencaoaia in tilmatli in maxtlatl.

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The cape with the serpent mask design, bordered with eyes;[1]	Coatzaiacaio tilmatli, tenjxio,
The cape with the conch shell design, bordered with eyes;[2]	tecucizio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with a design of stone discs, bordered with eyes;[3]	temalacaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the obsidian serpent design, bordered with eyes;[4]	itzcoaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with wine-god jar design, bordered with eyes;[5]	vmetochtecomaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the butterfly design, bordered with eyes;	papaloio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with an eagle's face painted on it, bordered with eyes;[6]	xaoalquauhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The red-bordered ocelot cape, in the middle of which stood an ocelot;[7]	ocelotentlapalli iitic icac oçelotl,
The cape of dark green diagonally divided, in the middle of which stood an obsidian eagle;[8]	chicoiapalli nacazmjnoquj iitic icac itzquauhtli,
The cape of blue knots diagonally divided,[9] on which a spear-eagle stood;	xiuhtlalpilnacazmjnoquj, tlacochquauhtli vncan icac,
The maguey fiber cape, with an ocelot tail pendant;	quetzalichtilmatli ocelocujtlapillo
The cape of shining maguey fiber [ornamented with] flattened heads;	quetzalichpetztli, quapatlacio tilmatli,
The orange cape with the wind jewel[10] [design] and the feathered border;	camopalecacozcaio, tenjujio tilmatli,
The orange cape with a striped border;	camopaltenoaoanquj tilmatli,
The light blue cape with a wind jewel design, which had a border of feathers with spirals;	apalecacozcaio tilmatli, iujtica tentlaiaoalo,
The carmine-colored cape with an eye border;	nochpaltilmatli tenjxio,

1. Fol. 16r of Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* defines the border with eyes or spots. Also see corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), III, fol. 66.
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
4. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 31.
5. Cf. *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 48. An alternative translation might be "the colored eagle feather cape."
7. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 31. See also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 522.
8. Sahagún: see, however, Seleguin, op. cit., III, p. 181.
9. *Mixtlalpilli* might refer to a design suggested by the constancy of tying the years.
10. See, however, corresponding Spanish text, in which *quetzalcoatl* is described as a flower; see also Book VIII of the *Codex*, fol. 14r.

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The tawny cape with a spiral border;	quappachtentlaiaoalo tilmatli,
The coyote fur cape with a spiral border;	coioichcatentlaiaoalo tilmatli,
The tawny, knotted cape;	quappachtlalpilli tilmatli,
The cape with scorpion design stripes;	colotlaxochio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the water spider;	quapachatocaio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the butterfly;	quappapaloio tilmatli,
The ocelot cape;	oçelotilmatli,
The cape with the eagle's leg;	quauhtetepoio tilmatli,
The cape with the ocelot skin step design;[11]	oçeloxicalcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The ocelot cape;	ocelotilmatli,
The half-ocelot, half-eagle cape;	oçeloquauhtlatlapanquj tilmatli,
The tawny cape provided with the design of an eye upon a hooked element;[12]	quappachixcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The cape with the design of a ladder on the earth;	tlallecaoazio, tilmatli,
The cape with an embroidered, radiating design;	tlamachmoiaoac tilmatli,
The cape of duck feathers with a colored border;	xomoiujtilmatli tentlapallo,
The cape of duck feathers with [a design of] flattened heads;	xomoiujtilmatli quappatlacio,
The white duck feather cape, bordered with eyes;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli tenjxio
The duck feather cape, with [a design of] young ears of maize;	xomoiujtilmatli elotic
The wolf skin cape;	cujtlaichujtilmatli,
The blue knotted [cape], bordered with eyes;	xiuhtlalpilli tenjxio,
The cape with a sun [design], bordered with eyes;	tonatiuhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The old cape with the eagle head design;[13]	quauhtzonteconio tilmatli mamanquj,
The cape with the war symbol;	teuatl tlachinoltilmatli,
The cape with the basket flower design;[14]	oacalxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the young maize ear flower design;[15]	eloxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the colored prince's flower design;	tlapaltecuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the dahlia design;[16]	acucuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the plumeria flower design;[17]	cacaloxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the poinsettia design;[18]	cuetlaxxuchio tilmatli,
The white duck feather cape, diagonally divided;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli nacazmjnquj,
The white duck feather cape, with the face of a wolf;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli cujtlachixio,

11. *Oçeloxicalcoliuhquj* (*oçelotl*, *xicalli*, *coliuhqui*—*xicalco*, *gourd*, *twisted*): gourd vessel with curved decoration. The nature of weaving makes it a stepped design.

12. Cf. representation in *Primeros memoriales*, Cap. IV.

In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, *papalocoliuhqui* (*thunder*) follows *quappachixcoliuhqui tilmatli*.

13. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 (*quauhtzonteoh*).

14. Pennier flower design, in Eduard Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Thompson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Part 3, p. 95 (*Amaranthus* sp.?). Emily Walcott Emmart, in *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 234, calling it a basket flower, says it is a species of *cuauhxocotl*. Francisco de Santamaría, in *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), II, p. 102, identifies the *huacalxóchitl* (*-xóchitl*) as *Phyllodracon afflor*, Hemsl.

15. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (*Magnolia* sp.?). Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275, mentions another *elotxóchitl* belonging to the *Compositae*.

Yellowcheekbones, here listed in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

16. In Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), I, p. 24, this is *Dahlia excelsa Cav.*; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *D. variabilis*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 305, *Dahlia* sp.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 886, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *P. rubra*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308, *P. rubra* L. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 251, identifies the *cacaloxóchitl* as *P. rubra* L., *P. bicolor* R. & P., and *P. acutifolia* Poir. Carlos Muñoz Sánchez, in *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), pp. 23, 177, has *P. acuminata*, and refers to it as "frangipani" and "temple flower."

18. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 993, *Euphorbia* (*Poinsettia*) *pulcherrima* Willd; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *Poinsettia pulcherrima*.

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The cape of colored feathers, with embroidery;	tlapalinjtilmatli tlamachio,
The cape with the face of a wolf;	cuijtlachixio tilmatli,
The cape with the tips of eagle wings;	quauhaauijtzoio tilmatli,
The cape with a border of poperon flowers;	tenjaquijxachio tilmatli,
The cape with the ivy design;[19]	quazozotilmatli,
The bed covering cape;	vevej tilmatli pepechtli,
The mattress;[20]	quachpepechtli,
The large cape used to keep oneself dry;	vevej tilmatli neoazalonj,
The breech clout with the ivy design embroidered at the ends;[21]	quazozoacatlamachio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the market place design;	tianquijzio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the eagle's leg design;	quauhtetepoio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the turquoise mosaic mirror design;	xiuhtezcaio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the butterfly design at the ends;[22]	acapapaloio maxtlatl,
The breech clout striped in many colors;	centzonmaxtlatl tlatlatlapalpoalli,
The breech clout made of twenty pieces,[23] with the wind jewel design at the ends;[24]	cempoalçotl acahecacozcaio,
The tawny colored breech clout with embroidered ends;	quappachmaxtlatl acan tlamachio,
The carmine-colored breech clout with the ocelot head;	nochpalmaxtlatl, ocelotzontecoio
The ocelot breech clout with a step design;	ocelotzicalcoliuhquj maxtlatl,
The coyote fur [breech clout] with the eagle head;[25]	quauhtzontecoio,
The breech clout with feathered discs at the ends;	acaiujtemalacaio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with radiating embroidery at the ends.	acatlamachmoizoac maxtlatl.

19. Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 257; IV, p. 257.
20. *Vevej tilmatli pepechtli; quachpepechtli*; cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), Spanish-Nahuatl section—*almohadra, colchon*.
21. Seler, op. cit., p. 97, *xuel*; *pace* for *ace*.
22. Cf. Spanish text, fol. 16v.
23. The *Florentine Codex* omits *cempoalçotl* before *quappachmaxtlatl*, found in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS.

[p. 26 is blank]

643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apalactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhcoxcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiacac coxcatl, chalchiuhtlacatzaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmacheoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzaltotoxcpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquauitl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecacoxaztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcoxcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcoxcatl,

643 [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, inciscaujl tlatoanj, texcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçoaia tlatoanj,

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçelocacactli, cuetlaxacatli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[292 281] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

[534] 533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, uenetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujxpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in isqujch omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtenteti, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquauitl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inenca catca: ca maçenaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tzjquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc mozotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 543; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1064, on etymology of *amanteca*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Huitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Camil. 16. Don Diego Tenctequin. 17. Don Cristóbal Cuequita. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauquauhtemoc. 19. Tlacatecol. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquihuix. 22. Don Pablo Tezozomoc. 23. Don Martín Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Axoltecatl. 25. Don Martín Tlacatecatl. 26. Don Diego Ixtlamatlaoxochitzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhtlatoa. (Chapter 2.)

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 29. Tlahuicatzin. 30. Itzlitzcuintzin. 31. Moquihuixtzin. 32. Moquihuitzin. 33. Cuauhtemoc. 34. Cuauhtemotzin. 35. Tezozomoctzin. 36. Itzcoatzin. 37. Itzlolinqui. 38. Yopicatzin. 39. Tetlamacazqui. 40. Don Antonio Huanitzin. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

33. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uexotla. 42. Macuixtecatl. 43. Tochin tecuhtli. 44. Ayauzin tecuhtli. 45. Quetzalmiac tecuhtli. 46. Tlacopancatzin. 47. Iztacxochitzin tecuhtli. 48. Xihuitzin tecuhtli. 49. Macuilmalinxochitzin. 50. Tlapalyauhtzin. 51. Tlacomacatzin. 52. Cuitlauatzin. 53. Itzquauhtzin. 54. Cuitlauatzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Cuauhtli weeping. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]
[p. 36(D) is blank]

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujichecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçolactli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mãcehoallatqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

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EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti. 344

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called *amantecas* after the district of Amanteca, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, op. cit., I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Europ Kapital*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nepanpipiqui*, and begins with the verse a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún binds the section, "*Cosa de las fieras*."

[p.46 is blank]

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

vevetl: ioan in izquich maçeoallatquitl, ioan netotilizzli, aquin cuicaitoz, aquiquc in teiacanazque, aquin teponaçoz, aquin veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacauiz.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed himself, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
● 292 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a
301 yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

Auh in ie icoac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhuitl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucuitlaio, injc quilpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucuitlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiuitl itlaactoc, macuextli imac quitlalia vei chalchiuitl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiuitl, anoço coztic teucuitlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaxtli, tlaçotilanquj injc mitotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in quimololoa, in quimoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in quimomaxtlatia,

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no quicencaoa quintlauhtia: in izquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cuicanime, ioan quinmaca in iiauh, in itlaqual tlatoanj in izquitlamantin omoteneubque.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cuicanime: aço teponaxtli quichalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cuicaitoa, quipoloa cuicatl: anoço teiacana, in quipoloa netotilizzli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quizzacutiuh mjquja.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become benetted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

INIC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa injc ixtoçoaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpãpa isuiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia in iautlapializzli, ioan altepepializzli, cemjlhujtl cecioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca izmoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoeltica quenmanjan quiçaia quijiaoaloa in altepetl quijtta tlein mauchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ie necuitlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapetl in octli ioan oc cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

643 And some of the noblemen who feared the office of ruler hid themselves and took refuge [from those who might choose them].[4]

auh in cequjntin in pipilti in qujmacaçi tlatocaiotl motlatia mjnaia.

643 644 FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is told how they arrayed those who had been elected when they did penance, and led them to the house of Uitzilopochtli.

And at this time were brought together, according to command, the noblemen, the lords, the masters of the youths [who were] leaders, and great judges. When these lords were assembled, then they commanded the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, to seek out and go to take among themselves, those who had been chosen: the one whom they had named ruler and those whom they had named lords. When they had been put in office, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went to take, wheresoever he was, the one who had been vested in the office of ruler. Then they speedily laid hold of him; before them, all the people beheld him.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnchichioaia, in opepenaloque, in jpan tlamaçoaia: ioan qujnujcaia, in jchan vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in ic iuhquj: in ocenqujxoac, in jcoac naoatilli, in pipilti, in tecutlatoque, in tiiachcauh tlaiacatique, ioan achcacauhti, in onecentecoc, in ichoanti tecutlatoque niman qujnnaoatia in teupixque, papaoaque, injc qujxtemoxque injc tetzalan conanatiuj: in opepenaloc in tlatoanj, qujtocaiotia in aqujn, ioan qujxtocaiotia in aqujque tecutlatoque, oixquetzaloque njman ic uj in canaxque in teupixque papaoaque, in campa catquj, oixquetzaloc tlatoanj: njman qujcujtiuetzi teixpan mochi tlacatl qujtta:

643 292 Then they took him before the lords. He went bare. They put on him a green,[5] sleeveless jacket. And they had him carry upon his back his tobacco gourd with green tassels. Then they veiled his face, they covered his head [with a] green fasting cape designed with bones. Then they gave him his green[5] cotton bag filled with incense and decorated with bones, and they put on him his new foam sandals with green toes. They placed in his hand his incense ladle, also painted with the skulls of the dead, and with paper pendants [on the handle].

njman ie qujujca imjxpan tecutlatoque petlauhtiuh conaquja xicolli xoxouhquj, ioã qujmamaltia iietecon in jmamaxoxouhquj: njman ic conjxtlapachoa, ic qujquaquimjlou neçaoalquachtli xoxoctic omjcallo, njmã ic conmana icpaxiqujpilli in vncan tentiuh copalli omjcallo xoxoctic: ioan conaaqujlia iancujc in jpoçolcac xoxoctic in jquequetzil, njman imac contequjlia, in jtlema, no mjccatzontecomaio, injc tlacujlolli, amocujtlapile.

643 And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to take the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. When they had brought the ruler to the top [of the pyramid temple], then he took incense, poured it into the incense ladle, in which there were live coals. Then he raised it before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order to perfume it. He stood always with his face covered by the fasting cape designed with bones. And all the common folk stood looking up at him. Trumpets were sounded; the shell trumpets were blown.

Auh in ichoantin, papaoaque teupixque: caantiuj in tlatoanj in qujtlecauja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: in jcoac ocaxitique in tlatoanj, in tlacpac, njman concuj in copalli, contema in tlemaco, in vncan ietiuh tlexochtli: njman ic cacocuj in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, inic tlapopochuja, çan ic quatlapachiuhticac: in neçaualquachtli, omjcallo. Auh in jxqujch maçeoalli, acepa conjxttoc, tlapitzalo, mopitza in tecuizttli.

644 292 And these lords—the Tlacochcalcatl, the Uitznaua-tlailotlac, the Pochtecatlailotlac and the Ticociauacatl—the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, then also speedily adorned. Each one they dressed in his

Auh in ichoantin tecutlatoque, tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, pochtecatlailotlac, ticociouacatl: njman no hiçiuhca qujnchichioa, in teupixque papaoaque, ceceiaca qujmaquja tiiltic ixicolli, ioan imjietecon,

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] de los que tenían temporales que los eligieron, se escondían por no ser electos por no tomar tan gran cargo."

5. Bracketed, uncertain: words uncertain in corresponding Spanish text.

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tlitic in jmama, ioan qujmaaqujlia impocolcac iztac: njman ic qujmontlapachoa, qujmonixqujmjloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tlitic omjcallo, ioan qujmonmaca icpaxiqujpilli, tlitic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli ontentiuh: njman ic no qujntlecauja cecenme, qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc qujntlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopuchtli qujpopochuja.

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SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oalquiçaia naujlhujtl.

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Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapopochujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic qujoaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xoxoctic: njman ic no ceceiaca qujnoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj, ceceiaca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo.

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qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca qujmonujca in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa qujça, çan cheoaticate; in jcoac ie nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujmonana, qujntlacoaantiuj ixqujmjliuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh ceceiaca in jicpaxiqujpil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in qujntlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oalteno tecpantiujtze, ixtlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: qujnjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça cappa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

6. Impossible: impossible to assume.
7. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has quitemouque for quitemouja.

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, 643
ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxqujchtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcastentli qujtztoque, ioan in jxqujchtin 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, qujiaoalotoque mexico, tetz-
cuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jconac ocenqujzque in jxqujchtin tlacoa-
notzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiau-
hoan: njman ic qujntlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in
tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, qujntlauhtia in jxqujch tlaço-
tilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaço-
tlanquj chimalli, netotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceioal
çemjlhujtl, in tepequjktia tlatoanj,

auh in jconac no qujntlauhtia, in jxqujchtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixqujchtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
qujchtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:
auh in otzonqujz tecoanotzalizzli, njman ic om-
peoa in jxqujchtin tlacoinotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, 292●
altepetl ipan.

Auh çan njman iquezqujlujioc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, injc cana iauqujxoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in
jxqujchtin tiacahoan, oqujchti: auh iioma in tlatoanj
in iauh iauc, in oniaoqujça, in ontepeoa qujujca in
jxqujchti iauqujxque, ioan in noujian tlatoque alte-
petl ipan inic oiaoqujça, ontepeoa: auh in jconac
ôtepeoato, oiaoqujçato cenca paqui, in qnexqujch
malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli
qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujqujztiaia. Auh in ix-
qujchtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmaujzioia, mjiec
tlamãtli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotil-
matli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj,
ioan qujntocamaca injc maujzililozque, injc tlaca-
machozque, injc oqujchti, tiacaoã.

8. In ibid., uexotzinco changes to Huexotzinco, and rulers of the Mixtecs country.

[p. 66 is blank]

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anaça ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespelchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiacalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
● [292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ic imaceoalti in tlahtocpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
386] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh ĩ aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ispan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocãn. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in iztiaçc, auh in icanaoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiscahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl cototlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omitn.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
861 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young
561 men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuehican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following quitecozauhuia, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has yoan vmpa quimopaxtiaia—and there they painted headbands on their heads. This passage is missing in the Florentine Codex.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "una manta con unas listas labradas de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras cintas labradas de colorado que se llamaua cotolalpilli; y . . . un maxtlatl labrado de colorado, largo que entonçaua hasta enlpedio, y otro maxtlatl labrado de muchos colores."

648 **Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.**

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaoztzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniacatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone—his very own.

[643] [29a]

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

[643]

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if] kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

[576]

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Injc vme capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenja acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh qujtoa ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oittoque, in aquiqque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acaltica ie onotinemj. Niman inoma ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixquj, q'nvicac oc cequjntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Jaotzin. Injc ei, Teuciniocan calpixquj: itoca Teuciniacatl. Injc navi ichoatl in cujtlalpitoc çan tetlan nenquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

çan oc ichoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan iuhqujnma qujntlanamaqujltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnmacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineixcavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in isque injc qujmjttato, injc iuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiqujxtlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjqujti, injc vel melaoac qujmocaqujtiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

njman ie ic vi in atl itic ommacalaqujque, ommatocique, qujntlanelhujque atlaca.

Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imixpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

quinoalnotzq in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"criado de vno deste calpixque."*

2. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Obras* [illegible] *de la venida de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 8, mentions Tenpitl, or Tenbilla, *gobernador de Moctezuma, que era de Cuauhtlan, o Cuetlaxtlan,"* who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

3. *Amoaoac* (you live): possibly *amoaoac* (we live) is intended.

4. Moteuçomatzin: reverential form of well-known Nahuatl name is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II—*The Conquest*, p. 182. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 657, translates the phrase thus: *"besaron la tierra con sus Kuas."*

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

Çan njman quitoque, ca vmpa in mexico tioallaque.

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

Quinoalnaoquilique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

Quimonjlhuique. Totecuiovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

431 Therefore they offered them all the various things which they bore with them; costly capes such as those which here are named: [the mantle] with the sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

Njmã ic ic quinnaca in jaquitlamantli quitequique tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, ichoatl in, in njcã motenoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, cuxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, xnoço amalacaio, Tezacpocio:

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

in jaquitlamãtli in in quimõmacaque, quinoalcuepcaiotilique, quinoalmacaque coxcatl, xuxoctic, cuitic: iuhquinma in apoçonalnenequj:

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

auh in oconcuiique, in oquittaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

yoan quinoalnaoatiqa: quinoalilhuiique: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazã tacitivi in mexico:

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

Auh in otlalhoacca quiçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhuiid, cecioal in oalnenenque, injc quinonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in iveliaca quilhuico, quicaquitico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oquicuiito.

500 And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Auh njman ie ic quinonotza. Totecuioe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca iacatquj otiquittaque, iacatquj otiochiulque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in texcõ ixco. Ca otiquimjttato in totecuioan, in texcõ in ad itic: in jaquich motilmatzin otiquinmacato: auh iacatquj techmacaque intlatquitzi. Quitoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, iacatquj anquimiacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatix:

6. Spanish text: *Los capitanes dieron a los indios cuentas de cuentas, unas verdes y otras amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "*un dia, y un noche.*"

8. Seler, op. cit., p. 488, has *fuel luan*, translated "first of all."

431 776 292 301

The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Texcatlipoca — the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

[416]

Injc vntlamantli quijmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Texcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlatoca cicitlallo, yoan iteucujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolconcatl; elpan concatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaisoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centeti tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh teacacujtlapilli: voã oc no centlamãtli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, voã centlamantli, itzac cactli.

Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

[237] [416]

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichical catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalartatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epoepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujiolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no teacacujtlapile, in juhquj omjco, no tzitzile; tenchilnacacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

[237]

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, cozolõio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcoiolli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia: yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itizapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

9. *Ibid.*: "una cabellera hecha de plumas ricas que colgaua por la parte deuas hasta cerca de la cintura estaua acabada toda de estrellas de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "unos cenjeros de oro que llamauã colgadas unas cuentezillas de oro y cuentas de su modaxa marinas blancas y horadadas dentro cuentas colgaua en cada una una cuenta pata y llamauale cenjalo [sic] de manera que estaua toda el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaua esse pecho cuentas cuentezillas arrodadas y colgadas por todo el."

11. *Ibid.*: "un cuerto de cada blanca pintado la orilla de abaxo deste cuerto yua bordada con plumas blancas otra linea por toda el rededor."

12. *Ibid.*: "otra manta rica la cabe della era un aqual obaxo y todo labrada cuadros de muchos labores de un aqual muy fino llamauanle esta manta tzitzilli esta manta se ponja por la cintura atada por las esquinas al cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.*: "una rodella de mosaqueo, atada al cuerpo sobre las lomas."

14. *Ibid.*: "unos cuetarcos de chalchiuhjl, anchos que arriba diuos eran colchetiuos de chalchiuhjl."

15. *Tzitzilli*: tzitzilli is probably meant in the Aztec sense.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "una cofia de cuero de tigre, y colmaguas [sic] de la cofia, sobre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuerno, llamauan la cofia en chalchiuhjl grande, y redondo, en la punta."

17. *Ibid.*: "de mosaqueo de turquesas."

12
1/4 [There is no known species of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Analyst]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yuã hexaxonecujlli, quacoltic, intac chalchiuitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipoçoicac. 431 776 301 292

Oca izquitlamãtli in, in motenteoa teutlatquitl in intlatequj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in qujtquiquc in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecoiztli tontlapalolio, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacazchichioalo. Auh in omoteneuhque macujltin; njman ie ic qujnnaoztia in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlaluahtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalios in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: iscatquj mjtzalmomaequjlia, ca onaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico: 431 482 202

Auh in oncito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan oncoaq acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatquitl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itich compachoque in jmacal. 505

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac amenan? campa antõllaque? njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tiollaque in Mexico: oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anquipiqui, aço çã toca anmocacaiooa. 648

Auh in ovel yiollo mack, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopilitica, ic qujnoalilinjque: njman no quioalquetzque ocacazli.

18. *Ibid.*: "Su quiá rodeba ornaba brazalete como plumas ricas en la base de la rodella [sic] salía una sarta de plumas ricas."

19. *Ibid.*: "un bastón bifurcado de mesapico de turquesas y en la bastón de arriba pusieron unas piedras ricas a partes resplandecientes en la alto de arriba."

20. Literally, white green stone. The term chalchiuitl, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "una mitra de oro hecha a manera de corazón muchos eh como repuestos de plumas ricas que colgaban hasta las espaldas."

22. Corresponding Spanish term: "una mitra Rosa."

[p. 14 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Astec NU7

[65]
[30]
292

[77]
346

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

59. Tribute salt for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopuchtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopuchtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopuchtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *xiuhcuelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyac. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[2] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, these called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

2. Text is repeated in the MS.

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Auh in ozlatvic in ic ilhujuh ipan, in iuatinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monectokia, ixpan onccenpanti quitlenamaquijlia, ixpan qujmana in inquican ventli in tlacatlequalli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quijtlecavizque, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeiac: auh in inquich tlacatl in teipopochtecqujcaque iuhquin necoçquetzalo, iuhquin in ioiolipi in jlhujtlaquac, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc quijntlattitizque, quijntlamaviçolinij, quijntlazxtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalcio, vmpa ixtiova in teuitoaico, injc vmpa necocololoa. Auh in occencquijaoac: njmã ic ic peoalo, ic ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necocololoa. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocxiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua inococquauh, in aquijn quijçaznequj ic quijtlaiciccalhuja in ocequaviil: auh in aquijn maxixax quijtlalitiuh iouechi, yoan iuatzacl. Auh in aquijn çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicujtlavitequj, quijnetzvitequj, cacalhujtequj, calitiqca contepeua, conchiccanaoa, tonjxiquetza, mjhixiquentiuh, nanacanitzinuh niac temacnaoati:

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ometa ichoti tlamamauhtiuia, tlamauhtiuia, ommjnacaxna, commjnacatzincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocxiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quijçaia, amo quipiaxujliuia: auh in ic inquich teipotzintli, in cocepaltzine in cocepaltzitzinoque, yoan in tocnocolque, in tepallanauj, in yiaque: in mocnoua in tlapuchiaque, in oc ic nenj, in oc cacitinenj, in amoço vme cacitinenj ao quijnzaquaia: quijnjhujuia, vmpa xiuiil on necne, aquijnitiuia, amo tachiua.

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[p. 52 is blank]

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All went forth about holding, by their capes, Quauhtemoc, Coanacoxtzin, and Tetlepanquetzatzin[8] — grasping only these three. [And also appeared] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin, the lords' judge Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, the keeper Tlaquiyauhtl — the men who guarded all the gold.

Then they went straightway to Atacaxtzin,[9] to the house of the chieftain and commanding general Coyoacaxtzin. The Spaniards came in files; they stretched out in two rows, which went to their ends at a distance and extended far. And when they had reached the house of Coyoacaxtzin, then they climbed up to the roof-top, on to a platform. Then they sat down. With a many-colored cloth they made a canopy for the Captain. Then the Marquis sat there, and with him stood Marina.

And Quauhtemoc was by the Captain. He had bound on the cape of quetzal feathers, each half of different color, with humming bird feathers, after the manner of those of Ocuillan. It looked soiled. He had only this. Then, after him, came Coanacoxtzin, ruler of Texcoco, who had bound on only a maguey fiber cape bordered with flowers and with a design of radiating flowers. It also seemed dirty. Then after him came Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan. He likewise was covered by a cape of maguey fiber, also very dirty — much soiled. Then, next, came the chief justice Auelitoctzin, and last walked Yopicatl Papocatzin, a prince. On the other side were the men of Tenochtitlan — Tlacotzin, Petlauhtzin, Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, and the keeper Tlaquiyauhtl.[10]

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mochintin vallacziquavtinique, quiyalquizquiqui-
que iilhuatiuch in Quauhtemoctzin, Coanacoxtzin,
Tetlepanquetzatzin, qm iiintin valmatinique. Auh
in Coaxoxtl tlacotzin: Tlilmocalqui, petlauhtzin,
vitzmaxtl, motelchiuhtzin mexicatl. Achcauhtli,
Tecutlamacazqui, Coatzin, tlachiui, tlaquiliztl, in ie-
hoantzin in quipiaia in jaqujch teuxiptlatl:

ninoan vmpa tlamochiuhque in atacxtzinco, in vecan
ichan in tlacatch in tlacuchcalcatl, in Coioveotzin:
pipiliui in Españoles, ic vmmocatl motlalinja, vecx
tlantivi, vetzi acitivj: auh in oncim in jchtl coioveo-
tzin, ninaõ ic tlecoque in tlapanco, in tlapechco: ni-
man ic motlalique, tlatlapalquauhtli in quicvalcal-
tique capitan, ninaõ ic oncõ ommotlali in Marques,
itlan ommotlali in Malintzin:

auh in Quauhtemoctzin itlan co in Capitan: in [292]
quimatlpilia quetzalichpectli, tlatlacuhquectli, vini-
tzilin hivio iujc ecuijlocatzin, omach cattaoac, qm
quiacavitica: ninaõ contoqujlitica in Coanacoxtzin,
tetzacuca tlamatj: in quimatlpilitica, qm vel ichtil-
matli, xonochitzin, xochimatlatac, omach no cattaoac:
ninaõ cincoquiltica. Tetlepanquetzatzin, tlacu-
hun tlamatj, çã no iuhqui in quimatlpilitica in ichtil- [292]
matli, ono vel cattactiz, ouel cattaoac: ninaõ conto-
quiltica. Mixcoatlaiohtlac, aveliuoctzin: tlatzacutica
jopicatl, papocatzin, pilli: ocelapal onoque in to-
nochca. Tlacotzin. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzin
mexicatl, achcauhtli, tecutlamacazqui, coatzinlotlatl,
Tlacuiliztl.

8. Rulers of Tlacopan and of the Tlaxcalans, respectively, according to Sahagún, op. cit., p. 282.

9. "Donde ahora está edificada la iglesia de Santo Lucas, cerca de el Tlatelulco" — Ibid. ch.

10. Tlacuiliztl: the codex is contained in the MS. In this passage, coatzinlotlatl appears to be one together in the MS. Cf., however, Sahagún, op. cit., and Bandelier, op. cit. (Ibidem).

[p. 120 is blank]

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11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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got down from his litter, and those great Caciques 648
supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired 292
according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals 643
[*cotonas*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think [576]
of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was 576
approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted 643
from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they 648
simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782 266]
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and [412]
chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, [292]
and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

527 the Teuime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponaztcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, ztzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, iacxecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzacujcatl, quateçoquicujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã quiçenquixtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxquich imãceollatquj tlatoanj, quitlanenectia, quitlãtlatitia, in catle coneleuix, ipan onmjtoix, ipan ontetlamitix:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan quintlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujcecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
643 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums — the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtilica, in jxquich cujcani, mãceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonqui, in vevetzonqui, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanqui, cujcatlazqui, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanqui, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaquitotianj, tlamoiauhqui, tocacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch ichoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
262 — tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtectli, in quetecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaletl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmimjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoztli, totolquimjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechdi, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaoio.

And when they had tired and were wearied of
527 dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj mãceoaliztli, njman quicalaquiaia, quitlatziaia, in vme xuchiquvitl: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic quixiptlaiotiaia,

9. Cf. ibid., X, 29, 94-95; *gente bárbara* was a term generally understood by natives.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads and *mojr dicens pipilans, indepsis mapipilans, tocuilinus tocuilcolans . . .* See also, Olmos, op. cit., p. 135 (*mocuilcoa*).

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *zoualli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhuitl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

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Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them ecatotonti. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *zoualli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Marginal notation: Crosses' in this and.

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhuitl.

KL. Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles, y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra: hazia tãbien vnos troços de palo gruesos como la muñeca largos llamauanlos Ecatotonti: assi a vnos como a las culebras los investian cõ aquella masa que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los investian a manera de montes, arriba les ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de persona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes, en memoria de aquellos que se aujan ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino que los enterrauan.

Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas, aujan puesto en sus altares a las ymagenes dichas: ofrecianles tambien tamales y otras comjdas: y tambien los dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, mataua quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnauatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauijadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

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opechtli, here at the Temple of Uitzenauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *magney* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a gaudy, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teoxiuhtli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlapanquaxilo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[15] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In these places were they planted, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatilia, in Uitzilopochtli· vecan in uemanac, teucalco, ycalpulco: cuitlapechco contlalia:

ynjn costlapechtli, quauitl in tlaxixintli, iuhquin cocoa, nauintin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchiouhtzoalli, ynic quipepechoaia, yn jmizquijo, ca mizquiquauitl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa caca, yn oquipepechoque:

njman ie ic quimamaca yn jilatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoxqualloa, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cuauolou, panj cuequentia, yezitzicatilma: iuhquin cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli entlapanquj:

njman conquetia tezquemjtl tlaçotlaxquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaierchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoiotilli, y . ten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchiouhtzoalli, mjmilitic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acioc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quentepolli, omjcicujlli, tlaxintli, matzoxopantli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli caca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoxqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan contoca in teumjmjlli inca, iuh mjtoa ymantli:

Auh ynjn amatl caca quauamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc quinapaloa: çan ic mochioaia injc quinapaloaque, ynjc monapaloa ymantli:

ecan in tlapanonjlli caca, intac tonalinjtica, injc ecnij, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc ecan, vecan yn jmamançocan:

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15. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Robredo edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Siler defines quauhtamatl as "*la materia constituida por la capa de fibra de algunos árboles de gruesa fibra, hecha de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de ella para hacer las alforjas, costales y otras cosas que al cabo de las demás requiere.*"

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leape about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Tencal."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholetimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitoa tencachocholoa:

amaizquostechimaletimanj, amaizquatechimalaque, moquaquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetenecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamatzli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzintekoloio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motecaietia ycujtlacochcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzquitiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaiaoloa, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn intzatzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate cheoxticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetzitoque, aiatl qujtzotzona, aiuujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn ixquich teachcacan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, motenena mococoloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococoloa, ichica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicoaquj, yoan ynicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymscolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, motenena tlanaoa, temaoa, qujnaoa in vizzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjzeleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn ixquichtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuia:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcacan, qujnujujlana, qujnzitilicça, qujmiicça:

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "saltar o bailar de la fiesta de tencal"; Garibay (op. cit., p. 294) translates tencachocholoa as "se salta el salto de Tencal."

18. Sahagún's Spanish text speaks only "black feathers; cf., however, Robredo edition, Vol. III, pp. 162-3 and 167. The last-mentioned reference to tzanatl is: "Hay una ave que se llama tzanatl, es negra y tiene el pico corvo." Seler (op cit., p. 106, n. 2) calls tzanatl jackdaw or daw; ib (ibid., p. 233) said dawk. Of this and of tzanaivitl he says it is "eine Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und deswegen Tlaloc, auch diese (Gaukler der Mexikaner, Landregen verkündete sollte. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Es wird wohl ein Vogel mit ähnlichen schnarrenden Gesängen gewesen sein wie der der tzanatl oder Dohlen." Sahagún (loc. cit.) merely explains: "y que eran llamados cuitlanacochcho, por razon de la barba, que llevaban colorada, en el rostro." See also supra, p. 94.

For he had committed a crime in the temple; for he had done a wrong. They said to him: "Verily, here penitence is done; here a feast is held."

And as night fell during the dance, so closed the day of feasting when the day ended.

And next morning, when [the feast] was over, again there was dancing. Again all danced the serpent dance.

And [this day] died Iztucale,[19] he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him they also named Tlacaxepan,[20] and Teicuiztin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. On his paper crown were eagle feathers. His headdress hung in disorder. Upon the crown of his head rested a flint knife made of red feathers.

And also he had his network cape; over it hung a small net bag; and his [ornament like a priest's] maniple hung from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast. He fastened shells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went first in line guiding the others.

And purely of his free will, when he wished, he would die. When he wished, then he delivered himself to the place where he would die.

Priests called *tlatlacaouaqui* seized him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, and cut open his breast. His heart they lifted up as an offering to the sun.

And his head also they strung on the skull rack. So he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head was] strung [on the skull rack].

And at this time, the priests cut the skin: with a stone knife they cut the skin of youths, young boys, and even small children yet lying in their cradles. Thus they cut the skin of their stomachs, their breasts, both upper arms, and [both] forearms.

This was done only at the time of [the feast of] Teucaxi, when it ended, each year; [and] thus ended [the feast].

ichica in quinmjctiaia ca teupan, ca tlasujlquixtia, quinjlhuja: ca vncan tlamacxoalo, vncan ilhujtlalo. 796^x [684 688]

çan iuh oniooa in netotilo, ic ontlamj in cemilhujtl, in onxmoquix ilhujtl.

Auh yn jmuztlaioc, in apeoalco no netotilo, no nococololo:

auh iquac mjquj, yn Jxteucale, ynin neoan onenca Titlacaoan: auh ynjn no motocaiotia, tlacavepã, yoan Teiscuihtzin.

Auh ynjc tlacujlolli, yn jamatlatquj, tezcapocio yn jamacal, quahujujio, momoiaoa yn jvitzoncal: tecpatl iquaxepantla icatiuh, tlapalihujtl ynic tlachioalli: 796^x 293

yoan no yeuechin, icampa vetztiuh, icpatoxi, yoan imatacax imac pilcatiuh, tequaneoatl, oiooalli contlalitiuh, tehoan mjhtotia, mococoloa, teiacantinemj, teiacac ycatinemj.

Auh çan illotlama, in quenman miquiz, in quẽman connequiz, yn oquinec, njman ic ic onmotemaca, yn vncan mjquiz: 796^x

quioalana in tlamacazque, motocaiotia, tlatlacanaoalti, quijtitilinja, caana, quelitetequj: yn iiollo conjunjlia in tonatiuh:

auh yn itzontecon, çan no tzompatitech conquauhço, çan no iuh tlantica yn iuh quauhçotica titlacaoan.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepaxotla in tlamacazque, quinpaxotla in telpopuchti, in telpuchpipil: yoan yn oc vel pipiantôti, yn coçolco onoque: ynic quinpaxotla ymelpan, ymelchiquijppan, yoan nenecuc ymacolpan, yoan inmatzotzopazpan: [304]

çan yio iquac y, in muchioaia, yn ipan tonxitl: apeoalco, ezxiuhtica ic ontlatzonequiça.

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19. Iztucale, ". . . *que quiere decir: Gran del Señor de la Casa Blanca, ó del Señor Blanco de la Casa; y por otro nombre Tlacaxelan (sic), que es nombre del otro Dios, compañero de este Huitzilopochtli, cuia imagen era esta Cuauhtlo, llamado también Teiscuihtzin, que quiere decir: Hermoso cuerno, por quanto tenian por nombre á Huitzilopochtli, Rotto dos Monedas . . . el dedicado á Tezcatlipoca, y este compañero á Huitzilopochtli, cuidaban grande culto el Año de su adoracion, para el Sacrificio de este Dios; pero entre ambos diferencia entre los dos; porque el que representaba á Tezcatlipoca, á Tlaloc, adoraban, y venerabanle como á Dios, á cuia á imagen de aquel Dios . . . y á entrambos, llamado Huitzilopochtli, no adoraban, ni venerabanle con este respecto. . . ."—Juan de Torquemada: Segunda parte de los veinticinco libros rituales i monarchia indiana (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), p. 268.*

20. Tlacaxepan Cuauhtlo: "*Dos caudillos de la guerra, hermanos menores y compañeros de Huitzilopochtli. . . . Donde tuvo este nombre este caudillo fué en la ciudad de Tlaxcala*" (Chavero, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 84).

X796 ments, the paper shoulder rosettes, the semicircular
[301] paper neck ornaments, and the bags for incense, which were purchased only [at the market]; and necklaces of wood, [also] sold only at the market place.

amacuexpalli, yoã yn jistaztli, çan qujmococoujaia, yoan in tlacopaconcatl, çan mocanamacaia tianquizco.

And when they had reached [the end of] the four days, when all had fasted, then at early dawn all began to array themselves.

Auh yn oacic naujlhujtl, ynic netlacaçaoalo, njman iostzinco in peua in techichioalo:

293 Then were bedight the fire priests and all [the other] priests. Early in the morning, all put on the
X796 shoulder rosettes. And they placed, over them, the paper neck ornament. They all put on the paper
[302] neck adornments. And their foreheads were stained blue—they were colored blue—and their bodies were stained. They were painted after the manner of Uixtociuatl.[24] And in their hands they carried the incense bags. The fire priests carried with them their ocelot-skin incense bags, provided with small, white, sea shells. In four places shells hung from the incense bags.

njman mochichioa in tletlenamacaque, yoan yn inqujch tlamacazquj, iostzico yn onneaqujlo, in tlaquechpaniotl: yoan contlaliaia ynicpac, amacuexpalli, neamacuexpaltilo, yoan neixquatexoujlo, mjxquatexoujaia, yoan michioaia, moujxtoichioaia: yoan intlan caana yn istaztli: tetlan tlaano in tletlenamacaque, ynoocceloyistaz coecuechcho, nauhcampã in pipilcac, cuechtli, yn itech yistaztli.

And the bags of the [lesser] priests were only of paper, painted like ocelot hide, painted to look like ocelot [skin]. Some [incense bags] represented the *atzitzicuilotl* bird;[25] some represented ducks. Their bags were filled with incense.

Auh in tlamacazque ymjataz, çan amatl in tlachichioalli, tlaoceloicujlolli, oceloicujliuhquj, in cequjntin atzitzicujlotl ipan mixeoaia: in cequintin canauhtli, ipan mjxeoaia, yn jmiataz, tetentiuh, yn jiauhtextli.

And when this was done, then all went [in procession] together, [that] the feast day might be celebrated. The fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc led the others. He had put on his quetzal and heron
X796 feather crown; his face was coated with liquid rub-
[302] ber; [he had] his mist jacket and his rain mask or his Tlaloc mask, which he put on. His long, tangled hair fell to his loins. Behind him followed, chanting, all the [other] priests, and thus they went to the Temple of Tlaloc.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec tenanamjco, ilhujtlalo: teiacana in tlalocan tlenamacac, quetzalaztatzontli, yn onactiuh: yoan mjsolhuj yaiauhzicol, iquijauhxaiac, anoço itlalocaxaiac in conmaquja, ycuitlacazjuhian vetzi yn ipapa ycampa i caoacatiuj yn jaqujchtin tlamacazque, ynic vih yn itcupan tlaloc:

When they reached there, thereupon the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc placed himself. He spread out all the white reeds and leaves,[26] and cactus leaves, strewn with the sweet-smelling herbs; provided with the sweet-smelling herbs.

yn onacique njman ie ic onmoquetza, in tlalocan tlenamac, conchaiaca in aztapili, yoan in quequexqujc, yoan nopalli, yiauhcitlan tlaaqujlli, tlayiauhujlli:

Then he placed [upon the mats] four round green
[413] stones. And when he had placed them there, then they gave him a small wooden hook, stained blue, wherewith he struck each of the green stone balls. As he went striking [each one], he turned around.

njmã ic contlalia in chalchiuhtelolotli nauhtetl: auh yn ocontlali mec conmaca, qiauhchicoloontli, tlatexoujlli, ic conujujtectiuh, cecenteti in chalchiuhtelolotli:. yn jquac qujmonujujtectiuh, oalmocueptiuh.

24. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125) has "*rote . . . farbig der Gesichte in der Art der heutigen Weiber.*"
25. Described in Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 179. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125, n. 1) cites Hernández (cap. 18, fol. 32) and defines it as the chichicuilote. Cf. also Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del Amate, 1904), pp. 542-3.
26. In a description of the Huastecs and their region, Sahagún writes: "*Se dan muy bien todas las hortalizas y cosas frescas que por acá se siembran, como es la que dicen quequexquite*" (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 131). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 126) calls it *Phytolaccadecandra*, and cites Hernández's definition as *Sagittar paniculata*.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *teuxolloti*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

omoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxtoaca, yxtoaca, xxxtoaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica,

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacac, in cacnacattli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujtli, ynjc tlamaiqujtli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ic in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ic no ic yn potonquj:

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonavicuilolli, atlacueçonanjcujlinhquj, tozlapilolli:

Auh in tozlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaçuan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, tozteneloio in chimalli.

Jn iquac mjtotisia, qujmamalacachoa yc jchimal, ic momamma:

yoan yoxtopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: cxcan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzizinhio:

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetzinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh.

Auh motlaqujlhujtl, in qujciouapancujcatiaia, ixquichtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ic ichpupuchchicacti:

oc vncn in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, tecpantinj, tetecpantinj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

796x [301]
796x 292
796x 293
[237]
[535]
[314]
796x 535
[463]

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 22.

7. "Wasserrose," in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Huipin tonalli (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 71). Sahagún's Spanish reference reads: "Tenía una rodela pintada, con una hoja de lirio, de la parte que se llama *atlacueçonaxo*." In Vol. III of the Bulmarda ed., p. 336, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "Ensayo de puntualizaciones e identificación de las láminas 50 a 138 (Nos. 168 a 949) del libro XI, de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," referencia a la diadema en "*cabeza de mujer, Hieraphanes elegans, Hinck, Malakoiner.*"

8. "Otra manera de papagayos llamados tozili y son como mariposas cuando ya son grandes y redondos y colores; comunmente ponen los plumeros muy amarillos y resplandecientes; cuando vale una crescendo en alto, esos papagayos mueve mucho su quasillimbulos, y por esto la llamaron tozili, que quiere decir cosa muy amarillo" (Sahagún, Bulmarda ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

9. "Con flores en los cabos, hechos de plumas de aquella" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulín*, however, may be an element in plumbeo Gen.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "Otra manera de papagayos larga que llamaron *teuxolo* (?) es como mariposas al que llamaron tozuzuzu; tiene el pico amarillo y verde, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo amarillas, las colillas y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado cuanto, mezclado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñuelas que están sobre la cerca del ala que llamaron tozlaol, son amarillas mezcladas de colorado; el rollo, como pelo tiesto, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado mezclado de amarillo" (Sahagún, Bulmarda ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

12. Cf. *Huipan* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*: "Jntre mesmo ponen en danzar"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "Cuando bailaban en el campo, ponían [illegible] de hombres, y alrededor (*sic*) o cerquen del bailo."

1/A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

X 796 535 cords, called flower cords, and thus were stretched out in line. They went with wormwood flowers[13] placed upon their heads.

motitilinjtiuj: yn jhiuxuhiaxochiuh, yn icpac contecatiuj:

[533] And they went singing, crying out loudly, singing in a very high treble. As the *cenzontli* bird takes [its song, so was] their song. Like a bell their voices [rang out].

yoan cujcatiuj, cenca tzatzi, cenca tlapixaua: iuhquin tzontli cana incujc: iuhquj in coloili intoxquj:

The old men led [the singing women]; they loosed the song and went directing them—the men and elders of the tribal temple. And they were named keepers of the god[dess].

qujuiacana in uetetque, cuicaclaça qujncujcatlaxilitiuj, in calpulequc, in calpulueuetque: yoan motocaiotia teteoque.

And [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl went in the midst of them. Before her went a brilliant feather ornament which an old man carried in his arms. And this [ornament] was called Uixtociuatl's brilliant plumage.[14]

Auh in Vixtocioatl, tlanepantla icatiuh, ce petlacol qujiacana, ce tlacatl veue in qujnapaloa: auh ynjn mitoaia vixtopetlacotl.

And for [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was sung the women's song every day until all ten days had been reached. And when the tenth day had come to pass, that night she began her vigil. They sang [and danced] all night. At no time did they rest; they passed the night sleepless. Thus they passed the night in vigil.

Auh in ichoatl vixtocioatl, momuxtlae in qujcioapancujcatiaia, yn ixqujchica matlaqujlhujtl onaci: auh yn oncito matlaqujlhujtl, teutlacpa im peoa qujtoçauja, qujcujcatia iuh cricoal, aquenman cochi, acochiztli qujmochioultia, iuh vetzi in ioalli.

And as [the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl danced, the old women seized her and held her as they made her dance.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, mitotia caana, caactinemj yn ylamatque in qujtotia:

Likewise the captives danced all the night—those who would come first, who would die [first], as her fundament; those whom they would make her fundament.

no iuh cricoal in mjtotia mamalti, in iacatiaxque mjquixque, in iuhquj ypepechoan iesque, in qujmopepechtinque.

X 796 792 And when dawn broke, when verily the feast day [came], then were arrayed the priests who would slay the victims. These were called Uiztoti. They were adorned and painted like Uixtotin; they were painted with the face painting of Uixtotin. They carried their paper neck rosettes and their paper shoulder rosettes. And their [head] insignia were made [like] the claws of eagles, [made] of quetzal head feathers and eagle down.

Auh yn otlachojc, yn iquac ie vel ilhujtl, mec muchichioa in tlamacazque, in tlamictinque: in iehoan y, motocaiotinia Vixtoti, movixtochichioa, moujxtoychioa, intlatlaquechpaiouh, yoan ymaamacuepal: auh yn jntlauiz, quaviztiti muchioa, quetzaltzontecomaio quãmolocio.

X 796 ● 293 And the legs of the eagle were also made of eagle down. These insignia [were supported] upon wooden head rests with holes [in the head rests, in which the insignia were inserted]. Here lay the insignia, tied [across the back], bound around the stomach with cotton bands, tied firmly and tightly. And their cords were bands, narrow woven bands.

Auh in quauhtli imetz muchioa, no quãmolocio, ynjn tlaviztli cãcacxio, cãcocoio, yn vncã onmana tlauiztli, ic maapana, ic motixillancujtlalpia, ic motetvilpia, ic mocacatzilpia: auh yn jmecaio, yn jmomecaio, tlaxochtli, tlaxochpitzactli.

And all the common folk who looked on, all car-

Auh in jaqujch tlacatl macoualli, in tlatlaza, mu-

[137]

13. Cf. p. 63, n. 27. Simeon (op. cit.) defines it as *ajenjo hortense*; see, further, note 15, below. Molina (op. cit.) has "Intiebqual. *ajenjo o ajenjos grosos*"; Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) has the same. See also Rubrodo ed., Vol. III, p. 252.

14. "*Un plumaje muy hermoso, hecho a manera de manga de cruz*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish).

X 796 292 301 304 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

And those who had had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war captives] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

X 796 ● 293 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

[701 714] And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

237 X 796 And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

X 796 302 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in inquich tlacatl in çaçan tlacaoá, telpopachti: çan tiltic yn iacuechin, nauhi tenjac, yuan mochintin inxixinh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan iacoxiolnacoch: auh in cocoxiolnacoche: auh yn jatempilol, quinamictia, cequj aujtlatztli, cequj iacujatempilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlazatectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoloque, ymachichilacachempilol:

auh yn inquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan ichoatl yn aiaoltempilolli in cortlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuacachachapac: ichoatl in chipulin.

Auh y.i quaquachicti quinamjctia, ichoatl in tototenpilolli: auh yn otomj quinamjctiaia, ichoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in macaconmati, in tlacaoan, quimococouja tiuchipuli in cuacuetl, cenca chipoltic: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, ichoatl yn achipulin quimococuja, yn incuzquj, çan cuatic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjnac, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetzinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in quinamaia, ezcan yietinh, quauhtlalpilonj, oceluetotica in tlaquimilolli: auh in itzintlã ezcan in chichilicpatica tlacujtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xilonochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin xitaxelli, in cequjntin quatotol in conquetza, in cequjnti ymtatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlalisia chocholli, vel ichoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaia, çan no ichoatl yn maçacuatl, tlapitzaocacatectli, tlapitzaocacatotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiac tlamantli, cequjtin tilli incamapan contlaliaia, iaoca tilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tiltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has dieses Perlenhalsband für pectoral-necklace.

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick wore *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquiztecan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiiauh nocne aço toquijchtli, aço tiiiiacauh, quen tiniiztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toquijch miquijcã:

796x
684
836

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiouhque, ça iaiztiuh, chichicoeoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, tltentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoc.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtoeoca, in ciuatetiachcaueh: aoqujc no teoã cujcoanoc, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcennacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn oclatlaco, iccommaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachia, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoc.

Auh in iehoatl yn oclatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiaucujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn motenoua vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itẽco cozzic, auh yn izquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn icoaquj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhiacac, ynochpaicac: yn ichimal yoã yn ichicaoan chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

796x
[302]
301

[292
293]

ynic mjtoa xalaqui, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muztla:

796x

in cemilhujtl conpeoalhia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vecan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquiztecan: ynic ecan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic motenoua atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn

796x
805

7. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and begins to view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and Old Aztec colloquy is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquja* is probably an assimilation of *aquatl*.—Angel Maria Garibay, personal communication.

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
778 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

auh in ic iuhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoã comonj: in ic ihuquj, njmã ic ic qujtetema: muchi ichoutl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omotetten, njman ic ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ic ic vivilõa, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimoemana.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were
[302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained
[237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles
● [293] or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motococauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmaina tlaviztli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in ichimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic motenecoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

And so they went dancing with the captives; they
[535] went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with
[30] white clay; they had paper breech cloats and paper
[302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and they decked their heads with feathers. They had
292 feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamancapanal, njmã ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomolos.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan ommotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked.
[413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

[302] in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, intquanepantla, aquitzon intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotixia, itztlotli:

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it
[415] into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

in ie iuhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in ichan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, legs. Bird flesh, however, seems unusual in this.
8. The context suggests a distinction between dismissing and sealing.

given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cintéotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together—not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *mamalti*.[10]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cintéotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. At a little distance, her Heavens went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech clouts, and had their mirrors on the mantles of their backs, and she bore her cotton blanket and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

And the medicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests preceded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiztivitze, vmpa iztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jnenpan, in vmpa omjc: oc oppa vmpa ommotlalia.

796^x [292]

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotlecoac, tlatlavillotl ena, mec oalmoquetza tlatempan: auh in jaqujch tlacati pipiltl, ic qujchintoque ipan ôntepeoalo: njman ic qujtlatlamaca: in aca qujpotonja icpac, yoan iqtic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca qujtaca: in aca cõmaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjliar: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan icitiuhca: njmã ic cactivetzi, njman ic viviloa.

[302] [292]

Auh in oviviloac: njmã ic oalquiça in jveitlatquj moteneua: yiamacal, yoan itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquizpanjtl, tlacujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoatl in tianquizpanjtl: auh navi necoccampa omme quitzacuatiuh: moteneua meztli.

[292]

Auh in ocôcencuahque, njmã ic ommoiacatia, in mamalti injxpan, navintin: mec oc conteca, in tech-cac: inoma yioma in quinjctia, quinjceltetequi: navintin, ioh quinchina:

in oquinmõnjoti in navintin, mec inmac quinoalcaua in tletlenamacaque, injc quinmjctinque, in oc coquitzin mamalti: mec iauh in vmpa ocanato iconeuh: quivicatiuh in jcoanah, in cintéotl ano itztlacoliuhqui: quijacana in jcoanan vecapa quijcitivi, omocencuahque, inmomecamatli, yoan incujlatecanh, in jichcauchiuh, mamalacapetzalli.

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Auh in tiici, yoan in tencamacaque, necoc omotivi, cuicativi: quincuicatlaxilitivi in quaquacuijti,

[463] 796^x 534

9. This headdress is illustrated in the Tonalamatl of the *Codex Borbonicus* and of the *Aubin Collection*.
10. Cf. contemporaneous Spanish text. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 177) claims the name is valid; possibly it could as well be related to *mamal*.

X 796 And before she died, she danced. The old men
536 beat the drums for her; the singers sang for her—
they intoned her song. And when she danced, she
[781] wept much, and she sighed; she felt anguish.[4] For
time was but short; the span was but brief before
she would suffer, when she would reach her end on
earth.

X 796 And when the sun was past its zenith, they then
took her up to the top of the temple. All the impersonators of the demons went, laying hold of and accompanying her, proceeding in rows. Yet another, the impersonator [of Ilama tecutli], went leading the people—one whom verily they thought a god[deu] on earth, who was only a man whom they [so] adorned.

And when they reached [the summit], they cut open her breast. And when she was slain, then they severed her head. And her head they gave to him who led. He took it in his right hand, going off with it, going dancing, marking the dance rhythm with the head. He went before them, leading all the likenesses and vicars of the devils. They circled the temple; then they descended, in the same way [as they had come up], ranged in rows, and going in lines. And when they reached the ground, thereupon they dispersed and went to their houses, to their tribal temples, where [the gods' raiment] was guarded.

And the vicar, the likness, of Ilama tecutli, he thus danced: he stepped back, kicking his heels up behind him. And then he went off supporting himself upon his staff, a cane.

●[293] Its head, its upper end, was divided off into three [points], like a three-pronged harpoon. It was called his thorny staff. And when he thus danced, one said: "Ilama tecutli backeth away." And they put upon him a mask looking in two directions. It had huge lips and large eyes. And upon his head stood an array of little banners, arranged in rows. They seemed like a wreath of flowers upon his head.

[417] And when this [took place], it was said: "His grain his burneth." His granary was fashioned[5] of pine branches joined together, like a framework.[6] Then they wrapped paper about it; they caulked it with paper. They placed it upon the eagle vessel.

Auh in nimo mjqui mjotiaia, qujtlazocomjlaia in vevequi, in cujcamjne, qujcujcatia, quevilia in jouje. Auh in jquac mjotiaia, vel mochoquiliaia, yoan ekicivia, mocioppoa: ichica ca ça achitonca, ça iuquich cavitl y, ça iuquich cuvionotli y, inic ontlacotia, in ic compolea tlahtiquatli.

Auh in jquac ômotecalo tonatiuh: njmã ic ic qujtlecavia in tzacaltiquac, qujtzinzquijtivi, qujtocativi in jzquichtin im jxiptlaoã diablome compantitivi, teiaciouh in oc cẽppa ixiptla, in vel-qujmoteutia tlahtiquac, çan tlacatl in quichichioaia.

Auh in ocmazitiquac, njmã ic conchequj: auh in ômomjquili, njmã ic qujoalquechcotona: auh in jzmontecõ, qujoalmaca in teiacantiuh, itlan conana imaiauhcampa in qujtzinzquijtiuh, mjtotitiuh ic ontlaiauhtiuh in tzõtecomatl, imjxpan icatiuh, qujniacantiuh in jzquichtin imjxiptlaoan, in impactilloean Diablome, qujualiaualoa in teucalli, njman ic oultemo, çã no ivi, momecpantivitze, cenpantitivitze: auh in ozmoco tlalchi, njmã ic ic vivi, momoiaua, vmpa vivi in inchachan, in incacalpolco, in vmpa pipiolo.

auh in teixiptla, in jxiptla Ilama tecutli: injc mjotiaia tzinzintlaça, itzintlampa in cenjaua icxi: yoan ic motlatlaquechiuiuh inapil, ẽtlatl:

in jiacac, in jquac, ezcan in mazaltic, iuhquin mjnacachalli: motecaiotia, yiotlavitzil, auh in juh mjotiaia y, mjtoa, mozinoua in Jlama tecutli: yoã xniacatl cõmaquja, octampa tlachia, texxazacaltic, tenxxzacalpul, yoan intotolonpol, auh in jcpac pantoueti tecpantec, vipantec: iuhquin icpacauchiuh mochioa:

yoan in jquac y, no motenoua icuencõ tlatla: in jcocoxc qujchichioaia ocoquavid in qujnenepanoaia, iuhquin colotli, ic qujtlaliaia camaquimjlonia, camapepechoa, vncan qujquetza in quauhxicalco:

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[4] Torquemada (op. cit., p. 204) writes, however, that "a este Mayor le era permitido llorar, y contristarse mucho (como negado no estar, que [illegible] Dios) y así se contristaba, suspirando, y llorando, con la memoria de la muerte, que de presente, y cerca esperaba."

5. *Chichiua* may be rendered in two ways. We have been guided largely by the context.

6. In the next chapter (fourth) Sahagún states that "hacían la cámara del dios de fuego de ocpalmes, y pedazos atados, como una cerca, que llaman *cuauhxicalli*, que quiere decir *cámara o cuadrilla*."

And a fire priest arrayed himself; he was befight as a young warrior. He imitated a young warrior, with his netting cape, his forked heron feather device, his deer hoof [rattles], his lip pendant. He departed from the temple above, and brought a magwy leaf on which was a small banner.

When he came down to the ground, he then went to the eagle vessel, where stood the grain bin, and there he placed the magwy leaf.

And when he had placed it there, then appeared the priests, hastening greatly, as if [all] strove to be first. This was known as, and called, "The Flower Race." [For] they climbed up to the temple, where the flower was. It was named "Flower of the God."

And upon reaching the summit, then the priests laid fire to, and burned, the grain bin. Once again they descended, rushing down with the flower; they cast the flower upon the eagle vessel, in which the grain bin burned. Then all the priests ran off, in all directions. Enough of this.

And upon the morrow, then began [the sport of] casting bags at people. All made bags for themselves. They carried grass nets, and filled them with the flowers of reeds or with scraps of papers. They shredded paper; they shredded it fine and bound it to the inside [of the nets]. And some carried nets [made] as it were like gloves, also filled with reed flowers; [these] were called hand bags. And some only prepared themselves green maize leaves, which were made into bags; they pressed the leaves into balls.

And now it was commanded that none should pay scorn [in the bags]. Those who were yet small boys played purely in fun when they began the mock-fight with bags; only gradually it quickened. As the mock-fight was fought, as it flared [in intensity], blows were struck, purchance at the heads [of the participants], or their backs, or their breasts, as they dealt blows.

And the older boys cast bags at the maidens—those [yet] with long hair(dress)—whenever these came before them. They cast bags at them, surrounded them, [so that] in truth, they made some of them weep. And when some women took forethought, if she went forth, she carried her staff, or else [carried the branch of] some kind of thorny plant. If anyone came upon her to cast a bag at her, she pursued him; she was thus defended.

And if she carried nothing for her defense, verily

auh ce tlenamacac in mochichiuaia, motelpuchchichiuaia, telpuchtli ipan quiça icuechin, yiaztaxcl, ichochol ixcpilol: vmpa oalcua in teucaltiepac, metl quivicaxe, pilcontli itech icaxivitz. 796[8] [293]

In oacico tlalchi: ninnā ie ic vmpa iauh in quauhxicalco, in vmpa icac cuecuemmatl, vmpa cantlalia in metl.

Auh in ocitlali, ninnā ie ic eoa in tlamaçaque, cenca motlaloa, inhequin moquapanavitivi: motenecoa, motocaiotia. Suchipaina, quitlecavia in teucalli, vmpa caca xuchitl: iuica Teuxuchitl.

Auh in opanvchoaxo: ninnā quitlemjna, quitlecavia, in cuecuemmatl in tlamiacaque: no ceppa oaltemo, quioalcujcujiquiça in xuchitl: vncā quioallaztimanj in xuchitl in vncā quauhxicalco, in vncan tlalo, cuecuemmatl: ninnā motlatlaloa, in tlamacaque, çan ic quixtimanj, çan oc ie inquich.

Auh in jmuztlaioc: ninnā ie peoa in nechichiquavilo, inquich tlacatl quipeuchichiviliaia chichiquatli: in acamatlad in qucoaia, vncā quipentiquetza in tolcaputl, anoço amatoxotolli: in amatl quipochina, quipopochina, in jtic quicacaxa: auh in cequintin inhequin macpalli, quexaia matlatl, no quitentiquetza in tolcaputl: motocaiotia, macpalchichiquatli: auh in cequinti çan iuxatl in quipeuchichiviliaia, in quipochichiquaciaia: iuxatl in quipaxpaiollaiaia. 796[8] 286

Auh in jquac tetoxotikia, injc xiac tetl itic quitlalia: çan onavilpeoa, çan oc pipilcoxoti in quipeoaltiaia in mochichiquaiaxtlaia, çan iuh ficnti veiia: injc moiaiaxtla inhequin cocoxoanj ic movivitequi, aço injcpac aço iecuitlapac, aço iuxipac in quipoxtlaxilia. 796[8]

Auh in telpopochquipil, quipachichiquavinia in ichpopochti, ichoaxtia in tlamopoxoque, in jquac injcpac quiça, vncan quichichiquavia, cuoalhuia, in ica vel quichochectia: auh in aca cioatl momochtia, iuxia cuaqua ica ichquavitl quipqui, anoço tlacatecohuacovitzcli: iuxia aca ie vica, quichichiquavia, ic quipoca, ic momaquxtia.

Auh in aca aiic quipqui, iuxaquxtaia, vel cuahl-

X 796 each [of the old men] a bowl of wine, or a gourd
274 for each, or a small earthenware jar for each; quite freely and purely of their own accord they brought with them the wine, pouring it into a large earthenware vessel. And the old men sat drinking wine and refreshing themselves, not, [however,] becoming drunk.

çan in iolleoqua, çan in iolletlamati, in comcaua vetli, quioalhcoatimanj apaxco: auh tlacãtoque in vevenque, tocalervinoque, amo ivinti:

Enough of this.

ie izquich.

X 796 For when were ended these twenty days of Iscalli, thereupon set in the five days of *nemontemi*, or *nemontemi*, which are not counted.[9] And the *nemontemi* were feared and held in awe. None commanded others, none quarreled [with others]. And if any, at this time, disputed with others, it was said they would always do thus. And he who was born at this time they named Nemo. They said: "It hath been said that [he hath] no day sign. No reward is his; he will live in misery. He will live in poverty upon the earth."

Auh in onquiz y, cempoalli Iscalli, njmã ie ic oalmotlalia in macujlilhujtl in nemõtemj, amoço nenontemj, acampouhquj: Auh in nenontemj, vel imacaxoia, manhcaitoia, aiac teaoia, aiac mamia: auh in aca vncã teaua, quijmach cenquiçuj. Auh in aquin vncan tlacati: quiçocaiotlaia. Nemo: quiçoaia, quijmach atle ilhujl, atle imacecel mochioa, quijhiivitiremja, vmpa onquiçatinemja in tlaltiçpac.

[56L 777]

And during [the month of] Iscalli, in the first, second, and third years, nothing [in addition] was done. But on the fourth year, a great [festival] was observed. At that time died those [adorned as] Iscoçauhqui, the impersonators of Xiuhtecutli—ceremonially bathed ones. Sometimes many died; sometimes not many.

Auh in jpan jn Iscalli: injc ce xivitl, yeuan ic onivitl, yeuan iquexivitl, atle mochiua : auh quiçn ic nauhxivitl in moveichioa, quinjquac mjquia in Iscoçauhqui, in jxiptlaoan Xiuhtecutli: tlaatoltl, in quõmã mjequjntin in mjquia, in quomã amo mjequjnti.

And upon the morrow, on the morning of [the feast of] Iscalli, the bathed ones entered the sand. They brought them into the sand there at Tzonmolco. All the women carried all their womanly array, and the men carried all their array (as hath
● [293] been told elsewhere). And they carried for them their paper adornment; it went upon a wooden globe.

Auh in ie inh mantla, in ie oallavi Iscalli: in tlaaltiki, onxalaqui, quijmoxalaquia in vmpa tzonmolco: in cioa mochi qujtquj, in jxquich inciouatlatquj: yeuan in oquichtin, mochi qujtquj in jxquich intlatlaquj (in juh ompio ceczj): auh in jmamatlatquj, mochi qujmjequjlia: quanhtzontapaiolica ieiztiuh.

And when they brought them there, thereupon they arrayed them, [so that] all were ornamented. They put upon them their paper array. And when all were prepared and arrayed even as Iscoçauhqui was arrayed, and the women adorned also in the same manner, thereupon all climbed up to [the Temple of] Tzonmolco, in rows. And when they came reaching there, they circled about the offering stone. Then, once again all came down, likewise walking in rows.

Auh in oquimoxxitiq, njman ie ic quinchichioa, tochichioalo, quimoxaaçqua in jxquich imamatlatquj. Auh in ontecencaoaloc: auh injc mochichioa, ivin mochichioa Iscoçauhqui: auh in cioa, çan ie no ivin mochichioa: njmã ie ic tleco in tzonmolco, tecpantivi: auh in vmpan vetzino: njmã ie ic quinaiaoloa in tochicol: njmã ic no ceppa, calmmo, no motecpãtivitza.

And when they came down, thereupon they took them to the tribal temple, and then took apart [the paper vestments], and put [the victims] in a house and guarded them well. And they fastened the men

Auh in otemoco njmã ie ic quiavica in calpulco, mec quinxixitinja, vncan mocuscalhilia, vel q'tapipia: in oquichtin quinxillãmocaietia, in jquac tlaxixa quinxitilinjtivi. Auh in cuaic iocalnepantla: njmã ie

9. Seler (op. cit., p. 356) refers to the "Nemontemi (nenõtemi Tage) die für nichts gerechnet werden"; *i.e.*, they were dedicated to no god. One meaning of the verb *nemi*, however, is to rule.

And they (instead the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Papnal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Iztocçauhqui.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech cloths of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

ic tetzoncujoa, quintzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omotenoh: auh in onetzoncujoac: njmã ic ic tepotonjlo, no quinpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiocoal, aocac ma ondacacochi in tlapixque. 796x [514]

Auh in otlavincalli moquetz, in ic tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ic ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ic ic no ceppa calaquj in inician: auh in aca ąmo quimotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan quietlauhcia, çan quietemamaca.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa tetchichioalo: njmã ic ic vi in vmpa mjquijzque, motecpaha: in onacique vmpa mjquijzque: njmã ic ic mjtoxia, mocojca ellaquaoa: omach intoxquijzzatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque: [593]

Auh in ic ommotzcalaa tonatjuh; njmã ic ic ąltemo in Paynal, quinoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmã ichoã in tlaaltilti in iacoçauhq̃.

Auh in ocentlaque mjquj in ic iuhquj: auh in jaquijchtin tlatoque, in tetecutin jn cenca mavizztilionj, ic ic manj, çą quichixtimanj omocencauhq̃, quiniacana in Motecuçoma: ocentlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlaocaiotl: 796x 301 [643]

yoan contlalia iacaxivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequintin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõnaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoã in xolocoaquj iuhquja chichinoa ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acxilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tilli injc tlacujlolli.

Auh in iazmac oonocinh quavitl, çan tepitoton tlatzotzopantzcli, chictlipãquj; in aco chichiltic, auh 796x 293 [386]

10. "He equally made equally diligent" seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. But, however, Angel Maria Garibay K., "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1945), p. 171, for a discussion of these in comparison.

796 hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon
[293] they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known
[535 as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the
628] Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

796 And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers
608 sought out some master of the youths, seasoned warrior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle.
[431] Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

[304] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

796 And when they had gone to their homes, there-
upon all ate and drank.

273 And then, in the temple, began singing and dan-
535 cing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecetlapal quixitzquja amaxiquj-
pilli; njmã ic ic oalcemo mjnoxivitac.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ic ic tlaiaoalua, çã nappa
in tlaiaoalos: auh in omanjotique mec nexixitinjlo,
texixitinjlo, njmã ic ic calacos in tecpan tlatecpanelos. Auh in ichoatl y, motenecua: netecujotilo, motecujotia in tetecutin, çan inncixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in machioaia;

ic iuhquj.

Oc vecaioaan in peoaloia in tenacazzapotlaloia in
quinnacazzapotla pipiltotonti: yoan quinpotonja,
tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio nenelhuhtiuh in teztli.

Auh in ventli in quichioaia pinolli: auh in tenan-
oan cequj temoaaia, ichoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa,
anoço telpochiaquj iuhquin tlanenequja impilhoa-
que injc Tetlatizqu.: no cequj temoa cioatl in
teavitia, quitlauhtiaia:

in oquichtli in quimaca, aço quappachtilmatli,
anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qui-
tlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazzapotlaloc; njmã ic ic quinvivica,
in quinchichinoaque pipiltotõti: quitlalia tleti, tle-
tlaliaia, vel mjec in cupalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc motenecua techichinõlo in calpulhuevet-
que, quinoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco quimon-
jauhtimanj: njman ic quinoalmacatimanj in tẽtlati,
in teavitl: auh in pipiltotonti iuhquin tlatzatzatzi,
iuhquin tlacacacatimanj: njman ic iatimanj in
inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ic ic tlatlaquaio,
hastlioa.

Auh in opeoaloc teupan in ic cujco in ic netotilo,
nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa viloa in teupan:
in Tetlaoan, in teavioan quinvivica in pipiltotoneti, in
tlatlanquj ietiuh in vetli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica
in quijtquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in cuchi-yncã
cujco: njmã ic ic ommomana in mitoia, quinna-
mama in pipiltotonti: vncã quimomaçatimanj,
quimomacatinemj in vetli: netech quimomamaca.

11. The *Real Palacio* MS here contains the line *yoan cilinamjpinolli*, which probably identifies the *pinolli* as ground dried maize and chile seeds.

Temple of Uitzilopochtli
Cuerpo[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacaxepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacaxepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itzpeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacaxepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitznaoac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shaped. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all then danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Iiopoch.

And in the morning Peynaltzin came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Peynal was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly bedight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Peynal was thus adorned: [it had on] its hummingbird diagnier, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back were hanging the mirror device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli fecund
conquest. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, cuepa in quiçaia ilhuiçah, in quilhuiçquiztilinia, yn ipan cc xiuitl. 796x

Inic cepa ipan in mitoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoquiçaia, in ichaual vitzilobuchtli, yn omoztin yn jnoca Tlacaxepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic quitlocaxujuja in ichaual vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixquich in tlamacazqui, in telpuchtli in quinapalouia: auh yn ixiptla catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tzoalli, cenca vey, cennequetzaili. [776] 776 796x

Auh ynic vmc in jnoca Tlacaxepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tzoalli in jxiptla catca.

Auh in muchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itzpeioc: auh ynic vmc, in tlacaxepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in muchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitznaoac calpulco: auh cenioual in quinicuxiliuia, in quintlecutiliaia.

Auh in otlatujc, in otlacatqui: njman ic ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ic teutlac, njman ic ic netotilo, necoçolo: auh çan ic oncalaqui, in tonatiuh, in quintlecuxujaia: auh yn ocujmocuitalito, njman ic ic ouitoua, vmpa oriual cate: yuan quinpiaia tlamacazqui, yn jnoca Iiopoch: [793]

Auh yn otlatujc, ninan ic ic ouhquiça, in peynaltzin, in çan no ic yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, quinapalos: auh yn ixiptla peynal, çan quauhxi cuaca ictinah: auh in quinapalos, inoca topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: cenca mochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla peynal ynic muchichioaia, yvitzitilinaual, yiaucciouh, yeacujlapil, ychalchiuhcozqui: auh yn icujtlapan pilcatiuh, ichaual in cujtlaxcoual, çan mache in tonuiui: 796x 293

1. See Lib. III, cap. i, § 1.
2. Described in comparison of Uitzilopochtli (Thompson, op. cit., pp. 146, 155).
3. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmer ed.), Vol. III, p. 111.

3:796 all of fine turquoise. And he who led [the god] carried his serpent staff covered with turquoise.

[243] And when [the priest with] Paynal came to Tlatlachco, then [men] were slain before him. Those who died, who were named Amapantzitzin, were both impersonators [of the god Amapan].[6] And many more captives [also] died.

And when they were slain, then they began the procession of Paynal. They arrived at Tlatlahco, and when they had arrived there, the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense and beheaded many quail [before him]. And again they started forth, and arrived at Popotlan; and in the same way the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. And again they started forth, and arrived there at Chapulteper, and in like manner the common folk greeted him and burned incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. Thereupon they continued and arrived at Tepetocan, and also the common folk came out to meet him and offered up incense and also beheaded many quail [before him]. Then they set forth and reached Atzchinanco, and also the common folk came out to receive him, offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him].

Thereupon the insignia went forth first, and when the insignia arrived, thereupon they mounted to the top of Costepetl,-where was [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had gone up, then they laid [778] out the wooden serpent[6] and circled about it many times. Then all came down from there.

auh in qujacana qujqujxiuh yeuatqpil, xivitl ic tlaquijnjlolli.

Auh yn onacic, in teutlachco in paynal, njman ic ixpā mjona: ichoantin in miquja yn jntoca Amapantzitzin, çan vmētin teiziptlaoan: auh ieh cenca mjequjntin in mamalti miquja.

Auh yn onamjcoac, njman ic ic vmpeoa, yn tlaiaoaloa Paynal: vmpa onaci in tlatlihco, auh yno onacic, njman ic ic qujnamjquj in macoualli, qujtlenamaqujlia yoan miec çolin qujcotonjliaia. Auh njman ic ic vmpeoa, onaci in popotlan, çan no ith qujnamjq'a in maçoualli, qujtlenamaqujlia: yoan miec çolin qujcotonaia. Auh njman ic no cuel vmpeoa, vmpa onaci in chapulteper, çan no ith qujnamjquj in macoualti, qujtlenamaqujlia: yoan miec çolin qujcotonjlia. Niman ic ic vmpeoa onaci in tepetocan: no qujnamjquj in macoualli, qujtlenamaqujlia, yoan no mjec çolin qujcotona. Njman ic ic oalpeoa, valaci in vncan acachinãco: no qujnamjquj in macoualti, quitlenamaqujlia, no mjec çolin qujcotona.

Niman ic ic oalpeoa in machiotl, auh yn oacico im machiotl, njman ic ic tleco, yn jcpac costepetl: in vmpa ca vitzilobuchtli: auh yn otlecoc, njmã ic ic costeca, iñ expanjtl, yn otlaiaoalo: njman ic ic oalmmo.

6. See esp. notes, above.

3. See Ser. ch., end c. 17.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequioa, or Tolnauacatl tequioa, or Cinteccpanecatl tequioa: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atzompanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[3] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tlilihqui tepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[4] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[5] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[6] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic nauh caci ich icoac quitequiouacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compeualtia in tequiouacatocatl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnauacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in iuquich tequiouacatocatl, auh uel icoac contlalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa conquixtoque in uexi tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociauacatl, tocuilhecatl, atzompanecatl, ichoantin quauhiaca i, tẽçacaoque cuitlauacochiqui quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. 701 [293]

Auh intla chiquacen intla chiconte anoço matlactin ẽquimatic cuentecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iacatecpioa

ca quinicoac intla ontlamato atlixco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tlilihqui tepec inic macuilli caci icoac uel panuetzi inic ueitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui tẽçacatl ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac tecuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan cuetlauacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no icoac maco in tilmatli chicoapolnacazminqui, ioan cuetlastilmatli. [186] [43] [293] 301

Auh intla ome caciuh in atlixco anoco vexotzinco ic ic ontlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in contic tẽçacatl iiomeni quiitlani in xoxouhqui tẽçacatl. [293] 301

fin

3. *Tenitl "Huaxteca, o barbaros [Olmecas, Uixtotin, Mixtecas] estaba hecho el matrimonio del sol, y Moctezuma tendría mujeres, porque habían llegado bárbaros"*—Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. *Pellizzaro dolpiloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is contained in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be read *anoqo*.

6. *Quitlitlani*: a marginal gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* suggests that the verse is unintelligible. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text, and, in Sahagún, op. cit., *ilitlani, ilitoaia, ilitoaiia*.

7. Following *ontlalpiloque*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *in ueuetz*; these words are contained in the *Florentine Codex*.

A passage lacking in this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no test material]

Under the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he lanced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimã ye ic quimaca in moteccuiçoma in tlaxistli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictia. amo uel ytech ponia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicauaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him. up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuã quinchiuaya. Auh niman cõmaca ỹ yocotzontecuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in imal. uel ispã im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ỹ ye iuhqui in oçe-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli mihtouaya teoctli. inic quitq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in õya. niman ic conisua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cõmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in õya. niman ic cõuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moychecultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman õmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca ommaquetzteca niman ic concheq' concuilia in iyollo coniauilia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moc- zuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shorn ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wheresoever war was preclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya cuetic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couxxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. motecçuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh i mastlatl. 701 293 [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuilric çan tlilric. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichilric cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im motecçuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quaquauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [576]

Auh no yquac quimahcena in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in conatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya motecçuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tilpapatlauac chichicuee çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopalçẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacoscayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaoteḟuaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. motecçuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã caica. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichiticate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in 701 721

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *tzoruelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [stripe of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held sway. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Yoan is repeated in the MS.

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[293]

Auh in otlatvic in ic ilhujuh ipan, in ioatrinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetolkia, ixpan oocenpanti quitlenamaquijlia, ixpan quimana in ixujcan venth in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in ixquich tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhquja necocêquetzalo, iuhquja in ioiolipã in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltiuã, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitcalco, injc vmpa necocololoz. Auh in ocecenquixoac: njmã ic ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necocololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaiciecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aquin maxizaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaztazel. Auh in aquin çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicuitlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, cacuilhujtequj, caliticpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conjxiquetza, mjhiziquetztiuh, nanacaxiztiuh niac temacnaoati:

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[335]
[785]
[292]
[514]
[688]

cenca ichoã tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincaltea in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quiçtzacujliaia: auh in ic ixquich telpuxintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocolloque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in moxeneoa in telpuchiaque, in oc ic nemj, in oc cacitinemj, in amoço vme cacitinemj no quintzaquaia: quimjlhujaia, vmpa xivitl qa nocne, anquitzititia, amo techitto.

[785]
[302]

[p. 52 is blank]

796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter.** Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

Injc cempoalli on chiouei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenja Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiuhq̃ in jquac oquijzque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237] on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
● 293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oacic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujquixtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn izquich in jmixiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ie no ceppa quinccecencauhque, quinrlaquentique, quinquequetzallotique, quinccocozcatique, quimcuaaquique xiuhxaiacatl, youn quinquequentia in tequezmjtl, in quetzalquezmjtl, in tozquezmjtl, quauhquezmjtl. Auh inin tlatquitl in mecec, quipiaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it
805 Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititi, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uej toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Toltecа canal.

njman qujoaltoqujlia in Tlaxuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã qujvaltoqujlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teuxl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititi matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli ocz: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eua. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjoque tulteca acaloco.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ie no ceppa quiçaco, in ie no ceppa tiquijnjttaque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli ocz, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in quiçaco, onmotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchicuenjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoaltiua. Auh ie no ceppa quiçaco, çan quiztiquizque quauhtitlampa iczaque: çan tequjtl ontemjctitiquizque in

1. So the Aztec reads (compatriots are Molina, op. cit., *azteca*, *compatriot*). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, as numbers with endings in *-ce* are of four days (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. See various translations in Seler, op. cit., p. 220.

3. The fifteenth and sixteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be [301] recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he ●[293] disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[8] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them — in both places he had them on his arms. And the [301] golden arm bands glistened.[9] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin otomjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in tlaotonxintli, ichica amo imjxco tlachieia in iniauan in manel Españoles, amo tle impan qujmjtzaia, vel tlacenmamauhtiaia: in jquac in qujttaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocotoztlaliaia in tiauan: auh cenca qujtemoaia, injc qujmjctiaque, in açq qujtepuzmjviaque, in anoço qujtlequjqujzviaque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çã mjxpolos injc amo iximachot: in quenman tlavizzli in ommaqujaia, itenpilol compiloaia, yoan itetecuçujtlanacoch yoã conmocoscatia in jcoaquj chipoli, çan tlapouhtiuh in jtzontecon, neztiuh injc otomjtl: auh in quẽmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc ommoquaqujmjlos, auh in q̃manjan injc mjxpolos cõmaqujaia ihujtzoncalli, quatzone quauhtlalpilonj icuexochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh ichoatl injc tetlepantlaxoia, iuhquin tetlepantlazquj ipã qujztiuh, qujntlaiciecalhujtiuh in tetlepantlazque itetecuçujtlamatemecauh necoccampa in ietiuh yiocanjzti ietiuh in jmac: auh in teucujtlamatemecatl cuecuenio auh no ic in jcxic ietiuh, cotzonatl, teucujtlacotzoatl çan petlanquj)

726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauhcaltitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

Auh njmã imuztlaioc in ie no cuel ceppa qujçaco in jmacal conacanaco nonoalco, aiauhcaltitlã: auh njman no qujçaco in tlaxipanvia yoan in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl yoan otomjtl, vel tonac in qujntepevivitzze in Españoles. Auh in oncico nonoalco: njmã ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel moetemanan in tlaiecolistli in iauiztl, necoc in mjcoaia ixqujch mjnaloa in iniauan, no ixqujch in mezicatl, necoc ivã, necocolo, iuh omjlhujtl, iuh ioac in necaliouac.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzayectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacauã in amo mjtzacujlianj, in atle inpan qujmitta in iniauã catca, in amo qujtlaçotlaia in innacaio. Injc ce tlacatl itoca Tzaiectzin. Injc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teeca in omonenoh in Tzilacatzin.

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3. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Conquistador, Chapter 23.
4. Conquistador probably concealed in present.
5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco. — Cano, op. cit.

strong voice." Then they spoke to a seasoned warrior named Tlamayocatl, and then Mayeuatzin commanded and said to him: "Go forth and tell those of Cuitlauac: 'O men of Cuitlauac! Your ruler Mayeuatzin hath sent me! Behold him! There he standeth upon the small pyramid!'" And when those of Cuitlauac had heard him, they answered him: "Nay, ye have slain him!" Then he said unto them: "Nay, he is not dead! Look well upon him! There he now standeth!" And [Mayeuatzin] spoke forth: "I have not died. Let nothing injure my lip rod, my green stone [jewels], my devices!" And when he ended his speech, then a cry arose [among the Indians who were with Spaniards], whereupon there was fighting. Then they pursued [the Mexicans]. But in the market place, there at Copalnamacoyan, the battle, gradually abating, lasted long.

And once our foes of Tlilihuquitepec and Atetemollan[4] together conferred and took note of a narrow road which led between house clusters. It was the path of a nobleman named Tlacatzin. And when our foes had already entered, then the chieftains drove them forth. And a man, a chieftain and a seasoned warrior named Tlapanecatl, whose home was at Atencapan, then engaged them. Our foes then quickly seized him. And the [Mexican] chieftains then rushed and went shooting arrows at our foes. Then they made [the enemy] loose the captured chieftain. But our foes then smote him in the calf of the leg, there where the leg is bled. Then [the enemy] departed; the fighting ceased.

itoca: Tlamaiocatl: nec qujnaoatia in Maichoutzin: qujlhuja. Tla xoniauh, tla xiqujmonjlhuj in cujtlaoaca: Cujtlavacac, onechoaliva in amotlatocauh in Maichoutzin, xoconjttacan nechca moquetzticac mumuxco. Auh in oqujcaoque cujtlaoaca, qujvalitoque. Ca amo, ca oanqujmjctique: nec qujmonjlhuja. Ca amo mjquj, vel, xocottacan ic in nechca icac: yoan qujvalitoa, ca amo njmjquj, ma itla nechitlacalhujti, in notençac, in nochalchiuh, in notlaviz: auh in oconttzonqujxti in jtlatol, nec tlacaoaca: njman ic ic necalioa, nec qujvaltoca. Auh in tianquizco in vmpa copalnamacoian, aiazcan in mocauh, vncā vecaoac in iauiotl. 726 [293]

Auh ceppa tecentlatalhujque in toiaovan in Tlilihujtepeca, atetemoleque: ic qujmottilique in vpitzactli in calla qujzticac, yiovi catca ce pilli: itoca, Tlacatzin. Auh in ic calaquj in toiaovan: nec qujntoca in tiiacaoan. Auh ce tlacatl tiacauh, tequjoa, itoca Tlapanecatl, atencapā ichan catca: nec qujnoalnamjquj, njmā ic qujcujtivetzque in toiaovan: auh in tiiacavan, njmā ipan ommotepeuhque, qujnmjotivi in toiaovan: njmā ic contetlaçaltito in cacica tiiacauh. Auh in toiaovan nec qujvalmetzviteoque: vncā in jnezcoaian: njman ic iaque, ōmocacauhque in mjcalli. [491]

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "se repartió los caminos de diversas."

[p. 108 is blank]

then seized upon a great chieftain named Tlapaltecatl opochtzin, whose home was Coatlan. Thereupon they arrayed him, and put on him the quetzal feather owl[13] which had been the device of Auitzotzin. Quauhtemoc said: "This device was the device of my begetter, of my father Auitzotzin.[14] Let him wear it. Let him die in it. May he gain honor before the people. May he become a portent in it. May our foes see and marvel at him."[15] And when they put it on him, he was indeed terrifying. Truly wonderful he appeared. And [Quauhtemoctzin] commanded four to aid him and be at his side. They gave him the darts[16] [and dart thrower] which were the devil's — the throwing spears with flint points.

And when they had done this, it became like a portent for the lords of the Mexicans. The ruler's vicar Tlacotzin said: "O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! Hath Mexico been nothing — that on which Mexican rule was founded? It is said to be with the power of Uitzilopochtli, which he hurled at one. It is none other than the fire serpent, the fire drill, with which he walked, casting it at our foes — which you, O Mexicans, have held as his power of the dart. Forthwith you will aim it against our foes. You will cast it not to the earth; you will hurl it with strength at [the foe]. And if one or two will be struck — if one or two of our enemies will be reached, — it is in truth a token for us [that] yet, for a little, we shall look to favor; [that] yet our lord [the god] may desire it." Thereupon went the quetzal-owl [bedight warrior], with quetzal feathers as if parted.

And when our foes saw him, [it was] as if a mountain had burst. In truth, all the Spaniards took fright; much did he terrify them, as if they had seen in him something [inhuman]. Then the quetzal-owl [warrior] climbed up to the roof terrace. And some of our foes, who could see him, stood up. Then they forced him to turn back, and took after

tlauhtzin. Nimã ic conanõ ce vei tiscauh, itoca Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin coatlan ichã njman ie ic quichchiua, conaquiqque, in quetzalteculotl: itlaviz catca in Aujtzotzin: qujio in Quauhtemoctzin. Inja tlavizti, itlaviz catca in notechiuhcauh in notatzi Aujtzotzin, ma ichoatl conjtquj ma ipan omnjquj ma cõtemaviçoti ma ipan tetiztiti ma qujtzacan in toiaovan ma qujmaviçocan. Auh in oconaquijque vel temamauhti, vel maviztic in neci: auh navinti in qujnnavatique in qujvalpalevitiazque, in qujvallamatilitiazque, qujvalnacaque in jmjuh catca tlacateculotl, tlacumjtl, iacatecpaio.

Auh injc iuh quichiuhque in, iuhqujnma intlapoal muchiuh in tlatoque in Mexica: qujio in Civacoatl tlacutzin. Mexicae tlatilulcae, atlei injc mexico ocatcat, injc onamanca mexicaiutl: in mjtoa in vncan inavatil in vitzilobuchtli in tepã qujtlaça ca çan iee in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaxtli in otepã qujtlaztinenca in toiaupan in ie anconcuj Mexicae in jnaoatil in mjtl: çan njmã vmpa anqujtlachieltiaque in ivicpa toiaovan, amo çan tlalpan anqujmaiaviaque cenca intech in anqujtlaçaxque: auh intla ce, anoço vme momjnaz: auh in ano ce, anoço vme in maçix toiaouh ca nel totlapoal, oc achitzin tinacaxitztiazque, oc quenjn qujmonequjltiz in totecujo: njman ie, ic iauh in quetzalteculotl, in quetzalli iuhqujn zexeliuhtiuh.

Auh in ocqujttaque in toiaovan, iuhqujn tepetl vitomj vel muchiotin momauhtique in Españoles, cenca qujnmauhti, iuhqujnma itla ipan qujttaque: njman ic tlapanco tlecoc in quetzalteculotl. Auh in ocqujntin toiaovan in ovel qujttaque moquetzque: njman ic qujvalçuepque, qujvaltocaque: ie no ceppa no qujncuep qujntocac in quetzalteculotl, njman

[126] [693] [293] [122]

13. Rosenmuller, op. cit., p. 211: "un baño (dardo de phenomeno clave y esponsalicio)."

14. While Book XII was in press Dr. Anderson wrote the following comment from Florence, Italy: "The word is almost illegible in the MS. [illegible] of the original (Med.-Palat. 218-220, Laurentian Library, Florence), in connection with researches in Europe made possible by the [illegible] Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, suggests that over-[illegible] (my mother or begetter) is meant."

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "Entonces se fue [illegible] de todas partes de los enemigos [illegible] y quedó [illegible] y hablo el señor de nuestro que se llamaba [illegible], y dijo a los principales que eran de estado . . . [illegible] que [illegible] que [illegible] y dejaron que [illegible] de mal padre [illegible]; luego llamaron a un mancebo [illegible] que se llamaba Tlapaltecatl Opuchtzin que era del barrio de [illegible] donde se agora la parroquia del S.° estaban en el [illegible]."

16. The Aztec text may read *tej tejiuh*. *Ie jiuqueh* is probably intended.

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Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. (When he went in his litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

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for you, and now again your vassals and Captains have become insolent, and hold secret consultations stating that you wish us to be killed. I do not wish to begin a war on this account nor to destroy this city, I am willing to forgive it all, if silently and without raising any disturbance you will come with us to our quarters, where you will be as well served and attended to as though you were in your own house, but if you cry out or make any disturbance you will immediately be killed by these my Captains, whom I brought solely for this purpose." When Montezuma heard this he was terrified and dumfounded, and replied that he had never ordered his people to take arms against us, and that he would at once send to summon his Captains so that the truth should be known, and he would chastise them, and at that very moment he took from his arm and wrist the sign and seal of Huichilobos, which was only done when he gave an important and weighty command which was to be carried out at once. With regard to being taken prisoner and leaving his Palace against his will, he said that he was not the person to whom such an order could be given, and that it was not his wish to go. Cortés replied to him with very good arguments and Montezuma answered him with even better, showing that he ought not to leave his house. In this way more than half an hour was spent over talk, and when Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains saw that they were wasting time over it and could not longer await the moment when they should remove him from his house and hold him a prisoner, they spoke to Cortés somewhat angrily and said, "what is the good of your making so many words, let us either take him prisoner, or stab him, tell him once more that if he cries out or makes an uproar we will kill him, for it is better at once to save our lives or to lose them," and as Juan Velásquez said this

[643 293]

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for each one, and they turned out to be as good and fast as though they had taken a month to set up the models, for Martin López was a past master of the art, and it was he who afterwards built the thirteen sloops to aid in capturing Mexico, as I shall relate further on ; he was also a good soldier in war time.

782 Let us leave this and say that Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to go to his temples and make sacrifices, and pay the devotion to his gods that it was his duty to do, so that his Captains and chieftains might observe it, especially certain nephews of his, who came every day to tell him that they wished to free him and to attack us, and he answered them, that it pleased him to be with us, so they should think it was as he had told them, that his God Huichilobos had commanded him to stay with us, as he had made them believe before. Cortés replied that as to this permission he asked for, he should beware not to do anything for which he might lose his life, and so as to prevent any disorders, or commands to his Captains or priests either to release him, or attack us, he would send Captains and soldiers [with him] who would immediately stab him to death, should any change be noticed in his bearing. He might go and welcome, but must not sacrifice any human beings, for that was a great offence against the true God, that was to the God we were preaching to him about, and there stood our altars and the image of Our Lady, before whom he could pray. Montezuma said that he would not sacrifice a single human being, and he set off in his rich litter in great state with many great Caciques in his company as was his custom, and they [293] carried his insignia in front of him in the form of a sort of staff or rod, which was the sign that his royal person was going that way (just as they do [now] to the Viceroys of New Spain). There went with him as a guard four of our Captains, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Pedro de

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into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imi- 714
tating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes [643
"in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes
"on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those 645]
"who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their
"bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and
"painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "ozaras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation achieved in war, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe."

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 373). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 2d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-"maria, doradas y labradas con diversas labores y pinturas y diferencialias quando á "él le pareciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó hazaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que alli se le señalaba con sus ceñidores y bragueros, que "aludian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, salió determinado que ninguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de nequen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, saluo si "no tuviese alguna senal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 38). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 37). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillières," Vol. I, p. 345). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war [302]
"they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once,
"since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names.

[64] The head-dress, or "diviss."—"tlauizili," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of [293]
sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 322, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty-
"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

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714 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the
287 question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of
237 the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each sub-division of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time;
[302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 88) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototl." It is "*Trogon resplendens*." (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 39, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquechol" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1890, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, in vol. II, of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to *imitate* the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face *yellow* ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was *blue* (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tiñéndose las caras con la tinta divina, quellos asi llamauan, y el rey Auit-"zotl vestido de ricas mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas azules . ."

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701 posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests ex-
702 cepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

[293] As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

701 A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "mi-
619 nor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

701 Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI. p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad, que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que cuelga atras, y bezote y "oregeras. y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces." "De l'ordre de succession," p. 225), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport." p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra, que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas apretadas á la caneça y unas oregeras de concha, largas, y unas bezotes "en los labios. muy bien afmados, y empeçaron á componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI. p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Cuynacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, *then* they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 24, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

[98] Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 499) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[99] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-

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spection.[111] Therefore, he was always one of the four great war-chiefs of the quarters[112] previous to his election, and his war-dress differed in fact but little from that of the latter. As we have already stated, he wore the hair bound up behind the occiput with red leather, and on his helmet or on the bare head a towering bush of green feathers.[113] A long and wide mantle covered his armour, which was otherwise similar to that of the other chiefs.[114] But his ear-rings of gold,[115] and the green stone-pendant from the bridge of his nose,[116] the golden lip-ring,[117] his wristbands of featherwork and leather,[118] the upper-arm-bands of gold,[119] the

[111] Sahagun (Historia Universal, Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 264): "El capitan general tiene "por su oficio, mandar en la batalla, y dar orden y manera para efectuarla, y concertar "los escuadrones, teniendose por grande aguila y leon, y presumiendo de ser victo-"rioso por los buenos aderezos con que va adornado á la guerra á manera de aguila, y "dando á entender que su oficio es morir en la guerra por los Suyos." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Ordinarily they elected young men for their kings, because "the kings always went to war, and it was almost the principal object of this office; "therefore they looked to their being proper to military duty, and fond of it, also." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap, XXVII, p. 132): "Tenian estos naturales en mucho cuando su "señor era esforzado y valiente, porque teniendo tal señor capitan, salian con mucho "ánimo á la guerra." (Idem) "Demas de esto, tenian respeto entre los hijos á aquel "que en las guerras se habia mostrado animoso, y á este elegian." Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 357).

[112] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos "principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, "sin parecer de los quales ninguna cosa se auia de hacer, y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos "estos ditados eran del consejo supremo, ... ; y muerto el Rey, auia de ser "eligido por Rey, hombre que tuuiesse algun ditado destos quatro."

[113] This distinction was worn by the Indian chiefs of Mexico at least twenty years after the conquest. See, in Vol. II. of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos:" "Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor "natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco, Provincia de Chalco, con el Señor Visorey "Don Antonia de Mendoza, etc., etc." (in 1541). "Don Francisco Acazitli llevó por "divisa y armas cuando fué á la guerra de los chichimecas, una calavera de plumeria "con sus penachos verdes, una rodela de lo mismo, y en ella un bezote de oro retor-"cido, con su espada y su ichcahuipil, y vestido con un jubon colorado, y sus zara-"güelles, zapatos y borceguies, y un sombrero blanco, y un pañuelo grande con que "se amarraba la cabeza, y un collar de pedreria con dos cadenas" (p. 307). (Idem, p. 255) "Relacion de la Entrada de Nuño de Guzman," by García del Pilar. "Y viendose "asi los señores destas comarcas, que eran Tapiezuela, señor desta cibdad, y el señor "de Tatelulco, y el de Guaxucingo, y el de Tascaltectle, y otros muchos señores y prin-"cipales destas comarcas, le fueron à rogar y suplicar, ... que se sirviese de "todas sus divisas que eran de oro y de plumas verdes muy galanas, ..." Also (Relacion de Acazitli, p. 311. "con su divisa de quetzalpatzatli de plumeria verde").

[114] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215).

[115] "nacochtli" (Molina, I. p. 91).

[116] "Yacaxiuiti," from "Yacati," nose, "xiuiti," turquoise, or fine green stone in general.

[117] "tenteti," from "tentli," lips, and "teti," stone.

[118] "matzopetzli" (Molina, II. p. 54). "braçalete."

[119] "matemecati," "braçalete de oro, o cosa semejante" (Molina, II, p. 53).

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701 golden tubes enclosing his ankles,[120]—they were all of a more
643 elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Çihua-cohuatl" were
293 entitled to wear them thus.[121]

But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle
[554] was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123]

000 A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

[120] "Cozcatl," or "coxcapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Cozcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordénose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaclel pudiesen "traer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro-"vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la caueça con plumeria." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Camé" and "Vukub-Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 181.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1698. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, re-"duccion y progresos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "subtle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "vitorioso tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcance." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con que los reyes hazian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, o sus generales, los quales tocauan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure *may* be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of *chiefs*, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure,—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Minutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatimala." Berlin, 1832) has: Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada,

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

appoint his subalterns in the field, and as executor of justice he had the same privilege while at the pueblo. The "teachcauhtin," therefore selected his own assistants and runners. Accompanied by them and carrying his staff of office, whose tuft of white feathers intimated that his coming might threaten death,[164] the "elder brother" circulated through his calpulli, preserving order and quietness in every public place thereof. If he found or heard of any one committing a nuisance or crime, he could seize him forthwith and have him carried to the official house, there to be disposed of as the custom and law of the kin required. But it is doubtful whether, except in extraordinary instances, he was authorized to do justice himself without the council's knowledge and consent.[165]

Ere we pass over now from the functions of the kin to those of the ancient Mexican tribe, we must however dwell at some length on a peculiar institution, yet shared by the Mexicans in common with Indian tribes in general. We refer to the rank and dignity of CHIEF among them. Chieftaincy and office are far from being equivalent. The former is a purely personal, non-hereditary distinction, bestowed in reward of merit only, whereas the latter is a part of the governmental machinery.[166] Hence it follows that a chief might fill an office or not, and still remain a chief, whereas

personnes notables qui portaient le titre de achcacauhtin qui est un nom de charge, comme l'est aujourd'hui celui d'alguazils." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XVII, p. 305) calls the Achcacauhtli "(é verdugos) que tenian cargo de matar á los que condenaba el señor." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 255), "llamabanse Achcauhtli, que quiere decir maiores." There is hardly any doubt as to their functions.

[164] White was the color of death. (Bleaching skulls and bones!) This is amply proven by their mode of declaring, or rather announcing, war. The custom of carrying "staffs of office" is well established.

[165] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI. cap. XXVI, p. 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 482) calls those "who arrested" delinquents "topilli." But this word means simply "rod, or baton of justice, staff, etc." (*Molina*, II, p. 150), and not office. There is no evidence that these officers might kill, without previous decision of the council, except perhaps in the great market place. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 32): "Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 391) copies Cortés, adding, however, "é quiebran lo que está falso, é penan al que usaba dello." *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89) simply remarks: "y otros como alguaziles ejecutores que miraban las mercadérias," (Vedia, Vol. II). I hardly need any reference in regard to the manner of acting and mode of appearance of the "elder brothers." Their functions of "police" are repeatedly described in the older sources.

[166] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 71): "Nearly all the American Indian tribes had two grades of chiefs, who may be distinguished as sachems and common chiefs. Of these two primary grades all other grades were varieties. . . . The office of sachem was hereditary in the gens, in the sense that it was filled as often as a vacancy occurred; while the office of chief was non-hereditary, because it was bestowed in reward of per-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

earnestness of his manner which eye-witnesses have mistaken for the haughtiness of a tyrant.[245] 643 644

These duties not only necessitated official residence at the "official house," but even permanent stay there, unless important business required the chief's absence.[246] Such absence, however, could only be justified by official duties, and then the "chief of men" had to appear with all the tokens and emblems of his rank.[247] If otherwise, he might indeed, go about, but he lost all claim to official recognition.[248] Hence the statements are true in the main, however exaggerated in detail, that great decorum was observed towards the "chief of men" whenever he appeared in public, that he was addressed with marked deference, and that a certain pomp surrounded him on such occasions.[249] These occasions were, of course, opportunities for the display of Indian

Walter Scott in "Waverley." As to the part played by the "chief of men" see particularly *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 66, Vedia II).

[245] This particularly earnest mien is noticed by all authors. It is strictly Indian, and found among the rudest tribes.

[246] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI. p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, sino á cosas muy necesarias y forçosas." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 76): "De ordinario estaba retirado saliendo muy pocas vezes á vista del pueblo."

[247] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. X, p. 291). It is distinctly asserted by the former that, what he has called "corona real" could only be worn by the "chief of men" and the "snake-woman." This head-dress, very appropriately termed by the Spaniards, "half mitre" ("media mitra") is figured by many authors of native origin. See *Codex Mendoza* (plates II to XIV, also LXX), *Durán* (Láminas 2 to 14, also 16, 18, to 24 etc.), *Codice Ramirez* (plates 4 and 5). It is called "Xiuhuitzolli" by the Mexicans. See also *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 30 and IIa, p. 160) from "Xiuitl" turquoise or green stone, and is totally different from the head-dress worn by the "chief of men" in the field. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 126). [293]

[248] This explains the stories about the "incognito" ramblings of "Fasting Wolf" of Tezcuco, so frequently repeated after the Ixtlilxochitls, as well as that of the arrest of "Wrathy Chief" (the last Montezuma) for appropriating corn out of a field. The latter tale is beautifully told by *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 451, 452) after the best authorities.

[249] No author has been more prolific in pictures of pomp, regal wealth and magnificence, than *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. LXXXVIII, XCI and XCII, etc.). Most of the later writers have placed undue reliance on his statements, assuming that the truthfulness with which he "gave vent" to his own individual feelings and impressions, was the result of cool, impassionate observation. Anyone who has read attentively (and not merely glanced over at random for the purpose of obtaining quotations) his protracted "Mémoires," will become convinced that he is, in fact, one of the most unreliable eye-witnesses, as far as general principles are concerned. In every detail where his personal feelings are not involved or by which, even at the late date when he wrote, they were not involuntarily aroused, he is much more trustworthy than when he takes special pride or pains to be very explicit. Thus, it is curious to compare his description of "Wrathy Chief's" reception of Cortés with that given subsequently by the "Marquis del Valle" himself, ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 25). It was doubtlessly the greatest effort at pomp and display ever attempted by the Mexicans, since they went to meet and greet the most incom- [114]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women 291
wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they 554
sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*,
completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, [302]
sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they
wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may
still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates
33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many names given to the different kinds of mantles show their interest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather [292]
from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich man- 292
tles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some, who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker supporting an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle. On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identification. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, 301
shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, 304
opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay, wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

301 men and women alike. Men often wore ornaments passed
[304] through the septum of the nose or suspended from a slit in the lower lip. Elaborate necklaces and pendants, armlets and leg bracelets, gave brilliance to a costume for state occasions.
302 Cosmetics were not used to touch up nature, as with us, but instead a lavish application of face and body paints in red, blue, yellow, green and black enhanced with prismatic richness the softer tones of their brown flesh. (See Plates 46–47.)
105 It is obvious that the Aztecs were no pitiable craven savages. They lived upon variegated and delicious foods and dwelt in houses that were comfortable and airy. Their dress stimulated the exercise of merited self-satisfaction, not to be confused with the compensations of vanity. Their manner of life enabled them to take advantage of their personal aptitudes and exchange the products of their own creation for whatever they lacked. Articles for daily and ceremonial use were made with the loving care of master artisans, and rare indeed was the object that did not have the impress of some little decorative touch that makes a pleasant possession of a drab utensil. Their crafts deserve to themselves a complete chapter.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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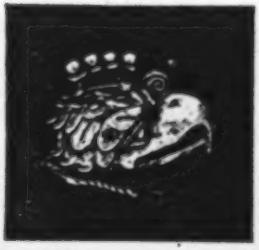

PLATE 46

AZTEC GOLDWORK

TOP ROW: Small gold ornaments from Oaxaca reveal exquisite workmanship. MIDDLE: A buckle representing the god Xipe has a strong sculptural quality. BOTTOM: *Left:* A gold worker from the Codex Florentino makes a mosaic ornament like that at right, in which turquoise mosaic enhances a gold reproduction of the shield and arrows, constituting the sign for war.

[p. 144 (B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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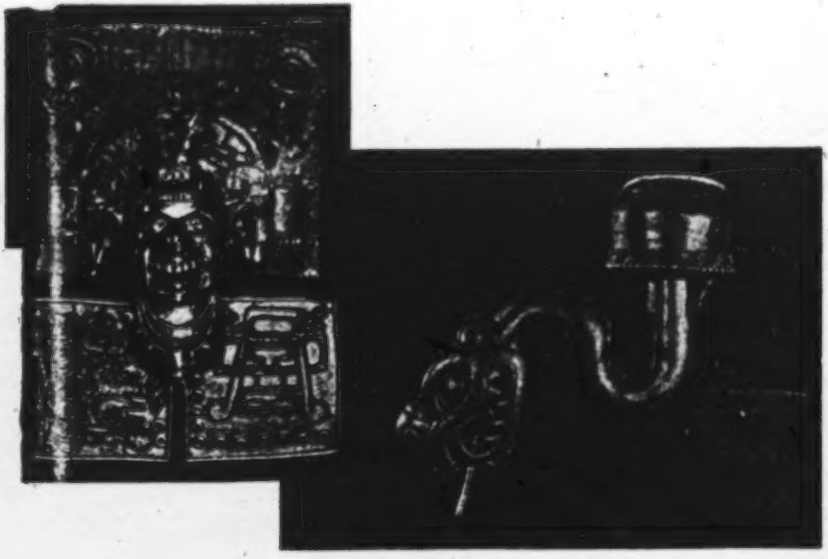

PLATE 47

AZTEC GOLDWORK

Almost all Aztec goldwork went into the Spanish melting pot. Most surviving examples come from Oaxaca, where the supply was doubled by Caso's discovery of Tomb 7 at Monte Alban, represented by upper left and bottom and opposite-page middle. The lip ornament (*upper right*) has a movable tongue that makes a very lively serpent indeed. These few examples give an idea of the range of form and skill of the Aztec goldsmith.

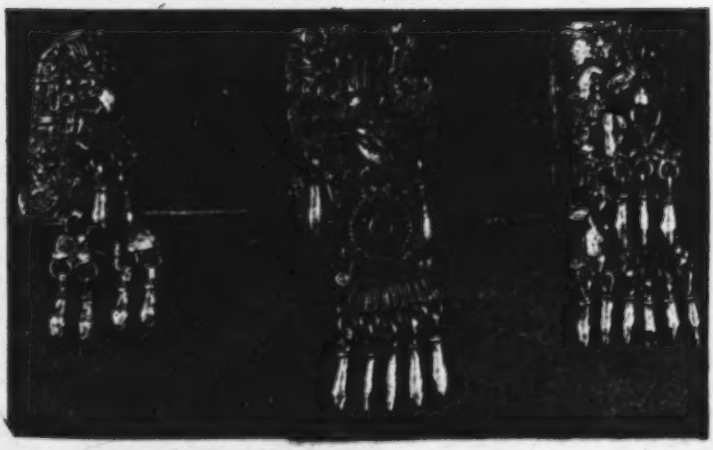

[p. 144(E)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

row of vendors of implements and tools, such as obsidian 174
blades, carved and burnished pottery, spindle whorls, deer- 438
horn awls, bone bodkins and a few copper axes and needles. A brilliant mass of color characterized the booths of the feather salesmen. Some sold merely bunches of plumes, the lovely green of the quetzal, or trogon, and the multicolored plumage of parrots. At the other stands feather cloaks, mats and shields gave evidence of charming fancy in their design and patient toil in their execution. (See Plates 38–39.)

Jewelers displayed jade ornaments and gold worked into 174
precious rings of filigree or massive beaten gorgets. It was 438
the jade, however, that caught the envious eye and was pro- 301
duced with furtive circumspection as a material of great price. Other merchants sold ornaments of shell, and the pinks, whites and subtle mottled browns of sea shells contrasted with the rich dark sheen of tortoise carapaces. At one booth a rich warrior earnestly bargained with the proprietor for an exquisite pair of earplugs, cunningly inlaid with a mosaic of turquoise and mother-of-pearl.

The smiling whispers and admiring glances of the crowd 174
at the jeweler's abruptly changed in the slave quarters to 438
appraising stares. Some of the chattels wore wooden collars, 567
and their brutish faces had a hopeless expression. These had sunk to servitude long ago as a result of crime or of capture in war. Others were thin and emaciated but did not wear the collar of bondage. They had met with misfortune and were selling themselves for the first time to ensure food and shelter.

A low hum rose from the market place; there was none of 174
the strident shouting of the European fair. The bargaining 438
for goods was carried on slowly, quietly, but, nonetheless,

And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moçeçuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chiconquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacaitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atacapitzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

776
463
484
414
[439]

Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquaujtl, yn atzaccaiutl:

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalirtica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica qujntlaehecalhuja in chaneque. [292]

Auh intla octaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujnpoiomjctia, qujnchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nẽ tematitlanpa qujça, ichoatl qujoalnonotzaia in moteçonçuma: [263] [266]

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçonaltenteuh, yc qujmaviztiotia, ic qujnezcaiotia, in tiiacauh, vncan ic ocujchtia. [431] [301]

Auh yn jquac oalacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal ocujchiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: iaqujch tlacatl qujnotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic motrititiaia: [304]

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca qujmavizilia yn itopil, yn jtlaçaia yiacatecutli: 776

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia. 796 [778]

Auh intla aca tealtiz, ichoatl caltiaia, qujzeoaia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme ichoantin yn mocheoaia, in qujnmeteutiaia in chiconqujaujtl, aneço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomucujl, yoan nacztl, cochimetl, iacapitzaoac, aiac qujiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca alciz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacanecujloca axcaputzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecuepa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujacoxque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn atle intlaciuh ca: 776 796 567

ynjc ichoan qujnmictiaque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujqujztililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujntlamamaca, intech qujtlalia yn juhquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn aiamo qujnmjctia, achtopa qujnteititiaia: mjtna qujmjxpextia, ic qujtemachitia in tealtique:

104. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 57): Yacanihchqui "preparamente representa persona, que tiene vivaçe, è habilidad, para mofar graciosamente, è engañar, y ai sabio, y astuto (que es people condition de Mexicanos) . . . ."

105. Cf. Soler (Ensiqe Kapiel, p. 22) citing Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex. B. II §69.

106. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines calpulli as "yglesia del barrio, è parroche" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the subjunctive in this manner: "Estos ductos que instituhan a estos esclavos."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Soler (Collected Works, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chiconquiauitl or Chalmecaciuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacztl is Quetzalcoatl.

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecujlhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtocioatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa. 796 X [805 776]

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They went held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all wore garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *cempoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

1 f KL
2 g La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y
3 A dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y
4 b moças y muchachas yvan asidas de
5 c vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las
6 d manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra
7 e por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan
8 f sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas
9 g de axenxos desta tierra que se llama
10 A iztauhiatl: gujaualas vnos viejos, y
11 b regian al canto en medio dellas yva la
12 c muger que era la ymagen desta diosa,
13 d y que avia de morir adereçada con
14 e ricos ornamentos.
15 f La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan
16 g las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de
17 A morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la
18 b noche: venjda la mañana: adereça-
19 c uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn
20 d areyto muy solemne: y todos los que
estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman cempoalsochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos catiuos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtocioatl: alli matauan primero a los captiuos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76.

f 1 2[1] [535] g 3 A 4 b 5 c 6 d 7 [301] e 8 f 9 [137] g 10 A 11 b 12 c 13 d 14 e 15 f 16 [535] g 17 A 18 b 19 c 20 [137] d 21 [273]

1. Marginal notation: Marvellous, poor, says Bus.

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
x 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornizes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

x 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Ciuapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the
[776] second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the court-
[463] yard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que. eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[432] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vccã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tliltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj.

Jnic ezcan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli. [314]

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj. [825]

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miqujia nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujzçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

[796 X 778 289 292]

[292 301 237]

[314 824]

[289]

[493 237]

6. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*en este sierro enxjuriste que este cerro del Tlaxolaxo.*"

7. *Yiapaltic.* Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *bermejo* (lion colored, tawny) for *yiapalli.* For *papaltic, tlalor* (*op. cit.*, p. 56) has *pardinegro;* Molina (*op. cit.*), *color tirado de negro;* Simeón (*op. cit.*), brown or black.

8. The Spanish text explains: "*es este sierro enxuriste que este cabo grandalejo.*"

9. *Loc. cit.:* "*es aquel mocarrillo, que este devaxo deste lugaxo, frente del diablejo.*"

10. *Loc. cit.:* "*es es mesmo, que este es los terrajuzes de Tlaxcalla, y allí cabo tepetzinco.*"

11. *Loc. cit.:* "*es es mesmo que este cabo chalco cerraxo.*"

12. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 57) reads *yemamatlatzon,* which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Feder.*

13. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says "*pusiqueles unos alas de papel como angeles.*"

feathers, and in these [the children] were kept.

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cozcateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

quitoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notatzin: auh tel tepal quiquaia intemal. 796X [266]

Auh yn ieoaio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlacoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaquilo cemjlhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexquich maco, in quexquich quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quitlaiecultia yn ieoauh. [431]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, quijiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn ixquichtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn jntzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia. 796X 535

Auh in cuitlachueue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhquin mjccaoati, quinchoquilia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque. 796X

Auh no iehoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, quimonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cozcateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamaujçoltiloia: njman ic xitinoqa, necacaoalo. 796X 648

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjttac ietiuh, vmpa quiquaquatoque. [262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'quixtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: quipeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualizpan quiioalcaoaia: njman quimonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynic mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapā tlatquijtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tzõcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone- 796X 301

24. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 175-80) says that Moctezuma I invited "*los señores de toda la redonda*"—Texcoco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuauitlan, Matlatzinco, the Mixtecapan, and as many more as possible. "*Los señores de las provincias y ciudades*," he continues, "*admirados y asombrados de semejante sacrificio, parecíanse para sus provincias y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . dexó espantados á los forasteros. . . . Donde concurrieron todos los de las provincias y ciudades convocaronse deseosos de tratar tratados ni contratadas con los mexicanos, viendo quien adorar estimar y obrar tratamos á sus enemigos.*"

25. Ulloqui: "*tortillas, como empanadillas, que hacían de masbiz sin cocer,*" according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of *maccaroncelli*—"*das 'Brot in Gestalt einer Armbrustes'. . . . Es ser ein Gebäck in Bogform, das mit eingeflochten, Zusammenhängen Maisfäden, also aus Maismehl, nicht aus Maismasse, hergestellt wurde.*"

maize;[26] with coyote heads made of a paste of amaranth seeds; with S-shaped *tortillas* and thick rolls[27] covered with a paste of amaranth seeds and with toasted maize on top; and red amaranth, which was really red feathers, and maize stalks with ears of green or tender maize.

After midday, the priests rested. Thereupon the Tenochca and the Tlatelulca came together, two rows of Tenochca and two rows of Tlatelulca facing each other. All danced very slowly; the dance proceeded in harmony. Then all emerged, coming out of the palace gate, and all arranged themselves. Moctezuma came forth with them; he came out dancing. At his right and left came two great princes, Neçaualpilli of Texcoco and Totoquiuaztli, ruler of the Tepaneca. Great solemnity reigned as all danced.

And when it was already dark, when it was already night, all dispersed. Then began the singing and dancing [with interlocked hands];[28] there danced the novice warriors, the chief warriors—those who had captured four captives or more, as well as those who had taken one or two. And these were named also young leaders. And also the princes danced. And likewise women danced with them—those known as mothers, but only if they wished; they were not forced. And also immodest women, harlots.

And then all departed, when midnight was nigh, when trumpets had been blown. For twenty days it continued in this manner, until the Feast of Toçoztontli arrived.

cujllaxcalli, teumjmjlli, çan no tzoalli ic quipepechooaia, quimomochiotiaia panj: yoan oauhchichilli, çan tlapaliujtl catca, yoan cintopilli, eloio, anoço xiloio.

Yn omotzicalo tonatiuh, moceuja in tlamacazque, njman ic ic monepanuja, montlamanuja, in tenuchca in tlatilulca, vmpanti in tenuchca, no vmpanti in tlatilulca, mixnamjctiuj, cenca çan yujian, yn netotilo, cenca vel cooamantiuh in netotiliztli: njman oalquixoa intecpa quiiaoac, oalneimanalo, oalteujca in motecuçoma, oalmjtotitiuh, quitzatzacutiuitze, quioalitzcatitiuj, vmentin veueintin tlatoque Neçaoalpilli tetzcuco, totoquioaztli, tepanecapan tlatoanj: vel mauiztli oonoc in nehtotiloia.

Auh ic tlapoiaoa, ic tlaixcuecuetziuj in necacaoalo, njman ic peoa, in cujcoanolo, mjtotiaia in telpuchtequjoaque, teachcaoa, in nauj cacitinemj, yn anoce oc quezquijnti ymalhoan: yoã in ce, vme, cacitinemj. Auh no motocaiotiaia hy, telpuchiiaque: no yoan in tlatoque mitotia. Auh no tehoan in cioa mjtotia: mjtoa tenaoan, çan illo tlama, amo tequjuhtiloia: auh çan no iehoãtin yn aujianjme, in maaujltia.

Auh iquac necaoaloia, in ie hiciuhtiuh, ioalnepantla tlatlapitzalizpa: cempoalilhujtl, yn iuh tlamanca, yn juh tlamanja: vmpa onaci yn ipan toçoztontli.

26. Cf. Paso y Troncoso, op. cit., p. 109: ". . . es decir, las mazorcas de maíces que se guardaban para esta fiesta calpulculas por mucho tiempo así secas de las cosas."
27. See Anderson and Dibble (op. cit., p. 14). Possibly these resembled the wrapped favor in Pl. 12.
28. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, Mexico: n. p., 1940), pp. 80, 219. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "yuan traiendo de las manos, yuan demanda como enlebrando."

X 796 [275] Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaçn aquin connequia, coninonectiaia, ontlaeleuiaia in mihivintia telpopochti.

[755] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequintin ic monetoltia, yn eoatlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçoati, anoço ixcocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

[301 289] Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaquitiuj in eoatl, amateteujtl, ymacolpan mamätiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

[515] And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynic yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aisnamjquizzli: çan neiacapacholo ynic namjco, ynic tetla quiça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn eoatl, ocototzauh, oeacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica qujnapaloa, yn oueltepioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappizoac.

[431 531 291] And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan.uj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: qujmoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoaoanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn eoatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac eoatl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin eoatl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiquiça, qujoaltentiquiça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 515 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oqujcaouto eoatl, yn onmaqujtiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxqualooa, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixiotexiija:

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6. See Chapter 20, n. 4.

7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *camopalli* as *kamoserfarbene* or as *orange-farbene Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kamoserfarbenen* (*von der braunen Farbe der Knollen der Batatas edulis*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado canoro*.

For *nochpalli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*karminfarbenen* (*von der Farbe des Nochezli, der Kaktus-Schildlaus*)."

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and illus., p. 531.

X796 in his discourse, that he might talk graciously, converse well, and greet people agreeably on the road, if he met anyone.

For he was much honored when he appeared as the impersonator; because he was the likeness of Titlacauan; he was acknowledged as our lord, treated like a lord; one begged favors, with sighs; before him the common people bowed in reverence and kissed the earth.

[827] And if they noted that his body became even a little fat, they made him drink brine, so that he became thin; the salt water thinned him, so that he became lean; he became hard; his flesh became firm.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at [the feast of] Toxcatl, he appeared [before the people]. And when the man died who had been impersonator for one year, he who had led the way, he who had cast [the spear] for one year, who had given commands for one year, forthwith was one chosen to be set in his place, from all whom the temple guardians had saved and cared for at the time that [the captives] appeared [before them].

Thereupon he began his office; he went about playing his flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

[302 567] His eight young men went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year; their hair was shorn like [the hair of] slaves, cut and clipped, not smooth like a gourd, nor cut [too] short, not [made like] growing whiskers on the head.

And four warriors, who instructed youths in the art of war, [were] similarly shorn. Their hairdress lay upright on their foreheads.

Then Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator] well and arrayed him in varied garb; he provided him [his appropriate indumentary]. He ornamented him, he adorned him in great pomp with all costly articles, which he caused to be placed upon him; for verily he took him to be his beloved god. His face was anointed with black; it was said: "He fasteth [302] with blackened face." A thick layer of black was smeared on his cheeks. White feathers were placed upon his head—the soft down of eagles. They placed it on his hair, which fell to his loins.

[301] And when he was attired, he went about with sweet-smelling flowers[7] upon his head, a crown of flowers. And these same were hung over both shoul-

ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellatoz, vel tenotza, vel tetlapaloz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztililoia yn iquac oixnez, in ie teixiptla: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca elcicooa, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontlalqua in maceoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztaiotl qujltequjtiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaioquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlalichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtl in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miquj ce tlacatl yn oteixiptlatic ce xiujtl, in ce xiujtl, ooallaotlatocti, in ce xiujtl oqujtlaz, in ce xiujtl ooallaujcac: ça çan ic mopatlatiuja yn ixquetzaloia, yn ixqujchtin qujnpiaia, in qujnnemjtiaia caçalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeoaltia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitztinemj: cemilhujtl, yoan ceniooal: çan connequja in campa ieh vtli qujtocaz:

qujtocatinemj yn iachoan chicueintin: nqvin mocexiuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa, motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloa, amo moquatetzicoa

Auh no naujntin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecuçuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, qujieiecquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçotecouh ipan qujmati, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujliaia yn itzon, ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

Auh yn omocencauh izqujxochitl in icpac contecatinemj, icpac xochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in necoc-

7. *Bouvardia hirsuta Hemsley*, according to Ixtlilxochitl (*Elogio Rapaisel*, p. 97, n. 1, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 68). In the former he quotes from Hernández that it is flower resembling poppel corn.

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatoxin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiaalli*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey toçoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, ycuacapa quiquixtiaia: in moteneoa tuchineapãtli.

Auh yn jnacazjtitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaquijaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcuzquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxiqujpilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in qujquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli qujmoztopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: iehoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in iehoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhqujnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaztazel, quetzalmjiaoaio itzotzocol itech qujlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

796 301 [306] [292] 796 [584 595] [302 701] [283 301] [833] [551]

8. "Como cerquillos de oro" (Sahagún: *loc. cit.*).
9. "Llevaba a las espaldas, en ornamento como bolsa, de en palmas en quadro de hoyas blancas, con sus borlas y flecadura" (*loc. cit.*).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 163. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una franca cortina, atamada capilla atadora de los cabellos, dos borlas con sus bermejas, borlas de plumas, y oro, y tochiacatl, muy curiosas, que eran llamadas atapalli." Clark (*op. in.*, Vol. I, p. 98) describes "The first load of maxtlas (which) has a design called, by Sahagún, *xpuxtico ximoali*, because of the conches woven in *tochiacatl* or red rabbit's fur; the ground of whirlpools enclosed in a square of dark red, has squares of white feathers. The fringe is also of red *tochiacatl*." From this, it would appear that *tochiacatl* is red string, and *tochiacatl* a red thong of rabbit hide.

796 kept about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

[535] There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with
796 white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech
302 cloths. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw
293 feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the
[237] base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

796 And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground.
[534] They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

796 And all the masters of the youths, the young
535 seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

[30] And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of
302 maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

796 Of these, it was said that they embraced, they em-
684 braced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.
688 And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitos toxcachocholoa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaleque, moquaquapotonja ixtac tocolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzinteloloio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaiaoloa, ic tlaxiziltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate cheoaticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aiouitectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn ixquich teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, motenecoa mococoloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococoloa, ichica sujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia inmotol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicozquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxeleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn ixqujchtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujntitilicça, qujmiicça:

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*saltar o bailar de la fiesta de toxcatl*"; Carochy (*op. cit.*, p. 298) translates *toxcachocholoqui* as "*se salta el salto de Toxcatl.*"

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Rodrigo edition, Vol. III, pp. 162-3 and 187. The text-mentioned relation to *tzanatl* is: "*Hay una ave que se llama tzanatl; es negra y tiene el pico corvo.*" Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 186, n. 2) calls *tzanatl* jackdaw or daw; cf. (*ibid.*, p. 233) *tzatl* thrush. Of this and cf. *cuitlacuchcho* he says it is "*ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und dessen Schrei, nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Landregen verkündete sollte. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Es wird sonst ein Vogel mit ähnlichem schwarzen Gefieder gewesen sein wie der der tzanatl oder Dohle.*" Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: "*y que eran llamadas cuitlacuchtli, por razon de la lluvia, que llamaba chuan, en el verano.*" See also *supra*, p. 44.

handled them and cast them to the ground. If somewhere there was a puddle of water, there they cast them down and slid and rolled them, leaving them to wallow in the mud, covered with mire. Just so they forced them to the banks of the lake, to the place where they dragged people to the water, at a place called Tetzacco.

And when they had arrived there, the [chief] fire priest and the other fire priests thereupon [sacrificially] burned the papers and the gods molded in incense, and those formed of rubber. And the incense they scattered in various directions and spread over each of the reed mats.

And when this was done, it was as if they wounded the water when they cast [their captives] into the water. Like a roaring heat the water seemed and was. And if any tried to come out from under the water, they plunged him under, [so that] he sank deep.

And if any were experienced in water, when [the captives] had submerged them, they fared well.[29] They came out of the water at a distance, and then took off, fleeing and escaping.

And some, in truth, [the captives] caused to faint, and verily they swooned. Indeed, they left them, hurt, truly as if dead, laid out at the water's edge.

And some, who had swallowed much water—this bitter water—[their friends] held head down, that [the water] which they had swallowed might come out through their nose and mouth.

And when all this had come to pass, then all turned back, all returned again, blowing their conch shells as they went.

And those who had been cast into the water went only to their houses; their kinfolk accompanied them. They went ashamed, trembling, shivering, that at home they might recover.

And when [the priests] had reached their houses, again were laid and spread out the mats of green and white reeds. And also were strewn about reeds. Here again began the fast named "the day fast." Also there was fasting for four days. Not now was one dressed [for entertainment]; nor did they now eat [only at midday].

At this time they began the [priest'] vested adornment. The novice priests aided the priests in their escaping. They prepared all the divers paper vestments manj qujnotl, vmpa qujnoctlaça vmpa qujçaçepeztoca, qujmomjqiloa, qujçoçoqujpeztocatinemj, qujçoçoqujpeloztinemj, çan iuh qujnomotitia yn atenco, in teotlan papacholoian, iocaiocan tzecco.

Auh yn iquac yn ouaxioc in tlenamacac, yoan oc ceçqujnia tlellenamacaçqui, njman ie ic qujtlatia yn atenal, yoan copaltecoa, yoan vhtecu: yoan yn jamhelli, qujtetepoa, qujzocomaua in tolpepechpan.

Auh yn iquac mochioa y, yn atl iuhqujn tmçonimanj, ynic teotlan papacholo: iuhqujn tlacaocatimanj, vel macoquetza yn atl: auh yn aci oalpanemiztinemqui conpolactia, centlanj iuh.

Auh yn aci amatinj, yn oconpolactiqui, çan ic coniauh, vecati onpanitzi, njman ic cholea, moichia, tzomaçqujtia:

auh in ceçqujtin vel quinjhiiocaxahtia vel çaçotlaua, ça mjmjçqui in qujcacoa, ça q'nmictocaua atenco qujnoalhcoua:

auh in ceçqujtin oçqujtzoloqui atl, in chichic atl, çqujtzamicpiloca ic oalçqujça, yn iniacac yn jocamac, yn oçqujtzoloca.

Auh in ic iuhqui njman ic oalujloa, icujtlauic oalujlua oc ceçe oallapizticinj:

auh yn oalhçaçepeztoloqui, çan inchan vhtinj, çqujmjçqujça in inchantlaca, cocentinj, viçujcacinj, tiritiltocatinj, yn oconhhiocatiqui inchan.

Auh yn oaxioxo calmecac, oc ceçe tlatemoca, motecca yn amaçqujpetlatl, yoan zo motecca yn atzalin, oc ceçe vecan peza in teçcoalinili, ioca nethaçqualiztli, zo nauhtlapjl in nethaçqualiz, aceme teoxiuhqualiz:

[785]

ajnman ic vecti ompeza in tlatlachichinaliz, çqujtlachichiqujlaia in tlamacaçqui, tlamatcaca, qujçoçocoa yn iaçqujch amatlaçqujl, in tlaçqujchqueztl, yn

796X

796X 301

[29] Either the conclusion or future tense would be acceptable reading for the Aztec text. Sahagún, in the Spanish column, states that they would usually survive the ordeal.

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nenta, the paper shoulder rosettes, the semicircular paper neck ornaments, and the bags for incense, which were purchased only [at the market]; and necklaces of wood, [also] sold only at the market place.

And when they had reached [the end of] the four days, when all had fasted, then at early dawn all began to array themselves.

293 X 796 [302]

Then were bedight the fire priests and all [the other] priests. Early in the morning, all put on the shoulder rosettes. And they placed, over them, the paper neck ornament. They all put on the paper neck adornments. And their foreheads were stained blue—they were colored blue—and their bodies were stained. They were painted after the manner of Uitzcioual.[24] And in their hands they carried the incense bags. The fire priests carried with them their ocelot-skin incense bags, provided with small, white, sea shells. In four places shells hung from the incense bags.

And the bags of the [lesser] priests were only of paper, painted like ocelot hide, painted to look like ocelot [skin]. Some [incense bags] represented the *ayaxmicuilotl* bird;[25] some represented ducks. Their bags were filled with incense.

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And when this was done, then all went [in procession] together, [that] the feast day might be celebrated. The fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc led the others. He had put on his quetzal and heron feather crown; his face was coated with liquid rubber; [he had] his mist jacket and his rain mask or his Tlaloc mask, which he put on. His long, tangled hair fell to his loins. Behind him followed, chanting, all the [other] priests, and thus they went to the Temple of Tlaloc.

When they reached there, thereupon the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc placed himself. He spread out all the white reeds and leaves,[26] and cactus leaves, strewn with the sweet-smelling herbs; provided with the sweet-smelling herbs.

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Then he placed [upon the mats] four round green stones. And when he had placed them there, then they gave him a small wooden hook, stained blue, wherewith he struck each of the green stone balls. As he went striking [each one], he turned around.

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24. Báez (op. cit., p. 123) has "*uaxo . . . Jamado dos Cavalos to dos dos dos Lamagnos Wgnaos.*"

25. Described in Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 170. Báez (op. cit., p. 125, n. 1) cites Hernández (op. 18, fol. 32) and defines it as the *chichimeca*. Cf. also Carlos A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del Autor, 1904), pp. 542-3.

26. In a description of the Huauxtec and their region, Sahagún writes: "*Se dice muy bien todos los huauxtecos y mexicos frescos que por ser no se hallan, quando es la que dicen quaquamaqui*" (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 131). Báez (op. cit., p. 126) calls it *Phyllopanthalum*, and cites Hernández's definition as *Inginar plaiman*.

ximaxuexpalli, yoi yn jiatzatli, çan qujmococoxjaia, yoan in tlacopacoxcatl, çan monanamacaia tianquizco.

Auh yn oncic nauilhujtl, ynic netlacaçoaalo, njman ioxtzinco in pepa in techichioalo:

njman mochichina in tlatlenamacaque, yoan yn izquich tlamacazquj, ioxtzico yn ennecaqujlo, in tlaquechpaniod: yoan cuelelaia ymicpac, ximaxuexpalli, neximacuexpalilo, yoan neixquatexoujlo, xijxquatexoujxia, yoan michioaia, moujxtzichioaia: yoan intlan caana yn iatzatli: tetlan tlaano in tlatlenamacaque, ynoocelojxiaz cuecuechcho, nauhcampa in pipilcac, cuechtli, yn itech yiatzatli.

Auh in tlamacazque ymjatax, çan amatl in tlachichioalli, tlaocelocujlolli, ocelocujliuhquj, in cequintin atzitzicujlotl ipan mizeoaia: in cequintin canauhdi, ipan mjzeoaia, yn jmiatax, tetentiuh, yn jiauhtextli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec tenanamjco, ilhujclalo: teiacana in tlalocan tlenamacac, quetzalaxtzoontli, yn onactiuh: yoan mjeolluj yaiauhxicol, iquijauhxaiac, anoço itlalocaxaiac in conmaquja, ycnitlacaxiuhian vetzi yn ipapa ycampa i caoacatiuj yn jxquichtin tlamacazque, ynic vih yn iteupan tlaloc:

yn onacique njman ie ic oenmoquetza, in tlalocan tlenamac, coechaioa in atzapili, yoan in quequexquje, yoan nopalli, yiauhtitlan tlaxqujlli, tlayiauhujlli:

njmá ic contlalia in chalchiuhtelolotli nauhtetl: auh yn ocontlali mec conmaca, quauhchicoloontli, tlatzoujlli, ic conujujectiuh, cocentzi in chalchiuhtelolotli: yn jquac qujmanujujectiuh, oalmococuptiuh.

1796 Twenty-sixth Chapter in which are related the feast and ceremonies celebrated upon the feast in the seventh month, which was named Tecuilhuitontli.[1]

Tecuilhuitontli: When this feast arrived, they celebrated the minor feast of the lords for twenty days. And at this time died—[for thus] her fate then befell her—at this time died [in sacrifice], a war captive's death, [she who was the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, god[dess] of those who made salt, the salt-makers.

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This Uixtociuatl, so it was said, was thought to be the elder sister of the rain gods. And it was thought that the rain gods were her brothers. [In] one thing she angered and offended them, that she mocked at her brothers. And then they pursued their elder sister over to the salt beds. There she discovered salt—how it existed, how it was formed, and how were made the salt jars; and also salty sand.

And, on this account, greatly did men who lived where there was salt pay honor to her.

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And the array of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was [thus]: Her [face] paint and ornamentation were yellow. This was of yellow ochre or the [yellow] of maize blossoms.[2] And [she wore] her paper cap with quetzal feathers in the form of a tassel of maize. It was of many quetzal feathers, full of quetzal feathers, so that it was covered with green, streaming down, glistening like precious green feathers.

And [she had] her golden ear plugs. And the golden ear plugs glittered and flashed and were very yellow, like squash blossoms. And her shirt was embroidered[3] to resemble water [waves].[4] And the border of her shirt was as if painted with green stones, designed to represent billowing clouds on the hem [of her shirt]; the edge was painted in a cloud design. And her shirt was designed in the same fashion.

And on her ankles[5] she had placed bells—golden bells—or rattles. On the calf of her leg she had bound an ocelot skin on which were the bells. And when

Inic cipoualli on chiquaxo capiztic, vncan motenco yn illiuitl, yoan in tlamauiztiliztli, in machiotia, yn ipan vel ic omilhujtl, ic chicome mecatl, in mjtoua: Tecuilhujtontli.

Tecuilhujtontli: yn in quiçaia in machiotia, in tecuilhujtontli, no compoualilhujtica: auh vncã miquja, vncan iaxqujuh vetzia vncan teumjqujo in vixtociuatl, yn jxteuh iztatlaca, itzachiuhqui.

Injn vixtociuatl, iuh mjtoa quilmach iuelitiuh, catca in tlaloque: yoan quilmach yioq'chtioan in tlaloque: centlamãtli ic quinoqualani, ic quinielitlaco, inca mocaiauh, yn joqujchtioan: auh njman ic quinotecaqui yn iuelitiuh vmpa yn iztapan: vmpa quinentiso yn iztatl, yn juh ioli, yn juh tlacati, yn juh machiua intacomjtl, yoan iztaxalli.

Auh ipampa y, cenca quimauiztiliaia yn iztapaneca, yn iztapãtlaca.

Auh in vixtociuatl, yn jnechichiual catca, yn jxaual, yn jnechiual cuzic: ichoatl in tecoçaujtl anoço tomjoli: yoan yamacal, quetzalmjiaoaio, quequetzalo, meca quetzalli, iuhquin xonoqujuj, xonoqujuhtimanj, momoiaua, xexeliuj, iuhquin xonopaleoa, xonoxoja:

yoan yteucujtlanacoch, teucujtlanacoche: auh in teucujtlanacochtli, pepetlaca, pepepetlaca, cenca cuitic, iuhquin xionochquijtl: yoan yujpil tlaxicujtolli, xycujliuhquj: auh yn ixca yn ivipil, tlachalchiujcujtolli, chalchiujcujliuhquj, tẽmixmolonquj, tlatemjxicujtolli: auh yn icue çan ic no iuhquj ynic tlacujtolli,

yoan icxic cuetlalia coiolli, teucujtlacoiolli, anoço tzitzilli: itlanitzco in quilpioia, ocelocuatl yn ipan

1. "Fiesta de los señores," according to Siméon ("Relación breve," p. 300); "der kleine Herrenfest," or "kleiner Herrenfest," in Seler (Einige Kapitel, pp. 130, 131).
Tecuilhuitontli this month and the next literally is the lords' months, in contrast to Hueitecuilhuitl. Cf. Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 26.
2. In op. cit., p. 131 and p. 131, n. 1, Seler refers to "gelber Ziphomarjoran." Siméon, however, is translated by Molina (op. cit.) as "la simiente y la flor de la milla de maiz."
3. Literally, painted; Sahagún, however, writing "labrada."
4. Cf. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text: also Plate 34.
5. "Las sonajas de los pies," in Sahagún's Spanish. Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 9.

3 she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *tzuzulini*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

noc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yzaoaca, yzamaca, zazamaca, tzitzilica, tzizitzilica, 796x

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacatli, icpatl potonequj inic tlaqujtlli, ynjc tlamaiqujtli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ic in potonequj: auh yn jcacnecaio, çan ic no ic yn potonequj: [301] 796x 292

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonaxicujlolli, atlacueçonanjcujlinhquj, tezatlapilollo: 796x 293

Auh in tezatlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmolocti, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaioia tezxollotl, tzarenoloio in chimalli. [237]

Jn iquac mjtoriaia, qujmamalacachoa yn ichimal, ic momamana: [535]

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: ezcan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio: [314]

in iquac mjtoria, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetzinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh. 796x 535

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in quicioapancujcatiaia, izquichtin cenquiça, quicecencaoa yn iztaclaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ic ichpupuchchicacti: [463]

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtoria, tezpantinj, tetecpantinj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, monocuioia zochimecatl ynic mamta, ynic

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 22.

7. "Y amarillo," in Ibid., op. cit., p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Mayan tzuzil (cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish reference reads: "Y traía una rodela pintada, como nuestra rajas muchas, de la parte que se llama adonaquyan." In Vol. III of the Bulmarde ed., p. 326, in Dr. Mariano Leal's essay, "Ensayo de interpretación e identificación de las Historias 30 a 138" (Mss. 243 a 245) del libro XI, de la Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," adornamentar is defined as "cubrir de negro, blanquear, pintar, blanquear."

8. "Otra manera de papagayos llamaba tzuzil, y eran como colores cuando ya eran grandes y maduros y crecidos; entonces tienen los plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; entonces salen unos cuadrados en ellos, que papagayo macho sale en amarillo-blanco, y por eso le llamaron tzuzil, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla." (Sahagún, Bulmarde ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

9. "Una flores en los cabos, hechas de plumas de aquella" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulín*, however, may be an element in Aztec [illegible].

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 12, n. 103.

11. "Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamaron cuchin (?) es muy semejante al que llamaron tzuzil; tiene el pico amarillo y rayos, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo amarillas, las medianas y todo la cabeza de los alas, tiene colorado rayado, semejado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñitas que están sobre la cabeza del ala que llamaron tzuzil, son amarillas semejadas de colorado; el rabo, como pelo malo, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado semejado de amarillo" (Sahagún, Bulmarde ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

12. Cf. *ibid.* (Bulmarde, op. cit.): "Iba arrimado quando iba bailando"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "Cuando bailaba era al arrojar, yendo arrimando al llamar, y alrededor [sic] a arrojar del bailar."

1 A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtocihuatl. – Analyst]

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[1]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen—picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermilion net cloaks.

cenca mixinalaia, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiiovisia, mocisavia: cenca ynca tomjquian catca. 796' 736

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, ixqujlhujtl cujcoia: im pennia cujcoanaliztli, cenca çã achiton ionatiuh, cenca çã pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ic ic tletoco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tleti.

Auh in tlavihetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacempantinca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujhetl, hoontlacujtlanaoactli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: [372]

auh in ic' iuhquj, mec oalquixoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjxoitohjtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: ichoantin in maujlkia, yn aujenjme: ichoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacmequjxtilti: [548]

auh yn qujnnanaualtia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan ichoantin in mauizilionj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjxoque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoã in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllocłama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlas. [302 565]

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, mach qualli in commaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj tozolixipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhqui, cequj ilacatziuhquj, amoço tlatecallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi teno, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. 796' 242

Auh yn iuvipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocuipilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jmaqui much teuai: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjztia, quixoua yn jntzon, çan intzon quiçoçoquinoua: auh yn jntzon ipiloas, ymizquac quiouiaca. [302]

Auh amo mopotonja, amo mozaoa.

Auh ynic mochichintia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichiuai catca, ichauil in cuechindi: auh in tiacaoan, in tequacaoque, ymizzacuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motecaiotia innechpolocuechin. [622] [301 304 701]

1. Cf. [illegible] Spanish text. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two arm sides [of] in their [illegible]." For [illegible] Sahagún has "as [illegible]."

X 796 292 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

● 301 304 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

X 796 293 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

[301 714] And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

237 And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; X 796 some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

X 796 302 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in inquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn jncuechin, muchi tenjzo, yoan muchintin inxiziuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, qujnamictia, cequj aujtlaxtli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn inquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh ya quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in tototenpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquijque in mococenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmococujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, excan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, occlueoatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintlã excan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotol in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçacoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tiliztotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has done Pedrarias'head for pendants-keeper.

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quezzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquixocan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiuauh nocne aço toqujchtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toqujch miquijcli:

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoeatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, tltentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtotoca, in cioatetiachcauh: aoqujc no teoã cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoez, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcennacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanqui.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlace, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in ichoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njuan ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiauccujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn moteneoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itẽco coztic, auh yn izquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn iconquj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiazochiavipil yoan yazochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoã yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz miuztla:

in cemilhujtl conpeualtia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vocan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquixecan: ynjc excan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn

796x 684 836

796x [302] 301

[292 293]

796x

796x 805

7. Bathing the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and begun in view of the sacrifices of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec column is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquja* is probably an assimilation of *aquja*.—Angel Maria Garibay, personal communication.

1796 wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

1805 [For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

1796 When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the [533] night watching; they slept not; the women remained sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the leading [532] warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

1796 Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers.
535 And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also
793 they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their fore-
[302] heads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[9] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their
● [301] heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

1796 And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum,
793 which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd,
[534] which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

[534] And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vnpa xolloco, vnpa ontzonquiçaia,

çã qujtocniaia, çan qujujcahtiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiocolotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhsonalli.

In ie iuh iontzinco miqoia in Xilonen: ceiocoal in cioapan cujoaia, toçoaia, muchi tlacatl iztoçoaia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, quecoaia quevilaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel izquich tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopochti, yn iiaquc, yoan in tequjoaquc, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia tetopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itichpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan mentzoaia tetoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ynjicpactochiuh, inxuxochicazquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ichoã yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazquc, amo qujmonnecloa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in ichoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapiloca.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococulotiuj:

auh ynic motenena tecomapiloca, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in stecomatl, yhicampa itepotzco ictiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazquc, tenanamjquj tlapiztiuj, tecciztli in qujpiztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipiztiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

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8. *Bixa orellana L.*, the annatto shrub (Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, op. cit., p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llamaban compañalchitl, son semejantes y de buen olor*" (Kohler ed., Vol. III, p. 271). Tagetes, in Seler, loc. cit. See also p. 88, n. 17.

10. Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *chimamaquer* ceremony (chanting priests), says "The player is called the *teyoquer*, and the drum, *teponaztli*. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonnerera sonolente* Bonth. this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of elder." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tenguat on the between (corresponding Spanish text).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was o[illegible]ered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Cacophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Note 27.

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in quimama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quimoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpanioub ietiuh, amatl in tlachuhtli, etc. 796 793 [30] [287]

Ce tlacatl quiquechpanoa, in aiochicoaztli, excan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan quioaltilquetza in chicaoztli, quicacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic quioalnamiquj, yuicpa quioalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzoa: 796

njman ie ic tlacoti, quiquechtoquj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, zozouhquj xicalco quioallalia: ichoã quimati in machiceque catca in campa quitlalia, in campa quinequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in oogtl: yoan iancujcan moponoci in oauhquitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl. [262 264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl necotiloia, çan inneixcujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, mozaoia. [302]

Inequjch tlacatl motamaluja mozocotomalujaia: quiotlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan.

Auh in uetetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcujl catca in tlacoanaia: çan njmã niac tlacoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazqui, yn ichpuchtli. [868 273]

Auh intla aca, oitoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan mochioaz, yn aço quijxacutiaz netetilo, neixpãtitilo: quipantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796 273 689

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
778 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were
[302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained
[237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were
[293] decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

[535] And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with
[30] white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper
[302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and
292] they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked.
[413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "Iztoon nail."

[415] After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

7. Literally, lame. Blind Hawkes, however, renders respondi as this.
8. The context suggests a distinction between dismissive and analogous.

auh in ic iuhqui onmoquetztiveteni, vel tecujui in tlalli, vel olinj, yoli comonj: in ic ihuqui, njmã ic ic qujtecma: mochi ichaual in tealelli, in vevei itel conmaia, contepeua: auh in omoteua, njman ic ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ic ic viviloa, cacalloua, cactiveni, cactinomaua.

Auh njman ic ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlaçaque, vel moomcaoa, mochichioa, motencocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuia, in qujmama tlavizti, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoli in ichimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, aneço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujlinhtica, hivitica: ic motencoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjxtitivi, momalitetitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçaque, no mjxtitivi, qujxtiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamancapanal, njmã ic imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichilos, mjxtentlilcomolos.

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ic ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan onmotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

Auh in peua in qujxtoçavia, ic tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantia in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

in ic iuhqui, njman ic ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujxtzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquitze intzõ in mamalti, qujxtequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, mamaltic: auh in jxtli injc qujxequja intzon: qujxtocaiotinia, itztlotli:

in ic juhqui in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, iaoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco quipilos, ic monextia in

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the barbers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

vmpan ca vitzilatl, oztoc, auevetica in qujoaltzatzacutivi, intlan qujoalaantivi: 796x 778

in oqujoalhujcaque: njman ie ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jcxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmamatlatquj, in jmamanechichioal in jpan mjqujaque, yoan qujnteso vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpã tlatlamj: yoã imjztlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in tetzõtli, in coztic, yoan qujmontlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuiotl. 796x 302 [301]

Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõchichiuhque, in oqujmõcencauhque, njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalqujqujztiqujça, njmã ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnxixitinja, qujntlatlalilia in intlatquj, qujmõtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioaoan. 796x 567

Auh in oacic, vncã tlamacujlti: njmã vncã compeoaltia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in ioalnepantla: vmpã aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oneoa in calpulco. [515]

Auh in cioatl tealtia, çan vncã in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cõquetza atenco exço: auh in otzõqujxavilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmã ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltitlti, yoã in tealtique, yoan in teançque yoan in tetemovique, yoã im panoa- [535]

que quieres decir, locuelas, porque las locuelas y regalidas para que engendraran, para que se curan fuera sabrosa cosada las lechiosas de maíz y de ocote; semejadas como cosdoses en Antequemplo; porque allí hacía fiesta de olles y allí las vendían las que tenían en ocioses."

The *Real Palacio* MS (Quiñones, op. cit., p. 317) reads: "*Auh inic onioa tenhiuhca: yohiuc in tlamanili tonatiqo cuitlaxcoa ayocuitlaxcoa in ixquich cuah cuauhtlaxilli*"—"y es dicir el que hacía grande porque a su cuitlaxcoa después la hubiese como aquel cuitlaxcoa, cada uno de los veinte días."

4. Sahagún (Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 39) calls *ahuehuetl* cypress (an emblem of kingly power). In Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 332) it is defined as Tenochtitlan *ocoxocuauhtli*. The corresponding Spanish text has "*hoyas de cedro*," but J. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Diccionario de voces nahuas* (México: Editorial Cultura, T. G. G. A., 1949), Vol. I, pp. 1368, has some notes on the etymology of *ahuehuetl*.

5. Sahagún, in Codex Florentino *Ms.* 577.1 (Codex Florentino *B*) (Berlin: Druck von Gebr. Unger, 1982), p. 8, describes this face painting (Codex *Mendoza*) as similar to Quetzalcóatl. The colors, although of different color, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Amiles de los cuidados*."

7. "*Cuando el medio día*" (Ibid., ob.): "*Ho como (por almuerzo) con Tuya (por Mitiaq)*"—Sahagún, *Biblia Rapida*, p. 384; "*comida a medio*" (Garibay, op. cit., p. 102).

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *teoxtl*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, ichoatl in tiltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teutetl, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, texcapoctli ica:

796x 778 [301 302]

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tuzpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquẽ çã no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc.

237

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmã catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmã ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

796x [252]

Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpã motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmõmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in õmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaxtimanj, vncã motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque.

796x 262

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujxtimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmã ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmã ie ic texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotõ,

796x 274

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hacían otra cara, como del diez, del fuego, de pedrillas y cárdenas, como con otras. . . .*"
6. *Tzontecuexpalcatl*: in Lib. XII, Cap. i, §4 (Bulmolo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexicans mean, "*las plumas del moño y de las bonetes, hacen la cola, como de barbajas de cuadrillas (y) Almendras tapadas. . . .*"
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y entrepuestas como pontezillas de plumas galanas, que parecían como pertrechos de infantes.*"
8. *Ulocpalli*: "*una manera de tortas que llaman ulocpalli, de maíz molido, hechas sin cocer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Bulmolo ed., Vol. II, p. 186).

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Paynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Ixcoçauhqui.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

ic tetzoncujoa, qujntzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omotenenuh: auh in ontetzoncujoac: njmã ic ic tepotonjlo, no qujnpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac ma ontlacacochi in tlapixque. 796x [514]

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ic tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ic ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ic ic no ceppa calaquj in inician: auh in aca ąmo qujmotlatlatilia in jazca, çan qujtetlauhtia, çan qujtemamaca.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa tzchichioalo: njmã ic ic vi in vmpa mjqujzque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjqujzque: njmã ic ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intozqujtzatzaizn, omach ihiçaoacaque: [533]

Auh in ic ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmã ic ic oaltemo in Paynal, qujnoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjoque mamalti: njmã ichoã in tlaaltilti in ixcoçauhq̃.

Auh in ocentlanque mjquj in ic iuhquj: auh in jzqujchtin tlatoque, in tetecutin in cenca maviztiliouj, ic ic manj, çe qujchixtimanj omocencauhq̃, qujniacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlaocaiotl: 796x 301 [643]

yoan cootlalia iacxivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequjntin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõmaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoã in xolococsquj iuhqujn chichiton ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acaxilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

Auh in imnac onotinh quavitl, çan tepitoton tlatzotzopantectli, chictlapilquj; in aco chichiltic, auh 796x 293 [386]

10. "The aguilla made made through" seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. But, however, Angel Maria Garibay K.: "Paralipomenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1949), p. 171, for a discussion of these in comparison.

x796 when he had been living in the likeness of another,
[548] had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said,
[827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

And they divided the heart of the *magney* plants;
[824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

x796 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to
852 pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and
[301] covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited.
[608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they
[431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests'
[304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And
[302 they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers
237] and soft down.

And the women who became aunts were pasted
[608 with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms,
302] and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

oaquetztinēca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinēca omovelitztinenca.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn izquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaxna, qujmacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujmizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, mooapaoazque:

yoā in metl qujiolloxeloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollotlapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moscaltiz, mooapaoaz.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan contlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiā vetzia in tlatoque.

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn izquichtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemolisia, in qujnvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmavitia, tetlati, teaviti:

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

ioalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnnacazxapotla, qujnnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conqujxtia, vncā qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzatzitlcoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoqujztlcoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoā inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamazxochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

In jquac oqujmōnacazxapotlaque, njmā ic qujnoalhujujca in inchachan, vncan qujchieltitoque iztoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlaviltitoque, qujchixtoque in

874 [701] beareth a staff. For also [in times past] they had slaves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

pil caica, yoan in ça ie ichoantin in ontelpiaia, in quauhcalco ontetlaliaia,

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

yzquich y, in inpauetziliz, in inpauechiliz in telpupuchti.

874 And in this way of life, few showed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriors]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

auh inin nemilizti amo çan quexquichtin in ipan nenca, in ipan mocapaoaia, amo çã tlapoalti in motocaiotiaia telpupuchti, ipampa ca çan njmã amo tecoco in innemiliz in telpupuchti, ca in oc pipiltototi, vncan cencochi in quilhuja telpuchcali vncan cemonoque.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud[7] [for *adobes*, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

auh in aquin poliuja, in amo telpuchcalco cochi, quitlatzacujltiaia, yoan inchan ontlaqua. auh cemolohuhtiui in canpa tlein quichioa, in aço pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, quichioa, motquitiui, anoço motexcloa. auh quauhtla uj, concuj, conmama in quilhuia cuicatlauilli:

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but not—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

auh ĩ ça achi tonatiuh quicaoa in tlein quichioa, njman mocencaoa, muchichioa, achtopa mahaltia, njman mõça, amo no quilhuja in inxaixc nima mococxcatia.

874 The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.[8] Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they pasted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted maguey fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shorn ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

301

Yn oquichtin in tiacaoan, vevej chipoli in quijmococxcatia, anoço teucujtlacoxcatl, motlacuechmanilia, motlaeoxtimanilia, njman mjchio, mjtoaia motlilxotia hapeztli ic conpotonja, in jnechioal, monacochtia, moxixjuhnacochtia, moxxtatia, mochalcacatia, ynjn chalcaiscl tlamalinoli in jcpatl, tlatlalpitl, iuhquin matlatl cillo, in tlatoque teucujtlacillo in jnchalcaiauh, in quaquachicti inchalcaiauh mjtoa xoxocoio, ynjc mjtoa xoxocoio, veveypupul in itech quijpipiloa icpatetl,

874 When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

535

yn iõc ie onaqui tonatiuh njman tletecz in quilhuja cujcacalco, tlehquanco in tletlatlalia telpupuchti, in ie tlaixmiqui, nimaa pozalo in cujco, muchi tlacatl

7. The word *pohlli*, as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make adobes.

8. In *Manuscrito Tlatelolco* (p. 344, n. 1), Seler offers a variant for [illegible] and [illegible]. Cuechli and cuel, however, may be [illegible] garments, or have [illegible].

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech cloths, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[4] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quitquj in pilhoaque, in tlatoque anoço pipiltj, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cozcatl, quetzalli chalchiuitl, in quivenchiouia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, anoço yiauhtli in quitquj in juven muchioa,

874
793
565

yn oconvicaque, njman cohça tlitica, vel quixtlilpopotza, njman tlacopatli quicozcatia, yn jcnoliaca çan ixquich potonquj quicozcatia, njmã qujnacaztequi, contlatlaxilia in ixiptla Diablo in iexio piltõtli, intla oc piltontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlatoanj ipiltxin, iczquj vmpa c.ncaoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque,

[302]
[301]

njman quimachtia yn ixquich nemiliztli, njc nemoa calmecac, in tlatecpantli.

4. Aristolochia maxima (Barlow, op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 **Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.**

Injc chicunauj capítulo vncan moteneoa injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jcoac maceoaia.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontlj tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal uetuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlauiztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which [314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujclalia ujtziloxitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112, identifies *quetzalhuitl* as *Pharomacrus mocinno mocinno*.
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 124).
3. One such is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.
4. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as *Cotinga amabilis*.
5. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
6. *Quauhtemoctzin*: quauh could mean warrior; therefore we always give pedestrian to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *chalchiuhtecomalacatentetl ceuitl teuxiujtl yoallo*—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

301 A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhcoxcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenquixtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac coxcatl, chalchiuhtlacanacalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

[237] A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzalxotoicpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquauitl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecaceoaztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcoxcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcoxcatl,

643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, teiacatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[276] 416]

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçeloeoacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[298 281] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl xiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

[534] 533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, uruetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixqujch omjto. Veuej topcanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtenteti, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoulco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 543; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1096f., on etymology of *amanteca*.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli cẹpitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellelquixtiaia tlạtoque. 643

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac quịça tlatoanj, imac onociuh, iacạpitzac, injc mạpilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh quịiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in quịtlạpcuịlitiuj: ỉiac vel quịiacauịltequj, ỉiac uel ixpan quịça, ỉiac vel acopa quịtta, ỉiac uel quịxnepanoa, [481] 643 644

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cuịca, mecuịcamachtia, cuịcachcoa, quịtlatlaquechilia, quịçạçanjlhuịa, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, shows,[1] precious capes, valuable breech cloths, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, quịtlanjtoa in jxquịch tlạçotli in teucuịtlatl, in teocuịtlaconcatl, in chalchiuịtl, in teuxiuịtl, in tlạçotli, in tlạçotilmatli, in tlạçomaxtlatl, in mịlli, in callj, cozcahoatl, teucuịtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xonoiuịtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, inoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepanxectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetzric in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecod tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquịa ollimanj vncan tlacalaquịa, vncan quịçalaquịa olli: njman ic quịtlanj in jxquịch tlạçotli tlaequịtl, auh muchiotin quịntlanj, in jxquịchtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlauịcallo in olli, maiecatl, oclpilonj, quẹçoatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica siccotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj innatica in quịchtiaoa in nauhtetl etl, quịcuịlloa ce petlatl, tlilica, papatlacsic in tlilli, injc mịcuịlloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlacetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapoaltech ioccomme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, quịtlanjlia in jxquịch tlạçotli, cozric teucuịtlacoacatl, chalchiuịtl, teuxiuịtl, matzopetzali ipan ca chalchiuịtl 524 524 525

1. Tlajolli: the corresponding Spanish has dance (*danza*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

524 were* all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stones, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were sewed,
green stones or fine turquoise, spotted feathers,
shows, houses, fields, precious copper, stone, large copper,
green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather
copper. And he who played pottle, who cast the beans,
if then he made use [of them] sound, if the beans
stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then
he wore all the costly goods. [The other] lost even
though he had not yet attained the specified number
of throws. Then were all agreed; then all came to the
end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this be-
longed a bracelet on which were large, sewed, green
● [301] stones or fine turquoise. The ruler placed it above
[343] his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling.
With these belonged a net for the small stones,
provided so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted
with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were
laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who
rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in
many ways. Their deeds were laughable and mar-
velous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying]
below this did—he made a thick, round log dance
with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his
back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of
his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[132] were their servants, their pages who attended them
and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, condors, vultures, mountain
cats, and various birds.

chichiqui, ozqo tzoniqui, quetzalli, tlacoxi, calli,
milli, chapolmatl, pepeualli, xoxi tlaxoli: chichiqui-
tzoxal, tzoniquimatlali, tzoniquimatlali. Auh in
oquiqui pamaqui, in quichiuaz in ce, iuhca ceuaxal ce ic
tzoquetzalli, in tzoquetzaxoc ce, in xoxo ic tlaxoli-
quiqui: cenca tzoncuecuechca, cenca chanquiqui
ipan zoncuic: ninoan nenchi quichiuaz, in pampich tlapo-
tli, in mochiquiza in tzoncuel ninoan ayi in quenqui-
tzal ayiqui, iniquc ayocmocuecuechca, iniquc ayocmopiqui.

Tlachiquiza tlaxipahuiza, tlapoaiza, tzoncuiza, tla-
cochiza: tlaxipahuiz, tzoncuepotzli ipan ca, xoxi chal-
chiuitl, chalchiqui, ozqo tzoniqui in pampachohua
quichiuz tlaxoxi.

Tlachocholoniz, tlachocoto ican tlacolhuatli, iniqui-
calto tlachocoxtlal ximpilhic iniqc tzopetlaca tzicolcti,
ic quipiaztli tepinoan tzoncuc, tlachopchocholoniz in
jca tzoncuchcal: iniqc quipanqui tzopapan tzoncuc,

tzoncchinjhiz, tzoncchinquetzaz, cuepiz, in ja-
quipich tzopapan tzoncuel,

[illegible] in quipoalhiquiz
[illegible] z, in quipiaztlachiz: ican quenjhicuecuepz in qui-
pepeuhiz ximpic: tlacoxoli in jatlachiuil tzoncuepiqui,
ican tzoncpiz, in jca iuequel tlacuepa iniqc tlaxoxi qc
tlacoxi, tzoncuec in quenquipiqui in quipiaz jca iuec-
qui tzoncuec: ozqo in cuecuecuej quenquipiqui qc
tlaxoxi in juequel ic tlaxoxi.

ximpic tlacolli, in tzoncuechi in quichiuz, tlacoxo
ixcuechcan, ixcuecan in quipiqui tzoncuec in quipachol-
hiquiztlacoxo, tzopanoc, tzilinoc, tzopotzoc, tzochcoc,
quipiqui quequechi, ayohuac, cuipiqhichin, ozo-
tochin, ozqo tzoxoxi.

2. The Bad' codexes de la Biblioteca MS reads quitlaxoxo the respectful honorif of quitlaxoxi.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhxochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whenever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepachoioc. 692 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, ichoantin qujtzonqujztiaia in ꞇequjn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlac, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquechin onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaxtaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlac in oc iohoan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [824] 535 [891] [801] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açoꞇlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujztia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açoꞇ atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocnia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaostia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutini, açoꞇ qujnmecanja, anoço qujtetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc anjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlacochcalcatl*, *atempanecatl* see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *conmantiuj*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *amoçe tlahuiztlachili*—or adultery.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

291 531 **Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.**

The orange-colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers; the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

302 386 Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impe-

Ic cuxolli cuplitotec vncan mjtoa in jnnechichioa in çioa.

Vitztecolcujtlahpic vipilli, xmolcio ujpilli, quechnenecujlhoaxio vipilli, xuchimoiaoac ujpilli, pocujpilli, vecuj tlamachili itzquj, tolxaianquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachlo vipilli, coiojchcaio vipilli, xomoujvipilli, tlapaltochomjtica zicalnetzo[illegible] vipilli, acocuxchimoiaoac vipilli, inqcuxcallo potoncaio xoxochitcio vipilli.

Chicocuejtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeoallo cuejtl. patlaoac in jten, xicalcoliubquj cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, ixtenacazio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cuejtl, patlaoac in jten: cacamolhubquj ixtac cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, oçelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtē; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tene: coxoxchcapipilcac cuejtl tene.

Apoçonehnacochtli, teujlonacochtli ixtac, cuxtic tencujtlanacochtlj: ixtac tencujtlanacochtli, itznacochtli ixtac.

Mozaoia, tlapalhoatzaltica: mozaoia, tecuçauhtica: mochapopeztaoia: copalxxtica mocxioxiuja, tzonquetne, quazequeque, xxotzocoleque, maxtlaoa, mozonquetzaltica, quçquazequj in jxtzon, qujiaiacaxpenoa in jxtzon: tlatetecoa, mopatinequj, qujmamaujzmati in jxtzontecon: moxiuhqujlpa, injc pepetlaca ixtzon: motlantlapalhujia, motlinochezujia, momaxicujloa, moquechicujloa, moquechtetema, mokchiquijchicujloa, mochichiouicujloa.

1. In Hernández, op. cit., I, p. 34, *cempoalxóchitl* is identified as *Dahlia coccinea*, Cav. Sahagún (op. cit., I, p. 33), however, says of *cempoal*: "Es hierba, cuadrada de cabelinas crecidas, hediyente del pelo, crecenle cuadrillos por cabeza. (Lagunería vulgarmente, ver.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas curiosas de las antiguas civilizaciones," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515-pp. 519, mentions two kinds of *cempoalxóchitl* (*cuauxochi*, *quilitl*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores coronadas purpúreas*." Dr. Oliver le cita (*Bot. de Hernández*, II, p. 276), giving *Pentanchipta atropurpurea* D. C. for *cuauxochi*; Urbina thinks it is *Artemisia atropurpurea* Bentham.

2. After *in jxtzon*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *mitzquatzopilloa*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

veuetl: ioan in ixquich maçeoallatequjtl, ioan netotiliztli, aquin cujcaitoz, aquiquc in teiacanazque, aquin teponaçoz, aquin veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacaujz.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed himself, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
292 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a
301 yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

Auh in ie iconac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc qujlpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac qujtlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceozztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in qujmololoa, in qujmoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in qujmomaxtlatia,

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no qujcencaoa qujntlauhtia: in ixquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan qujnmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzqujtlamantin omoteneuhque.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla qujtlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli qujchalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, qujpoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in qujpoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, qujtzacutiuh mjquja.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncā mjtoa injc ixnçoaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpāpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl cioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan stenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca ixnçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioena in ioboaltica quenmanjan qujçaia qujiaoaloa in altepetl qujtta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ie necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

729 [643] 431 301

He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[5] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two trupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships: possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

in qujnmaca coztic teçacatl, anoço coztic tencololli, anoço xoxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xoxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtenteri, anoço tlanjtenteri: njman ic quixallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiocio, anoço çaquan tlalpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, ichoatl in tlaocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iojticatetecomaio, anoço itzmjxicalcoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzicoliuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quexqujch tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquacalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixtelolo, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotoieoatl, anoçe tozcoatl in ie uel ixqujch tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan qujnmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in qujnmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

643

And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Thillancalqui tecutli.[7]

Auh intla mjqujx tlatoanj: ichoantin cenne analoia, injc ichoantin qujpachozque altepetl. Auh çan no ichoantin, cequjntin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in qujtzõtecticate mjqujztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociaoacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

5. *Tlaxiuxtmatl*: Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *tlaxiuxtmatl*.

6. After years disappeared, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quauxxoxoctlatl—Kakikuyfu-kombinde*, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Cinnatecpanecatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tufts, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[3] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[4] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[5] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[6] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic naui caci ieh icoac quitequioacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compeoaltia in tequioacatocaitl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnaouacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in iquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac contlalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquixtoque in ueuei tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociaouacatl, tocuiltecatl, atenpanecatl, ichoantin quauhiaca i, têçacaoaque cuitlaxnacochique quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. 701 [293]

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlixco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui têçacatl ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no icoac maco in tilmatli chicoupalnacazminqui, ioan cuetlaxtilmatli. 43 293 301

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlixco anoco vexotzinco ic ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in coztic têçacatl iioenesti quititlani in xoxouhqui têçacatl. 293 301

fin

3. *Tenitl:* "Hace sabe así Sahagún [Olmecas, Uixtecas, Mixtecas] *cada hacia el mediodia del sol, y Sahagún también tenidos, porque hablan lengua bárbara*"—Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 133. Cf. the corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *tlalpiloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be read *ynoqui*.

6. *Quititlani:* a marginal gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS suggests that the term is translated *auer*. Cf. the corresponding Spanish text, and, in Simeon, op. cit., *tener*, *tener*, *tilmatlis*.

7. Following *cuauhqui*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *in centic*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no test material]

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Injc nauj capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlaonaoati Motecuçoma, in oqujma in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, ichoatl in don hernando Cortes.

Qujmjlhuj tla xioalhujan moceloqujchtle, tla xioalhujan quj-iequene oqujçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjqujti, vel xitlacaqujcan, vel xinacaçocan, tlein qujtoz, vel nacaztli in anqujoalcujzque: iscatquj ic itech amacizque in totecujo,

ichoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: cuaxiacatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapanecaiotl, chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlaconalli, yoan centetl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj, quetzaltençouhquj, yol quetzalpanio; yoan tezcacujtlapilli quetzallo: auh inin tezcacujtlapilli, iuhqujn xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçalolli, yoan chalchiuhcuecuextli, teucujtlacoiollotoc: njman ic ichoatl xioatlatl, çan motqujtica xivitl, iuhqujn costrontecometica, costzontecome, yoan itzcactli.

1. *Thereupon:* *demonstrative* is probably meant.

2. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 461, n. 1, says: *"In Wahrheit ist dies die Tracht Xiuhtecutlis."*

3. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), II, p. 413, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: *una manera labrada de mosaico de turquesas tenía esta manera labrada de las mejores piedras una cabeza doblada y retorcida cuya dobles era el pico de la nariz y la retorcida que hasta la frente era como lazo de la nariz luego se dispone la cola de la cabeza y la cabeza con parte del cuerpo que por sobre el su ojo de manera que hasta ojo y la cola con parte del cuerpo que por sobre el otro ojo y hasta otro ojo."*

4. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Estaba esta manera encorada en una corona alta y grande llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de manera que pareciendo la corona sobre la cabeza se pone la manera en la cara."*

5. Cf. *Codex Vaticanus.* The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Llevaba por joyel una medalla de oro redonda y encima estaba una manera cerrada de piedras preciosas que colgaba al cuello cubriendo los hombros y todo el pecho."*

6. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Llevaba también una rodela grande bordada de piedras preciosas con unas cuentas de oro que llegaban de arriba abajo por toda ella, y otras cuentas de perlas atravesadas sobre las de oro de arriba abajo por toda ella y las orejeras que traía eran cuentas las grandes eran como medias de red pues parecían unos capiros de oro tenía esta rodela unos resplandores en la haza que salía en la rodela eran también que salía dentro la manejo de la rodela hecha de plumas ricas."*

7. *Ibid.:* *"una medalla grande hecha de obra de mosaico que la llamaba espaldar y estaba sobre las espaldas."*

8. *Ibid.:* *"un cuerpo como entre de chiapa todo labrado de obra de mosaico de turquesas y la hechura de arriba era una cabeza de una culebra colorada o encorada."*

431 776 292 301

The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Tezcatlipoca — the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

[416]

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlatica cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan cozcatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centeti tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mântiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

[237]

Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

[416]

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalaztatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tzitzile; tenchilnaoacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

[237]

Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[½] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, cozoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcololli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

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9. *Ibid.*: "vna cabellera hecha de plumas vna que colgaua por la parte detras hasta cerca de la cintura estaua sembrada toda de estrellas de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "vnas orejeras de oro que llamaã colgadas vnas caracolillos de oro y cintales de caracoles marinos blancos y horadados detras cintales colgaua en cuerpo que era como pato y llamaãle cenjdo [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaua este pato muchos caracoles sembrados y colgados por todo el."

11. *Ibid.*: "vn cuerpo de cabo blanco pintado la orilla de abaxo deste cuerpo era bordada con plumas blancas y estas por todo al rededor."

12. *Ibid.*: "vna manta vna la cabo della era vn aqui claro y toda labrada cuadros de muchos labores de vn aqui muy fino llamauase esta manta tzitzilli esta manta se ponja por la cintura atada por las espaldas al cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.*: "vna rodadlla de mamparo, atada al cuerpo sobre las lomos."

14. *Ibid.*: "vnas orejeras de chalchiujl, muchas que tenja detro vnas calebrinas de chalchiujuel."

15. *Tenchilnaoacaio* is probably meant in the Aztec column.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: vna mjtra de cuero de tigre, y colongaua [sic] de la mjtra, sobre los espaldar, vna espilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuerno, llamaua la mjtra vn chalchiujl grãde: y redondo, en la punta."

17. *Ibid.*: "de mamparo de turquesas."

12

½ [There is no known genus of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Analyst]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

yoã hecaxonecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 431 776 301 292

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Oca izqujtlamãdi in, in moteneoa teutlatquitl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in qujtqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli toztlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

Niman ic ic flatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichioalo. Auh in omoteneuhque macujltin; njman ic ic qujnnaoatia in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: iztcatquj mjtzalmomaqujlia, ca omaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico: 431 482 202

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ic no ceppa vncan oncoaq̃ acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ic ic vi, ommatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal. 505

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa anoallaque? 648

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujpiquj, aço çã toca anmocacaiaoa.

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoaltilinjque: njman no quioalquetzque ecoaztli.

18. *Ibid.*: "*Se quel rodela estaua bordada con plumas ricas en la boca de la rodella [sic] estaua una manda de plumas ricas.*"

19. *Ibid.*: "*un bastón labrado de manera de tarquesas y en la hoche de arriba pusieron unas plumas ricas o penachos enmjestaxes en la alto de arriba.*"

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "*una mijtra de oro hecha a manera de caracol marino ó unas raquetejas de plumas ricas que colgauan hasta las espaldas.*"

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*una mijtra Rasa.*"

[p. 14 is blank]

Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art not he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, qujoa ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoã oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injc qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl.

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmã ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cõnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmõmacaque teucujtlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoã teucujtlacozcatl.

Auh in oqujmõmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzca, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn cooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel ichoatl in cenca camjquj, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoottititivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oqujttaque Tzioacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx iee hin in Motecuçoma: Qujmjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmõichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie ichoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, qujmjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjto. Ca nchoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmã qujlhujque. Nepa xiauh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaiaoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatiloz, amo vel titechichchioaz, amo vel titechixcuepaz, amo vel titechixpatiliz, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopoloz, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechixçoqujviz, amo vel titechixçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel technetlatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tototi, cujx patlanjx? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

Injc caxtolli occe capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca qujnnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and,
355] lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow
magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were]
● [301] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocencaoà in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujz: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõmamãque in tlaçosuchitl, in chimalsuchitl, in iollosuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujsuchitl, in coztic iiesuchitl, in cacaosuchitl, icpacsuchitl, in xuchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

648 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met
431 them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them; he placed chains of flowers on them

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, cozochimacac, concozcati in cozcatl, consuchicozcati, consuchiapan, conjcpacsuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

[312]

1. Xoloco or Xoluco served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzadas of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a *barrio* bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Izazaga; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lucas Alamán; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Sahagún's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 30.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*En llegando los españoles a aquel río que esta sobre las casas de alvarado que se llama Xoloco.*"

4. *Chimalxochitl. Chimalxoxochitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). Chimalxicatl (*ibid.*, p. 100), "*tiene . . . flores redondas mayores (parece prodigio) de un palmo, amarillo rojizas con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media*"; *Helianthus annuus* L. Linn.; *girasol, chimalxochitl, maíz de sejas. Chimalxoxochitl* is classified as "*compuesta!*"

5. *Yolloxochitl. Yoloxóchil* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*), *Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún), "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as *tlacoilloxochitl.*"

6. *Izquixochitl. Izquixóchil*: in Chiapas, *jasmín del inmo — Bourreria formosa; B. huanita; B. litoralis* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 626). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria huanita* [La Llave and Lex] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 69 — a rare and covered plant whose flowers were used to flavor cacao. In Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeón ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is noted that "*Como flor sirve sur l'arbre izquixochiquauitl, membrillos huanita, de la familia des styracinées.*"

7. *Yeuxochitl.* Nardo Antonio Recho (*Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographia Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) gives *elocxochitl* as an alternative (*quam alij* Elocxochitl, *seu* Flaveus Elisi, *alij verò* Cuxuhquixochitl [*cuxuhquxi?*] *seu* Yeuxochitl pallidum, *seuque*"), a cold climate plant ("*provenit regionibus frigidis, & montosis loris*"). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it *elocxóchil*) as *Magnolia dealbata* Zucc. Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 275) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a *p* magnolia, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacaoxochitl. Cacahuaxóchil*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris* Llave). In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 348, it is identified as "*Rosita de cacao. Myrodia funebris. Bonl. Esmeraldanus.*" Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

[651
301
292]

[778
346]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

51. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eighteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards entered Moctezuma's princely home, and what happened there.

Inje caxtolli omei capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn Españoles calaqujto in jpilchan Motecuçoma: auh in tlein vmpa muchiuh.

After this they went to Moctezuma's own store house, where were kept Moctezuma's own goods, a place called Totocalco.[1] [They acted] eager and content; they clapped one another on the back, as if happy. And on arriving, when they entered the store house, they scattered, bustling everywhere, as if greedy and covetous.[2] Thereupon were taken out the goods which were in truth [Moctezuma's] own, his exclusively, his portion, precious items all: neck bands with pendants, arm bands with tufts of quetzal feathers, golden arm bands; and bracelets, golden bands with shells to fasten at the knee, and turquoise mosaic crowns with triangular forehead pieces — the rulers' attire; and turquoise nose rods; and all the rest of his array, without number. They took it all. They possessed themselves of all, appropriated all to themselves, and took all to themselves as their own.

Niman ie ic vi in vel itlatlatiaia Motecuçoma in vmpa mopia in vel itech iaxca in motecuçoma: itocaiocan Totocalco iuhqujn mocecenquetza, iuhqujn yioiolipan, iuhqujn moquequetzotzona, iuhqujn iiztaia iniollo. Auh in onacito, in oncalacque tlatlatiloian, iuhqujn tlacecẽmana, novian zactivetzi, iuhqujn mjhicultia, mjhicolia: njmã ie ic oallaqujxtilo in vel ixcoian yiaxca, in vel ineixcavil, in vel itonal, mochi tlaçotlanquj, in chaiaoac cozcatl, in machoncotl, in teucujtlamatemecatl, yoan in matzopetztli, teucujtlaicxitecuecuextli, yoan in xiuvitzolli tlatocatlatqujtl, yoã in iacazivitl, yoan in jxqujch in oc cequj in jtlatquj in amo çan tlapoalli muchi qujcujque, moch intech compachoq̃ moch cõmotechtique, moch cõmotonaltique.

And after they had removed all the gold [from the raiment], when it had been torn off, they then piled up in the courtyard, in the middle of the area, all the precious feathers. And when this had been done, when all the gold had been gathered, then Marina summoned, and ordered called, all the noblemen. She got upon the roof-top, on a parapet. She said: "O Mexicans, come hither!"[3] The Spaniards have suffered great fatigue. Bring here food, fresh water, and all which is needed. For they are already tired and exhausted; they are in need; they are spent and in want. Why do you not wish to come? It appeareth that you are angered."

Auh in ocõcocoleuhque in jxqujch in teucujtlatl: in ontlacocoleoaloc, njman ie ic qujcentlalia itoalco, itoalnepantla in jxqujch in tlaçohivitl. Auh in ie iuhquj in omochi munechico in teucujtlatl. Njmã ie ic qujoalnotza, qujoalnenotzallanj in jxqujchtin in pipiltin in Malintzin: tlapanco oalmoquetz, atenantic-pac: Quitoa. Mexica xioalhujan ca cenca ie tlaihiovia in Españoles: xiqualcujcã in tlaqualli, in chipaoac atl, yoan in jxqujch monequj, ca ie tlaihiovia, ie qujciavi, ie qujhiovia, ie mociavi, ie mjhiovia: tleica in amo anoallaznequj? ic neci ca anqualanj.

But the Mexicans no longer dared go there. They were much frightened; they were weak with fear; they were terrified. Great awe spread; dread reigned.[4] No longer did one dare do anything. It was as if a fierce beast were there; as if the land lay dead. None the less, not on this account did they do nothing, nor hesitate to leave that which was needed. But they

Auh in Mexica çã njmã aocmo motlapaloaia in ma onvian, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja mjhiçaviaia, cenca maviztli onoc, maviztli moteteca, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, ça iuhq'n tequanj vnca, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctoc: tel amo ic mocaoa, amo ic netzoztonalo in concaoa in jxqujch intech monequj, ça in mauhcac in concaoaia, çan momamauhtitivi, ça onmomauhcatla-

1. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 43.

2. Seler, op. cit., p. 494, translates thus: "Man aß sie sehr aufgeräumt gehen, wie Harpyen (oder wie Tiere), gleichsam einander aufgebracht, hochaufgeladen."

3. *Xiqualnojcuer*: this should probably be read *xiqualnicuer*.

4. *Momauc*: the word is blurred in the MS.

701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be [301] recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he [293] disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[3] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them — in both places he had them on his arms. And the [301] golden arm bands glistened.[4] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin otomjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in tlootonxintli, ichica amo imjxco tlachiaia in iniaovan in manel Españoles, amo tle inpan qujmjttaia, vel tlacenmamauhtiaia: in jquac in qujttaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocototztlaliaia in toiaovan: auh cenca qujtemoaia, injc qujmjctizque, in aço qujtepuzmjvizque, in anoço qujtlequjqujzvizque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çã mjxpolos injc amo ixima-choz: in quenman tlavíztli in ommaqujaia, itenpilol compiloaia, yoan iteteucujtlanacoch yoã conmocoz-catia in jcozquj chipoli, çan tlapouhtiuh in jxxon-tecon, nextiuh injc otomjtl: auh in quẽmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc ommoquaqujmjloa, auh in q̃manjan injc mjxpolos cõmaqujaia ihujtzoncalli, quatzone quauhtlalpilonj icuexcochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh ichoatl injc tetlepantlaxoia, iuhqujn tetle-pantlazquj ipã qujztiuh, qujntlaiciecalhujtiuh in tetlepantlazque iteteucujtlamatemecauh necoccampa in ietiuh yiocanjxti ietiuh in jmac: auh in teucujtla-matemecatl cuecuenio auh no ie in jcxic ieietiuh, cotzeoatl, teucujtlacotzeoatl çan petlanquj)

726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauh-caltitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

Auh njmã imuztlaioc in ie no cuel ceppa qujçaco in jmacal connacanaco nonoalco, aiauhcaltitlã: auh njman no qujçaco in tlaxipanvia yoan in ie ixujch tlaxcaltecatl yoan otomjtl, vel tonac in qujntepevi-vitze in Españoles. Auh in oacico nonoalco: njmã ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel motetemman in tlaieco-lizztli in iauiotl, necoc in mjcoaia ixujch mjnaloa in iniaovan, no ixujch in mexicatl, necoc ivi, neco-colo, iuh cemjlhujtl, iuh ioac in necalioac.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzayectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacanõ in amo mjtzacujlianj, in atle inpan qujmitta in iniaovã catca, in amo qujtlaçotlaia in innaczio. Jnjc ce tlacatl itoca Tzaiectzin. Jnjc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teeca in omoteneuh in Tzilacatzin.

3. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, Chapter 29.

4. *Cuecuenio*: probably *cuecuelo* is meant.

5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco. — Cano, op. cit.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[306
314
323
325]

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[*]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[73]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[74]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[75]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[76] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[77] [386]

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[78] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[79]

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[73] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[74] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[75] "A Moteçcuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[76] "Era de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[77] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[78] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[79] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas vezes del año enbiaban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' ques cobre" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

[65] 816 bundles[*] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long[**]
[291] 408 bundles[*] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long[**]
402 bundles[*] of mantles striped red and yellow[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles[**]
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields[*]

FOOD[*]

[26] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS[*]

[23] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
301 2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[*] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[*] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[*]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[*]

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[*] Corrected from 800.
[**] Corrected from 400.
[**] Corrected from 400.
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[*] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenian todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[*] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 110–111.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291]
400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**

[714 317 237 301]
2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262]
200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Ucila.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino,* fol. 18′) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[a]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[a]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[a] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 8v identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[a] *PNE,* 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925

NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco NU34
Zapotec NU44

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones." A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

325 copper ore. A chisel reported in the "Anales del Museo de Mexico" quoted by Sir John Evans, in his *Ancient Mexican Implements* when analyzed gave copper 97.87%, tin 2.13%, not sufficient to make a true bronze. Copper axes from Oaxaca, some heavy metal, apparently cast in a mould, others thin, shaped from sheet copper, have been analyzed and yielded only copper, showing they were *not* bronze.

A recent analysis was made for the writer of a portion of a metal chisel of Aztec origin from the village of Acatlan, in the State of Guerrero, Mexico. It was doubtless authentic being sent by Dr. Manuel Gamio, Direccion Anthropologia, Mexico, for analysis, which was made by Dr. D. L. Wallace of the University of Pennsylvania, Analytical Department. The piece of metal apparently broken from the middle of the chisel weighed 88 gms. It was 30 mm. long, 20 mm. wide and 15 mm. thick. It had a brown patina of oxidation, gave clean metal borings (used in the analysis) of dark red bronze color, and had the appearance of having been cast in an open mould. The specific gravity of the metal was 8.00 compared with Lake Superior native copper 7.50. The analyses yielded results as follows:

Copper	91.40%
Tin	3.07%
Lead	0.82%
Iron	0.53%
Cobalt	0.09%
Sulphur	0.82%
	96.73%
Thallium	?

Other metals often associated with Copper were tested for and not found, but tests indicated Thallium. This element Thallium occurs in some copper ores in Mexico as the mineral Crookesite, a copper Thallium selenite sulphide; and it is believed the portion unaccounted for in the analysis was due to the Thallium. [317]

325 The little copper bells in the Museum collections seem to have been found in Mexican sites as well as in Central America, and are quite abundant in some localities. Some of these bells were about one half to three-quarters of an inch long, others of more than two inches and of different shape. ●301

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

301
325

S. G. Morley in his description of Copan says:

"The discovery of copper bells of Mexican origin at a number of archeaological sites in Arizona and New Mexico clearly point to trade relations between the Pueblo Indians and the tribes of Central America in pre-Columbian times; these bells very closely resemble the copper bells found in the sacred Cenates of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, which can hardly have been carried there before 1200 A. D. [439]

Analysis has proved these metal bells to be copper with some little impurities; and it is believed they were cast by what is known as the *cire perdue* process. This method consists in using a wax model, or a core of clay covered with a wax pattern, the mould being heated, the wax melted and ran out, leaving the shape of the object to be cast, which was then filled with the melted metal. This is interesting because this process was well known to the makers of bronze ornaments in Europe, and it is a question if these little bells found in the Aztec or Maya burials were made by the *cire perdue* process; was it a discovery by the American race independent of foreign knowledge? 171 321

This might suggest a greater antiquity for this art of casting than that in Europe and would show a considerable amount of experience in metallurgy for the aborigines, and it is surprising that more elaborate objects were not made by them. Judging from the character and variety of cast objects of bronze from South America, the ancient Peruvians were familiar with the *cire perdue* method. Did the Inca discover it? They were certainly the earliest users of the alloy bronze in America with the exception of the unknown builders of Tiahuanaco, among whose ruins have been found bronze tools. With regard to the knowledge the Aztecs had of bronze, it is difficult to establish their claim until more analyses are made of specimens of undoubted Mexican origin, indicating an alloy with a composition of about 90% copper and 10% tin. The following analyses by P. Rivet, taken from his contribution in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* show to what extent tin was used by the Aztecs in their metal objects. 325

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 Each temple usually had a chamber and an antechamber, and in some cases two or even three shrines rested on the same platform. This platform or substructure gave height and mass to the temple. The usual practice was to lay up rough stone, set in adobe or lime, into a truncated pyramid, the sides of which were broken up by three narrow setbacks and by a steep ramp leading to the top. The surface was of veneered cut-stone slabs, and additional blocks were laid along the ramp to make the stair. Wide balustrades bordered the staircase and often ended in gigantic serpent heads. Aztec construction was the simplest type of engineering, but imposing architectural effects were gained by the consummate artistic sense and superb craftsmanship of the builders.[29] (See Plates 50–51.)

291 554 The adequate, even imposing, housing of the Aztecs and their gods by no means eclipsed their dress. Clothing, besides protecting man from the weather, has an important social function. It is a guide to the sex, age, group, occupation, rank and even character of its wearer. The simple and standardized clothing of our modern society performs the same service, and with a moment's observation one can tell much about a stranger from his clothes. The Aztecs, like many peoples of the world, strove by their dress to accentuate the social differences between people, and pomp and panoply dominated their costume. Or the barbaric splendor of high civilian dress superimposed the fantastic garb of the priests and priestesses in their impersonation of the complex and ornately represented divinities in their pantheon.[30]

[302] The *macehual*, or ordinary tribesman, left his head uncovered, his hair long, and customarily wore a *maxtli*, or loincloth, a mantle knotted over one shoulder, and sandals of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women 291
wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they 554
sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*,
completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, [302]
sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they
wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may
still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates
33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many names given to the different kinds of mantles show their interest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather [292]
from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich man- 292
tles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some, who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker supporting an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle. On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identification. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, 301
shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, 304
opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay, wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

301 men and women alike. Men often wore ornaments passed
[304] through the septum of the nose or suspended from a slit in the lower lip. Elaborate necklaces and pendants, armlets and leg bracelets, gave brilliance to a costume for state occasions.
302 Cosmetics were not used to touch up nature, as with us, but instead a lavish application of face and body paints in red, blue, yellow, green and black enhanced with prismatic richness the softer tones of their brown flesh. (See Plates 46–47.)
105 It is obvious that the Aztecs were no pitiable craven savages. They lived upon variegated and delicious foods and dwelt in houses that were comfortable and airy. Their dress stimulated the exercise of merited self-satisfaction, not to be confused with the compensations of vanity. Their manner of life enabled them to take advantage of their personal aptitudes and exchange the products of their own creation for whatever they lacked. Articles for daily and ceremonial use were made with the loving care of master artisans, and rare indeed was the object that did not have the impress of some little decorative touch that makes a pleasant possession of a drab utensil. Their crafts deserve to themselves a complete chapter.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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532

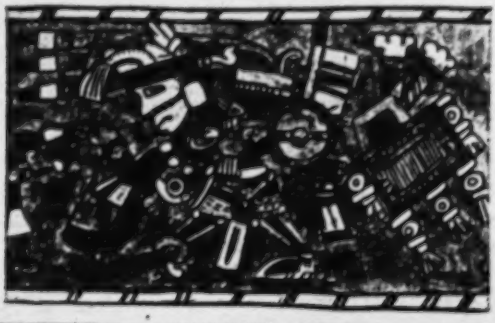

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302
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PLATE 57

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tizatlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hawk scratches. They wore sandals, with a rope for a breech-cloth. They carried on their backs a paper mitre-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Tezcl's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the costume [of Tezcatlipoca impersonator] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, painted eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, xocoxóchil. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

motiçonique, motlotlonjtecque, çan pepedauhtiuj, in 776
momocamaxtli: amacalli in qujmama, mahmalacaquetzalle, 796
ichcauchiia, hiujquetzalle:

[302]

vnqa concaua, in tvititlan: quauhtlapechco cuitlalinia yn 776
jcoaia.

Auh ynjc nechichiouale, mocuxolcopi, tlazapuchtli qujmo-
tlatlalili yn jcamapã ichcauchioa, çoiatemale, cuechcueie,
mocuechcueti: ic mjtoa, citlalli ycue, citlalcueie, quavivih,
tzetzeliuhquj yn juipil, quauhtzetzeliuhquj, itzac quavihujio,
quauhtzuizaçq; yn jchimal, tecuxjtlayztixapo, tezcatzio,
popoa, izqujce.

Ninth Chapter, in which one heareth of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made turpentine.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;[39] they who were hoarse used the turpentine unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was cotton, [it was used for] the tortilla-sickness.[41]

In all and in best were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the turpentine unguent brought shows and show them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like dried poppy-seed pods,[43] and they rattled bone rattles.

Then was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were sprinkled over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble corn-tassels. She carried the rain-rattlebowl.[44]

Jnjc chicunauj capitulo: vncan motenoa, yn cioatetl, yn jnoca Tzapotla tena.

Ce cioatl, ipan mjtoaia, yn ocitl ynacaio muchioaia:

776
quipaleuja yn tenacaio, yn aquja quazocociuj, tonca- 278
mjiaocociuj, motoncaxiuja: chaquachiuj, quaçoaci, xotza- 757
iauj, tentzaiauj, itzteçonauj, matetçonauj, icxitzatzaiauj,
yoan in quaio, yn tlazalicicuj:

yn jchinoca yn jtonal vel mincxan momoquj.

Auh yn jquac: illujquiztlioia, yn ozinamacaque, motlaca- 776
coujaia, dacamjctiaia, qujtocaallotiaia yn jxipda, qujcujca- 796
tiaia, yn iveviocoa, qujtepanacilhujaia, caiocxoxonjlia,
caiouzequjlia, caiacachilhuja, comjchicaoacilhuja.

Jnjc nechichiouale omezcoale, amacale, olchachapanqui, tlaolchipinilli yn jamacal, yoan quetzalmjiaoaia, xinchi-
coaoa.

36. See Plate 8.

37. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 182, calls it garlic.

38. Cf. same and Plate 8, in MS Biblioteca del Palacio, cited in Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, pp. 488-9, in which these are described as a headband of cotton cotton.

39. ". . . unos remedios, de hedor, o ronchas, que unos, en la cabeza" (corresponding Spanish text).

40. ". . . otra enfermedad . . . cual enfermo, que tuvo en la cabeza que se como hedor" (loc. cit.).

41. See p. 41, n. 130.

42. Cf. Diego de Durán: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme* (México: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.

43. "*Ayacachili*, sonajas hechas a manera de dormideras" (Molina, op. cit.).

44. Cf. Eduard Seler: Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, p. 474; and *Einige Kapitel*, p. 7—*Ocelotl-Kasselbowl* (*ocelotl-cuchlbowl*). The same author, cited in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. V ("Los sonajas de los dioses"), says: "*Este vaso* (*ayachicomecatl*) *significa evidentemente la cáscara y, natural o con las variadas en el modo de pronunciar, tenía origen de ayachichicomecatl. Sartía el instrumento para encascabelamiento de la Diosa. . . .*" (pp. 47-8) ("*El chicomecatl, bálsido de sonajas, instrumento musical que traen en la mano los dioses de . . . Ma Llavia y del Agua. . . . En la procesión de los sacerdotes en la Huehquilchil, Sonar delante el ayachichicomecatl, sonajas de cuidado. Es el instrumento religioso, con que*

5

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[88] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who wore skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[89] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tonecca.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[90] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[91] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[92] was in his hand.

Ninetenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[93]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[94] the stout traveling staves[95] with

totoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecaliltiaia, qujnnamjqujn tiiacaoan, tlapepenti, tlatemanti:

yoan in ixqujchti, çan papaqõjnj, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque, teca momotlanj, iaotlaveliloque: vncan moiiecoaia, moiaomamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalixque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia yn aiac, mjtoaia totecco.

Auh yn totecti njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no tlatlaeoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuxcatia, qujnxochineapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujntlaoantia.

Auh intla aca cioatl, tototmonja, ixcocoiria: qujtoa, ma njctlamaniliz, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoalirtli.

Jn ixechichioal, mixcolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, yiopitzon contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tlacxioatl, yieoaio malli, tzonchaiaoale, teucujtlanacoche, tzapocuexie, tzitzile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoztli yn jmac icac.

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in tezcatl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca intech catca: cenca qujmavixtiliaia, qujtlaquentiaia amatica: yn jntepil, ynotlatopil, ynj nenemja, ynj

776
796
[524]
[346]
292
352
302
776
716
463
484

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88. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En esta fiesta, hacian como un juego de cañas: de manera que el un vando, era de la parte deste dios, o venagen del dios totec: y estos todos, eran vestidos de pellejos de hombres que eran muertos, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y usados, y personas valientes, y esforçados: que no tenian en nada la muerte: andan, arremeten, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se exercitaui, en el exercicio de la guerra: pasauagian los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, bolujan buyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antiqua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, cavaleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se empuñaban con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

89. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Sahagún, *Einige Kapitel*, has *vncan* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Sahagún translates the passage as "they stopped, rested, at the place called Tonecca."

87. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Totecuti.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tonecca as "*lo mesmo, o honra del dios Totec.*"

90. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Sahagún, *op. cit.*), the word is *mixpolchichiuhcac*, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Sahagún also (*Vocabulario of the Aztec Collection*, p. 182) uses the term *mixpolchichiuhcac* (quail face painting).

91. Sahagún (*Gesamtausgabe Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Tlapanecs), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

92. The word *chimauali* means 'whatever anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the *chimauali* with the four sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Vocabulary of the Aztec Collection*, p. 180.

93. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *yacatecuhtli* or *yacatecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 57). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacatecuhqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz equivoca*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1949), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiacatecutli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecutli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Iztapalotqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four pieces and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era una cosa, marqueta, que pilar llaman velaci. Y tambien vsan de otra manera de bastón,*

The fifth month they called Tozcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Tezcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Tozcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoe, y por otro nombre Tezcatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

796 X [305 776] [533]

Chapter 5
Tozcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Tezcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

Cap. 5.
Tozcatl

1 A KL. Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas
2 b las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya
3 c cerca de la pascua de resurrection
4 d pocos dias despues: este mancebo
5 e criado, como esta dicho era muy bien
6 f dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos:
7 g tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.
8 A Quando en esta fiesta matauã al
9 b mãcebo que estaua criado para esto:
10 c luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de
11 d morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo
12 e el pueblo muy atauiado con flores en
13 f la mano, y con personas que le acõpa-
14 g ñauan saludaua a los que topaua graci-
15 A osamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel
16 b la ymagẽ de Tezcatlipuca: y se pros-
17 c trauã delante del, y le adorauan donde
18 d quiera que le topauan.
19 e Viente dias antes que llegasse esta
20 f fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dispuestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los veinte dias tenja cõueriaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros atauios mas galanes.

A 23
b 24
c 25
d 26
e 27
f 28
g 29
A 30
b 1[1]
c 2
d 3
e 4
f 5
g 6
A 7
b 8
c 9[2]
d 10
e 11
f 12[2]

[302] [833] [302]

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompañauanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de morir: lleuauanle a un eu, o oratorio que llamauã tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse alli en vn lugar que

[346]

1. Marginal variation: Maior de dias nació.

2. Marginal variation: Nació, dabãl orge Pas.

X 796 **The eighth month** they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to [805] the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender 776 maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls— [735] in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lós ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they fed men and women, young and old. Then, very 735 early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank 262 as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them *tamales*. He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with 536 rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their ● [302] hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. [373] They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Cap. 8.
Vei tecujlhujtl

1	e	KL	Vei tecujlhujtl	e	22[1]
2	f		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	f	23
3	g		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	g	24
4	A		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	A	25
5	b		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	b	26
6	c		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	c	27
7	d		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	d	28
8	e		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	e	29
9	f		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	f	30
10	g		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	g	1[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	A	2
12	b		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	b	3
13	c		tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y to-	c	4
14	d		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	d	5
15	e		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	e	6
16	f		solar a los pobres: porque en este	f	7
17	g		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	g	8
18	A		mãtenjmjentos.	A	9
19	b		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	b	10
20	c		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	c	11[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseueraua en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

1. Marginal notation: *Luneti quadrig XIII et cend.*
2. Marginal notation: *Jubar la dias cent.*
3. Marginal notation: *Fij pajpar et Mort.*

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jzcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

796X
805
776

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

1 c KL. Xocotl vetzi *c 1*[1]
2 d Durante la fiesta de tlaxochimaco: *d 2*[2]
3 e yvã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al- *e 3*
4 f tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle *f 4*
5 g arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: *g 5*
6 A alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan- *A 6*
7 b tauan enhiesto y estaua assi enhiesto *b 7*
8 c hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en- *c 8*[1]
9 d tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ *d 9*
10 e mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos *e 10*
11 f para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia *f 11*
12 g desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan *g 12*
13 A muchos carpinteros con sus herrami- *A 13*
14 b ẽtas y mondauãle y haziaule muy liso. *b 14*
15 c Despues de mondado y de auerle com- *c 15*
16 d puesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles: *d 16*
17 e atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan- *e 17*
18 f tauanle con muchas bozes y muchos *f 18*
19 g estruendos y afixauanle muy bien. *g 19*
20 A Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã- *A 20*[3]
tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos adereçauãse con sus plumajes y staujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiesẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

796X
313
[483]
[463]
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[302]
[535]
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1. Marginal notation: *Empezase la fiesta xocotl.*
2. Marginal notation: *Derribaba el arbol.*

2. Marginal notation: *Puesto al rededor.*

pains of] their death

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio Templi* [illegible].

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes haziã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

1	e	KL.	e	9[1]	
2	f	El segundo dia deste mes començauã	f	10	796[x]
3	g	todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can-	g	11	
4	A	tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de	A	12	535
5	b	su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to-	b	13	
6	c	dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares	c	14	
7	d	a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez:	d	15	
8	e	durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte	e	16	
9	f	dias.	f	17	
10	g	A los nueue dias deste mes: apare-	g	18	
11	A	jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que	A	19	[302] ●
12	b	aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas	b	20	
13	c	colores, componjãlos con muchos pa-	c	21	
14	d	peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos,	d	22	
15	e	en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom-	e	23	
16	f	bre pareados cantando y baylãdo.	f	24	
17	g	A los deziseys dias deste mes: co-	g	25	
18	A	mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los	A	26	796[x]
19	b	esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen-	b	27	
20	c	çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan	c	28	[535]

todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y matauа quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes matauа en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, morian algunos en la escaramuça.

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And Afterwards, at night,

X 796 they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one [302] began to boast of what he had gained; and of the [521] distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

manuan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus asientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatl-
[778] ipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendixesse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto aconteçja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mjsmo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

[753 774] In the sign named ce oçomatli they said that the goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it: that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers
[784] on these days did not let their children go outside the houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Oçumatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas cioapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *tiici*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo. 585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y animales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro. 796^ [304 854] [535 785]

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

X 796 266 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who had taken the captive.

[262] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man":[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

[340] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototeeti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn joaniolque qujntlalhuja, qujcentlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa qujntotonaltia cecen molcaxitl in tlaolpeoaztli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan icietiuh cecen tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhqujn ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miqujtiuh, qujxtlaoatiuh, ic qujchoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jioatzinioc, inic oallatuiz qujntoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceiooal, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamalti, in oaoanti:

in qujnoaoanazque, oc no cepa qujntzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

ic mitoaia onacoqujxtilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa itztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, qujtoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in qujtzoncuja, qujmopialtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oqujmomaceuj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

ynjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhqujnma ic contleiocujliaiz malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauitl eua.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototeeti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan qujnoalmana, qujnoalquetza, qujnoalteititia:

11. See p. 44. Seler, in op. cit., Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural ceremonies of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making it fruitful was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'stretching' [illegible]."
12. See note 9; also Seler (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 65.
13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: "*pusieron todos arenales, sobre unas hierbas de heno, o de tiçatl, o grama estando allí arenales.*"

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[431] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *maguey* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[178] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, five *tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac,* "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

oztzaoac, yn omotlali, hi tzotzoliuhtimanj, ioiolcatimanj.

Auh yn otlathujc, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, qujcenocujtiuj in calli, no iehoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlaeujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihiznamiquj:

in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa qujpaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izqujcan manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujoalitquj, yn inchachan:

qujnxoxochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujntlaquentia, qujntlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujltetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujatlaostzalli, tepiouacqui, quappiztztic, tlaixtexoujlli. quitzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan eeio izqujti conmana.

Auh cem ixtli qujtequj acatl vncan qujtemjtia, qujtentiquetza, yn izqujtlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepizcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa qujcuj, qujmamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, moteneoa calonooac, cali onooac: iehica ca çan cali çan techachan in mauiztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teutlac, vmpa qujmoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa qujnamoc, ic neaujltilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, qujnmamaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca atzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cañas de maíz* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 294) translates the term as *matas de maíz;* Molina (*op. cit.*) as "pernoca o matas de mayz antes de que spiqen."

7. "Otras yerbas, que llamamos, maguey," in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330), referring to the maguey, says: "Las raices gruesas maguey, servian de yuca."

8. Ground, roasted maize mixed with chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

side; some had long hair; some already had hair wound about the head.[9] They bound the cobs of maize in groups of seven; these were the clusters [of cobs of maize]. They wrapped them in red paper, and painted them with liquid rubber; and they sprinkled on them drops of liquid rubber.

ie omaxtlauh: chichicoomolotl in qujilpia, ichoatl yn ocholli catca, camaquentia, tlauhio, colxaoa: yoan conolchichipitza.

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And they painted the young girls' arms and legs with red feathers; they painted their faces, fastening [on them] two [circles of] fish paste[10] flecked with iron pyrites on both sides, on their cheeks.

Auh in ichpopuchti, tlapaliujtica qujnpotonja, in inmac, ymicxic, yoã qujnxaoaia, ovme qujnpilhuja chapopotli apetztzo, tlaapetzujlli, tlaapetziotilli: necoccampa in camatepa.

[302]

Then, they accompanied the young girls, who carried upon their backs the dried maize, also called Cinteotl. They kept going before them; they went surrounding and encircling them, looking on fascinated. None of those crowded about looked upon them; [none] looked fixedly at them; none joked with them.

Niman ie ic qujnujca yn ichpopuchti, qujmamatiuj in cintli, no cinteutl motocaiotiaia: ymixpã hicatiuj, qujntepeuitiuj, qujmololhujtiuj, cemixtli invic: aiac in maca qujmjtta, qujncecemjtta, aiac qujncamanalhuja.

And if anyone was merry with one of them, they chid him. They said unto him:

Auh intla aca tecamanalhuja, qujoalaoa qujoalilhuja:

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"Verily, he with the long [tangled] hair of a youth also speaketh! Dost thou indeed speak? Be thou concerned over how may be removed thy tuft of hair, thou with the long hair! Thou with the evil-smelling, stinking forelock, art thou not only a woman like me? Nowhere hath thy excrement [yet] been burned."[11]

no uellatoa in cuexpalle, vel teh titlatoa? ma ie ic xitlaocuia, quen uetziz in mocuexpal, cuexpaltone? cuexpaliiac, cuexpalpoto, amo çan tinocioapo? acan motlachinauja mocujtl.

Some answered her and said unto her:

Cequjntin quicalcuepaia, qujtoaia

"[What thou sayest] is good. I am going, I. I know that it is truth and verity; thou hast done well. Now also shalt thou go. Anoint thy stomach with mud; scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other and fall to the earth; drop upon the dust. There is a stone, a rough one; strike thy face therewith, that blood may spurt forth; scratch thy nose with the stone; or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe, that thou mayest spit through it. Be on thy way; go as thou likest."

ca ie qualli, ça onjia, ie nehoutl, nicmati, haçanelli, haçayuj, otitlacneli ca no te tiez: xonmitiçoqujuj, xonmjtichichiquj, ximocximalina, tlalli ic ximoujtequj, tlalli xiqujpototztiuetzi: vmpa ca tetlhon, techachalli, ic xonmixtetzotzona, ic xonmjxtsotzona, eztli tiqualaacuchoa: ximoiacatechichiquj, noce xonmococotlecoionj, vmpa tiealchichichaz, çan xinemj, ça tiuhquj xinemj.

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And although these words were thus expressed by

Auh maciuj yn iuhquj hin intlatol muchicaia

9. "*Amamacuelli, sol, ahamacuelli, cabello largo que dexan a un lado dele cabeça ahor cosque quando los sacquilan*" (Molina, op. cit.). *Amamacuelli* (op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl section) is translated as "*Cabellos cortados y redondos ala cabeça de la cosque.*"

10. Chapopotli. See Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, pp. 72, 128.

11. In view of the double meanings which make this passage difficult to put into English, reference to later passages in Sahagún's *Historia* is helpful. A sentence in the Bulcodio edition (Vol. I, p. 173) mentions "*los muchachos y muchachas: todos aquellos que tenian cosillas de cabellos en el cosque, que llamaban cuexpalaquas.*" Further on (Vol. II, pp. 331-2): "*Los grandes y ancianos por donde subian los que habian de llegar a los mayores dignidades, eran estos que se siguen: cuando eran pequeñuelos andaban mentidos o remendados la cabeza, y llegando a los diez años dejaban crecer una cosilla de cabellos en el cosque, a la cual ellos llamaban mocuexpaltia; a los quinces años tenian ya aquella cosilla larga, y llamaban mamaquelchiquipil, porque esta ninguna cosa notable habian hecho en la guerra; y a en la guerra sucedia que él y otro, o él y otros iban a ver, o nada, encontraban a alguno de los enemigos, quitabanle la cosilla de los cabellos, y aquella era señal de honra. . . .*

"*Y cuando quitaban la cosilla del cabellillo, dejábanle una cosilla sobre la oreja derecha, que le cubria la oreja a esta sus lado que era el derecho, y esta era porque todo esto provenia nada honrado, que era señal que en compañia de otros habia cometido o alguno; y por haber cometido esto sus compañeros, y haber dejádole la cosilla en señal de honra, le subalternan sus ahuelos o sus tios diciéndole: Niño mentiro, hace honda la cara al cielo, y la tierra; ya tienes otra cara; porque te hiciste y te informaste a cometer en compañia de otros; mira que te subiste nada perdiste y que te cometieron tus compañeros, que no que otro esto cometiesse en compañia de otros, porque si esto fuese pondriaste otra cosilla de la parte de la otra oreja, que pusieron muchacha, y nada te subiste nada que acontecisteis esto.*"

See also Lib. VIII, cap. xxi.

X 796 in his discourse, that he might talk graciously, converse well, and greet people agreeably on the road, if he met anyone.

For he was much honored when he appeared as the impersonator; because he was the likeness of Titlacauan; he was acknowledged as our lord, treated like a lord; one begged favors, with sighs; before him the common people bowed in reverence and kissed the earth.

[827] And if they noted that his body became even a little fat, they made him drink brine, so that he became thin; the salt water thinned him, so that he became lean; he became hard; his flesh became firm.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at [the feast of] Toxcatl, he appeared [before the people]. And when the man died who had been impersonator for one year, he who had led the way, he who had cast [the spear] for one year, who had given commands for one year, forthwith was one chosen to be set in his place, from all whom the temple guardians had saved and cared for at the time that [the captives] appeared [before them].

Thereupon he began his office; he went about playing his flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

● [302 567] His eight young men went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year; their hair was shorn like [the hair of] slaves, cut and clipped, not smooth like a gourd, nor cut [too] short, not [made like] growing whiskers on the head.

And four warriors, who instructed youths in the art of war, [were] similarly shorn. Their hairdress lay upright on their foreheads.

Then Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator] well and arrayed him in varied garb; he provided him [his appropriate indumentary]. He ornamented him, he adorned him in great pomp with all costly articles, which he caused to be placed upon him; for verily he took him to be his beloved god. His face was anointed with black; it was said: "He fasteth [302] with blackened face." A thick layer of black was smeared on his cheeks. White feathers were placed upon his head—the soft down of eagles. They placed it on his hair, which fell to his loins.

[301] And when he was attired, he went about with sweet-smelling flowers[7] upon his head, a crown of flowers. And these same were hung over both shoul-

ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellatoz, vel tenotza, vel tetlapaloz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztililoia yn iquac oixnez, in ie teixipela: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca elcicioua, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontlalqua in maceoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztaiotl qujltequjtiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaioquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlalichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtl in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miquj ce tlacatl yn oteixiptlatic ce xiujtl, in ce xiujtl, ooallaotlatocti, in ce xiujtl oqujtlaz, in ce xiujtl ooallaujcac: ça çan ic mopatlatiuja yn ixquetzaloia, yn ixqujchtin quinpiaia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeualtia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitztinemj: cemilhujtl, yoan ceniooal: çan connequja in campa ieh vtli qujtocaz:

qujtocatinemj yn iachoan chicueintin: navin mocexuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa, motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloa, amo moquatetzicoa

Auh no naujntin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecuçuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, qujiiecquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçoteouh ipan qujmati, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujliaia yn itzon, ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

Auh yn omocencauh izqujxochitl in icpac contecatinemj, icpac xochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in necoc-

7. *Beverris humris Hernandez*, according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 97, n. 1, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 68). In the former he quotes from Hernández that the flower resembled poppy corn.

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatozin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *eioalli*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey toçoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa qujqujxtiaia: in moteneoa suchineapãtli. 796x 301

Auh yn jnacxtitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan ronaqujaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcuzquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin. [306]

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxiquipilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli qujmetztopeoa: [292]

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oioouali: ichoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in ichoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli. 796x [584 595]

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhqujnma izutequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaztaxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech qujlpia: [302 701] [283 301]

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan: [833]

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtociouatl. [551]

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

8. "Como arpillas de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llamaua a las arpillas, en ornamento como hoja, de un palmo en quadro de lengo blanco, con sus borlas y flecadura" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 163. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma cortina, semejante aquella ambara de los caballos, dos borlas con sus hazecuelas, hechas de plumas, y oro, y turquesas, muy curiosas, que eran llamadas xiuitoli." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 80) describes "The first kind of ornaments [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, xiuitoli, because of the ornaments worn in turquoise or red soldier's hair; the ground of which[sic] embossed in a square of dark red, has figures of white feathers. The fringe is also of red turquoise." From this, it would appear that turquoise a red string, and turquoise a red thong of rabbit hide.

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw theiff toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[14] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopochtli. 796[X]

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlatztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmizzaioujia, qujmiztaioquauhoatza: [251 263]

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujntonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapãtlecax, amo iehoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla. [374]

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoaltema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopochtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulca, pôpochujlo in izqujchtin in teteuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan intẽteuh acatica qujquiappachoa, tlilica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acaxilquj: [302 289]

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaõ mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama. [302] [417]

qujnpeualtilia yn cioa in netotilitti, ynic mjtotia chocholoa, çan mocioaitotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jotetcuh cuauemauja, qujtoxitimanj, 796[X] 535

14. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 105.

leaps about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitos tzocachocholoa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaleque, moquaqquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia-tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatepil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzintelolojo, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzaqujtiuj, amatl acazilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaisoolo, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate chcoaticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetzotoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aiaujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn izqujch teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, moteneoa mococolia.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococolia, ichica aujc viujh, iztlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicoaquj, yoan ynicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxelóuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn izqujchtin yn mococolia, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujnitilicça, qujnicça:

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*saltar o bailar de la fiesta de tocozti*"; Garibay (op. cit., p. 258) translates *tocozticachocholoya* as "*se salta el salto de Tocozti.*"

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Robredo edition, Vol. III, pp. 142-3 and 147. The last-mentioned reference to *tzanatl* is: "*Muy cosa que se llama tzanatl; es negro y tiene el pico corvo.*" Seler (op. cit., p. 106, n. 7) calls *tzanatl* jackdaw or dawn; cf. (ibid., p. 233) *tzanl* thrush. Of this *tzanl* cf. *cuitlacochin* he says it is "*ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und dessen Federn, nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Landregen verursachen sollen. Ich halte den Mexiko Dieser Vogels dunkelblau und 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Er scheint mir ein Vogel mit dunkelbraun schwarzem Gefieder gewesen zu sein der der tzanatl oder Drossel.*" Sahagún (loc. cit.) recently explained: "*y que entre llamaron cuitlacochin, por razon de la hoeda, que llamaron chiaoc, era el tzanatl.*" See also supra, p. 94.

[796] mat cape[14] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his [793] round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of [292] his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tzitziuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

[302] And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mixquatezoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, conapetzotiaia:

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatazzli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatazzli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatezzli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoztli:

[314] And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlteteu:

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite [257] round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ie iuhquj ¶ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in ãxqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oqujntetrcpanque, quintzitzitzquitimanj, incuexcochtzuh qujmanjlitimanj, quinquaquatemotzolxitzquitimanj, cequintin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamaztoton, yn oaxioaque, toliaoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ie achi qualtotoa, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ie onoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

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14. "*Vna manta delgada transparente, que se llama tlaxilquemitl*" (*Ibe. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions "*manta delgada que llaman xquel*" (Bobrado ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. "*Vna flor de papel grande rizada, redonda a manera de rodela*" (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the chapeau, [illegible] as "*arracimado, que es sobre el parecer.*"

18. "*El cabelleillo, vna flores de papel, sembrea [illegible], que sobresaen a ambos parres de la cabeça a manera de orejas de papel, como medias cimaches,*" and, later in the same chapter, "*vna arracimada, que es parecer vna el cabelleillo, como vna flor hecha de papel*" (*Ibe. cit.*).

[714] 19. "*Almazaron vermeion (arpendimento) colorad the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the hair with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (aquitiel)*" (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 91n.).

20. "*Hay otra que se llama yauhchi. Es muy verde, tiene muchas ramas y crecen redor pocos hoyos arriba; (y) siempre hueli; se mezclaba mediciual para los que tienen almorrar, mezclada y batida con el cacao; bate de mezcar, y derramale mezclada y mezclada con el cacao. Aprovecha mezclada para los que tienen ampos; y para los que tienen enbrasos*" (Sahagún, Bobrado ed., Vol. III, p. 279).

[793] 21. Probably the singular of *quacujtiuetzi* is meant by *quacujlli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quacujlli* as the priest charged with the training of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following our edition, the *Real Palacio* MS contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*; such discordant passages [illegible] *xquel, xuel, in tlachichiualli xuel xuper y yuanuel xuel, xuel yuel yuhcuich, yuel tlacuilolli yuel, yuel yuhcuich, yuel tlacuilolli yuel, yuel yuhcuich, yuel tlacuilolli yuel*—and in the midst of them were what is called a reed cast, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper went hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted bagdevisa with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence.

X 796 [301] mants, the paper shoulder rosettes, the semicircular paper neck ornaments, and the bags for incense, which were purchased only [at the market]; and necklaces of wood, [also] sold only at the market place.

And when they had reached [the end of] the four days, when all had fasted, then at early dawn all began to array themselves.

293 X 796 [302] Then were bedight the fire priests and all [the other] priests. Early in the morning, all put on the shoulder rosettes. And they placed, over them, the paper neck ornament. They all put on the paper neck adornments. And their foreheads were stained blue—they were colored blue—and their bodies were stained. They were painted after the manner of Uitzocuitzal.[24] And in their hands they carried the incense bags. The fire priests carried with them their ocelot-skin incense bags, provided with small, white, sea shells. In four places shells hung from the incense bags.

And the bags of the [lesser] priests were only of paper, painted like ocelot hide, painted to look like ocelot [skin]. Some [incense bags] represented the *uitzitzicuilotl* bird;[25] some represented ducks. Their bags were filled with incense.

X 796 [302] And when this was done, then all went [in procession] together, [that] the feast day might be celebrated. The fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc led the others. He had put on his quetzal and heron feather crown; his face was coated with liquid rubber; [he had] his mist jacket and his rain mask or his Tlaloc mask, which he put on. His long, tangled hair fell to his loins. Behind him followed, chanting, all the [other] priests, and thus they went to the Temple of Tlaloc.

When they reached there, thereupon the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc placed himself. He spread out all the white reeds and leaves,[26] and cactus leaves, strewn with the sweet-smelling herbs; provided with the sweet-smelling herbs.

[413] Then he placed [upon the mats] four round green stones. And when he had placed them there, then they gave him a small wooden hook, stained blue, wherewith he struck each of the green stone balls. As he went striking [each one], he turned around.

amacuexpalli, yoã yn jiatztli, çan qujmococoujaia, yoan in tlacopacoxcatl, çan monanamacaia tianquizco.

Auh yn oacic naujlhujtl, ynjc netlaçaçaoalo, njman ioatzinco in peoa in techichioalo:

njman mochichioa in tletlenamacaque, yoan yn izquich tlamacazquj, ioatzico yn onneçqujlo, in tlaquechpaniotl: yoan contlaliaia ymicpac, amacuexpalli, neamacuexpaltilo, yoan neixquatezoujlo, mjxquatezoujaia, yoan michioaia, moujztoichioaia: yoan intlan caana yn iatztli: tetlan tlaano in tletlenamacaque, ynoccloyiatzc cuecuechcho, nauhcampa in pipilcac, cuechtli, yn itech yiatztli.

Auh in tlamacazque ymjatzc, çan amatl in tlachichioalli, tlaocelocujlolli, occelocujliuhquj, in cequjntin atzitzicujlotl ipan mixeoaia: in cequintin canauhtli, ipan mjxeoaia, yn jmiatzc, tetentiuh, yn jiauhtextli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec tenanamjco, ilhujtlalo: teiacana in tlalocan tlenamacac, quetzalaztatzontli, yn onactiuh: yoan mjxolhuj yaizuhxicol, iquijauhxaiac, anoço itlalocazaiac in conmaquja, ycuitlacazjuhian vetzi yn ipapa ycampa i caoacatiuj yn jzqujchtin tlamacazque, ynic vih yn itetupan tlaloc:

yn onacique njman ie ic onmoquetza, in tlalocan tlenamac, conchaiaoa in aztapili, yoan in quequezquje, yoan nopalli, yiauhtitlan tlaxqujlli, tlayiauhujlli:

njmã ic contlalia in chalchiuhtelolotli nauhtetl: auh yn ocontlali mec conmaca, quauhchicoltontli, tlatezoujlli, ic conujujtectiuh, cecentetl in chalchiuhtelolotli: yn jquac qujmonujujtectiuh, oalmocuepti uh.

24. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125) has "*wenn . . . beende das Gesicht in der Art der Huitzocuitzal.*"

25. Dorothéal in Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 170. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125, n. 1) cites Hernández (cap. 18, fol. 32) and defines it as the chichinclane. Cf. also Carlos A. Robelo: *Diccionario de demonimos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del Autor, 1904), pp. 542-3.

26. In a description of the Heavens and their regions, Sahagún writes: "*Se dice como hierba todas las hortalizas y cosas que por sí no se hallan, como es la que dicen quauquauqui*" (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 131). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 126) calls it *Phytolacca*, and cites Hernández's definition in Sagún's *paraiso*.

X 796 **Twenty-sixth Chapter** in which are related the feast and ceremonies celebrated upon the feast in the seventh month, which was named Tecuilhuitontli.[1]

Tecuilhuitontli: When this feast arrived, they celebrated the minor feast of the lords for twenty days. And at this time died—[for thus] her fate then befell her—at this time died [in sacrifice], a war captive's death, [she who was the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, god[dess] of those who made salt, the salt-makers.

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This Uixtociuatl, so it was said, was thought to be the elder sister of the rain gods. And it was thought that the rain gods were her brothers. [In] one thing she angered and offended them, that she mocked at her brothers. And then they pursued their elder sister over to the salt beds. There she discovered salt—how it existed, how it was formed, and how were made the salt jars; and also salty sand.

And, on this account, greatly did men who lived where there was salt pay honor to her.

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And the array of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was [thus]: Her [face] paint and ornamentation were yellow. This was of yellow ochre or the [yellow] of maize blossoms.[2] And [she wore] her paper cap with quetzal feathers in the form of a tassel of maize. It was of many quetzal feathers, full of quetzal feathers, so that it was covered with green, streaming down, glistening like precious green feathers.

And [she had] her golden ear plugs. And the golden ear plugs glittered and flashed and were very yellow, like squash blossoms. And her shirt was embroidered[3] to resemble water [waves].[4] And the border of her shirt was as if painted with green stones, designed to represent billowing clouds on the hem [of her shirt]; the edge was painted in a cloud design. And her shirt was designed in the same fashion.

And on her ankles[5] she had placed bells—golden bells—or rattles. On the calf of her leg she had bound an ocelot skin on which were the bells. And when

Jnic cõpoualli on chiquace capitulo, vncan motenea yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in muchiouia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic chicome metztli, in mjtouia: Tecujlhujtontli.

Tecujlhujtontli: yn in quiçaia in muchiouia, in tecuilhujtontli, no cempoualilhujtica: auh vncã mjquja, vncan inequjuh vetzia vncan trumjquja in vixtociotl, yn jnteouh iztatlaca, iztachiuhque.

Jnjn vixtociotl, iuh mjtoa qujlmach inveltiuh, catca in tlaloque: yoan qujlmach yioq'chtioan in tlaloque: cendamãtli ic qujnqualanj, ic qujniollitlaco, inca mocaiauh, yn joqujchtioan: auh njman ic qujtotocaque yn jnveltiuh vmpa yn iztapan: vmpa qujncatiso yn iztatl, yn juh ioli, yn juh tlacati, yn juh muchiou iztacomjtl, yoan iztaxalli.

Auh ipampa y, cenca qujmauiztiliaia yn iztapeneca, yn iztapãtlaca.

Auh in vixtociotl, yn jnechichioa catca, yn jxaoa, yn jnechioa cuzzic: ichoatl in tecoçaujtl anoço tomjoli: yoan yamacal, quetzalmjiaoaio, quequetzalo, moca quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujuj, xoxoqujuhtimanj, momoiaoa, xexeliuj, iuhqujn xoxopaleoa, xoxoxouja:

yõan yteucujtlanacoch, teucujtlanacoche: auh in trucujtlanacochtli, pepetlaca, pepepetlaca, cenca cozztic, iuhqujn aiozochqujlitl: yoan yujpil tlasicujlolli, aycujliuhquj: auh yn iten yn ivipil, tlachalchiujcujlolli, chalchiujcujliuhquj, tẽmixmolonqui, tlatenmjxicujlolli: auh yn icue çan ie no iuhquj ynic tlacujlolli,

yoan icxic centlalia coiolli, teucujtlacoiolli, anoço tzitzilli: itlanitzco in qujlpiaia, occhuenatl yn ipan

1. "Fiesta de los señores," according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 300); "der kleine Herrenfest," or "kleiner Herrenfest," in Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 130, 131).
Tower describes this month and the next basically as the lords' months, in contrast to Xilonquilitzli. Cf. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
2. In *op. cit.*, p. 131 and p. 131, n. 1, Seler refers to "*gelber Ophiomorphe*." Mixcoatl, however, is translated by Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*la cepoja y la flor de la caña de maiz*."
3. Literally, *pentaed*; Sahagún, however, writes "*labrado*."
4. Cf. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text: also Plate 24.
5. "*Las empulseras de los pies*," in Sahagún's Spanish. Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 9.

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[3]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca. 796 736

Auh in jnquichica oalaci tecujlhujtl, inquilhujtl cujcoia: im penaia cujcoanalizzli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tletecco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, terecpantoca, chiquacempantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynic totomaouc catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynic quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: 372

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalqujxoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: ichoantin in mauijltia, yn aujenjme: ichoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquijxtilti: 548

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmaritech qujmantiuj, çan ichoantin in mauizzilionj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjxoque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: atno tehuan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan. 302 565

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. 796 292

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtonequj much uetei: yoan yn itzn cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtoia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca. 302

Auh amo mopotonja, amono moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichioia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, ichoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymixtaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innechpalcuechin. 622 301 304 701

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two ten tube [s] in their embrace." For [illegible], Sahagún has "six rows."

x 796 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or
292 youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets
on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].
301 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4]
304 And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had
lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs,
some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangu-
lar.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair
long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which
were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had]
only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates
made of small, white, sea shells. And those with
shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with
round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-
formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with
lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the
youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands,
all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought
themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands,
[which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very
costly.

x 796 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of
the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in
293 the form of birds. They carried them upright over
their heads.

[301 And the captains carried upon their shoulders
714] feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three
places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot
skin. And at the base they were wound in three
places with red string.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form
237 of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament;
x 796 some set up the head plumage in bird form; some
the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they
placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong
was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

x 796 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed
● 302 a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek
ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And
some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in iaquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaxil, telpo-
puchti: çan tiltic yn jncueschin, mochi tenjzo, yoan
mochintin inxixiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan iococoiolnacoch: auh in
cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, quinamictia,
cequj aujtlaxtli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apa-
tlactli, anoço tlazaxtectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymas-
chichilacachtempilol:

auh yn iaquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan ie-
hoatl yn aiacaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuxquj, ymeelpancuz-
quj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn
otomj, incuxcachachapac: iehoatl in chipolin.

Auh yn quaquachicti quinamjctia, iehoatl in toto-
tenpilolli: auh yn otomj quinamjctiaia, iehoatl yn
apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquiquc in mococenmati, in tiacaoan,
quinococouja teuchipuli in cuxcotl, cenca chipaoac:
auh in ça tlazzacuja in ça tlatoquiaia, iehoatl yn achi-
pulin quinococujaia, yn incuxquj, çan cuxtic, amono
tlaquacac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjnac, in telpuchiaque, intotolama-
nal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in quinamaia,
excan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, occlueoatica in tla-
quinilolli: auh in itzintli excan in chichilicpatica
tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xilonzochiquetzalli in conquetza
in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotzl in con-
quetza, in cequjnti ynlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicric ymopuchcopa in cõtlalaia cho-
cholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio,
çan no iehoatl yn maçaoatl, tlapitzaoacaxtectli, tla-
pitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin
tilli incamapan contlalaia, itoca tilcamanexcomjtl,
ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in
tilli, in nacaxitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tiltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has drawn Perlenkleidung for pendants-for-hair.

a hand] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing—they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tlilli: inca aujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanacacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçlnujaia, qujtomjolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapalos telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaijlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimãca, itzlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapicia, vel teixpicia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxilis, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoquja jmoztlaioc, anoço quja ivipclaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlãtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalquçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalquçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 536

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech nenano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan cenauh yn imiczi: yoan ontzitzinquiça, itlan qujquiztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn inquipantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn

6. See Plate 28.

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clap hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquixecan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiauh nocne aço toqujchtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toqujch miquica:

796x
684
836

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiaubque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoeoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, tẽtentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtotoca, in cioatetiachcaeth: aoqujc no teoã cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcenmacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in ichoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiauceujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn motenecoa yei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itẽco coztic, auh yn ixquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn icoxquj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoã yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

796x
[302]
301
[292
293]

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz mutzla:

796x

in cemilhujtl conpeoaltia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vecan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquixecan: ynjc excan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn

796x
805

7. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and logical in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec column is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Apaxio* is probably an assimilation of *aapaxio*.—Angel María Garibay, personal communication.

wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the leading warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers. And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their foreheads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[9] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Carophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonquiçaia,

çã qujtoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiaoalotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh iontzinco miquiz in Xilonen: cioual in cioapan cujcoia, toçoosia, muchi tlacatl intoçoosia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, queoaia quevíliaia vn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel intqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan motzaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpactochiuh, intzontochicozquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn iehóã yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonnelooa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in iehoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa iteputzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, tecciztli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

9. *Bixa orellana L.*, the anatta shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
9. "*Estas flores que se llaman campoalxúchitl, son amarillas y de buen olor*" (Rubendo ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tagetes, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 93, n. 15.
10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *tlamacazque cuicacuicac* (chanting priests), says "The player is called the *teponazqui*, and the drum, *teponaztli*. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonchocarpus cruralensis* Benth. this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of elder." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tenpur on the bottom (corresponding Spanish text).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in qujmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, yilaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc. 776 793 [301] [287]

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

Ce tlacatl qujquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, excan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujoalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa. [534]

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzna: 796

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco qujoallalia: iehoã qujmati in machiceque catca in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in ooatl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl. [262 264]

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl nezoiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, motaoaia. [302]

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

Izqujch tlacatl motamaluja motocotamalujaia: qujntlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan. [888 273]

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

Auh in ucuetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujtzacutiaz neetitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796 273 689

11. See Plate 27.

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
T78 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

suh in ie iuhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in thalli, vel olinj, yoã comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmã ic ic qujtetema: muchi ichoatl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omotetzn, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic viviloa, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmama tlaxiztli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic moteneoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmã ic imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomoloa.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan ommotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in qujça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked. And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aqujtzon intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

in ie iuhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Réné Simeon, however, renders *ocopanili* as *thin*.
8. The context suggests a distinction between *tlamanime* and *malque*.

given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cinteotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together—not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *meiotli*.[10]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cinteotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. At a little distance, her Huixtocs went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech clouts, and had their mirrors on the smalls of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

And the medicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests proceeded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiativitze, vmpa itztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jteupan, in vmpa omjc: oc ceppa vmpa ommotlalia.

796x [292]

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotleoac, tlatlavillotl eoa, mec oalmoquetza tlatenpan: auh in jxquich tlacatl pipilti, ie qujchixtoque ipan ōnetepeoalo: njman ic qujtlatlamaca: in aca qujpotonja icpac, yoan icxic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca qujxaoa: in aca cōmaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjliz: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan iciuhca: njmā ic cactivetzi, njman ic viviloa.

[302] [292]

Auh in oviviloac: njmā ic oalquiça in jveitlatquj moteneoa: yiamacal, yoan itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquizpanjtl, macujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoatl in tianquizpanjtl: auh navi necoccampa oome qujtzatzacutiuh: moteneoa meotli.

[292]

Auh in ocōcencauhque, njmā ic ommoiacatia, in mamalti injxpan, navintin: mec ce conteca, in techcac: inoma yioma in qujmjctia, qujmeltetequj: navixtin, iuh quinchioa:

in oqujmōmjcti in navixtin, mec immac qujnoalcaua in tletlenamacaque, injc qujnmjctiaque, in oc cequjxtin mamalti: mec iauh in vmpa ocanato iconeuh: qujvicatiuh in jconeuh, in cinteutl ano itztlacoliuhquj: qujiacana in jcuexoan vecapa qujxtivi, omocencauhque, inmemecamaxtli, yoan incujtlatencauh, im jichcaxuchiuh, mamalacaquetzallo.

[293] [283]

Auh in titici, yoan in tenexnamacaque, necoc onotivi, cujcativi: qujncujcatlazilitivi in quaquacujlti,

[463] 796x 534

9. This headdress is illustrated in the *Tonalamatl of the Codex Borbonicus* and of the *Aubin Collection*.
10. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 177) relates the term to *mitl*; possibly it could as well be related to *meiatl*.

X 796 714 richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

X 796 And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[12] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[13] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then [241] they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[14] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They [314 289] bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And [302] the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] [317 237] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the *fire* priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[15]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocateucujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj momatlaçaxque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauizçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonamciotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no totoxeui: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in inteteupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in oalecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, cuztic tlaolli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoã xiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixoa njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oaltemo in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçcani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiqujça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

13. "*Los sacerdotes, de la diosa chicomecoatl*" (corresponding Spanish text).

14. "*Estos se sentaban, sembraban en un poquerito, que se llamaban [de] la mesa de uitzilobochtli*" (*loc. cit.*). *Codex Borbonicus*, month of Ochpaniztli, illustration 11. Paso y Troncoso, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

17. *Kuchcuchuchli*, in Simeon (*op. cit.*) is defined as *maiz redondo*. But, however, n. 12, p. 62.

18. "*Pusiaronle delante, en un lugar que se llamaba cuauxalpa, que era un espacio, que unos eran los grados del cu, y el patio abajo, al qual espacio subia por cinco, o seys, grados*" (corresponding Spanish text).

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

vmpan ca vitzilatl, oztoc, avevetica in qujoaltzatzacutivi, intlan qujoalaantivi: 796x 778

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

in oqujoalhujcaque: njman ie ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jcsitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmamatlatquj, in jmamanechichioal in jpan mjqujzque, yoan qujnteuo vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpã tlatlamj: yoã imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in texotli, in coztic, yoan qujmontlalilia iscapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuiotl. 796x 302 [301]

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõchichiuhque, in oqujmõcencauhque, njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalqujqujztiquijça, njmã ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnxixitinja, qujntlatlalilia in intlatquj, qujmõtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioacan. 796x 567

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

Auh in oacic, vncã tlamacujlti: njmã vncã compeoaltia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in ioalnepantla: vmpã aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oneua in calpulco. [515]

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

Auh in cioatl tealtiz, çan vncã in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cõquetza atenco ençe: auh in otzõqujz navilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmã ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltitlti, yoã in tealtique, yoan in teanque yoan in tetemovique, yoã im panoa- [535]

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que quiere decir, lavadas, porque las lavaban y regaladas para que engordaran, para que no corran fuera cabrones cuando las hubieren de matar y comer; entonces estas cabrones en Atzompanaco, porque allí había farra de cibas y allí las revolían las que traían en cabrones."

The *Real Palacio* MS (Garibay, op. cit., p. 317) reads: "*Auh inic mococo cuahcoai yehica in ichanah mochipa cahiyaqui ontetlaiz in iaquich cuah ommaltilitl*"—"y se dice el que hacía gente porque a su cabrera siempre la hacía con agua caliente, cada uno de los veinte días."

4. Sahagún (Codexel Wurdig, Vol. II, Pt. 6, p. 59) calls *ahuehuetl* evening cypress (an emblem of kingly power). In Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 332) it is defined as *Tamalhuan ennamanaoan Tua*; the corresponding Spanish text has "*hojas de cedro.*" See J. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Epítome de raíces nahuas* (México: Editorial Cultura, T. G., S. A., 1949), Vol I, pp. 154ff., for some notes on the etymology of *ahuehuetl*.

5. Sahagún, in *Codex Vaticanus Mr. 3773* (*Codex Vaticanus B*) (Berlin: Druck von Gebr. Unger, 1902), p. 8, describes this face painting (*ixtlan chalaua*) as *Geschr in Querstreifen*. The stripes, although of different color, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*dueños de los cautivos.*"

7. "*Comian al medio dia*" (*loc. cit.*); "*Ho ueno (ueu ainouil) ou Tage (ou Mittag)*"—Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 204; "*comido a medio*" (Garibay, op. cit., p. 312).

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feasts and sacrifices which were made in the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Seventeenth feast: this was known by the name of Tititl.

Upon [this] feast died a person named Ilama tecutli—[one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed [slave].[2] The majordomos procured her.

And the adornment of [the likeness of] Ilama tecutli was [as followeth: she had] her white skirt, her white shift—completely white. And over this she was girt with [what was] named the star skirt. This was bedight with small sea shells, on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, [with] shells set at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, much did [the shells] jingle, the pleasant sound [carrying] far. And her sandals had white toes, woven with cotton threads.

And her shield was covered over with white clay and pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers, sewn to the middle [of the shield], and it had pendants at the edges, of heron feathers, and [tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers, hung at the point. And in [the other] hand she bore her weaving stick.[3]

And her face painting was in diverse colors. About the lower part of her face, they spread black. It was said, the lower part of her face was blackened. And upon her nose and forehead, they laid yellow ochre.

And her eagle feather headpiece, a headdress with eagle feathers arrayed upon it, consisted only of hair, twisted, arranged and well disposed, braided and intertwined with itself. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli*.

Injc cemposalli on caxtolli oce, capitulo vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtólitetl omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl. 796[x]

Injc caxtolitetl omume ilhujtl ichoatl in moteneoa, itoca Tititl:

in jpan in ilhujtl, oc tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, ixipela, tlaaltilli: calpixque in qujnextia. [622 567]

Auh in jnechichioal catca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj qujmocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachioalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacaxotlalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic ommotzincuetia: in jquac nenemj cenca xaxamaca, veca caqujzti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jquequetzil: icpatl injc tlaqujtli, 796[x] 292

yoan ichimal, çã tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachioalli, inepantla in tlatõtli, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac: yoan centlapal qujtzitzquja, itzotzopaz:

yoã mozauh mochictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jtenco qujteca tilli: mjtoa, motentilhuja: auh in jiac ipan, yoan ixquac tecoçavitl in qujteca, 796[x] 302 [386]

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjzcavia in tzõtli, tlamalintli, tlavipantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanetech itzontli: in tzõcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

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1. "Entronizamiento." Caulley suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 314). Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 39) writes: "Tititl. *Tempestades grandes, aguaceros espantosos; Rayorial, relámpago y truenos terribles.* Como recientes como fueron las interpretaciones de Rayorial, y como la carga del verbo titiria, redoblar dinamos de la campana." Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 380) amplifies his version thus: "porque en este de frío, y helados, los quales acaecían muchos, por la poca ropa de que vestían, y porque por este mesmo tiempo, embebían aguardiente, con Guayavas, y Ciruelas, que tenían las cosas Provisiones contra los calores, y se embebían, y desmayaban muchos de ellos."

Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2) writes: "*quiere decir calzar . . . imaginaban en el cielo dos niños embrazados el uno al otro. . . . hablo hablar de temporal y huracanes cuando eran cuatro de los mesmos.*"

The Tonar Calendar refers to the gods stretching and then supporting "the machine of the world" because of the violent winds. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; also supra, pp. 130-31 and n. 3.

3. The shield and the weaving implements of the goddess are clearly illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus*. Paso y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 273) then describes the shield: "*la rodela, que se acostumbraba usar hasta de los descapitados que hacen despues los indios, es blanca; tiene un cuero de pelaxaxe de aquellos pagados en el centro; y tiene cuatro rapacejos atras y cinco de pelaxaxe: unos pequeños de garzotas, colmadas (que algunos han*

work which they made.[6] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *tezozti*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchiua, ichoatl in tiltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teuxtl, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, texcapoztli ica:

796x 778 [301 302]

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itzíuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxoda, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc. 237

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmā ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio. 796x [252]

Auh in oquitlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in macoaltl, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in tlpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetqoe: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmōmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in ōmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujneallaxtimanj, vncā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhueveque. 796x 262

Auh in tlpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalquiztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmā ie ic tezcalcevilo, tezcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachioque, in tecutlachioque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vetli, anoço cecem xicalli, anoço cecem apilolhepitotō, 796x 274

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Lauaban como vna, cuanto del dios, del fuego, de pedrillas y circulos redondos, como con ceniza. . . .*"
6. *Tzoalpan-huapalcatl*: in Lib. XI, Cap. I, §4 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexican regalia, "*los plumajes del cuello y de las lenzas, hecho la cola, con de hechura de cuadrar (?) Ilamadas tzopelcatl. . . .*"
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y correspondian como pendiles de plumas galanas, que parecian como pendiles de infanas.*"
8. Ollopalli: "*una manera de tortas que llamaban ollopalli, de maiz cocido, hechas sin cocer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. II, p. 380).

x 796 when he had been living in the likeness of another,
[548] had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said,
[827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would waxx great and strong.

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants;
[828] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

x 796 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to
852 pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and
[301] covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited.
[608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they
[431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests'
[304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And
● [302 they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers
237] and soft down.

And the women who became aunts were pasted
[608 with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms,
302] and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

oaquetztiuõca otlamatinenca, omjvintitinẽca omovelitztinenca.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin quinquechaana, quijnacopilou: ic mjtoa quijmizcalloana, quijmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, moospaoazque:

yoã in metl quijolloxeloa, quijiollotzaiana, quijiollotlapana, quijiollotoma: auh yn nopalli quitlaiectilia, quijmatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moncaltiz, moospaoaz.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan contlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, quichachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiã vetzia in tlatoque.

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa quintemoliaia, in quinvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in quinotzzia, mjtoa: quintlatia quimaviti, tetlati, teaviti:

auh amo inoaniolque in quimanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, quintlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlaliliaia

ioalnepantla in quinvicaia calmecac, vmpa quinnacazzapotla, quinnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc quicoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conquixtia, vncã quimonjlpilia iuhquin tlatzatzintleoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoquitzleoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica quinpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoã inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamazzochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuzzochiuh.

In jquac oquimõnacazzapotlaque, njmã ic quinoalhujujca in inchachan, vncan quichieltitoque iztoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlatviltitoque, quichixtoque in

X 796
782

A True [Relation] of Still Other Offerings with Which Similarly They Paid Honor to the Devil.

Hanging [an Object] over the Breast.

Thus was done the hanging [of objects] over the breast; thus was the tying with loose cotton thread: they tied [them] about the wrists and the necks of small children and [suspended on the cords], in small bags, *tortillas* made of green maize. Here [in the *calpulli*] they set forth these, on small jar-stands, and small earthen jars, and lifted the jars up by the ears, and with their hands went filling their bags with water. And when they had reached the twentieth day, when [it was the feast] known as Teotl eco, [that was] when they untied the feathered threads which they had about the small children.

[415]

Imelavaca in oc cequj tlamanalistli in çan no ic qujmavistiliaia Diablo.

Neelpilistli.

Injc muchivaia neelpilistli, inic neelpiloia ica icpatl in qujmjilpiaia pipiltotonti in immaquechtlan, yoan in jnquechtlan yoan in jmjtac elotlaxcaltotonti in vncan conmanaia vacaltonco yoan tecôtontli, vacalnacazco conquetzaia tentiuh in atl in jma itac, auh in çiçic oacico ipan cempoalilhujtl in iquac moteneva teteu heco iquac qujntomiliaia in jcpatl potonquj injc omoolpique pipiltotôti.

[For] Pain.

[308] And [for] pain, thus was done upon the feast of [the god] Acolmiztli: the small children were ornamented in feathers [applied to them]; in colored feathers, [set] everywhere on their bodies. And the old people similarly applied feathers on their stomachs, over their hearts, and upon their backs. Thus they set feathers upon them—so it was said—because then Acolmiztli would not bewitch them.

[784]

Necocololistli.

Auh in necocololistli ic muchivaia ipan ilhujuh acolmiztli mjhujcujcujlovaia in pipiltotonti tlapalihujtica, novjian in jtech inacaio. Auh in veuejtlaca çiçio in jmelpan, in jniollopan yoan in jncujtlapan, qujnamjctiaia in ihujtl, injc qujnpotonjaia, quilmach ipampa inic amo teiolloquaz acolmiztli.

The Setting Out of the Children.

Thus was done the setting out of the children. They took all of them there to the house of the devil, and had in truth all the children dance before them, and made them drunk. Hence it was called the setting out of the children; for they had them all appear in the house of the devil.

Pilquistilistli.

Injc muchivaia pilquistilistli vmpa muchintin qujnvicaia in iteupan Diablo, in pipiltotonti vel muchintin impan qujmjtoyaia yoã qujntlavantiaia injc moteneva pilquistilo ca muchintin qujnvalquiztia in pipiltotonti in Diablo ichan.

The Act of Striping.

Thus was done what was named the act of striping: when mock battle was joined, the shield and

Tlavavanalistli.

Injc muchivaia in motenehoa tlavavanalistli in jquac malli moiauchivaia ichimal imaquauh imac

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech clouts, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quitquj in pilhoaque, in tlatoque anoço pipilti, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cozcatl, quetzalli chalchivitl, in quivenchicoaia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, anoço yiauhtli in quitquj in jnven muchioa, 814 793 565

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[6] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

yn oconvicaque, njman cohça tiltica, vel quixtlilpopotza, njman tlacopatli quicozcatia, yn jcnoliaca çan ixquich potonquj quicozcatia, njmã qujnacaztequi, contlatlaxilia in ixiptla Diablo in iezio piltõtli, intla oc piltontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlatooanj ipiltzin, icozquj vmpa c.ncaoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque, [302] [301]

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

njman quimachtia yn ixquich nemilixtli, njc nemoa calmecac, in tlatecpantli.

6. *Aristolochia maxima* (Hernández, op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

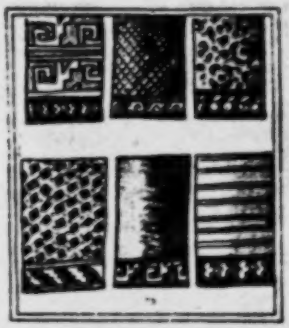

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[723]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*ciipilli, cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcocalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipement. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia quicanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtoizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jaquitlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan quitlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl quijcheccoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl quimomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jaquich monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçolocti, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in iaquich tlamantli mãcehoallaiaquitl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in quiintlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

[302 304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Málcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca quinmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein quinequja, mochi quinmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan quinpiaia, in jaquich nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tzaneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jaquich nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in teopixcquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlaxcoque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan quinpiaia, in jaquich tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called *amanteca* after the district of Amanteca, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, op. cit., I, p. 34, n. 2). Cf. also Sahagún, *Ensayo Kapind*, p. 373.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *inpanpiaque* for *inpanpiaque*, and begins with the term a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Cuan de las fieras*."

[p.46 is blank]

291
531

Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.

Ic cuxtelli cuplaulac vncan mjtoa in jnnechichioa in çioa.

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers: the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

Vitzteculcujtlalpic vipilli, xmolnio ujpilli, quechnencujlhoazio vipilli, xachimoiaoac ujpilli, pocujpilli, veuej tlamachtli itzequj, tolxaiaequj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachio vipilli, coioichcaio vipilli, xomoujvipilli, tlapaltochomajica xicalnetzo[illegible] vipilli, acocozchimoiaoac vipilli, inquiuhcallo potoncaio xnochitcio vipilli.

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

Chicocuejtl, patlaoac in jten: cuatlaxipeoallo cueitl. patlaoac in jten, xicalcolinhquj cueitl, patlaoac in jten, ittenacazio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tlilpipitzaoac cueitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamoliuhquj itzac cueitl, patlaoac in jten, oçelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtē; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tene: cowichcapipilcac cuejtl tene.

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

Apoçonalnacochtli, teujlonacochtli itzac, cuetic teucujtlanacochtlj: itzac teucujtlanacochtli, itznacochtli itzac.

302 386 [314] Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impor-

Moxaoaia, tlapalhoazalxica: moxaoaia, tecuçauhtica: mochapopoxaoaia: copalaxtica mocxioxiuja, tzonqueme, quatequeque, xmoxocoloque, maxtlaoa, mozzonquetzalxica, quiquatequj in jntzon, quiaiacanepanoa in jntzon: tlatetecoa, mopacinenj, quimamaujztmati in jntzantecon: moxinhquijpa, injc papatlaca intzon: motlanthapalhujia, motlânochezuja, moaxaicujloa, moquechicujloa, moquechetema, mokichiquihsicujloa, mochichiuticujloa.

1. In Hernández, op. cit., I, p. 34, *cozcaxochitl* is identified as *Dahlia coccinea*, Cav. Sahagún (op. cit., I, p. 33), however, says of *cozcaxochitl*: "Es Bálsico, *cozcaxochitl* de colorado encendido, *indígena del país, cultivada también por ahora.* (Lagunería vulgarea, vez.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas mencionadas de los antiguos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515sqq., 519, mentions two kinds of *cozcaxochitl* (*cozcatl*, *xochitl*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores coloradas purpúreas*". Dr. Olivo le citaba (Bot. de Fernandéz, II, p. 276), giving *Pennisetum atropurpureum* D. C. for *cozcatl*; Urbina claims it is *Amaranthus atropurpureus* Hamb. or Hook.

2. After its pattern, the *Real Academia de la Historia* 383 has *mixquauxpilitic*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

302 tuner upon their heads; it was dyed with indigo,[3] so
386 that their hair shone. The teeth were stained with cochineal; the hands and neck were painted with designs—the necks were covered [with painting]. The stomach and breasts were [also] painted with designs.

515 They bathed in the sweat house and with [soap
562 and] water. They were held in esteem. They were modest, good, and of noble [mien]. Thus did they
[343] speak—attentively, and respectfully of others; they were diligent and considerate.

1 v [i.e. the Aztec women -- Analyst]

Motecma, mahaltia, momamauizmati: pinaoanj, qualli masujztic, injc tlatoa: temauhcaittanj, teimacaçinj, hiçiuhcaioque, moiolitlacoanj.

3. *Xiuhquilitl*: Urbina (op. cit., p. 560) mentions two kinds: *xiuhquilitl pinaoaca*, *huitzilpochtli* and Lion, and *xiuhquilitl pachtlaca*, Gilli-sedra grandis Kunth—both producing a blue dye.

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in iuhquijma tlamamatlatl injc tlecoia in jxqujchica tecutlato muchioa. 302 855

Auh izcatquj injc ontzinti, in imemjliz in telpuchtontli, in iacachtó çan oc moquateçonoa in oc piltontli: auh in ie matlacxiujtl iconac mocuexpaltia, auh in caxtolxiujtl, iconac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in acan tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço oteoncaioti, anoço oteecaioti, anoço otenauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica injc tepal tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc quimoxexelhuja inmal chiquaceccã qujça. Injc ce vel ichoatl in tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: ichoatl in tomaiauhcãpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochoopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia ichoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzopaz. 727 858

Auh in in iconac mocuespallaça, inic moxima motzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcãpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalaci iioca motema initzotzocul: in iconac y oc centetl quicui initzaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic ittoz ca otepallama omocuexpallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlatzin quilhuia. Nosuiuhtzac omitzmitzamili in tonatiuh, i tlaltecutli ocentetl ticcuic in moxaiac, auh ça otia, inuicpa xonmomaiaui ma mitzuicacan in toiauol intla nen oc ceppa tepal xitlama tle tiez cuis timatzotzocoltiz, ma nen ic no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomotla in toiauhoan. 603 [604] 861

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic oepa anaço ic nappa yloti in iaac quinccaiotia cuespalchicaqui auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic maxima moquixaoalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallas aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
386] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motoçaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quiuica in motecuçoma in umpa tlatocão. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtilitia mistlapalhoatzalhuia çiçemaqu.ia in ixaiac, auh in icuauoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiscaboan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[1131 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenouoanqui ioan centetl cotoltalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeualtia in tlacuilolkilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochiouia in omitta.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quiiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcalli inic vmpa tlacaopaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa çiuinocalhia in telpopochti, no cuicuiaoouia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following quitecozauhuia, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ynic ompa quinquentecoa*—and there they poured feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*una manta con cenefa Blanca labrada de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otra cenefa labrada de colorado que se llamaua cotoltapalli; y . . . un maxtle labrado de colorado, largo que estuuiesse hasta colgado, y otro maxtle labrado de varios colores.*"

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so there have been losses!"

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were passed with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

And if one's captives came alive, then he had towards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[3] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualisq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monecuítiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im macualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz macualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia motecuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamatlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcoucayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

auh ỹ yenatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpiaqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla ec compoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in ỹpiezque. 727

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.
This passage originally, in the *Real Academia* MS, completed the section ending *ohtlatlachia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.
2. The abbreviation for the ending *-qez* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.
3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, op. cit., *chiuauaqui*, and *ceuaiauaca* capulin. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*que cual y cualquiera [illegible]*—is "*so richtiger Wirte die Zahl der Wachenden.*"
4. *Anales de Anaqui Manlio Godínez Y.*: *Libro del Milhuatl* (Oaxaca, Mex.: [Imprenta Mayá], 1940), p. 188; also Gamaio Cavallo: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 119.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head bind [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shorn ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wherever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpaya coztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. moteccuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli omnãtiuh ỉ mastlatl. 701 293 [481]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im moteccuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quaquauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [576]

Auh no yquac quimahcua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtoiaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaoteequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya moteccuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tilpapatlauac chichicuee çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopalẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacoteayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ỉ in oçiq'nteneuhqz i yaoteẽquaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. moteccuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa nalmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichiuiticate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in 701 721

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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262]

[302]

[302]

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

44. Marina interprets for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 15). 52. Moctezuma leaves supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

[p. 44(H)]

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *tewarilli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeioc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and then show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Pause is repeated in the MS.

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[293]

Auh in otlatvic in ic ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquijlia, ixpan quimana in izqujcan ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in ixquich tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhqujn necocêquetzalo, iuhqujn in ioiolipil in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc quintlatitizque, quintlamaviçoltiziq, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itzticva in teuitcalco, injc vmpa necococoloaz. Auh in ococenquixoac: nimã ic ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necococoloaz. Auh in mocenpoaiçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiubçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imococoquauh, in aqujn quiçaznequj ic quitlaiciecalhuja in ococquavitl: auh in aqujn maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iazzazel. Auh in aqujn çan nimã atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicujtlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, caculhujtequj, caliticpa contopeoa, cõchiccanaoa, cõnjxiquetza, mjhiriquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacnaosti:

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cenca ichoã tlamamauhtinia, tlamauhtinia, cemjmacaxtoa, cemjmacaxtiocatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintracujliaia: auh in ic ixquich telpoxintli, in cuepaltzine in cuexpaltzitzinoque, yoan in tzotzocoleque, in tepallamanj, in yaque: in motenoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj ao quimaquaia: quimjlhujaia, vmpa zivã ca aocmo, anquincintitia, amo techitta.

785
[30?]

[p. 52 is blank]

-51-

648 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.**

Tlacatecutli was the name, and Otoncoatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked [262] and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, sairh: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla, and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman; ●[302] naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, vncã mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuxca qujnamjqujco in Españoles yoan qujnmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacatecutli itoca, otoncoatl in jpiltoca. in valteiacã, in vncan qujcavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, totolin, totollalevatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, tototltetl, yoa cequjn ioioli in tututlin, yoan cequj nochtli contecaque ixpan in capitan:

qujtoque. Oanqujmjhioviltique, oqujmociaviltique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech maxitican, ma mjhiocujtican:

njmã qujnoalnãqujli in Malintzin: qujto. Notechiuhcavan, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmã qujlhujque. Ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmã qujoalito in Malintzin. Ca ie qualli otechmocnelilique, vmpa tizaque in muztla, vmpa ticuchizque.

Auh njmã vel iquac in otlatlavizcalli icoac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ie ixqujch Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalcu, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltitlan, tulla, tulitic in qujmamaiavito, qujmõtzotzopontitlaçato, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa qujntlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, coztalanpopul, coztemjloltique in cioa, muchintin qujnpepetlauhõ qujntlacujcujlique, qujntlatepevilique, qujnpeztocauhque.

Auh in Espanoles nonqua qujntetenque, qujnvivipanque, ie on tolcellome, ie õ mezttallome, ie on acaxilome ie on tolcellutl innacaio, yoan qujnçaçacque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in jxqujch in intlstquj in tlamamalchichiuhtiuh muchi namoieloc, muchi maceoaloc, in aquin

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

000 And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

643 THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just [302] to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He [515] was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, [595 837] daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free [515] from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He 643 had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other 644 rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood. Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from
346 where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imitating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64] 714

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes "in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes "on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those "who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their "bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and "painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "cotaras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation *achieved in war*, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe." [643 645]

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 372). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 2d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-"meria, doradas y labradas con diuersas labores y pinturas y diferencialias quando á "él le paréciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó haçaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que allí se le señalaba con sus ceñidores y bragueros, que "aludian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, salió determinado que nenguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de neguen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, saluo si "no tuviese alguna sennal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 58). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 345). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war "they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once, "since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names. [302]

[64] The head-dress, or "diviss."—"tlauiztli," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 322, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty-"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were [293]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the
287 question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of
237 the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each sub-division of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time; [302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 88) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototl." It is "*Trogon resplendens*." (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 39, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquecho!" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1869, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. 1).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, in vol. II. of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 297, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlati), but they "sought to *imitate* the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face *yellow* ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was *blue* (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tiznándose las caras con la tiane divina, quellos asi llamauan, y el rey Auit-"zotl vestido de riesa mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas açules . ."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial
[788] bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal
[415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

● 303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving
[395] the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[9]

324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

648 when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle
175 they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty pris-
[304] oners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the
175 battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces
727 in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears, proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly
[721] the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

175 So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a
serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
ing ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver
and jade, precious substances reserved for religious orna-
ments, was also a mortal crime.

Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public dis-
grace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage
done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws,
and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with
serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal
property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its pro-
duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women 291
wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they 554
sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*,
completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, [302]
sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they
wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may
still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates
33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse
cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer
textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many
names given to the different kinds of mantles show their in-
terest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never
made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather
cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather [292]
from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs
had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge
of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich man- 292
tles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some,
who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker support-
ing an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore
costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle.
On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the
gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and
ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identi-
fication. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, 301
shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, 304
opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay,
wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

301 men and women alike. Men often wore ornaments passed
[304] through the septum of the nose or suspended from a slit in the lower lip. Elaborate necklaces and pendants, armlets and leg bracelets, gave brilliance to a costume for state occasions.
302 Cosmetics were not used to touch up nature, as with us, but instead a lavish application of face and body paints in red, blue, yellow, green and black enhanced with prismatic richness the softer tones of their brown flesh. (See Plates 46–47.)
105 It is obvious that the Aztecs were no pitiable craven savages. They lived upon variegated and delicious foods and dwelt in houses that were comfortable and airy. Their dress stimulated the exercise of merited self-satisfaction, not to be confused with the compensations of vanity. Their manner of life enabled them to take advantage of their personal aptitudes and exchange the products of their own creation for whatever they lacked. Articles for daily and ceremonial use were made with the loving care of master artisans, and rare indeed was the object that did not have the impress of some little decorative touch that makes a pleasant possession of a drab utensil. Their crafts deserve to themselves a complete chapter.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

782 growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Cere-
[266] monial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood
[785 was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did hor-
304] rible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

212 The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice
782 and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

793 The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling
212 acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth
[871] in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Or father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecuhtli, which was called Tozzumulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 431] And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Iztocçauhqui. There [the
● [304 852] persons] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

776 [Iztocçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circle set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhuiçquitlilloia, cenimitica: ipan ilamjan ycalli: quixipeletzinia in motecuçoma, ixpan tlacotemalloia, cepalomajtlo,

oncuhquitzmalli nechvilloia, in cocoxqui: achto ixpan quiyauajtlaia in tletl, çenpan qualoia.

Auh yn jxwcoxcan, ixh omajhujtl, in quiyujxotia, quitzoctiquichilia, quiyepotzmilhuja, cencachilhuja:

auh xiuc vel ômaçoxia in cimalon, tetlacaoaltilloia, ynic xmo aca motlatia, mochichinoc: ipampa in ixmoyican oqualac oncuhquitzmalli, ynic otlamamalac.

Auh in pipiltzonti, mochintin quiçtlaçquiçaia: yn aca cuatl: cuitlatl, xoxli, amolcl, xuxel: in çaçe tlein ocacic ixiuli, yconac cuatlaçaia in tlecuijli: ic xujxoia, motlaçquiça yn xon.

Auh yn ôcoxoc, xoxujan tlatlauanaia in vevetque, yhamatque: ixh quiçoxia, quitlatoxinjtlaia yn tletl, xocalcoxja.

Auh xiuhtecuhtica, yn ic cenca, mocuinilloia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujxtiaia yn motecuçoma, ixpan yn jxocal, xiuhtecuhtli, ytocaiocan tozzumulco.

Auh in jquac ly, vel mochitlacatl, vel no inquijch tlacatl, quijpaloaia, quijnequja, in vcili, in pipiltzonti: ic motecxiotiaia, pillaoxno:

yxon vncá quiçtlaxiaia, quinmahujtiaia in pipiltzonti. Ce cioatl, ce oquichtli, in quiçtzmoaia pilhuaque, quinchahtiaia; inhuantin quinmamatihuja, vnpa quinmocaoaia, yn iuxpan iztocçauhqui: vnpa quinacazxapoloia, quinacaxcoxoçjaia: inhuqja ic quinmochiotiaia, ynic quinitta, yntlaoan, ynacujxan: çenpan tlaqualo.

In jxochichinol cuexc: chilitica momoujlac, chalchihuitzcalc, xiuhxoxomocalc, quetzalli,xoxoin, mijtzoma, tlacotzoma, xiuhxoxomocoche, amoxtzoma quemalc, no tzitzile, cocujale, xiuhxoxatlatlapanqui yn ixhimal, tlachiztopile.

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66. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, se crian verdes, tienen las ramas delgadillas y chiquitas, tienen las hojas redondas. Las raices de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cerezas, exprimense del agua que el cuece para comerse; hacense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilhuac." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 231. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents burned and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 209; see introduction to Sandoval, op. cit.

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrinos* (godfathers; parents or protectors). Molina (op. cit.) translates the words *tlatlauanaia* and *xujxoia* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchihuitzcalc*—a strap for the head, set with jewelled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*xiuhxoxoli*); *quetzalxoxoli* or *xiuhxoxoxoli*, *quetzalxoxoqui*—a class of feather mosaic work in the form of a coronal crest, bordering upwards; *mitzquali tlacotzoqui* or

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[416]
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"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were for dinner, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil year, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, then making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commenced in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the face."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yacatecuhtli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering fowl, when they held a feast. And when they entertained people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they communally herded and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yacatecuhtli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomecóatl, or Chalmecatécuhtli, Acxoteccatl, and Nacxitl, Cochinxcui, Yacapitzinca.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They brought them there to the show market at Atzaqualco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best ones, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yacatecuhtli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now have up [like

Auh in tecuxtl, in pectecuxtl, in ximoxtli, in aqueujtl, ya xoxocxixtl:

[292]

ixcuxtl iuxtilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, ocelan cuxcuj, vel calaqui, motlacuxqui in ochichiuhtlaxca, in xoxoxica, in tlaxoxica quiztlachcalhuja in chamqua.

Auh intla ocelcuxquahtiqua, intla cincqua: vecan quijquixmijctia, quiechiltotilia: qa ica, aqo ca, aqo vecan ya: [263]
ca xil tomatilanqa quijqa, ixhuxtl quijxalhuxtonia in [266]
tecuxqua:

ic vecan quijnecx, cuquijla, yuqoçmaltemuch, ya [431]
quijmaxtiania, ic quijnezaania, in tlacuch, vecan ic [301]
aquijchia. [301]

Auh ya jqua: ualacia, yuchan: ve jualloch, yuecuepal
cuquichichqua, ya ololtechacica, ya ololtechpachichqua:
inquijch tlacatl quijnotza, in pachuca: yuan in tlatoqua, ic
momixtlaia:

mjua, mocxipaca, cenca quijmaxtillaia ya inupil, ya 776
jilacqaia yiacatecuhtli:

cana in calpulco quijquetzaia: achto quijtlamanjlia, ya 796
jqua: tetlaqualtia: yuan intlaca mil momoxomoxca, [778]
quijtlamanjlia in qua machiqa ya jilaquaia.

Auh intla aca malitic, ixhuxtl calitaia, quijnecxia in jiuuch
yiacatecuhtli: aneqo cenca ixhuxtia ya mochoxaia, in
quijmotecuiaia in chicomequjuitl, aneqo chalmecacjuxtl,
yuan acxoteccuijl, yuan nacxitl, cochinxcui, ixcapitzinca, ainc
quijcuija, yiollotlamia, ya aqo ca, aneqo vecan, ca aiaic tlacatl:

vecqa cancuxtia ya tlacatecujloca xacapotzalco: motlah- 776
tlatlia, motlaqapaztlia, quijcuecuqua, quijchiuia, ya 796
qualtic quijcuecuqua, ya ecan quezanjqua, in tlacatecuhtl, in [567]
tlacatecatecqua, ya ecan cuccuqua, ya atle intlacatiah ca:

yuja: ixhuan quijmixtiqua, ya ipan panquetzaliztli: ya
vecan iliuiquijtilloia vitzilohuchtli:

yquac quijchichiuia, quijtlamamaca, iuuch quijtlalia ya
julaqui yuechichiuhtl yiacatecuhtli.

Auh ya ajmo quijmjctia, achtqua quijmixtiaia: mjua
quijnjcuaia, ic quijmachiia in qualanqa:

104. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 57): Yacatecuhtzin "proporcionaba representaciones personas, que tenían vistas, é habilidad, para mejor practicamente, é engañar, y se vestía, y usaba (que es propio condición de Mexicanos) . . . ."

105. Cf. Ixtlilxochitl (Obras Históricas, p. 111) citing Nat. Rept. Coll. Mex. B. II [illegible].

106. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De los ceremonias que se hacía a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies, aparentemente washing towels and hands.

107. Sahagún defines calpulli as "iglesia del barrio, é parroquia" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the ceremony in this sentence: "Entre diversas que tenían, é usaban ordinario."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yacatecuhtli. Ixtlilxochitl (Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 60) recognizes Cochinxcui and Yacapitzinca as synonyms for Yacatecuhtli. "Chicomequitl or Chalmecatecuhtl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxoteccatl is Tlazolteotl; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos mataua a honrra deste dios: y agujeriauan las orejas a todos los njños que auian nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

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Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *vauhquitamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bisextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1	b	KL.	Izcalli	b	8
2	c		A los diez dias deste mes: sacaũ	c	9
3	d		fuego nueuo a la media noche delante	d	16
4	e		la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa-	e	11
5	f		mente atauijada: y encendidos fuegos,	f	12
6	g		luego en amaneciendo venjan los man-	g	13
7	A		cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos	A	14
8	b		anjmales que auian caçado en los diez	b	15
9	c		dias passados vnos de agua, y ótros de	c	16
10	d		tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que	d	17
11	e		tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y	e	18
12	f		ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque-	f	19
13	g		llos anjmales para que se asassen: y	g	20
14	A		dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu-	A	21
15	b		chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que	b	22
16	c		ellos llamauã Vauhquijtamalli: los	c	23
17	d		quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia.	d	24
18	e		y todos comjan dellos por honrra de	e	25
19	f		la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y	f	26
20	g		beujan y regozijauanse.	g	27

262

En esta fiesta los años comunes no mataua a nadie: pero el año del biexto que era de quatro en quatro años: mataua en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dizo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos atauios: hazian grandes y muchas ceremonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que auian muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jxcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

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X796 [535] the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *necuzmoilizti*, which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl*, which is pine resin. Etc.

[304 291 825 314]

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnydad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecujuotilizti, quiere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciese començauã a agujerar las orejas a los niños y niñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc.

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which means barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de Febrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere decir dias vãdios: y tenjanlos por ansiosos y de mala fortuna: oy conjectura que quando agujeraban las orejas a los niños y niñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nemontemi y es lo mismo del bizesto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796x 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil successes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nencioual. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These abovementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Cap. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malaventurados y aciagos: decjan que los que
2 b en ellos nacien tenjan malos successos
3 c en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mis-
4 d serus llamauanles Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanles Nemoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioual, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malaforturados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñir: porque decjan que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedaui siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal agueero tropeçar en estos dias.

A 28 b 29 c 30 d 31

[551] [578] [787]

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se hazil dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan mouibles que se hazien por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas mouibles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they drew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas mouibles.

La primera fiesta mouible se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelotl, en la quarta casa que se llama nauiliz: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjces y incienso: y en el medio mezcaui capiuos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangraua todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796x [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the primeros and the ouemeyoan celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta mouible.

En este mismo signo en la septima casa hazil fiesta todos los primeros, y los labradores ayuntauã quarlos

785 796x 463

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *ainíci*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y conseres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo. 585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y animales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro. 796^ [304 854] [535 785]

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

For he had committed a crime in the temple; for he had done a wrong. They said to him: "Verily, here penitence is done; here a feast is held."

And as night fell during the dance, so closed the day of feasting when the day ended.

And next morning, when [the feast] was over, again there was dancing. Again all danced the serpent dance.

And [this day] died Izteucale,[19] he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him they also named Tlacaxepan,[20] and Teicauhtzin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. On his paper crown were eagle feathers. His headdress hung in disorder. Upon the crown of his head rested a flint knife made of red feathers.

And also he had his network cape; over it hung a small net bag; and his [ornament like a priest's] maniple hung from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast. He fastened shells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went first in line guiding the others.

And purely of his free will, when he wished, he would die. When he wished, then he delivered himself to the place where he would die.

Priests called *tlatlacatecatlti* seized him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, and cut open his breast. His heart they lifted up as an offering to the sun.

And his head also they strung on the skull rack. So he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head was] strung [on the skull rack].

And at this time, the priests cut the skin: with a stone knife they cut the skin of youths, young boys, and even small children yet lying in their cradles. Thus they cut the skin of their stomachs, their breasts, both upper arms, and [both] forearms.

This was done only at the time of [the feast of] Teucatl, when it ended, each year; [and] thus ended [the feast].

ichica in qujmjctiuia ca teupan, ca tlamjlqujxtia, qujmjlhuja: ca vncan tlamacoaxo, vncan ilhujtlalo.

çan iuh oniova in netotilo, ic oztlamj in cemilhujtl, in oztecoquin ilhujtl.

Auh yn jmuztlaioc, in apeoaxo no netotilo, no necocolaxo:

auh iquac mjquj, yn Jztucale, ynin nenan oxenca Titlacauan: auh ynjn no motocaiotia, tlacavepal, yoan Teticauhtzin.

Auh ynjc tlacujhelli, yn jamatlaquj, tencapocio yn jamacal, quahujujio, momoiova yn jvitzoncal: teqpatl iquaxepantla icatiuh, tlapalihujtl ynic tlachioalli:

yoan no ycuechin, icampa vetztiuh, icpatozi, yoan imatacax imac pilcatiuh, tequancozti, oiocalli contlalitiuh, tehoan mjhtoria, mococolox, teiacantinemj, teiacac ycatinemj.

Auh çan iilloxlama, in quenman miquiz, in quêman connequiz, yn oquinac, njman ic ic onmotemaca, yn vncan mjquiz:

qujoalana in tlamacazque, motocaiotia, tlalacanaoalti, qujtitilinja, caana, quelteuquj: yn iiollo conjuijia in tonatiuh:

auh yn itzontecon, çan no tzompatitech conquanhça, çan no iuh tlantica yn iuh quauhçotica titlacauan.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepanotla in tlamacazque, qujpanoola in telpopuchti, in telpuchpipil: yoan yn oc vel pipiztlitl, yn coçolco onoque: ynic quinpanotla ynelcpan, ynelchiquipipan, yoan nenecoc ynacolpan, yoan inmatzontecpanpan:

çan yio iquac y, in tzuchioaia, yn ipan tuncatl: apeoaxo, ceztlahica ic oztlatzonquiça.

796 x
[684
688]

796 x
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796 x

[304]

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19. Izteucale, ". . . que quiere decir: Otro del Señor de la Casa Divina, ó del Señor Divino de la Casa; y por otro nombre Tlacaxepan (sic), que es nombre del otro Dios, compañero de este Huitzilopochtli, cada tiempo con este Centéotl, llamado nombre Teicauhtzin, que quiere decir: Hermano menor, por quanto venían por orden á Huitzilopochtli. Este dos hermanos . . . el dedicado á Tezcatlipoca, y este consagrado á Huitzilopochtli, andaban juntos todo el año de su adoratorio, para el beneficio de este Dios; para este nombre diferenciado entre los dos; porque el que representaba á Tezcatlipoca, á Tlaloc, adoraban, y reverenciaban como á Dios, á como á compañero del mayor Dios . . . y á entrambos, llamaban Huitzilopochtli, que es adoratorio, el adoraban con este respecto. . . ."—Juan de Torquemada: Segunda parte de los veinticinco libros rituales y monarquía indiana (Madrid: Nuevo Reino-Galeón Fernández, 1723), p. 305.

20. Tlacaxepan Quetzalcóatl: "Otro nombre de la pluma, hermano menor y compañero de Huitzilopochtli. . . . Donde nace este nombre más cabe fuel en la cuenta de Tlaxcala" (Chavero, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 90).

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun alone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[3]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen—picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiiouiaia, mociauia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca.

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izqujlhujtl cujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli:

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalqujxoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in mazujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenqujxtilti:

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmaritech qujmantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan.

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio.

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtoxquj much uevei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtotia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca.

Auh amo mopotonja, amono moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichiotia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, iehoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin.

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For [illegible], Sahagún has "six cubits."

X 796 292 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

Auh in ixquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacatl, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn jxcuechin, muchi tenjzo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

301 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4]

suh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: suh in cocoiolnacoche: suh yn jxtempilol, qujnamictia, cequj sujtlaxtli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlxxantectli.

304 And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymachichilacachtempilol:

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

suh yn ixquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoltempilolli in contlalia.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuxquj, ymeelpancuxquj, cilin in tlachioalli: suh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuxcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in tototenpilolli: suh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

Auh yn aquijque in mococenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

X 796 293 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

Auh in tlamanjnac, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

[301 714] And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, excan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, occluocatica in tlaqujmilolli: suh in itzintlã excan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

237 X 796 293 Auh in cequjntin, xilonochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotol in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: suh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçaeoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoecaxotlalli.

X 796 302 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek suh vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: suh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaxitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tlilxotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has *dense Perlenhalsband* for *pancuxcachachapac*.

x 796 hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon
[293] they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known
[535 as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the
628] Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

x 796 And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers
608 sought out some master of the youths, seasoned war-
[431] rior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle. Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

● [304] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

x 796 And when they had gone to their homes, there-
273 upon all ate and drank.
535 And then, in the temple, began singing and dancing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal quiçaiztequja amaxiçopilli; njmã ic ic oalcemo mjtotiviztic.

Auh in otemeco: njmã ic ic tlaiscaloa, çã nappa in tlaiscaloa: auh in ommjtotique mec nezixitinjlo, tezixitinjlo, njmã ic ic calacoa in tecpan tlatecpanoloz. Auh in ichoatl y, motenoa: netecujtonlo, motecujtotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in machioaitz

ic iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in pesaloia in tenacazxapotlaloia in quinnacazxapotla pipiltotonti: yoan quinpotonja, tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in tozti.

Auh in ventli in quichioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temooaia, ichoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlanenequja impilhoaque injc Tetlatinque: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitin, quitlauhtiaia:

in oquichtli in quimaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no quitlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazxapotlaloc; njmã ic ic quinvivica, in quinchichinoznque pipiltotõti: quitlalia tletl, tletlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc motenoa techichinolo in calpulhuevetque, quinoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco quimonjauhtimanj: njman ic quinoalmacatimanj in tetlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlazatzatzi, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic istimanj in inchachan:

auh in oeniaque inchan, njmã ic ic tlatlaqualo, hastlina.

Auh in opesaloc teupan in ic cujco in ic netotilo, nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa vilca in teupan: in Tetlaoan, in teavioan quinvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlaqui ietiuh in vctli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica In quijtoquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vncã cujco: njmã ic ic ommomana in mitotia, quinmamama in pipiltotonti: vncã quimomacatimanj, quimomacatinemj in vctli: netech quimomaca.

11. The Real Palacio MS here contains the line pinol ye chimaquiztli, which probably identifies the pinolli as ground dried maize and chile seeds.

when he had been living in the likeness of another, had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said, they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

And they divided the heart of the maguey plants; they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tescacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited. It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech cloths for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests' dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

And the women who became aunts were pasted with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

[548] [827] [824] [301] [608] [431] [304] [302 237] [608 302]

ouqueztinēca otlamattineuca, omjvintitinēca omovelitztiuca.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn izquichtin pipiltototi, muchintin quinquechaana, quimacopiloa: ic mjtoa quimincalloana, quimizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtocaqoc, manazque, moaxpaoazque:

yoā in metl quijollozcloa, quijollotzaiana, quijollotlapana, quijollotoma: auh yn nopalli quitlaiectilia, quimatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moacatiz, moaxpaoaz.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepalquiztiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecuitotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan cuetlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli caeca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, quichachalchiuhtiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiā vetnia in tlatoque.

Auh ynic mjtoa epilquiztilo, yn jaquichtin pipiltototi, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa quintemoliaia, in quimvicaxque calmecac, inscaiocan tescacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in quinotzaia, mjtoa: quinitlatia quimavitia, tetlati, teaviti:

auh amo inoaniolque in quimanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, quintlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, cuetlaliliaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil cuetlaliliaia

ioalnepantla in quimvicaia calmecac, vmpa quinecaxxapotla, quinnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc quizcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conquiztia, vncā quimonjlpilia iuhquin tlatzatzitlcoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoquiztleoa in pipiltzintinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica quinpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoā inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamaxochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

In jquac oquimōnacaxxapotlaque, njmā ic quinoalhujujca in inchachan, vncan quichieltitoque intoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlatvilitoque, quichixtoque in

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcocalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the marks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc 533
mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: 292
ioan in tlein ipan mjtoxisque.

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujchecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachitz, mochi ic moçencauhticateca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, [534]
xiacachtli, tezzilacatl, çaçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzoanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamanth mãcehoallatqujtl,

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujotlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacozzique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacsujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

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304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[18a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[19] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in 567
jachan caica tlatlacoti 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpisia, in mamalti, cenca
qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein
qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch 463
nepapan totoxl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, 344
tonememe, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tla- 231
chichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtla- 136
pizxquj, in teopizxquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque,
tlateoque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque
Tequanpizque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jx-
qujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli.

18a. *Pinpisia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amanteca after the district of Amanteca, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, op. cit., I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Sahag., *Hist. Rerum Natural.*, p. 276.

19. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nequanpizque* for *nequanpizque*, and begins with the term a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "Cosas de las fieras."

[p.46 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could
not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood.
Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from
346 where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and
places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the
marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that
great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and
occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge
of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was
another much larger pond or tank of very clear water
dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tez-
catepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were
other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where
many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were
sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which
were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and
women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that
they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years — [the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
785 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
● 304 honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it
805 Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which they divided into eighteen months, to each of which
796 they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and
443 during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mira, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le poojan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y quinjentos, y siete: hiziéronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y quinjentos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y quinjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrentandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelite.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziá su bisexto, contando seis de nemontemj.

la otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en dezjocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatzaxis*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *ciocalli*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey tocoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl*; and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlaxman; the fourth, Uixtocioatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacapa quijquijxinia: in motenemo xuchincapãli.

796x
301

Auh yn jnacazotech nenencac pipilcatiujia tencujtlaçpololli: yoan conaquijaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachionilli, tlaxiuhçaloilli: yoan chipolcuacat, yn jcuaquj, oc cepa yielpancuaquj iztac cilin.

[306]

Auh njman ic yeçacauh, ineçaçapian teccizti: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatzxi, iuhquijn icpatzquijpilli:

njman ic nenencac teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenencac imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzxtzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quijquentiuh, iuhquijn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli qujmetztopeoa:

[292]

auh njman ic ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa cioouli: ichoat inic xxxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizzi: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in ichoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

796x

yn iquac ic oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ic itech onapachiuhtiuh, yn ic itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatizia ipan vey toçoztli.

[584
595]

Auh quijtepeoaia, qujtlatlalisia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhxinenca, mexima, mjaquatzontia, iuhquijnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yauxxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech quijlpia:

[302
701]

[283
301]

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: nauhjtin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no ce-xiuhtica in ytlaoia calpixcan:

[833]

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, viztocioatl.

[551]

Auh in ic itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

8. "Unos arcillas de oro" (Sahagún; loc. cit.).

9. "Llamaba a los capatzes, un ornamento como bolsa, de un palmo en quadro de lienzo blanco, con sus bordes y flecadura" (loc. cit.).

10. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo edition), Vol. II, p. 308.

11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 160. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma corvina, ensartada aquella cuchara de los cabellos, dos hombas con sus bordes, bordes de plumas, y con, y rocheacal, como corvaxe, que eran llamados xochiuitl." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 90) do-[illegible] "The first kind of quechtli [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, xoxoiuhcatl, because of the number worn in rocheacal or red [illegible]. The ground of xoxoiuhcatl embraced in a square of dark red, has figures of white feathers. The design is also of red rocheacal." From this, it would appear that xoxoiuhcatl is red string, and rocheacal a red thong of white hide.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

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Ninetenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech cloths, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianquijxco: suh in ichuatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquijztli, ioã ixquich tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeualli, ioan ixquich aca, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequelolos, injc amo nexictilos, injc amo motlacouja, in anmo itla qujmonumaqujlia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacac, icecentlamantli tlaoamactli, çan iiecian, çan iooncian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in ipan tlatoaia in tianquijztli: ioan ixquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl carca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapetiloaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzaliztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototi, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixquich nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamac: veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, ixtl,

ioan in ixquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, thiletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexouhtli, chichiltic ouhtli, mjchiouhtli. Iztac chia, tiltic chiã, chiantzotzol, iztatl: totoli, vezolotl, çiaoatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, cauauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipitcan,

1. Fr. *zacatoli*: *Cymbopogonem procidifolium* (Desvaux) Rolfe, in Kammer, op. cit., p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 18, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 37, *supra*. Sahagún (Rubrodo ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "*una semilla como lenteja blanca*."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

471 the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the
421 heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave
[428] labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

174 The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable mi-
[167] grations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[8]

241 The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time
311 when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

treat to islands in the lake, they met the land problem in the same ingenious way as did the Chalcas, Xochimilcas and the tribes to the northwest, in Lake Zumpango. 241 311

This method was to create *chinampas*, the so-called "floating gardens." The *chinampa* was, in reality, a small artificial island, made by scooping up mud from the marshy borders of the lakes and at first holding it in place by a revetment of reeds and later by trees whose roots bound the earth solidly together. Water flowed into the narrow pits, making them into canals. Fresh mud was always added before planting, so that the fertility of the earth was constantly renewed. The Tenochcas and their neighbors thus converted great sections of otherwise unproductive marsh, flooded in the rainy season, into a grid of canals and fields, the fertility of which is equaled only by the river-flooded lands of the Nile Delta. *Chinampa* agriculture continues today in the districts of Xochimilco and Chalco, where most of the vegetables are grown for the modern metropolis of Mexico City. The inhabitants still use the Aztec language and occupy the same land as did their ancestors, renewing them each year by the same methods used in Aztec times. The outlines of former beds may be seen for a considerable distance round about, since the modern draining of Lake Texcoco has dried up much of the lake area of the Valley of Mexico.[4] (See Plate 37, bottom.)

When the Tenochcas moved into the lake they achieved living room. As the city grew it could incorporate the adjacent garden beds for house foundations, while the increase in population could be fed by building new *chinampas* on the outskirts of the farming area. Thus much of their success may be attributed to the freedom from internal strife 311 578

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.*

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.* (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held [241] in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously [311] [301] poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 An extensive zone to the south of Lake Chalco is rendered uninhabit-
[133 able by the lava flow, or "Pedregal," emitted by the Ajusco Mountains,
311] which form the valley rim. If any small settlements existed in this area, their tribute was probably reckoned as a part of that collected from some major town in the region of Xochimilco or Tepoztlan.

Auchpanco is identified by Acosta with Ayapango.

Colhuacacinco,[8] later San Cristobal, lay on the shore of Lake Xaltocan, east of Tzonpanco (2).

Olac is a barrio of Xochimilco.[9]

632 *Petlacalcatl* is the inscription under the glyph of a house made of
114 grass mats, in the *Mendocino*. It occupies the usual place of the cabecera in the manuscript, and like all the other towns was originally followed by the word "pu[ebl]o." A later hand has struck this out and has replaced it with the word "gobernador," perhaps under the influence of the double (and doubtful) annotation about "Acolhuacâ" and "Acolmecatl calpixqui" (tribute collector) which heads Acolhuacan Province.

That something is wrong is evident from the form of the original annotation. It is probably a place glyph, but the annotation takes the form of a personal glyph. I have chosen to read it as Petlacalco. The result is the same, for the Petlacalcatl, on the facing *Mendocino* page, was a head tribute collector, and the Petlacalco[10] was the "audiencia" building in the Tenochtitlan palace, which also housed a majordomo in charge of the granaries.[11]

632 *Tezcacoac*[12] is a barrio of Tepotzotlan, and consequently we should judge that it lay north of Tecoloapan (7).

[8] Located after the printing of the map, "dista del pueblo de Tiçayuca vna legua hazia el oeste" (*PNE*, 3: 44 and n. 2).

[9] Olaguibel, *Onomatologia del estado de México* (1894), p. 96.

[10] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], I: 166.

[11] *Ibid.*, II: 311.

[12] Located after the printing of the map; it is mentioned in the Ayer "Fragment of a Village Book," and, as Texcacoac, in García Cubas' *Diccionario*.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But |105
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my
"chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in
"all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my
"duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for
"many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-
"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently*
given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I
"shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and
"I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this |74
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their
appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico
as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as
such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a
naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and
marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently |61
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to
the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 459). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 187 and p. 149.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenuchtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Géronimo de Mendieta (Historia ecclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hicieron fuertes, en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "embocadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de las Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas choças, rodeados "de carrizo, y Espadañas, que ellos llamas Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 455. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espesura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.") [311]

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 449, 451 and 452, of Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also. [17]

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

of the tribe, and it remained always public ground, reserved for the same purposes.[78] 651 423

Both of these kinds were often comprised in one, and it is even not improbable that the first one may have been but a variety of the general tribute-lands devoted to the benefit of the conquering confederates. Still, the evidence on this point is too indefinite to warrant such an assumption.

While the crops raised on the "tecpan-tlalli," as well as on the "tlatoca-tlalli," were consumed exclusively by the official houses and households of the tribe, the soil itself which produced these crops was neither claimed nor possessed by the chiefs themselves, or their descendants. It was simply, as far as its products were concerned, official soil.[79]

The establishing and maintaining of these areal subdivisions was very simple with the tribes of the mainland, since they all possessed ample territories for their wants and for the requirements of their organizations. *Their* soil formed a contiguous unit. It was not so, however, with the Mexicans proper. With all their industry in adding artificial sod to the patch on which 423 311

spending it in the house of the King.") Ixtlilxochitl (Ibid. cap. XXXV, p. 242. "In the best location of the territory there was set off a field, which held exactly *four* hundred measures in length and breadth. This was called Tlatocatlali or Tlatocamilli that is: land or plantation of the Lord, and also Itonal Yutlacal, or lands on which the inhabitants are compelled to work.") Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 537). Veytia, (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195, confirms Ixtlilxochitl almost verbally, adding: "For the sowing and cultivation of these the calpixque, which was an officer of the community in each pueblo, daily designated those who had to attend to it, out of the plebeians and tributaries, and all the crops went to the Lord for the maintenance of his house ('casa' family)." Zurita does not use the term which we have adopted, because he is chiefly struck by the communal tenure, as exhibited in the "calpulalli." The fact of their being communal land, though set off for a special purpose, and *not owned* by the chiefs, is plain.

[78] Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). It is superfluous to revert to the erroneous impression, that the chiefs might dispose of it.

[79] "Patrimonial Estates" are mentioned frequently, but the point is, where are they to be found. Neither the "tecpantlalli" nor the "tlatoca-tlalli," still less the "calpulalli," show any trace of individual ownership. "Eredad" (heirloom) is called indiscriminately "milli" and "cuemiti" (Molina Parte Ia. p. 57). The latter is also rendered as "tierra labrada, ó camellon" (Molina. Parte IIa. p. 26). It thus reminds us of the "chinamitl" or garden-bed (as the name "camellon" also implies), and reduces it to the proportion of an ordinary cultivated lot among the others contained within the area of the calpulli. It is also called "tlalli," but that is the general name for soil or ground. "Tierras o eredades de particulares, juntas en alguna vega," is called "tlalmilli." This decomposes into "tlalli" soil, and "milli." But "vega" signifies a fertile tract or field, and thus we have again the conception of communal lands, divided into lots improved by particular families, as the idea of communal tenure necessarily implies.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 190 and 191).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII,
[35] p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population,—in the
[312] North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and
764 only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 21). See note 57.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples, distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

Tozpalatl.

X 796
346
[312]

The Yellow Waters were very precious. The waters flowed [as a spring]; here the servants of the gods took water. And when they celebrated the feast of Uitzilopochtli, and when they celebrated each feast, here water was drunk. Here the common folk drank water.

Tozpalatl.

In tozpalatl, cenca tlaçotli catca, meiaia: vncan atlacuja in tlamacazque. Auh in jquac ylhujuh qujçaia vitzilopuchtli: yoan yn ixquich ilhujtl muchioaia, vncan atlioaloia: vncan atlia in macoualti.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac: here was [the god] whose name was Macuiltotec. Here a feast was celebrated in his honor. And when they observed the feast day of Macuiltotec, here men were slain as sacrifices [to him]. Captives died here at Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

[372] Perchance it was when the fire drill was used [for the new fire]; perchance at another time. Likewise this was done yearly, at the feast of Panquetzaliztli, or at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac.

In tlacochcalcó quauhqujaoac, vncan catca in jtoca macujltotec: vncan ilhujquixtililoia. Auh in jquac yn jlhujuh qujçaia in macujltotec. vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti in tlacochcalco quauhqujiaoac:

aço yquac in tlamamalioaz, acanoçomo: no cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in panquetzaliztli, anoço tlacaxipeolaiztli.

Tolnauac.

Tolnauac: here were men slain in sacrifice. Here captives died; perchance [when the day sign] ce miquiztli came in the day count.

Tulnaoac.

In tulnaoac, vncan mjcooaia: vncan mjquja mamalti, aço ce mjqujztli moquetza in tonalpoalli catca.

Tilocan.

Tilocan: here cooked [the dough of amaranth seed for] the image of Uitzilopochtli.

Tilocan.

In tilocan: vncan ycucia in vitzilopuchtli ijxiptla.

Itepeioc.

Itepeioc: here took form [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

Itepeioc.

In itepeioc: vncan tlacatia in vitzilopuchtli.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac: here was made, and here they molded in man's form, the image of the demon whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.

Vitznaoac calpulli.

In vitznaoac calpulco, vncan muchioaia, vncan tlacatia in ijxiptla diablo, in jtoca catca tlacavepan cuexcochtzin.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

And in his reign there came a great
173 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jxquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Calliztlauacan, Ecatepec, Cuecaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco,[1] Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxaualco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipã nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjquac, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in ichoatl axaiaca, quipeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, calliztlaouaca, hecatepec, cuecaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenãco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxaualco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Tlillatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcatl, and Coatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered those of Tzinhcoac, and Mollenco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Aujtzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: iteocopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl ontol in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tlillatl, Vitzillatl xochcatl, coahatl, inma in coioacã ioan ujtzilupochco: oc nauhxiujtl quijtztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in xiamo mjqui aujtzatl. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ie iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaiostimanca, nezque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oaltemoaque in tritzimime, tequazque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tzinhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiotlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecuçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. *Same as coioacan. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has ȳ coioacã for coioa.*

-2-

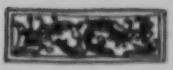

648 **Seventh Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and,
35] lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were]
[301] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

648 431 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them; he placed chains of flowers on them

Inic caxtolli occe capítulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca qujnnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xuluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oncico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iequetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, moconcaua in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjquijx: yoan oc cequjntin vevcintin tlatoque in tlaçopiltli, in jtlatoaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõnamãque in tlaçouchitl, in chimaltuchitl, in iollouchitl inepantla icatiuh in jaqujzuchitl, in coztic iiexuchitl, in cacaouxuchitl, icpacxuchitl, in xuchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacouczatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, coxcapetlatl.

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, coxochimacac, concouzcati in cozcatl, conuchicouzcati, conuchiapan, conjcpacxuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

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[312] 1. Xoloco or Xoluco served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzadas of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios aztecas de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6° Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1956; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a *barrio* bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Iturbide, E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lerdo Alcalde; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Lehmann's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 20.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*En Segundo lugar capítulo a aquel rio que era cabe las casas de alvarado que se llama Xoloco.*"

4. *Chimalxochitl. Chimalxoxouchitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (Eg., p. 102). Chimalxoxouchitl (*ibid.*, p. 100), "*nace . . . flores redondas amarillas (parece prodigio) de un palmo, encerrillo rojizo con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media*"; *Molina* (*Vocabulario*) I. Lima.: *girasol, chimalitl, escudo de sujeto. Chimalxoxouchitl* is identified as "*compuesta*."

5. *Yolloxochitl. Yoloxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana*, Dun?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart, *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*), *Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 96, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún), "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as *chimalli-xochitl*."

6. *Izquixochitl. Izquixóchitl*: in Chiapas, *pasmite del inicio — Bourreria ferreana*; S. Amatán; S. Ixtacomitán (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 626). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria huanita* [La Llave and Lex] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 69 — a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used to flavor cocoa. In Sahagún (Anderson and Dibble ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is noted that "*Este flor sirve sur l'arbre izquixochitzquixtl, ocuxiflum huanita, de la famille des ayapanides.*"

7. *Teuxochitl. Nicolás Antonio Rocha* (*Novae medicorum omnes Hispaniae observatos sive plantarum aromatica, odoriferarum historia ex Francisci Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographia Vitale Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) gives *elocuchitl* as an alternative (*quam alij Elocochitl, seu Florem Elocochitl, alij verò Cocoxochipatochitl* [*cocoxochipatochitl*] *seu Teuxochitl publicam, nuncupant*"), a cold climate plant ("*provenit reptantibus frigidis, & nonnunquam hiemi*"). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it *elocochitl* as Magnolia *acuminata* Linn. Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 279) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a *p* magnolia, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacaoxochitl. Cacahuaxóchitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 279 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Bolaños ed.), III, p. 348, it is identified as "*Rosita de cacao. Myrodia funebris. Bonl. Kunth-Humboldt.*" Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

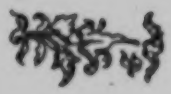

Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards and those of Tlaxcalla set out and fled from Mexico by night.

And after dark, when midnight came, thereupon came out the Spaniards, crowded together, and all of the men of Tlaxcalla. The Spaniards took the lead, and the Tlaxcallans followed behind, covering the rear, like their walls, their rear guard. They went carrying a wooden bridge, which they proceeded to lay across the canal over which they passed.[1]

At the time, it was drizzling; there was a fine sprinkle, a gentle spray, of rain. They crossed easily some of the canals, at Tecpantzinco, Tzaputlan, and Atenchicalco. But when they went to attain Mixcoatechialtitlan,[2] the fourth canal, then it was seen that they were leaving. A woman fetching water spied them, whereupon she cried out and said: "Mexicans! Come here quickly! Already they leave! Your foes are already slinking away!" Then also a man cried out from the top of the [pyramid] temple of Uitzilopochtli. His cries spread well out over the people; everyone heard him. He said: "O chieftains, O Mexicans! Your foes are already setting out! Hasten here by war boat and along the roads!"

And when it was heard, then there was an outcry. On this, the war boatmen broke forth. They rushed; they plied the poles furiously; the boats struck and bumped one another. They came to [a place called] Mictlantonco Macuilcuitlapilco.[3] And from two sides the war boats came upon them. They pressed upon them, the war boats of those of Tenochtitlan and the war boats of those of Tlatiluco. And a number went afoot, direct to Nonoalco, making their way toward Tlacopan, intending to cut off their advance.

Injc eenpoalli onnavi Capítulo: vncan mjxoa in qaenja Españoles yoan in tlaxcaltreca qujzque, choloque in mexico ioaltica. 726

Auh in ovaliovac in oacic ioalnepantla, njmã ie ic qujça in Españoles: oammotenque, yoan in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl: in españoles iacattivi, auh in tlaxcalteca tlatoquiltitivi, tlatzinpachotivi, iuhquinma intenanoan, intzacujlhoan muchiuhti, quivicatiaque quauhtlapechtli contecatiaque in acaloco in jpan ompanotiaque: [3A]

in jquac in oachquiauhtimanj, oachtzetzeliuhtimanj, oachpixauhtimanj, oc cequj in vel companavique acalotli Tecpantzinco, Tzaputla Atenchicalco. Auh in oacito mixcoa mixcoatechialtitlã injc nauhcan acaloco: ie vncan itoque, in ie qujça: oc atlacujc civatl, in qujmjttac: njman ie ic tzatzi: quito. Mexica, xioalnenemjcan, ie qujça, ie navalqujça in amoiaovan: njmã no oc tlacatl tzatzic in jcpac vitzilobuchtli vel tepan motecac in jtzatziliz, ixqujch tlacatl quicac: quito. Tlacavane, mexicae, ie onqujça in amoiauoan, vallatotoca in acalchimalli, yoan in vtli ipan. 487 [2C3]

Auh in oacoac: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca: njmã ie ic tlatzaxmonj in acalchimaleque, totoca, tequjtlanelos, macalhujtequj, macalhujtectivi, tlamattivi mjctlantonco, macujcujtlapilos: auh in acalchimalli, necoc in ipan valmonamjc, in ipan valmopic, in tenuchca imacalchimal, yoã in tlatiluica imacalchimal: yoan cequjntin icxipã iaque, nonoalco tlamelauhque, tlacupanpa itztiaque, quiniacatzacujliaquja: 726

1. The Aztec would permit crossing "bridges" and "canals." — According to all other accounts, they carried only one wooden bridge, which was extend in the first canal (that is, at Tenpantzinco, before the present site of the Post Office) and could not be used for the rest of the canals (personal communication, Roland Gareis Grimshaw).

2. Mixcoac is represented by the Mixhuca hill.

Three places were all on canals near the main temple square, on the road to Tlacopan. Cano (op. cit.) says of Atenchicalco and Mixcoatechialtitlan that they were on the Calzada de Tacuba between S. Juan de Letrán and Guerrero; Tlacopan was on the same calzada in the barrio of Tlacopan.

3. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "un lugar que se llamaba mictlantonco, macuilquitlapilco"; Cano (op. cit.) mentions a Macuilquitlapilco, "que pertenece a la. Pobl. y mencionan Sahagún (IV-187)."

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 133 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two [312] lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 58) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, [782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 133 312 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan- [241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, 127 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the 133 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along 731 the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches,[2] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[2] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. — Analyst]

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127 the wind did not stir it up. It was as welled up .... and it reached the
133 lower parts of the houses" (1954 edition, p. 18). There appear to
731 be no modern observations of seiches, but the extraordinary Gómara remarks (1940 edition, pp. 195–196) that "the salte water ebbeth and floweth, accordyng to the wynde that bloweth".

127 Whether irrigation was practiced in Middle America is a question
312 that has never been adequately considered (Millon, 1954; Palerm, 1955). Clearly it would not have been necessary in Aztec times in the Valley of Mexico; *chinampa* agriculture, which substituted for irrigation, has an ancient history in the Valley (Apenes, 1943), but it is not known elsewhere nearer than the Vale of Kashmir (West and Armillas, 1950). At other times and in other places it seems certain that the dense population could not have been maintained without irrigation. The great ceremonial center of Teotihuacán lies in a subdivision of the Valley that receives less precipitation than Mexico City, and some irrigation is practiced there today. We know from the work of Apenes (1943) and Sears (1952) that just prior to Teotihuacán times (about 500 B. C.) the Valley lakes were appreciably lower than today, and the conclusion is inescapable that Teotihuacán culture was founded on high ground and flourished during a dry time when irrigation must have been essential. Deforestation (Vaillant, 1941) complicates the hydrographic picture for Teotihuacán times but it is evident that the rise and spread of Aztec culture was related to increased moisture, reflected in high lake levels during the 14th to 16th centuries. The high levels would doubtless have continued through the 18th century, in agreement with climatic oscillations elsewhere, if sporadic attempts to drain the Valley had not been partially successful in the early 17th century (they were not completely successful until 1900).

Aztec control of hydrography, then, did not include irrigation where it was unnecessary, but was devoted, in the last centuries before the Conquest, to regulating the levels of the lakes. Before the Aztecs entered the Valley, however, they lived in many places, not all of
127 which were lacustrine. So far archaeology has made little progress in reconstructing the details of their history during the migration period. The problem is exceedingly complicated, and four centuries of scholarship have not made it less so. The Aztecs were interested in their own history, and attempted to draw it together in pictorial manuscripts. These have been lost, and what have come down to us are copies, made, probably from memory, by hispanicized Indians under the prodding of the 16th-century friars. In the interpretation and verbalization of these pictorial histories we have to contend with ideas implanted by the friars, and the result is a picture of the migration period that is strongly reminiscent of the wandering of the Israelites, joined to a

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127 212 *Historia de las indias de Nueva-España y islas de Tierra Firme*, 1579 (Mexico, 1867–80). In this scene the most important glyphic element is the hill with a snake (Coatepec, the hill near Tula). It stands in the middle of lake beset by cattails, in which are swimming a bird, a fish, and a seal, while pollarded trees stand around, each with a bird on top. Two dignitaries are seated at either side, the male with a glyphic name representing a bird and a cactus, while the female is provided with a standard on which is seen an axolotl, rampant, with enormous external gills.

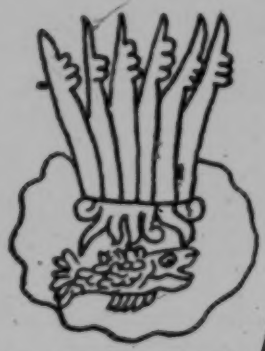

Fig. 2. Contaminated glyph for Tula, as it appears in the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini) (Anon., 1944).

The implication of this curious inconography is clear and disheartening. The details about the lake of Tula were concocted by native informants to explain the glyph, probably in a manuscript now lost. Later, the pictures were drawn to illustrate the story. The glyph that provoked the story need not have been that of Tollán, for any place with *tules* in its etymology would have sufficed. We must conclude that we do not know whether Tula was situated on an artificial lake, or even whether its name was Tollán.

127 The hydrographic knowledge of the Aztecs, then, must not be judged by what was told to credulous friars by acculturated Indians fifty years after the Conquest. Cortés' account, though doubtless somewhat colored, has more of the ring of truth. In the famous Second Letter to Charles V, he said:

127 231 312 "Along one of the causeways which lead into the city, there are two conduits of masonry each two paces broad, and five feet deep, through one of which a volume of very good fresh water, the bulk of a man's body, flows into the heart of the city, from which all supply themselves, and drink. The other which is empty brings the water, when they wish to clean the first conduit, for, while one is being cleaned, the water flows through the other" (MacNutt edition, vol. I, p. 262). Again, describing one of Montezuma's lesser palaces, he said: "It had ten pools of water, in which were kept all the many and divers breeds of waterfowl found in these parts, all domesticated; for the sea-birds, too, there were pools of salt water, and, for those of the rivers and lakes, there was fresh water, which for the sake of cleanliness, they renewed at certain times by means of pipes. To each kind of bird they gave the food which suited its habits in its free state, so that to those which ate fish they gave it; and likewise, worms, maize, and smaller

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was protected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake of Texçoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

133 Such springs were also to be seen in and around the Lake of Mexico, but not in such considerable numbers, and there must also ●312 have been one or more on the site of the City which supplied its earliest inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

161 "The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

134 The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes are composed of *tepetatle*, a mixture of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all. [241] The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

241 Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

Note on the Drainage.

000 From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley became the preoccupation of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Netzahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin, known in Mexico as Enrico Martínez, planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountain rim to the north-east of the valley, but this work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zumpango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

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[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico.*
[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.
[3] Text page 72.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of 361
Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from [312]
Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the
bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain
distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed
in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on [505]
that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming
with supplies of food and others returning loaded with
cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every
house of that great city and of all the other cities that were
built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to
house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or
in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like
towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a
wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs,
and on the causeways other small towers and oratories
which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had 361
seen we turned to look at the great market place and the 443
crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others
selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and
words that they used could be heard more than a league
off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many
parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy,
and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full
of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had
never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to 797
Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned
by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to
me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw
out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow
us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782 266]
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were [412]
also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, [292]
and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 walled enclosures.[193] But it was surrounded by *water* on all sides.
712 This was a *natural* protection, *apparently*. However, the lake around Mexico was the work of the Mexicans themselves, and deserves, as such, to be regarded as an evidence of no ordinary
312 skill on their part. When they fled into the space subsequently
361 transformed into a lagune, it was an extensive swamp, covered with canebrake. Many parts of it could be waded through with ease, at some places the streams emptying into it from the West filtered through the deeper channels into Lake Tezcuco. Flakes of turf or of sand occasionally protruded over the surface, and on one of these dry spots the Mexicans huddled together for existence.[194] Unmolested on account of their extreme weakness, they could extend this area of dry soil by additions of sod, by scanty artificial foundations of turf thrown into the shallow morass and, erecting upon it their frail dwellings, they lived in poverty until they found out the great advantage which this isolated position gave to them over the surrounding tribes. They realized that, while *they* might sally forth with impunity, having a safe retreat behind them, an attack upon *their* position was both difficult and dangerous for the assailant. Once *their* first attempt crowned with success they continued and, valuing their situation as the main element of strength, they improved the foothold on the mainland by compelling subjected tribes to build for them a causeway, running from the outlet of Lake Xochimilco northward, to the pueblo of Mexico.[195] This dyke, while it insured communication with the mainland, penned up the waters flowing into the swamp from the west-side, and *accumulated* them there.[196] On

[193] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). When the Tlaxcallans represented to Cortés the dangers to which he exposed himself by going to Mexico, they did not mention fortifications (Bernal-Diez, LXXVIII, p. 70), but simply how the place was surrounded by water, the strength of the houses, and their difficult access.

[194] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 5). Durán ("Hist. de las Yndias de Nueva España," Cap. IV, pp. 36 and 37) is very explicit: "y pasados por la otra parte del rio (the outlet of "Lake Xochimilco) metieronse en los carriçales y tulares de la laguna." "Deste lugar "vinieron buscando y mirando si allarian algun lugar que fuese acomodado para po "der hacer asiento, y andando desta manera por unas partes y otras entre las espa "dañas y carriçales, allaron un ojo de agua hermosissimo." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X and cap. XI, p. 92).

[195] Durán (Cap. XII, p. 112): "pues vuelto a' los de Xochimilco les mandó que luego, "sin mas tardar, mandasen a' todos los de la ciudad hiciesen una calçada de tres bra "ças en ancho desde su pueblo hasta la ciudad de Mexico, de piedra y tierra, cegas "en el agua quel termino desta calçada tomase, y hiciesen sus puentes á trechos para "que el agua tuviese por donde salir de una parte a' otra." (Also, Cap. XIII, p. 113.)

[196] We must remember that the level of the "plaza mayor" of Mexico was, towards the beginning of this century, but one "vara" (of three Castilian feet), one foot and

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

the other hand, the fresh water emptying out of Lake Xochimilco was thrown to the east side of the dyke into Lake Tezcuco. By this simple contrivance the Mexicans surrounded their pueblo with a huge pond on all sides, isolating, or rather *fortifying* it beyond all conceivable means of Indian assault.[197] *The causeways leading to Mexico were, therefore, military constructions.*[198] Subsequently the dyke was continued to the north until where Guadalupe Hidalgo now stands (anciently Tepeyacac), thus closing up the western basin completely, and another causeway, running east and west was constructed to Tacuba. From the southern dyke a branch ran to Cuyuacan, starting at Xoloc and extending to the southwest. In order to insure free circulation of the waters, sluices were cut, which interrupted the causeways at several places. Wooden bridges, easily removable, were laid across these ditches. Thus Mexico needed no outer fortifications nor walled enclosures.[199]

one inch higher than the level of Lake Tezcuco. This elevation was purely artificial (Humboldt, "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Paris, 1827. Vol. II, pp. 96, 97 and 98). After the causeways running north and south had been constructed, the waters emptying into the swamp from the west side could not any longer run freely into the salt-water basin of Tezcuco. They were actually kept around the pueblo, and the swamp thus changed into a lagune. That those sources were powerful enough for such a purpose is amply shown by the great inundation which their careless opening occasioned under Ahuitzotl, in 1498 ("Essai politique," Vol. II, p. 101), of which the old authors bear ample testimony. (Durán, Cap. XLVIII and XLIX.) (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXX.) (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. LXVI.) (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXVII, pp. 192 and 193.)

[197] The levels of Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco are 1 vara 11 inches higher than the "plaza mayor" of Mexico. Their outlet is to the northwest, between Churubusco and Iztapalapan. Previously, when Mexico was surrounded by water, this outlet was between Mexicalzinco and Churubusco (then called "Huitzilopochco"). At Churubusco the great causeway began, and the waters emptying out of Lake Xochimilco flowed along its right hand side into Lake Tezcuco. The causeways thus increased the effects of natural drainage upon the central basin. It was certainly a very primitive but very effective work on the part of the Mexicans. We find a parallel to it, at a comparatively recent date, in Bolivia. When Andrés Tupac Amaru, the son of the unfortunate José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was blockading Sorata, in 1782, he could not, without artillery, hope to succeed against the well fortified town. Therefore, by a system of circumvallation, he enclosed the town with the waters of the Sierra, which finally destroyed the earthworks, leaving the entrance free to the infuriated Indians. 22,000 whites perished in the massacre ensuing.

[198] It is to the Hon. L. H. Morgan that we owe the first intimation in regard to the true character and purpose of these causeways. They were not merely for the purpose of insuring communication with the mainland, but especially for the defence of Mexico. Without them the area extending between the pueblo and the western shore would, at best, have remained a swamp, or would have become, as it now is, dry land. In both cases the defensive power of the Mexicans was at an end, and the course of events in Mexico would have turned quite differently.

[199] Mention is made of a fortification of some kind at "Xoloc," where the branch dyke from Cuyuacan joined the main causeway. (This must have been in the neighborhood of San Antonio.)

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
712 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1800. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 190 and 191).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII,
[351] p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population.—in the
[312 North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and
704 only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 24). See note 57.

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, hazia fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jzcoçauhqui: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the pains of] their death

Cap. 10.

1	c	KL	Xocotl vetzi	c	1[1]
2	d		Durante la fiesta de tlasochimaco:	d	2[2]
3	e		yuã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al-	e	3
4	f		tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle	f	4
5	g		arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios:	g	5
6	A		alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan-	A	6
7	b		tauan enhiesto y estaua assi enhiesto	b	7
8	c		hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en-	c	8
9	d		tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ	d	9
10	e		mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos	e	10
11	f		para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia	f	11
12	g		desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan	g	12
13	A		muchos carpinteros con sus herrami-	A	13
14	b		ẽtas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso.	b	14
15	c		Despues de mondado y de auerle com-	c	15
16	d		puesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles:	d	16
17	e		atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan-	e	17
18	f		tauanle con muchas bozes y muchos	f	18
19	g		estruendos y afixauanle muy bien.	g	19
20	A		Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã-	A	20[3]

tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos adereçauãse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

1. Marginal notation: *Augustus de dios xeuz.*
2. Marginal notation: *Bernardi obstat.*
3. Marginal notation: *Petri ad nimrodi.*

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[36] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[37] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[36] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[37] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] 16 pieces of colored lacquer
[319] 268 fine *jícaras* and *tecomates*
[314] 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[36]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section
114 extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[37] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[38]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[39] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[36] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[37] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[38] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[39] *PNE*, 5: 210.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Istac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

popucatepetl, istac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço quexquijtetl tepetl in quintemoac in quipiquiz.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

Auh in quinpiquija, in quimixiptlatiaia in tetepe, çan tzoalli, quintlacatlaliaia, quintlacatlachieltiaia, tlacatlachixticatca:

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

quintlantiaia aiocoachtli, auh in quimjxtelolotiaia aiecutli: in quenamj yntlatquj in quimixiptlatiaia, in quinpiquja çan no iuhquj ynic quinchichioaia.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

Auh yoan quichioaia, amatetevjtl, colchachapatzoia, colchipiniaia, quinquequentiaia:

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

auh in cequj amatetevitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatitech quipipiloaia, mecatitech quinemetechilpiaia, quinemetechçaloaia, ymixpan antoc, ic itzacutoque in tepicme:

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

hiçanacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, ontopilquauitl, necoc, nenecoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tetzotzonticac, yn itech antoc tetevjtl.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaittitatactli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipam poujia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic mamanca.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

Auh çan iehoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequiuh, in machiceque catca, yn quinchichioaia, in quintlaliaia: aiac çan moiocuiaia, in calla in quinchichioaia.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

Auh macujltica in quintlalhujaia, mjtoa: quinmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque:

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

yn o ie cauhque tepicme, njman ie ic quintoçaviia, quincujcatia:

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

in ceiocoal napa in quintlamanjlia, tamalololli in quinmacaia, quimanaia ymixpa, in tlamacazque, in tepiccujca:

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

no napa in quintlamacaia ceiocoal, yoan quintlapichiliaia,

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

quinmaquiquixiliaia tecucizitli in quinpichiliaia, yoan vilacapitztli, cocoujlotl,

Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, papaqujnj, haavienj, mihivintianj, tecetemeltianj, ceceleque, no tlamacoia.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

Auh yn otlatvic njman quinmictia yn tepicme, quinquechcotona, quinquechcuj, quinquechilacatzoa, çatepan quincemololoa, concecuj, in tepictzoalli, quitquj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

Auh in tepiquinj, njman ie yc calaqujh yn itlacoanotzalhoan, yn jcoaoan, vncan mopia, mopixtuque:

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the
782 people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

auh in ie iooatiuh, in ie tevtlac niman ie ic tlaoana, motlaoancatlalia in vevetlaca, yn ie chicaoaque, yn otlachi-

755

117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text).* Popocatepetl and Istac tepetl (Istac cinta!) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. *Made of dough (vno masse)*, in the Spanish column; *Solar ungeben in zerquetschten Samen des Sauchelmuhes* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de gotas de uli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetemil*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 120).

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in venerztion of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã ñublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes. 796^A 805 778

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnaoatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Marginal notation: *October in this month.*

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

1	g	KL		g	30
2	A		Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas	A	1[1]
3	b		culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles,	b	2
4	c		y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra:	c	3
5	d		haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo gru-	d	4
6	e		esos como la muñeca largos llamauan-	e	5
7	f		los Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las	f	6
8	g		culebras los investian cõ aquella masa	g	7
9	A		que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los in-	A	8
10	b		vestian a manera de montes, arriba les	b	9
11	c		ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de per-	c	10
12	d		sona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes,	d	11
13	e		en memoria de aquellos que se aujan	e	12
14	f		ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de	f	13
15	g		tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino	g	14
16	A		que los enterrauan.	A	15
17	b		Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas,	b	16
18	c		aujan puesto en sus altares a las yma-	c	17
19	d		genes dichas: ofrecianles tambien ta-	d	18
20	e		males y otras comjdas: y tambien los	e	19
			dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.		

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauiadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar. 796^A [289] [314] [293] [493 482]

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

796[x] [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli,* because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli.* They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli.* And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli,* which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete;* and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

1	d	KL		d	29[1]
2	e		Quando començaua a tronar los	e	30
3	f		satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran	f	1[2]
4	g		diligencia offrecian copal y otros per-	g	2
5	A		fumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas	A	3
6	b		dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para	b	4
7	c		dar agua: y los populares hazian votos	c	5
8	d		de hazer las ymagines de los montes	d	6
9	e		que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedi-	e	7
10	f		cadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los	f	8
11	g		deziseis dias deste mes, todos los popu-	g	9
12	A		lares aparejauan offrendas para offre-	A	10
13	b		cer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian	b	11
14	c		penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres	c	12
15	d		de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los	d	13
16	e		hombres.	e	14
17	f		Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan	f	15
18	g		el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras	g	16
19	A		de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales	A	17
20	b		desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauan-	b	18[3]

[314] [834] [778] [289] [324]

los en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaçá, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que tezen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

[413 286]

1. Marginal notation: *Sanctorum mary.*
2. Marginal notation: *December ha dos xxij.*
3. Marginal notation: *Expectatio beate Marie V.*

X796 [535] the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *nesecutotiliztli*, which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl*, which is pine resin. Etc.

[304 291 825 314]

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnjdad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecujtotiliztli, quiere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciesse començauã a agujerar las orejas a los njños y njñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solēnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289] 778 [565] 666 [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que trataua en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuēta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comida, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

X796 **Twentieth Chapter,** which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [805] [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloca.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial bannerets were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[789] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenmantli,* by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed [202 314 289] white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

Juic 20. capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in qujtocaiotiaia, in qujtoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eua.

Quauitl eoa, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujxtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã neteteuhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauijtl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujmoncaoaia pipiltzitzinti, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquaujtl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitleua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (Mexico: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "Xilomanaliztli,—Atlacahualco,—Cuahuitlehua,—Cihuailhuitl. *Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de xilotl ó elotes; nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitlehua, quemazon de los árboles; nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. Atlcahualco ó Atlacahualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos; segun el P. Leon, detencion de las aguas, y es la interpretacion de todas que mas nos satisface: Cihuailhuitl, fiesta de la muger. El símbolo religioso es la imágen de Tlaloc y un árbol reverdeciendo, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . *el primer mes, cuyo nombre Atcahualco o Atlacahualco, significa la cesación del agua, pues en el mes de marzo cesan las lluvias del invierno en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o tolteca. Lo llamaban tambien Quauhuitlehua, lo que significa la vegetacion de los árboles, que se verifica en este tiempo en los países fríos. Los tlaxcaltecas llamaban á este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, ofrenda de las mazorcas de maiz, porque se ofrecian á sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la siembra que por este tiempo comenzaban á hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (*Tlalocan,* Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuitl ehua ia palo se alza.* Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Cuecchi: Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 55, translates the name as *die Bäume erheben sich* (*machen sich auf dem Weg*).

2. *Nexlaoaloia.* Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *inslaoa* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called nexlamali 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.,* p. 292) translates *teteuitl* as *tiras sagradas.*

4. In *loc. cit.,* Garibay renders *tlacateteuhtli* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl [illegible] No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel,* p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opferstreifen* (*Opferpapiere* or *Menschengestalt*). They may actually have been paper streamers surrounded by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.,* p. 60) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de gotas de olli a los quales papeles llamaban amatenutl.*" *Tlaulchachapatztli;* cf. *chachapani,* in Molina (*op. cit.*).

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia, 796 X

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic. 778

Jnic vecã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj. 289 292

Jnje excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli. [314]

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj. [825]

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miqujia nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujzçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl, 796 X [292 301 237] [314 824] [289] [493 237]

6. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: *"es una sierra enjuyada que esta cerca del Tlaxiaca."*

7. *Yiapaltic.* Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *leonado* (lion colored, fallow) for *yiapalli*. For *papaltic*, Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 56) has *grünbraun*; Molina (*op. cit.*), *cosa teñida de negro*; Simeón (*op. cit.*), brown or black.

8. The Spanish text explains: *"es una sierra cuadrada que esta cabe guadalupe."*

9. *Loc. cit.*: *"es aquel monteruillo, que esta detrás deste huqueto, frontero del Santuario."*

10. *Loc. cit.*: *"es un monte, que esta en los terrajuelos de Santiago, y alli cabe tepetzinco."*

11. *Loc. cit.*: *"es un monte que esta cabe chalco arriba."*

12. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 57) *zauberkronen*, which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Feier*.

13. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says: *"pusiyanlos unos alas de papel como angelos."*

feathers, and in these [the children][43] were kept

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan qujxtilo, teixitilo, teixitimachtilo, qujntlamamaca, qujnmamaca yn jmamanechichioal: 796x

ynjc ceppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatquj. 289 292

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc cepa ichoatl yn intlatquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

iccen qujnchichioaia, iccen qujnmacaia, iccen qujtquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic qujntlatlatizque, ynjo ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oaoanozque ça iccen qujcuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo qujpapatla: yoan vltica qujnoahoanchichioa. [314]

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac totoliujtica. 796x 292 [237]

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalitotiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlattitia, ynjc oaoano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoaçotiuh, qujtilquetriuh in chicaoaztli, chachalaca, cacalaca. [714 534]

Auh muchinti, iuh muchichioaia, yn ixquichtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oaboanozque, yn iquac oacic ilhujtl tlacaxipeualiztli.

[illegible] and University of Utah, 1959; Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of [illegible], and its relation to [illegible], see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 89.

side; some had long hair; some already had hair wound about the head.[9] They bound the cobs of maize in groups of seven; these were the clusters [of cobs of maize]. They wrapped them in red paper, and painted them with liquid rubber; and they sprinkled on them drops of liquid rubber.

ie omaxtlauh: chichicoomolotl in qujilpia, ichoatl yn ocholli catca, camaquentia, tlauhio, colxaoa: yoan conolchichipitza. 796X [302] [314]

And they pasted the young girls' arms and legs with red feathers; they painted their faces, fastening [on them] two [circles of] fish paste[10] flecked with iron pyrites on both sides, on their cheeks.

Auh in ichpopuchti, tlapaliujtica qujnpotonja, in inmac, ymicxic, yoã qujnxaoaia, ovme qujnpilhuja chapopotli apetzzto, tlaapetzujlli, tlaapetziotilli: necoccampa in camatepa. [302]

Then, they accompanied the young girls, who carried upon their backs the dried maize, also called Cintzotl. They kept going before them; they went surrounding and encircling them, looking on fascinated. None of those crowded about looked upon them; [none] looked fizedly at them; none joked with them.

Niman ie ic qujnujca yn ichpopuchti, qujmamatiuj in cintli, no cinteutl motocaiotiaia: ymixpã hicatiuj, qujntepeuitiuj, qujmololhujtiuj, cemixtli invic: aiac in maca qujmjtta, qujncecemjtta, aiac qujncamanalhuja.

And if anyone was merry with one of them, they chid him. They said unto him:

Auh intla aca tecamanalhuja, qujoalaoa qujoalilhoja: 796X 702

"Verily, he with the long [tangled] hair of a youth also speaketh! Dost thou indeed speak? Be thou concerned over how may be removed thy tuft of hair, thou with the long hair! Thou with the evil-smelling, stinking forelock, art thou not only a woman like me? Nowhere hath thy excrement [yet] been burned."[11]

no uellatoa in cuexpalle, vel teh titlatoa? ma ie ic zitlaocuia, quen uetziz in mocuexpal, cuexpaltone? cuexpaliiac, cuexpalpoto, amo çan tinocioapo? acan motlachinauja mocujtl.

Some answered her and said unto her:

Cequjntin quioalcuepaia, qujtoaia

"[What thou sayest] is good. I am going, I. I know that it is truth and verity; thou hast done well. Now also shalt thou go. Anoint thy stomach with mud; scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other and fall to the earth; drop upon the dust. There is a stone, a rough one; strike thy face therewith, that blood may spurt forth; scratch thy nose with the stone; or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe, that thou mayest spit through it. Be on thy way; go as thou likest."

ca ie qualli, ça onjia, ie nehoatl, nicmati, haçanelli, haçayuj, otitlacneli ca no te tiez: xonmitiçoqujuj, xonmjtichichiquj, ximocxtimalina, tlalli ic ximoujtequj, tlalli xiqujpotoztiuetzi: vmpa ca tetlhon, techachalli, ic xonmixtetzotzona, ic xonmjxtzotzona, eztli tiqualaacuchoz: ximoiacatechichiquj, noce xonmococotlecoionj, vmpa tiealchichihcaz, çan xinemj, ça tiuhquj xinemj. [372]

And although these words were thus expressed by

Auh maciuj yn iuhquj hin intlatol muchicaia

9. "*Amatzomalli, xol, ahuxmalli, cabello largo que dexan a un lado dela cabeça dos mugeres quando las casapallian*" (Molina, op. cit.). *Amatzomalli* (op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl section) is translated as "*Cabellos casapantes y redondos dela cabeça de la muger.*"

10. *Chapopotli.* See Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, pp. 72, 295.

11. In view of the double meanings which make this passage difficult to put into English, reference to later passages in Sahagún's *Historia* is helpful. A comment in the Bolroedo edition (Vol. I, p. 173) mentions "*los mancebos y mozuelos y muchachos; todos aquellos que tenian cedijas de cabellos en el cogote, que llamaban cuexpalcuaque.*" Sahagún on (Vol. II, pp. 331-2): "*Los grandes y ancianos por donde cubian los que habian de llegar a los mayores dignidades, eran estos que se siguen: cuando eran pequeñuelos cundidos o rasurado la cabeza, y llegando a los diez años dejaban crecer una cedija de cabellos en el cogote, a la cual eran llamados mocuexpaltiz; a los quinze años tenian ya aquella cedija larga, y llamaban cuexpalchicuqui, porque aun ningunos eran notable hubian hecho en la guerra; y si en la guerra acometia que él y otro, o, él y otros dos o tres, o más, cautivaban a alguno de los enemigos, quitaban la cedija de los cabellos, y aquello era señal de honra. . . .*

"*Y cuando quitaban la cedija del cabellillo, dejábanle una cedija sobre la oreja derecha, que le cubria la oreja o cubo un lado que era el derecho, y con esto parecia que traia otra preseria más honrada, que era señal que en compañia de otros habia cautivado o alguno; y por haber cautivado con sus compañeros, y haber dejádole la cedija en señal de honra, le cabalaban sus abuelos o sus tios diciéndole: Nuestro nuevo, hasta hasado la cara el sol, y la tierra; ya tienes otra cara; porque te tienes y te esforzaste a cautivar en compañia de otros; mira que te cuidela más perdiere; y que te cautivaste tus enemigos, que no que otro era cautivaste en compañia de otros, porque si esto fuese pendiente otra cedija de la parte de la otra oreja, que pusiesen muchachos, y más te cuidela cuanto que cautivaste esto.*"

See also Lib. VIII, cap. xxi.

[796] [793] [292]

mant cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crowned] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]	tzitziuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpanioil, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:
And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]	yuan mixquauexcoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, conapetzotiaia:
And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells; also known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]	yoan itlan cantiuh yiatazcli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatazcli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatezcli:
And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.	yoan ez quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoztli:
And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.	auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujmanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vleteu:
Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.	cequjntin qujmanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic qnaquauitztic, icpac ▼ icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.
And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]	Auh in ie iuhquj ¶ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onnetemalo, mec viloa.
And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.	Auh in ãxqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzitzitzqujtimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemoztzolzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.
And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.	Auh in tlamazztoten, yn oaxioaque, tolisoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan ichetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:
And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.	auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.
And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-	Auh yn iquac ie oncoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcujtiuetzi, qujnmicria qujnmamaianj, in-

[302] [824] [314] [237]

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16. "Vna manta delgada transparente, que se llama cuechquemitl" (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions "manta delgada que llamaba ayal" (Rubrodo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. "Vna flor de papel grande redonda, redondo a manera de rodela" (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the dance: "Bailaban con vna flor de papel, redonda

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And thereupon, when were slain [the captives and the likenesses of the rain gods], then the priests came down. They brought down all the offerings—the rubber-spattered sacrificial banners, and the maguey fiber capes painted with designs, also called cloud-face capes, and the green stones, the quetzal feathers, and the incense pieces in the form of men. And they brought down the cloud vessel, now filled with hearts.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oaltemoa in tlamacazque: qujoaltemouja yn izqujch nextlaoalli, in tetrujtl: yoan ichtilmatli tlacujlolli, yoan itoca aiavixo: yoan in chalchiujtl, yoan quetzalli, yoan copalli, tlatlacatlachia: yoan qujoaltemouja in mizcomjtl, vncã tetentiuh yn iollotli:

Then they took these directly to the water's edge, to a place called Tetamaçolco.

njman qujtlamelaoaltia atenco, itocaiocã tetamaçolco.

And when they had arrived there, then they loaded a canoe; they filled it with all the offerings. And all the priests embarked. Then [the canoe] was driven by poles. It was filled by those who poled, who clung [to the poles]. They poled speedily. All the poles were blue, painted and colored blue, and covered with liquid rubber, with an adornment of rubber painted on.

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Auh yn oacito njman ie ic conacalaquja, conscaltema yn izqujch nextlaoalli: yoan onmacaltema yn izqujchti tlamacazque, njman ie ic tlanelolo, contemj onpipilcatoque in tlancloa, tequjtlancloa, in aujctli muchi texoso, tlatezouylli, tlatezoaltilli, yoan tlaulxauhtli, tlaulxaoalli, vlxauhquj.

And when they had reached mid-water, at a place called Pantitlan, there they then brought in the canoe. And when they brought it in, thereupon shell trumpets were sounded. The fire priest arose by the prow of the canoe, and then they gave him the cloud vessel, which was now filled with hearts. Thereupon he cast it in the midst of the water, before the stakes [which were in the water]. It fell striking the water with a splash.

Auh yn oacito anepantla, itocaiocan pantitlan, njman ic concalaquja yn acalli: auh yn oqujcalaquj-que, njman ie ic tlapitzalo: in tlenamacac acaliacac onmoquetza, njman conmaca in mizcomjtl, yn vncan tentiuh iollotli: njman ie ic contlaça anepantla, ynixpã cuenmantli, iuhquin ontlachaquanitiuetzi, ontlatzoponitiuetzi:

And then the water foamed, boiled, and cast up bubbles, which burst. Foam was formed on the water.

auh njman poçoni yn atl, momoloca, quaqualaca, xixitomj, xixitemomoloca, apopoçoqujllotl motlatlalia:

Thereupon were hung out, tied upon the stakes, upon the poles, the sacrificial banners. And they bound on green stones. And some [of the green stones] they cast, scattered, and strewed upon the face of the water.[28]

njman ie ic mopipiloa, moolpia in tetrujtl, in quauhtitech yn itech cuenmantli: yoan in chalchiujtl qujilpia, yoan cequj atlan contepeoaia, conchaiaoa, concenmana.

And when this was done, then they went forth. And when they had gone, when they had left, when they were near the opening in the [row of] stakes [which were set in the water], then [the fire priest] took up the incense burner and upon it arranged four sacrificial banners. Thereupon he offered and dedicated [the incense burner with papers], and cast it down, throwing, hurling it [into the water].

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic oalqujxoa: auh yn oqujxoaloco, yn oalqujxooac, yn vncan qujiaostenpan, yn iqujiaoaioc cuenmantli: njman ic concuj in tlemaitl, vncan conmamana nauhtetl tetrujtl: njman ie ic conjiaoa, yn oconjtauh, mec conmaiauj, ica onmajauj, contlaça, ica ontlamotla:

And when he had cast it [into the water], then they turned the canoe about. Then they circled back, and used their poles. Some took the prow; some steered.

auh yn ocontlaz mec qujmalacachoa yn acalli: mec oalnecuepalo, tlanelolo cequj tlaiacatitiuj, cequj tlacuexcochtitiuj.

And when they had reached Tetamaçolco, whence

Auh yn oacico tetamaçolco, yn vncan neacalaqujlo,

28. See Plate 22. Refer also to Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Plate 33.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *teuxollotl*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc cosolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xxxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica, 796x [301]

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujtli, ynjc tlamaiqujtli: auh yn icaczochio, çan no ie in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ie no ic yn potonquj: 796x 292

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanicuilolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, tozttlapilollo: 796x 293

Auh in tozttlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaioxia teuzollotl, toztenoloio in chimalli. [237]

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana: [535]

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: cxcan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio: [314]

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetzzinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh. 796x 535

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixqujchtin cenqujça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti: [463]

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 32.

7. "*Waterrose*," in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as Ixc Nappa tecuili (*cf.* Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish informant reads: "*Traya una rodela pintada, con unas ojas anchas, de la yerba que se llama atlacueçyoua.*" In Vol. III of the Rehonde ed., p. 136, in Dr. Mariño Leão's essay, "Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Mss. 368 a 965) del libro XII, de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," atlacueçonaio is defined as "*cabeza de negro. Nymphaea elegans, Hook, Nymphaeaceae.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llamaua tzoli y son como mirlitos cuando ya son grandes y maduros, y crian: crecenseyr tienen las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; quando nace son crecienado en obre, como papagayo tanto rodo su amarillo'ebdoor, y por esso le llamaua tzoli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Rehonde ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

9. "*Con flores en las cabeza; hechos de plumas de aguila*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulin*, however, may be an element in jlamatlapolli.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamaua cuelio (y) es muy semejante al que llamaua tzoxomo; tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo moradas, las redillas y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado oscuro, mezclado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñuelas que están sobre la cerca del ala que llamaua tzizil, son amarillas mezcladas de colorado; el rollo, como palo redo, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado mezclado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Rehonde ed.; Vol. III, p. 166).

12. Cf. *Ibid.* (Rehonde), *op. cit.*: "*para certaine gente en danzar*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando bailaua en el areyto, yaua arrimando al bastón, y clamando [ni] a compas del bayle.*"

1 A [i.e., the god(dss) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

796 714 richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

796 And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[16] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[18] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

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And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

[314] 289 [302]

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the first priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

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And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocateucujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic tij momatlaçaque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauizçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonamciotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no totoztecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in inteteupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in otlecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoalteteperoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iaviti, xiuhtoctli, yoã aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn momotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque moxaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixoca njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oalteno in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoalhemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçani: in aquja iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiqujça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

15. "Los sacrapas, de la diosa chicomecoatl" (corresponding Spanish text).
16. "Estos se sacaban, entonces en el poqueño, que se llamaban [sic] la mesa de satanás-buchtli" (loc. cit.). Codex Borbonicus, mentioned at Ochpaniztli, Quinto n. Pino y Tezozomoc, op. cit., p. 143.
17. Xochcotzinilli, in Sandoval (op. cit.) is dedicated to maize tassels. See, however, n. 12, p. 62.
18. "Pequeño altarcito, en el lugar que se llamaba cuauhxicalli, que era en capacho, que caya entre las gradas del cu, y el patio alterno, al qual espacio subia por ellas, a seys, grados" (corresponding Spanish text).

[796] and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

[778] And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

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[765] And of those who had died in the water, they placed ima[illegible] only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

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When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

[776] The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maisuel, representing the *maguey;* the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

[314 289] Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

[493] Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

quintlapichilitivitze, iuhquin tlacaoacatiuitz, njmã ic ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo quimpepechoa:

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in quinpepechoa, injc quintlacatilia, quimixolhuja, yoan mjthioauhtli in quimõdlalilia incampan, quimõquentia in tetevitl, yoan quimõquja imamacal, yiaxtatzon.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iacalco in quintlaliaia, in jmixiptla, tzoalli in quinchichioaia.

Auh in otlatvic: mex tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolputlactli, aztapili, aço axali in impã quitlaliaia:

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ic ic quintlamanjlia: in quinmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan quintlenamaquilia.

In jquac in motenecoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan ixquich in quintlamanjliaia.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequintin cioa, imixiptlaoan Tetepe.

Injc ce itoca Teposoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maiavel: ixiptla metl. Jnjc macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oquichtli, ixiptlan coatl:

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

ioutzinco in quimpeualtia in quinnapaloxinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, quintlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, quintlatlaioalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, quincujcatitivi.

8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: "*La cabeça de cada vn vnguent tenia dos cuernos, vna de persona, y otra de cabrito. . . .*"
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), "*vsauan o vnauan hechas de heno, cosidas con cuyas de vnauas.*"
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 118.
12. In the Rodondo ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 235, *otcalli* is explained: "*Hay otra que se llama tzompilitl, es muy verde y tiene unos cañitos huecos como espadillo hueles que se llama tzalli y criase cerca del agua, y comiendo de vnauas metio entre los dientes comiendo la vnauas.*"

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with maguey fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] maguey plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

in amo mjço quijpepetlaoaia, aocmo quijmaca in jtilma, iccen quijtequjlia in tepãmanj.

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetqui, amo quja in vctli, amo tlacoanaia, motlacoaltiaia, quimocacaultiaia in vctli.

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan muchizqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchizqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlazaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicua.

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa.

Auh in oiccauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenqujz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoua in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õnomamanato, njmã ic vivilua.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, çalpãnemjtilo, izqujch tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc nezviltilo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aqujque vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjua.

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, çã mjtcaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichivilinia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conococtzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonequj, impã conetecma, in vncan toctitoque, mjmjcque: yoan onetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujnlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia:

796x [795 688]

[834 273]

796x 411 [283] [381]

[314]

796x 526

796x 765

2. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 290.

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlalocs descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlalocs. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *magucy* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamaviztililiztli, in qujchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtoltetl occe metztli in moteneoa Atemuztli. 796x

Injc caxtoltetl, oce ilhujtl ichoatl in moteneoa Atemuztli:

injc moteneoa Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, caoalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jxqujch macecalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuxtica, tlateumattica, muchizcaca, motemachitica: in quenmã oalanjz qujavitl:

auh in ocalan qujavitl, njmã ic moquetztiqujça, qujcujtivetzi in jtlema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan qujça: auh in jtzontecõn coatl no cacalaca, no iollo: [445]

njmã quixopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian qujça in tezjtoalco, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qujnotza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in cequjntin macenalti, monctoltiaia injc tepiqujxque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, yoan olli, yoa itztli, yoan ichtli in qujcoaia: [314 289]

cenca qujmaviztiliaia, yoan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiqujxque, yoã tequentizque: amo mamoviaia injmaltiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono oqujchcochia. [515 834]

Auh in ie iuh oallatvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemuztli, iuh ccioal in nemoa, vel neixpololo, in

1. "*Tripide de el Agua*," according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 297), "*porque este Mes cada Rezar, y tener alguna Agua.*" Gorlitz, (*op. cit.*, p. 313) has the same.
Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tover refers to frequent, extraordinary drizzles in the region, attributed to Tlaloc.—Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
2. The Pokoch MS (Gorlitz, *loc. cit.*) places this in the houses of the rich: "*se mandaban a labrar montepiciques*"—"*se hacen cosas de los cerros se hacían los dioses cerros*" (Tlaquiscos).
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

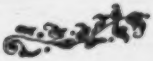

Here Is Told in What Manner the Mexicans Made Offerings, and What They Made as Offerings in Their Temples.

Nican moteneoa in quenjn tlamanaia, yoan in tlein ic tlamanaia yn jnteupan, in mexica.

796x
782

Offerings.

Thus were offerings made: with food and with capes were offerings made, and with all kinds of living things—perchance turkeys, perchance birds; or capes. Or else whatever was newly formed—perchance maize, or *chia*, or flowers, or whatever [was newly grown].

And thus did the young [unmarried] women make offerings: Before dawn their mothers and fathers awoke them. So they went about making offerings of gifts carried in the palms of their hands—little *tortillas*, [which were] very small,—and thus they quickly proceeded to lay gifts before the devil; in bowls they carried them thus to present them [to the gods].

Only in the houses were the *tortillas* made. Thus did the young women make [their] offerings.

Tlamanalizti.

Injc tlamanaloia: tlaqualtica, yoan tilmatican tlamanaloia, yoan yca in tlein ioioli: aço totolin, anoço tototl, anoço tilmatli: anoço in tlein iancujcan muchioa, aço cintli, anoço chian, anoço suchitl, anoço in tlein.

Auh injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti: iooac in qujmjxitiaia intenanoan, intetaoan: injc qujmanativi ventlamapictli, in tlaxcaltzintli tepitoton, injc yciuhca qujmanativi ijxpan diablo: cattica in qujtqoja ventli ic conmanaia:

çan inchan muchioaia in tlaxcalli, injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti.

The Offering of Incense.

And thus was the offering of incense performed, with an incense ladle. It was made of clay, with [stones in its hollows making] a rattle. Then they laid live coals in the incense ladle. When these blazed up, then they filled it with *copal* incense, and then came forth before the devil, or else in the middle of the courtyard, where arose the brazier. [This] was made of clay.

And when they came up to the devil, then they dedicated the incense burner to the four directions, thus offering incense. And when they had offered [incense] to the four directions, then they threw [the incense and the coals] into the brazier. Here the *copal* incense lay smoking.

And thus was it done: the mothers and fathers likewise at dawn awoke the children, [whether] men[-children] or women[-children]; that they might offer incense quickly, they awoke them; that

Tlenamaqujliztli.

Auh injc muchioaia tlenamaqujliztli, in jca tlemaitl: çoqujtl tlachichioalli, cacalachio, vncan contemaia in tlexuchtli in tlemaco: in oconxopiloque, njman ic contema copalli, yc oalqujça in ijxpan diablo: anoço in itoalnepantla, ic vncan ycac tlequaztli: çoqujtl tlachichioalli. [415] [314]

Auh in ommoquetzaco ijxpan diablo: njman nauhcampa qujiaoa in tlemajtl, ynjc tlapupuchvia: auh yn jquac onauhcampa conjiauh, ic njman contema in tlequazco, vncan popocatica in copalli.

Auh ynjc muchioaia: no yoostzinco in qujmjxitiaia in tepilhoan, in oqujchtin, in anoço cioa qujmjxitiaia in tenanoan, in tetaoan ynjc tlenamacazque iciuhca

bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places—some of them perchance in two places, or three, they laid the thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was of their own will.

iatl yoan contequja in mevitztli, auh quezvjaia ic qujvalmanaia in ipã acxoiatl vme in vitztli 796x

noviian in aca aço vccan anoço excan in qujmanaia vitztli, anoço macuilcan çan teiollotlama. 785 782

The Bloodying.

When they bloodied themselves, thus did they do: they cut their ears with an obsidian blade, and then took out blood from about the ears.

Neçolizti.

Jn mjçoia injc qujchioaia itztli ica in contequja in jnacazco, auh njmã ic qujvalpipiloiaia in eztli in innacaztitlan. [412]

The Cutting of the Ears.

Likewise this bloodying was a cutting of the ears, when one was bloodied by the cutting of the ears.

Nenacaztequilizti.

Çan ie no iehoatl in neçolizti in nenacaztequilizti in mjçoia in monacaztequja.

The Twisting off of the Heads [of Birds].

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him, and cast down [the body] before the devil. There the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.

Tlaquechcotonalizti.

Jn tlaquechcotonalizti ic muchivaia ca icoac in tlatotozintli ixpan qujcotonaia in Diablo no conjaviliaia, vncan contlaçaia in ixpan Diablo, vncan tlapatlatztoc in jtlac in tototzintli. 796x 782

The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods].

Thus was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: When [the priests] had cut open a slave's or a captive's breast, then [the owner of the victim] took his blood in a vessel and, perchance, cast a paper into the vessel, which drew up the blood.

Then he took [the blood] in the vessel and placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

Tlatlatlaqualiliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia tlatlatlaqualiliztli, in jcoac oconcltecque in tlacutli anoço malli, njman qujcuja in iezço castica yoan aço amatl contlaçaia in caxic qujchichinaltiaia in eztli,

njman ic qujtquja castica in ixqujntin Diablome in tenco qujntlatlaliliaia in eztli muchintin in jezço teumjcquj.

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods].

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when mayhap something had befallen one, perchance sickness, when he recovered, then perchance he thus paid his debt with *copal* [incense] or paper [spotted with] liquid rubber. Because he did

Nestlavaliztli.

Jn nestlavaliztli injc muchivaia in jquac aço aca in tlein ipã muchivaia, aço cocoliztli in jquac opatic, njman aço copalli yoã amatl injc moxtlavaia, injc [314]

643 **Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.**

Injc chicuacuj capítulo vncan motenena injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jcoac macoaia.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc quijlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpetzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzolxaontlj tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icaccuetlacacaio, injcal uetuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which [314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujclalia ujztikezitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjotli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atotempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencokolli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 112, identifies quetzalbird as *Pharomacrhous mexicanus mexicanus*.
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Seler, op. cit., p. 124).
3. One such is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 67.
4. Clark, op. cit., p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as *Cotinga amabilis*.
5. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 162.
6. Quauhtemoctzin: quauh could mean warrior; elsewhere we always give pedestrian to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *chalchiuhtemalacatentetl ocuxic teucujtlatl yeallo*—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhcoucatl oleliuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac coxcatl, chalchiuhtlacanacalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpianjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzaltotoscpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquauitl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecacozoztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcoxcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcoxcatl,

643 [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, ineiscauil tlatoanj, tezcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isquich imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[292 281] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — açeloenacactli, cuetlascactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[534] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzitzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixquich omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquauitl momanaia, in tecpan itualco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tzizquaoztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1056f., on etymology of [illegible].

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech cloths, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellelqujxtiaia tlatoque. 643

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in qujtlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxnepanoa, [481] 643 644

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaeheooa, qujtlatlaquechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja, [521]

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, itoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquja ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maiecoatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl. 345 526

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl, qujcujloa ce petlatl, tlilica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapoaltenh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, qujtlanjlia in jxqujch tlaçotli, coztic teucujtlacozcatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. *Tlaçotli*: the corresponding Spanish has *dama* (*damsel*). See also below, *description of patolli*.

291 531 **Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.**

Ic cuxolli capítulo: vncan mjtoa in jnnechichioaia in çioa.

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers: the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

Vitztecolcujtlalpic vipilli, xonolcio ujpilli, quechnenecujlhoazio vipilli, xuchimoiaoac ujpilli, pocujpilli, veuej tlamachtli itoquj, toltzaianquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachio vipilli, coioichcaio vipilli, xomoiujvipilli, tlapaltochomajtica xicalnezzo[illegible] vipilli, acocoxuchimoiaoac vipilli, izquiuhcallo potoncaio xoxochiteio vipilli.

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

Chicocuejtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeouilo cueitl. patlaoac in jten, xicalcoliuhquj cueitl, patlaoac in jten, tetenacazio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cueitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamoliuhquj iztac cueitl, patlaoac in jten, oçelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtẽ; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tene: coioichcapipilcac cuejtl tene.

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

Apoçonalnacochtli, teujlonacochtli iztac, coztic teucujtlanacochtlj: iztac teucujtlanacochtli, jtznacochtli iztac.

302 386 Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impor-

Moxaoaia, tlapalhoazzaltica: moxaoaia, tecuçauhtica: mochapopoxaoaia: copalaxtica mocxioxiuja, tzonquemc, quatequeque, atzotzócoleque, maxtlaoa, motzonquetzaltica, qujquatequj in jntzon, qujuiacanepanoa in jntzon: tlatetecoa, mopatinemj, qujmamauijzmati in jntzontecon: moxiuhquijlpa, injc pepetlaca intzon: motlanthapalhujia, motlãnochezuja, momaicujloa, moquechicujloa, moquechtetema, melchiqujuhicujloa, mochichioaticujloa.

1. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24, *ayocuechtli* is identified as *Dahlia coccinea*, Cav. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, I, p. 35), however, says of *ayocuechtli*: "*En México, variedad de calabaza crecida, indígena del país, conocida también por chuate.* (Lagenaria vulgaris, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas medicinales de los antiguos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515sqq., 519, mentions two kinds of *ayocuechtli* (*ayocuechtli, quilitl*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores estrelladas purpúreas*"—Dr. Olivo is cited (Hist. de Farmacología, II, p. 276), giving *Pentasacrípis atropurpurea* D. C. for *ayocuechtli*; Urbina thinks it is *Arracacia atropurpurea* Bench et Hook.

2. *Aliqui in jntzon*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *mixquatecpilio*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzi-
656 tziuacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
262 from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[314] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
[317] rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
412 poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[19a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitziuacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, teziochilli, chilcoztli, coujxcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzqujtlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, tezocotl, nochtli, mjzqujtl, itlaaqujllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquaujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquaujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozcoiolonjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujolonj, ioan in ixqujch tlamãtli qujlitl qualonj, xonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aiozochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, exotl, elotl, xilotl, ooatl, mjiaoatamalli,

4. *Atzizuacuilol*: "*son redondillas, tienen los picos largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos: son cenicientos y tienen el pecho blanco; dicen que nacen en la provincia de Andhuac; vienen a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas o llueia: son muy buenos de comer. Dicen que éstas, y los cardos del agua, por tiempo se vuelven en peces, dicen que las son entrar a bandas en la mar, dentro del agua, y que nunca más parecen*" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilotes*) says there are two species—*Phalaropus wilsonai* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipiacan*: "*son blancas y del grandor de palomas, tienen alto vuelo, crianse tanto la mar, y al tiempo de coger el maíz vienen acá dentro a la tierra; cuando estas aves vienen, entiendese que es tiempo de coger el maíz*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *pipiaca*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*Anseres mancchas . . . . grandes como las de España: tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos: tienen buena carne: tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas: las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas cañones para escribir*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 184, are *Anser albifrons* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cierto género de chile llamado chiltecpin, muy tostado y menudo con ulli*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Sanders, *op. cit.*: note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tezocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 158).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *orchuchitl*, of edible root (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 857.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dermodium amplifolium* Hemsl. (p. 659) or *D. parviflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chaiotl*: *chayote*—*Sycios edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucumis acutangulus* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhayoacchili* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metelhuatl*: *metl* (maguey), *cuilhuayotl* (*principio, comienzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Sanders must be in error in translating *mitzquilitl* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cynara* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*pitzquelite*) as, "*En México esperar de alcachofa*" (artichoke).

19a. See Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 565-6, 569. Sauer suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium: *C. Nutalliae* and *C. pubescens* are mentioned.

20. *Xocoioli*: *xocoyol*—*Oxalis angustifolia* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. tetraphylla* Cav.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of Oxalis, but on p. 213 notes that the term *sorrel* is used also for *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that *xocoyoxhe* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

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 651 [301 314 323 325]

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[a]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[b]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[c]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[d]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[e] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[f] [386]

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[g] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[h]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[b] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[c] "A Motecçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[d] "Era de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[e] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[f] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[g] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas veces del año embiaban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' ques cobre" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this prov-
101 ince spoke "Chontal de Guerrero,"[a] a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[b] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[c] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[d] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the
635 Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[e] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[114] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[262] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town
632 for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] 16 pieces of colored lacquer
[313] 268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
[314] 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[30]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[31] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[32]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[33] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[30] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[32] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[33] *PNE*, 5: 210.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[*] of black-and-white striped mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[*]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[**][11]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/A] and liquidambar.[12]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[13]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[14] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[11] Corrected from 1,600.
[12] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[13] Cf. n. 6 above.
[14] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[15] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

1/A [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl. — Analyst]

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OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[39]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
114 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[40]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
651 may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[41]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[39] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[40] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quecholllan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlztitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[41] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
[314] 4,000 loads of thick canes
[281] 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[11]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[12]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[13]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[14]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[15]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ymfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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A 648

through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

A Z [29] 171]
A [314]

Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on 643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [276] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and [314] gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that [212] was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made 289 of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte- 411

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443 262 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough [445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold 443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each [322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many [281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen [364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is [314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There [693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect [324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

325 established in Oaxaca in Mixtec times. The Oaxacan orna-
174 ments, although deficient in some of the southern technical developments, surpass in design and workmanship the best of the older goldwork of Peru and Ecuador.[18]

Metallurgy seems to have arrived late in Mexico, certainly not before the eleventh century. Mentions of copper in Toltec times refer more probably to the Dynastic Period than to that of Teotihuacan. I know of neither copper nor gold which comes from the early or middle periods of the great Middle American civilizations, although some hollow clay bells from the late Toltec occupation of Azcapotzalco tantalizingly suggest metal prototypes. Toward the close of the Independent Civilization phase, and more especially during the domination of Mixteca-Puebla culture, there are consistant occurrences of metal objects.

• 316 Mining methods were rudimentary. Gold was collected in nugget form or panned as dust; copper also was mined as nodules or nuggets; silver, which seldom occurs pure in nature, was for this reason rarely converted into ornaments. The melting furnaces were heated with charcoal and their draft forced by a man blowing on the embers through a tube. The casting we have already described. This work in gold, one of the great wonders of the Conquest, was achieved by the same simple methods of all Aztec handiwork and was another triumph of sheer skill, unassisted by technical aids.

323 Pottery making was the greatest New World craft, and probably no other continent has such a complex range of form and design. The malleability of clay made it easy to work, and firing was simple, so that pottery products were an important part of Indian craftsmanship. In the Valley of Mexico we have no trace of people before the introduction

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 651 half the honey formerly paid by the province, according to the *Matrícula*). Besides this, two special milpas were cultivated and their [316] yield was sent to the near-by mines of Ayoteco.[a]

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 437: "Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias quinientos y veinte y ocho pesos y dos tomines de tipuzque, y catorce xiquipiles de cacao y seis mill y dozientos y ochenta cacaos, y esto dan al dicho su amo en dineros que son quatroçientos y çinquenta pesos, y ocho xiquipiles de cacao y sesenta xarrillos de miel, y cada año le hazen dos sementeras de maiz y se lo ponen en las minas de Ayoteco." On *tipuzque*, see Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (1883), II: 7, and Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (1890), II: 416 and 450.

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635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 532] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçébida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[*]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses[**]
402 bundles[*] of little red-striped mantles[**]
800 bundles of large mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[*]

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[*] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[*]

[*] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[**] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[*] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçisco de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quartenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de seruicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]
[316 267 233] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[446] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] 1/A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex,* the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE,* 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE,* 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpizque."

[73] *PNE,* 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE,* 16: 68.

1/A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted — Analyst]

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[28] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING [291

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino.* It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[30] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[28] *PNE,* 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[29] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[30] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoca."

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OTHER GOODS*

2 strings of chalchiuites
800 bunches of quetzal feathers
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni*
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned.

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which served as money. They also gave military aid.[a]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.[b]

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.[c]

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.[d]

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.[e]

[a] *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescatauan a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Munteçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

[b] *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

[c] See Chila, above.

[d] *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

[e] "En tienpo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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648 Montezuma returned after this to talk about the matter with his Caciques, and in the presence of Cortés and our Captains and many of our soldiers, and of Pedro Hernández, Cortés's secretary, they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they showed much emotion in doing so, and Montezuma could not keep back his tears. He was so dear to us and we were so much affected at seeing him weep, that our own eyes were softened and one soldier wept as much as Montezuma, such was the affection we had for him. I will leave off here, and say that Cortés and the Fraile de la Merced, who was very wise, were constantly in Montezuma's palace, trying to amuse him and to persuade him to give up his Idols.

Now I will go on.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS CII. AND CIII.

000 The description given by Bernal Díaz in Chapters CII. and CIII. of the expeditions sent in search of mines differs considerably from that given by Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor.

Cortés says that there were several expeditions. Bernal Díaz mentions only two—one under Gonzalo de Umbria, the other under Pizarro, neither of whom Cortés mentions by name.

316 Bernal Díaz quotes Montezuma as saying that gold was brought
317 from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from the city, and that the gold was collected in gourds in which the earth was washed, and Bernal Díaz himself gives Zacatula as the name of the town visited by Gonzalo de Umbria. The only Zacatula shown on the maps is situated on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. Placer gold-mining is still carried on in this neighbourhood, and Montezuma may have mentioned the place as a source of gold supply. However, there is no proof that Gonzalo de Umbria visited the Rio de las Balsas, for Cortés says nothing about an expedition in that direction, and mentions only expeditions to Cumla (Sosola?), Tamazulapa, Malinaltepec, Tenis (Tanetze), and Tuxtepec, all places in the north-western part of the present State of Oaxaca, and he confirms this later on in the same

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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316 letter when he mentions Coastoaca (Coixtlahuaca) and Tamazula
317 (either Tamazola or Tamazulapa), which are in the same neighbourhood, as places visited during these expeditions.

The only slight corroboration of an expedition to Zacatula is the casual mention by Bernal Díaz of Matalzingo, which is near Toluca, and would be on the way to Zacatula, but the frequent repetition of the same names in different localities prevents much reliance being placed on it.

No definite information is given as to the routes by which the expeditions travelled.

The expedition under Pizarro probably travelled by way of Tehuacan or Orizaba to Malinaltepec on the upper waters of the Papaloapan River, where they would be within a short distance both of Tuxtepec and the land of the Chinantecs, and although Cortés is not very clear on the matter, there is no reason to suppose that all three places were not visited by members of the same expedition.

With regard to the expedition under Diego de Ordás in search of a good harbour, Cortés gives the additional information that the party went first to Vera Cruz and then marched all along the coast to Coatzacoalcos, examining in canoes the bays and the mouths of the rivers that were crossed.

CHAPTER CII.

How our Cortés endeavoured to find out about the Gold Mines, what was their value, and in what rivers they were found, and what harbours there were for ships between Panuco and Tabasco, especially about the great river at Coatzacoalcos, and what happened about it.

316 WHEN Cortés and the other Captains were with Montezuma
317 paying him court, among other things that he said through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar and Orteguilla, he asked Montezuma where the mines were, and in which rivers, and how and by what means they collected the gold which they brought him in grains, for he wished to send two of our soldiers who were expert miners to see it. Montezuma replied that there were three

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316 317 places, but they usually brought most of the gold from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from that city (Mexico). The gold was collected in xicales[1] by washing away the earth, so that after the earth was washed away some grains of gold remained. At the present time they also brought it to him from another province called Tustepec near where we disembarked on the north coast where it was gathered from two rivers. Near that province there were other good mines in a land that was not subject to him, named the land of the Chinantecs and 000 Zapotecs, who did not obey his rule. If Cortés wished to send his soldiers he would give them Chieftains to go with them. Cortés thanked him for it, and at once despatched a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, with two other soldiers who were miners to the mines of Zacatula. This Gonzalo de Umbria was the man whose feet Cortés had ordered to be cut off when he hanged Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño[2] and flogged the Peñates for their attempt to carry off a ship at San Juan de Ulua, as I have written down more at length in the chapter which deals with the incident.

Let us stop talking about the past and say how they set out with Umbria, a limit of forty days being allowed them in which to go and return.

To examine the mines on the north coast Cortés sent a captain named Pizarro, a young man about twenty years old, whom he treated as a relation. At that time there was no mention of Peru, nor were the Pizarros talked about in these lands. Pizarro set out with four oldiers, and he also was given forty days in which to go and return, for the distance was about eighty leagues from Mexico, and four Mexican chieftains accompanied him.

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[1] gourds [2] See note on page 207, vol. i.

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000 Ircio went to settle at Panuco. As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it, and will relate what each of the Captains sent by Cortés, accomplished, and will report how each returned with samples of gold.

CHAPTER CIII.

How the Captains returned whom our Cortés had sent to examine the mines, and take soundings of the harbour and river of Coatzacoalcos.

316 THE first to return to the City of Mexico and to give an
317 account of what Cortés had sent him to do was Gonzalo de
648 Umbria and his companions, who brought a matter of three hundred pesos in grains which the Indians of a town named Zacatula had extracted before their eyes. According to Umbria's description, the Caciques of that province took many Indians to the rivers, and in vessels like small troughs they washed the earth and collected the gold. The gold came from two rivers, and they said that if good miners went and washed the earth as they did in the Island of Santo Domingo or the Island of Cuba, that these would prove to be rich mines. Umbria also brought with him two chieftains sent by the province, and they brought a present of gold made into jewels worth about two hundred pesos, and gave and offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and Cortés was as pleased with this gold as though it were thirty thousand pesos, for he now knew for certain that there were good mines, and he showed much affection to the chieftains who brought the present and ordered them to be given some green beads from Castile, and after friendly speeches they returned to their country well contented.

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Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and
his companions who went in the direction of Tustepec to 316
look for gold and examine the mines. Pizarro returned to 317
make his report to Cortés accompanied by one soldier only, and he brought with him over one thousand pesos in grains of gold taken from the mines, and said that in the province of Tustepec and Malinaltepec and other neighbouring districts, he went to the rivers accompanied by many people who were sent with him, and they gathered a third part of the gold that he had brought, and they went high up in the hills to another province, that of the Chinantecs, and that when they reached their land, many Indians came out to meet them with arms, which were lances, much better than those we had, and bows and arrows and shields, and they said that not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them, but that the Teules should pass in and be welcome; so they went on, and the Mexicans were left behind and did not go any further. As soon as the Caciques of Chinanta understood what they had come for, they got together a large number of their people to wash for gold, and they took them to some rivers where they collected the rest of the gold which he had brought in twisted grains, and the miners said those were the most lasting mines as the gold was formed there. Captain 648
Pizarro also brought two Caciques from that country who came to offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to secure our friendship they even brought a present of gold. One and all of those chieftains said many evil things of the Mexicans, who were so greatly hated in those provinces for the robberies they committed that they [the Chinantecs] could not bear the sight of them or the mention of their names.

Cortés received Pizarro and the chieftains whom he brought with cordiality, and he accepted the present which they gave him, (as it was so many years ago I cannot

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438 mala the people travel miles to exchange their produce; and
443 so important is the market as a social function that a merchant will not dispose of his produce except at that place, even though offered payment far in excess of its market value.*

437 Barter was the only means of exchange, and value was
436 established by desirability and rarity. Money, an exchange medium of fixed value, did not exist. However, something had to be found which would balance an inequality of exchange by being not too valuable to use in adjusting small transactions and at the same time universally wanted. The cacao bean answered this requirement and was easily portable as well. The Aztecs were extremely fond of chocolate (the word itself is of Aztec derivation), so that beans were gladly converted into the national luxury drink. Quills of gold dust sometimes were used as an exchange medium, as were crescent-shaped knives of thin-beaten copper. These last had not the common acceptance or the utility of cacao beans, although they represented easily portable value.*

317 The most precious substance among the Aztecs was jade,
435 or stones resembling it in texture and color. Both jadeite and nephrite occur in the New World, and the American variety is distinguishable from the Asiatic stone. Uncut stones are seldom seen today, for there is no lapidaries' market in modern Middle America or the United States, whereas jade is still extensively worked in China, so that men find it worth their while to search rivers in Burma for boulders of this rare substance. (See Plate 3.)

435 The testimony of the Conquistador Bernal Diaz is conclusive on this point of value. During the night when Cortes retreated from Mexico the leader, after taking off his share of treasure, turned the surplus over to his troops. Many,

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249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was beginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and ornaments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

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317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as
[788] eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal
[415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving
[395] the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[4]

324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

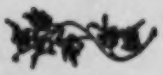

1 796 **Twenty-sixth Chapter in which are related the feast and ceremonies celebrated upon the feast in the seventh month, which was named Tecuilhuitontli.**[1]

Tecuilhuitontli: When this feast arrived, they celebrated the minor feast of the lords for twenty days. And at this time died—[for thus] her fate then befell her—at this time died [in sacrifice], a war captive's death, [she who was the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, god[dess] of those who made salt, the salt-makers.

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This Uixtociuatl, so it was said, was thought to be the elder sister of the rain gods. And it was thought that the rain gods were her brothers. [In] one thing she angered and offended them, that she mocked at her brothers. And then they pursued their elder sister over to the salt beds. There she discovered salt—how it existed, how it was formed, and how were made the salt jars; and also salty sand.

And, on this account, greatly did men who lived where there was salt pay honor to her.

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And the array of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was [thus]: Her [face] paint and ornamentation were yellow. This was of yellow ochre or the [yellow] of maize blossoms.[2] And [she wore] her paper cap with quetzal feathers in the form of a tassel of maize. It was of many quetzal feathers, full of quetzal feathers, so that it was covered with green, streaming down, glistening like precious green feathers.

And [she had] her golden ear plugs. And the golden ear plugs glittered and flashed and were very yellow, like squash blossoms. And her shirt was embroidered[3] to resemble water [waves].[4] And the border of her shirt was as if painted with green stones, designed to represent billowing clouds on the hem [of her shirt]; the edge was painted in a cloud design. And her skirt was designed in the same fashion.

And on her ankles[5] she had placed bells—golden bells—or rattles. On the calf of her leg she had bound an ocelot skin on which were the bells. And when

Jnic cẽpoualli on chiquace capitulo, vncan motenecoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in muchiosia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic chicome metztli, in mjtoaia: Tecujlhujtontli.

Tecujlhujtontli: yn in quiçaia in muchiosia, in tecuilhujtontli, no cempoalilhujtica: auh vncã mjquja, vncan itequjuh vetzia vncan trumjquja in vixtocioatl, yn jnteouh iztatlaca, iztachiuhque.

Injn virtocioatl, iuh mjtoa qujlmach inveltiuh, catca in tlaloque: yoan qujlmach yioq'chtioan in tlaloque: centlamãtli ic qujnqualanj, ic qujniollitlaco, inca mocaiauh, yn joqujchtioan: auh njman ic qujtotocaque yn jnveltiuh vmpa yn iztapan: vmpa qujnextito yn iztatl, yn juh ioli, yn juh tlacati, yn juh muchioa iztacomjtl, yoan iztaxalli.

Auh ipampa y, cenca qujmauiztiliaia yn iztapaneca, yn iztapãtlaca.

Auh in vixtocioatl, yn jnechichioal catca, yn jxaoal, yn jnechioal cuztic: ichoatl in tecoçaujtl anoço tomjoli: yoan yamacal, quetzalmjiaoaio, quequetzalo, moca quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujuj, xoxoqujuhtimanj, momoiaoa, xexeliuj, iuhqujn xoxopaleoa, xoxozouja:

yoan yteucujtlanacoch, teucujtlanacoche: auh in teucujtlanacochtli, pepetlaca, pepepetlaca, cenca cozticc, iuhqujn aioxochqujlitl: yoan yujpil tlaaicujlolli, aycujliuhquj: auh yn iten yn ivipil, tlachalchiujcujlolli, chalchiujcujliuhquj, tẽmizmolonquj, tlatenmjxicujlolli: auh yn icue çan ic no iuhquj ynic tlacujlolli,

yoan icxic contlalia coiolli, teucujtlacoiolli, anoço tzitzilli: itlanitzco in qujlpiaia, ocelueoatl yn ipan

1. *"Vierzehnte de los señores,"* according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 300); *"der kleine Herrenfest,"* or *"kleiner Herrenfest,"* in Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 130, 131).
Tovar describes this month and the next heavily on the lords' number, in contrast to Ixtlilxochitl. Cf. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
2. In *op. cit.*, p. 131 and p. 131, n. 1, Seler refers to *"gelber Pflanzenfarbe."* Mimoal, however, is translated by Molina (*op. cit.*) as *"la espiga o la flor de la caña de maiz."*
3. Literally, painted; Sahagún, however, writes *"labrado."*
4. Cf. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text: also Plate 24.
5. *"Las corpuezas de los pies,"* in Sahagún's Spanish. Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 9.

X 796 714 richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

X 796 And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[15] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then [241] they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They [314] bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, 289 well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had [302] their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] [317] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. 237 And he who brought down the chalk was the first priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then ser forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucejtlaio, mocatecujda cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oncuamomacaque, njman ic ic uj momatlaçaque, qujucana in Motecuçoma, cenca mamiçotiuj: teixpan qujnectia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ic iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ic teudac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no tototecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in intetrupan, oalxinachpinxa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in ontlecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaca, qujoalteepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: intac tlaolli, cozticc tlaolli, iaviztl, xiuhtoctli, yoã xiovachtli, iuhqujn namoiaio, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacaque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnequjqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacaque, mozaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in onxinachpinxoa njman ic ic vi in motlatinque: njmã ic ic oalteno in tiçatl yoã hiviti, quauhxicalica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoalteuovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Cozxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic ena in tiacaoan, cica motlalaoa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçaui: in aquja iacatiuh, qujmetzalotiquiça in jviti: njman ic molonj, njmã ic ic ipan onnetepeualo

15. "Los sacerdotes, de la diosa chicomecoatl" (corresponding Spanish text).
16. "Entre tal tinieblas, creyendo en un pequeño, que se llamaban [sic] la casa de ciertos diablos" (Ibn. cit.). Codex Borbonicus, records of Ochpaniztli, illustrations 11. Peso y Troncoso, op. cit., p. 143.
17. Xochicuilolli, in flowers (op. cit.) is defined as made rouge. See, however, n. 12, p. 62.
18. "Pusiyendo abajo, en un lugar que se llamaba cuauhtli, que era un cuarto, que salía como una grada del cu, y al pasar abajo, al que [illegible] subía por cima, o arri, grada" (corresponding Spanish text).

643 **Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.**

Injc chicuacuej cuçitalo vncan motencoa injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jcoac macoaia.

301 The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tas-
[237] sels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc quijlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in quijmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontli tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, injcal uetuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlauiztli in quijmama mjtotia.

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which
[314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan quijlalia ujtzilouitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtenteti coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtotoica tlamjotli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

● [317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a bowing pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatenteti teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtenteti, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Cline, op. cit., II, p. 112, identifies quetzal as Pharomacrus mocinno mocinno.
2. Platalea ajaja L. (Sahagún, op. cit., p. 124).
3. One such is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 67.
4. Cline, op. cit., p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as Cotinga amabilis.
5. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 182.
6. Quauhtenteti: quauh could mean warrior; therefore we always give Quauhtenteti to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has chalchiuhtencololli coztic teucujtlatl icallo—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[314] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
● [317] rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
412 poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[20a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzioacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, conjacaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pochenac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzquitlamantli zochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçazocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjaquitl, itlaaquijllo, chiancaca, cacomitl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiocoachtli, quauhaiocoachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcauitli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, iofi copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan iztli, ioan tlatlatiliquauitl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlatecoaj, aujctli, matlaquauitl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in izquich tlamãti quijlitl qualonj, zonacatl, tzaianalquijlitl, vitzquijltl, oauhquijlitl, oauhtzontii, itzmjquijlitl, quijllanenel, iztac xoxocoiolli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaquijlitl, aionanacatl, aiozochquijlitl, eçoquijlitl, exotl, elotl, xilotl, oozel, mjiauatamalli,

4. *Atzizacatl*: "son colorados, tienen los pelos largos, y agudos y negros; tienen las patas largas: son crecidos y tienen el pecho blanco: dicen que nacen en la provincia de Atlihuac; crecen a esta Laguna de México cuando las aguas se llenan; son muy buenos de comer. Dicen que beben, y las tordos del agua, por tiempo se vuelven en pecer, dicen que las son cocer a bandas en la mar, desaire del agua, y que nacen más parecen" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilote*) says there are two species—*Phalacrocorax auritus* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipiscaca*: "son blancos y del grandor de palomas, tienen alas anchas, crianse tanto la mar, y al tiempo de coger el mais nacen así dentro a la tierra; cuando crece así corren, entiendese que es tiempo de coger el maíz" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, there are *Larus franklinii* SW a Rich, currently called *apipisca*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*Anseres mexicani* . . . . grandes como los de República: tienen los pies colorados y el pico, sus pardillos; tienen buenas carnes; tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas; las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas calzones para cubrirse" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). Then (*tlalalacatl*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* Gill.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"Carne gruesa de chile llamada chilmajen, muy tostado y mezclado con sal" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 162)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 19, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Simões, *op. cit.*: *zote* (*ibid.*, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tecocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 158).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *cacomitlchil*, of edible root (*ibid.*, I, p. 294). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 457.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a *cimbarron* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dioscorea* or *quilitlaxan* Hemsl. (p. 459) or *D. paniculata* Mart. y Gal (p. 461).

16. *Chaiotl*: *chayote*—*Sicyos edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucurbita ficifolia* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhxaxacatl* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metlatlaoatl*: *aiaol* (maguey), *mellaquatl* (*principio*, *cominoqo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Bandelier must be in error in translating *atzitzipatlatl* as cactus, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*principio*) as, "En México especie de alcachofa" (artichoke).

19a. See Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-4, 348. Bennett suggests that "*tlamichtonalli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtonalli*," a *chenopodium*: *C. Nutalliae* and *C. parishianum* are mentioned.

20. *Xocoonalli*: *iocopal*—*Oxalis corniculata* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 194). Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the roots served as food also for *Rumex* (*subgenus Acetosa*), and that contemporary Mexican identifies two species of *Rumex*.

726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenanteputzico, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at Totecco,[8] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] [491] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came, [443] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct ●317] to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied] [533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjnoc ixquac, njman ic momjqujli: ichoatl in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoã itech ietiquixque, atlan quinnemjtique, quinteteepachoque: auh vncã mjquixquja in castañeda: auh ça acaltitech pilcatia injc quivicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenanteputzico, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, çan tlatlapixtoca in atlan. Auh in ic ioa quivica.

Auh iquezquilhuiioc ic no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ic quioalmottilique in quavecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhticac iztanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, in aculhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ic ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in quãmjmjlli, in acatl quicujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cencã ivian in istivitze, quiniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapitztivitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampa onotivitze in ic ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ic ixquich altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, meeltzotziona in tlaxcalteca, cuica, no cuica in mexica necoccampa cuico, queoa in çaço tlein quilnamjquij, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoã vel nepachoio, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, quiteteztontlaliaia, quichjxtoque in quemman tecvitilos, in quemman quj-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*cerca de aquella yglesia que se llama cinco hasta.*" Cano (op. cit.) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, barrio of Tlaxcoaltitlán.

8. "*Cerca de la Cruz, pueblo almaraciti.*" — Cano, op. cit.

9. El Pedón de los Baños — east of the corner of Tecualtitlán, in the lake. However, Espejo and Barlow, op. cit., p. 46 and map, locate it as a hill in the southeastern part of Tlatelolco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*determinaron entre si los españoles de darnos guerra por alli.*"

11. Quauhcatitlan acapatli — "*calle que iba derecho de Nuestro al Mercado de la Sal. . . . prolongaba hasta encontrar el Albarradón y probablemente correspondía con la Calzada de Nuestro, Mercado, Almaraciti, Cerrajal y Ebanos.*" — Cano, op. cit. Espejo and Barlow, op. cit., show it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Bustamante, loc. cit., the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the *Florentine Codex*: "*por causa de los españoles que los indios habian tomado en su provincia, tornaron á proponer guerra de nuevo, haciendo juramento solemne que la guerra no habia de cesar hasta que vengaran la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no muriese en sus manos; de alli adelante comenzaron á cegar todas las acequias y canales de aquas por donde pudiesen entrar los unos donde los hergunlanos no pudiesen entrar, y alli comenzaron á derramar aguas, y allanar todas las acequias.*"

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en barrio que se llama Tlilmatan que es agua amar salir*" (San Martín).

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had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list.

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c] [712]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "...otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d] [712]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan [648]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer va fuerte, de manera questiviese zenie en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espunable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrada en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en fronera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[*]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[**]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[*] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Imperio de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[**] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81. Identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho trjuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
[314] 4,000 loads of thick canes
[281] 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
[482] 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[11]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[12]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[13]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[14]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[15]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Castillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not improbable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli*, and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no attention from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identified with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón*, or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocuiliztac*, which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *anenezili*, which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 222 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas*, 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

the salt is commonly extracted from soil of several types rather from the water itself. This practice would be expected to arise in a country of inland salines, not along the seacoast. Moreover, fractional evaporation is used to give different products, according to Apenes, the last of the liquors being the source of saltpeter. We cannot yet be sure that the whole complex is pre-Cortesian, but it suggests a knowledge of limnologic and soil chemistry among the Aztecs that was at least as great as their ceramic and metallurgic skill would imply.[4] The point is not only of considerable importance, but is capable of verification by chemical archaeology; that no attempt to do so has been made so far is another indication that the scientific knowledge of non-Western peoples exceeds in some respects that of the historians and ethnographers who study them.

Salt is one of the seldom-considered essentials of human welfare. Mendizábal makes the provocative point that if the Aztecs had been more generous with their salt, the Tlaxcalans (who had no salines in their domain) might not have been so ready to ally themselves with Cortés, and the course of history might have been rather different.

HYDROGRAPHY. The demonstration that the Aztecs had detailed knowledge of all aspects of their lakes that might be used for human sustenance is not itself a proof that they had a developed limnologic science. Far more primitive people have known and done as much, and none of the practices mentioned, with the possible exception of fractional evaporation of salt water, are beyond the capabilities of the Banyoro, for example, who live on Lake Albert in Africa (Worthington and Worthington, 1933). The urbanization of Tenochtitlán, however, brought problems in its train that simpler societies could hardly have faced. Lake *villages* are known all over the world, but lake cities are much less usual. In meeting these problems the Aztecs and their

[4] A piece of chemical knowledge that has been entirely overlooked is the manufacture of some salt from urine. Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1910 edition, p. 72) mentions the sale of "many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use for making salt or tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared". The reference to tanning of skins shows clearly that the excrement was urine and not feces, for the tanning properties of uric acid are still taken advantage of in modern Mexico; moreover, Bernal Diaz goes on to describe the collection of feces and their use as fertilizer. What "salt" other than uric acid or sodium chloride could have been extracted from urine is problematical; nitrates would have been the most valuable, and they could conceivably have been separated from the chlorides by fractional evaporation, as in the case of salt water. In the history of western chemistry the most important salt found in urine was microcosmic salt, $NH_4\ NaHPO_4 \cdot 2H_2O$, which served Brand as the source of phosphorus.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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648 Montezuma returned after this to talk about the matter with his Caciques, and in the presence of Cortés and our Captains and many of our soldiers, and of Pedro Hernández, Cortés's secretary, they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they showed much emotion in doing so, and Montezuma could not keep back his tears. He was so dear to us and we were so much affected at seeing him weep, that our own eyes were softened and one soldier wept as much as Montezuma, such was the affection we had for him. I will leave off here, and say that Cortés and the Fraile de la Merced, who was very wise, were constantly in Montezuma's palace, trying to amuse him and to persuade him to give up his Idols.

Now I will go on.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS CII. AND CIII.

000 The description given by Bernal Díaz in Chapters CII. and CIII. of the expeditions sent in search of mines differs considerably from that given by Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor.

Cortés says that there were several expeditions. Bernal Díaz mentions only two—one under Gonzalo de Umbria, the other under Pizarro, neither of whom Cortés mentions by name.

316 Bernal Díaz quotes Montezuma as saying that gold was brought
● 317 from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from the city, and that the gold was collected in gourds in which the earth was washed, and Bernal Díaz himself gives Zacatula as the name of the town visited by Gonzalo de Umbria. The only Zacatula shown on the maps is situated on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. Placer gold-mining is still carried on in this neighbourhood, and Montezuma may have mentioned the place as a source of gold supply. However, there is no proof that Gonzalo de Umbria visited the Rio de las Balsas, for Cortés says nothing about an expedition in that direction, and mentions only expeditions to Curula (Sosola?), Tamazulapa, Malinaltepec, Tenis (Tanetze), and Tuxtepec, all places in the north-western part of the present State of Oaxaca, and he confirms this later on in the same

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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316 letter when he mentions Coastoaca (Coixtlahuaca) and Tamazula
317 (either Tamazola or Tamazulapa), which are in the same neighbourhood, as places visited during these expeditions.

The only slight corroboration of an expedition to Zacatula is the casual mention by Bernal Díaz of Matalzingo, which is near Toluca, and would be on the way to Zacatula, but the frequent repetition of the same names in different localities prevents much reliance being placed on it.

No definite information is given as to the routes by which the expeditions travelled.

The expedition under Pizarro probably travelled by way of Tehuacan or Orizaba to Malinaltepec on the upper waters of the Papaloapan River, where they would be within a short distance both of Tuxtepec and the land of the Chinantecs, and although Cortés is not very clear on the matter, there is no reason to suppose that all three places were not visited by members of the same expedition.

With regard to the expedition under Diego de Ordás in search of a good harbour, Cortés gives the additional information that the party went first to Vera Cruz and then marched all along the coast to Coatzacoalcos, examining in canoes the bays and the mouths of the rivers that were crossed.

CHAPTER CII.

How our Cortés endeavoured to find out about the Gold Mines, what was their value, and in what rivers they were found, and what harbours there were for ships between Panuco and Tabasco, especially about the great river at Coatzacoalcos, and what happened about it.

316 WHEN Cortés and the other Captains were with Montezuma
317 paying him court, among other things that he said through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar and Orteguilla, he asked Montezuma where the mines were, and in which rivers, and how and by what means they collected the gold which they brought him in grains, for he wished to send two of our soldiers who were expert miners to see it. Montezuma replied that there were three

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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316 places, but they usually brought most of the gold from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from that city (Mexico). The gold was collected in xicales[1] by washing away the earth, so that after the earth was washed away some grains of gold remained. At the present time they also brought it to him from another province called Tustepec near where we disembarked on the north coast where it was gathered from two rivers. Near that province there were other good mines in a land that was not subject to him, named the land of the Chinantecs and Zapotecs, who did not obey his rule. If Cortés wished to send his soldiers he would give them Chieftains to go with them. Cortés thanked him for it, and at once despatched a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, with two other soldiers who were miners to the mines of Zacatula. This Gonzalo de Umbria was the man whose feet Cortés had ordered to be cut off when he hanged Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño[2] and flogged the Peñates for their attempt to carry off a ship at San Juan de Ulua, as I have written down more at length in the chapter which deals with the incident.

Let us stop talking about the past and say how they set out with Umbria, a limit of forty days being allowed them in which to go and return.

To examine the mines on the north coast Cortés sent a captain named Pizarro, a young man about twenty years old, whom he treated as a relation. At that time there was no mention of Peru, nor were the Pizarros talked about in these lands. Pizarro set out with four oldiers, and he also was given forty days in which to go and return, for the distance was about eighty leagues from Mexico, and four Mexican chieftains accompanied him.

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[1] gourds [2] See note on page 207, vol. i.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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000 Ircio went to settle at Panuco. As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it, and will relate what each of the Captains sent by Cortés, accomplished, and will report how each returned with samples of gold.

CHAPTER CIII.

How the Captains returned whom our Cortés had sent to examine the mines, and take soundings of the harbour and river of Coatzacoalcos.

316 THE first to return to the City of Mexico and to give an
317 account of what Cortés had sent him to do was Gonzalo de
648 Umbria and his companions, who brought a matter of three hundred pesos in grains which the Indians of a town named Zacatula had extracted before their eyes. According to Umbria's description, the Caciques of that province took many Indians to the rivers, and in vessels like small troughs they washed the earth and collected the gold. The gold came from two rivers, and they said that if good miners went and washed the earth as they did in the Island of Santo Domingo or the Island of Cuba, that these would prove to be rich mines. Umbria also brought with him two chieftains sent by the province, and they brought a present of gold made into jewels worth about two hundred pesos, and gave and offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and Cortés was as pleased with this gold as though it were thirty thousand pesos, for he now knew for certain that there were good mines, and he showed much affection to the chieftains who brought the present and ordered them to be given some green beads from Castile, and after friendly speeches they returned to their country well contented.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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Let us leave Ordás And speak of Captain Pizarro And
his companions who went in the direction of Tustepec to 316
look for gold and examine the mines. Pizarro returned to 317
make his report to Cortés accompanied by one soldier only, and he brought with him over one thousand pesos in grains of gold taken from the mines, and said that in the province of Tustepec and Malinaltepec and other neighbouring districts, he went to the rivers accompanied by many people who were sent with him, and they gathered a third part of the gold that he had brought, and they went high up in the hills to another province, that of the Chinantecs, and that when they reached their land, many Indians came out to meet them with arms, which were lances, much better than those we had, and bows and arrows and shields, and they said that not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them, but that the Teules should pass in and be welcome; so they went on, and the Mexicans were left behind and did not go any further. As soon as the Caciques of Chinanta understood what they had come for, they got together a large number of their people to wash for gold, and they took them to some rivers where they collected the rest of the gold which he had brought in twisted grains, and the miners said those were the most lasting mines as the gold was formed there. Captain 648
Pizarro also brought two Caciques from that country who came to offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to secure our friendship they even brought a present of gold. One and all of those chieftains said many evil things of the Mexicans, who were so greatly hated in those provinces for the robberies they committed that they [the Chinantecs] could not bear the sight of them or the mention of their names.

Cortés received Pizarro and the chieftains whom he brought with cordiality, and he accepted the present which they gave him, (as it was so many years ago I cannot

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THE METAL INDUSTRY OF THE AZTECS

By GEORGE BRINTON PHILLIPS

I

121 325 THE collections of many thousand copper objects, tools, weapons, and ornaments from ancient Indian burial mounds and village sites in the Unites States of North America is strong evidence in favor of a pre-Columbian copper industry with which the aborigines were familiar before they reached the Iron Age. Did this knowledge and use of copper extend into Mexico and adjacent country of Central America?

325 Prescott in his *Conquest of Mexico* gives a picturesque account of the splendors of the court of the Montezumas with its silver and gold ornaments and utensils, but the knowledge of metals does not seem to have extended to the general use of copper or bronze for tools and weapons. The Aztec in the production of ornaments in the precious metal showed great skill and artistic workmanship and specimens sent over to Spain were greatly admired by the Spanish goldsmiths. Owing to scarcity of copper [412] in their immediate vicinity, the ancient Mexicans confined its use to adze blades, chisels and some copper objects, possibly ceremonial implements. The tools were hardened by hammering and used in wood carving. The stone cutting it is believed was still done with flint tools.

● 317 Copper was obtained from the mines of Zocotallan where it occurred in masses on the surface and also from the galleries 325 opened in the rock. Ancient workings have been discovered at Cerro del Aguilar in Guerrero, and the Zapotec country was well known for its copper mines. Deposits of tin were also found in Guerrero at the mines of Tasco, and it is said that Cortez obtained enough tin from that source with the copper to cast several large cannon, which he used in his fortress at the siege of Mexico. This use of tin in making a suitable alloy it is believed was due to the familiarity the Spaniards had of bronze, rather than to Aztec knowledge of the art.

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
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325 copper ore. A chisel reported in the "Anales del Museo de Mexico" quoted by Sir John Evans, in his *Ancient Mexican Implements* when analyzed gave copper 97.87%, tin 2.13%, not sufficient to make a true bronze. Copper axes from Oaxaca, some heavy metal, apparently cast in a mould, others thin, shaped from sheet copper, have been analyzed and yielded only copper, showing they were *not* bronze.

A recent analysis was made for the writer of a portion of a metal chisel of Aztec origin from the village of Acatlán, in the State of Guerrero, Mexico. It was doubtless authentic being sent by Dr. Manuel Gamio, Direccion Anthropologia, Mexico, for analysis, which was made by Dr. D. L. Wallace of the University of Pennsylvania, Analytical Department. The piece of metal apparently broken from the middle of the chisel weighed 88 gms. It was 30 mm. long, 20 mm. wide and 15 mm. thick. It had a brown patina of oxidation, gave clean metal borings (used in the analysis) of dark red bronze color, and had the appearance of having been cast in an open mould. The specific gravity of the metal was 8.00 compared with Lake Superior native copper 7.50. The analyses yielded results as follows:

Copper	91.40%
Tin	3.07%
Lead	0.82%
Iron	0.53%
Cobalt	0.09%
Sulphur	0.82%
	96.73%
Thallium	?

Other metals often associated with Copper were tested for and not found, but tests indicated Thallium. This element Thallium occurs in some copper ores in Mexico as the mineral Crookesite, a copper Thallium selenite sulphide; and it is believed the portion unaccounted for in the analysis was due to the Thallium. [317]

325 301 The little copper bells in the Museum collections seem to have been found in Mexican sites as well as in Central America, and are quite abundant in some localities. Some of these bells were about one half to three-quarters of an inch long, others of more than two inches and of different shape.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.[1] (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the perfectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Tē-pē'ek.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

286 ture and pattern the skins of animals. Judged on a visual
531 basis, the designs on Aztec clothing were by no means inferior to those of the celebrated textile art of Indian Peru. However, we have no positive evidence that technical development of Aztec weaving was equal to Peruvian, for those ancient South American weavers knew and practiced every method known to man and even a few unique to themselves.[6] (See Plates 33–36; 62, bottom left; 64.)

287 Feather mosaic is probably an old craft, since evidence seems to show that it was known to the Upper Middle Cultures. Feather- and the technically allied fur-cloth appear in primitive horizons in North America. The process consisted in tying the stems of feathers into a fabric during the weaving process. Featherworkers adorned shields in this way, dispersing the feathers to represent animals or else purely decorative designs. They made cloaks, too, and created sumptuous insignia worn on the head or harnessed to the body. In these objects the blending of colors was so delicate and perfect as to rival paintings. As late as the nineteenth century, although the art had declined, the Mexicans still depicted landscapes and scenes from daily life in this medium, and today they make charming pictures for the tourists with cardboard, feathers and glue.[7] (See Plate 45.)

321 Feather mosaic had an early counterpart in stone and
324 shell; we found a turquoise mosaic in a Lower Middle Culture grave. The wooden handles of sacrificial knives were sometimes ornamented in this way, as were masks, shields and even small gold ornaments. A *tour de force* of the mosaic worker is a wooden shield from the Mixteca, on which little pieces of turquoise were fitted together in a relief sculpture depicting a religious scene.[8] (See Plates 48; 60, bottom right.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 48

AZTEC MOSAIC WORK

Mosaic work was one of the most elegant crafts and demands color reproduction to give a just impression. The mask in jade and turquoise, now in Rome, was part of the original loot of the Conquest. The skull (below), a British Museum treasure, is composed of light bands of turquoise and dark onyx of Iguine, set on a human skull, cut away in back to form a mask, possibly representing Tezcatlipoca.

[p. 144 (D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

321 Mosaic workers utilized stones of different colors and
324 shells of various kinds. Pure designs were common, but ele-
531 ments representing the costume or the body paint were
341 shown when the mosaic covered a figure in wood or stone. An application of mosaic on a larger scale was frequent in architecture, a veneer of cut stone being applied to the rubble of a platform or building. The temples of Mitla, Oaxaca, influenced by the same Mixteca-Puebla culture to which Aztec civilization owed its origin, are masterpieces of this technique, for individual blocks have their surfaces carved to fit together in an intricate geometric design.[9] (See Plate 11, bottom.)

322 The woodworkers, owing to the impermanence of their medium, have left little to exhibit their prowess, but the few surviving masks, idols, drums and *atl-atls*, or throwing boards, bear ample witness to their superb craftsmanship. The very fact that they had to work wood with stone tools makes their achievement noteworthy. Their copper tools were dull and unserviceable in cutting even the softer woods, and these implements came into use relatively late in Aztec times.[10] (See Plate 54, bottom.)

335 Wood was used extensively in buildings for roof beams and doorjambs. A beam in the palace at Texcoco was ninety feet long and five feet thick, so that its preparation and transport must have been an arduous task. There was probably little use of planks in Aztec building, since it would be difficult to prepare them with the rudimentary equipment at Aztec disposal, and adobes and plaster were easier to make and just
396 as serviceable. Wooden canoes, however, were essential for life in the lakes. Some were dugouts hollowed out by fire, but others, to judge from the type used by the Xochimilcan

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
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S. G. Morley in his description of Copan says:

"The discovery of copper bells of Mexican origin at a number of archeaological sites in Arizona and New Mexico clearly point to trade relations between the Pueblo Indians and the tribes of Central America in pre-Columbian times; these bells very closely resemble the copper bells found in the sacred Cenates of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, which can hardly have been carried there before 1200 A. D. [439]

Analysis has proved these metal bells to be copper with some little impurities; and it is believed they were cast by what is known as the *cire perdue* process. This method consists in using a wax model, or a core of clay covered with a wax pattern, the mould being heated, the wax melted and ran out, leaving the shape of the object to be cast, which was then filled with the melted metal. This is interesting because this process was well known to the 171
makers of bronze ornaments in Europe, and it is a question if 321
these little bells found in the Aztec or Maya burials were made by the *cire perdue* process; was it a discovery by the American race independent of foreign knowledge?

This might suggest a greater antiquity for this art of casting than that in Europe and would show a considerable amount of experience in metallurgy for the aborigines, and it is surprising that more elaborate objects were not made by them. Judging from the character and variety of cast objects of bronze from South America, the ancient Peruvians were familiar with the *cire perdue* method. Did the Inca discover it? They were certainly the earliest users of the alloy bronze in America with the exception of the unknown builders of Tiahuanaco, among whose ruins have been found bronze tools. With regard to the knowledge the Aztecs 325
had of bronze, it is difficult to establish their claim until more analyses are made of specimens of undoubted Mexican origin, indicating an alloy with a composition of about 90% copper and 10% tin. The following analyses by P. Rivet, taken from his contribution in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* show to what extent tin was used by the Aztecs in their metal objects.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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396 Indians today, were flat-bottomed punts, constructed of planks which were probably tied together in Aztec times rather than pegged, as they are today. The portable bridges 335 used to cross the canals were also simple combinations of planks, or planks resting on beams. (See Plate 35, bottom left.)

352 Furniture, which in European culture has done much honor to the woodworker, was little used in Mexico. Mats sufficed for beds and seats. High dignitaries sat on a sort of wooden throne which had legs and often a back and was called *icpalli*, from which the Mexican word *equipale* for a modern wickerwork and leather chair is derived. Mention [353] is made of screens and chests and ornamental sheathing for room interiors, but no examples are left for us to judge their craftsmanship. (See Plate 37, top.)

534 The wooden drums, on which musicians beat out ceremonial rhythms, were handsomely carved, as befitted their religious use. There were two types, a vertically cylindrical drum (*huehuetl**), which had a skin head, and a horizontally cylindrical drum (*teponaztli*†), the top of which was slotted to form two tongues. While the notes differed, there was usually the same interval between the resonant sounds emitted when the tongues were struck. The task of reaching the pitch must have been excessively difficult, for the wood had to be hollowed by fire and then chiseled to a nicety. At times the artist fashioned these drums to represent a crouching 322 man or animal. Masks were often used in temple ceremonies when a god was impersonated, and ceremonial staffs were part of their equipment. So, also, were the throwing boards, or *atl-atls*, with which a warrior flung a javelin, the lengthen-

*way-wa'yti. †te-po-na'z-tli.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing of the arm thereby giving the missile an increased propulsive force. Some of these *atl-atls* were most delicately carved and represent the best of Aztec design. (See Plate 54, bottom.)

Metallurgy was in its infancy. Copper was cold-hammered; the art of adding alloys to make bronze had not reached Mexico from the south, but the gilding of copper and mixing of gold and copper were adopted by Mexican goldsmiths. Copper was cast into bells and ornaments, and the process, used also for gold, was the cire-perdue, or lost-wax, method. The desired shape was modeled in clay, over which was dusted finely ground charcoal, followed by an even layer of wax. This coating was also dusted with charcoal and the whole enclosed in clay, which was perforated at the top and bottom. The molten metal was poured in at the upper hole after the wax was melted and the lower orifice plugged. When the metal cooled the cast was broken and the finished object removed.[21] (See Plates 46–47.)

Although most of the native goldwork found its way to the Spanish melting pot, a few lovely ornaments survived; in 1932 the quantity was more than doubled by Dr Alfonso Caso's discovery of the undisturbed tomb of a high Mixtec official. The design and shape of these necklaces, earplugs and rings, by their sheer intricacy and bulk, make one realize that the Spanish descriptions of Cortes' loot understated the rich ability of the Aztec goldsmiths.[22]

Metalworking, without much question, had its origin in Ecuador or Peru, and various techniques were transmitted up the Pacific coast to Panama and Costa Rica, where important goldworking industries were founded. Although the intervening area produced little metal, another center was

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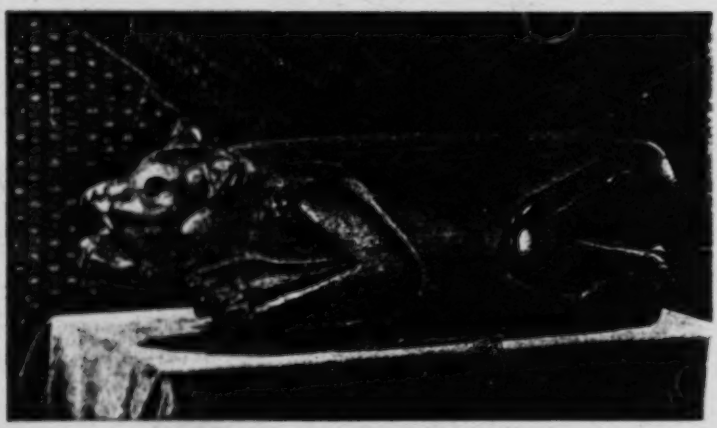

PLATE 54

AZTEC ART

TOP: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. BOTTOM: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

324 346 532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.[8]

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs*, which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

323 532 322 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

776 532 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[415] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and
373 other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

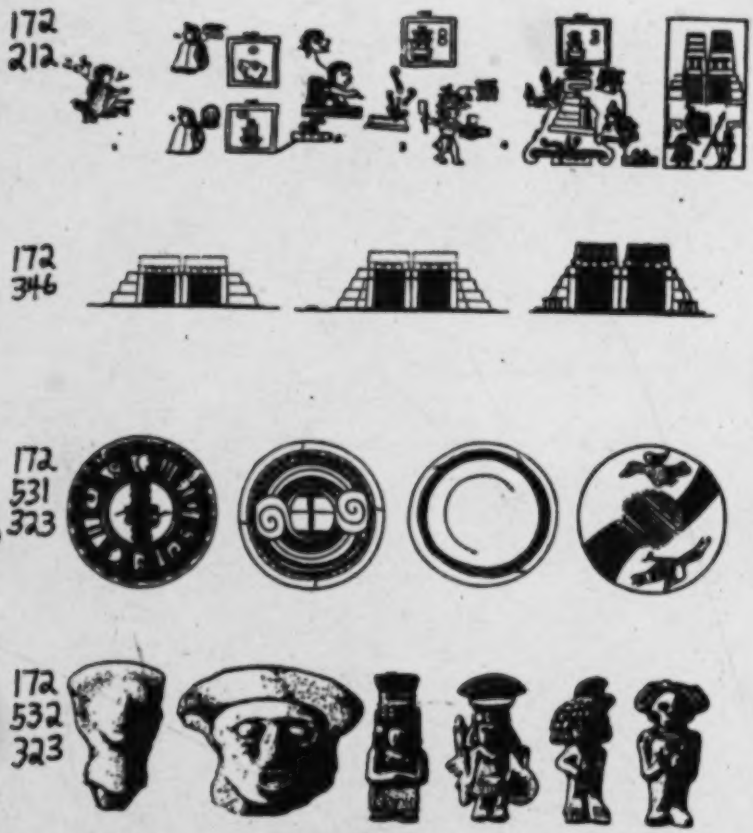

PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP ROW: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2-4 from Codex Telleriano-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). SECOND ROW: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. THIRD ROW: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520-21. FOURTH ROW: *First two*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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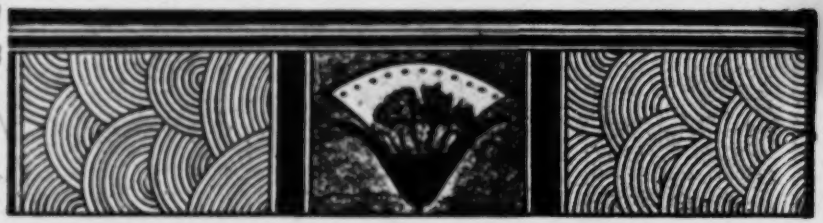

PLATE 30

TRADE POTTERY, AZTEC PERIOD

Vessels like these from Puebla and Tlaxcala were much prized in Central Mexico and obtained by trade or tribute. At the top, a design composed of a feather fan and concentric circles, taken from a hemispherical bowl. The middle cup utilizes a simple grecque pattern, while at the bottom the hieroglyph for the day Reed set against a black background decorates the neck of a vase, the body of which is painted a lustrous red.

[p. 96(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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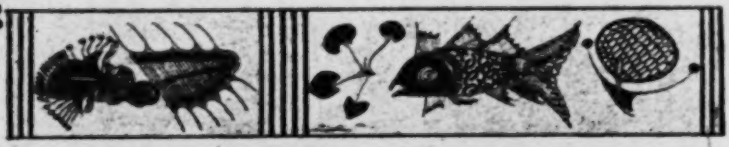

PLATE 32

AZTEC POTTERY

TOP: Design from bowl of the Aztec IV period, representing a marine worm, water plants and a fish. SECOND ROW: Trichrome vessels from the 1403 cyclical dump at Chiconauhtla. THIRD ROW: *Left:* Pentachrome trade bowl found in 1507 dump at Chiconauhtla; *Right:* Local trichrome bowl from the same dump. BOTTOM ROW: Bowl with orange-and-black design on red and two black-on-orange plates from the 1507 dump at Nenoalco.

[p. 96(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and orna-
ments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were
[286 323] sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

325 established in Oaxaca in Mixtec times. The Oaxacan orna-
174 ments, although deficient in some of the southern technical developments, surpass in design and workmanship the best of the older goldwork of Peru and Ecuador.[18]

Metallurgy seems to have arrived late in Mexico, certainly not before the eleventh century. Mentions of copper in Toltec times refer more probably to the Dynastic Period than to that of Teotihuacan. I know of neither copper nor gold which comes from the early or middle periods of the great Middle American civilizations, although some hollow clay bells from the late Toltec occupation of Azcapotzalco tantalizingly suggest metal prototypes. Toward the close of the Independent Civilization phase, and more especially during the domination of Mixteca-Puebla culture, there are consistant occurrences of metal objects.

316 Mining methods were rudimentary. Gold was collected in nugget form or panned as dust; copper also was mined as nodules or nuggets; silver, which seldom occurs pure in nature, was for this reason rarely converted into ornaments. The melting furnaces were heated with charcoal and their draft forced by a man blowing on the embers through a tube. The casting we have already described. This work in gold, one of the great wonders of the Conquest, was achieved by the same simple methods of all Aztec handiwork and was another triumph of sheer skill, unassisted by technical aids.

323 Pottery making was the greatest New World craft, and probably no other continent has such a complex range of form and design. The malleability of clay made it easy to work, and firing was simple, so that pottery products were an important part of Indian craftsmanship. In the Valley of Mexico we have no trace of people before the introduction

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

of pottery, and in the chapters in Indian history we have 323 seen how every tribe, almost every village, had its own particular style, which changed gradually through slow shifts in the popular taste as time wore on. In the absence of written records the archaeologists fortunately have been able to rely on pottery styles to peg out in time and space the relationships of these ancient and forgotten tribes and thus lay a basis for New World history.[14]

The Aztecs, like all the other New World peoples, did not use the potter's wheel but built up their vessels with strips of clay, relying on their keen eye and sensitive fingers to achieve the desired shape. They did not use molds to form their vessels, as was occasionally done in late Teotihuacan times; nor, apparently, did they make use of the *kabal*, a block on which Yucatecan potters rested their vessels and which they turned with their feet in shaping the raw clay.

The Aztecs had an abundance of finely textured clay, 323 orange after firing, from which they fashioned vessels for 531 the storage and service of food. The potters of Culhuacan used this ware first, making plates with flat bottoms resting on cylindrical legs.[15] On the floors they painted curvilinear designs which were sometimes faintly naturalistic. In the second period, when the manufacture of this ware became popular all over the northern Valley, the vessels were made more coarsely, and the hollow legs degenerated to thick, elongated cones.[16] The decoration was converted into an abstract combination of curvilinear *motifs* that had the quality of European script writing. In contrast to the usual recti- [212 linear quality of Middle American design, it may be more 171] than a coincidence that the introduction of this style at the beginning of the fourteenth century was contemporaneous

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, perhaps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of concentrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

283 401 on discussions as to whether or not the Aztecs knew the wheel. The weight had the function of a flywheel in accelerating the rotation of the distaff. The explorer Charnay apparently mistook spindle whorls for wheels which might have been attached to toy clay animals. His ingenuous explanation is not seriously considered today, for later research has proved the existence of jointed dolls both in Toltec and Aztec times. These had holes in their bodies through which strings were passed, attaching the arms and legs, which were similarly perforated. In 1940 Dr Stirling discovered some clay animals which rested on rollers, tubes of clay probably connected by wooden axles, socketed to holes in the legs. This knowledge does not seem to have been put to any efficient use. In the history of invention there are several similar cases, notably the Chinese discovery of gunpowder. They used it to make a noise in ceremonies, but not until the Europeans took over the substance did its application have any practical purpose.

532 323 In Aztec times stone sculpture was the usual medium used in reproducing the human form. The figurine cult, which in Middle Culture and Toltec times manifested the chief development of the plastic arts, became insignificant. The use of the mold did not induce superior craftsmen to fashion even the originals. Yet in these dull reproductions of gods and goddesses there still lurks that ability to capture the spark of essential vitality so characteristic of this field of art in earlier times. Curiously enough, the goddesses, more kindly and less ridden with abstract virtues than the gods, usually awoke a response in these ancient idol makers that resulted in perfectly charming little figures.[20] (See Plate 29, bottom row.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Pottery was not confined to household chattels; great roof 323
ornaments of baked clay were made to adorn the temples. 333
Sun-dried adobes were commonly used for general house construction. However, they were sometimes fired into bricks which formed the back walls of fireplaces or were substituted for dressed stone in the corners of buildings. A temple at Tizatlan carries brick construction in the pillars before the altar, but rubble faced with cut stone was preferred as a general building material for temples. Before the great temples, braziers the height of a man, combined ritualistic usefulness with architectural ornament. Cones of baked clay were used as studding to keep the plaster from slipping off the temple walls and to serve as a decorative element as well.[m]

The Mexican crasftsman had at hand an abundance of 174
good pottery clay, which from the earliest times provided a medium for plastic experiment and experience. Work in clay created the background for that sureness and security in creation that stands out in the later Mexican sculpture in stone and wood. According to our Western standards, clay is a substance inferior to wood or stone for plastic expression. However, the ancient Mexicans, like the old Chinese, considered it fit for the finest examples of their arts and crafts.

Mexican craftsmanship, whatever the tribe and whatever 182
the era, was superb in that it answered the necessities and ideals of both the time and the people. There is little evidence of a wide gap between superior and inferior workmanship, as in our Western civilization, where there is less need or opportunity for high-grade handwork. In unindividualized societies the general skills of the tribesmen, so far as can be judged by their work, follow a more even course than in

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

324 346 532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.[8]

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs*, which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

323 532 322 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

776 532 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[301
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325]

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[*]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[73]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[74]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[75]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[76] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[77] [386]

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[78] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[79]

[73] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[74] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[75] "A Motecçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognocimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[76] "Era de Motecçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos myamos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[77] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[78] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la comca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[79] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Machoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas veces del dio entbidan presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' que sabes" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[314] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 [262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323 289]

2,000 pottery bowls**
8,000 reams of native paper**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayotochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[29] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[30]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[31] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[32]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors [323]
8,000 reams of native paper [29]

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. [727]

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[29] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[30] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Tanzala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[31] "Estan las dichas tres cabeçeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[32] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas calicate quesca la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tecpaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.**

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl,* "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"***

** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

*** Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] [319] [314]

16 pieces of colored lacquer
268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[30]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [138] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

105

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[31] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[32]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[33] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[30] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[32] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[33] *PNE*, 5: 210.

11:Diaz T.H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain. 323 438 346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

556 fully worked utensils and tools and well-tended and produc-
555 tive fields, while an unsuccessful man had a small and miserable equipment. Yet except for the intervention of natural disaster the differential was largely due to the ability of a man and his household to produce with their own hands the symbols of his wealth or to exchange his specialized product for equivalent superior equipment made by others. The entrepreneur and broker had small place in the undertaking of production and its distribution.[1]

771 The gods also stimulated good craftsmanship. Every home had an altar, and every act was accomplished through the favor of some deity. Ceremonies to appease these custodians of natural force were of frequent occurrence. Thus the use of symbols, referring to the god whose favor was sought, came to exercise an important influence on design. Since a man does reverence with his most esteemed social attitudes and his best material possessions, each household must try to surpass its previous efforts to honor the gods. The temple equipment, therefore, tended to represent the cream of local craftsmanship.

324 Work in stone, the most durable natural substance available, is a common gauge of human ability. Since the tools last forever, it is possible to compare the technical abilities of peoples over an enormous span of human history. However, for basic equipment like projectile points, axes, grinding stones, and the like, satisfactory forms are reached fairly early and do not change in proportion to cultural advances in other directions. Thus the arrow or the dart points of Aztec times were not technically better than those used by the Middle Culture peoples. However, the technical demands of the sacrificial cult called for a heavy broad-bladed flint

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and 324
this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better 412
made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and 177
Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burn- 324
ing and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out 532
of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs, [796]
referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (cuauhxicalli*) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.[2] (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

*kwow-shee-ca'lli.

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317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial
[788] bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal
[415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving
[395] the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[9]

● 324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

steps in every case. A final polishing with some simple abra- 324
sive like water and sand often completed the process. Some hard stones seem to have been detached from their matrix by applying the abrasive and sawing with a cord of rawhide or a tool of harder stone. The Middle American people also [412]
developed tubular drills of bone and reed, which, rotated by a bow and aided by an abrasive, could hollow out vases or bore out places that were otherwise inaccessible to the clumsy tools of the time.[8]

Save for descriptions and drawings, the destruction of 286
time and man has left us only a few examples of the weaver's art. Weaving of some kind is very old, and no people, however primitive, exist in the world today who do not make at least some kind of basketry. Textiles are made as a rule by higher groups, but they are found in the American continent as part of the material equipment of peoples who had not yet learned how to make pottery. An early example of cloth, combining threads of cotton with some fiber like yucca, was found in the Lower Middle Culture horizon of Zacatenco.

The long practice of weaving must and did have a sig- 286
nificant effect on decoration, for the rectangular patterns, to 531
which the weaver is confined, influence all of Indian art in Continental America. Design and the arrangement of elements are more important than form in Indian art. While many geometrical patterns appear in pictures of Aztec clothing, fine embroidery could produce the effect of curvilinear designs or even naturalistic patterns drawn from the regional flora. Batik and tie dyeing also enriched the decoration of [386]
Aztec clothing. Other processes produced the effect of velvet and brocade, and some garments even imitated in tex-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

286 ture and pattern the skins of animals. Judged on a visual
531 basis, the designs on Aztec clothing were by no means inferior to those of the celebrated textile art of Indian Peru. However, we have no positive evidence that technical development of Aztec weaving was equal to Peruvian, for those ancient South American weavers knew and practiced every method known to man and even a few unique to themselves.[6] (See Plates 33–36; 62, bottom left; 64.)

287 Feather mosaic is probably an old craft, since evidence seems to show that it was known to the Upper Middle Cultures. Feather- and the technically allied fur-cloth appear in primitive horizons in North America. The process consisted in tying the stems of feathers into a fabric during the weaving process. Featherworkers adorned shields in this way, dispersing the feathers to represent animals or else purely decorative designs. They made cloaks, too, and created sumptuous insignia worn on the head or harnessed to the body. In these objects the blending of colors was so delicate and perfect as to rival paintings. As late as the nineteenth century, although the art had declined, the Mexicans still depicted landscapes and scenes from daily life in this medium, and today they make charming pictures for the tourists with cardboard, feathers and glue.[7] (See Plate 45.)

321 Feather mosaic had an early counterpart in stone and
324 shell; we found a turquoise mosaic in a Lower Middle Culture grave. The wooden handles of sacrificial knives were sometimes ornamented in this way, as were masks, shields and even small gold ornaments. A *tour de force* of the mosaic worker is a wooden shield from the Mixteca, on which little pieces of turquoise were fitted together in a relief sculpture depicting a religious scene.[8] (See Plates 48; 60, bottom right.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 48

AZTEC MOSAIC WORK

Mosaic work was one of the most elegant crafts and demands color reproduction to give a just impression. The mask in jade and turquoise, now in Rome, was part of the original loot of the Conquest. The skull (*below*), a British Museum treasure, is composed of light bands of turquoise and dark ones of lignite, set on a human skull, cut away in back to form a mask, possibly representing Tezcatlipoca.

[p. 144 (D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

321 Mosaic workers utilized stones of different colors and
●324 shells of various kinds. Pure designs were common, but ele-
531 ments representing the costume or the body paint were
341 shown when the mosaic covered a figure in wood or stone. An application of mosaic on a larger scale was frequent in architecture, a veneer of cut stone being applied to the rubble of a platform or building. The temples of Mitla, Oaxaca, influenced by the same Mixteca-Puebla culture to which Aztec civilization owed its origin, are masterpieces of this technique, for individual blocks have their surfaces carved to fit together in an intricate geometric design.[9] (See Plate 11, bottom.)

322 The woodworkers, owing to the impermanence of their medium, have left little to exhibit their prowess, but the few surviving masks, idols, drums and *atl-atls*, or throwing boards, bear ample witness to their superb craftsmanship. The very fact that they had to work wood with stone tools makes their achievement noteworthy. Their copper tools were dull and unserviceable in cutting even the softer woods, and these implements came into use relatively late in Aztec times.[10] (See Plate 54, bottom.)

335 Wood was used extensively in buildings for roof beams and doorjambs. A beam in the palace at Texcoco was ninety feet long and five feet thick, so that its preparation and transport must have been an arduous task. There was probably little use of planks in Aztec building, since it would be difficult to prepare them with the rudimentary equipment at Aztec disposal, and adobes and plaster were easier to make and just
396 as serviceable. Wooden canoes, however, were essential for life in the lakes. Some were dugouts hollowed out by fire, but others, to judge from the type used by the Xochimilcan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 49

AZTEC ART

Porphyry mask, Tenyo, Vera Cruz. This mask is an outstanding example of Aztec art, even though it was made outside of the borders of their domain. This carving and the Eagle Knight on Plate 40 are perhaps the finest secular sculptures from the Aztec period.

[p. 160(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 52

AZTEC ART

TOP: The Calendar Stone, thirteen feet in diameter, represents the history of the world. It is arranged in concentric circles, at the center of which is the sun set within the sign Four Motion, the date of the present era. The dates of the preceding eras are given in the four eras of the Motion sign. The twenty day names encircle the central symbols, and they are enclosed by glyphs for turquoise and jade, signifying "precious" and the color of the heavens. Beyond this band radiate sun's rays and star symbols, while the outer border consists of two great fire snakes, symbolizing time. BOTTOM: The National Stone, a monolithic block in the Mexican National Museum, suggests how the Calendar Stone was probably set in a platform. Its symbolism represents the Sacred War, the eternal conflict between the contrasting and opposing forces of nature.

[p. 160(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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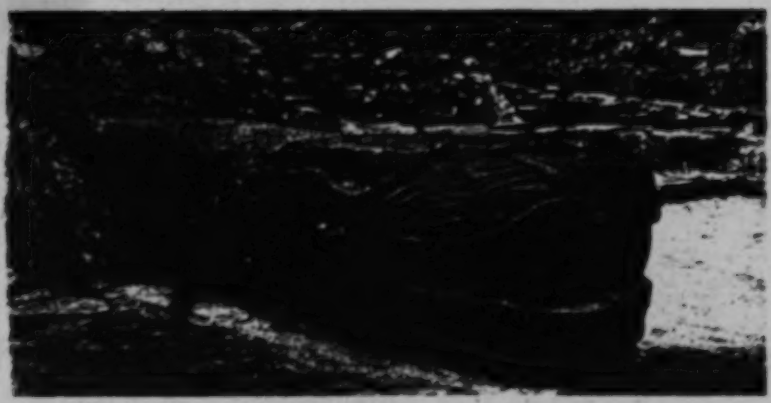

PLATE 53

AZTEC ART

TOP: This feathered snake in the Mexican National Museum may well symbolize Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning and the Priesthood. This representation differs from the fire snake in that it lacks a raised crest over the head. BOTTOM: The enormous snake at the foot of the balustrade to the great temple in Mexico is a dramatic architectural ornament, frequently employed in Aztec temple building. Snakes were the major ornament at Tenayuca (Plate 50, above) and many other Aztec buildings, appearing also far to the east in Mexican Chichen Itza.

[p. 160(E)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 54

AZTEC ART

TOP: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. BOTTOM: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Astec NU7

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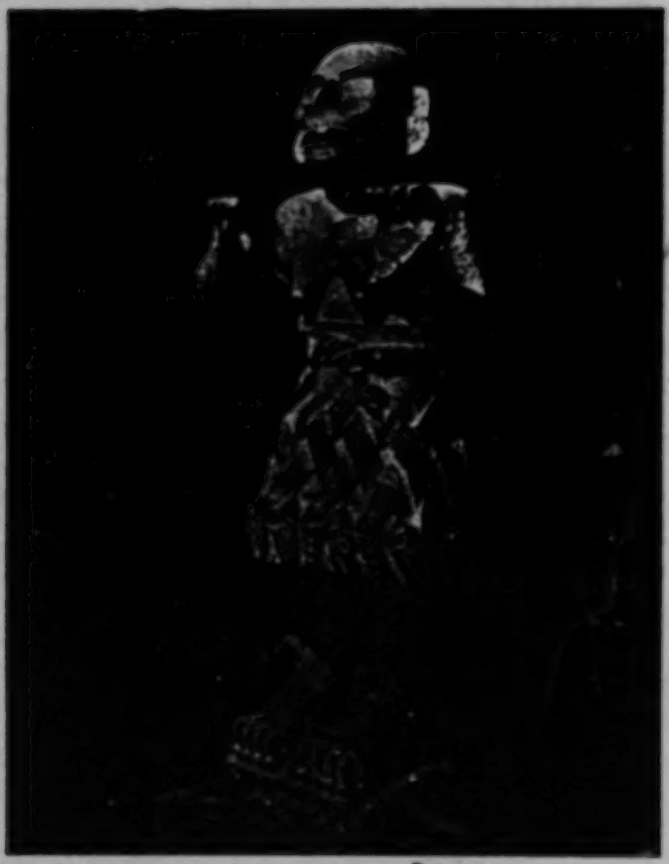

PLATE 55
AZTEC ART

TOP: Another presentation of Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods. As earth goddess, she is also associated with death, so that in this case her head is a human skull. BOTTOM: *Left:* Small rock-crystal skull representing the Death God. This is a fine example of Aztec lapidary work. *Right:* A box, symbolically carved, to hold human hearts. Note the glyph for jade, i.e., "precious," handling the sides of the container.

[p. 160(G)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 56

AZTEC ART

TOP: This Corn Goddess is envisaged as a young girl. Her soft Indian beauty is brought out with the same sure simplicity which characterizes the warriors on Plates 40 and 49. BOTTOM: A colossal head, nearly four feet high, of Coyolxauhqui, sister of the War God. She is shown dead. Simple handling of details enhances this monumental conception.

[p. 160(H)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

324 346 532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.[8]

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs*, which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

323 532 322 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

776 532 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish
[314 289 386 276] if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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 443

off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who [324] sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they [262] get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and [325] gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could [415] wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were 436 already approaching its great courts, before leaving the [443] market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look 346 at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these [364] stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco NU34
Zapotec NU44

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones." A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [113] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing of the arm thereby giving the missile an increased propulsive force. Some of these *atl-atls* were most delicately carved and represent the best of Aztec design. (See Plate 54, bottom.)

Metallurgy was in its infancy. Copper was cold-hammered; the art of adding alloys to make bronze had not reached Mexico from the south, but the gilding of copper and mixing of gold and copper were adopted by Mexican goldsmiths. Copper was cast into bells and ornaments, and the process, used also for gold, was the cire-perdue, or lost-wax, method. The desired shape was modeled in clay, over which was dusted finely ground charcoal, followed by an even layer of wax. This coating was also dusted with charcoal and the whole enclosed in clay, which was perforated at the top and bottom. The molten metal was poured in at the upper hole after the wax was melted and the lower orifice plugged. When the metal cooled the cast was broken and the finished object removed.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

Although most of the native goldwork found its way to the Spanish melting pot, a few lovely ornaments survived; in 1932 the quantity was more than doubled by Dr Alfonso Caso's discovery of the undisturbed tomb of a high Mixtec official. The design and shape of these necklaces, earplugs and rings, by their sheer intricacy and bulk, make one realize that the Spanish descriptions of Cortes' loot understated the rich ability of the Aztec goldsmiths.[12]

Metalworking, without much question, had its origin in Ecuador or Peru, and various techniques were transmitted up the Pacific coast to Panama and Costa Rica, where important goldworking industries were founded. Although the intervening area produced little metal, another center was

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

325 174 established in Oaxaca in Mixtec times. The Oaxacan ornaments, although deficient in some of the southern technical developments, surpass in design and workmanship the best of the older goldwork of Peru and Ecuador.[18]

Metallurgy seems to have arrived late in Mexico, certainly not before the eleventh century. Mentions of copper in Toltec times refer more probably to the Dynastic Period than to that of Teotihuacan. I know of neither copper nor gold which comes from the early or middle periods of the great Middle American civilizations, although some hollow clay bells from the late Toltec occupation of Azcapotzalco tantalizingly suggest metal prototypes. Toward the close of the Independent Civilization phase, and more especially during the domination of Mixteca-Puebla culture, there are consistant occurrences of metal objects.

316 Mining methods were rudimentary. Gold was collected in nugget form or panned as dust; copper also was mined as nodules or nuggets; silver, which seldom occurs pure in nature, was for this reason rarely converted into ornaments. The melting furnaces were heated with charcoal and their draft forced by a man blowing on the embers through a tube. The casting we have already described. This work in gold, one of the great wonders of the Conquest, was achieved by the same simple methods of all Aztec handiwork and was another triumph of sheer skill, unassisted by technical aids.

323 Pottery making was the greatest New World craft, and probably no other continent has such a complex range of form and design. The malleability of clay made it easy to work, and firing was simple, so that pottery products were an important part of Indian craftsmanship. In the Valley of Mexico we have no trace of people before the introduction

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[*]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[70]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[71]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[72]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[73] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[74] 386

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[75] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[76]

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[70] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[71] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[72] "A Moteçcuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimienso" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[73] "Era de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[74] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[75] "Teniian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[76] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas veses del año enbiaban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' que saber" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

 443

off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who [324 262] sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and [325 415] gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

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13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

THE METAL INDUSTRY OF THE AZTECS

By GEORGE BRINTON PHILLIPS

I

121 THE collections of many thousand copper objects, tools, ●325 weapons, and ornaments from ancient Indian burial mounds and village sites in the Unites States of North America is strong evidence in favor of a pre-Columbian copper industry with which the aborigines were familiar before they reached the Iron Age. Did this knowledge and use of copper extend into Mexico and adjacent country of Central America?

325 Prescott in his *Conquest of Mexico* gives a picturesque account of the splendors of the court of the Montezumas with its silver and gold ornaments and utensils, but the knowledge of metals does not seem to have extended to the general use of copper or bronze for tools and weapons. The Aztec in the production of ornaments in the precious metal showed great skill and artistic workmanship and specimens sent over to Spain were greatly [412] admired by the Spanish goldsmiths. Owing to scarcity of copper in their immediate vicinity, the ancient Mexicans confined its use to adze blades, chisels and some copper objects, possibly ceremonial implements. The tools were hardened by hammering and used in wood carving. The stone cutting it is believed was still done with flint tools.

317 Copper was obtained from the mines of Zocotallan where it 325 occurred in masses on the surface and also from the galleries opened in the rock. Ancient workings have been discovered at Cerro del Aguilar in Guerrero, and the Zapotec country was well known for its copper mines. Deposits of tin were also found in Guerrero at the mines of Tasco, and it is said that Cortez obtained enough tin from that source with the copper to cast several large cannon, which he used in his fortress at the siege of Mexico. This use of tin in making a suitable alloy it is believed was due to the familiarity the Spaniards had of bronze, rather than to Aztec knowledge of the art.

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925

NU7 Aztec NU7

Tarasco NU34

Zapotec NU44

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The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

325 copper ore. A chisel reported in the "Anales del Museo de Mexico" quoted by Sir John Evans, in his *Ancient Mexican Implements* when analyzed gave copper 97.87%, tin 2.13%, not sufficient to make a true bronze. Copper axes from Oaxaca, some heavy metal, apparently cast in a mould, others thin, shaped from sheet copper, have been analyzed and yielded only copper, showing they were *not* bronze.

A recent analysis was made for the writer of a portion of a metal chisel of Aztec origin from the village of Acatlan, in the State of Guerrero, Mexico. It was doubtless authentic being sent by Dr. Manuel Gamio, Direccion Anthropologia, Mexico, for analysis, which was made by Dr. D. L. Wallace of the University of Pennsylvania, Analytical Department. The piece of metal apparently broken from the middle of the chisel weighed 88 gms. It was 30 mm. long, 20 mm. wide and 15 mm. thick. It had a brown patina of oxidation, gave clean metal borings (used in the analysis) of dark red bronze color, and had the appearance of having been cast in an open mould. The specific gravity of the metal was 8.00 compared with Lake Superior native copper 7.50. The analyses yielded results as follows:

Copper	91.40%
Tin	3.07%
Lead	0.82%
Iron	0.53%
Cobalt	0.09%
Sulphur	0.82%
	96.73%
Thallium	?

Other metals often associated with Copper were tested for and not found, but tests indicated Thallium. This element Thallium occurs in some copper ores in Mexico as the mineral Crookesite, a copper Thallium selenite sulphide; and it is believed the portion unaccounted for in the analysis was due to the Thallium. [317]

325 301 The little copper bells in the Museum collections seem to have been found in Mexican sites as well as in Central America, and are quite abundant in some localities. Some of these bells were about one half to three-quarters of an inch long, others of more than two inches and of different shape.

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

301
S. G. Morley in his description of Copan says: 325

"The discovery of copper bells of Mexican origin at a number of archeaological sites in Arizona and New Mexico clearly point to trade relations between the Pueblo Indians and the tribes of Central America in pre-Columbian times; these bells very closely resemble the copper bells found in the sacred Cenates of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, which can hardly have been carried there before 1200 A. D. [439]

Analysis has proved these metal bells to be copper with some little impurities; and it is believed they were cast by what is known as the *cire perdue* process. This method consists in using a wax model, or a core of clay covered with a wax pattern, the mould being heated, the wax melted and ran out, leaving the shape of the object to be cast, which was then filled with the melted metal. This is interesting because this process was well known to the 171
makers of bronze ornaments in Europe, and it is a question if 321
these little bells found in the Aztec or Maya burials were made by the *cire perdue* process; was it a discovery by the American race independent of foreign knowledge?

This might suggest a greater antiquity for this art of casting than that in Europe and would show a considerable amount of experience in metallurgy for the aborigines, and it is surprising that more elaborate objects were not made by them. Judging from the character and variety of cast objects of bronze from South America, the ancient Peruvians were familiar with the *cire perdue* method. Did the Inca discover it? They were certainly the earliest users of the alloy bronze in America with the exception of the unknown builders of Tiahuanaco, among whose ruins have been found bronze tools. With regard to the knowledge the Aztecs 325
had of bronze, it is difficult to establish their claim until more analyses are made of specimens of undoubted Mexican origin, indicating an alloy with a composition of about 90% copper and 10% tin. The following analyses by P. Rivet, taken from his contribution in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* show to what extent tin was used by the Aztecs in their metal objects.

13: Phillips U -4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

●325

Objects from Mexico

Locality	*Object*	*Copper*	*Tin*
Valley of Mexico	Chisel	97.87%	2.13%
Atotonilco	Hatchet	98.05%	1.91%
Tlaxiaco	"	99.61%	0.17%
Tlacolula	"	Copper	No tin
Oaxaca	"	"	"
Mexican	Bell	"	"

Other metal objects of Mexican origin yielded thus:

Currency hatchets	25 samples	All copper	No tin
Knife hatchets	5 "	"	"
Flat hatchets	7 "	"	"
Chisels	8 "	"	"
[41] Hatchets	13 "	3 samples with no tin	
Lance points	7 "	1 " " " "	
Bells	26 "	Copper " "	

Some 28 objects, when analyzed, showed the presence of tin was intentional. Punches, lance points and needles were bronze, while money hatchets, and thin hatchet blades contained no tin. Of 108 samples of metals analyzed, only 38 contained tin. Lance points and chisel hatchets had from 2.13% to 3.4% tin. Two specimens of hatchets contained 9.3% of tin. But it is a question, were they of pre-Columbian origin or made *after* the arrival of the Spaniards?

From the analyses of the Mexican metal objects it is evident that tin was not generally employed for obtaining a hard alloy, which required about 10%. The small amount of tin usually found would rather indicate an accidental impurity in the copper than an intentional ingredient in the alloy.

That the ancient Mexicans or Aztec people were familiar with the metallurgy of gold, silver and copper, the process of hammering, fusing and casting, there is no doubt, and that they understood soldering and even the plating of gold and silver on copper is suggested by the specimens in the museum collections.

The Bronze Age as determined by analyses of the specimens described, is still a matter of doubt for the Aztec, and must

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7
MAYA NV4
Middle American Civilization NY1

A 325

remain an open question until it can be decided by finding more specimens of recognized bronze composition, and of undoubted Mexican manufacture of pre-Columbian date.

II

MA 325

The Maya were in the Stone Age in pre-Columbian times, although in the latter part of the Second Empire, they seem to have developed a knowledge of working the precious metals and copper; possibly this was due to the facility of obtaining copper and other metals from the neighboring provinces of Mexico with whom they traded. Copper objects said to be from Central America are not numerous in our museums, and although the old Spanish writers speak of "Bronze" it is doubtful if they knew the chemical composition of that metal and how it differed from Copper. Some metal specimens from Central America have been analysed. Small bells, needles and figurines from Chiriqui proved to be copper with no tin. Some bells contained 80% of Copper and 20% of gold. Of course none of these were Bronze. Some little bells from Bolivia and Argentina analysed Copper 99.35% and Tin 0.65%. The tin doubtless was an impurity in the Copper.

MA [439]
Mi 325 171

Another metal object said to be found in Central America is a T-shaped implement like those common in Mexico. A specimen said to be of Maya origin from the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, when analysed, proved to be simply *Copper*. A small copper bell from Yucatan upon analysis gave;

Mi MA 325 171

Copper	97.00%
Tin	.34%
Lead	1.00
Iron	.07%
	98.41%

A small bell from a cenote at Chichen Itza, Yucatan, yielded:[1]

Copper	98.44%
Iron	0.78%
Nickel	trace
	99.22%

[1] Analyses made at University of Pennsylvania by Dr. D. L. Wallace.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlati") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlati") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient [556] disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Durán* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Los chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("Conquista, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 430). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostrarles otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos María de Bustamante*, *Tinemiqui en los últimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes*," 1826. Parte tercera, (Cap. III, p. 210). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, [564] cap. V, p. 462). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49). "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlati" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 245). "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estas artes todos tuviérna principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, [585] p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 487). *Fetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes de los Mexicanos").

287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works—those made of feathers—is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 489, and, with slight variations, also by *Fetancurt*, Vol. I, p. 189.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See . . general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 187 and 188), also *Mendieta* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

326

326 SMITHS AND THEIR CRAFTS--nonindustrialized specialization in metallurgical crafts; types of specialists (e.g., blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, silversmiths, goldsmiths, gunsmiths); special skills and services of each; products not elsewhere described; organization (e.g., guilds); social status of smiths; etc. See also:

Tools, weapons, utensils, and appliances . . . 41
Jewelers 306
Industrial specialization in metallurgical processes 257, 269

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

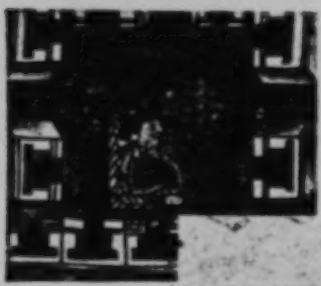

Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

Begger Man

[735]

Goldsmith

Thief

[326]

[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

[701
441
714]

[p. 112(B)]

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532

PLATE 46

AZTEC GOLDWORK

TOP ROW: Small gold ornaments from Oaxaca reveal exquisite workmanship. MIDDLE: A buckle representing the god Xipe has a strong sculptural quality. BOTTOM: *Left:* A gold worker from the Codex Florentino makes a mosaic ornament like that at right, in which turquoise mosaic enhances a gold reproduction of the shield and arrows, constituting the sign for war.

[p. 144 (B)]

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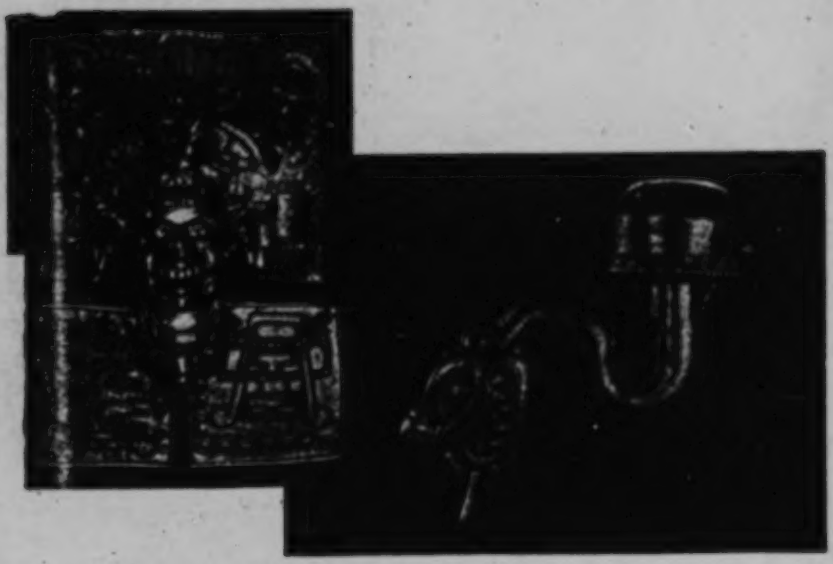

PLATE 47

AZTEC GOLDWORK

Almost all Aztec goldwork went into the Spanish melting pot. Most surviving examples come from Oaxaca, where the supply was doubled by Caso's discovery of Tomb 7 at Monte Albán, represented by upper left and bottom and opposite-page middle. The lip ornament (upper right) has a movable tongue that makes a very lively serpent indeed. These few examples give an idea of the range of form and skill of the Aztec goldsmith.

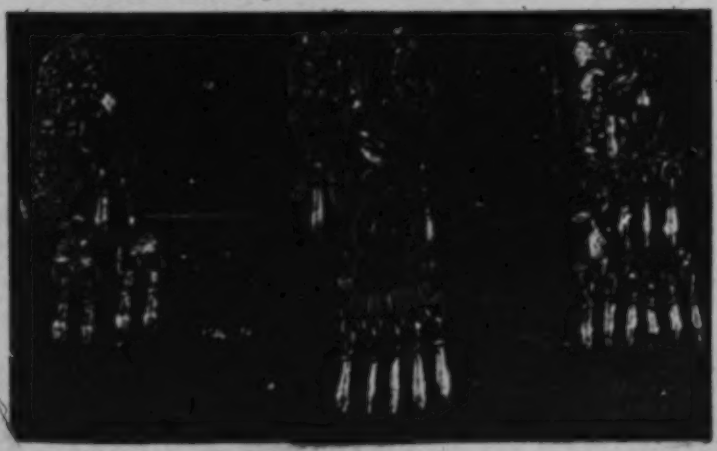

[p. 144(c)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing of the arm thereby giving the missile an increased propulsive force. Some of these *atl-atls* were most delicately carved and represent the best of Aztec design. (See Plate 54, bottom.)

Metallurgy was in its infancy. Copper was cold-hammered; the art of adding alloys to make bronze had not reached Mexico from the south, but the gilding of copper and mixing of gold and copper were adopted by Mexican goldsmiths. Copper was cast into bells and ornaments, and the process, used also for gold, was the cire-perdue, or lost-wax, method. The desired shape was modeled in clay, over which was dusted finely ground charcoal, followed by an even layer of wax. This coating was also dusted with charcoal and the whole enclosed in clay, which was perforated at the top and bottom. The molten metal was poured in at the upper hole after the wax was melted and the lower orifice plugged. When the metal cooled the cast was broken and the finished object removed.[21] (See Plates 46–47.)

Although most of the native goldwork found its way to the Spanish melting pot, a few lovely ornaments survived; in 1932 the quantity was more than doubled by Dr Alfonso Caso's discovery of the undisturbed tomb of a high Mixtec official. The design and shape of these necklaces, earplugs and rings, by their sheer intricacy and bulk, make one realize that the Spanish descriptions of Cortes' loot understated the rich ability of the Aztec goldsmiths.[22]

Metalworking, without much question, had its origin in Ecuador or Peru, and various techniques were transmitted up the Pacific coast to Panama and Costa Rica, where important goldworking industries were founded. Although the intervening area produced little metal, another center was

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called
651 "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.[48] However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*[49] gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, *circa* 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomitl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao
[262] of Xoconochco (2,400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.[50]

[326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."[51]

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se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

[48] *PNE*, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

[49] Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ...," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

[50] *PNE*, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del rreynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodon de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodon de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacao de a beinte e quatro myll cacaos carga, de zoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

[51] RHE, 1: 152.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[a] *PNE*, 3: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (3: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

"I know well enough that as soon as you came here you opened the chamber and beheld it all, and that you sealed it up again as it was before. When you send it to him, tell him in your papers and letters, 'This is sent to you by your true vassal Montezuma.' I will also give you some very valuable stones which you will send to him in my name; they are Chalchihuites, and are not to be given to any one else but only to him, your Great Prince. Each stone is worth two loads of gold. I also wish to send him three blow guns with their bags and pellet moulds for they have such good jewelwork on them that he will be pleased to see them, and I also wish to give him of what I possess although it is but little, for all the rest of the gold and jewels that I possessed I have given you from time to time." [411]

When Cortés and all of us heard this we stood amazed at the great goodness and liberality of the Great Montezuma, and with much reverence we all doffed our helmets, and returned him our thanks, and with words of the greatest affection Cortés promised him that he would write to His Majesty of the magnificence and liberality of this gift of gold which he gave us in his own royal name. After some more polite conversation Montezuma at once sent his Mayordomos to hand over all the treasure and gold and wealth that was in that plastered chamber, and in looking it over and taking off all the embroidery with which it was set, we were occupied for three days, and to assist us in undoing it and taking it to pieces, there came Montezuma's goldsmiths from the town named Azcapotzalco,[1] and I say that there was so much, that after it was taken to pieces there were three heaps of gold, and they weighed more than six hundred thousand pesos, as I shall tell further on, without the silver and many other rich [326]

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

000 things, and not counting in this the ingots and slabs of
[326] gold, and the gold in grains from the mines. We began to melt it down with the help of the Indian goldsmiths, who were, as I have said, natives of Azcapotzalco and they made broad bars of it, each bar measuring three fingers of the hand across. When it was already melted and made into bars, they brought another present separately which the Grand Montezuma had said that he would give, and it was a wonderful thing to behold the wealth of gold and the richness of the other jewels that were brought, for some of the Chalchihuites were so fine that among these Caciques they were worth a vast quantity of gold. The
[532] three blow guns with their pellet moulds, and their coverings of jewels and pearls, and pictures in feathers of little birds covered with pearlshell and other birds, all were of great value. I will not speak of the plumes and feathers and other rich things for I shall never finish calling them to mind.

Let me say that all the gold I have spoken about was marked with an iron stamp, which had been made by order of Cortés and the King's Officers, who had been appointed by Cortés with the consent of all of us and in the name of His Majesty until he should give other instructions. At that time these were Gonzalo Mejía, who was treasurer, and Alonzo Dávila who was accountant, and the stamp was the royal arms like those on a real[1] and the size of a testoon.[2] The mark was not put on the rich jewels which it did not seem to us should be taken to pieces.

For weighing all these bars of gold and silver, and the jewels which were not taken to pieces, we had neither marked weights nor scales, and it seemed to Cortés and to

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[1] Real, a small silver coin.

[2] "Toston de a quatro," a half peso = four reals.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 sometimes ornamented with carving or relief. The roof,
532 which was thatched in poor or primitive temples, in important shrines was made of beams laid like a corncrib, growing smaller toward the top. Plaster laid on twigs or poles sealed the roof against the rain and was carved with designs symbolic of the god inside. The interiors were noisome places, coated with blood and smoke, for incense was burned in profusion, as were the hearts of sacrificed victims. The proportions of terrace to terrace, temple to platform, stair to façade, were maintained irrespective of size, producing an effect of height and mass which yet in no way detracted from either the platform or the temple. This sense of proportion extends into every aspect of Aztec art and craftsmanship.

327 Some temples were cylindrical and rested on square or
346 circular platforms.[1] These were dedicated to Quetzalcoatl,
532 often represented as Ehecatl,* God of the Wind, to whose passage a rounded surface offered no obstacle. Sometimes the door of such a temple was fashioned in the form of a serpent head, while the circular building suggested its body. A superb temple of this type is part of the Malinalco group mentioned above, which is hollowed out of the living rock. The door is carved at either side in low relief to suggest a serpent head in profile, while the whole also can be visualized as a snakehead in full face, of which the open mouth constitutes the door. A bench circles around the walls within, and the *skins* of eagles and ocelot, emblematic of the rising and setting sun, are carved in relief as if they hung from the wall to drape over the bench. An altar in the center of the room represents another eagle. This elaborate concept is

*Ay'-hay-catl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Pottery was not confined to household chattels; great roof 323
ornaments of baked clay were made to adorn the temples. 333
Sun-dried adobes were commonly used for general house construction. However, they were sometimes fired into bricks which formed the back walls of fireplaces or were substituted for dressed stone in the corners of buildings. A temple at Tizatlan carries brick construction in the pillars before the altar, but rubble faced with cut stone was preferred as a general building material for temples. Before the great temples, braziers the height of a man, combined ritualistic usefulness with architectural ornament. Cones of baked clay were used as studding to keep the plaster from slipping off the temple walls and to serve as a decorative element as well.[n]

The Mexican craftsman had at hand an abundance of 174
good pottery clay, which from the earliest times provided a medium for plastic experiment and experience. Work in clay created the background for that sureness and security in creation that stands out in the later Mexican sculpture in stone and wood. According to our Western standards, clay is a substance inferior to wood or stone for plastic expression. However, the ancient Mexicans, like the old Chinese, considered it fit for the finest examples of their arts and crafts.

Mexican craftsmanship, whatever the tribe and whatever 182
the era, was superb in that it answered the necessities and ideals of both the time and the people. There is little evidence of a wide gap between superior and inferior workmanship, as in our Western civilization, where there is less need or opportunity for high-grade handwork. In unindividualized societies the general skills of the tribesmen, so far as can be judged by their work, follow a more even course than in

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

321 Mosaic workers utilized stones of different colors and
324 shells of various kinds. Pure designs were common, but ele-
531 ments representing the costume or the body paint were
341 shown when the mosaic covered a figure in wood or stone. An application of mosaic on a larger scale was frequent in architecture, a veneer of cut stone being applied to the rubble of a platform or building. The temples of Mitla, Oaxaca, influenced by the same Mixteca-Puebla culture to which Aztec civilization owed its origin, are masterpieces of this technique, for individual blocks have their surfaces carved to fit together in an intricate geometric design.[9] (See Plate 11, bottom.)

322 The woodworkers, owing to the impermanence of their medium, have left little to exhibit their prowess, but the few surviving masks, idols, drums and *atl-atls*, or throwing boards, bear ample witness to their superb craftsmanship. The very fact that they had to work wood with stone tools makes their achievement noteworthy. Their copper tools were dull and unserviceable in cutting even the softer woods, and these implements came into use relatively late in Aztec times.[10] (See Plate 54, bottom.)

335 Wood was used extensively in buildings for roof beams and doorjambs. A beam in the palace at Texcoco was ninety feet long and five feet thick, so that its preparation and transport must have been an arduous task. There was probably little use of planks in Aztec building, since it would be difficult to prepare them with the rudimentary equipment at Aztec disposal, and adobes and plaster were easier to make and just
396 as serviceable. Wooden canoes, however, were essential for life in the lakes. Some were dugouts hollowed out by fire, but others, to judge from the type used by the Xochimilcan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

396 Indians today, were flat-bottomed punts, constructed of planks which were probably tied together in Aztec times rather than pegged, as they are today. The portable bridges 335 used to cross the canals were also simple combinations of planks, or planks resting on beams. (See Plate 35, bottom left.)

352 Furniture, which in European culture has done much honor to the woodworker, was little used in Mexico. Mats sufficed for beds and seats. High dignitaries sat on a sort of wooden throne which had legs and often a back and was called *icpalli*, from which the Mexican word *equipale* for a modern wickerwork and leather chair is derived. Mention [353] is made of screens and chests and ornamental sheathing for room interiors, but no examples are left for us to judge their craftsmanship. (See Plate 37, top.)

534 The wooden drums, on which musicians beat out ceremonial rhythms, were handsomely carved, as befitted their religious use. There were two types, a vertically cylindrical drum (*huehuetl**), which had a skin head, and a horizontally cylindrical drum (*teponaztli*†), the top of which was slotted to form two tongues. While the notes differed, there was usually the same interval between the resonant sounds emitted when the tongues were struck. The task of reaching the pitch must have been excessively difficult, for the wood had to be hollowed by fire and then chiseled to a nicety. At times the artist fashioned these drums to represent a crouching 320 man or animal. Masks were often used in temple ceremonies when a god was impersonated, and ceremonial staffs were part of their equipment. So, also, were the throwing boards, or *atl-atls*, with which a warrior flung a javelin, the lengthen-

*wey-wa'yti. †te-po-na'z-tli.

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

Injc vntetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monomavi in tlatlac, cuetlan, niac ma qujtecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: injtoais, itzioc itocaiocan Tlacateccan: in nex ic tlada in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalquiça in tlemjiaoatl, in tlencnepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca ompalo in itzquich calquavitl: njman ic ic tlacaosca, quitoa. Mexicac ma vallatotoca, tla cevilos, amaapilol: auh in jquac castequjaia, in quicevizneçuja, çan ic illujcc mopitza, aocmo vel cenh, vel tlatlac.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

Injc etetl tetzavitl: vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin tenealli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzõmulco: itcupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachqujavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caqujxtic in tlatlatzinjlizitli.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.

Injc naubtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietcietia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa; auh vmpa itztia in jquiçaianpa, iuhquj in tlesuchtli pipixauhtiuh, vecu mocujdapiltitiuh, vecu acitiuh in jcujtlapil: auh in oitoc cẽca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oiovalli ẽnoman.

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[9] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl quijpoçonalti, iuhqujn momomoloca, iuhqujn xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetz: auh in calli tzixintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixiõn in calli: ithoatl in vei atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa cioatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi: quijtotinemj. Nonopilhoantzitzin, ic ic çan ic tonvi: in

4. Probably Itepeyoc is meant for Iztac. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also *Memorial en 3 columnas*, in Paredes del Plan y Tuxmann: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún — Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Manuel y Mesa, 1946), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 141.

5. Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* has this in a similar passage. In the *Real Palacio* MS it reads: *yuh ỹ calqujaia.*

6. *Ca* *pan* appears in *loc. cit.*

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 18, n. 3.

8. In the *Real Palacio* MS, this passage reads: *"auh ỹ calli xiuhtlada ompa: dzab ayf papaxtlizab ompal ajxitzin."*

9. In *loc. cit.*, manj is followed by *"dzab yuic xiuhmoyo yuic xoxouab yl no ompa yn ỹ ompa xoxouia ỹ ayy ayxitzin."*

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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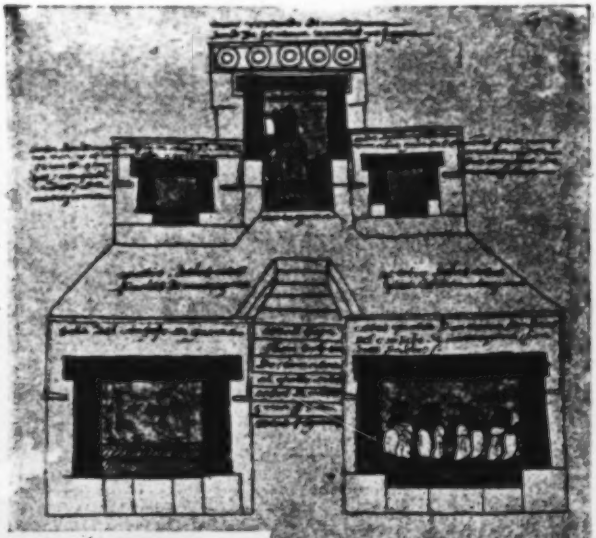

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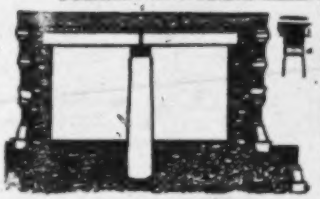

PLATE 41

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

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TOP: Montezuma's palace, from the Codex Mendoza. His apartments are on a platform reached by a stair. At right and left are rooms for allied chiefs, such as the rulers of Texcoco, Culhuacan, Chiconauhtla, Tlacopan and Tenayuca. The left-hand room on the first floor is reserved for the war council and the quarters at the right are for the judges, who may be seen settling a case between several litigants. MIDDLE: *Left:* Section through a temple at Mitla showing details of Aztec construction. BOTTOM: A two-story house of probable post-Conquest date. The palace above with ascending platforms shows the customary Aztec method of elevating rooms.

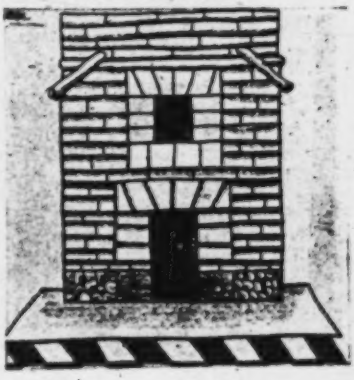

[p. 128(C)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 43

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

Palace at Chiconauhtla. Note how closely the plan resembles that of the Texcocan palace on Plate 42.

[p. 128(E)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

321 Mosaic workers utilized stones of different colors and
324 shells of various kinds. Pure designs were common, but ele-
531 ments representing the costume or the body paint were
341 shown when the mosaic covered a figure in wood or stone. An application of mosaic on a larger scale was frequent in architecture, a veneer of cut stone being applied to the rubble of a platform or building. The temples of Mitla, Oaxaca, influenced by the same Mixteca-Puebla culture to which Aztec civilization owed its origin, are masterpieces of this technique, for individual blocks have their surfaces carved to fit together in an intricate geometric design.[9] (See Plate 11, bottom.)

322 The woodworkers, owing to the impermanence of their medium, have left little to exhibit their prowess, but the few surviving masks, idols, drums and *atl-atls*, or throwing boards, bear ample witness to their superb craftsmanship. The very fact that they had to work wood with stone tools makes their achievement noteworthy. Their copper tools were dull and unserviceable in cutting even the softer woods, and these implements came into use relatively late in Aztec times.[10] (See Plate 54, bottom.)

335 Wood was used extensively in buildings for roof beams and doorjambs. A beam in the palace at Texcoco was ninety feet long and five feet thick, so that its preparation and transport must have been an arduous task. There was probably little use of planks in Aztec building, since it would be difficult to prepare them with the rudimentary equipment at Aztec disposal, and adobes and plaster were easier to make and just
396 as serviceable. Wooden canoes, however, were essential for life in the lakes. Some were dugouts hollowed out by fire, but others, to judge from the type used by the Xochimilcan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

341 The most impressive expression of architecture was in religious building. Houses might have a fortuitous beauty of proportion, but the main consideration was adequate shelter. Public buildings of a secular character, like the clan house or the chief's quarters, were large-scale projections of the domestic architecture. The addition of many apartments for attendants and concubines, a swimming pool and a menagerie, such as composed the palace of Montezuma, did not alter structurally or in basic plan the scheme of rectangular rooms set about a patio.

The temple architecture, on the other hand, achieved real majesty. The great gods lived in the sky, so that their shrines and images were very naturally elevated above the level of worldly affairs. The climate contributed indirectly to the conversion of religious requirement into an impressive art form. It was not necessary to house the congregation or protect it from the weather. The altar or shrine alone needed to be elevated, and the worshipers stood in the plaza below. Thus the temple capped the substructure and was the culmination of a harmonious series of ascending planes, calculated to increase the illusion of height by emphasizing the effects of mechanical perspective.[2]

Such aesthetic canons were probably not laid down as laws but were reached after centuries of experimentation had produced a standard procedure. The earliest temple found in the Valley was Cuicuilco, of Upper Middle Culture date, where the altar was exposed upon a massive oval mound.[3] There is no trace of temple walls, and the use of fire precluded a canopy. However, at Teotihuacan, in the classical Toltec period, the temple had replaced the open altar, and in all probability it housed a representation of a god in wood

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

or stone. In the whole of Mexico there is no more harmoni- 341
ous treatment of gigantic mass and planes than the substructure of the Temple of the Sun.[4] (See Plates 18, bottom; 22, bottom.)

The floors of the temple survive, though the roof and walls were destroyed long ago, but the illusion of infinite height and space still remains. The planes between its terraces are so cunningly calculated that the observer standing at the foot of the great staircase cannot see people at the top. He is conscious only of the massive ascent disappearing into space. When the stair was used by a religious procession, in all its pomp and color, the effect must have been stupendous. The elaborate hierarchy of a great civilization moved upward to meet, at a point unseen by the beholders, the infinity of the heavens, concentrated aloft in the god's image.

The plan of the sacred city of Teotihuacan was calculated 361
to maintain the illusion of mass and height. The buildings were laid out in groups along a north-south axis, broken laterally by several precincts oriented to the east and west. From whatever angle one approached Teotihuacan the eye was led toward a point of interest, guided by the arrangement of the planes and masses. Thus the diminishing effect of distance was avoided. Within each precinct the surrounding walls insulated the observer from the rest of the city and emphasized the mass and height of the principal precinct temple. Not even the Pyramids of Egypt present so carefully calculated a plan to dominate the individual with the sheer weight of supernatural power. The modern visitor to Teotihuacan, now in ruins, cannot escape the ancient association of ideas that the greater his temple, the more powerful a god must be. (See Plate 22, top.)

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[778]

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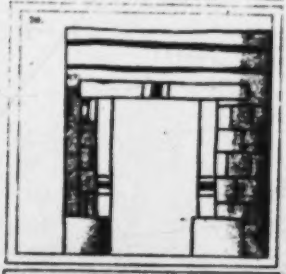

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

65. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p.44(K)]

726 And, when this had come to pass, the great chieftains in vain took refuge behind the stone columns; and
[534] the stone columns [were] in two rows, altogether eight [of them]. And also the chieftains crowded on the roof terrace of the Coacalli.[1] They filled the roof terrace. None of the chieftains [could] go beyond.

And the Spaniards at first remained quiet. And when they fired the gun, it became very dark; smoke spread out. And those who were hiding behind the stone columns all fled; and all those who were on the roof terrace hurled themselves down, and all ran far away. Then [the Spaniards] took up the gun and went to place it upon the large, round stone.
[534] And on top of the [pyramid Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, holding vigil to no purpose, [priests] struck two-toned drums; as if with all force they struck the two-toned drums. And then two Spaniards climbed up, going to club them there. And when they had gone there to strike them, they cast them down; they threw them down from there.

And the shorn ones, all the chieftains, who had been fighting in boats, all came forth and issued on to the dry land. And those who plied the boating poles for them [were] the young boys; only these guided the boats. And upon this the chieftains then took note of the spaces among the houses. They ran fast; all in truth shouted and said: "O chieftains, make haste!"

And when it came to pass that the Spaniards saw that they were about to come to grips with and pursue them,[2] then they cowered and sped away; they turned tail; they indeed fled and ran. From both sides they were shot at with darts and barbed arrows; and from both sides they were pelted with stones. Shortly, then, they went to find respite at Xolloco, to catch their breath. There [the battle] quieted, and thereupon [the Mexicans] all turned back. And the Spaniards then also returned and went to establish themselves at Acachinanco. But the gun, in their haste, they abandoned there on the large, round stone. Then the chieftains seized it, ran it forward, and went to toss it into the water. They pulled it to Tetamaçolco.[3]

qujmototoctiticaca in tetlaquetzalli: auh in tetlaquetzalli ompantli, nepan chicuej. Auh in coacalli itlapiioc, no tetentoque in tiacavan, motlatlapantenque aocac ixtlapal iauh in tiiacavan.

Auh in Españoles çã njman amo mamana: auh in oquitlazque tlequjqujztli cenca tlaiovac, poctli motecac. Auh in qujmotoctitimanca in tetlaquetzalli, netlaloloc yoan in jxqujchtin tlapanco onoca valmotepeuhque veca netlaloloc, nec qujvallecavia in tlequjqujztli contecaco temalacatitlan: auh in jcpac vitzilobuchtli, oc nẽ tlapiaia, qujvitequja in teponaztli, iuhqujn ontetemj qujvitequj teponaztli: auh njmã ic ontlecoque vmentin Españoles, vmpa qujmonvivitegujto: auh in oqujmonvivitequjto in ca valmaiauhque, qujnvalchicanauhque:

auh in quaquachictin in jxqujchtin in tiacavan in acaltica tlaiecoaia, muchintin valqujzque, vallalvacaqujzque: auh in tetlanelhuja in telpopotzitzinti, çan iehoãtin in qujvalhujvicaque in acalli. Auh in ie iuhquj in tiaiacavan, nec qujmottilia in caltzalantli vellatotoca, vel netzatzililo: qujtoa. Tiacavane, ma vallatotoca:

auh in ie iuhquj, in oqujtaque in Españoles in ie impan monamjquj in ie qujntotona, njmã ic mocototztlalique, moteputztique, vel totoca, motlaloa necoccampa in valmjnaloia in tlatzontectica, yoan necoccampa in valtepacholo, qujn vmpan xolloco patito, imjhio qujcujto, vmpa valmomanato: njman ie ic valnecuepalo. Auh in iehoantin Españoles, njman ic no mocuepa motlalito in acachinanco: auh in tlequjqujztli vncan qujcaubtiqujzque in temalacatitlan: njman conanque in tiacavan, qujtototza qujmaiavito atlan, tetamaçolco qujztiltitiaque.

1. Spanish text: "muchos otros grandes estaban encima de la casa que estaba armada sobre los cuellaos." The Coacalli is described in Book VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 44.

2. Quizá: probably quizá: is meant.

3. Spanish text: "en una agua profunda que llamaba Tetamaçolco, que está cabo el mesón que se llama Tepetenchan, donde estaba las bombas."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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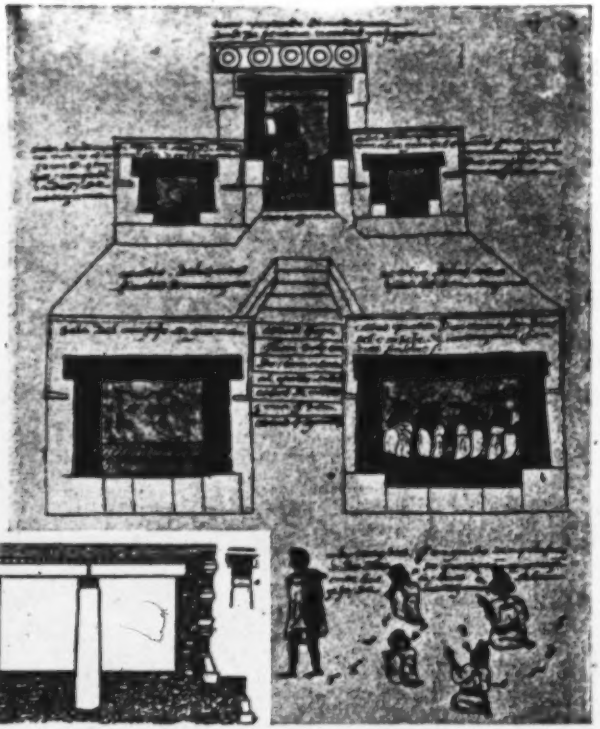

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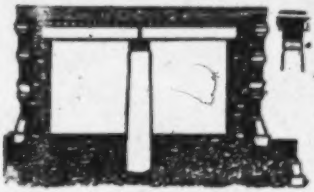

PLATE 41

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

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TOP: Montezuma's palace, from the Codex Mendoza. His apartments are on a platform reached by a stair. At right and left are rooms for allied chiefs, such as the rulers of Texcoco, Culhuacan, Chiconauhtla, Tlacopan and Tenayuca. The left-hand room on the first floor is reserved for the war council and the quarters at the right are for the judges, who may be seen settling a case between several litigants. MIDDLE: *Left:* Section through a temple at Mitla showing details of Aztec construction. BOTTOM: A two-story house of probable post-Conquest date. The palace above with ascending platforms shows the customary Aztec method of elevating rooms.

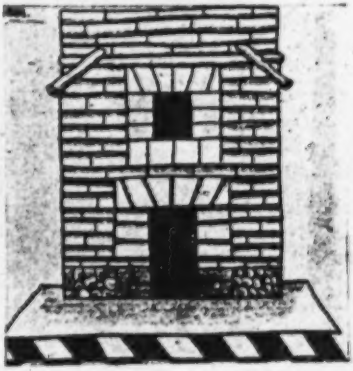

[p. 128(C)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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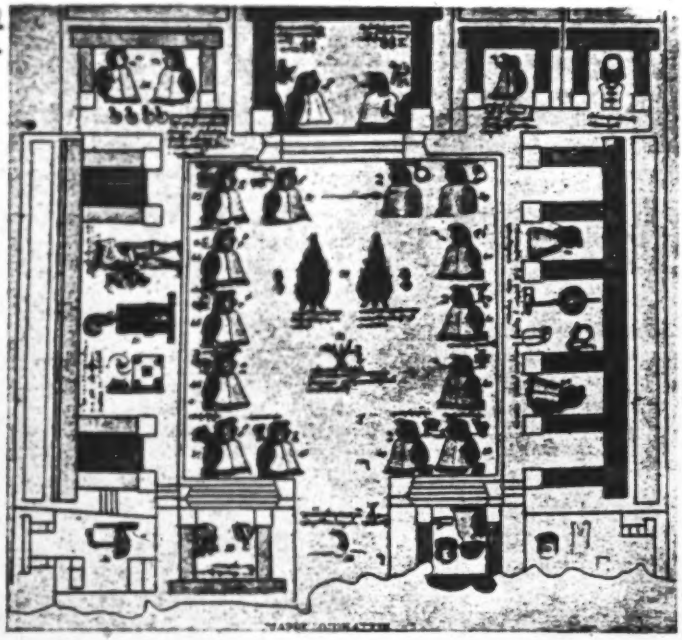

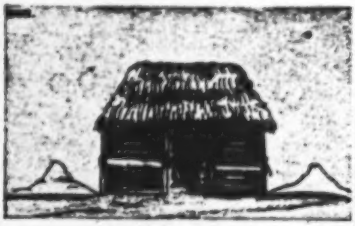

PLATE 42

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

TOP: An Aztec palace at Texcoco from the Mapa Quinatzin, drawn in elevation without perspective. Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, father and son, face each other in the throne room. In the courtyard six vassal chieftains, including the chief of Chiconauhtla (No. 46). The right side of the court is walled by storehouses for tribute: at the left is a temple, designated by the scribe as a hall of science and music. The top rooms are for the judges (*left*) and the arsenal (*right*). The bottom rooms house the war council and visiting ambassadors. BOTTOM: *Left:* House of wattle and daub, still used in Mexico. *Right:* A chief's house with adobe walls on stone foundations, wooden pillars for the anteroom and fresco painting on the façade.

[p. 128(D)]

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PLATE 43

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

Palace at Chiconauhtla. Note how closely the plan resembles that of the Texcocan palace on Plate 42.

[p. 128(E)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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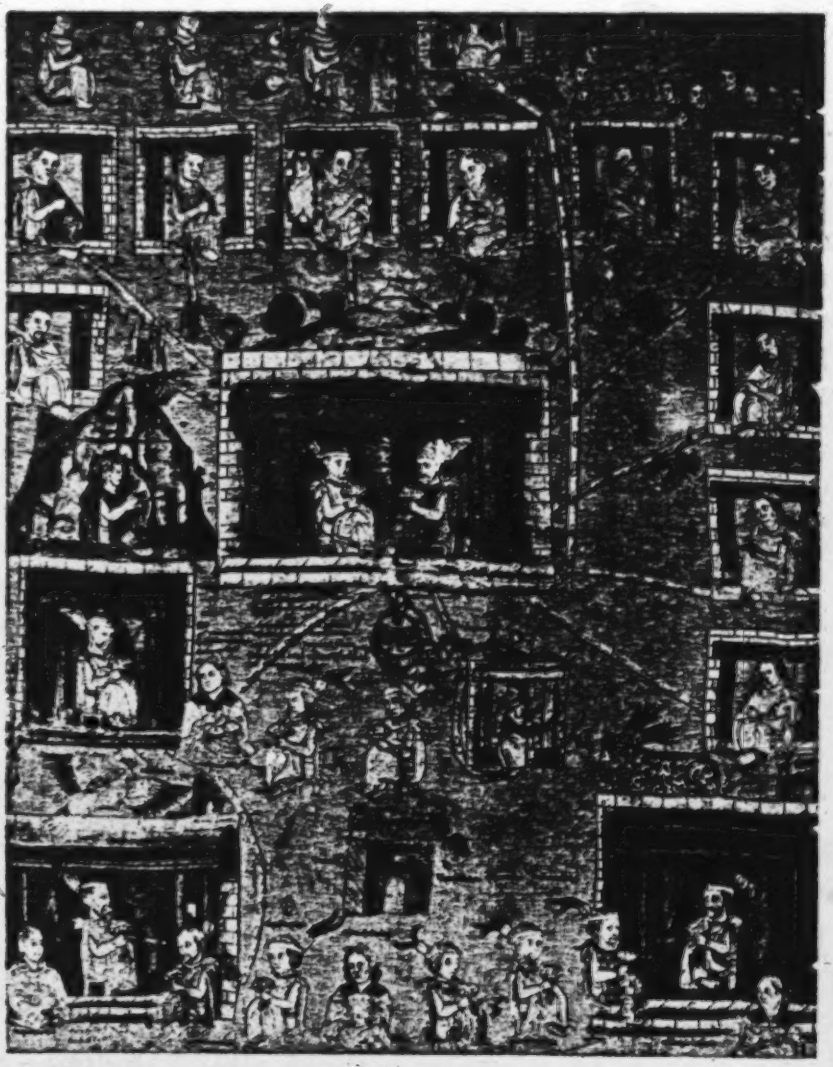

PLATE 44
AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The Lienzo Chalchihuitzin Vasquez shows the chief and the founder of his line in the central house. The topmost row of figures discloses his descent, and the smaller houses joined to his palace by roads are those of his subjects. The people in the two large houses at lower right and left are allies. Post-Conquest painting on cloth.

[p. 128 (F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and ornaments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were
[286 323] sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the 342
wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[24] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chico- 342
nauhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the 177
growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spa- [362]
cious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[25] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular 361
form, since the division of the land among the clans usually [471]
followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

411 796X [805 776]

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

Quando hazian las saetas por espacio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas sienes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias para yr a caçar venados: los que no se sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en pena: njngun hombre se echaua con su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian penjtencia.

796X [785]

Acabados los quatro dias en que hazian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas saetas chiqujtas y atauanlas de quatro en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas sobre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon- jan tambien juntamente con las saetas y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

765 796X

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796X [778 342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde ceïcauan muchos anjmales, cieruos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796X 224

1. Marginal notation: *November he dies.*

X 796 And when they had burned, they there buried their
[765] charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton
[237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places
[793] the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast
[176] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec,
● [342 513] nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

X 796 Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed
224 in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan inexo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaomjxque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmantli, ooquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonqui ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaztatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: moteneoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc moteneoa, çacapan qujxoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: ichoatl in ococaçatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, ce petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ic ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjtotia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in peoaia. Auh in ic tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ic iuhquj, njman iecviloa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in inteouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn moteneoaz.

Auh in onxxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujxqujch haxxioa nexaxacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ic ic tlatlaqualo hathoa: njmã ic ic nechichioalo, nehaapanalo:

mec viloa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniacaloa in jxqujchtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjqui.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoialo,

3. "Ir sobre o la grama" (*xaxapan quinauya*), according to Garibay (*loc. cit.*).

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuàcacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlaçoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempiloł eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcah tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli inamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [524] 535 [291] [301] [342] [313]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, aço tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla aço atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, aço qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlamelaoaiaf*, *diamanal*: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. *Achcauhcalli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *amoçe tlahuiaualiztli*—or adultery.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

342 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, like-
643 wise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go
[373] out. It was watched all night and made to burn with pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at
644 the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli,
722 the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Coscalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in
[373] order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj ceioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iician tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coscali, in jntenetlaliuian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texãcali in jnneçenqujxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlãtlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh catca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapieloia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioal tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapieloia.

643 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the
542 ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelqujxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujttaia, qujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoatiaia, injc ollamaloz, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaqujltiaia tlatoanj: qujnnaoatiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujzque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maieoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlaaujlilo, tlaxalujlo, tlachpano:

643 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game
525 —the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcozcatl, teucujtlacozcatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjzque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxqujch itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, ieeceiaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj qujquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque qujtema in ixqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujnmaca in jxqujch oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

13. *Tlalxilacalpan:* see Arturo Monzón: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlaxilacalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 369, "*los pueblos quedaron subdivididos en menor calpulli ó barrios, cuanto las parcialidades eran, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlaxilacalli.*"

14. *Tlaqotl:* the corresponding Spanish text refers to dress, in which case the Aztec should read *tlacotl*.

Tenth Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came — when already they had come and were making their way forward — first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoac,[1] on land of the people of Tlaxcalla, there dwelt their [subject] Otomí. And the Otomí met them in battle: with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.[2]

And when [the region of] Tecoac had perished, those of Tlaxcalla — when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told — could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time — in but the flutter of an eyelid —

Injc matlactli Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles çan jvian, oallalhoaccaqujzque, oallotlatocatiaque yoã in quenjn Motecuçoma qujcauh in vei tecpan, vmpa ia in jpilchan.

Niman qujoallalcavi in jvevechan in vei tecpan, vncan oallamattia, vncan oallama, qujoalma, qujoaltocac in jpilchan in ichoatl Motecuçoma.

Auh in iequene vitze, in ie vitze, in ie ovalmolinjque: ce tlacatl, cempoaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl, no achto canaco; in jquac qujttato tlalli, in altepetl, no oalnaoatlatotia, q'noaloquechilitia, qujnoalotlaxilitia, qujnoallaixtlatitia, qujnoaliacan, qujnoaliacantia.

Auh in oacico Tecoac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan onoque imotonoan. Auh in otomj iautica qujnnamjcque, chimaltica qujnnamjcque: auh in otomj in Tecoaca vel qujmjxtlatique, vel ixpoliuhque, qujnxixilque, texixilioac, qujntlequjqujzvique, qujntepuzmjvique, qujntlavitolhujque, amo çan quexqujchtin, vel ixachintin, in jxpoliuhque.

Auh in ontlalpoliuh tecoac, in tlaxcalteca in oconcacque in ocõmatque, in onjlhujloto, cenca mauhçaçonecque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in mavizztli, mavizcujque:

njmã mocentlalique mononotzque, motecuiononotzque, motlatocanonotzque, qujnoottitique in tlatolli:

qujtoque. Quen toiezque, cujx tiqujnnamjqujzque: ca vei oqujchtli vei tiacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oqujttac, atle ipan oconjttac, çan ixquich cavitontli in çan ixpeiocti in oconpopolo maceoalli. Auh in xxcan ma çan itlan toncalaqujcã, ma çan tictoc-

1. Tecoac: today Molino, in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilar, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porrúa e Hijos, Sucs., 1954), pp. 33ssq. References to important contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilar, Díaz, Cervantes, Cortés, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points often not in the *Florentine Codex* and other Aztec sources.

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648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma.
● 342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. [50 There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were 503] able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

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into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

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600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplateo, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding ourts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:— 363 "The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the [501] principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

● 342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

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a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza." 342

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says :—

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Montezuma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1] [644 565]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses 600

[1] Cortés' second letter.

[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour.

[3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.

[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

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793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could
not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood.
Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from
346 where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and
places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the
marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that
great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and
occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge
of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was
another much larger pond or tank of very clear water
dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tez-
catepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were
other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where
many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were
sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which
were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and
women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that
they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

618 NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

618 The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled,
174 were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes
361 and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe"
342 and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[14] [32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

642 [33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

642 [34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51-65). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242), "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The soil built over by each "calpulli" probably remained for 174
some time the only *solid* expanse held by the Mexicans. Gradually, 241
however, the necessity was felt for an increase of this soil. Remaining unmolested "in the midst of canes and reeds," their numbers had augmented, and for residence as well as for food, a greater area was needed. Fishing and hunting no longer satisfied a people whose original propensities were horticultural; they aspired to cultivate the soil as they had once been accustomed to, and after the manner of the kindred tribes surrounding them. For this purpose they began throwing up *little artificial garden-beds*, "chinampas,"[36] on which they planted Indian corn and perhaps some other vegetables. Such plots are still found, as "floating gardens," in the vicinity of the present city of Mexico, and they are described, as follows, by a traveller of this century:

"They are artificial gardens, about fifty or sixty yards long, and 241
not more than four or five wide. They are separated by ditches of three or four yards, and are made by taking the soil from the

Méjico," p. 443. Vedia, I). "Many married people ("muchos casados") live in one house, either on account of the brothers and relations being together, as they do not divide their grounds ("heredades"), or on account of the limited space of the pueblos; although the pueblos are large, and even the houses." Peter Martyr of Angleria ("De Novo Orbe," translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, London, 1612. Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228), says: "But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the lake through the floode, or washing flote of the Ryvers fallying into it. Vpon those greate foundations, they builde the reste of the house, with Bricke dryed, or burned in the sunne, intermingled with Beames of Tymber, and the common houses have but one floore or planchin." We are forcibly reminded here of the houses of Itza on Lake Peten, which were found in 1695. "Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XII. p. 404." "It was all filled with houses, some with stone walls more than one rod high, and higher up of wood, and the roofs of straw, and some only of wood and straw. There lived in them all the Inhabitants of the Island brutally together, one relationship occupying a single house." See also the highly valuable Introduction to the second Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar ("Mexico in 1554") by my excellent friend Sr. Icazbalceta (pp. 73 and 74). [342] [171]

[36] "Chinampa," derives from "Chinamitl." "Seta o cerca de caña," (enclosure of canes or reeds). Molina "Vocabulario", Parte II, p. 21). This mode of enclosing the ground was very common in the valley. A cluster of settlements between Churubusco and the Eastern lagoon has even obtained from it the name of "Chinampanecas (frequently mentioned in Tezozomoc and Durán.) The word "Chinamitl" has been adopted by the Quiché of Guatemala, changed into "Chinamit," and used to designate a *kinship*. (See "Popol-Vuh., pp. 301, 304, 308, where "Chinamit" is translated as family.) Even in those remote regions where the territories of Yucatan and Guatemala join, or rather merge into each other, around Lake Peten, where the Nahuatl language is hardly known, we find in the 17th and 18th century, a tribe of "Chinamitas," who are said to have inhabited an area surrounded by Mexican agaves ("Magueyes") as a defensive hedge. ("Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XI, pp. 400-403.) It shows that the original signification of the word, at least, was connected with the notion of a family-lot.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 334 and 335). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Muteczuma." Bernal-Diez del Castillo (Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 343 and 343. "Adonde él moraba y residia á la continua, llaman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . .— . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 302. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenia muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaiáca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 76, etc.).

Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemada, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of Mexico were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kinship of the chief lived*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 237), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 100), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tilancalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap. LXI, p. 100). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimeca, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hechuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-four years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?

302 tance upon their heads; it was dyed with indigo,[3] so
386 that their hair shone. The teeth were stained with cochineal; the hands and neck were painted with designs—the necks were covered [with painting]. The stomach and breasts were [also] painted with designs.

515 They bathed in the sweat house and with [soap
562 and] water. They were held in esteem. They were modest, good, and of noble [mien]. Thus did they
[343] speak—attentively, and respectfully of others; they were diligent and considerate.

1/v [i.e. the Aztec women -- Analyst]

Motema, mahaltia, momamauixmati: pinacoanj, qualli maujztic, injc tlatoa: temauhcaittanj, teimacaçinj, hiçiuhcaioque, moiolitlacoanj.

3. *Xiuhquilitl*: Urbina (op. cit., p. 566) mentions two kinds: *xiuhquilitl pinolxoc*, *Indigofera suffr.* Linn., and *xiuhquilitl patlaxoc*, *Calliandra grandiflora* Kunth—both producing a blue dye.

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of the sweat house.

Although the sweat house were very hot, where all bathed, if one known as a twin went there, then he would dispel the steam and destroy [the heat], however hot the sweat house were — even if he went to stand only at the doorway; even more so if he were to bathe among [the others]. But thus could he remedy it; it was said that four times he himself cast potsherds on the ground and sprinkled them with water. It was thought that thus he would not dispel the heat. It would be even hotter.

And when two were born who were called twins, it was said that wherever something was dyed, when [someone] dyed rabbit fur, they might not enter there. If they were to enter there, it was said, they would cast a spell over it; they would blow the colors off. It would come out badly — it would become multicolored, especially [if the dye were] chili red. But thus was it remedied: [the dyer] made him taste the dye water. It was said that in this way the rabbit fur would not be damaged.

Likewise, neither might those known as twins enter where tamales were cooking; because, it was said, if they came in there, they would also bewitch the tamales and the cooking pot. They would not cook, though [left there] all day. The tamales would each one cook only on one side. And in order to remedy it, so that it would not thus happen, when perhaps they went to enter, they placed the cooking pot on the fire. And if by chance the tamales were placed in the pot in [their] presence, they made them lay one [of them] in place. It was said that thus the tamales would not be harmed.

Injc cempoalli on castolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in temazcalli. 343 515 845

In temazcalli, in vncan netemalo: intlanel cenca totonquj, intla vmpa iaz, in moteneoa cocoa: njmã quipouhtitlaça, quipoloa injc cenca totonquj ocatca in temazcalli: intlanel çan qujiaoac onmoquetzatiuh: oc cenca intla tehoan motemaz. Auh injc patiz quijl nappa in vel inoma contlaçaz, in conatequjz tapalcatl: quijl ic amo quipoloz, injc totonquj: çan oc cenca totonquj iez.

Ioan in vmẽtin tlacati, in mjtoa cocoa, quijlmach in canjn tlapalo, in qujpa tochomjtl: amo vel vmpa calaquj: yntla vmpa calaqujz, quijlmach qujxoxa, qujpitza in tlapalli: amo qualli in qujça, çan mocujcujcujloa: oc cenca yehoatl in chichiltic. Auh injc pati, achi contlapaloltia in tlapalatl: quijl ic amo ytlacaviz in tochomjtl. 845 386

No yoan in ichoantin in mjtoa cocoa, in cahjn mopacaci tamalli: amono vel vmpa calaquj: ichica quijlmach intla vmpa calaqujzque, no qujxoxa in tamalli, yoan in comjtl: amo vel ycuci, intlanel cemjlhujtl: çan chichicoycuciz in tamalli. Auh injc pati, injc amo iuh muchioaz: in jquac tla ocalaqujto, contlatiz in comjtl. Auh intlanoçe ijxçan mocontema tamalli, centetl ipan contlalilia: quijl ic amo ytlacaviz in tamalli. 845 252

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the time when the teeth of small children dropped.

When the teeth of small children dropped out, the mothers cast them into a mouse-hole, or they said to their children: "Place it in the mouse-hole." For it was said that if they were not to do this, the small child's teeth could not grow; he would remain quite toothless.

Injc cempoalli on castolli omome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti. 856

In jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti: yn tenanoan itlacoiocco contlaça in qujmjchin, anoçe inpilhoan, qujmjlhuja: ytlacoiocco xictlali in qujmjchin: ichica quijl intlacamo iuh qujchioazque, amo vel ixtoaz in jtlan piltontli: çan tlancotoctic iez.

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These superstitions harm the Faith, and therefore it is well to recognize them. Only these few have

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Estas abusiones, enpecen a la fe: y por eso, conujene sabellas, y predicar, contra ellas. Anse puesto, 000

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

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life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chia, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chia, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
[497] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquijpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mãmanca in etl, in chian, in cauhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiocachpetlatl, quauhaiocachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaçaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
651 house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the
681 majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he
● 344 require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel: njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from
574 everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords
431 unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech
344 clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatententl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtententl, in chalchiuhcoacatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Tailpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada tailpilcyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de penas leves; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujiehecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçolocti, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mãcehoallatqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaiehecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaiehecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaiehecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaiehecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

[302. 304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepoztpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Nepiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amanteca after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, op. cit., I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Besige Kapital*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nepanpiaiaque* for *nepanpiaique*, and begins with the verse a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "Cuse de los fieros."

[p.46 is blank]

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan iezque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzontequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuhca qujtzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan 693
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujcaquja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchipauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica injc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc 695
ichoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, iehoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja, qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlaliloc.

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz. 693
njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc ichoantin qujmjctia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtetepachoa, anoço qujtetequj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn 535
netotiloz.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoa- 643
liztli, in papaqujliztli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujnjollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçeoalli:

achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz. 643
qujnnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujichecozque injc 533
qujchicaozque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oyen, muy diferentemente, y grauemente el otro: para que los oyentaiesen y fuesemente con todos principales, muy calificados, que eran el audiencia, y residencia."
7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes mixcoatlailotlac; evidently appears as a glossarial. The title Tlaxcalacatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.
8. Can tlapic: que se probably meant (cf. ibid.).
9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 291, 295; II, pp. 318, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 108, and III, p. 53.

And when the chieftains had beheld what now [the foe] did and intended, thereupon they deliberated as to what they would do. And when they had decided, thereupon went a boat, very carefully, which they poled rapidly. It came to a stop at the road's edge. No war device showed; it only came covered over. Another came. Just so, cautiously, they poled it forth rapidly. And once more came two boats, so making four. Then arose two eagle and two ocelot [warriors]. The first eagle [warrior] was Topantemoctzin; the second, Tlacotzin. And the first ocelot [warrior] was Temilotzin; the second, Coyoueuetzin. Thereupon broke forth one ocelot and one eagle [warrior], poling their boats furiously—as if the boats flew. They went cautiously to Teteuhtitlan, in order to intercept and cut off the advance [of the foe]. And when they had gone, once again, also, two—another eagle and another ocelot [warrior]—sped forth to hurl themselves into the midst [of the fray]. And when they had already gone, the flutes were blown, and thereupon people were robbed. And some from there approached to cut off the advance of the chieftains.

And when our foes saw this, they would have fled. Many died in the water, sunk and submerged, only piled up one on another, as if no longer conscious, as if stunned, fallen, soaked. Those who in vain tried to flee, only fell between the beams. They were pulled out, it is said, completely smeared with mud, slippery with mud, well soaked and completely drenched. Very many perished; there they died in myriads. And this was the last time that there our foes, the various people [allied to the Spaniards] died in numbers. And when our foes had died, the next day was quite calm.

And thus came the Spaniards here to Amaxac. They went to and reached where the common folk had taken refuge.[8] They had completely surrounded us. The battle spread all around, there at Amaxac and on the road which led to Tepeyacac. Then [the Spaniards] went to and entered the young men's house named Uetican,[9] for there assembled all the young men. Then they climbed up to the roof terrace. And all the common folk thereupon jumped down behind the young men's house, and then all dispersed into the water. And a great sea-

Auh in oquittaque tiiacaoan in ie tlein quichioa, 726
quimopictia: njman ie ic quinemjlia in quenjn vel quichioazque: auh in ovel quinemjlique, njman ie ic ce vitz in acalli, cencā ·yiolic, in quitlanelhujtivitze, contecaco vtenco, amo valnezttia in tlaviztli, çan vallapachiuhtia, ie no ce valla, çan ie no ivi in jiolic quivallanelhujtiaque: auh je no ceppa valla vme in acalli ic onnauhtiviz. Nimā ic valmevatiquetz vntetl quauhtli, ontetl ocelutl: injc ce quauhtli, ie-hoatl in Topātemoctzin: injc vme, ichoatl in Tlacutzin. Auh injc ce ocelutl ichoatl in Temilotzin: injc vme, ichoatl in Coioveuetzin: njmā ie ic oneoa: ce ocelutl, ce quauhtli, quintequitlanelhuja, iuhquin patlanj acalli, vmpa tlamatiuh in teteuhtitlan in q'niacacotonazque, in quinviltequizque. Auh in jquac oiaque ie no ceppa no contlazque in omentin no ce quauhtli, auh no ce ocelutl quintlacomotlazque: auh in jquac ie vi nec tlapitzalo, njman ie ic tenamoielo: auh ceq'ntin njpa quinjacatzacujlico in tiiacaoan.

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan motlalonzquia mjec in atlan mjc, in polaoā in illaoque, ça netech ommotilinjaia, iuhquin aocmo quimati, ça iuhquin çoçotlaoa ça iuhquin chachapantivetzi, in oc nen motlalonequj ça quauhcamac activetzi, tevivilano, omach moçoquinceloque, omach moçoquipetzonque, vel chachaquanque, vel popolacque, vel mjec in ixpoliuh, oncan vel tonacamjcoac: auh ça yioppa in vncā ontonacamjcque in toiaovan in nepapan tlaca: auh in jquac oemmjquico in toiaovan, in jmuztlaioc, ça cacrimanca:

auh jc vallaque in Españoles in vncan amaxac, vel vmpa acito, in vmpa tlantoque in macevaltin, vel techiaoaloque, vel motetemmā in iauiotl, in vel vncā amaxac yoan ipan vtli in tepeiacac iaticac: njmā ic calaquijto in telpuchcali: motencoa veican: ichica, ca vncan monechicoaia in jxquich telpuchtli: njman [561 ic tlecoque in tlapanco. Auh in jxquich macecalli: 344] ● njman ie ic onnotepeoa in jcampa Telpuchcalli, nec atla onnetepevalo. Auh ce vei tiiacauh quachic itoca, Vitzilhoatzin tlapanco moquetz, icpac in telpuchcalli, oc iuhquin tenamjtl muchiuh, oc ic achi con-

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "donde era la yglesia de la almoyna."
9. Ibid.: "finalmente llegaron a donde estaua el cuerpo de los mancebos."

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on 643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so [276] they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that [212] was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made 289 of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the ● 344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-
411

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zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish
[314 289 386 276] if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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shall investigate how far individuals, as members of this communal unit, participated in the aggregate tenure.

In the course of time, as the population further increased, *segmentation* occurred within the four original "quarters;" new "calpulli," being formed.[42] For *governmental* purposes this segmentation produced a new result by leaving, more particularly in military affairs, the first four clusters as *great subdivisions*.[43] But these, as soon as they had disaggregated, *ceased* to be any longer *units* of territorial possession, their original areas being held thereafter by the "minor quarters" (as Herrera, for instance, calls them), who exercised, each one within its limits, the same sovereignty which the original "calpulli" formerly held over the whole.[44] A further consequence of this disaggregation was (by removing the tribal council farther from the calpules) the necessity for an *official building*, exclusively devoted to the business of the *whole* tribe alone.[45]

[42] This successive formation of new "calpulli" is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is implied by the passage of Durán which we have already quoted (Cap. V, p. 42). It also results from their military organization as described in the "Art of War," (p. 115). With the increase of population, the original kinships necessarily disaggregated further, as we have seen it to have occurred among the Qquiché (See "Popol-Vuh" quoted in our note 7), forming smaller groups of consanguinei. After the successful war against the Tecpanecas, of which we shall speak hereafter, we find at least twenty chiefs, representing as many kins (Durán, cap. XI. p. 97), besides three more, adopted then from those of Culhuacan (Id. pp. 98 and 99). This indicates an increase.

[43] "Art of War, etc.," pp. 115 and 120.

[44] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295). "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains others, smaller ones, included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 56-64). That the smaller subdivisions were those who held the soil, and not the four original groups, must be inferred from the fact, that the ground was attached to the calpulli. Says Zurita (p. 51.) "They (the lands) do not belong to each inhabitant of the village, but to the calpulli which possesses them in common." On the other hand Torquemada states (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545): "that in each pueblo, according to the number of people, there should be (were) clusters ("parcialidades") of diverse people and families . . . . These clusters were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of the aforesaid clusters sometimes contained three, four, and more, calpules, according to the population of the place ("pueblo") or tribe." The same author further affirms: "These quarters, and streets, were all assorted and levelled, with so much accuracy, that those of one quarter or street could not take a palm of land from those of another, and the same was with the streets, their lots running (being scattered) all over the pueblo." Consequently, there were no communal lands allotted to the four great quarters of Mexico as such, but each one of the kinships (calpules) held its part of the original aggregate. Compare Gomara (Vedia, Vol. I, "Conq. de Méjico," p. 424. "Among tributaries it is a custom, etc., etc." Also p. 440). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "Each quarter has its own tract, without the least connection with the others."

[45] Compare Durán (Cap. XI, p. 87). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXXI, p. 470). It appears as if the "tecpan" had not been constructed previous to the middle of the 14th cen-

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344 This building was the "*tecpan*"[46] called, even by Torquemada
642 "house of the community;"[47] it was, therefore, since the council
643 of chiefs was the highest authority in the government, the "council house" proper. It was erected near the centre of the "pueblo," and fronting the open space reserved for public celebrations. But, whereas formerly occasional, gradually merging into *regular*, meetings of the chiefs were sufficient, constant daily attendance at the "tecpan" became required, even to such an extent, that a permanent *residence* of the head-chiefs *there*, resulted from it, and was *one of the duties of the office*. Consequently the "tlacatecuhtli," his family, and such assistants as he needed (like runners), dwelt at the "official house." But this occupancy was in no manner connected with a possessory right by the occupant, whose family relinquished the abode, as soon as the time of office expired through death of its incumbent. The "tecpan" was occupied by the head war-chiefs only as long as they exercised the functions of that office.[48]

tury,—the meetings of the tribe being previously called together by priests, and probably in the open space around the main house of worship. The fact of the priests calling the public meetings is proved by Durán (Cap. IV, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 468). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, pp. 156, 159. Cap. XXI, p. 186). Acosta first mentions "unos palacios, aunque harto pobres." (Lib. VII, cap. 8, p. 470), on the occasion of the election of the first regular "tlacatecuhtli:" Acamapichtli,—Torquemada says (Lib. XII, cap. XXII, p. 290), that they lived in miserable huts of reeds and straw, erected around the open space where the altar or place of worship of Huitzilopochtli was built. The public building was certainly their latest kind of construction.

[46] From "tecuhtli" chief, and the affixum "pan," denoting a place. Therefore "place of the chiefs." Molina translates: "casa ó palacio real, ó de algun señor de Salao" (II, p. 38). The word is also found in the Qquiché of the "Popol-Vuh" (p. 306). "Qui tiepan quib"—Mr. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg acknowledges the Mexican origin of the word, and renders it by "to divide into quarters," although he says that in Mexican it signifies: palace or municipality.

[47] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XIV, pp. 269 and 270). "Tecpancalli, que quiere decir, los Palacios Reales, ó el Alcaçar, y casas de Señorio" (Id: Lib. VII, cap. XXI. p. 119. Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477). But especially in the Sixth Book, 27th chapter, page 48, when, referring to the statements of Father Bernardino de Sahagun who says, that "being in the city of Xuchimilco, he heard one night, etc. etc. . . . . and that inquiring next day why that shouting had taken place,—the Indians answered, that from the Tecpan, or community (municipal house), they had been calling the macehuales to work."

[48] Nearly every author who attempts to describe minutely the "chief-house" (tecpan) mentions it as containing great halls (council-rooms). See the description of the tecpan of Tésceco by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," cap. XXXVI, p. 247. "The palace had two courts, the first and largest one serving as public square and market, for which it is still used at present. The second and interior one, was surrounded by the hall of the royal councils, where the King held two tribunals. In the centre of this court a large brasier was burning, which was never extinguished." Id. cap. XXXVIII), by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. II, cap. XLIV, pp. 146 and 147. Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

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About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Muteczuma." Bernal-Diez del Castillo (Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 343 and 342. "Adonde él moraba y residia á la continua, llaman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . — . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 302. "El palacio de los Señores é casas reales, tenia muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues à un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaiáca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 76, etc.).

Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemada, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of Mexico were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kingship of the chief lived*,— aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,— the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 227), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 100), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tilancalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap. LXI, p. 100). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimecs, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hezhuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-four years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary.— How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?

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174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
579 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618] [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 213. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

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The place where this council assembled, was necessarily the official house of the tribe or "tecpan,"[182] and there they met at stated intervals, possibly twice every Mexican month of twenty days.[183] Such meetings were fully attended, and they could be called, besides, at any time.[184] There is evidence that, during

Bustamante ("*Tezcoco*," p. 191): "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban Tepantlátoani (el que habla por otro)."

[182] *Molina* (II, p. 95): "casa ò palacio real, ó de algun señor de salua." But of special importance is the following definition (I, p. 91): "Palacio real" — "tecpan, tlatocan, totecuacan." This shows that the tecpan was really the place where the council met." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIV, pp. 302 and 303. Cap. XXV, p. 314). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, pp. 247-238). *Veytia* (III. cap. VII, p. 199). *Torquemada* ("*Monarquia*," Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544), identifying "la Corte" with the "lugar de Juzgado, ó Audiencia." Further quotations are useless.

[183] This fact is implied by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," cap. XXXVIII, pp. 267, 268 and 269), when he affirms that, in notifying a hostile tribe of the intention to make war upon it, the notification was repeated thrice, at intervals of twenty days. *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua de Méjico*," Lib. III, cap. VII. p. 209), says that every twelve days "cada doce dias," the courts met to report to the "emperor." This is rather strange since (Id., p. 202, etc.), he says that these courts sat daily in what he calls the "palace." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 355): "De diez à diez Dias, y á mas tardar, de doce à doce, hacia junta el Rei de todos los jueces, asi de las Audiencias del Reino, como de los de sus Consejos." In this case he speaks of Tezcuco. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135): "Y asi, á lo mas largo, los pleitos árduos, se concluian á la consulta de los ochenta dias, que llamaban nappoaltlatolli, demas que cada diez ó doce dias el señor con todos los jueces tenian acuerdo sobre los casos árduos y de mas calidad." *Durán* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 101): "Tous les douze jours il y avait une assemblée générale des juges présidié par le prince. On y jugeait les affaires difficiles, celles de crimes qualifiés, et l'on examinait minutieusement tous les détails." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 482), is very positive: "Each Mexican month, or within twenty days, a meeting of all the judges was held in presence of the King, to decide upon all cases not yet disposed of." He evidently bases the statement upon *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 442). "Consultan con los señores cada mes una vez todos los negocios," according to *Sr. Orozco y Berra* ("*Ojeada sobre Cronologia Mexicana*," Introduction to the "Crónica Mexicana," published under the supervision of Señor José M. Vigil, pp. 174 and 175). Gomara rests principally upon an unpublished series of documents, entitled "*Libro de Oro*," now in possession of my friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, which collection was formed by the Franciscans under the auspices of the unjustly abused Fray Juan de Zumárraga, between 1531 and 1547. The statement of Clavigero is, therefore, not to be rejected. The "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 65) says: "los quales daban noticia al Rey cada cierto tiempo de todo lo que en su Reyno pasaba y se habia hecho." It is, therefore, to say the least, likely, that the full council met *once* a month, but, as we have stated in order to be just towards all, it is equally possible that it may have met twice. The reference to "Judges" needs no explanation. It is self-evident that for judiciary matters, alone, such meetings of executive officers were superfluous. Matters of government came up also,—and this is decisive of the kind of officers that were members of the tribal council, since they alone could fill such positions. These meetings were, therefore, full meetings of the council, and nothing else.

[184] This is abundantly proven by what has at last been recognized by *Sr. Orozco y Berra* as well as by my friend, *Sr. Chavero* ("*Ojeada*," etc.) as specifically Mexican sources of aboriginal history. See for inst.: "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 52, 62, 66, 67, 80). "*Fragmento No.* 1" (pp. 124, 127, 133, etc.). "*Fragmento No.* 2" (pp. 137, 147, etc.).

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again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also 643
dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, 644
more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed 644
many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially [202]
did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of 643
the community," that is the place where the business of the entire 644
social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was trans- 344
acted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water." existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don* 764
J. F. Ramirez ("*Durán*." p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 65). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96. also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 65): "Puso assi mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, masetrsalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 169).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 488), which is very interesting in a general way.

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643 644 was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-
644 ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal Interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan.[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council [202] clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 328; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 92; cap. LXI. pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII. p. 160): "Vuelto á Tlacaellel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que ablasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 122, 134 and 138; cap. XXI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 40, cap. XXVIII, p. 42, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 58, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 154, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 158). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 166, cap, XXI, p. 182, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).

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643 greet the newcomers at the dyke, "Wrathy chief" acted simply, as
574 the representative of the tribal hospitality, extending unusual

Tuscoca (Fragment No. 2) and *Tlatilulcan* (Sahagun). The statements by Spanish eye-witnesses are of doubtful authority in this case, since none of them knew, or could know anything positive; and the pueblo was subsequently, so utterly destroyed that even its site could hardly be recognized. Nevertheless, the "old and new palaces of Montezuma" have become household words.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to compare the reports of eye-witnesses with the above quotations from aboriginal sources. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, (p. 25): "y tomé á seguir por é la calle en la forma ya dicha. fasta llegar á una muy grande y hermosa casa, que él tenia para nos aposentar, bien aderezada." The house where "Wrathy Chief" staid with his household, appears to have been some distance from the Spanish quarters, since we read (p. 27): "dejando buen recando en las encrucijadas de las calles"—thus showing that crossings intervened. The following, however, is very plain, if not decisive ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 76): "E porque lo sintiesen mas, este dia fice poner fuego á estas casas grandes de la plaza, donde la otra vez que nos echaron de la ciudad, los españoles y yo estábamos aposentados; que eran tan grandes. que un principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio se podian aposentar en ellas; y otras que estaban junto á ellas, que aunque algo menores eran muy mas frescas y gentiles, y tenia en ellas Mutecruma todos los linajes de aves que en estas partes habia." This remark about the "principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio" evidently agrees with his previous statement concerning the household of "Wrathy Chief" ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 25): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas principales, los cuales se sentaban . . . . . Y los servidores destos, y personas de quien se acompañaban henchian dos é tres grandes patios, y la calle . . . ." Consequently, Cortés himself plainly confirms the native authors above quoted. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 579): "é hizo aposentar al marqués en un patio donde era la recámara de los ídolos, é en este patio habie salas asaz grandes donde cupieron toda la gente del dicho marqués é muchos indios de los de Tascala é Churula que se habien llegado á los españoles para los servir." This eye-witness, therefore, does not mention either of the two "houses of Montezuma." The father of the tale is found in *Bernal Díaz de Castillo* (Vedia II, Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84): "E volvamos á nuestra entrada en México, que nos llevaron á aposentar á unas grandes casas, donde habia aposentos para todos nosotros, que habian sido de su padre del gran Montezuma, que se decia Axayaca, adonde en aquella sazon tenia el gran Montezuma sus grandes adoratorios de ídolos . . . . ."

Thus Cortés, who is the principal eye-witness in the case, unmistakably states that the Spaniards were quartered at the "tecpan." Of the other two conquerors, only the last mentions the Spanish quarters as being the "house of Montezuma's father," whereas Tápia is silent on the subject. Taken in connection with the assertions of the native writers, the statements of Cortés become of great weight.

It is but natural to expect (and the fact needs no proof) that the subsequent writers have followed either one or the other of the two versions. After having transcribed the letters of Cortés, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 560) mentions also: "aposentó allí é á los christianos, en unas casas que avian seydo de su padre," which statement he gathers from other conquerors (p. 494) whose names he fails to give; (Cap. XLVII, p. 587) he calls the said house "la morada de su abuelo." I forbear further abstracts.

[344] Fortunately an official document of early date informs us of the exact situation of these two buildings. It is the "*Merced á Hernan Cortés de Tierras inmediatas á México, y Solares en la Ciudad*" (Col. de Doc's Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 28 and 29). It bears date, Barcelona, 23 July, 1529, and conveys to Cortés: "los solares é casas son la casa nueva que era de Montezuma, que alinda por la una parte con la plaza mayor é la calle de Iztapalapa, é por la otra la calle de Pero Gonzalez de Truxillo, é de Martin López. carpintero; è por la otra la calle en donde están las casas de Juan Rodriguez, albañil; é por la otra la calle pública que pasa por las espaldas: è la casa vieja que era

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courtesies to unusual, mysterious, and therefore dreaded guests. 643
Leaving these in possession of the "tecpan," he retired to another 574
of the large communal buildings surroundinng the central square, where the official business was, meanwhile, transacted.[361] His return to the Spanish quarters, even if compulsory, had less in it to strike the natives than is commonly believed. It was a re-installation in old quarters, and therefore the "Tlatocan," itself, felt no hesitancy in meeting there again, until the real nature of the dangerous visitors was ascertained, when the council gradually withdrew from the snare, leaving the unfortunate "chief of men" in Spanish hands.[362]

We have qualified the position of the "Tlacatecuhtli" towards 643
the council as intermediate between tribe and confederacy. In the latter body, he was but the general-in-chief and had no other duties or power.[363] Therefore, when Cortés seized the head-chief of Tezcuco, "Wrathy chief" had no authority to assure the Spaniards, although they called upon him for that purpose.[364] He ex-

de Montezuma, donde viviz, que alinda por la frontera con la plaza mayor é solares de la iglesia, y la placeta; por un lado la calle nueva de Tacuba, é por otro la calle que va de la plaza mayor á S. Francisco; por las espaldas la calle donde están las casas de Rodrigo Rangel, é de Pero Sanchez Farfán, é de Francisco de Terrazas, è de Zamudio." [344]

From these data it is easy to recognize in the present National Palace the site of the so-called "new houses of Montezuma," and in the buildings facing the "Empedradillo" the "Old houses." Both faced the central square of the pueblo.

The so-called "old houses" were also immediately in front of the central "house of God." It is said by Tezozomoc (Cap. LXX, p. 117): "Este templo y cerro estaba puesto alonde fueron las casas de Alonzo de Avila y Don Luis de Castilla, hasta las casas de Antonio de la Mota, en cuadro." Now according to *Icazbalceta* ("Los tres Diálogos," etc., notes to Sec'd Dialogue, p. 218): "La casa de Alonzo de Àvila estaba en la la calle del Reloj, esquina á la de Sta Teresa la Antigua." Consequently the "old houses" were indeed those which Bernal Diez mentions as "where Montezuma at that time had his great adoratories." Now these "old houses" were, as we have seen, the "tecpan" or official house of the Mexican tribe. This again fully sustains our proposition that the Spaniards were quartered there, and that the official household had vacated it for that purpose.

[361] This fully explains the designation by, "New houses of Montezuma" mentioned in the preceeding note.

[362] That the council met at the Spanish quarters, is plainly stated by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, pp. 95 and 96, Cap. XCVII, p. 98). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVII, p. 569). That the members of the council gradually withdrew, is equally certain, from the fact that a successor to "Wrathy Chief" was elected, while the latter was still alive and a captive of the Spaniards.

[363] *Durán* (Cap. XLIII, p. 347). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 11): "Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tacuba et de Tezcuco pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l'un d'eux ne se mêlait jamais du gouvernement des autres;" Id. (pp. 92 and 95). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 156). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 183). The two latter authors evidently have followed Zurita. See also note 4.

[364] See note 4. *Fragmento No.* 2, in "*Bibliotecа Mexicana*" (pp. 143 and 145).

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them]; six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Injc matlactli capítulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellel- 643
qujxtiaia tlatoque.

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, [48]
injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jte- 643
chiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in 644
qujtlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ix-
pan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxne-
panoa,

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaeheooa, qujtlatla- [521]
quechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja,

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, [525
qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teo- 526]
cujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli,
in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, [301
cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, 576
xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, 314]
itoca tlachtli:

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli 345 ●
injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in 526
vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in
tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl
manca, in aqujn ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan
qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli
tlatqujtl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin
tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli,
maieoatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl.

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli 524
injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl,
qujcujloa ce petlatl, tlitica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc
mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoal-
tetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intla-
poalteuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa,
qujtlanjlia in ixqujch tlaçotli, coztic teucujtlacozcatl, 524
chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 525

1. Tlaxoli: the corresponding Spanish has doves (*dazoli*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

generic resemblance throughout, while Period I pottery is 172
much closer to the fine orange wares of Puebla which were 174
traded widely throughout southeastern Mexico. There is also a trade connection between Aztec I and Mazapan.[9] (See Plates 25, 29.)

In the history of Culhuácán digested on pp. 72–73 the fact was noted that there was first a Toltec dynasty, which was succeeded by a Chichimec or foreign regime. It may not be stretching the manipulations of the historian too far if we suggest that the Culhuas changed their culture with their dynasty. Coyotlatelco ceramics, which have vague affiliations with Teotihuacan pottery, may represent the material culture of the Toltec dynasty, while the Aztec I pottery, completely alien to the preceding styles, seems to embody the material presence of the new regime.

Seeming confirmation of this situation comes from the 172
site of Tenayuca, where great Mexican archaeologists like 346
the late José Reygadas Vertiz, Ignacio Marquina, Alfonso Caso, Eduardo Noguera and others have carried out a superb dissection of one of the temples. It was completely rebuilt five, or possibly six, times. The renovation answered the ceremonial requirement of rebuilding and refurnishing at the beginning of each fifty-two-year cycle in compensation for the destruction at the close of the previously elapsed period. As the site was occupied during the Conquest, the reconstructions probably followed the cyclical ceremonies of 1507, 1455, 1403, 1351 and 1299, with the first building erected some time earlier. The fourth, fifth and sixth constructions (1403, 1455, 1507) are purely Aztec; the third temple built (1351) is a transition between the Aztec style and the simpler, more archaic methods employed in the two earliest

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
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A 172 346 structures (1299 and the original temple). The three completely developed Aztec temples correspond closely to the distribution of Aztec III and IV pottery, between 1403 and 1519. The transitional temple and the second building suggest that cyclical renovations were adopted everywhere along with the Aztec II pottery of the fourteenth century. The original platform of this Tenayuca temple could have been constructed almost any time in the thirteenth century, since the building of a shrine did not entail the celebration of the beginning of a fifty-two-year cycle.[19] (See Plates 25; 26, bottom; 29.)

A 174 The Aztec civilization was brought into the valley at Culhuacan, where it gradually supplanted the defined local cultures. Where, then, was its true source? The most probable answer is Cholula, in the state of Puebla, where still exists the largest structure in the world in terms of cubic content. The devoted group of Mexican archaeologists, whose co-ordinated efforts have organized the rich background of their Indian past, have been analyzing this monument by excavation and archival research for many years. The results are important. (See Plate 26, top, middle.)

P 174 346 Originally Cholula was occupied by an Upper Middle Culture tribe which later fell under the domination of Teotihuacan-Toltec civilization. At this time the inhabitants built a large ceremonial precinct, a maze of temples, platforms and stairs, constructed of rubble covered with plaster. Eventually newcomers, possibly with the aid of the resident population, performed the stupendous task of converting the Toltec precinct into a single great platform, traditionally in honor of the god Quetzalcoatl. This mammoth construction entailed filling in every building and courtyard with

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PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP ROW: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2–4 from Codex Telleriano-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). SECOND ROW: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. THIRD ROW: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520–21. FOURTH ROW: *First two*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

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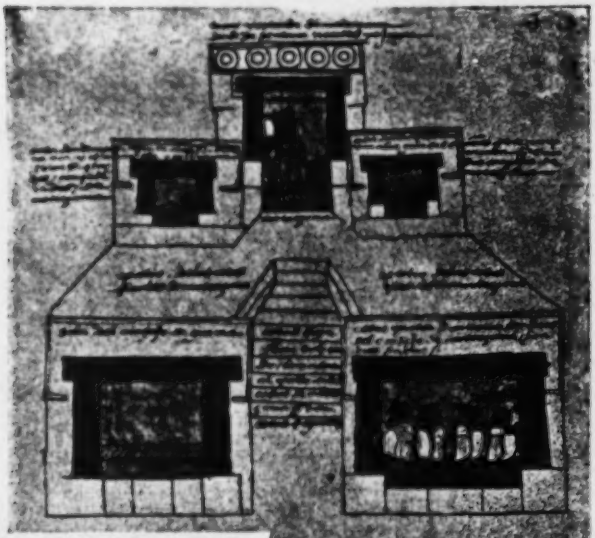

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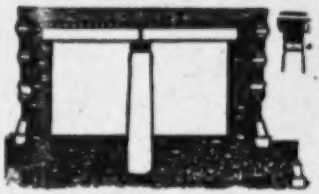

PLATE 41

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

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TOP: Montezuma's palace, from the Codex Mendoza. His apartments are on a platform reached by a stair. At right and left are rooms for allied chiefs, such as the rulers of Texcoco, Culhuacan, Chiconauhtla, Tlacopan and Tenayuca. The left-hand room on the first floor is reserved for the war council and the quarters at the right are for the judges, who may be seen settling a case between several litigants. MIDDLE: *Left:* Section through a temple at Mitla showing details of Aztec construction. BOTTOM: A two-story house of probable post-Conquest date. The palace above with ascending platforms shows the customary Aztec method of elevating rooms.

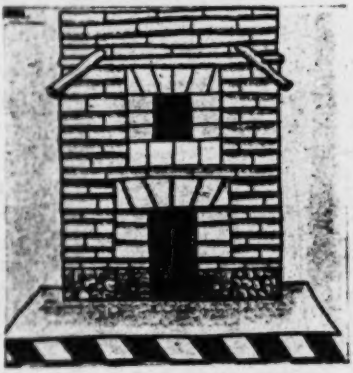

[p. 128(C)]

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361 plaza was essential for communal gatherings; the market and the principal structures, like the main temple and the chief's quarters, were situated at this point. In Tenochtitlan, which was reported to have sixty thousand fires or hearths, or figuring on the same basis as above, three hundred thousand people, additional centers existed for each clan and for the four larger districts into which the city was divided for administrative purposes.[16] (See Plate 37, top.)

114 We have been left a description of an Aztec city in 1524 from a Spanish monk, Fray Toribio de Benavente, called by the Indians "Motolinia," or "poor," in reference to his Franciscan simplicity of life. His firsthand observations have a fresh reality:

361 "They called these temples *teocallis,* and we found all
346 over the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one crossbow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and three leagues' distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to the courts of the *teocallis,* . . . the devil did not content himself with the aforesaid *teocallis,* but in each pueblo and in each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes three or four *teocallis.* . . ."[17]

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The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346 ●
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

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346 Each temple usually had a chamber and an antechamber, and in some cases two or even three shrines rested on the same platform. This platform or substructure gave height and mass to the temple. The usual practice was to lay up rough stone, set in adobe or lime, into a truncated pyramid, the sides of which were broken up by three narrow setbacks and by a steep ramp leading to the top. The surface was of veneered cut-stone slabs, and additional blocks were laid along the ramp to make the stair. Wide balustrades bordered the staircase and often ended in gigantic serpent heads. Aztec construction was the simplest type of engineering, but imposing architectural effects were gained by the consummate artistic sense and superb craftsmanship of the builders.[19] (See Plates 50–51.)

291 554 The adequate, even imposing, housing of the Aztecs and their gods by no means eclipsed their dress. Clothing, besides protecting man from the weather, has an important social function. It is a guide to the sex, age, group, occupation, rank and even character of its wearer. The simple and standardized clothing of our modern society performs the same service, and with a moment's observation one can tell much about a stranger from his clothes. The Aztecs, like many peoples of the world, strove by their dress to accentuate the social differences between people, and pomp and panoply dominated their costume. Or the barbaric splendor of high civilian dress superimposed the fantastic garb of the priests and priestesses in their impersonation of the complex and ornately represented divinities in their pantheon.[20]

[302] The *macehual*, or ordinary tribesman, left his head uncovered, his hair long, and customarily wore a *maxtli*, or loincloth, a mantle knotted over one shoulder, and sandals of

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174 Teotihuacan was probably the result of the co-operation
346 of communities scattered over a large part of the Valley. Its scale and vastness could not have been achieved by a single resident community. In Chichimec times, when there was no central authority, each community built its temple or temples as best it could, and few survived. Tenayuca still has a temple of this period, the platform walls of which ascend almost vertically. Apparently shrines to two gods rested on the summit. At this same time, across the mountains in Puebla, the Cholulans were piling sun-dried brick on sun-dried brick to make a man-made mountain. So huge is this structure that the priests' quarters as well as the temple were located on top of one of the platforms. A large colonial church founded on the pyramid has obliterated evidence of the ancient temple proper, which tradition dedicated to Quetzalcoatl. It would seem logical to assume that the priests' houses were on a lower level than the shrine, since the tenets of Aztec religious architecture required a dominating position for the earthly residence of the god.* (See Plate 26.)

However, in the Valley of Mexico the communities prospered and their peoples multiplied. As resources and man power increased, the temples became larger and more numerous. Yet so complete was the destruction by the Spaniards and their Indian converts who transformed many a temple on its platform into a large parochial church, that the modern visitor finds little to suggest the architecture of the past. Archaeology has abundantly confirmed, in fragmentary form, the amazed descriptions of the conquerors.

The last two reconstructions at Tenayuca bear witness to the excellent proportions and dramatic principles of Aztec architecture. Excavations in the hill above the railway station

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at Cuernavaca revealed a temple intact in all except its roof. 174
The temple of the Tepozteco, perched high in the hills over 346
Tepoztlan,* is another nearly perfect example of Aztec architecture on a small scale. A pit sunk in a vacant lot across the street from the cathedral in Mexico City reached the corner between the stair and the western wall of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli, War God of the Aztecs, and the massive size and ornate decoration prove that the startled descriptions of the Spaniards did less than justice to this tremendous monument. A recent excavation in a cliff overhanging Malinalco, near Tenancingo, state of Mexico, brought to light a temple complex, largely hewed from living rock, which thrusts the famous Egyptian rock tombs of Abu-Simbel into the limbo of provincial opera-house scenery.* (See Plates 28, bottom; 37, top; 50–51.)

The Aztec temple had a platform, the sloping sides of 346
which were generally broken by three terraces. A steep, broad 532
stair flanked by balustrades, occasionally with a third dividing it into two, gave access to the top. Carved stone blocks, projecting in rows from the sides of the platform, represented snakeheads, skulls or some other symbolic form of the cult. At the foot of the balustrades huge serpent heads with gaping jaws added to the architectural design and created awe in the beholder. The stair rose broad and steep, focusing the attention on the sacrificial block at the top, over which victims were stretched to await the searching knives of priests.

Behind the block stood the temple or temples, which generally had a back room for the idol and an antechamber for the priests. The walls were usually of dressed stone and

*Te-pos-tla'n.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 532 sometimes ornamented with carving or relief. The roof, which was thatched in poor or primitive temples, in important shrines was made of beams laid like a corncrib, growing smaller toward the top. Plaster laid on twigs or poles sealed the roof against the rain and was carved with designs symbolic of the god inside. The interiors were noisome places, coated with blood and smoke, for incense was burned in profusion, as were the hearts of sacrificed victims. The proportions of terrace to terrace, temple to platform, stair to façade, were maintained irrespective of size, producing an effect of height and mass which yet in no way detracted from either the platform or the temple. This sense of proportion extends into every aspect of Aztec art and craftsmanship.

327 346 532 Some temples were cylindrical and rested on square or circular platforms.[1] These were dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, often represented as Ehecatl,* God of the Wind, to whose passage a rounded surface offered no obstacle. Sometimes the door of such a temple was fashioned in the form of a serpent head, while the circular building suggested its body. A superb temple of this type is part of the Malinalco group mentioned above, which is hollowed out of the living rock. The door is carved at either side in low relief to suggest a serpent head in profile, while the whole also can be visualized as a snakehead in full face, of which the open mouth constitutes the door. A bench circles around the walls within, and the *skins* of eagles and ocelot, emblematic of the rising and setting sun, are carved in relief as if they hung from the wall to drape over the bench. An altar in the center of the room represents another eagle. This elaborate concept is

*Ay'-hay-cat.

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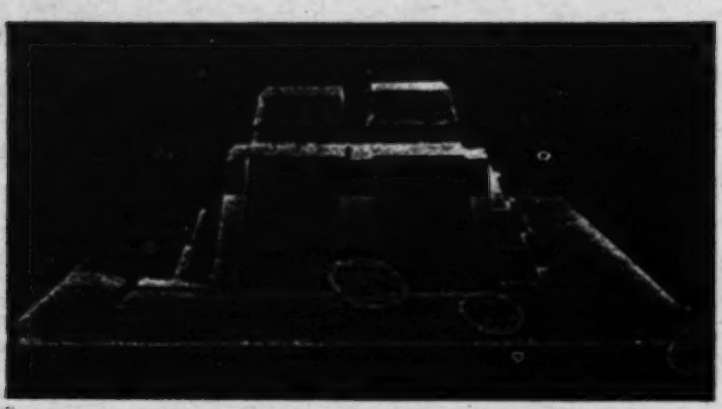

PLATE 50

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The temples were the most imposing aspect of Aztec architecture. TOP: Model of the Temple of Tenayuca as it looked at the time of the Conquest. BOTTOM: The temple as it looked during excavation. The staircase focused the attention of the worshipers on the culmination of each ceremony, a human sacrifice. Compare also Plates 60 and 61.

[p. 160(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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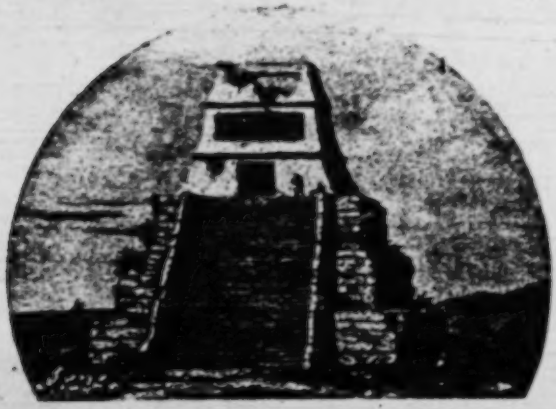

PLATE 51

AZTEC ART

TOP: This modest shrine in honor of the War God is on the borders of the Aztec territory at Santiago Huatusco, Vera Cruz. This engraving of Dupaix, made a hundred years ago, shows that the temple has suffered little in the last hundred years, but few other buildings resisted the destruction of war and evangelism. BOTTOM: The Zocalo, Mexico City, looking northeast. This was the site of the great plaza of Tenochtitlan. The President's palace (upper right) rests on the foundations of Montezuma's palace. The great temple to the Gods of War and Rain stood just east of the cathedral. At the street car crossing in the foreground a large disk like the Calendar Stone (Plate 52) still lies buried. The present square is built on the remains of the Tenochcan city, twenty feet above the ancient level.

[p. 160(C)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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776

532
324
346

PLATE 53

AZTEC ART

TOP: This feathered snake in the Mexican National Museum may well symbolize Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning and the Priesthood. This representation differs from the fire snake in that it lacks a raised crest over the head. BOTTOM: The enormous snake at the foot of the balustrade to the great temple in Mexico is a dramatic architectural ornament, frequently employed in Aztec temple building. Snakes were the major ornament at Tenayuca (Plate 50, above) and many other Aztec buildings, appearing also far to the east in Mexican Chichen Itza.

[p. 160(E)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

324 346 532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.*

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs,* which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

323 532 322 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

776 532 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impression of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

diabolic images to which they ministered. In front of the temples stood the great drum which was soon to throb across the lake as a nation suffered its death agony.

It was from this point that Montezuma showed Cortes his empire, and Bernal Diaz, who witnessed the scene, left us this unforgettable description:

"Then Montezuma took Cortes by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water and the many other towns and the land around the lake. . . . So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico . . . and we saw the [aqueduct of] fresh water that comes from Chapultepec, which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart . . . and we beheld on the lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food, others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise, and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house except by drawbridges, which were made of wood, or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues [temples] and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold!"[9]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their 797
descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly 636
families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the 177
records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec picto- [217]
graphic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. [291]
The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging [415]
fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed 797
to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours 346
in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. 177
The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
● 346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[8]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

the eagle-warrior's cresp, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[75] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquauhquentenchil, nanaio, ycuechin, ielpancoaqui cyli 776
tzacatlatlapanqui yn jxaiac: yn jnachichioal, ytiçanacoch,
ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachiaia ynac catca, ytelicpal,
acacpalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Little Black-Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlaltetecuini).[76]

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

If dirt, cobweb, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a sorcerer, he who had the dance. Then they confronted and reproached him openly. Then they said [the god] sewed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called ixquex (face-covering).[78]

Then was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic castolli vee capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn 776
jtoca, catca, ixtlilton, tlaltetecujn.

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jtetupan catca, ytocaiocan [346]
tlacujlocan: in vncan yteupan, mjec yn apastli, tzatzacutimanca, motocaiocia itlilauh.

Auh yn aquja mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn 776
jtetupan ixtlilton: centetl, qujtlapoaia yn apastli, conjtiaia 757
yn jtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli.

Auh yn aquja qujtotia, copaltica in omeanaia, ynic 776
qujvicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia. 535

Jn oacic ychan, tlatoaia, teytotia: njman tlatlaqualo, 776
atlioa: yn otlaqualoc, njman mjtotia, yn jxtlilton: yn
omjtoti, yn onmacruh, calitic oncalaquj: ichoatl qujtlapoa [273]
in vetli, navilhujtica tzacutimica: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacxapotla,
vizmana.

Niman yc vmpeoa, yn ie tlaoano: oc cepa oalquiça itealco, qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

ic mjtoaia, ic motemoaia, intla tlaçolli, yntla tocatzoalli, [787]
yntla tzontli, intla tecalli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, aço
tetlaxima, aço ichtec, anoço ahavilnemj, mahavilitia: ac
aço tlacacemelle, in tlatoria, ic qujxmotlaia, qujxcomacaia,
qujxpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla motecca: ichica, ca
qujteixcomaca, qujteixpantia, ic teixmotla, yn jetlatlacul.

Auh ynjc oalquiça techã, quachili yn qujmacaia motocaiotia, ixquen. [298]

Jnic muchichioaia, m[illegible] mocemjxtlilpoporz, mjxti- 776
çatlatlali, yn jcamape: [illegible]pequachichiqujle, quetzallo,

75. For description, see illustrations and text in Sahagún: *Garibay Mexicanos*, Vol. II, pp. 515 and 523; and also illustration (Omeiml) —Plate 15.

The term *cuechilli* means the natural tuft or mantle, with sea-snail shells knotted where the cords crossed. The *chalcayotl* and the *macuayotl* were presumably the same as *amatlac*. Sahagún: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Apendice, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37r), Sahagún refers to "*un ornamento de un pedazo de quadro, hecho en tela rala, al qual llamaron yeyeachin, creolo que vino quando de algodon a los pechos. . . .*"

76. *God of medicine. Ytlahtecuin (or tlaltecuinni)* is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tetzoinia*. *Cf.* Seler: *Einige Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . *los que acostumbraban los mayores y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba ixtzili.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains thus "*a este abrimiento, llamavan tlaiacxapotla, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *ometeuctli*, see Sahagún, op. cit., p. 37, for a definition of *macuayotl*.

78. ". . . *demanda mitlas: los quales llaman ixquex: que quiere decir, cubertura de la cara: porque quando, amorjuqualo, aquel que anja hecho, le frota. . . .*" *Loc. cit.*

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[85] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who wore skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[86] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tozzecca.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[88] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[89] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[90] was in his hand.

Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[91]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[92] the stout traveling staves[93] with

tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecalilticia, qujnnamjquj- 776
in tiiacaoan, tlapeperti, tlatocanati: 796

yoan in ixqujchti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque, teca momotlanj, iaotlaveliloque: vncan moieiecoaia, moiaomamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalizque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia yn xiac, mjtoaia totecco. [524] [346]

Auh yn totecti njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no tlatlaeoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuzcatia, qujnxochineapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujntlaoantia. [292] [362] 302

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, iscocoiria: qujtoa, ma njctlamaniliz, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Jn inechichioal, mixcolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, yiopiztzon contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tlacaieoatl, yieoaio malli, tzonchaiaoale, teucujtlanacoche, tzapocuzie, tzitzile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac. 776

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca inteuh catca: cenca qujmavizztiliaia, qujtlaquentiaia amatica: yn jntopil, ymetlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj 776 463 484

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85. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En esta fiesta, bailan como en juego de cañas: de manera que el vn vando, era de la parte deste dios, o yuaqueu del dios totec: y estos todos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que eujan muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y esforçados: que no tenjan en nada la muerte: andaua, atropellaua, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se exercitauã, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauãjuntos los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, bolujan huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos á cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se resguardaban con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, has *ocuzan* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Tozzecco."

87. *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Totzoteti.*" *Cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tozzecci as "*los mozetes a honra del dios Totec.*"

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is *mixpichiohticac*, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Seler also (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 182) uses the term *mixpichiohticac* (quail face painting).

89. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Tlapaneca), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

90. "The word chicaoaztli means 'wherewith anything is made strong.' Wood and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chicaoaztli with the fire sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 108.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *iyacac-tecuhtli* or *yacatecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 57). Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacacolihqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz aguileña*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xincatecutli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecutli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Iztapalotqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 97).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era una vara, macizo, que olia llamaua velaci. Y tambien vsaua de otra manera de barada,*

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua. 796^x [805 776]

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque,* celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

1. Marginal notation: *Apellic haber dior xxx.*

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

1 c KL
2 d En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias
3 e de las flores, que aquel año primero
4 f nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y
5 g antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua
6 A oler flor.
7 b Los officiales de las flores, que se
8 c llaman sochimanque: hazian fiesta, a
9 d su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro
10 e nombre coatlã tona.
11 f Tambien en este mes: se desnu-
12 g dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los
13 A pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des-
14 b ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar
15 c en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan
16 d iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro-
17 e cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan
18 f hediendo, como perros muertos: y
19 g despues que los aujan dexado: se
20 A lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

c 14
d 15
e 16
f 17
g 18
A 19
b 20
c 21
d 22
e 23
f 24
g 25
A 26
b 27
c 28
d 29
e 30
f 31
g 1'
A 2'

[824 346] [755]

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos. 796^x 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comida: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

2. Marginal notation: *Mirar epipiaxoa.*

The fifth month they called Teucatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Teucatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoe, y por otro nombre Texcatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

796 X [305 776] [533]

Chapter 5
Teucatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Teucatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

Cap. 5.
Toxcatl

1	A	KL.	Toxcatl	A	23
2	b		Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas	b	24
3	c		las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya	c	25
4	d		cerca de la pascua de resurrection	d	26
5	e		pocos dias despues: este mancebo	e	27
6	f		criado, como esta dicho era muy bien	f	28
7	g		dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos:	g	29
8	A		tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.	A	30
9	b		Quando en esta fiesta matauã al	b	1[1]
10	c		mãcebo que estaua criado para esto:	c	2
11	d		luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de	d	3
12	e		morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo	e	4
13	f		el pueblo muy atauiado con flores en	f	5
14	g		la mano, y con personas que le acõpa-	g	6
15	A		ñauan saludaua a los que topaua graci-	A	7
16	b		osamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel	b	8
17	c		la ymagẽ de Texcatlipuca: y se pros-	c	9
18	d		trauã delante del, y le adorauan donde	d	10
19	e		quiera que le topauan.	e	11
20	f		Viente dias antes que llegasse esta	f	12[2]
			fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dis-		
			puestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los		
			veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el		
			traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los		
			cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros atauios mas		
			galanes.		
			Cinco dias antes que muriese: hazianle fiestas y		
			vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompaña-		
			uanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja		
			de morir: lleuauanle a un cu, o oratorio que llamauã		
			tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse alli en vn lugar que		

[833] [302] [346]

1. Marginal notation: Mislar he dice cosi.

2. Marginal notation: Nota, Achilel supr Pan.

X 796 Tlacochcalco; and, before he arrived there, at a place which they called Tlapitzauayan, the women with-
[346] drew and left him. Arrived at the place where they were to kill him, he ascended the steps himself; on
[534] each of them he shattered one of the flutes which he had played as he walked, all during the year. When he had reached the summit [of the pyramid], they threw him upon the sacrificial stone; they tore
[417] out his heart; they brought down the body, carrying it in their hands; below, they cut the head off and ran through it [the crosspiece of the skull rack] which is called *tzompantli*. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in their account, *fol.* 53.

llamauã tlapitzaõuã, apartauãse las mugeres y dexauãle: llegãdo al lugar, donde le aujã de matar: el mjsmo se subia por las gradas, en cada vna dellas, hazia pedaços vna flauta de las cõ que andaua tañendo todo el año: llegado arriba, echauãle sobre el tazõ sacauanle el corcaçõ, tornauã a decendir el cuerpo abaxo en palmas, abaxo le cortauã la cabeça y la espetauã en vn palmo que se llama Tzompãtli: Otras muchas cerimonjas, se haziã en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la large en su historia. fo. 53.

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuia: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

796 X
805
776
785

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

1 g XL. *g 13*
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los *A 14*
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, *b 15* [137]
4 c yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se *c 16*
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en *d 17*
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli *e 18* [346]
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los *f 19*
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie *g 20*
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- *A 21*
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con *b 22*
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto *c 23* [651]
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se *d 24*
13 e defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera *e 25*
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque *f 26* [681]
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se *g 27*
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena *A 28*
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de *b 29*
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer *c 30*
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- *d 31*
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian *e 1*[1]
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia. [262] [786]

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos. [688]

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos catiuos y otros

1. Marginal notation: *Jueçjer de dios xoc.*

X 796 [346] The hunt ended, they slew captives and slaves on a pyramid which they call Tlamatzinco. They bound them hand and foot, and carried them up the steps of the pyramid (as one carrieth a deer by the hind and forelegs to slaughter). They slew with great ceremony the man and the woman who were the likeness[es] of the god Mixcoatl and of his consort. [346] They slew them on another pyramid which was called Mixcoateopan. Many other ceremonies [were performed]. Etc.

Acabada la caça: matauan capiuos y esclauos en vn cu, que llaman tlamatzinco ataualos de pies y manos, y lleuauãlos por las gradas del cu arriba (como quien lleua vn cieruo por los pies y por las manos a matar) matauanlos con gran cerimonja: al hombre y a la muger que erã ymagẽ del dios Miscoatl y de su muger matauãlos en otro cu, que se llamaua Miscoateupan. Otras muchas cerimonjas. Etc.

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes haziã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobochtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

796X
[805
776
785]

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Tezlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

Cap. 15.
Panquetzalizti.

1	e	KL.	e	9'
2	f	El segundo dia deste mes començauã	f	10
3	g	todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can-	g	11
4	A	tares de Vitzilobochtli, en el patio de	A	12
5	b	su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to-	b	13
6	c	dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares	c	14
7	d	a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez:	d	15
8	e	durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte	e	16
9	f	dias.	f	17
10	g	A los nueue dias deste mes: apare-	g	18
11	A	jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que	A	19
12	b	auian de matar pintauanlos de diuersas	b	20
13	c	colores, componjãlos con muchos pa-	c	21
14	d	peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos,	d	22
15	e	en el qual yuan vna muger y vn hom-	e	23
16	f	bre pareados cantando y bayldo.	f	24
17	g	A los dezieys dias deste mes: co-	g	25
18	A	mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los	A	26
19	b	esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen-	b	27
20	c	çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yuan	c	28

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[302]
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todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que auian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobochtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y matauа quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã tezdachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes matauа en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos parjialidades, morian algunos en la escaramuça.

[346]●
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1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio Templi Mexicani refert.*

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After many ceremonies, at last they slew captives on the Pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, and also many slaves. And, having slain one, they sounded musical instruments. And on finishing [with one], they seized another, to slay him. And, on killing him, they again sounded [musical instruments]. Thus they did to each one until finishing them [all]. On ceasing to slay these unhappy ones, they started to dance and to sing, to eat and to drink, and thus the feast ended.

Despues de muchas cerimonjas: finalmente mataua captiuos, en el cu, de Vitzilobuchtli, y tambien muchos esclauos y en matando a vno tocauan los instrumẽtos musicales, y en cesando tomauan otro para matarle, y en matandole tocaũ otravez; ansi hazian a cada vno, hasta acabarlos: acabando de matar estos tristes, començauan a baylar, y a cantar, a comer y a beuer, y ansi se acabaua la fiesta.

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
x 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para tezer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornizes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

x 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce descendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the
[776] second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine,
[463] and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine
[415] sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan cetando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth
[301] the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[431] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
● [346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[6]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oqujcheoztiuh, moqujchitotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmozatzilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlatenioztiuh, qujiauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo quimattiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annechonjtozque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn oazitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic cecenjaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquacencaujxia, qujmaquetzxiteca, qujmelletequj, yca izquaoac, patlaoac tetpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnochtli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in ichoantin mjqujx mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Coauhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjloa, qujnoaltetecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maiotzincueptiujtze, motzozoniquetatiujtze, mocuecuepoiujtze, ynic oaiici apeuhc:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacujlti, calpulvevetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonetolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynic qujquazque: vmpa qujxexelua, qujtetequj, qujueuelua: oc ie achto qujtonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujqujlia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan qui-

6. In op. cit., p. 63, Seler specifies a "*ritiyo benimo Pyramidenmesser.*" Sandoz (op. cit.) defines *itzpamme* as "Couteau pour les sacrifices humains, fait avec du silex ou de l'obsidienne. . . ." Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Mexico: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 48, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as "un cuchillo ancho hecho de lasca, un cuchillo agudo porque . . . no se puede hacer muy agudo. . . ."

7. *Quauhxicalli*: probably *quauhtlaxcalli* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtlalli*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers as meaning the sun.

8. Seler consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *Adlerschale* (*cf. Bisiqx Kapital*, p. 34). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 155, he breaks the word down into *quauhtl* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauh* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less consistently than Seler, uses the term *mixtec de madera*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fn. 18 *a*, Sahagún writes: "Después quedaba los compañeros, los llamaban quauhcuaxo." In *loc. cit.*, Seler translates *quauhcuaxo* as "the one from the eagle-land," the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the mortal dies, as the sun's image and representative (p. 157).

10. *Apetlac* (*cf.* Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Seler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, caps. 29 and 33.

X 796 he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who had taken the captive.

266 [262] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

X 796 The pasting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

● [346] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *tototerti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

tlauhtia: auh yn joaniolque quintlalhuja, quẹcentlalia, ynic tlaquztinj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa quintotonaltia ceccn molcaxitl in tlaolpaoeztli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan ieietiuh ceccn tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhquja yticçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miquztiuh, quiztlaoztiuh, ic quichoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jioatzinioc, inic oallatuiz quintoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceioeal, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamalti, in oaoanti:

in quinoaoanazque, oc no cepa quintzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

ic mitoaia onacoquiztilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa itztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, quitoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in quitzoncuja, quimopialtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oquimomaceuj, in maviçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

ynjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhquinma ic contleiocujliaiz malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauitl eua.

Auh in vncan momanaia tototerti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan quinoalmana, quinoalquetza, quinoalteittitia:

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11. *See p. 44. Seler, in op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, says, in the discussion of agricultural ceremonies of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making it fruitful was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'scratching' *tlacatlaolli*."
12. See note 9; also Seler (*Einige Kapitel*), p. 65.
13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: "*pusieron todos armados, salvo unos leches de hoya, o de tejal, o grada estando allí armados.*"

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us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

X 796 [316]

And when [the young girls] went carrying upon their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

[532]

They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *tortillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly: there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

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And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[12] black maize;[13] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[14] large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[15] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[16] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[17] the after-fruit;[18] double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toqujchti, ca çanenpanca, ca ça in tonenhcatlatol: ca uel ic qujmontzintopeuaia in cioa iaoc, ic tziolloneoa, ic tziolesa, ic tziollo tzicujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca qujttoa, in toqujchti

eço tecoco, yn jndiatol cioa, eço teittic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiqujtoque, yn ahtinemizque: aço itla tomacenal tucnjahtze.

Auh in qujmamatiuj in cicinteteuh, yn oquitquja itrupan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuescomaiollo muchioa, cuescomac contema.

Auh yn iquac tetoca, in ie toquizpâ, ichoatl quitocaia quixinachioaia, quixinachioa.

Auh injn quilhujtlaltia, quilhujchiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhquin cioatl quitlaliaia ixipela. Quitoaia, ca uel ichoatl in tonacaiotl: iuhq'nma quitoznequi, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tiioltinemj, tooapoaca: intlacamo ichoatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn aquin, aule quiqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlana, vetzi, meciuhtinetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipâ moenana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in ichoatl chicome coatl, ca quichioa yn izquich tonacaiotl:

in iztac tlaolli, in coztic tlaolli, in xiuhtoctli, yiaujtl, yiauhnenel, iauhcacaiquj, tlaolpatlachtli, in tapiontic, in tlaolpicilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhquin ezoaanquj, ezcujcujltic:

njman iee in quappachcintli: iuhquin quappachtli, itlachielix, momochicintli, in molquitl, cinmaitl, cintzatzapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamotl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI, cap. xii, of the *Florentine Codex* defines *xinchintli* as "*Pan de maiz verdes tiernos, pequeños y medianos.*"

13. "*Especie de maiz negro*" (*loc. cit.*), Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*maiz negro o negro.*"

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*) defines *cuauhtlaiiiac* as "*Especie de maiz por diversos colores.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The Nahuatl text reads, "*xochicintli ioaz cuauh tlapehuanqui, tlapehuaqui tlatzinchiqui, tlatzinchiuhqui, tlatzinchiu, mamayauhtic, mamayauhtic, mochiqui chichiuaz, mixtlapichtic.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Especie de maiz leonado.*" In the Rolando edition, Vol. III, p. 162, there is reference to "*cierto maiz de color que tiene ancho y gruesado, e leonado, que en la Lengua de Indios llaman tzintzatzapalli, quappachtli.*" A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that *tzintzapalli* are "*Especie de maiz que nace de dos en dos.*" In Simeon (*op. cit.*) *quappachtli* is given as tawny or ruddy. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*color leonado, o medio morado.*" For *quappachcintli*, Simeon has "*maiz grueso de brazo, que servia á guisa las gaulas*" (*provenant de la hampe*) *de su* (*Sah.*).)"

17. Dávila (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 90) defines *momochtli* as "*maiz tostado y reventado,*" and on fo. 37r of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagun writes that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que cada grano se revuelve como una flor blanquecina.*"

18. *Redrojo de maiz* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

A 796 in five days the feast day of Toxcatl would come, then they began to sing [and dance].

Now, during this time, Moctezuma came not forth; those who had been [the impersonator's] companions provided the people with food and favors.

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecanman. On the second day, in the place where they kept the image of Titlacauan, in the house of the keeper who guarded it. On the third day, at Tepetzinco, in the midst of the lagoon. On the fourth [day], at Tepepulco, which is also near Tepetzinco.

[501] After they had sung [and danced], then he embarked in a canoe. The women went traveling with him; they went consoling him and keeping him merry. Then the canoe arrived; then it touched the shore; then it was beached at a place called Acaquilpan or Caualtepec.

For here he was abandoned, a little [distance] from Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned; and only they who had freely become his pages accompanied him while he yet lived.

● [346] So, it was said, when he arrived where he was to die, [where] a small temple stood, called Tlacochcalco, he ascended by himself, of his free will, to the place where he was to die. When he climbed the first step, as he passed one [step], he there broke, shattered, his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had reached the summit, then the priests fell upon him; they threw him on his back upon the sacrificial stone. Then [one] cut open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives offered up. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull-rack. Thus he ended in the adornment in which he died. Thus he there ended his life, there he terminated his life, when he went to die there at Tlapitzauxian.

And this betokeneth our life on earth. For he who rejoiceth, who possesseth riches, who seeketh and coveteth our lord's sweetness, his gentleness—riches and prosperity—thus endeth in great misery. For it is said: "None come to an end here upon earth with happiness, riches, and wealth."[12]

[538]

A 796 778 And here in Mexico, when [it was the month of] Toxcatl, was set up and formed a figure of Uitzilcuijhi, oquijuh macujilihujtl quiçaz yn ilhujtl Toxcatl, in pesa cuicujca:

yn iquac y, yn iaquilhujtl y, aocmo onmachiztia yn motecuçoma, oc ie yeemujc caxca, tetlaqualtia tetlauhtia,

ynic omilhujtl cuicujca, inoaiocan tecanma: ynic omjlhujtl, vncan in pialoia, in teixiptla in titlacaoan, yn ichã aquja calpixaquj, yn oquijpaia: ynic eilhujtl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa teyepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn on cuicujcac: njman ie ic onmacalaquja, itlan ietihuj in cioa, qujiollaltitiuj, quellaquauhtiuj: vmpa vnquiça, vmpa onatenquiça, vmpa quimonacana in acalli, yioaiocan acaquilpan, anoço cuaaltepec:

ipampa ca vncan onteccaoloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan oalmocuepa: auh çã ichoã in matian muchioa, yn jachoan ocatca, yn oquitocatinenca in iõc oc nemj.

Juh mjtoa yn oacic, in v: :an mjquja teucaltondi icaia, iuca tlacochcalco: çan moma in tlexo, çan monomatlecauja, in vmpa mjquja: in ce tlamamalatl contlecauja, in ce companauja, ce vncan quixamanja, quijpantequj yn itlapiçtzal, yn jvilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oquipantlaz, yn iaquj tlamamatlad, yn opanuetzito tlacpac: njman quicujtiuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetztiteca in techcac: njman ie ic quelteequj, conanilia yn iiollo, no conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn jtlac amo quioalmjmjlooaia, çan quioaltemouiaia, quinauhcauiaia:

auh yn jtzontecõ, tzompatitech conquauhço, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omjc ynechichioal: ic vmpa ontlamj yn jnemjliz, vmpa contzonquistia yn jnemjliz, yn vmpa omjquiuo Tlapitzauoian.

Auh ynin ca quinezcaiotia, in tlaticpac tonemjliz: ca in aquin paquj, motlamachtia, in quijta in quimauiçoa in itzopelica, yn jauiiaca in totecujo, in necujtonolli, in netlamachtilli: injc tonquiça vey netolinjliztli: ca iuh mjtoa, aioc quijlamitiah in tlaticpac, paquiliztli, necujtonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Toxcatl: motlalia

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2.

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—after Paso y Troncoso

8-12. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 22)
13-14. Uei tecuilli (Chapter 23)

[p. 102 E]

X 796 **Thirty-first Chapter,** which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capítulo: inchpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, ynan in nextlaualiztli; in mochiouia, in jpã vel ic cemjlhujtl, injc matlactetl on ume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

Injc matlactetl on ume ilhujtl: ichoatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound together. Only the young men laid them down, on every small pyramid, in the temples of the Cinateteo,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

in ic iuh tlamacujlti, njmã vncan vmpeoa in acaxistemalo: in acaxiatl, ichoatl in acatl, ẽci in quijpiaia; çan ichoantin in telpopochtin quitemaia, novian in momoxco, in cioatecucalco, ynan in novian techachan, in vncan pipielo in jmjxiptlaxan diablome:

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

auh in techachã novian onacxoistemaia, quijoalmaca, açe cen chiqujuhxintli in tlaelli, anoçe cintli, naolotl: in cana ieolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli quijoaltemaca: motenena, cacalutl ca quimocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nẽ mocalhujaia, can ichoantin injmel, in tlacelianj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochicanj, in amo tlatlacanequjnj in jmel.

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And on the third day of the spreading out of branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

Auh in ic icilhujtl acxoistemalo: iquac hero in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, ichoatl achto heco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlaçanj, cotze:

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X 796 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offerings for him. They offered him fish amaranth seed, ground and made into a ball of dough.

ipampa in achto oalaci, ynan quijtlamanjliaia: in quimanjliaia, mjchioauhtli, in tlapololli:

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First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

achtopa quicoqui, quitzomotza comalco, çatepan quitoci: auh in oquitzeque, çatepã quipolouia, atica: oquj necutica, in quipolouia: aço macujltetl, aço

1. *Teotl Arrive—Los dioses llegan*, in Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 307. Chavero, *op. cit.*, p. 145, refers to *teotlaco* as to *la fiesta de la venida de los dioses*. The spelling "Tetl eco" is in the *Florentine Codex*.
2. See note 3, p. 79. In Cap. xxxiv (Pomoquimilotl), Sahagún explains that "*por causar Sacrificios cortaban cañas verdes y ponían de manojos*," and, in Cap. xxv (Etzalqualiztli), "*Ponían en hileras como varas cortadas cañas verdes en lugar de incienso*."
3. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that "*Tenían edificados oratorios o huecos de cierto diseño en todos los barrios donde había dos calles; los cuales llamaban cinateotlli, o por otro nombre cihuacuyaque; en estos oratorios tenían los sacerdotes de estos dioses. . . .*" Chavero, (*loc. cit.*) says: "*acostumbraban los sacerdotes y los encargados de los calles.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
4. Good is more frequently corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 33; however, he usually translates it *maize ear*.
5. "*Cuerno, o tenazuela . . . para coger granos de maiz tostado cual carbón*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the same equivalents.
6. These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca.

came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come down, then he went direct to [the place] called the god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

And when [the latter] had greeted [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acacninanco.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [These latter] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, battle was joined; truly, [some] were slain.

obuchtli: in ocaltemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in motenecoa Teutlachco: vncan qujmõmjctia navintin: vme amapan, vme vappafzan: in oqujmõmjcti, mec qujnvivilana, tlachco: iuhqujn ic tlatlacujloa imezçn.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan qujça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonooalco: vncan cantiqujça itoca Quavitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichioal, tel çan ie motiçaoaoan:

auh in oconantiqujz, mec vi, vmpan ommocolos tlaxotlan: njmã ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiqujça, çan iciuhca:

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan qujça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izquitlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiqujça, in conmjctia, itoca Izquitecatl:

mec vi, vncã qujztiqujça in tepetocan, ie coiooacã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncã oallacoloa: njman ic qujoalmelaoa in acachinanco.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in ichoãtin tlaamavia, iquac peoa, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlatoça Paynal.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilti, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequjntin tiacaoan: qujnmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cujtlachixxo: çan ocoquavitl in immac oonoc.

Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatzontectli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilti qujnnamjquj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiotl in muchioaia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 282, the four slaves were sacrificed in a ball court (*tecolaxco*)—not in the *barrio* of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the *barrio* of Teotlachco.

10. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods. See, however, corresponding Spanish text.

11. Though the Nahuatl text describes the movements of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*Luego descendio en estrapa, con gran prisa trayendo en los brazos, la estatua de paynal, encarne de Vizilopuchli.*" This priest was dressed in the trappings of Quetzalcoatl, according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 282).

12. "*Alli le salio a recevir, el estrapa de aquel en, con la ymagen del dios Quauitlyca*" (corresponding Spanish text).

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Behold [here] a true [relation] of all [the temples] which were the temples of the Mexicans.

[In] the [great] square of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, all was thus, [as followeth]:

It appeared to be perhaps two hundred fathoms [square]. And here, in the center [of the square], were very large temples, which were the temples of demons. The one which was tallest, of greatest height, was the house of Uitzilopochtli, or Tlacatecpan Cuezcochtzin. This one was very large, very tall.

And this one was in the middle [of the square]. And with it was the house of Tlaloc. Both were together, side by side. And at the very top, [one] stood a little high[er]—perhaps by [as much as] a fathom.

[Of] both of these, [one] was taller, rising higher; only they were quite similar. And at the top of each was a temple; at the top was a house.

Here was the image of Uitzilopochtli, also named Ilhuicatl Xoxouhqui. And in another [house], there was the image of Tlaloc.

And also at the top [of the pyramids] were circular stones, very large, named *techcatl* [offering-stones], upon which they slew victims. Thus they paid honor to their gods. And the blood—the blood of those who died—reached the base, flowing thence. All were thus in all the temples which were of the devils.

And this temple of Uitzilopochtli and of Tlaloc faced the setting of the sun. And its stairway was very wide. It reached up to the top, whereby all ascended. And for all the temples there were stairways; all were alike. Very straight was its stairway.

Tlalocan, the Temple of Epocatl.

At Tlalocan all fasted in honor of the Tlalocs when they observed [their] feast. And when all fasted, then evil things were done and vicious. All danced [bearing] dried maize stalks. And there was dancing in all the houses. It was said, the dance of maize and beans was danced. And when the feast of the Tlalocs ended, thereupon died those who were set apart, and

Iscatqui in jmelacoca, in ixquich catca inteucal mexica.

In jtoal catca vitzilopuchtli, in jxquich ic catca:

in juh motta, aço matlacpovalmatl: auh in vncan yitic, cenca vevei in teucalli mamanca, in jnteucal catca diablome: in oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, in veixticatca, ielioatl in jcal catca Vitzilopuchtli, anoço tlacavepan cuezcochtzin: iehoatl in cenca vei catca, cenca vecapan.

Auh injn, nepantla in jcaca: auh nevan manca in jcal catca tlaloc, vel nehoan manca, vel netech çaliuhtimanca: auh in ie vel icpac, achi veca motzticatca: aço cemmatica.

Inj vnteixti y, oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, oc cenca veveixticatca, çan vel nenevixticatca: auh in jcpac cecenteti teucalli, in jcpac manca calli:

vncan catca in jxiptla vitzilopuchtli, no yoan itoca ilhujcatl xoxouhquj: auh in oc cecnj, vmpa catca in jxiptla tlaloc:

auh no ioan in jcpac, vncan mamanca tetl iaoaltic, cenca vevey, quitocaiotiaia techcatl, in jpan tlamjctiaya: injc quinmavizziliaia inteuhoan: auh in eztli, in jmeszço in mjquja, vel valacia in tlatzintlan, injc valtotocaia: muchi inhquj catca, in jxquich inteucal catca diablome.

Auh in iehoatl in jteucal vitzilopuchtli, ioan tlaloc: vmpa itztimanca in jcalaquijan tonatiuh: auh in jtlamamatlaio, cenca patlavac: vmpa aciticatca in jcpac, in vncan tlecovaia: ioan in ie ixquich in teucalli catca, muchiuhquj catca: cenca vel melavatica ca in jtlamamatlaio

Tlalocan, iteupan epocatl.

In tlalocan: vncan netlalocaçaualoia, in jquac ilhujuhquiçaia: auh in onneçaualoc, njman ic ic aiectilo, ioan neavitilo, netotilo, yca cintopilli: auh novian in calpan mjtotiaia: mjtoaia, etzalmaccoaloia. Auh in jquac oonquiz imjlhujuh, in tlatlaloque, njman ie ic miquj in vncan pouhque in mjtoaia

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X 796 346 who were called Tlaloca. And this was done once yearly.

tlatlaloque. Auh injn cexiuhtica in muchiuhtivia ipan

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Macuilcalli, and Macuilquiauitl.

346 687 648 Here, in this place, here died the informers, those who imparted secrets which they had discovered to those who were not dwellers here—the Tlaxcalteca, or the Uexotzinca, or the Cholulteca, who entered the fortifications here in Mexico; who bore information hence.

And if they escaped, if they went forth taking information, these Tlaxcalteca, or Uexotzinca, or Cholulteca, and all who had entered the fortifications then would emplace [themselves], and thus wait [in ambush] for the Mexicans. And when the Mexicans came there, great numbers would die at that place.

And if [the informers] were noted here in Mexico, then [the Mexicans] laid hands upon them and slew them, hacking them limb from limb, here at Macuilcalli or Macuilquiauitl.

Macujlcalli, ioan macujlqujavitl.

In vncan yn, vncan mjquja in tetlanenque: in qujmjlhujaia tetzauhtlatoque, in amo njcan chaneque, in tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, in valisucalaquja njcan mexico: in qujvalcuja tlatolli.

Auh intla ovelqujaque, intla oconcujco tlatolli, in ichoantin tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço cholcltcca, yoan in ye ixquich valisucalaquja: njman ic tlateca, injc qujnchia mexica: auh in jquac onvi mexica, cenca mjec in vmpa ommjquja.

Auh intla oittoque njcan mexico: njman qujntzitzqujaia, ioan qujnmjctiaia, qujntetequja: in vncan macujlcali, anoço macujlqujavitl.

Tecciscalli.

796 346 Tecciscalli: here Moctezuma himself did penances and offered incense. And here dues were paid [to the gods]. And fasts were observed at the time of the great feasts. And then were slain, and died, the captives.

Tecciscalli.

In tecciscalli: vncan tlamaceoaia in ichoatl moteçuçuma, vncan tlenamacaia: ioan vncan mortlavaia. Auh çan iquac in vncan moçauaia, in vevey ilhujtl qujçaia: yoan vncan mjcovaia, vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Poisuhtlan.

Poisuhtlan: here fasted Mexico's fire priest and the fire priest of [the Temple of] Tlalocan, once yearly, at [the feast of] Etzalqualiztli. They offered incense at Poisuhtlan. And here were slain, and died, the captives.

Poisuhtlan.

In poisauhtlan: vncan moçauaya in mexico tlenamacac, ioan in tlalocan tlenamacac: cexiuhtica, ipan in etzalqualiztli: nehoan vncan tletemaia in poisauhtlan: ioan vncan mjcovaia vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

The Skull Frame[8] of Mixcoapan.

The Skull Frame of Mixcoapan: here they strung up the severed heads of those who died in the Temple of Mixcoatl.[9]

Mixcoapan tzumpantli.

In mjxcoapan tzumpantli: vncan quiçoia in jntzontecon, in mjquja mjxcostempan.

8. Actually the severed heads were strung on the skull racks, and then allowed to decompose.
9. Probably Mixcoatepan was intended for *Mjxcoatempan*.

Tlalxicco.

Tlalxicco: here died he who was named [and who was arrayed in the manner of] Mictlan Tecutli. Each year he died upon the feast of Tititl. And when the impersonator of Mictlan Tecutli died, then the Fire Priest of Tlillan offered incense. And this was done only by night, not by day.

Tlalxicco.

In tlalxicco: vncan mjquja, in jtoca catca Mjctlan tecutli: cexiuhtica in mjquja, ipan in tititl quiçaia. Auh in onamjc in jxiptla mjctlan tecutli: njman vncan vallenamacaia, valleremaia, in tlillan tlenamacac. Auh injn muchiouia: çan iooan, amo ennjlhujtl.

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Uey Quauhxicalco.

Uey Quauhxicalco was Moctezuma's place of penance. Here, when there was fasting, one said it was the fasting for the sun. And every two hundred and three days there was a fast for the sun. And also here died they who were named Chachanme—only four [of them]; and here died [he who was the] likeness of the sun-[god] and of the moon-[god]. And likewise many captives died here. And this [occurred only] when fate so decreed.

Vey quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco, itlamacoaian catca in Motecuçuma: iquac in vncan moçauaia, mjtoaia: netonatiuhçaualoia: auh mamatlacpovalti... vncaitica in juh muchiuaia, in netonatiuhçaualoia. Auh ioan vncan mjquja: in mjtoaia, chachanme: çan nauintin: ioan vncan mjquja in jxiptla tonatiuh, ioan metztli: auh ioan cenca mjiequjn in mamalti, vncan mjquja. Auh ynja, çan tepan ietiuh. [785]

Tochinco.

Tochinco: here died [he who was the] likeness of [Ome tuchtli], once yearly, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tochinco.

In tochinco: vncan mjquja in jxiptla tochinco, cecexiuhtica: ipan tepeilhujtl.

Teotlalpan.

Teotlalpan. Here was made a procession yearly, when the feast of Quecholli arrived. And when the procession was made, then they departed for Çacatepec. And when they reached it, then all hunted [game]. And Moctezuma then rewarded [the successful hunters]. And when he had rewarded [them], then he returned; no longer did he stay there. Likewise [the huntsmen] then all departed; no longer did they remain here, [but] departed for Mexico; and they took a different road. Verily, many men went to the Çacatepec.

Teotlalpan.

In teotlalpan, vncan tlaiaualoaia, cecexiuhtica: iquac in quecholli quiçaia ilhujtl. Auh in ontlaiaualoloc: njman ie ic vmpeoa in çacatepec: auh in onaxivac, njman ie ic anjoa: auh in motecuçuma, njman vmpa onmoxtlauia: auh in ommoxtlauh, njman ye ic valpeua: ayocac vmpa onmocaoa. Çan no yvi injc viloonia, aioc noiac njcan mocauhtivia in mexico: ioan oiecac vtli quijuoaia: vel muchi tlacatl vmpa via in çacatepec.

Tilapan.

Tilapan: here were bathed the fire priests—at night only, and often. And when they had bathed, thereupon they cast incense into the fire and offered

Tilapan.

In tilapan: vncan mahtoia in tlenamacaque, çan iooalica: ioan muchipa. Auh in jquac onmualique: njman ie ic tletema, tlenamaca, in vmpa mjcoaqpan

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it there at the Temple of Mixcoatl. And when they had offered incense, then they went to the priests' dwelling.

trupan: auh in ontlenamacaque, njman ie ic huj in calmecac.

Tillan Calmecac.

Tillan Calmecac: here dwelt the priests of Ciuacoatl.

Tillan calmecac.

In tillan calmecac: vncan onoca, in jtepixcauh cihoacoatl.

Mexico Calmecac.

Mexico Calmecac: here dwelt the priests who offered incense at the summit of the [pyramid] Temple of Tlaloccan. [This they did] daily.

Mexico calmecac.

In mexico calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamacuhque, in ontlenamacaia tlalocan ijcpac: çan mumuztlae.

Coacalco.

[48] Coacalco: here dwelt the gods of cities which, in all places which the Mexicans overran, they took captive. They then carried them back and shut them in here. And here they were guarded at Coacalco.

Coacalco.

In coacalco: vncan onoca in altepetetecu, in canjn ontepeoaia mexica, in qujmonacia: njman qujnvalvicaia, vncan qujncalaqujaia: ioan vncan pialoia in coacalco.

Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here he cast incense into the fire whose name was Yiopoch; and here blew his flute the demon whom they named Titlacauan. And when he had sounded [his flute], then he offered incense. And when he had cast incense, then he went in [to his dwelling]. Every day he did this, perchance by night, or [perchance] by day.

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan tletemaia yn jtoca catca yiopoch, yoan vncan vallapitzaia in diablo: in qujtoaia titlacauan: auh in ontlapitz, njman ye ic tletema: auh in ontleten, njman ic calaquj: çan mumuztlae iuh qujchioaia, aço iocan, anoço cemjlhujtl.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here danced the impersonator [who was arrayed as a] squirrel. And here was erected that which was called the *xocotl*, which was only a tree. And they distributed its paper garlands and paper banners [with which the *xocotl* was bedight]. And they did this during the feast of Teotl eco, and also once a year.

Oc cenj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan mjtotiaia in techalotl yxipda: yoan vncan moquetzaia, in mjtoaia: xocotl, çan quavitl, yoan qujtlamamacaia, yamaneapan, yamapan. Auh ipan in teutleco muchioaia: no cexiuhtica.

Teccalco.

Teccalco: here were men cast into the fire; here they cast captives into the flames. Only during [the

Teccalco.

In teccalco, vncan netlepantlaxtia: vncan qujtlepantlaçaia in mamaltin: çan no ipan in teutl eco

feast of] Teotl eco was this done, and also yearly. And when they had cast men into the fire, then the priests came down, and then they [performed the ceremony of] pricking paper with thorns.

muchioaia, no cexiuhtica. Auh yn onnetlepantlaxoc: njman ye ic oaltemo in tlamacazque, njman ye ic amatlavitzoa.

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The Skull Frame.

The Skull Frame: Here they strung up the severed heads of the captives whom they had cast into the fire, who had died there at the Teccalco. Likewise this was done yearly.

Tzumpantli

In tzumpantli: vncan quiçoia in mamaltin intzontecon, in quintlepantlaçaia, in vmpa mjquja teccalco: çan no cexiuhtica yn muchioaia.

The Temple of Uitznauac.

The Temple of Uitznauac: here died those named the Centzonuitznaua; and many [more] were the captives who here died. And upon [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli was this done, and [it was done] yearly.

Vitznaoac teucalli.

In vitznaoac teucalli: vncan mjquja, in jntoca centzonvitznaoa, yoan mjiec malli vncan mjquja: auh ipan in panquetzaliztli muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Teucacalco.

Teucacalco: here captives were slain and died, only when fate so decreed—not every year.

Teucacalco

In teucacalco: vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan tepan yetiuh, amo cexiuhtica.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan: here were guarded the spears and arrows. Also here captives were slain and died. And it was only by night that they were slain, and only at times when it was wished [that they should be slain].

Tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan.

In tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan: vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: auh çan iooan in mjcooaia, yoan çan molnamjquja yn jquja.

Teuciacalco.

Teuciacalco: likewise here were slain and died captives—only by night, also only when it was their fate, when it was the whim [of the priests].

Teuciacalco.

In teuciacalco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan no iocaltica, çan no tepan yetiuh, çan molnamjquja.

Uitzteocalco.

Uitzteocalco: here the priests, those who did penances, scattered the thorns; or else the green boughs, when they did penances in various places.

Vitzteocalco

In vitzteocalco: vncan quitepeoaia in tlamacazque in ja tlamaceoaia, in vitztli: anoço acxoiatl, yn jquac canjn ontlamaceoaia.

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Priests' House at Uitznauac.

Priests' house at Uitznauac: here dwelt the priest, the fire priest, who offered incense and who cast it upon the fire in the temple above [on the pyramid], which was named Uitznauac. Every day was this done.

Vitznaoac calmecac.

In vitznaoac calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhquj, in tlenamacac: in ontlenamacaia, in ontletemaia in teucalli icpac: in jtoca catca vitznaoàc: çan mumuztlae in juh muchioaia.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: at this place they placed and raised a skull-frame in the center [of the pyramid compound of him] whose name was Omacatl; who was carved in wood, taking human form—[this] Omacatl. And it came to pass that they nourished him [with the blood of captives] every thirteen days, upon the day-sign of Omacatl.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan qujtlaliaia, vncan qujzcaltiaia in tzumpantli yiollo: in jtoca catca vmacatl, quavitl tlaxixintli, tlacaietiuh in vmacatl: auh in muchioaia in qujzcaltiaia matlacpovaltica vmeitica: ipan in cemjlhujtonalli vmacatl.

Temple of Macuilcipactli.

Temple of Macuilcipactli: here were men slain; here captives died—at night only, and only those chosen for the day-sign [of Macuilcipactli].

Macujlcipactli yteupan.

In macujlcipactli iteupan: vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti: çan ipoaltica, çan no tonalpepenaloia.

Priests' House at Tetlanman.

Priests' House at Tetlanman: at this place dwelt the fire priest, he who was devoted [to the service of Quazolotl Chantico].

Tetlanman calmecac

In tetlanman calmecac: vncan onoca in tlenamacac, in tlamaceuhquj.

Temple of the White Cinteotl.

Temple of the White Cinteotl: here captives died—only those who were leprous.[10] And when they died, then [the priests] buried them; they were not eaten. They died upon the feast of the Fasting for the Sun.

Iztac cinteutl yteupan.

In jztac cinteoutl yteupan: vncan mjquja in mamalti, çan ichoantin in xixijoci: auh in jquac ommjcque, njman qujntocaia, amo qualoia: ipan in netonatiuhçavaloia mjquja.

Tetlanman.

Tetlanman: here died [she who was the likeness of] Quazolotl Chantico. [This came to pass] only when the lords determined; only when it was fated. And [it took place] during the day-count of ce xochitl.

Tetlanman.

In tetlanman: vncan mjquja, yn jxipela quazolotl chanticon: çan qujlnamjquja in tlatoque, in jqujn mjquja: çan tepan yetiuh: auh ipan in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ce xuchitl.

10. In translation of [illegible], we here follow Sahagún, although elsewhere our translation of this word differs. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

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Temple of Chicomecatl.

Temple of Chicomecatl: only at certain times were men slain as a sacrifice, and [they were slain] at night. Like [the impersonator of Quazzolotl Chantico, they were slain] only when it was fated and determined [that they should be slain], when the day-count of ce zochitl reigned.

Chicomecatl yteupan.

In chicomecatl yteupan: çan quenman in vncan mjcoaia, yoan iocaltica: çan no tepan ietiuh, çan molnamjquja: yquac in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce xuchitl moquetza.

Tezcaapan.

Tezcaapan: here were bathed the priests, in their bathing-place.

Tezcaapan.

In tezcaapan: çan vncan maltiaia, innealtiaian catca in tlamaceuhque.

Tezcatlachco.

Tezcatlachco: here was slain a man as a sacrifice; here died he who was the likeness of Uitznauatl. Only at times—not often [—was this done]; perchance during [the day-count of] Omacatl.

Tezcatlachco.

In tezcatlachco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in jxiptla vitznaoatl: çan quenman, amo muchipa: aço ipan in vmacatl.

Skull Frame.

Skull Frame: here were offered as sacrifices those named the Omacame [arrayed in the likeness of Omacatl]. And also many captives here died. And every two hundred and three days they were slain.

Tzompantli.

In tzompantli: vncan motonaltiaia, in jntoca catca vmacã: auh yoan, cenca mjec in malli vncan mjquja: auh matlacpoaltica vmcitica in ommjcoaia.

Tlamatzinco.

Tlamatzinco: here died those called and named the Tlamatzinca [arranged in the likeness of Tlamatzincatl]—ceremonially bathed captives, when [it was the month of] Quechollí at its close, yearly.

Tlamatzinco.

In tlamatzinco: vncan mjquja in mjtoaia, in jntoca catca tlamatzinca, in tlaaltiti: iquac in quechulli, itlamjan cexiuhtica.

The Priests' House at Tlamatzinco.

The Priests' House at Tlamatzinco: here lived the Tlamatzinca, fire priests who offered incense at the top [of the pyramid of] Tlamatzinco.

Tlamatzinco calmecac.

In tlamatzinco calmecac: vncan onoca, in tlamatzinca intlenamacacahoan: in ontlenamacaia ijcpac tlamatzinco.

Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: to this was brought down the sacrificial paper,[11] and the fire serpent was last of all to

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan oaltemoia in teteuhpoalli, auh çe oallatzacujaia in xiuhcoatl oaltemoia: ioan

11. See Chapter xxxv, n. 16.

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be brought down [from the temple above]. And here were burned the blood offerings when, each year, the Tlamatzinca [arrayed as the god Tlamatzincatl] died.

vncan tlatlaia in nextlaoalli, in jquac mjquja tlamatzinca cexiuhtica.

Temple of Mixcoatl.

Temple of Mixcoatl: here were slain the deer [people]. And when they bore them up, their heads bobbed up and down, and four [priests] carried them up. And here died the impersonator of Mixcoatl, and [she in the likeness of] Cuetlaciuatl. And this was done upon the feast of Quecholli tlami, and [was done] yearly.

Mixcoatrupan.

In mjxcoatrupan: vncan maçapolioaia: auh ynjc qujntlecaviaia in maçapolivia, çan aaquetztivia, qujnnauhcaviaia: yoan vncan mjquja in mjxcoatl y ixiptla, yoan cuetlacihoatl: auh ipan in quechulli tlamj muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Netlatiloian.

Netlatiloian: here was laid away that which was named the likeness of Nanauatl and Xochquaie.[12]

Netlatiloian.

In netlatiloian: vncan motlatiaia, in jtoca catca nanaoatl y ixiptla, ioan xochquaie.

Teotlachco.

Teotlachco: here died those named Amapantzin [in the likeness of the god Amapan]. They died only at dawn. And [this was done] yearly, at the feast of Panquetzaliztli.

Teutlachco.

In teutlachco: vncan mjquja in intoca catca amapantzitzin, çan tlahujtzpan in ommjquja: auh cexiuhtica, ipan yn panquetzaliztli.

Ilhuicatitlan.

Ilhuicatitlan: here died the impersonator of the [morning] star, at night, only. And very many captives died by day. Yearly was this done, when the star appeared.

Ilhujcatitlan.

In jlhujcatitlan: vncan mjquja in jxiptla citlalin, çan ioualtica: auh cencan mjec in vncan mjquja mamalti cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in citlalin qujçaia.

The Great Skull Frame.

The Great Skull Frame: here also were slain as sacrifices very many captives, who here died: by day, not by night. [This was done] likewise at the feast of Panquetzaliztli, also yearly.

Vey tzompantli.

In vey tzompantli: no vncan mjcovaia, cenca mjequjn in vncan mjquja mamalti, cemjlhujtl, amo ioean: çan no ipan in panquetzaliztli, no cexiuhtica.

Mecatlan.

Mecatlan: here was a place of teaching; here were taught the sounders of trumpets, those who dwelt in

Mecatlan.

In mecatlan: vncan nemachtiloia, vncan momach-

12. Cf. corresponding Spanish text, which identifies this as the cave in which were deposited the skins of victims flayed in the feast of Tlacaxipehualiztli. See also Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 251) for [illegible].

the Mecatlan. Frequently, each day, [they sounded trumpets].

tiaia in tlapitzque, in mecatecа: çan muchipa mumuztlac.

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Temple of Cinteotl.

Temple of Cinteotl: here died the impersonator of Chicome coatl, a woman; by night, only. And when she died, then they flayed her. And when dawn broke, the fire-priest then put on the skin of [her who was the likeness of] Chicome coatl. Thereupon they circled and wound about the eagle vessel, dancing as they went. And this was done yearly, upon the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Cinteupan.

In cinteupan: vncan mjquja in jxiptla chicome coatl, ciotl, çan iooaltica: auh in jquac oommjc, njman quixipeoaia: auh in otlathujc, in tlenamacac njman commaquja, in coaio chicome coatl: njman ye ic tlaiaoaloa, quijiaoaloa in quauhxicalli, mjtoitiuh: auh cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan ochpaniztli.

Temple of the Centzontotochtin.

Temple of the Centzontotochtin: here died [they who were named] Teposztecatl, and Totoltecatl, and Papaztac. And when they died, it was not by night but by day, upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl. And [this was done] yearly.

Centzontotochti inteupan.

In centzontotochti inteupan: vncan mjquja in tepuztecatl, yoan totoltecatl, yoan papaztac: auh in mjquja amo iooan, cemjlhujtl, ypan in tepeilhujtl: auh cexiuhtica.

Temple of Cinteotl.

Temple of Cinteotl: here stood, and was guarded, the image of Cinteotl. Here died the impersonator of Cinteotl, by day.

Cinteupan.

In cinteupan: vncan ycaca, vncan pialoia in jxiptla cinteoutl: vncan mjquja in jxiptla cinteoutl, cemjlhujtl.

Netotiloian.

Netotiloian: here danced the ceremonially bathed captives [of the day-sign] Chiconauhecatl, when they were about to die. And when they died, it was at midnight, not by day. [This took place] upon the feast of Xilomanaliztli or Atl caualo, also yearly.

Netotiloian.

In netotiloian: vncan mjtotiaia in tlatlaaltilti, in chicunauhecatl, in jquac ie mjquja: auh iquac in mjquja iooalnepantla, amo cemjlhujtl: jpan xilomanjztli, anoço atl caoalo: no cexiuhtica.

Chililico.

Chililico: here died the ceremonially bathed ones [of the day-sign] Chiconauhecatl, at midnight. And each year did the ceremonially bathed ones die here. And only the chiefs then ceremonially bathed them. Likewise at the feast of Atl caualo [was this done].

Chililico.

In chililico: vncan mjquja in tlatlaltilti in chicunauhecatl, iooalnepantla: auh cexiuhtica in vncan mjquja tlatlaltilti: auh çan tlatoque in vncan tealtiaia, çan no ipan in atl caoalo.

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Cozaspan.

Cozaspan: here bathed the first priest of Cozaspan. He alone did so; none else bathed here.

Cocoaspan.

In cocoaspan: vncan maltiaia in cocoatlan tlenamacac, çan qujmjccaviaia, aiac oc ce vncan maltiaia.

Pochtlan.

Pochtlan: here dwelt the fire priests who cast into the fire and offered incense up there above, [on the pyramid, at] the Temple of Yiacatecutli. [This they did] daily.

Puchtlan.

In puchtlan: vncan onoca in tlenamacaque, in ontletemaia, in ontlenamacaia, vmpa jicpac yiacatecutli iteupan: çan mumuztlae.

Atlauhco.

Atlauhco: here stayed and lived the fire priests who laid the fire and offered incense above [on the pyramid at] the Temple of Uitzilinquatec. Likewise [this was done] every day.

Atlauhco.

In atlauhco: vncan onoca, vncan nenca in tlenamacaque, in vmpa ontletemaia, ontlenamacaia, in ijcpac vitzilinquatec yteupan: çan no mumuztlae.

Iopico.

Iopico: here men were slain as offerings; here very many captives died. And here died he whose name was Tequitzin and Mayauel; who died by day, not by night. And he died during the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli; and [this was done] each year.

Iopico.

In iopico: vncan mjcovaloia: in vncan, cenca mjiequjntin mjquja in mamalti: yoan vncan mjquja in jtoca catca tequjtzin, yoan maiavel: auh in mjquja cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: auh ipan in tlacaxipeoalizzli mjquja, yoan cexiuhtica.

Temple of Yiacatecutli.

Temple of Yiacatecutli: here died he who was [arrayed as] the likeness of Yiacatecutli, by day—not by night. [This was done] at the feast of Tititl, also each year.

Iyacatecutli iteupan.

In yiacatecutli iteupan: vncan mjquja in jiacatecutli ixiptla: cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: ipan in tititl, no cexiuhtica.

Temple of Uitzilinquatec.

Temple of Uitzilinquatec: likewise here died she who was [arrayed as] the likeness of Uitzilinquatec. Likewise she [was slain] by day, and, likewise, during the feast of Tititl. Also was this done yearly. [It was] a woman who died.

Vitzilinquatec iteupan.

In vitzilinquatec iteupan: çan no vncan mjquja, in ijxiptla vitzilinquatec: çan no cemjlhujtl, çan no ipan in tititl, no cexiuhtica in muchioaia: cioatl in mjquja.

The Priests' House at Yopico.

The Priests' House at Yopico: here were slain as offerings and died very many captives. [This was

Iopico calmecac.

In iopico calmecac: vncan mjcooaia, vncan mjquja cenca mjec in malli: çan no iooaltica, ipan in tlacaxi-

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done] also at night during the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli, and also every year, here at the dwelling of the priest, the Youallauan.

peualiztli: no cexiuhtica, vncan icalmecac in iocallaoan.

The Skull Frame at Yopico.

The Skull Frame at Yopico: Here they strung up the severed heads of captives and of those whom they slew in gladiatorial sacrifices at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli. [This] also [they did] yearly.

Iopico tzompantli.

In yopico tzompantli: vnca quiçoia in intzontecon mamalti: auh yehoantin in quinoaoanaia ypan tlacaxipeoaliztli: no cexiuhtica.

Skull Frame.

[This] skull frame was the Skull Frame of [the Temple of] Yiacatecutli. And here they strung up the severed heads of captives who died upon the [pyramid] top of the Temple of Yiacatecutli, upon the first day of Xocotl uetzi.

Tzompantli.

In tzompantli, ytzompan in jiacatecutli: auh vncan quiçoia yn jntzontecon mamalti, yn jcpac mjquja yiacatecutli yteupan: ipan yn cemjlhujtlapoalli xocotl vetzi.

Temple of Macuilmalinalli.

Temple of Macuilmalinalli and of Topantlacaqui. Here [priests] sang for, and offered sacrifices to, these [gods], Macuilmalinalli and Topantlacaqui. And they placed offerings before them every two hundred and three days. [This they did] only as the fates provided, upon the first day of [the day-sign] xochitl.

Macujlmalinal yteupan.

In macujlmalinal yteupan, yoan in topantlacaquj yteupan: vncan qujncujcatiaia, yoan vncan qujtonaltiaia in yehoantin macujlmalinal, yoan topantlacaquj: auh in qujtonaltiaia matlacpoaltica, omeytica: çan no tepan ietiuh: in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ipan in xuchilhujtl.

Aticpac.

Aticpac: here [priests] offered sacrifices to the Cinateteo, when they observed the feast of the day-sign Chicome coatl.

Aticpac.

In aticpac: vncan qujntonaltiaia in ciostetteu: yquac in qujlhuja chicomecoatonalli.

Netlatiloian.

Netlatiloian: here they laid away the skins [flayed from the women who had impersonated] the Cinaçteo, who died at the Xochicalco each year, during the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Netlatiloian.

In netlatiloian: vncan qujntlatiaia in ciostetteu imeoaio, in vmpa mjquja xuchicalco: cexiuhtica, ipan ochpaniztli.

Atlauhco.

Atlauhco: here they offered sacrifices to the goddess Cinteotl, of Atlauhco. And [she who was orna-

Atlauhco.

In atlauhco: vncan qujntonaltiaia, in atlauhco, ciostecutl: auh in ommjquja atlauhco ciostecutl,

X 346 mented in the likeness of] Ciuateotl of Atlauhco died there at Coatlan, at the base [of Atlauhco. This was done] yearly, also during the feast of Ochpaniztli.

vmpa in cooatlan tlatzintlan: cexiuhtica, çan no ipan in ochpaniztli.

The Priests' House at Tzonmolco.

The Priests' House at Tzonmolco: from here came the fire, which they named Xiuhtecutli. Here Moctezuma took the fire when he offered incense, and here [the new fire] fell from the fire drill. [This was done] each year at the feast of Uauhquiltamalqualiztli.

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Tzonmolco calmecac.

In tzonmolco calmecac: vncan quiçaia in tletl, in quitocaiotiaia xiuhtecutli: vmpa concuja in tletl, in jquac tlenamacaia motecuçoma, yuan vncan vetzia in tlequavitl: cexiuhtica, ipan oauhquiltamalqualiztli.

Temalacatl.

Temalacatl: here were offered up gladiatorial sacrifice victims. Those here offered up in the gladiatorial sacrifice were a great number of captives. And thus were offered up in the gladiatorial sacrifice indeed all men [who] came from the lands about us, whom they slew as offerings there upon the stone of gladiatorial sacrifice. And for this he who had charge of them was the wolf man, who placed them on the gladiatorial stone. And when he had put the captive in his place, thereupon he offered him the pine club and he gave him a feathered staff. And then went one arrayed as an eagle or an ocelot to belabor him. He then struck [down] the captive, as if he warred against him. And here was he who was charged with the care [of the captive]; his name was Chalchiuhtepeua. And when the captive fell, thereupon the wolf man dragged him off, and [the priests] slashed open the breast of the captive. And he who slew him was named Youallauan; he opened [the captive's] breast. And when he slashed open the breast of the captive, thereupon they cast him down below. And this was done each year at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Temalacatl

In temalacatl: vncan tlaoaoanoia, in vncan quinoaoanaia, cenca mjequjntin in mamalti: auh injc tlaoaoanoia, vel inquich tlacatl oal ja in cemaoaoac in oallamjctiaia, in vncan temalacac: auh vncan intequippan catca in cuetlachtli, ontequetzaia in temalacac. Auh in jquac oconquetz malli: njman ye ic conmaca in ocotzontetl, yoan conmaca quavitl tlapotonjlli. Auh njman ye iauh in teixiptla, in tevivitequjz: aço quauhtli, anoço, ocelutl: njman ie qujvivitequj in malli, iuhqujn moiauchioa: yoan, vncan itequippan catca, yn jtoca chalchiuhtepeua. Auh in jquac ovetz malli: njman ye ic tevilana in cuetlachtli: njman ye ic queltetequi in malli: auh in ichoutl tlamjctiaia in jtoca catca Iooallaoan, teeltetequi. Auh in jquac oconelteteoque malli: njman ye ic tlatzintlan qujoallaça: auh in muchioaia, yn, cexiuhtica ypan in tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Temple of Nappa tecutli.

Nappotecco: here died [the impersonator] whose name was Nappa tecutli, at night, not by day. [This happened] each year, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Nappa tecutli itzupan.

In nappotecco, vncan mjquja yn itoca catca, nappa tecutli çan iohuan, amo cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica ipan tepeilhujtl.

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihuipapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca ciostontli, no ichoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

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Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquiça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan izquich tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, quiniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecococololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

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auh in muchioa yn, ipan iecalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteotl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteotl, yoan no ichoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlatlujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujiicac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Iopicalco, yoan eoacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan eoacalco, vncan onoca in ananac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

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auh cenca qujnmavixtiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhciaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocoucatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie izquich tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

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Tospalatl.

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The Yellow Waters were very precious. The waters flowed [as a spring]; here the servants of the gods took water. And when they celebrated the feast of Uitzilopochtli, and when they celebrated each feast, here water was drunk. Here the common folk drank water.

Tospalatl.

In tospalatl, cenca tlaçoeli catca, mciaia: vncan atlacuja in tlamacazque. Auh in jquac ylhujuh quiçaia vitzilopuchtli: yoan yn ixquich ilhujtl muchioaia, vncan atlioaloia: vncan atlia in macoualti.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac: here was [the god] whose name was Macuiltotec. Here a feast was celebrated in his honor. And when they observed the feast day of Macuiltotec, here men were slain as sacrifices [to him]. Captives died here at Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

[372] Perchance it was when the fire drill was used [for the new fire]; perchance at another time. Likewise this was done yearly, at the feast of Panquetzaliztli, or at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac.

In tlacochcalcó quauhqujaoac, vncan catca in jtoca macujltotec: vncan ilhujqujxtililoia. Auh in jquac yn jlhujuh quiçaia in macujltotec. vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti in tlacochcalco quauhquijaoac:

aço yquac in tlamamalioaz, acanoçomo: no cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in panquetzaliztli, anoço tlacaxipeolaiztli.

Tolnauac.

Tolnauac: here were men slain in sacrifice. Here captives died; perchance [when the day sign] ce miquiztli came in the day count.

Tulnaoac.

In tulnaoac, vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti, aço ce mjqujztli moquetza in tonalpoalli catca.

Tilocan.

Tilocan: here cooked [the dough of amaranth seed for] the image of Uitzilopochtli.

Tilocan.

In tilocan: vncan ycucia in vitzilopuchtli ijxiptla.

Itepeioc.

Itepeioc: here took form [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

Itepeioc.

In itepeioc: vncan tlacatia in vitzilopuchtli.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac: here was made, and here they molded in man's form, the image of the demon whose name was Tlacatepan Cuezcochtzin.

Vitznaoac calpulli.

In vitznaoac calpulco, vncan muchioaia, vncan tlacatia in ijxiptla diablo, in jtoca catca tlacatepan cuezcochtzin.

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atenpan.

In atempan, vncan qujntecpichoaia in tlacateuhti: auh in jquac in oqujntecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiaoalochtia, qujntlapechvia. 796^ 346

Auh in jquac oqujmontlaiaoalochtique: njman ye ic qujnmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tezcacoac tlacochcalco

In tezcacoac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjiec malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenqujxtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oqujcenqujxtique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia: [567]

auh in jquac in oqujmonmjctique, njman vncan qujntetequja, yoan qujnpaoacia, caiouchqujlhujaia in jnnacaio. [266]

Auh ya jquac oqujnpaoazque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jxqujch tecutlatoque: amono ichoantin in macoualti, ça ychoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[13]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acxoiatemaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ie muchi caltozonti in tlaiaoalotoc, ican qujiaualotoc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan neçaoloia: 796^ 346

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempoualtica, 785

mjtoaia: nemácujlçaoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc iuh macujlilhujtl quj-

13. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

the feast was to be celebrated. And only when the feast day came was there fasting.

And thus was the fasting; [thus] did they abstain from food: some ate at midday, [fasting] until past midnight; and some, when they ate at midnight, thereupon went past midday [fasting]. Thus they proceeded mortifying themselves.

And they fasted for the space of five nights—not by day but by night. And every time night fell, then they went within [the *calpulli*]. And when day broke, they went forth and performed their tasks.

Daily they thus did, until they had spent five days. And not then did they lie with women.

çan ilhujtl: auh çan ypan in jlhujtl quiçaz moçaoaia:

auh injc mocaoaia, tlaqualiscaoaia: cequjntin tlaquaia nepantla tonatiuh, izquichica onaci iocalnepantla: auh in cequjntin yquac tlaquaia in iocalnepantla, no yquac onaci in nepantla tonatiuh: çan iuh mopatlatiuh.

Auh in moçaoaia macujlioual, amo cemjlhujtl, çan iocan: auh in jquac ie iouz, njman calaquj: auh in otlathujc, valquiçaia, tlatequipanoaia:

mumuztlac iuh quichioaia, injc onaci macujlilhujtl: yoan ayocmo cioacochia.

Third Chapter, which tells—in which is related—[the story of] Quetzalcoatl, who was a great wizard;[1] and of the place where he ruled,[2] and of what he did when he went [away].

This Quetzalcoatl they considered a god. They all adored him as a god. He was prayed to in olden times there at Tula.[3]

And there was his temple, [which was] very tall and high; lofty and towering. Very many [were its] steps, extending in a multitude, and not wide; but each one, in truth, was very narrow. On each step, the sole of one's foot could not be extended.

There, it is said, he lay; he lay covered; and he lay with only his face covered. And, it is said, he was monstrous.

His face [was] like a huge, battered stone, a great fallen rock; it [was] not made like that of men. And his beard was very long—exceedingly long. He was heavily bearded.

And the Toltecs, his vassals, were highly skilled. Nothing that they did was difficult [for them]. They cut green stone, and they cast gold, and they made other works of the craftsman and the feather worker. Very skilled were they. These started and proceeded from Quetzalcoatl—all craft works and wisdom.

And there stood his green stone house, and his golden[4] house, and his coral house, and his shell house, and his house of beams, his turquoise house, and his house of precious feathers.

And [for] his vassals the Toltecs, nothing with which they dealt was [too] distant. Very quickly they could arrive whither they went. And because they were fleet, they were named *tlanquacemilhuime*.[5]

Injc Ey capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jtoloca in Quetzalcoatl in vej nacalli catca: in canjn tlatocac, yoan in tlein qujchiuh iquac ia.

In ichoutl, in quetzalcoatl: iuhqujma teutl ipan qujmatia, netetutiloia, teumachoia, in iqujn ie veztah, in vmpa tullan.

auh in vncã onoca in itetupan, cenca vecapã, cenca quauhtic, ixtchiquauhtic, ixachivecapan, cenca miec in itlamamatlaio, vel tecpichauhtoc, amo papatlaoac, çan pitzatoton, amo vel cece zocpalli, vmpan onoca

qujl çan tlapachiuhtoca, çan istlapachiuhtoca, yoan quil atlacacemelle catca:

in ixaiac iuhqujn tetecujnpol, tehtlanipol, hamo tlatlacaiocoia. auh in itentzon cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, tentzonpachtic,

auh in tolteca, in imacoalhoan, cenca mjmatia, atle ovi in quichioaia, in quitequja chalchivitl, yoan tetecujtlapitzaia, yoan quichioaia, in oc cequj toltecaiutl in amantecaiotl, cenca vel mimatia vel itech peuhtica, vel itech quiztica, in Quetzalcoatl in iaquich in toltecaiotl, in nemachtli,

yoan onicaca ichalchiuhcal, yoan itecuijtlacal, yoan itapachcal, yoan itecczical, yoan ioapalcal, ixiuhcal, yoan iquetzalcal.

auh in imacoalhoan, in toltecs hacan in veca quichioaia, vel iciuhca acitivetziia in campa via: auh injc cenca totocaia motocaiotiaia, tlanquacemilhujme,

1. *Nauatl*: Gurtbay (*op. cit.*, pp. 170, 171) translates the term as *sbaman*, but suggests three possibilities for precise understanding of the word: (1) if *ueue* is the root, a *ueueteq*-quadruped is implied; (2) if the root is *tuhtoli*, *tuhtoale* (an archaic verb surviving in compounds), then the meaning is *shaman* or priest-diplomat, or—following Molina (*cf. tuhtoalcuepi, tuhtoalcalli, tuhtoalquetlia*, etc.)—*to hook*; (3) if the root is the Maya *ue*, *ueue*, *ueueo*, then the meaning approximates wisdom, science, magic. Gurtbay favors the second possibility.

2. *Tolan* (*Bierige Kapitel*, p. 268, n. 1) *corresponds to simple to in quemin*. This is perhaps more logical.

3. *As a deity*, Quetzalcoatl was wind god and priest god (*Seler: Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 38), or morning star god, god of life, of the morning (*Caso: op. cit.*, p. 18). See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, pp. 2-3.

Possibly the most coherent account of Quetzalcoatl as the priest-chief of Tula is in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, of which the best edition are Walter Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), and Primo Feliciano Velázquez's, in *Codice Chimalpopoca*. According to this source (pp. 62, 63), in Lehmann's *Geschichte*, and pp. 116, in Velázquez's *Codice*), he reigned at Tula for one or twenty years following A. D. 873, hardly been been thirty years earlier of Chimalman, widow of Tezapanh, who died A. D. 854. (See supra, Chap. I, n. 4.) Chimalman is said to have quickened a greek cause, and from it to have conceived. See also Tezapanh, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

4. *Tzontemoc*: gold or silver, according to Siten Sandoz, *op. cit.* Specifically, *tzontemoc* (*or tzoi cuquipoc*) is gold, and *tzoc tzontemoc* is silver. Cf. Molina (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Mexican section).

5. Those who walked the whole day without tiring, according to Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 114.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590)1954
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Page from *Florentine Codex* (Chapter 6).

[p. 36(b)]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yaquican omoztlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yeceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y ichoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancuican tlatlapiztzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intozi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaquallí ychoatl im piçietl tlanelolli tilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecuiztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço cenetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [281] [276 415]

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yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoztlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitzioztze ye tlauinamac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Glaubenswelt der Alt-Azteken* Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 188, says of the form meaning: "*Die er im Tone dargelegten Inventrium, die den Copalbeutel trugen, wird er sich am Pfeiner Amulette.*" The term *tlamacazque* he translates (ibid., p. 181), "*erklärer der mit einer Inbrunst.*"

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

Injc vntetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monoonavi in tlatlac, cuetlas, aiac ma qujtlecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: mjtoaia, iriioc itocaiocan Tlacateccan: in nez ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalqujçv in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca conpalo in iuqujch calquavitl: njnan ie ic tlacaoaca, qujtoa. Mexicae ma vallatotoca, tla cevilos, amaapiloi: auh in jquac caatequjaia, in qujcevizneçuja, çan ie illujoc mopitza, aocmo vel ceuh, vel tlatlac.

● [346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

Injc eteti tetzavitl: viiecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzũmulco: iteupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilacaia, çan aoachqujavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caqujztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

Injc nauhtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietietia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa; auh vmpa itztia in jqujçaianpa, iuhquj in tlexuchtli pipixauhtiuh, veca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca acitiuh in jcujtlapil: auh in oirtoc cẽca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oiovalli õmoman.

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very fa: [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl quijpoçonalti, iuhqujn momomoloca, iuhqujn xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetz: auh in calli tzitzintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixitin in calli: iehoatl in vei atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa ciouatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi; qujtotinemj. Nonopilhoantzitzin, ie ic çan ie tonvi: in

4. Probably Itepeyac is meant here *Itoiac*. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also *Memoriale en 3 columnas*, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún — Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 161.

5. Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* has *itoiac* in a similar passage. In the *Real Palacio* MS it reads: *yoic ỹ calqujqu*.

6. *Ce* can appear in *loc. cit.*

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 18, n. 5.

8. In the *Real Palacio* MS, this passage reads: "*auh ỹ calli xixitintin caqic chok caq' papachiuh caqui xixitin.*"

9. In *loc. cit.*, manj is followed by "*chok yoic tecuanqj yoic cocouah yõ no cenqua yo ỹ cenqua cocouin ỹ cuy ayõqua.*"

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

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7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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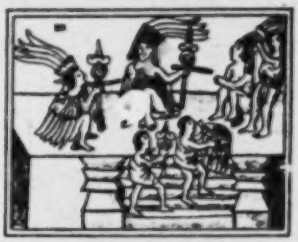

[731]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

[p. 44(Q)]

648 settled. And as they went marching, the common folk set out shouting war cries after them, but from a distance.

Then they stopped at Aztaquemecan, at the base and foot of Mount Aztaquemecan. There, below, they rested, at a place called Çacamulco. Also above was a rounded hill, where likewise there was an Otomí temple.[7] There they went to quarter themselves. Likewise it was abandoned to them. No more did the common folk draw near to them; but everywhere the houses remained quiet. They had abandoned the houses in haste.

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njman ic onmotlalito in Aztaquemecan: icxitlan itxintli in ichoatl tepetl Aztaquemecã, in vncan motlalique tlatxintlan: itocaiocan çacamulco, no tlacpac, ololtontli in tepetl: no vncan icac otomecalli, oncan in õmocaltemato, çan no impan macauh aocmo impan acito in macoualkin, çan noviian cactoc in calli, cacactivetz in calli.

7. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), IV, p. 78.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[108] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present
[126] map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

[103]

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacā, 2	Zompahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[109]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation.
114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

346 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center.
635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[108] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.
[109] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

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is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen** [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[111] [262]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ... ," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tesanzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiteca*, de dificil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

CHOLULA.

The foundation mound of the Great Temple, now surmounted by a Christian Church.

[facing p. 6]

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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the 323 438 city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain.

346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

002 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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648 reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

346 782 26 I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

797 Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las [114] Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

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600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplated, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct ● 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:— 363 "The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the [501] principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

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231 136 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 266 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

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 443

off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who [324 sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they 262] get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and [325 gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could 415] wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were 436 already approaching its great courts, before leaving the [443] market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look 346● at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these [364] stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

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346 down from above, where he was making his sacrifices, six priests and two chieftains to accompany our Captain. On ascending the steps, which are one hundred and fourteen in number, they attempted to take him by the arms so as to help him to ascend, (thinking that he would get tired,) as they were accustomed to assist their lord Montezuma, but Cortés would not allow them to come near him. When we got to the top of the great Cue, on a small plaza which has been made on the top where there was a space like a platform with some large stones placed on it, on which they put the poor Indians for sacrifice, there was a bulky image like a dragon and other evil figures and much blood shed that very day.

361 When we arrived there Montezuma came out of an oratory where his cursed idols were, at the summit of the great Cue, and two priests came with him, and after paying great reverence to Cortés and to all of us he said: "You must be tired, Señor Malinche, from ascending this our great Cue," and Cortés replied through our interpreters who were with us that he and his companions were never tired by anything. Then Montezuma took him by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water, and the many other towns on the land round the lake, and that if he had not seen the great market place well, that from where they were they could see it better.

So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico, that is the causeway of Iztapalapa by which we had entered four days before, and that of Tacuba, along which later on we fled on the night of our great defeat, when Cuitlahuac[1] the new prince drove us

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

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797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls [381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

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of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the left hand there stood the other great image the same height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call *Tezcat*, and the body plastered with precious stones like that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and in it was another image half man and half lizard, with precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest, but I do not remember its name, and everything was covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In that small place there were many diabolical things to be seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols, and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

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346 so much of it, that I curse the whole of it, and as it stank like a slaughter house we hastened to clear out of such a bad stench and worse sight. Our Captain said to Montezuma through our interpreter, half laughing: "Señor Montezuma, I do not understand how such a great Prince and wise man as you are has not come to the conclusion, in your mind, that these idols of yours are not gods, but evil things that are called devils, and so that you may know it and all your priests may see it clearly, do me the favour to approve of my placing a cross here on the top of this tower, and that in one part of these oratories where your Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca stand we may divide off a space where we can set up an image of Our Lady (an image which Montezuma had already seen) and you will see by the fear in which these Idols hold it that they are deceiving you."

776 Montezuma replied half angrily, (and the two priests who were with him showed great annoyance,) and said: "Señor Malinche, if I had known that you would have said such defamatory things I would not have shown you my gods, we consider them to be very good, for they give us health and rains and good seed times and seasons and as many victories as we desire, and we are obliged to worship them and make sacrifices, and I pray you not to say another word to their dishonour."

783 When our Captain heard that and noted the angry looks he did not refer again to the subject, but said with a cheerful manner: "It is time for your Excellency and for us to return," and Montezuma replied that it was well, but that he had to pray and offer certain sacrifices on account of the great *tatacul*, that is to say sin, which he had committed in allowing us to ascend his great Cue, and being the cause of our being permitted to see his gods, and of our dishonouring them by speaking evil of them, so that before he left he must pray and worship.

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Then Cortés said "I ask your pardon if it be so," and then we went down the steps, and as they numbered one hundred and fourteen, and as some of our soldiers were suffering from tumours and abscesses, their legs were tired by the descent. 346

I will leave off talking about the oratory, and I will give my impresions of its surroundings, and if I do not describe it as accurately as I should do, do not wonder at it, for at that time I had other things to think about, regarding what we had on hand, that is to say my soldier's duties and what my Captain ordered me to do, and not about telling stories. To go back to the facts, it seems to me that the circuit of the great Cue was equal to [that of] six large sites,[1] such as they measure in this country, and from below up to where a small tower stood, where they kept their idols, it narrowed, and in the middle of the lofty Cue up to its highest point, there were five hollows like barbicans, but open, without screens, and as there are many Cues painted on the banners of the conquerors, and on one which I possess, any one who has seen them can infer what they looked like from outside, better that I myself saw and understood it. There was a report that at the time they began to build that great Cue, all the inhabitants of that mighty city had placed as offerings in the foundations, gold and silver and pearls and precious stones, and had bathed them with the blood of the many Indian prisoners of war who were sacrificed, and had placed there every sort and kind of seed that the land produces, so that their Idols should give them victories and riches, and large crops. Some of my inquisitive readers will ask, how could we come to know that into the foundations of that great Cue they cast gold and silver and precious chalchihuites and seeds, and watered them with the human

[1] Solares. Solar is a town lot for house building.

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•346 blood of the Indians whom they sacrificed, when it was more than a thousand years ago that they built and made it? The answer I give to this is that after we took that great and strong city, and the sites were apportioned, it was then proposed that in [the place of] that great *Cue* we should build a church to our patron and guide Señor Santiago, and a great part of the site of the great temple of Huichilobos was occupied by the site of the holy church, and when they opened the foundations in order to strengthen them, they found much gold and silver and chalchihuites and pearls and seed pearls and other stones. And a settler in Mexico who occupied another part of the same site found the same things, and the officers of His Majesty's treasury demanded them saying that they belonged by right to His Majesty, and there was a lawsuit about it. I do not remember what happened except that they sought information from the Caciques and Chieftains of Mexico, and from Guatémoc, who was then alive, and they said that it was true that all the inhabitants of Mexico at that time cast into the foundations those jewels and all the rest of the things, and that so it was [212] noted in their books and pictures of ancient things, and from this cause those riches were preserved for the building of the holy church of Santiago.

Let us leave this and speak of the great and splendid Courts which were in front of the [temple of] Huichilobos, where now stands [the church of] Señor Santiago, which was called Tlaltelolco, for so they were accustomed to call it.

I have already said that there were two walls of masonry [which had to be passed] before entering, and that the court was paved with white stones, like flagstones, carefully whitewashed and burnished and clean, and it was as large and as broad as the plaza of Salamanca. A little way

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could
not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood.
Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from
●346 where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and
places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the
marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that
great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and
occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge
of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was
another much larger pond or tank of very clear water
dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tez-
catepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were
other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where
many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were
sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which
were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and
women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that
they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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a splendid Cue; but it is of another form from that of Mexico although the courts are the same, very large with a double wall. I may add that the Cue in the City of Texcoco was very lofty, having one hundred and seventeen steps, and the Courts were broad and fine, shaped in a different form from the others. It is a laughable matter that every province had its Idols and those of one province or city were of no use to the others, thus they had an infinite number of Idols and they made sacrifices to them all. 346

After our Captain and all of us were tired of walking about and seeing such a diversity of Idols and their sacrifices, we returned to our quarters, all the time accompanied by many Caciques and chieftains whom Montezuma sent with us. I will stop here and go on to say what more we did. ooo

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CHAPTER XCIII.

How we made our Church and altar in our quarters and placed a Cross outside the chamber, and what else happened, and how we found the hall and treasure chamber of Montezuma's father, and how we decided to seize Montezuma.

WHEN our Captain and the Friar of the Order of Mercy saw that Montezuma was not willing that we should set up a cross on the Temple of Huichilobos nor build a church there, and because, ever since we entered this city of Mexico, when Mass was said, we had to place an altar on tables and then to dismantle it again, it was decided that we should ask Montezuma's stewards for masons so that we could make a church in our quarters. 797

The stewards said that they would tell Montezuma of our wishes, and our Captain also sent to tell him so by Doña Marina and Aguilar and his page Orteguilla, who

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over
361 "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great "quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places "it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of "which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking "towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at "the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, "they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and "three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness "from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and "the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to "the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content "himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in "each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were "other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes "three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are
421 often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (500 cartloads, says Tápia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX. p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello tan aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"ters (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 If the vanquished tribe found no such point of refuge, then the pursuit continued without relenting until the town or settlement itself was reached. Frequently both pursuers and pursued entered it almost at the same time. The torch was applied to the temple first, and an indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants began.[169]

728 Nothing short of speedy submission to tribute could arrest this butchery. The vanquished, therefore, if not prepared to flee from their homes forever,[170] made signals of peace. A parley ensued, and to it succeeded a surrender on the part of the defeated tribe. Generally one year of tribute was paid in advance, and thus the Mexicans might return homewards loaded, both with the spoils acquired on the battlefield and with the first guarantee of future contributions from the vanquished tribe.[171]

726 It sometimes occurred, however, that the tribe attacked had provided its settlement with artificial defenses, and the Mexicans, victorious in the open field, found themselves in presence of the simple fortifications, which we shall hereafter describe, like palisades or even platforms of earth or stone surmounted by parapets. An attack upon these was only attempted if there appeared no doubt as to the result, in consequence of the superiority of the Mexicans, or of the great losses sustained by their defenders in the previous fights.[172] Then, but only then, ladders were con-

[346]

[169] The "teo-calli" or temple being in the centre of the settlement, and also its highest, and therefore, according to Indian notions, its strongest edifice, the destruction thereof by fire was the signal of decisive victory of the assailants. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31). Durán (Cap. XV, p. 129).

[170] In cases where the pueblo of the enemy had been completely deserted, either through flight of its inhabitants, or through their extermination, as was the case with Alahuitzlán, these sections were repeopled by colonies from Nahuatl stock. Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXIV, pp. 125 and 126) and Durán (Cap. XLV, p. 364, etc.) both relate in detail how it occurred. This may account in some degree for the presence of Nahuatlac stock at a distance from the valley, and may yet throw some light even upon the singular colonization of the Peruvian "Mitimaes."

[171] This suing for peace, where the tribe was of foreign stock-language, took place, sometimes through interpreters, "nahuatlata," sometimes merely by signs. The defeated generally fled to the top of a hill and from there beckoned to the pursuing Mexicans to stop the carnage, with humble and pitiful gestures. But the first parley did not always result in peace. The massacre of women and children recommenced often twice, ere the tribute offered by the vanquished satisfied the Mexicans. This tribute was exacted in proportion to the resistance offered and to the resources of the tribe. After peace was agreed upon the Mexicans still feasted from the food of those whom they had ruthlessly conquered. The prisoners, once taken, were never released nor exchanged. They had to carry the spoils and tribute to Mexico, but were generally well fed and cared for until the day when they were slaughtered to the idols.

[172] A good illustration is found in Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI), describing the foray against Tututepec and Quetzaltepec. But Durán is still more explicit on the same events. According to him (Cap. LVI, p. 547), after the unfortified pueblo of Tu-

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

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the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pias"). *Zurita* (pp. 131-133) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 269; cap. VIII, p. 275). *Zurita* (p. 131): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 188): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredados para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 69).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que alli se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap. IV, p. 268): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmecac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 223): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 12th edifice "Tillancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

13th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vitznaoac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 202)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 202).

35th edifice. "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

54th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac, "monastario á oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tzoalmolco-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Xiuhtecatli," (p. 207).

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546 793 the abodes of such men as underwent the severe trials preliminary to their investiture with the rank of chief ("tecuhtli.") The word "calmecac" is often interpreted as "dark house" but its etymology is probably quite different. In no case, however, was that building a school for a "privileged class of children.[105]

582 *The kin had the right to regulate and to control marriage.*[106] We have seen that the obligation to marry rested upon every member of a "calpulli." Where tribal society is still in its pure and original condition marriage in the same kin is absolutely prohibited. The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans were closely scrutinized by the Catholic church, and a rigid investigation by the early missionaries has proven that not only was marriage between close relations strictly prohibited, but it was also discouraged (if not forbidden) between members of the same kin.[107] Mr.

In all, seven "calmeca" within the enclosure surrounding the great "house of god" of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. *Torquemada* (Lib. VIII, cap. XI to XVI) also describes the various places, mentioning "Huitznahuacalmecac." "Casa de recogimiento, y habitacion de los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este lugar" (p. 150). "Tlamatzinco calmecac," donde vivian y tenian su asistencia los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este dicho Templos" (p. 151). "Yopico calmecac" "donde habitaban, y se criaban los muchachos" (p. 153). "Calpecac"—"donde se criavan los niños" (p. 149). Besides these statements, the two authors just quoted allude to the Calmecac in the same manner at various places. *Sahagun* (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VII, and especially Cap. VIII, pp. 274–276). Already the title of this chapter is significant: "De las costumbres que se guardaban en la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, donde se criaban los Sacerdotes, y ministros del templo desde niños." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, pp. 468–471). *Johannes Eusebius Nieremberg* ("*Historia Naturæ*," Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, pp. 142–146). He copies Hernandez who, in turn, almost verbally agrees with Sahagun. *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302; Cap. LI, p. 537). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 438).

[105] *Molina* (II, p. 11). "Calmeca tlatolli," "palabras dichas en corredores largos" and "Calmelcoth," "sala grande y prolongada, ó corredor de la casa." The word may be decomposed into "Calli"—house, and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, or "mecatl" a cord or tie. "House of Ties"?

[106] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 74).

171 [107] Already *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII) pictures vividly the difficulties encountered by the priests in regard to regular marriage. The first question to be determined was that of the legitimate spouse. This has already been investigated in a former note. The next question was that of the degrees of consanguinity, or affinity. It was rigidly inquired into whether perhaps, custom had sanctioned intermarriage of brothers and sisters. *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 439): "No casan con su madre ni con su hija, ni con su hermana; en lo demas poco parentesco guardan; aunque algunos se hallaron casados con sus propias hermanas;" thus admitting the fact that intermarriage of that kind existed. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 305) also concedes that such may have been the case, and infers that these marriages should be regarded as valid. The question of intermarriage between children of the same issue becomes important through the statements and discussion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. VII, p. 469) about the matrimonial customs of the Indians of *Vera-Paz*: "The Indians of Vera-Paz were compelled frequently, on account of their customs of relationship, to marry brothers with sisters for this reason: It was not customary for those of one clan, or tribe, to marry the women of the same tribe (pueblo), and thus they sought for them from others, because

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nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the 764
Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a de- 771
tailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religious rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli 618
had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, 346
within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of [782]
the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, etc.), we have also the testimony of *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 42 and 43, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 86), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturea*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 146).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

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618 only established within that kin's territory, but it is also recog-
346 nized even at the central medicine-lodge of the tribe.

727 A further evidence of it is found in the manner of distribution of the captives, upon the return of a successful war-party. It is known that prisoners were always offered up to the idols. Such a person, therefore, as soon as secured, became an object of "medicine;" he was so to say a sacred object. Well treated as long as he was not needed for the slaughter-block, nothing could in the end save him from sacrifice. But this sacrifice itself was not made in behalf of his captor, but on behalf and for the *kin* to whom the captor belonged. Therefore upon arrival at the pueblo, the prisoners of war were turned over to the respective calpulli as their share thus furnishing another illustration of "Separate Rites of Worship" of the kins composing the ancient Mexicans.[118]

000 Having already discussed, in a former paper, the *tenure of Lands and customs of Inheritance*[119] we now pass on to one of the most essential features of tribal society, and one which involves some of the vital points of organization and customs.

618 *The kin was obligated to protect and defend the persons and prop-*
681 *erty of its members, and to resent and punish any injury done to them, as if it were a crime committed against the kin itself.*[120]

The impression justly prevails, that the so-called "penal code" of the Mexicans was simple but severe, death being, in most instances, the punishment of offenders. This resulted, in a great measure, from the fact that any offence against an individual

[118] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII. p. 132), rather contradicts himself when he says first: that the captive belonged to his captor, but at the same time, that this captor was even killed if he *gave* away his prisoner to another man. Second: that each one had to watch his own prisoners, and at the same time they were guarded in common, and at the risk of the "barrio" or kin, which was responsible for their safe keeping. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540) copies this almost literally. Much more positive and clear is *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173): "mandó Tlacaellel repartir los cautivos, porque eran muchos, por todos los barrios y que cada barrio se encargase de guardar y sustentar tantos . . . . . Los mandones de los barrios repartieron los presos á cada barrio, á como les cania." (Cap. XXI, p. 186): "Montecçuma los mandaua vestir y adereçar y llamauava á los Calpixques, que son los mandoncillos de los barrios, y entregauanlas, para que tuviesen cuidado dellos, diciendo que eran la merced del sol, Señor de la tierra, que los daua para el sacrificio." (Id., cap. XXII, p. 192. Cap. XXVIII, p. 237): "luego fuéron repartidos entre los barrios y encomendados á los mandoncillos." (Cap. XLII, p. 343, etc.). *Tezozomoc* ("*Cronica*," cap. XXIX, p. 45; XXXII, p. 51; XXXIII, p. 53; XXXVIII, p. 61; XLIX, p. 80, etc.), confirms Durán as might be expected.

[119] "*Tenure of Lands and Customs of Inheritance*," 11th *Report of Peabody Museum*, 1878.

[120] "*Ancient Society*," (pp. 76 and 77). Compare *H. Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," pp. 501 and 502), among the ancient Germans.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

532 bolize the heavens and their color. This strip is girdled by
805 the signs for stars, through which penetrate designs emblematic of the rays of the sun. Two immense Fire Serpents, symbolic of the Year and Time, circle the exterior to meet face to face at the base. Boring back through these forms to the significance behind them, we have a grandiose conception of the majesty of the universe.[11] (See Plate 52, top.)

349 In recent years, under the Presidential Palace in Mexico
532 City, a monolith over a meter high was found, which represented a platform and a stair crowned at the top by a similar solar disk. Reliefs on the sides show Huitzilopochtli, God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, God of the Smoking Mirror, symbolizing the sacred war between night and day. Probably the Calendar Stone was set up in much the same manner, and it is tantalizing to think of the lost reliefs which explained and ornamented the great disk when it was in position.[12] (See Plate 52, bottom.)

532 The historical accounts record that the Calendar Stone
805 was made in 1479 and the great eagle vase of Tizoc during
782 his rule from 1481 to 1486. A trough, extending from the basin to the edge of the vase, has been explained as a drain for blood to run out. However, the design is not keyed to this drain, and the purpose of the basin is to burn hearts, not to receive blood. Therefore, the furrow was probably made by the Spaniards, who sought either to use the vase as a nether millstone or tried unsuccessfully to smash it as an example of idolatry.[13]

532 The dates of these two monuments indicate that this was the time when Aztec civilization burst into flower. It is a tribute to Aztec artists that, originally fettered by the more lowly tasks of handicraft, they could accept the tremendous

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli*.

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 was set with razor-sharp obsidian blades. Usually he was
796 killed in the most honorable of deaths, that of sacrificial vic-
349 tim to the Sun God, Tonatiuh, but sometimes he would resist so successfully that he gained a pardon. Other disk-shaped stones were placed about the plaza. One, thirteen feet in diameter, was set vertically on a special platform. Carved with a consummate mastery of design, it represented the symbolic history of the world. Another disk, set flat, was hollowed in the center, so that hearts wrung from war captives might be burned to nourish the great gods. This was carved on its surface and edge to commemorate the many conquests of War Chief Tizoc, who was shown dressed as a god, with his captives before him.

174 In another part of the plaza a sacrifice was to be made.
782 Before a small temple dedicated to one of the myriad Aztec gods a group was gathered, some in the gay panoply of merchants and others wearing the sinister black of the priesthood. A tightly pinioned slave stood in their midst and looked unseeingly before him, resignation, not fear, on his face. The priests rushed him up the steep steps of the temple, followed by the merchants at a more leisurely pace. Two priests seized the slave by either arm, forcing him backward, while two others pulled his legs from under him until his body curved, belly upward, over the altar. A fifth priest plowed his flint knife in a long sweep from the breastbone to the base of the stomach and, reaching into the aperture, with a dexterous twist tore out the heart. This he burned, while it was still throbbing, in a carved stone vase, while the merchants, swinging long ladles of smoking incense, chanted their thanks for a safe and profitable excursion into the hot country. (See Plate 60.)

726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

ça oc iuuijnoc izquac, njman ic momjqujli: ichoual in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoß itech ießquizquac, atlan qujnecmjtique, qujnteteepachoque: auh vncß mjquizquja in castañeda: auh ça acaltitech pilcatia injc qujvicaque xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenantepotzco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at Totecco,[8] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] [491] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

Auh oncentl acalli onoca tetenantepotzco, vncß in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc oncentl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, ça tlatlapixtoca in atlan. Auh in ic ica qujvica.

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came, [443 317] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all these of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied] [533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

Auh iquencquilhujoc ie no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ic qujoalhotrilique in quauecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhticac iztanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl, in acolhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ic ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in teooc in tlaixquatl in tlaqoetzalli, in quamjmjlli, in acatl qujcujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cenaß ivian in iativitze, qujniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapitzivitze, tlatzocentivitze. Auh injcaimpa onotivitze in ic ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ic ixqujch altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, meeltnotzona in tlaxcalteca, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, queoa in çaço tlein qujlnamjquj, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoß vel nepacholo, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, qujtetztontialaia, qujchjtiloque in quemman teevitiloz, in quenman quj-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"cerca de aquellas yglesias que se llama chiva hasta."* Cano (*op. cit.*) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, *barrio* of Tlaxpanahuacan.

8. *"Cerca de la Cruz, pueblo Atzacualco."* — Cano, *op. cit.*

9. El Pueblo de los Indios — east of the corner of Tenochtitlan, in the lake. However, Rapoja and Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and map, locate it on a hill in the southeastern part of Tlatilulco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"determinaron entre sí los españoles de darnos guerra por allí."*

11. Quauhcatitlan *acueducto* — *"calle que iba derecho de Necuedeo al Mercado de la Sal, . . . prolongada hasta encontrarse el Alhóndiga y probablemente correspondía con la Calzada de Necuedeo, Mercado, Almoneda, Carnaval y Ribera."* — Cano, *op. cit.* Rapoja and Barlow, *op. cit.* place it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Bustamante, *loc. cit.*, the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the *Florentine Codex*: *"por causa de los españoles que los indios habían muerto en su provecho, tornaron á preparar gente de guerra, haciendo juramento solemne que la guerra no había de cesar hasta que arrojaran la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre delles que no muriese en sus manos; de cómo acudieron corriendo á cegar todas las acequias y canales de aquesta por donde pudieran entrar los unos donde los hergandanos no pudiesen entrar, y así comenzaron á derribar casas, y dibujar todas las acequias."*

13. Corresponding Spanish text: *"no barrio que se llama Tlilmanco que es agora cinco años"* (San Martín).

643 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, cuztic teucujtlatl,

301 [532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli cuztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchihuiacamijtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — texuihuiacamijtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchihuitecatl ololiuhqui, tlacemquixtilli, tlaccatl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — cuztic teucujtlachaiaoac cencatl, chalchihuitlacamatalli itic mani,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalxuichencotl tlaçotlanquij nepapan tlaçoujtica, ioan cuztic teucujtlaio,

A golden band for the calf of the leg; — cuztic teucujtlacotzeocatl,

[237] A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzalxonicpecxochitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquauijtl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecacoatzli cuztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a curved extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — cuztic teucujtlachipulcoucatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacuztic acuechcoucatl,

643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, ineiscujli tlatoanj, teuatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in iepujch imaçoua tlatoanj.

[276 416] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçelotecacatli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcacatli,

[282 281] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztlapatlatli, teuetl xiacachali cuztic teucujtlatl, teuilacatl cuztic teucujtlatl,

[534] 533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mijtoianj, teponaçoanj, teuetzonanj, tlatzotzoqui, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaxipetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in iepujch onijo. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchihuetzotl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacocatl, moncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaxaçoatl cuztic teucujtlatl,

● 351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquauijtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inemca catca: ca maçouac in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tziquauatanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, II, p. 592; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1006, on etymology of amanteca.

524 525 won[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, shows, houses, fabics, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

526 411 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green [301 643] stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, [223] rounded so that the small stones were polished. With these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

● 351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 524 There were their jesters who provided them solace and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring him pleasure. There were their servants, their pages who attended them [732] and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, [231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

chalchihuij, ateqo teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlaxoli, calli, mjlli, tlaqetilmatli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchihuitzontli, teucujtlanacochtli, xamoujtilmatli. Auh in aquja patoua, in qujchaiaua in etl, intla cenxtl etl ic tzequechili, in mocpetlticac etl, in vmpa ic tzinxujnjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamauiçolli ipan motzaia: njman mochi quitlauj, in jxquich tlaçotli, in motlanjoa in macuxel xiuno açi in quenquitzi aquilli, injc netemnonoztalo, injc netzapalo.

Tlatlamjna tlauitotica, tipontica, tetemjtica, tlacochtica: ielauicallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhqui, ateqo teuxiujtl in jmoquechtlan quitlalia tlaxnauj.

Tlatlacaloatuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhuatzli, injcallo teloloatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaca teloloili, ic quimoxia tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca tetematlatl: injc quimaçi nepapan totome,

motzochimjltia, motzochitepantia, cuequja, in jxquich nepapan xochitl,

vacatqo intetlavetzaquiricaboan in quimelelequjxtiaia, in quicotemehtia: ioan quauilacatzoque in quipaquiltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachiual teoctzaqui, ioan mauiztic, in jca ixcopal tlauipa injc tlamati çe tlacatl, tomatac in quammjmjlli in quixoxia ica ixcopal xiquetztic acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli ça ichoatl in jxcopal ic tlamati,

mjiec tlamitli, in tetecmehti in quichiua, vacatca imaxchitlan, ixoloan in quinujcatiuecca in quimelelequjxtiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, quiquinia quaquauhti, ocelome, cuicuitlachtin, oxtochtin, nepapan tonal.

2. The Real Academia de la Historia MS reads quahtlatoan (he respected) instead of quahtlatlo.

Thirty-first Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards came with the brigantines and took after those who were in boats in order to join battle with them, and then emerged and came to arrive near all the houses.

And when they had reached [the guns], thereupon they fired upon the wall. And the wall then gave way and parted from behind. And the second time [the shot] struck, the wall then fell to the ground destroyed; it burst open, pierced through. Then likewise the road appeared clear [of men]. And the chieftains who were by the wall then dispersed. All fled from there, escaping in terror. And all the various men [allied to the Spaniards] then quickly advanced filling each canal. Then they speedily leveled them with stones, adobes, and some logs so that they were filled.

And after the canals had been filled, then came the horse[men]; perhaps ten of them. They rode in a circle; they came wheeling about, twisting and circling. [And] once again horse[men] came, following after the others. And a number of Tlatilulcans who had quickly entered the palace which had been the house of Moctezuma then emerged in terror, and came up against the horse[men]. One [of them] lanced a Tlatilulcan. And though he had speared him, yet he took hold firmly of the iron lance. Then his companions went up to tear it from [the rider's] hands, threw him down upon his back, and upset him. And when he had fallen tumbled to the earth, they hit him repeatedly, they struck him on the back of the head. He died there.

Thereupon the Spaniards assembled and set out together. Then they reached Quauhquiyauac (the Eagle Gate). And they took with them the hundred guns and the equipment which went with it. They placed it at the Eagle Gate. (And for this reason is it called the Eagle Gate, that there stood an eagle carved in stone, a good man's height tall — so high — and flanking it stood, on one side, an ocelot, and on [the other] a wolf, likewise hewn of stone [)].

Inic cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo: vncan 726
mijnj in quenjn Españoles ic valictiaque in vergantines, qujnvalhocaque in acaltica nenca in qujnnamiquijto: njmã ic valquijque itech acico in jxquich calli.

Auh in ontochichiuhque: njmã ic ic quivalmotla in tenamjtl: auh in tenamjtl, njmã tzatzaian, cuitlaxtliuh. Auh injc vppa vetz: njmã tlaltitecq ia in tenamjtl, vevelocac, vmpet, oncmian: njman no iuhquin chipacpul moquetz vtli. Auh in tiacavã in tenantitlan onoca, njmã ic valxitinque, valnetlaloto, nemauhcaquijxtilo. Auh in jxquich nepapan tlecatl: njman icuhca contentivi in acalotli, njman icuhca coepxmana tetica, xiotica yuan cequj quavitl injc tlaxaqque.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ommotzop acalotli: njman ic ic valnoa in cavallome, ago matlacteme, ontlaivahoco, ontlamalacachoco, ommocovitzoco, ommonevilacachoco: ic no ceppa centlamantli valevaque in cavallome, qujnvalcuitlapãvitiaque. Auh cequjntin tlatilulca talactivetzque in tecpan catca in jchan motecuçoma: njman ic valmauhcaquijçaia, qujnonmonamjctico in cavallotin: oc qujxilico in tlatilulca. Auh in oquixilico, oc vel can in jepuztopil: njman qujmacujlico in jcnjvan, icujtlapan qujonlmaiauhque, quivaltzinetuhque: auh in otlalpan vetzico mec qujvivinquj, concuexcochivitecque, encan ommijc.

Nimaa ic ic qujualcentlaça, onkemolinq in Españoles: njmã ic onacico in quauhquijavac. Auh in tomaoac tlequjqujztli quivicaivi, intlequj ietiuh, contecaque in quauhquijavac. (Auh injc motenevia quauhquijauac, ca vncan icaca in quauhtli, uel in tlaxixintli, vel omoquetzalli injc quauhtic, inic vecapan: auh quijxtzacutimanq, in centlapal icaca ocelotl: auh in centlapal icaia cuitlachtli, çanno uel in tlaxiotli. Auh in ic iuhquj in vevei tiacavan, oc nã [35] 552

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma.
342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. [501 There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were 503] able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

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of poles and thatch of Indian tribes, none of whom had risen above a state of barbarism. Much no doubt was due to the natural surroundings; the white City with its numerous teocallis was embowered in trees and surrounded by the blue waters of the lake sparkling under a tropical sun, a lake that was alive with a multitude of canoes passing and repassing to the other white cities on its shores, and in every direction the horizon was closed with a splendid panorama of forest-covered hills, while to the south-east the eye always rested with delight on the beautiful slopes and snow-covered peaks of the two great volcanoes. It is an enchanting scene to-day, in spite of the shrinkage of the lakes, the smoke from factory chimneys, and the somewhat squalid surroundings of a modern city, and but little effort of imagination is needed to appreciate the charm that it must have exercised in the days of Montezuma.

The Viga Canal still survives as a water-way by which produce is brought into Mexico from the market gardens or chinampas of Lake Zochimilco, and it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that the canal which ran from the Viga Canal along the south side of the great square past the convent of San Francisco was finally filled in. For many years the roadway beside it was known as the "Calle de Canoas," and the names Puente de la Leña (Fire wood bridge), Portal de las Flores, etc., still mark the localities where the different commodities were sold on the banks of the Canal. Indeed, the course of many an old water-way can still be traced in the modern City by the names which have clung to the localities since the days of the conquest and are now attached to the streets.

The Upsala map seems to show that there was an embankment or pallisade along the east side of the City, necessary as a protection against the wash of the waves from the lake, but on the other sides the entrance of the numerous canals was probably through tree-lined chinampas and orchards, similar to the approach to Xochimilco at the present day. Gardens and groves were evidently numerous in the City itself; the Mexicans were distinguished for their love of flowers, and there is no climate where gardening is more remunerative than in these tropical highlands when water is plentiful. The flowering plants cultivated on the roofs of the houses must have added greatly to the picturesque aspect of the streets and canals.

Bernal Díaz tells us how clean the surroundings of the great temple were kept, where not a straw or a spot of dust could be seen (filth seems to have been confined to the temples themselves where the horrid rites of their religion were performed), and this cleanliness probably extended to the City itself, for it will be observed by any traveller in Mexico or Central America that the purely Indian villages of considerable size are almost always kept swept and tidy, while this is not the case in the towns and villages inhabited by the mixed race.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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463 judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

[837] 463 581 In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

463 Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews,* and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he 463 wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers 351 and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

* [i.e., buffoons.—Bunyst]

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were of them, and the arrangement of them and the walks, and the ponds and tanks of fresh water where the water entered at one end and flowed out at the other; and the baths which he had there, and the variety of small birds that nested in the branches, and the medicinal and useful herbs that were in the gardens. It was a wonder to see, and to take care of it there were many gardeners. Everything was made in masonry and well cemented, baths and walks and closets, and apartments like summer houses where they danced and sang. There was as much to be seen in these gardens as there was everywhere else, and we could not tire of witnessing his great power. Thus as a consequence of so many crafts being practised among them, a large number of skilled Indians were employed.

As I am almost tired of writing about this subject and my interested readers will be even more so, I will stop talking about it and tell how our Cortés in company with many of our captains and soldiers went to see Tlaltelolco,[1] which is the great market place of Mexico, and how we ascended the great Cue where stand the Idols Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos. This was the first time that our Captain went out to see the City, and I will relate what else happened.

CHAPTER XCII.

How our Captain went out to see the City of Mexico and Tlaltelolco, which is the great market place and the great Cue of Huichilobos, and what else happened.

As we had already been four days in Mexico and neither the Captain nor any of us had left our lodgings except to go to the houses and gardens, Cortés said to us that it would be well to go to the great Plaza and see the great

[1] Tutelulco in the text.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 190 and 191).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII,
[351] p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population,—in the
[312 North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and
764 only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 34). See note 37.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

396 Indians today, were flat-bottomed punts, constructed of planks which were probably tied together in Aztec times
335 rather than pegged, as they are today. The portable bridges used to cross the canals were also simple combinations of planks, or planks resting on beams. (See Plate 35, bottom left.)

352 Furniture, which in European culture has done much honor to the woodworker, was little used in Mexico. Mats sufficed for beds and seats. High dignitaries sat on a sort of wooden throne which had legs and often a back and was called *icpalli*, from which the Mexican word *equipale* for a modern wickerwork and leather chair is derived. Mention
[353] is made of screens and chests and ornamental sheathing for room interiors, but no examples are left for us to judge their craftsmanship. (See Plate 37, top.)

534 The wooden drums, on which musicians beat out ceremonial rhythms, were handsomely carved, as befitted their religious use. There were two types, a vertically cylindrical drum (*huehuetl**), which had a skin head, and a horizontally cylindrical drum (*teponaztli*†), the top of which was slotted to form two tongues. While the notes differed, there was usually the same interval between the resonant sounds emitted when the tongues were struck. The task of reaching the pitch must have been excessively difficult, for the wood had to be hollowed by fire and then chiseled to a nicety. At times the artist fashioned these drums to represent a crouching
322 man or animal. Masks were often used in temple ceremonies when a god was impersonated, and ceremonial staffs were part of their equipment. So, also, were the throwing boards, or *atl-atls*, with which a warrior flung a javelin, the lengthen-

*way-wa'yti. †te-po-na'z-tli.

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[89] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, some running.[90] This was [at Xipe tzonc's temple] called Tozoztli.

And the young men garbed like Xipe tzonc, wearing human skins,[91] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Tozoc, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[92] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[93] was placed [a head] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[94] was in his hand.

tzonca, yujc motlamachilisia: qujnocalilizia, qujzaamjquj in tlaccaoan, tlapepeni, tlatzmani: 776 796

yoan in inquijchi, qan papaqujnj, yn mjhiviccia, tlatlamani, moqujchamqujnj, moqujchamqujnj, ontjquimachqujnj, tecu momotlanj, inotlavelilloque: vncan moiniccoaia, moiomamachtizia, yn juh mjcalaque iacpan, vnpa moccaccoaia yn oiac, mjtoaia tzoncra. [524] [346]

Auh yn tetecti ojuan ic ic neujan, tepan cocalaquj, ne tlatlaoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuacatia, qujzochimaqpanaltia, qujmicpacuochitia, qujatlaoania. [292] [352] [302]

Auh intla aca cioatl, tonmonja, iccocoia: qujtoa, ma njctlamanilix, in tzonc, iquac tlacaxipeualiztli.

Jn inochichiual, mincuecachimale, tonmazaltic vltica, yiepitzoa: cuetlaliticac mazaliuhquj, conmacujticac tlapiaoal, yiaoaio malli, tonchaiaoale, tzucujtlanacoche, tlapecoaia, cuitzile, ichimal tlauhtzvilacachiuhquj, chicaoastli yn jmac icac. 776

Ninetseuth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[95]

Jnic cxxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, carrying in paper[96] the staff traveling staves[97] with

Puchteca intzuh catca: cenca qujmavizztilizia, qujdaquentlala amatica: yn jatopil, ymotlaxopil, yni xonanja, ynj 776 463 484

89. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En este fiesta, hacian como un juego de cabar: de manera que el vi vando, era de la parte deste dios, o vanguar del dios tezoc: y estos todos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que eran muertos, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y esforçados, y personas valientes, y esforçadas: que no tenian en nada la muerte: andaban, atropellos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se movieuan, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauan los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, bolujan buyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cotlas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antiqua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que cuadraban parte dos bandos á cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, cavalgando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se resguardaban con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque two-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

90. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, has occur in the Aztec text, instead of *ciac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stepped, danced, or the phrase called Tozoztli." 97. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tozoztli.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 133, defining Tozoztli as "*los mozetes o hombres del dios Tezoc.*"

98. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is *mizquichtlatoctzac*, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Seler also (*Facsimile of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mizquichtlatoctzac* (quail face painting).

99. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 486) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Tlapanecs); and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

100. "The word chimauali means 'whatever anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chimauali with the first sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Facsimile of the Aubin Collection*, p. 103.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *tlaxac-tecuhtli* or *yaoteuctecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 3, p. 37). Tezcatlipoca (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37) says he also was named *Yaoxcalitlaqui* ("*el que tiene la vara equivoca*"); Francisco Javier Clavijero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiuteuctli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecuhtli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecuhtli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecuhtli with Iztapalotl. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era una cuba, manjua, que eran llamas velad. Y tambien vsan de otra manera de vbando,*

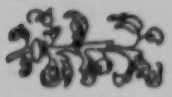

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei tecuzzi.[1]

This [feast of] Uei tecuzzi was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *magueyes*[4] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Jnic cẽpoualli omei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey tecuzzi.

Inin vey tecuzzi, ynic muchioaia, oc achtopa nauilhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: qujquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlatlezujlli, hezaço, tlaezçotilli noujl:

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia, qujquoquetzaia, qujtitiliquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinizcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan triollotlama, yn aquin telpuchtli, itech qujquixtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech.

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoistema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlaenxinepanolli:

tlaepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oqujchiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneua, aquetzalli:

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jacalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic qujtetoca in atolli, iaquiztecomac,

vel pepeioxtimanj, pepetlaxtimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn eiztix, yn

1. Cuauh Vigil (Giese Fridolin), according to Gaillard (op. cit., p. 296). Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 274) refers to Uey tecuzzili as *gran pascuala*, and to Tepeyacatl as "*pensadorcillo . . . . Pequeño cerro pensado con elegante cima de una parte á otra.*"

2. Sahagún describes these as *cempoalxochitl*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 76, has *Bauschpalme* (*Tigridia* sp.), and in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Riesenblüten* or *Riesenrosen* as alternatives.

3. Pino—*Abies religiosa* (H. B. K.) Schlecht & Cham., in Clark's *Mendoza Codex* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; pine, in Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 83, citing Molina (*Arbol, debajo de que se cuenta el año de ahora*) and Hernández (Madrid, 1790, f. 34)—"*árbol así nombrado al comienzo, porque nuestros ancianos, que conocieron, así lo conocieron.*" He equates *ocuauhtl* with *ocotl*, or thus Gaillard (*Libro del calendario*, p. 212). Sahagún said the term *huauhtli* *ahuacate*, Seler says, and adds that *ocuauhtl* was a name given to a variety of green hazelnut. It is pictured in Mr. Wilcox Pano y Tovar's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. 10).

4. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican name *maguey* (*c*) used in this translation.

5. Sahagún, in op. cit., Vol. II, p. 286: "*quauhnexatolli, que es hecho con harina verde cocida y cosa blanca, hecho con tequisquitl.*" In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 84, Seler speculates that the gruel of maize was "*gute Pumacke geheißen.*"

6. A sweet gruel, in Seler, *loc. cit.* Sahagún (*op. cit.*) states that an acid fruit, such as tamarin, was used.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *magney* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *amoxtlaul*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teuomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlinde of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[13] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In these places were they planted, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopochtli: vncan ui vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quauitl in tlaxixintli, iuhquin cocoa, nauiyoan in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchiouhtzoalli, ynic quipepechoaia, yn jmiquijo, ca mizquiquauitl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa caca, yn oquipepechoque:

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jnicol, tlacoqualllo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj conoolon, panj conquentia, yeitzicatilma: iuhquin cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yojica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli ertlapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchiouhtzoalli, mjmikic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çoultoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezzepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzoxiopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli caica.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan contecca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjo amatl caica quacamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac centmapilli: auh ynjc patlanac centmatl: auh ynjc vijac centpoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapaloaque, ynjc monapaloa ymaxtli:

ercan in tlapotonjlli caica, intac totelinjtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc ercan, vncan yn jmamaçocan:

796
778
[352
372]
[624]
[292]
[293
237]
[237]
[532]
[289
292]
[411]
[411
237]

13. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Rubiales edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 236, a note by Eduardo Quezada states: "Es necesario suponer que la capa de fibra de algunos árboles de grueso tronco, hacía de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de ella para hacer las coronas, cuchillos y otros adornos que el codex de los dioses requería."

stamped upon them, they trampled upon their outstretched bodies, they jumped upon them; they beat them [as they lay stretched] on the ground; they dragged them along; they made them cry out; they beat them—they beat their backs; they beat them sorely; they kicked them as they fled away.

And when these had been robbed, when they had been stripped, then they [could] only turn back, they [could] only go back to their homes.

[For] even if [that which was taken] was verily tribute, even this [the priests] took. Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents; he held them in reverence; he feared them because they were priests, because they did penances and laid offerings before [the gods]; for they were priests.

And when they had arrived [at the temple], when the white reeds[3] had been brought, thereupon were sewn together and woven these reeds. They fashioned green and white mats[4] of the reeds, and, binding the reeds, they made stools, and they made seats with backs on which men might rest. In the same manner were fashioned, with the green and white reeds, seats with backs.

Thereupon they bound some thin reeds in a bundle. And when they had tied them in a bunch, then they were arranged in order, sewed, girt tightly, on the ground, with *maguey* roots, with fibers of *maguey*.

And when this had been done, then began the fasting in honor of Tlaloc. When night fell, then the priests all gathered in the priests' dwellings—the warrior-priests [who had taken three or four captives], and the priests [who had captured only one];[5] then those priests who were singers and beaters [of drums]; then all the lesser priests, and those who were yet children, the novice priests.

And when this had come to pass, then were spread upon the ground before the fire the [white and green] mats, the reed beds.

And when they had spread out the reed mats, the fire priest arrayed himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket and placed on his left arm [the maniple] called *matacaxtli*.[6]

And with it he took the incense bag, and he took his incense burner [in his right hand]. Thereupon

mecamauj, qujntzatzatzitia, qujnujujtequj, qujncujtlaujujtequj, qujxipetlavitequj, qujncujtlamelaqa. 796x 688

Auh yn ontlacujcujliloque, yn onpepetlaoaloque, çan vncan mocuepa, çan vncan iloti yn jnchan:

in tlanellacalaqujlli, vel qujcuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma ichica ca tlamaceuhque, compopoa contepoponltiaia, qujpopooaia ynjc tlamacazque, ynic tlamaceoa, ymixco ymicpac qujmanaia, ynic tlamacazque. [793]

Auh yn oacico, yn ocaxitico aztapili: njman ie ic moço, moçoço, in aztapili: qujchioa yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan qujilpia in toli, tolicpalli qujchioaia, yoan qujchioaia tepotzoicpalli netlaxonj: çanoie ic muchioa in aztapili, aztapiltepotzoicpalli. 796x 285 352

Niman ie ic acquj qujcujcujtlalpia, in tuli in tulpitzaoac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, njman ie ic mouipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacatzilpitiuh menelhoatica metzonmecatica. 796x 284

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vmpeoaz, netlalocaçaoalitzli: yn oiooac njman mocacaltema, nocacaltemalon tlamacazque: in tlamacazcatequjoaque tlamacazcayiaque: njman ichoan in tlamacazque cujcanjme, tlaujtequjnj: njman ie muchintin, in tlamacazcateicaoan, yoan in oc pipilhotonti tlamacazcatoton, tlamacatoto. 796x 793

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic onmoteca, tlecujlixquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli: 796x

auh yn onmoçouh aztapilpetlatl: njman ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, yoan conaquja yn iopuchcopa, itoca matacaxtli:

yoan itlan-conana in copalxiquipilli, yoan concuj

3. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies of these reeds: "todo lo q ere derecho del agua, es muy blanco."
4. In loc. cit., Sahagún states that the reeds were sharpened (probably bottom to top): "Luego las cosas, y compuestas, compuestas y compuestas, la blanca a la verde: a manera de esteras pintadas." Elsewhere, he refers to "petates pintados, de pintas blancas y verdes."
5. The number of captives is explained in loc. cit.
6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. I, n. 8.

X 796 poles.[13] For four days this was done. Thereupon they came out of the water and all took up their array. Then all returned and went back whence they came, in the same manner in which they had come, sounding shell trumpets and naked, unclothed.

And when they had reached [home] and had gone into their houses, thereupon were thrown down ●[352] and spread out the white [and green] reed mats throughout the priests' houses.

Thereupon all wrapped and covered themselves with their capes. Then all threw themselves upon the [513] white [and green] reed mats. Cold, they lay frozen, as if dead—sleeping open-eyed, crouched, hunched up. Some just slept open-eyed; some fell into a stupor; some slept only lightly; some dreamed; some cried out in their sleep; some started up, snored, grunted, groaned, whimpered. They lay twisted in their sleep.

After midday they all arose. And when they had risen, then was adorned the fire priest, that he might offer and burn incense. He went everywhere, among all the temples; the old priests went ahead of him.

X 796 And when they had come to offer incense in all 264 [the accustomed] places, then food was eaten; food was eaten by each one. All were gathered in a circle, grouped in a ring. Severally, they were offered food, all kinds of sauce. For four days they only dipped into the sauce.

And if anyone mistook his sauce [for another's], then they detained him, they seized him so that he was taken. And when [the food] was eaten, none let fall a drop of the sauce on to the ground. [If] sauce was dropped on the ground, if anyone spilt [even] a little of the sauce, for all this he was detained and was punished.

X 796 And when this was done, when they had eaten, then all went to gather fir branches,[14] or canes—green maize stalks.

And when they had gone forth, when they had gone to pluck them, [the branches or canes] were bound together; they were tied in small bundles. And when they had made bundles of them, when it was time to strew them about, then they dispersed; all ran, hastening, carrying the reeds upon their shoulders.

Quickly they placed them in all the demons' temples.

mantli: nauijtlinjq, auh mochioaia yn: auh yn ic inhquj mec oalquixca yn atlas, nechichioalo, njman ic oalococuepilo, ycuitlauic oalujloa, çan ic no iuj in Vitze, tlapixtiujtze, pepetlanhtiujtze, tlapetlauj.

Auh yn onacico, yn onmocacaltemaca, njman ic ic motetecq, moçaçoa yn aztapilpetlatl, yn noujian calmecac:

njman ic ic netlatlalpililo, nequequentilo, mec netetecq, yn aztapilpetlapan, cecec mjcoatoc, cececztoque, yiztitoque, mococotztlalia, motetapaiollalia: cequjntin çan itzcoque, cequjntin cocochi, cequjntin çan cochcanaoatoque, cequjntin temiquj, cequjntin cochtlatoa, cequjntin cochtleoa, tlaquaqualaca, tlacotaliuj, tlaquiçujnaca, tlatetena, tlanecujliuj in cochioa:

qujn connepantla tonatiuh in necheoalo. Auh in onecheoaloc, mec muchichioa in tlenamacac, ynic tlenamacac tlatoonia, noujian quiça in jaquican tetecupan, quiiacantinemj in quaquacujlij.

Auh yn ôtlenamacato noujian: njman ic ic tlaqualo tlatlaqualo, neiaiaoalolo, neoolololo: cecciaca quimonmaca yn intlaqual, yn quenamj molli quimonmaca, navilhujxti in çan ice quipalonque.

Auh intla aca quipetilinque ynol, ic caci, ic conaci, ic onaxioa: yoan in jquac tlaqualo, niac achi quichipinja yn molli, yn vncan tlalpan; tlatlalteco in molli, intla aca achi quichipinja molli, muchi ic nexxioa, ic netlanamjctilo.

Auh in ic iuhquj ynon tlaqualoc, njman ic ic vilua yn acaxiatl mocuix, ic yn acatl, acaxoxoubquj.

Auh yn oualujloac, yn onmocujto: njman ic ic tlacuitlalpilo, acquj molpia: auh ynon tlacujcujtlalpiloc, in ic inman motemaz, njman ic tlatzomonj, netlalolo, netlatlalolo, quiquechpanoa in acatl:

quitetentiquiça yn izquican in tetecupan tlatlacatecolo.

13. "Paradiz Almadias," in Sahagún's Spanish text.

14. Sahagún says: "para que en ellas se hacen todos los ranos de hacer hacer alhamas, que ellos llamaban acatlapoli, que es cosa muchos por una manera" (Bulmalo ed., Vol. I, p. 233). See also supra, p. 38, n. 3.

X 796 [534] horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they reached the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] trampled upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

[417 778] And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [illegible]me] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to [illegible] home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled [701] the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his eagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers] [352] of an eagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

quitzoczontivi in teponaztontli, itech tlaçalolli, ancontontli: ie injc motenecoa, tecomapilco.

In oacito tzompantitlan: njmã ic conjoça in jvevcuh: auh in tequjoaque, ie qujchixtoque: vncan onoca in jmeztzaac injc qujcaoazque iauc: vncã oncoa cololhujtivi in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, in tlaçanj: cencx motlalca.

Auh in oacito, in vmpa contlalianj in iuipan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacatzlan in iztac tepetl: inacaocan; popotl temj: aivian in contlalia, qujnoalhoca: anoce qujntoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in oõtlalito quauhticpac, in jmeztzaac: mec viloatz, mec no vi in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ichoatl Toci: in ocõcaoan, icoueuh: njman ie ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxoa in tiacaoã, in jaqujchtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhisca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ie ixqujchtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelitoque in tiacaoan, in jolloco chicaoaque, in amo qõjtlaçotla in intzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjqujxmauhã, ã vel in ca momotla in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocenqujxoac: njmã ic ixpan oncevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecaçoma, ichoatica quauhpetlapan, vel ichoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipeoalli in jpan ecotica, yoan ocõtlotepotzoicpalli in jpan motlaztica, vel ie in ocelotl yieoaio, injc tlaquimjlolli icpalli:

11. Gardiner (op. cit., p. 106) translates le marcaroupa [illegible] quoiqu'on ne sait pas au doute: "palpa en tambor." The corresponding Spanish text implies use of the foot (pisar).

12. See note 22.

13. The [illegible] of these officers above warriors, chiefs, and so on, is suggested by the following passage [illegible] in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), vol. II:

". . . capitanes que hace de tener cargo de regir la republica, o hace de ser tlacatecatl, o tlacochcalcatl, dudoso habilidad para que como padres y madres de la gente de guerra que andan por las campos y por las montañas, y saben los ratos, y determinan a los barrancas, y en su mano las de estar, el [illegible] a los enemigos y enemistanas. . . ." (p. 53).

". . . los padres y madres del rei, que se llama tlacatecatl (y) tlacochcalcatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al rei y a la tierra, como la sangre y carne de los enemigos; como son los que tienen por regimiento la cabeza y los armas, y allí tienen las [illegible] y las banderas reales, y las flechas de la cabeza y las [illegible] de las [illegible]. . . ." (p. 163).

". . . entre los soldados y capitanes había dos principales que los regían, el uno era tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; el uno de los dichos era [illegible] el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra, y siempre parecían en medio con su soldado para estar ofensas. También para capitanes generales de las cosas de la guerra parecían dos, uno noble, o generoso, del palacio, y otro valeroso, y muy esforzado en la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl, estos ordenaban las cosas de la guerra, y en ordenar todas las cosas que concernían a la milicia" (p. 187).

X 796 at the ends, with cord, held together with cords so that as one struck, they made a crackling noise. Verily, they belabored and hurt one another.

[824] And if [the young warriors] caught a priest, if one was taken, they robbed him with [powdered] magwey leaves; sorely he burned and itched; [it was] as if his flesh crept. And if one of the young warriors was caught, the priests bled his ears with a [magwey] thorn, and his arms, his breast, and his thighs, [so that] he cried out loud.

[352] And if [the priests] chased the young warriors there into the royal palace, they looted it, taking all the [reed] mats, the cord mats, the seats with backs, the couches, the backless seats. And if they found horizontal, two-toned drums, or ground drums, they removed them, taking all [with them].

And if [the young warriors] took after the priests, entering the priests' dwelling, they also robbed them, removing from them mats, shell trumpets, and seats.

And they dispersed from thence, and all stopped toward evening when a little sun still shone.

And the fourth day [of Atemoztli] was named "Ashes Are Scattered." The old people said: "For the bathed ones, who died," it was said, "yet walk [upon the earth] for four days. Not yet do they depart to the land of the dead. And when ashes are scattered, then they go down into the land of the dead."

[515 348] And then were burned the paper vestments in which they had died, which had been laid in reed baskets. And then all washed their heads with soap; all bathed. Then all departed hence, thus dispersing each [to his own house].

Here ended the feast of Panquetzaliztli, after it had already taken the four days from [the month of] Atemoztli.

piaia, quiçacatzilpiaia, quiçtecvilpiaia, quimecatzocuiaia, quimecatitlan tlaliaia ynic mocuiçoaqui: iuhquin tlatlamotiaiaj, vel mococoaia, vel mococoaia.

Auh intla oce cacique tlamacazqui, intla oce mitoc, quimcaltia, ceaca cuecuetzoca, quequeçaquia: yuhquin iolmiqui ynacaio. Auh intla ce axiça, tlapuchtli, in tlamacazque quiçoçoia vitztica yn jnacazco, yn jacolpan, yn ielpan, yn jnetzpan, vel quiçaxaxaia.

Auh in telpupuchti, intla quiçtecaticalaquiçque, in vmpa tecpan, tlatlamoia, muchi quiçaxmoia in petlatl in petlamecatl, in teporzoicpalli, in netlaxoaj, in tzinicpalli: auh intla quiçpitilia teponaztli, in vecatl muchi quiçquixtia, muchi quiçcuj.

Auh intla quiçtecaticalaquiçque tlamacazque in calmecac, no quiçtlanamoielia, quiçtlaçaçaquilia, muchi quiçquixtilia, in petl:tl, in teccintli, in jcpalli:

auh çan vncã xixitinj, necacac: 'o, oc achi tonatiuh ie teutlac.

Auh injc navilhuitl motemeoa, nexpixolo: quiçoaia in vevetque. Ca in tlaaltilti in omjcque: quil oc nemj navilhuitl, aiamo vi in mjctlan: auh in jquac nexpixolo, quiçiçquac tzmo in mjctlan;

yoã iquac motlatia, moperlacaltema, in jmamatlaquj in jpã omjcque, youn iquac neamovilo, neaahilo, mec vivikoa, ic ceõmanoa.

Nicã taõquiça in jlhuitl Panquetzaliztli, ie cuel ic nauilhuitl cõcuilia in Atemoztli.

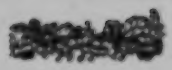

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told what the rulers rested upon.

The ocelot skin seat with a back rest; the mountain lion skin seat with a back rest; the wolf skin seat with a back rest; the mountain cat skin seat with a back rest; the cured leather seat with a back rest; the ocelot skin seat, the mountain lion skin seat, the wolf skin seat, the cured leather seat, the mountain cat[1] skin seat, the coyote skin seat.

The ocelot skin mat,[2] the mountain lion skin mat, the mountain cat skin mat, the coyote skin mat, the hammock, smooth reed mats[3] elaborately painted with designs; seats with backs, painted with designs; low seats painted with designs.

Inic matlactli oçe capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in jpan mottalisis tlatoque.

Oçcloeoatepotzoicpalli, mjçeoatepotzoicpalli, cuitlacheoatepotzoicpalli, ocotocheoatepotzoicpalli, cuetlaxtepotzoicpalli, oçcloeoicpalli, mjçeoicpalli, cuitlacheoicpalli, cuetlaxicpalli, ocotocheoicpalli, coioeoicpalli,

oçcloeoapepechtli, mjçeoapepechtli, ocotocheoapepechtli, coioeoapepechtli, cochizmatlatl aleoacapetlatl, tlatlacuijlolli, tepotzoicpalli tlacujlolli, tzinjcpalli tlacujlolli.

643
352
281

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 133.
2. Perhaps cf. corresponding Spanish text.
3. Alternatively corresponding Spanish text—"very pleasant reed petates, very elaborate, very exclusive."

[p.32 is blank]

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into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

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BOOK VI.

THE STAY IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

How the Great Montezuma came to our quarters wtih many Caciques accompanying him, and the conversation that he had with our Captain.

648

WHEN the Great Montezuma had dined and he knew that some time had passed since our Captain and all of us had done the same, he came in the greatest state to our quarters with a numerous company of chieftains, all of them his kinsmen. When Cortés was told that he was approaching he came out to the middle of the Hall to receive him, and [352] Montezuma took him by the hand, and they brought some seats, made according to their usage and very richly decorated and embroidered with gold in many designs, and Montezuma asked our Captain to be seated, and both of them sat down each on his chair. Then Montezuma began a very good speech, saying that he was greatly rejoiced to have in his house and his kingdom such valiant gentlemen as were Cortés and all of us. That two years ago he had received news of another Captain who came to

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals
[374] of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and
[352] richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

396 Indians today, were flat-bottomed punts, constructed of planks which were probably tied together in Aztec times rather than pegged, as they are today. The portable bridges 335 used to cross the canals were also simple combinations of planks, or planks resting on beams. (See Plate 35, bottom left.)

352 Furniture, which in European culture has done much honor to the woodworker, was little used in Mexico. Mats sufficed for beds and seats. High dignitaries sat on a sort of wooden throne which had legs and often a back and was called *icpalli*, from which the Mexican word *equipale* for a modern wickerwork and leather chair is derived. Mention [353] is made of screens and chests and ornamental sheathing for room interiors, but no examples are left for us to judge their craftsmanship. (See Plate 37, top.)

534 The wooden drums, on which musicians beat out ceremonial rhythms, were handsomely carved, as befitted their religious use. There were two types, a vertically cylindrical drum (*huehuetl**), which had a skin head, and a horizontally cylindrical drum (*teponaztli*†), the top of which was slotted to form two tongues. While the notes differed, there was usually the same interval between the resonant sounds emitted when the tongues were struck. The task of reaching the pitch must have been excessively difficult, for the wood had to be hollowed by fire and then chiseled to a nicety. At times the artist fashioned these drums to represent a crouching 322 man or animal. Masks were often used in temple ceremonies when a god was impersonated, and ceremonial staffs were part of their equipment. So, also, were the throwing boards, or *atl-atls*, with which a warrior flung a javelin, the lengthen-

*way-wa'ytl. †te-po-na'z-tli.

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137] fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and,
● 353 lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
[301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

648 431 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them; he placed chains of flowers on them

Injc cattolli occe capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca qujnnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocencaoa in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujx: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõmamãque in tlaçoxuchitl, in chimalsuchitl, in iollosuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujxuchitl, in coztic iiesuchitl, in cacaoxuchitl, icpacxuchitl, in suchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiioac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, coxochimacac, concozcati in cozcatl, consuchicozcati, consuchiapan, conjcpacxuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

[312]

1. Xoloco or Xoluco served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzados of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a *barrio* bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Izazaga; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lucas Alamán; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Sahagún's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 30.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*En llegando los españoles a aquel río que esto cabe las casas de alborado que se llama Xoloco.*"

4. *Chimalsuchitl. Chimalsuxchitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). Chimalsuxtl (*ibid.*, p. 100), "*tiene . . . flores redondas mayores (parece prodigio) de un palmo, amarillas rojizas con algo de amarillo más fuertes en su parte media*": *Helianthus annuus* L. Linn.; *girasol, chimalsuxtl, más de tejer. Chimalsuxchitl* is classified as "*compuesta?*"

5. *Yollosuchitl. Yolosuchitl* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin 241), Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 318 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún), "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as *tlacuilolosuchitl.*"

6. *Izpaxúchitl. Ixpaxúchitl*: in Chiapas, *jazmín del tiempo* — *Bourreria formosa*; *B. huanita*; *B. lineolata* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 626). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria huanita* [La Llave and Lex] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 69 — a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used to flavor cacao. In Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeón ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is noted that "*Este flor sirve por l'arbre izquixochiquauitl, manifiesta huanita, de la familia dos asperuiáceas.*"

7. *Yeuxúchitl.* Nardo Antonio Recchi (*Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographia Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) gives *elouxchitl* as an alternative (*quam alij* Elouxchitl, *seu* Flavum Elotl, *alij verò* Cuxuhquixuchitl [*cuxuhquiz?*] *seu* Yeuxchitl *pallidum, seuum*"), a cold climate plant ("*provenit regionibus frigidis, & nonnisi hesti*"). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it *elouxchitl*) as *Magnolia dealbata* Zucc. Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 275) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a *p* magnolia, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacauaxúchitl. Cacahuaxúchitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 348, it is identified as "*Rosita de cacao. Myroda funebris. Sent. Esterculiáceas.*" Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

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[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and
[352] richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

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000 of poles and thatch of Indian tribes, none of whom had risen above a state of barbarism. Much no doubt was due to the natural surroundings; the white City with its numerous teocallis was embowered in trees and surrounded by the blue waters of the lake sparkling under a tropical sun, a lake that was alive with a multitude of canoes passing and repassing to the other white cities on its shores, and in every direction the horizon was closed with a splendid panorama of forest-covered hills, while to the south-east the eye always rested with delight on the beautiful slopes and snow-covered peaks of the two great volcanoes. It is an enchanting scene to-day, in spite of the shrinkage of the lakes, the smoke from factory chimneys, and the somewhat squalid surroundings of a modern city, and but little effort of imagination is needed to appreciate the charm that it must have exercised in the days of Montezuma.

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Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of earthquakes.

When the earth quivered, a delusion of the natives was to be seen. When the earth quaked, then they quickly took their children by the neck and lifted them,[12] so that they might soon grow big — so that they might mature quickly. It was said that if they did not take them by the neck and lift them quickly, they would with difficulty wax larger. And they said that the earthquake would bear [the child] away if they did not grasp him by the neck and lift him. And they sprinkled water upon their faces.

And their houses, their square wooden beams, their food storage bins, their cooking pots, and indeed all their goods, everything, they sprinkled with water. And if they forgot something, they wrangled over it; it was said that the earthquake would take it away. And everyone raised a din and cried out while striking the hand to the lips in order to make known [the earthquake] to those who knew not of it.[13]

Injc matlactli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn tlallolinjliztli. 823

In jquac tlallolinj, centlamantli neci innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tlallolinj, njman iciuhca quinquechaana in jnpilhoan, injc yciuhca quaquauhtiezque, injc yciuhca manazque: quijlmach intlacamo quinquechaanazque iciuhca, ayazcan quauhtiazque: yoan quitoaia, quivica in tlallolinjliztli, intlacamo quiquechaanazque, yoan quimjxalpichiaia. 856

Auh yn jncal, in jntlaquetzal, in jncuezcon, in jnxuc, in ye ixquich intlatquj, muchi catzelhuja: auh intla ytla oquilcauhque, yc maoaia: quijlmach quivica in tlallolinjliztli: yoan ixquich tlacatl ycacacaia, moteinvitequja: yc quinmachiltiaya, in amo quimati. 823

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the [three] hearth stones.

Concerning the [three] hearth stones there was also a delusion of the natives. When they saw someone kicking[14] the hearth stones, they restrained him from doing so. They said to him: "Do not kick the hearth stones. It will deaden thy feet when, perchance, thou goest to war." They said to him that now he would not be able to walk or run in time of battle. His feet would be numbed; quickly he would fall into the hands of their foes. Hence the natives restrained their youths, that this might not befall them.

Injc matlactli vmey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tenamaztli. 354

In jtechpa in tenamaztli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: in jquac in acx quitta, in quitlicçatica in tenamaztli: yc quitlacaoaltiaia, quijlhujaia: macamo xictilicçatia in tenamaztli mitzjcximjtojctiz in jquac intla tiaz iavc, quijlhuja: aiocmo vel nenemjz, aiocmo vel motlaloz in iaupan: ça ycximjmjquiz, yciuhca ynmac vetziz in jniaovan: ynjc quintlacaoaltiaia in jntelpuchoan, in njcan tlaca, injc amo yuh inpan muchioaz.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the tortilla doubled over on the griddle.

When a woman made tortillas, if her tortilla doubled over, there was also a delusion of theirs. She said: "Someone who now cometh hath kicked

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in comalco mocuelpachoa tlaxcalli. 252

In jquac tlaxcaloa in cioa, intla ocuelpachiuh itlaxcal: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, quijtoa: aquin ie vitz oquijoaltilicçac: auh in anoce yoquijchvi, in ca-

12. *Quipouchaoaz*: literally, they took them by the neck. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*tomauan a sus niños con ambas las manos, por cabo los alçauan, y los leuantauan en alto.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*para que todos sabortiesen, que tembloaz la tierra.*"

14. *Quitilicçatica*: literally, were kicking it (cf. *tilicçaz*, Molina, *op. cit.*); corresponding Spanish text: "*los que pusqueu el pie sobre los tenbolos, que no ayz pisadas.*"

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpuleque*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpuleque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] bedight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hairdress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictotun), who were held to be among the Tlaloca.

[The Tepictotun] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloca.

These thus named Tepictotun were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images; that they would make representations of

776
796
567
467

qujchichioaia, ymac mantinenca, xoxouje, xoxouhquj xicalli: vncan ittihemj atl, vexotica ic teatzelhvia.

Auh yn jquac amo ilhujuh, yn çan nenmajan: oc no ce quixiptlaiotiaia, qujchichioaia:

yn jquac tla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtotiz, qujnepieltiz: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, teatzelhujtiuh, tzaoachvitiuh, iuhqujn ic qujtlanjliaia, ynjc qujmicneliz.

Yoan iuhqujn yvic macujtlaxcu'ixtlaoaia: yn açaca in vnca itlaquj, yaxca:

qujtoaia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo, macamo njcnixcauj, yn nocneliloca: ma onqualo, ma onjoa, ma onpopoliuj, ma ic onmjtoti in totecuh napa tecutli: ma çaquen njnonemjtiz, yn ac iuhquj njcochiz, ac iuhquj njneoaz, ithe qujmati, yn açoc itla, nechmomaquiliz, qujmomacaviliz:

ic quiaquentiaia ce quachtli, yn iriptla muchioaia, ic oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchitlacatl, tlatlaquaia yn jeanioloque.

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yxipila, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlaceliaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlateteca, icpalteteca, tlatzetzeloa, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tletlalia, muchipa copaltema, tlatzetzacaliuhtoc tlatetzacaliuhtimanj, atle vetzioc, çe tlaçelli.

776
467
[356]

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia, motliloçac, mjxtlilpopotz, mixtlilhuj, mjchchiaujticac, amacale, yiamacuexpal, amamaxtle, tzitzile, ixtaccaque, atlacuençonanchimale, aztapiltopile.

776

Jnic cempoalli vee capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn itoca tepictotun: yn jnoan pouja tlaloque.

No ynoan pouj, intech tlamjloia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepictu, çan qujmonpiquijia, qujmixiptlaiotiaia, in tetepe, in çaço catle tepetl.

Auh yn aqujn coaciujia, oaoapaoaia, quaquauhtia, cocotoxauja: anoço yn aqujn atlan miquiznequj, ehecatl ipan mocuetza atla: vncan monetoltiaia ynjc tepiquiz, in qujnpiquiz: quetzalcoatl, in chalchiviti yeze, in tlaloc:

776
782

115. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "*su vasso de calet*" (*sauce*).
116. According to Durán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223), the *calpuleque* were "*señores ó guardas de barrios.*"

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.'

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nencioatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenqujzcaiotl, nenqujçaliztli, ãoneoatinemjliztli.

Auh in aqujn vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatẽmachililoiã: auh intla oqujchtli qujtocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenqujzquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoqujch. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitetica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aqujn motepotlamjaia: qujlhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aqujn ipan y, cocoliztli qujcuja mococooaia: muchi tlacatl qujtoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo qujçaz. aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maqujça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oqujmoonomavili, oqujmoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oqujzcauhque injoaiolque, ca oiqujtecaque: aocmo iuhcan qujxooaiã inon oquẽteltzin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio qujcujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipooallo in jzqujlhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 36) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony sets.

[793] **A True [Relation] of what Was Accomplished and of the Works Which Were Done in the Houses of the Devils.**

Imelaouca in neiehecolintli anoço tlatequjpanolintli in muchioaia teupan in tlacatecuiocalco.

The Education of Men.

The priest who educated [the young priests] led them by the hand to the priests, to those who dealt blows, to those who guarded.

Tlacazcaltilintli.

In teizcaltiaia tlenamacac, imac concaoaia, in tlamacazque, in tlavitequjnj, in tlapianj.

Admonitions.

Thus they admonished them, that they might lead good lives; that they might not waste time nor live lazily.

Tenonotzalintli.

Ic qujnnonotzaia, injc vel nemjzque, in amo maviltizque, in amo tlatziuhtinemizque.

Sweeping.

[356] That they might sweep the courtyard of the temple, he cried out to all the little priests that they should sweep.

Tlachpanalintli.

Injc tlachpanazque, in teuitvalco qujntzatzilia in jxqujchtin in tlamacazcatepitzitzin injc tlachpanazque.

The Laying of Fires.

And he had them see to it that they should lay fires, that they should watch them, where they set in order the various fires. And everywhere in the [373] temple courtyard fires were laid; there perchance [even] ten rows [of them] burned—very many [of them].

Tletlalilintli.

Ioan qujncujtlaviltiaia, injc tletlalizque injc tlapialoia, vncan netetecoia in tletl itla, auh çan novjian in tletlaliloia in teuitvalco, in tlequazco in vncan in vncã tlatlaia aço matlactecpantli cẽca mjiec.

Guarding During the Night.

Guarding during the night: they who were priests cared for [this]; it was the duty of those who were trustworthy.

In iovallapialintli.

In iovallapialintli iehoantin qujmocujtlavjaia, in tlamaceuhque, in jxtlamatque intequjuh catca.

The Carrying of Wood.

[373] The carrying of wood. Thus they took care that fire should burn in the priests' dwelling: those who were very young priests gathered it—they who were not yet very prudent.

Quauhçaqujlintli.

In quauhçaquilintli, injc tlapiaia in tlatlaia calmecac, iehoantin concuja, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in aiamo cenca ixtlamati.

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808 bundles** of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** 651
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** [291
2 warriors' costumes with shields* 714]

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237]
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.** [357]

** Corrected from 800.

** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalxotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenia de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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[65] 816 bundles[32] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
[291] 408 bundles[33] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[34] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

[262] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

[237] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
301] 2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[35] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[36] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[37]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[38]

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[32] Corrected from 800.
[33] Corrected from 400.
[34] Corrected from 400.
[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[36] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[37] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenian todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[38] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[40]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
114 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[41]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
651 may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[41]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[40] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[41] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlatitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[41] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçin a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in bad grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much preoccupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Paths were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; sand was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.[5] This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

574 [554]

auh in ie oallathui costioaz, nepicloz tecoanotzaloz, cēca neahamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatlaccencaoalo, vchichioalo, itboalchichioalo, tlatlaixmanalo, tlathaltemalo, tlatlacujcujoa, tlaatemalo, tlaavililo, tlaatzelhujlo, tlaixxalhujlo, tolquatecteco, tlapipilolo, tolquatectli moteca, mopipiloa, ī vncā netotiloz, tlatzetzelolo, ỹin ichoā intequjuh incocol, cocoltilo, in cujcanjme.

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or slew, singed, and dressed dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the ashes was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a seashell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis — different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant awaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

auh in cequjn tlavivitla, totolhuivitla, totolchichioa, itzcujnmjctia, itzcujnchichinoa, itzcujnchichioa, nacachichioa, nacapaoaci, cōcontlatia, in cequjn yietlalchioa, yietlalxaqualooa, yietema teçacatica, auh in nextitlan, ichoan intequjuh yn ilamatque quichioa tamalli, piqui, tamaloa, tlatlaoiotia, quatecuicuilli quichioa, nacatlaoio, nacatamalli quichioa, cequjn tamalpaoaci, cequjn nextamalpaca cequjn açaçaca, atlatlacuj, ateteca, cequjn cacaoatl quixamanja, cacaoteci, tlacuechoa, cequjn tlanextlamalneloa, cequjn molchichioa, chilixca, chichilixca, çan iuh ceioaal in nemoa tozçolo, tozçoa totozçolo tlavilli quiztoc, chachalacoatoc,

574 252 [887]

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and lined up all which might be required.

auh yn otlavizcalleoac, njman ie ic tlatlachpano, petlateteco, icpalteteco, çacapechtli moteteca, motevimoloa, tlatenvimollolli, ie ic tlaonoc, ie omocuecuentilli, in ixujch monenequiz,

574

Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the care, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

ie omotetecpanque, ie in mâmania, omotētequippantiqua, in tlatequipanozque, in tenamiquizque, aocmo quen ipā in tecoanotzqui, in tecoanotzanj, ça ixujch ynecuitlavil in teca muchioa, ī tepantlatoa, in maca omxiccaoalo, omjxcaoalo,

574 357

5. In *ibid.*, *ochomatlalo* follows *datamatlalo*.

574 357 Poised and prepared were the tobacco servers, who provided tobacco; the flower servers, who provided flowers; the servers, those who changed the servings; the bearers. Then there was the chocolate drink maker, who prepared chocolate; who made it foam and froth; and the server of chocolate. Then there were the attendants, those who greeted the guests.

ie vncan ie ic hicac yn teyiemacac in teyieti, in teruchimacac, in teruchiti, tetlamacac, tetlanamjctili, tlanapaloque, njmã ie ichoatl yn achiuhqui, aquetaque, tlaamjnquj, tlaaminanj, yoan in teximacac, njmã ieeoan in techixque, in tetlalique.

574 But among those who were only commoners, among the poor folk, among the workers of the fields and the water folk, it is already told, only miserably, in poverty and want, were receptions and invitations made. Not as much was offered one as was required and customary; as was possible or of one's capability. Many things were omitted or spoiled. Thus [the feast] was a failure and fruitless when someone received or realized nothing more. Perhaps only old, withered flowers could he find or come by; perhaps only leftover, bitter sauces, and stale tamales and tortillas were offered them.

auh in çan maceoalpã, in çan jcnotlacapã, millacapã, atlacapan, ie omjto çan cococatzã, icnoiotica, icnotlacaiotica, in tetlacamacho, in tecoanotzalo, amo cenca onteaxioa yn juh monequj, in ie ivi, in ie vel ivi, in ie teveli, mjiec tlamantli mjxcaoa, ytlacavi, ic tlatlacavi, tlãtlatlacavi, yn aca aoc tle ipan aci, aoc tle ipan mopoua, aço ça xuchiçolli, tlacevilli yn ipanti, in quipantilia, yn ipã mopoa, yoan aço ça mollacaoalli, molchichictli, tamalçolli, tlaxcalçolli, yn nemaquililo,

And if one had been sitting to no purpose and in vain, [he was] only forgotten there for a long time, for a considerable time. And when he grew tired of waiting, he only continued vexing himself, anxious to go, no longer able to endure it, continuing to stir, unable to sit anywhere. His seat was benumbed, stiffened, tired of sitting. So he leaped up, sprang to his feet, and ran off discontented; because perhaps whatever was served had come to an end; the banqueting had increased and grown in numbers, and become crowded. And he simply entered various houses and visited different places, begging and asking alms at each one, etc.

auh intla ça oc nẽ tlalilo, nempancatlalilo, vecauhtica, ieoatica, çan vncã ylcaoalo: auh yn õmopatlac, ça motetectica, yiollo cholotica, injc iaz, aocmo ontlaiecoa mocueptinemj, achcan vel motlalia, itzintepitzquãquauhti, quãquauhtitica, tzintepitzquãquauhtitica, ic cholotecoa, moquetzteoa, motlauellaloa, ypampa aço otlatlatlan, acaçoc tlẽ temaconj, omiequix, otonacat, omoquequez in tlacoanotzalli, yoan in çan cacalacquj, tetlatlapalo, motlatlaievi, motlatlaitlanj. et.[a]

x 787 805 In this place is only mentioned Two Vulture, which followed and came in second place after One Eagle. All these, the companion day signs in the series, have been chronicled and mentioned here. Of this, Two Vulture, there is no more need to relate anything, just to please; to invent, arrange, and contemplate some brief words. For already hath been mentioned the manner of the separate accounts of all day signs in the second [position]. For indeed all are similar as they proceed and go together there. Similar are their accounts as they advance in order, as all the days accompany one another.

Nican ça onmoteneoa in vme coxcaquauhtli, in contoquilia, in cononcaiotia ce quauhtli, yn jxqujch in, ic omotlatlatolloti nican omoteneuh, ynjc cencalpan tlavica tonalli, yn ichoatl y, 2. coxcaquauhtli, aocmo monequj yn itla ic motlatollotiz, in ça onmoqualittaz, onmovelittaz, onmopipiquiz, ommovevellaliz, itlatlatolhotenti, ca ie omoteneuh in quenamj intlãtlatollo ixquich õvme tonalli, ca çan ie much iuhquj, çan much vmpa itztivi, çan much vmpa tlavica, çan ie cẽtetl yn imitoloca, yn juh tetecpantivi, ynjc tlavica cecemilhujtl,

805 So here we have only added and mentioned as a group the different day signs, which went in their courses as a series, as each day went traveling, following along, and changing: Three Motion, Four Flint

ypampa in çã njcã, tiqujmontecpichoa, tiqujmõcenteneoa yn izquiteme in tonalti, in njcã cencalpan tlaotlatoctia, ynic cecemilhujtl motztiui, motoquilitivi, mopatlativi, in ichoatl Ey olin, 4. tecpatl, 5. quj-

X796
782

not die he paid his due in that manner; because, verily, he would [otherwise] have died.

amo omjc iuhquinma ic tlaxtlava, ichica ca omiquizquja.

The Spreading of Fir Branches.

Thus was done the spreading of fir branches: In the woods they plucked fir branches, so that upon them they might lay [bloodied] thorns as offerings. First they spread out the fir branches, and then they laid upon them, as offerings, two thorns [stained] with blood.

Acxoiatemaliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia acxoiatemaliztli ca concuja quauhtla in acxoiatl xoxouhquj injc ipan nevitzmanaloz achto contemaia in acxoiatl ipan conmanaia in vitztli vme ezço.

The Piling up of [Fire]wood for the God.

The piling up of [fire]wood for the god was thus done: They took green wood in the forest and cut it. In order to burn it in the house of the devil, they built up [a pile of it]. Those did this who dwelt and did penances in the house of the devil.

Teuquauhquetzaliztli.

Jn teuquauhquetzaliztli, ic muchivaia, ca concuja in xoxuhquj quahujtl in quauhtla contequja injc vncan tlatlaz ichan Diablo qujmaquetzaia, ichoantin quichivaia in vncan nenca ichan diablo in tlamacevaia.

The Sweeping.

[358] The sweeping was thus done: Strictly did they force [the young ones], faithfully were the children, whether women[-children] or men[-children], made to sweep there the courtyards of their houses.

And when they had first swept, before dawn, then they made their offerings carried in the palms of their hands, which they laid before the devil. And when they had gone to make the offerings, thereupon they took up their incense ladles that they might offer incense.

Tlachpanaliztli.

Jn tlachpanaliztli ic muchivaia, cenca qujncuitlaviltiaia, cenca cujtlaviltiloia in tepilhoan in aço cihoa, anoço oqujchtin in vncã inchachan in jmjtvalco injc tlachpanazque.

auh in jcoac iovatzinco in oachto tlachpanque, njmã qujchivaia in ventlamapictli in conmanaia ixpan Diablo, auh in jcoac ontlamanato, njmã ic concuja in intlema injc tlenamacazque.

Vigils. 1. All-night Vigils.

Thus was kept a vigil, when it was night.

They who dwelt here in the house of the devil, who kept watch during the night, remained very wakeful that they might not leave undone their duties because of sleeping. Hence they kept watch during the night, until dawn broke.

For this reason they kept watch: because of those things which should be done at midnight, or very late at night, or [when it was] already near dawn. Because of this they faithfully kept watch all night and tended the fire.

Toçovaliztli. 1. ixtoçoaliztli.

Inic muchiouia toçoliztli; iquac in iooaltica:

ichoantin in vncan nenca ichan diablo, in qujpiaia ioalli, cenca ixtoçotinenca, injc amo tlacochcaoazque, ynjc qujpiaia ioalli, in ixquichica tlathuiz:

ynjc qujpiaia, ichica, in tlein muchioaz yn iquac iooalnepantla, anoço tlaquauhiooac, anoço ie tlathujnaoac, ipampa in, vel qujpiaia in ioalli, yoã qujpiaia in tletl.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [29]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. Petlacalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matrícula* and on folio 26' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1:100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was beginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and ornaments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the 342
wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[26] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chico- 342
nauhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the 177
growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a [362]
Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spacious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[28] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular 361
form, since the division of the land among the clans usually [471]
followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

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361 plaza was essential for communal gatherings; the market and the principal structures, like the main temple and the chief's quarters, were situated at this point. In Tenochtitlan, which was reported to have sixty thousand fires or hearths, or figuring on the same basis as above, three hundred thousand people, additional centers existed for each clan and for the four larger districts into which the city was divided for administrative purposes.[16] (See Plate 37, top.)

114 We have been left a description of an Aztec city in 1524 from a Spanish monk, Fray Toribio de Benavente, called by the Indians "Motolinia," or "poor," in reference to his Franciscan simplicity of life. His firsthand observations have a fresh reality:

361 "They called these temples *teocallis*, and we found all
346 over the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one crossbow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and three leagues' distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to the courts of the *teocallis*, . . . the devil did not content himself with the aforesaid *teocallis*, but in each pueblo and in each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes three or four *teocallis*. . . ."[17]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

or stone. In the whole of Mexico there is no more harmoni- 341
ous treatment of gigantic mass and planes than the substructure of the Temple of the Sun.[4] (See Plates 18, bottom; 22, bottom.)

The floors of the temple survive, though the roof and walls were destroyed long ago, but the illusion of infinite height and space still remains. The planes between its terraces are so cunningly calculated that the observer standing at the foot of the great staircase cannot see people at the top. He is conscious only of the massive ascent disappearing into space. When the stair was used by a religious procession, in all its pomp and color, the effect must have been stupendous. The elaborate hierarchy of a great civilization moved upward to meet, at a point unseen by the beholders, the infinity of the heavens, concentrated aloft in the god's image.

The plan of the sacred city of Teotihuacan was calculated 361 ●
to maintain the illusion of mass and height. The buildings were laid out in groups along a north-south axis, broken laterally by several precincts oriented to the east and west. From whatever angle one approached Teotihuacan the eye was led toward a point of interest, guided by the arrangement of the planes and masses. Thus the diminishing effect of distance was avoided. Within each precinct the surrounding walls insulated the observer from the rest of the city and emphasized the mass and height of the principal precinct temple. Not even the Pyramids of Egypt present so carefully calculated a plan to dominate the individual with the sheer weight of supernatural power. The modern visitor to Teotihuacan, now in ruins, cannot escape the ancient association of ideas that the greater his temple, the more powerful a god must be. (See Plate 22, top.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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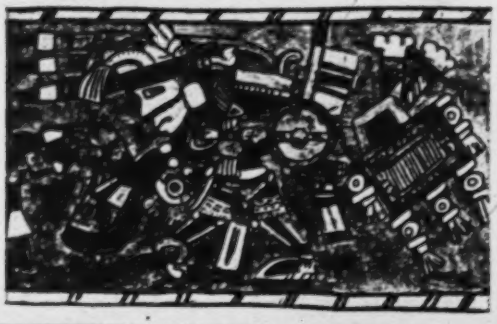

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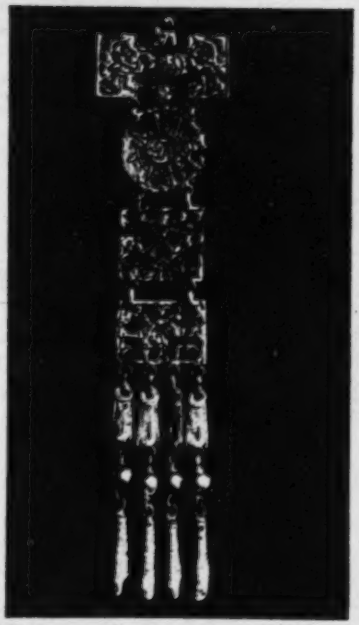

PLATE 57

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tizatlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER XIII

GLIMPSE OF TENOCHTITLAN

What the Spaniards saw when they entered this great Aztec capital

THE HISTORY of the Aztecs and their forebears is the most complete record we have of the growth of any Indian civilization. Their conquest was the greatest feat in the European occupation of the American continent. The Aztecs were at their zenith in 1519, when Cortes and his four hundred men first landed, and a description of Tenochtitlan, taken from the contemporary records of the conquerors themselves, will show us something of the external character of Indian civilization in America.[1]

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who left the most personal record of the Spanish Conquest, tells how his comrade-in-arms on first beholding Tenochtitlan, the ancient Mexico City, exclaimed, "It is like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis! Are not the things we see a dream?"

This is lyric language from hard-bitten men-at-arms, whose chief avocations, while engaged in converting the heathen, lay in acquiring booty and enjoying the charms of dusky Dulcineas. Yet in contrast to the drab towns and [361] tawny hills of Spain, Tenochtitlan must have appeared a paradise, for its green gardens and white buildings were set in the midst of blue lakes, ringed by lofty mountains. "Gaz-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing on such wonderful sights," wrote Bernal Diaz, "we did not know what to say or whether what appeared before us was real, for on one side in the land there were great cities and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we . . . we did not even number four hundred soldiers."[2]

Although socially and governmentally Tenochtitlan was distinctly an American Indian tribal town, outwardly it appeared the capital city of an empire. A bird's-eye view would have revealed an oval island connected with the mainland by three causeways which converged at the center of the city. These roads were cut by waterways over which removable bridges extended. The edges of the island were fringed by the green of the "floating gardens," while at the center the shiny white of the houses predominated, and the verdure was reduced to tiny green squares in the patio gardens. Thrust above the quadrate masses of the roof tops loomed the various clan temples, each set on its platform in the form of a truncated pyramid. The city had few streets or open spaces but was gridded with canals crossed by portable bridges. The two principal plazas were those of the Temple of Tlaltelolco and of the religious center of Tenochtitlan proper, open spaces which gave a welcome relief from the pyramids and official palaces clustered about them. There must have been a curiously living quality about this grouping, the temples seeming to ride like horsemen among the serrated ranks of the houses. (See Plate 37, top.)

Were a visitor to traverse Tenochtitlan from south to north, he would have been struck by the rich variety of sights.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held [241] in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously [311] [501] poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli*.

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

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life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

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174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples, distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

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completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces 346 broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impres- 361 sion of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side 174 by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood 346 coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could 778 clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

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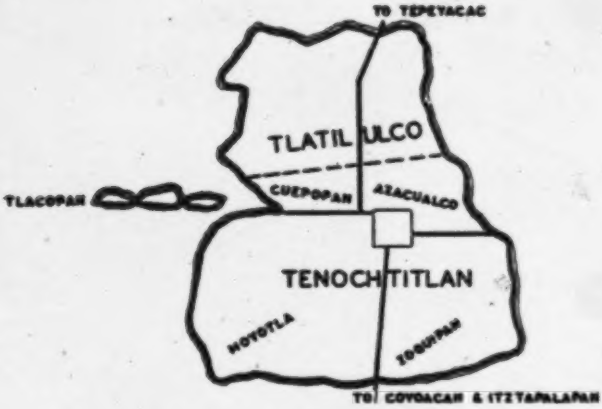

Chart showing two-fold division of the island and four-fold division of Tenochtitlan

KEY TO MAP OF TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

1. Palace of Moctezuma
2. Totocalco
3. Quauhquiauac
4. Tlequatzinco
5. Acatl yacapan
6. Tezcacac
7. Temple of Uitzilopochli
8. Palace of Moctezuma the Elder
9. Teuayac
10. Cuiacalco
11. Uitzillan
12. Xoloco
13. Port Xoloco
14. Acachinanco
15. Tlequatzitlan
16. Tlequatzinco
17. Tlequetlan
18. Atenchicalco
19. Mixcoatechitlitlan
20. Tolnaca acalecac
21. Petlacalco
22. Papalotlan
23. Cuepopan
24. Nextetilco
25. Iluacac
26. Ayauhcatitlan
27. Yauhtenco
28. Market of Tlatilulco
29. Tetzcotzinco and Tlaxcopan
30. Atecuixtlecac
31. Coyonacazco and Atzacac
32. Cepalmacuayan
33. Ayacac
34. Atlixcohuyan
35. Totecco
36. Quauxoxoxtlan
37. Apanecac
38. Tlacochcalco
39. Tlamacazqueco and Atecpanco
40. Xochicalco and Quauhquechollan
41. Yacacolco
42. Tlilmancac and Amanqueo
43. Colhuacatonco
44. Xocotitlan or Cihuatecpan
45. Tetzmolocoxcayan
46. Atzacualco
47. Tecamachalco

(After Orozco y Berra, with modifications suggested mainly by reference to Alfonso Caso, *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatilulco*. The locations of many of the places are provisional.)

[p. XVI]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590). 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

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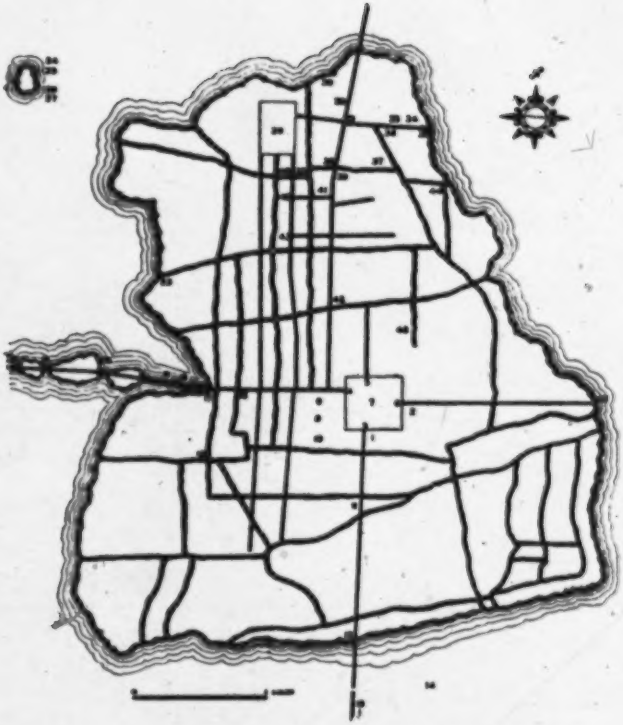

TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

[p. xvii]

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10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

conception of city states within the Valley that owes much to the history 127
of Greece and medieval Italy.

For the special purpose of this limnologic history, we need to wade 127
into the "inextricable maraña" at only one or two points. On one 174
point the sources, such as they are, are almost unanimous: there was a 361
city called Tollán or Tula ("place of reeds" i. e. of *Typha,* the modern *tule*). Tollán is where the Toltecs came from, etymologically at least; the Toltecs were the predecessors of the Aztecs and the other Valley peoples, and were also regarded as ancestors by the Mexicanized Mayas of Yucatán, with whose tangled history we are fortunately not concerned here. The chief source of confusion, apart from the loss of the documents themselves, is the tendency, surely not a post-Conquest invention, for the relatively barbaric Valley people to identify themselves dynastically with the legendary founders of the civilization they inherited. The cultural picture is not an unfamiliar one, and probably was in actuality similar to that presented by the Etruscan foundations of Roman civilization; unfortunately, it comes to us on the testimony of friars who were only too well aware of such historic parallels, and could not refrain from asking leading questions. Be that as it may, Vaillant (1941), on the basis of archaeologic and historic researches, arrived at a satisfying conception of Aztec prehistory, in which the real and classic Tula (Tollán) was Teotihuacán, while memories of it played out their part in synthetic genealogies of "dynastic Toltecs", the chiefs of the wandering "Chichimec" tribes who entered the Valley after the decline of Tula in the 12th century.

Vaillant's picture was considerably upset by the excavations at Tula, 172
Hidalgo (Acosta, 1940, 1941, 1944; see also Du Solier, 1941, and 361
other papers in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos,* T. 5, no. 2–3, 1941). These showed clearly that Tula, not Teotihuacán, was the Tollán from which emanated the Mexicanization of Chichén Itzá. Thus Tula was the Mayas' Tula, but whether it was necessarily the Mexicans' Tula is not so easily admitted, and is still in sharp dispute. What interests us here is whether Tula was a lacustrine city, for Teotihuacán was not.

The Codex Ramírez, authoritatively regarded as a manuscript copy 127
of the *Relación del origén de los yndios,* probably 1583–87, by the 174
Mexican Jesuit Juan de Tovar (see Kubler and Gibson, 1951, for discussion), is one of several almost identical histories of the migration period from the Aztec (i. e. not from the Texcocan) point of view. It happens to be the only one of which a convenient English translation exists (Radin, 1920), and from it we quote the following account of Tula.

"The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark

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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain. 323 438

346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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and he sent certain loads of very rich mantles beautifully worked. 648

When the Chiefs came before Cortés with the present they touched the ground with their hands and with great reverence, such as they use among themselves, they said—"Malinche, Our Lord the Great Montezuma, sends thee this present, and asks thee to accept it with the great affection which he has for thee and all thy brethren, and he says that the annoyance that the people of Cholula have caused him weighs heavily on him, and he wishes to punish them more in their persons, for they are an evil and a lying people in that they have thrown the blame of the wickedness which they wished to commit upon him and his ambassadors," that we might take it as very certain that he was our friend, and that we could go to his City whenever we liked, for he wished to do us every honour as very valiant men, and the messengers of such a great King as you say that he (your King) is. But because he had nothing to give us to eat, for everything has to be carried into the city by carriers as it is built on the lake, he could not entertain us very satisfactorily, but he would endeavour to do us all the honour that was possible, and he had ordered all the towns through which we had to pass to give us what we might need. He also made many other complimentary speeches. When Cortés understood them through our interpreters, he received the present with demonstrations of affection and embraced the messengers, and ordered them to be given certain twisted cut glass beads. All our captains and soldiers were delighted at such good news, as that he [Montezuma] should bid us to come to his city, for, from day to day, the greater number of us soldiers were wishing for it, especially those who had left nothing behind them in the Island of Cuba, and had been on the two expeditions of discovery before this one with Cortés. [361 433]

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in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

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[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).
[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

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enter Mexico, or whether he should attack us, and all the priests had answered that his Huichilobos had said he was to allow us to enter and that then he could kill us, as I have already related in the chapter that deals with the subject, and as we are but human and feared death, we never ceased thinking about it. As that country is very thickly peopled we made short marches, and commended ourselves to God and to Our Lady his blessed Mother, and talked about how and by what means we could enter [the City], and it put courage into our hearts to think that as our Lord Jesus Christ had vouchsafed us protection through past dangers, he would likewise guard us from the power of the Mexicans. 648

We went to sleep at a town called Iztapalatengo[1] where half the houses are in the water and the other half on dry land, where there is a small mountain, (and now there is an Inn there) and there they gave us a good supper. 361

Let us leave this and return to the Great Montezuma who, when his messengers arrived and he heard the reply which Cortés had sent to him, at once determined to send his nephew named Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, with great pomp to bid welcome to Cortés and to all of us, and as we were always accustomed to post sentinels and scouts, one of the scouts came in to tell us that a large crowd of friendly Mexicans was coming along the road, and that to all appearance they were coming clad in rich mantles. It was very early in the morning when this happened, and we were ready to start, and Cortés ordered us to wait in our quarters until he could see what the matter was. 648

At that moment four chieftains arrived, who made deep obeisance to Cortés and said that close by there was approaching Cacamatzin, the great Lord of Texcoco, a

[1] This is clearly a mistake, the town was Ayotzingo.

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and when he was able he would repay the Lord Montezuma for all the favours which every day he was granting us. 648

As soon as the speech-making was over, we at once set out, and as the Caicques whom I have spoken about brought many followers with them, and as many people came out to see us from the neighbouring towns, all the roads were full of them.[1]

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad Causeway,[2] and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream? It is not to be wondered at that I here write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about. 361 [363]

Thus, we arrived near Iztapalapa, to behold the 648

[1] Blotted out in the original—"So that we could not proceed and the Caciques themselves told their vassals to make room for us, and to remember that we were Teules, and that if they did not make room we would be angry with them. On account of these words that were said they cleared the road for us, and we went on to sleep at another town, which is built in the water, which I think was called Mezquique,[3] and was afterwards named Venezuela, and it had many whitened towers and Cues, and the Cacique and chieftains treated us with much honour and gave Cortés a present of gold and rich mantles, and the gold was worth four hundred dollars and Cortés gave them many thanks for it. There we told them things about our holy faith as we did in all towns we came to. It seemed that the people of that town were on very bad terms with Montezuma on account of the many injuries he had done them and they complained of them and Cortés told them that he would soon remedy their ills if it should please God that we should soon reach Mexico."

[3] Mezquic.

[2] The Causeway of Cuitlahuac separating the lake of Chalco from the lake of Xochimilco.

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our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of 648
our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, 361
half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant [243]
corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception 000
given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of 363
those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what 361
to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

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•361 one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we,—we did not even number four hundred soldiers! and we well remembered the words and warnings given us by the people of Huexotzingo and Tlaxcala and Tlamanalco, and the many other warnings that had been given that we should beware of entering Mexico, where they would kill us, as soon as they had us inside.

Let the curious readers consider whether there is not much to ponder over in this that I am writing. What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring? But let us get on, and march along the Causeway. [363] When we arrived, where another small causeway branches 648 off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there were some buildings like towers, which are their oratories, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them. The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with the hand.

There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma, who was approaching[1] in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques, who owned vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the Great Montezuma

[1] Que venia cerca.

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133 appended the depths of the lakes as determined by the drainage commission of 1861.

Name.	Level above Texcoco in Metres.	Depth in Metres.
Texcoco	0.00 ...	0.50
Zumpango ...	6.06 ...	0.80
Xaltocan	3.47 ...	0.40
San Cristóbal ...	3.60 ...	0.60
Xochimilco ...	3.14 ...	2.40 to 3.00
Chalco	3.08 ...	2.40
City of Mexico ...	1.90 ...	—

Silt may have made a considerable difference to the level of the lakes during four hundred years, but no possible allowance for silt could alter the conclusion that at the time of the Conquest the lakes must have been very shallow.

241 The site of the City was originally, in all probability, two reed-covered mud banks or islands, which may have been cultivated in ●361 much the same manner as were the *chinampas* or floating gardens at the time of the Conquest, or as the chinampas of Xochimilco are at the present day, and these two islands became respectively the sites of the towns of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan, and the space between them was eventually reduced to a rather broad canal.

361 Islands in lakes, or rocky knolls on the land surrounded by deep barrancas or gulches, were frequently chosen by the Indians tribes as sites for towns on account of the facility for defence, and the number of such sites in Mexico and Central America[1] still either occupied by towns or containing the ruins of ancient buildings are evidence of a continual state of intertribal walfare.

241 The chinampas were formed by heaping up the soft mud from the lake on to wattles in order to form seed beds for flowers and vegetables, and these floating gardens gradually increased in size and became more compact from the growth of the interlacing roots of the willows and other water-loving plants until they may have supported a small hut for the owner and his family, and the lengthening roots eventually anchored them on the shallow margin of the lake. Two large groups of such gardens are shown on the map published in Clavigero's *History of Mexico* lying off

[1] Cf. Mixquic, Tlahuac and Xochimilco in the lakes of Mexico, Tayasal in the lake of Peten, and the island homes of the Lacandones in Guatemala. Towns almost surrounded by barrancas are Cuernavaca and Yacapistla in Mexico, and Utatlan and Iximché, etc., in Guatemala. It is as well to note here that such sites were not chosen for cities of the older culture such as Teotihuacan, Cholula, Mitla, Palenque, Copan, etc.

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241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 503 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 503 731 These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Alharradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 503 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

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600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplated, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:— 363 "The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the [501] principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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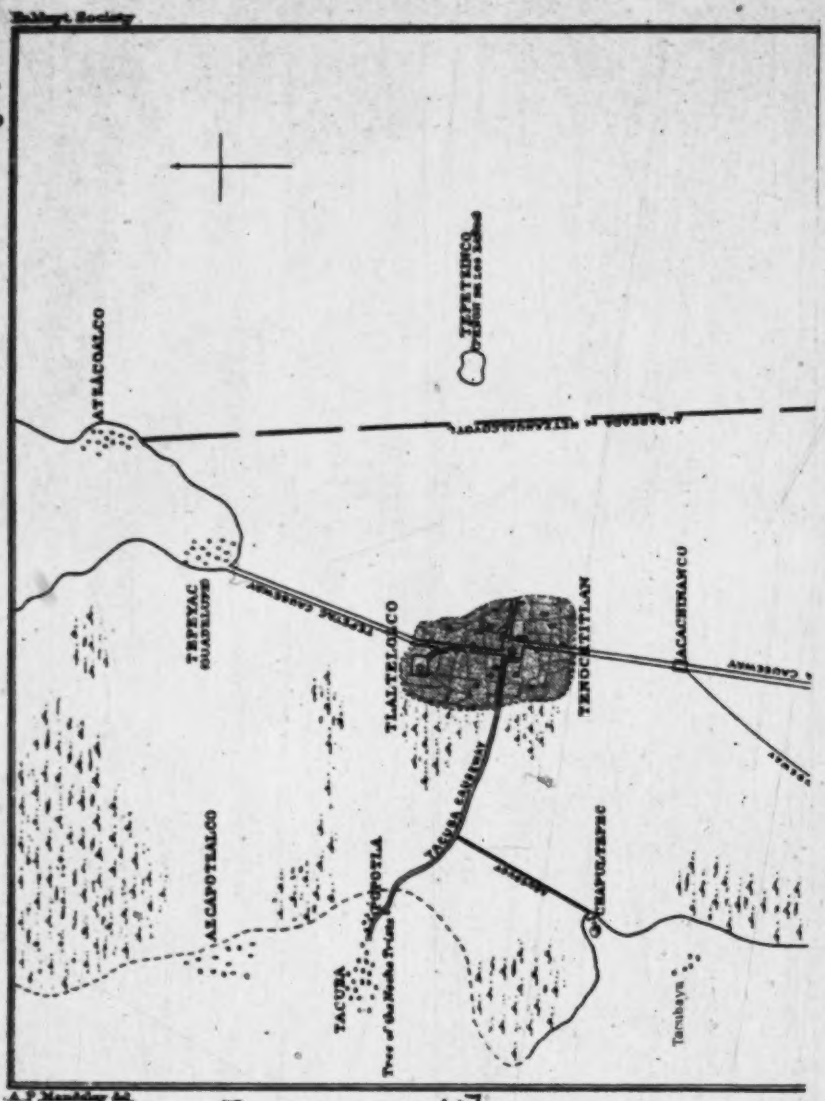

[Facing p. 52 (A)]

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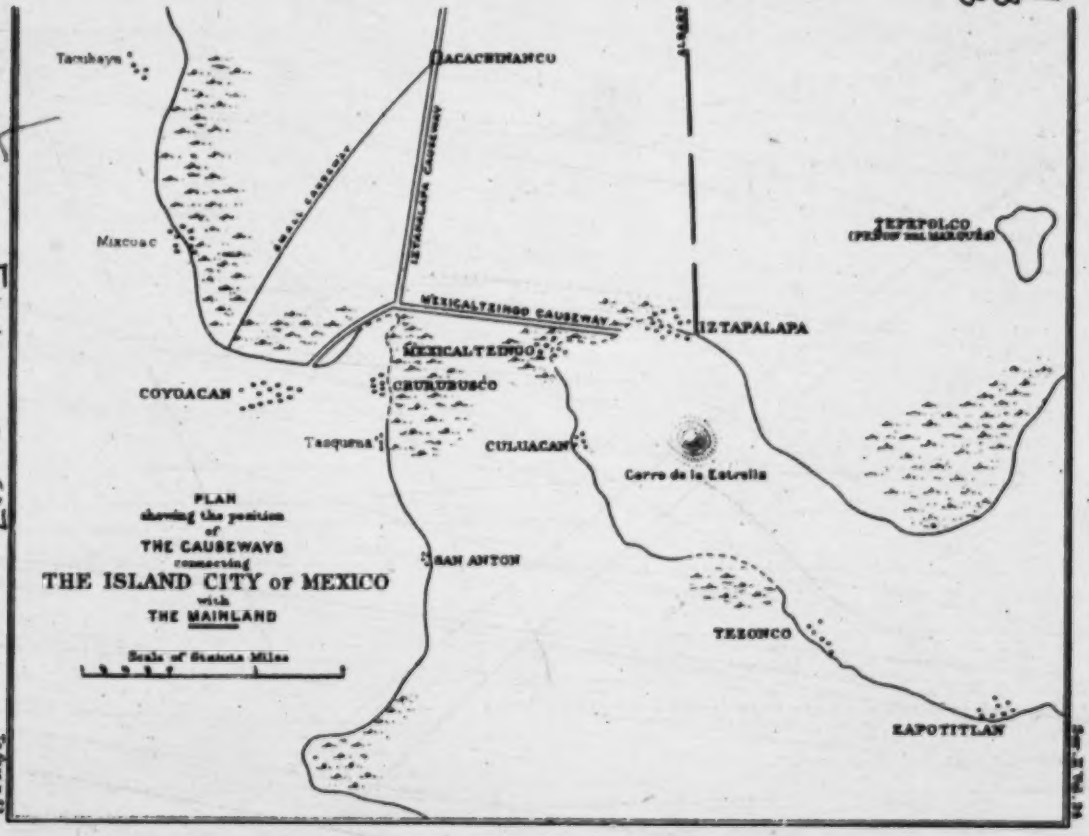

PLAN
showing the position
of
THE CAUSEWAYS
connecting
THE ISLAND CITY OF MEXICO
with
THE MAINLAND

Scale of Statute Miles

[facing p. 52 (B)]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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346 down from above, where he was making his sacrifices, six priests and two chieftains to accompany our Captain. On ascending the steps, which are one hundred and fourteen in number, they attempted to take him by the arms so as to help him to ascend, (thinking that he would get tired,) as they were accustomed to assist their lord Montezuma, but Cortés would not allow them to come near him. When we got to the top of the great Cue, on a small plaza which has been made on the top where there was a space like a platform with some large stones placed on it, on which they put the poor Indians for sacrifice, there was a bulky image like a dragon and other evil figures and much blood shed that very day.

●361 When we arrived there Montezuma came out of an oratory where his cursed idols were, at the summit of the great Cue, and two priests came with him, and after paying great reverence to Cortés and to all of us he said: "You must be tired, Señor Malinche, from ascending this our great Cue," and Cortés replied through our interpreters who were with us that he and his companions were never tired by anything. Then Montezuma took him by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water, and the many other towns on the land round the lake, and that if he had not seen the great market place well, that from where they were they could see it better.

So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico, that is the causeway of Iztapalapa by which we had entered four days before, and that of Tacuba, along which later on we fled on the night of our great defeat, when Cuitlahuac[1] the new prince drove us

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of 361
Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from [312]
Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the
bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain
distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed
in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on [505]
that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming
with supplies of food and others returning loaded with
cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every
house of that great city and of all the other cities that were
built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to
house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or
in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like
towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a
wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs,
and on the causeways other small towers and oratories
which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had 361
seen we turned to look at the great market place and the 443
crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others
selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and
words that they used could be heard more than a league
off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many
parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy,
and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full
of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had
never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to 797
Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned
by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to
me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw
out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow
us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over
361 "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great "quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places "it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of "which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking "towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at "the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, "they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and "three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness "from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and "the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to "the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content "himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in "each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were "other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes "three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are
421 often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (500 cartloads, says Tapia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX, p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello mui aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"ters (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Tzeltal NU9

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712 area of the settlement thus enclosed, forming a terrace or platform, or whether it merely constituted a *belt around it.* As principal means of *protection*, they resorted to *elevation.*[182]

The pueblo of "Quauhquechollan (now Huacachula, in the State of La Puebla), lying to the South-east of Mexico, and tributary to the Mexicans in 1520, was considered very strong, and Cortés has left us the following description of its natural as well as of its
A artificial defenses:—

712 "This town of Guacachula lies on a plane, protected on one
361 "side by a high and steep hilly range, and on two sides by two "rivers, distant from each other about two cross-bow shots. Both "rivers run in deep and precipitous gorges; there are, conse- "quently, but few places where an entrance could be effected, "and even these are of difficult access, steep of descent and of "ascent, on horseback. The place is surrounded by a strong "wall of line and stone, outside of the city as high as four fath- "oms, and almost level with the ground inside. A parapet one- "half fathom in height runs along the top of this wall. For to "sally there are four entrances wide enough for a horse-man to "pass through; at each entrance there are three or four folds of "the enclosure entering one into the other; on each fold of the "wall a corresponding breastwork. Along the entire enclosure
T "they have heaps of stones and pebbles, with which they fight."[183]

712 This idea of constructing the pueblos on a mountain declivity, so as to be compelled to artificially protect *but one or two sides alone*, we find in several instances. The place of Chamula in the present State of Chiapas, when attacked by the Spaniards under

[182] Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España." Trat. III. Cap. XVI. p. 229), speaking of Tlaxcallan: "Their reason for building in high places was that in "order to feel more safe during their frequent wars, they looked to high and open "places, where they might sleep with less anxiety, since they had neither doors nor "walled enclosures, although they had entrenchments and fortifications ("albarradas "y reparos") in some places, they being sure of war to occur every year." The Mexican name for tribe, or settlement, or pueblo, "altepetl," itself indicates an elevated object, the word "tepetl" signifying "mountain" or "hill."

[183] "Carta Segunda (Vedia I, p. 50); also, Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CXXXII, p. 143), and several others. Clavigero (Lib. IX, cap. XXVIII) says that the walls of Quauhquechollan were fully 20 feet high, 12 feet wide, and had a parapet of 3 feet in elevation. The fathom: "Estado," "Braza," or "toesa," is equal to 2 "varas," or to 6 Castilian feet. According to this the wall would have been about 6, 68-100 metres above the outer surface, or 22 feet. English. The text of Cortés reads: "tan alto como cuatro "estados por de fuera de la ciudad. e' *por de dentro esta' casi igual con el suelo.*" This would indicate that the "wall" was rather a *facing* of stone to a *large terrace*, upon which the pueblo itself had been erected.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were open places, without circumvallations or enclosures,[187] constructed after the plan which we have already exposed,[188] and without any other strongholds than their massive communal dwellings, and the 361 pyramidal temple, or "teo-calli."[189] On the flat roofs of the former 712 heaps of stones could be collected and hurled down upon the enemy from behind a guard of planks or adobe running along the edge of the roof.[190] The truncated pyramid, on its graded ascent, afforded room for a number of combatants.[191] Both gave the re-

[712] ther on he says: "Como se va adelgazando el cerro hasta la eremita," and "Zuazo" makes the very characteristic reply: "Asi vino bien para que se pudiera ver todo lo "que esta' abajo." (As a military position would indeed require.) In the Introduction to this Dialogue (p. 256), the learned Mexican scholar remarks: "Parece que estas al-"barradas o' escalones se conservaron hasta despues de la conquista, y que los emper, "adores Aztecas los habian llenado de tierra, convirtiéndolos en jardines, por no tener "ya objeto como obras de fortificacion."

[187] The letter written by "Fray Francisco de Bologna," from Mexico, to the provincial of Bologna, published in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil "de pièces, etc.") says: "Généralement leurs villes n'étaient pas fermées, mais les es-"pagnols leur ont appris à les entourer de murailles" (p. 212). The Mexican tongue distinguishes "altepetl," a pueblo (or tribe), from "tenamé-altepetl," a pueblo surrounded by a wall ("tenamitl" "muro," walled enclosure). The Quiche-language of Guatemala has adopted the Nahuatl word "tenamitl," changing it into "tinamit," to signify a tribe or place.

[188] Motolinia ("Hist. de los Ind. de N. España," "Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 63-65.

[189] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229. Id. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXVI).

[190] When the Spaniards entered Cholula they soon found out, according to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 20) and Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. LXIII, p. 75), "that "the roofs were covered with pebbles and lined with guards of adobe." The Tlaxcallans had previously warned Cortés about Cholula, saying (p. 19 "Carta Segunda,"): "y "que tenian muchas de la calles tapiadas, y por las azoteas de las casas muchas pie-"dras, para que despues que entrásemos en la ciudad tomarnos seguramente y aprove-"charse de nosotros á su voluntad." They also warned him about Mexico, saying: "that all the roofs were flat, with guards like breastworks, so that they might fight "from the house-tops" (Bernal-Diez, cap. LXXVIII). During the street fights previous to the retreat of Cortés on July 1st, 1520, and also during the gradual capture of Mexico, the Mexicans fought desperately from the roofs, hurling stones, rocks and pebbles upon the assailants. See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 41, 42 and 43; "Carta "Tercera, pp. 74, 76, 84, 86). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CXXVI, pp. 130, 131; cap. CLI, p. 183). I refrain from quoting later writers, who copied mostly from the eye-witnesses' reports, and merely add the words of Fray Toribio de Parédes (Motolinia), in his History, written about 1540. ("Coll. de Doc.," I, trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187 "Estaba "Mexico muy fuerte y bien ordenada, ... Tenia por fortaleza los templos del "demonio y las casas de Moteuczoma, señor principal, y las de los otros señores."

[191] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 42): "Y en la torre muy alta y mas principal della se "subieron fasta quinientos Indios, que segun me parécio, eran personas muy princi-"pales. Y en ella subieron mucho mantenimiento de pan y agua y otras cosas de comer-"y muchas piedras; é todos los mas tenian lanças muy largas con unos hierros de pe-"dernal mas anchos que las de las nuestras, y no menos agudos; è de alli hacian mucho "daño a' la gente de la fortaleza, porque estaba muy cerca della. La cual dicha torre "combatieron los españoles dos a' tres veces y la acometieron a' subir; y como era muy "alta y tenia la subida agra, porque tiene ciento y tantos escalones; y los de arriba es,

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source of fighting *under shelter from above*, while the assailant had to struggle *unprotected from below*. As against an *Indian* foe, these massive constructions were *indeed strongholds*, and even, as we shall hereafter see, they opposed strong obstacles to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, as often as it was possible, the aborigines added to the defensive means of their architecture the resource of a *strong natural position*, and *those* tribes proved to be most *powerful* and *aggressive*, whose *defensive* position was either naturally or artificially, or in both respects, *the least vulnerable*.[192]

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We have already mentioned the pueblo of Mexico as one of the strongest positions ever occupied by Indians up to the sixteenth century. Still, it was an open place, without circumvallations or

"tabán bien pertrechados de piedra y otras armas, ..." Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXVI, p. 131). The latter, in the very "likely" style of the "Historia Verdadera" (?) mentions 4.000 men as having occupied "*one* teocalli." Cortés is more modest and certainly nearer the truth. See, also, Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187. "Tenia por fortaleza los templos del demonio"). When the Mexicans conquered Tlatflulco, the principal stronghold of the Tlatilulcans was their *temple*. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XLV, p. 74). Durán (Cap. XXXIV, p. 268: "el rey subió a' lo alto del templo con "otros canalleros suyos aunque con mucho trabajo por la mucha resistencia que halló"). We again refer to what has already been stated: that the temple being the highest, and therefore strongest, part of the pueblo, its capture or destruction was the signal of victory.

[192] The tribes of Chiapas were much feared on account of their ferocity, and of their naturally and artificially strong places. Compare Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI. p. 223, "porque ciertamente eran en aquel tiempo los mayores guerreros que yo habia visto "en toda la Nueva-España"). Cachula, Chiapas, and Chamula, were all naturally and by art well fortified. We have already alluded to Atitlan, in Guatimala (Report of Alvarado, Vedia I, p. 460. Bernal-Diez, Vedia II, cap. CLXIV, p. 221: "y que eran "muy malos y de malas condiciones"). Tlaxcallan itself enjoyed a very strong defensive position, although the place was open and not enclosed. Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229: "El señor mas antiguo y que primero lo fundó, edificó en un cerre-"jon alto, que se llama Tepeticpac, que quiere decir encima de sierra"). Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18: "porque es muy mayor que Granada y muy mas fuerte"). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XII, p. 265). Gomara ("De Tlaxcallan," Vedia I, p. 333), etc., etc. Utlatlan, or rather "Gumarcaah," the QQuiché pueblo of Guatemala, of which Fuentes especially has made the capital of a vast "empire of Quiché," was a very strongly situated place. (See Stevens' "Travels in Central America, Yucatan, and Chiapas.") The village of Santa Cruz del QQuiche now stands in the vicinity. Alvarado, its conqueror, reports (Vedia I, p. 456): "as the city is most remarkably strong, and has not more "than two entrances, one by thirty and some, high steps of stone, and the other by a "dyke made by hand." The Abbé Brasseur describes it as follows ("Popol-Vuh," cap. IX, pp. 312 and 313, foot-note): "Utatlan or Gumarcaah was composed of three distinct "plateaux, surrounded by ravines communicating however by paths (or roads) flanked "by cut stones . . . . There was but one entrance to this great town, the same "by which it is now reached. (The QQuiché text says: "where the town with its ra-"vines was built of stone and lime and covered with cement.") Thus we have the principal pueblos of Middle America all established in strong defensive places, for Mexico, as we have already said, was perhaps the least vulnerable of all, and also the one which occupied the most prominent position.

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walled enclosures.[193] But it was surrounded by *water* on all sides. This was a *natural* protection, *apparently*. However, the lake around Mexico was the work of the Mexicans themselves, and deserves, as such, to be regarded as an evidence of no ordinary skill on their part. When they fled into the space subsequently transformed into a lagune, it was an extensive swamp, covered with canebrake. Many parts of it could be waded through with ease, at some places the streams emptying into it from the West filtered through the deeper channels into Lake Tezcuco. Flakes of turf or of sand occasionally protruded over the surface, and on one of these dry spots the Mexicans huddled together for existence.[194] Unmolested on account of their extreme weakness, they could extend this area of dry soil by additions of sod, by scanty artificial foundations of turf thrown into the shallow morass and, erecting upon it their frail dwellings, they lived in poverty until they found out the great advantage which this isolated position gave to them over the surrounding tribes. They realized that, while *they* might sally forth with impunity, having a safe retreat behind them, an attack upon *their* position was both difficult and dangerous for the assailant. Once *their* first attempt crowned with success they continued and, valuing their situation as the main element of strength, they improved the foothold on the mainland by compelling subjected tribes to build for them a causeway, running from the outlet of Lake Xochimilco northward, to the pueblo of Mexico.[195] This dyke, while it insured communication with the mainland, penned up the waters flowing into the swamp from the west-side, and *accumulated* them there.[196] On

[193] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 167). When the Tlaxcallans represented to Cortés the dangers to which he exposed himself by going to Mexico, they did not mention fortifications (Bernal-Diez, LXXVIII, p. 70), but simply how the place was surrounded by water, the strength of the houses, and their difficult access.

[194] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 5). Durán ("Hist. de las Yndias de Nueva España," Cap. IV, pp. 36 and 37) is very explicit: "y passados por la otra parte del rio (the outlet of "Lake Xochimilco) metieronse en los carriçales y tulares de la laguna." "Deste lugar-"vinieron buscando y mirando si allarian algun lugar que fuese acomodado para po "der hacer asiento, y andando desta manera por unas partes y otras entre las espa-"dañas y carriçales, allaron un ojo de agua hermosissimo." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X and cap. XI, p. 92).

[195] Durán (Cap. XII, p. 112): "pues vuelto a' los de Xochimilco les mandó que luego, "sin mas tardar, mandasen a' todos los de la ciudad hiciesen una calçada de tres bra-"ças en ancho desde su pueblo hasta la ciudad de Mexico, de piedra y tierra, cegas-"en el agua quel termino desta calçada tomase, y hiciesen sus puentes á trechos para "que el agua tuviese por donde salir de una parte a' otra." (Also, Cap. XIII, p. 113.)

[196] We must remember that the level of the "plaza mayor" of Mexico was, towards the beginning of this century, but one "*vara*" (of three Castilian feet), one foot and

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

the other hand, the fresh water emptying out of Lake Xochimilco 312
was thrown to the east side of the dyke into Lake Tezcuco. By 361
this simple contrivance the Mexicans surrounded their pueblo with a huge pond on all sides, isolating, or rather *fortifying* it beyond all conceivable means of Indian assault.[197] *The causeways leading to* [711]
Mexico were, therefore, military constructions.[198] Subsequently the dyke was continued to the north until where Guadalupe Hidalgo now stands (anciently Tepeyacac), thus closing up the western basin completely, and another causeway, running east and west was constructed to Tacuba. From the southern dyke a branch ran to Cuyuacan, starting at Xoloc and extending to the southwest. In order to insure free circulation of the waters, sluices were cut, which interrupted the causeways at several places. Wooden 312
bridges, easily removable, were laid across these ditches. Thus 361
Mexico needed no outer fortifications nor walled enclosures.[199] 712

one inch higher than the level of Lake Tezcuco. This elevation was purely artificial (Humboldt, "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Paris, 1827. Vol. II, pp. 96, 97 and 98). After the causeways running north and south had been constructed, the waters emptying into the swamp from the west side could not any longer run freely into the salt-water basin of Tezcuco. They were actually kept around the pueblo, and the swamp thus changed into a lagune. That those sources were powerful enough for such a purpose is amply shown by the great inundation which their careless opening occasioned under Ahuitzotl, in 1498 ("Essai politique," Vol. II, p. 101), of which the old authors bear ample testimony. (Durán, Cap. XLVIII and XLIX.) (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXX.) (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. LXVI.) (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXVII, pp. 192 and 193.)

[197] The levels of Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco are 1 vara 11 inches higher than the "plaza mayor" of Mexico. Their outlet is to the northwest, between Churubusco and Iztapalapan. Previously, when Mexico was surrounded by water, this outlet was between Mexicalzinco and Churubusco (then called "Huitzilopochco"). At Churubusco the great causeway began, and the waters emptying out of Lake Xochimilco flowed along its right hand side into Lake Tezcuco. The causeways thus increased the effects of natural drainage upon the central basin. It was certainly a very primitive but very effective work on the part of the Mexicans. We find a parallel to it, at a comparatively recent date, in Bolivia. When Andrés Tupac Amaru, the son of the unfortunate José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was blockading Sorata, in 1782, he could not, without artillery, hope to succeed against the well fortified town. Therefore, by a system of circumvallation, he enclosed the town with the waters of the Sierra, which finally destroyed the earthworks, leaving the entrance free to the infuriated Indians. 22,000 whites perished in the massacre ensuing.

[198] It is to the Hon. L. H. Morgan that we owe the first intimation in regard to the true character and purpose of these causeways. They were not merely for the purpose of insuring communication with the mainland, but especially for the defence of Mexico. Without them the area extending between the pueblo and the western shore would, at best, have remained a swamp, or would have become, as it now is, dry land. In both cases the defensive power of the Mexicans was at an end, and the course of events in Mexico would have turned quite differently.

[199] Mention is made of a fortification of some kind at "Xoloc," where the branch dyke from Cuyuacan joined the main causeway. (This must have been in the neighborhood of San Antonio.)

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
712 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1850. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. 175 726 Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways. [361 346]

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

618 NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

618 The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled, 174 were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes 361 and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe" 342 and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[114] [32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[642] [33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[642] [34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51-65). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242), "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the 342
wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[24] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chico- 342
nauhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the 177
growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spa- [362]
cious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[25] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular 361
form, since the division of the land among the clans usually [471]
followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion grounds as arteries of traffic. Thus people out to see the 363 174
sights, people on errands, people on their way to the myriad functions of religious import, swallowed up the long lines of trotting carriers who, bowed under their burdens, went to the city with produce and tribute or left with goods for barter. Not a wheel turned or a pack animal neighed; transport was on the backs of men or in the bottoms of boats.

Outside the city limits the monotony of antlike columns of laden folk had been but rarely relieved by the passage of a civil functionary, all pomp and feathers, or by a stern merchant with a handful of fighting men, followed by a chain of apprentices, showing the whites of their eyes as they peered from under the press of their tumplines. Now could be seen clan leaders, wearing rich mantles and sniffing flowers as they watched the milling crowd, and black-robed priests whose ears were shredded and whose hair was matted with the blood of self-inflicted penance. There was little sound, little hurry, save for the carriers trotting to reach relief from their burdens. There was an intense vitality, nonetheless, that of a multitude of units participating in complex action, knowing each its allotted part but never the substance of the whole. (See Plates 33–36.)

A glance into the doorway of a house gave welcome re- 362 174
lief from the cold-blooded, almost insectlike quality of life outside. A shaded patio was flanked by buildings whose interiors were cool and spacious. Mats and straw cushions on the polished red of the cement floor welcomed the visitor to repose, while the rhythmic clap of hands and the scrape of stone on stone told that tortillas were being made and corn meal ground in a kitchen at the back. Seated in a corner, an elderly man was talking to two small boys, whose

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

362 174 serious faces showed that, already conscious of their participation in the tribal life, they heeded their uncle's precepts as to conduct befitting boys and men. A fat little girl squatting in the doorway vainly tried to imitate with her stubby fingers and toy implements the graceful movements of her mother as she produced fine threads by the cunning manipulation of her spindle. Lolling on a cushion, a young man [276] idly smoked a cigarette in a cane holder as he picked thoughtfully at the scarcely healed lobe of his ear, tattered by penitential bloodletting with cactus spine and obsidian blade.

174 527 A fiesta was going on in another house, and one heard the rich vibration of wooden drums and the high squeal of reed flutes. The patio was full of people, gay in the bright colors of their holiday clothes, and the air was heavy with the cloying scent of lilies. The sharp smells of rich sauces cunningly mixed from many peppers embroidered this odor, and occasionally a light breeze wafted the cool, mystic scent of incense. Somebody was celebrating his birthday, since in the background one saw a painted figure adorned with amate paper, representing the god who presided over that event. A little apart from the feasters, who partook of their entertainment with dignified pleasure, were a group of old men whose clownish gestures and burlesque solemnity could be easily associated with the cups of pulque that a slave was industriously filling for them. Not for nothing had these elders passed through the rigid self-denial of young manhood; they were permitted alcoholic indulgence in their old age whenever a feast came to pass. A last backward glance revealed the musicians, garlanded with flowers, blowing their flutes and conch shells, while one man beat the head of a cylin-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363 footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491] and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Tepeyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoacan. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they entered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312 mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been constructed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern causeway. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364 boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241 filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432] vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415 Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386] and these simple methods for getting fresh water and disposing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were abandoned.[11]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712 cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212 ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points; indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346 high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held [241 311 501] in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion grounds as arteries of traffic. Thus people out to see the sights, people on errands, people on their way to the myriad functions of religious import, swallowed up the long lines of trotting carriers who, bowed under their burdens, went to the city with produce and tribute or left with goods for barter. Not a wheel turned or a pack animal neighed; transport was on the backs of men or in the bottoms of boats.

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A glance into the doorway of a house gave welcome relief from the cold-blooded, almost insectlike quality of life outside. A shaded patio was flanked by buildings whose interiors were cool and spacious. Mats and straw cushions on the polished red of the cement floor welcomed the visitor to repose, while the rhythmic clap of hands and the scrape of stone on stone told that tortillas were being made and corn meal ground in a kitchen at the back. Seated in a corner, an elderly man was talking to two small boys, whose

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1935 NU7 Aztec NU7

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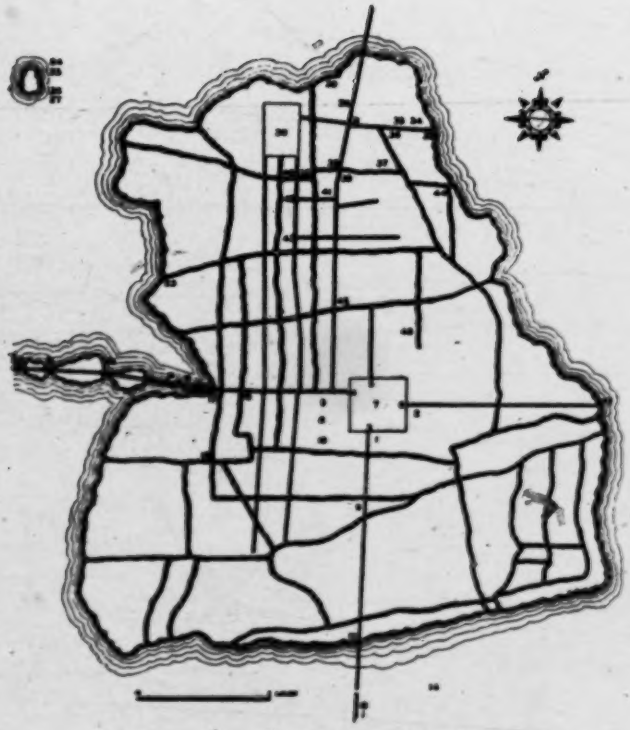

TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

[p. xvii]

[p. xviii is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

and when he was able he would repay the Lord Montezuma for all the favours which every day he was granting us. 648

As soon as the speech-making was over, we at once set out, and as the Caicques whom I have spoken about brought many followers with them, and as many people came out to see us from the neighbouring towns, all the roads were full of them.[1]

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad Causeway,[3] and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream? It is not to be wondered at that I here write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about. 361 [363]

Thus, we arrived near Iztapalapa, to behold the 648

[1] Blotted out in the original—"So that we could not proceed and the Caciques themselves told their vassals to make room for us, and to remember that we were Teules, and that if they did not make room we would be angry with them. On account of these words that were said they cleared the road for us, and we went on to sleep at another town, which is built in the water, which I think was called Mezquique,[2] and was afterwards named Venezuela, and it had many whitened towers and Cues, and the Cacique and chieftains treated us with much honour and gave Cortés a present of gold and rich mantles, and the gold was worth four hundred dollars and Cortés gave them many thanks for it. There we told them things about our holy faith as we did in all towns we came to. It seemed that the people of that town were on very bad terms with Montezuma on account of the many injuries he had done them and they complained of them and Cortés told them that he would soon remedy their ills if it should please God that we should soon reach Mexico."

[2] Mexquic.

[3] The Causeway of Cuitlahuac separating the lake of Chalco from the lake of Xochimilco.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of 648
our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, 361
half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant [243]
corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception 000
given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of 363
those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what 361
to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we,—we did not even number four hundred soldiers! and we well remembered the words and warnings given us by the people of Huexotzingo and Tlaxcala and Tlamanalco, and the many other warnings that had been given that we should beware of entering Mexico, where they would kill us, as soon as they had us inside.

Let the curious readers consider whether there is not much to ponder over in this that I am writing. What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring? But let us get on, and march along the Causeway. When we arrived where another small causeway branches off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there were some buildings like towers, which are their oratories, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them. The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with the hand.

There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma, who was approaching[1] in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques, who owned vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the Great Montezuma

[1] Que venia cerca.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 503 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 503 731 These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Albarradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 503 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplated, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:—
● 363 "The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like [501] a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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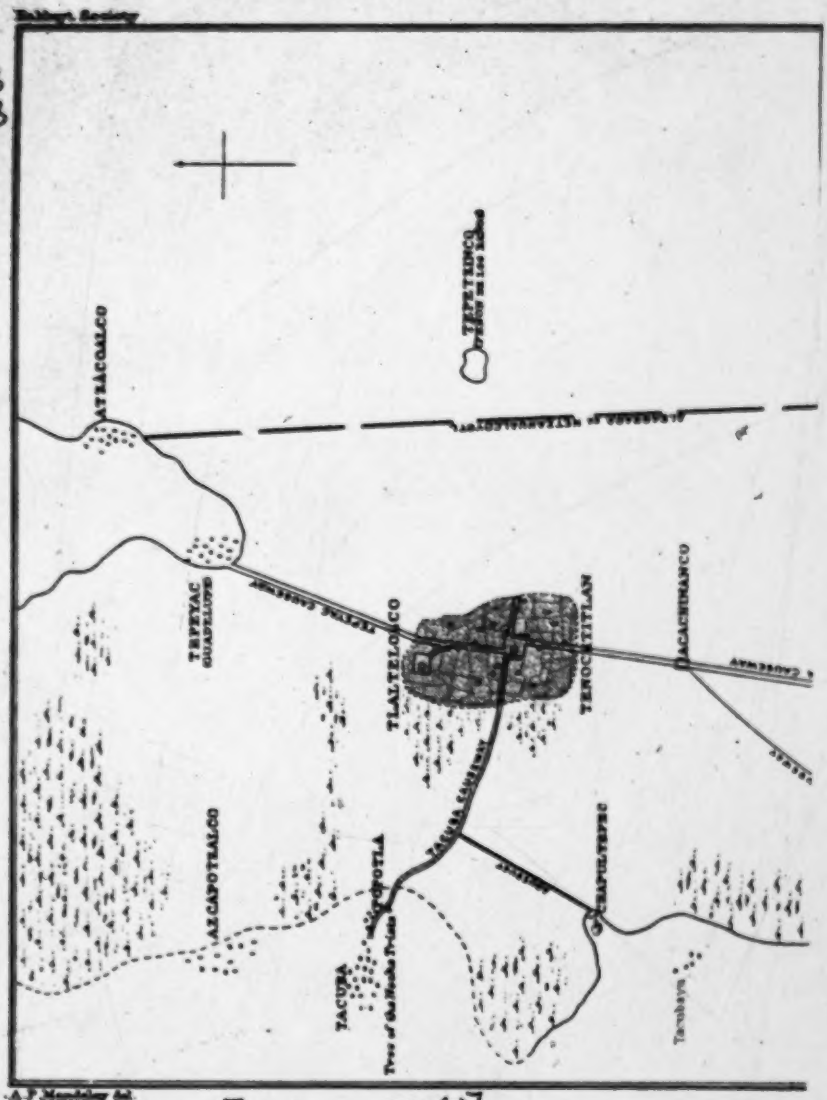

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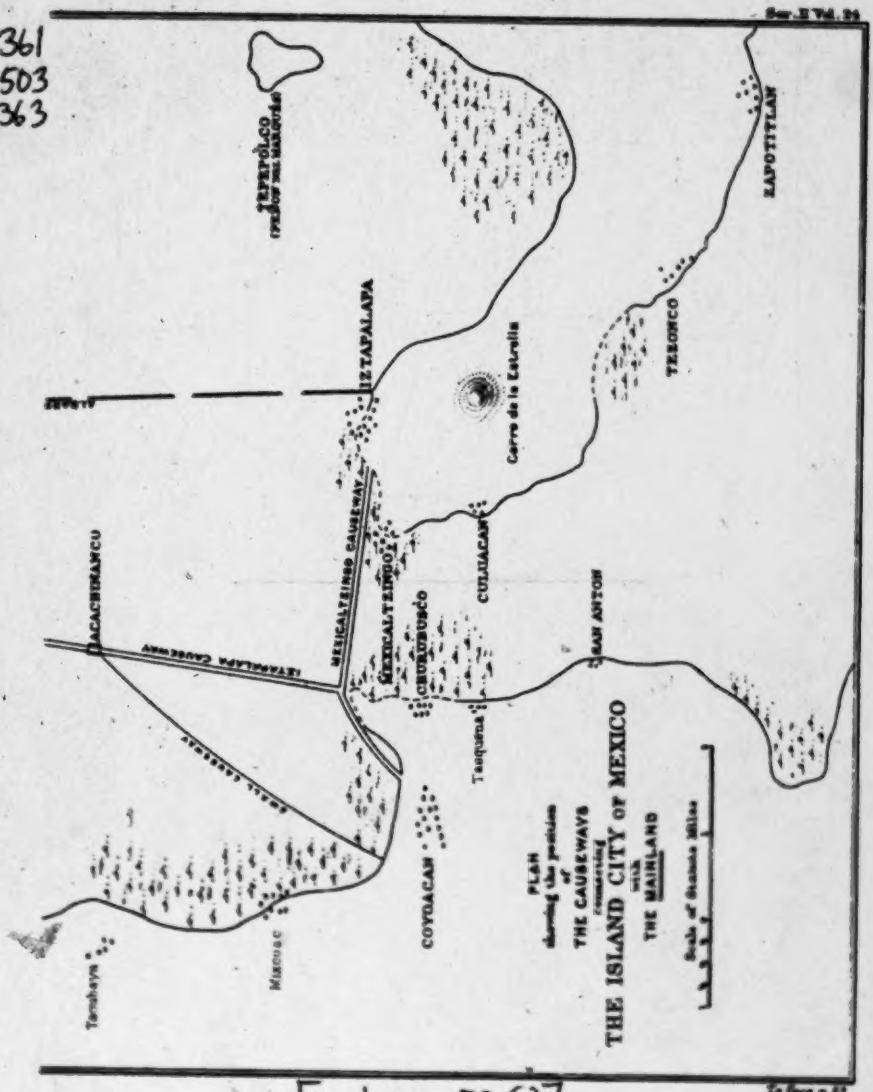

[facing p. 52 (B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[415] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and
854 other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore
373] mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the
364] creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that
514] on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish
[314 if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
289 called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full
386 of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort
276] are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment,
344] and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

 443

off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who [324 sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they 262] get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and [325 gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could 415] wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were 436 already approaching its great courts, before leaving the [443] market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look 346 at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these [364] stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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[796
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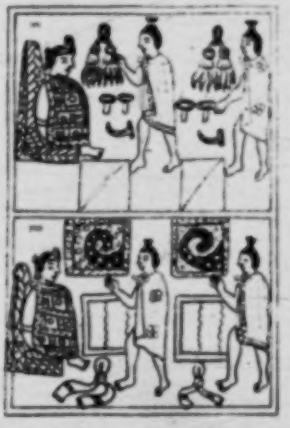

[643
701]
431]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

368 people from *all* the calpulli, but over which no single kin could
621 exercise any control.[200] This control had been delegated to the
693

[200] In regard to the "teopan," the simple term "casa de comunidad," used particularly by *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 45, and again Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477): la "Teopan, que es el palacio," explains much. It is, besides, self-evident that the tribal places of business and of worship were under the control of no particular kin, being expressly reserved for the tribe. There is, however, no definite expression as yet, in fact it hardly amounts to a clear conception, of the number and position or location of the original "tianquiz" of Tenuchtitlan. There are four eye-witnesses of the conquest reporting upon the markets: Cortés, Andrés de Tapia, the anonymous conqueror, and Bernal-Diez de Castillo. I quote these in succession. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia, I, p. 32): "Tiene esta ciudad muchas plazas, donde hay continuos mercados y trato de comprar y vender. Tiene otra plaza tan grande como dos vezes la ciudad de Salamanca, toda cercada de portales al rededor, donde hay cotidianamente arriba de sesenta-mil animas comprando y vendiendo, . . ." "*Carta Tercera*," (p. 74): "hasta otra puente que está junto á la plaza de los principales aposentamientos de la ciudad." Note 2 of the Archbishop Lorenzana: "Antes de llegar á la plaza de la Universidad hay muchas puentes, y naturalmente habia aqui desta plaza ó mercado, que era muy grande." Id., (p. 78): "E porque este trabajo era incomportable, acordó de pasar el real al cabo de la calzada que va á dar al mercado de Temiatitlan, que es una plaza harto mayor que la de Salamanca, y toda cercada de portales á la redonda;" (Id., p. 79): "seguimos nuestro camino, y entramos en la ciudad, á la cual llegados, yo reparti la gente desta manera; habia tres calles desde lo que teniamos ganado, que iban á dar al mercado, al cual los indios llaman Tianguizco, y á todo aquel sitio donde está llámen de Tlatelulco; y la una destas calles era la principal, que iba á dicho mercado, . . Las otras dos calles van desde la calle de Tacuba á dar al mercado." Id. (p. 81), after the repulse of the Spaniards: "todos los españoles vivos y muertos que tomaron los llevaron al Tlatelulco, que es el mercado." Id. (p. 85): "E aquel dia acabamos de ganar toda la calle de Tacuba y de adobar los malos pasos della, en tal manera que los del real de Pedro de Alvarado se podian communicar con nosotros por la ciudad, é por la calle principal, que iba al mercado, se ganaron otras dos puentes y se cegó bien el agua. . . . ". Id., "y seguimos la calle grande, que iba á dar al mercado;" (p. 86): "Otro dia siguiente, estando aderezando para volver á entrar en la ciudad, á las nueve horas del dia vimos de nuestro real salir humo de dos torres muy altas que estaban en el Tatelulco ó mercado de la ciudad." *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., in *Col. de Doc.*, II, p. 582): mentions only the "patio de los ídolos." "*El Conquistador anónimo*" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 398): "Sono nella città di Temestitan Messico grandissime et bellissime piazze, dove si vendono tutte le cose che usano fra loro, et specialmente la piazza maggiore che essi chiamano el Tatelula, che puo esser cosi grande como sarebbe tre volte la piazza di Salamanca, et sono all'intorno di essa tutti portici; . ." (p. 394): "Et oltra q'uesta gran piazza ve no sono dell'altre et mercati in che si vendono cose da mangiare in diverse parti della città." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, II, cap. XCII, p. 89): "y cuando llegamos á la gran plaza, que se dice el Tatelulco, como no habiamos visto tal cosa, quedamos admirados de la multitud de gente y mercaderias que en ella habia, . ." He also states that the "gran plaza" was "cercado de portales." (Cap. CLII, p. 183): "que si nos parecia que fuesemos entrando de golpe en la ciudad hasta entrar y llegar al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor Méjico, que es muy ancha, . . ." (Cap. CLV, p. 188): "que los entrásemos todo cuanto pudiésemos hasta llegarlos al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor, adonde estaban sus altos cues y adoratorios." We notice at once a contradiction. Cortés first mentions a market of Tenuchtitlan, and afterward he calls it of Tlatelúlco. Archbishop Lorenzana identifies it with the "plaza de la Universidad," or in the neighborhood of the Cathedral. See *Cervántes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," p. 9): "en la esquina de las calles del Arzobispado y Seminario."

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16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

"tlatocan" as a consequence of the formation of the tribe. Crimes committed at such localities were punished with unusual severity, because they were offences desecrating *neutral* ground which was 368 621 693

plainly stated by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555), and it would even appear as if, notwithstanding the importance attached to Tlatelulco by many authors, that the principal market was the one mentioned by this author as "el que está en la Poblacion de San Juan . . . ;" and consequently the proper "tianquiz" of the Mexican tribe. This could only be neutral ground, over which no single kin exercised any authority. It may have been different in regard to the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco; at least the following indications of *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 270) deserve full attention: "Fecho esto mandó el rey que aquella plaça y mercado que ellos ganaron, pues los tlatelulcas no tenian mas tierra, que fuese repartido entre los señores y que la parte que á cada uno cupiese, que de todos los tlatelulcas que allí hiciesen asiento, de todo lo que vendiesen los diesen alcanala, de cinco uno, y así se repartió la plaça entre todos, de donde cada uno cabraua alcanala de lo que en el lugar que le auia canido se vendia." The above is not quite definite enough, because the "plaza y mercado" of which the friar speaks, is evidently the one mentioned by him (p. 260): "y encerrándoles en la plaça de su mercado, haciéndose los tlatelulcas fuertes, no dexanan entrar á la plaça ninguno de los Mexicanos en ella," whereas he says (p. 270): "que allí hiciesen asiento," as if the place was built over. The fact that the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco was "distributed among the Mexicans" is further asserted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XLVI, p. 75, Kingsborough, Vol. 9): "Axayaca mandó tambien se hiciese repartimiento del tianquiz de Tlatilolco á los Mexicanos, y comenzaron á medir primera suerte Axayaca, luego á Zihuacoatl Tlacaelelizin, luego par su orden Tlacochcalcatl, y á todos los capitanes, que fué tenido el tianquiz en mas de sí ganaran cien pueblos." It would therefore appear, if we interpret this "distribution" as it should be done, namely: *as a division of spoils among the kins*, that the latter claimed a share of tribute from the traffic or barter going on in the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco, a fact corroborated besides by that other statement of *Durán* (p. 269): "El rey le mandó, que puse aquin ahio traidores á su corona real, que de allí adelante queria y era su voluntad que aquella parcialidad Mexicana del tlatelulco le fuesen tributarios y pecheros como las demas ciudades y provincias, . . ." This, and the uncertainty as to which tianquiz is always meant, favors the assumption that *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 368. Vedia I) mentions Tlatelulco when he says: "Los que venden pagan algo del asiento al Rey, ó por alcabala ó porque los guarden de ladrones." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," pp. 32, 33 and 34) does not mention it, for the words: "donde están personas por guardas y que reciben certum quid de cada cosa que entra" do not apply to the market which he describes as having visited and which, in spite of *Bernal-Díaz* ("*Hist. Verdadera*," Cap. XCII, p. 89) I still believe to have been that of Tenuchtitlan, and *not* that of Tlatelulco. Cortés is strictly followed by *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, pp. 380 and 381) whereas *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 195) copies Gomara. 364

I have dwelt thus long on this question because it disposes of the notion that the "government" of Mexico levied a tax on the traffic of the members of the tribe. This tax limits itself to a tribute paid by the subjected tribe of Tlatelulco alone, because, as *Durán* says (p. 270) "they had no more soil than that of their tianquiz." This tax was distributed among the kins, like any other tribute. But it does not follow that therefore the kins exercised judicial power over the Tlatelulcan market. This power either remained with the Tlatelulcan tribe, or devolved upon the officers of the tribe of Tenuchtitlan. The former is more likely, although the latter might also have been the case since the Tlatelulcans were treated with great severity, as traitors and outcasts (*Durán*, Cap. XXXIV, pp. 269-271), in which case the tribal authorities would have had to punish them. 651

That the central or tribal "teocalli" and the courts surrounding it were committed to the care of the tribe, as representing all the kins, on equal terms, in the share which each had in it, is self-evident, and needs no further proof.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its
644 quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings
[367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great
517 plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide
174 road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

868 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led
174 to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Such were, in a general way, the higher functions of the Mexi- 646
can council, and they appear, if we are permitted to characterize 692
them to be only arbitrative and directive. Yet the members of that council had other duties of a purely judicial nature.

No conflict occurred between its jurisdiction and that of the kins. It was neither superior nor inferior to it, but wholly independent, even without any connection with it. Hence it extended:

1. Over the unattached class, the hangers-on to the tribe, or outcasts from the bond of kinship.[19]

2. Over all the people composing the tribe, irrespective of kinship, at places specially placed under tribal care, or reserved for tribal business, and therefore *neutral ground* for the members of all the calpulli. These neutral localities were the official buildings, the central or tribal "house of god," and especially the great "tianquiz" or market places.

The outcasts were, happily for the preservation of tribal society, not very numerous. Still, from their very origin, they were the most disorderly part of the people and crimes were certainly more common among them than among those upon whose passions the tie of kinship and the obligations resulting therefrom acted like a wholesome check. It required a judiciary power constantly on hand to repress and punish the misdemeanors committed among this class.

The "tecpan," the great central "teocalli" and the square on 368 621
which it stood, and the market, were regular meeting-places of 693

siguiente, etc. . . . . ." (Cap. LX. p. 473): "Montezuma, apiadándose dellos, los mandó aposentar, y llamando su consejo, propusoles la demanda que traian." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 61): "El Rey Itzcohuatl mostró gran contento con la embajada respondiendo con muy gratas palabras; mandó aposentar á los mensajeros, y honrarlos, y tratar como á su propia persona, diziéndoles que descansassen, que el dia siguiente les daria la respuesta." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap I, p. 343): "Acabada la Embaxada, si el Embaxador no era de mui gran Principe, no se le respondia cosa, hasta otro Dia; salian con él algunos, acompañandole á la Calpixca, adonde se proveia de lo necesario, y en el entretanto el Señor comunicaba con los de su Consejo lo que se havia de responder, lo qual hacia uno de ellos, y no él." But the most complete picture of such delegations and the manner in which they were received is found in *Velasquez* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte II°y Trat. IIa, cap. II. pp. 378 and 379). It is too long to be copied. I merely allude to the words: "Acabada la embajada, le volvian á la posada mientras se juntaban para la respuesta." It has been adopted by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, pp. 470 and 471).

[19] The unattached class was under protection of no kin; therefore, if such a "bonded man" made his escape to the Tecpan, he became liberated from his bond. Already mentioned by *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia, I. p. 442), and subsequently confirmed by others.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

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16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

"tlatocan" as a consequence of the formation of the tribe. Crimes committed at such localities were punished with unusual severity, because they were offences desecrating *neutral* ground which was 368 621 693

plainly stated by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555), and it would even appear as if, notwithstanding the importance attached to Tlatelulco by many authors, that the principal market was the one mentioned by this author as "el que está en la Poblacion de San Juan . . . ;" and consequently the proper "tianquiz" of the Mexican tribe. This could only be neutral ground, over which no single kin exercised any authority. It may have been different in regard to the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco; at least the following indications of *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 270) deserve full attention: "Fecho esto mandó el rey que aquella plaça y mercado que ellos ganaron, pues los tlatelulcas no tenian mas tierra, que fuese repartido entre los señores y que la parte que á cada uno cupiese, que de todos los tlatelulcas que alli hiciesen asiento, de todo lo que vendiesen les diesen alcanala, de cinco uno, y así se repartió la plaça entre todos, de donde cada uno cobraua alcanala de lo que en el lugar que le auia cauido se vendia." The above is not quite definite enough, because the "plaza y mercado" of which the friar speaks, is evidently the one mentioned by him (p. 266): "y encerrándoles en la plaça de su mercado, haciéndose los tlatelulcas fuertes, no dexanan entrar á la plaça ninguno de los Mexicanos en ella," whereas he says (p. 270): "que allí hiciesen asiento," as if the place was built over. The fact that the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco was "distributed among the Mexicans" is further asserted by *Tezozómoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XLVI, p. 73, Kingsborough, Vol. 9): "Axayaca mandó tambien se hiciese repartimiento del tianquiz de Tlatilolco á los Mexicanos, y comenzaron á medir primera suerte Axayaca, luego á Zihuacoatl Tlacaelelitzin, luego par su orden Tlacochcalcatl, y á todos los capitanes, que fué tenido el tianquiz en mas de sí ganaran cien pueblos." It would therefore appear, if we interpret this "distribution" as it should be done, namely: *as a division of spoils among the kins*, that the latter claimed a share of tribute from the traffic or barter going on in the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco, a fact corroborated besides by that other statement of *Durán* (p. 266): "El rey le mandó, que pues aulan sido traidores á su corona real, que de alli adelante queria y era su voluntad que aquella parcialidad Mexicana del tlatelulco le fuesen tributarios y pecheros como las demas ciudades y provincias, . . ." This, and the uncertainty as to which tianquiz is always meant, favors the assumption that *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 349. Vedia I) mentions Tlatelulco when he says: "Los que venden pagan algo del asiento al *Rey*, ó por alcabala ó porque los guarden de ladrones." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," pp. 32, 33 and 34) does not mention it, for the words: "donde están personas por guardas y que reciben certum quid de cada cosa que entra" do not apply to the market which he describes as having visited and which, in spite of *Bernal-Díaz* ("*Hist. Verdadera*," Cap. XCII, p. 89) I still believe to have been that of Tenuchtitlan, and *not* that of Tlatelulco. Cortés is strictly followed by *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, pp. 300 and 301) whereas *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 195) copies Gomara. [364]

I have dwelt thus long on this question because it disposes of the notion that the "government" of Mexico levied a tax on the traffic of the members of the tribe. This tax limits itself to a tribute paid by the subjected tribe of Tlatelulco alone, because, as *Durán* says (p. 270) "they had no more soil than that of their tianquiz." This tax was distributed among the kins, like any other tribute. But it does not follow that therefore the kins exercised judicial power over the Tlatelulcan market. This power either remained with the Tlatelulcan tribe, or devolved upon the officers of the tribe of Tenuchtitlan. The former is more likely, although the latter might also have been the case since the Tlatelulcans were treated with great severity, as traitors and outcasts (*Durán*, Cap. XXXIV, pp. 269-271), in which case the tribal authorities would have had to punish them. [651]

That the central or tribal "tecalli" and the courts surrounding it were committed to the care of the tribe, as representing all the kins, on equal terms, in the share which each had in it, is self-evident, and needs no further proof.

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368 621 693 then respected as open to use for all the kins in common.[201] So many people met there daily, that the daily exercise, at least the presence, of judicial authority was absolutely necessary.[202]

[201] *Las Casas* ("*Historia apologética*," Cap. 214, in note XLV of Lord Kingsborough, Vol. VIII, p. 134): "pero cuando reñian en los mercados, como á escandalosos y alborotadores del pueblo eran muy gravemente castigados." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, p. 325) says even of those who disposed of stolen articles: "the Judges and chiefs took them and sentenced them to death." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 381): "El que hurtaba en la Plaça ó Mercado, que llaman Tianquizco, luego alli era muerto á palos, por tener por muy grave culpa, que en semejante lugar, y tan publico, huviese tanto atrevimiento." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 484): "He who changed the measures established by the government, in open market, was executed on the spot," and (p. 487): "He who stole in the market, was at once beaten to death." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): "Porque tenian por grave el pecado cometido en la plaza ó mercado."

[202] We have again here the eye-witnesses. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*." Vedia, I, p. 32): "Hay en esta gran plaza una muy buena casa como de audiencia, donde están siempre sentados diez ó doce personas, que son jueces y libran todos los casos y cosas que en el dicho mercado acaecen, y mandan castigar los delinquéntes. Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89): Vedia, II, "y tenian alli sus casas, donde juzgaban tres jueces y otros como alguaciles ejecutores que miraban las mercaderias." These two statements, with more or less variation, are at the base of all that has been subsequently said on this subject, except by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, p. 325): "El señor tambien cuidaba del tianguiz y de todas las cosas que en el se veddian por amor de la gente popular, y de toda la gente forastera que alli venia, para que nadie los hiciese fraude, ni sin razon en el comercio de la feria. Por esta causa ponian por órden todas las cosas, que se vendian cada una en su lugar, y elegian por la misma oficiales que se llamaban tianquizpantlayacaque, los cuales tenian cargo del mercado, y todas las cosas que alli se vendian de cada género de mantenimientos ó mercaderias; tenia uno de estos cargo para poner los precios de las cosas que se vendian y para que no huvrise fraude entre los compradores y vendedores." "Tianquizpantlayacaque" decomposes into "Tianquizpan," "feriar, o tratar en mercado," *Molina* (II, p. 114), and "Tlayacatia," "cosa primera o delantera" (Id., p. 120); consequently, "the foremost or first ones of those who trade in open market." We have to discriminate therefore between these and such officers as "*sui*" ("están siempre sentados," says Cortés) within that "very good house" in the market, or rather close by, and acted as Judges. *Herrera* (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 196) says this house was "cerca del Mercado"—a statement which he afterwards changes to "en la plaza de Mexico" (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 187). We are now informed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555) that the *tecpan* of Tlatelulco "que son las Casas de Cabildo, y Audiencia" was, at his time, on one of the sides ("acera") of the *market* of Tlatelulco, and it appears to have been customary for the natives to have the official building facing the "tianquiz." Such was the case at Texcuco if we are to believe *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 247): "Le palais avait deux cours, dont la première, qui était la plus grande, servait de place publique et de marché; elle est même encore aujourd'hui destinée à cet usage;" and if the market of Tenuchtitlán really was where Archbishop Lorenzana places it (see note 200), then it is evident that the Mexican tecpan must have been very near it, if not actually facing the square. The "great house" mentioned by the eye-witnesses quoted, was therefore, in all probability, but the council or official-house of the tribe, and the old men who, in number from three to twelve, are said to have officiated as "Judges," were members of the "tlatocan" or supreme council on judicial duty, as we shall hereafter see. Those officers who circulated among the people maintaining peace and order, were executive

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It therefore demanded the daily attendance at the official house of the tribe of a body of men sitting as "judges." The decisions of these judges had to be final even in matters of life and death. Therefore the chiefs composing the highest authority of the tribe, the members of the council or "tlatoca," were also its supreme judges. It is stated that for this daily work the twenty "speakers" were subdivided into two bodies sitting simultaneously in two different halls of the "tecpan." One of these bodies is called "court of the nobles" because it attended, not merely to tribal cases, but especially to the preparatory business of government in general, whereas the other limited its decrees to judicial questions only.[203]

officers delegated for that special purpose, and, as we shall find, probably under orders of the military commanders of the tribe.

[203] This division of the council into two bodies for the purpose of greater dispatch of judicial work is particularly affirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib VIII, cap. XIV, p. 303, Cap. XV, p. 304, and Cap. XXV, pp. 313 and 314), who, however, contradicts himself in regard to the position and rank of his "Judges." Thus (p. 303) he calls his officers of the "sala de la judicatura," "el rey, los señores, cónsules, oidores, principales nobles" as distinguished from those of the "audiencia de la causas civiles," whom he designates as "los senadores y los ancianos," thus intimating, if not asserting, that the former were superior to the latter in rank and power. The hall wherein the former met, is called "tlacxitlan," the latter "teccalli." I shall return to these terms again. He further asserts (p. 314), speaking of the former: "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoques," and establishes them as a court of appeal for the lower court. Now (Cap. XXX, p. 318) he says: "juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoques . . ." Consequently, he tacitly admits that the "senadores" who, according to him, composed the "lower" court were also the *equals* of those of the higher, and all belonged to the same class of officers. Finally, his picture of the duties of both bodies is rather obscure. He even (p. 314) might be construed so as to establish *three* courts. If we now examine the names given by him, we find that of the "lower" to be "house of chiefs," from "tecuhtli" and "calli," house. Indeed, *Molina* (II, p. 92) has "teccalli," "casa, o audiencia real." "Tlacxitlan," however, signifies (II, p. 120) "en lo baxo, o al pie de los arboles, o de cosa semejante." The proper derivation, however, is from "ni tlacxitoca" "to correct writings, or count over what has been already counted" (p. 120), which would indeed correspond to a "court of appeals." "To appeal" is "nitlacuepa;" "appeal," "tlacuepaliztli; occecan neteihuiliztli," *Molina* (I, p. 12). It stands properly for the act of demurring, or of returning, folding, doubling up, and it is not likely to have been used by the natives to define an appeal in our sense of the word. Father Sahagun has probably introduced the word "tlacxitlan" himself. At all events, he is responsible for the notion of a superior body of judges, to whom a lower court, sitting in the same house, referred all cases of importance, contenting itself with taking testimony and despatching unimportant cases; while at the same time he tells us that the members of *both* groups *held the same office*, and were consequently equal and had the same title. This title we have found to be that of the members of the council, consequently the two groups formed but fractions of that body, co-ordinated and assisting each other, and not a higher and a lower branch of a tribal judiciary.

Father Sahagun and contemporary authors of the Franciscan school, whose writings have just now come to light in the "*Libro de Oro*," can easily be traced as the source of most of the later pictures of Mexican judicial customs as in the present instance. Thus his highest tribunal of *thirteen* "senadores" reappears in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 442,

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796 continuance of their existence endowed the ritual with profound solemnity. The New Fire Ceremony was symbolized by the extinction of the old altar fire, which had burned perpetually for fifty-two years, and the kindling of a fresh one in token of the new grant of life.* (See Plate 29, top row.)

During the five useless days (*nemontemi*) of the final year the people let their fires go out and destroyed their household furniture. Fasting and lamentation were the order of the day while the populace awaited catastrophe. Pregnant women [789] were shut up in granaries, lest they be changed into wild animals, and children were marched up and down and kept awake, for fear that sleep on that fatal evening would result in their turning into rats.

At sunset the priests, in solemn panoply, representatives of the whole array of the Aztec pantheon, ascended the Hill of the Star, anciently known as Huixachtecatl. This extinct volcanic crater rises abruptly from the Valley floor and is visible from almost every quarter of the Valley of Mexico. From the temple to its summit the priests anxiously scanned the heavens as the night wore on, awaiting the hour when a certain star or stars, Aldebaran or the Pleiades, reached the center of the heavens and gave the sign that their world would continue.

[372] At the very moment when these stars passed the meridian [782] the priests seized a wooden fire drill and kindled a new fire in the open breast of a victim freshly slain for the purpose. The populace—priests, chiefs and commoners—thrilled to a great happiness. Runners lit torches from the new fire and rekindled the altars in the temples of every town and hamlet, whence the people bore the flames to their hearths. Like fireflies the darting torchbearers sped through the night, bringing the promise of a new life to every man, woman and child.

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had [412] in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to [777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for [276] the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers. 585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car- [482 373] ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her [372] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuuiesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determjnauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honrradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moçó: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izqujerda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esqujna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

side; some had long hair; some already had hair wound about the head.[9] They bound the cobs of maize in groups of seven; these were the clusters [of cobs of maize]. They wrapped them in red paper, and painted them with liquid rubber; and they sprinkled on them drops of liquid rubber.

And they pasted the young girls' arms and legs with red feathers; they painted their faces, fastening [on them] two [circles of] fish paste[10] flecked with iron pyrites on both sides, on their cheeks.

Then, they accompanied the young girls, who carried upon their backs the dried maize, also called Cintetotl. They kept going before them; they went surrounding and encircling them, looking on fascinated. None of those crowded about looked upon them; [none] looked fiendly at them; none joked with them.

And if anyone was merry with one of them, they chid him. They said unto him:

"Verily, he with the long [tangled] hair of a youth also speaketh! Dost thou indeed speak? Be thou concerned over how may be removed thy tuft of hair, thou with the long hair! Thou with the evil-smelling, stinking forelock, art thou not only a woman like me? Nowhere hath thy excrement [yet] been burned."[11]

Some answered her and said unto her:

"[What thou sayest] is good. I am going, I. I know that it is truth and verity; thou hast done well. Now also shalt thou go. Anoint thy stomach with mud; scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other and fall to the earth; drop upon the dust. There is a stone, a rough one; strike thy face therewith, that blood may spurt forth; scratch thy nose with the stone; or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe, that thou mayest spit through it. Be on thy way; go as thou likest."

And although these words were thus expressed by

ie omaxtlauh: chichicoomolotl in qujilpia, ichoatl yn ocholli catca, camaquentia, tlauhio, colxaoa: yoan conokchichipitza. 796X [302] [314]

Auh in ichpopuchti, tlapaliujtica qujnpotonja, in inmac, ymicxic, yoã qujnxaoaia, ovme qujnpilhuja chapopotli apetztzo, tlaapetzujlli, tlaapetziotilli: necoccampa in camatepa. [302]

Niman ie ic qujnujca yn ichpopuchti, qujmamatiuj in cintli, no cinteutl motocaiotiaia: ymixpã hicatiuj, qujntepeuitiuj, qujmololhujtiuj, cemixtli invic: aiac in maca qujmjtta, qujncecemjtta, aiac qujncamanalhuja.

Auh intla aca tecamanalhuja, qujoalaoa qujoalilhuja: 796X

no uellatoa in cuexpalle, vel teh titlatoa? ma ie ic xitlaocuia, quen uetzix in mocuexpal, cuexpaltone? cuexpaliiac, cuexpalpoto, amo çan tinocioapo? acan motlachinauja mocujtl. 702

Cequjntin quioalcuepaia, qujtoaia

ca ie qualli, ça onjia, ie nehoatl, nicmati, haçanelli, haçayuj, ootlacneli ca no te tiez: xonmitiçoqujuj, xonmjtichichiquj, ximocximalina, tlalli ic ximoujtequj, tlalli xiqujpotoztiuetzi: vmpa ca tetlhon, techachalli, ic xonmixtetzotzona, ic xonmjxtzotzona, eztli tiqualaacuchoz: ximoiscstechichiquj, noce xonmococotlecoionj, vmpa tieakchichichaz, çan xinemj, ça tiuhqui xinemj. [372]

Auh maciuj yn iuhqui hin intlatol muchicaia

9. "*Amatomatli, ocl, ahamatli, cabello largo que dexan a un lado dela cabeça sin cortar quando los trasquilan*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). *Amatomatli* (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl section) is translated as "*Cabellos cortados y redondos sin cabeça de la cuyga.*"

10. Chapopotli. See Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, pp. 72, 285.

11. In view of the double meanings which make this passage difficult to put into English, reference to later passages in Sahagún's *Historia* is helpful. A statement in the Bulmarde edition (Vol. I, p. 173) mentions "*los mancebos y mancebas; todos aquellos que tenian cuidaje de cabellos en el coyuto, que llamaban cuentapalpos.*" Further on (Vol. III, pp. 181-2): "*Los grandes y ordinarios por donde cabian las que habian de llegar a las mugeres deprendidas, eran estos que se dicen: cuando eran jovenes, por quebrarlos andaban cuidados o curamada la cabeza, y llegando a los dos años dejábanle crecer una cuelga de cabellos en el coyuto, a la cual eran llamados mocuexpaltin; a los quinces años tenian ya aquella cuelga larga, y llamábanles cuexpaltichiquiqui, porque esto siempre eran cuidado habian hecho en la guerra; y a en la guerra acostumbraban que el y otro, o, el y otros dos o tres, o más, cuestionaban o alegaban de las cuentagas, quitándole la cuelga de los cabellos, y aquella era señal de honra. . . .*

"*Y cuando quitaban la cuelga del cabellillo, dejábanle una cuelga sobre la oreja derecha, que le cubria la oreja a modo un lado que era el derecho, y con esto parecia que tenia otra preseria más honrada, que era señal que en compañia de otros había cometido o alguno; y por haber cometido con sus compañeros, y haber dejádole la cuelga en señal de honra, le cabellaban sus abuelos o sus tias diciéndole: Nieto nuestro, hase hecho la cara el sol, y la tierra; ya tienes otra cara; porque te tienen y te alegranse o conocen en compañia de otros; otra que te cuidaba más pardorte y que te conocieron sus compañeros, que no que otro con cualquiera en compañia de otros, porque si otro fuese pondríanle otra cuelga de la parte de la otra oreja, que frecuentaran compañeros, y más te cuidaba mucho que conocieron otro.*"

See also Lib. VIII, cap. xxii.

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[3]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca mzianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçotia in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca. 796 736

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izquilhujtl cujcoia: im pecaia cujcoanalizti, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tletecq tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: 372

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalquixoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in mazujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti: 548

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan. 302 565

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj torolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhqui, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. 796 292

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtozquj much ueuei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtoia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca. 302

Auh amo mopotonja, amoho moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichiotia in teachcaoan, yn innechichioal catca, ichoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin. 622 304 304 701

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, Auxoxiujtlaxoxoatectli may be rendered "two ears tube (s) in their embrace." For *xoxoatectli*, Sahagún has "ear cords."

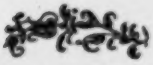

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Izcalli.

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood one on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his mat was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was dawn, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

Jnic cempoalli on caxtolli omome, capt. ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequjpanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtoltetl omey metztli, in mjtoaia in moteneoaia Yzcalli. 796[x]

Inic caxtoltetl çeney ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualoia oauhqujltamalli, moteneoa, mitoaia, motlazqujan tota, ichoatl in tletl, qujtlaliaia; yxiptla, çan colotli, in qujchioaia, qujxaiacatiaia, yn ixaiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, xiujtl ynic ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca iuhqujn cuecueioca, cenca mihiiotia: 796[x] 778 [262]

yoan conaquja yn itzontecō quetzalcomjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn xexeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquaquauh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzaltzontecomaio yiomexti: auh yn jtzintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencā quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxiuhian vetztica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli. [237]

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhqujn ma nelli itzoñ:

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motqujtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in checatl itlan calaquj, iuhqujn maacomana, iuhq'n cuecucioca, iuhqujn cuecueiaoa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, ocelucoatl, ocelupetlatl mamaçouhtoc, çan iuh ca in jtzontecon, ixtlapach onoc: auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, ioealnepantla in tlequauhtlaça. Auh in ovetz tletl, njman ie ic qujpitzia, mec tletlalia: [281] [372]

auh in omotlali tletl, in otlavic, in otlatlalchipaoac, mec onmotecpana, ōmoiacatia in telpopochti, in 796[x]

1. "Growth," or "the growing," according to Gualtieri, op. cit., p. 316. Tezozomoc favors the meaning "rebirth" (op. cit., p. 300): "quiere decir, renovacion, o el de la renovacion; porque por espacio siempre, el quarto creciendo el dinero, y puesto de frio à calor, y renovando la Primavera." In Chimalpa (op. cit., p. 172, n. 54) it is suggested that the literal meaning of izcalli is "born in the house."

2. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text states: "hacian la estatua del dios, del fuego de madera, como una estatua, que ellos llamaban xiuhtli, que quiere decir turquesa, o esmeralda."

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mented in the likeness of] Ciuateotl of Atlauhco died there at Coatlan, at the base [of Atlauhco. This was done] yearly, also during the feast of Ochpaniztli.

vmpa in coatlan tlatzintlan: cexiuhtica, çan no ipan in ochpaniztli.

The Priests' House at Tzonmolco.

The Priests' House at Tzonmolco: from here came the fire, which they named Xiuhtecutli. Here Moctezuma took the fire when he offered incense, and here [the new fire] fell from the fire drill. [This was done] each year at the feast of Uauhquiltamalqualiztli.

[372]

Tzonmolco calmecac.

In tzonmolco calmecac: vncan quiçaia in tletl, in quitocaiotiaia xiuhtecutli: vmpa concuja in tletl, in jquac tlenamacaia motecuçoma, yoan vncan vetzia in tlequavitl: cexiuhtica, ipan oauhquiltamalqualiztli.

Temalacatl.

Temalacatl: here were offered up gladiatorial sacrifice victims. Those here offered up in the gladiatorial sacrifice were a great number of captives. And thus were offered up in the gladiatorial sacrifice indeed all men [who] came from the lands about us, whom they slew as offerings there upon the stone of gladiatorial sacrifice. And for this he who had charge of them was the wolf man, who placed them on the gladiatorial stone. And when he had put the captive in his place, thereupon he offered him the pine club and he gave him a feathered staff. And then went one arrayed as an eagle or an ocelot to belabor him. He then struck [down] the captive, as if he warred against him. And here was he who was charged with the care [of the captive]; his name was Chalchiuhtepeua. And when the captive fell, thereupon the wolf man dragged him off, and [the priests] slashed open the breast of the captive. And he who slew him was named Youallauan; he opened [the captive's] breast. And when he slashed open the breast of the captive, thereupon they cast him down below. And this was done each year at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Temalacatl

In temalacatl: vncan tlaouoanoia, in vncan quinoaoanaia, cenca mjequjntin in mamalti: auh injc tlaoaoanoia, vel isqujch tlacatl oal[illegible]ja in cematonaoac in oallamjctiaia, in vncan temalacac: auh vncan intequippan catca in cuetlachtli, ontequetzaia in temalacac. Auh in jquac oconquetz malli: njman ye ic conmaca in ocotzontetl, yoan conmaca quavitl tlapotonjlli. Auh njman ye iauh in teixiptla, in tevivitequjz: aço quauhtli, anoço, ocelutl: njman ie qujvivitequj in malli, iuhqujn moiauchioa: yoan, vncan itequippan catca, yn jtoca chalchiuhtepeoa. Auh in jquac ovetz malli: njman ye ic tevilana in cuetlachtli: njman ye ic queltetequi in malli: auh in iehoatl tlamjctiaia in jtoca catca Iooallaoan, teeltetequjo. Auh in jquac oconeltetecque malli: njman ye ic tlatzintlan qujoallaça: auh in muchioaia, yn, cexiuhtica ypan in tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Temple of Nappa tecutli.

Nappatecco: here died [the impersonator] whose name was Nappa tecutli, at night, not by day. [This happened] each year, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Nappa tecutli itecpan.

In nappatecco, vncan mjquja yn itoca catca, nappa tecutli çan iohoan, amo cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica ipan tepeilhujtl.

Tospalatl.

A 796 346 [312] The Yellow Waters were very precious. The waters flowed [as a spring]; here the servants of the gods took water. And when they celebrated the feast of Uitzilopochtli, and when they celebrated each feast, here water was drunk. Here the common folk drank water.

Tospalatl.

In tospalatl, cenca tlaçotli catca, meiaia: vncan atlacuja in tlamacazque. Auh in jquac ylhujuh quiçaia vitzilopuchtli: yoan yn ixquich ilhujtl muchioaia, vncan atlioaloia: vncan atlia in macevalti.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac: here was [the god] whose name was Macuiltotec. Here a feast was celebrated in his honor. And when they observed the feast day of Macuiltotec, here men were slain as sacrifices [to him]. Captives died here at Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

[372] Perchance it was when the fire drill was used [for the new fire]; perchance at another time. Likewise this was done yearly, at the feast of Panquetzaliztli, or at the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac.

In tlacochcalcó quauhqujaoac, vncan catca in jtoca macujltotec: vncan ilhujquiztililoia. Auh in jquac yn jlhujuh quiçaia in macujltotec. vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti in tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac:

aço yquac in tlamamalioaz, acanoçomo: no ceziuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in panquetzaliztli, anoço tlacaxipeolaiztli.

Tolnauac.

Tolnauac: here were men slain in sacrifice. Here captives died; perchance [when the day sign] ce miquiztli came in the day count.

Tulnaoac.

In tulnaoac, vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti, aço ce mjquiztli moquetza in tonalpoalli catca.

Tilocan.

Tilocan: here cooked [the dough of amaranth seed for] the image of Uitzilopochtli.

Tilocan.

In tilocan: vncan yeucia in vitzilopuchtli ijxiptla.

Itepeioc.

Itepeioc: here took form [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

Itepeioc.

In itepeioc: vncan tlacatia in vitzilopuchtli.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac.

The Tribal Temple of Uitznauac: here was made, and here they molded in man's form, the image of the demon whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.

Vitznaoac calpulli.

In vitznaoac calpulco, vncan muchioaia, vncan tlacatia in ijxiptla diablo, in jtoca catca tlacavepan cuexcochtzin.

Ninth Chapter, in which is described what was called "The Binding of Our Years," or "When the Years are Bound," [which occurred] when one by one the four year signs had each reigned thirteen years and when fifty-two years had passed; and what then was done.

When [came] the time of the binding of our years, always they gradually neared and approached [the year] Two Reed. This is to say: they then reached and ended [a period of] fifty-two years. For at that time [these years] were piled up, added one to another, and brought together; wherefore the thirteen-year [cycles] had four times made a circle,[19] as hath been made known. Hence was it said that then were tied and bound our years, and that once again the years were newly laid hold of. When it was evident that the years lay ready to burst into life, everyone took hold of them, so that once more would start forth—once again—another [period of] fifty-two years. Then [the two cycles] might proceed to reach one hundred and four years. It was called "One Old Age" when twice they had made the round, when twice the times of binding the years had come together.

Behold what was done when the years were bound—when was reached the time when they were to draw the new fire, when now its count was accomplished. First they put out fires everywhere in the country round. And the statues, hewn in either wood or stone, kept in each man's home and regarded as gods, were all cast into the water. Also [were] these [cast away]—the pestles and the [three] hearth stones [upon which the cooking pots rested]; and everywhere there was much sweeping—there was sweeping very clean. Rubbish was thrown out; none lay in any of the houses.

And when they drew the new fire, they drew it there at Uitzachtlan, at midnight, when the night divided in half. They drew it upon the breast of a captive, and it was a well-born one on whose breast [the priest] bored the fire drill. And when a little

19. See Plate 20.

Inic chicuacuai capitulo, vncan mitoa: in mitoa, toximmoipili, anoço inic molpilia xiuitl: yn icoac matlatlacpa omeexpa otlamicac, yn inauhtexixi cecentetl xippoalli: inic onaci vmpoalxiuitl ipan matlacxiuitl omume, yoan in tlein icoac muchioaya.

Ic vncan, ic ipan in tuxiuhmolpilia: muchipa ic quimattiuh, quitztiuh in vme acatl. q. n. Ca vncan aci, uncan tlami ompoalxiuitl ōmatlactli, yoā onxiuitl. Ca vncan mocentlalia, monepanoa, monamiqui: inic otlaxoalo nauhcampa matlacxiuitl omey, in iuh omoteneuh: ic mitoa, vncan molpia, molpilia in tuxiuh, oc ceppa iancuican vncan xiuhtzitzquilo: inic monencaiotiaia, in xiuitl icoatoc, muchi tlacatl cōquitzquiaia, inic oc ceppa ie ōpeoa, oc no izqui xiuitl 52 años, inic acitiuh macuilpoalxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl: mitoa cen uetetilitztli, in oppa tlaiaoaloa, in oppa monamiqui imolpilican xiuitl. 805

Izcatqui in muchioaia, icoac molpilia xiuitl: in icoac oxxioac, in vncā uetzia tlequauitl, in ie itlapoalpan: achto vel nouiian cēcenia in tletl in cematonaōac, yoan in isquich pieloia techachā, in netentiloia tequacuilti, in aço quauitl, anoço tetl tlaxintli, muchi atlan onmotepeoaia: No ichoatl in tezcatl, in tenamaztli, yoan nouiian tlātlachpanoia, tlaxtzcaloło, tlanaoac tlauico, aoctle uetztoia in techachan. 805 372

Auh in vetzia tlequauitl, vmpa in vixachtlan: ioalnepantla in vetzia, vel icoac in xeliui ioealli: malli in ielpan vetzia, ichoatl in tlaçopilli ielpan in quinamalia tlequauitl. Auh in icoac quēteltzin ouetz, in omopitz: niman ic icuhca, quchetectioetzi in malli, con- 805 372 782

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[fire] fell, when it took flame, then speedily [the priest] slashed open the breast of the captive, seized his heart, and quickly cast it there into the fire. Thus he revived and fed the fire. And the body of [the captive] all came to an end in the flames. And those who drew fire were exclusively the priests, the fire priests, the devout. Of the fire priest of Copulco, who was experienced, it was his office to draw, to drill, the new fire.

anjiis in iollo, tleco contlaztiuetzi: inic quicoaltia, quiclamaca tletl. Auh in inacaio, çan nuchi tleco tlami. Auh in tlequauhtlaçaia, çan ichoã in tlamacazque, in tlenamacaque, in tlamaceuhque: copolco tlenamacac, in vel imatia, in itequiub catca, in quitlaçaia, in quimamalia tlequauitl.

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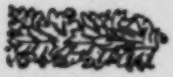

Tenth Chapter, wherein is described the disposition of those who kept watch when the new fire appeared.

At nightfall, from here in Mexico, they departed. All the fire priests were arranged in order, arrayed in and wearing the garb of the gods. Each one represented and was the likeness of perhaps Quetzalcoatl, or Tlaloc, etc., or whichever one he went representing. Very deliberately, very stately, they proceeded, went spread out, and slowly moved. It was said: "They walk like gods." Thus, in deep night, they arrived there at Uixachtlan.

And the one who was the fire priest of Copulco, who drew new fire, then began there. With his hands he proceeded to bore continuously his fire drill; he went about making trials with his drill, the fire-maker.

And when it came to pass that night fell, all were frightened and filled with dread. Thus was it said: it was claimed that if fire could not be drawn, then [the sun] would be destroyed forever; all would be ended; there would evermore be night. Nevermore would the sun come forth. Night would prevail forever, and the demons of darkness would descend, to eat men.

Hence everyone ascended the terraces; all went upon the housetops. None remained in their houses, on the ground below. And women with child put on masks of maguey leaves and took up their maguey-leaf masks. [They] placed [the women] in granaries, for they were looked upon with fear. It was said and claimed that if, truly, the new fire were not drawn, these also would eat men; [for] they would be changed into fierce beasts.

And the small children they likewise masked with maguey leaves. In truth, none [of them] could sleep, or close, shut, or [even] half-close their eyes. From time to time their mothers and fathers were [there with them]; they kept waking them, punching and nudging them, calling out to them. They woke, roused, and nudged them. Because if they were to

Inic matlactli capítulo, vncan moteneoa, in tlatecpaniliztli: in quipiaia, inic ilcuic tletl necia.

Ie tlapoiaoa, in nican oneoaia mexico: motecpantiuia muchinti in tletlenamacaque, muchicololtini, ommaaquia in intlatqui teteu: in ceceniaca impan mixeoaia, quinmixipelatiaia, in aço quetzalcoatl, anoço tlaloc et' in çaço ac ichoatl ipan quiztiuia, cenca çan iiolic, cenca çan iuian in istiuiia, onotiuiia, mantiuiia: moteneoa, teuneneni, inic uellaquauhioza onaci, vmpa uixachtlã.

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Auh in ichoatl copolco tlenamacac, in tlequauhtlaxqui: niman nican quipeoaltia, in imac quimamaltiuh itlequauh: quichecotiuh ica in imamaliouaca, in itlaçaloca.

In iqoac, y, oiooac, cenca nemauhtiloia, tlatenmachoia: iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlacamo, uel vetziz tlequauitl: vncan cempoliooaz, centlamoaz, centlaiooaz, aocmo oalquiçaz in tonatiuh: ie ic centlaioaa, oalhemoaque in tzizitzimi, tequaquiui:

ic muchi tlacatl itlapanco tlecoia, netlapantemaloia, aocac tlalchi, tlatzintla, cali mocaoaia, motlaliaia. Auh in ootxti, momexaiacatiaia, inmemexaiac quicuia, ynan cuexomac quintlaliaia: ipampa mauhcaittoia, iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlaca uel uetzi tlequauitl: no ichoantin tequazque, motequãcuepazque.

[843]

Auh in pipiltotõti, no quinmemexaiacatiaia: aiac vel oncochia, oniccpia, oniqipiçqia, oniqmotzolosia: çan ic cate in intlhoua, in intahol, quimiztiticate, quimiqiniticate, quimiltoticate, quimzaxiltiticate, quimixitia, quimiqpoia, quimilhoa: ipampa intla oncochiaque, quilmach quiqpoichtic mocuepaque, quimichtiaque.

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sleep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uixachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

[785] Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and spattered the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and spattered it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

[782] Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *iztquauac*. Etc.

Ic ça miscanja, mocemmati in ontlachieloteoc, in onitzteoc, in ōnequechanoteoc, uixachtecatl iicpac: iquich tlacatl vmpa ontlatemmati, ōmotemachia, in quēmanja uetzi tlequauitl, in quēmania oalcueponi, oalpetzini. Auh in iconac, oquentelteitzin vel uetz, in omopitz, in onotlac: çatepan ic cuetlani, cueponi, nouiian ōneci, oalitto in vēca.

Niman ic muchi tlacatl monacaztectiuetzi, contlatzitzicuinilia iztquichcapa in tletl: in manel coçoloco onoc no connacaztequi, concuilia iniezaço, contzitzicuinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca muchi tlacatl tlamaceua,

ic coneltetequi, in jelpan ontlequauhtlaxoc, conelcoionja in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca iztquaoac. etc.*

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Eleventh Chapter, in which is told what they did when it was seen and was evident that the new fire burst out.

Inic matlactloce capitulo, vncan mitoa: in tlein quichioaia, in icoac omottac, onex, in ocuepon iiicuic tletl.

And then everyone—the priests and fire priests—took the fire from there. [Having come] from all directions, the fire priests of Mexico had been sent there, charged with the task, as well as those who had come from distant [places] everywhere—messengers and runners. For these were all only chosen ones, strong warriors, valiant men, picked as best; the fleet, the swift, who could run like the wind. Because through them they could quickly have fire come to their cities.

Auh quinicoac, isquich tlacatl vmpa tlecui, in tlamacazque, in tletlenamacaque: inic ie nouiiampa vmpa oioaloque, oisquetzaloque, in mexico tlenamacaque, yoan in ie nouiian veca oaleoa, titlanti, tlaioaltin: ca çan much ichoan in pepenaloia, chicaoaque, in oquichtin, in tiacaoan in tlatzonanti, in painanj, in tlaççani, in iuhqui hecatoca ic motlaioa: ipampa inic iciuhca, caxititiuetzizque tletl imaltepeuh ipan:

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First, the fire brand was prepared and adorned. It was called *tlepilli*. And this the fire priests brought. Before [doing] anything else, they took it up, direct, to the top of the temple [pyramid], where was kept the image of Uitzilopochtli, and placed it in the fire holder.[16] Then they scattered and strewed white incense [over it]. And then they came down, and, also before [doing] anything further, they brought and took it direct to the priests' house, the place named Mexico.[17] Later, this was dispersed, and fires were started everywhere in each priests' house and each tribal temple; whereupon it went everywhere to each of the young men's houses. At that time all of the common folk came to the flame, hurled themselves at it, and blistered themselves as fire was taken. When thus the fire had been quickly distributed everywhere among them, each one laid a fire, and was quieted in his heart.

ca achtopa ic nenemachtiloia, muchichioaia in tlecuioani: itoca tlepilli. Auh ieehoatl, ic quioalaxitiaia in tlenamacaque: oc ie achto, vmpa quitlecauiaia, quitlamelaoaltiaia in iicpac teucalli: in vmpa mopieia ixiptla vitzilobuchtli, tlequazco contlaliaia: nimã ic contepeoa, contoxaoa in iztac copalli. Auh niman ic oaltemo, oc ie no achto, vmpa quitqui, quitlamelaualtia in calmecac, itocaiocã mexico: ic çatepan moiaoa, tletletlalilo in nouiian cacalmecac, cacalpuico: niman ie ic iauh, in nouiian tetelpuchcalli. Ie vncan in isquich onxoquiiui, onmotepeoa, ontapaliui maceoalli, in motlecuilia: icoac ic nouiian, tepan moiaoatiuetzi in tletl netletletlalilolo, neioiollalilo.

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This same all the village fire priests did. That is, they carried the fire and made it hasten. Much did they goad [the runners] and make them hurry, so that they might speedily bring it to their homes. They hurried to give it to one another and take it from one another; in this way they went alternating with one another. Without delay, with ease, in a

Çã no iuh quichioa, in isquich altepeoa tlenamacac: inic quitquia, quinenemitiaia tletl, cẽca quitototzaia, quimotlalochtiaia: inic iciuhca caxitiaque inchan, quimomamacatiquiça, quimocuicuilitiquiça: ic mopapotlatiui. Amo uecauh, amo machiztli, çan isquich cauitl, y, in conaxitiaia, in quicueponaltiaia: çan achitonca in nouiiampa, cuecuepocatimeteca

16. "Ya amanecidos, hecho de sol y cenizas, puesto delante del pebete"—corresponding Spanish text.

17. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, thus explains this distribution: "Y de allí tomaná y llevaran el aparato de los sacerdotes, que se dicen tecuhtlamacazque y despues a otros aparatos, de los dichos sacerdotes, de pebete; y de allí tomaran, y llevaran todos por mexicanos, de la ciudad."

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short time they caused it to come and made it flare up. In a short time everywhere fires burst forth and flared up quickly. Also there they first carried and brought it direct to their temples, their priests' houses, and each of their tribal temples. Later it was divided and spread among all everywhere in each neighborhood and in the houses.

tletl, cuecuepocatiquiça: no vmpa achto quitquitiquiça, quitlamelaoaltitiuetzi in intempan, in incalmecac, in incacalpulco: çatepan ic moiaoa, tepan cẽmani in nouiian tlãtlaxilacalpan, yoan in calpan.

Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pestles. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new skirts and shifts.

Thus it was said that truly the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For thus it is ended; thus sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were decapitated, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense ladle, and raised it in dedication to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Thus was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth seed cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were bidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then captives and ceremonially bathed ones died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again fires were newly laid and placed.

And [as for] the pregnant women who had been feared, if any of them then gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born as her child, they named him Molpilli, Xuihtlalpil, Xiuhtzitzqui, Xiuhtli, Texiuh, Xiuhtlatlac, Quetzalxiuh, Xiuhquen, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhnenetl, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcoçol, etc.

And when, in the time of Moctezuma, our years were bound, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] xiuitl. Wherseoever [he was], this one was to be seized. And one was taken—a man from Uexotzinco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Isic matlactlomume, capitulo, vncan mitoa: in quenin in isquich tlacatl, in icoac omocuic in iancuic tletl: auh in icoac, y, muchi tlacatl, quiiãcuiliaia in itlaquen, yoan in isquich calitlatquitl.

Niman icoac, isquich iancuiia, in calitlatquitl: oquichtlatquitl, in cioatlatquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuetli, in icpalli: muchi iancuic in moteteca, ioã in tenamaztli, in texolotl. No iquac iancuic nequentilo, nelpililo in tilmatli: in cioatl, iancuic ommaquia, in incue, in inuipil. 372

Ic mitoa, ca nel iancuic onpeoa in xiuitl: papacoa, netlamachtilo: yoan quitoaia, ca ic oquiz, ic otechtlalcaui in cocoliztli, in maianaliztli. Niman ic cocopaltemalo, tlacotonalo, tlenamaco: concui in tlemaitl, nauhcampa coniiaoa in ithoalco, çatepan contema tlexicco, inic otlenamacoc copalli: [782]

nimã ie ic necpan tzotzooalqualo, vncan ic neçaoalizzlalhuilo, inic aiac atliz, ic centlathuiz: quincenmomattiuiia in nepantla tonatiuh. Auh in oacic, nepantla tonatiuh, niman ic miqui in mamalti, yoan tlaaltilti: quinicoac cenpapacoa, tlãtlaqualo: icoac oc ceppa iãcuican netlẽtlecuiltilo, netlẽtlecuillalililo. [785]

Auh in oimacaxxoia ootzti, intla aca icoac omixiuh, otlacachiuh: intla oquichtli iconeuh otlacat, quitocaiotiaia molpili, xiuhtlalpil, xiuhtzitzqui, xiuhtli, texiuh, xiuhtlatlac, quetzalxiuh, xiuhquen. Etc.[a] Auh intla cioatl, xiuhnenetl, xiuhcue, xiuhcoçol. Etc.[a] [551]

Auh in icoac, ipan muchiuh motecuçoma, toxiuhmolpili cenca nouiian ic tlanaoati, inic temoloz molli: in itoca xiuitl, in çaço campa iẽ anoz. Auh ce xxioac uexotzincatl, tlaçopilli: itoca xiuhtlamin, tlatiluico malli muchiuh: in tlamanj itoca itzcuin, auh ic tocaiotiloc, ic notzaloc xiuhtlaminmani: ca ichoatl 796 372 782

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3/4 [See cat. 116, p. 27 — Analyst]

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and became a captive at Tlatilulco. The captor was named Itzcuin, and henceforth he was known as and called "Captor of Xiuhtlamin."[18] For on the breast of his captive fire was drawn by the drill, and all his body was consumed in the fire. And they made [the victim's] image of pure amaranth seed dough, so that it might represent him; they set cooked grains of maize upon it, so that they could give it to the people to eat.

ielpan uetz, in tlequauitl imal, muchi tleco tlan in jnacaio: auh ça tzoboalli, inic quixiptlaioti, in ipan quipouh: tlaolpaoastli ipan quitlatlali, inic quitequalti.

18. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún writes: "Por manera que llamaban de nuevo[illegible], muy generosa, al que se decía, xiuhtlamin; y le tenían en la guerra, en cabeza de Tlatilulco, que era entonces llamado; por lo cual después, le llamaban a él, xiuhtlamin[illegible]. . . ." In Jones, op. cit., p. 79, the passage is translated: "Und daher hatten sie einen Mann aus Tlatelolco, einen Mann verwandter Abkunft, Xiuhtlamin mit Namen, am Tlatelolco, den man Kriegsgefangenen der Mixteken machte, der Neuen Mann und der Amaranthsamenkuchen der Neuen erhielt und Xiuhtlamin genannt wurde."

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—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire on the breast of a sacrificial victim
17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to homes
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

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Third Chapter, of the Stars Called Castor and Pollux.

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These people paid particular reverence and [made] special sacrifices to Castor and Pollux, in the sky, which move near the Pleiades, which are in the sign of Taurus. They made these sacrifices and ceremonies when [the stars] newly appeared to the east after sunset. After having offered incense, they said: "Now [hath] Yoaltecutli come forth, and Yacauiztli. What will come to pass this night? Or what end will the night have—fortunate or adverse?" Three times they offered incense (and [this] must be because they are three stars), the first time at the first quarter of the night, another time at ten, and the third [time] when it beginneth to be morning.—They name these stars *mamalhuaztli*, and by that same name they call the sticks with which they drill a fire; because it seemeth to them that they somewhat resemble [the stars] and that from them there came to them this manner of producing fire. From this it was customary that the

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Hazia esta gente particular reuerentia y particulares sacrificios a los mastelezos del cielo q̃ andã cerca de las cabrillas que es en el signo del toro. hazian estos sacrificios y cerimonias qũ nueuamente parecia por el oriente despues de la puesta del sol. Despues de auer ofrecidole encienso, dezian ya salido yoaltecutli y yacauiztli, que acontecera esta noche o que fin abra la noche prospero o aduerso. Tres vezes ofrecian encienso y deue ser porque ellas son tres estrellas. la vna vez a p'mra noche. la otra vez a hora de las diez. la 3.ª quando comiença amanecer.—llaman a estas estrellas mamalhuaztli y por este mismo nõbre llaman a los palos con q̃ sacan lumbre porq̃ les parece q̃ tienen alguna semeiança cõ ellas y que de alli les vino esta manera de sacar fuego. De aqui tomaron por costumbre de hazer vnas quemaduras en la mollera los varones a honra de aq̃llas estrellas. Dezian que el q̃ no fuese señalado de aquellas que-

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men make certain burns on the wrist in honor of those stars. They said of him who was not marked by those burns that, when he died, there in hell they would produce fire on his wrist, drilling it as those do who here drill fire with the stick.

maduras quando se muriese q̃ alla en el infierno avian de sacar el fuego de su mofieca barrenãdola como qñ aca sacã el fuego del palo.

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The star Venus these people named Citlalpol or Uey citlalin, and they said that when it riseth in the east it maketh four assaults. The [first] three times it shineth little and hideth again; and at the fourth it cometh forth with all its brightness and followeth its course. And they say of its light that it is like that of the moon. On its first assault they held it an omen of evil, saying that it brought sickness with it. And therefore they shut the doors and windows so that its light might not come in. And sometimes they took it as a good omen. And at the beginning of the time that it started to appear to the east, they slew captive men in reverence to it, and offered it their blood, spattering it toward [the star] with their fingers.

A la estrella de venus la llamaua esta gente citlalpul, vey citlalli y dezian que quando sale por el oriente haze quatro arremetidas, y a las tres luze poco y bueluese a asconder: y a la quarta sale con toda su claridad y procede por su curso. y dizen de su luz que parece a la de la luna. En primera arremetida teniaula de mal aguero diziendo que traya enfermedad consigo, y por esto cerrauan las puertas y ventanas porq̃ no entrase su luz. Y a las vezes la tomavan por buen aguero. Y al p'ncipio de tp̃o qoe començaua a aparecer por el oriente matauan hõbres captiuos por su reuerencia, y ofreciaule la sangre salpicando hacia ella con los dedos.

846 Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which are told and mentioned what they did when they visited women recently delivered, and other things which were done where a woman recently delivered dwelt.

And here it is told that when a child was born, and when [the mother's] relatives knew of it, and it was known and the news spread and was noised abroad, her family and blood relations were assembled and brought together. They set forth, and came and proceeded to visit the much revered child.

When they entered, at the very first, they took ashes; they anointed their knees with ashes; they rubbed themselves. And also they put ashes on the knees of their children yet in the cradles; or those still crawling, going on all fours; those who stood, who already took to their feet; the boys, girls, youths, young men, unmarried girls, and young women. Everywhere, on all parts of the body they placed ashes; on every joint and articulation: their ankles, their elbows, their buttocks, over the kidneys, the napes of their necks, their shoulders, but especially their knees.

[751] And it was so said and averred that thereby they would not become lame. But if this were not so done, they would become lame, and all the joints, in every place, would creak.

846 And also for four days they carefully watched the fire. It never went out. It continued to flare up, to
● 372 grow and increase, to flare red. They thus carefully started it; it was well set. And no one might take the fire, or a light, they would not give it to him, lest he take renown from the child who had been born, until the
[851] four days had ended, or for still a few days, when they bathed him.

Injc cempoalli onnauhtlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa, moteneoa: in tlein qujchioaia in qujnontlapaloaia in mjxiuhque: yoan in oc cequj in machioaia, in vncan onoca mjxinhquj.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jquac aquja tla otlacat piltontli: in ocoonmatque yoxiolque, in onmachoc, in otepan ocennman, in otepan onmotecac. Niman ic nenechicolo, necenquixtilo, in jtlacaioean, in jcujtlaxolloc eoa, viloa, pipilioea in qujtlapaloanque, in jxco, ijcpac, tlachiaxque piltontli.

In iquac oncalacque, oc ie achto concuj in nextli: ic onmotlanquanecuia in inpilhoan, in oc coçulti, anoço in ie movilana, coioonecmj, in ie moquequetza, in ie imjcxi caana in oquijchpipiltotonti, in cioopipiltotonti, in telpupuchpipil, telpucatoton, ichpupuchpipil, ichpucatoton: novian qujotlatlalilia in nextli, in jxqujcan inçaçaliuhian, in jmjhilpicaiocan, in jnquequicultitech, in jnmolicpi yech, yn jntzintenpan, in incujtlacaxiuhian, in jnquechtepultitech, in jmacolpan: oc cenca ichoatl in jntlanquac.

Iuh mjtoa, qujlmach ic amo tlanquananatzinjzque: auh intlacamo yuh muchioa, tlanquananatzinjzque: yoan nanatzinjz, in jxqujcan in çaçaliuhian.

Auh yoan navilhujtl in vel quipia tletl aquēman cevi, xotlatica, oalantica, ocalantica, mopipitzica, vel quicpena, vel ic peuhica: yoan aiac vel ontlecuj. Auh intla aca ontlecujnequj tletlecujc: amo qujmaca, injc amo qujtleiocujlizque piltontli, in otlacat: ixqujchica in ontlamj navilhujtl: anoço in oc izquilhujtl caltizque.

[p. 112 is blank]

805 reference to the circle. The third character was the
212 representation of a house, which they call Ce calli [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is placed to the south with reference to the circle. By means of these characters they counted fifty-two years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so describing circles by means of these characters, until
805 each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether, make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two
796 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract,
372 or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn
x787 feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the art of divination of the fortune or luck which those
212 born would have, whether men or women. It was done in this way. They had twenty characters. The
x787 first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent, etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at the end of this Appendix.* They said that each of these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the number of days in which the sign or character
[443] reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days, and so there are, in each month, four weeks; and the *tianquiztli*, or markets, are fixed according to this number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by periods of five days they established the markets or fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days], but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in many places, they set the markets and fairs according to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llamaun ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llamaun ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres treze años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y ansi dando bueltas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliesen treze años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes treze que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servjr a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nueuo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las proujncias desta nueua españa fuego nueuo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de serujrlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o uentura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el qujnto coatl. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apêdiz: dezian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua treze dias, que todos juntos son dezientos y setenta [*sic*] dias. Algunos dizen que estos treze dias son semanas del mes y no es ansi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y ansi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [*sic*] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauã los mercados, o ferias, y ansi no tenjan semana, sino qujntana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entreponense los caracteres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es caña,

* See Plates 103-104.

Also at the opening of this count is placed the manner of counting the years, because these two counts are linked or matched.

Tambien en el principio desta cuenta se pone la manera de contar de los años, porque estas dos cuentas andã vinculadas o pareadas. 805

Here followeth the reckoning of all the time-counts which those natives had.

La cuenta de todos los tiempos, que tenjan estos naturales, es la que se sigue.

The longest time-count which they reckoned was up to one hundred and four years. And this count they called a century.

La mayor cuenta de tiempo, que contauan era hasta ciento y quatro años, y a esta cuenta llamauan vn siglo,

Half of this count, fifty-two years, they called a bundle of years. This period of years they had reckoned from times past; it is not known when it began. But they considered it well established and a matter of belief that the world would come to an end at the conclusion of one of these bundles of years. They had a prophecy or oracle that at that time the movement of the heavens would cease, and they took as a sign [of this] the movement of the Pleiades. On the night of this feast, which they called Toximmolpilia [the Binding of the Years], it so befell that the Pleiades were at the zenith at midnight, with respect to the horizon in Mexico. On this night they made new fire, and before they made it, they extinguished all the fires in all the provinces, towns, and houses in all of this New Spain. And they went in a great and solemn procession. All of the priests and servants of the temple departed from here, the Temple of Mexico, during the first quarter of the night, and went to the summit of that mountain near Iztapalapan which they call Uixachtecatl. They reached the summit at midnight, or almost, where stood a great pyramid built for that ceremony. Having reached there, they looked at the Pleiades to see if they were at the zenith, and if they were not, they waited until they were. And when they saw that now they passed the zenith, they knew that the movement of the heavens had not ceased and that the end of the world was not then, but that they would have another fifty-two years, assured that the world would not come to an end.

a la mitad desta cuẽta, que son cincuenta y dos años llamauan vna gavilla de años, este tiempo de años, trayanla ab antiquo contados, no se sabe quando començo: pero tenjan por muy aueriguado, y como de fe, que el mũdo se auja de acabar en el fin de vna destas gabillas de años: y tenjan prenostico o oraculo, que entonce avia de cesar el moujmjento de los cielos, y tomauan por señal al moujmjento de las cabrillas: la noche desta fiesta, que ellos llamauan Toximmolpilia: de tal manera caya que las cabrillas, estauan en medio del cielo: a la media noche, en respecto deste orizonte mexicano. En esta noche sacauan fuego nueuo, y primero que los sacassen, apagauan todo el fuego, en todas las proujncias, pueblos, y casas de toda esta nueua españa: y iban con gran procession, y solemnidad. Todos los satrapas, y mjnjstros del templo: partian daquj del templo de mexico, a prima noche: y iban hasta la cumbre de aquel cerro, que esta cabe Iztapalapan: que ellos llaman Vixachtecatl, y llegauan a la cumbre a la media noche, o casi, donde estaua vn solemne cu, edificado para aquella cerimonja. Llegados alli, mjrauan a las cabrillas; si estauan en el medio, y si no estauan esperauan hasta que llegassen. Y quando vian, que ya passauan del medio, entendian que el moujmjento del cielo no cesaua, y que no era alli el fin del mundo, sino que avian de tener otros cincuenta y dos años, seguros, que no se acabaria el mundo. 805 787x 821 796 372

At this hour a great multitude of people was on the mountains surrounding this province of Mexico — Texcoco, Xochimilco, and Quauhtitlan — waiting to see the new fire, which was a signal that the world would continue. And when the priests made the fire, with great ceremony, upon the pyramid on that mountain, then it was seen from all the surrounding

En esta hora estauan en los cerros circunstantes que cercan a toda esta proujncia de mexico, Texcucu, y Suchimjlco y quauhtitlan, gran cantidad de gente, esperando a ver el fuego nueuo; que era señal, que el mundo iba adelante, y como sacauan el fuego, los satrapas, con gran cerimonja, en el cu de aquel cerro: luego se parecia, en todo lo circunstante de los cerros: 796 372

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years—[the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion
785 they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited: and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced
304 the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and
805 there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which they divided into eighteen months, to each of which
796 they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and
443 during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mjra, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y qujnjentos, y siete: hizierõnle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y qujnjẽtos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y qujnjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrẽtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziã su bisexto, contando seis de nemontemj.

Ã otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en deziocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-

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Thirty-second Chapter, which telleth of green stalks of maize.

Of green stalks of maize, it was said that no one should chew them at night. One who chewed them at night, it was said, would thereby have toothache.[33] Whosoever had toothache had done this: he had chewed green stalks of maize at night. But if one were to chew a little, first he heated it in the fire. It was said that in this way nothing would befall him.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ocatl —

In ichoatl ocatl: quijlmach xiac vel iocaltica quijquaquaz: in aquin iocaltica quijquaquaz, quijlmach ic tlanqualoz: ichoatl iuh quijchioa in aquin tlanqualo: in iocaltica oquijquaqua ocatl. Auh intlaca quijquaquaz tepiton: achtopa quijtotonja tleco, quijl ic amo iuh ipan muchioaz.

A 787

Thirty-third Chapter, which telleth of creaking roof beams.

When during the day, or at night, the roof beams creaked, like the snapping of sticks, or, indeed, the roof beam itself broke, they said and it was thought that it indicated that perhaps the householder would die; or he would be sick, or else his children and kin living there in his house.

Injc cempoalli ommatlacomey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in calquavitl nanatzca.

In jquac cemjlhujtl, anoço iocaltica in tlatlatzca, in juhquj popoztequj: anoce vel poztequj in calquavitl, quitoaia: quijl ichoatl quinenzcaiotia in aço ie mjquiz in chane, anoce ie mococoz, anoce ypilhoan, anoce yoajulque in vel vncã nemj ichan.

Thirty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of grinding stones.

The grinding stone was an omen of evil to the natives, when someone was grinding there, and it broke. Thus it appeared, it was said, that she who ground would die; or else the householder, or[34] their children, or some of their household would die.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in metlatl.

In ichoatl metlatl, quinotetziuijaia in ojcan tlaca: in jquac aca vncan teztoc in oalpuztequj: ic necia: quijlmach ie mjquiz in otecia, anoce ichoatl in chane, anoce inpilhoan, anoce ceme mjquizque in jnchantlaca.

● 372

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of drilling a new fire in the house.

When someone made himself a house, when he drilled a new fire for it, he assembled all the old men, and before them he drew the new fire. If quickly he made a fire — if it did not take long — they said and it was believed that the householder who had erected the house would rejoice and be content. But if with difficulty the fire fell, it was said that thus the old men saw that the householder would not be happy and content.

[A 787]

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn calmamaliliztli.

In jquac aquin mocaltiaia: in jquac calmamali, muchintin quicentlalia in vevetque, imjxpan in tlequauhtlaçaia. Intla iciuhca quijtlaça, in amo vecauhtica, quitoa: quijlmach mopaquijtitiez, vellamattiez in chane: in omocalti. Auh intlacaiaxcan vetzi in tleti, quijlmach ic quittaia in vevetque: amo pactiez, amo vellamattiez in chane.

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33. Cf. Molina, op. cit.: "tener engujjon, o gusano en los dientes y muelas."

34. *Omoan.* The suffix is omitted in the MS.

X 796 [805 776 [735] **The eighth month** they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lós ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 735 262 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they fed men and women, young and old. Then, very early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them *tamales*. He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 536 [302] [373] All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

1. Marginal notation: *Sauoi gualiuj EK ce ouej.*
3. Marginal notation: *Pij papar ce Mort.*

Cap. 8.
Vei tecujlhujtl

1	e	KL	Vei tecujlhujtl	e	22[1]
2	f		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	f	23
3	g		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	g	24
4	A		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	A	25
5	b		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	b	26
6	c		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	c	27
7	d		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	d	28
8	e		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	e	29
9	f		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	f	30
10	g		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	g	1[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	A	2
12	b		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	b	3
13	c		tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y to-	c	4
14	d		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	d	5
15	e		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	e	6
16	f		solar a los pobres: porque en este	f	7
17	g		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	g	8
18	A		mãtenjmjentos.	A	9
19	b		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	b	10
20	c		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	c	11[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseuerauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmõ del otro hombres y mugeres.

2. Marginal notation: *Julioc he diez ouej.*

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers.

585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They carried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

[412] [777] [276] [482] [373] [372]

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuuiesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determinauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izqujerda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman tiici, atauan la esqujna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

6. See Book 10.

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tlilli: itoca aujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanacacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl oalichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoàlçauhque, tlaiaoalotimica, iztlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapicia, vel teixpicia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoqujn jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlàtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 535

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmajitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan cenisuh yn imicxi: yoan oncxitzinoqujça, itlan qujçqujztiuj in tlaujlxtl, itzalan quiquizztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn inequjpantli tlaujlxtl: yn oacito yn

x 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [535] [whence they had started].

And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, [512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[534] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, when it was done, were accompanied by torches; ● [373] they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

x 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who 836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of 684 honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her: Just so, they ate privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his [831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him *sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon;* they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlauic, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhioua, ie netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlaxilia ancan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie izquich, yn oncacaoaloc, yn ompet veuetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn izquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenquizitia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlaueliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moicoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yuã vmpa tlamacoia: auh *no* tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioatetiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oalioualquiça, çan moioualpeloa, oc ueca ioan in quiça:

auh intla aca itiuz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlaoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cajcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzoteocoltequjj, muchi qujcujltia in izpi[illegible] ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çan[illegible] qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlêtlecaleua, hasquaqualaca, *yn inacalo.*

Auh yn ouiquijhijocaoahtiqua, yca oalmaiauj:

the sweet-smelling herbs should be gathered together which [the goddess] Xilonen needed when her feast was observed. And he arranged for all [things] and the incense-ladles which the temple needed when [the impersonator of] Xilonen died.

nen in iquac ilhujuh quiçaia, yoan muchi ipan tlatovaia, in tlemaitl in itech monequja o calli in iquac mjquja xilonen. 793

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan.

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan—behold what were his duties. This one required, and hence commanded, that there should be gathered together the feathers, the eagle-down and the painted eagle plumes, with which [she who was ornamented in the likeness of] Toci was adorned, when she died.

And this one cried out [summoning] the Huaxtec youths to do penances here at Atempan.

Atempan teuhoatzin.

In atempan teuhoatzin, inca in itequjuh catca, ichoatl ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, inic monechiovaia ihujtl, in quauhtlachcaiutl, yoan in quauhtevitzli inic mopotonjaia toci in iquac miquja

yoan ichoatl quitzatziliaia in cuecuextecа in telpupuchtin, inic moçavazque vncã atempan. [203]

The Caretaker.

The Caretaker took charge of the songs of the devils, of indeed all the sacred songs, that none might do ill [with them]. Greatly was he concerned that they teach the sacred songs, and he cried [the summons] that the singers be gathered, or the chiefs, that they might be taught the songs.

Tlapiscatzin.

In tlapiscatzin quimocuitlavjaia in iuicuic Diablome in ic muchi teucujcatl inic aiac tlatlacoz, vel quimocuitlavjaia, inic quitemachtiaia in teucujcatl. [533]
yoan quitzatziliaia inic monechicozque in cuicanime anoço tetecutin inic quimomachtizque in teucujcatl. [203]

The Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan.

The duties of the Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan were similar to what were the duties of the Keeper of the God of Atempan; for he was concerned with, and commanded that there should be gathered together all the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the sweet-smelling herbs which [she who was arrayed in the likeness of] Tzapotla tenan needed when she died.

Tzapotla teuhoatzin.

In tzapotla teuhoatzin, çã no iuhquj in itequjuh catca, in juhquj itequjuh catca: Atempa teuhoatzin, ichica ça no muchi ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, inic monechicovaia amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan in jiauhtli, in itech monequja in tzapotla tenan in iquac mjquja

The Keeper of the God of Tezcatzoncatl.

The Keeper of the God of Tezcatzoncatl was concerned that there should be torches, or bundles of resinous wood used as torches. And the charge of this one was that he should collect the red ochre, the black stain, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, and the bells which [the impersonator] of Xiuhtecutli, the old god, needed when he died.

Tezcatzoncatl teuhoa.

In tezcatzoncatl teuhoa ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in ocuitl in tlapalli ica yoan ichoatl itequjuh catca, in quinechicovaia in tlaxtil, in tlili yoan in papalocatli, in xicalli, in tzitzilli in itech monequja xiuhtecutli, vecatzoncatl in iquac mjquja [373]

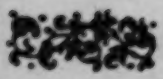

[343] A Tree [Relation] of what Was Accomplished and of the Works Which Were Done in the Houses of the Devils.

Inchonca in ueiehecolizti azoçe tlatequjpanoliztli in mochiouia teupan in tlacatecuiocalco.

The Education of Men.

The priest who educated [the young priests] led them by the hand to the priests, to those who dealt blows, to those who guarded.

Tlacuxtlilistli.

In teincahtiaia tlenamacac, jmac concaoaia, in tlamacazque, in tlavinequjnj, ip tlapianj.

Admonitions.

Thus they admonished them, that they might lead good lives; that they might not waste time nor live lazily.

Temoxxalistli.

Ic qujnnonotzaia, injc vel nemjnque, in amo maviltinque, in amo tlazxiuhtinemiztinque.

Sweeping.

[356] That they might sweep the courtyard of the temple, he cried out to all the little priests that they should sweep.

Tlachpanalistli.

Injc tlachpanazque, in teuirvalco qujnnazilia in jxquichtin in tlamacazcatepiczitzin injc tlachpanazque.

The Laying of Fires.

And he had them see to it that they should lay fires, that they should watch them, where they set in order the various fires. And everywhere in the [373] temple courtyard fires were laid; there perchance [even] ten rows [of them] burned—very many [of them].

Tletlalilistli.

Ioan qujnocujtlaviltiaia, injc tletlalinque injc tlapialoia, vncan netencoia in tletl itla, ioan çan novjian in tletlaliloia in teuirvalco, in tlequanco in vncan in vncã tlatlaia aço matlactecpantli cẽca mjiec.

Guarding During the Night.

Guarding during the night: they who were priests cared for [this]; it was the duty of those who were trustworthy.

In iovallapialistli.

In iovallapialistli ichoantin qujnocujtlavjaia, in tlamacehque, in jxtlamatque intequjuh cateca.

The Carrying of Wood.

[373] The carrying of wood. Thus they took care that fire should burn in the priests' dwelling: those who were very young priests gathered it—they who were not yet very prudent.

Quauhçequjlistli.

In quauhçequjlistli, injc tlapinia in tlatlaia calmecac, ichoantin conocuja, in tlamacazcatepiczitzin, in amo cenca ixtlamati.

342 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, like-
643 wise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go
[373] out. It was watched all night and made to burn with
644 pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at
722 the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Cuecalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] house. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in
[373] order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj çeioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlauijloia ocotica, in vecan iician tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cuijcacali, ioan cuecali, in jntemetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texîcali in janeçenquijxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in nonijan tlãtlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltenj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh cenca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapialoia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioal tlauijloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapialoia.

643 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the
542 ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

643 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game
525 —the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech cloths, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelequjxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujztaia, qujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoztiaia, injc ollamalos, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaquiltiaia tlatoanj: quinnaoztiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujaque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maieoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlauijlilo, tlazalujlo, tlachpano:

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoa tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoxujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtenxtl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcozcatl, teucujtlacozcatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin quinamjquixque, in collamjxque tlatoanj: njman jq'tlamjctia, in jxqujch itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ic ix motolinja maceoalli, icecrisca centlalia tlatoanj ica iiiaçol in iuhquj quijquemj maçoalli. Auh intla oquitlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque quitema in ixqujch tlaçotli tlatquitl, in oquitlanjique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no quinmaca in jxqujch oquitlanilique tlatoanj.

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13. Tlachcalcalpan: see Antonio Montúfar: *El calpulli en la organización social de los aztecas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlachcalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 369, "*los jóvenes quedaban subdivididos en varios calpulli ó barrios, cuyos los provisionaban como, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlachcalli.*"

14. *Tlaçotl*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to dress, in which case the Aztec should read *tlaçoal*.

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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[415] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and
373] other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw theiff toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[16] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh ya iquac tlacotonalo, yuiz cuetlaça yuiz cuemaiouj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çoçoli in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacotinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

" auh in teachcaoan quipepena, quinnechicoa, quinvihtlatla, quintlenuza, quimixtaiouja, quimixtaiouhouetza: [251 263]

cequj quitonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj quitonaltiaia yn itechinhcaoan, çanioque in pipiltj. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl quiçequja yapitlecax, amo ichoutl in petztlecazitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeualli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlitlila. [37]

Yoan quiçequja iztac copalli: yuã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn itinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli quiualtema, tlemico, ipan contepeua yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic quitoxonjlia, ic quipopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixquichtin in teteuoan inpan quiumatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema texicco:

auh in cioa ichpopochti, mozauaia, mopotunjaia tlapalinjtica: [302 237]

yoan intetech acatica quipopoçhoa, tiltica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acatlquj: [302 289]

auh in motlacatiuti, canauac ynic quipopoçhoa: çan no acatlquj ynic tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco mauj, texictli ixpan, quijacatitimanj ococalli in quimama, omopopaiocatzouti, çan quelpanamata. [302] [417]

quipopeuhtilia yn cioa in nemitlizti, ynic mjstia chechulua, çan mocauintetia: auh in cioa çan tlatic in mauj, yn jxnecuh cocomauja, quijititimanj, 796X 535

16. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 185.

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals
[374] of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and
[352] richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *magueyy* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *magueyy* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

in amo mjço quipepetlaoaia, aocmo quimaca in jtilma, iccen quiçquilia in tepãmanj. 796[x] [755 689]

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in octli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, quimocaoaltiaia in octli. [834 273]

Auh in muchiouia mjtl, oalquiça itamachiuhca, çan muchixquich, in muchiouia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixquich, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac quiouallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in quitlaxichaquja, vel quichtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica quitetecuja, injc amo cuitlatzaiaiaqz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicas. 796[x] 411 [283] [38]

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa. [314]

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenquiz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic vivilua.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixquich tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc navilxitilo, tel ic neieiecoloia, ic õmamachtiloia: ce veca quiouallquetzaia metl, quimjmjna, vncan neci in aquiçque vel quimaçivi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna. 796[x] 526

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, çã mjacaviaia in mjmjcque, quinchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjxtiti, no achitoton ic conoocotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonquj, iampã contetema, in vncan tocttitoque, mjmjoque: yoan onteti tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cempilhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ic ic quintlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan conilocavia: 796[x] 765

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmalo ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 290.

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797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls [381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

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the salt is commonly extracted from soil of several types rather from the water itself. This practice would be expected to arise in a country of inland salines, not along the seacoast. Moreover, fractional evaporation is used to give different products, according to Apenes, the last of the liquors being the source of saltpeter. We cannot yet be sure that the whole complex is pre-Cortesian, but it suggests a knowledge of limnologic and soil chemistry among the Aztecs that was at least as great as their ceramic and metallurgic skill would imply.[4] The point is not only of considerable importance, but is capable of verification by chemical archaeology; that no attempt to do so has been made so far is another indication that the scientific knowledge of non-Western peoples exceeds in some respects that of the historians and ethnographers who study them.

Salt is one of the seldom-considered essentials of human welfare. Mendizábal makes the provocative point that if the Aztecs had been more generous with their salt, the Tlaxcálans (who had no salines in their domain) might not have been so ready to ally themselves with Cortés, and the course of history might have been rather different.

HYDROGRAPHY. The demonstration that the Aztecs had detailed knowledge of all aspects of their lakes that might be used for human sustenance is not itself a proof that they had a developed limnologic science. Far more primitive people have known and done as much, and none of the practices mentioned, with the possible exception of fractional evaporation of salt water, are beyond the capabilities of the Banyoro, for example, who live on Lake Albert in Africa (Worthington and Worthington, 1933). The urbanization of Tenochtitlán, however, brought problems in its train that simpler societies could hardly have faced. Lake *villages* are known all over the world, but lake cities are much less usual. In meeting these problems the Aztecs and their

[4] A piece of chemical knowledge that has been entirely overlooked is the manufacture of some salt from urine. Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1910 edition, p. 72) mentions the sale of "many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use for making salt or tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared". The reference to tanning of skins shows clearly that the excrement was urine and not feces, for the tanning properties of uric acid are still taken advantage of in modern Mexico; moreover, Bernal Diaz goes on to describe the collection of feces and their use as fertilizer. What "salt" other than uric acid or sodium chloride could have been extracted from urine is problematical; nitrates would have been the most valuable, and they could conceivably have been separated from the chlorides by fractional evaporation, as in the case of salt water. In the history of western chemistry the most important salt found in urine was microcosmic salt, $NH_4\ NaHPO_4 \cdot 2H_2O$, which served Brand as the source of phosphorus.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 366]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

steps in every case. A final polishing with some simple abra- 324
sive like water and sand often completed the process. Some hard stones seem to have been detached from their matrix by applying the abrasive and sawing with a cord of rawhide or a tool of harder stone. The Middle American people also [412]
developed tubular drills of bone and reed, which, rotated by a bow and aided by an abrasive, could hollow out vases or bore out places that were otherwise inaccessible to the clumsy tools of the time.*

Save for descriptions and drawings, the destruction of 286
time and man has left us only a few examples of the weaver's art. Weaving of some kind is very old, and no people, however primitive, exist in the world today who do not make at least some kind of basketry. Textiles are made as a rule by higher groups, but they are found in the American continent as part of the material equipment of peoples who had not yet learned how to make pottery. An early example of cloth, combining threads of cotton with some fiber like yucca, was found in the Lower Middle Culture horizon of Zacatenco.

The long practice of weaving must and did have a sig- 286
nificant effect on decoration, for the rectangular patterns, to 531
which the weaver is confined, influence all of Indian art in Continental America. Design and the arrangement of elements are more important than form in Indian art. While many geometrical patterns appear in pictures of Aztec clothing, fine embroidery could produce the effect of curvilinear designs or even naturalistic patterns drawn from the regional flora. Batik and tie dyeing also enriched the decoration of [386]
Aztec clothing. Other processes produced the effect of velvet and brocade, and some garments even imitated in tex-

X 796 would carry the banners, and the women who would wash their faces. [The dance] ceased when conch shells were blown [at midnight].

X 796 536 And hence was it named the serpent dance: they took one another's hands, while ranged in a line; with their hands they grasped circlets of grass, or reeds, or cord made into jar rests. The victims went trotting among [the others]; there was much running; they leapt, hurrying as if in haste, as if breathless. There was circling about, with no song, without singing.

And the old men of the tribal temple beat drums for them; and only they sang. Some looked on, marveling at [the dance]. And much was their fasting admired and respected. All abstained, even more so [834] the owners of the victims. No [man] might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And when they had danced the serpent dance, then they dispersed.

X 796 And when it dawned, on the twentieth day, when [it was] verily the feast day, thereupon the bathed slaves went to [their owners'] houses, taking their [386] leave. They carried with them black stain, [or] perchance blue mineral earth, or red ochre. And as [533] leave was thus taken in [the owners'] houses, they went singing, as if their voices would crack, as if they were hoarse. When they reached the houses of [386] those who had bathed [them], then they dipped their hands into the blue stain, or the black stain, or the red ochre. Thereupon they laid their hands upon the posts and upon the door lintels, wherever they came out of the homes of those who had ceremonially bathed [them].

And when they had proceeded to the several places where their relatives were, then they again went to [their owners'] homes; these in vain offered them food. Some yet would eat; and some could not now eat.

And when this was done, gifts awaited them, spread out. Cloaks were ready [for them], breech clouts, shifts, skirts. And when the gifts were laid out, thereupon the victims took their banners upon their backs, arraying themselves of their own free will. And the women likewise, in the same way, put upon their backs their baskets with all their womanly adornment. Thereupon they arose to carry in their arms the gifts made them; before the door, in the street, they arranged themselves in procession. And the bathed ones thereupon entered the interior of the

que, yoan in teixamjque cioa: in mocuxo iquac ic tlaiapizcalo.

Auh injc mocuecua cocoscujloko, mocuxa, motecpana: injc mocuxa iacalli, aço toli, anoço mecatl in qujiacallalia: in tlaaltilti intlan xactivi, cenca motlatlaloa, chichitonj, vivicinj, iuhqujn tlaixtococha, iuhqujn tlacica: moiniacaloa, amo cujca, amo ma cujca.

Auh in calpulvevenque, qujndatzoteonjlia: auh çanjoque in cujca: cequjntin tlaclaxta, tlatlamaviçoa: auh cenca tlamaviztililoia, cenca qujmaviztililoia in neçaoalietzli: vel inquich tlacatl, motzitzequjnin: oc cenca ichoantin, in tealtique: aiac cioocochia, auh in cioa, ano ac oquichcochia.

Auh in onnococololoc, njmã ic ic tlaxitinj.

Auh in otlatvic, in vacan tlacempoalti, in ic vel iquac ilhujtl: njman ic ic vi in tlaaltilti, mocacalnaoatinque: qujnpatilia tlilli, aç: texotli, anoço tlavitl: auh in jquac ic vi mocacalnaoatiaque, cujcativi, iuhqujn no in tonqujtzatzaianj, omach içaoaque: in onacique inchan tealtique, njmã conaquja in imma texotitlan, anoço tlaitilan, anoço tlauhtitlan: njman ic ic commamaña tlaquetzalitech, yoã tlaiaquatl itech, inquicã quiça in inchachan tealtique.

Auh in jaqujcan qnqujaque, in inoniolcaoacan: njmã ic ic no ceppa vi in inchachã, in nen qujntlamaca; in cequjntin oc ontlaqua; auh in cequjntin aocmo tlaqua.

Auh in jquac in, ic ic onoc in tetlauhtilli, ic qujchixtoc in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in vipilli, in cuetl: auh in omotetecac, tetlauhtilli; njmã ic ic mochichiua in tlaaltilti commomamaltia in impã, çan monomavia in muchichioa: auh in cioa çan no inoma in cfonomamaltia, intoua, in jaqujch inciuatlaquj: njmã ic ic moquetza in tlanapaloa, in qujnapaloa tetlauhtilli, qujiaoac, vtlica oalmotecpana: auh in tlaaltilti, njman ic ic calaquj in cioapan, qujoaliaoaloa in tlecujlli: mac oalquiça, mac omomiacatia

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feasts and sacrifices which were made in the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Seventeenth feast: this was known by the name of Tititl.

Upon [this] feast died a person named Ilama tecutli—[one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed [slave].[2] **The majordomos procured her.**

And the adornment of [the likeness of] Ilama tecutli was [as followeth: she had] her white skirt, her white shift—completely white. And over this she was girt with [what was] named the star skirt. This was bedight with small sea shells, on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, [with] shells set at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, much did [the shells] jingle, the pleasant sound [carrying] far. And her sandals had white toes, woven with cotton threads.

And her shield was covered over with white clay and pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers, sewn to the middle [of the shield], and it had pendents at the edges, of heron feathers, and [tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers, hung at the point. And in [the other] hand she bore her weaving stick.[3]

And her face painting was in diverse colors. About the lower part of her face, they spread black. It was said, the lower part of her face was blackened. And upon her nose and forehead, they laid yellow ochre.

And her eagle feather headpiece, a headdress with eagle feathers arrayed upon it, consisted only of hair, twisted, arranged and well disposed, braided and intertwined with itself. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli.*

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce, cupitzalo vncan motenecoa in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtõltetl omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl.

Injc caxtoltetl omume ilhujtl ichoatl in motenecoa, itoca Tititl:

in jpan in ilhujtl, ce tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, iztptla, tlaahtilli: calpixque in qujnextia.

Auh in jnechichioal cueca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj qujmocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachioalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacazotlalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic onmotzincuetia: in jquac nenemj cenca ylaxamaca, veca caqujxti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jpoequetzil: icpatl injc tlaqujztli,

yoan ichimal, çã tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachioalli, inepantla in tlazõtli, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac: yoan centlapal qujtzitzquja, itzotzopaz:

yoã mouxuh muchictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jenco qujteca thlli: mjtoa, motentilhuja: auh in jiac jpan, yoan inquac tzoçavitl in qujteca,

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjxcavia in tzõtli, tlamalintli, tlavipantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanctech itzontli: in tzõcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

796x

796x 292

796x 302 [386]

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1. "Entronizaron," Guthrey suggests (op. cit., p. 314). Gomez y Rosa (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 39) opines: "Tititl. *Temporada trabajar, tiempo apretado; Tititiri, sacuir ó menear sacuir. Como cochino cuando falta la temperatura de Tititiri, y sacu la capa del cerdo tiñida, cubriendo despues de la cosecha.*" Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 300) amplifies his version thus: "*porque la era de frio, y helada, las quales avaian muerto, por la poca capa de que cubian, y porque por este mesmo tiempo, cubidos apretados, con Guerra, y Armas, que tenian los otros Provincias contra las otras, y se mataban, y destruyan unas á otras.*"

Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 201-2) writes: "*quiere decir sacuir . . . imaginaban en el cielo dos niños sacudiendo el uno al otro. . . . habia habido de congeser y hundirse entre sus otros de los demas.*"

The Tovar Calendar refers to the gods crowding and then supporting "the machine of the world" because of the violent winds. Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 34.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 5; also supra, pp. 138-31 and n. 3.

3. The shield and the weaving implements of the goddess are clearly illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus*. Paso y Troncoso (op. cit., p. 270) then describes the shield: "*Es redondo, que se acostumbra usar hasta á la descripción que han dejado los indios, en blanco: tiene un cuero de ganado de Castilla pegado en el centro; y flecos como representan unos á chinos de ganado: unos pequeños de carneros, redondos (que algunos han*

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

ic tetzoncujoa, qujntzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omoteneuh: auh in ontetzoncujoac: njmã ie ic tepotonjlo, no qujnpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac ma ontlacacochi in tlapixque. 796x [514]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ie tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ie ic no ceppa calaquj in inician: auh in aca ąmo qujmotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan qujtetlauhtia, çan qujtemamaca.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmã ie ic vi in vmpa mjqujzque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjqujzque: njmã ie ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intozqujtzatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque: [533]

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Paynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Izcoçauhqui.

Auh in ie ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, qujnoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmã ichoã in tlaaltilti in izcoçauhq̃.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

Auh in ocentlanque mjqujz in ie iuhquj: auh in jzqujchtin tlatoque, in tetequtin in cenca maviztilionj, ie ic manj, ça qujchiztimanj omocencauhq̃, qujniacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlatocaiotl: 796x 301 [643]

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

yoan contlalia iacazivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequjztin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõmaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoã in xolocozquj iuhqujn chichiton ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acaxilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

Auh in iammac oonotiuh quavitl, çan tepitoton tlatzotzopaztectli, chictlapõquj; in aco chichiltic, auh 796x 293 [386]

10. "Tu aquello nuevo cuelle durango" seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. See, however, Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1946), p. 171, for a discussion of these in composition.

The Cutting of Thorns.

The cutting of thorns: they cut them who were priests not yet much experienced. These [were the ones] who took them.

Vizzequjlizti.

In vizzequjlizti, ichoantin cõtequja in tlamaxque in aiamo cenca ixtlamati, in qujnõtlacuixque. 793

The Gathering of Fir Branches.

The gathering of fir branches: likewise they who were priests secured them, and these were already experienced.

Acxoiaçaquilizti.

In acxoiaçaquilizti, çan no ichoantin concuja in tlamacazq̃ auh ichoantin in ic ixtlamati.

The Blowing of Shell Trumpets.

The blowing of shell trumpets: this was the charge of those who were young trumpet-blowing priests; and [they were] experienced and of various sorts.

Tlatlapitzalizti.

In tlatlapitzalizti, ichoantin intequjuh catca, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin. yoan in ic ixtlamati neneliuhtivjia. [534]

The Dissolving of Black Coloring.

The dissolving of black coloring was the task of those [who were] the young blowers of shell trumpets. These dissolved the black stain, and everyone anointed himself with it. Verily all together put it on when they stained themselves; none failed [to do so]. And they dissolved it in the black stain canoe. And the black coloring was dissolved only at night, and all stained themselves at the moment of dawn.

Tilpatlalizti.

In tilpatlalizti, ichoantin intequjuh catca: in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in qujpatlaia tilli, muchi tlacatl ic moçaia, vel moccuaquja injc moçaia, çan mocavaia: auh in qujpatlaia vncã in tillacalco, auh in tilpatlaloia, çan iovalticca, auh in neçaloia iquac in tlavizcalli ichoa. 793 386

291 531 **Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.**

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers: the shift with the stamp device a: the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

302 386 [314] Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twined with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impo-

Ic cuxtelli cuptiuia: vncan mjtoa in jonechichinaia in çioa.

Vitztecolcuijtlalpic vipilli, xuxolcio vipilli, quechnenecuijlhoazio vipilli, xuchimoiaoac vipilli, pocuipilli, vecej tlamachtli ixnaqui, tolcuzianequj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachlo vipilli, cosoichcaio vipilli, xomoiuivipilli, tlapaltochomjtica xicalnetzo[illegible] vipilli, acocuxchimoiaoac vipilli, inqc vahcallo potoncaio xoxochitcio vipilli.

Chiocoeçtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeuallo cueitl. patlaoac in jten, xicalcoliuhquj cueitl, patlaoac in jten, tetenacazio cueitl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cueitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamoliuhquj itzac cueitl, patlaoac in jten, ocelocueitl, patlaoac in jtē; quappachquijtlac cueitl; tene: coioichcapiqilac cueitl tene.

Apoçoalhacochtli, teujhoacochtli itzac, coatic teucuijlanacochtli: itzac teucuijlanacochtli, itzacochtli itzac.

Mozaoaia, tlapalhoatzalitica: mozaoaia, tecuçaahtica: mochapepozaoaia: cipalxtica mocxioxiuja, tamequme, quatequque, atontocolcque, maxtlaoa, motzonquetzalica, quijquetequj in jztzon, quijaacanpaoao in jztzon: tlatecoa, mopatiecmj, quimamaquiztzoai in jztzontecon: mozaihquejlja, inic pepetlaca itzton: motlantlapalhuija, motlinocheztija, momaiacujlca, mopaechicujlca, mocpaechatecma, molchiqujchicujlca, mochichiaoicujlca.

1. In Hernández, op. cit., I, p. 24, *cempoalxóchitl* is identified as Tagetes erecta, Cav. Santamaría (op. cit., I, p. 28), however, says of *cempoal*: "*Un bejuco, semejante de calabazas rosadas, malignas del pelo, semejante también por olores.* (Lagenaria vulgaris, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas medicinales de los antiguos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515sqq., 519, mentions two kinds of *cempoalxóchitl* (*zacatl*, *quilit*), of one of which 519 relation is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores semejantes purpúreas*". Dr. Oliva la citad (Doc. de Etnobotánica, II, p. 276), giving *Pentacrypta cempoaxochitl* D. C. for *zacatl*; Urbina thinks it is *Amaranthus cempoaxochitl* Bonafous et Hook.

2. After *to noses*, the Ms. *Anales de la Historia* MS has *mitzquatzpitzoa*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

302 tance upon their heads; it was dyed with indigo,[1] so
386 that their hair shone. The teeth were stained with cochineal; the hands and neck were painted with designs—the necks were covered [with painting]. The stomach and breasts were [also] painted with designs.[2]

515 They bathed in the sweat house and with [soap
562 and] water. They were held in esteem. They were modest, good, and of noble [mien]. Thus did they
[713] speak—attentively, and respectfully of others; they were diligent and considerate.

Motenna, mahalhia, momamauizmati: pinacauj, qualli maujztic, injc tlatoa: temauhcaittanj, tetimacaçinj, hiçiuhcaioqua, moielitlacoanj.

1 [i.e. the Aztec women -- Analyst]
v

1. Xochquiahuitl Tlilitlac (op. cit., p. 50) mentions two kinds: xiuhquitl (blackish), tolquitlac and tlaca, and xiuhquitl quitlac. Cf. Molina gives Xiuhuitl—both pertaining to blue dye.

[redacted]

Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Theirs were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide battens, which swished [as it was used]; the thin battens, one made of bone; the small battens with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; snaggy spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc cuemilli ooc cuçiçolo, vncan mijna, injc mo-ichcoxoia çion. 286 462

Nemouj, mocomaxalli, quatzontli, xiuel, ocuel, tocuepantli cacalaca, petlouac: tocuepantli pitzouac, omjxocuepantli, tocuepantepitzon, ic tlamachiua: tocuçuel, tlamocouj, malacatl, tlaxolcaxitl, tiçtl, tzaxalmalacatl ic injmaxo: ichcatzontli, tochomjtzontli, icpatzontli, injmontli, injxcomotl: tontzontli, tlacujlolquauitl injc quiçujtiua icpatl in quijquiçi: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan quijquiçi intlapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana thin tlamachili quiçhiua; vitzili injc quiçiuauj icpatl: [386]

tlaquakchiua, achiua, quijcomauja: vncan in jmahoan in quijnjçcalchi, ioan in cocoa tepetzoanc çihua, tapaxoc, cuiçu, tlatzotzona: injc tocolaquijnia. 462 732 [524 222]

1. Tlaxalpantzotzli: Sahagún loc. cit., III, p. 222) describes the color as "Tlaxoxouic, y tiznan los cabellos que parecen plumajes color de fuego: es dificil cosa pintarlo, porque de 8 o 9 figuras representaban, unas claras y obscuras . . ." This is pictured in Kubler, op. cit., IV, 48.

[p. 50 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallanaz in aço ic cuçu amoço ic nappa ytoti in iuac quinocaxitia cuecpalchicacpul auh in ioh ipan mimaz y ic pinaoc, quin iouac tocatzontli iuic tepallanaz.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh inela tepal ozlama iouac moponoia, auh in aquin çan nimaz amo tepallana, amo uel mocuepallaça amoxo moponoia, iuic mozima moquaiocolxina çanio iuicoa nepaltzi quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair
[292] had been removed, he never took, and never did they place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh in aço ic imacoxoltzi in tlaticpacaiotl, in necaltonolli, auh amoço can motolinia auh inomocuepallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmatoz iztac in imaxtlatoz,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
● 356] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

Auh I aquin uel oquimiscaui ozlama in oce cacic ic motocaxitia telpochtiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quiuica in motecuçoma in ompa tlatocha. Auh itecopa iuic motecuçauhtlitia mistlapallotzalhuia quiccmaçaia in iztiac, auh in icanacaca quitecuzauhuia in icalpiscaboan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[1131 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopalcuecuexoxoqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmaxtlatl iacatiac ioan centetl cenxomaxtlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuilolchilmatli quiquetzi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song hattle.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochica, auh cocan cuaia in quiniachcauhtecaia in telpochtiaqui quicalaquiaia iauchican in telpochcali iuic ompa tlacaxipaoa tlacuchtia ompa quimiscaltia in telpopochti, on cuicaiaxcoaia in iaaica in ompa cuicacali.

1. Following quitecuzauhuia, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has yuan ompa quimpaxtiaia—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the Florentine Codex.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*otra manta con cuatro labores de color amarillo; y otra manta labrada, de cuatro labores de colorado que se llamaban colotlalpilli; y . . . un manto labrado de colorado, largo que colgaban hasta colgado, y otro manto labrado de varias colores.*"

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

 651

[301
314
323
325]

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[a]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[b]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[c]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[d]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[e] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[f] [386]

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[g] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[h]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[b] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[c] "A Moteçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[d] "Era de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[e] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y manillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuid que es una arcilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus terçias" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[f] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[g] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban las soldadas que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas veses del no entraban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' que abia" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

stone, *chalchiuhtl,* and is a miniature of the full glyph as it occurs in the name *Chalco* (3N). The relation among shells, jewels, and water is made clear on Plate 103 of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (Emmart's edition, 1940), where it is said that whoever would cross a river or a lake in safety is to carry in his hand a beryl, both "head" and viscera of a snail, and a sardonyx, while in his mouth he should carry the eye of a large fish. Presumably either "beryl" or "sardonyx" of both stem from mis-translations into Latin of the Nahuatl *chalchiuhtl,* which is ordinarily jadeite, but in this context is probably green turquoise. The stone was sacred to the water goddess *Chalchiuhtlicue* and would be understandably related to water on account of its color. As to the snails, four or five kinds, all with viscera, are illustrated in the Mixtec codex, one (at the left side of the top figure of Plate II) being obviously identical with the shell of the Aztec glyphs. It is probably an *Oliva,* judging from the wide use of this type for ornaments in Mesoamerica, but from the picture itself it could equally well be a freshwater melaniid. This or a similar gastropod also forms the basis of the most famous of all Mesoamerican symbols, the Maya glyph for zero. The larger snails with spines are probably *Murex* or *Purpura,* which, as the source of purple dye that was used in this codex, have both a magical and a practical connection with water.

The fact that some or all of the shells are marine presumably led Spinden (1928, p. 247) to identify the page from the Codex Nuttall (here shown at the top of Plate II) as "the conquest of a town situated on an island of the sea", and Thompson (1933, p. 245) made the same inference. The alligator, on the other hand, is not marine, and two other creatures appear to be partly mythical: the serpent, and the fish with the head of a bird, which answers the description of Sahagún's *totomichin.* The association is clearly with water in general, and if the painting represents any particular body of water the fact that it is enclosed by banks suggests that a lake is intended. The question can probably be settled eventually by identification of the island; for example, if the frieze at the base of the island in Plate II top, were black and white, instead of brown, red, and blue, we would know it to be Tilantongo (Caso, 1949).

What is particularly interesting is that while water in general is commonly represented by a stream drawn in plan, even when the stream is dry, as in *Xalac* (3D), "sandy water", lakes are commonly shown in section. *Hueyapán* (3A), "on the lake", is an exception, but as waves, jewels, and shells are all missing from this glyph it has a close resemblance to the glyph for "mirror" that is probably intentional. *Atlán* (3E), "near the water", *Chilacachapán* (3F), "place of

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

443 262 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough [445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold 443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each [322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many [281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen [364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is [314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There [693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect [324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of the sweat house.

Although the sweat house were very hot, where all bathed, if one knowen as a twin went there, then he would dispel the steam and destroy [the heat], however hot the sweat house were — even if he went to stand only at the doorway; even more so if he were to bathe among [the others]. But thus could he remedy it; it was said that four times he himself cast potsherds on the ground and sprinkled them with water. It was thought that thus he would not dispel the heat. It would be even hotter.

And when two were born who were called twins, it was said that wherever something was dyed, when [someone] dyed rabbit fur, they might not enter there. If they were to enter there, it was said, they would cast a spell over it; they would blow the colors off. It would come out badly — it would become multicolored, especially [if the dye were] chili red. But thus was it remedied: [the dyer] made him taste the dye water. It was said that in this way the rabbit fur would not be damaged.

Likewise, neither might those known as twins enter where tamales were cooking; because, it was said, if they came in there, they would also bewitch the tamales and the cooking pot. They would not cook, though [left there] all day. The tamales would each one cook only on one side. And in order to remedy it, so that it would not thus happen, when perhaps they went to enter, they placed the cooking pot on the fire. And if by chance the tamales were placed in the pot in [their] presence, they made them lay one [of them] in place. It was said that thus the tamales would not be harmed.

Injc cempoalli on castolli ocu capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in temazcalli. 343

In temazcalli, in vncan netemalo: intlanel cenca totonquj, intla vmpa iaz, in motenaua cocoa: njmã quipouhtitlaça, quipolou injc cenca totonquj ocatca in temazcalli: intlanel çan quijaoac oonnoquetzatiuh: oc cenca intla tehoan motemaz. Auh injc patia quil nappa in vel inoma contlaçaz, in conatequja tapalcatl: quil ic amo quipolou, injc totonquj: çan oc cenca totonquj iez. 515 845

Ioan in vmẽtin tlacati, in mjtoa cocoa, quilmach in canjn tlapalo, in quipa tochomjtl: amo vel vmpa calaquj: yada vmpa calaquja, quilmach quixoza, quipitza in tlapalli: amo qualli in quiça, çan mocujcujcujloa: oc cenca yehoatl in chichiltic. Auh injc pati, achi contlapalokia in tlapalatl: quil ic amo ytlacaviz in tochomjtl. 845 386

No yoan in ichoantin in mjtoa cocoa, in cahjn mopaoaci tamalli: amono vel vmpa calaquj: ichica quilmach intla vmpa calaquizque, no quixoza in tamalli, yoan in comjtl: amo vel ycuci, intlanel cemjlhujtl: çan chichicoycucix in tamalli. Auh injc pati, injc amo iuh muchioaz: in jquac tla ocalaquijto, contlatix in comjtl. Auh intlanoçe ijxpan mocontema tamalli, cenatl ipan contlalilia: quil ic amo ytlacaviz in tamalli. 845 252

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the time when the teeth of small children dropped.

When the teeth of small children dropped out, the mothers cast them into a mouse-hole, or they said to their children: "Place it in the mouse-hole." For it was said that if they were not to do this, the small child's teeth could not grow; he would remain quite toothless.

• • •

Injc cempoalli on castolli omomo capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in jquac vetzi intlan pipiltzontl. 856

In jquac vetzi intlan pipiltzontl: yn tenanoan itlacoiocco contlaça in quimjchin, anoçe inpilhoan, quimjlhuja: ytlacoiocco xictlali in quimjchin: ichica quil intlacamo iuh quichioazque, amo vel iznaz in jtlan piltontli: çan tlancotectic iez.

• • •

Estas abominaciones, empecen a la fe: y por esto, conviene sabellas, y predicar, contra ellas. Anse puesto, 000

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. Those who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vexed them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncã oniõa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, amo qujnmamatiloaia, çan qujntzotzona, qujntlatlatzinja, iuhqujn tlatlatzacatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel quiça in chiaoalizti. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja: 796[x] 515 [388]

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, qujnmichiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, qujquetza in male, qujtlalia quauhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech qujtlatlalia: yn jamatlatquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796[x] [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlauelittalli chicaoac: ic no cppa ic ic muchichioaia, ipan tetotoca, tecocenmana, tlacatl qujcocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, qujcacalatztiuh ychicaoaz qujcaoatztiuj, qujtetoca, q'tepachotiuj, qujtecicali:

muchi tlacatl qujmauhtia, ipan macauj: qujtoa, Ie uitz tetzompacqujz:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca qujcujtiuetzi, qujpepetlaoa, qujdatlalochtia yn jolma: in quezquj qujtecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic qujujujtequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco qujquetza, itlacatzipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic qujnextia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[x] 778

Auh yoan yn jquac y, tlaacopiloaia: auh ynaca oc conchololtiaia, yn iquextepol malli: yoan mecxiccolli, ixtapatlacaoctli itech pilcac. [291 237]

Auh in quextepolli, xihatica qujqujqujmiloaia, qujxiacxtiaia: auh ynjn motocaiotiaia, malteutl. [289]

9. Molina: op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl section (*amolar*).
10. Corresponding Spanish text: "un globo redondo, hecho de paxas."
11. *Ibid.*: "pusose sobre los pagadores otro que se usaba sobre[illegible], el cual[illegible] quemado muerto."
12. Cf. Sahagún: *Histoire des choses*, p. 93, n. 1: *ixtetzompacqui*—"C'est-à-dire que réjouit (quoqui) le cheveux, le soulève (*tzontli*, *ou crompaduo* [illegible], que l'emploie [illegible] pour dire: enlève d'une heure [illegible]." This would imply a double connotation.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text suggests that the thigh bone was then suspended. Seler, in *Besondere Kapitel*, p. 81, has "trophy."
14. *Cuitlapanquiquach*, in Seler, *loc. cit.*

K 796 at the ends, with cord, held together with cords so that as one struck, they made a crackling noise. Verily, they belabored and hurt one another.

[824] And if [the young warriors] caught a priest, if one was taken, they robbed him with [powdered] magwey leaves; surely he burned and itched; [it was] as if his flesh crept. And if one of the young warriors was caught, the priests bled his ears with a [magwey] thorn, and his arms, his breast, and his thighs, [so that] he cried out loud.

[352] And if [the priests] chased the young warriors there into the royal palace, they looted it, taking all the [reed] mats, the cord mats, the seats with backs, the couches, the backless seats. And if they found horizontal, two-toned drums, or ground drums, they removed them, taking all [with them].

And if [the young warriors] took after the priests, entering the priests' dwelling, they also robbed them, removing from them mats, shell trumpets, and seats.

And they dispersed from thence, and all stopped toward evening when a little sun still shone.

And the fourth day [of Atemoztli] was named "Ashes Are Scattered." The old people said: "For the bathed ones, who died," it was said, "yet walk [upon the earth] for four days. Not yet do they depart to the land of the dead. And when ashes are scattered, then they go down into the land of the dead."

[515 348] And then were burned the paper vestments in which they had died, which had been laid in reed baskets. And then all washed their heads with soap; all bathed. Then all departed hence, thus dispersing each [to his own house].

Here ended the feast of Panquetzaliztli, after it had already taken the four days from [the month of] Atemoztli.

piniz, qujcacatzilpiniz, qujtetzilpiniz, qujmacamocujiniz, qujmocatitlan tlaliaia ymic moujujuequj: inhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, vel mococoaia.

Auh intla ocz cacique tlamacazqui, intla ocz xiuac, qujmcaltia, cenca cuecuetzoca, qucquexquja: yuhqujn iolmiqui ynacaio. Auh intla cz xiuac, telpuchtli, in tlamacazque qujçoçoia vizztica yn jnacazco, yn jacolpan, yn telpan, yn jmetzpan, vel qujtzatzaxia.

Auh in telpupuchti, intla qujntocaticalaquizque, in vmpa tecpan, tlanamoia, muchi qujnamoia in petlatl in petlamecatl, in tepotzoicpalli, in netlaxnj, in tzinicpalli: auh intla qujpãtilia teponaztli, in venetl muchi qujqujxtia, muchi qujcuj.

Auh intla qujntocaticalaquizque tlamacazque in calmecac, no qujotlanamoielia, qujntlaçaçaquijia, muchi qujnquixtilia, in petlatl, in tecciztli, in jcpalli:

auh çan vncã xixitinj, necacac: 'o, oc achi tonaciuh ie teutlac.

Auh injc navilhujtl motenoa, nexpixolo: qujtoaia in veveteque. Ca in tlaaltilti in omjcque: qujl oc nemj navilhujtl, aiamo vi in mjctlan: auh in jquac nexpixolo, qujnjquac temo in mjctlan;

yoã iquac motlatia, mopetlacaltema, in jmamatlatquj in jpã omjcque, yoan iquac neamovilo, nezaltilo, mec vivilo, ic cecẽmanoa.

Nicã tzõquiça in jlhujtl Panquetzaliztli, ie cuel ic naujlhujtl cõcujlia in Atemoztli.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial
[788] bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal
[415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One ex-
[395] ample, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[9]

324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

321 Mosaic workers utilized stones of different colors and
324 shells of various kinds. Pure designs were common, but ele-
531 ments representing the costume or the body paint were
341 shown when the mosaic covered a figure in wood or stone. An application of mosaic on a larger scale was frequent in architecture, a veneer of cut stone being applied to the rubble of a platform or building. The temples of Mitla, Oaxaca, influenced by the same Mixteca-Puebla culture to which Aztec civilization owed its origin, are masterpieces of this technique, for individual blocks have their surfaces carved to fit together in an intricate geometric design.[9] (See Plate 11, bottom.)

322 The woodworkers, owing to the impermanence of their medium, have left little to exhibit their prowess, but the few surviving masks, idols, drums and *atl-atls*, or throwing boards, bear ample witness to their superb craftsmanship. The very fact that they had to work wood with stone tools makes their achievement noteworthy. Their copper tools were dull and unserviceable in cutting even the softer woods, and these implements came into use relatively late in Aztec times.[10] (See Plate 54, bottom.)

335 Wood was used extensively in buildings for roof beams and doorjambs. A beam in the palace at Texcoco was ninety feet long and five feet thick, so that its preparation and transport must have been an arduous task. There was probably little use of planks in Aztec building, since it would be difficult to prepare them with the rudimentary equipment at Aztec disposal, and adobes and plaster were easier to make and just
396 as serviceable. Wooden canoes, however, were essential for life in the lakes. Some were dugouts hollowed out by fire, but others, to judge from the type used by the Xochimilcan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

396 Indians today, were flat-bottomed punts, constructed of planks which were probably tied together in Aztec times rather than pegged, as they are today. The portable bridges 335 used to cross the canals were also simple combinations of planks, or planks resting on beams. (See Plate 35, bottom left.)

352 Furniture, which in European culture has done much honor to the woodworker, was little used in Mexico. Mats sufficed for beds and seats. High dignitaries sat on a sort of wooden throne which had legs and often a back and was called *icpalli*, from which the Mexican word *equipale* for a modern wickerwork and leather chair is derived. Mention [353] is made of screens and chests and ornamental sheathing for room interiors, but no examples are left for us to judge their craftsmanship. (See Plate 37, top.)

534 The wooden drums, on which musicians beat out ceremonial rhythms, were handsomely carved, as befitted their religious use. There were two types, a vertically cylindrical drum (*huehuetl**), which had a skin head, and a horizontally cylindrical drum (*teponaztli*†), the top of which was slotted to form two tongues. While the notes differed, there was usually the same interval between the resonant sounds emitted when the tongues were struck. The task of reaching the pitch must have been excessively difficult, for the wood had to be hollowed by fire and then chiseled to a nicety. At times the artist fashioned these drums to represent a crouching 320 man or animal. Masks were often used in temple ceremonies when a god was impersonated, and ceremonial staffs were part of their equipment. So, also, were the throwing boards, or *atl-atls*, with which a warrior flung a javelin, the lengthen-

*way-wa'yti. †te-po-na'z-tli.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes." (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

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283 401 on discussions as to whether or not the Aztecs knew the wheel. The weight had the function of a flywheel in accelerating the rotation of the distaff. The explorer Charnay apparently mistook spindle whorls for wheels which might have been attached to toy clay animals. His ingenuous explanation is not seriously considered today, for later research has proved the existence of jointed dolls both in Toltec and Aztec times. These had holes in their bodies through which strings were passed, attaching the arms and legs, which were similarly perforated. In 1940 Dr Stirling discovered some clay animals which rested on rollers, tubes of clay probably connected by wooden axles, socketed to holes in the legs. This knowledge does not seem to have been put to any efficient use. In the history of invention there are several similar cases, notably the Chinese discovery of gunpowder. They used it to make a noise in ceremonies, but not until the Europeans took over the substance did its application have any practical purpose.

532 323 In Aztec times, stone sculpture was the usual medium used in reproducing the human form. The figurine cult, which in Middle Culture and Toltec times manifested the chief development of the plastic arts, became insignificant. The use of the mold did not induce superior craftsmen to fashion even the originals. Yet in these dull reproductions of gods and goddesses there still lurks that ability to capture the spark of essential vitality so characteristic of this field of art in earlier times. Curiously enough, the goddesses, more kindly and less ridden with abstract virtues than the gods, usually awoke a response in these ancient idol makers that resulted in perfectly charming little figures.[20] (See Plate 29, bottom row.)

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[8] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech clout; its papers[9] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, braves! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in otlatvic: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoaliaquj, intlatquj oalietiuh in matepoztli, tlxximalteporztli, vel qujpetlaoa, qujxpetzoa, in vncan yixe, in vncã titicujztic, in vncã xixipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jxcaló xocotl, vel cõnevivilia in jxcalo, in jquapitzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iubquj: njmã ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepãtlaçque. Eintin, cenca chicaoque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpepol, tetecutin caica.

In ce itoca; coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhqujn mjxpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xócotl, in qujnaçaiotiaia: mjchiouhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjztac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujdatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujdaliaia: yiamancapanãl, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzõ, ixoxocovipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo onacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquilpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquilpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no etetl tzocoxtl in qujchioa, qujquauhço: cxcan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xócomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xócotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmã ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzioa:

qujtoa. Ma ecnel tlacahoane, ximotilinjcan, ixqujch amotlapal:

njmã ie ic queoatiquetztivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtonmaçatl, yoan qujqiãmjvia: auh in iequene ie iauh, in ie meoatiquetztiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzioa, cenca chachalaoa:

796 778 [42 43] [493] [483 401]

8. Probably *pacancatl* is meant. Cf. the Jourdanet-Simeon edition, p. 129.
9. Reference could be to either paper or hand (*ichcatiquipil*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

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531

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

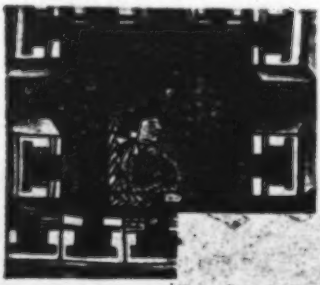

Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

[735]

Beggar Man

Goldsmith

[326]

Thief

[685]

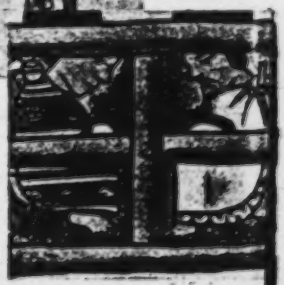

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

[701
441
714]

[p. 112(B)]

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531

[622
441]

THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

Chief

[441]

Merchant

Lawyer

[463]

Women

Doctor

[759]

Sailor, brazier

[502
501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (c)]

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412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and orna-
ments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were
[286 323] sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

532
782

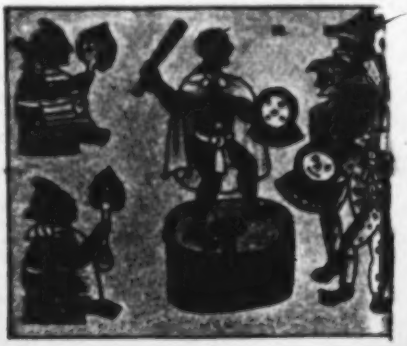

PLATE 60

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Priests and laymen sacrifice two victims in honor of the War God. *Right:* War captive on sacrificial stone defends himself against members of the warrior orders. BOTTOM: *Left:* Sacrificial knife with mosaic handle representing an Eagle Knight, in the British Museum. These pictures from the Codex Florentino reveal the technique of using a stone knife to make a deep enough incision to reach the heart and tear it out. *Right:* Sacrifice to the Sun.

411
532
782

[p. 176(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its 701
military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The 702
telpuchcalli, houses of youth, through which boys passed [883]
at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with 411
sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl.* Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For de- 714
fensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

411 796x [805 776]

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f KL Quando hazian las saetas por espa-
2 g cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan
3 A de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan
4 b dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si-
5 c enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias
6 d para yr a caçar venados: los que no se
7 e sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en
8 f pena: njngun hombre se echaua con
9 g su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni
10 A viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian
11 b penjtencia.
12 c
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha-
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas
15 f saetas chiquitas y atauanlas de quatro
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas,
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so-
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon-
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

f 20 g 21 A 22 b 23 c 24 d 25 e 26 f 27 g 28 A 29 b 30 c 31 d 1' e 2 f 3 g 4 A 5 b 6 c 7 d 8

796x [785] [834 273] 765 796x

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x [778 342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796x 224

1. Marginal notation: *November he dies* [illegible].

[as an offering], and afterwards drank it with a long hollow gourd.

Then still another man, [a priest,] came out and cut the throat of a quail for the captive, him who was to be offered as a sacrifice; and when he had beheaded the quail, he raised [to the sun] the captive's shield, and cast the quail away, behind him.

Having done this, then they made [the captive] climb upon the round sacrificial stone; and when they had lifted him on the offering-stone, the wolf [priest] came to him, representing [a wolf], and known as "Old Wolf."[18] [He came forth] as the uncle of the captive destined for the sacrifice.

Then he took the rope holding the captive, which reached and was attached to the center [of the stone]; then he tied it about the waist[19] of the captive. And he gave him a war club, decked with feathers and not set with obsidian blades.

And he placed before him four pine cudgels, his missiles,[20] with which to lay about him, with which to defend himself. And the captor, when he had left his prisoner on the offering-stone, thereupon went away [to the place where] he had stood [before]. He stood dancing, looking upon, and studying, his captive.

Then [the fight] was begun; the contest [was started]. Carefully they studied where they would unite him in a dangerous place, and cut him—perchance the calf of the leg, or the thigh, or his head, or his middle.

And if some captive was valiant and courageous, with great difficulty he surpassed [his adversary]. He met and fought all four of the ocelot and eagle [warriors]. And if they could not weaken him, then came one who was left-handed. He then wounded his arm and threw him flat upon the surface. This one appeared as [the god] Opochtli. And although the captive might falter and faint, yet he acquitted himself as a man.

And when one went faltering, sinking down on all fours, reeling and overcome in the fray, uselessly and vainly holding the war club, which they snatched from him, thus his adversaries contended with him. And this useless one could now no longer do more;

njman oc no ce tlacatl oallauh, çolin qujcotonjlia, in malli, in oaoantli, yn oconquechcoton çolin, conjaujlia yn ichimal malli: Auh in çolli, icampa conmaiauj.

In ie iuhquj, njman contlecauja in temalacaticpac: auh yn oconquetzque temalacac, çe tlacatl cujtlachueli ipan qujça, ipan mixeoa, itoca cuitlachueue, iuhqujn intla catca in oaoanti:

njman cõnana, in tonacamecatl, yn iiolloco antica, yn iiolloco ilpitica, njman ic concujtlalpia in malli, yoan conmaca; maquaujtl, tlapotonilli, amo itztzo.

Yoan ixpan contema nauhtetl ocotzontetl itlamotlaia, ic temotlaz ic momapatlaz. Auh in tlamanj yn oconcaoato ymal temalacac: njman ie ic vitz, vncan oalmoquetza yn icaia, mihtotiticac, ixqujchcapa ontlachixticac, yn jmal conitzicac:

njman ic mopeoaltia, modatlaichecalhuja, motlachecalhuja, vel qujnmotilia in canjn ymoujcan moujtequizque, qujmotequjlizque: yn aço in cotzco, anoço in metzpan, anoço in quappa, anoço in tlacotiian.

Auh yn aca malli, iolchicaoac, iollotlapaliuj, vel yujujh in qujcaoa: in naujxtin qujnnamjquj, qujnmaixtlacoa, yn oocelo in quaquauhti. Auh intlaca uel qujhiiocaoaltia, njman oizuh, opuchmaie, qujn iehoatl qujmamimictia, qujmaiauj, qujtentimaiauj: injn ipan mixeoaia in opuchtli. Auh intlanel ie çotlaoa, intlanel ie ihiiocaoa, no çan oaloqujcheoa: noma oqujcheoa, in oaoantli.

Auh in aca ça çotlaoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, iolmictiuh, ça tlapolotiuh: ça nen panca, ça nen pictli in qujcujiuetzi, yn imaqusuh: ic qujoalnamjquj, in qujonoana, in tlaoaoanquj. Auh in neh aca, aoctle conchioa, aoctle onmaitia, aoctle ic oalmomapatla,

18. "Traje uno de los macehuales, o mejoríamos del templo, vestido con un cuero de oso" (corresponding Spanish text. *Cuetlachtli* is long menacing, according to Simeón (*op. cit.*); figuratively, *hombre brave, intrépido* (citing Olmos: *Gramaticay de la lengua mexicana*). Sahagún translates *cuetlachtli* as *kinkajou*, in *Rimas Kapital*, pp. 69, 73, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 89, and Vol. IV, p. 18. In *ibid.* last reference, he identifies it as a symbol of the brave warrior.

19. Tied to the captive's ankle, according to Durán, *loc. cit.*

20. In *loc. cit.*, and later (p. 284), descriptions respectively specify "cuatro palotes, hechos de palo de tea," and "cuatro trozos de palo de tea." The captive first throw the balls, and then used his club.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[13] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan ni vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia: 796

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon: 778 [352 532]

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque: [824]

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli: [292]

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanquj: [293 237]

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli. [237]

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, queztepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca. [532]

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl: [289 292]

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapalozque, ynjc monapaloz ymaxtli: [411]

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jnamazçocan: [411 237]

13. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 60, 72 esp. In the Pahondo edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Seler defines *quauhamatl* as "*la materia manufacturada por la capa de liber de algunos árboles de género ficus. Sirvió de papel para los gentiles o los libros, y de tela para hacer las adornos, ocultas y otros adjuntos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X796
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● 411
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[415]

—After Paso y Troncoso

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[p. 102 D]

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[415]

[854]

[411]

45.49. Iacoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Macuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102J]

796x
532
[41]

(Bibl. Palat. y Tovar.)

52. Tlamictiliztli (Appendix)
53. Tlachpanaliztli (Appendix)
54. Tlauauanaliztli (Appendix)
55. Çacapan nemanaliztli (Appendix)
56. Neçacapechtemaliztli (Appendix)
57. Tlatica tlauilizili (Appendix)
58. Mexicatl teuhoatzin (Appendix)

[p. 102 K]

X 796 Thereupon they took him upon their backs and thus carried him up. And when they had gone to carry him up,[13] then they cast him into the fire. All at once the cinders shot up, billowing greatly.

And the body of the brave warrior then writhed; blisters quickly formed, and billows of smoke at once rose [from his body].

Then the old priests forthwith seized and drew him forth; they stretched him out upon the offering stone, and cut open his breast, splitting him open. Then they cut and tore out his heart, and cast it before Xiuhtecutli, the representation of fire. And in this same manner died all the captives whom Painal came to deliver up.

And afterwards, when they had slain the brave warriors, then all dispersed; all departed and went to their homes and feasted, and it was a day of rejoicing.

And [as for] Painal, his old [priests] then carried him; encircling and crowding around him as they went. They escorted him and placed him in his place, where he was guarded. And having come to leave him, then they descended, in order. And when they had arrived at the base, then they dispersed; they departed to their dwellings and there all ate.

And afterwards, when food had been eaten, then all came forth and assembled—all the men, the youths, and the boys, the small boys—those with a tuft of hair at the back of the head. All took their places.

[535] Then was begun the song and dance, at midday. In this manner was it danced: the serpent dance was performed. Between [the men] went the women, as hath been related. The courtyard was well filled, packed full, crowded; none could come out from the crowd; there was a great jostling of people.

And when they tired [of this], then all abandoned [the courtyard] and there was shouting. Then they hied forth to where stood the *xocotl*; there was much trampling; all hurried; there was a great press of people.

[411] And the masters of the youths kept people away [from the *xocotl*]; their pine staves lay in their hands. They held not back as they struck; they held not back their staves as they laid about. And those who little by little, one by one, broke through violently as [the others] held them back, thereupon all [these] pulled upon the ropes, the heavy ropes.

ñjman ie ic iquechpan conteca, injc quitlecavia: auh in oquipantlacato, njmã ic contlaça in tleco, cẽcalli moquetztivetzi in nextli, vel molonj.

Auh in tiacauh njmã ie ic cuecuepoca in jnacaio, aquaqualacativetzi, yoan tletlecaleoativetzi:

njman ic conantivetzi, convilantivetzi, in quaquacujlti, quijoalteca techcac, coneltequj quijoalitlapana in jielchiquijuh: njmã ic concotona, contlatzcotona in jiollo; ixpan cõmaiavi, in xiuhtecutli: in jxiptla tletl: auh çan ie mochivi in momjquijlia in mamalti, quijnoalçaçaca in Painal.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otlanque tiacaoan njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, vivilca vilca in techachan, tlatlaqualo, ilhujtlamacho.

Auh in Painal, njmã quivica, cololhujtivi, quijtepevitivi, in jvevieoan, concaoa, contlalia in jieian, in jpieloian: auh in ocõcaoato, njmã ie ic oaltemo, oalcenpantitivi. Auh in oacico tlalchi: njmã ic momoiaoa, vivi in inchachan ontlatlaqua.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlatlaqualoc, njmã ic oalhujloa, oalnenechicolo, ixquich tlacatl in telpochtli, yoan in telpopochtotonti, in telpopochpipil, in cuexpaltotoneque, in cuexpaltzitzineque: ixquich quijcencaoa:

in jquac peoalo cujcoanolo nepantla tonatiuh, inic netotilo, necocololo, intzatzalan mamantivi in cioa in juh omjto, in jtvalli vel temj, vel cacatzca, vel tzitzica, aoc vel tetlan quijxoa, cẽnca nepapatzolo.

Auh in otlatziuhque nimã ie ic necacaoalo, njman ic tlacaoaca: njman vmpa onxoquivi, in vmpa icac xocotl: vel nequequeçalo, vel netotocholo, vel nepitzmamalioa.

Auh in teachcaoan, tetzaqua, imoocoqtauh in immac oonoc, amo motlamachvia injc tevitequi, amo iloti in inquauh injc teviteqij: auh in oquezztel, in oquezzteltzin in oquinpetlatiquijzque tetzaqua: njmã ie ic muchi motilinja in mecatl, in vepãmecatl:

13. Probably oquipantlaqueo is meant.

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[14]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-weaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl: 796x [714 411]

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca ichoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, ichoatl in qujmomaca cuexteccatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn suchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaiaoalo in teucalli. [535]

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl eioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id es:, iaoiutl, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic cenizzque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, iteputzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn tzõdli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh. [533]

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuzzlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujnjquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quexqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço- [714]

14 See Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1308f. Seler mentions (pp. 133, 137) a pointed, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose piece; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. Either these relate to the wars of Axayacatl among the Huaxtecs, or else "the Mexicans wore [them to proclaim] themselves to be the servants, followers, likenesses, of the old mother of the gods, Teteo innan, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxtecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from them." [776 177]

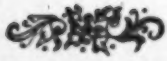

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.**[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned [482] warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

And upon the morrow, once again all departed to [441] the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriage-
X 796 able age. And the small boys they took up [the pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their
785 shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with
[224] blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

X 796 And when arrows were being formed, all did pen-
785 ances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen
688

Injc cempoalli ōmatlactli omei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yuã in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in qujchioaia, in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in moteneoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Quecholli:

in ōquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ōquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncã in neacamaco, ceçen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncã in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ōnemacoc, njmã ic qujitquitzc quiquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ic no cẽpa ic viloa in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoaloz, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixquich, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa viloa, mootquj in acatl, vel ixquich cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oquichpipiltotonti, quitletlecavia in teucalli, vncã tlatlapitztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmeztço compatzca, incanaoacã conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocẽquizoato teuitoalco: ceçnj moteca in tenuchca, ceçnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmã ic ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixquich tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 309). Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 147-8) states that the month was named for the bird of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores; Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 288) writes similarly: "*. . . nombre de un Pasaro de plumas azul, y colorada, que al en este Tierra, en especial en estos mananciales, y ojos de Agua, que al pasar del Pueblo de Quecholla*"; see also p. 299. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *flecha arrojadiza*.

Tovar, while mentioning the bird of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, never-more restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *maguey* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *maguey* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Rubendo ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 299.

in amo mjço qujpepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iccen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj,

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vctli.

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli; tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicaz.

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa.

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenquijz, njmã ie ic õnnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixqujch tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel iz neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aqujque vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna.

Auh injc mimujlilhujtl, ça mjscaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conococotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpiã ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncan toctitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia:

796x [795 683]
[834 273]
796x 411
[283]
[381]
[314]
796x 526
796x 765

796 came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come
[346] down, then he went direct to [the place] called the god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received
[778] him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

And when [the latter] had greeted [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acacninanco.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [These latter]
[714] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they
[411] cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, battle was joined; truly, [some] were slain.

obuchtli: in ooaltemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in moteneoa Teutlachco: vncan qujmõmjctia navintin: vme amapan, vme vappatzan: in oqujmõmjcti, mec qujnvivilana, tlachco: iuhqujn ic tlatlacujloa imezço.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan qujça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonooalco: vncan cantiqujça itóca Quavitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichioal, tel çan ie motiçaoaoan:

auh in qconantiqujz, mec vi, vmpan ommocoloa tlaxotlan: njmã ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiqujça, çan iciuhca:

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan qujça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izquijlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiqujça, in conmjctia, itoca Izquitecatl:

mec vi, vncã qujztiqujça in tepetocan; ie coiooacã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncã oallacoloa: njman ic qujoalmelaoa in acachinanco.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in iehoãtin tlaamavia, iquac peoa, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlatoca Paynal.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilti, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequjntin tiacaoan: qujnmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cujtlachixxo: çan ocoquavitl in ifimac oonoc.

Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatzontectli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilti qujnnamjquj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiotl in muchioaia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 282, the four slaves were sacrificed in a ball court (*teotlachco*)—not in the *barrio* of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the *barrio* of Teotlachco.

10. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods. See, however, corresponding Spanish text.

11. Though the Nahuatl text describes the movements of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*Luego descendia en autopa, con gran priesa trayendo en los brazos, la estatua de paynal, escuro de Vitzilopuchtli.*" This priest was dressed in the trappings of Quetzalcoatl, according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 282).

12. "*Alli le salio a recebir, el autopa di aquel ex, con la ymagen del dios Quauitlyoac*" (corresponding Spanish text).

524 won' all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301 stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about
643] his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[732] were their servants, their pages who attended them
[231] and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

ohuihuqui, anoço tenuiujtl, quetzalli, tlacoxi, calli, mijlli, tlaçoxilmatli, pepechili, vecuj tilmatli: chalchihuitenuitl, tenuujtlamacochili, xonuiujtilmatli. Auh in aquja petenuj, in quichaiaoa in etl, intla cenetl el ic tzoquechili, in moquetzticac etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tetzummachoia, cenca tlamauiçolli ipan motzaia: nimaa machi quijtlanj, in jaquejch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macuuel aiamo açi in quecaquj tetl aquijlli, injc nezumonotzalo, injc netzopelo.

Tlatlamjna tlauiçolica, tiponica, tocomjica, tlacuchica: ielauiçallo, mazopetztli ipan ca, tej chalchiuitl, oholiuhquj, anoço tenuiujtl in jmaquechtlan quijtalia tlaçoanj.

Tlatlacaloanaja, tlatlamoda ican tlacalhoaztli, injcallo telolomachtl mjmjltic injc mopethoa telolodi, ic quimoda tepitoaca tocome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca tocomatlatl: injc quimaçi nepapan tocome,

momochimjltia, momochitepantia, caquja, in jaquejch nepapan xochitl,

vncatca intetlaveuetzquijcahoan in quimellelquiztiaia, in quijcemchia: ioan quauhjlacatzoque in quipaquiltia mjjec tlamantli in jutlachical teuetzquiji, ioan mauiztic, in jca izocpal tlanjpa injc tlamati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quemmjmjlli in quijcoia ica izocpal aquetzoc acopa in cocomiauj quaxmjmjlli çe ichoatl in jzocpal ic tlamati,

mjjec tlamatli, in tecocmatki in quichiua, vncatca imaachoan, izoloan in quimujcatinoaca in quimchellelquiztiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzame, teachame, quiapiaia quaquauhti, ocelome, cuicuijlachtin, ocotlachtin, nepapan tonal.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads quiltoloaca (he respected) instead of quiztiaia.

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643 714

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, ixquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in eoatl, toçeoatl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 531

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, ixquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in eoatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, ixquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecuçiztli, ioan qujqujztli in mopitza iauc injc çemeoa iauqujzque, injc mjcali: in quachpanjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in teeujtia in iauc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in jzquj quachpanjtl. Niman çemeoa in iauqujzque, injc mjcali, 534 727

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic mantiuh in quetzalli iaoaltic. Xiloxochipatzactli, quetzalli in jizoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jcanaoacãn mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomaltectli. Maquaujtl itztzo in jtenco tlatectli, quetzalaztatzontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in jpoçonca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec in quetzalli. 643 714 [441]

[p. 36 has no textual material]

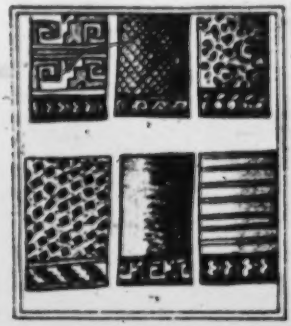

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—After Paso y Troncoso

72-74. Women's array—*urpilli, cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

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—Alfay Paso y Troncoso

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-94. Judges (Chapter 17). 95. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Ixcuauhtemoc addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

726 Spaniards] among [the dead]; they went in among those who had died, only feigning death, and were able to escape. But one who stirred, when they saw him, they pierced.

And the blood of the chieftains ran like water; it spread out slippery, and a foul odor rose from the blood. And the entrails lay as if dragged out. And the Spaniards walked everywhere, searching in the tribal temples; they went making thrusts everywhere in case someone were hidden there. Everywhere they went, ransacking every tribal temple as they hunted.

And when [all this] became known, there then was a shout: "O chieftains! O Mexicans! Hasten here! Let all prepare the devices, shields, and arrows! Come! Hasten here! Already the chieftains have died; they have been put to death, destroyed, shattered, O Mexicans, O chieftains!" Thereupon arose an outcry, a shouting, a shrieking with hands striking the lips. Quickly the chieftains marshaled themselves; as if working with a will they brought the arrows and shields. Then the fray joined. They shot
[411] at them with barbed arrows, spears, and tridents, and they loosed darts with broad, obsidian points at them. It was as if a [mass of] deep yellow reeds spread over the Spaniards.

tique, intlan cacalaoque in ovelmjoque, çan momjcaneneqoja, vel momaquixtique: auh in aca oc mopoçaoa in conjtta, conjxili.

Auh in jmeneço in tiacavan iuhqujn atl ic totocac, iuhqujn aalacatoc, yoan xoquijac eontoc in eztli. Auh in cujtlaxcolli iuhqujn tlavilanj. Auh in Españoles, novian nemj in tlatemoa in calpulco, novian ontlaxiltivi in tlatemoa, in açaca vmpa mjnaia, novia nenque, quixaqualotinenque in izqujcan calpulco in tlatemoque.

Auh in omachoc, njman ie ic tzatzioa. Tiacavane mexicae vallatotoca, ma nechichioalo in tlaviztli, in chimalli, in mjtl, vallacivi, vallatotoca, ie mjquj in tiacaoan: ommjcque, onixpoliuhque, ommjxtlatique: Mexicae tiacaoane. Njmã ie ic tlacavaca, ie ic tzatzioa, netenviteco, iciuhca valnechicaovac in tiacavan iuhqujn nececenquetzalo in mjtl in chimalli qujitquj. Nimã ie ic necalioa, qujmõmjna in jca tlatzontectli, in jca tlacochtli, yoan in mjnacachalli, yoan in tlatzontectli, itzpatlacio in co. aça: iuhqujn cozpul ommoteca in acatl, in impan Españoles.

726 Thereupon the war boatmen cast their barbed
● [411] spears at the Spaniards. From two sides—from both sides—fell the barbed spears. And the Spaniards also shot arrows at the Mexicans; they shot iron bolts and guns. On both sides there was death. The Spaniards and the Tlaxcallans were shot by arrows; the Mexicans were shot. And when the Spaniards reached Tlaltecayoacan, there at the Tolteca canal,[4] there they fell into what seemed a deep chasm; they filled an abyss. There all fell: Those of Tlaxcalla and Tiliuhquitepec tumbled in, as well as Spaniards, and the horses, and some women. With them the canal was completely filled, full, clear to the banks. But those who came at the very rear, emerged and crossed over on men, on bodies.

And when they had proceeded to reach Petlacalco,[5] where there was another canal, very slowly, cautiously, and softly, with guarded measure, they set forth upon the wooden bridge. Here they recovered themselves, caught their breaths, and revived their valor.

And when they reached Popotlan,[6] it was dawn, and light was spreading. Already [the Mexicans] set out to attack: already they had been recognized from afar. And then they went raising a war cry against them and surrounding them. The Mexicans took after them; they took those of Tlaxcalla; and Spaniards were slain. And also Mexicans and Tlatilulcans were killed. On both sides was death dealt. They made the Spaniards leave Tlacopan; they pursued them. And when they advanced forcing them from Tiliuhcan and Xoçotlihiovican, there at Xoxocotla,[7] there Chimalpopoca, son of Moctezuma, died in the fray. They came upon him pierced by a barbed spear, and wounded. Likewise Tlaltecatzin,
[648] lord of the Tepaneca, died there. They had guided the Spaniards, and gone ahead to show them the route, keep them from wrong roads, maintain them on their course, and make the way for them.[8]

Thereupon they passed the Tepçolatl (a small stream). They crossed and forded the water there at Tepçolatl.[9] Then they climbed the embankment

njmã ic ic costlaça in acalchimalleque in tlatzcatectli in impã in Españoles: necococampa necoc in valhuetzi in tlatzonnectli. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, no qujnvalmjna in Mexica, qujvallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli necoc mjcoa: mjnalo in Españoles, yoan tlaxcalteca: mjnalo in Mexica. Auh in Españoles in oacique in tlaltecaioacan in vncan in tulteca acaloco: vncan iuhqujn motepexivique, motepexitenque, mochintin vncã onvetzque, ommotepeuhque in tlaxcaltecatl, in Tiliuhcujtepecatl, yoan in Españoles, yoã in cavallome, cequj cioa: vel ic ten ìn acalotli, vel ic tzoneuh. Auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ça tlacapan, ça nacapan in onquijzque, in vmpanoque.

Auh in oacito petlacalco, in oc cẽ vncan icaca acalutli, çan jvian, çan matca, çan tlamach, çan tlamatzin in onquijzque, in jpan quauhtlapechtli, vncan petito, vncan imjhio qujcujque, vncã moqujchquetzque.

Auh in oacito popotlan, otlatvic, otlanez, ic oqujchcuhtivi, ic veca motlamatilitivi. Auh njmã ic ic qujmjcaoatztivi, qujmololhujtivi, intech icativi in Mexica, qujmaantivi in tlaxcalteca yoã in Españoles mjctivi: auh no mjctilo in Mexica in tlatilulca, necoc mjcoatiuh, tlacupan quinquijxtique in quinto ca. Auh in oquinquijxtito Tiliuhcan, xocotlihiovican, vncan in xoxocotla, vncan in iaumjc in chimalpupuca, in jpiltzin Motecuçoma: in jpan quiçato mjntoc, tlatzõtectica, yoan vivitectoc, çã ic no vncan in mjc, Tlaltecatzin, tepanecatl tecutli in quinjacanaia, in quintlaixtlatitivia, quinmotlaxilitivia, quinmotequjlitivia, quinmoquechilitivia in Españoles:

njmã ic ic companavique in Tepçolatl (cẽ atoiatontli) vmpanoque, onapanoque, in vncan tepçolac, njmã ic ontlecoque in acueco, ommotlalito otoncal-

4. *Ibid.*: "*Estaba por Sn. Fernando y la Ermita de los Mártires o de Sn. Miguelito*" (citing Don. Fernando Ramírez).

5. *Ibid.*: canal on Calzada de Tacuba — the next to last canal.

6. See map. Cora (*op. cit.*), however, identifies it as the last canal on the Calzada de Tacuba.

7. Buntemann, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "*el camino que se dice Tacuba.*"

8. In the Rubrido edition of Sahagún (IV, p. 73), the account, from Buntemann's 1940 edition, is thus "*sacaron dos hijos de Moctezuma, el uno se llamaba Chimalpopoca y el otro Tlaltecatzi, los cuales iban guiando a los españoles.*"

9. Tepçolatl: a stream near Ometeopulco (Buntemann, *loc. cit.*).

Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans laboriously uncovered by night the waterways which the Spaniards had filled in by day.

And our foes went filling in the canals. And when the enemies had gone, once more [the Mexicans] took up the rocks with which the foes had filled them in. When dawn broke, once again it was even as it had been the day before. Often they so did, where [the Spaniards] had filled in the canals — immediately taking up the stones, the wood, etc. — so that by a little the war was lengthened, and gradually [the Spaniards] broke through [the Mexicans]. For these canals were looked upon as great walls.

And [as for] the Spaniards and all the Tlaxcallans, their common charge was the road, the highway to Yacacolco, and to Tlilhuacan and Atezcapan.[1] And Yacacolco, Cuepopan,[2] Apanzacan,[3] and Atlicuhyan, with which went Ayacac[4] and Totecco, were the charge of those of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mixquic, Culhuacan, and Itztapalapan. It became their common task to give battle in boats.

And the boatmen and archers of Atlicuhyan and Ayacac girded themselves to come to grips with them. They lost no time. In truth, they were evenly matched. [It was] as if it rained barbed spears; like serpents, arrows streamed and poured. When they hurled them with spear throwers, it was as if a deep yellow mass spread over the foes.

And a number of chieftains — the Tezcacoacatl Xiuhcozcatzin, the Tepanecatl Cuequetzin,[5] Uitzitzin, and Itzcuintzin, people of Yacacolco, whose houses were situated there, neither tarried, nor abandoned their beloved women and children. With difficulty they went to bring them safely to a house by another canal which was in Amaxac.

Iaje cempoalli on caxtolli omume capitulo: 726
vncan mjtoa in ẽnin Mexica in cohuvitiaia in cujtlatlapoaia in atl in ioaltica, in vncan catzupaia Españoles in tlaca.

Auh in tniecvan, catzuptivitze in acalotli. Auh in onoiaque in iavme ic no ceppa cujcujxtia in tetl injc otlaatzupca, iaume: in otlatvic ic no ceppa iuhcan, in juhcan catca ialhoa: muchipa iuh cujchiuhque in vncã catzupaia in acalotli, in çan njmã cujvalcujxtiaia in tetl in quavitl. &c. ic achi vecaoac in iauiotl, aiaxcan in cujovalpetlaque: auh in acalotli in, iuhq'n vei tenamjtl ipan momatia. 726 487

Auh in Españoles yoan in jxujch tlaxcaltecatl incentecujuh in vtli, in vei vtli iacacolco, yoan in tlilhoscan in atezcapan. Auh in iacaculco, in cuepopan, in apaoazcan, yoan atlicuhian injc iaticac aiacac, in totecco intecujuh muchiuh in Xuchmjlcatl, in cujtlaoacatl, in mjzcujcatl, in culhoacatl in Itztapalapanecatl, incẽtecujuh muchiuh in acaltica in tlaiecouia.

Auh in atlicuhca, yoan aiacacalque in acaleque, in tlamjnanj, vel muchicaoa injc cujnnamjcujj, amo moquecquetza, vel monenenhcavia, iuhcujn tzetzelivi in tlatzontectli, iuhcujn coatl motlamjna mopipiaça in mjtl: in jcuac atlatica cujtlaça iuhcujn cozpul ommoteca in impan iaume: 726 [411]

auh in cequjntin tiacaoan in Xiuhcozcatzin quaquatzi, Tezcacoacatl, Tecpanecatl, Vitzitzin, Itzcujntzin: in iacaculca vel ipan mantivia in calli: amo moquecquetzaia, amo quizicavaia in Cioatzintli, in piltzintli, aiaxcan in cujmõcaltechpachoto in oc ce acalotli itech in amaxac icac.

1. A Aztec locating clue of Tlaxcalteca in Tlaxcalchiles: *al* area now bounded N. by Calle de Manzanares; E., Cuauhtémoc; S., Orquídea; and W., Dr. Márquez in Doctores and the water's edge. — Cline, op. cit. R. H. Barlow ("Los cuatro barrios," p. 43) locates it "*entre las calles de Jaime Nunó y de Cuauhtémoc Sur*."

2. Cuepopan or Tlaquechihuiaca, an area bounded now, N., by Calle de Manzanares; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Pedro Moreno (once a canal); and Lerdo. — Cline, op. cit.

3. To the east of the Plaza de Tlaxcalchiles. — *Ibid.*

4. Atlicuhyan and Ayacac were probably in the Barrio of Tolpanchalchiles. — *Ibid.*

5. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 775, groups the names and titles as given here.

726 soned warrior, a shorn one, named Uitzilusatzin, placed himself above, on the roof terrace of the young men's house. Like a wall he now became.[10] Meanwhile, the common folk followed him a little. But the Spaniards then fell upon them and bore down on them, and thereupon beat, hacked, and pierced him. Then once more the chieftains set upon [the Spaniards], and they then quickly loosed the chieftain [Uitzilusatzin]. Then they went to lay hands on him, but he did not, nevertheless, die. Then they went, and all was quiet.

And [the temple with] images of the devils [the Spaniards] then set fire to. They burned it.[11]

And the chieftains to no purpose came to hold their position. Yet [the Spaniards] shot no arrows at the women, but only at those who came out as men [of war]. And when all ceased, there was only a little sun.

And on the fourth day likewise it came to pass that our foes marched forth together. Wheresoever there were common folk, there the Spaniards moved cautiously. Very softly they kept going. And the chieftain and commanding general Temiloztin in vain opposed them. He took refuge behind a wall. [411] As an eagle [warrior] he stepped forth; he had his iron sword with him, with which he would cut them down. But when he saw that nowhere could he do anything, then he cast himself into, and made his way in, the water. There were great war cries. Then once again the battle engulfed them. Only there did they reach. In truth, all day did the battle last.

And when it had dawned, when already it was the fifth day, once again our [Indian] foes and the Spaniards made an assault. And all who surrounded us, in truth, marched together. They were around us, hemming us in. Nowhere could any go nor proceed. All were indeed compressed. All were verily crushed and trampled. And when they had come close among us, a woman poured water upon them; she drenched their faces; she dashed water into the faces of our foes.[12]

[693] And the ruler Quauhtemoc, and the chieftains Coyoueuetzin, Temilotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin the chief justice, Tlacotzin, and Petlauhtzin

tocac in macevalli. Auh in Españoles: njmã ic imp̃. ommotepeuhque, impan ommotqujque: njman ic ic qujvivitequi, qujtlatlapana, qujtzeltilia: njman ic ic no ceppa qujvallasque in tiiacaoan: auh njman ic qujcauhtiqujxque in tiiacauh. njman ic conanato, amo tel vel mjc, njmã ic iaque, cactimoman.

Auh in diablome imjxiptlavan: vncan contlecavique, contlatlatique.

Auh in tiiacavan, oc nen valmomantivi tel amo ma qujnmjna in cioa: çan ichoantin in oqujchicativitze: auh in necacaoaloc ça achiton tonatiuh.

Auh injc navilhujtl çan ie no ivi in mochiuh cemolinque in toiaovan: in vmpa onoc macevalli vmpa tlamattivi in Españoles, cencan ivian in iativi. Auh in tiiacauh tlacateccatl in temjlotzin, oc nen qujnmopachiviaia, tepantli qujmotocti Quauhtli ipan qujzticac, itepuzmaquauh ieticac, injc quincotonazquja: auh in oqujttac in aoccampa veli, njmã ic atlan valmomaiauh, axotlatiuh, cenca tlacavaca: vncan ie no ceppa motetemmã in iauiotl, çan vncan acito: vel cemjlhujtl in manca iauiotl.

Auh in otlatvic, in ie ic macujlilhujtl: ie no ceppa vel qujcẽtlaz in toiaouh in Españoles: yoan in ꝛequjch in techiaoalotoc, vel cemolin, vel techiavaloque, techololhujque, aocac campa vel huja vel nesozocolo, vel nepapatzolo, vel mjequjntin patzmjcque, nequeçaloc. Auh in cenca ie in techonaci, oc civatl qujvallatequja, qujmjxatequja, qujmjxapapatza in toiaovan.

Auh in tlatoanj in Quauhtemoctzin yoan in tiiacavan in Coiovevetzi in Temjlotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Tlacutzin, Pe-

10. *Ibid.*: "es capitan que se llamaua Vitzilusatzin con muchos soldados que estaua sobre las diagonaes cendyaron a recer [resistir?] a los españoles pensyendose por ellos pues que no pasaron a dñde estaua el rey."

11. *Ibid.*: "y otro dia los españoles pegaron fuego aquella casa en la qual avia muchos estatuas de los yduolos." See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 163 (Cuauhtli).

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "los mugeres tomaban polvaraas echando a los contrarios con el agua de las acequias arrojandola con las ronas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[83]

Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[84]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula,* only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino,* all towns are. The following have been identified:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atocpan has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[83] *PNE,* 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[84] *PNE,* 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on 643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so [276] they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that [212 was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made 289] of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-
● 411

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many [344] of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. 411 There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton 714 armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am 231 forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird 136 that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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"I know well enough that as soon as you came here you opened the chamber and beheld it all, and that you sealed it up again as it was before. When you send it to him, tell him in your papers and letters, 'This is sent to you by your true vassal Montezuma.' I will also give you some very valuable stones which you will send to him in my name; they are Chalchihuites, and are not to be given to any one else but only to him, your Great Prince. Each stone is worth two loads of gold. I also wish to send him three blow guns with their bags and pellet moulds for they have such good jewelwork on them that he will be pleased to see them, and I also wish to give him of what I possess although it is but little, for all the rest of the gold and jewels that I possessed I have given you from time to time." [41]

When Cortés and all of us heard this we stood amazed at the great goodness and liberality of the Great Montezuma, and with much reverence we all doffed our helmets, and returned him our thanks, and with words of the greatest affection Cortés promised him that he would write to His Majesty of the magnificence and liberality of this gift of gold which he gave us in his own royal name. After some more polite conversation Montezuma at once sent his Mayordomos to hand over all the treasure and gold and wealth that was in that plastered chamber, and in looking it over and taking off all the embroidery with which it was set, we were occupied for three days, and to assist us in undoing it and taking it to pieces, there came Montezuma's goldsmiths from the town named Azcapotzalco,[1] and I say that there was so much, that after it was taken to pieces there were three heaps of gold, and they weighed more than six hundred thousand pesos, as I shall tell further on, without the silver and many other rich [326]

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

13: Phillips U -4 (no date) 1925
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Objects from Mexico

Locality	*Object*	*Copper*	*Tin*
Valley of Mexico	Chisel	97.87%	2.13%
Atotonilco	Hatchet	98.05%	1.91%
Tlaxiaco	"	99.61%	0.17%
Tlacolula	"	Copper	No tin
Oaxaca	"	"	"
Mexican	Bell	"	"

Other metal objects of Mexican origin yielded thus:

Currency hatchets	25 samples	All copper	No tin
Knife hatchets	5 "	"	"
Flat hatchets	7 "	"	"
Chisels	8 "	"	"
Hatchets	13 "	3 samples with no tin	
Lance points	7 "	1 " " " "	
Bells	26 "	Copper " "	

[41]

Some 28 objects, when analyzed, showed the presence of tin was intentional. Punches, lance points and needles were bronze, while money hatchets, and thin hatchet blades contained no tin. Of 108 samples of metals analyzed, only 38 contained tin. Lance points and chisel hatchets had from 2.13% to 3.4% tin. Two specimens of hatchets contained 9.3% of tin. But it is a question, were they of pre-Columbian origin or made *after* the arrival of the Spaniards?

From the analyses of the Mexican metal objects it is evident that tin was not generally employed for obtaining a hard alloy, which required about 10%. The small amount of tin usually found would rather indicate an accidental impurity in the copper than an intentional ingredient in the alloy.

That the ancient Mexicans or Aztec people were familiar with the metallurgy of gold, silver and copper, the process of hammering, fusing and casting, there is no doubt, and that they understood soldering and even the plating of gold and silver on copper is suggested by the specimens in the museum collections.

The Bronze Age as determined by analyses of the specimens described, is still a matter of doubt for the Aztec, and must

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Even ornaments and dresses were also preserved at some of those places.[33] 712 421

We may divide the *armament* of the Mexicans into weapons for offence and defensive armour for protection. 411

Among the offensive arms the *missiles* occupy the principal place, as we may infer from the general mode of Indian warfare, which consists in striking an enemy, if possible, from a distance, and with as little risk to the assailant as possible, too. *Darts* or *javelins*, *bows* and *arrows*, *slings* and *stones*, were therefore of primary importance to the Mexican warrior.

The dart or javelin ("*tlacochtli*," "*tlatzontectli*") was the main weapon of the Mexicans.[34] It consisted of a short spear made of hard and elastic canewood ("*otlatl*"), whose point, shaped after the manner of the well known arrow-head, was mostly of flint, of obsidian, and perhaps, occasionally, of copper. This point or head was inserted into the stem or rod through a slit at its end, gummed in, and fastened besides by a strong thread wound around it.[35] The javelin sometimes had two or three branches with points, so as to strike several wounds at once,[36] the warrior often had it tied to his arm by a long cord, but sometimes, also, he carried a number of darts loose.[37]

49.) Bernal-Diez says that "mayordomos" had control of the "houses of arms." (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia, II.) At their head was the "Petlacalcatl." "or man of the house of chests," from "petlacalli," chest or box made out of canes. Bernal-Diez mentions that functionary, but says they called him Tapia, his Indian title he does not remember (Cap. XCI). Each tribe subject to Mexico had a "calpixqui" residing among it.

[33] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXV, p. 35, and LXX, p. 119).

[34] Tezozomoc never mentions the bow and arrow, but always "varas tostadas," "varas arrojadiças," "tlatzontectli." Rods hardened by fire were used *once* by the Mexicans, at the time of their most abject misery, when fighting for the Culhua against Xochimilco (Clavigero, lib. II, cap. XVI). Even the poor aborigines of the Lucayos (Bahamas) used points of fish-bone, and not simply hardened points of wood. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[35] Gomara ("Conquista," p. 45. Vedia, vol. I).

[36] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[37] It would be difficult, otherwise, to account for the number of darts "spent" in the engagements, had each warrior carried but one javelin. Torquemada (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 43) mentions a sort of cross-bow (ballesta), which he calls "atlatl," by the means of which they are said to have sped their darts ("que tiraban con cierto artificio, que llamaron Atlatl"). "Atlatl," however, means a strap ("amiento") fastening the helmet around the chin. Mendieta says: "Al principio jugaban de hondas y varas "como dardos que sacaban con jugaderas y las tiraban muy recias." "Jugadera" means a shuttle. In his note to Durán (Cap. IV, p. 31), "inventando aquel modo de ar-"mas y varas arrojadizas que llamamos flagas." Señor Ramirez says "Refiérese pro-"bablemente al arma Mexicana llamada Atlatl, especie de ballesta, que segun la tradi-"cion fué inventada en Tacubaya . . . ." "Flaga" is a trident or harpoon. The use of the cross-bow, therefore, by the Mexicans, as the term "ballesta" implies, while

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

●411 Bows and arrows were used, probably, by every warrior, but they were a less *convenient* weapon than the simple dart.[38] The bow ("*tlauitolli*")[39] was made of the same wood as the stem of the javelins ("otlatl"), its length varied according to the tribes, but those of the Mexicans were short.[40] The chord was made [237] out of the hair or sinews of deer. The arrow ("*mitl*") needs no description. Sometimes it was with several branches or heads. They carried the arrows in quivers suspended from the shoulder. Poisoned arrows were not in use among the Mexicans.[41]

Last among the missiles, though not least in importance, were pebbles and stones, thrown by slings or by hand.[42] The store-

we shall not deny it, appears to us not yet established as a fact. They may have had something similar to it, however, but it was no commonly used weapon, and we would beg to suggest that the "invention" of the "atlatl" at Tacubaya relates, not to the cross-bow, as Sr. Ramirez indicates, but simply to the "harpoon" (fisga) or javelin fastened to its carrier by a long cord. The Mexicans, besides, had a very characteristic name for cross-bow (Molina, I, p. 116). It is "tepuztlauitolli," composed of "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "tlauitolli," bow,—*a bow of* IRON,—plainly indicating that the weapon became known to them only after or during the conquest. Gonzala Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés "Historia general y natural de Indias," written towards the middle of the 16th century, but published in full only 1853, by the Academy of Madrid, gives (Vol. III, plate I, figs. 2 and 3) a drawing of an instrument used by the Indians of Cueva (Coyba), on the Isthmus of Darien, for throwing their darts. He says (Lib. XXIX, cap. XXVI, p. 127): "In some sections of the country the Indians are warlike, in other "sections not. They hardly ever use the bow, but fight with macanas, long lances, "and with darts which they throw by means of *estóricas* (a kind of *avientos*), a well-"made wooden contrivance. With this they hurl the javelin, always keeping the 'es-"tórica' in hand." The drawing referred to represents a wooden slide, shorter than the dart itself. The latter was laid on it. On each side of the slide there was a ring through which they passed the first and second fingers, holding it between and resting it on the palm of the hand. This gave them considerable accuracy and power in throwing the dart. An uncouth but very plain representation of a similar contrivance is found on plate V to the fifth chapter of the 2d Treatise of Durán, thus showing that the "atlatl" was nothing else but Oviedo's "estórica." Furthermore, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, identifies the "atlatl" in all probability with the "throwing stick" of the Aleutians of the Northwest, and still in use among them.

[38] Although the bow and arrow are a very deadly weapon, the *dart* was most convenient, and therefore most popular among the Mexicans; at least to open the combat (Mendieta, lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[39] Molina (Vocabulario I, p. 13).

[40] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Some tribes are mentioned as using bows 5½ feet long. The natives of Tehuacan are stated to have been extraordinarily good archers (Mendieta, lib. II, pp. 130 and 131).

[41] There is no trace of poisoned arrows north of the Isthmus of Darien. (See "Relacion de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla "del oro," etc., etc., "escrita por el Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya," in vol. III of "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos," by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Madrid, 1829.) Also, Pedro de Cieza, of Leon ("Crónica del Peru," in Vedia, vol. II, cap. VII. p. 361).

[42] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Stones were picked up while fighting and thrown at each other in the field. Tezozomoc mentions "stones sent off with cords" ("con cordeles"), otherwise we have no description of the sling.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

houses contained supplies of slings ("*tematlatl*"),[43] while the missiles themselves were accumulated for defence on the flat housetops,[44] or, in the open field, taken up "ad libitum" for aggressive use.[45] 411

Next in importance to the aggressive *missiles*, as weapons intended for *closer quarters*, were, to the Mexicans, the *sword* and *club*. The spear ("*tepuztopilli*"[46]) was probably not an *original* Mexican weapon, but, while they used it against the Spaniards towards the close of their defence, it still appears to have been most in use among more southerly tribes.

The *sword* ("maccuahuitl") was 3½ to 4 feet long, and 4 to 5 inches wide.[47] The anonymous conqueror says:[48] "In order to "make their swords, they cut out a blade of the shape of our *two-*"*handers*, but with a shorter hilt, and about three fingers thick. "They cut a groove along the edge, and insert into this groove a "hard stone, cutting like our blades of Toledo."[49] This stone was *obsidian* ("Iztli"), and the edge of the sword, composed of fragments "three inches long and two inches broad," became at the outset as sharp as a razor. These fragments were very firmly cemented into the wood, but, although the sword was double-edged, it soon became transformed into an ordinary club, since obsidian is very brittle, and splintered after the first heavy blows upon iron armour. At the *beginning* of an engagement, this weapon was much feared by the Spaniards.[50] The warrior carried

[43] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Motolinia (Tratado III. cap. VIII. p. 188). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII. cap. XI, p. 187). The word "tematlatl" is difficult to etymologize. It *may* derive from "Temac," *in somebody's hands*, and "atlatl," *strap*, or from "Temalli," substance or body, and "atlatl."

[44] Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXXXIII and CXXVI). Cortés (Carta. IIIa. Vedia, I, p. 41). Gomara (Vedia. I, p. 373).

[45] Cortés (Cart. IIa. Vedia, I, p. 50). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[46] From "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "topilli," rod or pole. The long spears or lances were mostly used by the inhabitants of Chiapas. During the siege of Mexico, the aborigines defending it used "long lances of ours, or scythes ('dalles.' spears), "much longer than ours, from the arms which they had captured at our defeat and dis-"comfiture in Mexico" (Bernal-Diez, cap. CLI; Vedia, II, p. 178).

[47] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII and LXV). The latter calls them "espadas de dos manos."

[48] "El Conquistador Anónimo" ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, p. 375).

[49] See also Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 130). Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 188).

[50] Clavigero positively asserts that the edge was of *obsidian*, and flint could never have given such a cutting blade. Mendieta (Lib. V, Parte II, cap. VII, pp. 757 and 758) calls the sword "macana," and says it was double-edged: "cercada de navajas de piedra por ambas partes." The first blows were terrific, but only these, *then* the edge broke. See Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187. "I enconan las Espadas de Palo

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411 his sword attached or suspended from the wrist.[51] Clubs ("quauhololli") may have been also in use. But battle-axes, or anything like the Peruvian "chumpi," do not appear to have been known to the Mexicans.[52]

714 If now we turn to the *defensive* arms, to the *protective armour* proper, of the Mexicans, we meet in the first instance the *shield* ("chimalli"). Not the merely ornamental shields used and carried by warriors and chiefs on festive occasions only,[53] but the

"con agudos Pedernales, engeridos por los filos, . . . que dando grandes golpes no se "deshacia; cortaban en lo blando, quanto topaban, pero en lo duro resurtian, como eran "los filos muy delgados"). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). "The first blows alone "were fearful, as the edge soon wore out." (The name "Macuahuitl" may derive from "maitl," hand, and "cuahuitl," tree). The tables accompanying the work of Durán have many representations of the maccuahintl. The "handle" or hilt is usually formed by a ball or knob, sometimes by a ring.

[51] H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America. Vol. II, p. 411). If we have not heretofore quoted, and may perhaps not quote hereafter, this splendid compilation, it is merely because we revert to original authorities, and not at all out of disregard for the highly valuable assemblage of data which the distinguished author has furnished to science.

[17] [52] Mr. Bancroft has given a fine illustration of a club used by some of the Indians of the *present Republic of Mexico*. But among the Mexicans proper, the sword, "maccuahuitl," was the most common and frequently used weapon. Clavigero figures it like the blade of a saw-fish, with teeth; and Tezozomoc calls it "espadarte." But there can be no doubt that the intention of the Indians was to make a *continuous blade* (or edge), and not a *row of teeth*. (Along the sea-coast the "proboscis" of the saw-fish may have been *used occasionally as a weapon*, but it certainly never furnished a *type*.) The Peruvian "chumpi" was a peculiar weapon, and has nothing analogous elsewhere on this continent. It required both hands to wield it. An illustration of it is found in Herrera, Frontispiece to the fifth Decade, where the portraits of thirteen Yncas are given. Both Manco-Capac and Viracocha each hold a "chumpi" or spear terminating in a broad star, like the "Morgenstern" of the Swiss. Some authors persist in giving to the Mexican sword the name of "macana," but this word is not Mexican. Neither is it Carib. It was imported from the Antilles by the Spaniards, and is probably "arua." Von Tschudi "Peru, Reise-skizzen" (St. Gall, 1846) describes, vol. 2, chap. 7, p. 231, the macana still in use among the wild Indians of the Peruvian "Montañas," East of the Andes. He says: "the sword, macana, is also, like the bow, made out of the hard "chunta This wood is dark brown, very hard and heavy. The macana is four feet "long, one inch thick, and five to six inches broad; at the handle it is only three inches "wide and rounded, both edges are as sharp as those of a sabre." The same author describes also the club, "matusino," of the same tribes. It is a rough imitation of the "chumpi" of the Incas, deer-prongs taking the places of the metallic star. Its length is about four to five feet. Durán also has drawings of a *Mexican* club, corresponding to the figure given by Mr. H. H. Bancroft.

[53] These shields, richly ornamented with featherwork, were used at great festivals, at the dances. Illustrations are given in Herrera, Frontispiece to the second Decade, in Clavigero, and especially in the "Raccolta di Mendoza," printed in Lord Kingsborough. They were frequently sent as presents, and among the presents which Cortés received while at Vera-Cruz, Gomara mentions once twenty-four, and again five, of such shields. "Cinco rodelas de pluma y plata," and "veinte y cuatro rodelas de oro y "pluma y aljofar, vistosos y de mucho primor" (Vedia I, p. 322). He distinguishes them from the war-shield which he describes as "una rodela de palo y cuero, y á la re-"donda campanillas de laton morisco, y la capa de una plancha de oro, esculpida en "ella Vitcilopuchtli, dios de las batallas, y en aspa cuatro cabezas con su pluma é pelo, "al vivo y desollado, que eran de leon, de tigre, de aquila, y de un buarro."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into containers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles [412] and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole sometimes [342] were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 248
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

●412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and ornaments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were
[286 323] sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and 324
this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better 412
made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and 177
Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burn- 324
ing and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out 532
of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs, [796]
referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (cuauhxicalli*) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.[2] (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

*kwow-shee-ca'li.

1:Vailiant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

steps in every case. A final polishing with some simple abra- 324
sive like water and sand often completed the process. Some hard stones seem to have been detached from their matrix by applying the abrasive and sawing with a cord of rawhide or a tool of harder stone. The Middle American people also [412]
developed tubular drills of bone and reed, which, rotated by a bow and aided by an abrasive, could hollow out vases or bore out places that were otherwise inaccessible to the clumsy tools of the time.[8]

Save for descriptions and drawings, the destruction of 286
time and man has left us only a few examples of the weaver's art. Weaving of some kind is very old, and no people, however primitive, exist in the world today who do not make at least some kind of basketry. Textiles are made as a rule by higher groups, but they are found in the American continent as part of the material equipment of peoples who had not yet learned how to make pottery. An early example of cloth, combining threads of cotton with some fiber like yucca, was found in the Lower Middle Culture horizon of Zacatenco.

The long practice of weaving must and did have a sig- 286
nificant effect on decoration, for the rectangular patterns, to 531
which the weaver is confined, influence all of Indian art in Continental America. Design and the arrangement of elements are more important than form in Indian art. While many geometrical patterns appear in pictures of Aztec clothing, fine embroidery could produce the effect of curvilinear designs or even naturalistic patterns drawn from the regional flora. Batik and tie dyeing also enriched the decoration of [386]
Aztec clothing. Other processes produced the effect of velvet and brocade, and some garments even imitated in tex-

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversa-
[412] tion they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to
[777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for
[276] the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers.
585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car-
[492 313] ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her
[312] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuujesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determinauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, auiendo escogido algune destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esqujna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[5] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech clout; its paper[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, braves! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in otlatvic: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalinqui, intlaqui oalietiuh in matepoztli, tlaximalteposztli, vel qujpetlaoa, qujzipetzoa, in vncan yize, in vncã titicujtztic, in vncã xizipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jzcalo xocotl, vel cõnevivilia in jzcalo, in jquapitzaoscan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepãtlaqque. Eintin, cenca chicaoaque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin catca.

In ce itoca: coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhqujn mjxpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichiua.

Auh in jxiptla xocotl, in qujnacaiotiaia: mjchiouhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjztac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlaliaia: yiamanecapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzõ, ixococvipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo onacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquijlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquijlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlaiapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no ereti tzocoiotl in qujchiua, qujquauhço: excan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xocomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xocotl matlactli.

Auh in onocencauh: njmã ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatziua:

qujtoa. Ma ecuel tiacahoane, ximotilinjcan, izqujch amotlapal:

njmã ie ic quecatiquetzizivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtionnaçatl, yuan qujquãmjvia: auh in ieqõne ie iauh, in ie mecatiquetztiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatziua, cenca chachalacoa:

796x
778
[412
463]
[793]
[483
401]

5. Probably pronounced in reverse. Cf. the Jacobinos-Mendoza edition, p. 139.
6. Reference could be to either paper or food (*tlaxcalli*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemootemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenquizcaiotl, nenquiçaliztli, ñoneoatinemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatêmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quizcaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cêca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli qujcuja mococooaia: mochi tlacatl qujtoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoulan: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiõllo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oquizcauhque injoiolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan quizooaiã inon oquêteltzin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio qujcujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipooallo in jzquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 34) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony acts.

bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places—some of them perchance in two places, or three, they laid the thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was of their own will.

iatl yoan contequja in mevitztli, auh quezvjaia ic quivalmanaia in ipã acxoiatl vme in vitztli 796x

noviian in aca aço vccan anoço excan in quimanaia vitztli, anoço macuilcan çan teiollotlama. 785 782

The Bloodying.

When they bloodied themselves, thus did they do: they cut their ears with an obsidian blade, and then took out blood from about the ears.

Neçolintli.

Jn mjçoia injc quichioaia itztli ica in contequja in jnacazco, auh njmã ic quivalpipiloiaia in eztli in innacaztitlan. [412]

The Cutting of the Ears.

Likewise this bloodying was a cutting of the ears, when one was bloodied by the cutting of the ears.

Nenacaztequilintli.

Çan ie no iehoatl in neçolintli in nenacaztequilintli in mjçoia in monacaztequja.

The Twisting off of the Heads [of Birds].

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him, and cast down [the body] before the devil. There the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.

Tlaquechcotonalintli.

Jn tlaquechcotonalintli ic muchivaia ca icoac in tlatotoztintli ixpan quicotonaia in Diablo no conjaviliaia, vncan contlaçaia in ixpan Diablo, vncan tlapaslatztoc in jtlac in tototzintli. 796x 782

The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods].

Thus was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: When [the priests] had cut open a slave's or a captive's breast, then [the owner of the victim] took his blood in a vessel and, perchance, cast a paper into the vessel, which drew up the blood.

Then he took [the blood] in the vessel and placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

Tlatlatlaqualilintli.

Jnjc muchivaia tlatlatlaqualilintli, in jcoac oconaltecque in tlacutli anoço malli, njman quicuja in iezço castica yoan aço amatl contlaçaia in caxic quichichinaltiaia in eztli,

njman ic quitequja castica in izquintin Diablome in tenco quintlatlalilinia in eztli muchintin in jezço teumjcoqui.

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods].

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when mayhap something had befallen one, perchance sickness, when he recovered, then perchance he thus paid his debt with *copal* [incense] or paper [spotted with] liquid rubber. Because he did

Nestlavalintli.

Jn nestlavalintli injc muchivaia in jquac aço aca in tlein ipã muchivaia, aço cocolintli in jquac opatic, njman aço copalli yoã amatl injc mozilavaia, injc [314]

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs,
[314 water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[317 paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
●412] poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[19a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzioacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, coujzcaiotl chilli, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzqujtlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjzqujtl, itlaaqujllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, azolotl, aoauhtli, axxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquauitl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquauitl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixquich tlamãtli qujlitl qualonj, zonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vizzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocojoli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aiozochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, .ezotl, elotl, xilotl, ooatl, mjiaoatamalli,

4. *Atzizcanoiaiol*: "*son redondillas, tienen los pies largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos: son cenicientos y tienen el pecho blanco; dicen que nacen en la provincia de Atlihuac; viveen a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas o llueve; son muy buenos de comer. Dicen que frisa, y los sordos del agua, por tiempo se ensebran en pasar, dicen que las aves entran a bandas en la mar, desaire del agua, y que nacen cada parcaen*" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Sahagún, *Ensiqui Xaquel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilote*) says there are two species—*Podilymbus antillarum* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipiçaua*: "*son blancas y del grosor de palomas, tienen alto vuelo, crianse hacia la mar, y al tiempo de cagar al mdio tienen ach desaire a la yerba; cuando estas aves vienen, entiendan que es tiempo de cagar el maiz*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 415, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *capacora*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*tienen muchos . . . . grandes como las de España; tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos; tienen buena carne; tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas; las plumas de encima son rucias, tienen buenas calcetas para cuerdas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 184, are *Anser albifrons* GM.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cierto género de chile llamado chilcuepa, muy tostado y metiendo con ello*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 162)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, now also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Texocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 156).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *ocelotlcacomitl*, *el océlido mate* (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dermodium emphidium* Hemsl. (p. 659) or *D. parviflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chaiotl*: *chayote*—*Sicyos edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucurbita ficifolia* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhquamichli* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Mimosa unguiscati* (?) Poiret, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metelhoatl*: *metl* (maguey), *nelhuayotl* (*principio, cominzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Simeon must be in error in translating *mizquitlal* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Rudimentos MS (Pls. 18, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*phlopodium*) as, "*En México especie de alcachofa*" (artichoke).

19a. See Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-4, 549. Bauer suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium: *C. Hassilianum* and *C. parabrasum* are mentioned.

20. *Xuxocoiolli*: *tecopal*—*Oxalis corniculata* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. spiraphylla* Cav.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Bauer (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the term *xocoi* is used also for *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that contemporaries likewise identified two species of *Begonia*.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")***

FOOD [262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632 of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651 maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412] After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.*

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412] Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.*

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

* RHE, 1: 131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canos a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antesesor de montezuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de bolsteria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Montezuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

* RHE, 1: 142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonzes se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were 266]
sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and [412]
chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, [292]
and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

THE METAL INDUSTRY OF THE AZTECS

By GEORGE BRINTON PHILLIPS

I

121 THE collections of many thousand copper objects, tools, 325 weapons, and ornaments from ancient Indian burial mounds and village sites in the Unites States of North America is strong evidence in favor of a pre-Columbian copper industry with which the aborigines were familiar before they reached the Iron Age. Did this knowledge and use of copper extend into Mexico and adjacent country of Central America?

325 Prescott in his *Conquest of Mexico* gives a picturesque account of the splendors of the court of the Montezumas with its silver and gold ornaments and utensils, but the knowledge of metals does not seem to have extended to the general use of copper or bronze for tools and weapons. The Aztec in the production of ornaments in the precious metal showed great skill and artistic workmanship and specimens sent over to Spain were greatly admired by the Spanish goldsmiths. Owing to scarcity of copper [412] in their immediate vicinity, the ancient Mexicans confined its use to adze blades, chisels and some copper objects, possibly ceremonial implements. The tools were hardened by hammering and used in wood carving. The stone cutting it is believed was still done with flint tools.

317 Copper was obtained from the mines of Zocotallan where it 325 occurred in masses on the surface and also from the galleries opened in the rock. Ancient workings have been discovered at Cerro del Aguilar in Guerrero, and the Zapotec country was well known for its copper mines. Deposits of tin were also found in Guerrero at the mines of Tasco, and it is said that Cortez obtained enough tin from that source with the copper to cast several large cannon, which he used in his fortress at the siege of Mexico. This use of tin in making a suitable alloy it is believed was due to the familiarity the Spaniards had of bronze, rather than to Aztec knowledge of the art.

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925

NU7 Aztec NU7
TARASCO NU34
ZAPOTEC NU44

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones." A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

And [concerning] this pestle: when they caught, trapped mice,[24] they cast the pestle out the doorway. It was thought that if it were in the house, they could not be caught; it was said that it would warn them.[25]

Yoan in iehoatl tezolotl: in jquac qujmaci, in qujnmôvia qujqujmjchtin: in tezolotl qujiaoac qujoallaça, qujlmach: intla çan cali iez: amo vel maciz-que in qujqujmjchti, qujlmach çan qujmonjoatica. 825 412

Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of mice.

Injc cempoalli onome capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in qujqujmjchti. 825 837

They said, in times past, that it was thought that mice knew well him who had a paramour, whether a young man or a woman. In order for it to be evident, the mouse made a hole in a large basket, or gnawed the edges of gourd dishes or bowls. Likewise, if men, or a woman, were married, he made holes in their mats, or the men's mantles. In the same way, he gnawed through a woman's shift or skirt. And everywhere the mouse made holes. It was said that thereby he made known that one's spouse had committed adultery.

Quitoaia in ie vecauh, qujlmach in qujqujmjchti vel qujmati, in aquin momemecatia: in aço telpuchtli, anoço cioatl. Injc neci in qujmjchin qujcoionja in chiqujvitl, anoço tecomatl, anoço xicalli qujtenquaquaia. No iuhque intla namjque toqujchtin, anoço cioatl: yn jnpetl, anoço yn jtilma toqujchtin qujcoionjaia: çã no iuhquin cioatl, yn jcue, anoço yn jvipil qujcoionja: yoan noujan tlacocoionja in qujmjchin, qujl ic qujnezcaiotia: ca oqujtlaxin yn jnamjc.

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of turkey hens.

Injc cempoalli oney capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in totolme. 825 235

Turkey hens: when they were brooding, one who wore sandals might not go in among them. Especially when the chicks were about to break [the shells], it was said that [the hens] sat paralyzed. [The chicks] could not break [the shells, and] some would die. But some, when they hatched, it was thought, would only be paralyzed, those which were there in the shells. And it was said that in order that this might not happen, they placed old sandals among them when [the hens] brooded.

In totolme: in jquac tlapachoa, amo vel inpan calaquj in mocactia: oc cenca yquac in ie tlapanjzque tototi, qujlmach ic mocototztlalia: amo vel tlapanjzque, cequjntin ic mjquj: auh in cequjntin yn jquac tlacati qujl çan cocototztpipil, in vncan cate in cacalloc. Auh qujl injc amo iuh muchioazque yn, cacçolli intlan qujtema in tlapachoa.

Twenty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of turkey chicks.[26]

Injc cempoalli onnavi capitulo, intechpa tlatoa yn totolconentoton. 825 235 837

And when turkey chicks hatched, one might not enter among them who had a paramour, whether woman or man, or those who were married. When perchance the spouse [of one of them] had committed adultery, if he were to go in among [the chicks], they said: "He killeth them through filth."

Auh in jquac otlacatque in totolconentoton: avel inpan calaquj in momecatianj, in aço cioatl, in anoço toqujchtin, in anoço namjqueque: in jquac in aço oqujtlaxin inamjc, intla inpan ocalac, qujtoa: qujntlaçolmjctia.

24. *Ibid.:* "quando arrancaban ratones en casa."

25. *Ibid.:* "no entraban los ratones: porque el maridero, los sujetaba para que no entrasen."

26. *Totolconentoton:* read *totolconentoton.*

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos. 796 X [305 776]

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuiltin, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeoaliztli

1	d	KL.	d	22[1]
2	e	A los captiuos que matauan: arran-	e	23
3	f	cauãlos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y	f	24
4	g	guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como	g	25
5	A	por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul	A	26
6	b	delante del fuego.	b	27
7	c	Quando lleuauan los señores de los	c	28
8	d	catiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde	d	1[2]
9	e	los aujan de matar, lleuanuanlos por	e	2
10	f	los cabellos: y quando los subian, por	f	3
11	g	las gradas del cu, algunos de los cap-	g	4
12	A	tiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los	A	5
13	b	subian arrastrando por ios cabellos,	b	6
14	c	hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir.	c	7
15	d	Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna	d	8
16	e	piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco	e	9
17	f	mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos	f	10
18	g	sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos	g	11
19	A	cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por	A	12
20	b	los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja	b	13[3]

luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara. [413]

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer. [415] [767 266]

* Actually a *palmo* is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In *Webster's Dictionary*, the Portuguese *palmo* is 8.64 in.; in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed.), the Spanish *palmo* is 0.229 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal notation: *Cabedro como pom.*
2. Marginal notation: *Mercaue haber dos cuos.*
3. Marginal notation: *hundir archiefs ai cuef.*

X 796 pains of] their death. They tied them hand and foot, and, thus bound, they slung them over their shoulders, and walked with them as if performing a dance about the edge of a great fire and tall mound of live coals. Thus proceeding, they went casting them upon the mound of coals—now one, and, after a little, another. And him whom they had cast they let burn for a good while; and, still alive and tossing, they [443] took him forth, dragging him out with something like a hook, and cast him upon the sacrificial stone. And, having opened his breast, they tore out his heart. In this manner suffered all those unhappy captives.

los pies y las manos, y assi atados ponjãlos sobre los hombros, y andauã con ellos como haziẽdo areyto en rrededor de vn grã fuego y grã mõton de brasa, assi andando yvãlos arrojando sobre el monton de brasas: agora vno y desde a vn poco otro: y el que avian arrojado, dexauanle quemar vn buen interualo, y avn quando biuo y barqueando sacauanle fuera arrastrando con qual que garauato, y echauãle sobre el tazõ: y abierto el pecho sacauanle el coraçon: desta manera padecian todos aquellos tristes catiuos,

[778] The tree was made fast by many ropes from the top, as the rigging of a ship hangeth from the topsail. On the top of this stood upright the statue of that god, made of a dough which they call *tzoalli*. When the aforesaid sacrifice had been offered, all the young men assailed [the statue] with great vigor. Many other ceremonies were enacted, as hath been written at length below, in this feast.

Estaua el arbol atado con muchas sogas de lo alto, como la jarcia de la nao: esta pendiente de la gabia en lo alto del, estaua en pie la ymagen de aquel dios: hecha de masa que llaman tzoalli: acabado el sacrificio ya dicho, arremetian con gran impetu todos los mancebos. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian segun a la larga esta escripto adelante en esta fiesta.

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

796[X] [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli,* because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli.* They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli.* And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli,* which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete;* and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

Quando començaua a tronar los satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los deziseis dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

[314] [834]

Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y stauanlas a vnos barales desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

[778] [289] [324]

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

[413 286]

1. Marginal notation: *Amowiuj ouey.*
3. Marginal notation: *Exposuerunt Sancte Marie V.*

2. Marginal notation: *Deuender la dier ouij.*

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[6]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oqujcheoatiuh, moqujchitotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmotzatzilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlateniotiuh, qujiauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh: 796 X

yiollo qujmattiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ic nõiauh, annechonjtozque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ic iuhquj yn oxxitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ic ic ceceniaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquacencaujaia, qujnaquetztiteca, qujmeltetequj, yca izquaoac, patlaoac tetpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnochtli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in ichoantin mjquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Cosuhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjloa, qujnoaltetecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maiotzincueptiujtze, motzotzoniquetztiujtze, mocuecueptiujtze, ynjc oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacujlti, calpulvevetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonetolti male: [346]

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynjc qujquazque: vmpa qujxexeloa, qujtetequj, qujcuelloa: oc ie achto qujtonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujqujlia. 796 X 216

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan quj- [237 / 421]

6. In *op. cit.*, p. 63, Seler specifies a "*dicken breiten Feuersteinmesser.*" Sandoz (*op. cit.*) defines *itquauac* as "*Couteau pour les sacrifices humains, fait avec des silex ou de l'obsidienne. . . .*" Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Mexico: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 46, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as "*un cuchillo ancho de lasca, un ancho agudo porque . . . no es grande hacer muy agudo. . . .*" [413]

7. *Quauhxiuitl*: probably *quauhtlaxuitl* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtlaxuil*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers as meaning the sun.

8. Seler consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *Adlerschale* (*cf. Einige Kapitel*, p. 64). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 155, he breaks the word down into *quauxil* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauh* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less consistently than Seler, uses the term *xicara de madera*. [415]

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 18 *v*, Sahagún writes: "*Después llamaban los cautivos, los llamaban quauhtecas.*" In *loc. cit.*, Seler translates *quauhtecatl* as "the one from the eagle-land," the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, as the sun's image and representative (p. 157).

10. *Apetlac* (*cf.* Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Seler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, caps. 29 and 33.

X 796 no more could he use his hands; no longer defend himself; no longer make himself do anything. No longer did he move; he did not speak. Then, faltering and fainting, he fell upon the surface, tumbling as if dead. He wished that he might stop breathing, that he might suffer [no longer], that he might perish, that he might cast off his burden of death.

And thereupon they quickly took and seized him, pushed him, and dragged him, and raised and stretched him out upon the edge of the round sacrificial stone.

And then, when the Youallauan went [forth], in the guise of Totec, he gashed [the captive's] breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun; and the priests placed it in the eagle vessel. And another man, a priest, carried the [hollow] eagle cane[21] and set it in the breast of the captive, there where the heart had been; he stained it with blood; he submerged it well into the blood. Thereupon he offered [the blood] to the sun. It was said: "Thus he giveth [the sun] to drink."

[413]

[415] And the captor thereupon took the blood of his captive into a green bowl with a feathered rim. The sacrificing priests came to pour it there. In it went the hollow cane, which also had feathers. And then the captor departed with it so that he might nourish the demons. He went into and came out of all [shrines]; he omitted none; he forgot not the priests' dwellings in the tribal temples. On the lips of the stone images he placed the blood of his captive, giving them nourishment with the hollow cane. He went in festive attire.[22]

X 796 266 And when he had gone to and reached all the places, then he took the insignia to the palace, and he caused his captive to be taken to the tribal quarters, where they had passed the night in vigil; here he flayed him. Afterwards he had [the flayed body] taken to his house, where they cut it up, that it might be eaten and shared, and, as was said, to bestow as a favor to others.[23] It hath been told elsewhere how this was done.

And the captor might not eat the flesh of his captive. He said: "Shall I, then, eat my own flesh?" For when he took [the captive], he had said: "He is as my beloved son." And the captive had said:

aoctle conmochichioaltia, aocmo oalmocuetzoa, aocmo oalnaouti, çan njman iolmjqui, çotlaoa, chapantiuetzi, momiccatlaça: qujnequj, macuelich yhiiotl onqujça, macuelich conjhiiouj, macuelich ompoliuj, macuelich conmotlazili, yn jmjquiztequjuh.

Auh niman ic qujcuitiuetzi, cã antiquiça, ca quetztimaiauj, cã quetztiteca, itenco in temalacatl:

auh njman iquac oiauh yn Iooallaoan, totec ipan quiztiuitz coneltetequi, conanjlia yn iiollo, conjaujlia in tonatiuh, quauhxicalco contlalia in tlamacazque: yoan oc no ce tlacatl tlamacazquj, conitqui, quappiaztli, ielpan contilquetza yn malli, yn vncan ocatca yiollo, conexçotia, vel ezttilan conpolactia: njman no ic conjaujlia in tonatiuh, mitoa, ic catlitia.

Auh yn tlamanj njman ic conquj yn iezço ymal, xoxoujc xicalli, tlatenpotonilli, vncan qujoaltequjlia, in tlamictique, ipan icatiuh piaztli no tlapotonilli. Auh njman ic vncã eoa in qujntlatlaqualia diablome, noujian nemj, izqujcan qujça acan qujmocauja, acan qujxcaoa in calmecac, calpulco: in teme teixiptlaoan, intenco qujmontlatlalilia yn jezço malli, piaztica qujmonpaloltitiuh, tlaujcetinemj.

Auh yn onoviiampaneh, yn onoujampa aacito, njman concaoa in tlauiztli tecpa: auh yn jmal vncan qujoalujqujlia in calpulco, yn vncan oqujtoçaujque ceioxal: vncan qujxipeoa, çatepan concaujliaia yn ichan vmpa qujtetequj, ynjc qualoz, ynjc tetonaltiloz: yoan mjtoaia tetenhtiloz, yn oiuh mito cecnj, çan ie no iuh muchioaia.

Auh in male, amo uel qujquaia, yn jnacaio imal, qujtoaia, cujx çan no ne njnoquaz: ca yn iquac caci,

21. "Y a cabaio, de cabo hueco" (corresponding Spanish text).
22. "Y se compuesto con sus plumages, y cõ todas sus cosas" (ibid.).
23. *Teteuhtiloz*: Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 72, n. 1) holds, of *teuhtlaloa*, that it is derived from *teuia*, equivalent to *tenaliz*; *teuil* is equivalent to *teuaiuh* or *teuali*. Hence the meaning, to apportion as a favor.

X796 [301] ments, the paper shoulder rosettes, the semicircular paper neck ornaments, and the bags for incense, which were purchased only [at the market]; and necklaces of wood, [also] sold only at the market place.

amacuexpalli, yoã yn jiatztli, çan qujmococoujaia, yoan in tlacopacoxcatl, çan monanamacaia tianquizco.

And when they had reached [the end of] the four days, when all had fasted, then at early dawn all began to array themselves.

Auh yn oncic naujlhujtl, ynic netlacaçaoalo, njman ioatzinco in peoa in techichioalo:

293 X796 [302] Then were bedight the fire priests and all [the other] priests. Early in the morning, all put on the shoulder rosettes. And they placed, over them, the paper neck ornament. They all put on the paper neck adornments. And their foreheads were stained blue—they were colored blue—and their bodies were stained. They were painted after the manner of Uixtociuatl.[26] And in their hands they carried the incense bags. The fire priests carried with them their ocelot-skin incense bags, provided with small, white, sea shells. In four places shells hung from the incense bags.

njman mochichioa in tletlenamacaque, yoan yn ixquich tlamacazquj, ioatzico yn enneaqujlo, in tlaquechpaniotl: yoan contlaliaia ymicpac, amacuexpalli, neamacuexpaltilo, yoan neixquatexoujlo, mixquatexoujaia, yoan michioaia, moujxtoichioaia: yoan intlan caana yn iatztli: tetlan tlaano in tletlenamacaque, ynooceloyiatzc cuecuechcho, nauhcampa in pipilcac, cuechtli, yn itech yiatztli.

And the bags of the [lesser] priests were only of paper, painted like ocelot hide, painted to look like ocelot [skin]. Some [incense bags] represented the *atzitzicuilotl* bird;[27] some represented ducks. Their bags were filled with incense.

Auh in tlamacazque ymjatzc, çan amatl in tlachichioalli, tlaoceloicujlolli, oceloicujliuhquj, in cequintin atzitzicujlotl ipan mixeoaia: in cequintin canauhtli, ipan mjxeoaia, yn jmiatzc, tetentiuh, yn jiauhtextli.

X796 [302] And when this was done, then all went [in procession] together, [that] the feast day might be celebrated. The fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc led the others. He had put on his quetzal and heron feather crown; his face was coated with liquid rubber; [he had] his mist jacket and his rain mask or his Tlaloc mask, which he put on. His long, tangled hair fell to his loins. Behind him followed, chanting, all the [other] priests, and thus they went to the Temple of Tlaloc.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec tenanamjco, ilhujtlalo: teiacana in tlalocan tlenamacac, quetzalaztatzontli, yn onactiuh: yoan mjsolhuj yaiauhxicol, iqujiauhxaiac, anoço itlalocaxaiac in conmaquja, ycuitlacaxiuhian vetzi yn ipapa ycampa i caoacatiuj yn jxqujchtin tlamacazque, ynic vih yn iteupan tlaloc:

When they reached there, thereupon the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc placed himself. He spread out all the white reeds and leaves,[28] and cactus leaves, strewn with the sweet-smelling herbs; provided with the sweet-smelling herbs.

yn onacique njman ie ic onmoquetza, in tlalocan tlenamac, conchaisoa in aztapili, yoan in quequexquje, yoan nopalli, yiauhtitlan tlaaqujlli, tlayiauhujlli:

[413] Then he placed [upon the mats] four round green stones. And when he had placed them there, then they gave him a small wooden hook, stained blue, wherewith he struck each of the green stone balls. As he went striking [each one], he turned around.

njmã ic contlalia in chalchiuhtelolotli nauhtetl: auh yn ocontlali mec conmaca, quauhchicoltontli, tlatexoujlli, ic conujujtectiuh, cecentetl in chalchiuhtelolotli: yn jquac qujmonujujtectiuh, oalmocueptiuh.

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26. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125) has "*wann . . . bemalt das Gesicht in der Art des besonderen Wesens.*"

27. Described in Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 170. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125, n. 1) cites Herrada-ka (cap. 18, fol. 32) and defines it as the *chichimeca*. Cf. also Carlos A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Antiguedades* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del Autor, 1904), pp. 542-3.

28. In a description of the Huastecs and their region, Sahagún writes: "*Se dan muy bien todas las hortalizas y muchas frutas que por acá no se hallan, como es la que llaman quequexquiz*" (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 131). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 126) calls it *Phalkpanzlikraut*, and cites Hernández's definition as *Sagittae piscium*.

And all the common folk who looked on
All car-

ried flowers—artimisia[16]—and some carried wormwood flowers.

And when this was done, they bore [the likeness of] Uixtocioatl to the summit of the Temple of Tlaloc. And they took up the captives, who were to be as a fundament [for her]—those who would be her companions, her fellows in death; who were to be first, who would die [first].

And when they had taken them up to the Temple of Tlaloc, then were slain as sacrifices the captives. And after they had slain the captives, only [then] Uixtocioatl['s impersonator] followed; she came only at the last. They came to the end and finished only with her.

And when this was done, thereupon they laid her down upon the offering stone. They stretched her out upon her back. They laid hold of her; they pulled and stretched out her arms and legs, bending [up] her breast greatly, bending [down] her back, and stretching down her head taut, toward the earth. And they bore down upon her neck with the tightly pressed snout of a sword fish,[16] barbed, spiny; spined on either side.

And the slayer stood there; he stood up. Thereupon he cut open her breast.

And when he opened her breast, the blood gushed up high; it welled up far as it poured forth, as it boiled up.

And when this was done, then he raised her heart as an offering[17] [to the god] and placed it in the green jar, which was called the green stone jar.

And as this was done, loudly were the trumpets blown. And when it was over, then they lowered the body and the heart of [the likeness of] Uixtocioatl, covered by a precious mantle.

And this came to pass in the early dawn. And when they were finished, when it was done, when they were through, all the people dispersed and went, scattered, and betook themselves to their houses. Those who had provided the feast, carried out and celebrated it; a feast was celebrated. They banqueted one another and accepted summons to banquets.

And the old women and the old men, those who

chintin inxoxochiuh inccecempoalxochiuh: yoan cequjotin ymiixtauhiaxochiuh. 796x

Auh in ie iuhquj mec qujtlecauja in Vixtocioatl, yn icpac tlaloc: yoan qujntlecauja in mamalti, in iuhqujma ypepechoan, in q'nmopechitiaz, in qujnmoujcaltiz, yn imiquixteujcalhoan, yn iacatiazque miquizque. [137]

Auh yn oq'ntlecaujque tlalocan, mec temictilo in mamalti: auh yn onmjcque mamalti, ça ontlatoqujlia in Vixtocioatl, ça ontlatzacuja, ça ontlatzacutiuh, ça ontetzacutiuh, ça tlatzinpachotiuh.

Auh yn ie iuhquj, njman ie ic conteca in techcac, conaquetztiteca, caanjlia, qujtitilinjlia, yn jma, yn jcxi, cenca uel quelcueloa, qujcujtlachicueloa: auh yn itzonteco, ynjc qujtilinjliaia, cĕca tlaltitech qujujcaia: auh ynic qujquechpachoa, acipaqujtli itlaujtequja, chichiqujltic, tzitziqujltic, viuiztic, necoc campa in ujujtztic. [413]

Auh in tlamjcti, ça yc icac, onach ic moquetz, njman ie ic queltetequi:

auh yn ompet yielchiqujuh, yn eztli oalmopipiazquetza, veca in onmopiaçoa, iuhquin momoloca, iuhqujn pipica, iuhqujn popoçoca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalia xoxoujc xicalco: qujtocaiotiaia chalchiuhxicalli. [415]

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, cenca tlapitzalo: auh in ie iuhquj mec qujoaltemouja yn jnacaio, yoan yn iiollo Vixtocioatl, tlatlapachiuhtiujtz tlaçotilmatica.

Auh ynin muchioaia, çan ioatzinco: auh yn ontzonquiz, yie iuhquj yn onecacaoaloc, njman ic viujloa, cecĕmanoa, viujloa in techachan, yn jlhujoaque, hiylhujchioa, hiilhujtlamati, ilhujtla, hiilhujtla, iilhujtlamacho, ilvichioalo, mococoaanotza, motlatlacamati:

yoan yn jlamatque in venetque, yn iztatlaca yn

15. See pp. 98, 161, 110. Simeón and Jourdanet, in their translations of Sahagún, p. 64, n. 3, translate *compoalxochitl* as *Tagetes erecta*; Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 134) has *Tagetes sp.*; in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 70, *Tagetes erecta*.

Of this flower, Sahagún (Bulmarde ed., Vol. III, p. 275) writes: *Xoxo flores es llamada compoalxochitl, son amarillas y de buen olor, y anchas y hermosas, que dicen es nacida, y otras que las llamaban en las huertas; son de dos maneras, unas que llaman hombres compoalxochitl y son grandes y hermosas, y otras que hay las llamaq muchas compoalxochitl (y) no son tan hermosas ni tan grandes.*" Durán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 174) refers to them as "*rosas guirnaldas de rosas amarillas grandes.*"

16. "*Pusiendo sobre la cargasta un palo redondo, al qual tenjan dos, aprisandole: para que no pudiesse dar vuelta, el tiempo que la abriesan los pechos. Otros dicen que este era un cuero de espadarte, que es un pez marino, que tiene en arma, como espada; en el cuero, que tiene colmillos, de ambas partes: con este la aprisonan la cargasta*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). See Bulmarde ed., Vol. III, p. 197, for description.

17. Cf. corresponding Spanish. We have no interpretal correspondie.

796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
778 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

auh in ie iuhquj omonoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoã comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmã ie ic qujtetema: muchi ichoatl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omoeten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic vivilõa, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were
[302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained
[237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were
[293] decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmama tlavizzli, papaloti: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icnjliuhtica, hivitica: ic motenoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

[535] And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with
[30] white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper
[302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and they decked their heads with feathers. They had
292 feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamanecapanal, njmã ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomoloa.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan omonotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

Auh in pena in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli zelivi:

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked.
[413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquj-ton intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it
[413] into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

in ie iuhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: injc tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, leas. Bird Sandals, however, renders inappropriate in this.
8. The context suggests a distinction between elementary and analogous.

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[314 paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
317 rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
412 poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
● [413 maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[19a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzioacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcostli, coujxcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzqujtlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, ttzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjzqujtl, itlaaquijllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquaujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, vietli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquaujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixqujch tlamãtli qujlitl qualonj, xonacatl, ttzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocoçoli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, ezotl, elotl, xilotl, oostl, mjiaostamalli,

4. *Atzizinacaiod*: "*son redondillas, tienen los pies largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos: son cenicientos y tienen el pecho blanco: dicen que nacen en la provincia de Atlihuac; vienen a esta Laguna de México cuando las aguas a llueva; son muy buenas de comer. Dicen que éstas, y las cerdos del agua, por tiempo se enseban en pescados, dicen que las son cuando a bandas en la mar, desaire del agua, y que tienen mala pertenencia*" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichimiliuc*) says there are two species—*Phalacropus wilsonai* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipiztcan*: "*son blancos y del grandor de palomas, tienen alas anchas, crianse cuanto la mar, y al tiempo de cuaresma se vienen así desaire a la tierra; cuando estas aves vienen, entiendese que es tiempo de comer el maíz*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *apipiztcan*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*tienen menudos . . . . grandes como las de España: tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos; tienen buena carne: tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas: las plumas de encima son ronas, tienen buenas colmas para cocinar*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* Gml.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cierto género de chile llamado chilatepin, muy tomado y mezclado con ulli*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 162)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Sandoz, *op. cit.*, note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Texocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 190).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *acohuichtli*, of edible root (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dioscorea amphibiana* Humb. (p. 659) or *D. parviflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chaiotl*: *chayote*—*Sycios edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucurbita ficifolia* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhayacachtli* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metlhuatl*: *metl* (maguey), *ontlamatl* (*principio, comienzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*),

19. Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Sandoz must be in error in translating *cimpaulil* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*phiquelite*) as, "*Un Méjico espinoso de abundancia*" (*cardoncha*).

19a. See Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-6, 549. Sauer suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium: *C. Nuttalliae* and *C. pumilum* are mentioned.

20. *Xocoyoli*: *xocoyol*—*Oxalis conquinbilis* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. corymbosa* Cav.; *O. sericeiflora* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Ramírez (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the term *xocoyol* is used also for *Rumex* (*subgenus Acetosa*), and that *xocoyopilo* likewise identifies two species of *Rumex*.

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262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

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The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[28]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

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317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial
[788] bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal
[415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving
[395] the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[9]

324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century 223 531 the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of [177] trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for 323 grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every con- 415 ceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner 323 rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often 286 charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made 283 of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their [531] burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing 283 401

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their 797
descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly 636
families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the 177
records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec picto- [217]
graphic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old
form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. [291]
The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging [415]
fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed 797
to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours 346
in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. 177
The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

776

fine-cotton cloaks; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had necklaces and ear-shells. He shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stones. He carried the staff with the device for casting.

Fourteenth Chapter, which treats of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk. When people feasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Therefore [the god] gave them, as received punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, leprosy, and piles.[71]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or cleanse the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, four all feasted four days. Some feasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "*pulmed atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the feast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[72] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing arrows through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrows.

Some then offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] varnished cups, or varnished cups mixed in honey; or Sahagún cups-cakes which were like notched arrows or lightning-bolts; [or] *tamales-tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and darts.

And here, in Mexico, from everywhere, were brought cups-drinks, called "*tolmon-cupdrinks*," [from] all *tolmillos* [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: intlapa tlatoa in teuil, yn iuca: macuilxochitl, yuan xochipilli.

Çan nemohque, yn je netetilinia tecpantzinca intech: 776
yn jquac neçaujlilinia, intla aca tequjchti ipan cincochia, 688
aneço cioatl, ipan equjchocchia: mjtoaia, qujntlaçulnjctia 753
yn jneçanalia,
ic quimocaia, ytech qujtlalaia, qujtelhujlitiaia, qujtuma- [785
cualtiaia, in xochicuiatl, yn nemoaxtlatl, tlapalanahtlatl, 834]
quetlitiatl,

yuicpa netolna, nemotzlitinia, yn je qujcauia, yn je qujquauia yn je qujcuauaz, cuculatl.

Auh yn jquac illuujquujtilinia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa 776
nevilhujtl nemochiçoaia: in cequjntin ic moçanaia, chil- 796
cauaia, qujmoquauia tamatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, [264]
inelhquauia qujmoctiuh, tlacujlolatalli in quja, xochiotetl
yn ipan ca, mamochiçoaz:

mochi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tamatiuh qujmoctiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujcaviaia, in intlaxcalli qujquaia, ole chilli: no nepantla tamatiuh qujmoctiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn illuujquujtilinia, iquac ce tlacatl qujcuicpilotiaia, cuauhqujaia yn jtlaçuj, ipan mjtoaia, qujhuetzcauujlinia, qujcujcuinia:

yuan in ic nepantla tamatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçoaia, tlacuaujtlinia: yuã tlamacujlinia yn jtoçuan, macujlxel in [785
qujchiujlinia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacualaqualli, omoa vevey
ipan yeztiuh mochujtl:

yn aca quauhcuitl yuje cuauujlinia, yuan cuauqujlinia 776
ic no macuilxel tamalquiçoaia, mollonija: yuan vexel [145]
tamalli yiul pewjia, no ceceuj quauhcuaxica, mamivia, cenxel 262
ilhia, cenxel tlachalaqujj. 796

Auh yn aca inquujl, aneço nacuauqujl, aneço xonacujlli, papaloxonacalli, inelacatli, tecuillacatli, tecuilchinatli, tecuitujtl, tecuilnaquauujtl, tecuilnacatl:

yuan necujlan calacualoia, in mamalti ojcan mexica, 776
cuauhcuaxa malinquujxoa, yn jnquujch mchinaloaz, yn 796
cuauhcuaxa: ipan ilhuitl ipan ce ilhuitl ipan nepantla tonalli, ic ce tlacatl ic quimocaia, ytech qujtlalaia, qujtelhujlitiaia, qujtumacualtiaia, in xochicuiatl, yn nemoaxtlatl, tlapalanahtlatl, 727
quetlitiatl, ic ce tlacatl qujcauia, yn jquac ce tlacatl qujquauia, yn jquac ce tlacatl qujcuauaz, cuculatl. Sahagún: The Treatment of the Aztec Collection, p. 79. Tlamacujlti, in the Aztec text, should probably be tlamacujque.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "tortas, que nixtamalchilos, de la masa secadas, . . . almorzaban, podrahombre del mundo comer, chiles, tomates, etc."

73. In corresponding Spanish text "yuan cuauhcuaxa."

776
463
484
414
439

"And [they brought] vessels, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cocoa, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered bands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[105] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[106] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and dacked him with his mother lipplug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who entered enemy house, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commencement in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[107] They paid great honor to the cocoa, to this walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[108] they set it upright. They offered it an offering fowl, when they held a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they commonly hacked and slew a man as a sacrifice,[109] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or the one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomecóatl, or Chalchiuhtlicue, Atlacoyan, and Nanáhuatl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzinca.[110] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the three markets: at Azcapotzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around every three, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best ones, in good health, rich in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the four-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they gathered them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They come then up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in potecomatl, in aitecili, in equauijtl, yn etencaiatl:

[439]

intlamel iuitilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, ocelan ceuamij, vel calaquj, metlacacuepa in nechichiualistica, in nezistica, in tlamilõca quijtolnecalhuja in chanequa.

[292]

Auh intla ozlamaqualtique, intla cittoque: vncan quijquicuiqtia, quijnchillatilia: qz aca, aqo ca, aqo vme yn oc nõ tematilanqa quijqa, inhuatl quijcalnecotzaia in motecçuma:

[263
266]

ic vncan quijnaca, cequjlia, yapoçonalentzuh, yc quijnavixiotia, ic quijnecaiotia, in tlacatzuh, vncan ic equjchia.

[431
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301]

Auh yn jquac oalacia, yuchan: vn jmiloch, yuaccuepal oquijchiuhque, yn otlalnechacica, yn otlatechpachiuhque: inquijch tlacatl quijnoma, in pochteca: yuan in tlatoque, ic momixitiaia:

mjjna, mocxipaca, cenca quijnavixtilaia yn inpil, yn jtlacçaia yiacatecutli:

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cana in calpulco quijquetzilia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yuan intlaca nel motecçuoma, quijtlamanjlia in çan muchiqa yn jtlaçaaia.

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[778]

Auh intla aca tualtic, inhuatl calaiaia, quijnenia in jnnuh yiacatecutli: anoqo cenca inhuantin yn mochenaia, in quijnemoteuiaia in chicomequjauijl, anoqo chalmecacioatl, yuan acatzacuijl, yuan nacatl, cochimetl, iacapitzinca, atlac quijtocuja, yiallodzma, yn aqo ca, anoqo vme, ca aleiz tlacatl:

vnqa cencowaia yn tlacatecujloca ocapuztalco: metlabtlatilia, mochipaquilia, quijcocuepa, quijnjhitza, yn quelnin quijcocuepa, yn acan quennejqua, in tlacatecti, in tlacamilacuepa, yn acan cocuepa, yn atle intlecinik ca:

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yuje: inhuan quijmicilaqua, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan iliuiquijquilitilaia vitzilobuchtli:

yquac quijchichiuaia, quijtlamamaca, intech quijtlalia yn jshquj panchichiual yiacatecutli.

Auh yn niamo quijmjctia, achtopa quijmixitiaia: mjjna quijnjcuaia, ic quijmachiste in tzalinque:

105. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 371): Torquemada: "quejándose vaqueros pastores, que iban siempre, á hablillad, para vender ganado menor, á ungidos, y en ellos, y según (que se pueden conocer de Mexicanos) . . . ."

106. Cf. Sahagún (Bridge Edition, p. 32) citing Mich. Rum. Coll. Mex. B. II 303.

107. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the ceremonies of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing sandals and hands.

108. Sahagún defines calpulli as "cabeza del barrio, ó parroquia" (Spanish version).

109. Sahagún defines the sacrifices in this manner: "Estos diablos que mataban a estos cautivos."—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

110. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) mentions Cochimetl and Yacapitzinca as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomequátl or Chalchiuhtlicue is the name of a goddess of water and the earth") Atlacoyan is Tezcatlipoca; Nanáhuatl is Quetzalcoatl.

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl yeue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fa-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded ones [Tepictoe].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
held the rubber-spotted papers.

● [445] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepictoe] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
enced, to make [the Tepictoe] and set them in place. None
532 of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictoe were fashioned, thereupon they held
a vigil and made music for them.

755 During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepictoeme, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictoeme].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their caps, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoeme [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoeme
figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepictoe thereupon
returned to his quarters, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

popocatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yuan in çaçe
quenquizteq tepetl in quizteneuaz in quiçiquiz.

Auh in quiçiquiça, in quimixiptlatiuia in tepe, çan
tzoalli, quiztlacatlaliuia, quiztlacatlachichiuia, tlacatlachi-
tiuiuiz:

ꝯquiztlacatiuia ciuatecolli, auh in quiztzoloteiuia ciuatli:
in quenamj yuelonqj in quimixiptlatiuia, in quiçiquiça
çan no iuhqj yn ic quichichiuia.

Auh yuan quichiuia, amatemujti, calchachapetzia,
calchipiniuia, quiçoçoqueniuia:

auh in ceqj amatetecuid, tlaxilchipinjlli, tlaxilchachapa-
tzalli, mecatitech quiçiçiloaia, mecatitech quiçoçoxchilpiaia,
quiçoçoxchçaloaia, ymiçpan axtec, ic itzacutequc in
tepictoe:

hiçoçoxtec papapatlacatec, papatlantec, ectopilquauijd,
necoc, nenecoc, necoccanqa tlatlalectiuc, tezcoxocticac, yn
itech axtec tetzujti.

Auh tzilacatzoli, tlaxtlapantli, tlaxtlatzatzli: ymiçpan
mamaxtec, chalchiuhxicalli ipan pouiia, vcxli vuca ca, vcxli ic
mamaxtec.

Auh çan tehuan in tlamacazque, yn iteçquich, in
machiotequc catca, yn quichichiuia, in quiztlaliaia: aiac
çan motocuiaia, in calla in quichichiuia.

Auh mocuiltiuia in quiztlallujaia, mjtoa: quimaxcaltia-
tiuia in tlamacazque:

yn o ic cuahque tepictoe, ajmoan ic ic quitocaiia,
quimocuiaia:

in ceiuaal xapa in quiztlamamjlia, tamalolelli in
quimacaia, quimaxaia ymiçpã, in tlamacazque, in
tepictoeque:

no xapa in quiztlamacaia ceiuaal, yuan quiztlapichilia,

quimaxpiçpiçtlaia tecuicuili in quiçpichilia, yuan
vilacapitzli, ocomjlzoti,

vilacapitzaia, çan tehpopochti, papaquiçtj, huaxinj,
tehhuitzinj, tecomatlinj, cocolque, no tlamacaia.

Auh yn ontlavic ajmoan quimaxcia yn tepictoe, quiçoçoch-
cotoua, quiçoçochcuj, quiçoçochtlacotoua, çaçan quimoco-
alolua, cuauhcuj, in tepictzinolli, quiçqui yn calmecac yn
tlapa ontlapa, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiçquiçj, ajmoan in yc calaquiçh yn ilacatecatl-
hoaa, yn ixcuaxoua, tecuan tlaqui, tlaçiçiqueque:

auh in in iouanich, in ic teculac ximoan in ic tlamaxa,
mochiuaxcolalia in tecuaxoua, yn in chiuaxoque, yn ochichi-

117. Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac chief) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Models of dough (*tzoalli*), in the Spanish colonies; Sahagun's *quauhxilotes* (Fuente del Starkbaubau (Fuente Kapital, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de goma de olli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatlatlacuilli*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 128).

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quequacuilitiz, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

*Actually a palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In Velázquez' Dictionary, the Portuguese palmo is 0.24 m.; in the Encyclopedia Britannica (14th ed.), the Spanish palmo is 0.220 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal notation: Cuchillo agudo grande.
2. Marginal notation: Sacerdote dios muerto.

"Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeoaliztli

KL. A los captiuos que matauan: arrancauãlos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul delante del fuego.

Quando lleuauan los señores de los catiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde los aujan de matar, lleuauanlos por los cabellos: y quando los subian, por las gradas del cu, algunos de los captiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los subian arrastrando por los cabellos, hasta el tazon donde aujan de morir.

Llegandolos al tazon: que era vna piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara.

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, y no a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuaũ a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer.

3. Marginal notation: Sacerdote arrebatado de cuerpo.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tona, and by [still] another name, Cencamisuh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre concamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le auiã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

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Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Mexican [illegible]

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

1 c KL
2 d A esta muger que mataua en esta
3 e fiesta: componjanla con los atauios de
4 f aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que
5 g se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom-
6 A bre Tona qujere dezir nuestra madre
7 b esta muger ansi compuesta con los
8 c atauios estan puestos en la historia,
9 d baylaua sola: haziaula el son vnos vie-
10 e jos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua,
11 f acordandose que luego auja de morir:
12 g pasando el medio dia, componjanse los
13 A sacerdotes con los ornamentos de todos
14 b los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su-
15 c biaula al cu, donde auja de morir:
16 d echada sobre el tazon de piedra, sa-
17 e cauaula el coraçon, y cortauaula la ca-
18 f beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos
19 g que yva adornado como dios, y delan-
20 A tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca-
bellos: hazian areyto cõ ella quien el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

c 19
d 20
e 21
f 22
g 23
A 24
b 25
c 26
d 27
e 28
f 29
g 30
A 31
b 1[1]
c 2
d 3
e 4
f 5[2]
g 6
A 7

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El mesmo dia que mataũ esta muger los mojnjatros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abajo haziendo ciertas ceremonjas.

El dia siguiente todos los populares haziã vnos talegos como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atados tan largos como un brazo: hinchian aquellos talegos de

796X

796X 565 524 [415]

2. Mexican [illegible]

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
x 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

x 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that
[284] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
273 great feast to the god named Ixquitecatl, who is the second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all
[776] the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the court-
[463] yard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine
● [415] sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[309] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[431] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornizes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Xochiquetzal.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yaqujtecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el magoey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde moraua los sacrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but hastening and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[6]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquauhxiloi*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oqujcheotiuh, moqujchitotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmotzaztilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlatenjotiuh, qujiauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh: 796 X

yiollo qujmatiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annechcenjoxoque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn ozxitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazaque, qujnchiquacencaujaia, qujmsquetztiteca, qujmcketequj, yca ixquaoac, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnochtli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujrlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in ichoantin mjquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Cosuhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjlloa, qujnoalitecujchoa, chachalcatiujxte, maiotzincueptiujxte, motzotzoniquetztiujxte, mocuecueptiujxte, ynjc oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacujlti, calpulvevetque: vmpa qujaujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonectolti male: [346]

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynjc qujquazque: vmpa qujxcuelloa, qujtetequj, qujcueloa: oc ie achto qujtonaltia in motecaçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujquijia. 796 X 266

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan quj- [237 431]

6. In op. cit., p. 63, Seler qualifies a "*Ulcke Indian Pyramidenspitze*," Bandon (op. cit.) defines *tecpatl* as "Cuchillo para los sacrificios humanos, feito como de chico en de Pedernal. . . ." Pedro Tarifa de Benavente Moraleda's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; México: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858). Vol. I, p. 46, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Moraleda describes it as "un cuchillo como hierro de hacer, no cortado agudo porque . . . no se pueda hacer cosa agudo. . . ." [413]

7. *Quauhtecuitl* probably *quauhtlecuitl* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtlecuitl*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers as meaning the sun.

8. Seler consistently renders the term *quauhtlalli* as *Adlerschale* (cf. *Einige Kapitel*, p. 69). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 155, he breaks the word down into *quauhtl* and *tlalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the eagle *quauhtl* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less consistently than Seler, uses the term *olcuey* or *cuelaxo*. [415]

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 18 v, Sahagún writes: "*Tlaçoque quauhtlo for ocuaquauh, for Quauhtecuitlaxo*." In *loc. cit.*, Seler translates *quauhtecuitl* as "the one from the eagle-head," the body of the sacrificial victim. The word went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, or the east; lineage and representation (p. 157).

10. *Apetlac* (cf. Seler, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Seler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, cap. 29 and 30.

[796] Yet again an eagle[-costumed warrior] came out, doing just as had been done. All four [acted as if] fighting. They raised their shields and war clubs [as offerings] to the sun.

Now no longer did they delay, by turning back. When they came out, they came out dancing, they went in order. As if lying down on the ground, as if crawling along, flat on the ground, they went looking from side to side; they went up leaping and fighting.

And thereafter the Youallauan came forth, garbed like Totec; only he came last, after the others, behind the four great eagle and ocelot [warriors]; they lifted up their shields and war clubs, offering them and dedicating them to the sun.

Then all the impersonators, the proxies, of all the gods[15] emerged in order, ahead of all. They were called the lieutenants, the delegates, the images.

Similarly, they proceeded; they came in order; they came together. All came down. They came hence, from Iopico, from the very top of the [pyramid] Temple of Iopitli.

And when they had come down below, on the ground, on the earth, they gathered around the circular, flat, sacrificial stone; they seated themselves according to rank on large chairs called *quecholicpalli*.

And when they were seated, when they were arranged according to their importance, again the first in order was the chief priest, the Youallauan;[16] because it was his right, his office, that he should slay, offer as sacrifice, [that] with his hands he should destroy—with his hands hack open each of the captives destined for sacrifice.

[533 534 198] When this was done, then trumpets were sounded; conch shells, large sea shells, were blown; men put their fingers in their mouths and whistled, and there was singing. With singing of songs and blowing of trumpets, they arrived. The Cuacuateca placed themselves in order, their shoulders decked with feather banners, and they encircled the offering-stone.

One [of the captors] quickly seized a captive. The captor, he who owned the captive, seized him by the head to bring him to the offering-stone.

[415 273] When he had brought him there, he offered him wine;[17] and the captive raised the wine four times

Oc no cepa centzti oalquiça, in quauhti, çan ic machioj in quichioaia, oallachecoonia in nanjuti: conjaujlizia yn inchimal, yn jmaccquauh in tonatiuh:

zocmo oalnecoaia, ynic oaltzinilletia, çan njman ic oalquistimanca, mitotitiujtze, momamantiuj: inhquin tlalli ixco motetecatiuj, inhquin tlaltitech ômjujli, mocacanauhtiuj, nanacatlachiztiuj, huecochoketiuj, tlatlaiecotiuj.

Auh in ic inhquj njman oalquiça, yiocellaoan, totec ipan quiztiujtz, ça oallatoquilia, ça oallatzacujtiuh, ça oallacujtlapiloca, ça quinoalcentzacujtiuh in nanjutin, teucinti in quaquauhti, yn ocelo, ça oalmaçoa, oalmaana, conjaujlia yn inchimal yn jmaccquauh in tonatiuh:

njman ic ic oalquiça oalmoiacatia, oalmotecpana, yn ixquichtin teixiptlaoan, yn japatiloan in ixquichtin teteu: motocaiotiaia tepatiuhti, tepatilloan, teixiptlati:

çan ic no yuj in ujh motecpantiuj, ennonotiuj, ynic oaltemo: vmpa oalpeoa in iopico, vel icpac in teocalli iopitli.

Auh yn oacico tlatzintla, in tlalchi, in tlaltiech: njman quiçaoalos in temalacatl, yn oconiaoaloque, motlatlalia tecpantoque, ypan veuey icpalli, ineca quecholicpalli.

Auh ynic onoqué, ynic tecpantoque, enetoiacantica, ic no cacle teiacantica, tlaiacatitica, in ioocllaoa: ichica ca ixequjuh, yneixcauj catca, in tlamictix, in tetlatlatix, ymac poliouz, ymac xamaniuj yn ixquich quauhtecatl:

in ic inhquj njman tlapitzalo, tecciztli mopieza, quiquijtzti, mapipitzoa, yoan cujco: cujcapan tlapitzalpan, in oalmoiacatia: motecpana in cuacateca, quiquequechpanoctiuj, aztapanjtl, quiçaoalos in temalacatl.

Ce cantiquiça in malli, icpac cantiuh in tlamanj, in male, ynic quiujca temalacac:

yn ocaxitiqua, quimaca vetli: auh yn vetli nappa coniavilia in malli: auh çatepan conj piztica:

15. Durán, in op. cit., pp. 176 ff., names Uitzilopochtli, Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, Tlaloc, and Huixtocihuatl.
16. Corresponding Spanish qualifies "el principal sacerdote, de aquella fiesta que se llamaua Youallauan."
17. Sahagún (op. cit., p. 69) says the captor raised the wine; Sahagún says the priestess.

[as an offering], and afterwards drank it with a long hollow gourd.

Then still another man, [a priest,] came out and cut the throat of a quail for the captive, him who was to be offered as a sacrifice; and when he had beheaded the quail, he raised [to the sun] the captive's shield, and cast the quail away, behind him.

Having done this, then they made [the captive] climb upon the round sacrificial stone; and when they had lifted him on the offering-stone, the wolf [priest] came to him, representing [a wolf], and known as "Old Wolf."[18] [He came forth] as the uncle of the captive destined for the sacrifice.

Then he took the rope holding the captive, which reached and was attached to the center [of the stone]; then he tied it about the waist[19] of the captive. And he gave him a war club, decked with feathers and set set with obsidian blades.

And he placed before him four pine cudgels, his missiles,[20] with which to lay about him, with which to defend himself. And the captor, when he had left his prisoner on the offering-stone, thereupon went away [to the place where] he had stood [before]. He stood dancing, looking upon, and studying, his captive.

Then [the fight] was begun; the contest [was started]. Carefully they studied where they would smite him in a dangerous place, and cut him—perchance the calf of the leg, or the thigh, or his head, or his middle.

And if some captive was valiant and courageous, with great difficulty he surpassed [his adversary]. He met and fought all four of the ocelot and eagle [warriors]. And if they could not weaken him, then came one who was left-handed. He then wounded his arm and threw him flat upon the surface. This one appeared as [the god] Opochtli. And although the captive might falter and faint, yet he acquitted himself as a man.

And when one went faltering, sinking down on all fours, reeling and overcome in the fray, uselessly and vainly holding the war club, which they snatched from him, then his adversaries contended with him. And this useless one could now no longer do more;

njman oc no ce tlacatl oallauh, çolin quicotonjlia, in malli, in oacantli, yn oconquechcoton çolin, conjaujlia yn ichimal malli: Auh in çolli, icampa conmaiauj.

In ie iuhquj, njman contlecauja in temalacaticpac: auh yn oconquetzque temalacac, çe tlacatl cuitlachtli ipan quiça, ipan mixeoa, itoca cuitlachueue, iuhquin intla catca in oacanti:

njman conana, in tonacamecatl, yn iiolloco antica, yn iiolloco ilpitica, njman ic concujtlalpia in malli, yoan conmaca; maquauitl, tlapotonilli, amo itztzo.

Yoan ixpan contema nauhtetl ocotzontetl itlamotlaia, ic temotlaz ic momapatlaz. Auh in tlamanj, yn oconcaouto ymal temalacac: njman ie ic vitz, vncan oalmoquetza yn icaia, mihtotiticac, ixquichcapa ontlachixticac, yn jmal conitzicac:

njman ic mopeoaltia, motlatlaiehecalhuja, motlachecalhuja, vel quinmottilia in canjn ymoujcan moujtequizque, quinmotequjlizque: yn aço in cotzco, anoço in mezzpan, anoço in quappa, anoço in tlacotiuan.

Auh yn aca malli, iolchicaoac, iollotlapaliuj, vel yujujh in quicaoa: in nauixtin quinnamjquj, quinmaiztlacoa, yn oocelo in quaquauhti. Auh intlaca uel quijiiocaoaltia, njman oizuh, opuchmaie, quin iehoatl quinmamimictia, quinmaiauj, quitentimaiauj: inin ipan mixeoaia in opochtli. Auh intlanel ie çotlaca, intlanel ie ihiiocaca, no çan oaloquichcha: nonoa oquichcoa, in oacanti.

Auh in aca çe çotlacotiuh, çe zonauhtiuh, iolmiztiuh, çe tlapolotiuh: çe nen panca, çe nen pictli in quicaiaiztzi, yn ianaquanh: ic quioalnamjquj, in quioaoana, in tlaoconuqui. Auh in neh aca, aoctle cuechica, aoctle oanaitia, aoctle ic oalmoamapatla,

18. "Parece ser de los mexicanos, o mejicanos del mesquite, semejante que no supo de nosotros"—corresponding Spanish text. *Cuauhchili* is *lobo mexicano*, according to Simeon (op. cit.); figuratively, *hombre bueno*, *hombrote* (*Diccionario de la lengua mexicana con mexicanismos*). Sahagún's *cuauhchili* as *hombrote*, in *Hist. Español*, pp. 69, 73, and *Colloquial Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 88, and Vol. IV, p. 18. In the last reference, he identifies it as a symbol of the brave warrior.

19. Tied to the captive's ankle, according to Durán, loc. cit.

20. In loc. cit., and here (p. 250), descriptions respectively specify "*quatro palotes, hechos de palo de tea*," and "*quatro cuyos de palo de tea.*" The captive first throw the lots, and then used his club.

X 796 no more could he use his hands; no longer defend himself; no longer make himself do anything. No longer did he move; he did not speak. Then, faltering and fainting, he fell upon the surface, tumbling as if dead. He wished that he might stop breathing, that he might suffer [no longer], that he might perish, that he might cast off his burden of death.

And thereupon they quickly took and seized him, pushed him, and dragged him, and raised and stretched him out upon the edge of the round sacrificial stone.

And then, when the Youallauan went [forth], in the guise of Totec, he gashed [the captive's] breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun; and the priests placed it in the eagle vessel. And [413] another man, a priest, carried the [hollow] eagle cane[21] and set it in the breast of the captive, there where the heart had been; he stained it with blood; he submerged it well into the blood. Thereupon he offered [the blood] to the sun. It was said: "Thus he giveth [the sun] to drink."

●[415] And the captor thereupon took the blood of his captive into a green bowl with a feathered rim. The sacrificing priests came to pour it there. In it went the hollow cane, which also had feathers. And then the captor departed with it so that he might nourish the demons. He went into and came out of all [shrines]; he omitted none; he forgot not the priests' dwellings in the tribal temples. On the lips of the stone images he placed the blood of his captive, giving them nourishment with the hollow cane. He went in festive attire.[22]

X 796 266 And when he had gone to and reached all the places, then he took the insignia to the palace, and he caused his captive to be taken to the tribal quarters, where they had passed the night in vigil; here he flayed him. Afterwards he had [the flayed body] taken to his house, where they cut it up, that it might be eaten and shared, and, as was said, to bestow as a favor to others.[23] It hath been told elsewhere how this was done.

And the captor might not eat the flesh of his captive. He said: "Shall I, then, eat my own flesh?" For when he took [the captive], he had said: "He is as my beloved son." And the captive had said:

soctle conmochichicaltia, aocmo oalmocuetzna, aocmo oalnaoaci, çan njman iolmjqui, çotlaoa, chapantiuezti, momiccatlaça: qujnequj, macuelich yhiiod onquiça, macuelich conjhiiouj, macuelich ompoliuj, macuelich coomotlaxili, yn jmjquiztequjuh.

Auh niman ic qujcuitiuetzi, cã antiquiça, ca quetztimaiauj, cã quezztiteca, itenco in tenalacatl:

auh njman iquac oiauh yn Iocallaoan, totec ipan quizziuitz coneltetequi, conanjlia yn iiollo, conjaujlia in tonatiuh, quauhxicalco contlalia in tlamacazque: yoan oc no ce tlacatl tlamacazquj, conitqui, quappiaztli, ielpan contilquetza yn malli, yn vncan ocatca yiollo, conezçotia, vel ezztilan conpolactia: njman no ic conjaujlia in tonatiuh, mitoa, ic catlitia.

Auh yn tlamanj njman ic conquj yn iezço ymal, zonoujc xicalli, tlatenpotonilli, vncan qujoaltequjlia, in tlamictique, ipan icatiuh piaztli no tlapotonilli. Auh njman ic vncã eoa in qujntlatlaqualia diablome, noujian neinj, izqujcan qujça acan qujmocauja, acan qujxcaoa in calmecac, calpulco: in teme teiziptlaoan, intenco qujmontlatlalilia yn jeço malli, piaztica qujmonpaloltitiuh, tlaujcetinemj.

Auh yn onoviiampaneh, yn onoujampa aacito, njman concaoa in tlauiztli tecpa: auh yn jmal vncan qujoalujqujlia in calpulco, yn vncan oquixoçaujque cenoal: vncan qujxipeoa, çatepan concaujliaia yn ichan vmpa qujtenequj, ynjc qualoz, ynjc tetonaltilos: yoan mjtoaia tetenhtilox, yn oinh mito cenj, çan ic no iuh mochiuaia.

Auh in male, amo uel qujquaia, yn jnacaio imal, qujtoaia, cnjx çan no ne vjnoquaz: ca yn iquac cacj,

23. "Yo soboaz, de cada buena" (corresponding Spanish text).
22. "Vase compuesto con sus plumajes, y el Palos sus tocas" (ibid.).
23. Tomalchac: Sahag. (Bourgo Kapitel, p. 72, n. 1) holds, of tomalchac, that it is derived from tomin, equivalent to tomitiz; and is equivalent to tomatiah or tomalli. Hence the meaning, to apportion as a favor.

X796 [273] And when he had hung it up, he summoned [his friends and his kin] to a feast. All ate and drank; the old men and the old women drank wine.

And another man was then decked in the captor's attire, and, in jest, leapt about. [And] the old men of the tribal temple sang for him.

[273 415] And he offered white wine in a round gourd, and he threatened it.

Afterwards, in like manner, he shot it with an arrow, and then drank it.

And when he had thus drunk, he had it taken elsewhere, and did similarly; then he did likewise in a third place, and in a fourth place.

Here they finished, when he had done similarly in all places. This was done all in one day.

But song did not cease in the song house[15] until it came to end in [the feast of] Uey toçoztli.

Auh yn jquac tlaccpilloa, tecouoteuaia, tlatlaquaiio, atlioa, in ueuetque, ylamatzitzin, tlaoana.

Auh no ce tlacatl ic muchichioa, yn jtlauiz tlamanj hasuja, chocholoa. motelimana, qujcujcatiuoque calpulueuetque.

Auh iaquiatecontica qujmana tiçaxctli, contlachichocalhuja:

çatepan iuhqujoma conmjna, njman ic cocj:

auh yn oconjc, ic no cecnj conixquanjlia, çan no iuh conchioa, çan ic no iuh qujchioa, ynjc ezcan, çan no yuj, ynic nauhcan:

vncan ontlamj iça ieh no iuh qujchioaia yn iaquitlamantli: ça uel cemilhujtl, in muchioaia.

Auh in cujcatl, amo mocaoaia in cujcacali, iaqujchica tlamjtiuh, yn ipan vey Toçoztli.

15. See Plates 19 and 20.

And when this was done, then he scattered incense. And when he had scattered it, then they gave him his mint rattle board, and he rattled it, he shook it, he raised it as an offering [to the god].

And when they finished, then all departed, [the crowd] broke up, all dispersed and scattered, each one going to his priests' dwelling. [But] the novice priests, them they only took to their houses.

And when they had entered the priests' dwellings, then all put off [their adornments], and set in order.

And at night, thereupon began and took place a feast, on the top of the Temple of Tlaloc.

The horizontal drum was beaten, flutes were played, conch shells and reed pipes were blown. There was song. The horizontal drums croaked, growled, and droned, and rattles were rattled.

They caused those who were to be slain, the likenesses of the rain gods, to spend the night in vigil.

And when midnight came, when night divided in half, then began the slaying. First to be slain were the captives. They became as the fundament [of those who followed]. And when [these] died, thereupon died [the impersonators of] the rain gods.

Then also [was the time] when they burned all the paper offerings, and the quetzal feathers, and various [other] precious feathers; and some of the green stones—well-formed, those which were in no way blemished, which had no defects, as well as some of the green stones which were rough and brown, or dark.

And when they slashed open the breasts [of the victims], when they opened the breast of one of them, they seized his heart; they placed it in a vessel, painted blue, named the cloud vessel, which was painted with liquid rubber on four sides. And it was decked with paper dotted with drops of liquid rubber, with much rubber,—full of rubber.

Thus they did to all the impersonators, and they cast all their hearts there [into the cloud vessel].

And when this was done, at midnight, when they were slain, all the bystanders, who were watching, all had in their hands their warrawood flowers.[22] They walked thrusting [these], hanging with them to and fro, and fanning their children [with them]. It was said that thus they frightened away the worms, that their [children's] eyes might not become worry. Some put [the flowers] in their ears. Some just walked carrying them gathered in their hands.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njman contepeoa yn jiauhtli: 796x
auh yn ocontepeuh, njman conmaca yn xiochicaoztli, concacalatza, conujujxoa, coniyiaoa.

Auh ỹ ontzonquiz, njman ic viujlooa, cecenmanoa, momoiaooa, xitinooa, viuj yn jncacalmecac: auh yn tlamaztotoa, çan qujnujujca yñ inchachan.

Auh yn onnetzoto calmecac, mec neixitinjlo, netlatlalilo:
auh yn onioosac njman ic ic peoa, in tlalhujmanj, in teucalticpac tlalocan:
teponaçolo, tlapitzalo, ichoatl in mopitza tecciztli, [534]
yoan acatecciztli: cujco, yn teponaztli, mjmjlcatoc,
nanalcatoc, iuhqujn qujqujnacatoc, yoan xiacacholo:

qujntoçauja in miquizque yn imixiptlacan tlaloque.

Auh yn oacic ioalnepantla yn iquac xeliuj ioalli:
mec peoa in micoa, iacattiuj in mamaltin miquj: iuhqujn inpepechoan muchioa: auh yn onmjcoque, njman ic ic miq' in tlaloque:

njman no yquac tlatla, yn izqujch nextlaoalli amatl, yoan in quetzalli, yoan in nepapan tlaçoihujtl:
yoan cequj chalchiujtl yn jcacic, yn atle itlaciuia,
yn amo tlaciujco: yoan cequj olchalchiujtl, iaiauhquj,
iaiactic, anoço yiauhtic.

Auh yn iquac qujmeltetequj, in ce onpeti yiechiqujuh, conanjlia yn iiollo, contlaliciuj coenjc, tlatzoujlli motecaiotia, mixcoenjtl, nauhcampa in tlavlxaoalli: auh yn itlaquen amatl tlavlchipinilli, cenca [415]
vllo moca vlli:

much iuh qujochioa yn inqujatia teixiptlaoan,
much vmpa contlaztimanj yn jniollo.

Auh yn iquac muchioa ioalnepantla, ynic mjcoa:
yn inqujchtin tlathtaque, in tlatlachia, mochi imiztaxhimochioh, iamac totomiaoanj, quijtlaxjxtetinemj, anjc quijtlaztinemj, ic mocapeujtinemj, yn [755
inpilhoã, qujhmach ic quiçqujuja in ocujtli, ynic 278]
amo yaocujlloaque: cequjocin in nacaztidan
caequja, cequja çan quimamaqujctinemj.

22. [illegible] is mentioned as cult wear, according to Sahagún, Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 78.

And all the common folk who looked on all car-

ried flowers—artimisia[16]—and some carried wormwood flowers.

And when this was done, they bore [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl to the summit of the Temple of Tlaloc. And they took up the captives, who were to be as a fundament [for her]—those who would be her companions, her fellows in death; who were to be first, who would die [first].

And when they had taken them up to the Temple of Tlaloc, then were slain as sacrifices the captives. And after they had slain the captives, only [then] Uixtociuatl['s impersonator] followed; she came only at the last. They came to the end and finished only with her.

And when this was done, thereupon they laid her down upon the offering stone. They stretched her out upon her back. They laid hold of her; they pulled and stretched out her arms and legs, bending [up] her breast greatly, bending [down] her back, and stretching down her head taut, toward the earth. And they bore down upon her neck with the tightly pressed snout of a sword fish,[18] barbed, spiny; spined on either side.

And the slayer stood there; he stood up. Thereupon he cut open her breast.

And when he opened her breast, the blood gushed up high; it welled up far as it poured forth, as it boiled up.

And when this was done, then he raised her heart as an offering[17] [to the god] and placed it in the green jar, which was called the green stone jar.

And as this was done, loudly were the trumpets blown. And when it was over, then they lowered the body and the heart of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, covered by a precious mantle.

And this came to pass in the early dawn. And when they were finished, when it was done, when they were through, all the people dispersed and went, scattered, and betook themselves to their houses. Those who had provided the feast, carried out and celebrated it; a feast was celebrated. They banqueted one another and accepted summons to banquets.

And the old women and the old men, those who

chintin iuzouochiuh inocempoalzochiuh: yoan cequjntin ymiiztauhiazochiuh. 796*

Auh in ie iuhquj mec qujtlecauja in Vixtocioatl, yn icpac tlaloc: yoan qujntlecauja in mamalti, in iuhqujma ypepechoan, in q'nmopechitiaz, in qujnmoujcaltiz, yn imiquiztzujcalhoan, yn iacatiazque miquizque. [137]

Auh yn oq'ntlecaujque tlalocan, mec temictilo in mamalti: auh yn onmjcque mamalti, ça ontlatzoqujlia in Vixtocioatl, ça ontlatzacuja, ça ontlatzacutiuh, ça ontetzacutiuh, ça tlatzinpachotiuh.

Auh yn ie iuhquj, njman ie ic conteca in techcac, conaquetztiteca, casnjlia, qujcitilinjlia, yn jma, yn jcxi, cenca uel quelcuelcoa, qujcujtlachicuelcoa: auh yn itzontecco, ynjc qujtilinjliaia, cẽca tlaltitech qujujcaia: auh ynic qujquechpachoa, acipaqujtli itlaujtequja, chichiqujltic, tritziqujltic, viuitztic, necoc campa in ujujztic. [413]

Auh in tlamjcxi, ça ye icac, omach ic moquetz, njman ie ic quelitequj:

auh yn ompet yielchiqujuh, yn ezili oalmopipiazquetza, veca in onmopiaçoa, iuhquin momoloca, iuhqujn pipica, iuhqujn popoçoca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalia xoxouic xicalco: qujtocaiotiaia chalchiuhxicalli. [415]

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, cenca tlapitzalo: auh in ie iuhquj mec qujoaltemouja yn jnacaio, yoan yn iiollo Vixtocioatl, tlatlapachiuhtiujtz tlaçutilmatica.

Auh ynin muchioaia, çan ioazzinco: auh yn onzonquiz, yie iuhquj yn onecacaoaloc, njman ic viujloa, cecẽmanoa, viujloa in techachan, yn jlhujoaque, hiylhujchioa, hiilhujdamati, ilhujtla, hiilhujtla, iilhujtlamacho, ilvichioalo, mococoonotza, motlatlacamati:

yoan yn jlamatque in veuetque, yn iztatlacu yn

15. See pp. 98, 101, 110. Sahagún and Jourdanet, in their translations of Sahagún, p. 64, n. 1, translate *ceuapahxihtl* as *Tagetes erecta*; Seler (op. cit., p. 194) has *Tagetes sp.*; in Cedillo's Works, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 78, *Tagetes erecta*.

Of this flower, Sahagún (Sahagún ed., Vol. III, p. 277) writes: "Esta flores se llaman *cempoalxochitl*, son amarillas y de hoja ancha, y nacen y florecen, que dicen se secan, y otras que las llamaban en las lenguas; son de dos maneras, unas que llaman *hueixochitl cempoalxochitl* y son grandes y florecen, y otras que dicen las llaman *cuauhtlacuilo cempoalxochitl* (y) no son tan florecientes al sol grandes." Dorsey, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 174) refers to them as "*cosas galanadas de nuestra cuauhtlacuilo grandes.*"

16. "Tratando sobre la artemisa no pude realizar, el qual tenian dos, aparentadas; pero que no pudieron dar cosas, al tiempo que la sembramos las grandes, tienen flores que son otra en cuanto de amarillas, que no son grandes, que llaman en arriba, *cosas cuipaxtli*; en el medio, que llaman *cuilaxtlin*, de ambas puesto: son con la apariencia la *cempoalxochitl*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). See Sahagún ed., Vol. III, p. 197, for description.

17. Cf. corresponding Spanish. We have no literal translation.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the sacrifices which they made upon the days of the eighth month, which was called Uei tecuilhuitl.[1]

Eighth feast: this [was] the Great Feast of the Lords.

And before the celebration had yet begun, first all feasted. A multitude came together—the poor of Mexico. And those who tilled the fields, at dawn all drank only this [drink of] lime-leaved sage powdered and mixed with water, [which] was mixed in a canoe and sweetened with honey. And it was drunk from a vessel called *ticpanqui*. Each had a vessel for drinking, from which he drank. Each used his vessel, and some filled their vessels twice. All came and consumed [the drink]; none refrained—children, old women, small boys, small girls, everyone.

And of those who could no longer taste or put mouth and lips to it, some placed it in their [own] vessels and gourds; here they kept what remained to them. And any who came unprovided with a vessel, a plate, or a jar, just carried the maize gruel in their aprons; they carried it away in their aprons. None took [any] without leave; none returned again [to take] *atolli*.

And if any returned again [to take] *atolli* dishonestly, if once more [any] tried to approach [the canoe with *atolli*], then they set upon him with green canes; they whacked him sorely.

And thereafter, when all had drunk, all rested a while, all lay down, forming a circle together. All talked, with much murmuring and rustling, like birds twittering. And others who had saved *atolli* for themselves, later drank it; little by little, they kept giving it to their small children to drink.

And when noon came, when it was time to eat, then once more all sat spread out, in order, arranged in order, all with capes outspread. The small children were taken by the hand; they were borne upon their backs.

And when all sat about, then those girded their loins and bound their hair with reed blades who

Jnic cempoalli on chicume capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl yoan in nextlaoalizti, in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl ynic chicuey metztli: in mitoaia Vei tecujlhujtl. 796x

Inic chicueteri ilhujtl: ichoatl in vei tecujlhujtl.

Auh yn aiamo onaxica ilhujtl, achtopa tlatlaqualoa: izquich tlacatl cenquiçaia, in motolinja in mexica, yoan in millacatzitzinti, in ioatzinco çan oc tlayoa, ichoatl in chian pinolli, mopatlaia acalco, quinecpanja. Auh ynic tlayoa caxitl, motocaiotia tiçapanquj: cecen caxitl yn ioa, in quj: cecen caxoa auh in cequjntin, ooncaxoa, cenvetzi, ontetlamj, aiac moçaoa in pipiltzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin, in oquichpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in ie izquich tlacatl. [272] [415]

Auh in aquin, aocmo vel quiiecoa, in aocmo quicamaaci, in aocmo quitenaci, motlacavia: cequjntin quivivica in incocon cequjntin inxixical in vncan quiteca innetlacavil: auh in aca atle icõ monemachti, in atle icon, in atle icax; çe quicuexanoa, concuexaualtia, in atolli, aiac motlapiquja, aiac matolixcuepa:

auh intlaca matolixcuepa, in oc ceppa tetlan calaquixcequj, vmpa quivivicequj acaxmoubquj ica, quitlatlaxvixequj.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlaiaac, oc achitonca necezvilo, çã vncan onoac, acoolololo, nececõtlalilo, nenonotzalo, iuhquin tlacaocatimanj, iuhquin tlatlacaoca, iuhquin tlachachalaca: auh in oc cequjntin, in oquimocavica atolli, quin ica vel quitoque, yiolic quimiitoque in impilhoantzitzin.

Auh in oacic nepantla tonatiuh, in iquac tlaqualiztpan, ie no ceppa vel netenco, nevivipanolo, nececenpanalo, netencpano, necnecuentililo: in pipiltzitzinti temaitech tecaoa, temomamalo. 796x 264

Auh ino necenoc mec mocuicuitlalpia, yoan mocuecuallçia tolica: in tequiquac, in tlacuezmoaque,

1. "Fiesta grande de los Señores," according to Garibay ("Teleoaitl Icuac," p. 201); "the 'great Harvest-feast,'" according to Seler (*Einige Mythen*, p. 158).

delos cantares

delos dioses. fo. 143. 532 415 534 292

Cochina, cochina, [illegible]
olomiani, tecuiani, machinay
ico, aiaiayho, yia, ya.

q Xippe icuic. Ixtec ionalla
vana.

Ioalli tlauana, istlacan, ximoa
nequia xiaqui mylatia tecuaj
haquanti, ximoquanti quetzaya.

Notzuhca chalchiuhmana tlaca
pana itemoia, oiquetzallaueiet,
ay quechol xiujoatl nechtaiquia
cauhquet oyia.

Maniaxia, niia, niia pohis
niuaxin, achalchiuhtla xiello,
atecuajtlatl necoiantlas xiolo
visquitlacatl achtequeh tlaqua
xain atlacatqui iauhtatlan quet
oyia.

Notzuhca cuitlaxo xoiaitlivis ge
noa viuatzin nuke peiocpa mjs
uelisa motzuhca, visquinti
catl achtequeh tlaquauania cha
catqui iauhtatlaquet oyia.

q Chicomecoatl icuic.

Chicomolxin, xain nechan,

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Appendix: Song of Xipe)

[p. 102 c]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X796
532
714
411
292

—After Paso y Troncoso

1-7. Tlacuipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[415]

[p. 102 D]

796x
532
[346]

[415]

—After Paso y Troncoso

8-12. Tlacuilpouhtli (Chapter 22)
13-14. Uei teçoztli (Chapter 23)

[p. 102 E]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

*796
532
291

[415]

[415]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

30. Ochpanizli (Chapter 30)
31-32. Panquetzalizli (Chapter 34)
33. Titiil (Chpter 36)
34. Izcalli (Chapter 37)
35-36. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[p. 102 H]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

786^1
532
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—After Paso y Troncoso

37-44. Izaçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[415]

[p. 102 I]

796
532
211

[415]

[854]

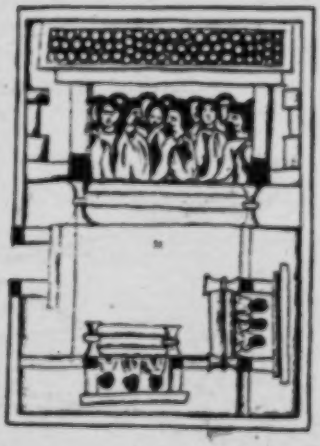

[411]

—Alva Ixtlilxochitl

48-49. Iscoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Mecuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102 J]

[796] And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
[798] did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

[796] And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were
[302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained
[237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles
[293] or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

[535] And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with
[30] white clay; they had paper breech cloths and paper
[302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and
[292] they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked.
[413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

[415] After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

7. Literally, bone. Bird lower legs, however, resemble compound or thin.
8. The context suggests a distinction between dismissive and medicine.

auh in ic iuhquj onmoquetzitivetzi, vel tecujuj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoã conmij: in ic ihuqui, njmã ic ic quijtetema: mochi ichouel in teokalli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omotetzi, njman ic ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ic ic viviloa, cacalacoa, cacivetzi, cactimomaca.

Auh njman ic ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlaque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocuahaltia, mjztlapalhuja, in qujmama tlavizti, papaloti: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in ichimal tetepontli, aço quauhiccizti, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujlinhtica, hivitica: ic motenoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjtotitivi, momalintitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi ãn mamalti in motlepantlaçaque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, ismamamaxtli, imamancapanal, njmã ic imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; injvitençac, motenchichilca, mjztentlikomoloa.

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ic ic mocacaoa, qujocalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan omomotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

Auh in pesa in qujnteçavia, ic tlaquauhiova in qujça: ichoantin in calpolveteque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

in ic iuhquj, njmãn ic ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aqujtzon iztzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, mazatlic: auh in jezili injc qujtequja intzon: qujtecaiotiaia, itztlotli:

in ic iuhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco quipiloa, ic monentia in

house and hung it high, that thus it might be shown that he had taken captives; that thus his manly exploits might be boasted. Always it hung from the roofing of the house, from the roof beams. It never came down until the time that he died.

And when they had cut [the captives'] hair, the owners of the captives slept but little. They guarded and watched them well; [for] it was their duty, their office, [to guard] lest those who were to be cast into the fire should flee.

And on the morrow, at dawn, thereupon they ranged [the captives] before the skull frame. And as they stood in order, then a man [priest] took off and pulled off the backs of [these] others their banners and their paper adornments—also perchance their wretched little cloaks—and placed them in the eagle vessel, where they burned.

Thereupon, of all the captives, who followed, they continued to place their banners and their little cloaks [in the fire]; there they all burned up. For now at last they were indeed to depart forever from the earth; futilely they stood in order. They awaited the end, for in truth now their hour had come.

And here they awaited Painal,[9] the envoy of Uitzilopochtli. And when Painal came, thereupon he ascended to the place where men were sacrificed,[10] where the unhappy captives were to suffer. And then, no sooner had Painal come than he then descended [from the pyramid]; a man [priest] brought him down, carrying him down under one arm. He who brought him down was called his father, or his elder brother. And when he descended, he came before and into the presence of the captives.

A second time Painal quickly went up. And a captor stood there, awaiting him. Then the captor seized [the captive] by the head,[11] grasping in his hand[12] [the hair of] the crown of his head. Then he went off leading him; and when they reached the foot of the pyramid steps,[13] there [the captor] left the captive.

Then those who cast men into the fire descended and came to seize him. First they threw incense in his face; then they bound his wrists, bringing his hands behind his back, and they bound his ankles.

ca tlamanj, ic moquichiua, muchipa pilcac calqua-, itech in calqauitl, aic oaltemo iaquich cauitl in mjquiz: 796x

auh in oertauncuiuac oc achi concochi, in maleque: vel quimpia, vel quimjxpia, vel imjx intequjuh, in ma choloti in motlepantlaçanque.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlalchipaoac, njmã ic ic quimecpana, tzompãtli ixpan: auh in ic tecpantimani, njman çe tlacatl compeoaltia, quimonpeoaltia, quimonxiçilinja in oc cequjuti: in jpan yoan in jamatlaçquj, yoan in aço itilmaçoltzin contlalia quauhxicalco, vncan tlatla. [415]

njman ic ic mochintin ãtimanj, ommotocatimanj in mamalti, contlalitimanj in impan, yoan in intilmatzitzi, vncan centlatla, ca ic iccen cõcaoazque in tlalticpactli, çaçan ic vncã tecpantimanj, quichiztimanj in immjquiz, ca nel ic otlaimmãtic:

auh vncã quichiztimanj in Painal, in jxiptla vitzilobuchtli. Auh in jquac oacico Painal: njman ic ic tloco in tlacaceuhcan, in vncan tlacotiaque, mamaltzitzinti: auh in ic iuhquj: çan tequitl onaci in Painal, njmã ic ic oaltemo: çan ce tlacatl in quiualtemovia, quiciacavitivitz: inin quiualtemovia, motenecoa jta, anoço iach. Auh in oualtemoc: imjxpan oalquiça, imjztlan oalquiça in mamalti: [778]

ic no ceppa tlecotivetzi in Painal. Auh in tlamanj, ça iquiçac, quichiztica: njmã ic icpac conana in tlamanj, amatica in cõtzizquia, in jquetzioloço: njmã ic ic quivicatiuh; in oc xxiuio in apetlac, vncã quiçaoa in malli:

njmã ic ic oaltemo, in tetlepantlazque, quiualana: achtepa, quiztiuhtzinja, çatepan quimailpia, icampa quiviziquilia in jma, yoan quiçailpia:

9. It is to be understood that Painal was an image carried by a priest who, in this passage and those following, climbed up and down the steps carrying the image.

10. In both Tlaltelolco and Spanish columns, and in Seler (op. cit., p. 160), the spelling is *chicuacalco* ("*casa Mexicana quitando cuerdas*," according to Seler). The context appears to favor *chicuacalco*. Cf. corresponding Spanish version in the Bulmarde ed., and discussion in Bibl. Sinaiana, op. cit.

11. More correctness in Seler, op. cit., p. 167, n. 1, 2.

12. On *apetlac*, see p. 67, n. 18. Sahagún (Bulmarde ed., Vol. I, p. 194, and Vol. II, p. 302) writes of "*el cabellicimiento del cu que se llamaba apetlac, que es donde comienzan los grados*," and "*los grados abajo . . . donde comiba la cuenta o apetlac del cu*."

[If the captive was] a man, he burned

[796] his streamers, and his cloak, and his breech clout, and all the things he had received, and his water [415] gourd. All these he burned.

And a woman burned all her womanly array—her [462 283 286] basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her cane stalks, her batten, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went [202] to bring them down when they died, and a flagbearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

And when they had brought them [there], four captives to be slain went ahead. At the landing at

yoan imaxtli, yoã in quexquj itlaçevil, yoã inmecõ muchi quijtlatia.

Auh in cioatl, muchi quijtlatia in jxquijch icioatlatequj: in jtana in jmalac, in jtiçauh, in jtzxoalcax, in jtzxatzax, in jotlauh, in jxnotzopax, in jteçac, in jmecamaxal, incanaia, yoã itzopaia, yoan ivitz, yoan iquatzon, ixiouh, yoan yioctacauh: muchi quijtlatia inoma.

Injc iuh qujchioa y, qujlmach vmpa intech monequjz in vmpa iazque, in jquac mjquja vmpa qujoalchiaz.

Auh in otlatvic, mec teccaoalo, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in amatlatequjtl, in jpan mjqujxque: in oqujmõchichiuhque, mec tevico in vmpa mjqujxque, qujnvica in teanque, vmentin qujntlecavizque, in macana çotlaoa, qujntzitzqujxque: yoã vmẽtin tetemovjxque, in qujnoaltemovizque, in jquac ommjcque: yoan ce panoa, in qujvicatiuh panjtl: yoan vmentin, teixamjque cioa: çan muchivi in qujnvica, cecenme tlaaltilti.

Auh in oqujmaxitique: iacattivi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apetlac in qujmjilpilia imjcxi yoã inma:

7. These weaving implements have been tentatively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Paso y Troncoso.

[286]

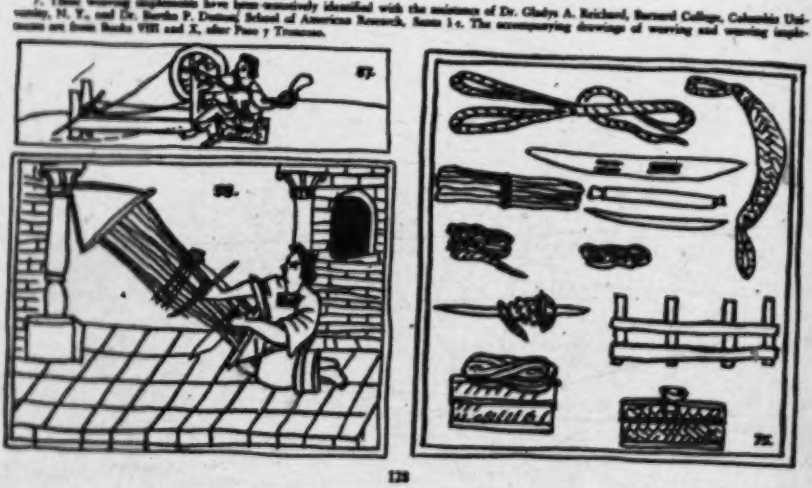

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlaloca descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlaloca. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *maguey* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamaviztililiztli, in qujchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtoltetl occe metztli in moteneoa Atemuztli. 796

Injc caxtoltetl, oce ilhujtl ichoatl in moteneoa Atemuztli:

injc moteneoa Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, oaoalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jxqujch maceoalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuxtica, tlateumattica, muchiscaca, motemachitica: in quenmã oalanjx qujavitl:

auh in ooalan qujavitl, njmã ic moquetztiqujça, qujcujtivetzi in jdema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan qujça: auh in jtzontecon coatl no cacalaca, no iollo: [445]

njmã qujxopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaos, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian qujça in teujtoalco, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qujnotza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in cequjntin maceoalti, monectoltiaia injc tepiqujzque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, yoan olli, yoa itztli, yoan ichtli in qujcoaia: [314 289]

cenca qujmavizztiliaia, yoan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiqujzque, yoã tequentizque: amo mamoviaia injc maltiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono oqujchcochia. [515 834]

Auh in ic iuh oallatvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemuztli, iuh cciual in nemoa, vel neixpololo, in

1. "*Bajada de el Agua*," according to Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 299), "*porque este Mes cada llover, y nacer algunos Ríos.*" Gerlloy, (*op. cit.*, p. 312) has the same.
Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tower refers to frequent, extraordinary drinks in the region, attributed to Tlaloc.—Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
2. The Pedrido MS (Gerlloy, *loc. cit.*) places this in the lessons of the rich: "*se mandaban en tributo mantenimientos*"—"*se cada uno de los ricos se hacian los dioses ciertos* (Tezozomoc)."
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

X 796 night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

amaxotlalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl: auh in ozlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlaltitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in qujquequetza, vel oncã cemjlhujtia:

X 796 778 And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

auh in tepicque achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque, injc qujnchivilizque imamatlatquj, tepictotõ: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instruments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujtqujtze in inchã tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoã imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquẽtia:

And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço m cujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhqueme, Tepetzintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[4]

Auh in qujnpiquja ieboantin in tetepe: in popocatepetl, in jztactepetl, anoço iztac ciuatl, in tlaloc, in ioaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhqueme, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chicome coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceedingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and sauce bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

Auh in oqujncencauhque, mec qujntlamaca, ceecnj mjtacavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çã achitoton, papatlachtotonti papatlachpipil: quauhcaxtotonco in qujntetemjlia, yoã inmolcaxtoton, yoan inçoqujtecõtoton, çan no tepitoton cẽcã achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was [in them]. And the green jars were made of these green gourds.[5] They split them, and took out their seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[6] Thus all night they sang for [the

auh nappa in qujntlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan manj vntetl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, iehoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, qujxtlapanaia, qujoalqujxtilia in jaiovachio, qujoalaiocoachqujxtia: yoan qujoalqujxtilia in jcujtlaxcol, in juhquj mecatl, vncan conteca in aioctli,

4. These are located in the chapter on Ad omnia. See p. 43. Tepetzintli and Tepepolli probably are the Tepetzinco and Tepepulco named in that chapter.
5. *Cucurbita fistulosa Bonafé* (Seler: op. cit., p. 221).
6. Cf. Seler (*loc. cit.*)—*Kürbiswein* (*pulque*). *Atoali*, however, is defined (Rémi Simeon op. cit.) as a mixture of honey and water.

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they seized what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mist House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the bidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." None came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

iuh ceiocal in qujncujcatia, qujntoçavia, yoan qujntlapichilia, qujnvilacapitzalhuja. 796X 778

Auh in tlapitzaia amo iehoan in tequjppaneque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaitiloia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopaztli, njmã ie ic qujmonaqujlia in iollopan. [284]

Auh in oconaqujli, njmã ic qujoalquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchioa, qujoalmaca in tepiqujnj, xonovic xicalco, in qujoallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõnjctique tzoalti: njmã ie ic qujncenqujxtia, qujtecpichoa, in jxqujch imamatlatquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cõtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxototon, in quauhcaxxtotonti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxqujxh axtapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan oztopilqr vitl, yoan in jxqujch in tlaquaia in caxtotonti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl much vmpa concaoa in xiauhcalco.

In ie vi qujcaoazque, njmã ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlacoanotzalti, in tepictlaquazque: mec tetlamaco, cececnj, neiacavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmã ie ic qujnmaca in vetli. 796X

auh in cioa no calaquj, moteneoa ontamalcaoa, aiac çan juh iauh, muchi tlacatl itlaol qujequjtiuh in cioa qujcuecuexanotivi: auh in aca icintzin in qujtquj, aço caxtolotl, anoço tlamjc.

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec qujntlamaca tetlamaco: njmã no qujmaca in vetli, qujntlaõtia, qujnoalmanj'a tilapaztica in vetli, yoã qujoalmana in tetlaoua, in tlaoanoj, in tlaoãcaxtil, çan no tiltic. [273 415]

Auh in jquac cencaoa teteviti, in nextlaoalli cõma- [202]

7. The Pedrero MS version differs (Quiñones, op. cit., p. 314): "*tomaron quitzomoxtlaxcuaque los de la tzomoxquac chiel*"—"*despues los despidieron los tzomjoxcuac cuec el cuchillo del color.*" Tezozomoztoc (op. cit., p. 284) then describes it: "*colocaron por los pechos, con un Tzomoxquatl, que es un palo curvo, con que suelen los hilanderos, á manera de espada, ó cuchillo, semejando el corazon, que tendian los mismos ponen, en la tinaxa de la masa, y entonces los sacaron, como acostumbraban hacer á los Sacrificados, y quemaronlos.*"

And for drinking wine [they used] very small drinking vessels. And all gave wine to drink to the small children.

Hence was named [the occasion] "The children all drink wine."

And at sundown this all ceased and all went to their homes. And when they had departed to their homes, once again there was dancing in their courtyards. And the kin [of those who celebrated] drank wine—the revered old men and old women.

Here ended Izcalli.

And for this reason was [the feast] named Izcalli (The Growing): at this time they lifted by the neck all the small children. It was said that thus they grasped them for growth; they grasped them for growth that they might quickly mature.

Enough. Here ended and concluded Izcalli.

Auh injc quja injc tlaoanaia, in tlaoancaxitl, çan tepiton, çã tetepiton: auh muchintin qujntlaoantiaia in pipiltotonti:

ie injc motenena, pillaoano.

796 273 [415]

Auh ie teutlac in necacaoaloia, viviloa in techachan: auh in onviviloac techachan, ie no ceppa mjtoţia in jmjtoaloo, muchintin tlatlaoana in tehoaniolque, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin.

Oncan tlamj in Jzcalli.

Auh injc moteneoa Jzcalli: vncã quinquechanaia in jzquijchtin pipiltotonti: quijlmach, ic quijmizcalloana: quijmjzcalana, injc iciuhca quauhtiazque.

796 [827]

Ie izquich njcan tzonquiça, njcan tlamj in jlhujtl Jzcalli.

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed awe [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[3]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuiltecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [thus] all entered their homes.

Thus one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And thus ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during those days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 34.

quenman tlatviz, in quenman tlatlavilotleoaz, in quenmã tlatox cujcujtzcatl. 796 852

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, auhtlica: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in qujncujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoàn iavi, vncan qujtotia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oalcenqujxoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotiliztli, in cujqujztli, cepã caoantinomana, xxxamacatimanj in cujcatl: 535 533

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vetli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoãtia in jzqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoton, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano: 273 796 852

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vetli,

yoan intlaouncax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: ei icxi, nauhcampa nacace, 415

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmetzivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexozcolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech nesano, nezanalo, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalacoa techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vetli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc ontzonqujça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã oalmotlalia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonalli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpouhqui cenca imacaxoia, cenca mauhcaintoia: 777 796 805

ichica ca çan nõqujzquj, vncã nenenqujztilo, atle vnqujnna, nenencolo, nenenencolo: ichica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mãcenalli, can vncan icnoiotl, neto-

796x
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Here Is Told in What Manner the Mexicans Made Offerings, and What They Made as Offerings in Their Temples.

Nican moteneoa in quenjn tlamanaia, yoan in tlein ic tlamanaia yn jnteupan, in mexica.

Offerings.

Thus were offerings made: with food and with capes were offerings made, and with all kinds of living things—perchance turkeys, perchance birds; or capes. Or else whatever was newly formed—perchance maize, or *chia*, or flowers, or whatever [was newly grown].

And thus did the young [unmarried] women make offerings: Before dawn their mothers and fathers awoke them. So they went about making offerings of gifts carried in the palms of their hands—little *tortillas*, [which were] very small,—and thus they quickly proceeded to lay gifts before the devil; in bowls they carried them thus to present them [to the gods].

Only in the houses were the *tortillas* made. Thus did the young women make [their] offerings.

Tlamanalitli.

Injc tlamanaloia: tlaqualtica, yoan tilmatican tlamanaloia, yoan yca in tlein iosioli: aço totolin, anoço tototl, anoço tilmatli: anoço in tlein iancujcan muchioa, aço cintli, anoço chian, anoço suchitl, anoço in tlein.

Auh injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti: iooac in qujmjxitiaia intenanoan, intetaoan: injc qujmanativi ventlamapictli, in tlaxcaltzintli tepitoton, injc yciuhca qujmanativi ijxpan diablo: caxtica in qujtqoja ventli ic conmanaia:

çan inchan muchioaia in tlaxcalli, injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti.

The Offering of Incense.

And thus was the offering of incense performed, with an incense ladle. It was made of clay, with [stones in its hollows making] a rattle. Then they laid live coals in the incense ladle. When these blazed up, then they filled it with *copal* incense, and then came forth before the devil, or else in the middle of the courtyard, where arose the brazier. [This] was made of clay.

And when they came up to the devil, then they dedicated the incense burner to the four directions, thus offering incense. And when they had offered [incense] to the four directions, then they threw [the incense and the coals] into the brazier. Here the *copal* incense lay smoking.

And thus was it done: the mothers and fathers likewise at dawn awoke the children, [whether] men[-children] or women[-children]; that they might offer incense quickly, they awoke them; that

Tlenamaqujlitli.

Auh injc muchioaia tlenamaqujlitli, in jca tlemaitl: çoquitl tlachichioalli, cacalachio, vncan contemaia in tlexuchtli in tlemaco: in oconxopiloque, njman ic contema copalli, yc oalqujça in ijxpan diablo: anoço in itoalnepantla, ic vncan ycac tlequaztli: çoquitl tlachichioalli. [415] [314]

Auh in ommoquetzaco ijxpan diablo: njman nauhcampa qujiaoa in tlemajtl, ynjc tlapupuchvia: auh yn jquac onauhcampa conjiauh, ic njman contema in tlequazco, vncan popocatica in copalli.

Auh ynjc muchioaia: no yooatzinco in qujmjxitiaia in tepilhoan, in oquichtin, in anoço cioa qujmjxitiaia in tenanoan, in tetaoan ynjc tlenamacazque iciuhca

X 796
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A True [Relation] of Still Other Offerings with Which Similarly They Paid Honor to the Devil.

Hanging [an Object] over the Breast.

Thus was done the hanging [of objects] over the breast; thus was the tying with loose cotton thread: they tied [them] about the wrists and the necks of small children and [suspended on the cords], in small [415] bags, *tortillas* made of green maize. Here [in the *cal'palli*] they set forth these, on small jar-stands, and small earthen jars, and lifted the jars up by the ears, and with their hands went filling their bags with water. And when they had reached the twentieth day, when [it was the feast] known as Teotl eco, [that was] when they untied the feathered threads which they had about the small children.

[For] Pain.

[302] And [for] pain, thus was done upon the feast of [the god] Acolmiztli: the small children were ornamented in feathers [applied to them]; in colored feathers, [set] everywhere on their bodies. And the old people similarly applied feathers on their stomachs, over their hearts, and upon their backs. Thus [784] they set feathers upon them—so it was said—because then Acolmiztli would not bewitch them.

The Setting Out of the Children.

Thus was done the setting out of the children. They took all of them there to the house of the devil, and had in truth all the children dance before them, and made them drunk. Hence it was called the setting out of the children; for they had them all appear in the house of the devil.

The Act of Striping.

Thus was done what was named the act of striping: when mock battle was joined, the shield and

Imelhvaca in oc cequj tlamamalintli in çan no ic qujmavizilliaia Diablo.

Neelpilintli.

Injc muchivaia neelpilintli, inic neelpiloia ica icpatl in qujmjilpiaia papiltotonti in immaquechtlan, yoan in jnquechtlan yoan in jmjtac elotlaxcaltotonti in vncan commanaia vacaltonco yoan tecõtonti, vacalnacazco conquetzaia tentiuh in atl in jma itac, auh in ïjc oacico ipan cempoalhhujtl in iquac moteneva teteu heco iquac qujntomiliaia in jcpatl potonquj injc omoolpique pipiltotõti.

Neecocolintli.

Auh in necocolintli ic muchivaia ipan ilhujuh acolmiztli mjhujcujcujlovaia in pipiltotonti tlapalihujtica, novjian in jtech inacaio. Auh in veucjtlaca çãyio in jmelpan, in jniollopan yoan in jncujtlapan, qujnamjctiaia in ihujtl, injc qujnpotonjaia, quilmach ipampa inic amo teiolloquaz acolmiztli.

Pilquistilintli.

Injc muchivaia pilquistilintli vmpa muchintin qujnvicaia in iteupan Diablo, in pipiltotonti vel muchintin impan qujmjtoryaia yoã qujntlavantiaia injc moteneva pilquistilo ca muchintin qujnvalquistia in pipiltotonti in Diablo ichan.

Tlavavanalintli.

Injc muchivaia in moteneheu tlavavanalintli in jquac malli moiauchivaia ichimal imaquauh imac

793 them. None should fail. And here, over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who was made, as it were, their leader.

vncan tepan icaca im patecatl, iuhquin tachcauh muchivaia,

793 [805] 273 Then they arranged the rabbit [wine] jars. These they filled with [ceremonial] five[-fold] wine, which they also called sacred wine. Then he brought forth the sucking-tubes, made of reeds, and laid them with the sacred wine—two hundred and three of them, but only one was bored through.

njman ie quiquetza in tochtecomatl vncã conteca in macujlvctli in quijlvjaia teuvctli, njman ie quijvalquistia in piaztli acatl vncan cõmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlacpoalli vmei, auh çan ce in coionquj,

And when they had set them out, thereupon all danced and went in procession; the Centzontotochtin danced.

auh in ocõma, njman ic ic netotilo, tlaiavaloia, mjtotia in centzontotochtin,

Thereupon they went up to the sacred wine. There was much jostling about until one should see the [sucking tube which was] bored through. And when he who saw it then took up the bored [tube], then they made room for him.

njman ic ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac ichoatl quijttaz coionquj, auh in aquin oquittac, in oquicujc coionquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

Only he alone drank the sacred wine. And when he had drunk the sacred wine, thereupon all dispersed.

çã icel quijticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlacoanoc, njman ic viujloca.

Epcoaquacuiltzin.

Epcoaquacujltzin.

793 [805] The Epcoaquacuiltzin—behold what were his duties: when feasts should be celebrated, perchance when a new fifty-two-year cycle should start—verily, all feasts—all of them he announced; or when fire was laid. In truth, all that should be done, all things this man thus commanded and furthered.

In epcoaquacujltzin, izca yn jtequjuh catca: Yn iquac ilhujtl quijçaia, yn açe xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ie muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipã tlatoaia, injc tletemaloa in ie muchi muchivaz muchi ichoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

The Keeper of the Gods of Molonco.

Moloncoteuhca.

The Keeper of the Gods of Molonco also had this as his duty: In his charge were the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, and all which this one needed when [sacrificial victims] were to die. And he had in his charge the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauecatl, and the incense ladle, the quail, and the black plumes with which [he who was arrayed in the likeness of] Chiconauecatl was feathered.

In moloncoteuhca, çan no ichatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copalli, in vlli, in tlilli, in isqujch itech monequja in ichoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tlilli ic moçaia, in chicunavecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tliltic ic mopotonjaia in chicunavecatl.

The [Priest of] Cinteotl.

Cinteutzin.

The duties of the [Priest of] Cinteotl were that all things which were required be thus commanded, so that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber,

In itequjuh catca cinteutzin çan isqujch in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicoaia in amatl in copalli, in vlli in jiauhtli in jtech monequja xilo-

643 301	A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant;	apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,
[532]	A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;	metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,
	A green stone nose rod;	chalchiuhiacamjtl,
	A fine turquoise nose rod;	teuxiuhiacamjtl,
	A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;	chalchiuhconcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlaceotl,
	A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;*	coztic teucujtlachaiaonc concatl, chalchiuhtlacanaualli iitic manj,
	A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;	quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,
[237]	A golden band for the calf of the leg;	coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,
	A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;	quetzalmacpanjtl,
	A quetzal bird as headdress;	quetzaltotoicpacxuchitl,
	Quetzal feather horns;	quetzalquaquauujtl,
	A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;	quetzalecaceoaztli coztic teucujtlaio
	A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension;	xiuhmacopilli,
	A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;	coztic teucujtlachipulconcatl,
	A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;	teucujtlacoztic acuechconcatl,
643 [276 416]	Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans* when the ruler danced.	xuchitl, ietl, inciscaujl tlatoanj, tezcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeouia tlatoanj,
[282 281]	Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals.	oçeloencactli, cuetlascactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,
[534]	[There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells;	teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tezilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,
533	Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.	cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,
415	[There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.	tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in isqujch omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,
351	There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.	xuchiquauujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inenca catca: ca maçenaz in tlatoanj,
415 314 534	[There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded.	tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 942; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1096f., on etymology of ornaments.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
[796
643]

[366
262]
415

[643
701]
431

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 19). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

643 264 272 415

The chocolate was served in a painted gourd vessel, with a stopper also painted with a design, and [having] a beater; or in a painted gourd, smoky [in color], from neighboring lands, with a gourd stopper, and a jar rest of ocelot skin or of cured leather. In a small net were kept the earthen jars, the strainer with which was purified the chocolate, a large, earthen jar for making the chocolate, a large painted gourd vessel in which the hands were washed, richly designed drinking vessels; [there were] large food baskets, sauce dishes, polished dishes, and wooden dishes.

injc motecaia cacaoatl, tecontlacujlolli, atzaccaiotl tlacujlolli, aquauitl aiotectli tlacujlolli, poctecomatl anaoscaiotl, atzaccaiotl aiotectli, aiaoalli oçcloeoatl, cuetlaxiaoalli, chitatli in vncan mopia tecomatl, atzetzeloautli, injc moiectia cacaoatl, vevei tecomatl achioalonj, vevej tlacujlolxicalli injc nematequjlo, tzoboacalli tlaioalonj, tlaqualchiqujujtl, molcaxitl, petzcaxitl, quauhcaxitl.

sums; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquaujtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoquitecomatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoquitlatquitl. 443 463 656 [276] [145]

Auh in ichoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo quimocuitlauia, intequiuh, tococo, ioan caoaltilo in intequiuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca, aço tlaçocilmatli, anoço chalchiuitl, intla oximachililoc, intlacamo quinextiz in aquin quicobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, quitzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequiliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia, [685]

in intequiuh catca tianquizpantlaca quichioaia iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, inic ipan tequitia tianquiztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequitlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 235, describes *ayopaxtli* as "*hojas y raíces de las frijoles*"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *Mazorcadeyamichtzacua Matalaua* L.

[p. 70 is blank]

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mo- 346
ennquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamaca- 793
que, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yeceyoual yc tlamaceua.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

Ca y ichoanti tlenamacazque, tlamacazque catca 793
yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoua
yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlaca- [788]
tecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca
quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn [281]
intoui yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl
im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quit- [276
quitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã 415]
xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçia-
cauia yn iacuoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecu-
cizzli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço
ceuetziz yuhca viya.

[534]

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã 796
yc vncã moxtlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacuoyauh, 783
yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz
mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico
youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlama-
cazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in
campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitzitiuj- [534]
tze ye tlauinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac.

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Glaubenswelt der Alt-Azteken Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 180, says of the form *ceuetz*: "*Da es im Text dieses Begriffes heisst, die der Copalbeutel trägt, wird es sich um Pfeifer handeln.*" The term *tlamacazqui* is translated (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*erklärt sie mit einer Schule.*"

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacatecca. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! ● [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

Injc vntetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monomavi in tlatlac, cuetlan, aiac ma qujtlecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: mjtoaia, itcioc itocaiocan Tlacatecca: in nex ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalqujcs in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca compalo in itqujch calquavitl: njman ie ic tlacaosca, qujtoa. Mexicae ma vallatotoca, tla cevilos, amaapilol: auh in jquac caatequjaia, in qujcevitneçuja, çan ie ilhujce mopitza, aocmo vel ceuh, vel tlatlac.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

Injc etetl tetzavitl: vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzõmulco: iteupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachqujavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caqujztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

Injc nauhtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietietia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa; auh vmpa itztia in jqujçaianpa, iuhquj in tlenuchtli pipixauhtiuh, veca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca acitiuh in jcujtlapil: auh in oittoc eẽca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oiovalli ẽnoman.

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl qujpoçonalti, iuhqujn momomoloca, iuhqujn xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetza: auh in calli tzitzintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixitin in calli: iehoatl in vei atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa cioatl cacoia chocaiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi; qujtotiznemj. Nonopilhoantzitzin, ie ic çan ie tonvi: in

4. Probably *Itepeyac* is meant for *Itoiac*. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also *Memoriale en 3 columnas*, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: Fr. *Bernardino de Sahagún — Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 141.

5. Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* has *ilcic* in a similar passage. In the *Real Palacio* MS it reads: *yeic ỹ calqujqu.*

6. *Ce* *ye* appears in *loc. cit.*

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII — Kigge and Lerdo, p. 18, n. 5.

8. In the *Real Palacio* MS, this passage reads: "*auh ỹ calli quimitlalia caqjc ihuiuh ayc ỹ pepenilihuh ayqui xixitin.*"

9. In *loc. cit.*, manj is followed by "*ihuh yeic ceuaxuj yeic ceuaxuj yõ no ceuqui yo ỹ ceuqui ceuaxuj ỹ ceuj ayqujqu.*"

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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[415
482
262]

[302]

[302]

—After Paso y Troncoso

44. Marina interprets for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 15). 52. Mexicans leave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

[p. 44(H)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
648

[501]

[415]

—After Paso y Troncoso

[illegible] 97. Mexicans recover bodies and loot from the Tolteca canal (Chapter 25). 98. Massacre at Coloaxayca (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Tenochtitlan welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102. Spaniards prepare to depart from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 26).

[p.44(0)]

726 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.**

726 648 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochimilco, Misquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itztapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

● 445 431 272 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them devices and shields, and they gave them each chocolate. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Inic ompoalli onnauhtecpilli onnei capítulo vncan mjtoa in quenja chinanpaneca in Sochimjlca, cuitlavaca, yoan in Jtztipalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in qujnpalevinquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in ichoantin xochimjlca, cuitlaoaca mjnquica, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, qujnonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tlacavan: qujmjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic ixtlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenquiçaco in quauhtli ocelotl in acaltica: ca quijl axcã qujcentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzaque njman ie ic qujmjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacaelilique oanquijmjhioviltique, oanquijmociaviltique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiciecavi:

njman ie ic qujntlauhtia, qujnmaca in tlavizzli, in chimalli, yoan qujncacacavatique, ceren xicalpechtli in qujnmacaque cacaoatl: njmã ie ic qujmjlhuja. tlacueloatl, tla tlaiciecavi tlacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cuitlavaca in qujnvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in jxqujcan vtlica: njman ie ic necaliea.

Auh in ichoantin in, in Sochimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmã ie ic tenamoia, qujnnamoxque in cioatzintzinti, yoan in pipiltzintzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'nmjctique vncan ihiod quijz. Auh in oc cequjntin amo qujnmjctique, çan ivian acalco qujnontemovique.

Auh in ie iuh qujchiou inin ie tenaoalpeloa: njman ic tzatzique in tequjvaque, qujtoque. Mexicae teiti ic qujchiou in, tlavelilloque? ma vallatoteca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, qujntoca acaltica.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[319] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81. [illegible] is as *Coniops amabilis* Gould.
[c] *FNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada año y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueve quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[*]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses[**]
402 bundles[*] of little red-striped mantles[**]
800 bundles of large mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[*]

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[*] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[**]

[*] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[*] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[*] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteçuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiso de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[**] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals
[374] of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
[352] worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

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dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate 643
standing up with much reverence and without looking at 264
his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either [415]
red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his
guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma,
never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud.
They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that
the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From [415
time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels 832
of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which 272]
they said he took when he was going to visit his wives,
and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see
was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao
frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this
drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very [522
ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies 732]
almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other
Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty
sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma
was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to
be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao.
Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and
with much ceremony they brought water for his hands.
And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains
about things that interested him, and they took leave of
him with the great reverence in which they held him, and
he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men 643
of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the
other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought
out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have
spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all
frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless
quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who 324 sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they 262 get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and 325 gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could 415 wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were 436 already approaching its great courts, before leaving the 443 market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look 346 at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these 364 stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782 266]
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were [412]
also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, [292]
and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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it was called the Four Hundred Rabbits; for very few did it affect favorably.

And when, it was said, the day Two Rabbit set in, then was celebrated the feast day of the principal wine god, who was called Izquitecatl. And although only he alone was named, yet at that time they remembered all the wine gods, who became the wine. Thus was Izquitecatl greatly revered. They set up his image in his temple. There they laid gifts before him; for him they sang and provided music with gourd tubes. And before him stood a stone basin, called two-rabbit basin — full, to the brim. Into the wine dipped the drinking tubes, extending from it so that those who sampled the wine stood drinking it: but only those who could drink, the old men, the old women, the intrepid warriors, the bold, the foolish, who paid the debt with their heads and their breasts. That is, they would be captured sometime when war was declared; or else on issuing forth [to battle] they would capture others and take prisoners. So [by drinking] they went about mocking death.

And the wine which they drank never came to an end; [the basin] never stood empty. The wine makers, the wine making officials, continued pouring it into [the basin]. All came assembling there where they cut the maguey, when everywhere it was the time and season for breaking into the maguey. This was because then they offered new wine. If someone for the first time broke into the maguey, he first poured the extracted material there. Thus they said he poured out wine and offered the wine-pouring to Izquitecatl; they gave him wine to drink.

But not only at this time did they pour wine; rather, always were offerings so made in his temple.

Ioan in jquac mjtoaia, moquetza tonalli, vme tochtli: vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, in jmachcauh totochti: in moteneoa Izqujtecatl: auh macivin çan jcel moteneoa, ca oncan qujnoemjlnamjquia, in totochti, ovcti, ic cenca maviztililoia in izqujtecatl, qujtlaliaia ixipela in jteupan: vncan qujtlamanjlia, quicujcatia, qujtlapichilia acocotica: yoan ixpan icaca tecomjtl, itoca vmetochtecomatl, tentimanj, pexontimanj, in vetli: ipã manj piaztli, piazçotimanj, mamazço ic conjtimanj in aqujque vmpa ontlatlapaloa: tel çan ichoan in ie tlaoananj, in veuetque, in jlamatque ioan in iaotlauelilloque, in mjivintia: in aquen tlatta, in quipoppoa, yn intzontecon, yn jmelchiqujuh, qujtoznequj: ca onvicozque in quenmã, in ooalmjto iaoiotl: auh no ce onquijçativi, oaltecalaquijzque ontlamatiuj: ic mõmjquijzquequelotinenca:

[415]

auh in vetli quja, aquenman tlamja, ãquẽman cactoc, in contecatimanj tlachicque, tecutlachique: izquijch oalacitimanj in tetlãchic, yn noviian tlachicpan, tlachicoaian, ca vncan vitzmana intla aca iãcujcan otlatlapan, vncã achto qujteca in jtlachic: ic qujtoaia tlatoiaoa, qujmanjlia itlatoiaoal in Izqujtecatl, qujtlatoiavilia:

auh amo çanjio iquac, y, in tlatoiaoaia: ca çan muchipa iuh tlamanca, in iteupan.

[p. 18 is blank]

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[415]

94-101. Cinc Rabbit's good fortune (Chapter 10).

— After Paso y Troncoso

[p. 126 p]

643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhcoxcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac coxcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzcoatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzalitoxicpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquauitl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecacoaxtli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcoxcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcoxcatl,

643 [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, inciscauil tlatoanj, tezcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[292 281] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçeloenacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[534] 533 [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixqujch omjto. Veuej toptzmatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquauijtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçenaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tescatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc mozotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1004f., on etymology of *amanteca*.

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Injc nauj capítulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlaonaoati Motecuçoma, in oquijtta in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, ichoatl in don hernando Cortes.

Qujmjlhuj tla xioalhujan mocelloqujchtle, tla xioalhujan quji-iequene oqujçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjqujti, vel xitlacaqujcan, vel xinaçaocan, tlein qujtoa, vel nacastli in anqujoalcujnque: incatquj ic itech amacinque in totecujo,

ichoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: couxincatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapanecaiotl, chalchiuhcoucapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlacomalli, yoan cententl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj, quetzaltençouhquj, yol quetzalpanio; yoan teucacujtlapilli quetzallo: auh inin teucacujtlapilli, iuhqujn xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçalolli, yoan chalchiuhcuecuextli, teucujtlacoiolloteoc: njman ic ichoatl xioatlatl, çan motequjtica xivitl, iuhqujn costzontecometica, coatzontecome, yoan itzcactli.

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1. *Tlamomaitl*: diademed is probably mosaic.

2. Seler, op. cit., p. 461, n. 1, says: "In Wahrheit ist dies die Tracht Xiuhtecuhtlis."

3. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), II, p. 413, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: "una mascara labrada de mosaico de turquesas tenia esta mascara labrada de las orejas pinchos como colmillos doblados y retorcidos cuya dobles era al pico de la nariz y la remataba por bajo la frente era como lunas de la nariz luego se dispidia la cola de la cabeza y la cabeza con parte del cuerpo pues por sobre el era de mosaico que hacia cuja y la cola como parte del cuerpo pues por sobre el era cuja y hacia cara cuja."

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "Estaba esta mascara rematada en una corona alta y gaddo llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de mosaico que pusiendolas la corona sobre la cabeza se pusiga la mascara en la cara."

5. Cf. *Codex Vaticanus*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Llevaba por joal una medalla de oro redonda y sacha ricamente esta manera cercaba de piedras preciosas que cubaban el medio cubrian las hombros y todo el pecho."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Llevaba también una rodela grande hecha de piedras preciosas con unas cuadras de oro que llegaban de medio abajo por todo ella; y otras cuadras de perlas atravesadas sobre las de oro de medio abajo por todo ella y las espaldas que llevaba estas cuadras las quales eran como medias de red pues parecia como espaldas de oro tenia una rodela como rapaciejo en la frente y en medio en la rodela una cuadrada que salia fuera la rampia de la rodela hasta de plumas ricas."

7. *Ibid.*: "una rodella grande hecha de oro de rampia que la llamaban rodela y rodeada sobre las espaldas."

8. *Ibid.*: "un cuerpo como cuerpo de chiqui todo labrado de oro de mosaico de turquesas y la hechura de arriba era una cabeza de una culebra colorada y retorcida."

431 776 292 301 The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Texcatlipoca — the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs,[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] [416] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Texcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlaca cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcoacatl; elpan coxcatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centetl tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh texcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzico molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: [237] the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone [416] neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalaztatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlática epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tzitzile; tenchilnaoacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin [237] cap,[16] with pheasant[a] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, cozoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcololli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itirapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

9. *Ibid.*: "una cabellera hecha de plumas ricas que colgaua por la parte detras hasta [illegible] de la cintura estaua cuajada toda de estrellas de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de oro que llamaui colgadas unas caracolillas de oro y sartales de caracolillas marinas blancas y hermosas destos sartales colgaua vn cuero que era como peto y llamauale cotaxtli [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaua este peto muchas caracolillas arrodradas y colgadas por todo el."

11. *Ibid.*: "vn cuero de vela blanca pintado la orilla de ahuecos desde cuero con bordada con plumas blancas era listas por todo el rededor."

12. *Ibid.*: "una manta rica la tela della era en aquel claro y toda labrada cosidas de muchas labores de en aquel muy fino llamauase esta manta tzitzilli esta manta se ponia por la cintura atada por las espaldas al cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.*: "una medalla de mesmo, atada al cuerpo sobre las lomas."

14. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de chalchiuipil, muchas que serejo diere unas culebrillas de chalchiuipil."

15. *Tenchilnaoacaio* is probably unknown in the Aztec colonies.

16. *Corresponding Spanish text: una mitra de cuero de tigre, y colgaua [sic] de la mitra, sobre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuerno, llamaua la mitra en chalchiuipil gobler. y redondo, en la punta."*

17. *Ibid.*: "de mesmo de turquesas."

12

a [There is no known genus of pheasant native in the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Analyst]

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of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood 346
that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole 778
place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the
left hand there stood the other great image the same
height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and [416]
eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call
Tezcat, and the body plastered with precious stones like
that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers;
and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge [776]
of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with
figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were
so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in
the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another
stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's
sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a
recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and
in it was another image half man and half lizard, with
precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered
with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure [776]
is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and
they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest,
but I do not remember its name, and everything was
covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench
was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out
of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when 346
they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to [534]
say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could
hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the
skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In
that small place there were many diabolical things to be [534]
seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of
Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols,
and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

X 796 Tlacochcalco; and, before he arrived there, at a place which they called Tlapiczauayan, the women withdrew and left him. Arrived at the place where they were to kill him, he ascended the steps himself; on each of them he shattered one of the flutes which he had played as he walked, all during the year. When he had reached the summit [of the pyramid], they threw him upon the sacrificial stone; they tore out his heart; they brought down the body, carrying it in their hands; below, they cut the head off and ran through it [the crosspiece of the skull rack] which is called *tzompantli*. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in their account, *fol.* 53.

[346] [534] [417]

llamauã tlapiczaõiã, apartauãse las mugeres y dexauãle: llegãdo al lugar, donde le auã de matar: el mismo se subia por las gradas, en cada vna dellas, hazia pedaços vna flauta de las cõ que andaua tañendo todo el año: llegado arriba, echauãle sobre el tatõ sacauanle el corçaçõ, tornauã a decendir el cuerpo abaxo en palmas, abaxo le cortauã la cabeça y la espetauã en vn palmo que se llama Tzompãtli: Otras muchas cerimonjas, se haziã en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la large en su historia. fo. 53.

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[14] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

14. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 105.

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yuic contlaça yuic conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcaoan quinpepena, quinnechicoa, quinvihtlatla, quintleoatza, quinmizteioujia, quinmiztaioquanhoatza: [251 265]

cequj quitonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj quintonaltiaia yn itechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl quitquja yapãlecaz, amo ichoatl in petetlecazitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlazipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla. [374]

Yoan quitquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinman, in ic tlenamaco, in tlexochtli quiqualtema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic quitotonjlia, ic quipopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey tepã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixquichtin in teteuoan inpan quinmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ic ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan intẽtetuh acatica quipuappachoa, tlilitica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acazilquj: [302 289]

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynic quipuappachoa: çan no acazilquj ynic tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, quijacatitimanj ococalli in quimama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama. [302] [417]

quipopeoaltilia yn cioa in netoxilintli, ynic mjxoia chocholoa, çan mocoxinotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jnteteuh conmemauja, quipoctitimanj, 796X 535

X 796 [534]

horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they reached the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] tramped upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

[417 778]

And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [home] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to her home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

[701]

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his cagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers] of an eagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

[352]

qujxotzontivi in tepenazmatli, inch tlaçalolli, atecontontli: ie injc motecneoa, tecomapalea.

In oncito tzompanoçtlan: njmã ic conjoça in jveuh: auh in tequjoaque, ie qujchiztoque: vncan oncoa in jmexxaiac injc qujcaoaque iauc: vncã oncoa cololhujtivi in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, in thaçanj: cenca motlaloa.

Auh in oncito, in vmpa contlalianj in isupan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacaztlan in iztac tepetl: iocaiocan, popotl temj: aivian in contlalia, qujnoalitoca: anoce qujntoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in ocõtlalito quauhticpac, in jmexxaiac: mec viloatz, mec no vi in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ichoatl Toci: in ocõcaouto, iconeuh: njman ie ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxoa in tiacauã, in jaqujchtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ie izqujchtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelitoque in tiacaoan, in jiolloco chicaoaque, in amo qujtlaçotla in intzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjqujxmauhã, in vel in ca momotla in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocenqujxoac: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecuçoma, iehoatica quauhpetlapan, vel ichoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipeoalli in jpan coatica, yoan ocelotepoztoicpalli in jpan motlaztica, vel ie in ocelotl ysouaio, injc tlaqujnjolli icpalli:

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11. Garibay (op. cit., p. 106) translates *ie motzoncuaqui iocoxuã quaiac in cuac que ie daxlo:* "quipan on xaxlaxil." The corresponding Spanish text implies use of the foot (*pasar*).

12. See note 22.

13. The importance of these officers, diverse warriors, chiefs, and so on, is suggested by the following passages (Sahagún (Bolaños ed.), Vol. II):

". . . *capitães que han de tener cargo de regir la republica, o han de ser tlacatecatl, o tlacochcalcatl, dañor habilidad para que sean padres y madres de la gente de guerra; que andan por las campos y por las montañas, y andan las riñas, y desvelandose a las barreadas, y en su tiempo ha de estar el amonestar a mucha a los esforçados y animosos. . . .*" (p. 53).

". . . *los padres y madres del sol, que se llaman tlacochcalcatl (y) tlacatecatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al sol y a la tierra, que la sirven y sirven de sus esforçados: estos son los que tienen por ofiçio la rodela y las armas, y allí nacieron las antiguas riñas y las bandas riñas, y las barbas de la cabeza y las esperas de las sandalas. . . .*" (p. 103).

". . . *sobre los caballeros y capitanes habla dos principales que los regían, el uno era tlacochcalcatl y el otro tlacatecatl; el uno de los dichos era más y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra, y siempre parecían sus rostros con sus calzados para otras ofiçios. También para capitanes generales de las cosas de la guerra parecían dos, uno mayor, o gobernador y del palacio, y otro valeroso, y otros ejercitados en la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba tlacochcalcatl y el otro tlacatecatl; estos convocaban las cosas de la guerra, y en ordenar todas las cosas que concernían a la milicia*" (p. 107).

X 796 And before she died, she danced. The old men
536 beat the drums for her; the singers sang for her—
they intoned her song. And when she danced, she
[281] wept much, and she sighed; she felt anguish.[4] For
time was but short; the span was but brief before
she would suffer, when she would reach her end on
earth.

X 796 And when the sun was past its zenith, they then
took her up to the top of the temple. All the impersonators of the demons went, laying hold of and accompanying her, proceeding in rows. Yet another, the impersonator [of Ilama tecutli], went leading the people—one whom verily they thought a god[deu] on earth, who was only a man whom they [so] adorned.

And when they reached [the summit], they cut open her breast. And when she was slain, then they severed her head. And her head they gave to him who led. He took it in his right hand, going off with it, going dancing, marking the dance rhythm with the head. He went before them, leading all the likenesses and victims of the devils. They circled the temple; then they descended, in the same way [as they had come up], ranged in rows, and going in lines. And when they reached the ground, thereupon they dispersed and went to their houses, to their tribal temples, where [the gods' raiment] was guarded.

And the vicar, the likeness, of Ilama tecutli, he thus danced: he stepped back, kicking his heels up behind him. And then he went off supporting himself upon his staff, a cane.

[293] Its head, its upper end, was divided off into three [points], like a three-pronged harpoon. It was called his thorny staff. And when he thus danced, one said: "Ilama tecutli backeth away." And they put upon him a mask looking in two directions. It had huge lips and large eyes. And upon his head stood an array of little banners, arranged in rows. They seemed like a wreath of flowers upon his head.

● [417] And when this [took place], it was said: "His grain bin burneth." His granary was fashioned[5] of pine branches joined together, like a framework.[6] Then they wrapped paper about it; they caulked it with paper. They placed it upon the eagle vessel.

'Auh in nimo mjqui mjtotiaia, qujtlatzoznonjliaia in vevetque, in cuicanjme, qujcujcatia, quevilia in jcujc. Auh in jquac mjtotiaia, vel mochoquijliaia, yoan ekicivia, mociappoa: iehica ca ça achitonca, ça inquijch cavitl y, ça inquijch cavitontli y, inic ontlacotia, in ic compoloa tlaltícpactli.

Auh in jquac ômoxcalo tonatiuh: njmâ ic ic qujtlecavia in teocalticpac, qujxitzaqujtivi, qujtocativi in jnquijchtin im jxipilacô diablome cempantitivi, tejaltiuh in oc ceppa ixiptla, in vel quimotzutia tlaltícpac, çan tlacatl in qujchichioaia.

Auh in oconaxitiquac, njmâ ic conelequj: auh in ômomjquili, njmâ ic qujoalquechcotona: auh in jxontecô, qujoalmaca in teiacantiuh, itlan conana imaiauhcampa in qujtzitzaqujtiuh, mjtotitiuh ic ontlaiauhtiuh in tlôtecomatl, imjxpan icatiuh, qujniacantiuh in jnquijchtin imjxipilaoan, in impatillooan Diablome, qujoaliacaoka in teocalli, njman ic oalteno, çâ no ivi, motecpantivitze, cenpantitivitze: auh in oemoco tlalchi, njmâ ic ic vivi, momoiaoa, vmpa vivi in inchachan, in inocalpulco, in vmpa pipielo.

auh in teixiptla, in jxiptla Ilama tecutli: injc mjtotiaia tzitzintlaça, itzintlampa in conjaoa icxi: yoan ic motlatlaquechinjuh itopil, ôtlatl:

in ôjacac, in jquac, ezcan in mazaltic, iuhquin mjnacachalli: momocaiotia, yiotlavitzil, auh in juh mjtotiaia y, mjtoa, motzinoca in Ilama tecutli: yoâ xaiacatl cômaquja, occampa tlachia, texxazacaltic, tenzaxacalpul, yoan ixtoolenpol, auh in icpac pantotoni tecpantec, vipanoc: iuhquin icpacxuchiuh mochioa:

yoan in jquac y, no motenoa icuexcô tlatla: in jocacoa qujchichioaia ocoquavitl in quinenepanoaia, iuhquin coloti, ic qujtlaliaia camaquimjlouia, camapepechoa, vncan qujquetza in quauhxicalco:

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quemado por comodos, porque la quemen; pues que no son sino plumas). A inquietud no como primeros, y de otros pequeñitos, como plumas grandes de aquella."

4. Tovar-quemado (op. cit., p. 284) writes, however, that "a esta Muger le era permitido llorar, y celebraiosse cuando (como arriba se dixo) que mas, como, ([illegible]) y ell. se transformaba, temprado, y llorado, con la necessidad de la muerte, que de [illegible], y nueva respuesta."

5. Chichiua may be rendered in two ways. We have here followed Seler by the contrast.

6. In the next chapter (Seler) Sahagún states that "Tenian la estatua del dios de fuego de arquitos, y pedos atados, como una cerca, que ellos llamaban calmil, que quiere decir atadura o cerrado."

7: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
T26

[41]

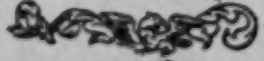

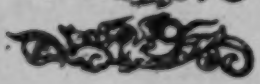

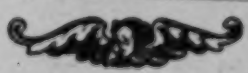

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

156, 157. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, three horses, and many allies (Chapter 39). 158. Spaniards enter the market place at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36). 159. Spaniards fire the temple at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36). 160, 161. Battle in the market place at Tlatelolco (Chapter 36).

[p. 44(V)]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Then, but only then, ladders were constructed,[173] and with due precaution and under cover of various [417] 726
feints, the walls were scaled.[174] A regular siege was out of the question, the Mexicans not being provided for a protracted stay outside of their territory. They might lie in wait or hover around the enemy's defenses for a short time, bent upon attempting a surprise of some kind, but if the place could not be carried at a rush in some way the assailants finally had to abandon the attack and return home.[175]

We have heretofore presupposed that the tribe assailed by the Mexicans had been formally challenged, or at least notified of their coming. But this was not always the case. In many instances the Mexicans made their attack without previous warning, and a nocturnal surprise was attempted which was almost sure to succeed.

It is next to superfluous to venture a description of such a nightly onslaught. The scene, like that of the surprise of any settlement whatever by Indians during the hours of darkness, may be faintly imagined, but not adequately told. The main sallies and entries were occupied by the assailants,—creeping up stealthily,—the chief "teo-calli" surrounded, then the war-whoop was raised, and the miserable inhabitants of the pueblo realized at once that they were doomed. Few survivors only remained on such occa- 726
sions, and even these, unless the tribe surrendered at the first on- 727

tutepec had been sacked, the Mexicans moved upon Quetzaltepec, which was well fortified, and whose people sallied forth to meet the Mexicans in the open field three days in succession, until the third day at last they were signally defeated, and the defenses scaled in a rush.

[173] Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI). Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 448). The former describes these ladders ("escalas") minutely, giving their size and the number used.

[174] Tezozomoc speaks of archers posted outside, protecting by a shower of missiles the ascent of the scaling party or parties, while other bodies were burrowing through the wall. Durán gives a more plausible statement (p. 448): "Otro dia salió al campo la "gente tepaneca con toda su provincia, que era gran numero de gente, la qual se uvo "tan valerosamente, que no los pudiendo resistir las de la ciudad, se empeçaron a' re- "traer hacia el muro. Montoçuma, viendo que los tepanecas peleaban tan valerosamente "y que hacian retirar al enemigo, mandó tocar al arma, y en un punto salió el Mexicano "al campo y por otra parte el tezcucano, y arremetieodo todos de trapel, apellidando "los unos Mexico, Mexico, los otros Tezcuco, Tezcuco, acudieron cada uno por su "parte rompiendo por el exercito de los enemigos; y aunque de las murallas recibias "gran daño de las piedras grandes y trocos de palos que arrojaban, llegaron a' ella y "arrimando escalas, y otros, como gatos, subieron por ella, y otros cabando por el "cimiento ganaron la primera cerca." This shows that indeed it was carried at a rush.

[175] For this reason the wars with the neighboring tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholullan, took the shape of regular fights at stated times. A long campaign was out of all question. We may, in the course of this essay, investigate shortly the question of the wars between Mexico and Tlaxcallan, although it is not properly pertaining to the object of the present discussion.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a
serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
ing ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver
and jade, precious substances reserved for religious orna-
ments, was also a mortal crime.

Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public dis-
grace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage
done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws,
and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with
serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal
property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its pro-
duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

421 surrounding our own property concepts was unnecessary.

186 There was little to harass the individual intellectually or
181 economically. Existence was subject to divine favor, and a man fared much as did his fellows. Large as some towns were—Mexico City had three hundred thousand people—the sense of community was strong. Freedom of thought, individual liberty, personal fortunes, were nonexistent, but people lived according to a code that had worked well and continuously for centuries. An Aztec would have been horrified at the naked isolation of an individual's life in our Western world.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMY

The Domestic and Tribal Economy of the Aztec People

THE AZTEC SOCIAL SYSTEM provided a means by which 181
people could exist harmoniously together in considerable numbers. The domestic and tribal economy of the Aztecs offered the food, shelter, tools and clothing to which man largely owes his dominant position on earth. The measure of a human society may be gauged by the relationship between the organization of the people themselves and their use of materials to build houses and equip them. The Aztecs' economy had the same basic simplicity as had their social organization; likewise it had the same flexibility in expanding to meet the needs of a growing population.[1]

Agriculture was the basis of Aztec life, and corn, *zea mays*, 241
was the chief food plant. The cultivation of plants ensured 471
a food supply near at hand, which was not subject to the fluctuations of game and thereby enabled man to take thought for the morrow. The clan system, as we have seen, recognized that the fruits of the land supported the tribe. Therefore, it was only natural that the tribe should own and control the land which supported its members.[2] (See Plate 38.)

The tribal council divided the land among the clans, and 471
421

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

471 the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the
421 heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave
[428] labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

174 The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable mi-
[161] grations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[8]

241 The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time
311 when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over
361 "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great "quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places "it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of "which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking "towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at "the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, "they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and "three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness "from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and "the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to "the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content "himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in "each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were "other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes "three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are
● 421 often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (300 cartloads, says Tapia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX, p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello mui aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"ters (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Even ornaments and dresses were also preserved at some of those places.[33]

We may divide the *armament* of the Mexicans into weapons for offence and defensive armour for protection.

Among the offensive arms the *missiles* occupy the principal place, as we may infer from the general mode of Indian warfare, which consists in striking an enemy, if possible, from a distance, and with as little risk to the assailant as possible, too. *Darts* or *javelins*, *bows* and *arrows*, *slings* and *stones*, were therefore of primary importance to the Mexican warrior.

The dart or javelin ("*tlacochtli*," "*tlatzontectli*") was the main weapon of the Mexicans.[34] It consisted of a short spear made of hard and elastic canewood ("*otlatl*"), whose point, shaped after the manner of the well known arrow-head, was mostly of flint, of obsidian, and perhaps, occasionally, of copper. This point or head was inserted into the stem or rod through a slit at its end, gummed in, and fastened besides by a strong thread wound around it.[35] The javelin sometimes had two or three branches with points, so as to strike several wounds at once,[36] the warrior often had it tied to his arm by a long cord, but sometimes, also, he carried a number of darts loose.[37]

49.) Bernal-Diez says that "mayordomos" had control of the "houses of arms." (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia, II.) At their head was the "Petlacalcatl," "or man of the house of chests," from "petlacalli," chest or box made out of canes. Bernal-Diez mentions that functionary, but says they called him Tapia, his Indian title he does not remember (Cap. XCI). Each tribe subject to Mexico had a "calpixqui" residing among it.

[33] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXV, p. 35, and LXX, p. 119).

[34] Tezozomoc never mentions the bow and arrow, but always "varas tostadas," "varas arrojadizas," "tlatzontectli." Rods hardened by fire were used *once* by the Mexicans, at the time of their most abject misery, when fighting for the Culhua against Xochimilco (Clavigero, lib. II, cap. XVI). Even the poor aborigines of the Lucayos (Bahamas) used points of fish-bone, and not simply hardened points of wood. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[35] Gomara ("Conquista," p. 345. Vedia, vol. I).

[36] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[37] It would be difficult, otherwise, to account for the number of darts "spent" in the engagements, had each warrior carried but one javelin. Torquemada (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 43) mentions a sort of cross-bow (ballesta), which he calls "atlatl," by the means of which they are said to have sped their darts ("que tiraban con cierto artificio, que llamaron Atlatl"). "Atlatl," however, means a strap ("amiento") fastening the helmet around the chin. Mendieta says: "Al principio jugaban de hondas y varas "como dardos que sacaban con jugaderas y las tiraban muy recias." "Jugadera" means a shuttle. In his note to Durán (Cap. IV, p. 31), "investando aquel modo de ar-"mas y varas arrojadizas que llamamos flegas." Señor Ramirez says "Refiérese pro-"hablemente al arma Mexicana llamada Atlatl, especie de ballesta, que segun la tradi-"cion fué inventada en Tacubaya . . . ." "Flaga" is a trident or harpoon. The use of the cross-bow, therefore, by the Mexicans, as the term "ballesta" implies, while

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

intervening ditch, and throwing it on the chinampa, by which means the ground is raised generally about a yard, and thus forms a small fertile garden, covered with the finest culinary vegetables, fruits and flowers . . . . . ."[37]

Each consanguine relationship thus gradually surrounded the surface on which it dwelt with a number of garden plots sufficient to the wants of its members.[38] The aggregate area thereof, including the abodes, formed the "*calpullalli*"—soil of the "calpulli,"[39] *and was held by it as a unit;* the *single tracts*, however, being tilled and used for the benefit of the *single families*.[40] The mode of tenure of land among the Mexicans at that period was therefore very simple. The tribe claimed its *territory*, "ALTEPETLALLI," an undefined expanse over which it *might extend*, —the "calpules," however, *held* and *possessed within that territory* such portions of it as were *productive;* each "calpulli" being *sovereign* within its limits, and assigning to its individual members *for their use* the minor tracts into which the soil was parcelled in consequence of their mode of cultivation. If, therefore, the terms "altepetlalli" and "calpulalli" are occasionally regarded as *identical*, it is because the former indicates the *occupancy*, the latter *the distribution* of the soil.[41] We thus recognize in the calpulli, or kindred group, the unit of tenure of whatever soil the Mexicans deemed worthy of definite possession. Further on we

[37] "Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico," by W. Bullock. London, 1824. Cap. XIII, p. 179. It is not devoid of interest to compare the descriptions of this rather superficial, though still truthful observer, with the account of the ancient Chinampas as preserved to us in Tezozomoc (cap. III, p. 9). Durán (cap. VI, pp. 50 and 51). The floats or rafts mentioned by these old authors were nothing else but the chinampas or "floating gardens." Therefore also Tezozomoc uses the term "camellon," or garden-bed. (See also Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473.) Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXII, p. 488). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142).

[38] Durán (Cap. V). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 8). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXXIII, p. 291. Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 101). Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XVII).

[39] Alonzo de Zurita (p. 51). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," p. 222).

[40] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 52, 56, 57, 60).—De l'Ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens, etc., etc. (copy of an anonymous MSS. from Simancas, contained in the Uguina collection, and translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Recueil de pièces, etc., pp. 223 and 224.)

[41] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 51-64). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo (Letter of 3 Nov., 1532, Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. "Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 253). See also the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga. Pertenecienta á los Caciques de Axapusco," in "Col. de Doc." of Icazbalceta (Vol. II, p. XIII).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

shall investigate how far individuals, as members of this communal unit, participated in the aggregate tenure.

In the course of time, as the population further increased, *segmentation* occurred within the four original "quarters;" new "calpulli," being formed.[42] For *governmental* purposes this segmentation produced a new result by leaving, more particularly in military affairs, the first four clusters as *great subdivisions*.[43] But these, as soon as they had disaggregated, *ceased* to be any longer *units* of territorial possession, their original areas being held thereafter by the "minor quarters" (as Herrera, for instance, calls them), who exercised, each one within its limits, the same sovereignty which the original "calpulli" formerly held over the whole.[44] A further consequence of this disaggregation was (by removing the tribal council farther from the calpules) the necessity for an *official building*, exclusively devoted to the business of the *whole* tribe alone.[45]

[42] This successive formation of new "calpulli" is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is implied by the passage of Durán which we have already quoted (Cap. V, p. 42). It also results from their military organization as described in the "Art of War," (p. 115). With the increase of population, the original kinships necessarily disaggregated further, as we have seen it to have occurred among the Qquiché (See "Popol-Vuh" quoted in our note 7), forming smaller groups of consanguinei. After the successful war against the Tecpanecas, of which we shall speak hereafter, we find at least twenty chiefs, representing as many kins (Durán, cap. XI. p. 97), besides three more, adopted then from those of Culhuacan (Id. pp. 98 and 99). This indicates an increase.

[43] "Art of War, etc.," pp. 115 and 120.

[44] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 296). "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains others, smaller ones, included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 56-64). That the smaller subdivisions were those who held the soil, and not the four original groups, must be inferred from the fact, that the ground was attached to the calpulli. Says Zurita (p. 51.) "They (the lands) do not belong to each inhabitant of the village, but to the calpulli which possesses them in common." On the other hand Torquemada states (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545): "that in each pueblo, according to the number of people, there should be (were) clusters ("parcialidades") of diverse people and families . . . . These clusters were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of the aforesaid clusters sometimes contained three, four, and more, calpules, according to the population of the place ("pueblo") or tribe." The same author further affirms: "These quarters, and streets, were all assorted and levelled, with so much accuracy, that those of one quarter or street could not take a palm of land from those of another, and the same was with the streets, their lots running (being scattered) all over the pueblo." Consequently, there were no communal lands allotted to the four great quarters of Mexico as such, but each one of the kinships (calpules) held its part of the original aggregate. Compare Gomara (Vedia, Vol. I, "Conq. de Méjico," p. 434. "Among tributaries it is a custom, etc., etc." Also p. 440). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "Each quarter has its own tract, without the least connection with the others."

[45] Compare Durán (Cap. XI, p. 87). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXXI, p. 470). It appears as if the "tecpan" had not been constructed previous to the middle of the 14th cen-

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 he had bathed it, then once more he placed the array [on the image] and took it in his arms. Loudly they played the flutes for him.

And after this they bore [the image] to Itepeyac and set it in place. And when they had come to set it down, thereupon they went away; all dispersed. Then ended the fasting and penances of [those who had] for the year [been] eaters of the god.[20]

in oconalti, niman ic no ceppa itlan aquj, quinapalos, cenca quitlapichiliaia.

auh njman ic ic qujvica in itepeiac vmpa contlalia, auh in iõc oconitlalito, njman ic ic momoiaoa, vivilos, ic vncan tzonquiça, in ineçaualix, in jutlamacaualix, in teuquaque oc zivitl.

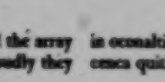

785 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which are related other burdensome works which those did who received the body of Uitzilopochtli.

Still another group at this time began to fast in the year that they were to eat the god. They proceeded in this manner each year; thus they all continued giving [way to others]. They all went on exchanging [places]; there was mutual taking over and trading [of functions]. And likewise for the priests of the tribal temples there was fasting for a year. Great also was their suffering.

Much from this did their affliction grow; great was their anguish, [which] filled their hearts and bodies. Verily, their misery surpassed [all else], since for one year there was to be fasting—since for a year they were to fast. [Each] man was to pass every night burning [wood] and providing light. Very much wood was consumed each night, as was the custom; and many broken up pine sticks, that torches might be lit. And they brought forth *chili*, tomatoes, salt, squash seeds, and water and food.

785 And when they had nothing more with which to buy, they gave up their precious capes, that they
● 423 might buy things, or else they sold their land, which they had enclosed, or which lay in others' territory, or which somewhere they had lent. And they did even so with all lands—the tribal lands, the cultivated lands, marshy lands, the dry and dusty lands, or the cut-over, cultivated fields upon which they worked.

And if one who could not bring forth the tribute

INJC NAVJ PARRAPHO vncan motemoua in oc centlamantli tequjd vel eiic, in quichioaia in ichoantin qujcelisia in jnacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Ic no centlamantin vncan cõpeoalria, in moçaoa in ipan xivitl tzoquasque, çan juh otlatocatiuh, cecexishtica, çan jc nemamacotiuh, çan necacavilitotiuh, nepapatlalotiuh, nepapatlalo: auh çan ic no ivj in calpoloque, no oc xivitl in moçaoa cenca no motolinia,

vel vmpa onquiça in netolinilistli, vel tutoneua, vel chichichina yn jniollo, in jnnacaio, vel iniacapa quiquiça ic jnnetolinilis injc oc xivitl quitlaça moçaoa, injc mocexishcaoa, ioc tlacatl cricoal quitlaça in tlatlatia, in tlavia, cenca miec in polivi intlatlatil quavitl icxioal, yoan miec in ocatl tzomonquj, injc tlavilosa, yoi quinextiaia, chilli, tomatl, istatl, aiocuchtli, yoan atl, tlaqualli.

auh in aoc tle itlacoaia, itech quioallaçaia in jtilmatzin, injc tlacoa, anoço quinamaca itlal, in quicalteaçia, anoço canah temac motlalia, canah netlacujlli quichioa: auh injc quichioaia ipampa tlalli in quexquijch quichioa in calpollali, yoan in chinamitl, in chinahtlalli, in teuhtlalli, anoço ximanilli ic in ipan tequjpia:

auh in aquja in amo conicoaia tequitl, ic quica-

20. The meaning of the verb *tequitia* may be taken as either image or impersonator. The context of this passage, in both the Nahuatl and Spanish versions, suggests the impersonator here the image in the Mint House, where the keeper of the god (*teotlac*) bathed the image; either he bathed also the impersonator, or the latter bathed himself. The impersonator then took up the image.

therefore pledged the land, they made him leave it; they made him abandon it.

And when their fasting came to an end, much did they make merry. They bathed with water; they washed [their heads] with *amolli* soap.[20] And fruit was eaten—they made fruit *tamales*, and sauces. Or they slew and ate a dog, and they drank wine. Thus they showed that verily they were through with [their tribute]; that their works had fallen behind them.

For no longer a burden upon their backs was their fasting. [It was] as if [now] they could move briskly and with security; now they awoke [from their sleep] with joy and peace; they awoke tranquil. They had no offerings to make. In peace they might make their livings and find the means by which they might subsist either by fishing or in the *maguey* fields; or perchance they might frequent the market places in one town or another. No more did they live in bondage.

Enough.

oain in tlalli, ic quicuaxhiuia, ic quicacaxhiuia:

785 [423]

ab in iquac in tzonquiçqui in jneçaoaliz, ceuca pepeçqui, mauhtiuia, mahamoviuia, yoan motococoquiuia, quichiouia xocotamalli; yoan tlaxmilli, anoço izcuintli quijnjctiuia quijquaia, yoan tlaoauia, ic quincuxtiuia in ca oquimoelaxiliquac, inicampa ovexa, in jneçqujuh,

[262]

i ma iuhqui tlamamalli in neçaoaliztli, in juhqui opouhtivetzquac, ic pacca, iocuica oaliça oalpaccaça aoc tle quijmamana çan iviz in motlaocolhia in quimmoa in cuchcaiotl, in aouhcaiotl, anoço tlatlama, in anoço tlachiquj, in aço motitianquiz in ahoácan tepehoácan: aoc tle quijolitlacoxtiuh.

Je inquich.

20. See Fls. 3, 4.

[p. 10 is blank]

Chapter 4

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

423 Let us analyze another of the aspects of the social organization of the Tenochcas, which might lead one to think that it did not have its origin in kinship: viz., ownership of land. In the sources we find that for the most part it was related to the existence of the calpullis.

In the Spanish sources of the beginning of the conquest three really very different criteria are always taken, almost interchangeably, to refer to the ownership of land: one is the working of it personally; another is the receiving of tribute from the one who works it, and another is the receipt of rent. This last is not going to be discussed at length here; but with reference to all these criteria we can shed a little light: we are told that the Indians in their plans indicated three types of land: those of the calpullis, yellow; flesh-colored for those of the lords; and a bright red for those of the king's household (1). The significance which these indications had is what is going

1. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

to occupy us principally.

Let us establish first of all that the lands of Tenochtitlan had been originally occupied only by members of the same Tenochca group; but that there appear to be indications of later immigrations from other regions, as from Xochimilco (2), although generally we lack

2. Vetancourt, III, p. 124; Torquemada, II, p. 60.

complete data in this respect. We can suppose, however, that in the event of there having been immigrations, these were isolated with consent of the group in general since we are told, without par-
[685] ticularizing, that whoever pulled up and took away the landmarks and boundaries of the villages was subject to the death penalty (3);

3. Román, I, p. 285.

in the case of Tenochtitlan, through being in a very special situation of isolation, it was very unlikely that an invasion could occur.

423 We have seen already that the calpullis, since their establishment in Tenochtitlan, were concentrated and limited, and that the lands which they occupied about the time of the arrival of the Spanish, were the same which they had occupied since their /p. 38/ establishment in Tenochtitlan. This, although the original division was in part determined by the number of people present in each one of the calpullis, had certainly brought about that there was not an equal division at the time of the arrival of the Spanish. And in fact it is affirmed that not all the calpullis had the same number of people (4), which is quite understandable if the development of the calpullis

4. Zurita, p. 87.

had been more or less free. Certainly not having the same number of people, some calpullis had more land than others (5), and we even

5. Zurita, p. 87.

know of some that had "unoccupied land" (6) (fallow). This in the

6. Zurita, p. 88.

beginning may not have been of much importance, if the land was divided in accord with the people of each calpulli; but it indeed must have brought about great difficulties when some developed more than others. It appears, furthermore, that the land which the Tenochcas originally occupied was little by little increased by means of the chinampas (7), artificial land, although this is a method which

7. Clavigero, I, p. 379.

had many limitations. The result is at any rate that the lands of Tenochtitlan were divided by calpulli since their establishment in Tenochtitlan, and in spite of the differences in number of people or in amount of land, one calpulli could not take lands from another calpulli (8). This strongly suggests that the calpulli were closed

8. Torquemada, II, p. 545; Zurita, p. 88.

land-owning groups rather than simple wards.

423 Let us now see how the lands were distributed within the calpulli itself: the lands of the calpulli were occupied by the macehuales only in part and the rest they worked in order to pay their tribute (9).

9. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

We can complement this piece of information with another which was that all held land privately or in common in their calpulli (10).

10. Zurita, p. 104.

Thus it appears that the lands of the calpulli were divided first into land cultivated for tribute and land cultivated for the subsistence of the actual workers, and in the second place, it appears that these lands cultivated for the subsistence of the actual laborers were divided "individually" or "in common."

The lands divided "individually" were certainly the lands parcelled out and assigned to families which included brothers and nephews of the head of /p. 39/ the family (11). These parcels were

11. Gómara, II, p. 277; Cortés, 1538, p. 540.

inherited and could not be broken up (12) and the right to work them

12. Gómara, II, p. 277 and 309.

fell to the descendents of the same family (13) with the penalty of

13. Gómara II, p. 277.

death for whoever took or removed his land-marks and boundaries (14).

14. Laws Which the Indians Had [Leyes que tenían los indios], p. 208; Ixtlilxóchitl I, p. 238; Torquemada, II, p. 386.

The lands were given in general to members of the calpulli itself (15) and there must have been differences in the size of the

15. Zurita, p. 25 and 27.

423 lots, at least according to the possibility of working them (16) and

16. Zurita, p. 88. Cortés gives us extreme measurements of lots of 100 to 2000 of "certain measurements" (1538, p. 542), and Clavigero gives us a measure of from 3 to 8 toesas, that is approximately 48 square meters.

yet there were people who did not have land in their calpulli (17),

17. Zurita, p. 89.

perhaps because they had left them unused for two years and had had them confiscated (18). The result was that, of the members of each

18. Zurita, p. 89.

calpulli, some had more land than others, and possibly everybody could work more than the plot they actually had; that is to say that there was a relative scarcity of arable land; but it appears that the families were not the owners of their lots.

We are told that some left their calpullis fleeing from excessive taxation of for other reasons (19) perhaps leaving the calpullis of

19. Cortés, 1538, p. 541.

many people and little land for calpullis with less people and land available to work. In this respect it is explained to us that whoever left their calpullis lost the rights to the lands assigned them in their calpulli (20).

20. Zurita, p. 88.

It was possible to rent the lands of one calpulli to the members of other calpullis for the public and common needs of the calpulli (21), possibly for a limited time, "for a year or two or more" (22)

21. Zurita, p. 88.

22. Zurita, p. 116.

423 and apparently not "for life," that is, the members of one calpulli did not really pass to another calpulli. (In part this does not happen either in the calpullis studied by Redfield in 1920 (23), thus suggest-

23. Redfield, 1920, p. 288.

ing that the calpulli was a property-holding group rather than a ward). In any case we must assert that in general the majority of the people must have had land in their calpullis and that possibly the leaving for other calpullis was an exception. (We could also think that among the Tenochcas the same happened as among the Maoris, where it was possible /p. 40/ for a person from one group to pass to another, in which he was adopted (24). Thus it appears that the

24. Goldenweisser, 1922, p. 382. Mishkin, N. 1937, p. 429.

calpulli was a true proprietary group, the use of the land being proof of its ownership. These were the lands pointed in yellow, their existence clearly recognized.

There was, besides the land given to the common macehuales of the calpulli of which we have just talked, a mode of distribution of the calpullis' lands which was of fundamental importance: the land
429 given to those courageous in battle [henceforth "valiants"]. These lands were given by favor for heroic deeds in war (25). But they

25. Torquemada, II, p. 545, 546; Vetancourt, I, p. 273.

were lands, and this is the fundamental thing, used for sustenance and where one could not have tenants (26); that is, they were lands

26. Torquemada, H. [sic. 1] p. 545. Zurita (p. 116) tells us that the tenants pay rent "To the master of these," a statement which does not appear to refer to macehuales or even to the nobles, that is to say not contradicting the former affirmation of Torquemada.

which they worked and which yielded them fruits, but which did not

#23 give them tribute as in the case of real lords (see page 27). Furthermore these lands were family parcels and not tlaxilacallis or calpullis since we are told that the members of the family inherited them and they reverted to the calpulli to which they were assigned in case there were no heir in order that the obligatory tribute be paid (27).

27. Torquemada, II, p. 546; Vetancourt, I, pp. 272, 372.

It has often been thought that these "valiants" were truly ennobled people and therefore tribute-receiving (28); but the data presented

28. Caso, Alfonso, 1946.

before, show that they were macehuales who did not pay tribute but who otherwise had lands which they worked personally like the other macehuales and unlike the lords. The problem is to find out whether they were on land of their own calpullis or onland of calpullis not their own. In the first case they would be forming a part of the general distribution of the land by calpullis; but they would differ as far as social position determined by the paying of tribute. In the second case—if the "valiants" were on lands of calpullis not their own—it is certain that they would be on land belonging to calpullis conquered in war, and thus, although they did indeed constitute a breach, we cannot suppose that it constituted a breach of importance in the distribution of the land by calpullis, since war had as a principal reason of being, the obtaining of tribute from the conquered, and they [the valiants] did not pay tribute. This surely limited the number of non-tributary "valiants." Thus we can affirm that this form of holding land was tied up in a certain degree to the existence of the calpullis and was not the fundamental one in Tenochtitlan.

/p. 41/ Let us go to another point: the pillallis. This term is translated as lands of the pillis, the lords of whom we have already spoken about. We have already seen that a portion of the lands of the calpulli was worked for tribute and another for the sustenance of the macehuales (see p. 38), and that the tribute given to the pillis was the working for them of a plot (see p. 24). Thus we are led to believe that the lands of the calpulli (calpullalli) had a portion for the sustenance of the actual pillis (pillalli) and that the rest was the land with which the macehuales sustained themselves. This would

423 be confirmed when we are told that except for the lands sold by lords to merchants, all were, or had been lands of the calpullis (29). The

29. "The lands which they possessed belonged to the town, were common, or belonged to the wards which they had parceled out, and some of the lords sold part of these lands to private individuals and those who bought them left them to their descendents. However, in the beginning they were lands of the villages which they call altepetlalli, or lands of the wards, which they called calpullalli" (Annunciation [Anunciación], p. 238).

possibility should be kept in mind, however, although it is almost impossible, that these lands were separated from the whole of the lands of their calpulli. They would be, in one or the other case, the flesh-colored lands, those of the lords.

Let us examine now the data on other lands, the so-called tecpantlalli: we find this term in the sources, which can be translated as lands of the tecpan. We have already seen that Tecpancaltitlan was one of the tlaxilacallis of Tenochtitlan (see p. 33) which leads us to believe that these lands belonged to this tlaxilacalli. In the tecpantlalli lived the tecpanpouhque or tecpantlaca (30),

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30. Torquemada, II, p. 546; Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

terms which can be respectively translated as "those counted in the tecpan" and "the people of the Tecpan," that is, a determined group of people. They were lands and peoples of the ruler (31), and

31. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

on the land there lived "people who were very esteemed and close to the house of the king, and whom the common esteemed more" (32). All this leads us to believe that these lands were of a group to

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

423 which "the king" (viz. the tlatoani) belonged. These lands "passed
428 from fathers to sons... and if anyone died or went off to other parts, his house and his land remained , and by order of the king or of the ruler, the others of the district put another in his place, " and they could not sell them (33), and the tecpantlacas worked them personally

33. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

(34). These data indicate to us, first, that among them obtained

34. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

the same situation as obtained among the lands of the calpullis and tlaxilacallis: distribution in family parcels and inheritance of use, and that they had a certain unity with respect to a group which used them: its "faction" [="parcialidad"]. All this makes us think that the tecpantlalli were of a calpulli or of a tlaxilacalli, the calpulli or the tlaxilacalli to which the tlatoani belonged.

423 /p. 42/ We are not told only of the tecpantlalli, but also of the tecpillalli, which " ere almost like what they called pillalli" (35).

35. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

Tecpillalli is translated as lands of the pilli or of the pillis of the tecpan, which explains to us what sort of lands they were that received this name: the lands destined for the sustenance of the pillis of the tecpan—the nobles of the calpulli of the tlatoani—, lands which possibly formed a unit with the others of the tecpan, perhaps inlike manner to the lands of other calpullis divided between macehuales and pillis.

423 There were lands and cultivated plots for the temples (36). These
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36. Román y Zamora, I, p. 120; Zurita, p. 176.

surely were of two types since on the one hand there was "a lot in each ward" (37), that is, they were certainly distributed by calpullis.

37. Ramírez Codex [Códice Ramírez], p. 79.

423 But on the other hand there were others which were not or appeared
794 not to be in the same condition, since in these the priests functioned
793 as mayordomos (38) and had tenants and neighbors who gave tribute

38. Clavigero, I, p. 281.

only to the temples (39). Perhaps this means that they were calpullis

39. Román, I, p. 120.

or tlaxilacallis whose lords were priests. Reinforcing this assertion is the fact that these people were differentiated from others and felt it to be an honor to be occupied in that employment (40), somewhat

40. Torquemada, II, p. 165.

similarly to what happened in the case of the tecpantlacas. What we can deduce from all the above, anyway, is that in order to speak of the lands of the Temples one takes as criterion the tribute and not the direct utilization of the land by the priests. Furthermore we can ascertain from our data that the calpulli was an organism basic to the existence of these lands in their particular distribution: each calpulli giving a part of its products, or entire calpullis dedicating themselves to giving tribute exclusively for the sustenance of the religious needs. In some cases these were towns removed from the city proper which were tributary to the temples and which alternated each half year (41). But we do not know what happened during the

41. Torquemada, II, p. 164.

half year when they did not give tribute to the temples. It may be that they continued with their calpulli organization and perhaps only gave tribute to their lords.

423 Something similar to that which occurred with the lands of the
652 temples happened with the lands for war, or yaotlallis, which had various names according to the products which they yielded, cacalomilli, milchimalli (42) and which were "for /p. 43/ food

42. Vetancourt, I, p. 372.

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rations during periods of war" (43). In part they were lands distrib-

43. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

uted "in calpullis and wards according to the number of people there were in each district" (44), possibly of the city proper. These lands

44. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

were to be found also in conquered areas, since we are told that Moctezuma had in all the towns lands marked out which they sowed for him, as for the temples, and whose produce they brought to Tenochtitlan—if there was no garrison—or the garrison ate it, and if they did not sow, they fed them [the garrison] at any rate (45).

45. Oviedo, III, p. 537.

Thus they appear to be simply lands of the calpullis the tribute from which was destined for the sustenance of warriors and for the needs of war. There is however a reference which apparently contradicts the above, although it is possible that it only supplements it: we are told that these lands for war were on the boarder lines and belonged to no one, nor did anybody inherit them, they being occupied and kept up by the chief who was promoting the war (46). This

46. Anonymous. Relation [Relacion], 1554? p. 145.

appears to mean that the tribute from these lands was not inherited by a determined person but was given over to whoever was the war-chief. Indeed they were occupied by common laborers but their tribute was given to the chief of the armies for the needs of war. The reference to their being on the boarder lines may mean that they boardered on conquered land. The possibility that the characteristic of this type of land was that it was destined solely for tribute could be reinforced with the data of Ixtlilxóchitl where [one finds that] in the lands of conquered lords and subjects there were other kinds of land divisions which were called laotlalli (sic. Yaotlalli), which were gained through wars, and of these the greater part belonged to the three heads of the empire one of whom was

423 652 the war chief; and the rest was given and distributed to the lords and citizens who had aided with their persons and vassals in the conquest of such towns gained in war and this most of the time came to be a third of the conquered towns or provinces (47). According to the

47. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

above it appears that the criterion for characterizing this type of land ownership was the ownership of tribute since they were in reality lands of the calpullis like the rest.

423 We are told of another type of land: the tecuhtlalli (the lands of the tecuhtlis). To elucidate what this means we have three references: one, that on these lands the rulers and lords sheltered those who came fleeing from other towns and provinces (48); another, that

48. Annunciation [Anunciación], p. 238.

each Indian lord on his land /p. 44/.....

[Missing section of text. Translator].....

...when people came to it to settle from other parts and to those that were settled they gave land on which to sow, marked "that everyone might know the lands he is to sow, and most of them have their house on the inheritance which they consider their own" (49).

49. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

According to this all the lands which gave tribute to the tecuhtlis appear to be called tecuhtlalli but their organization may have been in calpullis if the arrived settlers remained together with those who were already settled. One has to think, this possibility notwithstanding, that population immigrations were not always of peoples forming calpullis nor that they organized themselves into calpullis upon becoming established. It could well be that part of these lands were those they called tlatocamilli, of which it is said they were 400 units in length and width, that they were leased, and that the rent was eaten and consumed in the house of the ruler (50), and they

423 50. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170. We are also told that they were called itonal intlacatl which means something like "the sign of the birth of the people," that is, perhaps they were those of the ruler's lineage.

[The plots] were many and good, but they could not be disposed of, that is, sold (51). It is possible that the remainder of the tecuhtlallis

51. Zurita, p. 105.

were the lands of the calpullis which could be rented for the benefit of the calpulli (see p. 39). In any case we can accept that in part these lands appear to be lands of the calpullis the tribute from which was for the tecuhtli or tecuhtlis, and that in part the tlatocamílli indeed appear to have been lands possessed by a very limited group, worked by lessees, but by a group with very special and surely hereditary characteristics. Perhaps they were the lands "of the king's household," painted in flesh-color.

The forms studied up to now are communal, the produce of which is divided among those who work them and their chiefs, in different ways. We are finally going to consider a type of land ownership which is completely different from them because it appears to be private property.: We are told that some kinsmen of the rulers, [525] and some lords and merchants, had lands which they could gamble and sell (52). It would appear from this simple fact that there was

52. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

a true free commerce in land; but such was not the case. In the first place in what we have just set down we see that only some of the kinsmen of the rulers, some of the lords and some of the merchants possessed land in this way. If the lords were not at most more than ten percent of the population (see p. 24), the number of such owners must have been very small. In the second place, with respect to the merchants, we can say that if, as we have seen, they evinced a division between nobles and plebians (p. 25), the most likely thing is that the plebian merchants /p. 45/ could not be owners who disposed of their lands freely, as neither could the common macehuales nor even those ennobled through acts of valor (53).

423 53. Torquemada, II, p. 545, 546. Vetancourt, I, p. 273.

This considerably limits the number of owners as well as the number of holdings of this type. Furthermore lands that were subject to any entailed estate could not be sold (54), which surely means that the

54. Torquemada, II, p. 545.

lands which could be sold were not the lands destined for the sustenance of governors of the Tenochca group, nor those destined for the sustenance of the chiefs of the calpullis, nor those set apart for the priests, or for the warriors, or for the hiers among the common members of the calpullis. Perhaps then it concerned parcels of conquered land given to valiant macehuales or to pillis but which were no longer occupied by the macehuales of calpullis, but possibly by the war dead. These plots must have been very few and certainly they did not form the base of society as it stood around the time of the arrival of the Spanish. The lands with occupants given to the valiant nobles were perhaps lands of the calpullis, as were those of the temples, etc., and really constituted only forms of ownership of tribute; on the other hand these, without occupants, indeed were lands with characteristics of private property, from which rent could be obtained if one were noble but not if one were an ennobled macehualy (55), (see p. 40). That is to say that although escaping in part from

55. Torquemada, II, p. 545, 546.

the concrete form of organization into calpullis, they remained within it by being the exclusive property of people whose rank was hereditary, the existence of these ranks being tied to the existence of the calpullis, as we have seen. It remains to find out what were the characteristics of the calpullis in order to decide beyond doubt what was the basis of this special form of the organization of land ownership.

423 We have seen how the distribution of the land was made principally by calpullis which resemble property-owning groups. In this way
x 618 it appears easy to see the role of the calpulli chiefs: the unity with personality was the calpulli, but the chief was one in authority

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before the other calpulli members as before strangers, and the tribute which was rendered him perhaps was not so much as to a proprietor as to a functionary; although very possibly with the course of time there had come about a separation between the ideal role of chief and the real role, the chief taking advantage of his position to obtain a standard of living much superior to that of the macehuales of his own calpulli. This organization of the ownership of the land by calpullis appears to be the fundamental one, and the derived one that of the existence of lands whose tribute was destined for the sustenance of functionaries with very diverse social roles /p. 46/ (priests, warriors, etc.) who really do not seem to be proprietors of land but who have rights to tribute from the calpulli lands. Only the lands of the ennobled macehuales and those of the lords not subject to entailed estate escaped in part from this organization of property by calpullis. All this presents us with two possibilities: one is that the macehuales and the pillis held their lands in common (calpullalli) and that part of these was worked for the sustenance of the pillis, or of the priests or the noble warriors (pillalli). The other possibility is that the macehuales held their lands in common (calpullalli) and the pillis held theirs privately (pillalli, tecpillalli, tlatocamilli) but with certain restrictions of a social nature. In any case both groups, pillis and macehuales, would be owners of lands, and at any rate the lands would remain not subject to being entailed—those of certain tecuhtlis, lords, and merchants—as privately owned lands, but with so many restrictions regarding the persons who asked to possess them, that they did not remain as a principal structure, but secondary in importance. That there were other forms of ownership of the land does not upset the fundamental structure if they do not predominate: we could say that almost all the cultural phenomena obtained in all the communities; but that the important and basic ones are not the same in all the communities. The fundamental problem lies then somewhere else: the ownership of land being strongly determined by the existence of the calpullis, we have to find out what were the bases of the calpullis in order to decide whether these forms, which were the most widespread and important concerning ownership of land, were or were not determined by phenomena of kinship through common descent.

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intervening ditch, and throwing it on the chinampa, by which means the ground is raised generally about a yard, and thus forms a small fertile garden, covered with the finest culinary vegetables, fruits and flowers . . . . . ."[37]

Each consanguine relationship thus gradually surrounded the surface on which it dwelt with a number of garden plots sufficient to the wants of its members.[38] The aggregate area thereof, including the abodes, formed the "*calpullalli*"—soil of the "calpulli,"[39] *and was held by it as a unit;* the *single tracts*, however, being tilled and used for the benefit of the *single families*.[40] The mode of tenure of land among the Mexicans at that period was therefore very simple. The tribe claimed its *territory*, "ALTEPETLALLI," an undefined expanse over which it *might extend*, —the "calpules," however, *held* and *possessed within that territory* such portions of it as were *productive;* each "calpulli" being *sovereign* within its limits, and assigning to its individual members *for their use* the minor tracts into which the soil was parcelled in consequence of their mode of cultivation. If, therefore, the terms "altepetlalli" and "calpulalli" are occasionally regarded as *identical*, it is because the former indicates the *occupancy*, the latter *the distribution* of the soil.[41] We thus recognize in the calpulli, or kindred group, the unit of tenure of whatever soil the Mexicans deemed worthy of definite possession. Further on we

[37] "Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico," by W. Bullock. London, 1824. Cap. XIII, p. 179. It is not devoid of interest to compare the descriptions of this rather superficial, though still truthful observer, with the account of the ancient Chinampas as preserved to us in Tezozomoc (cap. III, p. 9). Durán (cap. VI, pp. 50 and 51). The floats or rafts mentioned by these old authors were nothing else but the chinampas or "floating gardens." Therefore also Tezozomoc uses the term "camellon," or garden-bed. (See also Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473.) Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXII, p. 488). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 149).

[38] Durán (Cap. V). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 6). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXXIII, p. 291. Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 101). Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XVII).

[39] Alonzo de Zurita (p. 51). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 342). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Bustamante ("Tescoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguas Reyes," p. 232).

[40] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 52, 56, 57, 60).—De l'Ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens, etc., etc. (copy of an anonymous MSS. from Simancas, contained in the Uguina collection, and translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Recueil de pièces, etc., pp. 223 and 224.)

[41] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 51-64). Herrera (Doc. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 126). Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo (Letter of 2 Nov., 1532, Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. "Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 253). See also the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pochos y Paga. Pertenecientes á los Caciques de Axapuzco," in "Col. de Doc." of Icazbalceta (Vol. II, p. XIII).

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however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[29] 645 651

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 711 648

[29] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezumas when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America," Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III. 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV. cap. VII. p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maiti"—hand, and "cenalli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 538, of 2d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the grants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excites* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

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chief of the Mexican tribe, with power probably to delegate the same.[64] 648 631

Each of the three tribes elected its head war-chiefs according to its own customs; but the installation in office, *the investiture*, took place with the concurrence of the head-chiefs of the other tribes. This was especially the case in Mexico, where the "tlacatecuhtli" became commander-in-chief of the confederacy.[65]

Each tribe could carry on its own wars, defensive as well as offensive, independently; but if required, the others had to assist, in which case the Mexicans took the lead.[66]

Consequently, each tribe could have its *own conquests*, and levy its *own tribute* upon tribes which it had conquered *alone*.[67]

But wherever the *confederacy* had subjugated a foreign tribe, the spoils as well as all the subsequent tribute were divided among the three members as follows: Mexico and Tezcuco each two-fifths, and Tlacopan one-fifth.[68]

The establishment of this confederacy did not, in any manner whatever, alter the principles already recognized for the tenure and distribution of the soil. It only shows, and the subsequent career of the confederation further supports it, that these principles were common among the three tribes concerned. Wherever their conquests extended, the conquered were not annexed, but simply subjected to tribute, their territory and tribal autonomy were preserved, and no change introduced in the distribution of the soil beyond the reservation of tracts for the raising of tribute. Stewards, "calpixca," were the only representatives of the confederacy or of any of its members, residing permanently with the

[64] Zurita (p. 11). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[65] Mendieta (Lib. II. cap. XXXVII. p. 153). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 253). Durán (Cap. XXXII, p. 255; cap. XXXIX, p. 303; cap. XLI. p. 325; cap. LII, p. 409). Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI, p. 67; cap. LVI, p. 91; caps. LX and LXI, p. 100; cap. LXXXII, pp. 142 and 144). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. I, pp. 2 and 3; cap. LX, p. 49; cap. LXX, p. 102). See also Veytia,—but especially Clavigero, who is very positive (Lib. IV. cap. III. "Besides, the two Kings (of Tezcuco and Tacuba), were honorary assistants to the election of the Mexican Kings. They had but to sanction the election . . . .")

[66] Zurita (p. 67). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 346 and 347).

[67] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[68] Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. LVII. p. 175; cap. XXXIX. p. 144; lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 346, 347 and 349). Zurita ("Rapport," p. 12). Ixtlilxochitl (Cap. XXXII, pp. 219 and 229). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, pp. 164 and 165). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte II, cap. III, pp. 163 and 165). Clavigero (Lib. IV, cap. III).

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423 tributaries.[69] In short, the same treatment to which the Tecpanecas had once submitted, at the hands of the Mexicans *alone*, was the one received by foreign tribes from the confederacy, from the time of its formation down to its overthrow by the Spaniards. All the conquests intervening did not therefore result in the formation of a *state* based upon feudal notions of territorial domain and vassalage, but simply in a conglomerate of scattered tribes often mutually inimical, who looked with terror to the valley of Mexico as the abode of their conquerors. Over these conquerors the Mexicans held military direction, and the name of Mexico, or its equivalent of "Culhua," was best known. As early as 1518, Juan de Grijalva heard it on the coast of Tabasco.[70] This wide diffusion of the *name*, coupled with the still more extensive spread of the language,[71] and the undisguised dread of the natives before that very name, has created in the minds of Europeans the picture of a Mexican nation, state, and feudal Empire; whereas there was nothing else but the military confederacy of the three leading Nahuatl tribes of the valley of Mexico.[72]

423 This rapid sketch of the history of the Mexicans, up to the time when they confederated with the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, has shown to us that in no case was the notion of public domain, of governmental lands, current among the tribes of Mexico. The tribe held no domain,—conquest of another tribe by it did not (as feudal conditions would imply) convert the conquered territory into an annex or dependency of the conqueror, as far as the possession of the soil was concerned. Finally, the confederacy itself, as such, did not even hold a territory of its own, still less did it claim possession of areas occupied by tributary tribes.

It remains now for us to revert again to the distribution of the

[69] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 67). "This kind of tribute or allegiance ("homagelig") was paid to officers established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or of Tacuba, etc., etc. . . . . The chief remaining sovereign, as before the wars, retained the civil and criminal jurisdiction over all their dominions" (Id. p. 96). Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion, etc." Col. de Documentos," vol. II, p. 579). "Art of War" (p. 100, note 17). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 847). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 197).

[70] "Itinerario de l'Armata del Re Catholico in India Verso la Isola de Inchathan del Anno M.D. XVIII," in Col. de Docum, vol. I. p. 258, taken from Ramusio. Originally published (1532), in the "Itinerario de Varthema," an exceedingly rare book. Bernal-Diez ("Hist. verdadera," Vedia II, cap. XI. p. 16).

[71] Orozco y Berra ("Geografía de las Lenguas, etc.," Parte II, p. 83, and the splendid ethnographical chart).

[72] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 11. "The province of Mexico was subject to three principal chiefs, etc. etc. . . ."

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soil, and to establish its customs at the time when the Europeans first trod the Mexican shore.

We readily distinguish several classes of lands, bearing each a different name, besides the "altepetlalli," or tribal territory or range. The latter was the widest circumscription for which the Nahuatl language had a term. (The word "Anahuac," which is often used, is utterly inapplicable, as we have elsewhere shown).[73] No other idea of tenure was connected with it, beyond that of *tribal occupation.*

Each of the numerous tribal areas, overrun by the confederacy (provided the natives were of a sedentary character), contained what we have ventured to call tribute-lots. The name given to these tracts was possibly "yaotlalli," but rather "milchimalli" ("lands of war," and "shield-lands").[74] As before said, the soil of these tracts was still held in original tenure by the kinships composing the conquered tribe, but the *crops* went towards the tribute. There is no indication about the size of these areas, and they were the only ones directly connected with the conquerors.

Of those tracts whose products were exclusively applied to the governmental needs of the pueblo or tribe itself (taken as an independent unit) there were, as we have already seen, two particular classes:

The first was the "tecpan-tlalli:"—land of the house of the community, whose crops were applied to the sustenance of such as employed themselves in the construction, ornamentation, and repairs of the public house. Of these there were sometimes several within the tribal area. They were tilled in common by special families who resided on them, using the crops in compensation for the work they performed on the official buildings.[75]

[73] Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 22, and note 10) makes the very sensible remark that the name "Anahuac" did not at all apply to a "state" or "empire," etc., but in general to all countries situated in the neighborhood of considerable bodies of water,—such as lakes or large streams; or the shores of the sea.

[74] MSS. from Simancas "De l'ordre de succession observe par les Indiens relativement à leurs Terres et de leurs Territoires communaux," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in "Recueil de Pièces," etc., pp. 223 and 224. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV. He includes them positively in the soil of the kinships, and treats them as communal lands, the product of which furnished military supplies). "Yaotlalli" is improper (see "Art of War," p. 135, note 136), but "Milchimalli" is possible.

[75] From "tecpan," chief-house (Molina, Parte II, p. 95), and "tlalli," soil (Id. p. 124). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). "There was another class of lands which belonged to the chief's income; and those who dwelt on them and cultivated them were

651 423 The second class was called "tlatoca-tlalli"—land of the speakers. Of these there was but one tract in each tribe, which was to be "four-hundred of their measures long on each side, each measure being equal to three Castilian rods."[76] The crops raised on such went exclusively to the requirements of the household at the "tecpan," comprising the head-chief and his family with the assistants.[77] The tract was worked in turn by the other members

called Tecpanpouhqui, or Tecpantlaca, which signifies: people of the palace and renters of the King. Such were held to keep in repair the royal palaces, clean the gardens, and to attend to the cleanliness and to the necessities of the royal palaces. They were regarded with much respect, as people most directly connected with the houses of the King. When the Lord sallied forth, they accompanied him, and they paid no other tribute but bouquets (Ramilletes," flower-bunches) and birds of all kind, which they offered to the King. Such lands descended from father to son, but they could not sell them, nor dispose of them in any way, and if one of them died without heirs, or left the place, his house and lands remained for those of his kin ("parcialidad") to put another in his place, according to the commands of the King, or of the Lord."—Herrera (Dec. III, lib. cap. XV, p. 125).—Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196). "Besides these each pueblo also had other kinds of lands called tecpantlalli, or lands of the palace or rentals of the chief, because its crops also went integrally towards the constructions and repairs of the palaces of the Kings, and towards other expenses able from the sustenance. The people who cultivated them were also plebeians, but they were set apart for it in each place, and were called tecpanpuhque or tecplantlaca, that is, people pertaining to the palaces, and they could not work any other lands." Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques cap. XXXV, p. 243. "There were others known by the name of Tecpantlali, or lands which depend from the palaces of the Lords. The Indians tilling them were called tecpanpouhque, or people connected with the palaces of the Lords"). Bustamante ("Tezcoco," etc., Parte III, cap. V, pp. 233 and 234). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "The ownership of the crownlands, called Tecpantlalli, remained in the King, but certain gentlemen called Tecpanpouhque or Tecpantlaca, *i.e.* people of the palace, had the enjoyment thereof. These paid no tribute but flowers and certain birds which they offered to the King in token of allegiance. But they were obligated to keep the royal palace in repair, or to construct new ones if needed; to tend to the royal gardens, and to care for the vassals in their district. It was their duty to attend court, to escort the King, if he appeared in public; and thus they were highly considered. If one of them died, his son succeeded in all his duties, but he lost his rights by removing from the place, in which case the King gave him the use of another tract, or left it to the community, in whose area the land lay, to assign to him another piece."

The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the King, and only the crops went to certain official purposes. The occupants thereof were not serfs, since it is implied that they might remove at their pleasure, but, as any other members of a calpulli, in accordance with what we shall hereafter show, they lost by removal their right of use to that particular tract. They were properly the "official artisans."

[804] [76] Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Veda (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195): "This had to be four-hundred of their measures in square ('encuadro,' each side long); each one of these being equal to three castilian rods. . . ." See "Art of War" (p. 944, note 185). "The rod" (vara) is equal to 2.7280 feet English (Guyot).

[77] From "tlatoca" speakers, or "tlatoani" speaker, and "tlalli." Simancas M. S. S. on the customs of succession ("Recueil de Pièces, etc." p. 223). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 130). "There were other kinds of lands that were attached to the lordship (office?), which they called of the lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, and rented them to whom they pleased, drawing much rent from them,

[Errata, should be "Kin". See 16:Bandelier, cat. 116, p. 663, note 216.- Analyst]

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of the tribe, and it remained always public ground, reserved for the same purposes.[78] 651 423

Both of these kinds were often comprised in one, and it is even not improbable that the first one may have been but a variety of the general tribute-lands devoted to the benefit of the conquering confederates. Still, the evidence on this point is too indefinite to warrant such an assumption.

While the crops raised on the "tecpan-tlalli," as well as on the "tlatoca-tlalli," were consumed exclusively by the official houses and households of the tribe, the soil itself which produced these crops was neither claimed nor possessed by the chiefs themselves, or their descendants. It was simply, as far as its products were concerned, official soil.[79]

The establishing and maintaining of these areal subdivisions was very simple with the tribes of the mainland, since they all possessed ample territories for their wants and for the requirements of their organizations. *Their* soil formed a contiguous unit. It was not so, however, with the Mexicans proper. With all their industry in adding artificial sod to the patch on which 423 311

spending it in the house of the King.") Ixtlilxochitl (Ibid. cap. XXXV, p. 242. "In the best location of the territory there was set off a field, which held exactly four hundred measures in length and breadth. This was called Tlatocatlali or Tlatocamilli that is: land or plantation of the Lord, and also Itonal Yutlacal, or lands on which the inhabitants are compelled to work.") Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 537). Veytia, (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195, confirms Ixtlilxochitl almost verbally, adding: "For the sowing and cultivation of these the calpixque, which was an officer of the community in each pueblo, daily designated those who had to attend to it, out of the plebeians and tributaries, and all the crops went to the Lord for the maintenance of his house ('casa' family)." Zurita does not use the term which we have adopted, because he is chiefly struck by the communal tenure, as exhibited in the "calpulalli." The fact of their being communal land, though set off for a special purpose, and *not owned* by the chiefs, is plain.

[78] Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196). It is superfluous to revert to the erroneous impression, that the chiefs might dispose of it.

[79] "Patrimonial Estates" are mentioned frequently, but the point is, where are they to be found. Neither the "tecpantlalli" nor the "tlatoca-tlalli," still less the "calpulalli," show any trace of individual ownership. "Eredad" (heirloom) is called indiscriminately "milli" and "cuemitl" (Molina Parte Ia. p. 57). The latter is also rendered as "tierra labrada, ó camellon" (Molina. Parte IIa. p. 26). It thus reminds us of the "chinamitl" or garden-bed (as the name "camellon" also implies), and reduces it to the proportion of an ordinary cultivated lot among the others contained within the area of the calpulli. It is also called "tlalli," but that is the general name for soil or ground. "Tierras o eredades de particulares, juntas en alguna vega," is called "tlalmilli." This decomposes into "tlalli" soil, and "milli." But "vega" signifies a fertile tract or field, and thus we have again the conception of communal lands, divided into lots improved by particular families, as the idea of communal tenure necessarily implies.

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423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 100 and 101).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII,
[351] p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial soil to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon, to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population.—In the
[312 North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and
764] only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 21). See note 57.

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tracts were but "official tracts," and they were apart from those 651
reserved for the special use of the kinships. The latter may have 423
furnished that *general* tribute which, although given nominally to the head war-chief still was, "for all the Mexicans in common."[84]

The various classes of lands which we have mentioned were, as 618
far as their tenure is concerned, included in the "calpulalli" or 423
lands of the kinships. Since the kin, or "calpulli," was the unit of governmental organization, it also was the unit of *landed tenure.* Clavigero says: "The lands called altepetlalli, that is: those who belonged to the communities of the towns and villages, were divided into as many parts as there were quarters in a town, and each quarter held its own for itself, and without the least connection with the rest. Such lands could in no manner be alienated."[85] These "quarters" were the "Calpulli," hence it follows *that the consanguine groups* held the "altepetlalli" or *Soil of the tribe.*[86]

We have, therefore, in Mexico, the identical mode of tenure of 423
lands, which Polo de Ondogardo had noted in Peru and reported to the king of Spain as follows: ". . . . . although the crops and other produce of these lands were devoted to the tribute, the land itself belonged to the people themselves. Hence a thing will be apparent which has not hitherto been properly understood. When any one wants land, it is considered sufficient if it can be shown that it belonged to the Inca or to the sun. But in this the Indians are treated with great injustice. For in those days they paid the tribute, and *the land was theirs.* . . . . ."[87]

The expanse held and occupied by the calpulli, and therefore 618
called calpulalli," was possessed by the kin in *joint* tenure.[88] It 423

[84] Tezozomoc (Cap. X. p. 18). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 227). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII. p. 138. "I no era en mano del Señor disponer de estos Tributos á su voluntad, porque se alteraba la Gente, i los Principales." This refers specially to the tribute by quarters "barrios."

[85] Storia del Messico" (Lib. VII, cap. XIV).

[86] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichim.," Cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 345).

[87] "Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, translated from the original Spanish manuscripts, and edited by Clement R. Markham." Publication of the "Hacklluyt Society," 1873. "Report of Polo de Ondegardo" who was "Regidor" of Cuzco, in 1560; and a very important authority (See Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," note to Book I, cap. V). Confirmed by Garcia ("El Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 102).

[88] Zurita ("Rapport, etc., etc., p. 30). "The chiefs of the second class are yet called Calpullec in the singular and Chinancallec in the plural. (This is evidently incorrect, since the words "Calpulli" and "Chinancalli" can easily be distinguished from each other. "Chinancalli," however, after Molina means "cercado de seto" (Parte IIa, p.

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618 It.
423 could neither be alienated nor sold; in fact, there is no trace of
[425] barter or sale of land, previous to the conquest.[89] If, however, any calpulli weakened, through loss of numbers from any cause whatever, it might farm out its area to another similar group, deriving subsistence from the rent.[90] If the kinship died out, and its lands therefore became vacant, then they were either added to those of another whose share was not adequate for its wants, or they were distributed among all the remaining calpulli.[91] The calpulli was

21), or an enclosed area, and if we connect it with the old original "chinamitl" we are forcibly carried back to the early times, when the Mexicans but dwelt on a few flakes of more or less solid ground. This is an additional evidence in favor of the views we have taken, of the growth of landed tenure among the Mexican tribe. We must never forget, that the term is "Nahuatl" and as such recognized by all the other tribes, outside of the Mexicans proper. The interpretation as "family" in the QQuiché tongue of Guatemala, which we have already mentioned, turns up here as of further importance). th. is chiefs of an old race or family, from the word Calpulli or Chinancalli, which is the same, and signifies a quarter (barrio), inhabited by a family known, or of old origin, which possesses since long time, a territory whose limits are known, and whose members are of the same lineage." "The calpullis, families or quarters, are very common in each province. Among the lands which were given to the chiefs of the second class, there were also calpullis. These lands are the property of the people in general ("de la masse du peuple") from the time the Indians reached this land. Each family or tribe received a portion of the soil for perpetual enjoyment. They also had the name of calpulli, and until now this property has been respected. They do not belong to each inhabitant of the village in particular, but to the calpulli, which possesses them in common." Don Ramirez de Fuenleal, letter dated Mexico, 3 Nov. 1532 ("Recueil de pièces, etc., Ternaux-Compans, p. 253). "There are very few people in the villages which have lands of their own . . . . the lands are held in common and cultivated in common." Herrera (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135) confirms, in a condensed form, the statements of Zurita: "and they are not private lands of each one, but held in common." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Veytia (Lib. III, cap, VI, p. 196). "Finally there were other tracts of lands in each tribe, called calpulalli, which is, land of the calpules (barrios), which also were worked in common." Oviedo (Lib. XXXII, cap. LI, pp. 536 and 537). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa. cap. V, p. 232).

[89] Zurita (p. 52). "He who obtained them from the sovereign has not the right to dispose of them." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135), "he who possessed them, could not alienate them, although he enjoyed their use for his lifetime." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Disputes about lands are frequently mentioned but they refer to the enjoyment and possession, and not the transfer of the land. Baron Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments indigènes des peuples de l' Amérique," Vol. I, Tab. V), reproduces a Mexican painting representing a litigation about land. But this painting was made subsequent to the conquest, as the fact that the parties contending are Indians and Spaniards sufficiently asserts. Occasional mention is made that certain lands "could be sold." All such tracts, however, like the "pillah" have been shown by us to be held in communal tenure of the soil, their *enjoyment* alone being given to individuals and their families.

[90] Zurita (p. 52). "In case of need it was permitted to farm out the lands of a calpulli to the inhabitants of another quarter." Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 134). "They could be rented out to another lineage."

[91] Zurita (p. 52). "When a family dies out, its lands revert to the calpulli, and the chief distributes them among such members of the quarter as are most in need of it."

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a democratic organization. Its business lay in the hands of elective chiefs:—"old men," promoted to that dignity, as we intend to prove in a subsequent paper, for their merits and experience, and after severe religious ordeals. These chiefs formed the council of the kin or quarter, but their authority was not absolute since on all important occasions a general meeting of the kindred was convened.[92] The council in turn selected an executive, the "calpullec" or "chinancallec" who, in war, officiated as "achcacauhtin" or "teachcauhtin" (elder brother).[93]—This office was for life or during good behavior.[94] It was one of his duties to keep a reckoning of the soil of the calpulli, or "calpulalli," together with a record of its members, and of the areas assigned to each family,—and to note also whatever changes occurred in their distribution.[95] Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;

[92] Zurita (pp. 60, 61, 62). Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Letter, etc." Ternaux-Compans, p. 249).

[93] Zurita (p. 60). "The calpulli have a chief taken necessarily from among the tribe, he must be one of the principal inhabitants, an able man who can assist and defend the people. The election takes place among them. . . . The office of this chief is not hereditary; when any one dies, they elect in his place the most respected old man. . . . If the deceased has left a son who is able the choice falls upon him, and a relative of the former incumbent is always preferred" (Id. pp. 50 and 223). Simancas M. S. S. ("De l'ordre de succession, etc.;" "Recueil," p. 225). "As to the mode of regulating the jurisdiction and election of the alcaldes and regidors of the villages, they nominated men of note who had the title of achcacaulitin. . . . . There were no other elections of officers . . ." "Art of War, etc." (pp. 119 and 120).

[94] Zurita (pp. 60 and 61). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, cap. 125). "I le elegian entre si y tenian por maior."

[95] Zurita (pp. 61 and 62). "This chief has charge of the lands of the calpulli. It is his duty to defend their possession. He keeps paintings showing the tracts, the names of their holders, the situation, the limits, the number of men tilling them, the wealth of private individuals, the designations of such as are vacant, of others that belong to the Spaniards, the date of donation, to whom and by whom they were given. These paintings he constantly renews, according to the changes occurring, and in this they are very skilful." It is singular that Motolinia, in his "Epistola proémial" ("Col. de Doc.:" Icazbalceta, Vol. I, p. 5), among the five "books of paintings" which he says the Mexicans had, makes no mention of the above. Neither does he notice it in his letter dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," Ternaux-Compans). Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304) says, "porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las cuesas, como haziendas, casas, ó maizales" (Id. cap. XXV, p. 314). This tends to prove the existence of such paintings. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 125). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 548), "and in order to prevent any confusion in these lands they painted them on long strips ("lienzos") in the following manner. The lands of the calpules light yellow, those of the principale flesh-red, and the lands of the Kings income of a fiery red color,—so that, on opening one of these rolls, the entire pueblo, its limits and outlines could be seen at a glance." This is another confirmation of our views about the distribution of the soil, and the fact that the two latter classes had but different shades of red, is somewhat significant. See Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV), who confirms. The explanation of Zurita covers the whole ground, however, and explains both of the last statements.

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618 Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;
423 more important ones, or contested cases, had to be referred to the
[627] council of the kinship, which in turn often appealed to a gathering of the entire quarter.[96]

The "calpulalli" was divided into lots or arable beds, "tlalmilli."[97] These were assigned each to one of the married males of the kinship, to be worked by him for his use and that of his family. If one of these lots remained unimproved for the term of two consecutive years, it fell back to the quarter for redistribution. The same occurred if the family enjoying its possession removed from the calpulli. But it does not appear that the cultivation had always to be performed by the holders of the tract themselves. The fact of improvement under the *name* of a certain tenant was only required, to insure this tenant's rights.[98]

622 Therefore the chiefs and their families, although they could not,
618 from the nature of their duties, till the land themselves, still could
423 remain entitled to their share of "tlalmilpa," as members of the calpulli. Such tracts were cultivated by others for their use. They were called by the specific name of "pillali" (lands of the chiefs or of the children, from "piltontli" boy, or "piltzintli,"

[96] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 56 and 62). We quote him in preference, since no other author, known to us, has been so detailed.

[97] "tlalmilli" = tierras, á heredades de particulares, que estan juntas en alguna vega" (Molina, Part IIa, p. 134).

[98] Each family, represented by its male head, obtained a certain tract or lot for cultivation and use, Zurita (p. 55). "The party (member of the calpulli, because no member of another one, had the right to settle within the area of it. See Id. p. 53), who has no lands, applies to the chief of the calpulli who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him such as correspond to his ability and wants. These lands go to his heirs . . . . . ." Id. (p. 56.) "The proprietor who did not cultivate during two years, either through his own fault or through negligence, without just cause . . . . . he was called upon to improve them, and if he failed to do so, they were given to another the following year." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa, p. 190, cap. I). The fact, that any holder of a "tlalmilli" might *rent* out his share, if he himself was occupied in a line precluding him from actual work on it, results from the lands of the "calpulli" being represented alternately treated as communal, and again as private lands. Besides, it is said of the traders who, from the nature of their occupation, were mostly absent, that they were also members and participants of a "calpulli" (Zurita, p. 223. Sahagun Lib. VIII, cap. III, p. 249). Now, as every Mexican belonged to a kinship, which held lands after the plan exposed above, it follows that such as were not able to work themselves, on account of their performing other duties subservient to the interests of the community, still preserved their tracts by having others to work them for their benefit. It was not the right of tenancy which authorizes the improvement, but the fact of improvement for a certain purpose and benefit, which secured the possession or tenancy.

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child),[99] and those who cultivated them carried the appellation of 423
"tlalmaitl"—hands of the soil.[100]

The "tlalmilpa," whether held by chiefs or by ordinary members 423
of the kin ("macehuales") were, therefore, the only tracts of land possessed for use by individuals in ancient Mexico. They were so far distinguished from the "tecpantlalli" and "tlatocatlalli" in their mode of tenure as, whereas the latter two were dependent

[99] It is just the "pillali" which oppose the greatest difficulties to this investigation, and to a clear conception of the mode of tenure of lands in ancient Mexico. They are generally represented (whenever mentioned), as private domains of the chiefs. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, pp. 545 and 546), distinguishes two kinds of "pillali." The first one he says might be sold,—but he places the restriction upon them, that such as held lands through conquest ("sujecion") or through gift ("merced") of the chief, had to go to the descendants, as majorat; and if they died without heirs, the King, or Lord became such, and they were incorporated into his royal Estates." The other kind was not transmissible at all. Clavigero (Lib. XVII, cap. XIV). We notice here a confusion between official tracts and such lots of the "calpulli" as pertained to the chief's family in consequence of their membership of the Kin. Also between "tribute-lots" and the official tracts, of conquered tribes. Torquemada acknowledges, that the "pillali," upon the death of the family, were incorporated in the calpulli to which that family belonged, "in order that they might pay tribute." This ought to define their true position and nature. [428]

[100] From "tlalli" soil, and "maitl" hand. Hands of the soil. Molina (Parte IIa, p. 124), has: "tlalmaitl"—"labrador, ò gañan." This name is given in distinction of the "macehuales" or people working the soil in general. The tlalmaites are identical with the "mayeques." See Zurita (p. 224), "tlalmaites or mayeques, which signifies tillers of the soil of others . . . ." He distinguishes them plainly from the "teccalloc" which are the "tecpanponhque" or "tecpantlaca" formerly mentioned as attending to a class of official lands (p. 221, Zurita). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These mayeques could not go from one tract to another, neither leave those which they cultivated, and they paid a rent to its masters according as they agreed upon ("en lo que se concertaban") in what they raised. They paid tribute to nobody else but the master of the land." This tends to show that there existed, not an established obligation, a serfdom, but a voluntary contract, that the "tlalmaites" were not serfs, but simply renters. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII. p. 545). ". . . . those that were knights ("caballeros") and descendants of the families of the Kings, and Lords, had their particular lands and their rentals, where many of them held renters ("terrazgueros") which served them, tilled the crops and served them in their houses. These lands were called pillali or "land of nobles and knights." We prefer the etymology "piltontli" "niño ò niña, muchacho ó muchacha" (Molina, II, p. 88), or "piltzintli" niño ó niña" therefore lands of the children,—to the derivation from "pilli." The title of chief was "tecuhtli," and the word "pilli" substituted for it is certainly but in connection with the occupation of a particular place of office, and not a title itself. Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 226. "The sovereigns as well as the inferior Lords and other principals had their own patrimonial estates, and in them their mayeques or Tlalmayeo, what these gave of rent were tributes of the Lord," Id. pp. 233 and 234). 427

The "tlalmaites" appear to have been free from other tributes, and free from communal labor outside of the "pillali" (Bustamante, p. 233. Herrera, Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). It is not very clear, however, whether this applies simply to the conquering tribe alone, or also to the tlalmaites of conquered tribes, as towards the tribute due by that tribe to their conquerors. The detailed relations between the two are yet somewhat obscure and confuse in some points. [566] [446]

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423 from a certain office, the incumbent of which changed at each election, the "tlalmilli" was assigned to a certain family, and its possession, therefore, connected with *customs* of *inheritance*.[101]

428 Being thus led to investigate the customs of Inheritance of the ancient Mexicans, we have to premise here, that the personal effects of a deceased can be but slightly considered. The rule was in general, that whatever a man held, descended to his offspring.[102] Among most of the northern Indians a larger cluster participated.[103] In conformity with the organization of Society based upon kin, when in the first stage of its development, the kindred group inherited, and the common ancestor of this kin being considered a female, it follows that if a man died, not his children, still less his wife, but his mother's descendants, that is: his brothers, sisters, in fact the entire consanguine relationship from which he derived on his mother's side, were his heirs.[104] Such may have been the case even among the Muysca of New-

[101] Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Letter," see "Recueil. etc.," p. 233). "De l' ordre de succession, etc., etc." Simancas MSS. (Id. p. 221). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). These authors mention only the "pillali," but Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, pp. 120 and 121), and Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434), apply it in general, and the latter is even very positive about the tributaries ("los pecheros.") Also Zurita (p. 56), although contradictory on p. 51).

[102] Motolinia (Tratado II, cap. V, p. 120), "but they left their houses and lands to their children . . ." Gomara (p. 434). "Es costumbre de pecheros que el hijo mayor herede al padre en toda la hacienda raiz y mueble, y que tenga y mantenga todos los hermanos y sobrinos, con tal que hagan ellos lo que el les mandare." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). "In Mexico and nearly the entire realm, the royal family excepted as already told, the sons succeeded to the father's rights,—and if there were no sons, then the brothers, and the brothers sons inherited." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 219). In all these cases, Bustamante only speaks of chiefs; but the quotations from Motolinia and Gomara directly apply to the people in general.

[103] Mr. L. H. Morgan has investigated the customs of inheritance, not only among the northern Indians, but also among the pueblo Indians of New Mexico. He establishes the fact, that the "kinship" or "Gens," which we may justly consider as the unit of organization in American Aboriginal Society, participated in the property of the deceased. He proves it among the Iroquois ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. II, pp. 75 and 76). Wyandottes, Id. cap. VII, p. 156. Missouri-tribes, p. 155. Winnebagoes, p. 157. Mandans, p. 158. Minnitarees, p. 159. Creeks, p. 161. Choctas, p. 162. Chickasas, p. 163. Ojibwas, p. 167; also Potowattomies and Cree, Miamis, p. 168. Shawnees, p. 169. Sauks, Foxes and Menominies, p. 170. Delawares, p. 172. Munsees and Mohegans, p. 173. Finally, the pueblo Indians of New Mexico are shown to have, if not the identical at least a similar mode of inheritance. It would be easy to secure further evidence, from South America also.

[104] "Ancient Society" (Part II, cap. II, p. 75. Part IV, cap. I, pp. 528, 530, 531, 536 and 537).

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648 fief, still virtually created,—what his subsequently became in Spanish America,—a *domain* of the Spanish crown. Armed with it, and fully convinced of its validity,[117] the Spaniards regarded at once the soil of Mexico as their king's own, and therefore claimed the right as his agents, to dispose of it through distribution according to their home-laws and customs. But, instead of proclaiming this title at once after the landing, as was done on many other points of the American coast,[118] Cortés found it advisable to delay such a formal declaration until after he had, by his own inspection, satisfied himself of the proper ways and means to secure possession. He quickly found out the disconnected state of the country, although he attributed it to causes which were not really existing,[119] and it is well known how he improved it for his plans. He therefore treated secretly, as much as possible, with members of tribes subjected (or rather tributary) to the Mexicans and their confederates,[120] and in consideration of their espousing the Spanish cause, he promised them sundry favors.[121] The oldest document issued by Europeans on Mexican soil embodies such a negotiation with chiefs of the tribes of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, both pueblos being situated within the valley of Mexico itself.[122] It promises

[117] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 31 and 32). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 108). Mendieta (Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 18-29), and many others. All these authorities can be summed up in Robertson's classical words: "The Pope, as vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth" ("History of America," 9th Edition, 1800. Vol. I, Book II, p. 150). It appears that already Grijalva had, in 1518, taken possession formally of the Mexican coast. (Oviedo, Lib. XVII, cap. XV, p. 525)

[118] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. VII, cap. XIV, pp. 197 and 198). Robertson (Vol. I, Book III, p. 271; also note XXIII, p. 376).

[119] Cortés supposed a Mexican state or empire and his measures were taken in consequence. ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 12). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 313). Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Hist. verd. de la conq. de N. España," Vedia II, pp. 32 and 33). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, pp. 386 and 387), etc. etc.

[120] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 13 and 15). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. XLI, p. 36). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Andrés de Tapia ("Col. de Documentos," of Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 561 and 562). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," Vedia, I, p. 330). But the main evidence is furnished by the document published by Icazbalceta in his second volume of the "Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," in the 2d volume, and entitled: "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, pertenecientes á los Caciques de Axapusco, de la jurisdiccion de Otumba" (pp. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9).

[121] "Real Ejecutoria" (Col. de doc. II, p. 7). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 320). Clavigero (Lib. VIII, cap. XI).

[122] The pueblos of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco are situated along the road leading from the city of Mexico to Tullanzinco, in the state of Mexico proper, northwest of San Juan de Teotihuacan. As the Document to which we have already referred im-

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to those chiefs lands of their own. The grantees had no conception 648
of the true import of what they accepted, neither did Cortés conceive the nature of *their* ideas. It was the object of the Indians

plies, they were under Spanish rule included in the jurisdiction of Otumba. This docu- 114
ment itself requires particular attention. It has been published by Sr. Icazbalceta in 648
the second volume of his documentary collections, and its authenticity has been carefully 423
examined—and, we think, successfully proven—by Sr. José F. Ramirez. Its history is not devoid of interest, and we record it here, partly from the document itself, and partly from the introduction and notes by the late Sr. Ramirez.

On the 9th day of March, 1617, there appeared before the viceroy of New Spain (Marques of Guadalcazar), Leonardo de Salazar "in the name of the governor, alcalde and fiscals" of the pueblo of San Esteban Axapusco and Santiago Tepeyahualco, "of the jurisdiction of Otumba," praying for a confirmation in writing by the viceroy, of a certain grant made by Cortés, and approved by the King and his royal council under seal,—to the aforesaid pueblos. In order to obtain said confirmation it was alleged: that the grant, written on "nine leaves" was so torn and damaged, that it would no longer bear handling,—and that through its loss the inhabitants of said settlements might come to grief. The petition was immediately granted and it was ordained, on the 19 of March 1617, that a copy of the original grant should be executed, and that in such places where the text was torn or obliterated through damage to the originals, common belief or tradition should prevail as far as it related to the contents of the document ("obre la fé que hubiere lugar en derecho"). The desired copy and certificates were accordingly issued on the 21st day of March, 1617.

This copy embodies the mutilated text of a very singular official paper. It appears from it that on the 20th day of May 1519, Cortés executed, in favor of two Indian chiefs of the two aforesaid pueblos, and at their request, a certificate (signed by himself at San Juan de Ulúa on that day and countersigned: Pedro Hernandez), stating that the said chiefs had joined the messengers sent from Mexico to greet and espy Cortés upon his arrival at the coast,—with the intention of approaching him secretly and offering him their assistance in any designs he might have against the Mexicans, whom they said held them severely to tribute. This they achieved, and took allegiance to the crown of Spain. In return Cortés promised to them that "after our journey should be accomplished . . . . . to them should in the first place be made the greatest honor possible in return for so much noble subtility and good-will." He also promised "to make them grandees and Lords of lands where they now have their pueblos." The facts thus alleged were contained in the original document, written consequently about 30 days after the landing of Cortés on the coast of Vera Cruz. But this act itself was included, as a copy, in a further grant, dated 16 December, 1526, in which Cortés acknowledges the services rendered by the two chiefs during the conquest of Mexico, and that after that pueblo had been captured, the said chiefs returned to their tribes "well paid with the booty," relying upon the fulfilment of his original promises. It further states that: six years having elapsed since, and to most of the chiefs who had assisted the Spanish cause, lands had been given, he remembered the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, "and by these presents in the royal name of His majesty gave them four tracts ("cuatro sitios de estancias") . . . . . in the territory of their said pueblos." These lands were freed from all taxes and impositions, and the chiefs and their heirs were invested forever with the lordship and the office of governors ("gobernadores") of the pueblo to which they belonged. This grant of Cortés was confirmed by the Emperor Charles V, and the royal council of the Indies, 2d November, 1537, and on the 9 and 10 February, 1540, the said chieftains were duly installed in their new hereditary positions, and their lands measured off to them.

Doubts were raised as to the genuineness of the document, but these are set aside completely by the fact that, not more than 96 years after its first execution, the Spanish authorities have legally acknowledged it. Some objections relating to imperfections in the text, apparent anachronisms, have been eliminated through the judicious

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648 178 Aborigines themselves the Spaniards naturally profited for further encroachments. Many "encomenderos" used the authority of the chiefs to turn their Indian serfs into actual slaves, others in turn improved the new perspective opened to the natives towards the acquisition of private lands, for the purpose of undermining the influence and authority of the chieftains.[140] Frequently, also, the ignorance in which the Indians were, as to the

Tepeaca to Pedro Armildes Chirino,— Chilchota to Juan de Sámano, etc., etc. Each of these, especially the first one, comprised several villages, nay a whole tribe.

Compare the letter of the Archbishop Montufar, 30 Nov., 1554 ("Cruautés horribles, etc." Appendix, 255-260). Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). The complaints are principally, against such as hold offices under the conquerors, and such to whom lands were given out of the calpulalli. The petition of Montufar is a terrible accusation against the Indian chiefs. Gomara, however, qualifies it as one of the good effects of the conquest that the Indians since that time "hold lands" (Vedia I). Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17) is very severe on the collectors of rent for the whites. But these collectors must have been mostly Indians,— *chiefs*, as he himself acknowledges in his Cholula-letters.

[140] Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17). Montufar (pp. 255-260) Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Ceynes, Second Letter, 1 March, 1565 (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 240 and 241). Zurita (p. 63) is of special importance, exposing the intrigues of the Spanish conquerors among the Indian communities, inciting the natives to litigations against their chiefs. Mendieta, in his remarkable letter from Tolnca, 1 Jan'y, 1572, to Fray Francisco de Bustamante, commissary general, at Mexico, devotes his principal attention to the pernicious influence of the Spanish interpreters and lawyers, inciting the Indians to litigation before the "Audiencia" and not before the viceroy. He says for inst. (p. 582), "that without comparison their condition and behavior was better at their time of gentility than now. For at the time they were heathens they did not know of lawyers ("letrado" properly men of letters), scribes, nor attorneys, neither of litigations, nor to spend in such (squabbles) their properties and ruin their souls. To-day, since the opportunity is afforded to them, and they being naturally quarrelsome, disposed to tackle and injure each other, they are so fond of it as to have them continually on hand, without cause nor reason, and (such are) always the worst and most abject of the tribe. Therefore not a single community is found in New Spain which is not disturbed, and does not spend nearly as much in litigation as they pay of tribute to H. M., or to the encomendero every year. And since they are of little understanding, and not versed in law, I hold all what the interpreters and attorneys gain by it as so much of a robbery as if they would take it from the houses at night. Such do not even deny their base actions, but confess openly that they do it, without any other excuse than that H. M. gives them permission." On p. 586, he says: "certain particular Indians in all the settlements do great mischief, knowing that they have recourse to the court, and among the pretenses to cover their malice they use two most commonly, which are: demand account of the communal property, pretending that the principals spend it, and the other, to have the conduct of their officers investigated under color that these abuse of their position (power)." Zurita (p. 63), speaking of the intrigues against the chiefs says: "the ordinary tribute and prestations failing, they fall into the most abject misery, become dejected, dare not speak, and do not know where to apply for protection. For all this the rebels do not cause any loss to the encomendero as to his tribute . . . . In this manner they ruin the chiefs in a very short time, for all their property consists in the work of their vassals, as soon as that ceases, if it was but for a single day, they lack every requisite for life." (This quotation is in itself, we think, the most ample confirmation of what we have advanced upon the subject of aboriginal tenure of the soil, and fully disproves what has been assumed in regard to the chiefs holding and owning lands of their own). See also Memorial of Bartolomé de Las Casas (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 229 and 230).

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618 marked improvement, at least in the personal condition of the Indians. They were, hereafter, at least to some extent, protected from the bodily slavery in which the former acts had plunged them. In regard to the tenure of lands, however, the laws wrought no change. Further direct spoliations became more difficult, but the new principle of private ownership had been firmly implanted, not merely *around* but *among* the natives themselves, and the obliteration of the ancient usages, by the extension of this principle, could not be stayed.

618 423 Of the aboriginal mode of tenure of lands and of their distribution, but one vestige remained—the last monument so to say, and the one which embodies, happily, all its principal features. These are the lands of *kinship*, held in common by the consanguine group or calpulli, and called as we have seen, "calpulalli," by the Mexicans.

Although their order had been very much disturbed since in many cases the official tracts, "tecpan-tlalli" and "tlatoca- tlalli," as well as those apportioned to the chiefs as members of the kin, "tlalmilli," were appropriated by the conquerors,—the bulk of the "calpulalli" could not, for a long time, be disintegrated for private uses, notwithstanding the still more nefarious influence exercised by the donation of lands to individuals, with the faculty of barter or sale, in the very heart of the organization itself. Even up to the present time, these communal tracts are still found in Mexico, occupied and tilled by the aborigines after their original customs.[151]

171 [151] Mr. James Pascoe, an English gentleman, resident of Toluca, has in a letter reported upon by the French "Journal des Missions Evangéliques" (1874), given a detailed description of the condition of the Indians in his vicinity. His statements about their communal system of tenure, the eligibility of their chiefs, etc., etc. ("gobernadores") are very positive and plain.

Mr. Stephens, in "Travels in Yucatan" (Vol. II, cap. I, pp. 14 and 15), described the mode of life of the settlement ("rancho") of Sohswill near Nohcacab, which settlement contained about "one hundred labradores, or working men, their lands are held and worked in common, and the products are shared by all. Their food is prepared at one hut, and every family sends for its portion, etc., etc."

Brantz-Mayer: ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1827). While at the hacienda of Temisco near Cuernavaca: "he pointed out to us the site of an Indian village, at the distance of three leagues, the inhabitants of which are almost in their native state. He told us, that they do not permit the visits of white people; and that, numbering more than three thousand, they come out in delegations to work at the haciendas, being governed at home by their own magistrates, administering their own lands, and employing a Catholic priest to shrive them of their sins; once a year. The money they receive in payment of wages, at the haciendas, is taken home and buried; and as they produce the cotton and skin for their dresses, and the corn and beans for their food, they purchase nothing at the stores" (p. 172). Hon. E. G. Squier, in his ex-

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"The good order reigning in the calpullis is a strong reason to 648
protect them in law, and to prevent them from becoming intermingled, as they are already nearly everywhere; for once broken up, the harmony which they originally exhibited can never be reestablished again. The ignorance about these institutions, and the little regard paid to them, are the cause that many Indians were given lands out of their calpullis, which they (originally) had received only to cultivate, and (this) on their simple assertion that they and their ancestors had held and tilled them. In doing this, they but follow the advice of the Spaniards (mestizoes) and mulattoes, who involve them in litigations, and who live from these squabbles. . . . . In vain the chiefs deny such assertions, claiming that the lands belong to the calpulli; they are not heeded, the rightful owners are despoiled, and those to whom they are adjudged do not profit by it, since they sell them, or alienate them (otherwise) to the detriment of the calpulli."

Out of the scanty remains thus left of certain features of abo- 423
riginal life in ancient Mexico, as well as out of the conflicting statements about that country's early history, we have now attempted to reconstruct the conceptions of the Mexican aborigines about tenure of lands, as well as their manner of distribution thereof. Our inquiries seem to justify the following conclusions:

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, either by a nation or state, or by the head of its government, or by individuals, was unknown to the ancient Mexicans.

2. Definite possessory right was vested in the kinships com-

"Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México."— Alonso de Zurita lived in America from 1540 till 1570; or about nineteen years. Of these he spent two at St. Domingo, three years in N. Granada, Sa. Marta, Cartagena, and the Cabo de la Vela, three years in Guatemala, and about eleven in Mexico. His "Report" consists of a series of answers to queries put by the King, and sent from Valladolid, Dec., 1553. If we could obtain all the answers given to these questions from all parts of Spanish America, and all as elaborate and truthful as those of Zurita, Palacio and Ondegardo, our knowledge of aboriginal history and ethnology of Spanish America would be much advanced.

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423 posing the tribe; but the idea of sale, barter, or conveyance or alienation of such by the kin had not been conceived.

3. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, held but the right to use certain defined lots for their sustenance, which right, although hereditary in the male line, was nevertheless limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom the said lots were assigned.

4. No possessory rights to land were attached to any office or chieftaincy. As members of a kin, each chief had the use of a certain lot, which he could rent or farm to others, for his benefit.

5. For the requirements of tribal business, and of the governmental features of the kinships (public hospitality included), certain tracts were set apart as official lands, out of which the official households were supplied and sustained; but these lands and their products were totally independent from the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

648 6. Conquest of any tribe by the Mexicans was not followed by
651 an annexation of that tribe's territory, nor by an apportionment of its soil among the conquerors. Tribute was exacted, and, for the purpose of raising that tribute (in part), special tracts were set off; the crops of which were gathered for the storehouses of Mexico.

631 7. Consequently, as our previous investigation (of the warlike
642 institutions and customs of the ancient Mexicans) have disproved the generally received notion of a military despotism prevailing among them,—so the results of this review of Tenure and distribution of lands tend to establish: "that the principle and institution of feudality did not exist in aboriginal Mexico."

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555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

●425 511 A married man received a plot of land directly from the clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] 555 Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success-[575] ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli* [554] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[8]

624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

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618 It
423 could neither be alienated nor sold; in fact, there is no trace of
[425] barter or sale of land, previous to the conquest.[89] If, however, any calpulli weakened, through loss of numbers from any cause whatever, it might farm out its area to another similar group, deriving subsistence from the rent.[90] If the kinship died out, and its lands therefore became vacant, then they were either added to those of another whose share was not adequate for its wants, or they were distributed among all the remaining calpulli.[91] The calpulli was

21), or an enclosed area, and if we connect it with the old original "chinamitl" we are forcibly carried back to the early times, when the Mexicans but dwelt on a few flakes of more or less solid ground. This is an additional evidence in favor of the views we have taken, of the growth of landed tenure among the Mexican tribe. We must never forget, that the term is "Nahuatl" and as such recognized by all the other tribes, outside of the Mexicans proper. The interpretation as "family" in the QQuiché tongue of Guatemala, which we have already mentioned, turns up here as of further importance), th. is chiefs of an old race or family, from the word Calpulli or Chinancalli, which is the same, and signifies a quarter (barrio), inhabited by a family known, or of old origin, which possesses since long time. a territory whose limits are known, and whose members are of the same lineage." "The calpullis, families or quarters, are very common in each province. Among the lands which were given to the chiefs of the second class. there were also calpullis. These lands are the property of the people in general ("de la masse du peuple") from the time the Indians reached this land. Each family or tribe received a portion of the soil for perpetual enjoyment. They also had the name of calpulli, and until now this property has been respected. They do not belong to each inhabitant of the village in particular, but to the calpulli, which possesses them in common." Don Ramirez de Fuenleal, letter dated Mexico, 3 Nov. 1532 ("Recueil de pièces, etc., Ternaux-Compans, p. 253). "There are very few people in the villages which have lands of their own . . . . the lands are held in common and cultivated in common." Herrera (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135) confirms, in a condensed form, the statements of Zurita: "and they are not private lands of each one, but held in common." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Veytia (Lib. III, cap, VI, p. 195). "Finally there were other tracts of lands in each tribe, called calpulalli, which is, land of the calpules (barrios), which also were worked in common." Oviedo (Lib. XXXII, cap. LI, pp. 536 and 537). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa. cap. V, p. 222).

[89] Zurita (p. 52). "He who obtained them from the sovereign has not the right to dispose of them." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135), "he who possessed them, could not alienate them, although he enjoyed their use for his lifetime." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Disputes about lands are frequently mentioned but they refer to the enjoyment and possession, and not the transfer of the land. Baron Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments indigènes des peuples de l'Amérique," Vol. I, Tab. V), reproduces a Mexican painting representing a litigation about land. But this painting was made subsequent to the conquest, as the fact that the parties contending are Indians and Spaniards sufficiently asserts. Occasional mention is made that certain lands "could be sold." All such tracts, however, like the "pillali" have been shown by us to be held in communal tenure of the soil, their *enjoyment* alone being given to individuals and their families.

[90] Zurita (p. 56). "In case of need it was permitted to farm out the lands of a calpulli to the inhabitants of another quarter." Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 134). "They could be rented out to another lineage."

[91] Zurita (p. 52). "When a family dies out, its lands revert to the calpulli, and the chief distributes them among such members of the quarter as are most in need of it."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to 567
provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prostitutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan [426]
from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made the slave live at home and perform only personal services. Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or even have slaves of his own. His children were always born free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office, which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his commission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs in- [689]
volved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial 626
acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human behavior. Membership in the community brought safety and subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown existed in the field of public service rather than in the acquisition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held to a minimum.[9]

Growth of the community to a size where none but the 692
great were known to society at large probably tended to 186
break down the sense of membership and participation, so

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

618 Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;
423 more important ones, or contested cases, had to be referred to the
[627] council of the kinship, which in turn often appealed to a gathering of the entire quarter.[96]

The "calpulalli" was divided into lots or arable beds, "tlalmilli."[97] These were assigned each to one of the married males of the kinship, to be worked by him for his use and that of his family. If one of these lots remained unimproved for the term of two consecutive years, it fell back to the quarter for redistribution. The same occurred if the family enjoying its possession removed from the calpulli. But it does not appear that the cultivation had always to be performed by the holders of the tract themselves. The fact of improvement under the *name* of a certain tenant was only required, to insure this tenant's rights.[98]

622 Therefore the chiefs and their families, although they could not,
618 from the nature of their duties, till the land themselves, still could
423 remain entitled to their share of "tlalmilpa," as members of the calpulli. Such tracts were cultivated by others for their use. They were called by the specific name of "pillali" (lands of the chiefs or of the children, from "piltontli" boy, or "piltzintli,"

[96] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 56 and 68). We quote him in preference, since no other author, known to us, has been so detailed.

[97] "tlalmilli" "tierras, ó heredades de particulares, que estan juntas en alguna vega" (Molina, Parte IIa, p. 124).

[98] Each family, represented by its male head, obtained a certain tract or lot for cultivation and use, Zurita (p. 55). "The party (member of the calpulli, because no member of another one, had the right to settle within the area of it. See Id. p. 53), who has no lands, applies to the chief of the calpulli who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him such as correspond to his ability and wants. These lands go to his heirs . . . . . ." Id. (p. 56.) "The proprietor who did not cultivate during two years, either through his own fault or through negligence, without just cause . . . . . he was called upon to improve them, and if he failed to do so, they were given to another the following year." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa, p. 198, cap. I). The fact, that any holder of a "tlalmilli" might *rent* out his share, if he himself was occupied in a line precluding him from actual work on it, results from the lands of the "calpulli" being represented alternately treated as communal, and again as private lands. Besides, it is said of the traders who, from the nature of their occupation, were mostly absent, that they were also members and participants of a "calpulli" (Zurita, p. 222. Sahagun Lib. VIII, cap. III, p. 349). Now, as every Mexican belonged to a kinship, which held lands after the plan exposed above, it follows that such as were not able to work themselves, on account of their performing other duties subserviant to the interests of the community, still preserved their tracts by having others to work them for their benefit. It was not the right of tenancy which authorizes the improvement, but the fact of improvement for a certain purpose and benefit, which secured the possession or tenancy.
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15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

child),[99] and those who cultivated them carried the appellation of "tlalmaitl"—hands of the soil.[100] 622 618 423

The "tlalmilpa," whether held by chiefs or by ordinary members of the kin ("macehuales") were, therefore, the only tracts of land possessed for use by individuals in ancient Mexico. They were so far distinguished from the "tecpantlalli" and "tlatocatlalli" in their mode of tenure as, whereas the latter two were dependent 423

[99] It is just the "pillali" which oppose the greatest difficulties to this investigation, and to a clear conception of the mode of tenure of lands in ancient Mexico. They are generally represented (whenever mentioned), as private domains of the chiefs. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, pp. 545 and 546), distinguishes two kinds of "pillali." The first one he says might be sold.—but he places the restriction upon them, that such as held lands through conquest ("sujecion") or through gift ("merced") of the chief, had to go to the descendants, as majorat; and if they died without heirs, the King, or Lord became such, and they were incorporated into his royal Estates." The other kind was not transmissible at all. Clavigero (Lib. XVII, cap. XIV). We notice here a confusion between official tracts and such lots of the "calpulli" as pertained to the chief's family in consequence of their membership of the Kin. Also between "tribute-lots" and the official tracts, of conquered tribes. Torquemada acknowledges, that the "pillali," upon the death of the family, were incorporated in the calpulli to which that family belonged, "in order that they might pay tribute." This ought to define their true position and nature. [428]

[100] From "tlalli" soil, and "maitl" hand. Hands of the soil. Molina (Parte IIa, p. 124), has: "tlalmaitl"—"labrador, ò gañan." This name is given in distinction of the "macehuales" or people working the soil in general. The tlalmaites are identical with the "mayeques." See Zurita (p. 224), "tlalmaites or mayeques, which signifies tillers of the soil of others . . . ." He distinguishes them plainly from the "tercallec" which are the "tecpanpouhque" or "tecpantlaca" formerly mentioned as attending to a class of official lands (p. 221, Zurita). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These mayeques could not go from one tract to another, neither leave those which they cultivated, and they paid a rent to its masters according as they agreed upon ("en lo que se concertaban") in what they raised. They paid tribute to nobody else but the master of the land." This tends to show that there existed, not an established obligation, a serfdom, but a voluntary contract, that the "tlalmaites" were not serfs, but simply renters. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545), ". . . . those that were knights ("caballeros") and descendants of the families of the Kings, and Lords, had their particular lands and their rentals, where many of them held renters ("terrazgueros") which served them, tilled the crops and served them in their houses. These lands were called pillali or "land of nobles and knights." We prefer the etymology "piltontli" "niño ò niña, muchacho ó muchacha" (Molina, II, p. 82), or "piltzintli" niño ó niña" therefore lands of the children,—to the derivation from "pilli." The title of chief was "tecuhtli," and the word "pilli" substituted for it is certainly but in connection with the occupation of a particular place of office, and not a title itself. Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 230. "The sovereigns as well as the inferior Lords and other principals had their own patrimonial estates, and in them their mayeques or Tlalmayes, what these gave of rent were tributes of the Lord," Id. pp. 233 and 234). 427 [566]

The "tlalmaites" appear to have been free from other tributes, and free from communal labor outside of the "pillali" (Bustamante, p. 233. Herrera, Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). It is not very clear, however, whether this applies simply to the conquering tribe alone, or also to the tlalmaites of conquered tribes, as towards the tribute due by that tribe to their conquerors. The detailed relations between the two are yet somewhat obscure and confuse in some points. [446]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

471 the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the
421 heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave
[428] labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

174 The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable mi-
[167] grations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[3]

241 The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time
311 when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

565 463 (18) such as masons, carpenters, feather-workers and metal-workers

18. Zurita, p. 142.

(19). Although it is not made clear to us whether this tribute of

19. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

"merchants and artisans" was in relation to the rulers of the whole Tenochca group or only to the lords of the corresponding calpulli, it is very possible that in this tributation there occurred the same thing which happened to the workers which we have seen: they paid both. All this makes us think that the stratification which existed among the Tenochcas was not in layers of workers, artisans, merchants, and chiefs, but rather between the chiefs and the governed, be they laborers, artisans, or merchants. This conception is reinforced by our being told that the pochteca tlatoque (a term translated as the lords of the pochteca, that is, merchants) did not go on the trips of the merchants, but that they entrusted their "merchandise" to them that they sell it for them and later they divided the profit (20); which is

20. Sahagún, I., p. 351.

to say that within the group, differences of occupation were present which resulted in a stratification between people who worked as merchants and people who, because of another class of work (directive, as chiefs, as "lords") received part of the benefits obtained through "marketing." It is told of the artisans of Texcoco that the nobles also learned crafts, but only as a distraction (21). Assuredly a similar

21. Pomar, p. 38.

situation existed in Tenochtitlan and almost certainly corresponded to the division between pillis and macehuales, in groups of artisans.

565 428 It is advisable to make further clarifications with respect to the division between tributary macehuales and tribute-exacting pillis. One source tells us that although the lords had many women, they considered only one of them the most important and the children she bore [were considered] as inheritors of their position (22). Although the

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22. Pomar, p. 25. Actually Pomar gives contradictory information: "they always leave as heir to their estate the son of the legitimate wife" and "to the most virtuous, although he be the youngest... (or) of the other women." Nevertheless, paternal inheritance remains as the fact common to all.

information does not refer to Tenochtitlan, certainly it was valid also for the lords of that place, and Zurita does confirm it in part (23).

23. Zurita, p. 90.

Another author tells us that in cases of rebellion by the lords, they were removed and the rulers placed a near relative, such as a brother, in his place, but not his son (24). It resulted from this that the legal

24. Mendieta, History [Historia], p. 154.

heir of the calpulli chief was in these cases a relative of the predecessor, although not necessarily his son: possibly it can be said that the relatives of the chief of the calpulli were lords, that they could potentially become tribute-exactors like the chiefs if they ever achieved this category, and that not all did achieve it. However, the wives and children of the calpulli chief certainly had the benefit of the tribute paid to him (25).

25. Muñoz Camargo, with respect to Tlaxcalla tells us that "the family estates [mayorazgos] entailed by them (the pillis), are never divided, and they (this must refer to the macehuales) were obliged only to support all the relatives and brothers of that family" (p. 8).

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We are told that there were in the wards other persons of authority besides the chief, such as the telpochtlato (26) or director of the school

26. Torquemada, II, p. 220.

of each ward, who certainly lived from tribute. We are told on many occasions of tribute for the temples (see page 42) thus making some

423 be confirmed when we are told that except for the lands sold by lords to merchants, all were, or had been lands of the calpullis (29). The

29. "The lands which they possessed belonged to the town, were common, or belonged to the wards which they had parceled out, and some of the lords sold part of these lands to private individuals and those who bought them left them to their descendents. However, in the beginning they were lands of the villages which they call altepetlalli, or lands of the wards, which they called calpullalli" (Annunciation [Anunciación], p. 238).

possibility should be kept in mind, however, although it is almost impossible, that these lands were separated from the whole of the lands of their calpulli. They would be, in one or the other case, the flesh-colored lands, those of the lords.

Let us examine now the data on other lands, the so-called tecpantlalli; we find this term in the sources, which can be translated as lands of the tecpan. We have already seen that Tecpancaltitlan was one of the tlaxilacallis of Tenochtitlan (see p. 33) which leads us to believe that these lands belonged to this tlaxilacalli.
423 In the tecpantlalli lived the tecpanpouhque or tecpantlaca (30),
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30. Torquemada, II, p. 546; Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

terms which can be respectively translated as "those counted in the tecpan" and "the people of the Tecpan," that is, a determined group of people. They were lands and peoples of the ruler (31), and

31. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

on the land there lived "people who were very esteemed and close to the house of the king, and whom the common esteemed more" (32). All this leads us to believe that these lands were of a group to

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

423 which "the king" (viz. the tlatoani) belonged. These lands "passed
428 from fathers to sons... and if anyone died or went off to other parts, his house and his land remained , and by order of the king or of the ruler, the others of the district put another in his place, " and they could not sell them (33), and the tecpantlacas worked them personally

33. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

(34). These data indicate to us, first, that among them obtained

34. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

the same situation as obtained among the lands of the calpullis and tlaxilacallis: distribution in family parcels and inheritance of use, and that they had a certain unity with respect to a group which used them: its "faction" ["parcialidad"]. All this makes us think that the tecpantlalli were of a calpulli or of a tlaxilacalli, the calpulli or the tlaxilacalli to which the tlatoani belonged.

423 /p. 42/ We are not told only of the tecpantlalli, but also of the tecpillalli, which " :ere almost like what they called pillalli" (35).

35. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

Tecpillalli is translated as lands of the pilli or of the pillis of the tecpan, which explains to us what sort of lands they were that received this name: the lands destined for the sustenance of the pillis of the tecpan—the nobles of the calpulli of the tlatoani—, lands which possibly formed a unit with the others of the tecpan, perhaps inlike manner to the lands of other calpullis divided between macehuales and pillis.

423 There were lands and cultivated plots for the temples (36). These
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36. Román y Zamora, I, p. 120; Zurita, p. 176.

surely were of two types since on the one hand there was "a lot in each ward" (37), that is, they were certainly distributed by calpullis.

37. Ramirez Codex [Códice Ramírez]. p. 79.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

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however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[33] 645 651

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 174 648

[33] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America." Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "cenalli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located*, in *order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tescoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses the suggestion*: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

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child),[99] and those who cultivated them carried the appellation of 423
"tlalmaitl"—hands of the soil.[100]

The "tlalmilpa," whether held by chiefs or by ordinary members 423
of the kin ("macehuales") were, therefore, the only tracts of land possessed for use by individuals in ancient Mexico. They were so far distinguished from the "tecpantlalli" and "tlatocatlalli" in their mode of tenure as, whereas the latter two were dependent

[99] It is just the "pillali" which oppose the greatest difficulties to this investigation, and to a clear conception of the mode of tenure of lands in ancient Mexico. They are generally represented (whenever mentioned), as private domains of the chiefs. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, pp. 545 and 546), distinguishes two kinds of "pillali." The first one he says might be sold,—but he places the restriction upon them, that such as held lands through conquest ("sujecion") or through gift ("merced") of the chief, had to go to the descendants, as majorat; and if they died without heirs, the King, or Lord became such, and they were incorporated into his royal Estates." The other kind was not transmissible at all. Clavigero (Lib. XVII, cap. XIV). We notice here a confusion between official tracts and such lots of the "calpulli" as pertained to the chief's family in consequence of their membership of the Kin. Also between "tribute-lots" and the official tracts, of conquered tribes. Torquemada acknowledges, that the "pillali," upon the death of the family, were incorporated in the calpulli to which that family belonged, "in order that they might pay tribute." This ought to define their true position and nature. [428]

[100] From "tlalli" soil, and "maitl" hand. Hands of the soil. Molina (Parte IIa, p. 427
124), has: "tlalmaitl"—"labrador, ò gañan." This name is given in distinction of the "macehuales" or people working the soil in general. The tlalmàites are identical with the "mayeques." See Zurita (p. 224), "tlalmaites or mayeques, which signifies tillers of the soil of others . . . ." He distinguishes them plainly from the "teccallec" which are the "tecpanpouhque" or "tecpantlaca" formerly mentioned as attending to a class of official lands (p. 221, Zurita). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136). "These mayeques could not go from one tract to another, neither leave those which they cultivated, and they paid a rent to its masters according as they agreed upon ("en lo que se concertaban") in what they raised. They paid tribute to nobody else but the master of the land." This tends to show that there existed, not an established obligation, a serfdom, but a voluntary contract, that the "tlalmaites" were not serfs, but simply renters. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII. p. 545), ". . . . those that were knights ("caballeros") and descendants of the families of the Kings, and Lords, had their particular lands and their rentals, where many of them held renters ("terrazgueros") which served them, tilled the crops and served them in their houses. These lands were called pillali or "land of nobles and knights." We prefer the etymology "piltontli" "niño ò niña, muchacho ó muchacha" (Molina, II, p. 82), or "piltzintli" niño ó niña" therefore lands of the children,—to the derivation from "pilli." The title of chief was "tecuhtli," and the word "pilli" substituted for it is certainly but in connection with the occupation of a particular place of office, and not a title itself. Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 230. "The sovereigns as well as the inferior Lords and other principals had their own patrimonial estates, and in them their mayeques or Tlalmayes, what these gave of rent were tributes of the Lord," Id. pp. 233 and 234).

The "tlalmaites" appear to have been free from other tributes, and free from com- [444]
munal labor outside of the "pillali" (Bustamante, p. 223. Herrera, Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136). It is not very clear, however, whether this applies simply to the conquering tribe alone, or also to the tlalmaites of conquered tribes, as towards the tribute due by that tribe to their conquerors. The detailed relations between the two are yet somewhat obscure and confuse in some points.

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423 from a certain office, the incumbent of which changed at each election, the "tlalmilli" was assigned to a certain family, and its possession, therefore, connected with *customs of inheritance.*[101]

428 Being thus led to investigate the customs of Inheritance of the ancient Mexicans, we have to premise here, that the personal effects of a deceased can be but slightly considered. The rule was in general, that whatever a man held, descended to his offspring.[102] Among most of the northern Indians a larger cluster participated.[103] In conformity with the organization of Society based upon kin, when in the first stage of its development, the kindred group inherited, and the common ancestor of this kin being considered a female, it follows that if a man died, not his children, still less his wife, but his mother's descendants, that is: his brothers, sisters, in fact the entire consanguine relationship from which he derived on his mother's side, were his heirs.[104] Such may have been the case even among the Muysca of New-

[101] Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Letter," see "Recueil. etc.." p. 253). "De l' ordre de succession. etc., etc." Simancas MSS. (Id. p. 224). Herrera (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII. p. 345). Clavigero (Lib. VII. cap. XIV). These authors mention only the "pillali." but Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, pp. 120 and 121), and Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434), apply it in general, and the latter is even very positive about the tributaries ("los pecheros.") Also Zurita (p. 56), although contradictory on p. 51).

[102] Motolinia (Tratado II, cap. V. p. 120), "but they left their houses and lands to their children . . ." Gomara (p. 434). "Es costumbre de pecheros que el hijo mayor herede al padre en toda la hacienda raiz y mueble, y que tenga y mantenga todos los hermanos y sobrinos, con tal que hagan ellos lo que el les mandare." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). "In Mexico and nearly the entire realm, the royal family excepted as already told. the sons succeeded to the father's rights.—and if there were no sons, then the brothers, and the brothers sons inherited." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.." p. 219). In all these cases, Bustamante only speaks of chiefs; but the quotations from Motolinia and Gomara directly apply to the people in general.

[103] Mr. L. H. Morgan has investigated the customs of inheritance. not only among the northern Indians, but also among the pueblo Indians of New Mexico. He establishes the fact, that the "kinship" or "Gens," which we may justly consider as the unit of organization in American Aboriginal Society, participated in the property of the deceased. He proves it among the Iroquois ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. II. pp. 75 and 76). Wyandottes, Id. cap. VII, p. 155. Missouri-tribes. p. 155. Winnebagoes, p. 157. Mandans, p. 158. Minnitarees, p. 159. Creeks, p. 161. Choctas, p. 162. Chickasas, p. 163. Ojibwas, p. 167; also Potowattomies and Crees, Miamis, p. 168. Shawnees, p. 169. Sauks, Foxes and Menominies, p. 170. Delawares, p. 172. Munsees and Mohegans, p. 173. Finally, the pueblo Indians of New Mexico are shown to have. if not the identical at least a similar mode of inheritance. It would be easy to secure further evidence, from South America also.

[104] "Ancient Society" (Part II, cap. II, p. 75. Part IV, cap. I, pp. 528, 530, 531, 536 and 537).

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Granada.[105] It was different, however, in Mexico, where we meet 428
with traces of a decided progress. Not only had descent been changed to the male line,[106] but heirship was limited, to the exclusion of the kin and of the agnates themselves, to the children of the male sex.[107] Whatever personal effects a father left, which were [768
not offered up in sacrifice at the ceremonies of his funeral,[108] they 764]
were distributed among his male offsprings, and if there were none, they went to his brothers. -Females held nothing whatever, beyond [562]
their wearing apparel and some few ornaments for personal use.

The "tlalmilli" itself, at the demise of a father, went to his oldest son, with the obligation to improve it for the benefit of the entire family until the other children had been disposed of by marriage.[109] But the other males could apply to the chief of the calpulli for a "tlalmilli" of their own:[110] the females went with

[105] Gomara ("Historia de las Indios," Vedia I, p. 201). Garcia ("Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. 23, p. 247). Piedrahita (Parte I, lib. I, cap. 5, p. 27). Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimienta y Colonisazion de la Nueva-Granada," Cap. XI. p. 201). Ternaux-Compans ("L'ancien Cundinamarca." pp. 21 and 38).

[106] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Gomara (p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). Zurita (pp. 12 and 43).

[107] Letter of Motolinia and Diego d'Olarte. to Don Luis de Velasco, Cholula, 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil, etc.. etc.," p. 407). "The daughters did not inherit, it was the principal, wife's son . . . ." Besides, nearly every author designates but a son, or sons,—as the heirs. There is no mention made of daughters at all. In Tlaxcallan, it is also expressly mentioned that the daughters did not inherit (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 348). In general, the position of woman in ancient Mexico was a very inferior one, and but [562]
little above that which it occupies among Indians in general. (Compare the description of Gomara, p. 440. Vedia I, with those of Sahagun. Lib. X, cap. I, p. 1; cap. XIII, pp. 30, 31, 32 and 33. The fact is generally conceded). H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races." Vol. II. Cap. VI. p. 224, etc.

[108] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V. p. 120). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XLII to XLVIII, pp. 513 to 529). Acosta (Lib. V, cap. VIII, pp. 320, 321 and 322). Gomara (pp. 436 and 437. Vedia, I). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XI.. pp. 102 and 103). Clavigero (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX. "They burnt the clothes, arrows, and a portion of the household utensils . . . . .")

[109] Motolinia (Trat. II. cap. V, p. 120), "el cual hacer de testamento no se acostumbraba en esta tierra. sino que dejaban las casas y heredades á sus hijos, y el mayor, si era hombre, lo poseia y tenia cuidado de sus hermanos y hermanas, y yendo los hermanos creciendo y casándose. el hermano mayor partia con ellos segun tenia; y si los hijos eran por casar, entrábanse en la hacienda los mismos hermanos, digo en las heredades, y de ellas mantenian à sus sobrinos y de la otra hacienda." Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 434). "It is customary among tributary classes that the oldest son shall inherit the father's property. real and personal, and shall maintain and support all the brothers and nephews, provided they do what he commands them. The reason why they do not partition the estates is in order not to decrease it through such a partition . . . . ." Simancas M. S. S ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 224). "Relative to the calpulalli . . . . the sons mostly inherited."

[110] Zurita (p. 55). "He who has no land applies to the chief of the tribe (calpulli), who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him a tract suitable for his wants, and corresponding to his abilities and to his strength." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135).

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428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case [587 784] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship, or in case of great infirmities, for which the çalpulli provided.[111] No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the [587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

428 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same 764 with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs 428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

[793] [111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat. de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 347-353), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1544, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1864, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 108, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164-167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV, p. 177. Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 336, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

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office in the *family*, and with it also the possession of certain lands, 428
attached to that officer's functions and duties. But it is quite certain too that this stage of development had not yet been reached by any of the tribes of Mexico at the time of its conquest by the Spaniards. The principal idea had not yet been developed, namely, that of the *domain*, which, in eastern countries at least, gradually segregated into individually hereditary tenures and ownerships.

There was consequently, at the time when the Spaniards first 642
came into contact with the Mexican aborigines, no established feudal system among the Indians of Mexico. Based exclusively upon kin, aboriginal society then presented to the first Europeans who witnessed it a strange and partly dazzling, partly repulsive; at all events a bewildering, aspect. It is not devoid of interest, and it is even important for us to consider what were the effects of this contact of a people imbued with the principles of medieval feudality with tribes still adhering to far more primitive ideas, upon the latter's mode of tenure and distribution of their lands.

The ostensible basis, on which the Spaniards established a 648
claim to any parts of America whatever, is expressed in the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, executed at Rome on the fourth day of May, 1493. By this act of the Holy See the kings of Spain (Ferdinand and Isabella), in consideration of their devotion to the Catholic religion, and of their zeal in propagating the Christian faith even over the remotest parts of the earth's surface, are made and created absolute possessors, for themselves, their heirs and successors, of all the lands already discovered and still to discover by them or their agents in the new world. The conditions accompanying this grant were that they "manage to send to the said mainlands and islands good men, fearing God, learned, well taught and expert, for to instruct their aforesaid inhabitants and natives in the Catholic faith, and to teach them good manners, with all due diligence."[116] This title, although it partakes of the nature of a

[116] Martin Fernandez de Navarrete ("Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV," Madrid, 1825. Tom. IIo, pp. 22-23). "Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, est (sicut pollicemini et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et Regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad terras firmas et insulas prædictas viros probos, et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos et expertos ad instruendam incolas et habitatores prædictos in Fide Catholica, et in bonis moribus imbuendam destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes." Mendieta ("Hist. Eccles. Ind.," Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 20 and 22). Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Gomara ("Historia de las Indias," Vol. I, pp. 166 and 167). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII).

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweet-breads were heated, sugarcane were cooked, things were chewed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumper-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmolco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man
431] [and] a woman, whom these with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them thus to the temple of Ixcuinqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon
[304 them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards
852] all feasted.

776 [Ixcuinqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac tlilujquijtitlilloia, cuitlahtica: ipan ielanjan yacalli: qujxipdetiuia in motecuçoma, ipan tlacentemoloia, cepalwanjlilo,

ceuhqujltamalli nechiuilloia, in cocuxcalpan: achto ipan qujmanjlaia in tlel, çenpan quahia.

Auh yn jxwiocoua, ioh cenjllujtl, in qujcujcuia, qujnocinpichilia, qujxpomacilhuja, cuicuachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cimaçoia in comalco, xelacaxalilia, yajc amo aca motlatia, mochichinac: ipampa in iancujcan ocualoc ceuhquiltamalli, yajc ocamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltoconi, nochintin qujtlaxquixia: yn aca ocatl: cuijatl, xoxji, axolotl, xoxol: in çaço tlein ocacic ioioli, yeomac cuetlaçin in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxquja yn tota.

Auh yn ciouac, xoujan tlatlacoaia in xwexquac, yhamaxquac: ioh qujtoaia, qujtlaxiuhjlaia yn tlel, xocalcuaja.

Auh xiuhtlahtica, yn oc ceaça, mocuitlilloia, ilhuioh: iquac motecujtoiuia yn motecuçoma, ipan yn jmucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzonmolco.

Auh in jquac ky, vel machilacatl, vel no inquijch tlacatl, qujpaloaia, qujlhequja, in octli, in pipiltoconi: ic mocaxtoiuia, pilhuamo:

yoan vncá qujxtlatiuia, qujmalujtiuia in pipiltoconi. Ce cioatl, ce oquijchtli, in qujxtemoaia pilhuaquac, qujxtlaxhtiuia; ioheuantin qujmamatihuja, vnapa qujmocuzaoia, yn iuapan ixcuinquiqui: vnapa qujtocaxtapodoia, qujmacxocoinjujia: inhquja ic qujxtlachiotiuia, yajc qujnitta, yatlaoan, yuauajoan: çenpan tlaquala.

Ja jxochichioal cuexa: tlilticx motenjltec, chalchihuacalc, xiuhtecuamacalc, quetzalinjlacoaia, xujxoxo, tlacuxtzoua, xiuhcuamocoche, amacuamoçoaxoia, no tzitzile, cocujolc, xiuhcuamatlatlaquaqui yn jchimal, tlachiltopilli.

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66. "Uno de los hierbos que se comen crudos es llamo huauhquilitl, que son blancos, se cuecen verdes, tienen los cuerpos delgadillos y chillos, tienen los hojas anchuajas. Los tallos de este hierbo se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; este hierbo se cuece para comer, sabe a cerezas, exprimiendo del agua que se cuece para comerlos; hacemos tamales de este hierbo los cuales se llaman quilhuac." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 291. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents roasted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 287, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 288; see translation in Simeón: op. cit.

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 257.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (godfather; parent or protector). Molina (op. cit.) translates the words *tlaili* and *ciuatl* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chichihuacalli*—a cusp for the head, set with jewelled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*chichiuatl*); *quetzalinjlacoaia* or *xiuhtecuamacalli* (*quetzalinjlacoaia*)—a class of feather mosaic work in the form of a crescent cusp, broadening upward; *xujxoxo*; *tlacuxtzoua* or

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"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cocoa, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were for disease, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [For if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commenced in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cocoa, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering fowl, when they held a feast. And when they entertained people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they commonly herded and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomecóatl, or Chalchiuhtlicue, Acxoteccatl, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzinac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Ulitzlaqueztli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now then up [like

Auh in tecuanti, in pectecoanti, in xiuacti, in xopanjti, yn xoxocointi:

[416]
[439]

intlaxel iuxtilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, utlan ceuanj, vel calaqui, motlacocaqui in xochichinaltica, in xuxutica, in tlaxoltica qujxtlaxtlacalhuja in chanaqui.

[292]

Auh intla ozlamquamalitiqui, intla oittoqui: vncan qujquixmjctia, qujxchillatilia: ça ara, aço ce, aço vnu yn: ic ni vnnatilanqui quja, ixhuel qujxhuetzia in tlacatecuhtli:

[263]
[266]

ic vncan qujmaca, cuquilia, yapoçmalaxtzah, yc qujnavixtilia, ic qujxxoxtiotia, in tlacatl, vncan ic oquichtia.

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Auh yn jquac oalacia, yachan: vn jnilach, yancuicpal oquichichiuhque, yn ozlalachacica, yn ozlalxchipachiuhque: inquich tlacatl qujxoxa, in puchuca: yuan in tlatoque, ic nannitiztia:

mjxoa, nacxipaca, cuaca qujnavixtilizia yn inupil, yn jtlacapia yiacatecutli:

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cuaca in calpulco qujquxmaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaquahlia: yuan intlaca xel motecoanoxa, qujtlamanjlia in çan machiqui yn jtlaquaia.

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[778]

Auh intla aca tzaltia, ixhuel caltitia, qujmaia in jnouh yiacatecutli: anoço cuaca ixhuania yn xochouia, in qujmocuetzia in chicomquajuijl, anoço chalxocacatzal, yuan acxoteccatzj, yuan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzaoac, ziac qujtocuja, yiollohuana, yn aço ce, anoço vnu, ca altiz tlacatl:

vncan cuaccuia yn tlacatecujloca axcapotzalco: motlahtlalilia, motlapapatilia, qujxocoxiqui, qujmjhitza, yn qualitic qujxocuaxqui, yn acan quezanjquac, in tlacatecti, in tlacamelacaqui, yn acan cuccuqui, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

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yajc ixhuan qujmoctiquac, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhuiquajtilitia vitzilohuchtli:

yquac qujxchichiuia, qujxhuanaca, inuch qujtlalia yn jxhuaj yaochichiuhtl yiacatecutli.

Auh yn oiuno qujmjctia, ochtaqui qujxxoxtitizia: mjxoa qujquxmaxtia, ic qujmochiuia in tzaltiquac:

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104. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 97): Yiacatecuhtzin "propiamente representaba personas, que iban vestidas, *á hablillas*, para mejor quitarse[illegible], *á engañar, y ir sabios, y sagaces (que es propio semblante de Mercaderes)* . . . ."

105. Cf. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 32) citing *Hist. Rept. Coll. Mex.* B. II [illegible].

106. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "*vjuinche del barrio, ó parroquia*" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the sacrifices in this manner: "*Estos diablos que mataban a estos cautivos*."—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecuhtli. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 91) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzinac as synonyms for Yiacatecuhtli, "Chicomquiauitl or Chalchiuhtlicue is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxoteccatl is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
X 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornices y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
[776] great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the court-
[463] yard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
● [431] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce izcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and cónsuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treszna fiesta moulible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289 778] [565] [666 431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta moulble

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinza decima fiesta moulble comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta moulble.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

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like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and prizing his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[6]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquaxilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oquijcheoztiuh, moquijchitoctiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmotzaxiliztiuh, ämo tlacuecuetlazotiuh, ämo tlapolotiuh, tlatenioztiuh, qujiauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh: 796X

yiollo qujmatiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, unnechonjtozque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn ozxiziloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquaccencaujaia, qujmaquetzxiteca, qujmehtetequj, yca ixquacoc, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaioria, quauhnochtli tlaçodi: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhzicalco contlalia, quauhzicalco contlalitiuj: auh in ichoantin mjquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Coauhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjloa, qujnoultetecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maiotzincuepiiujtze, motzotzoniquetztiujtze, mocuecuepiiujtze, ynjc oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacujlti, calpul- [346]
vevetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlathalili, omjto, omonctolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynjc qujquazque: 796X
vmpa qujzezcloa, qujtetequj, qujacuecloa: oc ie achto 266
qujtonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujquijia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan quj- [237]

6. In op. cit., p. 42, Sahagún specifies a "*Cuchillo de piedra Pasaxiriaxcuaxi*." Molina (op. cit.) defines *Iaxcuaxi* as "Cuchillo para los sacrificios. Asimismo, *Iaxi* entre los indios es *de Pedernal*. . . ." Fray Tadeo de Ramírez Manrique's "Memoria de los indios de Nueva España," in Colección de documentos para la historia de México (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; México: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 46, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Hernández describes it as "*un cuchillo como hierro de lanza, un poco agudo porque . . . no es grande tener muy agudo. . . .*" [413]

7. *Quauhtecuxpi*, probably *quauhtecuxxili* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtlacuxxi*, Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers to mean "the eagle."

8. Sahagún unfortunately confuses the term *quauhtlacuxxili* as *Alhuacatlalli* (cf. Hinojosa Espinel, p. 69). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 135, he [415]
translates the word literal lime gourd and *atlalli* (container vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauh* was always understood to mean eagle. The words seem actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less unfortunately than Sahagún, uses the term *alhuacatlalli* for *molcajete*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 18 v, Sahagún writes: "*Quaquaxi quauhtlac ica omoquaxi, ica Ilamatzin quauhtlac*." In his op. cit., Sahagún translates *quauhtlac* as "the one from the eagle-land," the body of the sacrificed victim. The end result is the honor of the sun, the eastern city, or the sun's home and representative (p. 187).

10. *Apetlac* (cf. Molina, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 8) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Other have cited Sahagún, Lib. III, cap. 34, and Lib. II, cap. 29 and 33.

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cuacateca, the Cempoaltecа, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[26]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[27] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlacochcalcatl began it, and ended it at the time of eating. Those the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

quitoa, ca iuhquj nepilcxin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notaxtzin: auh tel tepal quijquxia intemal. 796[X] [266]

Auh yn ieouio qujmopialtiuia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlaccolo, nepapatlalo, yn onnecaquijlo cemjlhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexquich maca, in quexquich quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexitzcalhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quitlaiecultia yn ieouih. [431]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, quijiaoalos in temalacatl, yn iuquichtin teixiptlati, yn otlacoacanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: mochintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn intzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitocia. 796[X] 535

Auh in cuitlachoeue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhquin mjccaoati, quinchoquijlia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque. 796[X]

Auh no ichoanti, yn iiaocan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynin ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, qujmonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcoaoan motecuçuma: yn nonoualca, cuacateca, cempoaltecа, mecateca, tlattitloia, tlamauiçoltiloia: njman ic xitinoua, necacaoalo. 796[X] 648

Auh yn iquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjtac ietiuh, vmpa quijquaquatoque. [262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'quiztilo, cenca oc huecа iocan in pecalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: quijpeoltiuia in tlatelulca, tlaqualiqpan quijoalcaoaia: njman quijmonpatla tlamacanque, ynic mochichioaia, ynic mjltotiuia, çan tlaneuel, çan nepapá tlaquijtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocelli, tuicoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichicalli, xone- 796[X] 301

26. Durán (op. cit., pp. 175-80) says that Moctezuma I invited "los señores de todo lo rededor"—Tuxpan, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Huitzilusco, Cuauhnáhuac, Ahuilizapan, Ahuatlán, Tlapacoyan, and so many more as possible. "Los señores de las provincias y ciudades," he continues, "advertidos y convidados de semejante convite, partieronse para sus provincias y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . dando aquestas á los forasteros. . . . Desde entonces acabó los de las provincias y ciudades convocadas, llamados de temor conflictuosos al convidados con los mensajeros, derrocó quale cabezas mayores y deshizo tratados á sus enemigos."

27. Sahagún: "tortillas, como panecillos, que hacían de maíz sin cocer," according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (op. cit., p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of "[illegible]." Our "Book in Gentile [illegible]" . . . "Es este año Gabriel de Mendoza, dos mil ciento [illegible], Domingo [illegible] Matlalpoxoca, dos mil Matlactli, siete mil Matlactomei, Domingo [illegible]."

X 796 [278] Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted so, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aquin connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlacelujaia in mihivianca telpopochti.

[755] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequjntin ic monectokia, yn eontlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoztl, anoço ixcocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

Each one of the captors came forth from his house, [301] and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] 289] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

cecciaca ixchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaqujtiuj in eostl, amaxtenjtl, ymacolpan mamatiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

[515] And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynic yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aimamjquiztli: çan neiacapachoio ynjc namjco, ynic tetla quiça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn eostl, ocotoczauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica quinapaloa, yn ouelteptoac, yn oquelochauh, oquappa-zoac.

[431] And the captors came in lead of the *tonsecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts [531] tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with 291] designs, or in dark brown or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided, or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan.tuj in tonsecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: quimoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoaoanquj, yhujtentlaiacalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn eontlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteocalli: nauhcampa cecciaca ontlaiiaoeia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn enacticac eostl, njman mocotoma, momotonticac: yn oquojoalcopin eostl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oalteno tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiquiça, qujoaltentiquiça, tlehquazco in teoilli.

X 796 515 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oqujcaoeto eostl, yn onmaqujtiuja, ameo mixamja atica, çan ioexitli, tlaoltexitli, inic onmixxaxaqualoca, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixioexuja:

6. See Chapter 28, n. 6.

7. In *Commentarios Adicionados* [illegible] (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 325, Seler translates *xaxaqualli* as "[illegible] or as [illegible]." In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "[illegible] (von der [illegible] Farbe der Kreuzes [illegible])." Molina (op. cit.) has other materials [illegible]. For *xaxaqualli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "[illegible] (von der Farbe des Nachtfalls, der Kolibri-Schillerfarbe)."

8. Cf. Seler: *Commentarios Adicionados*, *loc. cit.*, and *Einige*, p. 531.

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

Auh yn oncan ohtlatoque, in tlamacazque, in ohtlatoque, in tlamacazque; in ohtlatoque, in tlamacazque.

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

● [43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *mayauey* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[778] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, five *tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac,* "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

otetzauac, yn omotlali, hi tzotzoliuhtimanj, ieiolcatimanj.

Auh yn oncan ohtlatoque, in tlamacazque; in ohtlatoque, in tlamacazque;
noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, quicenocujtiuj in calli, no ichoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlacujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauclitta, ic mihixnamiquj:
in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa quipaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanaque, yn izquican manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujoalitquj, yn inchachan:
qujnxoxochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujntlaquentia, qujntlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujltetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujetlaoatzalli, tepioacquj, quappitztic, tlaiztezoujlli. qujtzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan ecio izquitl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli qujtequj acatl vncan qujtemjtia, qujtentiquetza, yn izquitlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepixcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa qujcuj, qujmámaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, motecneoa calonooac, cali onoeac: ichica ca çan cali çan techachan in mauiztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teutlac, vmpa qujmoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa qujnamoc, ic neauijtilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujzoa, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa omitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, qujnmamaltia ichpupuchti:
yn aca atzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonquetne, yn aca

6. *Cabar de maíz* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates the term as *mata de maíz;* Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*pernoc o tronco de maiçes como de que espigar.*"

7. "*Ouas yerbas, que llamamos, mayauel,*" in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 338), referring to the *mayauey,* says: "*Las raíces gruesas cocinadas, servían de palmito.*"

8. Ground, roasted maize mixed with chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 87).

x 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [535] [whence they had started].

And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, [512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[531] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, [373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

x 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who 836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of 684 honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they are privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his [831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlaujc, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ic tlaquauhioca, ic netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlazilia axcan aço ic chicunauj ora.

Auh in ic izqujch, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet vetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn izqujchtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ic oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenqujxtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlauelilloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoi vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioateiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan inhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oaliocoalquiça, çan moiocoalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in qujça:

auh intla aca itoz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in izqujch ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlètlecaleoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocacaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

Then they climbed up the ropes. On one rope mayhap twenty climbed, like a cluster hanging upon it. Not all reached the point; only some reached the top. The one who led grasped the *xocotl* image, which was made only of a dough of amaranth seeds. He took all—its shield, arrow, dart, and dart-thrower.

And the amaranth seed dough [*tamales*] he scattered down so that they fell to the ground upon those [who watched]. All who stood below looked up. When the amaranth seed dough fell, all stretched forth their hands and shouted as if there were a fight. Some took its head ornaments of amaranth seed dough, which he also scattered upon them. They were carried off by those below.

And when this was done, then he who had captured the *xocotl* [image] came down. When he descended and reached the ground, then they seized him; the old men [of the temple] took him up to the place of sacrifice and offered him gifts. And all thereupon pulled upon the ropes, exerting themselves greatly, verily destroying the work. And the *xocotl* then fell to the ground, raising a cloud of dust, breaking into pieces. Into three or four sections it quickly broke apart.

Upon this, all then went; all was quiet and left clear. And then they accompanied the captor of the *xocotl* to his house, and arrayed him in a brown striped cloak edged with a feathered border.

And if one were a captor [of the *xocotl*], he might well thus array himself, wrapping about him [such a cloak]; none might therefore dispute him [the right]. But if one were not [such a] captor, he might only keep one in his care. And mayhap he might sell it when he was poor or sick.

And thus they accompanied him to his home; two old priests went carrying him, taking him by the arms. Behind came the priests, blowing horns for him as they went, sounding shell trumpets for him. And he bore upon his back his shield. And when they left him, then they returned [to the temple].

Thus in truth ended here, [thus] concluded, the feast day.

njman ic ic tlecoa in mecatitech: in ce mecatl, aço cen tecpantli in jtech tleco, iuhqujn tlapipilcac: aço mochintin in vmpanvetzi, çan quezquintin in vmpanvetzi, in aquja iacatiuh, vel ichoatl caci in xocotl ixiptla, çan tzoalli: muchi qujcujlia in jchimal, in jmjuh tlaoaçomalli, yoan yiztlauh. 796 [431]

Auh in tzoalli, vmpa qujoaltetepeoa, tepan qujoalcecẽmana, muchi tlacatl, onacopatlachia in tlatzintlan manj, in jquac oalhuetzi tzoalli muchi tlacatl maçoa, iuhqujn ipan nemjmjctilo, iuhquj tlatlacaoaca: no cequintin conaci, in jtzõcoiol in tzoalli, no tepã qujoalcecẽmana, namoiclo in tlatzintlan.

Auh in ic iuhquj njmã: njman ic ic oaltemo, in xocomanj: in ooaltemoc, in otlaltitechacico: njmã ic ic conana: in tlacacouhcan, vmpa qujtlecavia in vetiquc, vmpa qujtlauhtia: auh in jxqujch, tlacatl, nimã ic ic qujtilinja in mecatl, vel netilinjlo, vel ontlamj in tlapaliviztli: auh in xocotl, njmã ic vetzi tlalpã, tlalipotoztivetzi, popoztectivetzi, aço ezcan, ansço nauhcan qujctivetzi. [431]

In ic iuhquj, njmã ic ic vivilca, cactivetzi, cactimomana: auh çatepã, concaoa in jchan in xocomanj, ic caapana camopalli in tilmatli, tenjvivavanquj. [292]

Auh intla tlamanj, vel qujmoquentiz, vel qujmolpilitinemjz, aiac ic qujtlaznoviliz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujmoctatiliz, çan ipiel iez: auh anoço qujmonamaqujliz, in jquac ic motolinja in jcocoian.

Auh injc cõcaoa ichan: caantivi, qujzitizinqujtivi yiacolpã; in quaquacujlti: vmentin, icãpa mantivi tlamacazaque, qujtlapichilitivi: ichoatl in tecciztli qujpichilitivi: yoã qujmamatiuh in jchimal. Auh in ocõcaoato, mec oalmocuepa: [534]

ic vel oncan ontzonqujça, õtlamj in jlhujtl.

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen.

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haapeualo: in vctli mja itoca matlalvctli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vctli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vctli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo itoxque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machililoaque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocequauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoã qujnquatezoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlãtitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelanitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 637

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic maviztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iiepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vctli ipan icac, yn vctlali: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276] [252]

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacaliea, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxipelaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatapaltic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oqujcencauhque chõchaiotl, mec mozeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

19. See Pl. 31.

X 796 hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.
[293]

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.
[535 629]

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

X 796 And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers sought out some master of the youths, seasoned warrior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle. Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.
608
[431]

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

[304] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

X 796 And when they had gone to their homes, thereupon all ate and drank.
273

And then, in the temple, began singing and dancing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.
535

in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal qujxitzqujo amaxiqujpilli; njmã ie ic oalteno mjtotitivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ie ic tlaiaoaloa, çã nappa in tlaiaoaloa: auh in ommjtotique mec nexixitinjlo, texixitinjlo, njmã ie ic calacoa in tecpan tlatecpanoloz. Auh in iehoatl y, moteneoa: netecujtotilo, motecujtotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in muchioaia;

ie iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in peoaloia in tenacazxapotlaloia in qujnnacazxapotla pipiltotonti: yoan qujnpotonja, tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in tortli.

Auh in ventli in qujchioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temooaia, iehoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlanenequja impilhoaque injc Tetlatizque: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitia, qujtlauhtiaia:

in oqujchtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qujtlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazxapotlaloc; njmã ie ic qujnvivica, in qujnchichinozque pipiltotõti: qujtlalia tletl, tletlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc moteneoa techichinolo in calpulhuevetque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco qujmonjauhtimanj: njman ic qujnoalmacatimanj in tetlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlatzatzatzi, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic iatimanj in inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ie ic tlatlaqualo, haztlica.

Auh in opeoaloc teupan in ie cujco in ie netotilo, nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa vilos in teupan: in Tetlaoan, in teavioan qujnvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlatquj ietiuh in vctli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica in qujitquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vncã cujco: njmã ie ic ommomana in mitotia, qujnmamama in pipiltotonti: vncã qujmomacatimanj, qujmomacatinemj in vctli: netech qujmomamaca.

11. *The Real Palacio MS have contains the key yoaxil yo chimampinolli, which probably identifies the pinolli as ground dried maize and chile seeds.*

x 796 when he had been living in the likeness of another,
[548] had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

oaquetztinēca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinēca omovelitztinenca.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said,
[827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaana, qujmacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujnizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, moopaoazque:

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants;
[824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

yoā in metl qujiollooeloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollotlapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moxaltiz, moopaouz.

And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to
x 796 pass, every four years, the bringing out of the chil-
852 dren and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and
[301] covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhēca nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan contlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaziuhiā vetzia in tlatoque.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited.
[608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemoliaia, in qujnvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmaviti, tetlati, teaviti:

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they
[431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toqujchtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlaliliia

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests'
[304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And
[302 237] they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

ioalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnacaxxapotla, qujnnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conqujxtia, vncā qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzatzintleoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoqujztleoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

And the women who became aunts were pasted
[608 302] with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoā inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamaxtochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuzochiuh.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

In jquac oqujmōnacaxxapotlaque, njmā ic qujnoalhujujca in inchachan, vincan qujchieltitoque ixtoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlavilitoque, qujchixtoque in

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin: Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca cioatontli, no ichoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

796r
346

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalqujça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixqujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecococololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

[613 622 535]

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Cooatlan.

In cooatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no ichoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Iopicalco, yoan eoacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan eoacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

[648 574]

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocoucatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixqujch tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

[431]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
[796
643]

[366
262]
415]

[643
701]
431]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
[297] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquipiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezzomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in osuhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiooachpetlatl, quauhaiooachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

651 Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the
681 majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were
344 lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, açó tlein quinequiz, açó] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, açó itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel: njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from
574 everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords
● 431 friendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them
344 all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhteintetl, in chalchiubcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcayan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca monta; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[10] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were bested, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vassals whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

In tlatoanj, in jquac qujnequja iiellelqujçaz tlanaoatiaia injc patoz, mjcujloa ce patolpetlatl, ica tlilli, papatlactic in tlaxotlalli ic mjcujloa, in vncan nepoalo ic netlanjoa: auh njman no mjxcoionja nauhtetl aiecotli, injc patolo injc netlanjoa: auh çan ie no iuhquj qujcnioaia in calpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli in jtlatquj, in jaxca tlatoanj, qujoalteca in oncan patoloian, in qujtetlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in icoac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepatla in calpixque: ioan qujpatla in jxqujchtin maçeoalti, in ocontlalica tlatoanj in patoloia. 643 522 525 524

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then [the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in aqujn tlatoanj qualli iiollo, teicnoittanj. 643 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaoculianj, cenca teicnoittanj, ioan teicnelianj, in jcoac qujnequja, qujçaz in otli qujtocaz: in aqujn motolinja maçeoalli, in motlapaloa, injc qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, intla ouelqujtlapalo in tlatoanj: njman qujnaoatia in calpixquj, qujmacaz tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in qujz, in qujquaz, tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloz qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, çan no iuh qujcnelia, qujtlauhtia in jujpil, in jcue, icochia, in qujz, in qujquaz tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla aca motolinja, icnotlacatl, oqujchiuh, oqujtlali, quezquj veuetl maujzio cuicatl, intla njman itech qujpoa tlatoanj, intla qujmaca, cenca qujcnelia, qujtlaocolia, qujcalmaca qujcujltonoa, qujmaca in quexqujch tlatqujtl in jitic onoc calli, ioan qujmaca calpixquj injc momoztlae qujmocujtlaujz qujtlaqualtiz, qujtenjxitiz, qujneuhcaiotiz qujcochcaiotiz: ioan qujmaca in ixqujch netlauhtilli in tlaçotilmatli, in pepechtli in necujltonolli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauizioti.

15. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de alli traijan su lauqe, con que pardian, y ganauan lauqe; y otras cosas como arriba se dixo."

[p. 60 is blank]

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan ananac tlatoque, 643
ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxqujchtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcastentli qujzzroque, ioan in jxqujchtin- 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, qujiaoalotoque mexico, tetz-
cuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac ocenquizque in jxqujchtin tlacoanotzaltin tlatoque, in jicniloan tlatoque ioan iiauhoan: njman ic qujntlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in tlaqualli, tlaçotlaoquj, qujntlauhtia in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaçotlanquj chimalli, netotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceioal cemjlhujtl, in tepaqujltia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no qujntlauhtia, in jxqujchtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixqujchtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
qujchtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:
auh in otzonquiz tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic omp-
eoa in jxqujchtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, 292
altepetl ipan.
Auh çan njman iquezquihujioc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, injc cana iauqujzoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in jxqujchtin tiacaboan, oqujchti: auh iioma in tlatoanj in iauh iauc, in oniaoqujça, in ontepeoa qujujca in jxqujchti iauqujzque, ioan in noujian tlatoque altepetl ipan inic oiaoqujça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac õtepeoato, oiaoqujçato cenca paquj, in quexqujch malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujquiztiaia. Auh in ixqujchtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmaujziotia, mjiec tlamãtli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotilmatli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj, ioan qujntocamaca injc maujztlilonque, injc tlacamachonque, injc oqujchti, tiacaboã.

8. In ibid., *uexotzinco tlatoque* is followed by *yoan uitznauac tlatoque*, and rulers of the Mixtec country.

[p. 66 is blank]

65

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiauhque, oanqujhjoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican açoçan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlatia qujnpopoloa. [667]

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omuchiuh. 727

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj ichoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli: [202 701]

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezqujntin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequjntin motequjoacaxima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnqujxtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmõtehoan motlatlauhtia. [431]

Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl, ic oncan in qujça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma 721 729 727

4. *Chimampanecatl*: Sahagún's comment on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "*y los de la tierra seca, que son los carrizales de las chinampas.*"

729
[643]
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He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[6] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two trupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships: possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

in qujnmaca coztic teçacatl, anoço coztic tencololli, anoço xoxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xoxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço çalchiuhtentetl, anoço tlanjtentetl: njman ic quetzallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiocio, anoço çaquan tlalpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, ichoatl in tlatocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticatetecomaio, anoço itzmjxicalcoliuhquj, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzicoliuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quexqujch tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquacalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixtelolo, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotóieoatl, anoçe tozeoatl in ie uel ixqujch tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan qujnmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in qujnmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

643

And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Tlillancalqui tecutli.[7]

Auh intla mjqujz tlatoanj: ichoantin ceme analoia, injc ichoantin qujpachozque altepetl. Auh çan no ichoantin, cequjntin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in qujtzõtecticate mjqujztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociaoacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

5. *Tlenjcuetzi*: Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *tlamimiquetzi*.

6. After *ioan tlaçomaxtlatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quauxomaxtlatl—Kahlkopfschmuckbinde*, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

577 578 701 And he who took no captive with others' help when, perchance, he had returned three or four times to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 577 And if he made a captive with the help of others, then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiaoalzima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they [292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ic imacteualti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained [302 336] with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh ī aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocān. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaqu.ia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiscaboan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors; [431 242] he gave him an orange cape with a striped border and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 729 861 561 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they established him as, a master of the youths, a leading youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quimocuamolonia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yuan ompa quimpanoaia*—and there they passed feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*vna manta con vnas listas labradas de color morado: y otra manta labrada, de quatro cintas labradas de colorado que se llamauan colotlapalli: y . . . vn mantle labrado de colorado, largo que estuuiesse hasta colgado, y otro mantle labrado de todas colores.*"

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Cíuatecpancatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[3] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[4] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[5] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[6] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic naui caci ieh icoac quitequioacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compeoaltia in tequioacatocaitl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnaoacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in isquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac contlalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquiztoque in ueuei tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociaoacatl, tocuiltecatl, atenpanecatl, ieboantin quauhiaca i, tẽçacaoaque cuitlasnacochique quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. 701 [293]

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlisco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui tẽçacatl ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan cuetlasnacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no icoac maco in tilmatli chicoapalnacazminqui, ioan cuetlastilmatli. [431] [293] [301]

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlisco anoco vexotzinco ie ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in coztic tẽçacatl iiomesti quititlani in xoxouhqui tẽçacatl. [293] 301

fin

3. *Tenió: "Tome cabo al Remedio* [Olmeca, Uixtoti, Mixtec] *cabo hacia el mediodia del sol, y llamaron también uixtoti, porque habla lengua bárbara"*—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *dalpiloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be read *anoço*.

6. *Quititlani*: a marginal gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS suggests that the term is translated *usar*. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text, and, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, *itlani*, *itlania*, *itlanilia*.

7. Following *xoxouhqui*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *in centic*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no text material]

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[3] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monestítiuitze mochintī quihcuistiuitze in inquatzō ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im maceualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzō y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz maceualtin nimā ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cēca tlaçotli immauizçō. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

auh ỹ yenatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpisqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in q̃pierque. 727

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.
This passage originally, in the *Real Academia MS*, completed the section ending *tōlanā quipōtlahuac mōtlatlachia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-que* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *tetecuiaquiliz*, and *cruelmente tequilia*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*iye uel y mulamaca iuiuiui

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti;* they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui ommicouac. nimã ye ic mihtotia 796
in tlauahuanqz in otemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. 727
in ipan mihtotia ceçentetl in tzontecomatl intlan 793
casnz. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca
q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuãtin ypilhuã in omicqz.

auh i yeuatl malli nimã ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui][5] in ieuayo. in isquichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in imeuayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco. inchimal immacqusuh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youã im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle 796
inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani
in quemmã ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz
niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh
in tiacaua nimã ye ic no motecpana q'misnamictimo-
mana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in motztimani. auh
nimã ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa õuetzi in toto-
tecti q'moncotonilia in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mo-
cotoniliqz nimã ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa
q'mõmana in innemanaya in itocayocã totectzonte-
contitlã. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl
q'mõcaua.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimã ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz 796
in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techã. uel 431
nouian calaq̃ auh im macualli ye iuhca ỹyollo quin- 262
chie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallascalli.
ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepanca-
calaq' in omtlaçotlalo.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa
quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlaeuã. in queheua cõ-
maca im male. q'zelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl.
aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc.
momoztlae yui.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shorn ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wheresoever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya coztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. motecçuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh ĩ mastlatl. 701 293 [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im motecçuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quaquauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [576]

Auh no yquac quimahceua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya motecçuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tlilpapatlauac chichicuee çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopaltẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacozcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaotequaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. motecuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichisticate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in 701 721

When and wheresoever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

701 721 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor, as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauã. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopouhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye istlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in ôpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã i yaoteca.

726 687 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no omettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i moteoçcoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamabcualmacaya.

701 431 643 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] remembered him, sought him out, and drew him from his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts: he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full or maize grains; and he provided him with *chia*—he weighed out two large measures of *chia*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço õxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in õya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço ontetl y uey tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh qui ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

701 726 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior], he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

646 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 Therefore they offered them all the various things which they bore with them; costly capes such as those which here are named: [the mantle] with the sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tioallaque.

Qujnoalnanqujlique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujmonjlhujque. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic quinmaca in jzquitlamantli qujtqujque tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, iehoatl in, in njcã moteneoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tezcapocio:

in jzquitlamãtli in in qujmõmacaque, qujnoalcuepcaiotilique, qujnoalmacaque cozcatl, xoxoctic, coztic: iuhqujnma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oqujttaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan qujnoalnaoatiqua: qujnoalilhujque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazã tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca qujçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, ceceioal in oalnenenque, injc qujnonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jveliaca qujlhujco, qujcaqujtico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oqujcujto.

Auh njman ie ic qujnonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca izcatquj otiqujttaque, izcatquj otiocchiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl ixco. Ca otiqujmjttato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jzquich motilmatzin otiqujnmacato: auh izcatquj techmacaque intlatqujtzi. Qujtoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, izcatquj anqujmacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatiz:

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6. Spanish text: *Los españoles dieron a los indios cuentas de colorín, verdes y otras amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "*en un día, y en una noche.*"

8. *Sahagún*, *op. cit.*, p. 458, has *fuel ioan*, translated "first of all."

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Injc nauj capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlaonaoati Motecuçoma, in oquijna in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, ichoatl in don hernando Cortes. 000

Qujmjlhuj tla xioalhujan moceloqujchtle, tla xioalhujan quijl-iequene oqujçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjqujti, vel xitlacaqujcan, vel xinaçaçocan, tlein qujtoz, vel nacaztli in anqujoalcujzque: izcatquj ic itech amacizque in totecujo,

ichoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: coaxaiacatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapañecaiotl, chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlacomalli, yoan centetl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj, quetzaltençouhquj, yoã quetzalpanio; yoan tezcacujtlapilli quetzallo: auh inin tezcacujtlapilli, iuhqujn xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçalolli, yoan chalchiuhcuecuezti, teucujtlacoiollotoc: njman ic ichoatl xioatlatl, çan motqujtica xivitl, iuhquja coatzontecometica, coatzontecoene, yoan itzacatl. 776 301 431 [416]

1. *Tlamomati*: *tlamomati* is probably *momoz*.

2. Seler, op. cit., p. 461, n. 1, says: "In Wahrheit ist dies die Tracht Xiuhtecutlis."

3. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), II, p. 413, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: "una mascara labrada de mosaico de turquesas sobre una mascara labrada de las mejores piedras verdes celebres dobladas y rematadas cuyas dobles eran el pico de la nariz y la rematada pues hasta la frente era como labrado de la nariz luego se dividia la cola de la cabeza y la cabeza con parte del cuerpo pues por sobre el un ojo de manera que hacia ojo y la cola con parte del cuerpo pues por sobre el otro ojo y hacia otro ojo."

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "Entonces esta mascara encerrada en una corona alta y gorda llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de manera que penjendan la corona sobre la cabeza se pueja la mascara en la cara."

5. Cf. *Codex Vaticanus*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Llevaba por joel una medalla de oro redonda y ancha estaba asida con mucho cordon de piedras preciosas que colgaba al cuello cubrian los hombros y todo el pecho."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Llevaba tambien una rodela grande hordada de piedras preciosas con unos cordon de oro que llegaban de arriba abajo por todo ella: y otros cordon de perlas atravesados sobre los de oro de arriba abajo por toda ella y las espaldas que hacia unos cordon los quales eran como redilas de red pues pusieron unos capiles de oro tenja esta rodela unos rapacejos en la hasta pues asida en la rodela eran cordones que salia desde la manejas de la rodela hecha de plumas ricas."

7. Ibid.: "una medalla grande hecha de obra de mosaico que la llamaba asada y colgada sobre las espaldas."

8. Ibid.: "un cuero como cuero de cabrito todo labrado de obra de mosaico de turquesas y la hechura de arriba era una cabeza de una culebra rabudas o amarrada."

431 The second [gift] which they went offering him
776 was the array of Tezcatlipoca — the headpiece of
292 feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell
301 earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order
[416] to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlatoca cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan cozcatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centeti tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

[237] Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green
[416] stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalaztatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcozquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omjto, no tzitzile; tenchilnaoacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

[237] Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[2/3] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, cozoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcololli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia: yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

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9. *Ibid.: "unos cabellos hechos de plumas ricas que colgaua por la parte detras hasta cerca de la cintura estaua arrebrada toda de estrellas de oro."*

10. *Ibid.: "unas orejeras de oro que llamaui colgadas unas caracolillos de oro y cartelas de caracolillos marinos blancos y hermosos dessas cartelas colgaua en cuerro que era como pera y llamauale cozqdo [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaua esse pera machas caracolillos arrebrados y colgados por todo el."*

11. *Ibid.: "era cosete de cola blanca pintado la orilla de abaxo deste cosete yua bordada con plumas blancas tres lisas por todo el rededor."*

12. *Ibid.: "una manta rica la tela della era en aqui clara y toda labrada cosidas de muchas labores de en aqui muy fina llamauanse esta manta tizzilli esta manta se pesaja por la cintura atada por las espaldas al cuerpo."*

13. *Ibid.: "una medalla de mesmyro, atada al cuerpo sobre las lomas."*

14. *Ibid.: "unas orejeras de chalchiujti, muchas que tenja dibro unas cadenitas de chalchiujtes."*

15. *Tenchilnaoacaio is probably meant in the Aztec column.*

16. *Corresponding Spanish text: una mijera de cuero de tigre, y colorgauas [sic] de la mijera, sobre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuerpo, llamaua la mijera en chalchiujti golder: y redondo, en la punta."*

17. *Ibid.: "de mesmyro de turquesas."*

12 [There is no known genus of pheasant native in the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Analyst]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoã hecazonecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc 431
citlallotoc yoan ipoçuicac.' 776
301
292

Oca inquijtlamãtli in, in motenena teutlatquitl in 431
intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tla- 301
mantli in quitquijque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaqua-
tecciztli tuztlapilolio, teucujtlacopilli, etc.

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacazchichicoale. Auh 431
in omoteneuhque macujltin; njman ie ic quinnaoatia
in Motecuçoma: quinnjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana [482]
anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: 202
xiquijlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Mote-
cuçoma: iztatquj mjtzalmoemaqujlia, ca omaxitico
in jchãtzinco mexico:

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica 505
qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vacan on-
coaq acaltica quinvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacal-
aquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatquitl. Auh in
ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, ommatocticque, itech
onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal.

njmã quinoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa an- 648
oallaque?
njman iuh quinnaoquijique. Ca vmpa tioallaque
in Mexico:
oc ceppa quinoalilhujque. Acaçueno, aço çan vmpa
anmotlamja, aço çan anquijpiquj, aço çã toca anmo-
cacaiaoa.
Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Ni-
man ic quinoaliacatzoçinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica,
ic quinoaltilinjque: njman no quinalquetzque ezaoztli.

18. *Ibid.*: "la qual rodela estaua bordada con plumas ricas en la haze de la rodella [sic] ella era redonda de plumas ricas."

19. *Ibid.*: "era bordado labrado de mosquete de turquesas y en la hombra de arriba puestas unas piedras ricas a parlar resplandecientes en la cha de arriba."

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "una cofia de oro hecha a manera de cascaul matizada de pluma ricas que colgauan hasta las espaldas."

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "otra cofia Real."

[p. 14 is blank]

Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art not he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli onnume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, qujoa ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoã oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injẽ qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl.

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmã ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cõnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl, vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmõmacaque teucujtlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoã teucujtlaoncatl.

Auh in oqujmõmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzca, cenca papaqui, ahavia, iuhqujn cooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel ichoatl in cenca camjqui, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoontititivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oqujtzaque Tzioacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx iec hin in Motecuçoma: Qujmjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmõichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie ichoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, qujmjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjto. Ca ichoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmã qujlhujque. Nepa zisuh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaisoas, amo vel titechquamanas, amo vel titechixmamatilos, amo vel titechichchioas, amo vel titechiacuepas, amo vel titechixpatiliz, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopolos, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechixçoqujvia, amo vel titechixçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vaca in Motecuçoma, amo vel tzchoetlatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tototi, cujx patlanjx? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and,
35] lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
[301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

648 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met
431 them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them; he placed chains of flowers on them

Injc caxtolli once capítulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca qujnnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocencaoã in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujz: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõnamãque in tlaçouxchitl, in chimalxuchitl, in xollosuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujxuchitl, in coztic iiexuchitl, in cacaoxuchitl, icpacxuchitl, in xuchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, cozochimacac, cocozcati in cozcatl, conxuchicozcati, conxuchiapan, conjcpacxuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

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[312] 1. Xoloco or Xolaco served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzadas of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios aztecas de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 6ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a barrio bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Izazaga; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lucas Alamán; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Sahagún's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 10.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"En llegando los españoles a aquel río que está entre las casas de alvarado que se llama Xoloco."*

4. *Chimalxochitl. Chimalxoxouchitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (Eg., p. 102). Chimalxóchitl (*Ibid.*, p. 100), *"tiene . . . flores redondas amarillas (parecen prodigio) de un palmo, semejantes rodajas con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media"*; Hernández assumes L. Linn.: *ground, chimalxóchitl, rodela de sujar. Chimalxoxouchitl* is classified as "compositae?"

5. *Yollosuchitl. Yolosúchitl (Talauma mexicana*, Dun?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin 241), Vatican Library—an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún), "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as *chimalli-xochitl*."

6. *Ixpacxuchitl. Ixpaxúchitl*: in Chiapas, *parecido del ixtac — Bouvardia formosa*; *B. humboldtia*; *B. laevedis* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 626). Popcorn flower (*Bouvardia humboldtia* [La Llave and Lex] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 69 — a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used as flower crowns. In Sahagún (Anderson and Dibble ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is noted that *"Como flor corre sur l'arbre inquisuchitquisul, mentiosa humida, de la famille des cryssolides."*

7. *Tecuxchitl. Nardo Antonio Recchi (Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium mexicanarum historia ex Francisci Hernandez* [Rome: Ex Typographia Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) gives *chocuchitl* as an alternative (*quam alii* Elocuchitl, *seu* Plumo Elen, *alii vero* Cocuchquizuchitl [*coquelquezl?*] *seu* Yocuchitl *publicum, vocant*"), a cold climate plant ("*provenit regionibus frigidis, & mensemis humi*"). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. 588) identifies it *chocuchitl* as Magnolia *cordata* Zucc. Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 275) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a *p. magnolia*, in the *Badianus MS* the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacuxuchitl. Cacahuaxúchitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 348, it is identified as "*Rosita de cacao. Mycrodia funebris*, Rose. Rare-cuidoso." Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

648 and wreaths upon their heads. Thereupon he spread
●43 out before [Cortés] the golden neck bands — all the greeting gifts with which the welcome closed. Some he hung with neck bands.

648 Then [Cortés] said to Moctezuma: "Is this not thou? Art thou not he? Art thou Moctezuma?"

Moctezuma replied: "It is so; I [am he]."

At this he arose to meet him face to face, did a great reverence to him, drew close to him, and stood firm.

Thus did he pray and speak [to Cortés]: "O our lord, thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Thou hast arrived on earth; thou hast come to thy noble city of Mexico. Thou hast come to occupy thy noble mat and seat, which for a little time I have guarded and watched for thee. For thy governors [of times past] have gone — the rulers Itzcoatl, Moctezuma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tiçoc, Auitzotl — who, not very long ago, came to guard [thy mat and seat] for thee and to govern the city of Mexico. Under their protection the common folk came here. Could they, perchance, now find their descendants, those left behind? O, that one of them might be a witness to marvel that to me now hath befallen what I see, who am the only descendant of our lords. For I dream not, nor start from my sleep, nor see this as in a trance. I do not dream that I see thee and look into thy face. Lo, I have been troubled for a long time. I have gazed into the unknown whence thou hast come — the place of mystery. For the rulers [of old] have gone, saying that thou wouldst come to instruct thy city, [that] thou wouldst descend to thy mat and seat; that thou wouldst return. And now it is fulfilled: thou hast returned; thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Arrive now in thy land. Rest, lord; visit thy palace [that] thou mayest rest thy body. Let our lords arrive in the land."[9]

And when Moctezuma had ended his address, which he had directed to the Marquis, Marina explained and interpreted for him. And when the Marquis had heard Moctezuma's words, then he spoke to Marina.[10] He addressed them in a barbarous tongue; he said in his strange language:

"May Moctezuma quiet his heart and not be frightened. We love him much. Now our hearts are

concatl, in jxquitlamãtli tenamjconj, tenamjetli in jca oiecauh, cequj cõconcati;

Njmã qujoalilhuj in Motecuçoma. Cujx amo te? cujx amo ie te? ie te in timotecuçoma:

qujto in Motecuçoma, ca quemaca ca nehoatl:

njmã ie ic vel ommoquetza conjxnamjctimoquetza, connepechtequjlia, vel ixquich caana, motlaquauhquetza:

injc contlatlauhti, qujlhuj. Totecujoe oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, otlaltitech tommaxitico, oitech tommopachiviltico in Matzin, in motepetzin mexico, oipan tonmovetzitico in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin, in oachitzinca njmjtzõnopielili, in onjmjtzonnotlapielili, ca oiaque in motechiuhcaoan in tlatoque: in Jtzcoatzin, in veve Motecuçoma, in Axaiaca, in Tiçocic, in Avitzotl, in oc uel achic mjtzommotlapielilico, in oqujpachoco in atl, in tepetl in Mexico: in incujtlapan, inteputzco in ovalietia in momaceoaltzin, cujx oc vallamati in jmonjca, in inteputzco, ma ceme iehoantin qujtztiaz; qujmaviçotianj, in nehoatl in axcan nopan omochiuh in ie njqujtta, in ça imonjca, inteputzco totecujovan camo çan njtemjquj, amo çã njcochitlcoa, amo can njccochitta, amo çan njctemjquj ca ie onjmjtzõnotili, mjxtzinco onjtlachix, ca ononnentlamatticatca in ie macujl in ie matlac, in vmpa nonjtztica, in quenamjcan in otimoquixtico in mjxtitlan in aiauhtitlan: anca iehoatl inin qujteneuhtivi in tlatol in ticmonachitiqujuh in matzin, in motepetzin in jpã timovetzitiqujuh in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin in tioalmovicac. Auh in axcan ca oneltic, otioalmovicac, oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, ma tlaltitech ximaxiti, ma ximocevitzino, ma xocononmachiti in motecpancaltzin, ma xicmocevili in monacaietzin, ma tlaltitech maxiticac in totecujovan.

Auh in ontzonquix in jtlatlauhtiliz Motecuçoma concaquiti in Marques: njman ic concaquitili connacaittalhuj in Malintzin. Auh in ocõcac in Marques in jtlatol in motecuçoma: njman ie qujoalnaoatia in Maliztin qujocalpopolotz: qujoalito in jpopolocteqpa.

Ma moiollali in Motecuçoma, macamo momaxhti, ca oznca tiellaqoda, ca axcan uel pachiuj in tiolilo,

9. A number of the allusions made here to Moctezuma's ancestry are explained in Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," pp. 20-21.

10. The text here should read "Malintzin."

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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[431]

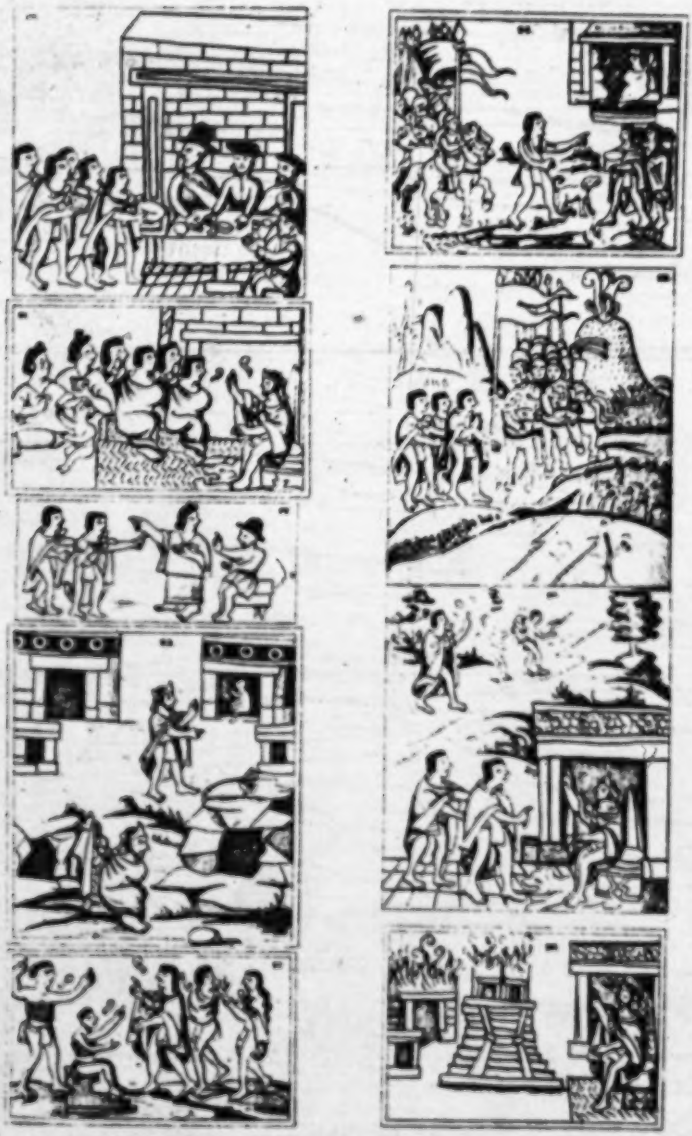

—*Hijar Pano y Tronvoso*

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Iztaccipotl and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's soothsayers meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

726 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.**

726 648 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochimilco, Misquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itztapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

445 431 272 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them devices and shields, and they gave them each chocolate. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omei capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn chinanpaneca in Suchmjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jtztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in qujnpalevisquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in ichoantin suchmjlca, cujtlaoaca mjzqujca, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, qujnonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: qujmjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic ixtlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenquçaco in quauhtli ocelutl in acaltica: ca qujl axcã quicentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzque njman ie ic qujmjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanqujmjhioviltique, oanqujmociaviltique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiciecavi:

njman ie ic qujntlauhtia, qujnmaca in tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan qujncacacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in qujnmacaque cacaoatl: njmã ie ic qujmjlhuja. tlacucleoatl, tla tlaiciecavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in qujnvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in jxiqujcan vtlica: njman ie ic necalioa.

Auh in ichoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmã ie ic tenamoia, qujnnamaque in cioatzitzinti, yoan in pipiltzitzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'nmjctique vncan ihiotl quja. Auh in oc cequjntin amo qujnmjctique, çan ivian acalco qujmontemovique.

Auh in ie iuh qujchioa inin ie tenaoalpoloa: njman ic tzatzique in tequjvaque, qujtoque. Mexicae tlein ic qujchioa in, tlaveliloque? ma vallatotoca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, qujnexca acaltica.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).
[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and fifty pesos and they said:—"Malinche, accept these presents which we give you and look on us in the future as your friends." Cortés received them with great good will and promised to help them in whatever they needed, and when he saw them together he told the Padre de la Merced to counsel them regarding matters touching our holy faith, and that they should give up their Idols, and he told them all that we were accustomed to say in all the towns through which we had passed, and to all this they replied that it was well said and that they would see to it in the future. Cortés also explained to them about the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and how we had come to right wrongs and to stop robbery, for it was for this purpose that our Emperor sent us to these countries.

When they heard this, all these towns that I have named, secretly, so that the Mexican Ambassadors should not hear them, made great complaints about Montezuma and his tax gatherers, who robbed them of all they possessed, and violated their wives and daughters, if they were handsome, before them and their husbands, and carried them off, and made the men work as though they were slaves, and made them carry pine timber and stone and firewood and maize either in their canoes or over land, and many other services such as planting cornfields, and they took their lands for the service of the Idols. They made many other complaints, which, as it was many years ago, I do not remember.

Cortés comforted them with kindly words which he knew well how to say to them through Doña Marina, but added that at the present moment, he could not undertake to see justice done them and they must bear it awhile [and] he would [presently] free them from that rule, and he secretly ordered two of their chiefs to go with four of our Tlaxcalan allies, and inspect the cleared road, which the people of Huexotzingo had told us not to follow, and to

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichi-
533 meca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponazcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quateçoqujcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã qujcenqujxtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxqujch imãceollatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, qujtlãtlattitia, in catle coneleujz, ipan onmjtoriz, ipan ontetlattitiz:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
● 431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujccaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in teviitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
643 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums — the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mãceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtoianj, motlaqujtoianj, tlamoianhquj, tonxacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

262 Before them came their food, the prepared foods: — tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtectli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamalteti, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlatzalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoxtli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiaxtlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaoio.

527 And when they had tired and were wearied of dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilluj mãceoalixtli, njman qujcalaqujaia, qujtlatiaia, in vme xuchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic qujxiptlaiotiaia,

9. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 29, 94-95; *pueue* *Ichcuc* was a term generally endorsed and by women.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads such *ixiz* *tlamoa pipitzoa, tolququi mapipitzoa, tocuajlaoa mapipitzoa, tocuajlaoa mapipitzoa* . . . See also, Olmos, op. cit., p. 237 (facsimile).

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw coarse incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a 643 celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6] on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities 431 came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

[482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan macoaltzintli, in motolinja, çan copalxalli in tleco quitema: auh in çe iequeme quitzacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in ḧavia, in auellamati: çan ie in jauhtli tleco quitepeoa, ic quitlamaca in jxcoian itleuh:

ioan mjtoa in tlatoque vncan motecutlaliaia motlatocatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujntli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhxcatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj omotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol quijoalcuj, quijoalitquj in macuextli, in tilmatli, in xuchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamaujaço, yzimachoça imaltepeuh, in campa, in quezquijchca oaleoa, quijtlamamaca, quijtlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan quitlapaloa, quijtlatlauhtia, oalmotlalia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, quijtlacuepilia, qujntlananqujlilia:

auh çan no iuj in chioalo, in namjcn, çan ic mocuepa in jnnetlaçotlaliz, injc motlaneuj, injc mjximati, injc momalcochoa, injc mocoachioa, qujmomamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan quiquijmjliuhtiuh, çan quiquijmjlietiuh, çan qujmjltica in qujmomaca, in, in qujmotlauhtia, qujiaiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel intonal icalitic ochioaloc, otlatlan, iquac inpan quinpepena, inpan qujmuelitta, qujntlatlattilia, qujmjipantia, quinpapantia, quinpapanjtia, in quenamj quinmacazque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua quinmaujztilia, quinvecapano, intetlaujcalhoan.

tlaliuj, tlãtlaliuj, tlãtlalhujtiuj, tlãtlaliooa, in tlamamalo, in tlãtlatquiioa, quaquaiilpitiuh in netlauhtilli: auh in netlacaujlli, ãtle tlaçotli, ãtlatlaçotli, tla-

5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los pobres afrentan sus cuciones, que llaman cuyulxalli, en su mismo hogar: y los muy pobres, afrentan sus yerbas medidas, que se llaman yauhtli en sus mismos hogares."* — In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, it is *Tlapaxo huaxi*; see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Rosmart, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Reffner, in *La médecine chez les mexicains: préoccupations* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 95, identifies yauhtli as a species of absinthe; A. Garcia, in *Notes sur la médecine et la pharmacie des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1909), p. 54, says it is definitely tarragon. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar los idolatrías de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies yauhtli as yerbanis, which, according to Santamarta, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is *"Nombre vulgar que en el norte del país, en México, se da a una planta parecida al companichil* (Tagetes minuta), *cuyas hojas huelen a anís."*

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: *"la fiesta de su elección, que llamaban tecuhtlamacaz."*

went loaded upon their shoulders tied in bundles. Their cold things the lords caused to be carried away to where they came to be kept; and some of it was only entrusted to others.[7]

cujtlapuzmamalo, cujcujtlalpitiuh in jntlaçeujl, quj-mjtqujlia tlatoque, in omopicco, ioan in cequjn çan otenepieltico. 431

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "y quando hacia la fiesta este señor dexaba muchas mantas, y mantles viejos a los mesmos señores, que traian cargados: de manera que eran cargados unos, de lo que recibian del; que no traian cargado, de lo que le traian traydo. Las mantas que dexaba el señor, eran todas provisiones, hechas en su casa: y tenidas, o labradas de diversas maneras; conforme a las personas, a quien se traian de dar: tambien las dexaba muchas almadamas de cosajas, y paos cargados de los señores: para sus casas.

[p. 90 is blank]

574 **Thirty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned how the festivity was performed; and how the rulers and merchants of old provided banquets, even as to this day they have been doing.**

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omvme capitulo: vncan moteneoa in cujcujcaliztli catca in quenjn muchioaia, yoã in juh tecoanotzaia in veveintin tlatoque, yoan in pochtêca, yn juh noma axcan quichiuia.

574 And the manner of doing nowadays: when one holdeth a banquet for the sake of his child, so it is
851 said, they baptize; the head is washed; food is given. So was it done; just so were guests procured and invited; [as] in other banquets were the distribution and the seating according to rank.

Auh in axcã ie ic tlamanj yn iquac aca ypampa tecoanotza ypiltzin, ie mitoa tlaquàatequia, tlaquatequiloia tetlatlaqualtilo, çan ie muchioaia, çan ie iuh coatioaia, çãn ie iuh tecoanotzaloia yn oc cequj ypan cooaiotl, tetlacamachiliztli, tetemoliztli.

574 So here a little is divulged of the invitation to banquet. But among the rulers, the princes and noblemen, those of illustrious lineage, or when somewhere riches and wealth had been procured, then there was avarice, among the merchants of Pochtlan, [or among the artisans, the craftsmen,][1] the skilled workers, by each group separately there was bringing of goods according to custom; guests were procured, wealth was procured, and there were invitations.

Jc çan njcan tepiton onmonextia in tecoanotzaliztlatolli, tel in tlatoca, im pilpã, im pillovã, tecpilpan, yn anoço cana netlacamachoian, necuiltonoloia, tlatlamepã, im puchtla, in puchtecapã, toltecaiopan, cecentetl injc netqùioaia, ynjc tlamanja, ynjc tlamanca, ynjc cooatioaia, netlacamachoia, necoachioaloia,

When somewhere there was great congregating, there was indeed trampling, shoving, and crowding. Entry was impossible. There was no recognition of the invited guests. Indeed, there was trampling, crowding, jostling, and shoving to one side. Nowhere were available seating places, spaces to occupy, or seats to use.[2]

in cana vel moveychina, vel mõoeça, tzltzica, cãcatzca, aonneaquilo, ahmiximati, yn tlacoanotzali, vel nequequeçalo, nepopotzolo, nezozocolo, ahujc xoquioca, ãcan veli, in netlaliloia, in ieloaia, in tetlaliloia,

However, it was the task, concern, and charge especially of the attendants, those who greeted [the guests] — their great concern — to search and watch well. [The host] commissioned them each as servants, officials, and servitors, so that they could look with care to recognize one, no matter from where the banquet guests, those bidden to the feast, the invited ones, had come.

oc cenca iehoan intequjuh, innecuitlavil, ymix intequjuh, vel innecuitlavil, vel mixpetztza, mixpetzoa, quimiicaniantia, quintetequippantia, quincõcocoltia in techixque, in tetlalique, ynjc iehoan vellachia, teiximati, in cãpa iẽ ooallaque coume, tlacoanotzalti, tecooaoa,

574 These ascertained well what could be done for them, so that they might be well received, and that,
431 in the distribution of goods, none might be forgotten. All which they came by and received as gifts,

iehoan vel quiteilhuja, ynic inca nechioaloz, ynjc vel namicozque, aiac ilcaoaloz, ypan tlacotoniz, much intech aciz, yn nemactiz, yn jxquich ic otlatequililoque, in chieltilo, ynjn ca oytoloc, yiemacon-

1. In the *Real Palacio MS*, the words amoyo tlachichinchoque, teitanque, follow pochtecapã.
2. In *Ibid.*, ad follows tetlalliloia.

571 all the things which had been set aside and placed apart [by the host]—this hath been told. They
431 would be given tobacco; they would be plied with and provided tobacco; they would be plied with and given flowers. They would be feasted; they would be given to drink. They would be plied with gifts—capes, clothing, vestments, mantles, and breech clouts. And after they had rejoiced for a little while, they would be provided with dancing, and they would set out in the sun for them the flowers, the tobacco, the capes, and the breech clouts, in order to meet the obligations of banqueting, lest it be said [of the host] that the guests were slighted and found discontent there.

que, miietizque, yiztilozque, mozochimacazque, mozochitizque, xochimacozque, tlaquazque, atlizque, motlanhtizque, motilmatizque, moquetiaq̃, motlaquentizque, motlalpiliz̃q̃, momaxtlatizque: auh çatepã ymellel onquiçaz achitzinca, õmitotizque, ontlatotonizque, yn xochitl, yn jietl, in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, injc conjxtlaoa, cooziotl, ontlaiolpachivitia, injc amo itolozque, ca çã moiolitlacoa, ahtlavelmati.

574 And where, in this manner, there was considerable congregating, one augmented, increased, and multiplied the flowers and edible things. It was as if his nourishing goods rested everywhere, covered and spread over the ground, spread all about; as if the food brought there spread souring; all the tamales became mouldy. Musty were the tamales which had been set out.

Auh in cana tel çan ie no yui, vel moveichioa, tonacatica miequia, tlapiviia, i suchitl, in qualonj, iuhqujn papachivi, tlalpan açi, tlalpan actimoteca, tlalpan acitimoteca, yn jcococauh ipalnemoanj, iuhqujn tlaxoxocoiaxtoc, yn vmpa oakquiça tlaqualli, ixqujch pupuxcavi in tamalli, tamalpupuxcauhqui, yn temaco,

571 But there at the flower places, where the flowers were placed and arranged, the pleasing odor and
554 fragrance spread to all parts. No one wished to be deflated or to lose stature. All persons wished[3] that they be given recognition, fame, and distinction; that they might not, on the contrary, be shamed, receive blame, be embarrassed, confused, belittled, confounded, or excluded from others. Each and everyone paid attention to, took great care with, [and] gloried in his invitations to others. Each and everyone therefore made him resplendent and admirable, each one separately proceeding with exclusive and undivided attention to feasting. They exalted and raised themselves; they surpassed and much exceeded themselves. There was vying and competition.

auh in vmpa yonoia, itecõia, ivipanaloian suchitl, iuhqujn tlaveveliztimanj, tlaavjiztimanj, aiac mopatzaoallanj, aiac patzactzintli ieznequi, muchi tlacatl iuh connequi, in ma ça vel onixpatlaoa, onteioua, onitzuhcaioua, in maca tle ic õmopinauhti, ompinavizcui, ompinaviztlamati, ommomamati, ontzinquiça, ommimilquetia, ic tevicpa onteicolo, muchi tlacatl cecentetl ic quimati, quitlamachia, quiveilia, yn itecoanotzaliz, muchi tlacatl cecẽtetl ic quicseponia, ic tetlamaviçoltia, nonõqua micauhtiuh, micauhcaiauh in cosiotl, macoctiuh, macoquetztiuh, mopanavitiuh, mopapanavitiuh, nepanavihoco, nepapanavilo,

On the other hand, one might not wish to do it, preferring not to enter into it, and not desiring it, lest his favors should fall away or fail. And if it was not brought about, everyone wondered, was chagrined, and made much of it. This same one, when he learned of it, became troubled and continued in fear[4] that possibly his efforts would fail, pass away, or miscarry. O that none might ever speak to him of

noçac yn ikonnequj, acõãquinequi, aquin maca quinequi, yn ma vel oovetzi, onquiça itlaocul, auh yn aiamo muchioa muchi tlacatl, motẽmati, tlatẽmati, tlaveymati, çan iẽ in quimati, ic motequipachoa, q'nmattinemi, in quẽmach nenti onquiçaz, contlalcaviz ynetequipachol, macaiac tle ic conitotiaz, conixaoatiaz, conjxmotlatiaz, onahioa, onteputzcomonilo.

3. In ibid., ỹ mas ge sed omnesi pronyo fellowes tuch oninququi.

4. Quinmattinemi in ibid.

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The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[22]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *tamales* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Coateca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, esteemed [these *tamales*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[5]—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jnic cempoali onume capitulo, vncã moteneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoalizzli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in moteneoaia, Tlacaxipeoalizzli. 796x

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpulueuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico. cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, ye ouetzi cemilhujtl, in tlacemilhuitiltitoque, ic tlalhujqujxtitoque, ic tlalhujnexitiloque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in ixqujch nepapan xochitl, in iancuican cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto quinecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, quiuenchioaz, quiuĕmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotõti quitraia, cuecuepontoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aquitoton, hacquipipil, hacquitetoton, çan quecizquj, çan quezquitoton, çan quecizquipipil, çan quezquiquauhtoton quicuicuitlalpia, quiilpia. 796x 824 [784] [532]

Auh ynic xuchitetemoaia, quicenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj quioalnamacaia, in millaca: 796x [432]

auh yn iquac y, quiquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [262]

oc cenca ichoanti quimauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: quitlamanjlia yn inteouh, itoca coatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn itech tlaquauhtlamati, yn innetemachil, yn itech moquauhtiotia, yn inquauhio, yn itech motzatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac euatlaiilo, onmotlatia, onmocacoa, yn inteoaio tlaca, vmpa iopico onaactiuj:

1. The corresponding Spanish text specifies: ". . . que hacian en el principio dia del segundo mes, que se decia Quauitleuaiaiab."
In Chapter 1, this month is correctly named Tepeilhuitl.
2. Sahagun's Spanish text: "Y en dia, se sembraban sonajas" (Garibay: "Rabadilla huesa," p. 294). Seler (op. cit., p. 77) has, for sembraban, "finden statt die Zusammenkunft mit der Rassel."
3. "Los sacerdotes de aquel barrio," according to Sahagun's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagun: *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, p. 92, n. 3: "Hacen unos tamales, de huauhtli, dulces en horma redondos, en manera, como de rosas."
5. Rabadilla; Seler (op. cit., p. 78) notes the same interpretation; Garibay (op. cit., p. 295) has, for yuan ualnaqui huauhtlalli, "y se Rasuda, 'se quedan los pelos'"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagun reads: "revolaban en algunos sitios."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and he sent certain loads of very rich mantles beautifully worked. 648

When the Chiefs came before Cortés with the present they touched the ground with their hands and with great reverence, such as they use among themselves, they said—"Malinche, Our Lord the Great Montezuma, sends thee this present, and asks thee to accept it with the great affection which he has for thee and all thy brethren, and he says that the annoyance that the people of Cholula have caused him weighs heavily on him, and he wishes to punish them more in their persons, for they are an evil and a lying people in that they have thrown the blame of the wickedness which they wished to commit upon him and his ambassadors," that we might take it as very certain that he was our friend, and that we could go to his City whenever we liked, for he wished to do us every honour as very valiant men, and the messengers of such a great King as you say that he (your King) is. But because he had nothing to give us to eat, for everything has to be carried into the city by carriers as it is built on the lake, he could not entertain us very satisfactorily, but he would endeavour to do us all the honour that was possible, and he had ordered all the towns through which we had to pass to give us what we might need. He also made many other complimentary speeches. When Cortés understood them through our interpreters, he received the present with demonstrations of affection and embraced the messengers, and ordered them to be given certain twisted cut glass beads. All our captains and soldiers were delighted at such good news, as that he [Montezuma] should bid us to come to his city, for, from day to day, the greater number of us soldiers were wishing for it, especially those who had left nothing behind them in the Island of Cuba, and had been on the two expeditions of discovery before this one with Cortés. [361 433]

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438 mala the people travel miles to exchange their produce; and
443 so important is the market as a social function that a merchant will not dispose of his produce except at that place, even though offered payment far in excess of its market value.*

437 Barter was the only means of exchange, and value was
436 established by desirability and rarity. Money, an exchange medium of fixed value, did not exist. However, something had to be found which would balance an inequality of exchange by being not too valuable to use in adjusting small transactions and at the same time universally wanted. The cacao bean answered this requirement and was easily portable as well. The Aztecs were extremely fond of chocolate (the word itself is of Aztec derivation), so that beans were gladly converted into the national luxury drink. Quills of gold dust sometimes were used as an exchange medium, as were crescent-shaped knives of thin-beaten copper. These last had not the common acceptance or the utility of cacao beans, although they represented easily portable value.*

317 The most precious substance among the Aztecs was jade,
435 or stones resembling it in texture and color. Both jadeite and nephrite occur in the New World, and the American variety is distinguishable from the Asiatic stone. Uncut stones are seldom seen today, for there is no lapidaries' market in modern Middle America or the United States, whereas jade is still extensively worked in China, so that men find it worth their while to search rivers in Burma for boulders of this rare substance. (See Plate 3.)

435 The testimony of the Conquistador Bernal Diaz is conclusive on this point of value. During the night when Cortes retreated from Mexico the leader, after taking off his share of treasure, turned the surplus over to his troops. Many,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [437] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

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311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

● 436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

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money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.[1] (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the perfectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Te-pe'ek.

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438 mala the people travel miles to exchange their produce; and
443 so important is the market as a social function that a merchant will not dispose of his produce except at that place, even though offered payment far in excess of its market value.[8]

437 Barter was the only means of exchange, and value was
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435 or stones resembling it in texture and color. Both jadeite and nephrite occur in the New World, and the American variety is distinguishable from the Asiatic stone. Uncut stones are seldom seen today, for there is no lapidaries' market in modern Middle America or the United States, whereas jade is still extensively worked in China, so that men find it worth their while to search rivers in Burma for boulders of this rare substance. (See Plate 3.)

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8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

OTHER GOODS* 651

2 strings of chalchiuites [316
800 bunches of quetzal feathers
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni* 231]
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning 632 the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which [436] served as money. They also gave military aid.[*]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.[*]

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.[*]

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.[*]

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.[*]

[*] *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescatauan a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Munteçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

[*] *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

[*] See Chila, above.

[*] *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

[*] "En tienpo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who [324 sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they 262] get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and [325 gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could 415] wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were 436 already approaching its great courts, before leaving the [443] market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look 346 at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these [364] stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

life:[73] hence little was left to him beyond his legitimate wants. 463
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who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men 439
gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the 441
market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products 648
for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of 441
Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The recep- 527
tion was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

venden comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 56, etc.), 441
"oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 69). In general, nearly 439
all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of 437
their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 283 and 284, cap. XII).

[76] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tianamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 127, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[77] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicequitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "naoaloztomeca," literally "peddlars of the Xahuatl." *Molina* (II, p. 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.*

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.* (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.[1] (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the perfectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Té-pe'ek.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

438 mala the people travel miles to exchange their produce; and
443 so important is the market as a social function that a merchant will not dispose of his produce except at that place, even though offered payment far in excess of its market value.*

437 Barter was the only means of exchange, and value was
436 established by desirability and rarity. Money, an exchange medium of fixed value, did not exist. However, something had to be found which would balance an inequality of exchange by being not too valuable to use in adjusting small transactions and at the same time universally wanted. The cacao bean answered this requirement and was easily portable as well. The Aztecs were extremely fond of chocolate (the word itself is of Aztec derivation), so that beans were gladly converted into the national luxury drink. Quills of gold dust sometimes were used as an exchange medium, as were crescent-shaped knives of thin-beaten copper. These last had not the common acceptance or the utility of cacao beans, although they represented easily portable value.*

317 The most precious substance among the Aztecs was jade,
435 or stones resembling it in texture and color. Both jadeite and nephrite occur in the New World, and the American variety is distinguishable from the Asiatic stone. Uncut stones are seldom seen today, for there is no lapidaries' market in modern Middle America or the United States, whereas jade is still extensively worked in China, so that men find it worth their while to search rivers in Burma for boulders of this rare substance. (See Plate 3.)

435 The testimony of the Conquistador Bernal Diaz is conclusive on this point of value. During the night when Cortes retreated from Mexico the leader, after taking off his share of treasure, turned the surplus over to his troops. Many,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the
[684] inevitable result of wrongdoing.

618 Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own
648 affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace
174 and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was
631 for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

174 Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal
361 center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

174 The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area
[361] of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered
438 many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

row of vendors of implements and tools, such as obsidian blades, carved and burnished pottery, spindle whorls, deer-horn awls, bone bodkins and a few copper axes and needles. A brilliant mass of color characterized the booths of the feather salesmen. Some sold merely bunches of plumes, the lovely green of the quetzal, or trogon, and the multicolored plumage of parrots. At the other stands feather cloaks, mats and shields gave evidence of charming fancy in their design and patient toil in their execution. (See Plates 38–39.)

Jewelers displayed jade ornaments and gold worked into precious rings of filigree or massive beaten gorgets. It was the jade, however, that caught the envious eye and was produced with furtive circumspection as a material of great price. Other merchants sold ornaments of shell, and the pinks, whites and subtle mottled browns of sea shells contrasted with the rich dark sheen of tortoise carapaces. At one booth a rich warrior earnestly bargained with the proprietor for an exquisite pair of earplugs, cunningly inlaid with a mosaic of turquoise and mother-of-pearl.

The smiling whispers and admiring glances of the crowd at the jeweler's abruptly changed in the slave quarters to appraising stares. Some of the chattels wore wooden collars, and their brutish faces had a hopeless expression. These had sunk to servitude long ago as a result of crime or of capture in war. Others were thin and emaciated but did not wear the collar of bondage. They had met with misfortune and were selling themselves for the first time to ensure food and shelter.

A low hum rose from the market place; there was none of the strident shouting of the European fair. The bargaining for goods was carried on slowly, quietly, but, nonetheless,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples, distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city
241 was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were
273 many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they
323 make their wine. They make very good pottery in the
438 city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain.

346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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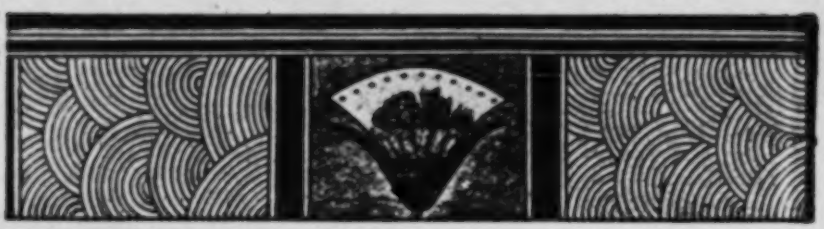

PLATE 30

TRADE POTTERY, AZTEC PERIOD

Vessels like these from Puebla and Tlaxcala were much prized in Central Mexico and obtained by trade or tribute. At the top, a design composed of a feather fan and concentric circles, taken from a hemispherical bowl. The middle cup utilizes a simple grecque pattern, while at the bottom the hieroglyph for the day Reed set against a black background decorates the neck of a vase, the body of which is painted a lustrous red.

[p. 96(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. 441
The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement 463
and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth 441 439 463
and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have 463
attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and featherworkers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion 793
penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in [622]
the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the [436] possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the 32 handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, [592] utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean 439 have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.[1] (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the per- 443 fectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they 438 made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Te-pe'ek.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [137] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

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317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial
[788] bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal
[415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving
[395] the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[4]

324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

648 mid-fifteenth century both Tenochtitlan and Texcoco had grown to the point where they had to have additional supplies or else starve, so, because of this common necessity, the alliance endured fairly well.[4]

186 Despite their common background of language, thought, religion, custom and material culture, the Aztecs had no sense of unity. Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco, both of which are within the city limits of modern Mexico, existed side by side in complete independence for many years; not until 1473 did the Tenochcas make up their minds to conquer their neighbors. Each town and hamlet was sufficient unto itself, and its members felt no larger loyalty. In modern Teotihuacan this feeling still persists, and the members of one *barrio*, or ward, look upon those of the adjacent one as a congregation of the most horrible criminals. Not even the Spanish siege of Mexico brought unity to the Aztecs, and the Texcocans blithely joined the invaders to exterminate their former ally Tenochtitlan.

648 439 Although community was potentially hostile to community, individuals could move freely about the countryside. Trade in simple commodities was carried on extensively from the early times of the Middle Cultures. In the Aztec period the traveling merchants became a special class, and their security of body and property, preserved at first for the advantages which each town could derive from their wares, was guaranteed by the force of Aztec arms. Pilgrims [788] going to worship at special shrines had free and unmolested passage; and a suggestion that such journeys were made in the distant past is given by the Middle Culture figurines of foreign origin. One site especially, Tetelpan, produced so great a variety of idols from such a wide area that it must

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

776 463 464 which they journeyed. Whenever they slept, there they set them up; before them they did penance, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

Those vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their heads [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[139] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds—the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

motlatocaia, inciqua cuchiuqui, vncan quijtlquetza, iqpan tlamacoca, nejqo, quijcajcahuanjlia, ynjc quijtlachtia ya jancuah yiacatecutli, ynjc quijtlanjlia, ynjc quijmatatequjlia, yiliccaltlia:

nonjan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic motenoca, pachoca yiuqui: inch cuaqua, ya inoca iuauh, yiacatecutli:

Ontemoca, ontenac calaquijtj, vel quijtemotinemj, in tlein quijmomanahtiuqui, anamel quijnequalotinemj, anamel quijlacatocotinemj,

tonalcitiuhtinemj, hueuacitiuhtinemj, mocuauhpouhtinemj, mocuauhpouhtinj, elcicuahtinj, mocuauhquentinj, ymellelactiuh, ymjequa tlalatiuh, intemal quijnacujtinj, intemalomjuh iztiuh:

iztlaxtl quijnamjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, quijtemoujo, quijtlecuaja, inepjchca ana: iamalicpi, intequan ic tlatlacqa, ic moquoquetza:

vel qujctiovj vel quihiiouja, ynic quijtemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, ya apoçonalli, in tecuxjtlatl: in nepapan tlauhjtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtotol, in uetli, ququa: quauhtli, in tequanoctl, ya ocelopetlatl.

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que se vea cada negra lindeza, mentiras sin fondo ningunas: que se vemos jueces, de los que se ven en España." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 166, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (op. cit., 57-8) says they gathered the stones all together, put with a ribbon, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling merchants who went into the *tierra caliente* (*extremo caliente calaquia*) (Sahagún, op. cit., p. 91). In *Geschichte Altmexikanischer*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: "*Yacatecutli* (der 'Herr der Nase') oder *Iyacatecutli* (der Herr der Wegspannung) war der Gott der Kaufmannsgilden der eigentlich *mexikanischen* der *tierra caliente* der *tierra caliente* nach der Tierra Caliente hinzieht und ausführten." [103]

Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ocuxiuhcan in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtotoxi*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 370, to the *Nonohualcatecuxcan*, appears to refer to a people or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* [103] *distinguo*.

96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, especially Tuxtla, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan cerca de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Tuhxuxuca hasta Anáhuac, que dista más de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Entraban en la provincia de Anáhuac, no todos, sino aquellos que eran de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . eran todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tuxtlapec. En este pueblo se dividían, unos eran a Anáhuac Ayaulan; otros eran a Anáhuac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 334.

Seler defines Anáhuac: Ayaulan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac Xicalanco as the area of Tabasco.—Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 416.

97. "*Los esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llévanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y atzli piedra de verniz, la cual es muy pulida y sin manchas ningunas, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene manchas, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Tecuxlatl, quiere decir turquesa de los dioses . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ningunas manchas y muy lucida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que crie en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadas, dobléganse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El tecuxlo que tiene en la cabeza esta ave (quetzalcuxtl) es muy hermosa y resplandeciente, llámase a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; se precian estas plumas y llámanle tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene colidas en el pecho y en las cabezas y debajo de las alas; son la mitad verdes y la mitad verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tzoquechol* means red spoonbill or precious spoonbill. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 633). Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 77n., gives *Platalea Ajaja* name L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtotoxi* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as Cotinga cincta Z. Coerulea (*ibid.*, p. 624). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives Cotinga amabilis Gould.

103. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y entiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) revuelven el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como flores de fuego y como oro, colores en Anáhuac.*"

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And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and suppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[106] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[108] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and held contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[109] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They brought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in pocxomatl, in xiuteotli, in aquauijtl, yn ezaccaiutl:

intlanel iauitilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan oconmj, vel calaquj, motlacaccuepa in nechichioalitica, in nexitica, in tlatoltica qujntlaehecalhuja in chaneqoa.

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujpoioiojctia, qujchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nil tematitlanpa qujça, ihoatl qujoalnonotzaia in motecuçoma:

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçmaltenauh, yc qujmaviztiotia, ic qujtzacaiotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oquijchia.

Auh yn jquac oalacia, yuchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oquijchiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: inquich tlacatl qujoetza, in puchtecca: yoan in tlatoque, ic momititiaia:

mjtoa, mocripaca, cenca qujmaviztiliaia yn inopil, yn jtlaçqaia yiacatecutli:

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac otlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

Auh intla aca tealtiz, ihoatl caltiaia, qujzeoaia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme ihoantin yn mochenaia, in qujmotoutiaia in chicomequjauitl, anoço chalmecaciouatl, yoan acxomocuijl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzauac, aiac qujincuja, yiellodama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacamecujloca azcaputzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecuepa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujncuazque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlaciecti, in tlacamelanque, yn acan cucuzque, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

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yejc ihoan qujmictique, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtiliaia vitzilohuchtli:

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujtlamamaca, intech qujtlalia yn juhqej ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn ainmo qujtemjctia, achtopa qujnteittiaia: mjtoa qujmjmestia, ic qujmachiua in tealtiztic:

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104. *Cf.* Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 37): Yacatecuhtli "*proporcionaba vestuarios personas, que tenan riesgo, á habilidad, para mejor guarecimiento, á engaños, y en robos, y ropa; (que es propio condicion de Mercaderes)* . . . ."

107. *Cf.* Sahagún (*Ensayo Español*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyes. Cath. Mex.* B. II §80.

108. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llamaba lavamiento de pies*, mentions washing speech and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "*iglesia del barrio, ó parroquia*" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the ceremonies in this manner: "*Estos diaches que mataban a estos cativos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomquiauitl or Chalmecaciuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [439]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.* 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING** [291]

2,010 bundles[7] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[8] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD* [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE* [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "sayanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

* *EVE*, 101:156. [7] Corrected from 2,000. [8] Corrected from 800.

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651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Certain elements of the foregoing tribute may be traced.

Atepec, Çoquiapan, Tecuicuilco, and Xaltianguisco acquired the [439] tribute items exacted from them—green (quetzal?) feathers and chalchiuites—by barter with other regions.[127]

Coatlan gave gold and mantles, receiving military protection in return. (The gold tribute was three marks of gold dust quarterly in early colonial days.[128])

Eztetlan and five other towns jointly paid a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[129]

Huiztepec, as one of the "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

Itzquintepec gave part of a joint tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Iztepexi, which had two masters, Mixtec and Mexican,[130] paid them tribute in base gold, green feathers, deer, maize, and turkeys; also, its inhabitants rendered personal services to the Mexican garrison near Oaxaca. The gold and feathers were acquired in a unique fashion, being earned by going to the Isthmus and working six months or a year there cultivating lands.[131]

Ocelotepec gave gold dust and mantles and cochineal, "all in small quantities and once a year," and received in return mantles, sandals, and feathers of many colors.[132] This exceptional treatment was doubt-

[127] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123, speaks of "çierto tributo que le pagaban en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de Plumas verdes y Piedras verdes" obtained in trade.

[128] *PNE*, 4: 133. To Moctezuma "le tributaban oro en polbo y mantas, y el tenya quidado denbialles sienpre gente de guarnyçion." To their colonial encomendero "segun dizen los antiguos naturales cada yndio tributaba en cada ochenta dyas tres marcos de oro en polbo."

[129] For the tribute of this and the two following towns, see n. 105 above.

[130] See n. 106 above.

[131] *PNE*, 4: 16. Suffering from double demands, "les pagauan de tributo oro bazo y plumeria verde y benados que tomauan en los montes y mayz y gallinas de la tierra, y leña, acudiendo con servicios personales a los mexicanos en Guaxaca ... ," all without fixed tribute dates, "y la plumeria y oro que asi tributauan lo yban a buscar a Teguantepeque y a la provincia de Soconusco e Guatemala, arquilandose en carga mercadurias de mercaderes y en beneficiar y cultivar tierras en la dicha provincia donde se detenian seys y siete meses y vn año, y otros se ocupauan en lo que por los señores y caçiques deste pueblo les hera mandado, y por lo susodicho les pagauan oro y plumas verdes, y esto trayan y guardauan para pagar se tributo, y por tener a dos señores a quien acudir con los dichos tributos muchas veces quedauan confusos, y no osauan rebelarse contra ellos porque no los destruyesen a todos."

[132] *PNE*, 4: 138. Ocelotepec "en su antigüedad tenyan por señor a monteçuma, señor de Mexico, al qual tributaban oro en polbo y mantas de que ellos se bisten, y grana, todo en poca cantidad, y en cada vn años [*sic*] vna vez, lo qual el reçebia ... y el les enbiaba otras cosas de mas balor como eran mantas y los 'cactles' que ellos traen, y plumas de muchas colores."

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S. G. Morley in his description of Copan says:

"The discovery of copper bells of Mexican origin at a number of archeaological sites in Arizona and New Mexico clearly point to trade relations between the Pueblo Indians and the tribes of Central America in pre-Columbian times; these bells very closely resemble the copper bells found in the sacred Cenates of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, which can hardly have been carried there before 1200 A. D. [439]

Analysis has proved these metal bells to be copper with some little impurities; and it is believed they were cast by what is known as the *cire perdue* process. This method consists in using a wax model, or a core of clay covered with a wax pattern, the mould being heated, the wax melted and ran out, leaving the shape of the object to be cast, which was then filled with the melted metal. This is interesting because this process was well known to the makers of bronze ornaments in Europe, and it is a question if these little bells found in the Aztec or Maya burials were made by the *cire perdue* process; was it a discovery by the American race independent of foreign knowledge? 171 321

This might suggest a greater antiquity for this art of casting than that in Europe and would show a considerable amount of experience in metallurgy for the aborigines, and it is surprising that more elaborate objects were not made by them. Judging from the character and variety of cast objects of bronze from South America, the ancient Peruvians were familiar with the *cire perdue* method. Did the Inca discover it? They were certainly the earliest users of the alloy bronze in America with the exception of the unknown builders of Tiahuanaco, among whose ruins have been found bronze tools. With regard to the knowledge the Aztecs had of bronze, it is difficult to establish their claim until more analyses are made of specimens of undoubted Mexican origin, indicating an alloy with a composition of about 90% copper and 10% tin. The following analyses by P. Rivet, taken from his contribution in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* show to what extent tin was used by the Aztecs in their metal objects. 325

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Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, 648
not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, 439
for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the 574
tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being 609
the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[51]

ute (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta, Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 236, 237, 238. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241–243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

[51] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 35, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Muteczuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,600 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 534, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, 796
at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico had *to entertain* (Cap. XX, pp. 175 and 176. Cap. XXIII, p. 195. The chiefs of Tezcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xuchimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fueron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 418–421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholullan, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mesmo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 459). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 83. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "y los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandolos, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necessario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendóles en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *llamarlos cada dia al palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 132).

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441 thing for another" ("tlanamacani"),[75] and such was every artisan, since, in the market place of aboriginal Mexico, every artisan bartered his own manufactures for whatever he needed for sub-

436 *al Padre Fray Luis de Figueroa.*" Santiago de Cuba, 14 Nov., 1521. Col. de Doc. Vol. I,
437 p. 361). "Hay una moneda entre ellos con que venden y compran, que se llama cacahuate, . . ." *Anonymous Conqueror* (p. 280, etc.) mentions Cacao, "e é moneta la piu comune, ma molto incomoda dopo l'oro é l'argento . . . . *Acosta* (Lib. IV, cap. 3, p. 198) "No se halla, que los Indios usassen oro, ni plata, ni metal para moneda, ni para precio de la cosas, usauanlo para ornato, como esta dicho." The statement of Torquemada is plain. While it explains the gradual ascent and development of the notion that the Mexicans had an equivalent to money, it clearly proves that only barter and exchange, and no actual buying, took place. The copper-plates which, as Mr. Bancroft justly remarks, "constituted perhaps the nearest approach to coined money," still were not intended even for such a purpose, since they were of varying size and thickness. But the story of the *copper* or *golden "Eagles,"* given to the Mexican traders as money wherewith to buy, as faithfully reported and gravely discussed by Mr. Bancroft also, deserves some special ventilation. This story is taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 342) "y dábales 1600 toldillos, que ellos llaman quauhtli para rescatar." These toldillos they divided into two parts of 800 each. Now Sahagun's editor, Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, very confidently asserts in note a, (p. 342): "Era una moneda que consistia en unos pedazos de cobre cortados en figura de T.—Clavigero, tom. I, pág. 349." The reference to *Clavigero* is for Lib. VII, cap. XXXVI. Now "Toldillo" is derived from "toldár" that is, to shroud or cover, and means merely a *cover*, and not a piece of metal. Used also for a covered litter or portable chair. Besides, "quauhtli" indeed signifies Eagle, but it is an evident misprint and should read "quachtli," which signifies a *mantle* or *sheet*, thus perfectly agreeing both with the "toldillo" and with the "patolquachtli" of Torquemada. The "golden eagles" of Mr. Brasseur are therefore rendered utterly useless.

291 Anyone reading *Tezozomoc* will see at a glance what a conspicuous part these mantles "Quachtli," (*Molina*, II, p. 84) played in intercourse and barter. According to *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, etc., Col. de Doc's conc. le Méxique, I, p. 251) they formed to a certain extent the basis of tribute. These cotton-sheets are well described by *Peter Martyr* ("*De nouo Orbe.*" Dec. V., cap. X, p. 230): "Concerning the shape and fashion of their garments, it is ridiculous to behold: they call it a garmente, because they couer themselves therewith. but it hath no resemblance with any other garment, of any fashion: it is only a square couering like unto that, which your holiness cast on your shoulders, sometimes in my presence, when you are about to kimbe your heade, to preserve your garments, least haire, or any other filth should fal upon them. That couering they cast about their necke, and then knitting two of the four corners under their throate, they lette the couering hang downe, which scarce coueretb the bodie as lowe as the legges. Having seen these garments I ceased to wonder, that so great a number of garments was sent to Cortes, as we mentioned before: for they are all of small moment, and many of them take uppe but little roome."

441 With the absence of money the profession of merchant as one who lives from the
439 profits of his sales, becomes limited almost to what he can gather from out-side of his
437 own community, in other words, to what he can *import*. Their main and almost exclusive business consisted in effecting intercourse between the tribes. At home, every artisan sold or rather exchanged his own wares in the public markets. See *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, pp. 32 and 33), *Bernal Díes* ("*Hist. verdad.*," etc., Vedia II, p. 89, cap. XCII), *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 348, Vedia I), "Cada oficio y cada mercaderia tiene su lugar señalado . . . .", *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 41), "El que vende piedras preciosas, ó lapidario es de esta propriedad, que sabe labrar sutilmente las piedras preciosas y pulirlas. . . ." He mentions as manufacturers of their own goods the following: "plateros de oro" (41), "Tratantes en mantas" (Cap. XVII, 42), "que venden mantas," "que venden cotarsa" (Cap. XX, pp. 48, 49 and 51), "olleros," "que

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sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The reception was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

vendan comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 56, etc.), "oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 60). In general, nearly all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 383 and 384, cap. XII).

[76] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tianamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 137, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[77] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicaquitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "naoalostomeca," literally "peddlars of the Nahuatl." *Molina* (II, p. 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

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441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

● 439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

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701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

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a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. 441 ●
The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement 463
and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a 441
special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth 439
and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, 463
tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have 463
attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and featherworkers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion 793
penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in [622]
the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

house, going around the fireplace. Then they came out. Then in the lead were those carrying [the gifts] in their arms, quietly going to the tribal temple—the bathed ones following, coming after [the others].

And when they had come to the tribal temple, thereupon the bathed ones danced in the courtyard. And they placed the gifts in the tribal temple. And they placed aside the capes, the breech clouts, the skirts, the shifts. Then first came the bidden guests. [The owners] offered gifts to each of them. And the women stood apart, in line. They also offered gifts to them.

And this was the office of only the merchants, who bathed and purchased [the slaves].

And when those had been completely arrayed who had come together and been given gifts, then they took the victims [that] they might go into the sand.[8] When they reached the [pyramid] temple of the demon, then all climbed up to the temple. When they had come to the top, then they circled about the sacrificial stone, and climbed down [the other] side.

And when they had come down to the ground, when they had reached the earth, then all ran to their tribal temples. And some went slowly. When they entered [the tribal temples], then [the merchants] took from them their paper vestments, and then they were placed upon mats. They served food, or wine, to whoever might wish it. All night they had them keep vigil.

And when midnight arrived, then they ranged them in a row, and cut hair from the crowns of their heads. When they had cut the hair from their heads, then they put it away for themselves (as hath been told in [the account of] Quecholli).

And when this was done, then were eaten [*tamales* of a dough of] amaranth seed, all at the same time, everywhere in the houses of the common folk. None failed to eat the amaranth seed [*tamales*]. And no one broke the amaranth seed [*tamales*] with his hand; they sliced it with [a length of] *magney* fiber. And when the amaranth seed [*tamales*] had been eaten, thereupon were taken up the straw mats; they rolled them up and set them, in order, outside the door. Thereupon they lay upon the earth, the cold ground, [on] old capes, or old pieces of *magney* fiber cloth, of which they made couches for themselves.

And upon the morrow, when it was still a little dark, then [he who carried the figure of] Peynal

in tlanapalua, vmpa tlamattivi in calpulco, ça tetocativi in tlaaltilti, ça tlatzacutivi.

796

Auh in oncto calpulco: njman ie ic mjtotia, in tlaaltilti, in jtoalco: auh in tetlauhtilli, qujcalaquja in calpulco: no nonquja qujtlalia in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in cueitl, in vipilli: mec ommoiacatia in tlaconotzalti, qujoalmacatimanj, ceceniaca in innetlauhtil: auh in cioa, nonqua mocempanoa: no qujnoalmacatimanj, in innetlauhtil:

auh inin çan mjacavia in pochteca, in tealtianj, in tecoanj. [441]

Auh in ôtecencaoalac, in oncenvetz, in ontetlauhtiloc: njman ie ic qujnvica in tlaaltilti, xalaqujzque: in onacique tlacateculotl itzupan, mec tleco in teucalticpac, in vmpanvetzito: mec qujoaliaoaloa in techcatl, can jc oaltemotimanj, centlapal.

Auh in otemoco tlalchi, in otlaltitech scico, mec oalmotlatlaloa in incacalpulco: auh in cequjntin, çan jvian in iativi: in ocalaqujto, njmã ie ic qujntlatlalilia in jmamatlatquj, mec motlalia in petlapã qujnchieltia in tlaqualli, anoço vetli, in catle cõnequjzque, ceioal in qujntoçavia.

Auh in oacic ioealnepantla: mec qujntetpana, in qujntzoncujzque: in oqujmontzoncujque, mec motlatlatlilia (in jub omjto ipan quecholli).

Auh in omxochiuh y, mec tzoalqualo, olvetzi in [264]
nevian maceoalpan, siac in maca tzoalqua: auh in tzoalli, siac imatica qujcotonaia: ichtli injc qujnotlaticate: auh in ontzoalqualoc, njmã ie ic meeoa in petlatl, qujilacatzoa, qujiaoac qujoalmamana; njmã ie ic netetzco, çan tlalpin, tlalizticapan, ça tilmaçolli, anoço aiaçolli in commopepechtia, in commopepechia.

[513]

Auh in ochavic ça oc achi tlatlaiovatoc, njmã ie ic oalmmo in teucalticpac in Peynal in jqpac Vipili-

8. Cf. p. 187, n. 7, supra.

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connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

[58] "The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("*Idea*" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Européo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos i Gamboinos, ó Gilies é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos tenvieron grandes diferencias: é Montecçuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeçar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. E á todos los que tuvó por sospechosos, desterróles de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviesen los que quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. E aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de alli, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mexquique, é que le sirviesen de perpétuos esclavos. E assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Montecçuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulco received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulco were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulco had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatilulco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 335 and 336).

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Fuentes* (Lib. II. cap. XV, p. 155): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

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life:[73] hence little was left to him beyond his legitimate wants. 463
We see thus, that hardly any chance was given for the formation of a class which, resting upon the kind of occupation, might assume the position of "caste" in the organization of aboriginal Mexican society.

It is repeatedly asserted, and on high authority, that the mer- 441
chants or traders of Mexico enjoyed particular privileges. We must premise here that merchants, in the sense of venders of other people's manufactures or products (thus living off of the difference between cost and proceeds) were known only in one way.[74] The name for merchant was "man who exchanges one

[73] That the artisans or mechanics contributed a portion of their wares in the shape of tribute, is amply proven. See for instance, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap LI, p. 530, Easily misunderstood!) This passage of Oviedo explains the action of "wrathy chief" towards the "jewellers" and "goldsmiths" at the arrival of Cortés, as related by Tezozomoc, Durán, and by Sahagun. See also: *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 223). *Buelamonte* ("*Tezcoco*, etc.," Parte III, cap. V, p. 232). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 126). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 460). *Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. VI, pp. 221 and 222). [651]

[74] The existence of currency, or of money, in the shape of grains of cacao, T shaped 436
pieces of tin or copper, and quills filled with gold dust is generally admitted. See 437
for instance, *Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book IV, cap. II, p. 140). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, pp. 261, 262, and 263). Cacao played, among the ancient Mexicans, the same role as "wampum" did among the northern Indians, for purposes of exchange, but did not go beyond it. In regard to the so-called copper or tin coins, or rather marks or checks, it is well to examine the matter more closely. *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*" in Vedia I, p. 111), says very positively that at Tachco, he obtained sundry small pieces of tin like very thin money ("á manera de moneda muy delgada"), which he indeed found to have been used as currency by the natives. ("halló que en dicha provincia, aun en otras, se trataba por moneda"). *Bernal Díez* (Cap. XCII, p. 88, Vedia II) mentions axes of "brass, copper, and tin" ("hachas de laton y cobre y estaño"), bartered at the market place of Tlatelulco, "and before we left this square ("plaza") we met with other traders, who from what they said, sold gold in grains as they obtained it from the mines, and enclosed in quills of the geese of the land, and so thin ("asi blancos" so white) that the gold might be seen, and by the length and size of the quills they determined how many mantles or "jiquipiles" (bags of 8000 grains) of cacao they were worth, or slaves, or any other things for which they bartered it," ("ó otra qualquier cosa á que lo trocaban"). *Gomara* ("Conquista, etc.," pp. 348 and 349). "But the chief one is cacahuati, which serves as coin. . . ." "Their buying and selling consists in exchanging one thing for another. . . ." (*Id.*, p. 451). "No tenian moneda, teniendo mucha plata, oro y cobre, y sabiéndolo hundir y labrar, y contratando mucho en ferias y mercados. Su moneda usual y corriente es cacauati ó cacao." *Oviedo* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, pp. 316, 317. Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536) mentions only cacao as currency. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIV, p. 260). "It was customary at these marts ('en estos mercados') to exchange ('trocar') one thing for another, and even nowadays this is sometimes practised; but everywhere cacao is most commonly used. In other parts they used, besides, some small mantles which they call Patolquachtli. . . . . Elsewhere they used plentifully some copper coins, almost like unto ("de hechura") a Tau T, two or three fingers wide and made of thin plates ("planchuela") some thicker, other less thick. Where there was much gold ("donde avia mucho Oro"), small quills filled with it, circulated among the Indians," ("traian unos Canutillos de ello, y andaba entre los Indios mucho de esto"). *Alonso Zuazo* ("*Carta*

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441 thing for another" ("tlanamacani"),[75] and such was every artisan, since, in the market place of aboriginal Mexico, every artisan bartered his own manufactures for whatever he needed for sub-

436 al Padre Fray Luis de Figueroa." Santiago de Cuba, 14 Nov., 1521. Col. de Doc. Vol. I,
437 p. 361). "Hay una moneda entre ellos con que venden y compran, que se llama cacahuate, . . ." *Anonymous Conqueror* (p. 368, etc.) mentions Cacao, "e é moneta la più comune, ma molto incomoda dopo l'oro é l'argento . . . . *Acosta* (Lib. IV, cap. 3, p. 196) "No se halla, que los Indios usassen oro, ni plata, ni metal para moneda, ni para precio de la cosas, usauanlo para ornato, como esta dicho." The statement of Torquemada is plain. While it explains the gradual ascent and development of the notion that the Mexicans had an equivalent to money, it clearly proves that only barter and exchange, and no actual buying, took place. The copper-plates which, as Mr. Bancroft justly remarks, "constituted perhaps the nearest approach to coined money," still were not intended even for such a purpose, since they were of varying size and thickness. But the story of the *copper or golden "Eagles"* given to the Mexican traders as money wherewith to buy, as faithfully reported and gravely discussed by Mr. Bancroft also, deserves some special ventilation. This story is taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 342) "y dábales 1600 toldillos, que ellos llaman quauhtli para rescatar." These toldillos they divided into two parts of 800 each. Now Sahagun's editor, Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, very confidently asserts in note a, (p. 342): "Era una moneda que consistia en unos pedazos de cobre cortados en figura de T.—Clavigero, tom. I, pág. 349." The reference to *Clavigero* is for Lib. VII, cap. XXXVI. Now "Toldillo" is derived from "toldár" that is, to shroud or cover, and means merely a *cover*, and not a piece of metal. Used also for a covered litter or portable chair. Besides, "quauhtli" indeed signifies Eagle, but it is an evident misprint and should read "quachtli," which signifies a *mantle* or *sheet*, thus perfectly agreeing both with the "toldillo" and with the "patolquachtli" of Torquemada. The "golden eagles" of Mr. Brasseur are therefore rendered utterly useless.

291 Anyone reading *Tezcucomoc* will see at a glance what a conspicuous part these mantles "Quachtli," (*Molina*, II, p. 84) played in intercourse and barter. According to *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, etc., Col. de Doc'o conc. le Méxique, I, p. 251) they formed to a certain extent the basis of tribute. These cotton-sheets are well described by *Peter Martyr* ("*De nouo Orbe*." Dec. V., cap. X, p. 230): "Concerning the shape and fashion of their garments, it is ridiculous to behold: they call it a garmente, because they couer themselves therewith, but it hath no resemblance with any other garment, of any fashion: it is only a square couering like unto that, which your holiness cast on your shoulders, sometimes in my presence, when you are about to kimbe your heade, to preserve your garments, least haire, or any other filth should fal upon them. That couering they cast about their necke, and then knitting two of the four corners under their throate, they latte the couering hang downe, which scarce couereth the bodie as lowe as the legges. Having seen these garments I ceased to wonder, that so great a number of garments was sent to Cortes, as we mentioned before: for they are all of small measure, and many of them take uppe but little roome."

441 With the absence of money the profession of merchant as one who lives from the
439 profits of his sales, becomes limited almost to what he can gather from outside of his
437 own community, in other words, to what he can *import*. Their main and almost exclusive business consisted in effecting intercourse between the tribes. At home, every artisan sold or rather exchanged his own wares in the public markets. See *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, pp. 22 and 23), *Bernal Diaz* ("*Hist. verdad.*," etc., Vedia II, p. 89, cap. XCII), *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 348, Vedia I), "Cada oficio y cada mercaderia tiene su lugar señalado . . . .", *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 41), "El que vende piedras preciosas, ó lapidario es de esta propriedad, que sabe líbrar entilmente las piedras preciosas y pulirlas. . . ." He mentions as manufacturers of their own goods the following: "plateros de oro" (41), "Tratantes en mantas" (Cap. XVII, 42), "que venden mantas," "que venden cotaras" (Cap. XX, pp. 48, 49 and 51), "olleros," "que

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sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The reception was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

vendem comales," "que venden ollas," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 86, etc.), "oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 89). In general, nearly all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 383 and 384, cap. XII).

[76] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tiansamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tiansamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 127, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[77] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicsequitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 113).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "nacaloztomeca," literally "peddlers of the Xahuxil." *Molina* (II, p. 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

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441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

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and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.[78]

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[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 58), that the Tlatilulca were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II). and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlailotlac, ó acxôtecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 566), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que había de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 223, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: 'y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por sí; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 339–342), how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 56. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

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565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilaloa sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily
556 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.
565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 360 and 361). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 289, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 300. Lib. VII, cap.
[681] XXXVIII, p. 336, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.
[618] That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Aoachtlan, y otro Atlanhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventadores y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each
[482] hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cade uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destrupcion de las Indias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes 565
within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. [482]
XL, p. 509), sixty pounds.

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially 441
to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer 556
to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136), who embodies in a few words the 565
statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 76), "No se desvelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 81), "otros trabaja han y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrios," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers.

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fuese honrado en el pueblo, y tenido per valiente: ponianle un barbote de ámbar, que es una piedra larga amarilla trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 338-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas"). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un traité*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 223 and 231). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("tecuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique à Charles V en faveur des Macéhuales*, Mexico, 30 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants du Mexique*," p. 257). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 30): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlaltelolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 342) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la atalayasen." *Burlin* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 228) "ils jouissaient de certains privilèges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 236). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only *by* the Mexicans, but *against* the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 139) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 334).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, p. 85, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. 488 and 489).

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away — the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Injc matlactlomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujnquechxonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuexcochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan ioean in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan oc qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacacatztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 684 727 761 789 824

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê qujveimatia, qujmaviztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhqujn, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixquich cuzcatl, in concapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jxquich nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xocoxóchitl.* — Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *jarcia* — Brownlee *jangüita* L. "*En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un metro de altura y cría hojas carnosas a las de la pita . . . principal antiescorbútico.*"

2. Tezozómoc also as "men of Pochtlan," a *barrio* of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlipan, Macuilmalinti, Xihuc, Tlati, Xilo, Tepemazatl, Cuyolinahual, Chiuavia cuchtl, Xochiquetzal, Yiauteculli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Acxotecatl* or *pochtecatlahtolac*, "*mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tenía como si dijéramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre dos nombres . . . es apellidopan al que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o'que es casi padre y maestro de todos los mercaderes*" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 60): "*eine eingeborenen Volksstamm in der südöstlich des Sees von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Cholula.*" Acxotlan was a merchant's *barrio* in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nuni Ehecatl, Chicomquiauitl, Xoxouatl, Cuchuatl, Yacapitzauac, Nacatl, Chalmecatecuhtli (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 19 and n. 5. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 228, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Meine auf dem Grie Opferstein . . . der auf Wanderschaft gelernde Kleine und Marktständler sowohl als der auf weite Reisen gehende Grosshändler, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

5. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

●441 527 556

tomatoes, the cylindrical ones;[6] and all the neck bands, and the matted neck bands; and large and small pieces of turquoise; and all the different kinds of feathers — quetzal tail feathers: the well-pointed ones, the well-curved ones, the wide ones, the long ones, which, they said, indeed extended a fathom. And these were just the tail feathers. And those they called down feathers,[7] the very small ones, the chili-green ones and the crest feathers of the quetzal;[8] and feathers of the red spoonbill[9] [*teoquechol*], which is now called *tlauhquechol;* and the blue cotinga, the amethyst-colored ones,[10] the yellow parrot,[11] the multicolored parrot, the trupial,[12] the red and yellow parrot,[13] the scarlet parrot,[14] the blue parrot,[15] the dove; and aquamarine feathers, etc. And skins of wild animals, and mats of wild animal [skins]; and wooden chocolate-beaters; and gourd stoppers.[16]

Verily, all their goods, which lay strewn [and scattered in the tribal quarter] temples[17] they arranged in order and in rows upon precious capes. They sorted, ordered, and disposed them. Then they offered incense and beheaded quail. Of this it was thus said: "They place things in the sun." And when they had placed them in the sun, and when they had offered incense during the day, later,[18]

in vel isque in vel viuiliuj, in patlaoac, in viiac, in quijlhuja cexciacatl içan moteca: auh in çan tonocujtlapiltic, ioan in quijlhuja quetzaliacatl, in çan teptoton, in chilchotic, ioan in tzinjtzacan, in teoquechol: in xacan mjtoa tlauhquechol, ioan in xiuhtototl, in aiopal, in tontli, in tonacujcujl, in çaquan, in cochoiviti, in chamolin, in cujtlatexotli, in coçôtli, in xiuhapalli. Etc. yoan in tequanecotl, in tequanpetlatl, auh in aquaujtl, in atzaccaiotl:

in ie mochi intlatquj in teintoc, [ỹ pizauhtoc. yn calpulco] in teucali, tlaçotilmapan qujcentecaia, qujcuecuentiliaia, qujtlaitlamantiliaia, qujviujpanaia, qujtetecpanaia, vncan tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia, ichoatl injc mjtoa: tlatotonja, auh in jquac otlatotonjque, in otlenamacaque, cemjlhujtl, catepan tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, mopixtoque, in pochteca veuetique, nepielotoc, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlaaujxtoc, puctleoatoc,

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6. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, cap. viii, fol. 297: *xoc tlatlalli, ahuhtic xocic, xomatic, chiquixuhtic, tlachiquixuhtli, tlachiquixuhtlilli, tlacomatlli, tlachiteccalchichtlalli*, for which the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Labrados como piedras unas redondas y aguzadas, otras largas y redondas, y aguzadas, otras triangulados, otras cuadradas al rengo, otras cuadradas.*"

7. Quetzal *xoc* plug, in Jones, *loc. cit.*

8. *Tzinitzcan*. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 2 and 4, describes both the crest of the quetzal and a bird of the same name: *Trogonurus mocinnae*, *T. ambiguus* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 366). In Seler, *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. V, p. 2, it is quetzal tail and shoulder feathers of dark green with metallic sheen; in *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 137, a bird with black and green feathers.

9. *Tlauhquechol*. In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 62, white and red spoonbill; Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 63, red heron; p. 124, red spoonbill; p. 137, rose-colored heron. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 5: *Ajaxo ajaxo* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 356).

[136] 10. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 9) mentions an *ayoquan* found in mountains about Cuernavaca and Michoacán — of painted, black beak and black feathers except those of the tail, which are half-white; another bird of the same name is a waxbird of yellow beak; feathers at joint of wing are green; long wing and tail feathers are blotsy, with white and green; body feathers are red. *Ayoquan ayoaxi* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 324).

In "L'orfèvrerie des anciens mexicains et leur art de travailler le papier et de faire des ornements en plumes," Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte-Rendu* de la Huitième Session Tenue à Paris en 1890 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), note to § 68, Edward Seler translates *ayoquí* as *tapeur enfumée*, referring to Molina, *op. cit.*, *chrisol amarillo — ayoquimoliztli*.

11. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 13. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 16; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 210.

12. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 114. *Gymnostinops Montezumae* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 372).

13. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 13. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371: "*papagayo de lara, del pluma Chiyanda.*" *Cuchu ar cuchul* — "*Papagayo rojo y morado.*" *Amaxonu ahhjtoac ahhjtoac* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 338).

14. *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 2. Cf. also, however, *chamolin* (*chamol*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461: "*Hombre rubiar que en el Estado de Guerrero, en México, se da al cabello o chamolichial.*" *Chamolichial*. Aztl., *chamolli* (*pomelo*) — "*cabello o flor del camarón* (Poinciana pulcherrima)."

15. Cf. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *cuyadores de galapagos para cacaguates*.

17. An omission in the *Florentine Codex*, so we need to compare the passage with the text of the *Real Palacio* MS, placed in brackets, brings the Nahuatl closer to Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

18. *Canyon*. The cedilla is missing in the original.

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their value, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, faultfinding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refuting, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

puctli mantoc, tlaqualli qujqujztoc, atle monectoc, 441
iehoatl injc mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatoronja, in puch- 527
teca. 556

Auh in cioouac tlatlaoano, mocecentlalia in puch- 441
teca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujn- 527
tic, vncan qujmopopoaltia, qujmeeoaltia, ic mjxmo- 554
tlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmo- 521
qujchtiliz, oc cenca iehoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, quitoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexquich ic conmati, in quexquich imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, injc qujlacatzotinemj anaoatl, injc ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, injc atlauhtli quitemovitinemj, in noyiian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan qujztinemj: auh in nel cana impan oalmotzaqua, qujnpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in tematitlampa qujça, in qujoalcaoa tlatolli, in oalteitoa, iehoan achtopa qujpetla, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli.

ic vncan qujquequeloa, ica mauijltia, qujtlatlacaqujtia, qujcocoa, qujtotoneoa, qujcocolhuja, qujchichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inextitlan mooqujchitoa, çan njcan tianqujzco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapalotinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ie vncan in jtoneuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoã, injc vel imjtic oaçic intecoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoan, injc vncan in necentlaliaia maaoa, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopãpatla, mopapatzaoa, moquezicçatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, motlatzoujlitoque, moquãquatoque, mjxquãquatoque, motlatolzopeuhtoque, moichoatocatoque, ãmotenaqujlmatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jzmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecentetl itlatol, atle ipan qujmoztilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtil: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mocecentecpoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

19. *Mocuiqui-chiua* in the *Real Palacio* MS. *Mizoro*: *chiua* is unsure.
20. *Mimilchiuaui* in loc. cit.
21. Possibly *cuaxiuaxqui-tlamapa* and *amo cuaxiquimilliuj* are intended.
22. *Chachalacatoque* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

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held in no esteem the riches and prosperity of others. Indeed, each one alone wished to be best; each one thought himself a lord, a superior person; each one thought of himself as the only one, the best. Each spoke for himself; none would talk to them or say a word in their behalf, unless he were a vanguard merchant, one who knew distant lands; unless he were very rich, dealt in goods in his house, or were a buyer of slaves,[23] a ceremonial bather of captives to be sacrificed; unless in his house were carrying frames stuffed and creaking; unless in his house one drank from black jars, gourd vessels, etc.

This was because each one of the merchants himself placed things in the sun at his own house on the day sign Four Wind.

mati, mocecocamati, nononqua motlatalhuja, aiac vel inoan tlatoa, aiac vel inpal onmocencamavia: intlacamo oztomecatl, intlacamo veca matinj: ioan intlacamo cenca mocujltonoa, intlacamo ontlaaaquj ichan, intlacamo tecoanj, intlacamo tealtianj, intlacamo cácatzcatoc, nánatzcatoc ichan cacaxtli: intlacamo poctecontica, aiotectica atlioa ichan et.ª.

Ipampa injc ceceniaca tlatonaltiaia, puchteca in jncacalitic: in jpan jn tonalli nauecatl.

23. Or "one who entertained guests."

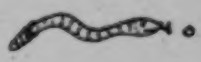

A 787 **Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the ninth sign, called One Serpent.**[1] It was considered a good day sign, if those same ones then born did not harm it. And the merchants expected much of it, because of their way of livelihood.

One Serpent set in. It was said to be a good day sign. Of one born on it, they said his deserts and merits would be to become wealthy. There would be wherewith to eat and drink. And in war, in time of battle, he would become a brave warrior and a chieftain; he would attain renown, honor, glory, and fame. Perchance he would be a ruler or a lord. And if it were a woman, she would be quite rich; she would be a good provider; she would be well-born. She would look to and guard the services and the property of our lord. She would be a guardian and administrator. Much would she gather, collect, save, and justly distribute among her children.

But it was also said that although such became the deserts of one then born (as is already said in many places), if he did not diligently do penance, if he paid not good heed, he indeed failed, and personally brought upon himself that he lost through neglect, and destroyed and ruined what were his deserts. This was because he neglected things, worked unwillingly, was lukewarm, and lacked forethought and diligence. Indolent, he let nothing be done. He was careless, exceedingly careless, slothful, negligent, listless, and slow; a great and heavy sleeper. And he was incorrigible. He would only neglect things through laziness; advice offended and angered him.

So it was said of him: "So he is; he made no provision for food, for there was constant running about." There was no getting to bed, no arising; he stretched his limbs, quite exhausted by fatigue and effort. To no purpose did he give or publicly display wealth and prosperity, and the joys and comforts of wealth.

A 787 And it was said that on One Serpent the merchants and vanguard merchants,[2] the exploring

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicuauhtetl machiotl, in jtoca ce coatl: quijmach qualli tonalli: intlacamo çan ichoantin quijtlaconque in vncan tlacati: auh in puchteca cenca quimatatacaia, in jpampa in jnnetlaiecoltiliz.

Moquetza ce coatl: injn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: in aquin ipã tlãtia, quitoaia: ilhujle, maceoale iez, mocujltonoz, oniez in quiquaz, in quiz, auh in iaoc, in iaopan, oquichtiz, tiacauhtiz, momavizçotiz panvetziz, maviçoaz, moteniotiz, aço tlatocatiz, tecutiz, auh intla cioatl, vel motlacamatiz, vel motlaiecoltiz, vel motlacatiz, quitzaz, quipiaz in jteicneliliz, in jcocoçauh totecujo, tlaçaloanj, tlapachoanj iez. vel quintlaçalhuiz, quintlapachilhuiz, quintetzontiz, quintlatlamachiz in jpilhoan,

auh ioan mjtoa, maçiui in iuhquj in inemac mochioa, in jpan tlacati (ca ie omjto mjiecoan) intlacamo iẽ vellamaceoa, intlacamo vel mocotza, catle vnquiça, ca iccoian conmocauilia, quimjxcaoaltia, quimepolhuia, quimopopolhuia, in jmaceoal ocatca: ipampa içan tlatlacomati, tlaavilmati, tlaquelchioa, tlatlacanequj, quitenmati, acontlaeltia, aiel atle conmochichioaltia, vel cujtlatzcopic, cujtlatzcocopic, cujtlananaca, cujtlaçotlac, cujtlatzol, quitenmatitl, cochpal, cochmjmjl: ioan auel monotza, çan quitenmati, quiquammati, quitlauelchioa, in tlatolli,

iehoatl injc mjtoa: ca nel amaçauja, in qualonj, ca neuxoquililo, amo neteteco, amo nequequetzalo: vel ixquich maana, vel ontlamj in ciuiztli, in tlapaliuiztli, amo çan motenenmaca, amo çan teixpanvetzi, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli, in netlacamatilizzli, in netlacamachilizzli.

Ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce coatl, cenca quiquallitaia in puchteca, in oztomeca, in jaque, in nẽnemjnj, in

1. In the MS. apparently *ce* spelled but been corrected to *cuat* or *coatl*.
2. *V. supra*, Chap. 12.

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merchants[3] and traveling men, these who entered distant lands, regarded [the day] as very favorable. It was their day sign and time count, when [a merchant] took to the road and set forth to far lands.

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And he who was about to set forth, when he had prepared himself and filled and made ready the carrying-frames, then summoned, gathered, assembled together, assembled together,[4] and notified his elders, the old merchants. They were given drink, food, and wine, in order to make it publicly known that this one now wished to depart and go hence; to break away; that he still wished to abandon the people and disappear. And, it was said, he still wished to be extinguished from view for a time. In this way he made it clear to the people; he made it very clear to the people. That is to say, it was well known to those who yet tarried in their homes, to those who went nowhere.

vecacalaquijnj, intenalpan catca, intlapoalpan catca, iehoatl qujtztivia, vncan vmpeouia in veca:

auh in aqujn ie vmpeouz in omochichiuh, in otlacacazten, in otlacacazchichiuh: njman tetlalhuja, qujncentlalia, qujnnechicoa, qujnnechicoa, qujnmachistia in jveveiovan, in puchteca veuetque, atlixoa, tlaqualo, tlaoano, injc teixpan motlalia, in aqujn ie oncholoteoaznequj, ie onmoquetzteoaznequj, ie onueuetzteoaznequj, in oc ontetlalcaujznequj, oc ompoliuhteoznequj, ioan mjtoa: oc onmjxcenjznequj, quexqujch caujtl injc teixco oveveztz, omach teixcoveuetz, qujtoznequj cenca ie macho, in jc ie vecatia ichan, in jc aoccampa iauh.

3. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371.

4. In the MS, *quyeuecheua* is repeated.

The Seventeenth Chapter telleth of the admonitions of the old merchants when they counseled their sons as they were about to depart and gain their livelihoods in distant places, when for the first time they wished to go and set forth.

And then the old men brought each one; they greeted, animated, and encouraged him; they prepared and singled him out; they greeted him with tears, prepared him to receive misery and torment, etc.

They said to him: "Thou art here, O my son, my beloved son; O youth, my beloved youth! O noble youth, thou hast sought out, beckoned to, and summoned thy mothers and fathers, the merchants, the vanguard merchants, the exploring merchants. Verily, here thou looksest into their faces; thou knowest them. Ah! They will leave and offer thee a word of advice and counsel. This they have carried and borne; it tutored and trained,[1] so that they benefited in such places as the mountains and the deserts.

"And this is the word of advice and counsel with which I estimate thee, who art my beloved son. So I become thy mother and father; so thou hast me as protector and comforter. Thou who art poor shalt already set forth from and leave the city, thy home —Mexico, Tlatilulco, or Tenochtitlan. Already thou art about to abandon and forsake thy kinsmen; already thou art about to abandon thy home, the room of thy house, thy homeland, the resting-place of thy head, thy child's crib, thy hair-tuft. Already thou cannot to One Serpent, the straight way, the wide road;[2] already thou followest along and goest toward the desert and the plain.

"Wretched art thou, O my son, O youth! Exert all thy force. Where, in truth, shalt thou live? Shalt thou perchance die here? O that somewhere the

Injc cuxtolli ōncōme capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jntecnonotzalia puchteca, in veuetque, in qujmjlhujaia inpiilhoan, in jquac ie oncozque, in veca motlaiecoltiaque, in quja jiopa iazneqcj, vmpeoazneqcj.

Auh njman ic ceceiaca qujtlatlauhtia in veuetque: quitlapaloa, quichicaoa, quellaquaoa, quitetziloa, ẽco quijpia, quichoquiztlapaloa, quitlaquammaca in netlinjliztli, in tlaihiioviliztli. Er[o].

Quilhuja ca njcan tonca nepiltze, nopiltzine, telpuchtle, notelputze, telputztze: ca otiquimontemõ, otiquimontzatzili; otiquimonnenotzallan, in mõnoan, in motahoan, in puchteca, in ottomeca, in iaque: ca njcan imjxco, ymjcpoc, titlachia, tiquimonjximati, ỉ mjtzcavilinque, ỉ mjtzmacazque in centetli, yn cencamatl, in jntlaequja, yn jntlamamaia, in jntlacaxcaltiaia, in jntlacoapaoaia, injc otlamaviçque, in iuhcan in quauhtla, in çacatla:

auh injn ca njcan centetli, cencamatl, ic njmjtzitollalia, ic njmjtzchicaoa in tinopiltzin, inic njmona, njmota, injc timonanmati, injc timotamati: timotolinja, ca ie tonmoquetzaz, ie tocontlalcaviz in altepetl, in mochan in mexico, in tlatilulco, anoço in tenuchtitlan, ic tiquimoncauhtiaz, ic tiquimõcauhtoaz, in mocaniolque: ic tuatlacauhtoaz in mochan, in mocalitic, in moquizcan, in moiolcan ỹ moquechtetzon iaxocan, in momanacal, anoço momatetzon, ic tocomamjquiz in ce coatl, in vtli mehauc, in vchpantli, ic tocontocaz, ic tocennamjquiz in jxtlacatl, in vei tlalli.

Timotolinja nopiltze, telpuchtle, ma ximellaquaoa, can nel timonemjtiz? cuix njcan timomjquiltiz? ma cana ixtlauhto, popouhto: in inchoquiz, in jntlaocol,

1. Cf. Angel Maria Garibay K., *Llave del náhuatl* (Colección Imprenta Mejía, S. A., 1949), p. 189, for one of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] could be rendered as "protection." Cf. Olmos, op. cit., p. 211, and Simeón, op. cit.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), III, 3, 7: "Es cual edificio [illegible] que es una de las calles [illegible] y alguna de la otra calle [illegible]."

441 mors, the pity of thy elders, the old ones, may go as
444 reward and recompense, to gird and clothe thee.
151 For[3] thus did thy elders go. For they went learning of war, performing the way of life of the road. So with struggle they gained and sought [honors] from him by whom we live. So they prayed.[4]

"But [as for] this: then to it! Be covered and engulfed by torment. For now shalt thou come to know, feel, and deal exclusively with misery, hunger, starvation, thirst, emptiness,[5] fatigue.[6] For verily thy provisions have ended — that with which one hath traveled. Perhaps thou shalt chew dry tortillas — parched tortillas, wretched, tough-cooked things, ill-smelling tamales. Perhaps thou shalt drink sour, bitter water, dirty and foul.

"And verily, thou shalt draw near to, approach, and come against the menacing river, which seemeth a torrent, roaring and crashing as it sweepeth by. It carrieth everything with it and goeth destroying great trees. And there shalt thou wait some days; thou shalt be isolated by the water; thou shalt suffer with thy pangs of hunger and unrest.

"If thou wouldst gain honor by such as this, O my son, be not shameless; do not faint; be not womanish. Give thyself completely to the torment; enter into it; deliver thyself to it with all thy force, so preparing for it, etc. For verily thou seekest and travelest into such places as thy elders, the old men, served. For they thus hurled themselves at and delivered to torment, and exposed themselves to danger and adversity. For not without reason did the merchants take and find leadership and the wisdom of old age, become leaders, and receive their authority in exchange.

"And of this, O poor youth, if something should be thy reward and deserts, if our lord should show esteem by something for thee, thou must first feel and profit by the pain, the afflictions, the privations, the ambushes. Such is exacted from those who go from city to city. Yet there will be times of need. Thou shalt become tired and worn out; thou shalt stand exhausted; thou shalt go wearied by heat, spent by winds. Thy face will become dust-covered and

in motechiuhcaoan, in veveque: in njcan ic mjtzapana, ic mjtzqujmjloa: a oiuhisque in motechiuhcaoan, ca inteouh, intlachinol oqujmattiaque, oqujchiuhtiaque in vtli, in nenemjliztli, injc oqujtlamatzaqujlitiaque oqujtlaitlanjlitiaque in tloque in naoaque, injc ixillan, itoncatlan omamaiauhtiaque:

auh injn, macuele timaliuj, ma xocontimalo in tlaihiioujliztli, ca ic toconmatix, ic toconjxcaujx, ic toconcenmatiz in netolinjliztli, in apjzmjquijliztli, in tociujliztli, in amjquiliztli, in atetzocoaquijliztli, in ciammjquijliztli: auh in nel otlatlan in motacatzzin, in motlatocaia: cujx a ticmoqualtiz, in tlaxcalquappiztli, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, in totopuchtziztli, in tamaliiacatzintli: auh cujx a ticmjtiz in xococ atl, in alchichic, in tlaelati, in atzoatl.

Auh ca itech taçitiuh, itech tipachiujtiuh, itech timoratzonatiuh in temamauhti atl, in iuhquj çolonj, in iuhquj tetecujcatiuh xaxamacatiuh ic iauh, in moch qujujca qujtzincuhtiuh, vevei quauitl: auh ca vncan tiquezquilhujtiz, timatzaquaz, titlaihiioujz in mocujtlaxcoltica, in monetequjliztica:

intla ticmaujçoz, in iuhquj in, nopiltze, ma titlapinauhti, ma titlacuecuetlaxo, ma timocioatlamachti, ic xicmocenmaca, itlan xaquj xicmotlaquammaca, ic ximotetzilo in tlaihiioujliztli. Et.[8] ca nel ic in ivemoa, ca ic in tictotocac, ca iuhcan otlacotiqise in motechiuhcaoan, in veuetque, ca ic omomotlaque oqujmomacaque in tlaihiioujliztli: injc amo oqujtlaçotlaque in jntzontecon, yn jmelchiqujuh, ca amo cacujque quinencujque injc oqujttaque in tachcauhiotl, in veuciotl, injc ic petlati, ic icpalti, injc ic contlanevi in jnjpetl, in jmicpal in puchteca.

Auh in y, timotolinja telpuchtle, intla itla mocnopil, momaceual mochioaz intla itla ipan mjtzpoaz totecujo: ca oc toconjttaz, oc toconmaujçoz in tecoco, in tetolinj, in aiecolizztli, in teiacacpa qujqujz: in iuh qujmotzaqua in aoacan, tepeoacan: ca oc vmpa onquiçaz, ticiammjquiz, timociappoaz, timociauhquetztiaz, titonalciauhtiaz, teecaciiauhtiaz, tiztlaltzin timochiuhtiaz, tiztlalteuhpipizcauhtiaz, mjxquatzzin tiztlatiaz, mjtonaltzin ticmacujtiaz, vel tima-

3. *Real Palacio MS.* on.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y en esto, generosos de hombres que imaginaste: como la guerra los hombres valientes, en la guerra, con esto trabajan, alcanzaron de nuestro señor, los siguieron que dioseses." Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiii, fol. 303r (condition, [illegible]).

5. *Atetzocoaquijliztli*: [illegible], *a-te-tzocoa-uilli-aqui?*

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "si necesitar que se esforzarás, y dispón mismo, para sufrir los trabajos, que se están aparejados: que eso, hambre, y sed, y cansancio, y falta de mantenimiento."

deathly white. Thy forehead will burn; thou shalt wipe the sweat off with thy hand; indeed thou shalt be bathed [in it]. In the corner, by the wall, behind the door, thou shalt hang thy head. Thy stomach will stick to thee [from hunger].[7]

"Thou shalt go into, entering, and leaving, city after city. Thou shalt be in danger; it will not be well with thee. That is to say, perchance it will not prosper; perhaps thy stock of goods, thy just deserts, thy dealings, will not result well. Thou shalt be long-suffering; thou shalt shed tears. Thy good deeds will not bear fruit, for fatigue will take thy measure. Indeed, thy breath and courage will end.[8]

"Perhaps somewhere in a gorge, at the mouth of a canyon, on some high place, at the base of a rock, at the foot of a tree, shalt thou sleep. Perchance somewhere thou shalt be destroyed; our lord will end thy existence. And perhaps thou shalt never come to make thy way back. For no one knoweth.

"Yet may it be well with thee. Go praying to our lord for mercy. Be not negligent. Think only of and be dedicated to penances. Be diligent in providing water for the washing of the face and hands, and in sweeping and gathering up rubbish.[9]

"Leave no one behind thee, etc.[10] Do not take to thy feet leaving one unaided behind thee. That is to say, do not go retreating in haste, running to the rear, fleeing in battle, following thy nose back. Remember one thing: go knowing, devoted, and dedicated to suffering. Perhaps he by whom we live will give thee something as thy deserts and merit.

"Perhaps once more thy mothers, thy fathers, and thy kinsmen will look thee in the face. Verily, what thou shalt eat and drink will be the advice we here give thee. For with all this we gird, fortify, and bind thee. We thy mothers and fathers implore thee: pay good attention; look well; take care, O my son. Go in peace, leaving thy aunts and uncles, etc."

In this manner did they animate and encourage the one not yet much experienced—who perhaps

liviz in texomolo, in tecaltech, in tetlatzacujltitlan, timotololtitiez, mocujtlaxcol motech motetecaticz,

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timâaquiz, timocacalaqujz, timoqujqujxtiz: in aoacan, tepeoacan, timotzotzonaz, timocacapanjz, qujtoznequj: ac aço can tle uel onmochioaz, ac aço can tle onmaqujtiz in motiamjc, in mocnopillo, in monentlamatia, ca uel icnoioaz in moiollo, mjxaiotzin ticmatentiez: amo ticazcanviz, in mocneliloca, ca timjhiiotamachioaz, vel ontlamjz in mjhiio in motlapaliujz:

in aço cana atlauhitic, atlauhcamac, tlacopac, tetl itzintlan, quavitl itzintlan timocochitiz, in aço cana timopopoliujtiz, mjtztlatiz totecujo: auh in anoçoc mjlech, monecuepal ticchioaqujuh: caiac vntlamati,

ma oc iê moiolic: xicnotlaocolnonochilitiuh in totecujo, ma timoxiccauh, ma xoconjxcauj, xocôcenmati in tlamaceoalizti. xicmocujtlauj in tecamapaqujliztli, in temâtequjliztli: auh in tlachpanaliztli, in tlacujcujliztli,

macamo ce mônjca, moteputzco xiqual. Et.[a] macamo ce mônjca, moteputzco xiqual. Et.[a] macamo cemjcampa, moteputzco xiqualquetztiuh in mocxi, qujtoznequj, macamo xitzintlaççatiuh, macamo xitzinqujztiuh, macamo xitzinqujzcatlaiecotiuh, xioalnacazitztiuh, maca tle xiqualilnamjctiuh: ma çan centlamjc xocomamattiuh, ma xoconcenmattiuh, xoconixcaujtiuh, in tlahiioujliztli, açitla mjtzmâceoaltiz, mjtzilhujltiz in tioque, naoaque:

açoc ceppa mjxco, mocpac tlachiazque in monaoan, in motaoan, in moomiolque: ca tioquaz, ca tiquiz in njcan ic timjtznonotza, a izquich ic timjtzonâpana, timjtzontetzilo, aco timjtzilpia in timonaoan, in timotaoan, timjtztlatlauhtia, tlê ticmati, tle ticmomachitia, tlê ticmatcatzintli nopiltze, ma iiolic ximovicztiuh, xiqujmontlalcauj in maujoß in motlaoan. Et.[a].

Ivin in quellaquaoaia, in qujchicaoaia, in aiamo cenca ixtlamati, in aço qujn jiopa tevica, motevicaltia,

7. *Ibid.*: "*tendreys la lengua pegada a las cuellas de hambre.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*Y dexaras duro, se affigira la dada de la cosa de mantenimiento; que por ventura no se sandaras, y dexo tendreys trabajo, y flaqueza; antes q̃ alcançarde algun remedio, o buena ventura: cuanto de ser affigido, y trabajado, hasta la ultima de paciencia.*"

9. *Ibid.*: "*dexajando hombre atrasse a los mayores en cosas humildes: como es dar agua a manos, y barrer, &c.*"

10. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book III, "The Origin of the Gods," p. 40; Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 294 (*die hier, hinter der [unübersetzbaren Anrede]*); Garibay, op. cit., p. 232 (*imperativamente*). For *xiqual*, read *xiqualmoquixtl* or a similar form. The text is garbled, as is seen in the Aztec column of the left.

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for the first time went with and was one of a company of others [going to] places of which he wished to know, and departing for distant lands. Yet everywhere they cared for him, teaching and instructing him with these words. In such places as the forests and deserts he realized the estate of merchant or vanguard merchant.[11]

in canpa ie ontlamatiznequi, injic ie vnpeuc veca, oc noviian quinemjtia, quijtlâtatitia, quijtlâtlachiâtia in jntlatolica, in iuhcan quauhtla, çacatla in amaxcanvia in pochtecaiotl, in ontomecaiotl.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "Desta manera los mercaderes viejos, a los mercaderes, que nuevamente yuan con otros mercaderes, a tierras estraños a mercadear, los hablauan, y enseñauan; y porque deseauan sus trabajos, y diligencias, en que se ocupan de ser, assi en los poblados, como en los desiertos en la procuracion de su oficio, de diligencia."

Eighteenth Chapter. Here are told [what] the talk and discourse were of these same old merchants which they repeated to their sons who already knew distant lands.

Injc caxtolli vmei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in tlatolli, in jnnenonotzalia catca, in çan ie no iehoantin, puchteca veuetque, in quimjlhujaia in inpilhoan in ie onmatia veca.

And [as for] him who already many times had returned and came back from there and who already had beheld such [distant] places as the inhabited and populated areas, dangerous and ominous places, places of torment, they said little to him; only something well-chosen, measured,[1] approved, complimentary, discreet, agreeable, moderate, pleasing, and commending. No more was it very long and extended; no more on all occasions did they speak, nor annoy him, nor speak lightly, nor harangue inconsiderately.

Auh in aquijn ie mjiecpa iloti, ie mjiecpa mocuepa, in ie onjxtica in iuhcan inentla, inemja, in ouiçan, in tenamauhtian, in tlaihiioujliztitlan: ça quezquijch in quijlhuja, ça eccauhquj, ça ixiccauhquj, ça tlaiecolli, ça tlauelittalli, ça temachiuhquj, ça tlaqualittalli, ça ipan qualli, ça ipan tlauelittalli, ça ipan tlaiecolli, aocmo cenca viiac, aocmo cenca vitlatztic, aocmo cenca noviian ontlatoa, aocmo noviian quinemjtia, aocmo çan ilhujxtlatoa, aocmo ça ilivia tlatoa:

Only this did they say to him: "Here thou art, O youth. No more art thou a child; no longer art thou like one afraid. For already thou hast regarded and witnessed thy dust-covered places, thy explored places, thy traveled areas which thou hast wished to know.

ça iaquich in quijlhuja. Ca ojcan tonca telpuchtle: ca aocmo tipilhontli, aocmo tiuhquj tiemmachonj, ca ie tonjxtica, ie tontlachiztica, ie mjxtlalopan, ie mjxnenela, ie mjxonjcac, in vmpa tontlamatiznequj,

"In such places as forests, deserts, and cities, there is nothing to bring thee defeat, to frighten, daze, impede, or terrify thee. For already thou hast beheld all places, such as the markets, places where the merchants deal. Behold, we know not whether thy mothers and fathers lose thee forever. Perhaps thou goest for good; perhaps thou goest to be lost; perhaps somewhere into a canyon or a desert thou shalt be forced, and shalt perish; perchance in some city thou shalt come to an end. Perhaps once and for all thou art seen. Yet know and carry in thy heart that thou goest fortified by the tears and composition of thy mothers and fathers. And if still something may become the reward of us, the old men, perhaps yet thou shalt come back and make thy return, that once more we may know thee.

in iuhcan in quauhtla, çacatla, in aoacan, in tepeoacl, aocmo tle ic tontlapolotiaz, aoc tle ic tonjxmauhtiaz, tonjxmjqctiaz, aoc tle mjxtxicoloàia, aoc tle mjxixilquetzaz: ca ic noviian tonjxtica, in iuhcan in tlaieconian, in tlacoxia in ontemoca: ca amo ticmati, amoço ie icoen mjxixcaua, in monoan, in motoaua, aço ie icoen tiauh, aço ie cana tonmetztiziuh, aço cana atlauhtli, intlaoal itic timaquijhiuz, timopopoliujtiuz, aço cana tictlantoz in altepetl, aço ie ocamanian mjxco mocpac ontlàtlachia, ca tel iuh quijmatiuh in moiollo, ca moiollo itlan ietiuh, ca ic timellaquauhtiuh, yn jachequja, yn jntlaocal in monoan, in motoan: auh intla oquijla tomkoeual, in tiveuetque, in açoc mjlloch, monecuepal ticmochiujlquijuh, ca oc oppa timjxinimatiuque.

"And now, take care. Travel the road with caution, lest thou stumble upon something. For doubtless,

Auh in ancan tlè ticmemachitia: ma iiolic xocomotequjlli in vtli, ma itla tocoujcaiuuqj: ca amo

1. *Real Pulcrito MS: ça yjmmoelqui, ça tlacchamachqui.*

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ferocious, cruel, and peopled by evil men, spreadeth the wasteland.[2] Carefully thou shalt go taking by the hand, each of them, gathering in groups, ordering, assembling, and bringing together, thy younger brethren. Do not abandon them disdainfully. Advise them as thou goest, that they may take grass and reeds and with them fashion seats [for their elders], there at the places of rest. However, all this we have given — our sighs, our discourses — to such as teachers, forest people, desert people, merchants, travelers, etc. But no longer is it necessary to relate so much to thee. For here we only encourage thee somewhat. Little by little offer thyself to the torment. Use all thy force. Thou knowest what is required, O my beloved son."

When he had been supplicated, then he also returned a few words. Thus he answered and said:

"I thank you for the favor you have shown me, O brave men. You have left me consolation. Who am I? What am I that I deserve this short talk, your encouragement, your motherliness and fatherliness? For you have opened to me [counsel] which was in your bowels, your breasts, which lay resting, guarded, and folded like precious feathers well-curved and well-pointed; like a green stone, round and well-polished; like fine turquoise, well-rubbed and glistening. Doubtless I shall treasure you; for so, covering me, penetrating my bowels and my breast, and resting in my heart, go your fatherliness and motherliness, which are not due from you. Etc.

"But this I beg you. What will our lord grant? Perchance I shall yet come to look you in the face. For now I leave you. See to the sweeping and cleaning — the little tasks of sweeping, gathering of rubbish, and laying of fires. Let it not grow dark, nor rubbish stand cast about, in my humble house. Continue to do this. I go leaving only my beloved mother, my beloved great-aunt, my beloved elder sister,[3] my beloved aunt, etc. For I go troubled and saddened on their account. Do your duty to them; advise them. Let no one make sport of them. Perchance our lord may somewhere destroy me. So all I thus entrust to you, and my heart is content."

tlacacmelletoc: ca tequanoloc, motequanoloc, amo tleca onoc in çacatl in tlapotl, ma ivian in matitech xiquimonantiuh, xiquimonhuntiuh, xiquimoololotiuh, xiquimotepeuhtiuh, xiquimotecoquiztitiuh, xiquimoñechcatiuh in tlotlicchan: ma tiquimonnotiecuiji, ma xiquimonnoteztiuh: inic contecujinque in çacatzintli, in petzintli: iuan inic contitlalilinque, intecpaltzin, in tempa necoyhtoc, ca tel ixquich o, in oticquimacique in tihiio, in totlatol, in iuhqui in tlacatecpaca, in quauhtlaca, in çacatlaca, in puchtecca in jequac et.[2] ca ximo monequi in quenquich tinitecuiquinque, ca çe ojcan achitzin ic timitzonchicaoa, ma icoanca itlã xnomaquiti in tlaçhiiovilitzli, ma ixquich motlapaltzin, tle ticmomachitia nopilitze:

in jequac otlatlauhtilor, ojman no ic cen cuauhtzintli ic tlacuepa, ic tlamanquiliz, quijoa

Onnechnocuelilique in ocelquichtle: otlacuahqui in amoçiltoznia, ac nehuatl, ac ninomati, in ojcan cen cuauhtzintli nipipiçopilhuia, yn amoyechicaoaltitzin, in amoyecnamatzin, amoyetiaoznia, ca nocontlapou in amoxillantzinco, amoyecatlantzinco actica, in cepouhtoc, in cepouoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc, in iuhqui quetzalli, in vel vitzilihqui, in vel iaque, zuh in iuhqui chalchiuitl, in ololihqui, in vel patlaoc, in iuhqui teoaiuitl, in tlamatilelli, in uel coccoxoca, ayo cana namechonnotlazilitiz, ca ic nimonapantiuh, noxillan, nococualan onactiuh, noçiollo itlan onietiuh, in amoniaoznia, in amoyiaoznia, in amomo anquimaxcuujique. Et.[2]

Auh inin ca namechonnorhtiauhtilia quẽ tlacaoan in jiolloznin tanecujo, açoc amjxinco amocpacxinco njtlachiequjuh ca ie namechonnotlaicaujlia, ma ipan amoetlatohtinque in tlachpanaliztli, in tlachpanalli, in tlachpanaliztli in tlacujujlitzli, in tletlaliztli: macamo cenlaiocticac, tlaçilli onquijticac, l. onquijtoa, in nocnomacaco, ma oc conjxcuej in ça iio nococauhtiuh in nonantzin, in noneçiznin, in nouetiouzin, in nauijzin. Et.[2] ca iza nonnotequipachotiuh, iza nontlacocotiuh, ma ipan anoalmoquijxtiquac, ipan amoetlatohtinque, ma caiac iza mococaiooac, in aço cana nechmopopolhuia tanecujo: ca ixquich no ic amoxtzinco nonnocauhtiuh, vel onietiuh in notlalle.

2. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiii, fol. 214: *Inchaiuah inquimpoch in amoxpoyn; the corresponding Spanish text reads: "Esto es la lindeza y gentileza de los antiguos. Por ventiquatro que era dicho. Aquej era esto bagaje que esta de lindeza y gentileza se publicaron primeramente nuestros antepasados, cuyos historias primeramente son causa de miedosos y son causa de pasmo o horror."*

Note, however, that in Book IX, cap. iii, Thomassin and Quezzatzotzi are identified as *dueños del camino*.

3. In "Memoriales con Escritos" (*Academia de la Historia* MS), p. 207, *cuñadas* is translated *sobrinas*.

Then all his household wept over it. There were tearful greetings by all the old merchants, men and women. But he who could not weep only continued to sob behind the others, seeming to weep. And afterwards there was a little rejoicing, consolation, and drinking, to drive away and disperse sorrow. So afterwards all departed and went, and each one entered his own home.

Niman ic nechoquijtlo, in jchantlaca, nechoquitlapalolo, in ic nenchintin pachoca veuetque, pachtecá ilamatque: auh in aca auel choca, çan tiacampa tatzaoanotica, mochoquiocanenequj, auh çatepan achitzin ic papaccu, teoillalilo, tlaeuno, injc motlaoolpopoloa, miotlaocolcecemana: ic çatepan netlatlaxujlo, vitzilua, cacalacua in techachan.

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[p.68 is blank]

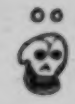

Nineteenth Chapter. Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.

Injc caxtolli vmnavi capitulo: vncan motenoua, in ventli in quichiouia, im impãpa vecauemja ioan injc mouthaoaia in jpampa in mjqujja.

441 And his household thereupon began the penances. They let themselves become dirty. No longer did they wash their heads with soap, though they could bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

Auh in jchantlaca: ajmaan iquac compeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzaiotia, aocmo mamovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, iece, aocmo pelaquj: auh nanapoahica qujmattiuj, in mamovicuj: injc qujnextia, qujtemachitia, ca ipampa tlamiçeoa in jnconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jacauhque, inqujch caujtl iuh quj-chiuhtinemj, in jquin quiçaqujuh:

441 765 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual[1] for their child.

auh intla noce omjquijto, ichoan achto caquitilo, in puchteca veuetque, intequjuh in teiolmelaoazque, in teiolpachiujtizque, ichoantin quicalaquja in choqujztli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjquijto, ic qujtemachitia, injc nauilhujtl ilnamjcoa, mjccaoatizque in jchantlaca, ioan tlapalolozque, ellaquaoalozque, quimjlolo: in inoiuoah:

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

auh in oquja nauilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlaca: ic mjtoa, momjccaaltia injc compopoloa, conjilcaoa intlaocol:

441 765 778 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set up an image of him made of pine torches bound together.[2] They made and formed his image; they adorned his likeness. This *cuillotl* was only a statue of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

auh intla oncan oiacomjc, qujtlaliaia icujllo, qucujllotia, qucujllotilia, ixiptla qujchichiujlia, injn Evillotl: çan ocoquavitl in qujtzatzaianaia, çatepan quj-cujtlalpia: auh ixqujch iztch qujtlalia, in amatlatqujtl, in amanechichiouilli, in amaxiouilli, in amaccatl, in amancapantli, qujtlaolokoltia, qujtlatepeoaltia qujtlamamaca, injc mochi ioan qujdatizque: in ic iuhquj in oqujcencauhque cvillotl, in jquac ic choqujlilox oiacomjc, oc cemjlhujoica, in jcujllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in eostica: auh quja-jquac in ioalnepantla, qujdatiaia, vmpa in qujtocaiotiaia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tzompantitlan:

1. *Quiçaqujuh*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.
2. *Cuillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "*un cuerpo de cruz, donde estaba, con cruz.*"

441 his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One
765 day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And
778 then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in [the place] which they called the god's courtyard, at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

X-787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

[851 He who was then born they did not yet bathe;
553] they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

auh intla çã otlatuiçc ontemecatl, quiçtocaçuçj: intlacamo oiacuiçc, in aço çan ocoolinccujc, çan ie no ivi in quçchichiouia iruçiliio, iece çan ichan in tlatlaia, amo inelteçantia, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie onmoxcaloa, onmopilua tonatiuh quçlatiuia.

No iuan mjeua: in jquac ypan in ce coatl tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in jquac oiaotlatoloc, oniacotlalivujloc, in omjjn, in otecaquitiloc iaoiotl, vel iqua ipan vnpeoaia in ieoc: vncan iaoquiaouia, ipan otlatocoia, ipan vnaoteuualoia, vnmoteua, onmacocuj, onmolinja, eoe, nêcemj, icxicouaua, in jaquich quauhtlocelotl:

auh in aquin ipan otlacat ce oçelotl tonalli, quçtoia, quipiliuia, quçnemactiuia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, illnujc, mâcoaale muchiouac, mocujltanoc, vnca quçquanj iex: auh intlaca mocellamaceua, in iuhquj itonal in, amo ipan muchioa in jnemac, in jcnopil: çan ichoatl quçnitlacalhuja, quçnopopolhuja, mjtua. iaeviian conmocaujlia, quçnotlçoinjctilia. Eᵉ.

yn aquin ipã otlacat in, aiamo caltiuia, quin ipã caltiuia in Ey maçatl: iquac quçtocamaca, ipampa ie mjeccan omjjo: in citiuian tonalli, in jquac tlacomilhujtilitia, quçqualitiuia in tonalpouhque: ichoatl ic contlaçoçquiliuia, vmpa çiçlaçequjniuia, vmpa onotlachichiuia, inic oenca quçtonalchicaoaia.

Auh in quçtoçquilia, vme mjçujatli, iuh quçtoa: amo qualli, ale vncã ca mâcoalli. Auh in ey maçatl: iuh quçtoa qualli tonalli, ic omjjo: in citiuia muchipa qualcan, vncan ca tlacnopilhujlistli in iuh quçcilhujain tonalpouhque. Auh in neui tochtli, in tlanauhcaiotia tonalli, in nauhcaiepa tlavica, tlacom-

3. *Ordoñez: ibid.*, "*Y si el tal mercader muerte, de su enfermedad.*"

4. *Molina, op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl), *Lado diestro.*

5. The text reads *ce ocelotl*: it is correct in the *Real Palacio* MS.

843 752 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue bump. Or [he might catch] inflammation of the grain.[22] And when the inflammation of the grain appeared, the child cried every night; and on the grain and scrapin were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh inic ueci ximomoua, yeqiltepan ca, iuhqui pantonti, iuhquin tecuic: anoc cuetzpalicuetli. Inic ueci cuetzpalicui pilontli: cuicoui in choca, yuan yquxilco, yuanc motlatlalia tacatzoni, ohtlatzoni, tachacatzoni. Auh inic pati: quimotla, quiquiquixtia in tacatzoni.

843 821 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will be hunchbacked!"

Ioan in ocelti: in iquac ximoo vel tlacatl motlalia in ipamauh, quiquitlacaxoltiuia, in iquac ualmomaxtia metztli: inic amo conxopaxtiuiquac, quimiltiuiqui: xiccaxoc xiccoxpixtiqueh in metztli, xiquiquiqui, anoc tenquixiuiz in amocuexuh.

825 777 441 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's hand.

Inic ompoualli cuptiuilo, yechpa tlatoa: in ocomatli ymacpal.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly a monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In ocomatli imacpal: in puchteca ceuca quiximoaia, quimoqiaktiuia: in iquac in campa tlamoquia, in tlanamacaia: vncan quiptecoia, quiplmach ic icuahca aquj, icuahca mochi cualo in tlein quiquamaca: quij ichaual iuh quichiua in ocomatli yma: ynic mochipolohtia.

777 264 824 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere was disposed of that which they sold, when no one bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoaxtin in tilmomacaque: in iquac acan aquj in quiquamaca, in aiac quicua: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço viquilli, quiplmach: quichiqua-qualtia, inic aquj. Auh inic quichiouia: in iquac oalvia inchan, quitoaia: acan onc in tetiamic: ma xiccochiliquaqualtican: niman ic itic contecpa, aço vnc, anoço Ey in chilli: quiplmach ic aquja, inic iuh quichiouia in, ic quitoa: quichiliquaqualtia.

777 525 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle and the griddle.

Inic ompoualli oce cuptiuilo, ierchpa tlatoa in tomitoti, yuan comalli.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his house, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In iquac aquja patoaia, in ichan, in jacatzoch, ioan in jocomal, ioan in jiuetl: intlapach quiquamaia: auh in tomitoti cana xoxoloco quiquilouia; quiplmach: ic amo quiplmoiaque in chanc, can ic tlachaqui.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "otra enfermedad, que llaman cuetzpalicuetli, o que lobadillos en las ingles." Mas adelante Codex Mex (Ø correspondiente manuscrito Kansas) 270 dentro 2 Codex Mex [Madrid: Sociedad Mexicanista Española, 1900], p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to patolmi, which is an game.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.[1] (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the perfectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Te-pe'ek.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

438 mala the people travel miles to exchange their produce; and
443 so important is the market as a social function that a merchant will not dispose of his produce except at that place, even though offered payment far in excess of its market value.*

437 Barter was the only means of exchange, and value was
436 established by desirability and rarity. Money, an exchange medium of fixed value, did not exist. However, something had to be found which would balance an inequality of exchange by being not too valuable to use in adjusting small transactions and at the same time universally wanted. The cacao bean answered this requirement and was easily portable as well. The Aztecs were extremely fond of chocolate (the word itself is of Aztec derivation), so that beans were gladly converted into the national luxury drink. Quills of gold dust sometimes were used as an exchange medium, as were crescent-shaped knives of thin-beaten copper. These last had not the common acceptance or the utility of cacao beans, although they represented easily portable value.*

317 The most precious substance among the Aztecs was jade,
435 or stones resembling it in texture and color. Both jadeite and nephrite occur in the New World, and the American variety is distinguishable from the Asiatic stone. Uncut stones are seldom seen today, for there is no lapidaries' market in modern Middle America or the United States, whereas jade is still extensively worked in China, so that men find it worth their while to search rivers in Burma for boulders of this rare substance. (See Plate 3.)

435 The testimony of the Conquistador Bernal Diaz is conclusive on this point of value. During the night when Cortes retreated from Mexico the leader, after taking off his share of treasure, turned the surplus over to his troops. Many,

b: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were[4] things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capítulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianquijzco: auh in ichoatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquijztli, ioã ixquich tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeoalli, ioan ixquich aoa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaqujlia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieeian, çan iononian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquijztli: ioan ixquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl carca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiioaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzalitztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototl, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixquich nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, aiatl,

ioan in ixquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tililtic chiã, chiantzotzol, iztatl: totoli, vexolotl, çiaoatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vej nacaztli*: *Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Rimbach, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "*una semilla como lenteja blanca*."

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitziuacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomitzi*,[14] *cimatl* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[314] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
[317] rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
412 poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[20] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[21] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necuetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitziouacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, coujxcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jxquitlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eriotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjxquitl, itlaaquitlo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, ixcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan iztli, ioan tlatlatilquaujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquaujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixquich tlamãtli qujlitl qualonj, xonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, quillanenel, iztac xozocoioli, xozocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, exotl, elotl, xilotl, oaatl, mjaoatamalli,

4. *Atzimaxalatl*: "son redondillas, tienen las patas largas, y agudas y angras; tienen las pies largas; son cenicientas y tienen el pecho blanco; dicen que nacen en la provincia de Atzilhuac; corren a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas o lluvia; son muy buenas de comer. Dicen que beben, y los tordos del agua, por tiempo se vendeva en pasos, dicen que las son entrar o bandas en la mar, dentro del agua, y que nunca más parecen" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Anáquimas* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Immarmaria, *op. cit.*; I, p. 487 (*chichicalhuat*) says there are two species—*Phalacrocorax urinator* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipiazcan*: "son blancas y del grandor de palomas, tienen alto vuelo, ordinario sueño en mar, y al tiempo de comer al medio mismo sale dentro a la tierra, cuando estas aves vienen, entendiendo que es tiempo de comer *A* mar" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 153). In Immarmaria, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, there are *Larus franklinii* SW in Rich, currently called *apipiazca*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*Anseres mexicani* . . . . grandes como las de España; tienen las pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos; tienen buenas carnes; tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas; las plumas de encima son ruines, tienen buenas cuchillas para cortar" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Immarmaria, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"Cuarto género de chile llamado chiltecpin, muy tostado y menudado con ello" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 6, *supra*.

12. Sapotas, *op. cit.*; note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Texocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Immarmaria, *op. cit.*, III, p. 190).

14. *Cacomitzi*: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *melanthichal*, *el edible root* (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Abu Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, *a condimento* (Immarmaria, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Bomarea edulis* (Herm.) (p. 659) or *D. persiciflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chaiotl*: *chayote*—*Sycios edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucumis acutangulus* (Immarmaria, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 169, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of quauhxaxacatl are identified as *Jacquinia ruscus* Linn., *Mimosa asiliscana* (?) Pohl, *Crescen sp.*, *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metelhuat*: *metl* (maguey), *uilhuatl* (*principio*, *comienzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Immarmaria, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Simeón must be in error in translating *atzitzquilitl* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 38, 73) discusses a thistle (*Cirsium sp.*). Immarmaria, *op. cit.*, II, p. 62, describes it (*quiquelite*) as, "En México esparce de *chinchada*" (*xitzhuhu*).

19a. See Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 565-4, 569. Sauer suggests that "*huachinanti* may be a corruption of . . . *cuachinanti*," a *chamaedaphne*: *C. Nuttallii* and *C. pseudoxus* are mentioned.

20. *Xonacatl*: *xocoyol*—*Oxalis corniculata* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. corniculata* Cav.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Immarmaria, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Immarmaria (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of Oxalis, but on p. 213 notes that the term xocoyol is used also for *Rumex* (*indigenus Americus*), and that xocoyoquilitl likewise identifies two species of *Rumex*.

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sesa; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it. .

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elodlazcalli, ioan in jaquijch qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 443 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquauijtl, acaiiitcl, iiectlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequauitli, ioan apauitli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoquijtecomatl, ioã in jaquijch tlamantli çoquijtlatquijtl. 443 463 656 [276] [145]

Auh in ichoantin tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo quimocujtlauia, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oximachiliioc, intlacamo quinentia in aquin quicohujli, in tlein tlachtectli, quizacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatonequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianquijzpanãlaca quichioaia iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltenpochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan tenoutzalli, ioan nextamalhoutzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianquijztli, ioan tianquijzpan thiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 235, describes quauhtli as "hojas y renuevo de las frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mimosa pudica var. Mimosa L.

[p. 70 is blank]

726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocoxitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenantepoxco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at Tocoxco,[8] [491] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came, [443] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct 317] to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied] [533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjnoc iaquac, njman ic momjqujli: ichcaol in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoã itech ietiquizque, atlan qujnnemjtique, qujntetepachoque: auh vncã mjquizquja in castañeda: auh ça acaltitech pilcatia injc qujvicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenantepoxco, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, çan tlatlapixtoca in atlan. Auh in ie ioa qujvica.

Auh iquezquilhujoc ie no ceppa techcentlatallhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ic qujoalmoxtilique in quavecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhticac iztaxmacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jxquich tlaxcaltecatl, in acolhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ie ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in quãmjmjlli, in acatl qujcujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cencã ivian in iativitze, qujniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapitativitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampa onotivitze in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ie ixquich altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, meeltzotzona in tlaxcalteca, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, quecoa in çaqo tlein qujlnamjquj, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoã vel nepacholo, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, qujtetezontlaliaia, qujchjxtoque in quemman teevitiloa, in quenman quj-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"cerca de aquella yglesia que se llama cabra hacia"* Cano (op. cit.) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, barrio of Tolpochtlalilco.

8. *"Cerca de la Cruz, pueblo Atenantitlán."* — Cano, op. cit.

9. El Peñón de los Baños — one of the corners of Texcotzinco, in the lake. However, Rapoje and Barlow, op. cit., p. 46 and map, locate it on a hill in the southeastern part of Tlatelolco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"determinaron entre si los españoles de darnos guerra por alli."*

11. Quauecatitlan acapitalli — *"calle que iba derecho de Huexotlan al Mercado de la Sal. . . . prolongaba hasta encontrar el Alhuexotlán y probablemente correspondía con la Calzada de Huexotlán, Mercado, Almaxarrar, Carnaval y Ribera."* — Cano, op. cit. Rapoje and Barlow, op. cit., show it in their map in in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Buenaventura, loc. cit., the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the Florentine Codex: *"por razon de los españoles que los indios habian muerto en su provincia, intentaron á proseguir guerra de nuevo, haciendo juramento solemne que la guerra [illegible] de cesar hasta que vengaran la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no muriese en sus manos: al dia siguiente comenzaron á cegar fosfos los acequias y cenaxas de aquas por donde pudiesen entrar los unos donde los burgaleses no podian entrar, y así comenzaron á derribar chozas, y cubrir todas las acequias."*

13. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en barrio que se llama Tlalmacan que es agora cerca adjo"* (San Martín).

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Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. (When he went in his litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

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that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

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443 262 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough [445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold 443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each [322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many [281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen [364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is [314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There [693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect [324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who [324 sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they 262] get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and [325 gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could 415] wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were 436 already approaching its great courts, before leaving the [443] market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look 346 at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamança, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these [364] stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

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out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of 361
Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from [312]
Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the
bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain
distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed
in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on [505]
that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming
with supplies of food and others returning loaded with
cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every
house of that great city and of all the other cities that were
built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to
house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or
in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like
towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a
wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs,
and on the causeways other small towers and oratories
which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had 361
seen we turned to look at the great market place and the 443
crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others
selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and
words that they used could be heard more than a league
off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many
parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy,
and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full
of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had
never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to 797
Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned
by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to
me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw
out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow
us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

805 reference to the circle. The third character was the
212 representation of a house, which they call Ce calli [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is placed to the south with reference to the circle. By means of these characters they counted fifty-two years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so describing circles by means of these characters, until
805 each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether,
796 make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two
372 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract,
*787 or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the
212 art of divination of the fortune or luck which those
787 born would have, whether men or women. It was done in this way. They had twenty characters. The first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent, etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at the end of this Appendix. They said that each of these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the number of days in which the sign or character
● [443] reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days, and so there are, in each month, four weeks; and the *tianquiztli*, or markets, are fixed according to this number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by periods of five days they established the markets or fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days], but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in many places, they set the markets and fairs according to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llaman ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llaman ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres treze años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y ansi dando bueltas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliessen treze años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes treze que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servir a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nueuo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las prouincias desta nueua españa fuego nueuo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de seruirlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o uentura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el quinto cosil. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apéndix: dezian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua treze dias, que todos juntos son dozientos y setenta [sic] dias. Algunos dizen que estos treze dias son semanas del mes y no es ansi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y ansi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y la tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [sic] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauã los mercados, o ferias, y ansi no tenjan semana, sino quijntana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entreponense los caracteres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es caña,

* See Plates 102-104.

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years — [the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
785 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
304 honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it
805 Pillauanalizttli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which they divided into eighteen months, to each of which
796 they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and
● 443 during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mira, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y quinjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porqué no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y quinjntos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y quinjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, parà hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrêtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualizztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanalizztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziã su bisexto, contando seis de nemontemj.

la otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en dezjocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-

[still] another [town]. So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[1] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of error, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit than rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

tanaxo, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguja: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y haziagro: y ansi no hazian cuenta dellos para njnguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con todos los meses del año, y con todas las quijotanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

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796
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Otra cuenta tenjan, éstos naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quijotanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan treze dias: en las quales reinaua uno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua treze dias, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son dozientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciesen. Es cuenta delicula, y muy mentirosa, y sin njngun fundamento de astrología natural. Porque el arte de la astrológia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursur y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun fundamento natural av, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en njnguna sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embuste o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erã muy hõrrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque njnguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por ierro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dizeron, y afirmaron falsamente.

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787x

1. See Plates 125 and 126.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 126r, 126s. - Analyst]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

[If the captive was] a man, he burned

his streamers, and his cloak, and his breech cloth, and all the things he had received, and his water gourd: All these he burned.

And a woman burned all her womanly array—her basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her cane stalks, her batten, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went to bring them down when they died, and a flag-bearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

And when they had brought them [there], four captives to be slain went ahead. At the leading at

yoan imaxtli, yoã in quezquj itlaçevil, yoã iintzo muchi qujtlatia.

Auh in cioatl, muchi qujtlatia in jnqujch icioatlatquj: in jtana in jmalac, in jtiçauh, in jtzacoalcax, in jtzatzaz, in jotlauh, in jxotzopaz, in jteçac, in jmecamaxal, ineanaia, yoã itzopaia, yoan ivitz, yoan iquatzon, iziouh, yoan yioctacauh: muchi qujtlatia inoma.

Injc iuh qujchioa y, qujlmach vmpa intech monequjz in vmpa iazque, in jquac mjqujz vmpa qujoalchiaz.

Auh in otlatvic, mec tecēcaoalo, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in amatlatqujtl, in jpan mjqujaque: in oqujmōchichiuhque, mec tevico in vmpa mjqujzque, qujnvica in teanque, vmentin qujntlecavizque, in macana çotlaoa, qujntzitzqujzque: yoã vmētin tetemovjzque, in qujnoaltemovizque, in jquac ommjcque: yoan ce panoa, in qujvicatiuh panjtl: yoan vmentin, teixamjque cioa: çan muchivi in qujnvivica, cecenme tlaaltilti.

Auh in oqujmaxitique: iacattivi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apetlac in qujmjilpilia imjcxi yoã inma:

7. These weaving implements have been tentatively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Paso y Troncoso.

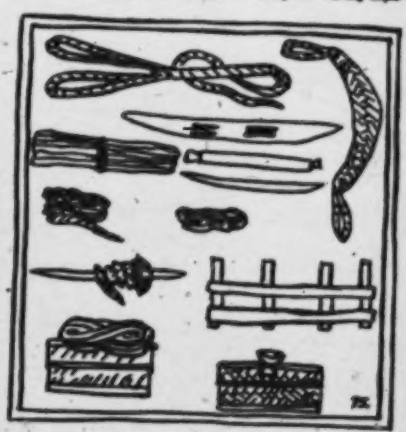

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Theirs were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; maguey spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, injc moichecoaia çioa. 286 462

Neanonj, mecamazalli, quatzontli, xiiotl, otlatl, ꝛꝛotzopaztli cacalaca, patlaoac: tzotzopaztli pitzaoac, omjtzotzopaztli, ꝛꝛotzopaztepiton, ic tlamachioa: teçacatl, tlaujteconj, malacatl, tzaoalcaxitl, tiçatl, xaxalmalacatl ic iujtzaoa: ichcatanatli, tochomjtanatli, icpatanatli, iujtanꝛtlj, iujtecomatl: tzatzaztli, tlacujlolquaujtl injc qujcujloa icpatl in qujqujti: tlápalcaxitl, in vncan qujpatla intlapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana tlein tlamachtli qujchioa; vitztli injc qujuinzcuj icpatl: [386]

tlaqualchioa, achioa, qujnomauja: vncate in jnnahoan in qujmjxcaltia, ioan in cocoa tepotzome çihoa, tzapame, cujca, tlatzotzona: injc melelqujxtia. 462 [722 534 522]

1. *Tlamalpopoxqui*: Sahagún (op. cit., III, p. 222) describes the tree as "hermoso, y tienen los otros arboles que parecen plantados sobre el hermoso; es dulcel muy precioso, porque de él se hacen tapaceadas, tecolocles y alhaudas. . . ." Gómez is plentiful in Hernández, op. cit., Pl. 69.

[p. 50 is blank]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[622
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THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

[463]

Chief

Merchant

Lawyer

Doctor

Women

[759]

Sailor, beware

[502
501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (c)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. 441
The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement 463
and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a 441
special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth 439
and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, 463
tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have 463
attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and featherworkers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion 793
penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in [622]
the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Ettalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloca, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Thus they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [-goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the mist-rattleboard,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattimanj, atzacatitimanj, 776
petlantimanj, cuecuecoxtimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujxtiloia, çan no iquac yn ettalqua- 796
liztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia tlaloque,

[805]

coloeli in qujchichioaia yxiptla: qujcuetiaia, qujujpiltiaia, [778]
qujcoxcatiaia, coxcapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuztic teucujila-
xomalli:

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtlenamacacauh,
yiauhtli, ixpan qujtepevilia,

calchicoaoa ilhujtiocmj, qujcujcatia in calpolequc,
ycujcacaoaa.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in [567]
qujcoaia, ichoan qujnextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc
motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaloque, yn apantlaca: [463]
yoan acalquetzque tiapaquixco, in qujtechieltia atl.

No iuh qujchichioaia, no iuh qujtlamamacaia, no iuh
qujcencaoaia: iuh tlantiuja: in miquja, ytocaiocan tlalocan:
yn vncan intzupan, tlaloque, queltetequjx.

Jn jquac y, no cenca qujmauiztiliaia, yn motecuçuma:
ixpan tlenamacoia, yn jxiptla, qujtlacotenjlia,

iuh qujtoaia: qujauhtlatlanj in tlacatl, qujtlamachuja
yn jnacaoal: yoan vncan mocuelilmati, ynjc qujnahujztiliaia
atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa,
yn ixquich tetech monequj.

No iuh qujmauiztiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaiotl, yn jtoca,
chicome coatl; yoã yn jxiptla iztatl, ytoca Vixtociotl: ic
qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjzti:

ca vel ynenca muchioa in macecalli, ic vellamati, ic vel 776
nemj.

Auh yujn, in muchichioaia: mozaoaia, texotica, moten-
ujltec, motexotenujltec, mixcoçalhuj, chalchiuhcuaque,
xiuhnacoche, texoamacale, quetzalmjiaoaio, atlacujlolhvipile,
atlacujlolhuiujpile, atlacujlolcueie, atlacueçonanchimale,
aiuchicaoaqx, cacalaca; poçulcaque.

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48. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "*este atualli era hecho de maiz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 218): "*el maiz cocido por il solo llamaiale pajolly pero a causa de revolverlo que frijol (atl) le llaman atolly.*"

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . *la festejaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaça. . . .*"

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *porque decian, que estos tres dioses: mantenjan, a la gente popular: para que pudiesen, vivir, y multiplicar.*"

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *la pintaban, la cara, con color amarilla. . . .*"

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenia en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con una cruz: hecho a manera, de la custodia, en que se lleva el sacramento, quando van solo la llevar y era como cetro, dicta diosa.*" See p. 3, note 44. See also illustration of Chalchiuhtli yoan and Tzapotlan tenan.

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[88] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who wore skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[89] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tozzocco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[90] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[91] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[92] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[93] was in his hand.

Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord of the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[94]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[95] the stout traveling staves[96] with

totoca, ynic motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecalíltiaia, qujnnamjquj- 776
in tiiácaoaa, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti: 796

yoan iñ iaqujchti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhivintia, tlatla-
mati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque- [524]
tsca momotlanj, iactlaveliloque: vncan moieiecoaia, moiao-
mamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalizque iaopan, vmpa mocacoaoia
yn aiac, mjtoaia totzcco. [346]

Auh yn totecti njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no 292
tlatlaeoa: tzapeicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuzcatia, quja- 352
zochinezpanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujnztlaoantia. 302

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, ixcocoieia: qujtoa, ma
njctlamaniliz, iñ totec, iquac tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Jn inechichioal, mizcolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, 776
yiopitinn contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tla-
caieoatl, yieoaio malli, tzonchaizoale, tzucujtlanacoche,
tzapocueie, tzizile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaz-
tli yn jmac icac.

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca intzuh catca: cencx qujmavizttiliaia, qujtlaquen- 776
tiaia amatica: yn jntopil, ymotlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj 463
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89. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En esta fiesta, hacian como un juego de cañas: de manera que el un vando, era de la parte deste dios, o ymagen del dios totec: y estos todos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que eujan muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y osados, y personas valerosas, y esforçadas: que no temian en nada la muerte: osados, atrevidos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se exercitaua, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauajn los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, bolujan huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" *Cf.* also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, cavalgando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se resguardaban con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, has *ximon* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Tozzocco."

87. *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tototeeti.*" *Cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tozzocco as "*los muertos a honra del dios Totec.*"

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is *mizqolchiuhtiaiac*, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Seler also (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mizqolchiuhtiaiac* (quail face painting).

89. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Tlapanecs), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they wore pointed caps.

90. "The word chicoacuitl means 'wherewith anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chicoacuitl with the first sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 100.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *iyacac-tecuhtli* or *yacatecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 57). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacavichiqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz agujereda*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiucatecutli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecotli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Ixcuiquihqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *otra una cuba, manjar, que ellos llaman vitzli. Y tambien vsan de otra manera de bacuba,*

776 which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set
463 them up; before them they did penances, they drew [their]
464 blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds —the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

mozlatocaia, incipa cochinque, vacaa qujtilquetza, inpan tlamaceoa, mjço, qujcopaltemjlia, ynjc qujtlauhtia yn jntenuh yiacatecutli, ynjc qujtlanjlia, ynjc qujmatatacquijlia, yteicneliliz:

noujan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic moteneoa, puchteca yiaque: itech canque, yn itoca intenuh, yiacatecutli:

Ostomeca, anaoac calaquinj, vel qujtemocinemj, in tlein qujmonanauhtizque, anaoatl qujzaqualotinemj, anaoatl qujlacatzocinemj,

tonalcllauhtinemj, heecaciuhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtiuj, elciciuhtiuj, mociauhquetztiuj, ynellelacitiuh, ynjaqua tlatlatiuh, intonal qujmacujtiuj, intonalonjuh ietiuh:

iztlaoatl qujnanjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, qujtemouja, qujtlecauja, izquijcha ana: inmolicpi, intetepon ic tlatlacça, ic moquequetza:

vel qujciiavj vel qujhiiouja, ynic qujtemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in tezuiujtl, yn apoçonalli, in teucujtlatl: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzican, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtototl, in tozqui çaqua: quauhtli, in tequaneoatl, yn ocelupetlatl.

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que es vna cosa negra lisjsima, maciza: sin hueco ninguno: que es como junco, de los que se vsan en España." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 57-8) says they gathered the stones all together, girt with a ribbon, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente* (*ostomeca anaoac calaquinj*) (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: "*Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyatecutli ('der Herr der Weggangenen') war der Gott der Karawanenführer der ostomec anaoac calaquini der reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ostuxlan in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtototi*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 350, to the *Nanalostomeca*, appears to refer to a grade or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* [103] *tlatequa*.

96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the term as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan ribera de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Patronos hacia Anáhuac, que dista más de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Entraban en la provincia de Anáhuac, no todos, sino aquellos que iban de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . iban todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En ese pueblo se dividían, unos iban a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anáhuac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac Xicalanco as the state of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir pluma muy verde, y ytzli piedra de navaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin mancha ninguna, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene mancha, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Teuchuitl, quiere decir turquesa de los dioses . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy lucida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que cría en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobláganse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El zacuan que tiene en la cabeza esta ave (quetzaltototi) es muy hermosa y resplandeciente, llámanse estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave al cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; se precian estas plumas y llámanse tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene crecidas en el pecho y en las sobaxas y debajo de las alas; son la insignia preciosa y la insignia verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tezquachol* means red *quechol*; or precious *quechol*. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 633). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 37n., gives *Platalea Ajaja rosea* L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtaqual* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*graje*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta*[1] *S. Coerulea* (*ibid.*, p. 634). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould*.

103. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas aquellas (y) resaltan el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llamas de fuego y como oro, crianse en Anáhuac.*"

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[418]
[439]

And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[105] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[106] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[108] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[109] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicunquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcapuzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They gave them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in pocteconatl, in aiutectli, in aquaujtl, yn atzaccaiutl:

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichoalirtica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica qujntlaehecalhuja in chaneque.

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujnpoioinjctia, qujnchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nẽ tematitlanpa qujça, iehoatl qujoalnonotzaia in motecuçuma:

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçonaltenteuh, yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezcaiotia, in tiiacauh, vncan ic oqujchtia.

Auh yn jquac calacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oqujchiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: inqujch tlacatl qujnotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic motrittidaia:

mjtoa, mocripaca, cenca qujmavirtiliaia yn itopil, yn jdaccaia yiacatecutli:

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

Auh intla aca tealtiz, iehoatl caltiaia, qujzeoaia in jtzouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme iehoantin yn mocheoaia, in qujnmotrutiaia in chicunquiauitl, anoço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomucujl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzacac, aiac qujiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacanecujloca azcaputzalco: motlabtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecupa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujncoanque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucunque, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

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ynjc iehoan qujnmictinque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujntlamamaca, intech qujtlalia yn juhquj ynechichical yiacatecutli.

Auh yn aiamo qujnmjctia, achtopa qujnteittitiaia: mjtoa qujmjmextia, ic qujtemachitia in tealtisque:

104. *Cf.* Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 57): Yxcuinhuqui "*propiamente representa persona, que tiene vivaça, ò habilidad, para mejor gracieamente, ò engañar, y es sabio, y sagaz (que es propia condicion de Mercaderes)* . . . ."

105. *Cf.* Sahagún (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 32) citing *Hist. Reyes. Colib. Mex.* B. II §43.

106. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "*yglesia del barrio, ò parroche*" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: "*Estos duchos que majaban o azotes esclavos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicunquiauitl or Chalmecacioatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tamaulipecas; Nacxitl is Quauhtlatoa.

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

[273 Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
463] people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
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popocatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço quexquijtetl tepetl in qujnmeoaz in qujjiquiz.

Auh in qujnpiquja, in qujmixiptlatiaia in tqtepe, çan tzoalli, qujntlacatlaiaia, qujntlacatlachieltiria, tlacatlachiztiçatca:

qujntlantiaia aiouachtli, auh in qujmjxtelolotiaia aiecutli: in quenamj yntlatquj in qujmixiptlatiaia, in qujpiquja çan no iuhquj ynjc qujnchichioaia.

Auh yoan qujchioaia, amatetezujtl, colchachapatrxia, colchipiniaia, qujnquequentiaia:

auh in cuquj amatetevitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlanlchachapatzalli, mecatitech qujpipiloaia, mecatitech qujnmetechilpiaia, qujnmetechçaloaia, ymjxpan antoc, ic itzacuiloque in tepicme:

hiçamacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, ostopilquaujtl, necoc, nemeoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, uzmotzonticac, yn itech antoc tetezujtl.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaiztlapantli, tlaitztatactli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipam poujia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic mamanca.

Auh çan ichoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequiuh, in machioeque catca, yn qujnchichioaia, in qujntlaliaia: aiac çan moiocuiaia, in calla in qujnchichioaia.

Auh macujltica in qujntlalhujaia, mjtoa: qujnmelcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ie cauhque tepicme, njman ie ic qujntoçaviia, qujncujcatia:

in cricoal nappa in qujntlamanjlia, tamalololli in qujnmacaia, qujmanaia ymjxpa, in tlamacazque, in tepiccujca:

no nappa in qujntlamacaia cricoal, yoan qujntlapichiliaia,

qujnmaquiqujxiliaia tecuciztli in qujnpichiliaia, yoan vilacapitzli, cocoujlotl,

vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, papaqujnj, haavienj, nihivintianj, tecocomeltianj, cocoleque, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn otlatvic njman qujmiccia yn tepicme, qujnquechcotona, qujnquechcuj, qujnquechilacatzoa, çatepan qujncrololoa, conecucuj, in tepictzoalli, qujtquj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiqujnj, njman ie yc calaqujh yn itlacaouotzalhoan, yn jcoaxoan, vncan mopia, mopixtoque:

auh in ie ioaztiuh, in ie tevtlac niman ie ic tlaxana, motlaouncatlalia in vuetlaca, yn ie chicuaque, yn otlachi-

117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain* (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac cloud) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. *Models of dough* (*vna matrix*), *in the Spanish columns; Seler renders it* "*ungesteckten Samen der Sterbkamaben*" (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unas papeles figuras de gotas de ule, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetenitl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 128).

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jxcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

796X
805
776

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

1 c KL Xocotl vetzi c 1[1]
2 d Durante la fiesta de tlasochimaco: d 2[2]
3 e yvã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al- e 3
4 f tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle f 4
5 g arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: g 5
6 A alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan- A 6
7 b tauan enhiesto y estaua ani enhiesto b 7
8 c hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en- c 8
9 d tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ d 9
10 e mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos e 10
11 f para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia f 11
12 g desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan g 12
13 A muchos carpinteros con sus herrami- A 13
14 b ẽtas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso. b 14
15 c Despues de mondado y de auerle com- c 15
16 d puesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles: d 16
17 e atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan- e 17
18 f tauanle con muchas bozes y muchõs f 18
19 g estruendos y afixauanle muy bien. g 19
20 A Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã- A 20[2]
tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos aderẽçauãse con sus plumajes y atauios ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas ẽrimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

796X
313
[483]
[463]
796X
[302]
[535]
[278]

1. Marginal notation: *Augustus ha diez xoxj.*
2. Marginal notation: *Xocotzi ahuatl.*

pains of] their death.

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796X 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- A 28
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que b 29
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos sucessos c 30
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- d 31
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

[551] [578] [787]

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio matauã capituos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796X [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

785 796X 463

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
X 796 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other cere-
463 monies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornices y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome sochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses
[776] who are named Ciuapipilti, because they said that then they came down to the earth. They adorned
[289] their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce deceñdian a la tierra, atauiauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a
273 great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the
[776] second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the court-
[463] yard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comida, y cantauan, y tañian delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beuiã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[438] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

In this house[1], which was like

a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Ciuapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuateocalli*, or by another name, *ciuateopan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatestauitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la 796^A
adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante [778]
della perfumes, y comida: dezian que este era el
signo de quetzalcoatl.

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjquiztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en [778]
sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comida: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gēte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso.

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce quiauitl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan [776]
Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quādo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas emfermedades, a los que topauā fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra [784]
destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan cioateucalli, o por otro [778]
nombre cioateupan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amateteujtl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles.

La nona fiesta moujble.

En el signo llamado ce quiauitl: en la quarta casa [681]
que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy mal- 777]
afortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de supersticion: y los mercade- [463]
res, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viessen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to-

[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treszena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289] 778 [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *teuxollotl*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzititzilica, 796x [30]

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icatnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujttli, ynjc tlamaiqujttli: auh yn icactochio, çan ao ie in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ie no ic yn potonquj: 796x 292

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanicuilolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, tozttlapilollo: 796x 293

Auh in tozttlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo, muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan zollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, tozteneloio in chimalli: [237]

In iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalácachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana: [535]

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: excan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitzilnio: [314]

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetzztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh. 796x 535

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixqujchtin cenqujça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti: [463]

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 22.

7. "*Ñ amarrow*," in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Huppa xuxuli (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish column reads: "*Tenja una rodela pintada, que unas ojas anchas, de la yerba que se llama ahuacuyema.*" In Vol. III of the Rehusdo ed., p. 336, in Dr. Heinrich Leiva's essay: "*Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Nos. 368 a 905) del libro XI, de la Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún,*" *ahuacuyema* is defined as "*cabeza de negro. Nimphaja elegans, Hook, Nimfáceas.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llamaos xuxuli y que estos colores cuando ya son grandes y maduros y crian; entonces tienen las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; entonces mata esta crecidada en ellos, esta papagayos tanto mas es amarillinfrabaos, y por esto le llamaos xuxuli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Rehusdo ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

9. "*Con flores en las ciñen, hechas de plumas de aguila*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulin*, however, may be an element in *Sacatchapulin*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamaos cuchu (y) es muy semejante al que llamaos tuxuxuc; tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo moradas, las grandes y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado oscuro, matizado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñitas que están sobre la cuerda del ala que llamaos tolcal, son amarillas matizadas de colorado; el collo, como pelo rudo, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado matizado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Rehusdo ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

12. Cf. *ibidem* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*: "*hace certaisa gestos en danzar*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando bailaua en el areyto, pasaua andando al baxaua, y deuaiaba (sic) a compas del baylo.*"

1 A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

x796 And the old women and the old men, those who

887 made and refined salt, and sold and trafficked in salt,
463 and those who dwelt in the salt marshes, drank wine.
273 Wine was drunk, and oft became besotted. In their midst they poured out the wine in a flower-decked jar.

iztachiuhque, yn iztatlatique, yoan yn iztanamacaque, yn iztanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlãtlaoana tlãtlaoano, motlatlaoantia, tlanepantla xochapaztica qujoalmana yn vetli:

x796 One of the men poured out [the wine], and prepared it and distributed it. This one was not one who
273 had made [his wife] pregnant, whose wife was with child. If he who poured out the wine had made [his wife] with child, [then] he would not make one drunk; men would not be drunk. They would only counterfeit drunkenness; no one would become besotted [from] the wine.

ce tlacatl tetlaoantia, qujteteca, qujtemamaca, amo ichoatl in tlavtztia, in vtztli ycioauh. Auh intla tlautztia tetlaoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntiqua: çan teyujcopina, aiac itechquiçaz in vetli.

And when the feast day had ended, when it had
[578] been celebrated, at nightfall all then lay about. And some who were well-besotted insulted one another, or belabored others, or cried out at others. And at last they fell exhausted, and slept as they fell. And whoever yet had wine which he had left over, which he had left because he had been sated, which was named sleep-producing wine, afterwards, next day, he drank and finished it.

Auh yn ouetz cemjlhujtl, yn onjlhujtlaque yn oiooac, mec neteteco: auh in cequjntin yn oveliujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquauhtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi; auh yn aqujn, yn oc qujcaoa vetli, in qujxujcaoa, itoca cochvetli, qujn imuztlaioc inquj, in qujtlamja:

And any who had mishandled others, or brawled
683 with them, or cried out at them, thereupon, when
x796 day broke, when they had come to their senses, supplicated [the injured ones to drink] this same wine, that they might satisfy them. And those who had not drunk, who had been cried out at or affronted, they let themselves be satisfied with [drinking] the wine; the offense was pardoned, and he held not against [the supplicants] their dispute, their injuries, etc.

auh yn aqujn temicti, yn aço teaoac, yn anoço tetzatzili, qujniquac yn otlatvic, yn omuzcali: çan ie ßo ie in vetli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic teiolceuja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzililonj, in pinauhtilonj, njman moiolceuja ynica vetli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujmolnamiqujlia, yn inneaoaliz, yn innemictiliz etc.

Here ended and concluded the feast of Tecuilhuitontli.

Nican tlamj, nican tzonquiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[5] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech clout; its papers[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, braves! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in otlatvic: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalitquj, intlatquj oalietiuh in mateporzli, tlaximalteporzli, vel qujpetlaca, qujzipetzoa, in vncan yixe, in vncã titicujtztic, in vncã xixipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jxcalo xocotl, vel cõnevivilia in jxcalo, in jquapitzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepãtlazque. Eintin, cenca chicaoque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin caica.

In ce itoca: coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhqujn mjxpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xócotl, in qujnacaiotiaia: mjchiouhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjztac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlaliaia: yiamaneapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotlona, yiamatzõ, ixoxocovipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo omocticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquijlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquijlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no eteti tzocioiol in qujchioa, qujquauhço: ezcan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xócomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xócotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocenicauh: njmã ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzioa:

qujtoa. Ma ecuel tiacahoane, ximotilinjcan, ixquich amotlapal:

njmã ie ic quecotiquetztivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtonmaçatl, yoan qujquãmjvia: auh in iequene ie iauh, in ie mecotiquetztiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzioa, cenca chachalacoa:

5. Probably pronounced in unison. Cf. the Jourdanet-Simeon edition, p. 129.
6. Reference could be to either paper or hand (*ahuehuetl*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cintéotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together —not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *meiouli*.[10]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cintéotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. At a little distance, her Huexteca went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech clouts, and had their mirrors on the smalls of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

And the midwives [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests proceeded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiativitze, vmpa itztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jteupan, in vmpa omjc: oc ceppa vmpa ommotlalia. 796x [292]

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotleoac, tlatlavillotl eoa, mec oalmoquetza tlatenpan: auh in jxqujch tlacad pipilti, ie qujchixtoque ipan ōnetepeoalo: njman ic qujtlatlamaca: in aca qujpotonja icpac, yoan icxic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca qujxaoa: in aca cōmaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjliz: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan iciuhca: njmā ic cactivetzi, njman ic vivilo a. [302] [292]

Auh in ovivilo ac: njmā ic oalquiça in jveitlatquj moteneoa: yiamacal, yoan itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquizpanjtl, macujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoatl in tianquizpanjtl: auh navi necococampa oome qujtzatzacutiuh: moteneoa meotli. [292]

Auh in ocōcencauhque, njmā ic ommoiacatia, in mamalti injxpan, navintin: mec ce conteca, in techcac: inoma yioma in qujmjctia, qujmeltetequj: navixtin, ith quinchioa:

in oqujmōmjcti in navixtin, mec immac qujnoalcaoa in tletlenamacaque, injc qujnmjctizque, in oc cequjntin mamalti: mec iauh in vmpa ocanato iconeuh: qujvicatiuh in jconeuh, in cinteutl ano itztlacoliuhquj: qujiacana in jcnecuan vecapa qujtztivi, omocencauhque, inmemecamaztli, yoan incujtlatecauh, im jichcauchiuh, mamalacaquetzallo. [293] [283]

Auh in titici, yoan in tencxnamacaque, necoc onotivi, cujcativi: qujncujcatlazilitivi in quaqacujlti, [463] 796x 534

9. This headdress is illustrated in the Translation of the *Codex Borbonicus* and of the *Aztlan* Collection.
10. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 177) relates the name to *mitl*; possibly it could as well be related to *maitl*.

seized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and slew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeoatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivecho, ixquich in tematitlampa quiça, in aiamo imjquja.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aquin maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, qujntlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli:

intla tlamanj, qujmoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujtlatiz tanaco, anoço qujmonamaqujliz: yoan in tlamanjme qujntlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atii.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic viloatz, çaiio in intzontecon qujoalhujvica intlan qujmaana, chichipicativitz in eatli, in oacico inchachan, aco qujnpipilou auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan qujxooaia: iquac qujnmacaia in imamatlatquj in jzqujntin mjqujzque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequjntin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome iehoatl in Izqujtecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: iehoan qujmaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja iehoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in qujnnextiaia: auh no iehoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izqujtecatl: no iquac qujcuja in jmamatlatquj.

Aõh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjqujzque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec qujnvica in vmpa mjqujzque: qujmõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõiaoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa qujnvivica in incacalpulco, cioal in qujntoçavia, qujnpia, qujnpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncujva: auh in oqujmõtzoncujque, njmã ie ic motlatlatlilia: in oqujchtli, qujtlatia, in jpan yoan itilma,

4. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *que quemquimiz* might better be read for *ãquimiz*. Cf. also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 199).
5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5.
6. Cf. *supra*, p. 97, n. 7.

Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the rôles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçateca* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Oficas mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia. 796x

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaualoia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amo tequjxqujo, amono tenexio: auh tlacatlaqualoia. [795] [262]

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xiximotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl quiçaia, motenoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuittotiloia:

yoan ixq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papalotl, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototl, in temoli, tecujtlaololo: yn jpan moquixtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moquixtiaia in cochiztli, in xocotamalcozquj, yoan totolnacatl yn jncozquj: yoan ymjxpan ycaca, in tonacacuezcomatl, tenticac in xocotamalli. [262]

Auh no muchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjqujlnamaqujlia, yn motequaquauhnamaqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teuxocozquj ypan moquixtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in teculutl, in chichtli ipan quiçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moquixtiaia. [463]

Auh motlaliaia in tlaloc, ixpan mãca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cuciame, yoan in ichoantin motenoa, maçateca, vncan qujntoloaia in cocoa, çan ioiolxiuja, cecriaca, incamatica in qujmonanaia, amo inmatica: çan qujmontlanquechiaia, ynjc qujmon- 796x

6. Gurbey ("Rebuldo leyes," p. 319) translates *tequitlaqua* as "se comenzó la fiesta." *Atamalqualiztli* appears in the same text, translated as "se hizo cosas diferes del agua." Cf., however, *atamalli* in Molina, op. cit.
7. *Tecuitl*: *hoho*; *chichtli*: *huhuat* (loc. cit.). Cf. also Clark, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel María Garibay K, in Tlalocan, Vol. I, p. 359.

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcozio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc chcioatolli, ouuhatolli izqujo, mjchiococatolli necuio, iztztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chiamatolli chilcozpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocucpalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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262

All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalqujca tlatoanj.

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And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixqui qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in çhichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjili: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Auh in jquac in oalaqua tlatoanj, njman ic moxexeloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlique, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezqujtlamantli, ixoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlaueuetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapizque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Niman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, xoxouhquj cacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xoxouhquj tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, iztac cacaoatl

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes: Sandoz, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 499: "*los más chicos mahonosos, es decir, de sombra.*"

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Chia arenqada. Salvia ppl*" Sammarzano, *op. cit.*, III, p. 466: *Salvia polystachia*; Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 230: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.

22. Sammarzano, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* Dc.—"*Es Mijiec, chile redgrow, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 475, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. baccatum* L.: "*del tamaño de las mosquitas, a las que parece imitar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"

23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salvia hispánica. L. Salsolar*"; Sammarzano, *op. cit.*, I, p. 480: *Salvia chian, S. hispánica* L.

24. The Spanish text has barbaro, which would require *mexicaque*.

25. *Tiltic* and *iztac* are as they appear in the Codex; *chiltic* and *iztac* are probably meant.

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujichecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujnomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mãcehoallarqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in jca cujcatl; ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

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EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti. 344

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlaiecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amantecas after the district of Amanteca, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nequanpixque* for *nequanpiaque*, and begins with the term a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Cuen de las fieras.*"

[p.46 is blank]

soms; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

ekolaxcalli, ioan in jxqujch qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquaujtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiócomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoqujtecomatl, ioã in jxqujch tlamantli çoqujtlatqujtl. 443 463 656 [276] [445]

Auh in ichoanin tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocujtlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnextiz in aqujn qujcohujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianqujzpantlaca qujchioaia iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianqujztli, ioan tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oqujchti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 235, describes ayocquilitl as "*hojas y ramas de los frijoles*"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *Mesembryanthemum Mandoon* L.

[p. 70 is blank]

127 majority of the data which could not be considered as a result of Spanish influence were taken as remains of situations from before the Spanish conquest. In every case the principal citerion of accuracy was the congruity presented by the data themselves; particularly in the sifting of data in works written long after the conquest or by authors who did not come to Mexico in this period (Acosta, Torquemada, Clavijero, Gómara, etc.) but who had at hand information and documents which we now lack, or who saw remains atill little modified of the ancient social organization of Tenochtitlan.

The contorted form reflected by some arguments derives principally from the necessity of taking advantage of the few facts about the subject, which are not always specific or categorized, but which refer to secondary or derived cultural traits; and which suggest a prior basic situation necessary to their appearance.

/p. 21/ THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CALPULLI

/p. 23/ Chapter 2

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

565 463 In the sources for the history of Mexico we find data which beyond doubt demonstrate the existence of social stratification among the Tenochcas and which have let a few authors think that the Tenochcas had social classes. These data are very diverse in nature and very abundant, but here only the more significant will be presented: the division between manual laborers and directors, the paying of tribute, the differentiation in the living standard, the relation between the strata and the calpullis, and the inheritance of property to a determined stratum.

With respect to the division of labor we find a great difference of activities between two types of people: those who undertook manual labor and those who undertook essentially directive tasks. We are told that the macehuales were the common people and laborers (1) and that

1. Zurita, p. 94.

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they worked at their crafts (2), that is, they were manual laborers.

2. Acosta, José de, p. 425. "crafts" [oficios] being considered a more or less specialized manual artisan activity.

On the other hand the pillis and the tecuhtlis had as occupations "to serve in war and in public office as governors and ministers of justice... squires... messengers... to oversee the sowing of seed or other things which were done in common or for their festivities and the service of the ruler" (3) and "to watch over the lands of the

3. Zurita, p. 89.

calpulli and defend them, to keep each marked in its proper fashion, and see to the boundaries between each, and where and with whose they bordered and who worked them, and who owned which and which were vacant... and who and when and to whom they were given" (4) and to see to it "that they be not entered upon" (5), and

4. Zurita, p. 90.

5. Zurita, p. 88.

they were "careful to protect the men of the calpulli and speak for them before the governors" (6); that is, that the pillis undertook tasks

6. Zurita, p. 90.

essentially directive or coordinative (7). With these data we can

7. With reference to Tlaxcalla, Muñoz Camargo tells us (p. 103) that the tecuhtlis /p. 24/ and pillis "are thought of as men of quality even when very poor who never carry out mechanical tasks or base or servile undertakings. They never allow themselves to carry a burden or dig with hoes or plows, saying that they are nobles [hidalgos] and that they will not apply themselves to these vile and base things, but rather

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are they to serve in wars and on the frontiers." This was surely what happened in Tenochtitlan although unfortunately we have no such clear affirmation for this place.

/p. 24/ assert that among the Tenochcas there was present a marked differentiation with respect to labor: there were people who undertook manual labor and people dedicated to directive activities. These latter, also appear in our data strongly related to the calpulli.

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The difference in the social division of labor which we have seen in the last paragraph had possibly as its principal manifestation the position with respect to the paying of tribute: some were tributaries and some received tribute. It is told us in this regard that "the poor macehuales worked all day for their tribute and in order to give food to them (to the lords) to eat; because in a village of a thousand people there are a chief /cacique/ and a hundred lords / principales/ among whom the village is divided into wards... and these eat and drink and loaf at the expense of the poor workers (or macehuales, as we have seen) who support it all; and this is a very old custom in all the provinces of the land" (8), (that is, also in Tenochtitlan and not through

8. López Gerónimo, 11, p. 151. Although the assertion of a confirmed pro-slavist, it is useful and synthesizes many isolated facts.

Spanish influence). From our data we conclude first, that the lords were approximately 10 percent of the population and moreover, that there was a division between people receiving tribute—those undertaking directive work—and people tributary—those who undertook manual work—, and there comes to light again the relationship between this social stratification and the division of land, only that now with respect to the paying of tribute, the lords receiving tribute were those in charge of the town wards. Everything is confirmed in other sources: we are told that the macehuales "worked a plot of land for their lord or head (of the calpulli) for his sustenance and gave him service according to the people there were in the village" (9). Another

9. Zurita, p. 142.

author tells us that the elders used to say "that the common people

565 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their
463 houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the
651 lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and
511 of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuales had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common
[651] people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed " (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Martín de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[525] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in less

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categorical assertions such as that of the Codex Alcobiz (Laws which the Indians had) [Leyes que tenian los Indios].

codices show between the clothes and gear of the macehuales those of and the lords and rulers in illustrations of Sahagun, Mendoza, etc. All of these are facts which oblige us to think that there were great differences of richness and well-being within the population of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and that these differences existed between the macehuales and pillis.

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Another aspect which showed the differences between segments of the population was sexual life: "it is said that commoners have only one wife; but the lords can have concubines at their wish" (15), and

15. Mendieta, Eclesiastical History [Historia Eclestiástica], p. 297.

when they married "the noble women brought with them other maid-servants (and with all these women the men had)... much profit for they made them weave and make blankets, and perform other services of this sort" (16).

16. Motolinía, History [Historia], p. 164.

These data show us not only the well-being of the polygamous lords implicit in having a multitude of wives, but also the economic well-being derived from this polygyny, which was beyond the reach of the macehuales.

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However, it seems that this stratification also included groups of people dedicated to occupations other than agriculture since we are told that the merchants also had lords who went about with the heads of the calpullis (17), which makes us think that not all the merchants

17. Zurita, p. 143.

were /p. 26/ lords, and that therefore there obtained among them also the stratification of which we have been speaking. Complementing and clarifying the situation, we know that the merchants and the artisans, although they cultivated their land, did not give tribute by working the fields but in work of their particular occupation

565 (18) such as masons, carpenters, feather-workers and metal-workers
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18. Zurita, p. 142.

(19). Although it is not made clear to us whether this tribute of

19. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

"merchants and artisans" was in relation to the rulers of the whole Tenochca group or only to the lords of the corresponding calpulli, it is very possible that in this tributation there occurred the same thing which happened to the workers which we have seen: they paid both. All this makes us think that the stratification which existed among the Tenochcas was not in layers of workers, artisans, merchants, and chiefs, but rather between the chiefs and the governed, be they laborers, artisans, or merchants. This conception is reinforced by our being told that the pochteca tlatoque (a term translated as the lords of the pochteca, that is, merchants) did not go on the trips of the merchants, but that they entrusted their "merchandise" to them that they sell it for them and later they divided the profit (20); which is

20. Sahagún, I., p. 351.

to say that within the group, differences of occupation were present which resulted in a stratification between people who worked as merchants and people who, because of another class of work (directive, as chiefs, as "lords") received part of the benefits obtained through "marketing." It is told of the artisans of Texcoco that the nobles also learned crafts, but only as a distraction (21). Assuredly a similar

21. Pomar, p. 38.

situation existed in Tenochtitlan and almost certainly corresponded to the division between pillis and macehuales, in groups of artisans.

565 It is advisable to make further clarifications with respect to the
428 division between tributary macehuales and tribute-exacting pillis. One source tells us that although the lords had many women, they considered only one of them the most important and the children she bore [were considered] as inheritors of their position (22). Although the

Chapter 5

SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR

463 There is another aspect of the social organization of the Tenochcas which has seemed to indicate that it was not based on kinship through common descent but rather on economic production: the social division of labor by specialized groups similar to guilds. Analyzing the data from the sources for the history of Mexico, it is found that, in this aspect as well as the preceding, the calpulli was a fundamental element.

Whether during a given period the laborers constituted the totality of the population of Tenochtitlan is something which we still do not know. What we do know is that by the time of the arrival of the Spanish a very complex situation was present. Through a reference made during the colonial period we know that all the inhabitants, although they might have another occupation, had their lands for cultivation (1) although they might farm very little (2). This surely

1. Torquemada, II, p. 430.

2. Description of the Archbishopric [Descripción del Arzobispado], p. 278.

was even more general before the arrival of the Spanish, that is, that cultivation was an activity common to the entire population, perhaps excepting the lords; still, it was not the only activity for all people, some having other occupations. Everybody could, "work a stone, twist a rope and procure the materials to make it, and [do] the other tasks which do not require much skill" (3). Complement-

3. Zurita, p. 189.

ing this, there was a differentiation in the activities of the people to produce those things "which were to be sold" (4) and a true labor

4. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 236.

force market which was offered like any other merchandise (5).

5. Zurita, p. 83.

463 That is, there was a social division of labor present which we could call artisan. We know of the existence of merchants—people who specialized in the interchange of objects not produced directly by themselves. From this we can infer that there was a division of labor between laborers, artisans, and merchants in addition to that which we have already seen among /p. 48/ manual laborers and directors. Some authors have thought that these merchants constituted a social class (6) or the beginnings of a social class (7) or a

6. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 33; Toscano, S., 1946, p. 782.

7. Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.

caste (8) or that the artisans constituted guilds (9) derived from clans

8. Thompson, J.E., 1933, p. 126.

9. Cunow, H., 1926, p. 275-278; Kohler, 1924, p. 29.

which became units of the social division of labor (10). Let us elucidate this.

10. Krickeberg, W., 1939, p. 287.

On one hand the merchants were counted in their calpullis (11),

11. Sahagún, I, p. 44.

that is, they belonged to calpullis. On the other hand, in speaking of the merchants and of the artisans, we are told that there was every class of person in the calpullis (12) and that the merchants and arti-

12. Zurita, p. 143.

sans were "of these wards and calpullis" (13), assertions from which

13. Zurita, p. 105.

463 we can infer that the merchants as well as the artisans and laborers were in the calpullis.

Furthermore, on the one hand, in general the parents educated their children to exercise the same occupations [as they, the parents] (14), and on the other is made a statement of much importance:

14. Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino], folio 70; Zurita, p. 110, III; Román y Zamora, II, p. 127, etc.

that upon the birth of children of the common people they placed in their hands miniatures of the instruments of their calling (see p. 28). One gathers from this that from birth it was known what a child's occupation would be when he reached adulthood; and that this occupation usually was that of his father, that is, that there was inheritance of the productive occupation. This surely also happened with the merchants, since we are told that they could only be merchants with the permission of the rulers or because they came to it through inheritance (15). We thus have, beyond doubt,

15. Zurita, p. 142.

inheritance of occupation in the social division of labor.

463 It appears that in Tenochtitlan this division of labor occurred by
x618 wards, as in Tezcoco (where those in one ward had the same occu-
795 pation, all those of the ward must have it and there must be no mix-
ture of others with them (16)), since in all the provinces of Mexico

16. Torquemada, I, p. 146.

the specialization in things to sell was by "wards" (17). Moreover

17. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 236.

—and this is the fundamental proof—one can establish a correlation between names /p. 49/ of "wards" and occupations (see p. 50), drawing together scattered data or Torquemada's and Sahagún's which refer to this division of labor and to the specialization by

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groups in the worship of the deities. Three affirmations reinforce this correlation: one concerning the magical consecration of the people to an activity which was made before some idol (see p. 28), probably the ward idol; another was that the festivals of some months were "like" guild festivals (18), that is, of isolated groups, probably

18. Jonghe, p. 292.

of wards; and finally, that in the festivals for the idols were involved the members of a single "ward" and not those of others (19).

19. Magliabecchi, Commentaries on the Section [Comentarios a la Sección] 92.

The result of this correlation between activities, "wards" and deities is presented here in a table, and explains completely for us the character of the social division of labor in Tenochtitlan: it was by "wards" which separated tribal chiefs, pulque-makers, merchants, etc. It is a division which could be called a class one only with difficulty, since it makes no sense, for example, to speak of the class of pulque-makers since, if that were the case, they would be on an equal "class" footing with the merchants. It would appear rather to correspond to a guild division, since the class of a guild is the organization of people who do the same work (20) and that

20. Boak, A.R., and Pirenne, H., 1944.

within them obtains the separation between manual workers and directors which was present also among the Tenochcas, as we have already seen (see p. 23). However it would be very strange to speak of a guild of rulers, as we would have to do if we accepted that the division of labor by "wards," which the Tenochcas envinced, was by guilds; and it is to falsify the situation since the lords do not possess the characteristics of manual labor which are basic in a guild organization. I believe I can prove, furthermore, that these "wards" — which probably were calpullis since in general their names do not coincide with those of the tlaxilicallis—were clans, and that therefore the division of labor, like the ownership of the land, the territorial distribution of the population, and the social stratification, were the result of an organization of the Tenochcan population by

463 clans. And thus indeed it is not anachronistic to speak of clans of
X618 rulers, nor of clans of pulque-makers.
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/p. 50/ TABLE OF CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CALPULLI-WARDS, CALPULLI-TEMPLES, OCCUPATIONS AND DEITIES IN TENOCHTITLAN (1)

1. The names are for the most part of calpulli "wards." Nevertheless at times names of temples were taken which certainly corresponded to "wards." They appear in this case not to correspond to tlaxilacallis, except for Tzapotlan.

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Calpulli or ward	Occupation	Deities
1. Yopico 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12.	Silversmiths, 3, 4, Gold-workers 5, Xochimanques, 6, Water carriers 7, lords and kings 8, Calmecac 9, 11, 12.	Totec 2, 3, Xipe 2, 3, 4, 5, Coatlicue 6, Coatlatona 6, Chalchitlicue 7, 8, 9, Tlaloc 10, Tquiztlimayahuel 11.
2. Huitznahuac 12, 15.	lords 13, fishermen 14, Calmecac 12, 15.	Huitzilopochtli 13, 16, Opochtli 14, Huitznahuac 15, Centzonhuitznahuac 17, Tezcatlipoca 18.
3. Itepeyoc 19.	lords 19.	Huitzilopochtli 19.
4. Amantla 20, 21, 22, 23.	Tultecayotl 22, seam-stresses 23, 25, dyers (female) 23, feather workers (female) 23, painters, 24.	Tizahua, Maculilocelotl, Maculil-tochtli, Xihui, Tlati, Xilo, Tepoztecatl 20, Coyotlinahual 21, Chicomexuchitl 24, Xochiquetzal 25.
5. Pochtlan 20, 26.	merchants 20, 26.	The markets in Amantla with 20, and Yiacatecuhtli 26.
6. Auachtlan 27.	merchants 27.	

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Calpulli or ward	Occupation	Deities
7. Atlauhco 28.	merchants 28.	
8. Acxotlan 29, 30.	merchants 29, 30, 31.	Nahui Ehecatl 30, Chiconquiahuitl, Xomocuil, Cochimetl, Yacapitzahuac, Nacxitl, Chalmecacihuatl 31.
9. Tlamatzinco 12, 32.	pulque-makers 32, 33, tavery keepers 34, Calmecac 12, 35.	Tlamatzincatl 12, 32, Izquitecatl 33, Coatlicue 35.
10. Atempan 36.	Medicasters and diviners 37.	Toci 36, Mother of the gods 37.
11. Tzonmolco 37, 39, 12.	Makers of the lord's more important vestments 38, calmecac 12, 39.	Xiuhtecuhtli 37, 38, 40, Huehueteotl 38, Ixcozauhqui 39.
12. Tzapotlan 40.	Sellers of Uxitl 40.	Tzapotlatena 40.
13.	Makers of petates 41.	Nappatecuhtli 41.
14.	Precious stone workers 42.	Chicnahuitzcuintli, Nahualpilli, cinteotli Cihuacoatl 42.

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2. Sahagún I, p. 121, 240.

3. Torquemada, II, p. 58.

4. Torquemada, II, p. 252.

5. Sahagún, II, p. 385.

6. Torquemada, II, p. 254.

7. Sahagún I, p. 40, 116.

8. Sahagún, I, p. 22.

9. Sahagún, I, p. 84.

10. Sahagún, I, p. 84, 87.

11. Torquemada, II, p. 153.

12. Sahagún, I, p. 220. They are included also with Calmecac to Tlillancalco (Cihuacoatl), Tetlanman (Chantico) and Mexico (Tlaloc).

13. Torquemada, I, p. 193.

14. Sahagún, I, p. 39; Torquemada, II, p. 61.

15. Sahagún, I, p. 220.

16. Sahagún, I, p. 137.

17. Sahagún, I, p. 221.

18. Torquemada, II, p. 150.

19. Sahagún, I, p. 215.

20. Sahagún, I, p. 142, 215.

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21. Sahagún, II, p. 389.

22. Sahagún, II, p. 392, 389.

23. Sahagún, II, p. 392.

24. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

25. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

26. Torquemada, II, p. 272; Sahagun, I, p. 225.

27. Sahagún, II, p. 350.

28. Sahagún, II, p. 350.

29. Sahagún, III, p. 49.

30. Sahagún, I, p. 326.

31. Sahagún, I, p. 42.

32. Sahagún, I, p. 190.

33. Sahagún, I, p. 190.

34. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

35. Torquemada, II, p. 151; Sahagún, I, p. 104.

36. Sahagún, I, p. 179. Sahagún in I, p. 238 says that the cuecuextecan young men go to the ward of Atlampa during this festival.

37. Torquemada, I, p. 234.

38. Sahagún, I, p. 29.

39. Sahagún, I, p. 239.

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40. Sahagun, I, p. 20.

41. Sahagún, I, p. 46; II, p. 59.

42. Torquemada, II, p. 60; Sahagún, II, p. 387, 88.

/p. 53/ THE CALPULLI AS A CLAN

Chapter 6

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/p. 55/ PROOFS THAT THE CALPULLI WAS A CLAN

The territorial organization of Tenochtitlan, the ownership of land, the division of labor and the social stratification, and other aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which were not treated in the first part of this study, such as education (1) and religion

1. See Education among the Aztecs /La Educación entre los Aztecas/, Monzón, 1946.

(2), in which the influence of the calpulli is of great importance, and

2. In the chapter referring to the division of labor I touch lightly upon these relationships between calpullis and religion (p. 49) which suggest problems which should be studied more fully.

which have themselves a determining role, present us with the fundamental problem of the social organization of the Tenochcas: Were the calpullis clans, or simply wards, or guilds, or another type of social organism? Outwardly they have elements of all the foregoing. What was their internal organization? The answer to these questions will give us for sure a correct idea as to the bases of the social organization of the Tenochcas and of its evolutionary stage. Therefore we are going to attempt to answer them. The calpulli (Nahuatl 'large house') is an organism which has been presented as a clan by some authors, or as the remains of a clan by others (see the Introduction), and certainly the calpulli was the Tenochca clan, if the Tenochcas had clans. This granted, in order to know whether the calpulli had

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in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).
[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

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Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

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[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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463 judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

[837] 463 581 In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

463 Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews,* and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he 463 wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers 351 and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

* [i.e., buffoons.—Munyst]

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were of them, and the arrangement of them and the walks, and the ponds and tanks of fresh water where the water entered at one end and flowed out at the other; and the baths which he had there, and the variety of small birds that nested in the branches, and the medicinal and useful herbs that were in the gardens. It was a wonder to see, and to take care of it there were many gardeners. Everything was made in masonry and well cemented, baths and walks and closets, and apartments like summer houses where they danced and sang. There was as much to be seen in these gardens as there was everywhere else, and we could not tire of witnessing his great power. Thus as a consequence of so many crafts being practised among them, a large number of skilled Indians were employed.

As I am almost tired of writing about this subject and my interested readers will be even more so, I will stop talking about it and tell how our Cortés in company with many of our captains and soldiers went to see Tlaltelolco,[1] which is the great market place of Mexico, and how we ascended the great Cue where stand the Idols Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos. This was the first time that our Captain went out to see the City, and I will relate what else happened.

CHAPTER XCII.

How our Captain went out to see the City of Mexico and Tlaltelolco, which is the great market place and the great Cue of Huichilobos, and what else happened.

As we had already been four days in Mexico and neither the Captain nor any of us had left our lodgings except to go to the houses and gardens, Cortés said to us that it would be well to go to the great Plaza and see the great

[1] Tutelulco in the text.

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181 like customs and propensities. *War*, at first *defensive*, afterwards *offensive*, became the *life of the tribe*. Religion demanded it for its bloody rites; revenge, so deeply rooted in Indian nature, called for it at every moment. But especially was it required for the *subsistence* of the tribe, whose increasing numbers could not live from agriculture on the scanty soil allotted to them, and who, therefore, were compelled to depend upon the spoils gathered from inroads upon their neighbours. *If there was no war in progress, the Mexicans deemed themselves "idle."*[7] We may therefore presume that the military organization of the Mexicans, their preparations for warfare, and the mode of the latter, are features of
701 importance, and worthy of serious attention.

[852] Every male of the Mexican tribe was born a warrior. When still a babe his father placed alongside of the child a small bow[8] and some arrows, in token of its future duties. There was no military caste at Tenuchtitlan or Mexico; with the exception of children, old people, infirm or crippled persons, and sometimes priests, every one had to go to war. Boys fifteen years old were taken along, and in some instances it was even directed "that no "youth over fifteen years of age should remain; that all had to "go, except children and old people."[9] Thus there was no "standing army" the available force being composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe of Mexico.[10]

[7] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 32). "Pasados algunos años dijo el rey Moctezuma á "Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin general y oydor: pareceme que ha muchos dias que estamos "muy *ociosos*." This term, "idle," applies to the lack of any war, since immediately thereafter the war against Chalco was kindled by the most wanton provocation on the part of the Mexicans.

[8] Fr. X. Clavigero (Storia del Messico. Cesena, 1780. Lib. VI, cap. XXXVI). Francisco Lopez de Gomara ("Historia general de las Indias." Second part, "Conquista "de Méjico." contained in the collection of Vedia, volume I,—"This done, they put in "the right hand of the child, an arrow if a boy, a shuttle if a girl, to mark that he would "have to improve by the use of arms, and she by spinning and weaving," p. 438, Vedia, I). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 430, of Vol. II, says this was done four days after the birth of the child). Clavigero intimates that only those children "whose fathers were warriors," received the token, but this is not at all confirmed. Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España" in "Coleccion de Documentos para la "Historia de Mexico," by Señor Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1866, volume I. "Y entonces si "era varon ponianle una saeta en la mano, . . . el varon porque fuese valiente para "defender à si y á la patria, porque las guerras eran muy ordinarias cada año." Tratado I, cap. V, p. 37). There were no hereditary professions or trades, so to say.

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[9] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 141, and cap. XC, p. 158). Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. XXVI, pp. 442 and 443).

[10] What the Germans call "*Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*," existed among the Mexicans on the most extensive scale. But their forces, although always ready, never went *permanently* outside of the pueblo, for they were not numerous enough, and did not gather

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that it could not accumulate so as to exert any influence in the 565
hands and in behalf of any individual or of his immediate relatives.

Consequently, aboriginal Mexico could have neither nobility nor patriciate, and when such a privileged class does not exist, it is useless to seek for another to which the term "unprivileged" or "common" can be applied.

In a future essay we shall attempt to prove that the Mexicans 000
had no hereditary caste of "medicine men" or priests. We have elsewhere shown that there was no caste of warriors.[66] The mode of Tenure and distribution of the soil precludes all possibility of the existence of a permanent class of "tillers." It yet remains to cast a glance at the so-called artisans, and at the traders or "merchants."

Neither of these two professions were held to personal improve- 463
ment of their garden lots ("tlalmilli") but, like officers, they could have them improved by others under their names and for their benefit.[67] The statement of Zurita "that a quarter was composed of all kinds of people"[68] disposes of the opinion, that such quarters contained each but members *practising a single trade*. Thus there was no geographical agglomeration by professions.[69] Again, no rule existed enforcing or establishing hereditament in kind of work, or manner of sustenance. The son might embrace, at his choice, his father's occupation, but *nothing*

[66] Compare the burial rites of the Mexicans as reported by the majority of old sources.

[67] "*Art of War*" (p. 98, notes 8, 9, 40). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 48), "Ils étaient tenus seulement au service militaire, pour lequel aucune excuse n'était admise."

[67] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426, note 98). Consult the authorities therein quoted.

[68] "*Rapport*" (p. 224).

[69] It is mostly on the authority of *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, vol. II), that the settlement by professional clusters is admitted. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 262 and 263, "*Duodécima Relacion*," p. 388, Kingsborough, Vol. IX) also says that, at Tezcuco, each profession had its own quarter in the pueblo. But an attentive reading of the first author named (Cap. XVIII, p. 392), where he treats of the featherworkers "De los oficiales que labran pluma, que hacen plumajes, y otras cosas de la misma," satisfies us at once of the fact, that the venerable author only refers to worship of certain idols in a certain quarter, and not to compulsory residence therein, of certain kinds of working men. Nowhere does he say that the "Amantecas" were *all* featherworkers. He mentions a barrio "Amatlan" or "Amantla." Might it be the "Amanalco" of Vetancurt? Compare also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXX, pp. 59 and 60), *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 67 and 68). "*El conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Doc. Vol. I). "Le piazze de i mercati," (pp. 392 and 393), although concerning the markets exclusively. *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 138, cap. 138), "i estos andaban por los Barrios, porque en ellos havia de todo género de gentes." Copied after Zurita *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. IV), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. LI, p. 561).

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463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlatl") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlatl") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient [554] disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Les chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 438). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostrarles otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos Maria de Bustamante. Tezcoco en los vltimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes*," 1826. Parte tercera, (Cap. III, p. 212). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, [564] cap. V, p. 462). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49), "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlatl" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 243), "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estas artes todos tuviéron principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, [685] p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 487). *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes de los Mexicanos").

287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works—those made of feathers—is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 489, and, with slight variations, also by *Vetancurt*, Vol. I, p. 389.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See in general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 187 and 188), also *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

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life:[73] hence little was left to him beyond his legitimate wants. 463
We see thus, that hardly any chance was given for the formation of a class which, resting upon the kind of occupation, might assume the position of "caste" in the organization of aboriginal Mexican society.

It is repeatedly asserted, and on high authority, that the mer- 441
chants or traders of Mexico enjoyed particular privileges. We must premise here that merchants, in the sense of venders of other people's manufactures or products (thus living off of the difference between cost and proceeds) were known only in one way.[74] The name for merchant was "man who exchanges one

[73] That the artisans or mechanics contributed a portion of their wares in the shape of tribute, is amply proven. See for instance, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 530. Easily misunderstood!) This passage of Oviedo explains the action of "wrathy chief" towards the "jewellers" and "goldsmiths" at the arrival of Cortés, as related by Tezozomoc, Durán, and by Sahagun. See also: *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 223). *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*, etc.," Parte III, cap. V, p. 232). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 480). *Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. VI, pp. 231 and 232). [651]

[74] The existence of currency, or of money, in the shape of grains of cacao, T shapen 436
pieces of tin or copper, and quills filled with gold dust is generally admitted. See 437
for instance, *Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book IV, cap. II, p. 140). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, pp. 381, 382, and 383). Cacao played, among the ancient Mexicans, the same role as "wampum" did among the northern Indians, for purposes of exchange, but did not go beyond it. In regard to the so-called copper or tin coins, or rather marks or checks, it is well to examine the matter more closely. *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*" in Vedia I, p. 111), says very positively that at Tachco, he obtained sundry small pieces of tin like very thin money ("á manera de moneda muy delgada"), which he indeed found to have been used as currency by the natives. ("halló que en dicha provincia, aun en otras, se trataba por moneda"). *Bernal Diez* (Cap, XCII, p. 89, Vedia II) mentions axes of "brass, copper, and tin" ("hachas de laton y cobre y estaño"), bartered at the market place of Tlatelulco, "and before we left this square ("plaza") we met with other traders, who from what they said, sold gold in grains as they obtained it from the mines, and enclosed in quills of the geese of the land, and so thin ("asi blancos" so white) that the gold might be seen, and by the length and size of the quills they determined how many mantles or "jiquipiles" (bags of 8000 grains) of cacao they were worth, or slaves, or any other things for which they bartered it," ("ó otra qualquier cosa á que lo trocaban"). *Gomara* ("Conquista, etc.," pp. 348 and 349). "But the chief one is cacahuatl, which serves as coin. . . ." "Their buying and selling consists in exchanging one thing for another. . . ." (Id., p. 451). "No tenian moneda, teniendo mucha plata, oro y cobre, y sabiéndolo hundir y labrar, y contratando mucho en ferias y mercados. Su moneda usual y corriente es cacauatl ó cacao." *Oviedo* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, pp. 316, 317. Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 530) mentions only cacao as currency. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIV, p. 260). "It was customary at these marts ('en estos mercados') to exchange ('trocar') one thing for another, and even nowadays this is sometimes practised; but everywhere cacao is most commonly used. In other parts they used, besides, some small mantles which they call Patolquachtli. . . . . Elsewhere they used plentifully some copper coins, almost like unto ("de hechura") a Tau T, two or three fingers wide and made of thin plates ("planchuela") some thicker, other less thick. Where there was much gold ("donde avia mucho Oro"), small quills filled with it, circulated among the Indians," ("traian unos Canutillos de ello, y andaba entre los Indios mucho de esto"). *Alonzo Zuazo* ("*Carta*

The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al doseno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que quijere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado. 796x [805 776]

Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio templi Michael.*

which they then used.

Cap. 12
Teutl eco

1 A KL. Teutl eco A 10
2 b A los qujnze dias deste mes: los b 11
3 c moços y muchachos, enrramauan c 12
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de los d 13
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de e 14
6 f las casas como por los camjnos y en- f 15 [465]
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que g 16
8 A hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan A 17
9 b vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros b 18
10 c dos o tres maçorcas. c 19
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios d 20
12 e (que siempre es mancebo que le e 21 [776]
13 f llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titla- f 22
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y g 23
15 A rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua pri- A 24 [273]
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comjda en su cu, b 25
17 c y aquella noche comjan y beujan y c 26
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los d 27
19 e viejos, y viejos que beujan vino, por la e 28
20 f llegada del dios: y dezian que lo f 29'
lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada. [252]

En vinjendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los [534]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 241 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [433] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]
[316 263 233] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45r of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[128] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en polùo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpizque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted x - Analyst]

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child),[99] and those who cultivated them carried the appellation of 423
"tlalmaitl"—hands of the soil.[100]

The "tlalmilpa," whether held by chiefs or by ordinary members 423
of the kin ("macehuales") were, therefore, the only tracts of land possessed for use by individuals in ancient Mexico. They were so far distinguished from the "tecpantlalli" and "tlatocatlalli" in their mode of tenure as, whereas the latter two were dependent

[99] It is just the "pillali" which oppose the greatest difficulties to this investigation, and to a clear conception of the mode of tenure of lands in ancient Mexico. They are generally represented (whenever mentioned), as private domains of the chiefs. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, pp. 545 and 546), distinguishes two kinds of "pillali." The first one he says might be sold.—but he places the restriction upon them, that such as held lands through conquest ("sujecion") or through gift ("merced") of the chief, had to go to the descendants, as majorat; and if they died without heirs, the King, or Lord [428] became such, and they were incorporated into his royal Estates." The other kind was not transmissible at all. Clavigero (Lib. XVII, cap. XIV). We notice here a confusion between official tracts and such lots of the "calpulli" as pertained to the chief's family in consequence of their membership of the Kin. Also between "tribute-lots" and the official tracts, of conquered tribes. Torquemada acknowledges, that the "pillali," upon the death of the family, were incorporated in the calpulli to which that family belonged, "in order that they might pay tribute." This ought to define their true position and nature.

[100] From "tlalli" soil, and "maitl" hand. Hands of the soil. Molina (Parte IIa, p. 427
124), has: "tlalmaitl"—"labrador, ò gañan." This name is given in distinction of the "macehuales" or people working the soil in general. The tlalmaites are identical with the "mayeques." See Zurita (p. 224), "tlalmaites or mayeques, which signifies tillers of the soil of others . . . ." He distinguishes them plainly from the "teccallec" [566] which are the "tecpanpouhque" or "tecpantlaca" formerly mentioned as attending to a class of official lands (p. 221, Zurita). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These mayeques could not go from one tract to another, neither leave those which they cultivated, and they paid a rent to its masters according as they agreed upon ("en lo que se concertaban") in what they raised. They paid tribute to nobody else but the master of the land." This tends to show that there existed, not an established obligation, a serfdom, but a voluntary contract, that the "tlalmaites" were not serfs, but simply renters. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). ". . . . those that were knights ("caballeros") and descendants of the families of the Kings, and Lords, had their particular lands and their rentals, where many of them held renters ("terrazgueros") which served them, tilled the crops and served them in their houses. These lands were called pillali or "land of nobles and knights." We prefer the etymology "piltontli" "niño ò niña, muchacho ó muchacha" (Molina, II, p. 82), or "piltzintli" niño ó niña" therefore lands of the children,—to the derivation from "pilli." The title of chief was "tecuhtli," and the word "pilli" substituted for it is certainly but in connection with the occupation of a particular place of office, and not a title itself. Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 330. "The sovereigns as well as the inferior Lords and other principals had their own patrimonial estates, and in them their mayeques or Tlalmayes, what these gave of rent were tributes of the Lord," Id. pp. 233 and 234).

The "tlalmaites" appear to have been free from other tributes, and free from com- [446]
munal labor outside of the "pillali" (Bustamante, p. 233. Herrera, Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). It is not very clear, however, whether this applies simply to the conquering tribe alone, or also to the tlalmaites of conquered tribes, as towards the tribute due by that tribe to their conquerors. The detailed relations between the two are yet somewhat obscure and confuse in some points.

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796 goods).* Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among
[565] those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food
[595] well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iecxan, qujnquetza: mòch tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech qujntlalilia: ipã mjtotiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahtlamj yn jncuje, ynje momiquizquequeloa.

Auh intla aca eittec, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in iolimatquj, yn jte, yn iello: qujqujxtiaja in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cieatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel schioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no qujxtilcia, qujnmotlaccioaatiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, ixquatzo, ixquatzone, quetzallalpile, teucujtlaxacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, ciooale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlaçcaia ymac cnoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
●467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[773] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and bathetth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjxcoian, iocatjan, in calpolloc, qujmotecutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech moposia:

iuh qujtoaia, ca irhoatl achto qujnmachti, qujmittiti, in petlachioalittli, yn icpalchioalittli:

irhoatl axcaoa cococaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlaxxtile, tlatzintile, tlapeoaltile.

Joan iuh qujtoaia ca irhoatl qujnealhia, qujqujxtia, in toli in tolpitzauac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, xatapili, in tolqujiutl, in tolcaputl, yn jztoli, xomali:

yoan yn jquac ilhujuhquçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan qujtzetzeloa, tepan quipiztia, yn aoachili, cenca tlaihtlanjliloia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan qujxtoaia, tlacotli, in qujmictiaia cexiuhtica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "*esta cubierto con vna manta azul, y sobre el azul, vna red angosta de manera que azul, se parezca, por las mallas de la red.*"

111. The xicalcoliuhqui also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

112. *Calpolli*—clan or gens, which contained, probably, all heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Soler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 45, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve sumario relativo*, Vol. II, pp. 73-227). In various of his writings Soler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "*hazen cestiços de juncias: que llaman xalcatetli.*"

114. *Cf.* Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

[618]

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpuleque*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, then clothed, then departed, [with the *calpuleque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up mats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] budight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hairdress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

qujchichiuaia, yniac mantinenca, xoxouhqui xicalli: vncan ietinemj atl, vexotica ic teatzelhvia.

Auh yn jquac amo ilhujuh, yn çan nenmajan: oc no ce qujxiptlaiotiaia, qujchichiuaia:

yn jquac tla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtoia, qujxepieltia: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, teatzelhujtiuh, teaxochvitiuh, iuhquin ic qujtlanjliaia, ynjc qujmicneliz.

Youan iuhquin yvic mocujtlaxculiztlaoaia: yn açaca ic vnca itlaquj, yaxca:

qujtoia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo, macamo njcnixcauj, yn nocneliloca: ma onqualo, ma onjoa, ma onpepeliuj, ma ic opanjtoti in teteouh napa tecutli: ma çaquen njnonemjtia, yn ac iuhquj njcochiz, ac iuhquj njnoaz, iube qujmati, yn açoc itla, nechmomaquj;liz, qujmomacaviliz:

ic quixquentiaia ce quachtli, yn itiptla muchiuaia, ic oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchidacatl, tlatlaquaia yn joaniolque.

Auh yn jcalpolco in vmpa pialoia yxiptla, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlâcetiaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlateteca, icpaleteca, tlatzetzeloa, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tletlalia, muchipa copaltema, tlatzacaliuhtoc tlatzacaliuhtimanj, atle vetztoc, çe tlaçolli.

Auh yuja yn muchichiuaia, motilloçac, mixtilpopoca, mixtilhuj, mjchchiaujtinac, amacale, yiamacuxpal, amamaztle, tzitzile, itaccaque, atlacuçonanchimale, axtapiltepile.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlaloca.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloca.

These thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And may who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or may who were threatened with drowning when the wind came over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images; that they would make representations of

Juic cempoalli vce capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa yn itocca tepictoton: yn jnnan pouja tlaloque.

No ynnan pouj, itoch tlamjlnia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepicto, çan qujmotepiqujia, qujmixiptlaiotiaia, in tetepe, in çaço cattle teperl.

Auh yn aquin cuaclujia, cacapanaia, quaquahtia, cocotzouja: ononçe yn aquin atlan miquinequj, ehecatl ipan moquetza atla: vncan monenotiaia ynjc tepiquiz, in qujxipiqui: quetzalcoatl, in chalchiuitl yxoc, in tlaloc:

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115. The corresponding Spanish text repeats "*vn ramo de salce*" (*ramo*).
116. According to Durán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223), the *calpuleque* were "*señores ó guardas de barrios*."

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950
NU7 Aztec NU7

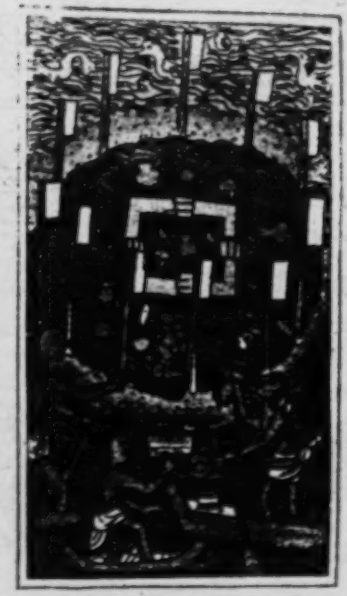

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 9), Chalchiuhtli yyac (Chap. 11), Chicome xochi (Chap. 7). 30—Tzapotlatenco-Cocoxqui (Chap. 12). 31—Xiqipilli tzoalli (Chap. 29). 32—Tepictoton (Chap. 32). 33—Teotitlan (Tepictoton) (Chap. 32). 34—Appendix, Chap. 18. 35—Appendix, Chap. 18.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMY

The Domestic and Tribal Economy of the Aztec People

THE AZTEC SOCIAL SYSTEM provided a means by which 181
people could exist harmoniously together in considerable numbers. The domestic and tribal economy of the Aztecs offered the food, shelter, tools and clothing to which man largely owes his dominant position on earth. The measure of a human society may be gauged by the relationship between the organization of the people themselves and their use of materials to build houses and equip them. The Aztecs' economy had the same basic simplicity as had their social organization; likewise it had the same flexibility in expanding to meet the needs of a growing population.[1]

Agriculture was the basis of Aztec life, and corn, *zea mays*, 241
was the chief food plant. The cultivation of plants ensured 471
a food supply near at hand, which was not subject to the fluctuations of game and thereby enabled man to take thought for the morrow. The clan system, as we have seen, recognized that the fruits of the land supported the tribe. Therefore, it was only natural that the tribe should own and control the land which supported its members.[2] (See Plate 38.)

The tribal council divided the land among the clans, and 471
421

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

471 421 the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave [428] labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

174 The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable mi- [167] grations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[8]

241 311 The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.*

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.* (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the 342
wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[24] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chico- 342
nauhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the 177
growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a [362]
Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spacious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[25] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular 361
form, since the division of the land among the clans usually [471]
followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

Then they climbed up the ropes. On one rope mayhap twenty climbed, like a cluster hanging upon it. Not all reached the point; only some reached the top. The one who led grasped the *xocotl* image, which was made only of a dough of amaranth seeds. He took all—its shield, arrow, dart, and dart-thrower.

And the amaranth seed dough [*tamales*] he scattered down so that they fell to the ground upon those [who watched]. All who stood below looked up. When the amaranth seed dough fell, all stretched forth their hands and shouted as if there were a fight. Some took its head ornaments of amaranth seed dough, which he also scattered upon them. They were carried off by those below.

And when this was done, then he who had captured the *xocotl* [image] came down. When he descended and reached the ground, then they seized him; the old men [of the temple] took him up to the place of sacrifice and offered him gifts. And all thereupon pulled upon the ropes, exerting themselves greatly, verily destroying the work. And the *xocotl* then fell to the ground, raising a cloud of dust, breaking into pieces. Into three or four sections it quickly broke apart.

Upon this, all then went; all was quiet and left clear. And then they accompanied the captor of the *xocotl* to his house, and arrayed him in a brown striped cloak edged with a feathered border.

And if one were a captor [of the *xocotl*], he might well thus array himself, wrapping about him [such a cloak]; none might therefore dispute him [the right]. But if one were not [such a] captor, he might only keep one in his care. And mayhap he might sell it when he was poor or sick.

And thus they accompanied him to his house; two old priests went carrying him, taking him by the arms. Behind came the priests, blowing horns for him as they went, sounding shell trumpets for him. And he bore upon his back his shield. And when they left him, then they returned [to the temple].

Thus in truth ended here, [thus] concluded, the feast day.

njman ie ic tlecua in mecatitech: in ce mecatl, açocen tecpantli in jtech tleco, iuhqujn tlapipilcac: amo mochintin in vmpanvetzi, çan quezqujntin in vmpanvetzi, in aqujn iacatiuh, vel ichoatl caci in xócotl ixiptla, çan tzoalli: muchi qujcujlia in jchimal, in jmjuh tlaoaçomalli, yoan yiatlauh. 796 [481]

Auh in tzoalli, vmpa qujoaltetepeoa, tepan qujoalcecẽmana, muchi tlacatl, onacopatlachia in tlatzintlan manj, in jquac oalhuetzi tzoalli muchi tlacatl maçoa, iuhqujn ipan nemjmjctilo, iuhqujn tlatlacaoaca: no cequjntin conaci, in jtzõcoiol in tzoalli, no tepã qujoalcecẽmana, namoielo in tlatzintlan.

Auh in ie iuhquj njmã: njman ie ic oaltemo, in xócomanj: in oaltemoc, in otlaltitechacico: njmã ie ic conana: in tlacacouhcan, vmpa qujtlecavia in vevetque, vmpa qujtlauhtia: auh in jxqujch, tlacatl, nimã ie ic qujtilinja in mecatl, vel netilinjlo, vel ontlamj in tlapalivíztli: auh in xocotl, njmã ic vetzi tlalpã, tlalipotoztivetzi, popoztectivetzi, açocencan, anoço nauhcan qujztivetzi. [431]

In ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic viviloa, cactivetzi, cactimomana: auh çatepã, conaoa in jchan in xocomanj, ic caapana camopalli in tilmatli, tenjvivavanquj. [292]

Auh intla tlamanj, vel qujmoquentiz, vel qujmolpilitinemjz, aiac ic qujtlatzovíliz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujmotlatiliz, çan ipiel ica: auh anoço qujmonamaqujliz, in jquac ic motolinja in jcocoian.

Auh injc cõcaoa ichan: caantivi, qujtzitzitzqujtivi yiacolpã; in quaquacujlti: vmentin, icãpa mantivi tlamacazque, qujtlapichilitivi: ichoatl in teccizti qujpichilitivi: yoã qujmamatiuh in jchimal. Auh in ocõcaoato, mec oalmocuepa: [534]

ic vel oncan oontzonquiça, õtlamj in jlhujtl.

777 x 796 605 only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemoń, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

[551]

x 796 And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

777 [412] [356]

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

[578] [513]

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

[481]

x 796 And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

754 761

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenqujzcaistl, nenqujçaliztli, ãoneoti-nemjliztli.

Auh in aqujn vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oqujchtli qujtocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenqujzquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoqujch. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaaviztztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemonia: auh in aqujn motepotlamjaia: qujlhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticçujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aqujn ipan y, cocoliztli qujcuja mococoaia: muchi tlacatl qujtoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo qujçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maqujça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oqujmonomavili, oqujmaioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oqujxcauhque injoaioloque, ca oiqujtecaque: aocmo iuhcan qujxmoaiã inon oquẽreltztin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio qujcujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatiz, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipoaallo in jzqujlhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 34) adds that people did not gather in the temples, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony acts.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellequjxtinia tlatoque. 643

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac quiça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtzoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in quitlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan quiça, aiac vel acopa quitta, aiac uel quixnepanoa, [481] 643 644

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaeheooa, quitlatlaquechilia, quiçaçanjlhuja, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech cloths, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, quitlanjtoa in jxquich tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, xoxoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, itoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquin ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan quicalaquja olli: njman ic quitlanj in jxquich tlaçotli tlatquitl, auh muchintin quitlanj, in jxquichtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maiecatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in quichaiaoa in nauhtetl etl, quicujloa ce petlatl, tiltica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapoaltenh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, quitlanjlia in ixquich tlaçotli, coztic teucujtlacozcatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, mixopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. Tlaçotli: the corresponding Spanish has slaves (esclavos). See also below, description of patolli.

727 And all who lived in boats and [in houses] on poles, and those at Tolmayecan,[6] went into the
481 water. On some, the water reached to the stomach; some, to the chest; and on some it reached to the neck. And some were all submerged, there in the deeps. Little children were carried on the backs [of their elders]; cries of weeping arose. Some went on happy and rejoicing as they traveled crowding on the road. And those who owned boats, all the boatmen, left by night, and even [continued to] leave all day. It was as if they pushed and crowded one another as they set out.

727 And everywhere the Spaniards were seizing and robbing the people. They sought gold; as nothing did they value the green stone, quetzal feathers, and turquoise. [The gold] was everywhere in the bosoms or in the skirts of the wretched women. And as for the men, it was everywhere in their breech clouts and in their mouths.

And [the Spaniards] seized and set apart the pretty women — those of light bodies, the fair[-skinned] ones.[7] And some women, when they were [to be] assaulted, covered their faces with mud and put on old, mended skirts and rags for their shifts. They put all rags on themselves.

And also some men were singled out — those who were strong, grown to manhood, and next the young boys, of whom they would make messengers, who would be their servants, and who were known as their runners. And on some they burned [brand marks] on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their lips.

And when the shield was laid down, when we gave way, it was the year count Three House and the day count was One Serpent.

728 And when Quauhtemoc went to deliver himself up, they then took him, after nightfall, to Acachinanco. And on the morrow, when already a little sun shone, once more the Spaniards, a good many of them, came forth likewise to put an end [to the fray] — girt for war, [in] iron corselets and iron helmets, but not with their iron swords nor their shields. They all only pressed white linen cloths against their noses as they passed by; [for] the dead sickened them; they already smelled foul and stank.

Auh in jxqujch acaltica onoca yoan in tlapechco catca, yoan in tolmaiccan çan atlan in iaque: in aca ixillan acitiuh in atl, in aca ielchiqujpan, in aca iquechtlan acitiuh: auh in aca vel polaquj, in vncan vecatlan: in pipiltzitzinti temamamalo, tlachoqujztleoa: cequjnti mopapaqujltitivi, maavieltitivi: in oconnepanoto vtli Auh in acaleque, in jxqujch acale ça ioaltica in qujz, yoã tel cemjlhujtl in qujzque iuhqujn moquequeztivi injc vi.

Auh in jxqujcan antica tetlatlaçaltiaia in Españoles in teucujtlatl qujtemoa amo tle ipan qujtta, in chalchivitl, in quetzalli yoan in xivitl: novian nemja in inxilla in incuetitlan, in cioatzitzinti. Auh in toqujchtin novian nemj in imaxtlatitlan, yoan in incamac

yoan qujmanaia, qujnpepenaia in Cioa in chipavaque, in Cuztic innacaio in cuztique. Auh in cequjntin cioa injc motetlaçaltiaia, mjçoqujvique, yoan tatapatli in qujmocuetiq̃ tzotzomatli in qujmovipiltique, çan moch tzotzomatli in intech qujtlalique.

Auh no cequjntin pepenaloque in toqujchtin iehoantin in chicaoaque in iniolloco oqujchtin yoã in qujn telpupuchtotonti in qujntitlanjzque, in intitlanvan iezque, in moteneoa intlamacazcaoan: cequjntin njñã qujncamatlatiq̃ cequjntin qujncamaicujloque: cequjntin qujntenjcujloque.

Auh in omomã chimalli: injc tixitinque, in xiuhtonalli ei calli. Auh in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce coatl:

Auh in jquac in õmotemacato in Quauhtemoctzin: njmã qujvicaque in acachinanco in ie ioa. Auh in jmuztlaioc in ie achiton tonatiuh, ie no ceppa vallaque in Españoles: vel mjequjntin, no çan iuh tlantivitze, in moiauchichiuhtivitze, tepuzvipilli, in tepuzquacalalatli: auh aoc tle in intepuzmaquauh, yoan aoc tle in inchimal, ça muchintin valmoiacapachotiaque iztac canaoac ica qujntlaieltiaia in mjmjcque in ie iyaia, in ie potonj:

6. Cano, op. cit., mentions Tolmayecac (Tolmayecan?) as probably the same as Ayecac.

7. Literally, of yellow bodies, the yellow ones.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

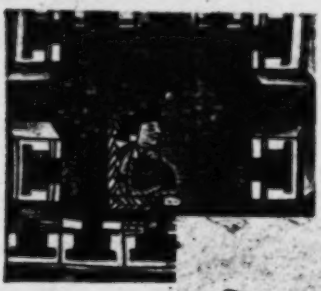

Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

Thief

[326]

[685]

Feather Worker

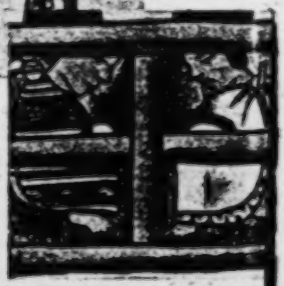

[286]

[701
441
714]

Warriors

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

[p. 112(B)]

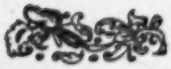

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes házian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnoẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes. 796 [805 778]

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnaoatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Marginal notation: October 20 [illegible]

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

1	g	EL		g	30
2	A		Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas	A	1'
3	b		culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles,	b	2
4	c		y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra:	c	3
5	d		haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo gru-	d	4
6	e		esos como la muñeca largos llamauan-	e	5
7	f		los Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las	f	6
8	g		culebras los investian cõ aquella masa	g	7
9	A		que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los in-	A	8
10	b		vestian a manera de montes, arriba les	b	9
11	c		ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de per-	c	10
12	d		sona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes,	d	11
13	e		en memoria de aquellos que se aujan	e	12
14	f		ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de	f	13
15	g		tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino	g	14
16	A		que los enterrauan.	A	15
17	b		Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas,	b	16
18	c		aujan puesto en sus altares a las yma-	c	17
19	d		genes dichas: ofrecianles tambien ta-	d	18
20	e		males y otras comjdas: y tambien los	e	19

dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vllj: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauijadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar. 796 [289 314 293 483 482]

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had [412] in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to [777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for [276] the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers. 585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car- [482 ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a 373] matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her [372] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuuiesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determjnauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honrradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos renglos delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esquina de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.**[1]

Jnic cenpoalli ommacuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa yn ilhujtl, yoan yn jntlamanaliz in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in motenecoaia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily at that place were formed very long reeds called *aztapilin* or *tolmimilli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.

And these they pulled up, cutting them at their white ends, at a place in the water called Temilco, or Tepexic Oztoc.

And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

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Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.

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And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and when they returned, the road [which they followed] was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.

X 796 688

And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them, they wrested from them all that they had: they snatched away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

Etzalqualiztli: ynin ilhujtl, yn aiamo onaxioa, in ipan muchioaia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inneçaoaliz achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in çitlaltepec: ichica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchioaia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, yoan cenca tziniztic: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, qujtezcopina, itocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

auh yn oconanque, njmã ie ic qujchichioa, qujcujcujtlalpia, qujqujmiloa, qujtotolqujmjloa:

njman ie ic qujmecapallotia, qujmemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlainquamamalo: njman ie ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloatz, aiac qujztlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch queoacamama.

Auh ynjc vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic oalmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac qujtoca, aocmo qujtoca in nenenque:

auh yntla acame oqujnnamjcque, njman vncan qujntlacujcujlia, qujntlanamoielia, qujntlacencujlia, qujntlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapatla, njman qujnmjctia, qujntetentimaiauj, qujmihicça qujntitilicça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic qujujujtequj, qujntlatlal-

1. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: "*hacían una manera de puchas, o polendas, que se llamaa etzalli*"; and in *ibid.*, p. 149: "*este etzalli era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210, defines *etzalli* as boiled corn and beans. Pino y Tornesano (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his interpretation of the *Codex Borbonicus*' account of this month, refers to "*las polendas de etzalli hechas de frijol, cuyas semillas negras tenían allí sobre la cuenca, y de maíz, cuyas granos blancos alternan con los otros negros.*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 112) has *Bohnenpressrosen* for Etzalqualizti. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89) regards Etzalqualizti as derived from *etl* (bean), *tzalan* (amongst us), and *qualizti* (eating). In "Relación breve," p. 298, Garibay has "*Comida de manojo de frijoles,*" and in his *Llave del náhuatl* vocabulary, "*[illegible] de puchas.*"

Tover (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 25) identifies the feasts of this month as those of the working people and lower class, now resting after agricultural work. Hence the offering of etzalli to them.

[22] 565

2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *aztapilpitlal* as "*pesaos jaspeados de pesarios blancos y verdes.*" *Tolmimilli*, in the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, is a kind of pencle. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 53, equates *aztapilin* with *estapilin*, and quotes Molina ("*pesos largos, gordos y redondos*"). Jourdanet and Simeón, in their translation (p. 104, n. 3) write that it is the equivalent of *estapilin*, "*de canal, tipo de madera verde, en palo, principal, grueso*"; of *tolmimilli*, they write: "*verde de tallos, jaspeado, en mallas, claroscuro*" (*loc. cit.*).

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter,** in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned [482] warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

[411] And upon the morrow, once again all departed to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriage-able age. And the small boys they took up [the X 796 pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their 785 shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [224] [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

X 796 And when arrows were being formed, all did pen- 785 ances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen 686

Injc cempoalli ōmatlactli omei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoā in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in qujchioaia, in jpā ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in moteneoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Quecholli:

in ōquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ōquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncā in neacamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncā in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ōnemacoc, njmā ic qujitqujtze qujquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ic no ce, pa ic viloa in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoaloz, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixqujch, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa viloa, mootquj in acatl, vel ixqujch cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oqujchpipiltotonti, qujtletlecavia in teucalli, vncā tlatlapiztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmeztço compatzca, incanaoacā conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocēqujxoato teuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmā ic ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixqujch tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 269). Chavero (*op. cit.*, pp. 147-8) states that the month was named for the bird of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores; Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 288) writes similarly—"... nombre de un Pajaro de plumas azul, y colorada, que al en este Tierra, en especial en estos mananciales, y ojos de Agua, que al pueste del Pueblo de Quecholiar"; see also p. 299. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *flecha arrojadiza*.

Tovar, while mentioning the bird of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

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[687]
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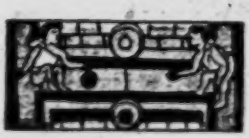

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[735]

• [482]

—*After Peso y Troncoso*

• 86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a careless musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game *tlachtli* (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

1/A [This caption is in error. - Rumlpt]

[p. 36(L) is blank]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

yoã hecamoecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 431 776 301 272

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Oca inqujtlamãtli in, in motenena teutlatqujtl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in qujtqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli tozrlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichicalo. Auh in omotencuhque macujltin; njman ie ic qujnnaoatia in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmoinaqujlia, ca omaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico: 431 482 202

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Auh in oncito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan oncoãj acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacalhemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal. 505

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa anoallaque? 648

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçoemo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anquujpiquj, aço çã toca anmocacaiaoa.

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Nõman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoaltilinjque: njman no quicalquetzque ecacuztli.

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18. *Ibid.*: "*Lo que traíale colgado [sic] de la espalda era plumas verdes en la hoja de la rodela [sic] salía una corona de plumas verdes.*"

19. *Ibid.*: "*un bastón labrado de escuyque de turquesas y en la hoja de arriba pusieron [illegible] plumas verdes a parles resplandecientes en la alto de arriba.*"

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "*una mejor de oro hecha a manera de corazal macizo el cual respaldo de plumas verdes que colgaban hasta las espaldas.*"

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*una mejor Rana.*"

[p. 14 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Artec NU7

Then all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains — those of Tlaxcalla, of Tliliuhquitepetl, of Uexotzinco — sped along at the rear. They came girt for war, with their cotton armor, their shields, their bows; their quivers filled and crammed with feathered arrows, some of barbed, wooden points, some blunted, some with obsidian points. They came crouching, and as they went, loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads.

And some bore burdens upon their backs; they carried rations on their backs. Some carried things [held by a tump line about] their foreheads, or, some, their breasts; some bore things on carrying frames, some in cage-like baskets, some in deep, reed baskets; some bore bundles; they carried them upon their backs; some dragged the great lombard guns, which rested upon wooden wheels. And they moved them along shouting.

njman ie inquich in aoatepeoa, in tlateputzcatl, in tlaxcaltecatl, tliliuhquitepecatl, in vexotzincatl: tlatoqujlitivitze, moiauchichiuhtivitze imjichcavipil, inchichimal, intlatlavitol, inmjmjcon tetentiuh, cacacatzcatiuh in totomjtl, cequj chichiquilli, cequj tihpontli, cequj itzmjtl momamantivi, motenvitectivi, motenpapavitivi, tocujleuhtivi, tlatlanqujquiztivi, moquacuecuechotivi.

Auh in cequjntin tlamama, itacamama, cequjntin tlaixquamama, cequjntin tlaelpanmama, cequjntin tlacacaxvia, cequjntin tlaoacalhuja, cequjntin tlatompiavia, cequjntin tlaquimjlhuja, mamaço tlaquimjlmamama, cequjntin quivilana in vevei, in totomaoac tlequjquiztli, quauhtemalacac oonotiuh, quicāvatztivitze.

[p. 40 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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— *Ajer Faso y Tronco*

44. Mexica interpreters for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Mexica noblemen Mexica noblemen (Chapter 19). 52. Mexicans brave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

[p. 44(H)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[714]
[441
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Maxixcatzin is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Iztapalotzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

648 an outcry, and then the tumult rose and spread. Thereafter arrows fell upon the roof-top. But the Spaniards sheltered Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin under their shields lest the Mexicans pierce them with the arrows.

For this reason were the Mexicans in great wrath: because [the Spaniards] had completely destroyed the chieftains [in the Temple Courtyard]; without warning, they had slain them by treachery.[4]

726 Not yielding to force of arms, [the Mexicans] surrounded the palace. They watched various places that none might enter it secretly — that none might in stealth take in tortillas. Hence, at once was stayed all which they had been receiving; forthwith they left no more. In this way they would starve them.[5]

And as for those who would in vain advise [the besieged], or gain merit by secretly giving [one of them] a little food, if they were seen or detected, they then and there slew them. They killed them on the spot. They either struck them on the back of the head, or they stoned them.

At one time some Mexicans were seen carrying in furs. These let word fall that through them some had secretly gone in. Therefore all were strictly commanded that every road and canal be well guarded and watched; that all take great care in the watching. And those who took in the furs [182] [were] carriers,[6] the emissaries of the stewards of Ayotzintepec and Chinantla. Then and there they breathed their last; their work dropped; at the canal they struck them on the back of the head with wooden clubs.[7] Those of Tenochtitlan had only quarreled among themselves, and quite in confusion had seized the carriers. They said: "Surely he is one [of them]!" Then they put him to death. And if they noted someone [wearing] his fine crystal lip rod, then they quickly seized and killed him. They said: "Surely this one also walketh entering within, to serve food to Moctezuma." And if they saw someone who had tied on himself the maguey fiber cape[8] of a carrier, him also they quickly seized. They said: "This one also is a brute who goeth bearing evil tales, and letteth them in to see Moctezuma."

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4. For [illegible] read [illegible].
5. Literally, "they dried their canalls."
6. Corresponding Spanish text: "los cargadores o pajes de Moctezuma."
7. Plausible: read [illegible].
8. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] maguey [illegible] que llaman capil."

njmã ic ic onvetzi in mjtl in tlapanco. Auh in Moctecuçomatzin yoan Itzquauhtzi, qujnchimalcaltia in Españoles in ma qujnmjnti in Mexica.

Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica: ichica ca vel qujmjztlatique in tlacaoan in ainnemachpan in qujnpoonmjctique,

in amo ivivi ic concauhque qujtocaolotinemj in tepancalli: tlatlapia in açaca onjchtacacalaquj, in açaca conjchtacacalaquja tlaxcalli, çan njman ic oemmotzacu in jzqujch in omacoiã, çan njmã aocac tle oncaoaia: iuhqujn qujncujtlaoztique.

Auh in aquique oc nen xonexcaia, tlamatzoaia, motlamacoviaia, in ichtacatzin cõmacaia in tlaqualtzintli: intla oitoque, intla oittaloque, njman vncã qujnmjctia, vncan qujntlatlatia, açe qujncuexcochvitequj, anoçe qujntetepachoa.

Cequjntin mexica ceppa ittaloque, qujcalaqujaia totomjtl: ichoantin tlanexotlaque, inca cequjntin oncalaquj ichtaca, ic cenca netlaquauhmacoztiloc injc vellaquiclos, vel mopiaz in jzquj vtli yoan in jzquj acalutli, vel necujtlavilos vel ixpialoia. Auh in qujcalaqujaia totomjtl tequjque intlaivalhoã in calpixque aiutzintepecatl yoan chinantecatl: njman vncan ihiatl quja, njmã vncã intequjuh vetz, acaloco in qujmõcuexcochvivitecque, vitzantica, çan monotechvia in tenuchca, yoan çan jliviz in qujntzitequja in tequitque, qujtoaia. Ca ichoatl in: njmã ic conmjctia. Auh intla aca conjttaia ichopãlotenteuh: njman qujcujtivetzi, conmjctia: qujtoa, ca no ichoatl in oncalactinemj in contlatlamaca in Motecuçoma: yoan intla aca qujtta, qujmolpilia tequitcaaiatl, no qujcujtivetzi, qujtoa: ca no ichoatl in tlapalpul, in tetzauhtlatolli qujtequjtinemj, cõcalaquja, in conjtta motecuçoma.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
[314] 4,000 loads of thick canes
[281] 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
[482] 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *ocayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y coseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.

The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 481), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 360 and 361). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 288, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 300. Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, p. 336, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Aoachtlan, y otro Atlanhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 234).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacochtli, y los aventaderos y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cado uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tumemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1545, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes 565
within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XL, p. 329), sixty pounds. [482]

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially 441
to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer 556
to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 158), who embodies in a few words the 565
statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I. cap. IV, p. 76), "No se deavelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31), "otros trabaja ban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrios," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers.

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fuese honrado en el pueblo. y tenido per valiente: ponianle un barbote de ámbar, que es una piedra larga amarilla, trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 339-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas"). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un traité*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 233 and 234). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("tecuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique à Charles V en faveur des Macéuales*, Mexico, 30 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants du Mexique*," p. 257). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 30): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 339) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlaltelolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 343) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la atalayasen." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 228) "ils jouissaient de certains privilèges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("*Tococo*," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 232). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only *by* the Mexicans, but *against* the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 180) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 282).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, p. 85, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. 489 and 493).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated, 565

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 154-155; cap. LXII, p. 184; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II. p. 265) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 200): "Tenia esto Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, á las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 226) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 61), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tchuatl"—"thou, "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 32), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II, 56). See in a further note. 595

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept these women for their work*. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir suelta, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban à necesitarse mucho, y haciansse Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 568): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Anónimo* says (p. 397): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, il che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre." 595 567

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Anónimo*," p. 373), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 29). [727]

[89] They were the "tamenes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from "tlacatl"—man, and "nitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, "*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 358, Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 250, 251, and 260) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Cynos et Quiroga a l'Imperatrice*." (Mexico, 30 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Les Indiens ont de tout temps porté des fardeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . ." [482]

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "mazehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw course incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a
643 celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6] on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities
431 came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

● [482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan maceoaltzintli, in motolinja, çan cupalxalli in tleco qujtema: auh in çã iequene qujtzacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in ãxvia, in auellamati: çan ic in jauhtli tleco qujtepeua, ic qujtlamaca in jacoian itleuh:

ioan mjtos in tlatoque vncan motecutlaliaia motlatocatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujotli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhcatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj omotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol qujoalcuj, qujoalitquj in macuextli, in tilmatli, in xuchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamaujzço, yximachocã imaltepeuh, in campa, in quezqujchca oaleua, qujtlamamaca, qujtlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan qujtlapaloa, qujtlatlauhtia, oalmotlalia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, qujtlacuepilia, qujntlananqujlilia:

auh çan no iuj in chioalo, in namjco, çan ic mocuepa in jnnetlaçotlaliz, injc motlancuj, injc mjximati, injc momalcochoa, injc moonachioa, qujmomamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan qujqujmjliuhtiuh, çan qujqujmjlietiuh, çan qujmjltica in qujmomaca, in, in qujmotlauhtia, qujiaiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel intonal icalitic ochioaloc, otlatlan, iquac impan qujnpepena, inpan qujmelitta, qujntlatlattilia, qujmjipantia, qujnpapantia, qujnpapanjtia, in quenamj qujnmacazque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua qujnmaujztilia, qujnvecapano, intetlaujcalhuan.

tlaliuj, tlãtlaliuj, tlãtlalhujtiuj, tlãtlaliooa, in tlamamalo, in tlãtlatqujoa, quaquailpitiuh in netlauhtilli: auh in netlacaujlli, ãtle tlaçotli, ãtlatlaçotli, tla-

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los pobres ofrecían un gracioso, que llamaban copalxalli, en su mismo hogar: y los muy pobres, ofrecían una yerba medida, que se llama yauhtli en sus mismos hogares."* — in Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, ie in *Tagrans hoaida*; see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Remesal, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Reffonti, in *La sculpture chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 95, identifies yauhtli as a species of absinthe; A. Gerzo, in *Notes sur le calendrier et la hiérarchie des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1909), p. 54, says it is definitely narcotic. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar las idolatrías de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otros costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies yauhtli as peyhuatl, which, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is *"Nombre vulgar que en el norte del país, en México, se da a una planta parecida al cempaxúchil (Tagetes minuta), cuyas hojas huelen a anís."*

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: *"La fiesta de su elección, que llamaban mochimaqueua."*

532
x787

[76]

[402]

[176]

— *Ajer Paso y Troncoso*

54. Twelve House, Thirteen Lizard, and Ten Crocodile (Chapter 15). 57. Uitzilopochli (Chapter 17). 58, 59. Merchants (Chapter 18). 60, 61. Three Deer and bathing of child (Chapter 19). 62. Uitzilopochli (Chapter 20).

[p. 126 k]

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jxcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

796x
805
776

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shooting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the pains of] their death

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

1	*c*	KL	Xocotl vetzi	*c*	*1*[1]
2	*d*		Durante la fiesta de tlasochimaco:	*d*	*2*[2]
3	*e*		yuã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al-	*e*	*3*
4	*f*		tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle	*f*	*4*
5	*g*		arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios:	*g*	*5*
6	*A*		alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan-	*A*	*6*
7	*b*		tauan enhiesto y estaua assi enhiesto	*b*	*7*
8	*c*		hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en-	*c*	*8*
9	*d*		tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ	*d*	*9*
10	*e*		mucho tiẽtõ y cõ muchos pertrechos	*e*	*10*
11	*f*		para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia	*f*	*11*
12	*g*		desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan	*g*	*12*
13	*A*		muchos carpinteros con sus herrami-	*A*	*13*
14	*b*		ẽtas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso.	*b*	*14*
15	*c*		Despues de mondado y de auerle com-	*c*	*15*
16	*d*		puesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles:	*d*	*16*
17	*e*		atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan-	*e*	*17*
18	*f*		tauanle con muchas bozes y muchos	*f*	*18*
19	*g*		estruendos y añxauanle muy bien.	*g*	*19*
20	*A*		Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã-	*A*	*20*[3]

tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos aderecauãse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

796x
313
[493]
[463]
796x
[302]
[535]
[278]

1. Marginal notation: *Comienza la diez uezi.*
2. Marginal notation: *Tornauã abajo.*
3. Marginal notation: *Poni al mirando.*

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl,[5] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech clout; its papers[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, braves! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in otlatvica: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalitquj, intlatquj oalietiuh in mateportli, tlaximaltepoztli, vel qujpetlaoa, qujxipetzoa, in vncan yixe, in vncã titicujtztic, in vncã xizipochtic. 796 778 [412 463]

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jtzcalo xocotl, vel cõnevivilia in jtzcalo, in jquapitzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepãtlazque. Eintin, cenca chicaoaque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin caica. [793]

In ce itoca: coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhqujn mjxpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xócotl, in quinacaiotiaia: mjchioauhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjztac in amatl in quimamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlaliaia: yiamancapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzõ, ixoxocovipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo onacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquijlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquijlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no etetl tzocoiotl in qujchioa, qujquauhço: excan in quiquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xócomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xócotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmã ie ic quiquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzioa:

quitoa. Ma ecuel tiacahoane, ximotilinjcan, isquich amotlapal:

njmã ie ic quoatiquetztivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtonmaçatl, yoan quiquãmjvia: auh in iequene ie iauh, in ie meoatiquetztiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzioa, cenca chachalacoa: [483 401]

5. Probably *quacuacatl* in manuscript. Cf. the Jourdanet-Simeon edition, p. 129.
6. Reference could be to either paper or bread (*tlaxilonca*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[86] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who wore skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[87] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tozcco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[88] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[89] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and bad-circles. His rattle stick[90] was in his hand.

totoca, ynjc motlamauhtilizia: qujnnocalitizia, qujnnamjquj- 776
in tiiacoan, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti: 796

ynan in iuqujchti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnemequj, amjquizmauhque, [524]
toca momoctlanj, iuctlaveliloque: vncan moiniccoaia, moiazmauhchiuia, yn juh mjcalinque iaepan, vmpa mocacaoaia
yn aiac, mjtoaia tozcco. [346]

Auh yn totecti njman ic ic noujan, tepan caralaquj, no tlatlaoua: tzapeicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuncaia, qujeochinoapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujtlaoantia. [292 352 302]

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, ixtocmiia: qujtoa, ma njctlamanilia, in totec, iquac tlacazipeualistli.

Jn iuechichioal, mizcolnochimale, tzmaxaltic vltica, 776
yiopitzan contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tlacaiouatl, yiouaio malli, tzonchaianale, tzucujtlanacoche, tzapocueie, tzitzila, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoastli yn jmac icac.

Ninetenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[91]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arrayed in paper[92] the stout traveling staves[93] with

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa, in teotl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca intruh catca: cenca qujmavirtilizia, qujtlaquentiaia amatica: yn jntepil, ymotlatopil, yni nemmja, ynj 776 463 484

85. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En este festa, hacian como un juego de cañas: de manera que si un vando, ou de la parte deste dios, o paugen del dios totec: y estos tudos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que eujan muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y esforçados, y personas valientes, y esforçadas: que no tenjan en nada la muerte: osados, atrevidos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se corrieuan, en el exercicio de la guerra: peregujan los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, bolujan hazyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antiguo fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se empuñaban con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adapted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Sahagún, *Tercer Apéndi*, has *oncan* in the Aztec text, jointed of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Sahagún translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Tozcco."

87. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tatocoti.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tocoanai as "*los mancebos a honra del dios Totec.*"

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Sahagún, *op. cit.*), the word is *mizcolchiuhtiuac*, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Sahagún also (*Treatment of the Aztec Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mizcolchiuhtiuac* (quail face painting).

89. Sahagún (*Commentar Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) transliterates *yopi* as "the red people" (Thepanca), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

90. "The word chimmalli means 'whatever anything is made among.' Wind and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chimpanelli with the four sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Soler: *Treatment of the Aztec Collection*, p. 100.

91. Soler suggests that the form of the name should be *yiacatecutli* or *yacatecutli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 27). Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 27) says he also was named *Yacatecuhqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz aguileña*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xicotencutli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pt. 4, p. 91, Soler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecutli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Iztapalququi. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Soler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *en una cuba, metida, que ellos llaman vilaci. Y tambien traen de otra manera de bacula,*

776 which they journeyed. Whenever they slept, there they set
463 them up; before them they did penance, they drew [their]
464 blood, they offered incense: that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus spent, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds—the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black
[825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

mochtecuzia, inchpa cuchinqui, vecuz quijtlequetza, inpan tlamacazo, mijco, quijcajcahuanjlia, yajc quijtlauhtia ya jaxcoah yiacatecutli, yajc quijtlanjlia, yajc quijmatatzapujlia, yaicnelilia:

ainujan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic motomoca, puchuca yiaqui: inch canqui, ya inca inteuh, yiacatecutli:

Ontomoca, atzonc: calaquijuj, vel quijmocinemj, in tlein quijmomanahuitiqui, anacatl quijzaqualotinemj, anacatl quijlacatectinemj,

tonalctiauhtinemj, hecacichtinemj, mocichqualtinemj, mocichpouhtinemj, ehicichtinj, mocichqueztinj, ymellelacitiah, yaiququa tlatlatiah, intonal quijmacujtinj, intomalonjuh intiah:

intlacatl quinamjcitinemj, atlachtli, tepetl, quijtocuja, quijtlacuja, inquijchca ana: intonlcipi, intoxpan ic tlatlacqa, ic tuquequetza:

vel quijctiuvj vel quijhiocuja, yaic quijtomoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in tozziujtl, ya apaçmalli, in tocujtlatl: in tepepan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtototi, in tozli, çaqua: quauhtli, in tequanemi, ya ocelopetlatl.

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que se van calle negra linjana, manjaj sin todo ningunos: que se vienen juntos, de los que se van en España." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Tezozomoc (op. cit., 37-8) says they gathered the stones all together, gave with a ritual, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente* (*ejemplares enemaca calaquqia*) (Sahagún: op. cit., p. 91). In *Gesamtalter Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: "*Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Ipanatecutli ('der Herr der Wegzugangenen') war der Gott der Kaufmannsgilden der ostwärts zwischen der tierra caliente der Tolteken und Aztekenen.*"

Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ocuxiuc in Atzitzinac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtototi*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 330, to the *Nonohualcatecuxiuc*, appears to refer to a guide or chief of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* [103] *Ocuxiuc*.

96. Atzitzinac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, especially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as "*todas las poblaciones, que están cabeza de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Tlalcuexo hasta Atzitzinac, que dicen más de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Estuvieron en la provincia de Atzitzinac, es todos, sino aquellos que dan de parte del señor de México con quien estuvieron ahuelos y confederados . . . dicen todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tuxtepec. En un pueblo se dividían, unos dicen a Atzitzinac Ayotlan; otros dicen a Atzitzinac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Seler defines Atzitzinac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Atzitzinac Xicalanco as the coast of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y xiuhli quiere decir verdejo, la cual es muy pulida y sin manchas ningunas, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene manchas, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Tozzitzitl, quiere decir turquesas de las dicen . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ningunas manchas y muy lucida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que crían en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobláganse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El tocado que tiene en la cabeza este ave (quetzalcuatl) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llámase a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; se previene esta pluma y llámanla tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene crecen en el pecho y en las orejas y debajo de las alas; son la cosa preciosa y la cosa verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tzoquechol* means red spoonbill or roseate spoonbill. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Mazatlan Ajaia* L. (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 653). Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 376n., gives *Platalea Ajaia* name L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtototi* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cinerea S. Cuerodes* (*ibid.*, p. 654). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould*.

103. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) revuelven el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llama de fuego y como oro, relumbra en Atzitzinac.*"

And [they brought] vessels, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[180] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[181] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commitment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[182] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[183] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[184] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomquiauitl, or Chalmecacioatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[185] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in pectecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquauitl, yn ozaccaiutl:

intlantl iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalitica, in tezintica, in tlaxoltica quintlachecalhuja in chanaque.

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan quinpoiomjctia, quinchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nõ tematitlanpa quiça, ihoatl quinalmotocaia in motecuçuma:

ic vncan quimaca, caquijlia, yapoçmaltemouh, yc quimaviziotia, ic quinzacaiotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oquichoia.

Auh yn iquac oalacia, ynchan: vn imiloch, yuncuepal oquichiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: iaquich tlacatl quinotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic momititiaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca quimavizilitiaia yn itopil, yn jtlaçcaia yiacatecutli:

cana in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn iquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, quitlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

Auh intla aca tealtia, ihoatl caltiaia, quizcuaia in jiccuh yiacatecutli: anoço cenca ihoantin yn mochcoaia, in quinmotecutiaia in chicomquiauitl, anoço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomocuijl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzauac, a'ac quiiocuja, yiollocdama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ce aleiz tlacatl:

vmpa cencouaia yn tlacatecujloca azcapotzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, quincuecuepa, quimjhitta, yn qualtin quincuaque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiocti, in tlacamelaque, yn acan cucuque, yn atle intlaciuh ce:

ynic ihoan quinmictique, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhuiquintilioia vitzilubochtli:

yquac quinchichioaia, quintlamamaca, intech quitlalia yn iuhquj ynochichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn ximo quinmjctia, achtopa quinteititiaia: mjtoa quinmjmextia, ic quitemachitia in tealtiaque:

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180. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 57): Ynmolchiquaqui "proporcionaio vestimentas parecidas, que tienen vizcaya, á habilidad, para mejor gracionamente, á engañar, y se sabio, y sagaz (que es propio condicion de Mercaderes) . . . ."

181. Cf. Seler (Lenoir Kodex, p. 22) citing Hist. Reys. Colib. Mex. B. II §43.

182. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llamaba lavatorio de pies, mentions washing mouth and hands.

187. Sahagún defines calpulli as "vecindad del barrio, á parroquia" (Spanish version).

188. Sahagún defines the ceremonies in this manner: "Estos ducchos que mataban a estos esclavos."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 213.

189. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Seler (Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 93) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomquiauitl or Chalmecacioatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 643 292 648 Therefore they offered them all the various things which they bore with them; costly capes such as those which here are named: [the mantle] with the sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

● 484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

500 And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tiosllaque.

Qujnoalnanqujlique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujmonjlhujque. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic quinmaca in jxquitlamantli qujtqujque tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, ichoatl in, in njcã motenoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tescapocio:

in jxquitlamãtli in in qujmõmacaque, qujnoalcuepcaiotilique, qujnoalmacaque coxcatl, xoxoctic, coztic: iuhqujnma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oquittaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan qujnoalnaoatiqua: qujnoalilhujque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazq̃ tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca quiçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, cecenal in oalnenenque, injc quinonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jvelia:ca qujlhujco, qujcaquitico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oquicujto.

Auh njman ie ic quinonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlacili ca izcatquj otiquittaque, izcatquj otiochiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl izco. Ca otiqujmittato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jxquich motilmatzin otiquinmacato: auh izcatquj techmacaque intlatquitzi. Qujtoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, izcatquj anquinmacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatiz:

6. Spanish text: *Los españoles dieron a los indios unas de cuentas, unas verdes y otras amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "*en un dia, y en una noche.*"

8. *Sahag.*, *op. cit.*, p. 654, has *fuel luen*, translated "first of all."

Sixth Chapter. Here is told how the messengers of Moctezuma returned here to Mexico and came to relate to Moctezuma that which they had seen.

Thereupon [Cortés] dismissed them, and let them descend to their boats. And when they had climbed down into the boats, they rowed with great force. Mightily did they ply their oars. Some paddled with their hands.

Fleeing with all their force, they came saying to one another: "O warriors, [use] all your strength! Row with haste, lest something here overtake us — lest something here befall us!"

Speedily they hastened to reach by water the place called Xicalanco; there they no more than quickly caught their breath, that once again they might with energy hasten on. Then they came to reach Tecpan tlayacac, whereupon they also hastened and hurried on, and soon came to reach Cuetlaxtlan. [From there] they likewise departed in haste, [having] in this place taken some rest.

And [those] of Cuetlaxtlan said to them: "Rest yet but a brief day; catch your breath!"

But they replied to them: "Nay, we may only go on swiftly. We must give the news to the lord, the ruler Moctezuma. We must tell him what we have seen, which is terrifying — the like of which hath never been seen. Had you, perchance, already, ere now, heard of it?"

Then they speedily departed from there and soon came to reach Mexico. It was deep night when they went reaching [the city]; they came in here quite by night.

And when this was happening, [Moctezuma] could enjoy no sleep, no good. Never could one speak to him. That which he did [was] only as if it were in vain. Oftimes he sighed; he was spent, downcast. He felt delight in no savory morsel, joy, or pleasure.

Wherefore he said: "What will now become of us? Who, forsooth, standeth [in command]? Alas, until now, I. In great torment is my heart, as if run through with chili water, so that it burneth and

Inic chiquacen capitulo: vncã mjtoa, in quenjn itiitlanoan Motecuçoma, oalmocuepque in njcan mexico quijlhujco in motecuçoma in quijttaque.

Niman ic ic qujncauh, qujncoaltemovique in jmacalco: auh in ovaltemoque acalco, njman ic ic tequjtlancloa, ontetemj in tlancloa, cequjntin matlanelos.

centlaquauh oalmotlaloa, qujmolhujtivitze, tiacoane ixqujch amotlapal, xitequjtlanelocan, ma itla njcan taxti ma itla njcan topan muchiuh

iciuhca acitivetzico in atl iitic in jtocaiocan xicalanco, çan tequjtl vncan oalihiocujtiqujzã, ic ic no ceppa centlaquauh oaltotoca: njman acico in tecpan tlaiacac, njman ic no ic oalmeoaltia, oalmotlaloa, acitivetzico in cuetlaxtlan, çan no oalqujztiqujzque, vncan ihiocujque.

Auh in cuetlaxtecatl qujmjlhuj ma oc cemjlhujtzintli ximocevicã ma oc amjhio xiccujcan.

Auh qujlhujque, ca amo ca çan ticiuhtivi tictononochilizque in tlacatl tlatoanj Motecuçoma, tictolhujlizque in tlein otiqujttaque, in cenca temamauhti, in aic iuhquj omottac, cujx ie cuel ie teachto, tocoocaqujz:

njman iciuhca oalpeuhque, acitivetzico in mexico, çan ioaltica in acico, çan oalioalcalaoque.

Auh in jquac in aoqujcochiz, aoqujtlaqual qujmatia, aoc ie qujlhujaia in çaço tlein qujchioaia, ça iuhqujn nentlamatia, iuhqujn achica elcicivi, mociauhquetza, mociauhpoa, aoc tle velic, aoc tle tepac, aoc tle teavialti ipan qujmatia,

ipampa in qcjtoaia, tlein ic topan muchiuz, ac nel icac, ha ieppa nehoatl, vel patzmjquj in noiollo, iuhqujnma chilatequjlo, vel tonecoa chichinaca campa nel totecue.

787 **Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the ninth sign, called One Serpent.**[1] It was considered a good day sign, if those same ones then born did not harm it. And the merchants expected much of it, because of their way of livelihood.

One Serpent set in. It was said to be a good day sign. Of one born on it, they said his deserts and merits would be to become wealthy. There would be wherewith to eat and drink. And in war, in time of battle, he would become a brave warrior and a chieftain; he would attain renown, honor, glory, and fame. Perchance he would be a ruler or a lord. And if it were a woman, she would be quite rich; she would be a good provider; she would be well-born. She would look to and guard the services and the property of our lord. She would be a guardian and administrator. Much would she gather, collect, save, and justly distribute among her children.

But it was also said that although such became the deserts of one then born (as is already said in many places), if he did not diligently do penance, if he paid not good heed, he indeed failed, and personally brought upon himself that he lost through neglect, and destroyed and ruined what were his deserts. This was because he neglected things, worked unwillingly, was lukewarm, and lacked forethought and diligence. Indolent, he let nothing be done. He was careless, exceedingly careless, slothful, negligent, listless, and slow; a great and heavy sleeper. And he was incorrigible. He would only neglect things through laziness; advice offended and angered him.

So it was said of him: "So he is; he made no provision for food, for there was constant running about." There was no getting to bed, no arising; he stretched his limbs, quite exhausted by fatigue and effort. To no purpose did he give or publicly display wealth and prosperity, and the joys and comforts of wealth.

787 441 484 And it was said that on One Serpent the merchants and vanguard merchants,[2] the exploring

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicunauhtetl machiotl, in jtocã ce coatl: quilmach qualli tonalli: intlacamo çan ichoantin qujtlaconzque in vncan tlacati: auh in puchteca cenca qujmatatacaia, in jpampa in jnnetlaiecoltiliz.

Moquetza ce coatl: injn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: in aquijn ipã tlacatia, qujtoaia: ilhujle, maceoale iez, mocujltonoz, oniez in qujquaz, in qujz, auh in iaoc, in iaopan, oqujchtiz, tiacauhtiz, momavizçoaiz panvetziz, maviçoaz, moteniotiz, aço tlatocatia, tecutiz, auh intla cioatl, vel motlacamatiz, vel motlaiecoltiz, vel motlacatiz, qujttaz, qujpiaz in jteicnehliz, in jcocoauh totecujo, tlaçaloanj, tlapachoanj iez. vel qujntlaçalhujz, qujntlapachilhujz, qujntetzontiz, qujntlatlamachiz in jpilhoan,

auh ioan mjtoa, maçivi in iuhquj in inemac mochioa, in jpan tlacati (ca ie omjto mjieccan) intlacamo ie vellamaceoa, intlacamo vel mocozza, catle vnqujça, ca ixcoian conmocaujlia, qujmjxcaoaltia, qujmopolhuja, qujmopopolhuja, in jmaceoal ocatca: ipampa içan tlatlacomati, tlaavilmati, tlaquelchioa, tlatlacanequj, qujtenmati, acontlaeltia, aiel atle conmochichioaltia, vel cujtlatzcopic, cujtlatzcocopic, cujtlananaca, cujtlaçotlac, cujtlatzol, qujtenmatirl, cochpal, cochmjmjl: ioan auel monotza, çan qujtenmati, qujquammati, qujtlauelchioa, in tlatolli,

ichoatl injc mjtoa: ca nel amaxcauja, in qualonj, ca netotoqujlilo, amo neteteco, amo nequequetzalo: vel ixqujch maana, vel ontlamj in ciauiztli, in tlapaliuiztli, amo çan motencnmaca, amo çan teixpanvetzai, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli, in netlacamatiliztli, in netlacamachiliztli.

Ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce coatl, cenca qujqualittaia in puchteca, in oztomeca, in jaque, in nẽnemjnj, in

1. In the MS, apparently *ce ayolut* has been corrected to read *ce coatl*.
2. *V. supra*, Chap. 12.

787 441 484 merchants[3] and traveling men, those who entered distant lands, regarded [the day] as very favorable. It was their day sign and time count, when [a merchant] took to the road and set forth to far lands.

441 484 And he who was about to set forth, when he had prepared himself and filled and made ready the carrying-frames, then summoned, gathered, assembled together, assembled together,[4] and notified his elders, the old merchants. They were given drink, food, and wine, in order to make it publicly known that this one now wished to depart and go hence; to break away; that he still wished to abandon the people and disappear. And, it was said, he still wished to be extinguished from view for a time. In this way he made it clear to the people; he made it very clear to the people. That is to say, it was well known to those who yet tarried in their homes, to those who went nowhere.

vecacalaquijnj, intonalpan catca, intlapoalpan catca, iehoatl qujtztivia, vncan vmpeoaia in veca:

auh in aqujn ie vmpeoaz in omochichiuh, in otlacacaxten, in otlacacaxchichiuh: njman tetlalhuja, qujncentlalia, qujnnechicoa, qujnnechicoa, qujnmachitia in jveveiovan, in puchteca veuetque, atlica, tlaqualo, tlaoano, injc teixpan motlalia, in aqujn ie oncholoteoaznequj, ie onmoquetzteoaznequj, ie onueuetzteoaznequj, in oc ontetlalcaujznequj, oc ompoliuhtoznequj, ioan mjtoa: oc onmjxceujznequj, quexqujch caujtl injc teixco ovevetz, omach teixcoveuetz, qujteaznequj cenca ie macho, in jc ie vecaoa ichan, in jc aoccampa iauh.

3. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371.

4. In the MS, *quymoctlaxtoa* is repeated.

The Seventeenth Chapter telleth of the admonitions of the old merchants when they counseled their sons as they were about to depart and gain their livelihoods in distant places, when for the first time they wished to go and set forth.

Inje caxtolli omome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jntenonotzaliz puchteca, in veuetque, in qujmjlhujaia inpiilhoan, in jquac ie oncoazque, in veca motlaiecoltizque, in qujn jiopa iaznequj, vmpeoaznequj. 44/ 484

And then the old men besought each one; they greeted, animated, and encouraged him; they prepared and singled him out; they greeted him with tears, prepared him to receive misery and torment, etc.

Auh njman ic ceceiaca qujtlatlauhtia in veuetque: qujtlapaloa, qujchicaoa, quellaquaoa, qujtztziloa, ico qujlpia, qujchoqujztlapaloa, qujtlaquammaca in netuiinjliztli, in tlahiiovilizitli. Etc.

They said to him: "Thou art here, O my son, my beloved son; O youth, my beloved youth! O noble youth, thou hast sought out, beckoned to, and summoned thy mothers and fathers, the merchants, the vanguard merchants, the exploring merchants. Verily, here thou lookest into their faces; thou knowest them. Ah! They will leave and offer thee a word of advice and counsel. This they have carried and borne; it tutored and trained,[1] so that they benefited in such places as the mountains and the deserts.

Quijlhuja ca njcan tonca nopiltze, nopiltzine, telpuchtle, notelputze, telputztze: ca otiquijmonteme, otiquijmontzatzili, otiquijmonnenotzallan, in monaoan, in motahoan, in puchteca, in oztomeca, in iaque: ca njcan imjacio, ymjcpac, titlachia, tiquijmonjximati, ỉ mjtzcaviliaque, ỉ mjtzmacazque in cententli, yn cencamatl, in jntlatquja, yn jntlamamaia, in jntlacazcaltiaia, in jntlacaoapaoaia, injc otlamaviçoque, in iuhcan in quauhtla, in çacatla:

"And this is the word of advice and counsel with which I console thee, who art my beloved son. So I become thy mother and father; so thou hast me as protector and comforter. Thou who art poor shalt already set forth from and leave the city, thy home — Mexico, Tlatiluco, or Tenochtitlan. Already thou art about to abandon and forsake thy kinsmen; already thou art about to abandon thy home, the rooms of thy house, thy homeland, the resting-place of thy head, thy child's crib, thy hair-tuft. Already thou comest to One Serpent, the straight way, the wide road;[2] already thou followest along and goest toward the desert and the plain.

auh injn ca njcan cententli, cencamatl, ic njmjtziollalia, ic njmjtzchicaoa in tinopiltzin, inic njmona, njmota, injc timonanmati, injc timotamati: timotolinja, ca ic tonmoquetzaz, ic tocontlalcaviz in altepetl, in mochan in mexico, in tlatilulco, anoço in tenuchtitlan, ic tiquijmoncauhtiaz, ic tiquijmõcauhteoaz, in moaaniolque: ic tontlacauhteoaz in mochan, in mocalitic, in moqujxcan, in moiolcan ỉ moquechtetzon ionocan, in momanaoal, anoço monatetzon, ic toconnamjquja in ce coatl, in vtli melaoac, in vchpantli, ic tocontocaz, ic tocennamjquja in jxtlaoatl, in vei tlalli.

"Wretched art thou, O my son, O youth! Exert all thy force. Where, in sooth, shalt thou live? Shalt thou perchance die here? O that somewhere the

Timotolinja nopiltze, telpuchtle, ma ximellaquaoa, can nel timonemjtiz? cuiz njcan timomjqujliz? ma cana ixtlauhto, popouhto: in inchoquja, in jntlaocol,

1. Cf. Angel Maria Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (Guadalajara: Imprenta Mayo, S. A., 1940), p. 109, for one of [illegible] *chocoyoa*, *chocoyoaia*, *chocoyoaliztli*, and *chocoyoaqui* could be rendered as "protection." Cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 211, and Simeon, *op. cit.*

2. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), IX, 5: "Es cosa [illegible] *que es una de las cosas curiosas o dignas de la era [illegible]*."

tenes, the pity of thy elders, the old ones, may go as reward and recompense, to gird and clothe they. For[3] thus did thy elders go. For they went learning of war, performing the way of life of the road. So with struggle they gained and sought [honors] from him by whom we live. So they prayed.[4]

"But [as for] this: then to it! Be covered and engulfed by torment. For now shalt thou come to know, feel, and deal exclusively with misery, hunger, starvation, thirst, emptiness,[5] fatigue.[6] For verily thy provisions have ended—that with which one hath traveled. Perhaps thou shalt chew dry tortillas—parched tortillas, wretched, tough-cooked things, ill-smelling tamales. Perhaps thou shalt drink sour, bitter water, dirty and foul.

"And verily, thou shalt draw near to, approach, and come against the menacing river, which seemeth a torrent, roaring and crashing as it sweepeth by. It carrieth everything with it and goeth destroying great trees. And there shalt thou wait some days; thou shalt be isolated by the water; thou shalt suffer with thy pangs of hunger and unrest.

"If thou wouldst gain honor by such as this, O my son, be not shameless; do not faint; be not womanish. Give thyself completely to the torment; enter into it; deliver thyself to it with all thy force, so preparing for it, etc. For verily thou seekest and travelest into such places as thy elders, the old men, served. For they thus hurled themselves at and delivered to torment, and exposed themselves to danger and adversity. For not without reason did the merchants take and find leadership and the wisdom of old age, become leaders, and receive their authority in exchange.

"And of this, O poor youth, if something should be thy reward and deserts, if our lord should show esteem by something for thee, thou must first feel and profit by the pain, the afflictions, the privations, the ambushes. Such is exacted from those who go from city to city. Yet there will be times of need. Thou shalt become tired and worn out; thou shalt stand exhausted; thou shalt go wearied by heat, spent by winds. Thy face will become dust-covered and

in motechiuhcaoan, in vevetque: in ajcan ic mijcaspana, ic mijtaquimjlea: a cuchiaque in motechiuhcaoan, ca iuecouh, intlachinol oquijnemiaque, oquijchiuhtiaque in vtli, in nemmjlizti, injc oquijtlamatataquilitiaque oquijtlaitlanjlitiaque in tloque in naoaque, injc ixillan, ioacatlan omamaiauhtiaque:

auh injn, macuele tiualinj, ma xocontimalo in tlaihiiovilizti, ca ic tocuamatiz, ic toconjxcuijz, ic tocoxcomatiz in netolinjlizti, in apjzmjquijlizti, in teociujlizti, in amjquiliztli, in atetzocoquijlizti, in ciammjquijlizti: auh in nel otlatlan in motacatzin, in motlaocaia: cujx a tlemoquahtiz, in tlaxcalquappitztli, in tlaxcalhotopochtli, in totopochtzintli, in tamaliiacatzintli: auh cujx a tlemjtiz in xococ atl, in alchichic, in tlaelutl, in atzoatl.

Auh ca itech tacitiuh, itech tipechiujtiuh, itech timoxotzonatiuh in temamauhti atl, in iuhquj çolonj, in iuhquj tetecujcatiuh xxxamacatiuh ic iauh, in moch qujujca quitzincuhtiuh, vevei quauitl: auh ca vncan tiquexquillujtiz, timatzaquaz, titlaihiiouiz in mocujtlaxcoltica, in moxtequjlizticа:

intla tlemaujçez, in iuhquj in, nopiltze, ma titlapinauhti, ma tidlacuecuetlaxo, ma timocioatlamachti, iê xicmocenmaca, itlan xaquj, xicmotlaquammaca, ic ximotetzilo in tlaihiioujlizti. Et.[9] ca nel ic in tictemoa, ca ic in tictotocac, ca iuhcan otlacotique in motechiuhcaoan, in veuetque, ca ic omonmotlaque oquijmomacaque in tlaihiioujlizti: injc amo oquijtlaçotlaque in jntzontecon, yn jmelchiqujuh, ca amo cacujque quinencujque injc oquijtaque in tachcauhiotl, in veuioti, injc ic petlati, ic icpalti, injc ic contlanevi in jnpetl, in jmicpal in puchteca.

Auh in y, timotolinja telpuchtle, intla itla mocnopil, momalcoeal mochioaz intla itla ipan mjtzpoaz totecujo: ca oc toconjttaz, oc tocoxmaujçez in tococo, in tetolinj, in tiecolizti, in teiacacpa quijquja: in iuh quimotzaqua in aoacan, tepeoacan: cã oc vmpa onequjçaz, ticiamenjquiz, timociapponaz, timociauhquetztiaz, titonalciauhtiaz, teecaciauhtiaz, tiztlahzin timochiuhtiaz, tiztlahtenhpipixcauhtiaz, mjxquatzin tlatlatiaz, mjtonaltzin tlemacujtiaz, vel tima-

3. *Real Palacio MS.* 22.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y en esto, ganarejo la honra que mereciere: como la ganaron los hombres ancianos, en la guerra, con esto vivo trabajar, alcançaron de nuestro señor, los siguiendo que tenemos." Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiii, fol. 202r (modified, [illegible]).

5. *Amoxcuepalliztli*: [illegible]

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "et necessar que se esforçarás, y dispide [illegible]: para cuando los trabajos, que se [illegible] [illegible] y sed, y [illegible], y falta de [illegible]."

doubly white. Thy forehead will burn; thou shalt wipe the sweat off with thy hand; indeed thou shalt be bathed [in it]. In the corner, by the wall, behind the door, thou shalt hang thy head. Thy stomach will stick to thee [from hunger].[7]

"Thou shalt go into, entering, and leaving, city after city. Thou shalt be in danger; it will not be well with thee. That is to say, perchance it will not prosper; perhaps thy stock of goods, thy just deserts, thy dealings, will not result well. Thou shalt be long-suffering; thou shalt shed tears. Thy good deeds will not bear fruit, for fatigue will take thy measure. Indeed, thy breath and courage will end.[8]

"Perhaps somewhere in a gorge, at the mouth of a canyon, on some high place, at the base of a rock, at the foot of a tree, shalt thou sleep. Perchance somewhere thou shalt be destroyed; our lord will end thy existence. And perhaps thou shalt never come to make thy way back. For no one knoweth.

"Yet may it be well with thee. Go praying to our lord for mercy. Be not negligent. Think only of and be dedicated to penances. Be diligent in providing water for the washing of the face and hands, and in sweeping and gathering up rubbish.[9]

"Leave no one behind thee, etc.[10] Do not take to thy feet leaving one unaided behind thee. That is to say, do not go retreating in haste, running to the rear, fleeing in battle, following thy nose back. Remember one thing: go knowing, devoted, and dedicated to suffering. Perhaps he by whom we live will give thee something as thy deserts and merit.

"Perhaps once more thy mothers, thy fathers, and thy kinsmen will look thee in the face. Verily, what thou shalt eat and drink will be the advice we here give thee. For with all this we gird, fortify, and bind thee. We thy mothers and fathers implore thee: pay good attention; look well; take care, O my son. Go in peace, leaving thy aunts and uncles, etc."

In this manner did they animate and encourage the one not yet much experienced—who perhaps

liviz in texomolo, in tecaltech, in tetlatzacujltitlan, timotololtitiez, mocujtlazcol motech motetecatiez,

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timâsquiz, timocacalaqujz, timoqujqujztiz: in soacan, tepeoacan, timotzotzonaz, timocacapanjz, qujtoanequj: ac aço can tle uel onmochioaz, ac aço can tle onmaqujtiz in motiamjc, in mocnopillo, in monentlamatia, ca uel icnoioaz in moiollo, mjxaiotzin ticmatentiez: amo ticazcanviz, in mocnelliloca, ca timjhiiotamachioaz, vel ontlamjz in mjhiio in motlapaliujz:

in aço cana atlauhitic, atlauhcamac, tlacopac, tetl itzintlan, quavitl itzintlan timocochitiz, in aço cana timopopoliujtiz, mjtztlatiz totecujo: auh in anoçoc mjloch, monecuepal ticchioaqujuh: caiac vntlamati,

ma oc iĉ moiolic: xicnootlaocolnonochilitiuh in totecujo, ma timoxiccauh, ma xoconjxcauj, xocõcenmati in tlamaceoalizzli, xicmocujtlauj in tecatzaqujlizzli, in temãtequjlizzli: auh in tlachpanalizzli, in tlacujcujlizzli,

macamo ce mõnjca, moteputzco xiqual. Ez macamo ce mõnjca, moteputzco xiqual. Ez macamo cemjcampa, moteputzco xiqualquetztiuh in mocxi, qujtoznequj, macamo xitzintlaçcatiuh, macamo xitzinqujztiuh, macamo xitzinqujzcatlaiecotiuh, xioalnacazizztiuh, maca tle xiqualiinamjctiuh: ma çan centlamjc xoconmattiuh, ma xoconcenmattiuh, xoconixcaujtiuh, in tlaihiioujlizzli, açida mjtzmãceoaltin, mjtzilhujltiz in tloque, naoaque:

açoc cippa mjxco, mocpac tlachiazque in monaoan, in motaoan, in moaniolque: ca tiquaz, ca tiquiz in njcan ic timjtznonotza, a izqujch ic timjtzonãpana, timjtzontetzilos, aco timjtzilpia in timonaoan, in timotaoan, timjtztlatlauhtia, tlĉ ticmati, tle ticmomachitia, tlĉ ticmatcatzintli nopiltze, ma iiolic xinovicatiuh, xiqujmoatlalcauj in maujoã in motlaoan. Er.

Ivin in quellaquaceia, in qujchicaoaia, in aiamo cenca itzlamati, in aço quin jioqu tevica, motervicaltia,

7. *Ibid.*: "*tendreyo la barriga pegada a las cuestias de hombre.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*Y dauos duelo, os afligiro la duda de la cosa de nuestro merecimiento: que por ventura no se cumplirá, y duelos tendreyo trabajo, y llorar; como q̃ abrasado alguna cosa, o buena ventura: porque de ser afligido, y trabajado, hasta la ultima de paremia.*"

9. *Ibid.*: "*derrojando hombrosamente a los muyores en cosas humildes: como es dar agua a mamar, y barrer, etc.*"

10. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book III, "The Origin of the Gods," p. 40; Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 294 (*dio hier, hinter die* [*unverständlichen Worte*]); Gulliver, op. cit., p. 232 (*unpublished*). *Por supuesto, usted siguió*[illegible] *es a similar term.* The text is garbled, as is most in the Aztec informant of the 1500.

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for the first time went with and was one of a company of others [going to] places of which he wished to know, and departing for distant lands. Yet everywhere they cared for him, teaching and instructing him with these words. In such places as the forests and deserts he realized the estate of merchant or vanguard merchant.[11]

in canpa ie ontlamatiznequj, injc ie vmpeou veca, oc novjian qujnemjtia, qujtlãtlatitia, qujtlãtlachiel-tia in jntlatoltica, in iuhcan quauhtla, çacatla in amaxcanvia in puchtecaiotl, in oztomecaiotl.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "Deste manera los mercaderes viejos, a los mercaderes, que nuevamente pedí con otros mercaderes, o tierras estraños a mercadear: los hablaban, y esforçaban: y pusieron delante los trabajos, y dificultades, en que se mueve de ser; assi en los poblados, como en los desiertos en la provincia de su oficio, de mercaderia."

Eighteenth Chapter. Here are told [what] the talk and discourse were of these same old merchants which they repeated to their sons who already knew distant lands.

Inic caxtolli vnei capítulo: vncan motenecoa in tlatolli, in intenonotzaliz catca, in çán ie no ichoantin, puchteca veuetque, in qujnjlhujaia in inpilhoan in ie onmatia veca.

And [as for] him who already many times had returned and come back from there and who already had beheld such [distant] places as the inhabited and populated areas, dangerous and ominous places, places of torment, they said little to him; only something well-chosen, measured,[1] approved, complimentary, discreet, agreeable, moderate, pleasing, and commending. No more was it very long and extended; no more on all occasions did they speak, nor annoy him, nor speak lightly, nor harangue inconsiderately.

Auh in aquja ie mjiecpa iloti, ie mjiecpa mocuepa, in ie onjtztica in iuhcan inentla, inemja, in ouican, in temamauhtian, in tlaihiioujlizztlan: ça quexqujch in qujlhuja, ca eecauhquj, ça ixiecauhquj, ça tlaiecolli, ça tlauelittalli, ça tamachiuhqui, ça tlaqualittalli, ça ipan qualli, ça ipan tlauelittalli, ça ipan tlaiecolli, aocmo cenca viiac, aocmo cenca vitlatztic, aocmo cenca noviian ontlatoa, aocmo noviian qujnemjtia, aocmo çan ilhujztlatoa, aocmo ça iliviz tlatetoa:

Only this did they say to him: "Here thou art, O youth. No more art thou a child; no longer art thou like one afraid. For already thou hast regarded and witnessed thy dust-covered places, thy explored places, thy traveled areas which thou hast wished to know.

ça izqujch in qujlhuja. Ca njcan tonca telpuchtle: ca aocmo tipiltontli, aocmo tiuhquj titenmachonj, ca ie tonjztztica, ie tontlachixtica, ie mjxtlalopan, ie mjxnentla, ie mjxonjcac, in vmpa tontlamatiznéquj,

"In such places as forests, deserts, and cities, there is nothing to bring thee defeat, to frighten, daze, impede, or terrify thee. For already thou hast beheld all places, such as the markets, places where the merchants deal. Behold, we know not whether thy mothers and fathers lost thee forever. Perhaps thou goest for good; perhaps thou goest to be lost; perhaps somewhere into a canyon or a desert thou shalt be forced, and shalt perish; perchance in some city thou shalt come to an end. Perhaps once and for all thou art seen. Yet know and carry in thy heart that thou goest fortified by the tears and compassion of thy mothers and fathers. And if still something may become the reward of us, the old men, perhaps yet thou shalt come back and make thy return, that once more we may know thee.

in iuhcan in quauhtla, çacatla, in aoscan, in tepeocá, aocmo tle ic tontlapolotiaz, aoc tle ic tonjxmamauhtiaz, tonjxmjmjctiaz, aoc tle mjztzicololtiz, aoc tle mjtzixtilquetzaz: ca ic noviian tonjztztica, in iuhcan in tlaieoaian, in tlacotia in ontomeca: ca amo ticmati, anoço ie iccen mjtzixcaoa, in monaoan, in motaoan, aço ie iccen tiauh, aço ie cana tonuetzitiuh, aço cana atlauhtli, ixtlaoad itic timaqujltitoz, timopopoliujtitoz, aço cana tictlantoz in altepetl, aço ie cenmanian mjxco mocpac ontlitlachia, ca tel iuh qujmattiuh in moiollo, ca moiollo itlan ietiuh, ca ic timellaquauhtiuh, yn jachoquiz, yn jntlaocol in monaoan, in motaoan: auh intla oquijda tomácoxal, in tiveuetque, in açoc mjlach, monecuepal ticmochiujliquiuh, ca oc ceppa timjztzixinatizque.

"And now, take care. Travel the road with caution, lest thou stumble upon something. For desolate,

Auh in azcan tlé ticmomachitia: ma iolic xocnmotequjli in vtli, ma itla tocoujcxinamjc: ca amo

1. *Read* Palabra XIII: *ye yuxuxuhqui, ye izxuhxuxuhqui.*

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ferocious, cruel, and peopled by evil men, spreadeth the wasteland.[2] Carefully thou shalt go taking by the hand, each of them, gathering in groups, ordering, assembling, and bringing together, thy younger brethren. Do not abandon them disdainfully. Advise them as thou goest, that they may take grass and reeds and with them fashion seats [for their elders], there at the places of rest. However, all this we have given — our sighs, our discourses — to such as teachers, forest people, desert people, merchants, travelers, etc. But no longer is it necessary to relate so much to thee. For here we only encourage thee somewhat. Little by little offer thyself to the torment. Use all thy force. Thou knowest what is required, O my beloved son."

When he had been supplicated, then he also returned a few words. Thus he answered and said:

"I thank you for the favor you have shown me, O brave men. You have left me consolation. Who am I? What am I that I deserve this short talk, your encouragement, your motherliness and fatherliness? For you have opened to me [counsel] which was in your bowels, your breasts, which lay resting, guarded, and folded like precious feathers well-curved and well-pointed; like a green stone, round and well-polished; like fine turquoise, well-rubbed and glistening. Doubtless I shall treasure you; for so, covering me, penetrating my bowels and my breast, and resting in my heart, go your fatherliness and motherliness, which are not due from you. Etc.

"But this I beg you. What will our lord grant? Perchance I shall yet come to look you in the face. For now I leave you. See to the sweeping and cleaning — the little tasks of sweeping, gathering of rubbish, and laying of fires. Let it not grow dark, nor rubbish stand cast about, in my humble house. Continue to do this. I go leaving only my beloved mother, my beloved great aunt, my beloved elder sister,[3] my beloved aunt, etc. For I go troubled and saddened on their account. Do your duty to them; advise them. Let no one make sport of them. Perchance our lord may somewhere destroy me. So all I thus entrust to you, and my heart is content."

tlacacemelletoc: ca tequanioteoc, motepanioteoc, amo tlaca onoc in çaçatl in tlacotl, ma ivian in mastech xiquimonantiuh, xiquimondantiuh, xiquimonololotiuh, xiquimotepeuitiuh, xiquimoncoçaquitiuh, xiquimõnechicotiuh in moteiccaoan: ma tiquimonnoxiccaujli, ma xiquimonnoxttiuh: injc conteujlizque in çacatzintli, in pepetzintli: ioan injc contlalilizque, intzicpaltzin, in campa necujloian, ca tel isquich o, in otiquinmacaque in tihiio, in totlatol, in iuhquj in tlacaopeoaia, in quauhtlaca, in çacatlaca, in puchteca in jaque et.[2] ca amo mononequj in quexquich timjtzacaquitizque, ca ça ninan achitzin ic timjtzonchicaoa, ma iocuica itlã zonmequjlti in tlaihiiovilistli, ma izquich motlapultzin, tle tiemomachitis nopilitze:

in jquac otlatlauhtilloc, niman no ic cen camatzintli ic tlacuepa, ic tlanaoquilia, quitta

Oannechmocnelilique in ocelequichtle: otlacauhquj in amoiollotzin, ac nehoatl, ac ninomati, in nican cen camatzintli nipquicnopilhuja, yn amotechicaoalistzin, in amotenaniotzin, amotetaiotzin, ca nocontlapoa in amoxillantzinco, amotoxcatlantzinco actica, in cepouhtoc, in cepouhoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc, in iuhquj quetzalli, in vel vitoliuhquj, in vel iaque, auh in iuhquj chalchiujtl, in ololiuhquj, in vel petlacac, in iuhquj teoxiujtl, in tlamatilolli, in uel cuecuexoca, aço cana namechonnotlazililiz, ca ic nonnapantiuh, noxillan, notoxcatlan onactiuh, neiollo itlan onietiuh, in amonaiotzin, in amotaiotzin, in amono anquinnazcaujlique. Et[2]

Auh inin ca namechonnotlatlauhtilia quẽ tlacoaz in jiollotzin totecujo, açoc amjtzinco amocpactzinco nitlachiequjuh ca ie namechonnotlalcaujlia, ma ipan anmotlatoltizque in tlachpanalistli, in tlachpanalli, in tlachpanaltzintli in tlacujcujlistli, in tletlaliliztli: macamo ontlaioaticaz, tlaçolli onqujxticaz, l. onquixtoz, in nocnoxacalco, ma oc conjxcauj in ça iio noxoncauhtiuh in nonantzin, in noteçitzin, in nouelltioatzin, in naujtzin. Ez.[2] ca ica nonnotequipachotiuh, ica nontlacoxtiuh, ma ipan anoalmoquixtiaque, ipan anmotlatoltiaque, ma caiac ica mocacaioaz, in aço cana nechmopopolhuja totecujo: ca izquich no ic amotetzinco nonnocauhtiuh, vel onietiuh in noiollo.

2. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xliii, fol. 214: *Indicaxuch inquimpach in ximoquiqui, the corresponding Spanish text reads: "Rasa es la brecha y guardad de los enemigos. Por mechapoloa que aora decir. Aquej en este lugar que era de brechas y guardadas se pudieron primeramente nuestros antepasados, aquej hizieron primeramente sus casas de mejorales y sus casas de gente o barrio."*

Note, however, that in Book IX, cap. iii, *Tiacatecatl* and *Çacatecatl* are identified as dieses del camino.

3. In "Memoriales con Rasilias" (*Academia de la Historia MS*), p. 207, *cuitlahuili* is translated *cuidada*.

Then all his household wept over it. There were tearful greetings by all the old merchants, men and women. But he who could not weep only continued to sob behind the others, seeming to weep. And afterwards there was a little rejoicing, consolation, and drinking, to drive away and disperse sorrow. So afterwards all departed and went, and each one entered his own house.

Nonan ic nechoquijtilo, in jchantlaca, nechoquiztlapalulo, in ic muchiuhtin puchteca veuetque, puchteca ilamatque: auh in aca auel choca, çan teicampa tzõtzoiontica, mochoquizcanenequj, auh çatepan achitzin ic papacoa, neiollalilo, tlaoano, injc motlaocolpopeloa, motlaocolcecẽmana: ic çatepan netlatlalcaujlo, viuilo, cacalacoa in techachan. 441 484

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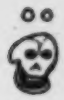

000 **Nineteenth Chapter. Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.**

Injc caxtolli vnnavi capitulo: vncan motencoa, in ventli in qujchioaia, im impãpa vecanemja ioan injc mozttlaoaia in jpampa in mjquja.

441 And his household thereupon began the penances. They let themselves become dirty. No longer did
● 98f they wash their heads with soap, though they could
515 bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

Auh in jchantlaca: njman iquac compeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzoiotia, aocmo mãmovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, iece, aocmo polaquj: auh nanapoaltica qujmattiuj, in mamovitiuj: injc qujnezttia, qujtemachitia, ca ipampa tlamãçeoa in jnconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jxcauhque, ixqujch caujtl iuh qujchiuhtinemj, in jquin qujçaqujuh:

441 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were
765 notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual[1] for their child.

auh intla noce omjqujto, iehoan achto caqujtilo, in puchteca veuetque, intequjuh in teiolmelaoazque, in teiolpachiujtizque, iehoantin qujcalaquja in choquiztli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjqujto, ic qujtemachitia, injc naujlhujtl ilnamjcoz, mjccaoztizque in jchantlaca, injc tlapalolozque, ellaquaoalozque, qujmjloloz in inconeuh:

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

auh in oqujz navilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlaca: ic mjtoa, momjccaaltia injc compopoloa, conjilcaoa intlaocol:

441 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set up an image of him made of pine torches bound
765 together.[2] They made and formed his image; they
778 adorned his likeness. This *evillotl* was only a statue of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

auh intla cana oiaomjc, qujtlaliaia icujllo, qucujllotia, queujllotlalilia, ixiptla qujchichiujlia, injn Evillotl: çan ocoquavitl in qujtzatzaianaia, çatepan qujcujtlalpia: auh ixqujch itech qujtlalia, in amatlatqujtl, in amanechichioalli, in amazicolli, in amacozcatl, in amaneapantli, qujtlaolololtia, qujtlatepeoaltia qujtlamamaca, injc mochi ioan qujtlatizque: in ie iuhquj in oqujcencauhque evillotl, in jquac ie choqujliloz oiaomjc, oc cemjlhujtica, in jcujllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in eoatica: auh qujnjquac in ioalnepantla, qujtlatiaia, vmpa in qujtocaiotiaia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tzompantitlan:

1. *Qujmjloloz*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.
2. *Evillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "*es ceniza de tea, atadas unas, con otras.*"

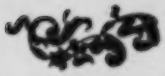

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Second Chapter, in which is related the evil omen which they regarded in two ways: so it was when they heard that the white hooded hawk[1] cried out; and what the merchants did when somewhere on the road such befell them; perhaps it cried out at them.

Ic ome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in çan necoc tlachiaia: in juhquj catca, in jquac qujcaquja, in tzatzia oactli: ioan in tlein qujchioaia, puchteca in jquac cana iuhquj vtlica, in jnpan muchioaia in anoço inpan tzatzia.

Likewise they considered it an omen of evil when the white hooded hawk screeched at someone. As they said, it spoke in two [ways],[2] sometimes good and sometimes bad.

No ioan, qujtetzammatia: in jçic aca ipan vevetzca, oactli: in juh conjtoa, vme vitz qujtoa: in quenman qualli, quenman amo qualli.

When it displayed good, then they heard its words which it said as it screamed: "A good time! A good time!" When this was the case, none were frightened; the travelers were in no way terrified by it. Rather, they rejoiced. It was as if their hearts were gladdened, because perhaps they would come upon something pleasing; perchance in something they would be favored; they would attain something beneficial.

In jçic qualli qujnextia, ic qujcaquj in jtlatol injc vevetzca qujtoa: ieccan, ieccan, in jquac, yn, amo netemmacho: atle ic momauhtia, in nenenque: çan ie papaquj: iuhqujn ocovetzi in iniollo: ipampa, aço itla qualtzin, in jpan ie oniasque: aço itla ipan mopovatiuj: itla qualli, qujcnopilujzque.

But when they heard that it laughed too long, in a high pitch, — as if its bosom and side were in pain; or as if it screamed swollen with joy, [then], as if they were sick and frozen, none spoke aloud. They went with heads hanging, with necks loose. No longer [was there] control. Because of this they felt that perhaps something wueful would now betide them; they would come upon something perilous. Either some one of them would die; or sickness would come or somewhere they would be ambushed. This befell them when, perhaps, [they were] somewhere among the mountains, in a gorge, in the midst of the desert,[3] in the middle of the woods, in a thicket, within and among the trees. And if it were merchants, vanguard merchants, wayfarers, whom it befell that at them the white hooded hawk laughed, they said that perhaps now they should come upon something, or their goods would be carried away by the water, or some evil men, thieves

Auh in ic oqujcacque, in juhquj oxmjmjctoc, ic vetzca, tlatlapitzaoa: in juhquj, ixillan, ijomotlan, onquasquauhti: in juhquj, mocacanaoa, paquj, vevetzca: iuhqujn ontlanavi, iuhqujn ocevetzi, aocac naoati: ça tlatoliuj, ça tlaquechpiliuj, aiocmo tenaoatili: ic qujmatia, aço itla ovi, inpan ie ommuchioaz: itla ouj, ic conmonamjctizque: anoço ceme aca ie mjqujz: aço ie vitz cocoliztli, anoço çana inpan, ie oalmotzaquaz. In jnpan muchioa, yn, aço cana tepetzalan, atlauhitic, ixtlaoatl itic, quauhnepantla, quauhioacatla, quauhitic, quaujtl itic: auh intla puchteca, oxtomeca, nenemjnj: iuhquj inpan omochiuh, in jnpan ovevetzcac oactli: qujtoaia. Aço, ie itla, coemonamjctizque: aço ie ontlaatoctizque: anoço ie acame, tlaveliloque, inmac ie ommaqujzque, ichtecque, tetlaçujcujlique, tetlatlaçaltique, tetlanamoelique, inmac ie ontlatlaçazque, qujntlacujcujlizque, qujntlacencujlizque, qujntlatlaçaltizque, qujntlanamoelizque: anoço cana ceme, ic onquauhtenue-

1. Cf. Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis G. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. IV, p. 48; he mentions that the bird was thought an evil omen in travelling merchants.

2. Probably idiomatic. More literally, ome vitz qujtoa could be rendered "in two ways came what it said."

3. Quauhnepantla. Alonso de Molina, in *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), translates the term as either woods or desert.

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who had escaped from their hands, who pilfered, plundered, and robbed, would now wrest goods from their hands, and plunder, strip, sack, and rob them. Or somewhere, some of them might now faint and collapse, to be cast aside. Or they would be eaten by wild animals—the fare of brutes; they would become the game of wild beasts. Or somewhere they would be encircled by, and encounter, war.

tzinque, ie onvetzinque, ie onmomaisujtque: aoez, ie onteqquancoalcque, tequitlaqualtin, tequanjme istlaqualhoan, ie ommuchioazque: anoçe, cana inpan ie oalmotzaquaz iaeiotl: ie conmonamjctiaque.

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When this was so, he who was leader, who went commissioned leader, who proceeded as principal there along the road, then began to encourage them. He greeted his younger brethren with tears, his charges who were being taught. Along the way he instructed them and said to them:

In jquac yn, in aqujn tachcauh, in tachcauhchiuhtiuh, in tachcauh icatiuh vtlipan, vncan peoa, in qujmelaquaoa, in qujnchoqujztlapaloa, iteiccaoan, itlahoapavalvan: in vtli ipan qujmixtlamachtia, qujmjlvia.

"Be of good cheer, O my sons, O my younger brothers. Of what profit is it that we are afflicted? Let no one be sad or heavy of heart. In truth for this we came: we came to die; so went our hearts heavy and foreboding. Thus we went from and left our homes and the houses of others:[4] our aunts, our uncles, our nephews, our elder sisters. For this reason they shed tears for us; they poured out upon us their weeping, their sorrow, that perhaps here, somewhere, on the desert, on the plains, in the gorge, in the forest, in various places will lie scattered our bones and our hair; in many places our blood, our redness, will spread, poured out and slippery. For in truth this hath been our reward. Let no one feel womanish in heart. Yield completely to death; pray to our lord. Let none think of or brood over [our condition]; for only later shall we know of whatsoever things[5] we may strike against. Then, in the end, we may weep for ourselves.

Ximellaquauacan, nopilhoane, noteiccaoane, quennel titotolinja: macaiac tlaocuja, nentlamati in jiollo, ca nel ic tioallaque, in timjqujco: ca iuh oalietia, iuh qujoalmattia in tciollo: injc ticoalalcaujque, tiquallalotique in tonca, in teca: in tauj, in totla, in tomach, in toueltiuh: ca ie injc techchoqujli, injc topan qujpino, in ichoqujz, in jtlaocul: aço cana ajcan, iztlahoatl, atlauhtli itic, quavitl itic, cecemmantoz in tomjo: in tozzon, nonoqujuhtoz, aalacatoz in tezço, in totlapallo: ca nel otomaceoaltic, ma caiac qujciotlamachti in ijollo: xicmotlaquammacacan in mjqujztli, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo: ma caiac tle itic qujnemjti, qujlnamjqujj: ma ça qujn jc ticmatizque, in çaço tle itech titotzotzonativi: vncan ic ommaian, tontochochoqujlizque:

"For truly, this is how we come giving honor[6] and luster to our lords, the merchants who lead, raising them to glory and lifting high their heads. Ere now they have gone knowing and marveling at such things. We are not then the first to discover and behold what will befall us. Strengthen your hearts, O my sons!"

ca nel ichoatl injc tiquinteiotico, tiqujmjtauhcaiotico, tiqujntonaleoaco, tiqujntzonteconacocujco intotechiuhcaoan, in puchteca, in jiaque: ca ieeppa iuh quimattivi, iuh qujmaujçotiuj, camo qujn tehoan iancujcan ie toconnextizque, ie toconjttazque, in tlein topan muchioaz: ximellaquaoacan, nopilhoane.

X 787 484 782

And if somewhere night fell, they gathered, joined, crowded, and assembled themselves somewhere at the foot of a tree or the opening of a gorge,

Auh intla cana oimpan ioac, cana quaujtl iztiotlan, anoço atlauhcamac, ommololoa, ommocemololoa, ommotepeuhtitlalia, monechicoa, qujcujtlalpia, quj-

4. Probably *tonaz* and *aoz* are to read *tuaz* and *tuaz*. In Bernardino de Sahagún, "Memoriales en 3 columnas," *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1986), Vol. VII, p. 390, the phrase is *ya tuaz, ya tuaz*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando parientes de nuestras madres*."

5. "Memoriales en 3 columnas," p. 391, *ahora he puesto dos*. Insertar documentación, *he puesto dos*.

6. In *loc. cit.*, *te lo ciquimpuestos*.

and bound and tied, fastened together, and placed on the ground, all their staves, which represented their god Yiacatecutli. Here, before him, they did penances, bled themselves, cut their ears, and drew straws through them; so they only yielded to whatsoever might befall them. But no one worried or speculated whether it might befall them as the white hooded hawk had foreboded to them.

And perhaps they quite escaped, [or] perchance nothing happened to them who were then terrified when the time of their fright had occurred. If nothing befell them, their hearts were therefore again a little lifted; they raised their heads and revived their spirits; for their fates were so established that fear should no longer be with them.

But the fearful ones, the younger brothers who were not of firm fortune, not of rugged day signs, when they learned of [the omen], went fearing it. No longer were they happy; they talked no more — no longer did they speak aloud; nowhere were their hearts content. Things only worsened as they traveled; they only went engraving on their minds whatever they imagined. No longer with calm, but vainly, did they a little way follow the land; rather, they thought that perchance soon they would somewhere come upon what in truth meant the omen which had occurred and by which they had been frightened.

It hath already been said, nevertheless, that no one knew whether, indeed, it would be verified, or would not be so. For its words were understood, since it spoke in two [ways], to be good and evil.

ercucujtlalpia, qujcemjlpia, qujcemmana in jntopil, in jpan qujxoaia in intecuh: Yiacatecutli. Vncan ixpan tlamaceoa, mjço, monacaztequj, tlacoqujxtia, ça qujmocemmacatoque, in tlein inpan, ie ommuchioaz: auh aocac ontlamati, aocac itlamatia, intla iuhquj inpan muchioa, in juhquj ic oqujntetzauj oactli. 787x 484● 782

Auh anoçe çan maquiça, acaço tle inpan muchioa: in vncan in nemauhtiaia, in jomaujzcujian omochiuhca. Intla ↗tle inpan omochiuh, ic oc ceppa achitzin, oalmoolizcalia: oalaquetza ommoquaahioujia: ic ommotonallalilia: injc intech oacca maujztli: 787x 484

auh in mauhcatlaca teteiccaoa, in amo tonalchicaoaque, in amo tonallapaliuj: ça ie in qujmattiuj, in qujmamattiuj: aocmo paquj, aocmo tlatna, aocmo naoati, aoccan aujz in jiollo: ça tlanauhtiuj, in nenemj, ça imjtic tlacujcujiotiuj, in tleinmach qujlnamiquj: aincmo iujian, in oc nen achi qujtoca tlalli: ça ie in qujmati, aço qujn cana in ie commonamjctizque, in tlein vel qujtoznequj, intetzauh omochiuh: injc omotetzaujçue.

Ie omjto, tel aiac qujmati, in aço vel neltiz: in acanoçomo, ca itlatol itech mocaquj: injc ome vitz qujtoa, qualli ioan amo qualli.

[p 156 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food. When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

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[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).
[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

131
491
487
503

VALLEY OF MEXICO

[p. XV]

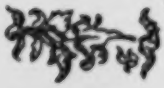

Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards and those of Tlaxcalla set out and fled from Mexico by night.

And after dark, when midnight came, thereupon came out the Spaniards, crowded together, and all of the men of Tlaxcalla. The Spaniards took the lead, and the Tlaxcallans followed behind, covering the rear, like their walls, their rear guard. They went carrying a wooden bridge, which they proceeded to lay across the canal over which they passed.[1]

At the time, it was drizzling; there was a fine sprinkle, a gentle spray, of rain. They crossed easily some of the canals, at Tecpantzinco, Tzapotlan, and Atenchicalco. But when they went to attain Mixcoatechialtitlan,[2] the fourth canal, then it was seen that they were leaving. A woman fetching water spied them, whereupon she cried out and said: "Mexicans! Come here quickly! Already they leave! Your foes are already slinking away!" Then also a man cried out from the top of the [pyramid] temple of Uitzilopochtli. His cries spread well out over the people; everyone heard him. He said: "O chieftains, O Mexicans! Your foes are already setting out! Hasten here by war boat and along the roads!"

And when it was heard, then there was an outcry. On this, the war boatmen broke forth. They rushed; they plied the poles furiously; the boats struck and bumped one another. They came to [a place called] Mictlantonco Macuilcuitlapilco.[3] And from two sides the war boats calme upon them. They pressed upon them, the war boats of those of Tenochtitlan and the war boats of those of Tlatilulco. And a number went afoot, direct to Nonoalco, making their way toward Tlacopan, intending to cut off their advance.

Injc cerapoalli onnavi Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles yoan in tlaxcalteca qujzque, choloque in mexico ioaltica. 726

Auh in ovaliovac in oncic ioalnepantla, njmã ie ic qujça in Españoles: ommotenque, yoan in ie iaqujch tlaxcaltecatl: in españoles iacattivi, auh in tlaxcalteca tlatoqujlitivi, tlatzinpachotivi, iuhqujnma intenanoan, intzacujlhoan muchiuhtc:, qujvicatiaque quauhtlapechtli contecatiaque in acaloco in jpan ompanotiaque: [312]

in jquac in aoachqujauhtimanj, aoachcretzeliuhtimanj, aoachpixauhtimanj, oc cequj in vel companavique acalotli Tecpantzinco, Tzaputla Atenchicalco. Auh in oncito mjxcoa mjxcoatechialtitlã injc nauhcan acaloco: ie vncan ittoque, in ie qujça: ce atlacujc civatl, in qujmjttac: njman ie ic tzatzi: qujto. Mexica, xioalnenemjcan, ie qujça, ie navalqujça in amoiaovan: njmã no ce tlacatl tzatzic in jcpac vitzilobuchtli vel tepan motecac in jtzatziliz, iaqujch tlacatl qujcac: qujto. Tiacavane, mexicae, ie onqujça in amoiauoan, vallatotoca in acalchimalli, yoan in vtli ipan. 487 [203]

Auh in ocacoc: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca: njmã ie ic tlatzomonj in acalchimaleque, totoca, tequjtlanelon, macalhujtequj, macalhujtectivi, tlamattivi mjctlantonco, macujlcujtlapilco: auh in acalchimalli, necoc in impan valmonamjc, in impan valmopic, in tenuchca imacalchimal, yoã in tlatilulca imacalchimal: yoan cequjntin icxipã iaque, nonoalco tlamelauhque, tlacupampa iztiaque, qujniacatzacujliaquja: 726

1. The Aztec would permit reading "bridge" and "canals."—According to all other sources, they carried only one wooden bridge, which was seized in the first canal (that is, at Tecpantzinco, before the present site of the Post Office) and could not be used for the rest of the canals (personal communication, Rafael Garda Granados).

2. Mixcoa is repeated in the Nahuatl MS.

These places were all at canals near the main temple square, on the road to Tlacopan. Cano (op. cit.) says of Atenchicalco and Mixcoatechialtitlan that they were on the Calzada de Tacuba between S. Juan de Letrán and Guerrero; Tzapotlan was on the same calzada in the barrio of Tzapotlan.

3. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "un lugar que se llamaua mictlantonco, macuilcuitlapilco"; Cano (op. cit.) mentions a Macuilcuitlapilco, "que permanece a Sn. Pablo y monumento Relaguia (49-187)."

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans laboriously uncovered by night the waterways which the Spaniards had filled in by day.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in ꝗnin Mexica in cohuvitiaia in qujtlatlapoaia in atl in ioaltica, in vncan catzupaia Españoles in tlaca. 726

And our foes went filling in the canals. And when the enemies had gone, once more [the Mexicans] took up the rocks with which the foes had filled them in. When dawn broke, once again it was even as it had been the day before. Often they so did, where [the Spaniards] had filled in the canals—immediately taking up the stones, the wood, etc.—so that by a little the war was lengthened, and gradually [the Spaniards] broke through [the Mexicans]. For these canals were looked upon as great walls.

Auh in toiaovan, catzuptivitze in acalotli. Auh in onoiaque in iavme ie no ceppa qujqujxtia ín tetl injc otlaxtzupca iaume: in otlatvic ie no ceppa iuhcan, in juhcan catca iallhqa: muchipa iuh qujchiuhque in vncá catzupaia in acalotli, in çan njmá qujvalqujxtiaia in tetl in quavitl. &c. ic achi vecaoac in iauiotl, aiaxcan in qujnvalpetlaque: auh in acalotli in, iuhq'n vei tenamjtl ipan momatia. 726 487

And [as for] the Spaniards and all the Tlaxcallans, their common charge was the road, the highway to Yacacolco, and to Tlilhuacan and Atezcapan.[1] And Yacacolco, Cuepopan,[2] Apeuazcan,[3] and Atlicuhyan, with which went Ayacac[4] and Totecco, were the charge of those of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic, Colhuacan, and Itztapalapan. It became their common task to give battle in boats.

Auh in Españoles yoan in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl incentequjuh in vtli, in vei vtli iacacolco, yoan in tlilhoacan in atezcapan. Auh in iacaculco, in cuepopan, in apeouzcan, yoan atlicuhian injc iaticac aiaxac, in totecco intequjuh muchiuh in Xuchmjlcatl, in cujtlaoacatl, in mjzqujcatl, in culhoacatl in Jtztapalapanecatl, incẽtequjuh muchiuh in acaltica in tlaiecoaia.

And the boatmen and archers of Atlicuhyan and Ayacac girded themselves to come to grips with them. They lost no time. In truth, they were evenly matched. [It was] as if it rained barbed spears; like serpents, arrows streamed and poured. When they hurled them with spear throwers, it was as if a deep yellow mass spread over the foes.

Auh in atlicuhca, yoan aiacacalque in acaleque, in tlamjnanj, vel muchicaoa injc quinnamjquj, amo moquequetza, vel moneneuhcavia, iuhqujn tzetzelivi in tlatzontectli, iuhqujn coatl motlamjna mopiaça in mjtl: in jquac atlatica qujtlaça iuhqujn cozpul ommoteca in impan iaume: 726 [411]

And a number of chieftains—the Tezcacoacatl Xiuhcoacatzin, the Tepanecatl Quaquatzin,[5] Uitzitzin, and Itzcuintzin, people of Yacacolco, whose houses were situated there, neither tarried, nor abandoned their beloved women and children. With difficulty they went to bring them safely to a house by another canal which was in Amaxac.

auh in cequjntin tlacaoan in Xiuhcoacatzin quaquatzi, Tezcacoacatl, Tecpanecatl, Vizzitzin, Itzcujntzin: in iacaculca vel ipan mantivia in calli: amo moquequetzaia, amo qujxiccavaia in Cioatzintli, in piltzintli, aiaxcan in qujmõcaltechpachoto in oc ce acalotli itech in amaxac icac.

1. A *barrio* fronting that of Tlaxcallans: an area now bounded N. by Calle de Montezuma; E., Comonfort; S., Orquesta; and W., the Miale in Tlalnepantla and the water's edge.—Cline, op. cit. R. H. Barlow ("Los años omitidos," p. 42) locates it "*cerca las calles de Jaime Nunó y de Gonzáles Bocanegra.*"

2. Cuepopan or Tlaxpanhuacan, an area bounded now, N., by Calle de Montezuma; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Pedro Moreno (once a canal); and Lerdo.—Cline, op. cit.

3. To the east of the Plaza de Tlaxcala.—Ibid.

4. Atlicuhyan and Ayacac were probably in the barrio of Tolpanahuacán.—Ibid.

5. Ibid., op. cit., p. 108, groups the names and cities as given here.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

THE ROAD TO XOCONOCHCO

The tribute collectors of the Empire reached Xoconochco—which was 487
so far away from the heartland that it paid only twice a year, as the month symbols on the *Matricula* page attest—by the same route that modern land travelers follow, that is, south and east of the Nudo de Cempoaltepetl. Ahuizotl, at the end of the fifteenth century, invaded certain key places, which linked this province thereafter with Tochtepec. The activities of Moctezuma II filled certain gaps without altering our general picture for this area.

The main centers occupied by the Mexicans to assure the route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and down the Sierra Madre to Soconusco are indicated on the map between provinces 29 and 30, Tochtepec and Xoconochco. The list, which might be expanded, has been formed from the conquest lists of the Mexican rulers.[a]

The reason why these towns do not appear in the *Matricula* as comprising a separate tributary province is debatable. They may have been depicted on some page now lost, or the Mexicans may have demanded from the towns only the right of transit.

[a] Barlow, "Materiales para una cronología del Imperio de los Mexicanos," *RMEA* (1946), 8: 207–215.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied 648
the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication 651
might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, 202
it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all 487
through the land roads should be opened which would be prac- 202
ticable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly 491
increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely 651
escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by 489
the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[303] "*Recueil Général de Pièces sur le Mexique*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 828) figures a bridge at Huejutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Metlaltoyuca shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 481): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere *runners*. ("Correos"—"Ychcha (tilantli" *Molina* I, p. 30, from "Ichcha"—quick and "tilantli"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 32 and 113). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 535 and 536), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codice Ramírez*" (p. 62).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[306] "*Codex Ramirez*" (p. 62).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 tives to whom it was delivered.[307] If the gathering of tribute
489 thus required a set of officers necessarily placed beneath the orders of the military chieftain, another set was needed for its preservation and judicious distribution. If the one consisted of stewards dwelling outside of the pueblo, the other was composed exclusively of home-stewards. Every convoy was therefore "consigned" to a proper officer, whose duty it was to receive it and then abide the directions of his superiors as to its apportionment.[308]

[643] We have already mentioned the "Cihuacohuatl" as the officer,
647 who was responsible to the council for the administration of the
651 stores and the proper distribution thereof, though he had beneath him another officer, to whom this duty was really and practically assigned. Torquemada and those who have followed his school, call this subordinate "great crop-gatherer," "Huey calpixqui,"[309] whereas Tezozomoc and Durán apply to him the title of "man of the house of chests" "Petlacalcatl"[310] In both cases, however, he is represented as "chief steward," to whom all the others should render account. He superintended the distribution of the tribute,[311] and to him the kins came for their share—perhaps the largest of all. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish the principles upon which the division took place. All that we know is, that the tribe received one portion and the kins or "calpulli" the other, and that the "man of the house of chests," under whose eyes the distribution took place, afterwards looked to those stores, in particular, which were reserved for the tribe, i. e.: for the demands of the tribal government.[312] Therefore, the "man of the house of chests" frequently appears to be under the direct orders of the "chief of men," who could apply to him, more particularly, for such articles as were required for the exercise of tribal hospitality including gifts, and for displays of finery on particularly solemn occasions.[313] It is true that, as we have elsewhere shown, particular tracts of land, "tecpan-tlalli," were reserved among tributary tribes for the demands of the official

[307] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X, p. 18). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 186).

[308] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXII, p. 81): "A los dichos pueblos fué un mayordomo para cobrar este tributo, como para todos los demas pueblos, que en Mexico havia un mayordomo, y otro en el mismo pueblo para mayor sugecion y vasallage."

[309] *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, pp. 344, 345), copied by Vetancurt (Parte IIa, Trat. IIº, cap. Iº, pp. 270 and 271), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. X, pp. 468 and 469).

[310] Also by the *Codex Mendoza* (Interpretation to plates XX, XXI, etc.).

[311] See note 309, also *Tezozomoc* and *Durán*.

[312] This is so frequently mentioned by *Tezozomoc*, that I forbear detailed quotations.

[313] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," sundry places, too numerous to refer to).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing on such wonderful sights," wrote Bernal Diaz, "we did not know what to say or whether what appeared before us was real, for on one side in the land there were great cities and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we . . . we did not even number four hundred soldiers."[2]

Although socially and governmentally Tenochtitlan was distinctly an American Indian tribal town, outwardly it appeared the capital city of an empire. A bird's-eye view would have revealed an oval island connected with the mainland by three causeways which converged at the center of the city. These roads were cut by waterways over which removable bridges extended. The edges of the island were fringed by the green of the "floating gardens," while at the center the shiny white of the houses predominated, and the verdure was reduced to tiny green squares in the patio gardens. Thrust above the quadrate masses of the roof tops loomed the various clan temples, each set on its platform in the form of a truncated pyramid. The city had few streets or open spaces but was gridded with canals crossed by portable bridges. The two principal plazas were those of the Temple of Tlaltelolco and of the religious center of Tenochtitlan proper, open spaces which gave a welcome relief from the pyramids and official palaces clustered about them. There must have been a curiously living quality about this grouping, the temples seeming to ride like horsemen among the serrated ranks of the houses. (See Plate 37, top.)

Were a visitor to traverse Tenochtitlan from south to north, he would have been struck by the rich variety of sights.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its
644 quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings
[367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great
517 plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide
174 road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

868 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led
174 to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

131
471
487
503

VALLEY OF MEXICO

[p. XV]

131
491
361
363

TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

[p. xvii]

[p. xviii is blank]

726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenanteputzco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at Totecco,[8] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9]
[491] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came,
[443] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct
317] to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied]
[533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjnoc ixquac, njman ic momjqujli: ichoatl in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoã itech ietiquizque, atlan quinnemjtique, quinteteepachoque: auh vncã mjquizquja in castañeda: auh ça acaltitech pilcatia injc quivicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenanteputzcõ, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, çan tlatlapixtoca in atlan. Auh in ie ioa quivica.

Auh iquezquilhujoc ie no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ie quioalmottilique in quauecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhticac iztanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jxquich tlaxcaltecatl, in aculhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ie ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in quãmjmjlli, in acatl quicujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cencã ivian in iativitze, quiniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapiztivitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampa onotivitze in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ie ixquich altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, meztzotzona in tlaxcaltecã, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, queoa in çaço tlein quijnamjquj, ic mellaquaoa muchiua.

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoã vel nepacholo, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, qujtetetzontlaliaia, quj-chjxtoque in quemman tecvitilos, in quenman quj-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*cerca de aquella yglesia que se llama chico hacia*." Cano (*op. cit.*) places it in la Calzada de Peralvillo, hacia el Tepeyac-Ixhtlahuaca.

8. "*Cerca de la Cruz, pueblo Amacatitlán*." — Cano, *op. cit.*

9. El Pedido de los Indios — east of the center of Tenochtitlan, in the lake. However, Kapp and Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and map, locate it as a hill in the southwestern part of Tlatelolco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*determinaron entre sí los españoles de darnos guerra por allí*."

11. Quauhcatitlan acquedil — "*calle que iba derecho de Moyadoc al Mercado de la Sal. . . . prolongaba hacia encontrar el Albarradón y probablemente correspondía con la Calzada de Moyadoc, Mercado, Almacenes, Carnaval y Ribera*." — Cano, *op. cit.* Kapp and Barlow, *op. cit.*, show it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Ramírez, *loc. cit.*, the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the Florentine Codex: "*por causa de los españoles que los indios habían muerto en su presencia, tornaron á proponer guerra de nuevo, haciendo primeramente adelantar que la guerra no había de cesar hasta que ganaran la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre delles que no muriese en sus manos: de ahí adelante comenzaron á cegar todas las acequias y canales de canoas por donde pudiesen entrar los canoas donde los bergantines no podían entrar, y así comenzaron á derribar casas, y allanar todas las acequias*."

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en barrio que se llama Tlilmacac que es agora casas mejor*" (San Martín).

strong voice." Then they spoke to a seasoned warrior named Tlamayocatl, and then Mayeuatzin commanded and said to him: "Go forth and tell those of Cuitlauac: 'O men of Cuitlauac! Your ruler Mayeuatzin hath sent me! Behold him! There he standeth upon the small pyramid!'" And when those of Cuitlauac had heard him, they answered him: "Nay, ye have slain him!" Then he said unto them: "Nay, he is not dead! Look well upon him! There he now standeth!" And [Mayeuatzin] spoke forth: "I have not died. Let nothing injure my lip rod, my green stone [jewels], my devices!" And when he ended his speech, then a cry arose [among the Indians who were with Spaniards], whereupon there was fighting. Then they pursued [the Mexicans]. But in the market place, there at Copalnamacoyan, the battle, gradually abating, lasted long.

And once our foes of Tliliuhquitepec and Atetemollan* together conferred and took note of a narrow road which led between house clusters. It was the path of a nobleman named Tlacatzin. And when our foes had already entered, then the chieftains drove them forth. And a man, a chieftain and a seasoned warrior named Tlapanecatl, whose home was at Atencapan, then engaged them. Our foes then quickly seized him. And the [Mexican] chieftains then rushed and went shooting arrows at our foes. Then they made [the enemy] loose the captured chieftain. But our foes then smote him in the calf of the leg, there where the leg is bled. Then [the enemy] departed; the fighting ceased.

itoca: Tlamaiocatl: nec quimoteia in Maichoatzin: 726
quilhuja. Tla zoniauh, tla xiquimonjlhuj in cujtlaoaca: Cujtlavcac, oncchoaliva in amoclatocauh in Maichoatzin, xocoujttacan nechca moquetzticac mumuoo. Auh in oqujcacque cujtlaoaca, quivalitoque. Ca amo, ca oanquijnjctique: nec quimonjlhuja. Ca amo mjquj, vel, xocottacan ic in nechca icac: yoan quivalitoa, ca amo njmjquj, ma itla nechitlacalhujti, in notençac, in nochaichiuh, in notlaviz: auh in ocontzonequjxti in jchtol, nec tlacaoaca: njman ic ic necaliua, nec quivalitoca. Auh in tiazquizco in vmpa copalnamacoian, aiazcan in mocauh, vncā vecaoac: [293]
in iauiotl.

Auh ceppa tecentlatalhujque in toiaovan in Tlil- [491]
iuhquitepeca, atetemoleque: ic quimottilique in vpitzactli in calla quiztica, yiovi catca ce palli: itoca, Tlacatzin. Auh in ic calaquj in toiaovan: nec quintoca in tiiacaoan. Auh ce tlacatl tiacauh, tequjoa, itoca Tlapanecatl, atencapā ichan catca: nec quinoalnamjquj, njmā ic quicujtivetzque in toiaovan: auh in tiiacavan, njmā ipan onmotepeuhque, quinmjntivi in toiaovan: njmā ic contetlaçaltito in cacica tiiacauh. Auh in toiaovan nec quivalmetzvicque: vncā in jneccoaian: njman ic iaque, ômocacauhque in mjcali.

* Corresponding Spanish text: "se reunieron los ancianos de Atenchi."

[p. 108 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

[632] *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-
[114] century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are
131 included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[5] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua
[491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal
[133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[6] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[7] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[8] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names
[103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like
[101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca
[491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (e)[9] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[5] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[6] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[7] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[9] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

How we began our march to the City of Mexico, what happened to us on the road, and what Montezuma sent to say.

WE set out from Cholula in carefully arranged order as we were always accustomed to do, the mounted scouts examining the country ahead and some very active foot soldiers accompanying them, so that should they come to any bad ground or other obstacle they might help one another; then [followed] our cannon all ready for action, and the musketeers and crossbowmen, and then the horsemen in parties of three so that they could help one another, then all the rest of the soldiers in good order. I don't know why I call all this so clearly to mind, but when writing about war, one feels obliged to make mention of it, so that it can be seen how we marched always "with chin on shoulder." Marching in this way we arrived that day at some ranchos standing on a hill about four leagues from Cholula, they are peopled from Huexotzingo, and I think they are called the Ranchos of Yscalpan. To this place soon came the Caciques and priests of the towns of Huexotzingo which were near by, and they were friends and allies of the Tlaxcalans, and there also came people from other small towns, which stand on the slopes of the volcano near their boundary line, who brought us food and a present of golden jewels of small value, and they asked Cortés to accept them and not consider the insignificance of the gift but the good will with which it was offered. They advised him not to go to Mexico as it was a very strong city and full of warriors, where we should run much risk. They also told us to look out, if we had decided upon going, for when we had ascended to the pass we should find two broad roads, one leading to a town named Chalco, and the other to another

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

town called Tlamanalco,[1] both of them subject to Mexico; that the one road was well swept and cleared so as to induce us to take it, and that the other road had been closed up and many great pines and other trees had been cut down so that horses could not use it and we could not march along it. That a little way down the side of the mountain along the road that had been cleared, the Mexicans (thinking that we must take that road) had cut away a piece of the hill side, and had made ditches and barricades, and that certain squadrons of Mexicans had waited at that point so as to kill us there. So they counselled us not to go by the road which was clear, but by the road where the felled trees were, saying that they would send many men with us to clear it, and as the Tlascalans were also with us, between them they would clear away the trees, and they said that that road came out at Tlamanalco.

Cortés received their present very kindly and told them that he thanked them for the counsel they had given him, and that with God's help he would not abandon his march but would go the way they advised him. Early the next morning we began our march, and it was nearly midday when we arrived at the ridge of the mountain where we found the roads just as the people of Huexotzingo had said. There we rested a little and began to think about the Mexican squadrons on the intrenched hillside where the earth works were that they had told us about.

Then Cortés ordered the Ambassadors of the great Montezuma who came in our company to be summoned, and he asked them how it was that those two roads were

[1] Bernal Díaz seems to have gone wrong in his topography. At the gap between the two volcanoes the roads probably divided, one (to the right) going by way of Tlamanalco to Chalco, the other (more direct) going to Amecameca. The Spaniards probably took the more direct (the blocked up) road to Amecameca, and did not go to Tlamanalco at all. Cortés, in his second letter, says that he went to Amecameca, and does not mention Tlamanalco.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all through the land roads should be opened which would be practicable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[303] "*Second Rapport de Pinar sur le Mexique*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are more heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 522) figures a bridge at Huajutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Metlaltoyuca shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 462): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere runners. ("Correos"—"Tolchos tlitlantli" *Molina* I, p. 38, from "Iolchos"—quick and "tlitlantli"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 98 and 113). The latter are very well described by Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 555 and 556), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codex Ramírez*" (p. 62).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

De las Cerimonjas

SECOND BOOK, WHICH TREATETH OF THE FEASTS AND SACRIFICES BY WHICH THESE NATIVES HONORED THEIR GODS IN THEIR STATE OF INFIDELITY.

LIBRO SEGUNDO QUE TRATA DE LAS FIESTAS, Y SACRIFICIOS: CON QUE ESTOS NATURALES, HONRRAUAN A SUS DIOSES, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU INFIDELIDAD.

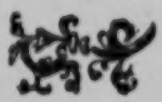

805 x796 **First Chapter**, concerning the calendar and the feasts of fixed date, the first of which is the one which followeth.[1]

The first month of the year was called, among the Mexicans, Atl caualo, and in other parts Quauitl eua. This month began upon the second day of February, when we celebrate the Purification of Our Lady. On the first day of this month, they celebrated a feast in honor—according to some—of the Tlaloc gods, whom they held to be gods of rain; [or]—according to others—of their sister, the goddess of water, Chalchiuhtli icue; [or]—according to [still] others—in honor of the great priest or god of the winds, Quetzalcoatl. And we may say that [they celebrated the feast] in honor of all of these. This month and all the rest, which are eighteen [in number], each have twenty days.

[176 184]

Capitulo primero, del canlendario, de las fiestas fixas, la primera de las quales es lo que se sigue.

El primero mes, del año se llamaua entre los mexicanos Atl caoalo: y en otras partes quauitl eoa. Este mes començaua en el segundo dia del mes de Hebrero quando nosotros celebramos, la purificacion, de nuestra señora. En el primero dia deste mes: celebrauan vna fiesta a honrra (segun algunos) de los dioses tlaloques, que los tenjan por dioses de la pluuja: y segun otros de su hermana, la diosa del agua, chalchiuhtli ycue: y segun otros a honrra del gran sacerdote, o dios de los vientos quetzalcoatl: y podemos deziz, que a hõrra de todos estos. Este mes, con todos los de mas, que son deziocho tienen a cada veynte dias.

Atl çualo or Quauitl eua

x796 In this month they slew many children; they sacrificed them in many places upon the mountain tops, tearing from them their hearts, in honor of the gods of water, so that these might give them water or rain.

● [493] The children whom they slew they decked in rich finery to take them to be killed; and they carried them in litters upon their shoulders. And the litter were adorned with feathers and flowers. [The

5ª	d	KL	Atl caoalo, o quauitl eoa	d	1ª
1	e		En este mes matauan muchos njños	e	2
2	f		sacrificavanlos, en muchos lugares en	f	3
3	g		las cumbres de los montes: sacandoles	g	4
4	A		los coraçones a hõrra de los dioses del	A	5
5	b		agua, para que les diesse agua o llujia.	b	6
6	c		A los njños, que matauan: com-	c	7
7	d		ponjanlos con ricos ataujos para lleuar-	d	8
8	e		los a matar, y lleuauanlos, en vnas	e	9
9	f		literas, sobre los hõbros: y las literas,	f	10

1. The first nineteen chapters, largely a digest of more expanded material in Chapters 20-38, are presented consecutively; most of the translations will be found in this later section. For these nineteen chapters the original has no corresponding Nahuatl text.
2. Marginal notation: *Cuatro dias celebrabã.* 3. Marginal notation: *Cuentas del calldario mexicano.*

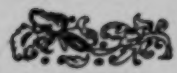

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este tiẽpo hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

796 805 778

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatzontli*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnaoatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Marginal notation: *Quedar de dar cuenta.*

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

1	g	EL		g	30
2	A		Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas	A	1°
3	b		culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles,	b	2
4	c		y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra:	c	3
5	d		haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo gru-	d	4
6	e		esos como la muñeca largos llamauan-	e	5
7	f		los Ecatzontli: assi a estos como a las	f	6
8	g		culebras los investian cõ aquella masa	g	7
9	A		que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los in-	A	8
10	b		vestian a manera de montes, arriba les	b	9
11	c		ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de per-	c	10
12	d		sona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes,	d	11
13	e		en memoria de aquellos que se aujan	e	12
14	f		ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de	f	13
15	g		tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino	g	14
16	A		que los enterrauan.	A	15
17	b		Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas,	b	16
18	c		aujan puesto en sus altares a las yma-	c	17
19	d		genes dichas: ofrecianles tambien ta-	d	18
20	e		males y otras comjdas: y tambien los	e	19

dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

796 [273]

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauiadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

796 [289] [314] [293] [483] 482]

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[9] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[9]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Youhcatl.[9] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Youhcatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzinch,[9] [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhcatlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhcatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with snail shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored—part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhquemac, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhquemac. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh injccan in quijnoncaznia;

quauhtepe:: auh yn vmpa onmiquija, çan ie no ie yuoca itiuja, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlaqui, yiapaltic.

Jnic vecil miquija, icpac in tepetl iouhcatl: çan ie no iuoca ietiuh, iuhcacteruijtl, iouhcatl: yn jamatlaqui, tiltic, chichiltic ic onomoqui.

Jnic ennan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmiquija cioatl, iuoca quetzalxoch, yuch cannia, in tepetzintli, quijtocatiuia quetzalxoch, yn itlatqui cueca tentotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: iuoca ietiuja in miquia poiauhtecatl, ynic mochichiuhtiuja, vipiinoac, tlauhjectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic iuoxiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmiquija, iuoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caquijtiuja, epncpanjuhcqui.

Jnic chiquacecan: vmpa quinjcaia cocotl icpac, no iuoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inochichioal cueca, chictlaquaqui, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiaqqalli.

Jnic chicuecan, icpac yn jiauhquemac: çan no iuoca ietiuh, yiauhquemac, in tlacatecujtl: yn itlatquj ietiuh, tlacamaquijlli, yn jiaqqalli.

Jaquican yn, in miquija nextlaoalti, tlacatecuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxiximiqui, quetzaimjaoaio: in chalchiuhcoaqui ietiuh, yuan momacuecteiiioj, quijmomacuecteiiioj chalchiujtl: tlaixobujlti, quijnixolhujaia, mjxmichiouajque, yuan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchiotin mamaçoiioj, tlacomacuahi, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlaoqui, yn jiauh ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapalhia, amatl,

[4]. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is an issue confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*en este sitio compusieron que este nombre del Tlaxcalteca.*"

[7]. Tlapaltic, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *colorado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *bermejo* (bear colored, fulvous) for *yiapaltic*. For *yiapaltic*, Seler (op. cit., p. 50) has *gelbbraun*; Molina (op. cit.), *color tirado de negro*; Simeon (op. cit.), brown or black.

[8]. The Spanish text confirms: "*en este sitio compusieron que este nombre quauhtepec.*"

[9]. Lat. obs: "*en aquel monumento, que este dentro dicho lugarcito, Tepetzinco del Quauhtlan.*"

[10]. Lat. obs: "*en los montes, que este en los cimientos de Quauhtlan, y allí este representado.*"

[11]. Lat. obs: "*en un monte que este entre Quauhtlan cocotzin.*"

[12]. Seler (op. cit., p. 57) made pomatoblasts, which he translates as *Ihre Kopfbinden*, for *tlaçotlantiuj*.

[13]. Sahagún (Bot. ed.) says "*papelillos como alas de papel como mariposas.*"

feathers, red in these [the children]
were kept

[796] and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

[778] And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

[314 289]

[765] And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. [262] They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or clac dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

[776] The first was named Tepenoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maiauel, representing the *maguey*; the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

[314 289] Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

[493] Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

quiztlapichiltivitze, iuhquin tlacaocacitiviz, ninõ ie ic tetlacatilio, techichiualo quinquepechoa:

auh in cequiuti oc vecauan, in quinquepechoa, inic quiztlacatilia, quimixolhuia, yuan mixhiauhtli in quimõtlalilia incampan, quimõquentia in tetevid, yuan quimõquia imamacal, yiaxtzoon.

Auh in aclan miquia, çan iacuiro in quiztlaliaia, in imixiptla, tzoalli in quiachichiouia.

Auh in ocatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tulpepechpan, aço tolpiztzaoac, aço tulpatlactli, aztapili, aço azali in impã quiztlaliaia:

Auh in ie iuhqui, in oncencaoaloc: ninan ie ic quiztlamanjlia: in quimanilaia xocotamalli, yuan tlatonilli, aoaço itacuinacatl, aoaço tetolin: yuan quiztlemanaquijia.

In iquac in motenoua cali oncac: auh in netlacamachoua, cuicatilo, yuan tlatlamanjlilo: auh in cana çan inquich in quiztlamanjliaia.

Auh in ipan in illuitl, miquia cequintin cioa, imixiptlaoan Tetepe.

Inic ce itoca Tepenoch. Inic vme: Matlalquac. Inic ei: Xochtecatl. Inic nauí, Maiauel: ixiptla metl. Inic macuilli: itoca Milnauatl: inin oquichtli, iniptlan coatl:

in iuechichiual, in imamamacal, in imamatlaquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnauatl, çan no iuhqui in iuechichiual, in jtlaquj:

ioatzinco in quimpeualtia in quimapaloiaoaj, tlapechtica: motenoua, quiztlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, quiztlatlaiaualchtia: çan no cioa in tlamapaloa, quiacuiçatitivi.

8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: "Los rostros de cada un monte tenia dos caras, una de persona, y otra de culebra. . . ."
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (loc. cit.), "metían o ponía debajo de ellos, estados con mapas de cuatro."
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 22, n. 116.
12. In the Bulmarde ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 285, auali is explained: "Hay otra que se llama tecuapilli, es como carrizo y dicen como cañitas huecas; otras especies llaman que se llaman auali y colgaz otras del techo, y encima de estas ponen mapas los dioses cuando los ponen."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

C48 nephew of the Great Montezuma, and he begged us to have the goodness to wait until he arrived.

He did not tarry long, for he soon arrived with greater pomp and splendour than we had ever beheld in a Mexican [493] Prince, for he came in a litter richly worked in green feathers, with many silver borderings, and rich stones set in bosses made out of the finest gold. Eight Chieftains, who, it was said, were all Lords of Towns, bore the litter on their shoulders. When they came near to the house where Cortés was quartered, the Chieftains assisted [643] Cacamatzin to descend from the litter, and they swept the ground, and removed the straws where he had to pass, and when they came before our Captain they made him a deep reverence, and Cacamatzin said—

"Malinche, here we have come, I and these Chieftains to place ourselves at your service, and to give you all that you may need for yourself and your companions and to place you in your home, which is our city, for so the Great Montezuma our Prince has ordered us to do, and he asks your pardon that he did not come with us himself, but it is on account of ill-health that he did not do so, and not from want of very good will which he bears towards you."

When our Captain and all of us, beheld such pomp and majesty in those chiefs, especially in the nephew of Montezuma, we considered it a matter of the greatest importance, and said among ourselves, if this Cacique bears himself with such dignity, what will the Great Montezuma do?

When Cacamatzin had delivered his speech, Cortés embraced him, and gave many caresses to him and all the other Chieftains, and gave him three stones which are called Margaritas, which have within them many markings of different colours, and to the other chieftains he gave blue glass beads, and he told them that he thanked them

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

[622
41]

THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

Chief

[441]

Merchant

Lawyer

[463]

Doctor

Women

[759]

Sailor, boatman

Ant Bite

[502
50]

[p. 112 (c)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held [241] in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously [311] [501] poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

776 white clay. He had a spray of fine knives, with quetzal feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red macaw feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

ceuçpôtzinaqui yn jilmamatl, yeuaxqueu ipan itec, tecuxtlato yn jacuaqueu, tecuxtlato yn jchimal, chalchiu yxillaxqui, aquimaqueu, yuamacuxtli, cuitlatl, cuitlatl, ixcuacuac.

Seventeenth Chapter, which tells of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlaloes. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his ceremonies and inventions—the net, the fish-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

776 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water,

796 food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants,

[213] scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their cards-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black ungüento—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Jnic caxtolli vnaueue capítulo, yuaxqui tlamo, yn itoca, yn itoca ceca opochtli: yn quijnemaxtiaia in ueueteca, aiaxca tlaca.

Inin opochtli, ipan mitoaia, tlaloc: ofuca ueueteca ceca, quijnemaxtiaia.

Jnic quijtoaia, ca ichaual ichaualiztli, yxiuauiztli, quijyauiz, quijnitiz in mocuel, yn ocuel, yn mijauachtli, yn ocuitl, tecuxquitl.

Auh yn iquac ilhuiqujxtilitiaia, ol, chaquitli, octli, in ueueti ouchtiaia: yeuan cimaquilli, mochiul, yiuel, cuquilli, yiauhtli, quijquetilitiaia, ic quijnonoiquiqui: chicaueuetli cuecuelachtlaia mocuechtil quijchaiztlaia: inhuqui uctitl pouia: no yuh quijnjxtitiaia, yn ioueiccaua, yn jlamiccaua, calpolqui.

776 Jn juechichiual ceca: ueueue, tlatçalli, tlaolalilli, ueueteca, quemalquiztli, ueueuetl, ueueuquauac, ueueuia.

Eighteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

He was the god of the sun-shoes people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

776 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular ceremonies, his

753 attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

776 These who were affected, we men then ailmented, would

796 thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All bentmed persons in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

Jnic caxtolli vnaueue capítulo, yuaxqui tlamo, in itoca: yn itoca, xipe totec.

Auaxqui itech: tequanco in vel itech catca,

yn inuquich pouia, yn inchan yiuchiual, yn inuicuel: ic tonaxtlaia, ic tonaxia, ichaual quijnaxcaia, in tetemajlitli, papaloctlitli, cuquetlitli, iacxitlitli, ichichiualitli, ixuquipiqui jlitli, ixuauquitlitli, ixuauhpachilitli, ixuacuechilitli, ixuaqujtitli, ixuaxiccitli, ixuaxcyxitli.

Jn aquja ipan mochtiaia, yn cuculitli tequjchi, yuiqua tonmomaxtiaia, yuiqua mijauia: yuic tonuquja yn jiuaia, yuic ilan aquia, yn jquac ilhuiqujxtilitiaia: tonxaxaia, tacuxpoualitli:

tlapaualtiaia, tonxaia, mijauqujxtia tonmaxtia, mochiul cuitatoj, chichiuaxtoj, chichiqui-xtoj, tecuxtlatoj in

79. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 208 (*tecpanchichiquilli*).
80. Cf. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 591) for explanation of *ueueteca del sol*.
81. ". . . un *dardo de tres puntas que se llama mitzcuachalli*."—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the other information: ". . . *y en otras fiestas, aunque no diaria, otra tres puntas*, [*mezquina invention, parece mitzcuachalli*] *el mitzquachalli* (*sic*?) *con mahetes y en que hiere, a los peces; y también el al mesmo usaua*."
82. Standing in the bow, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the same verbs, *ear*, which is colloquially humorous.
83. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 169) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.*, Lib. III, cap. 13) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Tezcoco dances. A clear discussion of the "*pujamos y disparamos*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 131. See also note 69.
84. Meaning problematical.

A 796 in five days the feast day of Toxcatl would come, then they began to sing [and dance].

New, during this time, Moctezuma came not forth; those who had been [the impersonator's] companions provided the people with food and favors.

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecaxuman. On the second day, in the place where they kept the image of Titlacauan, in the house of the keeper who guarded it. On the third day, at Teperzinco, in the midst of the lagoon. On the fourth [day], at Tepepulco, which is also near Tepetzinco.

●[501] After they had sung [and danced], then he embarked in a canoe. The women went traveling with him; they went consoling him and keeping him merry. Then the canoe arrived; then it touched the shore: then it was beached at a place called Acaquilpan or Cuualtepec.

For here he was abandoned, a little [distance] from Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned; and only they who had freely become his pages accompanied him while he yet lived.

[346] So, it was said, when he arrived where he was to die, [where] a small temple stood, called Tlacochcalco, he ascended by himself, of his free will, to the place where he was to die. When he climbed the first step, as he passed one [step], he there broke, shattered, his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had reached the summit, then the priests fell upon him; they threw him on his back upon the sacrificial stone. Then [one] cut open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives offered up. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull-rack. Thus he ended in the adornment in which he died. Thus he there ended his life, there he terminated his life, when he went to die there at Tlapitzauaian.

And this betokeneth our life on earth. For he who [538] rejoiceth, who poseseth riches, who seeketh and coveteth our lord's sweetness, his gentleness—riches and prosperity—thus endeth in great misery. For it is said: "None come to an end here upon earth with happiness, riches, and wealth."[12]

A 796 778 And heye in Mexico, when [it was the month of] Toxcatl, was set up and formed a figure of Uitzil-

cujlti, oquijuh macujlilhujtl quiçaz yn ilhujtl Toxcatl, in penu cujcujca:

yn iquac y, yn izquilhujtl y, aocmo onmachistia yn motecuçoma, oc ie yeemjx caxca, tetlaquahtia tetlauhtia,

ynic cemilhujtl cujcujca, inxaiocan tecaxma: ynic omjlhujtl, vncan in pialoia, in teixiptla in titlacauan, yn ichã aquja calpixquj, yn oquijpaia: ynic eilhujtl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa tepepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn on cujcujcac njman ie ic onmacalaquja, itlan ietihuj in cioa, quijollaltitiuj, quellaquauhtiuj: vmpa vnquiça, vmpa onatenquiça, vmpa quimonacana in acalli, ytocaiocan acaquilpan, anoço cuoaltepec:

ipampa ca vncan entecaoaloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan oalmocuepa: auh ça ichoã in matian muchioa, yn jachoan ocatca, yn oquitocatinenca in iõc oc nemj.

Juh mjtoa yn oacic, in vncan mjquja teucaltontli icaia, itoca tlacochcalco: çan inomia in tleco, çan monomatlecauja, in vmpa mjquja: in ce tlamamatlatl contlecauja, in ce conpanauja, ce vncan quixamanja, quipuztequj yn itlapitzal, yn jvilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oquipantlaz, yn izquj tlamamatlatl, yn opanuetzito tlacpac: njman quicujtiuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetzititeca in techcac: njman ie ic queltetequj, conanilia yn iiollo, no conjauhia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn jtlac amo quioalmjmjlooaia, çan quioaltemoujaia, quinauhcaujaia:

auh yn jxoxtencõ, tzompatitech conquauhço, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omjc ynechichiual: ie vmpa ontlamj yn jnemjliz, vmpa contzonquistia yn jnemjliz, yn vmpa omjquito Tlapitzaouian.

Auh ynin ca quinezcaioia, in tlaticpac tonemjliz: ca in aquin paquj, motlamachtia, in quitta in quimauiçoa in itzopelica, yn jaujiaca in totecujo, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli: injc tzonquiça vey netolinjliztli: ca inh mjtoa, aiac quitlamictiuh in tlaticpac, paquilistli, necujltonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Toxcatl: motlalia

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2.

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—After Paso y Troncoso

22-23. Ezzalqualiztli (Chapter 25)
24-25. Tecuilhuitontli (Chapter 26)
26-28. Uei tecuilhuitl (Chapter 27)
29. Tlaxochimaco (Chapter 28)

[p. 102 G]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—After Paso y Troncoso

97, 97. Mexicans remove bodies and loot from the Tolnua canal (Chapter 25). 98. Massacre at Coloaxayac (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Tzacalhuyacan (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Tzacalhuyacan welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102. Spaniards prepare to depart from Tzacalhuyacan (Chapter 26).

[p. 44(0)]

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648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma.

342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. [501 There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were able to pass into the garden from the lake through an 503] opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcnic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplateo, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding courts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:— 363 "The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the principal streets, and all the others are formed half of hard earth like [501] a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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blessed Mother that helped us. To return to our story, the gist of his message was, that he would come in spite of us and of his uncle to speak to us and to kill us. 721

When the great Montezuma heard that insolent reply, he was greatly angered, and at once sent to summon six of his most trusted captains. And he gave them his seal, and he also gave them some golden jewels, and ordered them to go to Texcoco, and secretly to show that seal to certain Captains and relations of his, who were on bad terms with Cacamatzin on account of his haughtiness, and so to manage that they should make prisoners of Cacamatzin and those who were in his confidence, and bring them before him at once. When those Captains had departed, and it was understood in Texcoco what it was that Montezuma had ordered, as Cacamatzin was greatly disliked, he was taken prisoner in his own palace while he was discussing the subject of the war with his confederates, and they brought five of them as prisoners in his company. [643]

As that city stands close to the lake, they got ready a great pirogue with awnings, and they placed Cacamatzin and the other prisoners in it and with a great crew of rowers they brought them to Mexico. When they had disembarked, they placed Cacamatzin in a richly adorned litter fit for a king such as he was, and with the greatest show of respect they brought him before Montezuma. [501]

It seems that in his interview with Montezuma, he was even more insolent than he had been before, and Montezuma knew of the plots he had made to raise himself to the lordship of Mexico, about which he learnt further complete details from the other prisoners who had been brought to him. If Montezuma was angry with his nephew before, he was now doubly so, and he promptly sent him to our Captain to be held as a prisoner, and the other prisoners he ordered to be set free.

Cortés went at once to the palace to Montezuma's

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

Chief

Lawyer

Merchant

[463]

Doctor

Women

[759]

Sailor, boatmen

[502 501]

Ant Bite.

[p. 112 (c)]

And thereupon, when were slain [the captives and the likenesses of the rain gods], then the priests came down. They brought down all the offerings—the rubber-spattered sacrificial banners, and the *maguey* fiber capes painted with designs, also called cloud-face capes, and the green stones, the quetzal feathers, and the incense pieces in the form of men. And they brought down the cloud vessel, now filled with hearts.

Then they took these directly to the water's edge, to a place called Tetamaçolco.

And when they had arrived there, then they loaded a canoe; they filled it with all the offerings. And all the priests embarked. Then [the canoe] was driven by poles. It was filled by those who poled, who clung [to the poles]. They poled speedily. All the poles were blue, painted and colored blue, and covered with liquid rubber, with an adornment of rubber painted on.

And when they had reached mid-water, at a place called Pantitlan, there they then brought in the canoe. And when they brought it in, thereupon shell trumpets were sounded. The fire priest arose by the prow of the canoe, and then they gave him the cloud vessel, which was now filled with hearts. Thereupon he cast it in the midst of the water, before the stakes [which were in the water]. It fell striking the water with a splash.

And then the water foamed, boiled, and cast up bubbles, which burst. Foam was formed on the water.

Thereupon were hung out, tied upon the stakes, upon the poles, the sacrificial banners. And they bound on green stones. And some [of the green stones] they cast, scattered, and strewed upon the face of the water.[20]

And when this was done, then they went forth. And when they had gone, when they had left, when they were near the opening in the [row of] stakes [which were set in the water], then [the fire priest] took up the incense burner and upon it arranged four sacrificial banners. Thereupon he offered and dedicated [the incense burner with papers], and cast it down, throwing, hurling it [into the water].

And when he had cast it [into the water], then they turned the canoe about. Then they circled back, and used their poles. Some took the prow; some steered.

And when they had reached Tetamaçolco, whence

Auh in ie iuhquj yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oaltemoa in tlamacazque: qujoaltemouja yn ixqujch nextlaoalli, in teteujtl: yoan ichtilocatl tlacujlolli, yoan itoca aiavixo: yoan in chalchiujtl, yoan quetzalli, yoan copalli, tlatlacatlachiu: yoan qujoaltemouja in mixcomjtl, vncã tetentiuh yn iollotli:

njman qujtlamelaoaltia atenco, itocaiocã tetamaçolco.

Auh yn oacito njman ie ic conacalaquja, conacaltema yn ixqujch nextlaoalli: yoan onmacaltema yn ixqujchti tlamacazque, njman ie ic tlanclolo, contemj onpipilcatoque in tlancloa, tequjtlancloa, in aujctli muchi texoio, tlatexoujlli, tlatexoaltilli, yoan tlaulxauhtli, tlaulxaoalli, vlxuhquj.

Auh yn oacito anepantla, itocaiocan pantitlan, njman ic concalaquja yn acalli: auh yn oqujcalaqujque, njman ie ic tlapitzalo: in tlenamacac acaliacac onmoquetza, njman conmaca in mixcomjtl, yn vncan tentiuh iollotli: njman ie ic contlaça anepantla, ynixpã cuenmantli, iuhquin ontlachaquanitiuetzi, ontlatzoponitiuetzi:

auh njman poçoni yn atl, momoloca, quaqualaca, xixittomj, xixitemomoloca, apopoçoquillotl motlatlalia:

njman ie ic mopipiloa, moolpia in teteujtl, in quauhtitech yn itech cuenmantli: yoan in chalchiujtl qujilpia, yoan cequj atlan contepeoaia, conchaiaoa, concenmana.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic oalqujxoa: auh yn oqujxoaloco, yn oalqujxooac, yn vncan qujiaoatenpan, yn iqujiaoaioc cuenmantli: njman ic concuj in tlemaitl, vncan conmamana nauhtetl teteujtl: njman ie ic conjiana, yn oconjtauh, mec conmaiauj, ica onmajauj, contlaça, ica ontlamotla:

auh yn oacontlaz mec qujmalacachoa yn acalli: mec oalnecuepalo, tlanclolo cequj tlaiacatitiuj, cequj tlacuexcochtitiuj.

Auh yn oacico tetamaçolco, yn vncan neacalaqujlo,

20. See Plate 22. Refer also to Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Plate 33.

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The Wind

That which was known as [the wind] was adressed as Quetzalcoatl. From four directions it came, from four directions it traveled. The first place whence it came was the place from which the sun arose, which they named Tlalocan. This wind which came from there they gave the name of the Tlaloc wind. Little did it frighten men; lightly did it blow. With it, one could go in a canoe; with it one could land; with it one could cross the water.

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The second place whence it came [the north] was called Mictlampa; and this was named the wind from the land of the dead. This was much feared, and caused much terror. Violently did it blow, when it set in, and the canoes could not contend with it. They could not travel forward. They could not venture forth; they could not pass across; they could not get under way in the water. Rather, all the boatmen came out and left [their craft] because of fear—those who gained their livelihood on the water, the fishermen who used nets, or who speared [the fish]. When they saw that it was Mictlampa ehecatl which arose, then they feared evil and were troubled. They hurried, hastened, and greatly quickened their pace, plying the pole—plying it rapidly. They strained their arms, that they might come out and beach [the canoe] on the shore, on the edge of the water, near the water line. And so they said: "Often it drowneth men and sinketh canoes."

The third place whence it came [the west] was known as Cuatlampa; it was named Cuatecayotl and Cuatlampa ehecatl. Also it was called One Wind, or Maçaua; for it came from Maçauacan. And this one did not blow fiercely. Nevertheless, it was very cold. Men suffered much from [its] cold; they became livid and stiff from cold. It made them shiver; it was deadly. It made men tremble, shake, and quake; it exhausted them; it gave them stomach pains, or pains in the lungs, or the head. And yet, with it they could go ashore from the water. It did not frighten men nor terrify them.

And the fourth place whence came the wind [the south] was there from Uitztlampa. It was named Uitztlampa ehecatl. And this one was much feared and held in dread. All feared harm. It made men speechless with terror; it made them silent with fear. Because it blew swiftly, it frightened them greatly. They said: "When it arises, it uprooteth and breaketh trees: and it teareth walls to pieces—old walls

Ehecatl

Motenecoaia: ic quinotzaia quetzalcoatl. Nauhcampa oallauh, nauhcampa oalitztiuh. Inic ceccan oallauh: vmpa in iquiçaiampa, tonatiuh, quinoaia tlalocã: inin ehecatl, vmpa oallauh, quinocaiotiaia, tlalocaiotl: amo cẽca temauhti, amo cenca totoca, uel ipan acaltica vilua, yel ipan quixoa, in atlan: vel ipã panoa.

Inic occã oallauh, moteneua mictlampa: auh inin motocaiotia mictlampa ehecatl. In hin uel imacaxo, uellãmauhtia: cenca totoca, in icoac moquetza, amo vel quisnamiqui in acalli: amo vellauiltecõ, amo uel tlastlapalolo, avel istlapal vilua, auel tlanecuilolo in atlan: çan mauhcaquixoa, mauhcaquiça in tlapanauique, in atlãca, in tlãtlamãque, in tlamjnque. In oquittaque, ca mictlampa ehecatl in omoquetz: ic cenca motenmati, motequipachoa, uel motequimati, ompilcatoque, ompipilcatoque, in tlancloa, in tequitlancloa: vel momaquauhtilia, inic uel onquiça, onmacana atenco, atexipalco, achichiiacpa: iuh quinoa, ca miccpa, teatlanmictia, quipolactia in acalli.

Inic ecaçã oallauh: moteneua cioatlãpa, motocaiotia, ciouteccaiotl, cioatlampa ehecatl: iõ quitocaiotia ce ehecatl, anoço maçaoa ipampa vmpan oalitztiuh maçauacan. Auh in hin, amo no cenca totoca: iccc cenca iztic, uel tecemjti, tepinecaltri, tepinuch, tetztiliiqui, tetetzilquisti, tetiztilquiti, teuiuiioquilti, tecuecuechquiti, tecuecuechmiquiti: tezillanquauhtili, teiomotlanquauhtili, tetzoqteconeuh. Auh uel, uel ipan quixoa in atlan, amo temauhti, amo temauinciuiti.

Auh inic nauhcampa, oallauh ehecatl, vmpa uitzlampa: motocaiotia uiztlampa ehecatl. Auh inin, cenca vel imacaxo, mimacaci: netenmacho, aoc tenauitili, aoc tetlauhti: ipãpa cenca totoca, cenca tlamauhtia. Quixoa, in icoac moquetza: vel quixjaoca, quipoioqui in quauid: yoan quixiniqa in tepantli, in tepançolli, in xacalli: quecatoctia in tlatzacalli, in chimancalli. Auh in vei ãl vel cõtinja, quinpoaqua,

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and straw huts. The wind carrieth off fences and enclosures. And it stirreth up the sea; it maketh them froth and foam. It formeth waves; there is a great din as of waves breaking. There is a great crackling noise." And it tossed and cast canoes into the air. Just so, indeed, did the north wind sink them.

quipoçonahtia, cacocoonistic: ishquin tetecuicatimani, cocoinocatimani: ash in acalli cacocoaiani, cacoctlaqui: vel no ishqui, quimanaqui in nictlamqui chocoal.

821
823
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Lightning: the Lightning Flash

They addressed it as, and named it, many things—the mist which went winding [like a serpent], the thunderbolt, the reed staff. When lighting flashed and lit up repeatedly, we were blinded, we lost our sight, our vision was darkened. It startled us; we were terrified. It was unbearable to look at; it was dazzling. Everywhere it flashed repeatedly—again and again—like the light of the dawn breaking over and over. Thus did it come; it came twisting and winding.

Tlapetlanjlhtl, tlapetlanjliatli: much ic quinotzaia, quinocaiotaia, aimhcocolli, tlapetlanjlquauitl, ontepilcoauitl. In icoac tlapetlani, tlitlapetlani: tiquoaoa, tiamimiqui, titimauhtia, tiocuiciuetzi: aimamiquilizti, aimamiquizti, nouiian tlatlanezimoquetza: ishquin tlauizcalli moquequetza: nic ollauh oolcocolohtiuh, cuecuelohtiuiz.

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[p. 16 is blank]

Sixth Chapter. How is told how the messengers of Moctezuma returned here to Mexico and came to relate to Moctezuma that which they had seen.

Thereupon [Cortés] dismissed them, and let them descend to their boats. And when they had climbed down into the boats, they rowed with great force. Mightily did they ply their oars. Some paddled with their hands.

Fleeing with all their force, they came saying to one another: "O warriors, [use] all your strength! Row with haste, lest something here overtake us — lest something here befall us!"

Speedily they hastened to reach by water the place called Xicalanco; there they no more than quickly caught their breath, that once again they might with energy hasten on. Then they came to reach Tecpan Ixpayac, whereupon they also hastened and hurried on, and soon came to reach Cuetlaxtlan. [From there] they likewise departed in haste, [having] in this place taken some rest.

And [those] of Cuetlaxtlan said to them: "Rest yet but a brief day; catch your breath!"

But they replied to them: "Nay, we may only go on swiftly. We must give the news to the lord, the ruler Moctezuma. We must tell him what we have seen, which is terrifying — the like of which hath never been seen. Had you, perchance, already, ere now, heard of it?"

Then they speedily departed from there and soon came to reach Mexico. It was deep night when they went reaching [the city]; they came in here quite by night.

And when this was happening, [Moctezuma] could enjoy no sleep, no good. Never could one speak to him. That which he did [was] only as if it were in vain. Oftimes he sighed; he was spent, exhausted. He felt delight in no savory morsel, joy, or pleasure.

Wherefore he said: "What will now become of us? Who, forsooth, standeth [in command]? Alas, woe is me, I. In great torment is my heart, as if run through with chili water, so that it burneth and

Inic chiquacen capítulo: vncã mijtoa, in quenjn ijtlaoaan Motecuçoma, oalmocuepque in njcan mexico quijlhujco in motecuçoma in qujtaque.

Niman ic ic qujcaah, qujpoalhuevique in jmacalco: auh in ovalhuemoque acalco, njman ic ic tequjdanelos, oititenj in tlanelos, cequjntin matlaxelos.

centlaquaah oalmotlalos, qujmolhujtivitac, tiacaoac inquich amotlapal, xiccquitlanciocan, ma itla njcan tuxti ma itla njcan topan mochiuh

icuhca acitivetzico in ati itic in jtocaiocan xicalanco, çan tequjtl vncan oalihiocujtiqijqã, ic ic no ceppa centlaquaah oaltonoca: njman acico in tecpan tlaiocac, njman ic no ic oalmocaltia, oalmotlalos, acitivetzico in cuetlaxtlan, çan no oalqujztiquizque, vncan ihiocujque.

Auh in cuetlaxtecatl qujmjlhuj ma oc cemjlhujtintli ximocevicã ma oc mmjhio xiccujcan.

Auh qujlhujque, ca amo ca çan ticualtivi tictomochilitaque in tlacatl tlatoanj Motecuçoma, tictolhujlitaque in tlein otiquijtaque, in cenca temamauhti, in aic iuhquj omottac, cujx ic cuel ic teachto, toconcaquja:

njman icuhca oalpeuhque, acitivetzico in mexico, çan iouhica in acico, çan oalitualalaque.

Auh in jquac in uequjzachin, uequjzaqual qujmatia, aoc ic quijhujxia in çaço tlein quichiouia, çã iuhquja neatlamatia, iuhquja achica cicicivi, mocimiquetza, mocimelpoa, aoc tle velic, aoc tle tepac, aoc tle tuevialti ipan qujmatia,

ipampa in qujmatia, tlein ic topan mochiuaz, ac nel icac, ha ixpopa nehoatl, vel petzmjqui in noiollo, iuhquimon chilmoquijlo, vel tatamo chichiuaca ompa nel tatacac.

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—After Paso y Troncoso

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itzquauhtzin's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itzquauhtzin's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detected leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Tenochtitlan counter the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

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7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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— After Paso y Troncoso

119. Spaniards attack Cuauhquan (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Uitzillan (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Uitzillan (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horseman spears a Tlaxilacan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Slaves cross land from warboats (Chapter 31).

[p. 44 (R)]

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Cuitlahuac arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a fuhtleman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Cuitlahuac is prevented (Chapter 33).

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VALLEY OF MEXICO

[p. XV]

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648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma.

342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. [501 There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were 503] able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

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241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and 503 the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 These various causeways did much to control the movement of 503 the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were 731 not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Albarradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and 503 followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was protected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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000 of poles and thatch of Indian tribes, none of whom had risen above a state of barbarism. Much no doubt was due to the natural surroundings; the white City with its numerous teocallis was embowered in trees and surrounded by the blue waters of the lake sparkling under a tropical sun, a lake that was alive with a multitude of canoes passing and repassing to the other white cities on its shores, and in every direction the horizon was closed with a splendid panorama of forest-covered hills, while to the south-east the eye always rested with delight on the beautiful slopes and snow-covered peaks of the two great volcanoes. It is an enchanting scene to-day, in spite of the shrinkage of the lakes, the smoke from factory chimneys, and the somewhat squalid surroundings of a modern city, and but little effort of imagination is needed to appreciate the charm that it must have exercised in the days of Montezuma.

The Viga Canal still survives as a water-way by which produce is brought into Mexico from the market gardens or chinampas of Lake Zochimilco, and it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that the canal which ran from the Viga Canal along the south side of the great square past the convent of San Francisco was finally filled in. For many years the roadway beside it was known as the "Calle de Canoas," and the names Puente de la Leña (Fire wood bridge), Portal de las Flores, etc., still mark the localities where the different commodities were sold on the banks of the Canal. Indeed, the course of many an old water-way can still be traced in the modern City by the names which have clung to the localities since the days of the conquest and are now attached to the streets.

●503 The Upsala map seems to show that there was an embankment or pallisade along the east side of the City, necessary as a protection against the wash of the waves from the lake, but on the other sides the entrance of the numerous canals was probably through tree-lined chinampas and orchards, similar to the approach to Xochimilco at the 351 present day. Gardens and groves were evidently numerous in the City itself; the Mexicans were distinguished for their love of flowers, and there is no climate where gardening is more remunerative than in these tropical highlands when water is plentiful. The flowering plants cultivated on the roofs of the houses must have added greatly to the picturesque aspect of the streets and canals.

356 Bernal Díaz tells us how clean the surroundings of the great temple 354 were kept, where not a straw or a spot of dust could be seen (filth seems to have been confined to the temples themselves where the horrid rites of their religion were performed), and this cleanliness probably extended to the City itself, for it will be observed by any traveller in Mexico or Central America that the purely Indian villages of considerable size are almost always kept swept and tidy, while this is not the case in the towns and villages inhabited by the mixed race.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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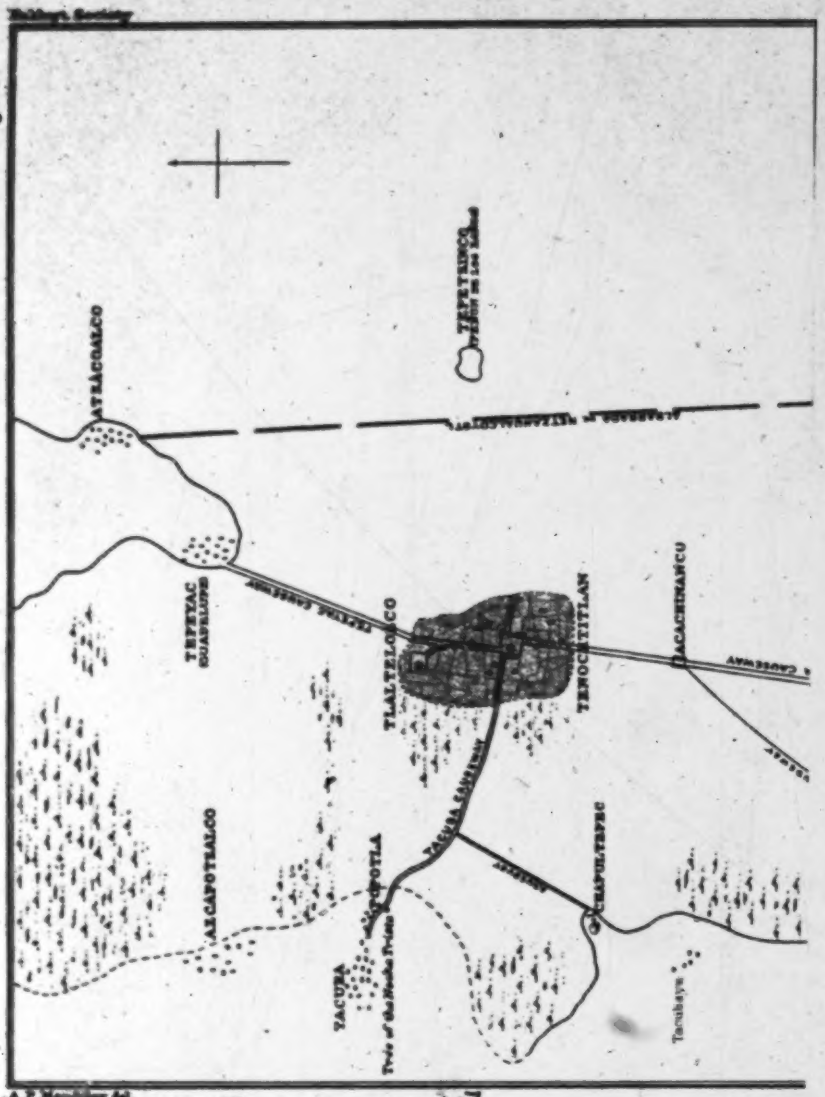

[facing p. 52 (A)]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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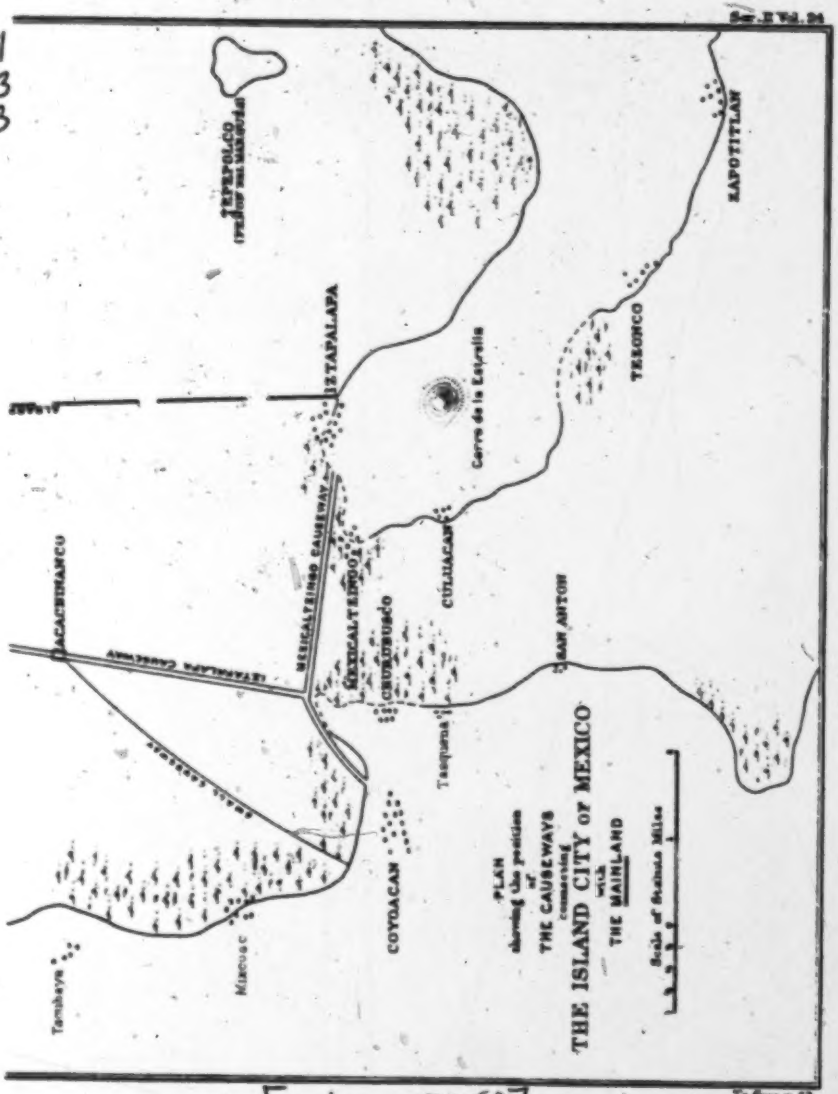

[Facing p. 52 (B)]

all had set forth, at the place of embarkation, thereupon all bathed, and then departed.

And the canoe they then went and beached, at its resting place, at the place for beaching canoes.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all the priests washed the blue color from their foreheads, over at the priests' bathing place.

And whoever had hidden himself away, who had fled, hiding, during the fast for Tlaloc, when men were arrested [for misdemeanors], then, when the blue stain was washed from their heads, they cast him [into the water].

And when this was done, then all departed. Then they took outside the reed mats, bringing them from the priests' dwelling. They were carried out, and they cast them behind the priests' dwelling.

Enough. Here endeth [the account of] the feast day, Etzalqualiztli.

in neacalaqujloia, njman ie ic neaaltilo, mec viviloa. 796K

Auh yn acalli, njman ic vi qujtecazque, yn jonoia, yn acaltecoian: [504]

auh yn otlatujc, njman ie ic nequatexopaco: in tlamacazque vmpa yn jnnealtiaian, tlamacazque. [515]

Auh yn aqujn çan motlati, in çan mjnax, in iquac netlalocaçaoaloia, yn axioac, qujniquac ica nequatexopaco: vmpa atlan qujpapachoa. [681]

Auh yn ie iuhquj mec viloatz, mec tlaqujqujxtilo, tlaeeoalo in tolpepechtli in vn: ..i calmecac: tlaqujqujxtilo, calteputzco contlatlaça.

Je ixqujch, vncan tlamj y, yn ilhujtl, in etzalqualiztli.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held [241] in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously [311] [501] poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoã hecaxonecujlli, quacaltic, iztac chalchivitl injc 431
citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 776
301
292

Oca ixquitlamãtli in, in motencoa teutlatquitl in 431
intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tla- 301
mantli in quitquijque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaqua-
tecciztli toztlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc.

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichicoalo. Auh 431
in omotencuhque macujltin; njman ie ic quinnaoatia
in Motecuçoma: quimjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana 462
anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: 202
xiquilhujcan, ca otechalica in motechiuhcauh Mote-
cuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmomaquilia, ca omaxitico
in jchãtzinco mexico:

Auh in oacito atenco, quimõpanavique, acaltica 505
quimonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan on-
eoaq̃ acaltica quinvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacal-
aquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatquitl. Auh in
ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatoctique, itech
onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal.

njmã quinoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa an- 648
oallaque?

njman iuh quinnanquilique. Ca vmpa tioallaque
in Mexico:

oc ceppa quinoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa
anmotlamja, aço çan anquijpiquj, aço çã toca anmo-
cacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Nõ-
man ic quinoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica,
ic quinoaltilinjque: njman no quioalquetzque eca-
oazzli.

18. *Ibid.*: "*lo que rodela estaua bordada con plumas ricas en la haze de la rodella [sic] salia vna ronda de plumas ricas.*"

19. *Ibid.*: "*vn bastón labrado de mexayas de turquesas y en la bueltas de arriba puestas vnas piedras ricas o perlas enmejoradas en la cha de arriba.*"

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "*vna mijra de oro hecha a manera de caracol marino ell vnas rapacejas de plumas ricas que colgauan hasta las espaldas.*"

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*vna mijra llana.*"

[p. 14 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; 635
the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which 114
have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing 128
their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecã (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by 632
Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight impor- [505]
tance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities 131
meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of 361
Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from [312]
Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on [505]
that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food and others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs, and on the causeways other small towers and oratories which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had 361
seen we turned to look at the great market place and the 443
crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and words that they used could be heard more than a league off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to 797
Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadelupe.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished 726
with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried 726
mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each 724
household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,—shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ('tlatzontectli'), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatiluico, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land. [505]

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojos y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes "gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "vizcocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolatl," which possessed particularly vivifying qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII). [263] [272]

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been *slaves*. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatiluico for a time after its capture), upon whom this *degrading* work (*because woman-like!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu- [554] [558]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

425 511 A married man received a plot of land directly from the clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] 555 Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success- [575] ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli* [554] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[8]

624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

565 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their
463 houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the
651 lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and
511 of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuales had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common
[651] people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed " (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Martín de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[525] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in less

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categorical assertions such as that of the Codex Alcobiz (Laws which the Indians had) [Leyes que tenian los Indios].

codices show between the clothes and gear of the macehuales those of and the lords and rulers in illustrations of Sahagun, Mendoza, etc. All of these are facts which oblige us to think that there were great differences of richness and well-being within the population of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and that these differences existed between the macehuales and pillis.

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Another aspect which showed the differences between segments of the population was sexual life: "it is said that commoners have only one wife; but the lords can have concubines at their wish" (15), and

15. Mendieta, Eclesiastical History [Historia Eclestiástica], p. 297.

when they married "the noble women brought with them other maid-servants (and with all these women the men had)... much profit for they made them weave and make blankets, and perform other services of this sort" (16).

16. Motolinía, History [Historia], p. 164.

These data show us not only the well-being of the polygamous lords implicit in having a multitude of wives, but also the economic well-being derived from this polygyny, which was beyond the reach of the macehuales.

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However, it seems that this stratification also included groups of people dedicated to occupations other than agriculture since we are told that the merchants also had lords who went about with the heads of the calpullis (17), which makes us think that not all the merchants

17. Zurita, p. 143.

were /p. 26/ lords, and that therefore there obtained among them also the stratification of which we have been speaking. Complementing and clarifying the situation, we know that the merchants and the artisans, although they cultivated their land, did not give tribute by working the fields but in work of their particular occupation

X 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

[535] And when it all ceased, already it was late at night,

● [512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[534] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen,

[373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

X 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who

836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of

684 honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they are privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his

[831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantec, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlauje, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhioca, ie netetequiz-pan: yn iuh mixtlazilia axcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie izquich, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet ve-uetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn izquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiach-caoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujm-ololoa, qujncenquijxtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujm-ixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlauelíloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia; yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhti-loia, in cioatechcaoan, in cioatetiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoaã, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in ma-uiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teix-pan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in quj-naoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oalioualquiça, çan moioealpoloa, oc ueca ioan in quiça:

auh intla aca ituz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaquala-njaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenono-tzalo; in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocolte-quj, muchi qujcujlia in izquich ytlatquj, yn inechi-chioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauh-tica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlẽtleca-leoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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constant guard over him." Montezuma heard the expression, and weighed it in his mind, and when Cortés came to pay his court to him, he heard of it, and was so angry about it, that he had Pedro López, good soldier as he was, flogged in our quarters, and from that time on all the soldiers who came on guard, went through their watch in silence and good manners. However it was not necessary to give orders to many of us who stood guard over him about the civility that we ought to show to this great cacique; he knew each one of us and even knew our names and our characters and he was so kind that to all of us he gave jewels and to some mantles, and handsome Indian women. As I was a young man in those days, whenever I was on guard, or passed in front of him, I doffed my headpiece with the greatest respect, and the page Orteguilla had told him that I had been on two expeditions to discover New Spain before the time of Cortés, so I asked Orteguilla to beg Montezuma to do me the favour of giving me a very pretty Indian woman, and when Montezuma heard this he told them to call me, and he said to me: "Bernal Díaz del Castillo, they tell me that you have quantities of cloth and gold, and I will order them to give you to-day a pretty maid. Treat her very well for she is the daughter of a chieftain, and they will also give you gold and mantles," and I answered him with much reverence, that I kissed his hands for his great favour, and might God our Lord prosper him, and it seems that he asked the page what I had replied to him, and he told him; and Montezuma said to him, "Bernal Díaz seems to me to be a gentleman," for as I have said, he knew all our names, and he told them to give me three small slabs of gold and two loads of mantles.

Let us stop talking of this and tell how of a morning after saying his[1] prayers and making sacrifices to his idols, he took his breakfast, which was a small matter, for he ate

[1] [i.e. Montezuma. — Analyst]

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no meat, only chili peppers,[1] then he was occupied for an hour in hearing suits from many parts brought by Caciques who came to him from distant lands. I have already stated in the chapter that tells about it, the manner in which they came in to do their business and the reverence that they showed to Montezuma, and that at such times he always had in his company twenty elderly men who were his judges to decide cases, and as this has been already noted I will not repeat it. It was then that we found out that from among the many women whom he had as his mistresses, he gave wives to his Captains and to very favourite chieftains, and he even gave some of them to our soldiers, and the one he gave to me was a lady from among them, and her bearing clearly showed it, and she was called Doña Francisca. So Montezuma passed his life, sometimes laughing and sometimes thinking about his imprisonment.

I wish to state here, although it has nothing to do with our story, as some inquisitive persons have asked me just why the soldier mentioned by me, who called Montezuma a dog, and even that not in his presence, was flogged by order of Cortés, (there being so few of us soldiers), so that the Indians should hear about it. I say so [again], that at that time all of us and even Cortés himself, when we appeared before the great Montezuma, paid respect to him by always doffing our headpieces and besides being King of New Spain, his person and his rank entitled him to it, and he was so kind and well mannered that he did honour to us all. In addition to all this, one may well remember that our lives were at stake, and at a word to his vassals, they would have removed him from his prison and made war on us. Observing his bearing and royal generosity, and seeing that he always had with him

[1] Ají.

X 796 poles.[13] For four days this was done. Thereupon they came out of the water and all took up their array. Then all returned and went back whence they came, in the same manner in which they had come, sounding shell trumpets and naked, unclothed.

And when they had reached [home] and had gone into their houses, thereupon were thrown down [352] and spread out the white [and green] reed mats throughout the priests' houses.

Thereupon all wrapped and covered themselves with their capes. Then all threw themselves upon the ● [513] white [and green] reed mats. Cold, they lay frozen, as if dead—sleeping open-eyed, crouched, hunched up. Some just slept open-eyed; some fell into a stupor; some slept only lightly; some dreamed; some cried out in their sleep; some started up, snored, grunted, groaned, whimpered. They lay twisted in their sleep.

After midday they all arose. And when they had risen, then was adorned the fire priest, that he might offer and burn incense. He went everywhere, among all the temples; the old priests went ahead of him.

X 796 And when they had come to offer incense in all 264 [the accustomed] places, then food was eaten; food was eaten by each one. All were gathered in a circle, grouped in a ring. Severally, they were offered food, all kinds of sauce. For four days they only dipped into the sauce.

And if anyone mistook his sauce [for another's], then they detained him, they seized him so that he was taken. And when [the food] was eaten, none let fall a drop of the sauce on to the ground. [If] sauce was dropped on the ground, if anyone spilt [even] a little of the sauce, for all this he was detained and was punished.

X 796 And when this was done, when they had eaten, then all went to gather fir branches,[14] or canes—green maize stalks.

And when they had gone forth, when they had gone to pluck them, [the branches or canes] were bound together; they were tied in small bundles. And when they had made bundles of them, when it was time to strew them about, then they dispersed; all ran, hastening, carrying the reeds upon their shoulders.

Quickly they placed them in all the demons' temples.

mandi: nauilhujtl yn juh mochiouia yn: auh yn ie iuhquj mec oalquixoa yn atlan, nechichioalo, njman ie oalnecuepalo, jcuitlaujc oalujloa, çan ie no iuj in Vitze, tlapitzinujtze, pepetlauhtiujtze, tlapetlauj.

Auh yn onacico, yn onmocacaltemaco, njman ie ic motecteca, moçoçoa yn aztapilpetlatl, yn noujan calmecac:

njman ie ic netlatlalpiliło, nequequentilo, mec netetteco, yn aztapilpetlapan, cecec mjcoatoc, cececztoque, yitzitiotoque, mococotectlalia, motatapaiollalia: cequjntin çan iitztoque, cequjntin cocochi, cequjntin çan cochcanaoatoque, cequjntin temiquj, cequjntin cochtlatoa, cequjntin cochitleoa, tlaqua-qualaca, tlacotaliuj, tlaqujqujnaca, tlatetena, tlanecujliuj in cochioa:

qujn cennepantla tonatiuh in necheoalo. Auh in onecheoaloc, mec muchichioa in tlenamacac, ynic tlenamacaz tlatotoniz, noujian qujça in izqujcan tetzupan, qujiacantinemj in quaquacujlti.

Auh yn ôtlenamacato noujian: njman ie ic tlaqualo tlatlaqualo, neiaiaoalolo, neolololo: ceceiaca qujmonmaca yn intlaqual, yn quenamj molli qujmonmaca, navilhujxti in çan ice qujpalozque.

Auh intla aca qujpatilizque ymol, ic caci, ic conaci, ic onazioa: yoan in jquac tlaqualo, aiac achi qujchipinja yn molli, yn vncan tlalpan; tlatlalteco in molli, intla aca achi qujchipinja molli, muchi ic nezioa, ic netlanamjctilo.

Auh in ie iuhquj ynon tlaqualoc, njman ie ic viloa yn acaoiatl mocuiz, ie yn acatl, acazzoouhquj.

Auh yn ocalujloac, yn onmocujto: njman ie ic tlacuitlalpilo, acquj molpia: auh ynon tlacujcujtlalpiloc, in ie inman motemaz, njman ic tlatzomonj, netlalolo, netlatlalolo, qujquechpanoa in acatl:

qujtetentiquijça yn izqujcan in tetzupan tlatlacatocalo.

13. "Varales huecados," in Sahagún's Spanish text.
14. Sahagún says: "para que en ofrenda fuesse mas acepta iban a buscar laurel silvestre, que ellos llamaban ocotzquil, que es cosa muchos por esse monte" (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 233). See also supra, p. 59, n. 3.

X 796 And when they had burned, they there buried their
[765] charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech cloths they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton
[237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[1] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from un-
[793] der the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast
[776] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec,
[342 513] nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

X 796 Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed
224 in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan inexo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaomjeque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, oosquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, quilpiais, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaxtatl, mjec in mecatl, quipotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh axtatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: moteneoa, çacapã quixtoa: auh injc moteneoa, çaçapan quixtoa, motetzeloa, çacatl: iehoatl in ocoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, ce petlatl imixpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: quimõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, quinoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã quimonjtoia inmac: njmã ic quimõmaca, in tenanoan, in oquimonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in penaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iecviloa in amjouz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan quilhujquixtiliaia, in inteouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn moteneoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc quixquich haxtioa nexpacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, necxcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo ãtlioa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nehuapanalo:

mec viloa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhquin mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, quinizoaloa in jxquichtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoiaalo,

1. "*Ye calle o la grama*" (*zacapan quixtoqui*), according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

house, going around the fireplace. Then they came out. Then in the lead were those carrying [the gifts] in their arms, quietly going to the tribal temple—the bathed ones following, coming after [the others].

And when they had come to the tribal temple, thereupon the bathed ones danced in the courtyard. And they placed the gifts in the tribal temple. And they placed aside the capes, the breech clouts, the skirts, the shifts. Then first came the bidden guests. [The owners] offered gifts to each of them. And the women stood apart, in line. They also offered gifts to them.

And this was the office of only the merchants, who bathed and purchased [the slaves].

And when those had been completely arrayed who had come together and been given gifts, then they took the victims [that] they might go into the sand.[8] When they reached the [pyramid] temple of the demon, then all climbed up to the temple. When they had come to the top, then they circled about the sacrificial stone, and climbed down [the other] side.

And when they had come down to the ground, when they had reached the earth, then all ran to their tribal temples. And some went slowly. When they entered [the tribal temples], then [the merchants] took from them their paper vestments, and then they were placed upon mats. They served food, or wine, to whoever might wish it. All night they had them keep vigil.

And when midnight arrived, then they ranged them in a row, and cut hair from the crowns of their heads. When they had cut the hair from their heads, then they put it away for themselves (as hath been told in [the account of] Quecholli).

And when this was done, then were eaten [*tamales* of a dough of] amaranth seed, all at the same time, everywhere in the houses of the common folk. None failed to eat the amaranth seed [*tamales*]. And no one broke the amaranth seed [*tamales*] with his hand; they sliced it with [a length of] *maguey* fiber. And when the amaranth seed [*tamales*] had been eaten, thereupon were taken up the straw mats; they rolled them up and set them, in order, outside the door. Thereupon they lay upon the earth, the cold ground, [on] old capes, or old pieces of *maguey* fiber cloth, of which they made couches for themselves.

And upon the morrow, when it was still a little dark, then [he who carried the figure of] Paynal

in tlanapaloa, vmpa tlamattivi in calpulco, ça tetocativi in tlaaltilti, ça tlatzacutivi. 796 ✗

Auh in oacto calpulco: njman ie ic mjtotia, in tlaaltilti, in jtoalco: auh in tetlauhtilli, qujcalaquja in calpulco: no nonqua qujtlalia in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in cueitl, in vipilli: mec ommoiacatia in tlacoanotzalti, qujoalmacatimanj, ceceniaca in innetlauhtil: auh in cioa, nonqua mocempanoa: no qujnoalmacatimanj, in innetlauhtil:

auh inin çan mjxcavia in pochteca, in tealtianj, in tecoanj. [441]

Auh in ōtecencaoaloc, in oncenvetz, in ontetlauhtiloc: njman ie ic qujnvica in tlaaltilti, xalaqujzque: in onacique tlacateculotl iteupan, mec tleco in teucalticpac, in vmpanvetzito: mec qujoaliaoaloa in techcatl, can jc oaltemotimanj, centlapal.

Auh in otemoco tlalchi, in otlaltitech acico, mec oalmotlatlaloa in incacalpulco: auh in cequjntin, çan jvian in iativi: in ōcalaqujto, njmā ie ic qujntlatlalilia in jmamatlatquj, mec motlalia in petlapā qujnchieltia in tlaqualli, anoço vetli, in catle cōnequjzque, ceioal in qujntoçavia.

Auh in oacic iocalnepantla: mec qujntecpana, in qujntzoncujzque: in oqujmontzoncujque, mec motlatlatilia (in juh onjto ipan quecholli).

Auh in ommochiuh y, mec tzoalqualo, cēvetzi in novian maceoalpan, aiac in maca tzoalqua: auh in tzoalli, aiac imatica qujcotonaia: ichtli injc qujxotlaticate: auh in ontzoalqualoc, njmā ie ic meeoa in petlatl, qujjilacatzoa, qujjaoac qujoalmamana; njmā ie ic neteteco, çan tlalpan, tlalizticapan, ça tilmaçolli, anoço aiaçolli in cōmmopepechtia, in commopepechia. [264]

[513]

Auh in otlatvic ça oc achi tlatlaiovatoc, njmā ie ic oaltemo in teucalticpac in Paynal in jcpac Vitzil-

8. Cf. p. 87, n. 7, *supra*.

777 only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life
x 796 of woe.[4]
805 And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a
[551] man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nencioatl.
x 796 And when [these days came], nothing was done;
the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were
777 judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or
[402] a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they
[356] beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was
[578] strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might
● [513] wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All
[481] walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

x 796 And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of
him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more
754 will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he
761 will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenquiçaliztli, honeoatinemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatêmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quitocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizqui, acan ompouhqui acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in iquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan intecçali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaõaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequia, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cêca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujx:

ano ac vel motlavitequia, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli quicuja mococooaia: muchi tlacatl quitoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oquixcauhque injoaiolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan quizooaiã inon oquêteltzin, meoatiquetz, inan oihiio quicujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipooallo in jzquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 36) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony were.

into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

vitztlalia, itecciz ictiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oacito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquzia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aqujn tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, qujçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *magney* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa qujçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ie tachcaoa, atlã õmaltiaia.

Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia; ano tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Thyndus, si. *cuejar el pan sual panoja, quitlo comera*" (Molina, *op. cit.*).

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 563 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, ichoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aqujn tleia ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tleintequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtlì in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [624] 535 [291] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açoatl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moioccia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açoqujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlaxcalcalcal, tlacatecatl*: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *conmanetlaoli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *omoçe tetlacuitlaoli*—or adultery.

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

ic tetzoncujoa, qujntzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omoteneuh: auh in onteztoncujoac: njmã ie ic tepotonjlo, no qujnpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac ma ontlacacochi in tlapixque. 796x [514]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ie tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ie ic no ceppa calaquj in inician: auh in aca ąmo qujmotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan qujtetlauhtia, çan qujtemamaca.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmã ie ic vi in vmpa mjqujzque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjqujzque: njmã ie ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intonqujtzatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque: [533]

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Paynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Ixcoçauhqui.

Auh in ie ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, qujnoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmã ichoã in tlaaltilti in ixcoçauhq̃.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

Auh in ocentlanque mjquj in ie iuhquj: auh in jaqujchtin tlatoque, in tetecutin in cenca mavizzilionj, ie ic manj, ça qujchixtimanj omocencauhq̃, qujniacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlatocaiotl: 796x 301 [643]

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

yoan contlalia iacaxivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequjntin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõmaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaicchioalli, yoã in xolocouqui iuhqujn chichiton ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acaxilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

Auh in immac oonotiuh quavitl, çan tepitoton tlatiotzoquztectli, chictlapãquj; in aco chichiltic, auh 796x 293 [386]

10. "En aquelle mesmo 'mesmo derrojo' seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. See, however, Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1946), p. 171, for a discussion of these in comparison.

The Iztac Ciuatl Ciuaquacuilli.

793 The Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli also kept watch there and took care of the [Temple of] Atenchicalcan; and she was in charge of the sweeping and the laying of fires [there]. And any who made supplications [to the goddess] spoke to the Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli. This one determined all that was done here at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

Ciboaquacujlli iztac ciboatl.

In ciboaquacujlli iztac ciboatl çã no vmpa tlapiaia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatovaia in tlachpanaliztlj in tletlaliliztli, yoan in aqujn vmpa monetoltiaia, ichoatl conilhujaia in ciboaquacujlli iztac ciboatl, muchi ichoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia atenchicalcã.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco.

The duties of the Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco, [concerned] the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli. He caused it to be cried abroad that it be gathered in the forests. And those who gathered it were only those youths whose right it was [to gather it]. And when they had gathered the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli, they piled it up in the priests' dwelling at Tzonmolco.

Iscoçauhquj tzõmvlco teuhoa.

In jscoçauhquj tzõmulco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhtecuquavitl, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quauhtla, auh in concuja çan ichoantin in telpupuchtin intequjuh catca, auh in oquicujto xiuhtequavitl, vmpa conquetzaia in tzõmulco calmecac.

Tlaçolquacuilli.

The Tlaçolquacuilli was charged that he should guard and take care of [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket, and he had his gourd for tobacco. Much did he venerate the Temple here at Mecatlan. None might urinate here; and if anyone did urinate here, then they seized him and brought him within. There they punished him and drew blood from him.

[514 688]

Tlaçolquacujlli.

In tlaçolquacujlli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiaia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, iziçol yietecõton ietinemj, cenca tlamavizotiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlã, aiac vncan maxitzaia, auh in aqujn vncan omaxix, njman quitzitzquja, qujcalaqujaia calitic, vmpa quitlatzacujltiaia quiçoçoia.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco guarded and cared for [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco. And his task was to have charge of the offerings. He caused it to be cried abroad that offerings be made here at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco.

Tecpantzinco teuhoa.

In tecpantzinco teuhoa, vncã tlapiaia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tecpãtzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatovaia in ventli quitzatzilitiia injc tlamanaloz vncan tecpãtzinco.

Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton.

793 532 The Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton was concerned with the songs. When anyone molded figures [of the mountain gods], he consulted with him that he

Epcoaquacujlli tepictotõ.

In Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton ipã tlatovaia in cujcatl, iquac in aqujn tepiquiz ichoatl ichoatl conjlhujaia in qujmisquetzaz, qujnnavatiz in cujcanjme,

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *tenwelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had[1] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Yoan is repeated in the MS.

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778
[293]

Auh in otlatvic in ie illhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quj-tlenamaqujlia, ixpan qujmana in izqujcan ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoqujxtique in itepeioc: auh in ixqujch tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhqujn nececēquetzalo, iuhqujn in ioiolipā in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc qujntlattitizque, qujntlamaviçoltizā, qujntlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

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778
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[785]
[292]
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[688]

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitoalco, injc vmpa necocololoz. Auh in ococenqujzoac: njmā ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necocololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaiciecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aquin maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaztaxel. Auh in aquin çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic qujcujtlavitequj, qujmetzvitequj, caculhujtequj, caliticpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacnaoati:

[785]
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cenca ichoā tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintzacujliaia: auh in ie ixqujch telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocolçque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in moteneoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no qujntzaquaia: qujmjlhujaia, vmpa xiviā on nocne, anquitzittitia, amo techitto.

[p. 52 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 289 386 276] called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

X 796 [279] Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aquin connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlaeleujaia in mihivintia telpopochti.

[755] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequintin ic monetoltia, yn eoatlatiaque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaosti, anoço iztocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

[301 289] Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[8] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaqujtiuj in eoatl, amateteujtl, ymacolpan mamãtiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

[515] And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aisnamjquiztli: çan neiacapacholo ynjc namjco, ynic tetla qujça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up; frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn eoatl, ocotoczauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica qujnapaloa, yn ouelitpioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappizoac.

[431 531 291] And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[9] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[9] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan.uj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: qujmoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazmimquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoaoanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oatioac, yn eoatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujaua.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac eoatl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin eoatl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiqujça, qujoaltentiqujça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 515 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oqujcaosto eoatl, yn onmaqujtiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxaqualoa, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixioteruja:

6. See Chapter 20, n. 4.
7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *camopalli* as "*Papierfarbene* (*oder* *grüne*) *Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*Papierfarbene* (*von der Grünen Farbe der Knollen der Batatas edulis*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado verde*.
For *nochpalli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes: "*Karminfarbene* (*von der Farbe des Nochtli, der Kakteen-Schildlaus*)."
8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and *Einige*, p. 531.

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. These who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. It [illegible] he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vexed them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncã oneoa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, amo qujnmamatilooaia, çan qujntzotzona, qujntlatlatzinja, iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel qujça in chiaoalitzli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja: 796[x] 515 [388]

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmalóa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz tempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, qujnmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, qujquetza in male, qujtlalia quauhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech qujtlatlalia: yn jamatlatequj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796[x] [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlauelittalli chicaoac: ie no cppa ie ic muchichioaia, ipan teiotoca, tececénmapa, tlacatl qujcocomonja, motlaloa· mochimalcahtitiuh, qujcacalatztiuh ychicaoac qujcaoatztiuj, qujteiotoca, q'tepachotiuj, qujtecicali:

muchi tlacatl qujmauhtia, ipan macauj: qujtoa, le tiitz teiztompacquj:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca qujcujtiuetzi, qujpepetlaoa, qujtlatlalochtia yn jnlma: in quezçuj qujtecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic qujujujtequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco qujquetza, itlacaxipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic qujnettia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[x] 778

Auh yoan yn jquac y, tlaacopilouia: auh ynaca oc conchololtiaia, yn iquezttepol malli: yoan mecaxicolli, aztapatlacotonli itech pilcac. [291 237]

Auh in quezttepolli, amatica qujqujqujmiloaia, qujxaiacxiuia: auh ynjn motocaiotiaia, malteutl. [289]

9. Molina: op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl section (*xabon*).
10. Corresponding Spanish text: "un globo redondo, hecho de paxaro."
11. *Ibid.*: "*Pusoso encima los papeles con que se avia adornado, el capitan quando muerto.*"
12. Cf. Sahagún: *Historia de Mexico*, p. 93, n. 1: [illegible] "C'est-à-dire que réjouit (*pensa*) le seigneur, le maître (*teuctli*, *ou* [illegible] *dans lesquels, que d'emploie [illegible] quand dort; noble d'une haute famille*)." This would imply a double connotation.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text suggests that the thigh bone was then suspended. Seler, in *Bonger Kapitel*, p. 81, has "trophy."
14. *Gottesgefangenfeuerk*, in Seler, *loc. cit.*

all had set forth, at the place of embarkation, thereupon all bathed, and then departed.

And the canoe they then went and beached, at its resting place, at the place for beaching canoes.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all the priests washed the blue color from their foreheads, over at the priests' bathing place.

And whoever had hidden himself away, who had fled, hiding, during the fast for Tlaloc, when men were arrested [for misdemeanors], then, when the blue stain was washed from their heads, they cast him [into the water].

And when this was done, then all departed. Then they took outside the reed mats, bringing them from the priests' dwelling. They were carried out, and they cast them behind the priests' dwelling.

Enough. Here endeth [the account of] the feast day, Etzalqualiztli.

in neacalaquiloia, njman ie ic neaaltilo, mec viviloa. 78X

Auh yn acalli, njman ic vi qujtecazque, yn jonoia, yn acaltecoian: [504]

auh yn otlatujc, njman ie ic nequatexopaco: in tlamacazque vmpa yn jnnealtiaian, tlamacazque. [515]

Auh yn aqujn çan motlati, in çan mjnax, in iquac netlalocaçaoaloia, yn axioac, qujniquac ica nequatexopaco: vmpa atlan qujpapachoa. [681]

Auh yn ie iuhquj mec viloatz, mec tlaqujquixtilo, tlaccoalo in tolpepechtli in vn: ..i calmecac: tlaqujquixtilo, calteputzco contlatlaça.

Je ixquich, vncan tlamj y, yn ilhujtl, in etzalqualiztli.

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

vmpan ca vitzilatl, oztoc, avevetica in qujoaltzatzacutivi, intlan qujoalaantivi: 796[x] 778

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

in oqtjoalhujcaque: njman ie ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jcxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmamatlaqui, in jmamanechichioal in jpan mjqujzque, yoan qujntzao vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpã tlatlamj: yoã imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in tezõtli, in coztic, yoan qujmontlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuioti. 796[x] 302 [301]

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

Auh in ie inhquj in oqujmõchichiuhque, in oqujmõcencauhque, njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalqujqujxtiqujça, njmã ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnxixitinja, qujntlatlalilia in intlatquj, qujmõtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in tẹoaft compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioaoan. 796[x] 567

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

Auh in oacic, vncã tlamacujlti: njmã vncã compeoaltia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiafa in ipalnepantla: vmpã aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oneoa in calpulco. [515]

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

Auh in cioatl tealtia, çan vncã in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cõquetza atenco ezço: auh in ozõquiznavilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmã ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujlloa in tlaaltjtlti, yoã in tealtique, yoan in tranque yoan in tetemovique, yoã im panoa- [535]

que quiere decir, hombre, porque los hombres y muchachos para que engordaran, para que no correr fuera sabroso cuando los hubieran de matar y comer; semejantemente estos sacerdotes en Atlacuihuayan, porque allí hubo fiesta de ellos y allí los vendían los que trajeban en andanas."

The Real Palacio MS (Codine, op. cit., p. 317) reads: "Auh inic mitoa tonhuani yehica in ichcauh mocuiqui cuitlaxcoa mocuetlaxtia in inquich cuacuauhtli"—"y es dicho el que hubo gente porque a su cuidado siempre la hubieron con aquel cuitlaxcoa, cada uno de los águilas."

4. Sahagún (Cultural Works, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 99) calls chicohuaxtli crossing appears (an emblem of kingly power). In Sahagún (Bulmalo ed., Vol. III, p. 312) it is defined as Tecuilloxo mocuetzaxtia Tzon.; the corresponding Spanish text has "hojas de cedro." See J. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, Epítome de colores aztecas (México: Editorial Cultura, T. G., S. A., 1949), Vol I, pp. 156ff., for some notes on the etymology of chicohuaxtli.

5. Sahagún, in Codex Vaticanus 3738, 97r (Codex Vaticanus B) (Boston: Druck von Gebr. Unger, 1902), p. 8, describes this face painting (ixtlon chalipan) as Guisado de Guerra-mujer. The stripes, although of different color, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "dueños de los esclavos."

7. "Comían al medio día" (loc. cit.); "He eaten (our dinner) are Tage (are Mittag)"—Sahagún, Biblioteca Kapital, p. 284; "comida a medio" (Codine, op. cit., p. 312).

X 796 as the ends, with cord, held together with cords so that as one struck, they made a crackling noise. Verily, they belabored and hurt one another.

[824] And if [the young warriors] caught a priest, if one was taken, they rubbed him with [powdered] *magney* leaves; sorely he burned and itched; [it was] as if his flesh crept. And if one of the young warriors was caught, the priests bled his ears with a [*magney*] thorn, and his arms, his breast, and his thighs, [so that] he cried out loud.

[352] And if [the priests] chased the young warriors there into the *royal* palace, they looted it, taking all the [reed] mats, the cord mats, the seats with backs, the couches, the backless seats. And if they found horizontal, two-toned drums, or ground drums, they removed them, taking all [with them].

And if [the young warriors] took after the priests, entering the priests' dwelling, they also robbed them, removing from them mats, shell trumpets, and seats.

And they dispersed from thence, and all stopped toward evening when a little sun still shone.

And the fourth day [of Atemoztli] was named "Ashes Are Scattered." The old people said: "For the bathed ones, who died," it was said, "yet walk [upon the earth] for four days. Not yet do they depart to the land of the dead. And when ashes are scattered, then they go down into the land of the dead."

[515 348] And then were burned the paper vestments in which they had died, which had been laid in reed baskets. And then all washed their heads with soap; all bathed. Then all departed hence, thus dispersing each [to his own house].

Here ended the feast of Panquetzaliztli, after it had already taken the four days from [the month of] Atemoztli.

piaia, quicacatzilpiaia, quiretevilpiaia, quimecatzecujaiaia, quimecatitlan tlaliaia ynic moujujtequj: iuhquin tlatlatzcatimanj, vel mococoltia, vel mococoaia.

Auh intla oce cacique tlamacazquj, intla oce axioac, quimealtia, cenca cuecuetzoca, quequazquja: yuhquin iolmiquj ynacaio. Auh intla ce axioa, telpuchtli, in tlamacazque quiçoçoia vitztica yn jnacazco, yn jacolpan, yn ielpan, yn jmetzpan, vel quitzatzatia.

Auh in telpupuchti, intla quinteocaticalaquizque, in vmpa tecpan, tlanamoia, muchi quinamoia in petlatl in petlamecatl, in tepotzoicpalli, in netlaxonj, in tzinicpalli: auh intla quipãtilia teponaztli, in veuetl muchi quiqujxtia, muchi quicuj.

Auh intla quinteocaticalaquizque tlamacazque in calmecac, no quintlanamoielia, quintlaçaçaquilia, muchi quinquixtilia, in petl-tl, in tecciztli, in icpalli: auh çan vncã xixitinj, necacao:'o, oc achi tonatiuh ie teutlac.

Auh inic navilhujtl motenecoa, nexpixolo: quitoaia in *vevetque*. Ca in tlaaltilti in omicque: quil oc nemj navilhujtl, aiamo vi in mictlan: auh in iquac nexpixolo, quinjquac temo in mictlan;

yoã iquac motlatia, mopetlacaltema, in imamatlatquj in ipã omicque, yoan iquac neamovilo, nexaltilo, mec viviloa, ic cecẽmanoa.

Nicã tzõquiça in illujtl Panquetzaliztli, ie cuel ic naujlhujtl cõcuilia in Atemuztli.

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlaloca descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlaloca. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *maguey* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli capítulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, ynan in tlamaviztililiztli, in qujchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtolteti occe metztli in motenoa Atemuztli. 796X

Injc caxtolteti, occe ilhujtl ichoati in motenoa Atemuztli:

injc motenoa Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, ossoalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jzquich macoxolli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuztica, tlateumattica, muchizcaca, motemachitica: in quenmã oalanjz qujavitl:

auh in oealan qujavitl, njmã ic moquetztiquiça, qujcujtivetzi in jdema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, oostl ipan qujça: auh in jtzontecon oostl no cacalaca, no iollo: [445]

njmã qujtzopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixsoaca, ichuiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian quiça in tenjtoaloo, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qujnecza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in cequjntin macenalti, monetoltiaia injc tepiquizque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, ynan olli, ynan itztli, ynan ichtli in qujcoaia: [314 269]

cenca qujmaviztiliaia, ynan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiquizque, yoã tequentiquc: auo mamoviaia injc inuhtiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono oquichcochia. [515 834]

Auh in ic iuh oallavi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemuztli, iuh cioatl in nemoa, vel neixpoloio, in

1. "Dejada de el agua," according to Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 299), "porque ay hier onde llover, y nacer algunos ellos." Garibay, (op. cit., p. 313) has the same.
Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tezoz refers to Sequera, extraordinary deluges in the region, mentioned in Thévet, Kohler and Ohnen, op. cit., p. 32.
2. The Pelaez MS (Garibay, loc. cit.) places this in the lacuna of the text: "se mandaban a [illegible] [illegible]"—"se ordenaban de los cinco en hacer los dioses ellos (Tlaquilones)."
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

they placed them to one side. They strewed them in the water, and none, verily, might taste the husks. Because of this, care was therefore taken that none should be scorched, burned, or dropped into the fire.

And only during one day were they eaten. By night they were done; all finished. They left nothing for the next day.

And when it grew dark, the old men and the old women drank, alone. It was said: "They refresh themselves."

And after this they set up the image of the fire [god], Izcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyoueue. They gave him figure and substance of a dough of amaranth seed. These things they whose office it was, did—the men of the tribal temple, known as the Tzonmulca[2]—who especially worshipped [fire] as a god.

And when the twentieth day came, it was said: "Iscalli hath ended." They who provided ceremonially bathed victims then published and made it known to others [that they had secured sacrificial victims, each] setting forth in public his ceremonially bathed one, a slave whom he had bought, made [to be] the likeness of Izcoçauhqui; the owner then adorned him, causing to be placed upon him all the array of Izcoçauhqui. Thus it was said: "The bather [of the victim] gathereth [his wealth]."

And for this reason did one say "the bather [of a victim]": he continually bathed his victim with hot water all the time until he went to his death; all the time he caused him to know that death would be his lot at an appointed time; that he would die in the count of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And before he died, he favored him greatly. The bather was careful of [the victim]; he enriched him [with gifts]; he restored all to him. All the food which he offered him was good.

And a harlot was provided as his guardian. Constantly she amused him; she caressed him; she made him laugh and be merry. Taking him about the neck, she rejoiced, she embraced him. She caught his lice [for him]; she combed his hair and arranged his hairdress. She made him forget his sorrows. And when the time came for the bathed one to die, the harlot took everything; she rolled and bundled up all the belongings of the bathed one. That which he wore he placed upon her; that which he had used

in iztoatl: ipampa ic momalhujaia inic amo aca mochichinoa, motlatiz, tleco onvetzia. 796x [252]

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ie icoa otlatlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuztlaioc.

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalcevia. [273]

Auh in jquac y, quitlaliaia in jxiptla tletl Izcoçauhquj, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzoualli in quitlacatlaliaia, in quinacaiotiaia: ichoan qujchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, moteneua: Tzonmulca, oc cenca ichoan in qujmoteutiaia.

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Iscalli tlamj: in tealtianj, iqtuac quitcittitia, quiteixmachtia, teixpan quiquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oquicouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Izcoçauhquj, iquac ic quichichioa itech quitlalilia in jxquich in jnechichioal Izcoçauhquj ic mjtoaia, tlaixnextia in tealtianj: [567]

auh injc mjtoa, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxquich cavitl mjquitiuh, in jxquich cavitl quimatitiuh in vncã imjquiz tequipã in jtlapoalpan: in mjquiz ipan tlacaxipenaliztli.

Auh in aiamo mjquj, cenca quimavizmatia, quiçeçẽmatia in tealtianj, quitlanenectia quitlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in quimacaia:

auh ce avienj, in jtepixcauh muchioaia: muchipa caviltia, caavilia, quicamanalhuja, quivetzquitia, quiquequeloa, iquechtlan ixquj, quiquechnaoa, caatemja, quizziziquaozvia, quipepepetla, quitlaoculpopoloa: auh in jquac ie imjquixpan tlaahtilli: in avienj moch concuj, ontlacemololoa, concemololoa in jxquich in jtlaqui tlaahtilli: in oquiquequemja, in jtech oquitlatlaliaia in oquititlanja, in jpã oiztlacatinenca, 796x 548 [515]

2. Tzonmulco: temple of the fire god; also one of the division of Tenochtitlan. It is mentioned in the Appendix, p. 177, as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. V, p. 74).

302 tance upon their heads; it was dyed with indigo,[1] so
386 that their hair shone. The teeth were stained with cochineal; the hands and neck were painted with designs—the necks were covered [with painting]. The stomach and breasts were [also] painted with designs.[1]

515 They bathed in the sweat house and with [soap
562 and] water. They were held in esteem. They were modest, good, and of noble [mien]. Thus did they
[343] speak—attentively, and respectfully of others; they were diligent and considerate.

1 [i.e. the Aztec women -- Analyst]

Motema, mahaltia, momamauizmati: pinocanj, qualli maujztic, injc tlatoa: temauhcaittanj, teimacaçinj, hiçiuhcaioque, moiolitlacoanj.

1. Xiuhquilitl. Urbina (op. cit., p. 566) mentions two kinds: xiuhquilitl pinolxac, Indigofera sihl Linn., and xiuhquilitl pachiuac, Coldenia procumbens Klotzsch—both producing a blue dye.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

643 THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of [302] an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He [515] was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, [595 837] daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free [515] from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He 643 had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other 644 rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

000 **Ninetenth Chapter. Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.**

Injc caxtolli vnnavi capitulo: vncan moteneoa, in ventli in qujchioaia, im impãpa vecanemja ioan injc mortlaoaia in jpampa in mjquja.

441 And his household thereupon began the penances. They let themselves become dirty. No longer did 984 they wash their heads with soap, though they could bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they 515 submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

Auh in jchantlaca: njman iquac compeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzoiotia, aocmo mãmovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, iece, aocmo polaquj: auh nanapoaltica qujmattiuj, in mamovitiuj: injc qujnextia, qujtemachitia, ca ipampa tlamãçeoa in jnconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jxcauhque, ixqujch cãujtl iuh qujchiuhtinemj, in jqujn qujçaqujuh:

441 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were 765 notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual for their child.

auh intla noce omjqujto, ichoan achto caqujtilo, in puchteca vtuetque, intequjuh in teiolmelaoazque, in teiolpachiujtizque, ichoantin qujcalaquja in choqujztli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjqujto, ic qujtemachitia, injc naujlhujtl ilnamjcoz, mjccaoatizque in jchantlaca, injc tlapaloloazque, ellaquaoaloazque, qujmjloloz in inconeuh:

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

auh in oqujz navilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlaca: ic mjtoa, mõmjccaaltia injc compopoloa, conjilcaoa intlaocol:

441 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set up an image of him made of pine torches bound 765 together.[2] They made and formed his image; they 778 adorned his likeness. This *cuillotl* was only a statue of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

auh intla cana oiaomjc, qujtlaliaia ieujllo, qucujllotia, queujllotlalilia, ixiptla qujchichiujlia, injn Evillotl: çan ocoquavitl in qujtzatzaianaia, çatepan qujcujtlalpia: auh ixqujch itech qujtlalia, in amatlatqujtl, in amanechichioalli, in amaxicolli, in amacozcatl, in amaneapantli, qujtlaolololtia, qujtlatepeoaltia qujtlamamaca, injc mochi ioan qujtlatizque: in ie iuhquj in oqujcencauhque evillotl, in jquac ie choqujliloz oiaomjc, oc cemjlhujtica, in jeujllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in eoatica: auh qujnjquac in ioalnepantla, qujtlatiaia, vmpa in qujtocaiotiaia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tzompantitlan:

1. *Qujmjloloz*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.
2. *Evillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "*un estatua de tea, ansiosa usar, con cara.*"

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of the sweat house.

Although the sweat house were very hot, where all bathed, if one known as a twin went there, then he would dispel the steam and destroy [the heat], however hot the sweat house were — even if he went to stand only at the doorway; even more so if he were to bathe among [the others]. But thus could he remedy it; it was said that four times he himself cast potsherds on the ground and sprinkled them with water. It was thought that thus he would not dispel the heat. It would be even hotter.

And when two were born who were called twins, it was said that wherever something was dyed, when [someone] dyed rabbit fur, they might not enter there. If they were to enter there, it was said, they would cast a spell over it; they would blow the colors off. It would come out badly — it would become multicolored, especially [if the dye were] chili red. But thus was it remedied: [the dyer] made him taste the dye water. It was said that in this way the rabbit fur would not be damaged.

Likewise, neither might those known as twins enter where tamales were cooking; because, it was said, if they came in there, they would also bewitch the tamales and the cooking pot. They would not cook, though [left there] all day. The tamales would each one cook only on one side. And in order to remedy it, so that it would not thus happen, when perhaps they went to enter, they placed the cooking pot on the fire. And if by chance the tamales were placed in the pot in [their] presence, they made them lay one [of them] in place. It was said that thus the tamales would not be harmed.

Injc cempoalli on castolli ocs capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in temazcalli. 343

In temazcalli, in vncan netemalo: intlanel cenca totonquj, intla vmpa iaz, in moteneoa cocoa: njmã quipouhtitlaça, quipoloa injc cenca totonquj ocatca in temazcalli: intlanel çan quiiaoac onmoquetzatiuh: oc cenca intla tehoan motemaz. Auh injc patiz quijl nappa in vel inoma contlaçaz, in conatequiz tapalcatl: quijl ic amo quipoloa, injc totonquj: çan oc cenca totonquj iez.

Ioan in vmẽtin tlacati, in mjtoa cocoa, quijlmach in canjn tlapalo, in quipa tochomjtl: amo vel vmpa calaquj: yntla vmpa calaquiz, quijlmach quixoxa, quipitza in tlapalli: amo qualli in quiça, çan mocujcujcujloa: oc cenca yehoatl in chichiltic. Auh injc pati, achi contlapaloltia in tlapalatl: quijl ic amo ytlacaviz in tochomjtl.

No ioan in iehoantin in mjtoa cocoa, in cahjn mopaoaci tamalli: amono vel vmpa calaquj: ichica quijlmach intla vmpa calaquixque, no quixoxa in tamalli, ioan in comjtl: amo vel ycuci, intlanel cemjlhujtl: çan chichicoycuciz in tamalli. Auh injc pati, injc amo iuh muchioaz: in jquac tla ocalaquijto, contlatiz in comjtl. Auh intlanoçe ijxpan mocontema tamalli, centetl ipan contlalilia: quijl ic amo ytlacaviz in tamalli.

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the time when the teeth of small children dropped.

When the teeth of small children dropped out, the mothers cast them into a mouse-hole, or they said to their children: "Place it in the mouse-hole." For it was said that if they were not to do this, the small child's teeth could not grow; he would remain quite toothless.

• • •

Injc cempoalli on castolli onome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti. 856

In jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti: yn tenanoan itlacoiocco contlaça in quimjchin, anoçe inpilhoan, quimjlhuja: ytlacoiocco zictlali in quimjchin: ichica quijl intlacamo iuh quichioazque, amo vel ixoaz in jtlan piltontli: çan tlancotoctic iez.

• • •

Estas supersticiones harm the Faith, and therefore it is well to recognize them. Only these few have

Estas abusiones, enpecen a la fe: y por eso, conujene sabellas, y predicar, contra ellas. Anse puesto, 000

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tilli: itoca aujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl oalichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimãca, ixtlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapieia, vel teixpieia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtia, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoqujn jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlàtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalquiçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalquiçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 535

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanana.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatiteeh maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan ceniauh yn imicxi: yoan ontzitzinquiça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn ixqujpantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn

6. See Plate 22.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

535 chants survive without, alas, the musical notation. These dancers, acting out mythical events pertaining to the lives of the gods, must usually have been highly theatrical. Thus as with other peoples of the past, religious service fulfilled the function of the drama.[19] (See Plate 62, bottom left.)

[212] The pictographic writing of the Aztecs was too simple to
537 record a literature. However, the many references to oratory
538 and the wealth of allusions and synonyms referring to the gods and goddesses give a picture of rich fantasy and poetic imagination. The emphasis on the spoken word, the complex background of the religion, the closeness of the supernatural world, would not have produced lean, accurate prose. Rather a semipoetic, highly symbolic verbiage came from the practice of oratory and the chanting of prayers. Thus a rhythmic and rich verbosity existed as a form of polite address that, given a system of writing, might have been transmuted into literature.[20]

517 These activities, which we sanction in our own culture under the terms of arts and letters and to the practitioners of which we assign honor as creative artists, were existent in Aztec society. The status of these practices, however, was very different from their position in our own culture. Much of that area of our own life divided up into the infinite gradation of commercial, legal and governmental pursuits fell within the span of the individual Aztec's normal social life. That energy and activity which we exhaust in religion, art, belles-lettres and science was combined by the Aztecs in the observance of their religious requirements. The nature of their religion and its position in Aztec life and social practice are fundamental to a realization of the nature of their culture.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its
644 quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings
[367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great
517 plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide
174 road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

868 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led
174 to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl,* or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

524 525 won[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

ololiuhquj anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchiuhtenteti, teucujtlanacochtli, xomoiujtilmatli. Auh in aquin patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic teoquechili, in moquetzticaz etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan mottaia: njman muchi qujtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezqujtetl aqujlli, injc netennonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

526 411 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green [301 643] stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about his wrist.

Tlatlamjna tlaujtoltica, tipontica, totomjtica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With [223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

Tlatlacaloazuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoàztli, iujcallo telolonatlàtl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

moxochimjltia, moxochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

522 524 There were their jesters who provided them solace and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

vncatca intetlavemetzquiticahoan in qujmellelquixtiaia, in qujcecemelcia: ioan quauilacatzoque in qujpaquiltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzqujti, ioan mauiztic, in jca ixocpal tlanjpa injc tlàmati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quanmjmjlli in qujtotia ica ixocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiiuj quammjmjlli ça ichoatl in jxocpal ic tlamati,

517 [732] [231] Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

mjiec tlamàtli, in tececemelti in qujchioa, vncatca imaachoan, ixoloan in qujnujcatinenca in qujmehellelquixtiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, quinpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cujcujtlachtin, ocotochtin, nepapan tototl.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads *quidamiaoa* (he wagered) instead of *quidamiaia*.

And Afterwards, at night,

*796 they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one [302] began to boast of what he had gained, and of the distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled [521] the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

mauan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus assientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatl-
[778] ipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendiziesse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto acontecja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mjsmo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

[753 776] In the sign named ce oçomatli they said that the goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it: that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers on these days did not let their children go outside the [784] houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Oçumatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas cioapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellel- 643
qujxtiaia tlatoque.

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, [48]
injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jte- 643
chiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in 644
qujtlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel iv-
pan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxne-
panoa,

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcacheooa, qujtlatla- [521]
quechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja,

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, [525
qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teo- 526]
cujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli,
in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, [301
cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, 576
xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, 314]
itoca tlachtli:

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli 345
injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in 526
vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in
tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl
manca, in aqujn ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan
qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli
tlatqujtl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin
tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlacheo: itlaujcallo in olli,
maieoatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl.

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli 524
injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl,
qujcujloa ce petlatl, tlilica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc
mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoal-
tetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intla-
poaltenh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa,
qujtlanjlia in ixqujch tlaçotli, cozzic tetacujtlacozcatl, 524
chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 525

1. *Tlaçotli*: the corresponding Spanish has slaves (*esclavos*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and bluttered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, fault-finding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refuting, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

puctli mantoc, tlaqualli qujqujztoc, atle monectoc, ichoatl injc mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatotonja, in puchteca. 441 527 556

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, mocecentlalia in puchteca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujntic, vncan qujmopopoaltia, qujmeecaltia, ic mjxmotlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmoqujchtiliz, oc cenca ichoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, qujtoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexqujch ic conmati, in quexqujch imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, injc qujlacatzotinemj anaoatl, injc ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, injc atlauhtli quitemovitinemj, in noviian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan qujztinemj: auh in nel cana impan oalmotzaqua, qujnpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in tematitlampa qujça, in qujoalcaoa tlatolli, in oalteitoa, ichoan achtopa qujpetla, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli. 441 527 554 521

ic vncan qujquequeloa, ica maujltia, qujtlatlacaqujtia, qujcocoa, qujtotoneoa, qujcocolhuja, qujchichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inextitlan mooqujchitoa, çan njcan tianqujzco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapalotinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ie vncan in jtoneuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoã, injc vel imjtic oaaçic intzcoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoan, injc vncan in necentlaliaia maaoa, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopâpatla, mopapatzaoa, moquezicçatoque, moçoqujmoclatoque, motlatzoujlitoque, moquâquatoque, mjxquâquatoque, motlatolxpeuhtoque, moieboatocatoque, âmotenaqujlmatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jzmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecenteti itlatol, atle ipan qujmotztilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtil: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mocecentecpoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

19. *Mocopiqichiuc* in the *Real Palacio* MS. *Nicaxo*: *niaxo* is unsure.
20. *Mimiltiuxui* in *loc. cit.*
21. Possibly *amoxcmopalmoc pe* and *amo mocmpanavillanj* are intended.
22. *Chachalacatoque* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

441 527 554 521

held in no esteem the riches and prosperity of others. Indeed, each one alone wished to be best; each one thought himself a lord, a superior person; each one thought of himself as the only one, the best. Each spoke for himself; none would talk to them or say a word in their behalf, unless he were a vanguard merchant, one who knew distant lands; unless he were very rich, dealt in goods in his house, or were a buyer of slaves,[33] a ceremonial bather of captives to be sacrificed; unless in his house were carrying frames stuffed and creaking; unless in his house one drank from black jars, gourd vessels, etc.

This was because each one of the merchants himself placed things in the sun at his own house on the day sign Four Wind.

mati, mocococamati, nononqua motlatalhuja, aiac vel inoan tlatoa, aiac vel inpal onmocencamavia: intlacamo oztomecatl, intlacamo veca matinj: ioan intlacamo cenca mocujltonoa, intlacamo ontlaaaquj ichan, intlacamo tecoanj, intlacamo tealtianj, intlacamo cácatzcatoc, nánatzcatoc ichan cacaxtli: intlacamo poctecontica, aiotectica atlioa ichan et.ª.

Ipampa injc ceceniaca tlatonaltiaia, puchteca in jncacalitic: in jpan jn tonalli nauecatl.

33. Or "one who commissioned guests."

524 won[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

ololiuhquj anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchiuhtenteti, teucujtlanacochtli, xoxoiujtilmatli. Auh in aquja patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic tecquechili, in moquetzticaz etl in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan motaia: njman muchi qujtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezqujtetl aqujlli, injc netennonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301] stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about
[643] his wrist.

Tlatlamjna tlaujtoltica, tipontica, totomjtica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

Tlatlacaloazuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoaztli, iujcallo telolonatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

moxochimjltia, moxochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

● 522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

vncatca intetlaveuetzqujticahoan in qujmellelqujztiaia, in qujcecemeltia: ioan quaujlacatzoque in qujpaqujltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzqujti, ioan maujztic, in jca ixocpal tlanjpa injc tlâmati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quanmjmjlli in qujtotia ica ixocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli ça ichoatl in jxocpal ic tlamati,

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There were their servants, their pages who attended them
[732] and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

mjiec tlamâtli, in tececemelti in qujchioa, vncatca imaachoan, ixoloan in qujnujcatinenca in qujmebellelqujztiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, qujnpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cujcujtlachtin, ocotochtin, nepapan tototl.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* M5 reads *quichaoaz* (he wagered) instead of *quichaoja*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Mazeouth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Theirs were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; maguey spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc cuxalli ocz caplculo, vncan mjtoa, injc molehecoaia çion. 286 462

Nenconj, mecomaxalli, quatzontli, xiiotl, otlatl, tzotzopaztli cacalaca, petlacac: tzotzopaztli pitzacac, omjtzotzopaztli, tzotzopaztepitzon, ic tlamachioa: teçacatl, tlaujtcoaj, malacatl, tzacalcaxitl, tiçatl, xaxalmalacatl ic injxtaoa: ichcatanatli, tochomjtanatli, icpatzanatli, injxtanatlj, injtecomatl: tzatzaztli, tlacujlekpanujtl injc qujcujloa icpatl in qujqujti: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan qujpeoha inclapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana tlein tlamaclatli qujchioa; vitztli injc qujuitzcuj icpatl: [386]

tlapalchioa, achioa, qujnomauja: vncate in jnnahoan in qujmjxcalhia, ioan in cocoa tepozzone çihoa, tzapame, cujca, tlamotzona: injc melelequjxtia. 462 [722 534 522]

1. *Tlamiquipanoaiti Sahagún* (op. cit., III, p. 222) describes the tints as "Tecuxque, y chiuo los cuales usaron que parecen plumas colore d'hermosjs: se debid como pintadas, porque de ll se fueron tapanaxtlas, tecuxcalles y ollocuxtes. . . ." Cline is plotted in Thomas, op. cit., IX, 18.

[p. 50 is blank]

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that is a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[15] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were bested, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vassals whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

In tlatoanj, in jquac qujnequja iiellelquiçaz tlanaoatiaia injc patoz, mjcujloa cc patolpetlatl, ica tlilli, papatlactic in tlazotlalli ic mjcujloa, in vncan nepoalo ic netlanjoa: auh njman no mjacoionja nauhtetl aiecotli, injc patolo injc netlanjoa: auh çan ic no iuhquj qujcinoaia in calpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli in jtlatquj, in jaxca tlatoanj, qujoalteca in oncan patoloian, in qujtetlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in icoac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepatla in calpixque: ioan qujpatla in jaqujchtin maçeoalti, in ocontlalica tlatoanj in patoloia. 643 522 525 524

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then [the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in aqujn tlatoanj qualli iiollo, teicnoittanj. 643 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaocuilianj, cenca teicnoittanj, ioan teicnelianj, in icoac qujnèquja, qujçaz in otli qujtocaz: in aqujn motolinja maçeoalli, in motlapaloa, injc qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, intla ouelquitlapalo in tlatoanj: njman qujnaoatia in calpixquj, qujmacaz tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in qujz, in qujquaz, tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloz qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, çan no iuh qujcnelia, qujtlauhtia in jujpil, in jcue, icochia, in qujz, in qujquaz tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla aca motolinja, icnotlacatl, oqujchiuh, oqujtlali, quezquj vetetl mauizio cuicatl, intla njman itech qujpoa tlatoanj, intla qujmaca, cenca qujcnelia, qujtlaocolia, qujcalmaca qujcujltonoa, qujmaca in quezqujch tlatqujtl in jtic onoc calli, ioan qujmaca calpixquj injc momoztlae qujmoçujtlaujz qujtlaqualtiz, qujtenjxitiz, qujneuhcaiotiz qujcochcaiotiz: ioan qujmaca in izqujch netlauhtilli in tlaçotilmatli, in pepechtli in necujltonolli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauizioti.

15. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de alli arrojan su juego, con que jugaban, y quemaron lejos; y otros cosas como estas se dicen."

[p. 60 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate 643
standing up with much reverence and without looking at 264
his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either [415]
red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From [415
time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels 832
of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which 272]
they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very [522 ●
ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies 732]
almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men 643
of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

And the wine server, if he saw that those whom he gave wine did not become intoxicated and in a stupor, but only sat staring and grimacing, once again turned to the left, made a beginning from the left — that is, beginning where he had left off, with those of last place, the lesser in rank. So at that place he made a beginning in order to make them drunk. Thus he went reversing and rearranging the process of making them drunk.

So there was singing: there were songs of sadness and tears; or only broken singing, each one as he liked, each outdoing the others. There was the giving of pleasure, of much contentment. There was the encouragement of one another, and tearful greetings. And some only hummed, singing secretly, or did nothing. And some did nothing else but sit content and rejoicing, laughing and making witty remarks, making others burst into laughter as if their sides were sore. They sat exhausted with mirth[11] if they heard something which moved them to or diverted them with laughter. It was as if dogs were barking.[12]

Just so was it done at banquets and feasting, and assemblages and gatherings of people, and their recitation and the giving of dances, etc., when someone had a feast for the child to place it in the cradle, and the place where he was put in the cradle was watched.

auh in tetlaoanti intla quimjttz quintlaoantia, yn amo ivinti, in amo jamanja, in çan itztoque, ixpepeiontoque, ic no cuel iẽ copuchilochtia, tlaopuchcopa quipeoaltia. q. n. in vncã oquicauh, in tlatzaccan, in tlacuitlapilco, ic nẽ vncan quipeoaltia, ynjc tetlamamaca, ynjc tetlaoantia, ic quicueptiuh, quipapatlatiuh in iztlaoãtiliz: 574 273 851

ic necuicatilo, netlaoculcujcatilo, nechoquizcuicatilc, anoço çan cuicaçacamolo, no çac tle queoa, necujcapanauilo, necomeltilo, nececomeltilo, neellaquaoalo, nechoquiztlapalolo, auh in aca çan tẽtencuicatica, yhichtacacujcatica, aiac ica quichiuhtica: auh cequjn çan qujxcavia in pactoque, im papactoque, vevetzcatoque, camanalotoque, vetzquiztequittoque, iuhqujn inxillã quaquauhti, ommimjctoque in vetztca, yn onoitla quicacque, in tevetzquiti, tevetzquiceuh, iuhqujn tlananalco. 851 574 [533] [522]

Oyvin in muchiouia coaiotl in tecoanotzaliztli, in teoẽtlalilizti, tenechicolizti, tecevilizti, teintotilizti. et.[1] Yn iquac aca quitlaqualiaia in piltzintli, ynjc tlaçoçolaquja, tlaçoçolaquiloian nepielo.

11. *Fourteen of the Bad Palaces* 162.

12. *Thousand sources in ibid.*

[p. 120 is blank]

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[88] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[89] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tonecco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] gayb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[90] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his Yopi-crown[91] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[92] was in his hand.

tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtilisia: qujnnecalilticia, qujnnamjquj- 776 796
in tiiacaoan, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti:

yeoan in ixquichti, çan papaquinj, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque, [524]
teca momotlanj, iaotlaveliloque: vncan moiriecoaia, moiaomamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalizque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia yn aiac, mjtoaia totecco. [346]

Auh yn totecti njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no tlatlaeoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuxcatia, qujnzochineapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujntlaoantia. [292 352 302]

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, ixcocoiteia: qujtoa, ma njctlamanilia, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoalirtli.

Jn inochichioal, miacolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, 776
yiopitzon contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tlacaieoatl, yieoaio malli, tzonchaiaoale, tzucujtlanacoche, tzapocueie, tzitzile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac.

Ninetenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[93]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[94] the stout traveling staves[95] with

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca intzuh catca: cenca qujmaviztilisia, qujtlaquentiaia amatica: yn jntopil, ymotlatopil, yni nenemja, yni 776 463 484

88. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En este fiesta, bevian como en juego de cebat: de manera que el vn vando, era de la parte deste dios, y venagen del dios totec: y estos andavan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que eujan muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y esadas, y personas valientes, y esforçadas: que no tenjan en nada la muerte: andaba, atropejaba, que de jn valientad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se exercitaua, en el exercicio de la guerra: parapujan los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, bolujan huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cebat in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antiguo fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, cascabeleando gallardamente y arrojándose cebas de las que se empandaban con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a pointless war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, has *ocoan* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "*they stopped, ceased, at the place called Tonecco.*"

87. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los quales llamaban Totetecti.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Totetecti as "*los mancebos a honra del dios Totec.*"

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is *mizyelchinbiteiac*, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Seler also (*Translations of the Aztec Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mizyelchinbiteiac* (quail face painting).

89. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red pelpple" (Tlapanteca), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were pointed caps.

90. "The word *chiuhtzoli* means 'whatever with anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the *chimmatli* with the fire sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Translations of the Aztec Collection*, p. 100.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *iyoan-tecuhtli* or *yacantecuhtli* ("the lord, the[prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 3, p. 37). Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37) says he also was named *Yacantecuhqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz agujerada*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name *Xicontecuhtli*.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecuhtli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecuhtli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecuhtli with Itzcuinqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era una cuba, macizo, que olia llamar velad. Y tambien vsan de otra manera de barada,*

"The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que qujere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

796X [805 776]

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Marginal notation: September he dice mes.

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjztli.

Cinco dias antes que començasse este mes: cessauan todas las fiestas y regozijos del mes pasado entrando este mes, baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de mugeres con ella: especialmente las medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos vandos y peleauan apedreandose con pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espadañas, y con flores que llamã cempoalsochitl. Este regozijo durauã quatro dias.

Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras desta calidad: procurauan que aquella muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, ataujauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauãn la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pelejo.

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

534 535 754 524 137 787

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Cozcamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre cozcamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

796X [805 776] [535]

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Marginal notation: [illegible]

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

1 c KL
2 d A esta muger que matauan en esta
3 e fiesta: componjanla con los atauios de
4 f aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que
5 g se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom-
6 A bre Tona quiere dezir nuestra madre
7 b esta muger anti compuesta con los
8 c atauios estan puestos en la historia,
9 d baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos vie-
10 e jos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua,
11 f acordandose que luego auia de morir:
12 g pasando el medio dia, componjanse los
13 A sacerdotes con los ornamentos de todos
14 b los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su-
15 c bianla al cu, donde auia de morir:
16 d echada sobre el tazon de piedra, sa-
17 e cauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la ca-
18 f beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos
19 g que yva adornado como dios, y delan-
20 A tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca-
bellos: hazian areyto cõ ella guiaua el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

c 19
d 20
e 21
f 22
g 23
A 24
b 25
c 26
d 27
e 28
f 29
g 30
A 31
b 1
c 2
d 3
e 4
f 5
g 6
A 7

796X 535

El mesmo dia que matauã esta muger los ministros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abaxo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

796X

El dia siguiente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

796X 565 524 [415]

2. Marginal notation: [illegible]

X 796
565
524

sacks with soft things, like wool, and they carried them hidden under their capes, and they struck, with the bags, all the women whom they might meet in the streets. This game reached such lengths that the boys also made bags and with them mauled the girls so much that they made them weep. Many other ceremonies were performed in this celebration, which are set forth at length in the account of this feast.

cosas blandas como lana y llegauanlas escondidas debaxo de las mantas, y a todas las mugeres que topauan por la calle, dauanlas de talegazos: llegaua a tanto este juego, que tambiẽ los muchachos hazian las talegas y aporreauan con ellas a las muchachas tãto que las hazian llorar. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian esta fiesta q̃ estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellelquixtiaia tlatoque. 643

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac quiça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh quijacana in jtechiuhcaoan; in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in quitlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel quijacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan quiça, aiac vel acopa quitta, aiac uel quixnepanoa, [48] 643 644

He sing; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaehenoa, quitlatlaquechilia, quiçaçanjlhuja, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech cloths, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, quitlanjtoa in jxquich tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlaçoucatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in calli, cozcahoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, itoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

nexocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipeztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquin ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan quicalaquja olli: njman ic quitlanj in jxquich tlaçotli tlaequjtl, auh muchintin quitlanj, in jtquichtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maieoatl, nelpaloaj, queçeatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaiecoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in quichxiaoa in nauhtetl etl, quicujlou ce petlatl, tiltica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc mjcujlou patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapoaltenh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, quitlanjlia in inquich tlaçotli, cozzic teucujtlacoucatl, chalchinjtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. The word: the corresponding Spanish has slaves (*esclavos*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

524 525 wen[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

[787]

526 411 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about his wrist.

[301] [643]

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

[223]

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 524 There were their jesters who provided them solace and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

[732] [231]

ololiuhqui anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepochtli, vexej tilmatli: chalchiuhtentetl, teuxujtlanacochtli, xomoimjtilmatli. Auh in aquja patonij, in qujchaiaua in etl, intla centetl etl ic tzequochili, in mocquetzticac etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamatjquilli ipan zoctzia: niman mochi qujtlanj, in jnqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quexaquj tetl aqujlli, injc ne-nennonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

Tlatlamjna tlauiztica, tipoptica, tetemjtica, tlacochica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhqui, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlpanij.

Tlatlacaloeuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoeztli, iujcallo tetlolonaztlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaca telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

monochimjltia, monochitepantia, cequja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

vncatco intetlivenetzquijticahoan in qujmelleloquiztinia, in qujcoccochtia: ioan quauhjlacatzoque in quj paquiltia mjiec tlamantli in jutlachical teuexquojo, ioan mauizticac, in jca iuocpal tlanjpa injc tlimati çe tlacatl, tomanac in quanmjmjlli in quitotia ica iuocpal aquecztoc ichpa in conmaiauj quanmjmjlli çe ichoual in jxocpal ic tlamati.

mjec: tlamâtli, in tecoccmelti in qujchiua, vncatca imaachoan, iztoan in quiuujcaxincaca in qujmechelleloquiztinia, tzapame, villame, tepotzame, teachme, quipipinia quaquauhti, ocelome, cuicuitlachtin, ocotochtin, nepapan tonti.

2. The Real Academia de la Historia MS reads quitlaxiuiac (he wagered) instead of quitlaxiuiac.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529.-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[175
782
732]

[524]

[231]

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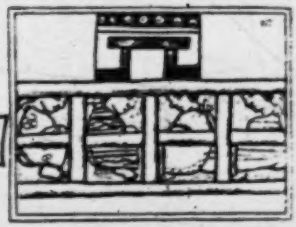

—*Hier Pato y Teomoxo*—

tomeras (concluded), 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patoli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatilin (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(6)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[15] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were bested, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vassals whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

In tlatoanj, in jquac qujnequja iiellelqujçaz tlanaoatiaia injc patoz, mjcujloa ce patolpetlatl, ica tlilli, papatlactic in tlaxiotlalli ic mjcujloa, in vncan nepoalo ic netlanjoa: auh njman no mjxcoionja nauhtetl aiecotli, injc patolo injc netlanjoa: auh çan ie no iuhquj qujcnioaia in calpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli in jtlatquj, in jaxca tlatoanj, qujoalteca in oncan patoloian, in quitetlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in icoac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepatla in calpixque: ioan quipatla in jxqujchtin mâçeoalti, in ocontlalica tlatoanj in patoloia. 643 522 525 524

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then [the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in aqujn tlatoanj qualli iiollo, teicnoittanj. 643 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaoculianj, cenca teicnoittanj, ioan teicnelianj, in jcoac qujnequja, qujçaz in otli qujtocaz: in aqujn motolinja maçeoalli, in motlapaloa, injc qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, intla ouelqujtlapalo in tlatoanj: njman qujnaoatia in calpixquj, qujmacaz tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in quiz, in qujquaz, tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloz qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, çan no iuh qujcnelia, qujtlauhtia in jujpil, in jcue, icochia, in quiz, in qujquaz tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla aca motolinja, icnotlacatl, oqujchiuh, oqujtlali, quezquj veuetl mauizio cuicatl, intla njman itech qujpoa tlatoanj, intla qujmaca, cenca qujcnelia, qujtlaocolia, qujcalmaca qujcujltonoa, qujmaca in quexqujch tlatqujtl in jitic onoc calli, ioan qujmaca calpixquj injc momoztlac qujmocujtlauiz qujtlaqualtiz, qujtenjxitiz, qujneuhcaiotiz qujcochcaiotiz: ioan qujmaca in ixqujch netlauhtilli in tlaçotilmatli, in pepechtli in necujltonolli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauizio tl.

15. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de allí traían la bola, con que jugaban, y pintaban [illegible]: y otras cosas como arriba se dice."

[p. 60 is blank]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[16]
526 (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 There were also games of chance which were played with
796 a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[18]

796 Another important entertainment involved the erection of
526 a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[18]

782 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple cere-
174 monial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

cal organization of the region as a whole was far from that of an empire. In reality a multitude of independent city-states seethed with intrigue and war and were further disunited by differences in language, dialect, physical type and geographic economy. An invader, with a strongly disciplined force small enough to live off the country and thus to stay in the field, could have an astonishing success, particularly if he had a taste for intrigue. Cortes, as events proved, was the ideal man for such a purpose, and he was further favored by the psychological reaction of the Aztecs to his arrival.

The years before the Spanish Conquest had, to the Aztecs, been full of portents suggestive of future evil. There seems to have been in the air that same sense of paralysis that the French knew to their cost in 1939 and 1940. Montezuma, the war chief of the Aztecs and an amateur of witchcraft, had had an experience calculated completely to shake his nerve. He and Nezahualpilli, the chief of Texcoco, had fallen to arguing about the respective merits of their soothsayers, since the Texcocan held that strangers were going to rule the land of Anahuac. So convinced was Nezahualpilli of the correctness of his interpretation that he wagered his kingdom against three turkey cocks, the result to be decided by a ritualistic ball game with Montezuma. The latter won the first two games, but Nezahualpilli took the last three in a row. The defeat must have been disheartening to Montezuma, not only because he had so much to fear from the future, but also because his own experts had been held so cheap. (See Fig. 3.)

In close succession followed a series of phenomena, each bearing its message of woe to come. A column of fire was seen every midnight throughout the year; two temples were

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellel- 643
qujxtiaia tlatoque.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, [48]
injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jte- 643
chiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in 644
qujtlapeujlitiuj: ãiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ix-
pan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxne-
panoa,

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaeheoua, qujtlatla- [521]
quechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja,

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, [525
qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in te- 526]
cujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli,
in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, [301
cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, 576
zomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, 314]
itoca tlachtli:

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli 345
injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in 526
vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in
tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl
manca, in aqujn ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan
qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli
tlatqujtl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin
tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli,
maiecatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl naubtetl in tlaixcoionjlli 524
injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl,
qujcujloa ce petlatl, tlitica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc
mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoal-
tetl matlactetl onome chichiquacentetl imaxca intla-
poalteuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa,
qujtlanjlia in ixqujch tlaçotli, cozzic teucujtlacozcatl, 524
chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 525

1. *Tlaçotli*: the corresponding Spanish has *slaves* (*esclavos*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

524 won' all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were strung, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301 stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about
643] his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[732] were their servants, their pages who attended them
[231] and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

ololiuhqui, xnoço tzuziujtl, quetzalli, tlacuili, calli, mjlli, tlaçoilmatli, pepochtli, vecuj tilmatli: chalchiuhtzuzuzi, xoxoujtlaxocchtli, xonoujtilmatli. Auh in aquja patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, inda cemzul etl ic tzequochili, in mocpactzinca etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tzitzinmachoia, cenca tlamauiçolli ipan mottaia: njauia mochi qujtlanj, in jxquich tlaçotli, in mochanjxco in macuxel aiamo açi in quezquj-tetl aqujlli, injc nemanonotzalo, injc netzopelo.

526 Tlatlamjna tlanjuhtica, tiponica, tomaujtica, tla-
411 cochtica: itlauçcallo, mamopeztli ipan ca, uej chalchiuitl, ololiuhqui, xnoço tzuziujtl in jmaquechtlan qujchalia tlatzauj.

[301 Tlatlacaoanja, tlatlamoda icac tlacalhoztli, injcallo tetelomatlatl mjmjltic injc mopethoa tetelotli, ic qujmoda tepiaoua tonane, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca tonmatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan tonane,

[223 monochimjltia, monochitepantia, caquja, in jxquich nepapan xochitl,

351 vncatca intetlavenetaqujtocahoan in qujmelchqujztinia, in qujxonmechtia: ioan quauhjacatzaqui in quj-paqujltia mjjec tlamatti in jutlachical tzuetzquja, ioan mauiçtic, in jca iuocpal tlanjpa injc tlamati çe tlacatl, tomatac in quammjmjlli in qujxoia ica iuocpal aquetzac acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli çe ichtaca in jxocpal ic tlamati,

517 mjjec tlamatti, in tecoxmachi in qujchiua, vncatca
[732 iuauchoua, iuoloua in qujmjçotzincaca in qujmchel-
[231 hqujztinia, tzapame, villame, tepoxoame, tzochme, ququxtlaia quauhxoxoli, ocelome, cuicuijlachtin, ecatochtin, nepapan tzuzul.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads quilitoctoc (he snapped) instead of quilitoqui.

342 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, like-
643 wise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go
[373] out. It was watched all night and made to burn with
644 pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at
722 the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Cuocalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in
[373] order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj ceioal in tlapialoia, aquenman eeuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iieian tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coacali, in jntenetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texãcali in jnneçenquixtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlãtlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh catca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapieloia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioai tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapieloia.

643 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the
542 ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

643 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game
●525 —the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelquixtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac quittaia, ujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoatiaia, injc ollamaloz, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaquiltiaia tlatoanj: quinnaoatiaia in calpixque, injc quioalcujxque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maieoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlaujlilo, tlaxalujlo, tlachpano:

ioan in ixquich quitlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcozcatl, teucujtlacozcatl, matzopeztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli quioalquixtia in calpixque, quioallalia in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin quinamjquixque, in collamjzque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxquich itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, icceiaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj quijquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oquitlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque quitema in ixquich tlaçotli tlatquitl, in oquitlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no quinmaca in jxquich oquitlanilique tlatoanj.

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13. *Tlacxitlan/pan*: see Antonio Mendoza: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlacxitlalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 369, "*los pueblos quedaron subdivididos en nueve calpulli ó barrios, cuatro los pertenecientes arriba, cuatro calpulli divididos por calles ó tlacxitlalli.*"

14. *Tlaçol*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *dueos*, in which case the Aztec should read *tlaçol*.

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[18] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were bested, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vassals whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

In tlatoanj, in jquac qujnequja iiellelquiçaz tlanaoatiaiz injc patoz, mjcujloa ce patolpetlatl, ica tlilli, papatlactic in tlaxotlalli ic mjcujloa, in vncan nepoalo ic netlanjoa: auh njman no mjxcoionja nauhtetl aiecotli, injc patolo injc netlanjoa: auh çan ie no iuhquj qujchioaia in calpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli in jtlatquj, in jaxca tlatoanj, qujoalteca in oncan patoloian, in qujtetlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in icoac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepatla in calpixque: ioan qujpatla in jxqujchtin maçeoalti, in ocontlalica tlatoanj in patoloia. 643 522 525 524

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then [the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in aqujn tlatoanj qualli iiollo, teicnoittanj. 643 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaoculianj, cenca teicnoittanj, ioan teicneliauj, in jcoac qujnequja, qujçaz in otli qujtocaz: in aqujn motolinja maçeoalli, in motlapaloa, injc qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, intla ouelqujtlapalo in tlatoanj: njman qujnaoatia in calpixquj, qujmacaz tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in qujz, in qujquaz, tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloz qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, çan no iuh qujcnelia, qujtlauhtia in jujpil, in jcue, icochia, in qujz, in qujquaz tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla aca motolinja, icnotlacatl, oqujchiuh, oqujtlali, quezquj veuetl mauizio cuicatl, intla njman itech qujpoa tlatoanj, intla qujmaca, cenca qujcnelia, qujtlaoccolia, qujcalmaca qujcujhtoua, qujmaca in quexqujch tlatqujtl in jitic onoc calli, ioan qujmaca calpixquj injc momoztlae qujmocujtlaujz qujtlaqualtiz, qujtenjxitiz, qujoeuhcaiotiz qujcochcaiotiz: ioan qujmaca in ixqujch netlauhtilli in tlaçotilmatli, in pepechtli in necujltonolli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauizioti.

18. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de allí arrojan su juego, como que jugaban, y pusieron lugar; y otras cosas como arriba se dice."

[p. 60 is blank]

565 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their
463 houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the
651 lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and
511 of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuales had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common
[651] people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed " (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Martín de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[625] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in lem

423

50. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170. We are also told that they were called itonal intlacatl which means something like "the sign of the birth of the people," that is, perhaps they were those of the ruler's lineage.

[the plots] were many and good, but they could not be disposed of, that is, sold (51). It is possible that the remainder of the tecuhtlallis

51. Zurita, p. 105.

were the lands of the calpullis which could be rented for the benefit of the calpulli (see p. 39). In any case we can accept that in part these lands appear to be lands of the calpullis the tribute from which was for the tecuhtli or tecuhtlis, and that in part the tlatocamilli indeed appear to have been lands possessed by a very limited group, worked by lessees, but by a group with very special and surely hereditary characteristics. Perhaps they were the lands "of the king's household," painted in flesh-color.

The forms studied up to now are communal, the produce of which is divided among those who work them and their chiefs, in different ways. We are finally going to consider a type of land ownership which is completely different from them because it appears to be private property.: We are told that some kinsmen of the rulers, [525] and some lords and merchants, had lands which they could gamble and sell (52). It would appear from this simple fact that there was

52. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

a true free commerce in land; but such was not the case. In the first place in what we have just set down we see that only some of the kinsmen of the rulers, some of the lords and some of the merchants possessed land in this way. If the lords were not at most more than ten percent of the population (see p. 24), the number of such owners must have been very small. In the second place, with respect to the merchants, we can say that if, as we have seen, they evinced a division between nobles and plebians (p. 25), the most likely thing is that the plebian merchants /p. 45/ could not be owners who disposed of their lands freely, as neither could the common macehuales nor even those ennobled through acts of valor (53).

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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understand more fully the things about our holy faith, and the great power of the Emperor our Lord.

Then sometimes Montezuma and Cortés would play at Totoloque, which is the name they give to a game played with some very smooth small pellets made of gold for this game, and they toss these pellets to some distance as well as some little slabs which were also made of gold, and in five strokes [tries] they gained or lost certain pieces of gold or rich jewels that they staked. I remember that Pedro de Alvarado was keeping the score for Cortés, and one of his nephews, a great cacique, was marking for Montezuma, and Pedro de Alvarado always marked one point more than Cortés gained, and when Montezuma saw it he said courteously and laughingly that he did not like Tonatio (for so they called Pedro de Alvarado) to keep the score for Cortés, because he made so much *yxoxol* in what he marked, which in their language means to say that he cheated, in that he always marked one point too many. Cortés and all of us soldiers who were on guard at the time, could not restrain our laughter at what the great Montezuma said. It may now be asked why we laughed at that expression, and it was because Pedro de Alvarado, although he was so handsome and well mannered, had a mania for excessive talking, and as we knew his temperament, we all laughed so much. To return to the game, if Cortés won, he gave the jewels to those nephews and favourites of Montezuma who attended on him, and if Montezuma won he divided them among us soldiers on guard, and in addition to what he gave us from the game, he never omitted giving us every day presents of gold and cloth, both to us and to the captain of the Guard who, at that time, was Juan Velásquez de Leon, who showed himself in every way to be the friend and servant of Montezuma.

I also remember that at one time there was on guard

A 787 plundered and fled, he pilfered, he stole from people in the streets; he broke into people's houses; he deprived them of their raiment.

çan iuh ovilouiçi, muchi quimotequipçia in ofli, in patolli, pâpatza, ôollanza, motlachanjoua, tetlachanjoua, mouixicoa, tezixicoa, tezixictlanj, ostetlatlalia, muchi quitlanjoua in jchan onoc, muchi panoico, tlachco, quitlanjoa, in jatemoa; in jnoepachol itatzia, inantzin, muchi quichteccaquiçtia, in açoc cana itlatzia tlatlio, çan nen quiçiçqui, çan nempanca in motlanjoua, aoc tle in quiçequetza, aoc tle in jitetlanjcol, inic tlanamjctia, inic vel oviti, aoc tepapatla, panoico, tlachco, oviti, chiquaxi, quichiquatilia, anoço quimomachtia in ollamôli, panollamôli, ollamôle, panollamôle:

A 787 ● 525

Living only in dangerous luxury, he was completely given to the rubber ball game, and to *patolli*. He continually played *patolli*, or the *tlachtli* game.[3] He lost; he lost the possessions of others. He was deceived. He deceived others or tried to deceive them. He detained others. He wagered everything which was in his home. He used up everything in *patolli* and *tlachtli*. All the treasures and support of his beloved mother and father he spirited away, even if some little thing had been hidden. In vain he practised deceit; to no purpose he wagered. There was no more that he could lay down as stakes, nothing more for him to wager, to match, to embarrass [rivals]. He no longer overcame others in *patolli* or *tlachtli*, or embarrassed, despoiled, or took all the wagers, even though he understood the language, the rules, of *tlachtli* and *patolli*.

A 787

And he was not of good condition; he in no way excelled others. He was completely clothed in rags and tatters. He had no bowl nor jar. And he visited and inflicted pain, misery, and suffering on one.

suh amo ivian iectli, amo ivian tecauh, monquitica tlotocomatli, tatapatli, ôcaxe, ôcome: inan tecoco, tetolinj, cocolizzli quitcititia, ic temotla:

And although he might take captives in war, it was said that he achieved only misery. Though he might become a seasoned warrior, he lived only in complete misery, torment, poverty, and need. He went about with his rags and tatters in pieces about his neck. His old maguey fiber cape hung from him in shreds. Indeed, he went about on earth very destitute.[4] Or else somewhere he would be sacrificed as a captive; he would die as a ceremonially bathed captive; he would be ritually bathed as a sacrificial captive.

suh in manellamaz isoc, mjtoa çan icneiotl in caci, in manel tequiçoacati, çan icneiotl ic mâpêtinemj, tetoneoatinemj, in jiollo, aoneoatinemj, aonmonamjquj, in jtzotzoma, in jtatapa, iquechtlan cotontinemj, in jaiaçol quichichiquailpia, uel ompa onquiztinemj in tlaltiçpac, anoço cana teumjquix, tlaaltilmjquiz altiloa:

But if perchance something should be his deserts, it would not endure. He might become very deserving in his youth; at once, in his youth, the good counsel and teaching begin. On emerging mature, not genuine on earth was the little which he might attain.[5]

suh intla ça noço itla imâcoualtiz, amo cazcanviz, vellamaceoaz, in jpiltian, çan niman ipan pilpeoaz in vel monotzaz, vel moncaliz, çan vei quiçaz, amo ivian, tetlan, quauhtitlan, in jtla quiçaquilhuiz.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," Chapter 10.

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, op. cit: *ompa onquiçqui tlachtiçpac*: "He entered a ceremonial pelota, a stony or ceremonial pelota." (Dibble ed., VI, 41, 38).

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*por mucho que haga parajismo, donde pagarlo: no se podra ocupar de nada seguro.*"

843 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back
752 was as it were a small, blue hump. Or [he might catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc neci ximomo, yeiztlapan co, iahqujo poomatli, iahqujo tzoxic: anoço cuetzpalicivitli. Injc neci cuetzpalicivi pilnantli: cuxioui in chocu, yoan yquxaiico, yeiuac motlehalia nacoxoxoui, ohiuxoui, nelacxoxoui. Auh injc pati: quijmatla, quijquijxtia in nacoxoxoui.

843 And as for the pregnant women: before her child
821 had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will be hunchbacked!"

Ioan in ozcatl: in jquac ximmo vel tlacatl motlalia in jxonxoxoh, quijtlacaxaltiuia, in jquac calmomaca metztli: injc ximo conacqujxtiuaque, quijmjlhuiuia: macamo xocoxjtiacan in metztli, xujujquja, anoço xoquiuiz in xocoxoxoh.

825 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's
777 hand.

Injc ompoualli caqitulo, yuchqa tlatoa: in ocomatli ymacpal.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly a
441 monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In ocomatli imacpal: in puchtecca cenca quitemaia, quimoqialtiaia: in jquac in campa tiamqujja, in tlanamacaia: vncan quijtocaia, quijmach ic icuhca aquj, icuhca mochi conio in tlein quijnamaca: quj ichoot! iuh quichioa in ocomatli yma: ynic mochapolhia.

777 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere
264 was disposed of that which they sold, when no one
824 bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoacatin in tilmamimacaque: in jquac acan aquj in quijnamaca, in xiac qoioa: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço vipalli, quijmach: quichilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc quichioaia: in jquac calvia iachan, quijnaia: acan oac in xoiamjc: ma xocochilquaqualtican: njman ic ijcic contema, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: quijmach ic aquja, injc iuh quichioaia in, ic quijna: quichilquaqualtia.

777 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle
525 and the griddle.

Injc ompoualli oce caqitulo, iechqa tlatoa in temolcol, yoan comalli.

When one who played *pamoli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his house, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aquja pamoia, in jchan, in jtezcoioh, ioan in jcomal, ioan in jmetl: intlapach quijnamaia: auh in temolcol cana xamoloa quijpilouia; quijmach: ic ano quijtlanizque in chane, çan ic tlachanjz.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "una enfermedad, que llaman *cuetzpalicivitli*, o una *lobadillo* en las ingles." Wm. dos Codex Mex (El manuscrito mexicano Tolosano *FM dos 2 Codex Mex* [Madrid: Biblioteca Ibero, 1988]), p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to *pelota*, which is an error.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into con- [412] tainers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

flung, down the steps; but his head joined the other skulls 796
spitted on the rack beside the temple.[13] (See Plate 61, top.) [782]

Every one of the great monthly sacrifices had a dramatic significance, and a list of the principal feasts, the gods they honored and the month of their occurrence is set forth on Table XVII. Several authors have availed themselves of Friar Sahagun's matchless descriptions to set forth the elaborate rituals which we have lightly sampled here. The elements of time, training and elaborate preparation of costume, it can be readily seen, must have absorbed a large part of the resources of the tribe. The tentacles of ritual extended throughout the tribal activities, so that even games and sports were transformed into acts of religious meaning, although the participants undoubtedly derived a great deal of fun from their performance.

The ball game, *tlachtli*, was such a game, played in a court 796
shaped like the capital letter *I*. Walls extended on either side 526
of the stem of the *I*, and in the middle of each a stone or wooden ring was set vertically, in contrast to the horizontal position of a basketball hoop. The players tried to pass through this ring a hard rubber ball, which they could only strike with their elbows, hips or legs. There must have been some other method of scoring than by goals alone, since these, very naturally, were of rare occurrence—so much so that, in the event of one, players and backers had the right to snatch the wearing apparel of their adversaries. The game was played far and wide, courts having been found from the Republic of Honduras to southeastern Arizona. It has a special interest for us in that the first description of rubber, so important in our modern economy, was when Oviedo, in the sixteenth

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[14]
526 (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 There were also games of chance which were played with
796 a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[15]

796 Another important entertainment involved the erection of
526 a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[16]

782 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple cere-
174 monial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *magey* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *magey* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 298.

in amo mjço quipepetlaoaia, aocmo quimaca in jtilma, iccen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj. 796[x]

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaaltiaia, qujmocaaultiaia in vctli. [834 273]

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalquiça itamachiuhca, çan muchixquich, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixquich, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicaz. 796[x] 411 [283] [381]

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa. [314]

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenquiz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õnomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixquich tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aquique vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna. 796[x] 526

Auh injc macujilhujtl, ça mjacaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conoococtzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncan toctitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia: 796[x] 765

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc mocellel- 643
qujxtiaia tlatoque.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac quiça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, [481]
injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jte- 643
chiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in 644
qujtlapeujltiuj: iiac vel qujiacanjltequj, aiac uel iv-
pan quiça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxne-
panoa,

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaehcooa, qujtlatla- [521]
quechilia, quiçaçanjlhuja,

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, [525
qujtlanjtoa in jxquich tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teo- 526]
cujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli,
in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in milli, in calli, [301
cozzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachiocozcatl, 576
xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, 314]
itoca tlachtli:

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli 345
injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in 526
vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in
tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl
manca, in aquin ollimanj vncan tlacalaquiça, vncan
qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxquich tlaçotli
tlaiquitl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxquichtin
tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli,
maiecatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl naubtetl in tlaixcoionjlli 524
injc motlanj immatica in qujchxiaoa in nauhtetl etl,
qujcujloa ce petlatl, tlitica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc
mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoal-
tetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intla-
poaltzuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa,
qujtlanjlia in ixquich tlaçotli, cozzic teucujtlacozcatl, 524
chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 525

1. *Tlaçotli*: the corresponding Spanish has slaves (*esclavos*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

524 525 wear* all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green stones, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, shows, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if there he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

● 526 411 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green [301 643] stones or fine turquoises. The archer placed it about his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With [223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 524 There were their jesters who provided them solace and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There were their servants, their pages who attended them [732] and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, [231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

chalchihuitl, anoço teuxiuitl in jmaquechtlan quijtalia tlaxuuj.

Tlatlamjna tlauiqolica, tipoonica, tonxuijica, tlacochica: ixtlauiçallo, matzopetzli ipan co, uej chalchiuitl, ololiuhqui, anoço teuxiuitl in jmaquechtlan quijtalia tlaxuuj.

Tlatlacaloxuija, tlatlamoda ican tlacalhoxtli, injcallo tekolomatlatl mjmjltic injc mopethoa telolodi, ic quijmoda tepiuxca tuxome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca tomatlatl: injc quijnaçi nepapan tuxome,

mouchimjltia, mouchitepantia, caquija, in jaquijch nepapan xochitl,

vacatca intetlavecuaquijticaboan in quijmelelquiztinin, in quijcoxmelcia: ioan quauijlacatzoque in quijpaquijtia mjjec tlamatti in jutlachiouh teuxaquijti, ioan mauijztic, in jca iuocpal tlanjpa injc tlômati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quauauijmjlli in quijxoxia ica iuocpal aquexuac acopa in cocoxmiauj quauauijmjlli çe ichcatl in jaocpal ic tlamati,

mjjec tlamâdi, in teccocmelti in quijchioa, vacatca inmachoan, inolooa in quijmjcaxincaca in quijmochellaquijxinia, tzapoane, villane, tepotzoane, teachne, quijquinia quaquatlati, eçelone, cuicuijtlachtin, ocotechtin, nepapan tzatzi.

2. The Real Academia de la Historia MS reads quitlaxoloa (he wrapped) instead of quitlaxuuj.

532
[687]
[625]

[689]

[526]

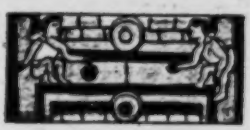

[533
534]

[735]

[482]

—After Bye y Tovarno

• 86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a careless musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies[1] (Chapter 17). 91. The game *ulaxtli* (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

[1] [This caption is in error. - Analyst]

[p. 36(L) is blank]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

362 174 serious faces showed that, already conscious of their participation in the tribal life, they heeded their uncle's precepts as to conduct befitting boys and men. A fat little girl squatting in the doorway vainly tried to imitate with her stubby fingers and toy implements the graceful movements of her mother as she produced fine threads by the cunning manipulation of her spindle. Lolling on a cushion, a young man [276] idly smoked a cigarette in a cane holder as he picked thoughtfully at the scarcely healed lobe of his ear, tattered by penitential bloodletting with cactus spine and obsidian blade.

174 A fiesta was going on in another house, and one heard the 527 rich vibration of wooden drums and the high squeal of reed flutes. The patio was full of people, gay in the bright colors of their holiday clothes, and the air was heavy with the cloying scent of lilies. The sharp smells of rich sauces cunningly mixed from many peppers embroidered this odor, and occasionally a light breeze wafted the cool, mystic scent of incense. Somebody was celebrating his birthday, since in the background one saw a painted figure adorned with amate paper, representing the god who presided over that event. A little apart from the feasters, who partook of their entertainment with dignified pleasure, were a group of old men whose clownish gestures and burlesque solemnity could be easily associated with the cups of pulque that a slave was industriously filling for them. Not for nothing had these elders passed through the rigid self-denial of young manhood; they were permitted alcoholic indulgence in their old age whenever a feast came to pass. A last backward glance revealed the musicians, garlanded with flowers, blowing their flutes and conch shells, while one man beat the head of a cylin-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli*.

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

643 644 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did they eat.

783 785 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iioaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin teupixque papaoaque, qujntlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço iooalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopahtema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixqujmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izqujlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izqujioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[777] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonqujxtiaia tlamaçeoalíztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otzonqujz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler made summons to a feast.

● 527 648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzalíztli, in ichoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, 643
ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxqujchtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcaatentli qujtztoque, ioan in jxqujchtin- 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, qujiaoalotoque mexico, tetz-
cuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac ocenqujzque in jxqujchtin tlacoa-
notzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiau-
hoan: njman ic qujntlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in
tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, qujntlauhtia in jxqujch tlaço-
tilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaço-
tlanquj chimalli, netotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceioal
cemjlhujtl, in tepaqujltia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no qujntlauhtia, in jxqujchtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixqujchtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
qujchtin tzupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:
auh in otzonqujz tecoanotzalizztli, njman ic om-
peoa in jxqujchtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, 292
altepetl ipan.

Auh çan njman iquezqujlujioc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, injc cana iauqujxoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in
jxqujchtin tiacaboan, oqujchti: auh iioma in tlatoanj
in iauh iauc, in oniaoqujça, in ontepeoa qujujca in
jxqujchti iauqujzque, ioan in noujian tlatoque alte-
petl ipan inic oiaoqujça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac
ōtepeoato, oiaoqujçato cenca paquj, in qnexqujch
malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli
qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujqujxtiaia. Auh in ix-
qujchtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmaujxiotia, mjiec
tlamātli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotil-
matli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj,
ioan qujntocamaca injc maujztililozque, injc tlaca-
machozque, injc oqujchti, tiacaoã.

8. In *ibid.*, uexotzinco dataqui is followed by yaqui mixtecapan dataqui, and rulers of the Mixtec country.

[p. 66 is blank]

65

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The reception was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

venden comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 56, etc.), "oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 69). In general, nearly all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 383 and 384, cap. XII).

[76] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tianamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 127, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[76] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicaquitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "naoaloztomeca," literally "peddlers of the Nahuatl." *Molina* (II, 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

For, so was it said, he had fallen into great sin.[5] There rags and tatters lay strung out; there misery and orphanhood were the reward. And there was the great flood, the great crag, the pit, where there was a falling into the flood, or from the crag, or into the pit.[6] And there lay the snare, where one was snared.

So was it said of him to whom it so befell that his fate and merits had been good; only of his own will and by his own act he had harmed, destroyed, and ruined it, etc.

And if a woman were born upon the day One Flower, it was said that she would be an able embroiderer. But nevertheless, in order to gain her deserts, and to achieve skill in embroidering, she should do great penances, and fast, and draw blood when the day sign One Flower set in. But if she did not do penances, if she took not good heed, if her upbringing and training were not good, she herself harmed her day sign.

Likewise it befell her (as was told here) that her labors were in vain; she merited complete poverty and misery. Thus her deserts only came to an end, to naught; they became corruption. She became a harlot, a courtesan. She sold herself; she became a paramour. For it was said that just so was her day sign, One Flower; for it fell two ways. They said it was good and evil.

Also it was said that when One Flower set in, then began, continued, and was always held, a dance, a procession. But only Moctezuma in his own heart knew — [for] no one [else] determined — for how many days he established his dance. Perchance for forty days there would be dancing.

And that it might be known that a dance had been arranged, two poles with flowers were set up; they remained at the palace of the ruler. Thus was made known the day of the flowers: there would be enjoyment of and rejoicing over the day of flowers.

At that time the ruler determined and requested the kinds of song to be intoned — perhaps after the manner of those of Cuextlan;[7] the drunkards of Cuextlan;[8] or of Huexotzinco or Apalhuac; or the merchants; or those of Nonoalco, or Coscatlan; or of

ca iuh mjtoa, tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi, ítlacacemellecan vncan vilantoc in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, vncã mãcualo in jcnoiotl, in jcnotlacaiotl: auh vncan icac, in vei atoiatl, in vei tepexitl, in tlaxapuchtli, vncã neatoiavilo, netepexivilo, netlaxapuchvilo: ioan vncan manj in tzonoaztli, vncan netzonoazvilo: 787X

ic mjtoa, in aqujn iuhquj ipan muchioaia, y, qualli ocatca: in jtonal, in jmãceoal, ça inêviian, ça onmonevianvi, in oconmjtlacalhuj, in oconmopôpolhuj, yn oconmotlaçolmjctili. Etc.

Auh intla aca cioatl, ipan tlacatia ce suchitl: mjtoaia, vuellamachchiuhquj iex: auh iece injc vel qinonopilhujz imãceoal, injc vel qujtzaz tlãmachtli, cẽtlamaceoaia, moçaoaia, mjçoia in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl tonalli: auh intlacamo tlamaceoa, intlacamo vel monotza, intlacamo vellapapaoalli, vellazcaltilli mochioa, çan no qujtlaueliaia yn jtonal: [785]

no iuhquj ipan muchioaia (in iuh omjto njcan) atle onquçaia, çan moch icnoiotl, netolinilíztli in qujmomaceviac auh injc ça ontlatzontia, ontlatzonqujxtia, ça aujlqujzcaiotl, in jnemac mochioa, aavienjti, manujltia, monanamaca, motzitzinnamaca: ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal in ce suchitl, ca vme vitz qujtoa, qualli, ioã ãqualli.

No yoan mjtoa, in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl: vncan oncempeoa, vncan vnmocemana, in muchipa maceoalo, netotilo, çan iee qujmati in Motecuçuma yiollotlãma aiac qujioccoia, in quezquilhujtl, qujtlaliz ymaceoaliz in aço vmpoalilhujtl manjz mãceoalíztli: 527● 535

ãuh injc necia, ynjc temaceoalíztlalhujloia, vme suchiquavitl oalmoquetzaia, oalmomanaia tecpan, tlatocan: yc monextia in suchilhujtl, suchipacca, nezuchitlamachtilo:

vncã tlatlãlamj, tlanenequj in tlatoanj, in catle cujcatl coneoan, in anoço cuextecaiotl, tlaoancacuextecaiotl, vexotzincaiotl, anaoacaiotl, ostomecaiotl, nonoalcaiotl, coscatecaiotl, tenjcaiotl, tepetlacaiotl, chichimecaiotl, metztitlancalcaiotl, otomcujcatl, quata- 527 533

5. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 191*v*: *tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi ín tlalácapan*. See also fol. 210*v*.

6. Cf. also loc. cit. The passage is manipulated.

7. Probably Huexotzinco. See, however, Sahagún (Carlisle ed.), X, 29, 79-82 (cf. Vol. I, p. 9, for reference system, to be used hereafter except in special cases).

8. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 7, 2.

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichi-
533 meca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponazcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, iacuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quatepequjcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

ye mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã qujcenqujxtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxquich imácecollatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, qujtlãtlatitia, in catle coneleuja, ipan onmjtoia, ipan ontetlattitiz:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacacan, in tetlajecteaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
643 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums —the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujxia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mácecolcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtoianj, motlaqujtoiánj, tlamoiauhquj, tocacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch ichoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
262 —tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtertli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiocuepalli, tlaxcaleotezttli, tozolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaztlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaoio.

And when they had tired and were wearied of
527 dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered
ripples. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in iquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj mácecolliztli, njman qujcalaqujxia, qujtlatiala, in vnic xuchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic qujxpdaiotiaia,

9. Cf. *ibid.*, 2, 29, 94-95; *genre tlahtoani* was a term generally understood by natives.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads *auh inic ilamo pipiloua, tzitzquin mapipiloua: tzcuilloua mapipiloua . . .* See also, Olmos, op. cit., p. 237 (manuscript).

another flowered pole. This they ignited, set fire to, and burned. And so silence reigned and it was still; it remained calm in the city; no one stirred or made a noise. For the flowers had burned; they had been destroyed by fire.

But none the less, in the home of each nobleman and lord there was much singing and rejoicing. Only and alone at the palace was the dancing ended. All the people rejoiced completely.

quichichioia, çan no ouchiquauitl: ichoutl tlatlaia, quitlatiaia, quitecaviaia: ic cactimomanaia, cactiuetzia tlamatimoemana in altepetl, aoc ac tlaolinja, tlachalanja: ipampa ca omotlati ozlatlac in ouchitl:

auh tel in cocoiaca iuchan pipiltl, tlatoque, vel cuicoia pacoaia, çaniio, çaniiocan ip tecpan mocaoaia in mácoualiztli, in mochi tlacatl in cempaquja.

527

[p 28 is blank]

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Inic matlactlomocze capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujnquechtzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuexcochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzainja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallavi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motzcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculovocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacacatztaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 684 727 761 789 824

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away—the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acaoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê qujveimatia, qujmaviztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhqujtl, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixqujch cozcatl, in coxcapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jxqujch nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xoxouhqui.* — Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *jamicia* — *Bromelia pinguin* L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un metro de altura y cuya hoja remojada o ha de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbática."

2. Tlamatinimi also as "men of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlipan, Macuilxochitl, Xilonen, Tlaloc, Ilhuicatl, Cuauhtlehuanitl, Chimalma, Ixcuinanqui, Yacatecuhtli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 58). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the pochteca.

3. *Atamalcualli* as *pochtecatlahtoani*, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si diéramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre los mercaderes . . . es entiendese al que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y maestro de todos los mercaderes" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 240 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 69): "*eher eidechsenähnlicher Fabelmann in der eidechsenhaft dem Ion von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Cholula.*" Acatecuhtli was a merchant's barrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were: Nuni Ehecatl, Chimalpanecatl, Xantecatl, Cuchimilcatl, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecatecuhtli (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 238, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Meine mit dem Grün Gemischte . . . . der auf Wanderschaft gehende Kleine und Mächtigkeiter zusteht als der auf weite Reisen gehende Grünfeinmann, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

5. Ibid., p. 148.

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tomatoes, the cylindrical ones;[6] and all the neck bands, and the matted neck bands; and large and small pieces of turquoise; and all the different kinds of feathers — quetzal tail feathers: the well-pointed ones, the well-curved ones, the wide ones, the long ones, which, they said, indeed extended a fathom. And these were just the tail feathers. And those they called down feathers,[7] the very small ones, the chili-green ones and the crest feathers of the quetzal;[8] and feathers of the red spoonbill[9] [*zoquechol*], which is now called *tlauhquechol;* and the blue cotings, the amethyst-colored ones,[10] the yellow parrot,[11] the multicolored parrot, the trupial,[12] the red and yellow parrot,[13] the scarlet parrot,[14] the blue parrot,[15] the dove; and aquamarine feathers, etc. And skins of wild animals, and mats of wild animal [skins]; and wooden chocolate-beaters; and gourd stoppers.[16]

Verily, all their goods, which lay strewn [and scattered in the tribal quarter] temples[17] they arranged in order and in rows upon precious capes. They sorted, ordered, and disposed them. Then they offered incense and beheaded quail. Of this it was thus said: "They place things in the sun." And when they had placed them in the sun, and when they had offered incense during the day, later,[18]

in vel iaque in vel vitoliuj, in patlacac, in viiac, in qujlhuja cexciacatl içan moteca: auh in çan totocujtlapiltic, ioan in qujlhuja quetzaliacatl, in çan tepitoton, in chilchotic, ioan in tzinjtzcan, in tzoquechol: in xacan mjtoa tlauhquechol, ioan in xiuhtotorl, in aiopal, in tozcujtl, in toxcujcujl, in çaquan, in cochoivitl, in chamolin, in cujtlatzozotli, in coçôtli, in xiuhapalli. Etc. yoan in tequaneoatl, in tequanpetlatl, auh in aquaujtl, in atzaccaiotl:

in ie mochi intlatquj in teinìoc, [¶ pixauhtoc. yn calpulco] in teucali, tlaçotilmapan, qujcentêcaia, qujcuecuentiliaia, qujtlatlamantiliaia, qujviujpanaia, qujtetecpanaia, vncan tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia, iehoatl injc mjtoa: tlatotonja, auh in jquac otlatotonjque, in otlenamacaque, cemjlhujtl, catepan tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, mopixtoque, in pochteca veuetque, nepiclotoc, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlaujaxtoc, pucticoatoc,

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6. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, cap. viii, fol. 295: *ioyc tlatlalili, ohdac, ocotic xicxic, tomatic, chiquimolec, tlachquimalcoti, tlachiquimalli, tlacomapalli, tlachtlacuilochtlalli*, for which the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Labores como pindas unas redondas y apretadas, otras largas y rollizas, y apretadas, otras triangulares, otras cortadas al cayo, otras cuadradas.*"

7. Quetzal *xoxo plug*, in *Jens, loc. cit.*

8. *Tzinitzcan*. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 2 and 4, describes both the crest of the quetzal and a bird of the same name: *Tzquanoxoc tzcuxcan*, 7. *cuchujqui* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 344). In Sáez, *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. V, p. 2, it is quetzal tail and down feathers of dark green with metallic sheen; in *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 137, a bird with black and green feathers.

9. *Tlauhquechol*. In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 62, white and red spoonbill; Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 63, red heron; p. 124, red spoonbill; p. 137, rose-colored heron. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 5: *Ajaja ajaja* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 356).

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10. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 9) mentions an ayoquan found in mountains above Cuernavaca and Michoacan — of painted, black beak and black feathers except those of the tail, which are half-white; another bird of the same name is a waterfowl of yellow beak; feathers at joint of wing are green; long wing and tail feathers are brassy, with white and green; body feathers are red. *Ajaxuia ajaxui* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 324).

In "L'ordonnance des matières mexicaines et leur art de travailler la pierre et de faire des ornements en plumes," Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte-Rendu* de la Huitième Session Tenue à Paris en 1890 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), note to § 48, Edward Seler translates *ayopul* as *tapaxt ordinaire*, referring to Molina, *op. cit.*, *chrisul amarillo — ayopulmichtl*.

11. Sáez, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 16; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 210.

12. Sáez, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 114. *Gyrocotinque Mexicanum* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 372).

13. Sáez, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371: "*zaquanic de loro, del género Chrysotis.*" *Cuchu ac cuchul* — "*Papagayo rojo y morado.*" *Amaxuxu ahuxuxu ahuxuxu* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 328).

14. *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 2. Cf. also, however, *chamolin* (*chamol*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461: "*Nombre vulgar que en el Estado de Guerrero, en Mijoc, se da al tabachin o chamolchichil.*" *Chamolchichil*. Asc., *chamoli* (*pimarlo*) — "*tabachin o flor del amarillo* (Poinciana pulcherrima)."

15. Cf. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *cuyadores de calabazas para acocotes.*

17. An omission in the *Florentine Codex*, to be noted in comparing the passage with the text of the *Real Palacio* MS, placed in brackets, brings the Nahuatl closer to Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

18. *Compare*: the colillo is missing in the original.

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

puctli mantoc, tlaqualli quijquixtoc, atle monectoc, ichoatl injc mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatzoonja, in puchteca. 441 527 556

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

Auh in çioouc tlatlacoano, mocecentlalia in puchteca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujntic, vncan qujmopopoaltia, qujmecoaltia, ic mjxmotlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmoqujchtiliz, oc cenca ichoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, qujtoxnequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexqujch ic conmati, in quexqujch imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, injc qujlacatzotinemj anaoatl, injc ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, injc atlauhtli quitemovitinemj, in noviian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan qujatinemj: auh in nel cana impan oalmotzaqua, qujnpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in tematitlampa qujça, in qujoalcaoa tlatolli, in oaltritoa, ichoan achtopa qujpetla, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli. 441 527 554 521

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, fault-finding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refuting, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

ic vncan qujquequeloa, ica maujltia, qujtlatlacaquitia, qujcocoa, qujtotoneoa, qujcocolhuja, qujchichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inextitlan mooqujchitoa, çan njcan tianqujaco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapaloxinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ie vncan in jtoneuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoß, injc vel imjtic oaçic intecoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoan, injc vncan in necentlaliaia maaoa, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopâpatlo, mopapatzaoa, moquexiçatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, motlatzoujlitoque, moquâquatoque, mjxquâquatoque, motlatolxopeuhtoque, moichoatocchtoque, ãmotenacujlmatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jxmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecentetl itlatol, atle ipan qujmotztilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in innecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtil: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mococentecpoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

19. *Mocuqujchitoa* in the *Real Palacio* MS. *Nicuec*, *ichoa* is unsure.

20. *Mitoltiaoual* in *loc. cit.*

21. Possibly *cmotenacujltoque* and *amo cmotenpanvillanj* are intended.

22. *Chachalacatoque* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

441 held in no esteem the riches and prosperity of others.
●527 Indeed, each one alone wished to be best; each one
554 thought himself a lord, a superior person; each one
521 thought of himself as the only one, the best. Each spoke for himself; none would talk to them or say a word in their behalf, unless he were a vanguard merchant, one who knew distant lands; unless he were very rich, dealt in goods in his house, or were a buyer of slaves,[23] a ceremonial bather of captives to be sacrificed; unless in his house were carrying frames stuffed and creaking; unless in his house one drank from black jars, gourd vessels, etc.

This was because each one of the merchants himself placed things in the sun at his own house on the day sign Four Wind.

mati, mocecocamati, nononqua motlatalhuja, aiac vel inoan tlatoa, aiac vel inpal onmocencamavia: intlacamo ontomecatl, intlacamo veca matinj: ioan intlacamo cenca mocujltonoa, intlacamo ontlaaaquj ichan, intlacamo tecoanj, intlacamo tealtianj, intlacamo cácatzcatoc, nánatzcatoc ichan cacaxtli: intlacamo poctecontica, aiotectica atlios ichan et.[a].

Ipampa injc ceceniaca tlatonaltiaia, puchteca in jncacalitic: in jpan jn tonalli nauecatl.

23. Or "one who ransomed guests."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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212

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346

172
531
323

172
532
323

PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP ROW: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2–4 from Codex Telleriano-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). SECOND ROW: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. THIRD ROW: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520–21. FOURTH ROW: *First row*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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323
● 531

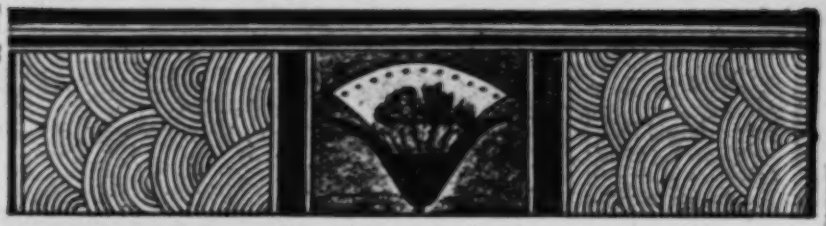

PLATE 30

TRADE POTTERY, AZTEC PERIOD

Vessels like these from Puebla and Tlaxcala were much prized in Central Mexico and obtained by trade or tribute. At the top, a design composed of a feather fan and concentric circles, taken from a hemispherical bowl. The middle cup utilizes a simple grecque pattern, while at the bottom the hieroglyph for the day Reed set against a black background decorates the neck of a vase, the body of which is painted a lustrous red.

[p. 96(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

323
●531

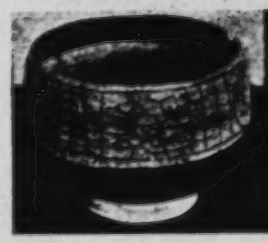

PLATE 32

AZTEC POTTERY

TOP: Design from bowl of the Aztec IV period, representing a marine worm, water plants and a fish. SECOND ROW: Trichrome vessels from the 1403 cyclical dump at Chicomoztoc. THIRD ROW: *Left:* Pentachrome trade bowl found in 1507 dump at Chicomoztoc; *Right:* Local trichrome bowl from the same dump. BOTTOM ROW: Bowl with orange-and-black design on red and two black-on-orange plates from the 1507 dump at Nonoalco.

[p. 96(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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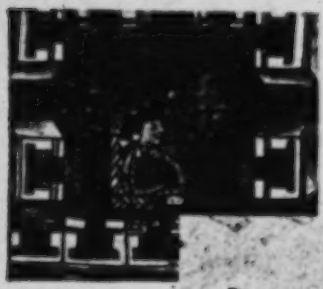

Rich Man

[482]

PLATES 34-35.

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

[326]

Thief

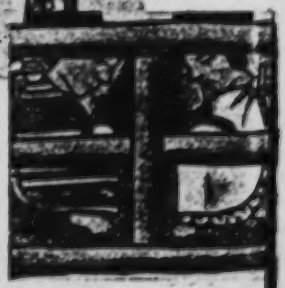

[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

[701
411
714]

[p. 112(B)]

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●531

[622 441]

THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

Chief

Merchant

Lawyer

[463]

Women

[759]

Sailor, brewer

[502 501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (C)]

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steps in every case. A final polishing with some simple abra- 324
sive like water and sand often completed the process. Some hard stones seem to have been detached from their matrix by applying the abrasive and sawing with a cord of rawhide or a tool of harder stone. The Middle American people also [412]
developed tubular drills of bone and reed, which, rotated by a bow and aided by an abrasive, could hollow out vases or bore out places that were otherwise inaccessible to the clumsy tools of the time.[8]

Save for descriptions and drawings, the destruction of 286
time and man has left us only a few examples of the weaver's art. Weaving of some kind is very old, and no people, however primitive, exist in the world today who do not make at least some kind of basketry. Textiles are made as a rule by higher groups, but they are found in the American continent as part of the material equipment of peoples who had not yet learned how to make pottery. An early example of cloth, combining threads of cotton with some fiber like yucca, was found in the Lower Middle Culture horizon of Zacatenco.

The long practice of weaving must and did have a sig- 286
nificant effect on decoration, for the rectangular patterns, to 531
which the weaver is confined, influence all of Indian art in Continental America. Design and the arrangement of elements are more important than form in Indian art. While many geometrical patterns appear in pictures of Aztec clothing, fine embroidery could produce the effect of curvilinear designs or even naturalistic patterns drawn from the regional flora. Batik and tie dyeing also enriched the decoration of [386]
Aztec clothing. Other processes produced the effect of velvet and brocade, and some garments even imitated in tex-

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286 ture and pattern the skins of animals. Judged on a visual
531 basis, the designs on Aztec clothing were by no means inferior to those of the celebrated textile art of Indian Peru. However, we have no positive evidence that technical development of Aztec weaving was equal to Peruvian, for those ancient South American weavers knew and practiced every method known to man and even a few unique to themselves.[6] (See Plates 33–36; 62, bottom left; 64.)

287 Feather mosaic is probably an old craft, since evidence seems to show that it was known to the Upper Middle Cultures. Feather- and the technically allied fur-cloth appear in primitive horizons in North America. The process consisted in tying the stems of feathers into a fabric during the weaving process. Featherworkers adorned shields in this way, dispersing the feathers to represent animals or else purely decorative designs. They made cloaks, too, and created sumptuous insignia worn on the head or harnessed to the body. In these objects the blending of colors was so delicate and perfect as to rival paintings. As late as the nineteenth century, although the art had declined, the Mexicans still depicted landscapes and scenes from daily life in this medium, and today they make charming pictures for the tourists with cardboard, feathers and glue.[7] (See Plate 45.)

321 Feather mosaic had an early counterpart in stone and
324 shell; we found a turquoise mosaic in a Lower Middle Culture grave. The wooden handles of sacrificial knives were sometimes ornamented in this way, as were masks, shields and even small gold ornaments. A *tour de force* of the mosaic worker is a wooden shield from the Mixteca, on which little pieces of turquoise were fitted together in a relief sculpture depicting a religious scene.[8] (See Plates 48; 60, bottom right.)

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321 Mosaic workers utilized stones of different colors and
324 shells of various kinds. Pure designs were common, but ele-
●531 ments representing the costume or the body paint were
341 shown when the mosaic covered a figure in wood or stone. An application of mosaic on a larger scale was frequent in architecture, a veneer of cut stone being applied to the rubble of a platform or building. The temples of Mitla, Oaxaca, influenced by the same Mixteca-Puebla culture to which Aztec civilization owed its origin, are masterpieces of this technique, for individual blocks have their surfaces carved to fit together in an intricate geometric design.[9] (See Plate 11, bottom.)

322 The woodworkers, owing to the impermanence of their medium, have left little to exhibit their prowess, but the few surviving masks, idols, drums and *atl-atls*, or throwing boards, bear ample witness to their superb craftsmanship. The very fact that they had to work wood with stone tools makes their achievement noteworthy. Their copper tools were dull and unserviceable in cutting even the softer woods, and these implements came into use relatively late in Aztec times.[10] (See Plate 54, bottom.)

335 Wood was used extensively in buildings for roof beams and doorjambs. A beam in the palace at Texcoco was ninety feet long and five feet thick, so that its preparation and transport must have been an arduous task. There was probably little use of planks in Aztec building, since it would be difficult to prepare them with the rudimentary equipment at Aztec disposal, and adobes and plaster were easier to make and just
396 as serviceable. Wooden canoes, however, were essential for life in the lakes. Some were dugouts hollowed out by fire, but others, to judge from the type used by the Xochimilcan

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of pottery, and in the chapters in Indian history we have 323
seen how every tribe, almost every village, had its own particular style, which changed gradually through slow shifts in the popular taste as time wore on. In the absence of written records the archaeologists fortunately have been able to rely on pottery styles to peg out in time and space the relationships of these ancient and forgotten tribes and thus lay a basis for New World history.[14]

The Aztecs, like all the other New World peoples, did not use the potter's wheel but built up their vessels with strips of clay, relying on their keen eye and sensitive fingers to achieve the desired shape. They did not use molds to form their vessels, as was occasionally done in late Teotihuacan times; nor, apparently, did they make use of the *kabal*, a block on which Yucatecan potters rested their vessels and which they turned with their feet in shaping the raw clay.

The Aztecs had an abundance of finely textured clay, 323
orange after firing, from which they fashioned vessels for 531
the storage and service of food. The potters of Culhuacan used this ware first, making plates with flat bottoms resting on cylindrical legs.[15] On the floors they painted curvilinear designs which were sometimes faintly naturalistic. In the second period, when the manufacture of this ware became popular all over the northern Valley, the vessels were made more coarsely, and the hollow legs degenerated to thick, elongated cones.[16] The decoration was converted into an abstract combination of curvilinear *motifs* that had the quality of European script writing. In contrast to the usual recti- 212
linear quality of Middle American design, it may be more 177
than a coincidence that the introduction of this style at the beginning of the fourteenth century was contemporaneous

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with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, perhaps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of concentrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

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CHAPTER IX

THE FINE ARTS

A consideration of those aspects of Aztec craftsmanship which we segregate as Fine Art

THE AZTECS did not have a term for "fine arts," nor did they speculate about aesthetics nor make objects to be contemplated for their beauty alone. They had none of the socially sterile attitudes toward art which we adopt in our own culture. Instead, they recognized the value of superior workmanship and used its products to honor the gods who were intermediaries between man and the infinite power of the universe. Aztec art, in this respect, is no different from the great traditions ancestral to our modern aesthetic. Religion has always evoked man's best in thought and deed so long as human society believed that religion was essential to its survival.[1]

Aztec art was powerful in architecture and sculpture, weak in painting and drawing. The dance was more advanced than music, and literature, in the absence of an effective method of writing, was confined to the evanescent output of oratory. The years and the elements have left us only such examples as could survive the ravages of time, and we have no way, except by analogy with living groups, to ascertain the Aztec attitude toward their creations in those fields of endeavor which we moderns dignify as art.

X 796 [278] Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aquin cinnequja, cinnonectiaia, ontlaelcujaia in mihivintia telpopochti.

[755] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequintin ic monetoltia, yn eoatlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço ixcocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

[301 289] Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpena, oaleoa conmaqujtiuj in eoatl, amatetujtl, ymacolpan mamãtiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

[515] And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynic yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aimamjquiztli: çan neiacajuchcolo ynic namjco, ynic tetla qujça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn eoatl, ocotoczauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica quinapaloa, yn cuelitepioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappizoac.

[431 531 291] And the captors came in lead of the *tototeci*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacac: uj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: quimoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpolli, anoço nacazminquj; anoço teniujoaanquj, yhujtenoaanquj, yhujtentlaiãtoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn eoatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaca yn jntlema, conujujaoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac eoatl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin eoatl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oxioc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiqujça, qujoaltentiqujça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 515 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oqujcaoato eoatl, yn onmaqujtiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan ioxtli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxaqualoua, ynic onmjxmatmatiloa, mixioexuja:

6. See Chapter 20, n. 4.

7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *camopalli* as *kastanienfarbene* or as *orange-farbene Decke*. In *Rosige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kastanienfarbenen* (*von der Brunnen Farbe der Kaudiles der Bienen ähnlich*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado oscuro*.

For *nochpolli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*karminfarbenen* (*von der Farbe der Nochtuna, der Kochenille*)."

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and *Ibid.*, p. 531.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Eighth Chapter, in which are told the various articles with which they adorned the rulers and noblemen—which they placed on them when they were bedight in capes and breech clouts.

Injc chicuei capítulo, vncan mjtoa in jzqujtlamatli: in nechichioaia tlatoque in pipilti in jntechqujtlahaia, injc mocencaoaia in tilmatli in mazatlatl.

The cape with the serpent mask design, bordered with eyes;[1]	Cozzaiacaio tilmatli, tenjxio,
The cape with the conch shell design, bordered with eyes;[2]	tecucizio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with a design of stone discs, bordered with eyes;[3]	temalacaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the obsidian serpent design, bordered with eyes;[4]	itzcoaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with wine-god jar design, bordered with eyes;[5]	vmetochtecomaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the butterfly design, bordered with eyes;	papaloio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with an eagle's face painted on it, bordered with eyes;[6]	xocalquauhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The red-bordered ocelot cape, in the middle of which stood an ocelot;[7]	ocelotentlapalli iitic icac oçelotl,
The cape of dark green diagonally divided, in the middle of which stood an obsidian eagle;[8]	chicoiapalli nacazmjoquj iitic icac itzquauhtli,
The cape of blue knots diagonally divided,[9] on which a spear-eagle stood;	xiuhtlalpilnacazmjoquj, tlacochquauhtli vncan icac,
The maguey fiber cape, with an ocelot tail pendant;	quetzalichtilmatli ocelocujtlapillo
The cape of shining maguey fiber [ornamented with] flattened heads;	quetzalichpetztli, quapetlacio tilmatli,
The orange cape with the wind jewel[10] [design] and the feathered border;	camopalecacozcaio, tenjujio tilmatli,
The orange cape with a striped border;	camopalteneoanquj tilmatli,
The light blue cape with a wind jewel design, which had a border of feathers with spirals;	apalecacozcaio tilmatli, itjtica tentlaiaoalo,
The carmine-colored cape with an eye border;	nochpaltilmatli tenjxio,

1. Tab. 1 fo. 6, book VIII, f. 6. Ms. Florentine. Codex Ashburn. Ms. border with eyes or spots. Also see corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. James Cooper Clark: Codex Mendoza (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), III, fol. 68.
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
4. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 31.
5. Cf. ibid. ibid.
6. Cf. ibid., fol. 69. An alternative translation might be "the eagle's face bordered cape."
7. Cf. ibid., fol. 31. See also Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, II, p. 522.
8. Sahagún: see, however, Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 181.
9. Xiuhtlalpilli might refer to a design suggested by the ceremony of tying the years.
10. See, however, corresponding Spanish text, in which pectoral is described as a flower; see also Book VIII of the Codex, fol. 16a.

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The tawny cape with a spiral border;	quappachtentlaiaoalo tilmatli,
The coyote fur cape with a spiral border;	coiotchcatentlaiaoalo tilmatli,
The tawny, knotted cape;	quappachtlalpilli tilmatli,
The cape with scorpion design stripes;	colotlaxochio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the water spider;	quapachatocaio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the butterfly;	quappapaloio tilmatli,
The ocelot cape;	oçelotilmatli,
The cape with the eagle's leg;	quauhtetepoio tilmatli,
The cape with the ocelot skin itep design;[11]	oçelotiacalcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The ocelot cape;	oceloçilmatli,
The half-ocelot, half-eagle cape;	oçeloquauhtlatlapanquj tilmatli,
The tawny cape provided with the design of an eye upon a hooked element;[12]	quappachixcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The cape with the design of a ladder on the earth;	tlallecaoazio, tilmatli,
The cape with an embroidered, radiating design;	tlamachmoiaoac tilmatli,
The cape of duck feathers with a colored border;	xomoiujtilmatli tentlapallo,
The cape of duck feathers with [a design of] flattened heads;	xomoiujtilmatli quappatlacio,
The white duck feather cape, bordered with eyes;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli tenjxio
The duck feather cape, with [a design of] young ears of maize;	xomoiujtilmatli eloiic
The wolf skin cape;	cujtlaichujtilmatli,
The blue knotted [cape], bordered with eyes;	xiuhtlalpilli tenjxio,
The cape with a sun [design], bordered with eyes;	tonatiuhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The old cape with the eagle head design;[13]	quauhtzontecoiio tilmatli mamanquj,
The cape with the war symbol;	tzuatl tlachinoltilmatli,
The cape with the basket flower design;[14]	oacalxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the young maize ear flower design;[15]	eloxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the colored prince's flower design;	tlapaltecuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the dahlia design;[16]	acucuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the plumeria flower design;[17]	cacaloxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the poinsettia design;[18]	cuetlaxxuchio tilmatli,
The white-duck feather cape, diagonally divided;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli nacazmjnquj,
The white duck feather cape, with the face of a wolf;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli cujtlachixio,

11. *Ocelotiacalcoliuhquj* (*ocelotl, tiacalli, coliuhquj—curlicu, gnarl, twisted*): gnarl vessel with curved decorations. The nature of weaving makes it a stepped design.

12. Cf. *xopantzitzin*[in *Primeros memoriales*, Cap. IV.

In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, *pipiltecuhcuhquj tilmatli* follows *quappachxoxoliuhquj tilmatli*.

13. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 (*quauhtzontli*).

14. Pansaw flower design, in Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Thompson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Part 3, p. 95 (*Anoikarpus sp.?*). Emily Walcott Emmart, in *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 234, calling it a basket flower, says it is a species of *cuauhcozcatl*. Francisco de Santamaría, in *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), II, p. 102, identifies the *huauhtzontli* (*-ohtli*) as *Phyllodrendron affine*, Hemsl.

15. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (*Magnolia sp.?*). Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275, mentions *tlaxochi elotzochitl* belonging to the *Compositae*.

Yellocxochitzinteuhtli, here listed in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, is entered in the *Florentine Codex*.

16. In Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), I, p. 24, this is *Dahlia coccinea* Cav.; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *D. variabilis*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 309, *Dahlia sp.*

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 806, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *P. rubra*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 309, *P. rubra* L. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 251, identifies the *cacaloxóchitl* as *P. rubra* L., *P. bicolor* R. & P., and *P. acutifolia* Poiret. Cecile Hulse Matschat, in *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), pp. 23, 177, has *P. acuminata*, and refers to it as "frangipani" and "temple flower."

18. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 958, *Euphorbia* (*Poinsettia*) *pulcherrima* Willd; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *Poinsettia pulcherrima*.

565 The cape of colored feathers, with embroidery; tlapalinpilmatli tlamachio,
292 The cape with the face of a wolf; cuitlachizio tilmatli,
531 The cape with the tips of eagle wings; quauhxamjzcuio tilmatli,
The cape with a border of poppers flowers; xoxopqjzcuhio tilmatli,
The cape with the *ivy* design;[20] quauxoxouhtilmatli,
The bed covering cape; wewej tilmatli pepechtli,
The mattress;[20] quechpepechtli,
The large cape used to keep oneself dry; wewej tilmatli nenecuiloni,
The breech clout with the *ivy* design embroidered at the ends;[20] quauxoxouhtlamachio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the market place design; tianquizio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the eagle's leg design; quauhcecepoio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the turquoise mosaic mirror design; xiuhtecacio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the butterfly design at the ends;[20] acapapaloio maxtlatl,
The breech clout striped in many colors; centzonmaxtlatl tlatlachpalpoalli,
The breech clout made of twenty pieces,[20] with the wind jewel design at the ends;[20] cempoalpol acahecacocuio,
The tawny colored breech clout with embroidered ends; quappachmaxtlatl acan tlamachio,
The carmine-colored breech clout with the ocelot head; nochpalmaxtlatl, ocelotzontecuio
The ocelot breech clout with a step design; ocelotzicalcoliuhqui maxtlatl,
The coyote fur [breech clout] with the eagle head;[20] quauhcoyomuio,
The breech clout with feathered discs at the ends; acuipomalacuio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with radiating embroidery at the ends. acatlamachuoiaoac maxtlatl.

19. Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 257; IV, p. 257.
20. Pewej tilmatli pepechtli, quechpepechtli: cf. Alonso de Molina: Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), Spanish-Nahuatl section—silbidoles, silbidos.
21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 97, needs pace for sure.
22. Cf. Spanish text, fol. 16r.
23. The Florentine Codex reads *xoxpichtomaxtlatl* before *quauhcoyomuio*, found in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS.

[p. 26 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 .NU7 Aztec NU7

643
714 **Twelfth Chapter, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed when they went to the wars.**

Inic matlactlomome capítulo, ynca mononotzaloc: inic mochichiuaia in tlacopa, in quiçiçiuaia ixquan.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold.

[237]

Tlauhquechololmatli tlaçoçoqui, cuetic tzacuitlaio: cuecu mijac in quetzalli icacuetlacacuic: inipal in tlamamalli, vequi in cuitlati tlachichiuhti, cuetic tzacuitlaio:

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *xapote* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

ioan in itlacuel cuamaçoçoqui tlachichiuhqui, tlauhquechololqui inic tlachichiuhti: cuetic tzacuitlaol in jxtecpaio, ioan in jxtepecoc mochichiuhtoc çan moch quetzalli.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

Chimalli, cuetic tzacuitlaol, in tlamatzmalli iacuacuio, tlaçoçiqui in jxtlapilolio mochichiuhtoc,

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

chalchihuitl, tlacuapipiltzli in chalchiuhqui, in vecuj, chalchiuiqui, ioan xiuhuitzolli.

The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers.

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xiuhuitzolli, cuetic tzacuitlaio, quetzalli in jxcuetlacacuio, in jxmamoc cuamaçoçoqui tlamauj: ioan in jtlac cuamaçoçoqui xiuhuitzolol,

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

ioan in tlamamalli xoxoubqui vequi in cuitlati tlachichiuhti cuetic tzacuitlaio

All quetzal feathers was its *xapote* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of thin gold [plate].

çan moch quetzalli in jxtepecoc, mochi tlaçoçiqui in jtlapilolio, cuetic tzacuitlaol in tlamamalli in jxtecpaio, in xiuhuitzolol,

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

ocelotzoc, ocelotzol inic tlachichiuhti, cuetic tzacuitlaol inic tlachichiuhti in jxtecpaio,

çe moch quetzalli in jxtepecoc,

In *xapote* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches.

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ocelotzcuitlatl in tlamamalli cuetic tzacuitlaol inic tlachichiuhqui.

The shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Chimalli xiuhuitzolica tzacuyj, cuetic tzacuitlaol ic ixtapo,

1. *Tecuipoio*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *espejo de pedernal*, whose our translation was "flint knives." The shape of the *espejo* is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also Sahagún, op. cit., and Seler, op. cit., II, p. 394, where discussion is much complicated.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* follows manuscript which *por muchos quetzalli por chalchiquitlis* [chalchiuhtlaxo-quetzal feathers, to which small greenstones (of gold) are added or the point].

3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Y colgaua detras glaueano, hecho de cipreses, con muchos pequeñuelos, pesaua de oro muchuelo, como para llaues cerrar.*" This passage Seler (op. cit., II, p. 394) translates as "*Dann wird auf den Rücken eine Trommel gemacht, der durch Gerüst hindurchreicht, der mit Gold Überzogen ist.*"

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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●531

The quetzal feather butterfly was the burden for the back; with it belonged the yellow parrot feather shirt, [decorated] with hawk scratches in gold.

The shield with a golden disc had a golden butterfly in the middle. [There was] a quetzal feather claw,[4] with gold. The shirt [which belonged to this] was of yellow parrot feathers.

The golden hood had horns of quetzal feathers; its shirt was of yellow parrot feathers.

The silver hood had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch [decorations] in gold.

[There were] the quetzal feather banner of the spear house; the silver banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top; and the golden banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top.

The finely wrought obsidian butterfly was of quetzal feathers and gold; its teeth and claws were all of precious feathers; and it had quetzal feather horns.

The finely wrought butterfly of [the goddess] Xochiquetzal [was made of] precious feathers; and its horns were of gold and quetzal feathers.

[There was] a quetzal feather crest-like device. With it belonged a blue cotinga-feather shirt; the shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

The Xolotl head of yellow parrot feathers, with balls of quetzal feathers, was ornamented with gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch decorations in gold.

The blue Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a blue shirt.

The white Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a white shirt.

The bright red Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold; its shirt was likewise bright red.

The headdress of tropial feathers was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers.

The yellow demon of the air was made all of gold, and had quetzal feathers and balls of quetzal feathers.

The blue demon of the air had quetzal feathers, was made all of gold, and had balls of quetzal feathers.

quetzalpapalotl in tlamomalli, mamjc toçcuatl, cuitic teucujtlatl injc tlotlosjtecpoj.

Chimalli teucujtlaxica itixapo, teucujtlapapalotl ijpic mamj quetzalmapilli, cuitic teucujtlaio, toçcuatl in jmaio.

Cuitic teucujtlaquacalalatli, iquetzalquaquauh, ieuaio cuitic toçcuatl.

Iztac teucujtlaquacalalatli, quetzaltecomaio: inamjc toçcuatl cuitic teucujtlatl ic tlotlosjtecpoj

quetzalpanjtl tlacuchcalcuiotl. Iztac teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio. Cuitic teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio.

Itzpapalotl tlaçotlanquj quetzallo, cuitic teucujtlaio, in jtlan, in jiztli muchi tlaçoiujtl: iquetzalquaquauh.

Xochiquetzalpapalotl, tlaçotlanquj in tlaçoiujtica: iuan cuitic teucujtlaio, iquetzalquaquauh

quetzalpetzactli, xiuhtocuatl injcallo in chimalli xiuhtecutica teucquj, cuitic teucujtlatl ic itixapo,

tzoquauxolotl iquetzaltemal, cuitic teucujtlaio, toçcuatl inamjc, cuitic teucujtlatl injc motlotlosjtec,

xoxouhquj quauxolotl, quetzallo cuitic teucujtlaio in jnamjc xoxouhquj cuatl.

Iztac quauxolotl, quetzallo, cuitic teucujtlaio in jnamjc iztac cuatl.

Chichiltic quauxolotl, quetzallo, cuitic teucujtlaio, in jmaio, çan no chichiltic.

Çaçaquatzontli, quetzallo, cuitic teucujtlaio toçcuatl inamjc,

tozticximjtl: muchi cuitic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhcli, quetzallo, iquetzaltemal.

Xoxouhquj tozticximjtl, quetzallo, muchi cuitic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhcli, iquetzaltemal.

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4. Cf. discussion in Seler, op. cit., II, pp. 1006, as well as corresponding Spanish text—"a manera de chapa, y en medio de ella avia una flechadura, de plumas ricas, y con oro."

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples were plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimijtl, cuaitic teucujtlaio, iquetzalhemal. 643

Coatic cuentecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, izquauteucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in ecatl, toçomatl matlotlomijtec, coatic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coatic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 714 531

Iztac cuentecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquauteucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coatic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coatic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanequj cuentecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coatic in ecatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanequj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coatic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquauteucujtlaio, coatic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coatic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coatic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli teruçiatl, ioan quiçquiztli in mopitzalisac injc çemeua iauqujzque, injc mjcali: in quachpanjtl, coatic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in teruçitia in isac, in omotac ie meetiquetza in jaquj quachpanjtl. Niman çemeua in iauqujzque, injc mjcali, 534 727

quetzaltocatiuh, coatic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijsic mantiuh in quetzalli iacatic. Xilonochipetzactli, quetzalli in jiaxaio, coatic teucujtlatl in jiecpaio, in jcanacacle mamantiuh: coatic teucujtlatl in tlacomaltectli. Maquauitl itztec in jiauco tlatectli, quetzalacuauitl, teucujtlaio, quetzalxitilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiac quetzalli, oçtlotlachicomjtl, in jpeçoca quetzalxitilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiac in quetzalli. 643 714 [441]

[p. 36 has no textual material]

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531

Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.

Ic cuetzalli cuphulac vocan mjtra in jnnechichiouia in çioa.

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers; the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

Vitzteocuçjtlalpic vipilli, xonoloio vipilli, quechnenecujlhoaxio vipilli, xuchimoiaoac vipilli, pocujpilli, veuej tlamachtli ieuquj, tolnzaianquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappuchio vipilli, coioichcaio vipilli, xomoujvipilli, tlapaltechoaxica xicalnezaoi[illegible] vipilli, acoxuchimoiaoac vipilli, iuqc vaiacallo potoncaio xuchitoio vipilli.

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

Chicuecujtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeoallo cueitl, patlaoac in jten, xicalcolinhquj cueitl, patlaoac in jten, tetenacaxio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cueitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamolhuhquj iztac cueitl, patlaoac in jten, octlocuejtl, patlaoac in jtl; quappuchipilcac cuejtl, tene: coioichcapipilcac cuejtl tene.

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

Apoçonalnacochtli, tenjlonacochtli iztac, coztic teucujtlanacochtli: iztac teucujtlanacochtli, itztacochtli iztac.

302 386 Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impo-

Moxaoaia, tlapalhoxalxica: moxaoaia, tecuçalhtica: mochapopoxaoaia: copalaxtica mocxiaiuja, tzoxquemac, quatequepac, xiuxocoleque, maxtlaoa, motzonquetzalhica, quipantequj in jztzon, quinacanepanoa in jztzon: tlaxcoca, mopatincuj, quijnamaujzmati in jztzonxeron: moxiulhquilpa, injc pepetlaca iztzon: matlantlapalhujia, motlinochezujia, momaocujloa, moquechicujloa, moquechtetenna, mochiquipohicujloa, mochichiauticujloa.

1. In Hernández, op. cit., I, p. 70, [illegible] is identified as *Dahlia coccinea*, Cav. Sahagún (op. cit., I, p. 59), however, says of [illegible]: "Ha hábitos, semejanza de calabazas rosadas, indígenas del país, conocidas también por chiauhtli." (Lagenaria vulgaris, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas medicinales de los antiguos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515sqq., 519, mentions two kinds of [illegible] (*cuauchili*, *quetzal*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores coloradas purpúreas*." Dr. Oliver in [illegible] (Mem. de Antropología, II, p. 279), giving *Pennisetum atropurpureum* D. C. for [illegible], Urbina [illegible] it as *Arctotis atropurpurea*, Hook. et Hook.

2. *Alisar la jetzon*, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has *mocuquetzpalnic*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *FNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

824 **Third Chapter, which telleth of flowers artificially arranged.**[3]

Inic ey capítulo, itechpa tlatoa, in xuchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.

531 Flowers arranged with artifice: there were many kinds thus named, flowers artificially arranged — flower shields; flowers for clipped heads, or for shorn ones, or drums; or spreading [flowers]. As to these flowers the ancients were also deluded. They said: "It is not our right to smell in the midst — the center — of them; he alone, he who pervadeth all, Tiqlacxuan, may smell that place. Our right is only to smell them there at the edges."

Xuchitl ie tlatlalilli: ca mjiec tlamantli inic motocaiotia in xuchitl tlatlalilli, chimalxuchitl, quatzonxuchitl, quachic, vevetl, moixuac: In itechpa yn xuchitl, no motlapololtiaya in vevetque, quitoaia: ca amo tonemac in tlanepantla, in itecpantla tiquinecuijque ça çan icelitzin vel vncan motlanecuijltia in tloque naoaque, in tiltlacaoan: çanijo tonemac, in vncan titlanecuijque in itenco.

824 **Fourth Chapter, which telleth of dried grains of maize.**

Inic navi capítulo, itechpa tlatoa in tlaulli.

As to dried grains of maize, in many ways were the women none the less deluded. First, when they cooked it or set it in ashes — behold their folly: when they would place it in the olla with ashes, first of all they breathed upon it. It was held that in this way it would not take fright; thus it would not fear the heat. It was said that thus they mitigated the heat.

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Second, they deceived themselves in this way: if they saw or came upon dried grains of maize lying scattered on the ground, then they quickly gathered them up. They said: "Our sustenance suffereth: it lieth weeping. If we should not gather it up, it would accuse us before our lord. It would say: 'O our lord, this vassal picked me not up when I lay scattered upon the ground. Punish him!' Or perhaps we should starve."

In itechpa in tlaulli: mjiec tlamantli oc noma, ic motlapololtia in cioa. Inic centlamantli: in jquac quicuxitia, in anoço quinecaquetza: izcatquj in jonetlapololtiliz, in jquac ic contemaque in nexcomjc: oc achtopa conahaiovia, quijmach ic amo momauhtiz, ic amo motonalmauhtiz: quijmach ic contonallalilia.

Inic vntlamantli, inic xuxtlacavia: intla oquijtaque, in anoço oypan quiçato tlaulli chachaiuxtoc tlalpan: nijman conpepentiuetzi, quitoa: motolinja in tonacaiutl, mochochoquijlinoc: ca intlacamo ticpepenaxque, ca techtzixpanuja in jxpantzinco totecujo: ca quimolhujiliz. Totecujoe, inin macoualli: ta amo nechpepen, in jquac tlalpan nicnemanoca: ma zicmatlatzacuijhili: auh anoce timiauaxque.

856 **Fifth Chapter, which telleth of stepping over one.**

Inic xxxcuijlli capítulo, itechpa tlatoa in tecuencholhujiztli.

As to stepping over one, the natives also [were] deluded. When some child lay stretched out across one's path, if someone stepped over him, then they chid him who passed over him, saying to him: "Why dost thou step over him?"

It was said that thereby the child would grow no more; he would be only small. And in order to cure him, so that [this] might not befall the child, once again he stepped back over him.[4] Thus was it remedied.

In itechpa tecuencholhujiztli: no centlamantli innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tla aca melavatoc piltontli, necujlludetoc: intla aca ooncuencholhuj, nijman caoa in aquin occuencholhuj, quijhuja. Tle ipampa in ticcuencholhuja:

quijmach ic ayocmo manaz in piltontli, ça izquijchton icz: auh inic compatiuia, inic amo ipan muchioaz piltontli, oc ceppa quijoalpanchollujia: ic vmpatia.

3. *Xuchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.* Corresponding Spanish text: "las flores, que se compusieron de muchas flores."

4. *Quijoalpanchollujia.* Corresponding Spanish text: "vuelo nuevamente tornar a pasar sobre el, por la parte contraria."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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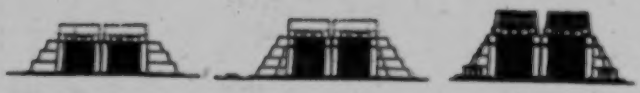

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531
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PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

TOP ROW: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the natives, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2-4 from Codex Telleriano-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). SECOND ROW: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. THIRD ROW: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520-21. FOURTH ROW: *First two*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[11]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[12]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zotl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[871]

[613
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[796]

[644]

PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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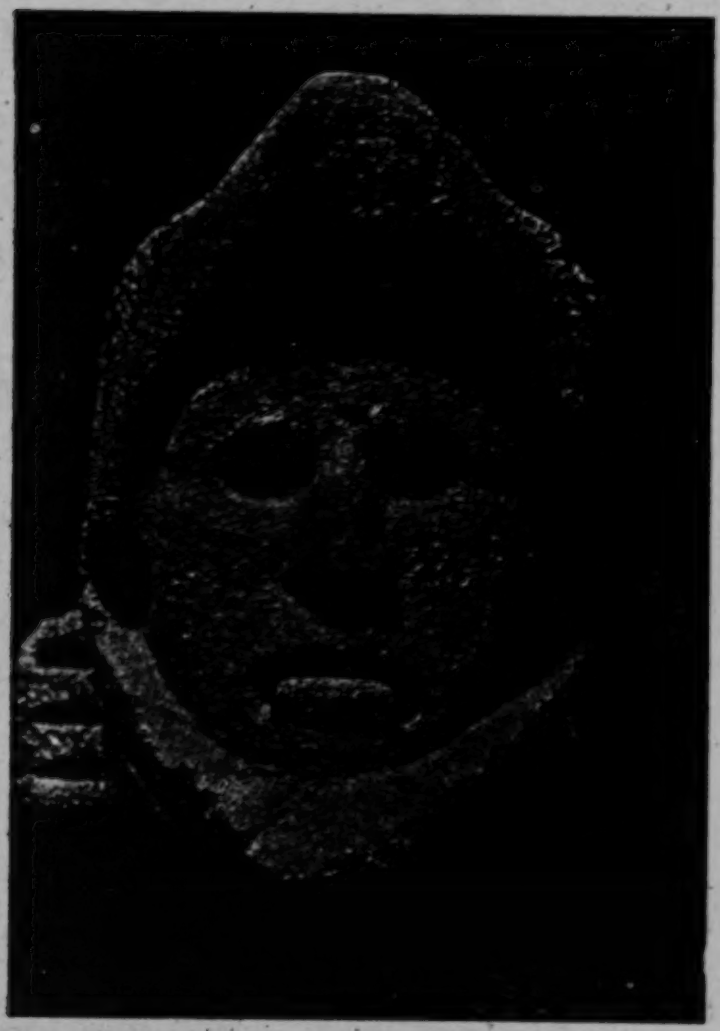

PLATE 40

EAGLE KNIGHT, NATIONAL MUSEUM

This head represents the ideal warrior, steadfast, hardy and devout. The "very parfit gentle knight" of the Middle Ages would meet his peer in this noble Aztec. *Photograph by Sumami.*

[p. 128(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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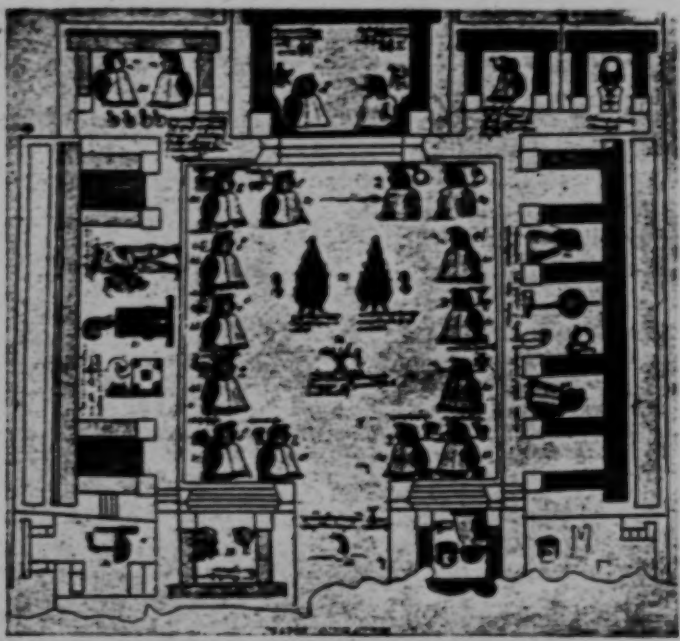

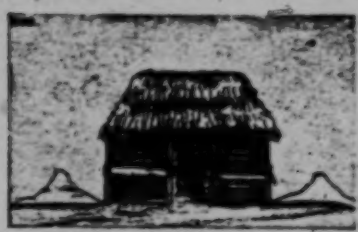

PLATE 42

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

TOP: An Aztec palace at Tenoco from the Mapa Quinatzin, drawn in elevation without perspective. Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, father and son, face each other in the throne room. In the courtyard six vassal chieftains, including the chief of Chicomoztoc (No. 46). The right side of the court is walled by storehouses for tribute; at the left is a temple, designated by the scribe as a hall of science and music. The top rooms are for the judges (*left*) and the arsenal (*right*). The bottom rooms house the war council and visiting ambassadors. BOTTOM: *Left*: House of wattle and daub, still used in Mexico. *Right*: A chief's house with adobe walls on stone foundations, wooden pillars for the entrance and fresco painting on the façade.

[p. 128(D)]

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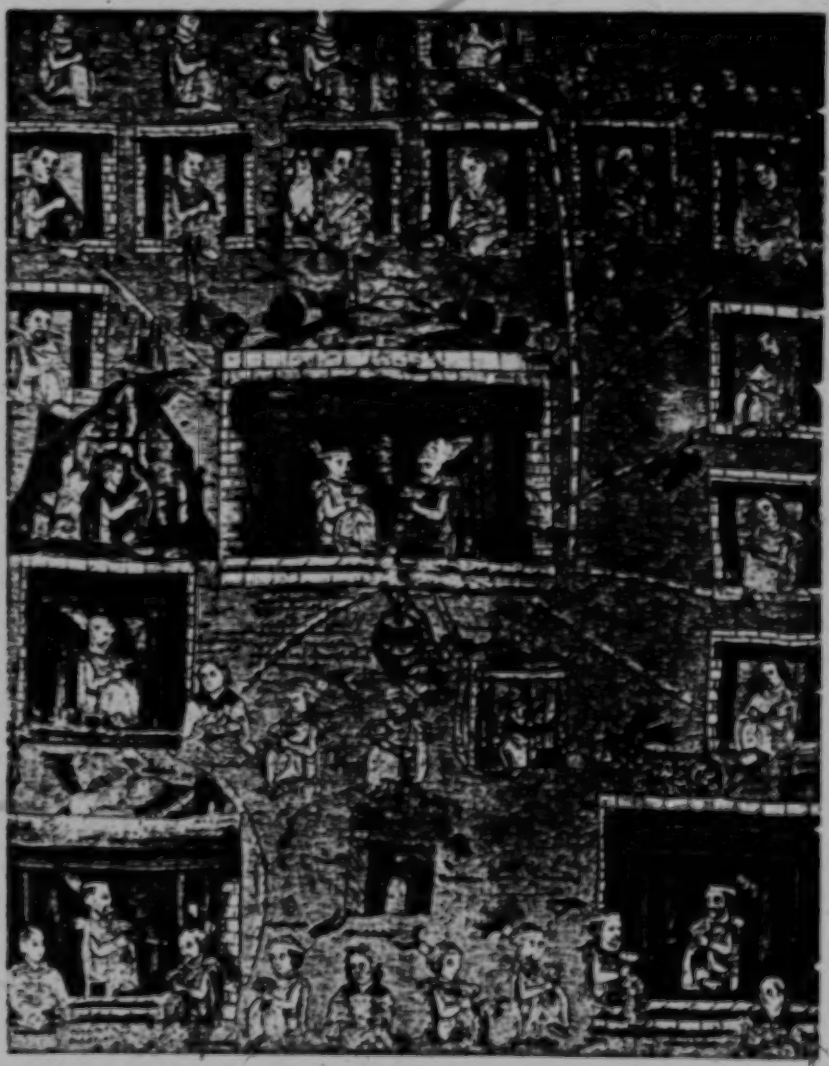

PLATE 44
AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The Lienzo Chalchihuitzin Vasquez shows the chief and the founder of his line in the central house. The topmost row of figures discloses his descent, and the smaller houses joined to his palace by roads are those of his subjects. The people in the two large houses at lower right and left are allies. Post-Conquest painting on cloth.

[p. 128 (F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and 324 this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better 412 made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and 177 Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burn- 324 ing and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out 532 of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs, [796] referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (cuauhxicalli*) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.[2] (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

*kwow-shee-ca'lli.

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PLATE 45

AZTEC FEATHERWORK

TOP: Nineteenth-century survival of a famous Aztec craft of which few examples have resisted the ravages of time. BOTTOM: Montezuma's headdress, now in the Vienna Museum. Cortes sent it to the Emperor Charles V, who gave it to his nephew.

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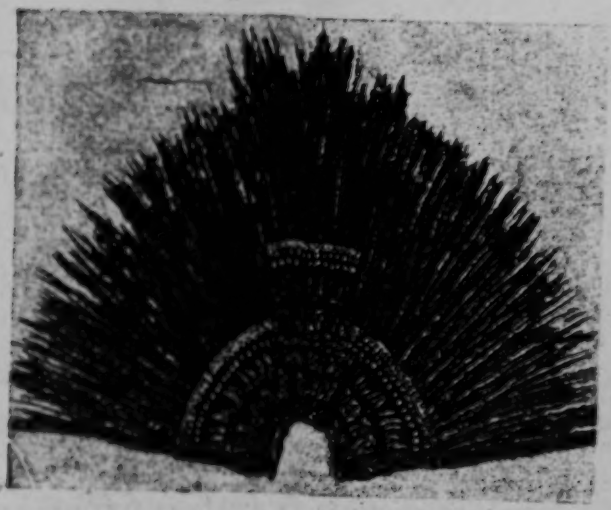

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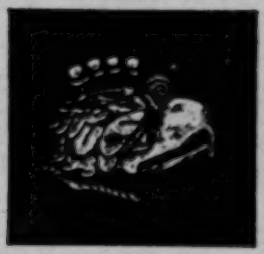

PLATE 46

AZTEC GOLDWORK

TOP ROW: Small gold ornaments from Oaxaca reveal exquisite workmanship. MIDDLE: A buckle representing the god Xipe has a strong sculptural quality. BOTTOM: *Left:* A gold worker from the Codex Florentino makes a mosaic ornament like that at right, in which turquoise mosaic enhances a gold reproduction of the shield and arrows, constituting the sign for war.

[p. 144 (B)]

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PLATE 47

AZTEC GOLDWORK

Almost all Aztec goldwork went into the Spanish melting pot. Most surviving examples come from Oaxaca, where the supply was doubled by Caso's discovery of Tomb 7 at Monte Albán, represented by upper left and bottom and opposite-page middle. The lip ornament (*upper right*) has a movable tongue that makes a very lively serpent indeed. These few examples give an idea of the range of form and skill of the Aztec goldsmith.

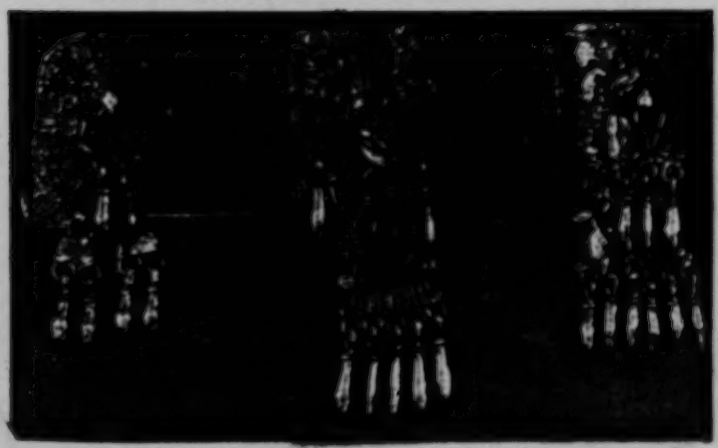

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PLATE 48

AZTEC MOSAIC WORK

Mosaic work was one of the most elegant crafts and demands color reproduction to give a just impression. The mask in jade and turquoise, now in Rome, was part of the original loot of the Conquest. The skull (below), a British Museum treasure, is composed of light bands of turquoise and dark cross of lignite, set on a human skull, cut away in back to form a mask, possibly representing Tezcatlipoca.

[p. 144 (D)]

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531 with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing
[212 by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)
177]

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, per-
[177] haps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of con-
•[532] centrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters
223 loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated
531 designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever
177 made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

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283 401 on discussions as to whether or not the Aztecs knew the wheel. The weight had the function of a flywheel in accelerating the rotation of the distaff. The explorer Charnay apparently mistook spindle whorls for wheels which might have been attached to toy clay animals. His ingenuous explanation is not seriously considered today, for later research has proved the existence of jointed dolls both in Toltec and Aztec times. These had holes in their bodies through which strings were passed, attaching the arms and legs, which were similarly perforated. In 1940 Dr Stirling discovered some clay animals which rested on rollers, tubes of clay probably connected by wooden axles, socketed to holes in the legs. This knowledge does not seem to have been put to any efficient use. In the history of invention there are several similar cases, notably the Chinese discovery of gunpowder. They used it to make a noise in ceremonies, but not until the Europeans took over the substance did its application have any practical purpose.

532 323 In Aztec times stone sculpture was the usual medium used in reproducing the human form. The figurine cult, which in Middle Culture and Toltec times manifested the chief development of the plastic arts, became insignificant. The use of the mold did not induce superior craftsmen to fashion even the originals. Yet in these dull reproductions of gods and goddesses there still lurks that ability to capture the spark of essential vitality so characteristic of this field of art in earlier times. Curiously enough, the goddesses, more kindly and less ridden with abstract virtues than the gods, usually awoke a response in these ancient idol makers that resulted in perfectly charming little figures.[20] (See Plate 29, bottom row.)

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at Cuernavaca revealed a temple intact in all except its roof. 174
The temple of the Tepozteco, perched high in the hills over 346
Tepoztlan,* is another nearly perfect example of Aztec architecture on a small scale. A pit sunk in a vacant lot across the street from the cathedral in Mexico City reached the corner between the stair and the western wall of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli, War God of the Aztecs, and the massive size and ornate decoration prove that the startled descriptions of the Spaniards did less than justice to this tremendous monument. A recent excavation in a cliff overhanging Malinalco, near Tenancingo, state of Mexico, brought to light a temple complex, largely hewed from living rock, which thrusts the famous Egyptian rock tombs of Abu-Simbel into the limbo of provincial opera-house scenery.* (See Plates 28, bottom; 37, top; 50–51.)

The Aztec temple had a platform, the sloping sides of 346
which were generally broken by three terraces. A steep, broad 532
stair flanked by balustrades, occasionally with a third dividing it into two, gave access to the top. Carved stone blocks, projecting in rows from the sides of the platform, represented snakeheads, skulls or some other symbolic form of the cult. At the foot of the balustrades huge serpent heads with gaping jaws added to the architectural design and created awe in the beholder. The stair rose broad and steep, focusing the attention on the sacrificial block at the top, over which victims were stretched to await the searching knives of priests.

Behind the block stood the temple or temples, which generally had a back room for the idol and an antechamber for the priests. The walls were usually of dressed stone and

*To-pos-ts'n.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 532 sometimes ornamented with carving or relief. The roof, which was thatched in poor or primitive temples, in important shrines was made of beams laid like a corncrib, growing smaller toward the top. Plaster laid on twigs or poles sealed the roof against the rain and was carved with designs symbolic of the god inside. The interiors were noisome places, coated with blood and smoke, for incense was burned in profusion, as were the hearts of sacrificed victims. The proportions of terrace to terrace, temple to platform, stair to façade, were maintained irrespective of size, producing an effect of height and mass which yet in no way detracted from either the platform or the temple. This sense of proportion extends into every aspect of Aztec art and craftsmanship.

327 346 532 Some temples were cylindrical and rested on square or circular platforms.[1] These were dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, often represented as Ehecatl,* God of the Wind, to whose passage a rounded surface offered no obstacle. Sometimes the door of such a temple was fashioned in the form of a serpent head, while the circular building suggested its body. A superb temple of this type is part of the Malinalco group mentioned above, which is hollowed out of the living rock. The door is carved at either side in low relief to suggest a serpent head in profile, while the whole also can be visualized as a snakehead in full face, of which the open mouth constitutes the door. A bench circles around the walls within, and the *skins* of eagles and ocelot, emblematic of the rising and setting sun, are carved in relief as if they hung from the wall to drape over the bench. An altar in the center of the room represents another eagle. This elaborate concept is

*Ay'-hay-cat.

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PLATE 40

AZTEC ART

Porphyry mask, Tenyo, Vera Cruz. This mask is an outstanding example of Aztec art, even though it was made outside of the borders of their domain. This carving and the Eagle Knight on Plate 40 are perhaps the finest secular sculptures from the Aztec period.

[p. 160(A)]

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PLATE 52

AZTEC ART

TOP: The Calendar Stone, thirteen feet in diameter, represents the history of the world. It is arranged in concentric circles, at the center of which is the sun set within the sign Four Motion, the date of the present era. The dates of the preceding eras are given in the four arms of the Motion sign. The twenty day names encircle the central symbols, and they are enclosed by glyphs for turquoise and jade, signifying "precious" and the color of the heavens. Beyond this band radiate sun's rays and star symbols, while the outer border consists of two great fire snakes, symbolizing time. BOTTOM: The National Stone, a monolithic block in the Mexican National Museum, suggests how the Calendar Stone was probably set on a platform. Its symbolism represents the Sacred War, the eternal conflict between the contracting and opposing forces of nature.

[p. 160(D)]

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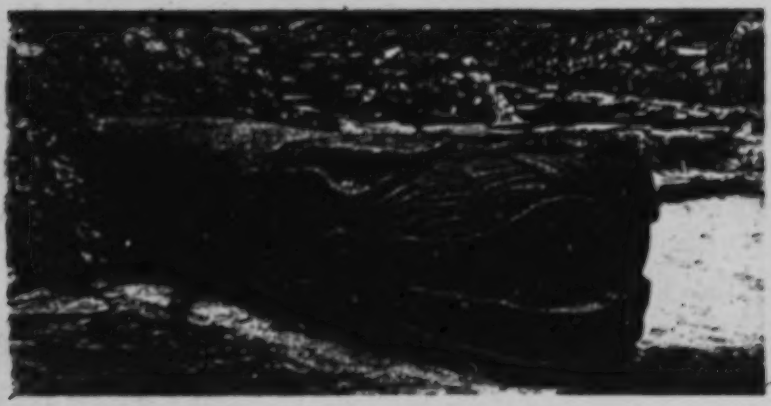

PLATE 53

AZTEC ART

TOP: This feathered snake in the Mexican National Museum may well symbolize Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning and the Priesthood. This representation differs from the fire snake in that it lacks a raised crest over the head. BOTTOM: The enormous snake at the foot of the balustrade to the great temple in Mexico is a dramatic architectural ornament, frequently employed in Aztec temple building. Snakes were the major ornament at Tenayuca (Plate 50, above) and many other Aztec buildings, appearing also far to the east in Mexican Chichen Itza.

[p. 160(E)]

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PLATE 54

AZTEC ART

TOP: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. BOTTOM: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 55
AZTEC ART

TOP: Another presentation of Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods. An earth goddess, she is also associated with death, so that in this case her head is a human skull. BOTTOM: *Left:* Small rock-crystal skull representing the Death God. This is a fine example of Aztec lapidary work. *Right:* A box, symbolically carved, to hold human hearts. Note the glyph for jade, i.e., "precious," banding the sides of the container.

[p. 160(G)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 56

AZTEC ART

TOP: This Corn Goddess is envisaged as a young girl. Her soft Indian beauty is brought out with the same sure simplicity which characterizes the warriors on Plates 40 and 49. BOTTOM: A colossal head, nearly four feet high, of Coyolxauhqui, sister of the War God. She is shown dead. Simple handling of details enhances this monumental conception.

[p. 160(H)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

324 346 532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.[8]

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs*, which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

323 532 322 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

776 532 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 attribute similar attitudes to their gods, and, as a result, the
532 soft emotionalism so characteristic of European art is almost totally absent. Thus Aztec sculpture is even more forbidding and gloomy than other Middle American arts, which have at first a depressing effect on observers accustomed to Old World aesthetics.[9] (See Plates 40, 49, 52–56.)

532 The same sense of proportion so evident in Aztec architecture produced a monumental quality in their sculpture. The smallest piece has the same dignity that attends the most massive temple carvings. A photograph reveals no impression of the original scale, and in one case the head of a goddess was carved identically in a small piece of jade and a four-foot block of basalt, with no loss of plastic or monumental values to either.[10]

In relief sculpture the forming of the object and the disposition and subordination of details show the mastery of design inherited by eyes trained in centuries of weaving. The vast block of the thirteen-foot Calendar Stone is carved with as delicate an appreciation of the relative values of space as similar designs painted on pottery vessels or graven on jade. (See Plate 52.)

532 The finest Aztec sculpture, to the Western eye, repro-
778 duces the young gods and goddesses that presided over the crops. Thus the Aztec body, long of trunk, short of limb, softly rounded in its well-fleshed strength, is simply and accurately portrayed with passive grace. The patient and resigned features were perfect subjects for the sculptor and his medium. Some gods could assume the guise of animals, and the sculptors took full advantage of their close observation of nature to carve a coyote with ear atilt or to dignify a red basalt grasshopper with the armored malevolence of an insect

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in heroic scale. The serpent, emblem of Quetzalcoatl, symbol of time and the year, representative of mystery and power, was frequently carved. The sinuous curves ending in the savage symmetry of the head offered a challenge which the sculptors accepted with a success that evokes the mysterious horror of the Aztec universe. (See Plates 53, 56.)

532 778

The grotesque gods are abstract and horrible to our modern eye. Coatlicue,* the "Lady of the Serpent Skirt" and mother of Huitzilopochtli, was thought of as powerful and awesome, so the task of the sculptors was to transmute those qualities into stone. The great statue in Mexico, whose head is twin serpents, whose necklace human hands and hearts, whose feet and hands are viciously armed with claws and whose skirt is a mat of writhing snakes, brings into a dynamic concentrate the manifold horrors of the universe. A smaller carving, simpler and less detailed, produces this same effect, implying that the very essence of fear was honored and worshiped. An altar of red lava, dug up in the street behind the cathedral, is grimly adorned with ranked skulls, but the design is so harmonious that death becomes an abstraction, part of a distant universe of fear, and not the imminent individual disaster which besets us moderns. (See Plates 54–55.)

The Calendar Stone embodies a finite statement of the infinity of the Aztec universe. In the center is the face of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, flanked by four cartouches which singly give the dates of the four previous ages of the world and together represent the date of our present era. The twenty names of the days circle this central element, and they, in turn, are ringed with a band of glyphs denoting jade or turquoise, which give the idea of being precious and sym-

532 805

*Co-at-le'-kwzy.

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532 805 bolize the heavens and their color. This strip is girdled by the signs for stars, through which penetrate designs emblematic of the rays of the sun. Two immense Fire Serpents, symbolic of the Year and Time, circle the exterior to meet face to face at the base. Boring back through these forms to the significance behind them, we have a grandiose conception of the majesty of the universe.[11] (See Plate 52, top.)

349 532 In recent years, under the Presidential Palace in Mexico City, a monolith over a meter high was found, which represented a platform and a stair crowned at the top by a similar solar disk. Reliefs on the sides show Huitzilopochtli, God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, God of the Smoking Mirror, symbolizing the sacred war between night and day. Probably the Calendar Stone was set up in much the same manner, and it is tantalizing to think of the lost reliefs which explained and ornamented the great disk when it was in position.[12] (See Plate 52, bottom.)

532 805 782 The historical accounts record that the Calendar Stone was made in 1479 and the great eagle vase of Tizoc during his rule from 1481 to 1486. A trough, extending from the basin to the edge of the vase, has been explained as a drain for blood to run out. However, the design is not keyed to this drain, and the purpose of the basin is to burn hearts, not to receive blood. Therefore, the furrow was probably made by the Spaniards, who sought either to use the vase as a nether millstone or tried unsuccessfully to smash it as an example of idolatry.[13]

532 The dates of these two monuments indicate that this was the time when Aztec civilization burst into flower. It is a tribute to Aztec artists that, originally fettered by the more lowly tasks of handicraft, they could accept the tremendous

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economic, social and religious stimulation of their sudden 532
rise to power as a license to convert craftsmanship into great religious art.

The Aztecs did not create their art forms or their religion, 532
which seems to have seeped in from the Mixteca-Puebla 771
country. There the religious manuscripts and the ritualistic 177
concepts hewn in stone and painted on vases were more complex and better drawn than their Aztec equivalents. Unfortunately, as yet, archaeological investigation has not extended to more than a sampling of this potentially rich area of Mexican civilization. However, the Valley people, given the opportunity, eagerly accepted these forms and created their own versions of the parent art.[14] (See Plates 57, top; 58, 59.)

The same elements portrayed in stone monuments ap- 532
peared in smaller objects. Wooden drums and *atl-atls* had relief carvings the equal of the temple ornaments in all except scale. The same divinities were graven in bone against a background of turquoise mosaic. The goldworkers reproduced in miniature the images of the gods and goddesses and the symbols of their cult, carrying out in costume ornament the elements of the ritual in which they were used. Lapidaries succeeded in reducing jade, obsidian, rock crystal, opal, moonstone and amethyst into tiny sculptures which carry the same emotional authority as the grand-scale art. The bulk of first-rate material is enormous. It would seem that the products of tribal craftsmanship had been raised en masse into arts. Virtually overnight a cluster of primitive villages had transformed themselves into great creative centers.[15] (See Plates 45–48; 55, bottom left.)

Painting and drawing did not reflect this transmutation.

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532 True, we have recovered a few examples, but they come from sources which produced fine sculpture. The surviving frescoes at Tizatlan and Malinalco are in no way superior to the drawings in the codices or manuscripts. The use of color is lavish, but the drawing is crabbed and conventional, confining itself to correct delineation of ceremonial elements rather than to the combination of composition, perspective and color values into a significant emotional experience. Apparently the finer workers devoted themselves to sculpture, while drawing and painting, subordinated in the outward expression of ritual, fell to less skillful hands. Yet design was a requisite in a work in two dimensions, and, considered on this basis, the symmetrical disposition of the figures renders less serious the anatomical flaws and rigidity of presentation.[18] (See Plate 57, top.)

The pictographic annals often exhibit an engaging charm in the little historical scenes recorded. The humor cannot be entirely fortuitous. There is something inherently fascinating about drawing little men that impels a draftsman to humanize his figures with a resultant and welcome loss to their dignity. Even the supremely competent draftsmen who decorated the Egyptian tombs in the Fourth Dynasty could not resist a casual impishness. Aztec drawing was hardier than the sculpture and was able to survive until the close of the sixteenth century. The Indians copied old records, and some annals were carried on in the same style until 1560. The friars used Indian artists to illustrate reports on indigenous affairs, and there are several manuscripts in which Indian and European drawing methods are inextricably and delightfully mingled. Pictured history has always had its appeal, to which emphasis of the essential and the suppres-

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sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. 532
In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars 533 534
quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom 535
persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for [177 797]
they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

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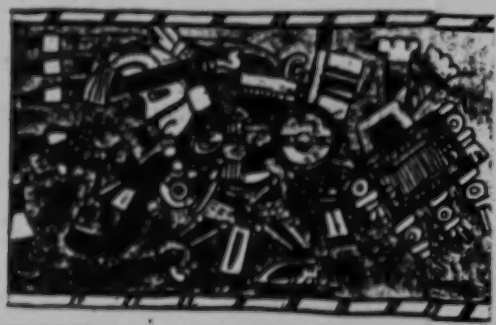

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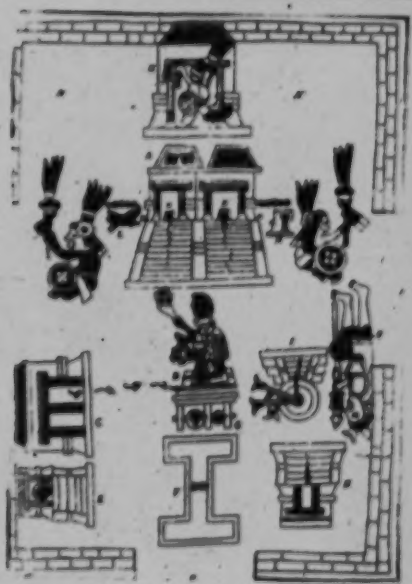

PLATE 37

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tlaxlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (*cf.* Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

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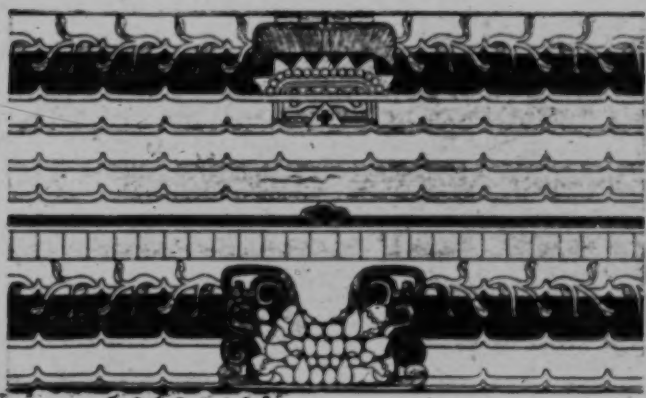

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PLATE 58

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Altar at Teotihuacan with symbols of agricultural worship. Note glyph at top center. MIDDLE: Codex Florentino, special ceremony involving gods' descent to earth, with birdmen, snake dancers, rain-gods and priests dressed as the chief gods of the pantheon. BOTTOM: Vienna Codex, scene partly ceremonial and partly historical. Gods, dates, temples, chiefs and fire making are shown.

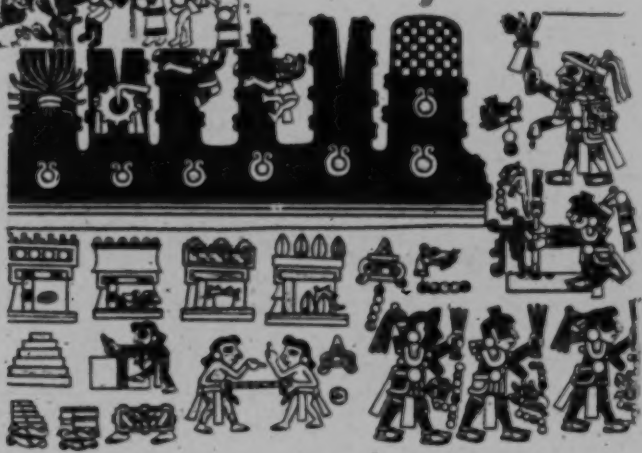

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PLATE 59

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Tlaloc, God of Rain. *Right:* Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning, in guise of Ehecatl, God of Wind. BOTTOM: Page from *Tonalamatl* of Codex Borbonicus. The goddess Itzpapalotl, presiding over the fifteenth week, One House, is shown in the large division. The broken tree signifies Tamoanchan, a legendary homeland; the house below, with a man on top and the night sign in the door and the spider above, signifies the realm of darkness. The other symbols are offerings. The rectangular divisions refer to the days and their Gods. The day signs and numbers begin at the lower left with One House and end at top left with Thirteen Eagle. A Night God is drawn in each day square, beginning with Pitzinteculitli and ending with Chalchihuitlicue (Table XVI, 194). The squares above the bottom row and to the right of the vertical row reveal the Gods of the Day Hours and their birds, beginning at the left with Xiuhtecuhtli and ending at the top with Ilamatecuhtli (Table XV).

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[p. 176 (C)]

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PLATE 60

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Priests and laymen sacrifice two victims in honor of the War God. *Right:* War captive on sacrificial stone defends himself against members of the warrior orders. BOTTOM: *Left:* Sacrificial knife with mosaic handle representing an Eagle Knight, in the British Museum. These pictures from the Codex Florentino reveal the technique of using a stone knife to make a deep enough incision to reach the heart and tear it out. *Right:* Sacrifice to the Sun.

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[p. 176(D)]

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787 destroyed, one by a sudden fire, the other by lightning unaccompanied by thunder. A comet was seen by day, and sudden waves came up on the Lake of Texcoco. A sixth sign was a woman's voice crying, "My children, we are lost." Monsters appeared and were brought before the chief, only to disappear as soon as he had seen them. Most sinister of all

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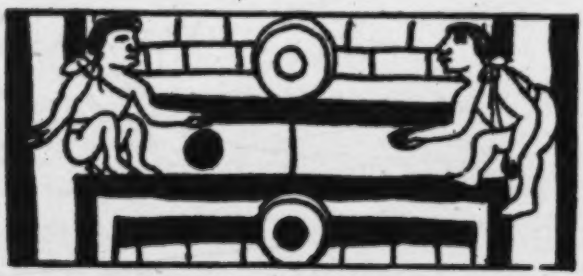

FIG. 3. The years before the Spanish Conquest had been full of evil omens for the Aztecs. To determine whether the dire predictions of Nezahualpilli, chief of Texcoco, were correct, Montezuma played and lost a ritualistic game of "basketball" with him as depicted above. *Codex Florentino*

was a bird brought in by some hunters. This bird had a mirror in its head, revealing the heavens, and when Montezuma peered at it a second time a host of armed men was disclosed. When the chief brought his soothsayers to witness this augury and to explain its significance, the bird flew away. Distorted as these occurrences seem to us, they must have had a most upsetting effect on the population of the Valley of Mexico.[2] (See Figs. 4, 28A–B.)

175 Consequently the emotional condition of the people was peculiarly receptive to the rumors, drifting in from the southeast, which told of four-legged monsters with human bodies issuing from their backs. As these strange beings moved up the coast Montezuma's spies and ambassadors began to bring

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back more precise reports as to their nature, and even presents and messages for their chief. (See Fig. 5.) 175

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FIG. 4. Montezuma views the magical bird in the head of which was a mirror, showing first the heavens, then hosts of armed men, foretelling, according to tradition, the Spanish Conquest. *Codex Florentino*

The strangers were human, for they were vulnerable, receiving wounds and dying from assaults upon them. They had new and strange weapons, noisy and lethal, for cannon, muskets, crossbows and steel swords were unknown to the Aztecs. Also novel and dreadful adjuncts of war were the horses and the savage mastiffs of the Spaniards. In battle the strangers were invincible, operating in a manner completely

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FIG. 5. The Spaniards land in 1519 at the site of Vera Cruz. Their ship and equipment are carefully shown. At the right, Marina, Cortes' interpreter, is exercising her diplomacy on a native. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

[754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, scorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[3] (See Fig. 6.)

175 669 When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a political problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

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city-states, or pueblos, between the Valley of Mexico and the coast were independent communities and, even if tributary to the Valley powers, were often reluctantly so. Therefore, many of these tribes, like the Totonacs, welcomed the invaders as the spearhead for an open revolt. Others, like the completely independent and warlike Tlaxcalans, put the power of Cortes to a practical test in open battle and, when the Spaniards won, became the most loyal of Cortes' supporters. Cholula, a large town loosely allied to the Aztecs, met the Spaniards as friends, plotting to overcome them by treachery, a good Indian political maneuver instigated, perhaps, by Montezuma. The Spaniards, suspecting such a move, counteracted its efficacy by a judiciously executed massacre, thus, if not gaining a friendly community, at least creating a noncombatant one. (See Figs. 7–9.)

Montezuma and his more cautious counselors watched this

FIG. 7. Cortes and his army, on passing the great volcanoes southeast of Mexico City, ask the way. Note the smoke issuing from the crater of Popocatepetl. *Codex Florentine*

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FIG. 8. Montezuma, upset by the magical premonitions of disaster and by the failure of his sorcerers, does not know whether to flee or hide in a cave. *Codex Florentino*

slow ascent from the coast with apprehensive interest. He has been condemned by many commentators as an appeaser and has been made the scapegoat of this great debacle of Indian civilization. Yet consider his position. While the leading man in his community, he was not an authoritarian monarch. For mass action he had to rely on the group decision of the clans comprising his tribe, as well as on the very doubtful allegiances of the vassal states, whose immediate needs transcended any sacrifice of a far-reaching political nature. Thus not only the demands of the harvest season but also the fear of damage to the communal property made communities loath for war. Montezuma had no method of enforcing a long-range diplomatic policy, such as is so characteristic of European and oriental political history. Nor must the extraordinary gifts of Cortes and his Indian mistress Marina be underrated. The pair played on Indian psychology as master pianists would execute a duet on the piano.

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His hands tied by both practical and psychological considerations, Montezuma received Cortes and the Spaniards without having struck a positive blow. Then ensued a new chapter in the story. Cortes promptly seized Montezuma as a hostage, and the latter's power to influence his tribesmen disintegrated. A mass revulsion against the invaders slowly began to crystallize, but it was confined to the city itself, without extending to the neighboring towns. People kept themselves within their houses; the market closed, yet no overt act was made. Cortes was allowed to leave for the coast to subjugate his new commander Narvaez, without open hostilities on the part of the Aztecs. (See Figs. 10–13.)

The storm broke during Cortes' absence. Some inhabitants

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FIG. 9. Cortes meets high dignitaries from Tlaxcala, the pueblo most loyal to the conquerors. Marina interprets while supplies of corn, tortillas, turkeys, etc., are accumulated. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[Text continues on p. 249. --- Analyst]

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FIG. 10. The Spanish forces reach Tenochtitlan, the modern Mexico City, and Montezuma and his nobles come to greet Cortes. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 11. Marina's value to Cortes cannot be underestimated. Here she is ordering an Aztec to perform some duty. To judge from the speech scrolls he complies with ill grace. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 12. A great aid to the Spanish military success was the use of cavalry. Here we see mounted crossbowmen, whose weapons were no less deadly than the firearms of the day. *Codex Florentino*

FIG. 13. Cortes seizes Montezuma as a hostage. The Aztec chief tries to calm his rebellious subjects who treat him with the contempt due a traitor. *Codex Florentino*

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175 of Tenochtitlan had assembled to celebrate the feast of the god Huitzilopochtli. Alvarado, a tough soldier, lacking all Cortes' gifts of intrigue, scented trouble in this gathering, the actual innocence of which he had no way of knowing. Following the Spanish technique at Cholula, he fell upon the celebrants and killed them all. The city rose like one man and drove the garrison to cover. Actuated by the single motive of revenge against the invaders, the Aztecs were ready to destroy the Spanish garrison. However, the structural weakness of the Indian government became bitterly evident when the chiefs permitted Cortes and his reinforce-

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FIG. 14. Following a series of outrages committed by the invaders, the citizens rise in arms against the Spanish. The Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies are besieged in the palace of Axayacatl. In this scene a field piece is shown in action, while the horsemen are held in reserve for a sortie. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ments from the army of Narvaez to join the beleaguered [726] troops of Alvarado. The ceremonial aspect of war in Indian Mexico did not envisage the splitting of an adversary's army and the separate destruction of its weakened parts, a rudimentary law of European military tactics.

Yet once the Spaniards were united in the city they ceased to be a military problem and became the emotional focus of the Indians' wrath and fear. They had to shut themselves up in the palace of Axayacatl to resist the force of this uprising in which the whole tribe participated. The Aztecs, having immobilized their enemies, visited their hate and rage in a manner unparalleled in the annals of Indian campaigns. Every citizen joined in hurling missiles at the besieged in-

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FIG. 15. Here the Spanish are dislodging the Aztecs from a temple, where the Indians had gathered to enfilade them. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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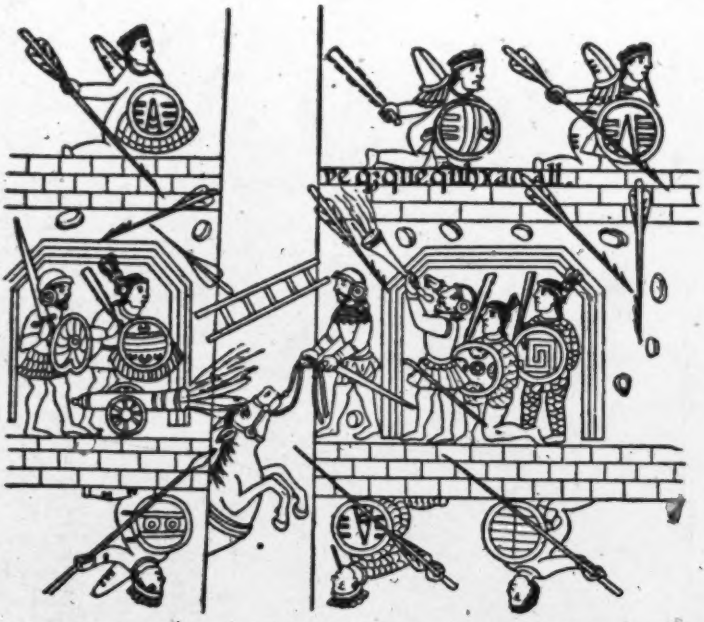

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FIG. 16. Wooden tanks were built by Cortes to protect his men when Aztecs took up positions on the housetops out of reach of the sallies of Spanish cavalry. This spirited picture reveals the tanks separated by a canal into which a horse had fallen. The Aztecs on the roofs impede its rescue. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

vaders, and masses of warriors blocked every sally the Spaniards made from their refuge. (See Figs. 14–15.)

The Spaniards could not maneuver in the narrow footpaths along the canals, and the portable fortresses they constructed of wood, the first tanks used in the New World, were useless against enemies on housetops and in canoes.[4] (See Fig. 16.) The Spaniards lost heavily, and the unfortunate Montezuma met his death either at the hands of his own people, whom he was trying to calm, or, as two excellent authorities have it, at those of the Spaniards.[5] After having passed a week shut up in the palace Cortes decided to withdraw from Tenochtitlan. Just before dawn his forces made

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 their way through the hushed streets out along the causeway to Tacuba.

A woman getting water from a canal, saw them and raised the alarm. The whole male population surged forth along the roofs and through the streets. Some seized canoes and attacked the flanks of the marching column. The Aztecs tore up the bridges, and many Spaniards, laden down with gold, sank ignominiously beneath the waters or, while trying to keep afloat, were clubbed to death by warriors in boats. Alvarado, ever the precipitous man of action, confronted a wide gap in the causeway, plunged his lance into the lake bottom and in full armor vaulted over to the other side.[6] The panic increased, and order was not restored until the Spaniards reached Tacuba. Cortes sat under a giant cypress and wept as he took toll of his losses. Three quarters of the Spanish army had been lost in this rout and in the preceding siege. (See Fig. 18.)

The Spaniards found a temporary sanctuary on the hill of Los Remedios. Their adversaries, instead of following up

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FIG. 17. A handful of the Spaniards reach the mainland. The Aztecs, instead of following up their advantages, plunder the bodies of the killed and drowned. Be it remembered, however, the Spanish carried off the entire Aztec treasure. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 18. Supplies run low and Cortes secretly tries to reach the mainland along a causeway. His retreat is discovered and the Aztecs, massing their forces in canoes, wreak havoc on the Spanish forces. Tearing up the bridges, the Aztecs further hindered the retreat and all but destroyed the invading army. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

their advantage, plundered the dead and tried to recover the booty stolen by the Spaniards from the Aztec treasury. They lost a precious opportunity to destroy the remnants of the Spanish army by not carrying their attack to its logical conclusion. (See Fig. 17.)

However, the Indians did make some effort toward concerted action later. The Texcocans, formerly the principal allies of the Aztecs, gathered their forces together and tried to intercept the Spaniards as they made their way cross country to the homeland of their allies, the Tlaxcalans. At Otumba battle was joined. The Indians in their battle formation could not overcome the mobility and tactical sense of the Spaniards. Wounded as every man was, and exhausted from lack of food and sleep, they kept their discipline; and a desperate charge by the cavalry reached the chiefs, who fell before the Spanish swords. Once their leaders were slain, the

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scant Indian discipline dissolved, and the tribesmen took flight. The Spaniards made their way to Tlaxcala to recuperate and to await reinforcements.

Montezuma was succeeded by his brother Cuitlahuac, and he, dying of the fever after four months, was replaced as war chief by their nephew, the heroic Cuauhtemoc. This strong and courageous leader was unable to overcome the mutual distrust of the Indian communities for each other. When the Aztecs might have joined together with other tribes to overwhelm the Spaniards by sheer weight of numbers, they did nothing.

In the meantime Cortes, having rested his army, began to consolidate his position. He made two series of campaigns, one eastward to the sea and the other in a south and westerly direction in the present state of Morelos. Utilizing Indian allies both as carriers and as a screen to conceal his more serious tactical movements, he subjugated town after town.

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FIG. 19. Due to the hesitancy of the Aztecs, Cortes was able to reach Tlaxcala and refit his army. Here we see military supplies being brought from the coast. In the left center a minor disaster, involving the drowning of several Indian allies, is depicted. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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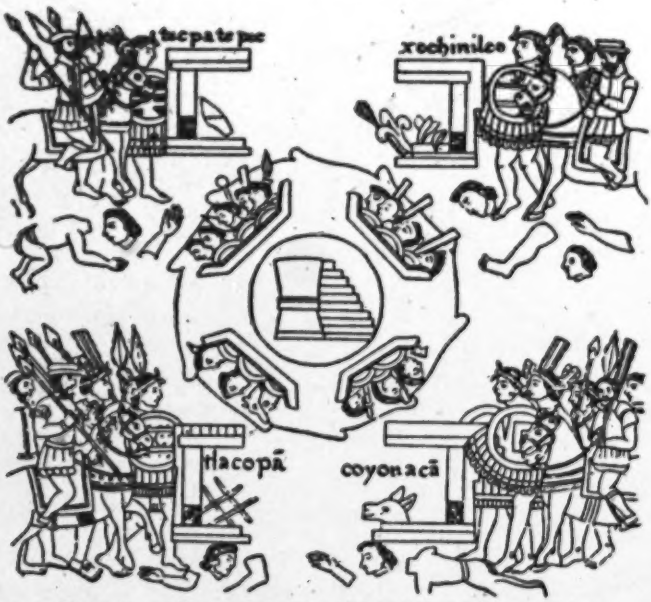

FIG. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[726] In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

175 648 Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

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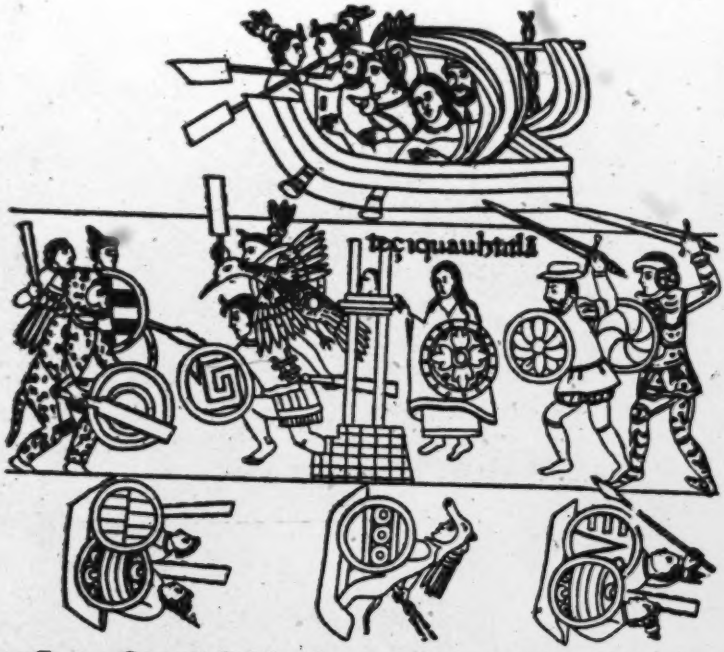

FIG. 21. Cortes built brigantines to defend his flanks while moving along the causeways into Tenochtitlan. In this picture a brigantine comes to the aid of Cortes and his allies, who are beset by Aztecs afoot and in canoes. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

of their success, resented the part Montezuma had taken in forcing the election of a war chief. When the Aztecs had had a strong chance of maintaining their supremacy after Cortes' retreat from Mexico the Texcocans valiantly took the field at Otumba. Now they switched to the Spanish side, seeing a chance of assuming a dominant position in Valley of Mexico affairs. Their defection gave the Spaniards a base on the Lake of Mexico and a means of mopping up whatever tribes remained unsubjugated in the previous campaign.

175 Having quieted the countryside, Cortes put into effect his plan of siege. He launched a fleet of small galleys armed with cannon, which had been constructed in Tlaxcala and

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brought piecemeal across the mountains, to be assembled on 175
the lake. These ships were to sweep the lake clear of canoes and protect the Spanish flanks as they moved in across the three causeways to the island city, Tenochtitlan. Cortes divided his forces in three parts to move along these approaches and close in on the capital. (See Figs. 20, 22.)

The galleys soon cleared the lake of any hostile fleets of canoes, and the Spaniards began to invest the city. The Aztecs, fighting for their lives, stubbornly defended their position. Every night they sallied forth to destroy the bridges the Spaniards had made across the canals during the day. In fighting of this kind the Spaniards could not manipulate

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FIG. 22. The Spanish flotilla puts to sea. These galleys, equipped with oars and a sail and armed with a cannon in the bow, could play havoc with the Aztec war canoes. *Codex Florentino*

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175 their troops, and neither side had any great advantage. The Aztecs, however, still persisted in trying to take prisoners to sacrifice to their War God instead of exterminating their enemies whenever the occasion offered. To offset this gain the thousands of Indian allies, who flocked to the Spanish side to participate in the expected victory, jammed the causeways and hampered rather than helped the besiegers. (See Fig. 21.)

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FIG. 23. Time and again the brigantines relieved situations like this where armed tribesmen in canoes sailed up to attack the Spanish rear. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 24. The Spanish military problem was to raze enough of the city to permit the use of cavalry. The drawing at the right shows the gunboats taking part in an offensive with this end in view. *Codex Florentino*

Cortes decided to change his manner of campaign, and his solution, while reasonable to us, must have been little short of miraculous to the tribesmen. He sent the Indian allies forward to tear down all the houses they could find and fill the canals with the debris. When counterattacked, the allies retired, leaving room for the Spaniards on horse and foot to deal with the Aztecs. Each day the Spanish forces gained more room to maneuver and thus could count on recovering more ground on the morrow. The Aztecs, animated by a rare unity, fought desperately but without avail. (See Figs. 23–24.)

Toward the end of the siege an event occurred which 175
indicated to the now-desperate Aztecs hope of eventual re- 648
lease in a common rising against the invaders. The people from the islands at the south of the lake, the Xochimilcas and

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175 their neighbor tribesmen, filtered through the Spanish gal-
648 leys by night and told the Aztecs that, as neighbors, they would make common cause against the whites. Overjoyed, Cuauhtemoc and his chiefs loaded them with ornaments, fine mantles and cacao beans, precious for the favorite drink of the Aztecs, chocolate. When night closed in again on the beleaguered city the Aztecs were startled by a great commotion. The new allies were trying to drag off the Aztec women and children as slaves. It is pleasant to record that this knavery received its just reward, and the Xochimilcas were all either slaughtered or disposed of in sacrifice.

175 Only when its members were too weak to resist and could

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FIG. 25. Pestilence was a formidable ally on the Spanish side. Colds, smallpox, measles, and the like, were unknown to the Indians who, lacking any sort of immunity, died by the thousands. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 26. A factor in the downfall of the Aztecs was their custom of taking captives for sacrifice rather than to kill in direct battle. The heads of the sacrificed victims, both men and horses, were displayed in front of the temples. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 27. Cuauhtemoc, who conducted the defense of Tenochtitlan, is received with all the honors of war by Cortes and his consort, Marina. In the upper right Cortes may be seen greeting Cuauhtemoc's wife and family. The legend translated reads: "With this event, the Mexicans were finished." *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

no longer deal wounding blows did the garrison yield. Cuauhtemoc and his family took to the lake in a canoe, as did many others. He was picked up by one of the Spanish galleys and brought before Cortes, where his dignity and chiefly demeanor received the respectful attention of the Spanish general staff. The request for treasure brought the answer that there was none: it lay under the lake with the Spaniards who were slain the preceding winter in their disastrous flight from the city. Cuauhtemoc then underwent

[Text continues on p. 264.--- Analyst]

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FIGS. 28A–28B. The story of the Conquest of Mexico in native characters. In the cartouches are to be seen the symbols One Reed and Two Knife, the Aztec names for the years 1519 and 1520. Under One Reed is a Spaniard from whose horse's foot depends the shield, club and arrows symbolic of war. At the right the bearded Cortes

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sits in the temple of Tenochtitlan, represented by the cactus. An Indian with the glyph of Montezuma offers a tribute of gold beads. Under Two Knife we find Alvarado massacring the Indians at the great temple and at upper right a comet in the sky. *Codex Vaticanus A*

[Fig. 28 B]

776 Quetzaltepetl, Chalchiuitl yeme, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Itztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

532 And they represented the mountains, they made their
782 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118] made in human form, made to look like men.

755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepictoni].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cured. Before [the Tepictoni] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experienced, to make [the Tepictoni] and set them in place. None
532 of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictoni were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoni, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoni].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

1163] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoni [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoni figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepictoni thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

popocatepetl, itztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yeuan in çaçe
quetzaltepetl tepetl in quintemoaz in quipiquiz.

Auh in quipipiqoja, in quinintiplatiniz in tetepe, çan
tzoalli, quintlacatlaliaia, quintlacatlachieltivia, tlacatlachiztiçaxca:

quintlantiaia aiocuechli, auh in quinjtzelolotiaia aiocutli:
in quemanj yztlatqui in quinixiplatiaia, in quipipiquja
çan no inhqui yxic quinchichiouia.

Auh yeuan quichiouia, amatetenjtl, colchachapetrria,
colchipiniaia, quiauqueçmeniaia:

auh in coçqui amatetenvitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapetzalli, tlacatiuech quipipiloaia, tlacatiuech quinemetchilpiaia,
quinemetchçalouaia, ymjxpan antoc, ic itzacuinçoc in
tepicme:

hiçenacatoc pepeqatlacatoc, pepatlantoc, cempilquauitl,
necoc, nenecoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tezoxmeticac, yn
itech antoc tetenjtl.

Auh tilacaintli, thiztlapantli, thiztitzatzcli: ymixpan
mamanca, chalchihuicalli ipan pouia, vetli vnca ca, vetli ic
mamanca.

Auh çan iehoan in tlamacazqui, yn jeuaquinh, in
machiztequi catca, yn quinchichiouia, in quintlaliaia: aiac
çan moiocuiaia, in calla in quinchichiouia.

Auh macujltica in quintlalhujaia, mjtoa: quinmelacaoltiaia in tlamacazqui:

yn o ic tzauhque tepicme, njmaa ic ic quintoçaviia,
quinçujcaxia:

in ceiuoal napa in quintlamanjlia, tamalolelli in
quinmacaia, quinmanaia ymjxpã, in tlamacazqui, in
tepicouiqca:

no napa in quintlamacaia ceiuoal, yeuan quintlapichiliaia,

quinmaquiquitiliaia tecuicuilli in quinpichiliaia, yeuan
vilacapitzli, cocouitoti,

vilacapitzoaia, çan tlapopochti, papaquinj, hauieuj,
tlilivitzinj, tecomeltianj, cocolequa, no tlamacaxia.

Auh yn otlatvic njmaa quinmicxia yn tepicme, quinquechcotoua, quinquechcuj, quinquechilacatzoa, çatepan quinacemololoa, cocolcuj, in tepictzalli, quitquj yn calmecac yn
vuqa ouqui, tlamacazqui.

Auh in tepiquipj, njmaa ie yc calaquijh yn itlacamotzalhoua, yn jcuoaoua, vncan tzopia, mopiztequa:

auh in ie iouatiuh, in ie tevtlac nimaa ie ic tlaxoua,
motlaocuacatlalia in vevetlaca, yn ie chicauaqua, yn otlachi-

117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text).* Popocatepetl and Itztac tepetl (Iztac cimatl) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. *Made of dough (vno masa)*, in the Spanish columns; *Sobre maniere ja gropuscrlaw Samen der Stachelmelone* (Einige Kapitel, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de gotas de uli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetenjtl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 120).

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1—Huitzilopochtli. 2—Tlaloc. 3—Tezcatlipoca. 4—Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli.

—After Paso y Troncoso

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—After Paso y Troncoso

5—Quetzalcoatl. 6—Cinteotl. 7—Chicome ocelotl. 8—Tetes innan.

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9—Tlapoltlac teuan. 10—Cinapipiltl. 11—Chalchiuhtli yeua. 12—Tlapoltecuil.

—After Paso y Troncoso

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

13—Xiuhtecutli. 14—Macuilxochitl or Xochipilli. 15—Omacatl. 16—Ixtlilton.

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17—Opochtli. 18—Xipe totec. 19—Tlacatecolotl. 20—Hapa tecuhtli. —After Paso y Troncoso

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—After Paso y Troncoso

31—Tzacutzonmil. 32-33—Tepictoton.
37—Chalchiuhtli pow (Chap. II). 38—Tlaloque (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. II).

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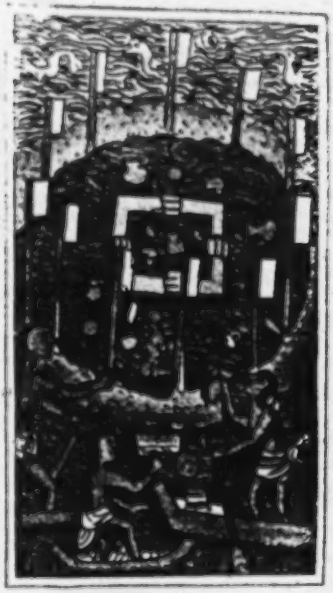

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 9), Chalchihtli yeue (Chap. 11), Chicome ocatl (Chap. 7). 30—Tlapalhuatl—Confusion (Chap. 12). 31—Napa tecutli (Chap. 10). 32—Tepitoton (Chap. 11). 33—Pantitlan (Tepitoton) (Chap. 11). 34—Appendix, Chap. 12. 35—Appendix, Chap. 12.

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—*After Peso y Troncoso*

36—Appendix [Refutation]. 37—Appendix [Refutation]. 38—Titheranas. Xiuhtecutli. 39—Opochtli.
41—Tlaxcatecutli. 42—Tecuetzumecatl; 43—Tepiome.

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *tamales* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Coateca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, esteemed [these *tamales*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[6]—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jnjc cempoali omume capitulo, yncã moteneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in moteneoaia, Tlacaxipeualiztli. 796X

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpulueuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico. cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhuitl, in tlacemilhuitiltitoque, ic tlalhujquixtitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in ixquich nepapan xochitl, in iancujcan cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto quinecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, qujuenchioaz, qujuẽmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotõti quittaia, cuecuepontoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aquitoton, hacquipipil, hacquitetoton, çan quecizquj, çan quezquitoton, çan quecizquipipil, çan quezquiquauhtoton quicujcujtlalpia, quijlpia. 796X 824 [784] [532]

Auh ynjc xuchitetemoaia, qujcenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj quioalnamacaia, in millaca: 796X [432]

auh yn iquac y, quiquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [262]

oc cenca ichoanti quimauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: quitlamanjlia yn inteouh, itoca coatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn itech tlaquauhtlamati, yn innetemachil, yn itech moquauhiotia, yn inquauhio, yn itech motzatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac coatlatilo, onmotlatia, onmocacoa, yn imenaio tlaca, vmpa iopico onaactiuj:

1. The corresponding Spanish text specifies: ". . . que hacian en el primero dia del segundo mes, que se decia tlacaxipeualizli."
In Chapter 3, this month is correctly named Tlaxipeualiztli.
2. Here *sembrarian*—"Y en dicen 'se sembraban tamales'" (Garibay: "Relación breve," p. 294). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 77) has, *hier aussäten*, "*finden statt das Aussäen von der Rassel.*"
3. "*Los ancianos de aquel barrio*," according to Sahagún's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagún: *Histoire des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, p. 82, n. 3: *tamapalmamalli*—"*Pain-bien pour tamapamalli, de tamapali, épine ou herbe piquante, et mamalli, sorte de tamal.*"
5. *Tonalxuchitl*: Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 78) uses the term *corpulent*; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 295) has, *los yoan mitoaya tonalxuchitl*, "*y se llamaba, 'se sembraban los yoan*'"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "*sembraban en algunos tamales.*"

X 796 702 us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

X 796 [346] And when [the young girls] went carrying upon their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

● [532] They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *tortillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly; there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

X 796 824 243 And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[12] black maize;[13] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[14] large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[15] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[16] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[17] the after-fruit;[18] double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toquijchti, ca çanenpanca, ca ça in toneuhcatlatol: ca uel ic qujmontzintopeoaia in cioa iaoc, ic tiolitoneoa, ic tiolcoa, ic tiollo tlacujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca qujttoa, in toquijchti

eço tecoco, yn jntlatol cioa, eço teittic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiquijtoque, yn ahtinemizque: aço itla tomaceual tocnjuhtze.

Auh in qujmanatiuj in cicinteteuh, yn oquitquja iteupan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuezcomaiollo muchioa, cuezcomac contema.

Auh yn iquac totoco, in ie toquizpã, iehoatl qujtocaia qujxinachioaia, qujxinachioa.

Auh injn qujlhujtlaltia, qujlhujchiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhqujn cioatl qujtlaliaia iziptla. Qujtoaia, ca uel iehoatl in tonacaiutl: iuhq'nma qujtoznequj, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tiioltinemj, tooapaoaca: intlacamo iehoatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn aquin, atle qujqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlaoa, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipã momana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in iehoatl chicome coatl, ca qujchioa yn isquich tonacaiutl:

in iztac tlaolli, in coztic tlaolli, in xiuhtoctli, yiaujtl, yiauhnenel, iauhcacalqui, tlaolpatlachtli, in totoiontic, in tlaolpicilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhqujn ezoaoanquj, ezcujcujltic:

njman ice in quappachcintli: iuhqujn quappachtli, itlachieliz, momochicintli, in molquitl, cinmaitl, cintzatzapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamotl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI, cap. xiii, of the *Florentine Codex* defines *xinkonetli* as "*Pan de maye verdes, pequeños y medianos.*"

13. "*Espicas de maye negro*" (*loc. cit.*). Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*maye morado o negro.*"

14. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) defines *mimichcalqui* as "*Espicas de maye por diversos colores.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The Nahuatl text reads, "*xochicuetli ixtac tlaolli tlapahuanqui, tlapalnojujqui huecuetzilihqui, huecuetzilihqui, tetecuetzilihqui, mamayauhqui, mamayauhqui, mamalqui ha ixcuitlaxca, mamalquiztlaca.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Espicas de maye leonado.*" In the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 182, there is reference to "*ciertas mazorcas de maiz que nacen anchas y pequeñas, o leonadas, que en la lengua de llamaban tzatzapalli xilochintli, quappachcintli.*" A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that *tzatzapalli* are "*Espicas de maye que nacen de dos en dos.*" In Simeón (*op. cit.*) *quappachtli* is given as tawny or violet. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*color leonado, o medio morado.*" For *quappachcintli*, Simeón has "*maiz gran si brota, que nacen 3 juntos los pequeñuelos provenientes de la lozanía de su (Sah.).*"

17. Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 90) defines *momochitli* as "*maiz tostado y reventado,*" and on fo. 37r of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagún writes that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que cada grano se revuelve una flor blanquisima.*"

18. *Redrojo de maiz* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

the small ears of maize beside the main ear;[19] the ripened green maize.[20]

Then the beans—white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans;[21] black beans; flesh-colored beans;[22] fat, red beans; wild beans;[23] amaranth; the variety of amaranth call *cocoil;*[24] fine, red amaranth seed:[25] [common] red amaranth;[26] black amaranth; bright red or *chili*-red amaranth;[27] fish-amaranth [*michinantli* or *chicalotl*];[28] brilliant black amaranth seed;[29] the bird-seed called *petzicatl;*[30]

also *chia*—white *chia*, black *chia*, and wrinkled *chia*.

All these things, thus mentioned, all these they offered to [the goddess]. When her feast day was celebrated, they formed her image, and laid all before her; the old men of the tribal temple sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red—completely red on her arms, her legs, her face. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shirt also was red; her skirt was the color of ripe fruit. She had a chief's shield, painted with designs and embellished in red. She carried in either hand her double ear of maize.

Thus ended the festival of Uei toçoztli, and thus ended and passed the vigil songs. And then the winding dance, the dance with song, began. This ended at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

njman ichoatl in etl, yn iztac etl, ecoztli, echichilli, çoletl, tliletl, aquijletl, aiecotli, quavecoc, ozuhtli, cocotl, tlapalhoazuhtli, xochioazuhtli, tliloazuhtli, teuoazuhtli, anoço chichiloazuhtli, mjchioazuhtli, chicalotl, tẹtzcaoazuhtli, petzicatl:

no yoan in chien, iztac chien, tliltic chien, chiantzotzol.

Jn izquich y, iuh qujtoa, ca moch ichoatl, qujtemaca: in iquac ilhujuh, qujtlacatilia, muchi ixpan qujmanaia, qujcujcatia in veuetque, calpuleque: qujtlacotonjlia.

Auh yn jnechichioal motlaoçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxic, yn jaco: muchi tlacemaquilli, tlaujtl yn jamacal yn ivipil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icue cacamoliuhquj, tlatolchimali cujlolli, tlauhpoiaoac, ycinma nenecoccampa qujtqujtica.

ic ontlamj, in vey toçoztli: yoan ic vntlamj ic qujça, in toçozcujcatl. Auh iquac vmpeoa in necololo, cujcoanolo: vmpa vntlami, yn ipan tozcatl.

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19. Given in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*): "*Mazorquillas de maiz que son hijas de las mazorcas.*" Sandoval (*op. cit.*) has "*pasó lo de maíz que parece á el de l'épi principal.*"

20. Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 314, has as follows: "[Male] *De maíces hasta que está en pero crecido, se llama . . . Xilotl, jilote, la mazorca de maíz tierna y por cocer. Elotl, elote, la mazorca tierna cocepar con los granos cocidos. . . . Cuatli, cuatli, el maíz seco en mazorca: ya desgranado tlaxilli, tlaxilli, tlaxilli. . . . Olotl, olote, el corazón de la mazorca. Elotlhuaxi, elotepanochtli—las hojas que la cubrieron.*"

21. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún has "*Frisoles pintados de color de codorniz.*" See also Rubrecht ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 343.

22. Given in *Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*: "*Frisoles de color encarnado.*"

23. Cf. Rubrecht ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 232: "*Hay una cosa que se llama ciuxtl; la hierba de esta cosa llámase quauxuxu; y también ciuxtl. Esta hierba hace unas hojas que son como frisoles grandes, y que frisoles silvestres.*"

24. "*Varias hierbas que son como arroyos o cenizos de España*"—gloss, *Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*

25. "*Una mazorca diestra blanca colorada fina*" (*loc. cit.*) Clark (*op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61) has Pardoxa (sandbl) *Pardoxa ahuacuo L. Par.*

26. "*Una mazorca diestra blanca colorada*" (*Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*).

27. Same as see sandbl—"*Una mazorca de blanca muy colorada y muy buena*" (*loc. cit.*).

28. "*Blanca o semilla delles como huauzo de pescado*"; same as *chicalotl*—*Mitchinantli*: *como huauzo chicalotl* (*loc. cit.*).

29. "*Una blanca muy semilla es muy negra*" (*loc. cit.*). 30. "*Una pavesa muy semilla quanto las gallinas [sic]*" (*loc. cit.*)

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[13] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopochtli: vncan in vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quauitl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquauitl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque:

njman ie ic qujmaimaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanqui:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezzepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoálmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapaloaque, ynjc monapaloa ymaxtli:

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamaçocan:

796 778 [352 532] [824] [292] [293 237] [237] [532] [289 292] [411] [411 237]

13. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Rahmelo edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Seler defines *quauhtamatl* as "*la materia manufacturada por la capa de liber de algunos árboles de género ficus. Sirvió de papel para las pinturas o los libros, y de tela para hacer las adornos, vestidos y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

delos cantares delos dioses. fo. 143. 532 415 534 292

Cochina, cochina, [illegible]
olonjcanj, iccuicatl, mochinay
ico, oaico ylio, yia, ya.

¶ Xippe icuic, itoc ioualla
uania.

Ioalli tlauana, iztlacan, cimone
necquia xiaqui mylatia temaj
tlaquenili, xicmoquenti quetlaxia.

Notzuhca chalchimmana tlaca
pana itzmoia, oiquetzallaueuet,
ay quichalxiuiocatl nechtlaiquim
catlhquetl ortia.

Manjiaxia, mjia, mjia pelitiz
mjoatzin, achalmiuhtla xoiollo,
atecuujtlatl necoiantlas xeiolce
uizquitlacatl achtequeti tlaqua
vaia otlacatquj iautlatoa quetl
ortia.

Notzuhca centlaco xaicailiuiz co
noa vioatzin nictepeiocpa mjs
valitia motzuhca, uizquintla
catl achtequetl tlaquauia cha
catquj iautlatoaquetl ortia.

¶ Chicomecoatl icuic.

Chicomolotzin, xaia mechaa,

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Appendix: Song of Xipe)

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[415]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[p. 102 D]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

8-12. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 22)
13-14. Uei tōçoztli (Chapter 23)

[p. 102 E]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

15.21. Teocatl (Chapter 24)

[p. 102 F]

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[501]

—After Paso y Troncoso

22-23. Etzalqualiztli (Chapter 25)
24-25. Tecuilhuitontli (Chapter 26)
26-28. Uei tecuilhuitl (Chapter 27)
29. Tlaxochimaco (Chapter 28)

[p. 102 G]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

30. Ochpaniztli (Chapter 30)
31-32. Panquetzaliztli (Chapter 34)
33. Tititi (Chpter 36)
34. Izcalli (Chapter 37)
35-36. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[p. 102 H]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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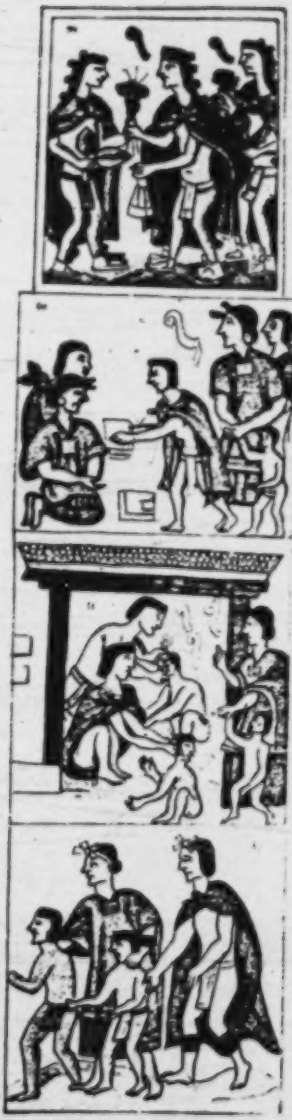

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—After Paso y Troncoso

37-44. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[p. 102 I]

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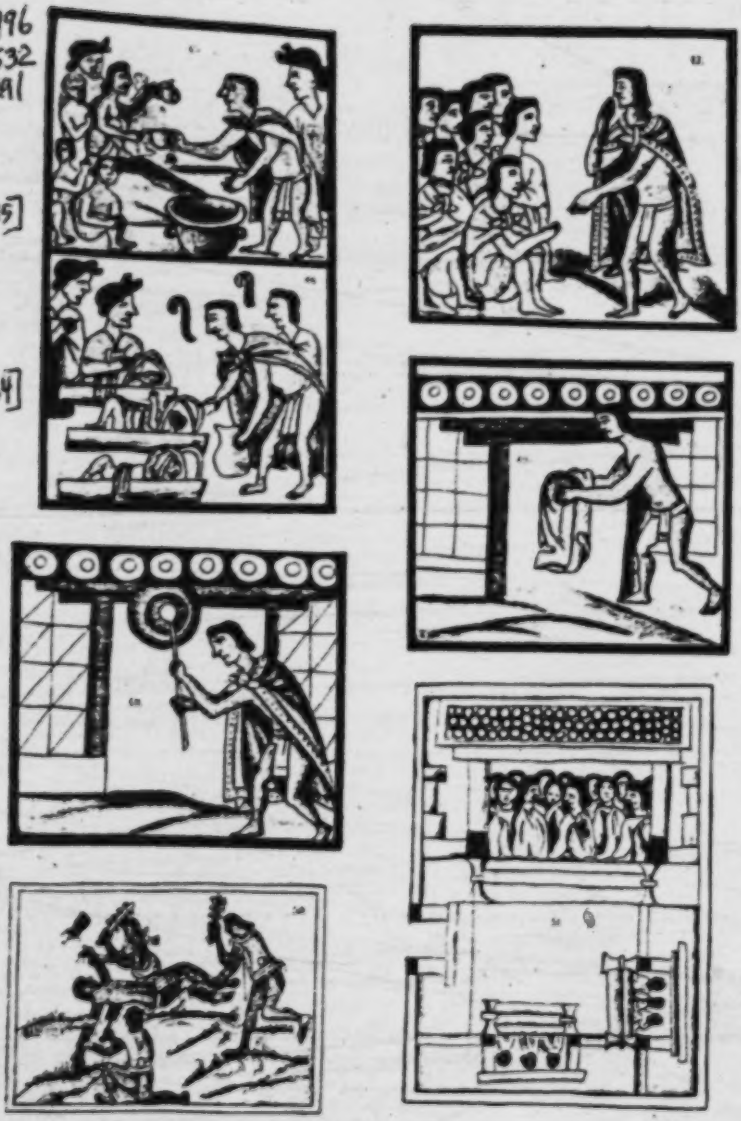

48.49. Iacoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Macuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102 J]

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52. Tlamictiliztli (Appendix)
53. Tlachpanaliztli (Appendix)
54. Tlauauanaliztli (Appendix)
55. Çacapan nemanaliztli (Appendix)
56. Neçacapechtemaliztli (Appendix)
57. Tlatica tlauiliztli (Appendix)
58. Mexicátl teuhoatzin (Appendix)

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—Alper Pulu & Troncoso

59. Tepan teuhoatzin (Appendix)
60. Tlenamacalizuli (Appendix)
61. Iouallapializtli (Appendix)
62-63. Song of Xipe (Appendix)
64. Song of Chicome coatl (Appendix)
65. Song of the Totochtin (Appendix)
66. Song of Atlaua (Appendix)

[p. 102 L]

The Iztac Ciuatl Ciuaquacuilli.

793 The Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli also kept watch there and took care of the [Temple of] Atenchicalcan; and she was in charge of the sweeping and the laying of fires [there]. And any who made supplications [to the goddess] spoke to the Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli. This one determined all that was done here at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

Cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl.

In cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl çã no vmpa tlapiaia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatovaia in tlachpanaliztlj in tletlaliliztli, yoan in aqujn vmpa monetoltiaia, iehoatl conilhujaia in cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl, muchi iehoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia atenchicalcã.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco.

The duties of the Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco, [concerned] the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli. He caused it to be cried abroad that it be gathered in the forests. And those who gathered it were only those youths whose right it was [to gather it]. And when they had gathered the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli, they piled it up in the priests' dwelling at Tzonmolco.

Iscoçauhquj tzõmvlco teuhoa.

In jscoçauhquj tzõmulco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhtecuquavitl, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quauhtla, auh in concuja çan iehoantin in telpupuchtin intequjuh catca, auh in oqujcujto xiuhtequavitl, vmpa conquetzaia in tzõmulco calmecac.

Tlaçolquacuilli.

The Tlaçolquacuilli was charged that he should guard and take care of [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket, and he had his gourd for tobacco. Much did he venerate the Temple here at Mecatlan. None might urinate here; and if anyone did urinate here, then they seized him and brought him within. There they punished him and drew blood from him.

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Tlaçolquacujlli.

In tlaçolquacujlli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiaia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, iziçol yietecõton ictinemj, cenca tlamavizotiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlã, aiac vncan maxixaia, auh in aqujn vncan omaxix, njman qujtzitzqujaia, qujcalaqujaia calitic, vmpa quitlatzacujltiaia qujçoçnia.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco guarded and cared for [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco. And his task was to have charge of the offerings. He caused it to be cried abroad that offerings be made here at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco.

Tecpantzinco teuhoa.

In tecpantzinco teuhoa, vncã tlapiaia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tecpãtzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatovaia in ventli qujtzatzilitiia injc tlamanaloz vncan tecpãtzinco.

Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton.

793 The Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton was concerned with the songs. When anyone molded figures [of the mountain gods], he consulted with him that he

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Epcoaquacujlli tepictotõ.

In Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton ipã tlatovaia in cujcatl, iquac in aqujn tepiquiz iehoatl iehoatl conjlhujaia in qujmisquetzaz, qujnnavatiz in cujcanjme,

might provide the singers and make them sound well, when they went to sing in the home of him who molded figures [of the mountain gods]. Verily, this one, the Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton, passed judgment upon [the songs].

injc qujcativi in jchan in aqujn tepiquiz, vel ichoatl qujtzontequja in Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton. 793 [532]

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton.

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton was upon [the pyramid], and his charge was that he caused it to be cried abroad that offerings [should be made]. When the little children, whether men[-children] or women[-children, first] began to talk, they went carrying their offerings of *copal* [incense], or flowers, or whatever sorts of gifts were made. Each of [these] things they bore with them.

Ixtlilco teuhoa.

In jxtlilco teuhoa ipan jcaca, ipan tlatovaia, qujtzatziliaia in ventli injc motenmamalia pipiltzitzinti in [203] in aço oqujchţin, in anoço cihoa qujitquitivi in jnven in copalli, in anoço suchitl in ie isqujch ventli muchivaia cecentlamantli in qujtquja.

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli at Aticpac.

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli, at [the Temple of] Aticpac, had encharged to him [her who was arrayed in the likeness of the Goddess] Aticpac calqui ciuatl, [and that] they should collect the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber which Aticpac calqui ciuatl needed when she died. And they flayed her, and the fire-priest put on her skin and went forth holding a [live] quail in his teeth, which went dangling from his mouth.

Aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli.

In aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli ipã tlatovaia, in aticpac calquj cihoatl qujnechicovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in jtech monequja aticpac calquj cihoatl in iquac mjquja, auh qujxipehoaia in jiehoaio cõmaqujaia tlenamacac, yoan qujtlanquativja çolin icamac pilcatiuh.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli, at Atlixeliuhqui.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli at Atlixeliuhqui was charged with collecting the adornment, the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the sweet-smelling herbs, the chalk, the black stain, and the heron feather headdress and the tousled hair which [he who was arrayed like] Opochtli would need when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli.

In atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli, ipan tlatovaia, qujnechicovaia in jnechichival, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in jiauhtli, in tiçatl, in jaiapalli, yoan aztatzõdli, papatli, in jtech monequja obuchtli in jquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico, took care, when that one [arrayed in the likeness of the god Tequixtzin] died, of the paper, the *copal* [incense],

Xippe iopico teuhoa.

In xippe iopico teuhoa qujmocujtlavjaia, in ipan mjquja in ichoatl tequjxtzin, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tlahujtl, auh injc mopotonjaia ie-

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

[p. 36(C)]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a roadside shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sorcerer (Chapter IX)

[p. 36 (D)]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
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—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Roasting maize attracting the Toltecs (Chapter XI)
14. Quetzalcoatl in a drunken sleep (Chapter XIII)
15. Preparation of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
16. Burning of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
17. Conference with masters of the youths, upon birth of a child (Appendix, Chapter IV)
18. Taking children to the young men's house (Appendix, Chapter V)
19. Tending fires in the song house (Appendix, Chapter V)

[P. 36(E)]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

1. Sun
2. Moon
3. The rabbit in the moon
4. Eclipse of the moon
5. Comet
6. Comet's tail
7. Stars
8. The Winds
9-10. Lightning
11. Clouds
12. Rainbow

[p. 38 (b)]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire on the breast of a sacrificial victim
17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to homes
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

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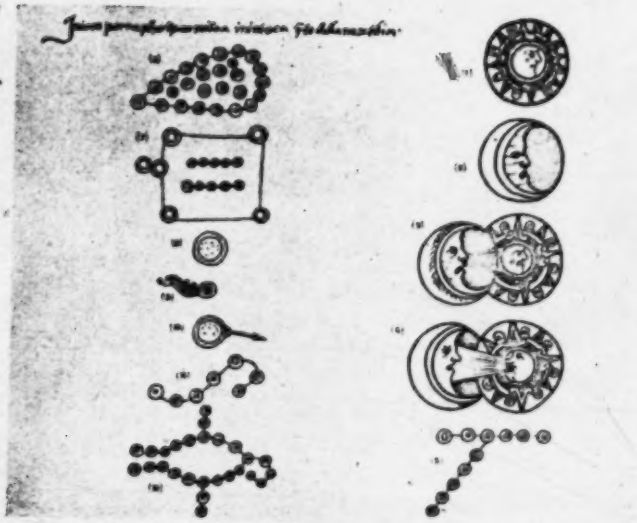

—After Paso y Troncoso

21. Sun, moon, and stars, and other natural phenomena, from *Primeros Memoriales*, Cap. 2.

1. Sun
2. Moon
3. Eclipse of sun
4. Eclipse of moon
5. Fire drill
6. Fire drill
7. Venus
8-9. Comet
10. Comet's tail
11. *S*-shaped stars
12. Scorpion

[p. 38 (H)]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

22. Natural Phenomena and year signs, from *Primeros Memoriales*, cap. 2

13. Wind
14. Lightning bolt
15. Rain
16. Rainbow
17. Frost
18. Cloud
19. Snow
20. Hail

Year signs, beginning at top
One Rabbit
Two Reed
Three Flint Knife
Four House

[p. 38(I)]

643 **Ninth Chapter**, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.

Injc chicunnuj capítulo vncan moteneoa injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jcoac maceoaia.

301 The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their
[237] hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontlj tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal ueuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which
[314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujlalia ujtzilonitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

●532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112, *identifies quetzalbird as Pharomacrus mocinno mocinno.*
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 124).
3. One ends is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.
4. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 134, *identifies blue cotinga as Cotinga amabilis.*
5. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
6. *Quauhtzontli: quauh could mean warrior; elsewhere we always give preference to the meaning eagle.*
7. *After this phrase, the Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *chalchiuhtencolonecuetl coztic teucujtlatl yeallo*—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

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A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhconcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenquixtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

[237]

A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzaltotoicpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquaujtl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecaceoaztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,

643 [276 416]

Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, tezcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[298 281]

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçeloeoacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[534]

[There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

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Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

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[There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixqujch omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaxcaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

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There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

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[There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc moztzona teponaztli.

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8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 399ff., on etymology of *amanteca*.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Uitzilinitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tiçoc. 8. Auitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Uanitl. 16. Don Diego Teuctzquitl. 17. Don Cristóbal Cecepatic. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelulco. 18. Quauapitzauac. 19. Tlacatecatl. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquihuixth. 22. Don Pablo Temilo. 23. Don Martin Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Auelitoc. 25. Don Martín Tlacatecatl. 26. Don Diego Uitzauauhilotlac. 27. Don Alonso Quauhnochtli. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

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[787]

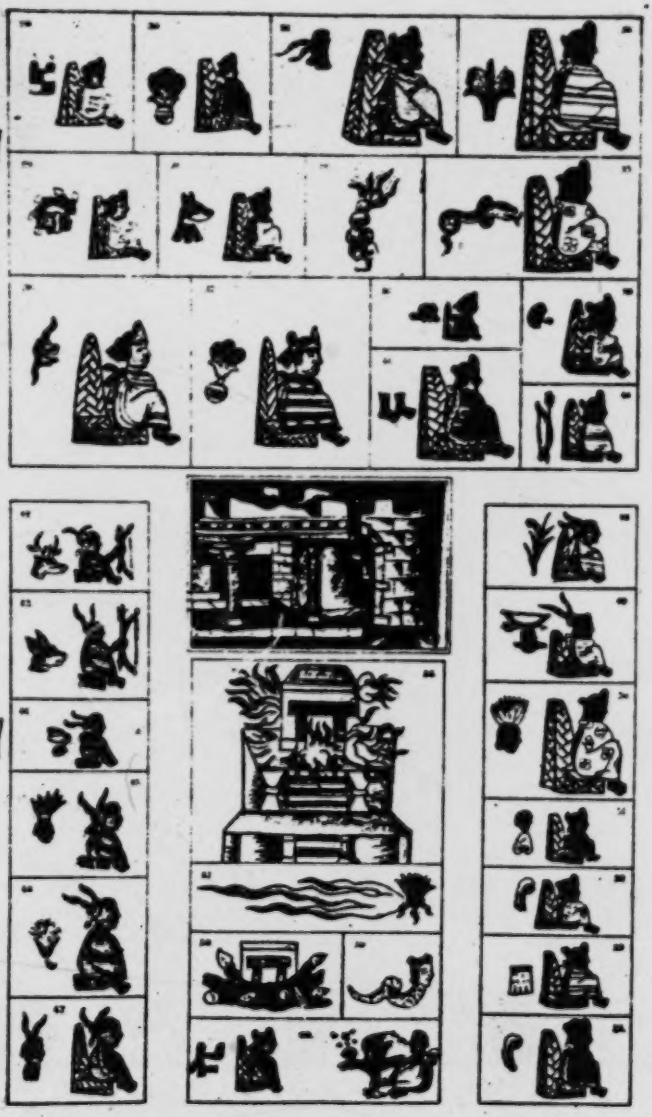

[787]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Rulers of Tezcoco. 28. Thalecatzin. 29. Techotlalatzin. 30. Ixtlilxochitl. 31. Neçauhcoyotzin. 32. Neçaualpilli. 33. Cacamatzin. 35. Coanacochtzin. 36. Tecuichtzin. 37. Ixtlilxochitl. 38. Yoyontzin. 39. Tetlauaçtzquin. 40. Don Antonio Tlaxcoltzin. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

33. Omens observed in Tezcoco (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uexotla. 42. Maçatzin tecuhtli. 43. Tochin tecuhtli. 44. Ayotzin tecuhtli. 45. Quatlauice tecuhtli. 46. Teteçpochtzin. 47. Yoyotzin tecuhtli. 48. Xihuitzin tecuhtli. 49. Itlacauhtzin. 50. Tlaçolyauhtzin. 51. Tzontemoctzin. 52. Cuitlauatzin. 53. Tzapiocatzin. 54. Cuitlauatzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Cuacuauhtl weeping. 60. Bird with *mirror* on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]
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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

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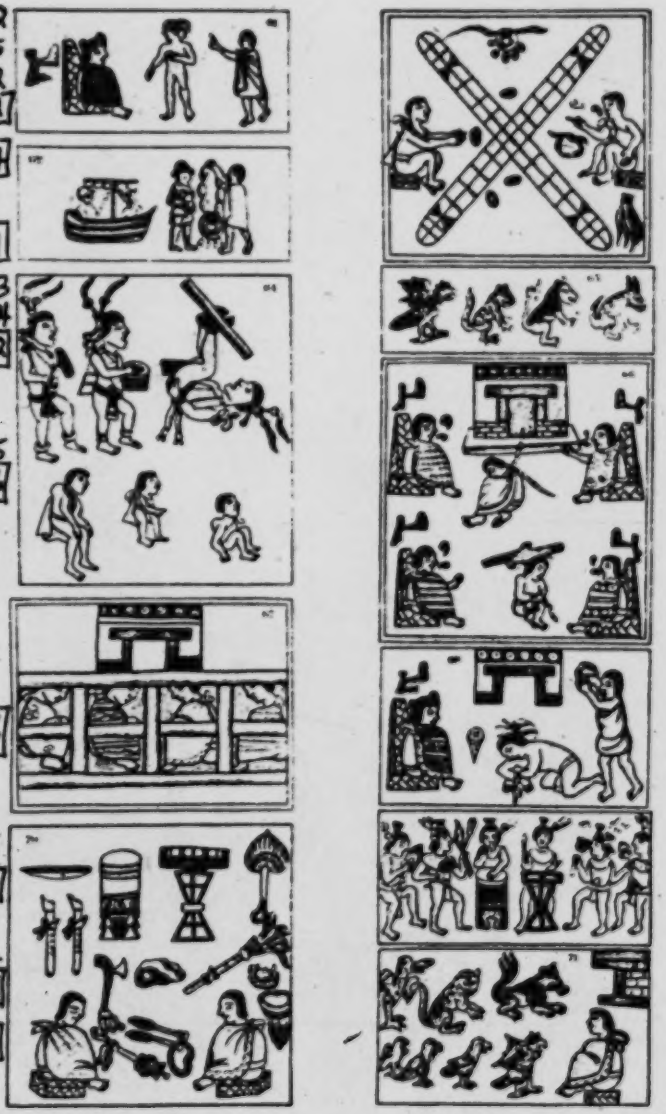

—After Paso y Troncoso

Omens (continued). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatlan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

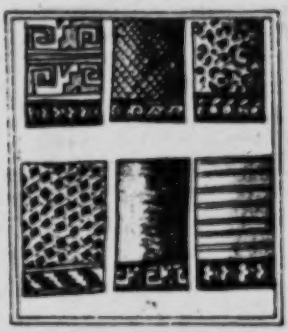

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*ueipilli, cuaitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

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—Obry Pano y Tronsuo

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Astec NU7

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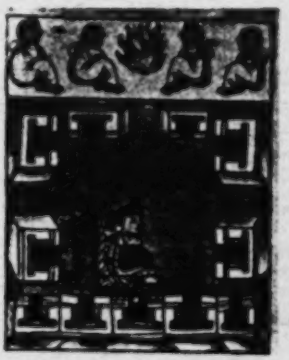

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—After Pozo y Tequeruco

a86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a complete musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game *tlachtli* (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 19). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

1. Landing of the Spaniards (preceding text). 2. Spaniards marching (preceding text). 3. Spaniards assaulting a temple in Mexico (Chapter 1). 4. First omen: the ranger of fire (Chapter 1). 5. Second omen: burning of Temple of Huitzilopochtli (Chapter 1). 6. Third omen: burning of Temple of Xiuhtecutli (Chapter 1). 7. Fourth omen: comet in three parts (Chapter 1).

[p. 44(C)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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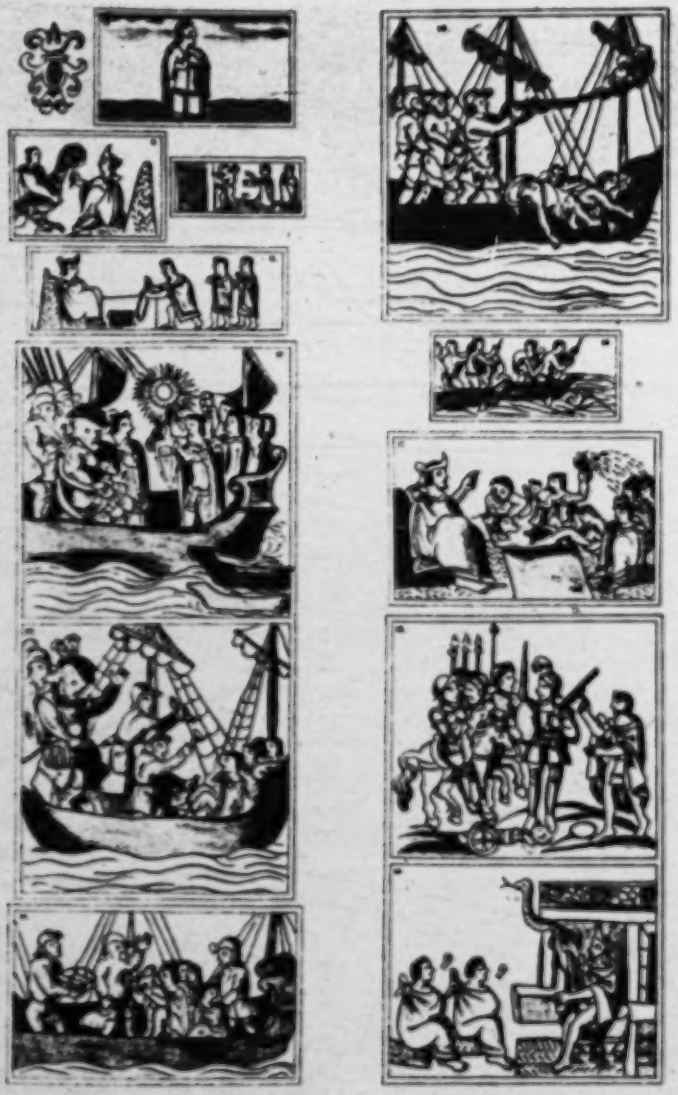

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

8. Sixth omen: the weeping woman (Chapter 1). 9. Seventh omen: the ashen bird with a mirror (Chapter 1). 10. Eighth omen: two-headed men (Chapter 1). 11. Towards present Spaniards' gift to Moctezuma (Chapter 2). 12. Moctezuma's messengers present gifts to Cortés (Chapter 5). 13. Spaniards bind Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 14. Spaniards fire guns and terrify the messengers (Chapter 5). 15. Spaniards give food to Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 16. Moctezuma's messengers return to the mainland (Chapter 6). 17. Captives are slain before Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 6). 18. Spaniards in war array (Chapter 7). 19. Moctezuma hears description of the Spaniards (Chapter 7).

[p. 44(D)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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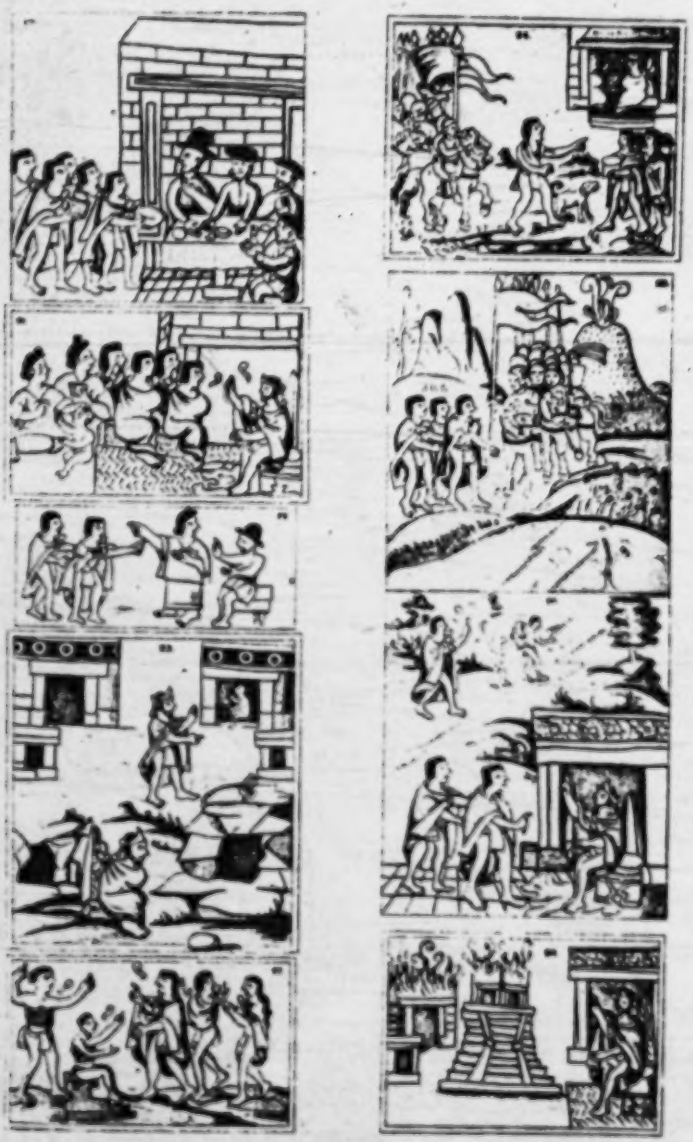

—After Paso y Troncoso

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Iztaccipuztl and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's soothsayers meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29. The road to Tenochtitlan is sown with magney plants (Chapter 14). 30. Spaniards receive the submission of two of the Four Lords (Chapter 14). 31-36. Spaniards on the march from Ixtapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(F)]

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— *Ajtar Pano y Troncoso*

37-41. Spaniards on the march from Itztapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(G)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*Ajuar Paso y Treurcos*

44. Marina interprets for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 19). 52. Mexicans brave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

[p. 44(H)]

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

59-64. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(J)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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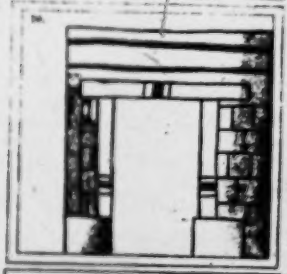

—After Paso y Troncoso

65. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Uitzilopochli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p.44(K)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Itzquauhtzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—After Paso y Troncoso

80-82. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22). 83. Spaniards rout chieftains from the pyramid temple (Chapter 22). 84. Bodies of Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin are cast out of the palace by the Spaniards (Chapter 23). 85. Moctezuma's body is carried away (Chapter 23).

[p.44 (M)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itzquauhtzin's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itzquauhtzin's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detained leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Tetzcallaxyacan comfort the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

[p. 44 (N)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*Ajhar Pano y Transcuo*

97, 97. Mexicans recover bodies and loot from the Tolteca canal (Chapter 25). 98. Massacre at Calocuyo-n (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Tencalhuyacan (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Tencalhuyacan welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102. Spaniards prepare to depart from Tencalhuyacan (Chapter 26).

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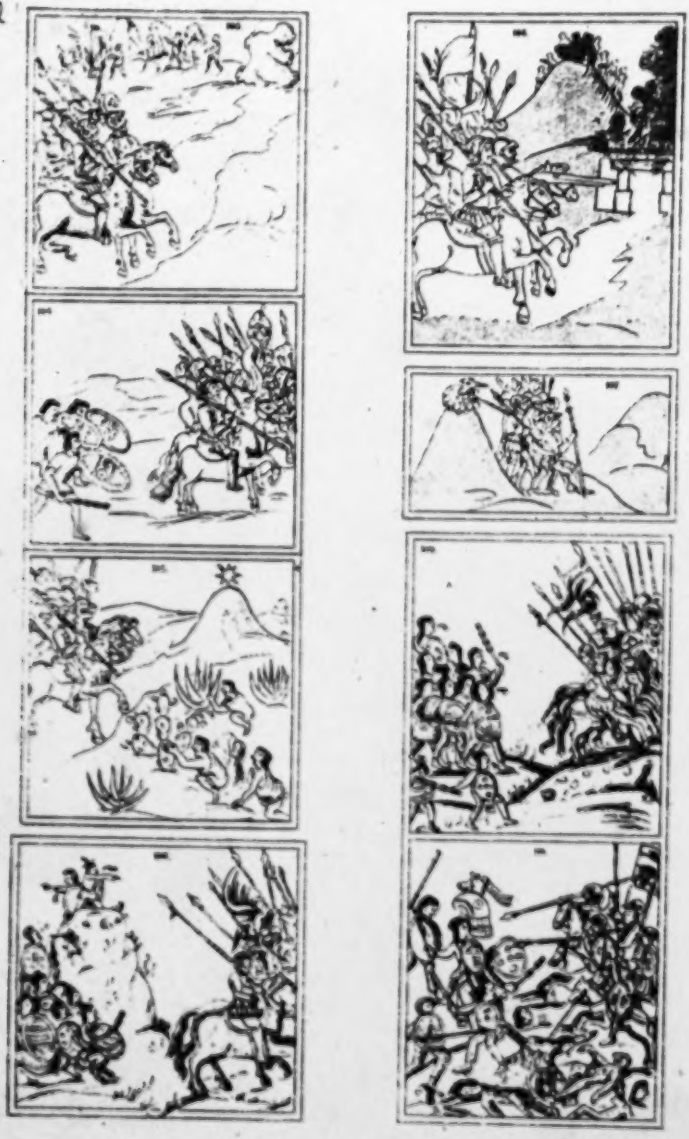

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

103. Spaniards reach Tepeacuilan (Chapter 26). 104. Mexican warriors pursue the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 105. Spaniards reach Cidaltepec (Chapter 26). 106. Spaniards reach Xoloc (Chapter 26). 107. Spaniards reach Axtaquemecan (Chapter 26). 108. Mexicans on mountain-top watch for the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 27). 109, 110. Battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27).

[p. 44 (P)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenuchtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenuchtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

[p. 44(Q)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

119. Spaniards attack Çoquiapan (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xolloco (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xolloco (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Uitzillan (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Uitzillan (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horseman spears a Tlatilulcan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Shown ones land from warboats (Chapter 31).

[p. 44(R)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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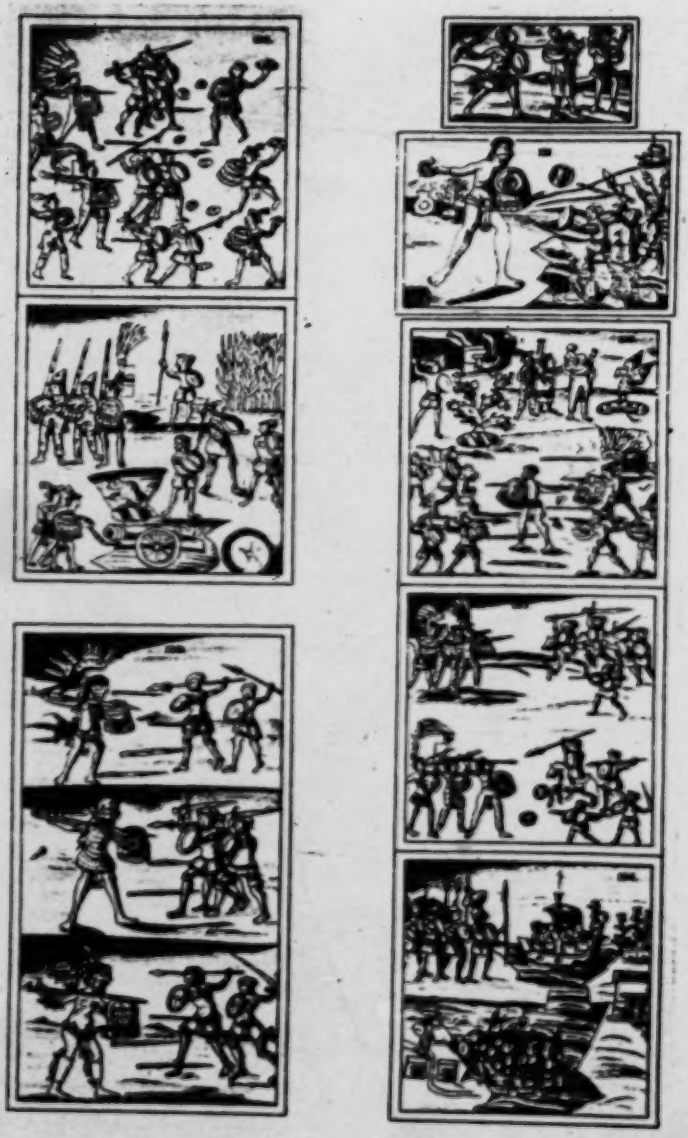

—After Paso y Troncoso

128. Spaniards are attacked on both sides (Chapter 31). 129. Mexican warriors toss the captured cannon into the water at Tetamapolco (Chapter 31). 130. Mexicans flee from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 32). 131. Explosion of Tzilacatzin (Chapter 32). 132-134. Battle about Ayauhcalitlan and Nonoalco (Chapter 32). 135-137. The warrior Tzilacatzin in three disguises (Chapter 32).

[p. 44 (5)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Pino y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Waitress of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacan arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a nobleman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacan is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p. 44(T)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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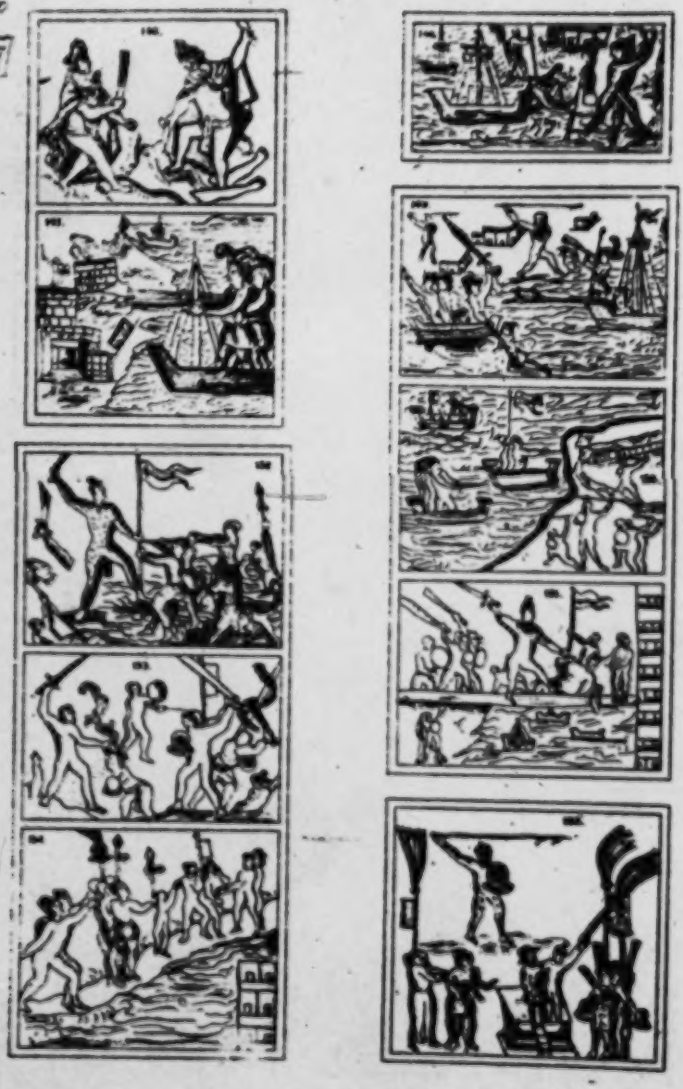

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

146. Quauhtemoc and Motecuzoma punish the traitors (Chapter 33). 147, 148. Spaniards arrive at Yucatecatan (Chapter 33, 34). 149-151. Mexicans disperse the Spaniards and capture some (Chapter 34). 152-155. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35).

[p. 44 (4)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

156, 157. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35). 158. Spaniards enter the market place at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36). 159. Spaniards fire the temple at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36). 160, 161. Battle in the market place at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36).

[p. 44(V)]

796 778 And when he had already taken shape, then they pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyaol*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and members [of men: it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was] [7] only of paper; it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife as the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

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[289]

Auh in je utlacat, njmã quijquapotonja, yoan quijchioa, ixtlã tlatlaan, yoan ioxnacochxiviti in tlapolli: auh in jcoxnacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoxiotl, teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxoxopiltectli, yoã yiacapiloa, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlatzantli, tlacanaoalli, tlatcicujlolli: no itech pilcain motenoa vitznaoxiotl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan tlcuxtli yoã icpac conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmã contoquijlia, inca anecuiutl, hiviti in tlachichioalli, mjvnjltic, achitzin vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmã je ic in tozpololli icuexocchtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuexpalli, yoã itzitzicazzilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmolotica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncã icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapachtli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujttli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli texoacxilqui, auh injquezpan quimamanticatca iacatecpaio: in jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauhcan tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapanquj, motenoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic quicentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex imacpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pilcatica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica sp.?*); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica sp.*; others are *Urtica dioica*, var. *angustifolia*; *Barrugadora mejicanda* Kunth; Chiay ("quemadora," "ortiga"); and *W. urentissima*— H. B. K. ("ortiga de clavos calientes"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 498, writes of *chichicaxtle*: "*la ortiga urentísima. . . . La especie principal es la* [illegible] *verde L. . . . En México, planta herbácea, semiarpadora, rasposa en las aceas ollitas y terminada*" (*Mirasoma dioicaceae, Engelmannia dioicaceae*). Also, "*Planta urticácea, llamada también ortiga, mal herbáceo, mala mosca, quemador, chichicaxtlla, chichicaxtle, en México.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicaxtli* (*Urtica urentissima* [Jacq.] Gilmb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *pues*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 502, has supplied *mesh*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the evidence is *amatl*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 68, *amatl-amatl* is given as "coarse, thickly fibered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bark's bast inside (*Artocarpus cornigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia convertida por la capa de libro de algunos árboles del género ficus. Sirvió de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las adornos, cortinas y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

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Twenty-third Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma and a great nobleman of Tlatilulco had died, and how [the Spaniards] had cast their bodies out before the gate — before the gate of the dwelling in which the Spaniards were.

And when four days had passed since all [the chieftains] had been buried from the [pyramid] temple, [the Spaniards] came out and cast forth [the bodies of] Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, who had died,[1] at the water's edge at a place called Teoyoc. For here was a carved stone image of a tortoise;[2] like a tortoise was the representation in stone.

[E32] 764 643

And when they were seen and recognized as being Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, they then took up Moctezuma in their arms and carried him there to a place called Copulco.[3] Thereupon they laid him on a pyre and then kindled and set fire to it. After this, the flames blazed up; it was as if they reared, as the fire formed tongues which rose like tassels of fire. And Moctezuma's body seemed to lie sizzling, and it smelled foul as it burned.

Inic ceuppoalli vnei Capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, yoan ce vei pilli tlatilulco mjcque: auh in innacaio qujvallaxque iquijaoaioc in calli in vncan catca Españoles.

Auh ie iuh navilhujtl neteucalhujloc in qujmoztlaçaco in Motecuçoma, yoan Itzquauhtzin, omjcque, intéo itocaiocan, Teoaioc: ca vncan catca in jxiptla aiotl, tetl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn aiotl ipan mjzeuhtica in tetl.

Auh in oittoque, in oiximachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin njman qujoalnapaloticujaque, qujoalhujcaque in vncan itocaiocan Copulco: njman ie ic qujquaquauhtlapachoa, njman ie ic contlemjna, contlequechia: njman ie ic cuecuetlaca in tletl, iuhqujn tztecujca, iuhqujn nenenepiloa tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlemjmjiavatl moquequetza, in tlenenepilli: auh in jnacaio Motecuçoma, iuhqujn tzontzoiocatoc, yoan tzoiaia injc tlatla.

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1. Rafael Garda Granados points out, in a personal communication, that "concerning the death of Moctezuma various versions exist, but all of them may be included in two large groups: those originating from the natives and those originating from the Spaniards. The former maintain that Moctezuma was killed by the Spaniards, and the latter that his death was due to being struck by a rock as he tried to calm his subjects. Among reports of indigenous origin we consider the opinions of Durán, *Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España*, II, 50 — '. . . *le hallaron muerto con sus vestidos a los pies y con cinco pedradas en el pecho*'; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Décimo Tercio Relación de la venida de los Españoles*, p. 12 — '. . . *en donde dicen que uno de ellos le dió una pedrada de la cual murió, aunque dicen sus vasallos que los mismos españoles le mataron, y por las partes hagan lo mataron los españoles*'; Acosta, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 598 — '*El rey Moctezuma hallaron los españoles muerto, y pensó, según dicen, de pedradas; y es su opinión que aquello mande la mataron los españoles con otras principales*'; Códice Ramírez, p. 199 — '. . . *dicen que le dieron unas pedradas, unos aunque se le dieron en la frente; hacen aquello mal porque había ya sido de cinco horas que estaba muerto, y no sabe quien dijo que porque no le dieron la herida le hallaron muerto unos españoles por la parte baja*'; Orozco y Berra, *Hist. Ant. y de la Conquista*, IV, 436 — '*Los cual fueron el tiro con que hicieron descuerdo, la cierta fué que Cortés mandó dar garrote a los reyes y señores que en su poder estaban*'; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, 51 — '*hallaron los españoles muerto a Moctezuma y al Gobernador de Tlatilulco — echados fuera de las casas reales. . . .*' Reports of Spanish origin are given by Díaz del Castillo, *Hist. Verdadera*, II, 83 — '. . . *y le dieron tres pedradas, una en la cabeza, otra en un brazo y otra en una pierna, y pensó que le regalaban se curase y comiese y le decían cabo ello palabras, no quiso, antes cuando no nos catamos miramos a donde que era muerto*'; López de Gómara, *Hist. de la Nueva España*, I, 301 — '*que de una (pedrada) que le acertó en las sienes le derribaron y murieron con pesquer cuadro*'; Cortés, *Cartas de Rel.*, I, 233 — '. . . *le dieron unas pedradas las cuyas en la cabeza, una grande, que de allí a tres días murió*'; Vázquez de Tapia, p. 30 — '. . . *tenía que no le dieron con una piedra, diciendo que hacía, cuando de la frente, que luego se desmayó muerto*'; Aguilar, *op. cit.*, p. 77 — '. . . *entre otras piedras que venían descendiendo, una redondo como una pelota, la cual dió a Moctezuma cuando estaba los dos montes, entre las sienes y cayó*'; *ibid.*, p. 73 — '*Moctezuma hacía en la cabeza, dió al dicho a cuya era . . . y en el aposento donde él estaba había otras muy grandes piedras derribadas con él, a los cuales el dicho Cortés con parecer de los capitanes mandó matar, sin dejar ninguno.*' Besides these, we have the opinions of Clavijero, which we consider the most reasonable (*Hist. Ant. de México*, II, 211) — '*Los historiadores mexicanos atribuyen su muerte a los españoles y los españoles a los mexicanos. — Yo no puedo creer que los españoles se decidieran a quitar la vida a un rey a quien debían tanto honor y de cuya muerte ellos podían esperar grandes males.*' Muñoz Camargo, *Hist. de Tlaxcala*, p. 234, says that he died baptized and that his godfathers were Cortés and Alvarado. — Chimalpahin (*op. cit.*, p. 191 — *quimolnique Españoles y Motecuçomatzin quijoxcuitlaxtlauque*, the Spaniards killed Moctezuma, strangling him), agrees with the reason used by Orozco y Berra.

2. The corresponding Spanish text has, for equal, *galápago* — fresh water tortoise. According to Ignacio Alcazar, *Apuntes sobre la antigua México-Tenochtitlan* (Tlaxcalaya, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1955), p. 56, it was where now is "*la esquina de Rondadillas con Tacuba.*"

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *en secreto.* — The version of this report, in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*, differs considerably from that of the Florentine Codex.

Cuen, *op. cit.*, identifies Copulco (Copulco) with a barrio adjacent to Tlatilulco, bounded now N. by Calle de Mosquera, E., Gabriel Leyva, S., Montezuma, and W., Lerdo (formerly a canal).

Thirty-first Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards came with the brigantines and took after those who were in boats in order to join battle with them, and then emerged and came to arrive near all the houses.

And when they had readied [the guns], thereupon they fired upon the wall. And the wall then gave way and parted from behind. And the second time [the shot] struck, the wall then fell to the ground destroyed; it burst open, pierced through. Then likewise the road appeared clear [of men]. And the chieftains who were by the wall then dispersed. All fled from there, escaping in terror. And all the various men [allied to the Spaniards] then quickly advanced filling each canal. Then they speedily leveled them with stones, adobes, and some logs so that they were filled.

And after the canals had been filled, then came the horse[men], perhaps ten of them. They rode in a circle; they came wheeling about, twisting and circling. [And] once again horse[men] came, following after the others. And a number of Tlatilulcans who had quickly entered the palace which had been the house of Moctezuma then emerged in terror, and came up against the horse[men]. One [of them] lanced a Tlatilulcan. And though he had speared him, yet he took hold firmly of the iron lance. Then his companions went up to tear it from [the rider's] hands, threw him down upon his back, and upset him. And when he had fallen tumbled to the earth, they hit him repeatedly, they struck him on the back of the head. He died there.

Thereupon the Spaniards assembled and set out together. Then they reached Quauhquiyauac (the Eagle Gate). And they took with them the lombard gun and the equipment which went with it. They placed it at the Eagle Gate. (And for this reason is it called the Eagle Gate, that there stood an eagle carved in stone, a good man's height tall — so high — and flanking it stood, on one side, an ocelot, and on [the other] a wolf, likewise hewn of stone [)].

Injc ompoalli ommatlacotli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles ic valictiaque in vergantines, quijnvaltocaque in acaltica nenca in quijnnamijquijo: njmã ic valquijzque itech acico in jtquijch calli. 726

Auh in ocnechichiuhque: njmã ic ic quivalmotla in tenamjtl: auh in [illegible]jtl, njmã tzatzaian, cujtlazeliuh. Auh inic oppa vetz: njmã tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl, vevelocac, vmpet, oncoion: njman no iuhquin chipacpul moquetz vtli. Auh in tlacavã in tenantitlan onoca, njmã ic valxitinque, valnetlaloio, nemauhcaquijxtilo. Auh in jtquijch nepapan tlacatl: njman iciuhca contetentivi in acalotli, njman iciuhca conjxmana tetica, xantica yoan cequj quavitl injc tlaatzopque.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ommatzop acalotli: njman ic ic valeoa in cavallome, aço matlacteme, ontlaiavaloco, ontlamalacachoco, ommocovitzoco, ommotevilacachoco: ic no ceppa centlamantli valevaque in cavallome, quijnvalcujtlapãvitiaque. Auh cequjntin tlatiluica talactivetzque in tecpan catca in jchan motecuçoma: njman ic valmauhcaquiçaia, quimonmonamjctico in cavallostin: oc quijxilico in tlatilulca. Auh in oquixilico, oc vel can in jtepuztopil: njman quimacujlito in jcnjvan, icujtlapan quijoalmaiauhque, quivaltzineuhque: auh in otlalpan vetzico mec quivivizequj, concuercochvivitecque, oncan ommjc.

Niman ic ic quivalcentlaça, oakemolinj in Españoles: njmã ic onacico in quauhquijiavac. Auh in tomacac tlequjquijtli quivicativi, intlaquj ietiuh, contecaque in quauhquijiavac. (Auh injc motenoa quauhquijiacac, ca vncan icaca in quauhtli, tetl in tlaxixintli, vel onnequetzalli injc quauhtic, inic vecapan: auh quijtzatzacutimanj, in centlapal icaca ocsuel: auh in centlapal icaia cujtlachtli, çanno tetl in tlaxintli. Auh in ic iuhquj in vevei tiacavan, oc nõ [351] [532]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[a]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[b]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[c]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[d]

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[a] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[b] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[c] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266). 127 231 312

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important. 312

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest. 127 212

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán. 171 532

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly 103 212

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

000 things, and not counting in this the ingots and slabs of
[326] gold, and the gold in grains from the mines. We began to melt it down with the help of the Indian goldsmiths, who were, as I have said, natives of Azcapotzalco and they made broad bars of it, each bar measuring three fingers of the hand across. When it was already melted and made into bars, they brought another present separately which the Grand Montezuma had said that he would give, and it was a wonderful thing to behold the wealth of gold and the richness of the other jewels that were brought, for some of the Chalchihuites were so fine that among these Caciques they were worth a vast quantity of gold. The three blow guns with their pellet moulds, and their cover-
[532] ings of jewels and pearls, and pictures in feathers of little birds covered with pearlshell and other birds, all were of great value. I will not speak of the plumes and feathers and other rich things for I shall never finish calling them to mind.

Let me say that all the gold I have spoken about was marked with an iron stamp, which had been made by order of Cortés and the King's Officers, who had been appointed by Cortés with the consent of all of us and in the name of His Majesty until he should give other instructions. At that time these were Gonzalo Mejía, who was treasurer, and Alonzo Dávila who was accountant, and the stamp was the royal arms like those on a real[1] and the size of a testoon.[2] The mark was not put on the rich jewels which it did not seem to us should be taken to pieces.

For weighing all these bars of gold and silver, and the jewels which were not taken to pieces, we had neither marked weights nor scales, and it seemed to Cortés and to

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[1] Real, a small silver coin.

[2] "Toston de a quatro," a half peso = four reals.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

646 the critical period of Cortés' first stay at Tenuchtitlan, the twenty "speakers" held daily meetings at the official house.[185]

In a society based upon kin we cannot expect a clear division of the powers of government, particularly as there were no written laws,[186] and custom alone ruled. The functions of the ancient Mexican council were not properly legislative, but they were rather *directive* and *judicial* combined. One of its first duties was, however, to maintain harmony among the kins.

The twenty independent social units composing the Mexican tribe, while bound together by the necessity of mutual aid to secure territorial independence, could not be expected always to live in peace with one another. Difficulties would necessarily arise between kin and kin, and to prevent such disputes from leading to actual warfare,[187] the council as a body of *official arbitrators* was needed.

618 According to the rules of kinship, the calpulli was not only
646 bound to avenge any wrongs suffered by one of its members, but
695 it was also responsible for the offences committed by the kinfolk towards any outsider.[188] Hence theft committed outside of the

Durán (cap. X, p. 85. XI. pp. 107, 108, 109, XIV, pp. 117, 123, XVI, p. 132, XVIII, p. 156), etc., etc. We forbear further quotations, since they would be too numerous. All go to prove that the council was frequently called together between the times of regular meeting. Quotations from *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*") are useless, since they are very numerous and agree with those of Durán in the main. The fact of irregular meetings of the council having been called during the conquest, is further proven by *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. III. p. 7). and *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XIV, p. 383).

[185] *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, Vol. II, cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la continua estaban en su compañia veinte grande señores y consejeros y capitanes." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á negociar y el acato que el tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces."

[186] A number of paintings are mentioned as representing the customs and manners of the natives. Specimens of these are found in *Codex Mendoza*, Lam., 58 to 72 inclusive. But none of these contained, or could contain or express, anything like a *law*. Compare, on Mexican paintings in general and their value, "*On the Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America*," in Vol. 27 of "*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*." Señor *Orozco y Berra* ("*Códice Mendoziano,– Ensayo de descifracion geroglífica*," beginning in No. 3, of Vol. I, "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*") has commenced a publication which can be expected to shed much light on such picture-leaves, and the true position which they held among the ancient Mexicans.

[187] Conflicts between the inhabitants of different "barrios" during festive turnouts and religious gatherings could not always be prevented.

[188] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 76 and 77). *Davila-Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*," Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 85). The custom is general among other tribes and Mr. Morgan has adverted to it among the Maya of Yucatan and the Peruvians. It would be unnecessary display to produce further evidence: the remarkably clear statements of Mr. Morgan fully "cover the case."

532
x787
[791]

— *from Paso y Troncoso*

1. Ocuilinco and Cipactonal (Chapter 1). 2-5. One Cuahtl and following signs (Chapter 2). 6. One Deer (Chapter 3). 7. Mother with child (Chapter 3). 8, 9. Two Rabbits: dromedarium and dromicaria (Chapters 4, 9).

[p. 126 d]

532
787

[273]

— After Paso y Troncoso

10-13. Two Rabbit: drunkenness and drunkards (Chapters 4, 5). 14, 15. One Flower: musicians, entertainers, entertainers (Chapter 7).

[p. 126 e]

532
787
[534]

[534]

[851]

— After Pane y Tresguerras

16-20. One Flower: musicians, entertainers, embroiderers (Chapter 7). 21. Seven Rain (Chapter 8). 22, 23. Eight Flower and bathing of child (Chapter 8).

[p. 126 f]

532
X787

— After Paso y Troncoso

24. Eight Flower: bathing of child (Chapter 9). 25-31. One Death and associated good and ill fortune (Chapter 9).

[p. 126 g]

17: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590)4957 NU7 Astec NU7

532
x 787

— After Paso y Troncoso

32. Eight Water (Chapter 10; the text correctly refers to Eight Rain). 33, 34. Nine Ocelot and bathing of child (Chapter 10). 35, 36. Ten Eagle and bathing of child (Chapter 10). 37. One Rain (Chapter 11). 38. Descent of the "Goddesses" (Chapter 11). 39. Imprisoned evildoers (Chapter 11). 40. Bathing of child (Three Crocodile, Chapter 11).

[p. 126 b]

532
A787

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

41. Bathing of child (Three Crocodile; Chapter 11). 42-46. Four Wind and associated scenes (Chapter 12). 47. Macuilvuchitl (Chapter 13). 48. Seven Serpent (Chapter 13).

[p. 126 i]

532
x787

—After Paso y Troncoso

49-51. Eight Death and Nine Dear, and birthing of child (Chapter 13). 52. Ten Rabbit (Chapter 14). 53-55. One Grass and its miseries (Chapter 15).

[p.126 j]

532
x787

[76]

[482]

[776]

— After Paso y Troncoso

56. Twelve Houses, Thirteen Lizard, and Ten Crocodile (Chapter 15). 57. Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 17). 58, 59. Merchants (Chapter 18). 60, 61. Three Deer and bathing of child (Chapter 19). 62. Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 20).

[p. 126 k]

532
x787

—After Pano y Troncoso

63. Women and child (Chapter 20). 64. Eleven Eagle and Twelve Vulture (Chapter 20). 65. One Dog (Chapter 25). 66. One House (Chapter 27). 67, 68. Women and child; man brewing (Chapter 28). 69, 70. One House and following day signs (Chapter 28).

[p. 126 l]

532
X787

[776]

—After Paso y Troncoso

71, 72. One water and bathing of child (Chapter 30). 73. [Eleven] Rain (Chapter 30). 74. One Wind and Quetzalcoatl (Chapter 31). 75, 76. Thieves (Chapter 32). 77. One Eagle (Chapter 33).

[p.126 m]

532
A787
[776]

— *Ajor Pare y Tezozomoc*

78-82. Dances of the "Goddesses" and secondary ceremonies (Chapter 33). 83-85. Visit to the recently delivered mother (Chapter 35).

[p. 126 m]

532
K787

— After Pano y Troncoso

86-91. Feast in honor of a new-born child (Chapter 37). 92. Two Eagle and following day signs (Chapter 37). 93. One Rabbit's good fortunes (Chapter 38).

[p. 126 0]

17: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

532
x787

[241]

[415]

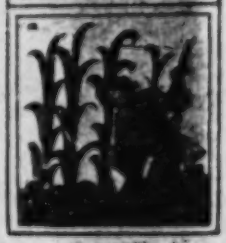

94-101. One Rabbit's good fortune (Chapter 38).

— Ajaw Pizo y Tecuxcuz

[p. 126 p]

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M787

—After Pino y Tovar

1. The howling beast (Chapter 1). 2. The night owl (Chapter 3). 3. The owl (Chapter 4). 4. The frog (Chapter 10). 5. The screaming mouse (Chapter 11). 6. Contemplation (Chapter 13). 7. The corpse in wrappings for the dead (Chapter 13). 8. Placing maize in the cooking pot (Appendix, Chapter 4). 9. The elder brother Acolnhua before the younger (Appendix, Chapter 6).

[p. 126 v]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. 532 In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars 533 534 quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom 535 persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for [177 they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. 797] The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

776 Quetzaltepetl, Chalchiuitl yeme, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepictoni].

They rattled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spatted papers.

[415] And a green spatted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepictoni] they set this, which they called the tecpanxiu cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepictoni] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictoni were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoni, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoni].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
● 533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young women, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoni [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoni figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused or he] fashioned the Tepictoni thereupon gathered to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people not drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

papaxaxapetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yeme in ipan quetzaltepetl tepetl in quizcuacuac in quijiquin.

Auh in quijiquiqui, in quimixiquilotiuia in tepqe, qen tenelli, quijolocatlaliuia, quijolocatlachichiuia, tlacatlachichiuia:

quijolocatiuia xiuitzolli, auh in quijoxiuhlotiuia xiuctli: in quemanj yuelanqui in quimixiquilotiuia, in quijiquiqui qen no iuhqui yeje quijochichiuia.

Auh yeuac quijchiuia, amatecuitl, colchachapetzcia, colchipiuia, quijoquequetzcia:

auh in ocqui amatecuitl, tlaolchipiqui, tlaolchachapetzcalli, mecatitech quijqipilouia, mecatitech quijoquechilpiuia, quijoquechqalouia, yeujqua acoc, ic tlacuacuac in tepictoc:

hiquacacoc papaqualacoc, papatlacoc, amapilquauitl, necoc, nemoc, necocampa tlatlalactiuac, tetzontectiuac, ya iuch acoc tecuitl.

Auh milacaiouli, tlaiztlapanolli, tlaiztlacatli: yuiquac tamanca, chalchihuiacalli ipan peujia, vctli vuca ca, vctli ic tamanca.

Auh qen iehoan in tlamacazque, ya iztequioh, in machiceque cuica, ya quijochichiuia, in quintlalaiaia: aiac qen moiocuiaia, in calla in quijochichiuia.

Auh macujtica in quintlallujaia, nijtoa: quiamolcaoltiaia in tlamacazque:

ya o ic cualque tepictoc, ajmoo ic ic quiamoyoia, quiacuicaia:

in ceioual xapa in quintlamanjlia, tamalolalli in quimanaia, quimanaia yeujqui, in tlamacazque, in tepicuica:

no xapa in quintlamacaia ceioual, yeuac quintlapichiliuia,

quimaquiquixiliuia tecuitl in quijopichiliuia, yeuac vilacapiztli, cocouiztli,

vilacapitzuia, qen telpopochti, papaquiqui, hacuiaij, tlahiuiaiaij, tecomaltiaiaij, cocolaqui, no tlamacaia.

Auh ya ontlavic ajmoo quimonicia ya tepictoc, quiquauhcotoma, quiquauhcuij, quiquauhchiucatoua, qenqua quiacomolohua, cuauhcuij, in tepictonalli, quiququi ya calaouac ya vuqua ocuqua, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiquiqui, ajmoo ic ic calaquiqui ya ichacamanalhoua, ya jiuacoua, vecua ocupia, ocupiaque:

auh in ic iuamiuh, in ic teoiuac ajmoo ic ic tlacuaia, mochimamaculiliu in vecuiaca, ya ic chicuacque, ya ochichi-

117. Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Snow cloud) are mountain-gods in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*iztac tamalli*), in the Spanish edition; Seler renders it *ungesäuertes Brot der Totelichnahme* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de goma de ule, o de otra materia pegajosa llamadas amatecuitl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 188).

The fifth month they called Toxcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Texcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoa, y por otro nombre Texcatlipoca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

796 X [305] 776 [533]

Chapter 5
Toxcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Texcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

Cap. 5.
Toxcatl

1	A	KL	Toxcatl	A	23
2	b		Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas	b	24
3	c		las fiestas, era como pascua, y cayа	c	25
4	d		cerca de la pascua de resurrection	d	26
5	e		pocos dias despues: este mancebo	e	27
6	f		criado, como esta dicho era muy bien	f	28
7	g		dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos:	g	29
8	A		tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.	A	30
9	b		Quando en esta fiesta matauã al	b	1[1]
10	c		mãcebo que estaua criado para esto:	c	2
11	d		luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de	d	3
12	e		morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo	e	4
13	f		el pueblo muy atauiado con flores en	f	5
14	g		la mano, y con personas que le acõpa-	g	6
15	A		ñauan saludaua a los que topaua graci-	A	7
16	b		osamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel	b	8
17	c		la ymagẽ de Texcatlipuca: y se pros-	c	9
18	d		trauã delante del, y le adorauan donde	d	10
19	e		qujera que le topauan.	e	11
20	f		Viente dias antes que llegasse esta	f	12[2]

fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dispuestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros atauijos mas galanes.

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompañauanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de morir: lleuauanle a un cu, o oratorio que llamauã tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse alli en vn lugar que

[833] [302] [346]

1. Marginal variation: Mixtec he dice mucj.

2. Marginal variation: Mixtl, dichiñi auja Pan.

x 796
[346]
533

After many ceremonies, at last they slew captives on the Pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, and also many slaves. And, having slain one, they sounded musical instruments. And on finishing [with one], they seized another, to slay him. And, on killing him, they again sounded [musical instruments]. Thus they did to each one until finishing them [all]. On ceasing to slay these unhappy ones, they started to dance and to sing, to eat and to drink, and thus the feast ended.

Despues de muchas cerimonjas: finalmente mataua capciuos, en el cu, de Vitzilobuchtli, y tambien muchos esclauos y en matando a vno tocauan los instrumētos musicales, y en cessando tomauan otro para matarle, y en matandole tocaua otravez; ansi hazian a cada vno, hasta acabarlos: acabando de matar estos tristes, començauan a baylar, y a cantar, a comer y a beuer, y ansi se acabaua la fiesta.

796 Yet again an eagle[-costumed warrior] came out, doing just as had been done. All four [acted as if] fighting. They raised their shields and war clubs [as offerings] to the sun.

Now no longer did they delay, by turning back. When they came out, they came out dancing, they went in order. As if lying down on the ground, as if crawling along, flat on the ground, they went looking from side to side; they went up leaping and fighting.

And thereafter the Youallauan came forth, garbed like Totec; only he came last, after the others, behind the four great eagle and ocelot [warriors]; they lifted up their shields and war clubs, offering them and dedicating them to the sun.

Then all the imperanators, the proxies, of all the gods[15] emerged in order, ahead of all. They were called the lieutenants, the delegates, the images.

Similarly, they proceeded; they came in order; they came together. All came down. They came hence, from Iopico, from the very top of the [pyramid] Temple of Iopitli.

And when they had come down below, on the ground, on the earth, they gathered around the circular, flat, sacrificial stone; they seated themselves according to rank on large chairs called *quecholicpalli*.

And when they were seated, when they were arranged according to their importance, again the first in order was the chief priest, the Youallauan;[16] because it was his right, his office, that he should slay, offer as sacrifice, [that] with his hands he should destroy—with his hands hack open each of the captives destined for sacrifice.

[533 534 198] When this was done, then trumpets were sounded; conch shells, large sea shells, were blown; men put their fingers in their mouths and whistled, and there was singing. With singing of songs and blowing of trumpets, they arrived. The Cozcateca placed themselves in order, their shoulders decked with feather banners, and they encircled the offering-stone.

One [of the captors] quickly seized a captive. The captor, he who owned the captive, seized him by the head to bring him to the offering-stone.

[415 275] When he had brought him there, he offered him wine;[17] and the captive raised the wine four times

Oc no cepa centeĺ oalquiça, in quauhtli, çan le muchiuj in quichioaia, oallachecoaia in nauijtzi: conjauijlaia yn inchimal, yn jmaacquauh itl tonatiuh:

aocmo oalocacoaia, ynic oaltzinilotia, çan njman ic oalquiztimanca, mitotiuijtze, momamantiuj: iuhquin tlalli ixco motetecatiuj, iuhquin tlaltitech ôujujh, mocacanauhtiuj, nanacaztlachixtiuj, haacocholotiuj, tlatlaiecotiuj.

Auh in ie iuhquj njman oalquiça, yioallaoan, totec ipan quiztiujtz, ça oallatoquijlia, ça oallatzacujtiuh, ça oallacujtlapiloca, ça quinoalcentzacujtiuh in nauijtin, vencinti in quaquauhti, yn ococlo, ça oalmaçoa, oalmaana, conjauijlia yn inchimal yn jmaquauh in tonatiuh:

njman ie ic oalquiça oalmoiacatia, oalmotecpana, yn ixquichtin teixiptlaoan, yn jnpatiloean in ixquichtin teteu: motocaiotiaia tepatiuhti, tepatilloean, teixiptlati:

çan ie no yuj in ujh motecpantiuj, cemonotiuj, ynic oaltemo: vmpa oalpena in iopico, vel icpac in teucalli iopitli.

Auh yn oacico tlatzintla, in tlalchi, in tlaltitech: njman quijiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn oconiaoaloque, motlatlalia tecpantoque, ypan veuey icpalli, itoca quecholicpalli.

Auh ynjc onoque, ynjc tecpantoque, eneteiacantica, ie no cuele teiacantica, tlaiacatitica, in iooallaoa: ichica ca itequjuh, yneixcauj̃l catca, in tlamictiz, in tetlatlatiz, ymac polioaz, ymac xamanizq̃ yn ixquich quauhtecatl:

in ie iuhquj njman tlapitzalo, tecciztli mopitza, quijquijztli, mapipitzoa, yoan cujco: cujcapan tlapitzalpan, in oalmoiacatia: motecpana in cozcateca, quijquequechpanotiuj, zztapanjtl, quijiaoaloa in temalacatl.

Ce cantiquiça in malli, icpac cantiuh in tlamanj, in male, ynic qujujca temalacac:

yn ocxitique, quimaca vetli: auh yn vetli nappa coniavilia in malli: auh çaepan conj piztica:

15. Durán, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff., names Uitzilopochtli, Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, Tlaloc, and Xiuhtecuhtli.
16. Corresponding Spanish speaker "el principal sacerdote, de aquella forma que se llamaba indiano."
17. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 68) says the captor raised the wine; Sahagún says the prisoner.

a bulbous forehead; not of swollen eyelids, nor enlarged ones; not with swollen cheeks; not of disfigured eyes or cheeks, nor with swollen face; not with cleft chin; not with a gross face, nor a downcast one; not flat-nosed nor with wide nostrils, nor with an arched, Roman nose nor a bulbous nose, nor bent nor twisted nor crooked—but his nose should be well-placed, straight; not thick-lipped nor gross- nor big-lipped, nor with bowl-like ones, nor enlarged; neither one who stammered, nor [one who talked] as if his tongue were pierced for a ring; nor one with welts on his tongue; nor one who spoke a barbarous language, or spoke thickly, or lisped, or was dumb; nor buck-toothed, nor large-toothed or fang-toothed, nor of yellowed teeth, nor darkened, nor decayed—but his teeth were like seashells, well arrayed in order; his teeth were not shaped like bowls. Neither had he scarred eyes, nor poor vision,[4] nor squinting eyes, nor scarified; not blinded, nor of small, seedlike eyes, nor angry-eyed, nor sunken, nor hollow, nor cuplike, nor stupid-looking, nor gouged, pierced, or wounded; nor had he a scarred neck, [like one which hath been] choked, nor one with lacerations, nor with double chin, nor with pocks on the neck. Not with protruding or long ears, nor with torpid neck, nor hunch-backed,[5] nor stiff-necked, nor with neck elongated, much elongated, nor twisted, nor kinked; neither with unduly long hands, nor lacking one hand, nor wanting both hands, nor fat-fingered; not emaciated, nor fat, nor big-bellied, nor of prominent, hatchet-shaped navel, nor of wrinkled stomach, nor shrunken stomach; not cringing; not of hatchet-shaped buttocks; nor of flabby buttocks or thighs.

He who was thus, without flaw, who had no [bodily] defects, who had no blemishes, no moles, who had no lacerations or wrinkles on his body, they then looked well that he be taught to blow the flute; that he might pipe and play his flute well; and that with it he hold his flowers and his smoking tube and blow and suck upon it, and smell [the flowers].

Thus he went bearing [his flute], his flowers, and his smoking tube[6] together as he walked through the streets.

And while yet he lived and was cared for in the house of the guardian, before he appeared [before the people], care was taken that he might be prudent

campoponaxtic, amo ixujujlaxtic, amo canujujlaxtic, amo ixpopotztic, amo no camachaloacaltic, amo ixmetlapiltic, amo ixpechtic, amo iacapatztic, amo iacacocoiactic, amo iacaxxxacaltic, amo iacacaxtic, amo iacachittoltic, amo iacaujttoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaxtic, amo tenxipaltotomaonac, amo texipaltotomac, texipaltotomactic, amo iacachittoltic, amo iacaujttoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaxtic, amo tenxipalcaiultic, amo popoloc, amo tentzitzipi, amo tentzitzipitlatoa, amo tenmjmjcquj, amo tlanpantic, amo tlancujcujtztic, amo coatlane, amo tlancocoztic, amo tlanxoiauhquj, amo tlanpalanquj: iuhqujn tecciztli itlan, vel onoc vipantoc, amo tlancaxtic, amo no ixtitiquijltic, amo ixnacatic, amo ixujtzaltic, amo itztzitziquijltic, amo ixpopoiontic, amo ixpipiltic, ixpipicilltic, ixcocoçaltic, amo ixcocomoltic, amo ixatlacomoltic, amo ixcacaxtic, amo ixtotolontic, amo ixtotomatic, amo itztzatzapitztic, amo itztzatzamoltic, amo ixtacaltic, amo quechtitiquijltic, quechmotzoltic, quetztzitziquijltic, quechnacatic quechxixiqujpiltic, amo no nacazpatlactic, amo no nacazvilaxtic, amo quechtiltic, amo quechtepotzotic, amo quechacquj, amo quechujiac, amo quechujtlatztic, amo quechnecujltic, amo quechnenetic: amo maviujtlatztic, amo matzicoltic, amo macuecuetzin, amo mapiltotomactic, amo itiujlaxtic, amo cujtlatoltic, amo cujtlapetztic, amo xicquizquj, amo xictopoltic, amo xiccuetio, amo ittitzotzoltic, amo cujtlapechtic, amo tzintopoltic, amo tzincuecuexactic, tzintamalcuecuexac.

Jn aquin iuhquj y, atle itlacauhca, atle yiaioca, atle ytlaciuhcã, atle ytlaciuizço, atle ytech ca etzotzocatl, xitomaciuiztli: njnã cenca necujtlaujlo, inic vel momachtiz, yn tlapitzaz: ynic vel qujpitzaz, yujlacapitz: yoan inic vel muchi ipan qujtzitzquiz, yzochiuh, yoan yicuh, ipan tlapitztiaz, tlachichintiaz, tlanecutiaz:

iuhqujn cenilalli mantiuh yn jzochiuh, yn jyicuh, yn iquac vtli qujtocaia.

Auh in çan oc nemj, in çan oc ospaoalo, yn ichan calpixquj, yn aiamo ixneci, cenca vel necujtlaujloia,

4. See Sandoval (op. cit.); a number of possible variants are suggested.
5. Tepetzintlan is represented in pictorial writings as a humpbacked. Cf. also Molina (op. cit.), Spanish-Nahuatl section, *corcobado*.
6. "*Cebo o cañuto de gobernarse, cuanto*" (Ibid.); "*cañuto de humo*" in Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text.

X 796 535 cords, called flower cords, and thus went stretched out in line. They went with wormwood flowers[10] placed upon their heads.

[533] And they went singing, crying out loudly, singing in a very high treble. As the *cenzontli* bird takes [its song, so was] their song. Like a bell their voices [rang out].

The old men led [the singing women]; they loosed the song and went directing them—the men and elders of the tribal temple. And they were named keepers of the god[dess].

And [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl went in the midst of them. Before her went a brilliant feather ornament which an old man carried in his arms. And this [ornament] was called Uixtociuatl's brilliant plumage.[11]

And for [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was sung the women's song every day until all ten days had been reached. And when the tenth day had come to pass, that night she began her vigil. They sang [and danced] all night. At no time did they rest; they passed the night sleepless. Thus they passed the night in vigil.

And as [the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl danced, the old women seized her and held her as they made her dance.

Likewise the captives danced all the night—those who would come first, who would die [first], as her fundament; those whom they would make her fundament.

X 796 792 And when dawn broke, when verily the feast day [came], then were arrayed the priests who would slay the victims. These were called Uixtoti. They were adorned and painted like Uixtotin; they were painted with the face painting of Uixtotin. They carried their paper neck rosettes and their paper shoulder rosettes. And their [head] insignia were made [like] the claws of eagles, [made] of quetzal head feathers and eagle down.

X 796 293 And the legs of the eagle were also made of eagle down. These insignia [were supported] upon wooden head rests with holes [in the head rests, in which the insignia were inserted]. Here lay the insignia, tied [across the back], bound around the stomach with cotton bands, tied firmly and tightly. And their cords were bands, narrow woven bands.

And all the common folk who looked on, all car-

motitilinjtiuj: ym jhiztauhiazochiuh, ym icpac contecatiuj:

yoan cujcatiuj, cenca tzatzi, cenca tlapiztzaoa: iuhquin tzontli cana incujc: iuhquj in coiolli intoxquj:

qujniacana in ueuetque, cuicatlaça qujncujcatlaxilitiuj, in calpuleque, in calpulueuetque: yoan motocaiotia teuoaque.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, tlanepantla icatiuh, ce petlacotl qujiacana, ce tlacatl veue in qujnapalou: auh ynjn mitoaia vixtopetlacotl.

Auh in iehoatl vixtocioatl, momuztlae in qujcioapancujcatiaia, yn ixqujchica matlaqujlhujtl onaci: auh yn oacito matlaqujlhujtl, teutlacpa im peoa qujtoçauja, qujcujcatia iuh ceioual, aquenman cochi, acochiztli qujmochioaltia, iuh vetzi in ioalli.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, mitotia caana, caantinenuj yn ylamatque in qujtotia:

no iuh ceioual in mjtotia mamalti, in iacatiazque mjquizque, in iuhquj ypepechoan iezque, in qujnmopepechtizque.

Auh yn otlathujc, yn iquac ie vel ilhujtl, mu muchichioa in tlamacazque, in tlamictizque: in iehoan y, motocaiotiaia Vixtoti, movixtochichioa, moujxtoychioa, intlatlaquechpaiouh, yoan ymaamacuexpal: auh yn jntlauiz, quaviztitl muchioa, quetzaltzontecomaio quãmolocio.

Auh in quauhtli imetz muchioa, no quãmolocio, ynjn tlaviztli cãcacazo, cõcocoio, yn vncã onmana tlauiztli, ic maapana, ic moxixillancujtlalpia, ic motetevilpia, ic mocacatzilpia: auh yn jmecaio, yn jmemecaio, tlazochtli, tlazochpitzactli.

Auh in jaqujch tlacatl macoualli, in tlatlatta, mu-

[137] 13. Cf. p. 63, n. 27. Simeon (op. cit.) defines it as *ornamento lacinioso*; see, further, note 15, below. Molina (op. cit.) has "Tzontepaxtl. *ornamento o sombrero pereado*"; Sahagún (loc. cit.) has the same. See also Rubrecht ed., Vol. III, p. 252.

14. "*Un plumage muy hermoso, hecho a manera de manojo de cruz*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish).

*796 805 wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

*796 When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sang after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained [533] sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the lead- [552] ing warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

*796 Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers. 536 And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also 793 they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their fore- [302] heads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[8] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their [301] heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Carophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

*796 And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, 793 which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, [534] which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

[534] And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonquiçaia,

çã qujtoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiaoalotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh ioatzinco miquiz in Xilonen: ceiocal in cioapan cujcoia, toçoosia, muchi tlacatl iztoçoosia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, queoaia quevilliaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel izqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan motzaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpactochiuh, inxonochicozquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ichol yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonnelooa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in ichoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ea in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa iteputzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, tecciztli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

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8. *Bixa orellana L.*, the annatto shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llaman coronadelchiol, son semejantes y de buen olor*" (Rodondo ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tagetes, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 99, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 95, n. 2), writing of the *tlamamaquac ocuicuicac* (drumming priests), says "The player is called the *teponaqui*, and the drum, *teponazcli*. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonaxcua ovalbeus* Bonpl. this drum has two tones; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of chicle." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tempo on the teponaz (corresponding Spanish text).

X 796 and hung rows of all the varied flowers, the most beautiful flowers, the threaded ones.

778 Then flowers were offered to all the rest of the gods, to the images of the gods, [or] devils. They were adorned with flowers; they were girt with [garlands of] them; flowers were placed upon their heads, there in the temples.

Thereupon all together, in all the houses, the homes of the majordomos, the homes of the great noblemen, and the houses of the youths, they laid flowers out [before the idols]. And they spread them out in the homes of each and all.

X 796 And afterwards, when each had been ornamented, then there were feasting and drinking. Everywhere,
535 everyone ate; all were in a festive mood.

And when midday came, then all sang and danced —verily, they drew up all the youths; the masters and the leaders of the young men, the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí.[9] Here in the god's courtyard there was dancing—in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli.

[701] And those who led [the dance] were the fearless warriors, the great warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who were not laggards in war; who turned [the enemy] back, [whose exploits] wheeled them hence.

[548] Also the women danced—not the daughters [of onlookers, but] courtesans, harlots—who went between [pairs of the men], they were [all] stretched in a row, taken by the hand or grasped about the waist. They moved all in line they went winding to and fro, nowhere breaking the line, at no time losing hands. They went in orderly procession.

●[533] And the singers, who sang for them, who beat drums for them, who beat the ground drums, were quite apart [from the dancers]—to one side; they were upon a [counterfeit] house, upon the round
[778] altar [or pyramid].[4] And the altar was completely round, round like a shield, like a millstone. And here, upon this, stood [the musicians].

And thus they danced: they did not leap, nor make great movements; they did not make dance gestures; they did not move throwing themselves about, nor dance making arm-movements, nor go bending their

nepapan uchitl, in tlaçouchitl, in manquj, in tlamuetli:

njman ie ic tetuchimaco, cenvetzi in ixqujchtin teten, yn iniixiptlaoan teten, tlatlacateculo, tetuchitilo, tetuchiapano, teicpacuchitilo, in vncan in tetenpan:

njman ie ic cenvetzi in noujan calpan, in calpixque inchan, in venei pipilti inchan: yoan in tetelpuchcali, quicentzacutimanj, quicentzacutimomana in teckachan.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn otecencaoaloc mec tlatlaquale, haztlios: noujan tlatlaqualo, yilhujtlamacho.

Auh yn eacic nepantla tonatiuh mec cujcoianolo, vel iuqujch quicencaoa, in telpuchtli, in teachcaoan, in telpuchiaque, in tequjoaque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in teuitoalco, yn itoalco Vitzilopochtli.

Auh in teiacana, ichoantin in quaquachicti, in venei tiacaui yn iuhquj cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mitzacujlia iaoc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoanj.

No ichoantin in cioa mjtotiaia, amo ichoan in teichpuchoan, ichoantin in mahaujltianj, yn avianjme intzatzalan mantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mocujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, mococolotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacaoa vipantiuj.

Auh in cujcanjme, in quincujcatia, in quintlatzotzonjlia, quinmenetzotzonjlia, çan nonqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emomoztitech: auh in momoztli, çan iaoltic, teujlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn itlan manj.

Auh ynic mjustia, amo chocholoa, amono ontlayiaoa, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlaztiuj, amo

[701] 3. Here and elsewhere, the following equivalents are offered: quaquachictli—fearless warrior; telpuchtli—youth; teachcauh—master of the youths; telpuchtlato—ruler of the youths; telpuchiaque—leader of the youths; tequioc or yaomiquiqui—seasoned warrior. To a degree, such definitions are, perhaps, arbitrary. The suggested equivalents, however, are based upon the following passages from Sahagún (Robredo ed.): Vol. I, p. 292, and Vol. II, pp. 137, 267 (quaquachictin, tequioque); Vol. I, pp. 131, 168, 182, 199, 215, 289, 291, and Vol. II, p. 182 (telpuchtli); Vol. I, pp. 168, 291, and Vol. II, pp. 188, 319 (teachcauh); Vol. I, p. 291 (telpuchtlato); Vol. II, p. 121 (yaomiquiqui). See also Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94, on otomi and quaquachictli; pp. 89, 116, on teachcauh, telpuchtlato; Vol. II, pp. 32, 98, 98, 136 on tequioc or yaomiquiqui; Carrasco (Libro del cielo), p. 243) on telpuchtli; Soler, op. cit., p. 198 (telpuchtlato), p. 144 (tequioc), pp. 144, 159 (telpuchiaque).

4. Cf. Soler, op. cit., p. 198.

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[14]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-weaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl: 796 [714 411]

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca ichoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, ichoatl in qujmomaca cuexteca tl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotlmanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. [535] Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momtlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn xuchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujjaiaoalo in teucalli.

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id est, iaeiutl, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic cenizzque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, itepuzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapiezaoa, iuhqujn tzõtli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh. [533]

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ynuztlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujnjquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quenqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço- [714]

14. See Sahagún, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1388. Sahagún mentions (pp. 131, 132) a painted, cone-shaped hat; a disc or crown fastened to the hair; a crescent-shaped nose plate; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. Sahagún then relates to the wars of Axayacatl among the Huaxtecs, or also "the Mexicanos were [then to purchase] themselves to be the servants, followers, labourers, of the old mother of the gods, Tetec Innan, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . leader and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxtecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicanos from them." [776 177]

X 796 would carry the banners, and the women who would wash their faces. [The dance] ceased when conch shells were blown [at midnight].

X 796 536 And hence was it named the serpent dance: they took one another's hands, while ranged in a line; with their hands they grasped circlets of grass, or reeds, or cord made into jar rests. The victims went trotting among [the others]; there was much running; they leapt, hurrying as if in haste, as if breathless. There was circling about, with no song, without singing.

And the old men of the tribal temple beat drums for them; and only they sang. Some looked on, marveling at [the dance]. And much was their fasting admired and respected. All abstained, even more so [834] the owners of the victims. No [man] might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And when they had danced the serpent dance, then they dispersed.

X 796 And when it dawned, on the twentieth day, when [it was] verily the feast day, thereupon the bathed slaves went to [their owners'] houses, taking their [386] leave. They carried with them black stain, [or] perchance blue mineral earth, or red ochre. And as [533] leave was thus taken in [the owners'] houses, they went singing, as if their voices would crack, as if they were hoarse. When they reached the houses of those who had bathed [them], then they dipped [386] their hands into the blue stain, or the black stain, or the red ochre. Thereupon they laid their hands upon the posts and upon the door lintels, wherever they came out of the homes of those who had ceremonially bathed [them].

And when they had proceeded to the several places where their relatives were, then they again went to [their owners'] homes; these in vain offered them food. Some yet would eat; and some could not now eat.

And when this was done, gifts awaited them, spread out. Cloaks were ready [for them], breech clouts, shifts, skirts. And when the gifts were laid out, thereupon the victims took their banners upon their backs, arraying themselves of their own free will. And the women likewise, in the same way, put upon their backs their baskets with all their womanly adornment. Thereupon they arose to carry in their arms the gifts made them; before the door, in the street, they arranged themselves in procession. And the bathed ones thereupon entered the interior of the

'que, ynan in teixamjque cioa: in mocaoa iquac in tlatlapitzalo.

Auh injc moteneoa coanecujlolo, maana, motecpana: injc maana iaoalli, aço toli, anoço mecatl in qujiaoallalia: in tlaaltilti intlan aactivi, cenca motlatlaloa, chichitonj, vivicinj, iuhqujn tlaixtotochca, iuhqujn tlaciéa: moiaiaoaloa, amo cujca, amo ma cujca.

Auh in calpolvevetque, qujotlatzotzonjlia: auh çanjoque in cujca: cequjntin tlatlatta, tlatlamaviçoa: auh cenca tlamaviztililoia, cenca qujmaviztiliaia in neçaoalizti: vel ixquich tlacatl, motzitzqujaia: oc cenca iehoantin, in tealtique: aiac cioacochia, auh in cioa, ano ac oqujchcochia.

Auh in onnecococololoc, njmã ie ic tlazitinj.

Auh in otlatvic, in vncan tlacempoalti, in ie vel iquac ilhujtl: njman ie ic vi in tlaaltilti, mocacalnaoatizque: qujnpatilia tlilli, açi tezotli, anoço tlavitl: auh in jquac ie vi mocacalnaoatizque, cujcativi, iuhqujn no in tezqujtzatzaianj, omach içaoacaque: in onacique inchan tealtique, njmã conaquja in imma tezotitlan, anoço tlilitlan, anoço tlauhtitlan: njman ie ic commamaña tlaquetzaltitech, yoã tlaixquatl itech, izquicã qujça in inchachan tealtique.

Auh in jzqujcan onqujzque, in inoaniolcaoecan: njmã ie ic no ceppa vi in inchachã, in nen qujntlamaca; in cequjntin oc ontlaqua; auh in cequjntin aocmo tlaqua.

Auh in jquac in, ie ic onoc in tetlauhtilli, ic qujchixtoc in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in vipilli, in cueitl: auh in omotetecac, tetlauhtilli; njmã ie ic mochichioa in tlaaltilti commomamaltia in impã, çan monomavia in muchichioa: auh in cioa çan no innoma in cõmomamaltia, intana, in jxqujch incioatlatquj: njmã ie ic moquetza in tlanapaloa, in qujnpaloa tetlauhtilli, qujiaoac, vtlica oalmotecpana: auh in tlaaltilti, njman ie ic calaqaj in cioapan, qujoaliaoaloa in tlecujlli: mec oalquiça, mec ommoiacatia

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vctli mja itoca matlalvctli, ixquijch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ic cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vctli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ic chicaoaque, quja in vctli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotocriaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittozque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machililocque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequi, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoã qujnquatexoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelaxitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 637

Auh in oimellel onquiz, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic maviztli verzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzozonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzozona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixquijchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iiepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, aneço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contitlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vctli ipan icac, yn vetlali: yoan in ixquijch tlaxilacaleque, ixquijch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276] [252]

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacaliua, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oqujcencauiaque chõchaiotl, mec mozeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacaztique inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec: peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiniaotla, micali, yajc mouijujcequj, acxoimaiti, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujxujcujtlal-

19. See H. 31.

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Paynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Ixcoçauhqui.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

ic tetzoncujoa, qujntzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omoteneuh: auh in ontetzoncujoac: njmã ie ic tepotonjlo, no qujnpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac mã ontlacacochi in tlapixque. 796 [514]

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ie tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ie ic no ceppa calaquj in inirian: auh in aca ãmo qujmotlatlatilia in jazca, çan qujtetlauhtia, çan qujtemamaca.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmã ie ic vi in vmpa mjqujzque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjqujzque: njmã ie ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intozqujtzatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque: [533]

Auh in ie ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, qujnoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmã ichoã in tlaaltilti in ixcoçauhq̃.

Auh in ocentlanque mjquj in ie iuhquj: auh in jxqujchtin tlatoque, in tetecutin in cenca mavizti-lonj, ie ic manj, ça qujchixtimanj omocencauhq̃, qujniacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlatocaiotl: 796 301 [643]

yoan contlalia iacazivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequintin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõnaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoã in xolocozquj iuhqujn chichiton ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acazilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

Auh in immac omocioh quavitl, çan tepinoton tlazonopantectli, chictlapãquj; in aco chichiltic, auh 796 293 [386]

10. "Es aquello mucho mallo durazqui" seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. See, however, Angel Maria Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1946), p. 171, for a discussion of these in comparison.

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed awe [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[9]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuiltecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [thus] all entered their homes.

Thus one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And thus ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during those days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

quenman tlatvix, in quenman tlatlavilotleoaz, in quenmã tlatoz cujcujtzcatl. 796'

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, aztlioa: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in qujncujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoàn iavi, vncan qujtoia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oakenqujxoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotiliztli, in cujqujztli, cepã caoantimomana, xaxamacatimanj in cujcatl: 852 [535] [533]

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vetli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoãtia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoton, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano: 273 796' 852

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vetli,

yoan intlaoancax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: ei icxi, nauhcampa nacace, [415]

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmetxivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexoxocolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech nexano, nexanalo, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalaca techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vetli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc entzonequjça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã oalmotlalia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonãlli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpouhqujcenca imacxxoia, cenca mauhcaitoia: 777 796' 805

ichica ca çan nõqujzquj, vncã nenenequjztilo, atle vnqujxoa, nenencuilo, nenenencolo: ichica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mahcoalli, can vncan icnoiztl, neno-

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 24.

X 796 782 **Here Are Told, in Very Truth, the Offerings Which They Made, in Order to Pay Honor to the Devil.**

Nican mitoa, in vel nelli tlamanalistli, in qujchioaia, inic qujmavizilizia tlacateculotl.

The Swallowing of Serpents.

Thus was done by those who swallowed serpents, when they observed [the feast of] Atamalqualiztli. They who were named *maçateca* swallowed [the serpents] while they were quite alive, holding them only in their mouths, cutting them to pieces [with their teeth] that they might swallow them. And when they had swallowed them, thereupon they were offered gifts, as hath been told in its place, and water *tamales* were eaten. [This happened] every eight years.

Coostololiztli.

Inic muchioaia, in coatl qujtolooaia, iquac yn atamalqualoia qujchioaia: moteneoaia maçateca, çan ioltiuja in qujntoloaia, çan incamatica in qujmonanaia, qujnxaxamatztiuja, ynic qujntoloaia. Auh yn jquac oq'ntoloque, çatepan motlauhtiaia, yn iuhquj ipan omito, atamalqualoia chicuexiuhtica.

The Swallowing of Frogs.

And thus they swallowed frogs, likewise alive. When this was similarly done, these very same *maçateca* performed [the swallowing].

Cocistololiztli.

Auh injc cuecueia qujntoloaia çan no ioltivia, çan no iquac muchivaia, çan no ichoantin in maçateca qujchivaia.

Making Birds Fly.

[231] Thus was it done [when] birds were made to fly at the time of the feast of Etzalqualiztli: The youths tied birds to wooden rods; thus they danced as all [the birds, fastened by strings], circled [the wooden rods].

Totopatlanaltiliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia, totopatlanaltiloia iquac in etzalqualiztli, in telpupuchtin quauhtitech quim]lpiaia in totome ic mjtotiaia in iquac tlaiaoaloloia.

Processions.

Processions were thus undertaken. For whatever feast was established, when this was done, all the people went in procession, perchance at dawn, or at sundown. Then they all dispersed.

Tlaiavaloliztli.

Jn tlaiavaloliztli, ic muchivaia in tlein ilhujtl motlalitivia iquac muchivaia, muchi tlacatl tlaiavalovaia, aço iohoatzinco, anoço ie teutlac, ic tlaxitinjaia.

Singing in the Manner of Women.

X 796 782 533 And the singing in the manner of women was thus done, when, mayhap, they formed [the image of] whatever devil. Then everywhere all the women

Cihoapiculquinili.

Auh in jcihoapan cuiquiztli ic muchivaia iquac in aço tlacatia Diablo, in tlein, iquac muchintin

and men danced [together, as] during the feast of Tlaloc.

mjtotiaia in cihoa novian yoan oquichtin iquac inilhuiuh tlaloc.

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[533]

The Moistening of Chalk.

Thus was done the moistening of chalk: when they quickly snatched the chalk, then he who moistened the chalk ran. Thus he appeared running fast, and a number followed him. They went stoning him, and any who did not hasten fell quickly under the stones.

Tiçapalolistli.

Jnjc muchivaia tiçapalolistli: in iquac concuitiquiça in tiçatl njman ic motlalos in tiçapalos injc necia in cenca tlaçça yoan cequjntin qujtocaia, qujtepachotivia auh in aquin amo tlaçaia iciuhca tetica vetzia.

The Lifting [of Children], that They Might Grow.

Thus was done the lifting of children that they might grow: Also upon a certain day they lifted up all the small children [by the head] that they might grow. Along the roads and on all the ground lay the *nopal* [cacti], or *magney* plants; thus, it was said, these thus would swiftly grow.

Teiscalanalistli.

Jnjc muchivaia teiscalaanalistli no ipan in tlein tonalli muchintin in pipiltotonti qujmizcalaanaia vtlica yoã in izquich tlaticpac onoc in nopalli, anoço metl, ic mjtoaia inic hiciuhca mozcaluz. [827]

X 796 782 788

war, they made, as it were, a supplication when anyone went where there was war, lest something might go amiss [with them]. They said:

"Not here shall I die; [it is] in war that I go to die."

And when battle was already joined, they first plucked grass, shook it out toward the sun, and said:

"He will destroy and slay [our foe]," or, "He will capture [him]."

In this wise was a prayer raised to the sun.

iuhqujnma ic nenetolniloia, jn jquac aca iauh iavc intla itla ic motulinjtinemj qujtoaia

amo njcan in njmiquiz, iavc in njmiquitiuh

auh in iöjc ie muchivaz iauiotl achto quipia in çacatl quitzetzeloaia in jvicpa in tonatiuh quitoaia, vnpopolihuiz y in tlamiquiz, anoço tlamaz

iuhqujn ic monetoltiaia ivjc tonatiuh.

X 796 [533] 782

The Blowing of Trumpets.

Thus was done the blowing of trumpets: when it was late at night, when it was already approaching midnight, [then it was] when trumpets were sounded, that all [the priests] might offer blood in the house of the devil. Therefore were [the priests] awakened.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in tlatlapitzaliztli iquac in ie tlaquauhiovac, in ie onacitiuh iovalnepantla iquac tlapitzaloia ic neçohoaia in jchan Diablo, ic teixtiloia.

The Illumination with Fire.

Thus was done the illumination with fire: when we people had passed [the night until] midnight and also trumpets had been sounded, thus were men awakened. Thus those known as the beaters began the keeping of the watch. And if any did not awake, they poured water upon him, or else they shook [coals of] fire upon him, or else they cast him into the water at Thilapan or at Coapan.

Tlatica tlaviliztli.

Injc muchivaia tlatica tlaviliztli, in iquac ie titlaca in iohoalnepantla oacic, no tlapitzalo, ic teixitilo, ic pevaia in tlapializtli motenehoaia tlavitequjni, auh in aquin amo veliça atl ipan quinoquitia, anoço tletl ipã quitzetzelovaia, anoço atlan contlaçaia vmpa tilapan, anoço coapan.

The Piercing of Ears.

X 796 782 785

The piercing of ears was also undertaken [because of] the devil. Hence were ears bored.

Nenacazapotaliztli.

In nenacazapotaliztli no ic tlaiciecalhujloia in Diablo injc nenacazcciniloia.

The Piercing of the [Lower] Lip.

In like manner the piercing of the [lower] lip: similarly, for the devil, was the boring of the [lower] lip endured.

Netezapotaliztli.

I Çan no iuhquj in nenacazapotaliztli çan no ic tlaiciecalvilqia in Diablo in netezapotaliztli.

the sweet-smelling herbs should be gathered together which [the goddess] Xilonen needed when her feast was observed. And he arranged for all [things] and the incense-ladles which the temple needed when [the impersonator of] Xilonen died.

nen in jquac ilhujuh quiçaia, yoan muchi ipan tlatovaia, in tlemaitl in jtech monequja o calli in jquac mjquja xilonen. 793

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan.

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan—behold what were his duties. This one required, and hence commanded, that there should be gathered together the feathers, the eagle-down and the pointed eagle plumes, with which [she who was ornamented in the likeness of] Toci was adorned, when she died.

And this one cried out [summoning] the Huaxtec youths to do penances here at Atempan.

Atempan teuhoatzin.

In atempan teuhoatzin, izca in jtequjuh catca, iehoatl ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicovaia ihujtl, in quauhtlachcaiutl, yoan in quauhtevitztli injc mopotonjaia toci in iquac miquja

yoan iehoatl qujtzatziliaia in cuecuexteca in telpupuchtin, injc moçavazque vncã atempan. [203]

The Caretaker.

The Caretaker took charge of the songs of the devils, of indeed all the sacred songs, that none might do ill [with them]. Greatly was he concerned that they teach the sacred songs, and he cried [the summons] that the singers be gathered, or the chiefs, that they might be taught the songs.

Tlapiscatzin.

In tlapiscatzin qujmocujtlavjaia in jncujc Diablome in ie muchi teucujcatl injc xiac tlatlacoz, vel qujmocujtlavjaia, injc qujtemachtiaia in teucujcatl, yoan qujtzatziliaia injc monechicozque in cujcanjme anoço tetecutin injc qujmomachtizque in teucujcatl. [533] [203]

The Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan.

The duties of the Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan were similar to what were the duties of the Keeper of the God of Atempan; for he was concerned with, and commanded that there should be gathered together all the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the sweet-smelling herbs which [she who was arrayed in the likeness of] Tzapotla tenan needed when she died.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin, çã no iuhquj in jtequjuh catca, in juhquj itequjuh catca: Atempa teuhoatzin, iehica ça no muchi ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, inic monechicovaia amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan in jiauhtli, in jtech monequja in tzaputla tenan in iquac mjquja

The Keeper of the God of Tecuman.

The Keeper of the God of Tecuman was concerned that there should be torches, or bundles of resinous wood used as torches. And the charge of this one was that he should collect the red ochre, the black stain, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, and the bells which [the impersonator] of Xiuhtecutli, the old god, needed when he died.

Tecuman teuhoa.

In tecuman teuhoa iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in ocutl in tlepilli ien yoan iehoatl itequjuh catca, in qujnochicovaia in tlaviel, in tilli yoan in poçolcactli, in xiouhli, in tzitzilli in jtech monequja xiuhtecutli, vetecutl in iquac mjquja [373]

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[533]

[589]

ne. well, then they drew blood from him [with maguey spines].

Fourteenth: Carefully were they taught the songs which they called the gods' songs. They were inscribed in the books. And well were all taught the reckoning of the days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.

Fifteenth: A strict vow of the priests was [that of] chastity, of a pure life. In no wise were they to look upon a woman.[3] A strict vow of theirs was [a life of] moderation. None then told lies. The priests were very devout. They were very god-fearing.

Now enough of this. Here is told the way of life of the priests. Much else, which is left [unsaid] must [yet] be related. [This] will be told in another place.

in aquijn ximo vellaxoc, in ximo vel tetlapalox ojmaxi quiçoçoia.

Jnjc. 14. vel nemachtilloia in cujcatl in quilhuja tecuicatl, amoxxoxoca. Yoan vel nemachtilloia in tonalpoalli in temjcamatl, yoan in xiuhamatl.

Jnjc. 15. in tlamacazque vel innetol catca in nepiilizzli, in chipaoaca nemilizzli, in acan quittazque cihoatl, vel innetol catca in tlaixiciecoliztli, ojmac-xiac ixtlacatia, vel tlatcumatinj, catca in tlamacazque, vel teuimacaçini catca,

çan cuel izq'ch, y, nican onmixo, in jnuemilix catca tlamacazque, oc mjec in mocaxa in jmixoaia monequj vccã mixoc.

3. Probably a life of celibacy is not to be understood. Cf. Charles E. Dibble, Códice Rafael (Biblioteca Universitaria de Utah y de México, 1951) p. 75, 76, 77, and elsewhere for examples of married priests.

[p. 66 is blank]

643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leaded water plant; — xpilocuxpilolli, cuitic tecuijlotl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metecuxpilolli cuitic tecuijlotl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchihuicuxpitl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxihuicuxpitl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchihuiconcal chalchuapi, tlacuapitzilli, tlaccal,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[9] — cuitic tecuijlochaiaoac concatl, chalchihuiconcalli itic mopi,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmacuhuacatl tlapitzhuapi tepapaxo tlapitzica, iuan cuitic tecuijlaio,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg; — cuitic tecuijlacuetzcatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacuapitzil,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzalmacuquecchiel,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquapapitzil,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalmacuamatli cuitic tecuijlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacapilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — cuitic tecuijlachiquilmacatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small shells; — tecuijlacuitic acuechcomacatl,

643 [276] 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xochitl, itel, iniecoanij tlatoani, tecuitl inic motta tlatoani, inic mochichiua mocuecca inapitl, in inpijch inaquanin tlatoani,

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — ocelomecatli, cuetlaxcatli tlamachio, tlamachocatli,

[282] 281] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — tepomatli, tepomatzontzatzatli, vouetl xiocachili cuitic tecuijlotl, tetzilacatl cuitic tecuijlotl,

[534] 533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cuicanjme, mitotiani, tepomapani, tecuetzoani, tlatocatzoapi, cuicanani,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaxipetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in inpijch onajn. Vemij tepetatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchihuicuxpitl, in teuxihuicuxpitl, in tecuijlacocotl, tzontecomatl, xaiacatl, tecuijlacacpatl cuitic tecuijlotl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xochiquauhtl momoaia, in tecpan ieuaka, iniecoa catca: on mocuecca in tlatoani,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatamatli, tzinpamatzatzatli, ohuitl inic motecoua tepomatli.

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8. Cf. Sahagún, Grammaire Aztèque-Espagnole, II, p. 240; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1006, on etymology of artisans.

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[75
782
732]

[524]

[231]

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524
732]

[695
694]

[696]

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534]

[534
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[231]

—Sfor Pano y Tremeno

(course concluded). 61. Two-headed snake (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards looking on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of parcelli (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatecolo (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

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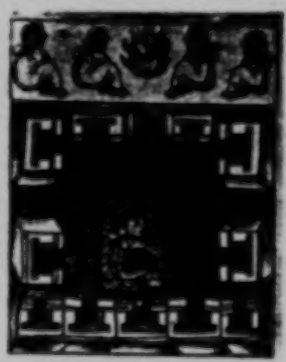

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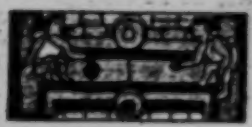

• [533
534]
[735]

[482]

—After Peñ y Troncoso

• 86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a complaint musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game ducklet (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

1/A [This caption is in error. - Ruud/KT]

[p. 36(L) is blank]

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Micoscalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the marks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INIC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, inic 533
mocencaiuia quicanjme, in tlamacoaz tlatoanj: 292
ioan in tlein ipan mjtoziquc.

Micoscalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jaquitlamantli, mitchoalcuicanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan quitlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mitçeoaz, aço itla cuicatl quijtchecoa, aço itla iancuic cuicatl quimomachtia, mochi ic moçencauhticateca, in cuicanjme: in jaquich monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, [534]
aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçolactli, teponaçoanj, veuetçoanj, cuicaitoanj teiacanque: ioan iti ixquich tlamantli mitchoallaquiti,

itla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cuicatl, in iuh muchichiua uexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in ica cuicatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj itla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in itlatol anaoaca: ioan innechichioal in iuhquj intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj, itla cuextecaiotl meoaz cuicatl, motlaichecalhuja in itlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in quintlaichecalhuja, intzon, inic quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacauicole, tlantziquatic, quapotlachtic, içan itilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cuicatl.

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EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[14a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupiala, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INIC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in 567
inchan catca tlatlacoti 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca quinmocuitlauiaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein quinequja, mochi quinmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan quinpiaia, in jaquich 463
nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, 344
tozneneme, cochome, alome, cozoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jaquich nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapizquj, in tepoapitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, 231
tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque 136
Tequanpizque, calpizque, vncan quinpiaia, in jaquich tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli.

14a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called *amantecas* after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, op. cit., I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Europ. Kopied*, p. 174.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *mopanpiaque* for *mopanpiaque*, and begins with this word a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "Cuia de las fieras."

[p.46 is blank]

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Surely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that their judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[5] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznaoatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[6] Mexicatl teacacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan iesque, in vncã tetlatzontequjliaque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujsque in jaqujch tlamãtli tlacatlatolli, 693

in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzontequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuhca qujtzontequja intenetelhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujcaquja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchipauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtequj tlacxitlan in jpã qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. 693 [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc iehoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl teacacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, iehoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja, qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machiceque, in tlanehtilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichiouilli in caquitile tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlalilac. 695 643

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjquja, njnan qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc iehoantin qujmjctia; qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço trixpan qujtetepachoa, anoço qujtetequj. 693 696

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenja netotilos.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçoatlatli, in papaqujlizti, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujniollalia, in jaqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jaqujch in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçoalli: 535 643

achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz qujnnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujichecoaque injc qujchicaoaque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 643 533 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los casos, cosas difficultosas, y graves, Remetiendo el orden para que los negocios fuesen con otros principales, como calificados, que eran el audiencia, y residian."

7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezoauacatl; ezoauacatl appears as ezoauacatl.

The title Tlacochcalcatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.

8. Can chapir: per is probably meant (cf. ibid.).

9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 146, 201, 288; II, pp. 310, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 100, and III, p. 33.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

veuetl: ioan in izquich maçeoallatquitl, ioan netotilizti, aquin cujcaitoz, aquiçque in teiacanazque, aquin teponaçoz, aquin veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacauiz.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed him-
292 self, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
301 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech cloat he girt himself.

Auh in ie icoac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhuitl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucuitlaio, injc quilpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucuitlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiuitl itlaactoc, macuextli imac quitlalia vei chalchiuitl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiuitl, anoço coztic teucuitlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mitotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in quimololoa, in quimoquentia, tlaçomaztlatl in quimomaztlatia,

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no quicencaoa quintlauhtia: in izquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiaçoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cuicanime, ioan quinmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzquitlamantin omoteneuhque.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cujcanime: aço teponaztli quichalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, quipoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcaloo contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quitzacutiuh mjquja.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was doing: perhaps the priest

INIC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa injc iztoçoaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpãpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl ccioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoa ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca iztoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoaltica quenmanjan quiçaia quiiacaloa in altepetl quitta tlein mochioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ic necuitlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

in jxquichtin izuteoaque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içeioual tlapiaque, in teuatenpan in tlachinoltempã, 726
in qujmocuitlauizque oçelotenamjtl, quauhtenamjtl,
in izuotli: ioan qujmanaque qujtzteizquizque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in qujoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jquin izutlatoloz, auh in
oquijcacque ca ie izutlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
izutlapializtica.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenonotzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame qujmati in mexica in inchan oalmocalloteia, in tetlanenque in jiaohoan no qujtzacutiuja, inca nenonotzaloia in chaneque, ioã in jnpilhoan, ioan namoiclotia in intlatquj ztl neneçia in inchan.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlatoaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialoz in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çeioual, in ma oca qujtlachichiujli altepetl, in ma 722
iauiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icatiuz tlatoanj,
ioan altepetl qujnnaoztiaia in tlatoanj in telpuchtlatoque, in tiacahoan: ioan in ixquich telpuchtli, injc [533]
momoztlae ioaltica cujcoanozque, injc qujoalcaqujz
ixquich altepetl, in qujiaoaloeoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan ixquich mexicatl.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaca: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan ixquich altepemaitl, icoac qujça in
jxquichtin tlamacazque, noujian in ontlamaçeoa
noujian tepeticpac, ioan ic ontlapia in aço itla qujnamjqujtiuj ic tlatujnaoac ⸗ oalcalaquja injc ontlapiaia çeçioual iuh qujchioaia.

10. Sandoval, op. cit., identifies *ocuitl* as an intoxicating plant, and *chapul* as *Mexicanus conquanati*, a medicinal plant. Olmos, op. cit., p. 223, has, for *Hacer a otro cobarde*, o *dar mal consejo*: *Mitoti, chapul, conquanati, tamacuil ximitoiaoani.* . . . cf. for *Embarrachar*, o *salir de seso*: *Yauh aquato in octli, in tamacuil, in ocitoti, in conquanatiqui inic oquiaiti, inic oococoani.* In Lib. VI, fol. 28bv, of the *Florentine Codex*, this passage appears: "*In tlatlatlaoani, in tlamahamacuilani; in pahqui mjqui, in pahqui chapul ontepuc. Inchipa mjquiz: in oquiqui ximoan quipopoqui quiaxcuaxcuaxcu

726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron balls; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenanteputzco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at Totecco,[8] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

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And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came, and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

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And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça cc inmjnoc iaquac, njmac ic momjquili: ichoatl in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoã itech ietiquiaque, atlan quinoemjoique, quinetepachoque: auh vncã mjquiaquia in castañeda: auh ça acalitech pilcatia injc quivicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenanteputzco, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, ça tlatlapiztoca in atlan. Auh in ic ioa quivica.

Auh iquezquilhuioc ic no ceppa techcentlatallaj in Españoles: nec vitze, ic quioalmotilique in quauecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhtocac iztaxamacoian. Auh in vacan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jaquich tlaxcaltecatl, in acolhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ic ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in quimjmjlli, in acatl quicuijtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cencã ivian in iativitze, quiniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapitzivitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampa onotivitze in ic ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ic ixquich altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquauacuecuechoa, meltzotzona in tlaxcalteca, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, queoa in çaço tlein quijnamjquj, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoã vel nepachololo, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, qujtetzontlaliaia, quj-chjxtoque in quemman tecvitilos, in quemman quj-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"cerca de aquella yglesia que se llama cheve lauia."* Cano (op. cit.) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, barrio of Tlaxpahuchilco.

8. *"Cerca de la Cruz, pidio demanxtilla."* — Cano, op. cit.

9. El Peñón de los Baños — one of the islets of Tenochtitlan, in the lake. However, Rapoje and Barlow, op. cit., p. 46 and map, locate it as a hill in the southeastern part of Tlatelolco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"determinaron entre si los españoles de darnos guerra por alli."*

11. Quauecatitlan *acuipatli* — *"calle que va derecha de Necatitlan al Mercado de la Sal, . . . prolongada hasta encontrar el Albarradon y probablemente correspondia con la Calzada de Nezahualcoyotl, Mixcoac, Almaxuca, Coyoacan y Huexo."* — Cano, op. cit. Rapoje and Barlow, op. cit., show it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Bernardino, loc. cit., the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the *Florentine Codex*: *"por causa de los españoles que los indios habian ganado en su provincia, tornaron á proponer guerra de nuevo, haciendo juramento entre ellos que la guerra no habia de cesar hasta que ganaran la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no matasen en sus manos: de alli adelante continuaron á cegar todas las acequias y corrales de canas por donde pudiesen entrar los caballos, hasta que no pudiesen entrar, y asi continuaron á derribar casas, y cegaron todas las acequias."*

13. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en barrio que se llama Tlilmanca que es agora cerca mejic"* (San Martin).

dashed, and went hurling himself along. He had no shame; no one now abashed or embarrassed him.

And yet they reviled him. No one gave him the name of a man of consequence; nowhere had he the name of a man. Everywhere he was simply detested and hated. Nowhere could he approach people; everywhere he made confusion. If somewhere there was a reunion, he dispersed them — he scattered and disbanded them. They let him alone; he was avoided. There was silence [when he came]; a bristling antagonism and withdrawing of friends.

Hence was it said: "Verily, thus was his day sign. What is to be done?" And seldom was there courage or hope in his behalf. It was said that he would go to fall down somewhere; to meet destruction, to die, to collapse somewhere. Perhaps he would fall from some cliff; or down into a chasm, or into the water; he would cast himself into the river and drown. Or somewhere he would fall into the hands of evil men and die at their hands.[6] They would rob, plunder, and despoil him, leaving him quite bare.

And more: not only could all this happen, but he embraced vice and evil. Sometimes he committed adultery; he stole; he scaled walls to tempt and seduce [women]. His drunkenness caused him to do it. Wine showed and was apparent on his face. And when it dawned, his eyes were inflamed, his eyelids drooped, ached, and watered: a decrepit drunkard's face. Nowhere was he regarded as a man. Continually his lips moved from side to side.

And if one was not a great drinker, when it dawned it made him very sick, sickened and affected by the wine. Also, his eyelids burned and his eyes ached; it made him sick in the head and made it sore. He wished not to arise from bed; rather, he lay wrapped in blankets, and slept all day. Neither could he eat; he was nauseated and wished to vomit. With difficulty could he dispel and overcome it.

iauhtiuh, auc tle ipinavis, aocac quimamati, aocac quipinaoa.

Auh tel aocac no tle ipan quijta, aocac quitlacatoca, aoccan itlacatocaia, çan noviian tlaelitto, tlaqualanja, aoccan vel tetlan motlalia: novian tlapaçoloa: Intlacana ceniclovac: tececenmana, tezixitinja, tezomoiaoa: ipan macavi, tlalcavilo, ipan cactisetzi, yenjppaçalli, icnjmmoiactli.

Ic ytolo: ca nel yuhquj ytonal, quennel chioalos: auh ça ica neellaquaoalo, yca netlapalolo, ytolo: ça can vetzitiuh, ça can popoliviz, ça can mjquja, ça can quauhtenvetziz: aço cana motepexiviz, motlaxapuchhujz, matlanviz, matoiaviz, atlan mjquja, anoço cana inmac vetziz in tlaveliloque, inmac mjquja, quitlacujujlizque, quitlacencujlizque, quitlanamoializque, quipetztoccaoazque:

yuan amo çan quezquich in jpan iauh, in quimonamjctia yavilquijaca, yn jtoloca: in quenman tetlan aquj, ichtequj, tepan tepantemo, tecamanalhuja, tetzitzquja: ytlaoancaio maitia, vetli quimozaiacatia, yvcxaiac ictisemj: in oallathuj yxpupuçaoa, ixtenmjmjlivi, iaquastoleeoa, ichchichitintiocmj, yxovcpul, aoccan metlacaitta: achcan cochcamachalo.

Auh in amo cenca tlaoanjoj in oallathuj cenca quicocoa, mucoócha, mucvia: no iaquastoleeoa, iseeoa, itzontecon quicocoa, quicxonteconeoa, aiel meuhtoc: çan quimjliuhtoc, cemjlhujocchi, amo yellaquaz: çan motomaoa, motlachtia: aiaxcan in quicaoa in quimopopololtia.

6. Mixquiahuala in the Hidalgo MS.

[p. 14 is blank]

For, so was it said, he had fallen into great sin.[5] There rags and tatters lay strung out; there misery and orphanhood were the reward. And there was the great flood, the great crag, the pit, where there was a falling into the flood, or from the crag, or into the pit.[6] And there lay the mire, where one was mired.

So was it said of him to whom it so befell that his fate and merits had been good; only of his own will and by his own act he had harmed, destroyed, and ruined it, etc.

And if a woman were born upon the day One Flower, it was said that she would be an able embroiderer. But nevertheless, in order to gain her deserts, and to achieve skill in embroidering, she should do great penances, and fast, and draw blood when the day sign One Flower set in. But if she did not do penances, if she took not good heed, if her upbringing and training were not good, the herself harmed her day sign.

Likewise it befell her (as was told here) that her labors were in vain; she merited complete poverty and misery. Thus her deserts only came to an end, to naught; they became corruption. She became a harlot, a courtesan. She sold herself; she became a paramour. For it was said that just so was her day sign, One Flower; for it fell two ways. They said it was good and evil.

Also it was said that when One Flower set in, then began, continued, and was always held, a dance, a procession. But only Moctezuma in his own heart knew — [for] no one [else] determined — for how many days he established his dance. Perchance for forty days there would be dancing.

And that it might be known that a dance had been arranged, two poles with flowers were set up; they remained at the palace of the ruler. Thus was made known the day of the flowers: there would be enjoyment of and rejoicing over the day of flowers.

At that time the ruler determined and requested the kinds of song to be intoned — perhaps after the manner of those of Cuexilan,[7] the drunkards of Cuexilan;[8] or of Huexotzinco or Atzahujc; or the merchants; or those of Nonoalco, or Cuexilan; or of

ca iuh mjtoa, tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi, ítlacacemellecan vncan vilantoc in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, vncá mácoalo in jcnoiotl, in jcnotlacaiotl: auh vncan icac, in vei atoiatl, in vei tepexitl, in tlaxapuchtli, vncá neatoiavilo, netepexivilo, netlaxapuchvilo: ioan vncan manj in tzonoaztli, vncan netzonoaztvilo: 787X

ic mjtoa, in aquja iuhquj ipan muchioaia, y, qualli ocatca: in jtonal, in jmácoal, ça inêvüan, ça onmonevianvi, in oconmjctacalhuj, in oconmopôpolhuj, yn oconmotlaçolmjctili. Etc.

Auh intla aca cioatl, ipan tlacatia ce suchitl: mjtoaia, vuellamachchiuhquj iez: auh iece injc vel quicnopilhujz imácoal, injc vel qujtzac tlâmachtli, cécatlamaceoaia, moçaoaia, mjçoia in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl tonalli: auh intlacamo tlamaceoa, intlacamo vel monozca, intlacamo vellaoapaoalli, vellazcaltilli mochioa, çan no qujtlaueliaia yn jtonal: [785]

no iuhquj ipan muchioaia (in iuh omjto njcan) atle onquçaia, çan moch icnoiotl, netoliniliztli in quimomacevviac auh injc ça ontlatzontia, ontlatzonquixtia, ça aujlquja caiotl, in jnemac mochioa, aviénjti, masujltia, monanamaca, motzitzinnamaca: ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal in ce suchitl, ca vme vitz qujtoa, qualli, inê lequalli.

No yuan mjtoa, in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl: vncan oncempeoa, vncan vnmocemana, in muchipa macoaule, netotilo, çan iee qujmati in Motecuçuma yiollocâma aioc qujiocoia, in quenquilhujtl, qujtlalia ymaceoaliz in aço vmpoalilhujtl manjz mácoaliztli: 527 535

auh injc necia, ynjc temacoaliztlalhujloia, vme suchiquavitl oalmoquetzaia, oalmomanaia tecpan, tlatocan: yc monextia in suchilhujtl, suchipacoa, nosuchitlamachtilo:

vncá tlatlâtlamj, tlancnequj in tlatoanj, in catle cujcatl conemaa, in anoço cuexteca iotl, tlamancaceuteca iotl, venotzinca iotl, anoaca iotl, ostomeca iotl, nonoalca iotl, concateca iotl, tenjca iotl, tepetlaca iotl, chichimeca iotl, metztlancalca iotl, otomcujca iotl, quata- 527 533●

5. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 191r: *chaotic, disjointed, in disorder*. See also fol. 210r.

6. Cf. also *loc. cit.* The passage is metaphorical.

7. Probably Huexotzinco. See, however, Seler (Gesammelte Abhandlungen, IV, 28, 79-82 (cf. Vol. I, p. 9, for reference system, to be used hereafter except in special cases).

8. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 7, 5.

527 the Tuxinec;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata, or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponazcujcatl. Etc. çiocacujcatl, xocomocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quatepoquicujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

ye mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
282 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Joan vncā qujcenqujxtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxquich imâcoallatequj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, qujtlâtlatitia, in caule conelcujx, ipan onmjtotiz, ipan onnelatitia:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujnthuizmacaia, in tiacacan, in tetlaujccaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in teviltequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetracujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
643 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums
— the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing,
those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnavizia, mopizqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mâcoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaquitotianj, tlamoiauhquj, tozcacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch ichoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
262 — tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtectli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotzetli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaxxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaxio.

And when they had tired and were wearied of
527 dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj mâcepoliztli, njman qujcalaqujaia, qujtlatiaia, in vme xuchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamâtli, ic qujxiptlaiotizia,

9. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 29, 94-95; *gente Adriana* was a term generally employed and by natives.

10. In describing the sound made by the wound Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads and copy *diente pipilaua, mokayoia mopipilauaua: tlamoiauhtiuia . . .* See also, Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 127 (facsimile).

And the wine server, if he saw that those whom he gave wine did not become intoxicated and in a stupor, but only sat staring and grimacing, once again turned to the left, made a beginning from the left — that is, beginning where he had left off, with those of last place, the lesser in rank. So at that place he made a beginning in order to make them drunk. Thus he went reversing and rearranging the process of making them drunk.

So there was singing: there were songs of sadness and tears; or only broken singing, each one as he liked, each outdoing the others. There was the giving of pleasure, of much contentment. There was the encouragement of one another, and tearful greetings. And some only hummed, singing secretly, or did nothing. And some did nothing else but sit content and rejoicing, laughing and making witty remarks, making others burst into laughter as if their sides were sore. They sat exhausted with mirth[11] if they heard something which moved them to or diverted them with laughter. It was as if dogs were barking.[12]

Just so was it done at banquets and feasting, and assemblages and gatherings of people, and their recreation and the giving of dances, etc., when someone had a feast for the child to place it in the cradle, and the place where he was put in the cradle was watched.

auh in tetlaoanti intla quimjtta quintlaoantia, yn amo ivinti, in amo jamanja, in çan itztoque, ixpepeiontoque, ic no cuel iẽ copuchilochtia, tlaopuchcopa quipeoaltia. q. n. in vncã oquicauh, in tlatzaccan, in tlacuitlapilco, ic nẽ vncan quipeoaltia, ynjc tetlamamaca, ynjc tetlaoantia, ic quicueptiuh, quipapatlatiuh in itetlaoãniliz: 574 273 851

ic necuicatilo, netlaoculcujcatilo, nechoquizcuicatilc, anoço çan cuicaçacamolo, no çac tle queoa, necujçapanauilo, nececmeltilo, nececemeltilo, neellaquacalo, nechoquiztlapalolo, auh in aca çan tẽtencuicatica, yhichtacacujcatica, aiac ica quichiuhtica: auh cequjn çan qujxcavia in pactoque, im papactoque, vevetzcatoque, camanalotoque, vetzquiztequitoque, iuhqujn itzillã quaquauhti, ommimjctoque in vetitzca, yn oncitla quicacque, in tevetzquiti, tevetzquiceuh, iuhqujn tlananalco. 851 574 [533] [522]

Oyvin in muchioaia coaiotl in tecoanoczalitzli, in tecẽtlalilitzli, tenechicoliztli, tecevilitzli, teitzotilitzli. et.[a] Yn iquac aca quitlaqualiaia in piltzintli, ynjc tlacoçolaquja, tlacoçolaquiloian nepiclo.

11. Fourteen in the *Real Palacio* MS.

12. Thirteen verses in *ibid.*

[p. 120 is blank]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

396 Indians today, were flat-bottomed punts, constructed of planks which were probably tied together in Aztec times rather than pegged, as they are today. The portable bridges 335 used to cross the canals were also simple combinations of planks, or planks resting on beams. (See Plate 35, bottom left.)

352 Furniture, which in European culture has done much honor to the woodworker, was little used in Mexico. Mats sufficed for beds and seats. High dignitaries sat on a sort of wooden throne which had legs and often a back and was called *icpalli*, from which the Mexican word *equipale* for a modern wickerwork and leather chair is derived. Mention [353] is made of screens and chests and ornamental sheathing for room interiors, but no examples are left for us to judge their craftsmanship. (See Plate 37, top.)

534 The wooden drums, on which musicians beat out ceremonial rhythms, were handsomely carved, as befitted their religious use. There were two types, a vertically cylindrical drum (*huehuetl**), which had a skin head, and a horizontally cylindrical drum (*teponaztli*†), the top of which was slotted to form two tongues. While the notes differed, there was usually the same interval between the resonant sounds emitted when the tongues were struck. The task of reaching the pitch must have been excessively difficult, for the wood had to be hollowed by fire and then chiseled to a nicety. At times the artist fashioned these drums to represent a crouching 320 man or animal. Masks were often used in temple ceremonies when a god was impersonated, and ceremonial staffs were part of their equipment. So, also, were the throwing boards, or *atl-atls*, with which a warrior flung a javelin, the lengthen-

*way-wa'yil. †te-po-na'a-tli.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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776
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778

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PLATE 54

AZTEC ART

TOP: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. BOTTOM: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. 532
In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars 533
quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian 534
needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom 535
persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for [177
they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. 197]
The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

● [534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man
431] [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Izcoçauhqui. There [the

[304 parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon
852] them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

776 [Izcoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujquptilloia, cexilhtica: ipan itlamjan yxcalli: qujxiptlatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacotonaloia, cupaltemjlilo,

ouhqujltamalli nechivilloia, in ocomolpan: achto ixpan qujmanjlisia in tletl, çanpan qualoia.

Auh yn jvevieoan, ioh cemjlhujtl, in qujcujcatia, qujtecuipichilia, qujtepenacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cinaçoaia in comalco, vetlacaoaltiloia, yajc amo aca motlatiz, mochichinoz: ipampa in iancujcan oqualac ouhqujltamalli, yajc otlamanalac.

Auh in pipiltocanti, muchintin qujtlaxqujxia: yn aca cuatl: cujiatl, xocjli, axolotl, tozcl: in çaço tlein ocacic iniolt, ycamac centlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxquja yn inca.

Auh yn ciocac, noujan tlatlaoanaia in vevetque, ylamatque: ioh qujtoaia, qujtlamiauhjlisia yn tletl, tezcalcauja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauirtilloia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujtotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jxucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzonmulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no inquich tlacatl, qujpaloaia, qujltequja, in vetli, in pipiltocanti: ic motocaiotiaia, pillaoano:

yeon vncã qujntlatiaia, qujnmahujtiaia in pipiltocanti. Çe cioatl, ce oquichtli, in qujntemoaia pilhoaque, qujntlauhtiaia; ichoantin qujnmamatihuja, vnpa qujmocacoaia, yn ixcuçauhquj: vnpa qujmacaxapotlaia, qujnnacaxoiocajaia: inhquja ic qujmachoitiaia, yajc qujmitta, yntlacoan, ynnaujoan: çanpan qualoaia.

Jn jnechichioal caxca: tilitica motenujltec, chalchiuhtezcla, xiuhxocnamacale, quetzalmjiaoaia, mjtzoua, tlacozzouaz, xiuhcoznacoche, amacozmeapanala, no tzitzile, cocujole, tiuhcoacatlatlapanquj yn jchimal, tlachieltopile.

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66. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, es muy verde, tiene las vainas delgadillas y chiquitas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Los tallos de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a espinacs, exprimese del agua que se cuece para comerla; hacense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilaxcalli." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 233. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae.*

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents roasted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 287, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 288; see *temalacuja* in Simeon: op. cit.

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; parent or preserver). Molina (op. cit.) combines the words *tiaxi* and *cuaci* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchiuhtezcla*—a strap for the head, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*chalchiuhtezcatl*); *quetzalmiaoaia* or *xiuhtzoncuacalli quetzalmiaoaia*—a form of headbar ornament made in the form of a crescent moon, bordered upward; *mitzquitl tlacochtzquitl* or

X 796 [346] [534] [417]

Tlacochcalco; and, before he arrived there, at a place which they called Tlapitzauayan, the women withdrew and left him. Arrived at the place where they were to kill him, he ascended the steps himself; on each of them he shattered one of the flutes which he had played as he walked, all during the year. When he had reached the summit [of the pyramid], they threw him upon the sacrificial stone; they tore out his heart; they brought down the body, carrying it in their hands; below, they cut the head off and ran through it [the crosspiece of the skull rack] which is called *tzompantli*. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in their account, *fol.* 53.

llamauã tlapitzauiaiã, apartauãse las mugeres y dexauãle: llegãdo al lugar, donde le auã de matar: el mismo se subia por las gradas, en cada vna dellas, hazia pedaços vna flauta de las cõ que andaua tañendo todo el año: llegado arriba, echauãle sobre el tazõ sacauanle el corçaçõ, tornauã a descendir el cuerpo abaxo en palmas, abaxo le cortauã la cabeça y la espetauã en vn palmo que se llama Tzompãtli: Otras muchas cerimonjas, se hazãã en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la large en su historia. fo. 53.

X 796 [805 776] The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offreciaule en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[23] 262 On the night before this feast, all buried themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this [778] feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and commoners, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 536 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but [534] they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who 778 beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *mamoxtli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the commoners they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1 d KL La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa- d 12
2 e uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros e 13
3 f para comer, en hazer tamales y otras f 14
4 g cosas concernientes a la comida: luego g 15
5 A de mañanjta el dia desta fiesta: los A 16
6 b sacrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ b 17
7 c muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des- c 18
8 d pues de compuesta la estatua deste d 19
9 e dios: componjan las estatuas de los e 20
10 f otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales f 21
11 g y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan g 22
12 A todas las otras estatuas de los calpules, A 23
13 b y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cal- b 24
14 c piques y principales y macegguales, c 25
15 d todos componjan las estatuas que ten- d 26
16 e jan en sus casas con flores. e 27
17 f Compuestas las estatuas todos los f 28
18 g dioses: luego començauan a comer g 29
19 A aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas A 30
20 b de la noche passada, y desde a vn poco despues de b 31
comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyto, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyto, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llamauan mamoxtli—

Durauo este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y macegguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero ninguno mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos rezisimente. Otras muchas ceremonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalsochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a near youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. *Ochpaniztli meaneth September "to sweep."*

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que quiere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

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Cap. 11.
Ochpanjnili.

Cinco dias antes que començasse este mes: cesauan todas las fiestas y regozijos del mes passado entrando este mes, bailauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin teponaztli: los quales passados, salia la muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de mugeres con ella: especialmente las medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos vandos y peleauan apedreandose con pellas de pochtli y con hojas de tunas y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espadias, y con flores que llamã cempoalsochitl. Este regozijo durauã quatro dias.

Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras deste calidad: procurauan que aquella muger no entendiesse que auia de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal agouero: venjda la noche en que auia de morir, atauiauanla muy ricamente, y hazialla entender que la lleuauan para que durmjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auia de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto le cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pellejo.

Este que vestia el pellejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

1	b	KL	Ochpanjnili.	b	21
2	c	Cinco dias antes que començasse este		c	22
3	d	mes: cesauan todas las fiestas y regozi-		d	23
4	e	jos del mes passado entrando este mes,		e	24
5	f	baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin		f	25
6	g	teponaztli: los quales passados, salia la		g	26
7	A	muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃		A	27
8	b	llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los		b	28
9	c	ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la		c	29
10	d	mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de		d	30
11	e	mugeres con ella: especialmente las		e	31
12	f	medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos		f	1
13	g	vandos y peleauan apedreandose con		g	2
14	A	pellas de pochtli y con hojas de tunas		A	3
15	b	y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa-		b	4
16	c	dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal-		c	5
17	d	sochitl. Este regozijo durauã quatro		d	6
18	e	dias.		e	7
19	f	Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras		f	8
20	g	desta calidad: procurauan que aquella		g	9

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The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which signifies "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al doceno mes llamauan Teotl eco, que quiere decir la llegada de los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque decian que auian ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses auian llegado.

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Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamazincal; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Cap. 12
Teotl eco

1 A KL.
2 b A los quinze dias deste mes: los
3 c moços y muchachos, enramauan
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de los
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de
6 f las casas como por los camynos y en-
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que
8 A hazian dauallos mahiz, algunos daban
9 b vn chiquyvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros
10 c dos o tres maçorcas.
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios
12 e (que siempre es mancebo que le
13 f llamauã tlamazincal: este es titla-
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y
15 A reaio, caminaua mejor, y llegaua pri-
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comida en su co,
17 c y aquella noche comyan y beuyan y
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los
19 e viejos, y viejas que beuyan vino, por la
20 f llegada del dios: y deziã que lo
21 lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

A 10
b 11
c 12
d 13
e 14
f 15
g 16
A 17
b 18
c 19
d 20
e 21
f 22
g 23
A 24
b 25
c 26
d 27
e 28
f 29[1]

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtecuzillo muy rapido de la forma de vn queso: en este montecuzillo imprimyan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que eran llegado: toda la noche el principal sacrapa velaua y yua y venia muchas veces a mejor quando veria la pisada.

En viendo el sacrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego començauan los mejjaceros del co, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los

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[273]
[252]
[534]

1. Marginal correction. Definitely sound MS-Kid.

which they then used.

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipehualiztli came.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan quintilo, teintilo, teiximachilo, quintlamamaca, quinmamaca yn jmamanechichioal:

ynic cappa maco, ynic chichiualo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatquj.

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc cepa ichoatl yn intlatquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

icoen quinchichioaia, icoen quinmacaia, icoen quintquj, ynic ipan intequiuh veztiz, ynic quintlatlatixque, ynic ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oacanauque ça icoen quicuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo quipapatla: yoan vltica quinonhoanchichioa.

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in tescinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac tozoliujtica.

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, amo icoen macoia, çan ipã tlatecanjaia, çan ipan momalitotiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic ito, çan ic tetlãmauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhuijtla, çan ic tetlattitia, ynic oncano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamatiuh: yoan ichicaoac ietiuh, chicaoçotiuh, quintlquetzitiuh in chicaoztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

Auh muchinti, ish muchichioaia, yn inquichtin, maloque, in tlamanjme: yn jamalhoan cahoanque, yn iquac oncic ilhuijtl tlacaxipehualiztli.

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[237]

[714
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[illegible] and University of Utah, 1950; Monographs of the School of American Research [illegible] 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of [illegible] paper, and its relation to Aztec [illegible], see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 60.

Yet again an eagle[-crowned warrior] came out, doing just as had been done. All four [acted as if] fighting. They raised their shields and war clubs [as offerings] to the sun.

Now no longer did they delay, by turning back. When they came out, they came out dancing, they went in order. As if lying down on the ground, as if crawling along, flat on the ground, they went looking from side to side; they went up leaping and fighting.

And thereafter the Youallauan came forth, garbed like Totec; only he came last, after the others, behind the four great eagle and ocelot [warriors]; they lifted up their shields and war clubs, offering them and dedicating them to the sun.

Then all the impersonators, the proxies, of all the gods[16] emerged in order, ahead of all. They were called the lieutenants, the delegates, the images.

Similarly, they preceded; they came in order; they came together. All came down. They came hence, from Iopico, from the very top of the [pyramid] Temple of Iopitli.

And when they had come down below, on the ground, on the earth, they gathered around the circular, flat, sacrificial stone; they seated themselves according to rank on large chairs called *quechalicpalli*.

And when they were seated, when they were arranged according to their importance, again the first in order was the chief priest, the Youallauan;[16] because it was his right, his office, that he should slay, offer as sacrifice, [that] with his hands he should destroy—with his hands hack open each of the captives destined for sacrifice.

[533 534 198] When this was done, then trumpets were sounded; conch shells, large sea shells, were blown; men put their fingers in their mouths and whistled, and there was singing. With singing of songs and blowing of trumpets, they arrived. The Cuacuateca placed themselves in order, their shoulders dejked with feather banners, and they encircled the offering-stone.

One [of the captors] quickly seized a captive. The captor, he who owned the captive, seized him by the head to bring him to the offering-stone.

[415 273] When he had brought him there, he offered him wine:[17] and the captive raised the wine four times

Oc no cepa ceuaztl oalquiça, in quauhtli, çan ic mochiuj in qujchiouia, oallachecoouia in nauijnti: conjauijlinia yn jochimal, yn jamacquauh in tonatiuh:

aocmo oalocacoaia, ynic oaltzinilotia, çan nijman ic oalquiatimanca, mitotiuijxac, momamauiuj: inhquin tlalli ixco motecteccatiuj, inhquin tlaltitech ouiquih, mocacamahtiuj, nanacatlachiztiuj, hacochokotiuj, tlatlaiecoatiuj.

Auh in ic inhquj nijman oalquiça, yioouallaoan, totec: ipan quiztiujxc, ça oallatoquilia, ça oallacacujtiuh, ça oallacujtlapiloca, ça quinoalocatzacujtiuh in nauijtin, vencisti in quaquauhti, yn ocelo, ça oalmaçoa, oalmoana, conjauijlia yn ixchimal yn jamaquauh in tonatiuh:

nijman ic ic oalquiça oalmoiaohtia, oalmotecpana, yn ixquijchiin teixiptlacoan, yn japatilocoan in ixquijchtin teteu: motocaioiaia tepatiuhti, tepatilloaan, teixiptlati:

çan ic no yuj in ujh.motecpantiuj, cemonotiuj, ynic oalcemo: vmpa oalpeoa in iopico, vel icpac in teucalli iopitli.

Auh yn oacico tlatzintla, in tlalchi, in tlaltitech: nijman quijacoalos in temalacatl, yn ocmiaoaloque, motlatlalia tecpantoque, ypan veuey icpalli, iuca quechoficpalli.

Auh ynic onoque, ynic tecpantoque, cuetziacantica, ic no cucic teiscantica, tlaiacatitica, in iocallaoa: ichica ca iequjuh, yneiaciujl catca, in tlamictiz, in tetlatlaxiz, ymac poliozz, ymac xamaniuj yn ixquijch qnaulteccatl:

in ic inhquj nijman tlapizzalo, teccintli mopizza, quixquijtli, mapipizoa, yoan cujco: cujcapan tlapitzalpan, in oalmoiacatia: motecpana in cuacateca, quixquequechpanocoiuj, aztapanjel, quijacoalos in temalacatl.

Ce cantiquiça in malli, icpac cantiuh in tlamanj, in male, ynic quijaica temalacac:

yn ocanixique, quijmaca vetli: auh yn vetli nappa coniavilia in malli: auh çatepan conj piantica:

15. Durán, in op. cit., pp. 176 ff., names Uitzilopochtli, Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, Tlaloc, Tezcatlipoca, and Huitzilopochtli.
16. Quetzalcoatl; Durán specifies "el principal sacerdote, de aquellos dioses que se llamaban Quetzalcoatl."
17. Sahagún (op. cit., p. 68) says the captor raised the wine; Sahagún says the prisoner.

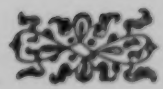

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipehualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *tamales* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Costeca, they who belonged to the district of Costlan, esteemed [these *tamales*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Costlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[5]**—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.**

Jnjc cemposali onnome capitulo, vncã motecneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoalizth in quichiouia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitouia, in motecneouia, Tlacaxipehualiztli. 796^x

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpizolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpulotecqueque, vmpa pouhque iopico, cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhuitl, in tlacemilhuitilitoque, ic tlalhujquixtitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihuiçulotoque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in ixquich nepapan xochitl, in iancuican cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto quinecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, quiuenchioaz, quiuẽmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitoltzi quittaia, cuecueponioc, cuecuepocaioc, tlatlatzcaioc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aquitoton, hacquipipil, hacquitetoton, çan quecizquj, çan quezquitoton, çan quecizquipipil, çan quezquiquauhtoton quicujcujtlalpia, quitlpia. 796^x 824 [784] [532]

Auh ynic xuchiteremoaia, quicenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj quiualnamacaia, in millaca: 796^x [432]

auh yn iquac y, quiquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [261]

oc cenca ichoanti quimauiztliaia in coatzca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: quitlamanjlia yn intecuh, inoca coatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn jtech tlaquauhtlamati, yn innetemachil, yn itech moquauhtiotia, yn inquauhio, yn itech motzacuilia.

Auh çan no iquac tlatlatilo, onmotlania, onmocacoa, yn imomio tlaca, vmpa iopico omacctiuj:

1. The corresponding Spanish text specifies: "... que hacían en el principio del segundo mes, que se decía Tlacaxipehualiztli."
In Chapter 3, this month is correctly named Tepeilhuitl.
2. Same corresponding Spanish—"Y se decía 'se sembraban semajas'" (Garibay, "Bolsicón breve," p. 204). Seler (op. cit., p. 77) has, for sembraban, "fueron puestas las almohadillas (?) del Tecuil."
3. "Los ancianos de aquel templo," according to Sahagún's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagún, Histoire des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne, p. 92, n. 3: tamapalitzalli—"Pan-dos pour tamapanecatl, de tamapali, dépôt ou bordo-pagnonnet, et tamanalli, pâtes de tamal."
5. Bandelier, Seler (op. cit., p. 78) omit the term corresponding. Garibay (op. cit., p. 205) has, for yoan tetlaqua tlacatlalli, "y se llamaba, 'se sembraban los pedos'"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "sembraban los algunos ahorcados."

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leapt about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the mouth of Tonacal."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

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And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rasping gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

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And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

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Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chochoteimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtoia, mimiti tzacachocholoa:

amaizquatechimaletimanj, amaizquatechimalequa, moquequapotonja iztac tzolivitica: yoan motecmecovia tzontzatlantiuj, ymamomaxtli, yoan iztzatzanapil, tzanaivitl, in ishquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzintzelolo, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quiztizquijtiuj, amatl acazilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjhtoia, tlaiacolea, ic tlazixhtiuj yn jztzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlacotzonjlhoia, çan cacatz chocoticate: çan tlalpan vcuetl in qujzcotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetzotoque, aiotl qujzcotzona, aiaujectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn ixquich teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtoia, motenoa mococolea.

Auh ynjc mjhtoia mococolea, ichica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtoia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtoia innetol, momomochitoia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicoaquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, motzoa, yoan in metztomacaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtoia.

Jn ichoantin hin, motenoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pinlolia, ynjc aiac qujmjxcleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn ixquichtin yn mococolea, vel mopinia ynjc aiac vncan molcuiz:

auh intla acz itta, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujzujujlaza, qujzitilicça, qujzuicça:

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "saltar o bailar de la frente de tonacal"; Garibay (op. cit., p. 298) translates tonacachocholoqui as "se salta el salto de Tonacal."

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Relación anónima, Vol. III, pp. 142-3 and 187. The last-mentioned reference to tonacal is: "Hay una ave que se llama tonacal; es negra y tiene el pico corto." Seler (op. cit., p. 108, n. 7) calls tonacal jackdaw or dawe; ib. (Ibid., p. 233) used chinchi. Of this and of tzanaivitl he says it is "ein Vogel, der gegen Regen dort Regenwetter sind hören läßt und dessen Federn, auch diese Gleichen der Mexikaner, Leuchtgase verursachen sollen. Ich habe den Mexiko dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Er soll auch ein Vogel sein, dessen Federn verursachen Gefahr gewissen sich von der der tonacal oder Dohlen." Sahagún (loc. cit.) usually explains: "es que entre Españoles cuervinchi, que tienen de la frente, que llamamos chinos, era el tonacal." See also supra, p. 96.

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat clipper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of maguey fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his maguey thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Viloa, onnevtemalo, tlapiztzalotiuh, quipiztiuj, in tecciztli, cobconiloc chihiltli.

Auh in muchintin tlamacazque, qujmamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan qujniacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemaub ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiqujpil.

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli tziacantiuh, qujquechpanotiuh, niochicaoaztli, no itoca naoalquaujtl, petlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, qujcacalatztiuh

nocac ce onmocaoã calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, niochiuhtoque, niacachotoque; qujpiztoque in qujqujztli, qujqujçotoque.

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque? nauhcampa in manca yn nizuhcalli, njman ic ic neteteco, netlalilo, tlatziztilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzizilitzalo:

in ic iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in vene itoca chalchiuhquaqujlli: qujtoa.

Coatl yçomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccaiaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ic ic onnetepeoalon atla, tlachachaquaztzinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, ntlacxiuitectinemj, tzatzitinemj, ycaoztzinemj, qujntlaichecalhuja yn izqujchtin totome:

cequj canauhtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin qujntlaichecalhuja, in pihpiztzi, pipiztzlatoa: cequjntin qujntlaichecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin aztatlatoa, cequjntin azoquenelatoa, cequjn tecujlcoiocatlatoa:

yn vncan maltiaia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuen-

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10. CÁMARA: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21; *ocelocuilar; ocuillin (conch)(?)*.

11. "Todos llevaban a questas, unos talegillos atados con unas cordelejas de ixtli, otros unos lienzos al cuello; y de estos colgaban, unos unos de papel pintados, otros con los mismos talegos, que llevaban pintados; y en aquellos talegos llevaban unos manojos de hierbas, hechos a la manera de incienso de estos llevaban pintados, que eso significaban aquellos, y con polvos de unas yerbas que eso llevaban pintado, que se creen hechos de ceniza" (corresponding Spanish text).

Clavi (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: "*Acacalotl* (*acal* canoe, *yotl* tobacco. The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the *yotl* or Nicotiana macrophylla Dun.; the *quauhyotl*, *quauhtlatoa* tobacco, *yotl* tobacco, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and *pinitzi*, *pinitzi* tobacco, *yotl* tobacco, or Nicotiana tabacum L., which latter is usual or charred in pulque called *pulque*); *yotl* tobacco, *quauhtl*, *yotl*, or smoked or cigars or *pipitzi*, *pinitzi* smoke, *yotl* tobacco. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *xochicuauhtl*, *ocimatlatl*, *tlalchi*, and *chiltecpin*." Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 134.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. 6, § 9 of Sahagún. Cf. Bulmarda ed., Vol. III, pp. 168-81. Saldívar defines these respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; blue American egret or heron; kingfisher (*amaquemo* or *amaquemecatl*); and sandhill crane (*Mexico Ilustrado*, p. 118, items 3-7).

And when this was done, then he scattered incense. And when he had scattered it, then they gave him his mist rattle board, and he rattled it, he shook it, he raised it as an offering [to the god].

And when they finished, then all departed, [the crowd] broke up, all dispersed and scattered, each one going to his priests' dwelling. [But] the novice priests, them they only took to their houses.

And when they had entered the priests' dwellings, then all put off [their adornments], and sat in order.

And at night, thereupon began and took place a feast, on the top of the Temple of Tlaloc.

The horizontal drum was beaten, flutes were played, conch shells and reed pipes were blown. There was song. The horizontal drums croaked, growled, and droned, and rattles were rattled.

They caused those who were to be slain, the likenesses of the rain gods, to spend the night in vigil.

And when midnight came, when night divided in half, then began the slaying. First to be slain were the captives. They became as the fundament [of those who followed]. And when [these] died, thereupon died [the impersonators of] the rain gods.

Then also [was the time] when they burned all the paper offerings, and the quetzal feathers, and various [other] precious feathers; and some of the green stones—well-formed, those which were in no way blemished, which had no defects, as well as some of the green stones which were rough and brown, or dark.

And when they slashed open the breasts [of the victims], when they opened the breast of one of them, they seized his heart; they placed it in a vessel, painted blue, named the cloud vessel, which was painted with liquid rubber on four sides. And it was decked with paper dotted with drops of liquid rubber, with much rubber,—full of rubber.

Thus they did to all the impersonators, and they cast all their hearts there [into the cloud vessel].

And when this was done, at midnight, when they were slain, all the bystanders, who were watching, all had in their hands their wormwood flowers.[27] They walked thrusting [these], lunging with them to and fro, and fanning their children [with them]. It was said that thus they frightened away the worms, that their [children's] eyes might not become wormy. Some put [the flowers] in their ears. Some just walked carrying them gathered in their hands.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njman contepeoa yn jiaulitli: 796x
auh yn ocontepeuh, njman conmaca yn aiochicaoaztli, concacalatza, conujujxoa, coniyiaoa.

Auh ỹ ontzonquiz, njman ic viujlooa, cecenmanoa, momoiaooa, xitinooa, viuj yn jncacalmecac: auh yn tlamaztoton, çan qujnujujca yn inchachan.

Auh yn onnetecoto calmecac, mec nexixitinjlo, netlatlalilo:
auh yn onioooac njman ic ic peoa, in tlalhujmanj, in teucalticpac tlalocan:
teponaçolo, tlapitzalo, içhoatl in mopitza teccizzlij [534]
yoan acatecoiztli: cujco, yn teponaztli, mjmjlcatoc,
nanalcatoc, iuhqujn qujqujnacatoc, yoan aiacacholo:

qujntoçauja in miquizque yn imixiptlaoan tlaloque.

Auh yn oacic ioalnepantla yn iquac xeliuj ioalli:
mec peoa in micoa, iacattiuj in mamaltin miquj: iuhqujn inpepechoan muchioa: auh yn onmjcoque, njman ic ic miq' in tlaloque:

njman no yquac tlatla, yn ixqujch nextlaoalli amatl, yoan in quetzalli, yoan in nepapan tlaçoihujtl:
yoan cequj chalchiujtl yn jcucic, yn atle itlaciuiz,
yn amo tlaciujce: yóan cequj olchalchiujtl, iaiauhquj,
iaiactic, anoço yiauhtic.

Auh yn iquac qujmeltetequi, in oc onpeti yiechiqujuh, conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalitiuj comjc, tlatezoujlli motocaiotia, mixcomjtl, nauhtampa in tlavlxaoalli: auh yn itlaquen amatl tlavlchipinilli, cenca [415]
vllo moca vlli:

much iuh qujnchiça yn isquintin teixiptlaoan,
much vmpa contlaztimanj yn jniollo.

Auh yn iquac muchioa ioalnepantla, ynjc mjcoa:
yn ixqujchtin tlatlattaque, in tlatlachia, muchi imiztauhixxochiuh, inmac tetentinemj, qujtlatlaujtzotinemj, aujc qujtlaztinemj, ic mécapeujtinemj, yn [755
inpilhoã, qujlmach ic qujnpeujaia in ocujlti, ynic 278]
amo yxocujlloazque: cequjntin in nacaztitlan
caaquja, cequjn çan qujmamapictinemj.

27. Artemisia ludoviciana, known in Nahuatl as ixiptla, meaning "in place of," according to Seler, Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 70.

X 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [535] [whence they had started].

And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, [512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[534] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, [373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

X 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who 836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of 684 honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his [831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlauic, oalmocuiepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ic tlaquauhioua, ic netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlaxilia axcan aço ic chicunauj ora.

Auh in ic ixqujch, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet vetetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn ixqujchtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujotlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otmacaque, njman mocentlalia, in ic oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenqujxtia, quĵcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlauehiloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan mosocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioateiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oalioualquiça, çan moioualpoloa, oc ueca ioan in qujça:

auh intla aca ittoa, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in ixqujch ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlêtlecaleoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the leading warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were passed with red feathers. And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their foreheads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[8] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonquiçaia,

çã qujnoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhteil xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiacalotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh iontzinco miquiz in Xilonen: ceiocal in ciouapan cujcoia, toçoonia, muchi tlacatl intzoçoonia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, queoaia quevilaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel ixquich tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapalivjtica: yoan moxaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn intenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpacxochiuh, inxoxochicoaqui cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ichoã yn, cioa, motenena cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonneloa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in ichoantin y, cioa motenena tecomapiloca.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic motenena tecomapiloca, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa itepuzoco ictiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitzziuj, teccizzli in qujpiezziuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipizotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

8. *Bixa orellana L.*, the annatto shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llaman caryophylichiti, son amarillas y de buen olor*" (Rodondo ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tagetes, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 69, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *tlamamaque cuicacalco* (chanting priests), says "The player is called the *teponaqui*, and the drum, *teponaztli*, hewn from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonchocarpus cruciatus* Benth. this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of *ulli*." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tempo on the bottom (corresponding Spanish text).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cintéotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cape of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 27.

muchichioa, quauhxxitl in quimama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc. 716 793 [301] [267]

Ce tlacatl quiquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, ezcan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan quioaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, quicacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic quioalnamiquj, yuicpa quioalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, metocaiotia tepozoa: 796

njman ie ic tlacoti, quiquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iollo, zoxouhquj xicalco quioallalia: ieholl quimati in machiceque catca in campa quitlalia, in campa quinequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in ooztl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhquilitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in xochitl, in cempoalxuchitl, in jeuchitl. [262 264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl nezcaloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpocpochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan quijta oquijchtli, mopotonjaia, momaoaia. [302]

Izquich tlacatl mocamaluja momocozamalujaia: quiotlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan. [868 273]

Auh in ucuctque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli.

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço quijxacutiaz nezcitilo, neixpãtitilo: quijpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796 273 689

delos cantares delos dioses. fo. 144. 532 415 534 292

Cochara, cochiua, cochi ixpiqui
oblomiqui, iecitlaui, mochiuay
tec, cacoylia, yiaqia.

¶ Xippe icuic, tlatlaquilia
Vaina.

Iualli tlauana, iztlacan, tlaxoa
tlequia xipiqui, mylatia tlauaq
tlaquemiti, xipmoquetl quichiqia.

Notzuhca chalchiuhtzuna tlaua
pana itzmoia, oiquechaillauiqui,
ay quichol xiuiaztli nechtlaiquiz
cauhquetl oncia.

Mamiaztia, mia, mila polinis
mixaxin, achalchiuhtia xiollo,
atecuxilatl necoiaxtlas xiolo
xisquitlacatl achtequipa tlaqua
xaia, ahuacatqui iauhtlatlauquetl
oncia.

Notzuhca cuitlaxo xoiaxilinis ce
noa xioatzin nuchepeiocpa mixi
xalitz motzuhca, xisquitlaca
catl achtequetl tlequauaia cha
catqui iauhtlatlauquetl oncia.

¶ Chicomecoatl icuic.

Chicomolxin, xoia mechaa,

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Appendix: Song of Xipe)

[p. 102 c]

796
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[534]

—After Paso y Troncoso

15.21. Teocatl (Chapter 24)

[p. 102 F]

Then they climbed up the ropes. On one rope mayhap twenty climbed, like a cluster hanging upon it. Not all reached the point; only some reached the top. The one who led grasped the *zocoal* image, which was made only of a dough of amaranth seeds. He took all—its shield, arrow, dart, and dart-thrower.

And the amaranth seed dough [*amaxtli*] he scattered down so that they fell to the ground upon those [who watched]. All who stood below looked up. When the amaranth seed dough fell, all stretched forth their hands and shouted as if there were a fight. Some took its head ornaments of amaranth seed dough, which he also scattered upon them. They were carried off by those below.

And when this was done, then he who had captured the *zocoal* [image] came down. When he descended and reached the ground, then they seized him; the old men [of the temple] took him up to the place of sacrifice and offered him gifts. And all thereupon pulled upon the ropes, exerting themselves greatly, verily destroying the work. And the *zocoal* then fell to the ground, raising a cloud of dust, breaking into pieces. Into three or four sections it quickly broke apart.

Upon this, all then went; all was quiet and left clear. And then they accompanied the captor of the *zocoal* to his house, and arrayed him in a brown striped cloak edged with a feathered border.

And if one were a captor [of the *zocoal*], he might well thus array himself, wrapping about him [such a cloak]; none might therefore dispute him [the right]. But if one were not [such a] captor, he might only keep one in his care. And mayhap he might sell it when he was poor or sick.

And thus they accompanied him to his home; two old priests went carrying him, taking him by the arms. Behind came the priests, blowing horns for him as they went, sounding shell trumpets for him. And he bore upon his back his shield. And when they left him, then they returned [to the temple].

Thus in truth ended here, [thus] concluded, the feast day.

njman ie ic tlecoa in mecatitech: in cc mecatl, aço cen tecpantli in jtech tleco, iuhqujn tlapipilcac: amo mochintin in vmpanvetzi, çan quexquintin in vmpanvetzi, in aquin iacatiuh, vel ichoatl caci in xocotl ixiptla, çan tzoalli: muchi qujcujlia in jchimal, in jmjuh tlaoaçomalli, yoan yiatlauh. 796 [48]

Auh in tzoalli, vmpa qujoaltetepeoa, tepan qujoalcecẽmana, muchi tlacatl, onacopatlachia in tlatzintlan manj, in jquac oalhuetzi tzoalli muchi tlacatl maçoa, iuhqujn ipan nemjmjctilo, iuhqujn tlatlacaoaca: no cequjnnin conaci, in jxxõcoiol in tzoalli, no tepã qujoalcecẽmana, namoielo in tlatzintlan.

Auh in ie iuhquj njmã: njman ie ic oaltemo, in xõcomanj: in ooaltemoc, in otlaltitochacico: njmã ie ic conana: in tlacacouhcan, vmpa qujtlecavia in vevetque, vmpa qujtlauhtia: auh in jxqujch, tlacatl, nimã ie ic qujtilinja in mecatl, vel netilinjlo, vel ontlamj in tlapaliviztli: auh in xocotl, njmã ic vetzi tlalpã, tlalipototzivetzi, popoztectivetzi, aço ezcan, anoço nauhcan qujztivetzi. [431]

In ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic vivilloa, cactivetzi, cactimomana: auh çatepã, concaoa in jchan in xocomanj, ic cuapana camopalli in tilmatli, tenjvivavanquj. [292]

Auh intla tlamanj, vel qujmoquentiz, vel qujmolpiltinemjz, aiac ic qujtlacioviliz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujmotlaciliz, çan ipiel icz: auh anoço qujmonamaqujliz, in jquac ic motolinja in jcocoian.

Auh injcõcaoa ichan: caantivi, qujzititzqujtivi yiacolpã; in quiquacujlti: vmentin, icãpa mantivi tlamacazque, qujdapichilitivi: ichoatl in teccizlli qujpichilitivi: yoã qujmamatiuh in jchimal. Auh in ocõcaoato, mec oalmecuepa: [534]

ic vel oncan oatzonequiça, õtlamj in jlhujtl.

given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cintéotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together—not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Teci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Teci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *mamali*.[10]

And when they had arrived, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cintéotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. At a little distance, her Huastecs went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech cloths, and had their mirrors on the mantles of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with] unspun cotton].

And the medicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests proceeded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiztivitze, vmpa itztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jteupan, in vmpa omjc: oc ceppa vmpa ommoclalia.

796 [292]

Auh in otlatvic, in odatlavilotlecoac, tlatlavilotl eoa, mec oalmoquetza tlatempan: auh in jzquijch tlõcatl pipilti, ic quijchixtoque ipan õnetepeoalo: njman ic quijtlaclamaca: in aca quijpotonja icpac, yoan icaic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca quijzaoa: in aca cõmaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in quijcotonjlia: in aca copalli in coztemjlia cenca çan icuahca: njmã ic cactivetzi, njmãn ic vivilos.

[302] [292]

A[illegible] qvivilooc: njmã ic oalquijça in jveitlatquj mo[illegible]: yiamacal, yoan itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquizpanjtl, macujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoatl in tianquizpanjtl: auh navi hecoocampa oome quj tzatzacutiuh: motenecoa meotli.

[292]

Auh in ocõcencauhque, njmã ic ommoiacatia, in mamalti injxpan, navintin: mec oo conteca, in techcac: inomia yioma in quijmjctia, quijmchtetequj: navixtin, iuh quinchioa:

in oquijmõmjcti in navixtin, mec immac quijnoalcaoa in tletlemamacaque, injc quijamjctiaque, in oc cequjxtin mamalti: mec iauh in vmpa ocanato iconeuh: quijvicaltiuh in jconeuh, in cintéotl ano itztlacoliuhqui: quijacana in jouacoan vecapa quijtztivi, ommoncauhque, inamamecamatli, yoan incujlatecauh, im jchcauochtli, mamalacquetzalle.

[293] [283]

Auh in tiici, yoan in tenezamacaque, necoc quetivi, cujcativi: quijcacjcatzaxilitivi in quaquacujlli.

[463] 796 534

9. This knife is illustrated in the Vindobonensis and of the Codex Borbonicus and of the Aubin Collection.
10. Cf. [illegible] Spanish text. Sahagún (Bridge Explnd, p. 177) relates the term to mali; possibly it could as well be related to mad.

X 796 horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water
● [537] gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they relished the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] trampled upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi; not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

[417 778] And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [home] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to
[701] her home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors; the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his cagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers]
[352] of an eagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

quijnemanivi in tepeuantenti, itech tlaçalelli, ancontenti: ic injc motenoua, tecomaqtlan.

In oncito tzompantitlan: njmã ic conjoça in jeveuh: auh in tequjoaque, ic quichixtoque: vncan onoua in jnecxuiac injc quicanaque iuac: vncã onoua colollujtivi in tiacoan, in chicanaque, in tlaçanj: cepca motlalea.

Auh in oncito, in vmpa centlhianj in iaupan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacatzlan in iztac tepetl: iuaciocan, popotl temj: aivian in centlalia, qujoaltoca: anoce qujntoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in ocõtlalito quihuicpac, in jnecxuiac: mec vilouia, mec no vi in teiauan.

Auh in ic iuhqui, in ichoatl Toci: in ocõcaouia, iconeuh: njman ic ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenquijnoa in tiacaoã, in jxquichtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ic izquichtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelintoque in tiacaoan, in jiolloco chicaoaque, in amo quijlaçoda in intzonteccon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjqujmauhã, in vel in ca momotla in teiauan.

Auh in ic iuhqui, in ocenquijnac: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecompãtililo, in jxpã Motecçiçoma, ichoatica quauhpetlapan, vel ichoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipeoalli in ipan eoatica, yoan ocelotepotzoicpalli in ipan motlaztica, vel ic in ocelotl yieouio, injc tlaquijnjlolli icpalli:

11. Gurbisz (op. cit., p. 306) translates it "[illegible]." The corresponding Spanish text implies use of the foot (pisar).

12. See note 22.

13. The importance of chief officers shown in [illegible], which can be suggested by the following passages from the Informantes (Bulmarde ed.), Vol. II:

"... capitanes que han de tener cargo de regir la republica, o [illegible] de ser [illegible], o [illegible], dellos habilidad para que [illegible] y ordenar de la gente de guerra que andan por las conquistas y por las [illegible], y cuidan los [illegible], y dominadores a los barrancos, y no se [illegible] de [illegible] el [illegible] a muerte o los [illegible] y [illegible]. . . ." (p. 53).

". . . los padres y madres del sol, que se llaman [illegible] (y) [illegible], que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al sol y a la tierra, con las [illegible] de la cabeza y [illegible] de los [illegible]. . . ." (p. 180).

". . . sobre los soldados y capitanes habia dos principales que los regian, el uno era [illegible] y el otro de los dichos era pila y el otro generalmente en las cosas de la guerra, y [illegible] [illegible] con soldados para estas cosas. Y también para [illegible] generales de las cosas de la guerra principales dos, uno [illegible], y generalmente y del [illegible], y otro [illegible], y otro especialmente de la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba [illegible] y el otro [illegible], estos entendian las cosas de la guerra, y en ordenar todas las cosas que concernian a la [illegible]" (p. 187).

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they parted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god-judged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his post; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[2] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still.

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzauac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coeloloa, quauhcaxic in tetemoiuh, mec quipaquiuh: in oncic izpá mec contema, contemjlia. [796x] [252]

Auh in jquac ic ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in vevenxitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, quijmach quicxipoca. [888] [273]

Auh in oncic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in ao-xiatemalixtli: iquac quijtepeua in açaxiatl. Auh in oncic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teotl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in qujchiouia, ioexitli, quitepiztlaliaia, quipachoaia, ioaltic injc quitlaliaia, petlapá in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, quicencaoaia, cemolinja, injc ieoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjita, achca in conjita, aquēmá motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjita, aquīman conjcxicaua, in conjita ioexitli, metenesa: icxi. [793]

Auh in obecoc, vncan conjita, icxitontli, in vncan icac, ioexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza ioexitli, texxioinj: njmá ic neci, ca obecoque in teteu:

njman ic quioalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in ilacxi:

in ocacoc: njmá ic moantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, quitzacutimomana: njmá ic macho, ca obecoque in teteu. [787] [534]

Auh in jaquich macoualli, njman ic vivi, vivilca, in tlatlamanaxque iocupá, in iteteupan diablome: çá moche in tlapololli, in quitumanjlia:

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivezzi.

Auh in ie ioua: çan ie no iei in quichiua, tlatlaoana in vevetque, in jlamatzitzin, quijmach, quinjcxipaca in obecoque teteu. [888] [273]

Auh in jmantlaioc, iquac hero in Jacapitzauac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca intouah caxca, you in Izoçauh- [776]

2. The word [illegible] is explained by Guzman (op. cit., p. 207): "[illegible]"—"y [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] de [illegible]."

X 796 [796] Iaçoçauhqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

X 796 292 535 And when they were being cast into the fire, there then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

[198] And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

[534] And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

X 796 535 They took one another's hands, grasping them firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken, where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hapida."

[237] And next day all assembled at the same time to dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasure songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here endeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

qui, ichoatl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca intecuh canca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoquijtivia, ça qujualentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic pesa in tetlepanlaxo, vncan in teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in qujntlepantlaçaia, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaxo, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichiouia quachichiquijlxoc, quachichiqujle, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujnnamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, techtlaoatzalouatli: in jquac ce contlaça tlero, mapipitzoa:

yoan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhqujn tzinacan: ic no mochichiouia vntetl in jxiacach, vecampa in xiacachotinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazqui: injc oaltemo, imaamanecapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca motetzauhtzitzquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhqujn mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic movitequj, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin motenemi mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in cortic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xoxoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca izquich tlacatl, çan ichoantin in oqujchtin:

njman ie ic pecalo in nococololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, nexano, cujco, çaço ac tle quena, çan avilcujcatl: auh in necacaoalo, ie iooa: auh in aca cenca compaqui, vel vncan iovilia.

auh in jioanjlhujiati y, ie cuel cõcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je izquich njcan tlamj, njcan tzonquiça in ilhujtl Teotl eco.

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8. ". . . son en donde cada año celebran ciertos en un gran sacrificio de fuego muchos cautivos, de la forma que se llamaba teuhcalco y hacían los sacrificios, especialmente, que se llamaban xocotlamacoa, como se dice en la cuenta [illegible]" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 221).
9. ". . . porque no los hacían casi el dicho Xocotlamacoa" (*Ibid.*, p. 226). Cf. Chimalpain, op. cit., p. 166.

Thirty-second Chapter, in which are related the feasts and sacrifices which they made, in the days of the thirteenth month, which was known as, and named, Tepeilhuitl.

The thirteenth feast was known as the "Mountain Feast."

All the digging sticks which were kept in men's houses, and the heavier sticks,[1] made as [representations of] mountains, they covered with a coating of dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And their bones were likewise fashioned of a dough of [ground] amaranth seeds, long and cylindrical in shape. Either fish amaranth[2] or *chía* [was used].[3]

And also they fashioned [images in the form of] mountains for, perchance, one who had died in the water—having drowned—or had been struck by lightning.

And for whosoever had been [thus] slain and not burned but only buried,[4] [to honor him] they also made images of the mountains; they made them all of the dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And upon the eve of the feast, toward sundown, they were bathed, their faces were washed.[5] When they [went to] wash them, they went blowing and sounding little clay whistles and little sea shell whistles for [the images].[6]

And they bathed them there at the Mist House; [with] fresh cane shoots they washed their faces. And some [men] washed them only at nearby shores.[7]

And when they had been washed, then the return was made whence they had come; in the same manner they came blowing whistles, with a great din as of shouting. Thereupon were given human form

Inic cempoalli on matlactli omome capitulo: vncan moteneoa in jlhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl omei metztli in moteneoaia, in mjtoaia Tepilhujtl. 796X

Injc matlactetl omei ilhujtl ichoatl in moteneoa tepeilhujtl:

in jxqujchtin cocoa im pipialo techachan, yoan in ecatotonti, qujtetepetlaliaia, tzoalli injc qujnpepechoaia: [241] 796X 778

auh in jmoemjo muchioaia, çan no tzoalli, mjmjmjltic, aço mjchioauhtli, anoço cócotl:

auh no qujtepetlaliaia, in açaca atlan mjc, in jlaqujlo, ã anoçe viteco: [765 778]

yoã in aqujn omomjqujli, in amo tlatilo, in çan qujtnca, no tepetl ipan qujqujxtiaia, çan moch tzoalli in qujnchichioaia: 796X

Auh in oqujuh muxtla ilhujtl teutlacpa in teaaltilo, anoço teixamjlo: injc qujmonaltia qujntlapichilitivi, in qujnpichilitivi, cocovilotl, yoan tecciztotonti. [534]

Auh in qujmonaltiaia, vmpan aiauhcalco, acatzontli ichoatl in celtic ic qujmjxamja: auh in cequjntin çan imatenco in qujmonaltia.

Auh in ontealtiloc, mec oaltecuepalo, çã no ivi, [534] 796X 778

1. See corresponding Spanish text. Cap. XIII here: "*Amili ciñían unos trapos de palo grueso como la mudanza larga Emmanuelas Romanas.*" Of these and of course, Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Lib. II, p. 279) writes: "*Para esta solemnidad, la primera vez, hacen unos cubrenos de palo, ó de varas de Arboles, labrandolos las cabezas lo mas pulidamente que saben, fingiendo semejanza de trapajos pequeños como figurillas, á manera de las Medianas, que acostumbran las Mulas, en nuestra Nacion Española, las quales llamaban Romanas.* . . . " Clavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-7, version similar.

2. *Mishtar Alamaxa* in Molina, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary. In this chapter, however, Sahagún refers to muchhuauhtli as yellow amaranth. See also p. 63, n. 28.

3. In the Bulmarde ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 264, Nicolás León has defined *cocovilotl* as "*Tórtola (Chía dulce)*"; in his study he used the numbered illustrations in Pozo y Tiburcio's reproduction. Cocovil is No. 975.

4. Torquemada (*loc. cit.*) further explains: ". . . *en memoria de algunos difuntos, en especial de los que se avian ahogado en Aguas, ó avian muerto de muerte, que no pudieran ser quemados sus cuerpos, ó fuesen enterrados por algunos años.*"

5. Both Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) and Seler (*op. cit.*, pp. 190-91) differ from this version. In Sahagún, the people wash the seats upon which the images rested; in Seler, the people are washed.

6. Through the entering canoe to refer to the images, in the Spanish text Sahagún writes: "*Los ídolos de esos fueron llevados a lavar entre voces al río o a la fuente. . . .*"

7. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) here: "*al agua que pasaba junto a su casa.*"

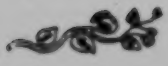

*796 **Thirty-fourth Chapter,** in which they tell of the feasts and sacrifices which were performed on the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Panquetzaliztli.[1]

The fifteenth feast day: this one was called Panquetzaliztli.

[785] When the feast of Panquetzaliztli had not yet arrived, the priests fasted for eighty days, and laid down green boughs. When they began [the fast], it was upon the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread the green boughs, on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they laid the green boughs, they [292] went quite naked, wearing nothing. They went carrying green boughs; these [were] green reeds and [534] thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets and pottery whistles.[2] They proceeded blowing [them] alternately.

And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when was intoned the song named the Tlaxotecaiotl—the song of Uitzilopochtli. This was begun at nightfall; and it was ended at the [534] time when the trumpets sounded, when the conch shells were blown.

Also, among them, the women sang and danced—harlots, who went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this, until twenty days [had passed].

*796 And when the ninth day before [the feast] arrived, then were bathed in sacred water [the victims 778 known as] the ceremonially bathed ones, or those to die the captives' death.[3] The old men of the tribal temple secured the water; they got the water there

Inic 34 capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl, ic caxtolteti metztli, in mjtoaia: Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtolteti ilhujtl: ichoatl in motencoa, Panquetzaliztli:

in aiamo aci ilhujtl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhujtl in moçaoaia, yoan acxoistlaliaia: iquac quipeoaltiaia, in iuh onquiz imuztlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in ioalnepantla onacxoiatema, in novian tetepeticpac, yeã in momomonco, in veca.

Auh inin quichioaia, iaquichica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in onacxoiatlaliaia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intech vetztiuh, quitquitivi in acxoatl, ichoatl in acatl xoxouhqui, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cucovilutl quipiztivi, quipapatlativi in quipitza.

Auh in ẽquja Quecholli ilhujtl: njmã ic peoa in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in eoa itoca tlaxotecaiotl, icujc in Vitzilobuchtli: im peoaloia, iquac in tlatlapoiaoa: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalizpã, in ie tlatlapitzalo:

no teoan cujcoianoa in cioa in avienjme, tetzatzalan mantivi (in iuh omjto) mumuztlac in muchioa, iaquichica cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in oacic tlachicunaviti, vncan motecualtiaia in tlatlaltiki, anoço tuchimjoqõe:, in calpulvevetque, conanaia atl: vmpa in vitzilobuchco conanaia atl,

1. "Elevación de banderas," in Garibay, op. cit., p. 312; "el acto de enarbolar el pendón" (Clavigero, op. cit., p. 170)—possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the statue of Peyotl up to the altar in the Temple of Uitzilopochtli. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 299) writes: "Enarbolaban de Pendones, ó Vanderas, porque si por este Tiempo se hacian hacha las cuechas de sus Pueblos, las quales pusiaban, enarbolaban ó tocaban sus Guerras; y en este tiempo renovaban sus Mayorazgos, Alcaldes, y Linderos; y defendian sus Terrenos, y Montes, y otras cosas de tierras que tenian. De manera, que en todo este Mes estaban las Provincias, en Armas, y constantes ellas, y hacian entre ellas muy crudes Guerras, y Batallas; porque muchas veces tenian á rompimiento, y muvia muchas Guerras, y hacia grandes pajaduras, y despojos, y presos de Cautivos, y Esclavos, y se tomaban Pueblos, y grandes Provincias, en orden de ampliar, cada qual, sus Reinos, y Señorios. Y antes de las cuechas sus acostumbraban nada de esto, porque las Pueblos, y Senoraiados, no se tomaban, ni destruyeron; y para esto hacian grandes Oferendas á su Dios Huitzilopochtli, ó Centeotl, ofreciendole Aromas, y otras cosas, pidiendole favor, y ayuda contra sus enemigos."

According to Tayer (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 32) it was the spring festival of the war captives, which set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.

2. "Trompiste in Gemdo menor Tambor," according to Seler, op. cit., p. 295.

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 5; p. 19. Sahagún (Kubler ed., II, p. 370) says: "Los sacerdotes hacian un hoyo en que echaban á ahogar cierto hombre, este hacian en la fiesta que se llama panquetzaliztli. Para este fecho compraban cualquier que se llamaba tlacatecolo,

And of them who aided the Uitznaua, if one were taken, he met his end. In truth, the bathed ones slew [their opponents]; using a two-toned drum [as an offering stone], upon it they cut open their breasts.

And the onlooker, he who oversaw [the battle], when he noted that [he who bore the likeness of] Paynal already approached, then cried out, saying: "Mexicans! Now he cometh! Now already is brought the lord! Enough!"

And when they heard this, then the bathed ones took after [the others]. Then dispersed, melted away, and departed those who had aided [the Uitznaua], who had rolled up the paper.

Thereupon came [he who bore] Paynal. First arrived the standards, two devices for seeing, made of [sprays of] feathers, with a hole in their midst. Two mere boys bore them hence, hastening greatly. Then [from the boys] two warriors took [the standards] quickly—[warriors] who could hasten and run fast.

And when they had run a certain distance, two other [warriors] took it briskly from them. So they carried it in relays.

And when they reached the eagle portal[14] [of the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli], none took these from them; they took the devices up [to the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. These who came ahead, when they had brought up the devices for seeing, cast them upon the image of Uitzilopochtli, which [was made of a dough of] amaranth seed. [There] they fell to the ground, faint, and lay panting.

And the fire priest thereupon came forth and cut their ears with a flint knife, whereupon they came to themselves; thus they revived.

And when they had revived, then they climbed down, taking the amaranth seed dough [image] which they had captured.[15] They took it to their homes, [for] it was in truth their captive, and ate it. They offered it to their kin and to their neighbors, who all ate of it.[15]

Auh in tlapalevia in qujmpalevia vitznaoa, intla çe axioacã, no mjqujx: vel iioma qujmjctia in tlaaltilti, çan teponaztli in jpan coneltequi. [796] [534]

Auh in tlachixquj, in oqujttac, in oconjttac in ie vitz Paynal: mec tzatzi, qujtva, Mexicae, ca ie vitz, ca ie movicatz in tlacatl, ma ixqujch.

Auh in oqujcacque: mec tetoca in tlaaltilti: vncan xixitinj, tlaxitinj, vivi, in otepaleviaia, in otlamaviaia.

Niman ie ic vitz in Paynal: achtopa oaleoa in machiotl, auh in tlachielonj vr·tl hivitl in tlachicalli, yiticoionquj, çã oc pipiltotonti in qujoalitquj, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia, njman qujncujlitiqujça in tiacaoan, in vel paina, in vel totoca:

auh in oquexqujch oqujoaltoctique, oc ceppa no vmẽtin, qujncujlitiqujça, çan juhqujn qujmomamacativi.

Auh in oacico quauhqujiaoac, aocac vel qujncujlia, ie eoan qujpantlaçazque, in jicpac Vitzilobuchtli: in vel iacattiuh, in opanvetzito in tlachielonj, ipan contlaça in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, in tzoalli ça onchachapantivetzi, vel çoçotlaoa, ça cicintoque.

Auh in tlenamacac, njman ie ic iauh, qujnnacaztecpavia, ic oallachia, injc mozcalia. [785]

Auh in omozcalique mec oaltemo, qujtqujtze in ocacique tzoalli, qujmotqujlia in inchan, ca nel immal, qujqua, qujnmamaca in inoaniolque, yoan in tlaxillacaleque, qujcenqua. [262]

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13. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 88): "*y luego se juntaron los capitanes y entraron dentro del un patio que se llamaba quauhquiaoac. . . . En este lugar estaba una águila de piedra grande y alta como un estado de hombre, y por esto llamaban a aquel patio quauhquiaoac; de la una parte del águila estaba un tigre de piedra, y de la otra un oso también de piedra.*"

14. Clavigero (*op. cit.*, p. 168) says such images had been made of both Uitzilopochtli and Paynal: "*. . . fabricaban . . . dos estatuas de superbo disfraz, de la parte de varias semillas con sangre de niños carnificados, y le ponían por buenos algunos leños de aceite.*"

15. In *op. cit.*, pp. 168-70, Clavigero writes: "*aquella noche que era la décima del mes, celebran también los sacerdotes y a la mañana siguiente llevaban a la estatua de masa de Huitzilopochtli a una sala que había en el recinto del templo, y en presencia solemnísima del rey, de cuatro dignidades del templo y de cuatro superiores de los seminarios, el sacerdote Quetzalcoatl, que era jefe de los Tlamacazques o primeros arcipobos, un dardo a la estatua con que la atravesaba de parte a parte. Con este dardo, que ya había muerto su dios; uno de los sacerdotes le sacaba el corazón y lo presentaba al rey para que lo comiese; el cuerpo se dividía por medio y la una mitad se daba a los Tlamacazques y la otra quedaba para los sacrificantes; de esta se hacían cuatro partes para los cuatro cuarteles de la ciudad, y cada parte se dividía en porciones particulares que se distribuían entre todos los individuos del otro vecindario. Esta ceremonia explicaban con la palabra teocualo, comer a Dios. Los empleos tan gloriosos de esta sagrada mesa por mando, como se puede creer de su pertenecer a un arco al empleo de la guerra.*"

X 796 And when this was done, then they took in procession around [the pyramid] those who were to die, only once circling them about. Thereupon they were arranged and placed in order—the captives standing ahead. Then a man [priest] brought down [from the top of the pyramid] the sacrificial papers[16]—a man brought it down. When he reached the ground, he raised them as an offering to the four directions. Then he laid them in the so-called eagle vessel.

Auh in ie iuhquj mec tetlaiaoalochtilo, in mjqujzque, çan ceppa in qujnoallaiaoalochtia: in ie iuhquj mec temanalo, tetecpanalo, iacattimanj in mamalti: njman ie ic qujoaltemovia in teteuhpoalli: ce tlacatl in qujoaltemovia, in ocaxitico tlalchl, nauhcampa conjaoa; mec cõmana, in vncan moteneoa quauhxicalco:

Thereupon likewise descended the fire serpent,[17] looking like a blazing pine firebrand. Its tongue was made of red arara feathers, looking like a flaming torch. And its tail was of paper, two or three fathoms long. As it descended, it came moving its tongue, like that of a real serpent, darting in and out.

njman ie ic no oaltemo in Xiuhcoatl, çan juhqujn in ocopilli; cueçalin in jnenepil muchioa, tlatlatiuh in ocopilli: auh in jcuitlapil, amatl, aço vmmatl, anoço ematl injc viac: injc oaltemo, iuhqujnma nelli coatl, nenepilotivitz, iuhqujn mocuecuelotivitz.

And when [the priest] had come [with it], bringing it down to the base [of the pyramid], he proceeded carefully to the eagle vessel. Then he went up [to the eagle vessel] and raised [the fire serpent] also to the four directions. When he had [so] raised it up, then he cast it upon the sacrificial paper, and then they burned.

Auh in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, vmpa tlamattiuh in quauhxicalco: mec tleco, no nauhcampa in conjaoa: in oçonjauh mec cõmaiavi in jpan teteppoalli, mec tlatla:

And when he had come, leaving it, then he ascended; and when he reached the summit, then shell trumpets were blown. Thereupon was brought down Paynal, the representative of Uitzilopochtli; in great haste [the priest] brought him down.

[534]

auh in oconcaoaco mec tleco, in opanvetzito tlacpac, mec tlapitzalo: njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia.

And when [Paynal] had come, reaching the ground, he passed before the eagle vessel and quickly came in front of the captives and the bathed ones, as if guiding them. Then they ascended [the pyramid steps].

Auh in otlaltitech caxitico, ixpan qujqujxtia in quauhxicalli, imjxpan qujztiqujça in mamalti, yoan in tlaaltilti, iuhqujn, qujnoaliacana, mec tlece:

As they came gaining the summit, first the captives died, as if [with them] was formed the fundament for the bathed ones.[18] And when, first, the captives had died, the bathed ones were next.

in oacito tlacpac, achto mjquj in mamalti: iuhqujn impepechoan muchioa, tlaaltilti: auh in oachto ommjoque, mamalti; ça qujmõtoqujlia in tlaaltilti.

[534]

And when one had died, then shell trumpets were sounded; then they proceeded to bring them down, rolling them quickly down [the steps]. So did they with all the bathed ones.

Auh in jquac çe õmjquj; njman tlapitzalo: njman ic qujnoaltemovitimanj, qujnmjmjlotivitze; much iuh qujnchioa in tlaaltilti.

And likewise men were slain at Uitznauac. They who died were only the Uitznaua; only they [died] —none [were slain to form] their fundaments.

Auh no mjcoa in vitznaoac: çanjoque in mjquj vitznaoaca, çan mjxcavia, xiaque inpepechoã.

And when they had been slain, then all departed.

Auh in õmjcoac, mec vivilo: auh in jmuztlaio,

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Va volumen grande, de papeles blancos, que llaman teteppoalli, o por otro nombre teteuxil.*" The Huitzil text here has *teteuhpoalli*; subsequently it is spelt *teteppoalli*.

17. "*Un hachon de tea muy largo, que llamd xiuhcoatl,*" brought down by a priest (*loc. cit.*). In the Rabotzo ed., Vol. II, p. 383: "*y luego se ordia o quemaba aquella cuadera de papel que se llamaba xiuhcoatl.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. I, n. 4. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 282) describes the *xiuhcoatl* as "*una hondonada, y rencrecida, de grande cuerpo, y cenizosa*"—emblem of the fleets in Uitzilopochtli. He names it *cepacoatl*, as does Clavigero (*op. cit.*, p. 168), describing it as "*una serpiente de madera.*"

18. The corresponding Spanish text explains that the prisoners who formed the fundament were not sacrificed ("*ningún cautivo moria con ellos*").

X 796 night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

amanxtlalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl: auh in otlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlaltitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in quj-quequetza, vei oncã cemjlhujtia:

X 796 And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these 778 would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

auh in tepicque achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tla-macazque, injc qujnchivilizque imamatlatquj, tepic-totõ: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instru-[534] ments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujtqujtze in inchã tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoã imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquẽtia:

And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço m cujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço cxxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhqueme, Tepetzintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[4]

Auh in qujnpiquja iehoantin in tetepe: in popo-catepetl, in jztactepetl, anoço iztac cioatl, in tlaloc, in iooaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhqueme, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chicome coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceed-[415] ingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and sauce bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

Auh in oqujncencauhque, mec qujntlamaca, ce-cecnj mjxcavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çã achitoton, papatlachtotonti papatlachpipil: quauhcxxtotonco in qujntetemjlia, yoã inmolcxxto-ton, yoan inçoqujtecõtoton, çan no tepitoton cẽcã achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was [415 273 824] [in them]. And the green jars were made of these green gourds.[5] They split them, and took out their seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[6] Thus all night they sang for [the

auh nappa in qujntlamaca cecoal, yoan imjxpan manj vntetl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, iehoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, qujxtlapanaia, qujoalqujxtilia in jaiovachio, qujoalaiooachqujxtia: yoan qujoalqujxtilia in jcuj-tlaxcol, in juhquj mecatl, vncan conteca in aioctli,

4. These are located in the chapter on A6 cuauh. See p. 43. Tepetzintli and Tepepolli probably are the Tepetzinco and Tepepulco named in that chapter.
5. *Cucurbita ficifolia* Bouché (Seler: op. cit., p. 221).
6. Cf. Seler (loc. cit.)—*Kürbiswein* (*octli*). *Octli*, however, is defined (Rémi Simeon op. cit.) as a mixture of honey and water.

X 796 **A True [Relation] of how They Served the Sun; and of how many Times Trumpets Were Blown During the Day and During the Night; and of how many Times Incense Was Offered.**

Imelaoaca, in quenjn tlaiecuhtiloia tonatiuh: yoan qoezqujpa in tlapitzaloia in cemjlhujtl, yoan in criooal: yoan quezqujpa in tlenamacaia.

Each day, when the sun arose, quail were slain and incense was offered. And thus were quail slain: they wrung the necks of the quail and raised them dedicating them to the sun.

And they invoked [the sun], saying:

"The sun hath come forth—the shafts of heat, the turquoise child, the soaring eagle. And how he will go on, or how he may tarry [we know not]. Perchance something [ill] will be done his servants and vassals."

They said unto him:

"Work; perform thy office [for us], O our lord."

And this each day was thus done when the sun rose, [as hath] been said.

And thus was incense offered four times during the day, and five times during the night: The first time [was] when the sun burst forth. The second time [was] when [it was] time to eat [the first meal]. And the third time [was] at midday; and the fourth time [was] when already the sun had set.

And at night, thus was incense offered: the first time, when it was dark; the second time, when it was time to sleep; the third time, when the shell trumpets were sounded; the fourth time, at midnight; and the fifth time, near dawn. And when it was dark, incense was offered and a supplication was made to the night.

[534]

It was said:

"The Lord of the Night, he of the sharp nose, hath unfolded, and we know not how his office will end."

X 796 And [his] feast day came upon the day of the day-count [called] naui ollin, every two hundred 785 and three days. And when the day had come, all did penances; all fasted for four days. And when they reached the day of the day-count, at noon, shell trumpets were blown, and straws were passed through the flesh to draw blood. And they cut the ears of little children lying in their cradles. And all the people bloodied themselves, and no supplications

In mumuztlae in jquac valqujçaia tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, yoan tlenamacoia. Auh injc tlacotonaloia qujquechcotonaia in çolin, conjaviliaia in tonatiuh,

yoan qujtlapalovaia qujtoaia

Oqujçaco in tonatiuh, in tonametl, xiuhpiltontli, in quauhtlevanjtl: auh quen onotlatocaz quẽ cemilhujtiz, cujx itla ipan mochivaz in jcujtlapil, in jiatlapal

conilvjaia.

Ma ximotequjtili, ma xjmotlacotili, totecujoe.

auh injn mumuztlae iuh muchivaia in iquac valqujçaia tonatiuh mjtoaia.

Auh injc tlenamacoia, nappa in cemjlhujtl, auh macujlpa in iovaltica. Injc ceppa iquac in valmomana tonatiuh. Injc vppa iquac in tlaqualizpan, auh injc Expa iquac in nepãtla tonatiuh, auh injc nappa iquac in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh.

Auh in iovaltica, injc tlenamacoia. Injc ceppa tlapoiaoa. Injc vppa netequilizpan. Injc Expa tlatlapitzalizpan, auh injc Nappa ticatla, auh injc macujlpa tlatvinavac, auh in iquac tlapoiava tlenamacoia tlapaloloia, in iovalli

mjtoaia.

Ovalçouh in iovaltecutli in iacaviztli, auh quen onvetziz in jtequjuh.

Auh in ilhujuh qujçaia ipan cemjlhujtonalli navi ollin, matlacpoalli, vmei ica, auh in iõc ie onaci ilhujuh, neçavaloia, navilhujtl tlacatlaqualoia, Auh in ipã cemilhujtonalli in oacic ilhujuh, in nepantla tonatiuh, tlapitzaloia, tlacoqujstiloia: auh in pipiltzitzinti coçolco onoque qujnnacaztequja: auh muchi tlacatl mjçoia, auh atle ic tlapaloloia, çan jxqujch in

The Cutting of Thorns.

The cutting of thorns: they cut them who were priests not yet much experienced. These [were the ones] who took them.

Vitztequjliztli.

In vitztequjliztli, ichoantin cõtequja in tlamacazque in aiamo cenca ixtlamati, in qujnõtlacuixque. 793

The Gathering of Fir Branches.

The gathering of fir branches: likewise they who were priests secured them, and these were already experienced.

Acxoiaçaqujliztli.

In acxoiaçaquiliztli, çan no ichoantin concuja in tlamacazq̃ auh ichoantin in ie ixtlamati.

The Blowing of Shell Trumpets.

The blowing of shell trumpets: this was the charge of those who were young trumpet-blowing priests; and [they were] experienced and of various sorts.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

In tlatlapitzaliztli, ichoantin intequjuh catca, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin. yoan in ie ixtlamati neneliuhtivjia. [534]

The Dissolving of Black Coloring.

The dissolving of black coloring was the task of those [who were] the young blowers of shell trumpets. These dissolved the black stain, and everyone anointed himself with it. Verily all together put it on when they stained themselves; none failed [to do so]. And they dissolved it in the black stain canoe. And the black coloring was dissolved only at night, and all stained themselves at the moment of dawn.

Tlilpatlaliztli.

In tlilpatlaliztli, ichoantin intequjuh catca: in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in qujpatlaia tlilli, muchi tlacatl ic moçaia, vel mocemaqujaia injc moçaia, acan mocavaia: auh in qujpatlaia vncã in tlillacalco, auh in tlilpatlaloia, çan iovaltica, auh in neoçaloia iquac in tlavizcalli ichoa. 793 386

643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apitlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzaltotoicpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquaujtl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecaccoaztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,

643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, teacatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[276 416]

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçelocoacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[292 281] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

[534] 533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixqujch omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtenteti, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1398f., on etymology of *amanteca*.

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, izquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in coatl, toçeoatl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 714 531

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in coatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecuçiztli, ioan qujqujztli in mopitza isuc injc çemeoa isuqujzque, injc mjcali: in quachpanjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in teujtia in isuc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in jzquj quachpanjtl. Niman çemeoa in iauqujzque, injc mjcali, 534 727

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic mantiuh in quetzalli iscaltic. Xiloxochipatzactli, quetzalli in jizoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jcanaoacãn mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomaltectli. Maquaujtl itztzo in jtenco tlatectli, quetzalaztatzontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in jpoçonca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec in quetzalli. 643 714 [411]

[p. 36 has no textual material]

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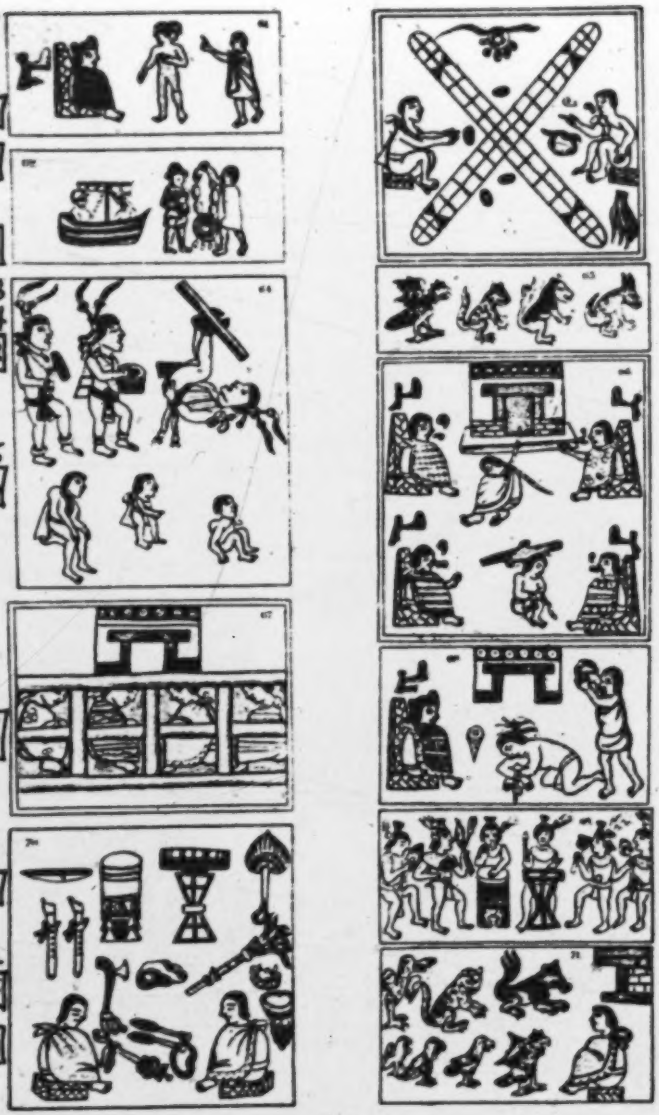

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Omens (concluded). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatlan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

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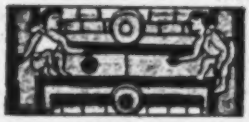

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

• 86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a careless musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game *tlachtli* (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

1/2 [This caption is in error, - Analyst]

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SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujiehecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponazztli, olmaitl, veuetl, [534] ●
aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mãcehoallatqujtl,

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaiehecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaiehecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaiehecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaiehecalhuja, intzon, injc quacozzique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

[302 304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaiā* probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amaxtecas after the district of Amaxtlan, in Tuxtlan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *tequanpixque* for *tequanpixque*, and begins with the term a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Cosas de las fieras.*"

[p.46 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Theirs were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; maguey spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, injc mochiccoaia çioa. 286 462

Neanonj, mecamaxalli, quatzontli, xiiotl, otlatl, tzotzopaztli cacalaca, patlaoac: tzotzopaztli pitzaoac, omjtzotzopaztli, tzotzopaztepiton, ic tlamachioa: teçacatl, tlaujteconj, malacatl, tzaoalcaxitl, tiçatl, xaxalmalacatl ic iujtzaoa: ichcatanatli, tochomjtanatli, icpatanatli, iujtanatlj, iujtecomatl: tzatzaztli, tlacujlolquaujtl injc qujcujloa icpatl in qujqujti: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan qujpatla intlapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana tlein tlamachtli qujchioa; vitztli injc quj-uitzcuj icpatl: [386]

tlaqualchioa, achioa, qujnomauja: vncate in jnnahoan in quimjzcaltia, ioan in cocoa tepotzome çihoa, tzapame, cujca, tlatzotzona: injc melelqujxtia. 462 [702 534 522]

1. *Tlamiqueuiqui*: Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 222) describes the trees as "*huexuyos, y tienen las rotas negras que parecen pintadas sobre el huexuyo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen tapaceadas, cambrillas y cilindros. . . .*" One is pictured in Emmart, *op. cit.*, Pl. 69.

[p. 50 is blank]

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan iezque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatla- 693
tolli, 565
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzon-
tequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuh- [344]
ca qujtzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul.

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan 693
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujca- [344]
quja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchi- 565
pauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlol- 695
pan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã [212]
qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc
vmpa motzontequj.

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc 695
iehoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoa-
catl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezca-
coacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ti-
cociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, ie-
hoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja,
qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machice-
que, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchi-
chioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca
quauhcalco otlaliloc.

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz, 693
njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc iehoantin qujmjc-
tia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtete-
pachoa, anoço qujtetequj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn 535
netotiloz. 643
In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoa-
liztli, in papaqujliztli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujn-
iollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan
tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli,
atlapalli, in maçeoalli:
achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz 643
qujnnaoitiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujiehecozque injc 533
qujchicaoazque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oyan, muy diligentemente, y graues, llamandos al señor: para que los oyan juntamente con sus principales, muy calificados, que son el audiencia, y residen."

7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes mixcoatlailotlac; ezoaoacatl appears as ezuauacatl.

The title Tlacochcalcatl is repeated in the Azteca text of the Florentine Codex.

8. Can tlapic: can is probably mozzet (cf. ibid.).

9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 281, 293; II, pp. 310, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 100, and III, p. 53.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

veuetl: ioan in ixquich maçeoallatqujtl, ioan netotiliztli, aqujn cujcaitoz, aqujque in teiacanazque, aqujn tepenaçoz, aqujn veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacaujz.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed himself, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
292 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a
301 yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

Auh in ie ioeac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc qujlpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac qujtlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ea anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaccoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in qujmololoa, in qujmoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in qujmomaxtlatia,

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no qujcencaoá qujntlauhtia: in ixquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oqujchti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oqujchtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan qujnmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzqujtlamantin omoteneuhque.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla qujtlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli qujchalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, qujpoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in qujpoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aqujn tlatlacoa, qujtzacutiuh mjquja.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa injc ixtoçoaia in aqujn tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpãpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl ceioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca ixtoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoaltica quenmanjan qujçaia qujiaoaloa in altepetl qujtta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ie necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octh ioan oc cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yeceeyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

Ca y-iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitooya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecuiztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [291] [276] 415

[534]

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moxtlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnẽpantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitzziujtze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azteksischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form *xonoui*: "*Da er im Tori diejenigen bezeichnet, die den Copalbeutel trugen, wird es sich um Priester handeln.*" The term *tlamecayotia* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlieret die mit einer Schnur.*"

648 hath laid all manner of tribute upon us. But this [Moctezuma] is our lord and our ruler. And if [the gods] hasten to quit us — for the Mexicans are inhuman and very unrighteous — if [the gods] quickly leave us, if they stay away long, [the Mexicans] will return; they will come back here. The Mexicans have not made an end of and destroyed us. But great is their evil; they are full of sin."

And when Marina had informed the Captain of these words, he then answered them: "Let them not be grieved. I shall not tarry; shortly shall I return and speedily shall I find them. Here will be the ruling: here will be the place of governing. The Mexicans will be destroyed, so that they shall not harm you."

And when the people of Teocalhueyacan heard this, they rejoiced greatly. They became proud and haughty because of it. Behold, they therefore rose up and held themselves as better than others, as if they knew all. The more they listened foolishly, the more they were vainly presumptuous; as if then they had lost fear. They took this to be true; they thought that this was already so.

[534 201] And when this was over, and they had slept, when it was still deep night, flutes were blown, they sounded the muted flutes and the wooden whistles,[2] and drums were beaten. War drums were sounded. Then the Spaniards all arose and got up, and arrayed themselves. And after this, then they departed and filled the road. They went crowding the road.

Then they went on to and reached Tepotzotlan. Before long, in good time, they quartered themselves [there]. Only a short distance had they marched. And the people of Tepotzotlan then scattered and departed, fleeing from them and entering the forest. Some climbed the mountain; some [went into] the gorge. [The town] was quite abandoned to the Spaniards.[3] None dealt with them, because very great were they in destruction of men. Therefore they took flight and ran off. Only their bodies did they save. And all their goods they scattered in haste; they dropped them in their hurry. [The Spaniards] entered the palace; they went into the palace to quarter themselves. There they slept, being all together, all crowded and heaped together. For they were quite frightened; they went in fear.

qujli: auh inin ca totecujo ca totlatocatzin. Auh intla techmocavilitiqujça ca tlacatl in mexicatl, vellaveliloc, intla techmocavilitiqujçaz, intla movecavitiz, in oalmovicaz in valmocueptzinoz, aotechtlamjque, aotechpopoloque in Mexicatl: ca vel huei tlaveliloc, ca vel qujmaxilti injc tlaueliloc.

Auh in ocõcaqujti in Malintzin in tlatolli in capitan: njmã qujnoalhuj. Macamo motequjpacho.ã camo njvecaoaz, iciuhca njoallaz, iciuhca njqujnmatiqujuh, njcan tlatoloz, njcan tlatoloian iez, popoliviz in Mexicatl, macamo amechiolitlacocan.

Auh in ꝯuh qujcaque in teucalhujaque cenca papacque, ic aatlamatque, ic cuecuenotque, iz ic moquetzque, ic moichoatocaque, qujmolhujltocaque, ilhujz iuhqujn mocacaq̃ ilhujz iuhqujn aatlamati, iuhqujn vncã motlatlalia iniollo monelchiuhque, ic om ma nelli iuh momatque.

Auh inic iuhquj in ocuchque oc veca iovan in ie tlapitzalo, in qujpitza quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapitztli, yoan tlatzotzonalo, iautlatzotzonalo: ie ic neeoalo, meeva in Españoles, nechichivalo: Auh in ie iuhquj, ie ic oneoalo neutemalo, pepexocatiuh in vtli:

njmã ic onacito in teputzutla, aia vel quẽman oc qualcan in ommotlalito, çan achi qujtocatiaque: auh in teputzoteca njman ic tzomonque olinque, ic choloque, quauhtlacalacque: cequjntin tepetl qujtlecavique: cequjntin atlauhtli, çan inpan macauh in Espanoles, aiac inca muchiuh: iehica ca cenca vei in intepololiz, ipampa mochololtique, mocholtique: çan ixqujch in innacaio qujmaquixtique: auh in ixqujch in intlatquj qujtepeuhtiqujzque, çan iuh tlaçuhtiqujzque: tecpan in oncalacque, ommotepancaltemato, vncã cochque, çan cenietivi, çan cemololiuhtivi, çan centepeuhtivi: iehica ca çan mauhcavi, çan momauhtitivi.

2. *Quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapitzli*: cf. Eduard Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), II, Pt. 3-4, p. 143; Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), I, p. 121.

3. *Espanoles*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

726 And, when this had come to pass, the great chieftains in vain took refuge behind the stone columns; and
[34] the stone columns [were] in two rows, altogether eight [of them]. And also the chieftains crowded on the roof terrace of the Coacalli.[1] They filled the roof terrace. None of the chieftains [could] go beyond.

And the Spaniards at first remained quiet. And when they fired the gun, it became very dark; smoke spread out. And those who were hiding behind the stone columns all fled; and all those who were on the roof terrace hurled themselves down, and all ran far away. Then [the Spaniards] took up the gun and went to place it upon the large, round stone.
● [534] And on top of the [pyramid Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, holding vigil to no purpose, [priests] struck two-toned drums; as if with all force they struck the two-toned drums. And then two Spaniards climbed up, going to club them there. And when they had gone there to strike them, they cast them down; they threw them down from there.

And the shorn ones, all the chieftains, who had been fighting in boats, all came forth and issued on to the dry land. And those who plied the boating poles for them [were] the young boys; only these guided the boats. And upon this the chieftains then took note of the spaces among the houses. They ran fast; all in truth shouted and said: "O chieftains, make haste!"

And when it came to pass that the Spaniards saw that they were about to come to grips with and pursue them,[2] then they cowered and sped away; they turned tail; they indeed fled and ran. From both sides they were shot at with darts and barbed arrows; and from both sides they were pelted with stones. Shortly, then, they went to find respite at Xolloco, to catch their breath. There [the battle] quieted, and thereupon [the Mexicans] all turned back. And the Spaniards then also returned and went to establish themselves at Acachinanco. But the gun, in their haste, they abandoned there on the large, round stone. Then the chieftains seized it, ran it forward, and went to toss it into the water. They pulled it to Tetamaçolco.[3]

qujmototocticaca in tetlaquetzalli: auh in tetlaquetzalli ompantli, nepan chicuej. Auh in coacalli itlapãioc, no teucatoque in tiacavan, motlatlapantenque aocac ixtlapal iauh in tiiacavan.

Auh in Españoles çã njman amo mamana: auh in oqujtlazque tlequjqujztli cenca tlaiovac, poctli motecac. Auh in qujmotoctitimanca in tetlaquetzalli, netlaloloc yoan in jxqujchtin tlapanco onoca valmotepeuhque veca netlaloloc, nec qujvallecavia in tlequjqujztli contecaco temalacatitlan: auh in jcpac vitzilobuchtli, oc nẽ tlapiaia, qujvitequja in teponaztli, iuhqujn ontetemj qujvitequj teponaztli: auh njmã ic ontlecoque vmentin Españoles, vmpa qujmonvivitequjto: auh in oqujmonvivitequjto in ca valmaiauhque, qujnvalchicanauhque:

auh in quaquachictin in jxqujchtin in tiacavan in acaltica tlaiccoaia, muchintin valqujzque, vallalvacaqujzque: auh in tetlanelhuja in telpopotzitzinti, çan ichoãtin in qujvalhujvicaque in acalli. Auh in ie iuhquj in tiaiacavan, nec qujmottilia in caltzalantli vellatotocz, vel netzatzililo: qujtoa. Tiacavane, ma vallatotoca:

auh in ie iuhquj, in oqujttaque in Españoles in ie impan monamjquj in ie qujntotona, njmã ic mocototztlalique, moteputztique, vel totoca, motlaloa necoccampa in valmjnalqia in tlatzontectica, yoan necoccampa in valtepacholo, qujn vmpan xolloco patito, imjhio qujcujto, vmpa valmomanato: njman ie ic valneeuepalo. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, njman ic no mocuepa motlalito in acachinanco: auh in tlequjqujztli vncan qujcauhtiqujzque in temalacatitlan: njman conanque in tiacavan, qujtototza qujmaiavito atlan, tetamaçolco qujtztlitiriaque.

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1. Spanish text: "muchos otros grandes estaban encima de la casa que estaba armada sobre las columnas." The Coacalli is described in Book VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 44.

2. *Qujmotoca*: probably *qujmotocaca* in manuscript.

3. Spanish text: "en una agua profunda que llamaba Tetamaçolco, que era cabo al mesmo que se llama Tepetenchan, donde estaba las bombas."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood 346
that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole 778
place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the
left hand there stood the other great image the same
height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and [416]
eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call
Tezcat, and the body plastered with precious stones like
that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers;
and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge [776]
of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with
figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were
so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in
the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another
stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's
sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a
recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and
in it was another image half man and half lizard, with
precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered
with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure [776]
is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and
they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest,
but I do not remember its name, and everything was
covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench
was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out
of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when 346
they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to [534]
say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could
hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the
skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In
that small place there were many diabolical things to be [534]
seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of
Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols,
and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

72 | country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it.* Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous [202] drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

72 Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax-"adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, teniendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanecatl Tlacaeleltzin" returned for the second time to Azcaputzalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezozomoctli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "maccuahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanecatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 482 and 483), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Montezuma. ("Huehue-Montezuma," or "Montezuma Ylhuicamina.")

[534] [139] Bernal-Diez (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y alli tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tanian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infiernos, y mas de "dos leguas de alli se oia; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 302, of Vol. II).

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x787
[534]

[534]

[851]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

16-20. One Flower: musicians, entertainers, embroiderers (Chapter 7). 21. Seven Rain (Chapter 8). 22, 23. Eight Flower and bathing of child (Chapter 8).

[p. 126 f]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. 532
In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars 533 534
quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom 535 ●
persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for [77 79]
they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

535 chants survive without, alas, the musical notation. These dancers, acting out mythical events pertaining to the lives of the gods, must usually have been highly theatrical. Thus as with other peoples of the past, religious service fulfilled the function of the drama.[19] (See Plate 62, bottom left.)

[212] The pictographic writing of the Aztecs was too simple to
537 record a literature. However, the many references to oratory
538 and the wealth of allusions and synonyms referring to the gods and goddesses give a picture of rich fantasy and poetic imagination. The emphasis on the spoken word, the complex background of the religion, the closeness of the supernatural world, would not have produced lean, accurate prose. Rather a semipoetic, highly symbolic verbiage came from the practice of oratory and the chanting of prayers. Thus a rhythmic and rich verbosity existed as a form of polite address that, given a system of writing, might have been transmuted into literature.[20]

517 These activities, which we sanction in our own culture under the terms of arts and letters and to the practitioners of which we assign honor as creative artists, were existent in Aztec society. The status of these practices, however, was very different from their position in our own culture. Much of that area of our own life divided up into the infinite gradation of commercial, legal and governmental pursuits fell within the span of the individual Aztec's normal social life. That energy and activity which we exhaust in religion, art, belles-lettres and science was combined by the Aztecs in the observance of their religious requirements. The nature of their religion and its position in Aztec life and social practice are fundamental to a realization of the nature of their culture.

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, inquamen were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Ixcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

● [535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tozzumulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 431] And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Ixcoçauhqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon
[304 852] them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

776 [Ixcoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujquitilloia, cexiuhtica: ipan ilamjan yxcalli: quixipolaiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlaxcemaloia, copalomjlilo,

cuuhquitamalli nechivilloia, in cecmcalpan: achto ixpan quimanjlaia in tlel, çatepan qualoia.

Auh yn jxeviocoan, ixh cemjlhujtl, in quicuicatia, quitecciquichilia, quiteponacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cimaçoaia in cuauhtli, ytlacuaulilloia, yajc amo aca motlatia, mochichinan: iquampa in iancuican oqualoc cuuhquitamalli, yajc ochamaialoc.

Auh in pipiltontli, mochintin quintlaxquiaia: yn aca coatl: cuijatl, xoxujli, axolotl, totod: in çaço tlein ocacic ixiuli, ycamac contlaçoia in tlecuijli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxquia yn tota.

Auh yn oiooac, noujan tlatlaxoaia in vevetque, ylamatque: ixh quitoaia, quitlatoiaujliaia yn tlel, tecalcuuja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauiztilloia, ilhuixh: iquac motecujtoiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jteucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tozzumulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel mochitlacatl, vel no inquich tlacatl, quijpaloaia, quiltequja, in vetli, in pipiltontli: ic motecoiotiaia, pillaoano:

yeaa vocã quintlatiaia, quimahujtiaia in pipiltontli. Ce cioatl, ce oquichtli, in quintemoaia pilhoaque, quintlauhtiaia; inhoantin quimamachiuja, vuapa quimoncaoaia, yn ixupan ixcoçauhqui: vuapa quimacazxapotlaia, quimacxocoionjaia: inhquja ic quimachiotiaia, yajc quimitta, yntlaoaa, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jxochichinal catca: tillica momujlnec, chalchiuhtetele, xiuhtotomacale, quetzalmjlaoaia, mjtoaac, tlacoxitzaoac, xiuhcoamacoche, amacumaapanale, no tizitle, cocujole, xiuhtecuelaxiquipaquj yn jchimal, tlachieltepile.

66. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas es llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, es muy verde, tiene las manos delgadillas y delicadas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Las tallas de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sale a cenizas, empremete del agua que se cuece para comerse; hacense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilhuac." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 233. On p. 198, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 209; see *tecuilonqui* in Simeon: *op. cit.*

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (godfather; patron or protector). Molina (op. cit.) translates the words *tiotl* and *mitl* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchiuhtetelli*—a strap for the head, set with jewelled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*chalchiuitl*); *quetzalmitl* or *xiuhtotomacalli ipaxiquipaquiyn*—a item of feather mosaic work in the form of a crescent cone, broadening upwards; *mitqualli tlacochtzqualli* or

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[77] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquanhquauhtecuhtli, nauaxio, ycuechin, ixipanocuqui cyli 776
tzacutlatlapanqui yn jxaiac: yn jxachichioal, ytiçacuech,
ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachinia ymac caxca, ytolicpal,
acacpalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-scraper (Tlalteccuini).[78]

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlamilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[79]

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

If dirt, cobweb, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said purchaser he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a sorcerer, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] scored discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called ixquex (face-covering).[80]

Thus was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic castolli vce capitulo ynchpa tlatoa, in teuil yn jtoca, caxca, ixtlilton, tlalteccuija.

Teuil caxca, çan quauiil yn jteupan caxca, ytocaiocan [346]
tlacujlocan: in vecan ytenpan, mjac yn apaxtli, tuxtacuitlauaca, mocochiotia itlilauh.

Auh yn aquja mococuaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn 776
jteupan ixtlilton: centeel, qujtlapoui yn apaxtli, conjtiaia 757
yn jtlilauh; ic petia in piltontli.

Auh yn aquja qujtoxix, cupaltica in cenauaia, ynic 776
qujvicaia ychan yn jaiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia. 535 ●

Ja cuecic ychan, tlatoxix, uytoxix: njman tlatlaquaiio, 776
atlixo: yn oxlaquaioc, njman mjtoxia, yn jxtlilton: yn
conjtoti, yn onmacxuh, calixic oncalaquj: ichoxtl qujtlapoa [273]
in vetli, navilhujtica tuxcutimilca: ic mjtoxia, tlaiacxaxpotla,
vixmana.

Niman ye vmpeua, yn ic tlaoano: oc cepa oalquiça inualco,
qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tuxcutimanca navilhujtica: ic
macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

ic mjtoxia, ic momomaia, ixtla tlaçolli, yxtla tocatzaoalli, [187]
yxtla tzontli, ixtla tecolli, vecan vetztoc: ic mjtoxia, aço
tetlaxima, aço ichtec, amoço ahavilnamj, mahavilnia: oc
aço tlacacomolli, ic tlatoria, ic qujxmotlaia, qujxcomacaia,
qujxpantia: ic mjtoxia tetzalan, tuxpantla motecx: ichica, ca
qujxincomaca, qujxiçpantia, ic teixmotla, yn tetlatlacul.

Auh yxjc oalquiça techá, quachtli yn qujxacaia motocaiotia, ixquex. [292]

Jnic muchichioaia, moçac, mocamjxtlilpopoxa, mjxi- 776
çatlauhti, yn jcamapa: tecpaquachichiquijle, quetzalle,

77. For description, see illustration and text in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 315 and 323; and also illustration (Ometeuil) —Plate 13.

The term *cuachichil* means the curved cups or mounds, with sea-snail shells lowered where the circle crossed. The *chalcuayoal* and the *tecuipaqui* were presumably the same as similar. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 3, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Apendice, cap. 2. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "*un ornamento de un palmo en quadro, hecho en tela rala, al qual llamaban yxquachtli, atado con unas cuadas de algodon a las puntas. . . .*"

78. God of medicine. *Tlalteccuini* (or *tlalteccuinti*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *teccuinia*. Cf. Seler: *Eniga Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 16.

79. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . *los que acostumbraban beuerdelos los mayores y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba ixiptli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamaban tlaiacxaxpotla, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *onmacxuh*, see Sahagún, op. cit., p. 37, for a definition of *macujlilpopoxa*.

80. ". . . *llamaba ixquex: los quales llamaban ixquex: que quiere decir, cubertura de la cara: porque quedaua, amorçagada, aquel que assi hacha, . . . le fuesse. . . .*" Loc. cit.

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecuilhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtociuatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa. [796 X] [805 776]

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They went held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all wore garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *cempoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

1 f KL La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y f 2[1]
2 g dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y g 3 [535]
3 A moças y muchachas yvan asidas de A 4
4 b vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las b 5
5 c manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra c 6
6 d por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan d 7 [301]
7 e sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas e 8 137]
8 f de axenxos desta tierra que se llama f 9
9 g iztauhiatl: gujaualas vnos viejos, y g 10
10 A regian al canto en medio dellas yva la A 11
11 b muger que era la ymagen desta diosa, b 12
12 c y que avia de morir adereçada con c 13
13 d ricos ornamentos. d 14
14 e e 15
15 f La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan f 16 [535]
16 g las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de g 17
17 A morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la A 18
18 b noche: venjda la mañana: adereça- b 19
19 c uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn c 20 [137]
20 d areyto muy solemne: y todos los que d 21
estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman cempoalsochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos catiuos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtociuatl: alli matauan primero a los captiuos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76. [273]

1. Marginal notation: Maravilla, parte, cape Ibon.

X 796 The eighth month they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On
the first day of this month they observed a feast to
[805 the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender
776 maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor
men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—
[735] in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the
tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments
with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lós ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they
fed men and women, young and old. Then, very
735 early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind
262 of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank
as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all
in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them
tamales. He who gave them [out], gave each one as
many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of
them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to
take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took
from him those which he had, and he went with
nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in
order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time,
ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 All these eight days they danced and moved in
rhythm, men and women together performing the
● 536 ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with
rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their
[302] hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing
and singing with the men. This dance began at sun-
down, and they continued in it until nine o'clock.
[373] They carried many lights (like great torches) of resin-
ous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires
which burned in the same courtyard in which they
danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went
with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or
embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of
another as in an embrace, and the other likewise
[holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Cap. 8.

1	*e*	KL	Vei tecujlhujtl	*e*	22[1]
2	*f*		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	*f*	23
3	*g*		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	*g*	24
4	*A*		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	*A*	25
5	*b*		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	*b*	26
6	*c*		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	*c*	27
7	*d*		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	*d*	28
8	*e*		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	*e*	29
9	*f*		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	*f*	30
10	*g*		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	*g*	1[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	*A*	2
12	*b*		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	*b*	3
13	*c*		tomar dos vezes maltrataualle, y to-	*c*	4
14	*d*		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	*d*	5
15	*e*		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	*e*	6
16	*f*		solar a los pobres: porque en este	*f*	7
17	*g*		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	*g*	8
18	*A*		mãtenjmjentos.	*A*	9
19	*b*		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	*b*	10
20	*c*		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	*c*	11[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseuerauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

1. Marginal notation: *Iunio quadrij Ejh et xxij.*
2. Marginal notation: *Ej pajpar et Mart.*
3. Marginal notation: *Iulio xiij.*

One day before they slew the woman who was to die in honor of the goddess Xilonen, the women who served on the pyramid (who were called *cioatlamacazque*) performed a dance in the courtyard of this same pyramid, and sang the [hymns of] praise and the canticles of this goddess. They all went surrounding her who was to die [and] who went bedight in the ornaments of this goddess. In this way, singing and dancing, they kept watch all night before the day when she was to die.

And at dawn all the nobles and warriors performed a dance in this same courtyard, and with them also danced the woman who was to die, with many other women arrayed like her. The men went dancing in front, by themselves, and the women went behind them.

As soon as all, thus dancing, arrived at the pyramid where that woman was to die, they made her go above, up the steps. When she reached the top, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder; and in this position, they struck off her head and then tore out her heart and offered it to the sun. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast. Etc.

Vn dia antes que matassen a la muger que auja de morir: a honrra de la diosa xilonẽ: las mugeres que serujã en el cu (que se llamauã cioatlamacazque) haziã areyto en el patio del mismo cu, y cantauan los loores y cantares desta diosa, yvan todas rodeadas de la que avia de morir, que yva compuesta con los ornamẽtos desta diosa. Desta manera cantando y baylando: velauan toda la noche precediẽte el dia en que avia de morir.

Y en amaneciendo todos los nobles y hõbres de guerra: hazian areyto en el mismo patio, y con ellos baylaua tambiẽ la muger que auja de morir, con otras muchas mugeres adereçadas como ella: los hombres yvan por si baylãdo delante y las mugeres yvan tras ellos.

Desque todos assi baylando: llegauã al cu donde auja de morir aquella muger, subiãla por las gradas arriba: llegada arriba tomauãla vno a cuestas espaldas cõ espaldas: y estãdo assi, la cortauan la cabeça y luego la sacauã el coraçon y le ofreciã al sol: Otras muchas cerimonjas se haziã en esta fiesta. Etc.

796 535 [793]

X 796 **The ninth month** they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of [805 776] the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[231 262] On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this [778] feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared ● 535 the night before: and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but [534 778] they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1	d	KL	Tlaxochimaco	d	12
2	e		La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa-	e	13
3	f		uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros	f	14
4	g		para comer, en hazer tamales y otras	g	15
5	A		cosas concernientes a la comida: luego	A	16
6	b		de mañanita el dia desta fiesta: los	b	17
7	c		satrapas de los ydolos, componiã cõ	c	18
8	d		muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des-	d	19
9	e		pues de compuesta la estatua deste	e	20
10	f		dios: componjan las estatuas de los	f	21
11	g		otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales	g	22
12	A		y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan	A	23
13	b		todas las otras estatuas de los calpules,	b	24
14	c		y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cai-	c	25
15	d		pisques y principales y maceguales,	d	26
16	e		todos componjan las estatuas que ten-	e	27
17	f		jan en sus casas coin flores	f	28
18	g		Compuestas las estatuas todos los	g	29
19	A		dioses: luego començauan a comer	A	30
20	b		aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas	b	31

de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Durauа este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran boteria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos rezianmente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jzcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

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Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

1 c KL. Xocotl vetzi c 1[1]
2 d Durante la fiesta de tlasochimaco: d 2[2]
3 e yuã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al- e 3
4 f tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle f 4
5 g arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: g 5
6 A alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan- A 6
7 b tauan enhiesto y estaua asi enhiesto b 7
8 c hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en- c 8
9 d tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ d 9
10 e mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos e 10
11 f para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia f 11
12 g desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan g 12
13 A muchos carpinteros con sus herrami- A 13
14 b ẽtas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso. b 14
15 c Despues de mondado y de auerle com- c 15
16 d puesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles: d 16
17 e atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan- e 17
18 f tauanle con muchas bozes y muchos f 18
19 g estruendos y afixauanle muy bien. g 19
20 A Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã- A 20[3]
tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos adereçauãse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

796X
313
[483]
[463]
796X
[302]
[535]
[278]

1. Marginal notation: *Despues de dios xeuj.*
2. Marginal notation: *Barrendi dibujo.*
3. Marginal notation: *Pari al viernes.*

pains of] their death.

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que quiere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa. 796x [805 776]

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjztli.

KL

Cinco dias antes que començasse este mes: cesauan todas las fiestas y regozijos del mes pasado entrando este mes, baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de mugeres con ella: especialmente las medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos vandos y peleauan apedreandose con pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espadañas, y con flores que llamã cempoalsochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro dias.

Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras desta calidad: procurauan que aquella muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, atavjauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pelejo.

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan- [534 535] [754] [524 137] [787]

1. Marginal notation: *September ha diez ans.*

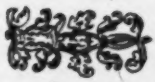

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes hazia fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

796[x] [805] [776] [785]

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the ninetreenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

Cap. 15.
KL. Panquetzaliztli.

1 e El segundo dia deste mes començauã
2 f todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can-
3 g tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de
4 A su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to-
5 b dos juntos: começauan estos cantares
6 c a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez:
7 d durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte
8 e dias.
9 f
10 g A los nueue dias deste mes: apare-
11 A jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que
12 b aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas
13 c colores, componjãlos con muchos pa-
14 d peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos,
15 e en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom-
16 f bre pareados cantando y baylãdo.
17 g A los dezisey dias deste mes: co-
18 A mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los
19 b esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen-
20 c çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan
todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

796[x] 535 [302] 796[x] [535] [346] [726]

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio Templi* [illegible].

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Cozcamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre cozcamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

796X [805 776] [535]

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

1	c	KL		c	19
2	d	A esta muger que matauan en esta		d	20
3	e	fiesta: componjanla con los ataujos de		e	21
4	f	aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que		f	22
5	g	se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom-		g	23
6	A	bre Tona quijere dezir nuestra madre		A	24
7	b	esta muger ansi compuesta con los		b	25
8	c	ataujos estan puestos en la historia,		c	26
9	d	baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos vie-		d	27
10	e	jos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua,		e	28
11	f	acordandose que luego auja de morir:		f	29
12	g	pasando el medio dia, componjanse los		g	30
13	A	satrapas con los ornamentos de todos		A	31
14	b	los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su-		b	1[1]
15	c	bianla al cu, donde auja de morir:		c	2
16	d	echada sobre el taxon de piedra, sa-		d	3
17	e	cauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la ca-		e	4
18	f	beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos		f	5[2]
19	g	que yva adornado como dios, y delan-		g	6
20	A	tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca-		A	7

796X 535

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

El mesmo dia que matauã esta muger los minjstros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abaxo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

796X

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled those

El dia sigujente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

796X 565 524 [415]

1. Marginal notation: *Jamaxtlon he dies away.*

2. Marginal notation: *Epiphanje domjnj.*

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

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[805
778]
776
[852
304
608]

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *vauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Izcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1 b KL
2 c A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã
3 d fuego nueuo a la media noche delante
4 e la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa-
5 f mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos,
6 g luego en amaneciendo venjan los man-
7 A çebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos
8 b anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez
9 c dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de
10 d tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que
11 e tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y
12 f ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque-
13 g llos anjmales para que se asassen: y
14 A dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu-
15 b chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que
16 c ellos llamauã Vauhqujltamalli: los
17 d quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia,
18 e y todos comjan dellos por honrra de
19 f la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y
20 g beujan y regozijauanse.

b 8
c 9
d 16
e 11
f 12
g 13
A 14
b 15
c 16
d 17
e 18
f 19
g 20
A 21
b 22
c 23
d 24
e 25
f 26
g 27

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En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del bisexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jxcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

[535]

×796 [535] the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *netecuitotiliztli*, which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl*, which is pine resin. Etc.

[304 291 825 314]

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnidad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecujtotiliztli, quiere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciesse començauã a agujerar las orejas a los njños y njñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc.

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *ninci*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo. 585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y animales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro. 796 [304 854] [535 785]

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cozcateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

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qujtoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, qujtoa ca notatzin: auh tel tepal qujquaia intemal.

Auh yn ieoaio qujmopialtiaia in tlamanj, qujtetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlacoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaqujlo cemjlhujtl: yn aqujn onmaquja in quexqujch maco, in quexqujch qujnechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan qujtexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic qujtlaiecultia yn ieoauh.

[431]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, qujiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn izqujchtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatoque: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn jntzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia.

796X 535

Auh in cujtlachuetue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhqujn mjccaoati, qujnchoqujlia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque.

796X

Auh no ieboanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, qujmonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cozcateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamaujçoltiloia: njman ic xitinooa, necacaoalo.

796X 648

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualó, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjttac ietiuh, vmpa qujquaquatoque.

[262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'qujxtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: qujpeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualizpan qujoalcaoaia: njman qujmonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynjc mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapâ tlatqujtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tnôcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone-

796X 301

24. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 175-80) says that Moctezuma I invited "*los señores de todo la redonda*"—Texcoco, Tlacopan, Cholula, Xochimilco, Coyoacan, Huitzilopochco, the Huaxtecapan, and as many more as possible. "*Los señores de las provincias y ciudades,*" he continues, "*admirados y asombrados de semejante sacrificio, partieronse para sus provincias y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . dieron capitanes á las fronteras. . . . Donde estaban todos los de las provincias y ciudades comenzaron desavenencias de temor rendidosse ni conformdos con los mexicanos, viendo quebrantado estonces y abiertos muchos á sus corazones.*"

25. Ixtlilxochitl: "*tortillas, como empanadillas, que hacian de maiz sin cocer,*" according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of *maccamalacatlli*—"*das 'Boot in Gestalt einer Armbrustes'. . . . Es ese con Gebäck in Bootform, das ein eingeflochtenes, Zusammenhaltendes Maisfäbrmen, also ein Maiswebl, nicht ein Maiskuchen, hergestellt wurde.*"

X 796 301 maize;[26] with coyote heads made of a paste of amaranth seeds; with S-shaped *tortillas* and thick rolls[27] covered with a paste of amaranth seeds and with toasted maize on top; and red amaranth, which was really red feathers, and maize stalks with ears of green or tender maize.

X 796 ● 535 After midday, the priests rested. Thereupon the Tenochca and the Tlatelulca came together, two rows of Tenochca and two rows of Tlatelulca facing each other. All danced very slowly; the dance proceeded in harmony. Then all emerged, coming out of the palace gate, and all arranged themselves. Moctezuma came forth with them; he came dat dancing. At his right and left came two great princes, Neçauatlpilli of Texcoco and Totoquiuaztli, ruler of the Tepaneca. Great solemnity reigned as all danced.

And when it was already dark, when it was already night, all dispersed. Then began the singing and dancing [with interlocked hands];[28] there danced
[701] the novice warriors, the chief warriors—those who had captured four captives or more, as well as those who had taken one or two. And these were named also young leaders. And also the princes danced. And likewise women danced with them—those known as
[548] mothers, but only if they wished; they were not forced. And also immodest women, harlots.

And then all departed, when midnight was nigh, when trumpets had been blown. For twenty days it continued in this manner, until the Feast of Toçoztontli arrived.

cuijllaxcalli, teumjmjlli, çan no tzoalli ic qujpepechotoaia, qujmomochiotiaia panj: yoan oauhchichilli, çan tlapaliujtl catca, yoan cintopilli, eloio, anoço xiloio.

Yn omotzcalo tonatiuh, moceuja in tlamacazque, njman ie ic monepanuja, montlamanuja, in tenuchca in tlatilulca, vmpanti in tenuchca, no vmpanti in tlatilulca, mixnamjctiuj, cenca çan yujian, yn netotilo, cenca vel cocamantiuh in netotiliztli: njman oalqujxoa intecpa qujiaoac, oalneimanalo, oalteujca in motecuçoma, oalmjtotitiuh, qujtzatzacutiuitze, qujoalitzcatitiuj, vmentin veueintin tlatoque Neçaoalpilli tetzcuco, totoqujoaztli, tepanecapan tlatoanj: vel mauiztli oonoc in nehtotiloia.

Auh ie tlapoiaoa, ie tlaixcuecuetziuj in necacaoalo, njman ic peoa, in cujcoanolo, mjtotiaia in telpuchtequjoaque, teachcaoa, in nauj cacitinemj, yn anoce oc quezquijnti ymalhoan: yol in ce, vme, cacitinemj. Auh no motocaiotiaia hy, telpuchiiaque: no youn in tlatoque mitotia. Auh no tehoan in cioa mjtotia: mjtoa tenaoan, çan illo tlama, amo tequjuhtiloia: auh çan no ichoãtin yn aujianjme, in maaujltia.

Auh iquac necaoaloia, in ie hiciuhtiuh, ioalnepantla tlatlapitzalizpa: cempoalilhujtl, yn iuh tlamanca, yn juh tlamanja: vmpa onaci yn ipan toçoztontli.

26. Cf. Paso y Troncoso, op. cit., p. 189: ". . . es decir, las mazorcas de maíces que se guardaban para esa fiesta celebrada por mucho tiempo del año de las cañas."
27. See Anderson and Dibble (op. cit., p. 14). Possibly these resembled the wrapped tamale in Pl. 12.
28. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, Mexico: n. p., 1940), pp. 86, 219. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*juntos trabados de las manos, juntos demonstrando como celebrando.*"

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[16] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlatztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmiztaioujia, qujmiztaioquauhoatza: [251 263]

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujntonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapãtlecax, amo iehoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla. [374]

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn ieinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoaltema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin in teteuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan iztẽteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tlitica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acaxilquj: [302 289]

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama. [302] [417]

qujnpeoaltilia yn cioa in netotiliztli, ynic mjtotia chocholoa, çan mociosaitotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jnteteuh coomemauja, qujtotitimanj, 796X 535

16. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 185.

796 leapt about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

[535] There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with 796 white feathers. And they smeared honey on their 302 lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech 293 clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw [237] feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

796 And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. [534] They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

796 And all the masters of the youths, the young 535 seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

[301] And also a number of young women danced, hav- 302 ing so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

796 Of these, it was said that they embraced, they em- 634 braced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli. 635

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitos tozcachocholoa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaleque, moquaquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzintelolosio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaiacoloa, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate ehematicate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aioujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn ixqujch teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, moteneoa mococoloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococoloa, ichica aujc viujh, irrlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicozquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxeleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn izqujchtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujnitzilicça, qujmiicça:

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17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*salió e bailó de la forma de toxcatl*"; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 298) translates *toxcachocholoaque* as "*se subió el sabio de Toxcatl.*"

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Robredo edition, Vol. III, pp. 162-3 and 187. The last-mentioned reference to *tzanatl* is: "*Hay una ave que se llama tzanatl: es negra y tiene el pico corvo.*" Seler (*op cit.*, p. 196, n. 2) calls *tzanatl* jackdaw or daw; or (*ibid.*, p. 233) rook thrush. Of this and of *cuitlacochin* he says it is "*ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und dessen Schrei, nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Landregen verkündete zuller. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Es sind auch die Vogel mit schwarzen schwarzen Gefieder gemeint sein wie das der tzanatl oder Dohlen.*" Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: "*y que eran llamados cuitlacochin, por razon de la burla, que llamaban dicen, en el tiempo.*" See also *supra*, p. 44.

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *magney* fiber cape, or a small cotton *manta*.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[15]

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic axioa. 796X

Auh intla aca, amo qujcxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tehoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aqujque axioa, oc vel momaqujxtia, oc vel moqujxtia, oc vel maqujça: aço totolin yca, aço maxtlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica. [291]

Auh yn jcnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moqujxtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn jxquich nequjxtilonj, moch qujmocujlia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moqujxtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moqujxtiaia, aocmo qujceliaia.

Auh in ie [illegible] ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl macoalli, qujmochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, aiac yn macamo metzalhujaia: [262]

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech qujmomamaca, nepanotl ic mococoachioa.

Auh in cequjntin papaqujnj, yn ahaujcni: yoan in cequjntin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelqujxtia:

injc muchichioa mixteiniacaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalnaacroa: intlan caantinemj zocujcolli etzalcomjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjtzcalxazpotlaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujcalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlaliciuj yn etzalcomjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoaliztli, ioalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necacaoalo, cactinemi, [535]

auh yn ocalquix tonatiuh, njman ic ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, pani conmololoa xistl, iaoca xiuhqueomjtl, anoço xochqueomjtl, [793 292]

15. "Delibar de masa" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] i.e. was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *tewzollotl*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica, 796x [301]

yoan ycacac ipoçulcas, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujtli, ynjc tlamaiqujtli: auh yn icacuochio, çan no ie in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ie no ic yn potonquj: 796x 292

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonaoicuilolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, toztlapilollo: 796x 293

Auh in toztlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, toztenoloio in chimalli. [237]

In iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yc jchimal, ic momamana: [535]

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: ezcan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio: [314]

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh. 796x 535

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixqujchtin cenqujça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti: [463]

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 32.

7. "*Waterrose*," in Seler, op. cit., p. 132. The shield design in the same as her Nuppe sandal (cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish column reads: "*Traya una rodela pintada, con una agua anchas, de la yerba que se llama ahuaxpan.*" In Vol. III of the Rebolledo ed., p. 156, in Dr. Mariño León's essay, "Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Núm. 368 a 905) del libro XI, de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," *ahuaxpan* is defined as "*cabeza de negro. Nymphaea elegans, Bland, Nimphéacées.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llamaos xoxoli y con unos cuernos cuando ya son grandes y redondos y crecos; estaban tirados los plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; estaban redondos como circulando en ellos, unos papagayos como rodeados amarillos, y por esto le llamaos xoxoli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Rebolledo ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

9. "*Con flores en los cabos, hechas de plumas de aguila*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulín*, however, may be an element in *flaxchapulín*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 18, n. 103.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamaos xoxoli (y) es muy amarillos al que llamaos tozzoxoc; tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeza colorada, y todos los plumas del cuerpo redondos, los redondos y todo lo exterior de los alas, tiene colorado oscuro, mezclado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñitas que están sobre la cerca del ala que llamaos xoloxoli, son amarillas mezcladas de colorado; el sello, como pelo redondo, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado mezclado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Rebolledo ed.; Vol. III, p. 166).

12. Cf. *Anonimo* (Sandoval, op. cit.: "*Iaiere corriendo quatro en derrenar*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando bailaba era al arrojar, pasaba arrimando al hombro, y almendado [sic] a arrojar del hombro.*"

87

1 A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

X 796 cords, called flower cords, and thus went stretched out in line. They went with wormwood flowers[13] placed upon their heads.
● 535

motitilinjtiuj: ym jhiztauhiaxochiuh, ym icpac contecatiuj:

[533] And they went singing, crying out loudly, singing in a very high treble. As the *cenzontli* bird takes [its song, so was] their song. Like a bell their voices [rang out].

yoan cujcatiuj, cenca tzatzi, cenca tlapitzaoa: iuhqujn tzontli cana incujc: iuhquj in coiolli intozquj:

The old men led [the singing women]; they loosed the song and went directing them—the men and elders of the tribal temple. And they were named keepers of the god[dess].

qujniacana in ueuetque, cuicatlaça qujncujcatlaxilitiuj, in calpuleque, in calpulueuetque: yoan motocaiotia teuoaque.

And [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl went in the midst of them. Before her went a brilliant feather ornament which an old man carried in his arms. And this [ornament] was called Uixtociuatl's brilliant plumage.[14]

Auh in Vixtocioatl, tlanepantla icatiuh, ce petlacotl qujiacana, ce tlacatl veue in qujnapalca: auh ynjn mitoaia vixtopetlacotl.

And for [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was sung the women's song every day until all ten days had been reached. And when the tenth day had come to pass, that night she began her vigil. They sang [and danced] all night. At no time did they rest; they passed the night sleepless. Thus they passed the night in vigil.

Auh in ichoatl vixtocioatl, momuztlae in qujcioapancujcatiaia, yn ixqujchica matlaqujlhujtl onaci: auh yn oacito matlaqujlhujtl, teuitlacpa im peoa qujtoçauja, qujcujcatia iuh ceiooal, aquenman cochi, acochiztli qujmochioaltia, iuh vetzi in ioalli.

And as [the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl danced, the old women seized her and held her as they made her dance.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, mitotia caana, caantinemj yn ylamatque in qujtotia:

Likewise the captives danced all the night—those who would come first, who would die [first], as her fundament; those whom they would make her fundament.

no iuh ceiooal in mjtotia mamalti, in iacatiazque mjquizque, in iuhquj ypepechoan ieaque, in qujnmopepechtizque.

X 796 And when dawn broke, when verily the feast day [came], then were arrayed the priests who would slay the victims. These were called Uixtoti. They were adorned and painted like Uixtotin; they were painted with the face painting of Uixtotin. They carried their paper neck rosettes and their paper shoulder rosettes. And their [head] insignia were made [like] the claws of eagles, [made] of quetzal head feathers and eagle down.
782

Auh yn oilathujc, yn iquac ie vel ilhujtl, mec muchichioa in tlamacazque, in tlamictizque: in iehoan y, motocaiotiaia Vixtoti, movixtochichioa, moujxtoychioa, intlatlaquechpaiouh, yoan ymaamacuexpal: auh yn jntlauiz, quaviztitl muchioa, quetzaltzontecomaio quãmolocio.

And the legs of the eagle were also made of eagle down. These insignia [were supported] upon wooden head rests with holes [in the head rests, in which the insignia were inserted]. Here lay the insignia, tied [across the back], bound around the stomach with cotton bands, tied firmly and tightly. And their cords were bands, narrow woven bands.
X 796
293

Auh in quauhtli imetz muchioa, no quãmolocio, ynjn tlaviztli cácacazo, côçocoio, yn vncã onmana tlauiztli, ic maapana, ic motixillancujtlalpia, ic motetevilpia, ic mocacatzilpia: auh yn jmecaio, yn jmemecaio, tlaxochtli, tlaxochpitzactli.

And all the common folk who looked on, all car-

Auh in jxqujch tlacatl macoalli, in tlatlatta, mu-

[137]

13. Cf. p. 83, n. 27. Simeon (*op. cit.*) defines it as *ornamento lacinioso*; see, further, note 15, below. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*Tzontlapal. ornamento o ramaiete pequeño*"; Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) has the same. See also Rehnquist ed., Vol. III, p. 252.

14. "*Un plumajo muy hermoso, hecho a manera de manga de cruz*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish).

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tilli: itoca sujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic motimaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapalos telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitziqtlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlezochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimãca, ixtlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapicia, vel teixpiela, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoqujn jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhica, tlàtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 535

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan cenizuh yn imicxi: yoan ontzitzinqujça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn ixqujpantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn

6. See Plate 22.

X 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

● [535] And when it all ceased, already it was late at night,
[512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[534] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen,
[373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

X 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who
836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of honors, made their plea for the women only in
684 secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his
[831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlaujc, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhioua, ie netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlaztlia azcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie ixqujch, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet veuetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn ixqujchtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenquixtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca motsujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlauelilloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioatelacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oalioualqujça, çan moiooalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in qujça:

auh intla aca ittoz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in ixqujch ytlatquj, yn inechicltiloal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlẽtlecaleoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

1796 wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

805 [For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

1796 When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained [533] sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the lead- [552] ing warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

1796 Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers. ● 535 And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also 793 they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their fore- [302] heads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[8] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their [301] heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They went describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

1796 And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, 793 which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, [534] which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

And the priests, [who] attended them, went blow- [534] ing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonqujçaia,

çã qujtocticiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiaoalotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh ioatzinco miquiz in Xilonen: ceiooal in cioapan cujcoia, toçooaia, muchi tlacatl ixtoçooaia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, queoaia queviliaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel ixqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan moxaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpacxochiuh, inxoxochicozqui cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn iehoã yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonneloa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in iehoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auã ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa itepuxtzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, tecciztli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tiamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

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8. *Bixa orellana L.*, the annatto shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llaman* cempoalxóchitl, *son amarillas y de buen olor*" (Rodrigo ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tagetes, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 99, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *tlamacazque cuicacinimi* (chanting priests), says "The player is called the *teponazqui*, and the drum, *teponazcoli*. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonacrus ovalvata* Bentb. this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of elder." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tongue on the bottom (corresponding Spanish text).

X 796 and hung rows of all the varied flowers, the most beautiful flowers, the threaded ones.

778 Then flowers were offered to all the rest of the gods, to the images of the gods, [or] devils. They were adorned with flowers; they were girt with [garlands of] them; flowers were placed upon their heads, there in the temples.

Thereupon all together, in all the houses, the homes of the majordomos, the homes of the great noblemen, and the houses of the youths, they laid flowers out [before the idols]. And they spread them out in the homes of each and all.

X 796 And afterwards, when each had been orn amented, then there were feasting and drinking. Everywhere,

● 535 everyone ate; all were in a festive mood.

And when midday came, then all sang and danced —verily, they drew up all the youths; the masters and the leaders of the young men, the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí.[3] Here in the god's courtyard there was dancing—in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli.

[701] And those who led [the dance] were the fearless warriors, the great warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who were not laggards in war; who turned [the enemy] back, [whose exploits] wheeled them hence.

[548] Also the women danced—not the daughters [of onlookers, but] courtesans, harlots—who went between [pairs of the men], they were [all] stretched in a row, taken by the hand or grasped about the waist. They moved all in line they went winding to and fro, nowhere breaking the line, at no time losing hands. They went in orderly procession.

[533] And the singers, who sang for them, who beat drums for them, who beat the ground drums, were quite apart [from the dancers]—to one side; they were upon a [counterfeit] house, upon the round

[778] altar [or pyramid].[4] And the altar was completely round, round like a shield, like a millstone. And here, upon this, stood [the musicians].

And thus they danced: they did not leap, nor make great movements; they did not make dance gestures; they did not move throwing themselves about, nor dance making arm-movements, nor go bending their

nepapan xuchitl, in tlaçoxuchitl, in manquj, in tlamantli:

njman ie ic tenuchimaco, centetzi in inqujchtin tetetu, yn imixiptlaoan tetzu, tlatlacatecuilo, tenuchitilo, tenuchiapano, tricpacxuchitilo, in vncan in tetcupan:

njman ie ic centetzi in noujan calpan, in calpixque inchan, in veuei pipilti inchan: yoan in tetelpuchcali, quicentzacutimanj, quicentzacutimomana in techachan.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn otecencaoaloc mec tlatlaquaio, haatlioa: noujan tlatlaquaio, yillnjtlamacho.

Auh yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh mec cujcoiansolo, vel inqujch quicencaoa, in telpuchtli, in teachcaoan, in telpuchiaque, in tequjoaque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in teuitoalco, yn itoalco Vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in teiacana, ichoantin in quaquachicti, in veuei tiacaoã yn iuhquj cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mitzacujlia iaoc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoanj.

No ichoantin in cioa mjtotiaia, amo ichoan in teichpuchoan, ichoantin in mahaujltianj, yn aviaxnjme intzatzalan mantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mocujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, mococolotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacaoa vipantiuj.

Auh in cujcanjme, in quincujcatia, in quintlatzotzonjlia, quinuetzotzonjlia, çan nonqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emomoztitech: auh in momoztli, çan iaoaltic, teujlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn itlan manj.

Auh ynic mjtotia, amo chocholoa, amono ontlayiaoa, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlaztiuj, amo

[701]

3. Here and elsewhere, the following equivalents are offered: quaquachictli—fearless warrior; tulpochtli—youth; tlacochcalcatl—master of the youths; tulpochtlato—ruler of the youths; tulpochtlapipiltzin—leader of the youths; tequixiui or yaotequixiui—seasoned warrior. To a degree, such definitions are, perhaps, arbitrary. The suggested equivalents, however, are based upon the following passages from Sahagún (Robredo ed.): Vol. I, p. 292, and Vol. II, pp. 137, 207 (quaquachictin, tequixiuiqui); Vol. I, pp. 131, 148, 182, 199, 215, 289, 291, and Vol. II, p. 182 (tulpochtli); Vol. I, pp. 148, 291, and Vol. II, pp. 318, 319 (tlacochcalcatl); Vol. I, p. 291 (tulpochtlato); Vol. II, p. 321 (yaotequixiui). See also Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94, on otomi and quaquachictli; pp. 89, 116, on tlacochcalcatl, tulpochtlato; Vol. II, pp. 92, 95, 96, 136 on tequixiui or yaotequixiui; Garibay (Llanto del anáhuac, p. 243) on tulpochtli; Soler, op. cit., p. 158 (tulpochtlato), p. 144 (tequixiui), pp. 144, 158 (tulpochtlapipil).

4. Cf. Soler, op. cit., p. 158.

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bodies nor whirling, nor wander from side to side, nor fall back.

Quite quietly, calmly, evenly, they kept going as they danced. Like a moving serpent was the dance. None disturbed, none intruded, none went out of place nor broke in.

And the women danced with arms about only the great,[5] brave warriors. And those who were only masters of the youths, not with [the women] did they dance, embracing them [about the waist].

And when all ceased dancing, only a little sun remained. When the sun was about to set, all dispersed and departed, each to his place.

And in all the houses there was singing. They sang to their gods—either Omacatl, or Chicome coatl, or Ehecatl, or Coatl Xoxoubqui. Everywhere there was song; song was widespread; war cries resounded; there were battle cries as song was sung; a great din of singing re-echoed.

[273] And only the revered old men and old women drank wine. And those who became drunk cried out at people or boasted of their manly deeds.[6]

momaitotitiuj, amo mopapachoa, amo momamalacachotiuj, amo aujc onviuj, amo tzitzinquiça:

çan yujian çan matca, çan tlamach yn istiuj, yn mjtotitiuj: cẽca çan coamantiuh, coanotiuh in netutiliztli, aiac tlaolinja, aiac tlaamana, aiac tlepcionja, aiac tlaixnelos.

Auh in-cioa in q'nnaos, çan ichoantin in veuey tiacaoan: auh in çan tiachcaoan, amono ichoãtin, amo qujnnaoaia.

Auh in necaoalo in netotilo, ça achi tonatiuh, ie oncalaquiz tonatiuh, cecenmanoa viujloa.

Auh in noujan calpan, cujcujco, qujncujcujcatia yn intetecuoan: yn aço omacatl, anoço chicome coatl, anoço hecatl, anoço coatl xoxoubquj, nanachca in cujco, quitzacutimanj, in cujco, tlacaoacatitimanj, tlacaoacatinemj in cujco, xxxamacatimanj in cujcatl.

Auh çanyioque, in ueuentzitzin, yoã yn ilamatzitzin, in tlaoana: auh yn aqujn vel oiujntic, tetzatzilia, anoçe moqujchitoa.

5. Or old (*veuey*).
6. Of this phase of Tlazcalmoan, Chrigoyen (*op. cit.*, p. 163) says: "*Este danza que duraba hasta la noche, terminaba con el sacrificio de varios cautivos. Hacian también en este mes con muchos sacrificios la fiesta de Inaxtecatli dios del comercio.*"

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
778 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

suh in ie iuhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoß comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmã ic ic quitetema: muchi ichoatl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: suh in omoteten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic viviloa, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were
[302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained
[237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles
[293] or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmama tlaviztli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoß in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic moteneoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

● [535] And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with
[30] white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper
[302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and they decked their heads with feathers. They had
292 feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmã ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomoloa.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan ommotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in qujça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepãntla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked.
[413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquijtzõ intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it
[415] into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

in ie juhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Rémi Simeon, however, renders *antepasadi* as this.
8. The context suggests a distinction between *demonios* and *malogros*.

796 Thereupon they took him upon their backs and thus carried him up. And when they had gone to carry him up,[13] then they cast him into the fire. All at once the cinders shot up, billowing greatly.

And the body of the brave warrior then writhed; blisters quickly formed, and billows of smoke at once rose [from his body].

Then the old priests forthwith seized and drew him forth; they stretched him out upon the offering stone, and cut open his breast, splitting him open. Then they cut and tore out his heart, and cast it before Xiuhtecutli, the representation of fire. And in this same manner died all the captives whom Painal came to deliver up.

And afterwards, when they had slain the brave warriors, then all dispersed; all departed and went to their homes and feasted, and it was a day of rejoicing.

And [as for] Painal, his old [priests] then carried him, encircling and crowding around him as they went. They escorted him and placed him in his place, where he was guarded. And having come to leave him, then they descended, in order. And when they had arrived at the base, then they dispersed; they departed to their dwellings and there all ate.

And afterwards, when food had been eaten, then all came forth and assembled—all the men, the youths, and the boys, the small boys—those with a tuft of hair at the back of the head. All took their places.

[535] Then was begun the song and dance, at midday. In this manner was it danced: the serpent dance was performed. Between [the men] went the women, as hath been related. The courtyard was well filled, packed full, crowded; none could come out from the crowd; there was a great jostling of people.

And when they tired [of this], then all abandoned [the courtyard] and there was shouting. Then they hied forth to where stood the *xocotl*; there was much trampling; all hurried; there was a great press of people.

[411] And the masters of the youths kept people away [from the *xocotl*]; their pine staves lay in their hands. They held not back as they struck; they held not back their staves as they laid about. And those who little by little, one by one, broke through violently as [the others] held them back, thereupon all [these] pulled upon the ropes, the heavy ropes.

13. Probably oquijpantlaqueto is meant.

njman ie ic iquechpan conteca, injc quijtlecavia: auh in oquipantlacato, njmã ic contlaça in tleco, cõcalli moquetztivetzi in nextli, vel molonj.

Auh in tiacauh njmã ie ic cuecuepoca in jnacaio, aquaqualacativetzi, yoan tletlecaleoativetzi:

njman ic conantivetzi, convilantivetzi, in quaquacujlti, quijoalteca techcac, coneltequi quijoaliztlapana in jielchiqujuh: njmã ic concotona, contlatzcotona in jiollo; ixpan cõmaiavi, in xiuhtecutli: in jxiptla tletl: auh çan ie mochivi in momjquijlia in mamalti, quinoalçaçaca in Painal.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otlanque tiacaoan njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, vivilca vilca in techachan, tlatlaquaio, ilhujtlamacho.

Auh in Painal, njmã quivica, cololhujtivi, quitepevitivi, in jrevcioan, concaoa, contlalia in jician, in jpielcioian: auh in ocõcaoato, njmã ie ic oaltemo, oalcenpantitivi. Auh in oacico tlalchi: njmã ic momoiaoa, vivi in ipchachan ontlatlaqua.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlatlaqualoc, njmã ic oalhujloa, oalnenechicolo, ixquich tlacatl in telpochtli, yoan in telpopochtoconti, in telpopochpipil, in cuexpaltotoneque, in cuexpaltzitzineque: ixquich quicencaoa:

in jquac peoalo cujcoanolo nepantla tonatiuh, inic netotilo, necocololo, intzatzalan mamantivi in cioa in juh omjto, in jtvalli vel temj, vel cacatzca, vel tzitzica, aoc vel tetlan quijtoa, ceneca nepapatzolo.

Auh in otlatziuhque nimã ie ic necacaoalo, njman ic tlacaoaca: njman vmpa onxoquivi, in vmpa icac xocotl: vel nequequeçalo, vel netotocholo, vel nepitzmamalioa.

Auh in teachcaoan, tetzaqua, imoocoquauh in immac oonoc, amo motlamachvia injc tevitequi, amo ilui in inquauh injc teviteqij: auh in oquezztl, in oquezteltzin in oquipetlatiquijque tetzaqua: njmã ie ic machi motilinja in mecatl, in vepãmecatl:

X 796 **Thirtieth Chapter:** here are related the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the days of the eleventh month, which was named and known as Ochpaniztli.

The eleventh feast was known as "The Sweeping of the Way."[1] At this time the actual feast had not yet arrived. For another five days nothing was done; there was then no activity. And when five days had X 796 passed, then began the hand-waving dance—when there were fifteen days before Ochpaniztli. It was ● 535 carried on for eight days.

And thus they danced the hand-waving dance: All were arranged in order; four rows were formed; all formed four lines. Thus they danced: They went marching only in circles; their hands were filled with Tagetes flowers and branches, which they went grasping in either hand.

They did not sing; none called out; they went in complete silence.

[273] But if some mischievous youths became drunk, they imitated the ground drums. As the ground drums roared, just so they went about doing. [The dancers] went moving their hands here and there; they moved in equal rows. None broke ranks; none turned [another] from his course; none went astray.

And when the hand-waving dance began, it was already near sundown. And when all ceased, the sun had already set. And when eight days had passed, then began the mock-battle [of the medicine women], which they carried on for four days before the house of song and dance.

X 796 In this manner and in this way proceeded all the [754] medicine women—old women, maidens, and some of the harlots:

They were divided [into two bands. The likeness of] Teteo innan went with a certain number [of them, and] as many more went opposing her, skirmishing against her, [that] thus they might banish her sad thoughts, her sorrow; [that] they might amuse her and cause her to laugh; that she might not be sad. For if she should weep, it was said, it would be an omen of evil. It was said that many men who were dexterous as warriors would die in

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: vncã moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in tlamaviztililiztli: in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl oce metztli: in mjtoaia, in moteneoaia: Ochpanjztli.

Injc matlactetl oce ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa, Ochpanjztli: in aiamo onaci, in vel iquac vel ilhujtl: oc macujlilhujtl, in aiatle muchioaia, in çan oc cactimanj: auh in õqujz macujlilhujtl njmã ic vmpeoa in nematlazo, iquac in tlacaxtolti ochpanjztli: chicueilhujtl in muchioaia.

Auh injc nematlazo, netetecpanaloia, nappantioa, nenappantiliło: injc mitotiaia, çan nenentivi, tlatlaiaoaloa, cempoalsuchitla mapoztectli in immac tetẽtiuh, nenecoc in immac qujtzitzitzqujtivi:

amo cujcaia, aiac naoatia; çan nõt .ivi:

tel intla cequjntin in telpuchtlaveliloque, in mjiviniia contlaccecalhuja in vevetl: in juh caqujzti vevetl, çan no iuh qujchiuhtivi, necoccampa in conjauhtivi imma, çan tecpantivi, çan cemonotivi, aiac chicopetonj, aiac tepatilia, aiac onchicoquiça.

Auh in peoaia in nematlazo, ie teutlac: auh in necacaoaloia ic õcalaquj tonatiuh. Auh in otzonqujz chicueilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in çonecali, navilhujtl in muchioaia: vncan in cujcacalli ixpan.

Ivin in muchioaia, iuhquj in, in muchioaia: in jzqujchtin ciostitici, in jlamatque, yoan in jchpupuchti, yuan cequjntin avienjme:

mocelouia, monepãtlaxeloaia, izquj intlan mãtivi, in teteu innan, no izquj in qujnamjctivi, in qujtiiaivtla, ic qujpopolohtiaia in jtlaocul, qujtlatlacaavilouia, qujvevetzqujtiaia, injc amo tlaocuiaz; auh in tlachocaz, qujlmach tlatetzaviz: qujl mjec iaumj-

1. *Barrimiento de caminos*, in Garibay's rendering (*op. cit.*, p. 306); *der "Wegkehren,"* according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 171): *fresa barredera*, in Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198.

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[14]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-weaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl: 796

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca iehoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, iehoatl in qujmomaca cuextecatl tlaviztli. [714 411]

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan ,Motecuçoma: ceceiaca ‹contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn suchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaiaoalo in teucalli. [535]

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intõ macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id est, iaoiutl, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic ceniazque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, iteputzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn tzõtli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh. [533]

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuztlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujnjquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quezqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço- [714]

14. See Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1308. Seler mentions (pp. 131, 132) a pointed, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose plate; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. Either these relate to the wars of Axayacatl among the Huaxteca, or also "the Huaxteca were [them to proclaim] themselves to be the servants, followers, likenesses, of the old mother of the gods, Tetea innan, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxteca, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from there." [776 177]

X 796 Itzoçauhqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came
[796] last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

X 796 And when they were being cast into the fire, there then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He
292 was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a
● 535 crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which
[198] was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was
[534] he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

X 796 They took one another's hands, grasping them firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken,
535 where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hands."

And next day all assembled at the same time to
[237] dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasury songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here endeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

quj, ichoatl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca intecuh catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoqujlitivia, ça qujoalcentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlaxo, vncan in teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in qujntlepantlaçaiz, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaxo, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiqujltone, quachichiqujle, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujmamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoztzaltontli: in jquac ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

yoan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhqujn tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vntetl in jaiacach, vccampa in aiacachotinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazque: injc oaltemo, imaamaneapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca motetcuhtzitzquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhqujn mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic movitequj, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin moteneoa mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in coztic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xoxoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca ixqujch tlacatl, çan ichoantin in oqujchtin:

njman ie ic peoalo in necocololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle queoa, çan avilcujcatl: auh in necacaoalo, ie ioa: auh in aca cenca compaquj, vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jiomjlhujixti y, ic cuel cõcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je ixqujch njcan tlamj, njcan tzonqujça in ilhujtl Teutl eco.

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8. ". . . se es donde cada año echaban vivos en un gran braçero de fuego muchos cautivos, en la fiesta que se llamaba tecaxipe; y hacían los dichos aquella ceremonia que se llamaba tamalcualiztlis, como se dijo en la misma fiesta de tecaxipe" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 221).
9. ". . . porque no los hacían más el dicho Acolmiztli" (ibid., p. 224). Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., p. 146.

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

vmpan ca vitzilatl, oztoc, avevetica in qujoaltzatzacutivi, intlan qujoalaantivi: 796^x 778

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

in oqujoalhujcaque: njman ie ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jcxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmamatlatquj, in jmamanechichioal in jpan mjqujzque, yoan qujntezo vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpã tlatlamj: yoã imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in tetlotli, in coztic, yoan qujmontlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuiotl. 796^x 302 [301]

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõchichiuhque, in oqujmõcencauhque, njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalqujqujztiqujça, njmã ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnxixitinja, qujntlatlalilia in intlatquj, qujmõtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioaoan. 796^x 567

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

Auh in oacic, vncã tlamacujlti: njmã vncã compeoaltia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in ioalnepantla: vmpã aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oncoa in calpulco. [515]

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

Auh in cioatl tealtiz, çan vncã in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cõquetza atenco ezço: auh in otzõqujznavilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmã ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltitlti, yoã in tealtique, yoan in teanque yoan in tetemovique, yoã im panoa- [535]

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que quiere decir, lavadas, porque los lavaban y regaladan para que engordaran, para que su carne fuese sabrosa cuando los hubieran de matar y comer; compradas estas esclavas en Atlixpetenalco, porque allí había feria de ellas y allí las vendían los que traían en esclavas."

The *Real Palacio* MS (Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 317) reads: *"Auh inic mitoa tudiani yehica in ilacatli machiya calnoya atecmilhica in izquich cuali ompualihuiz"—"y se dice el que bien grande porque a su esclava siempre la bañaba con aguas calientes, cada uno de los veinte días."*

4. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 59) calls *ahuehuetl* swamp cypress (an emblem of kingly power). In Sahagún (Rubredo ed., Vol. III, p. 332) it is defined as *Tamalhuan mas vocamos Tea.*; the corresponding Spanish text has "*hojas de cedro.*" See J. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Epítomes de voces nahuas* (México: Editorial Cultura, T. G., S. A., 1949), Vol I, pp. 1546, for some notes on the etymology of ahuehuetl.

5. Seler, in *Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773* (*Codex Vaticanus B*) (Berlin: Druck von Gebr. Unger, 1902), p. 8, describes this face painting (*intlaxchiuhca*) as *Gesicht in Querstreifen.* The stripes, alternate of different color, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: *"dueños de las esclavas."*

7. *"Comían al medio día"* (*loc. cit.*); *"Sie assen (nur einmal) am Tage (am Mittag)"*—Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 206; *"comía a mediar"* (Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 312).

X 796 would carry the banners, and the women who would wash their faces. [The dance] ceased when conch shells were blown [at midnight].

X 796 And hence was it named the serpent dance: they took one another's hands, while ranged in a line; 535 with their hands they grasped circlets of grass, or reeds, or cord made into jar rests. The victims went trotting among [the others]; there was much running; they leapt, hurrying as if in haste, as if breathless. There was circling about, with no song, without singing.

And the old men of the tribal temple beat drums for them; and only they sang. Some looked on, marveling at [the dance]. And much was their fasting admired and respected. All abstained, even more so [834] the owners of the victims. No [man] might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And when they had danced the serpent dance, then they dispersed.

X 796 And when it dawned, on the twentieth day, when [it was] verily the feast day, thereupon the bathed slaves went to [their owners'] houses, taking their [386] leave. They carried with them black stain, [or] perchance blue mineral earth, or red ochre. And as [533] leave was thus taken in [the owners'] houses, they went singing, as if their voices would crack, as if they were hoarse. When they reached the houses of those who had bathed [them], then they dipped [386] their hands into the blue stain, or the black stain, or the red ochre. Thereupon they laid their hands upon the posts and upon the door lintels, wherever they came out of the homes of those who had ceremonially bathed [them].

And when they had proceeded to the several places where their relatives were, then they again went to [their owners'] homes; these in vain offered them food. Some yet would eat; and some could not now eat.

And when this was done, gifts awaited them, spread out. Cloaks were ready [for them], breech clouts, shifts, skirts. And when the gifts were laid out, thereupon the victims took their banners upon their backs, arraying themselves of their own free will. And the women likewise, in the same way, put upon their backs their baskets with all their womanly adornment. Thereupon they arose to carry in their arms the gifts made them; before the door, in the street, they arranged themselves in procession. And the bathed ones thereupon entered the interior of the

que, yoan in teixamjque cioa: in mocaoa iquac m tlatlapitzalo.

Auh injc moteneoa cóanecujlolo, maana, motecpana: injc maana iaoalli, aço toli, anoço mecatl in qujiaoallalia: in tlaaltilti intlan aactivi, cenca motlatlaloa, chichitonj, vivicinj, iuhqujn tlaixtotochca, iuhqujn tlacica: moiaiaoaloa, amo cujca, amo ma cujca.

Auh in calpulveveteque, qujntlatzotzonjlia: auh çanjoque in cujca: cequjntin tlatlatta, tlatlamaviçoa: auh cenca tlamaviztililoia, cenca qujmaviztiliaia in neçaoalizzli: vel ixqujch tlacatl, motzitzqujaia: oc cenca ichoantin, in tealtique: aiac cioacochia, auh in cioa, ano ac oqujchcochia.

Auh in onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj.

Auh in otlatvic, in vncan tlacempoalti, in ie vel iquac ilhujtl: njman ie ic vi in tlaaltilti, mocacalnaoatizque: qujnpatilia tlilli, açi texotli, anoço tlavitl: auh in jquac ie vi mocacalnaoatizque, cujcativi, iuhqujn no in tozqujtzatzaianj, omach içaoacaque: in onacique inchan tealtique, njmã conaquja in imma texotitlan, anoço tlitlitlan, anoço tlauhtitlan: njman ie ic commamaña tlaquetzaltitech, yoã tlaixquatl itech, izquicã qujça in inchachan tealtique.

Auh in jzqujcan onqujzque, in inoaniolcaoacan: njmã ie ic no ceppa vi in inchachã, in nen qujntlamaca; in cequjntin oc ontlaqua; auh in cequjntin aocmo tlaqua.

Auh in jquac in, ie ic onoc in tetlauhtilli, ic qujchixtoc in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in vipilli, in cueitl: auh in omotetecac, tetlauhtilli; njmã ie ic mochichioa in tlaaltilti commomamaltia in impã, çan monomavia in muchichioa: auh in cioa çan no inoma in cõmomamaltia, intana, in jzqujch inciotlatquj: njmã ie ic moquetza in tlanapaloa, in qujnpaloa tetlauhtilli, qujiaoac, vtlica oalmotecpana: auh in tlaaltilti, njman ie ic calaquj in cioapan, qujoaliaoaloa in tlecujlli: mec oalqujça, mec ommoiacatia

X 796 And before she died, she danced. The old men beat the drums for her; the singers sang for her—they intoned her song. And when she danced, she wept much, and she sighed; she felt anguish.[4] For time was but short; the span was but brief before she would suffer, when she would reach her end on earth.

536 [781]

Auh in aiamo mjquj mjtotiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia in vevetque, in cujcanjme, qujcujcatia, quevilia in jcujc. Auh in jquac mjtotiaia, vel mochoqujliaia, yoan elcicivia, mociappoa: ichica ca ça achitonca, ça ixqujch cavitl y, ça ixqujch cavitontli y, inic ontlacotiz, in ie compoloz tlaticpactli.

X 796 And when the sun was past its zenith, they then took her up to the top of the temple. All the impersonators of the demons went, laying hold of and accompanying her, proceeding in rows. Yet another, the impersonator [of Ilama tecutli], went leading the people—one whom verily they thought a god[dess] on earth, who was only a man whom they [so] adorned.

Auh in jquac ōmotzcalo tonatiuh: njmā ie ic qujtlecavia in teucalticpac, qujtzitzqujtivi, qujtocativi in jxqujchtin im jxiptlaoā diablome cempantitivi, teiacātiuh in oc ceppa ixiptla, in vel-qujmoteutia tlaticpac, çan tlacatl in qujchichioaia.

And when they reached [the summit], they cut open her breast. And when she was slain, then they severed her head. And her head they gave to him who led. He took it in his right hand, going off with it, going dancing, marking the dance rhythm with the head. He went before them, leading all the likenesses and vicars of the devils. They circled the temple; then they descended, in the same way [as they had come up], ranged in rows, and going in lines. And when they reached the ground, thereupon they dispersed and went to their houses, to their tribal temples, where [the gods' raiment] was guarded.

Auh in oconaxitique, njmā ic coneltequjj: auh in ōmomjqujli, njmā ic qujoalquechcotona: auh in jtzontecō, qujoalmaca in teiacantiuh, itlan conana imaiauhcampa in qujtzitzqujtiuh, mjtotitiuh ic ontlaiiauhtiuh in tzōtecomatl, imjxpan icatiuh, qujniacantiuh in jxqujchtin imjxiptlaoan, in impatillooan Diablome, qujoaliaoaloa in teucalli, njman ic oaltemo, çā no ivi, motecpantivitze, cenpantitivitze: auh in otemoco tlalchi, njmā ie ic vivi, momoiaoa, vmpa vivi in inchachan, in incacalpulco, in vmpa pipielo.

And the vicar, the likgness, of Ilama tecutli, he thus danced: he stepped back, kicking his heels up behind him. And then he went off supporting himself upon his staff, a cane.

auh in teixiptla, in jxjptla Ilama tecutli: injc mjtotiaia tzitzintlaçça, itzintlampa in conjaçū icxi: yoan ic motlatlaquechitiuh itopil, ōtlatl:

Its head, its upper end, was divided off into three [points], like a three-pronged harpoon. It was called his thorny staff. And when he thus danced, one said: "Ilama tecutli backeth away." And they put upon him a mask looking in two directions. It had huge lips and large eyes. And upon his head stood an array of little banners, arranged in rows. They seemed like a wreath of flowers upon his head.

[293]

in jiacac, in jquac, ezcan in maxaltic, iuhqujn mjnacachalli: motocaiotia, yiotlavitzil, auh in juh mjtotiaia y, mjtoa, motzineoa in Jlama tecutli: yoā xaiacatl cōmaquja, occampa tlachia, texxaxacaltic, tenxaxacalpul, yoan ixtotolonpol, auh in jcpac pantotonti tecpantoc, vipantoc: iuhqujn icpacsuchiuh muchioa:

And when this [took place], it was said: "His grain bin burneth." His granary was fashioned[5] of pine branches joined together, like a framework.[6] Then they wrapped paper about it; they caulked it with paper. They placed it upon the eagle vessel.

[417]

yoan in jquac y, no moteneoa icuezcō tlatla: in jcuezcon qujchichioaia ocnquavitl in qujnenepanoaia, iuhqujn colotli, ic qujtlaliaia camaqujmjloaia, camapepechoa, vncan qujquetza in quauhxicalco:

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tomado por cuachas, porque lo parecen; pero que no son sino plumas), é ingeridas en unas primeras, y de ellas prodiciones, otras plumas grandes de águila."

4. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 294) writes, however, that "*a esta Muger le era permitido llorar, y entristecerse mucho (como negado en otras, que morian como Dios) y así se entristecia, suspiraba, y lloraba, con la memoria de la muerte, que de presente, y cerca esperaba.*"

5. *Chichinas* may be rendered in two ways. We have been guided largely by the context.

6. In the next chapter (Ixtulli) Sahagún notes that "*hacian la estatua del dios de fuego de arquitas, y palos atados, unos con otros, que ellos llamaban colotli, que quiere decir ximbria o mudela.*"

x 796 hand they grasped a paper-incense bag. Thereupon
[293] they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known
[535 as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the
622] Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

x 796 And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers
608 sought out some master of the youths, seasoned warrior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle.
[431] Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

[304] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

x 796 And when they had gone to their homes, there-
273 upon all ate and drank.
535 And then, in the temple, began singing and dancing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal qujtzitzquja amaxiqujpilli; njmã ie ic oalcemo mjtotitivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ie ic tlaiacaloa, çã nappa in tlaiacaloa: auh in ommjtotique mec nexixitinjlo, texixitinjlo, njmã ie ic calacoa in tecpan tlatecpanoloz. Auh in ichoatl y, moteneoa: netecujtotilo, motecujtotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in muchioaia;

ie iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in peoaloia in tenacazxapotlaloia in qujnnacazxapotla pipiltotonti: yoan qujnpotonja, tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in toztli.

Auh in ventli in qujchioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temooaia, ichoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlanenequja impilhoaque injc Tetlatizque: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitiz, qujtlauhtiaia:

in oqujchtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qujtlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazxapotlaloc; njmã ie ic qujnvivica, in qujnchichinozque pipiltotõti: qujtlalia tletl, tletlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc moteneoa techichinolo in calpulhuevetque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco qujmonjauhtimanj: njman ic qujnoalmacatimanj in tetlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlatzatzatzi, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic iatimanj in inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ie ic tlatlaqualo, haatlioa.

Auh in opeoaloc teupan in ie cujco in ie netotilo, nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa viloa in teupan: in Tetlaoan, in teavioan qujnvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlatquj ietiuh in vetli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica in qujitquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vncã cujco: njmã ie ic ommomana in mitotia, qujnmamama in pipiltotonti: vncã qujmomacatimanj, qujmomacatinemj in vetli: netech qujmomamaca.

11. The *Real Palacio* MS here contains the line *yeouil ye chimampinolli*, which probably identifies the *pinolli* as ground dried maize and chia seeds.

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed awe [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[3]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuiltecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [thus] all entered their homes.

Thus one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And thus ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during those days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

quenman tlatvix, in quenman tlatlavilotleoaz, in quenmã tlatoz cujcujtzcatl. 796x

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, aatlioa: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in qujncujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoàn iavi, vncan qujtotia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oalcenqujxoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotilizztli, in cujqujztli, cepã caoantimomana, xaxamacatimanj in cujcatl: 852 [535] [533]

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vctli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoãtia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoton, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano: 273 796x 852

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vctli,

yoan intlaoancax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: ei icxi, nauhcampa nacace, [415]

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmetzivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexoxocolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech neaano, neaanalo, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalacoa techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vctli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc ontzonquiça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã oalmotlalia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonalli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpouhquj cenca imacazoia, cenca mauhcaittoia: 777 796x 805

ichica ca çan nẽqujxquj, vncã nenenqujztilo, atle vnquixoa, nenencolo, nenenencolo: ichica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mãceoalli, can vncan icnoiotl, neto-

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 24.

Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the rôles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçatecs* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Nican mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia. 796X

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amono tequjxqujo, amono tenexio: a[illegible]h tlacatlaqualoia. [785] [262]

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xixiiotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl qujçaia, moteneoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuittotiloia:

yoan ixq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papalotl, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototl, in temoli, tecujtlaololo: yn jpan moqujxtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moqujxtiaia in cochiztli, in xocotamalcozquj, yoan totolnacatl yn jncozquj: yoan ymjxpan ycaca, in tonacacuezcomatl, tenticac in xocotamalli. [262]

Auh no muchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjqujlnamaqujlia, yn motequaquauhnamaqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teuçocozquj ypan moqujxtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in teculutl, in chichtli ipan qujçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moqujxtiaia. [463]

Auh motlaliaia in tlaloc, ixpan mãca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cueiame, yoan in ichoantin moteneoa, maçateca, vncan qujntoloaia in cocoa, çan ioioltiuja, ceceiaca, incamatica in qujmonanaia, ãmo inmatica: çan qujmontlanquechiaia, ynjc qujmon- 796X

6. Garibay ("Teteoiño boxo," p. 318) translates *iztacuitlapilli* as "*se cubrieron la cara.*" *Atecuculinqui* appears in the same text, translated as "*se hizo como ahora del agua.*" Cf., however, *atecuculli* in Molina, *op. cit.*

7. *Tecolotl: bubo; chichtli: lechuza* (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel María Garibay K, in *Tlalocan*, Vol. I, p. 329.

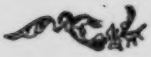

Behold [here] a true [relation] of all [the temples] which were the temples of the Mexicans.

[In] the [great] square of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, all was thus, [as followeth]:

It appeared to be perhaps two hundred fathoms [square]. And here, in the center [of the square], were very large temples, which were the temples of demons. The one which was tallest, of greatest height, was the house of Uitzilopochtli, or Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin. This one was very large, very tall.

And this one was in the middle [of the square]. And with it was the house of Tlaloc. Both were together, side by side. And at the very top, [one] stood a little high[er]—perhaps by [as much as] a fathom.

[Of] both of these, [one] was taller, rising higher; only they were quite similar. And at the top of each was a temple; at the top was a house.

Here was the image of Uitzilopochtli, also named Ilhuicatl Xoxouhqui. And in another [house], there was the image of Tlaloc.

And also at the top [of the pyramids] were circular stones, very large, named *techcatl* [offering-stones], upon which they slew victims. Thus they paid honor to their gods. And the blood—the blood of those who died—reached the base, flowing thence. All were thus in all the temples which were of the devils.

And this temple of Uitzilopochtli and of Tlaloc faced the setting of the sun. And its stairway was very wide. It reached up to the top, whereby all ascended. And for all the temples there were stairways; all were alike. Very straight was its stairway.

Iscatquj in jmelaoaca, in ixqujch catca inteucal mexica. 796 X 346

In jtoal catca vitzilopuchtli, in jxqujch ic catca:

in juh motta, aço matlacpovalmatl: auh in vncan yitic, cenca vevei in teucalli mamanca, in jnteucal catca diablome: in oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, in veixticatca, ichioatl in jcal catca Vitzilopuchtli, anoço tlacavepan cuexcochtzin: ichoatl in cenca vei catca, cenca vecapan.

Auh injn, nepantla in jcaca: auh nevan manca in jcal catca tlaloc, vel nehoan manca, vel netech çaliuhtimanca: auh in ic vel icpac, achi veca motzticatca: aço cemmatica.

Inj vnteixti y, oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, oc cenca veveixticatca, çan vel nenevixticatca: auh in jcpac cecentetl teucalli, in jcpac manca calli:

vncan catca in jxiptla vitzilopuchtli, no yoan itoca ilhujcatl xoxouhquj: auh in oc cecnj, vmpa catca in jxiptla tlaloc:

auh no ioan in jcpac, vncan mamanca tetl iacaltic, cenca vevey, qujtocaiotiaia techcatl, in jpan tlamjctiaya: injc qujnmaviztiliaia inteuhoan: auh in ezzli, in jmezço in mjquja, vel valacia in tlatzintlan, injc valtotocaia: muchi iuhquj catca, in jxqujch inteucal catca diablome.

Auh in ichoatl in jteucal vitzilopuchtli, ioan tlaloc: vmpa itztimanca in jcalaqujian tonatiuh: auh in jtlamamatlaio, cenca patlavac: vmpa aciticatca in jcpac, in vncan tlecovaia: ioan in ic ixqujch in teucalli catca, muchiuhquj catca: cenca vel melavatica ca in jtlamamatlaio

Tlalocan, the Temple of Epcoatl.

At Tlalocan all fasted in honor of the Tlalocs when they observed [their] feast. And when all fasted, then evil things were done and vicious. All danced [bearing] dried maize stalks. And there was dancing in all the houses. It was said, the dance of maize and beans was danced. And when the feast of the Tlalocs ended, thereupon died those who were set apart, and

Tlalocan, iteupan epcoatl.

In tlalocan: vncan netlalocaçaualoia, in jquac ilhujuhqujçaia: auh in onneçaualoc, njman ic ic aiectilo, ioan neaviltilo, netotilo, yca cintopilli: auh novian in calpan mjtotiaia: mjtoaia, etzalmaceoaloia. Auh in jquac oonqujz imjlhujuh, in tlatlaloque, njman ic ic miquj in vncan pouhque in mjtoaia [535]

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca ciuatontli, no iehoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalqujça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixqujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no iehoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anahuac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Iopicalco, yoan coacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan coacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocozcatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixqujch tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

874 [701] bearetb a staff. For also [in times past] they had staves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

pil catca, yoan in ça ie iehoantin in onteilpiaia, in quauhcalco ontetlaliaia,

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

yxquich y, in jnpauetziliz, in inpauechiliz in telpupuchti.

874 And in this way of life, few showed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriors]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

auh injn nemilizzli amo çan quexquichtin in ipan nenca, in ipan mooapaoaia, amo çã tlapoalti in motocaiotiaia telpupuchti, ipampa ca çan njmã amo tecoco in jnnemiliz in telpupuchti, ca in oc pipiltotonti, vncan cencochi in quilhuja telpuchcali vncan cemonoque.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud[7] [for *adobes*, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

auh in aquin poliuja, in amo telpuchcalco cochi, quitlatzacujltiaia, yoan inchan ontlaqua. auh cemololiuhtiui in canpa tlein quichioa, in aço pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, quichioa, motquiiiui, anoço moxexeloa. auh quauhtla uj, concuj, conmama in quilhuia cuitatlauilli:

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but not—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

auh ĩ ça achi tonatiuh quicaoa in tlein quichioa, njman mocencaoa, muchichioa, achtopa mahaltia, njman môça, amo no quilhuja in inxaiac nima mocozcatia.

874 301 The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.[8] Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they pasted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted *magney* fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shorn ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

Yn oquichtin in tiacaoan, vevej chipoli in qujmocozcatia, anoço teucujtlacozcatl, motlacuechmanilia, motlacoatimanilia, njman mjchio, mjtoaia motiltzotia hapetzzli ic conpotonja, in jnechioal, monacochtia, moxixjuhnacochtia, moztatia, mochalcacatia, ynjn chalcaiatl tlamalintli in jcpatl, tlatlalpitl, iuhquin matlatl cillo, in tlatoque teucujtlacillo in jnchalcaiauh, in quaquachicti inchalcaiauh mjtoa xoxocoio, ynjc mjtoa xoxocoio, veveypupul in itech quipipiloa icpatetl,

When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

874 535 yn iõc ie onaqui tonatiuh njman tleteca in quilhuja cujcacalco, tlehquazco in tletletlalia telpupuchti, in ie tlaizmiqui, niman penalo in cujco, muchi tlacatl

7. The word *pololli*, as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make adobes.

8. In *Lenga Kapital* (p. 344, n. 1), Seler offers a variant for *motlacuechmanilia* and *motlacoatimanilia*. *Cuechli* and *coatl*, however, may be warriors' garments, as here translated.

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until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in these times they covered themselves with nothing else. All thus danced, wrapped only in netted capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

mjxotia, izquĵchica yn oquiz iooalli xeliui, yn oonquiz iooalnepantla. [535]

suh njman siac tle quĵmololooaia, in izquĵch ic netoxilo, çaqyio in neololoio chalcaiatl, haçan nel iuhqui petlaiuhtinenca, [292]

yn oquiz cuicatl, njman cecenmanoa, muztla yui, muztla yui, in centlaxilacalti, motquitivi vmpa ōcochi in jncochia, injn telpuchcali.

suh in ic vel oquichtin in ic quiximati tlalticpaiotl, vmpa oncocochi in jnmecaoa. [836]

[p. 56 is blank]

821
793
785
[535]

water, in order that they should let him go, he offered the priests something of value—either a turkey or food. In return for it they let [his son] be.

And when this came to pass, everywhere, in the houses of all, in each house, *etzalli*[9] was eaten. Each one made *etzalli* for himself; and there was a dance in which *etzalli* was begged. With green maize stalks they danced. Those who danced the *etzalli* dance entered house after house, each one begging and asking. [The householders] offered them all this same *etzalli*, [placing it] in the small jars, the *etzalli* jars, which they bore in their hands.

These [gods] were called Tlaloca. To them were attributed clouds, rain, hail, snow, mist, sheet lightning, thunder, and lightning bolts which struck men.

Auh in icoac, y, in nouiian techachan, in cecencalpan etzalqualoia: ceceiaca metzalhuiaia, yoan etzalmaceoaloia: cintopiltica mitotia, tepan cacalaqui, motlatlaeuia, motlatlaitlanja, in etzalmaceuhque: çan muche in etzalli quinmaca, inxoxochuicol, imeztzalcon intlan caana.

In ichoantin, y, moteneoa tlaloque: intech tlamiloia in mistli, in quiauitl, in teciuitl, in cêpaiauitl, in aiauitl, in tlapetlaniliztli, in tlatlatziniliztli, in teuitequiliztli.

The Rainbow

821

As if arched—bent and rounded—it thus appeared. Varicolored, many-hued was its appearance. The single colors which showed in it [were] green, dark green, blue green, and black; and yellow and orange or tawny; then vermillion and ruby red; and [various shades of] blue, and dark green.[10]

Aiauhcoçamalocl.

Iuhquin uitoliuhqui: tlauitoltic, coltic, inic oalmoquetza, tlatlatlapalpoalli, motlatlapalpouh in itlachieliz. In centlamantli tlapalli, itech neci: xoxoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iiapaltic, quilpalli, iiapalli: yoan cozzic, xopaltic, xochipalli: niman ic chichiltic, tlapaltic: yoã tlaztaleoaltic, tlaztaleoalli: yoan texôtic, texôtli, matlaltic, matlalli.

And they said that when it appeared it revealed, made evident to men, and denoted—whereby it was known, realized, and seen—that it would not rain; would not rain hard—would not pour. But it would break up the clouds. It would dissipate, impede, and quiet the rain—the downpour which wet, soaked, and drenched one. If clouds piled up, if heavy clouds blackened [the sky] so that everywhere it was dark, it only dissipated [them]. Although it rained, no longer was the rain heavy; no longer did it increase. It only sprinkled; it drizzled; a few drops fell; a haze, a fog, a thin mist drifted and fell. Or at most it sprinkled; the sprinkling and the spray continued.

And they said—it was averred—[that] if it appeared over maguey plants, because of it the green [leaves] yellowed, turned, dried, reddened, and withered. And also they said [that] when it appeared many times, thereby it was evident [that] the rains were to end forthwith. They said: "Soon the masters of the rain will go; already the Tlaloca are about to leave."

Auh quitoa, in icoac oalmoquetza: quinestia, quiteittina, quinezcaiotia, ic macho, ic machiztli, ic itto: in amo quiauiz, amo tlacipiauiz, amo tilaoz: çan quimomoiaouz in mistli, quipopoloa, quelleltia, quiiacatzacuilia in quiiauitl, in tlacipiauitl: in tepaltili, in techacoani, in teçoquitili. Intla cenca omotlatlali mistli, in cuel cuicuichcoac, in onouiian tlatlaiooac: çan quipopopoloa. Intlanel quiauí, aocmo cenca tilaoa, aocmo molhuia: ça aoachquiauí, aoachtli in onnenetzi, in onchichipini: aoachpitzactli, aoachpicilli, aoachpicilitoton, in ontzitzicuini in onuenetzi: anoçe çan aoachtilaoa, aoachtilaoatimani, aoachtzetzeliuhtimani.

Auh quitoa, quilmach intla metl, ipan moquetza: ic macaeçalicini, macoçauia, macoçqui, machichilini, matlatlauja, macuetlauja. No yoan quitoa, in icoac miecpa oalmoquetza: ic neci, çan cuel quiçaz, in quiiauitl: quitoaia, çan cuel iazque in aoaque, ic quiçazque in tlaloque.

9. *Etzalli*: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 79.

10. Sahagún (*Memoriales con apendice*) has green for *xoxoctic*, *coltic*, *quilpaltic*, *iiapaltic*, *quilpalli*, and *iiapalli*. Alonso de Molina, in his Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), gives blue-green for *quilpaltic* and brown or black for *iiapaltic*. The second occurrence of this latter and of *quilpalli* is omitted in this translation. Molina translates *matlapaltic* as ruddy or sun-colored. In *Memoriales con apendice*, Sahagún treats both *chichiltic* and *tlapaltic* as red. For *chamolocatic*, Molina has red or sun-colored. For *matlaltic* and *matlalli*, the *Memoriales* has blue.

—*After Paso y Troncoso.*

Omens (concluded). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of parrots (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatecco (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc 672
trixpan tetepacholoc. 565
684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnneno-
notzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 672

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan 701
tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneiztcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiaca- 696
hoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin quj-
tzonqujxtiaia in ꝫqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauh-
nochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla
qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuch- 561
tlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchuaia tlein [524]
tequjtl, auh in momuztlac, in jquac ic calaquj tona-
tiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, 535
injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech [291]
in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel
conmantiuj, tochacatl injc quilpia intzonchichilic-
patl: ioan tiiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, izqujch [301]
in telpuchtli in oncujcõanoia icoac necaoaloia in tla-
quauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlena-
macaque tlamacaxque, amo ꝫc ichan calaquja, amo
ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in
noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan
pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concuchia, momoztlac in
oc ioboan quiça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. [342]

[213]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, aço 561
tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa 681
quiquixtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtete-
quixia in calla aço atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj,
moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman
tlanoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntla-
tzonsequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, aço qujnmecanja,
anoço qujtetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujite-
quj trixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca
tlatoanj.

9. Tlacochcalcatl, documented: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 78; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After nemecatiliztli, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has anoço nehuacatiliztli—or adultery.

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that their judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezauauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan ieuque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatla- 693
tolli,
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzon- 565
tequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuh- [344]
ca qujtzontequja intenetelihujl, anoço tetlatlacul.

Auh injc vcan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan 693
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujca- [344]
quja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchi- 565
pauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlol- 695
pan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã [212]
qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc
vmpa motzontequj.

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc 695
iehoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoa-
catl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezca-
coacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ti-
ciociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, ie-
hoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja,
qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machice-
que, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchi-
chioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca
quauhcalco otlahloc.

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz, 693
njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc iehoantin qujmjc-
tia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtete-
puchoa, anoço qujtetequj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenja 535
netotiloz.
In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoa- 643
liztli, in papaqujliztli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujn-
iollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan
tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli,
atlapalli, in maçeoalli:
achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz 643
qujnnaoctiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujichecoaque injc 533
qujchicaoanque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oyan, oyan diligentemente, y graue, llamandolos al señor: para que los escuchasse juntamente con otros principales, oyan calificadas, que eran el cardenaos, y valientes."

7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes mixtecatlailotlac; ezauauacatl appears as ejiauacatl.

The title Tlacochcalcatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.

8. Can ilquiz: que is probably omitted (cf. ibid.).

9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 195, 281, 285; II, pp. 318, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 160, and III, p. 53.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

veuetl: ioan in izqujch maçeoallatqujtl, ioan netotilizti, aquja cujcaitoz, aqujque in teiacanazque, aquja teponaçoz, aquja veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacaujz.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed him-
292 self, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
301 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

Auh in ie icoac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc quilpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac quitlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in quimololoa, in quimoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in quimomaxtlatia,

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no quicencaoa quintlauhtia: in izquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan quinmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzqujtlamantin omoteneuhque.

687 Afid if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli quichalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, quipoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipoloa netotilizti: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcaloo contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quitzacutiuh mjquja.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa injc istoçaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpãpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocujtlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl ceioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca istoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in ioholtica quenmanjan quiçaia quijiaoaloa in altepetl quitta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ic necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *teuxwelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face: he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Fasts is repeated in the MS.

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[2?3]

Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquilia, ixpan quimana in izquican ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in ixquich tlacatl in telpopochtequioaque iuhquin nececēquetzalo, iuhquin in ioiolipā in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltizq̄, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitoalco, injc vmpa nococololoz. Auh in ococenquizoac: njmā ic ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cuico yoan nococololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan ixtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaieiecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aquin maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaztaxel. Auh in aquin çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicuitlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, cacullhujtequj, caliticpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacnaosti:

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[785]
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[687]

cenca iehoā tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintzacujliaia: auh in ie ixquich telputtzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocoleque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in moteneoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quintzaquaia: quimjlhujaia, vmpa xiviā on nocne, anquiteittitia, amo techitto.

[785]
[302]

[p. 52 is blank]

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For, so was it said, he had fallen into great sin.[5] There rags and tatters lay strung out; there misery and orphanhood were the reward. And there was the great flood, the great crag, the pit, where there was a falling into the flood, or from the crag, or into the pit.[6] And there lay the snare, where one was snared.

So was it said of him to whom it so befell that his fate and merits had been good; only of his own will and by his own act he had harmed, destroyed, and ruined it, etc.

And if a woman were born upon the day One Flower, it was said that she would be an able embroiderer. But nevertheless, in order to gain her deserts, and to achieve skill in embroidering, she should do great penances, and fast, and draw blood when the day sign One Flower set in. But if she did not do penances, if she took not good heed, if her upbringing and training were not good, she herself harmed her day sign.

Likewise it befell her (as was told here) that her labors were in vain; she merited complete poverty and misery. Thus her deserts only came to an end, to naught; they became corruption. She became a harlot, a courtesan. She sold herself; she became a paramour. For it was said that just so was her day sign, One Flower; for it fell two ways. They said it was good and evil.

Also it was said that when One Flower set in, then began, continued, and was always held, a dance, a procession. But only Moctezuma in his own heart knew — [for] no one [else] determined — for how many days he established his dance. Perchance for forty days there would be dancing.

And that it might be known that a dance had been arranged, two poles with flowers were set up; they remained at the palace of the ruler. Thus was made known the day of the flowers: there would be enjoyment of and rejoicing over the day of flowers.

At that time the ruler determined and requested the kinds of song to be intoned — perhaps after the manner of those of Cuextlan,[7] the drunkards of Cuextlan;[8] or of Huexotzinco or Anahuac; or the merchants; or those of Nonoalco, or Coacatlan; or of

ca iuh mjtoa, tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi, âtlacacemellecan vncan vilantoc in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, vncâ mâceoalo in jcnoiotl, in jcnotlacaiotl: auh vncan icac, in vei atoiatl, in vei tepexitl, in tlaxapuchtli, vncâ neatoiavilo, netepexivilo, netlaxapuchvilo: ioan vncan manj in tzonoaztli, vncan netzonoazvilo: 787X

ic mjtoa, in aquin iuhquj ipan muchioaia, y, qualli ocatca: in jtonal, in jmâceoal, ça inêviian, ça onmonevianvi, in oconmjtlacalhuj, in oconmopôpolhuj, yn oconmotlaçolmjctili. Etc.

Auh intla aca cioatl, ipan tlacatia ce suchitl: mjtoaia, vuellamachchiuhquj iez: auh iece injc vel quicnopilhujz imâceoal, injc vel qujttaz tlâmachtli, cêca tlamaceoaia, moçaoaia, mjçoia in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl tonalli: auh intlacamo tlamaceoa, intlacamo vel monotza, intlacamo vellaoapaoalli, vellazcaltilli mochioa, çan no qujtlaueliaia yn jtonal: [785]

no iuhquj ipan muchioaia (in iuh omjto njcan) atle onqujçaia, çan moch icnoiotl, netolinilizrtli in qujmomaceviac auh injc ça ontlatzontia, ontlatzonquixtia, ça aujlqujzcaiotl, in jnemac mochioa, aavienjti, maauijltia, monanamaca, motzitzinnamaca: ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal in ce suchitl, ca vme vitz qujtoa, qualli, ioâ âqualli.

No yoan mjtoa, in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl: vncan oncempeoa, vncan vnmocemana, in muchipa maceoalo, netotilo, çan iee qujmati in Motecuçuma yiollotlâma aiac qujioooia, in quezquijlhujtl, qujtlaliz ymaceoaliz in aço vmpoalilhujtl manjz mâceoalizrtli: 527 535

auh injc necia, ynjc temaceoalizrtlalhujloia, vme suchiquavitl oalmoquetzaia, oalmomanaia tecpan, tlatocan: yc monextia in suchilhujtl, suchipacoa, nexuchitlamachtilo:

vncâ tlatlâtlamj, tlanenequj in tlatoanj, in catle cujcatl coneoaz, in anoço cuextecaiotl, tlaoancacuextecaiotl, vexotzincaiotl, anaoacaiotl, oxtomecaiotl, nonoalcaiotl, coacatecaiotl, tenjcaiotl, tepetlacaiotl, chichimecaiotl, metztitlancalcaiotl, otoncujcatl, quata- 527 533

5. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 191v: *daniny, dapetzcavi in tlahcipan*. See also fol. 218v.

6. Cf. also *loc. cit.* The passage is metaphorical.

7. Probably Huexotzinco. See, however, Sahagún (Garibay ed.), X, 29, 78-82 (cf. Vol. I, p. 9, for reference system, to be used hereafter except in special cases).

8. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 7, 5.

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponazcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cuecuecujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quatreçoqujcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
●535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in suchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã qujcenqujxtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxqujch imãceollatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, quj-tlãtlattitia, in catle coneleujx, ipan onmjtoriz, ipan ontetlattitiz:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujcecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
643 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums —the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mãceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaqujtotianj, tlamciauhquj, tozcacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
262 —tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtotli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenertamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoztli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaztlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaoin.

And when they had tired and were wearied of
527 dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj mãcenalistli, njman qujcalaqujaia, qujtlatiaia, in vme suchiquavid: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic qujxiptlaiotiaia,

9. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 29, 94-95; *genre bird-hawk* was a term generally understood by natives.

10. In describing the sound made by the second Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads and says *ilamo pipiloua, tzakjuia mapipiloua, tocujlloua mapipiloua . . .* See also, Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 232 (*ocuilloua*).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

535 chants survive without, alas, the musical notation. These dancers, acting out mythical events pertaining to the lives of the gods, must usually have been highly theatrical. Thus as with other peoples of the past, religious service fulfilled the function of the drama.[19] (See Plate 62, bottom left.)

[212] The pictographic writing of the Aztecs was too simple to
537 record a literature. However, the many references to oratory
538 and the wealth of allusions and synonyms referring to the gods and goddesses give a picture of rich fantasy and poetic imagination. The emphasis on the spoken word, the complex background of the religion, the closeness of the supernatural world, would not have produced lean, accurate prose. Rather a semipoetic, highly symbolic verbiage came from the practice of oratory and the chanting of prayers. Thus a rhythmic and rich verbosity existed as a form of polite address that, given a system of writing, might have been transmuted into literature.[20]

517 These activities, which we sanction in our own culture under the terms of arts and letters and to the practitioners of which we assign honor as creative artists, were existent in Aztec society. The status of these practices, however, was very different from their position in our own culture. Much of that area of our own life divided up into the infinite gradation of commercial, legal and governmental pursuits fell within the span of the individual Aztec's normal social life. That energy and activity which we exhaust in religion, art, belles-lettres and science was combined by the Aztecs in the observance of their religious requirements. The nature of their religion and its position in Aztec life and social practice are fundamental to a realization of the nature of their culture.

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537 record a literature. However, the many references to oratory
538 and the wealth of allusions and synonyms referring to the gods and goddesses give a picture of rich fantasy and poetic imagination. The emphasis on the spoken word, the complex background of the religion, the closeness of the supernatural world, would not have produced lean, accurate prose. Rather a semipoetic, highly symbolic verbiage came from the practice of oratory and the chanting of prayers. Thus a rhythmic and rich verbosity existed as a form of polite address that, given a system of writing, might have been transmuted into literature.[20]

517 These activities, which we sanction in our own culture under the terms of arts and letters and to the practitioners of which we assign honor as creative artists, were existent in Aztec society. The status of these practices, however, was very different from their position in our own culture. Much of that area of our own life divided up into the infinite gradation of commercial, legal and governmental pursuits fell within the span of the individual Aztec's normal social life. That energy and activity which we exhaust in religion, art, belles-lettres and science was combined by the Aztecs in the observance of their religious requirements. The nature of their religion and its position in Aztec life and social practice are fundamental to a realization of the nature of their culture.

A 796 in five days the feast day of Toxcatl would come, then they began to sing [and dance].

Now, during this time, Moctezuma came not forth; those who had been [the impersonator's] companions provided the people with food and favors.

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecanman. On the second day, in the place where they kept the image of Titlacauan, in the house of the keeper who guarded it. On the third day, at Tepetzinco, in the midst of the lagoon. On the fourth [day], at Tepepulco, which is also near Tepetzinco.

[501] After they had sung [and danced], then he embarked in a canoe. The women went traveling with him; they went consoling him and keeping him merry. Then the canoe arrived; then it touched the shore: then it was beached at a place called Acaquilpan or Caualtepec.

For here he was abandoned, a little [distance] from Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned; and only they who had freely become his pages accompanied him while he yet lived.

[346] So, it was said, when he arrived where he was to die, [where] a small temple stood, called Tlacochcalco, he ascended by himself, of his free will, to the place where he was to die. When he climbed the first step, as he passed one [step], he there broke, shattered, his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had reached the summit, then the priests fell upon him; they threw him on his back upon the sacrificial stone. Then [one] cut open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives offered up. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull-rack. Thus he ended in the adornment in which he died. Thus he there ended his life, there he terminated his life, when he went to die there at Tlapitzauzian.

And this betokeneth our life on earth. For he who ● [538] rejoiceth, who possesseth riches, who seeketh and coveteth our lord's sweetness, his gentleness—riches and prosperity—thus endeth in great misery. For it is said: "None come to an end here upon earth with happiness, riches, and wealth."[12]

A 796 778 And here in Mexico, when [it was the month of] Toxcatl, was set up and formed a figure of Uitzilcuijlti, oqujuh mjacujlilhujtl quiçaz yn ilhujtl Toxcatl, in peoa cujcujca:

yn iqcac y, yn izquilhujtl y, aocmo onmachiztia yn motecuçoma, oc ie ycenujc eatca, tetlaqualkia tetlauhtia,

ynic cemilhujtl cujcujca, itocaiocan tecanma: ynic omjlhujtl, vncan in pialoia, in teiziptla in titlacaoan, yn ichã aquin calpixquj, yn oquijpiaia: ynic eilhujtl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa tepepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn on cujcujcac njman ie ic onmacalaquja, itlan ietihuj in cioa, quiollaltitiuj, quellaquauhtiuj: vmpa vnquiça, vmpa onatenquiça, vmpa quimonacana in acalli, ytocaiocan acaquilpan, anoço caoaltepec:

ipampa ca vncan ontecaoaloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan oalmocuepa: auh ça iehoã in matian muchioa, yn jachoan ocatca, yn oquitocatinenca in iõc oc nemj.

Juh mjtoa yn oacic, in vncan mjquja teucaltontli icaia, itoca tlacochcalco: çan moma in tleco, çan monomatlecauja, in vmpa mjquiz: in ce tlamamatlatl contlecauja, in ce conpanauja, ce vncan quixamanja, quijpuztequj yn itlapitzal, yn jvilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oquipantlaz, yn izquj tlamamatlatl, yn opanuetzito tlacpac: njman quicujtiuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetztiteca in techcac: njman ie ic queltetequi, conanilia yn iiollo, no conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn jtlac amo quioalmjmjlooaia, çan quioaltemoujaia, quinzuhcaujaia:

auh yn jtzontencõ, tzompatitech conquauhço, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omjc ynechichioal: ic vmpa ontlamj yn jnemjliz, vmpa contzonquistia yn jnemjliz, yn vmpa omjqujto Tlapitzaoaian.

Auh ynjn ca quinezcaiotia, in tlalticpac tonemjliz: ca in aquin paquj, motlamachtia, in quitta in quimaujçoa in itzopelica, yn jaujiaca in totecujo, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli: injc tzonquiça vey netolinjliztli: ca iuh mjtoa, aiac quitlamitiuh in tlalticpac, paquiliztli, necujltonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Toxcatl: motlalia

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. See Anderson and Dibble; op. cit., p. 2.

Here is Told [what] the Songs of the Demons Were, with Which They Paid Honor to Them in Their Temples and Outside [of Their Temples].[14]

Nican mjtoa in jncujc catca, in tlatlacatecuio injc qujnmaviztiliaia in jnteupã, yoan in çan qujiauac.

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Song of Uitzilopochtli.

Uitzilopochtli, young war chief—none have equaled me. Not for nothing have I taken the cloak of yellow feathers. Through me hath the sun risen.

For those of Mixtlan he was a portent of disaster. He took a foot from those of Pichauaztlan.

Within the walls of Tlaxotlan, feathers were offered, that, as war chief, he might be adorned. My god was called conqueror of men.

Dread [was] the god of Tlaxotlan. Dust was raised. The dust of the god of Tlaxotlan was raised.

Gather for me our foes of Amantlan. In their homes will they be conquered. Gather them for me.

Vitzilobuchtli icujc

Vitzilobuch, iaquetlaia, yiaconai, in ohujhujhujia anenjcujc tociquemjtla, yia, ayia, yia, yiovjia, queiaoca, oiatonaquj yiaia, yia, yio.

Tetzaviztli, ia mjxtecatl, ce imaxi pichaoaztecatla pomaia, ovayico, ayiayie.

Ai tlaxotla tenamjtl ihujtli inacoc mopopoxotiuh, iautlatoaia ayiayio, noteuh aia tepãquizquj mjtoaia.

Oiaieva vel mamavia in tlaxotecatl teuhtla tlamjlacatzoaia, itlaxotecatl teuhtla mjlacatzoaia.

Amanteca toiaohoan xinechoncentlalizqujvia, icalipan iautioa xenechon centlalizquj.

Song of Uitznauac Iaotl.

O my chief of Tlacochcalco, I know not the man who taunteth me. Know I not that I am ill omened? Know I not that I am a warrior? [When] it is said, "my chief of Tlacochcalco," they taunt my lineage.

The warrior, chief of Tocuillan, hath donned his eagle cape set here and there with points.

O young chief of Oholpan, my captive in feathers is dressed. I am dreaded, I am feared. My captive with feathers is covered.

O young chief of Uitznauac, my captive in feathers is covered. Now I am feared. In feathers my captive is dressed.

O young chief of Itzcoatlan, my captive in plumes is adorned. Now I am feared, now I am dreaded. In feathers my captive is dressed.

Vitznavac iautl icujc.

Ahuja tlacuchcalco notequjoa aia ivinocaquja tlacatl, ia nechiapinavia, aia ca nonmati njtetzavitli, avia, aia conomati njia, iauhtla, aqujtoloc tlacuchcalco, notequjoa, iuescatlatoaia ay nopilchon.

Ihjiaquetl tocujlechcatl quaviquemjtl nepapanoc vitzetla.

Huja oholopa telipuchtla, yvjioc in nomalli, ie njmavia, ie njmavia ivjioc in nomalli.

Huja vitznavac telipuchtla yvjioc in nomalli, ie njmavja yvjioc in nomalli.

Huja itzicotla telibuchtla, yvjioc in nomalli, ie njmavia, ie njmavia ivjioc in nomalli.

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14. The translators had depended heavily upon Eduard Seler's translation of the songs for this section. With Seler's meticulous notes, they may be found in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II; *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4; or Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. V.

The songs are introduced in the *Florentine Codex*, Sahagún comments concerning them: "*Cuicuiztlaxo muy antiguas es, de los adoratorio el diablo: honrar acostumbrajo, para hacer sus negocios: conforme a lo del nuestro Evangelio, que dice. Quiere hacer mal, aborrece la luz: conforme a esto, este los cantaraje, en sus tierra plumas, en bosque, o arrabaxo, llenos de muy espesas brebas, para hacer sus negocios, desde el, y para adornadores en el, para no ser hallado: como hacen las bestias fieras, y las muy perpetuamente surpentes. Este bosque, o arrabaxo brebaxo, son los cantares, que en esta tierra el ordio, que se hizieron, y compuso, en su arropio: y como su ordio dixpas y padrinos de su casa, assi en los templos, como fuera dellos: los quales llamaxo tocuiz artifice, que dizen lo que quieren, y aprugnaxo lo que el manda: y conmoxiaxo adoraxo aquellos, a quien el los ordenaxo. Es cosa muy antiguada, que la cosa, bosque, y arrabaxo, donde el dia de oy, este maldito adoraxo, se abasaxo, son los cantares, y padrinos, que tiene compuestos: y se le cantan, sin poderse entender, lo que en ello se trata, mas de aquellos que son cantados, y acostumbrados, a este lenguaje. De manera, que aquantaxo se canta, todo lo que el quiere, sea guerra, o paz, hace mayo, o consaxo de año, sin que de los demas se pueda entender."*

538 O keeper of the god at Uitznauac, the [sacrificial] symbol hath been born. Day hath dawned, day hath come. The symbol hath been born.

O keeper of the god at Tocuillan, the [sacrificial] symbol hath been born. Day hath dawned, day hath come. The symbol hath been born.

Vitznaoac teuhoaquj machiotla tetemoia, ahuja aiatonac iahuja oiatonac ia machiotla tetemoia.

Tocujlitla teuhoaquj machiotla tetemoia, ahuja, oiatonac, iavjia oiatonac via machiotla tetemoia.

Song of Tlaloc.

Mexico payeth her debt to the god. Paper streamers are raised at the four directions. Not now is it time to weep.

I [Tlaloc] have been formed. My god[ly image] hath been darkened with blood. The whole day hath been spent to bring rain in the court of the temple.

O my chief, my magic prince, truly thine is the maize: thou hast made the first fruits. Yet they pay thee not thy due.

Yet they pay me not my due, they please me not —my priests, my old priests, the ocelot serpents.

From Tlalocan, the turquoise house, came thy father Acatonal.

Go settle there at Poyauhtlan. With the mist rattle board is rain brought from Tlalocan.

O my elder brother, I shall go, for now is a time for tears.

Send me to the unknown land. His command came down; I spoke to him, to Tetzauhpilli. I shall go, [for] now is a time for tears.

Four years after hath it been brought to me. Then I knew not what thou saidst in the unknown land, the quetzal house, the land of plenty. Now he is as one who giveth bounty.

Go, settle there at Poyauhtlan. With the mist rattle board is rain brought from Tlalocan.

Tlalloc icujc.

Ahujia Mexico teutlaneviloc amopanjtla, annauhcampa ie moquetzquetl aoiequena ychocaia.

Ahuja annehoaia njiocoloc ĩnoteuhoa eztlamjiaval, ailhujcolla, njciavicaia, teutivalcoia.

Ahuja annotequjoa navalpilli aquitlanella motonacaiouh ticiachjuhquj tlacatl achtoquetl çan mitziapinavia.

Ahuja canacatella, nechiapinavjia anechiayiavelmatia, anotata inoquacujllo ocelocoatl aia.

Ahuja tlallocana xivacalco aia quizquj aquamotta, acatonal aia.

Ahuja xjianovia, nahuja xjiamotecaia ay pojauhtla, aiauhchicavaztica, aiavicalo, tlallocan aia.

Aoanacha tonecuecuexi njiaializquj, aia ychocaia.

Ahuja queiamjca xinechivaia temoquetl aitlatol anjqujia ilhujõtl, tetzauhpilla njiaializquj aia ychocaia.

Ahuja nauhxiuhticaia itopanecaviloc aioc itomatia, ay motlapoalli, aiaximovaia iequetzalcalla nepanavia ai yascana teizcaltiõtl.

Ahuja xjianovjia ahujia xjiamotecaia aipuohtla, aiauhchicavaztica, aia vicallo tlalloca.

Song of Teteo innan.

The yellow flower hath opened—she, our mother with the thigh skin of the goddess painted on her face, departed from Tamoanchan.

The yellow flower hath blossomed—she, our mother, with the thigh skin of the goddess painted on her face, departed from Tamoanchan.

The white flower hath opened—she, our mother with the thigh skin of the goddess painted on her face, departed from Tamoanchan.

The white flower hath blossomed—she, our

Teteu innan icujc

Ahuja coçahujc xuchitla oiacueponca ichoa tonana teumechaue moqujcican tamovanchan, avaiie, avajia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, aij, aiiaa.

Coçaujc suchitla, oiamosocha ichoa tonana, teumechaue moqujcican tamovanchan, ohoayia, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa.

Ahuja iztac suchitla, oiacuepõca ichoa tonana teumechaue moqujcican tamoanchan, ohoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa.

Ahuja iztac suchitla, oiamosucha ichoa tonana,

mother, with the thigh skin of the goddess painted on her face, departed from Tamoanchan.

She hath become a goddess, upon the melon cacrus, our mother Itzpapalotl.

Thou hast seen, in the nine dry plains, the deer's heart on which was fed our mother Tlaltecutli.

Once again with chalk, with feathers is she pasted. In the four directions hath the arrow shattered.

They saw thee turn to deer in the land of the gods Xiuhnel and Mimich.

Song of Chimalpanecatl and Tlaltecuananotl.

With his shield was he born of the maid a great war chief. With his shield was he born of the maid a great war chief.

On Costepetl he became chief; among the mountains he put warrior's paint upon his face and on his shield. None, in truth, could best him. The earth did quake when he put warrior's paint upon his face and on his shield.

Song of Ixcoçauhqui.

In Tzonmolco, my fathers, shall I withhold thy due [captives]? in Tetemocan shall I keep back thy due [captives]?

In Mecatlan,[13] my lords, doth the yucca [drum] roll. In Chicueyocan, the sorcerers' house, the masked one hath come down.

At Tzonmolco they have started intoning the song; at Tzonmolco they have started intoning the song. But why come they not forth? Why come they not forth?

In Tzonmolco let men be given me. Day hath come, day hath dawned. Let men be given me.

In Tzonmolco the Xoxol song hath ceased. Without labor hath he been given wealth, hath he won the rank of chief. By his grace come [all] wonders.

Little woman, give the supplication. Cloud house woman, pray before the gates.

Song of Mimincon.[14]

From Chicomoztoc he set forth.

tetamechaue moqujcican tamohoanchan, ohoaya, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa. 538

Ahujia ohoia teutl ca teuconti pacatona, aia itzpapalotli, ahoayie, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, ayiaa.

Ao, avatic iaittaca chicunaviztlavatla maçatl yiollo, ica mozcaltizquj tonan tlaltecutli, aiao, ayiao, ayiaa.

Ahoie iancujc tiçatlan, ie iancujc yhujtla, oiapotoniloc inavicacopa acatl xamantoca.

Aho, maçatl mochiuhca teutlalipan mitzjianoittaco iehoa xiuhnello iehoa mjmjcha.

Chimalpanecatl icujc yoan tlaltecuananotl.

Ichimalipa chipuchica veia mjxinujloc iautlatoaia ichimalipa chipuchica veia, mjxihujloc, iautlatoaia.

Cohoatepec tequjva tepetitla, moxaiavalteueuel, aiaquj nelli moqujchtivivi tlalli cuecuechivjia aquj-moxaiaval teueuella.

Iscoçauhquj icujc.

Hujia, tzonmolco notavane ie namechmaiapinauhtiz tetemoca ie namechmaiapinauhtiz.

Aoncan mecatlan notechoan icçotl mjmjlcatoc chicueiocan navalcalli, navalli temoquetlaia.

Hujia tzonjmolco cujcotipeuhque, aia tzonjlco cujcatipeuhque, aia, iztleicana val, moquinzavia iztleicana válmoquinza.

Hujia tzonjmolco macehoalli maia temacovia, oiatonaquj, oiatonaquj macevalli maia temocovjia.

Hujia tzonjmolco xoxolcujcatl cacavantocia aiavjia mocujltono aciton tecujtl moteicnelil maviztli.

Hujia cihoatontla xatenonotzaia ayiauhcalcatl qujiavatla xatenonotza.

Mimjcon icujc.

Chicomoztoc qujochoaquj canj surponj, çanj, canj, teiomj.

13. The manuscript reverses names, though the Aztec here is correct.
14. In the *Real Palacio MS* a gloss says that the two opening stanzas contain Chichimec words. In *Ibid.*, the last stanza begins the next song (Xochipilli), where its contents logically belong.

From Tziuactitlan he set forth.

538 I came down, I descended, I came down with my thorny arrow. I came down with my thorny arrow.

I came down, I descended, I came down with my hunting net.

I have seized him with my hand, I have seized him with my hand, I have seized him with my hand, and he is seized with [my] hand.

On the ball court the *quetzalcoxcoxtli* sang, and Cinteotl answered.

Tzivactitlan qujnevaquj canja aueponj, çanj, çanj, teiomj.

Oia mjtemoc, oia mjtemoc, oiaica njtemoc notzivaqujmjuh, aiaica njtemoc notzivaqujmjuh.

Oia njtemoc, ioa njtemoc, oiaica njtemoc nomatlavacal.

Niqujmacuj, njqujmacuj, yoaia njqujmacuj, njqujmacuj yoan ja aiomacuj.

Tlachtli icpac aia, vel in cujcaia quetzalcoxcoxaia, qujnanqujlia cinteutla, oay.

Song of Xochipilli.

Now our friend singeth; now the *quetzalcóxcoxtli* singeth at night—the Red Cinteotl.

Let the god of twilight hear my song; let the god of the thigh skin face painting hear my song. Let Cipactonal hear my song.

My order I send to the priest of Tlalocan.

To the priest of Tlalocan I make my command.

I came to the cross roads, I, Cinteotl. Where shall I go? Which road shall I follow—

Priests of Tlalocan, gods of rain?

Suchipilli icujc.

Ie cujcaia tocnjvaia, ohoaia, ieo, ie cujcaia, ie quetzalcoxcoxa ioaltica tlaocinteutla oay.

Çan qujcaquiz nocujc ocoialle teumechaue oqujcaquiz nocujca in cipactonalla atilili ohoayia.

Aiao, aiao, aiao, njtlanavati in tlallocan tlamacazquj, ayiao, aiao, aiao.

Aiao, aiao, aiao, tlallocan tlamacazquj nitlanavati ay, ayiao, aiao.

Ao çanj vallacic, vtli nepanjvia, çanj cinteutla campa, ie noiaz, campa vtli njciatocaza oay.

Aiao, aiao, aiao, tlallocan tlamacazquj, qujavi, teteu, ayiao, aia, aiao.

Song of Xochiquetzal.

From the land of mist and rain I came, I, Xochiquetzal, circling down from Tamoanchan's edge.

He wept, the priest Piltzintecutli; he sought Xochiquetzal. I must go to the land of corruption.

Suchiquetzal icujc.

Atl aiavica njsuchiquetzalli tlacia njvitzaia motencaliva tamoanchan oay.

Ie qujtichocaia tlamacazecatla piltzintecutlon quj iatemoaia ieo tochiquetzalla xoiavjia ay topanjaz, oay.

Song of Amimitl.[17]

He hovereth about the ducks, he hovereth about the ducks.

With his eye he followeth the small ducks. He hovereth about the small ducks.

Amjmjtl icujc

Cotivana, cotivana, calitotochmanca, huja, yialimanjco, oqujxanj, manjco, tlacochcalico, ohoayia ayia, matinjcaia, matonjcalico, ohoayiaia, çana, çana, aiovecanjvia, çana, çanaio, vecanjvia, yia, yia, yiohoaia, çana, çana, iovecanjvia.

Ie nocujlivaia, njvaia, njvaia, njvaia, aicanauh, njvahoaia, njhoaia, aicanauh

Tlaietotoca, ie canauhtzinj, tlaixtotoca, ie canauhtzinj, aio aia, yvaian, ie canauhtzinj.

17. A gloss in *Ibid.* says that this song is Chichimec.

The obsidian banner is my joy, the obsidian banner is my joy, the obsidian banner is my joy.

Aucia itzipana nomahujlia aveia itzipana nomavilia, aveia itzipana nomavilia.

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Song of Otontecutli.[18]

In the shield-shaped tree he who fell was upheld. In Nonoalco the cactus fruit, the cacao pod, falling, was upheld.

I am a Tepanec, a jeweled bracelet. I am Quetzalcoatl, a jeweled bracelet.

Where does it blossom? Where does it open?

In nearby Otomí land, O Mexicans, was he offered as a victim; in nearby Otomí land, O Mexicans.

With his painted shield was he offered as a victim in a nearby land, O Mexicans.

Otontecutli icujc.

Onoalico, onoalico pomaia, yiaia, ayio, ayio, aia, aia, aia, ayio.

Chimalocutitlana motlaquevia avetzinj, nonovalco, quanochitla, cacavatla, motlaquevia, avetzinj.

Nitepanecatl aiacuecuexi niquetzalcoatly, aia cuecuexi.

Cane, caia itziueponj, cane, caia, itziveponj.

Otomjco, noioco, navaco, mexicameia iavilili noioco navaco, mexicameia.

Achimalicaiaxo, xavinoqujia, vilili, noioco, navaco mexicameia.

Song of Aiopechtli.

There in her home [the goddess] Aiopechcatl, with child, gave birth.

There in her home [the goddess] Aiopechcatl, with child, gave birth: there in her home the children were born.

Come hence, come hence, O newborn babe, come hence.

Come hence, come hence, O precious one, come hence.

Aiopechtli icujc.

Cane cana ichan, aiopechcatl cozcapantica mjxjuhtoc.

Cane cana ichan aiopechcatl cozcapantica mjxiuhtoc cane ichan chacaiolivaia.

Ai valmevaia via, xiva, xivalmevaia aviaia iancujpilla, xjvalmevaia.

Ahujia xivalmevaia, via, xiva, xihoalmeoaia cozcapilla, viualmeoaia.

Song of Cinacostl.

The eagle, the eagle, Quilaztli, with serpent blood painted, with eagle plumes crowned, is protectress of the Chalmeca and [goddess] of Colhuacan.

The maize is our hands and our feet in the field of the god, who resteth upon her rattle board.

Magney thorns, *magney* thorns rest in my hand; *magney* thorns rest in my hand. In the field of the god she resteth upon her rattle board.

The grass bunch resteth in my hand. In the field of the god she resteth upon her rattle board.

Aumei quauhtli,[19] our mother, goddess of the Chalmeca, deliver me with the dread dart of thorns. It is my son Mixcoatl.

Cihoacoatl icujc.

Quavi quavi, qujlaztla cohoaeztica xaiaoaloc vivia quavivitl vitzalochpan chalima, aveveti iecolhoa.

Huja tonaca acxoima centlateumilco chicavaztica, motlaquechizca.

Vitztla, vitztla nomac temj vitztla, nvmac temj, açanteumjlco chicavazti motlaquechizca.

Mallinalia, nomac temi, açâteumjlco chicavaztica motlaquechizca.

Aumej quauhtli ie tonan aia chalmeca tecutli, aitzioac imavitzla nechiatetemjli, ichoa nopiltzin aia mjscoatlan.

18. A gloss in *ibid.* says that the first stanza is Otomí.

19. A gloss in *ibid.* has *mamalcatl omei quauhtli.*

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Our mother, warrior [woman], our mother, warrior [woman], deer of Colhuacan—they have pasted feathers upon her.

Day hath dawned; war is heralded. Let [captives] be dragged down and the land wasted. Deer of Colhuacan, feathers have been pasted upon her.

Eagle feathers are thy array; thy array is of one who fighteth boldly in war.

Ia tonanj, iauchioatzin, aia tonan iauchiboatzin, aia imaça colivaca ihujtlaipotocaia.

Ahujia ie tonaquetli, iautlatocaia ma nevilano tlaca cēpoalihuiz aia inmaca colihoacā ihujtlaipotocaia.

Ahujia quavivitl amoxaiavallj onavjia ie coiametla moxaiaivalli.

Behold the Song Chanted Every Eight Years when Water Tamales Were Eaten.

The flower of my heart lieth burst open, the lord of the night.

She hath come, she hath come, our mother, the goddess Tlaçolteotl.

Cinteotl is born at Tamoanchan, the flowery place, on the day ce xochitl.

Cinteotl is born in the place of rain and mist, where the children of men are made, where the jeweled fish are sought.

Day is here, it hath dawned. The varied spoonbills taste [flowers] where the flowers grow.

Here on earth, in the market place, thou appearest. I, the prince, I [am] Quetzalcoatl.

Let the trees flower in joy among the various spoonbills. Let the spoonbills [fly in joy]. Hear the words of our god; hear the song of the spoonbills. Shoot not at thy brother, the dead; use not the blow gun on thy brother.

I shall bring my flower, the maize flower, the white flower, from where flowers grow.

He playeth ball; old Xolotl playeth ball in the ball court of the sorcerer. Xolotl playeth ball—lord of the precious stones. See if Piltzintecutli resteth in the house of darkness, the house of night.

O Piltzintli, Piltzintli, with yellow feathers art thou pasted over. On the ball court thou placest thyself, in the house of night.

The tradesman, the tradesman Xochiquetzal, he who ruleth and governeth in Cholula. I fear in my heart, I fear in my heart that Cinteotl will not come. Let us go to the house of the bishop, the merchant, him of Chacallan. Blue ear plugs are his wares. Blue bracelets are his wares.

Izcatquj, in cujcatl chicuexjuhtica mehoaia, in jquac atamalqualoia.

Suchitl noiollo euepontimanja; iehoa coioalle, vaia, oovaiaie.

Iecoc ie tonan, iecoc ie teutl tlaçulteutl oaia, oovaiaie.

Otlacatquj cententeutl tamjioanjchan njxochitli cacanj, ce ixuchitli iantala, iantatā, ayiao, ayiave tililiiao ayiaue, vayiave.

Otlacatquj centeutl, atl, iaiavicanj tlaca villachivaloia, chalchimjchvacan, yiao, iantala, iantanta, ayiao aiave tililiiao, aiyaue, oayiaue.

Oia tonazquj tavizcallevaia, matlachichinaia nepapā quechol, suchitlaca, yiantalan, yiantata, ayiao, ayiaue tililiiao, ayiaue, oayiaue.

Tlalpan timoquetzca tianquiznavaquj anjtlacatla njquetzalcoatla aiantala, iantanta, ayiao, ayiave, tililiiao ayiaue oayiaue.

Maia avjialo suchinquavitl itlanj nepapan quecholli maya in quecholli xjccaqujia tlatoaia in toteuh xiccaqujia, tlatoaia iquechol amach ieva tomjcauh tlapitza amach iehoan tlacaloaz ohoao.

Aieoho, yiayia çani qujiecavizca nosucha tonacasuchitli ie izqujsuchitla suchitlaca, yiaa.

Ollama, ollama viuexolotl navallachco ollamaia xolutl chalchiuecatl xiqujtta mach, oia moteca piltzintecutli yoanchan, yoanchan.

Piltzintle, piltzintle, tocivitica timopotonja tlacheo timotlalia, yoāchan, yoanchan.

Oztumecatla, yiaue, oztomecatla, suchiquetzal qujmama, ontlatoa cholollan, ayie, ayio, oie ma njnoiol, oie ma njnoiol, soiaiecoc, centeutl ma tivjia obispo, oztomecatl chacalhoa xjuhnacochtla, iteamjc ximaquiz tlaiteamjco, ayie, ayio.

The sleeper, the sleeping one, sleepeth. I have rolled him up with my hand. Here is the woman. I am the sleeper.

Cochina, cochina, cocochi, ie njcmacolonojcanj, ie cihoatl njcochina yien, oaieo yho, yia, yia. 538

Song of Xipe totec Ioualluan.

O Ioualluan, why dost thou mask thyself? Put on thy disguise. Don thy golden cape.

My god, thy precious water hath come down from Cospan. It hath made the cypress a quetzal. The fire serpent hath been made a quetzal serpent. Want hath gone from me.

Mayhap I shall die and perish—I, the tender maize. Like a precious green stone is my heart, [yet] I shall see gold in it. I shall be content if first I mature. The war chief is born.

My god, [give me] in part plenteous tender maize. Thy worshipper looketh toward thy mountain. I shall be content if first I ripen. The warrior chief is born.

Xippe icujc, totec iovallavana.

Ioalli tlavana, iztleican, timoonenequja xjiaquj mjtlatia teucujtlaquemjtl, xjcmoquenti quetlovjia.

Noteuhoa chalchimmama tlacoapanaitemtua, oiquetzallavevetl, ayquetzalxiujcoatl nechiaiquj nocauhquetl ovjia.

Ma njiavjia, njia, njiapoliviz ziyoatzin, achalchiuhtla noiollo, ateucujtlatl nocoiaittaz noiolcevizquj tlacatl achtoquetl tlaquavaia etlacatquj iautlatoa quetlovjia.

Noteuhoa centlaco xaiailiviçonoa yioatzin motepeiocpa mjtzvalitta moteuhoa, vizqujn tlacatl achtoquetl tlaquavaia etlacatquj iautlatoaquetl ovjia.

Song of Chicome coatl.

O seven ears, arise, awake. Our mother, thou leavest us now; thou goest to thy home in Tlalocan.

Arise, awake. Our mother, thou leavest us now; thou goest to thy home in Tlalocan.

Chicome coatl icujc.

Chicomolotzin, xaiamehoa, ximjcotia acatonan titechicnocaoazquj tiiavjia muchi tlallocan novjia.

Xaiamehoa ximjcotia acatonâ titechicnocavazquj tjiavjian mochan tlallocan, novjia.

Song of Totochtin Tezcatzoncatl.

At dread Colhuacan the chief hath his home.

In the palace the god Tezcatzoncatl was consumed. He wept; it might not be. The god was consumed. He wept.

In the palace the god Axalaco was consumed. He wept; it might not be. The god was consumed. He wept.

Totochtin incujc tezcatzôcatl.

Iiza, yia, yia, yia, ayia, ayio, ovjia, ayia, ayia, ayia, yia, yio, vjia, ayia, yia, ayia, vjia, yio vjia.

Colivacan, mavizpan atlacatli ehana, yio, ayio, yia, yio.

Tezcatzoncatl tepan teutl, macoc ie chocaia, avjia, macaivi teutl, macoc yie chocaia.

Huja axalaca tecpan teutl, macoc yie chocaia macaivi teutl, macoc yie chocaia.

Song of Atlhua.

I am he from Chalman. I am he from Chalman—the broken fan, the disc head device.

[I am] thy branch of fir, Quilaztool; [I am] the old goddess, thy branch of fir.

Atlahoa icujc.

Huja njchalmecatl, njchalmecatl neçavalcactla, oljia quatonalla, olia.

Veia, veia, macxoizuh quilaztentl illama njmacxoizuh.

538 I name thee lord of reeds. On the shield is blood drawn. I name thee lord of reeds.

That none are my arrows is my boast. The reed is my arrow; the hollow reed is my boast.

In Tetoman the priest Tetometl began life. Now he is a quetzal bird, that I may nourish him.

Opochtli is my god, Atlaua,[20] that I may nourish him.

Nimjtzacatecunotzaia chimalticpac moneçoia nj-mjtzacatecunotzaia.

Aiac nomjuh timalli aitollaca acatl nomjuh acazelivi timalli.

Tetomac amoiolcana tlamacazquin tetometl, açan axcan ie quetzaltototl njciaizcaltiquetl.

Iiobuchi notecuh, atlavaquetl njciaizcaltiquetla.

Song of Maculixochitl.

From where flowers stand, I have come, the priest, red lord of eve, and thou, my grandmother, goddess with the thigh skin painting, lord of dawn, priest, red lord of eve.

God of omens [Uitzilopochtli], my lord Tezcatlipoca, Cinteotl shall *reply to them.*

In Tezcatzonco hath the warrior, the rabbit [god], started life. My lord made him. I shall restore to him, I shall make [the fire] on the mountain of Mixcoatl, in Colhuacan.

Singing, I beat the small mirror, the small mirror which came from Tezcatzonco.

Macujlsuchitl icuje.

Ayia, iao suchitl icaca vmpa njvitza tlamacacecatla tlamocoioaleva, ayia, yiao, ajvinti nocicaia trumechave, oia, iao, tlavico, iacallea tlamacacecatlo tlamocoioalea.

Tetzauhteutla notecujo tezcatlipuca qujnanquili-*can cinteutla ouy.*

Tezcatzonco moiolcan ayiaquetl yiatochin qujiocus notecuh niqujatlacaz, njqujiamamalix, mjacotepetl colhoacan.

Tozquivaia, njctzotzonjiao, in tezcatzintli tezcatzintli tezcatzocoichoa, tzonitapalatiati, tlaocxoconoctliabo, a.

Song of Yiacatecutli.

Unknown to me was [war] heralded. Tzocotzontlan hath declared it—Tzocotzontlan, unknown to me, hath heralded it.

Pipitlan hath declared it; Pipitlan, unknown to me, hath declared it. Cholotlan hath declared it. Pipitlan, unknown to me, hath declared it.

I sought maize. With much labor my priests brought me the heart of water from the place where sand is scattered.

In the basket of precious stones I burn myself. With much labor my priests brought me the heart of water from the place where sand is scattered.

Iiacatecutli icujc.

Anomatia aitoloc, anomatia, aitoloc tzocotzontlan aitoloc tzocotzõtla anomatia aitoloc.

Pipitla aitoloc, pipitla anomatia aitoloc cholotla, aitoloc pipitla anomatio, aitoloc.

Tonacajutl, njcmacouh açan axcan noquacujllo atl jiollo, nechvalia vicatique xalli yiepeuhia.

Chalchiuh petlacalco njnaxca açã axcan noquacujllo, atl jiollo nechvaliavicatiaque xalli itepeuhia.

20. The line *ayc ceuaxc quetzalcoatl*, in *ibid.*, is lacking in the *Florentine Codex.*

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Del Principio de los Dioses

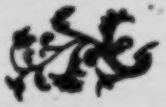

HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD BOOK

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First Chapter, in which it is told how the gods had their beginning.

How the gods had their beginning and where they began is not well known. But this is plain, [that] there at Teotihuacan, as they say, in times past, when yet there was darkness, there all the gods gathered themselves together, and they debated who would bear the burden,[1] who would carry on his back—would become—the sun. (This hath already been told elsewhere.) And when the sun came to arise, then all [the gods] died that the sun might come into being.[2] None remained who had not perished (as hath been told). And thus the ancient ones thought it to be.

NICAN PEOA INJC EY AMOSTLI.

Injc ce capítulo, vncan mjtos in quenjn ozintique in teteuh.

In quenjn tzintique in teteuh in canpa tzintique, amo vel macho, ca ie ichoatl in panj ca in vncan teotiouacan, quitoa in canjn yn iquijn, in oc iouzian vncan moçentlalique, in izquijchtin teteu, yoan mononotzque, in aqujn tlatlquiz, in aqujn tlamamaz, in aqujn tonatiuh iez, (Ynjn ca ie omjto cececnj,) auh in iquac in omomanaco tonatiuh, niman muchintin vncan mjcque, inca muncalti in tonatiuh: aiac mocauh in macamo mjc (in oiuh mjto). auh in juh qujnamia veveteque.

TO VITZILOPOCHTLI the Mexicans paid great honor.

The following they believed of his beginning, his origin. At Coatepec, near Tollan, there always had dwelt and lived a woman named Coatl icue,[3] mother of the Centzonuitznaua. And their elder sister was named Coyolxauhqui.

And this Coatl icue performed penances there; she swept; she was charged with the sweeping. Thus

YN VITZILOPOCHTLI, in oncca qujmaviztilizia in Mexica.

Yvin in qujmatia, in itzintiliz, in ipeoaliz, ca in coatepec, yvjcpa in tullan, cemilhujtl quiztica, vmpa nenca cihoatl, itoca Coatl icue: innan centzonuitznaoa. auh iuvelteuh, itoca, Coiolxauh.

auh in ichoatl coatl icue, vncan tlamaceoaia, tlachpanaia, quimocuitlaviaia, in tlachpanalli. Injc tlama-

1. *Tlatlquiz* (here probably a copyist's error) appears as *tlaquiz* in the corresponding passage in the *Real Palacio* MS. Cf. *Aquel. mejor.* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

2. The story appears later in Sahagún's *Historia* (Book VII). In simple terms, the more usual version is told in Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 13ff. An interesting variant appears in Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigo Franco, 1723), pp. 77-8; and another in "La leyenda de los soles" (in *Códice Chimalpopoca*; Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), pp. 121ff.

3. Mother of the gods—that is, of the sun (Huitzilopochtli), moon (Coyolxauhqui), and stars (Centzonuitznaua)—according to Caso (*op. cit.*, pp. 36-9. He states: "*Yo hemos visto ciertos casos de ella embarazarse Huitzilopochtli en el momento en que los astrólogos, espiritualizan por la Luna, pretendían conocerlo porque se creía en el prodigio de la concepción divina, y como el Sol-Huitzilopochtli nace de su vientre arrancado del cuerpo de Ixtli y muere a la Luna y a las estrellas.*"

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did she do penance at Coatepetl. And once, as she swept, feathers, as it were, a ball of feathers, descended upon her. Then Coatl icue snatched it up and placed it in her bosom. And when she had swept, [when] she came to take the feather [ball] which she had placed in her bosom,[4] she found nothing. Thereupon Coatl icue conceived.[5]

And when the Centzonuitznaua saw that their mother was already with child, they were very wrathful. They said: "Who brought this about? Who hath made her heavy with child? She hath dishonored and shamed us!"

And their elder sister, Coyolxauhqui, said to them: "My elder brothers, she hath affronted us; we must slay our mother, the wicked one who is already with child. Who is the cause of what is in her womb?"

And when Coatl icue learned of this,[6] she was sorely afraid and deeply saddened. And her child, who was in her womb, comforted her. He spoke and said to her: "Have no fear; already I know [what I shall do]."

When Coatl icue heard the words of her son, she was much consoled by them and her heart was eased of what had so terrified her.

And upon this, when the Centzonuitznaua had assembled for their deliberations, when they had made up their minds that indeed they would slay their mother because verily she had brought dishonor, much did they harden themselves; they were exceeding wroth. As if bursting her heart, Coyolxauhqui greatly incited and aroused the anger of her elder brothers, that they might slay their mother. And the Centzonuitznaua thereupon arrayed and prepared themselves for war.

And these Centzonuitznaua were like seasoned warriors. They wound and twisted [their hair]; they bound their hair about their heads [in warrior array].

And [there was] one named Quauitl icac, who was a traitor; that which the Centzonuitznaua said, he then told and brought as news to Uitzilopochtli.

And Uitzilopochtli said to Quauitl icac: "Watch well what they do, my dear uncle, and pay careful heed; for already I know [what I shall do]."

And finally, when [the Centzonuitznaua] were determined and of one mind in their deliberations

cenuia, in coatepec. auh ceppa in iquac tlachpanaia, in coatl icue ipan oaltemoc ihujtl, iuhquin ihujtelolotli, njman concujtiuetz in Coatl icue: ixillan contlali, auh in ontlachpan njman cõcuiaquja yn ivitl, in ixillan oquitlalica aoc tle quitac, njman ic oezzic in Coatl icue.

auh in oquittaque in centzonvitznaoa in jnnan ie oezzli, cenca qualanque quitoque ac oq'chivili y? aquin ocoezzi? techavilq'xtia, techpinauhtia.

auh in jnvehtiuh in Coiolxauh: quimjlvi noquichtioan techavilquixtia çan ticmjctia in tonan, in tlaueliloc in ie oezzli: ca oquichivili in itic ca.

auh in oquijma Coatl icue: cenca momauhti, cenca motequipacho. auh in jconeuh in jtic catca quijiollaliaia, quicalnotzaia quilhujaia, maca ximomauhti ie ne njcmati,

in oquicac in Coatl icue, in itlatol in jconeuh, cenca ic moiollali, motlali yn jiollo, iuhquin juhcan tlama.

auh in ie iuhq', in centzonvitznaoa in oquiotlalique in jntlatol, in oquicemjtoq iça quimictizque in jnnan, ichica ca otlapinauhti, ça çenca muchicaoaia, cenca qualanja, iuhquj in quiçaia in jiollo, in Coiolxauhquj, cenca quinioleoaia, quiniollococoltiaia in joquichtioa, in macuele miquj in jnnan. auh in cõtzonvitznaoa, njman ie ic mocõcaoa, moiaochichioa.

auh in ichoantin centzonvitznaoa, iuhq'n tequioaque catca tlacujaia, tlaquauicujaia, quiquauicujaia in jntzon, in jnquatzon.

auh ce itoca Quavitl icac, necoc quitlalitinenca in itlatol, in tlein quitooaia centzonvitznaoa, njman conilhujaia, connonotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in vitzilobuchtli: quioalilhujaia in Quavitl icac: cenca tleticmomachitia notlatzine, vel xonmotlacaquilti ic ne njcmati.

auh in ie iuhquj in iequene oquicemjtoque, in ocenietix in jntlatol, injc quimjctizque, injc quitlatla-

4. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has "*en el seno suyo o la faldriga.*"
5. Quauitlicac is, in some stories, also said to have been miraculously born, like Coatl icue (*op. cit.*, p. 27), which, however, refers to a virgin birth.
6. Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 43) says that one of Coatl icue's sons told her of the plot to kill her.

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that they would put to death and dispose of their mother, they thereupon set forth. Coyolxauhqui led them. Much did they exert and drive themselves. They were in war array, which was distributed [among them]; all put in place their paper array, the paper crowns,[7] their nettles,[8] painted paper streamers, and they bound bells to the calves of their legs. These bells were called *oyoalli*. And their darts [had] barbed points.

tinque in jnnan, njman ie ic vi teiacana in Coiolxauhqui, vel muchichicaoa, mocxcnquetza, moiaochichiuhque, motlamamacaque, intech quitlalique in jmamatlasquij, in anecuiotl, intzitzicaz, amatitech pipilcac, tlacujlolli, yoan in coiolli incoxxitech qujlipique, injn coiolli mjtoaia oiovalli, yoan in jnmiuh tlatzontectli,

Thereupon they set forth; they went in order, in columns, in armed display, moving with deliberation. Coyolxauhqui led them.

niman ie ic vi, tetecpantivi, tlatlamantitivi, tlaiciecotivj, momamátivi, teiacana in Coiolxauhquj.

And Quauitl icac thereupon hastened to run up [the hill], that he might warn Uitzilopochtli. He said: "Already they are coming."

auh in Quavitl icac, njman ie ic motlalotitleco, in qujnonotzaz in Vitzilobuchtli quilhuj ca ie vitze,

Then Uitzilopochtli spoke: "Watch well where they come."

njman qujto in Vitzilobuchtli, vel xontlachie can ie vitze

Thereupon Quauitl icac said to him: "Already they are at Tzompantitlan."

njman ie ic conilhuja in Quavitl icac: ca ie tzonpantitlan,

Again Uitzilopochtli addressed him: "Where now do they come?"

ie no ceppa quioalilhuja in Vitzilobuchtli, cá ie vitze,

Then [Quauitl icac] said to him: "Already they are at Coaxalpan."

njman conilhui ca ie coaxalpan vitze,

Once more Uitzilopochtli called out to Quauitl icac: "See where they now come."

ie no ceppa quioalilhuj in Vitzilobuchtli in Quavitl icac: tla xontlachie can ie vitze,

Then [this one] said to him: "Already they are at Apetlac."

njman ic conilhui ca ie apetlac,

Once again [Uitzilopochtli] spoke forth to him: "Where now do they come?"

ie no ceppa quioalilhui, can ie vitze,

Then Quauitl icac answered him: "Already they have come half way[9] up the slope of the mountain."

njman conilhuj in Quavitl icac: ca ie tlatlacapan istivitze.

And Uitzilopochtli again spoke forth to Quauitl icac; he said: "Watch where they now come."

Auh in vitzilobuchtli: ie no ceppa quioalilhuj, in Quavitl icac. quilhuj tla xontlachia can ie vitze.

Then Quauitl icac said unto him: "At last they are coming up here; at last they reach here. Coyolxauhqui cometh ahead of them."

njman je conilhuj in Quavitl icac, ca iequene oalpanvetzi, iequene oalaci teiacantivitz in Coiolxauhquj.

And Uitzilopochtli then burst forth, born.[10]

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman je oallacat,

Then his array he brought forth with him—his shield [named] *teueuelli*,[11] and his darts, and his dart thrower, all blue, named *xiuatlatl*. And in di-

njman itlasquj oalieria in ichimal, tevevelli, yoan in jmiuh, yoan yiatlauh xoxoctic, mjtoa xioatlatl, yoan icxitlan tlatlaan, ic onmichiuh yn iconecujtl, mjtoaia

7. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 69.

8. See Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 99, where medical properties of nettlewort are mentioned.

9. *Tlalacapan* as one of three in composition, see Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II (1946), p. 171.

All the place names given here (Tzompantitlan, etc.) are translated in Eduard Seler's *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún nach dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (ed. Camilla Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), p. 256. In the original myth, possibly they were place names, which, in circuit, later came to be names of places around the Temple of Huitzilopochtli, and perhaps to recall the original account. Cf. Sahagún (Rojendo ed., I, 181, and II, 382), where *Apaxiuhcan* and *Cuauhtepec* are referred to just as towns but as places about the temple.

10. See Pl. I.

11. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 256, n. 1: "*Schild mit Bilder eine metaphorischen Zweig.*"

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agonal stripes[12] was his face painted, with his child's offal, called his child's painting. He was pasted with feathers about his forehead and about his ears. And on his one thin foot, his left, he had the sole pasted with feathers, and he had stained both of his thighs with blue mineral earth, and both upper arms.

And one named Tochancalqui laid fire to the serpent *xiuhcoatl*[13] at the command of Uitzilopochtli.

Then with it he pierced Copolxauhqui, and then he quickly struck off her head. It came to rest there on the slope of Coatepetl.[14] And her body went falling below; it went crashing in pieces; in various places her arms, her legs, and her body kept falling.

And Uitzilopochtli then arose and pursued the Centzonuitznaua, and went among them, and pounced upon them, and scattered them from the top of Coatepetl.

And when he had pursued them to the base, the foot [of the mountain], he took after them and gave them chase around the skirts of Coatepetl. Four times he pursued and followed them around. In vain they went about doing what they might against him; in vain they stood against him, striking about with their shields.[14a] No more could they do, no more could they achieve; neither could they take refuge. Uitzilopochtli quite overpowered them; he made them turn tail; he destroyed them in battle. He completely bested and ill-used them.

And not even now did he let them alone. He kept on. Much did they [then] importune him. They said to him: "Let this be enough!"

But Uitzilopochtli would not content himself with this. With force he hurled himself against them and took after them. And only very few fled his presence and escaped his hands. They went toward a haven to the south.[15] For indeed to that place these Centzonuitznaua[16] journeyed—the few who escaped the hands of Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had slain them, when he had spent his wrath, he took from them their vestments, their adornment, their paper crowns ornamented with feathers. He arrayed himself with these and took

ipilnechical, moquapotonj, izquac, yoan inanacatlan, auh ce pitzaoac in jcxi yiopochcopa, quipotonj in jxocpal, yoan quijtzoocoan in jmetz vmexti. yoan vmexti in jacol.

auh ce itoca Tochancalqui contlati in xjuhcoatl, quioalnaoati in Vitzilobuchtli:

njman jc quixil in Coiolxauhqui: auh njman quechcotontivetz, in itzontecon vmpa onmocauh in jtenpa coatepetl. auh in itlac tlatzintlan vetzico tetezititivetz, cecencan veuetz in jma, in jcxi, yoan itlac.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman ic oaleoa, quinoaltoca intlan aquj, quinoaltemovia, q'noaltepeoa in centzonvitznaoa, in Coatepetl icpac.

auh in oquinmaxitico in tlalchi, in tlatzintlan, niman ic ic quintoca, quinniaiaoalochti in Coatepetl, nappa in q'ntlatlaiaoalochti, in qui niaiaoalochti, oc nen quioaloiuhtivia oc nē quioaloiuviaia, oalmochimalvitectiuia, aoc tle vel quichiuhque, aoc tle vel axque, aocmo vel quitzacuilique, çan quincemeviti in Vitzilobuchtli: quincentepotzti, vel quinpopolo, vel quimixtlati, vel quinpoctlantili.

auh in çe aocmo vel quincaouia, in ovel in centech mopilo, cenca quitlatlauhtiaia, quilhujaia ma izquich.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: amo ic moiolcevi, ca cenca intech motlapalo in quintocac. ach çe quezquitotom in ixpanpa cosque, in imacpa quinque vmpa itztiaque in vitztlanpa, ichica ca vmpa itztiaque, inin centzonvicnaoa, in oquinquintin in imatitlanpa quinque in Vitzilobuchtli:

auh in ie iuhquj in oquinmjcti, in oyiellelquiz quinconili in intlatequj, in innechichical in anecuiol,

12. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
13. Corresponding Spanish text: "Una culebra, hecha de tosca, que se llamaba xiuhcoatl."
14. See Pl. 2.
14a. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 237) translates this passage thus: "*vergeblich versuchte sie ihr an mit ihren Rundes, vergeblich versuchten sie die Schilder an, schlugen sie (mit Abwehr gegen ihn) auf ihre Schilde, sie konnten nichts mehr machen, nichts mehr tun, konnten sich nicht mehr gegen ihn verteidigen.*"
15. Following *cicuitlanpa*, the *Real Palacio* MS has *ya in mextecatlanpa*. The passage would then read: "This place is known as Uitzilampa, because indeed there these Centzonhuitznaua journeyed. . . . ."
16. *Centzonhuitznaua* probably *centzonhuitznaua* is intended.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

[them] for himself; he assumed [them] as his due, as if taking the insignia to himself.

And Uitzilopochtli was also known as an omen of evil; because from only a feather which fell, his mother Coatl icue conceived. For no one came forth as his father.

This one the Mexicans cherished, by making offerings to him, and by honoring and serving him. And Uitzilopochtli rewarded him [who did so].[17] And this veneration was taken from there, at Coatepec, just as had been done in days of yore.[18]

Enough [of this].

qujmotlatquiti, qujmazcati, qujmotonalti, iuhq'n qujmotlavizzi. 773

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: no mjtoaia tetzavitl, ichica ca çan jvitl, in temoc injc otztic in jnan in coacue: caiac nez in ita. 539

Jehoatl in oqujpiaia in mexica injc otlamanitiaia, inic oqujmaviztiliaia, oquitlaecoltiaia, ioan in itech muchioaia in Vitzilobuchtli. auh in iehoatl in tlamaviztililiztli ocatca, ca vmpa tlaãtli in Coatepec, in juh muchivi ca ie uecauh

ie izqujch.

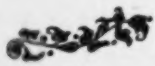

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how they did honor to Uitzilopochtli and thus worshipped him as a god.

And when the body of Uitzilopochtli was shapen, when they gave it form upon their feast day of Panquetzaliztli, they made it of a dough of amaranth, of fish amaranth seed, which is a spiny herb. They ground it; they pulverized it well; they crushed it into a powder and placed it in earthen vessels, as if it were an unguent—as if it were feather down. They rid it of *chicalotl* seeds—they cast them aside as useless; they threw away all the *petzicatl* [bird] seed,[19] the black-seeded amaranth, and the siftings and the corrupted material, and other small rubbish. And this they cast out and tossed away.

And when the amaranth seed dough was made, [it was] like pine [resin], like cooked *magney*, like an unguent.

And upon the next day the body of Uitzilopochtli died.

And he who slew him [was] the [priest known as] Quetzalcoatl.[20] And [that] with which he slew him was a dart, pointed with flint, which he shot into his heart.

INJC VMEI PARRAPHO vncan moteneoa in quenjn qujmaviztiliaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc qujmoteutiaia. 796

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: in iquac tlacatia in jnacaio in qujtlacatiliaia injlhujuh ipan. in iquac panquetzaliztli, in quichioaia tzoalli, michioauhtzoalli, ie in chicalotl, qujtecia, vel quicuechoaia, quicuechtiliaia, caxtlaliaia, caxtiliaia, iuhqujn axjn, iuhquin ivitl, qujtlaçaia in chicalotl, vel quitlacujcuiliaia, muchi quiquistiaia in petzicatl, in tezcaoauhtli, yoan ipolocatl, yoan in palanquj, yoan in oc cequi tlaçoltotonti, muchi quiquistiaia, muchi quichichitotzaia,

auh in muchioaia tzoalli, iuhqujn ocotl ie on mexcalli, iuhqujn axi.

auh in imuztlaioc in miquia in Vitzilobuchtli in jnacaio.

auh in quimjctiaia iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl: auh injc qujmjctiaia ie mitl, iacatecpaio conaqujliaia yiollopa,

17. For *mocchiuaia*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *mocchiuaqui*, which is perhaps more logical.
18. See P5, 2.
19. *Chicalotl* and *petzicatl*: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 62, no. 24—which identifies *chicalotl* with *michiauhtli* or "fish amaranth"—and 30. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 258) translates the phrase *mitl chicaoa tzoalli* as *den Samen der Fischpomelaue*; for *chicalotl* he has *Stachelmohn* (*Argemone mexicana*)—probably poppy.
20. See below (Appendix, Ch. 9).

Third Chapter, which telleth—in which is related—[the story of] Quetzalcoatl, who was a great wizard;[1] and of the place where he ruled,[2] and of what he did when he went [away].

This Quetzalcoatl they considered a god. They all adored him as a god. He was prayed to in olden times there at Tula.[3]

And there was his temple, [which was] very tall and high; lofty and towering. Very many [were its] steps, extending in a multitude, and not wide; but each one, in truth, was very narrow. On each step, the sole of one's foot could not be extended.

There, it is said, he lay; he lay covered; and he lay with only his face covered. And, it is said, he was monstrous.

His face [was] like a huge, battered stone, a great fallen rock; it [was] not made like that of men. And his beard was very long—exceedingly long. He was heavily bearded.

And the Tolteca, his vassals, were highly skilled. Nothing that they did was difficult [for them]. They cut green stone, and they cast gold, and they made other works of the craftsman and the feather worker. Very skilled were they. These started and proceeded from Quetzalcoatl—all craft works and wisdom.

And there stood his green stone house, and his golden[4] house, and his coral house, and his shell house, and his house of beams, his turquoise house, and his house of precious feathers.

And [for] his vassals the Tolteca, nothing with which they dealt was [too] distant. Very quickly they could arrive whither they went. And because they were fleet, they were named *tlanquacemilhuime*.[5]

Injc Ey capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jtoloca in Quetzalcoatl in vej naoalli catca: in canjn tlatocac, yoan in tlein qujchiuh iquac ia.

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In ichoatl, in quetzalcoatl: iuhqujma teutl ipan qujmatia, netentiloia, teumachoia, in iqujn ie vecauh, in vmpa tullan.

auh in vncã onoca in iteupan, cenca vecapã, cenca quauhtic, ixtachiquauhtic, ixtachivecapan, cenca miec in itlamamatlaio, vel tecpichauhtoc, amo papatlaoac, çan pitzatoton, amo vel cece xocpalli, vmpan onoca

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qujl çan tlapachiuhtoca, çan ixtlapachiuhtoca, yoan quil atlacacemelle catca:

in ixaiac iuhqujn tetecujnpol, tehtlanipol, hamo tlatlacaiocoia. auh in itentzon cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, tentzonpachtic,

auh in tolteca, in imaceoalhoan, cenca mjmatia, atle ovi in quichioaia, in quitequja chalchivitl, yoan teucujtlapitzaia, yoan quichioaia, in oc cequj toltecaiutl in amantecaiotl, cenca vel mimatia vel itech peuhtica, vel itech quiztica, in Quetzalcoatl in ixquich in toltecaiotl, in nemachtli,

yoan onicaca ichalchiuhcal, yoan iteucujtlacal, yoan itapachcal, yoan itecciacal, yoan ioapalcal, ixiuhcal, yoan iquetzalcal.

auh in imaceoahoan, in tolteca hacan in veca quichioaia, vel iciuhca acitivetziia in campa via: auh injc cenca totocaia motocaiotiaia, tlanquacemilhujme,

1. *Nauali.* Garibay (*op. cit.*, pp. 170, 171) translates the term as *ahua*, but suggests three possibilities for precise understanding of the word: (1) if *naui* is the root, a wizard-quadruped is implied; (2) if the *root* is *nahuali*, *nahuala* (an archaic verb surviving in composition), then the meaning is close to magician or prestidigitator, or—following Molina (*cf.* *nahualtepui*, *nahualtolli*, *nahualliachia*, etc.)—to lord; (3) if the root is the Maya *na*, *nan*, *nana*, then the meaning approximates wisdom, science, magic. Garibay favors the second possibility.

2. Sahagún (*Biblioteca Mexicana*, p. 268, n. 1) corrects *in canjn* to *in quenin*. This is perhaps more logical.

3. As a deity, Quetzalcoatl was wind god and priest god (Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 28), or morning star god, god of life, of the morning (Caso: *op. cit.*, p. 18). See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, pp. 2-3.

Possibly the most coherent account of Quetzalcoatl as the priest-chief of Tula is in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, of which the best editions are Walter Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Culhuacan und Mexico* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), and Primo Feliciano Velázquez's, in *Códice Chimalpopoca*. According to this source (pp. 42, 69ff., in Lehmann's *Geschichte*, and pp. 11ff. in Velázquez's *Códice*), he reigned at Tula for ten or twenty years following A. D. 873, having been born thirty years earlier of Chimalman, widow of Tezapanh, who died A. D. 834. (See *supra*, Chap. I, n. 4.) Chimalman is said to have swallowed a green stone, and from it to have conceived. See also Tezozomoc, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

4. *Teocuitlatl*: gold or silver, according to Rémi Simeon, *op. cit.* Specifically, 'vessels *teocuitlatl* (*or teul cuyamhqui*) in gold, and *tetzo teocuitlatl* in silver. Cf. Molina (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Mexican section).

5. Those who walked the whole day without doing, according to Sahagún (Rubendo ed.), III, p. 114.

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And there was a hill named Tzatzitepetl. Just so is it named today. It is said that there the crier stationed himself; [for] that which was required he placed himself there in order to announce [it]. He was heard clearly in distant places;[6a] everywhere was heard that which he said, the laws that were made. Swiftly all would come forth to learn what Quetzalcoatl had commanded the people.

suh vncan centetl tepetl, monocaiotia tzatzitepetl, no çan njuh mjtoa in axcan, quil vncan moquetzaia in tecpoiotl, in tlejn monequia, vncan moquetzaia in tzatzia, vel oncaquiztia in anaoac, vel izqujchcapa oakcaoia, in tlein quitooaia, in tlel naoatilli muchioaia, iciuhca oalvilooaia, quioalmatia in tlel ic tenaoatia Quetzalcoatl.

And also they were very rich. Of no value were food and all sustenance. It is said that all the squashes were very large, and some were quite round. And the ears of maize were as large as hand grinding stones,[6] and long. They could hardly be embraced in one's arms. And the amaranth plants—verily, they climbed up them; they could be climbed. And also colored cotton prospered—bright red, yellow, rose colored, violet, green, azure, verdigris color, whitish, brown, shadowy, rose red, and coyote colored.[7] All different [colored cottons] were this way; so they grew; they did not dye them.

Auh yoan vel mocujltonooaia, hatlaçotli catca, in qualoni, in izq'ch in tonacaiutl, qujlmach in aiotetl, cenca vevejtepopol catca, cequi çan mamalacachtic: auh in cintli vel memetlapiltic, vivitlatztic, çan quimalcochovaia. auh in oauhçoiatl, vel quitlecaviaia, vel tlecaviloia. Auh yoã no vmpa muchioaia in tlapapal ichcatl, in chichiltic, in coztic, in tlaztaleoaltic in camopaltic, xoxoctic, matlaltic, quilpaltic, vitztecoltic, camiltic, movitic, xochipaltic, cosoichcatl yn hia. in izquitlamãtli, çan njman iuh qujçaia amo quipaia.

And there dwelt all [varieties of] birds of precious feather—the blue cotinga, the quetzal, the trupial, the red spoonbill, and all the different birds, which spoke very well; which sang right sweetly. And all the green stones and gold were not costly. Very much [of all this] was owned. And also chocolate—*xochicacaoatl*[8]—was made. In very many places there was chocolate.

Auh in izqujch nenca in tlaçotototl, y xiuhtototl, in quetzaltototl, i çaqua, in tlauhquechol, yoan in ie izqujch nepapan tototl in cenca vel tlatoa, in vel tepacic cujca: auh yoan in izquich in chalchivitl, in teucujtlatl, amo tlaçotli catca, cenca miec in mopiaia, auh yoan no muchioaia in cacaoatl, in xochicacaoatl, vel mieccan, icaca in cacaoatl catca.

And these Toltecs enjoyed great wealth; they were rich; never were they poor. Nothing did they lack in their homes. Never was there want. And the small ears of maize were of no use to them; they only [burned them to] heat the sweat baths.

Auh in ichoantin in tolteca, cẽca mocujltonovaia, motlacamatia, aic motolinjaia, atle monectoca in jtchan aic maianaia: auh in molquitl, amo intech monequja, çan jc temazcallatiaia,

And this Quetzalcoatl also did penances. He bled the calf of his leg to stain thorns with blood.[9] And he bathed at midnight. And he bathed there where his bathing place was, at a placed name Xippacoyan.[10] Him the fire priests imitated, and the [other] priests. And the priests took their manner of conduct from the life of Quetzalcoatl. By it they ordained the law of Tula. Thus were customs established here in Mexico.

auh yoã in ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl no tlamaceoaia qujçoaia, in itlanitz ynjc quezviaia in vitztli, yoan maltiaia iooalnepantla: auh in vmpa onmaltia, in inealtiaia catca, itocaiocan xippacoiã ichoatl quitlaieichcalviaia in tletlenamacaque, yoan in tlamacazque, inemiliz in quetzalcoatl in qujmonemilizitiaia in tlamacazque, tullan tlamanitilizztli, injc otlamanitiaia, inic otlamanca in nican mexico.

5a. Cfr. Anonyme, *v. inf.*, chap. 12, n. 2.

6. Metlapilli: *molinder one que muelen el maye* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

7. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, and Simeon, *op. cit.*, on colors. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 279) offers these variants: *camopaltic*—"*braunfarbig (coyote-farbene)*"; *xoxoctic*—"*blaugrünlich*"; *quilpaltic*—"*grünlich*"; *vitztecoltic*—"*orangefarbene*"; *camiltic*—"*schmutzfarbig*"; *xochipaltic*—"*rosafarbig*"; *cosoichcatl*—"*der fahlgelbe (coyote-farbene) Baumwollstoff.*"

8. In *loc. cit.*, Seler equates this with "*Blumenkakao (xochicacaoatl, Xóchic Kakaoatl).*"

9. See Pl. 9.

10. See Pl. 10.

Fourth Chapter, which telleth how the glory of Quetzalcoatl came to an end, and how three sorcerers came to him, and what they did.[1]

And at this time, Quetzalcoatl and all the Toltecs became slothful. And there approached and came, as evil sorcerers, three demons—Vitzilopochtli, Titlacauan, and Tlacauepan.[2] All three practised sorcery that they might bring ruin to Tula.

This Titlacauan began casting the spell. It is told that he turned himself into a little old man. He counterfeited and took the form of one who was much bent and whose hair was very white, very silvery. Thereupon he went to the home of Quetzalcoatl.

When he had gone there, he then said [to the retainers]: "I wish to see the chief, Quetzalcoatl."

Then [the others] replied to him: "Go hence, old man. The chief is sick. Thou wilt vex him."

Then the old man said: "Nay, verily I will see him; verily I must come to him."

They said to him: "So be it. Wait a little. We shall tell him."

And thereupon they informed Quetzalcoatl. They said to him: "My prince, an old man hath come to speak with thee, one who seemeth like a net, like a trap for thee.[2a] We would turn him away, but he witheth not to go. He saith only: 'I will see the chief for myself.'"

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "Let him come; let him enter. For I have awaited him for some little time."

Then they brought him in to Quetzalcoatl.

Thereupon the old man came and said to him: "My grandson, my chief, how is thy health? Here is a potion which I have brought for thee. Drink it."[3]

And then Quetzalcoatl said: "Come here, O old one. Thou art spent; thou hast tired thyself. For some time I have awaited thee."

Injc ·xvj· Capitulo itechpa tlatoa, in quenjn tzõquizqui ynnavizo, in Quetzalcoatl, yoan in quenjn oallaq̃ Eyntin nanacaltin in ivicpa, yoan in tlein quiqujuhque. 539

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatlaziviti in Quetzalcoatl, yoan in izqujchtin tolteca. auh njmã ic oallaque in tlatetzavico. Eytin, in tlatlacatecuio, Vitzilobuchtli, Titlacaoan, Tlacavepã, i eixtin tlatetzãvique injc tlalpoliviz in tullan.

in iehoatl Titlacaoan, ie quipeoalti injc tlatetzavi, quilmach veuentõ ipan mocuep, ipan mixeuh, ipã moquixti, ovelcoliuh, ovelquaiztaz, ocomo, quaztapaton, njman ie ic iauh in ichã in Quetzalcoatl:

in oonia, njman ie ic quitcilhuja, nicnotilizinequi in tlacatl Quetzalcoatl:

njman quilhuique, nepa xiauh veventone, mococoialtia in tlacatl, ticamanaz,

njman njman qujto in vevẽto, ca amo ça nicnotiliz, ça itech ninaxitiz,

quilvique, ca ie qualli oc xicchia, tla oc tictolviliti,

auh njman ie ic quinonotza in Quetzalcoatl quilhuia, nopiltzintzine, aquin ovalla vevento mjtzmotilico iuhqui mopevilma, iuhquin amo tlaçalma, in tictotoca ça njman amo iaznequi, quitoa ca ça nicnotiliz in tlacatl,

njmã qujto in Quetzalcoatl: ma oallauh, ma oalcalaqui, ca ichoatl in njcchia in ie macuil in ie matlac,

njman ic concalaquique ipan in Quetzalcoatl:

in vevento, njman ie ic quitlaloa quilhui noxviuhtzine, tlacatle, quen ticmomachitia in monacaiotzin, ca njcan catquj in patli, yn onimjtzalnotquilili ma xicmiti,

auh njman quito in Quetzalcoatl: tla xioallauh veventze, otiquihjiovi, oticciauh, ca ie macuil ie matlac, in nimichia:

1. *Quiquinhque*: probably *quichinque* is meant.
2. Tezcatlipoca (Tolteccatl), Huitzilopochtli, and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, according to Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 79). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 79) says that Tezcatlipoca descended from heaven by a rope of *ixtle*; changed himself into an owlet during a game of *tlachtli* with Quetzalcoatl; drove him from Tula; and pursued him from city to city, until finally in Cholula.
2a. *Atanalqui* we may be a copyist's error. We have follow Angel María Garibay, *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, Mexico: n.p., 1946), pp. 91, 135.
3. See Pl. 11.

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And then the old man replied to him: "My grandson, how, in sooth, is thy health?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to him: "Verily, much do I ail in all parts. Nowhere am I well—my hands, my feet. In truth, my body is tired, as if it were undone."

And then the old one said to him: "Here is the potion, good, soothing, and intoxicating. If thou shalt drink of it, it will relieve and heal thy body. And thou shalt weep; thy heart will become troubled. Thou shalt think upon thy death. And also thou shalt think upon where thou shalt go."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Where am I to go, old one?"

Then the old man said to him: "Yea, thou shalt go there to Tollan-Tlapallan. A man there standeth guard, one already aged. Ye shall consult with each other. And when thou shalt return here, thou shalt again have been made a child."

On this, Quetzalcoatl was [much] moved. And the old man once more said: "Be of good cheer. Drink the potion."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Old man, I will not drink of it."

Then the old man said to him: "Drink of it; thou shalt feel a need [for it]. Nay, only place [some of it] before thee [as] thy [small] portion [in case thou feelest] thy desire [for it].[4] Taste only a little of it."

And Quetzalcoatl then tasted a little, and afterwards drank heartily of it.

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "What is this? It is very good. The sickness is now abated. Where went the pain? No longer am I sick."

Then the old man said: "Drink of it once again; the potion is good. Thus will thy body gain strength."

And as soon as he had once more drunk of it—all,—then he became sotted. Thereupon he wept, and, greatly was he moved. Thus, at this time, was Quetzalcoatl aroused; his heart was quickened. No longer could he forget what had happened, but went on reflecting, realizing [that] indeed the devil had tricked him.

And the potion which [the old man] had offered him, it is told, was white wine. And it is said that this [wine] was made of the sap of the *maguey* called *teometl*.[5]

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auh njmã quilhui in vevento, nexviuhtzine quen vel ticmomachitia, in monacaiotzin,

njman quilhuj in Quetzalcoatl: ca cenca noviã ninococova acan veli in momac, in nocxic, vel çoçotlaoa in nonacaio, iuhquj ciciotomj:

auh njmã quilhui in vevento, ca nican canquj, in patli cenca qualli, iamanquj, yoan tetech quiz, intla ticmitiz, motech quiçaz, yoan qujiamaniliz in monacaio, yoã tichocaz, icnoiovaz in moiollo tiquilnamiquiz, in momiquiz. auh yoan vel ipan tiquilnamiquiz incampa tiaz.

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl: campa niaz veventze:

njman quilhuj in vevento, ca ça tiaz in vmpa tullan tlapalan: ce tlacatl vmpa tlapia ie vevetlacatl, ãmononotzazque. auh in iquac tioalmocuepaz, oc ceppa tipiltontli timuchioaz,

njman ic moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl: auh in vevento ie no ceppa qujlhuj, tlasque xocõmiti, in patli,

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl veventze ca amo niquiz,

njman quilhuj in vevẽto, ma ça xoconmjti timotõliniz, ma çan nel noço mixquac xocontlali motonal motoliniz, ma çan achitõ xoconmopaloltí.

auh in Quetzalcoatl: njman conpalo achiton: auh çatepã vel conjc,

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl: tlen j? ca cenca, qualli, in cocoliztli ca oc onpolo, campan oia cocolli caocmo njnococoa,

njman quilhuj in vevento, ca oc ce xoconj ca qualli in patli ic chicaoaz in monacaio,

auh niman ic ie no ceppa ce conjc, njman ic ivintic, njman ie ic choca vel ielleloquiça, ic vncan moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl, vncã tlapan in jiollo, xocmo conilcacoaia, ça ie in quimattinenca in qujmattinemja vel qujoalmalacacho in tlacateculotl:

auh I patli qujmacac, quilmach ichoatl in iztac vetli, yoan quil ichoatl in teumetl ynecuio ic tlachiuhdi.

4. In Sahagún (*Bloque Kapitel*, p. 273) and in Angel María Garibay K. (*op. cit.*, p. 136), *tlamatiliztli* and *mamatiliztli* are transcribed as *tlamatiliztli* and *mamatiliztli*. The present version follows, however, both the *Real Palacio MS* and the *Florentine Codex*.

5. The medicinal qualities of *teometl* are described in Sahagún (Bulmaro ed.), Vol. III, p. 239.

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of another fraud which the sorcerer Titlacauan wrought.

And behold another thing which Titlacauan did, thus casting a spell. He took the form and played the part of a stranger.[1] He walked about [with virile member] hanging [uncovered], and sold green *chilis*. He went to sit in the market place, before the palace entrance.

And the daughter of Uemac[2] [was] very fair. Many among the Tolteca desired her and sought her, that they might marry her. But to none would Uemac listen. He gave her to no one.

And this daughter of Uemac looked out into the market place and saw the stranger with [virile member] hanging [uncovered].

And when she had seen him, she went into the house. Thereupon she sickened; she became tense and inflamed [because of] her desire of the stranger's member.

And Uemac then learned that his daughter was sick. He said to the women who guarded her: "What hath happened? What hath she done? How began that which hath inflamed my daughter?"

Then the women who guarded her said to him: "It is he, the stranger who selleth green *chilis*. He hath inflamed and vexed her. Thus [it] began; thus sickness seized her."

And Uemac, the chief, thereupon commanded and said: "O Tolteca, let the green *chili* vending stranger be sought out; [let him] appear [before me]."

Thereupon was he sought everywhere. And when

Injc, macuilli Capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in oc centlamantli tetzavitl, in quichiuh naoalli titlacaoan.

Auh iztatqui oc centlamantli, in quichiuh Titlacaoa, injc tlatetzavi, ipan moquixti, ipã mixeuh Touenio, çan tlapilotinemj, chilchotl quinanamaca, onmotlalito tianquizco tecpã quijiaoac:

auh injchpoch Vemac, cenca qualli, cenca mjec tlacatl in tulteca in queleviaia, in quitlania, in qujmocioaoatizquja, çan aiac quitlavelcaquili in Vemac: aiac qujmacac:

auh in iehoatl injchpoch in Vemac oallachix in tianquizco, qujoalittac in tovenio tlapilotica.

auh in oqujttac niman calac in calitic, njman ie ic mococoa, teponacivi, popoçaoa, iuhqujn qujmotolinj in jtotouh in tovenio,

auh in Vemac: njman qujma in ie mococoa ichpoch, quimilvi in cihoa in quipia tle oax tle ay, quen opeuh in ie popoçaoa in nochpotzin,

njman quilvique in cihoa in quipiaia, ca ie in tovenio chilchonamacac, oquitlahtili, quitlatolinj, ic opeuh, ie ic ococolizcuje.

auh in Vemac in tlatoanj, njman ie ic tlanaoatia quito, tultecaie ma temolo in chilchonamacac tovenio, necix,

njman ie ic tlatemolo cẽmanaoac: auh in iquac aiac

1. The corresponding Spanish text has: "*se holgaje, y parecia, como un yndio forastero, que se llama mayya.*" In the Bakeuio edition (Vol. III, pp. 130, 132, 140) the terms *mayya* and *cocoxtli* are given as equivalent. See also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 274, n. 1), who refers to him throughout as a Huastec (*cocoxtlan*).

2. Reigned A. D. 994-1070, according to Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 42). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 48) has him contemporary with Quetzalcoatl—"*aunque en lo temporal era el que gouernaba en Tolan, llamado Huemac; en lo espiritual, y Eclesiastico era Quetzalcohuatl era supremo, y como Pontifice Mexicano.*" Fernando de Alva Tezozomoc, in *Histoire des chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco* (H. Ternaux-Compans, ed.: Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1840), Vol. I, p. 6, identifies one with the other. Désiré Charnay, in *Ancient Cities of the New World* (tr. J. Gonino and H. S. Conant; New York: Harper, 1887) says the same. So does Paul Kirchhoff ("Los pueblos de la historia toltecа-chichimeca," *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos*, IV [1940], pp. 97—Huemac), citing Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, I, 19-20) although the *Historia toltecа-chichimeca* makes him a child adopted by the Chichimecs (p. 79). Of Quetzalcoatl, Tezozomoc says: "*Un dia qu'on lui donna le nom Huemac, parce que pour prouver que tout ce qu'il avait annoncé s'accomplirait, il imprima sur maint sur un rocher comme sur de la cire molle.*" (See Chaps. xii, xiii.) Citing Ixtlilxochitl, p. 1, col. 3, Tezozomoc says Huemac was an astrologer and sage who led the Toltecs and wrote the *Teoamoxtli*, a work dealing with the history, genealogy, moral principles, religious beliefs and ceremonies, philosophy, astrology, agriculture, and prophecy of the times; he died aged more than 300 years (p. 6, n. 1).

Commenting on the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, pp. 16-17) states that by the time of Huemac, the priestly office was occupied by a priest titled Quetzalcoatl, and separated from the civil office, held by Huemac. This passage summarizes the history of Huemac, which may also be found in Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* or in Velázquez's *Códice Chimalpopoca*. The text of this document, however, states that Huemac was a successor of Quetzalcoatl (see *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 12 ff).

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no one came forth, thereupon the herald cried out from Tzatzitepetl. He said: "O Toltecs, [if] perchance ye see the green *chili* vending stranger, bring him here. The chief seeketh him."

Thereupon they looked and went everywhere; they went scattered through Tula as they looked. And when they had tired themselves and seen him nowhere, then they came [back] to tell the chief that verily nowhere could they see him.

And afterwards [the stranger] appeared of his own will in the same place where he had [formerly] come to sit when first he was seen.

And when he had been seen, then they went in haste to tell [the chief]. They said: "The stranger hath appeared."

Then Uemac said: "Let him come at once."

Then the Toltecs quickly went to seize the stranger. They brought him before the chief.

And when they had brought him, thereupon the chief said to him: "Where is thy home?"

Then [the other] replied to him: "I am a stranger. I sell little *chilis*."

Then the chief said to him: "Where hast thou been, stranger? Don thy breech clout; cover thyself."

Then [the stranger] replied to him: "Nay, but to this manner are we accustomed."

And the chief then said to him: "But thou hast afflicted my daughter. Thou art the one who must heal her."

Then [the stranger] said to him: "My dear stranger, my dear lord, this may not be. [Rather] slay me, kill me, let me die. What sayest thou to me? I am not the only one who selleth green *chilis*."

And then the chief said: "Nay, thou shalt heal her. Have no fear."

And thereupon they arranged his hair and they bathed him. Then they anointed him, they gave him a breech clout and girt him with it.

And when they had arrayed him, thereupon the chief said to him: "Look upon my daughter there where she is guarded."

And when he went there, then he lay with her, and then the woman was well. Later [the stranger] became the chief's son-in-law.

neci, njman ie ic tzatzi in tecpoiotl in tzatzitepec, quito tultecaie at canah anquitta chilchonamacac tovenio, xiqualvicacan, qujmotemolia in tlacatl,

njman ie ic tlatemoa, novian nemj, qujzaqualotinemi in tullan injc tlatemoa: auh in ocmoxiuhtlatique in acan quitta, njman jc qujnonotzaco in tlatoanj, in ca acan qujtta,

auh çatepan monomanexti çan ie no vncan in motlalico in vncan achtopa monexti:

auh in oittoc, njman qujnonotztivetzito, quilhuique, ca onez in tovenio,

njmã ic qujto in Vemac: ma oallauh iciuhca,

njman ic caantivetzito in tulteca in tovenio, qujvicaque ixpan in tlatoanj:

auh in oconvicaque njman ie ic quilvia in tlatoanj, can mochan,

njman ic quilhuj ca ni tovenio, chiltzintli njcnonamaquilia,

niman quilhuj in tlatovanj, canjn mach tinemj tovẽioie, ma ximomaxtlati, ma ximotlapacho,

njman quilhuj ca çan ie tiuhque:

auh in tlatovanj njman quilhui ca otictlatolinj in nochpotzin in jn te ticpatiz.

auh njman quilhuj noveniotzin, nopiltzi ca amo velitiz, xinechmjcti, xinechtlatlati, ma nimiquj, tlein tinechilvia amo çan njnochilchonamaquilia.

auh njmã qujto in tlatovanj ca amo ticpatiz, maca ximomauhti:

auh njman ie ic qujxima, caaltia in oconaaltique, njman ie ic coça qujmamaxtlatia, qujtlatlalpilia,

auh in oc ocencauhque, niman ie ic quilhuja in tlatovanj xiqujtta in nochpotzi, in vmpa pialo.

auh in oonia njman ie ic itech aci, njman ic paric in cihoatl, çatepan imo muchiuh in tlatoanj.

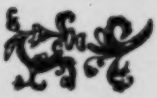

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Sixth Chapter, which telleth how the Toltecs were angered because of the marriage of the daughter of Uemac; and of another work of sorcery which Titlacauan wrought.

And upon this, the Toltecs jested about [Uemac]; they mocked him and spoke in malice of him. They said: "And so the chief hath taken a stranger as son-in-law!" Thereafter the chief summoned the Toltecs; he said to them: "I have heard that jests are made of me, that already I am laughed at, for I have made the stranger my son-in-law. And this [shall ye do]—by deceit abandon him [while fighting] at Çacatepec and Coatepec."

And thereupon the Toltecs announced war; they all set out. Thereupon they went, that they might leave the son-in-law [to his fate].

And when they had gone off to war, thereupon they planted [apart][1] the stranger and all the dwarfs and cripples.

When they had planted them [apart], thereupon the Toltecs departed, to capture men—to take men from their foes, the Coatepeca.

And the stranger said to all the dwarfs and cripples: "Have no fear. Here we shall destroy them; here, by our hands, they will meet their doom."

And after this, thereupon the enemy took after the Toltecs. They thought to themselves that [the foe] would there slay the stranger, from whom in this manner they went, leaving him tricked, leaving him to die.

And upon this they hurried to inform the chief, Uemac. They said to him: "Lo, we have gone, abandoning the stranger, who was thy beloved son-in-law."

And Uemac rejoiced exceedingly, for he thought that [his death] was fact. For he was ashamed of the stranger whom he had made [his] son-in-law.

And this stranger, when they had gone leaving him abandoned in battle, when their foes, the Coatepeca and the Çacatepeca had already come up, thereupon commanded the dwarfs and the hunchbacks, and said to them: "Pay good heed! Have no fear!

Injc chiquacẽ capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenjn qualanque tulteca, in ipampa in inenamictiliz in Vemac ichpuch. Yoan oc centlamãtli tetzavitl in quichjuh titlacaoan.

Auh niman ie ic ica camanaloa in tulteca, quiqueloa, ica motetenqueloa, qujtoaja mach tovenio oqujmomonti tlatoanj, çatepan quinnotz in tulteca in tlatoani quimjlhui, ca onjccac in ie noca camanalolo, in ie noca vetzco, in tovenio onjcnomonti: auh injn ma xoconnaoalcaoati in çacatepec, in coatepec.

auh njman ie ic iaotlatoa in tulteca, cemolini, njman ie ic vi in quicaoazque, in montli:

auh in oniaque in iaoc, njman ie ic quitlaltoca in tovenio, yoan in ixqujchtin tzapame, in vilame,

yn oqujmontlaltocaque, njmã ie ic vi in tlatlacaanazque in tulteca in qujntlacaanazque in jniaovan in coatepeca,

auh in tovenio quimilhuja in ixqujchtí tzapame, in vilame, macamo ximomauhtica, nican tiqujnpopolozque, njcan tomac tlamizque.

auh in ie iuhqui njman ie ic qujnoaltoca in tulteca in jniaoan, in momatque ca vncan quimjctizque in tovenio, in juhqui ocõnsoalcaoato, quimiquizcaoato.

auh njman ie ic vitze qujnonotzazque in tlatoanj in Vemac, quilhuique, ca otoconcaoato in tovẽio, in momontzin ocatca.

auh in Vemac: cenca papac in moma aço nelli, ace iuhquj, iehica ca ic pinaviztlamatia in tovenio, in oqujmomontica,

auh in ichoatl in tovenio in vmpa qujcaoato iaopan, in iquac ie vitze in jniaoan, in coatepeca, in çacatepeca. njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in tzapame, in tepoxtoene, quimilhuj cenca tle anqujmati, macamo ximomauhtican, macamo ximauhca çoneq'can, ma-

1. *Tlalnaui*: literally, bury or plant in the ground. Possibly a figurative meaning may be assumed.

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Be not cowards! Lose not heart! [For] already I know that ye will take them all captive, that in some manner we shall slay all of them!"

And when their foes came upon them and fell upon them, then they verily attacked and trampled over them. They slew them; they brought ruin on them; they destroyed them. Multitudes without number they slew of their foes.

And when the chief heard of it, he was greatly bemused and saddened. Upon this he summoned the Toltecs and said to them: "Let us go to meet our beloved son-in-law."

And the Toltecs then surged and burst forth. Thereupon they accompanied the chief; they went dispersed about him; they went circling him, to meet [the stranger]. The Toltecs took their panoply [with them]—the quetzal feather head device, and the turquoise mosaic shield. When they reached him, thereupon they gave and presented him the quetzal feather head device and the turquoise mosaic shield —all their array [which] they had [with them].

With [this] they proceeded dancing; they came dancing the captives' dance; they came bearing [the array] on their backs. They came singing in his honor; the song came forth resounding and reëchoing. They came blowing flutes in his honor; the shell trumpets roared and rang out. The shell trumpets approached, growing in sound.

And when they went to reach the palace, then they pasted the stranger's head with feathers, and they anointed him with yellow paint. And his face was spread with a red unguent. And all his friends were thus adorned.

And then Uemac said to his son-in-law: "Lo, now are the hearts of the Toltecs satisfied that thou art my son-in-law. Thou hast done well. Be received on this soil. Rest thy feet."

camo ximocuetlaxocan, ie ne nicmati, anmuchintin antlamazque, çacoquexixquichtî tiquinmictizque.

auh in oipaneoaco, in oinpancholoco, in jniaooan, njmã in ca ieoaque, qujnquequezteoaque, qujnmjctique, qujmixtlatique, qujmixpoloque, cenca vel mjequjntin, amo çan tlapoaltin in q'nmjctique, in jniaovan.

auh in oqujcac in tlatoanj, cenca motlapololti, yoã motequipacho, njman ie ic qujnnotza in tulteca quimjlhuj, ma ticnaniquiti, yn amomontzin:

auh in tulteca njman ie tzomonque, çoneoaque, njman ie ic quivica in tlatoanj, quitepevitivi, cololvitivj in tenamiquizque, in tulteca intlatqui ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan in xjuhchimalli, in oacique itech njman ie ic qujtlamamaca, cõmacaque, in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoã in xiuhchimalli, in ixqujch intlatquj ietia,

ipã mitotitivitz, momalitotitivitz, motelimantivitz, motimalotivitz, momamantivitz, quicuicatitivitze, cujcatl xauhtivitz, cuicatl caoantivitz, quitlapichilitivitze, in quiquixtli milintivitz, î tecciztli, hoaoalacativitz,

auh in oacito in tecpan, njman quipotonique, in itzõtecõ, yoan tecoçauhtiça coçaque. yoã mjxtlapalhoatzalvi, yoan muchintî iuh muchichiuhque, injcniuan:

auh çatepan quilhuj in Vemac in jmon, ca axcan pachivj in jniollo tulteca, injc tinomon otitlacnelli, ma tlaltitech xaci, ma xjcmocevilj in mocxitzin.

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4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventh Chapter, where is related yet another act of magic which the sorcerer brought to pass so that the Toltecs died as they performed penances and danced.

A second work of sorcery this demon [wrought]: When he had been pasted with yellow feathers, when he had bested [his enemies], he then brought it about that they should dance and sing, that they should intone a song.

Thereupon the herald made his cry, from the summit of Tzatzitepetl; he cried out to and informed those in all the world over. Verily everywhere they heard the cry of the herald. And very swiftly all came [to Tula].

And when this was done, then [the sorcerer] went there to Texcalpan. And everyone, all the vassals, went [with him]. And when all the youths and maidens had gathered together, they could not be counted; they were very numerous.

Thereupon the demon began to sing. He sounded the drum; he beat his ground drum. Thereupon all danced; they went as if leaping; all grasped hands; [or] took hold of each other from behind. With much contentment was it sung; [the sound] of the song resounded, and rose and fell.

And the song which was chanted [was] only [one] which he then invented.

And when he intoned the song, right then they answered it. From his lips they took the song.

And the singing and dancing began at dusk. And when it ceased, [it was] midnight.

And as all danced, [as] the movement was vibrant and most intense, very many then fell on the crags in the canyon. All died there, and then were turned into rocks.

And [as for] the others at the craggy canyon, the demon then broke the bridge. And the bridge was of stone. Forthwith all fell there where they crossed the water. All turned into rocks.

And how this was done, not then did the Toltecs understand. It was as if they were besotted.

Inj chicome capitulo: vncã moteneoa in oc centlamantli tetzavitl in quichiuh naoalli, injc mjcque tulteca: injc maceoaia, mjtotiaia.

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Injc ontlamantli tetzavitl, in ichoatl in tlacatecolutl, in iquac omopotoni tocivitica, in iquac oatepeuh, njman ie ic qujiocoia, in cujcemanoz, in cujcamanaz,

njmã ie ic tzatzi in tecpoiotl, in tzatzitepetl icpac, ontetzatzilia, ontenotzaia, icematonaoac, vel noviã quioalcaquja, in itzatziliz in tecpoiotl, auh çan vel iciuhca oalaxioaia.

auh in ie iuhqui, njman ic ompa ia in texcalapa, yoan inq'ch tlacatl ia in maceoalli. auh in oc̃quiz in ixquijch in telpochtli in ichpochtli, amo çan tlapoaltin, vel ixachintin,

njmã ie ic peoa in cujca in tlacateculoti, tlatzotzona, quitzotzona, in jvevcuh, njman ie ic netotilo, iuhqujh tlachocholivi, nehaano, necujtlanaoalo, cenca pacoa, in cujco, xxxamacatimanj in cujcatl, yoan caoantimanj:

auh in cujcatl, in meoaia çan vncan in quipicticaca.

auh in iquac cuicatlaçaia, çan njmã qujnanquiliaia itenpã canaia in cuicatl.

auh in peoaia in cujcoanolizti tlapoiaoa: auh in mocaoaia tlatlapitzalizpã.

auh in iquac netotiloia tlatlaxoqujvia, nexoxocoloia, cenca miequjntin õmotepeoaia in tepexic, in atlauhco, muchintin vmpa miquja, niman teme mocuepaia.

auh in oc cequjntin texcalatlauhco, in tlacatecolutl njmã conpoztec in panooanj. auh in panooanj tetl catca, çan njmã muchintin vncã õvetzque, in atl in vncan panooa, moch teme mocuepque.

auh in juh muchioaia y, socmo quen qujmatia in tulteca, iuhqujn oivintiq̃.

539 And many times was there singing and dancing there at Texcalpan. And as many times as there was song and dance, so many times was there slaughter. All were dashed upon the crags.

They fell; verily, the Toltecs destroyed themselves.

auh miecpa cujcoanoloia in ꝑcan texcalapan, auh in quezquipa, cujcoanoloia no izquipa micoaia, netepexiviloia tepexic.

in onnetepeoaloia vel mixtlatiaia in tulteca.

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of another act of magic which that same sorcerer wrought, whereby yet many more Toltecs died.

Behold yet another [act of sorcery] which the demon brought to pass.

It is said that once upon a time he took the form of a valiant warrior. He commanded the herald, the crier, that he should cry to the whole world that they come hence.

The crier said: "Let all men come! Let all the vassals come here! Ye shall go there to Xochitlan. The floating gardens will be harvested."

Thereupon came all the vassals. They came to the flower garden. (And as for naming it Xochitlan: they say it was the flower field of Quetzalcoatl.)

And when the Toltecs had come, gathered and massed together, thereupon the brave warrior slew them; he smote them; he beat the backs of their heads; in sooth, many [of them], without number, died at his hands. For he slew them.

And the rest of them, who indeed fled running, who were in headlong flight, went fleeing from his hands. As they went off, [seeking to] escape, as they ran, they injured one another and there they died. And still others trampled and crushed one another. All died there.

Injc chicuey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc centlamantli tetzavitl, in quichiuh çan ic no ichoatl naoalli, injc oc cẽca miequjntin micque tulteca. 539

Izcatquj oc centlamantli, yoan in quichjuh in tlacateculotl,

quil ceppa tequioa ipan moqujxti, qujnaoatiaia in tecpoiotl, in tzatzinj injc ontetzatziliz cematonaoac injc oalviloaz,

quitoaia in tecpoiotl, ma ixqujch tlacatl oallauh, ma ixqujch tlacatl oaloïinj in maceoalli, vmpa antlamativitze in xochitla, chinantecoz, tlatecoz,

njmã ie ic vitze in jxqujchtin maceoaltin oallamatiaque in xochitla (auh injc moteneoa xochitla quil xochimjlpa catca in Quetzalcoatl).

auh in ocenqujxoac, in ocenquizque, in otecpichauhq̃, in tulteca, njmã ie ic temjctia, tevivitequi, tecuexcochvivitequj in tequioa, vel miec amo çan tlatlapoalli, in jmac mjc, in qujntlatlati,

auh in oc cequjntin in çan cholozquja, in mocholtizquja, in jmacpa ieoazquja in jmatitlanpa quiçazquja, in motlalovaia, in motlavitequja, njmã miquja, auh in oc cequjntin moquequeçaia, mopapatzoaia, moch vncan mjcque.

[p. 24 is blank]

539 **Ninth Chapter, which telleth of yet another work of magic which this same sorcerer wrought, by which many more Toltecs perished.**

Behold still another act of sorcery which the demon did. He came to seat himself in the middle of the market place. He called himself Tlacauepan or Cuexcoch[tzin]. There he caused to dance [a figure] like a child. (They say it was Uitzilopochtli.) In his hand he held him as he made him dance.

And when the Toltecs saw this, thereupon they crowded toward him; they stumbled toward him in order to see it. Very many men were there trampled and died in the press as [the others] crushed them to death.

And when thus many times it came to pass that large numbers died in this way, as they looked while he made [the figure] dance, this same demon[1] said, with shouts, "O Toltecs, what sort of sorcery is this? Is it not an omen of evil that one is made to dance? As for this one, let him die; let him be stoned!"

Then they stoned him. He fell under the stones. And when this was done, [his body] thereafter stank; it smelt quite frightful; in truth, it wounded the head. And wheresoever the wind carried the stench, there the common folk died.

And when already very many men had thus died of its fumes, thereupon to the Toltecs this same demon said: "Let this dead one be cast away; let him be thrown out. For already his odor destroyeth [men]. Let him be dragged away."

And the Toltecs thereupon put a rope about [the body] and then [sought to] drag it away.[2] And now when they tried to heave it, they could not move it. It was very heavy—this, to which at first they had paid little heed, of which they had thought as of little import.

Then a message went out, and the herald said: "Let all men come here! Bring here your heavy ropes that ye may go and cast away the dead one."

And when the Toltecs came to gather together, thereupon they fastened the dead one with ropes.

Injc chicunauj capítulo: itechpa tlatoa in oc no centlamantli tetzavitl, in çan ie no hoatl quichiuh naoalli, injc oc cenca vellapanavia ixpoliuhque tulteca.

Isca oc centlamantli in mochiuh in tlacateculotl tianquiznepãtla in oalmotlalia, qujmotocaioti: Tlacavepan, anoço cuexcoch, vncã qujtotiaia iuhquin piltontli (quilmach iehoatl in Vitzilobuchtli) imac quiquetzaia in quitotiaia,

auh in oquittaque in tulteca, niman ie ic ivjc onoqujvi, ivjc onmotepeoa in quittazque, vel mjec tlacatl in vncan quequeçaloia, in patzmiquia, in qujnpatzmjctiaia,

auh in ie mjecpa iuh muchioa in miequjntin ie miquj, in qujttaia in teitotia, ça ie no ie in cacateculotl in tzatzic qujto, tultecaie tlen oc ie tetzauitl? amo totetzauh in teitotia. auh injn ma miquj, ma tetepacholo,

njman ic quitetepachoque tetica vetz: auh in ie iuhquj njman ie ic yiaia, vel temamauhti injc yias, vel tetzõvitec auh incampa quivica iehecatl in jiaca njman ic miquja in maceoalti.

auh in iquac ie mjec tlacatl ic miquj yn jiaca, njmã ie ic qujmilhuj in tulteca, çan ie no ie tlacateculotl qujto, injn mjcquj ma vetzi, ma motlaça ca ie tlaizpolos yn jiaializ, ma movilana.

auh in tulteca njmã ie ic qujmecaiotia, njman ie ic quivilana: auh in iquac ie quivilana haqueoa, cenca ietic, in achtopa atle ipan qujtta ca qujmoxictica,

çatepan njmã ie ic tzatzios. auh qujto in tecpoiotl, ma izqujch tlacatl oallauh: anquinalcuizque amovepanmocauh, motlaçatiuh in mjcquj,

auh in ocenquiçato in tulteca, njmã ie ic qujmeme-

1. Cuexcoch, in the Aztec text, is probably meant to be diacritical.
2. See Pl. 12.

539 Then the Toltecs murmured; they said to themselves: "O Toltecs, along with it! Let it be pulled!"

But they could not then raise it; they could not move it. And when one of the ropes broke, then died all. As many as extend.d along the rope tumbled; they fell all mingled together, and then died.

And when they could in no way drag it, when they could not approach it, thereupon the demon said to the Toltecs: "O Toltecs, he hath need of his song."

Thereupon he chanted the song for the Toltecs. He intoned: "Drag away our log, Tlacauepan the demon."

And as they chanted, forthwith they thus made the dead one move;[4] they came forward with it; they proceeded shouting. When a rope [again] snapped, then on all of them the log fell, so that it ran over them. And many were indeed crushed.[4] So were they crushed that thus they died.

And when all the rest who had gone to cast away the dead one, Tlacauepan, thereupon turned back, it was as if they paid no heed to all that had been done to them. No longer did they consider it an evil omen; [they were] as if besotted.

caiotia in micquj, njmã ie ic icaoaca in tultecq, qujmilhuja tultecaie macuele, ma tlatilinjlo.

auh çan njmã amo queoa, avel colinja: auh ī ce cotonj mecatl njmã ixqujchtin miquj in inqujntin itech onoque mecatl, vetzi monenepanotivetzi, njmã miquja.

auh in iquac in çan njmã avel colinja in avel itlan aquj, njmã ie ic qujmilhuja, in tulteca in tlacateculotl. Toltecaie icujc quinequi,

njman ie ic quimevilia in tulteca in cujcatl, queuh, xitlavilanaca ie tovepan tlacavepan tlacateculotl.

auh in oquevi, qujn ie ic colinique in mjcquj, qujmotlalochtia, qujcaoatztivi, ice cotoni mecatl, njmã muchintin inpan isuh in vepãtli, in jnpan motlaloa, yoan miequjntin in can moquequenque. inin opapatzoque, ic mjcque.

auh in oquixqujchtin mocauhque quitlaçato in mjcqui, in tlacavepan, njman ie ic oalmocuepa, iuhquin aoc tle ipan qujtta in ixquich inpan muchioaia, aocmo qujtetzauhmatia, iuhquin oivjntiq.

3. Possibly the Aztec should have read ovdiniqui rather than ovdiniqui.
4. Can, in the Aztec text, should probably be pan.

Tenth Chapter, which telleth of still another work of magic which this same sorcerer brought to pass, by which he cast a spell on Tula.

Behold also how the devil brought evil to Tula.

It is said that a white kite, with wounded head pierced by an arrow, flew by, passing to and fro over the Tolteca, not far [above] them. It kept nearing the earth as it flew back and forth. They saw it clearly as they stood and lingered looking upward.

Behold too yet another act of sorcery which was taken as an evil omen for the Tolteca. It is said that a mountain, called Çacatepetl, burned. By night, it was evident from afar how it burned. The flames rose high. When the Tolteca saw it, they became very restless; they raised their hands to heaven; there was great anxiety. All cried out, all shouted together. No longer was there tranquillity; no longer was there peace. And when they saw this omen of evil, they said: "O Tolteca, now is all in truth going [from us]; already the power of the Tolteca goeth. Yea, we are forsaken. What shall we do? Whither shall we go? O unhappy we! Let us take heart!"

Behold yet another act of sorcery. It is said that stones rained on the Tolteca. And when the stones rained, then a large sacrificial stone fell from the heavens; there at Chapoltepecuitlapilco[1] it came falling down. And afterwards a little old woman lived there. She sold [paper] flags; she walked about saying: "[Here are] your little flags." And any destined to die said: "Buy me one," and thereupon went where the sacrificial stone was. None asked: "What now dost thou do?" They were as if lost.

Injc matlactli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj tetzavitl, in ça ie no iehoatl quichiuh naoalli, injc tlatetzanvi tullã. 539

Izca yoan injc tlatetzãvi in tlacatecuiotl, in tullan, quilmach iztac cuixi, tlatzontectica mjstinenca, patlantinenca, mocanauhtinenca, in jnpan tulteca amo veca in quitztinenca in tlalli injc mocanauhtinenca, vel quijttaia acopa cuitztinenca, conacopaitztinenca.

Jaca yoan oc cẽtlamantli in tetzavitl, in jntetzauh muchiuh in tulteca, quil centetl teperl itoca çacatepetl tlatlaia, in ioualtica, veca necia, injc tlatlaia in tlecuecaltotl veca itoaia, in iquac quijttaia tulteca, vel mocomoniaia, maccenanaia, maltimoquetzaia, in netenvitecoia, in netenpapaviloia, aoc tlatlaca mamanca, aoc yvian ieloaia, auh injc quittaia itla tetzavitl, quitoaia, Tultecaie ca ie izquich ca ietivi, ie iauh in tultecaiotl, ca otitlatlaztivitique quẽnel campanel tiiazque, o totlavelilti̇c, ximellaquaoacã. [187]

Izca oc centetl in tetzavitl: quil inpan tequijauh in tulteca, auh in otequjiauh, çatepan oaltemoc illujcacpa centetl vej techcatl vnpa in chapoltepecujtlapilco in vetzico, auh çatepan, onnenca illamato, papannamacaia, quitocinõca ma amopatzin, auh in aquique, momiquitlanja quitoaia ma xinechponcóvi, njman ie ic iauh in vmpa ca techcatl, aiac quitoaia in tlein ie tay iuhquin otlapoloj.

1. Chapoltepecuitlapilco: an etymology, see Godoy, *Libro del adivinar*, p. 199. Presumably the place was near Chapultepec, today a suburb of Mexico City. Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) regards *vetzico* as a place name (Uetzinco), an alternative name of Chapultepecuitlapilco.

[p. 28 is blank]

539 **Eleventh Chapter, in which is told yet another work of magic which this same sorcerer wrought, by which he mocked them, by which Tula was undone, and through which he slew not a few Toltecs.**

Behold also the manner in which sorcery was practised against the Toltecs.

It is said that the food soured—very bitter did it become. It could not be placed in one's mouth; none of the Toltecs could eat the food. In truth, so were the Toltecs mocked.

And an old woman (they said and considered that it was the devil who appeared and took the form of an old woman) came to sit there at Xochitlan. There she toasted maize. And the maize which she toasted spread its fragrance over all the region. In truth it expanded and spread among all who dwelt [there]. All over the land was spread the odor of the toasted maize.

And when they smelled the toasted maize, the Toltecs found [the smell] good; they found it satisfying and pleasing. And when they smelled it, quickly they came here and swiftly, reaching here in only a very few moments.[1] ([For] it is said that the Toltecs thought no place distant; they thought nowhere [too] remote. Even though they might live far away, swiftly they arrived, and also [as] rapidly [returned] whence they had come.)

And then, as many as had gathered together she slew and destroyed—all. Not then might they make their return. A great mockery was made of the Toltecs, since the devil had slain very many of them. It is said that in sooth he made sport of the Toltecs.

Injc matlactli vei, capítulo: vncan motemoa in oc centlamantli tetzavitl in çan ie no ieh quichiuh naoalli injc teca mavilti, injc tlaixpolo tullan, in amo çan quexquich qujnmjcti in tulteca.

Inca yoan injc motetzanvique in tulteca,

quijl in tonacaiotl chichix, chichipatic, chichopatzôtic, muchiuh; aoc tecamac tlaliloia, çan njmâ aoc vel quiquaia in tulteca, in tonacaiotl vel in ca mo:acaiauh in tulteca.

auh ce illamato (quitoa quil ieh in tlacatecuiotl ipan omixeuh, cõmixiptlati in jllamato) vmpa motlalito in xochitla, vmpa teycequjaia, auh in izquitl in quicequia vel onjiaia icematonaoac, vel mpan omolonja, onmotecaia icematonaoac tlaca, centlalli motecaia yn jiaialix in izquitl.

auh in iquac quihnecuja in izquitl in tulteca quivelicamatia cahujcamatia, quivelmatia. auh in iquac quinecuja, yciuhca oalacitivetzia cenca çan achiouca, in oalacia (quil i tulteca hacan in veca qujmatia hacan veca qujmatia, in manel veca nemja. iciuhca onacitivetzia, no iciuhca, in canjn oalenaia).

auh in iquac in quexq'chtin cenquijçaia muchintin vncan quinmjctiaia, quincenpopoloaia, aocmo imiloch innecuepal quichioaia, vel in ca mavilti in tulteca, injc cenca mjequjntin quinmjcti, in tlacatecuiotl, mjtoa vel motultecatlamachti.

1. See Pl. 18.

[p. 30 is blank]

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Twelfth Chapter, which telleth how Quetzalcoatl departed and left in flight when he went to Tlapallan,[1] and of the many things which he did on the way.

And still many more acts of sorcery were done to the Tolteca in order to destroy Tula.

And when these things happened, Quetzalcoatl was now troubled and saddened, and thereupon was minded that he should go—that he should abandon his city of Tula.

Thereupon he made ready. It is said that he had everything burned—his house of gold, his house of coral; and still other works of art, the marvelous and costly things, all [of these] he buried, he hid there in treacherous places: either within the mountains or in the canyons.

And, moreover, the cacao trees he changed into mesquites. And all the birds of precious [feather]—the quetzal, the blue cotinga, the red spoonbill—all [these] he sent away beforehand. Taking the road before him, they went toward Anauac.[2]

And when this was done, then he set forth; thereupon he followed the road.

Then he came to arrive at a place [called] Quauhtitlan. A very thick tree arose [there], and very tall. He stood by it. Then he called for his mirror. Thereupon he looked at himself; he saw himself in the glass and said: "Verily, now I am an old man." Then he named [the place] Uetequauhtitlan.[3] And then he cast and hurled stones at the tree. And as he stoned it, [the stones] remained firmly encrusted and affixed to the great tree. Always thus have they been visible. Thus are they seen; beginning at the foot, they rise there to its top.

And as Quetzalcoatl followed the road, they went blowing flutes for him.

Once more he came to rest at another place. Upon a stone [Quetzalcoatl] rested himself. He supported

Inic matlactli vmome capítulo: itechpa tlatta, inic cholo inic cholo moielti Quetzalcoatl ynic vhpa iah tlapalla, yoã in quezquitlamantli quichiuh vtlica.

Auh oc mjec tlamantli, in tetzavitl inpan muchiuh in tulteca, ynic tlalpoliuh in tullan,

auh in ie iuhquj, in Quetzalcoatl, in je mamana, in ie motequipachoa, njmã ie ic quilnamiquj in iaz, in quitlalcaviz yn ialtepeuh in tullan,

njman ie ic mocencaoa, quilnach muchi qujtlatitia, in itecujtlacal, in itapachcal, yoan oc cequi tultecatlatquitl in maviztlanquj, in tlaçotlãqui, much qujtocac, much qujtlati, in vncan in ovican yn aço tepetl itic, in anoço atlauhco.

auh yoan in cacaoaquavitl ipã quicueptia mizquitl. auh in ixq'ch in tlaçotoxotl, in quetzaltotoxl, in xiuhtotoxl, in tlauhquechol muchintin achtopa qujmioa, ixpan onotiaque, anaoacpa itztiaque.

auh in ie iuhqui, njman ie ic vmpeoa njmã ie ic otlatoca,

njman jc acico cecnj quauhtitlan, cenca tomaoac in quavitl hicaca: yoan cenca viac, itech onmoquetz, njman ie ic quioallitlan in itescauh, njman ie ic onmotac, ãmotezcavi, qujto, ca ie niveve, njmã ic vncan tlatocaioti vevequauhtitlan, njman ie ic qujmomotla quitetepachoa in quavitl: auh injc quitetepacho tetl vel itech cacalac, moçacalo itech in vevequavitl, oc no çan iuh onezticaca iuh itzaloia, tlatzintlan peuhtica, iuh vmpanvetzticac in iquac.

auh in iquac otlatocaia Quetzalcoatl quitlapichilitivia.

oc ceppa mocevico cecni tepan onmotlali, moma-

1. See Chapter IV, supra; also Gudeloj, op. cit., p. 286, or Cora, op. cit., p. 18.

2. Anauac. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), Vol. II, pp. 49 ff., argues that the name always referred to the "*nördlichen Küstengebiete der Nord- und Südsee, die Länder der Cuitláhuac und an der pazifischen Küste, und zwar insbesondere für Gebiete westlich von der von Mixtec verbindenden Bahnen der Nordländer aus der grossen Handelsmetropolitanen centralamerikanischen ursprünglich . . .*"

Of the phrase, *tepan onmotlaqui*, a note in Seler's *Mexiko Kapitel* (p. 337, n. 1) suggests it might better read *tepan onmotlaqui*: "'*auf der Wandfläche ist,*' *d. h. der Anfang auf der Lente eine Niemandem, 'wo man stehen sieht,*' *d. h. die fremdsprachliche Niemandes in Amaxac Kindsmann.*"

3. Cf. Gudeloj, op. cit., p. 288.

539 himself [on it] with his hands. Thereupon he looked toward Tula, and then wept; as one sobbing he wept. Now he shed two hail stones as tears over his face; they rolled over his face. Thus fell [tear] drops [which] verily pierced holes in the stone.

matlaquechi, njmaa ic ic ontlachia in tullan, yoan njman ic ic choca, iuhqujn tritzicunoachoca, ic on tecivitl pixavi yxaio ixtlan motetteca yn ixaio: injc chichipica vel qujcnoqionj in tetl.

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Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the signs which Quetzalcoatl left in place upon the stone with his hands, when he rested himself there, where he sat.

And as he supported himself by his hands on the rock, he left deep imprints, as if [it were] on mud [that] he had planted the palms of his hands. Likewise his buttocks remained well marked on the rock where he was. Verily they are [now] visible. Because of the hollows, [this place] was named Temacpalco.

And then when he arose he came to reach a place name Tepanoayan, [where] there was water. A river burst forth [which] was very wide and long. [Quetzalcoatl] laid stones and made there a bridge. Then he crossed over on it, and so it is named Tepanoayan.[1]

And once more he set forth and then came to reach another point, a place named Coaspan. And when he was there, devils sought to turn him back. They tried to send him back and stop him.

They said to him: "Where dost thou go? Where art thou bound? Why goest thou now leaving the city? To whom dost thou go leaving it? Who will perform the penances?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to the demons: "Indeed, in no way can [anyone] force [me]; for I must go [on]."

Then the demons said to Quetzalcoatl: "Whither goest thou?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to them: "I go there to Tlapallan, for I go to learn [my fate]."

And then they said to him: "What wilt thou do?"

Then Quetzalcoatl replied: "I am called hence. The sun hath called me."

Then they said to him: "It is well. Go, leaving all the works of craftsmanship."

Then he left all the arts—the casting of gold, the cutting of precious stones, the carving of wood, sculpturing in stone, the knowledge of the scribes, the art of feather working. All [these] they wrested from him by force; they made him abandon all; they seized all from him.

And when this was done, Quetzalcoatl thereupon cast his jewels into [a spring of] water, and then they

Injc matlacuj vmey capitulo: vncan mjtoa in machiotl in qujlatlalitia, Quetzalcoatl in jmatica in jpan tetl, in vncan mocevi, in vncã motlalli.

Auh injc, momamatlaquechi tepan vel ihilac, juhquijnma çoq'pan oncacalac in imacpal, çã ic no ivi in itzintamal, injc catca tepan, no hiylac, ompopolac, vel nenextica, injc cocoionquj, ic vncan tlatocaioti temacpalco.

auh njmã ic oalcoac in acico itocaiocan tepanoaian, atl icac, atl quizticac, vel patlaoac, patlactic, in tetl contecac panoanj conchiuh, njmã ic ipan onpanoc, yoan njman ic tlatocaioti tepanoaia.

auh oc ceppa vmpeuh njman acito cecnj itocaiocan coahapan: auh in oncãp j vncan quioalcuepanquja in tlatlacateculo, quioalilochtizquja, qujiacatzacuilizquja,

quilhuique can tiiauh, can tiiztiuh, tleica ie ticcauhtiuh in altepetl, aqu itech ticcauhtiuh, ac tlamaceoaz.

Niman quimjlhui in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacateculo, ca çan njmã amo velitiz ca ça niaz:

njmã quilhujque in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacateculo canjn tiaz

njmã quimilhuj in Quetzalcoatl ca vmpa in tlapallan njiauh in njtlamatziuh,

auh njmã quihuiq̃ tle taiz

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl, ca nicalnotzalo nechalnotza in tonatiuh,

njman quilhuique ca ie qualli xicauhtiuh in izquich in tultecaiotl,

njman jc vncan quicauh, in izquich in tultecaiotl, in teocuitlapitzcaiotl, in tlateccaiotl, in quauhxincaiotl, in tetzotzoncaiotl, in tlacujlocaiotl, in amantecaiotl, moch quiteposaltique, moch quitlacaltique, moch qujcujcuilique:

auh in ic inhquj in Quetzalcoatl njmã ie ic conte-

1. Tzanoayan, Tepanoayan cf. Gallegos, op. cit., pp. 283, 289. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 38) states that Tzanoayan was two leagues from Mexico City (Tlalmanalco).

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were swallowed up. Therefore he named that place Coxcaapan which now is called Coaapan.[2]

And thereupon he moved on and came to reach another point, a place named Cochtocan. And there a demon then came forth to meet him.

He said to him: "Whither goest thou?"

Then [Quetzalcoatl] said: "It is there to Tlapallan that I go, to learn [my fate]."

Then the demon said to him: "It is well. Drink this, the wine which I have brought here."

Quetzalcoatl said: "Nay, it may not be that I drink, even though it might be but little that I taste."

Then once more the devil said to him: "Verily, it may not be that thou shalt not drink nor taste of it. For no one do I give leave, or permit, to depart whom I give no wine and [not] make drunk and besotted. So do [as I bid thee]; be of good cheer and drink it."

Quetzalcoatl then drank the wine with a drinking tube.

And when he had drunk, he quickly fell asleep in the road. He lay thundering as he slept, resounding a great distance as he snored.[3] And when he awoke, thereupon he looked to one side and the other. He looked at himself, and arranged his hair. Then he named the place Cochtocan.

peoa, in jcoaqui in atlan njman ie ic hatoco, ic vncan tlatocaioti, coxcaapan, in axcan mjtoa cooaapan:

auh njman ie ic ōmolinj onacito, cecnj itocaiocā cochtocan, auh in vncan njmam quicalnamjc, ce tlacateculotl

quilhui can tjiauh,

njmā qujto ca vmpa in tlapallan, in nitlamattiuh,

njman conilhuj in tlacateculotl, ca ie qualli, tla xoconj, y, yn vnctli in oniqualcujc

qujto in Quetzalcoatl ca njman amo velitiz in niquiz, in manell achito noconpaloz,

njman oc ceppa quilhui in tlacateculotl, camono velitiz, in macamo tiquiz, in maca titlapaloz ca aiac njcnocavia aiac njcquixtia in macamo njcmaca yn vctli, in njctlaoantia, in niquivintia, auh injn tlaoque tlacuele, tla xoconi,

in Quetzalcoatl njman ic conjc, in vctli piaztica.

auh in oconjc cochvetz in o'lica, quaqualacatoc in cochi, veca caquizti, injc hicoa...ca, auh in oaliçac, njman ie ic avic tlachia, mohotta, moquapepetla, niman jc vncan tlatocaioti cochtocan.

2. Tezozomoc (op. cit., pp. 498) reports a legend that after having Coxcaapan, Quetzalcoatl went to Cholula, where he remained twenty years.

3. See Pl. 14.

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—*After Pan. y Tronco*

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

[p. 36(C)]

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a roadside shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sorcerer (Chapter IX) [p. 36 (D)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Roasting maize attracting the Toltecs (Chapter XI)
14. Quetzalcoatl in a drunken sleep (Chapter XIII)
15. Preparation of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
16. Burning of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
17. Conference with masters of the youths, upon birth of a child (Appendix, Chapter IV)
18. Taking children to the young men's house (Appendix, Chapter V)
19. Tending fires in the song house (Appendix, Chapter V)

[P.36(E)]

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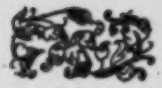

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Second Chapter, which telleth of the moon.

The moon (Tecuciztecatl).

When he[4] newly appeared, he was like a small bow, like a bent, straw lip ornament—a small one. He did not yet shine. Very slowly, he went growing larger, becoming round and disc-shaped. In fifteen days he was completely rounded and filled out, as he became entire and mature. And when he waxed full and round, then he appeared, then he arose there at the place where the sun appeared. When it was already dark, [he was] like a very large, earthen skillet—very round, circular. [He was] as if red, a bright, deep red.

And after this, when he had already followed his course a little, when he had risen high, he became white. It was said: "Already he shineth; already the moon is brilliant; already he giveth forth moonbeams." He was then seen to be pale, very white. Then appeared [what was] like a little rabbit stretched across his face. If there were no clouds, if it were not overcast and covered by clouds, like [the sun] he shone, and it was like daytime. It was said: "[It is] almost [like] day; everywhere it is bright. Light is spread everywhere."

And when he had completely reached and attained his brilliance, for as many days as he had thus waxed and been round, little by little he again grew small; he became smaller. Again he became as when he had newly appeared. Gradually he waned and proceeded to vanish. It was said: "Already the moon is dying; now he slumbereth soundly—he falleth into a deep sleep. It is already toward morning, near dawn, when he ariseth." And when he had completely disappeared, it was said: "The moon hath died."

Inic vme capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in metztli.

Metztli: tecuciztecatl.

In iconc iancuican, oalmomana coltontli: iuhquin teçacanecuilli, teçacanecuiltontli, aiamo tlanestia: çan iuiian, ueistiuhi, malacachiuhtiuhi, teuilacachiuhtiuhi. Castoltica, in vel malacachiui: teuilacachiui, in vel maci, in chicaoa. Auh in iconc, vel oiaoaliuh, omalacachiuh, inic uel neci: inic oalmomana, in ompa iquiçaian tonatiuh: in jconc ie tlapoiaoa, iuhquin comalli, veipol: vel teuilacachtic, malacachtic: iuhquin tlapalli, chichiltic, chichilpatic.

Auh quinjconc, in ie achi quioaltoca, in ie, oalacoquiza, iztaia: mitoa ie tlachia, ie tlanestia, in metztli, ie metztona: iztalectic, vel iztac, inic motta: inic neci, iuhquin tochtõ, isco vetztoc: intlacamo tle mistli, intlacamo missoa, mistemi: iuhquin tona, ic tlaneci, mitoa ieh on cemilhuitl, uel tlanaltona: tlanaltonatimani.

Auh in jconc, ouelacic, ouelmacic, itlanestiliz: in izquilhuitl, ic veiia, malacachiui: çan iuh nenti, oc ceppa tepitonaui, tepitonauhtiuhi, oc ceppa iuhqui muchioa, inic iancuican oalmomana: çan iuiian poliui, poliuhtiuhi: mitoa ie onmiqui, in metztli: ie uei in quicochi: ie ue in ic cochi, ie tlathuitiuhi, ie tlathuinaoac, in oalquiza. Auh in iquac uel ompoliuh, mitoa: ommic in metztli.

BEHELD THE FABLE in which it is told how a little rabbit lay across the face of the moon. Of this, it is told that [the gods] were only at play with [the

IECATQUI, ITLATLAYOLLO, inic mitoa: iuhquin tochton, isco uetztoc metztli. Jn hin, quilmach çã ic ica onnesuiltiloc: ic conjsiuitecque: ic conjtlaclaztoque, 539

4. In the Spanish version, the moon (luna) is feminine. Since both the sun (Nanauatzin) and moon (Tecuciztecatl) are male in the fable of the rabbit and the moon, we have made both of them consistently masculine.

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moon]. They struck his face with [the rabbit]; they wounded his face with it—they maimed it. The gods thus dimmed his face. Thereafter [the moon] came to arise and come forth.

It is told that when yet [all] was in darkness, when yet no sun had shone and no dawn had broken—it is said—the gods gathered themselves together and took counsel among themselves there at Teotihuacan. They spoke; they said among themselves:

"Come hither, O gods! Who will carry the burden? Who will take it upon himself to be the sun, to bring the dawn?"

And upon this, one of them who was there spoke: Tecuciztecatl presented himself. He said: "O gods, I shall be the one."

And again the gods spoke: "[And] who else?"

Thereupon they looked around at one another. They pondered the matter. They said to one another: "How may this be? How may we decide?"

None dared; no one else came forward. Everyone was afraid; they [all] drew back.

And not present was one man, Nanauatzin; he stood there listening among the others to that which was discussed. Then the gods called to this one. They said to him: "Thou shalt be the one, O Nanauatzin."

He then eagerly accepted the decision; he took it gladly. He said: "It is well, O gods; you have been good to me."

Then they began now to do penance. They fasted four days—both Tecuciztecatl [and Nanauatzin]. And then, also, at this time, the fire was laid. Now it burned, there in the hearth. They named the hearth *teuxecalli*.

And this Tecuciztecatl: that with which he did penance was all costly. His fir branches [were] quetzal feathers, and his grass balls [were] of gold; his maguey spines [were] of green stone; the reddened, bloodied spines [were] of coral. And his incense was very good incense. And [as for] Nanauatzin, his fir branches were made[5] only of green water rushes—green reeds bound in threes, all [making], together, nine bundles. And his grass balls [were] only dried pine needles. And his maguey spines were these same maguey spines. And the blood with which they were covered [was] his own blood. And [for] his incense, he used only the scabs from his sores, [which] he lifted up. For these two, for each one singly, a hill was made. There they remained, performing pen-

ic conjspopoloque: ic conjomictique in teteuh: in iconc çatepan oquiçaco, omomanaco.

Mitoa, in oc iooaian, in aiamo tona, in aiamo tlathui: quilmach, mocentlalique, mononotzque, in teteuh: in vmpa teutiuacan, quitoque: quimolhuique.

Tla xioalhuiiã, teteuie: aquin tlatquiz? aquin tlamamaz? in tonaz, in tlathuiz?

Auh niman, ie ic ichoatl vncan ontlatoa: onmisquetza in tecuciztecatl, quito. Teteuie, ca nehoatl niiez:

Oc ceppa quitoque in teteu: aquin oc ce?

Niman ie ic nepanotl, mohotta: quimottitia, quimolhuia, quen on yez, y? quen toniezque?

Ainc motlapaloaia, in oc ce onmisquetzaz: çan muchi tlacatl momauhtiaia, tzinquiçaia.

Auh amo onnezticatca: in ce tlacatl nanaoatzin, vncan tehoan tlacacticatca, in nenonotzalo: nimã ic ichoatl, connotzque in teteu: quilhuique. Tehoatl tiiez, nanaoatze.

Niman quicuitiuetz, in tlatolli: quipeccaceli. Quito, Ca ie qualli teteuie: oannechmocnelilique.

Niman ic conpeualtique, in ie tlamaceoaa, moçauhque nauilhuitl: omextin in tecuciztecatl. Auh niman no icoac, motlali in tletl: ic tlatla, in vncan tlecuilco: quitocaiotia in tlecuilli, teutescalli.

Auh in ichoatl, tecuciztecatl, in ipan tlamaceoaia: muchi tlaçotli, imacxoiauh quetzalli, auh in içacatapaiol teucuitlatl, in ivitz chalchiuitl: inic tlaexuilli, tlaezçotilli, tapachtli: auh in icopal vel ich in copalli. Auh in nanaoatzin, in jacxoiauh, muchi çan aacatl xoxouhqui, acazozouhqui, ey tlalpilli: tlacuitlalpilli, nepan chicunaui, in ie muchi: auh in içacatapaiol, çan iech in ocoçacatl: auh in iuitz, çan ic no ich in meuitzli: auh inic quezhuiaia, uel ich in ieaço: auh in icopal, çan ich in inanaoauh concocoleoaia. In imomestin y, cecentetl intepeuh muchinh: in vmpa, ontlamacenhtiocenca: nauhcoual, mitoa in ocan, ontepe tzocuilli, itzacual tonatiuh, yoan itzacual metztli.

5. The corresponding passage in the *Matritense* *con cuidado* has omitted where the *Florentine Codex* has *meuitzli*.

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ances for four nights. They are now called pyramids —the pyramid of the sun and the pyramid of the moon.

And when they ended their four nights of penitence, then they went to throw down and cast away, each one, their fir branches, and, indeed, all with which they had been performing penances. This was done at the time of the lifting [of the penance]; when, well into the night, they were to do their labor; they were to become gods.

And when midnight had come, thereupon [the gods] gave them their adornment; they arrayed them and readied them. To Tecuciztecatl they gave his sound, forked heron feather headdress and his sleeveless jacket. But [as for] Nanauatzin, they bound on his headdress of mere paper and tied on his hair, called his paper hair. And [they gave him] his paper stole and his paper breech clout.

And when this was done, when midnight had come, all the gods proceeded to encircle the hearth, which was called *teoxecalli*, where for four days had burned the fire. On both sides [the gods] arranged themselves in line, and in the middle they set up, standing, these two, named Tecuciztecatl and Nanauatzin. They stood facing and looking toward the hearth.

And thereupon the gods spoke: They said to Tecuciztecatl: "Take courage, O Tecuciztecatl; fall —cast thyself—into the fire!"

Upon this, he went [forward] to cast himself into the flames. And when the heat came to reach him, it was insufferable, intolerable, and unbearable; for the hearth had blazed up exceedingly, a great heap of coals burned, and the flames flared up high. Thus he came terrified, stopped in fear, turned about, and went back. Then once more he set out, in order to try to do it. He exerted himself to the full, that he might cast and give himself to the flames. And he could in no way dare to do it. When again the heat reached him, he could only turn and leap back. He could not bear it. Four times indeed—four times in all—he was thus to act and try; then he could cast himself no more. For then [he might try] only four times.

And when he had ended [trying] four times, thereupon they cried out to Nanauatzin. The gods said to him: "Onward, then, O Nanauatzin! Take heart!"

And Nanauatzin, during all at once, determined

Auh in ontzonquiz, nauhiocal intlamaccoaliz: niman quitlatlaçato, quimamaiauito, in imacxoiauh: yoan in ic muchi, ipan otlamacuhque. Inin muchiuh, ic innecoalon, in icoac in ic oalioca tlacotizque, teutizque.

Auh in icoac, ic onaci iocalnepantla: niman ic ic quintlamamaca, quinchichioa, quincencaoa: in tecuciztecatl, quimacaque, iaztacon miniltic, ioan ixicol. Auh in nanaoatzin, çan amatl, inic o:nquailpique: contzonilpique, itoca iamatzon: yoan iamancapanal, yoan iamamatli.

Auh in ic iuhqui, in ouelacic ioalnepantla, in muchintin teteu quiiaoalotimomanque in tlecuilli, in moteneoa teutescalli, in vncan nauilhuitl otlatlac tletl, nenecoc motecpanque: auh nepantla quimômanque quimonquetzque in omextin, y, moteneoa in tecuciztecatl yoan nanaoatzin, quinamictimomanque, quinamictimoquetzque in tlecuilli.

Auh niman ic ic tlatoa in teteu, quilhuique in tecuciztecatl. O tlacuelle tecuciztecatle, xonhuetzi, xonmomaiaui in tleco:

niman ic ic iauh momaiauiz in tleco. Auh in itech oacito totonilloti in amo ianamiquiztli, in amo iecoliztli, amo ihiouilizdi: inic cenca uel ozozotlac tlecuilli, ovel oahoalantimotlali, ouel motlatlali in tletl: ic çan ommiamauhôito, ommotilquetzato, oaltzinquiz, oaltzinilot: ic no ceppa iauh tlaichecoz, iaquich ca ana, ic momotla, quimomaca in tletl: auh ça auel motlapalo, in ic no itech onaci tetonqui, çan oaltzinquiça oaltzincholoa, amo ontlaiecoa: uel nappa, tlaelnappa in iuh quichiuh in moichern, çã niman auel ommomaiauh in tleco: ca çan ie vncan tlatenecoalli in nappa.

Auh in ontlaquisti nappa: niman ic ic ieh contzatilia in nanaoatzin, quilhuique in teteu. Oc tehuatl, oc cuel tehuatl nanaoatze, ma ic cuel.

Auh in nanaoatzin, çan cen in oalmotlapalo, qui-

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—resolved—hardened his heart, and shut firmly his eyes. He had no fear; he did not stop short; he did not falter in fright; he did not turn back. All at once he quickly threw and cast himself into the fire; once and for all he went. Thereupon he burned; his body crackled and sizzled.

And when Tecuciztecatl saw that already he burned, then, afterwards, he cast himself upon [the fire]. Thereupon he also burned.

And thus do they say: It is told that then flew up an eagle, [which] followed them. It threw itself suddenly into the flames; it cast itself into them, [while] still it blazed up. Therefore its feathers are scorched looking and blackened. And afterwards followed an ocelot, when now the fire no longer burned high, and he came to fall in. Thus he was only blackened —smutted—in various places, and singed by the fire. [For] it was not now burning hot. Therefore he was only spotted, dotted with black spots, [as if] splashed with black.

From this [event], it is said, they took—from here was taken—the custom whereby was called and named one who was valiant, a warrior. He was given the name *quauhtlocelotl*. [The word] *quauhtli* came first, it is told, because, [as] was said, [the eagle] first entered the fire. And the ocelot followed thereafter. Thus is it said in one word—*quauhtlocelotl;* because [the latter] fell into the fire after [the eagle].

And after this, when both had cast themselves into the flames, when they had already burned, then the gods sat waiting [to see] where Nanauatzin would come to rise—he who first fell into the fire—in order that he might shine [as the sun]; in order that dawn might break.

When the gods had sat and been waiting for a long time, thereupon began the reddening [of the dawn]; in all directions, all around, the dawn and light extended. And so, they say, thereupon the gods fell upon their knees in order to await where he who had become the sun would come to rise. In all directions they looked; everywhere they peered and kept turning about. As to no place were they agreed in their opinions and thoughts. Uncertain were those whom they asked. Some thought that it would be from the north that [the sun] would come to rise, and placed themselves to look there; some [did so] to the west; some placed themselves to look south. They expected [that he might rise] in all directions, because the light was everywhere.

oalcentlami, quioallancoa in iiollo, oalistetenmotzolo: amo tle ic mismauhti, amo moquehquetz, amo motilquetz, amo tzinquiz: çan niman ommotlaztiuetz, ōmomaiauhtiuetz in tleco, çan ic cen ia: niman ie ic tlatla, cuecuepoca, tzotzoioca in inacaio.

Auh in icoac, oquittac tecuciztecatl, in ie tlatla: quinicoac, çatepan ipan onmomaiauh: niman ie no ic tlatla.

Auh in iuh conitoa, quilmach niman no ic onecoac, in quauhtli, quimontoquili: onmotlaztiuetz in tleco, ommotlecomaiauh, oc ichoatl no vellalac: ipampa in iuiio cuicheoac, cuichectic. Auh ça ontlatzacui in ocelotl, aocmo cenca uellala in tletl, uetzito: ic ça motlecuicuilo, motletlecuicuilo, motlechichino, aocmo cenca uellalac: ipampan çan cuicuiltic, motlilchachapani, motlilchachazpatz.

In hin, quilmach vncan man, vncan mocuic in tlatolli: inic itolo, teneoalo, in aquin tiacauh, oquichtli: quauhtlocelotl tocaiotilo: ieh iacattiuh in quauhtli, mitoa, quil ipampa in onteiacan tleco: auh ça ontlatzacuia in ocelotl, inic mocencamaitoa quauhtlocelotl: ipampa i çatepã ouetz tleco.

Auh in ie iuhqui, in omeatin ōmomamaiauhque tleco, in icoac ie otlatlaque: niman ic quichistimotecaque in teteu, in campa ic quiçaquiuh nanacotzin, in achto onuetz tleco: inic tonaz, inic tlathuiz.

In icoac ie uecauhtica onoque, mochiscaonoque teteu: nimã ie ic peoa, in tlachichiliui, nouiiampa tlaiaoalo in tlauizcalli, in tlatlauiltotl: in iuh conitoa, niman ie ic motlanquaquetzque in teteu, inic quichiezque, in campa ie quiçaquiuh tonatiuh. Omuchiuh, nouiiampa tlachisque, auicpa tlachie, momalacachotinemi: acan vel centetis in intlatol, in innemachiliz, atle iueli aca in quitoque. Cequintin momatque, ca mictlampa in quiçaquiuh, ic vmpa itztimomanque: cequintin cioatlampa: cequintin vitztlampa itztimomanque, nouiiampa motemachique: ipampa in çan tlaiaoalo tlatlauiltotl.

And some placed themselves so that they could watch there to the east. They said: "For there, in that place, the sun already will come to arise." True indeed were the words of those who looked there and pointed with their fingers in that direction. Thus they say, [that] those who looked there [to the east were] Quetzalcoatl; the name of the second was Ecatl; and Totec, or Ananatl itecu; and the red Tezcatlipoca.[6] Also [there were] those who were called the Mimixcoa, who were without number; and four women—Tiacapan, Teicu, Tlacoyehua, and Xocoyotl.

And when the sun came to rise, when he burst forth, he appeared to be red; he kept swaying from side to side. It was impossible to look into his face; he blinded one with his light. Intensely did he shine. He issued rays of light from himself; his rays reached in all directions; his brilliant rays penetrated everywhere.

And afterwards Tecuciztecatl came to rise, following behind him from the same place—the east,—near where the sun had come bursting forth. In the same manner that they had fallen into the fire, just so they came forth. They came following each other.

And so they tell it; [so] they relate the story and repeat the legend: Exactly equal had they become in their appearance, as they shone. When the gods saw them, [thus] exactly the same in their aspect, then once more there was deliberation. They said: "How may this be, O gods? Will they perchance both together follow the same path? Will they both shine together?"

And the gods all issued a judgment. They said: "Thus will this be; thus will this be done."

Then one of the gods came out running. With a rabbit he came to wound in the face this Tecuciztecatl; with it he darkened his face; he killed its brilliance. Thus doth it appear today.

And when this was done, when both appeared [over the earth] together, they could, on the other hand, not move nor follow their paths. They could only remain still and motionless. So once again the gods spoke: "How shall we live? The sun cannot move. Shall we perchance live among common folk? [Let] this be, that through us the sun may be revived. Let all of us *die*."

Auh in cequintin, vel vmpa iztimomãque in tlauhcopa: quitoque. Ca ie vmpa hin, ie vncan hin in quiçaquiuh tonatiuh: ichoantin uel neltic in intlatol, in vmpa tlachisque, in vmpa mapiloque. Iuh quitoa, ichoantin in vmpa tlachisque, quetzalcoatl: ic onteel itoca hecatl, yoan in totec, anoço anoço anaoatl itecu, yoan tlatlauic tezcatlipoca: no ichoantin in motenecoa mimixcoa, in amo çã tlapoaltin: yoan cioa nauin, tiacapan, teicu, tlacoiehoa, xocoiotl. 539

Auh in jcoac, oquiçaco, in omomanaco tonatiuh: iuhquin tlapalli monenecuilotimanj, amo vel ianamico, teixmimicti: cenca tlanestia, motonameiotia, in itonameio nouiiampa xacitimoquetz, auh in itonalmiio nouiiampa cacalac.

Auh çatepan, quiçaco in tecuciztecatl, quioaltocatia: çan ie no vmpa in tlauhcopa, itloc onmomanaco in tonatiuh: in iuh onuetzque tleco, çan no iuh oalquizque, oalmotocatiaque.

Auh in iuh conitoa, tlatlanonotza, teçaçanilhuia: çan neneuhqui in intlachieliz muchiuh, inic tlanestiaia. In icoac oquimittaque teteu, in çan neneuhqui intlachieliz: nimã ic no ceppa ic nenonotzalo: quitoque. Quen iezque, y, teteuie? cuis onteistin otlatocazque, onteistin iuh tlanestizque?

Auh in teteu, muchintin oallatzõtecque: quitoque. Iuh iez, y, iuh, muchioaz y.

Niman ic ce tlacatl, ommotlalotiquiz in teteu: ic conisuiuitequito in tochin, in ichoatl tecuciztecatl, ic conispopoloque, ic conisomictique: in iuhqui ascan ic tlachie.

Auh in ie iuhqui: in icoac ie omomanaco onteistin, ie no cuele suel olini, otlatoca, çan momanque, motetẽmanque. Ic ie no ceppa quitoque in teteu. Quen tinemjzque, amo olinj in tonatiuh: cuis tiquinnelotinemjzque in maçeoalti? Auh inin, ma toca mocalti, ma timuchintin timiquican.

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6. This passage reproduces what the Aztec appears to mean. The data do not all conform with those set forth in standard sources. It might be noted, however, that with passage of time the attributes, personalities, and manifestations of the gods underwent considerable changes. Cf. John Eric Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1933); Angel María Garibay K: *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba: [Imprenta Mayll, S. A.], 1940), pp. 197-207; Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936).

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And when he who dealt death was to overtake him, he fled from his presence; he ran; he quickly entered a field of green maize, and took the form of, and quickly turned into, two young maize stalks [growing] from a single root, which the workers in the field have named *xelotl*. But there, in the field of green maize, he was seen. Then once again he fled from him; once more he quickly entered a maguey field. There also he quickly changed himself into a maguey plant [consisting of] two [parts] called *mexelotl*. Once more he was seen, and once more he quickly entered into the water and went to take the shape of [an amphibious animal called] *axolotl*. There they could go to seize him, that they might slay him.

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And they say that though all the gods died, even then the sun god could not move and follow his path. Thus it became the charge of Ecatl, the wind, who arose and exerted himself fiercely and violently as he blew. At once he could move him, who thereupon went on his way. And when he had already followed his course, only the moon remained there. At the time when the sun came to enter the place where he set, then once more the moon moved. So, there, they passed each other and went each one his own way. Thus the sun cometh forth once, and spendeth the whole day [in his work]; and the moon undertaketh the night's task; he worketh all night; he doth his labor at night.

From this it appeareth, it is said, that the moon, Tecuciztecatl, would have been the sun if he had been first to cast himself into the fire; because he had presented himself first and all [his offerings] had been costly in the penances.

Here endeth this legend and fable, which was told in times past, and was in the keeping of the old people.

Nimã ic ich itequiuh õmochiuh, in hecatl, ie quinmjctia in teteu: auh in iuh conitoa, in xolotl, amo momiquitlania: quimilhui in teteu. Macamo nimiqui teteuie. Ic cẽca chocaia, vel ispopoçaoac, isquatolpopoçaoac.

Auh in ie itech onaci miquiztli, çan teispãpa eoac, cholo, toctitlan calactiuetz: ipan onmixuch, ic mocueptiuetz, in toctli ome manj, maxaltic: in quitocaiotia millaca, xolotl. Auh vncan itoc in toctitlan: ie no ceppa teispampa eoac, ie no cuele metitlan calactiuetz: no ic õmocueptiuetz in metl, ome manj, in itocã mexolotl. Ie no ceppa itoc, ie no cuele atlan calactiuetz, axolotl mocuepato: ie vel vmpa canato, inic conmictique.

Auh quitoa, in manel muchintin teteu omicque, ça nel amo ic olin, amo vel ic otlatocac in teutl tonatiuh: ic itequiuh ommuchiuh in hecatl, moquetz in ehecatl, cenca molhui, totocac, in ehecac: quin iehoatl vel colinj, nimah ie ic otlatoca. Auh in icoac, ie otlatoca, çan vmpa ommocauh in metztli: quinicoac in ocalaquito icalaquian tonatiuh, ie no cuele ic oalcoac in metztli: ic vncan mopatilique, motlallotique. Inic ceppa oalquiça tlacemilhuitiltia in tonatiuh: auh in metztli iooaltequitl quitlaça cẽiooal quitlaça, iooaltequiti.

Ic vncã hin neri, mitoa: ca iehoatl tonatiuh ieztquia in metztli tecuciztecatl, intla ic achto onuetzinj tleco: ipampa ca iehoatl achto misquetz, inic nuchi tlaçotli ipan tlamaceuh.

Nican tlami, in hin nenonotzalli, çaçanilli: in ie uecauh ic tlatlanonotzaia, veuetque, in impiel catca.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821 843 When the moon eclipsed, his face grew dark and sooty; blackness and darkness spread. When this came to pass, women with child feared evil; they thought it portentous; they were terrified [lest], perchance, their [unborn] children might be changed

Metztli qualo.

In icoac, qualo metztli: ixtilteoa, ixtuichoua, cuichecatimomana, tlaiocatimomana. In icoac, y, muchiou: uel motẽmatia in cocozin, tlaucimatia, momauhtiuia: ma nelli mequimichcuepti, ma quiquimichtimocuepti, in impilhoan.

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This is the tale of the rabbit which is in the moon. They say that the gods played tricks on the moon and struck him in the face with a rabbit; and the rabbit remained marked upon his face. And with it they darkened his face as if with a weal. Thereafter he came forth to light the world. They said that, before there was day in the world, the gods came together in that place which is named Teotihuacan (which is the town of San Juan, between Chiconauhtlan and Otumba). They said to one another: "O gods, who will have the burden of lighting the world?" Then to these words answered a god named Tecuciztecatl, and he said: "I shall take the burden of lighting the world." Then once more the gods spoke, and they said: "Who will be another?" Then they looked at one another, and deliberated on who the other would be. And none of them dared offer himself for that office; all were afraid and declined. One of the gods, to whom no one was paying attention, and who was covered with pustules, did not speak but listened to what the other gods were saying. And the others spoke to him and said to him:

La fabula del concio que esta en la luna: es esta. Dizen, que los dioses se burlaron con la luna y dieronla con vn concio en la cara, y quedole el concio señalado en la cara: y con esto le escurecieron la cara como con vn cardenal. Despues desso salio pa alumbrar al mundo. Dezian, que antes que ouiese dia en el mundo que iuntaron los dioses en aquel lugar que se llama teutioacã, (que es el pueblo de San Juan entre chicunauhtlan y otumba) dixeron los vnos a los otros. Dioses, quien tendra cargo de alumbrar al mundo? luego a estas palabras respondio vn dios que se llamaua Tecuciztecatl y dixo. Yo tomo a cargo de alumbrar al mundo. Luego otra vez hablaron los dioses y dixeron quien sera otro? Luego se mirarõ los vnos a los otros, y conferian quien seria el otro. Y ninguno dellos osaua ofrecerse a aquel ofi.° todos temian y se escusavan. Vno dellos dioses de q̃ no se hazia cuẽta y era buboso, no hablaua sino oya lo que los otros dioses dezian. Y los otros hablaronle y dixerõle: Se tu el que alumbres bubosito. Y el de buena voluntad obedecio a lo que le mandaron y respondio, en mrd reçibo lo que me aveis mandado

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"You be the one who is to give light, little pustule-covered one." And right willingly he obeyed what they commanded, and he answered: "Thankfully I accept what you have commanded me [to do]. Let it be [as you say]." And then both began to perform penances for four days.

se assi. Y luego los dos començaron a hazer penitencia quatro dias.

And then they lit a fire in the hearth which was made on a crag (which now they call *teotexcalli*). [As for] the god named Tecuciztecatl, all which he offered was costly. Instead of branches he offered precious feathers named *quetzalli*. And instead of balls of straw he offered balls of gold. And instead of maguey spines he offered spines made of precious stones. And instead of bloodied spines, he offered spines made of red coral. And the copal incense which he offered was very good. And the pustule-covered one, who was named Nanauatzin, in place of branches offered green rushes tied in threes—in all amounting to nine. And he offered balls of straw and maguey spines, and he bloodied them with his own blood. And instead of copal incense he offered the scabs from his pustules. For each of these was raised a tower like a mountain. On these same mountains they did penance four nights. (Today these moun-

Y luego encendieron fuego ẽ el hogar el qual era hecho ẽ vna peña (que agora llaman teutexcalli). El dios llamado Tecuciztecatl todo lo que ofrecia era precioso: en lugar de ramos ofrecia plumas ricas que se llamã quetzalli. Y en lugar de pelotas de heno, ofrecia pelotas de oro: y en lugar de espinas de maguei ofrecia espinas hechas de piedras preciosas: y en lugar de espinas ẽsangrentadas, ofrecia espinas hechas de coral colorado: y el copal que ofrecia era muy bueno. Y el buboso que se llamaua Nanauatzin en lugar de ramos ofrecia cañas verd's atadas de tres en tres, todas ellas llegauan a nueue: y ofrecia bolas de heno y espinas de maguei, y ensangrentaualas con su misma sangre: y ẽ lugar de copal ofrecia las postillas de las bobas. A cada vno destos se les edifico vna torre como mõte, en los mismos montes hizierõ penitencia quatro noches agora se llamã estos mõtes tzacualli. estan ambos cabe el pu.° de s. Ju.° que se llama tes-

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tains are called *tzacualli;* they are both near the town of San Juan, which is called Teotihuacan.) After they ended their four nights of penance, then they threw away the branches and all else with which they had performed penances.

This was done at the end, or at the conclusion, of the penitence, when, the next night—at midnight—they were to begin to perform their offices. And a little before midnight [the other gods] gave them their adornment. To the one named Tecuciztecatl they gave a feather [headdress] called *aztacomitl* and a linen jacket. And [as for] the pustule-covered one named Nanauatzin, they covered his head with [a] paper [headdress] called *amatzontli,* and put upon him a stole of paper and a paper breech clout. And midnight having come, all the gods placed themselves about the hearth, called *teotexcalli.* In this place the fire blazed four days. The aforementioned gods arranged themselves in two rows, some at one side of the fire, some at the other side. And then the two [gods] above mentioned placed themselves before the fire, facing the fire, between the two rows of gods, all of whom were standing. And then the gods

tiuacã. Desque se acabaron las quatro noches de su poja, luego echarõ por ay los ramos

y todo lo de mas con que hizieron la poja. Esto se hizo al fin, o al remate de su poja, quando la noche siguiẽte a la media noche avian de comẽçar a hazer sus oficios. Y ante vn poco de la media noche dieronles sus adereços. A aquel que se llamava tecuciztecatl dierõ vn plumaje llamado aztacomitl y vna xaqueta de lienço: y al buboso que se llama nanavatzin tocaronle la cabeça cõ papel q̃ se llama amatzontli, y pusierõle vna stola de papel y vn mastli de papel. Y llegada la media noche todos los dioses se pusieron en derredor del hogar que se llama teutezcalli en este lugar ardio el fuego quatro dias: ordenaronse los dhos dioses en dos rencles, vnos de la vna pte del fuego, otros de la otra pte. Y luego los dos sobredhos se pusieron delante del fuego, las caras hazia el fuego en medio de las dos rencles de los dioses: los quales todos estauã leuãtados. Y luego hablaron los dioses y dizeron a tecuciztecatl. Ea pues

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spoke, and said to Tecuciztecatl: "How now, Tecuciztecatl! Go into the fire!" And then he braced himself to cast himself into the fire.

And since the fire was large and blazed high, as he felt the great heat of the fire, he became frightened and dared not cast himself into the fire. He turned back. Once more he turned to throw himself into the fire, making an effort and drawing nearer, to cast himself into the flames. But, feeling the great heat, he held back and dared not cast himself [into it]. Four times he tried, but never let himself go. A rule [had been] made not to try more than four times. Since he had tried four times, the gods then spoke to Nanauatzin, and said to him: "How now, Nanauatzin! You try!" And when the gods had addressed him, he exerted himself, and with closed eyes undertook [the ordeal] and cast himself into the flames. And then he began to crackle and pop in the fire like one who is roasted.

tecuciztecatl entra tu en el fuego. Y el luego acometio pa echarse en el fuego.

Y como el fuego era grande y estaua muy encendido, como sintio el gran calor del fuego, ouo miedo no oso echarse en el fuego, boluiose atras: otra vez torno para echarse en el fuego haziendose fuerça, y llegandose mas acerca para echarse en el fuego: pero sintiendo el calor grande detuuose, no oso echarse. Quatro vezes prouo, pero nunca se dejo echar: estaua puesto mãdamj.° que no prouarse mas de quatro vezes. Desque ouo prouado quatro vezes los dioses luego hablaron a nanauatzin y dizeronle. Ea pues nanauatzin prueua tu. Y comon le quieron hablado los dioses, esforçose y cerrado los ojos arremetio y echose en el fuego. Y luego esmenço a rechinar y respendar en el fuego como quien se asa. Y como vio tecuciztecatl

539 And when Tecuiztecatl saw that [Nanauatzin] had cast himself into the flames, and was burning, he gathered himself [for the ordeal] and threw himself into the fire. And it is said that an eagle entered the blaze and also burned itself; and for that reason it has dark brown or blackened feathers. Finally a tiger [ocelot] entered; it did not burn itself, but [only] singed itself; and for that reason remained stained black and white. From here was taken the custom of calling men dexterous in war *quauhtlocelotl*. And they said *quauhtli* first, because the eagle first entered the flames. And last *ocelotl* is said, because the tiger [ocelot] entered the fire after the eagle. After both [the gods] had thrown themselves into the fire, and after they had burned, then the gods seated themselves to wait [to see] from what direction Nanaua[tzin] would come to rise.

que se avia echado en el fuego y ardia, arremetio y echose en el fuego. Y dizque luego vna aguila entro en el fuego y tambien se quemo: y por eso tiene las plumas hoscas o negrestinas. A la postre entro vn tigre no se quemo sino chamascose: y por eso q̃do manchado de negro y blanco. Deste lugar se tomo la costumbre de llamar a los hombres diestros en la guerra quauhtlocelotl. Y dizen primero quauhtli porque el aguila p'mero entro en el fuego. Y dizese a la postre ocelotl porque el tigre entro en el fuego a la postre del aguila. Despues que ambos se ouieron arrojado en el fuego, y despues que se ouierõ quemado: luego los dioses se sentaron a esperar a que pte vendria salir el nanaua. Despues que estuuiero grã rato esperando,

539 After they had waited a long time, the heavens began to redden, and in every quarter the dawn appeared. And they say that after this the gods knelt down to wait [to see] where Nanauz[tzin], become sun, would rise. In every direction they looked, turning about. They never succeeded in guessing or saying from what quarter he would rise. They agreed in nothing. Some thought that he would come up in the north, and stood up to look there. Others stood to look toward the west; others to the south. They conjectured that he was to come forth in all directions, because at all the cardinal points there was the brilliance of the dawn. Others placed themselves so as to look to the east. They said: "Here, from this direction, the sun must rise." The declaration of these was true. They say that those who looked to the east were Quetzalcoatl; a second named Ehecatl; and another named Totec, or, by another name Anauatl itecu, and by [still] another name, Tlatlauic Tezcatlipoca; and others called Mimixcoa, who are without number; and four women, one named Tiacapan, another Teicu, a third Tlacoyenu, and a fourth Xocoyotl.

Començose a parar colorado el cielo: y en toda pte aparecio la luz d'l alua. Y dizen que despues desto, los dioses se hincaron de rodillas pa esperar adonde saldria nanava hecho sol, a todas ptes mirauan boluiendose en rededor, nun acertaron a pensar ni a dezir a que pte saldria, en ninguna cosa se determinaron. Algunos pensaron que saldria de la pte del norte y paronse a mirar hazia alla: otros se pararon a mirar hazia el poniente: otros hazia el medio dia: a todas ptes suspecharon que avia de salir, porque a todas ptes avia resplandor del alua: otros se pusieron a mirar hazia el oriente dixeron aqui desta pte a de salir el sol: el dho destos fue verdadero. dizen que los que miraron hazia el oriente fueron Quetzalcoatl el 2.° que llama hecatl y otro que se llama totec y por otro nõbre anavatl ytecu y por otro nombre tlatlauic tezcatlipuca: y otros que se llamã mimixcoa que son inumerables: y quatro mugeres, la vna se llama tiacapã, la otra teycu, la tercera tlalcoyena, la quarta xocoyotl.

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And when the sun came to rise, he looked very red. He appeared to waddle from one side to the other. None could look at him, because he snatched sight from the eyes. He shone and cast rays [of light] from himself in grand style. His light and his rays he poured forth in all directions. And thereafter the moon rose, in the same quarter, the east, like the sun. First the sun came forth, and after him came out the moon; in the order that they entered the fire, in [that] same [order] they came out made sun and moon. And those who tell stories or tales say that they had equal light with which they illuminated [the world]. And when the gods saw that they shed equal brilliance, they again spoke among themselves, and said: "O gods, how shall this be? Will it be well that both go alike? Will it be well that they illuminate equally?" And the gods gave a command, and said: "Let it be thus; let it be thus done." And then one of them went running and with a rabbit struck Tecaciztecatl in the face. He darkened his face and deadened [its] brilliance, and his face remained as it is today.

Y quando vino ꝑ salir el sol, parecio muy colorado, parecia que se cõtoneava de vna pte a otra, nadie lo podia mirar porque quitaua la vista de los ojos, resplandecia y echava rayos de si en grã manera su luz y sus rayos se derramo por todas ptes. Y despues salio la lũa en la misma pte del oriente a par del sol: Primero salio el sol y tras el salio la luna, por la orden que entraron en el fuego por la mesma salierõ hechos sol y luna. Y dizen los q̃ cuẽtan fabulas o hablillas que tenian ygual luz con que alumbrauan y desque vieron los dioses que ygualmente resplandecian, hablaronse otra vez y dixeron. O dioses como sera esto? sera bien que vayan ambos a la par? sera bien que ygualmente alumbren? Y los dioses dieron señia y dixeron. Sea desta manera, hagase desta manera. Y luego vno dellos fue corriendo y dio con vn conejo en la cara a tecuciztecatl escureciole la cara y amatole el resplandor y quedo como agora esta su cara. Despues que ouieron salido ambos sobre la tẽra,

After both had come forth over the earth, the sun and moon remained still, without moving from one

estuuieron quedos sin mudarse de vn lugar sol y la luna. Y los dioses otra vez se hablaron y dixeron.

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place. And the gods once more spoke, and said: "How may we live? The sun does not move himself! Are we to live among the peasants? Let us all die and make him revive through our death!" And then the Wind took charge of killing all the gods, and he slew them. And it is told that one, named Xolotl, refused to die, and said to the gods: "O gods, let me not die." And he wept exceedingly, so that his eyes swelled with weeping. And when the slayer came to him, he hid in the maize fields, and he changed and turned

[824] himself into the foot of a maize plant which has two stalks, and the field workers call it *xolotl*. And he was seen and found among the feet of the maize stalks. Again he took flight and hid among the maguey plants, and changed himself into a maguey plant which has two bodies, which is called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and he took flight and placed himself in the water and made himself into a fish which is called *axolotl*. From there they took him and slew him. And they say that although the gods were slain, not on that account did the sun move. And then the Wind began to blow and raise a strong gale. He made him move, so that he might go on his way. And after the sun began to travel, the moon was quiet in the place where he was.

Como podemos biuir no se menea el sol, emos d' biuir entre los villanos? muramos todos y hagamosle q̃ resucite por nr̃a muerte. Y luego ayre se encargo de matar a todos los dioses, y matolos. Y dizese que vno llamado Xolotl rehusava la muerte, y dixo a los dioses. O dioses no muera yo y llorava gran manera de manera que se le hincharon los ojos de llorar. Y quando llego a el el q̃ matava hecho a huyr, escondiose entre los mayzales, y boluiose y con(ver)tiose en pie de mayz q̃ tiene dos cañas y los labradores le llaman xolotl. Y fue visto y hallado entre los pies del mayz, otra vez hecho a huyr y se escondio entre los magueys y convertiose en maguey que tiene dos cuerpos, q̃ se llama mexolotl: otra vez fue visto y hecho a huyr y metiose en el agua y hizose pez q̃ se llama axolotl de alla le tomaron y le mataron. Y dizen que avnque fueron muertos los dioses no por esso se mouio el sol y luego el viento començo a soplar o ventear reziamente: el le hizo moverse pa que anduuiese su camino. Y despues q̃ el sol començo a caminar, la lũa se estuuo quieta en el lugar donde estaua.

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After the sun had set, the moon began to move. Thus the one got away from the other. And thus they come forth at different times. The sun endureth one day, and the moon worketh at night (or illuminateth at night). From this cometh what is said: that Tecuciztecatl would have been the sun if he had cast himself first into the fire, because he was named first, and offered precious things in his penance.

Despues que el sol se puso començó la luna a andar: desta manera se deuisaron el vno del otro: y assi salen ê diuersos tiempos. El sol dura vn dia y la luna trabaia en la noche o alumbra en la noche. De aqui parece lo que se dize q̃ el tecuciztecatl avia de ser sol si p'mero se ouiera echado en el fuego porque el p'mero fue nõbrado y ofrecio cosas preciosas en su pña.

Eclipse of the Moon.

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When the moon is eclipsed, he becometh almost dark; he becometh blackened; he turneth a dark brown. Then the earth darkeneth. When this cometh to pass, women with child feared miscarriage. A great dread seized them that that which they had in their bodies would become mice. And as a remedy for this they took a piece of obsidian in the mouth or they placed it in the girdle over the belly and [did so] in order that the children [whom they carried] in the womb would not be born lipless or noseless or wry-mouthed, or cross-eyed, or that [one] might not be born monstrous.

[843 751]

Quando la luna se eclipsa parese casi oscura, ennegrecese, parese bosca: luego se escurece la tierra. Quando esto acontesçe las preñadas temian de abortar, tomauales gran temor que lo q̃ tenian en el cuerpo se a de boluer raton. Y para remedio desto tomavan vn pedaço de yztli ê la boca o poniaule en la çintura sobre el vientre y para que los ninos que en el vientre no saliesen sin bepa o sin narizes, o boquituertos, o biagos: o porq̃ no naciesse monstro.

The people of Xalmoca held the moon as a god and made him special offerings and sacrifices.

Los de xalmoca tenian por dios a la luna y le hacia particulares ofrendas y sacrificios.

342 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, like-
643 wise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go
[373] out. It was watched all night and made to burn with
644 pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at
722 the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Cuecalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in
[373] order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj cioal in tlapialoia, aquenman cruja in tletl: çioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iician tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cuicacali, ioan cuecali, in jnteuetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan tezticali in jnneçenqujxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlãlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltenj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh casca in telpopuchti, in quauhtla ialixtli, injc tlapialoia iiiic altepetl injc çeçioai tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapialoia.

643 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the
●542 ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather lip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

643 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game
525 —the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelqujxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujxtaia, tujmatia cã cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoatiaia, injc ollamalos, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaquiltiaia tlatoanj: qujnnaoatiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujxque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maieoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlazujlilo, tlazalujlo, tlachpano:

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in nomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtenetl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhconcatl, teucujtlaconcatl, matzopeuxtli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin qujnamjqujxque, in collamjxque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxqujch itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ic ix motolinja maceoalli, iceceiaca conthalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj qujquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque qujtema in ixqujch tlaçotli tlatquj, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujnaoca in jxqujch oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

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13. *Tlachcalchcalpan*: see Arturo Monzón: *El calpulli en la organización social de los aztecas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlachcalchcalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 349, "*los pueblos quedaban subdivididos en menor calpulli ó barrios, cuanto los parcialidades eran, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlachcalchcalli.*"

14. *Tlaçotl*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to doves, in which case the Aztec should read *chaoti*.

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maize;[26] with coyote heads made of a paste of amaranth seeds; with S-shaped *twaillas* and thick rolls[27] covered with a paste of amaranth seeds and with toasted maize on top; and red amaranth, which was really red feathers, and maize stalks with ears of green or tender maize.

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After midday, the priests rested. Thereupon the Tenochca and the Tlatelulca came together, two rows of Tenochca and two rows of Tlatelulca facing each other. All danced very slowly; the dance proceeded in harmony. Then all emerged, coming out of the palace gate, and all arranged themselves. Moctezuma came forth with them; he came dat dancing. At his right and left came two great princes, Neçaualpilli of Texcoco and Totoquihuaztli, ruler of the Tepaneca. Great solemnity reigned as all danced.

And when it was already dark, when it was already night, all dispersed. Then began the singing and dancing [with interlocked hands];[28] there danced

[701] the novice warriors, the chief warriors—those who had captured four captives or more, as well as those who had taken one or two. And these were named also young leaders. And also the princes danced. And likewise women danced with them—those known as

●[548] mothers, but only if they wished; they were not forced. And also immodest women, harlots.

And then all departed, when midnight was nigh, when trumpets had been blown. For twenty days it continued in this manner, until the Feast of Toçoztontli arrived.

cujllaxcalli, teumjmjlli, çan no tzoalli ic quipepechoaia, quijnocochiotiaia panj: yoan cauhchichilli, çan tlapaluijtl catca, yoan cintopilli, eloio, anoço xiloio.

Yn omotzcalo tonatiuh, moceuja in tlamacazque, njman ic ic monepanuja, montlamanuja, in tenuchca in tlatilulca, vmpanti in tenuchca, no vmpanti in tlatilulca, mixnamjctiuj, cenca çan yujian, yn netotilo, cenca vel cocamactiuh in netotiliztli: njman oalquizoa intecpa quijaoac, oalnemanalo, oalteujca in motecuçoma, oalmjtotitiuh, quitzatzacutiuitze, quijoalitzcatitiuj, vmentin veueintin tlatoque Neçaualpilli tetzcuco, - totoquihuaztli, tepanecapan tlatoanj: vel mamiztli oonoc in nehtotiloia.

Auh ic tlapoiaoa, ic tlaixcuecueztiuj in necacaoalo, njman ic pena, in cujcoanolo, mjtotiaia in telpuchtequjoaque, teachcaoa, in nauj cacitinemj, yn anoce oc quexquijnti ymalhoan: yoã in ce, vme, cacitinemj. Auh no motocaiotiaia hy, telpuchiiaque: no yoan in tlatoque mitotia. Auh no tehoan in cioa mjtotia: mjtoa tenaoan, çan illo tlama, amo tequjuhtiloia: auh çan no ichoãtin yn.aujianjme, in maaujltia.

Auh iquac necacaoloia, in ie hiciuhtiuh, ioalnequantla tlatlapiczalizpa: cempoalilhujtl, yn iuh tlamanca, yn juh tlamanja: vmpa onaci yn ipan toçoztontli.

26. Cf. Peter v. Tavenner, op. cit., p. 109: ". . . *es decir, los mexicanos de nuestros días que se guardaban para esta fiesta celebrándose por muchos tiempo así verbo de los cuales.*"

27. Ian Andrews and Dibble (op. cit., p. 14). Possibly these resembled the wrapped tamales in Pl. 12.

28. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, México: n. p., 1940), pp. 86, 219. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*unos traidores de los mexicanos, unos demandado mexicanos celebrandola.*"

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[3]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçotia in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca. [796* 736]

Auh in jzqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izqujlhujtl cujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: [372]

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalquixoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in maaujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti: [545]

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililoaj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan. [302 565]

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcalloti, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. [796* 272]

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtozquj much uetuei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtoia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca. [302]

Auh amo mopotonja, amono moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichiotia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioa catca, iehoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin. [622] [304 304 701]

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For [illegible], Sahagún has "six cubits."

X 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

[535] And when it all ceased, already it was late at night,
[512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

And when all had stopped, when the ground drum
[534] was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, when it was done, were accompanied by torches;
[373] they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons,
[565] that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

And when they released them, [the girls] were
[431] given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

X 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who
836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of honors, made their plea for the women only in
684 secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

● [548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his
[831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlaujc, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhioua, ie netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlaxilia axcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie ixquich, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet veuetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn ixquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujhilotiuj, qujntlatlaujhitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenqujxtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlaueliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoinia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioateiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oalioualquiça, çan moioualpoloa, oc ueca ioan in quiça:

auh intla aca itoz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualatijaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in ixquich ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempalel: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlêtlecaleua, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

X 796 and long rows of all the varied flowers, the most beautiful flowers, the threaded ones.

nepapan xochitl, in tlaquetzalxochitl, in manqui, in tlamantli:

778 Then flowers were offered to all the rest of the gods, to the images of the gods, [or] devils. They were adorned with flowers; they were girt with [garlands of] them; flowers were placed upon their heads, there in the temples.

nimman ic ic teuchimaco, ceuentzi in inquijchtin teteu, yn imixiptlauan teteu, tlatlacatecolo, teuchichtin, teuchiqueuo, tricpacxuchitilo, in vncan in tetempan:

Thereupon all together, in all the houses, the homes of the majordomos, the homes of the great noblemen, and the houses of the youths, they laid flowers out [before the idols]. And they spread them out in the homes of each and all.

nimman ic ic ceuentzi in noujan calpan, in calpinque inchan, in veuei pipiltzi inchan: yeuan in teuiquichcali, quicentzacutimanj, quicentzacutimomana in techchan.

X 796 And afterwards, when each had been ornamented, then there were feasting and drinking. Everywhere, everyone ate; all were in a festive mood.

Auh in ic inhquj yn oteccencaualtic mec tlatlaquaalo, haztlica: noujan tlatlaquaalo, yllujtlamacho.

And when midday came, then all sang and danced —verily, they drew up all the youths; the masters and the leaders of the young men, the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí.[a] Here in the god's courtyard there was dancing—in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli.

Auh yn oncic nepantla tonatiuh mec cujcoimaolo, vel inquijch quicencaoa, in telpuchtli, in teachcauan, in telpuchiaque, in tequijuaque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in teuiuacho, yn iouhco Vitzilopochtli.

[701] And those who led [the dance] were the fearless warriors, the great warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who were not laggards in war; who turned [the enemy] back, [whose exploits] wheeled them hence.

Auh in teiacana, ichoantin in quaquachicti, in veuei tiacaoli yn inhquj cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mimacujlia iaoc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoanj.

[548] Also the women danced—not the daughters [of onlookers, but] courtesans, harlots—who went between [pairs of the men], they were [all] stretched in a row, taken by the hand or grasped about the waist. They moved all in line they went winding to and fro, nowhere breaking the line, at no time loosing hands. They went in orderly procession.

No ichoantin in cioa mjntiaia, amo ichoan in teichpuchoan, ichoantin in mahuijltianj, yn zriaxjnac istacatzalan maantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mocujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, mocuculotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacana vipantiuj.

[533] And the singers, who sang for them, who beat drums for them, who beat the ground drums, were quite apart [from the dancers]—to one side; they were upon a [counterfeit] house, upon the round altar [or pyramid].[a] And the altar was completely round, round like a shield, like a millstone. And here, upon this, stood [the musicians].

Auh in cujcanjme, in qujscujcatia, in qujotlatzontonjlia, qujmeuetzocozonjlia, çan nonqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emomoztitech: auh in momoztli, çan iacaltic, tenjlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn ielan manj.

[778]

And thus they danced: they did not leap, nor make great movements; they did not make dance gestures; they did not move throwing themselves about, nor dance making arm-movements, nor go bending their

Auh ynic mjntoia, amo chochaloa, amono ontlayioca, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlaztiuj, amo

[701]

3. Here and elsewhere, the following equivalents are offered: quaquachichi—[illegible] warrior; telpuchtli—youth; teachcauh—master of the youths; telpuchiaque—rulers of the youths; telpuchiaque—leaders of the youths; tequijuaque or quaquajque—seasoned warriors. To a degree, such definitions are, perhaps, arbitrary. The suggested equivalents, however, are based upon the following passages from Sahagún (Bustamante ed.): Vol. I, p. 292, and Vol. II, pp. 137, 207 (quaquachichi, tequijuaque); Vol. I, pp. 131, 168, 182, 199, 215, 289, 291, and Vol. II, p. 182 (telpuchtli); Vol. I, pp. 168, 294, and Vol. II, pp. 310, 319 (teachcauh); Vol. I, p. 291 (telpuchiaque); Vol. II, p. 321 (quaquajque). See also Clavigero, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94, on otomi and quaquachichi; pp. 80, 114, on teachcauh, telpuchiaque; Vol. II, pp. 32, 95, 96, 136 on tequijuaque or quaquajque; Gomara (Libro del valiente, p. 242) on telpuchtli; Sahagún, op. cit., p. 159 (telpuchiaque), p. 144 (tequijuaque), pp. 144, 159 (telpuchiaque).

4. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 159.

they placed them to one side. They strewed them in the water, and none, verily, might taste the husks. Because of this, care was therefore taken that none should be scorched, burned, or dropped into the fire.

And only during one day were they eaten. By night they were done; all finished. They left nothing for the next day.

And when it grew dark, the old men and the old women drank, alone. It was said: "They refresh themselves."

And after this they set up the image of the fire [god], Izcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyoueue. They gave him figure and substance of a dough of amaranth seed. These things they whose office it was, did—the men of the tribal temple, known as the Tzonmulca[2]—who especially worshipped [fire] as a god.

And when the twentieth day came, it was said: "Iacalli hath ended." They who provided ceremonially bathed victims then published and made it known to others [that they had secured sacrificial victims, each] setting forth in public his ceremonially bathed one, a slave whom he had bought, made [to be] the likeness of Izcoçauhqui; the owner then adorned him, causing to be placed upon him all the array of Izcoçauhqui. Thus it was said: "The bather [of the victim] gathereth [his wealth]."

And for this reason did one say "the bather [of a victim]": he continually bathed his victim with hot water all the time until he went to his death; all the time he caused him to know that death would be his lot at an appointed time; that he would die in the count of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And before he died, he favored him greatly. The bather was careful of [the victim]; he enriched him [with gifts]; he restored all to him. All the food which he offered him was good.

And a harlot was provided as his guardian. Constantly she amused him; she caressed him; she made him laugh and be merry. Taking him about the neck, she rejoiced, she embraced him. She caught his lice [for him]; she combed his hair and arranged his hairdress. She made him forget his sorrows. And when the time came for the bathed one to die, the harlot took everything; she rolled and bundled up all the belongings of the bathed one. That which he wore he placed upon her; that which he had used

in iezotl: ipampa ic momalhujaia inic amo aca mochichinoa, motlatiz, tleco oivetzia. 796[x] [252]

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ie ioon otlatlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuztlaioc.

Auh in oioonc tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalqvia. [273]

Auh in jquac y, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla tletl Izcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecuth, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzoualli in qujtlacatlaliaia, in qujnacaiotiaia: ichoan quajchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, motenoa: Tzonmulca, oc cenca ichoan in qujmoteutiaia.

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Iacalli tlastj: in tealtianj, iquac qujteittitia, qujtexiximachtia, teixpan qujquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oquicouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Izcoçauhqui, iquac ic qujchichioa itech qujtlalilia in jxqujch in jnechichioal Izcoçauhqui ic mjtoaia, tlaixnextia in tealtianj: [567]

auh injc mjtoa, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxqujch cavitl mjqujtiuh, in jxqujch cavitl qujmatitiuh in vncā imjquja tequipā in jtlapoalpan: in mjquja ipan tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Auh in aiamo mjquj, cenca qujmavizmatia, qujçeçēmatia in tealtianj, qujtlanenectia qujtlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in qujmacaia:

auh oc ayienj, in jxepixcauh muchioaia: muchipa cavilitia, cavilia, qujcamanalhuja, qujvetaqujtia, qujqouqueloa, iquechtlan ilaquj, qujquechnaoa, cantemja, qujxiztiçquauavia, qujpepepetla, qujtlaoculpoloa: auh in jquac ic imjquja tlaaltilli: in ayienj moch cuecuj, ontlacemololoa, concemololoa in jquich in jtlaquj tlaaltilli: in oquiquequemja, in jtech oquitlatlaliaia in oquitlanja, in jpā oiztlacatinenca, 796[x] 548 [515]

2. Tzonmulco: temple of the fire god; also one of the divisions of Tenochtitlan. It is mentioned in the Appendix, p. 177, as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmer ed., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. V, p. 74).

x 796 when he had been living in the likeness of another,
[548] had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

oaquetztinêca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinêca omovelitztinenca.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said,
[827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

Auh injc mjtoa Jacalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin quinquechaana, quinacopiloa: ic mjtoa quinizcalloana, quinizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, mocapaoazque:

And they divided the heart of the *magney* plants;
[824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

yoã in metl quijiollozcloa, quijiollotzaiana, quijiellotlapana, quijiollotoma: auh yn nopalli quijtlaiectilia, quinmatzpeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manza, mocaltiz, mocapaoaz.

x 796 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to
852 pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair;
[301] in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpilloaan: yoan cuntlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiã vetzia in tlatoque.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tencacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited.
[608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa quintemoliaia, in quinvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in quinotzaia, mjtoa: quintlatia quimavitia, tetlati, teaviti:

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they
[431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

auh amo inoaniolque in quimanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, quintlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, cuetlaliliaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests'
[304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And
[302 237] they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

ioalnepantla in quinvicaia calmecac, vmpa quinnacazxapotla, quinnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc quicoionja innacaz, petonquj icpatl in vmpa conquixtia, vncã quimonjlpilia iuhquin tlatzatzitleoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoquiztleca in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica quinpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

And the women who became aunts were pasted
[608 302] with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoã inmaç in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamazochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

In jquac oquimõnacazxapotlaque, njmã ic quinoalhujuica in inchachan, vncan quichichtitoque ixtoçotoque, tocotoque tlatlacvltitoque, quichixtoque in

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape 567
threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their 731
children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or 562
of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for 565
the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether 837
different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such [684]
purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became [548
tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in 595]
the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 136) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1403. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the elder, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 203) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 223) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap I, p. 269), agrees with Durán and Tezozomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 268): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451-1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 156) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

procuresses were severely punished, though not with loss of 689
life.[126]

While clandestine relations between young men and girls were [836]
known to exist and, if not sanctioned, still were not punished,[127] 684
it was different if a married man attempted to seduce a maiden who was not an outcast. The seducer was invariably punished.[128] Intercourse between unmarried people was tolerated, as a preliminary to marriage and the consequent increase of kinship, but if a husband, in contravention of the obligation "not to marry in the kin," endeavored to satisfy his lusts upon one of that kin's wards, as the daughters of members all were, then he committed

VII, cap. XVII, p. 466). all affirm, besides, that young people. while yet in care of the "houses of training," if intoxicated, were killed. This is also confirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib. III. appendix, cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271). Except by *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), it is generally conceded that drunkenness was well controlled in aboriginal Mexico.

[126] Although prostitution was tolerated, still, houses of ill-fame did not exist. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. II, p. 376): "Esto parece, porque permitieron, que huviese Mugeres, que se daban à los que querian, y se andaba á esta vida suelta, y gananciosa, como las de nuestra España, y otros Reinos; puesto que no tenian casa señalada, ni publica para la execucion de su mal oficio, sino que cada qual moraba donde le parecia, y el acto deshonesto, en que se ocupaba, servia de lugar publico, y en el mismo vicio se hacia publica y se manifestaba." *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "Permitian los mexicanos, mujeres que ganasen con sus cuerpos, aunque no tenian lugares señalados." It is, therefore, not quite clear what may be meant by the term "alcahueta." In the sense of the French word "entremetteuse," alone, they were amenable to punishment, since it was the duty of the man to hunt his "female," although he sometimes employed women called "cihuatlanqui" for that purpose I suppose that such women were punished, [548]
not for the *immorality* of their conduct, but for their *unauthorized forwardness* in [562]
addressing themselves to men, and thus trespassing upon the dignity of that superior being. In regard to authorities on the mode of punishment, I but refer to those quoted by *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 469, note 101).

[127] I have already shown that young people held intimate relations with each other before the formalities of marriage were arranged. Thus, while he was yet at the "Telpuchcalli," the youth had his female friend, "amiga" or "manceba," outside. This is positively stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, p. 271): "y estos mancebos tenian sus amigas cada uno dos ó tres, la una tenian en su casa, y las otras estaban en las de sus familias." and *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 376). That these female "friends" were regarded with more than a feeling of platonic love, is dryly expressed by *Sahagun* (Id: cap. V, p. 270): "y los que eran amancebados ibanse á dormir con sus amigas." It is also asserted by *Torquemada* (see above): "que despues que aquel mancebo havia un Hijo, en la dicha manceba, luego le era forzoso, ó dejarla, ó recibirla por muger legitima." *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "los mancebos antes de casarse tenian sus mancebas, y solian pedirlas á las madres." This almost establishes promiscuity among the ancient Mexicans, as a preliminary to formal marriage.

[128] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 465) says that the punishment was not like that of the adulterer, "because the husband was not required to the same amount of conjugal fidelity as the wife." With "slaves" concubinage was permitted, and the result of childbirth was freedom to the child. Death was invariably the punishment of those who held, or attempted to hold, intercourse with girls in care of the house of worship. *Durán* (p. 106, etc.). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 130): "El que hazia fuerza à virgen, era fuese en el campo, ora en casa del padre moria por ello."

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drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept; nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wandering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wish for public esteem — to become a mer-

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã ãqualli: ynic qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztiliaia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxiptla, qujtlamanjliaia: no iehoan in cioa tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, aca vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel aizque mjmatizque, toltecatizque, vellalalizque, vellacujlozque: in jpan intlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mãaltiaia, maujujxoaia, yn jquac neoaloa, in vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, chicome xochitl:

787x 787x 782 286 785

auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla aca tlãmachchiuhquj, yneçaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã ãavilnemjz, ãavienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mãaviltiaia in tlamachchiuhque,

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qujlmach iehoutl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquequeloaia in inteouh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia, xochicujxtli, palanjliztli:

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auh in aqujn vel ontlamacoa in vel monotza, ca oncã qujçaia, maviztia, momavizçotiaia, cana motztica, vel moietztica tepaltzinco in tjc:

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no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tõtoltecatiz, tlatlanemjliz, ãtiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotlaz: auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iaujlqujxca, iquequeloloca in qujmomacoviaia.

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Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujtica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelnenca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhqujn ecatocotinemj, avic iatinemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atleti: ca nel iuhquj iteonal, conjstoca, ipan onmjxpoa, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, teaachti, tetlãtlavicalti, tecãcamanalhuj. Etc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan nẽia motlatlamoda, mone-

De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA. IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

First Chapter, which telleth of the highest gods[1] who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Humming-bird from the Left (Uitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.[2] [He was] a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a soothsayer, a deceiver,[3] a creator of war, a war-god, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague—that is, war.[4] And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially hearted slaves were offered up. The soothsayers hearted them.[5]

And he was then arrayed: he had an ear-pendant of blue earings fashioned;[6] he had the fire serpent diagonal, the blue serpent cloth,[7] the arm band.[8] He wore sandals and shells.[9]

Inic ce capitulo, yenchqa tlatoa, yn oc ceuca dqonoanja uemeh: yn qujnmoteutiaia, yuan yn qujnlaxaxajtiaia, yn in uecauh.

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Vitzilubuchtli: çan macuxtli, çan tlacatl ceuca: nauali, temajjtl, ediacuemelle, teimumpanj: qujjocuinj in iuiztl, iuiteuanj, iaotlatonj:

ca itechpa mjtoaia, uyan qujtlaqa yn xiuhcoatl, in mamalhuaztli, q. n. iuiztl, teuctl, tlachinolli. Auh yn jquac tlhujqujtilloia, malmjcoaia, tlaxilhujcoaia: tualtiaia, yn pochtecca.

[796]

Auh yujc mochichiuaia: xiuhtotomocuchi cuxca, xiuhcozcatl, xiuhtalpili, motecuxan, tzitzile, ciuatlli.

Second Chapter, which telleth of the god named He who Humeth (Paynal), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Paynal was "the delegate," "the substitute," "the deputy"; because he represented Uitzilopochtli when there was a procession. He was named Paynal, because he passed on and urged them ahead.[10]

Inic vnac capitulo, yenchqa tlatoa yn teuil yn jtoca paynal: yn qujnmoteutiaia, yuan in qujlaxaxajtiaia in uecauh.

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Paynal: motepeilloiaxj, momiqiplaxiaxj: uyan mitoaxj: ichica ca qujmiqiplaxiaia, in vitzilubuchtli, yn iquac tlaxoxoloaia, motocaxiaia paynal: ipampa ca ceuca, qujtocatiaia, qujpoalaxhuiaia.

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1. The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: "Capítulo primero, que habla del principal dios. . . ."
2. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 423, refers to him as *ein zauberkundiger*.
3. Seler does phrase the passage: "Uitzilopochtli was only a man, a magician, an unlucky omen, a wicked augur, one who deluded the people with omens."—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 4.
4. Cf. Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Andrés de Olmos: *Gramaticas de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 239. ". . . of him it is related that he drawes the nahuatl and the fire-beaux, i. e., war, water (spare-drawing) and fire at the people" (Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 216). Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Edición: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 102, ". . . nuestro dios *Vitzilopochtli* usaba de dos cosas para vencer sus enemigos para atemorizar y chasquearlos; la una se llama *tlaxoxoloaia*, y la otra *mamalhuaztli* . . . *y lo otro por otro nombre* . . . *y lo otro mamalhuaztli*. . . . *y lo otro por otro nombre* . . . *y lo otro mamalhuaztli*. . . . *y lo otro mamalhuaztli*. . . . *y lo otro mamalhuaztli*.

776 **Twelfth Chapter, which tells of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteotl).**[33]

Tlaçolteotl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteotl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perversenessness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 551 And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiacapan (the older sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocotzin (the youngest sister).[34] These four women, it was said, were god- [dessesses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteotes).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[35] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; [783] one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One expound all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perversenessness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteotl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green and yellow waters.[36]

[783] And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteotl the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

793 And her warden[37]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[38]
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783

Jnic matlactli vnnome capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteotl.

In tlaçolteotl: ynnon iuxcuijna, ynnon iuxcuijna tlaelquanj. Jnic mononcaiotia tlaçolteotl, çujl ipampa, çujl ichtecal yiauca, ytlacoçujl, ytech ponj, in tecuhtli, in tlaçalli: in çujçujnequj, ovilmomjlinili, çujl ipan tocuni, ypan tlatocati, yn anjhemjlinçuni.

Auh ynjc iuxcuijna: çujl nauhcuj ecuh, in cioa: ynjc ce ynnon tiacapan, ynjc vnnon teicu, ynjc ey, iuxcuijna tlaco: ynjc nauj iuxcuijna xocotzin. Jujquin hin, nauhcuijn cioa: çujl ueuca. Jujquin hin, cecenca yuxcuijna: tlaçolteotes.

Auh ynjc mononcaiotia tlaelquanj: çujl ipampa, inimpá mjtoa, imjpapan mopoa, yn jaçujch nequalli: iixpan mjtoa, momelaoa, yn jaçujch tlahelilchiuhili: iuxuanol conca tenamacuhtli, iixuanol conca çujh: ayc mopinauiztoca, vel ouchli, iixpan necti, iixpan mjtoa. Neiolmelaoaliztli.

Qujlmach in tlaçalli, in tecuhtli, in anjhemjlitiotl: ichtecal çujçujnequa, ic tomotla, ic tehipinna in tlaçolteotl. Auh çan no ichtecal, çujçujpolhuja: ichtecal chico, iuxcuijna: çujujca, çujtoca: ichtecal, tepupoca, ixtlahia: ichtecal iuxcuijna nauj yn matlalatl, in tezpalatl.

Auh injc çujçujpolhuja ynjc chico, tlamaoac, çujujca, çujtoca: iixpan neinicujtilo, iixpan neiolmelaoalo, yn tlaçolteotl, iixpá mopoa, mjtoa, in nelachtiual.

Auh iin, ynnecat, ytlacatecuh mochiua, in tlapouhçujj, in

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33. The chapter on Tlaçolteotl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Ensayo Especial*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

34. Cf. Eduard Seler, *Translation of the Codex Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called *Ixcuinan*, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of carnal love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuina, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as stated by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the throwing to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 95.

35. Know of filth *as of cochino* (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*cornudera de cosas sucias.*"

36. Cf. Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 37, discussing Chalchihuitlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the mutability and evanescence of earthly being, in that it escapes every all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchihuitlicue*. May the cleanse of the lye which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady *Chalchihuitlicue*, the Lord *Chalchihuitlatonac* . . . enter the water, the blue (*Matlalatl*), the yellow, (*Tezpalatl*), that it wash thee, that it cleanse thee perfectly, that it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), notes ". . . *creyeron con que la partera echa a la cieva del agua llamada Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac, y dicen así: 'Entrate nuestra Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac, recibe la nuestra presente este creatura: rodíguen que la recibas.' Dicho esto la partera echaba el agua echaba sobre ella en remolino, y luego la daba a parar a la criatura y también le mojaba el pecho con ella, y el colodro de la cabeza, a manera de cruzada se pone el dios y criatura a los niños, y dicíale de este manera: 'Hija mía muy amada,—y si era mozo dicíale, hijo mío muy amado—, llegaste a nuestra madre y padre la señora Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac; tómense ella, porque ella se ha de lavar a cuestas y en los brazos en este mundo.' Y luego metía en el agua a la criatura, y decía: 'Entra hija mía—o hijo mío—en el agua, que es llama Matlalatl y Tezpalitl; lávase en ella, limpiarse ella que está en este lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de ti este mal que traías con tu desde antes del principio del mundo.'" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchiuitl tree and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Translation of the Codex Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchiuitl tree, the water goddess holds the hand of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throne of the water goddess and in the current is the bundle of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations mentioned Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

37. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xiii (*ante, remarks*); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 249.

38. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Ensayo Especial*, p. 9) uses the term *Kalender-wahrsager*.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nemontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796x 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nencioutl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- A 28
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que b 29
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos c 30
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- d 31
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nemoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioutl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal agüero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se hazia dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

[551]

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named nauí ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quiaí, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelotl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codorniges y incensauan: y en el medio mezauã capituos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796x [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the scribes celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa hazã fiesta todos los pintores, y las escriberas ayunauã quarẽta

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ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatoxie*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiouali*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey tocoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa quijquixtiaia: in moteneoa xuchiocapitli.

Auh yn jnacaxitech nenecoc pipilcatiuijia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaquijaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuxcatl, yn jcuxquj, oc cepa yielpancuiquj istac cilin.

Auh nijman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecxiztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxiquijpilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquetlitlan, xinmaquixtli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycoechin in quijquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ie cnoniaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quijmetztopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenécoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oioouali: ichoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquixti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in ichoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iguac ie oalacitiuh tuxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhqujnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaxtaxel, quetzalmjaoaio, itoxocol itech qujlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: nauintin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no ce xiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

796x 301 [306] [292] 796x [584 595] [302 701] [283 301] [833] [551]

8. "Como arcillas de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llevaban a las espaldas, un ornamento como bolsa, de un palmo en quadro de lienzo blanco, con sus borlas y flocadura" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo edition), Vol. II, p. 210.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 143. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma corviua, ajuntada aquella ambiua de los cabellos, dos bordes con su borrasca, hechas de plumas, y una, y turbiencal, muy corriuas, que eller llamauan xiuitzolli." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 50) describes "The first head of macuiltic [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, xiuitzolli, because of the combs worn in turbiencal or red rabbit's fur; the general of whirlpools outlined in a square of dark red, has squares of white feathers. The fringe is also of red turbiencal." From this, it would appear that turbiencal is red string, and turbiencal is red thong of rabbit hair.

X 796 each [of the old men] a bowl of wine, or a gourd
274 for each, or a small earthenware jar for each; quite freely and purely of their own accord they brought with them the wine, pouring it into a large earthenware vessel. And the old men sat drinking wine and refreshing themselves, not, [however,] becoming drunk.

çan in iolloconpa, çan in iollotlamati, in omocaua vetli, qujoaltecatimanj apaxco: auh tlanõtoque in vevetque, texcalcevizoque, amo ivinti:

Enough of this.

ic izquich.

X 796 For when were ended these twenty days of Izcalli, thereupon set in the five days of *nemontemi*, or *nenontemi*, which are not counted.[9] And the *nemontemi* were feared and held in awe. None commanded others, none quarreled [with others]. And if any, at this time, disputed with others, it was said they would always do thus. And he who was born at this time they named Nemo. They said: "It hath been said that [he hath] no day sign. No reward is his; he will live in misery. He will live in poverty upon the earth."

Auh in onquiz y, cempoalli Izcalli, njmã ie ic oalmotlalia in macujlilhujtl in nemõtemj, apoço nenontemj, acampouhquj: Auh in nemontemj, vel imacazoia, mauhcaitoia, aiac teaoaia, aiac maoaia: auh in aca vncã teaoa, qujlmach cenqujcuj. Auh in aquja vncan tlacati: qujtocaiotiaia. Nemo: qujtoaia, qujlmach atle ilhujl, atle imaceoal muchioa, qujhiovitinemja, vmpa onqujztinemja in tlalticpac.

[56] 777

And during [the month of] Izcalli, in the first, second, and third years, nothing [in addition] was done. But on the fourth year, a great [festival] was observed. At that time died those [adorned as] Izcoçauhqui, the impersonators of Xiuhtecutli—ceremonially bathed ones. Sometimes many died; sometimes not many.

Auh in jpan jn Jacalli: injc ce xivitl, yoan ic oxivitl, yoan iquexivitl, atle muchioa : auh quja ic nauhxivitl in moveichioa, qujniquac mjquja in Izcoçauhque, in jxiptlanan Xiuhtecutli: tlaaltilti, in quẽmã mjequjntin in mjquja, in quemã amo mjequjnti.

And upon the morrow, on the morning of [the feast of] Izcalli, the bathed ones entered the sand. They brought them into the sand there at Tzonmolco. All the women carried all their womanly array, and the men carried all their array (as hath been told elsewhere). And they carried for them their paper adornment; it went upon a wooden globe.

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Auh in ie iuh muztla, in ie oallavi Izcalli: in tlaaltilti, otxalaqui, qujmonxalaquja in vmpa tzonmolco: in cioa muchi qujtquj, in jzquich inciostlatquj: yoan in oqujchtin, muchi qujtequj in jzquich intlatlatquj (in juh omjto cecnj): auh in jmamatlatquj, muchi qujmjequjlia: quauhtzontapaioltica ieietiuh.

And when they brought them there, thereupon they arrayed them, [so that] all were ornamented. They put upon them their paper array. And when all were prepared and arrayed even as Izcoçauhqui was arrayed, and the women adorned also in the same manner, thereupon all climbed up to [the Temple of] Tzonmolco, in rows. And when they came reaching there, they circled about the offering stone. Then, once again all came down, likewise walking in rows.

Auh in ie iuh mjquja in Izcoçauhque, in jxiptlanan Xiuhtecutli: tlaaltilti, otxalaqui, qujmonxalaquja in vmpa tzonmolco: in cioa muchi qujtequj, in jzquich inciostlatquj: yoan in oqujchtin, muchi qujtequj in jzquich intlatlatquj (in juh omjto cecnj): auh in jmamatlatquj, muchi qujmjequjlia: quauhtzontapaioltica ieietiuh.

And when they came down, thereupon they took them to the tribal temple, and then took apart [the paper vestments], and put [the victims] in a house and guarded them well. And they fastened the men

Auh in otemoco njmã ie ic qujnvica in calpulco, mec qujnxixitinja, vncan mocencaltilia, vel q'npipia: in oqujchtin qujnxillãmecaiotia, in jquac maxiza qujntitilinjivi. Auh in oncic iocalnepantla: njmã ic

9. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 256) refers to the "Nemontemi (unnützer Tage) die für nicht geachtet wurden"; *i.e.*, they were dedicated to no god. One meaning of the verb *nemi*, however, is to rest.

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjlizth, nenquizcaiuí, nenquiçalizth, lonocatinemjlizth.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatẽnachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quizocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nenciouatl.

Auh in iquac y, atle aiouia, çan cactimẽca in texpan intecculi, aimo tecutlaxoloia, çan calonoaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapcviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolasvitztica, anoço tlavivitequjá, tlapopovaia tilnẽstica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicuja:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moxicujnjaia, motepeslamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocolizth quicuja mococoaia: mochi tlacatl quiuoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz. aocmo motemachia, in aço patia, aocmo teumeciolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjua. Ca ça oacnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca triollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, netlaquaoaloc, oquixcauhque injoaiolque, ca oiquiteca-que: aocmo iuhcan quiaoaill inon oqotlelzaia, meoqiquem, inon oihiio quicujc, ca temauhri ia jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle iiuual, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, netlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipoualio in jaquilhujtl xavilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 30) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony acts.

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Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pestles. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new skirts and shifts.

Thus it was said that truly the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For thus it is ended; thus sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were decapitated, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense ladle, and raised it in dedication to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Thus was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth seed cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were bidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then captives and ceremonially bathed ones died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again fires were newly laid and placed.

And [so for] the pregnant women who had been feared, if any of them then gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born as her child, they named him Motecuhzoma, Xuihtlalpil, Xiuhtzincapul, Xiuhtli, Tezcatl, Xiuhtlatlac, Quetzalxiuh, Xiuhquen, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhcomotl, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcapil, etc.

And when, in the time of Moctezuma, our years were bound, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] *xiuitl*. Wherewever [he was], this one was to be seized. And one was taken—a man from Ucxomanco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Inic matlactlomome, capitulo, vncan mitoa: in quemin in iuquich tlacatl, in icoac omocuic in iancuic tlel: auh in icoac, y, muchi tlacatl, quiitcuilaia in itlaquen, yuan in iuquich calitlaquitl.

Niman icoac, iuquich iancuiia, in calitlaquitl: . oquichtlaquitl, in cioatlaquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuetli, in icpalli: muchi iancuic in moeteca, ioli in temamatli, in tzoloti. No iquac iancuic nequentilo, nelpililo in tilmatli: in cioatl, iancuic omomaquia, in iscue, in iuipil.

Ic mina, ca nel iancuic oapeca in xiuitl: papaca, netlamachtilo: yoan quinoaia, ca ic oquin, ic otechtlalcaui in cocoliztli, in maianalitzli. Niman ic cocopaltemalo, tlacotonalo, tlenamaco: concui in tlemaitl, nauhcampa coniiseq in itholco, çaepan contema tlexicco, inic otlenamacoc copalli:

nimá ic ic necpan tzoxoualquale, vncan ic neçaoalistlalhuilo, inic xioc atlin, ic centlathuis: quincenmomaitinia in nepanola tonatiuh. Auh in cocic, nepanola tonatiuh, niman ic miqui in mamalti, yoan tlaltlilti: quinicoac conpapaca, tlitlacualo: icoac oc cappa ikcuican netlitlecuihtilo, netlitlecuillalilile.

Auh in oimacaxoia oozzi, intla aca icoac omixiuh, otlacochiuh: intla oquichtli iconcuh otlacat, quinocaiaiaia molpili, xiuhtlalpil, xiuhtzitzaqui, xiuhtli, tezcatl, xiuhtlatlac, quetzalxiuh, xiuhquen. Etc.* Auh intla cioatl, xiuhcomotl, xiuhcue, xiuhcapil. Etc.*

Auh in icoac, ipan motechiuh motecuçoma, tonaiuhmolpili, oncca nenitiaa ic tlamoaat, inic tomolon mulli: in iuca xiuitl, in çaqo campa id onca. Auh oc xiioac ueqtzinoatl, tlaçopilli: iuca xiuhtlamin, tlatlilco mulli motechiuh: in tlamaaj iuca iucaia, auh ic tocaiotlac, ic notzalo: xiuhtlamimomi: ca iohuaal

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[782]

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[Seb. cat. 116, p. 27 — Analyst]

1796 805 wind. And the fourth place which she entered was ever there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] there were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

1796 When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained [533] sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the leading [532] warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

1796 Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were painted with red feathers. 535 And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also 793 they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their fore-[302] heads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[8] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their [301] heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

1796 And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, 793 which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, [534] which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

[534] And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aqoja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa omonoquiçaia,

çã quijoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtecl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiaualoctiuh, ynic momalacachoctiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ic iuh iuxtrinco miquiz in Xilonen: cejocal in cioapan cujoaia, toçoonia, muchi tlacatl ixtoçoonia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, quenia quevilisia yn icujc.

Auh yn ic otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel ixqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaquac, yoan in tequjoaque, iacicinnopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjzl.

No mjtoia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapalivjtica: yoan motzaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn inixquac tlapalachiotica, ynjicpacaochiuh, inxuxochicouaquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ichoã yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonneloaa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujzepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatiraj: in ichoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjstitiuj, mococolociuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa itepuzaco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhquja pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çã qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, tecciztli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixtiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujstepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tiamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

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9. *Rosa mollissima L.*, the anatta shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llamaban compañalchitl, son semejantes y de buen olor*" (Rubiendo ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tagetes, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 99, n. 15.

10. Clark *(op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *teponaztzin* (drumming priests), says: "The plaver is called the teponaztli, and the drum, teponaztl. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonchocarpus cruralinus* Bentb. this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of chicle." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the temple on the heroes (corresponding Spanish text).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four 787 777
days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate
the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved 553
to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction where- 777
by the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favor-
able period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque 553
over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the ac- 776
couchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God,
whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures.
The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools 553
which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the
motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her
pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name,
that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the
child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his
birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal,
like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor,
like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the
time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alter-
native animal title. Girls' names frequently were com-
pounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its pur- [862]
pose was to induct the child into the techniques and obliga- 861
tions of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which
handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in
adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized cul-
ture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers in-
structed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children
listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned
the uses of the household implements and performed minor
household chores.[8]

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553

During all of these twenty days, until the coming of the next month, they practised singing in the houses which they called *cuicacalli*. They did not dance; rather, remaining seated, they sang canticles in praise of their gods. Many other rites were performed in this feast which are set forth at length in the accounting of them, *fol.* 27.

Todos estos veynte dias, hasta llegar al mes que viene: se exercitauan en cantar en las casas, que llamauan cujcacàli, no beylauà, sino estando sentados: cantauan cantares a loor de sus dioses. Otras muchas cerjmonjas, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales, estan escriptas, a la larga en su historia. fol. 27.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,
[565] that for actions of merit such people might be re-adopted, and thus restored to their original rights. The anonymous conqueror asserts that the performer of any valorous deed was highly rewarded and made a chieftain, "even if he was the vilest slave."[91] But without such formal re-adoption, no outcast could emerge from his inferior and unprotected condition. The overwhelming majority of Mexico's aboriginal people, however, consisted of members of the twenty kins shown to have composed the tribe. These all enjoyed equal rights; consequently all had the same duty. Both right and obligation were governed by the organization of kinship. While it is impossible for us to follow here strictly the order of enumeration of these rights and obligations, established in the admirable researches of Mr. Morgan, we still can distinctly trace all of them in ancient Mexican society, operating with more or less unimpaired vitality.

[618] *The kin claimed the right to name its members.*[92] A family name
553 was unknown to the ancient Mexicans,[93] and thus our assertion that the modern family was not yet established among them, acquires further support. Within a few days after the child's birth, its mother in presence of all the neighbors (consequently of the "calpulli" or kin) gave the child a name through the medium of the women assisting her delivery. This name, generally taken from that of the day of birth, had a superstitious bearing, and was to accompany the child during the period of its utter helplessness.[94] A second "naming" took place several

[91] "*Relatione di alcune Cose della Nuova Spagna*" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 371). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVII, p. 586): "y Esclavos havia que regian, y mandaban la casa de su Señor, como hacen los Maiordomos."

[92] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 71 and 78).

[93] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Todos los Niños cuando nacian tomaban nombre del dia en que nacian." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, pp. 454 and 455). The family name was introduced by the Spaniards, who gave other names at the time of baptism.

[94] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Sahagun* (Lib. IV, cap. I, pp. 283 and 284, in general the entire fourth Book, which gives a very full idea of all the superstitions connected with birthdays; more especially Cap. XXXV and XXXVI and Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 217-221). All the children of the quarter were invited to the festival: "En este tiempo que estas cosas se hacian, juntabanse los mosuelos de todo aquel barrio, y acabadas todas estas ceremonias, entran en la casa del y toman la comida que alli les tenian aparejada. . . . . ." The naming took place in presence of "todos los parientas y parientos del niño, viejos y viejas" (p. 218). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 107): "Estos nombres tomaban de los idolos ó de las fiestas que en aquellas signos caian, y á veces de aves y animales y de otras cosas insensatas, como se les antojaba." (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXV, p. 267). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 450: "Luego hacian convocacion de todos los Deudos, y Parientes, de los Padres, y de todos los Amigos, y

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months later, which was performed by the medicine-man of the 553
kin.[95] Both of these names were preserved, but if the full-grown man ever performed some action of merit in the service of the whole tribe, then the tribe bestowed upon him a third name as an honorable title attached to his person in reward for his deeds.[96]

It was the duty of the kin to educate or train its members to every 871
branch of public life. For all public purposes, *man* only must be 868
taken into account. This appears obvious from what was said already concerning the position of women in general. Now each calpulli, or localized kin, among the ancient Mexicans had, as we have shown in "Art of War,"[97] its "House of the Youth" ("telpuch-calli") joined to its "medicine-lodge" or temple. Thither the boys were brought at an early age, to be instructed in whatever was needed for after-life. In order to train their bodies they were held to manual labor, and to the ordinary duties of worship. The use of weapons was made a prominent object of teaching; so was the dance and song, the latter coupled with ordinary Indian rhetorics.[98] These houses of education were under the

Vecinos, que para este acto se juntavan . . . y entonces le ponian el nombre." Also (Cap. XXII, p. 455; cap. XXIII, p. 456): "De la misma manera, que quando alguna de estas Indias paria, se usaba juntarse toda la Parentela. y las vecinas, y amigas. . . . . De esta misma manera lo acostumbraban hacer para el fingido Bantismo." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I. p. 438): "En este lavatorio les ponian nombre, no como querian, sino el del mismo dia en que nacieron.' *Vetancurt* (Parte II, Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 402).

[95] This is stated by *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 438): "y dende á tres meses, que son de los nuestros dos, los llevaban al templo, donde un sacerdote que tenia la cuenta y ciencia del calendario y signos, les daba otro sobrenombre, haciendo muchas ceremonias, y declaraba las gracias y virtudes del idolo cuyo nombre les ponia, pronosticándoles buenos hados." *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Despues desde á tres meses presentaban aquella criatura en el templo del demonio, y dabanle su nombre, no dejando el que tenia, y tambien entonces comian de regocijo, . . . "

[96] *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, p. 436). *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 437, 438). *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 96, 97, and 98).

[97] "*Art of War*," p. 101. Relying on Humboldt, I assumed fifteen years to be the age when military instruction began, but the general instruction began much sooner. See note 98.

[98] *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. IV, cap. V, p. 262): "Habiendo entrado en la casa del Telpuchcali el niño, dábanle cargo de barrer, limpiar la casa, poner lumbre, y hacer los servicios de penitencia á que se obligaba. Era costumbre que á la puesta del sol, todos los mancebos iban á bailar, y danzar à la casa que se llamaba Cuicacalco cada noche, y el muchacho tambien bailaba con los otros mancebos; llegando á los quince años. y siendo ya mancebillo, llevábanle consigo los mancebos mayores al monte á traer la leña, que era necesaria para la casa del Telpuchcali. y Cuicacalco, y cargabànle las rodelas para que las llevase acuestas;" (p. 269): "La vida que tenian era muy áspera . . . " (Cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271; Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 224), and other incidental notices. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124, 125). *Torque-*

happy. He was destitute; on earth misery engulfed him. For verily he brought it on himself — because of his wickedness, disregard, shamelessness, and neglect. No one bequeathed it to him, for by his own will and of his own fault he brought unto himself injury, torment, and pain. Hence he was despised and disregarded. No one any longer obeyed him; no one became his friend; he stood by himself. No one took account of his personality. Everywhere he was hated; nowhere was he liked; nowhere did he give pleasure. But he was regarded as a thing, and looked at, for now he was a vagabond, proscribed, completely outlawed; he was on the outside, lingering on the outskirts; impudent and shameless. He went about haughty[7] and drunk. For truly he was abandoned to evil and feared. His side was sore; his head ached — it was in pain — so that he was incorrigible, suffering, and dejected. For he was full of evil — so perverse was he.

And of anyone who had gained merit and reward being then born, his fathers and mothers said: "Upon a good day sign hath he been born and created and come forth on earth; he hath arrived upon the earth on [the day sign] One Crocodile. Let him be bathed."[8]

Whereupon they gave him a name. They called him Cipac. Or else, they gave him the name of another one of his grandparents. Etc.

And, on the other hand, if it were the wish [of the parents], perchance they passed over the days; perchance they settled upon still another day for him to be bathed. For One Crocodile bore with it all favorable day signs.

And if it were a man who was born, when they bathed him they adorned for him a small shield, upon which they put four small arrows. And to it they bound his umbilical cord. They entrusted it to and sent it in the charge of brave chieftains, who left it at the battlefield. Right there where they fought, where there was fierce battle, at the crossing of the waters, they buried it.

And if it were a woman, when they bathed her, they put into the vessel in which she was bathed, the large earthen bathing vessel, her spindle, her cotton,

quitlacamati, xiac icnjuh quichioa, yioca quetzalo, 787X
aoc ac iiel quitta, novian tlaelitto, ican velitolo, ican
tlapaquiltia, ça tlatto, ça itto, ca ie tlaztlacolli, ie tla-
itolli, ie centlaitoll'i, ie te:.nco cica, ie tetenco pipil-
cac, ie tepan onoc: injc aquen tlatta, injc moquatlaz-
tinemj, mjvintitinen.;, ca nel otlauelcaoaloc, otlael-
lelaxiti, otlaxillîquauhtili, otlaztonteconquauhtili,
otlaztonquauhtili inic auel monotza, ca iiolaçic, iiel-
lelaçic, quimaxilti, ynjc tlaueliloc.

Auh in aca vel mâcoaale, ilhujle, ipan otlacat: nj-
man quitoaia in jtahoan, in jnaoan, ca qualli tonalli
in jpan otlacat, oieroc, otlalticpacquijx, omotlalticpac-
quijxti, ce cipactli: ma njman malti,

ic quitocamacaia, ic quinotzaia, cipac: anoço itla [553]
oc centlamantli, icolhoan intoca in quimacaia, etc.:

auh tel çan teiollotlama; in açoc conchololtizque,
açoc contlalizque oc centetl tonalli, ipan maltiz: ca
ie quicenvica in ce cipactli, ca muchi qualli tonalli.

Auh intla oquichtli otlacat: in jquac caltiaia, chi- 787X
maltoatli quichichiviliaia, ipâ temj navi mjtotonti: 844
auh itech quilpiaia in jxic, intech quicaoaia, intech
quipiloaia in tiacaoan, iaopan concaoaia: vel oncan
in necaliua, in tlaiecolo, yn japaniocan contocaia.

Auh intla çioatl otlacat: ynjc caltiaia imalac, ich-
cauh, itzaoalcaz, ioan ipopouh, iochpanoaz ipan con-
temaia yn jnealtilcaz, in jnealtilapaz: yc quinextiaia,

7. Cf. Angel Maria Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 3 (1947), pp. 239 and 247 (n. 61), where [illegible] to translated verses in various documentaries.

8. The corresponding Spanish text usually uses "baptism" for *malti*, etc.; see however, Ch. 37, *ciqlva* (*chapuzamiento*, etc.).

X787 And in this way did the readers of the day signs
●553 remedy it: if someone were born on these several
851 days, they passed over them and waited for Seven
Rain. At that time they bathed him, that they might
give him a name. For in that way they remedied
his fate; then they brought him out at a good time
and it resulted at a propitious moment. They made
it partly good. Thus they expected that perchance
his fate and deserts might become something — if he
lived, were well reared, and played his part well;
because later, there, they had set in Seven Rain,[2] they
put their trust in Seven Rain.

ah injc quipatiaia tonalpoohqoc, intla aca ipan
otlacat inquilhujtl oc conchololtiaia, qujchieltiaia in
chiconqujavid quinjquac caltiaia inic quitocamacaqc,
ipampa ic quipatia in itonal, vncan quijeccaquiztia, ieccan quiça, chicoqualtia, ic conjtulia, in
aço ça itla ilhujl, imácoual, muchioztiuh intla nemiz,
intla uel ospanoz, intla uel moquetzaz ipampa oç
vncan in chiconnad quitlaliaia, vel quitemachiaia in
chiconqujavitl.

*787 They said it was a good day. Merciful, pitying,
and compassionate was the one born precisely upon
it. He became fortunate. It was as if his fortune,
his deserts, his good luck rained down upon him;
as if it sprinkled on or swirled about him. It was
said that verily so was his day sign, Seven Rain.

quitoaia ca qualli tonalli, icnoon, teicnoittanj, tetlacocolianj, in aquin vel ipan tlacatia, tlacnopilhujanj
muchioaia, iuhquin ipan tnetzelivi, iuhquin ipan pipizaoj, iuhquin momoloca ilhujl, imácoual, icnopal,
mitoa ca nel iuhquj itonal in chiconqujavitl.

[851] And he who was born on it was forthwith bathed,
and they gave him a name. No longer did they pass
over it, or delay or postpone it.

Auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan niman iquac maltia, quitocamaca, aocmo conchololtia, aocmo quitlatvilia, aocmo connechcatlaça:

Nevertheless, the morrow, Eight Flower, which
came next and following, was also the same. It, so
[851] they said, was also good. If someone were born on it,
they also at once bathed him and gave him a name.
For this reason they did so: they feared the one
which followed in order — Nine Crocodile.

auh tel no iuhquj in imoztlaioc quiztica, in quitoquilitica. Chicuey suchitl: iuh quitoaia no qualli,
intla aca ipan tlacatia: çan niman no iquac caltiaia,
quitocamacaia, ipampa iuh quichioaia, y, ieheuatl quimacaçia in oallatoquilia, chicunavi cipactli:

This, so they said, was in no way good; it was
perverse, full of vice. It accorded one rags and tatters.
Nothing could become a remedy or cure for the day
sign which had followed.

iuh quitoaia niman amo qualli, amo tlacacemelle,
motequitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, tmtzomatli, tstapetli, quiteilhujltia, aoc tle ipatica, aoc tle ipaio mochioa, in
quitoaltoquilia tonalli,

Only and exclusively immersed in and dedicated to
evil was the one then born. He was given only to
talking; he went wrapped in discussion. Words were
his hair. He was hot-tempered.[3] He twisted words.
Great was his glee if somewhere there was a shout;
there he ran and listened to what was said. If some-
where there was discussion and something was said,
he went among the people sowing discord; he went
causing disagreements and dissension; he confounded
and disunited them.

çaniioca tetlaactica mjxcaujtica, injc amo qualli in
aquj ipan tlacatia, çan tlatolli cololotinemj, tiltolli
cololhujtinemj, tiltoltzon, tiltolli, itlaqual tiltolnecujl, ozoca ivelmach intla cana neaio, vmpa motlaloa,
tecacaquj, intla cana nenonotzalo, itla itolo, tetzalan,
tenepantla, motecatinemj, techalanjtinemj, tenetecheuhtinemj, tetlatolçaçaca teiollnocôcoltia:

He disregarded and showed no regret for insinuations, spreading rumors, and continued lying. Falsehood and deceit he went about sowing here and there among the people. He interrupted conversa-

atle ipan quitta, amo quitequanmati in ovitlatolli, in
tetzauhtlatolli, ihixtlacati, ixtlactli, tenqualactli, tetlaquiquanjtinemj, motlatolcujcujtlavia, quitlatlâtlalilia
in tlatolli, tiltotlpiquinj, tlatolcampax, tlatolcacam-

2. We have read *chicunavi* as *chicuace ol*, possibly a misreading of *Chicuey quiauitl*.

3. *Tlatelli ihiquac*. See *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiii (Sahagún (Guthrey ed.), VI, 41, 10: "Había como gruñido de ahuacate. Este refrán se dice de aquellos que mentalmente en poco son dignos palabra dejaba largo cabaz en cabeza y cabaz pensaba por la boca, y cuando aquí hablar mal de otro largo espadas."

Tezcatlipoca; he only went withdrawing rule and power from others.

And of him who was born on the day sign One Death it was said that he would prosper and be rich, whether a nobleman or only a poor vassal. Many were his gifts. Honor came his way and rested on him when he performed well his penances and humbled himself. But if he did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign.

If, at this time, someone were born, then they bathed him and gave him a name. Small children performed the naming ceremony.[1] If a boy had been born, they therefore called forth [as his name] Miquiz, or Yaotl, Cenyaotl, Necoc yaotl, Chicoyaotl, or Yaomauitl. So they placed on him a name of Tezcatlipoca. Of this one it was said: "None may wish him harm: none may wish him to die." If anyone should wish or desire his death, he would simply sicken and suddenly die.

At this time it was the day sign[2] of the slaves, the wretched slaves, whose dwelling places were by the hones for sharpening and the grinding stones. None of the slave-owners could scold them, or abuse them with vile words, or call angrily or indignantly to them when they learned that the morrow would be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. They then, first, took from them, struck off, and removed from them the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee. Then they soaped them and bathed them, and made much of and flattered them. They showed them great esteem, because, so they thought, they were his likenesses and representatives:[3] his beloved sons. It was said that they were like the blue cotingas, the trupials, the precious birds of Tezcatlipoca. And those who owned slaves warned and on threat of death[3] ordered their children, youths, and growing sons, commanding them sternly and rigorously, not to chide, deal vainly with, nor strike the slaves.

Auh in aquin ipã tlacatia itonal ce mjquiztli: mjtoaia mocujltonoz, motlamachtiz, intla pilli, anoço çan maceoaltzintli, muchi inemactia, itech açia, itech pachivia, in maviçotl: iquac in tlauellamaceoa, mocnomati: auh intlacamo uellamaceoa, ca çan ynrujian conmocaujlia, qujmjtlacalhuja yn jtonal.

yn jquac, y, tla aca otlacat, njman caltiaia, qujtocamaca, qujxicvenquaqualia in pipiltotonti, intla oquichtli otlacat, ic qujnotza mjquiz, anoço iaotl, ceniaotl, necoc iaotl, chicoiaotl, iaomavitl, ic qujtocamaaia in Tezcatlipoca: injn mjtoaia, aiac vel qujcocoliz, aiac vel qujmjquitlanja, intla aca qujmjquitlanj, qujmjquiztemach... çan iõ in mococolia onmjctuetzi.

Auh in jquac in catca ipan tonalli: in tlatlacoti, in tlatlacotzizinti, in teatexatitlan, temetlatitlan innemjan: aiac vel qujmacoaia, aiac vel qujntenquanviaia, qujntlauelnotzaia, qujnqualancanotzaia, in tlacaoaque, in oqujmatque, ca muztla itonalpan iez in Tezcatlipoca: njman achto qujntomaia, qujtequjlia, qujntlaxilia in qusuhcoacatl, in coliuhqui, injc pieloia, inic ilpitinenca, injc amo choloaque: njman ic quimamoviaia, qujmaltiaia, cenca qujntlaçotlaia, qujnxoxocoioamatia, vel qujnmavizmatia, ipampa iuh qujmatia, ca iziptlaoa, ipatillooa, ytlaçopilhoan, mjtoa iuhqujn iquechollhoan, içaquantotoca, itlaçototoan in Tezcatlipoca: auh in tlacaoaque, vel qujnemachtiaia, qujnmjqujznaoatiaia, qujntlaquauhnoatiaia, qujntepitznaoatiaiaia, in impilhoan, in jntlazcaltilhoan, yn intlaoapaoalhoan: injc amo qujmaoazque qujncuecuenochichioazque, anoço qujnvitequjzque in tlacaoã:

1. Of this ceremony, the Spanish text reads: "*Cumplidamente a los xiii ds., y los damas de comer, para q. respiraron el nombre, del que avia nacido y le dieronpuesto a honor, por los ellos.*" Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), p. 315, translates an explanatory passage from the *Academia de la Historia* MS: "*cuando ya le quitaremonios la capaz-pipilcuemal le apuar amilaqui cuando ya le quitaremonios en tiempo cuando[a] en dicir yaoc ach quintlhuia in aqu yaoal amoqo cuicil ach nimon ya le tomaiiac quakonac cuachaia cuchiaoc cuachiaoquipaqui i yaoal yquac quincapulilia en tiempo ynic mocchi daoal le quimonizac — dauo rufi or dia Kraber. Nachdem sie gekrönnen sind, gab er ihnen die Nahahchaur-Opfergabe und frage (die Angehörigen), wie er heisst, und er nennt ihnen (die Namen) Yaotl oder Uiuitil (Krieger oder Kaliber). Und darauch fangen sie an zu erbrechen und sprechen: "Kommt her, Freunde, das Nahahchaurpfer Yaotl ausen." Dann ersticken die ersten Namen (der Kinder), wie dem ellc er namen rellen.*

2. See *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 202r.

3. Quinquipiuzcuatlatoc: the term so appears in the Nahuatl column.

34

1 [i.e., One Death.—Analyst]

secret. They were sowers of discord, of gossip,[6] who spoke with tongue in cheek; spreaders of tales. They confused, confounded, and rejected the counsel of elders. They wished not to be deflated. They were not people of honor. These same dedicated themselves to and paid strict attention to constant evil. It was their only labor. All [their] acts and efforts were repeated adultery, thievery, absconding with tribute; making off with many things by trickery, coveting, and deceiving. They were trouble-makers, interpreters of dreams, who brought others into sin, sold goods in secret, sold people in secret, spirited people away, and misled them, calling them by trickery.

None of his own food did he eat. He lived with other people, going from house to house, entering others' dwellings.

As he had been born, so he grew, shameful and deranged. Then at the start of his childhood, as he had grown in years, incorrigible, too lazy to heed the discourse, he answered impudently or blamed someone else. He was one who became wroth, who turned his face aside in rage and tossed his head in anger, who hung his head. Anger was in his face. He was completely full of evil; wickedness was deep in him. He was perverted, rude; of wicked, evil tongue. Everyone dreaded his tongue and his words. None could equal him in conversation nor best him in talking. So it was said of him: "He is perverted; only words are his lot; he is of evil temper." No man's name gave they him. Everywhere he remained aside from people. He was infamous; he remained a burden to people. Hence was he reviled, proscribed, suspected. Everywhere his life and deeds were regarded with dread. For truly, he had been born in a time of vice and sin. That is to say, indeed, only to be reviled was his gift: nothing good, nothing fine.

And the readers of the day signs bettered and remedied the nature of the day sign on which the useless one was born. They arranged that later, upon Ten Rabbit, he would be bathed and given a name. They said that if he should live, perhaps something would be his deserts, though not forthwith. Still by pain and suffering of mind and body, by his penances, he would achieve that which was to be his gift. Later, himself and of his own effort, he would achieve and acquire it, as hath already been said in many places.

6. *Tecuecuecueloa in the Real Palacio MS.*

icentequjuh in tlatlauelilocaiotl, much ichivil, much inequjuh, tetlâtlanxima, yichtequj, tlâtlaixpachoa, tlatlanzoalchioa, tetlâtlaixtoqujlia, tetlâtlaxiqujtilia, tecovicanaquja, tetlatlanamjctia, tetlatlacolnamjctia, tlatlachtacanamaca, teiichtacanamaca, teiichtacaujca, tenanaoalhujca, tenanaoalnotza, 787[x]

much aitlaqual in qujqua, teca nenemj, tecacalpanoa, tepan cacalactinemj:

njman iuh qujça, njman iuh mozcaltia, in aquen tlatta, in atlacacemelle njmâ ipan pilpeoa, njman ipan mozapaoa, in auel monotza, aiel qujcaqujz in tlatolli, çan ie tenananqujlia, tepan qujcuepa, tlatlauelchioanj, mjixlaça, moquaquatlaça, iixcuelloa, mjixcuelloa, vel qujmaxilti, iiolaçic, tlauelilloc, vel iolloxujcujtla, âtentlacatl, tentlauelilloc, muchi tlacatl qujtenjmacaçi, qujtlatolimacaçi, aiac qujtenaci, aiac vel qujtempanavia, iee injc mjtoa: atlacacemelle, çan tlatolli ilhujl, tlatolli itlaqual, aiac itlacatocaia, noviian tetenco caca, tepan onoc, tepan cenmantoc, injc aujlqujzquj, tlaitolli, tlaztacolli, noviian mauhcaitto in jnemjliz in jtlachioal, ca nel iuhcan tlacat, in tlaçoltitlan, teuhtitlan, qujtoznequj: ca çan motqujtica aujlqujzaiotl, in jnemac, atle qualli, atle iectli:

auh in nen ic qujqualtiaia, qujqualtiliaia tonalpouhque, in iuhquj itonal ipan otlacat, qujn ipan quitlatlaliliaia, in matlactetl tochtli: injc ipan maltiz, qujtocamacazque, qujtoaia: intla nemjz aço ça itla imâcoaltiz, iece camo cascanviz, oc totoneoaz, chichichinacaz in jiello, in jnacaio, itla macoaliztica qujcnopilhujz, in jnemac mochioaz, qujn inoma, qujn izcoian qujnjxnextiliz, qujn qujnomaviz, qujn qujmonomaviliz: in iuh ie mjieccan omoteneuh. [851 553]

[p.52 is blank]

X 787 **Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the good day signs which correspond to the four houses in this sign; and it was said that the day signs of those then born were good.**

And the one day sign, the one day count Ten Rabbit, so it was said, was a very good time. Whoever was then born, whether man or woman, was of great deserts, great gifts, and riches. For just so was it said of the tenth position, when [the day sign] became the tenth. On the tenth day sign, it was always a favorable time, of gifts and recompense, as in its separate accounts[1] hath already been told. But not then, at that time, did they bathe him, on the day sign on which he had been born. They always directed their attention there to the closing day sign, later, when they bathed him and gave him a name, on [Thirteen][2] Monkey; because thereby they greatly strengthened the day sign; they improved his day sign. For, so it was said, a very good time was the closing day sign, the ending and concluding day sign, as will be told in its account.

[85] 553

And the following Eleven Water, and Twelve Dog, and the concluding Thirteen Monkey, as many as these were favorable. Ten Rabbit drew, dragged, amplified, and helped all of them, so that all four were good. It was said that anyone who was born upon these various day signs became a highly favored person; he succeeded and endured on earth.

That is to say, he was not deflated; not one of the least nor the last; nor a man without recognition. He was well respected and recognized; he was famed and honored; hence he was one who prospered, enjoyed glory, was compassionate, and served others. As a chieftain, he was strong, daring in battle, esteemed, intrepid, able, sharp-witted, quick-acting[3] prudent, sage, learned, and discreet; an able talker, and attentive. It seemed as if he set forth his dis-

1. Mantenlle. The Nahuatl text could also read tlamatenlle.
2. Read matlactli omei.
3. Cf. yollomatinilli in "Memoriales con escolios," pp. 204, 211.

Injc matlactli on navi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in qualli, tonalli: in jntech ca in nauhtetl calli: in ipan in machiotl, ioan qujl qualli intonal casca, in aqujque vncan tlacati.

Auh in jpan in cemjlhujtonalli cemjlhujtlapoalli, in matlactli tochtli: iuh mjtoa, cenca qualcan in aqujn vncan tlacatia, in oqujchtli, in çioatl, cenca mâceoale, ilhujle, mocujltonoanj: ipampa no iuh mjtoa, in matlactioaia, in vncâ tlamatlacti, in jpan matlactli tonalli, muchipa qualcan, vncan ca ilhujlli, mâceoalli, in iuh ca itlatlatollo, in ie mjeccan omoteneuh: auh aiamo njman caltiaia, in jpan in tonalli otlacat, qujn cen ompa contlachialtiaia in tonaltzonco, ipan caltiaia, qujtocamacaia: in jpan matlactlonnauj oçomatli ipampa injc cenca qujtonalchicaoaia, qujuecapanoaia itonal, ca iuh mjtoa: cenca qualcan in tonaltzonco, in jca tlantica tonalli, in qujtlamjtica tonalli, in iuh ipan moteneoaz itlatollo.

Auh in qujtoqujlia matlactloce atl, ioan matlactlomome itzcujntli, ioan in tlaçtonqujxtia, matlactli vmej oçomatli, izqujtetl qualli, muchi qujcentilinja, qujcenvilana, qujncenteteoana, qujncentlatalhuja in matlactli tochtli, ic nauhteixtin qualtin. Mitoa: in aqujn vncan ipan tlacatia in jzqujtetl in tonalli: cenca tlacnopilhujanj muchioaia, oalqujçaia, oalnemja in tlalticpac,

qujtoznequj: amo patzactzintli, amo çan tetzacuja, amo tlatzinpiloa, amo çan can nenemj, vel ixmacho teixpan icac, moteneiotia momaujzçotia, injc mocujltonoanj, injc maujztli, injc tetlaçocolianj, injc teca muchioanj: auh injc tiacauh injc chicaoac, injc iaotlaueliloc, injc amo tetlaçaltoca, amo ixmauhquj, ioan injc moncalianj, ixe, iollo, iollotecujcujl, iolizmatquj, ioliztlamatquj, tlanemjlianj, toltecatl, mjmatinj: ioan vellatoa, vellacaçtuj, iuhqujn mjtic qujte

441 his statue apeat in his tribal district [temple]. One
765 day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And
778 then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in [the place] which they called the god's courtyard, at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

X787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his [illegible]nces well, according to his day sign, his gifts [illegible]avors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

[851 He who was then born they did not yet bathe;
●553 they bathed him later, or Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

3. *Ordinarily, ibid., "If it is it had quarrelsome wounds, he all unfortunately."*
4. *Molina, op. cit. (Spanish Nahuatl), Lado derecho.*
5. *The sun rising symbol. It is of course in the Red Sunrise MS.*

ioh intla çã othlauic ostomecatl, quijtoznequi: iztlacamo oiacouic, in aço çan ococolincuic, çan ic ao ivi in quichichiouia icujllo, iece çan ichan in tlalqia, amo iohuepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ic omocacaloa, qomopiloa tonatiuh quijhtoua.

No iceu mjtoa: in jquac ypan in ce cuatl tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in jquac oiautlatoloc, oeiacotlalhujloc, in qmjto, in oococaquijtiloc iaoiotl, vel iqua ipan vapeuaia in iaoc: vaçan iacoquijtoaia, ipan otlatocoia, ipan vnacotemalaia, vnaocteua, oemaococoj, oomolinja, oua, nhueuj, icxiouaua, in jaqujch quauhtlocelotl:

ioh in aquja ipan otlacat ce ocelotl tonalli, quitoaia, quijhtoaia, quijnemactiaia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, ilhujle, mococole muchiouz, mococjltecoua, vnca quijquanj iez: ioh intlaca ximoillamacoua, in iohqui itoua in, amo ipan muchiua in jnemac, in jcaopil: çan ichoatl quijnitlacalhuja, quijnepopollinja, mjtoa: iaoviian conmocaujlia, quijmotlçolmjctilia. Er.

yn aquja ipã otlacat in, xiuuo calitoia, quja ipã calitoia in Ey mapatl: iquac quijnecauaca, ipampa ic mjtoccan omjto: in citiouian tonalli, in jquac tlacoilhujtilia, quijqualitoia in tonalpouhque: ichoatl ic cocthuotoquijtoia, vnapa quijtocquijtoia, vnapa cocthachictoia, injc cenca quijnonelchicoouia.

Auh in quijnequjlia, vnic mjquijtli, ioh quijoa: amo qualli, atle vncã ca nakoualli. Auh in cy mapatl: ioh quijoa qualli tonalli, ic omjto: in citiouia ruuchipa quaxcan, vncan ca tlacnopilhujltzli in ioh quijcilhujoia tonalpouhque. Auh in nauj tochtli, in tlamahcoiotia tonalli, in nauhcuiopa tlaviza, tlacoa-

And one then born they hence regarded as fortunate and said that he would be rich. Our lord would reward him; through his grace he would buy slaves and ceremonially bathe them for sacrifice. Or many times he would have others sing and dance. And[4] when they gave him a name, they arranged it for Four Reed. Then they gave food to the young boys and had them perform the naming ceremony.[5] This was because that time was the time of the election rites, of the election of the rulers of the cities.

And also it was said that on One Dog the owners and breeders of dogs rubbed ochre on all the dogs' heads.[6]

And [the day signs] which followed it were Two Monkey, and Three Grass, Four Reed, Five Ocelot, Six Eagle, Seven Vulture, Eight Motion, Nine Flint Knife,[7] Ten Rain, Eleven Flower, Twelve Crocodile, Thirteen Wind. These were all the group of day signs.

All were as in their account, as mentioned. Each day went related as to the manner of gifts of those then born. This is already explained; in many places hath it been made quite apparent. And when [these had] ended, thereupon set in —

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, injc qujtonalittaia, qujtoaia: mocujtonoz, ipal icz, qujtlamanjçalhujz in totecujo: aço tecuaz, tealtiz, aço quezaquipa cujcujcaz teotiz: uh inic qujtocamacaia, quja no ipan qujmattiuja in naoscatl, iquac qujtlatlaqualiaia, qujxicwenquaqualiaia in pipiltotonti: ipampa in vncah motlatocapaca, in netlatocapoicaian tlatoque, altepeme.

No ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce itzcujntli, in jzquijchtin chichime, qujnquatlaviaia in itzcujneque, in jtzcujnnemjtique.

Auh in qujtoquijlia vme oçomatli, ioan ey malinalli, navi acatl, mucujlli oçelotl, chiquacen quauhtli, chicome coxcaquauhtli, chicuei olin, chicunauj tecpac, matlactli qujauitl, matlactlooc xuchitl, matlactlomome cipactli, matlactli vmei hecatl, in jaquijtztl in cencalpā tonalli,

ça ie much iuhquj in jtoloca omoteneuh, injc cecemjlhujpā tlapoaltitiuh, in quenamj innenemac ipan tlacati, ie ōmomelauh mjeccan vel omonenezti: auh in jquac onquiz in njman ic oalmoquetza.

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4. Ms. and a name.

5. See Chapter 9, n. 1.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tambien tenian una ceremonia: que en este signo, los que criaban los perrillos, que hacian dueso: los almagraban las cabezas."

7. Tecpatl, serpent's tooth.

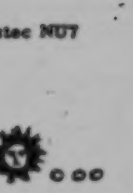

851 **Thirty-fifth Chapter.** Here is told what was done
553 when they bathed their children, and how food was eaten when they gave them their names; and the discourse which the old people gave when they addressed the child and the mother.

Inic ompoalli on caxtolli cuptinlo: vncan mjtoa yn tlein muchioaia, yn iquac quimaltiaia impilhoan, yoan inic tlaqualoia yn iquac qujntocamacaia: yoan in tlatolli in qujtoaia vevetque, in quilhuiaia, pilhuatli: yoan in tenã.

553 And when he was bathed, quite early in the morning, in the morning light, when the sun appeared, they had the small children perform the naming ceremony. They went out shouting and panting on the roads; to the entrances they ran. Thus they went calling out what he had been given as a name, as hath already been mentioned, in a certain place. They took the naming ceremony gift, parched maize toasted with beans. They provided it with beans, many beans, offered in a vessel:

Auh in iquac maltia, çan iooztzinco, tlavizcalpã, iquac yn oalmomã tonatiuh, quixicvenquaqualia im pipilhotonti tzatzatzitiui, yhicaoaca, yn vtlicapa, quiaoecpa, motlatlaloa, ic quinotztiui, in tlein ẽtocaiotiloc piltontli, in juh ic omoteneuh, cecẽ quinanamoia, in xicventli, izquitl in quicequi, hexio, quẽeiotia, moca ietl, xicaltica quimana.

851 And it is said that so was the custom if someone were born on a day sign beginning in the first position, [illegible] hath been said in many places). If it were a good time, then at once they quickly bathed him. Or later, they set it aside and skipped a day, so that they could make good the feasting and drinking for the child.[1]

Yoã mjtoa iuh tlamanca intla aca ipã oclacat ynic cemilhuitl vmpeoa tonalli (ca mjeccã omãio). yntia qualcan njmã iciuhca conaltitiveztzi, auh quin nonqua, contlalilia oc cocchololtia, ynic quitlatlaqualia, pillaqualo, pillacano:

But if they could not do so then, they bathed him later, on the third day sign. As here it appeareth in [the series of] One Eagle, the one perhaps then born they would bathe later, on Three Movement.

auh intlaca ie moveliti, quin ipã caltia yn Ey tonalli, yn juh nican neci-ipã ce quauhtli, yn aquin tla ipã oclacat, quin ipã caltizque in Ey olin,

Those whose fathers and mothers were poor, the indigent, who were in misery, and had nothing to use, with which to gather together and assemble people, only with affliction, sickness, and misery bathed their child. For they only aggravated and worsened it when they did not delay, defer, retard, procrastinate, or postpone [the day of bathing].

icheõ in çã tlacoocavia ytaboan ynãoã in çan icnotlaca, in ça quitzacuis icnoiotl, atlezzin in polivifi, in tecentlaliloni, in tenechicoloaj, ic çan cococatzin, cococaiotica, icnotlacaiotica conaltia yn jnoneuh, ipãpa in çan quitoztivezzj, quitoztiquiça, in aocmo cõvecatlaça, cõtlecatilia, cõnechcatilia, cõnechcatlaça, cõchololtia,

But if the fathers were rich and prosperous, if there was wherewith to eat, they selected for one a later date, on the seventh day sign; at that time they bathed the child and placed him in the cradle. This was because, as hath been said, they always considered the seventh day sign good. At that time they held an important banquet. There was drink and

auh intla motlacamati, mocuitonos teuhcõ, in vncã quiquanj, quin ce vmpa quimattivi yn ipã chicome tonalli, yquac caltia, yoan quicoçolaquja im piltontli, ypampa yn juh omjto muchipa quiqualizzaia yn 7. tonalli, yquac quivejchios in tecomocaliztli, atlioa, tlaqualo, novjampa, xonochitlano, oalhuj in nochicauhque, nequequeçalo, nepopotzoio, auh in

1. Cf. Sahagún (Gardner ed.), I, 15, 11, and II, 38, 7-9; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit. Book II, "The Ceremonies," pp. 152-158.

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562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

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555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

425 511 A married man received a plot of land directly from the clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] 555 Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success-[575] ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli* [554] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[8]

624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

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346 Each temple usually had a chamber and an antechamber, and in some cases two or even three shrines rested on the same platform. This platform or substructure gave height and mass to the temple. The usual practice was to lay up rough stone, set in adobe or lime, into a truncated pyramid, the sides of which were broken up by three narrow setbacks and by a steep ramp leading to the top. The surface was of veneered cut-stone slabs, and additional blocks were laid along the ramp to make the stair. Wide balustrades bordered the staircase and often ended in gigantic serpent heads. Aztec construction was the simplest type of engineering, but imposing architectural effects were gained by the consummate artistic sense and superb craftsmanship of the builders.[19] (See Plates 50–51.)

291 554 The adequate, even imposing, housing of the Aztecs and their gods by no means eclipsed their dress. Clothing, besides protecting man from the weather, has an important social function. It is a guide to the sex, age, group, occupation, rank and even character of its wearer. The simple and standardized clothing of our modern society performs the same service, and with a moment's observation one can tell much about a stranger from his clothes. The Aztecs, like many peoples of the world, strove by their dress to accentuate the social differences between people, and pomp and panoply dominated their costume. Or the barbaric splendor of high civilian dress superimposed the fantastic garb of the priests and priestesses in their impersonation of the complex and ornately represented divinities in their pantheon.[20]

[302] The *macehual*, or ordinary tribesman, left his head uncovered, his hair long, and customarily wore a *maxtli*, or loincloth, a mantle knotted over one shoulder, and sandals of

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leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women 291
wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they 554
sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*,
completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, [302]
sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they
wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may
still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates
33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many names given to the different kinds of mantles show their interest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather [292]
from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich man- 292
tles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some, who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker supporting an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle. On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identification. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, 301
shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, 304
opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay, wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

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776 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people,
173 promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

554 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many
174 guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find
177 to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-*701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank 555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-*565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and 643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two 701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were 701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the 554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, "they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, "that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had "been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de "Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient "un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.:" p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were "called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If "one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of "it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been "invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Monterzuma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéké" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

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701 554 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of those animals.[87] Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.[88]

701 555 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.[89]

[87] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepec (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 200 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a "peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody "might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that "he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII. cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . . the head "was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and "with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

[88] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 289). " . . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos "los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cua-"chic, que eran una órden de caballeria que no auia de voluer piè atras ó morir . . " . ." Tezozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachi, and Tequihuaques . . . . being "always leaders" ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 83) says: " . . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths "a Cuachic, to five others an Otomi, then again an Achcauhtli, and a Tequihua; all "conquerors." This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The "Otomitl" is also called by Tezozomoc a "general" occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ò varon "fuerte llamado Coachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos "etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 565) calls the "Quachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

[89] By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-
[685] cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for "abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ò de "noche, ò tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladron que se "adjudicaba y queria para si el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this vigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcautin," "quauhtin," and "ococelo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

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701 formation regarding the title of the principal war-chief of Tlatilulco, the names given occasionally being personal.[102]

701 The distinctive mark of these chieftains consisted in having the
554 hair tied behind or above the occiput with a strap of red leather;

"by few only." "Cuauhnoctli," therefore, being "Chachi," or "Quachictin," whereas "Tiillancalqui" is but a civil or religious chief, as it is furthermore shown by his being sent as a delegate to Cortés, to the coast (Tezozomoc, Cap. CVII, p. 191). I have ventured to substitute the former as one of the four war-chiefs, each commanding the warriors of one of the four great quarters of Mexico. It may be objected that, aside from Tezozomoc, I have not adduced any other direct proof of the actual existence of these four chieftains. I have already alluded to the probable reason why they are not mentioned as such by the sources of Mexican aboriginal history. Their true position, the nature of their office was simply overlooked. But we know that the tribe of Mexico had divided into four quarters; we know, further, that not only in Mexico, but all over Central America, this same division existed, for civil as well as for military purposes. Each of these four great sections must have had, therefore, its civil and its military
[555] head, and it is but natural to admit, that those heads were the *most distinguished warriors of the tribe*, since *merit, and not descendancy or wealth*, entitled alone to *promotion in rank and office*. Therefore the military chiefs of the four quarters must have been the four "chachi" of Mexico. On the other hand, those four dignities were each elective, and not filled by appointment. But, for an election, there must be electors, and a constituency. We know that the "captains were elected (by the kin which they should "command)", and it is but logical to admit that the *four greatest military chiefs* of the tribe were elected to command its *four greatest subdivisions*. Therefore, again, the "chachi" of Tezozomoc must have been the military chiefs of the four quarters of Mexico. Besides, we may ask: Why *four* chiefs, and not any other number? if not that these four principal chieftains corresponded to, and actually represented, a like number of greatest fractions of the whole tribe.

If the older authors observe a certain uniformity in their enumeration of these four chiefs, always beginning with the "Tlacochcalcatl," we must not infer from it that one or the other of the four was inferior or superior to the others. They were all alike in rank, although Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) places the "Tlacochcalcatl" above the others. The very confusion among some of the statements shows that no reliance can be placed upon their assertions in that respect. (Compare, for inst.: Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXII, p. 185, with cap. LXV, p. 189, and lib. IV, cap. 13, p. 379.) It results from all these statements, but especially from the positive and consistent assertions of Tezozomoc, that while the four were equal in rank, it still sometimes happened that one or the other, from age or experience, took the superior command according to emergency. Their influence was even decisive, sometimes, with the head war-chief of Mexico himself. See the part played by "Tlacochcalcatl" in the attack upon Tlatilulco (Tezozomoc, Cap. XLV, p. 73), and the resolute action of "Tlacateccatl" in the battle against the Tarasca of Michhuacan, which occurred in 1477, when he compelled Axayaca to retreat before the victorious enemy (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII, p. 84). Also, the assertion of Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), "without whose consent he could do nothing."

[102] "Itzquauhtin" is mentioned by Torquemada (Vol. IV). This would be "eagle
[554] of obsidian," or "flint-eagle." We must always distinguish *personal* names from *titles*. In most cases only the latter were given, and the presumption therefore arises that the *title took the place of the name*. Says my friend Sr. J. M. Melgar y Serrano, of Vera Cruz: "Creo deber aconsejar a V no tome como nombres de las personas muchas "de las palabras con que estaban designadas, pues eran el que se los daban el titulo "del cargo que tenian." (Letter under date of 26 January, 1873.)

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a distinction reserved exclusively for them and for the head war-chiefs of the Mexican tribe.[103] 701 554

Highest in military command, as head war-chief of the Mexican tribe, was the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"),[104] represented to us as the king or emperor[105] of Mexico. But he was neither a monarch nor an autocrat, nor a despot. Elected out of a certain kin or descendancy[106] for life, but upon the condition of good behaviour, he could be deposed and degraded, should he incur the 643 701

[103] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). "Los mas preeminentes destos eran, los que tenian "atada la corona del cabello con una cinta colorada, y un plumaje rico, del qual col-"gauan unos ramales hazia las espaldas con unas borlas del mismo al cabo; estas "borlas eran tantas en numero, quantas hazañas auia hecho. Desta orden de Caualle-"ros era el mismo Rey tambien, y asi se hallaba pintado, con esto genero de plumajes, "y en Chapultepec, donde estan Moteçuma y su hijo esculpidos en unas peñas que son "de ver, ..." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) condenses the statement of Acosta only. Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères, etc.," Vol. I): "il (Montezuma) a les cheveux "réunis au sommet de la tête, et liés avec un ruban rouge, distinction militaire des prin-"ces et des capitaines les plus vaillants." The figure is from the "Codex anonymous," of the Vatican.

[104] This title is given by Tezozomoc, and also by Ramirez de Fuenleal, in Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pièces," p. 247): "Mutizuma portait le nom de 'tacatecli,' "'tetuan,' 'jutlacal.'" It is easy to discern "tlacatecuhtli," and "tlatoani,"—of the latter title we shall hereafter speak. Also: "Il existe parmi eux une espèce de chef à "qui ils donnent le nom de tacatecle on tlatuan."

[105] The Mexican language has no word for emperor (Molina I, p. 51). But Tezozomoc renders the expression "cemanahuac tlatoani" by "emperor of the world." It signifies, however, simply "speaker for what dwells near the water."

[106] The question of succession in office among the Mexicans is a very difficult one. Still, it certainly never descended from father to son, but was always transmitted by election, either to a brother or to a nephew of the former incumbent. The manner of electing the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" of Mexico is very fully described by Sahagun: "When "the king or lord died, all the senators, called Tecutlatoques, and the old men of the "tribe, called Achcacauhti, and also the captains and old warriors, called Yautequioa-"ques, and other prominent captains in warlike matters, and also the satraps (priests), "called Tlenamacaque and Papaoaqui,—all these assembled in the royal houses. "There they deliberated and determined upon who had to be lord, and chose one of "the most noble of the descendancy (lineage) of the past lords, who would be a val-"iant man, experienced in warlike matters, daring and brave, who should not drink "wine, should be prudent and wise, raised in the Calmecac, a good speaker, of good "understanding, esteemed and loving. When they agreed upon one, they at once nom-"inated him as lord, but this election was not made by ballot or votes, but, all confer-"ring together, they at last agreed upon the man." Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), speaking of the four war-chiefs: "y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros, "y tampoco podian ser puestos en este cargo y ditados sino eran hijos ù hermanos de "reyes; . . . . nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los "señorios, sino por election." "Y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado "y señorio, eligiéndolos poco a poco." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Lo pri-"mero en que parece auer sido muy politico el govierno de Mexicanos, es en el orden "que tenian, y guardauan inviolablemente de eligir Rey." Whether we are authorized to go any further than to say that the Tlacatecuhtli had to belong to a certain *kin*, is very doubtful.

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701 golden tubes enclosing his ankles.[120]— they were all of a more
643 elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Cihua-cohuatl" were
293 entitled to wear them thus.[121]

But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle
554 was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123]

000 A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

[120] "Cozcatl," or "cozcapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Cozcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaclel pudiesen "traer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro-"vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la caueça con plumeria." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Camé" and "Vukub-Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1698. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, re-"duccion y progressos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "subtle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "vfloriose tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcance." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con qüe los reyes hazian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, o sus generales, los quales tocauan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure *may* be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of *chiefs*, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Miuutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatimala." Berlin, 1832) has, Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada,

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armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished 726
with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried 726
mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each 724
household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,—shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ("tlatzontectli"), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatiluico, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land. 505

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojos y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes "gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "vizcocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolatl," which possessed particularly vivifying qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII). 262 272

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been *slaves*. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatiluico for a time after its capture), upon whom this *degrading* work (*because woman-like!!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu- 554 558

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pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future opportunity;[147] it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes, whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico.*[148] Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,[149] calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.[150]

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,[151] still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.[152] The force,

[147] It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

[148] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135): "Con Mexico estaban confederados "los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que hora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que gana-"ban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecuhtli." (Zurita, p. 11).

[149] This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the Cronica Mexicana, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

[150] When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinco-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 83). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 286). Axayacatl: "mandó partiese el exercito de "la ciudad y que en sus capitanias fuesen à los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que alli "se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos terminos de Matlatzinco y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,—"commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three "days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Meztitlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu-"rana la uncion y estar velando salvo sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la "gente que estuviese aperceuida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que alli "aguardasen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

[151] There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

[152] Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with *kindred* tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalca of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Anahuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

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618 It was not necessary to become a chief in order to fill certain offices. Still it is evident that, as chiefs were always men of peculiar ability, the higher charges were generally filled by chieftains.

618 554 555 The title and rank of "grandfather" ("Tecuhtli,")[167] which was the Mexican term for chieftain in general, was open to any one who strove to deserve it. It was conferred:

1. In recompense for warlike prowess, and actions of personal intrepidity and superior shrewdness. Courage alone could not secure it; therefore the "distinguished braves" were not always chiefs.[168]

2. In reward for actions denoting particular wisdom and sagacity, and in acknowledgement of services in the councils, or as traders.[169]

sonal merit, and died with the individual." I have selected the term "*officer*" as a substitute for Mr. Morgan's "*sachem*," because the latter is a northern Indian word, whereas the *former*, while it expresses the nature of the charge and dignity, is more widely known, and therefore better understood. It is out of the union of the attributes, of both officer and chief, that nobility and monarchy have been claimed to exist. Among the Mexicans, in fact among the most highly advanced Indian tribes (the Inca of Peru not excluded), the dignity of chief was still a personal matter, and not necessarily connected with office. The chiefs are the "knights," mentioned by *Garcilasso de la Vega* ("*Histoire des Yncas*," Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, XXV, XXVI) and *Herrera* (Dec. V, Lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 63; Lib. IV, cap. I, p. 83). With the Muyscas of Bogotá, compare *H. Ternaux-Compans* ("*L'ancien Cundinamarca*," § XXVII, pp. 57 and 58). *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXVI, cap. XXXI. p. 410). *Herrera* (Dec. VI, Lib. V, cap. VI, pp 116 and 117). Compare also, in regard to the dignity of "military chief" among the wild tribes of the Rio Orinoco and of its tributaries, *P. José Gumilla* "*Histoire naturelle, civile, et géographique de l'Orénoque*," translated by Mr. Eidous, 1758, (Vol. II, chapter XXXV, pp. 280-298). Very important.

[167] *Molina* (IIa p. 96), "abuelo," "tecul." It evidently should be "abuelo," and is therefore only a misprint. The older reports have the word "tecle," and only the later writers (those after the year 1580) begin to write it "tecutli," "tecuhtli," "teuctli." Whether the "teules" meant really "gods," or rather "tecuhtin," as plural of "tecutli," is yet doubtful. It is almost a truism to recall here the Roman "senex," and the German "grave" or "Graf." Among American tribes we have, in QQuiché, "ana," old, "ahau,"—chief; in Maya, "Hachyum,"—father, and "ahau,"—chief—also "achi,"—brave.

[168] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 329-332): "De Los grados por donde subian hasta hacerse Tequitlatos," especially (p. 331): "y á los que por si prendian cuatro cautivas, mandaba el rey que los cortasen los cabellos como á capitan, llamalbanle tal diciendo . . . . el capitan mexicatl. ó el capitan tolnaoacatl, ú otros nombres que cuadraban á los capitanes. De alli adelante se podian sentar en los estrados que ellos usaban de petates é icpales en la sala donde se sentaban los otros capitanes y Valientes hombres, los cuales son primeros y principales en los asuntos, y tienen barbotes largos, orejeras de cuero, y borlas en las cabezas conque están compuestas;" *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47): "Les chefs qui, comme nous l'avons dit, se nommaient Tec Tecutzcin, ou Teutley au pluriel, n'exerçaient le commandement qu'à vie, parce que les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient à ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits à la guerre, et des services rendus à l'état ou au prince"). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 361). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, pp. 471 and 472), and others.

[169] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p, 362): "Estos mercaderes

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In both the above instances (or kinds of instances) actions of particular merit facilitated, at least, the acquisition of the title; but it could, also, be obtained:— 618 554 555

3. By the observance of rigorous and even cruel rites of "medicine" for a stated time, which put the courage, fortitude, and self-control of the candidate to the severest tests.[170] Although a detailed account of these rites might perhaps be withheld for a subsequent sketch of ancient Mexican worship, yet they equally deserve a place here. 555 785 618

The candidate appears to have been presented at the great central place of worship by the representatives of his kin, perhaps, also, by the other chiefs of his tribe. There he underwent four days and four nights of the most cruel torments. While but little nourishment was allowed him (some went even so far as not to eat anything at all during this time), his blood was drawn freely, and no sleep was permitted to settle on his weary eyes. From time to time he was exposed to taunts, to injurious words, to blows and even to stripes. While he was thus hungry and thirsty, weakened from loss of blood through self-sacrifice, others ate and drank plentifully before his eyes. Finally, his clothes were torn from his body, and with nothing on but the breech-cloth or diaper, he was at last left alone at the "calmecac," there to do the rest of his penance. When these four initiatory days were past, the candidate went back to his calpulli, to spend the remainder of the time (about a full year), in retirement, and abstinence, frequently attended with more or less self-inflicted bodily suffering. When the kin had secured the necessary amount of articles to be offered up in worship, or given to the medicine-men, officers, chiefs, and guests attending the installation, this final solemnity was allowed to take place, provided always that the courage and personal strength of the novice had not forsaken him. Another period of fasting, sacrifice, and torture, similar to the one at the opening of the career of preparation, closed the probation. Some of the ordeals were again of the most trying nature. Finally the store of gifts was distributed; eating and drinking alternated with

era ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas." . . . *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique*," etc., 20 Nov., 1554. "*Troisième relation d'Ixtlilxochitl*," Appendix, p. 257). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Tecle*." (1st "Recueil," p. 222). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156).

[170] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 425). "*Des Cérémonies observées*," etc. (pp. 222, etc.). *Mendieta* (p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX and XXX, etc.).

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555 solemn dances to the monotonous rythmic noise called Indian music.
785 The candidate was, at last, once more dressed in becoming apparel,
618 and could recuperate, being himself now the "feasted one."[171]

618 Men, however young in years, who had successfully endured such
554 great trials, certainly deserved to be looked upon thereafter as persons of uncommon fortitude. Hence indeed the chiefs or "tecuhtli" were particularly fitted for responsible offices of any kind. They were looked upon with deference, their voice was heard and listened to, and it is no wonder if higher charges, especially those of a military nature, were filled by such as had, in one way or another, achieved this distinction.[172] But no privilege was connected with their dignity, except that of wearing certain peculiar ornaments, and none was transmitted through them to their descendants.[173] That the "tecuhtli," besides, did

[171] For the above description of the formalities of creating a "Tecuhtli," I refer to the sources quoted in the preceding three notes. It is interesting to compare similar ceremonies used by the Indians of the Orinoco, *Gumilla* ("*Histoire*," etc., Vol. II, cap. XXXV). Of the Yncas, *Garcilasso de la Vega* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV to XXVI). *Cristoval de Molina* ("*An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*," translated by C. R. Markham, in Hackluyt Society's Volume of 1873). "*Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas.*" *Herrera* (Dec. V, lib. III, cap. VII, p. 63, etc.). We are forcibly reminded of the words of the quaint old poet and soldier, *Alonzo de Ercilla*.

"Los cargos de la Guerra, y prehemineneia
No son por flacos medios proveidos,
Ni vàn por calidad, ni por herencia,
Ni por hacienda, i ser mejor nacidos;
Más la virtud del brazo, y la excelencia,
Esta hace á los hombres preferidos,
Esta ilustra, habilita, perficiona,
Y quilata el valor de la persona."

("*La Araucana*." Parte Ia, Canto I°. Edition of 1733, p. 2).

[172] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161: "Los que tenian el ditado de Tecutli, tenian muchas preeminencias, y entre ellas era que en los concilios y ayuntamientos sus votos eran principales." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 306). It should always be remembered, that the dignity of Tecuhtli appears most prominent in Tlaxcallan. This people however, was but a league, very similar to that of the northern Iroquois, only consisting of four, instead of six tribes. Among them, the peculiar nature of the dignity of chief became more evident than it was among the Mexicans to the Spaniards. But there is no difference between the "Tecuhtli" of Tlaxcallan, and the "Tecuhtli" of Mexico or Tezcuco. That the head-chiefs of Mexico were always "Tecuhtli" themselves, previous to their election, needs hardly any proof. *Domingo Munoz Camargo* ("*Histoire de la République de Tlaxcallan*." Translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, in Vol. 88 and 90 of "*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*," 1843. See Vol. 88, p. 178, etc.)

[173] About the privileges of the Tecuhtli, compare *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161), *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 306), *Zurita* (p. 48, etc.). It is evident however, that the latter confounds the rank of chief with the particular office which might have been entrusted to him, else the "cultivation of lands" could not be included in the list of advantages derived from the position. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*," *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," etc., p. 235). Sr. Bustamante frequently copies Zurita. *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135). In regard to the non-heredity of the dignity, I refer to the above authorities, and more especially to *A. de Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 49: "Lorsqu'un de ces chefs mourait, le prince accordait

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not form as it is often stated, an order of chivalry, is amply proven 618
by the fact that the bond of kinship interposed a barrier between 554
them and such an imaginary association and furthermore, because their number could not be very great. The formalities required were so numerous and dilatory, the material for distribution in the shape of gifts was so large, that a frequent repetition of the occurrence lay beyond the power of the kin.[174] After this necessary digression, we return once more to the Mexican calpulli.

Besides being as already established in "Tenure of Lands," 618
the unit of territorial possession, we found the Mexican kin to be a *self-governing*, therefore *democratic* cluster. Every one of these clusters had, within itself, all the elements required for independent existence as an organized society. Except for assistance and protection against outsiders, it needed no associates. Hence it follows, that since we find twenty Mexican kins aggregated into a tribe, this tribe was a *voluntary* association, formed for mutual protection.

Three attributes of the tribe are next to self-evident: 619

1. A particular territory;
2. A common dialect;
3. Common tribal worship.[175]

sa charge á celui qui s'en était rendu digne par ses services, car les fils du défunt n'en héritaient pas s'ils n'en étaient investis." The very fact of the election, and the manner in which it was performed is also evidence. See the various documents in *Ternaux-Compans, 2d Recueil.*

[174] That such a festival or ceremony necessitated the accumulation of much provision and many articles for presents and offerings, is proven by numerous authorities. *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436): "En fin, en semejantes fiestas no habia pariente pobre. Daban á los señores tecutles y principales convidados plumajes, mantas, tocas, zapatos, bezotes, y orejeras de oro ó plata ó piedras de precia. Esto era mas ó menos, segun la riqueza y animo del nuevo tecuitli, y conforme á las personas que se daba. Tambien hacia grandes ofrendas al templo y á los sacerdotes." *Zurita* ("*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs* etc.," p. 28): "Ces solennités occasionnaient de grandes dépenses, car les assistants étaient fort nombreux; c'étaient les parents, les alliés et les domestiques du nouveau dignitaire. L'on faisait aussi des aumones considérables aux pauvres." "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Tecle.*" (1st *Recueil*, p. 233): "Celui que l'on nommait *Tecle*, devait d'abord posséder de grands biens, qu'il put donner aux prêtres et aux autres nobles." (P. 237): "Un grand nombre ne pouvait pas se procurer en si peu de temps la quantité suffisante, etc., etc." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156): "Y asi les costaba excesivo trabajo y gasto, como aqui se dirá." (Id., cap. XXXIX, pp. 160 and 161.) *Veytia* ("*Historia Antigua*," Lib. II, cap. IX, pp. 65 and 66): "Y era exhorbitantisimo el gasto, por cuya causa algunos, cuyas facultades y caudal no era suficiente á reportarlos, dejaban de tomar este dictado." *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 199): "As before remarked, the vast expenses entailed upon a Tecuhtli debarred from the honor many who were really worthy of it."

[175] For these three attributes of tribal organization I refer to *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 113).

everyone ate and drank? The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

puctli mantoc, tlaqualli qujqujztoc, atle monectoc, ichoatl injc mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatotonja, in puchteca. 441 527 556

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, mocecentlalia in puchteca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujntic, vncan qujmopopoaltia, qujmeeoaltia, ic mjxmotlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmoqujchtiliz, oc cenca ichoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, qujtoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexqujch ic conmati, in quexqujch imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, injc qujlacatzotinemj anaoatl, injc ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, injc atlaubtli quitemovitinemj, in noviian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan qujztinemj: auh in nel cana imoan calmotzaqua, qujnpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in tematitlampa qujça, in qujoalcaoa tlatolli, in oalteitoa, ichoan achtopa qujpetla, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli. 441 527 554 521

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, faultfinding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refuting, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

ic vncan qujquequeloa, ica maujltia, qujtlatlacaqujtia, qujcocoa, qujtotoneoa, qujcocolhuja, qujchichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inextitlan mooqujchitoa, çan njcan tianqujzco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapalotinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ie vncân in jtoneuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoã, injc vel imjtic oaçic intecoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoin, injc vncan in necentlaliaia maaoa, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopâpatla, mopapatzaoa, moquezicçatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, motlatzoujlitoque, moquâquatoque, mjxquâquatoque, motlatolxopeuhtoque, moichoatocatoque, âmotenaqujlmatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jzmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecenteti itlatol, atle ipan qujmoztilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtil: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mocecentecpoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

19. *Moequipaí-hiua* in the *Real Palacio* MS. *Nicaw*: *niaw* is meant.
20. *Mindiaoui* in *loc. cit.*
21. Possibly *amotenqujlmatque* and *amo motenpanavillanj* are intended.
22. *Chachalacatoque* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

441 527 554 521

held in no esteem the riches and prosperity of others. Indeed, each one alone wished to be best; each one thought himself a lord, a superior person; each one thought of himself as the only one, the best. Each spoke for himself; none would talk to them or say a word in their behalf, unless he were a vanguard merchant, one who knew distant lands; unless he were very rich, dealt in goods in his house, or were a buyer of slaves,[23] a ceremonial bather of captives to be sacrificed; unless in his house were carrying frames stuffed and creaking; unless in his house one drank from black jars, gourd vessels, etc.

This was because each one of the merchants himself placed things in the sun at his own house on the day sign Four Wind.

mati, mocecocamati, nononqua motlatalhuja, aiac vel inoan tlatoa, aiac vel inpal onmocencamavia: intlacamo oztomecatl, intlacamo veca matinj: ioan intlacamo cenca mocujltónoa, intlacamo ontlaaaquj ichan, intlacamo tecoanj, intlacamo tealtianj, intlacamo cácatzcatoc, nánatzcatoc ichan cacaxtli: intlacamo poctecontica, aiotectica atlioa ichan et.[a].

Ipampa injc ceceniaca tlatonaltiaia, puchteca in jncacalitic: in jpan jn tonalli navecatl.

23: Or "one who summoned guests."

574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the leavings.[4]

851 Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncã achitzinca ompacoatoc, nepielotoc, vellamachotoc in nepieloian, in tecoanotzaloian: auh in cequjn in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati, yn atica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica et.[8] çan motlavellaloa, moquetzteoa, moquetztiquiça, cholotecoa, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, tlãtlatotivj, popolocativj, tlatetotiuj, tlãtlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanauhpactiuj, ic oallatepachoticate, motixicoticate, yn omotlalito inchã, yn jncalitic: auh intla oittoque in iuh oquizque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin imuztlaioc oc cepps qujnana, qujmonjcxiana, qujniolocuja, in iquac ic apeoalco, inca nechioalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chia* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chia*,[9] which they drank.

[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, açe chiantzotzolatolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiocachpanj,

574 273 851 And when it grew dark, the old men and women drank wine. They gathered around and congregated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

auh yn oioac in vevetique, yn ilamatque, tlatlacoani, mohololoa, mococentlalia, ymjxpan quicoalquetza yn intlacoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoã yn intlacoancax, in jntetlacõ, in tetlamamaconj,

[554] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

achto iẽ vmpeoa in tetlacoanti, in tetlamamacac, njmã ic ic iauh yn jiacac, in tlaiacac, yn jiacaiocã, ic tevipãtiuh, tecempilotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quicoaltecatimanj in vetli, açe iztavetli, anoço aivetli, tlachicoalvetli, yn otlaliloc ochichioaloc ic pillacoanoz, ontlaçaço inxaiocomjc, inococomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: "*y las sobras del curso, dauan a sus criados.*" See n. 2.

5. The term is apparently incompletely corrected to read *desapparecia*; cf. *Real Palacio* MS.

6. Or *cerpps quimocaoa* in *ibid.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a esta dia llamauan, Apeualco: porque en el, se acabaua todo el combite.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 23. and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as "*olualdiera a lo que estaba comido y bebido.*"

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (*chianpinolli*).

9. In the *Real Palacio* MS. *yn tlaxaxaxi, y notlamamaxxi* follows *notlamamaxxi*.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*berbias de agua, y miel cocido, con la raya: al qual llamauan ayacolli, que quiere decir, pulque de agua: lo qual tenia aparejado, y guardado el señor del combite: de alguna dias atras.*" See also Oswaldo Gonçalves de Lima: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), *passim*, and esp. pp. 107 ff.

57 all the things which had been set aside and placed
431 apart [by the host]—this hath been told. They would be given tobacco; they would be plied with and provided tobacco; they would be plied with and given flowers. They would be feasted; they would be given to drink. They would be plied with gifts—capes, clothing, vestments, mantles, and breech clouts. And after they had rejoiced for a little while, they would be provided with dancing, and they would set out in the sun for them the flowers, the tobacco, the capes, and the breech clouts, in order to meet the obligations of banqueting, lest it be said [of the host] that the guests were slighted and found discontent there.

que, mitztiquc, yiztilozque, mozochimaczque, mozochitizque, xiçhimaczque, tlaquizque, atlizque, motlauhtizque, motilmatizque, moquentiçq̃, motlaquentizque, motlalpilizq̃, momaxtlatizque: auh çatepã ymellel onquiçaz achitzinca, õmitozque, ontlatotonizque, yn xochitl, yn jietl, iñ tilmatli, in maxtlatl, injc conjxtlaoa, cooxiotl, ontlaiolpachivitia, injc amo itolozque, ca çã moiolitlacoa, ahtlavelmati.

57 And where, in this manner, there was consider-
4 able congregating, one augmented, increased, and multiplied the flowers and edible things. It was as if his nourishing goods rested everywhere, covered and spread over the ground, spread all about; as if the food brought there spread souring; all the tamales became mouldy. Musty were the tamales which had been set out.

Auh in cana tel çan ic no yui, vel moveichioa, tonacatica miequia, tlapiviia, ỉ xuchitl, in quaknj, iuhquin papachivi, tlalpan aci, tlalpan actimoteca, tlalpan acitimoteca, yn jococauh ipalnemoanj, iuhquin tlaxoxoçoiaxtoc, yn vmpa oalquiça tlaqualli, ixquich pupuxcavi in tamalli, tamalpupuxcauhqui, yn itemaco,

57 But there at the flower places, where the flowers
554 were placed and arranged, the pleasing odor and fragrance spread to all parts. No one wished to be deflated or to lose stature. All persons wished[3] that they be given recognition, fame, and distinction: that they might not, on the contrary, be shamed, receive blame, be embarrassed, confused, belittled, confounded, or excluded from others. Each and everyone paid attention to, took great care with, [and] gloried in his invitations to others. Each and everyone therefore made him resplendent and admirable, each one separately proceeding with exclusive and undivided attention to feasting. They exalted and raised themselves; they surpassed and much exceeded themselves. There was vying and competition.

auh in vmpa yonoia, itecõia, ivipanaloian xuchitl, iuhquin tlaveveliztimanj, tlaxvjxxtimanj, aiac mopatzaoallanj, aiac patzactzintli iezuequi, muchi tlacatl iuh connequi, in ma ça vel onixpatlaoa, onteioua, onitzuhcaiooa, in maca tle ic õmopinauhti, ompinavizcui, ompinaviztlamati, ommomamati, ontzinquiça, ommixtilquetza, ic teviçpa ontzicolo, muchi tlacatl cecentetl ic quimati, quitlamachia, quiveilia, yn itecpanotzaliz, muchi tlacatl cecẽtetl ic quicueponia, ic tetlamaviçoltia, nonõqua micauhtiuh, micauhcaiauh in cooiotl, macoctiuh, macoquetztiuh, mopanavitiuh, mopapanavitiuh, nepanaviltoco, nepapanavilo,

On the other hand, one might not wish to do it,
preferring not to enter into it, and not desiring it, lest his favors should fall away or fail. And if it was not brought about, everyone wondered, was chagrined, and made much of it. This same one, when he learned of it, became troubled and continued in fear[4] that possibly his efforts would fail, pass away, or miscarry. O that none might ever speak to him of

noçac yn ãconnequj, acõãquinequi, aquin maca quinequi, yn ma vel onvetzi, onquiça itlaocul, auh yn aiamo muchioa muchi tlacatl, motẽmati, tlatẽmati, tlaveymati, çan iẽ in quimati, ic motequipachoa, q'nmattinẽmi, in quẽmach nenti onquiçaz, contlalcaviz ynetequipachol, macaiac tle ic conitotiaz, conixaoatiaz, conjxmotlatiaz, onahioz, onteputzcoonoloz.

3. In ibid., "y no se [illegible] pesarse hallasen [illegible]."
4. Quizá [illegible] in ibid.

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in bad grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much preoccupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Paths were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; sand was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.[5] This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

auh in ic oallathui coatioaz, nepiclos tecoanotzalos, cẽca ncahamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatlacencaoalo, vchichioalo, ithoalchichioalo, tlatlaitmanalo, tlatlaltemalo, tlatlacujcujoa, tlaatemalo, tlazvililo, tlaatzelhujlo, tlaixxalhujlo, tolquatecteco, tlapipilolo, tolquatectli moteca, mopipiloa, ĩ vncã netotilos, tlatzetzelolo, ỹin ichoã intequjuh incocol, cõcoltilo, in cujcanjme. 574 [554]

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or slew, singed, and dressed dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the ashes was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a seashell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis — different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant awaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

auh in cequjn tlavivitla, totolhuivitla, totolchichioa, itzcujnmjctia, itzcujnchichinoa, itzcujnchichioa, nacachichioa, nacapaoaci, cõcontlatia, in cequjn yietlalchioa, yietlalxaqualoos, yietema teçacatica, auh in nextitlan, ichoan intequjuh, chilamatque quichioa tamalli, piqui, tamaloa, tlatlapaotia, quatecuicuilli quichioa, nacatlaoio, nacatamalli quichioa, cequjn tamalpaoaci, cequjn nextamalpaca cequjn açaça, atlatlacuj, ateteca, cequjn cacaoatl quixamanja, cacaoateci, tlacuechoa, cequjn tlanextlamalneloa, cequjn molchichioa, chilixca, chichilixca, çan iuh ceiocal in nemoa tozçolo, tozçoa totozçolo tlavilli quiztoc, chachalacoatoc, 574 252 [887]

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and lined up all which might be required.

auh yn otlavizcalleoac, njman ie ic tlatlachpano, petlateteco, icpalteteco, çacapechtli moteteca, motevimoloa, tlatenvimollolli, ie ic tlaonoc, ie omocuecuentilli, in ixujch monenequiz, 574

Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the care, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

ie omotetecpanque, ie in mãmania, omotẽtequippantique, in tlatequipanozque, in tenamiquizque, aocmo quen ipã in tecoanotzqui, in tecoinotzanj, ça ixujch ynecuitlavil in teca mochioã, ĩ tepantlatoa, in maca omxiccaoalo, omjacaoalo, 574 357

5. In *Ibid.*, subordinate follows dominant.

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562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

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555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

425 511 A married man received a plot of land directly from the clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] 555 Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success-[575] ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli* [554] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[8]

624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

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CHAPTER VIII

CRAFTSMANSHIP

A consideration of how the Aztecs attained a high degree of skillful craftsmanship with relatively few mechanical aids

CRAFTSMANSHIP allows an exercise of the creative impulse, |8| satisfying the individual through his domination of the raw material. In our modern mechanized age most of us suffer from the lack of opportunity to create, since almost everything we use comes machine-made, and not even the skilled mechanic feels that his ingenuity and craftsmanship alone have produced a useful and attractive object. The ordinary modern floats like Mohammed's coffin, without contact with the earth on which he lives or the universe of which he is an infinitesimal part. The Aztec, however, lived in the most intimate contact with nature in its finite and infinite manifestations. Because his conscious being was set in terms of the group mind, he seldom felt that sensation, common to the Western intellect, of having cut himself from the tree of natural existence with the saw of his own reason.

The home production of articles for daily use gave an 556 impetus to craftsmanship, since wealth and prosperity lay 555 in a man's possessions, not in the abstract ownership of rights to the work of others. Thus a successful man had a well-made house, finely fashioned and decorative clothing, care-

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556 555 fully worked utensils and tools and well-tended and productive fields, while an unsuccessful man had a small and miserable equipment. Yet except for the intervention of natural disaster the differential was largely due to the ability of a man and his household to produce with their own hands the symbols of his wealth or to exchange his specialized product for equivalent superior equipment made by others. The entrepreneur and broker had small place in the undertaking of production and its distribution.[1]

771 The gods also stimulated good craftsmanship. Every home had an altar, and every act was accomplished through the favor of some deity. Ceremonies to appease these custodians of natural force were of frequent occurrence. Thus the use of symbols, referring to the god whose favor was sought, came to exercise an important influence on design. Since a man does reverence with his most esteemed social attitudes and his best material possessions, each household must try to surpass its previous efforts to honor the gods. The temple equipment, therefore, tended to represent the cream of local craftsmanship.

324 Work in stone, the most durable natural substance available, is a common gauge of human ability. Since the tools last forever, it is possible to compare the technical abilities of peoples over an enormous span of human history. However, for basic equipment like projectile points, axes, grinding stones, and the like, satisfactory forms are reached fairly early and do not change in proportion to cultural advances in other directions. Thus the arrow or the dart points of Aztec times were not technically better than those used by the Middle Culture peoples. However, the technical demands of the sacrificial cult called for a heavy broad-bladed flint

793 **Ninth Chapter:** here is told how were established and chosen the high priests, the Quetzalcoatl priests, the first of whom was [named] Totec Tlamacazqui and the second Tlaloc Tlamacazqui;[1] and [how] these whom they set up were especially wise and prudent.

And one who had distinguished his way of life and otherwise [had followed] the precepts and ordinances of the priests, this one was set apart and chosen, to be made a keeper of the god.[2] The chief, and the great judges,[3] and all the nobles chose him and gave him the name of Quetzalcoatl. There were two Quetzalcoatl priests: one was called Totec Tlamacazqui, one was called Tlaloc [Tlamacazqui].

The Quetzalcoatl priest [called] Totec Tlamacazqui was dedicated to Uitzilopochtli; the Tlaloc was dedicated to the lord of Tlalocan, the [god of] rain. These [were] exactly equal [in station].

●555 793 And although he might be poor, or miserable; though his mother and father might be the poorest of the poor, if he well ordered his life and [kept] the commandments of the priests, he was taken to be named this Quetzalcoatl priest. He was called either Totec Tlamacazqui or Tlaloc.

No lineage was considered; only a good life was noted. One was sought of saintly life, of righteous life; of pure heart, good, and humane; who was resigned; who was firm and tranquil; a peace-maker, constant, resolute, brave; caressing, welcoming, and friendly to others; who was compassionate of others and wept for them; who had awe in his heart. He was called divine of heart, pious, god-fearing—one who wept, who was sad, who sighed.

793 And when he began this [training], he was still called an acolyte; then a priest; then a fire priest[4]—already due reverence. Then from these were chosen those named Quetzalcoatl priests.

Iaje chiconauj capitulo: vncan motenoa yn quenjn motialiaia pepanaloia in vevej tlamacazque in quequetzalcoa, ynjc ce totecu tlamacazqui, ynjc vme tlaloc tlamacazqui, oc cẽca muchipa ieboan qujntlalia in vel ixtlamatque muzcalianj.

Auh in aqujn vel qujmonemiliztia, y, yoan in oc cequi in jnnaoatil tlamacazque, yn jnnemiliz, ichoatl ano, ichoatl pepenalo, in teupixqui muchioa, qujpepena in tlatoani yoã in tecutlatoque, yoan muchintin in tlatoque, Quitlatocaiotia Quetzalcoatl: vmentin in quetzalcoa, ce itoca totec tlamacazqui, ce itoca tlaloc,

in quetzalcoatl totec tlamacazqui itech povia in Vitzilobuchtli, in tlaloc itech povia in tlalocan tecutli, yn qujiavitl, ynique, y, çan vel neneuhque,

auh in manel motolinja, in manel icnotlacatl, in manel quicentzacuj icnotlacatzintli, vnãtzin, ytatzin, intla ie vel quichioa, in jnnemiliz, yn jnnaoatil, tlamacazque ichoatl ano, ichoatl quetzalcoatl tocaiotilo, aço totec tlamacazquj, anoço tlaloc motocaiotia,

amo tlacamecaiotl motta ça qualnemilizli, vel ie motta, vel ie motemoa. in qualnemilice, in iecnemilice, in chipaoac yiollo, in qualli yiollo, in jcnoioyiollo, in tlapaccaihjiovianj, in tlatepitzvianj, in tlaiolicvianj, in ãmo mocivianj, in iollochicaoac, in iollotztl, yn iollochichic, in tepepepetlanj, in temacochoanj, in tetlaçotlanj, in teltaoculianj, in teca chocanj, ymauhquj yiollo, in mjtoa teutl yiollo, in tlateumatini, in teuimacacinj, in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in elcicivinj;

Auh injc oalpeoa y, oc itoca tlamacazqui, njman ie tlamacazqui, njman ic tlenamacac, ie mavizti, y, njman ic vncan ano, y, in mjtoa quetzalcoatl.

1. "El sacerdote de Quetzalcoatl [sic] debe a veces, es por necesario del dios que se considerada por los mexicanos como el arquetipo del sacerdote" (Cline, op. cit., p. 43). Interrelations among these high priests and the lower hierarchy are given briefly in ibid., pp. 47f.; see also Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 178f. The responsibilities of various functionaries are also suggested in the Appendix of Book II of Sahagún, for which cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, pp. 195ff. Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 221-2, mentions only one Quetzalcoatl priest: "Tenian un Sacerdote, en un Convento, que se llamaba del nombre de su Dios, Quetzalcoatl, el qual estaba cuarto cabe su guarida, y dormiaba, reforçando la religion, y amonestando los obispos, y hablaba continuadamente."

2. The terms of reciprocal use used (god) and pie (guard). Cf. Simeon, op. cit. The dictionaries define the term as priest.

3. Torquemada: Sahagún describes them as "los senadores jueces . . . entre mexicanos son gente diligente los senores que eran a sus tiempos"; on the death of chiefs, they were among the electors of a new one (Sahagún, Bustamante ed., II, pp. 318, 321).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, p. 74, n. 7.

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited tensely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech clouts, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponjz: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlapitzalli in tecuciztli, in oquipitzque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tletl, njman ic cemeoa, in jxqujch iauquizquj, motempupauja, mjcali, qujtlemjna in teucalli.

Auh in achto in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan qujmjctiã, in tetetu, tecpatica queltetequjj.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh altepetl, njmã ic ic nemalpoalo, in quexqujch malli: ioan in quexqujch omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi qujcaqujtia in tlatoanj, injc tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman qujnnaoatia, in tecutlatoque: injc qujtemachtitiuj, injc qujtecaqujtititiuj, in jnchan in jxqujnti, oiaumjqujto, injc choqujlilozque in jnchachan, in oiaumjqujto: ioan qujtecaqujtia in jnchan, in quezquj otlamato iauc, ic vncan qujcujia in maujziotl, in jpampa oqujchiotl: ioan qujmomaceujaia in jxqujch iteicneliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc cenca qujmjcneliaia in tlaçopipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, qujmaca calpixcantli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotli necujltonolli, in maujziotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame qujtlacoa iauiotl, njman vmpa qujnmjctia in iauc qujnviujtequj, qujntetepachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, qujmocujcujlia ce malli, qujtoa ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no qujtoa ca nomal: intlacamo ce tlacatl itech nelti, aiac no qujmjttac, in quenjn tlamaque: ichoantin qujntlatzontequjlia, in tonatiuh itlatocahoan: aiac tle onquiça in jmomextin in qujmocujcujlia in malli: iuh qujtzontequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce itech pouhquj iez in malli: vitzcalli qujpoaia, calpolco qujcaoaia, in jchan tlacateculotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oaxioac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman icoac motlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacalaqujlli itech mana in tlein vmpa muchioa, auh njman no iquac iaque- 728 651

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 331-332, referring to the heroic of Cuauhtli, where down bought and died in succlaer: "*Este era en el patio del templo que se dice Uitzcalco.*"

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to
619 four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-
701 bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

701 Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrange-*
555 *ment* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever,*

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 20). "Rapport sur les differentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonzo de Zurita, French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 53).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together the four lead-"ers of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 82, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diez, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371), "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata, en tal modo ligata sopra le spalle, che non gli da alcun distorbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli puo sligare, ne torglielamai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "pani," above.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-* 701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank 555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-* 565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and 643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two 701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were 701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the 554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, "they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, "that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had "been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de "Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées antrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient "un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were "called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If "one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of "it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been "invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Monteruma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéké" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

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701 554 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of those animals.[87] Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.[88]

701 555 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.[89]

[87] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepec (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 260 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a "peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody "might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that "he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 109) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII. cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . . the head "was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and "with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

[88] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 289). " . . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos "los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cua-"chic, que eran una órden de caballeria que no auia de voluer piè atras ó morir . . " . ." Tezozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachi, and Tequihuaques . . . . being "always leaders" ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 83) says: " . . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths "a Cuachic, to five others an Otomi, then again an Achcauhtli, and a Tequihua; all "conquerors." This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The "Otomitl" is also called by Tezozomoc a "general" occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ò varon "fuerte llamado Coachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos "etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 503) calls the "Quachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

[89] By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were [685] extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for "abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ò de "noche, ò tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladron que se "adjudicaba y quexia para si el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this vigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI. p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcautin," "quauhtin," and "ococelo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

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The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the 701
Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending or- 565
ders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the 701
young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauh-* 702
tin," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus proprias personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every [555] one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title.

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 225) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 263), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil maior." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 25), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them; "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 60) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

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701 formation regarding the title of the principal war-chief of Tlatilulco, *the names given occasionally* being personal.[102]

701 The distinctive mark of these chieftains consisted in having the
554 hair tied behind or above the occiput with a strap of red leather;

"by few only." "Cuanhnoctli," therefore, being "Chachi," or "Quachictin," whereas "Tillancalqui" is but a civil or religious chief, as it is furthermore shown by his being sent as a delegate to Cortés, to the coast (Tezozomoc, Cap. CVII, p. 191). I have ventured to substitute the former as one of the four war-chiefs, each commanding the warriors of one of the four great quarters of Mexico. It may be objected that, aside from Tezozomoc, I have not adduced any other direct proof of the actual existence of these four chieftains. I have already alluded to the probable reason why they are not mentioned as such by the sources of Mexican aboriginal history. Their true position, the nature of their office was simply overlooked. But we know that the tribe of Mexico had divided into four quarters; we know, further, that not only in Mexico, but all over Central America, this same division existed, for civil as well as for military purposes. Each of these four great sections must have had, therefore, its civil, and its military head, and it is but natural to admit, that those heads were the *most distinguished warriors of the tribe*, since *merit, and not descendancy or wealth*, entitled alone to *promotion in rank and office*. Therefore the military chiefs of the four quarters must have been the four "chachi" of Mexico. On the other hand, those four dignities were each elective, and not filled by appointment. But, for an election, there must be electors, and a constituency. We know that the "captains were elected (by the kin which they should "command)", and it is but logical to admit that the *four greatest military chiefs* of the tribe were elected to command its *four greatest subdivisions*. Therefore, again, the "chachi" of Tezozomoc must have been the military chiefs of the four quarters of Mexico. Besides, we may ask: Why *four* chiefs, and not any other number? if not that these four principal chieftains corresponded to, and actually represented, a like number of greatest fractions of the whole tribe.

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If the older authors observe a certain uniformity in their enumeration of these four chiefs, always beginning with the "Tlacochcalcatl," we must not infer from it that one or the other of the four was inferior or superior to the others. They were all alike in rank, although Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) places the "Tlacochcalcatl" above the others. The very confusion among some of the statements shows that no reliance can be placed upon their assertions in that respect. (Compare, for inst.: Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXII, p. 185, with cap. LXV, p. 189, and lib. IV, cap. 13, p. 379.) It results from all these statements, but especially from the positive and consistent assertions of Tezozomoc, that while the four were equal in rank, it still sometimes happened that one or the other, from age or experience, took the superior command according to emergency. Their influence was even decisive, sometimes, with the head war-chief of Mexico himself. See the part played by "Tlacochcalcatl" in the attack upon Tlatilulco (Tezozomoc, Cap. XLV, p. 73), and the resolute action of "Tlacateccatl," in the battle against the Tarasca of Michhuacan, which occurred in 1477, when he compelled Axayaca to retreat before the victorious enemy (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII, p. 84). Also, the assertion of Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), "without whose consent he could do nothing."

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[102] "Itzquanhtin" is mentioned by Torquemada (Vol. IV). This would be "eagle of obsidian," or "flint-eagle." We must always distinguish *personal* names from *titles*. In most cases only the latter were given, and the presumption therefore arises that the *title took the place of the name*. Says my friend Sr. J. M. Melgar y Serrano, of Vera Cruz: "Creo deber aconsejar a V no tome como nombres de las personas muchas "de las palabras con que estaban designadas, pues eran el que se los daban el titulo "del cargo que tenian." (Letter under date of 26 January, 1875.)

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565 Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,
[555] that for actions of merit such people might be re-adopted, and thus restored to their original rights. The anonymous conqueror asserts that the performer of any valorous deed was highly rewarded and made a chieftain, "even if he was the vilest slave."[91] But without such formal re-adoption, no outcast could emerge from his inferior and unprotected condition. The overwhelming majority of Mexico's aboriginal people, however, consisted of members of the twenty kins shown to have composed the tribe. These all enjoyed equal rights; consequently all had the same duty. Both right and obligation were governed by the organization of kinship. While it is impossible for us to follow here strictly the order of enumeration of these rights and obligations, established in the admirable researches of Mr. Morgan, we still can distinctly trace all of them in ancient Mexican society, operating with more or less unimpaired vitality.

[618] *The kin claimed the right to name its members.*[92] A family name
553 was unknown to the ancient Mexicans,[93] and thus our assertion that the modern family was not yet established among them, acquires further support. Within a few days after the child's birth, its mother in presence of all the neighbors (consequently of the "calpulli" or kin) gave the child a name through the medium of the women assisting her delivery. This name, generally taken from that of the day of birth, had a superstitious bearing, and was to accompany the child during the period of its utter helplessness.[94] A second "naming" took place several

[91] "*Relatione di alcune Cose della Nuova Spagna*" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 371). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVII, p. 566): "y Esclavos havia que regian, y mandaban la casa de su Señor, como hacen los Malordomos."

[92] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 71 and 78).

[93] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Todos los Niños cuando nacian tomaban nombre del dia en que nacian." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, pp. 454 and 455). The family name was introduced by the Spaniards, who gave other names at the time of baptism.

[94] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Sahagun* (Lib. IV, cap. I, pp. 283 and 284, in general the entire fourth Book, which gives a very full idea of all the superstitions connected with birthdays; more especially Cap. XXXV and XXXVI and Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 217-221). All the children of the quarter were invited to the festival: "En este tiempo que estas cosas se hacian, juntabanse los mosuelos de todo aquel barrio, y acabadas todas estas ceremonias, entran en la casa del y toman la comida que alli les tenian aparejada. . . . . ." The naming took place in presence of "todos los parientes y parientos del niño, viejos y viejas" (p. 218). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 107): "Estos hombres tomaban de los idolos ó de las fiestas que en aquellas signos caian, y á veces de aves y animales y de otras cosas insensatas, como se les antojaba." (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXV, p. 267). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 450: "Luego hacian convocacion de todos los Deudos, y Parientes, de los Padres, y de todos los Amigos, y

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618 It was not necessary to become a chief in order to fill certain offices. Still it is evident that, as chiefs were always men of peculiar ability, the higher charges were generally filled by chieftains.

618 554 555 The title and rank of "grandfather" ("Tecuhtli,")[167] which was the Mexican term for chieftain in general, was open to any one who strove to deserve it. It was conferred:

1. In recompense for warlike prowess, and actions of personal intrepidity and superior shrewdness. Courage alone could not secure it; therefore the "distinguished braves" were not always chiefs.[168]

2. In reward for actions denoting particular wisdom and sagacity, and in acknowledgement of services in the councils, or as traders.[169]

sonal merit, and died with the individual." I have selected the term "*officer*" as a substitute for Mr. Morgan's "sachem," because the latter is a northern Indian word, whereas the former, while it expresses the nature of the charge and dignity, is more widely known, and therefore better understood. It is out of the union of the attributes, of both officer and chief, that nobility and monarchy have been claimed to exist. Among the Mexicans, in fact among the most highly advanced Indian tribes (the Inca of Peru not excluded), the dignity of chief was still a personal matter, and not necessarily connected with office. The chiefs are the "knights," mentioned by *Garcilasso de la Vega* ("*Histoire des Yncas*," Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, XXV, XXVI) and *Herrera* (Dec. V, Lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 63; Lib. IV, cap. I, p. 65). With the Muyscas of Bogotá, compare *H. Ternaux-Compans* ("*L'ancien Cundinamarca*." § XXVII, pp. 57 and 58). *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXVI, cap. XXXI. p. 410). *Herrera* (Dec. VI, Lib. V, cap. VI, pp 116 and 117). Compare also, in regard to the dignity of "military chief" among the wild tribes of the Rio Orinoco and of its tributaries, *P. José Gumilla* "*Histoire naturelle, civile, et géographique de l'Orinoque*," translated by Mr. Eidous, 1758, (Vol. II, chapter XXXV, pp. 290-298). Very important.

[167] *Molina* (IIa p. 96), "abuelo," "tecul." It evidently should be "abuelo," and is therefore only a misprint. The older reports have the word "tecis," and only the later writers (those after the year 1580) begin to write it "tecutli," "tecuhtli," "teuctli." Whether the "teules" meant really "gods," or rather "tecuhtlin," as plural of "tecutli," is yet doubtful. It is almost a truism to recall here the Roman "senex," and the German "grave" or "Graf." Among American tribes we have, in QQuiché, "aua," old, "ahau,"—chief; in Maya, "Hachyum,"—father, and "ahau,"—chief—also "achi,"—brave.

[168] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 329-333): "De Los grados por donde subian hasta hacerse Tequitlatos," especially (p. 331): "y á los que por si prendian cuatro cautivas, mandaba el rey que los cortasen los cabellos como á capitan, llamalbanle tal diciendo . . . . el capitan mexicati. ó el capitan tolnacacati, ú otros nombres que cuadraban á los capitanes. De alli adelante se podian sentar en los estradios que ellos usaban de petates é icpales en la sala donde se sentaban los otros capitanes y Valientes hombres, los cuales son primeros y principales en los asuntos, y tienen barbotes largos, orejeras de cuero, y borlas en las cabezas conque están compuestas;" *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47): "Les chefs qui, comme nous l'avons dit, se nommaient Tec Tecutacin, ou Teutley au pluriel, n'exerçaient le commandement qu'à vie, parce que les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient à ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits à la guerre, et des services rendus à l'état ou au prince"). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 361). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, pp. 471 and 472), and others.

[169] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p, 341): "Estos mercaderes

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In both the above instances (or kinds of instances) actions of 618 particular merit facilitated, at least, the acquisition of the title; 554 555 but it could, also, be obtained:—

3. By the observance of rigorous and even cruel rites of "medi- 555 cine" for a stated time, which put the courage, fortitude, and self- 785 control of the candidate to the severest tests.[179] Although a 618 detailed account of these rites might perhaps be withheld for a subsequent sketch of ancient Mexican worship, yet they equally deserve a place here.

The candidate appears to have been presented at the great central place of worship by the representatives of his kin, perhaps, also, by the other chiefs of his tribe. There he underwent four days and four nights of the most cruel torments. While but little nourishment was allowed him (some went even so far as not to eat anything at all during this time), his blood was drawn freely, and no sleep was permitted to settle on his weary eyes. From time to time he was exposed to taunts, to injurious words, to blows and even to stripes. While he was thus hungry and thirsty, weakened from loss of blood through self-sacrifice, others ate and drank plentifully before his eyes. Finally, his clothes were torn from his body, and with nothing on but the breech-cloth or diaper, he was at last left alone at the "calmecac," there to do the rest of his penance. When these four initiatory days were past, the candidate went back to his calpulli, to spend the remainder of the time (about a full year), in retirement, and abstinence, frequently attended with more or less self-inflicted bodily suffering. When the kin had secured the necessary amount of articles to be offered up in worship, or given to the medicine-men, officers, chiefs, and guests attending the installation, this final solemnity was allowed to take place, provided always that the courage and personal strength of the novice had not forsaken him. Another period of fasting, sacrifice, and torture, similar to the one at the opening of the career of preparation, closed the probation. Some of the ordeals were again of the most trying nature. Finally the store of gifts was distributed; eating and drinking alternated with

era ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas." . . . *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique*," etc., 30 Nov., 1554. "*Troisième relation d'Ixtlilxochitl*," Appendix, p. 257). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Tecle*," (1st "Recueil," p. 222). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156).

[179] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 478). "*Des Cérémonies observées*," etc. (pp. 222, etc.). *Mendieta* (p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX and XXX, etc.).

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555 solemn dances to the monotonous rythmic noise called Indian music.
785 The candidate was, at last, once more dressed in becoming apparel,
618 and could recuperate, being himself now the "feasted one."[171]

618 Men, however young in years, who had successfully endured such
554 great trials, certainly deserved to be looked upon thereafter as persons of uncommon fortitude. Hence indeed the chiefs or "tecuhtli" were particularly fitted for responsible offices of any kind. They were looked upon with deference, their voice was heard and listened to, and it is no wonder if higher charges, especially those of a military nature, were filled by such as had, in one way or another, achieved this distinction.[172] But no privilege was connected with their dignity, except that of wearing certain peculiar ornaments, and none was transmitted through them to their descendants.[173] That the "tecuhtli," besides, did

[171] For the above description of the formalities of creating a "Tecuhtli," I refer to the sources quoted in the preceding three notes. It is interesting to compare similar ceremonies used by the Indians of the Orinoco, *Gumilla* ("*Histoire*," etc., Vol. II, cap. XXXV). Of the Yncas, *Garcilasso de la Vega* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV to XXVI). *Cristoval de Molina* ("*An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*," translated by C. R. Markham, in Hackluyt Society's Volume of 1873). "*Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas.*" *Herrera* (Dec. V, lib. III, cap. VII, p. 62, etc.). We are forcibly reminded of the words of the quaint old poet and soldier, *Alonso de Ercilla.*

"Los cargos de la Guerra, y prehominencia
No son por flacos medios proveidos,
Ni vàn por calidad, ni por herencia,
Ni por hacienda, i ser mejor nacidos;
Más la virtud del brazo, y la excelencia,
Esta hace á los hombres preferidos,
Esta ilustra, habilita, perficiona,
Y quilata el valor de la persona."

("*La Araucana.*" Parte Ia, Canto I°. Edition of 1733, p. 9).

[172] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161: "Los que tenian el dilado de Tecutli, tenian muchas preeminencias, y entre ellas era que en los concilios y ayuntamientos sus votos eran principales." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366). It should always be remembered, that the dignity of Tecuhtli appears most prominent in Tlaxcallan. This people however, was but a league, very similar to that of the northern Iroquois, only consisting of four, instead of six tribes. Among them, the peculiar nature of the dignity of chief became more evident than it was among the Mexicans to the Spaniards. But there is no difference between the "Tecuhtli" of Tlaxcallan, and the "Tecuhtli" of Mexico or Tezcuco. That the head-chiefs of Mexico were always "Tecuhtli" themselves, previous to their election, needs hardly any proof. *Domingo Munoz Camargo* ("*Histoire de la République de Tlaxcallan.*" Translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, in Vol. 98 and 99 of "*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages,*" 1843. See Vol. 98, p. 176, etc.)

[173] About the privileges of the Tecuhtli, compare *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161), *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366), *Zurita* (p. 48, etc.). It is evident however, that the latter confounds the rank of chief with the particular office which might have been entrusted to him, else the "cultivation of lands" could not be included in the list of advantages derived from the position. Compare "*Tenure of Lands,*" *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco,*" etc., p. 235). Sr. Bustamante frequently copies *Zurita*. *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 125). In regard to the non-heredity of the dignity, I refer to the above authorities, and more especially to *A. de Zurita* ("*Rapport,*" p. 49: "Lorsqu'un de ces chefs mourait, le prince accordait

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562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

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tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the 249
black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor 231
in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this [492]
animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although [235]
there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended [237]
the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its 262
place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as 224
Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed 222
off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit 226
the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and 223
other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were 262
supported by the community, kept a much better table than 556
the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Cul- 412
ture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

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CHAPTER VIII

CRAFTSMANSHIP

A consideration of how the Aztecs attained a high degree of skillful craftsmanship with relatively few mechanical aids

CRAFTSMANSHIP allows an exercise of the creative impulse, |8| satisfying the individual through his domination of the raw material. In our modern mechanized age most of us suffer from the lack of opportunity to create, since almost everything we use comes machine-made, and not even the skilled mechanic feels that his ingenuity and craftsmanship alone have produced a useful and attractive object. The ordinary modern floats like Mohammed's coffin, without contact with the earth on which he lives or the universe of which he is an infinitesimal part. The Aztec, however, lived in the most intimate contact with nature in its finite and infinite manifestations. Because his conscious being was set in terms of the group mind, he seldom felt that sensation, common to the Western intellect, of having cut himself from the tree of natural existence with the saw of his own reason.

The home production of articles for daily use gave an 556 impetus to craftsmanship, since wealth and prosperity lay 555 in a man's possessions, not in the abstract ownership of rights to the work of others. Thus a successful man had a well-made house, finely fashioned and decorative clothing, care-

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556 555 fully worked utensils and tools and well-tended and productive fields, while an unsuccessful man had a small and miserable equipment. Yet except for the intervention of natural disaster the differential was largely due to the ability of a man and his household to produce with their own hands the symbols of his wealth or to exchange his specialized product for equivalent superior equipment made by others. The entrepreneur and broker had small place in the undertaking of production and its distribution.[1]

771 The gods also stimulated good craftsmanship. Every home had an altar, and every act was accomplished through the favor of some deity. Ceremonies to appease these custodians of natural force were of frequent occurrence. Thus the use of symbols, referring to the god whose favor was sought, came to exercise an important influence on design. Since a man does reverence with his most esteemed social attitudes and his best material possessions, each household must try to surpass its previous efforts to honor the gods. The temple equipment, therefore, tended to represent the cream of local craftsmanship.

324 Work in stone, the most durable natural substance available, is a common gauge of human ability. Since the tools last forever, it is possible to compare the technical abilities of peoples over an enormous span of human history. However, for basic equipment like projectile points, axes, grinding stones, and the like, satisfactory forms are reached fairly early and do not change in proportion to cultural advances in other directions. Thus the arrow or the dart points of Aztec times were not technically better than those used by the Middle Culture peoples. However, the technical demands of the sacrificial cult called for a heavy broad-bladed flint

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463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlatl") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlatl") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient [556] disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Les chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 438). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostralles otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos María de Bustamante. Tezcoco en los últimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes*," 1826. Parte tercera. (Cap. III, p. 212). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, [564] cap. V, p. 482). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49). "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlatl" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 243). "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estas artes todos tuviéron principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, [685] p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 487). *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes de los Mexicanos").

287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works—those made of feathers—is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 480, and, with slight variations, also by *Velancurt*, Vol. I, p. 389.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See in general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 187 and 188), also *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

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441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

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and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.[78] 441 556 565

[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nuevo-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 58), that the Tlatilulca were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II), and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlailotlac, ó acxôtecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 588), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que había de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 223, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: 'y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por sí; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 339–342), how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 58. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively [651 648]

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565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily
556 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.
565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, *Mr. H. H. Bancroft's* statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 380 and 381). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 359, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 360. Lib. VII, cap.
[681] XXXVIII, p. 536, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or
[618] merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Acachtlan, y otro Atlauhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañía de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Burtin* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventadores y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usaseen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each
[482] hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cado uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1545, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

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to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes 565
within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. [492]
XL, p. 389), sixty pounds.

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially 441
to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer 556
to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136), who embodies in a few words the 565
statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 76), "No se desvelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31), "otros trabaja ban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrios," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers.

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fasse honrado en el pueblo, y tenido per valiente: ponianle un barbote de ámbar, que es una piedra larga amarilla trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 338-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas"). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un facte*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 233 and 234). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("tecuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonzo de Montufar* ("*Suppliques à Charles V en faveur des Macéhales*, Mexico, 30 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants du Mérique*," p. 257). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 30): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlaltelolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 343) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la atalayasen." *Burtin* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 223) "ils jouissaient de certains priviléges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 232). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only by the Mexicans, but *against* the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 130) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 534).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, p. 85, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. 402 and 403).

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Injc matlactlomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

Jn jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, quinquechmecanjaia, quinquechtzonviaia, quinmecanjaia, quinpiloa, quincuexcochvivitequj, quinquatepipitzinja, in motepeua tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan ioean in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan quimonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motzcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecaico noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, quipopotzaqujaia, quicacacatztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic quinpeviaia. 681 684 727 761 789 824

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away — the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in ostomeca, in motlacamati, iê quivcimatia, quimaviztliaia, ca vncan quitotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli quitlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixquich cozcatl, in concapetlatl, in putlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jxquich nepapan iviul, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xuxuhtli.* — Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *Jumicia — Bromelia pinguin L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un matorro de abrazo y erizo hojas semejantes a las de la piña. . . . propiedad antiestorbática."*

2. Tlamatinime also as "men of Pedition," a *barrio* of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlipan, Mamalinalnôl, Xihui, Tlati, Xilo, Tepanecatl, Coyotlinahual, Chiuaua nahuiâ, Xochiquetzal, Yacatecutli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 98). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the pochteca.

3. *Acxotlatl* or *pochtecatlahtoke*, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si diéramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre los nombres . . . es antiquísimo al que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es como padre y madre de todos los mercaderes" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 60): *"aber eigentümlicher Volksnamen in der eigentlich der Sinn von Meerkopf gelegenen Landschaft Chalco."* Acxotlan was a merchant's *barrio* in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nanâ Ehecatl, Chicomquiauitl, Xoxoauhqui, Cochimetl, Yacapitzactoc, Macuitl, Chalmecatecutli (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 238, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: *"Meere aus dem Grie Oceanus . . . , der auf Wanderschaft gehende Klein und Marktkaufleute rasch als der auf weite Reisen gehende Grosskaufmann, auch Kaufmann i. A."*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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tomatoes, the cylindrical ones;[6] and all the neck bands, and the matted neck bands; and large and small pieces of turquoise; and all the different kinds of feathers — quetzal tail feathers: the well-pointed ones, the well-curved ones, the wide ones, the long ones, which, they said, indeed extended a fathom. And these were just the tail feathers. And those they called down feathers,[7] the very small ones, the chili-green ones and the crest feathers of the quetzal;[8] and feathers of the red spoonbill[9] [*teoquechol*], which is now called *tlauhquechol;* and the blue cotinga, the amethyst-colored ones,[10] the yellow parrot,[11] the multicolored parrot, the trupial,[12] the red and yellow parrot,[13] the scarlet parrot,[14] the blue parrot,[15] the dove; and aquamarine feathers, etc. And skins of wild animals, and mats of wild animal [skins]; and wooden chocolate-beaters; and gourd stoppers.[16]

Verily, all their goods, which lay strewn [and scattered in the tribal quarter] temples[17] they arranged in order and in rows upon precious capes. They sorted, ordered, and disposed them. Then they offered incense and beheaded quail. Of this it was thus said: "They place things in the sun." And when they had placed them in the sun, and when they had offered incense during the day, later,[18]

in vel iaque in vel vitoliuj, in patlaoac, in viiac, in qujlhuja cezciacatl içan moteca: auh in çan totocujtlapiltic, ioan in qujlhuja quetzaliacatl, in çan tepitoton, in chilchotic, ioan in tzinjtzcan, in teoquechol: in axcan mjtoa tlauhquechol, ioan in xiuhtototl, in aiopal, in tozcli, in tozcujcujl, in çaquan, in cochovitl, in chamolin, in cujtlatexotli, in coçôtli, in xiuhapalli. Etc. yoan in tequaneoatl, in tequanpetlatl, auh in aquaujtl, in atzaccaiotl:

in ie mochi intlatquj in teintoc, [ỹ pixauhtoc. yn calpulco] in teucali, tlaçotilmapan qujcentecaia, qujcuecuentiliaia, qujtlatlamantiliaia, qujviujpanaia, qujtetecpanaia, vncan tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia, iehoatl injc mjtoa: tlatotonja, auh in jquac otlatotonjque, in otlenamacaque, cemjlhujtl, catepan tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, mopixtoque, in pochteca veuetque, nepielotoc, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlaaujaxtoc, puctleoatoc,

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6. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, *cap.* viii, fol. 205: *injc tlatlalili, olohir, oxtic xictic, tomatic, chiquinolco, tlachiquinaloztli, tlachiquinalli, tlacomomoli, tlacolocolxiuhtlalli*, for which the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Labrean otras piedras unas redondas y agujeradas, otras largas y rollizas, y agujeradas, otras trianguladas, otras cortadas al sesgo, otras cuadradas.*"

7. Quetzal tail plug, in jaua, *loc. cit.*

8. *Tzinitzcan.* Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 2 and 4, describes both the crest of the quetzal and a bird of the same name: *Tragonorus mexicanus*, 7. *ambiguus* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 366). In Seler, *Collected Works* (; Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. V, p. 2, it is quetzal tail and shoulder feathers of dark green with metallic sheen; in *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 137, a bird with black and green feathers.

9. *Tlauhquechol.* In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 62, white and red spoonbill; Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 63, red heron; p. 124, red spoonbill; p. 137, rose-colored heron. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 5; *Ajaja ajaja* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 356).

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10. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 9) mentions an *oyoqua* found in mountains about Cuetzlan and Michuacan — of painted, black beak and black feathers except those of the tail, which are half-white; another bird of the same name is a waterfowl of yellow beak; feathers at joint of wing are green; long wing and tail feathers are brassy, with white and green; body feathers are red. *Agamia agami* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 324).

In "L'orfèvrerie des anciens mexicains et leur art de travailler la pierre et de faire des ornements en plumes," Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte-Rendu* de la Huitième Session Tenue à Paris en 1890 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), note to § 68, Eduard Seler translates *oyoqua* as *tapaxo enfumée*, referring to Molina, *op. cit.*, *chvtiul amarillo — oyopalwiloal.*

11. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Cf also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 16; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 210.

12. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 114. *Gymnostinops Montezumae* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 372).

13. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371: "*especie de loro, del género* Chrysotis." *Cuelo* or *cuehol* — "*Papagayo roja y morada.*" *Amazona albifrons albifrons* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 328).

14. *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 2. Cf. also, however, *chamolin* (*chamol*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461: "*Nombre vulgar que en el Estado de Guerrero, en México, se da al tabachín o charalitchid.*" *Chamolitchid*: Aztl., *chamolli* (*pimiento*) — "*tabachín o flor del amarillo* (Poinciana pulcherrima)."

15. Cf. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *ampolletas de galapagos para tecomates.*

17. An omission in the *Florentine Codex*, to be noted in comparing the passage with the text of the *Real Palacio* MS, placed in brackets, brings the Nahuatl closer to Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

18. *Catepan*: the cedilla is missing in the original.

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

puctli mantoc, tlaqualli qujqujztoc, atle monectoc, ichoatl injc mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatotonja, in puchteca. 441 527 556

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, mocecentlalia in puchteca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujntic, vncan qujmopopoaltia, qujmeecoaltia, ic mjxmotlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmoqujchtiliz, oc cenca ichoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, qujtoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in guexqujch ic conmati, in quexqujch imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, injc qujlacatzotinemj anaoatl, injc ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, injc atlauhtli quitemovitinemj, in noviian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan qujztinemj: auh in nel cana impan oalmotzaqua, qujnpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in tematitlampa qujça, in qujoalcaoa tlatolli, in oalteitoa, ichoan achtopa qujpetla, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli, 441 527 554 521

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, fault-finding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refuting, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

ic vncan qujquequeloa, ica mauijltia, qujtlatlacaqujtia, qujcocoa, qujtotoneoa, qujcocolhuja, qujchichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inextitlan mooqujchitoa, çan njcan tianqujzco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapalotinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ie vncan in jtoneuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoã, injc vel imjtic oaçic intecoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoan, injc vncan in necentlaliaia maaoa, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopâpatla, mopapatzaoa, moquezicçatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, motlatzoujlitoque, moquâquatoque, mjxquâquatoque, motlatolxopeuhtoque, moichoatocatoque, âmotenaqujlmatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jzmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecentetl itlatol, atle ipan qujmotztilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtil: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mocecentecpoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

19. *Moqueiquichtiuc* in the *Real Palacio* MS. *Nicuac*: *nicuac* is meant.
20. *Mimdiiiuni* in *loc. cit.*
21. Possibly *amotenanpaltiuque* and *amo motenpanavillanj* are intended.
22. *Chachalacatoque* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished 726
with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried 726
mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each 724
household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,— shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ('tlatzontectli'), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land. [505]

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojos y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes "gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "viscocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y curs-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolati," which possessed particularly vivifying qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII). [262] [272]

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this *degrading* work (*because woman-like!!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu- [554] [558]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

[58] The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("*Idea*" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Européo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos i Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos tenvieron grandes diferencias: é Montecuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombré proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeodar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, desterrólos de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los quel quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de alli, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mezquique, é que le sirvirssen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Montecuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 78). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatilulco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 335 and 336).

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iubqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [624] 535 [291] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açoatl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açoquinmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlacochcalcatl, tlacatecatl*: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *nemecatiliztli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *amoçe tetlacuiniliztli*—or adultery.

561 681 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the [697] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquipiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in oauhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiocachpetlatl, quauhaiocachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 651 681 344 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli:[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch çalpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani,- aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujmaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujzzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 574 431 344 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

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11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcayan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de penas leves; el quauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiacoalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ispan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiscahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltencoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
● 561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitocaiotia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yuan vmpa quimpotonia*—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish was made: "*vna manta con vnas listas labradas de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras cintas labradas de colorado que se llamauan colotlapalli: y . . . vn mantle labrado de colorado, largo que cumpliese hasta colgado, y otro mantle labrado de todas colores.*"

And when the chieftains had beheld what now [the foe] did and intended, thereupon they deliberated as to what they would do. And when they had decided, thereupon went a boat, very carefully, which they poled rapidly. It came to a stop at the road's edge. No war device showed; it only came covered over. Another came. Just so, cautiously, they poled it forth rapidly. And once more came two boats, so making four. Then arose two eagle and two ocelot [warriors]. The first eagle [warrior] was Topantemoctzin; the second, Tlacotzin. And the first ocelot [warrior] was Temilotzin; the second, Coyoucuetzin. Thereupon broke forth one ocelot and one eagle [warrior], poling their boats furiously—as if the boats flew. They went cautiously to Teteuhtitlan, in order to intercept and cut off the advance [of the foe]. And when they had gone, once again, also, two—another eagle and another ocelot [warrior]—sped forth to hurl themselves into the midst [of the fray]. And when they had already gone, the flutes were blown, and thereupon people were robbed. And some from there approached to cut off the advance of the chieftains.

And when our foes saw this, they would have fled. Many died in the water, sunk and submerged, only piled up one on another, as if no longer conscious, as if stunned, fallen, soaked. Those who in vain tried to flee, only fell between the beams. They were pulled out, it is said, completely smeared with mud, slippery with mud, well soaked and completely drenched. Very many perished; there they died in myriads. And this was the last time that there our foes, the various people [allied to the Spaniards] died in numbers. And when our foes had died, the next day was quite calm.

And thus came the Spaniards here to Amaxac. They went to and reached where the common folk had taken refuge.[8] They had completely surrounded us. The battle spread all around, there at Amaxac and on the road which led to Tepeyacac. Then [the Spaniards] went to and entered the young men's house named Ueican,[9] for there assembled all the young men. Then they climbed up to the roof terrace. And all the common folk thereupon jumped down behind the young men's house, and then all dispersed into the water. And a great sea-

Auh in oquittaque tiiacaoan in ie tlein quichioa, 726
quimopictia: njman ie ic quinemjlia in quenjn vel quichioazque: auh in ovel quinemjlique, njman ie ic ce vitz in acalli, cencā yiolic, in quitlanelhuitivitze, contecaco vtenco, amo valnezttia in tlavizttli, ça vallepachiuhtia, ie no ce valla, ça ie no ivi in jiolic quivallanelhuitiaque: auh ie no ceppa valla vme in acalli ic onnauhtetix. Nimā ic valmevatiquetz vntetl quauhtli, onietl ocelutl: injc ce quauhtli, ieholtl in Topāltemoctzin: injc vme, ieholtl in Tlacutzin. Auh injc ce ocelutl ieholtl in Temjlotzin: injc vme, ieholtl in Coiovevetzin: njmā ic ic oneoa: ce ocelutl, ce quauhtli, quintequitlanelhuja, iuhquin patlanj acalli, vmpa tlamattiuh in teteuhtitlan in q'niacacotonazque, in quinvilitequizque. Auh in jquac oiaque ie no ceppa no contlazque in omentin no ce quauhtli, auh no ce ocelutl quintlacomotlazque: auh in jquac ie vi nec tlapitzalo, njman ie ic tenamoielo: auh ceq'ntin njpa quiniacatzacujlico in tiiacaoan.

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan motlalouzquja mjec in atlan mjc, in polacq̄ in illacque, ça netech ommotilinjaia, iuhquin aocmo quimati, ça iuhquin çoçotlaoa ça iuhquin chachapantivetzi, in oc nen motlaloznequj ça quauhcamac activetzi, tevivilano, omach moçoquinelogue, omach moçoquipetzcoque, vel chachaquanque, vel popolacque, vel mjec in ixpoliuh, oncan vel tonacamjcoac: auh ça yioppa in vncā ontonacamjcque in toiaovan in nepapan tlaca: auh in jquac ommjquico in toiaovan, in jmuztlaioc, ça cactimanca:

auh ic vallaque in Españoles in vncan amaxac, vel vmpa acito, in vmpa tlanfoque in macevaltin, vel techiaoaloque, vel motetemmā in iauiotl, in vel vncā amaxac yoan ipan vtli in tepeiacac iaticac: njmā ic calaquijo in telpuchcali: motencoa veican: iehica ça vncan monechicoaia in jxquich telpuchtli: njman [561 ●
ic tlezoque in tlapanco. Auh in jxquich macteoalli: 344]
njman ie ic ommotepeoa in jcampa Telpuchcalli, nec atla onnetepevalo. Auh ce vel tiiacauh quachic itoca, Vitzilhoatzin tlapanco moquetz, icpac in telpuchcalli, oc iuhquin tenamjtl muchiuh, oc ic achi cen-

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "donde eran la iglesia de la christiandad."
9. Ibid.: "Juntaronse Huyendo a donde estaua el cuarto de los muchachos."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22]

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa-

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maîtres du temple et du *collège militaire*, . . . " The boy (Mexican "piltontli") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97).

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España." in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "cap-"tains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness."

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.)

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castel-"lanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

585 at last a feast, liberally lubricated with pulque, took place.
[834] The bride and the groom, after this merciless treatment, retired for four days of penance and fasting, and not until that period elapsed did they consummate their marriage.

595 As is often the case in a warrior nation which suffers from
586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed from a husband who failed to support her or educate the children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the
[587] Aztecs had not invented mental cruelty. A divorced woman could remarry as she chose, but a widow had to marry a brother of her deceased husband or one of his clansmen.[8]

562 Women had definite rights, but they were inferior to those of men. They could hold property, enter into contracts and go to courts to obtain justice. In matters of sexual morality
[834] girls had to be chaste and wives faithful to their husbands. A
[837] man transgressed the rules of propriety only when his illicit relations involved a married woman. Otherwise his wife could not formally demand his fidelity. While the legal position of women was relatively low, judged by modern standards in the United States, personal influence was great, and there were several instances where a woman acted as regent when her son was too young to assume the office of chief. In mat-
[648] ters of tribal alliance we have seen how the marriage of a chief's daughter or sister to another ruler cemented an alliance.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

302 tance upon their heads; it was dyed with indigo,[3] so
386 that their hair shone. The teeth were stained with cochineal; the hands and neck were painted with designs—the necks were covered [with painting]. The stomach and breasts were [also] painted with designs.

515 They bathed in the sweat house and with [soap
562 and] water. They were held in esteem. They were modest, good, and of noble [mien]. Thus did they
[343] speak—attentively, and respectfully of others; they were diligent and considerate.

1 v [i.e. the Aztec women -- Analyst]

Motema, mahaltia, momamauizmati: pinaoanj, qualli mauiztic, injc tlatoa: temauhcaittanj, teimacaçinj, hiçiuhcaioque, moiolitlacoanj.

3. Xuchquilitl. Urbina (op. cit., p. 56) mentions two kinds: xuchquilitl pitzahuac, Indigofera atil Linn., and xuchquilitl patlahuac, Coldenia procuba Kunth—both producing a blue dye.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Granada.[105] It was different, however, in Mexico, where we meet 428
with traces of a decided progress. Not only had descent been changed to the male line,[106] but heirship was limited, to the exclusion of the kin and of the agnates themselves, to the children of the male sex.[107] Whatever personal effects a father left, which were [768
not offered up in sacrifice at the ceremonies of his funeral,[108] they 764]
were distributed among his male offsprings, and if there were none, they went to his brothers. Females held nothing whatever, beyond [562]
their wearing apparel and some few ornaments for personal use.

The "tlalmilli" itself, at the demise of a father, went to his oldest son, with the obligation to improve it for the benefit of the entire family until the other children had been disposed of by marriage.[109] But the other males could apply to the chief of the calpulli for a "tlalmilli" of their own:[110] the females went with

[105] Gomara ("Historia de las Indios," Vedia I, p. 201). Garcia ("Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. 23, p. 247). Piedrahita (Parte 1, lib. I, cap. 5, p. 27). Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y Colonisazion de la Nueva-Granada," Cap. XI, p. 201). Ternaux-Compans ("L'ancien Cundinamarca," pp. 21 and 38).

[106] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Gomara (p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). Zurita (pp. 12 and 43).

[107] Letter of Motolinia and Diego d'Olarte, to Don Luis de Velasco, Cholula, 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 467). "The daughters did not inherit, it was the principal, wife's son . . . ." Besides, nearly every author designates but a son, or sons,—as the heirs. There is no mention made of daughters at all. In Tlaxcallan, it is also expressly mentioned that the daughters did not inherit (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 348). In general, the position of woman in ancient Mexico was a very inferior one, and but [562]
little above that which it occupies among Indians in general. (Compare the description of Gomara, p. 440. Vedia I, with those of Sahagun. Lib. X, cap. I, p. 1; cap. XIII, pp. 30, 31, 32 and 33. The fact is generally conceded). H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races." Vol. II, Cap. VI, p. 224, etc.

[108] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XLII to XLVIII, pp. 515 to 529). Acosta (Lib. V, cap. VIII, pp. 320, 321 and 322). Gomara (pp. 436 and 437. Vedia, I). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XI., pp. 102 and 103). Clavigero (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX. "They burnt the clothes, arrows, and a portion of the household utensils . . . . .")

[109] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120), "el cual hacer de testamento no se acostumbraba en esta tierra, sino que dejaban las casas y heredades á sus hijos, y el mayor, si era hombre, lo poseia y tenia cuidado de sus hermanos y hermanas, y yendo los hermanos creciendo y casándose, el hermano mayor partia con ellos segun tenia; y si los hijos eran por casar, entrábanse en la hacienda los mismos hermanos, digo en las heredades, y de ellas mantenian á sus sobrinos y de la otra hacienda." Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 434). "It is customary among tributary classes that the oldest son shall inherit the father's property, real and personal, and shall maintain and support all the brothers and nephews, provided they do what he commands them. The reason why they do not partition the estates is in order not to decrease it through such a partition . . . . ." Simancas M. S. S ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 234). "Relative to the calpulalli . . . . the sons mostly inherited."

[110] Zurita (p. 55). "He who has no land applies to the chief of the tribe (calpulli), who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him a tract suitable for his wants, and corresponding to his abilities and to his strength." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 155).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 the Mexican tribe in a more direct manner. It was the overthrow
648 and capture, after a short but bloody struggle, of the pueblo of Tlatilulco.[56] Owing to the close connection of the latter with the Mexicans both had remained on a non-hostile footing; for the suspicious watchfulness with which each viewed the other did not comport with any more intimate relations, those of trade and exchange excepted. When the confederacy came into existence, Tlatilulco was counted in as a part of Mexico, since its people acknowledged themselves to be Mexicans; but there is no evidence authorizing the conclusion that the Tlatilulca played any other role, beyond that of auxiliaries to their kindred of Tenuchtitlan.[57] The rash attempt of the former at the organization of a conspiracy to become "Mexico alone" terminated fatally; their place was taken and barbarously sacked, their leaders were killed in the fray or sacrificed afterwards, and the Mexicans, exasperated at the conduct of their treacherous kinsmen treated them in an unusually severe manner. We have seen already that, in any conquest, the conquered tribe, if not exterminated, was only subjected to more or
[562] less heavy tribute. But the Tlatilulca were dealt with far worse:
174 they were degraded to the rank of "*women*," their public market
648 was ordered closed, their council-house left to decay and their
727 young men, expressly debarred from the privilege of carrying arms in aid of the Mexicans, were required to become the carriers of supplies to their captors. Such a punishment was unknown in the annals of Indian conquest, and appears even to militate against our views of aboriginal society in Mexico; still it was in perfect harmony with the institutions of the latter. The Tlatilulca were, as we should never forget, not only a tribe

[56] The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Plate XIV, also explanation Vol. VI, p. 138), concurs in this date, or the year seven "calli" which is indeed 1473.

[57] This acknowledgment—"to be Mexicans"—on the part of the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, was in the nature of a *claim*, and with a spirit of jealousy and envy. Although *Durán* says (Cap. XXXII, p. 257), "aviendo estado hasta entonces sujetos á la corona real de Méjico," this affirmation is utterly disproven, not only by all the other sources, but by his own statements (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 46). The confused and contradictory tales about the state of war preceding the formation of the confederacy still make the Tlatilulca always appear as assisting their neighbors of Tenuchtitlan, more or less. Sometimes they were neutral only, and at times they may have felt inclined to foster attempts at destruction of their rivals by outsiders, but they still were afraid of the consequences of it for their own independence. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 46). The singular statement that the Tlatilulca even attempted, though fruitlessly, to withdraw the Tezcucans and Tlacopans from Tenuchtitlan, inducing them to become their associates in the work of its overthrew, is significant. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LVIII, p. 176) "Quisose aliar con los de Tlacupa, y Tetzcuco, los quales no le acudieron."

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565 of any connection by kin. This presupposes *a class of outcasts from the bond of kinship.*

There is no evidence of the formation of such a cluster prior to the permanent settlement of the tribe. Neither can we trace its gradual increase from a given time. But a glance at some of the rules of kinship, and at the practical working of these rules finally crystallizing into an equivalent for laws, will enable us to discern its origin.

121 The relation of sexes being at the bottom of society based upon kin, it follows that sexual intercourse gradually assumed a regulated shape, proportionate to the progress in institutions. The ancient Mexicans had, as we have already established, advanced into descent in the male line, and had secured a nascent state of the modern family. Marriage was well known to them [581] as a *rule*. But so powerful was the influence exercised by the kin, as unit of public life that, once the ritual union of a couple acknowledged as a necessity for future joint life, it exacted of its male members the obligation to marry for the purpose of propagating and increasing the kin. Only such as were naturally helpless, and such as in view of "medicine" made vows of permanent [587] chastity, were excused. Any other youth therefore, who refused to take a wife at the proper age, was treated with contempt and consequently expelled from the kin.[80]

562 Woman, among the aboriginal Mexicans, was in a singular predicament. Through the establishment of descent in the male line she lost her hold on public life, (which she latterly regained through the establishment of the family proper) and thus remained little else than a *chattel* in the power of man. Still, the ritual act 562 of marriage being once adopted, the same obligation to marry, 589 which we have already found incumbent upon the male, also devolved upon the female, and any girl therefore, who did not "take vows" for "medicine," or who was physically not mis-

[80] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 461). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp 133 and 134) "s'ils ne voulaient pas prendre des femmes, ou les congédiait." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125), "Llegados á la edad de casarse, ... Si pasando la edad se descuidaban, y veian que no se querian casar, tresquiláhanlos, y despedianlos de la compañia de los mancebos." This meant exclusion from the kin since, as soon as they were married, "they were classified, since, according to their custom, they were divided into sections each of which had a chief or captain, as well for the collection of taxes as for other reasons." These "chiefs or captains" were those of the calpulli. *Zurita*, (p. 135), also *Bustamante*, ("*Tezcoco*," Part III, cap. III, p. 215), "Cuando se casaban los empadronaban. . . . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 186, almost a copy of Mendieta).

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shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was also regarded as a reprobate.[81]

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship.* Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82]

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live.* Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave.*

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversion to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 387): "A gente che stima meno le donne di quanti nationi sono al mondo, perchi non gli comunichereble mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscuse che il farlo gli potesse melter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 326). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 368), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XV, p. 37); *Durán* (p. 129). If a girl abandoned her house, she might finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("on les abandonnait").

[82] *Durán* (p. 56): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre." (Id. p. 54): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demeurer dans un autre, on lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 128). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 565 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 488).

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tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape 567
threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their 731
children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or 562
of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for 565
the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether 837
different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such [634]
purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became [548
tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in 595]
the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1500. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 196) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1402. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1451. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these alimonts." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 94), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 96) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 233) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 269), agrees with *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 268): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451-1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 156) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

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582 It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the
[562] ritual details themselves, but we must lay particular stress on the fact, that the wife became the *property* of her husband and that she was, as such, placed under the direct protection of his kinsmen. Such marriages could be annulled by mutual consent,
[586] provided the kin gave its approbation. In such a case the woman was at liberty to marry again, and also to return to the calpulli from which she issued.[110]

764 We might now be expected to cast a glance at the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans since it was *one of the attributes of the kin to enjoy common burial.*[111] But this question is so intimately connected with that of creed and belief that we refrain from trespassing too much on that field. The Mexicans practised cremation and, in the case of warriors slain in battle, at least, it is known that the exercises were conducted by the officers and leaders of each kin, *all its members*, and not the special relatives and friends only of the deceased, attending the ceremony.[112] Our knowledge of the burial places of aboriginal Mexico is still very indefi-

583 was given by their hand, out of which there arise great discomforts, and marriage
584 among free persons is not as free as it should be, therefore, we ordain and command: that no Indian principal of whichever condition or rank ("estado,") shall of his own accord or authority give away any wife to anybody whatsoever, nor shall he prevent any Macegual from marrying freely the woman whom he may wish, and who may like him,— under penalty of thirty days of imprisonment, and other penalties which the Judge may determine upon."

("*Concilios Provinciales, Primero y Segundo, celebrados por la muy noble, y muy Leal ciudad de México etc., etc. Dados á Luz el Ill'mo Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia* Año de 1769). The "principales Indios" are the officers of the "Kins," and thus we have, thirty five years after the conquest, a formal recognition of the custom among the Mexican Indians that marriage was controlled by the Kin. How the "encomenderos" subsequently interfered with that custom, in order to conceal their own criminal doings, is plainly told by *Fray Antonio de Remesal* "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala, etc., etc.*" Madrid, 1619 (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 327).

[110] It is singular that some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers imply that there was no rule of repudiation or divorce among the ancient Mexicans. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 303). The same authority, however, attributes this to the baneful effects of contact with the Spaniards, in consequence of which the customs of the natives grew more or less dissolute and immoral (p. 304). *Durán* (p. 97) confirms, and *Torquemada* (Lib. XVI, cap. XXIV, p. 196), copies Mendieta literally. For the customs of divorce see *Durán* (p. 97), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 304), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XV, pp. 441 and 442). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. C, XVII, pp. 72 and 73), *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196), and others. The division of property mentioned as accompanying the divorce, applies only to personal effects, since the wife brought nothing else. See "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, and note 107).

The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans will be more thoroughly discussed by me in another monograph, subsequent to one on "Religious Beliefs."

[111] "*Ancient Society*" (pp. 71 and 83).

[112] Compare *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 134 and 136), and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXV, pp. 37 and 38).

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procuresses were severely punished, though not with loss of 689
life.[126]

While clandestine relations between young men and girls were [836]
known to exist and, if not sanctioned, still were not punished,[127] 684
it was different if a married man attempted to seduce a maiden who was not an outcast. The seducer was invariably punished.[128] Intercourse between unmarried people was tolerated, as a preliminary to marriage and the consequent increase of kinship, but if a husband, in contravention of the obligation "not to marry in the kin," endeavored to satisfy his lusts upon one of that kin's wards, as the daughters of members all were, then he committed

VII, cap. XVII, p. 488). all affirm, besides, that young people, while yet in care of the "houses of training," if intoxicated, were killed. This is also confirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib. III. appendix, cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271). Except by *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), it is generally conceded that drunkenness was well controlled in aboriginal Mexico.

[126] Although prostitution was tolerated, still, houses of ill-fame did not exist. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. II, p. 376): "Esto parece, porque permitieron, que huviese Mugeres, que se daban à los que querian, y se andaba á esta vida suelta, y ganancioza, como las de nuestra España, y otros Reinos; puesto que no tenian casa señalada, ni publica para la execucion de su mal oficio, sino que cada qual moraba donde le parecia, y el acto deshonesto, en que se ocupaba, servia de lugar publico. y en el mismo vicio se hacia publica y se manifestaba." *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "Permitian los mexicanos, mujeres que ganasen con sus cuerpos, aunque no tenian lugares señalados." It is, therefore, not quite clear what may be meant by the term "alcahueta." In the sense of the French word "entremetteuse," alone, they were amenable to punishment, since it was the duty of the man to hunt his "female," although he sometimes employed women called "cihuatlanqui" for that purpose I suppose that such women were punished, not for the *immorality* of their conduct, but for their *unauthorized forwardness* in [562] addressing themselves to men, and thus trespassing upon the dignity of that superior being. In regard to authorities on the mode of punishment, I but refer to those quoted by *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 469, note 101). [548]

[127] I have already shown that young people held intimate relations with each other before the formalities of marriage were arranged. Thus, while he was yet at the "Telpuchcalli," the youth had his female friend, "amiga" or "manceba," outside. This is positively stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, p. 271): "y estos mancebos tenian sus amigas cada uno dos ó tres, la una tenian en su casa, y las otras estaban en las de sus familias." and *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 376). That these female "friends" were regarded with more than a feeling of platonic love, is dryly expressed by *Sahagun* (Id: cap. V, p. 270): "y los que eran amancebados ibanse á dormir con sus amigas." It is also asserted by *Torquemada* (see above): "que despues que aquel mancebo havia un Hijo, en la dicha manceba, luego le era forzoso, ó dejarla, ó recibirla por muger legitima." *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "los mancebos antes de casarse tenian sus mancebas, y solian pedirlas á las madres." This almost establishes promiscuity among the ancient Mexicans, as a preliminary to formal marriage.

[128] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 485) says that the punishment was not like that of the adulterer, "because the husband was not required to the same amount of conjugal fidelity as the wife." With "slaves" concubinage was permitted, and the result of childbirth was freedom to the child. Death was invariably the punishment of those who held, or attempted to hold, intercourse with girls in care of the house of worship. *Durán* (p. 106, etc.). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 130): "El que hazia fuerza à virgen, ora fuese en el campo, ora en casa del padre moria por ello."

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684 a crime which the calpulli was bound to punish in the most exemplary manner.

689 While we are not at all surprised at such severity in the cases 562 above stated, it cannot fail to astonish us, that such apparently harmless acts as those of a *man wearing female dress* and of a *woman appearing in male attire* were visited upon the offenders with death.[129] Still, the ancient Mexicans could assign from their peculiar point of departure good cause for such cruel punishments. The position of woman was so inferior, they were regarded as so far beneath the male, that the most degrading epithet that could be applied to any Mexican, aside from calling him a dog, was that of "woman." It was more injurious than coward. Now, for a man to assume the garb of such an inferior being became almost equivalent to a crime against nature. It was an act of wilful degradation which was a deadly insult to his own kin. On the other hand, if a woman presumed to don the dress of her lord and master, it again was a crime of an equally heinous nature. In both cases the dignity of the whole consanguine group became deeply affected, and death alone could satisfy its honor. After this, it is needless to say how the actual crimes against nature were regarded and punished.[130]

687 It was also a capital crime for any man, to assume the dress or ornaments peculiar to an office, without being himself that office's lawful incumbent. Besides being a grave insult to the rightful officer, it was a dangerous offence towards the kin, especially in case of war, when it amounted to actual treason.[131]

684 Since it was the kin's duty to protect, not only the persons, but also the property of its members, it follows that adultery committed with a married woman entailed deadly punishment upon the male, whether he was married or not. His crime was that of stealing the most precious chattel of one member of the calpulli.

[129] This is so generally mentioned by all authors, that special references are superfluous.

[684] [130] All authors insist that incest was punished with death. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. IV, p. 380): "Todos los que cometian incesto en el primer grado de consanguinidad, tenian pena de muerte, si no eran cuñados, y cuñadas." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 137). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 481). All these authors appear to have gathered their information from the same source, or rather Torquemada is frequently Mendieta's plagiary, while Vetancurt often copies Torquemada. To avoid superfluous quotation, I beg to refer, on the subject of "unnatural crimes," to *Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 466, 467 and 468, "*Native Races*").

[131] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132), copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540), *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, pp. 214, 215 and 216), and others.

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463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlatl") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlatl") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient [556] disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Les chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 438). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostralles otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos María de Bustamante. Tezcoco en los últimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes*," 1826. Parte tercera. (Cap. III, p. 212). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, [564] cap. V, p. 462). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49). "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlatl" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 243). "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estás artes todos tuviéron principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, [685] p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 487). *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes de los Mexicanos").

287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works — those made of feathers — is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 489, and, with slight variations, also by *Vetancurt*, Vol. I, p. 389.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See in general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 187 and 188), also *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

776
796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among
[565] those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food
[595] well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlalocs. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[773] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with spikeets, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and bathesh men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iccan, quinquetza: mùch tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech quintlalilia: ipã mjztoiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahdamj yn jncuje, ynjc momiquinquequeloa.

Auh intla aca oittoc, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in iolizmatquj, yn jne, yn iollo: qujqujxtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlaçaquetzala:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no qujrtiloia, quinmotlacaçoanaiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, izquatzo, izquatzone, quetzallalpile, tencujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, eiooale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlaçaia ymac omoc, ozlatepile.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjzcoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, quimoetutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech moposia:

iuh quitoaia, ca iehoatl achto quinmachti, quimittiti, in petlachiualiztli, yn icpalchiualiztli:

iehoatl axcaua cuecueioaia, tlatquioa, tlanextile, tlatzintile, tlapoualtile.

Joan iuh quitoaia ca iehoatl quimaltia, quiquixtia, in toli in tolpitzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, aztapili, in tolquijtol, in tolcaputl, yn jztoli, xomali:

yoan yn iquac illuiztuhquiçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan quiztemoloa, tepan quipizca, yn aoachtli, cenca tlaihtlaxjliloia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quizcoaia, tlacotli, in quimictiaia cexiuhtica:

110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "este cabezon, con una manta igual, y sobre el igual, una red negra: de numero igual igual, se parecen, por los medios de la red."

111. The xiuhtlalpilli also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

[618] 112. Calpolli—this or gens, which connoted, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Siller: op. cit., Vol. II, pt. I, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zurita: *Breve y sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Siller uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its membership.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "hacen cestos de juncos: que llaman ocoxcatl."

114. Cf. Sahagun: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 149 and Vol. III, p. 272.

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Cozcamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dancer.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre cozcamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

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[805
776]
[535]

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Marginal notation: *Jamaniac de dios muy.*

Cap. 17:
Tititl.

1 c KL
2 d A esta muger que matauan en esta
3 e fiesta: componjanla con los ataujos de
4 f aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que
5 g se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom-
6 A bre Tona qujere dezir nuestra madre
7 b esta muger ansi compuesta con los
8 c ataujos estan puestos en la historia,
9 d baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos vie-
10 e jos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua,
11 f acordandose que luego auja de morir:
12 g pasando el medio diã, componjanse los
13 A satrapas con los ornamentos de todos
14 b los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su-
15 c bianla al cu, donde auja de morir:
16 d echada sobre el taxon de piedra, sa-
17 e cauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la ca-
18 f beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos
19 g que yva adornado como dios, y delan-
20 A tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca-
bellos: hazian areyto cõ ella gujaua el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

c 19
d 20
e 21
f 22
g 23
A 24
b 25
c 26
d 27
e 28
f 29
g 30
A 31
b 1[1]
c 2
d 3
e 4
f 5[2]
g 6
A 7

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535

El mesmo dia que mataua esta muger los mjnjstros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abazo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

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El dia sigujente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

796X
565
524
[415]

2. Marginal notation: *Ejercicio demonjo.*

X 796
565
524

sacks with soft things, like wool, and they carried them hidden under their capes, and they struck, with the bags, all the women whom they might meet in the streets. This game reached such lengths that the boys also made bags and with them mauled the girls so much that they made them weep. Many other ceremonies were performed in this celebration, which are set forth at length in the account of this feast.

cosas blandas como lana y llegauanlas escondidas debaxo de las mantas, y a todas las mugeres que topauan por la calle, dauanlas de talegazos: llegaua a tanto este juego, que tambiẽ los muchachos hazian las talegas y aporreauan con ellas a las muchachas tãto que las hazian llorar. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian esta fiesta q̃ estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujtli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289] 778 [565] 666 431 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

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Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei toçoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uei toçoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *magney*[3a] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Jnic cẽpoualli omei xapirulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli. 796*

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic muchioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: qujquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlachezujlli, beezço, tlaezçotilli noujã: [824]

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia , qujquequetzaia, qujtitilquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aqujn telpuchtli, itech qujqujxtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacazztitech. 796* 785

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoiatema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli: [565] [352] [824]

tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oqujchiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneoa, aquetzalli: 796* [262]

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic qujteteca in atolli, izqujatecomac,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn oiztix, yn

1. Ginet Vigil (Ginet Valadez), according to Gurbay (*op. cit.*, p. 296). Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 276) refers to Uey tepeilli as *gran personaje*, and to Tepeilmacatl as "*personaje . . . personaje cuyo alguna cosa de una parte á otra.*"

2. Sahagún describes these as *espadañas*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 78, has *Rohrkolben* (*Typha sp.*), and in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rohrkolben* or *Kolbenrohr* as alternatives.

3. Fr.—*Bois religieux* (*H. B. K.*) *Schlecht & Cham*, in Clark's *Mendoza Codex* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; pine, in Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 83, citing Molina (*ahora, dejad de que se cuece al cabo de ahora*) and Hernández (Madrid, 1790, I, 24)—"*arbol que arrojan al comienzo, dificil quemarse que cuelgan, que congeman.*" He equates *ocoxcuil* with *cipresal*, as does Gurbay (*Libro del calendario*, p. 212). Sahagún used the term *bosque silvestre*, Seler says, and adds that *ocoxcuil* was a name given to a variety of green branches. It is pictured in No. 371 of Paso y Troncoso's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. XI).

3a. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican name *magney* is used in this translation.

4. Sahagún, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 286: "*quichiuhcuatlli, que es hecho con harina muy espesa y muy blanca, hecho con nopalquilitl.*" In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 84, Seler specifies that the grains of maize were "*mit Pottasche gekochten.*"

5. A sour gruel, in Seler, *loc. cit.* Sahagún (*op. cit.*) states that an acid fruit, such as tamarin, was used.

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.**[1]

Jnic cenpoalli ommacuilli capítulo, itechpa tlatoa yn ilhujtl, yoan yn jntlamanaliz in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in motenoaia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily at that place were formed very long reeds called *aztapilin* or *tolmimilli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.

And these they pulled up, cutting them at their white ends, at a place in the water called Temilco, or Tepexic Oztoc.

And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.

And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and when they returned, the road [which they followed] was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.

And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them, they wrested from them all that they had; they snatched away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

Etzalqualiztli: ynin ilhujtl, yn aiamo onaxioa, in ipan muchioaia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inneçaoaliz achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: ichica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchioaia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, yoan cenca tziniztac: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, qujtezcopina, itocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

auh yn oconanque, njnã ie ic qujchichioa, qujcujcujtlalpia, qujqujmiloa, qujtotolqujmjloa:

njman ie ic qujmecapallotia, qujmemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaizquamamalo: njman ie ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloatz, aiac qujxtlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch queoacamama.

Auh ynic vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic oalmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac qujtoca, aocmo qujtoca in nenenque:

auh yntla acame oqujnnamjcque, njman vncan qujntlacujcujlia, qujntlanamoielia, qujntlacencujlia, qujntlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapatla, njman qujnmjctia, qujntetentimaiaui, qujmihicça qujtitilicça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic qujujujtequj, qujntlatlal-

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1. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: "*hacían una manera de parches, o palanduras, que se llama etzalli*"; and in *ibid.*, p. 149: "*son etzalli era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 216, defines etzalli as boiled corn and beans. Pino y Tornanzo (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his interpretation of the *Codex Borbonicus*' account of this month, —then to "*los palanduz de etzalli hechos de frijol, crysol semillas negras como alli sobre la cuaya, y de maiz, crysol grosso blanco alderman con los cowe negros.*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 112) has *Bohnenpfannkuchen* for Etzalqualiztli. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89) regards Etzalqualiztli as derived from *etl* (bean), *malan* (intermingled or), and *qualiztli* (eating). In "Bohnen brei," p. 298, Gardner has "*Comida de manojo de frijoles*," and in his *Libro del náhuatl vocabulary*, "*etzalli de parches.*"

Tower (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 25) identifies the beans of this month as those of the working people and lower class, were eating after agricultural work. Hence the offering of etzalli to them.

2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *aztapilinalli* as "*tronco redondo de jaraiz blanco y verde.*" *Tolmimilli*, in the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, is a kind of *jaraiz*. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 53, equates *aztapilin* with *aztapilli*, and quotes Molina ("*jaraiz largo, grande y redondo*"). Joachim and Sandoz, in their translation (p. 104, n. 1) write that it is the equivalent of *aztapilli*, "*de etzali, sigo de maíz cocí, o pilli, principal, grand*"; of *tolmimilli*, they write: "*cocer de tollin, junil, o maíz, cilindro redondo*" (*loc. cit.*).

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[3]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçotia in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiiovisia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca. 796[3] 736

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izqujlhujtl cujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: 372

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalqujxoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in maaujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenqujxtilti: 548

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan. 302 565

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. 796[4] 292

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtoxquj much uetei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlatac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtotia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca. 302

Auh amo mopetonja, amono moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichiotia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, ichoutl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin. 622 301 304 701

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For [illegible], Sahagún has "an estado."

X 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

[535] And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, [512] already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[531] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, [373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

X 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who 836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of 684 honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his [831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlaujc, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhioua, ie netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlaxilia axcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie ixqujch, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet veuetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn ixqujchtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenquixtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlaueliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioateiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oalioualquiça, çan moiocalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in qujça:

auh intla aca ittoz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in ixqujch ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlẽtlecaleoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

Fourth Chapter, in which it is related how the common folk left their sons in the young men's house, and what customs existed there in the young men's house, so that all were trained and reared.[1]

Injc navj capitralo: vncã mjtoa, in quenjn macehoaltin, qujmoncaoaia in inpilhoan yn vmpa telpuchcali, yoan in quenjn tlamanja vmpa telpuchcali in juh nezcaltiloia neoapacaloa.

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When a boy was born, then they placed him in the priests' house or the young men's house. That is to say [the parents] promised [the child], gave him as a gift, and brought him as an offering to the temple of the priests' house in order that [the boy] become a priest, or a young [warrior].

In iquac otlacat piltontli njmã caquja yn calmecac, in anoço telpuchcali, quitoznequi, quinctoltia, vmpa quivenchioa, quivenmana in teupan in calmecac injc tlamacazquj iez, yn anoço telpuchtli.

If he entered the young men's house, [the parents] promised him to it; they prepared drink and food. They summoned, assembled, and addressed the leaders of the young men. They who had sons [thus] prayed. They said:

Jntla telpuchcali caquja, qujnetoltia qujcẽcaoa, in atl in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujncentlalia, qujntlatlauhtia in telpuchtlatoque, tlatlatlauhtia in piloaque. Quitoa,

"Our lord, savior and protector of all, hath been pleased to place you here. For here you know and are told that our lord hath given [us one like] a precious stone, a quetzal feather. For a child hath come down [to us. Perhaps] he will have that which he hath need of that he may mature. Already he [is like] a jewel. Shall we perchance lay in his hand a spindle and a weaving stick? [For] he is yours; he is your child, your son.

Ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecujo in tloque naoaque. A ca njcan anquimocuilia anquimocaquitia, ca oqujmomacavili in totecujo ce coxcatl quetzalli, a, omecavi piltzintli, aviz nelle axcan motetzaoaltiznequj, ie peioctzintli, cujx malacatl tzotzopaztli, ymac tictequilizque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amoconetzin, ca amopiltzin,

"It is by your grace that we place him [among] your beloved sons, that you may rear, and train, and make of him a brave man of war, raising him to serve our mother and our father, Tlaltecutli and Tonatiuh.

amocuexantzico, amomamaloaztzinco tocontlalia ca amopilhoantztitzin, ca ãtlacazcaltia, ca antlacaoapaoa, ca anquatubchioa, amocolochioa, anquitlacaoapavilia, in tonan in tota in tlaltecutli tonatiuh.

"And now to him we dedicate [the boy]—to the shadow and the wind, the lord, the young [god], Yaztzin, Titlacauan, Tezcatlipoca.[2] Perchance our lord may sustain him a little.

auh in axcan ca ivic tiquitoa in iovalli in ehecatl in tlacatl in telpuchtli in iaoztzin in titlacaoan in Tezcatlipuca, açn achitzin qujmotoctiliz in ichoatzin totecujo,

"We leave him [with you that] he may become a young [warrior]; that he may dwell there in the house of penances, of weeping, of tears—the young

ticcaos telpuchtiz, vmpa nemiz in tlamacecaliztcali, yn choquiztcali, yn jiaiocali, in telpuchcali, in vncã

1. Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), II, pp. 199ff., says they were taken to the *telpuchcalli* (as well as the *calmecac*) at the age of fifteen. He cites *Codex Mendoza*, Plates 53 ff. All went for three years of instruction (religion, good usage, good behavior). All who attended, he says, continuation—nobility going to one type, commoners to another. Some trained children, some youths, and some girls. The sons were segregated. Men remained until the age of twenty or twenty-two, women until seventeen or eighteen. Attaining his majority, by his request or by arrangements made by his parents, a youth left this training to marry. Men usually followed their fathers' occupations.

The *telpuchcalli*, according to Cruz (*op. cit.*, p. 54) prepared the young men for war. Discipline was less severe than in the *calmecac* and education less intensive. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 220-21) indicates a certain amount of laxity.

Clavigero (*loc. cit.*) and Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 471) agree that girls were raised in seclusion and had no contact with boys or men. They slept and they went out only under the supervision of old women. They were taught how to address their elders with respect. Specifically, Clavigero mentions simple duties (sweeping, offering of incense three times during the night, preparing food for the idols); weaving and other womanly arts; and general preparation for marriage. Torquemada enumerates some of the punishments for misbehavior.

2. Tezcatlipoca was the patron of the *telpuchcalli* and the education of warriors (Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 27). Cf. also Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-21.

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4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.[1]

All became priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth nor vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.[2]

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.[3] The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chattel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl,[4] to him who is feathered in

Injc chicome capítulo: vncan moteneoa, yn quenjn tlatoque, pipiltin qujmõcaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in quenamj tlamanitiliztli, ynjc tlamanja in vmpa moteneoa calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequjntin vel nanti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in qujmaquja in qujnnetoltia in jnpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequjntin in-aqujn quinequi,

muchistin tlamacazque muchioa in pipilti ypampa, in nezcaliloian calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teiçcaltiloian, chipaoaca nemoouiã, necxiiiecoloia, nẽmachoia, ixtlamachoia, qualtioaia, iectioaia: çan njmã hatzoio, hateuhio, atle iniaioca in tlamacazque innemiliz, yn calmecac neoapaoaliztli.

Jn tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mocuiltonoa in iõc quinetoltia in caquja jnpiltzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujncentlalia in tlamacazque, yoan qujnnotza in quaquacujlti, yoã qujncentlalia yn nanti, yn tati, in vevetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevetlaca, qujntlatlauhtia in tlamacazque quimilhuja.

Totecujooane, tlamacazquee, nican anoalmouicatiaque amocxitzin anquioalmanilique, aço tlacotl, çacatl cana oanquioalmocxinamiquilique, aço cana amocxitzin oanquioalmocuelhuique, oanquioalmotecujnilique;

ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecujo, anquijmocuilia, anquijmocaquiltia, a ca nelle, axcan centetl cocotl quetzalli, oquijmomacavili in totecujo, in tloque naoaque

titemiqui, tiocchitleoa, a ca nelle axcan tle oniez, in piltõtli, in conetontli: cujx malacatl, tzotzopaztli, atícmacazque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amotlatquitzin, yn axcan ivictzinco tiquitoa in tlacatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tilpotõqui, calaquiz in calmecac, in

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1. Torquemada, op. cit., p. 22, says they were taken by the cuhuaxic at the age of four. Clavigero, op. cit., pp. 199, 200, says the age for these entering both the cuhuaxic and the telpochcalli was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the cuhuaxic than in the telpochcalli. Cf. Cruz, op. cit., p. 54.

Cruz (*ibid.*, pp. 57) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, star lore (magic, science, time-reckoning), the calendar (prediction of the future, astrology), mythology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the cuhuaxic. Priests also participated in the wars and were the formal educators.

3. *Yn nenni, yn nati*: an alternative meaning could be "those with fathers and mothers." Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 347), translates: "in ganzen Verhältnissen sich befindenden Männer (und) Väter."

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the cuhuaxic and of the education of priests and noblemen (Cruz, op. cit., p. 20).

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black, that he may enter the priests' house, the house of weeping, of tears, and of sadness, where grow and ripen the sons of our lords.

"And there prayers are raised to the savior and protector of all; there he poureth forth prayers to our lord; there he is importuned with weeping, tears, and sighs. There one is given [gifts], and is chosen for him [our lord]. For there we speak in his worthy house—there where [the shell trumpet] is blown, where the fire is bored, where the children of our lords are reared—where there is sweeping, the clearing of trash; where [sin] is put to one side. [This] disposition our lord will bring about.[8]

"In your noble laps, on your revered backs, in your valued protection we place the child. Grant him [your love], for we give you our child. Grant him your love; give him [your protection]. May he be planted here that he may be reared and wax strong; that he may do penances all night and all day, going about on elbow and on knee, calling and crying out to our lord, weeping, sad, and sighing.

"This is all which you have been caused to know and to hear, O priests."

Behold how the priests responded and replied:

"Here we have taken and received your valued spirit and words. Although we are unworthy, although we do not deserve it, although we do not merit it, your valued spirit and words have come forth [telling] how and why you are anguished over your jewel, your quetzal feather. But we only hear [on behalf of] our lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl, of him who is feathered in black. What will he require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? What will he wish of you? What will become of your jewel and quetzal feather?

"Without doubt we would be foolish [to say] that thus this [is], that this one [is] thus. Let us all trust in our lord, savior and protector of all. What will he wish of us? Let us put our trust in him."

choquizcali, in jtaiocali, in tlaoculcalli, in vncan izcaltilo, oapacalo in totecujoan in tepilhoã.

auh in vncan tlaitlanililo, in tloque naoaque, in vncan ixillã, itoxcatlan mamaiaoca in ichoatzin totecujo, in vncan tlamatataquililo, in choq'xtica, in jxaiotica in elciciuilizticа: auh in vncan motetlamamaquilia, in vncan motepepenilia in ichoatzin, ca vmpa toconitoa in ichantzinco, in vncã pitzalo, mamaiioa in izcaltilo ĩ totecujoa, in tepilhoan, in vncan ochpanouztli, tlacuicuilizzli, chico tlanaoac, tlatequilizzli qujmochivililiz in totecujo:

amocuexantzinco, amoteputzinco, amomamalhouztzinco, tocontlalia, manoço tlacaoa in amoiollotzin, ca tamechtoconemaquilia, ma tlacaoa yn amoiollotzin ma xiqualmanilican, ma quimontoca, ma quimonnelo, in izcaltilo, in oapacalo, in tlamaceoa in ceioal, cemilhujtl, in jmolicpitzin, in jntetepontzin ic tlaçatimj in qujmonochilia, in qujmotzatzililia in totecujo, in choca, in tlaocuia, in elcicivj;

ca inquijch y, anquimocujlia, anquimocaqujtia tlamacazquehe.

Jucatqui, injc tlananquiliaia, ynjc quicuepaia tlatelli in tlamacazque.

Ca njcan tonconcuj tocoanana in amihjiotzin, in amotlatoltzi ma çã tehoan titottati, ma tictolhuiltocati, ma tictomactocati, in njcan oalquiça in amihjiotzin, in amotlatoltzi injc ica, injc ipampa, ammoñetlamachitia, in amoconquj, in amoquetzal, ca çan tictotlacaquililia in totecujo in tepiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tilpotonqui anca quen qujmonequililia, in amoconquj, in amoquetzal. auh anca quen amechmonequililia yn amehouantzin, anca quenami ica, in cuacatl, in quetzalli,

mach tocontetenitalhuizque in ma iuhqui, y, in ma ichoatl, y, ma tictocentemachilicã in totecujo, in tloque naoaque, quen techmoqueqililia, ma oc titlacentemachica,

8. Mention of the protection of the god and the priests, and of expected rewards, is probably a reference to the fact that from the unknown time the priesthood and high military, administrative, and judiciary officials (*Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff.). Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 174-5) writes: "*La segunda manera de labradores los hombres era por la ejercicio alhegadolos al aquellosio de dando despues de honor servido en los templos con gran concepto y prosiguiendo y reconociendo yo siempre conforme los oficiales y dignidades y cargos honrosos en las republicas que oy en dia tienen como alcaldes diversos como alguaciles y mandones que habiendo en nuestra manera y cargos de respeto y reconocido mucho hasta y oy en dia se les hace es como dicho reciben despues o mas quenos oficiales o arrendiqui ot. pues con ellos se calabanan los cuerpos y se tomaban los parentesco y respeto se jamaban a los caballeros y jentes. Los reyes dia el consejo y parecer dicenos no tocaban hasta como cual al mismo mundo que los consejos que en magnanal dicen para descargo de su real conpliendo así a la manera mesmo como estos parentes en aquellos dignidades despues de largos predicadas y trabajos y servicio a los quales quando los dicen sobre dignidades y vicesalcaldes hasta mandan conformarse mandados aquel largo consejo honorables la dicen con que diengan conformes conformados de manera que pudieran dalle al nombre de determinadamente para con aquellos conformarse cofrarnos grandes predicadores y cantidad de consejeros hasta grande fiesta y banquetes y oy en dia se hace al mas conjuntos la qual pueden aplicar como consejo de hizo pues no he hallado en mas de quatro grandes decires y pues que los que oidos y considerados al fruto dicen quiere decirlos los dichos quedan con conforme a mucho discretamente mandadamente discreto dichosamente magnanimal honorosamente dichosamente aquenos."

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech cloths, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[6] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quitquj in pilhoaque, in tlatoque anoço pipilti, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cozcatl, quetzalli chalchivitl, in quivenchioaia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, anoço yiauhtli in quitquj in jnvem muchioa,

yn oconvicaque, njman cohça tlitica, vel quiztlilpopotza, njman tlacopatli quicozcatia, yn jcnoiiaca çan ixquich potonquj quicozcatia, njmã quinacaztequi, contlatlaxilia in ixiptla Diablo in iezio piltõtli, intla oc piltontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlatooanj ipiltzin, icozquj vmpa ..ncaoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque,

njman quimachtia yn ixquich nemiliztli, njc nemoa calmecac, in tlatecpantli.

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6. *Aristolochia maxima* (Hernández, op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

Ioíc chicuey capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacaciz apiztli, in maiana[illegible]tli, in iconc tlauicaia, in xiuhtlaposalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichiouia, in aiamo vmpeua xiuhtlapoálli, ce tochtli.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten: inmey maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Auh in iconc, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachiloia, netlatlatililo, nettzontilo, netacatilo, mocuacuamatema in tonacaiotl: auc tle mozlaça, muchiconc netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzõtli, in miiacatl, in metzolli, in nochxochitl, in mescalli, in necutlatotonilli.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[12] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. and when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[13]

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in auhtli çan yul moscoma in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opetzaoac. Auh iconc, muchi tlaiecoa, tlaacotlaça tlahiiocuiaia in petzicatl, in chichic auhtli, anoço teuauhtli, iacacolli:

This was the time when they bought people;[14] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

ie iconc tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlamcti, tlaixtotiani, atle quiscaoa, tlaixamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuie, taotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneoztinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicqui, in tructuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quiitta ihiiocuiia, icuihca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motolua: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin:

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12. *Ie xocohli* can yul *ie ipolocaio*: cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), II, p. 260: "*Xocohli* quiere decir, *es la semilla de las verduras sin Sazonar, como todas las hierbas silvestres.*" Jones, op. cit., p. 69. has "*Ripened* [sic] *seeds* [sic] *of the Vegetable* [sic]."

13. Some of these terms are identified in Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 63. *Yacacolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*especie de ajo.*" See also the Rabinal edition, Vol. I, p. 159.

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jones (op. cit., pp. 69-71), q. v.
(*Quiscaoa* appears in the *Real Palacio* MS as *quiqcaoa*. The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *ie ueopoa* (see ne ueoaqui), toward the end of the paragraph.

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Eighth Chapter, in which are told the various articles with which they adorned the rulers and noblemen—which they placed on them when they were bedight in capes and breech clouts.

Injc chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa in jaquitlamantli: in nechichioaia tlatoque in pipilti in jntechquitlaliaia, injc mocencaoaia in tilmatli in maxtlatl.

The cape with the serpent mask design, bordered with eyes;[1] — Couxiacaio tilmatli, tenjxio,

The cape with the conch shell design, bordered with eyes;[2] — tecucizio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with a design of stone discs, bordered with eyes;[3] — temalacaio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with the obsidian serpent design, bordered with eyes;[4] — itzcoaio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with wine-god jar design, bordered with eyes;[5] — vmetochtecomaio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with the butterfly design, bordered with eyes; — papaloio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with an eagle's face painted on it, bordered with eyes;[6] — xocalquauhio tilmatli tenjxio,

The red-bordered ocelot cape, in the middle of which stood an ocelot;[7] — ocelotentlapalli iitic icac oçelotl,

The cape of dark green diagonally divided, in the middle of which stood an obsidian eagle;[8] — chicoiapalli nacazmjnoquj iitic icac itzquauhtli,

The cape of blue knots diagonally divided,[9] on which a spear-eagle stood; — xiuhtlalpilnacazmjnoquj, tlacochquauhtli vncan icac,

The maguey fiber cape, with an ocelot tail pendant; — quetzalichtilmatli ocelocujtlapillo

The cape of shining maguey fiber [ornamented with] fluttered heads; — quetzalichpeztli, quapatlacio tilmatli,

The orange cape with the wind jewel[10] [design] and the feathered border; — camopalecacoxcaio, tenjujio tilmatli,

The orange cape with a striped border; — camopaltecoaxanquj tilmatli,

The light blue cape with a wind jewel design, which had a border of feathers with spirals; — apalecacoxcaio tilmatli, injtica tenelaiaoalo,

The carmine-colored cape with an eye border; — nochpaltilmatli tenjxio,

1. Fol. 16v of Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* defines the border with eyes as ocelots. Also see corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), III, fol. 46.
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
4. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 31.
5. Cf. *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 49. An alternative translation might be "the colored eagle border cape."
7. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 31. See also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 522.
8. Respecting this, however, Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 161.
9. Xiuhtlalpilli might refer to a design suggested by the ceremony of tying the years.
10. But, however, corresponding Spanish text, in which quetzalcoatl is described as a flower; see also Book VIII of the Codex, fol. 16a.

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565	The tawny cape with a spiral border;	quappachtentlaiocalo tilmatli,
292	The coyote fur cape with a spiral border;	cuiochcatentlaiocalo tilmatli,
531	The tawny, knotted cape;	quappachtelalpilli tilmatli,
	The cape with scorpion design stripes;	calotlazochio tilmatli,
	The tawny cape with the water spider;	quapachatocaio tilmatli,
	The tawny cape with the butterfly;	quappapaloio tilmatli,
	The ocelot cape;	ecelotilmatli,
	The cape with the eagle's leg;	quauhtetepeio tilmatli,
	The cape with the ocelot skin step design;[11]	ecelotxicalcoliuhquj tilmatli,
	The ocelot cape;	ocelotilmatli,
	The half-ocelot, half-eagle cape;	ecelequauhtlatlapanquj tilmatli,
	The tawny cape provided with the design of an eye upon a hooked element;[12]	quappachtzcoliuhquj tilmatli,
	The cape with the design of a ladder on the earth;	tlallecacuazio, tilmatli,
	The cape with an embroidered, radiating design;	tlamachmoiaoac tilmatli,
	The cape of duck feathers with a colored border;	xomoiujtilmatli tentlapallo,
	The cape of duck feathers with [a design of] flattened heads;	xomoiujtilmatli quappatlacio,
	The white duck feather cape, bordered with eyes;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli tenjxio
	The duck feather cape, with [a design of] young ears of maize;	xomoiujtilmatli elotic
	The wolf skin cape;	cujtlaichujtilmatli,
	The blue knotted [cape], bordered with eyes;	xiuhtlalpilli tenjxio,
	The cape with a sun [design], bordered with eyes;	tonatiuhio tilmatli tenjxio,
	The old cape with the eagle head design;[13]	quauhtzonteconio tilmatli mamanquj,
	The cape with the war symbol;	tenatl tlachinoltilmatli,
	The cape with the basket flower design;[14]	eacalxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the young maize ear flower design;[15]	elotxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the colored prince's flower design;	tlapaltecuxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the dahlia design;[16]	acucuxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the plumeria flower design;[17]	cacalotxuchio tilmatli,
	The cape with the poinsettia design;[18]	cuetlaxxuchio tilmatli,
	The white duck feather cape, diagonally divided;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli nacazmjnquj,
	The white duck feather cape, with the face of a wolf;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli cujtlachixio,

11. *Cipoticalcoliuhquj* (*cuetlat, cicatl, coliuhquj*—*malin, quauj, tecuitl*): gourd vessel with curved decoration. The nature of weaving makes it a stepped design.

12. Cf. representation in *Primeros memoriales*, Cap. IV.

In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, *yapalcoliuhquj chiuatl* follows *quappachtzcoliuhquj tilmatli*.

13. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 (*quauhtecuitl*).

14. Pioneer flower design, in Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Thompson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Part 3, p. 95 (*Amberiana* sp.?). Emily Walcott Emmart, in *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 204, calling it a basket flower, says it is a species of *xanthoxylum*. Francisco de Santamaría, in *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), II, p. 102, identifies the *huauhtlchal* (*-xochitl*) as *Phyllanthus niflur*, Humal.

15. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (*Magnolia* sp.?). Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275, mentions similar *elotxochitl* belonging to the *Compositae*.

Yellow-*xochitl*, here listed in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

16. In Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), I, p. 24, this is *Dahlia excelsa* Cav.; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *D. variabilis*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 389, *Dahlia* sp.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 806, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *P. rubra*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308, *P. rubra* L. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 251, identifies the *cacalotxochitl* as *P. rubra* L., *P. bicolor* R. & P., and *P. acutifolia* Poir. Cecile Helm Mitchell, in *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), pp. 23, 177, lists *P. acuminata*, and refers to it as "frangipani" and "temple flower."

18. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 958, *Euphorbia* (*Poinsettia*) *pulcherrima* Willd; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *Poinsettia pulcherrima*.

•565	The cape of colored feathers, with embroidery;	tlapaliujtilmatli tlamachio,
292	The cape with the face of a wolf;	cuitlachixio tilmatli,
531	The cape with the tips of eagle wings;	quauhhauitzaio tilmatli,
	The cape with a border of popcorn flowers;	tenjaquixochio tilmatli,
	The cape with the ivy design;[19]	quazoncoilmatli,
	The bed covering cape;	vevej tilmatli pepechtli,
	The mattress;[20]	quachpepechtli,
	The large cape used to keep oneself dry;	vevej tilmatli neoatzalonj,
	The breech clout with the ivy design embroidered at the ends;[21]	quazoncacatlamachio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with the market place design;	tianquizio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with the eagle's leg design;	quauhtetepeio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with the turquoise mosaic mirror design;	xiuhtezcaio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with the butterfly design at the ends;[22]	acapapaloio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout striped in many colors;	centzonmaxtlatl tlatlatlapalpoalli,
	The breech clout made of twenty pieces,[23] with the wind jewel design at the ends;[23]	cempoalçtl acabecacozcaio,
	The tawny colored breech clout with embroidered ends;	qiauhpachmaxtlatl acan tlamachio,
	The carmine-colored breech clout with the ocelot head;	nochpalmaxtlatl, ocelotzontecoio
	The ocelot breech clout with a step design;	ocelotzicalcoliuhquj maxtlatl,
	The coyote fur [breech clout] with the eagle head;[23]	quauhtzontecoio,
	The breech clout with feathered discs at the ends;	acaiujtemalacaio maxtlatl,
	The breech clout with radiating embroidery at the ends.	acatlamachmoiaoac maxtlatl.

19. Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 257; IV, p. 257.
20. *Vevej tilmatli pepechtli; quachpepechtli*; cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), Spanish-Nahuatl section—*alfombra, colchon.*
21. Seler, op. cit., p. 97, reads *yaca- lar ace-.*
22. Cf. Spanish text, fol. 16v.
23. The *Florentine Codex* omits *cequichtemacatlal* before *quauhtezcaio*, found in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS.*

[p. 26 is blank]

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Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the foods which the lords ate.[1]

Ic matlactli vnaej capítulo: vncan mjtoa, in jntlaqual in qujquaia, in tlatoque.

Hot, white, doubled tortillas;[2] large tortillas; large, thick, coarse tortillas; folded tortillas[3] of maize treated with lime, pleasing [to the taste]; tortillas formed in rolls; leaf-shaped tortillas;

Iztac totonquj tlaxcalli, tlacuelpacholli, vei tlaxcalli quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalpacholli iztac, nexiopapaio, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacepoalli tlaxcalli,

White tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top;[3] white tamales with maize grains thrown in;[4] hard, white tamales with grains of maize thrown in; red tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales made of a dough of maize softened in lime, with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales of maize softened in wood ashes; turkey pasty cooked in a pot, or sprinkled with seeds; tamales of meat cooked with maize and yellow chili; roast turkey hen; roast quail.

quatecujcujlli tamalli, iztac tlatzincujtl, iztac tetamalli tlatzincujtl, chichiltic quatecujcujlli tamalli, nexiotamalli quatecujcujlli, tamalatl quauhnextli, totolnacaqujmjlli xocco tlapaoaxtli, anoço tlatentli, nacatlaoio tamalli chilcozio: cihoatotoli tlatleoatzalli, çolin tlatleoatzalli,

Market food: white tortillas with a flour of uncooked beans; turkey with a sauce of small chilis, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; turkey with red chilis; turkey with yellow chilis; turkey with green chilis; venison sprinkled with seeds; hare with sauce; rabbit with sauce; meat stewed with maize, red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; venison with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; birds with toasted maize; small birds; dried duck; duck stewed in a pot; the *atzitzicuilotl* bird stewed in a pot; roast of meat; fried meat in a sauce of red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; portage of yellow chili; sauces of ordinary tomatoes and small tomatoes and yellow chili, or of tomatoes and green chili; diluted [sauces] with tomatoes; white fish with yellow chili; grey fish with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; frog with green chilis; newt with yellow chili; tadpoles with small chilis; small fish with small chilis; winged ants with savory

tianqujztlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli etica tlaoio, totolin patzcalmolli, chiltecpiio, totolin, chilcozio totolin, chilchoio totolin, maçanacatl tlatentli, citli molli, tochtli molli, nacatlaolli patzcallo, maçanacatl patzcallo, totoizqujtl tepitoton totome, canauhtlaoatzalli, canauhtlapaoaxtli, atzitzicujlotlapaoaxtli, nacatlacectli, tlatetzoionjlli nacamolli patzcallo, chilcoztlatonjlli, chiltecpinmolli xitomaio, chilcozmolli xitomaio, chilchomolli xitomaio, tlamamollalli xitomaio, iztac amjlotl chilcozio, tomaoac xoujli, patzcallo, cujatl chilchoio, axolotl chilcozio, atepocatl chiltecpiio, mjchpili chiltecpijo, tzicatanatli inamjc papaloqujlitl, chapolin chichiaoa, meocujli chiltecpinmollo, chacali patzcallo, topotlimjchi patzcallo, tlacamjchin patzcallo, maçaxocomolli iztac mjchio

1. Sahagún's Spanish sometimes varies somewhat from dictionary and other definitions of the foods named in the Aztec text. In the main, our translation follows Sahagún's; footnotes take account of the most noticeable variations.

2. *Tlaxcalpacholli*, *totonquipacholli*: hot, white tortillas, doubled, arranged in a large basket, according to the corresponding Spanish text. In Molina, op. cit., the word means "*cosa doblada, o plegada.*"—If the root of *-pacholli* is *pachoa*, the term could indicate that the tortillas were covered, or could refer to the way they were beaten out. See also note 3, *infra*.

3. In Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 347, Dr. Ignacio Alonso translates *quatecujcujlli tamali patzcalmoli iztac* as *Tamales de carne cocina y onde espriniole jonas*. Alonso Tezozomoc, in *Histoire du Mexique* (tr. Terrien-Compans; Paris: P. Jaun, 1853), I, p. 269, has this explanation: "*les mets appelés quatequicuil-tamalli, bouy-tlacolli* [bouillon *tlacolli?*], *tlaxcal-pacholli, grands gâteaux de farine de fèves et de farine de maïs qui sont donc pulvrus d'épaisseur, ainsi que tout cuphas d'aliments et de gâtes.*"

4. Cf. Molina, op. cit.

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herbs;[5] locusts with chia; maguey grubs with a sauce of small chilis; lobster with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; sardines[6] with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; large fish with the same; a sauce of unripened plums with white fish;

tlatlaubquj teçontzapotl izochiqual maçazocotl chichiltic, coztic, tlaxtlecoaltic, chciozzapotl, xicotzapotl, quauhcamotli, camotli, aoacatl, atzizapotl,

Red, rough sapotas;[7] red plums; yellow or vermillion plums; ashen sapotas;[8] small sapotas;[9] manioc;[10] sweet potato; avocado; yellow sapotas;[11] tuna cactus fruit of many hues—white, yellow, bright red, green, orange; anonas;[12] *guanábiles;*[13] American cherries; tender maize;[14] green maize; string beans;

nochtli, tlatlatlapalpoalli, iztac, coztic, chichiltic, zozoctic, camopaltic, matzatli, quammochil, capoli, xilotl, elotl, ezotl,

Tamales made of maize flowers with ground amaranth seed and cherries added; tortillas of green maize or of tender maize; tamales stuffed with amaranth greens;[15] tortillas made with honey, or with tuna cactus fruit; tamales made with honey; tortillas shaped like hip guards; tamales made of amaranth seed dough; [cakes made of] amaranth seed dough; rabbit with toasted maize; squash cut in pieces; *olchicalli;* green maize cooked in a pot and dried; amaranth greens cooked with dry land chili; sauce of purslain with dry land chili; green amaranth seeds with dry land chili;

mjiaoztamalli tlaiznamjctilli ozuhtli ioan capoli, elotlaxcalli, anoço xantlaxcalli, xilotlaxcalli, ozuhqujtamalli, necutlaxcalli, nochtlaxcalli, necutamalli, queçeoatlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalli, tochizqujtl, aiotlatlapanalli, olchicalli, elotl tlapaoaxtli tlaoztzalli, ozuhqujlmolli tonalchillo, itzmjqujlmolli, tonalchillo, ozuhtzontli tonalchillo,

Water greens; onions;[16] the evil-smelling herb; the *eloquilite* herb;[17] the *mozoxe* herb;[18] rabbit-ear greens; *achochoquilitl;*[19] thistle; sow thistle; sorrel of various kinds; a water-edge plant called *acuitlacpalli;* squash flowers; tender, young squash; small squash; garden cress; *raphanui;* small tuna cactus fruit with fish eggs;

tzaianalqujlitl, zonacatl, hijacaqujlitl, eloqujlitl, moçoqujlitl, nacaztochqujlitl, achochoqujlitl, ujtzqujlitl, chichicaquilitl, iztac xozocoioli, xozocoiolujujlan, axozoco acujtlacpalli, aiozochqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioiacaqujlitl, aiotepitoton, mexixqujlitl, popoizuhqujlitl, nopaltepitoton mjchteuhio,

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5. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 746, this is *Pseudophilinus macrocephalus* DC.

6. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 194) says of *tapalli*: "*son pardillas crianas en los manantiales, son buenas de comer y sabrosas.*"

7. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 274: *Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn. Cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 314—"*zapotezapote o zapotezolcuado que es el verdadero zapote.*" Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 225) describes the *matamalqui* as "*de hechura y grandor del corazón de carnero; tienen la corteza áspera y tesa, son colorados por de dentro, son muy dulces y muy buenos de comer, y tienen los corazones negros muy lindos y relucientes.*" Cf. *zapotes* in Molina, *op. cit.*: "*hazer zapote alguna cosa.*"

8. "*Son las amarillas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 225); also corresponding Spanish text.

9. "*Llamanles los espada, y parecenose* [wild or chuba pear tree]. *Son muy dulces, blancas en tierra colorada*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 273, this is *Achras sapota* L.

10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 525: *Manihot aculeatus* Crantz; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335: *guacamote or camote. Manihot utilissima* Pohl; in *ibid.*, p. 337, "*las raíces de estas árboles cuécense y blancean como batatas, y son de buen comer.*"

11. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 267 (*amapul*): *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth: Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224: "*son amarillas de dentro y de fuera; son muy dulces, tienen a manera de pezon de buena comida, tienen encima de color cenizo oscuro.*"

12. *Anona squamosa, posiblemente cimarilla*, in Sandoz, *op. cit.*; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260: *Anonas cutiras*, Schult; *Anona cherimola*.

13. Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 799: *Psidium guajava dulce* (Rumph.) Benth.; cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52 (*Guanábil*).

14. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 149: "*Jilote: Cabellitos de la mazorca de maíz tierno.*"

15. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, I, p. 12; II, p. 154; *op. ibid.*, I, p. 12, n. 44 (*amaqualitl*).

See also Jonathan D. Sauer: "The Grain Amaranths: A Survey of Their History and Classification," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, 37: 561-632 (Nov., 1950), where it is suggested that cuauhtli may refer to either the chenopods or amaranths (p. 564).

16. *Allium* sp., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

17. *Baldera palmata* L.—*of de milpa* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338). See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 337.

18. Mozoxe in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 318. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338, has "*Yerba del Angel*, Esperanza deleitosa. *Inca*, Campanita"; *quauhtlaquatl* is the same.

19. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 361: *Rubus chrysanthemifolius* Michx.; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338: *Rubus corragua* D. C.

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcozio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc chciostolli, ouuhatolli izqujo, mjchioaoatoll· necuio, iztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chiauatolli chilcozpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, calquiça tlatoanj.

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And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jxtac quatecujcujlli: in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Auh in jquac in otlaqua tlatoanj, njman ic motezteloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlãque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezqujtlamantli, izoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlauetztzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapitzque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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[645]
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Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Niman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, zozouhquj cacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, zozouhquj tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, iztac cacaoatl

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes: Ramírez, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 69?: "*ha mole chiene millomatoma, es decir, de tomates.*"

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Chia arrugada. Salvia yyl*" Remondo, *op. cit.*, III, p. 66: *Salvia polyantha*? Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 210: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.

22. Remondo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* Du.—"*Es Mejiro, chile redondo, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 435, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. baccatum* L.: "*del tamaño de las compulsas, o las que parecen tomar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"

23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salvia hispánica. L. Sahdor*"; Remondo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 98: *Salvia chian, S. hispánica* L.

24. The Spanish text has barbaros, which would require *tenlopan*.

25. *Tiltic* and *iztac* are as they appear in the Codex; *chiltic* and *tzaac* are probably meant.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

692 nounced. And in what was there made known, the
695 lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caqujtiloia tlatoque ate quicnjuhchionia ate tlaxtlaujltica quixpachonia, anoço quijuecaoia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatea in audencia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlatoque.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently
[212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuztlae imixpan motecilhujaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuzca, in quicaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in quipoaia, in quittaia neteilhujlli: auh injc quinnelchiaia, quinteoaia, quimjtlanja in machiceque, in tlanelchiianj, in quimachilia motecilhujque, in tlein quimecujcujlia, in tlein ipan motecilhuja.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla quinmachili in ichoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic quiuecaoa, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uetzujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl quinocmjtia in amo uel quiztontecuj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hosiolcaiotl: njman quimjlpia, quauhcalco quimtlalia, quiztacutiuj, quimjctia, injc mauhca ieaque tecutlatoque.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Itzlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toqual. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

Tlatecati motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in quinmachili tecutlatoque mixcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, itzlaca mixcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinquj, tlatilulco in amo melauac quichiouia in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman quimjlpi, quauhcalco quimtlali, quiztacutiaque, quinmjcti.

692 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
565 place of discussion where were the brave warriors
684 and the noblemen.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan nijtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oquichti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla quimachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman quitlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznauatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpanique in-

5. Iohagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 267, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecalli, clase ennoblecida por los nuestros; determinados de cuatro linajes, donde cuatro diversos ancianos á los cuales superiores.*" Clark, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The four ruled figures behind the judges, called *tecali*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also II, 47; and the of the Mendoza Codex.)

7. *Tecuauh, pilli, oquichti*: cf. Iohagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in ixqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cuicacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc quichiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlac, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cuicacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquechin onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc quilpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol epdli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi ih concochia, momoztlac in ec ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [624] 535 [291] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatilixtli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açoatl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoztia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlahia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açoqujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlacochcalcatl*, discussed: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 79; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *nemecatilixtli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *amoçe tzahuatzinolli*—or adultery.

561 681 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the [497] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquipiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in ouuhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiocochpetlatl, quauhaiocochtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, quijncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 651 681 344 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenquijçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoánj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman quinqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 574 431 344 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatenteti, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtenteti, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 248-249, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcayan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca leve; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula, fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

tzalo in calpixqui, in quimocuitlauix, in ipan tlatoz in tlacalaqujlli.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; [681] hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia luezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocujtlaujaia in tetlatzontequjlilizti, quicaquja in jxqujch in jnetcilhujl: ioan in jchoquix, in jnentlamachiliz in jnetolinjliz in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh injc uel qujnehtilizia in tlatoanj in tenetcilhujl anoço tetlatlacul quimjxquetzaia, quinpepenaia in jtecutlatocahoan: ichoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncã in qujnj, in qujquanj, in mocujltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oquichti, in iauc omoxcaltique, mjiec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjlizti, oquimaujçoque: auh in jxquj tlamantlj qualli neoapaoalizti, nezcaltilizti, in jnpaltian oquimomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoalizti, in tiachcapa neoapaoalizti, in tetlan neoapaoalizti, in calpan tetlan nemjlizti, iauqujçalizti, tlamalizti.

Auh çan no iuhq̃, injc quinpepenaia tlatoanj, inic quimjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti ichoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omoxapaouhque, in tiacaboan in oquichti, in mjiec tlamantli oquimaujçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in quinpaequjltia, in quintlauhtia, ioan in quinmaca, in jxqujch intech monequj:

iuhque in in quimjxquetzaia, in quinpepenaia tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliuiz moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca quimaujxpia in tecuiotl, amo cochinj; cenca cochiçanj amo tle quicnjuhchioa: amo tle quioaiolcachioa: amo tle quitecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlaujltica quicaquj, anoço quitzontequj: quimjxquiznaoatiaia, in tlatoanj: injc melaoac quichioatque in jntequjuh, in tecutlatollj: auh intlacamo, ca ichoantin conmotzacujlitiaxque in tecutlatoque, in tlein quitlaconque.

Auh in jcoac, oquinjxquetz in tlatoanj: in jtecutlatocahoan quinmacaia vntetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

5. *Intendencyphone*: cf. *ibid.*, p. 318 (*los mayores jueces*) and p. 325 (*consejeros*).

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan ienque, in vncã tetlatzontequjliaque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centerl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzontequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuhca qujtzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuzca qujcaquja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchipauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. 693 [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc ichoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. Çiacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çiouatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, ichoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja, qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlaliloc. 695 643

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz, njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc ichoantin qujmjctia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtetepachoa, anoço qujtetequj. 693 696

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn netotilor.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeualiztli, in papaqujliztli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujnjollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçeualli: 535 643

acheopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl mecoaz qujnnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujichecoazque injc qujchicaoazque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 643 533 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oyan, muy diligentemente, y graues, llamandos el señor; para que los entendiesse juntamente con sus principales, muy cuidadosos, que eran el embaxador, y prudentes."
7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezoaoacatlailotlac; ezoaoacatl appears as ejuauacatl.
This title Tlaxitlanecatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.
8. Cas dispar: pas is probably spanish (cf. ibid.).
9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 291, 293; II, pp. 318, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 180, and III, p. 53.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

vesetl: ioan in iztqujch maçeoallatqujtl, ioan netotilizti, aqujn cujcaitoa, aqujque in teiacanaazque, aqujn teponaçoa, aqujn vesetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacauja.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed him-
292 self, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
301 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

Auh in ie iconac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc qujlpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço coxcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac qujtlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalcaccoeztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc macoa, tlaçotilmatli in qujmololoa, in qujmoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in qujmomaxtlatia,

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no qujcencaoa qujntlauhtia: in iztqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipiltl, in oqujchti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oqujchtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan qujnmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzqujtlamantin omoteneuhque.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla qujtlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli qujchalanja, anoço vesetl, anoço cujcaitoa, qujpoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in qujpoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaostia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aqujn tlatlacoa, qujtzacutiuh mjquja.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa injc iztoçoaia in aqujn tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioeltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpãpa iauiotl.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl cecioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoa: ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca iztoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoaltica quenmanjan qujçaia qujiaoaloa in altepetl qujtta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ie necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

565 **Twentieth Chapter, in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen.**

And here is described the rearing of the sons of those who were lords, and of all the princes, who were the sons[1] of lords and noblemen.

854 Their mothers and fathers nourished and raised them, or nursemaids raised them while they were 855 still small children.

565 And when they could run, when they were per-855 haps six years old, thereupon [the boys] went [forth] to play. Their pages—perhaps two, or three—accompanied them that they might amuse them. [The child's] father or mother charged these [pages] that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not taint himself with vice, as he went along the streets.

565 And also they took great care that he should con-867 verse fittingly with others—that his conversation should be proper; that he should respect and show reverence to others—[when] perchance he somewhere might chance to meet a judge, or a leading militia officer, or a seasoned warrior, or someone of lesser rank; or a revered old man, or a respected old woman; or someone who was poor. He should greet him and bow humbly. He said: "Come hither, my beloved grandfather; let me bow before thee." And the old one who had been greeted then said: "O my beloved grandson, O precious stone, O precious feather, thou has shown me favor. May it go well with thee."

And when the young boy thus saluted others, they praised him highly for it. They rejoiced greatly over it; they were joyful because of it. They said: "How will this beloved child be, if he shall live? He will in sooth be a nobleman. Mayhap his reward will be something [great]."

565 And when he was already maybe ten, twelve, or 871 thirteen years old, they placed him in the priests' house; they delivered him into the hands of the fire priests and [other] priests, that he might be reared

Ic cempoalli capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnoapacia in inpilhoan tlatoque, ioan pipilti.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jnneoapaoaliz in ichoantin in tlatoque impilhoan, ioan in jxqujchtin in tlaçopipilti, in jnpilhoan tlatoque, pipilti.

ichoantin in jnnaoan, in jntaoan qujmjzcaltia, qujnoapaoa, anoço chichioame in qujnoapaoa in oc pipiltotonti:

auh in jcoac ie uel nenemj, aço ie chiquaceuxiuhtia, njman ie ic iauh in maaujltiz, in qujnujca ixolooa aço ome anoço ei in caaujltiz, ichoantin qujnocultia in jtatzin in jnantzin injc amo tlauelilocatiz, injc amo qujmocujtlaujz tlauelilocaiotl: in jcoac otli qujtocaz.

Auh no cenca qujcujtlaujltiaia injc vel tenotzaz, injc qualli iez in jtlatol, injc teimacaçiz, injc temauhcaittaz, aço cana qujnamjqujz aço tecutlato, anoço achcauhtlaiscati, anoço iautequjoa, anoço çan aca tlapaltzintli, anoço veuentzin, anoço ilamatzin, anoço aca motolinja, qujtlapaloz cenca mopechteca, qujlhuja, xioalmoujca nocultzine, ma njmjtznotlaxili: auh in ichoatl oqujtlapalo veuentzin njmã qujlhuja notujuhtzine cuzcatle quetzalle otinechmocnelili ma ximonenemjti:

auh injc iuh tetlapaloa, y, in piltontli, ic cenca qujiecteneoa, cenca ic papaquj, ic motlamachtia. qujtoa: quenamj ietiuhi in piltzintli intla nemjz ca tel pilli, aço itla imaçeoal iez.

Auh in jcoac ie matlacxiuhtia aço ie vmome, anoço ie omej, icoac qujcalaquja in calmecac, inmac qujmoncaoaia in tlenamacaque, in tlamacazque, injc vmpa izcaltiloz nonotzaloz, tlachieltiloz inic vel

1. After *pipiltoan*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: "*Inic mocuepaoaz inic mocaltia ça ye no yuc in omoioo in tlacatilotl, yuc oc*"—"they were reared and brought up just as had been told in the [section] on birth."

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

565 868 701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[2] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

[202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[3] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Matlatzinca,

nemjx qujcujtlaujltia in tlamaceoaliztli, in ioaltica in acxoiatlaliliztli içaçocampa acxoiatlalitiuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali qujcalaquja, inmac concaoa in tiachcaoan, qujcujtlaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianoliztli, in jxquich tlamantli tlamaçeoaliztli mochioaia.

Auh in jcoac ie caxtolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamachtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl injc quiça iauc, in iehoantin tequjoaque achtopa qujnnotza qujntlaqualtia. qujmatlitia, ioan qujntlauhtia in jxqujchtin tequjoaque, in qujnmaca aço quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman qujtlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ie no iuhquj in omjto tlacpac injc qujntlatlauhtia.

Auh njman ic qujhujca, in iauc: vel qujmocujtlaujtiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel qujmachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautioa, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcoac ie mochioa iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, uel conjttitia, vel contlachielria, in vmpa tlamaz: aço njmã tepallama, anoço njman vel ic açi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochioa.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiqujça in tequjtque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in qujoalnonotztiuetzi motecuçuma:

auh in oacico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma qujlhuja. Totecujoe notelpotzine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujtzilobuchtli, ca otepan qujtopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca oia in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatitiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepanecatl, in acolhoa, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie ixqujch tlalhoacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. *Vel le cauí: the Real Academia de la Historia MS has ce for ie.*
3. *Tlatlamatitiaque: Simeon, op. cit.—tlatlamatitiat.*

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiaubque, oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlatia qujnpopoloa.

727

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ie mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omuchiuh.

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701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezqujntin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequjntin motequjoacaxima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnqujxtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

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Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl, ic oncan in qujça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chimampanecatl*: Sahagún's commentary on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y los de la tierra seca, que son los carceleros de los chimampanecas."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[3] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monestiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im macualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz macualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were passed with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcoucayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

auh ỹ yeuatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpiaqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço cempoualtiz. in q̃pieznque. 727

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.
This passage originally, in the *Real Academia MS*, completed the section ending *Ideas quejatlaxcan mandalachtic*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 then appears as an interpolation.
2. The abbreviation for the ending -*quz* in the original resembles -*qn*, and is thus reproduced here.
3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *Amoxoxopolla*, and *oyuelaxoxo tequilla*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 26 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*ipo uel y mulaxoxo tiuiztecatoxoxo*—is "*in richtiger Weise der Zahl der Vielhundert*."
4. *Anca*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Guadalajara, México: [Imprenta Mayfé], 1940), p. 188; also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

773 verily he traveled there [to the east] when he went. And [Moctezuma] sent five to go to receive him and
648 to offer him gifts. The leader was Teuoa [such
● 565 was] his lordly name; his name as a nobleman was Yoalli ichan. The second was [the steward of] Tepoztlan; the third, of Tiçatlan; the fourth, of Uetetlan; the fifth, of Ueicamecatlan.[6]

Teuoa, in jtecutoca, in jpilnoca Joalli ichan. Injc vme Tepuztecatl. Injc ei, tiçaoa. Inic navi vevetecatl. Injc macujlli Veicamecatl heca.

6. Cf. Sahagún, loc. cit., where these are given as seven from seven. Tlaxcaxcal Acoa is interpreted as Tlaxcaxcaxcal.

satisfied, because we have known and heard him. For a long time we have wished to see him and to look upon his face. And now that we have seen him and have come to his home in Mexico, at leisure he may hear our words."

Thereupon they took him by the hand and went leading him by it. They clapped him on the back in order to make known to him their love.

And the Spaniards beheld and examined him. They walked about on foot, and mounted or dismounted in order to look at him.

And the nobles, as many as accompanied him, [were], first, Cacamatzin, ruler of Texcoco; second, Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan; third Itzquauhtzin, a general, ruler of Tlatilulco; and fourth, Topantemoctzin, of Tlatilulco, who was Moctezuma's store keeper. [These] accompanied him. And still other noblemen of Tenochtitlan [were] Atlixcatzin, a commanding general; Tepeuatzin, a general; Totomotzin, the army commander; Ecatenpatiltzin, and Quappiatzin. When Moctezuma was taken, they only hid themselves and took refuge. They abandoned him in desperation.

ca tiquiximati in ticcaquj, ca ie izquich cavitl in cenca tiquijttaznequj in jxco titlachiaznequj. Auh injn ca otiquijttaque, ie otioallaq in jchan in Mexico, iujañ qujcaquja in tetlatol: 648

njman ie ic imatitech conanque, ie ic quivicatiujtze, quijtzotzona injc qujnezttilia in intetlaçotlaliz.

Auh in Españoles quijtta, qujcecemjtta, icxitlan ompepeoa, ontletleco, oalteteuno injc quijtta.

Auh in tlatoque izquijntin in jtlan mantiaque. Inic ce, Cacamatzin, Texcucu tlatoanj. Injc vme, Tetlepãquetzatzin: tlacoban tlatoanj. Injc ei, Itzquauhtzin tlacochcalcatl: tlatilulco tlatoanj. Injc navi, Topantemoctzin, tlatilulco itlatlatlalicaub catca, in Motecuçoma in ommantiaque. Auh in occequjntin pipiltin tenochca in Atlixcatzin, tlacatecatl, in tepeoatzin, tlacochcalcatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Tiococacatl, Totomotzin, hecatẽpatiltzin, Quappiatzin in nauoc Motecuçoma camo çã motlatique, mjnaxque, quijtlaulcaubque. 648 565

[p. 44 is blank]

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica in jquac ovel quijncaltechpachoto in nez in mottac Eztetl: iuhq'nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh injc valneztia iuhqmjn vei tlexuchtli. 726 787

And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Late at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, snapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacazco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axtauatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[5] — the ruler's vicar[6] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[7] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies[8] Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[9] of Mexico, and the lord priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatiluico — the

Auh in ovalioac: njman ie ic ꝗujꝗujiavi, avachꝗujꝗujiavi, ie tlaquauhiova in nez tletl: in juh mottac, in juh nez, iuhqujn ilhujcacpa valla, iuhqujn ecamalacutl, momamalacachotiuh, motevilacachotiuh, iuhqujn cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhqujn tlemoiutl, iuhqujn ecatepuztli, moquetza, cenca icoioca, tetecujca, titicujca, çan qujiavalo in aienamjtl: coionacazco in valitztia: njmã ic ia in anepantla, vmpa popolivito,

aiac motenvitec, aiac navat:
auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle muchiuh, ça ononac, ça no onoque in tojaovan.

Auh in capitan tlapãco vallachixtica in amaxac, Aztavatzin itlapanco, cevalcalco, tlatlapalli in cevalcalli, qujmonjtztica in macevaltin, cololhujtoque in Españoles, mononotztoque. 000

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; ꝯoan in oc cequjntin tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacotzin. Tlillancalquj. vitznaoatl. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzi mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlimacacatzin. Niman in ichoantin in tlatiluico tlatoque. Tlacuchcalcatl. Coioveveztzin. tla- 701 565

1. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 565, translates *conical* (*pointed cricket*) as *Mixtlamac*. See, however, Simeón, op. cit.
2. Sahagún, loc. cit., has also *Tlacolhuil* (?).
3. See Chapter 34, n. 5.
4. We have rearranged the first line of the entire as Sahagún does in op. cit., p. 567, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. *General*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigues Franco, 1723), II, p. 352; Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. 195.
6. *Tlillancalqui*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 43. For *Mitznaoatl*, Torquemada, op. cit., p. 178, has *mexicano mayor*.
7. *Itlamacazqui*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 47.
8. *Achcauhtli*. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 53.
9. *Tlacochcalcatl*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 127.

701 general[10] Cuyouacatzin; the commanding general
565 Temilotzin; the army commander[11] Topantemoctzin; the chief justice[12] Auelitoctzin; the captain of the armies[13] Uitzilinitzin; the Tlacopan ruler Uitzitzin. All of these rulers were assembled at Tolmayecan; they appeared to consult among themselves how this should be done: what we should offer as tribute, and how we should yield to [the Spaniards].

728 Thereafter only two [men] took Quauhtemoc in a boat. The two who took him and went with him were the seasoned warrior Tepuztzitoloc, and Yaztachimal, Quauhtemoc's page. And the one who poled [the boat] was named Cenyaotl.

And when they carried Quauhtemoc off, then there was weeping among all the common folk. They said: "Now goeth the young lord Quauhtemoc; now he goeth to deliver himself to the gods, the Spaniards!"

catecatl. Temjlotzin. Ticociavacatl. Topantemoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Auelitoctzin, vitzinaoatl. vitzilivitzin. tepanecatl vitzitzin: in muchintin in tlatoque, in ocentlaliticatca tolmaiecah momonotztoca in quenjn muchioaz in tlcin tictequjtinque: auh in quenjn intlan toncalaqujzque.

Niman ic ic qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin, acalica, çan ommoce: vmêtin in convica-que, itlan ietiaque. Tepuztzitoloc tequjoa, yoan Jaztachimal izolouh in Quauhtemoctzin. Auh cc qujtlanelhujtia itoca Cenjaotl:

auh in jquac ic qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin: njmâ ic ic mochoqujlia in izqujch macevalli qujtoque. Je iauh in tlacatl xocoiotl in Quauhtemoctzin ic iauh qujnmoenacaz in teteu in Españoles.

10. *Tlacochcalcatl.* Cf. Anderson and Dibble, loc. cit.

11. *Tlacochcalcatl.* Cf. Clark, op. cit., I, fol. 45. The codex is contained in the *Florentine Codex.*

12. *Mixcoatlailotlaca.* Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 48.

13. *Tequanacatl.* Cf. Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. 242. Cervantes de Salazar, op. cit., III, p. 208, mentions captains of the same time as Quauhtemoc of the ruler of Tacuba (Tlacopan); see Ixtlilxochitl, op. cit., p. 42.

127 majority of the data which could not be considered as a result of Spanish influence were taken as remains of situations from before the Spanish conquest. In every case the principal citerion of accuracy was the congruity presented by the data themselves; particularly in the sifting of data in works written long after the conquest or by authors who did not come to Mexico in this period (Acosta, Torquemada, Clavijero, Gómara, etc.) but who had at hand information and documents which we now lack, or who saw remains atill little modified of the ancient social organization of Tenochtitlan.

The contorted form reflected by some arguments derives principally from the necessity of taking advantage of the few facts about the subject, which are not always specific or categorized, but which refer to secondary or derived cultural traits; and which suggest a prior basic situation necessary to their appearance.

/p. 21/ THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CALPULLI

/p. 23/ Chapter 2

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

565 463 In the sources for the history of Mexico we find data which beyond doubt demonstrate the existence of social stratification among the Tenochcas and which have let a few authors think that the Tenochcas had social classes. These data are very diverse in nature and very abundant, but here only the more significant will be presented: the division between manual laborers and directors, the paying of tribute, the differentiation in the living standard, the relation between the strata and the calpullis, and the inheritance of property to a determined stratum.

With respect to the division of labor we find a great difference of activities between two types of people: those who undertook manual labor and those who undertook essentially directive tasks. We are told that the macehuales were the common people and laborers (1) and that

1. Zurita, p. 94.

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they worked at their crafts (2), that is, they were manual laborers.

2. Acosta, José de, p. 425. "crafts" [oficios] being considered a more or less specialized manual artisan activity.

On the other hand the pillis and the tecuhtlis had as occupations "to serve in war and in public office as governors and ministers of justice... squires... messengers... to oversee the sowing of seed or other things which were done in common or for their festivities and the service of the ruler" (3) and "to watch over the lands of the

3. Zurita, p. 89.

calpulli and defend them, to keep each marked in its proper fashion, and see to the boundaries between each, and where and with whose they bordered and who worked them, and who owned which and which were vacant... and who and when and to whom they were given" (4) and to see to it "that they be not entered upon" (5), and

4. Zurita, p. 90.

5. Zurita, p. 88.

they were "careful to protect the men of the calpulli and speak for them before the governors" (6); that is, that the pillis undertook tasks

6. Zurita, p. 90.

essentially directive or coordinative (7). With these data we can

7. With reference to Tlaxcalla, Muñoz Camargo tells us (p. 103) that the tecuhtlis /p. 24/ and pillis "are thought of as men of quality even when very poor who never carry out mechanical tasks or base or servile undertakings. They never allow themselves to carry a burden or dig with hoes or plows, saying that they are nobles [hidalgos] and that they will not apply themselves to these vile and base things, but rather

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are they to serve in wars and on the frontiers." This was surely what happened in Tenochtitlan although unfortunately we have no such clear affirmation for this place.

/p. 24/ assert that among the Tenochcas there was present a marked differentiation with respect to labor: there were people who undertook manual labor and people dedicated to directive activities. These latter, also appear in our data strongly related to the calpulli.

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The difference in the social division of labor which we have seen in the last paragraph had possibly as its principal manifestation the position with respect to the paying of tribute: some were tributaries and some received tribute. It is told us in this regard that "the poor macehuales worked all day for their tribute and in order to give food to them (to the lords) to eat; because in a village of a thousand people there are a chief /cacique/ and a hundred lords / principales/ among whom the village is divided into wards... and these eat and drink and loaf at the expense of the poor workers (or macehuales, as we have seen) who support it all; and this is a very old custom in all the provinces of the land" (8), (that is, also in Tenochtitlan and not through

8. López Gerónimo, 11, p. 151. Although the assertion of a confirmed pro-slavist, it is useful and synthesizes many isolated facts.

Spanish influence). From our data we conclude first, that the lords were approximately 10 percent of the population and moreover, that there was a division between people receiving tribute—those undertaking directive work—and people tributary—those who undertook manual work— and there comes to light again the relationship between this social stratification and the division of land, only that now with respect to the paying of tribute, the lords receiving tribute were those in charge of the town wards. Everything is confirmed in other sources: we are told that the macehuales "worked a plot of land for their lord or head (of the calpulli) for his sustenance and gave him service according to the people there were in the village" (9). Another

9. Zurita, p. 142.

author tells us that the elders used to say "that the common people

565 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their
463 houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the
651 lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and
511 of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuales had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common
[651] people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed." (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Martín de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[525] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in less

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categorical assertions such as that of the Codex Alcobiz (Laws which the Indians had) [Leyes que tenian los Indios].

codices show between the clothes and gear of the macehuales those of and the lords and rulers in illustrations of Sahagun, Mendoza, etc. All of these are facts which oblige us to think that there were great differences of richness and well-being within the population of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and that these differences existed between the macehuales and pillis.

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Another aspect which showed the differences between segments of the population was sexual life: "it is said that commoners have only one wife; but the lords can have concubines at their wish" (15), and

15. Mendieta, Eclesiastical History [Historia Eclestiástica], p. 297.

when they married "the noble women brought with them other maid-servants (and with all these women the men had)... much profit for they made them weave and make blankets, and perform other services of this sort" (16).

16. Motolinía, History [Historia], p. 164.

These data show us not only the well-being of the polygamous lords implicit in having a multitude of wives, but also the economic well-being derived from this polygyny, which was beyond the reach of the macehuales.

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However, it seems that this stratification also included groups of people dedicated to occupations other than agriculture since we are told that the merchants also had lords who went about with the heads of the calpullis (17), which makes us think that not all the merchants

17. Zurita, p. 143.

were /p. 26/ lords, and that therefore there obtained among them also the stratification of which we have been speaking. Complementing and clarifying the situation, we know that the merchants and the artisans, although they cultivated their land, did not give tribute by working the fields but in work of their particular occupation

565 463 (18) such as masons, carpenters, feather-workers and metal-workers

18. Zurita, p. 142.

(19). Although it is not made clear to us whether this tribute of

19. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

"merchants and artisans" was in relation to the rulers of the whole Tenochca group or only to the lords of the corresponding calpulli, it is very possible that in this tributation there occurred the same thing which happened to the workers which we have seen: they paid both. All this makes us think that the stratification which existed among the Tenochcas was not in layers of workers, artisans, merchants, and chiefs, but rather between the chiefs and the governed, be they laborers, artisans, or merchants. This conception is reinforced by our being told that the pochteca tlatoque (a term translated as the lords of the pochteca, that is, merchants) did not go on the trips of the merchants, but that they entrusted their "merchandise" to them that they sell it for them and later they divided the profit (20); which is

20. Sahagún, I., p. 351.

to say that within the group, differences of occupation were present which resulted in a stratification between people who worked as merchants and people who, because of another class of work (directive, as chiefs, as "lords") received part of the benefits obtained through "marketing." It is told of the artisans of Texcoco that the nobles also learned crafts, but only as a distraction (21). Assuredly a similar

21. Pomar, p. 38.

situation existed in Tenochtitlan and almost certainly corresponded to the division between pillis and macehuales, in groups of artisans.

565 428 It is advisable to make further clarifications with respect to the division between tributary macehuales and tribute-exacting pillis. One source tells us that although the lords had many women, they considered only one of them the most important and the children she bore [were considered] as inheritors of their position (22). Although the

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22. Pomar, p. 25. Actually Pomar gives contradictory information: "they always leave as heir to their estate the son of the legitimate wife" and "to the most virtuous, although he be the youngest... (or) of the other women." Nevertheless, paternal inheritance remains as the fact common to all.

information does not refer to Tenochtitlan, certainly it was valid also for the lords of that place, and Zurita does confirm it in part (23).

23. Zurita, p. 90.

Another author tells us that in cases of rebellion by the lords, they were removed and the rulers placed a near relative, such as a brother, in his place, but not his son (24). It resulted from this that the legal

24. Mendieta, History [Historia], p. 154.

heir of the calpulli chief was in these cases a relative of the predecessor, although not necessarily his son: possibly it can be said that the relatives of the chief of the calpulli were lords, that they could potentially become tribute-exactors like the chiefs if they ever achieved this category, and that not all did achieve it. However, the wives and children of the calpulli chief certainly had the benefit of the tribute paid to him (25).

25. Muñoz Camargo, with respect to Tlaxcalla tells us that "the family estates [mayorazgos] entailed by them (the pillis), are never divided, and they (this must refer to the macehuales) were obliged only to support all the relatives and brothers of that family" (p. 8).

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We are told that there were in the wards other persons of authority besides the chief, such as the telpochtlato (26) or director of the school

26. Torquemada, II, p. 220.

of each ward, who certainly lived from tribute. We are told on many occasions of tribute for the temples (see page 42) thus making some

565 651 priests tribute receivers. But there are still some other very important complementary data: on one hand that "painters, whom they called tlaculoca (sic: tlácuiloque), were exempted from contributions and from some services... also the singers... and the players of instruments... neither did the instructors contribute..." (27). On the other

27. Fuenleal, p. 249.

hand we know that all who contributed were called macehuales (28)

28. Fuenleal, p. 249.

and that the relatives of rulers and some lords did not contribute (29),

29. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

from which we can infer that the musicians, singers, instructors, etc. who did not contribute, were people from among the rulers and lords, and not from the macehuales; although such a conclusion is not absolutely necessary or compelling.

There are, nevertheless, within the scheme of the tributary [729] macehuales and the tribute-exacting lords some exceptions: those who distinguished themselves in war were exempted from taxation (30),

30. Fuenleal, p. 249.

which obliges us to think that they were macehuales who enjoyed a privilege which the other macehuales did not have. Certainly these macehuales were the ones who were made nobles by favor (31) and

31. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

about whom there are no data to indicate that they received tribute, that is that they were "nobles," lords by inheritance, nor could they have "tenants" ["terrasgueros"] (32), that is, could live from tribute,

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

and /p. 28/ who for that reason, like the common macehuales, personally worked their lands: their distinctive character was simply that

565 of not contributing. On the other hand we have a counterpart to these
651 macehuales who did not contribute: there were lords who being caught
[681] in a crime were punished by "being condemned to death" or to exile
or to being sheared, or they were made macehuales (33), that is, they

33. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

were pillis from whom was taken the right to exact tribute and on whom was imposed the obligation of contributing. We saw also earlier that not all lords were exempt from contribution. We can think, nevertheless, that these cases must have been an exception, and that in general the macehuales were tributary and the pillis tribute-exacting.

We would thus have in Tenochtitlan a whole gamut of people in different situations with respect to tributation: people receiving tribute from all tribute-paying persons, people receiving tribute from the members of their calpulli, people neither tributary nor tribute-receiving, and people not tribute-receiving but tributary. According to the above data there is no doubt that there was present a marked differentiation among these levels of the population, at least. If we were to take these data only into account, of course we would have to think that the Tenochca society had classes; but if we analyze other data at our disposal, we will see the great importance which inheritance had in the belonging to each one of these levels (except that composed of the valiant in battle), which removes the class-
565 like character from them. In the first place we are told that upon
852 the birth of children "they were washed by the priests and after being washed they [the priests] would place in the child's right hand a tiny sword and in the left, a little shield. The children of the common people were given the insignia of their occupation, and all this beneath some idol" (34). From this it is infered that the people were

34. Acosta, José de, p. 425.

differentiated by their rank from birth: some were born destined to serve in war and on the frontiers (those with the little shields, who were not commoners) and were not to apply themselves to base work, and others were born destined to be laborers and to have humble and
565 vile occupations. Now this situation was hereditary since the pillis were called "lords" (35) and were the sons and grandsons and

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35. Zurita, p. 91.

great-grandsons of lords (36); that is to say, that the differentiation

36. Zurita, p. 90.

which was made between these two types of people from birth was hereditary. And as we are actually told of lords from the epoch of the Tenochca migration (37), we may believe that they were very

37. Geneology and Lineage [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 248.

ancient ranks. The position of the macehuales was certainly also inseparable and socially complementary to the position of lord /p. 29/: it is mentioned also during the migration (38), and could

38. Tezozomoc, Mexicayotl, p. 147.

be considered as a mental reflection of the situation, the legend which tells that the macehuales all descend from the first macehuales, the ancient gods Oxomoco and Cipactonal (39) connected intimately

39. History of the Mexicans from their Pictures [Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas], p. 210.

with the tasks of cultivation of maize, proper to their rank. With respect to merchants we also have [reference to] the existence of lords since the epoch of Cuacuauhpitzahuac in Tlatelolco (40) which

40. Sahagún, III, p. 341.

would confirm their hereditary stratification. As for the artisans, there were founders of the crafts whose successors adored them as gods (41), and who certainly were the corresponding pilli forefathers.

41. Sahagún, I, p. 46. Sahagún, II, p. 387; Torquemada, II, p. 60.

•565 These levels did not have an absolute castelike rigidity. Besides what we have already seen regarding the fact that some macehuales were in a special position by reason of their exploits in life and not by birth, and that there were lords who lost their privileged situation of tribute receiving, we know that it was customary for pillis and [582] macehuales (42) to intermarry, the children of which marriages must

42. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 123; Zumárraga, p. 66, etc.

have had a different position from those children of marriages between pillis or of pure macehuales. There must have been present a whole series of people, from the most noble to the most plebian, we could say (using the terms noble and plebian in our sense), giving rise to a real pyramid of levels within the Tenochca group. Thus we see that the differentiation of rank had a corresponding economic differentiation; but that this latter had a limitation: not all the pillis could be recipients of tribute, but only the functionaries of the tribe or of the calpulli, and on the other hand, not all the macehuales payed tribute, those valiant in war being excepted. In their recognition of this stratification Caso, Spinden (43), Toscano, Moreno, White, etc. are

43. Spinden, H.J., 1943, p. 210.

right, but only in part, since these strata were not social classes; they could be considered ranks because of the little mobility of those belonging to them, generally by birth (an affirmation which with respect to the uppermost level can be definitive); but—and this is the fundamental thing—it can be shown that the existance of these strata was hinged to that of ambilateral stratified clans, the calpullis, and that it was therefore not a fundamental structure but a derived one, as will be seen in the second part of this work.

/p. 31/

Chapter 3

TERRITORIAL DIVISION

631 Another of the aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which has led us to think that it was not based on kinship through

X 618 582 being an exogamous clan—if the calpulli were matrilineal since had it been patrilineal the marriage would have been between relatives, which is contrary to the very principles of the exogamous clan. Case 'a' only could have occured—had the calpulli been an exogamous clan—in a patrilineal clan since otherwise it would have been between clan relatives. All the marriages could have been realized only in the event that the calpulli did not have exogamous rules in any line: that is, that it had an endogamous tendency.

X 618 582 565 The contradiction between the endogamous tendency of the calpullis and the undoubted custom which the governing group had of /p. 68/ making their marriages between people of distant towns is only apparent; on one hand it can be thought that many of the members of the governing group of central Mexico were relatives through common descent and married one another for this reason (this would be reinforced by a few exceptions such as Tlaxcalla, with [whose people] marriage was never joined). On the other hand the situation can be viewed thus: the members of the governing group did not follow strictly endogamous rules as did the others of the community, but simply had the tendency to seek in every concrete case the improvement of their lineage (which, moreover, is a trait of ambilateral clans). In general these two explanations do not excluse one another, and in fact, we find that among the Tenochcas there were calpullis which extended over more than one town and that members of different calpullis married (10). The first is suggested by the repeated

10. Referring to what happens in present calpulliwards, which appear still to have something of the reckoning of kinship through common descent as their basis, Redfield tells us that the majority of people live in the ward where their ancestors lived for generations and that generally the belonging to a ward is by inheritance (1928, p. 287), and then he informs us that he did not find evidence that the belonging to a given ward affected the choice of a wife. There appears to me to be a contradiction in this, since if the belonging to a calpulli is hereditary and if the calpullis are localized, the only way in which they might remain localized would be by the joining in marriage of people of the same ward. Very probably it happens thus, there being also a patrilocal custom within

9:Monzon--73 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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the same ward; although some marriages may occur between persons of different wards, perhaps still according to special circumstances. The considering of the calpulli as a clan with endogamous tendencies, which is even now found as a vestige in Tepoztlán, removes these contradictions, which can also be taken as an argument in favor of the new position which is here presented with respect to the calpulli.

names of some isolated towns which seem to have been calpullis (like Pochtlan, Amantla, etc.) and the second is suggested by the affirmations of marriages between different lords (see p. 72).

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We have, finally, as an indication of the existence of this type of clan, an argument in favor of the fact that among the Tenochcas the reckoning of kinship was ambilateral. This refers also to the members of the population's governing group; but the fact that they also had their calpulli and for the reasons presented in the paragraph concerning their habit of endogamy, largely invalidates the objections which could be made in this respect. In a large number of cases, in the genealogies of the Mexico-Tenochtitlan rulers both lines, that of the father and that of the mother, are taken to fix the inheritance of each person; this is clearly an ambilateral characteristic. Of course it can be taken to refer to the reckoning of kinship within the family, which is always ambilateral, and not to the reckoning of kinship through common descent, of the clan, which could be unilateral of ambilateral. But in part this objection is done away with /p. 69/ when we see that in the sources from the same period, but referring to other groups than the Tenochcan, connections are made always through persons of male sex as if they were unilateral (11), and only

11. Espejo, Antonieta and Monzon, 1945, p. 48.

in those [sources] dealing with the Tenochcas (and others who do not interest us now) are connections made through both sexes. According to this, we have the right to think that the reckoning of kinship common descent was made ambilaterally among the Tenochcas (12).

12. Redfield tells us, speaking of the calpullis, which are now wards of Tepoztlán, that they tend to include

X618 611 groups of uninterrupted family lines which trace their descent through the father's line. (Redfield, R., 1928, p. 294). This would not give a unilateral reckoning of kinship if marriages obtained within the same ward, since they would be impossible in patrilineal (or matrilineal) exogamous groups. It can be said that it is more common to follow the father's line in the reckoning of descent, and nothing more.

X618 The certainty of the calpulli's being a clan, joined with: the proofs that they did not have exogamous customs with patrilineal reckoning of kinship through common descent; the slight possibility of their having had matrilineal [customs]; the indications that they had ambilateral reckoning of kinship through common descent; and that they had a tendency to endogamy; these, all together, are arguments for asserting with confidence that the calpullis were clans, ambilateral and with an endogamous tendency, and there is nothing—at least according to the documents which we now have at our disposal—to cause us to think that they were not clans, or that they were exogamous and unilateral.

/p. 70/

Chapter 8

DIFFERENTIAL INHERITANCE OF RANK AND THE CALPULLIS

X618 565 We still need to find out what was the relation between the clans and the social strata, which undoubtedly occurred among the Tenochcas. We have seen how the calpulli presented ambilateral clan characteristics (kinship through common descent, ambilateral reckoning of this kinship, and a tendency towards endogamy). Let us now see how another of the characteristics of an ambilateral clan also occurred in the calpulli, a characteristic which has brought about its being called "pyramidal" (1): the internal inequality which contrasts with the generally very equalitarian character of exogamous clans. This is of much importance because the principal thesis of one

1. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 11.

X618 of the groups which has studied Tenochcan society is that, as clans
565 were present—which for them were only unilateral and exogamous (see p. 16)—they must necessarily be equalitarian (2). Contrariwise

2. Bandelier, 1877, p. 589; Morgan, 1877, p. 205, etc.

to this it can be demonstrated that there was in the calpulli a great internal differentiation of its members, and that it was not in any way democratic and equalitarian but rather highly aristocratic.

The proofs for making this affirmation are based on various declarations of people who saw how the calpulli functioned shortly after the conquest or who had at hand documents and informants which we today lack. In the first place we know that "the commoners of these wards or calpullec [sic] always have a chief and never wish to be without one, and he must be one of themselves and not from another calpulli, nor a foreigner because they will not allow of it" (3). This

3. Zurita, p. 89.

means for us that the members of the Tenochcan clans always had a chief, who had to be a member of his own calpulli.

This difference between chiefs and the governed people is, of course, always present among the members of all the clans; but the important thing is that this position of head of the calpulli was for life and was hereditary, since it is affirmed that upon the death of the head of the calpulli "they elected another, the most honored, learned and able in his way, and old; and if any son of the defunct is left, they elect him, and they always /p. 72/ choose a relative of the deceased if there be one suitable for the position" (4). In other

4. Zurita, p. 90.

words a chief was elected when the last one died, and preferably, according to this declaration, from his [the predecessor's] family. Although according to the above it appears to have been nothing more than a preference for naming the chief of the calpulli from among the members of the dead chief's family, we find other affirmations which make us see that the belonging to it was not simply a preference but a requisite, since the new chief had to be a lord

9:Monzon--76 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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(5), that is, must have had a rank prior to the fulfullment of his post.

5. Zurita, p. 89, 90.

Very well, in what did this rank consist? Certainly in having a determined inheritance as we have already seen when speaking of social stratification (see p. 26, 27) and as can be gathered from the affirmation that the heads or major relatives of the calpullis could trace their families back to very ancient times (6), which implies that they

6. Zurita, p. 86.

had ancestors who were very similar to themselves, possibly also lords as a consequence. Furthermore, during the migration the calpullis came guided by captains (7) and among them came nobody of much

7. Gómara, II, p. 265; Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 5.

account save only some lords (8). With this, together with the as-

8. Genealogy and Lineage, [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 248.

sertion that the relatives of the dead chief were preferred, who was himself a lord, and with the certainty that the fact of being a lord was a rank transmitted by inheritance, we are led to believe that the inheritance of clan chieftainship extended—at least through a line of ancestors—back to a very early period. The principal chiefs of the calpullis were members of the families descended from nobles of his own calpulli. That is, they were strongly aristocratic.

But we have to take into account that the calpulli was ambilateral and that inheritance was determined through both lines. What happened then with the inheritance of lords in the maternal line? On one hand we are told that the daughters of lords usually married persons from distant places (9), who generally were well-to-do (10). On the other

9. Anonymous. A note in different handwriting on page 109 of Zurita.

10. Muñoz Camargo, p. 78.

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hand, and referring concretely to Tenochtitlan it is affirmed that the lords of the wards gave as many as twenty daughters to Acamapichtli so that he would have descendents by them, and that from Acamapichtli and the daughters of the lords, came the majority and the best heritages of this land (11). With all /p. 77/ this we can accept that at

11. Gómara, II, p. 273.

least in some cases, one of the lines of descent of the calpullis' lords —the maternal line—had the same heritage as the lords of Tenochtitlan. And it is even possible that in each case—remembering that in the ambilateral clan one always attempts to improve the lineage through both lines—preference would be given for the succession to clan chieftainship to sons born of the daughters of the calpulli chiefs and of the rulers of Tenochtitlan since the lords had as successors the sons of the principal women to whom they were married (12). It could perfectly well happen that the most noble woman to

12. Zurita, p. 74; Pomar, p. 25.

whom the chief of a calpulli was married, were the daughter of the marriage between some ruler of Mexico and some one of the daughters of the lords of the corresponding calpulli. We can say, nevertheless, that the chief of the calpulli did not necessarily have to be the direct and immediate descendent of the chiefs of Mexico since once having acquired his inheritance through one person, this person transmitted it automatically. We know moreover in this regard that the pipiltzin "which word means lords—are grandchildren and greatgrandchildren of the rulers" (13). It could well have been as a consequence that

13. Zurita, p. 91.

the chiefs of the calpulli had through one line, that of the father, the heritage of the predecessors of their own calpulli, and through the other, that of the mother, the heritage, perhaps distant, of the rulers of Mexico.

The ties of the lords of one calpulli with the lords of other calpullis, and especially with the rulers of the whole Tenochcan group

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/p. 73/ SCHEMATIC PICTURE OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF TENOCHTITLAN

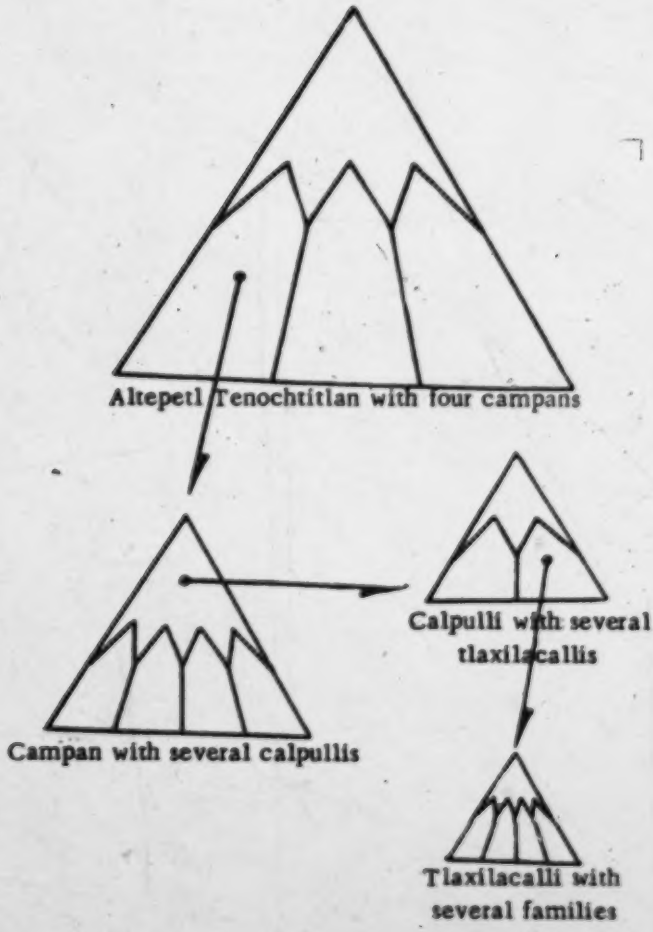

The closeness of each person to his predecessors of clan, sub-clan, group of clans, or tribe is represented in the diagram by the closeness to the vertex of each pyramid. This closeness determined his rank. The diagram also shows the relative rank of each group of relatives as a whole according to their closeness to the vertex of the corresponding pyramid.

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DIAGRAM OF THE KINSHIP OF THE TENOCHCAN RULERS

THE ROMAN NUMERALS INDICATE THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY WERE TOATOANIS OR SUPREME CHIEFS.
(a) INDICATES THEY WERE TLACATECATL
(b) INDICATES THEY WERE TLACOCHCALCATL
(c) INDICATES THEY WERE CHIHACOATL

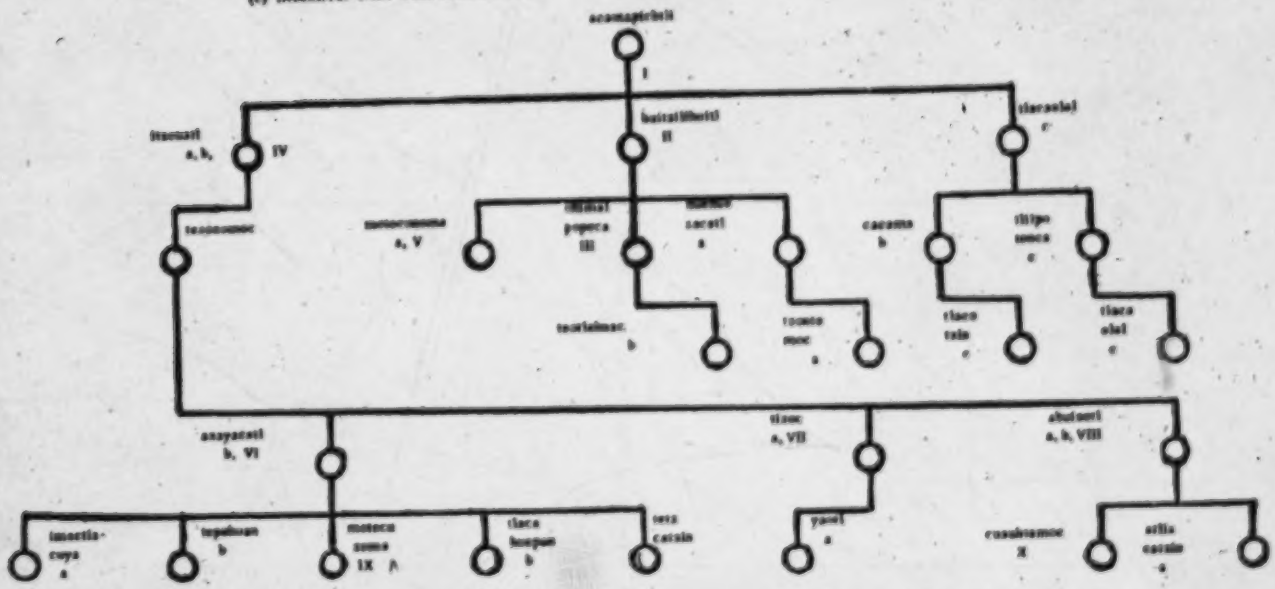

1. THE DATA WERE TAKEN FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, PRINCIPALLY FROM THE CHART OF ADRIÁN F. LEÓN M. THE DIVERGENCES WITH OTHER SOURCES DO NOT INVALIDATE THE OBVIOUS CONCLUSION THAT THE PRINCIPAL TENOCHCAN RULERS WERE RELATIVES.

X618 —who also had their calpulli as we have seen—obliges us to think of
●565 differences in rank between the calpullis themselves: a thing furthermore which we had already encountered on speaking of the division of labor by calpullis (see p. 49). We can obtain data to complement the above and see what the situation was in this respect. The most
[443] noble clan would undoubtedly be the clan to which the rulers of the entire Tenochca group belonged, who were always related by marriage (see the Table of Tenochcan rulers), and of this still more noble would be the tlacilacalli of the very tlatoani; and even more, the most noble family would be the tlatoani's own family.

We have seen that not all the calpullis had a calmecac ("place of the lineage of the house" and a school for nobles) but that there were only six. Acosta also confirms this for us (14). The meaning of this .

14. Acosta, José de, p. 89.

is very clear: certainly these six calpullis were more noble than the other calpullis. One of them would be that one already cited as the most noble; but the five remaining would be others in a position surely inferior but which followed it in rank. The rest /p. 78/ of the clans would surely have an inferior position to these five clans, forming as a whole a true pyramid of clans of different categories, rank or nobility.

We are also told that each one of the four large "wards" had a chief, as did each one of the calpullis (15). As we have seen also

15. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

that the chiefs of each campan were related to the other members of their campan (see p. 32) we can suspect the existence of a calpulli more noble than the others in each campan—four in all—which very probably were the four which had a calmecac. What is more, the campan where the most noble calpulli of the whole Tenochcan group was, would surely be more noble than the other three. The Tecuhtlis possibly were the most noble members of Tenochtitlan of each campan, who were paid tribute by the members of the Tenochcan group, but were foreign to their clan, like the tlacatecatl, the tlacochcalcatl, the tlatoani, etc., whose functions were very different but were connected to the life of the whole of the Tenochcan community.

X618 A schema can be made in which appear: the stratification of the
● 555 campan in all Tenochtitlan, the stratification of calpullis in each campan, the stratification of tlaxilacallis in each calpulli, and finally the most noble family within each tlaxilacalli. It is an essentially clan like organization, although unitary. The calpulli resembles a cell of Tenochtitlan but Tenochtitlan probably had only about twenty such cells. Neither the social division of labor, nor territorial division, nor the ownership of land, nor social stratification by themselves completely explain this situation. However, it appears relatively simple if we consider it as a clan organization based on the difference of rank derived from the proximity of each one of the members of the Tenochcan group—to his calpulli ancestor, to his campan ancestor and to the common ancestor of the whole Tenochcan group.

/p. 79/ Chapter 9

THE POSSIBILITY OF OTHER INTERPRETATIONS

X618 The fact that all the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan belonged to calpullis, that the calpullis evinced all the characteristics of ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies and "pyramiding," and that the ownership of land, the social division of labor, territorial division and social stratification were determined by the existence of these clans indicates to us that the society which the Spanish found in Tenochtitlan was "still" a society based on kinship through common descent, but with many traits of an economic character. There were of course relationships rising out of economic production: commerce, slavery, etc.; and it is certain that the social organization of Tenochtitlan was so complex because of the necessities which arose as much from the internal organization of an agricultural community with techniques of horticulture, with fertilization, irrigation, etc., as from the organization of a veritable empire, such as the Tenochcans had, and which included possibly communities with an economy based on irrigation, terracing, etc. (1) such as happened on a large scale in the typical

1. Armillas, Pedro, 1947.

oriental societies of the old world. But in any case it appears that in Mexico the social organization still did not exceed the limits imposed by the existence of groups corresponding to one of the clan types.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza." 342

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says:—

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Monteruma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1] [644 565]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses 600

[1] Cortés' second letter.

[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour.

[3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.

[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

no kind of dignity, was, *among the Mexicans*, *transmissible* by *in-* 701
heritance. *Merit* alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank 555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-* 565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and 643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two 701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were 701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the 554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, "they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, "that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had "been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de "Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient "un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.:" p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were "called Tec Tècutacin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If "one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of "it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been "invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Montezuma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "cuauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéhé" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the 701
Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending or- 565
ders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the 701
young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauh-* 702
tin," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 302; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus proprias personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every [535]
one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title.

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 225) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 303), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil maior." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 23), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them: "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 90) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[39] 643 651

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 174 648

[39] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America," Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1809), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,— it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "cenalli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 558, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tescoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

178 174 423 565 651 [528]

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tion here, because of its unveiling, so to say, the full organization of the ancient Mexicans as they preserved it until the time of their downfall. 174 631

Upon the occasion of the division of spoils gathered from the defeated Tecpanecas, and of the establishment of regular tribute, there appear the following war captains and leaders of the Mexicans, as representatives of the latter's organization. 174 642

The "chief of men."

Four captains of the four principal quarters of Mexico.

Twenty war-chiefs of as many kins composing the tribe.

One chief representing the element of worship, or "medicine."

The "Snake-woman."[54]

gard to the date of its occurrence, *Bancroft* (Vol. V, p. 395), says about, or immediately after, 1431, following Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. III, p. 251), 1426, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. Chichimeca.*" Cap. XXXII, p. 217), also 1431, *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 165) 1431, The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Kingsb., Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VI, p. 138), has it 7, "Tochtli" or 1404.

[54] *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 96). Besides distributing land "juntamente con daroe y repartiros las tierras que aveis ganado, para que tengais renta para el sustento de vuestros estados y personas segun el mérito dellas," he gave them "ditados" or titles "y (quiere) haceros señores de titulo" (the latter would be to make them noblemen). I must advert here that "ditado o titulo de honra" is expressed in the Mexican language by "tecuyotl" "tlatocazotl" "mauiçotl" (*Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," Part I, p. 46). These words however mean but, respectively "chieftainship," "speakership," and "honor," (the latter see *Molina* II, p. 54), all of them terms which, as we shall hereafter see, apply to *personal merit*, and not to hereditary privilege among the Mexican aborigines. Durán then proceeds (p. 97) to give these titles as follows:— 565 618

"Primeramente á su general dió por ditado				*Tlacochcalcatlecutli.*
A Veue Motenecuma, Tlacaelelzin dió por ditado				*Tlacatecatl.*
A Tlacaupan,	d.	p.	d.	*Ezuauacátl.*
A Cuatlecoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlillancalqui.*
A Veueçacan,	d.	p.	d.	*Tezcacoacatl.*
A Aztacoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tocuilltecatl.*
A Canaltzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Acolnauacatl.*
A Tzompantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Huelteuctli.*
A Epcotinatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Temillotzin.*
A Citlalcoatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Torpanecatl.*
A Tlauelloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Calmimeloloatl.*
A Izcuetlatoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Mexicaltecutli.*
A Cuauhtzitzimitl,	d.	p.	d.	*Huitznauatl.*
A Xiconoc,	d.	p.	d. y renombre,	*Tepanecontlecutli.*
A Tlazoltecotl,	d.	p.	d.	*Quetzalloatl.*
A Axicyotzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Teuctlamacazqui.*
A Ixanatilloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlopaltecatl.*
A Mecantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Cuauhyauacatl.*
A Tenamastli,	d.	p.	d.	*Coatecatl.*
A Tzontemoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Pantecatl.*
A Tlacacochtoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Huecamecatl.*

To these he adds (pp. 98 and 99), five more, namely: *Quauhnochtecutli, Cuauhquimacatl, Tepicaltlecutli, Cvitlauauatl, and Itcotecatl.* The three last were from Culhuacan. Adding to this the "chief of men" himself, who was "Flint-Snake," or

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174 618 The existence of *twenty* antonomous consanguine groups is thus revealed, and we find them again at the time of the conquest,

●565 618 "Obsidian-Snake" (*Itzcohuatl*), we have twenty-five chiefs in all. Now we cannot fail to notice:—

[70] (1). "Itzcohuatl," the "chief of men" or head-war-chief.

(2). "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," and "Cuauhnochtli," the four military leaders of the four great quarters ("phratries") of Tenuchtitlan. (See "*Art of War*," pp. 120, 131, and 122, also notes 97 to 101 inclusive.)

(3). "Tlillancalqui"—"Man of the black-house," a chief connected with "medicine" or worship, as I shall hereafter show. He was rather a counsellor or advisor, than a captain, as *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II. cap. XIX, p. 75) positively state, whereas *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 101) asserts the religious origin of his office.

(4). "Tlacaelel," who, as Durán and Tezozomoc both repeatedly and plainly assert, was the snake-woman or "Cihuacohuatl." In this intance, however, he is graced with the title of "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), and thus made one of the four leaders of the "phratries." This is an evident mistake, as the latter title belonged to Montezuma (the first, or "old one"). Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVI, p. 140; cap. XLIII, p. 156, where he is called "captain-general"), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XV, p. 296), also *Durán* (Lam. 8a, Parte Ia).

(5). Twenty war-chiefs, each one of whom commanded the warriors of one kin or calpulli, hence they were the military leaders of twenty Mexican kins. Besides the indications to that effect furnished by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224), "A los señorés de los *calpules* no los vimos ni nos hablaron," said the sorcerers which had been sent to Huitzilopochtli's mother, after she had asked them about the chiefs or captains, seven in number, which had led the Mexicans originally, (see note 33). *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), while corroborating the statements of Durán (with the exception that he omits the chief "Mexicatitecutli," and thus gives only twenty-seven chieftains), inserts the following explanation about these twenty (or twenty-one after Durán) captains: "After these four (the four first ones), go the Tlacanes, called valorous soldiers, surnamed captains." The "Tlacan" or "tlacauh," properly "teachcauhtin," *Elder brother*, was the military chief of each "barrio" or "calpulli," therefore of each *kin* ("*Art of War*," p. 119, notes 91, 92, and 93), consequently these twenty chieftains represent here as many consanguine relationships composing the tribe of the ancient Mexicans.

It will be noticed, however, that Durán has twenty-one chiefs, whereas we assume but twenty, according to Tezozomoc. The latter omits "Mexicatl-tecutli" and, perhaps properly too. This word signifies but "Mexican chief," in general, and cannot therefore well be the title of one particular leader. It recurs occasionally in the course of Mexican history. Still, this is only a suggestion on my part, for the matter is far from being proven. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571) mentions "*Mexicatl-achcauhtli*" among the chiefs who went with Quauhtemotzin before Cortés on the day after the resistance of the Mexicans had ended. Again Tezozomoc mentions two chiefs of the same title "Cuauhquianacatl," as also does Durán. Now this would be impossible, since Tezozomoc calls the second one of that name, a son of "Cuauhnochtli." It may be now that the latter author has omitted the "Mexicatl-tecutli," and that "Cuauhquianacatl" is to be counted but once. It results from the statements of Vetancurt already alluded to, that there were twenty Mexican "calpulli," consequently there were but twenty leaders of kins. The analogy between these "barrios" and the chiefs of Durán and Tezozomoc is greatly increased by the fact that for the three chiefs of Calhuacan mentioned by the latter, we have also three barrios of "Otomites," therefore, in each case but seventeen original kins of Mexicans proper (*Vetancurt* "*Crónica*," Vol. III, p. 132).

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while their last vestiges were perpetuated until after 1690, when 174
Fray Augustin de Vetancurt mentions four chief quarters with 618
their original Indian names, comprising and subdivided into *twenty* "barrios." Now the Spanish word "Barrio" is equivalent to the Mexican term "calpulli." Both indicate the kin, localized and settled with the view to permanence.[55]

What is often conceived as the establishment of a vast feudal 174
monarchy at the time just treated of, resolves itself therefore into two very plain features. One of these consists in the establishment of the confederacy, the other is but the appearance in broad daylight of the peculiar organization of aboriginal society among the Mexicans. Thus we have no sudden change of base, no revolution in the institutions of the tribe; the only progress achieved consisted in the extension of inter-tribal relations and in their assuming the shape of a military partnership. 174

The year 1473 witnessed another event which seemed to affect 648

All these titles were permanent, though not hereditary, as it is plainly seen in the 565 ●
case of the four leaders of the four "phratries" about which *Sahagun* says: (Lib. 618
VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318) "The chief elected, forthwith they elected others four which were like senators that always had to be by his side . . . . (these four had different names in different places) . . . . " *Durán* (Cap. XI. p. 103). "To these four lords and titularies, after they were elected princes, they made them of the royal council, like presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion nothing should be done. When the king died, his successor had to be taken from those, neither could any others but brothers or sons of kings be clothed with these dignities. Thus if one of these was elected, they put another in his place. We must know that they never put a son of him who had been elected ("King") or of the deceased, since, as it has been said, the sons never succeeded (in office) by inheritance, to the titles or lordships, but through election. Therefore, whether son, brother, or cousin, if elected by the king and those of his council, to that dignity, it was given to him,—it being sufficient his being of that lineage and near relative, and so the sons and brothers went on inheriting gradually, little by little . . . . and the title and lordship never went outside of that descendancy ("generation" also kin), being filled by election, little by little."

The other titles are frequently met with up to the time of the conquest, as a few in- [648]
stances will abundantly prove. Assuming, with the majority of authors, the date of 1431, for that of the formation of the confederacy, we meet, during the unlucky foray of the confederates against Michhuacan, about fifty years later, with the following war-chiefs of the Mexicans. Tescacoatl, Huitzzahuacatl, and Quetzaltocatl (*Tezcucmoc*, Cap. LII, pp. 84 and 85), also Coatecatl (Cuauhtecatl). At the time of Cortés' first arrival off the coast (1519) we meet in the council of Mexico with Huitzahuacatl, Huayacamecatl (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. XIII, p. 579). Finally when, after the resistance of the Mexicans had ceased, Cortés assembled all the chiefs in his presence, we again meet with Huitzahuatl, Mexicatltecuhtli, Teuctlamacazqui (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571). Evidence of this kind could be produced in profusion, but it would only increase unnecessarily the size of this annotation. Compare the titles of the Iroquois sachemships in *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. V, pp. 130 and 131).

[55] Compare note 50. Also *Molina* (Parte I, p. 18), and others.

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17a revolution before the advent of Europeans. We are consequently, by this investigation of the history of aboriginal Mexico, justified in claiming the state of its society to be as yet exclusively tribal.

12 Tribal society presupposes equality of rights among all members
17 of the kins composing the tribe. Hence it follows that "caste" and hereditary rank could not exist, that there could not be any division, among the ancient Mexicans, into higher and lower classes, into "nobles" and "common people," or into hereditary professions or vocations like "priests," "warriors," "merchants," "artisans," and "tillers of the soil." In vindication however of our assertion, which might otherwise appear as too sweeping, we may be permitted here to dwell at some greater length on this particular question.

565 Nobility is based upon hereditary privilege of some kind. Either it consists in landed property with hereditability of title and (at least originally) office, or in a hereditary charge alone, or privilege or power over others transmitted with the blood. While the former has become more usually known and is therefore regarded as characteristic, the latter, always accompanied by "loose wealth" at least, is still found among pastoral nations.[62] It may even have been the incipient form of the other. Now, among the ancient Mexicans, we have seen that:—

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, in any shape, had not yet arisen.

2. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, had but a right to use certain tracts, and no possessory rights, even, to land were attached to any office or dignity.

3. No office itself, whether of the kin or tribe, was hereditary in any family, since the Mexican family, as such, was yet in but a nascent state.[63]

4. Futhermore loose property was subject to such diminutions occasioned by the mode of worship,[64] and especially of burial,[65]

[62] The Arabs for instance. See *Kremer* ("*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islam*").

[63] For these three points see "*Tenure of Lands*" in general, and pp. 447–48 in particular.

[64] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31). "Otros trabajaban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban, de manera que tenian que servir y trabajar otro año y aun otros dos para salir de deuda; . . ."

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that it could not accumulate so as to exert any influence in the hands and in behalf of any individual or of his immediate relatives. 565

Consequently, aboriginal Mexico could have neither nobility nor patriciate, and when such a privileged class does not exist, it is useless to seek for another to which the term "unprivileged" or "common" can be applied.

In a future essay we shall attempt to prove that the Mexicans had no hereditary caste of "medicine men" or priests. We have elsewhere shown that there was no caste of warriors.[66] The mode of Tenure and distribution of the soil precludes all possibility of the existence of a permanent class of "tillers." It yet remains to cast a glance at the so-called artisans, and at the traders or "merchants."

Neither of these two professions were held to personal improvement of their garden lots ("tlalmilli") but, like officers, they could have them improved by others under their names and for their benefit.[67] The statement of Zurita "that a quarter was composed of all kinds of people"[68] disposes of the opinion, that such quarters contained each but members *practising a single trade*. Thus there was no geographical agglomeration by professions.[69] Again, no rule existed enforcing or establishing hereditament in kind of work, or manner of sustenance. The son might embrace, at his choice, his father's occupation, but *nothing* 463

[66] Compare the burial rites of the Mexicans as reported by the majority of old sources.

[67] "*Art of War*" (p. 96, notes 8, 9, 40). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 48), "Ils étaient tenus seulement au service militaire, pour lequel aucune excuse n'était admise."

[68] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426, note 96). Consult the authorities therein quoted.

[69] "*Rapport*" (p. 224).

[70] It is mostly on the authority of *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, vol. II), that the settlement by professional clusters is admitted. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 262 and 263, "*Duodécima Relacion*," p. 308, Kingsborough, Vol. IX) also says that, at Tezcuco, each profession had its own quarter in the pueblo. But an attentive reading of the first author named (Cap. XVIII, p. 393), where he treats of the featherworkers "De los oficiales que labran pluma, que hacen plumajes, y otras cosas de la misma," satisfies us at once of the fact, that the venerable author only refers to worship of certain kiols in a certain quarter, and not to compulsory residence therein, of certain kinds of working men. Nowhere does he say that the "Amantecas" were all featherworkers. He mentions a barrio "Amatlan" or "Amantla." Might it be the "Amanalco" of Vetancurt? Compare also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXX, pp. 89 and 90), *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 67 and 68). "*El conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Doc. Vol. I). "Le piazze de i mercati," (pp. 296 and 298), although concerning the markets exclusively. *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 138, cap. 138), "i estos andaban por los Barrios, porque en ellos havia de todo género de gentes." Copied after Zurita *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. IV), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. LI, p. 561).

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441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

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and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.[78]

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[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 287, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 58), that the Tlatilulca were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II), and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlailotlac, ó acxótecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 566), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que había de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 222, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: 'y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por sí; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatiluico, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 330–342), how the merchants of Tlatiluico alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatiluican coloring. Compare note 58. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

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565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily
556 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.
565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 380 and 381). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 369, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 386 and 387. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 300. Lib. VII, cap.
[681] XXXVIII, p. 536, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.
[618] That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I. cap. XIX. p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III. p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Aoachtlan, y otro Atlauhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventadores y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each
[482] hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cada uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruccion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

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to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes 565 within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XL, p. 359), sixty pounds. [482]

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136), who embodies in a few words the statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 76), "No se desvelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31), "otros trabaja han y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrios," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers. 441 556 565

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fuese honrado en el pueblo, y tenido per valiente: poniaule un barbote de ámber, que es una piedra larga amarilla trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 338-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas"). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un traité*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 233 and 234). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("teuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique à Charles V en faveur des Macéhales*, Mexico, 30 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants du Mérique*," p. 267). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 36): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlatelolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 342) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la atalayasen." *Burtin* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 222) "Ils jouissaient de certains privilèges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("Tezcoco," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 244). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only *by* the Mexicans, but *against* the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 130) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 556).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, p. 85, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. 488 and 489).

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565 of any connection by kin. This presupposes *a class of outcasts from the bond of kinship.*

There is no evidence of the formation of such a cluster prior to the permanent settlement of the tribe. Neither can we trace its gradual increase from a given time. But a glance at some of the rules of kinship, and at the practical working of these rules finally crystallizing into an equivalent for laws, will enable us to discern its origin.

121 The relation of sexes being at the bottom of society based upon kin, it follows that sexual intercourse gradually assumed a regulated shape, proportionate to the progress in institutions. The ancient Mexicans had, as we have already established, advanced into descent in the male line, and had secured a nascent state of the modern family. Marriage was well known to them [58] as a *rule*. But so powerful was the influence exercised by the kin, as unit of public life that, once the ritual union of a couple acknowledged as a necessity for future joint life, it exacted of its male members the obligation to marry for the purpose of propagating and increasing the kin. Only such as were naturally helpless, and such as in view of "medicine" made vows of permanent [58] chastity, were excused. Any other youth therefore, who refused to take a wife at the proper age, was treated with contempt and consequently expelled from the kin.[60]

562 Woman, among the aboriginal Mexicans, was in a singular predicament. Through the establishment of descent in the male line she lost her hold on public life, (which she latterly regained through the establishment of the family proper) and thus remained little else than a *chattel* in the power of man. Still, the ritual act 562 of marriage being once adopted, the same obligation to marry, 589 which we have already found incumbent upon the male, also devolved upon the female, and any girl therefore, who did not "take vows" for "medicine," or who was physically not mis-

[60] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 461). *Burtin* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp 133 and 134) "s'ils ne voulaient pas prendre des femmes, on les congédiait." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 135), "Llegados á la edad de casarse, ... Si pasando la edad se descuidaban, y veian que no se querian casar, tresquilábanlos, y despedianlos de la compañia de los mancebos." This meant exclusion from the kin since, as soon as they were married, "they were classified, since, according to their custom, they were divided into sections each of which had a chief or captain, as well for the collection of taxes as for other reasons." These "chiefs or captains" were those of the calpulli. *Burtin*, (p. 139), also *Bustamante*, ("*Tezcoco*," Part III, cap. III, p. 215), "Cuando se casaban los empadronaban. . . . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 186, almost a copy of Mendieta).

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shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was 559
also regarded as a reprobate.[81]

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is 689
a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship.* Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82]

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the 565
pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to 567
foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live.* Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave.*

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversion to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 287): "& gente che stima meno le donne di quanti nationi sono al mondo, perchi non gli comunicherebbe mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscesse che il furio gli potesse melter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 386). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III. p. 306), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XV, p. 37); *Zurita* (p. 129). If a girl abandoned her house, she might finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("on les abandonnait").

[82] *Zurita* (p. 56): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre." (Id. p. 54): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demeurer dans un autre, on lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib: IV, cap. XV, p. 135). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p 486).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 565 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 489).

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565 doms, had other ways to make slaves) we say: that many condi-
567 tions were lacking, to create them actual slaves. For of these slaves of this New-Spain, some had means, might own and possess them of their own, and they could not be sold again except under the conditions mentioned hereafter. The service rendered to their master was limited, not for always, nor ordinary. Some, upon marrying, became released, their relatives or brothers taking their place. There were also skilful slaves who, besides serving their masters, still kept house, with wife and children, purchasing and holding slaves themselves. The children of slaves were born free."[84]

567 The Mexican term for slave was, literally a "purchased man" ("tlacotli.") He was in fact but a "bondsman." Through a special contract, made before authorized witnesses, his services, the proceeds of his labor, *and not his person*, became pledged to another. The member of a kin had no direct ownership in him whom he employed, he could not sell him again without that employer's consent, nor could he take his life in punishment of crime. If the latter broke his contract through repeated
[685] evasion he might finally be "collared," that is, his neck was enclosed in a wooden yoke, by means of which he was fastened to a wall at night. If the man still contrived to escape, then he was turned over to worship and sacrificed; but in case he succeeded in secreting himself in the official house without being intercepted by his master or one of that master's people, then he was spared, and even liberated from his bonds.[85] In addition to the supply furnished to the class of outcasts in the manner above indicated, there were accessions to it from outside. Fugitives were of rare occurrence, since such, if from a tribe against which war was waged, were regarded as precious additions, too important to be ranged among the outcasts.[86] But we have several instances, in the ancient history of Mexico, of destructive
[731] drouths as well as of disastrous inundations, depriving the inhabi-

[84] "*Monarchia Indiana*" (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 564).

[85] I have gathered these details mostly from *Torquemada* (Vol. II, pp. 564-566). Compare besides others, *Velancurt* (Vol. I, pp. 483, 484, and 485) and nearly all modern writers.

[86] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI. p. 130): "Y si de la parte contraria salia alguno á descubrir y dar aviso cómo su señor ó su gente venian sobre ellos, al tal dábanle mantas y pagábanle bien." Copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 536), and *Velancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. III, p. 394).

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tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape 567
threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their 731
children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[57]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or 562
of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for 565
the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether 837
different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such [634]
purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became [548
tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in 595]
the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[58]

[57] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Tellerianus Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 130) mentions one in 1496 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1492. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 205) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 228) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 300), agrees with Durán and Tezozomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 208): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451–1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLVII, p. 138) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[58] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

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545 We thus witness, among the ancient Mexicans and beneath the kins composing the tribe, a lower class of society, a floating

545 one, was a mere matter of subsistence. As already remarked by *Peter Martyr* (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 225): "He further saith, that the common sort of people content themselves with one wife; but that every Prince may maintayne harlottes at his pleasure." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia I, p. 438): "Cuatro canasas dan para tener tantas mujeres: la primera es el vicio de la carne, en que mucho se deleitan; la segunda es por tener muchos hijos; la tercera por reputacion y servicio; la cuarta es por granjéria; y esta postrera usan más que otros, los hombres de guerra, los de palacio, los holgazanes y tahares; hacénlas trabajar como esclavas, etc." The same author adds: "Aunque toman muchas mugeres, á unas tienen per légitimas, á otras por amigas, y á otras por mañebas. Amiga llaman á la que despues de casados demandaban, y mancebe á la que ellos se tomaban." According to this statement, a husband could entertain three classes of women: one legitimate wife, concubines which he obtained with permission of their parents and prostitutes or mistresses. *Fuentes delcatal Torquemada*, however (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 376), says: "Otra especie de mancebas havia, y se permitia, que era la que los Señores principales, ó las tomaban ellos, ó las pedian despues de ú cásados, con la Señora, y muger legitima, que llamaban cihuapilli." This reduces the "stock" to two kinds, at least. *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII, pp. 124-126) mentions polygamy as a rule, and describes the infinite trouble of the priests to find out the legitimate wife, assuming it to be "aquella con quien estando en su gentilidad primero habian contraido matrimonio" (p. 127). According to him the first legitimate marriage took place 14 October, 1526 (p. 124), but nevertheless for three or four years afterwards: "no se velaban, . . sino que todos se estaban con las mujeres que querian, y habia algunos que tenian hasta doscientas mujeres, y de alli abajo cada uno tenia las que queria" (p. 125). In defence of this state of polygamy the Indians alleged "tambien las tenian por manera de granjéria, porque las hacian á todos tejer y hacer mantas y otros oficios de esta manera" (p. 125). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVII and XLVIII, pp. 300-306) is very explicit on the same question. He asserts that the early missionaries found: "Por otra parte se hallaba que el comun de la gente vulgar y pobre no tenian ni habian tomado sino sola una mujer . . . . . sino que los señores y principales, como poderosos, excederian los límites del uso matrimonial, tomando despues otras, las que se les antojaba" (p. 301). The final result of these troublesome disputes and investigations is expressed as follows (p. 302): "y que sabiendose cual era la primera mujer, era cierta cosa ser aquella la legitima, y viviendo aquella, otra cualquiera habia de ser mancebe." The question is as to whether a daughter of any member of the kin could ever lawfully become a concubine, or whether this was only the case with female outcasts? The stories about "Handful of Reeds," who, his first wife being sterile, was subsequently married to a number of daughters of chieftains (see *Durán*, Cap. VI, pp. 48 and 49, *Torquemada*, Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 58, *Velascart*, Parte II, Trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270, *Clavigero*, Lib. III, cap. III, p. 194) is manifestly untrue. The object of these subsequent marriages is given as in order to obtain heirs to the throne. Now it is well known that there was no "succession," but only an "election," consequently there was no such object as the one claimed. The chief certainly had concubines, but there is no evidence to show that he obtained them from the kins. Again we are treated to long descriptions of the dazzling polygamy of the chiefs of Tezcuco. For instance, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XLIII, pp. 305 and 306) relates of "Fasting wolf" "nezahualcoyotl," from "nezanalitztli," "ayuno," etc., (*Molina*, II. 64), and "coyotl" how he had a number of concubines previous to his marriage with an Indian girl of Coatlichan. Further on he relates the well known "Uriah and Bathsheba" story (pp. 309-313), attributed to the same chief, and which has been so often recopied. His successor in office, "Fasting boy" (Nezahualpilli," compare the picture of this name in *Durán*, *Lam.* 23 and 24, Trat. 1o), is reported by him to have had 2000 concubines, "But, besides the queen, he had intercourse with forty" (Cap. LVII, p. 35 of 2d Vol.). His marriage with that only legitimate spouse is described (Cap. LXIV, p. 66, Vol. II). He is, of course, supported by *Torquemada*

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population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not 545
very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 134-135; cap. LXII, p. 194; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H.* 595
Bancroft (Vol. II. p. 268) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 260): "Tenia este Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, á las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 336) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 81), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou, "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 32), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II, 56). See in a further note.

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia 595
and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept* 567
these women for their work. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir suelta, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban à necesitarse mucho, y haciansse Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 568): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Anónimo* says (p. 307): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, il che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre."

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, [727]
even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Anónimo*," p. 275), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 29).

[182]
[89] They were the "tamemes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from "tlacatl"—man, and "mitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 326. Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 200, 231, and 239) "*Lettre des caciques Solamero, Malhomado, Cuyuio et Quirogo a l'Empereur*." (Mexico, 30 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Los Indianos est de tout temps porté déjà fardeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . ."

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "macehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

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548 Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,
[549] that for actions of merit such people might be re-adopted, and thus restored to their original rights. The anonymous conqueror asserts that the performer of any valorous deed was highly rewarded and made a chieftain, "even if he was the vilest slave."[91] But without such formal re-adoption, no outcast could emerge from his inferior and unprotected condition. The overwhelming majority of Mexico's aboriginal people, however, consisted of members of the twenty kins shown to have composed the tribe. These all enjoyed equal rights; consequently all had the same duty. Both right and obligation were governed by the organization of kinship. While it is impossible for us to follow here strictly the order of enumeration of these rights and obligations, established in the admirable researches of Mr. Morgan, we still can distinctly trace all of them in ancient Mexican society, operating with more or less unimpaired vitality.

[618] *The kin claimed the right to name its members.*[92] A family name
553 was unknown to the ancient Mexicans,[93] and thus our assertion that the modern family was not yet established among them, acquires further support. Within a few days after the child's birth, its mother in presence of all the neighbors (consequently of the "calpulli" or kin) gave the child a name through the medium of the women assisting her delivery. This name, generally taken from that of the day of birth, had a superstitious bearing, and was to accompany the child during the period of its utter helplessness.[94] A second "naming" took place several

[91] "*Relatione di alcune Cose della Nuova Spagna*" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 371). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVII, p. 565): "y Esclavos havia que regian, y mandaban la casa de su Señor, como hacen los Maiordomos."

[92] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 71 and 72).

[93] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Todos los Niños cuando nacian tomaban nombre del dia en que nacian." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, pp. 454 and 455). The family name was introduced by the Spaniards, who gave other names at the time of baptism.

[94] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Sahagun* (Lib. IV, cap. I, pp. 283 and 284, in general the entire fourth Book, which gives a very full idea of all the superstitious connected with birthdays; more especially Cap. XXXV and XXXVI and Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 217-221). All the children of the quarter were invited to the festival: "En este tiempo que estas cosas se hacian, juntabanse los mozuelos de todo aquel barrio, y acabadas todas estas ceremonias, entran en la casa del y toman la comida que alli les tenian aparejada. . . . . ." The naming took place in presence of "todos los parientes y parientes del niño, viejos y viejas" (p. 218). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 107): "Estos nombres tomaban de los Idolos ó de las Fiestas que en aquellas signos caian, y á veces de aves y animales y de otras cosas inesperadas, como se les antojaba." (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXV, p. 267). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 450: "Luego hacian convocacion de todos los Deudos, y Parientes, de los Padres, y de todos los Amigos, y

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871 These houses of education were under the
868 special direction of experienced men, called therefore "Speakers
875 of the Youth" ("telpuchtlatoca") and "elder brothers" ("teachcanhtin,") in another capacity. They had not only to provide for the physical training of their pupils, but also for their intellectual development, as far as the state of knowledge permitted.[99] Such places of training were called also "the place where I grow" ("nezcaltiloyan"), or "the place where I learn" ("nemachtiloyan.")[100] It is not true that the youth were constrained
871 868 to a permanent, almost monastic residence in such houses; but while there they improved in common certain special plots of land, in all likelihood the so-called "temple-tracts," out of which the daily wants of worship were supplied.[101] In connection with this mode of education, we have to consider here an objection which cannot fail to be raised against our views.

565 It is frequently given out as a fact, that besides the "Houses
871 of the Youth" mentioned, there was a *special* place of education for the children of "*noblemen*" and this is adduced as a proof of

mada (Lib. IX, cap. XII, pp. 185 and 186; Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, XXIX and XXX) and others.

[99] "*Art of War*" (pp. 101, 119 and 120). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125): "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada barrio, habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir, guarda ó capitan de los mancebos." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 165): "y tenian un Rector, que los regia y governaba, que se llamaba Telpochtlato, que quiere decir, Guarda, ó Caudillo de los Mancebos, el qual Telpochtlato tenia gran cuidado de doctrinarlos, y enseñarles, en buenas costumbres." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 269): "y si era ya hombre valiente y diestro, elegianle para regir á todos los mancebos, y para castigarlos, y entonces se llamba Telpuchtlato." (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301): "Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos, . . ." (Cap. XVII, p. 305): "en este lugar se juntaban los maestros de los mancebos que se llamaban tiachcaoan, y telpuchtlatoques . . ." (Also Cap. XXXVIII, p. 331). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, cap. VI, p. 451): "y un rector que llamaban Telpochtlato, el que habia y gobierna á los mancebos." *Codex Mendoza* (Vol. I of Kingsborough plates 62 and 63).

Sahagun usually calls the "achcanhtli," "alguaziles," or executors of justice. But above we see that he calls the "tiachcaoan," also "masters of the youth." Both names are corruptions of "teachcanhtlin." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60) calls the "Achcacauhtin, mayorales de armas y de doctrina y de ejemplo." (Cap. LVII, p. 95): "Tras ellos vinieron los que llaman Achcanhtin, señores de los varrios, y maestros de mancebos." (Cap. LXXI, p. 121): "mayorales y ministros, y los hicieron juntar como escuelas en cada un varrio que llamaban telpochcalli." (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 134): "Los mancebos iban cada dia á los varrios al egercicio de las armas á la escuela de armas telpochcalco, adonde los enseñaban con valerosos ánimos, y las maneras de combatir." Finally *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 432) refers also to the 53d picture of the Mendoza Codex, representing a boy of fifteen years, who is turned over to an "achcanhtli, or officer," to be instructed in the art of war.

[100] *Molina* (*Vocabularia* II, pp. 66 and 73). *P. Ignacio de Paredes* ("*Doctrina Breve sacado del Catecismo Mexicano*," Reprint of 1800).

[101] *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 269) says that, whereas they slept at home, that is, at the "house of youth," they ate with their families ("aunque comian en sus casas pro-
[564] p. 45").

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the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pias"). *Zurita* (pp. 131-133) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 289; cap. VIII, p. 273). *Zurita* (p. 131): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 186): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredados para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 60).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que alli se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap. IV, p. 266): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmécac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 285): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 12th edifice "Tilancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

13th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vitznahac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 202)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 202).

35th edifice, "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

54th edifice, "Topico Calmecac, "monasterio é oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tzoalmoloco-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Xiuhtecutli," (p. 207).

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It therefore demanded the daily attendance at the official house of the tribe of a body of men sitting as "judges." The decisions of these judges had to be final even in matters of life and death. Therefore the chiefs composing the highest authority of the tribe, the members of the council or "tlatoca," were also its supreme judges. It is stated that for this daily work the twenty "speakers" were subdivided into two bodies sitting simultaneously in two different halls of the "tecpan." One of these bodies is called "court of the nobles" because it attended, not merely to tribal cases, but especially to the preparatory business of government in general, whereas the other limited its decrees to judicial questions only.[303]

officers delegated for that special purpose, and, as we shall find, probably under orders of the military commanders of the tribe.

[303] This division of the council into two bodies for the purpose of greater dispatch of judicial work is particularly affirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib VIII, cap. XIV, p. 303. Cap. XV, p. 304, and Cap. XXV, pp. 313 and 314), who, however, contradicts himself in regard to the position and rank of his "Judges." Thus (p. 303) he calls his officers of the "sala de la judicatura," "el rey, los señores, cónsules, oidores, principales nobles" as distinguished from those of the "audiencia de la causas civiles," whom he designates as "los senadores y los ancianos," thus intimating, if not asserting, that the former were superior to the latter in rank and power. The hall wherein the former met, is called "tlacxitlan," the latter "tecalli." I shall return to these terms again. He further asserts (p. 314), speaking of the former: "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoques," and establishes them as a court of appeal for the lower court. Now (Cap. XXX, p. 318) he says: "juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoques . . ." Consequently, he tacitly admits that the "senadores" who, according to him, composed the "lower" court were also the *equals* of those of the higher, and all belonged to the same class of officers. Finally, his picture of the duties of both bodies is rather obscure. He even (p. 314) might be construed so as to establish *three* courts. If we now examine the names given by him, we find that of the "lower" to be "house of chiefs," from "tecuhtli" and "calli," house. Indeed, *Molina* (II, p. 93) has "tecalli," "casa, o audiencia real." "Tlacxitlan," however, signifies (II, p. 139) "en lo baxo, o al pie de los arboles, o de cosa semejante." The proper derivation, however, is from "ni tlacxitoca" "to correct writings, or count over what has been already counted" (p. 139), which would indeed correspond to a "court of appeals." "To appeal" is "nitlacnepa;" "appeal," "tlacnepaliztli; ococcan netelhuiliztli," *Molina* (I, p. 12). It stands properly for the act of demurring, or of returning, folding, doubling up, and it is not likely to have been used by the natives to define an appeal in our sense of the word. Father Sahagun has probably introduced the word "tlacxitlan" himself. At all events, he is responsible for the notion of a superior body of judges, to whom a lower court, sitting in the same house, referred all cases of importance, contenting itself with taking testimony and despatching unimportant cases; while at the same time he tells us that the members of *both* groups *held the same office*, and were consequently equal and had the same title. This title we have found to be that of the members of the council, consequently the two groups formed but fractions of that body, co-ordinated and assisting each other, and not a higher and a lower branch of a tribal judiciary.

Father Sahagun and contemporary authors of the Franciscan school, whose writings have just now come to light in the "*Libro de Oro*," can easily be traced as the source of most of the later pictures of Mexican judicial customs as in the present instance. Thus his highest tribunal of thirteen "senadores" reappears in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 448,

787 was chaste and conscientious; who was audacious, who saved all, who sought his sustenance; who planned, sought, and watched for that which might alleviate, for that which he might lay hand on in the near future, and for what he might offer his children; for what might be obtained, and what he could quickly seize if sickness and misfortune came.

Thus, everywhere he watched for, considered, and sought whatsoever he might use as merchandise, whatsoever his manner of wares might be; whatsoever he might live by, by which he might increase and augment his goods and his gains.

And this one emerged, and rose to honor, if he deliberated well, and was attentive, not resentful of criticism, nor lazy. The counsel with which he was counseled and the rearing with which he was reared took effect; he seized and held fast to it. And if he was made fun of, he took no revenge; he made no reprisals. He returned nothing in kind.

[684 ●565] And if a woman were then born, it likewise befell her as hath been said and told above. If a noblewoman was an adulteress, her head was crushed between two stones so that she died. And only in misery and affliction was she given to dwell. She encountered misery and want. Nowhere on earth was her face radiant; nowhere on earth was she [of any account]; nowhere was she regarded; nowhere did she hold a husband. Thus was it stated: "Just so is her nature; so is her life; so her birthright; and so her day sign. Thus, on such [a day], was she bathed; at such a time was she born. Monstrous was her day sign; a wild beast was she; hers was the day of the wild beast, etc."

782 And they venerated Four Movement as a day sign. Thus did they say, that it was the day sign of the
821 sun. Moctezuma paid great honor to it. When it was this day, when Four Movement set in, they slew quail and offered incense before the image of the sun; they placed on it what was known as the spreading red ararar feather device. And at noon captives died and were slain [as sacrifices].

787 And for him who was then born, no [true sign] appeared. In two ways might it fall. They said that if it were a man, he might either take captives or die in war. As they said, "With this the sun is nourished." Hence everyone did penances when it was this sign. At this time all came together from all parts; none remained or did otherwise. Verily, everyone — men, women, children — cut their ears and

vmpilcatoc, in jaqujch caana, in qujtemoa in jeochca, yn jneuhca, in qujlnamjequj, in conjttilia, in contlachielia, tle iiech vmpatia, tle iiech ontlaanaz in macujl, in matlac, tlẽ qujmonmacaz in jpalhoan, çan onmaçoaz, tlẽ concujtvetzia in oealla cocolizti icnoiotl:

ic noviiampa mjztia tlanemjlia, qujtemoa, in tlein qujmonanauhtiz, in catleuatl inanauh vmmuchioaz, in tlein vel ic onnemja, ic onmacoquetzaz, ic ontlapiujaz itlatquj icnopilloub.

Ioan ichoatl qujçaia, panvetzia, in vel monotza, in tlacacquj, in amo qujquammati, qujtemati in onotzaloca, iacalilloca, içan iiech qujpachoa, içan qujmacuj, qujmapiequj: auh intla ica necacaiaoalo, amo qujtecuepaliaia, amo qujcuepcaiotia, atle ic qujlochtia.

Auh intla çioatl ipan otlacat: no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, in tlacpac omjto, omoteneuh: intla cioapilli tetlixtimaia, quatepipitzinjloia injc mjquja: auh çan icnoiotica, cococaiotica, in monenemjtiaia, icnoiotl, netolinjlizti qujtztinemj, ican ixtona in tlalticpac, ican tlalticpac ca, ican motztica, ican vel oquichpia: ic mjtoaia, ca njman iuh quja, iuhquj iiolilia, iuhquj itlacatiliz, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan malti, iuhcan tlacat, ãtlacacemelle in itonal, ca tequanj, tequantonale. Etc.

Auh in naolin qujtonaltiaia: iuh qujtoaia, itonal in tonatiuh, cenca qujmavizztiliaia in Motecçiçuma: yn jquac, y, moquetzaia naolin, tlacotonaia, tlenamacaia, yn ixpan ixiptla tonatiuh, qujtlaliaia itoca cueçaltonamriotl: auh in nepantla tonatiuh, mjquja, mjctiloia, in mamalti:

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, atle vel inezca, vme vitz qujtoa. Yntla oquichtli aço tlamaz, anoço iaomjquiz: in iuh qujtoaia, ca ica mozcaltia in tonatiuh, ic muchi tlacatl tlamacoaia. yn jquac, y ilẽ vncã, y, cenvetzi, ipanoca, aiac mocaoa, aiac ixcavi, vel mochi tlacatl in oquichtli, in çioatl, im piltzintli, monacaztequia, mjçoia, mjtoaia: ic izcaltilo in tonatiuh.

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munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[8]

Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[9]

The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

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child),[99] and those who cultivated them carried the appellation of "tlalmaitl"—hands of the soil.[100]

The "tlalmilpa," whether held by chiefs or by ordinary members 423
of the kin ("macehuales") were, therefore, the only tracts of land possessed for use by individuals in ancient Mexico. They were so far distinguished from the "tecpantlalli" and "tlatocatlalli" in their mode of tenure as, whereas the latter two were dependent

[99] It is just the "pillali" which oppose the greatest difficulties to this investigation, and to a clear conception of the mode of tenure of lands in ancient Mexico. They are generally represented (whenever mentioned), as private domains of the chiefs. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, pp. 545 and 546), distinguishes two kinds of "pillali." The first one he says might be sold.—but he places the restriction upon them, that such as held lands through conquest ("sujecion") or through gift ("merced") of the chief, had to go to the descendants, as majorat; and if they died without heirs, the King, or Lord [428] became such, and they were incorporated into his royal Estates." The other kind was not transmissible at all. Clavigero (Lib. XVII, cap. XIV). We notice here a confusion between official tracts and such lots of the "calpulli" as pertained to the chief's family in consequence of their membership of the Kin. Also between "tribute-lots" and the official tracts, of conquered tribes. Torquemada acknowledges, that the "pillali," upon the death of the family, were incorporated in the calpulli to which that family belonged, "in order that they might pay tribute." This ought to define their true position and nature.

[100] From "tlalli" soil, and "maitl" hand. Hands of the soil. Molina (Parte IIa, p. 427
124), has: "tlalmaitl"—"labrador, ò gañan." This name is given in distinction of the "macehuales" or people working the soil in general. The tlalmaites are identical with the "mayeques." See Zurita (p. 224), "tlalmaites or mayeques, which signifies tillers of the soil of others . . . ." He distinguishes them plainly from the "tercallec" [566] which are the "tecpanpouhque" or "tecpantlaca" formerly mentioned as attending to a class of official lands (p. 221, Zurita). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These mayeques could not go from one tract to another, neither leave those which they cultivated, and they paid a rent to its masters according as they agreed upon ("en lo que se concertaban") in what they raised. They paid tribute to nobody else but the master of the land." This tends to show that there existed, not an established obligation, a serfdom, but a voluntary contract, that the "tlalmaites" were not serfs, but simply renters. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). ". . . . those that were knights ("caballeros") and descendants of the families of the Kings, and Lords, had their particular lands and their rentals, where many of them held renters ("terrazgueros") which served them, tilled the crops and served them in their houses. These lands were called pillali or "land of nobles and knights." We prefer the etymology "piltontli" "niño ò niña, muchacho ó muchacha" (Molina, II, p. 82), or "piltzintli" niño ó niña" therefore lands of the children,—to the derivation from "pilli." The title of chief was "tecuhtli," and the word "pilli" substituted for it is certainly but in connection with the occupation of a particular place of office, and not a title itself. Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 230. "The sovereigns as well as the inferior Lords and other principals had their own patrimonial estates, and in them their mayeques or Tlalmayes, what these gave of rent were tributes of the Lord," Id. pp. 233 and 234).

The "tlalmaites" appear to have been free from other tributes, and free from com- [446]
munal labor outside of the "pillali" (Bustamante, p. 233. Herrera, Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). It is not very clear, however, whether this applies simply to the conquering tribe alone, or also to the tlalmaites of conquered tribes, as towards the tribute due by that tribe to their conquerors. The detailed relations between the two are yet somewhat obscure and confuse in some points.

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793 nize a priesthood completely separate from civil officialdom; both were mutally dependent. There was a priestly hierarchy, it is true, but it probably operated in conjunction with civil position. Permanent positions may have existed, but in the chapters on religion we shall describe more fully how completely the realms of Church and State coalesced among the people of ancient Mexico, in contrast to the cleavage between them in our own society.

567 Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe, and each member was supposed to do his part in preserving the community. However, the bane of working social orders as well as hypothetical social schemes are those unfortunates who, by mischance, maladjustment or just plain deviltry, do not do their part. The Aztecs, too, had this problem to cope with, and there developed a social class of people who had lost their civil rights and become slaves. This they might do voluntarily or because they were prisoners of war or were punished for crimes or were sold by their parents. Their treatment differed according to the circumstances of their enslavement.[8] (See Plate 38, bottom left.)

Military captives usually were sacrificed, but those who [721] demonstrated some unusual skill were sometimes bought for domestic service or put to work on some communal enterprise. Criminal slaves lost their free status for such offenses as failure to denounce treachery, membership in a traitor's family, kidnaping for sale a free man, selling another's property without his consent, theft without restitution when over [672] ten years old or hindering a slave from gaining the sanctuary of a chief's house. Penal slaves were privately owned, usually to make restitution to those whom they had injured.

Voluntary slavery was assumed by the poor and landless

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who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to 567
provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prostitutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan [426]
from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made the slave live at home and perform only personal services. Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or even have slaves of his own. His children were always born free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office, which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his commission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs in- [689]
volved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial 626
acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human behavior. Membership in the community brought safety and subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown existed in the field of public service rather than in the acquisition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held to a minimum.[8]

Growth of the community to a size where none but the 692
great were known to society at large probably tended to 186
break down the sense of membership and participation, so

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [433 southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. 782
Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the 174
world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the 782
braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. [727]
Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances [567]
women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure
growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

row of vendors of implements and tools, such as obsidian 174
blades, carved and burnished pottery, spindle whorls, deer- 438
horn awls, bone bodkins and a few copper axes and needles. A brilliant mass of color characterized the booths of the feather salesmen. Some sold merely bunches of plumes, the lovely green of the quetzal, or trogon, and the multicolored plumage of parrots. At the other stands feather cloaks, mats and shields gave evidence of charming fancy in their design and patient toil in their execution. (See Plates 38–39.)

Jewelers displayed jade ornaments and gold worked into 174
precious rings of filigree or massive beaten gorgets. It was 438
the jade, however, that caught the envious eye and was pro- 301
duced with furtive circumspection as a material of great price. Other merchants sold ornaments of shell, and the pinks, whites and subtle mottled browns of sea shells contrasted with the rich dark sheen of tortoise carapaces. At one booth a rich warrior earnestly bargained with the proprietor for an exquisite pair of earplugs, cunningly inlaid with a mosaic of turquoise and mother-of-pearl.

The smiling whispers and admiring glances of the crowd 174
at the jeweler's abruptly changed in the slave quarters to 438
appraising stares. Some of the chattels wore wooden collars, 567
and their brutish faces had a hopeless expression. These had sunk to servitude long ago as a result of crime or of capture in war. Others were thin and emaciated but did not wear the collar of bondage. They had met with misfortune and were selling themselves for the first time to ensure food and shelter.

A low hum rose from the market place; there was none of 174
the strident shouting of the European fair. The bargaining 438
for goods was carried on slowly, quietly, but, nonetheless,

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, glistening, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[49] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plumed headpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fine prisms came out to receive her. They scattered aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle heard of the rain and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[50]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ceremonied her. For she [illegible] said go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. [illegible] temple of the Tlaloc, they offered her honor.

Then Mac[illegible] paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Then they said: "The chief grieveth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they then paid honor to the women.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [goddess], named Uitzocioatl. Then they remembered what they had done; then they honored the dress.[51]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Then might he be satisfied; then, in truth, might he live.

And then was she dressed: she was painted yellow and blue; then was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[52] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] earplugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the rain-earthenware,[53] which she smashed. She wore flower sandals.

Auh yn iquac ueh chocaz, tlamattinemj, xmmattinemj, pelotinemj, cuecuexcatinemj. 776

Auh yn iquac: tlamiquitiliztli, qui no iquac: yn ueuqualiztli: yn uecan tlamiquitiliztli tlalocqui. 796

[805]

cuicoli in quichichinaia yniqtla: quicuaitaia, quinjpitiaia, quicuecuenia, cuecuepcuiti, inuh pilcatiuh cuetz: uecujlocuecolli: [778]

yecan quitlamanjlinia, quinamaniquj yn jtlamamacauh, yiauhti, inpan quiquetzilia,

cuichicaua tlamjtenemj, quicuiqueia in calpolcqui, yniquacauan.

Auh in uel iztqui, yquac miquia: tlacoti cioatl in quicuaia, inhuan quiquetzaia, yn xmamacqui: yn ail yn motlaiocultia, yn acalica atlacuj, yn acalcqui, yn apantlaca: yecan acalquetzqui tlamquizco, in quiquichiztia ail. [567] [463]

No iuh quichichinaia, no iuh quitlamamacaia, no iuh quicuecuenia: iuh tlacotiuja: in miquia, yncocoxcan tlalocan: yn uecan inimpan, tlalocqui, quelzacquja.

Ja iquac y, no cenca quinamatilinia, yn motecuçuma: inpan tlamamacaia, yn iztqui, quitlacuemjlia,

iuh quiznia: quiznahtlaxlauj in tlacatl, quitlamachuja yn jmacaual: yecan uecan momaliniaui, yniic quinahuiztilinia ail:

quitlamiquqja, ca ic tlamj, ca tonica: yecan ic machiza, yn iaquich uecuh monequj.

No iuh quinamatilinia, yn iztqui tonacatl, yn jueca, chicome coatl; yuã yn iztqui iztatl, yecca Vitzocioatl: in quitlamiquqja; yn ic tlamanjzti:

ca uel yecnecu machiza in mocuelli, ic uellamati, ic uel nemj. 776

Auh yniqtla, in machichiztia: mazaxaia, tzaxica, momaqiztec, mocuecuemjlec, mincuçalhuj, chalchihuicuaqua, xiuhnacuchi, tzonmacaxi, quetzalmjauaxia, atlacujlolhtiqtlo, atlacujlolhuiaqtlo, atlacujlolcuaia, atlacuquauachinaia, xiuhtlaxuaqi, cacalaxa; popolocqui.

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49. Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 148): "*este mesillo era hecho de masa cocida, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 219): "*el mesiz cocido por el sólo fornecido parecía a cosa de arroz cocido con frijol (sic) la flamen' amarillo.*"

50. Corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: ". . . *la fornicaban . . . entre aquellos, que tienen sus granjerías, en el agua como los que venden agua, en las canoas; y los que venden agua, en ciénegas, en la plaza. . . .*"

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *porque dicen, que entre sus dioses: mantenjan, a la gente popular: pues que producen, viuir, y mantienen.*"

52. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *la pintaron, la cara, con color amarillo, . . .*"

53. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Traía en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con vino crudo: hecho a manera, de la cuenca, en que se lleva el vino crudo, quando vino sale la flaua; y un vaso cocido, dicen dicen.*" See p. 3, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhtli yecan and Tlaqueltlan yecan.

2: Sahagún .M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Astec.NU7

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[416]
[439]

And [they brought] vessels, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commencement in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cacao, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temples[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they held a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomquiauitl, or Chalmecacinca, Acxoteccatl, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzinac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They brought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best ones, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now dress up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in potecomatl, in xiuecuili, in aquauitl, yn ezzecaiztl:

[439]

intlamel iauiztlan, in tlaczij, in tlacuxtica, ontlan omomjx, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichinaliztica, in nexiuica, in tlatoltica quintlachocalhuja in chanequa.

[292]

Auh intla ontlaczomaltiquac, intla ontoquac: vncan quinpopoiomjctia, quinchillatilia: ça ace, aço ce, aço vme yn oc ol tomatilanqa quipa, ichantl quinalnamotzaia in motecuçuma:

[263
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ic vncan quinaca, cauqujlia, yuqoçmaltzoteuh, yn quinnaviztoia, ic quinnezcaiztia, in tlacauh, vncan ic ocujchtia.

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Auh yn iquac calacia, yuchan: vn jnilioch, yuncuepal ocujchichiquac, yn ontalnechacoca, yn ontalnechpachiuhque: inquich tlacatl quinotza, in pochteca: yuan in tlanequa, ic momiztiaia:

mjtoa, mocxipeca, omoc quinaviztilia yn inapil, yn jtlaçqui yiacatecutli:

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omo in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn iquac tetlaquaitia: yuan intlacu . nel motecomoxca, quitlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

796
[778]

Auh intla aca tealtia, ichantl caltiaia, quinonia in jtocah yiacatecutli: anoço omo ichantin yn mochouaia, in quinmomotiaia in chicomquiauitl, anoço chalmecacinca, yuan acxotecuitl, yuan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzinac, o'ac quijecuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca aiaxi tlacatl:

vmpa omomaia yn tlacamecujloca azcapotzalco: motlabtatilia, motlapapatilia, quinxocuepa, quinjhiua, yn qualtin quinxocuepa, yn acxa quemanjquac, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaxaquac, yn acxo cuecuepac, yn atle intlachia ca:

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ynic ichxan quinnetiquac, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan iliuiquetzilitoia vitzilohuchtli:

yquac quinchichiuaia, quintlamamaca, intech quitlalia yn jolocuj yuechichinal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn tlamo quinmjctia, achtopa quinteititiaia: mjtoa quinjnnentia, ic quinmochiua in tealtiquac:

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104. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 57): Yuamolohqui "*propiamente significaba persona, que tiene vistoso, é hablador, para mofar graciosamente, é engañar, y es sabio, y sagaz (que es propio condición de Mercaderes) . . .*"

105. Cf. Sahagún (*Escuela Raquital*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex.* B. II §60.

106. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing feet and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "*vecindad del barrio, ó parroquia*" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the ceremonies in this manner: "*Entre diaches que mataban a estos cautivos*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzinac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomquiauitl or Chalmecacinca is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxotecuitl is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

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796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifu and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

[565] And if any were found who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food
[595] well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand: he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaalilhoan, iecan, quinequetza: mûch tlaçeilmatli, yn jntech quintlalilia: ipã injtoniaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cuicatinemj, tlatlahtlamj yn jncuje, ynic momiquinquequelea.

Auh intla aca oiztec, in ennca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cuicamatinj, in iolimatquj, yn jxe, yn iollo: quiquixtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ynac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no quintiloia, quinemotlacacioaoatiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzui, yxtmjlo, inquaxto, tzquatzone, quetzallalpile, tzucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtulma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, cioxale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlaçaia ynac onoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[173] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and bathetth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jnoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech petuj yn tlaloque: iehoan yntjacoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, quimotrutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech moponia:

iuh quitoaia, ca iehoatl achto quinmachti, quimititi, in petlachioalitetli, yn icpalchioalitetli:

ichoutl axcaua cococaoaia, tlatquixo, tlanextile, tlatzintila, tlapeoaltile.

Joan iuh quitoaia ca iehoatl quinualtia, quiquixtia, in toli in tolpiczoaac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, xtapili, in tolquiauti, in tolcaputi, yn jztoli, xoxali:

yoan yn jquac ilhuiuhquiçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan quitzetzelea, tepan quipixna, yn aoachili, ennca tlaihtlanjliloia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quixtoaia, tlacotli, in quimictiaia cexiuhtica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "esta cabeza con una manta azul, y sobre el azul, una red negra de manera quel azul, se parece, por las mallas de la red."

111. The *mixtlatlahqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

[618] 112. *Calpulli*—clan or gens, which comprised, probably, of heads of old families, exercised domestic offices, distributed its common lands among members (Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zorita; *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word "guild" where the context suggests no simplicity.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "Napan *tetlapo de juncos*: que llaman *tolcamitl*."

114. Cf. Sahagun: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpuleque*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpuleque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall, where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] bedight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hairdress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

qujchichiuaia, ynnac mantiuetoca, xoxouic, xoxouhqui 776
xicalli: vncan ietiouej ixl, vexotica ic tuxtelhvia: 796

Auh yn jquac ano ilhujuh, yn çan nemmajan: oc no ce 567
qujxiptlaiotiuia, qujchichiuaia: 467

yn jquac cla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtoca,
qujnepieltiz: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, ynnelhujtiuh,
tuxuchvitiuh, inhquja ic qujtlanjliuia, ynjc qujmicnelia.

Yoan inhquja yvic mocujtlaocu'istlaoaia: yn açaca ic
vnca ielaqui, yaxca:

qujtoaia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo,
macamo njcnixcauj, yn nocnelsloca: ma onqualo, ma onjoa,
ma onpopolinj, ma ic omujtoti in tocouh napa tecutli:
ma çaquen njnnemjtiz, yn ac inhquj njcochiz, ac inhquj
njnequz, inhe qujmati, yn açac itla, nechmomaquiliz,
qujmomacavilia:

ic quinquentiaia ce quachelli, yn iuipila muchiuaia, ic
oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchitlacatl, tlatlaquasia yn joaniolque. 776

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yuipila, cenca tlamauiz- 467
tilisia, tlaçelisia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlatenoca,
icpaltenoca, tlatzetzelua, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tlatlalia,
muchipa cupaltema, tlaxtzacalihtoc, tlaxtzacalihtiuanj, [356]
atle vetzuc, çe tlaçolli.

Auh yuja yn muchichiuaia, motlileçac, mjxtlilpopotz, 776
mixtlilhuj, mjchchiaujticac, amaçale, yiamacuepal, ama-
maxtle, tiztale, istaccaque, atlacuçonanchimale, atapil-
tapile.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlaloca.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloca.

These thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images; that they would make representations of

Jnic cempoalli vno capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa yn inca tepictoton: yn jnnon pouja tlaloque.

No ynnon pouj, intech tlamjlaia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjmjnia tepictu, çan qujnemjquja, qujmixiptlaio-
tiuia, in tetepe, in çaço catle tapeul.

Auh yn ajquja cuechujia, omapacoaia, quaquaxlotia, 776
cocotzmoeja: amoçe yn aquja atlan miquimequj, ehecatl ipan 782
moquetza atla: vncan momelotiuia ynjc tepiquiz, in
qujpipiqui: quetzaloual, in chalchiuitl ycac, in tlalac:

115. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "un ramo de sabiçe" (*ramo*).
116. According to Durán, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 228), the *calpuleque* were "*señores o guardas de barrios.*"

Category 567-615

NU7 Aztec
Card 036

X 796 in his discourse, that he might talk graciously, converse well, and greet people agreeably on the road, if he met anyone.

For he was much honored when he appeared as the impersonator; because he was the likeness of Titlacauan; he was acknowledged as our lord, treated like a lord; one begged favors, with sighs; before him the common people bowed in reverence and kissed the earth.

[827] And if they noted that his body became even a little fat, they made him drink brine, so that he became thin; the salt water thinned him, so that he became lean; he became hard; his flesh became firm.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at [the feast of] Toxcatl, he appeared [before the people]. And when the man died who had been impersonator for one year, he who had led the way, he who had cast [the spear] for one year, who had given commands for one year, forthwith was one chosen to be set in his place, from all whom the temple guardians had saved and cared for at the time that [the captives] appeared [before them].

Thereupon he began his office; he went about playing his flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

[302 567] His eight young men went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year; their hair was shorn like [the hair of] slaves, cut and clipped, not smooth like a gourd, nor cut [too] short, not [made like] growing whiskers on the head.

And four warriors, who instructed youths in the art of war, [were] similarly shorn. Their hairdress lay upright on their foreheads.

Then Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator] well and arrayed him in varied garb; he provided him [his appropriate indumentary]. He ornamented him, he adorned him in great pomp with all costly articles, which he caused to be placed upon him; for verily he took him to be his beloved god. His face was anointed with black; it was said: "He fasteth [302] with blackened face." A thick layer of black was smeared on his cheeks. White feathers were placed upon his head—the soft down of eagles. They placed it on his hair, which fell to his loins.

[301] And when he was attired, he went about with sweet-smelling flowers[7] upon his head, a crown of flowers. And these same were hung over both shoul-

ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellatoz, vel tznotza, vel tetlapaloz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztililoia yn iquac oixnez, in ie teixiptla: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca elcicioua, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontlalqua in maceoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztaiotl qujltequjtiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaioquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlalichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtl in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miquj ce tlacatl yn otexiptlatic ce xiujtl, in ce xiujtl, ocallaotlatocti, in ce xiujtl oquitlaz, in ce xiujtl ocallaujcac: ça çan ic mopatlatiuja yn ixquetzaloia, yn ixquichtin qujnpiaia, in, qujnnepjtiaia cacalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeoaltia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitzinemj: cemilhujtl, yoan ceniooal: çan connequja in campa ieh vtli quitocaz:

quitocatinemj yn iachoan chicueintin: navin mocexuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa, motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloa, amo moquatetzicoa

Auh no naujntin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecuçuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, quiniecquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçoteouh jpan qujmati, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujliaia yn itzon, ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

Auh yn omocencauh izqujxochitl in icpac contecatinemj, icpac xochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in necoc-

7. *Bourreria huanita Hemsley*, according to Sahagún (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 97, n. 1, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 68). In the former he quotes from Hernández that the flower resembled puppet ears.

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

vmpan ca vitzilatl, oztoc, avevetica in qujoaltzatzacutivi, intlan qujoalaantivi: 796x 778

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

in oqujoalhujcaque: njman ie ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jcxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmamatlatquj, in jmamanechichioa in jpan mjqujzque, yoan qujntexo vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpã tlatlamj: yoã imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in texotli, in coztic, yoan qujmontlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuiotl. 796x 302 [301]

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõchichiuhque, in oqujmõcencauhque, njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalqujqujztiqujça, njmã ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnxixitinja, qujntlatlalilia in intlatquj, qujmõtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioaoan. 796x 567

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

Auh in oacic, vncã tlamacujlti: njmã vncã compeoaltia in moçaoeja tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in ioalnepantla: vmpã aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oneoa in calpulco. [515]

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

Auh in cioatl tealtiz, çan vncã in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cõquetza atenco ezço: auh in otzõquiznavilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmã ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltitlti, yoã in tealtique, yoan in teanque yoan in tetemovique, yoã im panoa- [535]

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que quiere decir, lavadas, porque las lavaban y regaban para que engordaran, para que su carne fuese sabrosa cuando las hubieren de matar y comer; compraban estas cautivas en Atzacapotzalco, porque allí había feria de esto y allí las vendían las que traían en cautiverio."

The *Real Palacio* MS (Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 317) reads: "*Auh inic mococo tonimoi yehica in ixtacatzli mochipa cahiqua atzocyoliztica in ixquich cauh ocmpaulihuiz*"—"*y se dice el que hacía gente porque a su cautivo siempre le hacían con agua caliente, cada vez de los veinte días.*"

4. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 59) calls *ahuehuetl* evening cypress (an emblem of kingly power). In Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 332) it is defined as *Tonalquiyauh mocuxoxouaca Tona*; the corresponding Spanish text has "*hoja de cedro*," but J. Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Epítomes de raíces nahuas* (México: Editorial Cultura, T. G., S. A., 1949), Vol I, pp. 156ff., has some notes on the etymology of *ahuehuetl*.

5. Sahagún, in *Codex Vaticanus Mr. 3773* (*Codex Vaticanus B*) (Berlin: Druck von Gebr. Unger, 1902), p. 8, describes this face painting (*intlan tlatlaana*) as *Gesicht in Querstreifen*. The stripes, alternate of different color, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*dueños de los cautivos.*"

7. "*Comían al medio día*" (*Ibid. ch.*); "*Die essen (nur einmal) am Tage (am Mittag)*"—Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 206; "*comida a mediodía*" (Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 312).

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feasts and sacrifices which were made in the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Seventeenth feast: this was known by the name of Tititl.

Upon [this] feast died a person named Ilama tecutli—[one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed [slave].[2] The majordomos procured her.

And the adornment of [the likeness of] Ilama tecutli was [as followeth: she had] her white skirt, her white shift—completely white. And over this she was girt with [what was] named the star skirt. This was bedight with small sea shells, on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, [with] shells set at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, much did [the shells] jingle, the pleasant sound [carrying] far. And her sandals had white toes, woven with cotton threads.

And her shield was covered over with white clay and pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers, sewn to the middle [of the shield], and it had pendants at the edges, of heron feathers, and [tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers, hung at the point. And in [the other] hand she bore her weaving stick.[3]

And her face painting was in diverse colors. About the lower part of her face, they spread black. It was said, the lower part of her face was blackened. And upon her nose and forehead, they laid yellow ochre.

And her eagle feather headpiece, a headdress with eagle feathers arrayed upon it, consisted only of hair, twisted, arranged and well disposed, braided and intertwined with itself. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli*.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce, capitulo vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtóltetl omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl. 796x

Injc caxtoltetl omume ilhujtl ichoatl in moteneoa, itoca Tititl:

in jpan in ilhujtl, ce tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, ixiptla, tlaaltilli: calpixque in qujnextia. [622 561]

Auh in jnechichioal catca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj qujmocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachioalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacaxtotlalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic ommotzincuetia: in jquac nenemj cencą zaxamaca, veca caqujzti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jquequetzil: icpatl injc tlaqujztli, 796x 292

yoan ichimal, çã tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachioalli, inepantla in tlatzõtli, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac, yoan centlapal qujtzitzquja, itzotzopaz:

yoã moxauh mochictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jtenco qujteca tlilli: mjtoa, motentlilhuja: auh in jiac ipan, yoan ixquac tecoçavitl in qujteca, 796x 302 [386]

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjxcavia in tzõtli, tlamalintli, tlavipantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanetech itzontli: in tzõcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

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1. "*Entrevinieron*," Godoy suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 314). Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 39) writes: "Tititl. *Turquemada traduce, tiempo apisonado; Boturini, encierro ó encierro encerrado. Como recibimos como fallo la interpretacion de Boturini, y como la raya del cuerpo tititin, rehusaron despues de la conocha.*" Turquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 308) amplifies his version thus: "*porque la era de frios, y heladas, las quales sentian mucho, por la poca ropa de que vsaban, y porque por este mesmo tiempo, andaban apretados, con Guerras, y Asaltos, que tenian las vnas Provincias contra las otras, y se mataban, y destruian vnas á otras.*"

Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 301-2) writes: "*quiere decir encierro . . . imaginaban en el cielo dos niños estimulaba el sol con el cero. . . . hablo hablar de mugeres y hombres niños unos con otros de las manos.*"

The Tovar Calendar refers to the gods stretching and then supporting "the machine of the world" because of the violent winds. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; also *supra*, pp. 130-31 and n. 3.

3. The shield and the cotton cuirasses of the goddess are clearly illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus*. Paso y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 273) thus describes the shield: "*la rodela, que se acostumbra muy biera á la descripcion que han dejado los indios, es blanca; tiene un cerro de plumas de águila pegadas en el centro; y flecos como repuntas cirat a clase de plumas: unas pequeñas de garzonas, redondas (que algunas son*

they placed them to one side. They strewed them in the water, and none, verily, might taste the husks. Because of this, care was therefore taken that none should be scorched, burned, or dropped into the fire.

And only during one day were they eaten. By night they were done; all finished. They left nothing for the next day.

And when it grew dark, the old men and the old women drank, alone. It was said: "They refresh themselves."

And after this they set up the image of the fire [god], Ixcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyoueue. They gave him figure and substance of a dough of amaranth seed. These things they whose office it was, did—the men of the tribal temple, known as the Tzonmulca[2]—who especially worshipped [fire] as a god.

And when the twentieth day came, it was said: "Izcalli hath ended." They who provided ceremonially bathed victims then published and made it known to others [that they had secured sacrificial victims, each] setting forth in public his ceremonially bathed one, a slave whom he had bought, made [to be] the likeness of Ixcoçauhqui; the owner then adorned him, causing to be placed upon him all the array of Ixcoçauhqui. Thus it was said: "The bather [of the victim] gathereth [his wealth]."

And for this reason did one say "the bather [of a victim]": he continually bathed his victim with hot water all the time until he went to his death; all the time he caused him to know that death would be his lot at an appointed time; that he would die in the count of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And before he died, he favored him greatly. The bather was careful of [the victim]; he enriched him [with gifts]; he restored all to him. All the food which he offered him was good.

And a harlot was provided as his guardian. Constantly she amused him; she caressed him; she made him laugh and be merry. Taking him about the neck, she rejoiced, she embraced him. She caught his lice [for him]; she combed his hair and arranged his hairdress. She made him forget his sorrows. And when the time came for the bathed one to die, the harlot took everything; she rolled and bundled up all the belongings of the bathed one. That which he wore he placed upon her; that which he had used

in izoatl: ipampa ic momalhujaia iniac amo aca mochichinoz, motlatiz, tleco onvetzin. 796x [252]

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ie iooa otlatlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuztlaiox.

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalcevia. [273]

Auh in jquac y, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla tletl Ixcoçauhquj, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzoualli in qujtlacatlaliaia, in qujnacaiotiaia: ichoan qujchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, moteneoa: Tzonmulca, oc cenca ichoan in qujmoteutiaia.

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Izcalli tlamj: in tealtianj, iquac qujteittitia, qujteixmachtia, teixpan qujquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oqujcouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Ixcoçauhquj, iquac ic qujchichioa itech qujtlalilia in jxqujch in jnechichioal Ixcoçauhquj ic mjtoaia, tlaixnertia in tealtianj: [567]

auh injc mjtoa, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxqujch cavitl mjqujtiuh, in jxqujch cavitl qujmatitiuh in vncã imjqujz tequjpã in jtlapoalpan: in mjqujz ipan tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Auh in aiamo mjqujq, cenca qujmavizmatia, qujçeçẽmatia in tealtianj, qujtlaocnectia qujtlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in qujmacaia:

auh ce avienj, in jtepixcauh muchioaia: muchipa caviltia, caavilia, qujcamanalhuja, qujvetzqujtia, qujquequeloa, iquechtlan ilaquj, qujquechnaoa, castemja, qujtzitziqnaouavia, qujpepepetla, qujtlaoculpopoloa: auh in jquac ie imjqujzpan tlaaltilli: in avienj moch concuj, ontlacemololoa, concemololoa in jxquich in jtlatquj tlaaltilli: in oqujquequemja, in jtech oqujtlatlaliaia in oqujtitlanja, in jpã oiatlacattinenca, 796x 548 [515]

2. Tzonmulco: temple of the fire god; also one of the divisions of Tenochtitlan. It is mentioned in the Appendix, p. 177, as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún (Kobayashi ed., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. V, p. 74).

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atempan.

In atempan, vncan qujntecpichoaia in tlacateuhti: auh in jquac in oqujntecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiaoalochtia, qujntlapechvia. 796x 346

Auh in jquac oqujmontlaiaoalochtique: njman ye ic qujnmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tezcacoac tlacochcalco

In tezcacooac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjiec malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the commoo folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenqujxtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oqujcenqujxtique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia: [567]

auh in jquac in oqujmonmjctique, njman vncan qujntetequja, yoan qujnpaoacia, caiouchqujlhujaia in jnnacaio. [266]

Auh yn jquac oqujnpaoazque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jxquich tecutlatoque: amono ichoantin in maceoalti, ça yehoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[13]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acxoiaternaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ie muchi caltotonti in tlaiaoalotoc, ioan qujiaoalotoc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan neçaoloia: 796x 346 785

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempoualtica,

mjtoaia: nemacujlçaoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc iuh macujlilhujd quj-

13. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*zacatl*).

S:Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; musty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[10] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. And when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[12]

This was the time when they bought people;[14] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

Inic chicuey capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apiztli, in maianalíztli, in icoac tlauicaia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapoalli, ce tochtli.

Auh in icoac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, netetzontilo, netecatilo, mocuezcomatema in tonacaiotl: aoc tle motlaça, muchicoac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzõtli, in miiaoatl, in metzolli, in nochxochitl, in mescalli, in necutlatotonilli.

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in oauhtli çan yoã moconoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opatzaoac. Auh icoac, muchi tlaiecoa, tlaacotlaça tlaihiiocuitia in petzicatl, in chichic oauhtli, anoço teuoauhtli, iacacolli:

ie icoac tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlametl, tlaixtotiani, atle quisçaoa, tlaistamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuie, tzotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneoztinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicqui, in teuciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan-quitta ihiiocuiia, iceuhca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motoloa: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin:

12. *In amatlí que yol le ipolocaio*: cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), II, p. 263: "*Amatlí polocaye, es la semilla de los cenizos de hinojo, con todas sus inmundicias.*" Jeas, *op. cit.*, p. 69. has "*Grüne oder reife Samen der Bingwurzel aus.*"

13. Some of these terms are identified in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. *Yacacolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Éditeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*espèce de maïs.*" See also the Robredo edition, Vol. I, p. 159

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jeas (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-71), q. v.

(*Quinqui* appears in the *Real Palacio* MS as *quiquoui*. The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *in moqua* (one an oneself), toward the end of the paragraph.

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[For] they had incurred sins. They had taken unto themselves, and placed themselves in, great wrong, through which they went always being slaves, until at last they were to die.

And even if he died, once again some one of his kin stood surety for him. Or else his beloved son offered himself and finished for him. None were neglected. Their kin and their lineage went on continuing and extending [the obligation]; they went on paying the debt and concerning themselves [with it]. Always they fulfilled the pledge, continued taking the place of others, served for one another; they all entered the households of their lords.

If sons or grandsons were born to him, at once [their elders] assigned them their great faults. When they matured, when they gained prudence, when they looked about, already servitude would be upon them. Already they wielded the hoe, they used the tump line; already they were [as] someone else's dogs, someone else's turkeys. For in truth [slavery] had come upon them; they had come against that which they could not leave—of which they could not be rid. For their fathers, their grandfathers, their mothers, and their grandmothers had proceeded to merit for them, to acknowledge for them, to bequeath them, to load and place upon them, [their transgressions]. For difficult was that which they had left and bequeathed them in time of famine—those who hungered and starved, who no longer were proud, who no longer persevered, who indeed were sick; who had eaten themselves, had sold themselves.

[This was] because they had prepared nothing for themselves, had shown no forethought for themselves; had paid no heed, had lived in negligence, and were disposed to evil before the year sign One Rabbit had begun—[when] it had not yet set in.

Thus was it said, that their fathers and grandfathers had succumbed to One Rabbit; hence they took on great sins.

When [the year] One Rabbit had fulfilled its task, when the year had been completed, then it delivered its charge to the sign of the east: Two Reed was the one which [then] set in.

motlatlaculnamictia, ueuetlatlaculli quimottitia, quimotlalilia: inic muchipa centlacotli ietiuh, in isquich cauitl miquiz.

Auh in manel onmic, oc ceppa ipan oalmoquetza, aca ioaniolqui, anoço ipiltzin ōmisquetza, ipan tlaiecoa: aiac miscaoa, ma antiui, motilinitiui, cemololiuhtiui, mocemichictiui in incalloc, in incuitlaxcolloc: muchipa impan tlaiecoa, impan oonotiui, mocepanpaleuia, cencalaqui in ichan intecuiio:

intla tlacatizque ipilhoan, in imisuioan, çan niman ie quincauilitiui in inueuetlacol: in oalmozcalizque, in oalistlamatizque, in oallachiazque, ie intech ca in intlacoio, ie uicti, ie mecapalti, ie teitzcuinhoan, ie tetotolhoan: ca nel oimpan ia, oquimonamictique, in auel tecauh, in auel poliui: ca intahoā, inculhoan, innanhoā, incihoā in quinmaceuitiui, quincuititiui, quincauilitiui, quinmamaltiti quintlalilitiui: ca ouicā in concauhque, in quimoncauilique, inic maianalco, in teuciuiian, im apizmiquia, aoc imatlamatia, aoc ontlaiecoa, uel icocoiaia: in moquaque, in monamacaque.

Ipampa, in atle cōmochioaltique, in atle ic onmotlamachique, in aquen ommomatque, in çan onmotlacomatque, onmauilmatque: in icoac aiamo peoa, aiamo moquetza xiuhtonalli ce tochtli.

Ic mitoa, ca mocetochuique in intahoan in inculhoan: inic quicuique veuetlatlacolli.

In icoac, ie otequit ce tochtli, in otlatzonquisti ce xiuitl: niman ic ie itech concaoa, in tlapcopa tonalli: ichoatl oalmoquetza in vme acatl.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixqujch tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan atlioa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenqujxtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauiija, in aqujque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxqujch tlamantli in jnetelhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca qujtetepachozque, anoço aca quauhtica mjqujz qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloz, totocoz, callaliloz, maceoalcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjiequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oqujcac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicolozque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalozque in jntecujioboan, injc macozque, injc cuepiliozque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica pipilti, ioã oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in netellujlli, çan njman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 22-23: "*Este nombre, tlatoani, quiere decir, persona noble, gobernador o magistrado. . . . Y los compañeros de tlatoani que se compusieron con nombres nuevos, significan personas nuevas, como diciendo un tlatoani, una persona hombre, o mujer.*" Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Glaubenswelt des Alt-Amerikanischen Volkes in Familie, Stand und Beruf, aus dem Amerikanischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1957), p. 32.
2. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the feet."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 67.

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad]-only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mãcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlãtoanj, in aço mãçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujiehecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, ãiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mãcehoallatqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaiehecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaiehecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaiehecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaiehecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

[302 304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaiz, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujlõque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amanteca after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *nepanpipiqui* for *nepanpixque*, and begins with the term a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Cosa de las fieras*."

[p.46 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[80]

[567 727] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[81] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[82]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36r of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacã, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapã, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpã (10).

[80] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[81] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que estos le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[82] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier. 651 632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[123]

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.[124]

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves.[125] [567]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison.[126] [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.[127]

Tlacolula gave military service only.[128]

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.[129]

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[130]

Xilotepec, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.[131]

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[123] See Itzquintepec, above.

[124] *PNE*, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, ques vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

[125] *PNE*, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

[126] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

[127] *PNE*, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

[128] *PNE*, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

[129] *PNE*, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

[130] See n. 105 above.

[131] See n. 105 above.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII; pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fueron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

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562
shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was 559
also regarded as a reprobate.[81]

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is 689
a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship*. Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82]

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the 565
pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to 567
foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live*. Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave*.

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversión to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 297): "& gente che stima meno le donne di quanti nationi sono al mondo, perchi non gli comunicherebbe mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscesse che il farlo gli potesse melter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 306), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XV, p. 37); *Zurita* (p. 129). If a girl abandoned her house, she might finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("on les abandonnait").

[82] *Zurita* (p. 56): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre." (Id. p. 54): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demourér dans un autre, on lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 155). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p 426).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 565 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 486).

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565 doms, had other ways to make slaves) we say: that many condi-
567 tions were lacking, to create them actual slaves. For of these slaves of this New-Spain, some had means, might own and possess them of their own, and they could not be sold again except under the conditions mentioned hereafter. The service rendered to their master was limited, not for always, nor ordinary. Some, upon marrying, became released, their relatives or brothers taking their place. There were also skilful slaves who, besides serving their masters, still kept house, with wife and children, purchasing and holding slaves themselves. The children of slaves were born free."[84]

567 The Mexican term for slave was, literally a "purchased man" ("tlacotli.") He was in fact but a "bondsman." Through a special contract, made before authorized witnesses, his services, the proceeds of his labor, *and not his person*, became pledged to another. The member of a kin had no direct ownership in him whom he employed, he could not sell him again without that employer's consent, nor could he take his life in punishment of crime. If the latter broke his contract through repeated
[685] evasion he might finally be "collared," that is, his neck was enclosed in a wooden yoke, by means of which he was fastened to a wall at night. If the man still contrived to escape, then he was turned over to worship and sacrificed; but in case he succeeded in secreting himself in the official house without being intercepted by his master or one of that master's people, then he was spared, and even liberated from his bonds.[85] In addition to the supply furnished to the class of outcasts in the manner above indicated, there were accessions to it from outside. Fugitives were of rare occurrence, since such, if from a tribe against which war was waged, were regarded as precious additions, too important to be ranged among the outcasts.[86] But we have several instances, in the ancient history of Mexico, of destructive
[731] drouths as well as of disastrous inundations, depriving the inhabi-

[84] "*Monarchia Indiana*" (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 564).

[85] I have gathered these details mostly from *Torquemada* (Vol. II, pp. 564-566). Compare besides others, *Velancurt* (Vol. I, pp. 483, 484, and 486) and nearly all modern writers.

[86] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI. p. 130): "Y si de la parte contraria salia alguno á descubrir y dar aviso cómo su señor ó su gente venian sobre ellos, al tal dábanle mantas y pagábanle bien." Copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 538), and *Velancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. III, p. 384).

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tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87] 567 731

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88] 562 565 637 [684] [548 595]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 138) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1402. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 205) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 235) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap I, p. 269), agrees with Durán and Tezozomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 263): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451-1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 158) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

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population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated, 565

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 154-157; cap. LXII, p. 184; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H.* *Bancroft* (Vol. II. p. 265) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 200): "Tenia esto Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, & las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 326) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecanh" (*Molina*, I, p. 81), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou, "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 32), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II, 56). See in a further note. 595

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept these women for their work*. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban & vivir suelta, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban à necesitarse mucho, y hacianse Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 566): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Anónimo* says (p. 397): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, il che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre." 595 567

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Anónimo*," p. 373), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 32). [727]

[89] They were the "tamenes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from "tlacatl"—man, and "nitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, "*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 358. Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 250, 251, and 280) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos et Quiroga a l'Imperatrice*." (Mexico, 30 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Les Indiens ont de tout temps porté des fadeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . . " [482]

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "mazehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

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648 nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience
651 to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

648 The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered
651 their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in
202 annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-
[727] Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[299] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII. inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 535, 76 and 77), *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XV). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 167 and 168) confining himself to the Tezcucans and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Zurita* (pp. 246, 247 and 248), *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 251). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered. on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 20 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans. pp. 232 and 234): on *Malinalzinco*, *Zurita* (pp. 294-297), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 63 and 65), and especially from the traditions on the forays and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tezcucomoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 52, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.), *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues miré que lo aueis de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que les placia de lo llevar allá y servillos, ..." (Cap. XXII. p. 191): "y que se obligasen á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 206, Cap. XXV, p. 208, etc., etc., etc.)

● 567 [302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 212 and 213). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of medicine subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "outcasts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traianles atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuesos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonaca's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I).

Tezcatlipoca; he only went withdrawing rule and power from others.

And of him who was born on the day sign One Death it was said that he would prosper and be rich, whether a nobleman or only a poor vassal. Many were his gifts. Honor came his way and rested on him when he performed well his penances and humbled himself. But if he did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign.

If, at this time, someone were born, then they bathed him and gave him a name. Small children performed the naming ceremony.[1] If a boy had been born, they therefore called forth [as his name] Miquiz, or Yaotl, Cenyaotl, Necoc yaotl, Chicoyaotl, or Yaomauiti. So they placed on him a name of Tezcatlipoca. Of this one it was said: "None may wish him harm: none may wish him to die." If anyone should wish or desire his death, he would simply sicken and suddenly die.

At this time it was the day sign of the slaves, the wretched slaves, whose dwelling places were by the hones for sharpening and the grinding stones. None of the slave-owners could scold them, or abuse them with vile words, or call angrily or indignantly to them when they learned that the morrow would be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. They then, first, took from them, struck off, and removed from them the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee. Then they soaped them and bathed them, and made much of and flattered them. They showed them great esteem, because, so they thought, they were his likenesses and representatives:[2] his beloved sons. It was said that they were like the blue cotingas, the trupials, the precious birds of Tezcatlipoca. And those who owned slaves warned and on threat of death[3] ordered their children, youths, and growing sons, commanding them sternly and rigorously, not to chide, deal vainly with, nor strike the slaves.

Auh in aquin ipã tlacatia itonal ce mjquiztli: mjtoaia mocujltonoz, motlamachtiz, intla pilli, anoço çan maceoaltzintli, muchi inemactia, itech açia, itech pachivia, in thaviçotl: iquac in tlauellamaceoa, mocnomãti: auh intlacamo uellamaceoa, ca çan yneujian conmocaujlia, qujmjtlacalhuja yn jtonal.

yn jquac, y, tla aca otlacat, njman caltiaia, qujtocamaca, qujxicvenquaqualia in pipiltotonti, intla oquichtli otlacat, ic qujnotza mjquiz, anoço iaotl, ceniaotl, necoc iaotl, chicoiaotl, iaomavitl, ic qujtocamaaia in Tezcatlipuca: injn mjtoaia, aiac vel qujcocoliz, aiac vel qujmjquitlanjz, intla aca qujmjquitlanj, qujmjquiztemach... çan ie in mococolia onmjctiuetzi.

Auh in ipiac in catca ipan tonalli: in tlatlacoti, in tlatlacozitzinti, in teatexatitlan, temetlatitlan inhemjan: aiac vel qujmaoaia, aiac vel qujntenquanviaia, qujntlauelnotzaia, qujnqualancanotzaia, in tlacaoaque, in oqujmatque, ca muztla itonalpan iez in Tezcatlipuca: njman achto qujntomaia, qujtequjlia, qujntlaxilia in quauhcozcatl, in coliuhquj, injc pieloia, inic ilpitinenca, injc amo cholozque: njman ic qujmamoviaia, qujmaltiaia, cenca qujntlaçotlaia, qujnxoxocoiomatia, vel qujnmavizmatia, ipampa iuh qujmatia, ca ixiptlaoa, ipatilloa, ytlaçopilhoan, mjtoa iuhqujn iquecholhoan, içaquantotooa, itlaçototoan in Tezcatlipuca: auh in tlacaoaque, vel qujnnemachtiaia, qujnmjqujznaoatiaia, qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, qujntepitznaoatiaiaia, in impilhoan, in jntlazcaltilhoan, yn intlaoapaoalhoan: injc amo qujmaoazque qujncuecuenochichioazque, anoço qujnvitequjzque in tlacaoã:

1. Of this ceremony, the Spanish text reads: *"combidaban a los nijños, y les daban de comer: para q̃ supiesen el nombre, del que avia nacido: y le llamaban o bomo, por los calles."* Edward Seler, in Eduard Kaplan *aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun* (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1927), p. 315, translates an explanatory passage from the *Academia de la Historia MS*: *niman ye ic quimomaxtia in cquichpipiltontli in tepan onallapac niman ye ic quimomaxtia in ixiuan onitlatlaui[a] in tlein yenen ach quimilhuia in ayo yaxel amoço ninitl ach nimon ye ic tzatzitini quihtoua ximelhuia tzcnimon zicnicnenquapaqui i yaxel yenac quicaquizilia in itzca inic mochi tlauel ic quimotzaz — dann rief er die Knaben. Nachdem sie gekommen sind, gab er ihnen die Nahrung-Opfergabe und fragt (die Abgeschickten), wie er heisst, und er nennt ihnen (die Namen) Yaxel oder Dituzil (Krieger oder Kaliber). Und darnach jagen sie an zu schreien und sprechen: "Kommt her, Freunde, das Nahrungsopfer Yaxels essen." Dann redeten sie seinen Namen (das Kindes), mit dem alle er nennen sollen.*

2. See Florentine *Codex*, Book VI, fol. 283r.

3. *Quimotzatzitinitzin*: the term as appears in the Nahuatl column.

[1 [i.e., One Death.—Analyst]

And if any chid them, so it was said, thereby he brought upon and burdened and visited upon himself misery and affliction. It was as if pustulate sores had covered and been fastened on him; it seemed that, as a gift, it has been transferred to and left with him. At that time were given him his deserts, for he had brought upon himself great sin and wrong.[4] Furthermore, he had put on the wooden collar. Even so would he be, even so would he attain, as had become the lot of the beloved son of Tezcatlipoca. He would be struck and beaten; he would be pursued from one place to another. Never would he be settled on the land, nor let alone, nor found in repose. He would not rest. Thus was it said: never would the cooking pot rest filled; never would he work with security.

And as it had been said that he had brought upon himself great sin and wrong, so was looked upon with great terror that which he might do. In this way did Tezcatlipoca ridicule, make sport of, mock, and curse him. Perchance somewhere he would be ceremonially bathed; he would die in sacrifice as a bathed victim. And it was said: "He will die sacrificed as a war captive. They will cook him in an olla and eat him." Because at one time the wretched slave was beaten, [the god] transferred his sins upon him. So he feared this, for it befell one that although he became rich, swiftly misery came to him, poverty frayed him. [Of the god], thus was it said: "He only maketh sport of one. Of no one can he be a friend, to no one true." They said Tezcatlipoca enriched one, and thereby visited him with pain and affliction.

Then if someone out of his torment cursed him as a sodomite, it was no longer his time of pride when he said to him: "O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Thou wretched sodomite! Thou hast made fun of and mocked me!" So also did he speak if someone had let his captive flee: "Thou sodomite, O Titlacauan! O that this had likewise befallen thee! Be accursed, that thou hast given me a captive only to make sport of me!" When he said this, which was only his word of torment, what good was it? For so had he been mocked, it was said. Those whom this had befallen were the foolish, who disregarded, destroyed, and dissipated that which was their riches and merit.

auh intla aca oqujmaoac, iuh mjtoaia, iehoatl ica oalmjlacatzoa, conmomamaltia, ic movitequj in victli, in mecapalli, iuhqujn tzotzoviztli itech oalmotlalia, itech oalmoçaloa, iuhqujn manoçe mactli, itech oaltzopi, itech oalmocaoa, vncan conmocaujlia, in jmâceoal ic matoiavia, motepexiuja, oc iehoatl onmaquja in quauhcozcatl, oc iehoatl oniez, iuhquj conjttaz, y, in iuhquj ittitilo, itlaçopiltzin Tezca'lipuca, vitecoz, tzotzonaloz, avic chololtiloz, aquenman tlaltechpa choloz, aonjxcaoaloz, aquēman tlaliloz, aiac mocujz, iuh mjtoa: aquenman caxtenmanaloz, aic tlacaco quichioaz:

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auh injc mjtoa: matoiavia, motepexivia, ynjc cenca tlamiuhcaittililoia, in nel qujchioaz, injc ica mocaiaoa Tezcatlipuca: injc qujquequeloa, injc ica maviltia, injc qujtelchioa, aço cana altiloz, tlaaltilmjqujz: ioan mjtoaia teumjqujz, qujpaoacizque, qujquazque: ipampa ca ica omoquavitec, in tlacotzintli, ytech oqujcauh in jtlatlacol, injc qujmacacia, y, ca tepan mochioaia, in manel mocujltonoa, ca içiuhca ytech pachiujtiuh in icnoiotl: itech coatiuh in netolinjliztli: iehoatl injc mjtoa: çan teca maujltia, aiac vel icnjuh, aiac nellin qujlhuja Tezcatlipuca, tecujltonoa, ioan ic temotla in cococ, in teopouhquj,

ic vncan in aca qujcujlonaoa, itoneuhcacopa, aoc iatlamatian in quilhuja: Titlacaoane, cujlonpole, cujlontepole, otonmotlamachti, otonmoquequelo: no iuh qujtoaia, intla aca oqujcholoiti imal, cujlonpole, titlacaoane, ma ça njman iē iuh tienj, ma motelchioanj, in tinechmaca malli, ca çan notech otonmoquequelo: in iuh qujtoaia, y, ca ça itoneuhcatlatol, iē tle ça ne, ca ica oneujltiloc, mjtoa: iehoan in iuh inpan mochioaia, y, in aquj mamatcaoaque, in atle ipan tlatta, in oconpopouhque, yn jmjxco, yn jcpac oqujmanque, in jnnecujltonol, yn jnmâceoal ocatca, in ocacica, injc oteneoaloia, itoloia in tlalticpac oqujchtli, tlalticpac tiacaoan, ca mjtoa: in iuhquj

[195]

4. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 210: *ximomatiani, ximomapaxiuj: qujtemoquj: ximomaiilli, ximomjaxiilli*; in the Guthrey ed., VI, 43, 37, this is translated as "Tú mismo te has dispuesto. Se dice por el que por su culpa cayó en algún gran crimen o peligro."

567 787 These who attained [captives] were hence known as and called "earth warrior" or "earth chieftain." For, it was said, just as in battle the chieftain was a captor, just so he was rich and attained worldly goods. Hence was it said, "earth warrior," "earth chieftain."

And in this manner poor slaves achieved glory and honor. For it came to pass that if some poor slave, mocked, beaten, and made to suffer, still escaped, he became rich and wealthy. This same one bought slaves and prospered, governed, and was ruler of all. His kin were attentive of him. When this had happened, perhaps when all was abandoned and desolate, those who had been householders were perchance not there — had gone, — for perchance all was destroyed and wasted. But this same is he who set up the house; he set up the light and torch and brought fame to the slave-buyer's house, where the slave-owners were. Thus was it said: in truth the master of the earth, he through whom we live, causeth no one to lose by negligence; he hath wasted and destroyed the house of those who bought slaves, and to him who was only a poor slave, our lord gave honor and favor. Thus he honored him. Perhaps now often he entertained guests and gave them food. He assembled and gathered people together. He had them dance. He gave them gifts — this [slave] who thus appeared, who was born upon such a day sign, One Death. Hence it was called good and somewhat evil.

iaoc tiacauh tlamanj, no iuhquj in mocujltonoa, cẹçi in tlaltícpacaiotl, ic moteneoa: tlaltícpac oqujchtli, tlaltícpac tiacauh:

auh injc moteniotia, momaujzçotia, tlacotzitzinti, ca muchioaia, intla aca tlacotzintli, ica onecaiaoaloc, oujtecoc, otlamaceoaltiloc, oc ie qujça mocujltonoa, motlacamati, ie ne tecoa, ie nẽ onca, ie nẽ ivic mocemjtquj, ipan moceniacatia, ie nẽ qujcemjtta in teconiolque, in jquac, y, aço ipan tlácacaoaltic, aço ipan cactiuetz, acaço caque, aço centlanque in chaneque ocatca, aço tlalpoliuh, aço tlaliooac, auh ie nẽ calli qujmantica, ie nẽ tlaujlli ocotl qujquetztica, ie ne tlateniotitica, in jchan tecoanj in tlacaoaque ocatca, ic mjtoa: ca nel aiac qujmoxiccavilis in tlaltícpaque, in jpalnemoanj, ontlaliooac, otlalpopoliuh in jnchan ocatca tecoanjme auh ça tlacotzintli inic ontlateniotia moqujmocnelili totecujo: injc qujmaviçoaia, y, aço ie quezqujpa, tecoanotza, tetlaqualtia, tenechicoa, tecentlalia teitotia, tetlauhtia, ichoatl in ic neçi, in iuhquj tonalli ipan tlacatioaia, ce mjqujztli, injc mjtoa qualli, ioan achi amo qualli.

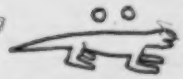

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth still more of the nature and condition of women born on this sign.

And if it were a woman, similar were the deserts which visited her, and which were inflicted and laden upon her. She could do nothing. She could not twirl the spindle; she could not move nor raise the batten. She was incapable, witless, negligent, stupid, jeering, and impudent. She did nothing but talk in a loud voice; she went about snapping her chewing gum. She was of evil, inhuman tongue. Without effort, evil came from her lips.[1] Like flowing water she talked; her vile words swirled up like foam. Indeed, she was given to defaming people.

And she devoted herself only to sloth, negligence, and shiftlessness. She was a harlot, too lazy to do anything, careless, indolent, and a constant sleeper. And from what she did, they at once knew, and it was at once known, that her rearing was endangered and brought to shame, and that she delivered herself to servitude.

And in just the same way she achieved nothing and was not diligent at the place of her owner, where the slave-owner was. She could not prepare drink nor use the grinding stone for others. She was just uselessly attractive[2] and vain.[3] Furthermore, she was a great lump of flesh with eyes,[4] of no value and untouchable.

Wherefore they left her in the hands of the slave-dealers there at Ancapotzaico; she became a slave to be sold. And later she died, ceremonially bathed and sacrificed. This became her condemnation, her eternal fate.[5] She entered the place of the sacrificial stone.[6] For in truth her incorrigibility had been left to and had descended upon her. To no avail had

Injc cempoalli on chicuey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj inielíz, in jmjuhcatiliz cioa in jpan tlacatia in machiotl. 787X

Auh intla cioatl, çan ic no iuhquj in jmaceoalti, in jtech eva, injc movitequj, in jtech motzotziona, atle vel ai, avel qujtotia in malacatl, avel colinja, auel cacocuj in tzotzopaztli, maoolol, matetepo, ixquijquijmjl, ixtepetla, vetzquijztomac, ſquetztzana, çan ic nemjntlapiztzaoa, itzic qujtlatlatztzatinemj, tentlaueliloc, ſtentlacatl, atle ovi in qujcacamacaoa: iuhqujn acontetemoa qujtoa, iuhqujn qujmonolotza itlaellatol, vel tepapacanj:

auh çan qujncauja in cujtlaçotlaoatinemj, tlatenmattinemj, moquẽquẽquetza, maaviltia, aiel itla aiz, cujtlatzcopic, cujtlaçotlac, cochmjmjl auh in ie oqujchiuh, çan jc qujmati, çan ic imachitiło, in movicanaquja, in movitilia, in oalmozcalia, ic tevic, ic temecapal muchiuhtinemj:

auh çan no iui aontlaiecoa, aogtlaeltia, in jtecuacan in vmpa tetlacauh, ſvel ati, ſvel metlatl contechiujlia, çan neian qualpul, qualtepul, ixtimalpul, iece çan molhuj tlacamjmjlli, atle inecoca, atle ic temachilo:

ic njman inmac concaoa in tlacanecujloque in vmpa azcaputzalco, tlacanecujlolli muchioa, auh çatepan tlaaltilmjquj, ieoatl ipopoliuhca, yceniaca muchioa, vacan tzomoccalaquj, ca nel iauelnenotzaliz in oconcaujli, in oconteuovi, aocmo tlatollin tlatolli, avmpa oqujttac in jacaliloca, çan jpan otlamelauh in iuhquj itonal, in jpan tlacat: [567]

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"salen de la boca, las malas palabras."*
2. *Meiner:* ignoyan.
3. *Ixtimalqui:* cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xii, fol. 192 (*Anderson*), and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VI, 41, 58: Tiene buena cara: tiene buenos aparecimiento. — *Este refrán se dice de las personas que en su gesto y disposición parecen que son para mucho, y no son para nada en la verdad, o son para poco; de éstas se dice por eso de mucho tocinado, cara gordinas."*
4. Sahagún, "Hispanicisms and creolisms," p. 215, gloss No. 12 (*Anderson-Dibble*): *"Lo que florentinos podrían de carne con dos ojos."*
5. *Yancuic* in the *Real Palacio* MS.
6. *Tzomoccalaqui:* we have interpreted *tzomoc* as *tzomoctlan*; cf. corresponding Spanish text: *"del cuerpo a muerte en el cajon, de las piedras."*

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancoxlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca cioatontli, no ichoatl ytoca nancoxlaceuhqui.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquiça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixquich tlacatl mjtotia, teteoinaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jatac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no ichoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anaoac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Iopicalco, yoan euacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan euacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocoucatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixquich tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
[697] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injc quijpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, auo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in oauhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiocachpetlatl, quauhaiocachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
651 house of the majordomos and stewards.
681 Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were
344 lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoalixtli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel: njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnequixtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: mach itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from
● 574 everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords
431 unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them
344 all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatenteti, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtenteti, in chalchiuhcoacatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Coliseum, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Tolpiolli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 248-249, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada tolpiloyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca monta; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de cepo, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense so drastically, they are here inserted in brackets.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[51]

nte (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 236, 237, 238. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241-243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

[51] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 35, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Muteczuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,600 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 534, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico *had to entertain* (Cap. XX, pp. 175 and 176. Cap. XXIII, p. 195. The chiefs of Tezcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xuchimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fueron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 416-421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholulan, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mesmo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 459). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 22. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "y los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandoles, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necessario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándolos para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendóles en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *llamarlos cada día al palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 65). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 138).

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174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
374 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618] [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 215. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

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This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who daily transacted affairs at the "tecpan," to carry their victuals to the halls in which their sessions were held and also to wait upon the foreign official guests (often enemies) who were received in separate, even secluded, quarters.[242] But their main duty con- 643 644 [674]

[242] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p, 301, as copied in note 238). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 98): "Il y avait dans les palais des souverains des appartements vastes, élevés de sept à huit marches comme nos entre-sol, et destinés à la résidence des juges." (P. 100): "De bonne heure on apportait au palais même les repas des magistrats." This would imply that the food was brought to the "tecpan" from the places where the members of the council ("tecutlatoca") actually resided. This is positively contradicted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*,' Cap. LXXXII, p. 144), who makes it one of the duties of the "chief of men." "con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales, teniéndolos en mucho, y dándoles la honra que merecen: llamarles cada dia al palacio que comán con vos, ganándoles las voluntades, que con ellos está el sostener el imperio, buenos consegeros, buenos amigos, que por ellos os es dado el asiento, silla, estrados, honra, señorio, mando y ser." Such an extensive meal of the tribal officers is also intimated by the same author as having been customary with the Xochimilcas,—a tribe well known as being closely allied to the Mexicans,—where he says (Cap. XVI, pp. 25 and 26): "Las Indias mugeres de las Xochimilcas, lavando muy bien el itzcahuitl, tecuitlatl, y otras cosas salidas de la laguna, y lavado, y limpiamente llevándolo al palacio de Tecpan para que le comiesen los principales, y comenzándolo á comer estava muy sabrosa, y prosiguiendo en su comida, etc., etc. . . ." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 49), speaking of certain chiefs, says: "Outre ces avantages, le souverain suprême payait une solde à ces chefs, et leur faisait délivrer des rations. Ceux ci se tenaient continuellement dans son palais pour former sa cour." It is to these "chiefs," which were none other than the members of the council, that *Gomara* (Vedia I. p. 342) refers, copying *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I. p. 33), who adds, however: "E al tiempo que traian de comer al dicho Muteczuma. asimismo lo traian á todos aquellos señores tan cumplidamente cuanto á su persona. y tambien á los servidores y gentes destos les daban sus raciones. Habia cotidianamente la dispensa y botilleria abierta para todos aquellos que quisiesen comer y beber." The chaplain has added to Cortés' relation some items tending to increase or enhance the importance of the meals, whereas he has suppressed the above, very important, passage. Compare Vedia: (Tom I. p. 345). His statements agree far better with those of *Bernal Diez* ("*Hist. verd.*" Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87). The fact of the "official household" being entrusted with the dispensation of tribal hospitality is therefore certain. The members of the council ate there also, as proven by *Zurita* (p. 98), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134): "traiànies algo temprano la comida de palacio," and it is implied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 322): "Estos Jueces oian de ordinario, en especial de causas criminales, todos los Dias á mañana, y tarde, ... asistian en sus Salas, que las havia en la casa del Rei, particulares, ..." He is even very positive (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296): "No solo tenia este Grande, y Magnifico Emperador casas muy cumplidas, y Salas, y Aposentos grandiosas, para su Morada, para sus Consejos. y Señores, y toda la demas Gente, que llegaba á ser digna de su hospedage, y recibimiento, donde como su misma Persona Real eran servidos, y acariciados . . ," also (Lib. IV, cap. L. p. 450). He also says of "Fasting Wolf," headchief of Tezcuco (Lib. II, cap. LIII, p. 157): "no fué menos en el gasto de su Casa, asi para su Persona, como para hacer Hospicio ordinario á todos los que servian en su Palacio, y otros muchos Señores, que comian en su Casa, cada Dia, . . ." *Petrus Martyr of Anghiera* ("*De novo Orbe*," etc., Dec. III, cap. X, pp. 231 and 232). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, p. 488), about Tezcuco. In regard to Mexico he is very positive (Lib. V, cap. III, p. 304). Further quotations are useless. I shall merely refer to the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXX) and, for the sake of analogy with the tribes of QQuiché-stock in Guatemala, to the "*Popol Vuh*" (p. 305): "Are qui cuchbal quib ri-oxib chi nim-ha u bi cacmai, chiri cut chi o'nqah-ri o'nquiya, ..."

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643 644 sisted in preparing and serving every day an extensive meal, of which not only all the members of the household, several hundreds in number, partook, but every one who, either on business or as an idler, happened to be on or about the premises.[243] It was the duty of the "chief of men" himself to open this rude clannish feast,[244] and it pertained to his office to represent the hospitality and dignity of the tribe on such occasions. Hence the peculiar

574 That the delegates from foreign tribes were quartered at the "tecpan" is plainly stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIX, p. 306): "Habia otra sola que se llamaba Coacalli: en este lugar se aposentaban todos los señores forasteros, que eran amigos ó enemigos del señor. . . . . ." ; "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 73): "Vinieron á estas fiestas hasta los propios enemigos de los Mexicanos, como eran los de Michhuacan y los de la provincia de Tlaxcala, á los quales hizo aposentar el Rey y tratar como á su misma persona, y hazerles tan ricos miradores desde donde viessen las fiestas, como los suyos;" *Durán* (Cap. XL, p. 317, cap. XLIII. p. 347): "Fasting child" of Tezcuco "aposentándole en un lugar que ellos llaman Teccalli, que quiere decir, palacio Real." "Luego llegó el rey de Tacuba con todos sus principales y señores. . . . . á quien no menos honra y cortesia se hizo que al de Tezcuco, poniéndole en el mismo palacio, junto á Neçaualpilli." The delegates from Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula were: "Llevados al palacio real, donde les tenian aparejado un retraimiento oculto y escondido," and "fueron aposentados en el mismo lugar" those of Michhuacan and others (pp. 350 and 351), also (Cap. LIV, pp. 428 and 429, and LVIII, p. 459, etc.). These authors are also fully confirmed by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXIV. pp. 106 and 107; cap. LXVIII, p. 111; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 254, speaking of Tezcuco). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 534 and 535). The latter distinguishes between the "calpixca" and "el palacio," stating that delegates were quartered at the former. But since he himself (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48) calls the "tecpan" casa del comun"—a name given by him to the "calpixca"—and we know from *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIX, p. 307) that the "calpixcacalli" was a hall of the "tecpan," there can be no doubt as to the fact, that the "tecpan" was also the place where delegates were received, lodged and fed, at the expense of the tribe.

When, in 1537, the Bishop Las Casas sent certain traders with full instructions and "implements for conversion," to the Indians of "Tuzulutlan" or of the "Tierra de Guerra" *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chiapa*," etc., etc., Lib. III. cap. XV. p. 135): Y como en aquel tiempo no auia mesones ni casas de comunidad, todos los forasteros que llegauan al lugar acudian á pasar en casa del señor, que los recebia humanamente, hospedaua y daua de comer conforme la calidad de la persona, y el forastero reconocia el bien recibido, ó que auia de recibir, poniendo á los pies del señor algun presente conforme á su posibilidad." The traders, therefore, "took lodgings" at the official house,—the tecpan,—and staid there (as we may read p. 136 of the Friar's history) until they had performed their work of opening the country to the preaching of the gospel. The comparison with Cortés, being also quartered at the "tecpan" of Mexico, is indeed striking.

[243] Descriptions of this meal are so abundant, that it is hardly worth while to refer to them in detail. I would only call particular attention to the statements of *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 35), *Bernal diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. XCI. pp. 86 and 87, of Vedia II). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista de México*," Col. de Doc'ts II, p. 561). These statements, made by eye-witnesses, if viewed in their proper light and compared with those of subsequent writers, fully corroborate the views of *L. H. Morgan* ("*Montezuma's Dinner*" in *N. American Review*, 1876), that this meal was but an official communal one, given by the official household of the tribe, as part of its daily duties and obligations.

[244] I cannot refrain here from recalling the description of the meal given to the Clan McIvor by its chief "Fergus McIvor, Vich Ian Vohr,"—so graphically pictured by Sir

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back to the "chief of men."[258] In case delegates arrived from other tribes, they had to be provided with lodgings. The "tecpan" was the place reserved for that purpose, and there they were accordingly quartered. They, consequently, first came into contact with the "chief of men," who was, officially, "mine host" for them, and who acted as intermediate between them and the supreme tribal authorities.[259] 643

No more striking illustrations of the foregoing can be found than the reception, by the Mexicans, of Cortés and his troops, at the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The house where the Spaniards were quartered was the "tecpan" or official house of the tribe, vacated by the official household for that purpose.[260] In sallying forth to 643 574

In addition to these authorities I add in a general way, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 387). This author has evidently either copied from, or at least used the same sources as *Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129). My learned and highly esteemed friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, ascribes to the statements of both authors "a common origin" i. e. "Tabla de Correspondencias," (p. 38). This common source, however, is found in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 118 and 119). From whom he, in turn, derived his information, has not as yet been ascertained.

[258] See the authors quoted above. Also *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 502).

[259] This follows from the facts already proven in regard to the duties of the "chief of men" as head of the official household. I would particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XCVII, pp. 172 and 173).

[260] "*Codice Ramírez*" (p. 87): "y con esto el gran Motecuczuma, por el mismo órden que vino se volvió con el capitan Don Hernando Cortés, al qual y á los suyos mandó que aposentassen en las casas reales, donde se les dió muy buen recaudo á cada uno, segun las calidades de las diversas gentes que iban con el capitan . . . . . El dia siguiente el capitan Don Hernando Cortés hizo juntar á Motecuczuma, etc., etc. . . . . en una pieza que en la casa habia muy á propósito para esto." . . . . ; (p. 88): "Porque acabada de hazer esta plática el buen capitan Don Hernando Cortés, los soldados saquearon las casas reales, y las demas principales donde sentian que habia riquezas . . . . . En este tiempo recelándose el Marquis no resultasse desto algun inconveniente prendió al gran Rey Motecuczuma, poniéndole con grillos, y á buen recaudo en las casas reales junto á su mismo aposento . . . . ;" (p. 89): "comenzaron á pelear con los españoles con tal furia que los hizieron retraer á las casas reales donde estaban aposentados." This is plain enough. It is commonly stated that the Spaniards were quartered at a great house belonging formerly to "Wrathy Chief's" father, "Face in the Water." The anonymous "*Fragmento No.* 2" (p. 139) has the following: "apartando la gente hasta que llegaron al palacio Real que habia sido de su padre de Motecuzuma Axayacatzin, y entrando en una gran sala en donde tenia Motecuzuma su estado, se sentó y á su derecha mano á Cortés, y hizo señas Cacama que se apartasen todos y diesen órden en aposentar los cristianos y amigos que traian en aquellos grandes palacios . . . . ." This anonymous fragment is evidently of Tezcucan origin. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. XVI, p. 24): "Luego D. Hernando Cortés tomó por la mano á Mocthecuzuma, y se fueron ambos juntos á la par para las casas reales;" (Cap. XVII, p. 25): "De que los Españoles llegaron á las casas reales con Mocthecuzoma, luego le detuvieron consigo;" (Cap. XXI, p. 29): "Como comenzó la guerra entre los Indios y las Españoles, estos se fortalecieron en las casas reales con el mismo Mocthecuzoma . . . . ." (Id. p. 29, Cap. XXIII, p. 31, etc., etc.). These statements are very positive, and the less suspicious, since they represent traditions from three different sources, all evidently furnished by eye-witnesses, namely: *Mexicans* ("Cod. Ramirez"),

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643 greet the newcomers at the dyke, "Wrathy chief" acted simply, as
574 the representative of the tribal hospitality, extending unusual

Tacuscos (Fragment No. 2) and *Tlatilulcas* (Sahagun). The statements by Spanish eye-witnesses are of doubtful authority in this case, since none of them knew, or could know anything positive; and the pueblo was subsequently, so utterly destroyed that even its site could hardly be recognized. Nevertheless, the "old and new palaces of Montezuma" have become household words.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to compare the reports of eye-witnesses with the above quotations from aboriginal sources. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, (p. 25): "y torné á seguir por é la calle en la forma ya dicha, fasta llegar á una muy grande y hermosa casa, que él tenia para nos aposentar, bien aderezada." The house where "Wrathy Chief" staid with his household, appears to have been some distance from the Spanish quarters, since we read (p. 27): "dejando buen recando en las encrucijadas de las calles"—thus showing that crossings intervened. The following, however, is very plain, if not decisive ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 76): "E porque lo sintiesen mas, este dia fice poner fuego á estas casas grandes de la plaza, donde la otra vez que nos echaron de la ciudad, los españoles y yo estábamos aposentados; que eran tan grandes, que un principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio se podian aposentar en ellas; y otras que estaban junto á ellas, que aunque algo menores eran muy mas frescas y gentiles, y tenia en ellas Muteczuma todos los linajes de aves que en estas partes habia." This remark about the "principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio" evidently agrees with his previous statement concerning the household of "Wrathy Chief" ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas principales, los cuales se sentaban . . . . . Y los servidores destos, y personas de quien se acompañaban henchian dos ó tres grandes patios, y la calle . . . ." Consequently, Cortés himself plainly confirms the native authors above quoted. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 579): "é hizo aposentar al marqués en un patio donde era la recámara de los idolos, é en este patio habie salas asaz grandes donde empieron toda la gente del dicho marqués é muchos indios de los de Tascala é Churula que se habien llegado á los españoles para los servir." This eye-witness, therefore, does not mention either of the two "houses of Montezuma." The father of the tale is found in *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Vedia II, Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84): "E volvamos á nuestra entrada en México, que nos llevaron á aposentar á unas grandes casas, donde habia aposentos para todos nosotros, que habian sido de su padre del gran Montezuma, que se decia Axayaca, adonde en aquella sazon tenia el gran Montezuma sus grandes adoratorios de idolos . . . . ."

Thus Cortés, who is the principal eye-witness in the case, unmistakably states that the Spaniards were quartered at the "tecpan." Of the other two conquerors, only the last mentions the Spanish quarters as being the "house of Montezuma's father," whereas Tápia is silent on the subject. Taken in connection with the assertions of the native writers, the statements of Cortés become of great weight.

It is but natural to expect (and the fact needs no proof) that the subsequent writers have followed either one or the other of the two versions. After having transcribed the letters of Cortés, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500) mentions also: "aposentó allí é á los christianos, en unas casas que avian seydo de su padre," which statement he gathers from other conquerors (p. 494) whose names he fails to give; (Cap. XLVII, p. 507) he calls the said house "la morada de su abuelo." I forbear further abstracts.

[344] Fortunately an official document of early date informs us of the exact situation of these two buildings. It is the "*Merced á Hernan Cortés de Tierras inmediatas á México, y Solares en la Ciudad*" (Col. de Doc's Icazbaleeta, Vol. II, pp. 28 and 29). It bears date, Barcelona, 23 July, 1529, and conveys to Cortés: "los solares é casas son la casa nueva que era de Montezuma, que alinda por la una parte con la plaza mayor é la calle de Iztapalapa, é por la otra la calle de Pero Gonzalez de Truxillo, é de Martin López, carpintero; è por la otra la calle en donde están las casas de Juan Rodrigues, albañil; é por la otra la calle pública que pasa por las espaldas: è la casa vieja que era

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courtesies to unusual, mysterious, and therefore dreaded guests. 643
Leaving these in possession of the "tecpan," he retired to another 574
of the large communal buildings surroundinng the central square, where the official business was, meanwhile, transacted.[261] His return to the Spanish quarters, even if compulsory, had less in it to strike the natives than is commonly believed. It was a re-installation in old quarters, and therefore the "Tlatocan," itself, felt no hesitancy in meeting there again, until the real nature of the dangerous visitors was ascertained, when the council gradually withdrew from the snare, leaving the unfortunate "chief of men" in Spanish hands.[262]

We have qualified the position of the "Tlacatecuhtli" towards 643
the council as intermediate between tribe and confederacy. In the latter body, he was but the general-in-chief and had no other duties or power.[263] Therefore, when Cortés seized the head-chief of Tezcuco, "Wrathy chief" had no authority to assure the Spaniards, although they called upon him for that purpose.[264] He ex-

de Montezuma, donde viris, que alinda por la frontera con la plaza mayor é solares de la iglesia, y la placeta; por un lado la calle nueva de Tacuba, é por otro la calle que va de la plaza mayor á S. Francisco; por las espaldas la calle donde están las casas de Rodrigo Rangel, é de Pero Sanchez Farfán, é de Francisco de Terrazas, è de Zamudio." [344]

From these data it is easy to recognize in the present National Palace the site of the so-called "new houses of Montezuma," and in the buildings facing the "Empedradillo" the "Old houses." Both faced the central square of the pueblo.

The so-called "old houses" were also immediately in front of the central "house of God." It is said by Tezozomoc (Cap. LXX, p. 117): "Este templo y cerro estaba puesto adonde fueron las casas de Alonzo de Avila y Don Luis de Castilla, hasta las casas de Antonio de la Mota, en cuadro." Now according to *Icazbalceta* ("Los tres Diálogos," etc., notes to Sec'd Dialogue, p. 218): "La casa de Alonzo de Àvila estaba en la le calle del Reloj, esquina á la de Sta Teresa la Antigua." Consequently the "old houses" were indeed those which Bernal Diez mentions as "where Montezuma at that time had his great adoratories." Now these "old houses" were, as we have seen, the "tecpan" or official house of the Mexican tribe. This again fully sustains our proposition that the Spaniards were quartered there, and that the official household had vacated it for that purpose.

[261] This fully explains the designation by, "New houses of Montezuma" mentioned in the preceding note.

[262] That the council met at the Spanish quarters, is plainly stated by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, pp. 95 and 96, Cap. XCVII, p. 98). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVII, p. 509). That the members of the council gradually withdrew, is equally certain, from the fact that a successor to "Wrathy Chief" was elected, while the latter was still alive and a captive of the Spaniards.

[263] *Durán* (Cap. XLIII, p. 347). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 11): "Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tacuba et de Tezcuco pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l'un d'eux ne se mêlait jamais du gouvernement des autres;" Id. (pp. 93 and 95). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 156). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 183). The two latter authors evidently have followed Zurita. See also note 4.

[264] See note 4. *Fragmento No.* 2, in "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (pp. 143 and 145).

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Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth how a feast was held, and what the order of service was, and how there was drinking of wine.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn juh mocoanotzaia, yoan in juh catca tlatecpãtli, yoan in juh tlacoanaia.

And as to the invited guests: already there was jostling among the guests. All took their respective places; the houses were entered. There was disorder and scattering about; there was wandering and there were disputes, rushing about like fools, hurrying, hastening, and unrest.

Auh in tlacoanotzalti, ic cuel iẽ, nequequeçalo in coame, netẽteco, calacoa, tlaixnelivi, tlaixmoinca, neixpololo, neixnanamico, tlaixtomaca, tlãtlacivi, ycioa, netetequipacholo,

[276] For everything, assignments were made and work distributed. First came the tobacco servers. Tobacco was served; one was provided with tobacco; tobacco was smoked. Then the flower servers followed them. They provided and gave them flowers; they favored them with crowns and garlands of flowers; they provided them with flower crowns and garlands. They arranged before them bowls with tobacco tubes. They sat smoking, inhaling the fragrance. All smelled it. There was a pleasant and fragrant odor.

cecentlamãtli ipã neyhixquetzalo, netetequjmaco, iacattiuh, in teyiemacac, teyiemaco, teyictilo, yictlatilo, njmã contoquilia yn tezochimacac, tezochitia, tezochimaca, conteaquia in icpaczochitl in zochicoacatl, teicpaczochitia, tezochicoacatia, teixpãmomãmana yn jiecaxitl, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlaneco, tlaaviaxtoc, tlavevelixtoc:

And thereupon went the server, and following him those who changed the courses and carried [the food] in their arms. They served the people, placed them in order, went placing the people in line, putting them all in line. Thereupon all ate. [But] first they cast on the ground [a mouthful of food].[1] Later something was reserved, put aside for their servants.[2]

auh njmã ic ic iauh in tetlamacac, quitocativi, in tetlanamjctilique, in tlanapaloque, tetlamaca, tevipana, tepilotiuh, tecempilotiuh, njmã ic ic tlaqualo, achtopa, ontlãtlatlaça, çatepã netlacavilo, ic tlaqunnja yntetlavicalhoã:

[277] And thereupon also went the chocolate[3] server. In just the same way he went arranging the people in order, placing them in line. He neglected no one; he was very careful with each one. He went placing for each one the stirring sticks with which the chocolate was beaten, whereby the chocolate was consumed. Chocolate was put aside for each of them — they put aside chocolate for their servants, [as well

auh njmã ic no ic iauh in teamacac, çan ic no ivi tevipantiuh, tecempilotiuh, aiac quitcaca, vel mixpepetzza, contetequilitiuh in aquavitl, ynic moneloa cacaoatl, ic ahatlioa, teaatlacavilo, quimatlacavjia, intetlavicalhoã, in viconj, in tlacioanj, in quitquinj netlacavilli,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"entonces que comenzaron a comer: los convidados, la comida que los mejor puesto: tomaron un bocado de la comida, y arrimando al suelo: a honra del dios Tlaloccatl."*

2. Ibid.: *"los servidores de la comida . . . trayan comida a cada uno, según su comida [sic]: y la ponian delante, del que estaba sentado: con orden de chiquipites, con diversas maneras de pan: y parecian en los chiquipites: otras varias cosas, con diversas maneras de comida, con carne, o pescado. . . . Acipado comido, daban las sobras a sus criados, y tambien los comian, y chiquipites."*

3. *Atl* is sometimes used to mean chocolate. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl section), "Beber agua, vino o cosas. v. atl."

574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the leavings.[4]

851 Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncã achitzinca ompacaatoc, nepielotoc, vellamachotoc in nepieloian, in tecoanotzaloian: auh in cequjn in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati, yn atica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica et.[4] çan motlavellaloa, moquetzteoa, moquetztiquiça, cholotoa, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, tlãtlatotivi, popolocativj, tlatetotiuj, tlãtlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanauhpactiuj, ic oallatepachoticate, moxixicoticate, yn omotlalito inchã, yn jncalitic: auh intla oittoque in iuh oquiaque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin imuztlaioc oc ceppa qujnana, qujmonjcxiana, qujniolceuja, in iquac ie apeoalco, inca nechioalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chia* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chia*,[8] which they drank.
[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, açe chiantzotzolatolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiooachpanj,

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women
273 drank wine. They gathered around and congre-
851 gated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

auh yn oinac in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlatlaoana, mohololoa, mocecentlalia, ymjxpan quioalquetza yn intlaoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoã yn intlaoancax, in jntetlaoã, in tetlamamaconj,

[554] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

achto iẽ vmpeoa in tetlaoanti, in tetlamamacac, njmã ie ic iauh yn jiacac, in tlaiacac, yn jiacaiocã, ic tevipãtiuh, tecempilotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quioaltecatimanj in vctli, açe iztavctli, anoço aivctli, tlachioalvctli, yn otlaliloc ochichioaloc ic pillaoanoz, ontlaçaço inxaiocomjc, inoccomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: "*y las cobrar del curso, dauan a sus criados.*" See n. 2.

5. The term is apparently incompletely corrected to read *tlamapparioij*; cf. *Real Palacio MS.*

6. *Or ceppa quimoaua* in *ibid.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a otro dia llamauan, Apenitos: porque en el, se acabaua todo el combite.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as "*aduiciua a lo que estaua comido y bebido.*"

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (*chianpinolli*).

9. In the *Real Palacio MS.*, yn *tlaxomoni*, *y molomaxoni* follows *molomaxoni*.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hechiso de agua, y miel cruido, con la raya: al qual llamau apozoli, que quiere decir, polcro de agua: lo qual tenia aparejado, y guardado al tabar del combite: no algunos dias antes.*" See also Oswaldo Gonçalves de Lima: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), passim, and esp. pp. 107 ff.

And the wine server, if he saw that those whom he gave wine did not become intoxicated and in a stupor, but only sat staring and grimacing, once again turned to the left, made a beginning from the left — that is, beginning where he had left off, with those of last place, the lesser in rank. So at that place he made a beginning in order to make them drunk. Thus he went reversing and rearranging the process of making them drunk.

So there was singing: there were songs of sadness and tears; or only broken singing, each one as he liked, each outdoing the others. There was the giving of pleasure, of much contentment. There was the encouragement of one another, and tearful greetings. And some only hummed, singing secretly, or did nothing. And some did nothing else but sit content and rejoicing, laughing and making witty remarks, making others burst into laughter as if their sides were sore. They sat exhausted with mirth[11] if they heard something which moved them to or diverted them with laughter. It was as if dogs were barking.[12]

Just so was it done at banquets and feasting, and assemblages and gatherings of people, and their recreation and the giving of dances, etc., when someone had a feast for the child to place it in the cradle, and the place where he was put in the cradle was watched.

auh in tetlaoanti intla quimjtta quintlaoantia, yn amo ivinti, in amo jamanja, in çan itztoque, ixpepeiontoque, ic no cuel itĕ copuchilochtia, tlaopuchcopa quipeoaltia. q. n. in vncĕ oquicauh, in tlatzaccan, in tlacuitlapilco, ic nĕ vncan quipeoaltia, ynjc tetlamamaca, ynjc tetlaoantia, ic quicueptiuh, quipapatlatiuh in itetlaoãtiliz: 574 273 851

ic necuicatilo, netlaoculcujcatilo, nechoquizcuicatilo, anoço çan cuicaçacamolo, no çac tle queoa, necujcapanauilo, necemeltilo, nececemeltilo, neellaquaoalo, nechoquiztlapalolo, auh in aca çan tĕtencuicatica, yhichtacaçujcatica, aiac ica quichiuhtica: auh cequjn çan qujxcavia in pactoque, im papactoque, vevetzcatoque, camanalotoque, vetzquiztequittoque, iuhqujn inxillã quaquauhti, ommimjctoque in vetzca, yn onoitla quicacque, in tevetzquiti, tevetzquiceuh, iuhqujn tlananalco. 851 574 [533] [522]

Oyvin in muchioaia coaiotl in tecoanotzaliztli, in tecĕtlaliliztli, tenechicoliztli, teceviliztli, teittotiliztli. et.[a] Yn iquac aca quitlaqualiaia in piltzintli, ynjc tlacoçolaquja, tlacoçolaquiloian nepielo.

11. *Vomitus in the Real Palacio MS.*

12. *Thinned nature in ibid.*

[p. 120 is blank]

574 **Thirty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned how the festivity was performed; and how the rulers and merchants of old provided banquets, even as to this day they have been doing.**

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omvme capitulo: vncan moteneoa in cujcujcaliztli catca in quenjn muchioaia, yoã in juh tecoanotzaia in vevcintin tlatoque, yoan in pochteca, yn juh noma axcan quichioaia.

574 And the manner of doing nowadays: when one
851 boldeth a banquet for the sake of his child, so it is said, they baptize; the head is washed; food is given. So was it done; just so were guests procured and invited; [as] in other banquets were the distribution and the seating according to rank.

Auh in axcã ie ic tlamanj yn iquac aca ypampa tecoanotza ypiltzin, ie mitoa tlaquaatequia, tlaquatequiloia tetlatlaqualtilo, çan ie muchioaia, çan ie iuh coatioaia, çan ie iuh tecoanotzaloia yn oc cequj ypan cooaiotl, tetlacamachilizttli, tetemolizttli.

574 So here a little is divulged of the invitation to banquet. But among the rulers, the princes and noblemen, those of illustrious lineage, or when somewhere riches and wealth had been procured, then there was avarice, among the merchants of Pochtlan, [or among the artisans, the craftsmen,][1] the skilled workers, by each group separately there was bringing of goods according to custom; guests were procured, wealth was procured, and there were invitations.

Jc çan njcan tepiton onmonextia in tecoanotzalizttlatolli, tel in tlatoca, im pilpã, im pillovã, tecpilpan, yn anoço cana netlacamachoian, necuiltonoloia, tlatlamepã, im puchtla, in puchtecapã, tolteca iopan, cecentetl injc netquioaia, ynjc tlamanja, ynjc tlamanca, ynjc cooatioaia, netlacamachoia, necoachioaloia,

When somewhere there was great congregating, there was indeed trampling, shoving, and crowding. Entry was impossible. There was no recognition of the invited guests. Indeed, there was trampling, crowding, jostling, and shoving to one side. Nowhere were available seating places, spaces to occupy, or seats to use.[2]

in cana vel moveychioa, vel mõocça, tzitzica,[2] cãcatzca, aonneaquilo, ahmiximati, yn tlacoanotzali, vel nequequeçalo, nepopotzolo, nenozocolo, ahujc xoquiooa, ãcan veli, in netlaliloia, in ieloaia, in tetlaliloia,

However, it was the task, concern, and charge especially of the attendants, those who greeted [the guests] — their great concern — to search and watch well. [The host] commissioned them each as servants, officials, and servitors, so that they could look with care to recognize one, no matter from where the banquet guests, those bidden to the feast, the invited ones, had come.

oc cenca ichoan intequjuh, innecuitlavil, ymix intequjuh, vel innecuitlavil, vel mixpetztza, mixpetzoa, quimilcaniantia, quintetequippantia, quincõcocoltia in techixque, in tetlalique, ynjc ichoan vellachia, teiximati, in cãpa ie ooallaque coame, tlacoanotzalti, tecooaoa,

574 These ascertained well what could be done for
431 them, so that they might be well received, and that, in the distribution of goods, none might be forgotten. All which they came by and received as gifts,

ichoan vel quiteilhuja, ynic inca nechioaloz, ynjc vel namicoaque, aiac ilcaoaloz, ypan tlacotoniz, much intech acjz, yn nemactiz, yn jaquich ic otlatequililoque, in chieltilo, ynjn ca oytoloc, yiemacze-

1. In the *Real Palacio MS*, the words omoyo tlachichinchopan, tolteca pochtecapã.
2. In *ibid.*, ad fol. 60v, tetlalilloia.

574 all the things which had been set aside and placed
431 apart [by the host]—this hath been told. They would be given tobacco; they would be plied with and provided tobacco; they would be plied with and given flowers. They would be feasted; they would be given to drink. They would be plied with gifts—capes, clothing, vestments, mantles, and breech clouts. And after they had rejoiced for a little while, they would be provided with dancing, and they would set out in the sun for them the flowers, the tobacco, the capes, and the breech clouts, in order to meet the obligations of banqueting, lest it be said [of the host] that the guests were slighted and found discontent there.

que, mizetinque, yietilouque, momochimacazque, mo-
xochitizque, xochimacouque, tlaquazque, atlizque,
motlauhtizque, motilmatizque, moquentizq̃, motla-
quentizque, motlalpilizq̃, momazdatizque: auh ça-
tepã ymelle onquiçaz achitzinca, õmitotizque, ontla-
totonizque, yn xochitl, yn jietl, in tilmatli, in maz-
tlatl, injc conjxtlaoa, cozaiotl, ontlaiolpachivitia, injc
amo itolouque, ca çã moiolitlacoa, ahtlavelmati.

574 And where, in this manner, there was considerable congregating, one augmented, increased, and multiplied the flowers and edible things. It was as if his nourishing goods rested everywhere, covered and spread over the ground, spread all about; as if the food brought there spread souring; all the tamales became mouldy. Musty were the tamales which had been set out.

Auh in cana tel çan ie no yui, vel moveichioa, tona-
catica miequia, tlapivia, i suchitl, in qualonj, iuh-
quijn papachivi, tlalpan aci, tlalpan actimoteca, tlal-
pan acitimoteca, yn jcococauh ipalnemoanj, iuhquijn
tlaxoxocoiaxtoc, yn vmpa oalquiça tlaqualli, izquich
pupuzcavi in tamalli, tamalpupuzcauhqui, yn te-
maco,

574 But there at the flower places, where the flowers
554 were placed and arranged, the pleasing odor and fragrance spread to all parts. No one wished to be deflated or to lose stature. All persons wished[3] that they be given recognition, fame, and distinction; that they might not, on the contrary, be shamed, receive blame, be embarrassed, confused, belittled, confounded, or excluded from others. Each and everyone paid attention to, took great care with, [and] gloried in his invitations to others. Each and everyone therefore made him resplendent and admirable, each one separately proceeding with exclusive and undivided attention to feasting. They exalted and raised themselves; they surpassed and much exceeded themselves. There was vying and competition.

auh in vmpa yonola, itecõia, ivipanaloian suchitl,
iuhquijn tlaveveliztimanj, tlazvjiztimanj, aiac mopa-
tzaoallanj, aiac patzactzintli iezmequi, muchi tlacatl
iuh connequi, in ma ça vel onixpatlaoa, onteioua, on-
itauhcaiooa, in maca tle ic õmopinauhti, ompinaviz-
cui, ompinaviztlamati, ommomamati, ontzinquiça,
ommixtilquetza, ic tevicpa ontzicolo, muchi tlacatl
cecentetl ic qujmati, quitlamachia, quiveilia, yn ite-
coanotzaliz, muchi tlacatl cecẽtetl ic quicueponia, ic
tetlamaviçoltia, nonõqua micauhtiuh, micauhcaiuh
in coziotl, macoctiuh, macoquetztiuh, mopanavitiuh,
mopapanavitiuh, nepanaviltoco, nepapanavilo,

On the other hand, one might not wish to do it, preferring not to enter into it, and not desiring it, lest his favors should fall away or fail. And if it was not brought about, everyone wondered, was chagrined, and made much of it. This same one, when he learned of it, became troubled and continued in fear[4] that possibly his efforts would fail, pass away, or miscarry. O that none might ever speak to him of

noçac yn ãconnequj, acõãquinequi, aquijn maca
quinequi, yn ma vel onvetzi, onquiça itlaocul, auh
yn aiamo muchioa muchi tlacatl, motẽmati, tlatẽ-
mati, tlaveymati, çan iẽ in qujmati, ic motequjpa-
choa, q'nmattinemi, in quẽmach nenti onquiçaz,
contlalcaviz ynetequipachol, macaiac tle ic conito-
tiaz, conixaoatiaz, conjxmotlatiaz, onahioz, onteputz-
conmonilo.

3. In *ibid.*, *y ma ça vel onmati yeuaya* follows *iuh connequi*.

4. *Quinmamattinemi* in *ibid.*

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in bad grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much preoccupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Paths were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; sand was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.[5] This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

auh in ie oallathui coatioaz, nepieloz tecoanotzaloz, cõca neahamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatlacencaoalo, vchichioalo, ithoalchichioalo, tlatlaixmanalo, tlatlaltemalo, tlatlacujcujoa, tlaatemalo, tlaavililo, tlaatzelhujlo, tlaixzalhujlo, tolquatecteco, tlapipilolo, tolquatectli moteca, mopipiloa, ĩ vncã netoõloz, tlatzetzelolo, ỹin iehoã intequjuh inrocol, cocoltilo, in cujcanjme. 574 [554]

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or slew, singed, and dressed dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the ashes was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a seashell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis — different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant awaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

auh in cequjn tlavivitla, totolhuivitla, totolchichioa, itzcujnmjctia, itzcujnchichinoa, itzcujnchichioa, nacachichioa, nacapaoaci, cõcontlatia, in cequjn yietlalchioa, yietlalxaqualooa, yietema teçacatica, auh in nextitlan, iehoan intequjuh yn ilamatque quichioa tamalli, piqui, tamaloa, tlatlaoiotia, quatecuicuilli quichioa, nacatlaoio, nacatamalli quichioa, cequjn tamalpaoaci, cequjn nextamalpaca cequjn açaçaca, atlatlacuj, ateteca, cequjn cacaoatl quixamanja, cacaoateci, tlacuechoa, cequjn tlanextlamalnelooa, cequjn molchichioa, chilixca, chichilixca, çan iuh ceiooal in nemoa tozçolo, tozçoa totozçolo tlavilli quiztoc, chachalacoatoc, 574 252 [887]

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and lined up all which might be required.

auh yn otlavizalleoac, njman ie ic tlatlachpano, petlateteco, icpalteteco, çacapechtli moteteca, motevimoloa, tlatenvimollolli, ie ic tlaonoc, ie omocuecuentilli, in ixquich monenequiz, 574

Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the care, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

ie omotetecpanque, ie in mãmania, omotẽtequippantique, in tlatequipanozque, in tenamiquizque, aocmo quen ipã in tecoanotzqui, in tecoanotzanj, ça ixquich ynecuitlavil in teca muchioa, ĩ tepantlatoa, in maca onxiccaoalo, onjxcaoalo, 574 357

5. In ibid., [illegible]

574 357 Poised and prepared were the tobacco servers, who provided tobacco; the flower servers, who provided flowers; the servers, those who changed the servings; the bearers. Then there was the chocolate drink maker, who prepared chocolate; who made it foam and froth; and the server of chocolate. Then there were the attendants, those who greeted the guests.

ie vncan ie ic hicac yn teyiemacac in teyiesti, in tezochimacac, in tezuchiti, tetlamacac, tetlanamjctili, tlanapaloque, njmã ic iehoatl yn achinhqui, aquetzque, tlaamjnquj, tlaminanj, yoan in teamacac, njmã ieeoan in techiztque, in tetlalique.

574 But among those who were only commoners, among the poor folk, among the workers of the fields and the water folk, it is already told, only miserably, in poverty and want, were receptions and invitations made. Not as much was offered one as was required and customary; as was possible or of one's capability. Many things were omitted or spoiled. Thus [the feast] was a failure and fruitless when someone received or realized nothing more. Perhaps only old, withered flowers could he find or come by; perhaps only leftover, bitter sauces, and stale tamales and tortillas were offered them.

auh in çan maceoalpã, in çan jcnotlacapã, millacapã, atlacapan, ie omjto çan cococatzi, icnoiotica, icnotlacaiotica, in tetlacamacho, in teoanotzalo, amo cenca onteaxioa yn juh monequj, in ie ivi, in ie vel ivi, in ic teveli, mjiec tlamantli mjzcaoa, ytlacavi, ic tlatlacavi, tlãtlatlacavi, yn aca aoc tle ipan aci, aoc tle ipan mopooa, aço ça zuchiçolli, tlacevilli yn ipanti. in quipantilia, yn ipã mopoa, yoan aço ça mollacaoalli, molchichictli, tamalçolli, tlaxcalçolli, yn nemaquililo,

And if one had been sitting to no purpose and in vain, [he was] only forgotten there for a long time, for a considerable time. And when he grew tired of waiting, he only continued vexing himself, anxious to go, no longer able to endure it, continuing to stir, unable to sit anywhere. His seat was benumbed, stiffened, tired of sitting. So he leaped up, sprang to his feet, and ran off discontented; because perhaps whatever was served had come to an end; the banqueting had increased and grown in numbers, and become crowded. And he simply entered various houses and visited different places, begging and asking alms at each one, etc.

auh intla ça oc nẽ tlalilo, nempancatlalilo, vecauhtica, ieoatica, çan vncã ylcaoalo: auh yn ẽmopatlac, ça motetectica, yiollo cholotica, injc iaz, aocmo ontlaieeoa mocueptinemj, achcan vel motlalia, tzintepitzquãquauhti, quãquauhtitica, tzintepitzquãquauhtitica, ic choloteoa, moquetzteoa, motlauellaloa, ypampa aço otlatlatlan, acaçoc tlẽ temaconj, omiequix, oeonacat, omoquequex in tlacoanotzalli, yoan in çan cacalacquj, tetlatlapalo, motlatlaievi, motlatlaitlanj. et.

X 787 805 In this place is only mentioned Two Vulture, which followed and came in second place after One Eagle. All these, the companion day signs in the series, have been chronicled and mentioned here. Of this, Two Vulture, there is no more need to relate anything, just to please; to invent, arrange, and contemplate some brief words. For already hath been mentioned the manner of the separate accounts of all day signs in the second [position]. For indeed all are similar as they proceed and go together there. Similar are their accounts as they advance in order, as all the days accompany one another.

Nican çã onmoteneoa in vme concaquauhtli, in contoquilia, in cononcaiotia ce quauhtli, yn jxquich in, ic omotlatlatolloti nican omoteneuh, ynjc cencalpan tlavica tonalli, yn iehoatl y, 2. concaquauhtli, aocmo monequj yn itla ic motlatolloziz, in çã onmoqualittaz, onmovelittaz, onmopipiquiz, onmovevellaliz, itlatlatoltotonti, ca ie omoteneuh in quenamj intlãtlatollo ixquich ẽvme tonalli, ca çan ie zmuch iuhquj, çan much vmpa itztivi, çan much vmpa tlavica, çan ie cẽtetl yn imitoloca, yn juh tetecpantivi, ynjc tlavica cecemilhujtl,

805 So here we have only added and mentioned as a group the different day signs, which went in their courses as a series, as each day went traveling, following along, and changing: Three Motion, Four Flint

ypampa in çã njcã, tiquijmontecpãchoa, tiquijmõcenteneoa yn izquiteme in tonalti, in njcã cencalpan tlaotlatoctia, ynic cecemilhujtl motztiui, motoquilitivi, mopatlativi, in iehoatl Ey olin, 4. tecpatl, 5. quj-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

425 A married man received a plot of land directly from the
511 clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief
555 glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success-
[575] ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli*
[554] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[8]

624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

x 796 782 they might not become slothful was this done in the houses.

qujmjxitiaia injc amo tlatzivizcujzque techan in muchioaia yn.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

Copaltemalistli.

Auh in copaltemalistli ic muchioaia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ic mjtoz, aço tecutlatolli ic mitoz, achto contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in jequjn ic tlatoz, çan vncan manca in copalli xicaltica: anoço cujcanj in ic cujcaz, ic peoaz, achto contema in copalli in tlequaaco, njman ic peoa in cujcanj.

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

[201 576] The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

[626] And thus was protested, thus was avouched one's word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, thus he said unto him:

"If what thou sayest is true, do thou kiss the earth."

Whosoever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

Tlalqualistli.

In tlalqualistli ic muchioaia, iquac in campa oalhujlooaia, muchi tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imapil, aço ispan diablo, anoço tlecujlixquac:

yoan ic tlaneltililoia, ic neltia in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca neltocoia tlatolli: ic teilhujloia

intla nelli in tiqujtoa, tlaxontlalqua:

ic njman tlalquaia in aequjn, ic qujneltiliaia itlatol.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

x 796 782 264 And thus was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first ate [before], indeed, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

Tlatlaçalistli.

Auh inic muchioaia tlatlacalistli, iquac in tlein qualoz yn aiamo qualo, aço tlaqualli, achtopa achiton tepitõ mocotonaia, tlecujlixquac onmotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc njman ic peoa inic tlaqualoz: aiac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlatlaçaloia, in tlecujlixquac.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

x 796 782 273 Thus was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when thus it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

Tlatoiaoalistli.

Inic muchioaia tlatoiaoalistli, iquac in tlamanaloia, aço vitziecoloia: iquac in aca iancujcan qujtlalia vetli, yn iquac oqujtlapiuj, iquac ic tenotzaia, qujoalmana apaxtica tlecujliaquac, yoan tetlaoancaxtepiton.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Injc matlactli capítulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellelquixtiaia tlatoque. 643

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in qujtlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta; aiac uel qujxnepanoa, [48] 643 644

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcacheoua, qujtlatlaquechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja, [521]

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, itoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aqujn ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maieoatl, netlpilonj, queçeoatl. 345 526

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl, qujcujloa ce petlatl, tiltica, papatlactic in tilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapoaltzuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, qujtlanjlia in ixqujch tlaçotli, cozzic teucujtlacozcatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. *Tlapilli*: the corresponding Spanish has slaves (*esclavos*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

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Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shorn ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wherever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya cortic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couazayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. moteccuiçoma yuã maxtlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh ĩ maxtlatl. 701 293 [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlaxmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im moteccuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quauauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [576]

Auh no yquac quimahcrua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym iziptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya moteccuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya thlpapatlauac chichicuee çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopaltẽuauanq' celotlalpili nochpalmaxtlatl yacayecacozcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaotequaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. moteccuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichiuicate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in 701 721

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

648 **Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.**

Injc vme capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenja acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh qujtoa ca çan ceuetl in acalli.

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniacatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Auh in oittoque, in aquiqque ovallaque ilhujca atencco, in acaltica ie onotzinemj. Niman iooma ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixqui, q'nvicac oc cequjntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Jaotzin. Injc ci, Teuciniocan calpixquj: itoca Teuciniacatl. Injc navi ichoatl in cuitlalpitoc çan tetlan nenquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone — his very own.

çan oc ichoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan iuhquinma qujntlanamaquiltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnmacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineixcavil, vel itonal:

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

acaltica in iaque injc qujmjttato, injc iuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiquijttlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjquiti, injc vel melaoac qujmocaquitiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

njman ie ic vi in atl itic ommacalaquiquc, ommatocique, qujntlanelhujque atlaca.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if] kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imixpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

quinoalnotza in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*criado de vna dueña calpixque.*"

2. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Obras* [illegible] *de la conquista de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Biblioteca Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 6, mentions Tlapali, or Tenhtlilli, *gobernador de Moctezuma, que era de Cuitlahuac, o Cuitlahuac,*" who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

3. *Amoaoac* (you live): possibly *amoaoac* (we live) is intended.

4. Mocteçumatzin: [illegible] well-known Nahuatl name is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Conquest*, p. 182. Soler, op. cit., p. 657, translates the phrase thus: "*nos dio Dios nuestro Señor su Rey.*"

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648 **Fifth Chapter.** Here is related what came to pass when the messengers of Moctezuma went aboard the boat of Don Hernando Cortés.

Thereupon they climbed up. They bore in their arms the array [of the gods]. When they had proceeded to go up into the boat, each in his turn disposed himself to kiss the earth before the Captain. Having done so, they besought and said unto him:

[576] "Let the god deign to hear: for his vassal, Moctezuma, who guardeth over Mexico for him, prayeth to him. For [so] he speaketh: 'The god hath suffered, he is weary [from travel].'"

Upon this, they adorned the Captain himself; they put on him the turquoise mosaic serpent mask; with it went the quetzal feather head fan; and with it went — in it they had set and with it went hanging — the green stone ear plugs in the form of serpents. And they clad him in the sleeveless jacket; they put the sleeveless jacket upon him. And they put the necklace upon him: the plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which lay the golden disc. With this they bound, on the small of his back, the mirror for the small of the back. Also with it they laid upon his back the cape named *tzitzilli*. And about [the calf of] his leg they placed the green stone band with the golden shells.[1] And they gave him, and placed upon his arm,[2] the shield with lines of gold and shells crossing, on whose [lower] rim went spread quetzal feathers and a quetzal feather flag. And before him they set the obsidian sandals.

And the other three sets of adornment, the array of the gods, they only laid in rows and placed in order before him.

And when this had been done, the Captain said to them: "Are these perchance all your gifts, your greetings?"

They answered: "This is all with which we came, O our lord."

Then the Captain commanded that they be bound. They fastened irons about their ankles and necks.

1. Described earlier as a wrist ornament.
2. The left arm, in the corresponding Spanish text.

Injc macujlli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein muchiuh, in jquac itítlanoan motecuçoma in vmpa callacque in jacalco don hernando Cortes.

Niman ie ic tleco, qujnanapalotivi in tlatqujtl: in otlecoto acalco ceceniaca ontlalquatimanj yixpan in capitan: Niman ie ic contlatlauhtia: qujlhujque:

Ma qujmocaqujlti in teutl: ca qujoalmotlatlauhtilia in jtechiuhcauh Motecuçoma in cõmotlapielilia mexico; ca conjtoa. Oqujmjhiovilti, oqujmociavilti in teutl:

njman ie ic qujchichioa in capitan vel iehoatl conaqujque in xiuhcoaxaiacatl, itech ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan itech icietiuh, itech aactiuh, itech pipilcatiuh chalchiuhcoanacochtli: yoan conaqujque xicolli, conxicoltique, yoan concozcatique in chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh in teucujtlacomalli, ic conxillancujtlalpique in tezcacujtlapilli, no ic contzinapanque in tilmatli in jtoca tzitzilli, yoan icxic contlalilique in chalchiuhcuecuextli teucujtlacoiollo: yoan conmacaque imac cõmanjlique chimalli teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj, yoan epnepanjuhcaio, quetzaltençouhtiuh quetzalpaniotiuh: yoan ixpã contemjlique itzcactli.

Auh in oc etlamantli nechichioalli, teutlatqujtl, çan ixpan contecpãque, convipanque:

auh in ie iuhquj, qujmjlhuj in capitã Cujx ie ixqujch in, in amotenamjquja, in amotetechacia?

qujnnanqujlique ca ie ixqujch injc tioallatiaque totecue.

Niman tlanacati in capitan injc ilpiloque, tepoztli imjcxic qujntlalilique, yoan inquechtlan: in ie iuh-

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

got down from his litter, and those great Caciques 648
supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired 292
according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals 643
[*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think [576]
of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was 576
approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted 643
from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they 648
simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

576 diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and
643 with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he
648 placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him, and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace him, for they considered it an indignity.

648 Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms, the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacan, to go with us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city, and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains
[576] who had come with him returned in his train. As they turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and
000 observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude of men and women and boys who were in the streets and on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 644 finery, when a number of articles were used to deck the "chief of men" as his official insignia, but the custom of speaking to

114 prehensible beings ever heard of by them. It is interesting to place both versions side by side. The translation is my own and I therefore beg for indulgence.

Cortés. Second Dispatch.

"At that place more than a thousand principal people came to greet and to speak to me, all citizens of the said city, and all dressed alike and according to their custom very richly, and when they [576] came to speak to me, every one of them made, before coming up, a particular ceremony, customary among them, which consisted in each one of them putting his hand on the ground, kissing it; and in this manner I waited almost an hour until each one had made his ceremony." ". . . . . After we had passed that bridge, this lord Mutecuzuma came to receive us with about two hundred Lords, all barefooted and dressed in other livery or manner of clothing, also very rich after their custom, and more so than that of the others. They came in two processions, closely hugging the walls of the street which is very broad, fine, and straight, so that from one end of it the other end may be seen, and two-thirds of a league ("legua") in length, with very good buildings on both sides, dwellings as well as temples. And the said Mutecuzuma went in the middle of the street with two chiefs, one to his right and the other to his left. One of these was the same one who, as I said, had come to speak to me in the litter, and the other was the said Mutecuzuma's brother, lord of that city of Iztapalapa which I had left that day. All three were dressed alike, except Mutecuzuma who wore soles to his feet, whereas the other two chiefs had none and supported him by his arms. . . . . ."

Bernal Díaz de Castillo. Cap. 92.

"When we reached the place where another pathway (dyke) branched off to Cuyoacan, ... many principals and caciques came, covered with very rich mantles, with ornaments and liveries, those of one cacique different from those of another, and the dykes were filled by them. These great caciques were sent by the great Montezuma ahead to receive us, and as they arrived before Cortés they bid us welcome, touching the ground and kissing it in token thereof." "Thus we were detained a good while, and from there the Cacamecan, chief of Tacuco, and the chief of Iztapalapa, and the chief of Tacuba and the chief of Cuyoacan went forward to meet the great Montezuma who approached in a rich litter, accompanied by other great Lords and caciques holding vassals. And when we neared Mexico, where there were other small towers, the great Montezuma descended from his litter, and these great caciques took hold of his arms, advancing with him under a marvellously rich canopy of green plumes with large golden ornaments, much silver, and pearls and stones of "Chalchihuis" suspended from it as fringes, and very dazzling to the eye. The great Montezuma was very richly dressed after their custom, with cotarns on his feet (as they are called), with golden soles and much jewelry over them. The four lords who came with him were also richly dressed, though not in the same manner as when they had come out to receive us,—as if they changed dress on purpose under way. Besides these Lords, there came other great caciques who bore the canopy over their heads, and other many Lords preceded the great Montezuma sweeping the ground before him and placing rugs for him to step upon. None of these Lords ventured to look him in the face, but all had their eyes cast down, except those of his relatives and nephews who supported him by the arms.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular 643 644
respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), 114
simply says: "The said Moteczuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Diez is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500), from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcalteca ("*Art of War*," p. 155, note 263), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diez de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw *more* of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to magnify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of his troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 43). 727
Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecamachalco and 114
Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlalpiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuacuiltzin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxteca; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 68), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Mazatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhnelneques, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipilles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenochtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the Matlatzincas;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with greens, and walls of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 329). "They went in pro- 114
cession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in 576

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

1114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at them. See *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 479). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 251), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1788, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

[251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, cap. LXIX, p. 215, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 8, Trat 1°).

764 [252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hiziéronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento más sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus ceniças enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las ecequias conforme á persona tal se deuian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandeças pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 496): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes auian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 80 and 81), as late as 1733 or 1734, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; [681] hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

tzalo in calpixqui, in quimocuitlauiz, in ipan tlatoz in tlacalaquijlli.

INIC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenin quinpepenaia Iuezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlauiaia in tetlatzontequjliliztli, quicaquia in ixquich in ineteilhujl: ioan in ichoquiz, in inentlamachiliz in inetolinjliz in cuitlapilli, atlapalli in icnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh inic uel quinelitiliaia in tlatoanj in teneteilhujl anoço tetlatlacul quimixquetzaia, quinpepenaia in itecutlatocahoan: ichoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncã in quinj, in quiquanj, in mecuijltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oquichti, in iauc omonzaltique, mjiec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjliztli, oquimauiçoque: auh in ixquj tlamantlj qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in inpiltian oquimomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan nemjliztli, iauquiçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhqui, inic quinpepenaia tlatoanj, inic quimixquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti ichoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, inhezçaltiliz, in iauc omoapaouhque, in tiacahoan in oquichti, in mjiec tlamantli oquimauiçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in quinpaquijltia, in quintlauhtia, ioan in quinmaca, in ixquich intech monequj:

iuhque in in quimixquetzaia, in quinpepenaia tlatoanj, in itecutlatocahoan, in mimatinj, in mozalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliuiz moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca quimauizpia in tecuiotl, amo cochinj, cenca cochiçanj amo tle quicnjuhchioa: amo tle quioaiolcachioa: amo tle quitecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlauiltica quicaquj, anoço quitzontequj: quimiquiznaostiaia, in tlatoanj: inic melaoac quichioazque in intequjuh, in tecutlatollj: auh intlacamo, ca ichoantin conmotzacujlitiazque in tecutlatoque, in tlein quitlacoazque.

Auh in icoac, oquimixquetz in tlatoanj: in itecutlatocahoan quinmacaia vntetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

5. *Intecutlatocahoan*: cf. *ibid.*, p. 318 (*los mayores jueces*) and p. 321 (*oyadores*).

Eighteenth Chapter, in which it is told how they chose those who would govern.

The ruler was thus given office and chosen. The lords assembled and deliberated as to whom they would set in office and choose to be ruler. In the same manner assembled the old men and the seasoned warriors, brave warriors, men [at arms], and the leaders of the youths; lords; and keepers of the gods; fire priests—the long-haired ones.[1] All were gathered there at the great palace, the residence of the ruler, in order to consult and choose him who was to be ruler. They cast votes for all the princes who were sons of lords; men [at arms]; brave warriors, experienced in war, who shrank not from the enemy;[2] who knew not wine—who were not drunkards, who became not stupefied;[3] the prudent, able, wise; of sound and righteous rearing and upbringing; who spoke well and were obedient, benevolent, discreet, and intelligent.

And when were settled the deliberations and choosing, they were as one [in their] accord. When a certain prince was chosen and given the charge of being ruler, then also were raised to their office and chosen those who were to help him, the [four] princes who would be by his side; who would be his lords. They were invested with, and given, the titles Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Pochtecatlailotlac, and Ticociauacatl.

When this was done, when the choosing was settled, then was determined on what good day sign would be installed those who had been elected—the ruler and the lords. Then the command was given when there would be a meeting, and all the noblemen were commanded then to come to assemble in the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli.

Injc caxtolli omej capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia, in aquique tlatocatizque. 643

In tlatoanj, injc ixquetzaloia, inic pepenaloia, mocentlaliaia, mononotzaia, in tecutlatoque, injc quixquetzaia, injc quipepenaia, in aquin tlatoanj iez çan no iuhquj mocentlaliaia in achcacauhti ioan tequjoaque, tiacahoan, oquichtin, ioan tiachcauh tlatoque, ioã teupixque tlenamacaque, papaoaque, ixquichtin mocentlaliaia in vncan vei tecpan tlatocan, injc mononotzaia, injc quipepenaia in ac ichoatl tlatocatiz, quinteneoaia in jxquichtin tlaçopipilti, in tlatoque impilhoan, in oquichti, in tiacaoan in iauc matinj, in amo quitlaçotla in jntzontecõ, in jmelchiquiuh, in amo quixmati in vetli, in amo tlaoananj, in amo quimotequitia mixitl, tlapatl, in mimatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlamatinj, in qualli iectli inezcaliliz, inneoapaoaliz, in vellatoa, in vellacaqui, in tetlaçotlanj, in jte in iollo. [577]

Auh in jcoac in omocencauh nenonotzaliztli, tlapepenaliztli, in ocentet tlatolli, in ac ichoatl tlaçopilli in oanoc, in oiaquetzaloc in tlatoanj iez: nimanno iquac ixquetzalo, pepenalo in quipalcuizque, in jtlan iezque in tlaçopipilti, in' jtecutlatocahoan iezque: motecutlalia, motocamaca tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: 643 644

in ie iuhquj in omocencauh tlapepenaliztli, nimanno nenonotzalo, tlein qualli cemjlhujtonalli in jpan tlalilouque, in opepenaloque: in tlatoanj ioan in tecutlatoque, ic tenaoatilo in jquin cenquixooaz: ioan naoatilo in jxquichtin pipilti, injc cenquiçaquiuj in jitoalco vitzilopuchtli: [777]

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*nombraron los senadores que llamaban Teculatoque: y también los viejos del pueblo, que llamaban achcacauhti: y también los capitanes valientes viejos de la guerra, que llamaban cuauhquiquaque: y otros capitanes que eran principales, en las cosas de la guerra: y también los sacerdotes, que llamaban Tlenamacaque, o papaoaque.*"

Papaoaque: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III, Appendix, cap. ii. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 533, n. 2, the term is thus explained: "'*Ceux qui ont les cheveux tombant en touffe sur les oreilles*'; *cinpolec papaoa, (terme du mahomet) papasli, chevelure longue et en désordre.*"

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

3. *Mjxitl, tlapatl*: see Chap. 17, n. 10, *supra*.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this wa. so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiaoalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
386] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ispan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiscaboan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuilolilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuehican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following quitecoanchia, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has yaoc ompa quimpoaoia—and there they passed brushes on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*una manta con unas listas labradas de color morado: y otra manta labrada, de otras cintas labradas de colorado, que se llamaua colotlapalli: y . . . un mantle labrado de colorado, largo que estuuiesse hasta colgado, y otro mantle labrado de todos colores.*"

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and had grown at the same rate as Tenochtitlan, aiding in many of the campaigns. It was famous for its merchants; and its market, even after its subjugation, was the greatest in Mexico. Local jealousy, however, did not lead to war until both towns competed in building temples to Huitzilopochtli, the War God. Apparently this competition for divine favor led to war, whereas economic conflict did not. Ridiculously enough the open break was induced by the insulting behavior of the Tlaltelolcan women, who flaunted their backsides at the enraged Tenochcan visitors.[8]

The religious arts reached their full development under Axayacatl. In his time was made the great Calendar Stone which weighs over twenty tons and is twelve feet in diameter. The block was quarried on the mainland, and the allied rulers sent help to drag this gigantic mass across the causeways. Designed to symbolize the Aztec universe, it is a masterly example of a pattern, the detail of which adds, rather than detracts from, the spaciousness of the concept.[9] (See Plate 52, top.)

In 1472, early in the reign of Axayacatl, the life of a great figure in American Indian history, Nezahualcoyotl, came to an end. This Texcocan chief had begun his manhood in political exile fleeing from Tepanec vengeance, but had fought and intrigued his way back into power. He even restored the fortunes of his people who, in the previous century, had rivaled the Culhuacanos in the formative years of Aztec civilization. Nezahualcoyotl had a broad judicial sense which enabled him successfully to elaborate the administrative structure of a far-flung realm. Since the Texcocans, before the Tepanec domination in 1419–28 already had a chain of tribute-paying vassals, this resumption of control in

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treat to islands in the lake, they met the land problem in the same ingenious way as did the Chalcas, Xochimilcas and the tribes to the northwest, in Lake Zumpango. 241 311

This method was to create *chinampas*, the so-called "floating gardens." The *chinampa* was, in reality, a small artificial island, made by scooping up mud from the marshy borders of the lakes and at first holding it in place by a revetment of reeds and later by trees whose roots bound the earth solidly together. Water flowed into the narrow pits, making them into canals. Fresh mud was always added before planting, so that the fertility of the earth was constantly renewed. The Tenochcas and their neighbors thus converted great sections of otherwise unproductive marsh, flooded in the rainy season, into a grid of canals and fields, the fertility of which is equaled only by the river-flooded lands of the Nile Delta. *Chinampa* agriculture continues today in the districts of Xochimilco and Chalco, where most of the vegetables are grown for the modern metropolis of Mexico City. The inhabitants still use the Aztec language and occupy the same land as did their ancestors, renewing them each year by the same methods used in Aztec times. The outlines of former beds may be seen for a considerable distance round about, since the modern draining of Lake Texcoco has dried up much of the lake area of the Valley of Mexico.[4] (See Plate 37, bottom.)

When the Tenochcas moved into the lake they achieved living room. As the city grew it could incorporate the adjacent garden beds for house foundations, while the increase in population could be fed by building new *chinampas* on the outskirts of the farming area. Thus much of their success may be attributed to the freedom from internal strife 311 578

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujeraua las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nemontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796 777 [605] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil successes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nencioatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- A 28
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que b 29
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos c 30
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- d 31
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoqujch, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se hazã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variman.

[551] [578] [787]

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebrauã a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelotl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio mataua captiuos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796 [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the scriveners celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa hazã fiesta todos los pintores, y los escriuanos ayunauã querida

785 796 463

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[241] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *maguey* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[178] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, five *tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac,* "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cintropan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteropan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

cetetzacoc, yn omotlali, hi tzotzoliuhtimanj, ioiolcatimanj.

Auh yn otlathujc, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, qujcenocujtiuj in calli, no ichoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlaeujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihiznamiquj:

in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa qujpaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izquican manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujoalitquj, yn inchachan:

qujnzozochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujntlaquentia, qujntlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujhtel, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujiatlaoztzalli, tepioacqui, quappitztic, tlaxiexoujlli. quitzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan ecio izquijtl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli qujtequj acatl vncan qujtemjtia, qujtentiquetza, yn izquijtlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepizcantoton, achipipil, neujiampa qujcuj, qujmamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, moteneoa calonooac, cali onooac: ichica ca çan cali çan tecbachan in mauiztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ic teutlac, vmpa qujmoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa qujnamoc, ic neaujltilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujtecu, ic netlatlazujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, qujnmamaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca atzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cahur de maíz* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 256) translates the term as *mata de maíz;* Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*parcyata o mata de maya entre de que rayzar.*"

7. "*Cierta yerba, que llamamos, maguey,*" in Sahagún's Spanish text. Ortega y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330), referring to the *maguey,* says: "*Las raíces gruesas maguey, cocidas de sabor.*"

8. Ground, roasted maize mixed with chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 85).

x796 And the old woman and the old man, those who

887 made and refined salt, and sold and trafficked in salt,
463 and those who dwelt in the salt marshes, drank wine.
273 Wine was drunk, and one became besotted. In their midst they poured out the wine in a flower-decked jar.

iztachiuhque, yn iztatlatique, yoan yn iztanamacaque, yn iztanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlãtlacoana tlãtlacoano, miotlatlacoantia, tlanepantla xochapactica qujoalmana yn vctli:

x796 One of the men poured out [the wine], and prepared it and distributed it. This one was not one who
273 had made [his wife] pregnant, whose wife was with child. If he who poured out the wine had made [his wife] with child, [then] he would not make one drunk; men would not be drunk. They would only counterfeit drunkenness; no one would become besotted [from] the wine.

ce tlacatl tetlacoantia, qujteteca, qujtemamaca, amo ichoatl in tlavztia, in vztli ycioauh. Auh intla tlauztia tetlacoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntioaz: çan teyujcopina, aiac itechquiçaz in vctli.

And when the feast day had ended, when it had
[578] been celebrated, at nightfall all then lay about. And some who were well-besotted insulted one another, or belabored others, or cried out at others. And at last they fell exhausted, and slept as they fell. And whoever yet had wine which he had left over, which he had left because he had been sated, which was named sleep-producing wine, afterwards, next day, he drank and finished it.

Auh yn ouetz cemjlhujtl, yn onjlhujtlaque yn oiocac, mec netteteco: auh in cequjntin yn oveliujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquauhtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi: auh yn aqujn, yn oc qujcaoa vctli, in qujxujcaoa, itoca cochvctli, qujn imuztlaioc inquj, in qujtlamja:

683 And any who had mishandled others, or brawled
x796 with them, or cried out at them, thereupon, when day broke, when they had come to their senses, supplicated [the injured ones to drink] this same wine, that they might satisfy them. And those who had not drunk, who had been cried out at or affronted, they let themselves be satisfied with [drinking] the wine; the offense was pardoned, and he held not against [the supplicants] their dispute, their injuries, etc.

auh yn aqujn temicti, yn aço teaoac, yn anoço tetzatzili, qujniquac yn otlatvic, yn oemuxcali: çan ie no ie in vctli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic teiolceuja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzilionj, in pinauhtilonj, njman moiolceuja ynica vctli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujmolnamiqujlia, yn inneaoaliz, yn innemictiliz etc.

Here ended and concluded the feast of Tecuilhuitontli.

Nican tlamj, nican tzonquiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nencioatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenqujzcaiotl, nenquiçaliztli, ãoneouinemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oqujchtli qujtocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenqujzquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoqujch. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceouztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yuan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: yncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: qujlhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli qujcuja mococooaia: muchi tlacatl qujtoaia, Cococolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo temeiolloti, aocmo itech ca nemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oquiacauhque injoaiolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan qujaooaiã inon oquĕtelezin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio qujcujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemĕtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipocallo in jzquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 30) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony rite.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this wa. so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yhoi in iaoc quinocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac tica momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiaoalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ic imacenalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuihonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inoncuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmatoa iztac in imaatlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a capeor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquinicaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtilitia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in itzaiac, auh in icanoacan quitecozauhtuia in icalpiscalhoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopalhenoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmaatlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmaatlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuilolilmatli quiqueni.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochionia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ic no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiaqui quicalaquiaia izuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaupaoa tlacatecaltia vmpa quimincaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoiazoonia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following quitecozauhtuia, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has ynon vmpa quitequanaia—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the Florentine Codex.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "una manta con unas listas labradas de color amarillo; y otra manta labrada, de otras colores labradas de colorado que se llamaua colotlalpelli; y . . . un mantle labrado de colorado, largo que entonçes lleuo colgado, y otro mantle labrado de muchos colores."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; 632a
moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, 131
Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlaz- 191
pan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, 579
whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was 101
accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have 635
not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its 131
neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir nuñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los ysulios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suxeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranches are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468). [114]

[30] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 of any connection by kin. This presupposes a *class of outcasts from the bond of kinship.*

There is no evidence of the formation of such a cluster prior to the permanent settlement of the tribe. Neither can we trace its gradual increase from a given time. But a glance at some of the rules of kinship, and at the practical working of these rules finally crystallizing into an equivalent for laws, will enable us to discern its origin.

121 The relation of sexes being at the bottom of society based upon kin, it follows that sexual intercourse gradually assumed a regulated shape, proportionate to the progress in institutions. The ancient Mexicans had, as we have already established, advanced into descent in the male line, and had secured a nascent state of the modern family. Marriage was well known to them [581] as a *rule*. But so powerful was the influence exercised by the kin, as unit of public life that, once the ritual union of a couple acknowledged as a necessity for future joint life, it exacted of its male members the obligation to marry for the purpose of propagating and increasing the kin. Only such as were naturally helpless, and such as in view of "medicine" made vows of permanent [587] chastity, were excused. Any other youth therefore, who refused to take a wife at the proper age, was treated with contempt and consequently expelled from the kin.[80]

562 WOMAN, among the aboriginal Mexicans, was in a singular predicament. Through the establishment of descent in the male line she lost her hold on public life, (which she latterly regained through the establishment of the family proper) and thus remained little else than a *chattel* in the power of man. Still, the ritual act 562 of marriage being once adopted, the same obligation to marry, 589 which we have already found incumbent upon the male, also devolved upon the female, and any girl therefore, who did not "take vows" for "medicine," or who was physically not mis-

[80] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 461). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp 133 and 134) "s'ils ne voulaient pas prendre des femmes, on les congédiait." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125), "Llegados á la edad de casarse, ... Si pasando la edad se descuidaban, y veian que no se querian casar, trasquilábanlos, y despedianlos de la compañia de los mancebos." This meant exclusion from the kin since, as soon as they were married, "they were classified, since, according to their custom, they were divided into sections each of which had a chief or captain, as well for the collection of taxes as for other reasons." These "chiefs or captains" were those of the calpulli. *Zurita*, (p. 135), also *Bustamante*, ("*Tezcoco*," Part III, cap. III, p. 215), "Cuando se casaban los empadronaban. . . . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 186, almost a copy of Mendieta).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

874
273
689

Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,[1] or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].[2] Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

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And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

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When the masters of the youths had consented,[3] when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his home.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals[4] were taken thence. Lords and mar-

Injc. 6. capitulo. vncan moteneoa in tetlatzacuiltilizttli, in tetlamaceoaltilizttli, ynjc qujntlatzacuiltiaia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaoanaia.

Injc nezcaltiloia telpuchcali, cẽca necujtlavilo, in nochpanoaztli, njman aiac quja in vetli.

auh in ie vel oqujchti, i ie chicaoaque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vetli, cenca motlatiaia, çan nj.nan amo teispan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quezq'ch in quja,

auh intla ittoia haca telpuchtli tlaoana, in itto in at vetlica namjco, anoço vetztoc anoço quica, anoço cana teoan tlaoantica itto, njman ica necentlalilo, ica nenechicolo:

auh ica maviztli vetzi, intla çan maceoalli, anoço ça can aqujn, teixpan viviteco, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miquj, anoço mecatl quitecultia.

auh intla tlaçopilli ichtaca qujmecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchti ohome, ieey in jnmecaoan oncatca, aço cz vel ichã in ca, aço quezqujntin chaiaoatoque. auh in iquac quilhuja motelpuchtlali, tlaztlaoa injc qujntlalcavia in telpupuchti quachtli, quicaoa aço matlactli, aço cemipilli in mocuiltonoa,

yn oazque in tachcaoan in oquimacauhque njmã (mitoa) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cihoatl conana in ichan quijpia.

auh in mozcalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaoa telpuchiol, cenca ẽcã veveti in telpuchpan; auh yiollotlama in tlatoanj, qujnaoatia,

auh amo cenca mjerpa in telpuchpan anoço in tecuti, çã tlatlacatecca, tlatlacochcalca, achcacauhti yn

1. Quizo: probably *cuica* in manuscript. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 345, transcribes the Nahuatl as *ceo papaxoa*—"was filled with fish."
2. Seler, op. cit., p. 346, n. 1, says of *quauhtica vetzi quauhtica miquj*: "Perhaps *vetzi quauhtica vetzi*, quitica vetzi—*hahauder, I murmur*."
3. Compare: reference to the *Real Palacio MS* suggests that this should read *ontiquac*.
4. See Chapter V, nn. 3, 4.

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565 These levels did not have an absolute castelike rigidity. Besides what we have already seen regarding the fact that some macehuales were in a special position by reason of their exploits in life and not by birth, and that there were lords who lost their privileged situation of tribute receiving, we know that it was customary for pillis and [582] macehuales (42) to intermarry, the children of which marriages must

42. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 123; Zumárraga, p. 66, etc.

have had a different position from those children of marriages between pillis or of pure macehuales. There must have been present a whole series of people, from the most noble to the most plebian, we could say (using the terms noble and plebian in our sense), giving rise to a real pyramid of levels within the Tenochca group. Thus we see that the differentiation of rank had a corresponding economic differentiation; but that this latter had a limitation: not all the pillis could be recipients of tribute, but only the functionaries of the tribe or of the calpulli, and on the other hand, not all the macehuales payed tribute, those valiant in war being excepted. In their recognition of this stratification Caso, Spinden (43), Toscano, Moreno, White, etc. are

43. Spinden, H.J., 1943, p. 210.

right, but only in part, since these strata were not social classes; they could be considered ranks because of the little mobility of those belonging to them, generally by birth (an affirmation which with respect to the uppermost level can be definitive); but—and this is the fundamental thing—it can be shown that the existance of these strata was hinged to that of ambilateral stratified clans, the calpullis, and that it was therefore not a fundamental structure but a derived one, as will be seen in the second part of this work.

/p. 31/ Chapter 3

TERRITORIAL DIVISION

631 Another of the aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which has led us to think that it was not based on kinship through

7. Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino], Folio 61

X618 whose caption says "an Amanteca who carries on her back another Amanteca in order that she marry." Outside of Tenochtitlan, there were several places which were called Amantla (from where the Amantecas come); but also in Tenochtitlan there was a ward with this name from which place the persons in the illustration could have been, since the source refers to that general zone. According to this, the person who carried the bride on her back, who was one of the relatives of the husband, was an Amanteca and therefore so also was he: it was a marriage between calpulli relatives, that is, through common descent, and refers, then, to an endogamous marriage. Then again we have also more possibilities to discuss which tell us nothing about the identity of the husband's calpulli. One is that, although it may be an Amanteca (the one who carried the other on her back) related to the groom, it may well be that this kin-bond was not through common descent but simply by affinity ("by marriage") in which case the groom could well be of a different non-Amanteca calpulli. Moreover there is a quote which tells us that those who carried the bride on their backs were her relatives (8). If we take

8. Román y Zamora, II, p. 90.

this assertion together with the previously mentioned illustration of the Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino] we know nothing about the identity of the groom's calpulli.

/p. 65/ DIAGRAM OF TENOCHCA MARRIAGES
BETWEEN PARALLEL RELATIVES

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[See Diagram, p. 71a.]

(a) Ixtlixóchitl [sic. Ixtlilxóchitl], I, p. 277.

(b) Genealogy and Lineage [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 253.

(c) León M. Adrián F., 1943.

(d) León M. Adrián F., 1943.

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(e) León M. Adrián F., 1943.

(f) León M. Adrián F., 1943.

/p. 67/ It would not be an argument either for or against exogamy or non-exogamy of the calpulli.

But really we can merge both references, the one which stated that the persons carrying the bride ere her relatives and the one which stated that they were the groom's relatives. The result is that they were all relatives: she, those who carried her, and the groom. This interpretation has the advantage of erasing the apparent contradiction between the affirmations and of making them congruent. By joining the two quotes with the illustration from the Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino], which speaks of Amantecas, we find that the relationship of the affianced pair is not a family one, but of the calpulli, that is, through common descent: the calpulli was not exogamous.

There are also references which oblige us to think that there was no exogamy in the calpullis: according to a late source, they avoided marriages with mother or daughter "and sometimes with the sister," but they paid no heed to other degrees of kinship (9). This is clearly

9. Hernandez, Francisco, p. 32, 33.

to express that there was no exogamy, and even that there was a strong endogamous tendency.

So far we have analyzed affirmations which refer to the population in general. Let us see now the conclusions which can be obtained from the geneologies that exist of the Tenochca rulers. Although they only refer to a part of the population, as we know that it is mentioned that among them there existed a strong tendency to marry people of distant places, in the event of indicating the absence of exogamy they increase the general value of our clues. We find as an argument of the first importance endogamy which points to the occurrence of marriage between parallel relatives, either on the father's or mother's side (see the Table). The data on marriage in general is very abundant; but of those that interest us six have been found. These as a whole are impossible in groups with exogamous clans and are only possible in groups with an endogamous tendency. Cases 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', and 'f' could have come about only—in the event of the calpulli's

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9:Monzon--71a E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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DIAGRAM OF TENOCHCA MARRIAGES BETWEEN PARALLEL RELATIVES

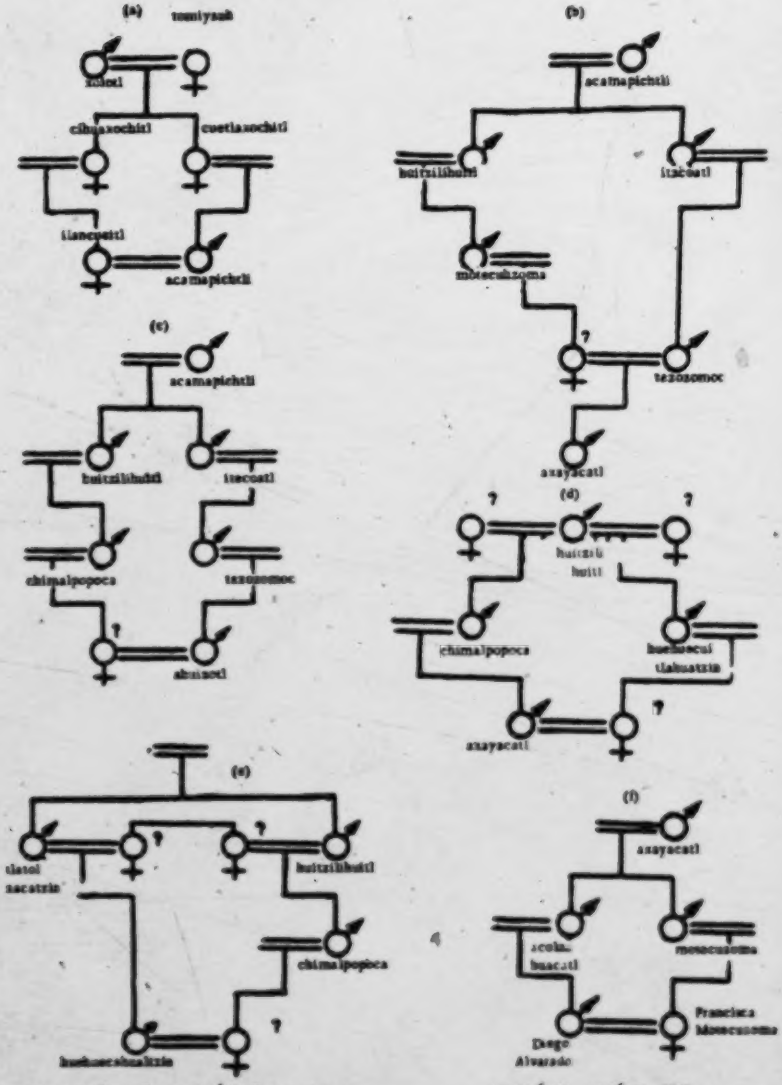

(a) Ixtlilxóchitl [sic. Ixtlilóchitl], I, p. 277.
(b) Genealogy and Lineage [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 253.
(c) León M. Adrián F. 1943.
(d) León M. Adrián F. 1943.
(e) León M. Adrián F. 1943.
(f) León M. Adrián F. 1943.

X 618 being an exogamous clan—if the calpulli were matrilineal since had
582 it been patrilineal the marriage would have been between relatives, which is contrary to the very principles of the exogamous clan. Case 'a' only could have occured—had the calpulli been an exogamous clan—in a patrilineal clan since otherwise it would have been between clan relatives. All the marriages could have been realized only in the event that the calpulli did not have exogamous rules in any line: that is, that it had an endogamous tendency.

X 618 The contradiction between the endogamous tendency of the calpullis and the undoubted custom which the governing group had of
582 /p. 68/ making their marriages between people of distant towns is
565 only apparent; on one hand it can be thought that many of the members of the governing group of central Mexico were relatives through common descent and married one another for this reason (this would be reinforced by a few exceptions such as Tlaxcalla, with [whose people] marriage was never joined). On the other hand the situation can be viewed thus: the members of the governing group did not follow strictly endogamous rules as did the others of the community, but simply had the tendency to seek in every concrete case the improvement of their lineage (which, moreover, is a trait of ambilateral clans). In general these two explanations do not excluse one another, and in fact, we find that among the Tenochcas there were calpullis which extended over more than one town and that members of different calpullis married (10). The first is suggested by the repeated

10. Referring to what happens in present calpulliwards, which appear still to have something of the reckoning of kinship through common descent as their basis, Redfield tells us that the majority of people live in the ward where their ancestors lived for generations and that generally the belonging to a ward is by inheritance (1928, p. 287), and then he informs us that he did not find evidence that the belonging to a given ward affected the choice of a wife. There appears to me to be a contradiction in this, since if the belonging to a calpulli is hereditary and if the calpullis are localized, the only way in which they might remain localized would be by the joining in marriage of people of the same ward. Very probably it happens thus, there being also a patrilocal custom within

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the same ward; although some marriages may occur between persons of different wards, perhaps still according to special circumstances. The considering of the calpulli as a clan with endogamous tendencies, which is even now found as a vestige in Tepoztlán, removes these contradictions, which can also be taken as an argument in favor of the new position which is here presented with respect to the calpulli.

names of some isolated towns which seem to have been calpullis (like Pochtlan, Amantla, etc.) and the second is suggested by the affirmations of marriages between different lords (see p. 72).

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We have, finally, as an indication of the existence of this type of clan, an argument in favor of the fact that among the Tenochcas the reckoning of kinship was ambilateral. This refers also to the members of the population's governing group; but the fact that they also had their calpulli and for the reasons presented in the paragraph concerning their habit of endogamy, largely invalidates the objections which could be made in this respect. In a large number of cases, in the genealogies of the Mexico-Tenochtitlan rulers both lines, that of the father and that of the mother, are taken to fix the inheritance of each person: this is clearly an ambilateral characteristic. Of course it can be taken to refer to the reckoning of kinship within the family, which is always ambilateral, and not to the reckoning of kinship through common descent, of the clan, which could be unilateral of ambilateral. But in part this objection is done away with /p. 69/ when we see that in the sources from the same period, but referring to other groups than the Tenochcan, connections are made always through persons of male sex as if they were unilateral (11), and only

11. Espejo, Antonieta and Monzon, 1945, p. 48.

in those [sources] dealing with the Tenochcas (and others who do not interest us now) are connections made through both sexes. According to this, we have the right to think that the reckoning of kinship common descent was made ambilaterally among the Tenochcas (12).

12. Redfield tells us, speaking of the calpullis, which are now wards of Tepoztlán, that they tend to include

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 the abodes of such men as underwent the severe trials preliminary
793 to their investiture with the rank of chief ("tecuhtli.") The word "calmecac" is often interpreted as "dark house" but its etymology is probably quite different. In no case, however, was that building a school for a "privileged class of children.[105]

● 582 *The kin had the right to regulate and to control marriage.*[106] We have seen that the obligation to marry rested upon every member of a "calpulli." Where tribal society is still in its pure and original condition marriage in the same kin is absolutely prohibited. The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans were closely scrutinized by the Catholic church, and a rigid investigation by the early missionaries has proven that not only was marriage between close relations strictly prohibited, but it was also discouraged (if not forbidden) between members of the same kin.[107] Mr.

In all, seven "calmeca" within the enclosure surrounding the great "house of god" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan. *Torquemada* (Lib. VIII, cap. XI to XVI) also describes the various places, mentioning "Huitznahuaccalmecac." "Casa de recogimiento, y habitacion de los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este lugar" (p. 150). "Tlamatzinco calmecac," donde vivian y tenian su asistencia los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este dicho Templos" (p. 151). "Yopico calmecac" "donde habitaban, y se criaban los muchachos" (p. 153). "Calmecac"—"donde se criavan los ninos" (p. 149). Besides these statements, the two authors just quoted allude to the Calmecac in the same manner at various places. *Sahagun* (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VII, and especially Cap. VIII, pp. 274-276). Already the title of this chapter is significant: "De las costumbres que se guardaban en la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, donde se criaban los Sacerdotes, y ministros del templo desde niños." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, pp. 468-471). *Johannes Eusebius Nieremberg* ("*Historia Naturæ.*" Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, pp. 143-146). He copies Hernandez who, in turn, almost verbally agrees with Sahagun. *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302; Cap. LI, p. 537). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 438).

[105] *Molina* (II, p. 11). "Calmeca tlatolli." "palabras dichas en corredores largos" and "Calmelzetli," "Sala grande y prolongada, ó corredor de la casa." The word may be decomposed into "Calli"—house, and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, or "mecatl" a cord or tie. "House of Ties"?

[106] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 74).

171 [107] Already *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII) pictures vividly the difficulties encountered by the priests in regard to regular marriage. The first question to be determined was that of the legitimate spouse. This has already been investigated in a former note. The next question was that of the degrees of consanguinity, or affinity. It was rigidly inquired into whether perhaps, custom had sanctioned intermarriage of brothers and sisters. *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 439): "No casan con su madre ni con su hija, ni con su hermana; en lo demas poco parentesco guardan; aunque algunos se hallaron casados con sus propias hermanas;" thus admitting the fact that intermarriage of that kind existed. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 305) also concedes that such may have been the case, and infers that these marriages should be regarded as valid. The question of intermarriage between children of the same issue becomes important through the statements and discussion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. VII, p. 489) about the matrimonial customs of the Indians of *Vera-Paz*: "The Indians of Vera-Paz were compelled frequently, on account of their customs of relationship, to marry brothers with sisters for this reason: It was not customary for those of one clan, or tribe, to marry the women of the same tribe (pueblo), and thus they sought for them from others, because

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

H. H. Bancroft to whom every student of American antiquities must look with a deep feeling of gratitude for his valuable services, says on the subject: "marriages between blood relations or those descended from a common ancestor were not allowed."[108] The act of marriage itself was preceded by negotiations on the part of one calpulli (that of the man) with another (that of the woman), the negotiations terminating in something like a *purchase* of the girl.[109] It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the 582

they did not reckon the children, born in foreign tribes or lineages, as belonging to their family; although if the mother had issued from their lineage, and the reason for this was, that this relationship was only attributed to the men." Now this is a very plain statement and picture of "descent in the male line," with the rules of kinship as strongly and fully in vigor as, with "descent in the female line" among the Iroquois. The inhabitants of Vera-Paz spoke, according to *Herrera* (Dec. IV, cap. X, cap. XIV, p. 229), "varios Lenguages," but they selected one at the instance of the Dominican fathers, "to use it in general." *Dr. Berendt* ("*Remarks on the Centres of Ancient Civilization in Central America and their Geographical Distribution*," address read July 10, 1876, pp. 9 and 10) mentions in Vera-Paz three idioms: the "Kekchi" (Alta Verapaz), "Pokoman" (in the South), and the "QQuiche" (Western Verapaz). See also *E. G. Squier*, ("*Monograph of Authors who have written on the Languages of Central America*," Introd., p. IX). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. IX, p. 760). *Diego Garcia de Palacio* ("*Report to the King of Spain in 1576*," German translation by the late *Dr. Alex von Frantzius*, pp. 4 and 64). *Pimentel* ("*Cuadro descriptiro de las Lenguas*," etc., Vol. I, pp. 81–84). The close connection in customs and Institutions (see my notes in regard to the calendars of Mexico and Central America) between the QQuiché and the Mexicans, and the probable identity of their origin, make it not unlikely that the latter had also the same rule, "not to marry within the tribe or lineage," or rather in the kin. As every tribe in Mexico consisted of a number of Calpulli, there was no need of selecting the wife from outside of the settlement. The manner of arranging marriages furnishes direct evidence of the fact, that the wife was, at least usually, from another kinship. (See note 109.) See especially, besides, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 228). 171

[108] "*Native Races*" (Vol II, cap. VII, p. 251).

[109] Not only the consent of the young man's parents was requisite, but also that of the "telpuchtlato" (speaker to the youth) of his "barrio" or calpulli, *i. e.*, of his kin. This fact is abundantly proven. *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIII, pp. 132, 136) says: The "speaker" was invited to the house and after having "eaten and smoked," "the old parents of the young man, and the old men of the barrio sat down," and the case was told to them. The "speaker" then took formal leave of the youth "y dejaban al moso en su casa de su padre." (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VI, p. 271), he again insists that the consent of the "maestros de los mancebos" was required. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 132): "Lorsqu'ils étaient d'âge à se marier, c'est à dire à vingt ans ou un peu plus, ils en demandaient l'autorisation" (p. 134). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125): "Llegados á la edad de casarse . . . pedian licencia para buscar mujer; y sin licencia por maravilla alguno se casaba, y al que lo hacia, demas de darle su penitencia, lo tenian por ingrato, malcriado y como apóstata" . . . *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX). It was the kin of the male which solicited the girl, and this solicitation was carried on by women, who brought presents. Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 251 to 262). *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. II, cap. XII, p. 477. "*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I). If the male needed it, "the community" assisted him. See above authorities, and others. 583 584

The controlling influence of the *Kin*, in matters of marriage, was officially recognized, as late as 1555, by the first provincial "concile" held at Mexico in that year. It was ordained: "That since it is customary among the Indians Maceguales not to marry without permission ("licencia") of their principals, nor to take any women, unless it

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

582 It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the
[562] ritual details themselves, but we must lay particular stress on the fact, that the wife became the *property* of her husband and that she was, as such, placed under the direct protection of his kinsmen. Such marriages could be annulled by mutual consent,
[586] provided the kin gave its approbation. In such a case the woman was at liberty to marry again, and also to return to the calpulli from which she issued.[110]

764 We might now be expected to cast a glance at the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans since it was *one of the attributes of the kin to enjoy common burial.*[111] But this question is so intimately connected with that of creed and belief that we refrain from trespassing too much on that field. The Mexicans practised cremation and, in the case of warriors slain in battle, at least, it is known that the exercises were conducted by the officers and leaders of each kin, *all its members*, and not the special relatives and friends only of the deceased, attending the ceremony.[112] Our knowledge of the burial places of aboriginal Mexico is still very indefi-

583 was given by their hand, out of which there arise great discomforts, and marriage
584 among free persons is not as free as it should be, therefore, we ordain and command: that no Indian principal of whichever condition or rank ("estado,") shall of his own accord or authority give away any wife to anybody whatsoever, nor shall he prevent any Macegual from marrying freely the woman whom he may wish, and who may like him,—under penalty of thirty days of imprisonment, and other penalties which the Judge may determine upon."

("*Concilios Provinciales, Primero y Segundo, celebrados por la muy noble, y muy Leal ciudad de México etc., etc. Dados á Luz el Ill'mo Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia* Año de 1769). The "principales Indios" are the officers of the "Kins," and thus we have, thirty five years after the conquest, a formal recognition of the custom among the Mexican Indians that marriage was controlled by the Kin. How the "encomenderos" subsequently interfered with that custom, in order to conceal their own criminal doings, is plainly told by *Fray Antonio de Remesal* "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala, etc., etc.*" Madrid, 1619 (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 327).

[110] It is singular that some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers imply that there was no rule of repudiation or divorce among the ancient Mexicans. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 303). The same authority, however, attributes this to the baneful effects of contact with the Spaniards, in consequence of which the customs of the natives grew more or less dissolute and immoral (p. 304). *Zurita* (p. 97) confirms, and *Torquemada* (Lib. XVI, cap. XXIV, p. 196), copies Mendieta literally. For the customs of divorce see *Zurita* (p. 97), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 304), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XV, pp. 441 and 442). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. C, XVII, pp. 72 and 73), *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196), and others. The division of property mentioned as accompanying the divorce, applies only to personal effects, since the wife brought nothing else. See "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, and note 107).

The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans will be more thoroughly discussed by me in another monograph, subsequent to one on "Religious Beliefs."

[111] "*Ancient Society*" (pp. 71 and 83).

[112] Compare *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 154 and 156), and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXV, pp. 37 and 38).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

At one place they split up; at another they sac-
rificed three individuals, according to the prescribed ritual 175
of opening up the stomach and tearing out the heart; and at [782]
a third place they learned how to make pulque.

Their records make little reference to the tribes already in 175
the Valley, and their own entrance was relatively unnoticed 648
by the others. However, the hieroglyph of Tezozomoc in one manuscript suggests the obvious conclusion that they had to have Tepanec permission to pass through Azcapotzalco and settle at Chapultepec, where the beautiful park now is. Here they remained happily for nearly a generation. Their neighbors seem to have been small but growing communities, so that conflict was inevitable. The Tenochcas began the [583] strife because their young men went up the lake to Tenayuca to raid and steal wives, a common North American Indian method of gaining prestige. Their more powerful neighbors became irritated and made up a punitive expedition in which Tepanecs, Culhuas and Xochimilcas took part. The result was horrid: the Tenochca chief Huitzilhuitl* and most of the tribe had to go to Culhuacan territory to dwell in serfdom, while the rest escaped to the lake where some low-lying islands offered refuge. The main body stayed in Tizapan,† near the present San Angel, where they were under the eye of Coxcox,‡ the chief of Culhuacan. The Tenochcas detested the waste which was barren in all except poisonous snakes and insects. Huitzilopochtli they still enshrined, but his worth had sunk so low that the Culhuas came to mock him at his shrine and toss nameless filth into the temple.[8]

Finally, however, the tide turned. Coxcox became involved in a war with Xochimilco and called upon his vassals to aid him. When the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

*Wee-tze'el-weetl. †Tee-za-pa'n. ‡Cosh-cosh.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

H. H. Bancroft to whom every student of American antiquities must look with a deep feeling of gratitude for his valuable services, says on the subject: "marriages between blood relations or those descended from a common ancestor were not allowed."[108] The act of marriage itself was preceded by negotiations on the part of one calpulli (that of the man) with another (that of the woman), the negotiations terminating in something like a *purchase* of the girl.[109] It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the 582

they did not reckon the children, born in foreign tribes or lineages, as belonging to their family; although if the mother had issued from their lineage, and the reason for this was, that this relationship was only attributed to the men." Now this is a very plain statement and picture of "descent in the male line," with the rules of kinship as strongly and fully in vigor as, with "descent in the female line" among the Iroquois. The inhabitants of Vera-Paz spoke, according to *Herrera* (Dec. IV, cap. X, cap. XIV, p. 239), "varios Lenguages," but they selected one at the instance of the Dominican fathers, "to use it in general." *Dr. Berendt* ("*Remarks on the Centres of Ancient Civilization in Central America and their Geographical Distribution*," address read July 10, 1876, pp. 9 and 10) mentions in Vera-Paz three idioms: the "Kekchi" (Alta Verapaz), "Pokoman" (in the South), and the "QQuiché" (Western Verapaz). See also *E. G. Squier*, ("*Monograph of Authors who have written on the Languages of Central America*," Introd., p. IX). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. IX, p. 769). *Diego Garcia de Palacio* ("*Report to the King of Spain in* 1576," German translation by the late *Dr. Aiez von Frentzius*, pp. 4 and 64). *Pimentel* ("*Cuadro descriptivo de las Lenguas*," etc., Vol. I, pp. 81–84). The close connection in customs and Institutions (see my notes in regard to the calendars of Mexico and Central America) between the QQuiché and the Mexicans, and the probable identity of their origin, make it not unlikely that the latter had also the same rule, "not to marry within the tribe or lineage," or rather in the kin. As every tribe in Mexico consisted of a number of Calpulli, there was no need of selecting the wife from outside of the settlement. The manner of arranging marriages furnishes direct evidence of the fact, that the wife was, at least usually, from another kinship. (See note 109.) See especially, besides, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 229). 171

[108] "*Native Races*" (Vol. II, cap. VII, p. 251).

[109] Not only the consent of the young man's parents was requisite, but also that of the "telpochtlato" (speaker to the youth) of his "barrio" or calpulli, *i. e.*, of his kin. This fact is abundantly proven. *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIII, pp. 153, 154) says: The "speaker" was invited to the house and after having "eaten and smoked," "the old parents of the young man, and the old men of the barrio sat down," and the case was told to them. The "speaker" then took formal leave of the youth "y dejaban al moso en su casa de su padre." (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VI, p. 271), he again insists that the consent of the "maestros de los mancebos" was required. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 132): "Lorsqu'ils étaient d'âge à se marier, c'est à dire à vingt ans ou un peu plus, ils en demandaient l'autorisation" (p. 134). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 123): "Llegados á la edad de casarse . . . pedian licencia para buscar mujer; y sin licencia por maravilla alguno se casaba, y al que lo hacia, demas de darle su penitencia, lo tenian por ingrato, malcriado y como apóstata" . . . *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX). It was the kin of the male which solicited the girl, and this solicitation was carried on by women, who brought presents. Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 251 to 263). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. II, cap. XII, p. 477. "*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I). If the male needed it, "the community" assisted him. See above authorities, and others. 583 584

The controlling influence of the *Kin*, in matters of marriage, was officially recognized, as late as 1555, by the first provincial "concilio" held at Mexico in that year. It was ordained: "That since it is customary among the Indians Maceguales not to marry without permission ("licencia") of their principals, nor to take any women, unless it

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

582 It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the
[562] ritual details themselves, but we must lay particular stress on the fact, that the wife became the *property* of her husband and that she was, as such, placed under the direct protection of his kinsmen. Such marriages could be annulled by mutual consent,
[586] provided the kin gave its approbation. In such a case the woman was at liberty to marry again, and also to return to the calpulli from which she issued.[110]

764 We might now be expected to cast a glance at the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans since it was *one of the attributes of the kin to enjoy common burial.*[111] But this question is so intimately connected with that of creed and belief that we refrain from trespassing too much on that field. The Mexicans practised cremation and, in the case of warriors slain in battle, at least, it is known that the exercises were conducted by the officers and leaders of each kin, *all its members*, and not the special relatives and friends only of the deceased, attending the ceremony.[112] Our knowledge of the burial places of aboriginal Mexico is still very indefi-

583 was given by their hand, out of which there arise great discomforts, and marriage
584 among free persons is not as free as it should be, therefore, we ordain and command: that no Indian principal of whichever condition or rank ("estado,") shall of his own accord or authority give away any wife to anybody whatsoever, nor shall he prevent any Macegual from marrying freely the woman whom he may wish, and who may like him,—under penalty of thirty days of imprisonment, and other penalties which the Judge may determine upon."

("*Concilios Provinciales, Primero y Segundo, celebrados por la muy noble, y muy Leal ciudad de México etc., etc. Delos á Luz el Ill'mo Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia* Año de 1769). The "principales Indios" are the officers of the "Kins," and thus we have, thirty five years after the conquest, a formal recognition of the custom among the Mexican Indians that marriage was controlled by the Kin. How the "encomenderos" subsequently interfered with that custom, in order to conceal their own criminal doings, is plainly told by *Fray Antonio de Remesal "Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala, etc., etc."* Madrid, 1619 (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 227).

[110] It is singular that some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers imply that there was no rule of repudiation or divorce among the ancient Mexicans. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 303). The same authority, however, attributes this to the baneful effects of contact with the Spaniards, in consequence of which the customs of the natives grew more or less dissolute and immoral (p. 304). *Zurita* (p. 97) confirms, and *Torquemada* (Lib. XVI, cap. XXIV, p. 196), copies Mendieta literally. For the customs of divorce see *Zurita* (p. 97), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 304), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XV, pp. 441 and 442). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. C, XVII, pp. 72 and 73), *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196), and others. The division of property mentioned as accompanying the divorce, applies only to personal effects, since the wife brought nothing else. See "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, and note 107).

The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans will be more thoroughly discussed by me in another monograph, subsequent to one on "Religious Beliefs."

[111] "*Ancient Society*" (pp. 71 and 83).

[112] Compare *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 154 and 156), and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXV, pp. 57 and 58).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La tresena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289 778] [565] [666 431 721]

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que trataua en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinza decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversa-
[412] tion they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to
[777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for
[276] the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers.
585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car-
[482 373] ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her
[312] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire.'And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuuiesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determinauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honrradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esquina de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatozie*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiouali*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey tocoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacapa qujqujxtiaia: in motenecoa xuchineapãtli.

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaqujaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuxcatl, yn jcuxquj, oc cepa yielpançuxquj ixtac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiax tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatozi, iuhqujn icpaziquipilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquixtli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopax: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynic tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli qujmeztopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: ichoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquixti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in ichoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompochiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlikçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhqujnma izutequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaxtaxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech qujlpia:

çan ompoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtociuatl.

Auh in ie itenula Toxçatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

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8. "Como cruzillos de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llevaban a las espaldas, un ornamento como bolsa, de un palmo en cuadro de hoyas blancas, con sus borlas y flecadura" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 161. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma curiosa, comunmente apellida mulera de las cabellos, con borlas con sus hazeruelos, borlas de plumas, y oro, y carbunqul, muy curiosas, que eran flamencas arriendo." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 98) describes "The first kind of mulera [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, quetzalmiaoaio, because of the catalan tresses in carbuncul or red rabbit's fur; the general of which[sic] contained in a square of dark red, has squares of white borders. The fringe is also of red carbuncul." From this, it would appear that carbuncul is red mixing, and carbuncul a red shade of rabbit hair.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

H. H. Bancroft to whom every student of American antiquities must look with a deep feeling of gratitude for his valuable services, says on the subject: "marriages between blood relations or those descended from a common ancestor were not allowed."[108] The act of marriage itself was preceded by negotiations on the part of one calpulli (that of the man) with another (that of the woman), the negotiations terminating in something like a *purchase* of the girl.[109] It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the 582

they did not reckon the children, born in foreign tribes or lineages, as belonging to their family; although if the mother had issued from their lineage, and the reason for this was, that this relationship was only attributed to the men." Now this is a very plain statement and picture of "descent in the male line," with the rules of kinship as strongly and fully in vigor as, with "descent in the female line" among the Iroquois. The inhabitants of Vera-Paz spoke, according to *Herrera* (Dec. IV, cap. X, cap. XIV, p. 229), "varios Lenguages," but they selected one at the instance of the Dominican fathers, "to use it in general." *Dr. Berendt* ("*Remarks on the Centres of Ancient Civilisation in Central America and their Geographical Distribution*," address read July 10, 1876, pp. 9 and 10) mentions in Vera-Paz three idioms: the "Kekchi" (Alta Verapaz), "Pokoman" (in the South), and the "QQuiché" (Western Verapaz). See also *E. G. Squier*, ("*Monograph of Authors who have written on the Languages of Central America*," Introd., p. IX). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. IX, p. 760). *Diego Garcia de Palacio* ("*Report to the King of Spain in 1576*," German translation by the late *Dr. Alex von Frantzius*, pp. 4 and 64). *Pimentel* ("*Cuadro descriptivo de las Lenguas*," etc., Vol. I, pp. 81–84). The close connection in customs and Institutions (see my notes in regard to the calendars of Mexico and Central America) between the QQuiché and the Mexicans, and the probable identity of their origin, make it not unlikely that the latter had also the same rule, "not to marry within the tribe or lineage," or rather in the kin. As every tribe in Mexico consisted of a number of Calpulli, there was no need of selecting the wife from outside of the settlement. The manner of arranging marriages furnishes direct evidence of the fact, that the wife was, at least usually, from another kinship. (See note 109.) See especially, besides, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 228). 171

[108] "*Native Races*" (Vol II, cap. VII, p. 251).

[109] Not only the consent of the young man's parents was requisite, but also that of the "telpuchtlato" (speaker to the youth) of his "barrio" or calpulli, *i. e.*, of his kin. This fact is abundantly proven. *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIII, pp. 152, 153) says: The "speaker" was invited to the house and after having "eaten and smoked," "the old parents of the young man, and the old men of the barrio sat down," and the case was told to them. The "speaker" then took formal leave of the youth "y dejaban al moso en su casa de su padre." (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VI, p. 271), he again insists that the consent of the "maestros de los mancebos" was required. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 132): "Lorsqu'ils étaient d'âge à se marier, c'est à dire à vingt ans ou un peu plus, ils en demandaient l'autorisation" (p. 134). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125): "Llegados á la edad de casarse . . . pedian licencia para buscar mujer; y sin licencia por maravilla alguno se casaba, y al que lo hacia, demas de darle su penitencia, lo tenian por ingrato, malcriado y como apóstata" . . . *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX). It was the kin of the male which solicited the girl, and this solicitation was carried on by women, who brought presents. Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 251 to 262). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. II, cap. XII, p. 477. "*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I). If the male needed it, "the community" assisted him. See above authorities, and others. 583 584

The controlling influence of the *Kin*, in matters of marriage, was officially recognized, as late as 1555, by the first provincial "concile" held at Mexico in that year. It was ordained: "That since it is customary among the Indians Maceguales not to marry without permission ("licencia") of their principals, nor to take any women, unless it

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

582 It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the
[562] ritual details themselves, but we must lay particular stress on the fact, that the wife became the *property* of her husband and that she was, as such, placed under the direct protection of his kinsmen. Such marriages could be annulled by mutual consent,
[586] provided the kin gave its approbation. In such a case the woman was at liberty to marry again, and also to return to the calpulli from which she issued.[110]

764 We might now be expected to cast a glance at the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans since it was *one of the attributes of the kin to enjoy common burial.*[111] But this question is so intimately connected with that of creed and belief that we refrain from trespassing too much on that field. The Mexicans practised cremation and, in the case of warriors slain in battle, at least, it is known that the exercises were conducted by the officers and leaders of each kin, *all its members*, and not the special relatives and friends only of the deceased, attending the ceremony.[112] Our knowledge of the burial places of aboriginal Mexico is still very indefi-

583 was given by their hand, out of which there arise great discomforts, and marriage
584 among free persons is not as free as it should be, therefore, we ordain and command: that no Indian principal of whichever condition or rank ("estado,") shall of his own accord or authority give away any wife to anybody whatsoever, nor shall he prevent any Macegual from marrying freely the woman whom he may wish, and who may like him,— under penalty of thirty days of imprisonment, and other penalties which the Judge may determine upon."

("*Concilios Provinciales, Primero y Segundo, celebrados por la muy noble, y muy Leal ciudad de México etc., etc. Dados á Luz el Ill'mo Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia* Año de 1769). The "principales Indios" are the officers of the "Kins," and thus we have, thirty five years after the conquest, a formal recognition of the custom among the Mexican Indians that marriage was controlled by the Kin. How the "encomenderos" subsequently interfered with that custom, in order to conceal their own criminal doings, is plainly told by *Fray Antonio de Remesal* "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala, etc., etc.*" Madrid, 1619 (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 327).

[110] It is singular that some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers imply that there was no rule of repudiation or divorce among the ancient Mexicans. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 303). The same authority, however, attributes this to the baneful effects of contact with the Spaniards, in consequence of which the customs of the natives grew more or less dissolute and immoral (p. 304). *Zurita* (p. 97) confirms, and *Torquemada* (Lib. XVI, cap. XXIV, p. 196), copies Mendieta literally. For the customs of divorce see *Zurita* (p. 97), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 304), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XV, pp. 441 and 442). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. C, XVII, pp. 72 and 73), *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196), and others. The division of property mentioned as accompanying the divorce, applies only to personal effects, since the wife brought nothing else. See "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, and note 107).

The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans will be more thoroughly discussed by me in another monograph, subsequent to one on "Religious Beliefs."

[111] "*Ancient Society*" (pp. 71 and 83).

[112] Compare *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 154 and 156), and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXV, pp. 37 and 38).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

585 at last a feast, liberally lubricated with pulque, took place. [834] The bride and the groom, after this merciless treatment, retired for four days of penance and fasting, and not until that period elapsed did they consummate their marriage.

595 As is often the case in a warrior nation which suffers from 586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed from a husband who failed to support her or educate the children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the [587] Aztecs had not invented mental cruelty. A divorced woman could remarry as she chose, but a widow had to marry a brother of her deceased husband or one of his clansmen.[8]

562 Women had definite rights, but they were inferior to those of men. They could hold property, enter into contracts and go to courts to obtain justice. In matters of sexual morality [834] girls had to be chaste and wives faithful to their husbands. A [837] man transgressed the rules of propriety only when his illicit relations involved a married woman. Otherwise his wife could not formally demand his fidelity. While the legal position of women was relatively low, judged by modern standards in the United States, personal influence was great, and there were several instances where a woman acted as regent when her son was too young to assume the office of chief. In mat- [648] ters of tribal alliance we have seen how the marriage of a chief's daughter or sister to another ruler cemented an alliance.

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had [412] in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to [777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for [276] the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers. ● 585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car- [482 373] ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her [372] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuuiesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determinauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, ansi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esqujna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *ainci*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y bueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo.

585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diversas aues y anjmales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro.

796^ [304 854] [535 785]

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood. Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from
346 where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed from a husband who failed to support her or educate the children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the
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15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case [589 784] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship, or in case of great infirmities, for which the calpulli provided.[111] No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the [587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

428 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same 764 with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs 428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

[793]

[111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat. de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 547–553), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1514, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1865, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 106, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164–167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 22). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 424). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV. p. 177. Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 256, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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ne. well, then they drew blood from him [with magney spines].

Fourteenth: Carefully were they taught the songs which they called the gods' songs. They were inscribed in the books. And well were all taught the reckoning of the days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.

Fifteenth: A strict vow of the priests was [that of] chastity, of a pure life. In no wise were they to look upon a woman.[3] A strict vow of theirs was [a life of] moderation. None then told lies. The priests were very devout. They were very god-fearing.

Now enough of this. Here is told the way of life of the priests. Much else, which is left [unsaid] must [yet] be related. [This] will be told in another place.

in aquja amo vellaloz, in amo vel ixtlapaloz, ajmaxi qnicçaçaia.

Jnjc. 14. vel nemachtiloia in cujcatl in quilhuja mocuicatl, amoxxotoca. Yoan vel nemachtiloia in tonalpoalli in temjcamatl, yoan in xiuhamatl. [533]

Jnjc. 15. in tlamacazque vel innetol catca in nepializtli, in chipaoaca nemiliztli, in acan quittazque cihoatl, vel innetol catca in tlaxxicoliztli, ajmaxi-aiac intlacatia, vel tlatzumatinj, catca in tlamacazque, vel teuimacaçini catca, [589]

çan cuel ixq'ch, y, nican onmitoa, in jnuemilia catca tlamacazque, oc mjec in mocaoa in jmitoaia moneqnj vccā mitoa.

3. Probably a life of celibacy is not to be understood. Cf. Charles E. Dibble, Códice Ramírez (Madrid: Universidades de España y de México, 1952) p. 75, N. V., and elsewhere for examples of married priests.

[p. 66 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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463 judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

[837] In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the
463 daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always
581 wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

463 Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews,* and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he
463 wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers
351 and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

* [i.e., buffoons.—Munyst]

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case [589 734] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship, or in case of great infirmities, for which the calpulli provided.[111] No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the [587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

428 764 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs 428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

[793] [111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat. de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 347–333), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1514, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1864, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 108, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164–167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV. p. 177. Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 356, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 of any connection by kin. This presupposes *a class of outcasts from the bond of kinship.*

There is no evidence of the formation of such a cluster prior to the permanent settlement of the tribe. Neither can we trace its gradual increase from a given time. But a glance at some of the rules of kinship, and at the practical working of these rules finally crystallizing into an equivalent for laws, will enable us to discern its origin.

121 The relation of sexes being at the bottom of society based upon kin, it follows that sexual intercourse gradually assumed a regulated shape, proportionate to the progress in institutions. The ancient Mexicans had, as we have already established, advanced into descent in the male line, and had secured a nascent state of the modern family. Marriage was well known to them [581] as a *rule*. But so powerful was the influence exercised by the kin, as unit of public life that, once the ritual union of a couple acknowledged as a necessity for future joint life, it exacted of its male members the obligation to marry for the purpose of propagating and increasing the kin. Only such as were naturally helpless, and such as in view of "medicine" made vows of permanent [587] chastity, were excused. Any other youth therefore, who refused to take a wife at the proper age, was treated with contempt and consequently expelled from the kin.[80]

562 Woman, among the aboriginal Mexicans, was in a singular predicament. Through the establishment of descent in the male line she lost her hold on public life, (which she latterly regained through the establishment of the family proper) and thus remained little else than a *chattel* in the power of man. Still, the ritual act 562 of marriage being once adopted, the same obligation to marry, 589 which we have already found incumbent upon the male, also devolved upon the female, and any girl therefore, who did not "take vows" for "medicine," or who was physically not mis-

[80] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 451). *Burita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp 133 and 134) "s'ils ne voulaient pas prendre des femmes, on les congédiait." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125), "Llegados á la edad de casarse, ... Si pasando la edad se descuidaban, y veian que no se querian casar, tresquilábanlos, y despedianlos de la compañia de los mancebos." This meant exclusion from the kin since, as soon as they were married, "they were classified, since, according to their custom, they were divided into sections each of which had a chief or captain, as well for the collection of taxes as for other reasons." These "chiefs or captains" were those of the calpulli. *Burita*, (p. 135), also *Bustamante*, ("*Tezcoco*," Part III, cap. III, p. 213), "Cuando se casaban los empadronaban. . . . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 186, almost a copy of Mendieta).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

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shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was 559
also regarded as a reprobate.[81]

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is 689
a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship.* Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82]

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the 565
pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to 567
foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live.* Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave.*

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversion to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 397): "A gente che stima meno le donne di quanti nationi sono al mondo, perchi non gli comunicherebbe mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscesse che li farlo gli potesse melter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III. p. 306), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X. cap. XV, p. 27); *Zurita* (p. 129). If a girl abandoned her house, she might finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("ou les abandonnait").

[82] *Zurita* (p. 56): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre" (Id. p. 54): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demeurer dans un autre, on lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib: IV, cap. XV, p. 128). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p 436).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 565 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 488).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.' (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the perfectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Tō-pe'ek.

well-matured, the gray-haired, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some went shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest [the wine] sour.

They should look to their strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and tasted it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[130]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[131] to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the green mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the dispensal of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same wards, those of the same class [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the drugs in the vessel, of the wine, of wormed wine,[132] of fruit wine,[133] of white wine, of deep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gout, as was said above, he was then cured. And he who was to have devoured but did not die, when he caused the images to be made then paid his debt and then fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornment—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their crowns of round thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,[134] their cloud-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little water bowls with

calhujque, in ie quaistaque, in ie tzmistaque, yoan 273
flamatlaca yn jlamatque: 782
ihoan vel inomac catca, in vctli in quizque. 755

Auh in otlaivistic, niman ie ic vinjloa, cecenmanoia, nistizinjoa:

yn aca mochoquijtitiuh, yn aca moquijchiotiuh, mjtotitiuh, momamantiuh: yn aca tetzatzilitiuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaoaltiloia: çan no onnenca yn inequjuh, yn jchiujl:

tlacaqujtiloia, navilhujtl maçaoaia, qujneçaujliaia yn inequjuh, ynic amo xocoiax:

vel mopiaia, vel motlacaoaltiaia, amo cioacochia, amo [834]
equjchocchia, intla cioatl:

çan niman aiac vel ontlapalaoaia yn vctli, yoan in necutli, ynic machioaia:

aiac inmanel imapil, conaqujaia, vel ymacazoa, vel mallhujloia, yn inequjchica, moiacaxapotlac yn vctli.

Auh yn aquja, ichtaca tlapaloaia, yn tlachtaica yia inmanel 753
çan tepiton ocompalo: iuh mjtzaia tonnecujlivia tepantilivia,
avic momamana avic xoqujvi yn ie:

yoan in aca matricoliujia, yma qujcuecuetza, icxi
quicuecuetza, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicuecuechca,
yhixatzoco, tempapatlaca, tenviviioca, itech qujnoia: mjtza,
equjtlavelique in xocouhque tepicme.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ie ic apeoalo: yn apeoa çan 782
ihoan, yn ioaniolque, in vel icallec, in centlaca, cemeca, in 592
vel icujtlaxcolloc, yn vel imecaioc: 755

moemeoa apeoalo, iquac cempoliuja tlatlamj, in quex-
qujch mocaoaia, in atl, in tlaqualli:

yoan in oc quexqujch omocauh xaiocomjc in vctli, in [273]
aiouxtli, in tlachioalvctli, in ixtac vctli, in cochvctli.

Auh yn tepiquejnj, in tepicquj: intla coacivi, yn juh omjto- 755
tlacpac, ic patix: yoan yn aqujn atlan miquixquja ynjc amo 782
mjc: ihoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc mostlaoa, ynjc qujnehtilia
yoaxcal.

Auh yn jxqujch, yn jnnechichiual, yn jxtlaquen, yn
jnnomaxquen, yn jnoxcopil, yn jxtlapetlanjlquauh, yn
jxnimhcoxcal:

yoan yn jxchalchiuhtzical, yoã yn jxtlaquaie molcaxtoxoxti,

130. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 39, citing unnamed ghost in MS Bibliotheca del Palacio. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 38.
131. Probably sympathetic in nature. It does appear in MS Bibliotheca del Palacio (Cf. Sahagún, loc. cit.)
132. Doubly strong.
133. See Molina (Vocabulario).
134. Alonso Tezozomoc, Histoire du Mexique (tr. Tenaux-Compans, ed.; Paris: F. Jomes, 1853), Vol. I, p. 308, describes this as a light flame-colored stick: ". . . un cite de qu'il en existait des flammes et des étincelles." Seler (op. cit., p. 39) calls it a lightning stick (Blitzstab).

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Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth how the vassals of Quetzalcoatl froze in the ice and died as they passed between Iztac tepetl and Popocatepetl; and of others of his exploits.

Then once again he set forth and came to climb between Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl.[1] He led all the dwarfs and hunchbacks, his servants. It snowed upon them, and there they froze; they died of the cold.

And Quetzalcoatl thereupon was greatly moved and wept to himself. And he sang much to himself [as] he wept and sighed.

Thereupon he looked at a distance to another white mountain, named Poyauhtecatl.[2] Again he set forth, making the rounds of all places, everywhere passing through the villages. And so, they say, he set down many of his signs, by which he is known.

In another place it is said that he took his pleasure on a mountain. He came sliding down it, to its foot;[3] he came bouncing down it.

And elsewhere he planted in the ground *maguey* fibers.[4] At another place he built a ball court, all of stone. And in the middle of it, where the line was, the earth lay open, reaching deep; for it was thus pierced. And elsewhere he shot, as an arrow, a *bombax ceiba* tree, [shooting it] likewise into the midst of [another] *bombax ceiba* [so that one] rested piercing [the other]. And elsewhere he built a house all underground at a place named Mictlan.[5]

And elsewhere he set up a huge rock.[6] It is said that one might move it with his little finger; easily it swayed; from side to side it would teeter. And it is said that when many men pushed it, then it would not move, even though many would try hard. [If] they sought to move it, they could not budge it.

And there were many more things which he did in all the villages. And it is said that he named all

Injc matlactli ynnauj capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in quenjn cioapaoaque cetica micque in jmaceoaloan Quetzalcoatl, injc inepantla quiz in iztac tepetl, yoan in popocatepetl, yoan in oc cequi itlachioal.

Niman oc ceppa vmpeuh in otlecoto, popocatepetl itzalã, yoã iztatepetl, in izqujchtin qujnvicaia, in tzapame, in tepotzome, yn jiachoan, muchintin inpan cepaisuh vncan cioapaoaque, cecmjcque:

auh in Quetzalcoatl, njma ie ic mellaquaoa, mochoquilia, yoan mocujcatia cenca choca, helcicivi,

niman ie ic no conitta vecapa î oc centetl iztac tepetl itoca poiauhtecatl, oc ceppa ic vmpeuh novian quiquiztia, novian quixaqualotinen yn altepetl, iuh q'toa mjec tlamantli in quitlalitia in inezca ynjc monezcaioti.

In cecnj quilmach maavilti tepetitech oalmoortlacalaub tlatzintlan oalveverztia.

auh y cecnj quitlalitecana ichtli, y cecni quitecac tlachtli çan moch tetl, auh in tlanepantla yn oncã icac tlecotl coionticac veca aciticac ynjc coionquj, yoan cecnj quimjn pochotl injc qujmjn çan no ie in pochotl hitic nalquizticac, auh cecni quiquetz calli çan tlallan, itocaiocan mjctlan,

auh oc no cecni quitlali centetl vejtepol tetl, quil yn aca colinia yca inaapil xocoioton, vel molinia hauic ooquiquiça: auh quil in iquac miequjntin colinja, çan njman avel olinj, in manel cenca qujmjeccavia coliniznequj, avel colinia.

auh oc mjec tlamantli in qujchiuh in novian ipan

1. Iztac cihuatl.
2. Mt. Ortaiba.
3. [illegible] a various version is suggested in Seler, (*op. cit.*, p. 291, n. 1)—"*[illegible]*".
4. Cf. *loc. cit.* (n. 2), which differs somewhat from the *Florentine Codex* text: "*[illegible]*".
5. Possibly Mitla.
6. Corresponding passage in Seler (*op. cit.*) somehow *[illegible]* as pinchos rock. Cf. in Molina (*op. cit.*), *[illegible]* (*[illegible]*).

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the mountains. And in all places he gave all the names here.

And when he had done these things, then he went to reach the sea coast. Thereupon he fashioned a raft of serpents. When he had arranged [the raft], there he placed himself, as if it were his boat. Then he set off going across the sea. No one knows how he came to arrive there at Tlapallan.[7]

Here Endeth
the Third Book

ahtepetl: yoan quilmach much quintotocaiioti in tetepe. yoan novili novian tlatotocaiiotitia yn ojcan

auh in ic iuhquj yn oacito atēco, ojman ic ic quichioa coatlapechtli, yn oquicencauhque vncan motlali, iuhqujnma yiacal ipan pouh, ojman ic ic iatiuh atocotiuh aocac ondamati in quenjn acito in vmpa tlapallan.

Nicon tlamatca
injc Ey amoxtli

7. There is great variation in legends and interpretations of the disappearance of Quetzalcoatl. In the *Anales de Quauhtitlan* (Lehmann, op. cit., pp. 79, 90-92), he went to the sea to the east burned himself; his heart survived, went to the heavens, and became the morning star. He said the sun vanished for four days, while Quetzalcoatl was in the underworld; other eight days, the sun reappeared. The version in Torquemada (op. cit., p. 79) has Tezcatlipoca wear Quetzalcoatl from Cholula to Tlapacoya, or Tlilapan, where Quetzalcoatl died; his body was burned, and he became a star or comet. Durán (op. cit., pp. 75-6) relates that, on reaching the sea coast, Quetzalcoatl, or a simple wand, wore a mantle and entered it; sent a rope over the sea, made a sign with his hand, and called off; dried the sea with a blow of his staff and marched through with his people—the sea does engulfing the pursuers. In "La leyenda de los soles" (Codex Chimalpopoca), Quetzalcoatl (Ce acatl) is said to have undertaken a series of conquests (Ayotlan, Cholula, Cuauxcala, Huipantitlan, Tlapallan, Atlixco), and to have disbanded, died, and been burned or hidden at Tlapallan. (The passage cited is incomplete because of a lacuna in the original text.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

585 at last a feast, liberally lubricated with pulque, took place.
[834] The bride and the groom, after this merciless treatment, retired for four days of penance and fasting, and not until that period elapsed did they consummate their marriage.

595 As is often the case in a warrior nation which suffers from
586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed from a husband who failed to support her or educate the children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the
[587] Aztecs had not invented mental cruelty. A divorced woman could remarry as she chose, but a widow had to marry a brother of her deceased husband or one of his clansmen.[3]

562 Women had definite rights, but they were inferior to those of men. They could hold property, enter into contracts and go to courts to obtain justice. In matters of sexual morality
[834] girls had to be chaste and wives faithful to their husbands. A
[837] man transgressed the rules of propriety only when his illicit relations involved a married woman. Otherwise his wife could not formally demand his fidelity. While the legal position of women was relatively low, judged by modern standards in the United States, personal influence was great, and there were several instances where a woman acted as regent when her son was too young to assume the office of chief. In mat-
[648] ters of tribal alliance we have seen how the marriage of a chief's daughter or sister to another ruler cemented an alliance.

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796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among
[565] those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food
[595] well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

icuac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iccan, qujnquetza: mtch tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech qujntlalilia: ipã mjtotiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahtlamj yn jncuje, ynjc momiquinquequeloa.

Auh intla aca oittec, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in tolizmatquj, yn jtz, yn iollo: qujqujxtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaeac: no qujxtiloia, qujnmotlacacinoatiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, isquatzo, ixquatzone, quetzallalpile, tzucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, ciocale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlaçaia ymac omoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[173] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and bathetb men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn itoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjxcoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, qujmotetutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopouia:

iuh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl achto qujnmachti, qujnittiti, in petlachioalizttli, yn icpalchioalizttli:

iehoatl axcaoa cococaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlaneztile, tlatzintile, tlapeoaltile.

Joan iuh qujtoaia ca iehoatl qujnoaltia, qujqujxtia, in toli in tolpitzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, aztapili, in tolquijutl, in tolcaputl, yn jztoli, xomali:

yoan yn jquac ilhujuhqujçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan qujtzetzeloa, tepan qujpitoa, yn aoachdi, cenca tlaihtlanjlilooia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan qujmonaia, tlacotli, in qujnictiaia cexiuhtica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that: "*esta, cubierta con una manta azul, y sobre el azul, una red angosta de manera que azul, se parecye, por las mallas de la red.*"

111. The *xicalcoliuhqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

[618] 112. *Calpolli*—clan or gens, which contained, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word "guild" where the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "*hacen cestajes de juncias: que llaman tolcamalli.*"

114. Cf. Sahagun: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatzazin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *eioalli*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, [then] they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey toçoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[11] his furked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa quiquijtiaia: in moteneoa suchiteapãtli.

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaqujaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcuzquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ic yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz teccizti: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatozi, iuhqujn icpaziqujpilli:

njman ic nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujdatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynjc tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli qujmetztopeoa:

auh njman ic ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: ichoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in ichoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ic oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ic itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ic itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhqujnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaztaxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech qujlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ic itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

796x 301

[306]

[292]

796x

[584 595]

[302 701]

[283 301]

[833]

[551]

8. "Como cerçillos de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llamaua a las cuentas, con ornamento como lados, de un palmo en quadro de lienço blanco, con sus barlas y flecadura" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmarda edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 163. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma corriua, [illegible] aquella andaua de los cabellos, dos barlas con sus borlas, barlas de plumas, y oro, y turbonzil, [illegible], que olio llamauan [illegible]." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 80) describes "The first lord of mexico [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, [illegible] [illegible], because of the crooked weapon in turbonzil or red [illegible]'s hair; the ground of [illegible] turbonzil is a square of dark red, has [illegible] of white feathers. The fringe is also of red turbonzil." From this, it would appear that turbonzil is red string, and turbonzil a red thing of white feathers.

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categorical assertions such as that of the Codex Alcobiz (Laws which the Indians had) [Leyes que tenían los Indios].

codices show between the clothes and gear of the macehuales those of and the lords and rulers in illustrations of Sahagun, Mendoza, etc. All of these are facts which oblige us to think that there were great differences of richness and well-being within the population of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and that these differences existed between the macehuales and pillis.

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Another aspect which showed the differences between segments of the population was sexual life: "it is said that commoners have only one wife; but the lords can have concubines at their wish" (15), and

15. Mendieta, Eclesiastical History [Historia Eclestiástica], p. 297.

when they married "the noble women brought with them other maid-servants (and with all these women the men had)... much profit for they made them weave and make blankets, and perform other services of this sort" (16).

16. Motolinía, History [Historia], p. 164.

These data show us not only the well-being of the polygamous lords implicit in having a multitude of wives, but also the economic well-being derived from this polygyny, which was beyond the reach of the macehuales.

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However, it seems that this stratification also included groups of people dedicated to occupations other than agriculture since we are told that the merchants also had lords who went about with the heads of the calpullis (17), which makes us think that not all the merchants

17. Zurita, p. 143.

were /p. 26/ lords, and that therefore there obtained among them also the stratification of which we have been speaking. Complementing and clarifying the situation, we know that the merchants and the artisans, although they cultivated their land, did not give tribute by working the fields but in work of their particular occupation

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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000 And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

643 THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of [302] an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He [515] was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, [595 837] daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free [515] from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He 643 had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other 644 rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape 567
threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their 731
children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[57]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or 562
of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for 565
the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether 837
different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such [634]
purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became [548
tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in 595]
the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[58]

[57] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 136) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1402. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 248) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("*Huehue Motecuzuma*") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 94), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 206) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 233) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 286), agrees with Durán and Tezozomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 282): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451–1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 156) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[58] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 We thus witness, among the ancient Mexicans and beneath the kins composing the tribe, a lower class of society, a floating

565 one, was a mere matter of subsistence. As already remarked by *Peter Martyr* (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228): "He further saith, that the common sort of people content themselves with one wife; but that every Prince may maintayne harlotts at his pleasure." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia I, p. 438): "Cuatro causas dan para tener tantas mujeres: la primera es el vicio de la carne, en que mucho se deleitan; la segunda es por tener muchos hijos; la tercera por reputacion y servicio; la cuarta es por granjéria; y esta postrera usan mas que otros, los hombres de guerra, los de palacio, los holgazanes y taheres; hacinlas trabajar como esclavas, etc." The same author adds: "Aunque toman muchas mugeres, á unas tienen por légitimas, á otras por amigas, y á otras por mancebas. Amiga llaman á la que despues de casados demandaban, y manceba á la que ellos se tomaban." According to this statement, a husband could entertain three classes of women: one legitimate wife, concubines which he obtained with permission of their parents and prostitutes or mistresses. *Varietas delectat! Torquemada*, however (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 376), says: "Otra especie de mancebas havia, y se permitia, que era la que los Señores principales, ó las tomaban ellos, ó las pedian despues de casados, con la Señora, y muger legitima, que llamaban cihuapilli." This reduces the "stock" to two kinds, at least. *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII, pp. 124-125) mentions polygamy as a rule, and describes the infinite trouble of the priests to find out the legitimate wife, assuming it to be "aquella con quien estando en su gentilidad primero habian contraido matrimonio" (p. 127). According to him the first legitimate marriage took place 14 October, 1526 (p. 134), but nevertheless for three or four years afterwards: "no se velaban, . . sino que todos se estaban con las mujeres que querian, y habia algunos que tenian hasta doscientas mujeres, y de alli abajo cada uno tenia las que queria" (p. 135). In defence of this state of polygamy the Indians alleged "tambien las tenian par manera de granjéria, porque las hacian á todos tejer y hacer mantas y otros oficios de esta manera" (p. 125). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVII and XLVIII, pp. 300-300) is very explicit on the same question. He asserts that the early missionaries found: "Por otra parte se hallaba que el comun de la gente vulgar y pobre no tenian ni habian tomado sino sola una mujer . . . . . sino que los señores y principales, como poderosos, excederian los limites del uso matrimonial, tomando despues otras, las que se les antojaba" (p. 301). The final result of these troublesome disputes and investigations is expressed as follows (p. 303): "y que sabiendose cual era la primera mujer, era cierta cosa ser aquella la legitima, y viviendo aquella, otra cualquiera habia de ser manceba." The question is as to whether a daughter of any member of the kin could ever lawfully become a concubine, or whether this was only the case with female outcasts? The stories about "Handful of Reeds," who, his first wife being sterile, was subsequently married to a number of daughters of chieftains (see *Durán*, Cap. VI, pp. 48 and 49, *Torquemada*, Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 56, *Valencourt*, Parte II, Trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270, *Clavigero*, Lib. III, cap. III, p. 194) is manifestly untrue. The object of these subsequent marriages is given as in order to obtain heirs to the throne. Now it is well known that there was no "succession," but only an "election," consequently there was no such object as the one claimed. The chief certainly had concubines, but there is no evidence to show that he obtained them from the kins. Again we are treated to long descriptions of the dazzling polygamy of the chiefs of Texcuco. For instance, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XLIII, pp. 305 and 306) relates of "Fasting wolf" "nezahualcoyotl," from "nezahualitztli," "ayuno," etc., (*Molina*, II. 64), and "coyotl" how he had a number of concubines previous to his marriage with an Indian girl of Coatlichan. Further on he relates the well known "Uriah and Bathsheba" story (pp. 309-312), attributed to the same chief, and which has been so often recopied. His successor in office, "Fasting boy" (Nezahualpilli," compare the picture of this name in *Durán*, *Lam.* 23 and 24, Trat. 1o), is reported by him to have had 2000 concubines, "But, besides the queen, he had intercourse with forty" (Cap. LVII, p. 35 of 2d Vol.). His marriage with that only legitimate spouse is described (Cap. LXIV, p. 66, Vol. II). He is, of course, supported by Torquemada

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated, 565

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 151-153; cap. LXII, p. 184; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H.* 595 ●
Bancroft (Vol. II. p. 298) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 290): "Tenia esto Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, á las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 398) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 81), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou," "ichtaca"—secretly (II. p. 28), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II. 56). See in a further note.

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept these women for their work*. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por trasrse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 568): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir sueltas, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban à necesitarse mucho, y hacianse Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 566): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Anónimo* says (p. 267): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, li che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altra." 595 567

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Anónimo*," p. 273), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 22). [727]

[89] They were the "tamenes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from "tlacatl"—man, and "nitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, ("*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 336. Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 250, 251, and 256) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Cuynos & Quiroga a l'Impératrice*." (Mexico, 30 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Les Indiens ont de tout temps porté des fardeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . ." [482]

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "macehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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342

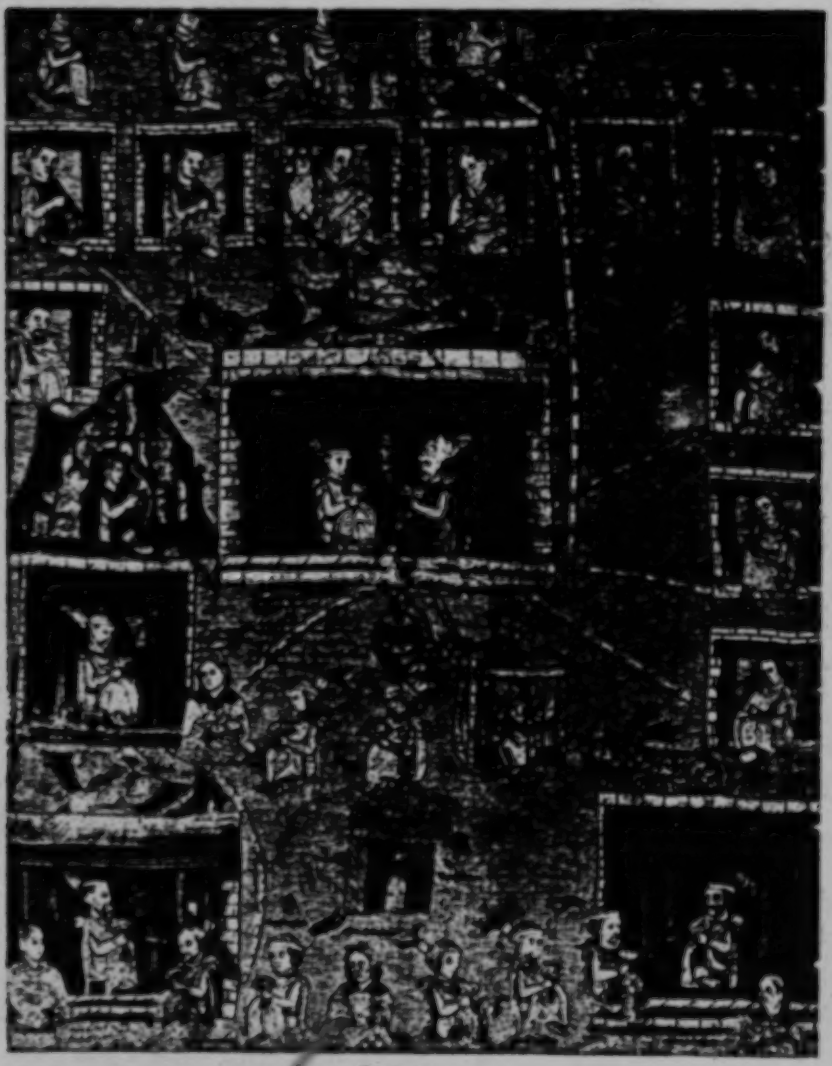

PLATE 44
AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The Lienzo Chalchihuitzin Vasquez shows the chief and the founder of his line in the central house. The topmost row of figures discloses his descent, and the smaller houses joined to his palace by roads are those of his subjects. The people in the two large houses at lower right and left are allies. Post-Conquest painting on cloth.

[p. 128 (F)]

12: Radin E-4 (no date) 1925 NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco NU34

Nahuatl Kinship Terms[2]

A
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tatli. Father.
mantli. Mother.

tepil-(tzin). Son.
noconeuh. Son.
yacapantli. Daughter.
teconeuh. Daughter.

colli. Grandfather.
citli. Grandmother.

*yxuiuhtli. Grandson.
teixuih. Granddaughter.

*teachcauh. Older brother.
*teueltiuh. Older sister.

*teiccauh. Younger brother.
*teicu. Younger sister.

tlatli. Uncle.
suitl. Aunt.

*yxuiuhtli. Father's brother's son.

teixuiuh. Father's brother's daughter.

*teachcauh. Older male cousin except father's brother's son.
*teueltiuh. Older female cousin except father's brother's daughter.
*teiccauh. Younger male cousin except father's brother's son.
*teicu. Younger female cousin except father's brother's daughter.

teoquichui. Husband.

teciuauh. Wife.

montatli. Wife's father.
mounantli. Wife's mother.
textli. Wife's brother.

vepulli, Husband's brother, wife's sister.

montli. Son-in-law.
cius-montli. Daughter-in-law.
vezuatli. Husband's sister.

Tarascan Kinship Terms[3]

T
601

*tata. Father.
nana. Mother.

curs. Grandfather.

cucu. Grandmother.

vreti. Older brother and sister.
mimi. Older brother.
pipi. Older sister.

*vuache. Son.
vuache cuxareti. Daughter.

nimatequa. Grandchild, older brother's grandchild.
*yhtza. Older son's daughter.

*vuengamberi. Brother.
*vuengamberi. Sister.
vuece. Sister.

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[2] From Molina, Vocabulario de la Lengua Mexicana, 1571.
[3] From Gilberti, Diccionario de la Lengua Tarasca, 1559.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

121 of the former, are distinguished by the terminology of relationship. In the case of the former, relatives are at once classified; in the latter instance, they are merely described. Now, our investiga-
611 tions of the customs of Inheritance among the ancient Mexicans have led us to the conclusion that they had already achieved progress to *descent in the male line.*[13] *Actual* family existed among them in its incipient form at least.

601 But we meet here with a singular feature in designating relationships. *Ascending* from the "Ego," as point of departure, we find the following terms in the Mexican (Nahuatl) language.

Father: "tatli"—"teta."[14]

Brother of father or mother (paternal or maternal uncle): "tlatli"—"tetla."[15]

Grandfather: "tecul." Granduncle: "tecol."[16]

Great-grandfather: "achtontli."[17]

[13] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, note 106).

[14] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario.*" Part Ia, p. 91; IIa, pp. 106, 91). Besides the plural "tetatzin," the names, "yzcacauhti," "teizcacauh," are also mentioned (I, p. 91). The former is defined (II, p. 48) as "natural father." It derives from "Izcalia" or "ninoizcalia"—"to give life" and "acauhtli." The latter evidently is an abbreviation or corruption from "nitla teachcauhtlia"—"to be preferred in what is distributed, or in a distribution" (II, p. 2), which in turn is at the root of "teachcauhtin"—"elder brother" (II, p. 91). It is superfluous here to quote authorities in support of the fact that "ach" is frequently corrupted to "ac," or the inverse. In Cakchiquel: "Tata" See *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Grammaire de la Langue Quichée, etc.*" pp. 217, 218). The root "Ta" is also found in other Indian idioms, See: *Gatschet* (*Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas,*" p. 137).

[15] *Molina* (I, p. 180; II, p. 140.) All the difference consists in the insertion of the letter "l" after the "t." "Tetla" is but an abbreviation of "Te-tatli," from "Tehuatl" thou, p. 94, and father, which is also shown in the alteration of "tatli" to "tayta" or "tata;" the name given by children to their father (p. 91, II). Corresponds to the qquiché "tat" (*Brasseur de Bourbourg*, "*Grammaire, etc.*" p. 218). and to the Muysca "Ze paba" ("Pába" father). *Morgan* after *Uricoechea* ("*Systems of consanguinity,*" p. 265).

[16] *Molina* (II, p. 94; II, p. 98). Here again the change from "n" to "o" appears, which is so frequent among older authors. For inst., *Tescoco* and *Tescuco*, *Omotochtli* and *Ometochtli*, *Tlacopan* and *Tlacohuapan*, *Olli* and *Ulli*, etc. etc. Such changes are very excusable, they proceed from the Indian pronunciation of vowels. On this subject compare, although it concerns properly but the Qquichua idiom of Peru, the excellent essay of Señor Don *Garino Pacheco y Zegarra* of Puno, entitled "*Alphabet phonétique de la langue Qquichua,*" published in the 2nd volume of the "*Compte Rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes,*" at Nancy, in 1875. He says (p. 393) "D'autre part, le kehua différant essentiellement des langues romanes, surtout en ce qui concerne les sons élémentaires, il est impossible de donner une idée exacte de ces sons au moyen du seul alphabet latin. . . ." In regard to "O" and "U," see pp. 395, 397, 398. etc. What the author says of the Qquichua applies exactly to the Nahuatl also. See *Molina* ("Prologo y Avisos," 3d page "Aviso septimo").

[17] *Molina* (I. p. 117; II, p. 2). Literally, "little preferred one." Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. I, p. 5, 3d Vol).

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Mother: "nantli" — "tenantzin" — "teciztli."[18]
Aunt: "auitl" — "teaui."[19]
Grandmother as well as grand-aunt: "citli."[20]
Great-grandmother "piptontli."[21]
Descending from the "Ego."
Son: "tepiltzin," "tetelpuch." But the women (mother, sisters, etc.), call him "noconeuh."[22]

[18] *Molina* (I, p. 80; II, pp. 63, 92, 98). "Cizili" is probably the same as "Citli,"—hare, or grandaunt. The fact that the same name should be given to a near female relative or even to the mother, and to a fleet, timid, quadruped, is very singular. It may be that the timidity of the animal has given occasion to bestow the name, or, since hare's hair was frequently woven into fine mantles, together with feathers, that this also may have given rise to it. The latter is first mentioned by *Peter Martyr, of Anghiera, "De nouo Orbe," or the "Historie of the West Indies, etc., etc."* London, 1612. An English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden, of the famous "Decades," also entitled "*De Rebus Oceanicis*," (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 220), he mentions having seen among the objects brought to the court of Spain by Juan de Ribera, garments; "they compact of Conies haire, and they set these feathers in such order between the Cony haire, and intermingle them between the thriddes of the cotton, and weave them in such difficulty, that we do not well understande how they might do it." *Sahagun* (Lib. XI, Cap. 1, p. 157) mentions another animal to which the name "cioatlamacazqui" is given, which he translated "little old woman," basing upon its other designation of "tlamaton." [297] [286]

The reverend father is, however, in error. The first name signifies literally, "woman medicine-man," or "female doctor" (Indian notion of course), and the second "little medicine-man," from "ciuati" woman, Molina, II, p. 22, "tlama"—medicine-man, (II, 125). This animal seems to be the Raccoon, as the following quotations prove: *Joannis Eusebius Nieremberg*, ("*Historia naturæ maxinæ peregrinæ*," Antwerp, 1635 Lib. IX, Cap. XLII, p. 175). "Antra canitates montium atque collium Tazocolci hospitatur animal peregrinum, quod cuncta manibus praetentat. Mapach ab Indis dicitur, sed non firmo nomine; alij illamaton seu vetulam appellant, alij maxtle seu goscypinum cingulum, alij cioatlamacazque seu sacerdotissam." *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XII, Cap. XXXIX, p. 422), he calls "Coçumatle," an animal which is probably the Coati, makes no mention of the "mapach," but *Clavigero* (Lib. I, Cap. X, p. 76) treats of this animal fully.

The naming of a female relationship, "Citli" appears the more strange, as this name is given, in the Mexican mythological tales, to a *god* who tried to compel the sun to move, and lost his life in the attempt. This story is due to *Andrés de Olmos*, neither Sahagun nor Motolinia mention the occurrence in this manner. Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, Cap. II, p. 245, etc., etc.); *Mendieta* (Lib. II, Cap. I, pp. 77, 78) and *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, Cap. XLI, p. 76). Both refer it to his authority. We shall refer to it in our essay on "Creed and Belief." [773]

[19] *Molina* (I, 113; II, 9, 91).

[20] *Molina* (I, 113; II. 22). See note 18.

[21] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, 88). There is also, "nipipinia"—"pararse flaco de vejez," and "Pipinqui ynacayo"—"viejo flaco y arrugado." The affix "tontli" is a diminutive.

[22] *Molina* (I, p. 71). A singular etymology is shown here: The man says, {"*Thy*" / "*Their*"} boy" or {"*Thy*" / "*Their*"} youth." ("Te-piltzin"—"Te-telpuch" {from "Tehuatl" / or "Te"} {"thou" / "their"} and "Piltzintli," child, male or female, (II, p. 82,) and "Telpochtli," youth, (p. 96). The woman, however, calls: "my child" (or boy, since the same name is for both

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601 Daughter: "teichpuch," "tepiltzin." Women call her "teconeuh."[23]

Grandson or granddaughter, male or female cousin, are called alike, to wit: "yxiuhtli"—"teixiuh."[24]

Nephew and niece are called: "machtli"—"temach" by the males. The females however address them: "nopilo."[25]

This brings to light some very curious facts.

In the first place, the following grades of consanguinity are called by the same names respectively: grandfather and grand-uncle, grandmother and grand-aunt, father and uncle, grand-daughter, grandson and cousin, nephew and niece.

sexes), from "coneti"—"niño o niña" (II. p. 24), and the possessive pronoun "no" according to *H. H. Bancroft*, "*Native Races of the Pacific States*." (Vol. III, Cap. IX, p. 734), or "noca"—"of me" (*Molina*, II, 73). These are, however, not the only appellations. We have besides:

Children of both sexes and grandchildren, collectively: "tepilhuan, teixhuan" (I. p. 71). The first one is easily decomposed into "te" theirs, "piltzuitli" child, and a possessive affix "huan" *Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. III, Cap. IX, p. 732).

Oldest son or daughter "teyacapan" "yacapantli" (p. 71, I). From "nicyacatia," to be the first or leader (II. p. 22), "yacatl"—nose probably on account of its protuberance, (II. p. 22).

Second son or daughter, "tlacoyeua" "tetlamamallo" (p. 71, I). The first one might possibly derive from "centlacol"—one-half (I. p. 83), since Molina adds (II, p. 118), "el segundo hijo ó hija, o de tres o quatro engendrados ó nacidos." The etymology of the other, if correct, would be singular. It is either from "tetla" uncle, and "tetlan nina mamali" "hender, meterse entre mucha gente" (II, p. 32), or from "te" their and, "Tlamama" carrier of a load (II, p. 125). In both cases it indicates an inferior position.

Youngest son or daughter "xocoyotl" "texocoyouh" (I, p. 71). Definitions too doubtful. Finally, there are the surnames, or caresses, like, "cuzcatiquetzalli"—collar of changing green hues,—"tecuzcauan"—"tequetzalhuan" (I, p. 71), which all have the same significance, in a general way, of "precious gem" or "jewel." These metaphorical names are found profusely in *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*.")

The fact, above noticed, that while men, if strangers, address boys, "their boy," while women call them "my boy," is perhaps significant. It might be a lingering remnant of "mother-right."

[23] *Molina* (I. 71), derives from "Ichpocatl" (girl, II, p. 32.) So far teichpeuh,—the other two are already explained.

[24] *Molina* (I, pp. 68, 98). But there is also, "Nieto ó nieta dos vezes," "yentontli" "teicuton." Now, according to the same authority (II, p. 34), the older brother or sister calls the younger "n. icuh" ("n" as abbreviation to "no"). Consequently, the signification would be, "little younger brother or sister."

[25] *Molina* (I, p. 100; II, 51, 73). In this case the woman again calls them "my child" ("no" my, and "piltzintli" child). The custom of giving different names to relationships, by women and by men, is found in Peru among the Qquichua and Inca. Compare *Garcilasso de la Vega*, "*Histoire des Incas Rois du Pérou*." (French translation from the original Spanish, by J. Baudouin, Amsterdam, 1704. Lib. IV, Cap. XI, Vol. I, pp. 259, 260). *J. J. von Tschudi* ("*Peru*" *Reiseskizzen*, St. Gall, 1846, an excellent book. Vol. II, Cap. X, p. 300). A similar custom also appears in New-Granada among the Muysca. *L. H. Morgan* ("*Systems of Consanguinity, etc.*," p. 265, after *Uricoechea*).

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Secondly, the relationships in the descending scale are more closely described than those in the ascending scale.

Thirdly, in some instances women give different names from those given by men.

It results from it, that the classificatory system still, to a great extent, predominated in the ancient Mexican nomenclature for relationship, while the more modern descriptive system appears in a minority of cases only. This leads to the inference that the Mexican family itself was yet but imperfectly constituted. It was not yet so established as to form a definite group and hence cannot be expected to exercise any influence in the matter of public social life. We are, therefore, again justified in looking to the *kin* as the unit of social organization, within the limits of that widest aggregate, the tribe.[26]

Traditionary tales about the earliest settlement of man in Mexico as well as in Central America, distinctly ascribe it to "lineages" or relationships. The tribe is merely implied, and appears in a definite form only *after* this settlement has already occurred.

The "Popol-Vuh," or gathering of the cosmological and traditionary records of the QQuiché tribe of Guatemala, after enumerating the four wives of the four first men created, even says: "These [their spouses], engendered mankind, the large and small tribes: and they were the stock of us, of the QQuiché tribe." This indicates, perhaps, descent in the female line at a very early date.[27]

[26] *Dr. Adolphus Bastian*, "*Ueber die Ehverhältnisse.*" ("*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,*" Berlin. Vol. V, 1874) presupposes a family, definite and distinct: "Aus der Ehe, als erster Kreisung der Gesellschaft geht die Familie hervor, in ausgedehnter Peripherie als gens (unter Erweiterung durch die Agnaten) aus ursprunglichen Patriciern; wo der Clan unter Aufnahme fictiver Verwandten und zugehörigen seinen abschluss unter den Patriarchen bewahrt." Such views offer a sufficient explanation, when applied indiscriminately to the inhabitants of *all* the continents, why the organization of some aborigines of this continent is still regarded as monarchical. The nature and functions of the Indian kin are completely misunderstood and proportionately misrepresented. (See also Id., p. 326.)

[27] "*Popol-Vuh*" (Translated from the original QQuiché by the *Abbé Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg*. Paris, 1861, Part III, cap. III, p. 205). "E pogol vinak, chuti amag, nima amag; are cut u xe kech. ri oh Queche-vinak; tzatz cut x-uxic ri Ahqixb Ahqahb; mana xa E cahib chic x-uxic. xere cahib ri qui chuch oh quiche vinak." Mr. Brasseur translates "vinak" alternately as men, tribes, and nations. According to his own vocabulary, however, it means but "man" or "the increase" (See "*Grammaire QQuiché,*" p. 233). In his translation of the "*Rabinal-Achi*" ("*Grammaire*" First Scene, pp. 27 and 35, and other places), "vinak" is also rendered as chief. But the true QQuiché word for tribe is "amag" ("*Grammaire,*" p. 167). This alters the sense to the extent that instead of "QQuiché tribe" it should read "men of QQuiché" or rather "QQuiché

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About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Muteczuma." Bernal-Diez del Castillo (Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 342 and 343. "Adonde él moraba y residia á la continua, llaman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . — . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 303. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenia muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaiáca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 78, etc.).

Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemada, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 31. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of Mexico were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kinship of the chief lived*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 237), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 100), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tilancalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap. LXI, p. 100). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimecs, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hezhuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-four years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc ompoalli oce capítulo, vncan mjtoa, in iuhqujma tlamamatlati injc tlecoia in jxqujchica tecutlato muchioa. 302 855

Auh iccaquj injc ontzinti, in imemjliz in telpuchtontli, in iccachtó çan oc moquateçonoa in oc piltontli: auh in ie matlacxiujtl icoac mocuexpaltia, auh in cattolxiujtl, icoac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in acan tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço otemcaioti, anoço otecaioti, anoço otenauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica injc tepal tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc qujmotzalhuja inmal chiquaceccã quiça. Injc ce vel ichoatl in tlamaiii quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: ichoatl in tomaisuhcãpa tocui: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaisuhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochcopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaisuhcampa tomatzotaopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia ichoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotaopaz. 727 858

Auh in in icoac mocuespallaça, inic moxima motzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaisuhcãpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalaci iioca motema inizotzocul: in icoac y oc centetl quicui inizaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic imoz ca otepallama omocuespallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlatzin quilhuia. Nozuisbtze omitzmixamili in tonatiuh, i tlalteuctli ocentetl ticcuic in moxaiac, auh ça otia, inuicpa xonmomaisui ma mitzuicacan in toiauoã istla nen oc ceppa tepal xitlama tle tiez cuis timatzotocoltiz, ma nen ie no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomotla in toiauhoan. 603 [604] 861

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc cmpoalli oce capiralo, vncan mjtoa, in iub- 302
quijma tlamamadtl injc tlecoia in jxquichica teco- 855
tlato muchioa.

Auh incanqui injc ontzinti, in imemjliz in telpuch-
tontli, in iacachtó çan oc moquateçonoa in oc piltoo-
tli: auh in ie matlacxiujtl iconac mocuexpaltia, auh
in cantolxiujtl, iconac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in
acan tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço otemoncaioti, anoço 727
otercaioti, anoço otemauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, 858
anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica injc tepal
tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc quimoxxel-
huja iomal chiquacercâ quiça. Injc ce vel ichoatl in
tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: ichoatl in
tomaiauhcâpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui
in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in
tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui
in topochcopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in
tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiqua-
cencaiotia ichoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzo-
paz.

Auh in in iconac mocuexpallaça, inic moxima mo-
tzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcâpa
quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalqui iioca
motema initzotzocul: in iconac y oc centetl quicui
inixaiac oc centlamanth ic tlachia inic inon ca otepal-
lama omocuexpallaz.

Auh nimao ic quitlatlauhtia in ieal anoço itlacuin 603
quilhuia. Nonoiuhtze omizzmixamili in tonatiuh, i [604]
tlalticutli ocentetl ticcuic iii monaiac, auh ça otia, 861
inuicpa xonmomoiaui ma mizzuicacan in tonaiaui
intla nen oc ceppa tepal xitlama tle tiex cuis timatzo-
tzocoltia, ma nen ie no cuel tepal titlama ça inca
xinomotla in tonaiauan.

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtilloia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan yacalli: quixiptlatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacoxmaloia, copaltemjlilo,

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Ixcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

ozuhqujltamalli nechivilloia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan quimanjlaia in tletl, çatepan qualoia.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

Auh yn jvevecoxo, ioh cenjllujtl, in quicujcatia, quitecoxpichilia, quiteponacilhuja, caxacachilhuja:

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

auh aiac vel ximaçoaia in comalco, tetlacoaltilloia, ynic amo aca motlatix, mochichinoa: ipampa in iancujcan oqualec ozuhqujltamalli, ynic oxlamanaloc.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

Auh in pipiltzontli, muchintin quintlazquijaia: yn aca cuatl: cuijatl, xocjli, axolotl, tototl: in çaçe tlein ocacic iixoli, ycamac contlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlazquja yn itta.

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

Auh yn cioaoc, neoijan tlatlaoanaia in vevequc, ylamatque: iuh quimoaia, quitlatoiaujlilia yn tletl, tzacalcruja.

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmulco.[69]

Auh in nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mazatilloia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujtotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jxtocal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzonmulco.

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no ixquich tlacatl, quipaloaia, quiltequja, in vetli, in pipiltzontli: ic motocaiotiaia, pillaoaxo:

[608] And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Ixcoçauhqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

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yean vncl quinelatiaia, quinnahuijtiaia in pipiltzontli. Ce cioatl, ce oquichtli, in quintemoaia pillouque, quintlaahtiaia; ielouantin quinnamatihuja, vmpa quinmocaoaia, yn itzupan ixcoçauhqui: vmpa quinnacazxapodaia, quinnacaxcoionjaia: iuhquin ic quinmachiotiaia, ynic quinnitta, yntlatzan, ynnaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

776 [Ixcoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones: he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Jn jxochichioal caxca: tlilticca motemujlnec, chalchihuitztli, xiuhtozomacaxle, quetzalmjeoaxio, mjtzome, tlacoztzoma, xiuhcozomacoche, xoxocomeapanale, no tzitzile, cocujxlli, xiuhtzacatlaçapanqui yn jchimal, tlachielmpile.

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66. *"Unos de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llaman huauhquilitl, que son Hedes, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y delicas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Las tallas de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba quieren para comer, sabe a cenizas, exprimese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hierven tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilitzc.* "1." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 231. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae.*

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 287, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 288; see *tzonzoloqui* in Simeon: *op. cit.*

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; patron or protector). Molina (op. cit.) translates the words *tlatli* and *anil* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchihuitztli*—a strap for the hand, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*tlacoztzoma*); *quetzalmiqui* or *xiuhtzacatlaçapanqui*—a stem of feather crowns; work in the form of a crowned cane, broadening upwards; *mitzpatli* (*macuilpatli*) or

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Izcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Izcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

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Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *vauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Izcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1 b KL. b 8
2 c A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã c 9
3 d fuego nueuo a la media noche delante d 10
4 e la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa- e 11
5 f mente atauiada: y encendidos fuegos, f 12
6 g luego en amaneciendo venjan los man- g 13
7 A cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos A 14
8 b anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez b 15
9 c dias passados vnos de agua, y otros de c 16
10 d tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que d 17
11 e tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y e 18
12 f ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque- f 19
13 g llos anjmales para que se asassen: y g 20
14 A dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu- A 21
15 b chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que b 22
16 c ellos llamauã Vauhquiltamalli: los c 23
17 d quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia, d 24
18 e y todos comjan dellos por honrra de e 25
19 f la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y f 26
20 g beujan y regozijauanse. g 27

[262]

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del biseixto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos atauios: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jsençauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

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x 796 hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon
[293] they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known
[535 as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the
628] Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

x 796 And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers
608 sought out some master of the youths, seasoned war-
[431] rior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle. Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

[304] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

x 796 And when they had gone to their homes, there-
273 upon all ate and drank.
535 And then, in the temple, began singing and dancing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal quj:itzquja amazicpj-pilli; njmã ic ic oakemo mjuxitivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ic ic tlaiscalos, çã nappa in tlaiscalos: auh in omnjotiquc mec, nexixitinjlo, texixitinjlo, njmã ic ic calacos in tecpan tlatecpanolez. Auh in ichoatl y, motenera: netecujtotilo, motecujotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatequa, in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in muchiosia;

ic iuhqui.

Oc vecaiocan in pensaloia in tenacazzapotlaloia in qujnnacazzapotla pipiltotonti: yoan qujnpotonja, tecivitica, yoan ielachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in tortli.

And the mothers sought out some master of the youths, seasoned warrior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle. Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

And when they had gone to their homes, thereupon all ate and drank.

And then, in the temple, began singing and dancing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

Auh in ventli in qujchioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temoaia, ichoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlaneneqoja impilhoaque injc Tetlatizque: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitia, qujtlauhtiaia:

in oqujchtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qujtlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazzapotlalec; njmã ic ic qujnvivica, in qujnchichinonque pipiltotõti: qujtlalia tlitl, tlitlaiaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeua tleco.

Auh injc motenera techichinolo in calpulhuevtque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco qujmonjauhtinanj: njman ic qujnoalmacatimanj in tetlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlatzazatzi, iuhqujn tlacanacatimanj: njman ic iatinanj in inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ic ic tlachquaio, haatlica.

Auh in opeualoc teupan in ic cujco in ic netutilo, nepanda tonatiuh: njmã ic no,ceppa vijua in teupan: in Tetlaban, in teavioan qujnvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlaequj ietiuh in vetli, in tlaoiscalli xicalhujcoltica in qujnequj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vacã cujco: njmã ic ic omomomana in minotia, qujnnamama in pipiltotonti: vacã qujnomacatimanj, qujnomacatinemj in vetli: netech qujnomamaca.

11. The *Real Palacio* MS here contains the line *ynnel yn chimamplinolli*, which probably identifies the pinolli as ground dried maize and chia seeds.

x 796 when he had been living in the likeness of another,
[548] had walked with head high, had lived as a captive,
had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Ilacalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said,
[827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow;
thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

And they divided the heart of the maguey plants;
[824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pressed its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

x 796 And at this [feast of] Ilacalli, there also came to pass, every four years, the bringing out of the chil-
852 dren and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair;
in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and
[301] covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited.
● [608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they
[431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests'
[304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And
[302 237] they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

And the women who became aunts were pasted
[608 302] with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

caquetztinēca otlamatinenca, ontjvintitinēca omoveltztinenca.

Auh injc mjtoa Jacalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, mochintin quinquechaana, quinacopilou: ic mjtoa quinjmocalleuana, quinjmzcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, moxapaxaque:

yoā in metl quijellauzlou, quijollozaiana, quijellotlapana, quijollozoma: auh yn napalli quēplaiztilia, quinatepēua, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moxalizz, moxapaxaz.

Auh yn ipan y, Iacalli, no vncan mochiuaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtilouia, pillacaoaca: yoan vncan motecuijxtiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpilhoan: yoan cantlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamanti, tlancalli catca, viuac in tzontli ic tlachiualli, quichachalchiuhtiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhāl vetzia in tlatoque.

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, yn intahoan, yn innahoan, achtopa quintemoliaia, in quinvicaxque calmecac, inxaiocan tezcatoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in quinnotzaia, mjtoa: quintlatia quinnaviña, telati, teavitl:

auh amo inoaniolque in quinmanaia, çan inconpan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, quintlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

ioalnepantla in quinvicaia calmecac, vmpa quinnacaxxapoola, quinnacaxcoionja pipitzcatiuh in oniitl injc quicsionja innacas, ynonqui icpatl in vmpa conquijntia, vncā quinnonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzatzitlcoa, tlatzamatzi, tlachoquijxtleoa in pipiltzintzinti, yoan tocivitiña tlachcaiotica quinperonjaia in injcpac:

auh in teavitl cioa, çanjo injcxic, yoā inmac in moporonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamazochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

In iquac oquinnōnacaxxapoolaque, njmā ic quinoalhujojca in inchachan, vncan quichichitoque intoçtaque, toçtoque tlatlavilitoque, quichintoque in

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[31]

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ste (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta, Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 145),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 108. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 133. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 226, 227, 228. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241-243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

[31] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 35, in Veitia I). "The manner of his servicios (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Muteczuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,200 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 334, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnalities, at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico had to entertain (Cap. XX, pp. 173 and 176. Cap. XXIII, p. 196. The chiefs of Tezcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xochimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fueron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 415-421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholulan, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mesmo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 459). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 88. Cap. LXI, p. 191, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "y los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandoles, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necessario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendóles en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *Remarks each day at palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zárita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 68). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 188).

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the same ward; although some marriages may occur between persons of different wards, perhaps still according to special circumstances. The considering of the calpulli as a clan with endogamous tendencies, which is even now found as a vestige in Tepoztlán, removes these contradictions, which can also be taken as an argument in favor of the new position which is here presented with respect to the calpulli.

names of some isolated towns which seem to have been calpullis (like Pochtlan, Amantla, etc.) and the second is suggested by the affirmations of marriages between different lords (see p. 72).

X 618 611

We have, finally, as an indication of the existence of this type of clan, an argument in favor of the fact that among the Tenochcas the reckoning of kinship was ambilateral. This refers also to the members of the population's governing group; but the fact that they also had their calpulli and for the reasons presented in the paragraph concerning their habit of endogamy, largely invalidates the objections which could be made in this respect. In a large number of cases, in the genealogies of the Mexico-Tenochtitlan rulers both lines, that of the father and that of the mother, are taken to fix the inheritance of each person; this is clearly an ambilateral characteristic. Of course it can be taken to refer to the reckoning of kinship within the family, which is always ambilateral, and not to the reckoning of kinship through common descent, of the clan, which could be unilateral of ambilateral. But in part this objection is done away with /p. 69/ when we see that in the sources from the same period, but referring to other groups than the Tenochcan, connections are made always through persons of male sex as if they were unilateral (11), and only

11. Espejo, Antonieta and Monzon, 1945, p. 48.

in those [sources] dealing with the Tenochcas (and others who do not interest us now) are connections made through both sexes. According to this, we have the right to think that the reckoning of kinship common descent was made ambilaterally among the Tenochcas (12).

12. Redfield tells us, speaking of the calpullis, which are now wards of Tepoztlán, that they tend to include

X618 groups of uninterrupted family lines which trace their descent through the father's line. (Redfield, R., ●611 1928, p. 294). This would not give a unilateral reckoning of kinship if marriages obtained within the same ward, since they would be impossible in patrilineal (or matrilineal) exogamous groups. It can be said that it is more common to follow the father's line in the reckoning of descent, and nothing more.

X618 The certainty of the calpulli's being a clan, joined with: the proofs that they did not have exogamous customs with patrilineal reckoning of kinship through common descent; the slight possibility of their having had matrilineal [customs]; the indications that they had ambilateral reckoning of kinship through common descent; and that they had a tendency to endogamy; these, all together, are arguments for asserting with confidence that the calpullis were clans, ambilateral and with an endogamous tendency, and there is nothing—at least according to the documents which we now have at our disposal—to cause us to think that they were not clans, or that they were exogamous and unilateral.

/p. 70/ Chapter 8

DIFFERENTIAL INHERITANCE OF RANK AND THE CALPULLIS

X618 We still need to find out what was the relation between the clans 565 and the social strata, which undoubtedly occurred among the Tenochcas. We have seen how the calpulli presented ambilateral clan characteristics (kinship through common descent, ambilateral reckoning of this kinship, and a tendency towards endogamy). Let us now see how another of the characteristics of an ambilateral clan also occurred in the calpulli, a characteristic which has brought about its being called "pyramidal" (1): the internal inequality which con-

1. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 11.

trasts with the generally very equalitarian character of exogamous clans. This is of much importance because the principal thesis of one

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About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 334 and 338). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Moteczuma." Bernal-Díez del Castillo (Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 342 and 343. "Adonde él moraba y residia á la continua, llámas Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . — . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 302. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenía muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaiáca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 78, etc.).

Bernal-Díez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemada, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of México were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kingship of the chief Head*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 237), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 160), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tlizcalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap. LXI, p. 160). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimecs, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hezhuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-four years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?

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121 of the former, are distinguished by the terminology of relationship. In the case of the former, relatives are at once classified; in the latter instance, they are merely described. Now, our investiga-
611 tions of the customs of Inheritance among the ancient Mexicans have led us to the conclusion that they had already achieved progress to *descent in the male line.*[13] *Actual* family existed among them in its incipient form at least.

601 But we meet here with a singular feature in designating relationships. *Ascending* from the "Ego," as point of departure, we find the following terms in the Mexican (Nahuatl) language.

Father: "tatli"—"teta."[14]

Brother of father or mother (paternal or maternal uncle): "tlatli"—"tetla."[15]

Grandfather: "tecul." Granduncle: "tecol."[16]

Great-grandfather: "achtontli."[17]

[13] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, note 106).

[14] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario.*" Part Ia, p. 91; IIa, pp. 106, 91). Besides the plural "tetatzin," the names, "yzcacanhti," "teizcacanh," are also mentioned (I, p. 91). The former is defined (II, p. 48) as "natural father." It derives from "Izcalia" or "ninoizcalia"—"to give life" and "acanhtli." The latter evidently is an abbreviation or corruption from "nitla teachcanhtia"—"to be preferred in what is distributed, or in a distribution" (II, p. 2), which in turn is at the root of "teachcanhtin"—"elder brother" (II, p. 91). It is superfluous here to quote authorities in support of the fact that "ach" is frequently corrupted to "ac," or the inverse. In Cakchiquel: "Tata" See *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Grammaire de la Langue Quichée, etc.*" pp. 217, 218). The root "Ta" is also found in other Indian idioms, See: *Gatschet* (*Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas,*" p. 137).

[15] *Molina* (I, p. 180; II, p. 140.) All the difference consists in the insertion of the letter "l" after the "t." "Tetla" is but an abbreviation of "Te-tatli," from "Tehuatl" thou, p. 94, and father, which is also shown in the alteration of "tatli" to "tayta" or "tata;" the name given by children to their father (p. 91, II). Corresponds to the qquiché "tat" (*Brasseur de Bourbourg,* "*Grammaire, etc.*" p. 218), and to the Muysca "Ze paba" ("Pába" father). *Morgan* after *Uricoechea* ("*Systems of consanguinity,*" p. 265).

[16] *Molina* (II, p. 94; II, p. 98). Here again the change from "n" to "o" appears, which is so frequent among older authors. For inst., *Tzecoco* and *Tzecuco, Omotochtli* and *Ometuchtli, Tlacopan* and *Tlacohuapan, Olli* and *Ulli,* etc. etc. Such changes are very excusable, they proceed from the Indian pronunciation of vowels. On this subject compare, although it concerns properly but the Qquichua idiom of Peru, the excellent essay of Señor Don *Gavino Pacheco y Zegarra* of Puno, entitled "*Alphabet phonétique de la langue Qquichua,*" published in the 2nd volume of the "*Compte Rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes,*" at Nancy, in 1875. He says (p. 303) "D'autre part, le kehua différant essentiellement des langues romanes, surtout en ce qui concerne les sons élémentaires, il est impossible de donner une idée exacte de ces sons au moyen du seul alphabet latin. . . ." In regard to "O" and "U," see pp. 306, 307, 308. etc. What the author says of the Qquichua applies exactly to the Nahuatl also. See *Molina* ("Prologo y Avisos," 3d page "Aviso septimó").

[17] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, p. 2). Literally, "little preferred one." Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. I, p. 5, 3d Vol).

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[The information contained in the various sources on Aztec society and culture concerning the social grouping variously known as calpulli, clan, tribe, deme, kindred, etc., is contradictory in most instances. All data on this social grouping has therefore been placed in category 618 in this file. --Analyst]

612, 614, 621 Aztec NU7

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the 624
young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated 618
the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to 646
the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body 701
elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were [615]
evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the 701
abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In 643
Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-cá'-la.

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[74 soil *which they might hold as their own.*[25] It would appear that, through loss of numbers in the course of their migrations, as well as through divisions among themselves, the original consanguine groups composing the body, had been reduced to *five.*[26] Now a further and last division took place, one of these kindred clusters seceding from the rest, and establishing itself apart on another sandy expanse where, close to the others however, it grew to become the tribe of Mexico-Tlatilulco.[27] It remained independent until about forty years before the conquest.[28]—The other *four* settled *each one by itself*, but still acknowledging a *common government*, in token of which the tribal place of worship was erected at the spot where these four areas met. Thus the "pueblo" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan was founded; the seat and home of the Mexicans proper.[29]

[25] Ixtilixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. X, p. 72), says that the Mexicans "asked the King of Azcaputzalco for soil" (to settle upon). Torquemada represents their settlement as a flight to a safe place (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 92). Also Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, pp. 147 and 148). Durán (Cap. V, p. 41), has the remarkable passage following: "que aun el suelo no era suyo, pues era sitio y término de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque allí llegaban los términos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del Mediodía, términos de Culhuacan;" (This shows they were on neutral ground, dividing the tribes of their surroundings.) Tezozomoc confirms (Cap. III, p. 9), "estando en terminos de los de Atzcapuzalco, Acuihuaques Tezcucanos y los de Culhuacan." Durán (2° p. 41) further says that they contended to be masters of their soil, without owing allegiance or obedience to any one. See also Tezozomoc (Cap. III) and Motolinia ("Epistola proemial," p. 5). Gomara ("Conquista," p. 431. Vedia, 1st volume).

[619 620] [26] We have already alluded to the number of chiefs leading the Mexicans at the time of their settlement in the lagune. It varies from four to twenty. But the fact that four "quarters" composed it originally, leads me to the belief that four Mexican kinships remained, one seceding as the tribe of Tlatilulco. This division into four is the only fact reliably ascertained. (See notes 27, 29, 30 and 31).

[27] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. How it occurred we cannot ascertain, since it is related in the most varied manner by the different sources of authority. If the statement is correct that even during their migrations, the Mexicans proper and the Tlatilulcas kept apart, as tribal components, or probably "phratries,"—then the fact of their localizing as tribes independent from each other is easily accounted for. See Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

[28] The date of its conquest by the Mexicans is about 1473 ("Art of War, etc." p. 103). It can easily be verified from the date on the so-called "calendar stone" at the city of Mexico. (See "Calendario Azteca" by Señor Chavero.)

[615 618] [29] The question remains yet undecided as to whether these four "quarters" ("barrios") were four original kinships, or whether they were already four "brotherhoods of kinships" (phratries), analogous to the Roman curiæ formed by (or rather remaining as the last vestige of) original kinships disaggregated. The latter might appear likely from the fact of the greater number of chiefs (than four), mentioned by the old authors. The existence of still lesser groups is plainly acknowledged at the same time. Durán says (Cap. V, p. 42): "On the night after the Mexicans finished the place of worship ("hermita donde su dios estaba"), a large area of the lagune being filled up and room made for the houses, Vitzilopochtli spoke to his priest or keeper and said to him:

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Four "quarters" had been formed by the localizing of four relationships composing them respectively, and it is expressly stated that each one "might build in its quarter (barrio) as it liked."[30] The term for these relationships, in the Nahuatl tongue, and used among all the tribes speaking it was: "Calpulli." It is also used to designate a great hall or house, and we may therefore infer that, originally at least, all the members of one kinship *dwelt under one common roof*.[31] The ground thus occupied by the "Calpulli" was

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"Say to the congregation Mexican that the chiefs, each one with his relatives, friends and connections, shall divide themselves into four principal quarters, my house being in the centre among them, and that each cluster may build in its quarter as it pleases." These quarters are those which now remain in Mexico, that is, the quarters of San Pablo, of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda, and of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places, their God commanded them to distribute among themselves the idols ("los dioses"), and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where those particular idols should be worshipped. Thus each quarter was divided into many small ones, according to the number of the idols called Calpulteoua (it should be "Calpulteoltzin" composed of Calpulli-quarter, and teotl-god), which signifies god of the quarter." (See Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467.) Tezozomoc, cap. III, p. 9, "y siendo de noche hicieron junta y les dijo el sacerdote Quauhtlequetzqui: hermanos, ya es tiempo que os dividais un trecho unos de otros en cuatro partes cercando en medio el templo de Huitzilopochtli, y nombrad los barrios cada una parte, y asi concertados para dividirse . . . ." Torquemada confirms these statements (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), although he protests against the origin of this division. He says: "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains other smaller ones included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." He further says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). "These clusters ("parcialidades" kinships) were distributed by calpulec, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of these clusters held three, four, or more calpulec, according to the number of its people . . . ." (We shall investigate hereafter the objection of Torquemada). The same author, however, acknowledges (Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. [illegible]), that the founders of Mexico were "nine families . . . These families commenced the foundation of this illustrious and magnificent city . . . ." One fact results beyond all doubt, that the first settlement of Mexico was made upon the basis of a division into kinships or consanguine groups, localizing on certain areas, which jointly composed the tribe. That the government was democratic has already been established previously.

[30] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[31] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LXVIII, p. 194). "Estaba de ordinario, recogido en una grande Sala (ó calpul)." (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. IV, cap. XIX, p. 396, (que asi llamas las Salas grandes de Comunidad. ó de Cabildo). We find, under the corrupted name of "Galpon," the "calpulli" in Nicaragua among the Niquirans, which speak a dialect of the Mexican (Nahuatl) language. See E. G. Squier ("Nicaragua," Vol. II, p. 342. "The council houses were called grepons, surrounded by broad corridors called galpons, beneath which the arms were kept, protected by a guard of young men"). Mr. Squier evidently bases upon Oviedo ("Hist. general," Lib. XLII, cap. III, p. 53: "Esta casa de cabildo llaman galpon . . . ." It is another evidence in favor of our statements, that the kinship formed the original unit of the tribe, and at the same time a hint that, as in New Mexico, originally an entire kin inhabited a single large house. See Molina's Vocab. (p. 11).

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174 organization and Institutions of the ancient Mexicans must have reached their ultimate development, to less than two centuries.[39]

"In the midst of canes of reeds" the remains of the Mexican tribe found their future home upon a limited expanse of sod, which even their enemies on the mainland seemed to regard but as a spot fit to die upon.[40] Although much reduced in numbers, the kins themselves remained and a settlement necessitated at once their localization. How this took place, can best be told in the words of one of the native chroniclers, the Dominican monk, Fray Diego Durán.

174 "During the night following, after the Mexicans had finished
618 to improve the abode of their god, and the greatest part of the
615 lagune being filled up and fit for to build thereon, Vitzilopochtli spoke unto his priest or keeper and said to him: "Say unto the Mexican community that the chiefs, each with their relatives, friends and connections, should divide themselves in four principal quarters, with the house which you have built for my resting place in the middle, and that each kin might build within its quarter as best it liked." These quarters are those remaining in Mexico to this day, to wit: the ward of San Pablo, that of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda as it is called, and the ward of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places their god sent word to them that they should distribute among themselves their gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these gods should be worshipped. Thus each of these quarters divided into many small ones according to the number of idols called by them Calpulteona, which is to say god of the quarter. I shall not recall here their names because they are not of importance to history, but we shall know that these quarters are like upto what in Spain they call a collation of such and such a saint."[41]

This statement we do not hesitate to accept as expressing gen-

[39] My friend, Prof. Ph. Valentini, of New York, has in hand the study of Central American Chronology proper, as well as Mexican. In his latest work "*The Mexican Calendar stone*" (published first in German as a "Lecture," and afterwards in No. 71, of the "*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*"), he has given a general idea of his researches, but not any details yet about their results. If, therefore, I here admit 1325, A. D. as about the date of the so-called "foundation" of Tenuchtitlan-Mexico, it is subject to correction by him.

[40] *Durán* (Cap. IV, p. 32), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[41] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 400, note 29, and p. 402, notes 32 and 33). In addition to the authorities quoted, I refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61), and *Samuel Purchas* ("*His Pilgrimages*," 1625, Part III, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 1005).

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uine aboriginal traditions, notwithstanding the attempt, on the 174
part of Fray Juan de Torquemada, to impugn its truthfulness and 618
consequently its validity,[42] It results from it that while the kins, 615
which for the first time in Mexican history are distinctly identified here with the "calpulli," are settling, "as best they liked;" the creation of four geographical divisions, composed each of a number of kins, is attributed here to the influence of worship or, as we have already termed it, of "medicine." This connects those, who subsequently became the four "Indian wards" of Mexico, with the four "carriers of the gods" already mentioned, and this perhaps may be considered a reminiscence of the four original relationships. Of these the sections mentioned appear like a shell, geographically enclosing a number of settled kins. The supposition is not, therefore, devoid of interest that they may have represented brotherhoods of kins, for purposes of worship and warfare. If now we substitute for *kin* the term "*gens*" adopted by Mr. Morgan, those *brotherhoods* necessarily appear in the light of as many "*phratries*."[43]

The time of this occurrence seems almost to coincide with a 174
division (already indicated as in progress) of the original Mexican 619
band into *two* sections. It now culminated in the secession of a part of the tribe and its settlement apart from the main body, though not far away from it and within the lagune also. While the "place of the stone and prickly-pear" (Tenuchtitlan) remained, virtually, ancient Mexico, the seceding group founded the Pueblo of Tlatilulco as an independent community at the very door of the former. It appears as its rival even until forty-eight years previous to the Spanish conquest.[44]

[42] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 402, notes 23 and 33).

[43] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. III, p. 88) "The phratry is a brotherhood, as the term imports, and a natural growth from the organization into gentes. It is an organic union or association of two or more gentes of the same tribe, for certain common objects. These gentes were usually such as had been formed by the segmentation of an original gens." If we recall the manner in which the four "quarters" or Mexico first appeared, it will easily be seen that the analogy with phratries is indeed striking. Compare, "*Art of War*" (p. 101, and note 22, and pp. 120, 121, and notes 97, 98, 100, and 101). In "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 400 and (401), I have rather favored the view that these four were "calpulli" which subsequently segregated into minor quarters or 'barrios." I now correct this, having become convinced that the so-called minor *quarters already existed at the time of settlement* (*compare notes* 37 *and* 41).

[44] *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 180), mentions a division into but two "barrios" in course of time through increase of population. "Despues andando el tiempo y multiplicandose el pueblo y creciendo la vecindad, hizóse esta ciudad dos barrios ó dos ciudades," *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichim.*" Cap. p. 73), merely states they were

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174 618 [615] Still, this low condition did not remain forever. The Tlatilulca were in a measure "re-adopted" into the tribe. After this, they formed a fifth quarter, or "phratry," which Father Vetancurt (in 1690) mentions as containing six "parcialidades." But this rehabilitation never extinguished the fire of revenge kindled once among the Tlatilulca towards the Mexicans. The latter treated the former therefore, not as a tribe subject to tribute, but as a suspicious group, to which the rights and privileges resulting from consanguinity could not well be denied, but to which voice and vote in the leading councils should not be accorded. In this singular position, not strictly inferior, but evidently more "distant," we find the Tlatilulca at Mexico at the time of the conquest.[59]

or tribes, in which there were of both kinds, were those who divided themselves from the rest." (See note 44.) It is much to be regretted that the eminent Mexican scholar has not given us the names of these "Algunos escritores nacionales modernos."

[59] According to *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), they remained in a degraded condition for 160 days at least, or eight aboriginal months: "y que les turase esta penitencia y castigo hasta los ochenta dias del segundo tributo." But they were, according to him, relieved of it but conditionally: "y asi les quitauan aquellos entredichos que e contado, los quales, en faltándoles, eran tornados á poner." In order to comply with the demands of the Mexicans for slaves, the Tlatilulca were forced to carry arms again, so as to take part in the wars. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, p. 75) confirms, but implies previously (p. 75) that the Tlatilulca were specially obligated to be the traders for Mexico: "y haveis de ser nuestros tratantos y mercadres en los tianguis de Huexotzinco, Tlaxcalan, Tlilinquitepec, Zacatlan, y Cholula." A similar punishment was meted out to them by "Stern chief" the younger (the last Montezuma), after an unsuccessful campaign against Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Atlixco. *Durán* (Cap. LIX, pp. 468, 469), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XCVI, p. 170). It is, besides, positively asserted by the former (p. 271) that the "medicine lodge," or temple of Tlatilulco, was closed thereafter, abandoned and left to ruin and decay ("y asi dice la ystoria questuvo hasta entonces lleno de yerba y de vasura y caidas las paredes y dormitorios del"). It is, of course, confirmed by *Tezozomoc* (p. 75, cap. XLVI): "y asi fué que lo estuvo muchos años hasta la venida que hizo Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis del Valle, en esta nueva España, como adelante se dirá, á que me refiere." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these statements with those of *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, pp. 88, 89, 90, 91. Vedia, Vol. II), and of *Sr. Ixnebulcets* in *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," note 40 to 2d Dial., p. 201) to the effect that Cortes visited that temple of Tlatilulco and found "Stern chief" worshipping in it, and still more difficult is it to reconcile the relation of Bernal Diez with that of *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion, etc., etc.*," pp. 563-566, Col. de Doc. II), who, as an eye-witness too, deserves similar credit. [114]

Tlatilulco formed a quarter, a fifth great one, of Mexico at the time of the conquest. This is distinctly stated by *Motolinia* (*Historia, etc.*, Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 189 and 191), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93) confirms Motolinia in general, (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. II, p. 182), "en el barrio llamado Tlatelulco;" (Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 414), "y el barrio se dice Tlatelulco," adding (p. 416) "que son del mismo pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Cap. XVII, p. 423), "El convento de Santiago de Tlatelulco que es como barrio de Mexico;" (Cap. XXVIII, p. 468), "pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Id., p. 483, Cap. XXIX). That this fifth great quarter was again divided into six smaller ones, is proven by *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica, etc.*," pp. 207 and 212): "Tiene cuatro religiosos que con el ministro colado administran á más de mil quinientas personas en

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618 While the seven consanguine clusters above mentioned com-
174 posed, to all intents and purposes, one tribe as towards outsiders, there still appear among them germs of discord which, at a later date, caused a disruption of mutual ties. The details are too vague and too contradictory to allow any inference even as to the real nature of such dissensions.[35] One fact, however, is ascertained, namely: that the whole group bore in common all the hardships and vicissitudes of a wandering life and the encroachments, aggressions and temptations from outsiders; that they had sheltered together in a safe retreat, and that only when relative safety from violence was secured, a permanent division took place. These considerations should dispose of the

173 therefore give the names of the Mexican "barrios" by the side of the "ermitas" of
619 Tlatelulco, leaving the reader to notice coincidences himself.

"Barrios" of Mexico.	*"Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.*
Santo Cristo de Tzapotla.	Santa Ana Atenantitech.
Santa Véronica de Huehuecalco.	Santa Lucia Telpochcaltitlan.
Santa Cruz de Tecpancaltitlan.	La Concepcion de Atenantitlan.
San Pedro de Cihuateocaltitlan.	San Francisco Mecantalinco.
Espiritu Santo de *Yopico*.	La Asuncion de Apazhuacan.
San Felipe de Jesus de Teocaltitlan.	San Martin Atezcapan.
Santiago de Tlazilpan.	Santa Catalina Cohuatlan.
Los Reyes de Tequicaltitlan.	San Pablo Tolquechiucan.
La Candelaria de Atlampa.	Nuestra Señora de Belen Tlaxoxiuhco.
La Ascension de Tlacacomoco.	Los Reyes de Capoltitlan.
San Diego de Amanalco.	San Simon Iztatla.
El Niño Jesus de Tepetitlan.	Santa Inés Hueipantonco.
El Descendimiento de Atizapan.	San Francisco Izcatla.
San Salvador de Xihuitongo.	Santa Cruz Azococolocan.
La Navidad de Tequixquipan.	San Antonio Tepiton.
San Salvador de Necaltitlan.	La Asuncion de Tlayacaltitlan.
La Concepcion de Xoloco.	San Francisco *Cihuatecpan*.
San Juan de Chichimecapan.	San Juan *Huitznahuac*.
San Antonio de Tezcatzonco.	Sa Asuncion de Izayoc.
San Sebastian Copolco.	Santa Clara Acozac.

I have italicized those names which are also found among those of the seven original kins above enumerated, and thus we find three of them, one in Mexico, and two among the "Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.

[34] *Fernan Gonzalez de Eslava* ("*Coloquios espirituales y Sacramentales, y Poesias Sagradas*," Second Edition, 1877, by Sr. Icazbalceta.) The learned editor makes the following note, 50. to page 57. "Cuando se reedificó la ciudad de México, despues de la conquista, se colocaron en el Centro las casas de los españoles, y los Indios levantaron las suyas alrededor de aquellas. Esta poblacion india se dividió en cuatro barrios ó *parcialidades*, regidos por caciques de su nacion, sujetos á un gobernador de la misma. Los barrios principales eran San Juan y Santiago." Calling my attention to this note in his letter of 14 Nov., 1878, my esteemed friend adds: "Con el tiempo se confundió la poblacion y desaparecieron esos barrios; pero aun quedó el nombre y los bienes que poseian las 'parcialidades' los cuales desaparecieron tambien en mi tiempo."

[35] The dissensions between what subsequently became the Mexicans and the Tlatelulcans are so variously described by the authorities, that it is hardly worth while to discuss them.

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CHAPTER VI

THE MAN AND THE TRIBE

In which are set forth the basic ideas of Aztec education, government, law and social customs

642 THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION of the Aztec tribes was in theory
618 completely democratic. An individual was a member of a family which, in turn, belonged to a cluster of families or a clan.* Theoretically twenty of these clans made up a tribe, each of them regulating its own affairs but, in matters of tribal importance, joining with the others in a council composed of all the leaders. The council appointed one chief to control civil and religious affairs and usually a second for war. Originally designed for simple farming communities and presumably of an antiquity dating back to Middle Culture times, this organization later ramified into the governmental complexity of a populous and highly complicated city-state.[1]

844 The working of a community is best illustrated by the position of the individual in it, a process which is described in the third part of the Codex Mendoza. Immediately a child was born it was washed and swaddled by a midwife. Since
777 the gods governed the fate of man on earth, the parents con-
787 sulted a priest who looked in the *tonalamatl*,† or book of

*The term clan is used to mean a tribal division without connotation of male or female descent.

†To'-na-la-matl.

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affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the 624
young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated 618
the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to 646
the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body 701
elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were [615]
evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the 701
abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In 643
Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-ca'-la.

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a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear. 174 868

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers. 174 793

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and 344 174 [631] 618 [684]

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life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

776
796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among
[565] those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food
[595] well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breechcloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel;[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iccan, qujnquetza: mûch tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech qujntlalilia: ipâ mjztoiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahdamj yn jnicujc, ynic momiquizquequeloa.

Auh intla aca cittoc, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in iolizmatqui, yn jxe, yn iollo: qujqujxtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhqui, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhqui, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ynac quiça; vellatolmelanac: no qujxtiloia, qujnmotlacacioaotiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mizapetzvi, ytemjlo, izquatzo, izquatzone, quetzallalpile, tzucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, oiooale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhqui yn jchimol, ytlaçaia ynac omoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[173] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and bathetb men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjztoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjacoian, incatjan, in calpelloc, qujmotrutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopoaia:

iuh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl achto qujnmachti, qujmittiti, in petlachioalizitli, yn icpalchioalizitli:

iehoatl axcaoa cocucaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlanextile, tlatzintile, tlapeoaltile.

Joan iuh qujtoaia ca iehoatl qujmaltia, qujqujxtia, in toli in tolpetzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, xittapili, in tolqujiuel, in tolcapuel, yn jztoli, xonali:

yoan yn jquac ilhujuhqujçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan qujztetzeloa, tepan qujpixoa, yn anachtli, cenca tlaihtlanjliloia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan qujxcoaia, tlacotli, in qujmictiaia cexiuhtica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "*esta cubierto con una manta azul, y sobre el azul, una red negra de numero quel azul, se parece, por las mallas de la red.*"

111. The *xicalcoliuhqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

[618] 112. *Calpulli*—clan or gens, which controlled, probably, all lands of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "*hazen cestitos de juncias: que llaman tolmacatli.*"

114. Cf. Sahagun: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

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[For information on the calpulli, or Aztec "clan" see category 116, pp. 47-48, 51-92]

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

[74 soil *which they might hold as their own.*[25] It would appear that, through loss of numbers in the course of their migrations, as well as through divisions among themselves, the original consanguine groups composing the body, had been reduced to *five*.[26] Now a further and last division took place, one of these kindred clusters seceding from the rest, and establishing itself apart on another sandy expanse where, close to the others however, it grew to become the tribe of Mexico-Tlatilulco.[27] It remained independent until about forty years before the conquest.[28]—The other *four* settled *each one by itself*, but still acknowledging a *common government*, in token of which the tribal place of worship was erected at the spot where these four areas met. Thus the "pueblo" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan was founded; the seat and home of the Mexicans proper.[29]

[25] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. X, p. 72), says that the Mexicans "asked the King of Azcaputzalco for soil" (to settle upon). Torquemada represents their settlement as a flight to a safe place (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 92). Also Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, pp. 147 and 148). Durán (Cap. V, p. 41), has the remarkable passage following: "que aun el suelo no era suyo, pues era sitio y término de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque alli llegaban los términos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del Mediodia, términos de Culhuacan;" (This shows they were on neutral ground, dividing the tribes of their surroundings.) Tezozomoc confirms (Cap. III, p. 9), "estando en terminos de los de Atzcapuzalco, Acuihuaques Tezcucanos y los de Culhuacan." Durán (2° p. 41) further says that they contended to be masters of their soil, without owing allegiance or obedience to any one. See also Tezozomoc (Cap. III) and Motolinia ("Epistola proemial," p. 5). Gomara ("Conquista," p. 431. Vedia, 1st volume).

[619 642] [26] We have already alluded to the number of chiefs leading the Mexicans at the time of their settlement in the lagune. It varies from four to twenty. But the fact that four "quarters" composed it originally, leads me to the belief that four Mexican kinships remained, one seceding as the tribe of Tlatilulco. This division into four is the only fact reliably ascertained. (See notes 27, 29, 30 and 31).

[27] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. How it occurred we cannot ascertain, since it is related in the most varied manner by the different sources of authority. If the statement is correct that even during their migrations, the Mexicans proper and the Tlatilulcás kept apart, as tribal components, or probably "phratries,"—then the fact of their localizing as tribes independent from each other is easily accounted for. See Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

[28] The date of its conquest by the Mexicans is about 1473 ("Art of War, etc." p. 102). It can easily be verified from the date on the so-called "calendar stone" at the city of Mexico. (See "Calendario Azteca" by Señor Chavero.)

[615 618] [29] The question remains yet undecided as to whether these four "quarters" ("barrios") were four original kinships, or whether they were already four "brotherhoods of kinships" (phratries), analogous to the Roman curiæ formed by (or rather remaining as the last vestige of) original kinships disaggregated. The latter might appear likely from the fact of the greater number of chiefs (than four), mentioned by the old authors. The existence of still lesser groups is plainly acknowledged at the same time. Durán says (Cap. V, p. 42): "On the night after the Mexicans finished the place of worship ("hermita donde su dios estaba"), a large area of the lagune being filled up and room made for the houses, Vitzilopochtli spoke to his priest or keeper and said to him:

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Four "quarters" had been formed by the localizing of four relationships composing them respectively, and it is expressly stated that each one "might build in its quarter (barrio) as it liked."[30] The term for these relationships, in the Nahuatl tongue, and used among all the tribes speaking it was: "Calpulli." It is also used to designate a great hall or house, and we may therefore infer that, originally at least, all the members of one kinship *dwelt under one common roof.*[31] The ground thus occupied by the "Calpulli" was

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"Say to the congregation Mexican that the chiefs, each one with his relatives, friends and connections, shall divide themselves into four principal quarters, my house being in the centre among them, and that each cluster may build in its quarter as it pleases." These quarters are those which now remain in Mexico, that is, the quarters of San Pablo, of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda, and of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places, their God commanded them to distribute among themselves the idols ("los dioses"), and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these particular idols should be worshipped. Thus each quarter was divided into many small ones, according to the number of the idols called Calpulteona (it should be "Calpulteoltzin" composed of Calpulli-quarter, and teotl-god), which signifies god of the quarter." (See Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467.) Tezozomoc, cap. III, p. 9, "y siendo de noche hicieron junta y les dijo el sacerdote Quauhtloquetzqui: hermanos, ya es tiempo que os dividais un trecho unos de otros en cuatro partes cercando en medio el templo de Huitzilopochtli, y nombrad los barrios cada una parte, y asi concertados para dividirse . . . ." Torquemada confirms these statements (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), although he protests against the origin of this division. He says: "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains other smaller ones included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." He further says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). "These clusters ("parcialidades" kinships) were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of these clusters held three, four, or more calpules, according to the number of its people . . . ." (We shall investigate hereafter the objection of Torquemada). The same author, however, acknowledges (Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 288), that the founders of Mexico were "nine families . . . These families commenced the foundation of this illustrious and magnificent city . . . ." One fact results beyond all doubt, that the first settlement of Mexico was made upon the basis of a division into kinships or consanguine groups, localizing on certain areas, which jointly composed the tribe. That the government was democratic has already been established previously.

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[30] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[31] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LXVIII, p. 194. "Estaba de ordinario, recogido en una grande Sala (ó calpúl)." (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. IV, cap. XIX, p. 396, (que asi llaman las Salas grandes de Comunidad. ú de Cabildo). We find, under the corrupted name of "Galpon," the "calpulli" in Nicaragua among the Niquirans, which speak a dialect of the Mexican (Nahuatl) language. See E. G. Squier ("Nicaragua," Vol. II, p. 342. "The council houses were called grepons, surrounded by broad corridors called galpons, beneath which the arms were kept, protected by a guard of young men"). Mr. Squier evidently bases upon Oviedo ("Hist. general," Lib. XLII, cap. III, p. 53: "Esta casa de cabildo llaman galpon . . . ." It is another evidence in favor of our statements, that the kinship formed the original unit of the tribe, and at the same time a hint that, as in New Mexico, originally an entire kin inhabited a single large house. See Molina's Vocab. (p. 11).

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618 NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

618 The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled,
174 were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes
361 and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe"
342 and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[114] [32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[642] [33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[643] [34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51-65). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242), "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

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244 intervening ditch, and throwing it on the chinampa, by which means the ground is raised generally about a yard, and thus forms a small fertile garden, covered with the finest culinary vegetables, fruits and flowers . . . . . ."[37]

421 423 174 Each consanguine relationship thus gradually surrounded the surface on which it dwelt with a number of garden plots sufficient to the wants of its members.[38] The aggregate area thereof, including the abodes, formed the "*calpullalli*"—soil of the "calpulli,"[39] *and was held by it as a unit;* the *single tracts*, however, being tilled and used for the benefit of the *single families*.[40] The mode of tenure of land among the Mexicans at that period was therefore very simple. The tribe claimed its *territory*, "ALTEPETLALLI," an undefined expanse over which it *might extend*, —the "calpules," however, *held* and *possessed within that territory* such portions of it as were *productive;* each "calpulli" being *sovereign* within its limits, and assigning to its individual members *for their use* the minor tracts into which the soil was parcelled in consequence of their mode of cultivation. If, therefore, the terms "altepetlalli" and "calpulalli" are occasionally regarded as *identical*, it is because the former indicates the *occupancy*, the latter *the distribution* of the soil[41] We thus recognize in the calpulli, or kindred group, the unit of tenure of whatever soil the Mexicans deemed worthy of definite possession. Further on we

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[37] "Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico," by W. Bullock. London, 1824. Cap. XIII, p. 179. It is not devoid of interest to compare the descriptions of this rather superficial, though still truthful observer, with the account of the ancient Chinampas as preserved to us in Tezozomoc (cap. III, p. 9). Durán (cap. VI, pp. 50 and 51). The floats or rafts mentioned by these old authors were nothing else but the chinampas or "floating gardens." Therefore also Tezozomoc uses the term "camellon," or garden-bed. (See also Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473.) Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXII, p. 483). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142).

[38] Durán (Cap. V). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 8). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXXIII, p. 291. Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 101). Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XVII).

[39] Alonzo de Zurita (p. 51). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguas Reyes," p. 232).

[40] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 52, 56, 57, 60).—De l'Ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens, etc., etc. (copy of an anonymous MSS. from Simancas, contained in the Uguina collection, and translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Recueil de pièces, etc., pp. 223 and 224.)

[41] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 51-64). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo (Letter of 3 Nov., 1532, Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. "Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 253). See also the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga. Perteneciente á los Caciques de Axapusco," in "Col. de Doc." of Icazbalceta (Vol. II, p. XIII).

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shall investigate how far individuals, as members of this communal unit, participated in the aggregate tenure.

In the course of time, as the population further increased, *segmentation* occurred within the four original "quarters;" new "calpulli," being formed.[42] For *governmental* purposes this segmentation produced a new result by leaving, more particularly in military affairs, the first four clusters as *great subdivisions*.[43] But these, as soon as they had disaggregated, *ceased* to be any longer *units* of territorial possession, their original areas being held thereafter by the "minor quarters" (as Herrera, for instance, calls them), who exercised, each one within its limits, the same sovereignty which the original "calpulli" formerly held over the whole.[44] A further consequence of this disaggregation was (by removing the tribal council farther from the calpules) the necessity for an *official building*, exclusively devoted to the business of the *whole* tribe alone.[45]

[42] This successive formation of new "calpulli" is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is implied by the passage of Durán which we have already quoted (Cap. V, p. 42). It also results from their military organization as described in the "Art of War," (p. 115). With the increase of population, the original kinships necessarily disaggregated further, as we have seen it to have occurred among the Qquiché (See "Popol-Vuh" quoted in our note 7), forming smaller groups of consanguinei. After the successful war against the Tecpanecas, of which we shall speak hereafter, we find at least twenty chiefs, representing as many kins (Durán, cap. XI. p. 97), besides three more, adopted then from those of Culhuacan (Id. pp. 98 and 99). This indicates an increase.

[43] "Art of War, etc.," pp. 115 and 120.

[44] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295). "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains others, smaller ones, included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 58-64). That the smaller subdivisions were those who held the soil, and not the four original groups, must be inferred from the fact, that the ground was attached to the calpulli. Says Zurita (p. 51.) "They (the lands) do not belong to each inhabitant of the village, but to the calpulli which possesses them in common." On the other hand Torquemada states (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545): "that in each pueblo, according to the number of people, there should be (were) clusters ("parcialidades") of diverse people and families . . . . These clusters were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of the aforesaid clusters sometimes contained three, four, and more, calpules, according to the population of the place ("pueblo") or tribe." The same author further affirms: "These quarters, and streets, were all assorted and levelled, with so much accuracy, that those of one quarter or street could not take a palm of land from those of another, and the same was with the streets, their lots running (being scattered) all over the pueblo." Consequently, there were no communal lands allotted to the four great quarters of Mexico as such, but each one of the kinships (calpules) held its part of the original aggregate. Compare Gomara (Vedia, Vol. I, "Conq. de Méjico," p. 434. "Among tributaries it is a custom, etc., etc." Also p. 440). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "Each quarter has its own tract, without the least connection with the others."

[45] Compare Durán (Cap. XI, p. 87). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXXI, p. 470). It appears as if the "tecpan" had not been constructed previous to the middle of the 14th cen-

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174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
574 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618] [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 215. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

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tracts were but "official tracts," and they were apart from those 651
reserved for the special use of the kinships. The latter may have 423
furnished that *general* tribute which, although given nominally to the head war-chief still was, "for all the Mexicans in common."[84]

The various classes of lands which we have mentioned were, as 618
far as their tenure is concerned, included in the "calpulalli" or 423
lands of the kinships. Since the kin, or "calpulli," was the unit of governmental organization, it also was the unit of *landed tenure.* Clavigero says: "The lands called altepetlalli, that is: those who belonged to the communities of the towns and villages, were divided into as many parts as there were quarters in a town, and each quarter held its own for itself, and without the least connection with the rest. Such lands could in no manner be alienated."[85] These "quarters" were the "Calpulli," hence it follows *that the consanguine groups* held the "altepetlalli" or *Soil of the tribe.*[86]

We have, therefore, in Mexico, the identical mode of tenure of 423
lands, which Polo de Ondogardo had noted in Peru and reported to the king of Spain as follows: ". . . . . although the crops and other produce of these lands were devoted to the tribute, the land itself belonged to the people themselves. Hence a thing will be apparent which has not hitherto been properly understood. When any one wants land, it is considered sufficient if it can be shown that it belonged to the Inca or to the sun. But in this the Indians are treated with great injustice. For in those days they paid the tribute, and *the land was theirs.* . . . . ."[87]

The expanse held and occupied by the calpulli, and therefore 618
called calpulalli," was possessed by the kin in *joint* tenure.[88] It 423

[84] Tezozomoc (Cap. X. p. 18). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 227). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII. p. 138. "i no era en mano del Señor disponer de estos Tributos á su voluntad, porque se alteraba la Gente, i los Principales." This refers specially to the tribute by quarters "barrios.")

[85] Storia del Messico" (Lib. VII, cap. XIV).

[86] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichim.," Cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545).

[87] "Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, translated from the original Spanish manuscripts, and edited by Clement R. Markham." Publication of the "Hacklnyt Society," 1873. "Report of Polo de Ondegardo" who was "Regidor" of Cuzco, in 1560; and a very important authority (See Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," note to Book I, cap. V). Confirmed by Garcia ("El Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 102).

[88] Zurita ("Rapport, etc., etc., p. 50). "The chiefs of the second class are yet called Calpullec in the singular and Chinancallec in the plural. (This is evidently incorrect, since the words "Calpulli" and "Chinancalli" can easily be distinguished from each other. "Chinancalli," however, after Molina means "cercado de seto" (Parte IIa, p.

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[425] could neither be alienated nor sold; in fact, there is no trace of barter or sale of land, previous to the conquest.[89] If, however, any calpulli weakened, through loss of numbers from any cause whatever, it might farm out its area to another similar group, deriving subsistence from the rent.[90] If the kinship died out, and its lands therefore became vacant, then they were either added to those of another whose share was not adequate for its wants, or they were distributed among all the remaining calpulli.[91] The calpulli was

21), or an enclosed area, and if we connect it with the old original "chinamitl" we are forcibly carried back to the early times, when the Mexicans but dwelt on a few flakes of more or less solid ground. This is an additional evidence in favor of the views we have taken, of the growth of landed tenure among the Mexican tribe. We must never forget, that the term is "Nahuatl" and as such recognized by all the other tribes, outside of the Mexicans proper. The interpretation as "family," in the QQuiché tongue of Guatemala, which we have already mentioned, turns up here as of further importance). th. is chiefs of an old race or family, from the word Calpulli or Chinancalli, which is the same, and signifies a quarter (barrio), inhabited by a family known, or of old origin, which possesses since long time, a territory whose limits are known, and whose members are of the same lineage." "The calpullis, families or quarters, are very common in each province. Among the lands which were given to the chiefs of the second class, there were also calpullis. These lands are the property of the people in general ("de la masse du peuple") from the time the Indians reached this land. Each family or tribe received a portion of the soil for perpetual enjoyment. They also had the name of calpulli, and until now this property has been respected. They do not belong to each inhabitant of the village in particular, but to the calpulli, which possesses them in common." Don Ramirez de Fuenleal, letter dated Mexico, 3 Nov. 1532 ("Recueil de pièces, etc., Ternaux-Compans, p. 253). "There are very few people in the villages which have lands of their own . . . . the lands are held in common and cultivated in common." Herrera (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135) confirms, in a condensed form, the statements of Zurita: "and they are not private lands of each one, but held in common." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Veytia (Lib. III, cap, VI, p. 196). "Finally there were other tracts of lands in each tribe, called calpulalli, which is, land of the calpules (barrios), which also were worked in common." Oviedo (Lib. XXXII, cap. LI, pp. 536 and 537). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa. cap. V, p. 232).

[89] Zurita (p. 52). "He who obtained them from the sovereign has not the right to dispose of them." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135), "he who possessed them, could not alienate them, although he enjoyed their use for his lifetime." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII. p. 545). Disputes about lands are frequently mentioned but they refer to the enjoyment and possession, and not the transfer of the land. Baron Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments indigènes des peuples de l' Amérique," Vol. I, Tab. V), reproduces a Mexican painting representing a litigation about land. But this painting was made subsequent to the conquest, as the fact that the parties contending are Indians and Spaniards sufficiently asserts. Occasional mention is made that certain lands "could be sold." All such tracts, however, like the "pillah" have been shown by us to be held in communal tenure of the soil, their *enjoyment* alone being given to individuals and their families.

[90] Zurita (p. 52). "In case of need it was permitted to farm out the lands of a calpulli to the inhabitants of another quarter." Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 134). "They could be rented out to another lineage."

[91] Zurita (p. 52). "When a family dies out, its lands revert to the calpulli, and the chief distributes them among such members of the quarter as are most in need of it."

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a democratic organization. Its business lay in the hands of elective chiefs:—"old men," promoted to that dignity, as we intend to prove in a subsequent paper, for their merits and experience, and after severe religious ordeals. These chiefs formed the council of the kin or quarter, but their authority was not absolute since on all important occasions a general meeting of the kindred was convened.[92] The council in turn selected an executive, the "calpullec" or "chinancallec" who, in war, officiated as "achcacauhtin" or "teachcauhtin" (elder brother).[93]—This office was for life or during good behavior.[94] It was one of his duties to keep a reckoning of the soil of the calpulli, or "calpulalli," together with a record of its members, and of the areas assigned to each family,—and to note also whatever changes occurred in their distribution.[95] Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;

[92] Zurita (pp. 60, 61, 62). Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Letter, etc." Ternaux-Compans, p. 249).

[93] Zurita (p. 60). "The calpulli have a chief taken necessarily from among the tribe, he must be one of the principal inhabitants, an able man who can assist and defend the people. The election takes place among them. . . . The office of this chief is not hereditary; when any one dies, they elect in his place the most respected old man. . . . If the deceased has left a son who is able the choice falls upon him, and a relative of the former incumbent is always preferred" (Id. pp 50 and 222). Simancas M. S. S. ("De l'ordre de succession, etc.;" "Recueil," p. 225). "As to the mode of regulating the jurisdiction and election of the alcaldes and regidors of the villages, they nominated men of note who had the title of achcacaulitin. . . . . There were no other elections of officers . . ." "Art of War, etc." (pp. 119 and 120).

[94] Zurita (pp. 60 and 61). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, cap. 125). "I le elegian entre si y tenian por maior."

[95] Zurita (pp. 61 and 62). "This chief has charge of the lands of the calpulli. It is his duty to defend their possession. He keeps paintings showing the tracts, the names of their holders, the situation, the limits, the number of men tilling them, the wealth of private individuals, the designations of such as are vacant, of others that belong to the Spaniards, the date of donation, to whom and by whom they were given. These paintings he constantly renews, according to the changes occurring, and in this they are very skilful." It is singular that Motolinia, in his "Epistola proémial" ("Col. de Doc.:" Icazbalceta, Vol. I, p. 5), among the five "books of paintings" which he says the Mexicans had, makes no mention of the above. Neither does he notice it in his letter dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," Ternaux-Compans). Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304) says, "porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como haziendas, casas, ó maizales" (Id. cap. XXV, p. 314). This tends to prove the existence of such paintings. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 125). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 546), "and in order to prevent any confusion in these lands they painted them on long strips ("lienzos") in the following manner. The lands of the calpules light yellow, those of the principals flesh-red, and the lands of the Kings income of a fiery red color,—so that, on opening one of these rolls, the entire pueblo, its limits and outlines could be seen at a glance." This is another confirmation of our views about the distribution of the soil, and the fact that the two latter classes had but different shades of red, is somewhat significant. See Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV), who confirms. The explanation of Zurita covers the whole ground, however, and explains both of the last statements.

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618 Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;
423 more important ones, or contested cases, had to be referred to the
[627] council of the kinship, which in turn often appealed to a gathering of the entire quarter.[96]

The "calpulalli" was divided into lots or arable beds, "tlalmilli."[97] These were assigned each to one of the married males of the kinship, to be worked by him for his use and that of his family. If one of these lots remained unimproved for the term of two consecutive years, it fell back to the quarter for redistribution. The same occurred if the family enjoying its possession removed from the calpulli. But it does not appear that the cultivation had always to be performed by the holders of the tract themselves. The fact of improvement under the *name* of a certain tenant was only required, to insure this tenant's rights.[98]

622 Therefore the chiefs and their families, although they could not,
618 from the nature of their duties, till the land themselves, still could
423 remain entitled to their share of "tlalmilpa," as members of the calpulli. Such tracts were cultivated by others for their use. They were called by the specific name of "pillali" (lands of the chiefs or of the children, from "piltontli" boy, or "piltzintli,"

[96] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 56 and 62). We quote him in preference, since no other author, known to us, has been so detailed.

[97] "tlalmilli" "tierras, é heredades de particulares, que estan juntas en alguna vega" (Molina, Part IIa, p. 124).

[98] Each family, represented by its male head, obtained a certain tract or lot for cultivation and use. Zurita (p. 55). "The party (member of the calpulli, because no member of another one, had the right to settle within the area of it. See Id. p. 53), who has no lands, applies to the chief of the calpulli who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him such as correspond to his ability and wants. These lands go to his heirs . . . . . ." Id. (p. 56.) "The proprietor who did not cultivate during two years, either through his own fault or through negligence, without just cause . . . . . he was called upon to improve them, and if he failed to do so, they were given to another the following year." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa, p. 190, cap. I). The fact, that
[427] any holder of a "tlalmilli" might *rent* out his share, if he himself was occupied in a line precluding him from actual work on it, results from the lands of the "calpulli" being represented alternately treated as communal, and again as private lands. Besides, it is said of the traders who, from the nature of their occupation, were mostly absent, that they were also members and participants of a "calpulli" (Zurita, p. 223. Sahagun Lib. VIII, cap. III, p. 349). Now, as every Mexican belonged to a kinship, which held lands after the plan exposed above, it follows that such as were not able to work themselves, on account of their performing other duties subservient to the interests of the community, still preserved their tracts by having others to work them for their benefit. It was not the right of tenancy which authorizes the improvement, but the fact of improvement for a certain purpose and benefit, which secured the possession or tenancy.

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child),[99] and those who cultivated them carried the appellation of "tlalmaitl"—hands of the soil.[100] 622 618 423

The "tlalmilpa," whether held by chiefs or by ordinary members of the kin ("macehuales") were, therefore, the only tracts of land possessed for use by individuals in ancient Mexico. They were so far distinguished from the "tecpantlalli" and "tlatocatlalli" in their mode of tenure as, whereas the latter two were dependent 423

[99] It is just the "pillali" which oppose the greatest difficulties to this investigation, and to a clear conception of the mode of tenure of lands in ancient Mexico. They are generally represented (whenever mentioned), as private domains of the chiefs. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, pp. 545 and 546), distinguishes two kinds of "pillali." The first one he says might be sold.—but he places the restriction upon them, that such as held lands through conquest ("sujecion") or through gift ("merced") of the chief, had to go to the descendants, as majorat; and if they died without heirs, the King, or Lord became such, and they were incorporated into his royal Estates." The other kind was not transmissible at all. Clavigero (Lib. XVII, cap. XIV). We notice here a confusion between official tracts and such lots of the "calpulli" as pertained to the chief's family in consequence of their membership of the Kin. Also between "tribute-lots" and the official tracts, of conquered tribes. Torquemada acknowledges, that the "pillali," upon the death of the family, were incorporated in the calpulli to which that family belonged, "in order that they might pay tribute." This ought to define their true position and nature. [428]

[100] From "tlalli" soil, and "maitl" hand. Hands of the soil. Molina (Parte IIa, p. 124), has: "tlalmaitl"—"labrador, ò gañan." This name is given in distinction of the "macehuales" or people working the soil in general. The tlalmaites are identical with the "mayeques." See Zurita (p. 224), "tlalmaites or mayeques, which signifies tillers of the soil of others . . . ." He distinguishes them plainly from the "teccallec" which are the "tecpanpouhque" or "tecpantlaca" formerly mentioned as attending to a class of official lands (p. 221, Zurita). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These mayeques could not go from one tract to another, neither leave those which they cultivated, and they paid a rent to its masters according as they agreed upon ("en lo que se convertiban") in what they raised. They paid tribute to nobody else but the master of the land." This tends to show that there existed, not an established obligation, a serfdom, but a voluntary contract, that the "tlalmaites" were not serfs, but simply renters. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545), ". . . . those that were knights ("caballeros") and descendants of the families of the Kings, and Lords, had their particular lands and their rentals, where many of them held renters ("terrazgueros") which served them, tilled the crops and served them in their houses. These lands were called pillali or "land of nobles and knights." We prefer the etymology "piltontli" "niño ò niña, muchacho ó muchacha" (Molina, II, p. 82), or "piltzintli" niño ó niña" therefore lands of the children,—to the derivation from "pilli." The title of chief was "tecuhtli," and the word "pilli" substituted for it is certainly but in connection with the occupation of a particular place of office, and not a title itself. Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 330. "The sovereigns as well as the inferior Lords and other principals had their own patrimonial estates, and in them their mayeques or Tlalmayes, what these gave of rent were tributes of the Lord," Id. pp. 233 and 234). [427] [566]

The "tlalmaites" appear to have been free from other tributes, and free from communal labor outside of the "pillali" (Bustamante, p. 233. Herrera, Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). It is not very clear, however, whether this applies simply to the conquering tribe alone, or also to the tlalmaites of conquered tribes, as towards the tribute due by that tribe to their conquerors. The detailed relations between the two are yet somewhat obscure and confuse in some points. [444]

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618 marked improvement, at least in the personal condition of the Indians. They were, hereafter, at least to some extent, protected from the bodily slavery in which the former acts had plunged them. In regard to the tenure of lands, however, the laws wrought no change. Further direct spoliations became more difficult, but the new principle of private ownership had been firmly implanted, not merely *around* but *among* the natives themselves, and the obliteration of the ancient usages, by the extension of this principle, could not be stayed.

618 423 Of the aboriginal mode of tenure of lands and of their distribution, but one vestige remained—the last monument so to say, and the one which embodies, happily, all its principal features. These are the lands of *kinship*, held in common by the consanguine group or calpulli, and called as we have seen, "calpulalli," by the Mexicans.

Although their order had been very much disturbed since in many cases the official tracts, "tecpan-tlalli" and "tlatoca- tlalli," as well as those apportioned to the chiefs as members of the kin, "tlalmilli," were appropriated by the conquerors,—the bulk of the "calpulalli" could not, for a long time, be disintegrated for private uses, notwithstanding the still more nefarious influence exercised by the donation of lands to individuals, with the faculty of barter or sale, in the very heart of the organization itself. Even up to the present time, these communal tracts are still found in Mexico, occupied and tilled by the aborigines after their original customs.[151]

171 [151] Mr. James Pascoe, an English gentleman, resident of Toluca, has in a letter reported upon by the French "Journal des Missions Evangéliques" (1874), given a detailed description of the condition of the Indians in his vicinity. His statements about their communal system of tenure, the eligibility of their chiefs, etc., etc. ("gobernadores") are very positive and plain.

Mr. Stephens, in "Travels in Yucatan" (Vol. II, cap. I, pp. 14 and 15), described the mode of life of the settlement ("rancho") of Schawill near Nohcacab, which settlement contained about "one hundred labradores, or working men, their lands are held and worked in common, and the products are shared by all. Their food is prepared at one hut, and every family sends for its portion, etc., etc."

Brantz-Mayer: ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1857). While at the hacienda of Temisco near Cuernavaca: "he pointed out to us the site of an Indian village, at the distance of three leagues, the inhabitants of which are almost in their native state. He told us, that they do not permit the visits of white people; and that, numbering more than three thousand, they come out in delegations to work at the haciendas, being governed at home by their own magistrates, administering their own lands, and employing a Catholic priest to shrive them of their sins; once a year. The money they receive in payment of wages, at the haciendas, is taken home and buried; and as they produce the cotton and skin for their dresses, and the corn and beans for their food, they purchase nothing at the stores" (p. 175). Hon. E. G. Squier, in his ex-

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648 tenure of lands corresponding to undisturbed aboriginal society. Thus the calpulli were, to a limited extent, protected, nay fostered, and recognized in law, even as late as the past century.[154] Like all remains of "ancient society," *they* also are bound to disappear, or be transformed in a manner suitable to the exigencies of a higher culture. But it may not be amiss to quote, at the close of this investigation, a tribute paid to their value for the wants of Indian society by Alonzo de Zurita, a Spanish official of perspicacity, deep knowledge, and honest judgment, in his memorial to the King of Spain, written about the year 1560.[155]

618 [154] The litigation over the grant to the caciques of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, to which we referred in note 151,— is commented upon as follows by Señore J. F. Ramirez in his letter proving the authenticity of the document, dated 30 Sept., 1865, and printed in the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." "D. Juan de los Santos, D. Antonio Estéban, D. Juan and D. Lorenzo Morales, with the title of caciques and principals of Tepeyahualco, and with the right of successors and lawful descendants of D. Juan and D. Fernando Morales "companions (they said), of the illustrious Hernan Cortés in the conquest and pacification of these kingdoms" had been in possession of the municipal government of that pueblo and of Axapusco, and consequently of the administration of their communal property. The dexterous policy of the Spanish government soon conceived the danger of that system, *which was very general in its origin*, and therefore sought to undermine it in its own particular way. It sought, therefore, to develop the municipal (communal) principle of institutions, and setting the democratic element to action, thus placed the caciques in opposition with their former subordinates, destroying their influence and power. In the present case, the viceroy authorized the pueblos mentioned to elect their municipal authorities, and thereby Santos and the Morales were removed from the administration of the properties." These remarks are very important. But the parties appealed from this division and a long suit ensued. The chiefs based their claims upon the grant of Cortés *exclusively* (pp. XIII and XIV), and the pueblos attacked the authenticity of that document; at the same time invoking the right of possession ("plenario de posesion.") The result of the litigation is described as follows: "declaring the possession in favor of the pueblos, condemning Santos to restitution of the fruits (proceeds), but leaving aside the rights of the parties upon the point of ownership" (juicio de propiedad). The whole case shows that the Spanish government recognized:

First: The communal organization of the tribes, and the elective constituency of its chieftains.

Second: That the hereditary office of chiefs, and the hereditary ownership of lands, were Spanish innovations ("que á su principio fué muy ordinario"). Now this origin ("principio") is certainly not intended to go farther back than the conquest.

Third: That the only right and title, as claimed by the chiefs, was derived from the grant of Cortés, and that they did not claim any prior right, connected with descendancy or with privilege of caste.

Fourth: Consequently, that the Spanish government itself recognized the anterior democratic constituency of the Indian community, and its customs, regarding them as prevailing even over the acts and disposition of Cortés,— although to him the Spaniards owed the conquest of the country.

[155] Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne." pp. 63 and 64. The original of this highly important report to the King of Spain, has been printed once, but very defectively, in the "Collecion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, etc., etc." It is much to be regretted that my learned friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, has not incorporated that copy of it pertaining to Sr. Ramirez, in his valuable

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About the middle of the thirteenth century the Mexicans while on a migration towards more southern regions, made

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by the so-called calendars just named, which peculiarities may throw some light on the questions raised, as to whether they originally denoted kins or not.

With a single exception (Cipactli), the Mexican and allied calendars contained the name of not one object, or phenomenon, which might not be met with *somewhere* over the wide area which the three linguistical stocks occupied at the time of the Conquest. Still, as Sr. Orozco y Berra strikingly proves ("*Géografía de las Lenguas*," Parte IIa, Cap. V, p. 107), the Mexican month contains the names of animals unknown to the ultimate home of the tribe as well as to more *northern* regions. Thus the *monkey* ("Ozomatli") is not found on the high central tableland. In regard to the sign Cipactli, I shall elsewhere refer to this sign, which may perhaps denote a "cuttle-fish" of monstrous dimensions.

Supposing now (since we have no proof yet to the contrary), that this "marine monster" was also an inhabitant of tropical seas, it must strike us that the twenty signs for the days of the aboriginal calendars under consideration

(1). Represent types and phenomena which are met with, *not exclusively, but still all*, within the area of Mexico and Central America.

(2). That some of the animal types are limited to tropical and low regions only.

(3). That none of the animals belong exclusively to the temperate zone of North America.

Consequently, that these signs are of a meridional origin, and even, taking into account that the monkey is not found in the valley of Mexico, that they originated to the *south* of it. Still, the four "Leaders," as I have called them (the first signs of each "week" of five days), namely: Rabbit, cane, flint, and house,—might as well have been selected at the *north*.

It is a fact abundantly proven, that the kins or gentes composing the tribes of North America are named after a principle identical with that found in the naming of the days among the aborigines of more southerly latitudes, namely: after objects and natural phenomena. Mr. Morgan has given the names of the gentes of at least thirty tribes, consisting in all of two hundred and ninety-six gentes. Of these two hundred and ninety-six names, ninety-eight are signs of the Mexican days, repeatedly found in the different tribes. These signs are as follows:—

Itzcuintli, Dog, mostly found, however, as wolf	22 times.
Quauhtli, Eagle	12 "
Cozcaquauhtli, Hawk (although it is the "ringed vulture")	8 "
Mazatl, Deer, Elk, Caribou, Antelope	20 "
Cohuatl, Snake	9 "
Atl, Water (also as "Ice," "Sea," etc.)	4 "
Miquiztli, Skull (as "Head")	1 time.
Ollin (as "many seasons" and "Sun")	2 times.
Calli, House (as "high village" and "lodge")	3 "
Tecpatl, Flint (as "knife")	2 "
Ocelotl, Tiger (also as "panther" and "wild cat")	5 "
Ehecatl, Wind	1 time.
Acatl, Cane (also as "Indian corn")	3 times.
Tochtli, Rabbit (also as "hare")	3 "
Cuetzpalin, Lizard ("frog")	1 time.
Xochitl, Flower (as "Tobacco")	1 "
Quiahuitl, Rain	1 "

I beg to observe, that if I have added "Cozcaquauhtli" to this list, supposing it to be the equivalent of "Hawk," this is a mere suggestion, and not an affirmation on my part.

Thus sixteen, if not seventeen, of the twenty signs of days of the Mexican month, are found in North America as "*totems*" *probably of aboriginal clans or kins.*

It is further interesting to note, that of the nine clans composing the Moqui tribes of Arizona, the names of seven correspond to signs of Mexican days, ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, p. 179). What little is known of the Laguna Indians foreshadows a similar result (p. 180), thus permitting the query, whether the pueblo Indians of the

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A 173 618 their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[32] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[33] We may as well add here, that these

A M central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

[805 171] After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

A [197 173 621] [32] *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones historicas*" "*Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) "y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also "*Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de America llamada Nueva-España*" ("*Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 333), "Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinieron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), "Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 388, note 7, to p. 382). I refer to *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (2a Tarde, p. 31).

[33] "*Tardes Americanas*" (p. 31), "bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vaguearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full, I but refer to "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. V, pp. 36, 39; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. I, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *Garcia* ("*Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 59, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Velancurt* (Vol. I. "*Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[32] The number *seven* (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 399, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* ("*Die Culturlaender des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 466, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mauotell's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[33] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitznagoa.	Huitznahuac.	Huitznahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cihuatecpaneca.	Cihuatecpaneca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.
Yzquiteca.	Yzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.

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Indian wards, their peculiar organization, and their communal lands, disappeared only after the secession of Mexico from Spain, not more than fifty years ago.[34]

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There is, however, a fundamental difference between Durán on one hand, and Veytia and Tezozomoc on the other, inasmuch as the former says that these seven names were those of the *tutelar deities* of the seven kins ("barrios"), whereas the latter two give them as the names of *these kins themselves*. The seven tutelar deities are also named by them, and called as follows: "Quetzalcohuatl, Tlazolteo.l, Macuilxochiquetzalli, Chichiliticcenteotl, Piltzintecuhtli, Tezcatlipuca, and Mictlantecuhtli" (*Veytia*, as above quoted). *Tezozomoc* (p. 6), calls these gods: "Quetzalcohuatl, Oxomoco, Matlaxochiquetzal, Chichiliticzenteutl, Piltzintecutli, Meteutl, Tezcatlipuca, Mictlantecuhtli y Tlamacazqui, y otros dioses con ellas. . . . . ." A discussion of these names is very difficult, and its results appear doubtful. Still, we distinctly recognize: "Tlacochcalca," plural of "Tlacochcalcatl," therefore, "men of the house of darts." (See "*Art of War*," p. 121, note 104). "Huitznahuac," according to *Molina* (IIa, p. 157), "uitztic" is a pointed object, "uitztli" a large thorn, but "uitztlan" is the south. "Nahuac," in this instance, probably (or rather possibly), signifies "among" or "near to," thus perhaps, "people from the south" or "from near the thorns." (Example: "Quauhnahuac"—"por de los arbolos," *Molina*, II, p. 63. *Pimentel* "*Cuadro descriptivo*, Vol. I. pp. 170, etc.) "Cihuatecpaneca" from "Cihuatl" woman, and "tecpan" official house. "Tlacatecpaneca" from "Tlacatl" man, and "tecpan." Finally, "Itzcuintecatl" seems to derive from "Itzcuintli" Dog, and "tecatl." The latter again decomposes into: "nitla tequi" to cut (*Molina*, II, p. 105), and "tlacatl" man, therefore the whole would be "dogcutters." "Yzquitecatl" gives a still more curious etymology, which is, however, so improbable, that we refrain from mentioning it even

It will be seen at a glance that none of these seven kins were named after the Mexican days, the last one alone containing, perhaps, the word "Itzcuintli," but even this is very doubtful yet. I shall but refer here to a singular passage in *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 20). "Ya hemos dicho como traian á su principal dios, sin cuyo mandado no se osaban menear: traian empero otros siete dioses, que á contemplacion de los siete cuevas donde auian anitado siete congregaciones de gentes ó siete parcialidades, los reverenciaban con mucha grandeza."

After the capture of Tenochtitlan by Cortés, its site was reserved by him for the erection thereupon of the Spanish city, whereas the site of Tlatilulco became the Indian settlement for a time, or rather was intended for that purpose. *Cortés* ("*Carta*, IV, pp. 110, 111, Vedia I). *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180, 181). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLIX, pp. 528, 530). *Juan de Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 572.- Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 290). *Herrera* ("*Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*," Cap. IX, p. 17. "*Historia*," Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. VIII, p. 122). *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México*" 4th Part of the "Teatro," pp. 124, 131, 132, 212, and 213).

It is the latter author, *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," pp. 131, 132, 212, and 213), who gives us the names and numbers of the Mexican quarters, "barrios," or localized kins who, under the form of "Indian wards," still existed in 1690. I assume this date from the fact that the "Licencia" of the "Comisario general de Indias," is dated 17 April, 1692, (p. 12, Vol. I, "*Teatro*"). Besides mentioning the four great quarters of Mexico (p. 124), of which we shall hereafter speak, he says: "Los barrios son veinte, donde están once ermitas fabricadas que sirven para sacramentar en ellas á los que no tienen casa, decente, sirviendo de oratorios del barrio, donde en las fiestas particulares se suelen decir misas rezadas, y en algunas fiestas de devocion cuando la piden." He also gives us (pp. 212, 213) information about Tlatelulco,—information which proves that the aborigines settled there "en seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios, y veinte ermitas con sus titulares que celebran." This is rather obscure, and I shall

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618 While the seven consanguine clusters above mentioned com-
174 posed, to all intents and purposes, one tribe as towards outsiders, there still appear among them germs of discord which, at a later date, caused a disruption of mutual ties. The details are too vague and too contradictory to allow any inference even as to the real nature of such dissensions.[35] One fact, however, is ascertained, namely: that the whole group bore in common all the hardships and vicissitudes of a wandering life and the encroachments, aggressions and temptations from outsiders; that they had sheltered together in a safe retreat, and that only when relative safety from violence was secured, a permanent division took place. These considerations should dispose of the

[173 therefore give the names of the Mexican "barrios" by the side of the "ermitas" of
618] Tlatelulco, leaving the reader to notice coincidences himself.

"Barrios" of Mexico.	*"Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.*
Santo Cristo de Tzapotla.	Santa Ana Atenantitech.
Santa Veronica de Huehuecalco.	Santa Lucia Telpochcaltitlan.
Santa Cruz de Tecpancaltitlan.	La Concepcion de Atenantitlan.
San Pedro de Cihuateocaltitlan.	San Francisco Mecantalinco.
Espiritu Santo de *Yopico*.	La Asuncion de Apazhuacan.
San Felipe de Jesus de Teocaltitlan.	San Martin Atezcapan.
Santiago de Tlaxilpan.	Santa Catalina Cohuatlan.
Los Reyes de Tequicaltitlan.	San Pablo Tolquechiucan.
La Candelaria de Atlampa.	Nuestra Señora de Belen Tlaxoxiuhco.
La Ascension de Tlacacomoco.	Los Reyes de Capoltitlan.
San Diego de Amanalco.	San Simon Iztatla.
El Niño Jesus de Tepetitlan.	Santa Inés Hueipantonco.
El Descendimiento de Atizapan.	San Francisco Izcatla.
San Salvador de Xihuitongo.	Santa Cruz Azococolocan.
La Navidad de Tequixquipan.	San Antonio Tepiton.
San Salvador de Necaltitlan.	La Asuncion de Tlayacaltitlan.
La Concepcion de Xoloco.	San Francisco *Cihuatecpan*.
San Juan de Chichimecapan.	San Juan *Huitznahuac*.
San Antonio de Tezcatzonco.	Sa Asuncion de Izayoc.
San Sebastian Copoico.	Santa Clara Acozac.

I have italicized those names which are also found among those of the seven original kins above enumerated, and thus we find three of them, one in Mexico, and two among the "Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.

[34] *Fernan Gonzalez de Eslava* ("*Coloquios espirituales y Sacramentales, y Poesias Sagradas*," Second Edition, 1877, by Sr. Icazbalceta.) The learned editor makes the following note, 50. to page 57. "Cuando se reedificó la ciudad de México, despues de la conquista, se colocaron en el Centro las casas de los españoles, y los Indios levantaron las suyas alrededor de aquellas. Esta poblacion india se dividió en cuatro barrios ó *parcialidades*, regidos por caciques de su nacion, sujetos á un gobernador de la misma, Los barrios principales eran San Juan y Santiago." Calling my attention to this note in his letter of 14 Nov., 1878, my esteemed friend adds: "Con el tiempo se confundió la poblacion y desaparecieron esos barrios; pero aun quedò el nombre y los bienes que poseian las 'parcialidades' los cuales desaparecieron tambien en mi tiempo."

[35] The dissensions between what subsequently became the Mexicans and the Tlatelulcans are so variously described by the authorities, that it is hardly worth while to discuss them.

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assumption, frequently made, that the Mexicans were divided into two distinct clusters at the outset. 618 174

A council of chiefs, representing the seven kins meeting on equal terms, composed the government of the ancient Mexicans at that period of their history. Among these, occasional "old men" of particular ability loom up as leading advisers. But no permanent general office of an executive nature is mentioned; although even occasional braves acquired historical prominence through their deeds of valor and of sagacity.[36] 174 643

But, while the organization was thus amply sufficient for the needs of a straggling band, Indian worship or "medicine" (as the native term implies) represented, inside of that organization, the lingering remains of what we have already suggested to be the oldest aboriginal clusters of society. Corresponding to the *four* original kins of the QQuiché, to the *four* leading days of the calendar with the traditions attached to their origin, we find among the ancient Mexicans at that period *four* chief medicine men, or "old men," who at the same time are "carriers of the God."[37] 174 618 624

[36] "*Tenure of Lands*" (P. 398 and 399, Notes 21 and 22). In addition to the authorities quoted there, I refer to: *Gomara* ("*Conquista de Méjico*" Vedia I, p. 431). "y dicen que no trajeron señores, sino capitanes." (Idem p. 433. "De los reyes de Méjico"). *Motolinia* ("Epistola proémial," p. 5). "aunque se sabe que estos Mexicanos fueron los postreros, y que no tuvieron señores principales, mas de que se gobernaron por capitanes." —*Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). "Dicen que el èjército mexicano trajo por caudillos ò capitanes diez principales que los regian, ... Entre estos eligieron, luego como hicieron su asiento, por rey y principal señor á Tenuch." *Torquemada*. (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78; cap. XII, pp. 94 and 95).

The fact of the election of the *first* so-called "King" of the ancient Mexicans, so generally acknowledged that no evidence of it is needed, is proof enough that, previous to it, the government of the Mexicans was at least, not monarchical. The words of Torquemada, (p. 94, vol. I.) "Dicese, que aviendo pasado veinte y siete años, que se governaban en comun, los unos, y los otros, les tomó gana de eligir Rey, ..." are plain enough.

Aside from the "leaders" (caudillos) of the Kins frequently mentioned, occasional war-chiefs or directing braves turn up during this period of their wandering existence. Thus, a chief whom they called "Mexi" is mentioned by *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 469), *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 138 and 139), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X. p. 60); and another very famous warrior, "Humming Bird." (Huitzilihuitl) led the Mexicans during their fray with the valley-tribes at Chapultepec, losing his life in the sally by which they broke through their surrounding enemies. *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 27; IV, 30). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 463). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. III, p. 82; IV, p. 84; Lib III, cap. XXII, p. 289). *Velascurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. Io, cap. IX, p. 261; cap. X, p. 265 and 266). *Granados y Galvez* (*Tarde Quinta*, p. 151). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 97; cap. XIII, p. 110; cap. XIV, p. 116, 124; cap. XV. p. 130 and 131). He affirms that "Humming Bird" was the first "King of the Mexicans," which, however, is expressly disproved by other authors.

[37] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. I, p. 6), mentions the four old men who carried the so-called sister of Huitzilopochtli, "y á esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli á los viejos

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174 It seems to indicate, that as relics of four very ancient kins, a
618 kind of superstitious ("standing over") deference was paid to
624 them, implying a voice and vote in the councils of the tribe.[38]

que la sollan traer cargada, (que se llamavan Qnauhtlonqnetzqua, y Axolos el segundo, y el tercero llamado Tlamacazqui Cnauhcoatl, y el cuarto Ococaltzin"). (Cap. III. p. 8), at Chapultepec "y alli les habló Huitzilopochtli á los sacerdotes, que son nombrados Teomamaques, cargadores del dios, que eran Cnauhtloquetzqui, Axolos, Tlamacazqui y Aococaltzin, á estos cargadores de este idolo, llamados sacerdotes, les dijo."—*Durán* (Cap. III. p. 21). Llegados a aquel lugar de *Pazcuaro*, viéndole tán apacible y alegre, consultaron á su dios los sacerdotes y pidiéronle: . . . . . el dios *Vitzilopochtli* respondió á sus sacerdotes, en sueños . . . " These words repeat themselves almost, several times in cap. IV, V, and VI. Finally he is very positive, (Cap. VI, p. 46), "con los quatro ayos de *Vitzilopochtli*, los quales le vian visiblemente y lo hablaban, que se llamauan *Cnauhtloquetzqui*, el segundo *Ococatl* el tercero *Chachalaitl* y el cuarto *Axolosa*, los quales eran como ayos, padres, amparo y reparo de aquella gente," *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV, p. 459), "Con esto salieron lleuando á su ydolo metido en una arca de juncos, la qual lleuavan quatro Sacerdotes principales, con quien el se communicava, y dezia en secreto los successos de su camino auisandoles lo que les auia de suceder, dandoles leyes, y enseñándolos ritos y ceremonias, y sacrificios. No se mouian un punto sin parecer y mandato deste ydolo." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X, p. 60). "Llevaron este Idolo en una Arca de Juncia en hombros de quatro Sacerdotes, los quales enseñaban los Ritos, i Sacrificios, i daban Leies, i sin su parecer no se movian en nada." Besides these specifically and exclusively Mexican sources, to which others will be added hereafter, the fact of these four chief-medicine men "tlamacazqui" from "tlama"—medicine-man, (*Molina* II, p. 125), is proven by authors who rather incline to the texcucan side. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78), "y ordenó, que quatro de ellos, fuesen sus ministros, para lo qual, fuéron nombrados Qnauhcohuatl, Apanecatl, Tezcacohuatl, Chimalman," (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 41, but especially Lib. IX. cap. XIX, p. 205). "De los primeros Mexicanos, que vinieron á estas Tierras, sabemos, que no traxeron Rei, ni otro Caudillo particular (contra los que tienen, ó afirman lo contrario) sino que venian regidos de los Sacerdotes, y ministros del Demonio; sobre cuios hombros venía la Imagen del Dios Huitzilupuchtli, y á los consejos, y determinaciones de estos ministros eran obedecientes." The most explicit of all, however, is again *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 92). At the death of Huitziton, "y aqui fué dondo empezaron las embustes de los viejos y sacerdotes que con mas inmediacion trataban á Huitziton; porque, ó concebido ya el ambicioso deseo de quedarse con el mando del pueblo, ó para disminiurle á este el dolor que debia causarle tan gran pérdida, ..." (p. 94). "Esto es el origen de la famosa deidad Huitzilopuchtli," (p. 99), here Veytia is in error in stating that *Tezozomoc* reports that the four priests were left with Malinalxochitl in Malinalco. This author mentions them again at Chapultepec, "*Crónica*," (Cap. III, p. 8). Further on (Cap. XIII, p. 102), "Yo me persuado á que es distinto, que Ocelopan y sus tres compañeros fueron los cuatro Tlamacazquis que fingieron el embuste del rapto de Huitziton," (p. 109), he says that the "old priests" opposed the election of a head-war-chief ("rey") "por no dejar el mando." (Also Cap XV, p. 131.)

It results from these statements, that the four "Carriers of the God" indeed exercised, or at least claimed some governmental power. In tribal society such power can only come through some *kin*, hence the four "medicine-men" represented four very old clans or relationships, whose names even may have been lost, whereas the former power "stood over," in the form of a participation of "medicine" or worship in the tribal business. I here recall the important utterance of *Boturini* ("*Idea*," pp. 111 and 112 of § XVI), "como fué costumbre de los Indios poner muy pocas Figuras en los mapas, baxo de cuya sombra se hallan numerosos Pueblos, y gentes; y assi dichos siete Tultécos, cuyos nombres refiere el mencionada Don Fernando, se entiende haver sido siete principales Cabezas de dilatados Parentescos, que se escondian baxo los

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174 organization and Institutions of the ancient Mexicans must have reached their ultimate development, to less than two centuries.[39]

"In the midst of canes of reeds" the remains of the Mexican tribe found their future home upon a limited expanse of sod, which even their enemies on the mainland seemed to regard but as a spot fit to die upon.[40] Although much reduced in numbers, the kins themselves remained and a settlement necessitated at once their localization. How this took place, can best be told in the words of one of the native chroniclers, the Dominican monk, Fray Diego Durán.

174 "During the night following, after the Mexicans had finished
618 to improve the abode of their god, and the greatest part of the
615 lagune being filled up and fit for to build thereon, Vitzilopochtli spoke unto his priest or keeper and said to him: "Say unto the Mexican community that the chiefs, each with their relatives, friends and connections, should divide themselves in four principal quarters, with the house which you have built for my resting place in the middle, and that each kin might build within its quarter as best it liked." These quarters are those remaining in Mexico to this day, to wit: the ward of San Pablo, that of San Juan, of Santa Maria la Redonda as it is called, and the ward of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places their god sent word to them that they should distribute among themselves their gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these gods should be worshipped.[2] Thus each of these quarters divided into many small ones according to the number of idols called by them Calpulteona, which is to say god of the quarter. I shall not recall here their names because they are not of importance to history, but we shall know that these quarters are like unto what in Spain they call a collation of such and such a saint."[41]

This statement we do not hesitate to accept as expressing gen-

[39] My friend, Prof. Ph. Valentini, of New York, has in hand the study of Central American Chronology proper, as well as Mexican. In his latest work "*The Mexican Calendar stone*" (published first in German as a "Lecture," and afterwards in No. 71, of the "*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*"), he has given a general idea of his researches, but not any details yet about their results. If, therefore, I here admit 1325, A. D as about the date of the so-called "foundation" of Tenuchtitlan-Mexico, it is subject to correction by him.

[40] *Durán* (Cap. IV, p. 32), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[41] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 400, note 29, and p. 402, notes 32 and 33). In addition to the authorities quoted. I refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI. p. 61), and *Samuel Purchas* ("*His Pilgrimages*," 1625, Part III, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 1005).

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nine aboriginal traditions, notwithstanding the attempt, on the 174
part of Fray Juan de Torquemada, to impugn its truthfulness and 618
consequently its validity.[42] It results from it that while the kins, 615
which for the first time in Mexican history are distinctly identified here with the "calpulli," are settling, "as best they liked;" the creation of four geographical divisions, composed each of a number of kins, is attributed here to the influence of worship or, as we have already termed it, of "medicine." This connects those, who subsequently became the four "Indian wards" of Mexico, with the four "carriers of the gods" already mentioned, and this perhaps may be considered a reminiscence of the four original relationships. Of these the sections mentioned appear like a shell, geographically enclosing a number of settled kins. The supposition is not, therefore, devoid of interest that they may have represented brotherhoods of kins, for purposes of worship and warfare. If now we substitute for *kin* the term "*gens*" adopted by Mr. Morgan, those *brotherhoods* necessarily appear in the light of as many "*phratries*."[43]

The time of this occurrence seems almost to coincide with a 174
division (already indicated as in progress) of the original Mexican 619
band into *two* sections. It now culminated in the secession of a part of the tribe and its settlement apart from the main body, though not far away from it and within the lagune also. While the "place of the stone and prickly pear" (Tenuchtitlan) remained, virtually, ancient Mexico, the seceding group founded the Pueblo of Tlatilulco as an independent community at the very door of the former. It appears as its rival even until forty-eight years previous to the Spanish conquest.[44]

[42] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 402, notes 32 and 33).

[43] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. III, p. 88) "The phratry is a brotherhood, as the term imports, and a natural growth from the organization into gentes. It is an organic union or association of two or more gentes of the same tribe, for certain common objects. These gentes were usually such as had been formed by the segmentation of an original gens." If we recall the manner in which the four "quarters" or Mexico first appeared, it will easily be seen that the analogy with phratries is indeed striking. Compare, "*Art of War*" (p. 101, and note 22, and pp. 120, 121, and notes 97, 99, 100, and 101). In "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 400 and (401), I have rather favored the view that these four were "calpulli" which subsequently segregated into minor quarters or 'barrios." I now correct this, having become convinced that the so-called minor *quarters already existed at the time of settlement* (*compare notes* 37 *and* 41).

[44] *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 180), mentions a division into but two "barrios' in course of time through increase of population. "Despues andando el tiempo y multiplicandose el pueblo y creciendo la vecindad, hizóse esta ciudad dos barrios ó dos ciudades," *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichim.*" Cap. p. 72), merely states they were

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174 It is much to be regretted that our information on this point
114 is so meagre and unsatisfactory, as not to enable us to ascertain
619 whether several *entire kins* separated from the rest to form the new tribe, or whether *fragments of kins* only composed the secessionists. In fact even the cause of the division is stated in such a varied and contradictory manner, that we must withhold any expression of positive views on the subject.

618 Without losing sight altogether of the tribe of Tlatilulco, we still must devote our attention chiefly to the inhabitants of Tenuchtitlan, in which we recognize the ancient Mexicans proper. The number of kins composing the latter at the time of their

divided in two "bands," without saying why and how this division occurred. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 43), "Hecha esta division y puestos ya en su órden y concierto de barrios, algunos de los viejos y ancianos, entendiendo merecian mas de lo que les daban y que no se les hacia aquella honra que merecian, se amotinaron y determinaron ir a buscar nuevo asiento, y andando por entre aquellos carriçales y espadañales allaron una albarrada pequeña, y dando noticia della á sus aliados y amigos fuéronse á hacer alli asiento, el qual lugar se llamaba Xaltelulli y el qual lugar agora llamamos Tlatilulco, ques el barrio de Santiago. Los viejos y principales que alli se pasauan fuéron quatro; el uno dellos se llamaba Atlaquauiti, el segundo Huicto, el tercero Opocatli, el quarto Atlacol. Estos quatro señores se dividieron y apartaron de los demas y se fuéron á vivir á este lugar del Tlatilulco, y segun opinion tenidos por hombres inquietos y revoltosos y de malas intenciones, porque desde el dia que alli se pasaron nunca tuvieron paz ni se llevaron bien con sus hermanos los mexicanos; la qual inquietud a ido de mano en mano hasta el dia de hoy, pues siempre a auido y ay bandos y rancor entre los unos y los otros." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 468), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62), both are but concise repetitions of the above. *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, pp. 294 and 295), opposes both Acosta and Herrera, as well as the "*Codex Ramirez*," and substitutes a story about voluntary settlement of the Tlatilulco on a sandy patch near by, but apart from the others, in consequence of the old grudge or feud already mentioned. There is but little difference between this version and the preceding, the act of secession, in both, being voluntary. One singular fact is mentioned by *Vetancurt* (Part II, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 269), namely: that the Tlatilulco made a market-place for *both* parties. Otherwise (p. 257), he concurs with Torquemada. *Granados y Galvez* (Tarde 6a, p. 174), after saying that both "eran deudos y parientes unos con otros" adds "whether this division proceeded from past quarrels, or out of the incommodities which they suffered among canes and reeds; it is certain that they divided peaceably . . ." *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, pp. 133 and 142), reporting on all the various traditions about the foundation of Tlatilulco, comes to the conclusion that the "nobles" retired to Tlatilulco, whereas the "common people" remained at Mexico. *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 178), agrees with Veytia in regard to the real import of the fables told concerning the ancient feuds among the migratory band, but (Cap. XVII, pp. 187 and 188), he accepts the version that these old dissensions were the causes of the final division.

I have not been able, yet, to find whether the seceding Tlatilulco formed one kin, or one brotherhood of kins, or whether they were discontented fractions of kins removing. Had Vetancurt given us the names of the "barrios" of Tlatilulco, we might possibly infer something from them. As it is, the fact of the four "principals" mentioned by Durán, seems to indicate four kins, or rather (perhaps) fractions from four kins, whom want of space probably caused to remove. They may have been crowded out, and in course of time the feeling of jealousy and rivalry sprung up of which the authorities speak both freely and frequently. See *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

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settlement is not stated, but while some sources mention *twenty* 618 chiefs as composing the original council of the tribe, others speak of but *ten leaders*. This might, according to the view taken, indicate in both instances *ten* kins, or *twenty* in the former and *ten* in the latter. At any rate the number is larger than that originally composing the tribe, thus showing that the segmentation so characteristic of tribal society according to Mr. Morgan, had already begun. Of the government of the tribe Clavigero says: "The 645 whole nation was under a senate or college of the most promi- 643 nent men."[45] No mention is made anywhere of a head-war-chief

[45] *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 94. Lib. III, 618 cap. XXII. pp. 288, 290, and 291). *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47).

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of kins composing the Mexican tribe at at that time. The number of chiefs and their names are variously stated. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47), mentions six chiefs and four priests. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), mentions ten chiefs. The "*Codex Mendoza*" also says ten chiefs (Tab. I, Vol. I, Kingsborough). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p, 190. note r). mentions twenty. It is interesting to compare the names, also those of the twenty leaders of *Torquemada* (Lib II, cap, III, p. 83), with those of the twenty "barrios" of Vetancurt.

Durán.	*Mendieta.*	*Torquemada.*	*Clavigero.*	*"Barrios" of Vetancurt.*
Acacitli,	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	Tzapotla,
Tenoch,	*Tenuch.*	*Tenoca,*	*Tenoch,*	Huehuecalco,
Meci.	Tecineutl,	*Nanacatzin,*	*Nanacatzin,*	Tecpancaltitlan,
Ahuexotl,	*Auexotl.*	*Ahuexotl,*	*Ahuexotl,*	Cihuateocaltitlan,
Ocelopan,	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan,*	Yopico.
Teçacatetl,	Quahpan.	*Teçacatetl,*	*Tezcatl,*	Teocaltitlan,
Quauhtloquetzqui,	*Xomimitl.*	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	Tlaxilpan,
Ococal,	Xocoyal.	*Quentzin,*	*Quentzin,*	Tequicaltitlan,
Chachalaitl,	*Xiuhcoqui.*	*Xiuhcoac,*	*Xiuhcoac,*	Atlampa,
Axoloua.	Atototl.	*Axolohua,*	*Axolohua,*	Tlacacomoco,
		Tlalala,	Tlalala.	Amanalco,
		Tzontliyayauh,	Tzontliyagauti,	Tepetitlan,
		Tuzpan,	Tochpan,	Atizapan,
		Tetepan,	Tetepan,	Xihuitengo,
		Cozca,	Cozcati,	Tequixquipan,
		Ahatl,	Atzin.	Mecaltitlan,
		Achitomecatl,	Achitomecatl,	Xoloco,
		Acohuatl,	Acohatl,	Chichimecapan,
		Mimich,	Mimich,	Copolco,
		Tezca.	*Tezcatl.*	*Tezcatzonco.*

I have italicized such names as are alike. We see that of the ten chiefs named by Durán and Mendieta, six are also named by the two other authorities. As might be expected, there is hardly any concordance between these names of chiefs and those of the Mexican "barrios."

If it were known to us whether, in this case, each "chief" represented a kin only, 618 or whether Durán, Tezozomoc, and Mendieta alone indicated the true number, we 773 could or might, of course, determine the number of the calpulli. That the chief is used to denote his kinship in the old authors is distinctly stated by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224). This chapter relates the mission of sixty "wizards" ("brujos"-"hechiceros,") sent by the chief "Montezuma Ilhuicamina" (the first "stern or wrathy chief" of that name), to an old woman or goddess purported to be "Huitzilopochtli's" mother. Arrived before the old hag (as she is described), she inquires of them for her son and for

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as yet; this peculiarly military office was not yet established in permanence. However, there are indications that one executive chieftain for tribal affairs may, at least rudimentarily, have existed namely: the "Snake-woman" (cihuacohuatl). But the attributes of this office did not assign to it any marked prominence.[46]

The position of the Mexican tribe, about the middle of the fourteenth century, was still a very precarious one. With barely sufficient sod to dwell upon, blockaded, so to say, by powerful tribes along the lake shore; with the independent cluster of Tlatilulco, jealous and threatening, within an arrow-shot of its homes, it was forced into a peculiar attitude of military defence. The elements for a warlike organization were contained in the autonomous kins, which were grouped into the still larger cluster of the brotherhood, and all together composing the tribe. The leaders were found in the officers and chiefs of the kins. But the state of insecurity then prevailing required an office whose incumbent should be in constant charge of the military affairs of the tribe. This was plainly within the scope of tribal society; such functions had already been exercised previously, in times of particular need. Now, under the pressure of circumstances, and with a permanent settlement, permanence of the charge became a necessity.[47]

the seven chiefs "which seven went for leaders of each quarter" (p. 222). The wizards reply (among other things): "Great and powerful Lady (?) we have neither seen, nor spoken to, the chiefs of the *calpules*." Judging from this, the original number of them was *ten*, and it is presumable that if such was the case they were the *war-chiefs*, whereas the others were more properly the administrative officers analogous to the "*sachems*" of the Iroquois. (Compare *Morgan*, "*Ancient Society*." Part II, cap. II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Cap. IV, p. 114. Cap. V, pp. 129, 130, etc., etc., to 148). We shall have occasion to return to this again in a subsequent note.

"The office of "Cihuacohuatl" is very old. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones*" "*Segunda Relacion*," pp. 323 and 324), after speaking of the seven leaders of the Toltecs, mentions "Ziuhcoatl" tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores" as discoverer of Jalisco. Confirmed (the last mention excepted) by *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37). *Veytia* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 220). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (Plate II in Vol. I of Lord Kingsborough), represents the first regular head-war-chief of the Mexicans, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli) with a head and face of a woman and snake surmounting his own head or rather the forehead, whereas the "name" proper stands, as usual, behind the occiput. The expanatory note thereto (Vol. VI, p. 8), says: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuotl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a Monarchy this title was retained."

[47] *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 44). *Acosta* (Lib. III, cap. 8, p. 468). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 95). "The cause of his election was the increase in numbers, and their being surrounded by enemies who made war upon them and damaged them." "La causa de su eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian guerra, y afligian."

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tion here, because of its unveiling, so to say, the full organization 174
of the ancient Mexicans as they preserved it until the time of 631
their downfall.

Upon the occasion of the division of spoils gathered from the 174
defeated Tecpanecas, and of the establishment of regular tribute, 642
there appear the following war captains and leaders of the Mexicans, as representatives of the latter's organization.

The "chief of men."

Four captains of the four principal quarters of Mexico.

Twenty war-chiefs of as many kins composing the tribe.

One chief representing the element of worship, or "medicine."

The "Snake-woman."[54]

gard to the date of its occurrence, *Bancroft* (Vol. V, p. 305), says about, or immediately after, 1431, following Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. III, p. 251), 1426, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. Chichimeca.*" Cap. XXXII, p. 217), also 1431, *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 165) 1431, The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Kingsb., Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VI, p. 136), has it 7, "Tochtli" or 1404.

[54] *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 96). Besides distributing land "juntamente con daros y repartiros las tierras que aveis ganado, para que tengais renta para el sustento de vuestros estados y personas segun el mérito dellas," he gave them "ditados" or titles "y (quiere) haceros señores de titulo" (the latter would be to make them noblemen). I must advert here that "ditado o titulo de honra" is expressed in the Mexican language by "tecuyotl" "tlatocazotl" "maniçotl" (*Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," Part I, p. 46). These words however mean but, respectively "chieftainship," "speakership," and "honor," (the latter see *Molina* II, p. 54), all of them terms which, as we shall hereafter see, apply to *personal merit*, and not to hereditary privilege among the Mexican aborigines. Durán then proceeds (p. 97) to give these titles as follows:— 565 618

"Primeramente á su general dió por ditado				*Tlacochcalcatitecutli.*
A Veue Moteucçuma, Tlacacleltzin dió por ditado				*Tlacatecatl.*
A Tlacauspan,	d.	p.	d.	*Ezuauacatl.*
A Cuatlecoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlillancalqui.*
A Veueçacan,	d.	p.	d.	*Tezcacoacatl.*
A Aztacoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tocuiltecatl.*
A Canaltzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Acolnauacatl.*
A Tzonpantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Hueitecutli.*
A Epcotiuatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Temillotzin.*
A Citlalcoatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Tecpanecatl.*
A Tlaueloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Calmimelolcatl.*
A Ixcuetlatoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Mexicaltecutli.*
A Cuauhtzitzimitl,	d.	p.	d.	*Huitznauatl.*
A Xiconoc,	d.	p.	d.	y renombre, *Tepanocatitecutli.*
A Tlazolteotl,	d.	p.	d.	*Quetzaltocatl.*
A Axicyotzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Teuctlamacazqui.*
A Ixauatliloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlopaltecatl.*
A Mecantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Cuauhyauacatl.*
A Tenamaztli,	d.	p.	d.	*Coatecatl.*
A Tzontemoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Pantecatl.*
A Tlacacochtoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Huecamecatl.*

To these he adds (pp. 98 and 99), five more, namely: *Quauhnochtecutli, Cuauhquiauacatl, Yopicatltecutli, Cvitznauhtl, and Itcotecatl.* The three last were from Culhuacan. Adding to this the "chief of men" himself, who was "Flint-Snake," or

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174 618 The existence of *twenty* autonomous consanguine groups is thus revealed, and we find them again at the time of the conquest,

565 618 "Obsidian-Snake" (*Itzcohuatl*), we have twenty-five chiefs in all. Now we cannot fail to notice:—

[701] (1). "Itzcohuatl," the "chief of men" or head-war-chief.

(2). "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," and "Cuanhnochtli," the four military leaders of the four great quarters ("phratries") of Tenuchtitlan. (See "*Art of War*," pp. 120, 121, and 122, also notes 97 to 101 inclusive.)

(3). "Tlillancalqui"—"Man of the black-house," a chief connected with "medicine" or worship, as I shall hereafter show. He was rather a counsellor or advisor, than a captain, as *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II. cap. XIX, p. 75) positively state, whereas *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 104) asserts the religious origin of his office.

(4). "Tlacaellel," who, as Durán and Tezozomoc both repeatedly and plainly assert, was the snake-woman or "Cihuacohuatl." In this instance, however, he is graced with the title of "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), and thus made one of the four leaders of the "phratries." This is an evident mistake, as the latter title belonged to Montezuma (the first, or "old one"). Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVI, p. 140; cap. XLIII, p. 150, where he is called "captain-general"), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XV, p. 293), also *Durán* (Lam. 8a, Parte Ia).

(5). Twenty war-chiefs, each one of whom commanded the warriors of one kin or calpulli, hence they were the military leaders of twenty Mexican kins. Besides the indications to that effect furnished by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224), "á los señorés de los *calpulcs* no los vimos ni nos hablaron," said the sorcerers which had been sent to Huitzilopochtli's mother, after she had asked them about the chiefs or captains, seven in number, which had led the Mexicans originally, (see note 33). *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), while corroborating the statements of Durán (with the exception that he omits the chief "Mexicatl-tecutli," and thus gives only twenty-seven chieftains), inserts the following explanation about these twenty (or twenty-one after Durán) captains: "After these four (the four first ones), go the Tlacanes, called valorous soldiers, surnamed captains." The "Tlacan" or "tlacauh," properly "teachcauhtin," *Elder brother*, was the military chief of each "barrio" or "calpulli," therefore of each *kin* ("*Art of War*," p. 119, notes 91, 92, and 93), consequently these twenty chieftains represent here as many consanguine relationships composing the tribe of the ancient Mexicans.

It will be noticed, however, that Durán has twenty-one chiefs, whereas we assume but twenty, according to Tezozomoc. The latter omits "Mexicatl-tecutli" and, perhaps properly too. This word signifies but "Mexican chief," in general, and cannot therefore well be the title of one particular leader. It recurs occasionally in the course of Mexican history. Still, this is only a suggestion on my part, for the matter is far from being proven. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571) mentions "*Mexicatl-achcauhtli*" among the chiefs who went with Quauhtemotzin before Cortés on the day after the resistance of the Mexicans had ended. Again Tezozomoc mentions two chiefs of the same title "Cuauhquinauacatl," as also does Durán. Now this would be impossible, since Tezozomoc calls the second one of that name, a son of "Cuauhnochtli." It may be now that the latter author has omitted the "Mexicatl-tecutli," and that "Cuauhquinauacatl" is to be counted but once. It results from the statements of Vetancurt already alluded to, that there were twenty Mexican "calpulli," consequently there were but twenty leaders of kins. The analogy between these "barrios" and the chiefs of Durán and Tezozomoc is greatly increased by the fact that for the three chiefs of Culhuacan mentioned by the latter, we have also three barrios of "Otomites," therefore, in each case but seventeen original kins of Mexicans proper (*Vetancurt* "*Crónica*," Vol. III, p. 122).

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while their last vestiges were perpetuated until after 1690, when 174
Fray Augustin de Vetancurt mentions four chief quarters with 618
their original Indian names, comprising and subdivided into *twenty* "barrios." Now the Spanish word "Barrio" is equivalent to the Mexican term "calpulli." Both indicate the kin, localized and settled with the view to permanence.[55]

What is often conceived as the establishment of a vast feudal 174
monarchy at the time just treated of, resolves itself therefore into two very plain features. One of these consists in the establishment of the confederacy, the other is but the appearance in broad daylight of the peculiar organization of aboriginal society among the Mexicans. Thus we have no sudden change of base, no revolution in the institutions of the tribe; the only progress achieved consisted in the extension of inter-tribal relations and in their assuming the shape of a military partnership. 174

The year 1473 witnessed another event which seemed to affect 648

All these titles were permanent, though not hereditary, as it is plainly seen in the 565
case of the four leaders of the four "phratries" about which *Sahagun* says: (Lib. 618
VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318) "The chief elected, forthwith they elected others four which were like senators that always had to be by his side . . . . (these four had different names in different places) . . . . " *Durán* (Cap. XI. p. 103). "To these four lords and titularies, after they were elected princes, they made them of the royal council, like presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion nothing should be done. When the king died, his successor had to be taken from those, neither could any others but brothers or sons of kings be clothed with these dignities. Thus if one of these was elected, they put another in his place. We must know that they never put a son of him who had been elected ("King") or of the deceased, since, as it has been said, the sons never succeeded (in office) by inheritance, to the titles or lordships, but through election. Therefore, whether son, brother, or cousin, if elected by the king and those of his council, to that dignity, it was given to him,—it being sufficient his being of that lineage and near relative, and so the sons and brothers went on inheriting gradually, little by little . . . . and the title and lordship never went outside of that descendancy ("generation" also kin), being filled by election, little by little."

The other titles are frequently met with up to the time of the conquest, as a few in- [648]
stances will abundantly prove. Assuming, with the majority of authors, the date of 1431, for that of the formation of the confederacy, we meet, during the unlucky foray of the confederates against Michhuacan, about fifty years later, with the following war-chiefs of the Mexicans. Tezcacoatl, Huitznahuacatl, and Quetzaltocatl (*Tezozomoc*, Cap. LII, pp. 84 and 85), also Coatecatl (Cuauhtecatl). At the time of Cortés' first arrival off the coast (1518) we meet in the council of Mexico with Huitznahuacatl, Huey-camecatl (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. XIII, p. 379). Finally when, after the resistance of the Mexicans had ceased, Cortés assembled all the chiefs in his presence, we again meet with Huitznahuatl, Mexicatitecuhtli, Teuctlamacazqui (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571). Evidence of this kind could be produced in profusion, but it would only increase unnecessarily the size of this annotation. Compare the titles of the Iroquois sachemships in *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. V, pp. 130 and 131).

[55] Compare note 23. Also *Molina* (Parte I, p. 18), and others.

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174 Still, this low condition did not remain forever. The Tlatilulca
● 618 were in a measure "re-adopted" into the tribe. After this, they
[615] formed a fifth quarter, or "phratry," which Father Vetancurt (in 1690) mentions as containing six "parcialidades." But this rehabilitation never extinguished the fire of revenge kindled once among the Tlatilulca towards the Mexicans. The latter treated the former therefore, not as a tribe subject to tribute, but as a suspicious group, to which the rights and privileges resulting from consanguinity could not well be denied, but to which voice and vote in the leading councils should not be accorded. In this singular position, not strictly inferior, but evidently more "distant," we find the Tlatilulca at Mexico at the time of the conquest.[59]

or tribes, in which there were of both kinds, were those who divided themselves from the rest." (See note 44.) It is much to be regretted that the eminent Mexican scholar has not given us the names of these "Algunos escritores nacionales modernos."

[59] According to *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), they remained in a degraded condition for 160 days at least, or eight aboriginal months: "y que les turase esta penitencia y castigo hasta los ochenta dias del segundo tributo." But they were, according to him, relieved of it but conditionally: "y asi les quitauan aquellos entredichos que e contado, los quales, en faltándoles, eran tornados á poner." In order to comply with the demands of the Mexicans for slaves, the Tlatilulca were forced to carry arms again, so as to take part in the wars. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, p. 75) confirms, but implies previously (p. 75) that the Tlatilulca were specially obligated to be the traders for Mexico: "y haveis de ser nuestros tratantos y mercadres en los tianguis de Huexotzinco, Tlaxcalan, Tilinquitepec, Zacatlan, y Cholula." A similar punishment was meted out to them by "Stern chief" the younger (the last Montezuma), after an unsuccessful campaign against Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Atlixco. *Durán* (Cap. LIX, pp. 468, 469), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XCVI, p. 170). It is, besides, positively asserted by the former (p. 271) that the "medicine lodge," or temple of Tlatilulco, was closed thereafter, abandoned and left to ruin and decay ("y asi dice la ystoria questuvo hasta entonces lleno de yerba y de vasura y caidas las paredes y dormitorios del"). It is, of course, confirmed by *Tezozomoc* (p. 75, cap. XLVI): "y asi fué que lo estuvo muchos años hasta la venida que hizo Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis del Valle, en esta nueva España, como adelante se dirá, á que me refiere." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these statements with those of *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, pp. 88, 89, 90, 91, Vedia, Vol. II), and of *Sr. Icazbalceta* in *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," note 40 to 2d Dial., p. 201) to the effect that Cortes visited that temple of Tlatilulco and found "Stern
[114] chief" worshipping in it, and still more difficult is it to reconcile the relation of Bernal Diez with that of *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion, etc., etc.*," pp. 582-586, Col. de Doc. II), who, as an eye-witness too, deserves similar credit.

Tlatilulco formed a quarter, a fifth great one, of Mexico at the time of the conquest. This is distinctly stated by *Motolinia* (*Historia, etc.*, Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180 and 181), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93) confirms Motolinia in general, (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. II, p. 182), "en el barrio llamado Tlatelulco;" (Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 414), "y el barrio se dice Tlatelulco," adding (p. 418) "que son del mismo pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Cap. XVII, p. 423), "El convento de Santiago de Tlatelulco que es como barrio de Mexico;" (Cap. XXVIII, p. 466), "pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Id., p. 483, Cap. XXIX). That this fifth great quarter was again divided into six smaller ones, is proven by *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*, etc.," pp. 207 and 212): "Tiene cuatro religiosos que con el ministro colado administran á más de mil quinientas personas en

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This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *kins*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X, p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 551, 552), Yacocalco (p. 552), Tlacuchcalco (p. 552), Amazac, Coyonacazco (p. 552). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 552), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI. p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX. pp. 498, 499). *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 132). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 153).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 550) and *Vetancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 193) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron à la tierra no les dejaron tornar à libertad ninguna, ni à tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (8th Edition, 1800, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

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565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily
556 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.
565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 280 and 381). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 369, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 360. Lib. VII, cap.
[68] XXXVIII, p. 536, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

● [618] That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Aoachtlan, y otro Atlanhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventaduros y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each
[482] hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cado uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevisirma relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

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565 Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,
[565] that for actions of merit such people might be re-adopted, and thus restored to their original rights. The anonymous conqueror asserts that the performer of any valorous deed was highly rewarded and made a chieftain, "even if he was the vilest slave."[91] But without such formal re-adoption, no outcast could emerge from his inferior and unprotected condition. The overwhelming majority of Mexico's aboriginal people, however, consisted of members of the twenty kins shown to have composed the tribe. These all enjoyed equal rights; consequently all had the same duty. Both right and obligation were governed by the organization of kinship. While it is impossible for us to follow here strictly the order of enumeration of these rights and obligations, established in the admirable researches of Mr. Morgan, we still can distinctly trace all of them in ancient Mexican society, operating with more or less unimpaired vitality.

[618] *The kin claimed the right to name its members.*[92] A family name
553 was unknown to the ancient Mexicans,[93] and thus our assertion that the modern family was not yet established among them, acquires further support. Within a few days after the child's birth, its mother in presence of all the neighbors (consequently of the "calpulli" or kin) gave the child a name through the medium of the women assisting her delivery. This name, generally taken from that of the day of birth, had a superstitious bearing, and was to accompany the child during the period of its utter helplessness.[94] A second "naming" took place several

[91] "*Relatione di alcune Cose della Nuova Spagna*" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 371). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVII, p. 586): "y Esclavos havia que regian, y mandaban la casa de su Señor, como hacen los Maiordomos."

[92] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 71 and 78).

[93] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Todos los Niños cuando nacian tomaban nombre del dia en que nacian." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, pp. 454 and 455). The family name was introduced by the Spaniards, who gave other names at the time of baptism.

[94] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Sahagun* (Lib. IV, cap. I, pp. 283 and 284, in general the entire fourth Book, which gives a very full idea of all the superstitions connected with birthdays; more especially Cap. XXXV and XXXVI and Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 217-231). All the children of the quarter were invited to the festival: "En este tiempo que estas cosas se hacian, juntabanse los mozuelos de todo aquel barrio, y acabadas todas estas ceremonias, entran en la casa del y toman la comida que alli les tenian aparejada. . . . . ." The naming took place in presence of "todos los parientes y parientos del niño, viejos y viejas" (p. 218). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 107): "Estos nombres tomaban de los Idolos ó de las fiestas que en aquellas signos caian, y á veces de aves y animales y de otras cosas insensatas, como se les antojaba." (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXV, p. 267). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 450: "Luego hacian convocacion de todos los Deudos, y Parientes, de los Padres, y de todos los Amigos, y

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nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the 764
Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a de- 771
tailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religious rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli 618
had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, 346
within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of [782]
the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, etc.), we have also the testimony of *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 42 and 46, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 80), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturae*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 146).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

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618 only established within that kin's territory, but it is also recog-
346 nized even at the central medicine-lodge of the tribe.

727 A further evidence of it is found in the manner of distribution of the captives, upon the return of a successful war-party. It is known that prisoners were always offered up to the idols. Such a person, therefore, as soon as secured, became an object of "medicine;" he was so to say a sacred object. Well treated as long as he was not needed for the slaughter-block, nothing could in the end save him from sacrifice. But this sacrifice itself was not made in behalf of his captor, but on behalf and for the *kin* to whom the captor belonged. Therefore upon arrival at the pueblo, the prisoners of war were turned over to the respective calpulli as their share thus furnishing another illustration of "Separate Rites of Worship" of the kins composing the ancient Mexicans.[118]

000 Having already discussed, in a former paper, the *tenure of Lands and customs of Inheritance*[119] we now pass on to one of the most essential features of tribal society, and one which involves some of the vital points of organization and customs.

618 *The kin was obligated to protect and defend the persons and prop-*
681 *erty of its members, and to resent and punish any injury done to them, as if it were a crime committed against the kin itself.*[120]

The impression justly prevails, that the so-called "penal code" of the Mexicans was simple but severe, death being, in most instances, the punishment of offenders. This resulted, in a great measure, from the fact that any offence against an individual

[118] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 122), rather contradicts himself when he says first: that the captive belonged to his captor, but at the same time, that this captor was even killed if he *gave* away his prisoner to another man. Second: that each one had to watch his own prisoners, and at the same time they were guarded in common, and at the risk of the "barrio" or kin, which was responsible for their safe keeping. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540) copies this almost literally. Much more positive and clear is *Durán* (Cap. XIX, pp. 172 and 173): "mandó Tlacaellel repartir los cautivos, porque eran muchos, por todos los barrios y que cada barrio se encargase de guardar y sustentar tantos . . . . . Los mandones de los barrios repartieron los presos á cada barrio, á como les cauia." (Cap. XXI, p. 186): "Montecçuma los mandaua vestir y adereçar y llamauava á los Calpixques, que son los mandoncillos de los barrios, y entregauanlas, para que tuviesen cuidado dellos, diciendo que eran la merced del sol, Señor de la tierra, que los daua para el sacrificio." (Id., cap. XXII, p. 193. Cap. XXVIII, p. 237): "luego fuéron repartidos entre los barrios y encomendados á los mandoncillos." (Cap. XLII, p. 343, etc.). *Tezcomoc* ("*Cronica*," cap. XXIX, p. 45; XXXII, p. 51; XXXIII, p. 53; XXXVIII, p. 61; XLIX, p. 80, etc.), confirms Durán as might be expected.

[119] "*Tenure of Lands and Customs of Inheritance*," 11th *Report of Peabody Museum*, 1878.

[120] "*Ancient Society*," (pp. 76 and 77). Compare *H. Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," pp. 361 and 362), among the ancient Germans.

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became, according to rules of kinship, one against the social 618
group to which he belonged. This presupposes again a general 681
division of crimes into two classes, one of which includes such as were committed by members of the kin against other members thereof or against institutions of the same group to which they belonged. The other comprises offenses committed by inhabitants of one calpulli against those of another. It is only the first class which we take under consideration here, the second we reserve for our discussion of the mode of government. Crimes committed within the kin can be classified as against persons, against property, and against medicine.

The aborigines of Mexico are generally represented as being, [181]
in their every-day's intercourse, of a quiet, peaceable, inoffensive 626
disposition, contrasting strongly with their savage ferocity in warfare. This was not however due to any innate gentleness and mildness of nature, but only to the peculiar restraint enforced upon them by the law of retaliation or revenge.[121] Brawls resulting in bodily injury were therefore of extremely rare occurrence, and then it was left to the parties to settle it among themselves. In such cases, as in the event of mutual jealousy, a challenge often passed between them, and this challenge brought about an encounter at *the next campaign* when, while the warriors were engaged with the enemies of the tribe, the contestants fought as if they had belonged to opposite camps, until one of them

[121] The character of the Mexican Aborigines is variously depicted by older writers. It appears as a mixture of childlike docility and fierce passions. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 18. Vedia, Vol. I), speaks of them according to the reports of the Tlaxcaltecans. *Bernal Díez* ("*Historia* etc.," pp. 309 and 310. Cap. CCVIII. Vedia II), specially dwells on their vices and their cruelty, as evidenced in their sacrifices. "*El Conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Docum., I, pp. 371, 383, 387, and 397), places great stress on their ferocity, although he also says that they are very obedient. The missionaries generally exalt their good sides—their docility and faithfulness. Compare *Motolinía* (Trat. I, cap. XIV, pp. 76 and 77). The same (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), mentions, however, their vices also, attributing nearly all of them (idolatry excepted), to their inclination towards intemperance. (Trat. II, cap. IV, p. 113): "Lo que de esta generacion se puede decir es, que son muy extranos de nuestra condicion . . . ." *Zurita* (p. 197—207), is very bitter against such as treat the Indians as barbarians. (Id., 42 and 45). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLIII, p. 290), says that they were very willing to forgive and ask to be forgiven, the latter taking place, before going to confess themselves, sometimes before all the relationship and the neighbors: "suelen algunos juntar (al tiempo que se quieren confesar) toda su parentela y vecinos con quien communican, y pediriles perdon en la manera dicha." Against this, it is reported by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535), that "these people were naturally more vindictive, than all the rest of the world." Compare also the descriptions of the character of the Mexicans in *Clavigero* (Lib. I, cap. XV).

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697 be sacrificed forthwith.[149] The two former kinds of prisons were used for lighter degrees of offenders. At any rate they were but temporary places of detention, for any prisoner left there for any length of time invariably died of hunger, filth, and bad air. Permanent confinement simply meant death.[150]

618 The execution of all these penalties necessarily presupposed for the kin a regulated administration. It therefore leads us to the governmental machinery proper of the calpulli. The nature of this government is expressed by the following rule of kinship, already found in vigor among more northern Indians.

The kin had the right to elect its officers, as well as the right to remove or depose them for misbehavior.[151]

This at once establishes the calpulli, as we have already stated in several places, to be an autonomous body, enjoying self-government, consequently a DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION. The truth of this we intend to show by an investigation of the different offices to which the care of the kin's business was committed.

A *council*, consisting of a number of old men, formed the highest authority of the calpulli. How many they were is not stated, but it is probable that their number varied according to that of the members of the kin. Medicine-men may, also, have been members of this body, which held its meetings at intervals in the official house of the "quarter." It exercised criminal jurisdiction as well as civil, and attended to all grave questions affecting the kinship. It is also stated that, on certain occasions, a general meeting of all the members of the calpulli was convened.[152]

[149] No better illustration of the "Quauhcalli" can be found than that given by *H. H. Bancroft* ("Native Races," cap. XIV, p. 458. Volume II).

[150] The cruel and unwholesome nature of aboriginal places of detention previous to the conquest is amply stated. As it is very justly remarked by *Mr. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 453): "They had prisons, it is true, and very cruel ones, according to all accounts, but it appears that they were more for the purpose of confining prisoners previous to their trial, or between their condemnation and execution, than permanently, for punishment." To the authorities quoted by the celebrated Californian, I will add here in further support of his views (and mine), *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 442): "Las cárceles eran bajas, húmedas y oscuras, para que temiesen de entrar allí." *Velancurt* (Vol. I, Part II. Trat. II, cap. I, p. 370). *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. XCIX, p. 176): "mandóles llevar á la carcel á todos, que llamaban cuancalco, que era á manera de una caja, como cuando entapian ahora alguna persona, que les dan de cómer por onzas."

[151] "*Ancient Society*" (Part. II, chapter II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Chap. VIII, p. 225, Cap. XI, pp. 285 and 297).

[152] It is singular that this council of the kin or "gens," while some parts of its functions are preserved in nearly every author, has as a body been so generally overlooked. *Zurita* (pp. 55 and 56) says: "the chief does nothing without consulting the other old men of the calpulli." Indirect evidence of it is given by *Sahagun* (Lib. II, cap.

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This council however, while it thus united both the highest administrative and judiciary powers, required other officers for 618

XXXVII, p. 185), in his description of the feast of the month "Iscalli." These "old men" reappear again in connection with celebrations affecting the calpulli, at least occasionally. This council however, still existed at a recent date (1871) among the natives of Guatemala. *Sr. D. Juan Gavarrete* of the City of Guatemala (La Nueva) writes to me under date of 14th March, 1879: "Cuando en el pueblo hay varias parcialidades ó calpules, ... cada una de ellas tiene su calpul ó consejo de cierto número de Ancianos y estos reunides eligen las Autoridades comunes del pueblo, nombrando tambien alcaldes subalternos para las diversas parcialidades." In his Introduction to the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc. II, pp. XII and XIII), the late *Sr. José F. Ramirez* attributes the creation of an elective municipal council to an act of policy of the Spanish government. It is clear, however, from the authors of the XVIth century, especially from Zurita, that this "democratic element" ("el elemento democrático" as Sr. Ramirez calls it), was an *aboriginal* one. Therefore the council still subsisting in Guatemala is an original feature, with changes in names and functions, made to suit the laws of Spain. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter of 3d Nov., 1532. 1st Recueil, p. 249), mentions "other officers called *rigios* (old men)" in "each quarter or as they were now called, parishes." The following quotation from *Juan de Solorzano* ("*De Indiarum Jure*," Vol. II, lib. I, cap. XXIII, pp. 210, § 21), is of interest upon the question raised by Sr. Ramirez: "In Nova quoque Hispania, cum hae reductiones, quas ibi *Aggregationes* vocant, i praestanti illo, et prudenti Duce Ferdinando Corteslo stabilitso, et constituite fuissent, et postea, temporum, et Hispanorum iniuriae, valde collapsae, ac subversae; alias deno fieri et factas instaurari curavit Excellentissimus ille, et Pijissimus Prorex Canes de Monte Regio, schedulis etiam, et provisionibus Regijis sibe ad hoc demandatis, morem gerere cupiens: in quibus tamen exequendis, magnae difficultates, et Indorum strages expertae sunt, quia eorum aliqui voluntario suspendio vitam finire maluerunt, quan in designata sibi municipia reduci." This was published in 1629."

In all likelihood there was no regular time of meeting of these "old men." They met as emergency required, and as they were called together. There is even a trace of a general meeting of the inhabitants of a calpulli, in *Zurita* (p. 63): "Dans ces circonstances, les habitants du calpulli se réunissent pour traiter les intérets communs, et régler la répartition des impôts, etc." We thus witness in the calpulli the following methods of exercising authority: through the joint meeting of all its members for the discussion of matters affecting the whole community, through the "old men" controlling the regular business, and, through what the older authorities called "chiefs" or executive officers, of whom I shall treat hereafter. An important question remains to be examined here namely: whether the calpulli really had, as I have asserted, criminal jurisdiction over its members, or whether this pertained to higher officers or so-called "tribunals."

Against the assumption, that questions of life and death could be decided by the "quarters," "barrios," or "calpulli," there is we confess it, apparently weighty evidence. In order to examine this vital question critically, I am compelled to take each author by himself, comparing his various statements (if there are more than one) on the same subject with each other. I must premise, however, that neither *Cortés*, nor *Andrés de Tápia*, nor *Bernal Díez de Castillo* mentions having seen any one judged and condemned by the head-war-chief of the Mexican tribe. This, however, may be a simple omission on their part.

Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 214): "y los casos muy difficultuosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase, juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian. Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque: estos escaminaban con grap diligencia las causas que iban á sus manos; y cuando quiera que esta audiencia que era la mayor, sentenciaba alguno á muerte, luego lo entregaban á los ejecutores de la justicia." Thus far the jurisdiction of the tribal officers only comes into play. But the same author also mentions the

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618 everyday business, who should at the same time be the executors of its decrees. Of these officers there were two, both strictly

power of certain officers of the kin to kill in punishment of certain crimes, (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VI. p. 271). If a young man was caught drunk: "castigábanle dandole de palos hasta matarle, ò le daban garrote delante de todos réunidos." This being done in the case of a youth committed to the "telpuchcalli," it necessarily follows that the power to punish by death, was vested in the kin to which the particular "telpuchcalli" belonged.

Zurita (p. 101 and 106) intimates rather than asserts, that all grave matters, including life and death had to be submitted to the highest "court of appeals," "les douze juges d'appel" over which the king presided. But he does not state that this body had *exclusive* jurisdiction.

Gomara (Vedia I, p. 442, "*Conquista*") evidently mistakes in confounding the gatherers of tributes with judicial officers and says nothing in regard to criminal jurisdiction. His statements will be examined elsewhere.

Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 134–136) says that all the "Judges" remained in the official house of each tribe: "cada uno de ellos en su propio palacio tenia sus audiencias de oidores que determinaban las causas y negocios que se ofrecian, asi civiles como criminales, repartidos por sus salas, y de unas habia apelacion para otras." Further on he says that every eighty days "se sentenciaban todos los casos criminales, y duraba esta consulta diez ó doce dias." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI. cap. XXV, pp. 332 and 333) is remarkably indefinite on the point. To him, the tribal officers alone appear prominent in the case. (Cap. XXVI. pp. 334 and 335), however, wherein he fully treats of the judicial organization of *Tezcuco*, enables us to discern the separate jurisdiction of each calpulli. The textual rendering of the whole chapter would be too lengthy, and I must therefore confine myself to abstracts. He begins by saying that, while Tezcuco had fifteen "provinces" subject to it ("sujetas à su Señoria"), "not all of them had supreme Judges" ("pero no en todas havia Jueces de estos inmediatos, y Supremos"). Therefore it was ordained, "that there should be six courts ("audiencias"), like chancery-offices ("como chancillerias") in six particular pueblos, to which all the other said Provinces were reduced, and to them they applied from all over the kingdom." He further states that at each of these houses (which he subsequently calls "tecpans") were stored the "royal tributes:" "se recogian todos los Tributos Reales, por los mismos Jueces." Besides, there were "four Judges" at the "palace," and at each of these six "courts," two "Judges" and one "executive officer" (alguazil).

From further details given, it follows that these six "pueblos" were so near to the official house of the tribe, as to make it more than likely that they were the six *Calpulli* of Tezcuco, mentioned by *Ixtlilxochitl* (12th "*Relacion*" or "*Pintura de México*," Vol. IX of Kingsborough, p. 387) as having been established by "Fasting wolf" (Nezahualcoyotl), which story he repeats in the "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 263 and 264).

The description of Tezcuco by *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 304): "pero no se ha de entender, que toda esta Caçeria estaba recogida, y junta; porque aunque en su maior parte lo estaba, otra mucha estaba repartida, como en Familias, y Barrios; y de tal manera corria esta Poblacion, desde el corazon de ella (que era la Morada, y Palacios del Rei) que se iba dilatando, por tres ò quatro Leguas," shows that the calpulli of that ancient pueblo were scattered over a great expanse. At the close of the 17th century (1600, about) it is stated by *Velancurt* ("*Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México*," pp. 159 and 160), that, besides the "city," there were "29 pueblos de visita, en cinco parcialidades repartidos." All this corroborates our assumption: that the six "pueblos" of Torquemada were in fact but the six "barrios" or kins, each of which exercised, for itself and through its officers, *criminal jurisdiction over its members*.

There is no need of proving the fact that the several tribes of the valley had identical customs, and that their Institutions had reached about the same degree of development. It is even asserted by some (*Prescott*, Book I, cap. II, p. 30) that "in Tezcuco

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elective and therefore liable to be deposed, one of whom represented more properly the administrative, the other the executive (consequently military) authority. The first one of these was the "calpullec" or "chinancallec;"[153] the second, the "elder brother" 618

the judicial arrangements were of a more refined character." If now, as I have shown, the council of the Kin exercised power over life and death among them, it certainly had the same power among the ancient Mexicans. Besides, the same thing is inferable from the nature of many of the crimes punished by death. Conspicuous among these are the cases wherein tenure of lands became affected. If a member of the kin changed the limits of a "tlalmilli," it was a crime over which the calpulli alone had jurisdiction, and the same occurred if any one member neglected to attend to the lots of children placed in his care. We have seen that in both instances the penalty was death.

It is of course understood, that this power did not go beyond the limits of the kin and of such outcasts as were attached to its members. Over members of other kins it had no jurisdiction. The adjustment of matters between kin and kin became exclusively the duty of the tribe.

One of the most characteristic remarks, however, on the general functions of the kin is that of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 53): "Finally, what is called in New Spain Calpulli, answers to what among the Israelites was called a tribe."

[153] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 50): "The chiefs of the third classes are still called Calpullec in the singular, and in the plural Chinancallec, that is to say: chiefs of very ancient race or family, from the word Calpulli or Chinancalli, which is the same, and signifies a quarter (*barrio*) inhabited by a family, known as of very ancient origin, which for a long time owns a territory with well defined boundaries and all the members of the same lineage." This statement is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135), with the exception that he omits the names, substituting that of "pariente mayor." In regard to this it is added by *Zurita* (pp. 60 and 61): "The calpullis have always a chief necessarily in the tribe. He must be one of the principal inhabitants, an able subject who can assist and defend them. The election is made among them. They are much attached to him, as the inhabitants of Biscay and of the mountains are to him who is called *pariente mayor*. The office of these chiefs is not hereditary: whenever one dies they elect in his place the most respected, the ablest and wisest old man. If the deceased has left a son who is qualified, he is chosen, and a relative of the former chief is always preferred." *Herrera* (Id. p. 135).

Although the above two authors speak but indefinitely of the "chief" of the calpulli, it is likely that they mean *two* chiefs, one of which is the calpullec, and the other the teachcauhtin. This is indicated by the name of "pariente mayor." Zurita does not say, according to Mr. Ternaux's translation, that this chief was thus called, but Herrera, who copies him, writes very distinctly: "que *llamaban* parientes maiores." Now, according to *Molina* (II, p. 91), "teachcauhtin" signifies elder brother. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544) gives to each "barrio ó parcialidad" two officers, namely, a calpixqui or gatherer of tribute or stores, and a "regidor, un Tecuhtli, que se ocupaba en executar lo que mustros Regidores executan, y hacen." But it is plainly evident, from the details given by the celebrated Franciscan, that he has lost sight of the peculiar position of officers of a *kin*, and looks to *tribal* functions and offices. Else, how could he assert of his "Regidor" that he was always in the "palace:" "y todos los Dias se hallaban en el Palacio, á ver lo que se les ordenaba, y mandaba; y ellos, en una grande Sala, que llaman Calpulli, se juntaban, y trataban de los negocios tocantes á su cargo."

"*De l'ordre de succession observé par les Indiens*" ("1st Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 225): "quant au mode adopté pour régler la jurisdiction et l'élection des alcades et des régidors des villages; ils nommaient des personnes notables qui portaient le titre de *achcacautlin* qui est un nom de charge, comme l'est aujourd'hui celui d'alguazil. Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." . . . "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." And further on the same document says (p. 227): "Ces achcacau-

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618 "teachcauhtin" or "achcacauhtin."[154] Both were, in turn, ex-officio members of the council itself.[155] The "calpullec" or "chinancallec" was, in fact, what is still known among Indian communities of Mexico, Central America and New Mexico, as the "governor;" or rather his office was, for the *kin*, what the office of "gobernador" now is for the whole *tribe*.[156] Upon his

litis, c'est ainsi qu'on les nommait, remplissaient les fonctions d'alcade. Pour le moindre petit vol, c'est á dire pour avoir dèrobé seulement du mais, ils condamnaient á la potence." The singular feature is here asserted to exist, that the same officer should have been Judge ("alcalde") and executioner of his own decrees ("alguazil"). We meet also with the flagrant contradiction of "alguazils," elected for the villages, but whose courts resided "at the capital." Everywhere the same lack of distinctness is witnessed; the confusion between aboriginal institutions and Spanish organization is apparent.

Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Lettre," 3 Nov., 1532, p. 247) gives quite a clear picture of the "calpulli," adding: "Ces contribuables ont un chef et des commandants"; (p. 249): "Ils ont parmi eux des officiers que nous appelons principales (chefs); *il y en a deux dans chaque quartier qui portent aujourd'hui le nom de paroisses.*"

Finally, I refer to what has been said in the preceding note (152) about Tezcuco and the two officers of each so-called "pueblo." The fact that there were two of them is thus fully established, likewise that of their election; and as for their titles, they are found in the quotations just referred to and copied.

It is further confirmed through a statement of *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I, p. 371): "en cada parcialidad, que llamaban calpulli y ahora tlaxilacalli; habia uno como regidor que llamaban teuhtli: estos asistian á palacio todos los dias á saber lo que el mayordomo les ordenaba; éstos entre si elegian cada año dos en lugar de alcaldes, que llamaban tlayacanque y tequitlatoque, que ejecutaban lo que por los teuhtles se les mandaba; y para ejecutores tenian unos alguaciles que hoy llaman topile."

The term "tlayacanqui" is defined by *Sahagun* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 162) as "cuadrillero." *Molina* (II, p. 120) has "thayacantli," "el que es regido, guiado, y gouernado de otro, o el ciego que es adiestrado de alguno" ("Tlayacati," "cosa primera, o delantera"). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 545) calls the Tlayacanque "en lugar de merinos."

[154] *Molina* (I, p. 56).

[155] This results necessarily from the duties of the officers alone, as permanent representatives of the council of the kin or calpulli.

[156] The "Gobernador," as we shall hereafter see, was the successor to the "Cihuacohuatl," according to the Spaniard's notion of the nature of the latter's office. It is very interesting to notice that the "Cihuacohuatl" was, in the tribal government, the exact counterpart of the "Calpullec" in the kin. I am indebted to *Sr. Don Juan Gavarrete*, of the City of Guatemala (la Nueva), for the following description of the office of "Gobernador," as it is still found among the aboriginal settlements of Guatemala. This gentleman, (whose name is associated with that of my friend Dr. Valentini, in a noble effort to preserve the historical treasures of his country), writes to me under date of 14th of March, 1879: "Los pueblos formados por la antiguos misioneros ó por los conquistadores, y que son los que subsisten hasta el dia de hoy, han sido siempre gobernados por un *Gobernador* vitalicio elegido entre las familias nobles de la tribu (*cacíque*), y un consejo á la usanza española compuesto de dos Alcaldes, cierto número de consejeros llamados Regidores entre quienes se distribuyen las comisiones de servici público y un secretario.

"La dignidad ó cargo de Gobernador, para la cual elegian en nombre del Rey los antiguos Capitanes Generales y despues los Presidentes de la República, es muy apetecida por los Indios nobles y mientras el que la egerce no dá motivo por su mala conducta para ser removido puede contar con la perpetuidad y aun con dejarla á sus hijos

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death "they elected, to fill his place, the most respected old man, 618
the most able and most popular." It appears though that the choice often fell upon a son or near relative of the deceased, provided he evinced sufficient ability.[157]

It was the duty of this officer to preserve a plat of the territory dwelt upon by the kin, showing the location of each "tlalmilli," of the official tracts, of those of the "houses of the youth" and of worship; if the latter two were not, as we suspect, perhaps identical. These simple records he had to renew from time to time, according as mutations or additions occurred. The *stores* of the kin were under his supervision, though he could not dispose of them at his pleasure, but only for public purposes. Thus, aside from the presents, which always had to go with any public act of importance, it was his duty to provide, out of these stores, for everything requisite for the numerous religious and other festivities.[158] He had, under his immediate orders, the "stewards," "calpixqui," which attended to the details connected with the gathering, housing, and dispensing of all supplies.[159] It is prob-

si los tiene capaces de egercerla . . . . . El cargo de Gobernador traia consigo los privilegios de usar *Don*, montar á caballo, ... usar baston y tener una numerosa servidumbre, no tenian jurisdiccion civil, pues esta competia á los Alcaldes, pero si la tenian en lo criminal en los délitos leves, siendo su poder principal sobre lo econórmigo y gubernativo."

[157] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 60 and 61).

[158] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 51 to 66). Copied in a condensed form by *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 134).

[159] The term "calpixqui," gatherer of crops, is so indiscriminately applied that it becomes necessary to investigate what class of officers were really meant by it. In general the "calpixca" were sent to subjected tribes, as representatives of their conquerors. For each such officer abroad there was one in the pueblo of Mexico, to receive and to house the tribute which the former collected and sent. The calpulli or kins, however, needed no officer of the same kind properly, because they owed no tribute to the tribe. The assertion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 545): "que el Maiordomo maior del Rei, se llamaba Huaycalpixqui, á diferencia de otros muchos, que havia, que se llamaban Menores; porque tenia cada parcialidad el suio," applies in this case to the tax-collectors and stewards themselves, and not to the stewards of the kins. The confused notions about the true nature of the office is also shown in the name of the official house. It is called by Torquemada alternately "tecpan," "calpul," finally also "calpixca, que era la casa del comun del Pueblo," (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 384). In confirmation of what has already been said in "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 413-428), I here refer to *Zurita* (pp. 236-242), "*De l'Ordre de succession*" (p. 239), *Motolinia et d'Olarte* ("*Lettre*," 27 Aug., 1554, pp. 403-406). We must never forget that tribute or tax was only due from a *conquered tribe* to its *conquerors*. No reference is made anywhere to tribute or tax gathered *inside* the pueblo of México, but Tlatilulco, however, was obliged to pay a certain contribution (*Durán*, Cap. XXXIV, p. 270).

Nevertheless, the term "calpixqui" is found applied very distinctly to an office of the kin. *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 186) calls them "mandoncillos de los barrios." With equal propriety the calpixca are termed "governors" and "captains." It only proves that, while each kin had its stewards, they were under the direction of a "mandon,"

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618 able that he himself, appointed the stewards subject to approval by the council.[160] Aside from these subalterns, the "calpullec" had his runners and attendants, mostly members of the household, perhaps "bonded" people. His judicial power was limited to minor cases, and it is more than doubtful if he held, alone, any authority to decide upon matters of life and death. But it is stated on high authority, that it was the duty of this officer, "to defend the members of a calpulli, and to speak for them."[161] We may be permitted to inquire, whether this, perhaps indicated, that the "calpullec" was also the "tlatoani" or speaker, who represented the kin in the tribe's supreme council. This must, however, be answered in the negative, for the obvious reason that he could not be in two places at the same time. The kin's official building was assigned to him as a residence, that he might be there on duty *always*, consequently he could not spend his time outside of it at the official house of the tribe.[162] Alongside of this officer (who corresponds almost to the "Sachem" of north-eastern tribes), we find the "elder brother"—"teachcauhtin," "achcacauhtin," or through corruption, "tiacauh." He was, as already stated, the kin's military commander or war-captain, and the youth's instructor in warlike exercises; but besides he was also the executor of justice—not the police magistrate, but the chief of police (to use a modern term of comparison) or rather "sheriff" of the calpulli.[163] As military commander he could

or superior officer. This could only be the "calpullec," since it is positively stated by *Zurita* (p. 62): "car lors des assemblées annuelles, qui sont trés nombreuses, il distribue gratuitement des vivres et des boissons." This had to be done out of the stores of the kin.

The term "tequitlato" is probably equivalent to "calpullec." It is derived from "ni-tequiti," to work or pay tribute (*Molina*, II, p. 165), and "ni-tlatoa," to speak (Id., II, p. 140); therefore "tributary speaker," or "speaker of tribute." But this is only used in the case of subjected tribes, where the "calpullec" was the one who cared for the tribute due by his kin, even collecting it. See *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* ("*Lettre*," Chalco 20 Sept., 1554, in 2d *Recueil*, p. 340), "les tequitlatos ou percepteurs." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 329-333) devotes a whole chapter to "De los grados por donde subian hasta hacerse Tequitlatos," without saying, however, what the latter means. I suspect it to be intended for "Tecuhtlatoques."

[160] This may be inferred from the nature of the office.

[161] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 62): "Il a soin de défendre les membres du calpulli, de parler pour eux devant la justice et les gouverneurs."

[162] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 410 and note 52). *Zurita* (p. 266).

[163] It has already been shown that "achcacauhtli," "achcacauhtli," and "teachcauhtin" or "tiacauh" are synonyms. I refer to "*Art of War*" (p. 119 and note 91) in regard to the various and contradictory notions about the nature of the office. Still, the prevailing idea is that, besides being the "teachers" and the "captains," they also were the "executioners" of the kin. "*De l'ordre de succession*" (p. 225): "Ils nommaient des

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appoint his subalterns in the field, and as executor of justice he had the same privilege while at the pueblo. The "teachcauhtin," therefore selected his own assistants and runners. Accompanied by them and carrying his staff of office, whose tuft of white feathers intimated that his coming might threaten death,[164] the "elder brother" circulated through his calpulli, preserving order and quietness in every public place thereof. If he found or heard of any one committing a nuisance or crime, he could seize him forthwith and have him carried to the official house, there to be disposed of as the custom and law of the kin required. But it is doubtful whether, except in extraordinary instances, he was authorized to do justice himself without the council's knowledge and consent.[165]

Ere we pass over now from the functions of the kin to those of the ancient Mexican tribe, we must however dwell at some length on a peculiar institution, yet shared by the Mexicans in common with Indian tribes in general. We refer to the rank and dignity of CHIEF among them. Chieftaincy and office are far from being equivalent. The former is a purely personal, non-hereditary distinction, bestowed in reward of merit only, whereas the latter is a part of the governmental machinery.[166] Hence it follows that a chief might fill an office or not, and still remain a chief, whereas

personnes notables qui portaient le titre de achcacauhtin qui est un nom de charge, comme l'est aujourd'hui celui d'alguazils." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XVII, p. 306) calls the Achcacauhtli "(ó verdugos) que tenian cargo de matar á los que condenaba el señor." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 355), "llamabanse Achcauhtli, que quiere decir maiores." There is hardly any doubt as to their functions.

[164] White was the color of death. (Bleaching skulls and bones!) This is amply proven by their mode of declaring, or rather announcing, war. The custom of carrying "staffs of office" is well established.

[165] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI. cap. XXVI, p. 355). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 482) calls those "who arrested" delinquents "topilli." But this word means simply "rod, or baton of justice, staff, etc." (*Molina*, II, p. 150), and not office. There is no evidence that these officers might kill, without previous decision of the council, except perhaps in the great market place. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 32): "Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 301) copies Cortés, adding, however, "é quiebran lo que está falso, é penan al que usaba dello." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89) simply remarks: "y otros como alguaziles ejecutores que miraban las mercadérias," (Vedia, Vol. II). I hardly need any reference in regard to the manner of acting and mode of appearance of the "elder brothers." Their functions of "police" are repeatedly described in the older sources.

[166] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 71): "Nearly all the American Indian tribes had two grades of chiefs, who may be distinguished as sachems and common chiefs. Of these two primary grades all other grades were varieties. . . . The office of sachem was hereditary in the gens, in the sense that it was filled as often as a vacancy occurred; while the office of chief was non-hereditary, because it was bestowed in reward of per-

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618 It was not necessary to become a chief in order to fill certain offices. Still it is evident that, as chiefs were always men of peculiar ability, the higher charges were generally filled by chieftains.

618 554 555 The title and rank of "grandfather" ("Tecuhtli,")[167] which was the Mexican term for chieftain in general, was open to any one who strove to deserve it. It was conferred:

1. In recompense for warlike prowess, and actions of personal intrepidity and superior shrewdness. Courage alone could not secure it; therefore the "distinguished braves" were not always chiefs.[168]

2. In reward for actions denoting particular wisdom and sagacity, and in acknowledgement of services in the councils, or as traders.[169]

sonal merit, and died with the individual." I have selected the term "*officer*" as a substitute for Mr. Morgan's "*sachem*," because the latter is a northern Indian word, whereas the former, while it expresses the nature of the charge and dignity, is more widely known, and therefore better understood. It is out of the union of the attributes, of both officer and chief, that nobility and monarchy have been claimed to exist. Among the Mexicans, in fact among the most highly advanced Indian tribes (the Inca of Peru not excluded), the dignity of chief was still a personal matter, and not necessarily connected with office. The chiefs are the "knights," mentioned by *Garcilasso de la Vega* ("*Histoire des Yncas*," Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, XXV, XXVI) and *Herrera* (Dec. V, Lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 63; Lib. IV, cap. I, p. 83). With the Muyscas of Bogotá, compare *H. Ternaux-Compans* ("*L'ancien Cundinamarca*," § XXVII, pp. 57 and 58). *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXVI, cap. XXXI. p. 410). *Herrera* (Dec. VI, Lib. V, cap. VI, pp 116 and 117). Compare also, in regard to the dignity of "military chief" among the wild tribes of the Rio Orinoco and of its tributaries, *P. José Gumilla* "*Histoire naturelle, civile, et géographique de l'Orénoque*," translated by Mr. Eidous, 1758, (Vol. II, chapter XXXV, pp. 200-208). Very important.

[167] *Molina* (II, p. 98), "abuelo," "tecul." It evidently should be "abuelo," and is therefore only a misprint. The older reports have the word "tecle," and only the later writers (those after the year 1580) begin to write it "tecutli," "tecuhtli," "teuctli." Whether the "teules" meant really "gods," or rather "tecuhtin," as plural of "tecutli," is yet doubtful. It is almost a truism to recall here the Romans "senex," and the German "grave" or "Graf." Among American tribes we have, in QQuiché, "aura," old, "ahau,"—chief; in Maya, "Hachyum,"—father, and "ahau,"—chief—also "achi,"—brave.

[168] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 329-332): "De Los grados por donde subian hasta hacerse Tequitlatos," especially (p. 331): "y á los que por si prendian cuatro cautivas, mandaba el rey que los cortasen los cabellos como á capitan, llamalbanle tal diciendo . . . . el capitan mexicatl, ó el capitan tolnaoacatl, á otros nombres que cuadraban á los capitanes. De alli adelante se podian sentar en los estrados que ellos usaban de petates é icpales en la sala donde se sentaban los otros capitanes y Valientes hombres, los cuales son primeros y principales en los asuntos, y tienen barbotes largos, orejeras de cuero, y borlas en las cabezas conque están compuestas;" *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47): "Les chefs qui, comme nous l'avons dit, se nommaient Tec Tecutacin, ou Teutley au pluriel, n'exerçaient le commandement qu'à vie, parce que les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient à ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits à la guerre, et des services rendus à l'état ou au prince"). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 361). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, pp. 471 and 472), and others.

[169] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 47). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p, 342): "Estos mercaderes

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In both the above instances (or kinds of instances) actions of 618 particular merit facilitated, at least, the acquisition of the title; 554 555 but it could, also, be obtained:—

3. By the observance of rigorous and even cruel rites of "medi- 555 cine" for a stated time, which put the courage, fortitude, and self- 785 control of the candidate to the severest tests.[179] Although a 618 detailed account of these rites might perhaps be withheld for a subsequent sketch of ancient Mexican worship, yet they equally deserve a place here.

The candidate appears to have been presented at the great central place of worship by the representatives of his kin, perhaps, also, by the other chiefs of his tribe. There he underwent four days and four nights of the most cruel torments. While but little nourishment was allowed him (some went even so far as not to eat anything at all during this time), his blood was drawn freely, and no sleep was permitted to settle on his weary eyes. From time to time he was exposed to taunts, to injurious words, to blows and even to stripes. While he was thus hungry and thirsty, weakened from loss of blood through self-sacrifice, others ate and drank plentifully before his eyes. Finally, his clothes were torn from his body, and with nothing on but the breech-cloth or diaper, he was at last left alone at the "calmecac," there to do the rest of his penance. When these four initiatory days were past, the candidate went back to his calpulli, to spend the remainder of the time (about a full year), in retirement, and abstinence, frequently attended with more or less self-inflicted bodily suffering. When the kin had secured the necessary amount of articles to be offered up in worship, or given to the medicine-men, officers, chiefs, and guests attending the installation, this final solemnity was allowed to take place, provided always that the courage and personal strength of the novice had not forsaken him. Another period of fasting, sacrifice, and torture, similar to the one at the opening of the career of preparation, closed the probation. Some of the ordeals were again of the most trying nature. Finally the store of gifts was distributed; eating and drinking alternated with

eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas." . . . *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique*," etc., 30 Nov., 1554. "*Troisième relation d'Ixtlilxochitl*," Appendix, p. 257). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Tecle*." (1st "Recueil," p. 232). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156).

[179] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 425). "*Des Cérémonies observées*," etc. (pp. 232, etc.). *Mendieta* (p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX and XXX, etc.).

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555 solemn dances to the monotonous rythmic noise called Indian music.
785 The candidate was, at last, once more dressed in becoming apparel,
● 618 and could recuperate, being himself now the "feasted one."[171]

618 Men, however young in years, who had successfully endured such
554 great trials, certainly deserved to be looked upon thereafter as persons of uncommon fortitude. Hence indeed the chiefs or "tecuhtli" were particularly fitted for responsible offices of any kind. They were looked upon with deference, their voice was heard and listened to, and it is no wonder if higher charges, especially those of a military nature, were filled by such as had, in one way or another, achieved this distinction.[172] But no privilege was connected with their dignity, except that of wearing certain peculiar ornaments, and none was transmitted through them to their descendants.[173] That the "tecuhtli," besides, did

[171] For the above description of the formalities of creating a "Tecuhtli," I refer to the sources quoted in the preceding three notes. It is interesting to compare similar ceremonies used by the Indians of the Orinoco, *Gumilla* ("*Histoire*," etc., Vol. II, cap. XXXV). Of the Yncas, *Garcilasso de la Vega* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV to XXVI). *Cristoval de Molina* ("*An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*," translated by C. R. Markham, in Hackluyt Society's Volume of 1873). "*Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas.*" *Herrera* (Dec. V, lib. III, cap. VII, p. 63, etc.). We are forcibly reminded of the words of the quaint old poet and soldier, *Alonzo de Ercilla*.

"Los cargos de la Guerra, y prehemineacia
No son por flacos medios proveidos,
Ni vàn por calidad, ni por herencia,
Ni por hacienda, i ser mejor nacidos;
Más la virtud del brazo, y la excelencia,
Esta hace á los hombres preferidos,
Esta ilustra, habilita, perficiona,
Y quilata el valor de la persona."

("*La Araucana*," Parte Ia, Canto 1°. Edition of 1733, p. 2).

[172] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161: "Los que tenian el ditado de Tecutli, tenian muchas preeminencias, y entre ellas era que en los concilios y ayuntamientos sus votos eran principales." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366). It should always be remembered, that the dignity of Tecuhtli appears most prominent in Tlaxcallan. This people however, was but a league, very similar to that of the northern Iroquois, only consisting of four, instead of six tribes. Among them, the peculiar nature of the dignity of chief became more evident than it was among the Mexicans to the Spaniards. But there is no difference between the "Tecuhtli" of Tlaxcallan, and the "Tecuhtli" of Mexico or Tezcuco. That the head-chiefs of Mexico were always "Tecuhtli" themselves, previous to their election, needs hardly any proof. *Domingo Munos Camargo* ("*Histoire de la République de Tlaxcallan.*" Translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, in Vol. 26 and 29 of "*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*," 1843. See Vol. 26, p. 176, etc.)

[173] About the privileges of the Tecuhtli, compare *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161), *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366), *Zurita* (p. 48, etc.). It is evident however, that the latter confounds the rank of chief with the particular office which might have been entrusted to him, else the "cultivation of lands" could not be included in the list of advantages derived from the position. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*," *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," etc., p. 235). Sr. Bustamante frequently copies Zurita. *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135). In regard to the non-heredity of the dignity, I refer to the above authorities, and more especially to *A. de Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 49: "Lorsqu'un de ces chefs mourait, le prince accordait

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not form as it is often stated, an order of chivalry, is amply proven 618
by the fact that the bond of kinship interposed a barrier between 554
them and such an imaginary association and furthermore, because their number could not be very great. The formalities required were so numerous and dilatory, the material for distribution in the shape of gifts was so large, that a frequent repetition of the occurrence lay beyond the power of the kin.[174] After this necessary digression, we return once more to the Mexican calpulli.

Besides being as already established in "Tenure of Lands," 618
the unit of territorial possession, we found the Mexican kin to be a *self-governing*, therefore *democratic* cluster. Every one of these clusters had, within itself, all the elements required for independent existence as an organized society. Except for assistance and protection against outsiders, it needed no associates. Hence it follows, that since we find twenty Mexican kins aggregated into a tribe, this tribe was a *voluntary* association, formed for mutual protection.

Three attributes of the tribe are next to self-evident: 619

1. A particular territory;
2. A common dialect;
3. Common tribal worship.[175]

sa charge á celui qui s'en était rendu digne par ses services, car les fils du défunt n'en héritaient pas s'ils n'en étaient investis." The very fact of the election, and the manner in which it was performed is also evidence. See the various documents in *Ternaux-Compans, 2d Recueil.*

[174] That such a festival or ceremony necessitated the accumulation of much provision and many articles for presents and offerings, is proven by numerous authorities. *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436): "En fin, en semejantes fiestas no habia pariente pobre. Daban á los señores tecutles y principales convidados plumajes, mantas, tocas, zapatos, bezotes, y orejeras de oro ó plata ó piedras de precia. Esto era mas ó menos, segun la riqueza y animo del nuevo tecutili, y conforme á las personas que se daba. Tambien hacia grandes ofrendas al templo y á los sacerdotes." *Zurita* ("*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs* etc.," p. 38): "Ces solennités occasionnaient de grandes dépenses, car les assistants étaient fort nombreux; c'étaient les parents, les alliés et les domestiques du nouveau dignitaire. L'on faisait aussi des aumones considérables aux pauvres." "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Tecle.*" (1st *Recueil*, p. 233): "Celui que l'on nommait *Tecle*, devait d'abord posséder de grands biens, qu'il put donner aux prêtres et aux autres nobles." (P. 237): "Un grand nombre ne pouvait pas se procurer en si peu de temps la quantité suffisante, etc., etc." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 136): "Y asi les costaba excesivo trabajo y gasto, como aqui se dirá." (Id., cap. XXXIX, pp. 160 and 161.) *Veytia* ("*Historia Antigua*," Lib. II, cap. IX, pp. 65 and 66): "Y era exhorbitantisimo el gasto, por cuya causa algunos, cuyas facultades y caudal no era suficiente á reportarlos, dejaban de tomar este dictado." *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 199): "As before remarked, the vast expenses entailed upon a Tecuhtli debarred from the honor many who were really worthy of it."

[175] For these three attributes of tribal organization I refer to *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 113).

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646 the critical period of Cortés' first stay at Tenuchtitlan, the twenty "speakers" held daily meetings at the official house.[185]

In a society based upon kin we cannot expect a clear division of the powers of government, particularly as there were no written laws,[186] and custom alone ruled. The functions of the ancient Mexican council were not properly legislative, but they were rather *directive* and *judicial* combined. One of its first duties was, however, to maintain harmony among the kins.

The twenty independent social units composing the Mexican tribe, while bound together by the necessity of mutual aid to secure territorial independence, could not be expected always to live in peace with one another. Difficulties would necessarily arise between kin and kin, and to prevent such disputes from leading to actual warfare,[187] the council as a body of *official arbitrators* was needed.

618 According to the rules of kinship, the calpulli was not only 646 bound to avenge any wrongs suffered by one of its members, but 695 it was also responsible for the offences committed by the kinfolk towards any outsider.[188] Hence theft committed outside of the

Durán (cap. X, p. 83. XI. pp. 107, 108, 109, XIV, pp. 117, 123, XVI, p. 132, XVIII, p. 156), etc., etc. We forbear further quotations, since they would be too numerous. All go to prove that the council was frequently called together between the times of regular meeting. Quotations from *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*") are useless, since they are very numerous and agree with those of Durán in the main. The fact of irregular meetings of the council having been called during the conquest, is further proven by *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. III. p. 7). and *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XIV, p. 385).

[185] *Bernal Díaz de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, Vol. II. cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la cintina estaban en su compañía veinte grande señores y consejeros y capitanes." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á negociar y el acato que el tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces."

[213 532] [186] A number of paintings are mentioned as representing the customs and manners of the natives. Specimens of these are found in *Codex Mendoza*, Lam., 58 to 72 inclusive. But none of these contained, or could contain or express, anything like a *law*. Compare, on Mexican paintings in general and their value, "*On the Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America*," in Vol. 27 of "*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*." Señor *Orozco y Berra* ("*Códice Mendozino,– Ensayo de descifracion geroglifico*," beginning in No. 3, of Vol. I, "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*") has commenced a publication which can be expected to shed much light on such picture-leaves, and the true position which they held among the ancient Mexicans.

[187] Conflicts between the inhabitants of different "barrios" during festive turnouts and religious gatherings could not always be prevented.

[188] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*." pp. 76 and 77). *Davila-Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*," Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83). The custom is general among other tribes and Mr. Morgan has adverted to it among the Maya of Yucatan and the Peruvians. It would be unnecessary display to produce further evidence: the remarkably clear statements of Mr. Morgan fully "cover the case."

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calpulli, and especially the slaying, wilful or accidental, of members of one kin by those of another, became the cause of a claim by the offended calpulli upon that of the offender.[189] This claim was submitted to the tribal council by the "speaker" of the complainant kinship. He produced his evidence, sometimes even in the shape of paintings, not so much to prove the facts as to sustain his claim. From the opposite side, the "speaker" defended the interests of his clan, and he also supported his pleadings with whatever testimony he might command.[190] The remaining "tlatoca" listened attentively to both parties, and when the argument was concluded, they deliberated among

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[189] *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, pp. 458 and 459) was the first, to my knowledge, to call attention (in note 59) to the difference of opinion among authors, in regard to the punishment of murderers. He refers to the unpublished parts of the work of Fray *Diego Durán*. We find in the *Codice Ramirez* ("*Tratado de los Ritos y Ceremonias y Dioses que en su Gentilidad usaban los Indios desta Nueva España*," Cap. I, p. 103): "El matar uno á otro era muy prohibido, y aunque no se pagaba con muerte, hazian al homicida esclavo perpétuo de la mujer ò parientes del muerto, para que les sirviesse y supliesse la falta del muerto, ganando el sustento de los hijos que dejaba." This is very interesting since it shows the autonomy of the kins. The murderer stood, towards the calpulli of the slain, in the same relation as, among northern Indians, a prisoner of war did towards the hostile tribe. Both could be adopted, and this condoned the deed. The offending kin lost one member; the offended kin obtained one in return for the one that had been killed. However, this was only in exceptional cases: the rule, as established by the majority of authors was that life alone could atone for life. In the same manner, and under the same head, the contradictory reports must be placed, about the punishment of theft, which have already been noticed. There are consequently, for each crime or kind of crime, two classes; one, of such as were committed within the kin, and the other, of such as were committed without. [682]

[190] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304): "Otra sala del palacio se llamaba teccali, ó teccalco. En este lugar residian los senadores y los ancianos para oir pleitos y peticiones, que les ofrecian la gente popular, y los jueces procuraban de hacer su oficio con mucha prudencia y sagacidad, y presto los despachaban; porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como hacienda, casas, ó maizales; y despues cuando ya se queria acabar el pleito, buscaban los senadores los testigos." I quote this passage, although it applies particularly to the judicial functions of the council, because the mode of proceedings is therein illustrated. *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207), speaking of Tezcuco, is very positive: "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban tepantlatoani, que quiere decir *el que habla por otro*. . . . ." I need not recall here that "tlatoani" (plural "tlatoca") was the title of the members of the council, and that consequently these "attorneys" belonged thereto. The same statement (derived from Veytia also) is found in *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte II, cap. VII, p. 191). These two works contain (in the chapters indicated) the most detailed information as to the proceedings. Still, there is evident confusion in the minds of these authors in general: they fail to discriminate between arbitration and tribal jurisdiction. The bulk of the other authorities commit the same mistake. Compare *Zurita* ("Rapport," pp. 102-103), whom *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap XXVIII, p. 138) has almost verbally copied. *Torquemada* (Lib, XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

The absolute lack of division of powers which characterizes so well ancient Mexican society is well established by *Veytia* (III, cap. VII, p. 206), speaking of what he

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618 646 695 themselves until they finally agreed upon an award.[191] The same thing occurred when two calpulli claimed possession or enjoyment of the same piece of land.[192] No appeal was possible to any higher authority; but every eighty days an extraordinary gathering took place at the "tecpan," consisting of the council and the executive chieftains, the war-captains of the four great quarters, the "elder brothers" of the kins, and the leading medicine-men, and any cause pending before the "tlatocan" might be deferred until the next of these general meetings; and even in case a decision had been rendered, a reconsideration thereof, on that occasion, was sometimes agreed upon.[193]

calls "supremo consejo:" "Tratábanse en este consejo todo género de negocios de estado, justicia, guerra, hacienda etc., etc."

[191] This picture is mainly based upon *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," III. cap. VII), and *Bustamente* ("*Tezcoco*," pp. 191 and 192). The statement in the latter is only worthy of credit because copied from the former.

[192] *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, y. 483). For a copy of the paintings reproduced, see *A. de Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères*," etc., Vol. I, plate V. Ed. 8vo).

[643 693] [193] I affirm this in the face of all the authorities on the subject, who, without exception, assert that there was an appeal to the "king." The *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXX, "Declaracion de la figurado") is even very positive: "Y si era negocio de calidad del consejo. havia apelacion por via de agravio ante Monteçuma, en donde habia conclusion de la causa." My opinion is based on what precedes about the authority of the council, on what I expect to prove in relation to the true nature of the duties of the head-chiefs and which will hereafter follow, and on the contradictions among the authors themselves. Thus the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58) places the supreme power into the hands of the councils "sin parescer de los quales ninguna cosa se habia de hacer," and (pp. 64 and 65) it does not mention any power of appeal whatever. *Zurita* (pp. 100 and 101): "Les appels étaient portés devant douze autres juges supérieurs qui prononçaient d'apres l'avis du souverain." It is queer to notice, how the writers of the tezcucan school, appear eager to place the power of final decree or the decision of final appeal in a "high tribunal," or rather simply a supreme council of their tribe. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXXI, p. 146) mentions a supreme council, "á los quales avian de venir todas las cosas graves, y criminales, para que ellos, con el Rei, las determinasen." (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 354): "Para estos dos Jueces Supremos se apelaban las causas graves, los quales las admitian, pero no determinaban, ni sentenciaban, sin parecer, y acuerdo de el Rei." *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 199) speaks of the establishment of "tribunals" by "Fasting wolf" ("Nezahualcoyotl"—properly "fasting coyote"), and adds: "pero concediendo á las partes el recurso de apelacion para él gran tribunal de justicia que erigió en su corte de Tezcuco." This so-called tribunal was, as we have shown at the close of note 190, the "Council of the tribe." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) almost copies Zurita. *Sahagun* ("*Historia general*," etc., Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 314): "y los casos muy dificultuosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase, juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian." "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque. . . ." In this case the learned father speaks of tribal jurisdiction and not of arbitration. Still it is plain that he admits the *council's decrees as final*. The chief, "señor," appears only as member of this council, a position of which we shall hereafter speak. Without making any further quotations from similar authorities, I beg to revert to those which place, *by the side of the so-called "King,"* an independent "supreme Judge"—the "Cihuacohuatl," whose tribunal

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Aside from these arbitrative functions, other duties occupied the 646
council's time at its full meetings. If any calpulli felt wronged 618
in the distribution of the incoming tribute, it might through its delegate or "speaker,"[194] complain about the tribal officers answerable for it to the "tlatocan." The investiture of chiefs and officers of the kins belonged to the highest authority of the tribe

is positively mentioned as the final court of appeals. That this "Cihuacohuatl" [643
occupied a high position, was already noticed by *Cortés* ("*Carta tercera*," Vedia I, 693]
p. 89), and subsequently, when he became still more prominent, by *Tezozomoc*. But *Torquemada* has been to my knowledge, the first one to establish his position as independent supreme Judge. It is not devoid of interest to notice what he writes about this office. ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352): "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y Juez maior, cuio nombre, por raçon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl . . . . . De este Presidente no se apelaba para el Rei, ni para otro Juez alguno, ni podia tener Teniente, ni substituto, sino que por su misma persona havia de determinar, y decidir todos los negocios de su Juzgado, y audiencia." He further adds; "lo qual no corria en este dicho Juez Cihuacohuatl; porque de su ultima determinacion no habia recurso á otro." *Fray Augustin de Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I, Parte 2a, Trat. 2°, cap. I, p. 369): "Despues del Rey . . . habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion á otro. Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." These statements distinctly hint at the existence of an appellate judicial body, of which this Cihuacohuatl was foreman, and over which the so-called "King" had no control. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481) even states that while there was no appeal from the Cihuacohuatl whatever, there was one of these officers "at the court and the principal cities of the kingdom." These views in regard to the "Cihuacohuatl" have been plainly accepted by *W. H. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Vol. I, p. 29): "There was no appeal from his sentence to any other tribunal, not even to the king," and *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435).

The confusion is apparent, for we have here three different views of the same case. One is that the "head-chief" was the highest appellate authority, the other that the head-chief, *with the council*, formed the court of last resort, and the third that a "supreme Judge" was appointed by the so-called "King" to render final decisions. Now we have already seen that the supreme authority was the council or "tlatocan," consequently what is commonly called the "king" could not be the last resort in judiciary matters, still less could he appoint an officer for that purpose. Our proposition appears, therefore, sustained, that there was no appeal from the decisions of the council to any superior authority whatever.

But, finally, it was possible to reconsider, so to say, the cases decided by the council, and for such the so-called "*Nauhpohualtlatolli*" or "*eighty days-talk*" was instituted. Authorities are almost unanimous on this point, although it is commonly ascribed to Tezcuco alone, and I refrain from quoting them in detail, referring but to *Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, p. 439, etc.).

[194] This becomes evident from the relative positions of kin and tribe. As we shall hereafter see, the officers gathering and those receiving the tribute were tribal officers, consequently subject to the council. It was to the council, therefore, that any complaint had to be brought against them, and this could be done only through the "speaker" of a particular kin. That the tribute was distributed partly among the "calpulli" is indicated by *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 79): "Tambien diéron á sus barrios para el culto de sus dioses, á cada barrio una suerte, etc.," and *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. X, p. 18): "y aunque venian á darlo á Ytzcoatl, era para todos los Mexicanos en comun."

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646 also.[195] This "right to invest officers and chiefs of the kins" is
618 commonly distorted into a right to appoint or at least to confirm an appointment or election,[196] whereas it was merely an act of courtesy ultimately converted into an established custom. But paramount in importance was the preservation of independence towards the outside world, and hence all relations with other tribes, and all final decisions concerning alliances, declarations of war and treaties of peace were, as we have elsewhere stated, in the hands of the council.[197] No raid or foray could be started unless by its direction; and delegates from foreign or hostile tribes, though not always admitted into the presence of the "tlatocan," always had to wait until that body agreed upon and formulated an answer.[198]

[195] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 381): . . "elegian Dia de buen signo: en el qual llamaban á todos los señores, y principales de la Republica. y á todos los Parientes. y Amigos: los quales acompañaban al mancebo, etc., etc." (Cap. XXX, pp. 364. 365). This author copies from *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII and XXXIX, pp. 156 to 161) who partly gathers from *Zurita* ("*Rapport.*" pp. 25 to 29). *Gomara* ("*Conquista.*" etc., Vedia I. p. 435): "Los señores, los amigos y parientes que convidados estaban, lo subian por las gradas al altar. . . . . El dia que habia de salir venian todos los que primero le honraron, y luego por la mañana le lavaban y limpiaban muy bien, y le tornaban al templo de Camaxtle con mucha música, danzas y regocijo. Subianle á cerca del altar. etc., etc. . . ." Although these quotations apply mostly to Tlaxcala, the dignity of "Tecuhtli" was common among all the sedentary tribes, and the customs of investiture were also about identical. Compare, "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisoient un tecle*" ("*Pièces relatives à la conquête du Mézique,*" Ternaux-Compans, pp. 233 and 234.

[196] *Zurita* ("*Rapport,*" etc., p. 47): "parceque les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient á ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits á la guerre," etc. Besides, there are numerous evidences that the older authors all believed the officers to be nominated by the highest tribal authority. The distinction was never made as between officers of the kins and officers of the tribe. I have formerly discussed the point.

[197] "*Art of War*" (p. 129). In addition to the authorities there quoted, and those alluded to in note 178 of the present essay, I beg to refer with great pleasure to a paper written by a learned Peruvian, *Sr. José Fernandez Nodal* ("*Législation civile comparée des Mézicains sous les empereurs Astecs et des Péruviens á l'époque des Incas*"). This memoir was presented at the "Congrés international des Américanistes," at Luxembourg in 1877, but only a short summary of it was published in the "*Compte Rendu*" (Vol. I, pp. 235-237). Sr. Nodal states that among the Mexicans' monarchy (?) was elective and controlled by a Council. "Controlée par un conseil suprême." It is to be sincerely regretted that this interesting paper was thus neglected.

[198] Evidences in regard to this latter detail are numerous. Compare *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. XCVII, p. 172). *Durán* (Cap. XV. p. 137): "El rey Montequma le respondió con rostro muy alegre y amoroso, que se lo agradecia el amor que les tenian y quel era muy contento de conservar la paz y de tener con ellos perpetua amistad; pero para questas treguas estuviesen con mas seguridad y vinculo, quel le queria communicar con sus grandes señores y principales y quel le daria su respuesta. El rey de Tezcuco fué aposentado á descansar en un aposento de la casa real, con mucha onra, y luego el rey mandó venir á todos los de su consejo y á los demas señores y principales, y estando presentes, luego los propuso la plática

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purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminol- 114
ogy never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[75]

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh 174
where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sec- 619
tions, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed 701
of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of

[75] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II, p. 141), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads." [643]

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh." Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatilulco, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God), "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *wards* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa María la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatilulco became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545) " . . . . y asi estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que son Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

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174 numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to
619 four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-
701 bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

701 Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrange-*
555 *ment* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever,*

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 20). "Rapport sur les differentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonzo de Zurita. French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 53).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuauhnoetli took charge to assemble together the four lead-"ers of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 82, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diez, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371). "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata, en tal modo ligata supra le spalle, che non gli da alcun distorbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli puo sligare, ne torglielamai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "pani," above.

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701 posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests ex-
702 cepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

[293] As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

701 A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "mi-
619 nor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

701 Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI. p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad. que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que cuelga atras, y bezote y "oregeras. y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces," "De l'ordre de succession," p. 225), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport." p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra. que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas apretadas á la caneça y unas oregeras de concha, largas, y unas besotes "en los labios. muy bien armados, y empeçaron á componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Cuyuacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, *then* they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 24, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 499) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[99] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-

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[74 soil *which they might hold as their own.*[25] It would appear that, through loss of numbers in the course of their migrations, as well as through divisions among themselves, the original consanguine groups composing the body, had been reduced to *five.*[26] Now a further and last division took place, one of these kindred clusters seceding from the rest, and establishing itself apart on another sandy expanse where, close to the others however, it grew to become the tribe of Mexico-Tlatilulco.[27] It remained independent until about forty years before the conquest.[28]—The other *four* settled *each one by itself*, but still acknowledging a *common government*, in token of which the tribal place of worship was erected at the spot where these four areas met. Thus the "pueblo" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan was founded; the seat and home of the Mexicans proper.[29]

[25] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. X, p. 72), says that the Mexicans "asked the King of Azcaputzalco for soil" (to settle upon). Torquemada represents their settlement as a flight to a safe place (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 92). Also Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, pp. 147 and 148). Durán (Cap. V, p. 41), has the remarkable passage following: "que aun el suelo no era suyo, pues era sitio y término de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque alli llegaban los términos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del Mediodia, términos de Culhuacan:" (This shows they were on neutral ground, dividing the tribes of their surroundings.) Tezozomoc confirms (Cap. III, p. 9), "estando en terminos de los de Atzcapuzalco, Acuihuaques Tezcucanos y los de Culhuacan." Durán (2° p. 41) further says that they contended to be masters of their soil, without owing allegiance or obedience to any one. See also Tezozomoc (Cap. III) and Motolinia ("Epistola proemial," p. 5). Gomara ("Conquista," p. 431. Vedia, 1st volume).

[619 642] [26] We have already alluded to the number of chiefs leading the Mexicans at the time of their settlement in the lagune. It varies from four to twenty. But the fact that four "quarters" composed it originally, leads me to the belief that four Mexican kinships remained, one seceding as the tribe of Tlatilulco. This division into four is the only fact reliably ascertained. (See notes 27, 29, 30 and 31).

[27] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. How it occurred we cannot ascertain, since it is related in the most varied manner by the different sources of authority. If the statement is correct that even during their migrations, the Mexicans proper and the Tlatilulcás kept apart, as tribal components, or probably "phratries,"—then the fact of their localizing as tribes independent from each other is easily accounted for. See Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

[28] The date of its conquest by the Mexicans is about 1473 ("Art of War, etc." p. 102). It can easily be verified from the date on the so-called "calendar stone" at the city of Mexico. (See "Calendario Azteca" by Señor Chavero.)

[615 618] [29] The question remains yet undecided as to whether these four "quarters" ("barrios") were four original kinships, or whether they were already four "brotherhoods of kinships" (phratries), analogous to the Roman curiæ formed by (or rather remaining as the last vestige of) original kinships disaggregated. The latter might appear likely from the fact of the greater number of chiefs (than four), mentioned by the old authors. The existence of still lesser groups is plainly acknowledged at the same time. Durán says (Cap. V, p. 42): "On the night after the Mexicans finished the place of worship ("hermita donde su dios estaba"), a large area of the lagune being filled up and room made for the houses, Vitzilopochtli spoke to his priest or keeper and said to him:

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Secondly, the relationships in the descending scale are more 601
closely described than those in the ascending scale.

Thirdly, in some instances women give different names from those given by men.

It results from it, that the classificatory system still, to a great extent, preëlominated in the ancient Mexican nomenclature for relationship, while the more modern descriptive system appears in a minority of cases only. This leads to the inference that the Mexican family itself was yet but imperfectly constituted. It was not yet so established as to form a definite group and hence cannot be expected to exercise any influence in the matter of public social life. We are, therefore, again justified in looking to the *kin* as the unit of social organization, within the limits of that widest aggregate, the tribe.[26]

Traditionary tales about the earliest settlement of man in Mex- 173
ico as well as in Central America, distinctly ascribe it to "lineages" 619
or relationships. The tribe is merely implied, and appears in a definite form only *after* this settlement has already occurred.

The "Popol-Vuh," or gathering of the cosmological and tradi- 600
tionary records of the QQuiché tribe of Guatemala, after enumerating the four wives of the four first men created, even says: "These [their spouses], engendered mankind, the large and small tribes: and they were the stock of us, of the QQuiché tribe." This indicates, perhaps, descent in the female line at a very early date.[27]

[26] *Dr. Adolphus Bastian*, "*Ueber die Eheverhältnisse*," ("*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*," Berlin, Vol. V, 1874) presupposes a family, definite and distinct: "Aus der Ehe, als erster Kreisung der Gesellschaft geht die Familie hervor, in ausgedehnter Peripherie als gens (unter Erweiterung durch die Agnaten) aus ursprunglichen Patriciern; wo der Clan unter Aufnahme fictiver Verwandten und zugehörigen seinen abschluss unter den Patriarchen bewahrt." Such views offer a sufficient explanation, when applied indiscriminately to the inhabitants of *all* the continents, why the organization of some aborigines of this continent is still regarded as monarchical. The nature and functions of the Indian kin are completely misunderstood and proportionately misrepresented. (See also Id., p. 206.)

[27] "*Popol-Vuh*" (Translated from the original QQuiché by the *Abbé Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg*, Paris, 1861, Part III, cap. III, p. 205). "E pogol vinak, chuti amag, nima amag; are cut u xe kech. ri oh Quecho-vinak; tzatz cut x-uxie ri Ahqixb Ahqahb; mana xa E cahib chic x-uxic. xere cahib ri qui chuch oh quiche vinak." Mr. Brasseur translates "vinak" alternately as men, tribes, and nations. According to his own vocabulary, however, it means but "man" or "the increase" (See "*Grammaire QQuiché*," p. 222). In his translation of the "*Rabinal-Achí*" ("*Grammaire*" First Scene, pp. 27 and 35, and other places), "vinak" is also rendered as chief. But the true QQuiché word for tribe is "amag" ("*Grammaire*," p. 167). This alters the sense to the extent that instead of "QQuiché tribe" it should read "men of QQuiché" or rather "QQuiché

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uine aboriginal traditions, notwithstanding the attempt, on the 174
part of Fray Juan de Torquemada, to impugn its truthfulness and 618
consequently its validity,[42] It results from it that while the kins, 615
which for the first time in Mexican history are distinctly identified here with the "calpulli," are settling, "as best they liked;" the creation of four geographical divisions, composed each of a number of kins, is attributed here to the influence of worship or, as we have already termed it, of "medicine." This connects those, who subsequently became the four "Indian wards" of Mexico, with the four "carriers of the gods" already mentioned, and this perhaps may be considered a reminiscence of the four original relationships. Of these the sections mentioned appear like a shell, geographically enclosing a number of settled kins. The supposition is not, therefore, devoid of interest that they may have represented brotherhoods of kins, for purposes of worship and warfare. If now we substitute for *kin* the term "*gens*" adopted by Mr. Morgan, those *brotherhoods* necessarily appear in the light of as many "*phratries*."[43]

The time of this occurrence seems almost to coincide with a 174
division (already indicated as in progress) of the original Mexican 619
band into *two* sections. It now culminated in the secession of a part of the tribe and its settlement apart from the main body, though not far away from it and within the lagune also. While the "place of the stone and prickly pear" (Tenuchtitlan) remained, virtually, ancient Mexico, the seceding group founded the Pueblo of Tlatilulco as an independent community at the very door of the former. It appears as its rival even until forty-eight years previous to the Spanish conquest.[44]

[42] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 402, notes 32 and 33).

[43] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. III, p. 88) "The phratry is a brotherhood, as the term importa, and a natural growth from the organization into gentes. It is an organic union or association of two or more gentes of the same tribe, for certain common objects. These gentes were usually such as had been formed by the segmentation of an original gens." If we recall the manner in which the four "quarters" or Mexico first appeared, it will easily be seen that the analogy with phratries is indeed striking. Compare, "*Art of War*" (p. 101, and note 22, and pp. 120, 121, and notes 97, 99, 100, and 101). In "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 400 and (401), I have rather favored the view that these four were "calpulli" which subsequently segregated into minor quarters or 'barrios." I now correct this, having become convinced that the so-called minor *quarters already existed at the time of settlement* (*compare notes* 37 *and* 41).

[44] *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 180), mentions a division into but two "barrios' in course of time through increase of population. "Despues andando el tiempo y multiplicandose el pueblo y creciendo la vecindad, hizóse esta ciudad dos barrios ó dos ciudades," *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichim.*" Cap. p. 72), merely states they were,

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174 It is much to be regretted that our information on this point
114 is so meagre and unsatisfactory, as not to enable us to ascertain
619 whether several *entire kins* separated from the rest to form the new tribe, or whether *fragments of kins* only composed the secessionists. In fact even the cause of the division is stated in such a varied and contradictory manner, that we must withhold any expression of positive views on the subject.

618 Without losing sight altogether of the tribe of Tlatilulco, we still must devote our attention chiefly to the inhabitants of Tenuchtitlan, in which we recognize the ancient Mexicans proper. The number of kins composing the latter at the time of their

divided in two "bands," without saying why and how this division occurred. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 43), "Hecha esta division y puestos ya en su órden y concierto de barrios, algunos de los viejos y ancianos, entendiendo merecian mas de lo que les daban y que no se les hacia aquella honrà que merecian, se amotinaron y determinaron ir a buscar nuevo asiento, y andando por entre aquellos carriçales y espadañales allaron una albarrada pequeña, y dando noticia della á sus aliados y amigos fuéronse à hacer alli asiento, el qual lugar se llamaba Xaltelulli y el qual lugar agora llamamos Tlatilulco, ques el barrio de Santiago. Los viejos y principales que alli se pasauan fuéron quatro; el uno dellos se llamaba Atlaquauitl, el segundo Huicto, el tercero Opocàtli, el quarto Atlacol. Estos quatro señores se dividieron y apartaron de los demas y se fuéron à vivir à este lugar del Tlatilulco, y segun opinion tenidos por hombres inquietos y revoltosos y de malas intenciones, porque desde el dia que alli se pasaron nunca tuvieron paz ni se llevaron bien con sus hermanos los mexicanos; la qual inquietud à ido de mano en mano hasta el dia de hoy, pues siempre a auido y ay bandos y rancor entre los unos y los otros." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 468), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62), both are but concise repetitions of the above. *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, pp. 294 and 295), opposes both Acosta and Herrera, as well as the "*Codex Ramirez*," and substitutes a story about voluntary settlement of the Tlatilulca on a sandy patch near by, but apart from the others, in consequence of the old grudge or feud already mentioned. There is but little difference between this version and the preceding, the act of secession, in both, being voluntary. One singular fact is mentioned by *Vetancurt* (Part II, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 269), namely: that the Tlatilulca made a market-place for *both* parties. Otherwise (p. 257), he concurs with Torquemada. *Granados y Galvez* (Tarde 6a, p. 174), after saying that both "eran deudos y parientes unos con otros" adds "whether this division proceeded from past quarrels, or out of the incommodities which they suffered among canes and reeds; it is certain that they divided peaceably . . ." *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, pp. 135 and 142), reporting on all the various traditions about the foundation of Tlatilulco, comes to the conclusion that the "nobles" retired to Tlatilulco, whereas the "common people" remained at Mexico. *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 178), agrees with Veytia in regard to the real import of the fables told concerning the ancient feuds among the migratory band, but (Cap. XVII, pp. 187 and 188), he accepts the version that these old dissensions were the causes of the final division.

I have not been able, yet, to find whether the seceding Tlatilulca formed one kin, or one brotherhood of kins, or whether they were discontented fractions of kins removing. Had Vetancurt given us the names of the "barrios" of Tlatilulco, we might possibly infer something from them. As it is, the fact of the four "principals" mentioned by Durán, seems to indicate four kins, or rather (perhaps) fractions from four kins, whom want of space probably caused to remove. They may have been crowded out, and in course of time the feeling of jealousy and rivalry sprung up of which the authorities speak both freely and frequently. See *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

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not form as it is often stated, an order of chivalry, is amply proven 618
by the fact that the bond of kinship interposed a barrier between 554
them and such an imaginary association and furthermore, because their number could not be very great. The formalities required were so numerous and dilatory, the material for distribution in the shape of gifts was so large, that a frequent repetition of the occurrence lay beyond the power of the kin.[174] After this necessary digression, we return once more to the Mexican calpulli.

Besides being as already established in "Tenure of Lands," 618
the unit of territorial possession, we found the Mexican kin to be a *self-governing*, therefore *democratic* cluster. Every one of these clusters had, within itself, all the elements required for independent existence as an organized society. Except for assistance and protection against outsiders, it needed no associates. Hence it follows, that since we find twenty Mexican kins aggregated into a tribe, this tribe was a *voluntary* association, formed for mutual protection.

Three attributes of the tribe are next to self-evident: 619

1. A particular territory;
2. A common dialect;
3. Common tribal worship.[175]

sa charge à celui qui s'en était rendu digne par ses services, car les fils du défunt n'en héritaient pas s'ils n'en étaient investis." The very fact of the election, and the manner in which it was performed is also evidence. See the various documents in *Ternaux-Compans, 2d Recueil.*

[174] That such a festival or ceremony necessitated the accumulation of much provision and many articles for presents and offerings, is proven by numerous authorities. *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 436): "En fin, en semejantes fiestas no habia pariente pobre. Daban á los señores tecutles y principales convidados plumajes, mantas, tocas, zapatos, bezotes, y orejeras de oro ó plata ó piedras de precia. Esto era mas ó menos, segun la riqueza y animo del nuevo tecuitli, y conforme á las personas que se daba. Tambien hacia grandes ofrendas al templo y á los sacerdotes." *Zurita* ("*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs* etc.," p. 28): "Ces solennités occasionnaient de grandes dépenses, car les assistants étaient fort nombreux; c'étaient les parents, les alliés et les domestiques du nouveau dignitaire. L'on faisait aussi des aumones considérables aux pauvres." "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Tecle.*" (1st *Recueil*, p. 225): "Celui que l'on nommait *Tecle*, devait d'abord posséder de grands biens, qu'il put donner aux prêtres et aux autres nobles." (P. 237): "Un grand nombre ne pouvait pas se procurer en si peu de temps la quantité suffisante, etc., etc." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156): "Y asi les costaba excesivo trabajo y gasto, como aqui se dirá." (Id., cap. XXXIX, pp. 160 and 161.) *Veytia* ("*Historia Antigua*," Lib. II, cap. IX, pp. 65 and 66): "Y era exhorbitantisimo el gasto, por cuya causa algunos, cuyas facultades y caudal no era suficiente á reportarlos, dejaban de tomar este dictado." *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 199): "As before remarked, the vast expenses entailed upon a Tecuhtli debarred from the honor many who were really worthy of it."

[175] For these three attributes of tribal organization I refer to *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 113).

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CHAPTER XII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WAR

The relationships of Aztec tribes to each other in peace and war, the nature of the Aztec domain and methods of military organization and warfare

THE COMMUNITY or tribe was the center of the political and economic life of the Aztecs. Existence depended on the favor of the gods, who participated directly in the tribal fortunes, so that the degree of elaboration of the ceremonial structures was an accurate gauge of tribal prosperity. A man's position in the civil life of the community had a corresponding level in the hierarchy, since conspicuous fulfillment of civil obligations entailed an equal attainment in piety and observance of ritual. The basic design for living was a communal agriculture. The early tribal existence sought to achieve this pattern by avoiding other peoples and finding new land to settle. There is an essential affinity between agriculture and political isolation, just as commerce and manufacture require successively broader political contacts.[1]

In the early history of the Valley of Mexico there appear to have been a series of small isolated settlements which carried on a vague process of exchange. The Toltec civilization seems to have attained uniform development over a wide area spread by a population which gradually filled up unoccupied territory. There was little to suggest war or con-

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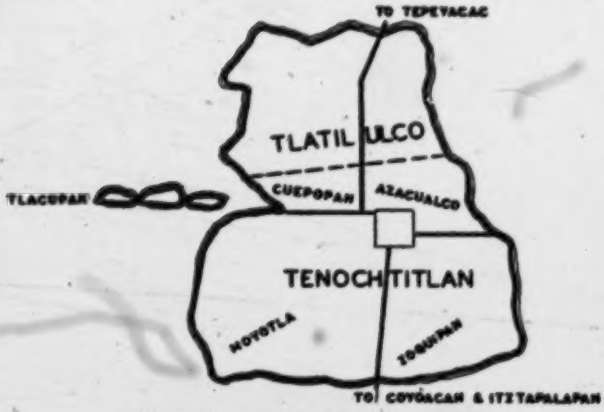

Chart showing two-fold division of the island and four-fold division of Tenochtitlan

KEY TO MAP OF TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

1. Palace of Moctezuma
2. Temalco
3. Quauhquiauac
4. Tlequauiaco
5. Azcal yacapan
6. Tamaxac
7. Temple of Uitzilopochli
8. Palace of Moctezuma the Elder
9. Tlaxpac
10. Cuauacalco
11. Uitzillan
12. Xaloco
13. Port Xaloco
14. Atzacualoyan
15. Tlequauhcalli
16. Tlequauiaco
17. Tlaquilco
18. Atzaqualco
19. Mixcoacalcalli
20. Tolnac acalocan
21. Pochotlan
22. Papalotlan
23. Cuepolco
24. Nezahualco
25. Tlacac
26. Ayauhcalli
27. Yaolnacan
28. [illegible] of Tlatilulco
29. Tlamahuitlan and Tlalocapan
30. Amoxoloacan
31. Cuyoacacan and Amaxac
32. Cuyohuacanyan
33. Ayacac
34. Atlixcohuyan
35. Tamazcalco
36. Quauxoxoloco
37. Apanecan
38. Tlacatecolco
39. Tlamanacapolco and Atecoloco
40. Xochimilco and Quauhquechollan
41. Yacacolco
42. Tlilhuacac and Amaxaquac
43. Cuihuacamecac
44. Xocoyolco or Cihuacoyac
45. Tlamatzinco
46. Atlacuihuayan
47. Tlamacazco

(After Orozco y Berra, with modifications suggested mainly by reference to Alfonso Caso, *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco*. The locations of many of the places are questionable.)

[p. XVI]

9: Monzon
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NU7 Aztec NU7

[For information on the structure of the Aztec "calpulli" as a community, consult the following categories: 565, 463, 651, 423, 463, and 618.]

612, 614, 621 Aztec NU7

[The information contained in the various sources on Aztec society and culture concerning the social grouping variously known as calpulli, clan, tribe, deme, kindred, etc., is contradictory in most instances. All data on this social grouping has therefore been placed in category 618 in this file. --Analyst]

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It is not surprising therefore if, of the earliest traces which are met with concerning such Aborigines as spoke the "good sound" ficient for my purpose to establish its identity, in system, with the others. The Nicaraguan days are corruptions of the Mexican names, the "Niquiran" being a "Nahuatl" dialect.

Taking now the four remaining groups, we place opposite to each word its translation or interpretation so far as I can trace it, which is of course not always possible.

Mexican.	*QQuiché.*	*Maya.*	*Chiapaneco.*
Cipactli, *Marine monster.*	Imox. *Swordfish.*	Ymix. *Dragon.*	Imox.
Ehecatl, *Wind.*	Iz. *Breath.*	Yk, *Breath or wind.*	Igh.
Calli, *House.*	*Akbal, chaos* (?).	Akbal, (See below).	*Votan.*
Cuetzpalin, *Lizard.*	Cat, *Lizard.*	*Kan. Snake.*	Chanan. *Snake.*
Cohuatl, *Snake.*	Can. *Snake.*	Chicchan.	Abah, *Stone* (?).
Miquiztli, *Skull.*	Camey, *Death.*	Quimij, *Death.*	Tox.
Mazatl, *Deer.*	Quich. *Deer.*	Manik, (See below).	Moxic.
Tochtli, Rabbit.	*Ganel. Rabbit.*	Lamat.	*Lambat.*
Atl, *Water.*	Toh, *Shower.*	*Muluc.*	Molo.
Itzcuintli, *Dog.*	Tzy. *Dog.*	Oc.	Elab.
Ozomatli, *Monkey.*	Batz, *Monkey.*	Chuen. (See below).	Batz, *Monkey* (?).
Malinalli, *Knot or twist*	Ci, *Broom.*	Eb, *Staircase.*	Eoob.
Acatl, Cane.	*Ah, Cane.*	Been.	*Been.*
Ocelotl, *Wild cat or tiger.*	Itz, *Wizard.*	*Giz, Wizard.*	Hix.
Quauhtli, *Eagle.*	Tziquin, *Bird.*	Men, *Builder* (?).	Tzibin.
Cozcaquauhtli, *Vulture.*	Ahmak, *Owl.*	Quib, *Gum or wax.*	Chabin.
Ollin, *Motion.*	Noh, *Temperature.*	Caban.	Chic.
Tecpatl, flint.	*Tihax, Obsidian.*	Edznab.	*Chinax.*
Quiahuitl, *Rain.*	Caok, *Rain.*	*Cauac.*	Cahogh.
Xochitl, *flower.*	Hunahpu, *Shooter out of a tube.*	Ajau, *Chief.*	Aghual.

For the interpretation, as above attempted, I have consulted the following very limited number of authors:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Relation des choses de Yucatan, etc.*" "*Popol-Vuh,*" "*Grammaire Quiché,*" "*Ruines de Palenqué.*") *H. H. Bancroft,* (Vol. II and III). *Orozco y Berra,* ("*Geografia de las Lenguas.*") and other sources. Mr. Bancroft translates the QQuiché "akbal" by *chaos.* I would suggest "*household,*" basing upon the following note of Mr. Brasseur: ("*Chronologia antigua de Yucatan, etc.,*" por *Don Juan Pio Perez* in "Choses de Yucatan," p. 375). "*Akbal,* mot vieilli qu' on retrouve dans la langue Quiché avec le sens de marmite, vase, peut être le même que le mot *cos* ou *comitl* des Mexicains." Sr. Perez says about the word: "desconocido: tambien se halla entre los dias chiapanecas, escrito *Aghual,*" (p. 374). In this the learned Yucatan is mistaken, for Aghual corresponds to the Maya and QQuiché "Ajau" or "Ahau." Now the pot or rather kettle, was distinctly connected with the housewife, and the word "Akbal" being, as the Abbé tells us, out of use, the suggestion that it may have been used to indicate something like the Mexican "Calli"—house,—is at least permitted.

I have deliberately translated "Kan" by snake, instead of by "cord of henneqnen" as Pio-Perez has it (p. 372). Compare note 1 by the Abbé.

Manik is interpreted by Pio-Perez as follows: "es perdida su verdadera acepcion; pero si se divide la espresion man-ik viento que pasa, quizá se entenderia lo que fué." If this is accepted, then the signification might be: "fleetness," "swiftness," or "rapidity,"—some of the attributes of the *deer,* which is the corresponding sign in both the Mexican and QQuiché.

Chuen, for the reasons indicated by Brasseur (note 3, p. 372 of "*Chronologia, etc.,*") should be "monkey," as well as in the three other idioms.

In regard to "Giz" *Sr. Orosco y Berra* (Part II, V, p. 103), copies the three interpretations of Don Pio-Perez, one of which amounts to "the act of plundering or rob-

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

A M 805

bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Causc" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 32, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 65, note 5).

"Batz" as *monkey*, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh, Hix, and Cahogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Been, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

This origin is stated as follows:—

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Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 537), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, ... This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 124), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 465), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cuculcan or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 82. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Boturini* ("*Idea, etc.*," § XVI, pp. 115 to 121). Quoting *Núñez de la Vega* (32, § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que *al que llamaban Coslahuntox (que es el Demonio, segun los Indios dicen, con trece potestades) le tienen pintado en Silla, y con hastas en la cabeza como de carnero*, quando dicho Coslahúntox se ha de corregir en Ymos, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Toltecs,"[30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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sino por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symbolos de los dias de el Año, y assi viene á ser el primer Symbolo de ellos." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 33, 34, and 35), "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiàppa, y Soconùsco con el Tultéco, ... pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Tècpatl, Calli, Tóchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiäppa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Bèen, y Chinax, etc., etc."

Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 164). "The Chiapanecs, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indigénas de México*," 1865, Vol. II, p. 232.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 412, Vol. I) "The Chiapanecs . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Been, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 633, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1780. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapanecs are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnez y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

Brasseur de Bourbourg ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologia*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 374, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper leads to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tzendal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprang through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 391, 392, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

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their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[32] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[33] We may as well add here, that these

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central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

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[32] *Iztlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones historicas*" "*Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) "y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also "*Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de America llamada Nueva-España*" ("*Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 333), "Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinieron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), "Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 388, note 7, to p. 392). I refer to *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (2a Tarde, p. 31).

[33] "*Tardes Americanas*" (p. 31), "bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vaguearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full, I but refer to "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. V, pp. 38, 39; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. 1, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *Garcia* ("*Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 59, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Velancurt* (Vol. I, "*Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[34] The number *seven* (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 399, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* ("*Die Culturlaender des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 466, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mauotoli's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[35] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitznagoa.	Huitznahuac.	Huitznahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cihuatecpaneca.	Cihuatecpaneca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.
Yzquiteca.	Yzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.

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Such were, in a general way, the higher functions of the Mexi- 646
can council, and they appear, if we are permitted to characterize 692
them to be only arbitrative and directive. Yet the members of that council had other duties of a purely judicial nature.

No conflict occurred between its jurisdiction and that of the kins. It was neither superior nor inferior to it, but wholly independent, even without any connection with it. Hence it extended:

1. Over the unattached class, the hangers-on to the tribe, or outcasts from the bond of kinship.[19]

2. Over all the people composing the tribe, irrespective of kinship, at places specially placed under tribal care, or reserved for tribal business, and therefore *neutral ground* for the members of all the calpulli. These neutral localities were the official buildings, the central or tribal "house of god," and especially the great "tianquiz" or market places.

The outcasts were, happily for the preservation of tribal society, not very numerous. Still, from their very origin, they were the most disorderly part of the people and crimes were certainly more common among them than among those upon whose passions the tie of kinship and the obligations resulting therefrom acted like a wholesome check. It required a judiciary power constantly on hand to repress and punish the misdemeanors committed among this class.

The "tecpan," the great central "teocalli" and the square, on 368
which it stood, and the market, were regular meeting-places of 621 ●
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siguiente, etc. . . . . ." (Cap. LX. p. 475): "Montezuma, apiadándose dellos, los mandó aposentar, y llamando su consejo, propusoles la demanda que traian." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 61): "El Rey Itacohuatl mostró gran contento con la embajada respondiendo con muy gratas palabras; mandó aposentar á los mensajeros, y honrarlos, y tratar como á su propia persona, diziéndoles que descansassen, que el dia siguiente les daria la respuesta." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap I, p. 533): "Acabada la Embaxada, si el Embaxador no era de mui gran Principe, no se le respondia cosa, hasta otro Dia; salian con él algunos, acompañandole á la Calpixca, adonde se proveia de lo necesario, y en el entretanto el Señor comunicaba con los de su Consejo lo que se havia de responder, lo qual hacia uno de ellos, y no él." But the most complete picture of such delegations and the manner in which they were received is found in *Velazcurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte II°, Trat. IIa, cap. II. pp. 378 and 379). It is too long to be copied. I merely allude to the words: "Acabada la embajada, le volvian á la posada mientras se juntaban para la respuesta." It has been adopted by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, pp. 470 and 471).

[19] The unattached class was under protection of no kin; therefore, if such a "bonded man" made his escape to the Tecpan, he became liberated from his bond. Already mentioned by *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia, I. p. 448), and subsequently confirmed by others.

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368 people from *all* the calpulli, but over which no single kin could
621 exercise any control.[200] This control had been delegated to the
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[200] In regard to the "tecpan," the simple term "casa de comunidad," used particularly by *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48, and again Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477): la "Tecpan, que es el palacio," explains much. It is, besides, self-evident that the tribal places of business and of worship were under the control of no particular kin, being expressly reserved for the tribe. There is, however, no definite expression as yet, in fact it hardly amounts to a clear conception, of the number and position or location of the original "tianquiz" of Tenuchtitlan. There are four eye-witnesses of the conquest reporting upon the markets: Cortés, Andrés de Tapia, the anonymous conqueror, and Bernal-Diez de Castillo. I quote these in succession. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia, I, p. 29): "Tiene esta ciudad muchas plazas, donde hay continuos mercados y trato de comprar y vender. Tiene otra plaza tan grande como dos vezes la ciudad de Salamanca, toda cercada de portales al rededor, donde hay cotidianamente arriba de cesenta-mil animas comprando y vendiendo, . . ." "*Carta Tercera*," (p. 74): "hasta otra puente que está junto á la plaza de los principales aposentamientos de la ciudad." Note 2 of the Archbishop Lorenzana: "Antes de llegar á la plaza de la Universidad hay muchas puentes, y naturalmente habla aqui desta plaza ó mercado, que era muy grande." Id., (p. 78): "E porque este trabajo era incompartable, acordó de pasar el real al cabo de la calzada que va á dar al mercado de Temlatitlan, que es una plaza harto mayor que la de Salamanca, y toda cercada de portales á la redonda;" (Id., p. 79): "seguimos nuestro camino, y entramos en la ciudad, á la cual llegados, yo reparti la gente desta manera; habia tres calles donde lo que teniamos ganado, que iban á dar al mercado, al cual los indios llaman Tianguizco, y á todo aquel sitio donde está llámen de Tlaltelulco; y la una destas calles era la principal, que iba á dicho mercado, . . Las otras dos calles van desde la calle de Tacuba á dar al mercado." Id. (p. 81), after the repulse of the Spaniards: "todos los españoles vivos y muertos que tomaron los llevaron al Tlatelulco, que es el mercado." Id. (p. 85): "E aquel dia acabamos de ganar toda la calle de Tacuba y de adobar los malos pasos della, en tal manera que los del real de Pedro de Albarado se podian communicar con nosotros por la ciudad, é por la calle principal, que iba al mercado, se ganaron otras dos puentes y se cegó bien el agua. . . . " Id., "y seguimos la calle grande, que iba á dar al mercado;" (p. 86): "Otro dia siguiente, estando aderezando para volver á entrar en la ciudad, á los nueve horas del dia vimos de nuestro real salir humo de dos torres muy altas que estaban en el Tatelulco ó mercado de la ciudad." *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., in *Col. de Doc.*, II, p. 582): mentions only the "patio de los bielos." "*El Conquistador anónimo*" (Col. de Doc., I. p. 392): "Sono nella città di Temestitan Messico grandissimo et bellissimo piazze, dove si vendono tutte le cose che usana fra loro, et specialmente la piazza maggiore che essi chiamano el Tatelula, che puo esser cosi grande como sarebbe tre volte la piazza di Salamanca, et seno all'intorno di essa tutti portici; . ." (p. 394): "Et oltra q'uesta gran piazza ve no sono dell'altre et mercati in che si vendono cose da mangiare in diverse parti della città." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, II, cap. XCII, p. 89): "y cuando llegamos á la gran plaza, que se dice el Tatelulco, como no habiamos visto tal cosa, quedamos admirados de la multitud de gente y mercaderias que en ella habia, . ." He also states that the "gran plaza" was "cercado de portales." (Cap. CLII, p. 183): "que si nos parecia que fuesemos entrando de golpe en la ciudad hasta entrar y llegar al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor Méjico, que es muy ancha, . . ." (Cap. CLV, p. 188): "que les entrásemos todo cuanto pudiésemos hasta llegarles al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor, adonde estaban sus altos cues y adoratorios." We notice at once a contradiction. Cortés first mentions a market of Tenuchtitlan, and afterward he calls it of Tlatelulco. Archbishop Lorenzana identifies it with the "plaza de la Universidad," or in the neighborhood of the Cathedral. See *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," p. 9): "en la esquina de las calles del Arzobispado y Seminario."

366 There were two great market-places in ancient Mexico, one of which was in Tenuchtitlan, and the other in the conquered neighboring pueblo of Tlatelulco. This is very

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"tlatocan" as a consequence of the formation of the tribe. Crimes committed at such localities were punished with unusual severity, because they were offences desecrating *neutral* ground which was

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plainly stated by Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555), and it would even appear as if, notwithstanding the importance attached to Tlatelulco by many authors, that the principal market was the one mentioned by this author as "el que está en la Poblacion de San Juan . . . ;" and consequently the proper "tianquiz" of the Mexican tribe. This could only be neutral ground, over which no single kin exercised any authority. It may have been different in regard to the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco; at least the following indications of *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 270) deserve full attention: "Fecho esto mandó el rey que aquella plaça y mercado que ellos ganaron, pues los tlatelulcas no tenian mas tierra, que fuese repartido entre los señores y que la parte que á cada uno cupiese, que de todos los tlatelulcas que allí hiciesen asiento, de todo lo que vendiesen les diesen alcanala, de cinco uno, y así se repartió la plaça entre todos, de donde cada uno cobraua alcanala de lo que en el lugar que le auia canido se vendia." The above is not quite definite enough, because the "plaza y mercado" of which the friar speaks, is evidently the one mentioned by him (p. 266): "y encerrándoles en la plaça de su mercado, haciéndose los tlatelulcas fuertes, no dexanan entrar á la plaça ninguno de los Mexicanos en ella," whereas he says (p. 270): "que allí hiciesen asiento," as if the place was built over. The fact that the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco was "distributed among the Mexicans" is further asserted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XLVI, p. 75. Kingsborough, Vol. 9): "Axayaca mandó tambien se hiciese repartimiento del tianquiz de Tlatilolco á los Mexicanos, y comenzaron á medir primera suerte Axayaca, luego á Zihuacoatl Tlacaelelzia, luego par su orden Tlacochcalcatl, y á todos los capitanes, que fué tenido el tianquiz en mas de sí ganaran cien pueblos." It would therefore appear, if we interpret this "distribution" as it should be done, namely: *as a division of spoils among the kins*, that the latter claimed a share of tribute from the traffic or barter going on in the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco, a fact corroborated besides by that other statement of *Durán* (p. 266): "El rey lo mandó, que pues auian sido traidores á su corona real, que de allí adelante queria y era su voluntad que aquella parcialidad Mexicana del tlatelulco le fuesen tributarios y pecheros como las demas ciudades y provincias, . . ." This, and the uncertainty as to which tianquiz is always meant, favors the assumption that *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 348. Vedia I) mentions Tlatelulco when he says: "Los que venden pagan algo del asiento al Rey, ó por alcabala ó porque los guarden de ladrones." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," pp. 32, 33 and 34) does not mention it, for the words: "donde están personas por guardas y que reciben certum quid de cada cosa que entra" do not apply to the market which he describes as having visited and which, in spite of *Bernal-Diaz* ("*Hist. Verdadera*," Cap. XCII, p. 89) I still believe to have been that of Tenuchtitlan, and not that of Tlatelulco. Cortés is strictly followed by *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, pp. 380 and 381) whereas *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 195) copies Gomara.

I have dwelt thus long on this question because it disposes of the notion that the "government" of Mexico levied a tax on the traffic of the members of the tribe. This tax limits itself to a tribute paid by the subjected tribe of Tlatelulco alone, because, as *Durán* says (p. 270) "they had no more soul than that of their tianquiz." This tax was distributed among the kins, like any other tribute. But it does not follow that therefore the kins exercised judicial power over the Tlatelulcan market. This power either remained with the Tlatelulcan tribe, or devolved upon the officers of the tribe of Tenuchtitlan. The former is more likely, although the latter might also have been the case since the Tlatelulcans were treated with great severity, as traitors and outcasts (*Durán*, Cap. XXXIV, pp. 269-271), in which case the tribal authorities would have had to punish them.

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That the central or tribal "teocalli" and the courts surrounding it were committed to the care of the tribe, as representing all the kins, on equal terms, in the share which each had in it, is self-evident, and needs no further proof.

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then respected as open to use for all the kins in common.[201] So many people met there daily, that the daily exercise, at least the presence, of judicial authority was absolutely necessary.[202]

[201] *Las Casas* ("*Historia apologética*," Cap. 214, in note XLV of Lord Kingsborough, Vol. VIII, p. 124): "pero cuando reñian en los mercados, como á escandalosos y alborotadores del pueblo eran muy gravemente castigados." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, p. 823) says even of those who disposed of stolen articles: "the Judges and chiefs took them and sentenced them to death." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 361): "El que hurtaba en la Plaça ó Mercado, que llaman Tianquisco, luego alli era muerto á palos, por tener por muy grave culpa, que en semejante lugar, y tan publico, huviese tanto atrevimiento." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 384): "He who changed the measures established by the government, in open market, was executed on the spot," and (p. 487): "He who stole in the market, was at once beaten to death." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 126): "Porque tenian por grave el pecado cometido en la plaza ó mercado."

[202] We have again here the *eye-witnesses*. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*." Vedia, I, p. 32): "Hay en esta gran plaza una muy buena casa como de audiencia, donde están siempre sentados diez ó doce personas, que son jueces y libran todos los casos y cosas que en el dicho mercado acaecen, y mandan castigar los delinquentes. Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89): Vedia, II, "y tenian alli sus casas, donde juzgaban tres jueces y otros como alguaciles ejecutores que miraban las mercaderias." These two statements, with more or less variation, are at the base of all that has been subsequently said on this subject, except by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, p. 823): "El señor tambien cuidaba del tianguiz y de todas las cosas que en el se vendian por amor de la gente popular, y de toda la gente forastera que alli venia, para que nadie los hiciese fraude, ni sin razon en el comercio de la feria. Por esta causa ponian por órden todas las cosas, que se vendian cada una en su lugar, y elegian por la misma oficiales que se llamaban tianquizpantlayacaque, los cuales tenian cargo del mercado, y todas las cosas que alli se vendian de cada género de mantenimientos ó mercaderias; tenia uno de estos cargo para poner los precios de las cosas que se vendian y para que no hurtase fraude entre los compradores y vendedores." "Tianquizpantlayacaque" decomposes into "Tianquizpan," "feriar, o tratar en mercado," *Molina* (II, p. 114), and "Tlayacatia," "cosa primera o delantera" (Id., p. 120); consequently, "the foremost or first ones of those who trade in open market." We have to discriminate therefore between these and such officers as "*sat*" ("están siempre sentados," says Cortés) within that "very good house" in the market, or rather close by, and acted as Judges. *Herrera* (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 196) says this house was "cerca del Mercado"—a statement which he afterwards changes to "en la plaza de Mexico" (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 157). We are now informed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 558) that the *tecpan* of Tlatelulco "que son las Casas de Cabildo, y Audiencia" was, at his time, on one of the sides ("acera") of the *market* of Tlatelulco, and it appears to have been customary for the natives to have the official building facing the "tianquiz." Such was the case at Tezcuco if we are to believe *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 247): "Le palais avait deux cours, dont la première, qui était la plus grande, servait de place publique et de marché; elle est même encore aujourd'hui destinée à cet usage;" and if the market of Tenuchtitlan really was where Archbishop Lorenzana places it (see note 280), then it is evident that the Mexican tecpan must have been very near it, if not actually facing the square. The "great house" mentioned by the eye-witnesses quoted, was therefore, in all probability, but the council or official-house of the tribe, and the old men who, in number from three to twelve, are said to have officiated as "Judges," were members of the "tlatocan" or supreme council on judicial duty, as we shall hereafter see. Those officers who circulated among the people maintaining peace and order, were executive

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It therefore demanded the daily attendance at the official house of the tribe of a body of men sitting as "judges." The decisions of these judges had to be final even in matters of life and death. Therefore the chiefs composing the highest authority of the tribe, the members of the council or "tlatoca," were also its supreme judges. It is stated that for this daily work the twenty "speakers" were subdivided into two bodies sitting simultaneously in two different halls of the "tecpan." One of these bodies is called "court of the nobles" because it attended, not merely to tribal cases, but especially to the preparatory business of government in general, whereas the other limited its decrees to judicial questions only.[203]

officers delegated for that special purpose, and, as we shall find, probably under orders of the military commanders of the tribe.

[203] This division of the council into two bodies for the purpose of greater dispatch of judicial work is particularly affirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib VIII, cap. XIV, p. 303. Cap. XV, p. 304, and Cap. XXV, pp. 313 and 314), who, however, contradicts himself in regard to the position and rank of his "Judges." Thus (p. 303) he calls his officers of the "sala de la judicatura," "el rey, los señores, cónsules, oidores, principales nobles" as distinguished from those of the "audiencia de la causas civiles," whom he designates as "los senadores y los ancianos," thus intimating, if not asserting, that the former were superior to the latter in rank and power. The hall wherein the former met, is called "tlacxitlan," the latter "teccalli." I shall return to these terms again. He further asserts (p. 314), speaking of the former: "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoques," and establishes them as a court of appeal for the lower court. Now (Cap. XXX, p. 318) he says: "juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoques . . ." Consequently, he tacitly admits that the "senadores" who, according to him, composed the "lower" court were also the *equals* of those of the higher, and all belonged to the same class of officers. Finally, his picture of the duties of both bodies is rather obscure. He even (p. 314) might be construed so as to establish *three* courts. If we now examine the names given by him, we find that of the "lower" to be "house of chiefs," from "tecuhtli" and "calli," house. Indeed, *Molina* (II, p. 92) has "teccalli," "casa, o audiencia real." "Tlacxitlan," however, signifies (II, p. 120) "en lo baxo, o al pie de los arboles, o de cosa semejante." The proper derivation, however, is from "ni tlacxitoca" "to correct writings, or count over what has been already counted" (p. 120), which would indeed correspond to a "court of appeals." "To appeal" is "nitlacuepa;" "appeal," "tlacuepaliztli; ocococan neteihuiliztli," *Molina* (I, p. 12). It stands properly for the act of demurring, or of returning, folding, doubling up, and it is not likely to have been used by the natives to define an appeal in our sense of the word. Father Sahagun has probably introduced the word "tlacxitlan" himself. At all events, he is responsible for the notion of a superior body of judges, to whom a lower court, sitting in the same house, referred all cases of importance, contenting itself with taking testimony and despatching unimportant cases; while at the same time he tells us that the members of *both* groups *held the same office*, and were consequently equal and had the same title. This title we have found to be that of the members of the council, consequently the two groups formed but fractions of that body, co-ordinated and assisting each other, and not a higher and a lower branch of a tribal judiciary.

Father Sahagun and contemporary authors of the Franciscan school, whose writings have just now come to light in the "*Libro de Oro*," can easily be traced as the source of most of the later pictures of Mexican judicial customs as in the present instance. Thus his highest tribunal of *thirteen* "senadores" reappears in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 442,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

[622 41]

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expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

Chief

Merchant

[463]

Lawyer

Doctor

[759]

Women

Sailor, brewer

[502 501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (C)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. 441
The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement 463
and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a 441
special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth 439
and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, 463
tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have 463
attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and featherworkers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion 793
penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in [622]
the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[8]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçotia in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca. [796] [736]

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izqujlhujtl cujcoia: im ponaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaostectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: [372]

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalquixoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: ichoantin in masujltia, yn aujenjme: ichoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti: [548]

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan ichoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan. [302] [565]

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn incue, yn ỹvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliubquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. [796] [292]

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtoxquj much uecui: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtotia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinenj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca. [302]

Auh amo mopotonja, amono moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichiotia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, ichostl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin. [622] [301] [304] [701]

8. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, *Asentáronse jilanaxtectli* may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For *cecen quapantli*, Sahagún has "on canoe."

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feasts and sacrifices which were made in the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Seventeenth feast: this was known by the name of Tititl.

Upon [this] feast died a person named Ilama tecutli—[one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed [slave].[2] The majordomos procured her.

And the adornment of [the likeness of] Ilama tecutli was [as followeth: she had] her white skirt, her white shift—completely white. And over this she was girt with [what was] named the star skirt. This was bedight with small sea shells, on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, [with] shells set at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, much did [the shells] jingle, the pleasant sound [carrying] far. And her sandals had white toes, woven with cotton threads.

And her shield was covered over with white clay and pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers, sewn to the middle [of the shield], and it had pendants at the edges, of heron feathers, and [tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers, hung at the point. And in [the other] hand she bore her weaving stick.[3]

And her face painting was in diverse colors. About the lower part of her face, they spread black. It was said, the lower part of her face was blackened. And upon her nose and forehead, they laid yellow ochre.

And her eagle feather headpiece, a headdress with eagle feathers arrayed upon it, consisted only of hair, twisted, arranged and well disposed, braided and intertwined with itself. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli.*

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce, capitulo vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtóltetl omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl. 796x

Injc caxtoltetl omume ilhujtl ichoatl in moteneoa, itoca Tititl:

in jpan in ilhujtl, ce tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, ixiptla, tlaaltilli: calpixque in qujnextia. [622 567]

Auh in jnechichioal casca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj qujmocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachioalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacaxtolalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic ommotzincuetia: in jquac nenemj cenca xaxamaca, veca caqujzti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jquequetzil: icpatl injc tlaqujztli, 796x 292

yoan ichimal, çã tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachioalli, inepantla in tlatzõtli, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac: yoan centlapal qujtzitzquja, itzoxopax:

yoã moxauh mochictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jtenco qujteca tilli: mjtoa, motentilhuja: auh in jiac ipan, yoan ixquac tecoçavitl in qujteca, 796x 302 [386]

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjxcavia in tzõtli, tlamalintli, tlavipantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanetech itzontli: in tzõcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

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1. "Xaxamaxaca," Guilloy suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 314). Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 39) writes: "Tititl. *Tarquemada traduce, tiempo apretado; Boturini, encaxar ó meterse encaxar. Gama rechaza como falsa la interpretación de Boturini, y esta la saca del verbo titiza, rebozar dinero de la cuartilla.*" Tarquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 300) simplifies his version thus: "*porque la era de frio, y helados, los quales avaian marcho, por lo poco rego de que avaian, y porque por este mismo tiempo, andaban apretados, con Guerras, y Andaba, que avaian las cosas Provisiaia cesaro las aves, y se metaban, y encaxaban como si estas.*"

Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 301-2) writes: "*quiere decir encaxar . . . imaginaban en el cielo dos niños enbrazados al uno al otro. . . . hablo hablar de mugeres y hombres andaba como las aves de las mesmas.*"

The Tovar Calendar refers to the gods stumbling and thus supporting "the machine of the world" because of the violent winds. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; also *supra*, pp. 130-31 and n. 3.

3. The shield and the weaving implements of the goddess are clearly illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus*. Paso y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 273) thus describes the shield: "*La rodela, que se acomoda muy bien á la descripción que han dejado los indios, es blanca; tiene un cuero de phoenix de Apolo pegado en el centro; y llena como representa estar á clavos de phoenix: unas pequeñas de garzotas, redondas (que algunas han*

x 796 hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon
[293] they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known
[535 as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the
622] Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

x 796 And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers
608 sought out some master of the youths, seasoned war-
[431] rior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle. Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

[301] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

x 796 And when they had gone to their homes, there-
273 upon all ate and drank.
535 And then, in the temple, began singing and dancing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal qujtzitzquja amaxiquj-
pilli; njmã ie ic oalxemo mjtotitivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ie ic tlaiaoaloa, çã nappa
in tlaiaoaloa: auh in ommjtotique mec nexixitinjlo,
texixitinjlo, njmã ie ic calacoa in tecpan tlatecpanolo. Auh in ichoatl y, moteneoa: netecujtotilo, mote-
cujtotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque,
in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in muchioaia;

ie iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in peoaloia in tenacazxapotlaloia in
qujnnacazxapotla pipiltotonti: yoan qujnpotonja,
tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in tozti.

Auh in ventli in qujchioaia pinolli: auh in tenan-
oan cequj temooaia, ichoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa,
anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlanenequja impilhoa-
que injc Tetlatizque: no cequj temoa cioatl in
teavitiz, qujtlauhtiaia:

in oqujchtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli,
anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qujtlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazxapotlaloc; njmã ie ic qujnvivica,
in qujnchichinonque pipiltotõti: qujtlalia tletl, tle-
tlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc moteneoa techichinolo in calpulhuevet-
que, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco qujmon-
jauhtimanj: njman ic qujnoalmacatimanj in tetlati,
in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlazatzatzi,
iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic iatimanj in
inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ie ic tlatlaqualo,
haatlioa.

Auh in openaloc teupan in ie cujco in ie netotilo,
nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa vilon in teupan:
in Tetlaoan, in teavioan qujnvivica in pipiltotonti, in
tlatlatquj ietiuh in vctli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica
in qujitquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vncã
cujco: njmã ie ic ommomana in mitotia, qujnma-
mama in pipiltotonti: vncã qujmomacatimanj,
qujmomacatinemj in vctli: netech qujmomamaca.

11. The *Real Palacio MS* here contains the line *yeuatl ye chinampinolli*, which probably identifies the *pinolli* as ground dried maize and chia seeds.

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Cioatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca cioatontli, no ichoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhqui.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquiça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecococololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamaloaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteotl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteotl, yoan no ichoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Iopicalco, yoan eoacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan eoacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmavizziliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocozcatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixujch tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

618 Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;
423 more important ones, or contested cases, had to be referred to the
[627] council of the kinship, which in turn often appealed to a gathering of the entire quarter.[96]

The "calpulalli" was divided into lots or arable beds, "tlalmilli."[97] These were assigned each to one of the married males of the kinship, to be worked by him for his use and that of his family. If one of these lots remained unimproved for the term of two consecutive years, it fell back to the quarter for redistribution. The same occurred if the family enjoying its possession removed from the calpulli. But it does not appear that the cultivation had always to be performed by the holders of the tract themselves. The fact of improvement under the *name* of a certain tenant was only required, to insure this tenant's rights.[98]

● 622 Therefore the chiefs and their families, although they could not,
618 from the nature of their duties, till the land themselves, still could
423 remain entitled to their share of "tlalmilpa," as members of the calpulli. Such tracts were cultivated by others for their use. They were called by the specific name of "pillali" (lands of the chiefs or of the children, from "piltontli" boy, or "piltzintli,"

[96] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 56 and 62). We quote him in preference, since no other author, known to us, has been so detailed.

[97] "tlalmilli" "tierras, á heredades de particulares, que estan juntas en alguna vega" (Molina, Part IIa, p. 134).

[98] Each family, represented by its male head, obtained a certain tract or lot for cultivation and use, Zurita (p. 55). "The party (member of the calpulli, because no member of another one, had the right to settle within the area of it. See Id. p. 53), who has no lands, applies to the chief of the calpulli who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him such as correspond to his ability and wants. These lands go to his heirs . . . . . ." Id. (p. 56.) "The proprietor who did not cultivate during two years, either through his own fault or through negligence, without just cause . . . . . he was called upon to improve them, and if he failed to do so, they were given to another the following year." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa, p. 199, cap. I). The fact, that
[427] any holder of a "tlalmilli" might *rent* out his share, if he himself was occupied in a line precluding him from actual work on it, results from the lands of the "calpulli" being represented alternately treated as communal, and again as private lands. Besides, it is said of the traders who, from the nature of their occupation, were mostly absent, that they were also members and participants of a "calpulli" (Zurita, p. 223. Sahagun Lib. VIII, cap. III, p. 349). Now, as every Mexican belonged to a kinship, which held lands after the plan exposed above, it follows that such as were not able to work themselves, on account of their performing other duties subservient to the interests of the community, still preserved their tracts by having others to work them for their benefit. It was not the right of tenancy which authorizes the improvement, but the fact of improvement for a certain purpose and benefit, which secured the possession or tenancy.

15:Bandelier E-4 (nq date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

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618
child),[99] and those who cultivated them carried the appellation of 423
"tlalmaitl"—hands of the soil.[100]

The "tlalmilpa," whether held by chiefs or by ordinary members 423
of the kin ("macehuales") were, therefore, the only tracts of land possessed for use by individuals in ancient Mexico. They were so far distinguished from the "tecpantlalli" and "tlatocatlalli" in their mode of tenure as, whereas the latter two were dependent

[99] It is just the "pillali" which oppose the greatest difficulties to this investigation, and to a clear conception of the mode of tenure of lands in ancient Mexico. They are generally represented (whenever mentioned), as private domains of the chiefs. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, pp. 545 and 546), distinguishes two kinds of "pillali." The first one he says might be sold.—but he places the restriction upon them, that such as held lands through conquest ("sujecion") or through gift ("merced") of the chief, had to go to the descendants, as majorat; and if they died without heirs, the King, or Lord [428] became such, and they were incorporated into his royal Estates." The other kind was not transmissible at all. Clavigero (Lib. XVII, cap. XIV). We notice here a confusion between official tracts and such lots of the "calpulli" as pertained to the chief's family in consequence of their membership of the Kin. Also between "tribute-lots" and the official tracts, of conquered tribes. Torquemada acknowledges, that the "pillali," upon the death of the family, were incorporated in the calpulli to which that family belonged, "in order that they might pay tribute." This ought to define their true position and nature.

[100] From "tlalli" soil, and "maitl" hand. Hands of the soil. Molina (Parte IIa, p. 427
124), has: "tlalmaítl"—"labrador, ò gañan." This name is given in distinction of the "macehuales" or people working the soil in general. The tlalmaites are identical with the "mayeques." See Zurita (p. 224), "tlalmaites or mayeques, which signifies tillers of the soil of others . . . ." He distinguishes them plainly from the "teccallec" [566] which are the "tecpanpouhque" or "tecpantlaca" formerly mentioned as attending to a class of official lands (p. 221, Zurita). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These mayeques could not go from one tract to another, neither leave those which they cultivated, and they paid a rent to its masters according as they agreed upon ("en lo que se concertaban") in what they raised. They paid tribute to nobody else but the master of the land." This tends to show that there existed, not an established obligation, a serfdom, but a voluntary contract, that the "tlalmaites" were not serfs, but simply renters. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545), ". . . . those that were knights ("caballeros") and descendants of the families of the Kings, and Lords, had their particular lands and their rentals, where many of them held renters ("terrazgueros") which served them, tilled the crops and served them in their houses. These lands were called pillali or "land of nobles and knights." We prefer the etymology "piltontli" "niño ò niña, muchacho ó muchacha" (Molina, II, p. 82), or "piltzintli" niño ó niña" therefore lands of the children,—to the derivation from "pilli." The title of chief was "tecuhtli," and the word "pilli" substituted for it is certainly but in connection with the occupation of a particular place of office, and not a title itself. Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," p. 330. "The sovereigns as well as the inferior Lords and other principals had their own patrimonial estates, and in them their mayeques or Tlalmayes, what these gave of rent were tributes of the Lord," Id. pp. 233 and 234).

The "tlalmaites" appear to have been free from other tributes, and free from com- [466]
monal labor outside of the "pillali" (Bustamante, p. 233. Herrera, Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). It is not very clear, however, whether this applies simply to the conquering tribe alone, or also to the tlalmaites of conquered tribes, as towards the tribute due by that tribe to their conquerors. The detailed relations between the two are yet somewhat obscure and confuse in some points.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

425 A married man received a plot of land directly from the
511 clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief
555 glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success-
[575] ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli*
[554] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.[8]

● 624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the 624 young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated 618 the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to 646 the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body 701 elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were [615] evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the 701 abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In 643 Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-ca'-la.

seized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped died not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and dew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeoatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivecho, izquich in tematitlampa quiça, in aiamo imjquja.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aquin maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, quintlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli:

intla tlamanj, quimoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan quitlatiz tanaco, anoço quimonamaquiliz: yoan in tlamanjme quintlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atti.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic viloatz, çaiio in intzontecon quioalhujvica intlan quimaana, chichipicativitz in ezatli, in oacico inchachan, aco quinpipiloa auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan quixooaia: iquac quinmacaia in imamatlatquj in izquintin mjquizque: ieheatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequintin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome ieheatl in Izquitecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: ieheoan quimaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja ieheatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in quinnextiaia: auh no ieheõtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izquitecatl: no iquac quicuja in jmamatlatquj.

Aũh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjequizque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec quinvica in vmpa mjquizque: quimõtzoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõtzoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa quinvivica in incacalpulco, ceioal in quintoçavia, quinpia, quinpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncuiva: auh in oquimõtzoncuiquc, njmã ie ic motlatlatilia: in oquichtli, quitlatia, in jpan yoan itilma,

4. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *que quemquiniaio* might better be read for *ioquich*. Cf. also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 199).
5. Cf. Andrews and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5.
6. Cf. *supra*, p. 97, n. 7.

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tetzacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 672 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 672

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tetzacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ic calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in conocochia, momoztlae in oc iohoan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [624] 535 [291] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açoçe tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açe atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açe qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. Tlacochcalcatl, tlacatecatl: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 79; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After [illegible], the Real Academia de la Historia MS has [illegible]—or adultery.

561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
[697] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquipiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in ouuhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiouachpetlatl, quauhaiouachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

● 624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
651 house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the
681 majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were
344 lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiubca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from
574 everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords
431 unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them
344 all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatenteetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtenteetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

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11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Colmenar, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcoyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de pesas leves; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, these passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic capa amoço ic nappa yloti in inoc quinocziotia cuepalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaua, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocacpallaça amoso mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiacalxima çanüio inicon nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ic imaccoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh amoço can motolipia auh inomocuepallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imaxtlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
386] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan qnimica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtilitia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaqui.ia in ixaiac, auh in icamaoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiscahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[413] he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltemoxoanqui ioan centetl cokotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeualtia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

● 624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiuia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacatzapaoa tlacatzcaltia vmpa quimiscaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoiancoaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitecozauhuia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yoan vmpa quimpanaia*—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*una manta con cuatro listas labradas de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras cinco labores de colorado que se llamaua colchapalli; y . . . un maxtle labrado de colorado, largo que colmejaua hasta colgado, y otro maxtle labrado de muchos colores.*"

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assumption, frequently made, that the Mexicans were divided 618 174 into two distinct clusters at the outset.

A council of chiefs, representing the seven kins meeting on 174 equal terms, composed the government of the ancient Mexicans at 643 that period of their history. Among these, occasional "old men" of particular ability loom up as leading advisers. But no permanent general office of an executive nature is mentioned; although even occasional braves acquired historical prominence through their deeds of valor and of sagacity.[36]

But, while the organization was thus amply sufficient for the 174 needs of a straggling band, Indian worship or "medicine" (as 618 the native term implies) represented, inside of that organization, 624 the lingering remains of what we have already suggested to be the oldest aboriginal clusters of society. Corresponding to the *four* original kins of the QQuiché, to the *four* leading days of the calendar with the traditions attached to their origin, we find among the ancient Mexicans at that period *four* chief medicine men, or "old men," who at the same time are "carriers of the God."[37]

[36] "*Tenure of Lands*" (P. 398 and 399, Notes 21 and 22). In addition to the authorities quoted there, I refer to: *Gomara* ("*Conquista de Méjico*" Vedia I, p. 431). "y dicen que no trajeron señores, sino capitanes." (Idem p. 433. "De los reyes de Méjico"). *Motolinia* ("Epistola proémial," p. 5). "aunque se sabe que estos Mexicanos fueron los postreros, y que no tuvieron señores principales, mas de qué se gobernaron por capitanes." —*Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). "Dicen que el èjército mexicano trajo por caudillos ò capitanes diez principales que los regian, ... Entre estos eligieron, luego como hicieron su asiento, por rey y principal señor á Tenuch." *Torquemada*. (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78; cap. XII, pp. 94 and 95).

The fact of the election of the *first* so-called "King" of the ancient Mexicans, so generally acknowledged that no evidence of it is needed, is proof enough that, previous to it, the government of the Mexicans was at least, not monarchical. The words of Torquemada, (p. 94, vol. I.) "Dicese, que aviendo pasado veinte y siete años, que se governaban en comun, los unos, y los otros, les tomó gana de eligir Rey, ..." are plain enough.

Aside from the "leaders" (caudillos) of the Kins frequently mentioned, occasional war-chiefs or directing braves turn up during this period of their wandering existence. Thus, a chief whom they called "Mexi" is mentioned by *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 460), *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 138 and 139), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X. p. 60); and another very famous warrior, "Humming Bird." (Huitzilihuitl) led the Mexicans during their fray with the valley-tribes at Chapultepec, losing his life in the sally by which they broke through their surrounding enemies. *Durán* (Cap. III. p. 27; IV, 30). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 463). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. III, p. 92; IV, p. 84; Lib III, cap. XXII, p. 289). *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. Io, cap. IX, p. 281; cap. X, p. 285 and 286). *Granados y Galvez* (*Tarde Quinta*, p. 151). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 97; cap. XIII, p. 110; cap. XIV, p. 116. 124; cap. XV. p. 130 and 131). He affirms that "Humming Bird" was the first "King of the Mexicans," which, however, is expressly disproved by other authors.

[37] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. I, p. 6), mentions the four old men who carried the so-called sister of Huitzilopochtli, "y á esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli á los viejos

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 It seems to indicate, that as relics of four very ancient kins, a
618 kind of superstitious ("standing over") deference was paid to
624 them, implying a voice and vote in the councils of the tribe.[38]

que la sollan traer cargada, (que se llamavan Quauhtlonquetzque, y Axoloa el segundo, y el tercero llamado Tlamacazqui Cuauhcoatl, y el cuarto Ococaltzin"). (Cap. III. p. 8), at Chapultepec "y alli les habló Huitzilopochtli á los sacerdotes, que son nombrados Teomamaques, cargadores del dios, que eran Cuauhtloquetzqui, Axoloa, Tlamacazqui y Aococaltzin, á estos cargadores de este idolo, llamados sacerdotes, les dijo."—*Durán* (Cap. III. p. 21): Llegados a aquel lugar de *Puzcuaro*, viéndole tan apacible y alegre, consultaron á su dios los sacerdotes y pidiéronle: . . . . . el dios *Vitzilopochtli* respondió á sus sacerdotes, en sueños . . . " These words repeat themselves almost, several times in cap. IV. V, and VI. Finally he is very positive, (Cap. VI. p. 46), "con los quatro ayos de *Vitzilopochtli*. los quales le vian visiblemente y lo hablaban, que se llamanan *Cuauhtloquetzqui*, el segundo *Ococatl* el tercero *Chachalatil* y el cuarto *Axolcua*, los quales eran como ayos, padres, amparo y reparo de aquella gente," *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 459), "Con esto salieron llevando á su ydolo metido en una arca de juncos, la qual llevavan quatro Sacerdotes principales, con quien el se communicava, y dezia en secreto los successos de su camino avisandoles lo que les avia de suceder, dandoles leyes, y enseñandoles ritos y ceremonias, y sacrificios. No se movian un punto sin parecer y mandato deste ydolo." *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. II, cap. X, p. 60). "Llevaron este Idolo en una Arca de Juncia en hombros de quatro Sacerdotes, los quales enseñaban los Ritos, i Sacrificios. I daban Leies, i sin su parecer no se movian en nada." Besides these specifically and exclusively Mexican sources, to which others will be added hereafter, the fact of these four chief-medicine men "tlamacazqui" from "tlama"—medicine-man, (*Molina* II, p. 125), is proven by authors who rather incline to the tezcucan side. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78), "y ordenó, que quatro de ellos, fuesen sus ministros, para lo qual, fuéron nombrados Quauhcouuatl, Apanecatl, Tezcacohuatl, Chimalman," (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 41, but especially Lib. IX. cap. XIX, p. 206). "De los primeros Mexicanos, que vinieron á estas Tierras, sabemos, que no traxeron Rei, ni otro Caudillo particular (contra los que tienen, ó afirman lo contrario) sino que venian regidos de los Sacerdotes, y ministros del Demonio; sobre cuios hombros venia la Imagen del Dios Huitzilupuchtli, y á los consejos, y determinaciones de estos ministros eran obedecientes." The most explicit of all, however, is again *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 92). At the death of Huitziton, "y aqui fué donde empezaron las embustes de los viejos y sacerdotes que con mas inmediacion trataban á Huitziton; porque, ó concebido ya el ambicioso deseo de quedarse con el mando del pueblo, ó para disminiurle á este el dolor que debia causarle tan gran pérdida, ..." (p. 94). "Esto es el origen de la famosa deidad Huitzilopuchtli," (p. 99), here Veytia is in error in stating that *Tezozomoc* reports that the four priests were left with Malinalxochitl in Malinalco. This author mentions them again at Chapultepec, "*Crónica*," (Cap. III. p. 8). Further on (Cap. XIII, p. 102), "Yo me persuado á que es distinto, que Ocelopan y sus tres compañeros fueron los cuatro Tlamacazquis que fingieron el embuste del rapto de Huitziton," (p. 109), he says that the "old priests" opposed the election of a head-war-chief ("rey") "por no dejar el mando." (Also Cap XV, p. 131.)

It results from these statements, that the four "Carriers of the God" indeed exercised, or at least claimed some governmental power. In tribal society such power can only come through some *kin*, hence the four "medicine-men" represented four very old clans or relationships, whose names even may have been lost, whereas the former power "stood over," in the form of a participation of "medicine" or worship in the tribal business. I here recall the important utterance of *Boturini* ("*Idea*," pp. 111 and 112 of § XVI), "como fué costumbre de los Indios poner muy pocas Figuras en los mapas, baxo de cuya sombra se hallan numerosos Pueblos, y gentes; y assi dichos siete Tultécos, cuyos nombres refiere el mencionada Don Fernando, se entiende haver sido siete principales Cabezas de dilatados Parentescos, que se escondian baxo los

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the
438 usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing
[625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which
346 divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco.
361 Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples, distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

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[687]

•[625]

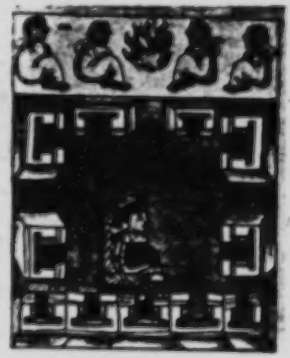

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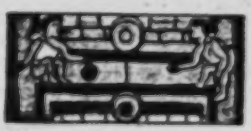

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[482]

—*After Pozo y Trevesano*

• 86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a complete musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game *tlachtli* (Chapter 17). 92. Giles of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

1/A [This caption is in error. - Analyst]

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to 567
provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prostitutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan [426]
from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made the slave live at home and perform only personal services. Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or even have slaves of his own. His children were always born free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office, which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his commission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs in- [689]
volved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial 626
acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human behavior. Membership in the community brought safety and subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown existed in the field of public service rather than in the acquisition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held to a minimum.[9]

Growth of the community to a size where none but the 692
great were known to society at large probably tended to 186
break down the sense of membership and participation, so

X 796 782 they might not become slothful was this done in the houses.

quimjxitiaia injc amo tlatzivizcujxque techan in muchioaia yn.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

Copaltemalizti.

Auh in copaltemalizti ic muchioaia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ic mjtoz, aço tecutlatolli ic mitoz, achto contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in aqujn ic tlatoz, çan vncan manca in copalli xicaltica: anoço cujcanj in ic cujcaz, ic peoaz, achto contema in copalli in tlequazco, njman ic peoa in cujcanj.

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

[201 576] The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

And thus was protested, thus was avouched one's word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, thus he said unto him:

[626] "If what thou sayest is true, do thou kiss the earth."

Whosoever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

Tlalqualizti.

In tlalqualizti ic muchioaia, iquac in campa oalhujlooaia, muchi tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imapil, aço ispan diablo, anoço tlecujlixquac:

yoan ic tlaneltililoia, ic neltia in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca neltocoia tlatolli: ic teilhujloia

intla nelli in tiquitoa, tlaxontlalqua:

ic njman tlalquaia in aqujn, ic qujneltiliaia itlatol.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

X 796 782 264 And thus was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first ate [before], indeed, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

Tlatlaçalizti.

Auh inic muchioaia tlatlacalizti, iquac in tlein qualoz yn aiamo qualo, aço tlaqualli, achtopa achiton tepitõ mocotonaia, tlecujlixquac onmotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc njman ic peoa inic tlaqualoz: aiac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlatlaçaloia, in tlecujlixquac.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

X 796 782 273 Thus was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when thus it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

Tlatoiacoalizti.

Inic muchioaia tlatoiacoalizti, iquac in tlamanaloia, aço vitziecoloia: iquac in aca iancujcan qujtlalia vetli, yn iquac oqujtlapiuj, iquac ic tenoczaia, qujoalmana apaxtica tlecujlixquac, yoan tetlaoancaxtepitoa.

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626

A True [Relation] of how They Prayed to the Devils, and how Oaths Were Made.

When an oath was taken: when anyone made a vow [for] his children before the devils, he made vows in perchance two [temples] or in three of what he would cause to be done for the devils. Mayhap his young son had been struck [by sickness]; or, for whatever had befallen, when he made the vow, [he promised] that he would perform penances for them.

And also when an oath was taken, when anyone stated something, in order that he prove it, it was said [to him]:

"That thy words be proved, that thou shalt not lie, do thou kiss the earth."

When, thus, he kissed the earth who had stated something, he thus bore witness to his words, and that he not be held as a liar, he said:

"Well do the sun and the earth-goddess know [the truth of this]. Now I kiss the earth [in token of it]."

Thus were oaths taken.

And if [it was] a supplication, it was done with these—the offering of incense, and sacrifices, and the kissing of the earth, and the offering of blood.

Imelaoaca in quenjn tlatlauhtilola diablome, yoan in quenjn muchioaia Juramento.

In iquac muchioaia Juramẽto in jquac aca qujnetoltia iconeuh ivjcpa Diablome, aço vecan, anoço Excan qujnetoltia, in tlein qujnchiviliz Diablome, aço motlavitequj piltontli, anoço tlein ipan muchioa, iquac quinetoltiaia, injc ivicpa tlamaceoaz.

Auh no ioã iquac muchioaia in Juramento in iquac aca tlein qujteilhujaia, injc qujneltiliaia, ilhujloia.

Jnjc neltiz motlatol, injc amo tiztlacatiz tlaxontlalqua.

iquac njmã tlalquaia in aqujn tlen qujteilhujaia ic qujneltiliaia in jtlatol inic amo iztlacamachoia qujtoaia,

vel qujmati in tonatiuh, in tlaltecutli ie nontlalqua.

Iuhquj in injc muchioaia Juramento.

Auh intla tlatlauhtiliztli, ic muchivaia çan ichoatl in tlenamaquiliztli, yoan nextlavaliztli, yoã tlalqualiztli, nestlavaliztli.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

became, according to rules of kinship, one against the social 618
group to which he belonged. This presupposes again a general 681
division of crimes into two classes, one of which includes such as were committed by members of the kin against other members thereof or against institutions of the same group to which they belonged. The other comprises offenses committed by inhabitants of one calpulli against those of another. It is only the first class which we take under consideration here, the second we reserve for our discussion of the mode of government. Crimes committed within the kin can be classified as against persons, against property, and against medicine.

The aborigines of Mexico are generally represented as being, [181]
in their every-day's intercourse, of a quiet, peaceable, inoffensive 626
disposition, contrasting strongly with their savage ferocity in warfare. This was not however due to any innate gentleness and mildness of nature, but only to the peculiar restraint enforced upon them by the law of retaliation or revenge.[121] Brawls resulting in bodily injury were therefore of extremely rare occurrence, and then it was left to the parties to settle it among themselves. In such cases, as in the event of mutual jealousy, a challenge often passed between them, and this challenge brought about an encounter at *the next campaign* when, while the warriors were engaged with the enemies of the tribe, the contestants fought as if they had belonged to opposite camps, until one of them

[121] The character of the Mexican Aborigines is variously depicted by older writers. It appears as a mixture of childlike docility and fierce passions. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 18. Vedia, Vol. I), speaks of them according to the reports of the Tlaxcaltecans. *Bernal Diez* ("*Historia* etc.," pp. 309 and 310. Cap. CCVIII. Vedia II), specially dwells on their vices and their cruelty, as evidenced in their sacrifices. "*El Conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Docum., I, pp. 371, 383, 387, and 397), places great stress on their ferocity, although he also says that they are very obedient. The missionaries generally exalt their good sides—their docility and faithfulness. Compare *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XIV, pp. 76 and 77). The same (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), mentions, however, their vices also, attributing nearly all of them (idolatry excepted), to their inclination towards intemperance. (Trat. II, cap. IV, p. 115): "Lo que de esta generacion se puede decir es, que son muy extranos de nuestra condicion . . . ." *Zurita* (p. 197—207), is very bitter against such as treat the Indians as barbarians. (Id., 43 and 45). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLIII, p. 290), says that they were very willing to forgive and ask to be forgiven, the latter taking place, before going to confess themselves, sometimes before all the relationship and the neighbors: "suelen algunos juntar (al tiempo que se quieren confesar) toda su parentela y vecinos con quien communican, y pediriles perdon en la manera dicha." Against this, it is reported by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535), that "these people were naturally more vindictive, than all the rest of the world." Compare also the descriptions of the character of the Mexicans in *Clavigero* (Lib. I, cap. XV).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

626 was disabled or until he voluntarily withdrew.[122] Slanderers, 689 however, were punished by the kin, having their lips cut off 682 or publicly sliced.[123] Homicide, and murder, were invariably 683 punished by death.[124]

689 Intemperance in public was free to people more than seventy years old, while if grown men below that age appeared in a drunken state (festivities excepted), their heads were shorn clean in punishment. But whenever the delinquent was a chief he was publicly degraded; and any officer was forthwith removed and relieved of his duties.[125] Women who attempted to act as

[122] *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440): "no traen armas sino en la guerra, y alli averiguan sus pendencias por desafios." *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Historia apologética de Indias*," cap. 213 and 214. Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough, note XLV, p. 124). Bystanders interfered, separating the parties, if they came to blows. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, p. 23), says that such strife and quarrels only occurred when they were drunk: "Y fuera de estar beodos son tan pacificos, que cuando riñen mucho se empujan uno á otro, y apenas nunca dan voces, si no es las mugeres que algunos veces riñendo dan gritos." (Cap. XIV, p. 76): "Sin rencillos ni enemistades pasan su vida." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. XV, pp. 398 and 399). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136).

[123] *Zurita* ("Rapport," etc., pp. 129 and 130) speaks only of children, punished by splitting the lips for lying. This is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 478). *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, p. 482), however, declares this punishment to have been meted out to adults, adding: "to-day there would be many without lips, so much do they lie." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 438, Vedia I) speaks of this punishment as having been instituted by Quetzalcohuatl, and for adults as well as for children. This, attributing it to Quetzalcohuatl, is an evident error. Compare *Sahagun*, (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 244). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 489) is positive about adults. *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 195) says that slanderers were killed.

[124] *Las Casas* ("*Historia Apologética*," cap. 213, Kingsb: Vol. VIII, p. 123): Destos era el que mataba à otro, el cual moria por ello." *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 442): "Matan al matador sin excepcion ninguna." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX. p. 136): "Sentenciaban á muerte á los que cometian enormes y graves delitos, asi como á los homicidos. El que mataba á otro, moria por ello." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. VIII, p. 387), almost copies the preceding. Nearly all the authors agree on this point, except, according to *Mr. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol II, p. 489. note 59), Durán, who is said to assert: "that the murderer did not suffer death, but became the slave for life of the wife or relatives of the deceased." In this Durán agrees with the "*Codice Ramirez*." *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," Vol. I, p. 485) says that even for murder committed in a drunken state, the culprit was killed (hung). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 484) briefly states that all homicide was punished with death. As to the manner of execution, it is variously stated. It would be unsafe to attempt going into details.

778 [125] It is well known that there was an idol for the drunkards. *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XXII. p. 40) even gives the names of thirteen "dioses del vino." According to *Gregorio Garcia* ("*Origen de los Indios*," etc. Lib. III, cap. II, §VI, p. 92, who mentions as authority *Fray Estevan de Salazar*, "*Historia, ó Relacion de la Teologia de los Indios Mexicanos*" lost in a shipwreck, 1554), they had three hundred gods of the drunkards "que de solos los borrachos tienen 300 Dioses." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 38) and others. The punishments are given by me after *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXX, pp. 139 and 140). Copied textually by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. X. p. 550). Besides these, *Zurita* (pp. 110–112) asserts the same, even more explicitly, and he is followed by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 485). *Clavigero* (Lib.

776 783 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and carrieth thee upon his back.[62]

793 "Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 776 783 793 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his sins.

Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Cuaapipiltí descend, when the feast of the Ecuinanme is celebrated,[63] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and *magney* spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or *magney* spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in momoqualtitica, y macocheica, in tepuzmetica;

ximotlapalo, ma timopinoquetz, ma titiciolo.

Nimã ôtlaqua in tlamacuhquj, onopaltema: ojman ixpan motlalia in tlapouhquj: qujlhuja, injc teviujti, ynjc tepatiloc, ynjc tejipiqia.

Totecujoe, tloquehe, nacaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaquijtia, in njiaca in nopalanca: mjxpantzinco, njnopepetlaoa, njnomamazauja: ca onay, ca onjchiuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaiocaian, ca tezcac, ca tlavilpan in mjxpantzinco, yn onax.

Niman ompeoaltia: in jtlapilchiualiz, vel iujn quenjn cah, vel yujn quenjn qujchiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, cenca çan jvin cenca, cencan yvin conjtua, yn juh qujchiuh, in imaca çan vtli, cencan qujtocatiuh yn jtlachiual, yn juhuj cencan qujtocatiuh.

Auh yn otlamjto yn jtlatol, yno machi qujto ytlachiual:

qujnanquijia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jztli, yn nacazti machiua, in teujujti, in tepatilloti: qujlhuja.

O ca ticmomochilia, ca ticmomaquijia, in tloque nacaque, in motlachiual, in momequavitec.

Auh ynjn, ca iuca yn taix, yn tiechiuaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoçe yn jquac ymjlhujuh cioapipilti, yn jzcujzame: nauhjujtl timoçaoaz, timocujtlaçolçoaz, timomiouiztzaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujtl, in ie callaujh, in ioaltica tiçacatlaçaz, titlacoquijztiz: ynjn motlapilchiual, iuh tiomamjctiz y: auh ynjn iuh namjque ez y:

auh jn quenjn ticnequiz, iuh ticnequiz: ynila tiçacatlaçaz, iehoat! in teucalçacatl tiquijztiz, anoçe tlacual. Auh açe momacazco in titlaquijztiz, anoçe momenepilos.

Auh ynjc tiquijztiz: ca amo ma çan titlamacoza, ca teuhtli, tlaçalli in tictlaça, tictlacoçza, ticcujtlacoçponiz, ỹ monenepil, mjxpampa ticaquiz,

motzintlas in ticquijztiz, in tictlaçaz: açe çan ceceu in ticquijztiz, anoçe çan ticomquijztiz, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn açe omomatli, açe vetzouali, in ticquijztiz tlacual:

ic pelicitz, in motlatlacual, in motlapilchiual, in momequal.

62. Cf. Note 58.

63. See Cap. X. The Cuaatzoo or Cuaapipiltzin were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they incited men to sin and crimes.

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

618 Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;
423 more important ones, or contested cases, had to be referred to the
[627] council of the kinship, which in turn often appealed to a gathering of the entire quarter.[96]

The "calpulalli" was divided into lots or arable beds, "tlalmilli."[97] These were assigned each to one of the married males of the kinship, to be worked by him for his use and that of his family. If one of these lots remained unimproved for the term of two consecutive years, it fell back to the quarter for redistribution. The same occurred if the family enjoying its possession removed from the calpulli. But it does not appear that the cultivation had always to be performed by the holders of the tract themselves. The fact of improvement under the *name* of a certain tenant was only required, to insure this tenant's rights.[98]

622 Therefore the chiefs and their families, although they could not,
618 from the nature of their duties, till the land themselves, still could
423 remain entitled to their share of "tlalmilpa," as members of the calpulli. Such tracts were cultivated by others for their use. They were called by the specific name of "pillali" (lands of the chiefs or of the children, from "piltontli" boy, or "piltzintli,"

[96] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 56 and 62). We quote him in preference, since no other author, known to us, has been so detailed.

[97] "tlalmilli" "tierras, ó heredades de particulares, que estan juntas en alguna vega" (Molina, Part IIa, p. 134).

[98] Each family, represented by its male head, obtained a certain tract or lot for cultivation and use. Zurita (p. 55). "The party (member of the calpulli, because no member of another one, had the right to settle within the area of it. See Id. p. 53), who has no lands, applies to the chief of the calpulli who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him such as correspond to his ability and wants. These lands go to his heirs . . . . . ." Id. (p. 56.) "The proprietor who did not cultivate during two years, either through his own fault or through negligence, without just cause . . . . . he was called upon to improve them, and if he failed to do so, they were given to another the following year." Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte IIIa, p. 190, cap. I). The fact, that
[427] any holder of a "tlalmilli" might *rent* out his share, if he himself was occupied in a line precluding him from actual work on it, results from the lands of the "calpulli" being represented alternately treated as communal, and again as private lands. Besides, it is said of the traders who, from the nature of their occupation, were mostly absent, that they were also members and participants of a "calpulli" (Zurita, p. 223. Sahagun Lib. VIII, cap. III, p. 349). Now, as every Mexican belonged to a kinship, which held lands after the plan exposed above, it follows that such as were not able to work themselves, on account of their performing other duties subservient to the interests of the community, still preserved their tracts by having others to work them for their benefit. It was not the right of tenancy which authorizes the improvement, but the fact of improvement for a certain purpose and benefit, which secured the possession or tenancy.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in 174 868
the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious- 174
training school presented a less animated scene. Their little 793
legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen 344
in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were 174
arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made [631]
up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over 618
picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occa- [684]
sional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the
[684] inevitable result of wrongdoing.

618 Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own
648 affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace
174 and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was
631 for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

174 Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal
361 center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

174 The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area
[361] of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered
438 many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

There is a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. Chalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco
Tepuxtlan, 3	Tepoxtlan

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras Históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

565 These levels did not have an absolute castelike rigidity. Besides what we have already seen regarding the fact that some macehuales were in a special position by reason of their exploits in life and not by birth, and that there were lords who lost their privileged situation of tribute receiving, we know that it was customary for pillis and [582] macehuales (42) to intermarry, the children of which marriages must

42. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 123; Zumárraga, p. 66, etc.

have had a different position from those children of marriages between pillis or of pure macehuales. There must have been present a whole series of people, from the most noble to the most plebian, we could say (using the terms noble and plebian in our sense), giving rise to a real pyramid of levels within the Tenochca group. Thus we see that the differentiation of rank had a corresponding economic differentiation; but that this latter had a limitation: not all the pillis could be recipients of tribute, but only the functionaries of the tribe or of the calpulli, and on the other hand, not all the macehuales payed tribute, those valiant in war being excepted. In their recognition of this stratification Caso, Spinden (43), Toscano, Moreno, White, etc. are

43. Spinden, H.J., 1943, p. 210.

right, but only in part, since these strata were not social classes; they could be considered ranks because of the little mobility of those belonging to them, generally by birth (an affirmation which with respect to the uppermost level can be definitive); but—and this is the fundamental thing—it can be shown that the existance of these strata was hinged to that of ambilateral stratified clans, the calpullis, and that it was therefore not a fundamental structure but a derived one, as will be seen in the second part of this work.

/p. 31/

Chapter 3

TERRITORIAL DIVISION

631 Another of the aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which has led us to think that it was not based on kinship through

●631 common descent is the existence of what the Spanish called "barrios" [henceforth "wards"], or territorial divisions of Tenochtitlan. This chapter attempts to describe all the elements which were related to the calpullis in the whole of the territorial organization, and not really to make a reconstruction of a topographical type (1). If we

1. Topographically, the work of Toussalent Fernández and Gómez de Orozco on Tenochtitlan is very complete. But it does not touch upon the problem which interests us here (Plans of Mexico City: the 16th and 17th Centuries [Planos de la Ciudad de México. Siglos XVI y XVII] Mexico, 1938).

analyze the data which we find relevant to this in the sources, we see that it very amply clarifies for us the situation extant around the time of the arrival of the Spanish, and which we can synthesize in the following form: the Altepetl Tenochtitlan was formed of four Campan ("large wards"), each of these by various Calpulli ("wards"), each formed by various Chinampa (family plots).

This table results from examining the most significant data in the sources refering to the Territorial division of Tenochtitlan. We do not know what the situation was before the arrival and establishment of the Tenochcas on the island, but we are told that upon establishing themselves on Tenochtitlan the leaders split up among four wards "each one with his relatives and associates, where each party built at will" (2), according to which it appears that the members of each

2. Ramírez Codex [Códice Ramírez], p. 42.

one of the four aforesaid wards were more closely associated with each other than with the other members of the Tenochca group. Also, the Nahuatl text—which clarifies the Spanish text—which describes the same happening, gives the term /p. 32/ calpulli (Nahuatl: "large house") as corresponding to "plots" while it uses nauhcampan (Nahuatl: "four regions") to designate the four wards (3). According to this it

3. Tezozomoc, Mexicayotl, p. 37.

●631 appears that upon the Tenochcas' establishing themselves on the island they divided it into four parts (campan) in each one of which only calpullis allied to each other were established.

This came about at the time of settling in Tenochtitlan. What was the situation by the time of the arrival of the Spanish? On one hand the calpullis still occupied the lands that were "divided up when they came to the land and each family or band settled in the lots which were assigned to them and their descendants" (4). That is, by

4. Zurita, p. 25.

the time of the arrival of the Spanish the calpullis still had the same distribution as when they were established. What is more, well into Colonial times, Mexico City was divided into four large wards, each one containing other smaller ones (5). Surely the large wards were

5. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

remains of the groups of allied calpullis (the campans) and the smaller wards must have been remains of the calpullis, both affected by the conquest, but whose importance must have been very strong since even then, as before, these wards (large and small) had leaders [mandones] "in common as well as in particular" (6).

6. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

Let us turn now to the matter of the divisions of the calpullis: an author tells us that what was called calpulli before the conquest, afterwards was called tlaxilacalli (7). Although this may have

7. The datum possibly is Motolinía's, but unfortunately I have lost the exact reference, and although I have tried to find the datum, I have not succeeded.

happened in a few cases, it appears that for Tenochtitlan the matter was not so simple. Above all we have the information that in the Colonial period, besides the division of Tenochtitlan in four large wards, and of these into calpullis, each calpulli "was divided into streets which they called tlaxilacalles" [sic] (8). Thus it is that

8. Torquemada, II, p. 545.

631 tlaxilacallis and calpullis were not the same, but that tlaxilacalli was at least a subdivision of the territory of the calpullis, if it is not that they were aggregates based on kinship through descent as some documents suggest which tell us of married couples founding tlaxilacallis in places near Mexico (9), and the affirmation that the

9. Cuajimalpa Codex /Códice Cuajimalpa/

tlaxilacallis of Tenochtitlan defended with great diligence the integrity of their lands (10), as if they belonged to closed groups of rela-

10. Torquemada, II, p. 545.

tives.

/p. 33/ It could be thought that about the time of the arrival of the Spanish the tlaxilacallis were families or family lots of the calpulli; but against this possibility we have forceful arguments: they are called "wards" and "streets"; besides it is certain that there happened in Mexico what happened in other nearby places, in which each calpulli was subdivided into two or three tlaxilacallis (11), a

11. Chimalpain, Ms. Silvia Rendón. 6a. Relation /Relación/, p. 231.

number of families which appears very small to form a calpulli. And in the "Maguey Paper Plan" /Plano de Papel de Maguey/ appear the "streets" mentioned by Torquemada—the tlaxilacallis—separated from one another by water and earth, and each one of them has subdivisions which certainly were the family plots. The tlaxilacallis thus appear larger than the family or the family territory, and smaller than a calpulli or the territory of the calpulli.

On the other hand, we fortunately have many data which clarify the concrete picture of the tlaxilacallis in Tenochtitlan: the Description of the Archbishopric of Mexico /Descripción del Arzobispado de México/ tells us that the tlaxilacallis were like "small wards" (12) and that in St. Pablo—corresponding to the

12. Description of the Archbishopric /Descripción del Arzobispado/, p. 278.

631 Teopan campan (13) or Teopan Xuchititlan (14)—there were twelve

13. Vetancourt, III, p. 124.

14. Chimalpain, Diary /Diario/, p. 275.

tlaxilacallis and five small properties besides Iztacalco which used to be part of St. Pablo only occasionally. Examining the list of "wards" of the Ms. 13994 (15), eleven "wards" are obtained (see the

15. In Royal Decrees and Other Papers regarding the Indies /Cédulas Reales y otros papeles tocantes a las Indias/.

Table of tlaxilacallis): certainly these "wards" of the said manuscript are tlaxilacallis. This explains to us much of the territorial affairs of Tenochtitlan: one of the names of the tlaxilacallis which appear in the aforesaid manuscript is the same as one from the list of wards in the table of correspondence between wards and the social division of work (Tzapotlan, that of the vendors of uxitl of St. Juan). Another of the tlaxilacalli names, Huitznahuatonco (of St. Pablo), certainly is not the Huitznahuac of the lords and fishermen mentioned by Sahagun (see p. 50), since the tlaxilacalli Tecpantitlan (which means 'place of the palace') must have been the one which corresponded to the lords of St. Juan. It well could be that the tlaxilacalli Tecpantitlan had another name, non-descriptive, and that this is one of the three which appear in the list: Yopico, which is the only one exclusively associated with the lords; another could have been that of a calpulli to which the tlaxilacalli Tecpancaltitlan belonged. Unfortunately, with the data at hand, we are unable to make other correlations between tlaxilacallis and calpullis. Nevertheless we can shed a good deal of light: there was a single tlaxilacalli in which was the women's temple (Cihuateocaltitlan), in the Moyotla campen (St. Juan). But there were four tlaxilacallis called Teocaltitlan, one in each campan which surely corresponded to the locations /p. 34/ of the temples, the Teocallis. Then again, all this causes us to catch a glimpse of a difference in the category of the tlaxilacallis within the calpullis and within all Tenochtitlan as a whole. Although the data refer to an already post-Hispanic epoch, undoubtedly the situation which they suggest has many marked aspects of the pre-Hispanic.

63 There are other terms than campan, calpulli, and tlaxilacalli which we should clear up, and whose importance in understanding the situation of the Tenochcas is fundamental: altepetl was translated by town and huey altepetl for Provincial Capital. Huey altepetl means large altepetl and was applied to such places as Tenochtitlan with many calpullis and with political hegemony over other groups; it could well be that altepetl was applied to places without hegemony over other groups. One author tells us that altepetlalli (lands of the altepetl) and calpullalli (lands of the calpulli) were the same (16).

16. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

In support of this Clavigero tells us that the lands of the altepetlalli were divided in as many parts as there were wards (17), thus the re-

17. Clavigero, I, p. 355.

lationship between altepetlalli and altepetl, and between calpullalli and calpulli is explained: the altepetl was made up of calpullis, and the whole of the lands of the calpullis constituted the land of the town (18).

18. There are other terms whose definition would be very useful; but I have no information sufficient to do it: tlayacapan, which Molina translates in his dictionary as ward and as collation; calnacazco, which he translates as district [cantón]; tepepa, which he translates as city, as he does altepetl; and chinampa, which he translates as ward, although its present usage in Mexico is closer in meaning to family plot.

It appears that the discussed terms were vague in meaning under certain conditions, which allows one to believe that through a natural process of growth, theoretically at least, the family territory could come to be that of a tlaxilacalli, that of a calpulli, (and, though perhaps not, that of an altepetl); the calpulli, "large house" nevertheless remaining as the basic unit.

Thus we find the territorial organization of Tenochtitlan as we presented it at the beginning of this chapter: altepetl, campan, calpulli, tlaxilacalli, and chinampa as subdivisions, in descending

631 order, of the territory of the group. This subdivision could have been a simply territorial subdivision: in wards; but it appears more likely to have some relationship with kinship phenomena, through the mentioning of tlaxilacallis as founded by married couples and campan formed by allied calpullis. These relationships will be absolutely certain if it is demonstrated that the calpulli was a clan, and there certainly are arguments which could lead one to believe that among the Tenochcas the calpullis were clans, as will be seen in the Second Part.

/p. 35/ TABLE OF THE TLAXILACALLIS OF TENOCHTITLAN IN 1637 (1)

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1. There are mentioned in the list the tlaxilacallis which appear in the report of the year of 1637 of Ms. 13994, and in the notes are recorded the differences with respect to the report of the previous year—which is less complete—and some mention of various tlaxilacallis made by Chimalpain in his Diary (which information was sent me by Mr. R. H. Barlow). Naturally the names of the calpullis do not generally coincide with those of tlaxilacallis. [Further footnotes in this table are not interlineated, but appear at the end of the section. —translator.]

The large ward of St. Juan (2) or Moyotla.	The large ward of St. Pablo or Zoquiapan (3).	The large ward of St. Sebastián or Atzacoalco.	The large ward of St. María or Cuepopan.
Tecpancaltitlan (4)			
Cihuateocaltitlan			
Teocaltitlan	Teocaltitlan	Teocaltitlan	Teocaltitlan
Tzapotla	Tlachcuitlan (11)	Tomatla (12)	Tlacolpan (15)
Macpalxochititlan	Ateponazco	Coatlan	Tezcaltzonco
Tequicaltitlan	Toltinco	Zacatlan (13)	Analpa
Huehuecalco (5)	Huitznahuatonco	Cuitlahuatonco (14)	Copolco
Atlampa (6)			Atlampa
St. Critóbal	Tozcamincan	Cotolco	Colhuacayonco
Hueyaztacalco	Temazcaltitlan		Iztacalecan
Tlalcocomoco	Ometochtitlan		
Amanalco	Contzinco		
Petitlan (7)	Zoquipan		
Aticapan	Ocelotzontecontitlan		
Tlatilco			
Xihuitonco			
Tequixquipan (8)			
Necaltitlan			
Xollohco (9)			
Acatla			
Xacalpan (10)			

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2. The names of these "wards" were considered by Vetancourt as names of the calpullis of all of Tenochtitlan, and Bandelier and many authors followed him in his error.

3. Chimalpain called this "large ward" Teopan Xuchititlan (p. 275, Diary [Diario]).

4. Missing in 1636.

5. Also in Chimalpain, p. 13.

6. Tlapa appears in 1636, which is perhaps a mutilated entry.

7. Tepatitlan appears in 1936 [sic. 1636] which seems more correct.

8. Also in Chimalpain, p. 15.

9. Also Chimalpain, p. 219.

10. Xapalca appears in 1636.

11. Also in Chimalpain, p. 251.

12. Also in Chimalpain, p. 13, where it appears as Tonatla.

13. Missing in 1636.

14. Also in Chimalpain, p. 238.

15. Also in Chimalpain, p. 238.

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and Montezuma released, and that some of them should proclaim themselves as Kings of Mexico, as I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER C.

How the nephews of the great Montezuma went about assembling the other Lords and persuading them to come to Mexico and free the great Montezuma from his imprisonment and drive us out of the City and kill us.

As Cacamatzin, lord of the City of Texcoco, which after Mexico is the largest and most important city that there is in New Spain, knew that his uncle, Montezuma, had been imprisoned for many days, and that we were taking the upper hand in every way that was possible, and also got to know that we had opened the chamber where the great treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was kept, but had not taken anything from it, he determined, before we could take possession of the treasure, to call together all the Lords of Texcoco, who were his vassals, and the lord of Coyoacan, who was his cousin and Montezuma's nephew, and the lord of Tacuba, and the lord of Iztapalapa, and another great Cacique who was lord of Matalçingo, who was very nearly related to Montezuma and of whom it was even said that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom and lordship of Mexico, and who was a chieftain known among the Indians for his personal bravery. While he [Cacamatzin] continued to negotiate with these and other Mexican chieftains that on a given day they should come with all their forces and attack us, it seems that the Cacique whom I have said was known for his personal bravery (whose name I do not know), said that if he [Cacamatzin] would assure to him the Kingship of Mexico, to which he was the rightful heir, that he and all his relations, and the people of the province called Matalçingo,

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631 would be the first to take up arms and turn us out of
643 Mexico, or not leave any one of us alive. It appears that
721 Cacamatzin replied that the Chieftainship of Mexico belonged to him and that he himself must be King, for he was the nephew of Montezuma; and that if he [the Lord of Matalçingo] did not wish to come, that they would make war on us without his help or that of his people, for it seems that Cacamatzin had got ready all the Lords and towns already named by me, and had already arranged the day on which they were to fall on Mexico, and that the chieftains of his faction who were then in the city would facilitate their entry.

721 While these negotiations were going on, Montezuma knew all about them from his powerful relation [the lord of Matalçingo] who would not come to an agreement with Cacamatzin, and to be more sure of it, Montezuma sent to summon all the Caciques and chieftains of that City [Texcoco], and they told him how Cacamatzin was going about persuading them all with words and gifts to join him in an attack on us, and to free his uncle. As Montezuma was prudent and did not wish to see his city rise up in arms or riots, he told Cortés what was happening. Our Captain and all of us soldiers knew a good deal about this disturbance, but not so fully as Montezuma now detailed it. The advice that Cortés now gave him was that he should give us his Mexican followers and we would fall on Texcoco and capture or destroy that city and its neighbourhood. As that advice did not suit Montezuma, Cortés sent to tell Cacamatzin that he should cease his preparations for war, which would be the means of his destruction, for he wished to have him as a friend, and that all that he could do for him personally he would do, and many other compliments. Now Cacamatzin was a young man who found many others, who shared his opinions, ready to support him in the war, so he sent to tell Cortés,

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pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future opportunity;[147] it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes, whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico.*[148] Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,[149] calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.[150]

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,[151] still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.[152] The force,

[147] It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

[148] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133): "Con Mexico estaban confederados "los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que hora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que gana-"ban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecuhtli." (Zurita, p. 11).

[149] This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the Cronica Mexicana, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

[150] When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinco-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 83). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 286). Axayacatl: "mandó partiese el exercito de "la ciudad y que en sus capitanias fuesen à los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que alli "se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos terminos de Matlatzinco y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,—"commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three "days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Meztitlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu-"raua la uncion y estar velando salvo sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la "gente que estuviese aperceuida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que alli "aguardasen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

[151] There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

[152] Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with *kindred* tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalca of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Anahuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

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648 disastrous for both parties, negotiations commenced, terminating with the formation of a *military confederacy*, under the *leadership* of Mexico.[61]

It appears that in this, as in all other transactions of the same nature, mutual concessions had to be made. Thus, while the Tezcucans conceded the military command to the Mexicans, the latter had to admit into the confederacy that part of the Tecpanecas who, since the destruction of Azcaputzalco, recognized in Tlacopan (Tacuba) their chief pueblo. Through *tezcucan* influence it is even probable that the tribute heretofore paid to the Mexicans by that tribe, was relinquished by the former.[62]

The following seem to have been the leading features of the confederacy.

648 631 It consisted of the three tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Each of these tribes was territorially independent; as well as in the management of its own affairs: from the two others.[63]

The military command of the forces belonged to the head-war-

[61] Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 124. Cap. XV, pp. 125-132), mentions a *sham fight* between the Mexicans and Tezcucans, ending in a confederacy. Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 490), confirms. Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 64), speaks of a voluntary "submission" by the Tezcucans. Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX and XX), asserts that the Tezcucans were actually conquered by the Mexicans. On the other hand, Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim." Cap. XXXIV). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 173). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. V). Bustamante ("Tezcoco" Parte IIa. cap. V), affirm that a fight took place, in which the Mexicans were worsted, and after which the Tezcucan feudal "empire" was firmly established. The truth probably lies between the two extremes, and is recognized as such by Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 173). Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 124), and finally expressed by Zurita ("Rapport." p. 11), as follows: "The sovereign of Mexico was superior to those of Tacuba and Tezcuco in matters touching warfare; in all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them meddled with the government of the others." Herrera has adopted this view, copying almost textually (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 122, of chapter XV).

[62] The only confession found in specifically Mexican authors on the subject of the Tecpanecas of Tlacopan is the quotation from Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 123). But Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim." Cap. XXXII, pp. 219 and 220.) says: "It is plainly visible from this song that the three dynasties named were the principal ones of Mexico, and that the King of Tlacopan was regarded as equal to those of Mexico and Tezcuco.") Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 173. Cap. XXXIX, p. 141). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III). Clavigero (Lib. IV, caps. II and III), and Bustamante (Parte IIIa. cap. II, pp. 161, 163 and 163).— All are positive in affirming that the Tezcucans insisted upon having the Tepanecas as a third member. The Mexican authors not contradicting, and impartial sources, like Zurita and Herrera,— establishing the fact of equality of power, and territorial autonomy (See note 61), we, therefore, feel justified in recognizing the fact as established.

[63] Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," p. 11).

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chief of the Mexican tribe, with power probably to delegate the same.[64] 648 651

Each of the three tribes elected its head war-chiefs according to its own customs; but the installation in office, *the investiture*, took place with the concurrence of the head-chiefs of the other tribes. This was especially the case in Mexico, where the "tlacatecuhtli" became commander-in-chief of the confederacy.[65]

Each tribe could carry on its own wars, defensive as well as offensive, independently; but if required, the others had to assist, in which case the Mexicans took the lead.[66]

Consequently, each tribe could have its *own conquests*, and levy its *own tribute* upon tribes which it had conquered *alone*.[67]

But wherever the *confederacy* had subjugated a foreign tribe, the spoils as well as all the subsequent tribute were divided among the three members as follows: Mexico and Tezcuco each two-fifths, and Tlacopan one-fifth.[68]

The establishment of this confederacy did not, in any manner whatever, alter the principles already recognized for the tenure and distribution of the soil. It only shows, and the subsequent career of the confederation further supports it, that these principles were common among the three tribes concerned. Wherever their conquests extended, the conquered were not annexed, but simply subjected to tribute, their territory and tribal autonomy were preserved, and no change introduced in the distribution of the soil beyond the reservation of tracts for the raising of tribute. Stewards, "calpixca," were the only representatives of the confederacy or of any of its members, residing permanently with the 423 648

[64] Zurita (p. 11). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[65] Mendieta (Lib. II. cap. XXXVII. p. 133). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 333). Durán (Cap. XXXII, p. 255; cap. XXXIX, p. 303; cap. XLI. p. 325; cap. LII, p. 409). Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI, p. 67; cap. LVI, p. 91; caps. LX and LXI, p. 100; cap. LXXXII, pp. 142 and 144). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. I, pp. 2 and 3; cap. LX, p. 49; cap. LXX, p. 102). See also Veytia,—but especially Clavigero, who is very positive (Lib. IV, cap. III. "Besides, the two Kings (of Tezcuco and Tacuba), were honorary assistants to the election of the Mexican Kings. They had but to sanction the election . . . .")

[66] Zurita (p. 67). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 346 and 347).

[67] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[68] Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. LVII, p. 175; cap. XXXIX. p. 144; lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 346, 347 and 348). Zurita ("Rapport," p. 12). Ixtlilxochitl (Cap. XXXII, pp. 219 and 230). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, pp. 164 and 165). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte II, cap. III, pp. 163 and 165). Clavigero (Lib. IV, cap. III).

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423 posing the tribe; but the idea of sale, barter, or conveyance or alienation of such by the kin had not been conceived.

3. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, held but the right to use certain defined lots for their sustenance, which right, although hereditary in the male line, was nevertheless limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom the said lots were assigned.

4. No possessory rights to land were attached to any office or chieftaincy. As members of a kin, each chief had the use of a certain lot, which he could rent or farm to others, for his benefit.

5. For the requirements of tribal business, and of the governmental features of the kinships (public hospitality included), certain tracts were set apart as official lands, out of which the official households were supplied and sustained; but these lands and their products were totally independent from the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

648 6. Conquest of any tribe by the Mexicans was not followed by
651 an annexation of that tribe's territory, nor by an apportionment of its soil among the conquerors. Tribute was exacted, and, for the purpose of raising that tribute (in part), special tracts were set off; the crops of which were gathered for the storehouses of Mexico.

● 631 7. Consequently, as our previous investigation (of the warlike
642 institutions and customs of the ancient Mexicans) have disproved the generally received notion of a military despotism prevailing among them,—so the results of this review of Tenure and distribution of lands tend to establish: "that the principle and institution of feudality did not exist in aboriginal Mexico."

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of progress in Institutions can be assigned to the remarkable tribe 642
which has become so prominent in history. In other words, our 121
object is to reconstruct the mode of government of the ancient Mexicans, the nature of its offices and dignities, and especially the principles ruling and guiding their social agglomeration.

The distinguished Mexican scholar, Manuel Orozco y Berra, ex- 631
plains, as well as qualifies, the condition of the aborigines of Mexico in the following manner:

"If, from the boundary-lines of the empire [of Mexico, according to his views] we now turn to the races peopling its area, we find it to be a truth undeniable that no common nor mutual tie connected these numerous and diverse tribes. Each one was independent under its chiefs.[4]"

[4] "*Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México*," por *Manuel Orozco y Berra*, Mexico, 1864, (Tercera Parte, IX México, p. 252). "Si de las demarcaciones del imperio pasamos á considerar las razas que lo poblaban, encontraremos como una verdad innegable que tanta tribu diversa no tenia un lazo comun de union. Cada una era independiente bajo el mando de sus señores. Las ambiciones particulares encendian la guerra, y la misma familia se fraccionaba. A su semejanza, cada pueblo tenia un gefe que de nombre reconocia al señor principal, y todas las provincias estaban subdividas hasta formar un sistema bajo algunos puntos semejante al feudal. Rencores y odios apartaban las tribus, y la guerra era constante, porque siendo una de sus principales virtudes la valentia, no podian verse sin combatirse. Á imitacion de los orgullosos animales que sirven de diversion en los palenques. Por instinto ó porque las generaciones son arrastradas aun á su pesar por la corriente de los tiempos, los Mexicanos emprendieron la tarea de reunir en un solo haz todos aquellos pueblos, de formar de ellos una nacion, y de asimilar sus intereses con los intereses del imperio. Para llevar á cabo semejante tarea era preciso, la fuerza para poder triunfar; un sistema proseguido con tino, y con tenacidad, y el tiempo bastante para que el odio se borrara y dejara nacer las simpatías. Pero la unidad que solicitaban los Mexicanos llevaba á las tribus al mas espantoso de los despotismos; el imperio era muy nuevo para haber alcanzado otra cosa que reducir á la servidumbre, sin poder contar con el amor de sus vasallos; de manera que en lugar de amigos, tenia enemigos solapados, y su grandeza era solo engañosa apparienciа. En esta sazon se presentaron los conquistadores españoles. Cualquiera fuerza extraña habia de hacer vacilar al coloso; las tribus, mal halladas con la servidumbre, vieron en los invasores á quienes podrán salvarles del yugo; en su juicio rencoroso no quisieron advertir, que por alcanzar una estéril venganza aventuraban su propia existencia, y corrieron de tropel á colocarse bajo las banderas de los estranjeros." It may be interesting to compare this weighty authority with my remarks on the same subject in "*Art of War*," (pp. 100, also note 17), and "*Tenure of Lands*," (pp. 416, 417, and 418, and annotations.) The difference consists in that Sr. Orozco y Berra ascribes to the ancient Mexicans a decided tendency to "nationalize," so to say, the aboriginal people of their conquered area, to force uniformity of customs and organization upon them, and establish a true despotism. To this I beg leave to suggest in reply:—

(1). That the Mexicans, *alone*, formed only a *part* (two-fifths in amount of tribute) of that power which is commonly termed "an Empire" (El Imperio) and which was but the Nahuatl confederacy of the Mexican valley. In evidence of it I will take the liberty to quote his own words, (same part and chapter, pp. 240, 241): "El reino de Acolhuacan era el segundo en poderio; su capital era Tetzcoco, á la orilla del lago de su nombre. Pequeña hoy y sin material interes, en lo antiguo fué rival de México y

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631 648 This eliminates at once the notion of a Mexican state or empire, embracing in the folds of political society [5] all the groups of abor-

la segunda poblacion de las del Valle." Farther on, quoting *Juan Bautista Pomar*, "*Relacion de la ciudad de Tezcuco*," (MSS., belonging to Sr. Icazbalceta, and dated 1582) who says of Tezcuco: "La extension del reino era desde el mar del N. á la del Sur, con todo lo que se comprende á la banda del Poniente hasta el puerto de la Vera Cruz, salvo la Ciudad de Tlachcala y Huexotzinco," the learned ethnographer adds, (p. 242), "Juan B. Pomar fija las limites del reino con toda la exaggeracion que puede infundir el orgullo de raza. Por nuestra parte, hemos leido con cuidado las relaciones que á la monarquia corresponden, y hemos estudiado en el plano los lugares à que se refieren, y ni de las unas ni de las otras llegamos á sacar jumas que los reyes de Acolhuacan mandaron sobre las tribus avecindadas in la costa del Pacifico, no ya à la misma de México, sino aun á menores latitudes." He then enters upon a discussion of the number and names of settlements which gave tribute exclusively to Tezcuco. We can only refer to it in general here, as one of the most valuable contributions to Mexican history, and based upon authorities which ought to be published as soon as possible, some of which we mention for the benefit of students:—

[114] (1). "*Memorial dirigido al rey por Don Hernando Pimentel Nezcaualcuyutl, cacique y gobernador de la provincia de Tezcuco, etc.*" This is the celebrated Report used by Torquemada and Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl, and which the Cavaliere Boturini Benaducci owned.

(2). "*Relacion de Sinpuhuala del corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(3). "*Relacion de Epazoyuca por el corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(4). "*Relacion de Tetlizinca por el corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.

(5). "*Relacion de Mextitlan por el alcalde mayor Gabriel de Chavez*," 1580, MSS.

(6). "*Relacion de Atengo por el corregidor Juan de Padilla*," 1579, MSS.

(7). "*Relacion de Atlatlauca por el corregidor Gaspar de Solis*," 1580, MSS.

(8). "*Relacion de Acapiztla por el alcalde mayor Juan Gutierrez de Liebana*," 1580, MSS.

(9). "*Relacion de Culhuacan por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego*," 1580, MSS.

(10). "*Relacion de Iztapalapa por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego*," 1580, MSS.

Since most of these valuable MSS. are the property of Sr. J. G. Icazbalceta, an early publication thereof may be hoped for.

Sr. Orozco y Berra now reaches the important conclusion:

(a). That Acolhuacan or Tezcuco had settlements tributary to it alone, (p. 246).

(b). That the "Empire" had tributaries of itself.

(c). That certain pueblos paid tribute both to Tezcuco and to Mexico, (p. 246), Epazoyuca, "pertenecieron tambien á Tetzcoco, y en el reinado de Itzcoatl quedaron por mitad para México y para Tetzcoco, á fin de que de alli sacaran los imperiales las navajas para sus macanas." Taken probably from Relacion 3.

The "Imperiales" were, therefore, the confederates, and the "Imperio" the confederacy. But if, within the area conquered by these confederates, each one of them received its share of tributary tribes, how could it be their task or tendency to unify or nationalize, since each of the three associates composed but a part of that power, and their association was a voluntary one?

(2). None of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond the exclusively military direction delegated to the Mexicans proper. "*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne, Par Alonso de Zurita*," translated from the Spanish original by Mr. Ternaux Compans, and printed in 1840, by him in his "*Voyages Relations et Mémoires origina aux pour servir à l' histoire de la découverte de l' Amérique*," (p. 11). "La province de Mexico était soumise á trois principaux chefs: celui de Mexico, celui de Tezcuco et celui de Tlacopan, que l'on nomme aujourd' hui Tacuba. Tous les chefs inférieurs relevaient de ces souverains et leur obéissaient. Les trois chefs supérieurs formaient une confédération et se partageaient les provinces dont ils s'emparaient. Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tezcuco et de Tacuba pour les affaires qui avaient rapport á la guerre; quant á toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l' un d' eux ne se mêlait jamais du

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igines settled within the area tributary to the valley-tribes. Consequently we need not look beyond the tribe, for any *larger group*

gouvernement des autres," (p. 16). "Chaque souverain confirmait l' election de ses vassaux, car, ainsi qu' on l' a déja dit, leur juridiction était indépendante pour les affaires civiles et criminelles."

Fray Toribio de Motolinia, "*Historia de los Indios de Nueva España*," in Vol. I, of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos, etc." (Epistola proemial, p. 5). "Despues el señorio de Tetzcoco fué tan grande como el de México." (Id. p. 11) "Los de Tetzcoco, que en antigüedad y señorio no son menos que los Mexicanos." (Tratado III, Cap. VII, p. 182) "Esta ciudad de Tetzcoco era la segunda cosa principal de la tierra, y asimismo el señor de ella era el segundo señor de la tierra; sujetaba debajo de si quince provincias hasta la provincia de Tuzapan, que está á la costa del Mar del Norte. . . . . á la parte de Oriente tiene México Tenuchtitlan á una legua la ciudad ó pueblo de Tlacopan, adonde residia el tercero señor de la tierra, al cual estaban sujetas diez provincias: estos dos señores ya dichos se podrian bien llamar reyes, porque no les faltaba nada para lo ser. (p. 183) "Las de las provincias y principales pueblos eran como señores de ditado ó salva, y sobre todos eran los mas principales los dos, el de Tetzcoco y el de Tlacopan; y estos con todos los otros todo lo mas del tiempo residian en México, y tenian corte á Moteuczoma." We know, however, that the fact of *residence* of the head-war-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan at Mexico, is not true, though their frequent visits there on military business, and their protracted stay after the Spaniards had entered the pueblo, may explain the error. The latter passage is amended by the good father (Trat. III, cap. VIII. p. 187), as follows: "y si de esto algun señor tenia exencion era el de Tetzcoco."

Fernando Cortés, Carta Segunda, (In *Vedia's* "*Historiadores primitivos, etc.*" Vol. I, p. 29). Speaking of Cacamatzin, he says: "é segun lo que despues dél supe, era él muy cercano deudo de Muteczuma, y tenia su señorio junto al del dicho Muteczuma; cuyo nombre era Haculuacan." Cortés further relates that when Cacamatzin threatened to take up arms, he requested Montezuma to direct him to come to Mexico, but the chieftain of Tezcuco refused, saying, "that if they wanted something of him, they might come over on his land, where they would find out who he was, and what kind of obedience he was held to." Montezuma even was afraid, upon this reply, to suggest open violence, dissuading Cortés from it altogether. This shows clearly that the Mexicans had no authority over the Tezcucans, and even were loth to assail them.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara. Conquista de Méjico (In Vedia. Tom. I, p. 346). "Habia asimesmo otros muchos señores y reyes, como los de Tezcuco y Tlacopan, que no le debian nada, sino la obediencia y homenaje." Also, on the treacherous seizure of Cacamatzin, he confirms Cortés (p. 355), "La prision de Cacama, rey de Tezcuco." (Id. p. 433), "a Chimapopoca sucedió el otra su hermano, dicho Izcona. Este Izcona señorio á Azcapuzalco, Cuanhnau, Chalco, Coustlichan y Huexocinco, mas tuvo por accompañados en el gobierno á Nezaualcoyocin, señor de Tezcuco, y al señor de Tlacopan, y de aqui adelante mandaron y gobernaron estos tres señores cuantos reinos y pueblos obedecian y tributaban á los de Culúa; bien que el principal y el mayor dellos era el rey de Méjico, el segundo el de Tezcuco, y el menor el de Tlacopan."

Bernal Diaz de Castillo. Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España. (Vedia, Vol. II, Cap. C. p. 100.) "Como el Cacamatzin. señor de la ciudad de Tezcuco que despues de Méjico era la mayor y mas principal ciudad que hay en la Nueva España." Also on the seizure of Cacamatzin, confirmatory of Cortés and of Gomara (pp. 101 and 102).

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. Historia natural y general de Indias. Madrid. 1853 (Lib. XXXIII, cap. VIII, pp. 294 and 296). The entire chapter is devoted to the seizure of Cacamatzin, and is almost a verbal copy of the report made by Cortés, (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LII, p. 539). It contains a letter written to Oviedo, by the vice-roy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, under date of 6 October, 1541, in which this functionary says: "Y lo de aqui no es tan poco que no podays hacer libro dello, é no será pequeño; porque aunque Montezuma é México es lo que entre nosotros ha sonado,

631 of social organization. The confederacy of tribes, as we have
648 already shown, carried no influence whatever on the organization.

no era menor señor el Caconci de Mechuacan, y otros que reconoscian al uno ni al otro." We quote this passage merely as a general illustration.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. Historia general de los Cosas de Nueva-España, published by Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, in 1829 (Vol. II. lib. VIII. cap. III. p. 276). "El cuarto señor de Tezcoco se llamó Netzahoalcoiotzin, y reinó setenta y un años, y en tiempo de este se comenzaron las guerras, y tuvo el señorio de Tezcoco siendo señor del de México Itzcoatzin, y estos entrambos hicieron guerra á los de Tecpaneca, de Atzcaptzalco, y á otros pueblos y provincias, y el fué fundador del señorio de Tezcoco in Acolhuacan." (Id. Vol. III. lib. XII. cap. XLI, page 89, close of chapter.)

Fray Diego Durán. Historia de los Yndias de Nueva España é Islas de Tierra Firme. Published by Sr. José Fernandez Ramirez at Mexico, in 1867, (Cap. XIV, p. 123). "El rey Itzcoatl, aunque mal dispuesto, holgó de la victoria y dió las gracias á todos los señores y principales, al qual, agravándosele la enfermedad, entendiendo de se acertarsele la muerte, mandó llamar al Señor de Teizcuco, Neçaualcoyotl, pariente cercano suyo, y acouseJóle que no tuviese guerra con los Mexicanos, sus parientes y amigos, sino que antes se hiciese con ellos y fuese en su favor siempre: y dexó ordenadlo que desde en adelante fuese de Tezcuco el segundo rey de la comarca y el tercero el de Tacuba, á quien llamauan el rey de Tlaluacpan. . . ." (p. 124). ". . . y solo estos tres reynos mandaron y governaron la tierra, de hoy en adelante, siendo el de México sobre todos ellos, y casi como emperador y monarca del nueuo mundo." Nearly the whole of Cap. XV is devoted to the formation of the confederacy, but cannot be inserted here. The editor, Sr. J. F. Ramirez, appears to incline to the opinion, however, that there was a confederacy on equal terms, (note 2, p. 130). The same author also-
[796] states repeatedly that the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan sacrificed (slaughtered) captives at the chief teo-calli of Mexico, on very solemn occasions, together with the head-chief of Mexico, thus showing equal rights. (Cap. XXIII, p. 197 and others.) But his plainest statement is found (Cap. XLIII, p. 317), and reads as follows: "Algunos han querido decir quel reyno de Tezcuco era libre de todo reconocimiento y parias al monarca, y que en nada le era sujeto, lo qual allo al contrario en esta ystoria Mexicana; porque aunque á la verdad no tributauan á Mexico mantas ni joias ni plumas ni cosas de comida, como otras provincias tributauan, hallo empero á los Mexicanos metidos en las tierras tezcucanas donde sembraban y cogian, y algunos dellos hechos terrazgueros de los señores de México; y allo que en ofreciéndose estas fiestas y solenidades, daban tributo desclanos para ella, de lo qual ninguno estaua esento ni reservado. Tambien allo que ofreciéndose dar guerra á alguna ciudad y provincia, al primero que llamauan y acudian para que apercibiese sus gentes, era al rey de Tezcuco, y como abemos, notado en esta ystoria, le hacian venir á Mexico todas las veces que se ofrecia ocasion, loqual no era poca sujecion, dado que tuviese sus préeminencias y libertades de rey y señor de aquella provincia de Acolhuacan; . . . ."

Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc. Crónica Mexicana. (9th Vol. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") This author agrees so closely with Durán in most instances, that we can dispense with full quotations. See Cap. XIX and XX. on the pretended conquest of Tezcuco by the Mexicans. Tezozomoc is very positive on the question of joint sacrifice (Cap. LXIX. p. 117). A singular remark is, however, found (Cap. XCVII. p. 173). After the Huexotzincas had sent delegates to Mexico to sue for
[728] peace, the Mexican council was called together: "dijo zihuacoatl resolute: Señor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra los reyes de Acolhuacan-Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi." This important incident shows that not even the Mexicans had the right to treat alone with a power hostile to the three tribes, consequently that the other two were their *confederates*, and *not their feudal vassals*. Fray Durán confirms the incident in chapter LX, p. 473, of his work, precedingly quoted.

Joseph de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, Madrid, 1608, derives his information from the same source as the two preceding, namely: the Codex Ramí

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it was only a partnership, formed for the purpose of carrying on 631
the business of warfare, and that intended not for the extension of 648

res, now in process of publication at Mexico. Acosta mentions and describes (Lib. VII, Cap. XV, p. 490), the traditionary war between the Mexicans and Tezcucans concluding: "Con esto quedó el Rey de Mexico por supremo Rey de Tezcuco, y no quitandoles su Rey, sino haciendole del supremo Consejo suyo." (Cap. XVI, p. 490.) Both chiefs, of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, are mentioned by him as "electors" of the Mexican head-chiefs.

Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo and President of the Royal Audiencia at Mexico. "*Lettre . . . à sa majesté Charles V*," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Premier Recueil de Pièces relatives à la Nouvelle-Espagne," and bearing date 3 Nov., 1532 (p. 234). "Les souverains de Tezcoco, de Tacuba, qui étaient très puissants dans cette contrée, agissaient de même que Mutizuma. Ils partageaient entre eux et ce souverain le fruit de leurs conquêtes; cependant les souverains de Mexico étaient les plus puissants, et ils eurent toujours une plus grande différence." The same words about are repeated in the "*Second Recueil*," printed 1840, (the first "Recueil" appeared in 1838), on p. 222. The Report is therein stated to be by the President *and* the Audiencia.

"*Lettre des Chapelains Frère Toribio et Frère Diego D'Ocarte à Don Luis de Velasco* etc.," date: St. François de Cholula, 27 Août, 1554. (Ternaux, "Recueil," 1, p. 403), "Toutes les autres obéissaient à Montezuma, au souverain de Tezcuco, et à celui de Tlacopa. Ces trois princes étaient étroitement confédérés; ils partageaient entre eux tous les pays qu'ils subjuguaient. Montezuma exerçait la toute-puissance dans les affaires relatives à la guerre et au gouvernment de la confédération."

Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta. "*Historia ecclesiastica Indiana*," published by Icazbalceta in 1870. After having mentioned (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129) that the chiefs of Mexico and Tezcuco sent challenges to foreign tribes to recognize "the chief of Mexico" as their superior, and to give him tribute, he says (Cap. XXVIII, p. 134), "Es de saber que los señores de México, Tezcuco y Tacuba, como reyes y señores supremos de esta tierra. . . . ." (Cap. XXXVII, p. 186.) "Los señores de las provincias ó pueblos que inmediatamente eran subjetos à Mexico, iban luego alli à serconfirmados en sus señorias, despues que los principales de sus provincias los habian elegido, y con algunos. . . . . En los pueblos y provincias que inmediatamente eran subjetos à Tezcuco y à Tacuba tenian recurso por la confirmacion à sus señores; que *en esto y otras cosas estos dos señores no reconocian superior*." Italics are my own.

Antonio de Herrera. "*Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra-Firme del mar Oceano*." 1726, Madrid. (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XII, p. 190). He almost copies Gomara, and in regard to the seizure of Cacamatzin he not only confirms Cortés, Gomara, and Bernal Diez, but is much more detailed and positive yet. (Dec. II, lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 217, 218.) Finally he asserts: (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV. p. 133), "Con Mexico estaban confederados los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que aora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que *ganaban*; i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra, i tenian algunos Pueblos comunes en sucesion, asi de los Señorios, como de los Maiorazgos, i haciendas."

We now turn to an author who plainly takes an opposite view of the question, claiming, in place of a *Mexican* "Empire," the supremacy for the *Tezcucans*, or an ancient "Empire" of the Chichimecas. The latter claim has already been discussed in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 304, note 10). This assumption,—which strongly combats the view that there was anything at all like an Empire, while it implies the existence of a mere confederacy,—is set forth by the following well known Tezcucan native author.

Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl. "*Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens Rois de Tezcuco*." This is the french translation of the original "Historia de los Chichimecos, etc., etc.," contained in Lord Kingsborough's 9th volume. Since abstracts might prove too lengthy, I merely refer to (Cap. XXXII), on the formation of the confederacy as containing some very plain and remarkable passages (pp. 218, 219, and 220), among

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631 territorial ownership, but only for an increase of the means of sub-
648 sistence.[6]

which is one: "ces trois dynasties gouvernaient la Nouvelle-Espagne jusqu'à l'arrivée des chrétiens. Cependant, quoiqu'elles fussent égales en rang, en puissance et en revenu il y avait de certains tributs dont le roi de Tlacopan ne recevait qu'un cinquième, tandis que ceux de Mexico et de Tezcuco en recevaient chacun deux." See also (Cap. XXXIV, cap. XXXVI, pp. 245 and 246; cap. XXXVIII, pp. 269 and 273; 2d vol., Cap. LXXI, pp. 109 and 110), and others. Nevertheless, Ixtlilxochitl reproaches bitterly Montezuma with having usurped the leading power which belonged to the Texcucans (according to him), and having taken the direction of the confederacy into his hands. (Cap. LXXV, p. 128, to XXVI, p. 132, etc.). These charges are violently repeated in his other and more extensive work: "*Relaciones historicas*." Also in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough. As a specimen, I refer to the "Venida de los Españoles" translated also by Mr. Ternaux under the title of "*Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique*." In regard to the war between Tezcuco and Mexico, in which he, of course, attributes the fullest victory to the former see also "*Undécima Relacion*" (Kingsborough, IX, pp. 407 and 408). Ixtlilxochitl is seconded and followed by his illustrious contemporary. *Fray Juan de Torquemada*. "*Los veinticinco Libros Rituales i monarchia Indiana*, etc., etc." Edition of 1723. This distinguished ecclesiastic is such a consistent advocate of feudalism, that he even assigns the division of Tenochtitlan into four quarters to an "edict" of the "Chichimecan Emperor" Techotlalatzin (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 88 and 89), or to an order of Mexican "Lords" (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295). Still he is very plain about Tezcuco being equal and not subject to Mexico. Compare for instance (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 304), "nunca perdió su antigua estimacion, y siempre tuvo Rei, y Señor legitimo, que la regia, y governaba, y era igual con el de Mexico," (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 144), about the confederacy; (Cap. XI, p. 146). About the pretended war between the two tribes (Cap. XLII, p. 149. "Y no solo no es verdad; pero es directamente contra ella." On the supposed intrigues of Montezuma against the Tezcucans (Lib. II, caps. LXXXIII, LXXXIV, etc., etc.), until the first passage of Cap. LXXXVII, (p. 267), "muerto el Rei Nezahualpilli de Tetzcuco, y entrando en su lugar su Hijo Cacama . . . . corrió la confederacion de los Reies, como hasta entonces lo avian acostumbrado . . . ." also (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 355), " . . . . no deja de ser su igual, y semejante el de Tetzcuco . . . . ." (Cap. XXVII, p. 356; cap. XXVIII, p. 361.) Copy of Mendieta. About warfare of the Confederates (Lib. XII, cap. VI, p. 383; Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 455; Cap. II, p. 557). Division of Spoils and of Tributes Idem. (cap. VIII, pp. 546, 547 and 548), "porque cierto es asi, que el Rei de Mexico no era maior en Autoridad, que el de Tetzcuco . . . . ." From these, but especially from Torquemada's history of the conquest, which occupies the entire fourth Book (Vol. I), enough can be gathered to show that this cumbrous but important authority admits no Mexican Empire, but only a confederacy of Mexicans, Tezcucans, and Tlacopans.

Fray Agustin de Vetancurt, "*Teatro Mexicano*," (Edition of 1870), admits the supremacy of the Mexicans (Parte IIa, Trat. 1°, cap. XIV, p. 291), "y remataron la fiesta que dando Itzcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que nezahualcoyotl, y este por rey de los acolhuas, y al de Tacuba le hicieron rey de la parte de mazahuacan, etc. . . . . ." But the confederacy "liga," of the three chiefs is acknowledged everywhere. (Also Trat. II°, cap. III, p. 288), "cuando los Mexicanos, los tezcocanos é de Tlacopan (que eran los reyes que estaban confederados para las guerras, etc. . . . ."

To this lengthy collection of quotations many others might be added, from the same period as well as of a later date. They appear to justify the proposition advanced, namely: none of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond that of *exclusively military* leadership, which had been awarded to the Mexicans proper.

The conquerors never interfered with the government, organization, and mode of life of tribes whom they had overpowered. No attempt, either direct or implied, was made to assimilate or incorporate them.

My friend *Dr. C. Brühl*, author of the highly interesting and conscientious work

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Our investigations are therefore confined to the limits of the single tribe, and we have selected for that purpose the Mexicans 128

"*Die Culturvoelker des alten Amerika*" (Cincinnati, 1876, '77, '78), has, in regard to the statements made in "*Art of War*" (p. 100, note 17; p. 133, note 132), and in "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 412 and 413, also note 56; pp. 417 and 418, also note 69), called my attention to a passage from *Sahagun*, "*Historia general*" (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313), "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados, para que cada un año los diesen al señor que les habia conquistado, y el tributo era de lo que en ella se criaba y se hacia, y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." The author himself, however, gives the explanation of what he intends to designate by such "governors and officials who should preside in said province." In his 12th Book, (Cap. II, p. 5, Vol. III), he says: "La primera vez que parecieron navios en la costa de esta Nueva-España, los capitanes de Moctheuzoma que se llamaban *Calpixques* que estaban cerca de la costa luego fueron á ver que era aquello que vino, que nunca habian visto navios, uno de los cuales fue el calpixque de Cuextecati que se llamaba Pinotl: llevaba consigo otros calpixques uno que se llamaba Yaotzin, que residia en el pueblo de Mictlanquauhtla, y otro que se llamaba Teozinzocatl, que residia en el pueblo de Teociniocan, y otro que se llamaba Cuitlalpitoc, este no era calpixque sino criado de uno de estos calpixques, y principalejo que se llamaba Tentlil." In this Sahagun about agrees with *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*, Cap. CVI, CVII, CVIII, CIX), inasmuch as the latter also states the officers to have been calpixques, th. is, "Stewards" or *gatherers of tribute*. Compare *Alonzo de Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," (Parte IIa, p. 12.) 631 648

The names of these Indians who received Cortés are found nearly alike in all the authors, but we are struck by the fact that many of them call the natives "governors" of Montezuma. I quote *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 32 and 33, Vedia, Vol. II) *Gomara* (pp. 312, 313, 314, etc., Vedia I). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. LXXIX, p. 100). "*Cruautés horribles*," (p. 3.) *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 116; Cap. V, p. 117). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 287; Cap. XVII, p. 289, etc.). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. IV, p. 43). *Fray Joseph Joaquin Granados y Galvez*, ("*Turdes Americanas*" Mexico, 1778, 9th evening, p. 234). *Abbate F. X. Clavigero* ("*Geschichte von Mexico*," Leipzig, 1790, a german translation of the Italian original which appeared at Cesena in 1780. Vol. II, Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 16). These *governors* therefore were but "calpixques," in other words *collectors of tribute*. This is already stated by *Oviedo y Valdés* (Vol. III, Lib. XXXIII, cap. 1, p. 259), speaking of Cempoal, "porque los indios è ministros, que alli estaban para mandarlos, eran oficiales è mayordomos de la cibdad de México." The "*Real Ejecutoria de S. M., Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga pertenecienie á os Cuciques de Axapuceo, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba*," (Col. de Doc's, Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 5), calls all the Indians in question "enviados por el gran Montezuma."

This explains the evident contradictions of Sahagun.

It is a singular fact, but one amply proven by the records of the conquest, that nowhere did the Spaniards, on their whole march from the coast to Mexico, meet with Mexican *administrators* or *rulers* of subjected tribes. Quotations are useless, we only refer to the remarkable description furnished by Bernal Diez of the events at Quiahuiztlan (Vedia II, Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41), which culminated in the violence done to the "recaudadores de Montezuma." This scene, which is highly characteristic, has been beautifully "remodeled," through a few omissions, by our own great *W. H. Prescott* ("*History of the conquest of Mexico*," 1869, Book II, chap. VII, p. 349). There is, finally, abundant proof of the fact that neither the Mexicans, nor any of their confederates, ever attempted to change or subvert the organization and mode of government of any of the tribes whom they overthrew. I refer to *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 303). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). *Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*, (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 274). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista* 631 636 648

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128 proper, who dwelt, as elsewhere established by us, on the partly artificial islands in the lagune of the Mexican valley.[7] Besides the prominence acquired by them in the annals of history, it may safely be assumed that, in a general manner, their Institutions are typical of those of other sedentary tribes.[8]

121 *Tribal* society, based according to Lewis H. Morgan upon KIN, and not *political* society which rests, according to the same author, upon TERRITORY and PROPERTY, must therefore be looked for among the ancient Mexicans. It remains for us to establish its degree of development, its details, and the manner of its working.

In order to comprehend the true nature of these questions, we should secure as much information as possible of the *past* of the tribe under consideration. Institutions are never wilfully or accidentally created, but evolved; in other words, they are the result of growth in knowledge and experience.[9] The great difference existing between tribal society and political is explained as a dif-

[63] [636] [46]

de México," Col. de Doc., Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 561, and especially p. 592), "México tenia en su tiempo en el hacer guerra esta órden; que yendo á la guerra, al que se daba de paz no tenia sobre él tributo cierto, sino que tantas veces en el año lo llevaban presente á su discrecion del que lo llevaba; pero si era poco mostrábales mal rostro, y si mucho agradeciaselo. Y en estos no ponia mayordomo ni recaudador ni cosa; el señor es era señor. Los que tomaba de guerra decian *tequitin tlacotl*, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los Señores mandaban su gente, eran debajo de la mano destos de México . . . . ." *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185), *Granados y Galvez*. (5th night, p. 168), a singular picture of purest feudality, for which Gomara may be responsible in part. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Letter of 4th Nov.*, 1532, 1st; "*Recueil*," (pp. 245, 246, and 247). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 16), to be compared with Mendieta and Torquemada.

Consequently there was no tendency towards unification or nationalization in all the successful and extensive raids which the Nahuatlaca of the valley of Mexico carried on for a full century. No organic body, larger than the tribe, resulted from these sanguinary forays; because the confederacy itself was not the end, but the beginning of these undertakings. This justifies the view which I shall hereafter advocate in regard to the nature of that confederacy namely: as a mere partnership to carry on the business of warfare the latter in turn being part of the mode of subsistence.

[8] "Based upon territory and property" according to L. H. Morgan, in contra-distinction to tribal-society, based upon "Kin." ("*Ancient Society*," chapter II, page 62).

[8] "*Art of War*," p. 96.

[7] "*Art of War*," p. 150. "*Tenure of Lands*," pp. 421, 422.

[6] "*Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 245). "Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit de Tezcuco doit s'entendre aussi des deux autres, ..." *Gomara* (p. 440, Vedia, I). "To speak of the Mexicans, signifies as much as speaking of all New Spain." The title of the section is: "Costumbres de los hombres," and the original text reads: "Hablando de méjicanos, es hablar en general de toda la Nueva-España." Although *Zurita* (p. 5) insists upon the variety of customs among the aborigines,—changing from settlement to settlement, from tribe to tribe,—his own report furnishes the proof of the contrary, and it is evident from the text that he alludes principally to the diversity in languages and dialects.

[9] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Chap. I, p. 6).

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174 was the particular "calpulli" of Mexico who furnished the Mexi-
663 can head-war-chiefs down to 1520 A. D.

174 Analogous to the New Mexican pueblo, the tribe of Mexico
663 had, from that time on, its supreme council and finally two executive head-chiefs; for with the creation of the military office of "chief of men," the "Snake-woman" rose correspondingly in importance.[52] No change in that organization took place until the Spanish conquest although within the period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (approximately) thus indicated, we find, at three distinct epochs, mention of virtual changes or subversions of the aboriginal institutions of the Mexican tribe.

174 The first one of these critical dates agrees with the third decade
631 of the fifteenth century, or the time when, through a well executed dash, the Mexicans overthrew the power of the Tecpanecas on the mainland.

This successful move, perhaps originally conceived in self-defence, finally brought about the confederacy of the "nahuatl" tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and of Tlacopan. We have nothing to add to our first picture of this military partnership, as drawn in "Tenure of Lands."[53] Still the event deserves special men-

day they elected the brother, to-morrow they elected the "grandson, and the day after the nephew, and thus they went through the whole lineage without any end" This is a plain description of the succession of office in the kin. Torquemada is about equally explicit, and this agreement between two authors who represent antagonistic tribal traditions, is certainly of great weight. To this should be added the statement of *Sahagun* (Vol. II, p. 318), "and (they) selected one of the most noble ones of the lineage ("linea") of the lords post." Even the series of contradictions of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp. 19-20), contain a plain description (if attentively studied) of succession in the kin, and not in the family.

[52] At the time Francisco Vasquez de Coronado reached and conquered New Mexico, its sedentary Indians were governed by a council of old men, and besides they had governors and captains. This is explicitly stated by *Pedro de Castañeda y Nagera*, ("*Relation du Voyage de Cibola, entrepris en* 1540,"), who went with Coronado in 1540, in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1838 (Cap. XI, p. 61), about Tusayan Cibola, although flatly contradicted again by himself (Part. II. cap. III. p. 164), in regard to Cibola. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XL. p. 661), mentions the "mandon" (commander) and after him what he calls a "crier" "y despues de ti, es el que pregona, y avisa las cosas, que son de Republica, y que se han de hacer en el Pueblo." The same author is also very explicit (Lib. XI, cap. XVII, p. 337), when he distinctly states: "El Govierno de los del Nuevo-Mexico parece de Senado; ú de Señoria," mentioning also the two other officers.

For the actually prevailing governmental system of the New-Mexican Pueblos the sources are very numerous. I simply refer to *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. I, pp. 546 and 547), *W. W. H. Davis* ("*The Spanish Conquest of New-Mexico*," 1869, p. 415, note 4), *Oscar Loew* ("*Lieutenant G. M. Wheeler's Pueblo Expedition back New-Mexico and Colorado*, 1874," in Petermann's "*Geographische Mittheilungen*," Vol. 25, p. 212). All the other main sources it would be useless to enumerate.

[53] Pp. 416, 417, and 418, and notes 61 to 70 inclusive. Also note 4 of this paper. In re-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion here, because of its unveiling, so to say, the full organization of the ancient Mexicans as they preserved it until the time of their downfall. 174 631

Upon the occasion of the division of spoils gathered from the defeated Tecpanecas, and of the establishment of regular tribute, there appear the following war captains and leaders of the Mexicans, as representatives of the latter's organization. 174 642

The "chief of men."

Four captains of the four principal quarters of Mexico.

Twenty war-chiefs of as many kins composing the tribe.

One chief representing the element of worship, or "medicine."

The "Snake-woman."[54]

gard to the date of its occurrence, *Bancroft* (Vol. V, p. 396), says about, or immediately after, 1431, following Brasseur de Bourbourg. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. III, p. 231), 1426, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. Chichimeca.*" Cap. XXXII, p. 217), also 1431, *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 165) 1431, The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Kingsb., Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VI, p. 128), has it 7, "Tochtli" or 1404.

"*Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 96). Besides distributing land "juntamente con darce y repartirce las tierras que aveis ganado, para que tengais renta para el sustento de vuestros estados y personas segun el mérito dellas," he gave them "ditados" or titles "y (quiere) hacerce señores de titulo" (the latter would be to make them noblemen). I must advert here that "ditado o titulo de honra" is expressed in the Mexican language by "tecuyotl" "tlatocazotl" "maniçotl" (*Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," Part I, p. 46). These words however mean but, respectively "chieftainship," "speakership," and "honor," (the latter see *Molina* II, p. 54), all of them terms which, as we shall hereafter see, apply to *personal merit*, and not to hereditary privilege among the Mexican aborigines. Durán then proceeds (p. 97) to give these titles as follows:— 565 618

"Primeramente á su general dió por ditado				*Tlacochcalcatlitecutli.*
A Veue Motencçuma, Tlacacieltzin dió por ditado				*Tlacatecatl.*
A Tlacaxspas,	d.	p.	d.	*Ezuauacatl.*
A Cuatlecoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlillancalqui.*
A Veneçecan,	d.	p.	d.	*Tzuncoecatl.*
A Aztacoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tocuilleatl.*
A Cuaultzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Acolnauacatl.*
A Tzompantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Huetlepatli.*
A Epcotzatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Temilloltzin.*
A Ctlalcoatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlepanecatl.*
A Tlaxcloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Calmimeloatl.*
A Izcuetlatoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Mexicaltecatli.*
A Cuauhtzitzimitl,	d.	p.	d.	*Huitznauatl.*
A Xicococ,	d.	p.	d. y renombre,	*Tepanecatlitecutli.*
A Tlazolteotl,	d.	p.	d.	*Quetzaltocatl.*
A Axicyotzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Tuxtlamocazqui.*
A Izaxatlilloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlepultecatl.*
A Mecantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Cuauhquauacatl.*
A Tenamastli,	d.	p.	d.	*Coatecatl.*
A Tzontemoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Pantecatl.*
A Tlacacochtoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Hueuauacatl.*

To these he adds (pp. 98 and 99), five more, namely: *Quauhnochtecutli, Cuauhquauacatl, Tepicatlitecutli, Cuitlauacatl, and Itzcatl.* The three last were from Culhuacan. Adding to this the "chief of men" himself, who was "Flint-Snake," or

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"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecá (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matrícula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlalcomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to moonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

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[632] [114] 131 *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[a] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua [491] (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal [133] camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[b] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[c] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[d] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names [103] mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like [101] Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca [491] de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[e] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[a] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[b] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[e] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

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Coyucac is probably not the Coyuca de Benítez of today, but the one described by Xuarez as twenty-five leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and adjacent to Axapoteca[7] (which in turn is adjacent to Xolochiuyan and Panotlan, *q.v.*).[8] This is the only Coyuca he describes in his report on his tour of the coast. Today it is called Coyuquilla. 132 131

Nochcoc is certainly the present Nuxco, also described by Xuarez.[9]

Panotlan is mentioned by Xuarez both as "Panutla" and as "Pamutla."[10] He places it at thirty leagues from the Villa and one league from the sea, confining with Çihautlan and Nochcoc. This rules out the present Pantla, west of the Río Ixtapa.

Petlatlan is one of the few surviving names, appearing today as Petatlán. It is given by Xuarez as twenty leagues from the Villa.[11]

Xihuacan has vanished. Xuarez places it nineteen leagues from the Villa and adjacent to Petlatlan and Cihuatanejo—both well-established places. He adds, "tiene en su termino una laguna de mucha pezqueria y donde se haze sal en cantidad."[12] This salty lagoon suggests the Salinas de Potosí, southwest of Petatlán on the "Millionth Map."

Xolochiuhyan, described by Xuarez as "Solochuca" and also as "Cholochuca"[13] and placed twenty-two leagues from the Villa, near the sea, has become Jolochuca of today, another of the towns of this province which may be definitely localized.

According to the writer's chronological study and the "Relación de Zacatula," Xolochiuhyan was the scene of Ahuizotl's first breakthrough to the coast and became his "frontier"—against whom, is doubtful. [75]

Yztapan is given as the name of two towns by Xuarez. One[14] belonged to the encomendero, Anton Sánchez the younger, and was seventeen leagues from the Villa. The other, belonging to His Majesty, was thirteen leagues from the Villa,[15] close to the sea, and two leagues from the "Puerto de Çiguatanejo." Thus the pueblo belonging to

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 900.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 899.
[9] He gives it as 33 leagues from the Villa. *PNE*, 1: No. 903.
[10] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 900 and 902.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 896.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 895.
[13] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 897 and 898.
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 879.
[15] *PNE*, 1: No. 892.

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632 131 Sánchez was right at the Bay of Cihuatenejo, and it appears there in a manuscript map of *circa* 1760.[26] The other pueblo, His Majesty's, appears on the "Guerrero State Map" of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, being situated on the Río Rincon. By means of the Salinas de Camotlán, which appear on both this latter map and the "Millionth Map," we see that this Río Rincon is the Río Ixtapan of the "Millionth Map," though the pueblo is omitted here. It is this Ixtapan belonging to His Majesty which has been selected as probably identical with the pre-Hispanic town, both because it gave its name to the Río and Punta de Iztapa (a), a promontory which may be found on most maps, and because it was reserved for His Majesty, a fact implying a special desirability and importance.

Çacatulan lay one league south of modern Zacatula, near the mouth [101] of the Río de las Balsas. (On the accompanying map, it appears too far east.)

Çihuatlan (Çiguatlan de Salzedo and Panotlan), which gave its name to the province, is missing from all available maps. It might have been any of three vanished towns, but the one which seems most probable is Çiguatlan de Salzedo. This lay thirty leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and bordering Pamutla and Nusco—the modern Nuxco, near Tecpan. Çiguatlan and Panutla, or Pamutla, lay on the same river five leagues from Tecpan.[27] Judging by the distances east of Zacatula assigned to other localizable towns (Jolochuca, 22; Coyuca—Coyuquilla—28; Nuxco, 33; and Tecpan, 35), this river is the modern San Luís. Çiguatlan de Salzedo may be San Luís de la Loma today. In any case, according to the relación of Zacatula, Çiguatlan was divided from Panotlan only by a river ("entre estos dos pueblos está el río"). For that reason, it has been given the same number, 9.

Çiguatlan de Salzedo lay right in the middle of the province, which is the writer's reason for identifying it as the old cabecera, despite the claims of two remoter homonyms.[28]

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[26] Bancroft Library, University of California, MS map F 1226 176–, G. 9. The author is Santos Alonso Guerra.

[27] "Relación de Zacatula," *Tlalocan*, 2: 261; *PNE* (*Suma*), 1: No. 901.

[28] The other possibilities are Çigua (*PNE*, 1: No. 864) and Çiguatlan de Su Magestad (*PNE*, 1: No. 883). Çigua extended between Zacatula and the sea. Çiguatlan de Su Magestad lay seventeen leagues from the Villa and four from the sea. (It bordered

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[60] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[61] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetiztla and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[62] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[63]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Azochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyuila and Piquilda [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çigua are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çigustlan de Su Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatzacio itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[60] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[61] "'Jentes que binieron de algun lugar de muncho hierro' o 'jentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepoztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[62] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[63] In a town called Chiuatepec, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

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635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[27] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[28] Tetela (5),[29] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[30] Totoltepec (10);[31] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[32]

[175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[33] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[34] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[35] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[36] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

[27] "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[28] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."

[29] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."

[30] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernase."

[31] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."

[32] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Montecçuma."

[33] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.

[34] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.

[35] *PNE*, 6: 113: "En otro tiempo estubo poblado en un peñol ques enespunable y muy fuerte."

[36] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs: "¿Es al Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[40] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[41] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[42] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[43] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[44] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[45]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[46] Cocolan,[47] Mayanala (14),[48] and Huitzoco.[49] Since

[40] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.
[41] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[42] "Estos couixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).
[43] *GPM*, p. 105.
[44] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).
[45] *PNE*, 5: 249.
[46] *PNE*, 5: 86.
[47] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[48] *GPM*, p. 98.
[49] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[88] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zoimpanco,[89] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[90]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[91] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[92] Ychcateopan,[93] Oztoma,[94] Totoltetec,[95] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[96] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlacheo.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[97]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[98] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[99]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather
131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[100] Alahuiztlan

[88] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[89] *PNE*, 6: 315.
[90] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[91] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[92] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[93] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[94] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[95] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[96] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[97] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[98] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[99] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[100] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha gerra con los de Mochoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Moetzuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

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Ajahuiztlan 19 635 632 [317] 131

had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list.

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c] [712]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18r) as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d] [712]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan [648]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer va fuerte, de manera questiviese zeme en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espugnable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[*] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[*]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17[v]) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[*] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[*]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[*] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[*] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamaluela, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[*] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[*] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[**] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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651
301
314
323
325

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[70]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[71]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[72]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[73]

Ozlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[74] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[75] 386

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[76] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[77]

[70] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[71] "Cada vn año vas esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[72] "A Moteçcuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognocimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[73] "Era de Moteçcuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[74] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arcaillo para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[75] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recoijan de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[76] "No llevava tributo por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban las ciudades que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas vezes del no cobraban presente á mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' ques oro" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

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Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[66]

Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[67] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[68]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacã, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapã, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpã (10).

[66] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[67] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est, le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[68] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era personã prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acamilyxtlahuacan apparently underwent the same sort of abbre- 632
viation which made "Amacusac" out of near-by "Amacoztitlan" in Quauhnahuac Province.[]

Teotlixtacan suffered the fate of other names bearing the prefix *teo-* from *teotl* ("divine, godly"), a sacrilege to Spanish ears. The partly synonymous *huey* ("great") supplanted the earlier prefix here.[] In 1581, Teulistaca and Hueyztaca were used alternately;[] since then, the name has atrophied unrecognizably to Huiztac.

Tetenanco. Although there is no modern mention of the town, this is presumably the Real and Pueblo of Tenango which existed close to the west of colonial Taxco. Its borders are given as Nochtepec, Ichcateopan, Tasco, Acamistlauacan, Coatlan, and Teticpac, which enables us to place it.[] And the name Tenanco—often interchangeable with this common place name—appears in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 7', as a conquest of Moctezuma I, who was prominent in the reduction of this area.

It may be remarked that both *Tenan*guillo and Cacalo*tenango* lie within the area mentioned.

Tlachco was not the modern Taxco de Alarcón, but somewhat south and lower, the present Taxco Viejo.

Tzicapuçalco was the same town as the present Ixcapuzalco, we learn from a relación of 1569. Anciently it bore still another name, "Pindexo," perhaps applied by the aboriginal Mazatecos who were established in the Chontal region here.[]

Çacualpan was a conquest of Itzcoatl, according to the historical [175]
section of the *Codex Mendocino*, and, as Itzacualpa, figures among the subject towns which received Ahuizotl after the conquest of Teloloapan (Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528).

[] On location, see *GPM*, p. 178; *PNE*, 1: No. 37 and 6: 269.
[] *PNE*, 6: 270, has a note on such changes.
[] The latter in *PNE*, 1: No. 273, which gives its boundaries, also given in *GPM*, p. 174.
[] *PNE*, 1: No. 671: "junto a Tasco"; *ibid.*, 6: 266: "a la parte del occidente"; *ibid.*, 6: 275.
[] *PNE*, 6: 94, which also provides its location. *Pindexo* is said to be the name of the ceiba tree.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this prov-
101 ince spoke "Chontal de Guerrero,"[a] a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[b] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[c] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[d] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the
635 Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[e] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[314] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huasteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town
632 for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[66]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[67]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicána* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[68]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[69] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[66] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della coxian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Montecuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[67] "Relación de Sultepec": "heran subjetos á los rreyes de México a los quales tributauan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[68] *PNE*, 7: 10: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron así.

[69] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[780] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
248] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

[262 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
212 were asked."[**] No data are available on the tribute of other component
137] towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[**] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de henequen, que se hace de un arbol que es llamado maguey, y de esta cargo una que sembo-

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayácatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarasgan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 19' *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[752] [103]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7. [101] See p. 23 above. [102] *PNE*, 7: 4. [103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127. [104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca. 635 131

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[100] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here. 635

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles** [714]
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli* [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point. [632]

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with 635 114

[100] *PNF* 7: 16.

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635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[206] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present
[128] map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

[103]

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacã, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[207]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation.
114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

346 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center.
635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[206] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.
[207] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

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651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—If we allot the foregoing equally between the two towns forming this province, we find that each must have contributed as much in produce as was collected from the whole province of Tlachco, in which there were nine towns, and that each must likewise have paid the equivalent of nearly one-third of the tribute in mantles collected from Tlachco Province.

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103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acaxochic, 6	Santa Fe
Ameyalco, 8	[No change]
Coatepec, 14	Coatepec Bateas
Chichicquautla, 4	Xochiquauhtla
Huizquilocan, 5	Huixquilucan
Quahuacan, 1	Cahuacan
Quauhpanoayā, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecpan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tlalatlauhco, 13	Xalatlaco

Two other towns have been found elsewhere: Huitziçilapa (3) and Tlalachco (?) (2).

Two towns of the tribute list have not been found: Chapolmoloyā and Ocotepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acaxochic,* "que ahora es Santa Fé," is located on the authority of Tezozomoc.[4] It lies southwest of Tacubaya.

Chichicquautla has become the modern Xochiquautla, between Huixquilucan and Toluca. The boundaries of "Chichiguautla" given in a sixteenth-century document confirm this identification.[5]

Huitzilçilapa, under the transitional form of "Vçiçilapa," is referred to in the sixteenth century as being adjacent to Tacuba and as having a barrio called Tamimiluipa[6]—which description applies perfectly to the Huitzilapan of the 1937 map.

Quauhpanoayan has vanished from the map. It was divided between two hills, one section being called San Joan Baptista and the other San Francisco. It was a league from Atlapulco (11), a league and a half from Capulhuac (12), "y de los otros dos á media legua." As one of "los otras dos" is known to have been Ocoyacac (10), Quauhpanoayan may be placed with fair accuracy.[7]

Tecpan has long since disappeared from the map. In the late sixteenth century, according to the 1579 map of Ortelius, it lay south of Teocalhuiacan and northeast of Mimimiyauuapan [*sic*]. Ortelius gives

[4] *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 530.
[5] *PNE*, 1: No. 113, places it seven leagues from México and touching the jurisdictions of Tacuba, Toluca, and "Vçiçilapa."
[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.
[7] *GPM*, p. 232.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[9] 632
Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the 131
path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli,* "sand," and *tlalli,* "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] 635
and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the 197
north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old 101
Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are: 635

Atlapulco, 11	Cuauximalpan, 7
Capulhuac, 12	Chichicquauhtla, 4
Coatepec, 14	Huizquilocan, 5

Tlalatlauhco, 13

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other 635
Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east 131
those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[9] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[9] Cf. preceding note.
[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[11] *PNE,* 1: No. 561.
[12] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[14] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen** [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)** [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of 651
the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single 632
town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matricula,* as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino.*[31] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim.*
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the
114 north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpā, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.
131 *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[22]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28' of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[23]

[22] *PNE,* 1: No. 1.

[23] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepesic ce comēdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; 632
moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, 131
Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlaz- 177
pan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, 579
whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was 101
accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have 635
not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its 131
neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir. muñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los ynDios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suxeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468). [114]

[30] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[27]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[29] 714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[28]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[27] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[28] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[19]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[20]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[21]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca,* in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[19] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[20] *GPM*, p. 263.
[21] *PNE*, 3: 33, n°1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[22] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula,* and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[23] and Zimapan (12).[24]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography,* p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[25] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[22] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[23] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí,* I: 13: "hers su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago teçuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tleculutl ycatzia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain,* Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE,* 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[24] *PNE,* 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[25] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[36] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 635 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[37] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[38] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[39] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[40] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[41]

[36] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[37] Cf. n. 35 above.
[38] *PNE*, 6: 201.
[39] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[40] Corrected from 400.
[41] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[46] 651 632

12. Axocopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex,* folio 27r.[47] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below: 635 114 [128] [103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquiahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayā, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpā, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpā, 10	Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[46] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[47] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atenco*, now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[44] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[45] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[46] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[47] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[48] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the following towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[49]

[44] *GPM*, p. 185.
[45] *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.
[46] *PNE*, 6: 36.
[47] *PNE*, 6: 205.
[48] *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.
[49] *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz- 635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[30] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses."[31] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles** [291
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border** 714]
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262
400 large jars of thick maguey honey 263]

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[32]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[30] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, I: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[31] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[32] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; haxianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[83]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[84]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists
131 another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[83] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[84] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called 632 Atucpan.[86] Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of 131 the towns against which that state made war.

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec[87] is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.[88] It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,[89] two long leagues southeast of Axocopan[90] and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.[91]

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan[92] and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.[93] It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.[94]

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.[95]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province 635 were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitla- 632 pilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was pre- 197 dominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.[96]

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bor- 635 dered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.[97] To 131 the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

[86] *PNE*, 6: 24 and 35.
[87] The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.
[88] Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.
[89] *GPM*, p. 188.
[90] *PNE*, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.
[91] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[92] *PNE*, 6: 15.
[93] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[94] *PNE*, 3: 42.
[95] *PNE*, 6: 27.
[96] In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Tolnacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (*PNE*, 6: 24).
[97] "Relación de Meztitlan."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[67] as did Tequixquiac[68] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[69]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[263 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[70]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[71]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[72]

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[67] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[68] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[69] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[70] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[71] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[72] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 114 [31] represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1 Ojitipa de Mirador

Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to [651] judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[3] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[4]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[5]

635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[3] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tambolon"—now a rancho of Valles.
[4] Meade, *La Huexteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[5] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI: 275.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54'). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communications with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 426.
[10] "Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 223, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tzicoac* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 183–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tzicoac* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

16. Tuchpa

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The *Matrícula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[26] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Miahuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to 131 Lehmann.[27] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[28]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[29]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[26] See Introduction, p. 7.

[27] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[28] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[29] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por montecçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que montecçuma nasciese ni eredase este rreyno [illegible] estuuan estos yndios subjetos al padre de montecçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron donde á muchos años que ya estuvan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á montecçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[**]

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[**] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzicoac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, especially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[**]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[**]
400 bundles of loincloths[**]
808 bundles[**] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[**]

[**] RHE, 1: 487.
[**] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[**] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[**] Corrected from 800.

1 [p.58.—Analyst] 2 [p.56.—Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.[50] 651 632

17. Atlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.[51] In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.[52] Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."[53] 635 114

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two. 635 131

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "...otra capitania...a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte...."[54]

[50] RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."
[51] Cf. Malinalco, above.
[52] *FNE*, 3: 97.
[53] *ENE*, 8: 160.
[54] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[29]

800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[28] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xilozochitlan, 6	Elozochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

[a] Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been 632
tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación.[a] 131

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"[b] finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were im- 635
portant towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.[c] Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the 635
Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the 197
people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."[d] The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.[e]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces 635
hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was 131
Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces.

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone 635
called Totonacapan.

[a] RHE, 1: 481: "tenian ... governador antiguamente puesto por montecuma."
[b] *ENE*, 8: 159.
[c] Christensen, "El Teponaztli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3: 179–180.
[d] RHE, 1: 480: "son yndios muy tontos ynclinados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferent de la mexicana."
[e] See the *proceso* of the *cacique* of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 209–215.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Azteç NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[80]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[81]

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino.* There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino,* as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

[80] RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
[81] RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[illegible] and seventeen leagues from México.[illegible] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[illegible] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[illegible] 632 131

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[illegible]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiquity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún comments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[illegible] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[illegible] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[illegible] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched. 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande lay between two *tierras de guerra.* To the north was Metztitlan, and probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla. 635 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atotonilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below: 651

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich mantles**
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields* [291 714]

[illegible] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[illegible] *GPM*, p. 250.
[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[illegible] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuiquiluca [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[illegible] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[illegible] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[illegible] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

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651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

●632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.**

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula,* which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino,* which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco, [28] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapã, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

** *PNE,* 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seyçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Tepetlaoztoc, 18	Tepetlaoxtoc
Teçoyucã, 17	Tezoyuca
Tiçayucã, 8	Tizayuca
Tlaquilpã, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tonanytla, 12	Tonanitla

Various pueblos of this crowded province remain to be located:

Ahuatepec	Quauhyocan
Ameyalco	Tepetlapã
Calyahualco	Tiçatepec
Contlan	Tlachyahualco
Quauhq̃mecã	Totolçinco

Yxquemecã

Certain other pueblos may be added to the province on the basis of other documents:

Acolman (a)	Pachuca, 1
Coatepec Chalco, 22	Teotihuacan, 13
Chicualoapan, 21	Tepepulco, 7
Chimalhuacantoyac, 20	Tetlyztaca, 6
Otompan, 24	Tezontepec, 4

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acolman (a) was independent until conquered by Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco.[a] 632

Acolhuacan is something of a problem. The present paper is hardly the place to pass upon the truth of reports that Texcoco, capital of the Acolhuaque, paid tribute to the Mexica as did any other vassal. But a choice is imperative here: does the glyph which is annotated Acol*man* and Acol*huacan* represent Acolhuacan Texcoco?

The answer is a certain no. It is doubtful that Texcoco ever paid the famous tribute, in the first place. The other member of the Triple Alliance, Tlacopan, does not figure as a tributary anywhere in the *Matricula*, and it was less powerful than the domain of Nezahualpilli. The *Mendocino* interpreter has not written Texcoco, nor does the glyph correspond to those commonly used for Texcoco.[a] And the contradictory *Matricula* legend has been written over, as if to avoid 632 114

[a] "Nesahualcoyosin casique de Texcuco, los tiranizo" (*FNE*, 6: 211). (1942), fig. I.

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632 one interpretation, at least: the word "tetzcocatl" has been altered in
114 two places to read "acolmecatl"; that is, "men of Texcoco" has been erased. Further evidence that Acolhuacan was neither Acolman nor Texcoco may be found in the lists of conquests in which Huitzihuitl and Itzcoatl participated.

If the glyph does not represent Acolhuacan Texcoco, what Acolhuacan does it mean? Discarding a vague possibility that it may be Acolman, site of the great monastery,[a] the writer prefers to follow the "Relación de Coatepec-Chalco," which informs us explicitly that Acolhuacan is a former name of Coatlichan.[b]

632 The *Mendocino* adds the name of the tribute collector, or "calpixqui," to the place name: it was (rather suspiciously) "Acolmecatl."

Aztaquemeca (not on the map) lay athwart Cortés' escape route after the Noche Triste. His itinerary, as given in Sahagún and in the "Lienzo de Tlaxcala," reads Tepotzotlan–Aztaquemecan–Zacapulco–Tonanixco, and finally, friendly Hueyotlipan. Aztaquemeca may be the Ixtacamecan Santo Domingo, half a league from Otumba (24).[c]

Coatepec Chalco bore a "very special enmity" toward Chalco, to the south,[d] which is enough to align it on our map with the province of Acolhuacan.

Chicualoapan "and its subjects were subject to the caciques and lords of the pueblo and cabecera of Coatlychan."[e]

Chimalhuacantoyac had once belonged to the ex-province of Chalco, but was annexed by "the province of Aculhuacan, which is Coatlychan."[f]

Epaçoyucan, which can be found on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas, was earlier called Tomazquitlac. It belonged to Acolhuacan from a very early date.[g]

[a] For this possibility, see *PNE,* 6: 213, n. 2.

[b] *PNE,* 6: 80: "Coatlychan, que en aquel tiempo se dezia Aculhuacan ... ." See Chimalhuacantoyac, below.

[c] *PNE,* 3: 83 and n. 1; Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras historicas* (1892), I: 304, "Azquemeca," near Axapuxco.

[d] *PNE,* 6: 51: "tubo muy particular enemystad con los de la probinçia de Chalco, a los quales dió muchas guerras."

[e] *PNE,* 6: 82–83. See Acolhuacan, above.

[f] *PNE,* 6: 66: "heran las tierras de los yndios de la provinçia de Chalco, y al presente [1579] este pueblo y sus subjetos estan en la comarca y provinçia de Aculhuacan, que es Coatlychan."

[g] "Eran del señorio de tezcuco como dezienden de los chichimecos de tezcuco siempre reconozian de sus mayores que llaman el reyno de acolhuacan" (RHE, 1: 141–142).

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Matixco (Maquixco), southwest of Teotihuacan, possesses a homonym, Maquixco Santa Maria, northeast of the same center. Either one of these may be the *Matricula* town. The choice which has been made is frankly arbitrary. 632

Otompan, now Otumba, was the scene of Cortés' last great battle with "los de Culua" as he escaped into Tlaxcala, the frontiers of which lay near by.

Pachuca (1) at first belonged to the Acolhuaque, and later was shared by them with the Mexica.[70]

Quauhyocan appears in another source as "San Marcos Quacyocan" and "Quauhyoca." It was subject to Acolman, but no further detail is given.[71]

Teacalco appears on the map of the State of Mexico of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotihuacan, at first a Chichimec republic in the Tepanec sphere, was conquered by Nezahualcoyotl—who eventually had to share it with the Mexica.[72]

Tepepulco "parte terminos" with Tulançinco, in the adjacent province of Atotonilco el Grande, and Hueyotlipan, pertaining to enemy Tlaxcala.[73] Paso y Troncoso has pointed out Tepepulco's close association with Texcoco.[74] It was in Tepepulco that Sahagún began to gather materials for his vast ethnographic work.[75]

Tetlyztaca may be located from references. According to the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 151), Tulançinco was four leagues to the [north]east, Tepepulco two leagues to the southeast, and Cenpoala one and one-half to the west: "... los pueblos comarcanos son tulançingo cuatro leguas acia levante tepeapulco dos leguas entre leuante y sur la congregación de Cenpoala legua y media cay açia el poniente." Tetlyztaca lay near Tepechupilco [? now Tepechichilco]. [131]

[70] Cf. n. 82 below.

[71] *PNE,* 6: 210, 212.

[72] *PNE,* 6: 221: "En tienpo de su gentilidad fueron gente y republica sobre si, sin reconocer a nadie sino a sus señores naturales que llamaban chichimecas, hasta que Nesagualcoyotzin, señor de Tescuco, tiranizo toda la comarca matando a los hijos de Tetzotzomoctli, señor de Escaputzalco a quien todos reconocian, por guerra, e despues de su muerte de Tetzotzomoctli el dicho Netzagualcoyotzi se hizo poderoso aliandose con Montesuma señor de Mexico; repartieron las tierras del pueblo de San Juan."

[73] *PNE,* 6: 393.

[74] *PNE,* 6: 297.

[75] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: xvii.

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632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[70] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[71]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[72]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[73] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the
131 province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

[70] RHE, 1: 152.
[71] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.
[72] Cf. n. 82 below.
[73] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de tezcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

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TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles** [291]
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")***

FOOD [262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632 of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651 maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412] After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.[a]

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412] Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.[b]

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

[a] RHE, 1:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antesesor de monteçuma fue el primero que mando tributasen [illegible]antas gallinas y todo genero de bolateria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Monteçuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

[b] RHE, 1:142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonzes se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

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632 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called
651 "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.[88] However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*[89] gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, *circa* 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomitl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao
[262] of Xoconochco (2,400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.[90]

[326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."[91]

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se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

[88] *PNE*, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

[89] Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ... ," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

[90] *PNE*, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del rreynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodon de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodon de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacao de a beinte e quatro myll cacaos carga, de zoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

[91] RHE, 1: 152.

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635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[6]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[6] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[9] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

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635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a 181
general opinion.[32] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which [632]
they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[33]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was sur- 635
rounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of 131
the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[34] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at 635
least.[35]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted 651
from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles** [291]
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[36] [714]

[32] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[33] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando pōr prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[35] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[36] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matrícula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl toztli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 [262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

[323 289]

OTHER GOODS

2,000 pottery bowls**
8,000 reams of native paper**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayoxochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

** *PNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloztoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilçaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven 632 los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, 175 respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as 632 "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición." 131

Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[29] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[30] but cannot be found today.

[29] *FNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la principal subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilca."

[30] *FNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopualco [Nepozualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Tetela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoztlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[a]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province
197 of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[b] and Yacapichtla.[c] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[d]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[e] and so were the Tlalhuica.[f]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow
131 province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[a] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matrícula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[b] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[c] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimillco."

[d] See pp. 76–77.

[e] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimillco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[f] See pp. 76–77.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[**] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[**]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[**] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[**]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths** [291]
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors [323]
8,000 reams of native paper [289]

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. [727]

[**] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[**] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Taxcala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[**] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[**] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[20]
[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[21]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtécomaccinco,* according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[22]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[23]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[24] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[25]

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[20] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[21] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[22] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[23] *GPM*, p. 112.

[24] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[25] *GPM*, p. 104.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] 16 pieces of colored lacquer
[313] 268 fine *jícaras* and *tecomates*
314 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[88]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section
114 extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth
[128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[89] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[90]

[13] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[91] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuápa.

[88] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[89] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[90] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[91] *PNE*, 5: 210.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal–Jiménez Moreno lin- 101
guistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: 197
Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that [551]
activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province 635
cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north 131
of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining 651
region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291]
1 warrior's costume with shield* 714]

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey* [263]

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells** [326
80 copper axeheads** 317]
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth 632
century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money 651
resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *FNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 651 half the honey formerly paid by the province, according to the *Matrícula*). Besides this, two special milpas were cultivated and their [314] yield was sent to the near-by mines of Ayoteco.[a]

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 437: "Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias quinientos y veinte y ocho pesos y dos tomines de tipuzque, y catorce xiquipiles de cacao y seis mill y doxientos y ochenta cacaos, y esto dan al dicho su amo en dineros que son quatroçientos y çinquenta pesos, y ocho xiquipiles de cacao y sesenta xarrillos de miel, y cada año le hazen dos sementeras de maiz y se lo ponen en las minas de Ayoteco." On *tipuzque*, see Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (1883), II: 7, and Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (1890), II: 416 and 450.

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b).

The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

633 *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[5]

[712] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[6] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[4]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecuma."[6] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[8]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[9]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the
197 Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[5] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[6] *GPM*, p. 9: *ENE*, 14: 79.

[4] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepequa [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[8] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[6] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco. 635 131

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING [291 714]

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS [314]

800 cakes of liquidambar**[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[32] and liquidambar.[33] 632 651

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[34]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[35] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

[32] [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [712] *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

[175] *Tuchçonco,* though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[25]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[26]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[27] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[28]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[29] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[30] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 large mantles**

[25] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵒ cuescomatepeque de la jurisdizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[26] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[27] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[28] Dominguez, *Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[29] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[30] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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651

FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632 fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651 what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 49' of the 635 *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114 kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128] sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632

Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^ced a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^o de myctlanquauda media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

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Teoçiocan is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla.[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north-eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matriculc*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapã, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpã, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Toztlan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Teteutlan
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlã	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michtlan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

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It appears in De Mo-
632 *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[30] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[31] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[32] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[33] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[34]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[35] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[36]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[37] The chief language of the

[30] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[31] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[32] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por si, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[33] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[34] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[36] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rreçidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[37] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

½ [i.e., Chinantlan – Analyd]

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OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[40]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this
114 province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[41]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information
651 may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[42]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[40] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[41] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlatitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[42] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[46] 630 631 [23]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[47]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[48]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula,* and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino.* Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

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[46] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE,* 5: 2).

[47] *PNE,* 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[48] *PNE,* 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Goüernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81, identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
[314] 4,000 loads of thick canes
[281] 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ymfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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32. Yoaltepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 635
of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40r of the *Codex Mendo-* 114
cino. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable [128] number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalã (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayã (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and 632
claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[26] It has been placed 131
in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[27] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[28]

[26] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Motectzuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[27] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[28] *PNE*, 1: No, 6.

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632 [712] *Ayoxochiquilazala* seems to have been the anchor of the Empire in this region. A local Mexican garrison consumed all the tribute, which never reached Mexico.[19]

Ehuacalco, suggests Troncoso,[20] may be the Calihualá [Cal-eual-lan] of today. The proposed identification seems reasonable.

Patlanalan is a name which apparently survives only in documents. The town was subject to Tonalá (a) and was half a league from "Çilacajoapa."[21]

Piaztla was probably "Old Piaztlan" (Huehuepiaztlan), which lay to the west of the site of the modern town. Among the towns subject to Piaztla in 1581—and probably also linked with it in 1519—were Tuzantlan (c) and Ilamatzinco (b). These appear on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, 1908.

632 131

Yxicayan became "Xicayan de Tovar" in colonial days.[22] It confined with Puctla and Tlacomayztlauaca,[23] which are the Putla Santa Maria and Tecomaxtlahuacan of today. Xicayan de Tovar was nine leagues southwest of "Instlauaca" (Juxtlahuaca)[24] and four leagues in the same direction from Ayoxochiquilazala.[25] Northeast of the ancient Acuitlapan, Guerrero, are a C. Jicayan and a R. Jicayan which indicate the site. It should be pointed out that the Jicayán of today (near Tlacamama), also existing in the sixteenth century,[26] is a quite different pueblo.

Ycpatepec, which enjoyed a certain pre-Hispanic fame, may be located by piecing together a variety of references. Though it is described in the relación of Cuauhuitlan along with towns of the modern district of Jamiltepec on the Oaxaca coast, it is stated to be no less than thirty-five leagues to the northeast of those towns,[27] beyond a sierra, in the Mixteca Baja.[28] Elsewhere it is given as ten leagues from Mixtepec

[19] See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
[20] *PNE,* 5: 238.
[21] *PNE,* 5: 238; *GPM,* p. 20. Its estancias were called Guastepec and Santa Clara.
[22] *PNE,* 1: No. 810; *GPM,* p. 65; *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[23] *PNE,* 1: No. 810.
[24] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 137.
[25] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[26] *PNE,* 1: No. 808.
[27] *PNE,* 4: 158.
[28] *PNE,* 4: 155: "muy apartado [de Cuahuitlan] porque cae en la provincia de la Mixteca Baja." Its encomendero was Francisco de Alfaro.

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(subject to Tlaxiaco)[80] and three leagues from "Cilacayoapan."[81] With 632
all this information, the town may be placed fairly well. In the present 131
map it is identified tentatively with Montañas, a town on the Oaxaca map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.[82] This lies south of Silacayoapam and may have fallen under the jurisdiction of south-lying Cuauhuitlan.[83]

Ychcaatoyac, which has not been found, is also called "Atojocinapa" 632
in a list which names its encomendero as "el hijo de Pierres Gómez."[84]

Yoaltepec has been located from references only. When the Mexicans invaded the south, they took, in succession, the towns of Oaxtepec, Izucar, and Youaltepec.[85] "Ygualtepec" (the name suffered the same change as Yoallan–Iguala) was held by the encomendero of Ayoxochiquilazala.[86] The clearest reference, however, comes from a document [131]
dealing with Piaztla, which places Yoaltepec ten leagues straight south of that town.[87]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—With Yoaltepec we enter the Mixtec 197
provinces. A codex in purely Mixtec style, for example, is preserved from Tecomaixtlahuacan,[88] and the relación of that town[89] tells us it is of Mixtec speech, as proves to be true of Ycpatepec.[90] The northern part of the province, on the other hand, seems to have been mexicano rustico, "because it is the province of Totolan"—a quite mysterious reference.[91]

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[80] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 142–143.

[81] *GPM*, p. 20; *PNE*, 5: 238.

[82] Ycpatepec was celebratedly mountainous.

[83] Three hints which may lead to its exact identification at a later time are: (*a*) the linking of "Hycpatepeque" with Tlacotepec, Tepexillo, and Los Remedios in a list of "Curatos Mixtecos" of the reign of Philip V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Mex. MS No. 8, fol. 221); (*b*) the Mixtec name, "yucu yua" ("Relación of Cuahuitlan," *PNE*, 4: 158) or "yucu nuuyuh" (Reyes, *Arte en lengua mixteca* [1889], p. 90); and, finally (*c*), the names of the estancias of Ycpatepec (*PNE*, 5: 238), which are Santa Maria, Santiago, and San Juan. (*PNE*, 4: 155, adds San Pablo.)

[84] *ENE*, 9: 17.

[85] Discussed in the writer's forthcoming chronological study.

[86] Le., García de Aguilar. See *GPM*, p. 157.

[87] *PNE*, 5: 77: "al sur tiene al pueblo de Ygualtepec questa desta cabeçera dies leguas, toda tierra entre doblada y llana y caminos derechos." In the same document Acatlan is placed at five leagues from Piaztla.

[88] Published in Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Geog., Vol. 4 (1930), Appendix I.

[89] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 136.

[90] *PNE*, 4: 158.

[91] *PNE*, 5: 78.

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635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[46]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[47]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[48]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[49]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino,* all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[46] *PNE,* 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[47] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y esentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[48] *PNE,* 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[49] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acuitlapã, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Chipetlan, 1	Chiepetlán
Malinaltepec, 6	[No change]
Tetenanco, 3	Tenango Tepexi
Tlapã, 4	Tlapa
Totomixtlahuacã, 5	Totomixtlahuaca
Ychcateopã, 2	Ixcateopan

The remaining seven towns of the *Matricula* cannot be located with any certainty, though there are some additional data available regarding them. These towns are:

Acocozpã	Huitzannola
Ahuacatla	Ocoapan
Amaxac	Xocotla

Yualan

On the other hand, we may confidently add and locate the following subject towns, thanks to another source: Ayutla (8), Cintla (?) (10), Copalitech (11), and Tototepec (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acuitlapan* is the Quitlapa of today, located southeast of Metlatonoc in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. It is described in colonial days as "Cuytlapa," twelve leagues from Tlapan.[a]

Ahuacatla, not located, was five leagues from Tlapan, according to a report which gives it as "Ahuacatitlan."[b]

Amaxac probably corresponds to "Atlemaxac" or "Atlimaxax," which was a cabecera one league from Tlapan.[c]

Ayutla was clearly tributary,[d] and with it a series of seaboard towns including Cintla and Copalitech.[e]

Cintla seems to have lain close to the modern Juchitán(a).[f] It was one of the seaboard towns subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).

[a] *GPM*, p. 106; *PNE*, 1: No. 217.
[b] *GPM*, p. 101.
[c] *GPM*, p. 101; *PNE*, 1: No. 82.
[d] *PNE*, 4: 260: "aquel pueblo de Ayutla antiguamente era de Motecçuma, [con] todos los demas pueblos de la jurisdiçion que fueron sugetos."
[e] *PNE*, 4: 259: "antes que se ganase la tierra, eran todos los pueblos maritimos sujetos al dicho pueblo de Ayutla."
[f] Identification by the writer, in "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 361.

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[] 632

Huitzaunola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecçuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast. 632 712 [10]

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo. 632 131

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla- 101 197

[] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[] *GPM*, p. 106.

[] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[] *GPM*, p. 98.

[] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Nahuatl.

[] *GPM*, p. 27.

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexi- 651
cano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the 212
tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[**]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify: 651

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses** [291
402 bundles[**] of little red-striped mantles** 714]
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment [316
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity 415]
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding 632 ●
the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the 651
early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following [415
every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer 291
and tiger-skins; fish and cotton.[**] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 248
40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as 262]
well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[**]

[*] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[**] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[**] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçisco de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[**] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quartenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de seruicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

8: Bàrlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]

[316 263 253] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[446] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiodan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpizque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [Pic. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted - Analyst]

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635 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the
114 glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based
[128] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[70] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[71]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[70] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llamauan 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[71] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauaca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

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paying tribute, but "the lords of Chila, when it pleased them to," exchanged presents with Moctezuma.[88] 632

Icxitlan was a subject town which gave no tribute beyond feeding the highland troops that passed through it.[89]

Malinaltepec (10) sent its tribute to Coayxtlahuacan.[90] This Malinaltepec, which is stated to lie eight leagues northeast of Atlatlaucca and five leagues west of "los Yolos" [Yoloxonecuilan], appears on Bevan's map.[91] It should not be confused with the nearest of several homonyms, that is, with the Malinaltepec southwest of Atlatlaucca. [131]

Mictlan, as Jiménez Moreno has pointed out,[92] must be the present Mitlatongo.

Papaloticpac paid tribute to its cacique, and he to Moctezuma;[93] probably the Papalotiquipaque of the sixteenth century[94] is one of two towns called Papalo today, southeast of Quiotepec.

Petlaltzinco, like Icxitlan, paid its tribute by supplying the armies of the Empire with food and men.[95]

Tepeucila had been subjected by Moctezuma shortly before the Spaniards arrived.[96]

Xaltepec appears on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Yancuitlan may be found on the 1912 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Çoçolan was conquered by the younger Moctezuma, as will be detailed in the second part of this work. It is mentioned as a garrison town on folio 17' of the *Mendocino,* with two governors—a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli" (cf. chap. viii, no. 37). [132]

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[88] *PNE,* 5: 66: "era subieto al ymperio de la ciudad de México ... embialle [a Moctezuma] los senores de Chila, quando les agradaua, algunos presentes de joyas de oro y mantas," etc.

[89] *PNE,* 5: 75.

[90] See Atlatlaucca, above.

[91] Bevan, *The Chinantec* (1938).

[92] *Códice de Yanhuitlán* (1940).

[93] *PNE,* 4: 90: "tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma ... que llevavan a las guarniciones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra."

[94] *PNE,* 4: 88.

[95] "El dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo pasauan bastimentos, y asi mismo servian con alguna gente de guerra, y no otra cosa alguna" (*PNE,* 5: 70).

[96] *PNE,* 4: 95: "Al tienpo que vinieron los españoles era Señor natural de este pueblo vn cazique que se dezia canchuchu camiñas, y en tienpo de este los sujeto Montecçuma."

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OTHER GOODS[*] 651

2 strings of chalchiuites
800 bunches of quetzal feathers [316
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni* 231]
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning 632 the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which [436] served as money. They also gave military aid.[*]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.[*]

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.[*]

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.[*]

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.[*]

[*] *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescataua a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Munteçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

[*] *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

[*] See Chila, above.

[*] *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

[*] "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

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632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[30]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[31]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[32]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[33]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotitlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[30] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exerxitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco pasauan bastimentos."

[31] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que conpravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[32] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecçuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de zuzula."

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Besides the towns identified, many lesser subject towns, discovered through sources other than the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy, should also be listed:

Atepec, 2
Coatlan, 33
Cuixtlan, 32
Chichicapan, 30
Eztetlan (?), 13
Huiztepec, 15
Itzquintepec, 12
Iztepexi, 8
Miahuatlan, 31
Mictlan, 28
Ocelotepec
Quauxiloticpac, 14
Tecuicuilco, 5
Teotitlan del Valle, 23
Teotzacualco, 11
Teozapotlan, 25
Tlacolula, 27
Tlaliztacan, 20
Totomachapa, 16
Xaltianguisco, 4
Xilotepec, 17
Yoloxonecuilan, 1
Zenzontepec, 18
Çoquiapan, 7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atepec and three neighbors "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[100]

Coatlan, in some unspecified period, rebelled against its chief and sent ambassadors to Mexico to arrange its incorporation into the Empire.[101] Today the town seems to have broken up into a cluster of satellites, of which a rough center has been taken for the map.

Coyolapan, now Cuilapa, ought really to be called "Quacuyolapan"—if we are to trust the relación of that town.[102]

Chichicapan first belonged to Teozapotlan, but was fighting off attacks from Mixtec neighbors at the moment of the Spanish Conquest, at which time its inhabitants settled matters by allying themselves with Moctezuma.[103]

Cuixtlan (32) warred with Tetiquipa to the south, and this may possibly indicate the limits between the province of Coyolapan and the free Mixtec state of Tototepec.[104]

[100] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 123. Tecuicuilco, Atepec, Çoquiapa, Xaltiango: "Todos estos quatro Pueblos Reconocian por Rey a munteçuma el qual los Abia conquistado Por fuerças de armas."

[101] *PNE,* 4: 123: "Este dicho pueblo y sus naturales en su antiguedad eran sujetos a vn caçique que se llamaba Coactzi ... hasta que les hizo çierto agrabio y se rebelaron contra el, y ... enbiaron parias a la çuidad de Mexico a Monteçuma ... el qual los recibyo debaxo de su anparo."

[102] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 22.

[103] *PNE,* 4: 115.

[104] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 115.

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632 *Extetlan* was near the modern Tepantepec.[188]

[712] *Guaxacac* (as Huaxac[ac]) is one of the garrison towns mentioned on folio 17' of the *Mendocino* (cf. chap. viii, no. 37) as being governed by a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli." The fortress was actually located on the Cerro del Fortin (Acatepec or Ecatepec), according to the "Relación de Cuilapa" (*Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 20).

Huiztepec and certain neighboring towns together paid tribute to Moctezuma.

Itzquintepec was a town the identification of which involves the whole question of the "pueblos peñoles." Probably we may identify it with the modern town of Peñoles.

Iztepexi recalled in the 1580's that "certain Mexica" had overcome them, whereupon they paid double tribute, as the Mixtec also exploited them.[189]

Macuilxochic remembered only being subject to Teozapotlan,[190] but figures along with the rest of the Empire in the *Matricula*.

Mictlan (28), since it was subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to the Mexica.[191]

Ocelotepec was a town the inhabitants of which "anciently had Moctezuma, lord of Mexico, as their lord."[192]

Quauxiloticpac, now Huajoloticpac, is derived from "quauxilotl"

[188] A collective relación which includes this and the two following pueblos exists (*RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 185–191). Six pueblos in all are listed, in this order: Itzquintepec, Eztetla, Quauxoloticpac [*sic*], Huictepec [*sic*], Totomachapa, and Jilotepec, "los quales estan como aqui van puestos uno en pos de otro y corren norte sur." Now three of these appear on any map: No. 3, Quaxoloticpac (11 leagues from Antequera or Oaxaca City), is Huajolotipac; No. 4, Huiztepec (12 leagues from Antequera), is Huitepec; and No. 6, Jilotepec (17 leagues from Antequera and defined as "çerro al modo de una mazorca de maiz"), is Elotepec. In view of these three fixed points, Itzquintepec (6 leagues from Antequera and 9 leagues from Teotzacualco) is most likely the modern Peñoles. Eztetla (lying between Itzquintepec and Quauxoloticpac and 7 leagues from Teotzacualco) should fall somewhere near modern Tepantepec. And, finally, Totomachapa (like Jilotepec, 10 leagues from Zola) is perhaps the modern Yucucando. (Totomachapa was 8 leagues from Teotzacualco, and Jilotepec only 6.) All these six pueblos peñoles "fueron ... en tiempo de su jentilidad de monteçuma señor de mexico al qual tributaban oro y mantas de algodon."

[189] *PNE*, 4: 16: "ciertos mexicanos los subjetaron por mandado del Señor de Mexico ... enpeçaron a tributarles asi a los mexicanos questauan en Guaxaca por Monteçuma, y a los mistecos por el señorio que sobrellos tenian, temiendose de los unos y de los otros ... ."

[190] *PNE*, 4: 102: "El gobierno que tenian hera lo que les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... ." See Teozapotlan, below.

[191] *PNE*, 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, below.

[192] *PNE*, 4: 138: "en su antigüedad tenyan por senor a Monteçuma, señor de Mexico ... ."

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in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the proper spelling. 632

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Mocteçuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[110]

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teozapotlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[111] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula.* [648]

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma a few years before the Spanish invasion.[112]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teozapotlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[113] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[114] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican garrison "only in order to be friendly."[115] Tribute is tribute. 632 648 175 [651]

[110] *PNE,* 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles biniesen, a Moteçuma."

[111] *PNE,* 4: 105.

[112] *RMEH,* T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto montesuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[113] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[114] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE,* 4: 102: " ... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula;* also, by the relación of Teticpac (*PNE,* 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Monteçuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula.*

[115] *PNE,* 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran

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632 *Tecuicuilco* owned Moctezuma as lord after being conquered by force of arms.[116]

Teticpac was subject to Teozapotlan, and later to Moctezuma.[117]

Tlalcuechahuayan may be found on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Tlacolula, by virtue of having been subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to Moctezuma.[118]

Tlaliztacan is another subject of Teozapotlan, and therefore, it is to be inferred, of the Mexicans also.[119]

Totomachapa may be found on the 1912 map of Oaxaca made by the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Xaltianguisco, the Jaltianguis Santa Maria of today, is cited under its old name in a document of Ixtepexi,[120] as well as in several other places.

Xilotepec was one of the "pueblos peñoles," all of which were subject to the Empire.[121]

Yoloxonecuilan was a town the name of which has atrophied to "los Yolos." In its earlier form the name of this place appears in the conquest lists of the Empire, jointly with the names of such towns as Xaltianguisco and Itztitlan (6) (Ixtlán de Juárez?). Yoloxonecuilan had, moreover, the same cura as Atepec.[122]

Zenzontepec appears late in the conquest lists of the Empire.

Çoquiapan and certain neighboring towns are said to have "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[123]

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[651] guerroros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de Mexico: de todos estos tres solo auia aqui quando vinieron los españoles vna guarniçion juncto adonde es aora la ciudad de Antequera, la qual guarniçion era de Montecçuma: esta dizen los yndios que avia puesto alli por via de buena amistad y sin guerra, para pasar por alli adelante a Tecoantepec y Guatimala ... y dizen que a estos mexicanos no les dauan ningun tributo, sino por via de amistad, sino que el rrey de Teoçapotlan se tenia su señorio absolutamente."

[116] See Atepec, above.

[117] *PNE,* 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, above.

[118] *PNE,* 4: 145: "en tiempo de su ynfidelidad, tuuieron por señor al señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan el qual hera señor de toda esta tierra." See, however, Teozapotlan, above.

[119] *PNE,* 4: 179: "en tiempo de su gentilidad, tenia por señor al caçique e señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan." See Teozapotlan, above.

[120] *PNE,* 4: 20: "Santianquisco, questa dos leguas deste dicho pueblo hazia el norte." A relación of the town appears in *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 123.

[121] See Itzquintepec, above.

[122] *GPM,* pp. 92–93.

[123] See Atepec, above.

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651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Certain elements of the fore-
632 going tribute may be traced.

Atepec, Çoquiapan, Tecuicuilco, and Xaltianguisco acquired the
[439] tribute items exacted from them—green (quetzal?) feathers and chalchiuites—by barter with other regions.[127]

Coatlan gave gold and mantles, receiving military protection in return. (The gold tribute was three marks of gold dust quarterly in early colonial days.[128])

Eztetlan and five other towns jointly paid a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[129]

Huiztepec, as one of the "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

Itzquintepec gave part of a joint tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Iztepexi, which had two masters, Mixtec and Mexican,[130] paid them tribute in base gold, green feathers, deer, maize, and turkeys; also, its inhabitants rendered personal services to the Mexican garrison near Oaxaca. The gold and feathers were acquired in a unique fashion, being earned by going to the Isthmus and working six months or a year there cultivating lands.[131]

Ocelotepec gave gold dust and mantles and cochineal, "all in small quantities and once a year," and received in return mantles, sandals, and feathers of many colors.[132] This exceptional treatment was doubt-

[127] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123, speaks of "çierto tributo que le pagaban en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de Plumas verdes y Piedras verdes" obtained in trade.

[128] *PNE*, 4: 133. To Moctezuma "le tributaban oro en polbo y mantas, y el tenya quidado denbialles sienpre gente de guarnyçion." To their colonial encomendero "segun dizen los antiguos naturales cada yndio tributaba en cada ochenta dyas tres marcos de oro en polbo."

[129] For the tribute of this and the two following towns, see n. 105 above.

[130] See n. 106 above.

[131] *PNE*, 4: 16. Suffering from double demands, "les pagauan de tributo oro baxo y plumeria verde y benados que tomauan en los montes y mayz y gallinas de la tierra, y leña, acudiendo con servicios personales a los mexicanos en Guaxaca ... ," all without fixed tribute dates, "y la plumeria y oro que asi tributauan lo yban a buscar a Teguantepeque y a la provincia de Soconusco e Guatemala, arquilandose en carga mercadurias de mercaderes y en beneficiar y cultivar tierras en la dicha provincia donde se detenian seys y siete meses y vn año, y otros se ocupauan en lo que por los señores y caçiques deste pueblo les hera mandado, y por lo susodicho les pagauan oro y plumas verdes, y eçito trayan y guardauan para pagar se tributo, y por tener a dos señores a quien acudir con los dichos tributos muchas veces quedauan confusos, y no osauan rebelarse contra ellos porque no los destruyesen a todos."

[132] *PNE*, 4: 138. Ocelotepec "en su antigüedad tenyan por señor a monteçuma, señor de Mexico, al qual tributaban oro en polbo y mantas de que ellos se bisten, y grana, todo en poca cantidad, y en cada vn años [*sic*] vna vez, lo qual el reçebia ... y el les enbiaba otras cosas de mas balor como eran mantas y los 'cactles' que ellos traen, y plumas de muchas colores."

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less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier. 651 632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[203]

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.[204]

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves.[205] [567]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison.[206] [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.[207]

Tlacolula gave military service only.[208]

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.[209]

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[210]

Xilotepec, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.[211]

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[203] See Itzquintepec, above.

[204] *PNE*, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, ques vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

[205] *PNE*, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

[206] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

[207] *PNE*, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

[208] *PNE*, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

[209] *PNE*, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

[210] See n. 105 above.

[211] See n. 105 above.

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located; and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen
[128] on the 1: 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran monteçuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de gustimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ....." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

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but this space may be filled very precisely with the administratively 635
separate center of Tlatelolco and its dependencies. The position given to Tlatelolco in the *Matricula* (the American Philosophical Society fragment) and in the *Mendocino* (fol. 19' constitutes a problem with which the writer has dealt elsewhere.[2]

A glance at the map will explain why the Çitlaltepec group and Tlatelolco have been treated together here, although administratively they formed separate tributary provinces.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

The Lake of Texcoco formed the common geographic denominator 131
of these towns.

Acalhuacan, with its miniscule population of forty houses, was the 632
subject of a dispute between the encomendero of Quauhtitlan (BX, 2) and the natives of Tlatelolco in the year 1537,[3] and the record of this dispute is sufficiently enlightening to enable one to find the approximate location of Acalhuacan. Since it was disputed along with Atzompan, it has been placed, like that town, to the north of the Sierra de Guadalupe, but on the western (Quauhtitlan) side of the lake—all quite provisionally. The name, "Place of Canoe-Owners," indicates the lacustrine site.

Acolnahuac (located after the printing of the map) was a point on the Azteca-Mexica migration route—now San Bernabé, on the Calzada de Camarones, between Azcapotzalco and the Nonoalco highway.[4]

Coatlayauhcan is mentioned by at least one source, "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," as one of the stopping places of the migrating Azteca-Mexica.

Huixachtitlan probably lay a little south of Xaloztoc. Studies made after the printing of the map indicate that it lay on the migration route of the *Códice Huitzilopochtli,* between Tequepayuca (now Cerro de

[2] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 204–207.

[3] "Carta de los indios principales," in S. Montoto, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América* (1927), I: 84. It is also mentioned in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), par. 472.

[4] Barlow, "Los caciques coloniales de Tlatelolco," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1944), 3: 552–553.

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632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208–213.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

● 632 An extensive zone to the south of Lake Chalco is rendered uninhabit-
[133 able by the lava flow, or "Pedregal," emitted by the Ajusco Mountains,
311] which form the valley rim. If any small settlements existed in this area, their tribute was probably reckoned as a part of that collected from some major town in the region of Xochimilco or Tepoztlan.

Auchpanco is identified by Acosta with Ayapango.

Colhuacacinco,[8] later San Cristobal, lay on the shore of Lake Xaltocan, east of Tzonpanco (2).

Olac is a barrio of Xochimilco.[9]

632 *Petlacalcatl* is the inscription under the glyph of a house made of
114 grass mats, in the *Mendocino*. It occupies the usual place of the cabecera in the manuscript, and like all the other towns was originally followed by the word "pu[ebl]o." A later hand has struck this out and has replaced it with the word "gobernador," perhaps under the influence of the double (and doubtful) annotation about "Acolhuacā" and "Acolmecatl calpixqui" (tribute collector) which heads Acolhuacan Province.

That something is wrong is evident from the form of the original annotation. It is probably a place glyph, but the annotation takes the form of a personal glyph. I have chosen to read it as Petlacalco. The result is the same, for the Petlacalcatl, on the facing *Mendocino* page, was a head tribute collector, and the Petlacalco[20] was the "audiencia" building in the Tenochtitlan palace, which also housed a majordomo in charge of the granaries.[21]

632 *Texcacoac*[22] is a barrio of Tepotzotlan, and consequently we should judge that it lay north of Tecoloapan (7).

[8] Located after the printing of the map, "dista del pueblo de Tiçayuca vna legua hazia el sueste" (*PNE*, 3: 44 and n. 2).

[9] Olaguibel, *Onomatología del estado de México* (1894), p. 96.

[20] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], I: 166.

[21] *Ibid.*, II: 311.

[22] Located after the printing of the map; it is mentioned in the Ayer "Fragment of a Village Book," and, as Texcacoa, in García Cubas' *Diccionario*.

000 **Seventeenth Chapter, in which it is told how the Spaniards took Moctezuma with them as they went into the great palace; and what there happened.**

And when they had gone on to reach and enter the palace, forthwith they seized Moctezuma and kept him under guard,[1] never letting him from their sight, and with him Itzquauhtzin.[2] But the others only ran away.

And when this had come to pass, then the guns shot off. All flew into disorder, ran off to one side, melted from view [as the guns] flashed and spouted sparks.[3] All were as if stricken, drunk, as if all had looked upon [evil]. Fear reigned, as if everyone had lost heart. Even before it grew dark, all huddled in frightened, awed, and thunderstruck groups. All slept in terror.

And when dawn broke, all the things which [the Spaniards] needed were proclaimed [by the crier]: white tortillas, roasted birds, eggs, fresh water, wood — wood for burning, charcoal; earthen vessels — polished ones, water jars small and large, skillets, all [manner of] earthen vessels. [For] in truth [so] Moctezuma had commanded.

And when he summoned the noblemen, they defied him. They were wroth; they would not come to him; they would not go there. He was not listened to. But although not left at his feet,[4] all was given that [the Spaniards] needed — food, drink, chocolate, and fodder for deer.

652 And when [the Spaniards] were settled, they thereupon inquired of Moctezuma as to all the treasure of the city — the devices, the shields. Much did they tax him; with great zeal they demanded gold. And Moctezuma, upon this, proceeded to lead the Spaniards, who went surrounding and crowding about him as he went among them. He went at their head; they advanced with hands laid upon him, taking hold of him. And when they had as-

Injc caxtolli onume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles qujvicatiaque Motecuçoma injc calaqujto vei tecpã: yoan in tlein vmpa mochiuh.

Auh in oacito tecpan, in ocalaqujto: çan njman vel quitzizqujque, vel qujxpixtinenca, amo connjzcaoaia in Motecuçoma, in nehoan Itzquauhtzin: auh in oc cẽqujntin çan oalqujzque.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ie uevetz in in tlequjqujztli, iuhqujn tlayxneliuj, avic viloa, tlaixmoiaoa, tlachichitoca, iuhqujn tlacica, çan oqu juhqujn netequjpacholo, iuhqujn nenauacavilo, iuhqujn tlen mach onnettitilo, maujztli oonoc, iuhqujn mochi tlacatl quitollo yiollo: çanoc iuh onmac, nemamauhtilotoc neihiçavilotoc, necujcujtiuechotoc, necochmamauhtilotoc.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic motzatzilia in jxqujch intech monequj. in iztac tlaxcalli, totollaleoatzalli, totoltetl, chipaoac atl, in quauitl, in tlatlatilquauitl, in tecolli, in apaztli, in petzcaxitl, in apilloli, in tzotzocolli, in tlatzoonjlcaxitl, in ie ixqujch in çequjtlatqujtl: ichoatl uel tlanaoatica in Motecuçomatzin.

Auh in qujnoalnotzaia pipiltl, aocmo qujtlacamatia, ça quallanj, aocmo iujc quiça, aocmo ivic quiça, aocmo iujc onuj, aocmo mocaquj: auh tel amo icelic caoalo, maco in jxqujch itech monequj in qualonj, in jualonj, ioan in atl, in maçatlaçlli.

Auh in no uel motlalique: njmã ie ic qujntemolia in Motecuçomatzin in jxqujch in jtetzõ in altepetl, in tlaujztli, in chimalli, cenca qujmatataqujlia, cẽca qujmaujztemoa in teucujtlatl. Auh in Motecuçomatzin: njman ie ic qujniacantiuh in Españoles, cokolhujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj, innepantla icatiuh, tlaiacac icatiuh, qujtzitzizqujztiuj, caantiuj. Auh in onacique in tlatlatilcali: itocaiocan, teucalco: njman ie ic oallaqujztilo in jxqujch in petlacotl, in quetzalapane-

1. Cervantes de Salazar, in *Crónica de Nueva España* (México: Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnografía, 1936), II, Chapter XXVIIIqq., develops this narrative with much color and detail.

2. Governor of Tlatelolco (corresponding Spanish text).

3. See Soler, op. cit., p. 494, n. 1.

4. Soler (op. cit., p. 495) reads the phrase as *ceno le ciscuando* — he was not therefore ignored.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common 643
leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic 692
cluster.[273] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, 701
are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

[273] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original 103
kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, 701
named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Aztacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," 633
etc., p. 134). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "councillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli"—"barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 494 and 498) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Mackuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 103 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV. p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpanecs, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 236) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 483), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-women;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con- [643]

X 787 And one then born they hence regarded as fortunate and said that he would be rich. Our lord would reward him; through his grace he would buy slaves and ceremonially bathe them for sacrifice. Or many times he would have others sing and dance.

[553] And[4] when they gave him a name, they arranged it for Four Reed. Then they gave food to the young boys and had them perform the naming ceremony.[5]

●[633] This was because that time was the time of the election rites, of the election of the rulers of the cities.

231 And also it was said that on One Dog the owners and breeders of dogs rubbed ochre on all the dogs' heads.[6]

805 And [the day signs] which followed it were Two Monkey, and Three Grass, Four Reed, Five Ocelot, Six Eagle, Seven Vulture, Eight Motion, Nine Flint Knife,[7] Ten Rain, Eleven Flower, Twelve Crocodile, Thirteen Wind. These were all the group of day signs.

680 All were as in their account, as mentioned. Each day went related as to the manner of gifts of those then born. This is already explained; in many places hath it been made quite apparent. And when [these had] ended, thereupon set in—

auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, injc qujtonalittaia, qujtoaia: mocujltonoz, ipal iez, qujtlamauiçalhuiz in totecujo: aço tecoaz, tealtiz, aço quezquipa cujcujcaz teitotiz: uh inic qujtocamacaia, qujn no ipan qujmattiuia in naoacatl, iquac qujtlatlaqualiaia, qujxicvenquaqualiaia in pipaltotonti: ipampa in vncan motlatocapaca, in netlatocapacaian tlatoque, altepeme.

No ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce itzcujntli, in jzqujchtin chichime, qujnquatlaviaia in itzcujneque, in jtzcujnnemjtique.

Auh in qujtoquilia vme oçomatli, iuan ey malinalli, navi acatl, macujlli oçelotl, chiquacen quauhtli, chicome coxcaquauhtli, chicuei olin, chicunauj tecpac, matlactli qujauitl, matlactloce xuchitl, matlactlomome cipactli, matlactli vmei hecatl, in jzquitetl in cencalpā tonalli,

ça ie much iuhquj in jtoloca omoteneuh, injc cecemjlhujpā tlapoaltitiuh, in quenamj innenemac ipan tlacati, ie omomelauh mjieccan vel omonenezti: auh in jquac onquiz in njman ic oalmoquetza.

4. Dit: *auh* is inserted.

5. See Chapter 9, n. 1.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tambien tenjan esta ceremonia: que en este tiempo, los que eslauan los pueblos, que hiciqan dueño. los almagraban los cabeças."

7. *Tecpatl* is masc.

Tenth Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came — when already they had come and were making their way forward — first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoac,[1] on land of the people of Tlaxcalla, there dwelt their [subject] Otōmí. And the Otomí met them in battle; with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.[2]

And when [the region of] Tecoac had perished, those of Tlaxcalla — when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told — could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time — in but the flutter of an eyelid —

Injc matlactli Capítulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles çan jvian, oallalhoaccaquizque, oallotlatocatiaque yoã in quenjn Motecuçoma quicauh in vei tecpan, vmpa ia in jpilchan.

Ninan quioallalcavi in jvevechan in vei tecpan, vncan oallamattia, vncan oallama, quioalma, quioaltocac in jpilchan in ichoatl Motecuçoma.

Auh in iequene vitze, in ie vitze, in ie ovalmolinjque: ce tlacatl, ompoaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl, no achto canaco; in jquac quittato tlalli, in altepetl, no oalnaoatlatotia, q'noaloquechilitia, quinoalotlaxilitia, quinoallaixtlatitia, quinoaliacan, quinoaliacantia.

Auh in oacico Tecoac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan onoque imotonoan. Auh in otomj iautica quinnamjcque, chimaltica quinnamjcque: auh in otomj in Tecoaca vel quimjxtlatique, vel ixpoliuhque, quinzixilque, texixiloac, quintlequiquizvique, quintepuzmjvique, quintlavitolhujque, amo çan quexquichtin, vel ixachintin, in ixpoliuhque.

Auh in ontlalpoliuh tecoac, in tlaxcalteca in oconcacque in ocõematque, in onjlhujloto, cenca mauhcaçoncoque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in mavizzli, mavizcujque:

njmã mocentlalique mononotzque, motecuiononotzque, motlatocanonotzque, quimoottitique in tlatolli:

quitoque. Quen toienque, cuix tiquinnamjquizque: ca vei oquichtli vei tiacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oquittac, atle ipan oconjttac, çan ixquich cavitontli in çan ixpeioctli in oconpopolo maceoalli. Auh in axcan ma çan itlan toncalaquicã, ma çan tictoc-

1. Tecoac: today Molino, in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

2. This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilar, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porrúa e Hijos, Sucs., 1954), pp. 18ssq. References to important contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilar, Díaz, Cervantes, Garcilo, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points often cited in the *Florentine Codex* and other Aztec accounts.

635 they destroyed the vassals. So now let us submit to
648 them; let us befriend them; let us make friends of the foe. [For] the common folk suffer."

648 And thereupon the rulers of Tlaxcalla went to meet them. They took them food — birds, eggs, white tortillas, fresh tortillas.

They said to them: "Ye have labored, O our lords."

[These] answered them: "Where is your home? Whence come ye?"

They said: "We are people of Tlaxcalla. You have tired yourselves. You have come to and reached the land [which is] your poor home, Quauhtlaxcalla."

(But in ancient times it was named Texcalla, and the common folk were called Texcallans.)[1]

njuhtican, ma çan tiocnjubtlacan, motolinja in maceoalli.

Auh njma ic vi in qujnamjqujsque in tlaxcalteca tlatoque: qujtqujque in tlaqualli, in totoli, in totoltetl in jztac tlaxcalli, in chipaoac tlaxcalli:

qujmjlhujque. Oanqujmjhioviltique tetecujoane:

qujnoalnanqujlique. Cana mochan? Campa oanoallaque?

Conjtoque. Titlaxcalteca, oanqujmociaviltique, oanmaxitico, otlaltech anmaxitico in amochantzinco quauhtlaxcalla

(auh in ic vecauh moteneoaia Texcalla, in maceoalti mjtoaia, texcalteca.)

1. The Spanish text says: "*La ciudad fi aquera se llama Texcalla, aunque que ciudadanos los cofradadas se llamaban Texcallas.*"
Tlaxcalla did not exist as a compact urban center before the Conquest except for the four barrios — Quiahuixtlan, Ocotelulco, Tepeticpac, and Tlizatlan — which made up the Republic of Tlaxcalla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

II. THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

128 Because there were many provinces in the Empire which it is our purpose to delimit, some few grand divisions seem advisable. These have been made in a rather arbitrary way, with varying criteria. In certain regions it is possible to point out a particular zone as the special sphere of influence of some one or another member of the Triple Alliance. The six provinces described below, however, have been grouped on the basis of their common enemy and peril, the Purépecha or Tarascans, against whom they formed a long frontier. Brand has published a useful map of the Tarascan dominions and their fortified towns facing the Mexica, from the Río de las Balsas north.[1]

1. Çihuatlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the sixteenth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 38' of the *Codex Mendocino* appear the twelve towns of the most westerly province of the Empire we are about to depict. This province, now the "Costa Grande" of Guerrero, extends west of Acapulco to the outlet of the Río de las Balsas. In the *Matricula*, seven of the towns are identified by annotations in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The province of Çihuatlan was in a region which is wretchedly mapped to this day, where half the place names seem to have disappeared. If it were not for a "Relación de los pueblos que visitó Gaspar Xuarez en la provincia de Çacatula," of the mid-sixteenth century, the present map would scarcely be possible. There is supplementary information in the relación of Zacatula itself, dating from the 1580's, which the writer has published from a nineteenth-century copy—the original remaining unpublished and apparently unpublishable, for some mysterious reason known only to its present guardians.

635 114 128 Since this relación was available only after the printing of the map, two or three inconsistencies between map and text have inevitably resulted.

The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet

[1] Brand, "An Historical Sketch of Geography and Anthropology in the Tarascan Region. Part I," *New Mexico Anthropologist* (1943), Vol. 6–7, facing p. 60.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecã (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,* and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.*

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles* of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

* See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

* See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

* The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaua gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.[20] 651

2. Tepequacuilco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied as folio 37' of the *Codex Mendocino*, are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below: 635 114 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Alahuiztlã, 21	Alahuistlán
Atenanco, 8	Atengo del Río
Cocolan, 13	Cocula
Cueçalan, 7	Cuetzala
Chilacachapã, 12	Chilicachapa
Chilapan, 4	Chilapa
Huitzoco, 16	Huitzuco
Ohuapã, 6	Oapan
Oztoma, 19	[Missing]
Teloloapan, 11	[No change]
Tepequacuilco, 15	Tepecoacuilco
Tlachmalacac, 18	Tlaxmalac
Ychcateopã, 20	Ixcateopan
Yoallan, 17	Iguala

All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted 635

[20] "Al rrey que era de Mexica ... le dauan esclavos e mantas e oro en poluo que sacauan y lavaban de los rrios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos dauan al dicho Monteçuma eran para que los diches Mexicanos comyesen" (*PNE*, 6: 158).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[27] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[28] Tetela (5),[29] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[30] Totoltepec (10);[31] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[32]

[175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[33] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[34] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[35] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[36] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

[27] "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[28] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."

[29] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."

[30] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernase."

[31] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."

[32] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Montecçuma."

[33] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.

[34] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.

[35] *PNE*, 6: 113: "En otro tiempo estubo poblado en un peñol ques enespugnable y muy fuerte."

[36] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs, "¿Es al Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[88] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco,[89] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[90]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[91] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[92] Ychcateopan,[93] Oztoma,[94] Totoltetec,[95] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[96] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[97]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[98] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[99]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather
131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[100] Alahuiztlan

[88] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[89] *PNE*, 6: 315.
[90] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[91] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[92] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[93] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[94] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[95] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[96] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[97] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[98] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[99] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[100] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha gerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motetzuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

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Ajahuiztlan 19 635 632 [317] 131

had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list.

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c] [712]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d] [712]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan [648]

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[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese xente en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espunable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[m] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[n]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17v) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[o] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[m]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[p] of mantles *colchadas***
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white**
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
1,600 bundles of large mantles**
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)*

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian**
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[m] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[n] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[o] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[p] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[q] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[a]

[567 727] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[b] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[c]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

655 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacã, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapã, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpã (10).

[a] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[b] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est) le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[c] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[314] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly).

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *xollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas ... . Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cosian lo justavan estos governadores y la davan cada año a Montecuma, y las mantas davan de veynte a veynte dias."

[] "Relación de Suhtepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[] *PNE*, 7: 102: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

[] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[*]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[*] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[*] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[*] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

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5. Tuluca

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33' of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacā, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepec, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Teotenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xicaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Çoquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan.

Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master.[30]

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rrachan y ocote, que sea para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocotlili."

[30] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

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Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[28] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[28] *PNF* 7: 16.

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635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[106] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present
[26] map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

[103]

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacã, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[107]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation.
114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

34-6 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center.
635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[106] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.
[107] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

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is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[111]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ... ," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenanzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiteca*, de dificil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

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III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].[1] Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the relación of Tecpatepec (1579),[2] one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also[3]—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the *Matrícula* and on the copy of that page, folio 32′ of the *Codex Mendocino*, and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

[1] "Memorial de los pueblos subjetos a esta cabecera de tlacupan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE*, 14: 118.

[2] *PNE*, 6: 35.

[3] E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlauhca, Cepayauhtla, and Ciuhtepec. *GPM*, pp. 163–164.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[9] 632
Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the 131
path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli,* "sand," and *tlalli,* "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] 635
and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the 197
north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old 101
Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are: 635

Atlapulco, 11	Cuauximalpan, 7
Capulhuac, 12	Chichicquauhtla, 4
Coatepec, 14	Huizquilocan, 5

Tlalatlauhco, 13

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other 635
Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east 131
those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[9] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[9] Cf. preceding note.
[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[11] *PNE,* 1: No. 561.
[12] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[14] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan
[128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[*] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[**] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[*] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[**] *PNE*, 11 No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen** [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)** [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of 651
the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single 632
town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matrícula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[30] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the
114 north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpā, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.
131 *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[20]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28' of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[21]

[20] *PNE*, 1: No. 1.

[21] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Ouanz* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepexic ce comēdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llamo Otlazpan."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; 63a
moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, 131
Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[26] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[27]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[28] that the people of Otlaz- 197
pan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, 579
whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was 101
accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have 635
not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its 131
neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[26] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir nuñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino sexeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11' calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[27] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6', where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ostlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468). [114]

[28] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[*]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[*]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[*] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[19]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[20]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[21]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca,* in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[19] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[20] *GPM*, p. 263.
[21] *PNE*, 3: 33, n°1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[296 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114

The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

[128]

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

IV. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE NORTH

JUST AS THE PRECEDING GROUP of provinces may be linked conveniently as the Old Tepanec Domain, those which we are about to consider belong predominantly to another member of the triumvirate, Acolhuacan Texcoco. The chief authority for this is the chronicler Ixtlilxochitl, who tells us in some detail how Nezahualcoyotl placed governors and mayordomos in Cuauhchinanco, Tuchpa, and other towns we shall consider—enough to imply that the whole northeast was under the dominion of the Acolhuaque in late pre-Hispanic days. He explains that these were the towns "allotted to the realm of Texcoco, the other two kings having no share in them."[1] Though Ixtlilxochitl is accused of mendacious nationalism, we may accept his word, inasmuch as such sources as a list of pueblos subject to Texcoco[2] and the conquest lists of that city-state, which the writer will publish later in a chronology of the Empire, confirm his statements absolutely.

14. OXITIPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The last leaf of the *Matricula* as it exists today (p. 28) deals with the province of Ctzicoac (*Mendocino*, fol. 55'). Following this page there was originally at least one more leaf in the *Matricula*—a leaf which is known only from the *Mendocino* copy. At this point in the *Mendocino* appear the words "fin de la parte segunda," that is, the end of the tribute section of this tripartite codex. Presumably the lost *Matricula* leaf was blank upon its verso when the *Mendocino* copyist had it before him, or he would not have written "fin." The long array of tributaries ended here.

What must have been the recto of the original leaf not only is the end of the manuscript, but also represents the end of the Empire of the Mexica, as far as the north is concerned, for there is but one town

[1] "Esta provincia y las demas en donde puso sus mayordomos y cobradores, fueron las que se ajudicaron al reino de Texcoco, sin entrar en participacion los otros dos reyes" (Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* [1892], II: 198).

[2] In the *Anales del Museo Nacional de ... México*, Epoca I (1897), 4: 48–51 and Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), vs. 1343, among other places.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called 632
Atucpan.[88] Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of 131
the towns against which that state made war.

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec[89] is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.[90] It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,[91] two long leagues southeast of Axocopan[92] and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.[93]

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan[94] and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.[95] It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.[96]

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.[97]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province 635
were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitla- 632
pilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was pre- 197
dominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.[98]

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bor- 635
dered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.[99] To 131
the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

[88] *PNE*, 6: 24 and 35.
[89] The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.
[90] Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.
[91] *GPM*, p. 188.
[92] *PNE*, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.
[93] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[94] *PNE*, 6: 15.
[95] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[96] *PNE*, 3: 42.
[97] *PNE*, 6: 27.
[98] In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Tolnacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (*PNE*, 6: 24).
[99] "Relación de Meztitlan."

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[87] as did Tequixquiac[88] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[89]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[90]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[91]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[92]

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[87] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[88] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[89] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[90] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[91] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[92] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[22] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[23] and Zimapan (12).[24]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[25] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[22] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[23] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tlecululi ycatzia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[24] *FNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[25] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[26] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[27] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[28] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[29] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[30] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[31]

[26] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[27] Cf. n. 35 above.
[28] *FNE*, 6: 201.
[29] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[30] Corrected from 400.
[31] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[42] 651 632

12. Axocopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27'.[43] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below: 635 114 [128]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquiahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayā, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpā, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpā, 10	Ixmiquilpan

[103]

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[42] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[43] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atenco*, now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[a] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[b] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[c] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[d] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[e] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the following towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[f]

[a] *GPM*, p. 185.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 36.
[d] *PNE*, 6: 205.
[e] *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.
[f] *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz- 635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[m] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles** [291
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border** 714]
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262
400 large jars of thick maguey honey 263]

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[n]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[m] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[n] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[o] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia
[235] montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[53]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[54]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

● 635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
[128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula,* only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino,* all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists
131 another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[53] *PNE,* 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[54] *PNE,* 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 114 131 represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1 Ojitipa de Mirador

Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to [651] judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[3] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[4]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[5]

635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[3] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tambolon"—now a rancho of Valles.
[4] Meade, *La Huexteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[5] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI:275.

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ...they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [439]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.* 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING** [291]

2,010 bundles* of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles* of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD* [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE* [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

* *ENE*, 10: 126. * Corrected from 2,000. * Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54'). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 223, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map. 632 131

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33] [643]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matrícula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco. [175] [114]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em- 635 648 197

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 189–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

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635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[16] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[17] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[18]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[19] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[20] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[21]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula*, Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

297 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[16] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[17] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huasteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[19] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[21] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 196.

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16. Tuchpa

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The *Matrícula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[28] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Miahuaapã, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapã.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (2), according to 131 Lehmann.[29] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[30]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[31]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[28] See Introduction, p. 7.

[29] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (2), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[30] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[31] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma nasçiese ni eredase este rreyno no estuvan estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron desde á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é termines se dieron briamente á monteçuma."

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[*] 637 131

Temezticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197 belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635 still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648 of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[*] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[*]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635 of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131 south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635 coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103 part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651 cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matrícula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles** [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
808 bundles[*] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**

[*] RHE, 1: 487.
[*] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[*] Corrected from 800.

1 [p.58.—Analyst] 2 [p.56.—Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.[a] 651 632

17. Atlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.[b] In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.[c] Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."[d] 635 114

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two. 635 131

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "...otra capitania...a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte...."[e]

[a] RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."
[b] Cf. Malinalco, above.
[c] *PNE*, 3: 97.
[d] *ENE*, 8: 160.
[e] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[243] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauheitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

* Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación.[a] 632 131

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"[b] finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were important towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.[c] Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."[d] The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.[e] 635 635 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces. 635 131

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone called Totonacapan. 635

[a] RHE, 1: 481: "tenian ... governador antiguamente puesto por mónteçuma."
[b] *ENE*, 8: 159.
[c] Christensen, "El Tepuanztli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3: 179–180.
[d] RHE, 1: 480: "son yndios muy tontos yncliados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferente de la mexicana."
[e] See the *proceso* of the *cacique* of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[20]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[21]

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino.* There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino,* as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

[20] RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."

[21] RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[illegible] 632
and seventeen leagues from México.[illegible] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears 131
eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[illegible] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[illegible]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[illegible]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiq- 635
uity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún com- 175
ments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[illegible] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[illegible] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[illegible] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande 635
lay between two *tierras de guerra.* To the north was Metztitlan, and 131
probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atoto- 651
nilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING [291 714]

800 bundles of rich mantles**
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[illegible] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[illegible] *GPM*, p. 250.
[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[illegible] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuiquiluca [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[illegible] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[illegible] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[illegible] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.**

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

● 635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco,
[28] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Tescalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapã, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

** *PNE*, 1: No. 21: "Y da tres seyçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembras veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dos veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[70] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[71]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[72]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[73] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the
131 province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

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[70] RHE, 1: 152.

[71] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.

[72] Cf. n. 82 below.

[73] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de tezcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

There is a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the 631
Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about 648
to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names 175
nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and [128]
Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. Chalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matrícula* and folio 41' of the *Codex* 635
Mendocino appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal 114
towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been [128]
identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP	[103]
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco	
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco	
Tepoztlan, 3	Tepoztlan	

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[14] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23'. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corronpemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 103 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les syudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[33] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[34]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[35] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[36]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[38]

[33] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[34] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 121: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[36] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[38] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Mariculo* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl tozdi," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323 2,000 pottery bowls**
289] 8,000 reams of native paper**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayoxochapil, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

* *PNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Tesela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoxtlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[a]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province
197 of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[b] and Yacapichtla.[c] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[d]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[e] and so were the Tlalhuica.[f]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow
131 province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[a] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso quéria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matrícula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[b] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[c] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimillco."

[d] See pp. 76–77.

[e] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimillco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[f] See pp. 76–77.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[**] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[**]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[**] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[**]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [263]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors [323]
8,000 reams of native paper [289]

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. 727

[**] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[**] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Taxcala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[**] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[**] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze canoçeras."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[80]

[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[81]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco*, according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[82]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[83]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[84] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[85]

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[80] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[81] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[82] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[83] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[84] *GPM*, p. 112.

[85] *GPM*, p. 104.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.*

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se embixavan"*

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitzilteculi, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis hateras de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

* Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecoçahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323
[313
314]

16 pieces of colored lacquer
268 fine *jícaras* and *tecomates*
20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[28]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the *Matrícula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40r, as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [128 Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

105

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[29] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[30]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[31] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[28] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[30] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108v. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 210.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Tlaxtla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de las de la Mixteca sujetos a la doctrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf 175
coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to 128
chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, ex- 635
tending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the 114
recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51'. Of the eleven principal [28]
towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotoxco
Teodalpan, 1	Hueytlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonoctla, 3	Jonotla
Yaunahuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yayauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Ytzizepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco. 635 131

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING [291 714]

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS [314]

800 cakes of liquidambar***[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[32] and liquidambar.[33] 632 651

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[34]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[35] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 462: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

[1/4 [chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl — Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, [175] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[28]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[29]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[30] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[31]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauh- 197 tochco itself into the Empire.[32] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[33] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlax- 131 cala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 large mantles[34]

[28] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san ju° cuescomitepeque de la jurisdizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Cuecomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[29] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[30] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ytcyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ytioyuca."

[31] Dominguez, *Cuecomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[32] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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651

FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Domínguez, *Coxcomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1:158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotaxtla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de nuevste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10:61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^ed a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del ꝑ^o de myctlanquauhtla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos^es vz cerro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[28] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[29]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[30] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[31] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

● 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[30] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[32]

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[30] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[31] RHE, 1: 131.
[32] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributaranle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north-eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matriculc*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapã, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpã, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tozllan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Teteutlan
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlã	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michtlan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

It appears in the Mo-
632 *tecuzoma*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[a] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[b] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[c] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[d] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[e]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[f] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[g]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages*.—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[h] The chief language of the

[a] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[b] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, proveí, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[c] In García Icazbaleta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por si, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[d] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[e] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[f] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[g] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tezcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

½ [i.e., Chinantlan – Avalyd]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield**
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads**
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
** Also from Ucila.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec N07

the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[a]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[b]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[c]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[a] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE*, 5: 2).

[b] *PNE*, 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[c] *PNE*, 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... ; y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouscatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchíuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

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[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81. Identified as *Coinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinço pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 197 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

● 635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the [128] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlã, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcã, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlã, 2	

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124-125.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemazalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacã, Chiltecpintlã, Oztotlapechco, and Yççochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[2] and Quauhtinchan.[3] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[4] 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[5] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace. 635 131 [648]

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[6] 635 175

[2] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[3] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Toltecs-Chichimecs* (1937).

[4] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
[281] 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 80 [illegible]erskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiçás que en lengua mexicana llaman ōtlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

32. Yoaltepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40′ of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalã (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayã (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[36] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[37] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[38]

[36] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Motectzuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de México."
[37] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[38] *PNE*, 1: No. 6.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 532] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies
651 and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el passaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando va presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á montezuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia montezuma jente de guarniçion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á montezuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] prouincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributó alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y exentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tuxpaster and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su zentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]
[316 267 237] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45r of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).[74]

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[75]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *EVE*, 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted. - Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[28] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING [291

400 large mantles** 714]
1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316
5 sacks of cochineal 237]
400 bunches of quetzal feathers

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino.* It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[31] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[28] *PNE,* 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[29] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[31] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 114 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based [128] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[78] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[79]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[78] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llama ian 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[79] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauaca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

171 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 175 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 805 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,[*] and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states[**] to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

[*] *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

[**] Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotitlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exerxitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco passuan bastimentos."

[] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que conpravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecçuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de zuzula."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the 197
predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, 174
especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one 635
of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced un- 131
friendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, [712]
however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid 651
the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles [291]
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian) [262]

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger [316]
20 bags of cochineal [237]

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

(Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula,* our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.—Eleven other town glyphs which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Matricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located; and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen on the 1: 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

Tlatelolco.—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula,* Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

but this space may be filled very precisely with the administratively 635
separate center of Tlatelolco and its dependencies. The position given to Tlatelolco in the *Matricula* (the American Philosophical Society fragment) and in the *Mendocino* (fol. 19' constitutes a problem with which the writer has dealt elsewhere.[3]

A glance at the map will explain why the Çitlaltepec group and Tlatelolco have been treated together here, although administratively they formed separate tributary provinces.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

The Lake of Texcoco formed the common geographic denominator 131
of these towns.

Acalhuacan, with its miniscule population of forty houses, was the 632
subject of a dispute between the encomendero of Quauhtitlan (BX, 2) and the natives of Tlatelolco in the year 1537,[5] and the record of this dispute is sufficiently enlightening to enable one to find the approximate location of Acalhuacan. Since it was disputed along with Atzompan, it has been placed, like that town, to the north of the Sierra de Guadalupe, but on the western (Quauhtitlan) side of the lake—all quite provisionally. The name, "Place of Canoe-Owners," indicates the lacustrine site.

Acolnahuac (located after the printing of the map) was a point on the Azteca-Mexica migration route—now San Bernabé, on the Calzada de Camarones, between Azcapotzalco and the Nonoalco highway.[6]

Coatlayauhcan is mentioned by at least one source, "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," as one of the stopping places of the migrating Azteca-Mexica.

Huixachtitlan probably lay a little south of Xaloztoc. Studies made after the printing of the map indicate that it lay on the migration route of the *Códice Huitzilopochtli*, between Tequepayuca (now Cerro de

[3] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 204–207.

[5] "Carta de los indios principales," in S. Montoto, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América* (1927), I: 84. It is also mentioned in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), par. 472.

[6] Barlow, "Los caciques coloniales de Tlatelolco," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1944), 3: 552–553.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208–213.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635 the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114 tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131 and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128] the 1:100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103 y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101
the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197
little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635
flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131
manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635
longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col 651
lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields [291
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth 714]
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans [262]
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER XV

THE AZTECS AFTER THEIR CONQUEST

The history of the Aztecs after the Conquest and suggestions for a tour through their domain

AZTEC civilization died, but the Aztecs still live. Remove the pure-blooded Indian from Mexico, and you lose two fifths of the population; take out those with Indian blood in their veins, and a bare twentieth of the population will remain. The face of Mexico is an Indian face. Yet travel in Mexico and read its history, and you will see, as if in strata, the impress of the colonial period, the republic, the empire of Maximilian, the dictatorship of Diaz and the modern social thinking of the Revolution. The Indian civilization you do not see, except for its descendants, who are everywhere, who are the Mexican people. Though their outward aspect and their material and social culture are European, the stamp of the Aztec character is on their minds, just as the masonry of broken Aztec temples is built into the walls of their churches.[1]

The original purpose of the Crown and the Church was to convert the Indian population into Spanish citizens with full civic rights. For two generations the authorities almost succeeded in their intent; but finally the individualism so emphasized in European culture broke through their legislative controls, and the white conquerors reduced the Indians to

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

636 slavery. Now, after four hundred years, it seems that the present Republican government might achieve by means of their Indian education program the humane purpose formulated under the colonial system.

797 After 1520, when the Conquest was established, the Spaniards began the process of converting a matured Indian culture into a European one. The conquerors were granted lands and in return were supposed to exploit the new territory for the economic advantage of Spain. The Church had in its custody the education of the Indians and their spiritual and corporal welfare. The different monastic orders undertook the control of the Indians in specified localities. Their first steps were to eradicate the local idolatry and to learn the language and customs of their new charges, the better to accomplish conversion.[2]

The friars, especially selected for the task, showed great understanding. They immediately replaced one theological structure with another. The Indians tore down their temples to build churches and monasteries in their place. The use of statues and paintings in Catholic ritual answered so well the requirements of Aztec worship that the friars had great trouble in preventing adoration of the images themselves. (See Plate 26, middle.)

797 The studies that the friars made of the Indian customs
636 were admirable, with the Franciscans and Dominicans showing exceptional abilities.[3] The children of Indian tribal leaders were educated in schools to spread the gospel. Under this Spanish control there was no recognition of the old communal land tenure, so the Aztecs were frozen into possession of the lands that they occupied by tribal sanction. The chiefs who had held the usage of the official lands found

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their 797
descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly 636
families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the 177
records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec picto- [217]
graphic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. [291]
The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging [415]
fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed 797
to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours 346
in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. 177
The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[5]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[6]

Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[7]

The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

How we began our march to the City of Mexico, what happened to us on the road, and what Montezuma sent to say.

WE set out from Cholula in carefully arranged order as we were always accustomed to do, the mounted scouts examining the country ahead and some very active foot soldiers accompanying them, so that should they come to any bad ground or other obstacle they might help one another; then [followed] our cannon all ready for action, and the musketeers and crossbowmen, and then the horsemen in parties of three so that they could help one another, then all the rest of the soldiers in good order. I don't know why I call all this so clearly to mind, but when writing about war, one feels obliged to make mention of it, so that it can be seen how we marched always "with chin on shoulder." Marching in this way we arrived that day at some ranchos standing on a hill about four leagues from Cholula, they are peopled from Huexotzingo, and I think they are called the Ranchos of Yscalpan. To this place soon came the Caciques and priests of the towns of Huexotzingo which were near by, and they were friends and allies of the Tlaxcalans, and there also came people from other small towns, which stand on the slopes of the volcano near their boundary line, who brought us food and a present of golden jewels of small value, and they asked Cortés to accept them and not consider the insignificance of the gift but the good will with which it was offered. They advised him not to go to Mexico as it was a very strong city and full of warriors, where we should run much risk. They also told us to look out, if we had decided upon going, for when we had ascended to the pass we should find two broad roads, one leading to a town named Chalco, and the other to another

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

town called Tlamanalco,[1] both of them subject to Mexico; that the one road was well swept and cleared so as to induce us to take it, and that the other road had been closed up and many great pines and other trees had been cut down so that horses could not use it and we could not march along it. That a little way down the side of the mountain along the road that had been cleared, the Mexicans (thinking that we must take that road) had cut away a piece of the hill side, and had made ditches and barricades, and that certain squadrons of Mexicans had waited at that point so as to kill us there. So they counselled us not to go by the road which was clear, but by the road where the felled trees were, saying that they would send many men with us to clear it, and as the Tlascalans were also with us, between them they would clear away the trees, and they said that that road came out at Tlamanalco.

Cortés received their present very kindly and told them that he thanked them for the counsel they had given him, and that with God's help he would not abandon his march but would go the way they advised him. Early the next morning we began our march, and it was nearly midday when we arrived at the ridge of the mountain where we found the roads just as the people of Huexotzingo had said. There we rested a little and began to think about the Mexican squadrons on the intrenched hillside where the earth works were that they had told us about.

Then Cortés ordered the Ambassadors of the great Montezuma who came in our company to be summoned, and he asked them how it was that those two roads were

[1] Bernal Díaz seems to have gone wrong in his topography. At the gap between the two volcanoes the roads probably divided, one (to the right) going by way of Tlamanalco to Chalco, the other (more direct) going to Amecameca. The Spaniards probably took the more direct (the blocked up) road to Amecameca, and did not go to Tlamanalco at all. Cortés, in his second letter, says that he went to Amecameca, and does not mention Tlamanalco.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Our investigations are therefore confined to the limits of the single tribe, and we have selected for that purpose the Mexicans 128

"*Die Culturwelter des alten Amerika*" (Cincinnati, 1876, '77, '78), has, in regard to the statements made in "*Art of War*" (p. 100, note 17; p. 133, note 152), and in "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 412 and 413, also note 56; pp. 417 and 418, also note 69), called my attention to a passage from *Sahagun*, "*Historia general*" (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313), "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados, para que cada un año los diesen al señor que les habia conquistado, y el tributo era de lo que en ella se criaba y se hacia, y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." The author himself, however, gives the explanation of what he intends to designate by such "governors and officials who should preside in said province." In his 12th Book, (Cap. II, p. 5, Vol. III), he says: "La primera vez que parecieron navios en la costa de esta Nueva-España, los capitanes de Moctheuzoma que se llamaban *Calpixques* que estaban cerca de la costa luego fueron á ver que era aquello que vino, que nunca habian visto navios, uno de los cuales fue el calpixque de Cuextecati que se llamaba Pinotl, llevaba consigo otros calpixques uno que se llamaba Ysotzin, que residia en el pueblo de Mictlanquauhtla, y otro que se llamaba Teozinzocati, que residia en el pueblo de Teociniocan, y otro que se llamaba Cuitlalpitoc, este no era calpixque sino criado de uno de estos calpixques, y principalejo que se llamaba Tentlil." In this Sahagun about agrees with *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*, Cap. CVI, CVII, CVIII, CIX), inasmuch as the latter also states the officers to have been calpixques, th. is, "Stewards" or *gatherers of tribute*. Compare *Alonzo de Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," (Parte IIa, p. 12.) 631 648

The names of these Indians who received Cortés are found nearly alike in all the authors, but we are struck by the fact that many of them call the natives "governors" of Montezuma. I quote *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 32 and 33, Vedia, Vol. II) *Gomara* (pp. 312, 313, 314, etc., Vedia I). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. LXXIX, p. 160). "*Cruautés horribles*," (p. 3.) *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 116; Cap. V, p. 117). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 287; Cap. XVII, p. 289, etc.). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. IV, p. 43). *Fray Joseph Joaquin Granados y Galvez*, ("*Tardes Americanas*" Mexico, 1778, 9th evening, p. 234). *Abbate F. X. Clavigero* ("*Geschichte von Mexico*," Leipzig, 1790, a german translation of the Italian original which appeared at Cesena in 1780. Vol. II, Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 16). These *governors* therefore were but "calpixques," in other words *collectors of tribute*. This is already stated by *Oviedo y Valdés* (Vol. III, Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 259), speaking of Cempoal, "porque los indios è ministros, que alli estaban para mandarlos, eran oficiales è mayordomos de la cibdad de México." The "*Real Ejecutoria de S. M., Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga perteneciente á os Cuciques de Azapuéso, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba*," (Col. de Doc's, Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 5), calls all the Indians in question "enviados por el gran Montezuma."

This explains the evident contradictions of Sahagun.

It is a singular fact, but one amply proven by the records of the conquest, that nowhere did the Spaniards, on their whole march from the coast to Mexico, meet with Mexican *administrators* or *rulers* of subjected tribes. Quotations are useless, we only refer to the remarkable description furnished by Bernal Diez of the events at Quiahuiztlan (Vedia II, Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41), which culminated in the violence done to the "recaudadores de Montezuma." This scene, which is highly characteristic, has been beautifully "remodeled," through a few omissions, by our own great *W. H. Prescott* ("*History of the conquest of Mexico*," 1860, Book II, chap. VII, p. 349). There is, finally, abundant proof of the fact that neither the Mexicans, nor any of their confederates, ever attempted to change or subvert the organization and mode of government of any of the tribes whom they overthrew. I refer to *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 502). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). *Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*, (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 274). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista* 631 636 648

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

|28 proper, who dwelt, as elsewhere established by us, on the partly artificial islands in the lagune of the Mexican valley.[7] Besides the prominence acquired by them in the annals of history, it may safely be assumed that, in a general manner, their Institutions are typical of those of other sedentary tribes.[8]

|21 *Tribal* society, based according to Lewis H. Morgan upon KIN, and not *political* society which rests, according to the same author, upon TERRITORY and PROPERTY, must therefore be looked for among the ancient Mexicans. It remains for us to establish its degree of development, its details, and the manner of its working.

In order to comprehend the true nature of these questions, we should secure as much information as possible of the *past* of the tribe under consideration. Institutions are never wilfully or accidentally created, but evolved; in other words, they are the result of growth in knowledge and experience.[9] The great difference existing between tribal society and political is explained as a dif-

[63] [636] [648] *de México*," Col. de Doc., Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 561, and especially p. 562), "México tenia en su tiempo en el hacer guerra esta órden; que yendo á la guerra, al que se daba de paz no tenia sobre él tributo cierto, sino que tantas veces en el año lo llevaban presente á su discrecion del que lo llevaba; pero si era poco mostrábales mal rostro, y si mucho agradeciaselo. Y en estos no ponia mayordomo ni recaudador ni cosa; el señor se era señor. Los que tomaba de guerra decian *tequitin tlacotl*, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los Señores mandaban su gente, eran debajo de la mano destos de México . . . . ." *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185), *Granados y Galvez*. (5th night, p. 168), a singular picture of purest feudality, for which Gomara may be responsible in part. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Letter of 4th Nov.*, 1532, 1st; "*Recueil*," (pp. 245, 246, and 247). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 16), to be compared with Mendieta and Torquemada.

Consequently there was no tendency towards unification or nationalization in all the successful and extensive raids which the Nahuatlaca of the valley of Mexico carried on for a full century. No organic body, larger than the tribe, resulted from these sanguinary forays; because the confederacy itself was not the end, but the beginning of these undertakings. This justifies the view which I shall hereafter advocate in regard to the nature of that confederacy namely: as a mere partnership to carry on the business of warfare the latter in turn being part of the mode of subsistence.

[8] "Based upon territory and property" according to L. H. Morgan, in contra-distinction to tribal-society, based upon "Kin." ("*Ancient Society*," chapter II, page 62).

[8] "*Art of War*," p. 98.

[7] "*Art of War*," p. 150. "*Tenure of Lands*," pp. 421, 422.

[6] "*Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 245). "Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit de Texcuco doit s'entendre aussi des deux autres, ..." *Gomara* (p. 440, Vedia, I). "To speak of the Mexicans, signifies as much as speaking of all New Spain." The title of the section is: "Costumbres de los hombres," and the original text reads: "Hablando de méjicanos, es hablar en general de toda la Nueva-España." Although *Zurita* (p. 5) insists upon the variety of customs among the aborigines,—changing from settlement to settlement, from tribe to tribe,—his own report furnishes the proof of the contrary, and it is evident from the text that he alludes principally to the diversity in languages and dialects.

[9] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Chap. I, p. 6).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER VI

THE MAN AND THE TRIBE

In which are set forth the basic ideas of Aztec education, government, law and social customs

642 618 THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION of the Aztec tribes was in theory completely democratic. An individual was a member of a family which, in turn, belonged to a cluster of families or a clan.* Theoretically twenty of these clans made up a tribe, each of them regulating its own affairs but, in matters of tribal importance, joining with the others in a council composed of all the leaders. The council appointed one chief to control civil and religious affairs and usually a second for war. Originally designed for simple farming communities and presumably of an antiquity dating back to Middle Culture times, this organization later ramified into the governmental complexity of a populous and highly complicated city-state.[1]

844 The working of a community is best illustrated by the position of the individual in it, a process which is described in the third part of the Codex Mendoza. Immediately a child was born it was washed and swaddled by a midwife. Since 777 the gods governed the fate of man on earth, the parents con- 787 sulted a priest who looked in the *tonalamatl*,† or book of

*The term clan is used to mean a tribal division without connotation of male or female descent.

†To'-na-la-matl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realization of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the *tonalpohualli* (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five-day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[8]

The *tonalpohualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. - Analyst]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldly to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.[2]

651 648 The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

000 a defense carried on with that courage found in forsaken men, in this case abandoned by their very gods. We have seen, in the bitter year of 1940, the same pattern repeated when France collapsed and England found a new strength in despair.

An examination of the Mexican social structure in relation to the psychological state of the Aztec mind shows that the Spaniards arrived at a time very favorable for conquest. Comparison of the Aztec military technique with the European discipline and armament of the day reveals an exceptional opportunity for the triumph of European tactics. To explain the familiar tale of the Conquest from the Indian point of view may throw into sharper relief this conflict between two systems of civilization.

726 Aztec war was highly ceremonial and fought in a spirit very different from the realistic calculation of European strife. The *technical* equipment of the Indians did not meet the requirements of a conflict waged in terms of European military *practice*. Moreover, Cortes arrived at the end of the summer, when the tribes of Mexico were too busy harvesting the crops essential for their survival to think seriously of military affairs. A final factor dooming the Aztecs to inevitable defeat was the political structure of Indian Mexico, which provided no way of converting military success to the establishment of a powerfully consolidated state.

● 642 648 The Aztec theocracy did not lend itself to governing or absorbing conquered peoples, although in time a social mechanism might have been developed. While the Aztecs received tribute from over a wide territory, there were constant revolts and betrayals. Probably this same process went on among the other tribal groups in Mexico, so that the politi-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

cal organization of the region as a whole was far from that of 642 an empire. In reality a multitude of independent city-states 648 seethed with intrigue and war and were further disunited by differences in language, dialect, physical type and geographic economy. An invader, with a strongly disciplined force small enough to live off the country and thus to stay in the field, could have an astonishing success, particularly if he had a taste for intrigue. Cortes, as events proved, was the ideal man for such a purpose, and he was further favored by the psychological reaction of the Aztecs to his arrival.

The years before the Spanish Conquest had, to the Aztecs, 787 been full of portents suggestive of future evil. There seems to have been in the air that same sense of paralysis that the French knew to their cost in 1939 and 1940. Montezuma, the war chief of the Aztecs and an amateur of witchcraft, had had an experience calculated completely to shake his nerve. He and Nezahualpilli, the chief of Texcoco, had fallen to arguing about the respective merits of their soothsayers, since the Texcocan held that strangers were going to rule the land of Anahuac. So convinced was Nezahualpilli of the [525] correctness of his interpretation that he wagered his kingdom against three turkey cocks, the result to be decided by a ritualistic ball game with Montezuma. The latter won the first two games, but Nezahualpilli took the last three in a row. The defeat must have been disheartening to Montezuma, not only because he had so much to fear from the future, but also because his own experts had been held so cheap. (See Fig. 3.)

In close succession followed a series of phenomena, each bearing its message of woe to come. A column of fire was seen every midnight throughout the year; two temples were

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22] 871 702

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa- 796 702

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maitres du temple et du *collège militaire*, . . . " The boy (Mexican "piltontli") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97). [561]

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España," in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad. sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "cap-"tains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness." [705]

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.) [642]

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castel-"lanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

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646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It [782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi- [726] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the foray against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 30; cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXI, p. 48). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 159.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in- "auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar à los dioses y cebar à los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizoczic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 131, 132, and 133). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 198).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

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175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
[645] allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled.* Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 194). The Council opposed the advice of Quanhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

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iron hand, but by *free common consent.* It is an additional proof of the facts we have advanced: that the Mexicans were not subject to a despotical power, but organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free *military democracy.*

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ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT TO INHERITANCE, AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By Ad. F. Bandelier.

000 In a previous paper we have endeavored to describe the warlike customs and organization of the Mexican tribe.[1] Our conclusions in regard to them are somewhat at variance with those generally adopted, since, instead of the military despotism which heretofore has been admitted as existing in ancient Mexico, we found but the military democracy peculiar to a warlike tribe.[2] It is our purpose
121 now to investigate how far the Mexicans may have progressed in their notions about the tenure and distribution of the soil.

114 The picture which nearly all the authors, ancient as well as modern, trace of the condition of aboriginal Mexico is that of a feudal monarchy.[3] This alone should fix permanently the mode of landed tenure. It implies also the notion of abstract ownership, and thus indicates a high state of culture. But we have already

[1] "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans," in 10th Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. A

[2] "Art of War, etc., etc., of the Ancient Mexicans," pp. 113, 114, 115, to 127 inclusive, especially the notes. See also "Ancient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan. (N. York, 1877.) Part II, chapter VII, "The Aztec Confederacy," pp. 188-214 inclusive.

[3] The first information tending to represent the condition of Mexico as a feudal state was probably furnished by Cortés; or through his expedition at least. The reports of the preceding voyage of Grijalva (1518) contain no positive statements. On the other hand the certificate issued by Cortés (probably about the 20 May, 1519, or 29 days after his landing at Ulna), to the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, already
[643] speaks of "the great Montezuma, which resides in this great city of Tenochtitlán and all its provinces." We have not Cortés' first letter to the emperor, but in his second report, 30 Oct., 1520, he mentions "a great Lord called Mutezuma." (Vedia, "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vol. I. Carta Segunda, pp. 12 and 13.) The same dispatch contains a number of details on Montezuma's power, from which a feudal empire was necessarily construed as for inst. (p. 33): "There are in this great city many very large and fine houses, the cause of it being that all the *Lords of the land, vassals of the said Mu-*
[642] *tezuma*, have their houses in that city . . . ." "What has been ascertained is: that his sovereignty was almost as large as Spain . . ." (p. 34.) Gomara, who published his "Conquista de Méjico" in 1552, already mentions "thirty lords of one-hundred-thousand vassals each, and three-thousand lords of places." (Vedia I, p. 343. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma.") Oviedo ("Historia general y natural de Indias," Vol. III, Lib.

 [See 14; Bandelier, this file.--Analyst]

[p. 385]

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114 seen that the institutions of the Mexicans were democratic and not monarchical, that their chiefs and leaders filled elective, and in no case hereditary positions.[4] This latter fact whose final discussion we reserve for another occasion, speaks strongly against the existence of privileged classes, based upon territory and landed property; therefore it also militates against feudality itself.

121 Still we cannot permit ourselves to become prejudiced by such indications, against the views generally accepted. They merely warn us of the *difficulties of our task.* These difficulties are greater yet than those against which we contended in our first essay. The military life of the Mexicans has furnished the bulk of their history, and through it a number of facts, by which the former could be almost restored. The question of distribution of the soil, however, apparently relates to *customs* only; broken up and to a great extent obliterated centuries ago. Nevertheless, accessory facts, and especially a merely cursory review of the history of the Mexican tribes, may enable us yet to form an idea of these customs. The Mexican rules of inheritance are in direct connection with them also, and lastly, the *acts of the Spaniards* during the first times after the conquest, when they more or less suddenly overturned the ancient order of things, should bring to light many forgotten features of aboriginal tenure and distribution of the soil.

Having thus sketched the programme — so to say — of our work, we have yet to offer two explanations ere we proceed to enter upon the discussion proper, itself.

In the first place: by "accessory facts," we refer to the *social organization* of the Mexicans in particular. It is inseparable from

[642] XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 503) again speaks of "more than three thousand lords his subjects, each one of many vassals, and each held his principal dwelling in Temistitan, residing there certain months each year." The author, a friend of Columbus, and personally acquainted with all the eminent men of the conquest, resided at the West Indies and Xicaragua until 1556 (his stay though interrupted by at least six voyages to Spain and back), was one of the most cautious and best situated of the old chroniclers. But the chief originator of the feudal view is Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a half breed of Tezcuco, and belonging to the kin of that tribe's chieftains. He wrote about the year 1600, and both of his works, the "Relaciones historicas," and the "Historia de los Chichimecos ó reyes antiguos de Tezcuco," present, it should not be denied, a picture of logical development of feudal institutions on Mexican soil. Torquemada of course concurs. We hope to be able to investigate, elsewhere, the claims of Ixtlilxochitl to the rank of a reliable source. Fairness, however, compels us here to mention the above authors, as the mainstays of current opinion.

[4] "Art of War," etc., pp. 96, 128 and 161.

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these assumptions are disproved by the facts, related even by such authors as have most contributed towards fixing them upon the public mind as recognized truths.[16] We need hardly say here,

[16] In regard to the Tecpanecas, Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 477): "From this it may be inferred, that among them the King exercised no absolute command and rule, and that he was rather a consul, or Dux, than a king." He further compares the Tecpanecas with the "reges" of ancient Rome (See Morgan's "Ancient Society," Part II, cap. XI, p. 297). The council was supreme among the Tecpanecans. See Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Lord Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. IV, p. 11; also cap. V, p. 12, cap. VI, p. 13, "a esto respondió el rey y senado Tecpaneca: Digéronle: mira atempanecatl (que muy bien le conocian) bien conozco la humillacion y sugecion de los Mexicanos; ya es por demas, porque estan alborotados, y corajudos los Tecpanecas:") Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 64, and 65).

The Xuchimilcas were governed by two chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XVI, p. 25. Durán, cap. XII, p. 104. "Their chiefs, of which there were two, one of the chief-place ("cabecera" rather lineage) of Xuchimilco called Yacaxapotecutli, and the other from the milpa (this is to be interpreted as descendancy), which is called Pachimalcatitecutli, and together with them meeting many principals, said"): a joint meal after communal style is also attributed to them by Tezozomoc (Cap. XVI, p. 26).

The Chalcas also had two chiefs: (Durán, cap. XVI, p. 134, Montezuma Ilhuicamina said to Tlacaelel: "I wish, if thou agreest, to send messengers to Chalco to the chief of Chalco Quateotl and to his companion Toteocitecutli . . . ."—Tezozomoc, cap. XXII, p. 33. Cap. XXIV, p. 36. Confirmed by the action of Cortés after the voluntary surrender of Chalco, when he installed two chiefs. Bernal Diez: cap. CXXXIX, p. 154 and 155, Vedia, II).

With the Tezcucans or Aculhuas there appears always but one head-chief, but it is equally positive that the office, while remaining in a certain kin, was elective still. The fact is interesting and requires close proof. We adduce here, in a general way, Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX. "De la Manera que tuvieron en elegir los señores," p. 318, of 2d Vol.): Durán (Cap. LXIV, p. 496). "Montezuma sent his messengers to Tezcuco, and had all the chiefs of that city and kingdom called to learn from them whom they were inclined to elect . . . ." (p. 497), "the which came, electing for King to Quetzalacxoyatzin, Neçaualpilli's son . . . ." Tezozomoc (Cap. CI and CII). Ixtlilxochitl concurs ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. LXXXVI). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 357, 358 and 359), acknowledges that, while the choice was among the *sons* exclusively, there still was a *choice* left, but he contradicts the statements of Juan Bautista Pomar (who wrote about 1582) who says, that this choice extended to the entire *kin* of the deceased head chief. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 153). "Although the Indians of this New Spain inherited the chieftaincy in direct lines, they took great care in ascertaining which one of his sons had to succeed to him." He mentions the succession in the cases of Netzahualcoyotl and of Netzahualpilli, each of whom were respectively followed by what he calls an illegitimate offspring, but whose mother was a *Mexicana* woman. Veytia (Cap. XIV, p. 367). "The council hardly had been informed of the King's death, when it thought proper to elect a successor, after the manner of the Mexicans . . . ." Carlos María de Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," Mexico, 1826. Part III, cap. IV, pp. 218, 219 and 220). Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, p. 12). "The order of succession varied according to the provinces, the same custom, with slight differences, prevailing in Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba."

The assumption of a feudal empire at Tezcuco has already been discussed. It was an invention of chroniclers, who had a direct interest, or thought to have one, in advancing the claims of the Tezcucan tribe to an original supremacy. Tribal jealousy and rivalry, such a powerful ally of the Spaniards during the conquest, continued to subsist where the Spanish domination was fully established.

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this office may not have, at that time, been permanently estab- 174
lished;[21]—only temporarily, for emergency's sake.[22] It is barely possible for us to follow the migrations of the Mexicans with any degree of certainty; we can but gather from the various and varied reports and traditions, that being horticultural Indians, fertile lands were sought for by them, and only when they reached the lake-basin did they begin to hope for realization of their desires.[23] —There was yet much unoccupied space around the lagunes, still the newcomers were hardly welcome to the other occupants, who harassed them so long, that at last they fled into the marsh or swamp which then covered the area subsequently converted into the western lagune of Mexico.[24] Thus they retired to ground *which was neither held nor claimed by any of the surrounding tribes*, and on the few solid patches protruding above the morass, they settled, glad to have escaped pursuit and found a resting place on

[21] We have adopted the number seven for these kinships, although the interpreter of the Mendoza Codex (Tab. I, of Vol. I, Lord Kingsborough) says there were ten. "El [442] exercito Mexicano tubo por caudillos diez personas nombradas . . . ." (Vol. V, p. 40). Durán and Tezozomoc both say seven, so does Veytia. The two former authors even give the names of the idols which each of these seven clusters worshipped, carrying it along on their migrations. It is needless here to prove in detail the democratic nature of these seven "lineages." Veytia, for instance (Lib. II, cap. XII and XIII), quotes Chimalpain as authority, and although he assigns to the Mexicans a leader ("caudillo") called Huitziton, he still implies that at Chapultepec only "they, emulating the other nations there located, resolved upon electing a King to govern them" (p. 109). Durán (Cap. III, p. 27). Clavigero mentions an "Aristocratic" organization of the Mexicans until the year 1352. "The entire nation was below a senate or conclave of the most respected persons, distinguished through nobility and knowledge. At the foundation of Mexico there were 20 of these" (Lib. III, cap. I). This is a new version. See also Gregorio Garcia ("Origen de los Indios" Lib. V, cap. III). If we eliminate the mythical Huitziton, we find *occasional* head war-chiefs. Veytia even assures us that after Mexico was founded, they elected "one to govern them, although not in the capacity of a King, but as a leader or captain" (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 159).

[22] The *regular* series of Mexican head war-chiefs ("tlaca-tecuhtli") commences about the middle of the 14th century. Previous to it, the office appears to have been filled by occasional braves, as emergency required. Compare Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XII and XIII, with cap. XV, p. 131, and cap. XVIII, p. 159, and cap. XXI, p. 186 and 187). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. III, p. 83. Cap. IV, p. 84. Cap. XII, p. 93). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, p. 148), and Acosta (Lib. VII. cap. 8, p. 468 and 469), etc., etc.

[23] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 186). Durán (Cap. III). Tezozomoc (Cap. I, II and III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. 4, p. 459). Garcia ("Origen, etc." Lib. III. cap. III, § V, p. 99 and 100. "que los haria Principes, i Señores de todas los Provincias, que havian poblado las otras seis naciones, que antes en ellos havian salido.")

[24] "Art of War, etc.," p. 87 note 5. Idem, p. 150, and note 194, 185, and p. 151, notes 197 and 198.—L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, p. 190 and 191). Among the older authors, Mendieta is very explicit (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, p. 148). "Y eso asiento les cuadró mucho por hallarlo abundante de cazas de aves y pescados y marisco con que se poder sustentar y aprovechar en sus granjerias entre los pueblos comarcanos, y por el reparo de las aguas con que no les pudiesen empecer sus vecinos."

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[74 soil *which they might hold as their own.*[25] It would appear that, through loss of numbers in the course of their migrations, as well as through divisions among themselves, the original consanguine groups composing the body, had been reduced to *five.*[26] Now a further and last division took place, one of these kindred clusters seceding from the rest, and establishing itself apart on another sandy expanse where, close to the others however, it grew to become the tribe of Mexico-Tlatilulco.[27] It remained independent until about forty years before the conquest.[28]—The other *four* settled *each one by itself*, but still acknowledging a *common government*, in token of which the tribal place of worship was erected at the spot where these four areas met. Thus the "pueblo" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan was founded; the seat and home of the Mexicans proper.[29]

[25] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. X, p. 72), says that the Mexicans "asked the King of Azcaputzalco for soil" (to settle upon). Torquemada represents their settlement as a flight to a safe place (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 92). Also Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, pp. 147 and 148). Durán (Cap. V, p. 41), has the remarkable passage following: "que aun el suelo no era suyo, pues era sitio y término de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque alli llegaban los términos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del Mediodia, términos de Culhuacan:" (This shows they were on neutral ground, dividing the tribes of their surroundings.) Tezozomoc confirms (Cap. III, p. 9), "estando en terminos de los de Atzcapuzalco, Aculhuaques Tezcucanos y los de Culhuacan." Durán (2° p. 41) further says that they contended to be masters of their soil, without owing allegiance or obedience to any one. See also Tezozomoc (Cap. III) and Motolinia ("Epistola proemial," p. 5). Gomara ("Conquista," p. 431. Vedia, 1st volume).

[26] We have already alluded to the number of chiefs leading the Mexicans at the time of their settlement in the lagune. It varies from four to twenty. But the fact that four "quarters" composed it originally, leads me to the belief that four Mexican kinships remained, one seceding as the tribe of Tlatilulco. This division into four is the only fact reliably ascertained. (See notes 27, 29, 30 and 31). [619 647]

[27] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. How it occurred we cannot ascertain, since it is related in the most varied manner by the different sources of authority. If the statement is correct that even during their migrations, the Mexicans proper and the Tlatilulcás kept apart, as tribal components, or probably "phratries,"—then the fact of their localizing as tribes independent from each other is easily accounted for. See Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

[28] The date of its conquest by the Mexicans is about 1473 ("Art of War, etc." p. 102). It can easily be verified from the date on the so-called "calendar stone" at the city of Mexico. (See "Calendario Azteca" by Señor Chavero.)

[29] The question remains yet undecided as to whether these four "quarters" ("barrios") were four original kinships, or whether they were already four "brotherhoods of kinships" (phratries), analogous to the Roman curiæ formed by (or rather remaining as the last vestige of) original kinships disaggregated. The latter might appear likely from the fact of the greater number of chiefs (than four), mentioned by the old authors. The existence of still lesser groups is plainly acknowledged at the same time. Durán says (Cap. V, p. 42): "On the night after the Mexicans finished the place of worship ("hermita donde su dios estaba"), a large area of the lagune being filled up and room made for the houses, Vitzilopochtli spoke to his priest or keeper and said to him: [615 618]

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618 NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

618 The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled,
174 were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes
361 and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe"
342 and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[114] [32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[642] [33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[642] [34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51-65). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

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shall investigate how far individuals, as members of this commu- 366
nal unit, participated in the aggregate tenure.

In the course of time, as the population further increased, 174
segmentation occurred within the four original "quarters;" new 618
"calpulli," being formed.[42] For *governmental* purposes this seg- 642
mentation produced a new result by leaving, more particularly in military affairs, the first four clusters as *great subdivisions*.[43] But these, as soon as they had disaggregated, *ceased* to be any longer *units* of territorial possession, their original areas being held thereafter by the "minor quarters" (as Herrera, for instance, calls them), who exercised, each one within its limits, the same sovereignty which the original "calpulli" formerly held over the whole.[44] A further consequence of this disaggregation was (by removing the tribal council farther from the calpules) the necessity for an *official* [344]
building, exclusively devoted to the business of the *whole* tribe alone.[45]

[42] This successive formation of new "calpulli" is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is implied by the passage of Durán which we have already quoted (Cap. V, p. 42). It also results from their military organization as described in the "Art of War," (p. 115). With the increase of population, the original kinships necessarily disaggregated further, as we have seen it to have occurred among the Qquiché (See "Popol-Vuh" quoted in our note 7), forming smaller groups of consanguinei. After the successful war against the Tecpanecas, of which we shall speak hereafter, we find at least twenty chiefs, representing as many kins (Durán, cap. XI. p. 97), besides three more, adopted then from those of Culhuacan (Id. pp. 98 and 99). This indicates an increase.

[43] "Art of War, etc.," pp. 115 and 120.

[44] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295). "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains others, smaller ones, included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 58-64). That the smaller subdivis- [421]
ions were those who held the soil, and not the four original groups, must be inferred from the fact, that the ground was attached to the calpulli. Says Zurita (p. 51.) "They (the lands) do not belong to each inhabitant of the village, but to the calpulli which possesses them in common." On the other hand Torquemada states (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545): "that in each pueblo, according to the number of people, there should be (were) clusters ("parcialidades") of diverse people and families . . . . These clusters were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of the aforesaid clusters sometimes contained three, four, and more, calpules, according to the population of the place ("pueblo") or tribe." The same author further affirms: "These quarters, and streets, were all assorted and levelled, with so much accuracy, that those of one quarter or street could not take a palm of land from those of another, and the same was with the streets, their lots running (being scattered) all over the pueblo." Consequently, there were no communal lands allotted to the four great quarters of Mexico as such, but each one of the kinships (calpules) held its part of the original aggregate. Compare Gomara (Vedia, Vol. I, "Conq. de Méjico," p. 434. "Among tributaries it is a custom, etc., etc." Also p. 440). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "Each quarter has its own tract, without the least connection with the others."

[45] Compare Durán (Cap. XI, p. 57). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXXI, p. 470). It appears as if the "tecpan" had not been constructed previous to the middle of the 14th cen-

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344 This building was the "*tecpan*"[46] called, even by Torquemada
642 "house of the community;"[47] it was, therefore, since the council
673 of chiefs was the highest authority in the government, the "council house" proper. It was erected near the centre of the "pueblo," and fronting the open space reserved for public celebrations. But, whereas formerly occasional, gradually merging into *regular*, meetings of the chiefs were sufficient, constant daily attendance at the "tecpan" became required, even to such an extent, that a permanent *residence* of the head-chiefs *there*, resulted from it, and was *one of the duties of the office*. Consequently the "tlacatecuhtli," his family, and such assistants as he needed (like runners), dwelt at the "official house." But this occupancy was in no manner connected with a possessory right by the occupant, whose family relinquished the abode, as soon as the time of office expired through death of its incumbent. The "tecpan" was occupied by the head war-chiefs only as long as they exercised the functions of that office.[48]

tury,—the meetings of the tribe being previously called together by priests, and probably in the open space around the main house of worship. The fact of the priests calling the public meetings is proved by Durán (Cap. IV, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 468). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, pp. 156, 159. Cap. XXI, p. 186). Acosta first mentions "unos palacios, aunque harto pobres." (Lib. VII, cap. 8, p. 470), on the occasion of the election of the first regular "tlacatecuhtli:" Acamapichtli,—Torquemada says (Lib. XII, cap. XXII, p. 290), that they lived in miserable huts of reeds and straw, erected around the open space where the altar or place of worship of Huitzilopochtli was built. The public building was certainly their latest kind of construction.

[46] From "tecuhtli" chief, and the affixum "pan," denoting a place. Therefore "place of the chiefs." Molina translates: "casa ó palacio real, ó de algun señor de Salno" (II, p. 33). The word is also found in the Qquiché of the "Popol-Vuh" (p. 306). "Qui ticpan quib"—Mr. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg acknowledges the Mexican origin of the word, and renders it by "to divide into quarters," although he says that in Mexican it signifies: palace or municipality.

[47] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XIV. pp. 269 and 270). "Tecpancalli, que quiere decir, los Palacios Reales, ó el Alcaçar, y casas de Señorio" (Id: Lib. VII, cap. XXI. p. 119. Lib. XIII, cap. XXX. p. 477). But especially in the Sixth Book, 27th chapter, page 48, when, referring to the statements of Father Bernardino de Sahagun who says, that "being in the city of Xuchimilco, he heard one night, etc. etc. . . . . and that inquiring next day why that shouting had taken place,—the Indians answered, that from the Tecpan, or community (municipal house), they had been calling the macehuales to work."

[48] Nearly every author who attempts to describe minutely the "chief-house" (tecpan) mentions it as containing great halls (council-rooms). See the description of the tecpan of Tezcuco by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," cap. XXXVI, p. 247. "The palace had two courts, the first and largest one serving as public square and market, for which it is still used at present. The second and interior one, was surrounded by the hall of the royal councils, where the King held two tribunals. In the centre of this court a large brasier was burning, which was never extinguished." Id. cap. XXXVIII), by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 306. Lib. II, cap. XLIV, pp. 146 and 147. Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

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office in the *family*, and with it also the possession of certain lands, 428
attached to that officer's functions and duties. But it is quite certain too that this stage of development had not yet been reached by any of the tribes of Mexico at the time of its conquest by the Spaniards. The principal idea had not yet been developed, namely, that of the *domain*, which, in eastern countries at least, gradually segregated into individually hereditary tenures and ownerships.

There was consequently, at the time when the Spaniards first 642
came into contact with the Mexican aborigines, no established feudal system among the Indians of Mexico. Based exclusively upon kin, aboriginal society then presented to the first Europeans who witnessed it a strange and partly dazzling, partly repulsive; at all events a bewilder[illegible], aspect. It is not devoid of interest, and it is even important for us to consider what were the effects of this contact of a people imbued with the principles of medieval feudality with tribes still adhering to far more primitive ideas, upon the latter's mode of tenure and distribution of their lands.

The ostensible basis, on which the Spaniards established a 648
claim to any parts of America whatever, is expressed in the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, executed at Rome on the fourth day of May, 1493. By this act of the Holy See the kings of Spain (Ferdinand and Isabella), in consideration of their devotion to the Catholic religion, and of their zeal in propagating the Christian faith even over the remotest parts of the earth's surface, are made and created absolute possessors, for themselves, their heirs and successors, of all the lands already discovered and still to discover by them or their agents in the new world. The conditions accompanying this grant were that they "manage to send to the said mainlands and islands good men, fearing God, learned, well taught and expert, for to instruct their aforesaid inhabitants and natives in the Catholic faith, and to teach them good manners, with all due diligence."[116] This title, although it partakes of the nature of a

[116] Martin Fernandez de Navarrete ("Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV," Madrid, 1825. Tom. IIo, pp. 23-25). "Et insupre mandamus vobis in virtute sanctae obedintie, est (sicut pollicemini et nos dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et Regis magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad terras firmas et insulas praedictas viros probos, et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos et experios ad instruendam incolas et habitatores praefatos in Fide Catholica, et in bonis moribus imbuendam destinare debeatis, omnum debitam diligentiam in premisis adhibentes." Mendieta ("Hist. Eccles. Ind.," Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 20 and 22). Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Gomara ("Historia de las Indias," Vedia I, pp. 168 and 169). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII).

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423 posing the tribe; but the idea of sale, barter, or conveyance or alienation of such by the kin had not been conceived.

3. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, held but the right to use certain defined lots for their sustenance, which right, although hereditary in the male line, was nevertheless limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom the said lots were assigned.

4. No possessory rights to land were attached to any office or chieftaincy. As members of a kin, each chief had the use of a certain lot, which he could rent or farm to others, for his benefit.

5. For the requirements of tribal business, and of the governmental features of the kinships (public hospitality included), certain tracts were set apart as official lands, out of which the official households were supplied and sustained; but these lands and their products were totally independent from the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

648 651 6. Conquest of any tribe by the Mexicans was not followed by an annexation of that tribe's territory, nor by an apportionment of its soil among the conquerors. Tribute was exacted, and, for the purpose of raising that tribute (in part), special tracts were set off; the crops of which were gathered for the storehouses of Mexico.

631 642 7. Consequently, as our previous investigation (of the warlike institutions and customs of the ancient Mexicans) have disproved the generally received notion of a military despotism prevailing among them,—so the results of this review of Tenure and distribution of lands tend to establish: "that the principle and institution of feudality did not exist in aboriginal Mexico."

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ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MODE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By Ad. F. Bandelier.

642 121 Two previous papers have already been devoted to some of the most prominent features of the life of the ancient Mexicans, namely: warlike customs, and their mode of distributing and occupying the soil and their rules of Inheritance.[1] The conclusions of both essays were chiefly negative, in so far as they tended to establish the non-existence of a condition which has, for three centuries, been regarded as prevailing. Thus, in the first, we have attempted to disprove the existence of a military despotism[2], and in the second, the existence of feudalism[3] among the natives of Mexico. More positive results were, however, foreshadowed in both instances by the suggestion, if not by the demonstration, that aboriginal society in Mexico rested on a democratic principle. The present essay is intended to show—if the organization of the natives of Mexico was *not* as it is commonly represented—what that organization really was, according to our conception, and what status

[1] *Tenth Report of the Peabody Museum: "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans." Eleventh Report: "On the Tenure and Distribution of Lands among the Ancient Mexicans, and the Customs with Respect to Inheritance."*

[2] "*Art of War,*" pp. (127, 128, and 161).

[3] "*Tenure of Lands,*" (pp. 418 and 449). In both instances, as well as in the present discussion, the works of the Hon. L. H. Morgan have furnished to the writer his points of departure and lines of investigation; besides, the distinguished American ethnologist has watched with more than friendly solicitude the progress of all these essays. If I seize the opportunity to recall here the debt of gratitude under which I stand toward him, it is coupled with the wish to express heartfelt thanks to several of my friends, to whose liberal assistance these and the preceding pages owe their existence, nearly as much as to my individual work. Let me name here, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, Col. Fred Hecker, of Summerfield, Illinois, Dr. G. Bruhl, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the officers of the Mercantile Library at St. Louis, Missouri. Lastly, because most remote, though certainly not least, am I deeply indebted to the great documentary historian of the City of Mexico, Sr. Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta for nearly all information which could not be obtained from the usually known sources.

[See 14:Bandelier and 15:Bandelier, this file.--Analyst]

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of progress in Institutions can be assigned to the remarkable tribe 642 which has become so prominent in history. In other words, our 121 object is to reconstruct the mode of government of the ancient Mexicans, the nature of its offices and dignities, and especially the principles ruling and guiding their social agglomeration.

The distinguished Mexican scholar, Manuel Orozco y Berra, ex- 631 plains, as well as qualifies, the condition of the aborigines of Mexico in the following manner:

"If, from the boundary-lines of the empire [of Mexico, according to his views] we now turn to the races peopling its area, we find it to be a truth undeniable that no common nor mutual tie connected these numerous and diverse tribes. Each one was independent under its chiefs.[4]"

[4] "*Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México*," por *Manuel Orozco y Berra*, Mexico, 1864, (Tercera Parte, IX México, p. 232). "Si de las demarcaciones del imperio pasamos á considerar las razas que lo poblaban, encontraremos como una verdad innegable que tanta tribu diversa no tenia un lazo comun de union. Cada una era independiente bajo el mando de sus señores. Las ambiciones particulares encendian la guerra, y la misma familia se fraccionaba. A su semejanza, cada pueblo tenia un gefe que de nombre reconocia al señor principal, y todas las provincias estaban subdividas hasta formar un sistema bajo algunos puntos semejante al feudal. Rencores y odios apartaban las tribus, y la guerra era constante, porque siendo una de sus principales virtudes la valentia, no podian verse sin combatirse, á imitacion de los orgullosos animales que sirven de diversion en los palenques. Por instinto ó porque las generaciones son arrastradas aun á su pesar por la corriente de los tiempos, los Mexicanos emprendieron la tarea de reunir en un solo haz todos aquellos pueblos, de formar de ellos una nacion, y de asimilar sus intereses con los intereses del imperio. Para llevar á cabo semejante tarea era preciso, la fuerza para poder triunfar; un sistema proseguido con tino, y con tenacidad, y el tiempo bastante para que el odio se borrara y dejara nacer las simpatías. Pero la unidad que solicitaban los Mexicanos llevaba á las tribus al mas espantoso de los despotismos; el imperio era muy nuevo para haber alcanzado otra cosa que reducirá la servidumbre, sin poder contar con el amor de sus vasallos; de manera que en lugar de amigos, tenia enemigos solapados, y su grandeza era solo engañosa appariencia. En esta sazon se presentaron los conquistadores españoles. Cualquiera fuerza extraña habia de hacer vacilar al coloso; las tribus, mal halladas con la servidumbre, vieron en los invasores á quienes podrán salvarles del yugo; en su juicio rencoroso no quisieron advertir, que por alcanzar una estéril venganza aventuraban su propia existencia, y corrieron de tropel á colocarse bajo las banderas de los estranjeros." It may be interesting to compare this weighty authority with my remarks on the same subject in "*Art of War*," (pp. 100, also note 17), and "*Tenure of Lands*," (pp. 416, 417, and 418, and annotations.) The difference consists in that Sr. Orozco y Berra ascribes to the ancient Mexicans a decided tendency to "nationalize," so to say, the aboriginal people of their conquered area, to force uniformity of customs and organization upon them, and establish a true despotism. To this I beg leave to suggest in reply:—

(1). That the Mexicans, *alone*, formed only a *part* (two-fifths in amount of tribute) of that power which is commonly termed "an Empire" (El Imperio) and which was but the Nahuatl confederacy of the Mexican valley. In evidence of it I will take the liberty to quote his own words, (same part and chapter, pp. 240, 241): "El reino de Atolhuacan era el segundó en poderio; su capital era Tetzcoco, á la orilla del lago de su nombre. Pequeña hoy y sin material interes, en lo antiguo fué rival de México y

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tion here, because of its unveiling, so to say, the full organization of the ancient Mexicans as they preserved it until the time of their downfall. 174 631

Upon the occasion of the division of spoils gathered from the defeated Tecpanecas, and of the establishment of regular tribute, there appear the following war captains and leaders of the Mexicans, as representatives of the latter's organization. 174 642

The "chief of men."

Four captains of the four principal quarters of Mexico.

Twenty war-chiefs of as many kins composing the tribe.

One chief representing the element of worship, or "medicine."

The "Snake-woman."[54]

gard to the date of its occurrence, *Bancroft* (Vol. V, p. 395), says about, or immediately after, 1431, following Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. III, p. 251), 1426, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. Chichimeca.*" Cap. XXXII, p. 217), also 1431, *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 165) 1431, The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Kingsb., Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VI, p. 136), has it 7, "Tochtli" or 1404.

[54] *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 96). Besides distributing land "juntamente con daros y repartiros las tierras que aveis ganado, para que tengais renta para el sustento de vuestros estados y personas segun el mérito dellas," he gave them "ditados" or titles "y (quiere) haceros señores de titulo" (the latter would be to make them noblemen). I must advert here that "ditado o titulo de honra" is expressed in the Mexican language by "tecuyotl" "tlatocazotl" "maniçotl" (*Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," Part I, p. 46). These words however mean but, respectively "chieftainship," "speakership," and "honor," (the latter see *Molina* II, p. 54), all of them terms which, as we shall hereafter see, apply to *personal merit*, and not to hereditary privilege among the Mexican aborigines. Durán then proceeds (p. 97) to give these titles as follows:— 565 618

"Primeramente á su general dió por ditado				*Tlacochcalcatlecutli.*
A Vene Motenecçuma, Tlacacleltzin dió por ditado				*Tlacatecatl.*
A Tlacauspan,	d.	p.	d.	*Ezuauacatl.*
A Cuatlecoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tilillancalqui.*
A Veneçacan,	d.	p.	d.	*Tezcacoacatl.*
A Aztacoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tocuiltecatl.*
A Canaltzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Acolnauacatl.*
A Tzompantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Huelteuctli.*
A Epcotinatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Temillotzin.*
A Citlalcoatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Tecpanecatl.*
A Tlauelloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Calmimeiolcatl.*
A Ixcuetlaxoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Mexicaltecutli.*
A Cuauhtzitzimitl,	d.	p.	d.	*Huitznauatl.*
A Xiconoc,	d.	p.	d.	y renombre, *Tepanecatlteuctli.*
A Tlazoltecotl,	d.	p.	d.	*Quetzaltocatl.*
A Axieyotzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Teuctlamacazqui.*
A Ixnauitlioc,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlopaltecatl.*
A Mecantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Cuauhyauacatl.*
A Tenamastli,	d.	p.	d.	*Coatecatl.*
A Tzontemoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Pantecatl.*
A Tlacacochtoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Huexamecatl.*

To these he adds (pp. 98 and 99), five more, namely: *Quauhnochtecutli, Cuauhquiauacatl, Tepicaltlecutli, Cuitznauatl, and Itcotecatl.* The three last were from Culhuacan. Adding to this the "chief of men" himself, who was "Flint-Snake," or

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This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *kins*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Velancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X, p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 551, 552), Yacocalco (p. 552), Tlacuchcalco (p. 552), Amazac, Coyonacasco (p. 552). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 552), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI. p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX. pp. 498, 499). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 131). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 153).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 550) and *Velancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 193) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron á la tierra no les dejaron tornar á libertad ninguna, ni á tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (9th Edition, 1800, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

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[75 not all, of these good or bad actions, and this simply for the reason
643 that he had not the power to commit them. Thus he is charged
642 with remodelling his household, removing certain assistants, and filling the vacancies with "scions of noble stock," creating, at the same time, hereditary charges. It may be that, in the case of simple runners for instance, the "chief of men" held ample authority to select his men, consequently to remove them; but it is certain that for any office of permanence with the kin or tribe, he had not the least discretionary power. How insignificant his influence even was, when severed from organized tribal government, is amply shown by his utter helplessness from the very moment that the Spaniards had *once* treated him as a fettered captive.[61]

[61] The name is variously written "Mutizuma," "Muteczuma," "Moctezuma," "Montezuma," "Moctheuzoma," "Motecuhzoma;" and "Señor severo," is the most curren- interpretation. On the tables of *Durán* (Trat. I. Lam. 7, 8, 9, 21. 22, 23, 26) and in gent eral, the "name" is painted as the head-dress ("Xiuhhuitzolli") of a chieftain, transpierced by an arrow. The etymology may be: "mo"—"thine," "tecuhtli"—"chief," and "çumale"—"furious and wrathy" (*Molina*, II, p. 28), therefore "wrathy chief," or "stern chief." Aside from the charges prefered against him by Ixtlilxochitl and his "school" of subverting gradually the basis of the confederacy, Mexican authors accuse him of having revolutionized the institutions of his own tribe. These reports have been beautifully remodelled into classical English by *Mr. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book II, cap. VI, pp. 309 and 310). *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, pp. 457, 473, 474, 475, etc.), is equally careful in reproducing all such tales, or a résumé thereof, in a shape more palatable to refined and impressionable readers.

The substance of these accusations becomes, however, reduced to the following statements, as expressed by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, pp. 145 and 146): "He said once to Zihuacoatl Tilpotonqui: I have thought it might be well to change the manner in which the chiefs and messengers should be selected and to establish a different way from that introduced under my uncle Ahuitzotl. Let those serving within their lifetime, be dismissed and others put in their places, elected from the four quarters of Moyotlan, Teopan, Aztacualco, and Cuepopan,—which shall be children of chiefs, and shall stay at the huehuecalli, or houses of the community, with the chief-steward dwelling near by. Some of the principals of this tribe now have sons, begotten from slaves, now—these are principals, and let them become delegates (ambassadors, messengers, "embajadores"), and not be cast aside for a miserable macehual who because he is Tequihua, Cacauhtli, or Cuachic, Otomies, should therefore be set over the principal Mexican chiefs, and the sons of head-chiefs (Kings, "reyes") . . . . . What I want is to bring forth those children of chieftains, which have been forgotten so long, and that such as held the office under the chief Ahuitzotl and your father Zihuacoatl may return to rest. . . . . Zihuacoatl then called together the council: "al palacio comun," and submitted to them this suggestion, "of which they were all satisfied." With this resolution Zihuacoatl went to the chief and said: I do not want them to be of age now, but only ten or twelve years old, that they may be instructed properly, and become skilled in speaking, well disposed, like unto pages to the chieftain. When they had come before Zihuacoatl, as second person of the chief, he made a long speech to them concerning their line of conduct: Every day you shall attend to Huitzilopochtli and to the chief, rising early for orations, and doing the same at nightfall, to become expert in the ways of penitence and sacrifice. Then you shall cleanse the temple, and the chief-house, afterwards have it swept before he comes

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It is therefore vain to look for any important change in the 174
institutions of the ancient Mexicans even at this third and latest date, which was the last chance, so to say, if any at all, for such

out. Keep your dresses clean and in order, also his own dress and ornaments; his 175
tress, medal, and chain; also every five days his blow-tube and bow, that he may 642
recreate himself with it. Attend to him at meal-time, morning and evening, serving 643
him with cacao, roses, perfumes, with much humility and respect, never looking into his face under pain of death. Take care that the cooking be well done, and that the stewards provide for everything. But, while there you stay, beware, for many women of worth are seen there, and to whose needs you have also to attend,—watch your behavior, for should you attempt anything against them, you and your relations will be driven off, and if you commit any bad action with any of these women, your fathers houses will be razed, salt strewn over their ruins, and you and your lineage must perish." At the close of this and other (less important) talk it is said: "and in course of time they became so well bred, refined, and instructed, and skilful, that they were of the most prominent chieftains and leading men in this house and court." *Durán* (Cap. LII, pp. 416–422) does not fail to confirm the statements of Tezozomoc, extending, however, the removals to nearly all the offices: "asi en el servicio de sus casa y persona, como en el régimen de la provincia y reyno" (p. 417); also excluding illegitimate offspring ("nengun bastardo"), and giving a number of more or less pertinent details. He even asserts that the officers of the kins were removed. In short, he represents it as the introduction of absolute despotism, surrounding at the same time the throne by a powerful nobility. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 21. p. 505) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 96), "porqué mandó, que no le sirviesen sino nobles, i que la Gente Ilustre estuviese en su Palacio, i exercitase oficios de su Casa, i Corte." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIX, p. 196), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XIX, p. 328), and others, confirm, although in a more concise style than the first named authors. It is evident that all these authors must have gathered from the same source, which cannot be *Sahagun*, nor *Motolinia*, neither *Mendieta*, nor any of the known conquerors. The story, as told and detailed by Durán, presupposes a class of hereditary nobles, already formed and in full vigor, but excluded in part from tenure of office or rather sharing such right of tenure equally with those of the common class. This is distinctly acknowledged by Tezozomoc, and more particularly yet by Durán himself: "y mudar todos los que su tio Aulizotl auia puesto y de los que se auia servido, porque munchas dellos eran de baxa suerte y hijos de hombres baxos," p. 417, etc. Now I have proven ("*Tenure of Lands*, pp. 419, 420, 421, etc., to p. 448) that there was no privileged class based on tenure of the soil. The revolution assumed presupposes that there was, up to the last "wrathy chief," no class of nobles in exclusive possession of the offices, consequently, even if the "chief of men" in question had any inclination or desire to oust the "common people" from their official positions, the main desideratum, namely, the "uncommon" ones wherewith to replace them, and for whose benefit the whole affair was planned, were not on hand. For nobility not based on hereditary ownership, or hereditary command of some kind, is no nobility at all. As far as heredity of office is concerned, Durán himself is one of the most powerful witnesses against it (*e. g.*, Cap. LXIV, pp. 499 and 490). If, therefore, "wrathy chief" created a class of privileged office-holders about the year 1503, it must have been very short-lived, for it was certainly out of existence sixteen years later, at the beginning of the Spanish conquest.

The version of Tezozomoc is evidently the correct one, and thus the whole story dwindles down to the selection of certain boys, probably of his own kin, for the special service of the tribal house of government, which took place *with the knowledge and consent of the council only*. Whether this act, if converted into a custom, might have gradually merged into prevalence of a certain kin over the rest, is another question, which the intervening conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, has left without decisive answer. About the helplessness of Montezuma while a captive, see authors on the Conquest in general.

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642 646 All three we find very plainly among the ancient Mexicans.[176] Since the tribe was formed of kins associating together voluntarily, it must be admitted that they stood on an equal footing, and had, all, an equal share in the tribal government. It was scarcely possible, however, from what we know of the population of aboriginal Mexico, that all the male members of the kins, at a general gathering, could form its directive power.[177] The latter consisted of delegates, elected by the kins to represent them; which body of delegates was the supreme authority, from whose decisions there should be no appeal.[178]

[176] "*Ancient Society*," (Part II, cap. VII).

[177] There is no evidence of a general gathering of the tribe of Mexico, subsequent to the election of "Humming-Bird" (Huitzilihuitl) to the office of "chief of men." This occurrence which, according to the *Codex Mendoza* (Plate III), took place in 1396, is mentioned by *Durán* (Cap. VII, p. 53): "Y asi haciendo su consulta y caulido entre los grandes y mucha de la gente comun." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*" edited by *Sr. Jose M. Vigil* and annotated by *Sr. Orozco y Berra*, Mexico, 1878, cap. IV, p. 233), distinctly mentions delegates: "Casi con esto los mas principales, viejos, y sacerdotes de los Mexicanos, de los cuatro barrios." The "*Codice Ramirez*" ("*Relacion del Origen de los Indios que Habitan esta Nueva-España segun sus Historias*." "*Biblioteca Mexicana*," p. 39), uses the same words as Durán. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318), gives probably the best and clearest picture of the most important meetings of the tribe,—those for election of the chiefs, and distinctly mentions only old men, officers and medicine-men.

[178] Evidence in regard to the existence and to the supreme authority of this body is found in many authors. In the first place we have the direct admission, that they elected the "chief of men" or so-called "King," and that the "matters of government" lay in their hands, in that (yet) anonymous Relation taken from the Archives of Simancas, translated and printed by Mr. H. Ternaux-Compans under the title: "*De l'ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens*" (1er *Recueil*, p. 228): "Des conseilleurs étaient chargés des affaires d'état; c'étaient pour la plupart des gens de distinction et des tecuelis ou chevaliers comme nous les appelons. On choisissait toujours des personnes âgées, pour lesquelles le souverain avait beaucoup de vénération et de respect, et qu'il honorait comme ses pères." The supremacy of the council is positively affirmed, besides, in the following authorities:—

(1). In a fragmentary MSS. of the sixteenth century, found along with the "*Codice Ramirez*," and incorporated with the latter in the "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" ("*Crónica*," *Fragmento* 2, Cap. . . p. 147): "Considerando el nuevo Rey de México la fuerza que el español traia, juntó á consejo y hizóles representacion de aquesto, y lo que estaba prometido que de Ixtlilxuchitl habia de salir la ruina de los Mexicanos, que se diesen con buenas condiciones, pues era menos mal que no morir á sus manos y á las de los españoles. No quisieron por tener concepto destos que eran insufribles y cudiciosos. Tornóles otra vez á tratar aquesto, y aún otras dos, diciéndoles ser entónces tiempo cómodo: dijéron que querian mas morir, que hazerse esclavos de gente tan mala como los españoles; y asi quedó combenido que era mejor morir; la qual determinacion sabida por Cortés andaba dando órden á Ixtlilxuchitl de como sitiar la ciudad." This shows how decisive the voice and vote of the council was, over and above the wishes and counsels of the so-called "King" (at that time Quauhtemotzin), even at the time of greatest danger, immediately before the last siege. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 160) on the same subject.

(2). In same collection—*Fragmento* 1 (pp. 124 and 125), acknowledging the final decisions of the council at the time of the older "wrathy chief": "y assi en este tiempo

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642 We have already stated that the tribe was a voluntary association of kins for mutual protection. Though this was undoubtedly the original purpose, it becomes evident that, in course of time and as a result of success in warfare, the tribe, as a military organization, grew into a cluster for procuring and increasing subsistence.[288] This was achieved by gathering booty in successful raids, and by imposing tribute upon tribes whose military power had been overcome in such dashes and forays.

642 Previous to the formation of the confederacy, but few tribes had 648 been conquered by the Mexicans.[289] In fact, it was the nearly equally balanced power of the Pueblos occupying the lake basin, that made the formation of that confederacy possible. Such a course was necessary to prevent them from destroying each other for the benefit of expectant neighbors.[290] But when once this confederacy was formed, then their joint efforts were directed to conquest, and to the acquisition of the means of subsistence through tribute. As the imposition of tribute was a military measure, so, also, its collection was in the hands of the *military* branch of the tribal government. This is evident from the fact that the kins had delegated to the tribe all authority over outside [643] matters.[291] Hence the "chief of men" became the official head of tribute-gatherers.[292]

[288] "*Art of War*" (pp. 96, 97 and 98, also notes).

[289] The number and names of these tribes are yet undefined. The specifically *Mexican* sources insisting upon a *conquest* of Tezcuco (by force of arms) by the Mexicans, it follows that, according to the *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 51 to 61), the tribes subjected before that supposed event, were the Tecpaneca, the Xochimilca, and those of Cuitlahuac, or the settlements to the west and southwest. *Durán* (Cap. IX to XV) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. VIII to XX) concur; so does, of course, *Acosta* (Lib. VII. cap. XII to XV). The *Codex Mendoza* (plates V and VI) adds to the above the pueblos of Chalco, Acolhuacan and of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca). If we compare it with the *Tezcucan* tradition, as reported by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXI, p. 216) we notice that it is claimed for that tribe, that it assisted the Mexicans in the conquest of Xochimilco and Cuitlahuac, although the formal confederation took place (according to the same authority, Cap. XXXII) some years later. According to *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLII, pp. 148, etc.), *Veinecurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XIV, p. 201), the Xochimilcas were conquered by the confederates. According to *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," Lib. III. cap. I, p. 150), the Tezcucans subjected Xochimilco. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. V, p. 255) agrees with the Mexican version.

[290] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 61).

[291] This resulted from the constitution of the tribe, as an association of kins for mutual protection and sustenance.

[651] [292] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X. p. 18): "y aunque envian á darlo á Ttzcoatl era para todos los Mexicanos en comun." The fact that the gathering of tribute was directly controlled by the "chief of men" is so generally admitted that it hardly needs any further proof. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Lettre*," etc., p. 248, 1er *Recueil*) ascribes the gathering of tribute to an officer whom he calls "tecuxcalcatectli." This should be, properly,

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw coarse incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a 643 celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6] on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities 431 came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

[482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan maceoaltzintli, in motolinja, çan copalxalli in tleco qujtema: auh in ça iequene qujtzacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in lavia, in auellamati: çan ic in jauhtli tleco qujtepeoa, ic quj-tlamaca in jxcoian itleuh:

ioan mjtoa in tlatoque vncan motecutlaliaia motlatocatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujntli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhacatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj omotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol qujoalcuj, qujoalitquj in maquextli, in tilmatli, in suchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamaujzço, yximachoça imaltepeuh, in campa, in quezqujclaca oaleoa, qujtlamamaca, qujtlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan quj-tlapaloa, qujtlatlauhtia, oalmotlalia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, qujtlacuepilia, qujntlanancujlilia:

auh çan no iuj in chioalo, in namjco, çan ic mocuepa in jnnetlaçotlaliz, injc motlaneuj, injc mjtimati, injc momalcochoa, injc mocoachioa, qujmomamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan qujqujmjliuhtiuh, çan quj-qujmjlietiuh, çan qujmjltica in qujmomaca, in, in qujmotlauhtia, qujiaiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel intonal icalitic ochioaloc, otlatlan, iquac impan qujnpepena, inpan qujnuelitta, qujntlatlattilia, qujmjipantia, qujnpapantia, qujnpapanjtia, in quenamj qujnmacazque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua qujnmaujztilia, qujnvecapano, intetlaujcalhoan.

tlaliuj, tlãtlaliuj, tlãtlalhujtiuj, tlãtlaliooa, in tlamamalo, in tlãtlatqujoa, quaquailpitiuh in netlauhtilli: auh in netlacaujlli, ãtle tlaçotli, ãtlatlaçotli, tla-

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Los pobres ofrecian un enciensso, que llaman copalxalli, en su mismo hogar: y los muy pobres, ofrecian una yerua molida, que se llama yauhtli en sus mismos hogares.*" — In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, it is *Tagetes lucida*; see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Bonnaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Raffour, in *La médecine chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 95, identifies *yauhtli* as a species of alexander; A. Gerson, in *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1899), p. 54, says it is definitely narcotic. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar las idolatrias de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrias, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerias y otros costumbres gentilicas de las razas aborigenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies *yauhtli* as *perhuatl*, which, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is "*Nombre vulgar que en el norte del país, en México, se da a una planta parecida al ocopaxtlí* (Tagetes erecta), *cuyas hojas huelen a anís.*"

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: "*la fiesta de su elección, que llaman motlatocapacu.*"

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affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the 624
young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated 618
the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to 646
the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body 701
elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were [615]
evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the 701
abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In 643
Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-ca'-la.

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701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
●643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

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[643 292]

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PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

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Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was planning an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefooted, with downcast eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pic-

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city-states, or pueblos, between the Valley of Mexico and the coast were independent communities and, even if tributary to the Valley powers, were often reluctantly so. Therefore, many of these tribes, like the Totonacs, welcomed the invaders as the spearhead for an open revolt. Others, like the completely independent and warlike Tlaxcalans, put the power of Cortes to a practical test in open battle and, when the Spaniards won, became the most loyal of Cortes' supporters. Cholula, a large town loosely allied to the Aztecs, met the Spaniards as friends, plotting to overcome them by treachery, a good Indian political maneuver instigated, perhaps, by Montezuma. The Spaniards, suspecting such a move, counteracted its efficacy by a judiciously executed massacre, thus, if not gaining a friendly community, at least creating a noncombatant one. (See Figs. 7–9.)

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Montezuma and his more cautious counselors watched this

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FIG. 7. Cortes and his army, on passing the great volcanoes southeast of Mexico City, ask the way. Note the smoke issuing from the crater of Popocatepetl. *Codex Florentine*

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FIG. 8. Montezuma, upset by the magical premonitions of disaster and by the failure of his sorcerers, does not know whether to flee or hide in a cave. *Codex Florentino*

slow ascent from the coast with apprehensive interest. He has been condemned by many commentators as an appeaser and has been made the scapegoat of this great debacle of Indian civilization. Yet consider his position. While the leading man in his community, he was not an authoritarian monarch. For mass action he had to rely on the group decision of the clans comprising his tribe, as well as on the very doubtful allegiances of the vassal states, whose immediate needs transcended any sacrifice of a far-reaching political nature. Thus not only the demands of the harvest season but also the fear of damage to the communal property made communities loath for war. Montezuma had no method of enforcing a long-range diplomatic policy, such as is so characteristic of European and oriental political history. Nor must the extraordinary gifts of Cortes and his Indian mistress Marina be underrated. The pair played on Indian psychology as master pianists would execute a duet on the piano.

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

ic tetzoncujoa, qujntzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omoteneuh: auh in ontetzoncujoac: njmã ie ic tepotonjlo, no qujnpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac ma ontlacacochi in tlapizque. 796x [514]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ie tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ie ic no ceppa calaquj in inician: auh in aca amo qujmotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan qujtetlauhtia, çan qujtemamaca.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmã ie ic vi in vmpa mjqujzque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjqujzque: njmã ie ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intozqujtzatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque: [533]

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Paynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Ixcoçauhqui.

Auh in ie ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, qujnoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmã iehoã in tlaaltilti in ixcoçauhq̃.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Mocteruma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

Auh in ocentlanque mjquj in ie iuhquj: auh in jxqujchtin tlatoque, in tetecutin in cenca maviztilionj, ie ic manj, ça qujchixtimanj omocencauhq̃, qujniacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlatocaiotl: 796x 301 [643]

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

yoan contlalia iacxivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequjntin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõmaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoã in xolocozquj iuhqujn chichiton ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acaxilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

Auh in immac oonotiuh quavitl, çan tepitoton tlatzotzopaztectli, chictlapãquj; in aco chichiltic, auh 796x 293 [386]

10. "*En aquello noche nadie durmió*" seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. See, however, Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1946), p. 171, for a discussion of these in comparison.

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca ciouatontli, no iehoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquiça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixqujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecococololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who wear named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Cooatlan.

In cooatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no iehoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oonmjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Iopicalco, yoan eoacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan eoacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocozcatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixqujch tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

643 **Ninth Chapter**, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.

Injc chicuasuj capítulo vncan moteneoa injn nechichioaia in tlatoque in jcoac maceoaia.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontlj tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal ueuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which [314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujlalia ujtziloxitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

aujetempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112, identifies *quetzalzacatl* as *Phaetornithes mexicanus mexicanus*.
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 124).
3. One such is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.
4. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as *Cotinga amabilis*.
5. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
6. *Quauhtecuxtl*: *quauh* could mean warrior; elsewhere we always give preference to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the *Real Academia de la Historia M3* has *chalchiuhtemalacatentetl coztic teucujtlatl yeallo*—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 301	A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant;	apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,
[532]	A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;	metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,
	A green stone nose rod;	chalchiuhiacamjtl,
	A fine turquoise nose rod;	teuxiuhiacamjtl,
	A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;	chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,
	A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8]	coztic teucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanacalli iitic manj,
	A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;	quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,
[237]	A golden band for the calf of the leg;	coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,
	A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;	quetzalmacpanjtl,
	A quetzal bird as headdress;	quetzalitotoscpacxuchitl,
	Quetzal feather horns;	quetzalquaquauijtl,
	A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;	quetzalecaccoaztli coztic teucujtlaio
	A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension;	xiuhmacopilli,
	A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;	coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,
	A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;	teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,
643 [276 416]	Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced.	xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, teucatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,
[298 281]	Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals.	oçelocoacactli, cuetlaxacactli tlamachio, tlamachcacactli,
	[There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells,	teponaztli, teponaztzaztzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,
[534] 533	and golden bells; Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.	cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçuanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,
415	[There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.	tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixqujch omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,
351	There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.	xuchiquauijtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeuaz in tlatoanj,
415 314 534	[There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded.	tezcatanatli, tziquaoztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1098f., on etymology of *amanteca*.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellelqujxtiaia tlatoque. 643

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in qujtlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ivpan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxnepanoa, [48] 643 644

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaeheoca, qujtlatlaquechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in calli, cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, itoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, joan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aqujn ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin tetlatlaitaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maiecatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl, qujcujloa ce petlatl, tlilica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapoalteuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, qujtlanjlia in ixqujch tlaçotli, coztic teucujtlacozcatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. *Tlaçotli*: the corresponding Spanish has *esclavos* (*slaves*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

fc:Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 HU7 Aztec HU7

524 wear[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stones, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were strung,
green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers,
shawls, blankets, fabric, precious capes, mats, large capes,
green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather
capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans,
if there he made one [of them] stand, if the bean
stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then
he wore all the costly goods. [The other] lost even
though he had not yet attained the specified number
of throws. Then were all spread; then all came to the
end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this be-
longed a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301] stones or fine turquoise. The ruler placed it about
● 643 his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling.
With these belonged a net for the small stones,
rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted
with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were
laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who
rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in
many ways. Their deeds were laughable and mar-
velous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying]
below this did—he made a thick, round log dance
with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his
back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of
his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
were their servants, their pages who attended them
[732] and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain
cats, and various birds.

chalchihuitl, xoxo xoxoxijtl, quetzalli, tlazoli, cuitl,
xajli, tlapechtli, papaloti, xoxoj tilmatli: chalchihu-
xoxoxi, xoxoxijtlacochtli, xoxoxijtlaxoli. Auh in
xquijo patolij, in qujchiuaua in ce, inda cencel ce ic
xoxoxochtli, in xoxoxoxica: ce, in xoxpa ic xoxo-
xojxijtic: cenca xoxoxochtic, cenca tlamatqui
ipan mottaia: ajxpan xoxchi quijchui, in jxquijch tla-
pechtli, in xochujxpa in xoxoxoj xoxo xqi in quexquij-
xoxi xquijli, injc xoxoxoxoxtzalo, injc xoxoxpalo.

Tlatlaujxpa tlaujxtlica, tlaujxtica, xoxujxica, tla-
cochica: tlaujxtlalo, xoxoxpoxtli ipan ca, xoj chal-
chiujtl, chalchiujtl, xoxo xoxujtl in jxxoxpachtlan
quijtlalia tlaxoxj.

Tlatlacolujxqui, tlatlaxoxla icac tlacolloxoxli, injc
calto xiloloxochtzi xujxijtic: injc xoxpechtlan xiloloxli,
ic quijxoxlo xujxoxtan xoxoxc, tlatlapechxoxlujxqui in
jca xoxoxochtzi: injc quijxujxqui xqujxqui xoxoxc,

xoxochujxjtic, xoxochujxquica, cuquja, in jx-
quijch xujxqui xochitl.

vacuxo xoxchujxujxjcchoua in quijxoxlchujxjc-
tica, in quijxoxxochic: xoxo quujxcuxujxqui in quij-
xujxjtic xujxi: tlaquaxoxli in jxchichiuaj xoxujxqui,
xoxo xujxjtic, in jca ixcujxl tlaujxqui injc tlilxoxxi ic
tlacotl, xoxoxoxc in quujxujxjtli in quijxoxic ica ixcu-
jxl xujxujxoxc: xujxqui in xoxujxujxj quujxujxjtli ic
xchujxi in jxcujxl ic tlaxoxi,

xujxi: tlaxoxli, in xoxujxxoxli in quijxhica, vacuxo
xoxochica, xoxhica in quujxujxujxica in quijxoxchi-
hujxjxujxic, tlaquaxoxc, xilloxoxc, xujxujxoxc, xoxchica,
quujxujxic quujxujxchi, cujxoxc, cujxujxchicic, xoxo-
xochica, xujxujxqui xoxoxli.

2. The Red Codexes de la Historia 300 made quetzalcoatl the supposed inventor of quetzalli.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told what the rulers rested upon.

The ocelot skin seat with a back rest; the mountain lion skin seat with a back rest; the wolf skin seat with a back rest; the mountain cat skin seat with a back rest; the cured leather seat with a back rest; the ocelot skin seat, the mountain lion skin seat, the wolf skin seat, the cured leather seat, the mountain cat[1] skin seat, the coyote skin seat.

The ocelot skin mat,[2] the mountain lion skin mat, the mountain cat skin mat, the coyote skin mat, the hammock, smooth reed mats[3] elaborately painted with designs; seats with backs, painted with designs; low seats painted with designs.

Injc matlactli oçe capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in jpan motlaliaia tlatoque. 643 352 281

Oçeloeoatepotzoicpalli, mjçeoatepotzoicpalli, cujtlacheoatepotzoicpalli, ocotocheoatepotzoicpalli, cuetlaxtepotzoicpalli, oçeloeoaicpalli, mjçeoaicpalli, cujtlacheoaicpalli, cuetlaxicpalli, ocotocheoaicpalli, coioeoaicpalli,

oçeloeoapepechtli, mjçeoapepechtli, ocotocheoapepechtli, coioeoapepechtli, cochizmatlatl alaoacapetlatl, tlatlacujlolli, tepotzoicpalli tlacujlolli, tzinjcpalli tlacujlolli.

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 153.
2. *Petapalli*: cf. corresponding Spanish text.
3. *Ahuacapetlatl*: corresponding Spanish text—"esteras pintadas muy galanas y muy curiosas."

[p. 32 is blank]

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Twelfth Chapter, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars.

Injc matlactlomome capítulo, ynican mjtoa: injc muchichioaia in tlatoque, in quijtitlanja iaupan.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold.

[237]

Tlauhquécholtzaxtli tlaçotlanqoj coztic teucujtlaio: cenca mjiec in quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio: injcal in tlamamalli, vepetl in colotli tlachiuhtli, coztic teucujtlaio:

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *xapote* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

auh in ichoxol conmaquja tlatlauhquj, tlauhquecholiujtl injc tlachiuhtli: coztic teucujtlatl in jztetepaio, auh in jtzapocue mochiuhtoc çan moch quetzalli.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

Chimalli, coztic teucujtlatl, in tlatzotzontli imanaoaio, tlaçoiujtl in jtentlapilollo muchiuhtoc,

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

chalchiuhcouxtl, tlaconquixtilli in ololiuhquj, in veuej, chalchiujtl, ioan tezxiujtl

The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers.

[237]

xiuhtototzontli, coztic teucujtlaio, quetzalli in jcuecuetlacacaio, in jtzontecon conmaquja tlatoanj: auh in jtlac conaquja xiuhtotoeoatl,

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

auh in tlamamalli xoxouhquj vepetl in colotli tlachiuhtli coztic teucujtlaio

All quetzal feathers was its *xapote* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of thin gold [plate].

çan much quetzalli in jtzapocue, mochi tlaçoiujtl in jtlapilollo, coztic teucujtlatl in tlacamaoalli in jtetepaio, in xiuhtotoeoatl,

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

ocelotoec, oçelouxtl injc tlachiuhtli, coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli in jtetepaio,

Its *xapote* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

ça much quetzalli in jtzapocue,

The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches.

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oçelouxtl in tlamamalli coztic teucujtlatl injc tlotloujtequj.

The shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Chimalli xiuhtotorica tzauquj, coztic teucujtlatl ic itzapo,

1. *Tenxipaio*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *espejo de oro* where our translation uses "flint knives." The shape of the *xipa* is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also Sandoz, *op. cit.*, and Seler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 594, where *Itzcuintzin* is used consistently.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS follows *muchichiuhtoc* with *ça moch quetzalli ça tzontapolli muchichiuhtoc*—pure quetzal feathers, to which small grasshoppers [of gold] are added at this point.

3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Y colgaua deste plumage, hecho los espaldas, en manchas pequeñitas, puestas en cruz cuadrada, como para llenar carga.*" This passage Seler (*op. cit.*, II, p. 594) translates as "*Dazu wird auf den Rücken eine Trommel getragen, eine aus Gerüst bestehend, das mit Gold überzogen ist.*"

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The quetzal feather butterfly was the burden for the back; with it belonged the yellow parrot feather shirt, [decorated] with hawk scratches in gold.

The shield with a golden disc had a golden butterfly in the middle. [There was] a quetzal feather claw,[4] with gold. The shirt [which belonged to this] was of yellow parrot feathers.

The golden hood had horns of quetzal feathers; its shirt was of yellow parrot feathers.

The silver hood had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch [decorations] in gold.

[There were] the quetzal feather banner of the spear house; the silver banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top; and the golden banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top.

The finely wrought obsidian butterfly was of quetzal feathers and gold; its teeth and claws were all of precious feathers; and it had quetzal feather horns.

The finely wrought butterfly of [the goddess] Xochiquetzal [was made of] precious feathers; and its horns were of gold and quetzal feathers.

[There was] a quetzal feather crest-like device. With it belonged a blue cotinga-feather shirt; the shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

The Xolotl head of yellow parrot feathers, with balls of quetzal feathers, was ornamented with gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch decorations in gold.

The blue Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a blue shirt.

The white Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a white shirt.

The bright red Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold; its shirt was likewise bright red.

The headdress of trupial feathers was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers.

The yellow demon of the air was made all of gold, and had quetzal feathers and balls of quetzal feathers.

The blue demon of the air had quetzal feathers, was made all of gold, and had balls of quetzal feathers.

quetzalpapalotl in tlamamalli, inamjc toçeoatl, coztic teucujtlatl injc tlotloujtecquj.

Chimalli teocujtlatica itixapo, teucujtlapapalotl ijtic manj quetzalxopilli, coztic teucujtlain, toçeoatl in jeoain.

Coztic teucujtlaquacalalatli, iquetzalquaquauh, ieoaio coztic toçeoatl.

Iztac teucujtlaquacalalatli, quetzaltecomaio: inamjc toçeoatl coztic teucujtlatl ic tlotloujtecquj

quetzalpanjtl tlacochcalcaiotl. Iztac teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio. Coztic teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio.

Itzpapalotl tlaçotlanquj quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jtlan, in jizti muchi tlaçoiujtl: iquetzalquaquauh.

Xochiquetzalpapalotl, tlaçotlanquj in tlaçoiujtica: ioan coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzalquaquauh

quetzalpatzactli, xiuhtzoeoatl iujcallo in chimalli xiuhtzotica tzacquj, coztic teucujtlatl ic itixapo,

tonquaxolotl iquetzaltemal, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl inamjc, coztic teucujtlatl injc motlotloujtec,

xoxouhquj quaxolotl, quetzallo coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc xoxouhquj eoatl.

Iztac quaxolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc iztac eoatl.

Chichiltic quaxoiotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jeoain, çan no chichiltic.

Çaquanzontli, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio toçeoatl inamjc,

tontzitzimjtl: muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, quetzallo, iquetzaltemal.

Xoxouhquj tzitzimjtl, quetzallo, muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, iquetzaltemal.

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4. Cf. discussion in Seler, op. cit., II, pp. 79ff., as well as corresponding Spanish text—"y manera de ala, y en toda la ala traya una flecadura, de pluma rica, y con oro."

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzalhemal. 643

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, izquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in eoatl, toçoatl motlotlouj̃tec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 714 531

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in eoatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecuçiztli, ioan quçquçtli in mopitza 534
iauc injc çemeca iauqujzque, injc mjcali: in quach- 727
panjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in
teuçtia in iauc, in omottac ie meoztiquetza in jaquj
quachpanjtl. Niman çemeca in iauqujzque, injc
mjcali,

quetzalmoxoiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic 643
mancuh in quetzalli iacaltic. Xilonochipatzactli, que- 714
tzalli in jiuoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jca-
nacacân mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomal-
tectli. Maquaujtl itzmo in jtenco tlatectli, que-
tzalaxtzontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in [441]
jcuecuetlacacaio mjiac quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in
jpoçonca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jeuecuetlacacaio
mjiac in quetzalli.

[p. 36 has no textual material]

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—Alice Tozzer y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Huitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Cuauhtli. 16. Don Diego Tenoxtequin. 17. Don Cristóbal Cuerpuis. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauquapitzauac. 19. Tlacatecatl. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquihuixtli. 22. Don Pablo Tetlahuehuetzquitzin. 23. Don Martin Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Aculnauac. 25. Don Martin Tlacatecatl. 26. Don Diego Huanitzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhchichih. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

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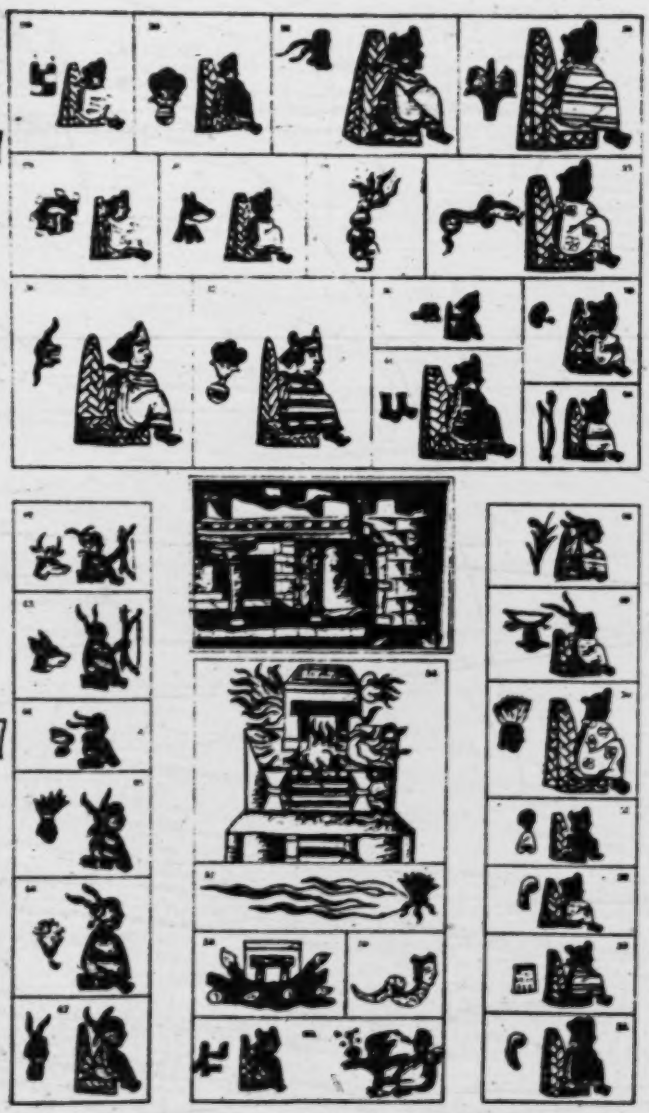

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Rulers of Tenoco. 28. Tlahuicatzin. 29. Techotlalatzin. 30. Itzlihuehuitl. 31. Nezahualcoyotzin. 32. Nezahualpilli. 33. Cacamatzin. 34. Cuauhtemoctzin. 35. Tecuichtzin. 36. Itzlihuehuitl. 37. Yoyontzin. 38. Tetlahuehuetzquitzin. 39. Don Antonio Huitzilihuitzin. 40. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

33. Omens observed in Tenoco (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uexotla. 42. Maquizcatzin tecuhtli. 43. Tochintecuhtli. 44. Axoxuatzin tecuhtli. 45. Quetzalmacatzin tecuhtli. 46. Tezozomoctzin. 47. Ixcuintzin tecuhtli. 48. Xihuitzin tecuhtli. 49. Itlacahuatzin. 50. Tlacahuatzin. 51. Tlacomoctzin. 52. Cuitlauatzin. 53. Tlazopilcuitzin. 54. Cuitlauatzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Coatzacoalcos weeping. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]
[p. 36(D) is blank]

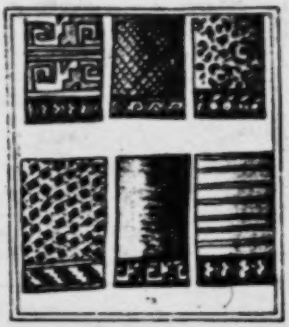

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—After Paso y Troncoso

72-74. Women's array—*ueipilli, cuetl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's seat array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 19). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

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Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcozio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc cheiocatolli, oauhatolli izqujo, mjchioaoatolli necuio, itztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chiauatolli chilcozpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalquiça tlatoanj.

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And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

Auh in momoztlac, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iec in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Auh in jquac in oalaqua tlatoanj, njman ic moxexeloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlâque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezqujtlamantli, ixoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlaueuetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapitzque, amanteca, tlatecoque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Niman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, xoxouhquj cacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xoxouhquj tilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tilxic cacaoatl, iztac cacaoatl

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes; Simões, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 439: "*los más chicos mahamatos, es decir, de sombra.*"

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Chia arenqada. Salvia gap*" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 466: *Salvia polystachia*. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 219: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.

22. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* Dn.—"*En México, chile cuilipeno, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 435, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., var. *baccatum* L.: "*del nombre de los mexicanos, a los que parece imitar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"

23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salvia hispánica*. L. *Salbiler*"; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 980: *Salvia chian*, *S. hispánica* L.

24. The Spanish text has barbers, which would require *tenizque*.

25. *Tilxic* and *tiaxic* are as they appear in the Codex; *tilhic* and *tiaxic* are probably errors.

643 264 272 415 The chocolate was served in a painted gourd vessel, with a stopper also painted with a design, and [having] a beater; or-ili a painted gourd, smoky [in color], from neighboring lands, with a gourd stopper, and a jar rest of ocelot skin or of cured leather. In a small net were kept the earthen jars, the strainer with which was purified the chocolate, a large, earthen jar for making the chocolate, a large painted gourd vessel in which the hands were washed, richly designed drinking vessels; [there were] large food baskets, sauce dishes, polished dishes, and wooden dishes.

injc motecaia cacaoatl, tecontlacujlolli, atzaccaiotl tlacujlolli, aquaujtl aiotectli tlacujlolli, poctecomatl anaoacaiotl, atzaccaiotl aiotectli, aiaoalli oçcloeoatl, cuctlaxaiaoalli, chitatli in vncan mopia tecomatl, atzetzeloaztli, injc moiectia cacaoatl, vevei tecomatl achioalonj, vevej tlacujlohxicalli injc nematequijlo, tzohoacalli tlaioalonj, tlaqualchiqujujtl, molctxitl, petzcaxitl, quauhcaxitl.

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Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan catlatoanj, ixqujch tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan atlioa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenquixtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauiia, in aqujque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxqujch tlamantli in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca qujtetepachozque, anoço aca quauhtica mjqujz qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloz, totocoz, callaliloz, maceoalcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjiecqujntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oqujcac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicolozque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzaloxque in jntecujioboan, injc macozque, injc cuepiliozque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica pipilti, ioã oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in neteilhujlli, çan njman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, pp. 22-23: "*Este nombre, tlacatl, quiere decir, persona noble, generosa o mayjfico. . . . Y los conquistadores de tlacatl que se conquistaron este nombre mayorales, significan personas ancianas, como diciendo es tlacatl, una persona hombre, o varon.*" Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung der Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Sippe und Beruf, nach dem Azteckischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 32.
2. Clark, op. cit., I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the foot."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 67.

6: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads—where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos—the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Aztacalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzintepec. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 99; Sahagún, op. cit., I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

Injc caxtolli omome cap°, vncan mjtoa in jnneiehecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn vel qujchioazque intequjuh, in jntlatocaiõ. 643

INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in tlatecpanaliztli, in qujtitlanja injc iauqujçaia. 643 701

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh caca in iauiotl, injc ichoatl qujtzontequj, qujtecpana, qujçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in campa oujca, in campa ic calacoaz, in ie iuhquj achto oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlal: in altepetl, in poliujz, ie onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui vtli, in campa oujcan, quezqujcan in calacoaz. 643 723 [102]

Niman ic qujoalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque in quezqujcan calaquiz iauqujzquj, in quezquilhujtl monnenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc ichoantin, iautlatozque qujnnaoatizque: in jxqujch in quauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioã tlaujztli.

Auh in ichoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in jxqujchtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauhnaoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl: tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappanecatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl, matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl, axocopanecatl, itzcujncujtlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aiotzintepecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc qujoalcujzque, in jxqujch in jnpiel, in tlacalaqujlli, in tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli in coztic teucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jxqujch tlaçochimalli. 643 714

Auh in jcoac oqujoalitquijque in calpixque: in jxqujch tlaçotlanõquj tlaujztli: iichoatl tlatoanj, njman qujçencaoa qujntlaujzmaca in jxqujchtin tlaçopipilti, in ie imjxco ca iautilizztli: ioan in jxqujchtin 643 701

643 701 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquata. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in [687] among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacauitztli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

tiacahoan, in oqujchtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in ꝏmj: ioan in telpuchnemj in pipilti.

auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oqujchiuh. Niman qujnnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxqujchtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz; in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in qujnmacaz, in qujntlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oqujchtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto qujnnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxqujch chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, qujncaqujtia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz ce altepetl: qujntlauhtia, in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan qujnmaca, in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic qujnnaoatia: in jxqujch in jmaçeoal, injc iauqujçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oqujchtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixqujchtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, qujnmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in ixqujchtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj in tenochcatl; no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch aculhoacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, in jxqujch tepanecatl, no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxqujch moquataitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oaxioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teumaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan qujça, çan njmꝏn vncã qujnmjctia, qujnujujtequj, in aquin tlaixneloznequj: tetlan qujçaznequj, in oommoten ixqujch iauqujzquj, in ie inman in ooalhuetz acaujztli, in tlaioalli injc tlaiooalcujoaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca mochiia in tletl, in quenman cue-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: *"Mandaua luego, a los calpixques, que llouassen armas, a todos los principales, para si, y para sus soldados: y entonces lo notificaua a su gente, y les daua armas."*

3. Yeuatenpan, tlachinoltempan: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, p. 103 *(lugares para la gente soldadesca)*, and p. 105 *(los lugares de las batallas)*.

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death;

[681] hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

tzalo in calpixquj, in qujmocujtlaujz, in jpan tlatoa in tlacalaquijlli.

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia luezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in tetlatzontequjliliztli, qujcaquja in jzqujch in jnetcilhujl: ioan in jchoqujz, in jnentlamachiliz in jnetolinjliz in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh injc uel qujneltiliaia in tlatoanj in teneteilhujl anoço tetlatlacul qujmjxquetzaia, qujnpepenaia in jtecutlatocahoan: iehoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncã in qujnj, in qujquanj, in mocujltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oqujchti, in iauc omoxcaltique, mjiec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjliztli, oqujmaujçoque: auh in jzquj tlamantlj qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in jnpiltian oqujmomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan nemjliztli, iauqujçaliztli, tlamalizzli.

Auh çan no iuhq̃ij, injc qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, inic qujmjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti iehoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omooapaouhque, in tiacahoan in oqujchti, in mjiec tlamantli oqujmaujçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in qujnpaqujltia, in qujntlauhtia, ioan in qujmnaca, in jzqujch intech monequj:

iuhque in in qujmjxquetzaia, in qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in mozalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliujz mooconjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca qujmaujzpia in tecuiotl, amo cochinj, cenca cochiçanj amo tle qujcnjuhchioa: amo tle qujoaiokachioa: amo tle qujtecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlaujltica qujcaquj, anoço qujtzontequj: qujmjqujznaoatiaia, in tlatoanj: injc melaoac qujchioanque in jntequjuh, in tecutlaiollj: auh intlacamo, ca iehoantin conmotzacujlitianque in tecutlatoque, in tlein qujtlacuique.

Auh in jenac, oqujmjxquetz in tlatoanj: in jtecutlatocahoan qujnmacaia vnietl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

5. Intendencias: cf. ibid., p. 318 (los mayores jueces) and p. 321 (ancianos).

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan iexque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatla- 693
tolli, 565
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzon-
tequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuh-
ca qujtzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. [344]

693
Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujca- [344]
quja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchi- 565
pauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlol- 695
pan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã
qujntlaçoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc [212]
vmpa motzontequj.

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc 695
iehoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoa-
catl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezca-
coacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ti-
cociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, ie-
hoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja,
qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machice-
que, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchi-
chioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca
quauhcalco otlaliloc.

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz, 693
njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc iehoantin qujmjc-
tia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtete-
pachoa, anoço qujtetequj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn 535
netotilos. 643
In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoa-
liatli, in papaqujlixtli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujn-
iollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan
tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli,
atlapalli, in maçeoalli:
achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz, 643
qujnnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujiehecoxque injc 533
qujchicaoanque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oyen, como diffinidores, y jueces, llamados el señor: para que los sentenciasse juntamente con otros principales, como calificados, que eran el emperador, y cuidaban."
7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezoaoacatlailotlac; ezoaoacatl appears in ejercicio.
The title Tlacochcalcatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.
8. Con dispir: que is probably meant (cf. ibid.).
9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 291, 293; II, pp. 310, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 180, and III, p. 53.

643 533 534 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

vevetl: ioan in ixqujch maçeoallatqujtl, ioan netotiliztli, aqujn cujcaitoz, aqujque in teiacanazque, aqujn teponaçoz, aqujn vevetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacaujz.

643 535 292 301 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided] the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed himself, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

Auh in ie iconac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc qujlpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac qujtlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in qujmololoa, in qujmoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in qujmomaxtlatia,

565 535 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges; and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no qujcencaoa qujntlauhtia: in ixqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oqujchti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oqujchtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan qujnmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzqujtlamantin omoteneuhque.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song, or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla qujtlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli qujchalanja, anoço vevetl, anoço cujcaitoa, qujpoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in qujpoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aqujn tlatlacoa, qujtzacutiuh mjquja.

643 726 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa injc ixtoçoaia in aqujn tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpãpa iauiotl.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl ceioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca ixtoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in ioboaltica quenmanjan qujçaia qujiaoaloa in altepetl qujtta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ic necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

in jxqujchtin iauteoaque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içeioual tlapiazque, in teuatenpan in tlachinoltempã, 726
in qujmocujtlaujzque oçelotenamjtl, quauhtenamjtl,
in iauotli: ioan qujmanazque qujntzitzquizque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in qujoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jqujn iautlatoloz, auh in
oqujcacque ca ie iautlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
iautlapializtica.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenonotzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame quj-
mati in mexica in inchan oalmocalkotia, in tetlanen-
que in jiaohoan no qujtzacutiuja, inca nenonotzaloia
in chaneque, ioã in jnpilhoan, ioan namoieloia in
intlatquj atl neneçia in inchan.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlatoaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialoz in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çeioal, in ma aca qujtlachichiujli altepetl, in ma 722
iauiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icatiaz tlatoanj,
ioan altepetl qujnnaoatiaia in tlatoanj in telpuchtla-
toque, in tiacahoan: ioan in ixqujch telpuchtli, injc [533]
moenoztlac ioaltica cujcoanozque, injc qujoalcaqujz
ixqujch altepetl, in qujiaoalotoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan ixqujch mexicatl.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaoa: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan ixqujch altepemaitl, icoac qujça in
jxqujchtin tlamacazque, noujian in ontlamaçeoa
noujian tepeticpac, ioan ic ontlapia in aço itla quj-
namjqujtiuj ie tlatujnaoac ỹ oalcalaquja injc ontla-
piaia çeçeioal iuh qujchioaia.

10. *Simeon, op. cit., identifies mixtil as an intoxicating plant, and chapul as Rhizomes convolvulus, a medicinal plant. Olmos, op. cit., p. 223, has, for Hazer a otro soldado, o dar mal consejo: Mixtil, chapul, cuauxochqui, nanacatl ninxiniuiani. . . .; for Embarrachar, o salir de seso: Yuxch cquixic in octli, in nanacatl, in mixtli, in cuauxochqui inic oyaxinic, inic nanacatic.* In Lib. VI, fol. 20v, of the *Florentine Codex*, this passage appears: "*In tlatocatiuiaq, in tlacchiuanaxcatiuiaq: in jxchqui mixtil, in jxchqui chapul mitoqui. Inxcapa mjtoac: in oquiça ninxiua quixquixquiqui tenoxtitlanti: in ixchqui in nan chanaqui, ma chapul oquiçque: injc ueuej: ninxiua quixquixquiqui in chan ic nonnanchia: iquac injc ainia, in ueu ennenoc: ihcuac. Tlein cuach ninquac, chan cuach ninquapolo: ninc cal mjtoaua, ninxiua quixtlalonia in ueuelle: in ninxiua tlcuej, tlcuia in chanti.*" The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Esta hera quien dexaba de sentido y dandose palmadas en el pecho como hombre que a consejo hablaba. Por metaphora se dize: de aquel que dexaba trauajar y dormiendo en su casa, dando consejo, no se quiere entender: y a este tal diziale que se bouijda que se consejo que ningun bien enseja cosilla su consejo.*"

11. *Tetlan nenque: nonlanch, according to Simeon, op. cit. Tetlanenini, however, in Molina, op. cit., is translated as chismero or malsin (gossip, tattlemouse; informer, possibly, informer).*

12. *Ad: probably ate is meant.*

342 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, like-
643 wise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go
[373] out. It was watched all night and made to burn with
644 pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at
722 the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Coacalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in
[373] order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj ceioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iician tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coacali, in jntenetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texãcali in jnneçenqujxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlãtlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh catca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapieloia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioal tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapieloia.

643 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the
542 ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

643 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game
525 —the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelqujxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujttaia, qujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoatiaia, injc ollamaloz, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaqujltiaia tlatoanj: qujnnaoatiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujzque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maiçoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlazujlilo, tlaxahujlo, tlachpano:

ioan in jxquich qujtlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçonaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcoacatl, teucujtlacoacatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjzque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxquich itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, iceoeiaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj qujquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque qujtema in ixquich tlaçotli tlatqujtl, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujnmaca in jxquich oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

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13. *Tlacxitlan*: see Antonio Mendoza: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlacxitlan* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 369, "los pueblos quedaron subdivididos en menor calpulli ó barrio, cuyos los parcialidades eran, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlacxitlan."

14. *Tlapal*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to dress, in which case the Aztec should read *tlacal*.

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[18] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were bested, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vassals whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

In tlatoanj, in jquac qujnequjà iiellekqujçaz tlanoatiaia injc patoz, mjcujloa ce patolpetlatl, ica tilili, papatlactic in tlaxotlalli ic mjcujloa, in vncan nepoalo ic netlanjoa: auh njmlan no mjxcoionja nauhtetl aiecotli, injc patolo, injc netlanjoa: auh çan ie no iuhquj qujcnioaia in çalpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli in jtlatquj, in jaxca tlatoanj, qujoalteca in oncan patoloian, in qujtetlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in icoac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepatla in calpixque: ioan qujpatla in jxqujchtin maçeoalti, in ocontlalica tlatoanj in patoloia. 643 522 525 524

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then [the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in aquin tlatoanj qualli iiollo, teicnoittanj. 643 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaoculianj, cenca teicnoittanj, ioan teicnelianj, in jcoac qujnequja, qujçaz in otli qujtocaz: in aquin motolinja maçeoalli, in motlapaloa, injc qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, intla ouelqujtlapalo *in tlatoanj: njman qujnaoatia in calpixquj, qujmacaz* tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in quja, in qujquaz, tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloz qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, çan no iuh qujcnelia, qujtlauhtia in jujpil, in jcue, icochia, in quja, in qujquaz tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla aca motolinja, icnotlacatl, oqujchiuh, oqujtlali, quezquj veuetl mauizio cuicatl, intla njman itech qujpoa tlatoanj, intla qujmaca, cenca qujcnelia, qujtlaocolia, qujcalmaca qujcujltonoa, qujmaca in quexqujch tlatqujtl in jitic onoc calli, ioan qujmaca calpixquj injc momoztlae qujmocujtlaujz qujtlaqualtiz, qujtenjxitiz, qujneuhcaioia qujcochcaiotiz: ioan qujmaca in isqujch netlauhtilli in tlaçotilmatli, in pepechtli in necujltonolli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauizioti.

18. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de alli traijan su haqa, con que jardinan, y ganauan lujuria; y otras cosas como arriba se dice."

[p. 60 is blank]

Eighteenth Chapter, in which it is told how they chose those who would govern.

The ruler was thus given office and chosen. The lords assembled and deliberated as to whom they would set in office and choose to be ruler. In the same manner assembled the old men and the seasoned warriors, brave warriors, men [at arms], and the leaders of the youths; lords; and keepers of the gods; fire priests—the long-haired ones.[1] All were gathered there at the great palace, the residence of the ruler, in order to consult and choose him who was to be ruler. They cast votes for all the princes who were sons of lords; men [at arms]; brave warriors, experienced in war, who shrank not from the enemy;[2] who knew not wine—who were not drunkards, who became not stupefied;[3] the prudent, able, wise; of sound and righteous rearing and upbringing; who spoke well and were obedient, benevolent, discreet, and intelligent.

And when were settled the deliberations and choosing, they were as one [in their] accord. When a certain prince was chosen and given the charge of being ruler, then also were raised to their office and chosen those who were to help him, the [four] princes who would be by his side; who would be his lords. They were invested with, and given, the titles Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlilotlac, Pochtecatlailotlac, and Ticociauacatl.

When this was done, when the choosing was settled, then was determined on what good day sign would be installed those who had been elected—the ruler and the lords. Then the command was given when there would be a meeting, and all the noblemen were commanded then to come to assemble in the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli.

Injc caxtolli omej capitulo: ipán mjtoa, in quenjn quinpepenaia, in aquijque tlatocatizque. 643

In tlatoanj, injc ixquetzaloia, inic pepenaloia, mocentlaliaia, mononotzaia, in tecutlatoque,[1] injc quixquetzaia, injc quipepenaia, in aquin tlatoanj iez çan no iuhquj mocentlaliaia in achcacauhti ioan tequioaque, tiacahoan, oquichtin, ioan tiachcauh tlatoque, ioã teupixque tlenamacaque, papaoaque, ixquichtin mocentlaliaia in vncan vei tecpan tlatocan, injc mononotzaia, injc quipepenaia in ac iehoatl tlatocatiz, quinteneoaia in ixquichtin tlaçopipilti, in tlatoque impilhoan, in oquichti, in tiacaoan in iauc matinj, in amo quitlaçotla in jntzontecõ, in jmelchiquiuh, in amo quixmati in vetli, in amo tlaoanj, in amo quimotequitia *mixitl, tlapatl, in mimatinj,* [577] in mocaliaij, in tlamatinj, in qualli iectli inecalilis, inneoapaoaliz, in vellatoa, in vellacaquj, in tetlaçotlanj, in jxe in iollo.

Auh in jcoac in omocencauh nenonotzalizti, tlapepenalizti, in ocenitet tlatolli, in ac iehoatl tlaçopilli in oanoc, in oixquetzaloc in tlamanj iez: njman no iquac ixquetzalo, pepenalo in quipalrujaque, in jtlan ieaque in tlaçopipilti, in jtecutlatocahoan ieaque: motecutlalia, motocamaca tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: 643 644

in ie iuhquj in omocencauh tlapepenalizti, njman nenonotzalo, tlein qualli cemjlhujionalli in ipan tlaliloaque, in opepenaloque: in tlatoanj ioan in tecutlatoque, ic tenaoatilo in jquin cenquixocoaz: ioan naoatilo in jxquichtin pipilti, injc cenquiçaquiuj in jitoalco vitzilopuchtli: [577]

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*juntaronse los ancianos que llamauan Teuctlatoque: y tambien los viejos del pueblo, que llamauan achcacauhtin: y tambien los capitanes soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamauan otontecpixque: y otros capitanes que eran principales, en las cosas de la guerra: y tambien los sacerdotes, que llamauan Tlenamacacque, o papaoaque.*"

Papaoaque: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III, Appendix, cap. ii, in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 533, n. 2, the term is thus explained: "'Ceux qui ont les cheveux tombant en touffe sur les oreilles'; singulier pluriel, *farand du cabanatl papatli, chevelure longue et en désordre.*"

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

3. *Mixitl, tlapatl:* see Chap. 17, n. 10, supra.

643 And some of the noblemen who feared the office of ruler hid themselves and took refuge [from those who might choose them].[4]

suh in ccqujntin in pipilti in qujmacaçi tlatocaiod motlatia mjnaia.

643 644 FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is told how they arrayed those who had been elected when they did penance, and led them to the house of Uitzilopochtli.

And at this time were brought together, according to command, the noblemen, the lords, the masters of the youths [who were] leaders, and great judges. When these lords were assembled, then they commanded the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, to seek out and go to take among themselves, those who had been chosen: the one whom they had named ruler and those whom they had named lords. When they had been put in office, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went to take, wheresoever he was, the one who had been vested in the office of ruler. Then they speedily laid hold of him; before them, all the people beheld him.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnchichioaia, in opepenaloque, in jpan tlamaçeoaia: ioan qujnujcaia, in jchan vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in ic iuhquj: in ocenqujxoac, in jcoac naoztilli, in pipilti, in tecutlatoque, in tiiachcauh tlaiacatique, ioan achcacauhti, in oococentecoc, in ichoanti tecutlatoque niman qujnnaoztia in teupixque, papaoaque, injc qujxtemoaque injc tetzalan conanatiuj: in opepenaloc in tlatoanj, qujtocaiotia in aqujn, ioan qujxtocaiotia in aqujque tecutlatoque, oixquetzaloque njman ic uj in canazque in teupixque papaoaque, in campa catquj, oixquetzaloc tlatoanj: njman qujcujtiuetzi teixpan mochi tlacatl qujtta:

643 292 Then they took him before the lords. He went bare. They put on him a green,[5] sleeveless jacket. And they had him carry upon his back his tobacco gourd with green tassels. Then they veiled his face, they covered his head [with a] green fasting cape designed with bones. Then they gave him his green[5] cotton bag filled with incense and decorated with bones, and they put on him his new foam sandals with green toes. They placed in his hand his incense ladle, also painted with the skulls of the dead, and with paper pendants [on the handle].

njman ic qujujca imjxpan tecutlatoque petlauhtiuh conaquja xicolli xoxouhquj, ioã qujmamaltia iietecon in jmamaxoxouhquj: njman ic conjxtlapachoa, ic qujquaquimjloa neçaoalquachtli xoxoctic omjcallo, njmã ic conmana icpaxiqujpilli in vncan tentiuh copalli omjcallo xoxoctic: ioan conaaqujlia iancujc in jpoçolcac xoxoctic in jquequetzil, njman imac contequjlia, in jtlema, no mjccatzontecomaio, injc tlacujlolli, amocujtlapile.

643 And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to take the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. When they had brought the ruler to the top [of the pyramid temple], then he took incense, poured it into the incense ladle, in which there were live coals. Then he raised it before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order to perfume it. He stood always with his face covered by the fasting cape designed with bones. And all the common folk stood looking up at him. Trumpets were sounded; the shell trumpets were blown.

Auh in ichoantin, papaoaque teupixque: caantiuj in tlatoanj in qujtlecauja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: in jcoac ocaxitique in tlatoanj, in tlacpac, njman conccuj in copalli, contema in tlemaco, in vncan ietiuh tlexochtli: njman ic cacocuj in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, inic tlapopochuja, çan ic quatlapachiuhticac: in neçaualquachtli, omjcallo. Auh in jxqujch maçeualli, acopa conjztoc, tlapitzalo, mopitza in tecucirtli.

644 292 And these lords—the Tlacochcalcatl, the Uitznaua-tlailotlac, the Pochtecatlailotlac and the Ticociauacatl—the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, then also speedily adorned. Each one they dressed in his

Auh in ichoantin tecutlatoque, tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoztlailotlac, pochtecatlailotlac, tiocociauacatl: njman no hiçiuhca qujnchichioa, in teupixque papaoaque, ccoiaca qujmaquja tiltic ixicolli, ioan imjietecon,

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] de los que tenían temporales que los obligaron, se escondió por no ser elegidos por no tomar sus [illegible] cargos."

5. Xicoxoquj, literally: verde cotton in corresponding Spanish text.

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tiltic in jmama, ioan qujmaaqujlia impocolcac istac: njman ic qujmontlapechoa, qujmoniaquimjloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tiltic omjcallo, ioan qujmonmaca icpaxiqujpilli, tiltic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli onteniuh: njman ic no qujntlecauja cecenme, qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc qujntlecauja iicpac vitzilopochtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopiochtli qujpopochuja.

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SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how these chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INIC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oalquiçaia naujlhujtl.

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Auh in ic iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapopochujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic qujoaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xonoctic: njman ic no cecenca qujnoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic iztlapachiuhtiuj, cecenca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo.

qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca qujmonujca in neçaoalcalli, iocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa quiça, çan checoticate; in jcoac ic nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujmonana, qujntlacoaantiuj ixqujmjlhuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh cecenca in jicpaxiqujpil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in qujntlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oaltemo tecpantiujtze, ixtlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: qujnjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça cappa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

6. Impreciso: *[illegible]* [illegible].
7. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*.

643 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did
644 they eat.

783 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler
785 and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iualtica, in jcnac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin tenpixque papaoaque, quintlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço ioualnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, quintlacoaana in tenpixque papaoaque, ic intlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in oualtemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iocaltica tlamaceuia,

nauilhujtl in moçaoaia ic inquimjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh inquilhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izquijioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[77] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quitzonquixtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequintin quinujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ezonquiz nauilhujtl, ioan nauhiual, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, quinjcnac quiça in tlatoanj, injc conocaoa ic vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, quin no icnac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic quipepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, quinnaoatia, in jzquichtin calpixque, in jzquich tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, ioan chimalli, in quitetlauhtiz, in quitemacaz.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how
527 the ruler made summons to a feast.
648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn quichioaia tecoanotzaliztli, in ichoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, quicoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

of Uexotzinco,* and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech cloths, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech cloths, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan ahaoac tlatoque, 643
ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxquichtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcaxentli quijxtoque, ioan in jxquichtin- 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, quijxoalotoque mexico, tez-
cuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac ocenquijxque in jxquichtin tlacoa-
notzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiau-
hoan: njman ic quintlaqualtia, quinmaca in atl, in
tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, quintlauhtia in jxquich tlaço-
tilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaço-
tlanquj chimalli, netotilo macoualo, cujco, ceioal
cemjlhujtl, in tepaquiltia tlatoanj.

auh in jcoac no quintlauhtia, in jxquichtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixquichtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
quichtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:
auh in otzonquijx tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic om-
peoa in jxquichtin tlacoanotzalti.

INIC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenja mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, inic cana iautiz, 292
altepetl ipan.
Auh çan njman iquezquilujioc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, inic cana iauquizoaloctiuh, quintlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in
jxquichtin tiacahoan, oquichti: auh iioma in tlatoanj
in iauh iauc, in oniaoquiça, in ontepeoa quijxca in
jxquichti iauquizque, ioan in noujian tlatoque alte-
petl ipan inic oiaoquiça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac
ôtepeoato, oiaoquiçato cenca paquj, in quezquich
malli ocanato, inic mochiotin ixpan vitzilopuchtli
quinmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujquiztiaia. Auh in ix-
quichtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, quinmaujztiotia, mjiec
tlamãtli inic quinjcnelia, quintlauhtia in tlaçotil-
matli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj,
ioan quintocamaca inic maujztililoaque, inic tlaca-
machoaque, inic oquichti, tiacahoã.

* In ibid., seventeen dialogue is followed by [illegible] dialogue, and rulers of the Mixtecs country.

[p. 66 is blank]

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701 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor,
721 as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauã. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopouhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye itlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in õpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã ĩ yaoteca.

726 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones
687 in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no omettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya ĩ motencçoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço iccotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahcetualmacaya.

701 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] re-
431 membered him, sought him out, and drew him from
● 643 his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts; he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full of maize grains; and he provided him with *chia*—he weighed out two large measures of *chia*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço õxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in õya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaohtia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço onteti y uey tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quĩ ye no cepp̃o yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypamja ca ontlamahceuh oc cppã mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauiziço.

701 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior],
726 he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahiqz inquachicyo in imotõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

729 He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yel-
[643] low lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue
431 lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green
301 stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[6] Then [he gave them]
head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two trupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships! possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

643 And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Thillancalqui tecutli.[7]

in qujnmaca cozic teçacatl, anoço cozic tencololli, anoço xoxoubquj teçacatl, anoço xoxoubquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtenteetl, anoço tlanjtenteetl: njman ic quetzallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiocio, anoço çaquan tialpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, ichoatl in tlatocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticatetecomaio, anoço itzmjxicalcoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzicoliuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quexqujch tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxoloti, anoço teucujtlaquacalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapaloti quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixtelolo, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotoieoatl, anoçe tozcoatl in ie uel ixqujch tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan qujnmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in qujnmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

Auh intla mjqujz tlatoanj: ichoantin ceme analoia, injc ichoantin quipachozque altepetl. Auh çan no ichoantin, cequjntin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in qujtzõtecticate mjqujztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociaoacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

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5. *Tlenjeuaxtl*: Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *tlenjeuaxtzi*.

6. After *yoan tlapemaxtlatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quetzomaxtlatl—Xolchipichauhtinde*, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capítulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianquijzco: auh in iehoatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquijztli, ioã ixquich tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeoalli, ioan ixquich aoa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaqujlia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieeian, çan ioonoian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquijztli: ioan ixquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatioaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzalitztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtotol, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixquich nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, aiatl,

ioan in ixquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tlilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tliltic chiã, chiantzotzol, iztatl: totoli, vexolotl, çiaoatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vej nacaztli: Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Rimbach, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "*una semilla como lentejas blancas.*"

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
●643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Coaixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] zapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow zapotas, zapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[314] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
[317] rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and
412 poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[20] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[21] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necuetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzioacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, coujacaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzquijtlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçazocotl, zaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eriotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, tezocotl, nochtli, mjzquijtl, itlaaquijllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiocoachtli, quauhaiocoachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcuajtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlaltatilquauijtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlatecoaj, aujctli, matlaquauijtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixquich tlamãtli quijlitl qualonj, xonacatl, tzaianalquijlitl, vitzquijlitl, oauhquijlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjquijlitl, quillanenel, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaquijlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochquijlitl, eçoquijlitl, exoti, eloti, xilotl, ooatl, mjiaoatamalli,

4. *Aiquacuaiiol*: "son redondillas, tienen los pies largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos: son crecientes y tienen el pecho blanco; dicen que nacen en la provincia de Anáhuac; vienen a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas o lluvia; son muy buenos de comer. Dicen que éstas, y los zorros del agua, por tiempo se cuelgan en pozos, dicen que las son entrar a bandas en la mar, dicen del agua, y que nunca salir parecen" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Sahagún, *Rimas Raqueal*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario del Anáhuac* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 482 (*chichicuilotl*) says there are two species—*Phalaropus wilsonii* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipiscas*: "son blancas y del grandor de palomas, tienen alas anchas, crían junto la mar, y al tiempo de comer el maíz vienen así dentro a la tierra; cuando están así vienen, entiendese que es tiempo de comer el maíz" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *apupuxca*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*lavarcos* [*necuetlas* . . . . *grandes como las de España; tienen las pies colorados y el pico, son perdidos; tienen buenas carnes; tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas; las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas cabezas para cuerdas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 184, are *Anser albifrons* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cierto género de chile llamado chilcuepin, muy tostado y menudito con ello*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102).

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. *Sensiton*, *op. cit.*, note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tecocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *cacomitlchichi*, of edible root (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 697.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dracunculus sagittifolius* Vent. (p. 659) or *D. parviflorus* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chaiotl*: *chayote*—*Sycios edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucumis sativus pulus* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 169, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of quauhpoyomatli are identified as *Inga*spp. *vera* Linn., *Mimosa scabrella* (?) Pohl, *Crotaea* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metlhuatl*: *maguey*, *mallmagueyl* (*principio*, *cominzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Ramírez, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Simeon must be in error in translating *ostopatlal* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*ptiopatlar*) as, "*Es Méjico especie de alcachofa*" (artichoke).

19a. See Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 565-4, 569. Sauer suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium: *C. Nuttalliae* and *C. pubescens* are mentioned.

20. *Xoxocoioli*: *xocoyol*—*Oxalis corniculata* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Ramírez (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the term *xocoyol* is used also for *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that *xocoxocoioli* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

sums; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls, and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chia seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxqujch qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 443 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquaujtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çequjtecomatl, ioã in jxqujch tlamantli çequjtlatequjtl. 443 463 656 [276] [145]

Auh in ichoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocujtlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnertiz in aqujn qujcobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca qujchioais iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltoropochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianquizti, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oqujchti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 225, describes quequelitl as "frijol y verdor de las frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mesembryanthemum Nodiflorum L.

[p. 70 is blank]

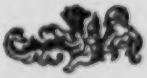

648 **Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.**

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniacatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They
[643 proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in
29a] disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer
them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could
be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might
wear them; they were his alone—his very own.

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn
643] the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if]
576] kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Injc vme capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh qujtoa ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oittoque, in aqujque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acaltica ie onotinemj. Niman inoma ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixtqujq, q'nvicac oc ce-qujntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Jaotzin. Injc ei, Teuiniocan calpixquj: itoca Teociniacatl. Injc navi ichoatl in cujtlalpitoc çan tetlan nenquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

çan oc ichoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan iuhqujnma qujntlanamaqujltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnmacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineixcavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in iaque injc qujmjttato, injc iuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiquijttlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjqujti, injc vel melaoac qujmocaqujtiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

njman ie ic vi in atl itic ommacalaqujque, ommatoctique, qujntlanelhujque atlaca.

Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imjxpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

qujnoalnotzq in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "criado de vno dexar calpixque."

2. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Obras* [illegible] *de la conquista de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 8, mentions Tzapil, or Tzabdilla, governor de Moctezuma, que era de Cuitlahuac, o Cuetlaxtlan," who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

3. *Amoaoac* (you live): possibly *amoaoac* (we live) is intended.

4. Monosyllabic: conventional form of well-known Nahuatl names is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 182. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 457, translates the phrase thus: "*besaron la Tierra con su Rostro.*"

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 Therefore they offered them all the various things
643 which they bore with them; costly capes such as
272 those which here are named: [the mantle] with the
648 sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber,

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

507 And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tiallaque.

Qujnoalnanquijlique intla nelli anmexica tlaitoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujmonjlhujque. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic qujnmaca in jxqujtlamantli qujtqujque tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, ichoatl in, in njcã moteneoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xacalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tezcapocio:

in jxqujtlamãtli in in qujmõmacaque, qujnoalcuepcaiotilique, qujnoalmacaque cozcatl, xoxoctic, coztic: iuhqujnma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oqujttaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan qujnoalnaoatiqua: qujnoalilhujque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaouzq̃ tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca qujçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, cecelioal in oalnenenque, injc qujnonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jveliaca qujlhujco, qujcaqujtico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oqujcujto.

Auh njman ie ic qujnonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca izcatquj otiqujttaque, izcatquj oticchiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl ixco. Ca otiqujmjttato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jxquich motilmatzin otiqujnmacato: auh izcatquj techmacaque intlatqujtzi. Qujtoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, izcatquj anqujmacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatiz:

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6. Spanish text: *los capitanes dieron a los indios cuentas de cidrio, verde y otras amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "*no en dia, y en una noche.*"

8. *Sahagún, op. cit., p. 458, has just been translated* "first of all."

Eighteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards entered Moctezuma's princely home, and what happened there.

After this they went to Moctezuma's own store house, where were kept Moctezuma's own goods, a place called Totocalco.[1] [They acted] eager and content; they clapped one another on the back, as if happy. And on arriving, when they entered the store house, they scattered, bustling everywhere, as if greedy and covetous.[2] Thereupon were taken out the goods which were in truth [Moctezuma's] own, his exclusively, his portion, precious items all: neck bands with pendants, arm bands with tufts of quetzal feathers, golden arm bands; and bracelets, golden bands with shells to fasten at the knee, and turquoise mosaic crowns with triangular forehead pieces — the rulers' attire; and turquoise nose rods; and all the rest of his array, without number. They took it all. They possessed themselves of all, appropriated all to themselves, and took all to themselves as their own.

And after they had removed all the gold [from the raiment], when it had been torn off, they then piled up in the courtyard, in the middle of the area, all the precious feathers. And when this had been done, when all the gold had been gathered, then Marina summoned, and ordered called, all the noblemen. She got upon the roof-top, on a parapet. She said: "O Mexicans, come hither![3] The Spaniards have suffered great fatigue. Bring here food, fresh water, and all which is needed. For they are already tired and exhausted; they are in need; they are spent and in want. Why do you not wish to come? It appeareth that you are angered."

But the Mexicans no longer dared go there. They were much frightened; they were weak with fear; they were terrified. Great awe spread; dread reigned.[4] No longer did one dare do anything. It was as if a fierce beast were there; as if the land lay dead. None the less, not on this account did they do nothing, nor hesitate to leave that which was needed. But they

Injc caxtolli onnei capítulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn Españoles calaquijto in jpilchan Motecuçoma: auh in tleio vmpa muchiuh.

Niman ie ic vi in vel itlatlatiaia Motecuçoma in vmpa mopia in vel itech iaxca in motecuçoma: itocaiocan Totocalco iuhqujn mocecenquetza, iuhqujn yiciolipan, iuhqujn moquequetzotzona, iuhqujn iiztaia iniollo. Auh in onacito, in oncalacque tlatlatiloian, iuhqujn tlaceçmana, novian aactivetzi, iuhqujn mjhicultia, mjhicolia: njmã ie ic oallaqujxtilo in vel ixcoian yiaxca, in vel incixcavil, in vel itonal, mochi tlaçotlanquj, in chaiaoac cozcatl, in machoncotl, in teucujtlamatemecatl, yoan in matzopetztli, teucujtlaicxitecuecuextli, yoan in xiuvitzolli tlatocatlatqujtl, yoã in iacaxivitl, yoan in jxqujch in oc cequj in jtlatquj in amo çan tlapoalli muchi qujcujque, moch intech compachoã moch cõmotechtique, moch cõmotonaltique.

Auh in ocõcocoleuhque in jxqujch in teucujtlatl: in ontlacocoleoaloc, njman ie ic qujcentlalia itoalco, itoalnepantla in jxqujch in tlaçohivitl. Auh in ie iuhquj in omochi munechico in teucujtlatl. Njmã ie ic qujoalnotza, qujoalnenotzallanj in jxqujchtin in pipiltin in Malintzin: tlapanco oalmoquetz, atenantic-pac: Quitoa. Mexica xioalhujan ca cenca ie tlaihiovia in Españoles: xiqualcujcã in tlaqualli, in chipaoac atl, yoan in jxqujch monequj, ca ie tlaihiovia, ie qujciavi, ie qujhiovia, ie mociavi, ie mjhiovia: tleica in amo ancallaznequj? ic neci ca anqualanj.

Auh in Mexica çã njmã aocmo motlapaloaia in ma onvian, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja mjhiçaviaia, cenca maviztli onoc, maviztli moteteca, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, ça iuhq'n tequanj vnca, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctoc: tel amo ic mocaoa, amo ic netzotzonalo in concaoa in jxqujch intech monequj, ça in mauhcac in concaoaia, çan momamauhtizivi, ça onmomauhcatla-

1. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 45.

2. Seler, op. cit., p. 196, translates thus: "*Man sah sie rasch aufgeschichtet gehen, wie Harpyen (oder wie Tiere), gleichsam einander ungleichmässig, hochaufgeladen.*"

3. *Xiquahvujcate*: this should probably be read *xiquahcian*.

4. *Mocaoa*: the word is blurred in the MS.

000 **Twenty-third Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma and a great nobleman of Tlatilulco had died, and how [the Spaniards] had cast their bodies out before the gate — before the gate of the dwelling in which the Spaniards were.**

Injc cempoalli vmei Capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, yoan ce vei pilli tlatilulco mjcque: auh in innacaio qujvallazque iqujiaoaioc in calli in vncan catca Españoles.

And when four days had passed since all [the chieftains] had been hurled from the [pyramid] temple, [the Spaniards] came out and cast forth [the bodies of] Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, who had died,[1] at the water's edge at a place called Teoayoc. For here was a carved stone image of a tortoise;[2] like a tortoise was the representation in stone. And when they were seen and recognized as being Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, they then took up Moctezuma in their arms and carried him there to a place called Copulco.[3] Thereupon they laid him on a pyre and then kindled and set fire to it. After this, the flames blazed up; it was as if they roared, as the fire formed tongues which rose like tassel of fire. And Moctezuma's body seemed to lie sizzling, and it smelled foul as it burned.

[E32] 764 ●143

Auh ie iuh navilhujtl neteucalhujloc in qujmontlaçaco in Motecuçoma, yoan Itzquauhtzin, omjcque, atẽco itocaiocan, Teoaioc: ca vncan catca in jxiptla aiotl, tetl in tlazixintli, iuhqujn aiotl ipan mjzeuhtica in tetl.

Auh in oittoque, in oitimachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin njman qujoalnapalotiqujzque, qujoalhujcaque in vncan itocaiocan Copulco: njman ie ic qujquaquauhtlapachoa, njman ie ic contlemjna, contlequechia: njman ie ic cuecuetlaca in tletl, iuhqujn tetecujca, iuhqujn nenenepiloa tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlemjmjiavatl moquequetza, in tlenenepilli: auh in jnacaio Motecuçoma, iuhqujn tzotzoiocatoc, yoan tzoiaia injc tlatla.

1. Rafael García Granados points out, in a personal communication, that "concerning the death of Moctezuma various versions exist, but all of them may be included in two large groups: those emanating from the natives and those emanating from the Spaniards. The former: natives that Moctezuma was killed by the Spaniards, and the latter that his death was due to being struck by a rock as he tried to calm his subjects. Among reports of indigenous origin we consider the opinions of Durán, *Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España*, II, 50 — '. . . *le hallaron muerto con una cadena a los pies y con otras pedradas en el pecho*'; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Décima Tercia Relación de la venida de los Españoles*, p. 12 — '. . . *en donde dicen que uno de ellos le tiró una pedrada de la cual murió, aunque dicen sus vasallos que los mismos españoles lo mataron, y por las partes bajas le metieron la espada*'; Acosta, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 588 — '*Al rey Moctezuma hallaron los mexicanos muerto, y pasado, . . . dicen que le dieron una pedrada, mas aunque se la dieron no le pudieron hacer ningún mal porque había ya más de cinco horas que estaba muerto, y no había quien dijo que porque no le sirvió la herida le habían metido una espada por la parte baja*'; Orozco y Berra, *Hist. Ant. y de la Conquista*, IV, 436 — '*Sea cual fuere el tino con que hemos discurrido, lo cierto fué que Cortés mandó dar gracias a los reyes y señores que en su poder estaban*'; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, 51 — '*hallaron los mexicanos muerto a Moctezuma y al Gobernador de Tlatilulco — echados fuera de las casas reales. . .*' Reports of Spanish origin are given by Díaz del Castillo, *Hist. Verdadera*, II, 83 — '. . . *y le dieron una pedrada, una en la cabeza, otra en un brazo y otra en una pierna, y pensó que le regalaban se curaba y comiese y le dieron sobre ello palabras, no quiso, antes cuando no nos catamos vimos a decir que era muerto*'; López de Gómara, *Hist. de la Nueva España*, I, 301 — '*que de una [pedrada] que le acertó en las sienes le derribaron y mataron sus propios vasallos*'; Cortés, *Cartas de Ind.*, I, 233 — '. . . *le dieron una pedrada las mujeres en la cabeza, tan grande, que de allí a tres días murió*'; Vázquez de Tapia, p. 39 — '. . . *tanto que no le dieron con una piedra, tirada con honda, ensandio de la frente, que luego se dentó muerto*'; Aguilar, *op. cit.*, p. 77 — '. . . *entre otras piedras que tenían determinadas, una redonda como una pelota, la cual dió a Moctezuma estando entre los dos montes, entre las sienes y oreja*'; *ibid.*, p. 78 — '*Moctezuma herido en la cabeza, dió el alma a cuatro días . . . y en el aposento donde él estaba había otros muy grandes señores detenidos con él, a los cuales el dicho Cortés con parecer de los capitanes mandó matar, sin dejar ninguno.*' Besides these, we have the opinion of Clavijero, which we consider the most reasonable (*Hist. Ant. de México*, II, 211) — '*Los historiadores mexicanos atribuyen su muerte a los españoles y los españoles a los mexicanos. — Yo no puedo creer que los españoles se atrevieran a quitar la vida a un rey a quien debían tanto honor y de cuya muerte ellos podían esperar grandes males.*' Medina Camargo, *Hist. de Tlaxcala*, p. 234, says that he died baptized and that his guardians were Cortés and Alvarado." — Chimalpahin (*op. cit.*, p. 191 — *quimicoque Españoles y Motecuçomatzin quipoxtlaxtlitzinhuaque*, the Spaniards killed Moctezuma, strangling him), agrees with the sources used by Orozco y Berra.

2. The corresponding Spanish text has, *hay aquel, galapago* — fresh water turtoise. According to Ignacio Alcazar, *Apuntes sobre la antigua México-Tenochtitlan* (Tlaxcalaya, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1955), p. 86, it was where now is "*la estatua de Xochilillis con Tamoa.*"

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *en estanco.* — The version of this report, in Anales, *loc. cit.*, differs considerably from that of the *Florentine Codex.*

Cem, *op. cit.*, identifies Copulco (Copulco) with a *barrio* adjacent to Tlatelolco, founded now M. by Calle de Mosquera; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Montezuma; and W., Lerdo (formerly a canal).

X 618 565 —who also had their calpulli as we have seen—obliges us to think of differences in rank between the calpullis themselves: a thing furthermore which we had already encountered on speaking of the division of labor by calpullis (see p. 49). We can obtain data to complement the above and see what the situation was in this respect. The most [43] noble clan would undoubtedly be the clan to which the rulers of the entire Tenochca group belonged, who were always related by marriage (see the Table of Tenochcan rulers), and of this still more noble would be the tlacilacalli of the very tlatoani; and even more, the most noble family would be the tlatoani's own family.

We have seen that not all the calpullis had a calmecac ("place of the lineage of the house" and a school for nobles) but that there were only six. Acosta also confirms this for us (14). The meaning of this

14. Acosta, José de, p. 89.

is very clear: certainly these six calpullis were more noble than the other calpullis. One of them would be that one already cited as the most noble; but the five remaining would be others in a position surely inferior but which followed it in rank. The rest /p. 78/ of the clans would surely have an inferior position to these five clans, forming as a whole a true pyramid of clans of different categories, rank or nobility.

We are also told that each one of the four large "wards" had a chief, as did each one of the calpullis (15). As we have seen also

15. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

that the chiefs of each campan were related to the other members of their campan (see p. 32) we can suspect the existence of a calpulli more noble than the others in each campan—four in all—which very probably were the four which had a calmecac. What is more, the campan where the most noble calpulli of the whole Tenochcan group was, would surely be more noble than the other three. The Tecuhtlis possibly were the most noble members of Tenochtitlan of each campan, who were paid tribute by the members of the Tenochcan group, but were foreign to their clan, like the tlacatecatl, the tlacochcalcatl, the tlatoani, etc., whose functions were very different but were connected to the life of the whole of the Tenochcan community.

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ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still 648
remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth, salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken.

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm would be done to them. They replied that within five days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it [643] ●
was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique] so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until he should receive other orders.

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was 797
reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety, he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking the truth; let them remember the lies which they told only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil, he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves we would do it for them. He also ordered them to white-wash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there.

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648 nephew of the Great Montezuma, and he begged us to have the goodness to wait until he arrived.

He did not tarry long, for he soon arrived with greater pomp and splendour than we had ever beheld in a Mexican [493] Prince, for he came in a litter richly worked in green feathers, with many silver borderings, and rich stones set in bosses made out of the finest gold. Eight Chieftains, who, it was said, were all Lords of Towns, bore the litter on their shoulders. When they came near to the house where Cortés was quartered, the Chieftains assisted [643] Cacamatzin to descend from the litter, and they swept the ground, and removed the straws where he had to pass, and when they came before our Captain they made him a deep reverence, and Cacamatzin said—

"Malinche, here we have come, I and these Chieftains to place ourselves at your service, and to give you all that you may need for yourself and your companions and to place you in your home, which is our city, for so the Great Montezuma our Prince has ordered us to do, and he asks your pardon that he did not come with us himself, but it is on account of ill-health that he did not do so, and not from want of very good will which he bears towards you."

When our Captain and all of us, beheld such pomp and majesty in those chiefs, especially in the nephew of Montezuma, we considered it a matter of the greatest importance, and said among ourselves, if this Cacique bears himself with such dignity, what will the Great Montezuma do?

When Cacamatzin had delivered his speech, Cortés embraced him, and gave many caresses to him and all the other Chieftains, and gave him three stones which are called Margaritas, which have within them many markings of different colours, and to the other chieftains he gave blue glass beads, and he told them that he thanked them

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got down from his litter, and those great Caciques 648
supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired 292
according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals 643
[*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think [576]
of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was 576
approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted 643
from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they 648
simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

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576 diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and
643 with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he
648 placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him, and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace him, for they considered it an indignity.

648 Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms, the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacan, to go with us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city, and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains who had come with him returned in his train. As they
[576] turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and
000 observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude of men and women and boys who were in the streets and on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

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000 And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

●643 THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of [302] an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He [515] was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, [595 837] daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free [515] from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He 643 had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other 644 rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

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to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their 643
eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his 644
face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared 643
by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they 252
placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him 643
the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of 252
dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in 262
seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this
[374] way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
[352] worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

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dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate 643
standing up with much reverence and without looking at 264
his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either [415]
red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From [415
time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels 832]
of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which 272]
they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very [522
ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies 732]
almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men 643
of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on 643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so [276 they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There 314] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that 212] was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made 289] of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte- 411

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Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. (When he went in his litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

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for you, and now again your vassals and Captains have become insolent, and hold secret consultations stating that you wish us to be killed. I do not wish to begin a war on this account nor to destroy this city, I am willing to forgive it all, if silently and without raising any disturbance you will come with us to our quarters, where you will be as well served and attended to as though you were in your own house, but if you cry out or make any disturbance you will immediately be killed by these my Captains, whom I brought solely for this purpose." When Montezuma heard this he was terrified and dumfounded, and replied that he had never ordered his people to take arms against us, and that he would at once send to summon his Captains so that the truth should be known, and he would chastise them, and at that very moment he took from his arm and wrist the sign and seal of Huichilobos, which was only done when he gave an important and weighty command which was to be carried out at once. With regard to being taken prisoner and leaving his Palace against his will, he said that he was not the person to whom such an order could be given, and that it was not his wish to go. Cortés replied to him with very good arguments and Montezuma answered him with even better, showing that he ought not to leave his house. In this way more than half an hour was spent over talk, and when Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains saw that they were wasting time over it and could not longer await the moment when they should remove him from his house and hold him a prisoner, they spoke to Cortés somewhat angrily and said, "what is the good of your making so many words, let us either take him prisoner, or stab him, tell him once more that if he cries out or makes an uproar we will kill him, for it is better at once to save our lives or to lose them," and as Juan Velásquez said this

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delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great Caciques from distant lands came before him about boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

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and without turning their backs and with three obeisances they retired to the hall, and as soon as they left the presence of Montezuma they put on their rich garments and took walks through Mexico. 643 695

I will not say anything more at present about this imprisonment, and will relate how the messengers whom Montezuma sent with his sign and seal to summon the Captains who had killed our soldiers, brought them before him as prisoners, and what he said to them I do not know, but he sent them on to Cortés, so that he might do justice to them, and their confession was taken when Montezuma was not present and they confessed that what I have already stated was true, that their Prince had ordered them to wage war and to extract tribute, and that if any Teules should appear in defence of the towns, they too should be attacked or killed. When Cortés heard this confession he sent to inform Montezuma how it implicated him in the affair, and Montezuma made all the excuses he could, and our captain sent him word that he believed it [the confession] himself, but that although he [Montezuma] deserved punishment in conformity with the ordinances of our King, to the effect that any person causing others, whether guilty or innocent, to be killed, shall die for it, yet he was so fond of him and wished him so well, that even if that crime lay at his door, he, Cortés, would pay the penalty with his own life sooner than allow Montezuma's to pass away. With all this that he [Cortés] sent to tell him, he [Montezuma] felt anxious, and without any further discussion Cortés sentenced those captains to death and to be burned in front of Montezuma's palace. This sentence was promptly carried out, and, so that there could be no obstruction while they were being burned, Cortés ordered shackles to be put on Montezuma himself, and when this was done Montezuma roared [with rage], and if before this he was scared, he was then much more 000 [202]

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so. After the burning was over our Cortés with five of our captains went to Montezuma's apartment and Cortés himself took off the fetters, and he spoke such loving words to him that his anger soon passed off, for our Cortés told him that he not only regarded him as a brother, but much more, and that, as he was already Lord and King of so many towns and provinces, if it were possible he would make him Lord of many more countries as time went on, such as he had not been able to subdue, and which did not now obey him, and he told him that if he now wished to go to his Palace, that he would give him leave to go. Cortés told him this through our interpreters and while Cortés was saying it the tears apparently sprang to Montezuma's eyes. He answered with great courtesy, that he thanked him for it, (but he well knew that Cortés's speech was mere words,) and that now at present it was better for him to stay there a prisoner, for there was danger, as his chieftains were numerous, and his nephews and relations came every day to him to say that it would be a good thing to attack us and free him from prison, that as soon as they saw him outside they might drive him to it [to attack us]. He did not wish to see revolutions in his city, but if he did not comply with their wishes possibly they would want to set up another Prince in his place, and so he was putting those thoughts out of their heads by saying that Huichilobos had sent him word that he should remain a prisoner. (From what we understood, and there is no doubt about it, Cortés had told Aguilar to tell Montezuma secretly, that although Malinche wished to release him from his imprisonment, that the rest of our captains and soldiers would not agree to it.) When he heard this reply, Cortés threw his arms round him and embraced him and said, "It is not in vain Señor Montezuma that I care for you as I care for myself." Then Montezuma asked Cortés that a Spanish page named Orteguilla who already knew

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CHAPTER XCIX.

How we launched the two sloops, and how the Great Montezuma said that he wished to go hunting, and went in the sloops to a rocky Island[1] where there were many deer and much other game, for no one went hunting there under pain of very severe punishment.

WHEN the two sloops were finished building and had been launched, and the masts and rigging had been set up and adorned with the Royal and Imperial banners, and the sailors had been got ready to navigate them, they went out in them both rowing and sailing, and they sailed very well. When Montezuma heard of it, he said to Cortés that he wished to go hunting on a rocky Island standing in the lake which was preserved so that no one dared to hunt there, however great a chief he might be, under pain of death. Cortés replied that he was very welcome to go, but he must remember what he had told him on the former occasion when he went to visit his Idols, that to raise any disturbances was more than his life was worth; [moreover] he could go in the sloops, as it was better sailing in them than in the canoes and pirogues however large they might be. Montezuma said that he would be delighted to sail in the sloop that was the swiftest, and he took with him many lords and chieftains, and advised his huntsmen to follow in canoes and pirogues. A son of Montezuma and many Caciques went in the other sloop. Then Cortés ordered Velásquez de Leon who was captain of the Guard and Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila with two hundred soldiers, to accompany Montezuma, and to remember the great responsibility he was placing on them in looking after him, and as all those Captains whom I have named were very alert, they took on board all the soldiers I have spoken about, and four

[1] The *Peñon de Tepepolco* or *del Marques.*

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bronze cannon and all the powder that we possessed, and our gunners, named Mesa and Arvenga, and they put up a highly decorated awning as a protection from the weather, and Montezuma and his chieftains went under it. As at that time there was a strong breeze blowing, and the sailors were delighted to please and content Montezuma, they worked the sails so well that they went flying along, and the canoes which held his huntsmen and chieftains were left far behind in spite of the large number of rowers they carried. Montezuma was charmed, and said that it was a great art this of combining sails and oars together. So he arrived at the Peñol, which was not very far off, and he [Montezuma] killed all the game he wanted, deer and hares and rabbits, and returned very contented to the city. When we arrived near Mexico, Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains ordered the cannon to be discharged, and this delighted Montezuma, and as we saw him so frank and kind, we treated him with the respect in which the Kings of these countries are held, and he behaved in the same manner to us. If I were to relate the traits and qualities that he showed as a great Prince, and the reverence and service that all the Lords of New Spain paid to him, I should never come to an end. There was not a thing that he ordered to be brought that was not immediately there, even if it were flying. I say this because one day three of our Captains and some of us soldiers were in Montezuma's presence, when by chance a hawk swooped down through the halls which were like corridors, after a quail, for near the houses and palaces where Montezuma was confined, there were some tame pigeons and quails kept for breeding purposes by the Indian steward (whose duty it was to keep the rooms swept) so as to give himself importance.

When our Captains saw the hawk swoop and carry off

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and Montezuma released, and that some of them should proclaim themselves as Kings of Mexico, as I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER C.

How the nephews of the great Montezuma went about assembling the other Lords and persuading them to come to Mexico and free the great Montezuma from his imprisonment and drive us out of the City and kill us.

As Cacamatzin, lord of the City of Texcoco, which after Mexico is the largest and most important city that there is in New Spain, knew that his uncle, Montezuma, had been imprisoned for many days, and that we were taking the upper hand in every way that was possible, and also got to know that we had opened the chamber where the great treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was kept, but had not taken anything from it, he determined, before we could take possession of the treasure, to call together all the Lords of Texcoco, who were his vassals, and the lord of Coyoacan, who was his cousin and Montezuma's nephew, and the lord of Tacuba, and the lord of Iztapalapa, and another great Cacique who was lord of Matalçingo, who was very nearly related to Montezuma and of whom it was even said that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom and lordship of Mexico, and who was a chieftain known among the Indians for his personal bravery. While he [Cacamatzin] continued to negotiate with these and other Mexican chieftains that on a given day they should come with all their forces and attack us, it seems that the Cacique whom I have said was known for his personal bravery (whose name I do not know), said that if he [Cacamatzin] would assure to him the Kingship of Mexico, to which he was the rightful heir, that he and all his relations, and the people of the province called Matalçingo,

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631 would be the first to take up arms and turn us out of Mexico, or not leave any one of us alive. It appears that 643 721 Cacamatzin replied that the Chieftainship of Mexico belonged to him and that he himself must be King, for he was the nephew of Montezuma; and that if he [the Lord of Matalçingo] did not wish to come, that they would make war on us without his help or that of his people, for it seems that Cacamatzin had got ready all the Lords and towns already named by me, and had already arranged the day on which they were to fall on Mexico, and that the chieftains of his faction who were then in the city would facilitate their entry.

721 While these negotiations were going on, Montezuma knew all about them from his powerful relation [the lord of Matalçingo] who would not come to an agreement with Cacamatzin, and to be more sure of it, Montezuma sent to summon all the Caciques and chieftains of that City [Texcoco], and they told him how Cacamatzin was going about persuading them all with words and gifts to join him in an attack on us, and to free his uncle. As Montezuma was prudent and did not wish to see his city rise up in arms or riots, he told Cortés what was happening. Our Captain and all of us soldiers knew a good deal about this disturbance, but not so fully as Montezuma now detailed it. The advice that Cortés now gave him was that he should give us his Mexican followers and we would fall on Texcoco and capture or destroy that city and its neighbourhood. As that advice did not suit Montezuma, Cortés sent to tell Cacamatzin that he should cease his preparations for war, which would be the means of his destruction, for he wished to have him as a friend, and that all that he could do for him personally he would do, and many other compliments. Now Cacamatzin was a young man who found many others, who shared his opinions, ready to support him in the war, so he sent to tell Cortés,

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blessed Mother that helped us. To return to our story, the gist of his message was, that he would come in spite of us and of his uncle to speak to us and to kill us. 721

When the great Montezuma heard that insolent reply, he was greatly angered, and at once sent to summon six of his most trusted captains. And he gave them his seal, and [643] he also gave them some golden jewels, and ordered them to go to Texcoco, and secretly to show that seal to certain Captains and relations of his, who were on bad terms with Cacamatzin on account of his haughtiness, and so to manage that they should make prisoners of Cacamatzin and those who were in his confidence, and bring them before him at once. When those Captains had departed, and it was understood in Texcoco what it was that Montezuma had ordered, as Cacamatzin was greatly disliked, he was taken prisoner in his own palace while he was discussing the subject of the war with his confederates, and they brought five of them as prisoners in his company.

As that city stands close to the lake, they got ready a [501] great pirogue with awnings, and they placed Cacamatzin and the other prisoners in it and with a great crew of rowers they brought them to Mexico. When they had disembarked, they placed Cacamatzin in a richly adorned litter fit for a king such as he was, and with the greatest show of respect they brought him before Montezuma.

It seems that in his interview with Montezuma, he was even more insolent than he had been before, and Montezuma knew of the plots he had made to raise himself to the lordship of Mexico, about which he learnt further complete details from the other prisoners who had been brought to him. If Montezuma was angry with his nephew before, he was now doubly so, and he promptly sent him to our Captain to be held as a prisoner, and the other prisoners he ordered to be set free.

Cortés went at once to the palace to Montezuma's

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701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 580.) The capture of Montezuma did
● [643] not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their
[651] "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

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714 an inch thick, up to one and one-half inches, and therefore strong enough to resist an arrow-shot, or even the dart at long range. This was the cotton-armour subsequently adopted by the Spaniards under the name of "Escaupil" ("Ichcahuipilli").[58] Sometimes even the limbs were encased in such quilted armour,[59] and the outside of the "ichcahuipil" was adorned with feathers and plates of gold or silver. The *feet* were protected by leather soles or moccasin-like shoes ("cactli," "cotaras"), but the use of them was not general.[60] Warriors of merit especially, inserted their *heads*

[141] "worn over the head while travelling, of various colors, and variously adorned, with "the ends hanging downwards, one in front and the other behind." It was common to the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, and is represented on the sculptures of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Chichen-Itza. The tables of Durán give, perhaps, the most reliable picture of these costumes.

[58] "Ichcahuipilli" derives from "Ichcatl," cotton, and "huapil," jacket. Alvarado, in his second letter to Cortés, dated 28 July, 1524 (Vedia, Vol. 1), mentions an ichcahuipil used by Indians of Guatemala, which was three inches thick and reached as far down as the ankle: "porque venian tan armados, que el que caia en el suelo no se po-"dia levantar; y con sus armas coseletes de tres dedos de algodon, y hasta en los "pies. . . . ." (p. 462.)

[59] There are several representations of such protection of the thighs, and also of the arms, especially in the splendid work of Lord Kingsborough, taken from the Mendoza codex. The entire costume, from the neck to the knee, seems to be of one piece. We have no accurate *description*, however, of them. It is doubtful whether they terminated into upper "leggings," or whether into a frock-like continuation, reaching from the girdle to the knee. Perhaps both; at least there are traces of both. (Anonymous Conqueror, p. 374. Clavigero, Lib. VII, cap. XXIII.) The absence of the "Ichcahuipil" was not, however, always a sign of low rank. Some warriors of particular merit even went to war almost naked (See Humboldt, "Vues de Cordillières," Tab. XIV, fig. 4), and Herrera (Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, speaking of the natives of Tepeaca, who were subject to Mexico: "and the most valiant ones went only in breech-cloth, painting their naked body black and red"). There was, consequently, no absolute uniformity and uniform distinction in dress and armament, and this was still increased by the variety of customs among the numerous tribes which assisted the Mexicans in war, each tribe having its own manner of dress, and keeping separate on the battlefield. A Mexican army must have been a rather strange, motley crowd. Still there was, in all probability, less variety than among the Peruvian warlike bodies. Of the latter's variegated array the report of Francisco de Xeres, secretary of Pizarro, gives a good illustration (Vedia, vol. II).

[60] "Cactli," corrupted into "catle," is rendered by Molina (II, p. 11) as "shoes, or sandals." Torquemada says (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 450, vol. I): "the King wore "golden shoes, which they call cacles, and are after the fashion of those of the ancient "Romans, adorned with much jewelry, the soles fastened with cords." (Idem: Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 368) "they gave to him cotaras or sandals . . . ." Gomara (Conquista, etc., p. 322), in the list of presents sent by Cortés to the Emperor, mentions: "many shoes like as of grass, made of deer-hides, some with golden thread, and the "soles of certain white and blue stones . . . ," "other shoes, six pairs, of leather "of different color, adorned with gold or silver or pearls." The question is, whether they were moccasins or sandals. The sculptures of Palenqué show an approach to either. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), in speaking of the distinctions of dress, says: "And [143] "thus it was ordained, first: that the Kings should not appear in public, except in ur-"gent cases; that the King alone might wear a crown in the city, but that in war all the "great chiefs and valiant captains might wear crowns also, and royal tokens . . . .

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into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imi- 714
tating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes [643
"in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes
"on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those 645]
"who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their
"bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and
"painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli"
or "cotaras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to
notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and
reputation *achieved in war*, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the
life of the tribe."

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 372). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).
Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 2d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that
the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed
to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were
based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all
the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable
us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer
"las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-
"meria, doradas y labradas con diuersas labores y pinturas y diferencialla, quando á
"él le paréciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los
"grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los
"de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó haçaña, otras diferentes; los
"soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni
"diferencia, mas de aquella que alli se le señalaba con sus ceñidores y bragueros, que
"aiudian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente,
"so pena de la vida, salió determinado que nenguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese
"otra manta sino de neguen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la
"rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, saluo si
"no tuviese alguna sennal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado,
" . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 56). Here again we find the kind and
cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p.
343). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vati- [302]
can. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war
"they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once,
"since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well
as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them
frequently, under different names.

[64] The head-dress, or "divisa."—"tlauiztli," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented
on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of [293]
sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 222, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the
Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty-
"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

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purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminol- 114
ogy never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[75]

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh 174
where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sec- 619
tions, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed 701
of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of

[75] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II, p. 141), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads." [643]

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh," Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatilulco, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God), "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *wards* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa Maria la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatilulco became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 543) " . . . . y asi estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que son Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

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no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-* 701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank 555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-* 565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and 643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two 701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were 701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the 554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, "they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, "that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had "been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de "Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées antrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient "un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.:" p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were "called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If "one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of "it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been "invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Monteruma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéké" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

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a distinction reserved exclusively for them and for the head war-chiefs of the Mexican tribe.[103] 701 554

Highest in military command, as head war-chief of the Mexican tribe, was the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"),[104] represented to us as the king or emperor[105] of Mexico. But he was neither a monarch nor an autocrat, nor a despot. Elected out of a certain kin or descendancy[106] for life, but upon the condition of good behaviour, he could be deposed and degraded, should he incur the 643 701

[103] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). "Los mas preeminentes destos eran, los que tenian "atada la corona del cabello con una cinta colorada, y un plumaje rico, del quál col-"ganan unos ramales hàzia las espaldas con unas borlas del mismo al cabo; estas "borlas eran tantas en numero, quantas hazañas auia hecho. Desta orden de Caualle-"ros era el mismo Rey tambien, y asi se hallaba pintado, con esto genero de plumajes, "y en Chapultepec, donde estan Moteçuma y su hijo esculpidos en unas peñas que son "de ver, ..." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) condenses the statement of Acosta only. Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères, etc.," Vol. I): "il (Montezuma) a les cheveux "réunis au sommet de la tête, et liés avec un ruban rouge, distinction militaire des prin-"ces et des capitaines les plus vaillants." The figure is from the "Codex anonymous," of the Vatican.

[104] This title is given by Tezozomoc, and also by Ramirez de Fuenleal, in Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pièces," p. 247): "Mutizuma portait le nom de 'tacatecli,' "'tetuan,' 'jutlacal.'" It is easy to discern "tlacatecuhtli," and "tlatoani,"—of the latter title we shall hereafter speak. Also: "Il existe parmi eux une espèce de chef à "qui ils donnent le nom de tacatecle ou tlatuan."

[105] The Mexican language has no word for emperor (Molina I, p. 51). But Tezozomoc renders the expression "cemanahuac tlatoani" by "emperor of the world." It signifies, however, simply "speaker for what dwells near the water."

[106] The question of succession in office among the Mexicans is a very difficult one. Still, it certainly never descended from father to son, but was always transmitted by election, either to a brother or to a nephew of the former incumbent. The manner of electing the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" of Mexico is very fully described by Sahagun: "When "the king or lord died, all the senators, called Tecutlatoques, and the old men of the "tribe, called Achcacauhti, and also the captains and old warriors, called Yautequioa-"ques, and other prominent captains in warlike matters, and also the satraps (priests), "called Tlenamacaque and Papaoaqui,—all these assembled in the royal houses. "There they deliberated and determined upon who had to be lord, and chose one of "the most noble of the descendancy (lineage) of the past lords, who would be a val-"iant man, experienced in warlike matters, daring and brave, who should not drink "wine, should be prudent and wise, raised in the Calmecac, a good speaker, of good "understanding, esteemed and loving. When they agreed upon one, they at once nom-"inated him as lord, but this election was not made by ballot or votes, but, all confer-"ring together, they at last agreed upon the man." Durán (Cap. XI, p. 166), speaking of the four war-chiefs: "y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros, "y tampoco podian ser puestos en este cargo y ditados sino eran hijos ù hermanos de "reyes; . . . . nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los "señorios, sino por election." "Y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado "y señorio, eligiéndolos poco a poco." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Lo pri-"mero en que parece auer sido muy politico el govierno de Mexicanos, es en el orden "que tenian, y guardauan inviolablemente de eligir Rey." Whether we are authorized to go any further than to say that the Tlatecuhtli had to belong to a certain kin, is very doubtful.

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643 701 displeasure of the tribe.[107] He was but the commander-in-chief of the Mexican warriors; an office which, among a nation so essentially warlike, was of the highest importance and rank, and which might have procured to the incumbent an influence tending to impair the freedom of its institutions. But there was a wholesome check placed upon such encroachments by the commanding war-chief, through the election of an associate, which carried the singular and strange title of "snake-woman," or "female-snake" ("Cihua-cohuatl") and who, while being more of a civil chieftain, still alternated with him in command, as emergency required.[108] Through this arrangement, the tribe of Mexico became always provided with at least one military head, and if the "chief of men" was out leading a foray, the "Cihua-cohuatl" remained at the pueblo, or vice-versa. The chief command of a campaign, could, besides, be delegated by them to a subordinate leader.[109]

We know too little of the office of "Cihua-cohuatl" to enter into any details regarding it. The "chief of men," however, has become famous in history through the last three incumbents of the office,[110] It required an extraordinary man, among the tribe, to fill it. He was to be "an earnest and sober man" (says Sahagun), "wise, affable, and a fluent speaker." But especially was he required to be one of the most prominent warriors, who had given proofs of undaunted bravery, ability, and of great circum-

[107] Montezuma was deposed during his life-time, and Cuitlahua was appointed his successor. Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, p. 132, cap. CXXVI): when they spoke to Montezuma they said: "Hacemosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por "señor, ... y allí le nombró cómo se llamaba, que se decia Coadlauaca, señor "de Iztapalapa, que no fué Guatemuz, el cual desde á dos meses fué señor." Cortés (Note 2 to "Segunda Relacion," p. 42, Vedia I): "Los Indios le mataron por cobarde." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494, and cap. LXX, p. 497). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. X, p. 267).

[108] The "Cihua-cohuatl" (from "cihuatl," woman, and "cohuatl," snake) is variously designated as "vice-roy," "captain-general," "supreme judge," "coadjutor of the king," "second king." He was a warrior, too, and during the siege officiated as commander in chief, together with Quauhtemotzin. It results from the statement of Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352) that he was equal to the so-called "king." What the exact functions of this office were, it is not here the place to discuss; it is sufficient for the purpose of this essay, to determine that there were, in all likelihood, two head-chiefs of the Mexican tribe, or two principal war-chiefs, like those of the Iroquois. The "Cihuacohuatl," according to Tezozomoc, was also elective.

[109] Thus we see, sometimes "Tlacochcalcatl," then again "Tlacatecatl," and "Cuauhnoctli," made commanders-in-chief.

[110] These were: Montezuma II (Motecuhzuma Xocoyotzin), Cuitlahuatzin, and Quauhtemotzin.

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spection.[111] Therefore, he was always one of the four great war-chiefs of the quarters[112] previous to his election, and his war-dress differed in fact but little from that of the latter. As we have already stated, he wore the hair bound up behind the occiput with red leather, and on his helmet or on the bare head a towering bush of green feathers.[113] A long and wide mantle covered his armour, which was otherwise similar to that of the other chiefs.[114] But his ear-rings of gold,[115] and the green stone-pendant from the bridge of his nose,[116] the golden lip-ring,[117] his wristbands of featherwork and leather,[118] the upper-arm-bands of gold,[119] the

[111] Sahagun (Historia Universal, Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 264): "El capitan general tiene "por su oficio, mandar en la batalla, y dar orden y manera para efectuarla, y concertar "los escuadrones, teniendose por grande aguila y leon, y presumiendo de ser victo-"rioso por los buenos aderezos con que va adornado á la guerra á manera de aguila, y "dando á entender que su oficio es morir en la guerra por los Suyos." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Ordinarily they elected young men for their kings, because "the kings always went to war, and it was almost the principal object of this office; "therefore they looked to their being proper to military duty, and fond of it, also." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap, XXVII, p. 132): "Tenian estos naturales en mucho cuando su "señor era esforzado y valiente, porque teniendo tal señor capitan, salian con mucho "ánimo á la guerra." (Idem) "Demas de esto, tenian respeto entre los hijos' á aquel "que en las guerras se habia mostrado animoso, y á este elegian." Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 357).

[112] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos "principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, "sin parecer de los quales nenguna cosa se auia de hacer, y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos "estos ditados eran del consejo supremo, ... ; y muerto el Rey, auia de ser "eligido por Rey, hombre que tuuiesse algun ditado destos quatro."

[113] This distinction was worn by the Indian chiefs of Mexico at least twenty years after the conquest. See, in Vol. II. of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos:" "Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor "natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco, Provincia de Chalco, con el Señor Visorey "Don Antonia de Mendoza, etc., etc." (in 1541). "Don Francisco Acazitli llevó por "divisa y armas cuando fué á la guerra de los chichimecas, una calavera de plumeria "con sus penachos verdes, una rodela de lo mismo, y en ella un bezote de oro retor-"cido, con su espada y su ichcahuipil, y vestido con un jubon colorado, y sus zara-"güelles, zapatos y borceguies, y un sombrero blanco, y un pañuelo grande con que "se amarraba la cabeza, y un collar de pedreria con dos cadenas" (p. 307). (Idem, p. 233) "Relacion de la Entrada de Xuño de Guzman," by Garcia del Pilar. "Y viendose "asi los señores destas comarcas, que eran Tapiezuela, señor desta cibdad, y el señor "de Tatelulco, y el de Guaxucingo, y el de Tascaltectle, y otros muchos señores y prin-"cipales destas comarcas, le fueron à rogar y suplicar, ... que se sirviese de "todas sus divisas que eran de oro y de plumas verdes muy galanas, ..." Also (Relacion de Acazitli, p. 311. "con su divisa de quetzalpatzatli de plumeria verde").

[114] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 213).

[115] "nacochtli" (Molina, I. p. 91).

[116] "Tacaxiuitli," from "Tacatl," nose, "xiuitl," turquoise, or fine green stone in general.

[117] "tenteti," from "tentli," lips, and "tetl," stone.

[118] "matzopetzli" (Molina, II. p. 84). "braçalete."

[119] "matemecatl," "braçalete d[illegible]o, o cosa semejante" (Molina, II, p. 83).

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701 golden tubes enclosing his ankles,[120]—they were all of a more
643 elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Cihua-cohuatl" were
293 entitled to wear them thus.[121]

But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle
554 was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123]

000 A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

[120] "Cozcatl," or "coscapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Cozcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordénose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaciel pudiesen "traer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro-"vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la cauça con plumeria." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Camé" and "Vuku'p-Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1698. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, re-"duccion y progressos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "middle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "vitorioso tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcance." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con que los reyes hazian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, o sus generales, los quales tocauan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure may be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of chiefs, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlacatecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure,—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Minutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatimala." Berlin, 1832) has: Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada.

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Both the "chief of men," and his "*coadjutor*," the "Cihuacohuatl," while exercising, under certain extraordinary circumstances, discretionary powers in military matters, were still subject to a *higher* authority. This was the *council of chiefs*[125] ("tlatocan"), of which they were, ex-officio, members, with the additional title of "speakers" ("tlatoani"), and occupying, therefore, the "speaker's-seat" ("tlatoca-ycpalli").[126] In this council the *ultimate power of government* was vested, its functions were equally *legislative* and *judiciary;* the execution of its decrees belonged to the war-chiefs. *Peace and war* lay in its hands, the war-chiefs alone could not decide upon either.[127] The existence of this council as

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is plainly recognizable. In all those figures of Central American reliefs we discern the characteristic parts of the Mexican costume: the breech-cloth ("maxtlatl") and the head-dress. Several of them have the jacket "huepil," and the chiefs have, as ornaments, the "coscatl," the "matzopetztli," and especially, the ear-rings and the towering plumage. Lip-pendants and nose-rings are very prominent on the statues of Copan. An illustration of the costume of the two chiefs, both being dressed exactly alike, is given by Durán on plate 8 (to chapter 23 of the first part of his work). Axayaca is also represented in full armour on plates 10 and 11.

[125] The word is from Molina (Vocab. II, p. 141,—"tlatocán,"—"corte ò palacio de "grandes señores." Id. I, p. 30, "consejo real." "tlatocanecentlalilistli"). It derives from "ni-tlatoa," to speak. A very good illustration of this council is found in the "Popol-Vuh" (Part II, cap. VIII), notwithstanding the diffuse language, we can easily discern how the council of chiefs was constituted at "Xibalba," "Hunahpu," and "Xbalanqué," upon their arrival at the council-hall, found there twelve chiefs, the names of which are all given (p. 147). After Montezuma was captured and brought to Spanish quarters "there were always in his company twenty great lords and compan-"ions and councillors" (Bernal-Diez, Cap. XCV, p. 95, vol. II, Vedia). These were probably the members of the supreme council.

[126] "Tlatoani,"—"hablador, ò gran señor" (Molina, II, p. 141). Bernal-Diez says (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 38, Vedia. II) that when they arrived at San Juan de Ulloa: "vini-"eron dos canoas muy grandes, ... y en ellas viniéren muchos Indios Mejica-"nos, y como vieron los estandartes y navio grande, conociéron que allí habian de ir á "hablar al capitan, y fuéronse derechos al navio, y entran dentro y preguntan quien era "el Tlatoan, que en su lengua dicen el señor." Señor Icazbalceta, in his note No. 36 (p. 12 of Vol. II of "Coleccion de Documentos") defines "Tlatoani" as follows: " . . . " . era la denominacion que se daba á los superiores y gobernantes, equivalente á "la antigua nuestra señor, y con la cual llamaban á los españoles." ("Real Ejecutoria "de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente à los caciques de "Axapusco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba.") "Tlatoca-ycpalli," from "tlatoca," and "icpalli," stool.

[127] The fact of the supremacy of the council in all matters is amply proven (Durán, Cap. XIV, p. 117; cap. XVI, p. 133). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "All these "four titularies were of the supreme council, without whose advice the king neither "made, nor could make, anything of importance." But especially the remarkable paragraph from Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332), speaking of the "Cihuacohuatl:" "Este Juez parece tener veces, y autoridad de Virrei, á los quales comunica el Rei au-"toridad absoluta, para governar, y despachar negocios, cometidos a su cuia, y abso-"luta determinacion, ... pues en cosas de su Govierno, *conoce la audiencia, que* "*toda junta se hace persona de Rei, y con su autoridad le pueden reprimir, y reprimen.*" It is unfortunate that we have not any definite and detailed knowledge of the composition of this council. All we can say positively is, that it existed, and was supreme.

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ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT TO INHERITANCE, AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By Ad. F. Bandelier.

In a previous paper we have endeavored to describe the warlike customs and organization of the Mexican tribe.[1] Our conclusions in regard to them are somewhat at variance with those generally adopted, since, instead of the military despotism which heretofore has been admitted as existing in ancient Mexico, we found but the military democracy peculiar to a warlike tribe.[2] It is our purpose now to investigate how far the Mexicans may have progressed in their notions about the tenure and distribution of the soil.

The picture which nearly all the authors, ancient as well as modern, trace of the condition of aboriginal Mexico is that of a feudal monarchy.[3] This alone should fix permanently the mode of landed tenure. It implies also the notion of abstract ownership, and thus indicates a high state of culture. But we have already

[1] "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans," in 10th Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology.

[2] "Art of War, etc., etc., of the Ancient Mexicans," pp. 113, 114, 115, to 127 inclusive, especially the notes. See also "Ancient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan. (N. York, 1877.) Part II, chapter VII, "The Aztec Confederacy," pp. 198–214 inclusive.

[3] The first information tending to represent the condition of Mexico as a feudal state was probably furnished by Cortés; or through his expedition at least. The reports of the preceding voyage of Grijalva (1518) contain no positive statements. On the other hand the certificate issued by Cortés (probably about the 20 May, 1519, or 20 days after his landing at Ulna), to the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, already speaks of "the great Montezuma, which reckles in this great city of Tenochtitlán and all its provinces." We have not Cortés' first letter to the emperor, but in his second report, 30 Oct., 1520, he mentions "a great Lord called Mutezuma." (Vedia, "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vol. I. Carta Segunda, pp. 12 and 13.) The same dispatch contains a number of details on Montezuma's power, from which a feudal empire was necessarily construed as for inst. (p. 33): "There are in this great city many very large and fine houses, the cause of it being that all the *Lords of the land, vassals of the said Mutezuma*, have their houses in that city . . . ." "What has been ascertained is: that his sovereignty was almost as large as Spain . . ." (p. 34.) Gomara, who published his "Conquista de Méjico" in 1552, already mentions "thirty lords of one-hundred-thousand vassals each, and three-thousand lords of places." (Vedia I, p. 343. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma.") Oviedo ("Historia general y natural de Indias," Vol. III, Lib.

[See 14; Bandelier, this file.--Analyst]

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these assumptions are disproved by the facts, related even by such authors as have most contributed towards fixing them upon the public mind as recognized truths.[18] We need hardly say here,

[18] In regard to the Tecpanecas, Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 477): "From this it may be inferred, that among them the King exercised no absolute command and rule, and that he was rather a consul, or Dux, than a king." He further compares the Tecpanecas with the "reges" of ancient Rome (See Morgan's "Ancient Society," Part II, cap. XI, p. 397). The council was supreme among the Tecpanecans. See Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Lord Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. IV, p. 11; also cap. V, p. 12, cap. VI, p. 13, "a esto respondió el rey y senado Tecpaneca: Digéronle: mira atempanecatl (que muy bien le conocian) bien conozco la humillacion y sugecion de los Mexicanos; ya es por demas, porque estan alborotados, y corajudos los Tecpanecas:") Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 64, and 65).

The Xochimilcas were governed by two chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XVI, p. 25. Durán, cap. XII, p. 104. "Their chiefs, of which there were two, one of the chief-place ("cabecera" rather lineage) of Xochimilco called Tacaxapotecutli, and the other from the milpa (this is to be interpreted as descendancy), which is called Pachimalcatltecutli, and together with them meeting many principals, said"): a joint meal after communal style is also attributed to them by Tezozomoc (Cap. XVI, p. 26).

The Chalcas also had two chiefs: (Durán, cap. XVI, p. 134, Montezuma Ilhuicamina said to Tlacaelel: "I wish, if thou agreest, to send messengers to Chalco to the chief of Chalco Quateotl and to his companion Toteocitecutli . . . ."—Tezozomoc, cap. XXII, p. 33. Cap. XXIV, p. 36. Confirmed by the action of Cortés after the voluntary surrender of Chalco, when he installed two chiefs. Bernal Diez: cap. CXXXIX, p. 154 and 155, Vedia, II).

With the Tezcucans or Acolhuas there appears always but one head-chief, but it is equally positive that the office, while remaining in a certain kin, was elective still. The fact is interesting and requires close proof. We adduce here, in a general way, Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX. "De la Manera que tuvieron en elegir los señores," p. 318, of 2d Vol.): Durán (Cap. LXIV, p. 496). "Montezuma sent his messengers to Tezcuco, and had all the chiefs of that city and kingdom called to learn from them whom they were inclined to elect . . . ." (p. 497), "the which came, electing for King to Quetzalacoxeyatzin, Neçanalpilli's son . . . ." Tezozomoc (Cap. CI and CII). Ixtlilxochitl concurs ("Histoire des Chichiméques," cap. LXXXVI). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 257, 258 and 339), acknowledges that, while the choice was among the sons exclusively, there still was a *choice* left, but he contradicts the statements of Juan Bautista Pomar (who wrote about 1582) who says, that this choice extended to the entire *kin* of the deceased head chief. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 153). "Although the Indians of this New Spain inherited the chieftaincy in direct lines, they took great care in ascertaining which one of his sons had to succeed to him." He mentions the succession in the cases of Netzahualcoyotl and of Netzahualpilli, each of whom were respectively followed by what he calls an illegitimate offspring, but whose mother was a *Mexican* woman. Veytia (Cap. XIV, p. 367). "The council hardly had been informed of the King's death, when it thought proper to elect a successor, after the manner of the Mexicans . . . ." Carlos Maria de Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," Mexico, 1826. Part III, cap. IV, pp. 218, 219 and 220). Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, p. 12). "The order of succession varied according to the provinces, the same custom, with slight differences, prevailing in Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba."

The assumption of a feudal empire at Tezcuco has already been discussed. It was an invention of chroniclers, who had a direct interest, or thought to have one, in advancing the claims of the Tezcucan tribe to an original supremacy. Tribal jealousy and rivalry, such a powerful ally of the Spaniards during the conquest, continued to subsist where the Spanish domination was fully established.

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This building was the "*tecpan*"[46] called, even by Torquemada "house of the community;"[47] it was, therefore, since the council of chiefs was the highest authority in the government, the "council house" proper. It was erected near the centre of the "pueblo," and fronting the open space reserved for public celebrations. But, whereas formerly occasional, gradually merging into *regular*, meetings of the chiefs were sufficient, constant, daily attendance at the "tecpan" became required, even to such an extent, that a permanent *residence* of the head-chiefs *there*, resulted from it, and was *one of the duties of the office*. Consequently the "tlacatecuhtli," his family, and such assistants as he needed (like runners), dwelt at the "official house." But this occupancy was in no manner connected with a possessory right by the occupant, whose family relinquished the abode, as soon as the time of office expired through death of its incumbent. The "tecpan" was occupied by the head war-chiefs only as long as they exercised the functions of that office.[48]

tury,—the meetings of the tribe being previously called together by priests, and probably in the open space around the main house of worship. The fact of the priests calling the public meetings is proved by Durán (Cap. IV, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 466). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, pp. 156, 159. Cap. XXI, p. 186). Acosta first mentions "unos palacios, aunque harto pobres." (Lib. VII, cap. 8, p. 470), on the occasion of the election of the first regular "tlacatecuhtli:" Acamapichtli,—Torquemada says (Lib. XII, cap. XXII, p. 290), that they lived in miserable huts of reeds and straw, erected around the open space where the altar or place of worship of Huitzilopochtli was built. The public building was certainly their latest kind of construction.

[46] From "tecuhtli" chief, and the affixum "pan," denoting a place. Therefore "place of the chiefs." Molina translates: "casa ó palacio real, ó de algun señor de Salvo" (II, p. 38). The word is also found in the Qquiché of the "Popol-Vuh" (p. 306). "Qui tiepan quib"—Mr. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg acknowledges the Mexican origin of the word, and renders it by "to divide into quarters," although he says that in Mexican it signifies: palace or municipality.

[47] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XIV. pp. 269 and 270). "Tecpancalli, que quiere decir, los Palacios Reales, ó el Alcazar, y casas de Señorio" (Id: Lib. VII, cap. XXI. p. 119. Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477). But especially in the Sixth Book, 27th chapter, page 48, when, referring to the statements of Father Bernardino de Sahagun who says, that "being in the city of Xuchimilco, he heard one night, etc. etc. . . . . and that inquiring next day why that shouting had taken place,—the Indians answered, that from the Tecpan, or community (municipal house), they had been calling the macehuales to work."

[48] Nearly every author who attempts to describe minutely the "chief-house" (tecpan) mentions it as containing great halls (council-rooms). See the description of the tecpan of Tezcuco by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," cap. XXXVI, p. 247. "The palace had two courts, the first and largest one serving as public square and market, for which it is still used at present. The second and interior one, was surrounded by the hall of the royal councils, where the King held two tribunals. In the centre of this court a large brasier was burning, which was never extinguished." Id. cap. XXXVIII), by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 308. Lib. II, cap. XLIV, pp. 146 and 147. Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

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About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI. pp. 354 and 358). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Moteczuma." Bernal-Diez del Castillo (Vedia II. cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 342 and 343. "Adonde él moraba y residia á la continua, llaman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . — . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 302. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenia muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaiáca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 76, etc.).

Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 192, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemáda, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of Mexico were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kingship of the chief lived*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 327), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 100), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tilancalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap., LXI, p. 100). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimecs, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Tlocoyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hezhuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-*four* years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?

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ment of the Mexican tribe.[49] Nearly at the same time also, the Mexicans felt the necessity of opening communications with the tribes inhabiting the shores of the great marsh in the midst of which they were living,—in order to obtain some of the commodities produced or held by these tribes. Strong enough for *defence*, but too weak yet for *offence*, the Mexicans approached cautiously their nearest and most powerful neighbors, the Tecpanecas, with the view of securing permission to trade and barter, also for the purpose of obtaining the use of one of the springs of the mainland. This permission was granted, on condition that the Mexicans should pay a certain tribute. This was, however, no kind of feudal prestation, not being in the least connected with the tenure of the soil or occupancy of the territory,—but simply like unto a toll or tax placed on the faculty of barter. The further condition of military assistance being, in all likelihood, also exacted, the Mexicans thus became, not the subjects as it is commonly stated, but the weaker allies of the Tecpanecas.[50]

[49] "We have previously alluded (note 22), to the fact that, anterior to Acamapitzin, the series of Mexican head-chiefs appear broken, whereas from the latter onward the office is reported as having been regularly filled. From that time on the term "palacio," as *connected with the office*, appears in the Spanish historians. See Durán, Tezozomoc, Acosta and Torquemada (Especially "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 98).

"All the authors agree upon the fact that the early life of the Mexican tribe on the site of Tenuchtitlan was one of secluded poverty, even of misery. See especially Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI. pp. 92 and 93). "In this place they settled ("se ranchearon") erecting poor and small habitations, surrounded by canes and grasses, called by them Xacalli, . . . where they spent their life miserably, the place being poor and destitute, and as people abandoned and poor, persecuted by all the inhabitants of the mainland, they subsisted upon roots of Tulli and other herbs, which grew on the place and on its surroundings." Then they began to fish. (See also Tezozomoc, cap. III. Durán, cap. V. Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. XVII. Sahagun, Lib. X, cap XXIX, pp. 145 and 146. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142). Durán and Tezozomoc both assert, that their first step, when the population began to increase, was to seek for traffic, which could only be secured through some kind of connection with their nearest and most warlike neighbors, which at that time were the Tecpanecas. ("Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España," cap. V, pp. 41 and 42. "Empero juntandose todos en consejo ovo algunos que fueron de parecer que con mucha omildad se fuesen à los de Azcaputzalco y à los Tepanecas, que son los de Cuyuacan y Tacuba, y que se les ofreciesen y diesen por amigos y se les subjetasen con intencion de pedillos piedra y madera para el edificio de su ciudad . . . ." "Crónica Mexicana," cap. III, p. 9. It was finally agreed to barter, with as little concession as possible on their part). Most of the other authors have transformed this alliance with the Tecpanecas into a feudal allegiance, resulting from the occupation of the soil and from intermarriage. Both are disproved by Durán (Cap. V, p. 41: "pues era sitio y termino de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque alli llegaban los terminos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del mediodía, terminos de Culhuacan; . ." "y que como señores ya de aquel sitio, sin hacer buz ni reconocer subjecion à ninguno, pues su dios los avia dado aquel sitio, fuesen y comprasen piedra y madera, etc., etc.") and Tezozomoc (Cap. III, pp. 9 and 10).

Even Torquemada acknowledges the fact, that the Mexicans were originally independent (Lib. II, cap. XI), and that they were connected with the Tecpanecas through trib-

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174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
574 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618 [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 213. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

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however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[23]

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans

[23] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America," Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III. 9th Edition, 1809), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV. cap. VII. p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "cenalli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III. cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III. cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 598, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

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assumption, frequently made, that the Mexicans were divided 618 174 into two distinct clusters at the outset.

A council of chiefs, representing the seven kins meeting on 174 equal terms, composed the government of the ancient Mexicans at 643 that period of their history. Among these, occasional "old men" of particular ability loom up as leading advisers. But no permanent general office of an executive nature is mentioned; although even occasional braves acquired historical prominence through their deeds of valor and of sagacity.[36]

But, while the organization was thus amply sufficient for the 174 needs of a straggling band, Indian worship or "medicine" (as 618 the native term implies) represented, inside of that organization, 624 the lingering remains of what we have already suggested to be the oldest aboriginal clusters of society. Corresponding to the *four* original kins of the QQuiché, to the *four* leading days of the calendar with the traditions attached to their origin, we find among the ancient Mexicans at that period *four* chief medicine men, or "old men," who at the same time are "carriers of the God."[37]

[36] "*Tenure of Lands*" (P. 298 and 299, Notes 21 and 22). In addition to the authorities quoted there, I refer to: *Gomara* ("*Conquista de Méjico*" Vedia I, p. 431). "y dicen que no trajeron señores, sino capitanes." Idem p. 433. "De los reyes de Méjico"). *Motolinia* ("Epistola proémial," p. 5). "aunque se sabe que estos Mexicanos fueron los postreros, y que no tuvieron señores principales, mas de que se gobernaron por capitanes." —*Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). "Dicen que el èjército mexicano trajo por candillos è capitanes diez principales que los regian, ... Entre estos eligieron, luego como hicieron su asiento, por rey y principal señor á Tenuch." *Torquemada*. (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78; cap. XII, pp. 94 and 95).

The fact of the election of the *first* so-called "King" of the ancient Mexicans, so generally acknowledged that no evidence of it is needed, is proof enough that, previous to it, the government of the Mexicans was at least not monarchical. The words of Torquemada, (p. 94, vol. I.) "Dicese, que avienado pasado veinte y siete años, que se governaban en comun, los unos, y los otros, les tomó gana de eligir Rey, ..." are plain enough.

Aside from the "leaders" (candillos) of the Kins frequently mentioned, occasional war-chiefs or directing braves turn up during this period of their wandering existence. Thus, a chief whom they called "Mexi" is mentioned by *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 400), *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 138 and 139), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X, p. 66); and another very famous warrior, "Humming Bird." (Huitzilihuitl) led the Mexicans during their fray with the valley-tribes at Chapultepec, losing his life in the sally by which they broke through their surrounding enemies. *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 27; IV, 30). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 402). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. III, p. 82; IV, p. 84; Lib III, cap. XXII, p. 269). *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. Io, cap. IX, p. 261; cap. X, p. 265 and 266). *Granados y Galvez* (*Tarde Quinta*, p. 151). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 97; cap. XIII, p. 110; cap. XIV, p. 116, 124; cap. XV. p. 130 and 131). He affirms that "Humming Bird" was the first "King of the Mexicans," which, however, is expressly disproved by other authors.

[37] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. I, p. 6), mentions the four old men who carried the so-called sister of Huitzilopochtli, "y á esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli á los viejos

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settlement is not stated, but while some sources mention *twenty* 618
chiefs as composing the original council of the tribe, others speak of but *ten leaders*. This might, according to the view taken, indicate in both instances *ten* kins, or *twenty* in the former and *ten* in the latter. At any rate the number is larger than that originally composing the tribe, thus showing that the segmentation so characteristic of tribal society according to Mr. Morgan, had already begun. Of the government of the tribe Clavigero says: "The 645
whole nation was under a senate or college of the most promi- 643
nent men."[43] No mention is made anywhere of a head-war-chief

[43] *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 94. Lib. III, 618
cap. XXII. pp. 289, 290, and 291). *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47).

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of kins composing the Mexican tribe at at that time. The number of chiefs and their names are variously stated. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47), mentions six chiefs and four priests. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), mentions ten chiefs. The "*Codex Mendoza*" also says ten chiefs (Tab. I, Vol. I, Kingsborough). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190, note r), mentions twenty. It is interesting to compare the names, also those of the twenty leaders of *Torquemada* (Lib II, cap, III, p. 83), with those of the twenty "barrios" of Vetancurt.

Durán.	*Mendieta.*	*Torquemada.*	*Clavigero.*	"*Barrios*" *of Vetancurt.*
Acocilli,	*Acocilli,*	*Acocilli,*	*Acocilli,*	Tzapotla,
Tenoch,	*Tenoch.*	*Tenoca,*	*Tenoch,*	Huehuecalco,
Meci,	Tecinenti	*Nanacatzin,*	*Nanacatzin,*	Tecpancaltitlan,
Ahuezotl,	*Auezotl.*	*Ahuezotl,*	*Ahuezotl,*	Cihuateocaltitlan,
Ocelopan,	*Ocelopan,*	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan,*	Topico,
Tecuantetl,	Quahpan,	*Tecacatetl,*	*Tzencotl,*	Teocaltitlan,
Quauhtlequetzqui,	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	Tlaxilpan,
Ococal,	Xocoyal,	*Quentzin,*	*Quentzin,*	Tequicaltitlan,
Chachalaitl,	*Tlahcequi.*	*Tlahcoc,*	*Tlahcoc,*	Atlampa,
Azolcua.	Atototi.	*Azolohua,*	*Azolohua,*	Tlacacomoco,
		Tlalala,	Tlalala.	Amanalco,
		Tzontliyayauh,	Tzontligagauti,	Tepetitlan,
		Tuzpan,	Tochpan,	Atizapan,
		Tetepan,	Tetepan,	Xihuitengo,
		Cozra,	Coscati,	Tequixquipan,
		Ahati,	Atzin.	Mecaltitlan,
		Achitomecatl,	Achitomecati,	Xoloco,
		Acohuatl,	Acohatl,	Chichimecapan,
		Mimich,	Mimich,	Copolco,
		Tuzca.	Tzcoatl.	Tzcoatzonco.

I have italicized such names as are alike. We see that of the ten chiefs named by Durán and Mendieta, six are also named by the two other authorities. As might be expected, there is hardly any concordance between these names of chiefs and those of the Mexican "barrios."

If it were known to us whether, in this case, each "chief" represented a kin only, 618
or whether Durán, Tezozomoc, and Mendieta alone indicated the true number, we 779
could or might, of course, determine the number of the calpulli. That the chief is used to denote his kinship in the old authors is distinctly stated by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 234). This chapter relates the mission of sixty "wizards" ("brujos"-"hechiceros,") sent by the chief "Montezuma Ilhuicamina" (the first "stern or wrathy chief" of that name), to an old woman or goddess purported to be "Huitzilopochtli's" mother. Arrived before the old hag (as she is described), she inquires of them for her son and for

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643 as yet; this peculiarly military office was not yet established in permanence. However, there are indications that one executive chieftain for tribal affairs may, at least rudimentarily, have existed namely: the "Snake-woman" (cihuacohuatl). But the attributes of this office did not assign to it any marked prominence.[46]

174 The position of the Mexican tribe, about the middle of the fourteenth century, was still a very precarious one. With barely sufficient sod to dwell upon, blockaded, so to say, by powerful tribes along the lake shore; with the independent cluster of Tlatilulco, jealous and threatening, within an arrow-shot of its homes, it was forced into a peculiar attitude of military defence. The elements for a warlike organization were contained in the autonomous kins, which were grouped into the still larger cluster of the brotherhood, and all together composing the tribe. The leaders were found in the officers and chiefs of the kins. But the state of insecurity then prevailing required an office whose incumbent should be in constant charge of the military affairs of the tribe. This was plainly within the scope of tribal society; such functions had already been exercised previously, in times of particular need. Now, under the pressure of circumstances, and with a permanent settlement, permanence of the charge became a necessity.[47]

[618 773] the seven chiefs "which seven went for leaders of each quarter" (p. 223). The wizards reply (among other things): "Great and powerful Lady (?) we have neither seen, nor spoken to, the chiefs of the *calpules*." Judging from this, the original number of them was *ten*, and it is presumable that if such was the case they were the *war-chiefs*, whereas the others were more properly the administrative officers analogous to the "*sachems*" of the Iroquois. (Compare *Morgan*, "*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Cap. IV, p. 114. Cap. V, pp. 129, 130, etc., etc., to 148). We shall have occasion to return to this again in a subsequent note.

[46] The office of "Cihuacohuatl" is very old. *Iztlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones*" "*Segunda Relacion*," pp. 323 and 324), after speaking of the seven leaders of the Toltecs, mentions "Ziuhcoatl" tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores" as discoverer of Jalisco. Confirmed (the last mention excepted) by *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37). *Veytia* (Lib. I. cap. XXII, p. 220). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (Plate II in Vol. I of Lord Kingsborough), represents the first regular head-war-chief of the Mexicans, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli) with a head and face of a woman and snake surmounting his own head or rather the forehead, whereas the "name" proper stands, as usual, behind the occiput. The expanatory note thereto (Vol. VI, p. 8), says: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuotl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a Monarchy this title was retained."

[47] *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 44). *Acosta* (Lib. III, cap. 8, p. 468). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 95). "The cause of his election was the increase in numbers, and their being surrounded by enemies who made war upon them and damaged them." "La causa de su eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian guerra, y afligian."

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Therefore, near the eighth decade of the fourteenth century, or about thirty years after the settlement of Mexico, the office of "chief of men" (Tlacatecuhtli) appears to have been established.[48] This is commonly heralded as the creation of monarchy, thus abolishing the basis of organization, or tribal society itself. It is however overlooked that only an office was created, and not a hereditary dignity with power to rule.[49] Its first incumbent, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli), was duly elected, and so were his successors.[50] We have already seen that the Mexican family itself was so imperfectly constituted as to preclude the notion of a dynasty, and it was therefore, as we shall further establish, to the "kin" that the so-called succession or rather the choice was limited.[51] We do not know, nor would it be safe to guess, *which*

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Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 159; cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, pp. 190 and 191). It was a military measure.

[48] The dates are variously given. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 53), says 1364, or rather he states that "Handful of Reeds" died at the age of 60, and that his death occurred 1404. He had been elected when 20 years old, therefore forty years previous to the latter date, or in 1364, A. D. *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270), says 3d of May, 1361, or 1368. According to *Sahagun*, and from his lists of Mexican "Kings" (Lib. VIII, cap. I, pp. 268-271), it would be about 1369, but (Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 280), he says he was elected in 1364. *Veytia* (quoting also *Carlos de Sigueasa*), says (Lib. II, cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 188), 1361. *Clavigero* (Lib. III. cap. I, p. 190. Appendix to 1st Vol., p. 508. Vol. II, Sec'd Dissertation, Cap. II, p. 327), says 1352. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), 1375. In the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 9), a date 1384 appears, but this date is of doubtful origin. The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Vol. I, Kingsb., Plate I, and Explanation, Vol. VI, p. 134), says in the year 11. cane, ("Acatl") or 1399. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, cap. VI, p. 356), 1350. *Prof. Valentini* ("The Mexican Calendar-Stone," p. 108), 12, Acatl, or 1375.

In regard to the title of "Tlacatecuhtli" compare "*Art of War*," (p. 122, note 104). There is a singular analogy between it and the title of "*Great War Soldier*," given by the Iroquois confederacy to its head-war-chiefs ("*Ancient Society*," p. 146). Under "men" the Mexicans also understood "braves." Therefore "chief of the braves" also.

[49] In a general way, the following passages are interesting. *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), "because in these times the brothers, sons of the King inherited one another, although from what I have noted of this history, there was no heredity nor succession, but that only those which the electors chose, whether brother or son, nephew or cousin, in the second degree, of him who died, and this order it strikes me they carried (on) in all their elections, and so I believe that many of those who clamor and pray for lordships ("señorios") because of their fathers having been Kings and Lords at the time of their infidelity do not, as I understand, justly claim ("no piden justicia"). For according to their ancient law there were rather elections than successions and inheritances, in all kinds of lordships." I shall give the full text of this very important passage further on. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 358). "Of the Mexican republic I confess this manner of succession, and that sometimes they were elected without regard to anything save their personal qualification."

[50] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[51] Compare *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 358). The former says in addition to what is quoted in note 49. "In all the other lordship I only found but elections and the will of the electors, and thus they never could fail to have a King of that lineage, even to the end of the world, because if to-

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174 643 666 was the particular "calpulli" of Mexico who furnished the Mexican head-war-chiefs down to 1520 A. D.

174 643 Analogous to the New Mexican pueblo, the tribe of Mexico had, from that time on, its supreme council and finally two executive head-chiefs; for with the creation of the military office of "chief of men," the "Snake-woman" rose correspondingly in importance.[52] No change in that organization took place until the Spanish conquest although within the period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (approximately) thus indicated, we find, at three distinct epochs, mention of virtual changes or subversions of the aboriginal institutions of the Mexican tribe.

174 631 The first one of these critical dates agrees with the third decade of the fifteenth century, or the time when, through a well executed dash, the Mexicans overthrew the power of the Tecpanecas on the mainland.

This successful move, perhaps originally conceived in self-defence, finally brought about the confederacy of the "nahuatl" tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and of Tlacopan. We have nothing to add to our first picture of this military partnership, as drawn in "Tenure of Lands."[53] Still the event deserves special men-

day they elected the brother, to-morrow they elected the "grandson, and the day after the nephew, and thus they went through the whole lineage without any end" This is a plain description of the succession of office in the kin. Torquemada is about equally explicit, and this agreement between two authors who represent antagonistic tribal traditions, is certainly of great weight. To this should be added the statement of *Sahagun* (Vol. II, p. 318), "and (they) selected one of the most noble ones of the lineage ("linea") of the lords post." Even the series of contradictions of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp. 12-20), contain a plain description (if attentively studied) of succession in the kin, and not in the family.

[52] At the time Francisco Vasquez de Coronado reached and conquered New Mexico, its sedentary Indians were governed by a council of old men, and besides they had governors and captains. This is explicitly stated by *Pedro de Castañeda y Nagero*, ("*Relation du Voyage de Cibola, entrepris en* 1540,"), who went with Coronado in 1540, in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1838 (Cap. XI, p. 61), about Tuscayan Cibola, although flatly contradicted again by himself (Part. II, cap. III, p. 164), in regard to Cibola. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XL, p. 661), mentions the "mandôn" (commander) and after him what he calls a "crier" "y despues de èl, es el que pregona, y avisa las cosas, que son de Republica, y que se han de hacer en el Pueblo." The same author is also very explicit (Lib. XI, cap. XVII, p. 237), when he distinctly states: "El Gobierno de los del Nuevo-Mexico parece de Senado, ù de Señoria," mentioning also the two other officers.

For the actually prevailing governmental system of the New-Mexican Pueblos the sources are very numerous. I simply refer to *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. I, pp. 546 and 547), *W. W. H. Davis* ("*The Spanish Conquest of New-Mexico*," 1869, p. 415, note 4), *Oscar Loew* ("*Lieutenant G. M. Wheeler's Zweite Expedition nach New-Mexiko und Colorado*, 1874," in Petermann's "*Geographische Mittheilungen*," Vol. 23, p. 212). All the other main sources it would be useless to enumerate.

[53] Pp. 416, 417, and 418, and notes 61 to 70 inclusive. Also note 4 of this paper. In re-

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This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[69] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *kins*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Velancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X, p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 581, 582), Yacocalco (p. 582), Tlacuchcalco (p. 582), Amazac, Coyonacazco (p. 582). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 582), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchcas only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI. p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX. pp. 498, 499). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 153). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 155).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 580) and *Velancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 193) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron à la tierra no les dejaron tomar à libertad ninguna, ni à tener templo particular."

[69] "*History of America*," (8th Edition, 1800, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

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not all of these good or bad actions, and this simply for the reason that he had not the power to commit them. Thus he is charged with remodelling his household, removing certain assistants, and filling the vacancies with "scions of noble stock," creating, at the same time, hereditary charges. It may be that, in the case of simple runners for instance, the "chief of men" held ample authority to select his men, consequently to remove them; but it is certain that for any office of permanence with the kin or tribe, he had not the least discretionary power. How insignificant his influence even was, when severed from organized tribal government, is amply shown by his utter helplessness from the very moment that the Spaniards had *once* treated him as a fettered captive.[61]

[61] The name is variously written "Mutizuma," "Moteczuma," "Moctezuma," "Montezuma," "Moctheuzoma," "Motecuhzoma;" and "Señor severo," is the most current interpretation. On the tables of *Durán* (Trat. I. Lam. 7, 8, 9, 21. 22, 23, 26) and in general, the "name" is painted as the head-dress ("Xiuhhuitzolli") of a chieftain, transpierced by an arrow. The etymology may be: "mo"—"thine," "tecuhtli"—"chief," and "çumale"—"furious and wrathy" (*Molina*, II, p. 26), therefore "wrathy chief," or "stern chief." Aside from the charges prefered against him by Ixtlilxochitl and his "school" of subverting gradually the basis of the confederacy, Mexican authors accuse him of having revolutionized the institutions of his own tribe. These reports have been beautifully remodelled into classical English by *Mr. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book II, cap. VI, pp. 309 and 310). *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, pp. 457, 473, 474, 475, etc.), is equally careful in reproducing all such tales, or a résumé thereof, in a shape more palatable to refined and impressionable readers.

The substance of these accusations becomes, however, reduced to the following statements, as expressed by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, pp. 145 and 146): "He said once to Zihuacoatl Tilpotonqui: I have thought it might be well to change the manner in which the chiefs and messengers should be selected and to establish a different way from that introduced under my uncle Ahuitzotl. Let those serving within their lifetime, be dismissed and others put in their places, elected from the four quarters of Moyotlan, Teopan, Aztacualco, and Cuepopan,—which shall be children of chiefs, and shall stay at the huehuecalli, or houses of the community, with the chief-steward dwelling near by. Some of the principals of this tribe now have sons, begotten from slaves, now—these are principals, and let them become delegates (ambassadors, messengers, "embajadores"), and not be cast aside for a miserable macehual who because he is Tequihua, Cacauhtli, or Cuachic, Otomies, should therefore be set over the principal Mexican chiefs, and the sons of head-chiefs (Kings, "reyes") . . . . . What I want is to bring forth those children of chieftains, which have been forgotten so long, and that such as held the office under the chief Ahuitzotl and your father Zihuacoatl may return to rest. . . . . Zihuacoatl then called together the council: "al palacio comun," and submitted to them this suggestion, "of which they were all satisfied." With this resolution Zihuacoatl went to the chief and said: I do not want them to be of age now, but only ten or twelve years old, that they may be instructed properly, and become skilled in speaking, well disposed, like unto pages to the chieftain. When they had come before Zihuacoatl, as second person of the chief, he made a long speech to them concerning their line of conduct: Every day you shall attend to Huitzilopochtli and to the chief, rising early for orations, and doing the same at nightfall, to become expert in the ways of penitence and sacrifice. Then you shall cleanse the temple, and the chief-house, afterwards have it swept before he comes

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It is therefore vain to look for any important change in the institutions of the ancient Mexicans even at this third and latest date, which was the last chance, so to say, if any at all, for such

out. Keep your dresses clean and in order, also his own dress and ornaments; his tress, medal, and chain; also every five days his blow-tube and bow, that he may recreate himself with it. Attend to him at meal-time, morning and evening, serving him with cacao, roses, perfumes, with much humility and respect, never looking into his face under pain of death. Take care that the cooking be well done, and that the stewards provide for everything. But, while there you stay, beware, for many women of worth are seen there, and to whose needs you have also to attend,—watch your behavior, for should you attempt anything against them, you and your relations will be driven off, and if you commit any bad action with any of these women, your fathers houses will be razed, salt strewn over their ruins, and you and your lineage must perish." At the close of this and other (less important) talk it is said: "and in course of time they became so well bred, refined, and instructed, and skilful, that they were of the most prominent chieftains and leading men in this house and court." *Durán* (Cap. LII, pp. 416-418) does not fail to confirm the statements of Tezozomoc, extending, however, the removals to nearly all the offices: "asi en el servicio de su casa y persona, como en el régimen de la provincia y reyno" (p. 417); also excluding illegitimate offspring ("ningun bastardo"), and giving a number of more or less pertinent details. He even asserts that the officers of the kins were removed. In short, he represents it as the introduction of absolute despotism, surrounding at the same time the throne by a powerful nobility. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 21, p. 366) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 66), "porqué mandó, que no le sirviesen sino nobles, i que la Gente Ilustre estuviese en su Palacio, i exercitase oficios de su Casa, i Corte." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIX, p. 186), *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XIX, p. 328), and others, confirm, although in a more concise style than the first named authors. It is evident that all these authors must have gathered from the same source, which cannot be *Sahagun*, nor *Motolinía*, neither *Mendieta*, nor any of the known conquerors. The story, as told and detailed by Durán, presupposes a class of hereditary nobles, already formed and in full vigor, but excluded in part from tenure of office or rather sharing such right of tenure equally with those of the common class. This is distinctly acknowledged by Tezozomoc, and more particularly yet by Durán himself: "y mudar todos los que su tio Auitzotl auia puesto y de los que se auia servido, porque munchas dellos eran de baxa suerte y hijos de hombres baxos," p. 417, etc. Now I have proven ("*Tenure of Lands*, pp. 419, 420, 421, etc., to p. 448) that there was no privileged class based on tenure of the soil. The revolution assumed presupposes that there was, up to the last "wrathy chief," no class of nobles in exclusive possession of the offices, consequently, even if the "chief of men" in question had any inclination or desire to oust the "common people" from their official positions, the main desideratum, namely, the "uncommon" ones wherewith to replace them, and for whose benefit the whole affair was planned, were not on hand. For nobility not based on hereditary ownership, or hereditary command of some kind, is no nobility at all. As far as heredity of office is concerned, Durán himself is one of the most powerful witnesses against it (*e. g.*, Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). If, therefore, "wrathy chief" created a class of privileged office-holders about the year 1503, it must have been very short-lived, for it was certainly out of existence sixteen years later, at the beginning of the Spanish conquest.

The version of Tezozomoc is evidently the correct one, and thus the whole story dwindles down to the selection of certain boys, probably of his own kin, for the special service of the tribal house of government, which took place *with the knowledge and consent of the council only*. Whether this act, if converted into a custom, might have gradually merged into prevalence of a certain kin over the rest, is another question, which the intervening conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, has left without decisive answer. About the helplessness of Montezuma while a captive, see authors on the Conquest in general.

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618 themselves until they finally agreed upon an award.[191] The
646 same thing occurred when two calpulli claimed possession or
695 enjoyment of the same piece of land.[192] No appeal was possible to any higher authority; but every eighty days an extraordinary gathering took place at the "tecpan," consisting of the council and the executive chieftains, the war-captains of the four great quarters, the "elder brothers" of the kins, and the leading medicine-men, and any cause pending before the "tlatocan" might be deferred until the next of these general meetings; and even in case a decision had been rendered, a reconsideration thereof, on that occasion, was sometimes agreed upon.[193]

calls "supremo consejo:" "Tratábanse en este consejo todo género de negocios de estado, justicia, guerra, hacienda etc., etc."

[190] This picture is mainly based upon *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," III. cap. VII), and *Bustamente* ("*Tezcoco*," pp. 191 and 192). The statement in the latter is only worthy of credit because copied from the former.

[191] *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, y. 483). For a copy of the paintings reproduced, see *A. de Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères*," etc., Vol. I, plate V. Ed. 8vo).

[643 695] [192] I affirm this in the face of all the authorities on the subject, who, without exception, assert that there was an appeal to the "king." The *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXX, "Declaracion de la figurado") is even very positive: "Y si era negocio de calidad del consejo. havia apelacion por via de agravio ante Monteçuma, en donde habia conclusion de la causa." My opinion is based on what precedes about the authority of the council, on what I expect to prove in relation to the true nature of the duties of the head-chiefs and which will hereafter follow, and on the contradictions among the authors themselves. Thus the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58) places the supreme power into the hands of the councils "sin parescer de los quales ninguna cosa se habia de hacer," and (pp. 64 and 65) it does not mention any power of appeal whatever. *Zurita* (pp. 100 and 101): "Les appels étaient portés devant douze autres juges supérieurs qui prononçaient d'apres l'avis du souverain." It is queer to notice, how the writers of the tezcucan school, appear eager to place the power of final decree or the decision of final appeal in a "high tribunal," or rather simply a supreme council of their tribe. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXXI, p. 146) mentions a supreme council, "á los quales avian de venir todas las cosas graves, y criminales, para que ellos, con el Rei, las determinasen." (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 354): "Para estos dos Jueces Supremos se apelaban las causas graves, los quales las admitian, pero no determinaban, ni sentenciaban, sin parecer, y acuerdo de el Rei." *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 199) speaks of the establishment of "tribunals" by "Fasting wolf" ("Nezahualcoyotl"—properly "fasting coyote"), and adds: "pero concediendo á las partes el recurso de apelacion para el gran tribunal de justicia que erigió en su córte de Tezóuco." This so-called tribunal was, as we have shown at the close of note 190, the "Council of the tribe." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) almost copies Zurita. *Sahagun* ("*Historia general*," etc., Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 314): "y los casos muy dificultuosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase, juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian." "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque. . . ." In this case the learned father speaks of tribal jurisdiction and not of arbitration. Still it is plain that he admits the *council's decrees as final*. The chief, "señor," appears only as member of this council, a position of which we shall hereafter speak. Without making any further quotations from similar authorities, I beg to revert to those which place, *by the side of the so-called "King,"* an independent "supreme Judge"—the "Cihuacohuatl," whose tribunal

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Aside from these arbitrative functions, other duties occupied the 646
council's time at its full meetings. If any calpulli felt wronged 618
in the distribution of the incoming tribute, it might through its delegate or "speaker,"[194] complain about the tribal officers answerable for it to the "tlatocan." The investiture of chiefs and officers of the kins belonged to the highest authority of the tribe

is positively mentioned as the final court of appeals. That this "Cihuacohuatl" [643] occupied a high position, was already noticed by *Cortés* ("*Carta tercera*," Vedia I, p. 88), and subsequently, when he became still more prominent, by *Tezozomoc*. But *Torquemada* has been to my knowledge, the first one to establish his position as independent supreme Judge. It is not devoid of interest to notice what he writes about this office. ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 358): "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y Juez maior, cuio nombre, por razon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl . . . . . De este Presidente no se apelaba para el Rei, ni para otro Juez alguno, ni podia tener Teniente, ni substituto, sino que por su misma persona havia de determinar, y decidir todos los negocios de su Juzgado, y audiencia." He further adds; "lo qual no corria en este dicho Juez Cihuacohuatl; porque de su ultima determinacion no habia recurso á otro." *Fray Augustin de Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I, Parte 2a, Trat. 2°, cap. I, p. 369): "Despues del Rey . . . habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion á otro. Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." These statements distinctly hint at the existence of an appellate judicial body, of which this Cihuacohuatl was foreman, and over which the so-called "King" had no control. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481) even states that while there was no appeal from the Cihuacohuatl whatever, there was one of there officers "at the court and the principal cities of the kingdom." These views in regard to the "Cihuacohuatl" have been plainly accepted by *W. H. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Vol. I. p. 29): "There was no appeal from his sentence to any other tribunal, not even to the king," and *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435).

The confusion is apparent, for we have here three different views of the same case. One is that the "head-chief" was the highest appellate authority, the other that the head-chief, *with the council*, formed the court of last resort, and the third that a "supreme Judge" was appointed by the so-called "King" to render final decisions. Now we have already seen that the supreme authority was the council or "tlatocan," consequently what is commonly called the "king" could not be the last resort in judiciary matters, still less could he appoint an officer for that purpose. Our proposition appears, therefore, sustained, that there was no appeal from the decisions of the council to any superior authority whatever.

But, finally, it was possible to reconsider, so to say, the cases decided by the council, and for such the so-called "*Nauhpohualtlatolli*", or "*eighty days-talk*" was instituted. Authorities are almost unanimous on this point, although it is commonly ascribed to Tezozomoc alone, and I refrain from quoting them in detail, referring but to *Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, p. 438, etc.).

[194] This becomes evident from the relative positions of kin and tribe. As we shall hereafter see, the officers gathering and those receiving the tribute were tribal officers, consequently subject to the council. It was to the council, therefore, that any complaint had to be brought against them, and this could be done only through the "speaker" of a particular kin. That the tribute was distributed partly among the "calpulli" is indicated by *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 79): "Tambien dieron á sus barrios para el culto de sus dioses, á cada barrio una suerte, etc.," and *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. X, p. 18): "y aunque venian á darlo á Ytzcoatl, era para todos los Mexicanos en comun."

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646 We thus have found in the "tlatocan" or council, the high directive authority of the tribe, the arbitrator between its organic component parts, and the chief judicial power within the tribe. It is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the council of the kin.

●643 Like the kin also which, subordinate to its councils decrees had two superior officers for the execution thereof, the tribe had *two chief executive functionaries.*

Even at a comparatively remote period in the history of the ancient Mexicans we may discern two offices, not formally created, but naturally growing from what was left of tribal organization, which mark the beginning of a chief tribal executive. One of these is the "wise old man" conducting the "talk;"[294] the other is the "big warrior" who led the braves to battle.[295] The former subsequently became "foreman" in the council, the latter "war-chief" to the tribe. There are indications to the effect that, for a while, both offices were held by one person. From the time the confederacy had been formed, however, we recognize two chief executive agents,[296] one of which is called the "Snake-woman"

Vedia I): "Los Jueces eran doce . . ." with a higher court of two; therefore, in all fourteen, equal to the thirteen of Sahagun with the "Señor" added. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 100 and 109): "Les douze juges d'appel . . ." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) copies Zurita almost literally. By the side of this early Franciscan group of writers, there is the picture drawn by the two great Franciscans, Torquemada and Vetancurt, representing a supreme Judge, "Cihuacohuatl," and four tribunals beneath him in authority. This picture is evidently based on such paintings as the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plates LXIX and LXX). In my opinion the thirteen Judges of Sahagun should be connected with the judicial offices mentioned by Cortés as sitting at the "tecpan" (see note 262), rather than regarded as constituting a court of appeals.

Finally, I refer to *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimques*," Cap. XXXVI and XXXVII), *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, pp. 199 and 200) and others, in regard to Tezcuco. While they distinctly prove the subdivision, for judicial work, of the supreme council into two sections, they also show in a very marked manner, the confusion and contradiction arising from a misconception of the real case.

[294] Perhaps the earliest mention of such a "wise old man," foremost in the "talk," among the Mexicans proper, is that of the tale of the crafty old men, Huitzilton and Tecpaltzin, who are said to have persuaded the Mexicans to emigrate from Aztlan, as related by *Torquemada*, who is often copied (Lib. II, cap I, p. 78). In early times they are also called Captains and leaders, and must not be confounded with the "medicine-men" (Id., p. 78). Subsequently these latter sometimes appear as leading speakers. Much information can be gathered on this point by carefully and critically reading *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, XIII, XV and XVIII), *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 25 to 36), *Durán* (Cap. IV, V and VI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, II and III).

[295] *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. II, pp. 80 and 81). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 260, 261 and 262). They merely show that the office of "big warrior," existed.

[297] This apportionment of the duties of chief-executive among two heads is found in many tribes of Mexico and Central America. Thus in Tlaxcallan, Maxiscatzin and Xicotencatl, the two head-chiefs, were alike and equal in power. (*Cortés*, "*Cartas Segundas*" (pp. 18, 46). *Bernal Díez de Castillo* (Cap. LXVII, p. 69): "los dos mas prin-

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("Cihua-cohuatl,") and the other (erroneously termed "King"), 643 the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli").

The "Cihua-cohuatl" was elected by the council for life, or

cipales caciques." "*Anonymous Conqueror*" (p. 398): "anchora che in certo modo si habbia rispetto á uno che e'el magxior Signore, che tiene teneva un Capitano generale per la guerra." *Motolinia*, "*Hist de los Indios*," etc. (Trat. III, cap. XVI, pp. 229 and 230). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII. cap. III. p. 272) copies Cortés. *Gomara* (p. 332). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 347) says four, of which Maxiscatzin was captain; though this is contradicted by the conquerors. Xicotencatl being war-chief. *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. X, p. 152) reports the speech of Xicotencatl: "que bien debia de saber, que era Xicotencatl Capitan General de la Republica de Tlaxcala," and especially his interesting tale of the Tlaxcaltecan council in Cap. III, pp. 139 and 140. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXVI, p. 150): ".el rey Xicotencatl." (Cap. LXXXVII, p. 153): "el rey Maxiscatzin." About Chalco, compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 397, note 16), also about Xochimilco and the Tucpanecas. In regard to the Matlatzinca, *Zurita* ("Rapport," etc., p. 399) says there were three chiefs, who occupied the highest power in succession. This statement is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib IV, cap. XVIII, p. 139). The *Tutunacus* had two chiefs. *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 181. Cap. XXIV, p. 206). The "Cazonzi" of Michuacan is represented by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. III, cap. V, p. 86, VI, p. 87) as being assisted by "his captain-general," and the anonymous document copied by *Don Florencio Janér* from the Codex C-IV-8 of the Escurial Library and published, without date, though evidently written between 1534 and 1551, entitled "*Relacion de las ceremonias y ritos, poblacion y gobierno de los Indios de la provincia de Michuacan, hecha el Ill'mo Sr. D. Antonio de Mendoza, Virey y Gobernador de Nueva España*" says ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "pues habia un rey y tenia su gobernador, y un capitan general en las guerras, y componiase como el mismo cazonci." This is very significant, especially because it is represented as being instituted by divine will. "Dicho sea en la primera parte, hablando de la historia del dios Curicaberis, como los dioses del cielo le dijeron como habia de ser rey, y que habia de conquistar toda la tierra, y que habia de haber uno que estuviese en su lugar, que entendiese en mandar traer leña para los quos." The evidence is positive about the QQuiché of Guatemala, and furthermore very interesting. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 405 and 406) mentions three chiefs, in a manner exactly similar to those of Matlatzinco, and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140) follows him implicitly. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XVIII, pp. 339 and 340) is of the same opinion, although it is easy to see that in fact there were *two* head-chiefs and not three, since he says: "Era el primero de todos el Rey actual; es á saber, el Abuelo: luego el Rey electo para despues de sus Dias; tras él, el que tenia nombre de Electo, etc." Consequently there were always two with the principal title. *Pedro de Alvarado* ("*Relacion á Hernando Cortés*," Utlatlan, 11 of April, 1524, Vedia I, p. 456) speaks of "cuatro señores de la ciudad de Utlatan." Another eye-witness of the conquest of Guatemala, *Bernal Díaz de Castillo* (Cap. CLXIV, p. 229) speaks of "dos capitanes señores de Utatlan." We have fortunately, in regard to the tribes of QQuiché language, a very positive source of great value. This is the "*Popol-Vuh*" (p. 239). Enumerating the "Nim-Ha Chi Cavikib," it specifies from the fourth generation on ("U. cah. le"), always *two* chiefs, stating positively: "Oxib-Quieh, Belehob-Tzi, u cablahu-le ahauab. Are-cut que ahauaric ta x-ul Donadia, x-e hitzaxic rumal Caxilan vinak" (p. 239). Consequently Alvarado executed *two* chiefs. Besides (p. 240), it even mentions their last successors, with Spanish names. At the close (here "great-elected ones" ("Nim-Chocob") are mentioned, but only two are named, the one from "Nihaib" and the other from "Ahau-QQuiche." We find here the exact counterpart of the Mexicans, before their fight with Tlatelulco,—two chiefs of Mexico, and two chiefs of Tlatelulco; Moquihuix and Teconal. See the authors on that subject. In regard to the Maya of Yucatan, see *Lizana* ("*Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Itzamal*," § IV), also *Villagutierre y Sotomayor* ("*Historia de la Conquista y Reduccion de los Itzaes y Lacandones*," Lib. VIII, cap. XVI, p. 514)

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during good behavior.[907] We find in the Codex Mendoza — the earliest date connected with the office — the symbol of "snake-woman" affixed to the head of "Handful of Reeds," who was inaugurated "chief of men" in 1375.[908] The inference may be permitted, therefore, that at one time both offices were held by one and the same incumbent. At all events, the "Cihuacohuatl" becomes prominent only after the formation of the tri-partite confederacy embracing the Nahuatl tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[909] But the position which he occupies thereafter is a

[907] Most of the older authors assert that the "Cihuacohuatl" was appointed by the "King." How was it possible for an officer to appoint his own equal, or associate officer? *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 303), says: "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y juez mayor, cuio nombre, por razon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl: este oficio se proveia por el mismo Rei;" and again he conceded to the Cihuacohuatl "porque de su ultima determinacion no havia recurso à otro . . . . . aqui parece lo mismo que reservando el Rei Mexicano para si, la autoridad Real, le hace su igual en la judicatura; y añade, que parte de sus Determinaciones, y Sentencias, no tengan recurso al Rei. que es condicion, y calidad, que engrandece mas la Persona de el Cihuacohuatl." Now, either the Mexicans were under a constitutional monarchy of the most improved kind,— of which there is no evidence since there was not even a division of powers,— or else the Cihuacohuatl was not appointed, but *elected* in true democratic fashion. *Veiancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. I. p. 369) is still plainer: "Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." Such an officer could only be appointed (if he was appointed and not elected), by the highest authority of the tribe, which was the council. Such is the version of *Tezcucomoc* ("*Crónica*" Cap. LXXIX, p. 187): "y acabado de celebrar su entierro y quemazon de su cuerpo, que lo sintió mucho el rey Ahuitzótl, *pusieron* en su lugar su hijo Tilipotonqui, Zihuacohuatl por sobrenombre." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 67): "Antes que *fuesse* coronado recien electo adoleció el famoso y sabio capitan Tlacaelleí, de la qual enfermedad murió; en el articulo de su muerte llamó al Rey electo y le encargé mucho á sus hijos, especialmente al mayor, que daba muestras de ser muy valeroso, y habia hecho grandes hazañas en las guerras. El nuevo Rey por consolarle despues de haberle hablado muy tiernamente con muchas lágrimas, hizo llamar á los de su consejo real y rodeados todos del lecho de Tlacaelleí mandó llamar el Rey al hijo mayor de Tlacaelleí, y allí en presencia de su padre y de su consejo, le dió el mismo oficio de su padre, de capitan general y segundo de su corte con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenía." Even if there had been such an officer as a "King of Mexico" he could not have "appointed" anybody before his coronation. The ceremony indicated was therefore an *election by the council*. This is fully confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 361): "llamando al hijo mayor, con parecer de todos los grandes, lo puso en la misma dignidad que el padre avia tenido, que era ser segundo despues del Rey en la corte, y mandó fuese honrado con la misma veneracion que su padre avia sido juradoles todos por principe de México, al qual le fué puesto el nombre de Cinacoatl."

[908] "*Codex Mendoza*" (Tab. II), and the explanation says: "Las dos figuras con sus titulos ó nombres de Acamapichtli con una misma cosa reservida en substancia, por que la primera figura demuestra el principio subcesion del dicho señorio . ." In note (p. 8, Vol. VI) of "*Antiquities of Mexico*," Lord Kingsborough adds the very sensible remark: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected King, possessed the title of Cihuacohuatl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a monarchy, this title was retained." The token for "Cihuacohuatl" a female head surmounted by a snake, is also found in the pictures of *Durán* (Lam. 8a).

[909] *Durán* (Cap. XXIV, p. 266): "Montezuma se valió a cinacoatl Tlacaelleí, que

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very important one. The most specific Mexican chronicles call 643 him "coadjutor to the King," "second King," "governor."[210] By other authorities he is mentioned as "vice-roy,"[211] and more frequently yet as "supreme judge."[212] Finally, eye-witnesses of the conquest apply to the "snake-woman" the titles of "keeper of the tribute"[213] and "captain-general" of the Mexicans.[214]

le avia puesto por renombre y grandeza aquel nuevo ditado que." *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," cap. XXXIX, p. 96) mentions the title together with the first actions of "wrathy chief," the Elder. But it also appears to have been very much older. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones históricas*" *Segunda Relacion*, p. 282, Vol. IX of Kingsborough), speaking of the migrations of the Toltecs says: "llegaron á Xalisco, tierra que estaba cerca de la mar, y aquí estuvieron ochò años, siendo desembridor Zulhochcatl, tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores." *Fígueroa* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 296) attributes to the same the discovery of another region. It appears as if this title,— whose origin we may speculate upon but, as yet, without any hope of positive results,— was always in existence, but appeared as a distinct office only after the confederacy had been formed. A historical question of some interest looms up here: whether or not the first reported incumbent of the office after the formation of the confederacy, Atempanecatl Tlacaelel-tzin, really existed. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 171) denies his existence, and perhaps hints at the "Codice Ramirez" when he speaks of "la mala, y falsa Relacion, que de esto tuvo, que yo tengo cierta poder escrita de mano, con el mismo lenguage, y estilo." *Sr. José F. Ramirez* already noticed this sally of the provincial, in note 1 (p. [illegible]) of *Durán*, "*Hist. de las Indias*," etc., and recognized it at once as applying to the Codice R. *Figueroa* (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 82, etc.) acknowledges the existence of Tlacaelel, so does of course *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18), and all those who followed the same sources as the "Codex Ramirez." The present city of Mexico, however, has two monuments which, to my judgment, establish beyond a doubt the existence of this Tlacaelel. One of these is the "Stone of Sacrifice," and the other a commemorative slab, figured and described in No. 2 of Vol. I. "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*," by the great Mexican scholar, Sr. Orozco y Berra. See my article in No. I, Vol. II of the "*American Antiquarian*," "*The National Museum of Mexico and the Sacrificial Stone*" (pp. 24 and 27). [778]

[210] For these titles I refer in general to the *Codice Ramirez*, *Durán*, and *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are useless and would only serve to increase the size of the volume.

[211] Already *Tezozomoc* mentions him a "teniente." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 282). *Velasco* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Trat. II°, cap. I, p. 308): "Despues del Rey que heredaba, como se ha visto guardando el órden de la sangre real, habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segundo persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion al rey."

[212] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 282). *Velasco* ("*Teatro*," p. 309). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Bk. I, cap. II, p. 29). *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435). *Codex Mendoza* (Tab. LXIX, "Myxcoatlatlotlac, Justicia mayor").

[213] *Bernal-Diaz de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera, etc.*," Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia II): "Acordóme que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos." Now this "Tapia" reappears again as "governor" of Mexico in different places. "*Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Saavedra Acatzitli, Cacique y Señor Natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco*" ("Col. de Documentos." Icazbalceta, p. 215, Vol. II): "y á seises los Mexicanos llevó, y fueron por sus candilejos Tapia y D. Martin el de Tlatelulco." "*Cuarta Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman*" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 471): "Viendo el señor desta cibdad de México, que se llama Tapia." *Letter of the "Oyderes"* *Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos, and Quiroga*

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Every one of these designations conveys a certain amount of truth, though none of them adequately defines the office, the true nature and position of which become clear only through a glance at its early history. Tribal executive as a permanent office, (which must always be distinguished from a hereditary dignity), was created under the pressure of extreme need. The warrior who enjoyed the confidence of the tribe, who was not only daring and brave, but had also given proof of wisdom in the councils, became the people's choice as leader. The Mexicans were then in an attitude of defence; their own existence was at stake, and it was but natural, therefore, that the leading "talk" should be on military subjects, and that consequently the prominent war-captain should become the prominent "speaker," or foreman of the council.[215] In this manner we come to notice but *one* executive chief until the confederacy was formed. His duties were plain, even simple, at that time. He resided at the official house and superintended the exercise of tribal hospitality there; he was foreman to the council, and the leading executor of its decrees as far as tribal jurisdiction extended; he controlled the receiving and housing of the modest crops gathered from the "lands of the official-house" (tecpan-talli),[216] which, together with the customary pres-

(3d "*Recueil*" *of* "*Ternaux Compans*," dated Mexico, 14 August, 1551): "Ainsi l'on dit qu'un certain Tapico, qui gouvernait la partie du Mexique que l'on appelle Temixtitan." I find also the following in the municipal records of Mexico: "*Actas de Cabildo*" (Vol. I. p. 75; "Viernes 17 de Agosto 1526, años"): "Este dia de pedimento de Diego de Ordáz vecino de esta Cibdad le hizieron merced de le confirmar cierta compra que hize de Guanachel cacique que se llama Tapia de un sitio de casa que esta cabe San Francisco."

The "gobernador" of Mexico, after the conquest, and restoration under Spanish rule, was the former "*Cihuacohuatl*." This is plainly stated by *Cortés* ("*Carta Cuarta*," Vedia I, p. 110): "hice á un capitan general que en la guerra tenia, y yo conocia del tiempo de Muteczuma, que tomase cargo de la tornar á poblar. Y para que mas autoridad su persona tuviese, tornéle á dar el mismo cargo que en tiempo del señor tenia, que es cignacoat, que quiere tanto decir como lugar-teniente del señor." Therefore the appellation of Bernal-Diez, applies evidently to this officer.

[215] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 83, "*Carta Cuarta*," p. 110, both in Vedia I). *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 338): "Vino Xihuacoa, gobernador y capitan general." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. VII, p. 83) calls him "Guacoazin, Principal consejero del Rei, i su Lúgar teniente," *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. C, p. 367): "Salió un capitan, llamado Cihuacohuatl Tlacotzin."

[216] *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 34 and 35): "Mira, Señor, que vienes á ser amparo y sombra y abrigo desta nacion Mexicana . . . ." *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 486). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 96): "La causa de su Eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian Guerra, y afligian."

[216] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 405, 406 and 419). I beg leave to correct here a mistake of mine in note 73, p. 429. At the close of said note it reads: "The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the *King*

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ents, constituted the tribal stores; finally he commanded the 643
people when in arms. The overthrow of the tribes of Azcaput- 174
zalco and Cuyuscan, by rendering these pueblos tributary, and compulsory allies of the Mexicans in warfare, suddenly increased these duties to such an extent that an assistant or colleague, a second head-chief, became necessary. Finally, when the confederacy came into existence, the first of these two chiefs was made its military commander, thus burthening him with duties of an extra-tribal nature.[217] He, therefore, had to relinquish a corresponding share of tribal business, which naturally fell to his associate. This associate, as we have already stated, was the "snake-woman" or "Cihuacohuatl," the proper head-chief of the Mexicans.

As daily leader of the council's "talk," the forenian of its delib- 643
erations, the "snake-woman" appears in the light of a judge, even of a supreme judge. But while, on all important occasions, he was the spokesman[218] of the council, and the awards he declared and the sentences he pronounced, were final and admitted of no appeal, yet it was only so because they emanated from the council, and not because they were his own individual decrees. He remained always subject to the authority of that body, and, in a general way, he can be said to have superintended the execution

. . ." In place of it, "vested in the *Kin*" is the proper reading. The mistake is wholly and exclusively mine — a "slip of the pen," which I neglected to correct in time.

[217] The Tezcucan writers, represented by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII and XXXIV) claim the leadership for Tezcuco, but the facts disprove it. Compare also "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 416, 417 and 418).

[218] *Fragmento No.* 1 ("*Biblioteca Mexicana*" — "*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzoma Ilhuicamina*," p. 124): "Juntos los principales Mexicanos, el Rey les dixo lo que el Rey de Tetzcuco pedia, y todos dieron la mano á Tlacaelleel, el cual respondió en nombre de todos á su Rey." *Durán* (Cap. XIV, p. 118): "Tlacaelleel, que en todo era el primer voto y á quien se dava la mano en responder." (Cap. XV, p. 128): "Todos dieron la mano á Tlacaelleel para que respondiese al rey." (Cap. XXIX, p. 240): "Tlacaelleel, poniendose en pié, dixo desta manera, etc., etc." (Cap. XXXII, pp. 254 and 255, Cap. LIII, p. 417.) *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVIII, p. 28. Cap. XIX, p. 30): "Y asi oydo esto por los principales Mexicanos tomó la mano de hablar Cihualcoatl Tlacaeleltzin y dijo: hijo y nuestro muy querido rey, os encargaos que veais muy bien lo que quereis hacer . . ." (Cap. XXI, p. 32): "Pasados algunos dias dijo el rey Moctezuma á Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin general y oydor . . ." "Llegados todos los señores de los dichos pueblos al palacio del rey Moctezuma, y sentados cada señor segun su merecimiento y valor de sus personas, digéron el rey Moctezuma, y su presidente y capitan general Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin." (Cap. XXXI. p. 46). (Cap. XXXVI. p. 57): "que el primero era su real consejero Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin, . . ." (Cap, XXXIX, p. 62, Cap. XLIII. p. 69): "Luego en el palacio del rey Axayaca sin salir los grandes, ni nadie, prosiguió Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin . . ." Further quotations are superfluous, particularly from this author.

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of its judicial decisions, although, as will be seen hereafter, this part of the duty was properly assigned to other officers.

The "Cihuacohuatl" was responsible to the council for the careful housing of the tribute received, as far as it was applied to tribal requirements, and for the faithful distribution of the remainder[219] among the kins. This, and the fact that he kept the [65] [212] paintings recording the tribute, has caused Bernal Diez de Castillo to call him "mayordomo mayor," or general Intendant, and "keeper of the tribute" as we have already mentioned.[220]

How the "snake-woman" was the actual associate and colleague of that other chieftain who, after having been originally principal war-chief of the Mexicans, became at last commander of the confederate forces, we have already noticed.[221] We shall yet recur

[219] This results from the authority exercised by the Zihuacoatl over the captives in war. I have already alluded to this feature, and now but recapitulate the following quotations: *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173). Also *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXIX. p. 45, Cap. XL. pp. 64 and 65, Cap. LXII, p. 104, Cap. LXVI, pp. 110, 111, Cap. LXX, p. 119), etc., etc.

[220] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCI. p. 87, Vedia II): "Acuérdome que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo mayor un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de su papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos."

[221] There is no doubt in regard to the *equality of rank*, though the duties were somewhat different. "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66): "Concluidas las obsequias, el capitan general Tlacaelel que todavia era vivo, juntó los del consejo supremo . . . . . Estos juntos . . . . trataron de elegir nuevo Rey, y todos se encaminaban al valeroso Tlacaelel, el qual como otras veces, nunca quiso admitir el Réyno, dando por razon que más útil era á la República que hubiese Rey y coadjutor que le ayudasse como era él, y no solo el Rey . . . . . Pero no por esto dejaba de tener tanta y mas autoridad que el mismo Rey, porque le respetaban y honraban, servian y tributaban como á Rey, y con mas temor, porque no se hazia en todo el Reyno mas que lo que él mandaba. Y assi usaba tiara y insignias de Rey, saliendo con ellas todas las vezes que el mismo Rey las sacaba." (P. 67), when the old Zihuacoatl died, his successor was elected: "con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenia." The "*Fragmento No. 1*" ("*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*") is very positive also, almost always mentioning both officers together. *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenóse que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaelel pudiese traer zapatos en la casa Real y que ningun grande entrase calzado en palacio, so pena de la vida, y solo ellos pudiesen traer zapatos por la ciudad, y ningun otro . . . ."; (Cap. XXXII, p. 256): "Tlacaelel respondió: qué mas honra puedo yo tener que la que hasta aqui é tenido? qué mas señorio puedo tener del que tengo y e tenido? pues ninguna cosa los reyes pasados an hecho sin mi parecer y consejo en todos los negocios civiles y criminales . . ."; (Cap. LXI, p. 326), the speech of Tlacaelel there reported is rather too lengthy to copy. Its substance is contained in the closing words: "luego rey soy y por tal me aueis tenido; pues qué mas rey quereis que sea? y asi como asi tengo de tener el mismo oficio y exercicio, hasta que me muera . . . . Sosegaos, hijos mios, y hace mi voluntad, que ya yo soy rey, y rey me seré hasta que muera; . . ." (Cap. XLIV, p. 357): "el viejo Tlacaelel, á la mesma manera, al qual, dice esta ystoria, respetanan como á rey;" (Cap. XLVIII. p. 381): "el nombre de Cinacoatl, que el padre tenia, el qual era ditado de mucha grandeza creado de los dioses; y asi desde aquel dia le llamauavan Tilpotonqui Cinacoatl, que era sobre nombre diuino." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap.

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to the relative positions occupied by both officers, and merely advert, here, to the fact, that, since the latter has commonly been called a monarch, the designations of "coadjutor to the King," "second-King," previously quoted, are explained, though not justified. The same explanation applies to the title of "vice-roy," or "royal lieutenant." 643

Finally, the "Cihuacohuatl" was ex-officio commander-in-chief of the Mexicans proper, whenever his colleague directed the entire confederate force.[222] If, however, this was not the case, then the

XXXIII. p. 33): "De la manera que fué vestido y adornado Moctezuma, lo fueron tambien Zihuacoatl y Tlacaelel tzin;" (Cap. XXXVI. p. 38): "pues solos dos eran los que havian de tener cargo, que eran Moctezuma, Zihuacoatl y Tlacaelel tzin, como segunda persona del rey, porque se entendiese havian de ser temidos de todos los grandes del imperio;" (Cap. XL, p. 66). Speech of Tlacaelel: "tocante á lo que tratais del señorio, yo siempre lo he tenido y tengo, ... porque yo como segunda persona que siempre fui del rey y de los reyes pasados, etc." Further quotations from this author would become too numerous, consequently too bulky. Besides these sources, to which should be added *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral.*" Lib. VII, cap. XVII. p. 494, Cap. XVIII, p. 495), we find significant testimony in two authors who certainly did not gather their information at the source, from which the above series of authors obtained theirs. I refer to *Juan de Torquemada* ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332): "Aqui parece lo mismo, que reservando el Rei Mexicano para si, la autoridad Real, le hace su igual en la Judicatura." *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Tratado II°, cap. I, p. 309): "Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." In regard to the fact that both chiefs wore the same characteristic ornaments and dress, see *Durán* (Lámina 8a to Cap. XXIII of Trat. I°), also "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*," comparing it with the head-dress of the leading figure of the sculptures on the rim of the cylinder known as the "stone of sacrifice," in the Museo Nacional of Mexico.

[222] "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 59, 60, 61, 62 and 63), treating of the "capitan-general Tlacaelel:" haziendo hazañas dignas de gran memoria por medio de su general Tlacaelel." The war against Chalco was waged by the Mexicans and their confederates, therefore we read (p. 4): "Y asi fué que acudiendo esto Rey en personas á la guerra." (P. 67) his office was: "de capitan-general y segundo de su corte. . . *Durán* (Cap. XVII, pp. 147 and 148), war against Chalco, when both chiefs went along. (Cap. XVIII. p. 156), foray against Tepeaca, both chieftains in the field, as both Mexicans and confederates participated. (Cap. XIX), against the Huaxteca. (Cap. XXII, p. 189): "Tlacaelel, principe de la milicia," in the raid against Coayxtlahuacan. In place of Tlacaelel, "era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada," Cuauhnochtli commanded the Mexicans. The most explicit and positive author of all is *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XIX, p. 33, Cap. XXI, p. 38): "Zihuacoatl Tlacaelel tzin general y oydor,"—"y su presidente y capitan-general Zihuacoatl Tlacatlel tzin." In regard to the protracted hostilities against the tribe of Chalco, it is stated that the "Cihuacohuatl" alone commanded (Cap. XXII, p. 34); but it follows from p. 35, that after the first bloody though indecisive fight, the allies were called upon for assistance, though Tezozomoc says it was only a delegation to insure their quiet. This explains the contradiction between him and the two preceding authors. In (Cap. XXIV, p. 37), he acknowledges that Montezuma Ilhuicamina went along, together with Cihuacohuatl. The fact, that the conquest of Chalco was made by the Mexicans, with the assistance of allies, is conceded by other authors. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLIV and L). *Orteg* ("Apendice" to Veytia, Cap. III, pp. 240-243). Therefore the Cihuacohuatl commanded the Mexicans. In the foray against Tepeaca and Tecamachalco, the confederate forces sallied out, (Cap. XVII): "cada uno con su capitan y 701

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643 latter led the Mexicans in person, or a substitute for either of them might take the command.[223] During the last days of aboriginal Mexico, when warriors from different tribes, together with the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, crowded into the invested pueblo, the so-called "King of Mexico" appeared as the *confederate* commander, while the "snake-woman" only wielded the authority and performed the duties of "captain-general" of the *Mexican* contingent.[224]

All these different attributes may be united in the functions of one office, namely: that of head-chief of the tribe. As such, we must consider the "Cihuacohuatl," and as such was he recognized by Cortés when in 1521, he created the last "snake-woman" "governor" of the remnants of the Mexican tribe and of the so-called Indian wards within which they "were" subsequently settled.[225]

We have seen that the "snake-woman" was the colleague, or associate in matters of tribal importance, of another officer, who had originally filled his place, but whose sphere of action had been so much extended through the formation of the confederacy, that a colleague became needed in tribal affairs. This officer, commonly entitled "King of Mexico," sometimes even "Emperor of Anahuac," was the "chief of men," "Tlaca-tecuhtli".[226]

[701] capitanes señalados," and both war-chiefs of Mexico were present and in the field (p. 41). Not to increase the volume of quotations beyond measure, I shall simply add that, as the Cihuacohuatl grew older and could not well go to war, other captains took his place. These captains I will refer to hereafter. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII).

[223] Evidence to that effect is found in *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 189), and especially in *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 78): "Cuauhnochtli, capitan general." (Cap. LXXI, LXXII and XCI, pp. 160 and 161, etc., etc.). This explains why the title of chief-commander of the Mexicans is so variously stated. See the very sensible remarks of *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494, etc.). These chiefs were, in this instance, temporarily appointed, since it was not the creation of an office, but simply a delegation of power for a certain special purpose. When the foray was over, the charge ceased to exist, the war-chief returning to his original rank.

[224] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," Vedia I, p. 80): E dende a poco volvió con ellos uno de los mas principales de todos aquéllos que se llamaba Cignacoacin, y era el capitan y gobernador de todos ellos, é por su consejo se seguian todas las cosas de guerra." This fact is generally accepted, and needs no further proof.

[225] *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*," Vedia I, p. 110). *Petition to Charles V, by four Indian chiefs of Mexico*, June 18, 1532, in "*Cronaités horribles des Conquérants espagnols*," of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1st Series (Appendix, pp. 265, 266 and 269): "Moi, don Hernando de Tapia, je suis fen de Tapia, et ancien Tucotecle, gouverneur de Mexico, sous le marquis del Valle." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. VIII, pp. 122 and 123). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CLVII, Vedia II, pp. 196 and 199). *Icazbalceta in Cervántes-Salazar* ("*Tres Diálogos*," Introd. to 2d Dialogue, pp. 75 and 76).

[114] [226] I have used this title, perhaps for the first time among recent writers, in "*Art of War*," (p. 123). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 145). *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Letter*,

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In the year 1375, according to the Mendoza Codex, the first incumbent of this office was elected by popular vote.[227] From that time on, the office remained strictly elective and non-hereditary, in so far as, like the chief officers of the calpulli, the descendants of the former incumbent were preferred to succeed him; provided they were undoubtedly competent.[228] But no rule of succession

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etc." in 1st *Recueil* of Ternaux-Compans, p. 247). *Codex Mendoza* (Plate XVIII): "Tlacatecutli gobernador" also the "Declaracion de la figurado." *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX, pp. 126 and 128). This very remarkable chapter deserves to be closely studied, since it embodies the principles upon which the aborigines of Mexico filled their offices, and the bases of their mode of government. It would be too long to attempt a full analysis of it, and anything short of a careful study would fail to give an adequate conception of its importance. I merely refer to the statements of the celebrated Franciscan in regard to the title under consideration: "porque ya está en la dignidad y estrado, y tiene ya el principal lugar donde le puso nuestro señor? ya le llaman por estos nombres tecutlato, tlacatecutli, por estos nombres le nombran todos los populares . . . ." This passage and the succeeding one: "y alguno de estos tomado de la república por rey y señor," clearly indicate that the title is that of the so-called "King" or "chief of men;" (p. 128); however, he mentions the "tlacatecutli" as one of "dos senadores para lo que toca al regimiento del pueblo." There is an evident contradiction here, which is very similar to the one already noticed in regard to the two sections of the council, in a former note.

[227] *Codex Mendoza* (Plate II). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). In regard to this Chronology, compare the late and highly valuable work of *Don M. Orozco y Berra*, ("*Ojeada sobre la Cronologia Mexicana*" in the "*Biblioteca Mexicana*,"—an Introduction to a reprint of Tezozomoc). The learned author has brought to light many highly valuable facts. That "Acamapichtli" or "Handful of Reeds" was *elected*, is abundantly proven by many authorities, so that detailed quotations are useless.

[228] The fullest report is contained in *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318): "Cuando moria el señor ó rey para elegir otro, juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoque, y tambien los viejos del pueblo que llamaban achcacauhti, y tambien los capitanes soldados viejos de la guerra que llamaban Iauequioques (should be Ian-Tequioques), y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y tambien los Sátrapas que llamaban Tlenamacazques ó papaxaque: todos estos se juntaban en las casas reales, y alli deliberaban y determinaban quien habia de ser señor, y escogian uno de los mas nobles de la linê de los señores antepasados, que fuese hombre valiente y ejercitado en las cosas de guerra, cuado, animoso, y que no supiese beber vino: que fuese prudente y sábio, y que fuese criado en el Calmecac: que supiese bien hablar, y fuese entendido, recatado y animoso, y cuando todos ó los mas concurrian en uno, luego le nombraban por señor. No se hacia esta eleccion por escrutinio ó por votos, sino todos juntos confiriendo los unos con los otros, venian à concertarse en uno." To this should be added the testimony of the same author (Lib. VI, cap. XX, pp. 126-128). *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103): "y es de saber que no ponian hijo del que elexian por rey, ó del que moria, porque como ya tengo dicho, nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados si los señorios, sino por eleccion; y asi, agora fuese hijo, agora fuese hermano, agora primo, como fuese electo por el rey y por los de su consejo para aquel ditado, le era dado, bastaua ser de aquella linguia y pariente cercano; y asi iban siempre los hijos y los hermanos heredándolo, poco á poco, si no esta vez, la otra, ó si no la otra, y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado y señorio, eligiéndolos poco á poco." (Cap. LXIV, p. 488): "porque en aquel tiempo heredábanse los hermanos hijos del rey unos ó otros, aunque de lo que desta hystoria e notado, si auia herencia si sucesion, sino estos aquellos que los electores escogian, como fuese hijo ó hermano del que moria, ó sobrino ó primo, en segundo grado, y este órden me parece que llevan en todas sus elecciones, y asi creo que muchos de los que claman y piden vasallos por herencia los señores, porque en su infidelidad sus padres fueron reyes y señores,

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643 limited the choice to a family, perhaps not even to a kin.[229] Like every other office it had to be *deserved*,[230] and could not be obtained by birth or through craft;[231] neither could it be transmitted through inheritance.[232]

643 The history of this office may be divided into two periods: the
174 first, closing with the formation of the confederacy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century; the second, beginning at that time, and lasting until the final abrogation of the office by the Spaniards, in 1521.[233] During the former period the "chief of men" was, as we have already said, but the executive chieftain

entiendo no piden justicia, porque en su ley antigua mas eran elecciones, en todo género de señores, que no herencias ni sucesiones." The author of the above was a native Mexican, and knew the customs of his people. "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58): "porque como queda referido, nunca heredaron los hijos de los Reyes en los señorios, sino por eleccion daban el Reyno á uno destos quatro principes, á los quales tampoco heredaban sus hijos en estos ditados y cargos; sino que muerto uno escogian otro en su lugar al que les parescia, y con este modo siempre tuvo este Reyno muy suficientes hombres en sus Repúblicas, porque elegian los mas valerosos." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXII, pp. 149 and 143), confirming the mode of election as reported by Sahagun. *Zurita* ("*Rapport, etc.*," p. 34): "Ainsi, ils préféraient laisser apres eux un successeur qui fut capable de bien gouverner, plutôt que d'abandonner cette charge à leurs fils, à leurs petits-fils ou à leurs lieutenants, comme le fit Alexandre le Grand." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, pp. 153 and 154). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356): "Confieso de la Republica Mexicana esta manera de sucesion, y que se elegian algunas veces, sin diferencias, notando solamente las qualidades de las personas, y de estos fue Itzcohuatl, valeroso Rei Mexicano, que por el valor de su persona, y la grandeza de su animo, no se advirtió, ni reparó para eligirle, en que era Hijo de una Esclava; pero no es maravilla, que el bien publico, prefiera al particular." I forbear quoting the tales about the election of sundry Mexican chiefs, as related by the above and other authors.

[229] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI, p. 463), has distinctly formulated the idea: "that the crown should always remain in the house of Acamapitzin." Enough has been said about the Mexican family to dispel the notions of an "Indian dynasty" in Mexico. At best, a succession or perpetuation of the *office* in a certain *Xon or calpulli*, might be conceded. *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 166), *Codice Ramirez*, (p. 58), and *Zurita* (p. 14), make even this somewhat doubtful; so does the election of Itzcohuatl, *as conceived* by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). The origin of "Flinty Snake" is, however, reported in too many different ways to justify any conclusion based on it. The fact, that one of the four leading war-captains should become "chief of men," militates against descent of office in a certain kin. See also *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral de los Indias*," Lib. VI, cap. 24, pp. 429 and 440).

[230] *Sahagun* (Lib. VI. cap. XX; Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). *Acosta* (Lib. VI. cap. 24).

[231] *Las Casas* ("*Hist. apologética*" quoted on p. 134 of Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough's collection): "Quando algun señor moria y dexava muchos hijos, si alguno se alzava en palacio y se queria preferir á los otros, aunque fuese el mayor, no lo consentia el Señor á quien pertenecia la confirmacion, y menos el pueblo. Antes dexavan pasar un año, ó mas de otro, en el qual consideravan bien qual era mejor para regir ó gobernar el estado, y aquel permaneció por señor." *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 18 and 19). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 358 and 359). Further quotations would be useless.

[232] In addition to the authorities named in note 228, I refer to *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI, p. 463), with the restriction mentioned in note 229. "*De l'ordre de Succession, etc.*" (*1st Recueil of Ternaux-Compans*, p. 226).

[233] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 69). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 273). The death of Cuauhtemotzin put an end to the office in the eyes of the Spaniards, although it had

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of the tribe, and the duties of his office, at that time embracing those of the "Cihuacohuatl," have been stated by us already.[234] The confederation had so far wrought a change that he became "general" of its allied warriors,[234] and consequently to a certain extent, an extra-tribal officer residing at Tenuchtitlan, Mexico, because the military supremacy was vested in that tribe. We have previously alluded to the fact that it was the "chief of men" upon whom we have been heretofore accustomed to look as a monarch, even a despot. His office and its attributes have been the mainstays of the notion that a high degree of civilization prevailed in aboriginal Mexico, in so far as its people were ruled after the manner of eastern despotisms.

Not only was this pretended monarch strictly elective, but he could also be deposed for misdemeanor.[235] "Wrathy chief" the younger, better known as the last Montezuma, was removed from office and his successor elected before that ill-starred chieftain's violent death.[236]

been formally abrogated by the capture of that chieftain, to whom no successor was appointed by the whites.

[234] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 417). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII, p. 219), claims for his Tezcucan chief the military command, in the shape of an "imperial" title: "He of Tezcuco was greeted by the title of Acolhua Tecuhtli, as also by that of Chichimecatl-Tecuhtli which his ancestors carried, and which was the distinctive mark of the empire." I believe this claim was disposed of in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 394, notes 9 and 10). See also *Veiancurt* (Part IIa, Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 231): "y remataron la fiesta quedando Izcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que Netzahualcoyotl." See also the tacit acknowledgments by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist: des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, LXXIV, LXXV).

[235] *Veiancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte II, Trat. II, cap. XV, p. 485): "Otras muchas leyes extravagantes que con el instinto natural, con maduro consejo confirmaron y que inviolablemente guardaban, tenian los Mexicanos y los de Guatimala, como el de deponer al rey con junta y consejo de la nobleza."

[236] That "wrathy chief" had lost all his authority during the time Cortés went against Narvaez, is clearly stated in "*Carta Segunda*" (Vol. I, pp. 41 and 42) already, though the fact of his removal from office is not noticed by the Spanish commander himself. It is, however, mentioned by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CXXVI, p. 132). Montezuma said to Olid and to the "Padre de la Merced:" "Yo tengo creido que no aprovecharé cosa ninguna para que cese la guerra, porque ya tienen alzado otro señor . . . ;" and again the Mexicans themselves are reported as answering to Montezuma: "Hacémosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por señor." *Las Casas* ("*Brevissima Relacion*," p. 49), Alvarado: "Ponen un puñal a los pechos al preso Motençuma que se pusiesse à los corredores, y mandasse, que los Yndios no combatiessen la casa, si no que se pusiessen en paz. Ellos no curaron entonces de obedecelle en nada; antes platicauan de elegir otro Señor, y capitan, que guiasse sus batallas." *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XXI, pp. 28 and 29): "Oidas estas voces por los Mexicanos y Tlatilulcas, commençaron entre si á bravear, y maldecir á Mocthezuma diciendo que dice el puto de Mocthezuma y tú bellaco con él? no cesaremos de la guerra; luego comenzaron á dar alaridos y á tirar saetas y dardos ácia donde estaba el que hablaba junto con Mochtheuzuma." This was before Cortés had even captured Narvaez, and shows that at that time the "chief of men" had already lost all authority. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 89). When the other chief who was with Montezuma had spoken:

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643 Among the duties of the "chief of men," we notice first that
644 of residence at the "tecpan" or official house.[237] This is commonly stated to be a royal privilege, whereas it was, in fact, a burthen, as it simply meant that he occupied the position of head of the official household of the tribe.[238] The formation of this household we have elsewhere described.[239] It was a communal group, consisting of the head-war-chief and his family, together with such assistants (and their families, if any), as were required for the transaction of daily business.[240] The "tecpan" is appropriately called: "house of the community," "casa de comunidad," by Fray Juan de Torquemada,[241] and its residents were placed and kept there for the purpose of extending tribal hospitality, and for the furtherance of tribal business and extra-tribal relations. This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who

"un animoso capitan llamado Quauhtemoc de edad de diez y ocho años que ya le querian elegir por Rey dijo en alta voz:" "Qué es lo que dize este bellaco de Motecuzuma, muger de los españoles, que tal se puede llamar, pues con ánimo mugeril se entregó à ellos de puro miedo y asegurándonos nos ha puesto todos en éste trabajo? No le queremos obedecer porque ya no es nuestro Rey, y como à vil hombre le hemos de dar el castigo y pago." *Fragmento No. 2* (*Noticias Relativas á la Conquista*," etc., p. 143): "y ellos le deshonraron y llamaron el Cobarde." *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494): "solió á un Hermano de Motecuhzuma, Señor de Iztapalapan, y los Mexicanos, ni hicieron el Mercado, ni le dexaron bolver á la Prision, y le eligieron por su Caudillo" (Id. Cap. LXX, p. 497). *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIIa. Trat. I. cap. XIV, p. 125, cap. XV, pp. 130, 131). *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. VIII, p. 264). It is very interesting to notice that Torquemada and Herrera use identically the same words. Their versions are the fullest.

[237] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410). *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se mandó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, etc., etc." It is scarcely necessary to prove this at any length, by quotations.

[238] *Tenure of Lands* (p. 409). *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 128): "Estos Tributos eran para el bien publico, para las Guerras, para pagar á los Governadores, i Ministros de Justicia, i Capitanes, porque toda esta Gente comia, de ordinario, en el Palacio del Rey, adonde cada uno tenia su asiento, i lugar conocido, segun su oficio, i Calidad, . . ." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIII, p. 391): "Y despues que habia comido el señor, mandaba á sus pages, ó servidores, que diesen de comer á todos los señores y embajadores que habian venido de algunos pueblos, y tambien daban de comer á los que guardaban el palacio. Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatoe y á los Sátrapas de los ídolos. Asimismo daban de comer á los cantores, á los pages, á todos los del palacio, etc., etc. . . ." *Tezcucanos* (Cap. LXXXII, p. 144). The latter is very positive, mentioning it as a duty.

[239] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410).

[240] The information on this point goes back to *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 2[illegible]): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas personales, los cuales se sentaban, y otros andaban por unas salas y corredores que habian en la dicha casa, etc., etc." The other eye-witnesses are hardly as positive. The exaggerated reports of *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 506), *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296), *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa. Trat. 1°. cap. XXIII, pp. 256, 257, etc.), *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII. cap. IX, pp. 183, 184) and others, simply prove that the "tecpan" was permanently occupied by a numerous household, of which the "chief of men" was the head.

[241] "*Monarquia Indiana*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 46).

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This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who 643
daily transacted affairs at the "tecpan," to carry their victuals 644
to the halls in which their sessions were held and also to wait upon [671]
the foreign official guests (often enemies) who were received in separate, even secluded, quarters.[343] But their main duty con-

[343] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301, as copied in note 238). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 98): "Il y avait dans les palais des souverains des appartements vastes, élevés de sept à huit marches comme nos entre-sol, et destinés à la résidence des juges." (P. 100): "De bonne heure on apportait au palais même les repas des magistrats." This would imply that the food was brought to the "tecpan" from the places where the members of the council ("tecutlatoca") actually resided. This is positively contradicted by *Tezcucuoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXXXII, p. 144), who makes it one of the duties of the "chief of man," "con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales, teniéndolos en mucho, y dándoles la honra que merecen: llamarles cada dia al palacio que común con vos, ganándoles las voluntades, que con ellos está el sostener el imperio, buenos consegeros, buenos amigos, que por ellos os es dado el asiento, silla, estrados, honra, señorio, mando y ser." Such an extensive meal of the tribal officers is also intimated by the same author as having been customary with the Xochimilcas,—a tribe well known as being closely allied to the Mexicans,—where he says (Cap. XVI, pp. 25 and 26): "Las Indias mugeres de las Xochimilcas, lavando muy bien el itzcahuitl, tecuitlatl, y otras cosas salidas de la laguna, y lavado, y limpiamente lleuándolo al palacio de Tecpan para que le comiesen los principales, y comenzandolo á comer estava muy sabrosa, y prosiguiendo en su comida, etc., etc. . . ." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 49), speaking of certain chiefs, says: "Outre ces avantages, le souverain suprême payait une solde à ces chefs, et leur faisait délivrer des rations. Ceux ci se tenaient continuellement dans son palais pour former sa cour." It is to these "chiefs," which were none other than the members of the council, that *Gomara* (Vedia I. p. 342) refers, copying *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I. p. 25), who adds, however: "E al tiempo que traian de comer al dicho Muteczuma, asimismo lo traian á todos aquellos señores tan cumplidamente cuanto á su persona, y tambien á los servidores y gentes destos les daban sus raciones. Habia cotidianamente la dispensa y botilleria abierta para todos aquellos que quisiesen comer y beber." The chaplain has added to Cortés' relation some items tending to increase or enhance the importance of the meals, whereas he has suppressed the above, very important, passage. Compare Vedia: (Tom I. p. 345). His statements agree far better with those of *Bernal Diez* ("*Hist. verd.*" Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87). The fact of the "official household" being entrusted with the dispensation of tribal hospitality is therefore certain. The members of the council ate there also, as proven by *Zurita* (p. 98), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134): "traihaies algo temprano la comida de palacio," and it is implied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332): "Estos Jueces oian de ordinario, en especial de causas criminales, todos los Dias á mañana, y tarde, ... asistian en sus Salas, que las havia en la casa del Rei, particulares, ..." He is even very positive (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296): "No solo tenia este Grande, y Magnifico Emperador casas muy cumplidas, y Salas, y Aposentos grandiosas, para su Morada, para sus Consejos, y Señores, y toda la demas Gente, que llegaba á ser digna de su hospedage, y recibimiento, donde como su misma Persona Real eran servidos, y acariciados . . ," also (Lib. IV, cap. L. p. 459). He also says of "Fasting Wolf," head-chief of Tezcuco (Lib. II, cap. LIII, p. 167): "no fué menos en el gasto de su Casa, asi para su Persona, como para hacer Hospício ordinario á todos los que servian en su Palacio, y otros muchos Señores, que comian en su Casa, cada Dia, . . ." *Petrus Martyr of Anghiera* ("*De nouo Orbe*," etc., Dec. III, cap. X, pp. 231 and 232). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, p. 488), about Tezcuco. In regard to Mexico he is very positive (Lib. V, cap. III, p. 364). Further quotations are useless. I shall merely refer to the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXX) and, for the sake of analogy with the tribes of QQuiché-stock in Guatemala, to the "*Popol Vuh*" (p. 268): "Are qui cuchbal quib ri-oxib chi nim-ha u bi cacmal, chiri cut chi d'aqah-vi d'aqaiya, ..."

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643 644 sisted in preparing and serving every day an extensive meal, of which not only all the members of the household, several hundreds in number, partook, but every one who, either on business or as an idler, happened to be on or about the premises.[243] It was the duty of the "chief of men" himself to open this rude clannish feast,[244] and it pertained to his office to represent the hospitality and dignity of the tribe on such occasions. Hence the peculiar

574 That the delegates from foreign tribes were quartered at the "tecpan" is plainly stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIX, p. 308): "Habia otra sola que se llamaba Coacalli: en este lugar se aposentaban todos los señores forasteros, que eran amigos ó enemigos del señor. . . . . ." ; "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 73): "Vinieron á estas fiestas hasta los propios enemigos de los Mexicanos, como eran los de Michhuacan y los de la provincia de Tlaxcala, á los quales hizo aposentar el Rey y tratar como á su misma persona, y hazerles tan ricos miradores desde donde viessen las fiestas, como los suyos;" *Durán* (Cap. XL, p. 317, cap. XLIII. p. 347): "Fasting child" of Tezcuco "aposentándole en un lugar que ellos llaman Teccalli, que quiere decir, palacio Real." "Luego llegó el rey de Tacuba con todos sus principales y señores . . . . á quien no menos honra y cortesia se hizo que al de Tezcuco, poniéndole en el mismo palacio, junto á Neçualpilli." The delegates from Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula were: "Llevados al palacio real, donde les tenian aparejado un retraimiento oculto y escondido," and "fueron aposentados en el mismo lugar" those of Michhuacan and others (pp. 350 and 351), also (Cap. LIV, pp. 428 and 429, and LVIII, p. 450, etc.). These authors are also fully confirmed by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXIV. pp. 106 and 107; cap. LXVIII, p. 111; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 254, speaking of Tezcuco). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 534 and 535). The latter distinguishes between the "calpixca" and "el palacio," stating that delegates were quartered at the former. But since he himself (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48) calls the "tecpan" casa del comun"—a name given by him to the "calpixca"—and we know from *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIX, p. 307) that the "calpixcacalli" was a hall of the "tecpan," there can be no doubt as to the fact, that the "tecpan" was also the place where delegates were received, lodged and fed, at the expense of the tribe.

When, in 1537, the Bishop Las Casas sent certain traders with full instructions and "implements for conversion," to the Indians of "Tuzulutlan" or of the "Tierra de Guerra" *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chiapa*," etc., etc., Lib. III, cap. XV, p. 135): Y cómo en aquel tiempo no auia mesones ni casas de comunidad, todos los forasteros que llegauan al lugar acudian á pasar en casa del señor, que los recebia humanamente, hospedaua y daua de comer conforme la calidad de la persona, y el forastero reconocia el bien recibido, ó que auia de recibir, poniendo á los pies del señor algun presente conforme á su posibilidad." The traders, therefore, "took lodgings" at the official house,—the tecpan,—and staid there (as we may read p. 136 of the Friar's history) until they had performed their work of opening the country to the preaching of the gospel. The comparison with Cortés, being also quartered at the "tecpan" of Mexico, is indeed striking.

[243] Descriptions of this meal are so abundant, that it is hardly worth while to refer to them in detail. I would only call particular attention to the statements of *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 35), *Bernal diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87, of Vedia II). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista de Mexico*," Col. de Doc's. II, p. 561). These statements, made by eye-witnesses, if viewed in their proper light and compared with those of subsequent writers, fully corroborate the views of *L. H. Morgan* ("*Montezuma's Dinner*" in *N. American Review*, 1876), that this meal was but an official communal one, given by the official household of the tribe, as part of its daily duties and obligations.

[244] I cannot refrain here from recalling the description of the meal given to the Clan McIvor by its chief "Fergus McIvor, Vich Ian Vohr,"—so graphically pictured by Sir

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earnestness of his manner which eye-witnesses have mistaken for the haughtiness of a tyrant.[345] 643 644

These duties not only necessitated official residence at the "official house," but even permanent stay there, unless important business required the chief's absence.[346] Such absence, however, could only be justified by official duties, and then the "chief of men" had to appear with all the tokens and emblems of his rank.[347] If otherwise, he might indeed, go about, but he lost all claim to official recognition.[348] Hence the statements are true in the main, however exaggerated in detail, that great decorum was observed towards the "chief of men" whenever he appeared in public, that he was addressed with marked deference, and that a certain pomp surrounded him on such occasions.[349] These occasions were, of course, opportunities for the display of Indian

Walter Scott in "W[illegible]ey." As to the part played by the "chief of men" see particularly *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 98, Vedia II).

[345] This particularly earnest mien is noticed by all authors. It is strictly Indian, and found among the rudest tribes.

[346] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI. p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, sino á cosas muy necesarias y forzosas." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 76): "De ordinario estaba retirado saliendo muy pocas vezes á vista del pueblo."

[347] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. X, p. 291). It is distinctly asserted by the former that, what he has called "corona real" could only be worn by the "chief of men" and the "snake-woman." This head-dress, very appropriately termed by the Spaniards, "half mitre" ("media mitra") is figured by many authors of native origin. See *Codex Mendoza* (plates II to XIV, also LXX), *Durán* (Láminas 2 to 14, also 16. 1s. to 24 etc.), *Codice Ramirez* (plates 4 and 5). It is called "Xiuhuitzolli" by the Mexicans. See also *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 30 and IIa, p. 109) from "Xiuitl" turquoise or green stone, and is totally different from the head-dress worn by the "chief of men" in the field. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 128). [293]

[348] This explains the stories about the "incognito" ramblings of "Fasting Wolf" of Tezcuco, so frequently repeated after the Ixtlilxochitls, as well as that of the arrest of "Wrathy Chief" (the last Montezuma) for appropriating corn out of a field. The latter tale is beautifully told by *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 451, 452) after the best authorities.

[349] No author has been more prolific in pictures of pomp, regal wealth and magnificence, than *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. LXXXVIII, XCI and XCII, etc.). Most of the later writers have placed undue reliance on his statements, assuming that the truthfulness with which he "gave vent" to his own individual feelings and impressions, was the result of cool, impassionate observation. Anyone who has read attentively (and not merely glanced over at random for the purpose of obtaining quotations) his protracted "Mémoires," will become convinced that he is, in fact, one of the most unreliable eye-witnesses, as far as general principles are concerned. In every detail where his personal feelings are not involved or by which, even at the late date when he wrote, they were not involuntarily aroused, he is much more trustworthy than when he takes special pride or pains to be very explicit. Thus, it is curious to compare his description of "Wrathy Chief's" reception of Cortés with that given subsequently by the "Marquis del Valle" himself, ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 25). It was doubtlessly the greatest effort at pomp and display ever attempted by the Mexicans, since they went to meet and greet the most incom- [114]

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643 644 finery, when a number of articles were used to deck the "chief of men" as his official insignia, but the custom of speaking to

114 personalities beings ever heard of by them. It is interesting to place both versions side by side. The translation is my own and I therefore beg for indulgence.

Cortés. Second Dispatch.

"At that place more than a thousand principal people came to greet and to speak to me, all citizens of the said city, and all dressed alike and according to their custom very richly, and when they [576] came to speak to me, every one of them made, before coming up, a particular ceremony, customary among them, which consisted in each one of them putting his hand on the ground, kissing it; and in this manner I waited almost an hour until each one had made his ceremony." ". . . . . After we had passed that bridge, this lord Mutecuzuma came to receive us with about two hundred Lords, all barefooted and dressed in other livery or manner of clothing, also very rich after their custom, and more so than that of the others. They came in two processions, closely hugging the walls of the street which is very broad, fine, and straight, so that from one end of it the other end may be seen, and two-thirds of a league ("legua") in length, with very good buildings on both sides, dwellings as well as temples. And the said Mutecuzuma went in the middle of the street with two chiefs, one to his right and the other to his left. One of these was the same one who, as I said, had come to speak to me in the litter, and the other was the said Mutecuzuma's brother, lord of that city of Iztapalapa which I had left that day. All three were dressed alike, except Mutecuzuma who wore soles to his feet, whereas the other two chiefs had none and supported him by his arms. . . . . ."

Bernal Díaz de Castillo. Cap. 88.

"When we reached the place where another pathway (dyke) branched off to Cuyoacan, ... many principals and caciques came, covered with very rich mantles, with ornaments and liveries, those of one cacique different from those of another, and the dykes were filled by them. These great caciques were sent by the great Montezuma ahead to receive us, and as they arrived before Cortés they bid us welcome, touching the ground and kissing it in token thereof." "Thus we were detained a good while, and from there the Cacamecan, chief of Tezcuco, and the chief of Iztapalapa, and the chief of Tacuba and the chief of Cuyoacan went forward to meet the great Montezuma who approached in a rich litter, accompanied by other great Lords had caciques holding vassals. And when we neared Mexico, where there were other small towers, the great Montezuma descended from his litter, and these great caciques took hold of his arms, advancing with him under a marvellously rich canopy of green plumes with large golden ornaments, much silver, and pearls and stones of "Chalchihuis" suspended from it as fringes, and very dazzling to the eye. The great Montezuma was very richly dressed after their custom, with cotarns on his feet (as they are called), with golden soles and much jewelry over them. The four lords who came with him were also richly dressed, though not in the same manner as when they had come out to receive us,—as if they changed dress on purpose under way. Besides these Lords, there came other great caciques who bore the canopy over their heads, and other many Lords preceded the great Montezuma sweeping the ground before him and placing rugs for him to step upon. None of these Lords ventured to look him in the face, but all had their eyes cast down, except those of his relatives and nephews who supported him by the arms.

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him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular 643 644
respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), 114
simply says: "The said Mutecznma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Díaz is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 400); from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcalteca ("*Art of War*," p. 153, note 263), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Díaz de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw *more* of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to magnify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of his troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). 727
Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecamachalco and 114
Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlalpiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuacuilitain,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 68), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Mazatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhnetleques, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipilles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenuchtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the *Matlatzincas*;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with groans, and wails of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 339). "They went in pro- 114
cession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in 576

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643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihnacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at *them*. See *Bernal Diaz* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 470). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 385) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 231), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1789, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add farther quotations.

[251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 337). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57,
764 cap. LXIX, p. 115, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 6, Trat I°).

[252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hizieronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 361 and 362): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las exequias conforme á persona tal se debian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 456): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes avian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 80 and 81), as late as 1733 or 1734, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

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again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also 643
dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, 644
more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed 644
many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially [202]
did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of 643
the community," that is the place where the business of the entire 644
social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was trans- 344
acted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don* 764
J. F. Ramirez ("*Durán*," p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 65). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96, also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopædia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 65): "Puso así mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 109).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), which is very interesting in a general way.

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643
644 was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-
314 ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal Interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan.[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council [202] clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 325; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 88; cap. LXI. pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII. p. 109): "Vuelto á Tlacaelel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que abiasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 133, 134 and 138; cap. XXI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 96; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 46, cap. XXVIII, p. 47, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 59, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 154, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 158). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 168, cap. XXI, p. 182, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).

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back to the "chief of men."[258] In case delegates arrived from other tribes, they had to be provided with lodgings. The "tecpan" was the place reserved for that purpose, and there they were accordingly quartered. They, consequently, first came into contact with the "chief of men," who was, officially, "mine host" for them, and who acted as intermediate between them and the supreme tribal authorities.[259] 643

No more striking illustrations of the foregoing can be found than the reception, by the Mexicans, of Cortés and his troops, at the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The house where the Spaniards were quartered was the "tecpan" or official house of the tribe, vacated by the official household for that purpose.[260] In sallying forth to 643 574

In addition to these authorities I add in a general way, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 587). This author has evidently either copied from, or at least used the same sources as *Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129). My learned and highly esteemed friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, ascribes to the statements of both authors "a common origin" i. e. "Tabla de Correspondencias," (p. 36). This common source, however, is found in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 118 and 119). From whom he, in turn, derived his information, has not as yet been ascertained.

[258] See the authors quoted above. Also *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 502).

[259] This follows from the facts already proven in regard to the duties of the "chief of men" as head of the official household. I would particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XCVII, pp. 172 and 173).

[260] "*Codice Ramírez*" (p. 87): "y con esto el gran Motecuczuma, por el mismo órden que viso se volvió con el capitan Don Hernando Cortés, al qual y á los suyos mandó que aposentassen en las casas reales, donde se les dió muy buen recaudo á cada uno, segun las calidades de las diversas gentes que iban con el capitan . . . . . El dia siguiente el capitan Don Hernando Cortés hizo juntar á Motecuczuma, etc., etc. . . . . en una pieza que en la casa habia muy á propósito para esto." . . . . ; (p. 88): "Porque acabada de hazer esta plática el buen capitan Don Hernando Cortés, los soldados saquearon las casas reales, y las demas principales donde sentian que habia riquezas . . . . . En este tiempo recelándose el Marquis no resultasse desto algun inconveniente prendió al gran Rey Motecuczuma, poniéndole con grillos, y á buen recaudo en las casas reales junto á su mismo aposento . . . . ;" (p. 89): "comenzaron á pelear con los españoles con tal furia que los hizieron retraer á las casas reales donde estaban aposentados." This is plain enough. It is commonly stated that the Spaniards were quartered at a great house belonging formerly to "Wraiby Chief's" father, "Face in the Water." The anonymous "*Fragmento No. 2*" (p. 139) has the following: "apartando la gente hasta que llegaron al palacio Real que habia sido de su padre de Motecuzuma Axayacatzin, y entrando en una gran sala en donde tenia Motecuzuma su estado, se sentó y á su derecha mano á Cortés, y hizo señas Cacama que se apartasen todos y diesen órden en aposentar los cristianos y amigos que traian en aquellos grandes palacios . . . . ." This anonymous fragment is evidently of Tescucan origin. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. XVI, p. 24): "Luego D. Hernando Cortés tomó por la mano á Mocthecuzuma, y se fueron ambos juntos á la par para las casas reales;" (Cap. XVII, p. 25): "De que los Españoles llegaron á las casas reales con Mocthecuzoma, luego le detuvieron consigo;" (Cap. XXI, p. 28): "Como comenzó la guerra entre los Indios y las Españoles, estos se fortalecieron én las casas reales con el mismo Mocthecuzoma . . . . ." (Id. p. 29, Cap. XXIII, p. 31, etc., etc.). These statements are very positive, and the less suspicious, since they represent traditions from three different sources, all evidently furnished by eye-witnesses, namely: *Mexicans* ("Cod. Ramirez"),

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643 574 greet the newcomers at the dyke, "Wrathy chief" acted simply, as the representative of the tribal hospitality, extending unusual

Tuscucuzcan (Fragment No. 2) and *Tlatilulcan* (Sahagun). The statements by Spanish eye-witnesses are of doubtful authority in this case, since none of them knew, or could know anything positive; and the pueblo was subsequently, so utterly destroyed that even its site could hardly be recognized. Nevertheless, the "old and new palaces of Montezuma" have become household words.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to compare the reports of eye-witnesses with the above quotations from aboriginal sources. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, (p. 25): "y tomé á seguir por ó la calle en la forma ya dicha. fasta llegar á una muy grande y hermosa casa, que él tenia para nos aposentar, bien aderezada." The house where "Wrathy Chief" staid with his household, appears to have been some distance from the Spanish quarters, since we read (p. 27): "dejando buen recando en las encrucijadas de las calles"—thus showing that crossings intervened. The following, however, is very plain, if not decisive ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 76): "E porque lo sintiesen mas, este dia fice poner fuego á estas casas grandes de la plaza, donde la otra vez que nos echaron de la ciudad, los españoles y yo estábamos aposentados; que eran tan grandes. que un principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio se podian aposentar en ellas; y otras que estaban junto á ellas, que aunque algo menores eran muy mas frescas y gentiles, y tenia en ellas Muteczuma todos los linajes de aves que en estas partes habia." This remark about the "principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio" evidently agrees with his previous statement concerning the household of "Wrathy Chief" ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas principales, los cuales se sentaban . . . . . Y los servidores destos, y personas de quien se acompañaban henchian dos ó tres grandes patios, y la calle . . . ." Consequently, Cortés himself plainly confirms the native authors above quoted. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 579): "é hizo aposentar al marqués en un patio donde era la recámara de los idolos, é en este patio habia salas asaz grandes donde cupieron toda la gente del dicho marqués é muchos indios de los de Tascala é Churula que se habien llegado á los españoles para los servir." This eye-witness, therefore, does not mention either of the two "houses of Montezuma." The father of the tale is found in *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Vedia II, Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84): "E volvamos á nuestra entrada en México, que nos llevaron á aposentar á unas grandes casas, donde habia aposentos para todos nosotros, que habian sido de su padre del gran Montezuma, que se decia Axayaca, adonde en aquella sazon tenia el gran Montezuma sus grandes adoratorios de Idolos . . . . ."

Thus Cortés, who is the principal eye-witness in the case, unmistakably states that the Spaniards were quartered at the "tecpan." Of the other two conquerors, only the last mentions the Spanish quarters as being the "house of Montezuma's father," whereas Tápia is silent on the subject. Taken in connection with the assertions of the native writers, the statements of Cortés become of great weight.

It is but natural to expect (and the fact needs no proof) that the subsequent writers have followed either one or the other of the two versions. After having transcribed the letters of Cortés, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 560) mentions also: "aposentó allí é á los christianos, en unas casas que avian seydo de su padre," which statement he gathers from other conquerors (p. 494) whose names he fails to give; (Cap. XLVII, p. 567) he calls the said house "la morada de su abuelo." I forbear further abstracts.

[344] Fortunately an official document of early date informs us of the exact situation of these two buildings. It is the "*Merced á Hernan Cortés de Tierras inmediatas á México, y Solares en la Ciudad*" (Col. de Doc's Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 28 and 29). It bears date, Barcelona, 23 July, 1529, and conveys to Cortés: "los solares é casas son la casa nueva que era de Montezuma, que alinda por la una parte con la plaza mayor é la calle de Iztapalapa. é por la otra la calle de Pero Gonzalez de Truxillo, é de Martin López. carpintero; è por la otra la calle en donde están las casas de Juan Rodriguez, albañil; é por la otra la calle pública que pasa por las espaldas: è la casa vieja que era

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courtesies to unusual, mysterious, and therefore dreaded guests. 643 Leaving these in possession of the "tecpan," he retired to another 574 of the large communal buildings surrounding the central square, where the official business was, meanwhile, transacted.[261] His return to the Spanish quarters, even if compulsory, had less in it to strike the natives than is commonly believed. It was a re-installation in old quarters, and therefore the "Tlatocan," itself, felt no hesitancy in meeting there again, until the real nature of the dangerous visitors was ascertained, when the council gradually withdrew from the snare, leaving the unfortunate "chief of men" in Spanish hands.[262]

We have qualified the position of the "Tlacatecuhtli" towards 643 the council as intermediate between tribe and confederacy. In the latter body, he was but the general-in-chief and had no other duties or power.[263] Therefore, when Cortés seized the head-chief of Tezcuco, "Wrathy chief" had no authority to assure the Spaniards, although they called upon him for that purpose.[264] He ex-

de Montezuma, donde viris, que alinda por la frontera con la plaza mayor é solares de la iglesia, y la placeta; por un lado la calle nueva de Tacuba, é por otro la calle que va de la plaza mayor á S. Francisco; por las espaldas la calle donde están las casas de Rodrigo Rangel, é de Pero Sanchez Farfán, é de Francisco de Terrazas, è de Zamudio." [344]

From these data it is easy to recognise in the present National Palace the site of the so-called "new houses of Montezuma," and in the buildings facing the "Empedradillo" the "Old houses." Both faced the central square of the pueblo.

The so-called "old houses" were also immediately in front of the central "house of God." It is said by Tezozomoc (Cap. LXX, p. 117): "Este templo y cerro estaba puesto adonde fueron las casas de Alonzo de Avila y Don Luis de Castilla, hasta las casas de Antonio de la Mota, en cuadro." Now according to *Icazbalceta* ("Los tres Diálogos," etc., notes to Sec'd Dialogue, p. 218): "La casa de Alonzo de Avila estaba en la le calle del Reloj, esquina á la de Sta Teresa la Antigua." Consequently the "old houses" were indeed those which Bernal Diez mentions as "where Montezuma at that time had his great adoratories." Now these "old houses" were, as we have seen, the "tecpan" or official house of the Mexican tribe. This again fully sustains our proposition that the Spaniards were quartered there, and that the official household had vacated it for that purpose.

[261] This fully explains the designation by, "New houses of Montezuma" mentioned in the preceding note.

[262] That the council met at the Spanish quarters, is plainly stated by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, pp. 95 and 96, Cap. XCVII, p. 98). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVII, p. 569). That the members of the council gradually withdrew, is equally certain, from the fact that a successor to "Wrathy Chief" was elected, while the latter was still alive and a captive of the Spaniards.

[263] *Durán* (Cap. XLIII, p. 347). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 11): "Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tacuba et de Tezcuco pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l'un d'eux ne se mêlait jamais du gouvernement des autres;" Id. (pp. 92 and 95). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 156). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 148). The two latter authors evidently have followed Zurita. See also note 4.

[264] See note 4. *Fragmento No.* 2, in "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (pp. 142 and 143).

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643 ercised no command over the other tribes except in the field. Still, his position, as confederate leader, was important enough to make the right to invest him with that dignity one of the conditions of the agreement under which the confederacy was formed. Hence the two head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan are frequently mentioned as "electors" of the "chief of men." But their presence at the inauguration of every new officer of that rank did not imply the right to control his election.[265] It was a mere act of courtesy which the Mexicans returned, as often as their associates performed the same ceremony,[266] with this difference, however, that in the case of the Mexican chieftain, the two confederates appeared personally as being thereafter his military subordinates.

The military organization of the ancient Mexicans has already been described elsewhere,[267] and, so far, we have nothing to add to that picture. In it, as well as in social organization, the kin formed the basis, and since we have found, in the autonomous kin, that the military chieftains were the officers of justice, we are justified in looking for the officers of *tribal* justice among the chiefs of highest grade in the tribal forces. The "Cihuacohuatl" as ex-officio war-chief of the tribe could not, as we have already seen, officiate in that capacity; but the "chief of men" was very distinctly clothed with the power to punish, even to such an extent as to impart to it the character of arbitrariness and despotism. If, however, we examine closely the instances reported, they appear to limit themselves: —

1. To cases of insubordination, unfaithfulness, or treachery within the official household:[268]

[265] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 417). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 15): "Si le souverain de Mexico mourait sans héritier, les principaux chefs lui choisissaient un successeur dont l'élection était confirmée par les chefs supérieurs de Tezcoco et Tacuba." "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 66, 67 and 72). The chiefs, of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, are mentioned as "electors," but stress is placed only on the fact, that they "*crowned* the King." This evidently means investiture only. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII and XXXIV). Although very full of details, he plainly avoids mentioning the chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan as taking part in the election (p. 318). *Durán* (Cap. XXXII, p. 255, XXXIX, pp. 302 and 303, Cap. XLI, p. 225).

[266] *Zurita* (p. 16). *Gomara* ("*Conquista de México*," Vedia I, p. 435). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CI. p. 179).

[267] "*Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans*," 10th Report Peabody Museum, 1877.

[268] Therefore the recommendation, by the "Cihuacohuatl," to the newly appointed servants and runners in the official household: "and behold that, where you enter, there are many valuable women, and also slaves, watch that you do not go astray, for at once you will be destroyed without the knowledge of any living soul . . . . ." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 145). It is evident that the "chief of men" had, in such

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2. To cases of military insubordination, or treachery:[269] 643

3. To instances of great importance, demanding sudden action in order to avoid public danger.[270]

cases, the right of summary punishment, as well as in the case of unfaithful stewards or disobedient subordinates in general. Compare, on the same subject, *Durán* (Cap. LIII. pp. 419 and 420). The fact, that the "Cihuacohuatl" spoke to the young men, further shows that the exercise of such extreme power was known to, and sanctioned by, the council.

[269] Quotations are useless, the necessity for such a power being too plain. But it is well, here, to state that among much ruder tribes even, and where the democratic element was carried to its greatest extremes, arbitrary punishment by war-captains sometimes occurred. Thus it is asserted that, at the bloody engagement of Point Pleasant, Va., 10 of October, 1774, "Cornstalk," the great Shawnee war-chief, tomahawked one near him who had "by trepidation and reluctance to proceed to the charge, evinced a dastardly disposition." *Alex S. Withers* ("*Chronicles of Border Warfare*," Chap. VII, p. 129). It explains also the summary punishment of traitors and deserters, as well as of those who assumed the dress of the prominent war-chiefs during a raid or an engagement.

[270] The incarceration of runners or messengers may be (and has been to me in conversation by an aged friend) brought up in proof of the belief, that the "chief of men" had a despotic power. Instances of that kind are related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CVI. p. 189). This is the truly admirable description of the first news brought to México of the approach of European ships. It is too lengthy to be inserted here. A runner from the coast carried the news, and "Wrathy Chief" said to Petlacalcatl, take him to the cell made of logs (probably split logs, "tablon") and look after him. This was done to keep the news secret until the matter could be investigated, and was, therefore, a preliminary measure of policy. But, aside from the fact that the isolation rather than incarceration (since the latter would have been death) of a news-carrier was a matter of policy, and as such a *duty* of the "chief of men," it was also an established custom among the Mexicans. This is stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVII, pp. 327 and 328): "Habiendo cautivado á alguno, luego los mensageros que se llamaban tequipantitlanti, venian á dar las nuevas al rey de aquellos que habian cautivado á sus enemigos, y de la victoria que habian obtenido los de su parte . . . . . y el señor los respondia diciéndoles: "Seais muy bien venidos, huélgome de oir esas nuevas, sentad y esperad, porque me quiero certificar mas de ellas, y asi los mandaba guardar, y si hallaba que aquellas nuevas eran mentirosas, hacialos matar." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 536): "y que no le dejasen salir de Palacio hasta tener segundo Correo, que confirmase aquella buena nueva, que él havia traido. *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa, Trat. II°, cap. II, p. 381), almost a textual copy of the preceding author, as might be expected.

Among the many tales of prodigies, supernatural warnings, witchcraft, etc., etc., [787] connected with the months and years immediately preceding the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, there is, also, one bearing a particularly pure Indian character. See *Durán* (Cap. LXVIII, pp. 524–530). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CVI, p. 188 and 189). "Wrathy Chief," alarmed by mysterious prognostics, called upon all the old men, women, and the medicine-men, to report what they *might dream* or *had dreamt* within a certain lapse of time. It is well known what high value is attached by the Indians in general to *dreams*. There can be no doubt that, with the prevailing notion that dreams contained important and solemn premonitions, warnings from a higher source (*Sahagun* Lib. V), the request to communicate such dreams for the benefit of the tribe, to the "chief of men," was very natural. According to *Motolinia* ("*Hist. de los Indios de la Nueva-España*," Col. de Doc., Trat. II, cap. VIII, p. 130), certain men were particularly expert in explaining and interpreting dreams, so much so, that they were generally applied to for such purposes. If now, as the story in question has it, the said people refused to comply with such requests, the "chief of men" might, of his own accord,

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643 The power to appoint, which the "chief of men" enjoyed within the limits of the official household, implied, to the same extent, the power to remove and to punish. It was not even necessary to refer such cases to the action of the council.

In punishing summarily acts of insubordination, or of treachery, when committed during warfare, the "chief of men" acted as commander-in-chief and in strict compliance with the duties of that office.

Lastly, a certain amount of discretionary power was necessarily vested in the chief commander for the public good. Placed at the "tecpan" to "watch, guard and protect" the tribe and the confederacy, it was necessary to empower the "Tlacatecuhtlli" in cases of great urgency, to act "on the spur of the moment." It was not a privilege of royalty or a despotic right, but an obligation resulting from the nature of the office.

643 692 Consequently the "chief of men" was not, properly, the executioner of tribal justice either. This duty devolved upon other war-chiefs of lower rank, who, although superior in command to the leaders of the kins, when on the war-path, never otherwise interfered with the duties of the latter, any more than tribal jurisdiction conflicted with that of the autonomous kins. These chiefs were the "four leaders of the four great quarters of Mexico Tenuchtitlan,"[271] or, as we have already intimated, of the four *phratries* into which the twenty kins had again agglomerated for religious and military purposes. These four "great quarters," named respectively, "Moyotlan," "Teopan," "Aztacalco" and "Cuepopan,"[272] were not, as the current notion has it, so many governmental subsections, or wards of aboriginal Mexico. Shells

even treat them as traitors, and secure their persons to prevent injury to the public cause. All this, of course, provided the story be true!

The cases where secrecy is enjoined under penalty of death, are so plain that no illustration is needed. The "chief of men" had the right, in preparing general business, to give secret orders, to detail particular persons on secret missions. Anyone divulging the secrets entrusted to him, committed an act of treason, and therefore it was necessary that he should be chastised on the spot and on the spur of the moment, to obviate further mischief.

[271] "*Art of War*" (pp. 120, 121 and 122, especially notes 97, 99 and 101).

103 [272] The formation of these geographical circumscriptions I have already explained. The names can, in part, be etymologized. They are respectively: "Moyotlan" or place of the mosquito, from "moyotl," mosquito (*Molina* II. p. 58); "Teopan" or place of God, from "Teotl," God; "Aztacalco," "place of the house of the heron," from "Aztatl," heron (*Molina* I, p. 65 and II, p. 10), and "calli," house; "Cuepopan" or "place of the dyke," from "cuepotli," dyke (*Molina* I, p. 23, II, p. 26). All of which are, respectfully, submitted.

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of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic cluster.[273] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

[273] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Aztacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," etc., p. 124). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "councillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli"—"barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 494 and 496) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Mechuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 103 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpaneca, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 236) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 498), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con-

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701 office was, of course, elective and non-hereditary, and the election took place in the same manner and (sometimes, at least) at the same time as that of the "chief of men."[276] In case the latter was unable to lead the confederate forces on the war-path, and the "Cihuacohuatl" himself was not available either, then the posts of chief commander as well as of leader of the Mexicans proper, might be filled by one or the other of them.[277] This, however, was always a temporary situation, and there appears to have been no difference of rank between the four, since the Mexican

[643] cerning "Ezhuahuacatl," Cap. XXII, p. 189): "y luego Tlacaellel, principe de la milicia, mandó en nombre del rey que fuesen apercibidos, etc., etc. . . ." "Llamó el rey á un señor que se llamaua Cuauhnochtli y hizolo general de toda la moltitud diciéndole que Tlacaellel era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada, dándole todas las exenciones y autoridad que semejante oficio requeria, ..." (Cap. XXXIV, p. 297, etc., etc.). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVII. p. 27), Tlacaellel, subsequently elected "Cihuacohuatl," was then only "Tlacochcalcatl," and he is, at that time, merely mentioned as "uno de ellos de los capitanes." Still (p. 28) he appears as "capitan general de ellos." (Cap. XXII, p. 34): "Respondió Tlacatlelizin y dijo: quiero dar aviso á Tlacatecatl. y á Tlacochcalcatl, para que publiquen luego en toda esta república esta guerra por los varrios, . . ." (Cap. XXVIII, p. 43): "mandaron el rey Moctezuma y Zihuacoatl, á los capitanes Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Cuauhnochtli. y Tilancalqui, que luego al tercer dia se apercibiesen y pusiesen en camino con sus armas y vitualias," etc., etc. This entire "Crónica" bristles with facts of that kind, too numerous to quote. The fact, amply proven heretofore, that the "Zihuacoatl" was also ex-officio head-war-chief of the tribe of Mexico, is alone sufficient to establish the inferiority of the four others. See "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67).

[276] In evidence of this there is the entire series of specifically Mexican authors, starting with the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 57): "Primeramente ordenaron que siempre se guardasse este estatuto en la corte Mexicana, y es que despues de electo Rey en ella, eligiessen quatro señores, hermanos ó parientes mas cercanos del mismo Rey, los quales tuviessen ditados de principes: los ditados que entonces dieron á estos quatro al primero fue . . . (follow the four names and titles). . . ." The same version has been adopted with more or less variation, by *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 102 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap XIX, pp. 75 and 76). Besides, there is the independent version of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap, XXX and XXXI, pp. 318 and 319), who is even too positive, stating, or at least leading to the inference, that at every election of a "chief of men," the four offices were also newly filled, and invested at the same time. This appears to be a misconception, explained by the Codice Ramirez and by Durán.

It may be in place here to refer to a different version, which reduces the number of these assistants to the "chief of men" to two only. We find it in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 442): "Las apelaciones iban á otros dos Jueces mayores, que llaman tecuhtlato, y que siempre solian ser parientes del señor . . . ." and also in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 95). By reference, however, to *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX), it will be seen that the celebrated Franciscan speaks of only two of the four which he mentions (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). These two are "Tlacochcalcatl" and "Tlacatecatl" ("Tlacochtecutli" and "Tlacatecutli" by abbreviation), whom he again calls (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311) "principal captains, of which there were always two," while (Lib. IX. cap I, p. 356) he calls the same, "governors of Tlatilulco." The Tlatilulcan tradition appears very plainly in the writings of the learned friar, which writings have wielded such a vast influence in literature on aboriginal Mexico.

[277] "*Art of War*" (p. 122), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311), *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 189), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494).

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701 had the right to appoint the assistants whom they needed, beyond sending out subordinates, or rather detailing them on particular erranda. As to watchmen in the market-places,—the officers who circulated about preserving peace and order there—they were placed at their posts by the tribe. But it was their duty to report to the chief executive officers, nay, to apply to them for assistance, whenever anything happened which required the exercise of higher power. On the other hand, these subalterns obeyed their orders in the interests of tribal business.

701 643 We have already noticed that, among the four, "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" is most distinctly mentioned as judicial executioner, even prominently before the others. But this officer again is lost sight of at the election of a "chief of men." Then another looms up in his place. This is the "man of the black house," Tlilancalqui. It appears that each of the three first-named positions namely: "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacateccatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," was, together with the last-named "Tlilancalqui," a preparatory stage for the office of "chief of men."[262] "One of these four had to be elected king" says the Codex Ramirez.[263] While it is difficult to

[262] This statement rests upon the authority of the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58), which document agrees almost verbally with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103). Aside from *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV) and *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), who both, though rather vaguely, confirm the above, there are other indications confirming it. For instance *Codex Mendoza* (plate XI, interpretation or rather text): "Ytes el dicho Tiçoçicatzi fue por estremo valiente, y veliçoso en armas, y antes que subcediese en el dicho señorio, hizo por su persona en las guerras cosas hazañosas de valentia, por donde alcanzó tomar dictado de Tlacatecatl, que tenia por titulo de gran calidad y estado, y en el punto de que ex vacando dicho señorio, el tal punto y grado subcedia luego en el dicho señorio, lo qual assimismo sus antecesores hermanos altras contenidos, y padre, y agüelo tuviéron el mismo curso de los titulos y dictado, por donde subiéron à ser señores de México." Again (plate LXVIII, tercera partida), no difference is made between "Tlacatecatl" and "Tlacochcalcatl;" both are called "valientes" and "capitanes de los exercitos Mexicanos." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172): "y que Axayacatl, Hijo de Tepoçomoctli (Señor Mexicano) era Hombre Valeroso, y de mui gran fuerte, para el Reinado, fue de comun consentimiento, pasado à esta Dignidad, de la que tenia de Tlacuchcalcatl, y Capitan General, y hecho Rei." (Cap. LXIII, p. 186): "Ahuitzotl, Hermano del Difunto, y de su Antecesor Axayacatl, era Tlacatecatl, ó Capitan General de los Mexicanos. . . ." Thus he acknowledges that both Tlacatecatl and Tlacochtecatl were alike eligible. It is but natural to read similar assertions in *Velasquez* (Parte IIa, Trat. Iº, cap. XVI, p. 305, cap. XVIII, p. 320), and *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 263, cap. XXII, p. 257). This author speaks of the different "chiefs of men" having been "generals in chief" of the Mexicans. Now since (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494) he states that the "Tlacochcalcatl" was the "principal" among the war-captains, it follows, that the chiefs named by him had all attained that rank. But we know that other authorities frequently give them another title also, therefore the conclusion is but natural that there were *several* head-chiefs for military purposes, etc., from whom the "chief of men" might be chosen.

[263] "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (p. 58).

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conceive why the captain "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" should *not* be one 701
of the privileged four, it is easy to understand why the "man of 643
the black house" should be of that number. The dark house, "Casa Lobrega" of Nuñez de la Vega, in Chiapas, plays a conspicuous part in the worship, or "medicine" of the aborigines of Mexico and Central America.[284] The "man of the black, or dark house," was therefore an intermediate between "medicine" and tribal government. As such, he appears to occupy a stage preparatory to the high office of "chief of men," and represents, together with the "satraps and papaoaqui" named by Sahagun,[285] the element of medicine or worship in the election of that officer. "Tlilancalqui" is occasionally, though rarely, mentioned as a war-chief,[286] but missions of importance appear to have been intrusted to him; and Joseph de Acosta calls the three other chiefs "warriors,"[287] to his exclusion: and finally, he is made a confidential advisor in times of great public danger. This is about all we know of this office, in relation to the government of the Mexican tribe.

The fact, amply proven as it is, that the "chief of men" had to be selected from among the four chiefs and officers enumerated, bears directly on the nature of the dignity with which the "Tlacatecuhtli" was invested. It fully disposes of the assumptions, that this officer was anything but an Indian war-chief of the highest order, or that heredity was attached to the office, though it does not disprove succession of office limited to any single *kin*. While it thus explains many incidental features of organization and government, it leads us back to the office of "chief of men" and through it, recalls some of the fundamental attributes of the tribe.

[284] *J. H. von Minutoli* ("*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala*," etc., "*Teatro Critico Americano*," by *Felix Cabrera*, German translation, p. 31): "house of darkness which he (Votan) had built in the space of a few respirations." But the dark house is yet more positively noticed in Guatemala. *Popol Vuh* (Part II. chap. II, p. 85): "Gekuma Ha," from "Gek" black, "*Grammaire Q Quiché*" (p. 180). Also (Chap. VIII, p. 147, cap. IX, pp. 148 and 149). It is interesting to notice, in connection with this, that [712] the same gathering of aboriginal traditions also mentions (p. 81) a house filled with lances (darts): "E'eo chicut Chayim-ha u bi, utuquel chakol chupam zakielohre chi cha, chi tziniric, chi yobohic, chiri pa ha." (Cap. IX, p. 154): "qate chicut ta x-e oc chi qaholab pa Chaim-ha." This corresponds with the Mexican "Tlacochicalcatl." Again we are treated (p. 85) to a "house of tigers" also repeated (p. 154), and it is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the "Tlacatecatl." Thus again the analogy between the Guatemaltecans and the Mexicans, appears sustained to some extent.

[285] "*Historia general*," etc. (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[286] By *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are superfluous. See his "*Crónica*."

[287] "*Historia natural y moral de Indias*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

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642 We have already stated that the tribe was a voluntary association of kins for mutual protection. Though this was undoubtedly the original purpose, it becomes evident that, in course of time and as a result of success in warfare, the tribe, as a military organization, grew into a cluster for procuring and increasing subsistence.[288] This was achieved by gathering booty in successful raids, and by imposing tribute upon tribes whose military power had been overcome in such dashes and forays.

642 Previous to the formation of the confederacy, but few tribes had 648 been conquered by the Mexicans.[289] In fact, it was the nearly equally balanced power of the Pueblos occupying the lake basin, that made the formation of that confederacy possible. Such a course was necessary to prevent them from destroying each other for the benefit of expectant neighbors.[290] But when once this confederacy was formed, then their joint efforts were directed to conquest, and to the acquisition of the means of subsistence through tribute. As the imposition of tribute was a military measure, so, also, its collection was in the hands of the *military* branch of the tribal government. This is evident from the fact that the kins had delegated to the tribe all authority over outside [643] matters.[291] Hence the "chief of men" became the official head of tribute-gatherers.[292]

[288] "*Art of War*" (pp. 96, 97 and 98, also notes).

[289] The number and names of these tribes are yet undefined. The specifically *Mexican* sources insisting upon a *conquest* of Texcuco (by force of arms) by the Mexicans, it follows that, according to the *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 51 to 61), the tribes subjected before that supposed event, were the Tecpaneca, the Xochimilca, and those of Cuitlahuac, or the settlements to the west and southwest. *Durán* (Cap. IX to XV) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. VIII to XX) concur; so does, of course, *Acosta* (Lib. VII. cap. XII to XV). The *Codex Mendoza* (plates V and VI) adds to the above the pueblos of Chalco, Acolhuacan and of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca). If we compare it with the *Texcucan* tradition, as reported by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXI, p. 216) we notice that it is claimed for that tribe, that it assisted the Mexicans in the conquest of Xochimilco and Cuitlahuac, although the formal confederation took place (according to the same authority, Cap. XXXII) some years later. According to *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLII, pp. 148, etc.), *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. 1°, cap. XIV, p. 291), the Xochimilcas were conquered by the confederates. According to *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," Lib. III. cap. I, p. 150), the Texcucans subjected Xochimilco. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. V, p. 235) agrees with the Mexican version.

[290] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 61).

[291] This resulted from the constitution of the tribe, as an association of kins for mutual protection and sustenance.

[651] [292] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X. p. 18): "y aunque envian á darlo á Ytzcoatl era para todos los Mexicanos en comun." The fact that the gathering of tribute was directly controlled by the "chief of men" is so generally admitted that it hardly needs any further proof. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Lettre*," etc., p. 248, 1er *Recueil*) ascribes the gathering of tribute to an officer whom he calls "tecuxcalcatectli." This should be, properly,

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Whenever any tribe, with or without a struggle, yielded to the warlike power of the Mexicans and their associates, the amount and kind of articles to be delivered, as tribute, at fixed periods, was at once determined between "the parties.[293] For the faithful performance of that contract, the vanquished stood in daily peril of their lives;[294] and in order to watch them constantly, and to regulate the delivery and transmission of the tribute, special officers were maintained among the conquered pueblos by their conquerors. These officers were called "gatherers of the crops," calpixqui. Each one of the three confederates sent its own "calpixqui" among the tribes which had become its exclusive prey, and where, as sometimes occurred, one pueblo paid tribute to all three confederates, it had to submit to the residence in its midst, of as many representative gatherers of duties.[295]

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"tlacochcalcatl-tecuhtli." But we know that the duties of the latter officer were quite different. Still, the collection of tribute being a branch of military life, the mistake is easily accounted for. The military chronicles of the Mexican tribe teem with instances where the stewards are described as under direct orders of the "chief of men," as in *Zurita* (pp. 68, 69, 70). It may also be inferred from the exaggerated statements about the tribute system among the Tezcucans, contained in *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV, pp. 239-241).

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[293] I refer to the following passages of *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. IX, p. 16, Capture of Ascaputzalco; Cap. XV, p 24, Cuyuacan; XVII, p. 28, Xochimilco; XVIII, p. 29, Cuitlahuac; XXVI, p. 40, Chalco; XXVII, p. 41, Tepeacac and Tecamachalco; XXIX, pp. 44 and 45, Taicocac and Tucpan; XXXII, p. 50, Ahuilizapan, and the Totonaca; XXXVIII, p. 58, Coayxtlahuacan; XXXVIII, p. 61, Huaxaca; Cap. LXI, p. 102, Chiapan and Xilotepec; Cap. LXV, p. 110, Cuextlan; Cap. LXXII, p. 122: Teloloapan; LXXVI, p. 130, Tecuantepec and others; LXXIX, p. 136, Xoconuchco; LXXXIV, p. 148, Nopallan; LXXXVIII, Xaltepec; XCI, p. 159, Quetzaltepec). *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 77; X, p. 94; XII. p. 112; XVII, p. 151; XVIII, p. 159; XIX, p. 171; XXI, p. 185; XXII. p. 191; XXIV, p. 205; XXXIV, p. 269; XLI, p. 331; XLVI, p. 373, etc.). These passages fully illustrate the manner in which the tribute was imposed on the vanquished, at the close of a successful foray. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 271 to 273). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados. . . ."

[294] *Durán* (Cap. LIII, p. 423). Also the complaints of the Indians of Compohual and Quishuixtlan (Totonaconas) (on the coast), to Cortés, about the dread in which they continually stood of being overrun again by the Mexicans and their confederates. (*Cortés* "*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I), *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XLV, p. 40; XLVI, p. 41, Vedia II), "*Real Ejécutoria, etc.*" (Col. de Doc's II, p. 12).

[295] This results from the "articles of agreement" of the confederacy. See besides: *Zurita* (p. 67). *Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotl* ("*Memorial dirigido al rey, etc.*" "*Geografía de las Lenguas*," *Orozco y Berra* pp. 244 and 245) also states: "The pueblos whose tributes were distributed among Mexico and Tezcuco and Tacuba were the following: Coayxtlavuacan, Cuanhtuchco, Cotlaxtlan. Avliçapan, Tepeaca." Against this there stands the version of *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XLI, p. 59): "Luego allí habló otro principal que se llamaba Mixcoatlayiotlacanehtoctzin, dile al señor capitan, que cuando vivia Mocthecuzomá el estilo que se tenia en conquistar, era esta, que iban los Mexicanos, y los Tezcucanos, y los de Tlacupan, y los de las Chinampas, todos

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648 Thus the Mexicans had a number of such officers scattered
651 among tributary settlements. The "chief of men" controlled their actions, but his power did not extend over the "calpixca" of the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan. He could not even appoint the stewards sent to dwell among the tributary foreigners,[296] this power being vested in the council alone.[297] Such an office was by no means a post of honor and enjoyment. On the contrary, there was no more responsible or dangerous duty within or without the tribe. The "calpixqui" while he had not the slightest authority to meddle with the affairs of the tribe where he lived,[298] was expected to watch closely the dispositions and incli-

juntos iban sobre el pueblo ó provincia que querian conquistar, y despues que lo habian conquistado, luego se volvian á sus casas, y á sus pueblos, y despues venian los señores de los pueblos que habian sido conquistados, y traian en tributo de oro y de piedras preciosas, y de plumages ricos, y todo lo daban à Mocthecuzoma, y asi todo el oro venia à su poder." This plain and very natural statement, from a Tlatilulcan chief who afterwards became "gobernador" of Tlatilulco (*Sahagun*, Lib. VIII, cap. II, p. 274), has been twisted by *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 572), so as to say among other things: "and they had the tributes gathered at Mexico, and here it was distributed among the three Lords according to the directions given by him of Mexico." *Torquemada* has, in this instance, evidently changed the text of his predecessor. There is also an undeniable confusion here between booty and tribute. The former had to be divided among the conquerors while they were yet together; the latter occurred regularly afterwards, and hence did not need to go through the hands of Mexicans again. The story of Torquemada is corroborated by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIX, p. 282), who clearly says that "Fasting Wolf" put stewards only when the tribute belonged to his tribe, but that the whole tribute was brought to Mexico and there "the agents of the three chiefs divided it among themselves. Finally, we have the obscure statements of *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (pp. 244, 247, in 1er Recueil of Mr. Ternaux).

[296] The "Calpixcayotl" was a permanent office, not a temporary duty or mission; consequently its incumbents could not be appointed by a single war-chief. There is evidence to that effect. According to *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, p. 164), after those of Tepeacac had been conquered, "Cihuacohuatl" placed a steward in their midst: "Mirá que en ello no aya falta ni quiebra; y para questo mejor se cumpla, os quiere poner un
[143] gobernador de los señores Mexicanos, al qual aueis de obedecer y tener en lugar de la real persona, el qual se llama Coacuech, y con esto os podeis ir en norabuena à vuestras tierras y ciudades porque al rey no le podeis hablar." (Cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). The steward for Cuetlaxtlan was chosen by the "Snake-woman;" or at least his choice was proclaimed by that officer. (Cap. XXIII, p. 199): "Acauado el sacrificio y despedidos los güéspedes, Tlacaelel, con consejo del rey, enuió un virey á Coaixtlavac para que tuviese cargo de aquella provincia y de los tributos reales, el qual se llamaua Cuanxochitl. . . . ."

[297] This results from the fact that the "Cihuacohuatl" announced the newly chosen "Calpixqui." In this case he plainly acted as *foreman of the council*, proclaiming their choice.

[298] I have already, in note 4, disposed of the statements of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." In further explanation thereof, I beg to call attention to some statements of the interpreters of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XX and XXI): "Los pueblos figurados en los dos planos siguientes, resumidos aqui, son diez y ocho pueblos, segun que están entitulados. Por

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651 489 tives to whom it was delivered.[307] If the gathering of tribute thus required a set of officers necessarily placed beneath the orders of the military chieftain, another set was needed for its preservation and judicious distribution. If the one consisted of stewards dwelling outside of the pueblo, the other was composed exclusively of home-stewards. Every convoy was therefore "consigned" to a proper officer, whose duty it was to receive it and then abide the directions of his superiors as to its apportionment.[308]

[643] We have already mentioned the "Cihuacohuatl" as the officer, 647 who was responsible to the council for the administration of the 651 stores and the proper distribution thereof, though he had beneath him another officer, to whom this duty was really and practically assigned. Torquemada and those who have followed his school, call this subordinate "great crop-gatherer," "Hueycalpixqui,"[309] whereas Tezozomoc and Durán apply to him the title of "man of the house of chests" "Petlacalcatl"[310] In both cases, however, he is represented as "chief steward," to whom all the others should render account. He superintended the distribution of the tribute,[311] and to him the kins came for their share—perhaps the largest of all. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish the principles upon which the division took place. All that we know is, that the tribe received one portion and the kins or "calpulli" the other, and that the "man of the house of chests," under whose eyes the distribution took place, afterwards looked to those stores, in particular, which were reserved for the tribe, i. e.: for the demands of the tribal government.[312] Therefore, the "man of the house of chests" frequently appears to be under the direct orders of the "chief of men," who could apply to him, more particularly, for such articles as were required for the exercise of tribal hospitality including gifts, and for displays of finery on particularly solemn occasions.[313] It is true that, as we have elsewhere shown, particular tracts of land, "tecpan-tlalli," were reserved among tributary tribes for the demands of the official

[307] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X, p. 18). *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. IV. cap. XVII, p. 138).

[308] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXII, p. 51): "A los dichos pueblos fué un mayordomo para cobrar este tributo, como para todos los demas pueblos, que en Mexico havia un mayordomo, y otro en el mismo pueblo para mayor sugecion y vasallage."

[309] *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, pp. 544, 545), copied by Vetancurt (Parte IIa, Trat. IIº, cap. Iº, pp. 370 and 371), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. X, pp. 468 and 469).

[310] Also by the *Codex Mendosa* (Interpretation to plates XX, XXI, etc.).

[311] See note 309, also *Tezozomoc* and *Durán*.

[312] This is so frequently mentioned by *Tezozomoc*, that I forbear detailed quotations.

[313] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," sundry places, too numerous to refer to).

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, tepoiazcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quateçoquicujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

ye mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
292 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã quicenquixtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxquich imãceollatquj tlatoanj, quitlanenectia, quitlãtlattitia, in catle coneleuiz, ipan onmjtotiz, ipan ontetlattitiz:

And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
527 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
643 manding generals, the generals, those who struck,
431 encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioãn vncan quintlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujcecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlallacochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in tevitequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
643 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
527 all the singers, the singers from the common folk,
533 the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums — the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-
535 toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those
431 who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixquiaia, tlatemachiala, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mãceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiquinj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaãnquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaquitotianj, tlamoiauhquj, tozcacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

Before them came their food, the prepared foods:
262 — tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualnectli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoztli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaoio.

And when they had tired and were wearied of
527 dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj mãceoalitzli, njman qujcalaqujaia, quitlatiaia, in vme xuchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic quixipdaiotiaia,

9. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 29, 94-95; *genre héroïque* was a term generally understood by *tenime*.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads *auh inic tlamo pipitzoa, inhcpoin mapipitzoan: tocuajlama tocuajcahua . . .* See also, Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 235 (*tocuaiama*).

681 And then also at that time[1] died those who were in jail, who were there for something which de-
696 manded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no iehoan in mamaltin, cequintin vncan mjquja,

● 643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he
761 was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquixtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilquixtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujzçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

A 787 And when someone was then born,[2] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend.
851 But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

A 787 And also it was said that he who was then born a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That
754 is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into
791 something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlãciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla maceoalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moqujxtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jxqujch tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teioiolmala-

3. An additional phrase in the *Real Palacio MS* will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo malioya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún." *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del egipcio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*]. . . . *De esta primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se concibe el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejecutar obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un* nahualli *poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from nahuali, nahuala, "*verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embauca a las gentes. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos:* nahualcaqui, *entrar disimulado, con cautela, secretamente.* nahualcualia, *tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación;* nahuallachia, *asechar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de* nahualli *o un derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llaman* nahualli. . . .

". . . *quando el niño nace, el demonio por el pacto expreso o tacito que sus padres tienen con el, le dedica o sujeta al animal; que el dicho niño ha de tener por* nahual, *que es como decir por dueño de su natividad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste pacto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierto la denominacion y significacion del nombre* nahualli, *que puede derivarse de una de tres raizes que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio; la tercera, ocultarse o rebocarse, y aunque oy conveniencias para que se acomoden las dos primeras significaciones, no quadra mas la tercera, que es del verbo* nahualtia *que es esconderse cubriendose con algo, que viene a ser lo mesmo que rebocarse, y assi,* nahualli *dira rebocado, o distreçado debajo de la apparienzia del sal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *infra*.

1 [i.e., the day One Rain. – Analyst]

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw coarse incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a
●643 celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6]
431 on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

[482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan maceoaltzintli, in motolinja, çan cepalxalli in tleco qujtema: auh in ça iequene qujtzacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in ãavia, in auellamati: çan ic in jauhtli tleco qujtepeoa, ic qujtlamaca in jxcoian itleuh:

ioan mjtoa in tlatoque vncan motecutlaliaia motlatucatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujntli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhacatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj omotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol qujoàlcuj, qujoalitquj in macuextli, in tilmatli, in suchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamaujzço, yximachoca imaltepeuh, in campa, in quezqujchca oaleoa, qujtlamamaca, qujtlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan qujtlapaloa, qujtlatlauhtia, oalmotlalia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, qujtlacuepilia, qujntlananqujlilia:

auh çan no iuj in chioalo, in namjco, çan ic mocuepa in jnnetlaçotlaliz, injc motlaneuj, injc mjximati, injc momalcochoa, injc mocoachioa, qujmomamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan qujqujmjliuhtiuh, çan qujqujmjlietiuh, çan qujmjltica in qujmomaca, in, in qujmotlauhtia, qujiaiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel intonal icalitic ochioaloc, otlatlan, iquac impan qujnpepena, inpan qujnuelitta, qujntlatlattilia, qujmjipantia, qujnpapantia, qujnpapanjtia, in quenamj qujnmacazque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua qujnmaujztilia, qujnvecapano, intetlaujcalhoan.

tlaliuj, tlãtlaliuj, tlãtlalhujtiuj, tlãtlaliooa, in tlamamalo, in tlãtlatqujoa, quaquailpitiuh in netlauhtilli: auh in netlacaujlli, ãtle tlaçotli, ãtlatlaçotli, tla-

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los pobres ofrecian un enciensu, que llaman cepalxalli, en su mismo hogar: y los muy pobres, ofrecian una yerua molida, que se llama yauhtli en sus mismos hogares."* — In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, it is *Tagetes lucida*; see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Emmart, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Rullier, in *La médecine chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 95, identifies *yauhtli* as a species of chamiso; A. Guerra, in *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1909), p. 54, says it is definitely narcotic. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar las idolatrías de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies *yauhtli* as *perhaps*, which, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is *"Nombre vulgar que en el norte del país, en México, se da a una planta parecida al compuéstil* (Tagetes minuta), *cuyas hojas hacen a ratos."*

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: *"la fiesta de su elección, que llaman motlatocapaca."*

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[696]

[871]

[643 292]

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[644]

PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little 174
scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at 721
a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was plan- 644
ning an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefooted, with down- [643]
cast eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out 174
by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the 644
appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pic-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its
644 quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings
[367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great
517 plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide
174 road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

868 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led
174 to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

X796 273 689

condemned to die. Not now might he leave; no longer was there help for him nor [now] a second judgment; no longer had he hope.

When whosoever [had been tried] had been condemned, all were summoned at sundown, assembled, and set apart, that the words [of the judge] might be published everywhere.

It was said: "On the morrow they will die. All of the common folk will be moved. Some of those who drank we shall leave alone, that, verily, they may fall into fear."

They came with wrists bound together. They placed them in the midst [of the market place]. Thereupon the judges spoke, warning all, speaking of wine, which no youth might drink. Only when they matured, when they had become old, [might they drink]. And those who had youths, who already had maidens [as grown children], verily their privilege it was that they might drink wine.

[681] And thereupon, when [the judge] had delivered his judgment, then Moctezuma's executioners, his slayers, struck the backs of [the criminals'] heads. [The executioners were] the Quauhnochtli, Eztauacatl, Tiçociauacatl, Texcaouacatl, Maçatecatl, and

●[644] Atenpanecatl.[12] These men were not noblemen, but only lesser officials,[13] who were under command, who were chosen and approved for their office [because of their] strength, vigor, and ingenuity, and because they spoke pleasingly.

And when [the drinkers] had been slain, then all who were reasonable were struck with terror and fright, so that they verily changed their ways. And those who were foolhardy and undisciplined, who could not be spoken to, the effeminate, the stupid—they only laughed; they only jested at the warning. They only listened to it lightly and ill. Not then did they note the words; not thus were they frightened of death.

And thereupon, when all had been slain, then all dispersed in disorder, raising a great dust, shaking out their cloaks—scattering, breaking up, dispersing, all going off to their homes. Then the place where they were became calm.

Here ended the celebration of the feast day called Uei tecuilhuitl.

tlatzontequjlilo, mjquix, aocmo quiçaz, aoctle itzacujl, aocmo ichicomatl, aoctle ynetemachil.

In aq'n oixnaostiloc, teutlacpa in tetlalujlo, in necenqujxtiloz, necentecoz, in çaço cãpa ie motenecoz, in jdatollo:

mjtoaia, mozti micoaz, ixqujch tlacatl oliniz in maçeoalli cequjntin tiqujncaoa in tlaoãque, in ça mauiztli uetziz.

Mamailpiztuitze, tlanepantla qujotlalia: njman ie ic tlatoa, in tecutlatoque, tenonotza, itechpa tlatoa in vetli, in aiac quiz in telpuchtli: ça quinjquac in oilachicalujque, yn oucuetique: yoan in telpuche, in ie ichpuche, vel innemac catca in tlaoanazique.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ontzonquiz, in tecutlatolli: njman ic quinceuexcochujujxquj, yn itemicticaoan, in itequacaoan in moteçumatzin in quauhnochtli, iztaoacatl, tiçociaoacatl, texcacaoacatl, maçatecatl, atenpanecatl: in ichoantin yn, amo tetecui, çan achcacauhti, tlanaostilti, tlaixquetzalti, tlaqualizalti, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, yoan iolloque, in vellatoa.

Auh yn iquac ie mictilo, ic necujtiuecho, ic mocujtiuetzi in tlacaqujni, in uel monotzanj: auh in iollotlazeliloque, yn atlanonotzalti, yn auel monotza, in tlaciosizcaltilti, in tzonteme, çan qujuetzca, çan qujcamanaloa in tenonotzaliztli, çan qujcamanaicaquj, çan caujlcaquj, avmpa qujtta in tlatolli, amo ic mauhca çonequj, in temjctiliztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onmjcoac: njman ic tlatzomonj neacomanalo, teuhtli quiquetza, netzetzelolo, cecenmanoa, xitinoa, xixitonoa, moiaoa, viujloa, viuj yn jnchachã: njman cactiuetzi yn vncan onoaia.

Nican tlamj, njcan tzonquiça, inic ilhujtl muchioaia: yn jnoca Vey tecuilhujtl.

12. *Quauhnochtli* is the term given the heart of the sacrificed victim. See supra, Chapter 21. The others may refer to the towns from which the officials came.

13. "Y de estos nuestros no se alegaban los ernadores que regían los pueblos, sino eran oficiales más bajos de la república, que se llamaban tlaxcamanes y tlacatecatlaca y achcacauhtlis, porque no tenían buena vida, por ser amancebados y andaban diciendo palabras lisonjeras y eran de burla, y hablaban con soberbia y mandamiento" (Rubiendo ed., Vol. I, p. 298).

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellequjxtiaia tlatoque. 643

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in qujtlapeujlitiuj: iiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ivpan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxnepanoa, [481] 643 644

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcacheooa, qujtlatlaquechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, itoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetzzic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquin ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maieoatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl, qujcujlloa ce petlatl, tlilica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc mjcujlloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiqua centetl jmaxca intlapoaltetuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, qujtlanjlia in ixqujch tlaçotli, cozzic teucujtlacozcatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetzzli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. *Tlaçotli*: the corresponding Spanish has *deudos* (*dearest*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcozio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc cheioatolli, oauhatolli izqujo, mjchioacatolli necuio, iztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chianatolli chilcozpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalqujça tlatoanj.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Auh in jquac in oalaqua tlatoanj, njman ic moxexelou, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlãque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazq̃ue, cujcanjme, in quezqujtlamantli, ixtoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlauevetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapitzque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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[643]
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Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Njman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaouh, xoxouhqujcacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xoxouhqujtlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, iztzac cacaoatl

643
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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes: Sandoz, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 459: "*las cuales chicas maduras, es decir, de sazón.*"

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 264: "*Chía verqueada. Salvia gigr*" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 466: *Salvia polymorha*; Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 249: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.

22. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 494: *Capsicum microcarpum* Dc.—"*De Méjico, chile cultivado, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 435, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. fastigiatum* L.: "*del nombre de los mexicanos, a los que parece tocar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"

23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 264: "*Salvia hispánica. L. Salicáceas*"; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 488: *Salvia chian*, *S. hispánica* L.

24. The Spanish text has barbers, which would require *amaquaque*.

25. *Tiltic* and *iztzac* are as they appear in the Codex; *chiltic* and *iztzac* are probably meant.

342 643 [373] 644 722

And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, likewise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go out. It was watched all night and made to burn with pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Coscalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

[373]

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj ceioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iieian tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coacali, in jntenetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texãcali in jnneçenquijxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlãlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh catca in telpopechti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapieloia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioai tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapieloia.

643 542

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelquijxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujztaia, ;ujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoutiaia, injc ollamaloz, injc tzellaquaoaia, injc tepaqujltiaia tlatoanj: qujnnaoutiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujzque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maieoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlaujlilo, tlaxalujlo, tlachpano:

643 525

And all which the ruler was to wager in the game—the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtenteti, tzucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcoscatl, tzucujtlacoscatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in iehoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjxque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxqujch itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, iceceiaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj qujquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque qujtema in ixqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujnmaca in jxqujch oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

13. *Tlaxilacalpan*; see Arturo Monzón: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlaxilacalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 369, "*los pueblos quedaron subdivididos en menor calpulli, ó barrios, llamados las parcialidades eran, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlaxilacalli.*"

14. *Tlaçotl*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to shows, in which case the Aztec should read *tlacotl*.

Eighteenth Chapter, in which it is told how they chose those who would govern.

The ruler was thus given office and chosen. The lords assembled and deliberated as to whom they would set in office and choose to be ruler. In the same manner assembled the old men and the seasoned warriors, brave warriors, men [at arms], and the leaders of the youths; lords; and keepers of the gods; fire priests—the long-haired ones.[1] All were gathered there at the great palace, the residence of the ruler, in order to consult and choose him who was to be ruler. They cast votes for all the princes who were sons of lords; men [at arms]; brave warriors, experienced in war, who shrank not from the enemy;[2] who knew not wine—who were not drunkards, who became not stupefied;[3] the prudent, able, wise; of sound and righteous rearing and upbringing; who spoke well and were obedient, benevolent, discreet, and intelligent.

And when were settled the deliberations and choosing, they were as one [in their] accord. When a certain prince was chosen and given the charge of being ruler, then also were raised to their office and chosen those who were to help him, the [four] princes who would be by his side; who would be his lords. They were invested with, and given, the titles Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Pochtecatlailotlac, and Ticociauacatl.

When this was done, when the choosing was settled, then was determined on what good day sign would be installed those who had been elected—the ruler and the lords. Then the command was given when there would be a meeting, and all the noblemen were commanded then to come to assemble in the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli.

Injc caxtolli omej capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia, in aqujque tlatocatizque. 643

In tlatoanj, injc ixquetzaloia, inic pepenaloia, mocentlaliaia, mononotzaia, in tecutlatoque, injc qujxquetzaia, injo qujpepenaia, in aqujn tlatoanj iez çan no iuhquj mocentlaliaia in achcacauhti ioan tequjoaque, tiacahoan, oqujchtin, ioan tiachcauh tlatoque, ioã teupixque tlenamacaque, papaoaque, ixqujchtin mocentlaliaia in vncan vei tecpan tlatocan, injc mononotzaia, injc qujpepenaia in ac iehoatl tlatocatiz, qujnteneoaia in jxqujchtin tlaçopipilti, in tlatoque impilhoan, in oqujchti, in tiacaoan in iauc matinj, in amo qujtlaçotla in jntzontecõ, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo qujximati in vetli, in amo tlaoananj, in amo qujmotequjtia mjxitl, tlapatl, in mjmatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlamatinj, in qualli iectli inezcaliliz, inneoapaoaliz, in vellatoa, in vellacaquj, in tetlaçotlanj, in jxe in iollo. [577]

Auh in jcoac in omocencauh nenonotzaliztli, tlapepenaliztli, in ocentet tlatolli, in ac iehoatl tlaçopilli in oanoc, in oixquetzaloc in tlatoanj iez: njman no iquac ixquetzalo, pepenalo in qujpaleujzque, in jtlan iezque in tlaçopipilti, in jtecutlatocahoan iezque: motecutlalia, motocamaca tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: 643 644

in ie iuhquj in omocencauh tlapepenaliztli, njman nenonotzalo, tlein qualli cemjlhujtonalli in jpan tlalilozque, in opepenaloque: in tlatoanj ioan in tecutlatoque, ic tenaoatilo in jqujn cenqujxooaz: ioan naoatilo in jxqujchtin pipilti, injc cenqujçaqujuj in jitoalco vitzilopuchtli: [777]

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*juntaronse los ancianos que llamaban Tecutlatoque: y tambien los viejos del pueblo, que llamaban achcacauhti: y tambien los capitanes esforçados viejos de la guerra, que llamaban tentequjoaque: y otros capitanes que eran principales, en los casos de la guerra: y tambien los sacerdotes, que llamaban Tlenamacaque, o papaoaque.*"

Papaoaque: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III, Appendix, cap. ii. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 533, n. 2, the term is thus explained: "'*Ceux qui ont les cheveux tombant en touffe sur les oreilles*'; *singulier* papaua, *formé du substantif* papatli, *chevelure longue et en désordre.*"

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

3. *Mjmatl, diapatl*: see Chap. 17, n. 10, *supra*.

643 And some of the noblemen who feared the office of ruler hid themselves and took refuge [from those who might choose them].[4]

auh in cequjntin in pipilti in qujmacaçi tlatocaiotl motlatia mjnaia.

643 FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is told how they
644 arrayed those who had been elected when they did penance, and led them to the house of Uitzilopochtli.

And at this time were brought together, according to command, the noblemen, the lords, the masters of the youths [who were] leaders, and great judges. When these lords were assembled, then they commanded the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, to seek out and go to take among themselves, those who had been chosen: the one whom they had named ruler and those whom they had named lords. When they had been put in office, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went to take, wheresoever he was, the one who had been vested in the office of ruler. Then they speedily laid hold of him; before them, all the people beheld him.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnchichioaia, in opepenaloque, in jpan tlamaçeoaia: ioan qujnujcaia, in jchan vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in ie iuhquj: in ocenqujxoac, in jcoac naoatilli, in pipilti, in tecutlatoque, in tiiachcauh tlaiacatique, ioan achcacauhti, in onecentecoc, in iehoanti tecutlatoque niman qujnnaoatia in teupixque, papaoaque, injc qujxtemozque injc tetzalan conanatiuj: in opepenaloc in tlatoanj, qujtocaiotia in aqujn, ioan qujntocaiotia in aqujque tecutlatoque, oixquetzaloque njman ic uj in canazque in teupixque papaoaque, in campa catquj, oixquetzaloc tlatoanj: njman qujcujtiuetzi teixpan mochi tlacatl qujtta:

643 Then they took him before the lords. He went
292 bare. They put on him a green,[5] sleeveless jacket. And they had him carry upon his back his tobacco gourd with green tassels. Then they veiled his face, they covered his head [with a] green fasting cape designed with bones. Then they gave him his green[5] cotton bag filled with incense and decorated with bones, and they put on him his new foam sandals with green toes. They placed in his hand his incense ladle, also painted with the skulls of the dead, and with paper pendants [on the handle].

njman ie qujujca imjxpan tecutlatoque petlauhtiuh conaquja xicolli xoxouhquj, ioã qujmamaltia iietecon in jmamaxoxouhquj: njman ic conjxtlapachoa, ic qujquaquimjloa neçaoalquachtli xoxoctic omjcallo, njmã ic conmana icpaxiqujpilli in vncan tentiuh copalli omjcallo xoxoctic: ioan conaaqujlia iancujc in jpoçolcac xoxoctic in jquequetzil, njman imac contequjlia, in jtlema, no mjccatzontecomaio, injc tlacujlolli, amocujtlapile.

643 And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to take the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. When they had brought the ruler to the top [of the pyramid temple], then he took incense, poured it into the incense ladle, in which there were live coals. Then he raised it before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order to perfume it. He stood always with his face covered by the fasting cape designed with bones. And all the common folk stood looking up at him. Trumpets were sounded; the shell trumpets were blown.

Auh in iehoantin, papaoaque teupixque: caantiuj in tlatoanj in qujtlecauja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: in jcoac ocaxitique in tlatoanj, in tlacpac, njman concuj in copalli, contema in tlemaco, in vncan ietiuh tlexochtli: njman ic cacocuj in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, inic tlapopochuja, çan ic quatlapachiuhticac: in neçaualquachtli, omjcallo. Auh in jxqujch maçeoalli, acopa conjtztoc, tlapitzalo, mopitza in tecuiztli.

644 And these lords—the Tlacochcalcatl, the Uitznaua-
292 tlailotlac, the Pochtecatlailotlac and the Ticociauacatl—the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, then also speedily adorned. Each one they dressed in his

Auh in iehoantin tecutlatoque, tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: njman no hiçiuhca qujnchichioa, in teupixque papaoaque, ceceiaca qujmaquja tlitic ixicolli, ioan imjietecon,

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*muchos de los que tenjan temperla que los elegieran, se escondiã por no ser electos por no tomar tan gran carga.*"

5. *Xoxouhqui*, *xoxoctic*: words occurs in corresponding Spanish text.

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tiltic in jmama, ioan qujmaaqujlia impocolcac iztac: njman ic qujmontlapachoa, qujmonixqujmjloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tiltic omjcallo, ioan qujmonmaca icpaxiqujpilli, tiltic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli ontentiuh: njman ic no qujntlecauja cecenme, qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc qujntlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopuchtli qujpopochuja.

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SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oalquiçaia naujlhujtl.

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Auh in ic iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlaxpuchujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic qujoaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xoxoctic: njman ic no ceceiaca qujnoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic iztlapachiuhtiuj, ceceiaca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo.

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785

qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca qujmonujca in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa quiça, çan ehoxticate; in jcoac ic nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque. qujmonana, qujntlacoaantiuj ixqujmjliuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh ceceiaca in jicpaxiqujpil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in qujntlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oaltemo tecpantiujtze, iztlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: qujnjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça ceppa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

6. *Impropriety: improprietor is meant.*
7. *The Real Academia de la Historia MS has quinnamaca for quinnaujia.*

643 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did
644 they eat.

783 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler
785 and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iioaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic omnotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin teupixque papaoaque, qujntlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço iooalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoçque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixquijmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izquijlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izquijoal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan ommjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[777] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonqujxtiaia tlamaçeoalizztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oxtonqujz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how
527 the ruler made summons to a feast.

648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzalizztli, in ichoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

000 **Third Chapter, where is told what Moctezuma commanded when he heard the account of those who saw the boat which first came.**

Moctezuma thereupon commanded [Pinotl] of Cuetlaxtlan and the others, and said unto them: "Ye shall order that guard be kept everywhere on the shores [at the places] thus named: Nauhtlan, Tuxtlan, and Mictlanquauhtla — wheresoever [the strangers] would come to land."

Then the stewards departed. They gave the command that watch be kept.

644 And Moctezuma assembled his lords: the ruler's vicar Tlilpotonqui, the commanding general Quappiaztzin, the army commander Quetzalaztatzin, and the uitznauatlailotlac Ecatenpatiltzin.[1] He acquainted them with the news and he showed and discovered to them the necklaces which [the messengers] had brought him.

He said to them: "We have marveled at [this] fine, blue turquoise. It shall be well guarded. The keepers will protect it well. If they lose one [piece, their houses will be] our houses; [their children,] our children; [their women with child,] our women with child."[2]

000 And then the year made its round. When [the year] Thirteen Rabbit met [One Reed], when already it was about to end, at the time of the closing of [Thirteen][3] Rabbit, then [the Spaniards] came to arrive. Then once again were they seen.[4]

773 [202] And then [the stewards] hastened to inform Moctezuma. When he learned of it, then speedily he dispatched messengers. For thus he thought, and it was so regarded, that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had arrived. For thus was it [held] in their hearts that indeed he would come — that he would come to land on and visit his domain.[5] For

Inje ei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma in jquac oqujcac intlatol, in ichoantin in qujttaque acalli in achto valla.

In motecuçoma, njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in Cuetlaxtecatl, yoan in jzquintin: qujmjlhuj. Xitlanaoticã, ma tlapielo, in noviã atenco; injc mjtoa. Nauhtlan Tuxtlan, mjctlan quauhtla: in campa ie qujçaqujvi:

njmã ic iaque in calpixque, tlanaoatique injc tlapieloia.

Auh in motecuçoma: qujncentlali in jtecuioan, Cioacoatl, Tlilpotonqui, Tlacochcalcatl, Quappiaztzin, Ticociaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Vitznaoatlailotlac, hecatẽnpatiltzin: qujncaqujti in tlatolli, yoan qujmjttiti, qujmjxpanti in qujoalcujque concatl:

qujmjlhuj. Ca oticmaviçoque in matlalteuxivitl, vel mopiaz, in tlatlatique vel qujpiazque: intla centetl qujchitonixque tocacal, topipilhoan, titetheoan.

Auh njman ie mocuepa in xivitl, ie imonamjcioc in matlactli omei tochtli: auh ie tlamjznequi, ie itzonqujzian in xivitl omei tochtli, in qujçaco, in ie no ceppa ittoque.

Auh njman qujnonotztivetzico in Motecuçoma, in oqujcac, njman iciuhca tlaioa, in iuh qujma, in iuh moma, ca ichoatl in topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in oqujçaco: ca iuh catca iniollo in çan oallaz, in çan qujçaqujuh, qujoalmatix in jpetl, in jcpal: ipampa ca vmitztia, in jquac ia. Auh in qujmjoa macujltin, in qujnamjqujtivi, in qujtlamamacativi: in teiacantia

1. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), II, p. 330; also James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), Vol. I, p. 56. For some titles, like uitznauatlailotlac, a satisfactory English equivalent is difficult to suggest.

2. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 460; also corresponding Spanish text: "*pagarla en los que tienen cargo de guardar la tesorera.*"

3. Bribes omei, in the Aztec text, probably matlactli should be read.

4. Arrival of Cortés in 1519.

5. In Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba: [Impresora Mayo], 1940), p. 108, the passage "*Ca yuh catca in iyollo in zan huallaz, in zan qujnequiz qualhuatzinzin in ipeal in iepal*" is thus translated: "*Así fue su determinación, que había de venir, había de regresar, había de tornar a su tierra y morada.*"

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a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza." 342

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says :—

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Montezuma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1] [644 565]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses 600

[1] Cortés' second letter.
[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour. [3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.
[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

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000 And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

643 THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of [302] an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He [515] was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, [595 837] daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free [515] from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He 643 had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other ●644 rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

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to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their 643
eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his 644
face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared 643
by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they 252
placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him 643
the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of 252
dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in 262
seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

●644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 643 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so [276 314] they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 411 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

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643 Among the duties of the "chief of men," we notice first that
644 of residence at the "tecpan" or official house.[237] This is commonly stated to be a royal privilege, whereas it was, in fact, a burthen, as it simply meant that he occupied the position of head of the official household of the tribe.[238] The formation of this household we have elsewhere described.[239] It was a communal group, consisting of the head-war-chief and his family, together with such assistants (and their families, if any), as were required for the transaction of daily business.[240] The "tecpan" is appropriately called: "house of the community," "casa de comunidad," by Fray Juan de Torquemada,[241] and its residents were placed and kept there for the purpose of extending tribal hospitality, and for the furtherance of tribal business and extra-tribal relations. This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who

"un animoso capitan llamado Quauhtemoc de edad de diez y ocho años que ya le querian elegir por Rey dijo en alta voz:" "Qué es lo que dize este bellaco de Motecuzuma, muger de los españoles, que tal se puede llamar, pues con ánimo mugeril se entregó à ellos de puro miedo y asegurándonos nos ha puesto todos en este trabajo? No le queremos obedecer porque ya no es nuestro Rey, y como à vil hombre le hemos de dar el castigo y pago." *Fragmento No.* 2 (*Noticias Relaciones á la Conquista*," etc., p. 143): "y ellos le deshonraron y llamaron el Cobarde." *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494): "sokó á un Hermano de Motecuhzuma, Señor de Iztapalapan, y los Mexicanos, ni hicieron el Mercado, ni le dexaron bolver á la Prision, y le eligieron por su Caudillo" (Id. Cap. LXX, p. 497). *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIIa, Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 125, cap. XV, pp. 130, 131). *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. VIII, p. 264). It is very interesting to notice that Torquemada and Herrera use identically the same words. Their versions are the fullest.

[237] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410). *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, etc., etc." It is scarcely necessary to prove this at any length, by quotations.

[238] *Tenure of Lands* (p. 409). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 178): "Estos Tributos eran para el bien publico, para las Guerras, para pagar á los Governadores, i Mini-tros de Justicia, i Capitanes, porque toda esta Gente comia, de ordinario, en el Palacio del Rey, adonde cada uno tenia su asiento, i lugar conocido, segun su oficio, i Calidad, . . ." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 361): "Y despues que habia comido el señor, mandaba á sus pages, ó servidores, que diesen de comer á todos los señores y embajadores que habian venido de algunos pueblos, y tambien daban de comer á los que guardaban el palacio. Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos y á los Sátrapas de los ídolos. Asimismo daban de comer á los cantores, á los pages, á todos los del palacio, etc., etc. . . ." *Tezozómoc* (Cap. LXXXII, p. 144). The latter is very positive, mentioning it as a duty.

[239] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410).

[240] The information on this point goes back to *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas personales, los cuales se sentaban, y otros andaban por unas salas y corredores que habian en la dicha casa, etc., etc." The other eye-witnesses are hardly as positive. The exaggerated reports of *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 505). *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296), *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XXIII, pp. 356, 357, etc.), *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. IX, pp. 183, 184) and others, simply prove that the "tecpan" was permanently occupied by a numerous household, of which the "chief of men" was the head.

[241] "*Monarquia Indiana*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48).

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This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who 643
daily transacted affairs at the "tecpan," to carry their victuals 644
to the halls in which their sessions were held and also to wait upon [574]
the foreign official guests (often enemies) who were received in separate, even secluded, quarters.[242] But their main duty con-

[242] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p, 301, as copied in note 238). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 96): "Il y avait dans les palais des souverains des appartements vastes, élevés de sept à huit marches comme nos entre-sol, et destinés à la résidence des juges." (P. 100): "De bonne heure on apportait au palais même les repas des magistrats." This would imply that the food was brought to the "tecpan" from the places where the members of the council ("tecutlatoca") actually resided. This is positively contradicted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*,' Cap. LXXXII, p. 144), who makes it one of the duties of the "chief of men," "con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales, teniéndolos en mucho, y dándoles la honra que merecen: llamarles cada dia al palacio que común con vos, ganándoles las voluntades, que con ellos está el sostener el imperio, buenos consegeros, buenos amigos, que por ellos os es dado el asiento, silla, estrados, honra, señorio, mando y ser." Such an extensive meal of the tribal officers is also intimated by the same author as having been customary with the Xochimilcas,—a tribe well known as being closely allied to the Mexicans,—where he says (Cap. XVI, pp. 25 and 26): "Las Indias mugeres de las Xochimilcas, lavando muy bien el itzcahuitl, tecuitlatl, y otras cosas salidas de la laguna, y lavado, y limpiamente llevándolo al palacio de Tecpan para que le comiesen los principales, y comenzandolo á comer estava muy sabrosa, y prosiguiendo en su comida, etc., etc. . . ." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 49), speaking of certain chiefs, says: "Outre ces avantages, le souverain suprême payait une solde à ces chefs, et leur faisait délivrer des rations. Ceux ci se tenaient continuellement dans son palais pour former sa cour." It is to these "chiefs," which were none other than the members of the council, that *Gomara* (Vedia I. p. 342) refers, copying *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I. p. 35), who adds, however: "E al tiempo que traian de comer al dicho Muteczuma, asimismo lo traian á todos aquellos señores tan cumplidamente cuanto á su persona, y tambien á los servidores y gentes destos les daban sus raciones. Habia cotidianamente la dispensa y botilleria abierta para todos aquellos que quisiesen comer y beber." The chaplain has added to Cortés' relation some items tending to increase or enhance the importance of the meals, whereas he has suppressed the above, very important, passage. Compare Vedia: (Tom I. p. 345). His statements agree far better with those of *Bernal Diez* ("*Hist. verd.*" Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87). The fact of the "official household" being entrusted with the dispensation of tribal hospitality is therefore certain. The members of the council ate there also, as proven by *Zurita* (p. 96), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134): "traianies algo temprano la comida de palacio," and it is implied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332): "Estos Jueces oian de ordinario, en especial de causas criminales, todos los Dias á mañana, y tarde, ... asistian en sus Salas, que las havia en la casa del Rei, particulares, ..." He is even very positive (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296): "No solo tenia este Grande, y Magnifico Emperador casas muy cumplidas, y Salas, y Aposentos grandiosas, para su Morada, para sus Consejos, y Señores, y toda la demas Gente, que llegaba á ser digna de su hospedage, y recibimiento, donde como su misma Persona Real eran servidos, y acariciados . . ," also (Lib. IV, cap. L. p. 459). He also says of "Fasting Wolf," headchief of Tezcuco (Lib. II, cap. LIII, p. 167): "no fué menos en el gasto de su Casa, asi para su Persona, como para hacer Hospicio ordinario á todos los que servian en su Palacio, y otros muchos Señores, que comian en su Casa, cada Dia, . . ." *Petrus Martyr of Anghiera* ("*De nouo Orbe*," etc., Dec. III, cap. X, pp. 231 and 232). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, p. 482), about Tezcuco. In regard to Mexico he is very positive (Lib. V, cap. III, p. 304). Further quotations are useless. I shall merely refer to the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXX) and, for the sake of analogy with the tribes of QQuiché-stock in Guatemala, to the "*Popol Vuh*" (p. 303): "Are qui cuchbal quib ri-oxib chi nim-ha u bi cacmal, chiri cut chi c'uqah-vi c'uquiya, ..."

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643 644 sisted in preparing and serving every day an extensive meal, of which not only all the members of the household, several hundreds in number, partook, but every one who, either on business or as an idler, happened to be on or about the premises.[243] It was the duty of the "chief of men" himself to open this rude clannish feast,[244] and it pertained to his office to represent the hospitality and dignity of the tribe on such occasions. Hence the peculiar

574 That the delegates from foreign tribes were quartered at the "tecpan" is plainly stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIX, p. 308): "Habia otra sola que se llamaba Coacalli: en este lugar se aposentaban todos los señores forasteros, que eran amigos ó enemigos del señor. . . . . ."; "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 73): "Vinieron á estas fiestas hasta los propios enemigos de los Mexicanos. como eran los de Michhuacan y los de la provincia de Tlaxcala. á los quales hizo aposentar el Rey y tratar como á su misma persona. y hazerles tan ricos miradores desde donde viessen las fiestas, como los suyos;" *Durán* (Cap. XL, p. 317, cap. XLIII. p. 347): "Fasting child" of Tezcuco "aposentándole en un lugar que ellos llaman Teccalli, que quiere decir, palacio Real." "Luego llegó el rey de Tacuba con todos sus principales y señores. . . . . á quien no menos honra y cortesía se hizo que al de Tezcuco, poniéndole en el mismo palacio, junto á Neçaualpilli." The delegates from Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula were: "Llevados al palacio real, donde les tenian aparejado un retraimiento oculto y escondido," and "fueron aposentados en el mismo lugar" those of Michhuacan and others (pp. 350 and 351), also (Cap. LIV, pp. 428 and 429, and LVIII, p. 459, etc.). These authors are also fully confirmed by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXIV. pp. 106 and 107; cap. LXVIII, p. 111; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 254, speaking of Tezcuco). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 534 and 535). The latter distinguishes between the "calpixca" and "el palacio," stating that delegates were quartered at the former. But since he himself (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV. p. 48) calls the "tecpan" casa del comun"—a name given by him to the "calpixca"—and we know from *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIX, p. 307) that the "calpixcacalli" was a hall of the "tecpan," there can be no doubt as to the fact, that the "tecpan" was also the place where delegates were received, lodged and fed, at the expense of the tribe.

When, in 1537, the Bishop Las Casas sent certain traders with full instructions and "implements for conversion," to the Indians of "Tuzulutlan" or of the "Tierra de Guerra" *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa*," etc.) etc., Lib. III. cap. XV. p. 135): Y como en aquel tiempo no auia mesones ni casas de comunidad, todos los forasteros que llegauan al lugar acudian á pasar en casa del señor, que los recebia humanamente, hospedaua y daua de comer conforme la calidad de la persona, y el forastero reconocia el bien recibido, ó que auia de recibir, poniendo á los pies del señor algun presente conforme á su posibilidad." The traders, therefore, "took lodgings" at the official house,—the tecpan,—and staid there (as we may read p. 136 of the Friar's history) until they had performed their work of opening the country to the preaching of the gospel. The comparison with Cortés, being also quartered at the "tecpan" of Mexico, is indeed striking.

[243] Descriptions of this meal are so abundant, that it is hardly worth while to refer to them in detail. I would only call particular attention to the statements of *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 35), *Bernal diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. XCI. pp. 86 and 87, of Vedia II). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista de México*," Col. de Doc's II, p. 581). These statements, made by eye-witnesses, if viewed in their proper light and compared with those of subsequent writers, fully corroborate the views of *L. H. Morgan* ("*Montezuma's Dinner*" in *N. American Review*, 1876), that this meal was but an official communal one, given by the official household of the tribe, as part of its daily duties and obligations.

[244] I cannot refrain here from recalling the description of the meal given to the Clan McIvor by its chief "Fergus McIvor, Vich Ian Vohr,"—so graphically pictured by Sir

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earnestness of his manner which eye-witnesses have mistaken for the haughtiness of a tyrant.[245] 643 644

These duties not only necessitated official residence at the "official house," but even permanent stay there, unless important business required the chief's absence.[246] Such absence, however, could only be justified by official duties, and then the "chief of men" had to appear with all the tokens and emblems of his rank.[247] If otherwise, he might indeed, go about, but he lost all claim to official recognition.[248] Hence the statements are true in the main, however exaggerated in detail, that great decorum was observed towards the "chief of men" whenever he appeared in public, that he was addressed with marked deference, and that a certain pomp surrounded him on such occasions.[249] These occasions were, of course, opportunities for the display of Indian

Walter Scott in "Waverley." As to the part played by the "chief of men" see particularly *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 88, Vedia II).

[245] This particularly earnest mien is noticed by all authors. It is strictly Indian, and found among the rudest tribes.

[246] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI. p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, sino á cosas muy necesarias y forçosas." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 76): "De ordinario estaba retirado saliendo muy pocas vezes á vista del pueblo."

[247] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. X, p. 291). It is distinctly asserted by the former that, what he has called "corona real" could only be worn by the "chief of men" and the "snake-woman." This head-dress, very appropriately termed by the Spaniards, "half mitre" ("media mitra") is figured by many authors of native origin. See *Codex Mendoza* (plates II to XIV, also LXX), *Durán* (Láminas 2 to 14, also 16. 18. to 24 etc.), *Codice Ramirez* (plates 4 and 5). It is called "Xiuhuitzolli" by the Mexicans. See also *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 30 and IIa, p. 100) from "Xiuitl" turquoise or green stone, and is totally different from the head-dress worn by the "chief of men" in the field. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 126). [293]

[248] This explains the stories about the "incognito" ramblings of "Fasting Wolf" of Tezcuco, so frequently repeated after the Ixtlilxochitla, as well as that of the arrest of "Wrathy Chief" (the last Montezuma) for appropriating corn out of a field. The latter tale is beautifully told by *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 451, 452) after the best authorities.

[249] No author has been more prolific in pictures of pomp, regal wealth and magnificence, than *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. LXXXVIII, XCI and XCII, etc.). Most of the later writers have placed undue reliance on his statements, assuming that the truthfulness with which he "gave vent" to his own individual feelings and impressions, was the result of cool, impassionate observation. Anyone who has read attentively (and not merely glanced over at random for the purpose of obtaining quotations) his protracted "Mémoires," will become convinced that he is, in fact, one of the most unreliable eye-witnesses, as far as general principles are concerned. In every detail where his personal feelings are not involved or by which, even at the late date when he wrote, they were not involuntarily aroused, he is much more trustworthy than when he takes special pride or pains to be very explicit. Thus, it is curious to compare his description of "Wrathy Chief's" reception of Cortés with that given subsequently by the "Marquis del Valle" himself, ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 25). It was doubtlessly the greatest effort at pomp and display ever attempted by the Mexicans, since they went to meet and greet the most incom- [114]

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643 644 finery, when a number of articles were used to deck the "chief of men" as his official insignia, but the custom of speaking to

114 prehensible beings ever heard of by them. It is interesting to place both versions side by side. The translation is my own and I therefore beg for indulgence.

Cortés. Second Dispatch.

"At that place more than a thousand principal people came to greet and to speak to me, all citizens of the said city, and all dressed alike and according to their custom very richly, and when they [576] came to speak to me, every one of them made, before coming up, a particular ceremony, customary among them, which consisted in each one of them putting his hand on the ground, kissing it; and in this manner I waited almost an hour until each one had made his ceremony." ". . . . . After we had passed that bridge, this lord Mutecruma came to receive us with about two hundred Lords, all barefooted and dressed in other livery or manner of clothing, also very rich after their custom, and more so than that of the others. They came in two processions, closely hugging the walls of the street which is very broad, fine, and straight, so that from one end of it the other end may be seen, and two-thirds of a league ("legua") in length, with very good buildings on both sides, dwellings as well as temples. And the said Mutecruma went in the middle of the street with two chiefs, one to his right and the other to his left. One of these was the same one who, as I said, had come to speak to me in the litter, and the other was the said Mutecruma's brother, lord of that city of Iztapalapa which I had left that day. All three were dressed alike, except Mutecruma who wore soles to his feet, whereas the other two chiefs had none and supported him by his arms. . . . . ."

Bernal Diaz de Castillo. Cap. 88.

"When we reached the place where another pathway (dyke) branched off to Cayoacan, ... many principals and caciques came, covered with very rich mantles, with ornaments and liveries, those of one cacique different from those of another, and the dykes were filled by them. These great caciques were sent by the great Montezuma ahead to receive us, and as they arrived before Cortés they bid us welcome, touching the ground and kissing it in token thereof." "Thus we were detained a good while, and from there the Cacamacan, chief of Tezcuco, and the chief of Iztapalapa, and the chief of Tacuba and the chief of Cuyoacan went forward to meet the great Montezuma who approached in a rich litter, accompanied by other great Lords and caciques holding vassals. And when we neared Mexico, where there were other small towers, the great Montezuma descended from his litter, and these great caciques took hold of his arms, advancing with him under a marvellously rich canopy of green plumes with large golden ornaments, much silver, and pearls and stones of "Chalchihuis" suspended from it as fringes, and very dazzling to the eye. The great Montezuma was very richly dressed after their custom, with cotarns on his feet (as they are called), with golden soles and much jewelry over them. The four lords who came with him were also richly dressed, though not in the same manner as when they had come out to receive us,—as if they changed dress on purpose under way. Besides these Lords, there came other great caciques who bore the canopy over their heads, and other many Lords preceded the great Montezuma sweeping the ground before him and placing ropes for him to step upon. None of these Lords ventured to look him in the face, but all had their eyes cast down, except those of his relatives and nephews who supported him by the arms.

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him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular 643 644
respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), 114
simply says: "The said Muteczuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Diez is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 300), from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcalteca ("*Art of War*," p. 153, note 203), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diez de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw more of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to ify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of the troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). 727
Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecamachalco and 114
Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlaipiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuacuiltzin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 62), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Mocteczuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Maxatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhcuehueques, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipiles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenuchtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the Matlatzincas;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with groans, and wails of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 330). "They went in pro- 114
cession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in 576

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643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at *him*, neither did he look at *them*. See *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 66, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 470). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 331), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1789, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

[251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, cap. LXIX, p. 115, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 8, Trat I°).

764 [252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hizléronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las esequias conforme á persona tal se deuian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 496): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes auian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 60 and 61), as late as 1753 or 1754, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

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again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also 643 dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, 644 more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed 644 many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially [202] did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of 643 the community," that is the place where the business of the entire 644 social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was transacted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan" 344

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don* 764 *J. F. Ramírez* ("*Durán*," p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 65). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96. also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopædia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramírez* (p. 65): "Puso así mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 109).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), which is very interesting in a general way.

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643 644 was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-
644 ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal Interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan.[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council [202] clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 328; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 92; cap. LXI. pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII. p. 109): "Vuelto á Tlacaellel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que ablasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 122, 134 and 138; cap. XXI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 98). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 23; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 40, cap. XXVIII, p. 42, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 58, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 154, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 158). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 166, cap, XXI, p. 182, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).

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into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imi- 714
tating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes [643
"in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes 645]
"on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those "who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their "bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and "painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "cotaras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation *achieved in war*, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe."

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 373). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 2d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-"mèria, doradas y labradas con diuersas labores y pinturas y diferenciallas quando á "él le paréciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó haçaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que alli se le señalaba con sus ceñidores y bragueros, que "aludian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, salió determinado que ninguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de neguen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, saluo si "no tuviese alguna sennal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 58). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 345). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vati- [302]
can. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war "they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once, "since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names.

[64] The head-dress, or "divisa."—"tlauiztli," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of [293]
sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 222, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty-"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

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175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
● [645] allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled*. Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 194). The Council opposed the advice of Quanhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

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settlement is not stated, but while some sources mention *twenty* 618
chiefs as composing the original council of the tribe, others speak of but *ten leaders*. This might, according to the view taken, indicate in both instances *ten* kins, or *twenty* in the former and *ten* in the latter. At any rate the number is larger than that originally composing the tribe, thus showing that the segmentation so characteristic of tribal society according to Mr. Morgan, had already begun. Of the government of the tribe Clavigero says: "The 645
whole nation was under a senate or college of the most promi- 643
nent men."[48] No mention is made anywhere of a head-war-chief

[48] *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 94. Lib. III, 618
cap. XXII. pp. 289, 290, and 291). *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47).

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of kins composing the Mexican tribe at at that time. The number of chiefs and their names are variously stated. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47), mentions six chiefs and four priests. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146), mentions ten chiefs. The "*Codex Mendoza*" also says ten chiefs (Tab. I, Vol. I, Kingsborough). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p, 190. note r). mentions twenty. It is interesting to compare the names, also those of the twenty leaders of *Torquemada* (Lib II, cap, III, p. 85), with those of the twenty "barrios" of Vetancurt.

Durán.	*Mendieta.*	*Torquemada.*	*Clavigero.*	*"Barrios" of Vetancurt.*
Acacitli,	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	Tzapotla,
Tenoch,	*Tenoch.*	*Tenoca,*	*Tenoch,*	Huehuecalco,
Mecl,	Tecincutl,	*Nanacatzin,*	*Nanacatzin,*	Tecpancaltitlan,
Ahuexotl,	*Axexotl.*	*Ahuexotl,*	*Ahuexotl,*	Cihuateocaltitlan,
Ocelopan,	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan,*	Yopico,
Tequacatcl,	Quahpan,	*Tepacatcl,*	*Tezcacatl,*	Teocaltitlan,
Quauhtloquetzqui,	*Xomimiti,*	*Xomimiti,*	*Xomimiti,*	Tlaxilpan,
Ococal,	Xocoyal.	*Quentzin,*	*Quentzin,*	Tequicaltitlan,
Chachalaiti,	*Yiuhcoqui.*	*Yiuhcoac,*	*Yiuhcoac,*	Atlampa,
Axolotua.	Atototi.	*Axolohua,*	*Axolohua,*	Tlacacomoco,
		Tlalala,	Tlalala.	Amanalco,
		Tzontliyayauh,	Tzontligagauti,	Tepetitlan,
		Tuzpan,	Tochpan,	Atizapan,
		Tetepan,	Tetepan,	Xihuitengo,
		Cozra,	Cozcati,	Tequixquipan,
		Ahati,	Atzin.	Mecaltitlan,
		Achitomecatl,	Achitomecatl,	Xoloco,
		Acohuatl,	Acohatl,	Chichimecapan,
		Mimich,	Mimich,	Copolco,
		Tezca.	*Tezcatl.*	*Tezcatzonco.*

I have italicized such names as are alike. We see that of the ten chiefs named by Durán and Mendieta, six are also named by the two other authorities. As might be expected, there is hardly any concordance between these names of chiefs and those of the Mexican "barrios."

If it were known to us whether, in this case, each "chief" represented a kin only, 618
or whether Durán, Tezozomoc, and Mendieta alone indicated the true number, we 773
could or might, of course, determine the number of the calpulli. That the chief is used to denote his kinship in the old authors is distinctly stated by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 234). This chapter relates the mission of sixty "wizards" ("brujos"-"hechiceros,") sent by the chief "Montezuma Ilhuicamina" (the first "stern or wrathy chief" of that name), to an old woman or goddess purported to be "Huitzilopochtli's" mother. Arrived before the old hag (as she is described), she inquires of them for her son and for

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affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the 624
young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated 618
the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to 646
the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body 701
elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were [615]
evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the 701
abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In 643
Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-ca'-la.

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701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

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Both the "chief of men," and his "*coadjutor*," the "Cihuacohuatl," while exercising, under certain extraordinary circumstances, discretionary powers in military matters, were still subject to a *higher* authority. This was the *council of chiefs*[125] ("tlatocan"), of which they were, ex-officio, members, with the additional title of "speakers" ("tlatoani"), and occupying, therefore, the "speaker's-seat" ("tlatoca-ycpalli").[126] In this council the *ultimate power of government* was vested, its functions were equally *legislative* and *judiciary;* the execution of its decrees belonged to the war-chiefs. *Peace and war* lay in its hands, the war-chiefs alone could not decide upon either.[127] The existence of this council as

[701 643 646

is plainly recognizable. In all those figures of Central American reliefs we discern the characteristic parts of the Mexican costume: the breech-cloth ("maxtlatl") and the head-dress. Several of them have the jacket "huepil," and the chiefs have, as ornaments, the "cozcatl," the "matzopetztli," and especially, the ear-rings and the towering plumage. Lip-pendants and nose-rings are very prominent on the statues of Copan. An illustration of the costume of the two chiefs, both being dressed exactly alike, is given by Durán on plate 8 (to chapter 23 of the first part of his work). Axayaca is also represented in full armour on plates 10 and 11.

[125] The word is from Molina (Vocab. II, p. 141,—"tlatocan,"—"corte ò palacio de "grandes señores." Id. I, p. 30, "consejo real." "tlatocanecentlalilitztli"). It derives from "ni-tlatoa," to speak. A very good illustration of this council is found in the "Popol-Vuh" (Part II, cap. VIII), notwithstanding the diffuse language, we can easily discern how the council of chiefs was constituted at "Xibalba," "Hunahpu," and "Xbalanqué," upon their arrival at the council-hall, found there twelve chiefs, the names of which are all given (p. 147). After Montezuma was captured and brought to Spanish quarters "there were always in his company twenty great lords and compan-"ions and councillors" (Bernal-Diez, Cap. XCV, p. 93, vol. II, Vedia). These were probably the members of the supreme council.

[126] "Tlatoani,"—"hablador, ò gran señor" (Molina, II, p. 141). Bernal-Diez says (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 32, Vedia. II) that when they arrived at San Juan de Ulloa: "vini-"eron dos canoas muy grandes, ... y en ellas vinièren muchos Indios Mejica-"nos, y como vieron los estandartes y navio grande, conociéron que allí habian de ir á "hablar al capitan, y fueronse derechos al navio, y entran dentro y preguntan quien era "el Tlatoan, que en su lengua dicen el señor." Señor Icazbalceta, in his note No. 36 (p. 12 of Vol. II of "Coleccion de Documentos") defines "Tlatoani" as follows: " . . . " . era la denominacion que se daba á los superiores y gobernantes, equivalente á "la antigua nuestra señor, y con la cual llamaban á los españoles." ("Real Ejécutoria "de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente à los caciques de "Axapusco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba.") "Tlatoca-ycpalli," from "tlatoca," and "icpalli," stool.

[127] The fact of the supremacy of the council in all matters is amply proven (Durán, Cap. XIV, p. 117; cap. XVI, p. 133). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "All these "four titularies were of the supreme council, without whose advice the king neither "made, nor could make, anything of importance." But especially the remarkable paragraph from Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352), speaking of the "Cihuacohuatl:" "Este Juez parece tener veces, y autoridad de Virrei, á los quales comunica el Rei au-"toridad absoluta, para governar, y despachar negocios, cometidos a su sola, y abso-"luta determinacion, ... pues en cosas de su Govierno, *conoce la audiencia, que "toda junta se hace persona de Rei, y con su autoridad le pueden reprimir, y reprimen.*" It is unfortunate that we have not any definite and detailed knowledge of the composition of this council. All we can say positively is, that it existed, and was supreme.

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646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It
[782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi-
[724] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the foray against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 30; cap. XXI. p. 33; cap. XXXI. p. 48). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL. p. 159.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in-"auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar à los dioses y cebar à los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizoczic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 131, 132, and 133). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 195).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

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642 All three we find very plainly among the ancient Mexicans.[176]
646 Since the tribe was formed of kins associating together voluntarily, it must be admitted that they stood on an equal footing, and had, all, an equal share in the tribal government. It was scarcely possible, however, from what we know of the population of aboriginal Mexico, that all the male members of the kins, at a general gathering, could form its directive power.[177] The latter consisted of delegates, elected by the kins to represent them; which body of delegates was the supreme authority, from whose decisions there should be no appeal.[178]

[176] "*Ancient Society*," (Part II, cap. VII).

[177] There is no evidence of a general gathering of the tribe of Mexico, subsequent to the election of "Humming-Bird" (Huitzilihuitl) to the office of "chief of men." This occurrence which, according to the *Codex Mendoza* (Plate III), took place in 1356, is mentioned by *Durán* (Cap. VII, p. 53): "Y asi haciendo su consulta y cauildo entre los grandes y mucha de la gente comun." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*" edited by *Sr. Jose M. Vigil* and annotated by *Sr. Orozco y Berra*, Mexico, 1878, cap. IV, p. 233), distinctly mentions delegates: "Casi con esto los mas principales, viejos, y sacerdotes de los Mexicanos, de los cuatro barrios." The "*Codice Ramirez*" ("*Relacion del Origen de los Indios que Habitan esta Nueva-España segun sus Historias.*" "*Biblioteca Mexicana*," p. 39), uses the same words as Durán. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318), gives probably the best and clearest picture of the most important meetings of the tribe,—those for election of the chiefs, and distinctly mentions only old men, officers and medicine-men.

[178] Evidence in regard to the existence and to the supreme authority of this body is found in many authors. In the first place we have the direct admission, that they elected the "chief of men" or so-called "King," and that the "matters of government" lay in their hands, in that (yet) anonymous Relation taken from the Archives of Simancas, translated and printed by Mr. H. Ternaux-Compans under the title: "*De l'ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens*" (1er *Recueil*, p. 228): "Des conseilleurs étaient chargés des affaires d'état; c'étaient pour la plupart des gens de distinction et des écuelles ou chevaliers comme nous les appelons. On choisissait toujours des personnes âgées, pour lesquelles le souverain avait beaucoup de vénération et de respect, et qu'il honorait comme ses pères." The supremacy of the council is positively affirmed, besides, in the following authorities:—

(1). In a fragmentary MSS. of the sixteenth century, found along with the "*Codice Ramirez*," and incorporated with the latter in the "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" ("*Crónica*," *Fragmento* 2, Cap. . . p. 147): "Considerando el nuevo Rey de México la fuerza que el español traia, juntó á consejo y hizóles representacion de aquesto, y lo que estaba prometido que de Ixtlilxuchitl habia de salir la ruina de los Mexicanos, que se diesen con buenas condiciones, pues era menos mal que no morir á sus manos y á las de los españoles. No quisieron por tener concepto destos que eran insufribles y cudiciosos. Tornóles otra vez á tratar aquesto, y aún otras dos, diciéndoles ser entónces tiempo cómodo: dijéron que querian mas morir, que hazerse esclavos de gente tan mala como los españoles; y asi quedó combenido que era mejor morir; la qual determinacion sabida por Cortés andaba dando órden á Ixtlilxuchitl de como sitiar la ciudad." This shows how decisive the voice and vote of the council was, over and above the wishes and counsels of the so-called "King" (at that time Quauhtemotzin), even at the time of greatest danger, immediately before the last siege. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 160) on the same subject.

(2). In same collection—*Fragmento* 1 (pp. 124 and 125), acknowledging the final decisions of the council at the time of the older "wrathy chief": "y assi en este tiempo

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It is therefore a TRIBAL COUNCIL, called in the Mexican language 646 "place of speech" ("Tlatocan"), which constituted the highest power among the ancient Mexicans.[179] In all probability it consisted of as many members as there were kins in the tribe,[180]

comenzó á edificar el templo á su dios Huitzilopochtli á imitacion de Salomon, por consejo de Tlacaelel y de todos sus grandes." Idem (p. 117): "y luego llamó á Tlacaelel y á sus consejeros, y diziendóles lo que pasaba, de comun acuerdo se determinó que se hiziesse guerra á los de Tepeaca."

(3). The proper words of the last "wrathy chief" (Montezuma II), as reported by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Vol. IX of Kingsborough, Cap. XCVII, p. 172) are: "hijos y hermanos, seais muy bien venidos, descansad, que aunque es verdad yo soy rey y señor, yo solo no puede valeros, sino con todos los principales Mexicanos del sacro senado Mexicano descansad." This reply was given by the reputed "despot" to the delegates from Huexotzinco, who came to negotiate for peace and alliance against the Tlaxcallans. In connection with this we meet with the remarkable passage already quoted, which, while proving the fact that the Mexican tribe could not, alone, even treat, for itself, with a hostile tribe, establishes incidentally, also, the supremacy of the Mexican council over its head-chief: "Habiendo venido ante Moctezuma todo el senado Mexicano, y consultado sobre ello, dijo Zihuacoatl resoluto: Señor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consageros de guerra los reyes de Acolhuacan Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi."

(4). *Diego Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, sin parecer de los quales ninguna cosa se auia de hacer." (Cap. XII, p. 108): "El rey tomó parecer con los grandes de lo que auia de hacer. Tlacaelel, principe de los exercitos, y los quatro del supremo consejo." (Cap. XIV, pp. 117 and 118) describes a called meeting of "los mas principales de toda la ciudad de México" with the two chiefs. (Cap. XVI, p. 132): "Tlacaelel respondió, que le parecia cosa muy acertada y justa, y todos los del consejo determinaron de que se hiciese." (P. 133): "Montecuma aprobó el consejo y dixo: perdonad me, señores, que yo aunque soy rey no acertaré en todo: para eso tengo vuestro favor, para que me auiseis de lo que á la autoridad desta ciudad y nuestra conviniere." I further refer to Cap. XVIII (p. 156), and other places.

(5). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 11, p. 477): "De donde se puede entender, que entre estos el Rey no tenia absoluto mando é imperio, y que mas gouernaua a modo de Consul, o Dux, que de Rey, aunque despues con el poder crecio tambien el mando de los Reyes, hasta ser puro tyrannico, como se vera en los ultimos Reyes." This latter assertion has already been refuted in a previous note. (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos estos quatro eran del supremo Consejo, sin cuyo parecer el Rey no hazia, ni podia hazer cosa de importancia."

(6). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 76): "Estos quatro Ditados, eran del Consejo supremo, sin cuyo parecer no podia hacer el Rei cosa de importancia."

(7). Indirect evidence of the supreme power of the council is found in the descriptions of the mode of consultation about war or peace, as given by *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 120), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537). The latter even mentions old women along with the men, as participating in the debate on peace or war, and describes this debate as truly "Indian."

[179] *Molina* (II, p. 140): "*tlatocan*," "corte ó palacio de grandes señores." (Id., I, p. 29): "consejo real," "tlatocanecentlalilistli." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 545): "si no era en la corte, á la qual llaman Tlatocan, que es lugar de Juzgado, ó Audiencia."

[180] We have already noticed that there were twenty "barrios" (kins) in the tribe. Now we are told by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*," etc., Vedia II, cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la contina estaban en su compañia veinte grandes señores y consejeros y capitanes, y se hizo á estar preso sin mostrar pasion en ello." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "*Ya* he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á

646 each calpulli sending a "speaker" ("Tlatoani") to represent it. Such positions could only be filled by men of acknowledged ability and reputation, who had acquired the distinction of *chiefs*, and hence their other title—"speaking chiefs" ("Tecuthatoca,") which was everywhere recognized, in aboriginal Mexico, as the highest office and charge.[181]

negociar y el acato que le tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces; y porque está ya referido, no lo torné á referir." Furthermore, it is positively asserted by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544): "En lugar de Regidores, ponian en cada Barrio, ó Parcialidad, un Tecuhtli, que se ocupaba en executar lo que nuestros Regidores executan, y hacen, y todos los Dias se hallaban en el Palacio, á ver lo que se les ordenaba, y mandaba." Consequently each calpulli or kin held one representative constantly at the official house of the tribe, and as there were twenty kins, we necessarily have here the twenty chiefs or "Judges," mentioned by Bernal Diez. The above statement of Torquemada is repeated (or copied?) by *Vetancurt* ("Teatro," Vol. I, p. 371).

Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215) mentions: "los grandes señores, que eran hasta doce." *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 236) says "there were fourteen great lords in the kingdom of Mexico." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, Kingsb., Vol. IX) enumerates first twelve, then three more. This is the more singular after the detailed list giving *twenty* chiefs, which list I have already referred to in a previous note.

That the members of the tribal council were elected each one by his calpulli or kin follows from the statements of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 60): "Les calpullis ont toujours un chef pris nécessairement dans la tribu. . . . L'élection se fait entre eux. . . . La charge de ces chefs n'est pas héréditaire. . ." (P. 61): "Ce chef est chargé du soin des terres du calpulli et d'en défendre la possession. . . . . ." (P. 62): "Il a soin de défendre les membres du calpulli, de parler pour eux devant la justice et les gouverneurs." Consequently this officer *represented the kin* towards the other kins of the same tribe, and this could only be done in the tribal council, as one of its members. How this election took place, the same authority tells us (p. 61), also that the office was for life, and that as capacity was the first condition, incapacity or unfaithfulness necessarily brought about removal.

[181] *Molina* (II, p. 14): "Tlatoani," "hablador, ó gran señor." The plural is "Tlatoca." *Pimentel* ("*Cuadro*," p. 174). There is ample evidence of the high offices which bore this title. Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 698): "los Tlatoques (que son los Señores, y Poderosos.)" . . . . *Tezozomoc* uses the term "Zemanahuac-tlatoani." *Zurita* (p. 48): "Les souverains se nommaient et se nomment encore Tlatoques, mot qui vient du verbe tlatoa, qui veut dire parler." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 22, Vedia, II). "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 73 and note 36). In this document the word is used in the *plural*: "y diciendo que ya habian estado alli los Tlatoanis Tescames." It would be useless to quote further authorities. I shall only state that, according to *Sr. D. Juan Gavarrete*, the term, as applied to "principales" or "old men," is still used among the Indians of Guatemala: "Los ancianos que á su edad agregan servicios publicos se llaman en algunos pueblos Tatoques; pero esta denominacion casi ha desaparecido." (*Letter to the writer* 14 *March*, 1879.)

The term "tecutlatoca" decomposes into "tecutli" and "tlatoca." It is found in *Molina* (II, p. 96), as "in Tecutlatoca." "tener audiencia, o entender en su oficio el presidente, oydor, alcalde, etc., etc." "Tecutlatolliztli." "judicatura, o el acto de exercitar su oficio el Juez." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 353): "y á los Jueces, Tecuhtlatoque, Señores, que governan el bien publico, y lo hablan." I have already noticed that the "Tequitlato" mentioned by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, p. 329) might be a misprint or misspelling for "tecutlatoca." The same author says (Id., Cap. XXV, p. 314): "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban *tecutlatoque*." *Molina* (I, p. 108): "senador," "tecutlatoca."

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The place where this council assembled, was necessarily the official house of the tribe or "tecpan,"[162] and there they met at stated intervals, possibly twice every Mexican month of twenty days.[163] Such meetings were fully attended, and they could be called, besides, at any time.[164] There is evidence that, during

Bustamante ("*Tezcoco*," p. 191): "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban Tepantlátoani (el que habla por otro)."

[162] *Molina* (II, p. 95): "casa ò palacio real, ó de algun señor de salna." But of special importance is the following definition (I, p. 91): "Palacio real"—"tecpan, tlatocan, totecuacan." This shows that the tecpan was really the place where the council met." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIV, pp. 302 and 303. Cap. XXV, p. 314). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, pp. 247-252). *Veytia* (III. cap. VII, p. 199). *Torquemada* ("*Monarquia*," Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544), identifying "la Corte" with the "lugar de Juzgado, ó Audiencia." Further quotations are useless.

[163] This fact is implied by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," cap. XXXVIII, pp. 267, 268 and 269), when he affirms that, in notifying a hostile tribe of the intention to make war upon it, the notification was repeated thrice, at intervals of twenty days. *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua de Méjico*," Lib. III, cap. VII. p. 209), says that every twelve days "cada doce dias," the courts met to report to the "emperor." This is rather strange since (Id., p. 202, etc.), he says that these courts sat daily in what he calls the "palace." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 355): "De diez à diez Dias, y á mas tardar, de doce à doce, hacia junta el Rei de todos los jueces, asi de las Audiencias del Reino, como de los de sus Consejos." In this case he speaks of Tezcuco. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135): "Y asi, á lo mas largo, los pleitos árduos, se concluian á la consulta de los ochenta dias, que llamaban nappoaltlatolli, demas que cada diez ó doce dias el señor con todos los jueces tenian acuerdo sobre los casos árduos y de mas calidad." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 101): "Tous les douze jours il y avait une assemblée générale des juges présidié par le prince. On y jugeait les affaires difficiles, celles de crimes qualifiés, et l'on examinait minutieusement tous les détails." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 482), is very positive: "Each Mexican month, or within twenty days, a meeting of all the judges was held in presence of the King, to decide upon all cases not yet disposed of." He evidently bases the statement upon *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 442). "Consultan con los señores cada mes una vez todos los negocios," according to *Sr. Orozco y Berra* ("*Ojeada sobre Cronologia Mexicana*," Introduction to the "Crónica Mexicana," published under the supervision of Señor José M. Vigil, pp. 174 and 175). Gomara rests principally upon an unpublished series of documents, entitled "*Libro de Oro*," now in possession of my friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, which collection was formed by the Franciscans under the auspices of the unjustly abused Fray Juan de Zumárraga, between 1531 and 1547. The statement of Clavigero is, therefore, not to be rejected. The "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 65) says: "los quales daban noticia al Rey cada cierto tiempo de todo lo que en su Reyno pasaba y se habia hecho." It is, therefore, to say the least, likely, that the full council met once a month, but, as we have stated in order to be just towards all, it is equally possible that it may have met twice. The reference to "Judges" needs no explanation. It is self-evident that for judiciary matters, alone, such meetings of executive officers were superfluous. Matters of government came up also,—and this is decisive of the kind of officers that were members of the tribal council, since they alone could fill such positions. These meetings were, therefore, full meetings of the council, and nothing else.

[164] This is abundantly proven by what has at last been recognized by *Sr. Orozco y Berra* as well as by my friend, *Sr. Chavero* ("*Ojeada*," etc.) as specifically Mexican sources of aboriginal history. See for inst.: "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 53, 62, 66, 67, 69). "*Fragmento No.* 1" (pp. 124, 127, 133, etc.). "*Fragmento No.* 2" (pp. 137, 147, etc.).

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646 the critical period of Cortés' first stay at Tenuchtitlan, the twenty "speakers" held daily meetings at the official house.[185]

In a society based upon kin we cannot expect a clear division of the powers of government, particularly as there were no written laws,[186] and custom alone ruled. The functions of the ancient Mexican council were not properly legislative, but they were rather *directive* and *judicial* combined. One of its first duties was, however, to maintain harmony among the kins.

The twenty independent social units composing the Mexican tribe, while bound together by the necessity of mutual aid to secure territorial independence, could not be expected always to live in peace with one another. Difficulties would necessarily arise between kin and kin, and to prevent such disputes from leading to actual warfare,[187] the council as a body of *official arbitrators* was needed.

618 According to the rules of kinship, the calpulli was not only
646 bound to avenge any wrongs suffered by one of its members, but
695 it was also responsible for the offences committed by the kinfolk towards any outsider.[188] Hence theft committed outside of the

Durán (cap. X, p. 83. XI. pp. 107, 108, 109, XIV, pp. 117, 123, XVI, p. 132, XVIII, p. 156), etc., etc. We forbear further quotations, since they would be too numerous. All go to prove that the council was frequently called together between the times of regular meeting. Quotations from *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*") are useless, since they are very numerous and agree with those of Durán in the main. The fact of irregular meetings of the council having been called during the conquest, is further proven by *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. III. p. 7), and *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XIV, p. 385).

[185] *Bernal Díaz de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, Vol. II, cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la cintina estaban en su compañia veinte grande señores y consejeros y capitanes." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á negociar y el acato que el tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces."

[186] A number of paintings are mentioned as representing the customs and manners of the natives. Specimens of these are found in *Codex Mendoza*, Lam., 58 to 72 inclusive. But none of these contained, or could contain or express, anything like a *law*. Compare, on Mexican paintings in general and their value, "*On the Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America*," in Vol. 27 of "*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*." Señor *Orozco y Berra* ("*Códice Mendozino,– Ensayo de descifracion geroglifica*," beginning in No. 3, of Vol. I, "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*") has commenced a publication which can be expected to shed much light on such picture-leaves, and the true position which they held among the ancient Mexicans.

[187] Conflicts between the inhabitants of different "barrios" during festive turnouts and religious gatherings could not always be prevented.

[188] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 76 and 77). *Davila-Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*," Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83). The custom is general among other tribes and Mr. Morgan has adverted to it among the Maya of Yucatan and the Peruvians. It would be unnecessary display to produce further evidence: the remarkably clear statements of Mr. Morgan fully "cover the case."

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calpulli, and especially the slaying, wilful or accidental, of members of one kin by those of another, became the cause of a claim by the offended calpulli upon that of the offender.[189] This claim was submitted to the tribal council by the "speaker" of the complainant kinship. He produced his evidence, sometimes even in the shape of paintings, not so much to prove the facts as to sustain his claim. From the opposite side, the "speaker" defended the interests of his clan, and he also supported his pleadings with whatever testimony he might command.[190] The remaining "tlatoca" listened attentively to both parties, and when the argument was concluded, they deliberated among

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[189] *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, pp. 458 and 459) was the first, to my knowledge, to call attention (in note 59) to the difference of opinion among authors, in regard to the punishment of murderers. He refers to the unpublished parts of the work of Fray *Diego Durán*. We find in the *Codice Ramirez* ("*Tratado de los Ritos y Ceremonias y Dioses que en su Gentilidad usaban los Indios desta Nueva España*," Cap. I, p. 103): "El matar uno á otro era muy prohibido, y aunque no se pagaba con muerte, hazian al homicida esclavo perpétuo de la mujer ò parientes del muerto, para que les sirviesse y supliesse la falta del muerto, ganando el sustento de los hijos que dejaba." This is very interesting since it shows the autonomy of the kins. The murderer stood, towards the calpulli of the slain, in the same relation as, among northern Indians, a prisoner of war did towards the hostile tribe. Both could be adopted, and this condoned the deed. The offending kin lost one member; the offended kin obtained one in return for the one that had been killed. However, this was only in exceptional cases: the rule, as established by the majority of authors was that life alone could atone for life. In the same manner, and under the same head, the contradictory reports must be placed, about the punishment of theft, which have already been noticed. There are consequently, for each crime or kind of crime, two classes; one, of such as were committed within the kin, and the other, of such as were committed without. [682]

[190] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304): "Otra sala del palacio se llamaba teccali, ó teccalco. En este lugar residian los senadores y los ancianos para oir pleitos y peticiones, que les ofrecian la gente popular, y los jueces procuraban de hacer su oficio con mucha prudencia y sagacidad, y presto los despachaban; porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como hacienda, casas, ó maizales; y despues cuando ya se queria acabar el pleito, buscaban los senadores los testigos." I quote this passage, although it applies particularly to the judicial functions of the council, because the mode of proceedings is therein illustrated. *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207), speaking of Tezcuco, is very positive: "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban tepantlatoani, que quiere decir *el que habla por otro*. . . . ." I need not recall here that "tlatoani" (plural "tlatoca") was the title of the members of the council, and that consequently these "attorneys" belonged thereto. The same statement (derived from Veytia also) is found in *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte II, cap. VII, p. 191). These two works contain (in the chapters indicated) the most detailed information as to the proceedings. Still, there is evident confusion in the minds of these authors in general: they fail to discriminate between arbitration and tribal jurisdiction. The bulk of the other authorities commit the same mistake. Compare *Zurita* ("Rapport," pp. 102-105), whom *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap XXVIII, p. 128) has almost verbally copied. *Torquemada* (Lib, XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 254 and 255).

The absolute lack of division of powers which characterizes so well ancient Mexican society is well established by *Veytia* (III, cap. VII, p. 208), speaking of what he

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618 646 695 themselves until they finally agreed upon an award.[191] The same thing occurred when two calpulli claimed possession or enjoyment of the same piece of land.[192] No appeal was possible to any higher authority; but every eighty days an extraordinary gathering took place at the "tecpan," consisting of the council and the executive chieftains, the war-captains of the four great quarters, the "elder brothers" of the kins, and the leading medicine-men, and any cause pending before the "tlatocan" might be deferred until the next of these general meetings; and even in case a decision had been rendered, a reconsideration thereof, on that occasion, was sometimes agreed upon.[193]

calls "supremo consejo:" "Tratábanse en este consejo todo género de negocios de estado, justicia, guerra, hacienda etc., etc."

[191] This picture is mainly based upon *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," III. cap. VII), and *Bustamente* ("*Tezcoco*," pp. 191 and 192). The statement in the latter is only worthy of credit because copied from the former.

[192] *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, y. 483). For a copy of the paintings reproduced, see *A. de Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères*," etc., Vol. I, plate V. Ed. 8vo).

[643 693] [193] I affirm this in the face of all the authorities on the subject, who, without exception, assert that there was an appeal to the "king." The *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXX, "Declaracion de la figurado") is even very positive: "Y si era negocio de calidad del consejo. havia apelacion por via de agravio ante Montecuma, en donde habia conclusion de la causa." My opinion is based on what precedes about the authority of the council, on what I expect to prove in relation to the true nature of the duties of the head-chiefs and which will hereafter follow, and on the contradictions among the authors themselves. Thus the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58) places the supreme power into the hands of the councils "sin parescer de los quales ninguna cosa se habia de hacer," and (pp. 64 and 65) it does not mention any power of appeal whatever. *Zurita* (pp. 100 and 101): "Les appels étaient portés devant douze autres juges supérieurs qui prononçaient d'apres l'avis du souverain." It is queer to notice, how the writers of the tezcucan school, appear eager to place the power of final decree or the decision of final appeal in a "high tribunal," or rather simply a supreme council of their tribe. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXXI, p. 146) mentions a supreme council, "á los quales avian de venir todas las cosas graves, y criminales, para que ellos, con el Rei, las determinassen." (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 354): "Para estos dos Jueces Supremos se apelaban las causas graves, los quales las admitian, pero no determinaban, ni sentenciaban, sin parecer, y acuerdo de el Rei." *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 199) speaks of the establishment of "tribunals" by "Fasting wolf" ("Nezahualcoyotl"—properly "fasting coyote"), and adds: "pero concediendo á las partes el recurso de apelacion para el gran tribunal de justicia que erigió en su corte de Tezcuco." This so-called tribunal was, as we have shown at the close of note 190, the "Council of the tribe." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) almost copies Zurita. *Sahagun* ("*Historia general*," etc., Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 314): "y los casos muy dificultuosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase, juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian." "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque. . . ." In this case the learned father speaks of tribal jurisdiction and not of arbitration. Still it is plain that he admits the *council's decrees as final*. The chief, "señor," appears only as member of this council, a position of which we shall hereafter speak. Without making any further quotations from similar authorities, I beg to revert to those which place, *by the side of the so-called "King,"* an independent "supreme Judge"—the "Cihuacohuatl," whose tribunal

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Aside from these arbitrative functions, other duties occupied the 646 council's time at its full meetings. If any calpulli felt wronged 618 in the distribution of the incoming tribute, it might through its delegate or "speaker,"[194] complain about the tribal officers answerable for it to the "tlatocan." The investiture of chiefs and officers of the kins belonged to the highest authority of the tribe

is positively mentioned as the final court of appeals. That this "Cihuacohuatl" [643 occupied a high position, was already noticed by *Cortés* ("*Carta tercera*," Vedia I, p. 89), and subsequently, when he became still more prominent, by *Tezozomoc*. But *Torquemada* has been to my knowledge, the first one to establish his position as independent supreme Judge. It is not devoid of interest to notice what he writes about this office. ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352): "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y Juez maior, cuio nombre, por raçon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl . . . . . De este Presidente no se apelaba para el Rei, ni para otro Juez alguno, ni podia tener Teniente, ni substituto, sino que por su misma persona havia de determinar, y decidir todos los negocios de su juzgado, y audiencia." He further adds; "lo qual no corria en este dicho Juez Cihuacohuatl; porque de su ultima determinacion no habia recurso á otro." *Fray Augustin de Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I, Parte 2a, Trat. 2°, cap. I, p. 309): "Despues del Rey . . . habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion á otro. Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." These statements distinctly hint at the existence of an appellate judicial body, of which this Cihuacohuatl was foreman, and over which the so-called "King" had no control. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481) even states that while there was no appeal from the Cihuacohuatl whatever, there was one of these officers "at the court and the principal cities of the kingdom." These views in regard to the "Cihuacohuatl" have been plainly accepted by *W. H. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Vol. I, p. 29): "There was no appeal from his sentence to any other tribunal, not even to the king," and *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435).

The confusion is apparent, for we have here three different views of the same case. One is that the "head-chief" was the highest appellate authority, the other that the head-chief, *with the council*, formed the court of last resort, and the third that a "supreme Judge" was appointed by the so-called "King" to render final decisions. Now we have already seen that the supreme authority was the council or "tlatocan," consequently what is commonly called the "king" could not be the last resort in judiciary matters, still less could he appoint an officer for that purpose. Our proposition appears, therefore, sustained, that there was no appeal from the decisions of the council to any superior authority whatever.

But, finally, it was possible to reconsider, so to say, the cases decided by the council, and for such the so-called "*Neuhpohualtlatolli*" or "*eighty days-talk*" was instituted. Authorities are almost unanimous on this point, although it is commonly ascribed to Tezcuco alone, and I refrain from quoting them in detail, referring but to *Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, p. 439, etc.).

[194] This becomes evident from the relative positions of kin and tribe. As we shall hereafter see, the officers gathering and those receiving the tribute were tribal officers, consequently subject to the council. It was to the council, therefore, that any complaint had to be brought against them, and this could be done only through the "speaker" of a particular kin. That the tribute was distributed partly among the "calpulli" is indicated by *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 79): "Tambien dieron á sus barrios para el culto de sus dioses, á cada barrio una suerte, etc.," and *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. X, p. 18): "y aunque venian á darlo á Ytzcoatl, era para todos los Mexicanos en comun."

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646 also.[195] This "right to invest officers and chiefs of the kins" is
618 commonly distorted into a right to appoint or at least to confirm an appointment or election,[196] whereas it was merely an act of courtesy ultimately converted into an established custom. But paramount in importance was the preservation of independence towards the outside world, and hence all relations with other tribes, and all final decisions concerning alliances, declarations of war and treaties of peace were, as we have elsewhere stated, in the hands of the council.[197] No raid or foray could be started unless by its direction; and delegates from foreign or hostile tribes, though not always admitted into the presence of the "tlatocan," always had to wait until that body agreed upon and formulated an answer.[198]

[195] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 361): . . "elegian Dia de buen signo: en el qual llamaban á todos los señores, y principales de la Republica. y á todos los Parientes. y Amigos: los quales acompañaban al mancebo, etc., etc." (Cap. XXX, pp. 364, 365). This author copies from *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII and XXXIX, pp. 156 to 161) who partly gathers from *Zurita* ("*Rapport*." pp. 25 to 29). *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 435): "Los señores, los amigos y parientes que convidados estaban, lo subian por las gradas al altar. . . . . El dia que habia de salir venian todos los que primero le honraron, y luego por la mañana le lavaban y limpiaban muy bien, y le tornaban al templo de Camaxtle con mucha música, danzas y regocijo. Subianle á cerca del altar, etc., etc. . . ." Although these quotations apply mostly to Tlaxcala, the dignity of "Tecuhtli" was common among all the sedentary tribes, and the customs of investiture were also about identical. Compare, "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un tecle*" ("*Pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique*," Ternaux-Compans, pp. 233 and 234.

[196] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 47): "parceque les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient à ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits à la guerre," etc. Besides, there are numerous evidences that the older authors all believed the officers to be nominated by the highest tribal authority. The distinction was never made as between officers of the kins and officers of the tribe. I have formerly discussed the point.

[197] "*Art of War*" (p. 129). In addition to the authorities there quoted, and those alluded to in note 178 of the present essay, I beg to refer with great pleasure to a paper written by a learned Peruvian, *Sr. José Fernandez Nodal* ("*Législation civile comparée des Mexicains sous les empereurs Aztecs et des Péruviens à l'époque des Incas*"). This memoir was presented at the "Congrès international des Américanistes," at Luxembourg in 1877, but only a short summary of it was published in the "*Compte Rendu*" (Vol. I, pp. 225-237). Sr. Nodal states that among the Mexicans' monarchy (?) was elective and controlled by a Council. "Controlée par un conseil suprême." It is to be sincerely regretted that this interesting paper was thus neglected.

[198] Evidences in regard to this latter detail are numerous. Compare *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. XCVII, p. 172). *Durán* (Cap. XV. p. 137): "El rey Montezuma le respondió con rostro muy alegre y amoroso, que se lo agradecia el amor que les tenian y qual era muy contento de conservar la paz y de tener con ellos perpetua amistad; pero para questas treguas estuviesen con mas seguridad y vinculo, qual lo queria communicar con sus grandes señores y principales y qual le daria su respuesta. El rey de Tescúco fué aposentado á descansar en un aposento de la casa real, con mucha onra, y luego el rey mandó venir á todos los de su consejo y á los demas señores y principales, y estando presentes, luego los propuso la plática

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Such were, in a general way, the higher functions of the Mexican council, and they appear, if we are permitted to characterize them to be only arbitrative and directive. Yet the members of that council had other duties of a purely judicial nature. 646 692

No conflict occurred between its jurisdiction and that of the kins. It was neither superior nor inferior to it, but wholly independent, even without any connection with it. Hence it extended:

1. Over the unattached class, the hangers-on to the tribe, or outcasts from the bond of kinship.[19]

2. Over all the people composing the tribe, irrespective of kinship, at places specially placed under tribal care, or reserved for tribal business, and therefore *neutral ground* for the members of all the calpulli. These neutral localities were the official buildings, the central or tribal "house of god," and especially the great "tianquiz" or market places.

The outcasts were, happily for the preservation of tribal society, not very numerous. Still, from their very origin, they were the most disorderly part of the people and crimes were certainly more common among them than among those upon whose passions the tie of kinship and the obligations resulting therefrom acted like a wholesome check. It required a judiciary power constantly on hand to repress and punish the misdemeanors committed among this class.

The "tecpan," the great central "teocalli" and the square on which it stood, and the market, were regular meeting-places of 368 621 693

siguiente, etc. . . . . ." (Cap. LX. p. 473): "Montezuma, apiadándose dellos, los mandó aposentar, y llamando su consejo, propusoles la demanda que traian." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 61): "El Rey Itzcohuati mostró gran contento con la embajada respondiendo con muy gratas palabras; mandó aposentar á los mensajeros, y honrarlos, y tratar como á su propia persona, diziéndoles que descansassen, que el dia siguiente les daria la respuesta." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap I, p. 833): "Acabada la Embaxada, si el Embaxador no era de mui gran Principe, no se le respondia cosa, hasta otro Dia; salian con él algunos, acompañandole á la Calpixca, adonde se proveia de lo necessario, y en el entretanto el Señor comunicaba con los de su Consejo lo que se havia de responder, lo qual hacia uno de ellos, y no él." But the most complete picture of such delegations and the manner in which they were received is found in *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIª, Trat. IIa, cap. II. pp. 378 and 379). It is too long to be copied. I merely allude to the words: "Acabada la embajada, le volvian á la posada mientras se juntaban para la respuesta." It has been adopted by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, pp. 470 and 471).

[19] The unattached class was under protection of no kin; therefore, if such a "bonded man" made his escape to the Tecpan, he became liberated from his bond. Already mentioned by *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia, I. p. 443), and subsequently confirmed by others.

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646 We thus have found in the "tlatocan" or council, the high directive authority of the tribe, the arbitrator between its organic component parts, and the chief judicial power within the tribe. It is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the council of the kin.

643 Like the kin also which, subordinate ~~to its~~ councils decrees had two superior officers for the execution thereof, the tribe had *two chief executive functionaries.*

Even at a comparatively remote period in the history of the ancient Mexicans we may discern two offices, not formally created, but naturally growing from what was left of tribal organization, which mark the beginning of a chief tribal executive. One of these is the "wise old man" conducting the "talk;"[204] the other is the "big warrior" who led the braves to battle.[205] The former subsequently became "foreman" in the council, the latter "war-chief" to the tribe. There are indications to the effect that, for a while, both offices were held by one person. From the time the confederacy had been formed, however, we recognize two chief executive agents,[206] one of which is called the "Snake-woman"

Vedia I): "Los Jueces eran doce . . ." with a higher court of two; therefore, in all fourteen, equal to the thirteen of Sahagun with the "Señor" added. *Zurita* ("*Rapport,*" etc., pp. 100 and 105): "Les douze juges d'appel . . ." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) copies Zurita almost literally. By the side of this early Franciscan group of writers, there is the picture drawn by the two great Franciscans, Torquemada and Vetancurt, representing a supreme Judge, "Cihuacohuatl," and four tribunals beneath him in authority. This picture is evidently based on such paintings as the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plates LXIX and LXX). In my opinion the thirteen Judges of Sahagun should be connected with the judicial offices mentioned by *Cortés* as sitting at the "tecpan" (see note 202), rather than regarded as constituting a court of appeals.

Finally, I refer to *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimques,*" Cap. XXXVI and XXXVII), *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, pp. 199 and 200) and others, in regard to Tezcuco. While they distinctly prove the subdivision, for judicial work, of the supreme council into two sections, they also show in a very marked manner, the confusion and contradiction arising from a misconception of the real case.

[204] Perhaps the earliest mention of such a "wise old man," foremost in the "talk," among the Mexicans proper, is that of the tale of the crafty old men, Huitziton and Tecpatzin, who are said to have persuaded the Mexicans to emigrate from Aztlan, as related by *Torquemada*, who is often copied (Lib. II, cap I, p. 78). In early times they are also called Captains and leaders, and must not be confounded with the "medicine-men" (Id., p. 78). Subsequently these latter sometimes appear as leading speakers. Much information can be gathered on this point by carefully and critically reading *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, XIII, XV and XVIII), *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 25 to 38), *Durán* (Cap. IV, V and VI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, II and III).

[205] *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. II, pp. 80 and 81). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano,*" Parte IIa, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 260, 261 and 262). They merely show that the office of "big warrior," existed.

[171] [206] This apportionment of the duties of chief-executive among two heads is found in many tribes of Mexico and Central America. Thus in Tlaxcallan, Maxiscatzin and Xicotencatl, the two head-chiefs, were alike and equal in power. (*Cortés*, "*Carta Segunda*" (pp. 18, 46). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. LXVII, p. 60): "los dos mas prin-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 tives to whom it was delivered.[307] If the gathering of tribute
489 thus required a set of officers necessarily placed beneath the orders of the military chieftain, another set was needed for its preservation and judicious distribution. If the one consisted of stewards dwelling outside of the pueblo, the other was composed exclusively of home-stewards. Every convoy was therefore "consigned" to a proper officer, whose duty it was to receive it and then abide the directions of his superiors as to its apportionment.[308]

[643] We have already mentioned the "Cihuacohuatl" as the officer,
647 who was responsible to the council for the administration of the
651 stores and the proper distribution thereof, though he had beneath him another officer, to whom this duty was really and practically assigned. Torquemada and those who have followed his school, call this subordinate "great crop-gatherer," "Huey calpixqui,"[309] whereas Tezozomoc and Durán apply to him the title of "man of the house of chests" "Petlacalcatl"[310] In both cases, however, he is represented as "chief steward," to whom all the others should render account. He superintended the distribution of the tribute,[311] and to him the kins came for their share—perhaps the largest of all. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish the principles upon which the division took place. All that we know is, that the tribe received one portion and the kins or "calpulli" the other, and that the "man of the house of chests," under whose eyes the distribution took place, afterwards looked to those stores, in particular, which were reserved for the tribe, i. e.: for the demands of the tribal government.[312] Therefore, the "man of the house of chests" frequently appears to be under the direct orders of the "chief of men," who could apply to him, more particularly, for such articles as were required for the exercise of tribal hospitality including gifts, and for displays of finery on particularly solemn occasions.[313] It is true that, as we have elsewhere shown, particular tracts of land, "tecpan-tlalli," were reserved among tributary tribes for the demands of the official

[307] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X, p. 18). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138).

[308] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXII, p. 51): "A los dichos pueblos fué un mayordomo para cobrar este tributo, como para todos los demas pueblos, que en Mexico havia un mayordomo, y otro en el mismo pueblo para mayor sugecion y vasallage."

[309] *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, pp. 544, 545), copied by Vetancurt (Parte IIa, Trat. IIº, cap. Iº, pp. 370 and 371), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. X, pp. 468 and 469).

[310] Also by the *Codex Mendoza* (Interpretation to plates XX, XXI, etc.).

[311] See note 300, also *Tezozomoc* and *Durán*.

[312] This is so frequently mentioned by *Tezozomoc*, that I forbear detailed quotations.

[313] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," sundry places, too numerous to refer to).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

households,[314] still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the 647
hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and 651
thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.[315] Over these stores the "Petlacalcatl" presided. This officer was, in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was account- [212]
able in the first place to the "Cihuacohuatl," who kept a register or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment. These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of [217]
Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[316]

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,— not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,— and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society — the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is 648
superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

[314] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 419 and 436).

[315] See the concurrent reports about the great drouth, while "Wrathy chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Montezuma Ilhuicamina") was "chief of men."

[316] This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.

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173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

*Mich-o-a-cs'n.

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At one place they split up; at another they sac-
rificed three individuals, according to the prescribed ritual 175 [782]
of opening up the stomach and tearing out the heart; and at a third place they learned how to make pulque.

Their records make little reference to the tribes already in 175 648
the Valley, and their own entrance was relatively unnoticed by the others. However, the hieroglyph of Tezozomoc in one manuscript suggests the obvious conclusion that they had to have Tepanec permission to pass through Azcapotzalco and settle at Chapultepec, where the beautiful park now is. Here they remained happily for nearly a generation. Their neighbors seem to have been small but growing communities, so that conflict was inevitable. The Tenochcas began the [583]
strife because their young men went up the lake to Tenayuca to raid and steal wives, a common North American Indian method of gaining prestige. Their more powerful neighbors became irritated and made up a punitive expedition in which Tepanecs, Culhuas and Xochimilcas took part. The result was horrid: the Tenochca chief Huitzilhuitl* and most of the tribe had to go to Culhuacan territory to dwell in serfdom, while the rest escaped to the lake where some low-lying islands offered refuge. The main body stayed in Tizapan,† near the present San Angel, where they were under the eye of Coxcox,‡ the chief of Culhuacan. The Tenochcas detested the waste which was barren in all except poisonous snakes and insects. Huitzilopochtli they still enshrined, but his worth had sunk so low that the Culhuas came to mock him at his shrine and toss nameless filth into the temple.*

Finally, however, the tide turned. Coxcox became involved in a war with Xochimilco and called upon his vassals to aid him. When the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

*Wee-tze'el-weetl. †Tee-za-pa'n. ‡Cosh-cosh.

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648 when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle
175 they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty pris-
[304] oners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the
175 battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces
727 in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears, proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly
[721] the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

175 So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

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have become an entity in 1325, and Tlaltelolco,* which was 175
founded about the same time. They both were havens for malcontents from the mainland, and about the middle of the century each was large enough to petition the mainland tribes for a chief to found a dynasty. Tlaltelolco received a leader from the Tepanecs, and the Tenochcas again induced Culhuacan to provide them with a chief, Acamapichtli.† The accounts vary as to whether or not he arrived as a lad accompanied by his mother. The *Annals of Cuauhtitlan* mention that at this time the Tenochcas were erecting houses of stone, an indication that a community had to reach a definite stage of development before enjoying the prestige of an important lineage.[4]

In the time of Acamapichtli the Tenochcas were tribu- 175
taries and allies of the Tepanec and fought successfully 648
against Tenayuca and Culhuacan. Yet their field of operations was minute, and a morning's automobile ride will enable the curious to see the whole scene of Tenochcan history. Huitzilhuitl II succeeded Acamapichtli at his death and prudently ensured the future of the nascent state by marrying the daughter of Tezozomoc. He was chief during the final struggle between the two great lake powers, the Tepanecs and the Texcocans, a war which ended in the death of the Texcocan chief, Ixtlilxochitl, and the dispersal of his fiefs.

Chimalpopoca‡ succeeded his half brother Huitzilhuitl, 175
and his reign was fraught with disaster. Tezozomoc died, and his son Maxtla succeeded him at the cost of murdering a brother. Maxtla was frankly out for power and kept the city-

*Tlal-tel-o'l-co. ‡Chee-mal-po-po'-ca.
†Ah-cam-a-pe'ech-tli.

[text continues on p. 97]

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His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenoch- 175
titlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she [684]
was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the
court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her.
The Tenocheas took this act as a gross personal affront and
directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their
ancient ally.[11]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahual- 175
pilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had 778
previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most 532
important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of
the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and
Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests
he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This mon- [782]
strous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief
on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seiz-
ing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns,
unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since
their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier
rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts
that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at
his lack of military success.[12]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first 175
task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, [648]
in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims 796
played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli,
and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern
Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the
high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of
the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zod.

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585 at last a feast, liberally lubricated with pulque, took place.
[834] The bride and the groom, after this merciless treatment, retired for four days of penance and fasting, and not until that period elapsed did they consummate their marriage.

595 As is often the case in a warrior nation which suffers from
586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed from a husband who failed to support her or educate the children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the
[587] Aztecs had not invented mental cruelty. A divorced woman could remarry as she chose, but a widow had to marry a brother of her deceased husband or one of his clansmen.[3]

562 Women had definite rights, but they were inferior to those of men. They could hold property, enter into contracts and go to courts to obtain justice. In matters of sexual morality
[834] girls had to be chaste and wives faithful to their husbands. A
[837] man transgressed the rules of propriety only when his illicit relations involved a married woman. Otherwise his wife could not formally demand his fidelity. While the legal position of women was relatively low, judged by modern standards in the United States, personal influence was great, and there were several instances where a woman acted as regent when her son was too young to assume the office of chief. In mat-
[648] ters of tribal alliance we have seen how the marriage of a chief's daughter or sister to another ruler cemented an alliance.

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435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [139] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

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174 quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldly to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.[2]

651 648 The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

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tion was the exaction of tribute from richer and weaker 651
neighbors. (See Plate 29, top row; Fig. 1.) Quinatzin of 648
Texcoco instituted the system first in the northern Valley in the early fourteenth century, and it is an interesting point to speculate as to whether or not the Chimalpanec immigrants suggested this as a practice found successful in their homeland. Quinatzin, by force of arms or by persuasion, induced a number of towns to turn over to him supplies of various sorts. The local chiefs recognized him as an overlord but maintained a complete political independence. He, in turn, granted the vassal chiefs the full measure of his military support. Yet these vassals had no sense of loyalty and were quite ready to revolt or transfer their allegiance to a stronger suzerain.[2] (See Plate 42, top.)

When Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco saw his tribe develop 648
to the point where it had to expand he found the southern Valley overpopulated, so that he had to challenge the power of Texcoco. His first move was to create disaffection in the vassal states, after which he could move against his rivals with good hope of military success. Yet so light was Tezozomoc's tenure of control that it was relatively easy for the conquered tribes to combine later and wreck his domination.

Alliances like that formed by Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tacuba were so very rare that much is made of this combination as an example of the excellence of Aztec statecraft. It would seem that the division of spoils, two parts each to the larger states, and one part to Tlacopan, was in force only for that campaign. Later Texcoco and Tenochtitlan undertook wars for their mutual advantage, but there was constant intrigue in the hope that one of the two could overcome the other and derive the full benefits of the booty taken. By the

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648 mid-fifteenth century both Tenochtitlan and Texcoco had grown to the point where they had to have additional supplies or else starve, so, because of this common necessity, the alliance endured fairly well.[4]

186 Despite their common background of language, thought, religion, custom and material culture, the Aztecs had no sense of unity. Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco, both of which are within the city limits of modern Mexico, existed side by side in complete independence for many years; not until 1473 did the Tenochcas make up their minds to conquer their neighbors. Each town and hamlet was sufficient unto itself, and its members felt no larger loyalty. In modern Teotihuacan this feeling still persists, and the members of one *barrio*, or ward, look upon those of the adjacent one as a congregation of the most horrible criminals. Not even the Spanish siege of Mexico brought unity to the Aztecs, and the Texcocans blithely joined the invaders to exterminate their former ally Tenochtitlan.

648 439 Although community was potentially hostile to community, individuals could move freely about the countryside. Trade in simple commodities was carried on extensively from the early times of the Middle Cultures. In the Aztec period the traveling merchants became a special class, and their security of body and property, preserved at first for the advantages which each town could derive from their wares, was guaranteed by the force of Aztec arms. Pilgrims [788] going to worship at special shrines had free and unmolested passage; and a suggestion that such journeys were made in the distant past is given by the Middle Culture figurines of foreign origin. One site especially, Tetelpan, produced so great a variety of idols from such a wide area that it must

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have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

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The triple alliance was a typical example of Aztec strategy. 648 723 Nezahualcoyotl wanted to restore the hegemony of Texcoco and destroy Tezozomoc's Tepanec power, the center of which was Azcapotzalco. The two towns were separated by the Lake of Mexico. To move troops overland would have required several days; to move them across the lake in canoes would have meant having a landing base on the western shore. Nezahualcoyotl, therefore, induced Tlacopan and Tenochtitlan, which were at the back door of Azcapotzalco and tributary to it as well, to declare war. Thus he had a base at which to land his canoes filled with troops, and while his allies engaged the enemy strongly in this quarter, the Texcocan chief had time to bring reinforcements around the lakes by the overland route to attack another point.

The town of Chiconauhtla offers another example of these simple strategic ideas. This settlement dominated the straits through which the northern lakes of Zumpango and Xaltocan empty into Lake Texcoco. The people here could destroy any force in canoes moving east against Texcoco or west against Azcapotzalco. Their forces also could make a flank attack on land armies skirting the lakes against either of those two objectives. Early in the thirteenth century Chiconauhtla became a fief of Texcoco and participated, as a sort of guardian of the western marches, in campaigns against rebellious western tribes and in the great war with Tezozomoc. Later it seems to have become part of the Tenochtitlan chain of vassal towns, and its chief had the honor of sharing a royal apartment in Montezuma's palace with the rulers of far more important city-states. To confirm this documentary evidence excavation of the site reveals, in the quantity and quality of the material culture surviving, evidence of partici-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

723 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size
●648 and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearn-
796 ing when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he
[775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

000 a defense carried on with that courage found in forsaken men, in this case abandoned by their very gods. We have seen, in the bitter year of 1940, the same pattern repeated when France collapsed and England found a new strength in despair.

An examination of the Mexican social structure in relation to the psychological state of the Aztec mind shows that the Spaniards arrived at a time very favorable for conquest. Comparison of the Aztec military technique with the European discipline and armament of the day reveals an exceptional opportunity for the triumph of European tactics. To explain the familiar tale of the Conquest from the Indian point of view may throw into sharper relief this conflict between two systems of civilization.

726 Aztec war was highly ceremonial and fought in a spirit very different from the realistic calculation of European strife. The *technical* equipment of the Indians did not meet the requirements of a conflict waged in terms of European military *practice*. Moreover, Cortes arrived at the end of the summer, when the tribes of Mexico were too busy harvesting the crops essential for their survival to think seriously of military affairs. A final factor dooming the Aztecs to inevitable defeat was the political structure of Indian Mexico, which provided no way of converting military success to the establishment of a powerfully consolidated state.

642 The Aztec theocracy did not lend itself to governing or
● 648 absorbing conquered peoples, although in time a social mechanism might have been developed. While the Aztecs received tribute from over a wide territory, there were constant revolts and betrayals. Probably this same process went on among the other tribal groups in Mexico, so that the politi-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

cal organization of the region as a whole was far from that of 642
an empire. In reality a multitude of independent city-states 648
seethed with intrigue and war and were further disunited by differences in language, dialect, physical type and geographic economy. An invader, with a strongly disciplined force small enough to live off the country and thus to stay in the field, could have an astonishing success, particularly if he had a taste for intrigue. Cortes, as events proved, was the ideal man for such a purpose, and he was further favored by the psychological reaction of the Aztecs to his arrival.

The years before the Spanish Conquest had, to the Aztecs, 787
been full of portents suggestive of future evil. There seems to have been in the air that same sense of paralysis that the French knew to their cost in 1939 and 1940. Montezuma, the war chief of the Aztecs and an amateur of witchcraft, had had an experience calculated completely to shake his nerve. He and Nezahualpilli, the chief of Texcoco, had fallen to arguing about the respective merits of their soothsayers, since the Texcocan held that strangers were going to rule the land of Anahuac. So convinced was Nezahualpilli of the [525]
correctness of his interpretation that he wagered his kingdom against three turkey cocks, the result to be decided by a ritualistic ball game with Montezuma. The latter won the first two games, but Nezahualpilli took the last three in a row. The defeat must have been disheartening to Montezuma, not only because he had so much to fear from the future, but also because his own experts had been held so cheap. (See Fig. 3.)

In close succession followed a series of phenomena, each bearing its message of woe to come. A column of fire was seen every midnight throughout the year; two temples were

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[532]

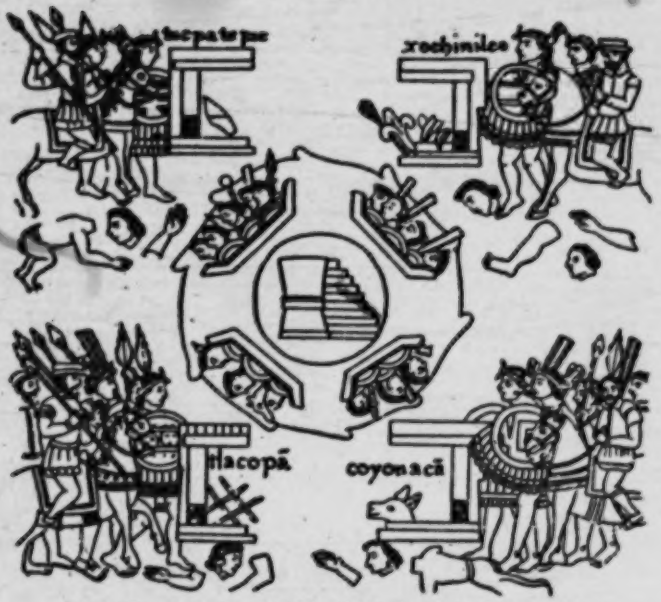

FIG. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[726] In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

175 Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but
●648 common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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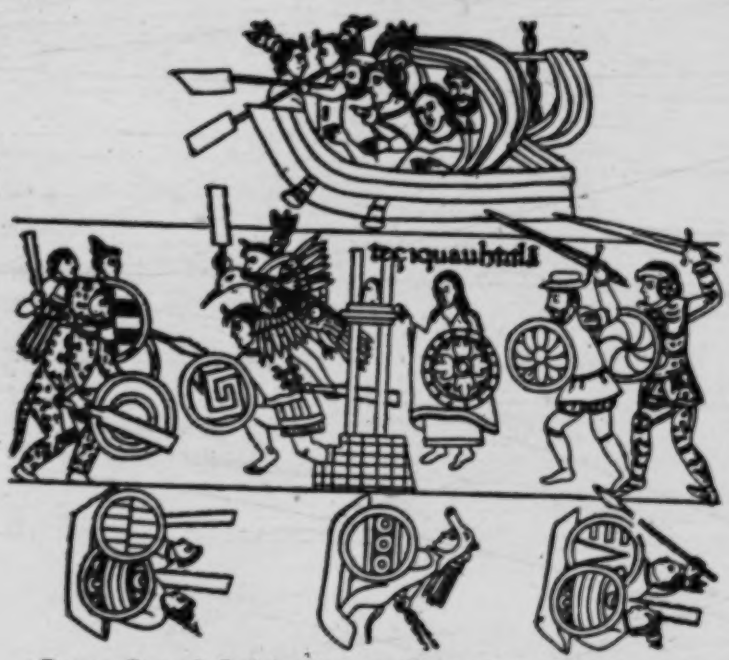

FIG. 21. Cortes built brigantines to defend his flanks while moving along the causeways into Tenochtitlan. In this picture a brigantine comes to the aid of Cortes and his allies, who are beset by Aztecs afoot and in canoes. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

of their success, resented the part Montezuma had taken in forcing the election of a war chief. When the Aztecs had had a strong chance of maintaining their supremacy after Cortes' retreat from Mexico the Texcocans valiantly took the field at Otumba. Now they switched to the Spanish side, seeing a chance of assuming a dominant position in Valley of Mexico affairs. Their defection gave the Spaniards a base on the Lake of Mexico and a means of mopping up whatever tribes remained unsubjugated in the previous campaign.

175 Having quieted the countryside, Cortes put into effect his plan of siege. He launched a fleet of small galleys armed with cannon, which had been constructed in Tlaxcala and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[532]

FIG. 24. The Spanish military problem was to raze enough of the city to permit the use of cavalry. The drawing at the right shows the gunboats taking part in an offensive with this end in view. *Codex Florentino*

Cortes decided to change his manner of campaign, and his solution, while reasonable to us, must have been little short of miraculous to the tribesmen. He sent the Indian allies forward to tear down all the houses they could find and fill the canals with the debris. When counterattacked, the allies retired, leaving room for the Spaniards on horse and foot to deal with the Aztecs. Each day the Spanish forces gained more room to maneuver and thus could count on recovering more ground on the morrow. The Aztecs, animated by a rare unity, fought desperately but without avail. (See Figs. 23–24.)

Toward the end of the siege an event occurred which 175 indicated to the now-desperate Aztecs hope of eventual re- 648 lease in a common rising against the invaders. The people from the islands at the south of the lake, the Xochimilcas and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 648 their neighbor tribesmen, filtered through the Spanish galleys by night and told the Aztecs that, as neighbors, they would make common cause against the whites. Overjoyed, Cuauhtemoc and his chiefs loaded them with ornaments, fine mantles and cacao beans, precious for the favorite drink of the Aztecs, chocolate. When night closed in again on the beleaguered city the Aztecs were startled by a great commotion. The new allies were trying to drag off the Aztec women and children as slaves. It is pleasant to record that this knavery received its just reward, and the Xochimilcas were all either slaughtered or disposed of in sacrifice.[7]

175 Only when its members were too weak to resist and could

[532]

FIG. 25. Pestilence was a formidable ally on the Spanish side. Colds, smallpox, measles, and the like, were unknown to the Indians who, lacking any sort of immunity, died by the thousands. *Codex Florentino*

[532a]

FIG. 26. A factor in the downfall of the Aztecs was their custom of taking captives for sacrifice rather than to kill in direct battle. The heads of the sacrificed victims, both men and horses, were displayed in front of the temples. *Codex Florentino*

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cuecateca, the Cempoaltecа, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

796X [266]

quitoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notatzin: auh tel tepal quiquasia internal.

Auh yn ieoaio quimopialtiaia in tlamanj, quitetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlacoalo, nepopatlalo, yn onnexquilo cemjlhujtl: yn aquin onmaquja in quexquich maco, in quexquich quinechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan quitexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic quitlaieculia yn ieoauh. [4:1]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, quiiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn ixquichtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn intzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, mixtontecomaitotia. 796X 535

Auh in cuitlachueue, centilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhquin mjccaoati, quinchequjlia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque. 796X

Auh no iehoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlatepeuxca, ynin ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, quimonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cuecateca, cempoaltecа, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamauçoltiloia: njman ic xitinoua, necacaoalo. 796X 648

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjttac ietiuh, vmpa quiquaquaroque. [262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeua in teq'quiztilo, tenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: quipeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualitzpan quioalcaoaia: njman quimonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynic mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapā tlatequjtl, papaloatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tlaçoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone- 796X 301

24. Durán (op. cit., pp. 175-80) says that Moctezuma I invited "los señores de toda la redonda"—Tezcuco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuauhnahuac, Mixtecapan, the Huaxtecapan, and as many more as possible. "Los señores de las provincias y ciudades," he continues, "admirados y atemorizados de semejante sacrificio, parecíanse para sus provincias y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . dexó esparcidos á los forasteros. . . . Donde estaban todos los de las provincias y ciudades comarcanas llevaron de temor trastornados ni conocidos con los mexicanos, cuando quedaron adelante estaban y volvieron temerosos á sus estrangeros."

25. Tlaxcapalli: "tortillas, masa crepusculiforme, que hacían de maíz sin cocer," according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (op. cit., p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of "maíz-tortillas"—the "Brot in Gestalt einer Jemmelmuhle". . . . Es una sus Gebäck in Ringform, das aus einigen Spreiten, Zusammenhängenden Maisfladen, also aus Maismehl, nicht aus Maiskörnern, hergestellt wurde."

who were called Tlalocs. And this was done once yearly.

tlatlaloque. Auh injn cexiuhtica in muchiuhtivia ipan

Macuilcalli, and Macuilquiauitl.

Here, in this place, here died the informers, those who imparted secrets which they had discovered to those who were not dwellers here—the Tlaxcalteca, or the Uexotzinca, or the Cholulteca, who entered the fortifications here in Mexico; who bore information hence.

And if they escaped, if they went forth taking information, these Tlaxcalteca, or Uexotzinca, or Cholulteca, and all who had entered the fortifications then would emplace [themselves], and thus wait [in ambush] for the Mexicans. And when the Mexicans came there, great numbers would die at that place.

And if [the informers] were noted here in Mexico, then [the Mexicans] laid hands upon them and slew them, hacking them limb from limb, here at Macuilcalli or Macuilquiauitl.

Macujlcalli, ioan macujlqujavitl.

In vncan yn, vncan mjquja in tetlanenque: in qujmjlhujaia tetzauhtlatoque, in amo njcan chaneque, in tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, in valiaucalaquja njcan mexico: in qujvalcuja tlatolli.

Auh intla ovelqujzque, intla oconcujco tlatolli, in iehoantin tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço cholelteca, yoan in ye ixqujch valiaucalaquja: njman ic tlateca, injc qujnchia mexica: auh in jquac onvi mexica, cenca mjiec in vmpa onmjquja.

Auh intla oittoque njcan mexico: njman qujntzitzqujaia, ioan qujnmjctiaia, qujntetequja: in vncan macujlcali, anoço macujlqujavitl.

Teccizcalli.

Teccizcalli: here Moctezuma himself did penances and offered incense. And here dues were paid [to the gods]. And fasts were observed at the time of the great feasts. And then were slain, and died, the captives.

Teccizcalli.

In teccizcalli: vncan tlamaceoaia in iehoatl motecuçuma, vncan tlenamacaia: ioan vncan mottlavaia. Auh çan iquac in vncan moçauaia, in vevey ilhujtl qujçaia: yoan vncan mjcovaia, vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Poiauhtlan.

Poiauhtlan: here fasted Mexico's fire priest and the fire priest of [the Temple of] Tlalocan, once yearly, at [the feast of] Etzalqualiztli. They offered incense at Poiauhtlan. And here were slain, and died, the captives.

Poiauhtlan.

In poiauhtlan: vncan moçauaya in mexico tlenamacac, ioan in tlalocan tlenamacac: cexiuhtica ipan in etzalqualiztli: nehoan vncan tletemaia in poiauhtlan: ioan vncan mjcovaia vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

The Skull Frame[8] of Mixcoapan.

The Skull Frame of Mixcoapan: here they strung up the severed heads of those who died in the Temple of Mixcoatl.[9]

Mixcoapan tzumpantli.

In mjxcoapan tzumpantli: vncan qujçoia in jntzontecon, in mjquja mjxcoatempan.

8. Actually the severed heads were strung on the skull racks, and then allowed to decompose.
9. Probably Mixcoatepan was intended for Mixcoatempan.

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it there at the Temple of Mixcoatl. And when they had offered incense, then they went to the priests' dwelling.

teupan: auh in ontlenamacaque, njman ie ic huj in calmecac.

Tlillan Calmecac.

Tlillan Calmecac: here dwelt the priests of Cincoatl.

Tlillan calmecac.

In tlillan calmecac: vncan onoca, in jtepixcauh cihoacoatl.

Mexico Calmecac.

Mexico Calmecac: here dwelt the priests who offered incense at the summit of the [pyramid] Temple of Tlalocan. [This they did] daily.

Mexico calmecac.

In mexico calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhque, in ontlenamacaia tlalocan ijcpac: çan mumuztlae.

Coacalco.

[648] Coacalco: here dwelt the gods of cities which, in all places which the Mexicans overran, they took captive. They then carried them back and shut them in here. And here they were guarded at Coacalco.

Coaacalco.

In coaacalco: vncan onoca in altepetetetu, in canjn ontepeoaia mexica, in qujmonacia: njman qujnvalvicaia, vncan qujncalaqujaia: ioan vncan pialoia in coaacalco.

Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here he cast incense into the fire whose name was Yiopoch; and here blew his flute the demon whom they named Titlacauan. And when he had sounded [his flute], then he offered incense. And when he had cast incense, then he went in [to his dwelling]. Every day he did this, perchance by night, or [perchance] by day.

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan tletemaia yn jtoca catca yiopuch, yoan vncan vallapitzaia in diablo: in qujtoaia titlacaoan: auh in ontlapitz, njman ye ic tletema: auh in ontleten, njman ic calaquj: çan mumuztlae iuh qujchioaia, aço iocan, anoço cemjlhujtl.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here danced the impersonator [who was arrayed as a] squirrel. And here was erected that which was called the *xocotl*, which was only a tree. And they distributed its paper garlands and paper banners [with which the *xocotl* was bedight]. And they did this during the feast of Teotl eco, and also once a year.

Oc cecaj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan mjtotiaia in techalotl yxiptla: yoan vncan moquetzaia, in mjtoaia: xocotl, çan quavitl, yoan qujtlamamacaia, yamanecapan, yamapan. Auh ipan in teutleco muchioaia: no cexiuhtica.

Teccalco.

Teccalco: here were men cast into the fire; here they cast captives into the flames. Only during [the

Teccalco.

In teccalco, vnçan netlepantlaxoia: vncan qujntlepantlaçaia in mamaltin: çan no ipan in teutl eco

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Ihipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yuã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca cioatontli, no ichoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquiça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixqujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecococololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no ichoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oonmjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, ceziuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Iopicalco, yoan eoacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan eoacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmavizziliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocozcatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixqujch tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

De los Reyes

EIGHTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE GREAT RULERS AND NOBLEMEN AND OF THE WAY IN WHICH THEY OBSERVED THE ELECTIONS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

JNIC CHICUEI AMOXTLI INTECHPA TLATOA YN HUEHUEY TLATOQUE IOAN IN PIPILTI YOAN IN QUENIN QUIPIAIA TLAPEPENALIZTLI YN IPAN TLATOCAIOTL.

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First Chapter, which telleth of the rulers and governors who reigned in Mexico from the beginning of [their] rule until the year 1560.

The first ruler of Mexico.

Acamapichtli first made the beginning, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. There was peace and quiet; wars had not yet come in his reign.

The second ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Uitziliuitl was second, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. He began wars and conquered the people of Colhuacan.

The third ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Chimalpopoca was third. He ruled Tenochtitlan ten years.

The fourth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Itzcoatzin was fourth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. He conquered the people of Azcapotzalco and Xochimilco.

The fifth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma the Elder was fifth, and ruled Tenochtitlan thirty years. He conquered and made war on all the people of Chalco; and on Quauhnauac and on all who were subject to Quauhnauac; and on Maçauacan. And in his reign there came a great

Inic ce capítulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque ioan in gouernadores in ołlatocatque mexico in isquichica ipeuhcan tlatocaiotl ioan in ixquichica xihuitl de 1560.

Inic ce mexico tlatoani

Acamapichtli achto compeoalti tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oce iuian iocoxca in catca, aiatle iaoiotl ipan mochiuh.

Inic ome tenochtitlã tlatoanj.

Vitzilihuitl ic ome tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oçe iehoatl quipeoalti in iauiotl, quinpeuh in colhoacan tlaca.

Ic ei tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Chimalpopoca ic ei tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl.

Ic naui tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Itzcoatzin ic naui tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl onnaui quinpeuh in azcaputzalca ioan xuchmilca

Inic macuilli tenochtitlan tlatoani

Veue motecuçoma, ic macuilli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: cempoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiuitl, quipeuh quijauchiuh in jxqujch chalcatl ioan quauhnaoac ioan in ixquich moquauhnaoacaitoa ioan maçaoacan, ioan ipan mochiuh in vei maianalizttli, nauhxiuitl in

And in his reign there came a great
173 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
●648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtua Necenochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jxquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Callixtlauacan, Ecatepec, Coxcaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxaualco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipã nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in ichoatl axaiaca, quipeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, callixtlaoaca, hecatepec, coxcaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenãco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cuitlapilco, teoxaoalco, tequaloia, ocuillan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Thillatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcaatl, and Coaatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered those of Tziuhcoac, and Mollanco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itencopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl ontotl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tillatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, çoahatl, inma in coioacã ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl qujtztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in aiamo mjqui auitzotl. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ic iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaoatimanca, nesque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oahtemouque in tzitzimime, tequaque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiutlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecuçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. Aztec in colonial. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has ȳ macuil for ocuan.

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Ciuacoatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iolloxonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlauapan,[4] Nopalan, Iztac tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichiualtatacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

caxtolxiuitl ipan naulxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maianalistli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian tepan cenman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in maianaliztica. 175 [731]

Çã no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlaelnapaloa, queuh veiah noqueztepole uel xomjtotia, atlã tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachiztí in Españoles. [787]

Çã no iehoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho..ia qujtoaia. Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no iehoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacãtl çihoatl ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocolíztli, njman motocac yitoalco ipan qujtemanque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac in cihoatl micquj mozcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in vncan motocaca tlatlatacco motlapo, auh in tetl ic motemanca vẽca veuetzito: auh in iehoatl cihoatl in oiuh mozcali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in motecuçuma in tlein qujttac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca inic onjnozcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie ixqujch ca tehoatl moca tzonqujça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca tehoatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aqujque in ie uitze ca iehoantin tlalmaceoaqujuj, ichoantin onoque in mexico: auh in iehoatl mjcca çihoatl ie no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh iococuh oquichtli: 175 787

Ioan miiec in altepetl qujpeuh motecuçuma in jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlaoacan, çocollan, tecomaixtlaoacã, çacatepec, tlachqujauhco, iolloxonecuillan, atepec, mjctlan, tloapan, nopalan iztec tlalocan, cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichioaltatacalan. 175 648 [103]

Çan no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl aciqujui españoles mottaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica oalmoquetzaia cenca tonaoac in tlanextli iuhquin tlemjiaoatl iceoal tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçaiampa oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalquiça tonatiuh, 175 787

2. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. Cuicar or cuiquida tocar. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has mi pandi. Nepanda is clearly an error.
4. Tlauapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

175 787 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac polioh oc iuh nauhxiujtl açiqujui in españoles

175 646 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçique injc qujpeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancujc españa de mjll e qujnjentos y dezinueue.

175 731 646 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cujtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhujtl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Ichuatl ipan muchiuh in oalla vei cocolizztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in noujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej totomonaliztli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, qujtlacalhui in jxaiac: injc qujquiztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcoque, ca muchi atlan qujmontlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca noujian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaixtimomã, injc hijxxque mjmjcoque.

175 646 797 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc ichoantin españoles qujpeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in noujian ic qujiaoalotoc ixquich altepetl. Icoac tlãtocati in oallaque, açico matlactin onomen teupixque in ipilhoan Sanct frãcisco, in qujteçaoaltico tlateotoquiliztli: ioan qujtemachtique tlaneltoquiliztli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactlomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl iepan españoles noujian iauqujçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in ichoatl nonum de guzman, qujuicac in vej colhoacan vmpa mjqujto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

5. *Ca muchi atlan.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ca ha ga.*
6. *Ipan:* *yn ipapan in ibid.*

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

The fourteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Vanitl was fourteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc matlactli onnauj tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego vanjtl, ic matlactli onnauj tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

The fifteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Teuetzquiti was fifteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for thirteen years. It came to pass in his time that a great sickness came to be prevalent, known as a plague. From people's noses, blood issued; there was much death everywhere because of it, and there was death from famine. Very many were buried every day, everywhere. And in his time it was that the Chichimeca—those of Xochipilla—and the people of Cibola were destroyed and conquered.

Injc castolli tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego teuetzquijti, ic castolli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiujtl ipan exiujtl, ipan mochiuh 731
inic momanaco vei cocoliztli mjtoa pestilencia teiacacpa quiz eztli cenca ic mjcoac in noujian ioan apizmjcoac cenca mjec in motocaia cemjlhujtl in noujiã. ioan ipan muchiuh injc poliuhque, peoaloque chichimeca, xochipilteca ioan Scipola tlaca. [648]

The sixteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Cristóbal Cecepatic was sixteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc caxtolli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don xp̃oual cecepatic, ic caxtolli oce, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

[p. 6 is blank]

175
648

Second Chapter, which telleth of the rulers who governed in Tlatilulco when the reign had not yet perished and when, later, once again the Spaniards gave back and restored [it] to them, until the year 1560.

Injc vme capitulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque in otlatocatque tlatilulco, in aiamo polinj tlatocaiotl, ioan in çatepan oc ceppa oqujnmacaque oqujncuepilique españoles in ixqujchica ipan xiujtl de 1560.

The first ruler of Tlatilulco, Quaquapitzauac, who first began [the reign], governed Tlatilulco for sixty-two years. He conquered the people of Tenayuca, and Cuacalco, and Xaltocan. When this one then ruled, two rulers of Tenochtitlan came together [one after the other], who were named Acamapichtli and Uitziliuitl.

Injc ce tlatilulco tlatoanj Quaquappitzaoac achto compeoalti tlatocat in tlatilulco iepoalxiujtl omome, qujmpeuh in tenaiocan tlaca, ioan cuacalco ioan xaltocan, in iehoatl, y, ic tlatocat qujnnamjcticatca vmentin tlatoque in tenochtitlan in omoteneuhque Acamapichtli ioan vitziliujtl.

The second ruler of Tlatilulco.

Tlacateotl [was] the second, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. It came to pass in his time that all the people of Acolhuacan and those of Coyoacan were conquered.

Injc vme tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Tlacateutl ic vme, tlatocat in tlatilulco, cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl omej, ipan muchiuh injc peoaloc ixqujch aculhoacatl ioan coioacatl.

The third ruler of Tlatilulco.

Quauhtlatoa [was] the third, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. Two rulers, also, came together [one after the other], in Tenochtitlan. These [were] Itzcoatl and Moctezuma the Elder. It came to pass in his reign that the people of Azcapotzalco, and Coaixtlauacan, and Cuetlaxtlan, and Quauhtlinchan, and Xochimilco and all the people of Quauhnauac were destroyed and conquered.

Injc ei tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Quauhtlatoa, ic ei tlatocat in tlatilulco cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolli omej xiujtl, qujnnamjcticatca no vmentin tlatoque catca in tenochtitlan, iehoatl itzcoatl, ioã veue motecuçuma. Ipan muchiuh injc poliuh injc peoaloc, azcaputzalcatl ioan coaixtlaoacã, ioã cuetlaxtlan, ioan quauhtlinchan, ioan xochmjlco ioan in jxqujch quauhnaoacatl.

The Fourth ruler of Tlatilulco.

Moquiuixtli [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco nine years. In his time the reign of Tlatilulco came to an end; for he and his brother-in-law, Axayacatl, ruler of Tenochtitlan, quarreled. [The latter] then made war upon Moquiuixtli and the people of Tlatilulco. And this Moquiuixtli of his own will quickly
[762] ascended to the summit of a [pyramid] temple, that he might cast himself from there; wherefore he then died.

Injc nauj tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Moqujujxtli, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco: chicunauhxiujtl, ipã impoliuh tlatocaiotl tlatilulco, inic çan mococolique in jtex axaiaca tlatoanj tenochtitlan, injc qujnuchiuh moqujujxtli ioan tlatilulca. Auh in iehoatl moquiujxtli çan jnoma in tlecotiuetz iicpac teucalli injc vmpa calmomaiauh injc vncan mjc.

Don Pedro Temilo: when he was made ruler of Tlatilulco, he was the one who again started the

Don pedro temjlo icoac omotlatocatlali in tlatilulco, iehoatl ic no compeoalti in tlatocaiotl, in oiuh

175 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the
● 148 City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçique compeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vẽca españoles injc tepeuhque in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Cuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Azcapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden
[231] cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

Don Iuan ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco: exiujtl ic impan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çioacoatl qujqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa azcaputzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncã tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motetique tlatlazque, oontetl in quauhtetl qujtlazque icecenteti quauhtli.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Iuan avellittoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Iuan quauje onoc, ic nauj .latocat in tlatilulco chicoxiujtl ioan icoac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlã, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamaujçolli vej neixcujtilli injc tlamjz cemanaoac

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco oxjujtl.

Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth, and he ruled
[731] Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cibola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

Don Martin tlacateccatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocoliztli ioan in iaoiutl injc peoaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoçã visorrej in·njcan iancujc españa

Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh
[731] to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocoliztli, itoca quechpoçaoalizztli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in iehoatl matlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

1. For *nunca no nunca*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nunca no nunque*.
2. In *ibid.*, *cochipeltoca*, *yuan tzonolan tlaca*, *yuan hallowes nochtlan tlaca*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Texcoco, and as many years as they governed.

Injc ej capitulo vncan mjtoa in tezcuco tlatoque, injc inqui xiuitl tlatocatque. 173

The first ruler, who began the reign in Texcoco, was Tlaltecatzin. He ruled only eighty days, and nothing [of note] happened in his time. This one [was one of] the Chichimeca rulers.

Injc ce tezcuco tlatoanj, Qujpeoalti in tlatocaiutl in tezcuco iehoatl in tlaltecatzin çan napoalilhujtl in tlatocat atle ipan muchiuh, chichimeca tlatoque, y.

And the second who became ruler, who followed Tlaltecatzin, was Techotlalatzin the Chichimeca. And he ruled seventy years; nor did anything [of note] occur in his time.

Auh injc vme tlatoanj muchiuh, in qujoaltoqujli in tlaltecatzin iehoatl in techotlalatzin chichimecatl, auh in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the third who became ruler of Acolhuacan[1] was Ixtlilxochitl the Elder. He ruled for sixty-five years. [And] nothing [of note] befell in his time.

Auh injc ej, tlatoanj muchiuh acolhoacan iehoatl in veue ixtlilxochitl in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ioan macujlxiujtl amo tle ipan muchiuh.

And the fourth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualcoyotzin. He ruled seventy-one years. And at this time, in the time of Neçaualcoyotzin, the war was begun. The two, [Neçaualcoyotzin and] the ruler of Tenochtitlan, Itzcoatzin, conquered the Tepaneca, and they conquered people everywhere. Thereafter this Neçaualcoyotzin founded and laid down the seat of authority[2] of Acolhuacan or Texcoco.

Auh injc nauj tlatoanj muchiuh tezcuco iehoatl in neçaoalcoiotzin in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan cexiujtl, auh in iehoatl, y, in neçaoalcoiotzin ipan peuh in isoiutl im omextin in tenochtitlan tlatoanj. Itzcoatzin inic qujpeuhque tepaneca: auh in noujian tepeuhque quin iehoatl qujpeoalti in neçaoalcoiotzin in qujtecac in petlatl in jcpalli in acolhoacan tezcuco. 173 648

And the fifth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualpilli, and he ruled for fifty-three years. In his time war was made in all parts through which people were conquered. And when these two, Neçaualcoyotzin and Neçaualpilli, ruled, they were besieged by Tlaxcala and Uexotzinco.

Auh injc macujlli, muchiuh tlatoanj tetzcuco, iehoatl in neçaoalpilli auh in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl vn matlactli ioã exiujtl in jpan muchiuh iauiutl in noujian ic tepeoaloia auh in iehoantin im omextin in neçaoalcoiotzin ioan neçaoalpilli in jcoac tlatocatque tzacuticatca in tlaxcalla ioan vexotzinco.

And in the time of Neçaualpilli began what kept appearing, in the heavens, like a light, like a flame of

Auh in neçaoalpilli ipan peuh in tlein oalmoquequetzaia ilhujcatitech in iuhquj tlanextlj in iuhquj 173 787

1. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*señor de Tezcuco, o de Acolhuacan*"; cf. also Charles E. Dibble: *Códice Xolotl* (México: Universidades de Utah y de México, 1951), Pls. III. The term Acolhua refers to a grouping held together by kinship and political alliance occupying territory east of Lake Texcoco, with Texcoco as its center. Their main competitors for dominance in the valley were the Tepaneca, centered at Azcapotzalco. On the Acolhua, see Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl: *Historia Chichimeca* (México, 1952), pp. 41, 42, 49; also *Relaciones* (México, 1891), p. 289. "*Y así puesto los cimientos y poniendo que eran de su parte de los acolhuas, que eran Texcoco, Huexotzin, Coatlichan.*" "*Coatlichan, eran de los acolhuas*" is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 293; "*El dicho es entre tres, que era Tezcuxcoma, mancebo de poca edad, Señor de los acolhuas, le dió á Coatlichan con otros muchos pueblos y lugares donde los cuyos pobladores eran los donde nos conquistaron*" (*ibid.*, p. 289).

2. *In petlatl, in icpalli*—the grass mat and the seat. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún uses the term *señorío*. The expression is illustrated thus figuratively in Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Rémi Simeon, ed.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), pp. 218, 221.

173 787 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

tlemjiaoatl icciual tlatocxititica, auh nauhxiujtl in jpan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancujcan necico auh impoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactlocc tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiujtl mjieccan xiti tepetl in texcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiujtl aciquiuj in Españoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaualpilli aocmo ixpan

175 648 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiujtl. Ichoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Coanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, ichoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl ichoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica im omextin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocoltzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in tecocoltzin in tlatocat cexiujtl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiauchichiuh injc qujmpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Ixtlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[3] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in ixtlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicuexiujtl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica qujujcatiuja in marques itlan ommoquetz ioã qujuicaia in vej mollan ichoãtin imjxpan muchiuh injc vel motlatlali altepetl injc tlauellalali marques nehoan coanacuchtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in ioiontzin in tlatocat cexiujtl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlaueuetzquititzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactloçe tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in tetlaueuetzqujtitzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in don Antonjo tlaujtoltzin in tlatocat chicoacexiujtl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

3. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (J. M. Aubin: *Histoire de la nation mexicaine. . . . Reproduction du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, Éditeurs, 1893]), p. 87, and *Mapa de Tepeucpan.*

173 **Fourth Chapter**, in which are recorded the rulers of Uexotla.

Injc nahuj capítulo vncan motenehoa in tlatoque vexotla.

Behold, the Chichimeca rulers of Uexotla were known as Acolhua. There the Acolhua Chichimeca first arrived.

Iacate in chichimeca tlatoque catca vexutla in motenehoa aculoaque in vmpa achto açico aculhoacan chichimeca.

The first who became ruler of Uexotla [was] Maçatzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-eight years.

Injc ce tlatoanj muchiuh uexutla Maçatzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipan cãxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The second ruler [was] Tochin tecutli. He ruled thirty-eight years.

Injc vme tlatoanj tochin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The third ruler [was] Ayotzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-four years.

Injc ei tlatoanj aiotzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipã matlacxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl.

The fourth ruler [was] Quatlauice tecutli. He ruled fifty-five years.

Injc nahuj tlatoanj quatlauiçe tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl.

173 648 The fifth ruler was named Totomochtzin; he ruled fifty-two years. And these five Chichimeca rulers, who maintained well the government [of Uexotla], exacted tribute from no one in the three hundred[1] years in which they [thus] maintained well their sovereignty.

Injc macujlli tlatoanj itoca totomochtzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiujtl ioan vnxiujtl auh in jmacujlixtin, y, chichimeca tlatoque in uel quijpiaia in jtlatocaio in acampa tequjtia caxtolpoalxiujtl in uel quijpix in jtlatocaio.

The sixth ruler was named Iaotzin tecutli; he ruled fifty-eight years.[2] In his time the Acolhua Chichimeca began to exact tribute of [those of] Tepanoayan.

Injc chiquacen tlatoanj itoca iautzin tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ipan exiujtl iehoatl ipan peuh injc tequjtque tepanoaia chichimeca aculhoaque.

173 The seventh ruler was named Xilotzin tecutli. He ruled twenty-eight years.

Injc chicome tlatoanj itoca xilotzin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The eighth ruler was named Itlacauhtzin. He ruled twenty-eight years.

Injc chicuej tlatoanj itoca itlacauhtzin in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The ninth ruler was named Tlaçoliaotzin; he ruled fifty-eight years.[3] At about this time it came

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj itoca tlaçoliautzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl quj

1. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS (*Primeros memoriales*, Chap. III), the Nahuatl text reads *cempoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan exiujtl* (313 years).
2. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.
3. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50.*

Injc chicome capitulo, vncan mjtoa mjiec tlamantli in inpan muchiuh in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, in jxqujchica vnpoalxiujtl ommatlactli. 175

In the year 1519, when the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, came to sally forth, very many boats came, in which the Spaniards host traveled. And when Moctezuma knew of it, then he sent his emissaries, and they carried as greetings very many and costly articles.

And they thought that Quetzalcoatl had come. And when he went to arrive, then they gave and took all [which they carried] as greetings to this Captain, Don Hernando Cortés.

And when these Spaniards came to enter [the land], then the Tlaxcalans' Otomí[1] [warriors] went to meet them in battle. Not few, but very many thus fought and waged war with the Spaniards. And all of the Tlaxcalans' Otomí [warriors] died; the Spaniards slew them. By this were the Tlaxcalans much frightened, and these Tlaxcalans then sent messengers, [who] went to offer them food and all which they might need. And they welcomed them and escorted them to the homes of Tlaxcala.

And for a few days the Spaniards tarried and rested there. And the Spaniards then went there to Cholula. There they slew many Cholulans.

And after this, when Moctezuma had heard of it, he was much frightened; and all the people of Tenochtitlan were exceeding fearful. So once again he sent messengers. These whom this Moctezuma sent, lords and noblemen, went to meet the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés; they took with them a great deal of gold. And they went to meet him there between Popocatepetl and Iztac cinatl, [at a place] named Itualco.[2] There they conferred [with Cortés; one of]

In jpan xiujtl 1519 icoac quiçaco in capitan don hernando cortes, cenca mjiec in acalli oalla in vncan oalietiaque in españoles in iuxujxque: auh in oiuh qujma in ichoatl motecuçuma, njman tlaihoaiaque in jtitlanhoan, auh in qujtqujque in tetlapaloliztli cenca mjiec, ioan cenca tlaçotli in tlatqujtl. 175 648

Auh momatque, ca ichoatl in quetzalcoatl ohoalla: auh in jcoac oaçito njman mochi qujmamacaque in qujtqujque tetlapaloliztli, in ichoatl, capitan don hernando cortes.

Auh in jcoac ie calactiujtze, in ichoantin españoles: njman quiauanmjqujto, in tlaxcalteca, imotonhoan: amo çan quezqujchtin, cenca mjiequjntin, ic oquimjcalque, oquinauchiuhque, in españoles. Auh mochintin, mjcque in tlaxcalteca imotonhoan, quinmjctique, in españoles: ic cenca momauhtique, in tlaxcalteca, auh in ichoantin, in tlaxcalteca, njmã ic tlaihoaque, quinmacato in tlaqualli, in jxqujch intech monequj: ioan quinpaccatlapaloto: ioan quinhujcaque, in vmpa inchan in tlaxcallan.

Auh çan quezquilhujtl, in vncan motlalique, moçeujque, in ichoantin españoles. Auh in ichoantin, españoles njman iaque in vmpa chololan: vncan mjiequjntin, quinmjctique, in chololteca.

Auh in jcoac, oiuh qujcac, in ichoatl motecuçuma, cenca momauhti: ioã yn jxqujchtin, in tenochca cenca momauhtique: ic oc ceppa tlaihoa, in ichoatl motecuçuma ichoantin in qujmjhoa in tetecuti, in pipiltin, quinamjqujto, in capitan, don hernando cortes: cenca mjiec, in quitqujque, in teucujtlatl. Auh vncan in quinamjqujto, in jtzalan popoca tepetl: ioan in jztac tepetl, in moteneoa ithoalco. Vncan quinonotzque, quimacaque in jtlatol, in jta motecu- [202]

* Corresponding Spanish text: "*Année el año de 50.*"

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102; Soler, *Ensiqe Kapital*, p. 474, n. 1, citing Tezozomoc, *op. cit.* 66. Cf. also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), IV, pp. 438f., 149-150, n. 1.
See also Book XII, Chap. xi.

2. Itualco: in Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), it is described as a "*Mont qui domine à l'orient la vallée de Mexico.*"

A

175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

çuma: ioan quimacaque in ixquich in intetlapalouia, inin tetech açia, in teucuitlatl, ioan oc cequj.

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in ichoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoiauchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in quinamjquito in calteneo, in vmpa xolloco, çan quijpaccanamjquito: ioan quitlatlauhti, quitlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman quiujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in ixquichtin españoles.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctezuma.

Auh in iqueçequilhuiioc, in ichoatl capitan oquilpi in motecuçuma:

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

auh in icoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in ichoatl capitan oquinnamjquito, cequintin quinuicac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan quicauhtia in don pedro aluarado, ioan oc cequintin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

Auh in iquac in oquiz ilhuiuh vitzilobuchtli, in ichoatl don pº aluarado, ioan in espanoles in itlan catca, mjiequintin, quinmictique in mexica, in quilhuiquiztiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

Auh in icoac in oualmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjiequintin, quinoalhuicac españoles, ame ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca quitotozaia in iauiutl.

And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. [731] And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

Auh in ipan xiuitl 1520 icoac omic in motecuçuma, auh in ichoantin españoles, oquizque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocoliztli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatioac: ioan cenca mjiequintin mjcque, in njcan tlaca.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In ipan xiuitl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetacuco, uecauhtica quinioochiuhque, quimpeuhque, quimjcalque, in mexica.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

In ipan xiuitl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonochicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xitinca in ipampa iauiutl

[797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

Auh in ipan xiuitl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmonen sãct francisco padreme, in quintlaneltoquitique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

643 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did
644 they eat.

783 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler
785 and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iioaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oeçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin teupixque papaoaque, qujntlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço ioalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc ioaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic izquijmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izquijlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izquijioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[77] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quienjn quijtzonquijxtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itualco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ozonquja naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçaiuh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxquijchtin calpixque, in jxquijch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtia, in qujtemacaz.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how
527 the ruler made summons to a feast.

648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in qienjn qujchinaia tecoanotzaliztli, in ichoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonatapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

of Uexutzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ilhujcaxtenli qujctoque, ioan in jxqujchtin tlatoque in altepetl ipan, quijaoalotoque mexico, tetzcoco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj. 643 527 648

Auh in jcoac ocenqujxque in jxqujchtin tlaconotzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiauhoan: njman ic qujntlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in tlaqualli, tlaçotlanoqj, qujntlauhtia in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaçotlanquj chimalli, netotilo macecalo, cujco, cesoal cemjlhujtl, in tepaqujltia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no qujntlauhtia, in jxqujchtin pipiltin, tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan telpuchtlatoque, ioan ixqujchtin cujcanjme, ioan ixqujchtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque: [431]

auh in oxtonqujx tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic ompeoa in jxqujchtin tlaconanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, altepetl ipan. 643 292

Auh çan njman iquezquijujioc, iaotlatoa in tlatoanj, injc cana iauqujzoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in jxqujchtin tiacahoan, oqujchti: auh iioma in tlatoanj in iauh iauc, in oniaoqujça, in ontepeoa qujujca in jxqujchti iauqujxque, ioan in noujian tlatoque altepetl ipan inic oiaoqujça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac ôtepeoato, oiaoqujçato cenca paqui, in quezquich malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujqujxtiaia. Auh in ixqujchtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmauijztiotia, mjiec tlamãtli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotilmatli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj, ioan qujntocamaci injc mauijzililoaque, injc tlacamachoaque, injc oqujchti, tiacaboã. 726 724

8. In ibid., numerous dialogues is followed by page onomatopoeic dialogue, and rulers of the Mexican country.

[p. 66 is blank]

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648 **Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.**

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teocinitcatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They
[643] proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in
29a disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone—his very own.

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn
643 the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if]
576 kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Injc vme capitulo, vncan mjtna in quenjn acico, in achto acalli calla: in juh quijtta ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oittoque, in aquijque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acaltica ie onotlecmj. Niman inoma ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixquj, q'nvicac oc cequjntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Jaotzin. Injc ei, Teuciniocan calpixquj: itoca Teucinitcatl. Injc navi ichoatl in cujtlalpitoc çan tetlan nenquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

çan oc ichoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan iuhqujnma qujntlanamaquiltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnamacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineixcavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in iaque injc qujmjttato, injc iuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiqujztlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjquiti, injc vel melaoac qujmocaquitiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

njman ie ic vi in atl itic ommacalaquijque, ommatoctique, qujntlanelhujque atlaca.

Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imjxpan oetlakquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

qujnoalnocza in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "criado de vno dexar calpixque."

2. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Décimo tercia relación de la venida de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Biblioteca Pedro Robredo, 1955), p. 8, mentions Tenpili, or Tenbilin, governor de Moctezuma, que era de Cuauhtlan, o Cuetlaxtlan," who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

3. *Atonmoc* (you live): possibly *tlamoc* (we live) is intended.

4. Moctezuma: reconstructed form of well-known Nahuatl name is generally not supported in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Conquest*, p. 132. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 457, translates the phrase thus: "*besaron la tierra como que besaron*."

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 643 292 648 Therefore they offered them all the various things which they bore with them; costly capes such as those which here are named: [the mantle] with the sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tiallaque.

Qujnoalnanquijlique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujmonjlhujque. Totecujoyane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic quinmaca in jzquitlamantli quitquique tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, iehoatl in, in njcã motenecoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, zacalquauhio, coxxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tencapocio:

in jzquitlamãtli in in quimõmacaque, quinoalcuepcaiotilique, quinoalmacaque concatl, xuxoctic, oxatic: iuhquinma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oquittaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan quinoalnaoztiqua: quinoalilhujque: xivian oc ic tivi in castilla, amo tivecaozq̃ tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca quiçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, cecelcal in oalnenenque, injc quinonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jveliaca quijlhujco, quicaquitico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oquicuito.

Auh njman ie ic quinonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca izcatquj otiquittaque, izcatquj oticchiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in tenatl izco. Ca otiquimittato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jzquich motilmatzin otiquinmacato: auh izcatquj techmacaque intlatquitzi. Quitoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, izcatquj anquimacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatiz:

6. Spanish text: *Les espadaban diversas a las indias cuentas de colorio, como verdes y como amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "un un dia, y un una noche."

8. Seler, op. cit., p. 478, has *pial iuan*, translated "first of all."

773 verily he traveled there [to the east] when he went.
And [Moctezuma] sent five to go to receive him and
648 to offer him gifts. The leader was Teuxa [such
565 was] his lordly name; his name as a nobleman was
Yoalli ichan. The second was [the steward of] Te-
pexilan; the third, of Tiçatlan; the fourth, of Ueue-
tlan; the fifth, of Ueicamecatlan.[6]

Teuxa, in jtecutoca, in jpiltoca Joalli ichan. Injc vme Tepuxtecatl. Injc ei, tiçaoa. Inic navi vevetecatl. Injc macujlli Veicamecatl heca.

6. Cf. Bibliography, [illegible], where these are given as [illegible] from [illegible]. [illegible] Aztec is transposed as [illegible].

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

yoll hecaxonecujlli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc citlallonc yoan ipoçolcac.

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Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Oca izqujtlamãtli in, in moteneua teutlatequjtl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in qujtqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli tozlapilollo, tzacujtlacopilli, etc.

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Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tiacacxachichioalo. Auh in omoteneuhque macujltin; njman ie ic qujnnaoatia in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalios in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmoemaqujlia, ca omaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico:

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And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan oncaõ acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, ommatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal.

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Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa anoallaque?

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Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujpiqui, aço çã toca anmocacaisoa.

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Nõman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoaltilinjque: njman no quicalquetzique ecacatli.

18. *Ibid.*: "*Ye quel rodaba estaua hordada como plumas ricas en la hora de la rodadilla [sic] salia vna rondela de plumas ricas.*"

19. *Ibid.*: "*un bastón labrado de manera de turquesas y en la hondra de arriba pusieron vnas plumas ricas a parte conmejantes en la cola de arriba.*"

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Sahagún, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "*vna mitra de oro hordas o manera de corazal marauillosa al vnas raquetejas de plumas ricas que colgauan hasta las espaldas.*"

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*vna mitra llana.*"

[p. 14 is blank]

648 **Fifth Chapter. Here is related what came to pass when the messengers of Moctezuma went aboard the boat of Don Hernando Cortés.**

Thereupon they climbed up. They bore in their arms the array [of the gods]. When they had proceeded to go up into the boat, each in his turn disposed himself to kiss the earth before the Captain. Having done so, they besought and said unto him: [576]

"Let the god deign to hear: for his vassal, Moctezuma, who guardeth over Mexico for him, prayeth to him. For [so] he speaketh: 'The god hath suffered, he is weary [from travel].'"

Upon this, they adorned the Captain himself; they put on him the turquoise mosaic serpent mask; with it went the quetzal feather head fan; and with it went — in it they had set and with it went hanging — the green stone ear plugs in the form of serpents. And they clad him in the sleeveless jacket; they put the sleeveless jacket upon him. And they put the necklace upon him: the plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which lay the golden disc. With this they bound, on the small of his back, the mirror for the small of the back. Also with it they laid upon his back the cape named *tzitzilli*. And about [the calf of] his leg they placed the green stone band with the golden shells.[1] And they gave him, and placed upon his arm,[2] the shield with lines of gold and shells crossing, on whose [lower] rim went spread quetzal feathers and a quetzal feather flag. And before him they set the obsidian sandals.

And the other three sets of adornment, the array of the gods, they only laid in rows and placed in order before him.

And when this had been done, the Captain said to them: "Are these perchance all your gifts, your greetings?"

They answered: "This is all with which we came, O our lord."

Then the Captain commanded that they be bound. They fastened irons about their ankles and necks.

1. Described earlier as a wrist ornament.
2. The left arm, in the corresponding Spanish text.

Injc macujlli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein muchiuh, in jquac ititlanoan motecuçoma in vmpa callacque in jacalco don hernando Cortes.

Niman ie ic tleco, qujnanapalotivi in tlatqujtl: in otlecoto acalco ceceniaca ontlalquatimanj yixpan in capitan: Niman ie ic contlatlauhtia: qujlhujque:

Ma qujmocaqujlti in teutl: ca qujoalmotlatlauhtilia in jtechiuhcauh Motecuçoma in cõmotlapielilia mexico; ca conjtoa. Oquimjhiovilti, oqujmociavilti in teutl:

njman ie ic qujchichioa in capitan vel iehoatl conaqujque in xiuhcoaxaiacatl, itech ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan itech ieietiuh, itech aactiuh, itech pipilcatiuh chalchiuhcoanacochtli: yoan conaqujque xicolli, conxicoltique, yoan concozcatique in chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh in teucujtlacomalli, ic conxillancujtlalpique in tezcacujtlapilli, no ic contzinapanque in tilmatli in jtoca tzitzilli, yoan icxic contlalilique in chalchiuhcuecuexitli teucujtlacoiollo: yoan conmacaque imac cõmanjlique chimalli teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj, yoan epnepanjuhcaio, quetzaltençouhtiuh quetzalpaniotiuh: yoan ixpã contemjlique itzcactli.

Auh in oc etlamantli nechichioalli, teutlatqujtl, çan ixpan contecpãque, convipanque:

auh in ie iuhquj, qujmjlhuj in capitã Cujx ie ixqujch in, in amotenamjquja, in amotetechacia?

qujnnanqujlique ca ie ixqujch injc tioallatiaque totecue.

Niman tlanaoati in capitan injc ilpiloque, tepoztli imjcxic qujntlalilique, yoan inquechtlan: in ie iuh-

●648 This done, then they shot the great lombard gun. And the messengers then, verily, fainted and swooned. One by one, they fell to the deck; swaying, they went down, and knew no more. And the Spaniards lifted and raised them up so that they sat, and made them drink wine. Thereupon they served them food and made them eat, that they might catch their breath and revive.

And when this had come to pass, then the Captain said to them: "Hearken: I have known and heard it said that these Mexicans are very strong, exceeding brave, and great victors. Supposedly, one Mexican can pursue, overpower, conquer, and rout even ten, even twenty of his foes. And now I would satisfy my doubts. I would behold and test how strong and powerful you are."

Then he gave them leather shields, and iron swords, and iron lances.

"And this, early in the morning, at dawn, will come to pass: we shall fight and join the fray among ourselves, and try our strength among ourselves, [to see] who will fall."

They answered the Captain and said to him: "Let the lord hear: his vassal Moctezuma hath not thus commanded us [to act]. We have come to do only this one thing—to greet and salute [our lord]. It is not our charge [to do] what the lord requireth. For if we do so, Moctezuma would therefor be wroth, and might destroy us for it." [1]

Then the Captain said: "Nay, for it must be [as I say]. I wish to see and marvel [at your prowess]. For this is known in Castile; it is told that you are very powerful and valiant. Early in the morning shall ye eat. I also shall eat. [Then] verily shall you gird yourselves [for combat]."

quj njman ic qujtlazque in tomaoac tlequjqujztli: auh in titlanti in jquac in vel iolmjcque, yoan çoçotlaoaque, vehuetzque, nenecujliuhtivetzque, aocmo qujmatque: auh in españoles qujmeeuhq̃ qujmeeoatitlalique, qujmonjtique vino: njmã ic ic qujntlamaca, qujntlaquaitique, ic imjhio qujcujque, ic oalihiocujque:

auh in ie iuhquj in, njman qujmjlhuj in capitan. Tla xiccaqujcan, onjcma, onjccar, qujlmach in iehoantin mexica cenca chicaoaque, cenca tiacaoan, cenca maiavinj, intla ce mexicatl vel qujntocaz, vel qujntopeoaz, vel qujnpanaviz, vel qujnteputztiz in manel matlactin, in manel noço centecpantin in jiaovan. Auh in axcan noiollo pachiviznequjj, namechittaznequj, namechiteiecoznequj, in quenjn anchicaoaque, in quenjn antlapalivi:

njmã ic qujnoalmacac eoachimalli, yoan tepuzmacquavitl, yoã tepuztopilli:

auh inin vel oc iovatzinco, tla· calpan in muchioaz, in titomaiztlacozque, titoneneuhcavizque, tinevivican tlamatizque, ac ie tlanj vetziz:

qujnanqujlique in Capitan: qujlhujque. Tla qujmocaqujtin tlacatl, achcamo ic technaoati in jtechiuhcauh in Motecuçoma; ca çan tiqujxcavico in tictociauhquechilico, in tictotlapalhujco, ca amo tonaoatil in qujmonequjltia tlacatl: auh intla iuh ticchioazque, cujx amo cenca ic qualaniz in Motecuçoma, amo ic techtlatlatiz.

Niman qujto in capitan ca amo ca ça mochioaz njqujttaznequj, njcmaviçoznequj ca in omachiztito in castillan qujl cenca anchicaoaque, antiiacaoan, ma oc veca ioac in xitlaquacan, oc no ioan in njtlaquaz, ma vel ximochichioacã.

1. Cf. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 75; see also p. 100 (see of this text).

Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

Injc chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn iehoatl motecuçoma, qujmjtoa in nanacalti in tlatlacateculo, in tetlachivianjme, injc itla impan qujchioazque in Españoles.

Niman iquac tlaioa in Motecuçoena in qujmjtoa mocheoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanacalti: yoan qujmjtoa in achcacauhtri, chicaoaque, in tiacaoã in jpan tlatozque in jzqujch intech monequjz in qualonj in totoli in tetolteti, in jztac tlaxcalli: yoã in tlein qujtlanjzque, yoan injc ça oc vel pachiviz in iniollo, vel qujmjttazque, qujmjtoa in mamalti, ic monemachti, cujx qujzque in jmeẋço: auh iuh qujchiuhque in titlanti.

Auh in jquac oquittaque: cenca motlaeltique, chichicha, ixtetenmotzoloa, ihicopi, motzontecõvivixtoa: auh in tlaqualli eztica cattzelhujque, queezvique, cenca invic eoac, qujntlaelti: iehica ca cenca xoqujiac in eztli.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuh motecuçoma, ca qujnteuma, teteu impan qujnma qujnteuitocac: ic notzaloque, ic tocaiotiloque, teteu ilhujcac vitze: auh in tiltique teucacatzacti mjtoque,

qujn iehoatl qujquaque iztac tlaxcalli, tlatzincujtl totoltetl, totoli, auh in ie izqujch xochiqualli, quauhtzaputl, teçontzaputl, stztzaputl, totolcujtlatzaputl,

1. Gurlley, in "Partidpiaroas de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 178, refers to the "'duplicadoo de la personal o al 'desdoblamiento'" in regard to nanacalli. The term may be related etymologically to *nana* (4) — a quadruple personality, an archaic verb *nanali*, *nanaia* (to feed or discipline, as in magic tricks), or Maya-Quiché *na*, *nao*, *nana* (wisdom, science, magic). Gurlley favors the second possibility (*nanali*, *nanaia*).

2. *Tlatlacatecolo*: concerning the word *tlacatecolchaio*, Gurlley refers to an *arte de hombre perniciosa*, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Rubendo ed.), p. 33 — "*iuiac pacto con el demonio*" (*tlacatecolotl*) (*ibid.*, p. 174). In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 309, he refers to *tlacatecolotl* as "*brujo*," "*mago*," "*hombre que perjudica a la gente, hombre perniciosa*"; "*propiciadoo y preservadoo de muerte.*" There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

3. *Tlaciuhque*: we have previously used the term "soothsayer." In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), Gurlley, noting that Molina translates the term as *astrólogo*, states: "*La rais cuida, parece denotar [indicaria] metoroológica*," and notes the relationship of the term to *tonalchiuhqui*, one who prevents hail from falling. He cites *La población del valle de Teotihuacán*, II, p. 404.

4. *Quauhtzaputl*: sapota (*Lucuma chrysophylla* Mill.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Instituto Panamericano, 1946), I, p. 274; *zapote de mamey* (genuine name), according to Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — *Lucuma mamosa*, *L. hemipinnata*, *Achras mamosa*, *A. sapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Rubendo ed.), III, p. 225.

5. *Teçontzaputl*: mamey (*Lucuma mamosa* Gaertn.), *zapote colorado* (Santamarina, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva-España* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 733, n. 2, this *zapote* appears: "*Les premiers Espagnoles d'Amérique confondirent* [with various sapotas] *le fruit beaucoup plus gros du teçontzaputl ou lucuma de la famille des sapota, qu'ils appellent aujourd'hui mamey. C'est probablement le même fruit que les Antiques commentateurs ont nommé du teçontzaputl.*" See also Sahagún (Rubendo ed.), III, p. 225.

6. *Stztzaputl*: probably the same as *ceuapul*. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 267-268, this is *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth. It is also identified by Santamarina, *loc. cit.*, as *Lucuma salicifolia* — *zapote zapul* or *zapotillo*. In Sahagún (Rubendo ed.), III, p. 224, it is identified as *zapote zapotillo* — *largoyote gruyoli* (*vaniloso*). The *ceuapul* (yellow sapota) is now generally known as *zapote borracho* (*general* [illegible], [illegible] Garcia Granados).

7. *Totolcujtlatzaputl*: *zapote prieto* (*Diospyros ebenaster* Retz — *ebenáceas*), in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

262 toes,[8] manihot,[9] white[10] and yellow[11] sweet potatoes, colored sweet potatoes, *jicamas*,[12] plums,[13] *jobos*,[14] guavas,[15] *guajilotes*,[16] avocadoes,[17] carob fruit,[18] *tejocotes*,[19] American cherries,[20] tuna cactus fruit,[21] mulberries,[22] white[23], yellow,[24] and whitish-red cactus fruit,[25] *pitahayas*,[26] water *pitahayas*.[27] And the food for the deer [was] *pipillo*[28] and *tlachicaztli*.

754 And it is told why Moctezuma sent magicians and
●648 soothsayers — that they might behold what kind [of men] they were, and that perchance they might bewitch and cast a spell over them. Perhaps they might blow them away, or enchant them. Mayhap they might cast something at them, or they might, with some words of the Evil One, utter an incantation over them, so that they might sicken and die, or else because of it turn back.

But these, when they performed their charge and commission upon the Spaniards, were at once powerless. Nothing could they do.

Then they quickly returned and came to tell Moctezuma what they were like and how strong they were: "We cannot contend against them; we are as nothing."

camutli, quauhcamutli, poxcauhcamutli xochicamutli, tlapalcamutli, xicama, maçazocotl, atoiazocotl, xalxocotl, in quauhxilotl, aoacatl, ouxi, texocotl, in capoli, in nochtli, in amacapuli, iztac nochtli, cozonochtli, tlatocnochtli, tzaponochtli, anochtli: auh in maçatlaqualli, pipillo, tlachicaztli:

Auh qujl injc qujmjoa Motecuçoma in nanaoalti, in tlaciuhque, injc qujmjtazque in quenamjque in aço vel qujntlacateculovizque, qujntlachivizque, in aço vel qujmjpiezazque qujnxoxazque in aço oc itla ic qujnmotlazque, in aço itla tlacateculotlatolli, ic qujntlanonochilizque, injc aço cocoliazcujzque, mjmjquizque, in anoce ic ilotizque.

Auh in ichoantin in qujchiuhque in intequjuh, in innaoatil in intechpa españoles, çan njmã avelitique, atle vel qujchiuhque:

niman ic oalmocuepiivetzque qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma injc iuhque, injc chicaoaque, amo titenamjcoan, iuhqujn atitleme:

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8. *Camotli*: sweet potato, *batata* (*Ipomoea batatas* Poir, in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521; *I. batatas* Lam., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

9. *Quauhcamotli*: *guacamote* or *cassava* (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl. —*esculenta*) in *ibid.*, p. 334; *yuca* in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 34, and in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 524 (*M. aipi* Crantz).

10. *Poxcauhcamotli*: probably sweet potato of white skin and interior, Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521).

11. *Xochicamotli*: reddish or yellow sweet potato (*loc. cit.*).

12. *Xicama* (*jícama*): in *ibid.*, II, p. 522, *Pachyrhizus angulatus* Rich.; *P. palmatilobus* H. B. K. in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

13. *Maçazocotl*: plum — *Spondias* sp. (*anacardiaceae*) (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

14. *Atoiazocotl*: *Spondias lutea* L. (*anacardiaceae loc. cit.*). *Jobo* (*Spondias mombin*, or *S. lutea*, or *purpurea*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153, 155. See also Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeón tr.), p. 734, n. 6.

15. *Xalxocotl*: *Psidium pomiferum* L. (*mirtaceae*), in Sahagún (Rubrido ed.), III, p. 335; guava.

16. *Quauhxilotl* (*guajilote*): *Parmentaria edulis* D.C., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; *Bombax palmeri* S. Wats, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

17. *Auacatl* (*aguacate*, avocado): *Laurus persea* in Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeón tr.), p. 734, n. 1.

18. *Uauxin* (*guaje*): *Leucaena esculenta* Benth. (*leguminosae*), in Sahagún (Rubrido ed.), III, p. 335.

19. *Texocotl* (*tejocote*): *Crataegus mexicana* Moc. & Ses., in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150.

20. *Capoli* (*cerezo indígena*): *Prunus capuli* Cav. (*rosaceae*), in Sahagún (Rubrido ed.), III, p. 334.

21. *Nochtli*: *Nopal opuntia*, in *op. cit.*, p. 335.

22. *Amacapuli*: *moral indio* (*Chamephoro discolorus* Gard.; var. *arvicolens*), in *loc. cit.* Black mulberry or blackberry in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

23. *Iztac nochtli*: white cactus fruit (*Opuntia* sp.), in Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 934, 936; *cosa blanca* (cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 230).

24. *Cozonochtli*: *cozonochopalli* (*Opuntia pseudo-cosa* Salis. Dyjds; *cozahuas*), in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335. *Tuna amarilla*?—cf. Santamaría, *loc. cit.* *Opuntia* sp. of yellow fruit in Hernández, *loc. cit.*

25. *Tlatocnochtli*: "*cosa blanca tirando a bermejo*"; *Opuntia* sp., in *loc. cit.*

26. *Tzaponochtli* (*zaponazulo*, *pitahaya* — Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 314).

27. *Anochtli*: *pitahaya de agua*, *pitahaya del agua* (*Pereskiopsis aquosa* Britt & Rose); cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 229.

28. *Pipillo*: *pitahaya strobiphora* *mamillaris* Pfeiff; cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 495.

Then Moctezuma commanded sternly, charged, enjoined, and ordered on pain of death, that the stewards and all the noblemen and constables should see to it that [the Spaniards] be cared for in all that they might need.

And when [the Spaniards] had crossed over to the land, when finally they came, when already they moved, proceeded, and marched ahead, they were well cared for; they were honored. They passed from hand to hand as they took their way. Much was done for them.

niman ic tetlaquauhnaoati in Motecuçoma, vel quincocolti, vel quintenjzti, quinmjquinaoati in calpixque: auh in jzquich in tecutli, in achcauhtli in quittazque, in quimocuitlavizque in jzquich intech monequiz.

Auh in ovallalhoacaquizque iequene ic vitze: in ic oalolinjzque, in ic oalolinj, in ic oalotlatoca, cenca necuitlaviloque, mavizmachoque, çan temac in oallatiaque, in oalotlatocaque, cenca inca nechioaloc.

[p. 24 is blank]

Tenth Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came — when already they had come and were making their way forward — first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoac,[1] on land of the people of Tlaxcalla, there dwelt their [subject] Otomí. And the Otomí met them in battle; with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.[2]

And when [the region of] Tecoac had perished, those of Tlaxcalla — when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told — could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time — in but the flutter of an eyelid —

Inje matlactli Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles çan jvian, oallalhoaccaqujzque, oallotlatocatiaque yoã in quenjn Motecuçoma qujcauh in vei tecpan, vmpa ia in jpilchan.

Niman qujoallalcavi in jvevechan in vei tecpan, vncan oallamattia, vncan oallama, qujoalma, qujoaltocac in jpilchan in ichoatl Motecuçoma.

Auh in iequene vitze, in ie vitze, in ie ovalmolinjque: ce tlacatl, cempoaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl, no achto canaco; in jquac qujttato tlalli, in altepetl, no oalnsoatlatotia, q'noaloquechilitia, qujnoalotlaxilitia, qujnoallaixtlatitia, qujnoaliacan, qujnoaliacantia.

Auh in oacico Tecoac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan onoque imotonoan. Auh in otomj iautica qujnnamjcque, chimaltica qujnnamjcque: auh in otomj in Tecoaca vel qujmjxtlatique, vel ixpoliuhque, qujnxixilque, texixilioac, qujntlequjqujzvique, qujntepuzmjvique, qujntlavitolhujque, amo çan quezqujchtin, vel ixachintin, in jxpoliuhque.

Auh in ontlalpoliuh tecoac, in tlaxcalteca in oconcacque in ocõmatque, in onjlhujloto, cenca mauhcaçonecque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in maviztli, mavizcujque:

njmã mocentlalique mononotzque, motecuiononotzque, motlatocanonotzque, qujmoottitique in tlatolli:

qujtoque. Quen toiezque, cujx tiqujnnamjqujzque: ca vei oqujchtli vei tiacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oqujttac, atle ipan oconjttac, çan ixquich cavitontli in çan ixpeioctli in oconpopolo maceoalli. Auh in axcan ma çan itlan toncalaqujcã, ma çan tictoc-

1. Tecoac: today Molino, in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael Girón Gonzalez).

2. This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilar, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porrúa e Hijos, Sucs., 1954), pp. 33ff. References to important contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilar, Díaz, Cervantes, Cortés, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points where not in the *Florentine Codex* and other Aztec accounts.

635 they destroyed the vassals. So now let us submit to
648 them; let us befriend them; let us make friends of the foe. [For] the common folk suffer."

648 And thereupon the rulers of Tlaxcalla went to meet them. They took them food—birds, eggs, white tortillas, fresh tortillas.

They said to them: "Ye have labored, O our lords."

[These] answered them: "Where is your home? Whence come ye?"

They said: "We are people of Tlaxcalla. You have tired yourselves. You have come to and reached the land [which is] your poor home, Quauhtlaxcalla."

(But in ancient times it was named Texcalla, and the common folk were called Texcallana.)[3]

njuhtican, ma çan titocnjuhtlacan, motolinja in maceoalli.

Auh njma ie ic vi in qujnamjqujaque in tlaxcalteca tlatoque: qujtqujque in tlaqualli, in totoli, in tototlel in jztac tlaxcalli, in chipaoac tlaxcalli: qujmjlbujque. Oanqujmjhioviltique totecujoane:

qujnoalnanqujlique. Cana mochan? Campa oanoallaque?

Conjtoque. Titlaxcalteca, oanqujmociaviltique, oanmaxitico, otlaltech anmaxitico in amochantzinco quauhtlaxcalla

(auh in ie vecauh moteneoaia Texcalla, in maceoalti mjtoaia, texcalteca.)

3. The Spanish text says: "La ciudad fue nombrada Texcalla, como que significa los capitales o Reinos Texcalla."
Tlaxcalla did not exist as a compact urban center before the Conquest except for the four barrios — Quiahuixtlan, Ocotelulco, Tepeticpac, and Tizatlan — which made up the Republic of Tlaxcalla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told how the Spaniards came to and reached Tlaxcalla, which was [then] called Texcalla.[1]

Injc matlactli oce capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acico in vncã tlaxcalla: in mjtoa Texcalla. 648

They proceeded to guide them, to take and lead them, and thus leave and quarter them in their palace. They made much of them. They offered them whatsoever they needed, and cared for them. And then they offered them their maidens.

Qujmõiacanato, qujnoallhujcaque, qujnoaliacantiaque, injc qujmoncaoato, injc qujncalaqujto in intecpanchan, cenca qujnmavizmatque, qujnmacaque in intech monequj inca mochiuhq̃ yoan njman qujnmacaque imjchpuchoan:

Then [the Spaniards] asked them: "Where is Mexico? What manner of place is it? Is it still distant?"

njman qujntlatlanjque canjn Mexico, quenamjcan? oc veca?

[The Tlaxcallans] answered them: "It is not far distant; it can be reached in perhaps but three days. It is a very good place. And [the Mexicans] are very powerful, very brave warriors, victors who go conquering everywhere."

Qujnanqujlique, ca aocmo veca, ayo ça eilhujtl axioaloz, cenca qualcã, yoã cenca chicaoaque, cenca tiacaoã, tepeoanjme, novian tepeuhtinemj.

And those of Tlaxcalla in times past had contended and risen in rage and hatred against the Cholullans, whom they detested and abhorred and with whom they would have no commerce. Wherefore they spoke evil of them, so that [the Spaniards] might attack them by treachery.

Auh in tlaxcalteca, ieppa mochalanjticatca, moqualancaitzticatca, motlavelitzticatca, mococoliticatca, aimelmottaia, acã vel monepañoaia in cholollteca: Ipampa in qujntenansoatilique, injc qujpoioinjctizque:

They said to them: "They are very wicked, and they are our foes. Those of Cholulla are as strong as the Mexicans. They are friends of the Mexicans."

qujmjlhujque. Ca cenca tlaveliloc, ca toiaouh in chololtecatl iuhqujn mexicatl ic chicaoac, ca icnjuh in mexicatl:

When the Spaniards had heard this, they then went to Cholulla. Those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla accompanied them. They went in war array. When they arrived, thereupon there were shouting and calling out that all the noblemen should come forth — the rulers, leaders, and chieftains, and the common folk. The temple courtyard[2] was filled. And when all had assembled, then [the Spaniards and their allies] closed each of the entrances, wheresoever one entered.

in oiuh qujcacque in españoles: njmã ic vmpa iaque in cholollа, qujnvicaque in tlaxcalteca yoan in cempoaiteca, moiauchichiuhtiaque: in oacito njmã ic ic tenotzalo, tetzatzililo, ixqujchtin oallazque in pipilti, in tlatoque, in teiacana, in tiacaoan, yoan macecoalti, neteuitoaltemaloc. Auh in ic ocenquizque ixqujchtin njman qujoaltzatzaoque in calaconiã, in jxqujcampa calacoa,

Thereupon the people were fallen upon, slain, and beaten. Those of Cholulla had been caught unaware. With neither arrows nor shields did they meet the Spaniards. Just so, they were slain without warning. They were killed by pure treachery; they died unaware. For in truth the Tlaxcallans had incited [the Spaniards].[3]

njmã ic ic texizilioa, temjctilo, teviviteco, atle iniollo ipan catca in Chololtecatl: amo mjtica amo chimaltica qujanamjcij in Españoles, çan iuhqujn ichtacamjctiloque, çan tlatzpoioinjctilti çan tlachtacamjctilti, ca nel çan qujnteanansoatilique in tlaxcalteca.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "que estuvo en Huexotzinco."
2. This was at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, according to the corresponding Spanish text.
3. Cf., however, Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin: *Annales* (Rémi Simeon, ed.: Paris: Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc, 1889); the Septième Relation (p. 187) states: "*ovoit coloquinte quinientos de Chalchas que pensaron quinientos capitanes general Hernando Cortes*" — they slew very many Chalchas when they met the Captain-general, Hernán Cortés, in battle.

Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art not he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa inquenjn Motecuçoma, qujon ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoã oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injc qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl.

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmã ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cõnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl, vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmõmacaque teucujtlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoã teucujtlacotcatl.

Auh in oqujmõmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzca, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn cnoçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel iehoatl in cenca camjquj, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoottititivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oqujttaque Tzioacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx ice hin in Motecuçoma: Qujmjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmõichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie iehoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, qujmjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjto. Ca nehoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmã qujlhujque. Nepa xisuh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaisoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatiloz, amo vel titechichchioaz, amo vel titechixcuepaz, amo vel titechixpatilia, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopoloa, amo vel titechitzmjnjctiz, amo vel titechixçoqujviz, amo vel titechixçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel techmetlatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tonatl, cujx patlanjz? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648 728 there somewhere a mountain pierced by a hole that he may enter? For we shall see him; for we shall not fail to look into his face. We shall hear his words; we shall listen to that [which cometh] from his lips."

Thus they only despised and belittled him. Thus came only to nothing still another of their welcomes and greetings.

Then they hurried straight and took the road direct [to Moctezuma].

coiouquj yitic calaquiz ca tiquittazque, ca amo maca izco titlachiezque, ticcaquizque in jtlatol, itenco titlacaquizque,

ic çan contelchiuhque, atle ipan conjttaque ic çan onnenpoliuh in oc çequj in intenamjc, in intetlapalol:

ic njmã quicalmelauhtivetzque in melacoc vtli.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is related how Moctezuma sent still other soothsayers in order that they might cast a spell over the Spaniards,[1] and what befell them on the way.

And another company of messengers, who were soothsayers and magicians, and fire priests, also went and made their way to contend with them. But they could do nothing. They could not cast a spell over them; no more could they contend against and exert power over them. No longer could they succeed.

For a drunkard came along the way. They went up against him and stopped, stunned. They beheld him as one from Chalco, for so was he arrayed. He was dressed as a man from Chalco; he acted as a Chalcan. Like one besotted, he bore himself and acted like one who is drunk. With eight grass ropes was he bound about the chest.[2] He accosted them, having come ahead of the outposts of the Spaniards.[3]

And he rose up against them and said: "What do you come to do here again? What do you now wish? What would Moctezuma yet wish to do? Hath he perchance now come to his senses? Is he now filled with a great fear? For he hath committed a fault. He hath abandoned the common folk; he hath destroyed men. People have been struck upon the head; they have been bound [in wrappings for the dead]. He hath laughed at and deceived them!"

And when they had thus seen this, when they had heard his words, to no purpose did they give him attention, praying humbly to him and quickly setting up his abode — his earth pyramid and his straw bed. But he would not then look at it; vain was its erection. To no purpose had they made the earth pyramid.

Just as if they had plunged him into his rage, he presently chid and abused them, and spoke harshly.

Injc matlactli omei capítulo vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma: qujmjoa oc cequjntin tetlachivianjme injc qujtlachivizquja Espanoles yean in tlein vtlica impan muchiuh.

Auh ie no centlamantique titlanti: iehoan in tlaciuhq̃ in nanacalti, yoan tletlenamacaque, no ic ica, no ic iaque in tenamjquixque: auh aoccã vel mochiuhque, aoccan vel teittaque, aocmo tlaipantilique, aocmo teipantilique, aocmo onicoatque:

çan ie ce tlacoanquj vtlica ica ommotzotzonato, qujmonamjctito, ica onmjxtilquetzato: injc qujttaq̃ iuhqujn chalcatl ic omochichiuh, mochalcachichiuh, mochalcanenequj: iuhqujn tlaoãquj, mjvincanenequj, motlaoãcanenequj: chicuei çacamecatl ic mellpi, qujmjxnamjctivitz hiiacac icativitz in Españoles.

Auh çan inca ieoac: qujmjlhuj. tle noma amaxtivitze in njcã? tlen oc anquinequj? tle noma qujchioaznequj in Motecuçoma? cujx qujn omozcali? cujx qujn axcan ie momauhticapul? ca otlatlaco, ca oconcavili in macecalli, ca otlacaixpolo teca omoquavitec, ca teca omoçujmjlo, ca teca omavilti, ca teca omocacaiauh.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in, in oiuh qujcacque itlatol, oc nen itlan aquj, in qujmocnotlatlauhtilia, qujtlalilitivetzque ichiel itlalmomoz, yoan içacapepech, çan njmã aocmo vmpa qujoalittac: tel çan nenpanca in ommotlalica, in vncan oc nen qujtlalmoçuurtica:

çan ie iuhqujn icamac ommaqujque, ie vncan qujmaoa, qujntequjaia, iuhqujn motititzatlatoa:

648
791
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1. Represents the title in contrast to the Nahuatl text.

2. See Pl. 27.

3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "vuelve enfiado a los pueblos este embaidor o vuelve hacker de hacer cosas de espantos, y cuenta de donde venían los españoles."

648 He said to them:
787 "Why do you vainly stand here? No longer will
791 there be a Mexico; [it is gone] forever. Go hence; it no more existeth. Turn about; look at what befalleth Mexico — what thus already cometh to pass!"

Then they looked there; they quickly turned there to see. They beheld that already all the temples, the tribal temples, the priests' dwellings,[4] and all the houses in Mexico burned; and [it looked] as if already there were fighting.

And when the soothsayers had seen this, it was as if they had lost heart; they could say nothing; it was as if they had been made to swallow something.

They said: "This is not for us to see: it must needs be that Moctezuma see what we have seen. For this is no common being; this is the youth Tezcatlipoca."

000 Then he vanished, and they saw him no more.

And so the messengers went no further to encounter [the Spaniards]; they no longer pressed on toward them. From there the soothsayers and fire priests turned back and came to tell Moctezuma. There they and those who earlier had gone [with] Tziuacpopocatzin saw one another.

And when these messengers had come to arrive, just so they related to Moctezuma how this had come to pass and how they had beheld it. Moctezuma, when he heard it, only bowed his head; he stood with his head lowered. He hung his head: he stood with his head downcast. He did not then speak, but only remained full of woe for a long time as if beside himself.

Finally he thus answered them, and said: "What can we do? What can be done? For we are finished; we have taken the medicine. Shall we perhaps climb a mountain? Should we perhaps flee? For we are Mexicans. Shall we in truth perhaps enslave the Mexican domain? Unlucky[5] are the poor old men and old women! And the children, who have no understanding — where may they be taken? What can be done? Where, in truth, can one go? For now we have taken the medicine. Come what may, in whatsoever way it may befall, we shall marvel at it!"

quimjlhuj.

Tle çã nen in njcan amjcativitze aoquje iez in Mexico, ie ic cẽmãia, nepa xivia, aocmo vncã, tlaxommocuepacan, tlaxontlachiacan in Mexico, tlein ie mochioa: in juh ie mochioa.

Nimã ic oallachixque, oallachixtivetzque, in qujoalitta ie tlatlã in jxqujch teucalli, in calpulli, in calmecatl, yoan in jxqujch mexico calli, yoan iuhqujn ma ie cuel necaliva.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in tlaciuhque, iuhqujn canjn ia, iniollo, aocmo onnaoatque, iuhqujn aca itla quintololti:

qujtoque inin ca amo totechmonequja in tiqujttazque, ca ie itech monequja qujttaz in Motecuçoma, in otiqujttaque: ca amo çan aca, ca iehoatl in telpuchtli Tezcatlipoca:

njman ic poliuh, aocmo qujttaque.

Auh in titlanti aocmo tenamjqujto, aocmo tevic qujçato, ça vncã oalilotque in tlaciuhque, in tletlenamacaque, qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma: oalnepanjxtiaque in achto isque in Tzioacpopocatzin.

Auh in oacico iehoantin titlantin, iuhquj povilique in Motecuçoma in juh mochiuh in juh qujttaque. In motecuçoma, in oiuh qujcac, ça oaltolo ça oaltolotimotlali, oalquechpilo, oalquechpilotimotlali, aocmo oalnaoat, çan ontlanauhtimotlali, vecauhtica in iuhquj ontlapolo,

ça ixqujch injc qujnoalnanqujli: qujnoalilhuj. Qaennel mocechtle ca ie ic toncate, ca ie otictomacaque, cujx cacah trpetl tictlecavizque: auh cujx tichoIozque ca timexica, cujx nellaontimaliviz in mexicaiutl, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama: auh in piltzintli, in aia qujmati, campa neviqujlilozque, quẽnel, quẽçannel nen, quẽnoçonel, campa nel, ca ie tictomacaticate in çaço tlein, in çaço quenamj in ticmaviçonque.

4. *Calpulli, calmecatl* — tribal temple and priest' dwelling and translations of these terms previously used in this work, for which there is precedent. See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Refer also to Arturo Monzón *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), *passim* (*calpulli*) and p. 77 (*calmecatl*); or Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," Memoria del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, VI (1954), pp. 20ff. (*calpulli*), 26 (*calmecatl*).

5. From *mocehtle* on, the passage is translated in Vocabio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 520.

Fourteenth Chapter, in which it is told how Moctezuma ordered closed the road, so that the Spaniards might not come to arrive here in Mexico.

And Moctezuma had vainly commanded that they obstruct the road; that with maguey they plant the highway which led direct here to Mexico; and that there they be shown the road which led to and entered Texcoco.

And when they had blocked the way with rows of maguey, [the Spaniards] then learned of it and saw that they had only closed the way. They thought nothing of it. They took [the plants] up; they kicked each one far; they hurled them out. Far off they cast the maguey plants.

They slept at Amaquemecan.[1] Then they went on, direct, along the road and came to reach Cuitlauac. There also they slept.

Assembling from all parts the rulers who held sway over the people of the floating gardens—Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mixquic—they spoke to them just as they had spoken to the rulers of Chalco. And these rulers of the dwellers in the floating gardens then also submitted.

And when the Spaniards had been satisfied, then they moved on and settled themselves at Itztapalapan. Thereupon they called for and sought the rulers known as the Four Lords—[those of] Itztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, Colhuacan, and Uitzilopochco. In the same manner they spoke to and addressed them (as hath been told). And just so they peacefully and quietly submitted to the Spaniards.

And Moctezuma commanded that none make war upon them nor contend against and meet them in battle. He ordered only that they not neglect [the Spaniards' needs]; that great care be taken of them.

And upon this, here in Mexico, all lay quiet; [the people] did not go out or venture forth. Mothers did not let [children] go out. The roads were empty, and clear; the roads were clean, as in early morning.

1. Details are to be found in Chimalpahin, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

Injc matlactli onnavi capítulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma tlanaoati in motzatzaquaz vtli injc amo vel aciquivi Españoles, in njcã mexico. 726

Auh in Motecuçoma, oc nen tlanaoatica in quitzatzaquazque in vtli, in vchpantli, quimetecaque in oallamelauhticac njcã Mexico: auh ie vmpa quimontlachieltiaia, in jpan vtli iaticac, calacticac tetzcucu.

Auh in vncan quimetepãtzacca: njman quimatque, quitzaque in çan oquitzatzacque, atle ipan conjttaque, caanque, veca conxoxopeuhque, quioalchichitotzque, veca ica ommamaiauhque in metl:

vncã cochque amaquemecan, njmã ie ic vitze, tlamelauhtivitze, quimelauhtivitze in vtli, acico in cuitlaoac, çan oc no vncan cochque:

in oquincentlalique tlatoque, in jtzquican tlatocachioa injc chinãpaneca in Suchmjlco in cujtlaoac, in mjzquic: çan ie no ivi in quimjlhujque, in juh quimjlhujque chalcatlatoque. Auh in ichoanti chinanpaneca tlatoque, çan njmã no intlan oncalacque.

Auh in oiniollo vmpachiuh, in Españoles: njman ic oalolinque ommotlalico ĩn jtztapalapan: njman ie no ic quinnotza, quinnenotzallanj in tlatoque: Naubtecutli mjtoa. In jtztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, culhoacan, Vitzilobuchco: çã ie no ie in quimjlhujque, injc quintlatoltique (in oiuh mjto). Auh çan no ivian, iocuxca intlan oncalacque in Españoles.

Auh in Motecuçomatzin, amo tlanaoatiaia injc aca quiniauchioaz, injc aca iauiotica quinnamjquiz, aiac iauiotica quinnamjquiz, çan tlanaoatiaia, injc amo çan tlacomachoaque, çã cenca inca nechioalos.

Auh in jquac y, in njcan Mexico, çã iuhquin cactoc, aocac oalquiça, aocac oalquiztica. In tenanhoan aocmo oaltequiztidanj, çã chichipaoaticac in vtli, ichpelpul icac, çã ichpeliuhticac in vtli, çã iuhquin tlal-

648 None crossed others' paths — they did not dare; they retired to their houses only to know that there was woe. The common folk said: "Pay no heed. Let [the hour] be accursed. What will you do? For now we shall die; we shall perish. Yea, now we await our death."

chipacpan, aocac iztlapal iauh, aocac tlaztlapaloa, necacaltemaloc, ça ixcavilo in tlaocuialo: qujtoaia in macevalli. Ma iuh tie, ma motelchioa, tle oc iez in anqujchioa, ca ie timjqujzq, ca ie tipolivizque, ca ie toconchizticate in tomjquiz.

Then all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains—those of Tlaxcalla, of Tliliuhquitepetl, of Uexotzinco—sped along at the rear. They came girt for war, with their cotton armor, their shields, their bows; their quivers filled and crammed with feathered arrows, some of barbed, wooden points, some blunted, some with obsidian points. They came crouching, and as they went, loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads.

And some bore burdens upon their backs; they carried rations on their backs. Some carried things [held by a tump line about] their foreheads, or, some, their breasts; some bore things on carrying frames, some in cage-like baskets, some in deep, reed baskets; some bore bundles: they carried them upon their backs; some dragged the great lombard guns, which rested upon wooden wheels. And they moved them along shouting.

*nj*man ie ixquich in aoatepeoa, in tlateputzcatl, in tlaxcaltecatl, tliliuhquitepecatl, in vexotzincatl: tlatoquilitivitze, moiauchichiuhtivitze imjichcavipil, inchichimal, intlatlavitol, inmjmjcon tetentiuh, cacatzcatiuh in totomjtl, cequj chichiquilli, cequj tlapontli, cequj itzmjtl momamantivi, motenvitectivi, motenpapavitivi, tocujleuhtivi, tlatlanquiquiztivi, moquacuecuechotivi. 648 726

Auh in cequjntin tlamama, itacamama, cequjntin tlaixquamama, cequjntin tlelpanmama, cequjntin tlacacaxvia, cequjntin tlaoacalhuja, cequjntin tlatompiavia, cequjntin tlaquimjlhuja, mazaço tlaquimjlmamama, cequjntin quivilana in vevei, in toiomaoac tlequiquiztli, quauhtemalacac oonotiuh, quicavatztivitze. 648 726 482

[p. 40 is blank]

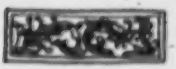

●648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

Injc caxtolli once capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuzcc: qujnnamjqujto Espa/ñoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ic vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers — sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and,
35] lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
[301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

648 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met
431 them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them; he placed chains of flowers on them

Auh in ic iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ic vncan tlantimanj ic vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ic ic muchichiua, mocencaoa in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujx: yoan oc cequjntin veveintin tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ic ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõnamãque in tlaçouchitl, in chimaluchitl, in iolloruchitl inepantla icatiuh in jaqujnuchitl, in cuztic iiesuchitl, in cacaouchitl, icpacuchitl, in nchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiuac cozcatl, cuecapetlatl.

Auh ic vncan in vitzilla onnenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ic ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauquizque, coxochimacac, concozcatl in cozcatl, connuchicozcati, conuchiapan, conicpacuchiti: njman ic ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

[312]

1. *Xoloco or Xoloco* served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In turn, just they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzada of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See esp. Alfonso Caso, *in Lee Barrera enriquez de Tranchiñiñan y Tlandeko* (México, D. F.: 4ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a barrio bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Iturrigaz; E., Peña Rubio; and S. Antonio Abad; W., Lucas Alamán; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

2. Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Schrajder's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 30.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"En llegando los españoles a aquel río que está cabe las casas de alburado que se llama Xoloco."*

4. *Chimalxochitl. Chimalxoxouchitl* is mentioned in Hernández, op. cit., I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). *Chimalxoxouchitl* (Ibid., p. 100), *"tiene . . . flores redondas amarillas (parecen prodigio) de un palmo, semejantes rodelas con algo de amarillo cada florecer en su parte media"*. *Hernandez* comments: L. Linn.; girasol, chimalxóchitl, rodela de sol. *Chimalxoxouchitl* is classified as *"compuesta"*.

5. *Yolloxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamarta, op. cit., III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart, *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin 241)*, Vatican Library — *an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún): *"was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as tlacuilo-xochitl."*

6. *Inquinichtli. Kopinichtli*: as (Chiapa, *pueste del inca — Bauravia farinosa; B. humilis; B. litoralis* (Santamarta, op. cit., I, p. 620). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria humilis* [*La Hoya and Lex*] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, op. cit., p. 276 and Pl. 69 — *a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used to flavor cacao*. In Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeón ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is stated that *"Como flor sirve sur l'arbre inquinichtiquenitl, nombrado humilis, de la famille des asperifolies."*

7. *Teuxochitl*. Nuño Antonio Sancho (*Herbae medicinae nunc Hispaniae dicuntur sive plantarum aromaticarum odoriferae medicinae ex Hispania Hermanniae* [Rome: Ex Typographia Vitali Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) gives *chimalxochitl* in an enumeration (*quam ait Mimachiel, seu Flamen Hispi, alij vero Cuitlahpalmochitl* [*cuapalopo?*] *seu Teuxochitl pulchrum, ornat*"), a gold *chimalxochitl* ("*pavonis caudatae frigidis, & mentem laetat*"). There is a confusion of terminology. Santamarta (op. cit., I, p. 300) identifies a *chimalxochitl* as Magnolia *diodiana* Don. Emmart (op. cit., p. 277) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a *p. magnolia*, in the Badianus MS the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

8. *Cacaoxochitl*, according to Santamarta, op. cit., I, p. 298 (*Theobroma bicolor Linné*). In Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 340, it is identified as "flores de cacao. Mijuxóchitl, Bonl. Bonplandianum." Emmart (op. cit., p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Tlacoxochitl* [illegible] DC, one of the Indyrosan cacao plants.

648 and wreaths upon their heads. Thereupon he spread
43) out before [Cortés] the golden neck bands — all the greeting gifts with which the welcome closed. Some he hung with neck bands.

648 Then [Cortés] said to Moctezuma: "Is this not thou? Art thou not he? Art thou Moctezuma?"

Moctezuma replied: "It is so; I [am he]."

At this he arose to meet him face to face, did a great reverence to him, drew close to him, and stood firm.

Thus did he pray and speak [to Cortés]: "O our lord, thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Thou hast arrived on earth; thou hast come to thy noble city of Mexico. Thou hast come to occupy thy noble mat and seat, which for a little time I have guarded and watched for thee. For thy governors [of times past] have gone — the rulers Itzcoatl, Moctezuma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tiçoc, Auitzotl — who, not very long ago, came to guard [thy mat and seat] for thee and to govern the city of Mexico. Under their protection the common folk came here. Could they, perchance, now find their descendants, those left behind? O, that one of them might be a witness to marvel that to me now hath befallen what! see; who am the only descendant of our lords. For I dream not, nor start from my sleep, nor see this as in a trance. I do not dream that I see thee and look into thy face. Lo, I have been troubled for a long time. I have gazed into the unknown whence thou hast come — the place of mystery. For the rulers [of old] have gone, saying that thou wouldst come to instruct thy city, [that] thou wouldst descend to thy mat and seat; that thou wouldst return. And now it is fulfilled: thou hast returned; thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Arrive now in thy land. Rest, lord; visit thy palace [that] thou mayest rest thy body. Let our lords arrive in the land."[9]

And when Moctezuma had ended his address, which he had directed to the Marqués, Marina explained and interpreted for him. And when the Marqués had heard Moctezuma's words, then he spoke to Marina.[10] He addressed them in a barbarous tongue; he said in his strange language:

"May Moctezuma quiet his heart and not be frightened. We love him much. Now our hearts are

concatl, in jxquijtlamâtli tenamjqueq, tenamjxtli in jca oiecauh, enquj cîoncati:

Njmâ qujoallhuj in Motecuçoma. Cujx amo te? cujx amo ie te? ie te in timotecuçoma:

quijto in Motecuçoma, ca quemaca ca nehoatl:

njmâ ie ic vel onnmoquetza conjxnamjctimoquetza, connepechtequjlia, vel ixqujch casna, motlaquauhquetza:

injc contlatlauhti, qujlhuj. Totecujoe oticmjhioviliti, oticmociaviliti, otlaltitech tonmaxitico, otech tonmopachivilticо in Matzin, in motepetzin mexico, oipan tonmovetzitico in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin, in oachitzinca njmjtzônopielili, in onjmjtzonnotlapielili, ca oisque in motechiuhcaoan in tlatoque: in Jtzcoatzin, in veve Motecuçoma, in Axaiaca, in Tiçocic, in Aviztotl, in oc uel achic mjtzonmotlapielilico, in oquipachoco in atl, in tepetl in Mexico: in incujtlapan, intepuzco in ovalietis in momaceoaltzin, cujx oc vallamati in jmonjca, in intepuzco, ma ceme iehoantin qujztiaz:j qujmaviçotiaj, in nehoatl in axcan nopan omochiuh in ie njqujxta, in ça imonjca, intepuzco totecujovan camo çan njtemjquj, amo çâ njcochitlea, amo can njccochitta, amo çan njctemjquj ca ie onjmjtzinohili, mjtzinco onjdachix, ca ononnentlamatticatca in ie macujl in ie matlac, in vmpa nonjztica, in quenamjcan in otimoquixtico in mjxtitlan in aiauhtitlan: anca iehoatl inin qujtenculiti in tlatoq in ticmomachitiqujuh in matzin, in motepetzin in jpâ timovetzitiqujuh in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin in tioalmovicac. Auh in axcan ca omeltic, otioalmovicac, oticmjhioviliti, oticmociaviliti, ma tlaltitech ximaxiti, ma ximocevizoizino, ma xoconmomachiti in motecpancaltzin, ma xicmocevili in monacaiotzin, ma tlaltitech maxitican in tonecujovan.

Auh in oentonquix in jtlatlatlauhtilia Motecuçoma oncacquiti in Marques: njman ic oncacquixtili onnanoittalhuj in Malintzin. Auh in ocôcac in Marques in jtlatol in motecuçoma: njman ie qujoalnaoatia in Malitzin qujnoalpopoloti: qujoalito in jpopoloch-copa.

Ma moielladi in Motecuçoma, macamo momauhti, ca cenca tictlaçotla, ca axcan uel pachiuj in tonallo,

9. A number of the allusions made here to Montezuma's ancestry are explained in Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," pp. 19-21.

10. The Aztec text should read "Malinche."

satisfied, because we have known and heard him. For a long time we have wished to see him and to look upon his face. And now that we have seen him and have come to his home in Mexico, at leisure he may hear our words."

Thereupon they took him by the hand and went leading him by it. They clapped him on the back in order to make known to him their love.

And the Spaniards beheld and examined him. They walked about on foot, and mounted or dismounted in order to look at him.

And the nobles, as many as accompanied him, [were], first, Cacamatzin, ruler of Texcoco; second, Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan; third Itzquauhtzin, a general, ruler of Tlatilulco; and fourth, Topantemoctzin, of Tlatilulco, who was Moctezuma's store keeper. [These] accompanied him. And still other noblemen of Tenochtitlan [were] Atlixcatzin, a commanding general; Tepeuatzin, a general; Totomotzin, the army commander; Ecatenpatiltzin, and Quappiatzin. When Moctezuma was taken, they only hid themselves and took refuge. They abandoned him in desperation.

ca tiquiximoti in ticcaqui, ca ie izquich cavid in cenca tiqujtaznequj in jxco titlachiaznequj. Auh injn ca oncquijttaque, ie ontoallaj in jchan in Mexico, iujaõ quicaquijz in totlatol: 648

njman ie ic imatitech conanque, ie ic quivicatiujtze, quijtotzona injc quinextilia in intetlaçotlaliz.

Auh in Españoles quijtta, quiccencujtta, icxitlan ompepeoa, ontletleo, ontletemo injc quijtta.

Auh in tlatoque izquintin in jtlan mantiaque. Inic ce, Cacamatzin, Tetzcucu tlatoanj. Inic vme, Tetlepãquetzatzin: tlacuban tlatoanj. Injc ei, Itzquauhtzin tlacochcalcatl: tlatilulco tlatoanj. Injc navi, Topantemoctzin, tlatilulco itlatlatlalicaub catca in Motecuçoma in ommantiaque. Auh in occequintin pipiltin tenochca in Atlixcatzin, tlacatecatl, in tepeoatzin, tlacochcalcatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Tiocciacacatl, Totomotzin, hecatẽpatiltzin, Quappiatzin in nauac Motecuçoma camo çã motlatique, mjnauque, quitlauelcauhque. 648 565

[p. 44 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Astec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

8. Sixth omen: the weeping woman (Chapter 1). 9. Seventh omen: the ashen bird with a mirror (Chapter 1). 10. Eighth omen: two-headed men (Chapter 1). 11. Stewards present Spaniards' gift to Moctezuma (Chapter 2). 12. Moctezuma's messengers present gifts to Cortés (Chapter 5). 13. Spaniards bind Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 14. Spaniards fire guns and terrify the messengers (Chapter 5). 15. Spaniards give food to Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 16. Moctezuma's messengers return to the mainland (Chapter 6). 17. Captives are slain before Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 6). 18. Spaniards in war array (Chapter 7). 19. Moctezuma hears description of the Spaniards (Chapter 7).

[p. 44(D)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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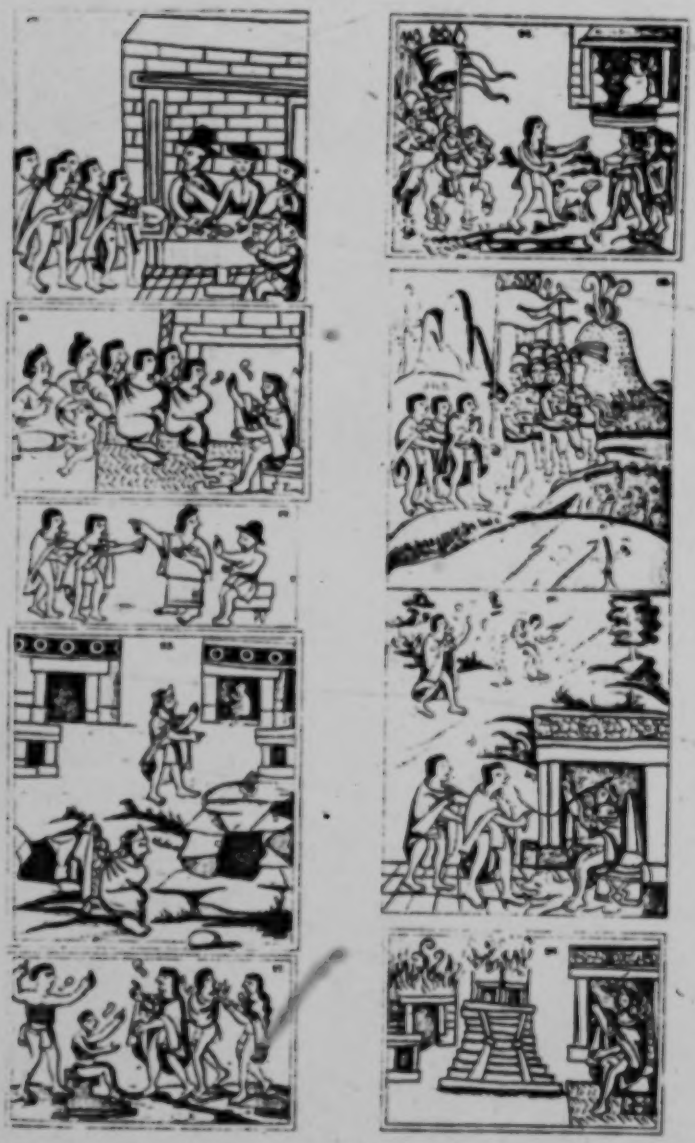

—*Hijo Paso y Troncoso*

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Iztaccipetl and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's employees meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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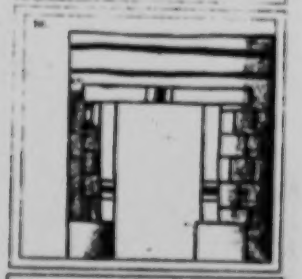

—After Paso y Troncoso

65. Preparation of the image of Ulitsilopuchtli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Ulitsilopuchtli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p.44(K)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[411
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Itzquauhtzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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— After Paso y Troncoso

80-82. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22). 83. Spaniards rout chieftains from the pyramid temple (Chapter 22). 84. Bodies of Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin are cast out of the palace by the Spaniards (Chapter 23). 85. Moctezuma's body is carried away (Chapter 23).

[p.44 (M)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Astec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

96, 97. Mexicans recover bodies and loot from the Tolteca canal (Chapter 25). 98. Mexicans at Coloaxayac (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Tescalhuyacan (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Tescalhuyacan welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102. Spaniards prepare to depart from Tescalhuyacan (Chapter 26).

[p. 44(0)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[502]
[724]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacan arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a noblewoman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacan is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p. 44 (T)]

Twenty-first Chapter. Here is told [how] war first began, when the Mexicans gave battle to the Spaniards here in Mexico.

And the Spaniards fortified themselves. And the Spaniards also shot at the Mexicans with iron arrows, and fired the guns at them. And then they put Moctezuma in irons.

And all the chieftains who had died [in the temple courtyard] were thereupon taken out and brought forth, and identified. And the mothers and fathers raised a cry of weeping; all wept over them; there was wailing. First they took them to their homes. Later they carried them to the temple courtyard, brought them together there, and burned them together there at the place called Quauhxicalco.[1] But some [were] burned only at the various young men's houses.

And when the sun was about to enter his house, [but] a little sun still [shone], thereupon Itzquauhtzin cried out; on the [palace] roof-top, he called out and spoke: "O Mexicans, O men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco, your ruler, the lord of men, Moctezuma, beseeketh you and saith: 'Let the Mexicans hear! We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]![2] Let [the battle] be abandoned! Let the arrow and shield be stilled! Unhappy [are] the poor old men and women, the common folk, those not yet of understanding — who toddle, who crawl, who lie placed in cradles or on [cradle] boards, those yet untrained!' For this reason doth your ruler say: 'We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]; may [the strife] cease' — because they have shackled him; they have had irons placed on his feet!"

And when he had said this, then they raised a clamor and chid him. The Mexicans became more and more enraged. One, much inflamed by anger, said: "What saith Moctezuma, O fool? [Art thou] not one of his warriors?"[3] Whereupon there was

Injc ocmpoalli oce capítulo: vncan mjtoa iancuj can peuh iuiotl, injc qujmjcalque Mexica in Españoles in njcan mexico. 726

Auh in ichoantin Españoles: njman valmotepetlatzatzacque. Auh in Españoles no qujnvalmjna in Mexica in jca tepuzmjtl, yoan ic qujnvalmotla in tlequjqujztli. Auh njman tepuztli contlatlaliiique in Motecuçoma:

auh in jxqujchtin tiacavan in omjcque: njmã ic ic tequjztilo, teçaço, teiixinacho. Auh in tenanvan in tetaoan tlachoqujztleoa tetlhoqujlilo, nechoqujlilo, oc inchachan qujnvicaca, çatepan qujnoalhujcaque in teuitvalco, qujncentlalique: vmpa qujncentlatique, cecnj in jtocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequjntin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali. 764

Auh in ic oncalaquja tonatiuh, in oc achiton tonatiuh: njman ic ic valtzatzi in Jtzquauhtzin, tlapanco valtzatzi: qujoalito. Mexicae, tenuchcae, tlatilulcae, amechtlatlauhti in amotlatocauh, in Tlacatecutli in Motecuçoma: qujoalitoa. Ma qujcaqujcan in Mexica, ca amo titenamjcvan, ma motlacavaltican, ma momana in mjtl in chimalli, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in aiamo qujmati in moquequetza, in movilana, in coçultentoc, in vapaltentoc, in aiamo qujmomachitia: ipampa conjtoa in amotlatocauh. Camo titenamjcvan, ma netlacaoaltilo, ca oconterpoziotique, tepuztli icxic ocontlatlalilique: 648

Auh in oconjto in, njmã ic ic conchachalatza, conaoa, çan ic ilhujce tlavelcuj in Mexica qualanj, oc ilhujce poçonj: conjlhuja. Tlein qujoalitoa Motecuçoma nocse? amo oc yioqujchoan? Nimã ic ic tlacoaca, niman ic maxtimoquetz in tlacaoca:

1. Four places named Quauhxicalco, in the temple square, are mentioned in Book II — The Conquest, pp. 168, 170, 171.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*¡oyd amos hombres son muy fuertes que yo mesmo.*"
3. Ibid.: "*¿Que dice el pobre de Motecuçoma? Y no soldado eres el, no eres como los guerros.*" Mexico: Sandoz, "very friend."

648 an outcry, and then the tumult rose and spread. Thereafter arrows fell upon the roof-top. But the Spaniards sheltered Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin under their shields lest the Mexicans pierce them with the arrows.

For this reason were the Mexicans in great wrath: because [the Spaniards] had completely destroyed the chieftains [in the Temple Courtyard]; without warning, they had slain them by treachery.[4]

726 Not yielding to force of arms, [the Mexicans] surrounded the palace. They watched various places that none might enter it secretly — that none might in stealth take in tortillas. Hence, at once was stayed all which they had been receiving: forthwith they left no more. In this way they would starve them.[5]

And as for those who would in vain advise [the besieged], or gain merit by secretly giving [one of them] a little food, if they were seen or detected, they then and there slew them. They killed them on the spot. They either struck them on the back of the head, or they stoned them.

At one time some Mexicans were seen carrying in furs. These let word fall that through them some had secretly gone in. Therefore all were strictly commanded that every road and canal be well guarded and watched; that all take great care in the watching. And those who took in the furs [482] [were] carriers,[6] the emissaries of the stewards of Ayotzintepec and Chinantla. Then and there they breathed their last; their work dropped; at the canal they struck them on the back of the head with wooden clubs.[7] Those of Tenochtitlan had only quarreled among themselves, and quite in confusion had seized the carriers. They said: "Surely he is one [of them]!" Then they put him to death. And if they noted someone [wearing] his fine crystal lip rod, then they quickly seized and killed him. They said: "Surely this one also walketh entering within, to serve food to Moctezuma." And if they saw someone who had tied on himself the maguey fiber cape[8] of a carrier, him also they quickly seized. They said: "This one also is a brute who goeth bearing evil tales, and letteth them in to see Moctezuma."

njmã ie ic onvetzi in mjtl in tlapanco. Auh in Motecuçomatzin yoan Itzquauhtzi, qujnchimalcaltia in Españoles in ma qujnmjnti in Mexica.

Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica: ichica ca vel qujmjxtlatique in tiacaoan in ainnemachpan in qujnpoiomjctique,

in amo ivivi ic concauhque qujiaoalotinemj in tepancalli: tlatlapia in açaca onjchtacacalaquj, çan njman ic ommotzacu in jxqujch in omacoia, çan njmã aocac tle concaoaia: iuhqujn qujncujtlaoatzque.

Auh in aqujque oc nen xonexcaia, tlamatzoaia, motlamacevjaia, in ichtacatzin cõmacaia in tlaqualtzintli: intla oittoque, intla oittaloque, njman vncã qujnmjctia, vncan qujntlatlatia, açe qujncuexcochvitequj, anoço qujntetepachoa.

Cequjntin mexica ceppa ittaloque, qujcalaqujaia totomjtl: ichoantin tlanexotlaque, inca cequjntin oncalaquj ichtaca, ic cenca netlaquauhnaoatiloc injc vellapiecloz, vel mopiaz in jzquj vtli yoan in jzquj acalutli, vel necujtlaviloa vel ixpialoia. Auh in qujcalaqujaia totomjtl tequjtque intlaivalhoã in calpixque aiutzintepecatl yoan chinantecatl: njman vncan ihiotl qujz, njmã vncã intequjuh vetz, acaloco in qujmõcuexcochvivitecque, vitzantica, çan monetechvia in tenuchca, yoan çan jliviz in qujntzitzquja in tequitque, qujtoaia. Ca ichoatl in: njmã ic conmjctia. Auh intla aca conjttaia ichopilotenteuh: njman qujcujtivetzi, conmjctia: qujtoa, ca no ichoatl in oncalactinemj in contlatlamaca in Motecuçoma: yoan intla aca qujtta, qujmolpilia tequitcaaiatl, no qujcujtivetzi, qujtoa: ca no ichoatl in tlapalpul, in tetzauhtlatolli qujtqujtinemj, cõcalaquja, in conjtta motecuçoma.

4. For [illegible] read [illegible].
5. Literally, "they dried their mouths."
6. Corresponding Spanish text: "los arrieros o paje de Moctezuma."
7. Tlatzontec: read tetzontec.
8. Corresponding Spanish text: "mayas manos delanteras que llamó capa."

726 [411] Thereupon the war bowmen cast their barbed spears at the Spaniards. From two sides—from both sides—fell the barbed spears. And the Spaniards also shot arrows at the Mexicans; they shot iron bolts and guns. On both sides there was death. The Spaniards and the Tlaxcallans were shot by arrows; the Mexicans were shot. And when the Spaniards reached Tlaltecayoacan, there at the Tolteca canal,[4] there they fell into what seemed a deep chasm; they filled an abyss. There all fell. Those of Tlaxcalla and Tiliuhquitepec tumbled in, as well as Spaniards, and the horses, and some women. With them the canal was completely filled, full, clear to the banks. But those who came at the very rear, emerged and crossed over on men, on bodies.

And when they had proceeded to reach Petlacalco,[5] where there was another canal, very slowly, cautiously, and softly, with guarded measure, they set forth upon the wooden bridge. Here they recovered themselves, caught their breaths, and revived their valor.

And when they reached Popotlan,[6] it was dawn, and light was spreading. Already [the Mexicans] set out to attack: already they had been recognized from afar. And then they went raising a war cry against them and surrounding them. The Mexicans took after them; they took those of Tlaxcalla; and Spaniards were slain. And also Mexicans and Tlatilulcans were killed. On both sides was death dealt. They made the Spaniards leave Tlacopan; they pursued them. And when they advanced forcing them from Tiliuhcan and Xocotlihiovican, there at Xoxocotla,[7] there Chimalpopoca, son of Moctezuma, died in the fray. They came upon him pierced by a barbed spear, and wounded. Likewise Tlaltecatzin, lord of the Tepaneca, died there. They had guided the Spaniards, and gone ahead to show them the route, keep them from wrong roads, maintain them on their course, and make the way for them.[8]

[648] Thereupon they passed the Tepçolatl (a small stream). They crossed and forded the water there at Tepçolatl.[9] Then they climbed the embankment

njmã ic ic cuitlaça in acalchimalleque in tlatzcatectli in impã in Españoles: necoccampa necoc in valhuetzi in tlatzontectli. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, no qujnvalmjna in Mexica, qujvallaça in tepuxmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujxtli necoc mjcoa: mjnalo in Españoles, yoan tlaxcalteca: mjnalo in Mexica. Auh in Españoles in oacique in tlaltecaioacan in vncan in tulteca acaloco: vncan iahquja motepexivique, motepexitenque, mochintin vncã onvetzque, ommotepeuhque in tlaxcaltecatl, in Tiliuhquitepecatl, yoan in Españoles, yoã in cavallome, cequj cion: vel ic ten in acalotli, vel ic tzoneuh. Auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ça tlacapan, ça nacapan in onqujzque, in vmpanoque.

Auh in oacito petlacalco, in oc ce vncan icaca acalutli, çan jvian, çan matca, çan tlamach, çan tlamatzin in onqujzque, in jpan quauhtlapechtli, vncan patito, vncan imjhio qujcujque, vncã moqujchquetzque.

Auh in oacito popotlan, otlatvic, otlanez, ic oqujcehtivi, ic veca motlamatilitivi. Auh njmã ic ic qujmjcaouztztivi, qujmololhujtivi, intech icativi in Mexica, qujmaantisi in tlaxcalteca yoã in Españoles mjctivi: auh no mjctilo in Mexica in tlatilulca, necoc mjcoatiuh, tlacupan qujnaqujxtique in qujntoca. Auh in oqujnqujxtito Tiliuhcan, xocotlihiovican, vncan in xoxocotla, vncan in iaumjc in chimalpupuca, in jpiltzin Motecuçoma: in jpan quiçato mjntoc, tlatzõtectica, yoan vivitectoc, çã ic no vncan in mjc, Tlaltecatzin, tepanecatl tecutli in qujniacanaia, in qujntlaixtlatitivia, qujmotlaxilitivia, qujmotequjlitivia, qujmoquechilitivia in Españoles:

njmã ic ic companavique in Tepçolatl (ce atoiatontli) vmpanoque, onapanoque, in vncan tepçolac, njmã ic ontlecoque in acueco, ommotlalito otoncal-

4. *Ibid.*: "*Estaba por Sn. Fernando y la Ermita de los Mártires o de Sn. Hipólito*" (citing Dn. Fernando Ramírez).

5. *Ibid.*: canal on Calzada de Tacuba—the next to last canal.

6. See map. Cuv. (*op. cit.*), however, identifies it as the last canal on the Calzada de Tacuba.

7. Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "*al camino que va hacia Tacuba.*"

8. In the Bolondo edition of Sahagún (IV, p. 73), the account, from Bustamante's 1840 edition, is that "*murieron dos hijos de Moctezuma, el uno se llamaba Chimalpopoca y el otro Tlaltecatzin, los cuales iban guiando a los españoles.*"

9. Tepçolatl: a stream near Ostotepalco (Bustamante, *loc. cit.*).

648 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.**

Tlacaterutli was the name, and Otoncoatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked [262] and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, saith: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla, and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman; [302] naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Inic cempoalli onnacuilli capítulo, vncã mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuxca quinamjquico in Españoles yoan quinmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacaterutli itoca, otoncoatl in jpiltoca. in valeiacã, in vncan quicavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, tototlin, totollalevatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, teoltetl, yoa cequjn ioioli in tutultin, yoan cequj nochtli centecaque ixpan in capitan:

quitoque. Oanquinjhioviltique, oquimociaviltique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech maxitican, ma mjhiocujtican:

njmã quinoalnãquili in Malintzin: quito. Notechiuhcavan, quimjtalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmã quilhujque. Ma quimocaquiti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmã quioalito in Malintzin. Ca ie quali otechmocnelilique, vmpa tiazque in muztla, vmpa ticuchiuque.

Auh njmã vel iquac in otlatlawizcalli ieoac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ie ixquich Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalco, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltirlan, tulla, tulitic in quimamaiavito, quimõtzotzopontilaçaxo, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa quintlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, cozcatlanpopul, cozcemjloltique in cioa, muchintin quinpepetlauhã quintlacujcujlique, quintlatepevilique, quinpeztoccauhque.

Auh in Espanoles nonqua quintetenque, quinvivipanque, ie on tolcellome, ie õ mezzallome, ie on acaxilome ie on tolcellutl innacaio, yoan quinçaçacque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in ixquich in intlatquj in tlamamakhichiuhcauh muchi namoicloc, muchi maceoaloc, ih aquin

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards reached Teocalhueyacan, and how the people there joyfully received them.

On entering Teocalhueyacan, they went to and quartered themselves in the Otomí tribal temple. They had arrived in good time—shortly before noon.

And when they arrived, all was at hand [for them]; all was arranged—all the food, fowls, etc. Great comforts did [the people] offer [the Spaniards]; quite peaceably they entered among them and offered them all which they required—fodder for the deer, water, grains of maize, ears of green and of tender maize, boiled ears of green maize, tortillas of tender maize, boiled ears of tender maize, roasted ears of green maize, tamales of green maize; and slices of squash. They lavished and pressed these things upon them, gained their good will, and made friends with them.

And the people of Tiliuhquitepec who came there [with the Spaniards] had formed a bond with those of Teocalhueyacan; for those of Tiliuhquitepec were relatives and kin of those of Teocalhueyacan.[1] Teocalhueyacan had been the place from which those of Tiliuhquitepec had set forth and originated—their seat and residence. From that place they had gone forth and issued.

There [at Teocalhueyacan] they consulted among themselves, were of one mind, came to common conclusions, and agreed in a common determination to meet with and pray to the Captain—the god—and all the [other] gods: "They have come to reach their revered home here at Teocalhueyacan. Here we, the vassals, the men of Teocalhueyacan and of Tiliuhquitepec, offer our prayers and greetings. And may our lord hear! For Moctezuma and the Mexicans have greatly afflicted and troubled us. To our very noses they have brought misery, for this one

Injc omopoalli onchiqueuccn capitalo, vacan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles achto Teucalhujacan: auh in quenjn quinpaccaelique vmpa tlaca. 648

In teucalhujacan oncalacij onmocacaltemato in otlcalpulco, çan cuel in onacito, aiamo vel nepantla tonatiuh:

auh in onacique, çe temac: moch mocencauh in jxquijch qualonj in totoli. &c. cenca quinpapaquiltique, çan ivian intlan oncalacque, inquijch quinmacaia in jxquijch quinjtlanjliaia, in maçatlaqualli, in atl, in tlaolli, in elotl, in elotzozouhquj, in elopaoaxtli, in elotlaxcalli, in xilopaoaxtli, in elotzcalli, in elotamalli: yoan in aiotlatlapanalli, quinjtlanenectiaia, quinjtlancnoquiltiaia, quinmomocnjuhtique, onmocnjuhtlaque. 648 262

Auh in tiliuhquitepeca, vncã vallaque, quinmõneloco in teucalhujaque: ichica ca in tiliuhquitepeca incotonca ioan invaniolque in teucalhujaq in tiliuhquitepeca, inquijcã iniolcan, inquechtetzon yiococan in teucalhujacan, vncã quijticate, 648

vncã monoçotzque vncan quicemjtzque, vncã quicentlalique in intlatol, quijcepanvique, contlamãvique in innonotzal, injc quinamjcque, injc quitlatlauhtiqueq in capitan in teuti, yoan in ic mochintin teteu, ca omaxitico in inchantzinco in njcã teucalhujacan, ca njcan tictotlatlauhtilia, tictocisuhquechilia in timacoalhoã, in titeucalhujaque, yoan in Tiliuhquitepeca: yoan ma quimocaquijti in totecuio. Ca in motecuçoma yoã in mexicati, ca cenca otechtolinj, otechtlaciavilti, vel toiacacpa oquipqujxti in netolinjlistli: ca inquijch inin techtequjtia in tlacala-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y allí tuvieron las consejas de deudedicos que se compusieron de la guerra consiguiente así los de Tenochtitlan porque eran todos parientes y deudo parecido de Tenochtitlan mejor que a pueblo o Tlaxcalla." The connection is shown in Pedro Carrasco Pizana: *Los otomíes* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1950), p. 200, fig. 20.

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648 hath laid all manner of tribute upon us. But this [Moctezuma] is our lord and our ruler. And if [the gods] hasten to quit us — for the Mexicans are inhuman and very unrighteous — if [the gods] quickly leave us, if they stay away long, [the Mexicans] will return; they will come back here. The Mexicans have not made an end of and destroyed us. But great is their evil; they are full of sin."

And when Marina had informed the Captain of these words, he then answered them: "Let them not be grieved. I shall not tarry; shortly shall I return and speedily shall I find them. Here will be the ruling: here will be the place of governing. The Mexicans will be destroyed, so that they shall not harm you."

And when the people of Teocalhueyacan heard this, they rejoiced greatly. They became proud and haughty because of it. Behold, they therefore rose up and held themselves as better than others, as if they knew all. The more they listened foolishly, the more they were vainly presumptuous; as if then they had lost fear. They took this to be true; they thought that this was already so.

[534 201] And when this was over, and they had slept, when it was still deep night, flutes were blown, they sounded the muted flutes and the wooden whistles,[3] and drums were beaten. War drums were sounded. Then the Spaniards all arose and got up, and arrayed themselves. And after this, then they departed and filled the road. They went crowding the road.

Then they went on to and reached Tepotzotlan. Before long, in good time, they quartered themselves [there]. Only a short distance had they marched. And the people of Tepotzotlan then scattered and departed, fleeing from them and entering the forest. Some climbed the mountain; some [went into] the gorge. [The town] was quite abandoned to the Spaniards.[3] None dealt with them, because very great were they in destruction of men. Therefore they took flight and ran off. Only their bodies did they save. And all their goods they scattered in haste; they dropped them in their hurry. [The Spaniards] entered the palace; they went into the palace to quarter themselves. There they slept, being all together, all crowded and heaped together. For they were quite frightened; they went in fear.

qujli: auh inin ca totecujo ca totlatocatzin. Auh intla techmocavilitiquj̃ça ca tlacatl in mexicatl, vellaveliloc, intla techmocavilitiquj̃çaz, intla movecavitiz, in oalmovicaz in valmocueptzinos, aotechtlamjque, aotechpopoloque in Mexicatl: ca vel huei tlveliloc, ca vel qujmaxilti injc tlaueliloc.

Auh in ocõcaqujti in Malintzin in̂ tlatolli in capitan: njmã qujnoalhuj. Macamo motequjpacho.ã camo njveezouz, iciuhca njoallaz, iciuhca njqujnmatiqujuh, njcan tlatoloz, njcan tlatoloian iez, popoliviz in Mexicatl, macamo amechiolitlacocan.

Auh in oiuh quj̃caque in teucalhujaque cenca papacque, ic aatlamatque, ic cuecuenoque, iz ic moquetzque, ic moichostocaque, qujmolhujltocaque, ilhujz iuhquj̃n mocacaq̃ ilhujz iuhquj̃n aatlamati, iuhquj̃n vncã motlatlalia iniollo monelchiuhque, ic oen ma nelli iuh momatque.

Auh inic iuhquj in ocuchque oc veca iovan in ie tlapiezalo, in quj̃pitza quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapiztli, yoan tlatzotzonalo, iautlatzotzonalo: ie ic necoalo, meeva in Españoles, nechichivalo; Auh in ie iuhquj, ie ic onenalo neutemalo, pepexocatiuh in vtli:

njmã ic onacito in tepeteotla, aia vel queman oc qualcan in ommotlalito, çan achi quj̃tocatiaque: auh in tepetzoteca njman ic tzomonque olinque, ic choloque, quauhtlacalacque: cequjntin tepetl quj̃tlecavique: cequjntin atlauhtli, çan inpan macauh in Espanoles, aiac inca muchiuh: iehica ca cenca vei in intepololiz, ipampa mochololtique, mocholtique: çan izquj̃ch in innacaio quj̃naquj̃xtique: auh in izquj̃ch in intlatquj quj̃tepeuhtiquj̃zque, çan iuh tlacauhtiquj̃zque: tecpan in oncalacque, ommotepancaltemato, vncã cochque, çan cenietivi, çan cemololiuhtivi, çan centepeuhtivi: iehica ca çan mauhcavi, çan mocauhcitivi.

2. *Quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapiztli*: cf. Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1960), II, Pt. 3-4, p. 145; Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Tercaux-Compans, tr.; Paris: F. Jomet, 1853), I, p. 121.

3. *Espanoles*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

And when the dawn broke, at a good hour, all ate and broke their fast. When they had broken their fast, when they had eaten their breakfast, then they arose and set forth on the road. [Those of Tepeteoctlan] shouted war cries after them from a distance, from afar. Only holding their distance did they shout at them. And if any dared come up to them, as if one were to speak to them, [the Spaniards] lanced them. Once and for all the Spaniards speared them. No longer did they stir; none escaped; none saved the speared one.

Auh in otlatvic, in ie achi qualcã: njman ie ic tlatlaqua, qujqua in inneuhca: in onmoneuhcaiotique, in oconquaque in inneuhcv: njmã ic oneuhque, ie ic vtlatoca, qujmjcavatza, ça voca, ça vecapa, ça qujnvalhuecapavia, in qujnvalicavatza. Auh intla ça acame motlapaloa in intech onaci, iuhquin aquim ãtlatoltia in q'nvalixili, çan ic cenvi in qujmjxili, aocmo valmoquecuetzoa aocac quiça, aocac qujqujxtia in qujxili:

Then they proceeded to and reached Citlaltepec, to rest [there]. But the land was abandoned to them; the folk did not await them.[4] And the chieftains and the people of that place, the householders, showed themselves no more, but only hid. They skulked behind things — perhaps rock cacti,[5] or maguey plants, or a knoll, or a cliff. For [the Spaniards] were not to be opposed. — There also they slept.

njmã ic onacito in citlaltepec, ommotecato, çã no tlalcaviloque, amo qujnmochieltique in macoaltl. Auh in tiacaoan, in vncã tlaca, in chaneque, aocmo valmjxmana, ça motlatia, itla qujmotoctia, aço tenopalli, aço metl, aço tlaltepevalli, anoço texcalli: ichica ca amo ixnamjqujxtin, no vncã cochque.

And when the dawn broke, in good time, when it was already warm and mild, thereupon [the Spaniards] ate. And then once again they set forth and proceeded to Xoloc. In the same manner, it was abandoned to them. No one awaited them with even a little. Quite hurriedly the houses had been abandoned. No one was there to come out to [the foe]. They had hidden above, on top of Mount Xoloc. Watch was kept on all sides, that nowhere [the Spaniards] might be hidden on a terrace, in a gorge, or in an abyss. They were afraid, in dread, lest they be seen by their foe, lest without warning they set upon them.

Auh in otlatvic, ie achi qualcan, ie tlaiconnjc, in ie tlaiamanja: njman ie ic tlatlaqua, njman ie ic no cppa vmpeoa, ommjquanja xoloc: çan ie no ivi, inpan macauh, aocac in ma nel ça ça ton, qujnmochichti, vel cacactivetz in calli, aiac in-ma ivic qujz: tlacpac in motlatique, icpac in tepetl xoloc: noviampa vallachielo, acã motlatique thpechian, tlacomulco, anoço atlauhco, ie qujmacacia, ie qujnmauhtia, in ma amo qujmjmachtiti in inisuvan, in maca innemachpan irpã valchoioti.

And when dawn broke, when they were about to depart, set forth, and go on their way, they thereupon ate. Then they set out. In two files, on each side of the road, marched the deer bearing men upon their backs, called horses. And all the burden-bearers marched within [the files], crowded together.[6] And as they ended their march, they then set and laid fire to the Otomí temples, and to all the temples, houses of the demons. Then they burned; the fire roared. The blaze, the tongues and flames of fire, and the smoke arose. Smoke spread out and

Auh in otlatvic, in ie iazque, in ie oneoazque, in ie ondinjaque: njman ie ic tlatlaqua: ie ic vmpeoa, necocomac onotivi, in mamaça in intemamacaoan, intoca cavallome: auh in iaqujch tlamama çan tlatic onotivi, ololiuhtivi. Auh in ontlanque in vi: nec cantlequechia, contlemjna, contlecavia in otenteucalli, yoan in jaqujch trucalli, in incal tlatlacatteculo, nec tlatla, cuecuetlaca: in tlecueçalhutl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecocomochtli poctlevatoc, poctli mantoc, poctli moteca. Auh in jquac ie iativi, qujmjcavatztivi in macoaltin, çan vecapa:

4. According to Sandoval, op. cit., chichilli with minor implies that the foe is avoided with courage.

5. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 228.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "yuan por el camino, en dos renglas, las de caballos, y todos los de a pie, y los que llamaban cargas, yuan en medio de los de caballos."

648 settled. And as they went marching, the common folk set out shouting war cries after them, but from a distance.

Then they stopped at Áztaquemecan, at the base and foot of Mount Aztaquemecan. There, below, they rested, at a place called Çacamulco. Also above [346] was a rounded hill, where likewise there was an Otomí temple.[7] There they went to quarter themselves. Likewise it was abandoned to them. No more did the common folk draw near to them; but everywhere the houses remained quiet. They had abandoned the houses in haste.

njman ic ommotlalito in Aztaquemecan: icxitlan itzintli in icheoatl tepetl Aztaquemecã, in vncan motlalique tlatzintlan: itocaiocan çacamulco, no tlacpac, ololtontli in tepetl: no vncan icac otontecalli, oncan in õmocaltemato, çan no impan macauh aocmo impan acito in maceoaltin, çan novian cactoc in calli, cacactivetz in calli.

7. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo, ed.), IV, p. 78.

726 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.**

726 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochi-
●648 milco, Mixquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itz-
tapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

415 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them
431 devices and shields, and they gave them each choco-
J.2 late. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Injc cemposalli ommatlactli omei capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn chinanpaneca in Suchmjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jtztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in qujnpalevinquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in ichoantin suchmjlca, cujtlaoaca mjxquica, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, qujnonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: qujmjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic iztlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenqujçaco in quauhtli ocelutl in acaltica: ca qujl azcã qujcentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzque njman ie ic qujmjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanqujmjhiovilique, oanqujmociavilique ma xicmopalevilicaq in altepetl, ma tlaiciecavi:

njman ie ic qujntlauhtia, qujnmaca in tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan qujncacacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in qujnmacaque cacaoatl: njmã ie ic qujmjlhuja. tlacueleoatl, tla tlaiciecavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in qujnvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tiacavaca in jtzquican vtlica: njman ie ic necaliou.

Auh in ichoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmã ie ic tenamoia, qujnnamoaque in cioatzitzinti, yoan in pipiltzitzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'nmjctique vncan ihiotl qujz. Auh in oc cequjntin amo qujnmjctique, çan ivian acalco qujmontemovique.

Auh in ie iuh qujchioa inin ie tenaoalpoloa: njman ic tzatzique in tequjvaque, qujtoque. Mexicae tlein ic qujchioa in, tlaveliloque? ma vallatotoca: njman ie ic tiacavaca, qujntoca acaltica.

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Forty-first Chapter, in which are told the words with which Don Hernando Cortés addressed the rulers of all the cities, here in Mexico, in Texcoco, and in Tlacopan, when the shields had been stilled, and [how] he questioned them as to the gold which [the Spaniards] had in haste scattered there at the Tolteca canal, when they escaped and fled from Mexico.

Therefore the Marquis, the Captain, addressed the rulers. He said to them: "What of the gold which was stored in Mexico?" On this, all the gold was taken from the boats — the golden banners, the golden conical caps, the golden arm bands, the golden bands for the calf of the leg, the golden hoods, the golden discs. All [these] they had laid out before the Captain, [and] indeed all of it the Spaniards had taken up.

Then, the Captain said: "Is this all the gold which was stored in Mexico? Have you brought all of it forth?" For our lords sought it diligently.

Then Tlacotzin spoke: "May our lord, the god, hear! That which was brought to our palace we walled up, all of it, with adobes. Did not, in truth, our lords take it all with them?"

Then Marina said to him: "The Captain saith, 'It is so. We took all of it. All was gathered together, and all was marked. And they caused us to cast away all of it there at the Toteca canal, there where they all set upon us. They must bring forth all!'"

Therefore the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin answered: "May the god, the Captain, hear! The men of Tenochtitlan rise not [to battle] in boats; it is not their want. Only the men of Tlatilulco have made it their way of doing. In boats they gave battle and set forth to stem the advance of our lords. Did not in truth those of Tlatilulco take it all?"

After this Quauhtemoc spoke and said to the ruler's vicar: "What dost thou say, O ruler's vicar? Even if the men of Tlatilulco took it, were not the guilty imprisoned therefore? Did they not produce all of it? Was it not gathered together at Texopan? And what took our lords with them [if] not this?" Quauhtemoc pointed to the gold with his finger.

Inic omopeualli ooc capitando vncã mijtoa in tlatolli inic quijnonotza do hernando Cortes in jaquijchtin altepetl ipã tlatoque in ijcac Mexico: auh texcuco, tlacuba, in jquac ic omoman chimalli, in quijtecmolinia in cuztic teucujtlatl, in vncan quijcemantiquijquc tulteca acaloco, in jquac quijquc, chalaque mexico.

Niman ic ic quijnonotza in Marques in Capitan in tlatoque: quijmilhuja. Catli in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico: nijman ic ic vallaquijxtilo in acaloco in jaquijch in teucujtlatl, in teucujtlapanjtl, in teucujtlacopilli, in teucujtlamatemecatl, in teucujtlacotzvatl, in teucujtlaquacalaxtli, in teucujtlacomalli: muchi ixpan contecaque in capitan, çã much ichoan in Españoles in vallaquijxtique:

nijman ic ic quijtoa in Capitan, çan ic ixquich in in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico, muchi anquijnextinque? ca vel quijtecmoa in totecujovan:

Nimã ic ic ontlatoa in Tlacutzin. Tla quijmocaquijti in totecujo in teutl, ca oipan mazitico in totepan, ca much ticxaxantizacque, amo nel much quijmotquijlique in totecujovan?

nijman quijvalito in Malintzin, quijmjtalhuja in Capitan, Quemaca ca much ticcujque, muchii omocentlali, yoan muchi omumachioti: auh ca much techtlaçaltique in vncã tulteca acaloco, much oncã techtepevaltique, much quijcentiaque:

nijmã ic ic tlamatquijlia in Cioacoatl tlacutzin, tla quijmocaquijti in teutl in Capitã. Ca vel acaloco moquetza in temuchcatl, ca amo ichivil, ca çan inicacvij quichiuh in tlatilulcatl, in acaltica tlaicoque, in quijnicetzacujlito in totecujovã amo nel ichoantin muchi qoicujque in tlatilulca:

nijmã ic ic vallatoa in Quauhtemoctzin: quijvallihuj in Cioacoatl, tlein tiquijtoa Cioacoatle: maço quicujq in tlatilulca, amo ic çaçacque in tlamacoxque? amo muchi quijcentique? amo texopan in momachico? auh tlein oomomoc.ijlique in teocujovan amo ichoatl in? commaquilhuj in teucujtlatl in Quauhtemoctzin:

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Then Marina spoke to him: "The Captain saith, 'Is this all?'"

Then the ruler's vicar spoke: "Perchance some commoner took it. But it will be sought; our lord the Captain will behold it."

Then once again Marina spoke: "The Captain saith, 'Ye will find all two hundred [pieces] of gold.'" She measured off [the size] with her hands; her hands described a circle.[1]

Again the ruler's vicar answered; he said: "Doubtless some poor woman put it in her skirt. It shall be sought out. He shall behold it."

Upon this the chief justice Auelitoctzin spoke; he said: "May the lord, our lord Captain, hear! When Moctezuma yet was [alive], when somewhere there was to be a conquest, the men of Mexico and of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca and the Acolhua, moved together. All the Tepaneca, all the Acolhua, and all the dwellers in the swamp lands — we set out together when we conquered. And when the city fell, thereupon all turned back. Each man returned to [his] city. And thereafter came the masters of the city, the conquered ones. They brought their tribute, which had become the goods of [the victors]: green stone, gold, quetzal feathers, and the other precious stones — fine turquoise; and blue cotinga feathers, and red spoonbill feathers. They offered this to Moctezuma. All together it reached there. All together, there to Tenochtitlan, came all the tribute, all the gold."

njmã quivalilhuj in Malintzin quimjtalhuja in capitan. Çan ie iaquich in?

njman ic conjto in cioacoatl, aço aca quiquixti in Macevalli, atel motlatemoliz, a quimottilia in totecujo in capitan:

njmã ie no ceppa quivalito in Malintzin, quimjtalhuja in Capitan Matlacpoalli anquinextiuque in tecujtlatl iaquich in: quivalramachiah imatica, quivalivallali in jma:

ie no ceppa ontlananquili in civacoatl: quito. Aço ça aca ipan mocuetl in civatzintli, a motemoliz, a quimottilia:

njman ie ic ontlatoa in Mixcoatlaitotlac, avelitoctzin: quito. tla quimocaquiti in tlacatl in totecujo in Capitan, in oc voca Motecuçoma, in jquac onteperaloia cana, ca cemolinj in Mexicãtl, in tlatilulcatl, in tepanecatl in aculhoa: in jaquich tepanecatl, in jaquich aculhoa yoan in jaquich chinampanecatl, ca ticemolinj, in tontepeva: auh in onia altepetl, ca njmã ie ic valnecuepalo, cecenioca cõmati in jmaltepeuh. Auh çatepan vulhuj in altepevaque in ie pevallaca, qeivalitquj in intlacalaquijl, intlatquj valmochiuhtouh in chalchiuitl in teucujtlatl, in quetzalli yoan in oc cequj tlaçoetl, in tmaivitl, in xiuhtotoal, in tlauhquechol: quijtlãmacaia in Motecuçoma, çan cẽ vmpa valaci, çã vmpa valmocemaci in tenochtitlan in jaquich tlacalaquijli in teucujtlatl.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Otra vez dijo Marina al señor capitán, dice que buscarán diciendo: tendrás de ver tus pesetas; como cada y entonces con las manos, el grosor de sus puntas de cada."

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 4: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

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Ajahuiztlan 19 635

had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded 632
a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there [317]
is no salt from this province in the tribute list. 131

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after [712]
the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlateloloco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a [712]
local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels [648]
with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese xente en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]expugnable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Mecdano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Arguilles, "Oztuma, Gro.," *EMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendricks, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estuvan en fronteras con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchydan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Valle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchiatan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlaxcepaque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54'). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coxcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Coxcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communications with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 223, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

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Cziccoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxcoac* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 183–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxcoac* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

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635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[16] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[17] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[18]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[19] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[20] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[21]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula*, Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[16] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[17] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[19] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[21] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[*] 632 131

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197 belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635 still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648 of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[*] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[*]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635 of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131 south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635 coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103 part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651 cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[**] [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[**]
400 bundles of loincloths[**]
808 bundles[*] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[**]

[*] RHE, 1: 487.
[*] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 197.
[*] Corrected from 800.

1/2 [p. 58 — Analyst] 2/2 [p. 56 — Analyst]

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632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[76] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[77]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[78]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[79] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the 131 province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

[76] RHE, 1: 152.

[77] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.

[78] Cf. n. 82 below.

[79] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de tezcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

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V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

There is a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the 631
Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about 648
to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names 175
nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and [128]
Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. Chalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41' of the *Codex* 635
Mendocino appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal 114
towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been [128]
identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP	[103]
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco	
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco	
Tepuztlan, 3	Tepoztlan	

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

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29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north-eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matrícula*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamalospã, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Ozitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpã, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Totoztepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tozilan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec	Teteutian
Ayoçintepec	Tzinacanoztoc
Cuezcomatitlã	Xayaco
Michapan, 14 (?)	Xicaltepec
Michtlan	Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

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It appears in De Mo-

632 *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[30] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[31] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[32] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[33] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[34]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[35] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[36]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[37] The chief language of the

[30] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[31] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[32] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas; á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[33] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[34] *PNE*, 5: 256: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[36] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[37] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

[Lie, Chinantlan – Analyzd]

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chiltecpintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal 197
languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[5] and Quauhtinchan.[6] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[7]

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlax- 635
cala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other 131
three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire [648]
provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[8] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace.

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 635
1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears 175
in this zone on the Ortelius map of 15[illegible]. These towns are Epatlan,[9]

[5] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su provincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[6] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Toltecа-Chichimeca* (1937).

[7] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[8] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[28] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[30] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[28] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dixen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[29] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[30] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coanosca."

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Besides the towns identified, many lesser subject towns, discovered through sources other than the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy, should also be listed:

Atepec, 2
Coatlan, 33
Cuixtlan, 32
Chichicapan, 30
Eztetlan (?), 13
Huiztepec, 15
Itzquintepec, 12
Iztepexi, 8
Miahuatlan, 31
Mictlan, 28
Ocelotepec
Quauxiloticpac, 14
Tecuicuilco, 5
Teotitlan del Valle, 23
Teotzacualco, 11
Teozapotlan, 25
Tlacolula, 27
Tlaliztacan, 20
Totomachapa, 16
Xaltianguisco, 4
Xilotepec, 17
Yoloxonecuilan, 1
Zenzontepec, 18
Çoquiapan, 7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atepec and three neighbors "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[100]

Coatlan, in some unspecified period, rebelled against its chief and sent ambassadors to Mexico to arrange its incorporation into the Empire.[101] Today the town seems to have broken up into a cluster of satellites, of which a rough center has been taken for the map.

Coyolapan, now Cuilapa, ought really to be called "Quacuyolapan"—if we are to trust the relación of that town.[102]

Chichicapan first belonged to Teozapotlan, but was fighting off attacks from Mixtec neighbors at the moment of the Spanish Conquest, at which time its inhabitants settled matters by allying themselves with Moctezuma.[103]

Cuixtlan (32) warred with Tetiquipa to the south, and this may possibly indicate the limits between the province of Coyolapan and the free Mixtec state of Tototepec.[104]

[100] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123. Tecuicuilco, Atepec, Çoquiapa, Xaltiango: "Todos estos quatro Pueblos Reconocian por Rey a muntequma el qual los Abia conquistado Por fuerças de armas."

[101] *FNE*, 4: 123: "Este dicho pueblo y sus naturales en su antiguedad eran sujetos a vn caçique que se llamaba Coactzi ... hasta que les hizo çierto agrabio y se rebelaron contra el, y ... enbiaron parias a la çuidad de Mexico a Monteçuma ... el qual los recibyo debaxo de su anparo."

[102] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 22.

[103] *FNE*, 4: 115.

[104] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 115.

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in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the proper spelling. 632

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Mocteçuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[120]

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teozapotlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[121] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula*. [648]

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma [illegible]w years before the Spanish invasion."[122]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teozapotlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[123] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[124] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican garrison "only in order to be friendly."[125] Tribute is tribute. 632 648 175 [651]

[120] *PNE*, 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles binieseu, a Moteçuma."

[121] *PNE*, 4: 105.

[122] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto montesuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[123] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[124] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE*, 4: 102: "... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula*; also, by the relación of Teticpac (*PNE*, 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Montoçuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula*.

[125] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo auian los de Tutuxepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachisco que tambien eran

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BOOK V.

THE MARCH TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

How we went to the City of Cholula,[1] and of the great reception which they gave us there.

ONE morning we started on our march to the city of Cholula and we took the greatest possible precautions, for, as I have often said, where we expected to encounter tumults or wars we were much more on the alert.

That day we went on to sleep at a river which runs within a short league of Cholula, where there is now a stone bridge, and there they put up for us some huts and ranchos. This same night the Caciques of Cholula sent some chieftains to bid us welcome to their country, and they brought supplies of poultry and maize bread, and said that in the morning all the Caciques and priests would come out to receive us, and they asked us to forgive their not having come sooner. Cortés told them

[1] Blotted out in the original "On the twelfth day of October in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen."—G. G.

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A 648

through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

A Z [29] [71] A [314]

Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

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us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—" Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648 ●

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797 [782 266] [838]

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648 them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their
797 obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could
648 not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

721 After the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

[1] *Acapillasen;* literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

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us should be sacrificed before it, and that three nights ago they had sacrificed seven Indians to it so as to ensure victory, which was promised them; but as the Idol was both evil and false, it neither had, nor would have power against us, and all these evil and traitorous designs which they had planned and put into effect were about to recoil on themselves. Doña Marina told all this to them and made them understand it very clearly, and when the priests, Caciques, and captains had heard it, they said that what had been stated was true but that they were not to blame for it, for the Ambassadors of Montezuma had ordered it at the command of their Prince.

Then Cortés told them that the royal laws decreed that such treasons as those should not remain unpunished and that for their crime they must die. Then he ordered a musket to be fired, which was the signal that we had agreed upon for that purpose, and a blow was given to them which they will remember for ever, for we killed many of them,[1] so that they gained nothing from the promises of their false Idols.

Not two hours had passed before our allies, the Tlaxcalans, arrived, whom I have already said we had left out in the fields, and they had fought very fiercely in the streets where the Cholulans had posted other companies to defend the streets and prevent their being entered, but these were soon defeated. They [the Tlaxcalans] went about the city, plundering and making prisoners and we could not stop them, and the next day more companies from the Tlaxcalan towns arrived, and did great damage, for they were very hostile to the people of Cholula, and when we saw this, both Cortés and the captains and the soldiers, on account of the compassion that we had felt for them, restrained the Tlaxcalans from doing further damage, and

[1] Blotted out: "and others were burned."—G. G.

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Cortés ordered Cristóbal de Olid to bring him all the Tlaxcalan captains together so that he could speak to them, and they did not delay in coming; then he ordered them to gather together all their men and go and camp in the fields, and this they did, and only the men from Cempoala remained with us.

648 Just then certain Caciques and priests of Cholula who belonged to other districts of the town, and said that they were not concerned in the treasons against us (for it is [665] a large city and they have parties and factions among themselves), asked Cortés and all of us to pardon the provocation of the treachery that had been plotted against us, for the traitors had already paid with their lives. Then there came the two priests who were our friends and had disclosed the secret to us, and the old woman, the wife of the captain, who wanted to be the mother-in-law of Doña Marina, as I have already related, and all prayed Cortés for pardon.

When they spoke to him, Cortés made a show of great anger and ordered the Ambassadors of Montezuma, who were detained in our company, to be summoned. He then said that the whole city deserved to be destroyed, but that out of respect for their Lord Montezuma, whose vassals they were, he would pardon them, and that from now on they must be well behaved, and let them beware of such affairs as the last happening again, lest they should die for it.

Then, he ordered the Chiefs of Tlaxcala, who were in the fields, to be summoned, and told them to return the men and women whom they had taken prisoners, for the damage they had done was sufficient. Giving up the prisoners went against the grain with them [the Tlaxcalans], and they said that the Cholulans had deserved far greater punishment for the many treacheries they had constantly received at their hands. Nevertheless as Cortés

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ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still 648
remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth, salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken.

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm would be done to them. They replied that within five days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it [643]
was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique] so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until he should receive other orders.

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was 797
reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety, he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking the truth; let them remember the lies which they told only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil, he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves we would do it for them. He also ordered them to white-wash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there.

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I must stop talking about this City and all that happened there, and say that the Squadrons sent by the Great Montezuma, which were already stationed in the ravines near Cholula and had, as was agreed, constructed barricades and narrow passages so that the horses could not gallop, as I have already related, as soon as they learned what had happened, returned, faster than at a walk, to Mexico and told Montezuma how it all happened. But fast as they went the news had already reached him, through the two Chieftains who had been with us and who went to him post-haste. We learned on good authority that when Montezuma heard the news he was greatly grieved and very angry, and at once sacrificed some Indians to his Idol Huichilobos, whom they looked on as the God of War, so that he might tell him what was to be the result of our going to Mexico, or if he would permit us to enter the city. We even knew that he was shut in at his devotions and sacrifices for two days in company with ten of the Chief Priests, and that a reply came from those Idols which was, that they advised him to send messengers to us to disclaim all blame for the Cholulan affair, and that with demonstrations of peace we should be allowed to enter into Mexico, and that when we were inside, by depriving us of food and water, or by raising some of the bridges, they would kill us; that one day only would suffice, if he attacked us, to leave none of us alive, and then he could offer his sacrifices to Huichilobos who had given this reply, and to Tescatepuca the god of Hell, and they could feast on our thighs and legs and arms, and the snakes and serpents and tigers which they kept in wooden cages, (as I shall tell later on at the proper time and place,) could gorge on our entrails and bodies and all that was left of us.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma felt and say how this affair and punishment at Cholula became known throughout the provinces of New Spain and if we had a

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648 reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

346 782 26 I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

797 [114] Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

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797 that it never appeared again, and they have put up another Idol in its place. Let us leave this subject and I will relate what we went on to do.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

About certain messages and messengers that we sent to the Great Montezuma.

648 As fourteen days had already passed since we had come to Cholula we had nothing more to do there, for we saw that the city was again fully peopled, and that they held their markets, and we had established friendship between them and the people of Tlaxcala; and we had also set up a cross, and informed them about matters concerning our holy faith. But as we saw that the Great Montezuma was secretly sending spies to our camp to enquire and find out what our plans were and if we intended to go on to his city (for he came to know everything very thoroughly through the two Ambassadors who were in our company), our Captain determined to take counsel of certain captains and soldiers, whom he knew to be well disposed towards him (who besides being very valiant, were wise counsellors), because he never did anything without first asking our advice about it. It was agreed that we should send to tell the Great Montezuma, gently and amicably, that in order to carry out the purpose for which our Lord and King had sent us to these parts, (which was only to see him and tell him certain things which would be greatly to his benefit when he understood them), we had crossed many seas and distant lands, and that while we were marching towards his city, his ambassadors had guided us by way of Cholula, where they said the people were his vassals, and for the first two days after our arrival the people treated us very well, but on the next day they had

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plotted a treason with the intention of killing us; and as we are men of such character that it would be impossible to hide any matter of double dealing, or treachery, or iniquity, which they might wish to enact against us without our knowing of it at once, for this reason we punished some of those who intended to carry out the plot. As he [our Captain] knew that they were his [Montezuma's] subjects, [it was only] out of respect for his person, and on account of our great friendship, that he refrained from destroying and killing all those who were concerned in the treason. However, the worst of it all is that the priests and Caciques say it was on his advice and command, and that of his ambassadors, that they intended to do it. This of course we never believed, that such a great prince as he is could issue such orders, especially as he had declared himself our friend, and we had inferred from his character that since his Idols had put such an evil thought as making war on us into his head, he would surely fight us in the open field; however, whether he fought in the open or in a town, by day or by night, we would kill those who thought of doing such a thing. But as we look upon him as our great friend and wish to see and speak to him, we are setting out at once for his city to give him a more complete account of what Our Lord the King had commanded us to do.

648

When Montezuma heard this message and learned through the people of Cholula that we did not lay all the blame on him, we heard it said that he returned again with his priests to fast and make sacrifices to his Idols, to know if they would again repeat their permission to allow us to enter into the city or no, and whether they would reiterate the commands they had already given him. The answer which they gave was the same as the first, that he should allow us to enter and that once inside the city he could kill us when he chose. His captains and

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648 priests also advised him that if he should place obstacles in the way of our entry, we would make war on him through his subject towns, seeing that we had as our friends the Tlaxcalans, and all the Totonacs of the hills, and other towns which had accepted our alliance, and to avoid these evils the best and most sensible advice was that which Huichilobos had given.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma had decided, and I will relate what he did about it and how we agreed to set out for Mexico, and that when we were ready to start messengers arrived from Montezuma with a present, and what he sent to say.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

How the Great Montezuma sent a present of gold, and what he sent to say to us, and how we decided to set out for Mexico, and what else happened about it.

So the great Montezuma again took counsel with his Huichilobos, and his priests and captains, and all advised him to allow us to enter the city, as there he could kill us in safety. When he heard the message which we sent to him concerning our friendship and the other fearless remarks, (to the effect that we were men from whom no treason which was plotted against us could be hidden without our finding it out, and that as for fighting, nothing suited us better, either in the open fields or in the towns, either by night or by day or in any way whatever) and as he had heard about our war with Tlaxcala, and knew of the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and Cingapacinga, and now about that at Cholula, he was dazed and even afraid. After much deliberation he despatched six chieftains with a present of gold and jewels of a variety of shapes which were estimated to be worth over two thousand dollars,

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and he sent certain loads of very rich mantles beautifully worked. 648

When the Chiefs came before Cortés with the present they touched the ground with their hands and with great reverence, such as they use among themselves, they said—"Malinche, Our Lord the Great Montezuma, sends thee this present, and asks thee to accept it with the great affection which he has for thee and all thy brethren, and he says that the annoyance that the people of Cholula have caused him weighs heavily on him, and he wishes to punish them more in their persons, for they are an evil and a lying people in that they have thrown the blame of the wickedness which they wished to commit upon him and his ambassadors," that we might take it as very certain that he was our friend, and that we could go to his City whenever we liked, for he wished to do us every honour as very valiant men, and the messengers of such a great King as you say that he (your King) is. But because he had nothing to give us to eat, for everything has to be carried into the city by carriers as it is built on the lake, he could not entertain us very satisfactorily, but he would endeavour to do us all the honour that was possible, and he had ordered all the towns through which we had to pass to give us what we might need. He also made many other complimentary speeches. When Cortés understood them through our interpreters, he received the present with demonstrations of affection and embraced the messengers, and ordered them to be given certain twisted cut glass beads. All our captains and soldiers were delighted at such good news, as that he [Montezuma] should bid us to come to his city, for, from day to day, the greater number of us soldiers were wishing for it, especially those who had left nothing behind them in the Island of Cuba, and had been on the two expeditions of discovery before this one with Cortés. [361 433]

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648 Let us leave this subject and say that the Captain gave the Ambassadors a suitable and affectionate reply and ordered the messengers who had come with the present to remain with us as guides and the other three to return with the answer to their Prince, and to advise him that we were already on the road.

650 When the Chief Caciques of Tlaxcala, whom I have often mentioned before, named Xicotenga the elder and the blind, and Mase Escasi, understood that we were going, their souls were afflicted and they sent to say to Cortés that they had already warned him many times that he should be careful what he was about, and should refrain from entering such a strong city where there was so much war-like preparation and such a multitude of warriors, for one day or the other we would be attacked, and they feared that we would not escape alive, and on account of the good will that they bore us, they wished to send ten thousand men under brave captains to go with us and carry food for the journey.

Cortés thanked them heartily for their good wishes and told them that it was not just to enter into Mexico with such a host of warrors, especially when one party was so hostile to the other, that he only had need of one thousand men to carry the tepusques and the baggage, and to clear some of the roads, (I have already said that *tepusques* was the name they gave in these parts to the iron cannon which we carried with us) and they at once sent us the thousand Indians very well equipped.

Just as we were ready to set out, there came to Cortés, all the Caciques and all the principal warriors whom we had brought from Cempoala, who had marched in our company and served us well and loyally, and said that they wanted to go back to Cempoala and not to proceed beyond Cholula in the direction of Mexico, for they felt certain that if they went there it would be for them and for us to go to

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CHAPTER LXXXVII.

How the great Montezuma again sent other Ambassadors to us with a present of gold and cloths, and what they said to Cortés and what he replied to them.

As we were starting on our march to Mexico there came before Cortés four Mexican chiefs sent by Montezuma who brought a present of gold and cloths. After they had made obeisance according to their custom, they said —"Malinche, our Lord the Great Montezuma sends you this present and says that he is greatly concerned for the hardships you have endured in coming from such a distant land in order to see him, and that he has already sent to tell you that he will give you much gold and silver and chalchihuites as tribute for your Emperor and for yourself and the other Teules in your company, provided you will not come to Mexico, and now again he begs as a favour, that you will not advance any further but return whence you have come, and he promises to send you to the port a great quantity of gold and silver and rich stones for that King of yours, and, as for you, he will give you four loads of gold and for each of your brothers one load, but as for going on to Mexico your entrance into it is forbidden, for all his vassals have risen in arms to prevent your entry, and besides this there is no road thither, only a very narrow one, and there is no food for you to eat." And he used many other arguments about the difficulties to the end that we should advance no further. 648

Cortés with much show of affection embraced the Ambassadors, although the message grieved him, and he accepted the present; I forget how much it was worth, but, as far as I could see and understand, Montezuma never omitted to send gold, little or much, when he sent messengers, as I have already related. To return to our

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story, Cortés answered them that he marvelled how the Lord Montezuma, having given himself out as our friend, and being such a great Prince, should be so inconstant; that one time he says one thing and another time sends to order the contrary, and regarding what he says about giving gold to our Lord the Emperor and to ourselves, he is grateful to him for it, and what he sends him now he will pay for in good works as time goes on. How can he deem it befitting that being so near to his city, we should think it right to return on our road without carrying through what our Prince has commanded us to do? If the Lord Montezuma had sent his messengers and ambassadors to some great prince such as he is himself, and if, after nearly reaching his house, those messengers whom he sent should turn back without speaking to the Prince about that which they were sent to say, when they came back into his [Montezuma's] presence with such a story, what favour would he show them? He would merely treat them as cowards of little worth; and this is what our Emperor would do with us, so that in one way or another we were determined to enter his city, and from this time forth he must not send any more excuses on the subject, for he [Cortés] was bound to see him, and talk to him and explain the whole purpose for which we had come, and this he must do to him personally. Then after he understood it all, if our presence in the city did not seem good to him, we would return whence we had come. As for what he said about there being little or no food, not enough to support us, we were men who could get along even if we have but little to eat, and we were already on the way to his city, so let him take our coming in good part.

As soon as the messengers had been despatched, we set out for Mexico, and as the people of Huexotzingo and Chalco had told us that Montezuma had held consultations with his Idols and priests whether he should allow us to

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enter Mexico, or whether he should attack us, and all the priests had answered that his Huichilobos had said he was to allow us to enter and that then he could kill us, as I have already related in the chapter that deals with the subject, and as we are but human and feared death, we never ceased thinking about it. As that country is very thickly peopled we made short marches, and commended ourselves to God and to Our Lady his blessed Mother, and talked about how and by what means we could enter [the City], and it put courage into our hearts to think that as our Lord Jesus Christ had vouchsafed us protection through past dangers, he would likewise guard us from the power of the Mexicans. 648

We went to sleep at a town called Iztapalatengo[1] where half the houses are in the water and the other half on dry land, where there is a small mountain, (and now there is an Inn there) and there they gave us a good supper. 361

Let us leave this and return to the Great Montezuma who, when his messengers arrived and he heard the reply which Cortés had sent to him, at once determined to send his nephew named Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, with great pomp to bid welcome to Cortés and to all of us, and as we were always accustomed to post sentinels and scouts, one of the scouts came in to tell us that a large crowd of friendly Mexicans was coming along the road, and that to all appearance they were coming clad in rich mantles. It was very early in the morning when this happened, and we were ready to start, and Cortés ordered us to wait in our quarters until he could see what the matter was. 648

At that moment four chieftains arrived, who made deep obeisance to Cortés and said that close by there was approaching Cacamatzin, the great Lord of Texcoco, a

[1] This is clearly a mistake, the town was Ayotzingo.

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•648 nephew of the Great Montezuma, and he begged us to have the goodness to wait until he arrived.

He did not tarry long, for he soon arrived with greater pomp and splendour than we had ever beheld in a Mexican [493] Prince, for he came in a litter richly worked in green feathers, with many silver borderings, and rich stones set in bosses made out of the finest gold. Eight Chieftains, who, it was said, were all Lords of Towns, bore the litter on their shoulders. When they came near to the house where Cortés was quartered, the Chieftains assisted [643] Cacamatzin to descend from the litter, and they swept the ground, and removed the straws where he had to pass, and when they came before our Captain they made him a deep reverence, and Cacamatzin said—

"Malinche, here we have come, I and these Chieftains to place ourselves at your service, and to give you all that you may need for yourself and your companions and to place you in your home, which is our city, for so the Great Montezuma our Prince has ordered us to do, and he asks your pardon that he did not come with us himself, but it is on account of ill-health that he did not do so, and not from want of very good will which he bears towards you."

When our Captain and all of us, beheld such pomp and majesty in those chiefs, especially in the nephew of Montezuma, we considered it a matter of the greatest importance, and said among ourselves, if this Cacique bears himself with such dignity, what will the Great Montezuma do?

When Cacamatzin had delivered his speech, Cortés embraced him, and gave many caresses to him and all the other Chieftains, and gave him three stones which are called Margaritas, which have within them many markings of different colours, and to the other chieftains he gave blue glass beads, and he told them that he thanked them

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and when he was able he would repay the Lord Montezuma for all the favours which every day he was granting us. 648

As soon as the speech-making was over, we at once set out, and as the Caicques whom I have spoken about brought many followers with them, and as many people came out to see us from the neighbouring towns, all the roads were full of them.[1]

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad Causeway,[3] and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream? It is not to be wondered at that I here write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about. 361 [363]

Thus, we arrived near Iztapalapa, to behold the 648

[1] Blotted out in the original—"So that we could not proceed and the Caciques themselves told their vassals to make room for us, and to remember that we were Teules, and that if they did not make room we would be angry with them. On account of these words that were said they cleared the road for us, and we went on to sleep at another town, which is built in the water, which I think was called Mezquique,[2] and was afterwards named Venezuela, and it had many whitened towers and Cues, and the Cacique and chieftains treated us with much honour and gave Cortés a present of gold and rich mantles, and the gold was worth four hundred dollars and Cortés gave them many thanks for it. There we told them things about our holy faith as we did in all towns we came to. It seemed that the people of that town were on very bad terms with Montezuma on account of the many injuries he had done them and they complained of them and Cortés told them that he would soon remedy their ills if it should please God that we should soon reach Mexico."

[2] Mexquic.

[3] The Causeway of Cuitlahuac separating the lake of Chalco from the lake of Xochimilco.

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648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma.

342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

[501 503]

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

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our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of 648
our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, 361
half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant [243]
corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception 000
given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of 363
those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what 361
to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

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361 one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we,—we did not even number four hundred soldiers! and we well remembered the words and warnings given us by the people of Huexotzingo and Tlaxcala and Tlamanalco, and the many other warnings that had been given that we should beware of entering Mexico, where they would kill us, as soon as they had us inside.

Let the curious readers consider whether there is not much to ponder over in this that I am writing. What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring? But let us get on, and march along the Causeway. [363] When we arrived where another small causeway branches 648 off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there were some buildings like towers, which are their oratories, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them. The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with the hand.

There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma, who was approaching[1] in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques, who owned vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the Great Montezuma

[1] Que venia cerca.

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got down from his litter, and those great Caciques 648
supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired 292
according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals 643
[*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think [576]
of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was 576
approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted 643
from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they 648
simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

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576 diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and
643 with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he
648 placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him, and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace him, for they considered it an indignity.

648 Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms, the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacan, to go with us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city, and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains
[576] who had come with him returned in his train. As they
000 turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude of men and women and boys who were in the streets and on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

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into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

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648 fastened, Cortés thanked Montezuma through our interpreters, and Montezuma replied—"Malinche you and your brethren are in your own house, rest awhile," and then he went to his palaces which were not far away, and we divided our lodgings by companies, and placed the artillery pointing in a convenient direction, and the order which we had to keep was clearly explained to us, and that we were to be much on the alert, both the cavalry and all of us soldiers. A sumptuous dinner was provided for us according to their use and custom, and we ate it at once. So this was our lucky and daring entry into the great city of Tenochtitlan[1] Mexico on the 8th day of November the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1519.

Thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ for it all. And if I have not said anything that I ought to have said, may your honours pardon me, for I do not know now even at the present time how better to express it.

Let us leave this talk and go back to our story of what else happened to us, which I will go on to relate.

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[1] Tenustitan in the text.

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BOOK VI.

THE STAY IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

How the Great Montezuma came to our quarters wtih many Caciques accompanying him, and the conversation that he had with our Captain.

•648 WHEN the Great Montezuma had dined and he knew that some time had passed since our Captain and all of us had done the same, he came in the greatest state to our quarters with a numerous company of chieftains, all of them his kinsmen. When Cortés was told that he was approaching he came out to the middle of the Hall to receive him, and [352] Montezuma took him by the hand, and they brought some seats, made according to their usage and very richly decorated and embroidered with gold in many designs, and Montezuma asked our Captain to be seated, and both of them sat down each on his chair. Then Montezuma began a very good speech, saying that he was greatly rejoiced to have in his house and his kingdom such valiant gentlemen as were Cortés and all of us. That two years ago he had received news of another Captain who came to

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648 Chanpoton, and likewise last year they had brought him news of another Captain who came with four ships, and that each time he had wished to see them, and now that he had us with him he was at our service, and would give us of all that he possessed; that it must indeed be true that we were those of whom his ancestors in years long past had spoken, saying that men would come from where the sun rose to rule over these lands, and that we must be those men, as we had fought so valiantly in the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and against the Tlaxcalans; for they had brought him pictures of the battles true to life.

797 Cortés answered him through our interpreters who always accompanied him, especially Doña Marina, and said to him that he and all of us did not know how to repay him the great favours we received from him every day. It was true that we came from where the sun rose, and were the vassals and servants of a great Prince called the Emperor Don Carlos, who held beneath his sway many and great princes, and that the Emperor having heard of him and what a great prince he was, had sent us to these parts to see him, and to beg them to become Christians, the same as our Emperor and all of us, so that his soul and those of all his vassals might be saved. Later on he would further explain how and in what manner this should be done, and how we worship one only true God, and who He is, and many other good things which he should listen to, such as he had already told to his ambassadors Tendile, and Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor when we were on the sand dunes. When this conference was over, the Great Montezuma had already at hand some very rich golden jewels, of many patterns, which he gave to our Captain, and in the same manner to each one of our Captains he gave trifles of gold, and three loads of mantles of rich feather work, and to the soldiers also he gave to each one

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797 773 belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

648 Cortés replied, Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

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well that these people of Tlaxcala with whom you are such good friends have told you that I am a sort of God or Teul, and that everything in my houses is made of gold and silver and precious stones, I know well enough that you are wise and did not believe it but took it as a joke. Behold now, Señor Malinche, my body is of flesh and bone like yours, my houses and palaces of stone and wood and lime; that I am a great king and inherit the riches of my ancestors is true, but not all the nonsense and lies that they have told you about me, although of course you treated it as a joke, as I did your thunder and lightning."

Cortés answered him, also laughing, and said that opponents and enemies always say evil things, without truth in them, of those whom they hate, and that he well knew that he could not hope to find another Prince more magnificent in these countries, and that not without reason had he been so vaunted to our Emperor.

While this conversation was going on, Montezuma secretly sent a great Cacique, one of his nephews who was in his company, to order his stewards to bring certain pieces of gold, which it seems must have been put apart to give to Cortés, and ten loads of fine cloth, which he apportioned, the gold and mantles between Cortés and the four captains, and to each of us soldiers he gave two golden necklaces, each necklace being worth ten pesos, and two loads of mantles. The gold that he then gave us was worth in all more than a thousand pesos and he gave it all cheerfully and with the air of a great and valiant prince. As it was now past midday, so as not to appear importunate, Cortés said to him: "Señor Montezuma, you always have the habit of heaping load upon load in every day conferring favours on us, and it is already your dinner time." Montezuma replied that he thanked us for coming to see him, and then we took our leave with the greatest courtesy and we went to our lodgings.

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something of his language might attend on him, and this was very advantageous both for Montezuma and for us, for through this page Montezuma asked and learned many things about Spain, and we learned what his captains said to him, and in truth this page was so serviceable that Montezuma got to like him very much.

Let us cease talking about how Montezuma became fairly contented with the great flattery and attention he received and the conversation that he had with us, and whenever we passed before him, even if it was Cortés himself, we doffed our mailed caps or helmets, for we always went armed, and he treated us all with politeness and distinction. Now I will give the names of those of Montezuma's captains who were punished by being burned, the principal one was Quetzalpopoca,[1] and the others were named, one of them Coate, and the other Quiavit, and I forget the name of the third, and it is not much use remembering their names. I may say that when the news of this punishment spread about throughout the provinces of New Spain, they were terrified, and the towns of the Coast, where they had killed our soldiers, returned again and rendered good service to the settlers who remained in Villa Rica. My interested readers who peruse these pages must have some respect for the great deeds we did in those days, first of all in destroying our ships, then in daring to enter so strong a city after receiving so many warnings that they would kill us when once they had us inside, then to have such great temerity as to seize Montezuma who was the King of the country in his own city and within his own palace, where he had such a numerous guard of warriors, then to dare to burn his captains in front of his palaces, and to place Montezuma himself in irons while the punishment was being carried out.

[1] Quauhpopoca (Orozco y Berra).

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Our Cortés and the other Captains and the Friar of the Order of Mercy were always paying court to him, and giving him pleasure in every way that was possible, and they joked with him, not in any way disrespectfully, and I may add that neither Cortés nor any of our Captains ever seated themselves until Montezuma sent for his rich chairs and told them to sit down, and in such things he was so considerate that we all had a great affection for him, for he was truly a great Prince in everything that we saw him do.

To go back to our story; sometimes they explained to him the matters touching our holy faith, especially the Friar, through the page Orteguilla, and apparently some of the good words entered his heart, for he listened to them with more attention than before. They also made him understand about the great power of our Lord the Emperor, and how many great princes from distant lands became his vassals and obeyed his commands, and they told him many other things that he was interested to hear. At other times, as I have said before, Cortés played Totoloque with him. And in such ways we were always paying him court, and he, as he was in no way niggardly, gave us every day jewels of gold and mantles.

I will now stop talking of this, and will go on with my story.

CHAPTER CI.

How the great Montezuma and many Caciques and chieftains of the territory gave their fealty to His Majesty, and what else happened about it.

WHEN Captain Cortés saw that those kinglets named by me were prisoners, and that all the cities were at peace, he said to Montezuma that, before we had entered Mexico, he [Montezuma] had twice sent to say that he wished to pay

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648 tribute to His Majesty, and that as he now understood about the great power of our Lord and King, to whom many lands pay tribute and taxes and many great kings are subject, it would be well for him and all his vassals to give him their fealty, for such is the custom, first to give fealty and then to give tribute and taxes. Montezuma replied that he would gather his vassals together, and talk to them about it. And within ten days nearly all the Caciques of that territory assembled together, but that Cacique who was most nearly related to Montezuma did not come. I have already said that he was reported to be very valiant, and in his bearing and body and limbs and in his face he clearly showed it. He was somewhat blustering, and at that time he was staying at one of his towns named Tula.

It was rumoured that the kingdom of Mexico would come to this Cacique on the death of Montezuma, and when they sent to summon him he replied that he did not wish to come, nor to pay taxes, for he was not able to keep himself with the income from his provinces. Montezuma was very angry at this reply, and at once sent some Captains to take him prisoner, but as he was a great Lord, and had many relations, he was warned of this and withdrew to his province where they were not then able to catch him.

648 787 I must leave him now and state how, in the discussion that Montezuma held with the Caciques of all the territory whom he had called together, after he had made a speech without Cortés or any of us, excepting Orteguilla the page, being present, it was reported that he had told them to consider how for many years past they had known for certain, through the traditions of their ancestors which they had noted down in their books of records, that men would come from the direction of the sunrise to rule these lands, and that then the lordship and kingdom of the

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Mexicans would come to an end. Now he believed, from what his Gods had told him, that we were these men, and the priests had consulted Huichilobos about it and offered up sacrifices, but their Gods would no longer answer them as they had been accustomed to do. 648 787

All that Huichilobos would give them to understand was, that what he had told them before he now again gave as his reply, and they were not to ask him again, so that they took it to mean that they should give their fealty to the King of Spain whose vassals these Teules say that they are :— 648

"As for the present it does not imply anything, and as in time to come we shall see whether we receive another and better reply from our Gods, so we will act according to the time. For the present, what I order and beg you all to do with good will is to give and contribute some sign of vassalage, and I will soon tell you what is most suitable, and as just now I am importuned about it by Malinche, I beg that no one will refuse it. During the eighteen years that I have been your Prince, you have always been very loyal to me, and I have enriched you and have broadened your lands, and have given you power and wealth, and if at this present time our Gods permit me to be held captive here, it would not have happened, unless, as I have told you many times, my great Huichilobos had commanded it."

When they heard these arguments, all of them gave as an answer that they would do as he had ordered them, and they said it with many tears and sighs, and Montezuma more tearful than any of them. Then he sent a chieftain to say that on the following day they would give their fealty and vassalage to His Majesty. This was on the [1] day of the [1] month, in the year 1519.

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[1] Blank spaces left in the original.

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648 Montezuma returned after this to talk about the matter with his Caciques, and in the presence of Cortés and our Captains and many of our soldiers, and of Pedro Hernández, Cortés's secretary, they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they showed much emotion in doing so, and Montezuma could not keep back his tears. He was so dear to us and we were so much affected at seeing him weep, that our own eyes were softened and one soldier wept as much as Montezuma, such was the affection we had for him. I will leave off here, and say that Cortés and the Fraile de la Merced, who was very wise, were constantly in Montezuma's palace, trying to amuse him and to persuade him to give up his Idols.

Now I will go on.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS CII. AND CIII.

000 The description given by Bernal Díaz in Chapters CII. and CIII. of the expeditions sent in search of mines differs considerably from that given by Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor.

Cortés says that there were several expeditions. Bernal Díaz mentions only two—one under Gonzalo de Umbria, the other under Pizarro, neither of whom Cortés mentions by name.

316 Bernal Díaz quotes Montezuma as saying that gold was brought
317 from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from the city, and that the gold was collected in gourds in which the earth was washed, and Bernal Díaz himself gives Zacatula as the name of the town visited by Gonzalo de Umbria. The only Zacatula shown on the maps is situated on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. Placer gold-mining is still carried on in this neighbourhood, and Montezuma may have mentioned the place as a source of gold supply. However, there is no proof that Gonzalo de Umbria visited the Rio de las Balsas, for Cortés says nothing about an expedition in that direction, and mentions only expeditions to Cuzula (Sosola?), Tamazulapa, Malinaltepec, Tenis (Tanetze), and Tuxtepec, all places in the north-western part of the present State of Oaxaca, and he confirms this later on in the same

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000 Ircio went to settle at Panuco. As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it, and will relate what each of the Captains sent by Cortés, accomplished, and will report how each returned with samples of gold.

CHAPTER CIII.

How the Captains returned whom our Cortés had sent to examine the mines, and take soundings of the harbour and river of Coatzacoalcos.

316 THE first to return to the City of Mexico and to give an
317 account of what Cortés had sent him to do was Gonzalo de
●648 Umbria and his companions, who brought a matter of three hundred pesos in grains which the Indians of a town named Zacatula had extracted before their eyes. According to Umbria's description, the Caciques of that province took many Indians to the rivers, and in vessels like small troughs they washed the earth and collected the gold. The gold came from two rivers, and they said that if good miners went and washed the earth as they did in the Island of Santo Domingo or the Island of Cuba, that these would prove to be rich mines. Umbria also brought with him two chieftains sent by the province, and they brought a present of gold made into jewels worth about two hundred pesos, and gave and offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and Cortés was as pleased with this gold as though it were thirty thousand pesos, for he now knew for certain that there were good mines, and he showed much affection to the chieftains who brought the present and ordered them to be given some green beads from Castile, and after friendly speeches they returned to their country well contented.

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Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spoken about. 648

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tochel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former [651 712]

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648 chapter which treats of the subject. Let us go on to say that as soon as the Caciques of Coatzacoalcos understood what the object of Ordás was, they supplied him with many large canoes, and the Cacique Tochel himself and many other chieftains took soundings at the mouth of the river, and they found the depth to be three full fathoms in the shallowest place without counting the ebb.[1] A little further up the river there is room for large ships to navigate, and the higher up they went the deeper it became, and near a town which at that time was inhabited by Indians, there was room for carracks. When Ordás had taken the soundings, he went with the Caciques to the town, and they gave him some jewels of gold and a very beautiful Indian woman, and they offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and they complained of Montezuma and of his garrison of warriors, and said that a short time before they had fought a battle with them near a small town, and that the people of that province had killed many of the Mexicans, and for that reason they now call the place where that battle was fought, Cuylonemiquis, which in their language means "where they killed the Mexican profligates."[2]

Ordás thanked them heartily for the honour he had received, and gave them some Spanish beads which he had brought for that purpose. Then he returned to Mexico and was joyfully received by Cortés and all of us, and he said there was good land for cattle and farming, and the port was convenient for the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, but it was far from Mexico, and there were great swamps there. For this reason we never had much confidence in this harbour for landing goods and trading with Mexico.

Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and

[1] Sin la de Cayda, *i.e.*, at low water.

[2] "Putos."

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Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and his companions who went in the direction of Tustepec to look for gold and examine the mines. Pizarro returned to make his report to Cortés accompanied by one soldier only, and he brought with him over one thousand pesos in grains of gold taken from the mines, and said that in the province of Tustepec and Malinaltepec and other neighbouring districts, he went to the rivers accompanied by many people who were sent with him, and they gathered a third part of the gold that he had brought, and they went high up in the hills to another province, that of the Chinantecs, and that when they reached their land, many Indians came out to meet them with arms, which were lances, much better than those we had, and bows and arrows and shields, and they said that not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them, but that the Teules should pass in and be welcome; so they went on, and the Mexicans were left behind and did not go any further. As soon as the Caciques of Chinanta understood what they had come for, they got together a large number of their people to wash for gold, and they took them to some rivers where they collected the rest of the gold which he had brought in twisted grains, and the miners said those were the most lasting mines as the gold was formed there. Captain Pizarro also brought two Caciques from that country who came to offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to secure our friendship they even brought a present of gold. One and all of those chieftains said many evil things of the Mexicans, who were so greatly hated in those provinces for the robberies they committed that they [the Chinantecs] could not bear the sight of them or the mention of their names.

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Cortés received Pizarro and the chieftains whom he brought with cordiality, and he accepted the present which they gave him, (as it was so many years ago I cannot

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648 remember its value,) and with agreeable speeches he promised to be a friend to the Chinantecas and to assist them. Then he told them to go back to their country, and, so that they should not be molested by the Mexicans on the road, he ordered two Mexican Chieftains to conduct them back to their country and not to leave them until they had seen them in safety; so they went away well contented.

600 To return to our story; Cortés, asked about the other soldiers whom Pizarro had taken in his company, namely, Barrientos and Heredia the elder and Escalona the younger, and Cervantes the Jester, and Pizarro replied that as that seemed to be a very good country and rich in mines, and the towns through which he passed were very peaceful, he ordered them to make a large farm of cacao and maize, and other farms besides for cotton, and told them to collect there many of the birds of the country, and that from that place they should go and examine all the rivers and see what mines there were. Although Cortés said nothing at the time, he was not pleased at his relation for having exceeded his instructions, and we heard that privately he scolded him well about it, and said that he was a poor character to wish to be employed about such things as breeding birds and planting cacao,[1] and he at once sent another soldier named Alonzo Luis to summon the rest whom Pizarro had left behind. Alonzo Luis carried a peremptory order for them to return at once, and what those soldiers did I will relate further on in its proper time and place.

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[1] Cortés does not fail to take great credit to himself in regard to the formation of these plantations when writing his second letter to the Emperor.

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We have not the slightest reliable indication concerning the 701
strength and numbers of that force.[11] This point is as vague and indefinite as the number of the population of the pueblo itself. Both, being closely connected, suffer from the same contradictions and exaggerations.[12] It is true that a "guard" of 10,000 men is mentioned as having occupied always the square of the main temple ("teocalli").[13] But, aside from the grossly exaggerated numbers, "guards," in the sense of a military body doing permanent duty, were unknown to the Mexicans.[14] The scanty mention of a body guard of Montezuma appears an imaginary tale if we look for its presence where and when it should have been most conspicuous: at the meeting of Montezuma and Cortés on the causeway,[15] and when Cortés carried that chieftain away from his house as a hostage. It is an established fact, that only unarmed Indians [648] met Cortés on his entrance to Mexico, and it is equally positive, that no "guard" came to Montezuma's rescue.

stores in sufficient quantities for such a purpose. Within the pueblo of Mexico there was no need of being armed, and therefore every Mexican went unarmed in the pueblo. The "guards" of which Gomara and Bernal-Diez both speak, never existed. See Gomara ("En la ciudad nadie trae armas, ..." p. 345, vol. I, Vedia). [114]

[11] Not even Bernal-Diez contains a statement. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," Relacion XIIIa, in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, "De la venida de los Españoles," translated also into the French by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, and published under the title of "Cruautés Horribles des conquérants "du Mexique," in the first series of his inestimable collection of translations) says: "the Mexicans lost over 240,000 men" during the siege of Mexico. The only reasonable approximate I found in Durán (Hist. de las Indias, etc., cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288). Before the Mexicans (including Tezcuco and Tlacopan and the others of the valley) set out against Michhuacan, in 1479, they counted their forces and found 24,000 men ("allaron que auia veinte y cuatro mil combatientes"). This is possible.

[12] The population of Mexico is variously reported. The extremes are: 60,000 *souls* ("sessanta mila habitatori") of the "Anonymous Conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Icazbalceta. Vol. I, p. 391), and 60,000 *families*. [161]

[13] The length of the walls of that square was "one cross-bow shot," after Gomara. How could 10,000 *men remain there always*, besides the priests and their numerous assistants?

[14] "Guardas" are mentioned by Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva-España" in vol. II, of Sr. Vedia's collection, cap. XCV); by Gomara (p. 342 of vol. I, Vedia). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 544, vol. II), and others. But Cortés and Andrés de Tapia make no mention of them.

[15] Three eye-witnesses of that celebrated meeting have described it: Cortés ("Cartas de Relacion," in Vedia, I, "Carta Segunda," p. 25). Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 83), and Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tápia, sobre la conquista de Mexico," in vol. II, of Icazbalceta's Col. de Documentos, p. 578). Neither of them would have omitted to notice armed men among the Indians, had there been any with Montezuma.

The Mexicans, on their part, could not have failed to make an ostentatious display of armed soldiery, had they existed, when they met the armed strangers at the entrance to the pueblo.

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701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief.
[643] Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 580.) The capture of Montezuma did not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their
[651] "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

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726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

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pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future opportunity;[147] it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes, whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico.*[148] Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,[149] calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.[150]

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,[151] still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.[152] The force,

[147] It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

[148] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133): "Con Mexico estaban confederados "los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacòpan, que hora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que gana-"ban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecuhtli." (Zurita, p. 11).

[149] This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the Cronica Mexicana, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

[150] When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinco-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 83). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 288). Axayacatl: "mandó partiese el exercito de "la ciudad y que en sus capitanias fuesen à los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que alli "se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos terminos de Matlatzinco y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,—"commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three "days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Meztitlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu-"rana la uncion y estar velando salvo sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la "gente que estuviese aperceuida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que alli "aguardasen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

[151] There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

[152] Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with *kindred* tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalca of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Anahuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

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726 therefore, that sallied out of Mexico was sure to find at the meet-
648 ing-place appointed, numerous reinforcements from various tribes, fully armed and equipped, with an organization similar to their own,[153] ready for the onward march, at the end of which, if successful, a certain share of human victims and of plunder would reward their efforts.[154]

As soon as the entire force was duly collected at the appointed meeting-place, it began to move forward speedily and swiftly, and in a straight line, if possible, towards the enemy's country. The various tribes, as well as their respective subdivisions, kept distinct from each other, led by their own native chiefs. The Mexicans were mostly in the rear. The approach of this body of warriors was not always pleasant to tributary or friendly settlements situated along the marchroute. These were expected to come out with reinforcements, with food and presents, and if any one of them failed or neglected to comply with these requisitions, it became exposed to the most barbarous violence. Such pueblos were sacked, plundered, the people ill-treated. In their fury the Mexicans sometimes went so far as to empty and destroy the stores of maize, and to kill wantonly the few domestic animals (dogs and fowls) of the unfortunate inhabitants.[155]

[724] The tribute which the valley pueblos paid to Mexico may yet, perhaps, prove to have been more a religious offering than anything else. They were certainly more on terms of equality, whereas the foreign tribes were held in subjection proper. The word "popoluca," stammerers, applied by the Mexicans to those of the coast, and which has induced Clavigero to adopt the erroneous idea of a "Popoluca" language, shows the disdain and hatred nourished by tribes of different stock towards each other.

[153] Each tribe had to prepare its own arms and supplies, it remained under its own chiefs and captains. Tezozomoc and Durán both agree on this point. Their organization was essentially the same as that of the Mexicans. Everywhere in the valley, and even in Matlaltzinco, we find the characteristic division of the Mexicans,—the two head-war-chiefs, the four quarters, and the minor captains and braves.

[154] Ixtilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 273) says that Mexico and Tezcuco had each two-fifths, Tlacopan one-fifth, of the spoils. Tezozomoc claims three-fourths for Mexico alone. The point is yet in doubt. (Zurita, "Rapport, etc.," p. 12.)

[724] [155] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "The Mexicans never lacked food nor supplies," when on the march, since they "were so much feared by all the tribes, that as soon as "they arrived they were well received and treated. When their forces were on the "war-path neither man nor woman remained outside of their dwellings, out of fear of "the warriors, and if these perchance met any one, any laborer or trader, they robbed "him even up to his very clothes. Such tribes as did not go out to meet them they plun-"dered and robbed of everything, emptying their stores of maize, killing their fowls "and even their dogs." (Id. Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147.) Durán (Cap. XXI, p. 183): "porque "para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proveian de todo lo necessario, como tengo "dicho, so pena de ser destruidos." It thus appears that for the march the Mexicans did not have to provide any food, since the settlements along the route had to maintain

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their 175 numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Ycpatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1689,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York," pp. 297-312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[648] [178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por "que los naturales della eran amigos de Muteczuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mutecsuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Toluca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 85): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi-"maroa, que dizen Tlazimoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Tolnca se volvieron, viendo que su campo ño llegava: ai iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with archers, but no close combats are mentioned.

[648] 721 [180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

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Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in con- 726
flict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which 712
shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines.

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of*, *settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[181] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 465). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in these fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezozomoc. [648 721]

[181] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la Salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an- "cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebolin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. 308. "El primer rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

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726 wards are of minor interest to us up to the time when the siege of
175 Mexico began. A rapid sketch of the events of this siege, however, should illustrate the *defensive* warfare of the Mexicans.

648 It is well known how, by a shrewd policy, as well as by able
175 strategy, Cortés succeeded in *dismembering*, rather than overpow-
726 ering, the Nahuatl confederacy of the valley of Mexico. He thus isolated the Mexican tribe proper, cut off its sources of reinforcement, and, above all, cut off its *subsistence*, by depriving it of tribute and barter. The time came at last when even those pueblos on the lake shores nearest to Mexico could not, or would not, any longer recognize friendly connections with their former military head. The surface of the water-sheet and the causeways were alone left to the tribe and to such additional warriors as had joined them in their abode, from the outside, to share their fate. As long as the lake could be freely navigated by Mexican canoes, any point of the mainland was exposed to attack by their warriors. Therefore Cortés launched his boats or "brigantines," which soon cleared Lake Tezcuco proper, driving the canoes to shelter in the narrow canals which ran all through the pueblo. His land forces occupied three out of the four issues of the causeways on the mainland. *Then* the Mexicans were effectually hemmed in, without any outlet beyond the limited circulation on the ponds lying west of the chief causeways. Cortés' first step was to seize Chapultepec, and to cut off the supply of fresh water running thence along the causeway to Mexico.[205] Thus deprived of drinking water, almost, since that of the lagune was not wholesome, with limited supplies of food only, the Mexican tribe was surrounded by human enemies *without*, whilst two of the greatest plagues of mankind, thirst and famine, were sure to threaten them, ultimately, *within*.

[205] Mexico was provided with a constant supply of fresh water from Chapultepec. (Clavigero, Lib. VII, Cap. LIV.) The channels were constructed of stone, five feet high, and two feet broad (Cortés, "Carta Segunda"). It was one of the first moves of Cortés to seize the spring supplying these channels. The Mexicans, feeling the importance of the action, defended the position desperately. (Bernal-Diez. Cap. CL, p. 176.) "Acordamos que entrambas capitanias juntas fuésemos à quebrar el agua de chapultepeque "de que se proveia la ciudad, que estaba desde alli de Tacuba aun no media legua. "E yendo à los quebrar los caños, toparonnos muchos guerreros, que nos esperaban en "el camino; porque bien entendido tenian que aquello habia de ser el primero en que "los podiamos dañar; y asi como nos encontraron cerca de unos pasos malos, comen-"zaron à nos flechar y tirar vara y piedra con hondas, é nos hirieron à tres soldados; "mas de presto les hicimos volver las espaldas, y nuestros amigos los de Tlascala les "siguieron de manera, que mataron veinte y prendieron siete ò ocho dellos; y como "aquellos grandes escuadrones estuvieron puestos en huida, les quebramos los caños "por donde iba el agua à su ciudad, y desde entonces nunca se fué à Mejico entre tanto "que duró la guerra." (Also Cortés. 1 Carta III, p. 71.)

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114 that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock,
174 speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

174 While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquiraus of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340-348).

[648] [18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical,—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

[131] [19] See "Art of War," p. 135. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III, p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time, and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

[226] [20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlaca." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacatl," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Aztecs" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.

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ment of the Mexican tribe.[49] Nearly at the same time also, the Mexicans felt the necessity of opening communications with the tribes inhabiting the shores of the great marsh in the midst of which they were living,—in order to obtain some of the commodities produced or held by these tribes. Strong enough for *defence*, but too weak yet for *offence*, the Mexicans approached cautiously their nearest and most powerful neighbors, the Tecpanecas, with the view of securing permission to trade and barter, also for the purpose of obtaining the use of one of the springs of the mainland. This permission was granted, on condition that the Mexicans should pay a certain tribute. This was, however, no kind of feudal prestation, not being in the least connected with the tenure of the soil or occupancy of the territory,—but simply like unto a toll or tax placed on the faculty of barter. The further condition of military assistance being, in all likelihood, also exacted, the Mexicans thus became, not the subjects as it is commonly stated, but the weaker allies of the Tecpanecas.[50]

[49] "We have previously alluded (note 22), to the fact that, anterior to Acamapitzin, the series of Mexican head-chiefs appear broken, whereas from the latter onward the office is reported as having been regularly filled. From that time on the term "palacio," as *connected with the office*, appears in the Spanish historians. See Durán, Tezozomoc, Acosta and Torquemada. (Especially "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 96).

[50] All the authors agree upon the fact that the early life of the Mexican tribe on the site of Tenuchtitlan was one of secluded poverty, even of misery. See especially Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI. pp. 92 and 93). "In this place they settled ("se ranchearon") erecting poor and small habitations, surrounded by canes and grasses, called by them Xacalli, . . . where they spent their life miserably, the place being poor and destitute, and as people abandoned and poor, persecuted by all the inhabitants of the mainland, they subsisted upon roots of Tulli and other herbs, which grew on the place and on its surroundings." Then they began to fish. (See also Tezozomoc, cap. III. Durán, cap. V. Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. XVII. Sahagun, Lib. X, cap XXIX, pp. 145 and 146. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XV. p. 142). Durán and Tezozomoc both assert, that their first step, when the population began to increase, was to seek for traffic, which could only be secured through some kind of connection with their nearest and most warlike neighbors, which at that time were the Tecpanecas. ("Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España," cap. V, pp. 41 and 42. "Empero juntandose todos en conséjo ovo algunos que fueron de parecer que con mucha omildad se fuesen à los de Azcaputzalco y á los Tepanecas, que son los de Cuyuacan y Tacuba, y que se les ofreciesen y diesen por amigos y se les subjetasen con intencion de pedillos piedra y madera para el edificio de su ciudad . . . ." "Crónica Mexicana," cap. III, p. 9. It was finally agreed to barter, with as little concession as possible on their part). Most of the other authors have transformed this alliance with the Tecpanecas into a feudal allegiance, resulting from the occupation of the soil and from intermarriage. Both are disproved by Durán (Cap. V, p. 41: "pues era sitio y termino de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque alli llegaban los terminos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del mediodía, terminos de Culhuacan; . ." "y que como señores ya de aquel sitio, sin hacer bux ni reconocer subjecion à ninguno, pues su dios les avia dado aquel sitio, fuesen y comprasen piedra y madera, etc., etc.") and Tezozomoc (Cap. III, pp. 9 and 10).

Even Torquemada acknowledges the fact, that the Mexicans were originally independent (Lib. II, cap. XI), and that they were connected with the Tecpanecas through trib-

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Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[51]

nie (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta, Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 236, 237, 238. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241-243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *aliies* or *confederates* of the former.

[51] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 35, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Muteczuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,600 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 534, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico *had to entertain* (Cap. XX, pp. 175 and 176. Cap. XXIII, p. 195. The chiefs of Tezcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xuchimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fueron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 416-421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholollan, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mesmo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 450). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 33. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "y los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandoles, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necessario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándolos para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendóles en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *llamarlos cada dia al palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 65). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 138).

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however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[33]

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans

[33] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America," Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "cenalli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the grants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

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174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

[54] Durán (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, XII, XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII, XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I, pp. 15 and 18).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 63). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 476. "Con esta ocasion, ora sea que ellos de proposito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los auia hecho merced, no podian aprovecharse, por auerseles desbaratado el caño por muchas partes. por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbaratasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera," p. 71, Vedia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero. Lib. X. cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 256 and 257). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los últ: Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

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Mexicans, supported by their allies, sought to extend their power. The tribes of the southeast, the Xochimilcas, the Chinampanecas, (also called the four chieftaincies: "Nauhteuctli") were the first to become their prey. Their fate, after they had once submitted, was the same as that of the Tecpanecans. The territory was not annexed, neither was the organization changed. But they were held to military assistance, and especially to tribute. The latter drew forth, as a consequence, the establishment of tribute-lands, like those which we have already met with at the close of the Tecpanecan war.[58]

When finally, after a contest of unusual length and bitterness, the tribe of Chalco also had to submit to the same conditions of tribute and warlike control,[59] — the Mexicans were really the leading power of the valley.[60] Their means of subsistence, besides, had greatly increased through tribute, among which the crops of the tribute-lands were most conspicuous — as well as through trade. One single tribe of the "Nahuatl" of the valley remained unsubdued, the Aculhuas of Tezcuco. Instead, however, of engaging in a deadly conflict, the result of which might have been equally

If we attentively consider the above, we find: 651 728

(1). That no change was made in the tenure of lands, and no conversion of the Tecpanecan territory into a Mexican domain was effected by the conquest.

(2). That certain expanses were set aside, which continued to be held by the conquered, and worked by them after the usual communal plan, but whose crops went exclusively towards the *tribute*.

(3). That these crops were divided, corresponding to the organization of the Mexicans, — between the official requirements — ("tecpan" —) ("calpulli" as official house for the quarters) — the people (quarters "barrios,") and worship. The analogy with Peru (Inca, worship and people), is striking.

The distribution of lands to certain chiefs therefore, mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Tecpanecas, simply indicates that these lands were applied to the maintenance of such offices, and not an hereditary "fief" to a certain family. Durán positively expresses, that the office belonged in the "kin" ("lignea" — "generacion,") and was not hereditary. The lands therefore pertained to the office as a governmental feature of the kinship or calpulli, and not to the person or offspring of any incumbent. In the same way, certain tracts (or rather their crops), went to the tecpan or its occupants, as a governmental feature of the *tribe* (Bustamante, Parte III cap. V, p. 233).

[58] Durán (Cap. XII. Id. XIII, p. 114. XIV, p. 123). Tezozomoc (Cap. XVII, p. 28, XVIII, p. 29), and Acosta.

[59] Durán (Cap. XVII, p. 132). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXVI, pp. 39 and 40). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 403), etc. etc.

[60] Out of the five Nahuatl tribes who had originally settled in the valley of Mexico, three were then subjected to the Mexicans. Consequently the Tezcucans or Aculhuacans alone remained. Territorially, the latter probably covered the larger expanse, but the Mexicans and their allies had the advantage in position and numbers.

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648 disastrous for both parties, negotiations commenced, terminating with the formation of a *military confederacy*, under the *leadership* of Mexico.[61]

It appears that in this, as in all other transactions of the same nature, mutual concessions had to be made. Thus, while the Tezcucans conceded the military command to the Mexicans, the latter had to admit into the confederacy that part of the Tecpanecas who, since the destruction of Azcaputzalco, recognized in Tlacopan (Tacuba) their chief pueblo. Through *tezcucan* influence it is even probable that the tribute heretofore paid to the Mexicans by that tribe, was relinquished by the former.[62]

The following seem to have been the leading features of the confederacy.

648 631 It consisted of the three tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Each of these tribes was territorially independent; as well as in the management of its own affairs: from the two others.[63]

The military command of the forces belonged to the head-war-

[61] Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 124. Cap. XV, pp. 125-132), mentions a *sham* fight between the Mexicans and Tezcucans, ending in a confederacy. Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 490), confirms. Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 64), speaks of a voluntary "submission" by the Tezcucans. Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX and XX), asserts that the Tezcucans were actually conquered by the Mexicans. On the other hand, Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim." Cap. XXXIV). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 175). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. V). Bustamante ("Tezcoco" Parte IIa. cap. V), affirm that a fight took place, in which the Mexicans were worsted, and after which the Tezcucan feudal "empire" was firmly established. The truth probably lies between the two extremes, and is recognized as such by Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 175). Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 124), and finally expressed by Zurita ("Rapport," p. 11), as follows: "The sovereign of Mexico was superior to those of Tacuba and Tezcuco in matters touching warfare; in all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them meddled with the government of the others." Herrera has adopted this view, copying almost textually (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 123, of chapter XV).

[62] The only confession found in specifically Mexican authors on the subject of the Tecpanecas of Tlacopan is the quotation from Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 123). But Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXII, pp. 218 and 220.) says: "It is plainly visible from this song that the three dynasties named were the principal ones of Mexico, and that the King of Tlacopan was regarded as equal to those of Mexico and Tezcuco.") Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 175. Cap. XXXIX, p. 141). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III). Clavigero (Lib. IV, caps. II and III), and Bustamante (Parte IIIa. cap. II, pp. 101, 102 and 103).— All are positive in affirming that the Tezcucans insisted upon having the Tecpanecas as a third member. The Mexican authors not contradicting, and impartial sources, like Zurita and Herrera,— establishing the fact of equality of power, and territorial autonomy (See note 61), we, therefore, feel justified in recognizing the fact as established.

[63] Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les differentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," p. 11).

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chief of the Mexican tribe, with power probably to delegate the same.[64] 648 631

Each of the three tribes elected its head war-chiefs according to its own customs; but the installation in office, *the investiture*, took place with the concurrence of the head-chiefs of the other tribes. This was especially the case in Mexico, where the "tlacatecuhtli" became commander-in-chief of the confederacy.[65]

Each tribe could carry on its own wars, defensive as well as offensive, independently; but if required, the others had to assist, in which case the Mexicans took the lead.[66]

Consequently, each tribe could have its *own conquests*, and levy its *own tribute* upon tribes which it had conquered *alone*.[67]

But wherever the *confederacy* had subjugated a foreign tribe, the spoils as well as all the subsequent tribute were divided among the three members as follows: Mexico and Tezcuco each two-fifths, and Tlacopan one-fifth.[68]

The establishment of this confederacy did not, in any manner whatever, alter the principles already recognized for the tenure and distribution of the soil. It only shows, and the subsequent career of the confederation further supports it, that these principles were common among the three tribes concerned. Wherever their conquests extended, the conquered were not annexed, but simply subjected to tribute, their territory and tribal autonomy were preserved, and no change introduced in the distribution of the soil beyond the reservation of tracts for the raising of tribute. Stewards, "calpixca," were the only representatives of the confederacy or of any of its members, residing permanently with the 423 648

[64] Zurita (p. 11). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[65] Mendieta (Lib. II. cap. XXXVII. p. 153). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 353). Durán (Cap. XXXII, p. 235; cap. XXXIX, p. 303; cap. XLI. p. 325; cap. LII, p. 409). Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI, p. 69; cap. LVI, p. 91; caps. LX and LXI, p. 100; cap. LXXXII, pp. 142 and 143). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. I, pp. 2 and 3; cap. LX, p. 49; cap. LXX, p. 102). See also Veytia,—but especially Clavigero, who is very positive (Lib. IV. cap. III. "Besides, the two Kings (of Tezcuco and Tacuba), were honorary assistants to the election of the Mexican Kings. They had but to sanction the election . . . .")

[66] Zurita (p. 67). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 546 and 547).

[67] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[68] Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. LVII. p. 175; cap. XXXIX. p. 144; lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 546, 547 and 548). Zurita ("Rapport," p. 12). Ixtlilxochitl (Cap. XXXII, pp. 219 and 220). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, pp. 164 and 165). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte II, cap. III, pp. 163 and 165). Clavigero (Lib. IV, cap. III).

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423 tributaries.[69] In short, the same treatment to which the Tecpanecas had once submitted, at the hands of the Mexicans *alone*, was the one received by foreign tribes from the confederacy, from the time of its formation down to its overthrow by the Spaniards. All the conquests intervening did not therefore result in the formation of a *state* based upon feudal notions of territorial domain and vassalage, but simply in a conglomerate of scattered tribes often mutually inimical, who looked with terror to the valley of Mexico as the abode of their conquerors. Over these conquerors the Mexicans held military direction, and the name of Mexico, or its equivalent of "Culhua," was best known. As early as 1518, Juan de Grijalva heard it on the coast of Tabasco.[70] This wide diffusion of the *name*, coupled with the still more extensive spread of the language,[71] and the undisguised dread of the natives before that very name, has created in the minds of Europeans the picture of a Mexican nation, state, and feudal Empire; whereas there was nothing else but the military confederacy of the three leading Nahuatl tribes of the valley of Mexico.[72]

423 This rapid sketch of the history of the Mexicans, up to the time when they confederated with the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, has shown to us that in no case was the notion of public domain, of governmental lands, current among the tribes of Mexico. The tribe held no domain,—conquest of another tribe by it did not (as feudal conditions would imply) convert the conquered territory into an annex or dependency of the conqueror, as far as the possession of the soil was concerned. Finally, the confederacy itself, as such, did not even hold a territory of its own, still less did it claim possession of areas occupied by tributary tribes.

It remains now for us to revert again to the distribution of the

[69] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 67). "This kind of tribute or allegiance ("homage-lige") was paid to officers established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or of Tacuba, etc., etc. . . . . The chief remaining sovereign, as before the wars, retained the civil and criminal jurisdiction over all their dominions" (Id. p. 66). Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion, etc." Col. de Documentos," vol. II, p. 579). "Art of War" (p. 100, note 17). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 197).

[70] "Itinerario de l'Armata del Re Catholico in India Verso la Isola de Inchathan del Anno M.D. XVIII," in Col. de Docum, vol. I, p. 293, taken from Ramusio. Originally published (1522), in the "Itinerario de Varthema," an exceedingly rare book. Bernal-Diez ("Hist. verdadera," Vedia II, cap. XI, p. 10).

[71] Orozco y Berra ("Geografia de las Lenguas, etc.," Parte II, p. 83, and the splendid ethnographical chart).

[72] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 11. "The province of Mexico was subject to three principal chiefs, etc. etc. . . ."

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soil, and to establish its customs at the time when the Europeans 423
first trod the Mexican shore.

We readily distinguish several classes of lands, bearing each a different name, besides the "altepetlalli," or tribal territory or range. The latter was the widest circumscription for which the Nahuatl language had a term. (The word "Anahuac," which is often used, is utterly inapplicable, as we have elsewhere shown).[73] No other idea of tenure was connected with it, beyond that of *tribal occupation.*

Each of the numerous tribal areas, overrun by the confederacy 423
(provided the natives were of a sedentary character), contained 651
what we have ventured to call tribute-lots. The name given to 648
these tracts was possibly "yaotlalli," but rather "mitchimalli" ("lands of war," and "shield-lands").[74] As before said, the soil of these tracts was still held in original tenure by the kinships composing the conquered tribe, but the *crops* went towards the tribute. There is no indication about the size of these areas, and they were the only ones directly connected with the conquerors.

Of those tracts whose products were exclusively applied to the 651
governmental needs of the pueblo or tribe itself (taken as an in- 423
dependent unit) there were, as we have already seen, two particular classes:

The first was the "tecpan-tlalli:"—land of the house of the community, whose crops were applied to the sustenance of such as employed themselves in the construction, ornamentation, and repairs of the public house. Of these there were sometimes several within the tribal area. They were tilled in common by special families who resided on them, using the crops in compensation for the work they performed on the official buildings.[75]

[73] Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 32, and note 16) makes [104]
the very sensible remark that the name "Anahuac" did not at all apply to a "state" or "empire," etc., but in general to all countries situated in the neighborhood of considerable bodies of water;—such as lakes or large streams; or the shores of the sea.

[74] MSS. from Simancas "De l'ordre de succession observé par les Indiens relativement à leurs Terres et de leurs Territoires communaux," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in "Recueil de Pièces," etc., pp. 223 and 224. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV. He includes them positively in the soil of the kinships, and treats them as communal lands, the produce of which furnished military supplies). "Yaotlalli" is improper (see "Art of War," p. 135, note 156), but "Mitchimalli" is possible.

[75] From "tecpan," chief-house (Molina, Parte II, p. 95), and "tlalli," soil (Id. p. 124). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). "There was another class of lands which belonged to the chief's income; and those who dwelt on them and cultivated them were

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office in the *family*, and with it also the possession of certain lands, 428
attached to that officer's functions and duties. But it is quite certain too that this stage of development had not yet been reached by any of the tribes of Mexico at the time of its conquest by the Spaniards. The principal idea had not yet been developed, namely, that of the *domain*, which, in eastern countries at least, gradually segregated into individually hereditary tenures and ownerships.

There was consequently, at the time when the Spaniards first 642
came into contact with the Mexican aborigines, no established feudal system among the Indians of Mexico. Based exclusively upon kin, aboriginal society then presented to the first Europeans who witnessed it a strange and partly dazzling, partly repulsive; at all events a bewildering, aspect. It is not devoid of interest, and it is even important for us to consider what were the effects of this contact of a people imbued with the principles of medieval feudality with tribes still adhering to far more primitive ideas, upon the latter's mode of tenure and distribution of their lands.

The ostensible basis, on which the Spaniards established a 648
claim to any parts of America whatever, is expressed in the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, executed at Rome on the fourth day of May, 1493. By this act of the Holy See the kings of Spain (Ferdinand and Isabella), in consideration of their devotion to the Catholic religion, and of their zeal in propagating the Christian faith even over the remotest parts of the earth's surface, are made and created absolute possessors, for themselves, their heirs and successors, of all the lands already discovered and still to discover by them or their agents in the new world. The conditions accompanying this grant were that they "manage to send to the said mainlands and islands good men, fearing God, learned, well taught and expert, for to instruct their aforesaid inhabitants and natives in the Catholic faith, and to teach them good manners, with all due diligence."[116] This title, although it partakes of the nature of a

[116] Martin Fernandez de Navarrete ("Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV," Madrid, 1825. Tom. IIo, pp. 23-35). "Et insupre mandamus vobis in virtute sanctae obedientie, est (sicut pollicemini et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et Regis magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad terras firmas et insulas praedictas viros probos, et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos et expertos ad instruendam incolas et habitatores praefatos in Fide Catholica, et in bonis moribus imbumdam destinare debeatis, omnum debitam diligentiam in praemisis adhibentes." Mendieta ("Hist. Eccles. Ind.," Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 20 and 22). Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Gomara ("Historia de las Indias," Vedia I, pp. 168 and 169). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII).

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648 fief, still virtually created,—what his subsequently became in Spanish America,—a *domain* of the Spanish crown. Armed with it, and fully convinced of its validity,[117] the Spaniards regarded at once the soil of Mexico as their king's own, and therefore claimed the right as his agents, to dispose of it through distribution according to their home-laws and customs. But, instead of proclaiming this title at once after the landing, as was done on many other points of the American coast,[118] Cortés found it advisable to delay such a formal declaration until after he had, by his own inspection, satisfied himself of the proper ways and means to secure possession. He quickly found out the disconnected state of the country, although he attributed it to causes which were not really existing,[119] and it is well known how he improved it for his plans. He therefore treated secretly, as much as possible, with members of tribes subjected (or rather tributary) to the Mexicans and their confederates,[120] and in consideration of their espousing the Spanish cause, he promised them sundry favors.[121] The oldest document issued by Europeans on Mexican soil embodies such a negotiation with chiefs of the tribes of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, both pueblos being situated within the valley of Mexico itself.[122] It promises

[117] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 31 and 32). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 168). Mendieta (Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 18-29), and many others. All these authorities can be summed up in Robertson's classical words: "The Pope, as vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth" ("History of America," 9th Edition, 1800. Vol. I, Book II, p. 159). It appears that already Grijalva had, in 1518, taken possession formally of the Mexican coast. (Oviedo, Lib. XVII, cap. XV, p. 525)

[118] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. VII, cap. XIV, pp. 197 and 198). Robertson (Vol. I, Book III, p. 271; also note XXIII, p. 378).

[119] Cortés supposed a Mexican state or empire and his measures were taken in consequence. ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 12). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 313). Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Hist. verd. de la conq. de N. España," Vedia II, pp. 32 and 33). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, pp. 366 and 367), etc. etc.

[120] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 13 and 15). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. XLI, p. 36). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Andrés de Tapía ("Col. de Documentos," of Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 561 and 562). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," Vedia, I, p. 320). But the main evidence is furnished by the document published by Icazbalceta in his second volume of the "Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," in the 2d volume, and entitled: "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente á los Caciques de Axapusco, de la jurisdiccion de Otumba" (pp. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9).

[121] "Real Ejecutoria" (Col. de doc. II, p. 7). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 320). Clavigero (Lib. VIII, cap. XI).

[122] The pueblos of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco are situated along the road leading from the city of Mexico to Tullanzinco, in the state of Mexico proper, northwest of San Juan de Teotihuacan. As the Document to which we have already referred im-

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to those chiefs lands of their own. The grantees had no conception of the true import of what they accepted, neither did Cortés conceive the nature of *their* ideas. It was the object of the Indians'

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plies, they were under Spanish rule included in the jurisdiction of Otumba. This document itself requires particular attention. It has been published by Sr. Icazbalceta in the second volume of his documentary collections, and its authenticity has been carefully examined—and, we think, successfully proven—by Sr. José F. Ramirez. Its history is not devoid of interest, and we record it here, partly from the document itself, and partly from the introduction and notes by the late Sr. Ramirez.

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On the 9th day of March, 1617, there appeared before the viceroy of New Spain (Marques of Guadalcazar), Leonardo de Salazar "in the name of the governor, alcalde and fiscals" of the pueblo of San Esteban Axapusco and Santiago Tepeyahualco, "of the jurisdiction of Otumba," praying for a confirmation in writing by the viceroy, of a certain grant made by Cortés, and approved by the King and his royal council under seal,—to the aforesaid pueblos. In order to obtain said confirmation it was alleged: that the grant, written on "nine leaves" was so torn and damaged, that it would no longer bear handling,—and that through its loss the inhabitants of said settlements might come to grief. The petition was immediately granted and it was ordained, on the 19 of March 1617, that a copy of the original grant should be executed, and that in such places where the text was torn or obliterated through damage to the originals, common belief or tradition should prevail as far as it related to the contents of the document ("obre la fé que hubiere lugar en derecho"). The desired copy and certificates were accordingly issued on the 21st day of March, 1617.

This copy embodies the mutilated text of a very singular official paper. It appears from it that on the 20th day of May 1519, Cortés executed, in favor of two Indian chiefs of the two aforesaid pueblos, and at their request, a certificate (signed by himself at San Juan de Ulúa on that day and countersigned: Pedro Hernandez), stating that the said chiefs had joined the messengers sent from Mexico to greet and espy Cortés upon his arrival at the coast,—with the intention of approaching him secretly and offering him their assistance in any designs he might have against the Mexicans, whom they said held them severely to tribute. This they achieved, and took allegiance to the crown of Spain. In return Cortés promised to them that "after our journey should be accomplished . . . . . to them should in the first place be made the greatest honor possible in return for so much noble subtility and good-will." He also promised "to make them grandees and Lords of lands where they now have their pueblos." The facts thus alleged were contained in the original document, written consequently about 30 days after the landing of Cortés on the coast of Vera Cruz. But this act itself was included, as a copy, in a further grant, dated 16 December, 1526, in which Cortés acknowledges the services rendered by the two chiefs during the conquest of Mexico, and that after that pueblo had been captured, the said chiefs returned to their tribes "well paid with the booty," relying upon the fulfilment of his original promises. It further states that: six years having elapsed since, and to most of the chiefs who had assisted the Spanish cause, lands had been given, he remembered the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, "and by these presents in the royal name of His majesty gave them four tracts ("cuatro sitios de estancias") . . . . . in the territory of their said pueblos." These lands were freed from all taxes and impositions, and the chiefs and their heirs were invested forever with the lordship and the office of governors ("gobernadores") of the pueblo to which they belonged. This grant of Cortés was confirmed by the Emperor Charles V, and the royal council of the Indies, 2d November, 1537, and on the 9 and 10 February, 1540, the said chieftains were duly installed in their new hereditary positions, and their lands measured off to them.

Doubts were raised as to the genuineness of the document, but these are set aside completely by the fact that, not more than 98 years after its first execution, the Spanish authorities have legally acknowledged it. Some objections relating to imperfections in the text, apparent anachronisms, have been eliminated through the judicious

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648 merely to become free of tribute to the Mexicans, as they had been previously; but no thought entered their mind, at that time, of ownership of the soil.[123] This earliest transaction (probably 20th of May, 1519) was in itself a perfect revolution, or at least the initiatory step thereto. Unbeknown to themselves, these Indians became feudatories to the crown of Spain, and thus the first germ was planted, which, in its development, subverted gradually the aboriginal order of things in Mexico.[124]

Every tribe, which subsequently surrendered to the Spaniards, bowed in the same manner to the new principle introduced. The Indians did not realize it, and as the idea of territorial domain was unknown to them, they could not see the construction placed upon their submission by the European invaders. It was not possible for them to feel or know that, if the council of a tribe agreed to accept the Spaniards in place of their former Mexican conquerors, their *territory* thereby might become alienated. On the other hand the Spaniards, not understanding the principles of Indian organization, completely misunderstood the nature of the contract. They took it for granted, that the tribal government had power and authority over the tribal soil.

When at last Montezuma and such chiefs as were with him, from Mexico as well as from Tezcuco and Tlacopan, being then

notes of Sr. Ramirez, as well as by the careful and thorough treatment of the editor, Sr. Icazbalceta. We cannot refrain from accepting the "Real Ejecutoria" as genuine and from calling the reader's attention to it, as one of the most important documents on the subject of ancient Mexican tenure of the soil. For the purpose of this note, we exclusively dwell on its *authenticity*, reserving the other points concerned for subsequent annotations; two items excepted which we must mention here, namely: It results from the grant of Cortés:

(1). That the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco held no lands as their own property, until Cortés granted such to them.

(2). That their offices were *not hereditary*, until Cortés established them as such; through his aforesaid grant. The two conclusions just stated are of great importance for the subject of this paper, and they should be kept present in mind, since we shall have occasion to make further use of the document.

[123] "Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." ("Col. de Docum." Vol. II, p. 6). Andrés de Tápia ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 501, etc.) Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia, I, pp. 12 and 13). Gomara ("Conq. de Mejico," Vedia I, p. 318. Very explicit and positive). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII. cap. II, pp. 261, 263 and 263). Bernal-Diez ("Hist. verdadera, etc." Vedia II, cap. XLVI and XLVII). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.." cap. LXXX. pp. 173, 174 and 175). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XX, pp. 307, 308 and 309). Clavigero (Lib. VIII, cap. IX and XI). Robertson ("History of America," Vol. II, Book V, p. 286). (Prescott Book II, cap. VII).

[124] "Real Ejecutoria, etc." ("Col. de Doc." II, p. 6, "y que desde agora en adelante y para siempre se ofrecian fieles y leales vasallos de su majestad ò emperador . . ." p. 7, "y me suplicaron les diese testimonio de la obediencia que dieron à Dios nuestro Señor y à S. M.")

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in Spanish power, consented to the ceremonies required for their "swearing allegiance" to Spain, Cortés thenceforth regarded the annexation of Mexico to the domains of his liege lord as complete.[125] Montezuma was hereafter considered as a feudatory of the Spanish crown, and it became the duty of that crown's other dependents to protect him. Consequently, when the Mexicans took up arms against their obnoxious guests, they became, in the eyes of the latter, rebels against what was assumed to be their legitimate lord, Montezuma, and, he in turn having been converted into a vassal of Spain, rebels also towards that power itself.[126] This act of rebellion entailed for those participating in it, forfeiture of life and property, at the option of their conquerors. Thus a further title was created for the Spaniards, to seize even lands used or held by individuals, outside of what they believed to be public or lordly domains, and a theoretical right was construed to be a complete and violent revolution.

After the pueblo of Mexico had fallen, the first step of Cortés in regard to the Indians was, therefore, to establish the system of "Repartimientos."[127] This mode had come into existence during the life-time of Columbus, through a Patent dated 22d of July, 1497, authorizing the great admiral to distribute lands in the West Indian Islands among the Spanish settlers for their own use and exclusive ownership.[128] No mention is made, in these letters patent, of the aboriginal occupants of the soil, but Columbus, in a later act of *his own, decided that the Indians should work such lands for the benefit of those to whom he had given them* "and thus" says Herrera, "the Repartimientos or Encomiendas all over the Indies originated."[129] The Indians on such tracts became serfs to their Span-

[125] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 30). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CI, Vedia II, p. 103). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. IX).

[126] The term "rebellion" is frequently applied to the uprising of the Mexicans during Cortés' short absence on his expedition against Narvaez, and their subsequent resistance to Spanish power. In fact, it appears so frequently in documents and chronicles of the 16th century, that we may well refrain from special quotations.

[127] Cortés ("Carta Cuarta," Vedia I, pp. 113, 114, 115 and 116). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, Cap. CLXIX, pp. 237 and 238). Gomara (Vedia I. p. 304). Letter of the troops of Cortés to the Emperor ("Col. de Doc.," I. p. 431). It is also acknowledged by Cortés himself in his letter of 15 October, 1524, to the Emperor, wherein he expressly states ("Col. de Doc.," I. pp. 472 and 473), that he dared not promulgate the latest despatches received by him from the Spanish court, since these enjoined him to abstain from "repartir ni encomendar." Thus he acknowledges having already made "repartimientos."

[128] Xavarrete ("Colleccion de Viajus, etc." Tom. II, pp. 215 and 216). Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III. cap. II, p. 66).

[129] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III, cap. XVI, p. 95). Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72).

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648 ish conquerors, they could not, at least in later times, be separated from the soil on which they dwelt.[130]

The country of Mexico being very extensive, while the number of the original Spanish conquerors was comparatively small, it followed that, sometimes at least, large areas inhabited by entire tribes, or at least by entire kinships, fell to the lot of a single man. The new owner in such cases found an organized community established upon his grant, and he usually preferred not to disturb this organization, contenting himself with exacting for his individual benefit a tribute levied in a manner approximate to that which had been customary previous to the conquest.[131] Nevertheless, several disturbing influences soon appeared.

The first one was the construction placed upon the obligation of personal labor to be performed by the Indians. It was gradually so extended, that instead of remaining confined to the *land*, it attached to the *person* of the new owner, and thus tended, by admitting forcible displacement, to disrupt the ties of kinship, which formed the basis of the tenure of lands.[132]

In the second place the Spaniards looked upon all tracts set apart by the Indians for governmental purposes, as public domain of the Mexicans, and so, wherever a tribe had resisted their invasion, such official lands were of course regarded as forfeited. They became either property of the crown, or were assigned to some one of the early Spanish immigrants. We have already seen that these lots, although their crops were destined to special uses, were properly communal soil. This mode of tenure was now suddenly abolished, and the principle of *private* or *public ownership* established

[130] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III cap. XVI, p. 95). Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72). Mendieta (Lib. I. cap. VI, pp. 32 and 33).

[131] Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo ("Recueil, etc.," p. 244). Letter of the Licentiate Ceynos ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, pp. 162 and 163). Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Col. de Doc." Vol. II, pp. 170, 171 and 172, etc., etc.). Letter of Father Domingo de Betanzos ("Col. de Doc.," II, pp. 190-197). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CCX, p. 313. Vedia II).

[132] That the original intention was merely to have the Indians work the soil for the benefit of the Spanish owners, is proved by Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III, cap. XVI, p. 95), and by Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72). The latter was a contemporary. But it results, principally from the complaints about the ill treatments of the Indians, and the suggestions for remedy,—that the Spaniards very soon converted this position into one of personal slavery. See Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal, of 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," II. pp. 167 and 168), of Alonzo del Castillo (Col. II, p. 202). Opinion of the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar, 8 Oct., 1526 ("Col. de Doc." II, pp. 545 and 546). Joint letter to the Emperor, of 9 Franciscan and Dominican monks ("Col. de Doc." pp. 549-553). Letter of Motolinia ("Col. de Doc." Vol. I), 2 Jan., 1555.

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in its place. It is not surprising therefore, to find in the "Libro del Cabildo," or book of the municipality of the young city of Mexico, between the years 1524 and 1529, numerous entries recording the petitions of Spaniards for sites occupied, according to their belief, by private dwellings of Mexican chiefs, and the grants issued in consequence thereof.[133] This applied not only to the "lands of the houses of the community" (tecpan-tlalli), and "lands of the speakers" (tlatoca-tlalli), but especially to the "pillali" or lots assigned to each chieftain as member of a particular quarter. In this manner the soil of the consanguine group, the basis of landed tenure in Mexico, was directly invaded; portions of it being torn from its original connection.

Lastly the Spaniards, finding Indian communities too strongly and permanently organized for a sudden and violent reform, acceded to their maintenance as far as they understood it. But, fully convinced that the chiefs were monarchical or despotic rulers—masters of the soil as well as of its inhabitants,—wherever these chiefs had been personally friendly to them or wherever they regarded it as politic, they confirmed what they conceived to be *their prerogatives.*[134] Thus, regarding them as *owners* of the different classes of official lots, this ownership was formally recognized, and it was acknowledged that they were "lawfully seized in fee thereof." The "tlalmaites" became in law the vassals of those whom they formerly but considered as elective functionaries.

Not content with this, and in order to reward certain chiefs for services rendered during the conquest or good behavior afterwards, the Spanish conquerors also issued to them "Repartimientos, or gave them lands, sometimes unoccupied wastes, as their *own pri-*

[133] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Vol. II. lib. III, cap. VIII, pp. 64 and 65).

[134] Letter of Father Toribio de Paredes (Motolinia) 2 Jan'y, 1555 (Col. de Doc. I), and especially the long letter of Mendieta, dated Tolnca, 1st day of the year 1562 ("Col. de Doc." II). "Sixth: it appears to me that the native and legitimate Lords should be taken into account . . . . . I treat of the particular Lords, touching their lordship of their Indians and pueblos, which they formerly possessed. For I think that some are expelled, and I do not know even if they were not reduced to macehuales and tributaries, and others, although some trifle is given to them it is in the shape of a governorship and in such a manner that, once despoiled from it, they are left destitute" ("se quedan á buenas noches") (p. 536). The good father here represents the true conceptions of the Europeans about the Indian chieftaincy (as a feudal lordship) at the time of the conquest. Also; Letter of the Archbishop of Mexico, Fray Alonzo de Montufar, dated 30 Nov., 1554. ("Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique" Ternaux-Compans, pp. 258, 259 and 266, appendix.)

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648 *vate property.*[135] Among these is to be classed the grant already mentioned to the caciques of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco.[136]

The documents partaking of the nature of "Repartimientos" contain among their number a donation by Cortés to Doña Isabel Montezuma, daughter of the former Mexican "Tlaca-tecuhtli," which is very interesting for the purposes of this investigation. It is dated 26 of June, 1526, and gives to the grantee, in consideration of the aid lent to Cortés by her father, *the entire territory of the Tecpanecan tribe, at the same time acknowledging that it belonged to her by right "as patrimonal estate."*[137] We know, however, that the Tecpanecas formed the third member of the

[135] "Real Ejecutoria, etc." ("Col. de Doc." Vol. II, p. 20). Grant of Cortés to Doña Isabel Montezuma (Prescott, "Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico," Vol. III, Appendix, pp. 460, 461, 462, 463 and 464). Petition addressed to Charles V, by several Mexican chiefs in 1533 (Appendix to "Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique" Ternaux-Compans, p. 261).

[136] It says: ("Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." Col. de Doc. II, p. 18, "and since they were such (faithful) servants of H. M., they should be freed, together with their pueblos, from all impositions and contributions forever, and to them should be given four tracts of land ("estancias de tierras"), and they should become perpetual governors of their tribes, and none of their inferiors should ever obtain the office" p. 21. The King and his council of the Indies consequently ordained "by these presents we declare the aforesaid to be free and discharged ("quitos"), not bound to tributes, tenths, premices and other duties or contributions customary or yet to be introduced, and that they and their descendants shall perpetually hold the government of their pueblos, with all the advantages and appurtenances to the four tracts, as Lords thereof, and that it is our pleasure and will. . . ." Lastly, in describing the lands surveyed for the said caciques it says: "and they are rough timbered lands, without any water, of which the aforesaid took possession" p. 24). This shows that certain tracts were set off from the communal soil, to become private property of the chiefs. It is interesting to connect therewith the following statement by Zurita (p. 57). "These lands belonging to the calpullis, it was unjust to give them to the Spaniards, as it is still done. The latter seeing uncultivated lands, demand them from the persons who govern."

[137] This grant has fortunately been published by Mr. Prescott, in the Appendix to the "History of the Conquest of Mexico" (Vol. III, pp. 461–464). It bears the title: "Privilegio de Doña Isabel Montezuma, Hija del gran Motezuma último Rey Indio del gran Reyno y Cibdad de México, que bautizada y siendo Christiana casò con Alonso Grado, natural de la villa de Alcantara, Hidalgo, y criado de su Magestad, que habia Servido y servia en muchos oficios de aquel Reyno. Otorgado por Don Hernando Cortes, conquistador del dicho Reyno, etc., etc." Its date is 26 June, 1526. The Doña Isabel is mentioned as "the principal and legitimate heiress of the said Lord Motequma," and the concession itself is worded as follows: "con la qual dicha Doña Isabel le prometo y doi en dote y arras à la dicha Doña Isabel y sus descendientos, en nombre de S. M. y como su governador y capitan general destas partes, y porque de derecho le pertenece de su patrimonio y legitima, el Señoria y naturales del Pueblo de Tacuba, etc., etc." The following pueblos are added: Teteve, Yzqui-Luca, Chimalpan, Chapulmaloyan, Escapultzango, Xiloango, Ocolacaqua, Castepeque, Talanco, Gatacrio, Duotepeque, Tacala. Notwithstanding the defective orthography (Escapultzango in place of Azcaputzalco, Duotepeque instead of Omsteper, etc.) we easily discern the territory of the Tecpanecan tribe; a fact still further proven by the own words of the grant: "the aforesaid settlements and pueblos are subjected to the pueblo of Tacuba and to its Lord."

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"Nahuatl" confederacy of the valley of Mexico, that they and 648 their soil were totally independent from the Mexicans.[138] Still, Cortés honestly assumed it to have been a part of the Mexican domain, and on this assumption based his disposition of it, fully convinced that he was performing an act of honest restitution. This gives a measure of the erroneous ideas then prevailing among the Spaniards on the mode of tenure and distribution of lands in ancient Mexico.

Thus a state of things was inaugurated which could not fail, 648 eventually, to create the most unfortunate results. The Indians 178 among themselves were placed on very unequal footings. In some sections the calpulli, even the whole tribe, were left undisturbed, in others their lands were assigned to Spanish individuals. Again, certain tracts were taken away from the communal soil, and became private property of individual conquerors. But the most disastrous influence certainly was exercised by the assignment of landed property to individual Indians. It created an inequality of condition in each and every aboriginal community against which those least favored revolted, whereas the preferred ones, now combining authority with landed property, were tempted to abuse their new position.[139] Of this division and strife among the

[138] In addition to the testimony already adduced, we refer here to the Letter of Fray Toribio (Motolinia) and Fray Diego d' Olarte, dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554. "All the others obeyed to Montezuma, to the sovereign of Tezcuco, and to him of Tacuba. These three princes were closely confederated; they divided among themselves the lands (countries) which they conquered." ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," p. 403.) In the "Relation of the services rendered by the Marquis of the Valley (Cortés)," executed between 1532 and 1535—and presented to the Emperor by the Licentiate Nuñez, reference is made to the original grant to Cortés, of lands containing: "23,000 vassals" which territory included the Tecpanecan pueblos of Cuyuacan and Atacubaya. These pueblos were claimed "through the intrigues of the president Nuño de Guzman and of the auditors Matienzo and Delgadillo" as belonging to Mexico, but the case was tried in New Spain, and Cortés furnished ample proof "how the said lands are distinct, in limits and jurisdiction, from the city of Mexico, and that the Lords of Cuyuacan and Atacubaya always possessed them peaceably and in fact" ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, p. 56). If now this was the fact with those two villages, how much more so was it with Tacuba and its surroundings, which were the chief places of the Tecpanecan tribe; as third member of the Nahuatl confederacy of the Mexican valley.

[139] The grant to Cortés mentioned in the preceding note, is an instance of the agglomeration of several pueblos under a single owner. There must have been many more: since he created originally but 200 "Repartimientos" over the whole territory. The Licentiate Ceynos, in his letter of 22 June, 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, p. 159), mentions "until 400 persons" of which 200 had to settle in the city of Mexico. The Bishop Fuenleal in his "Opinion" of 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 176), mentions (among others) the following Repartimientos: "Huexotzinco to Diego de Ordáz." The province of

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648 178 Aborigines themselves the Spaniards naturally profited for further encroachments. Many "encomenderos" used the authority of the chiefs to turn their Indian serfs into actual slaves, others in turn improved the new perspective opened to the natives towards the acquisition of private lands, for the purpose of undermining the influence and authority of the chieftains.[140] Frequently, also, the ignorance in which the Indians were, as to the

Tepeaca to Pedro Armildez Chirino,— Chilchota to Juan de Sámano, etc., etc. Each of these, especially the first one, comprised several villages, nay a whole tribe.

Compare the letter of the Archbishop Montufar, 30 Nov., 1554 ("Cruautés horribles, etc." Appendix, 255-260). Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). The complaints are principally, against such as held offices under the conquerors, and such to whom lands were given out of the calpulalli. The petition of Montufar is a terrible accusation against the Indian chiefs. Gomara, however, qualifies it as one of the good effects of the conquest that the Indians since that time "hold lands" (Vedia I). Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17) is very severe on the collectors of rent for the whites. But these collectors must have been mostly Indians,— *chiefs*, as he himself acknowledges in his Cholula-letters.

[140] Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17). Montufar (pp. 233-260) Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Cayuos, Second Letter, 1 March, 1565 (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 240 and 241). Zurita (p. 63) is of special importance, exposing the intrigues of the Spanish conquerors among the Indian communities, inciting the natives to litigations against their chiefs. Mendieta, in his remarkable letter from Tolnca, 1 Jan'y, 1572, to Fray Francisco de Bustamante, commissary general, at Mexico, devotes his principal attention to the pernicious influence of the Spanish interpreters and lawyers, inciting the Indians to litigation before the "Audiencia" and not before the viceroy. He says for inst. (p. 582), "that without comparison their condition and behavior was better at their time of gentility than now. For at the time they were heathens they did not know of lawyers ("letrado" properly men of letters), scribes, nor attorneys, neither of litigations, nor to spend in such (squabbles) their properties and ruin their souls. To-day, since the opportunity is afforded to them, and they being naturally quarrelsome, disposed to tackle and injure each other, they are so fond of it as to have them continually on hand, without cause nor reason, and (such are) always the worst and most abject of the tribe. Therefore not a single community is found in New Spain which is not disturbed, and does not spend nearly as much in litigation as they pay of tribute to H. M., or to the encomendero *every* year. And since they are of little understanding, and not versed in law, I hold all what the interpreters and attorneys gain by it as so much of a robbery as if they would take it from the houses at night. Such do not even deny their base actions, but confess openly that they do it, without any other excuse than that H. M. gives them permission." On p. 536, he says: "certain particular Indians in all the settlements do great mischief, knowing that they have recourse to the court, and among the pretenses to cover their malice they use two most commonly, which are: demand account of the communal property, pretending that the principals spend it, and the other, to have the conduct of their officers investigated under color that these abuse of their position (power)." Zurita (p. 63), speaking of the intrigués against the chiefs says: "the ordinary tribute and prestations failing, they fall into the most abject misery, become dejected, dare not speak, and do not know where to apply for protection. For all this the rebels do not cause any loss to the encomendero as to his tribute . . . . In this manner they ruin the chiefs in a very short time, for all their property consists in the work of their vassals, as soon as that ceases, if it was but for a single day, they lack every requisite for life." (This quotation is in itself, we think, the most ample confirmation of what we have advanced upon the subject of aboriginal tenure of the soil, and fully disproves what has been assumed in regard to the chiefs holding and owning lands of their own). See also Memorial of Bartolomé de Las Casas (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 229 and 230).

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real import and value of landed concessions, was taken advantage of to deprive them of such subsequently, either through litigation or through barter for worthless trifles.[141] Unacquainted with the new order of things suddenly forced upon them, unable therefore to profit by it for subsistence, the natives of Mexico could not help being *degraded* instead of *elevated* and bettered in condition by such a transition which displaced them, in the course of a few years, from a state of tribal and communal society into one of civilization.[142]

Consequently a state of disorganization began to prevail, which threatened to ruin the country. At the same time, however, while the Indians, forlorn in the maze of difficulties in which their conquerors themselves also floundered about, were in a perfectly helpless condition, a sudden protection and relief arose to them. On the 13th of May, 1524, "one day previous to the vigils of Pentecost," there landed at San Juan de Ulúa, a cluster of twelve Franciscan friars, sent to Mexico in response to the original call of Cortès, for the purpose of converting the Indians.[143] These monks

[141] Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Mendieta (Letter, in Col. de Doc. II).

[142] The Europeans opened a wide field for activity. They were superior to the Mexican aborigines, not only in organization, but especially in mechanical arts and inventions for the purpose of subsistence. It was now required of the Indians to suddenly take hold of all these improvements, which it had taken the Europeans centuries upon centuries to secure through long experimenting,—and to become familiar with them in a short time, as well as to feel happy and contented at once under a state of society which tore asunder all those ties of kinship forming, since time immemorial, the basis of their organization. It was asking too much of them altogether, and if besides what was asked was even enforced violently,—then the degrading consequences could not be avoided. Therefore, the most ardent advocates of the Indian cause took great care to insist upon letting the natives alone in their communities; even prohibiting the access thereto to the Spanish colonists. Bartolomé de las Casas, in his joint memorial with Fray Domingo de Santa Tomás, in favor of the Indians of Peru, written about 1559 ("Col. de Doc." Bibliographical notes, p. XLII,) says: "Lo segundo, que porque los Españoles son siempre del bien de los indios contrarios, y en especial lo son y han de ser impedidores de aquesto negocio y concierto, que han de estorbar por cuantas vias pudieren que los indios no paguen à S. M. ni puedan pagar este servicio; por tanto es necesario que se prohiba que ningun comendero èntre por ninguna causa ni razon en los pueblos de los indios que tienen encomendados, ni sus mujeres, que son las mas crueles y perniciosas, ni negro, ni criado, ni otra persona suya (p. 233)." Alonzo de Zurita, in his memorial written at Mexico between 1554 and 1564 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. XLVII), insists strongly upon keeping the Indians apart from the Whites (p. 235). In regard to the actual degradation, see Mendieta's letter, of 1 Jan'y, 1562 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 332). Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de N. España," Trat. I, cap. I).

[143] The Franciscan friars obtained their first concession from Pope Leo X, by a bull dated 25 April, 1521 (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. V, pp. 185–190). This bull was executed in favor of Fray Francisco de Quiñones (de los Angeles), and Fray Juan Clapion. But these fathers never reached Mexico. Previous to it, three Flemish missionaries, Fray Juan de Tecto, Fray Juan de Aora, and Fray Pedro of Ghent had gone to New Spain

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even in their letter to the emperor, dated 1st of September, 1526,[146] 797 the "apostles of Mexico" insisted upon a thorough establishment of what Mr. Prescott so justly calls the "vicious" system of Repartimientos, representing that an immediate and thorough intermingling of both races alone could promote the interests of conversion.[147]

Still, an improvement in the system gradually took place. The 648 civil and criminal jurisdiction over the natives, which formerly had been vested in each landholder,[148] was placed in the hands of special officers of the crown. It was directed that the owner should reside on his property, that the Indians could not be separated from the soil and finally, on the 20th of November, 1542, the "new laws and ordonnances for the government of the Indies" were promulgated, which contained such restrictions upon the "Repartimientos," that their further extension and increase was rendered impossible, and the number of those existing, greatly limited. The Indians themselves were declared direct vassals to the crown of Spain.[149]

Although in many parts of Spanish America these laws were but "obeyed though not executed,"[150] they still called forth a

[146] "Col. de Documentos" (Vol. II, pp. 155, 156 and 157). Joint letter of Franciscan and Dominican monks (p. 549, etc.).

[147] "Col. de Doc.," II, pp. 155–157, 549, etc.; also letter of Fray Domingo de Betanzos (pp. 190–197). Notwithstanding the agreement between Franciscan and Dominican monks on that point, Las Casas continued to protest in the most vehement manner, against the "Repartimiento." See his memorial, jointly with Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (Col. II, pp. 231–236), and to the council of the Indies, of 1561 or 1563 (Col. II, pp. 505–508), in which he says: "Thirdly, that the encomiendas or repartimientos of Indians are iniquitous, per se wrong, therefore tyrannical, and such administration is tyrannical also. Fourth, that such as give them commit a mortal sin, like those who maintain them, and if they do not give them up, they cannot be saved."

[148] It was customary for each "encomendero" to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within his "Repartimiento."

[149] "Nuevas Leyes y Ordenanzas para la Gobernacion de las Indias" (Col. de Doc., II. pp. 204–227), dated Valladolid (Spain), 4 June, 1543, promulgated at Mexico, 24 March, 1544. Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VI, cap. V, pp. 110–113). These new laws were the cause of bloody disturbances in Spanish America. Gomara (Vedia I, pp. 249 and 256).

[150] "Se obedece, pero no se cumple." There are many evidences of this saying having been put in actual practice. Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y de la Colonizacion de Nueva Granada," 1848, cap. XVII, p. 316). At the arrival of the Licentiate Armendaris in Cauca, sent to enforce the new laws, Belalcazar at once had them promulgated, but took the responsibility of forthwith also suspending their execution. He wrote to the King from Cali, in 1544, in regard to his action. Acosta says: "Entonces comenzó en el nuevo mundo Español á campear la formula irrisoria de se obedece, pero no se cumple; con que se eludian las ordenes que no les convenia ejecutar á los funcionarios de aquellas apartados comarcas." Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VII, cap. XXIII, pp. 157 and 158).

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618 marked improvement, at least in the personal condition of the Indians. They were, hereafter, at least to some extent, protected from the bodily slavery in which the former acts had plunged them. In regard to the tenure of lands, however, the laws wrought no change. Further direct spoliations became more difficult, but the new principle of private ownership had been firmly implanted, not merely *around* but *among* the natives themselves, and the obliteration of the ancient usages, by the extension of this principle, could not be stayed.

618 423 Of the aboriginal mode of tenure of lands and of their distribution, but one vestige remained—the last monument so to say, and the one which embodies, happily, all its principal features. These are the lands of *kinship*, held in common by the consanguine group or calpulli, and called as we have seen, "calpulalli," by the Mexicans.

Although their order had been very much disturbed since in many cases the official tracts, "tecpan-tlalli" and "tlatoca- tlalli," as well as those apportioned to the chiefs as members of the kin, "tlalmilli," were appropriated by the conquerors,—the bulk of the "calpulalli" could not, for a long time, be disintegrated for private uses, notwithstanding the still more nefarious influence exercised by the donation of lands to individuals, with the faculty of barter or sale, in the very heart of the organization itself. Even up to the present time, these communal tracts are still found in Mexico, occupied and tilled by the aborigines after their original customs.[151]

[7] [151] Mr. James Pascoe, an English gentleman, resident of Toluca, has in a letter reported upon by the French "Journal des Missions Evangéliques" (1874), given a detailed description of the condition of the Indians in his vicinity. His statements about their communal system of tenure, the eligibility of their chiefs, etc., etc. ("gobernadores") are very positive and plain.

Mr. Stephens, in "Travels in Yucatan" (Vol. II, cap. I, pp. 14 and 15), described the mode of life of the settlement ("rancho") of Schawill near Nohcacab, which settlement contained about "one hundred labradores, or working men, their lands are held and worked in common, and the products are shared by all. Their food is prepared at one hut, and every family sends for its portion, etc., etc."

Brantz-Mayer: ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1877). While at the hacienda of Temisco near Cuernavaca: "he pointed out to us the site of an Indian village, at the distance of three leagues, the inhabitants of which are almost in their native state. He told us, that they do not permit the visits of white people; and that, numbering more than three thousand, they come out in delegations to work at the haciendas, being governed at home by their own magistrates, administering their own lands, and employing a Catholic priest to shrive them of their sins; once a year. The money they receive in payment of wages, at the haciendas, is taken home and buried; and as they produce the cotton and skin for their dresses, and the corn and beans for their food, they purchase nothing at the stores" (p. 175). Hon. E. G. Squier, in his ex-

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At a late hour, comparatively, the government of Spain recognized the importance of maintaining this last vestige of Indian land tenure. It was brought to it, not only by the incessant clamor of ecclesiastics of various orders,[152] by the necessity of restraining the power of the new settlers over the aborigines, which power threatened (as in Peru) to endanger Spanish domination itself,[153]—but especially from the conviction, that it was best suited to the wants of the Mexican natives, being the mode of

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cellent work on Nicaragua, makes the following very important observations on the tenure of lands there: (Vol. I, cap. 290 and 291). "The municipality of Subtiaba, in common with the barrios of some of the towns, holds lands, as I have said, in virtue of royal grants, in its corporate capacity. These lands are inalienable, and are leased to the inhabitants at low and almost nominal rates. Every citizen is entitled to a sufficient quantity to enable him to support himself and his family; for which he pays from four rials (half a dollar), to two dollars a year. This practice seems to have been of aboriginal institution; for under the ancient Indian organization, the right to live was recognized as a fundamental principle in the civil and social system. No man was supposed to be entitled to more land than was necessary to his support; nor was he permitted to hold more than that, to the exclusion or injury of others. In fact, many of the institutions of the Indians in this country were recognized, and have been perpetuated by the Spaniards." The bearings of these remarks, upon our subject, are easily noticed, and need no further comments. That part of the indigenous population of which the learned traveller treats, are from the same stock as the Mexicans. 171

The document which has already occupied our attention, namely: the grant of Cortés to the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco (See note 136) also furnishes evidence of the existence of these communal tracts in Mexico, and their recognizance by the Spanish government. This grant was the object or cause of a long suit, which we shall refer to hereafter.—the inhabitants of the two pueblos suing their chiefs for restitution of the communal property. This shows that the "calpulli" in *fact*, if not in name perhaps, still existed at least in the past century. The litigation alluded to occurred between the years 1755 and 1764.

[152] These protestations were mainly issued at the example of the indefatigable Las Casas. It would be superfluous to refer to them in detail. But it is remarkable with what freedom of language this violent though noble character was permitted to speak. We have already quoted (note 147), his memorial to the council of the Indies (written in 1542 or 1543). In that document he goes so far as to say: "First, that all the wars called conquests ("conquistas" applying it to the New World exclusively), were and are unjust and the very acts of tyrants. Second, that all the Kingdoms and Lordships of the Indies are held by us through usurpation only . . . . Fifth: that the King our Lord, whom God may keep safe and prosperous, cannot, with all the power God has given him, justify the wars and robberies made to these people, nor the Repartimientos and encomiendas,—more than he could justify the wars and robberies committed against the Christian by the Turks . . . . . Eighth: that the natives of all these parts and wherever we may have entered the Indies have a perfect right to make war upon us or to expel us and wipe us off the face of the earth, which right they will preserve until the day of judgment" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 306). This is strong talk from the Bishop of Chiapas, not only against the Emperor, but against the Holy See, which had *donated* the Indies to Spain.

[153] It is well known that the liberation of the Indians from personal servitude was a measure, not only of humanity and justice, but also of policy, on the part of the Spanish government, to weaken the growing power of the conquerors and early colonists. The troubles in Peru give a good example of the state of affairs.

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648 tenure of lands corresponding to undisturbed aboriginal society. Thus the calpulli were, to a limited extent, protected, nay fostered, and recognized in law, even as late as the past century.[154] Like all remains of "ancient society," *they* also are bound to disappear, or be transformed in a manner suitable to the exigencies of a higher culture. But it may not be amiss to quote, at the close of this investigation, a tribute paid to their value for the wants of Indian society by Alonzo de Zurita, a Spanish official of perspicacity, deep knowledge, and honest judgment, in his memorial to the King of Spain, written about the year 1560.[155]

618 [154] The litigation over the grant to the caciques of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, to which we referred in note 151,— is commented upon as follows by Señore J. F. Ramirez in his letter proving the authenticity of the document, dated 30 Sept., 1863, and printed in the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." "D. Juan de los Santos, D. Antonio Estéban, D. Juan and D. Lorenzo Morales, with the title of caciques and principals of Tepeyahualco, and with the right of successors and lawful descendants of D. Juan and D. Fernando Morales "companions (they said), of the illustrious Hernan Cortés in the conquest and pacification of these kingdoms" had been in possession of the municipal government of that pueblo and of Axapusco, and consequently of the administration of their communal property. The dexterous policy of the Spanish government soon conceived the danger of that system, *which was very general in its origin*, and therefore sought to undermine it in its own particular way. It sought, therefore, to develop the municipal (communal) principle of institutions, and setting the democratic element to action, thus placed the caciques in opposition with their former subordinates, destroying their influence and power. In the present case, the viceroy authorized the pueblos mentioned to elect their municipal authorities, and thereby Santos and the Morales were removed from the administration of the properties." These remarks are very important. But the parties appealed from this division and a long suit ensued. The chiefs based their claims upon the grant of Cortés *exclusively* (pp. XIII and XIV), and the pueblos attacked the authenticity of that document; at the same time invoking the right of possession ("plenario de posesion.") The result of the litigation is described as follows: "declaring the possession in favor of the pueblos, condemning Santos to restitution of the fruits (proceeds), but leaving aside the rights of the parties upon the point of ownership" (Juicio de propiedad). The whole case shows that the Spanish government recognized:

First: The communal organization of the tribes, and the elective constituency of its chieftains.

Second: That the hereditary office of chiefs, and the hereditary ownership of lands, were Spanish innovations ("que á su principio fué muy ordinario"). Now this origin ("principio") is certainly not intended to go farther back than the conquest.

Third: That the only right and title, as claimed by the chiefs, was derived from the grant of Cortés, and that they did not claim any prior right, connected with descendancy or with privilege of caste.

Fourth: Consequently, that the Spanish government itself recognized the anterior democratic constituency of the Indian community, and its customs, regarding them as prevailing even over the acts and disposition of Cortés,— although to him the Spaniards owed the conquest of the country.

[155] Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne." pp. 63 and 64. The original of this highly important report to the King of Spain, has been printed once, but very defectively, in the "Collecion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, etc., etc." It is much to be regretted that my learned friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, has not incorporated that copy of it pertaining to Sr. Ramirez, in his valuable

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"The good order reigning in the calpullis is a strong reason to 648 protect them in law, and to prevent them from becoming intermingled, as they are already nearly everywhere; for once broken up, the harmony which they originally exhibited can never be reestablished again. The ignorance about these institutions, and the little regard paid to them, are the cause that many Indians were given lands out of their calpullis, which they (originally) had received only to cultivate, and (this) on their simple assertion that they and their ancestors had held and tilled them. In doing this, they but follow the advice of the Spaniards (mestizoes) and mulattoes, who involve them in litigations, and who live from these squabbles. . . . . In vain the chiefs deny such assertions, claiming that the lands belong to the calpulli; they are not heeded, the rightful owners are despoiled, and those to whom they are adjudged do not profit by it, since they sell them, or alienate them (otherwise) to the detriment of the calpulli."

Out of the scanty remains thus left of certain features of abo- 423 riginal life in ancient Mexico, as well as out of the conflicting statements about that country's early history, we have now attempted to reconstruct the conceptions of the Mexican aborigines about tenure of lands, as well as their manner of distribution thereof. Our inquiries seem to justify the following conclusions:

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, either by a nation or state, or by the head of its government, or by individuals, was unknown to the ancient Mexicans.

2. Definite possessory right was vested in the kinships com-

"Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México."— Alonso de Zurita lived in America from 1540 till 1570; or about nineteen years. Of these he spent two at St. Domingo, three years in N. Granada, Sa. Marta, Cartagena, and the Cabo de la Vela, three years in Guatemala, and about eleven in Mexico. His "Report" consists of a series of answers to queries put by the King, and sent from Valladolid, Dec., 1553. If we could obtain all the answers given to these questions from all parts of Spanish America, and all as elaborate and truthful as those of Zurita, Palacio and Ondegardo, our knowledge of aboriginal history and ethnology of Spanish America would be much advanced.

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423 posing the tribe; but the idea of sale, barter, or conveyance or alienation of such by the kin had not been conceived.

3. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, held but the right to use certain defined lots for their sustenance, which right, although hereditary in the male line, was nevertheless limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom the said lots were assigned.

4. No possessory rights to land were attached to any office or chieftaincy. As members of a kin, each chief had the use of a certain lot, which he could rent or farm to others, for his benefit.

5. For the requirements of tribal business, and of the governmental features of the kinships (public hospitality included), certain tracts were set apart as official lands, out of which the official households were supplied and sustained; but these lands and their products were totally independent from the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

648 651 6. Conquest of any tribe by the Mexicans was not followed by an annexation of that tribe's territory, nor by an apportionment of its soil among the conquerors. Tribute was exacted, and, for the purpose of raising that tribute (in part), special tracts were set off; the crops of which were gathered for the storehouses of Mexico.

631 642 7. Consequently, as our previous investigation (of the warlike institutions and customs of the ancient Mexicans) have disproved the generally received notion of a military despotism prevailing among them,—so the results of this review of Tenure and distribution of lands tend to establish: "that the principle and institution of feudality did not exist in aboriginal Mexico."

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631 648 This eliminates at once the notion of a Mexican state or empire, embracing in the folds of political society[5] all the groups of abor-

la segunda poblacion de las del Valle." Farther on, quoting *Juan Bautista Pomar, "Relacion de la ciudad de Tezcuco,"* (MSS., belonging to Sr. Icazbalceta, and dated 1582) who says of Tezcuco: "La extension del reino era desde el mar del N. á la del Sur, con todo lo que se comprende á la banda del Poniente hasta el puerto de la Vera Cruz, salvo la Ciudad de Tlachcala y Huexotzinco," the learned ethnographer adds, (p. 244), "Juan B. Pomar fija las limites del reino con toda la exaggeracion que puede infundir el orgullo de raza. Por nuestra parte, hemos leido con cuidado las relaciones que á la monarquía corresponden, y hemos estudiado en el plano los lugares à que se refieren, y ni de las unas ni de las otras llegamos á sacar jamas que los reyes de Acolhuacan mandaron sobre las tribus avecindadas in la costa del Pacífico, no ya à la misma de México, sino aun á menores latitudes." He then enters upon a discussion of the number and names of settlements which gave tribute exclusively to Tezcuco. We can only refer to it in general here, as one of the most valuable contributions to Mexican history, and based upon authorities which ought to be published as soon as possible, some of which we mention for the benefit of students:—

[114] (1). "*Memorial dirigido al rey por Don Hernando Pimentel Nezcarualcuyutl, cacique y gobernador de la provincia de Tezcuco, etc.*" This is the celebrated Report used by Torquemada and Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl, and which the Cavaliere Boturini Benaducci owned.

(2). "*Relacion de Senpahuala del corregidor Luis Obregon,*" 1580, MSS.

(3). "*Relacion de Epazoyuca por el corregidor Luis Obregon,*" 1580, MSS.

(4). "*Relacion de Tetlixtaca por el corregidor Luis Obregon,*" 1580, MSS.

(5). "*Relacion de Meztitlan por el alcalde mayor Gabriel de Chavez,*" 1580, MSS.

(6). "*Relacion de Atengo por el corregidor Juan de Padilla,*" 1579, MSS.

(7). "*Relacion de Atlatlauca por el corregidor Gaspar de Solis,*" 1580, MSS.

(8). "*Relacion de Acapixtla por el alcalde mayor Juan Gutierrez de Liebana,*" 1580, MSS.

(9). "*Relacion de Culhuacan por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego,*" 1580, MSS.

(10). "*Relacion de Iztapalapa por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego.*" 1580, MSS.

Since most of these valuable MSS. are the property of Sr. J. G. Icazbalceta, an early publication thereof may be hoped for.

Sr. Orozco y Berra now reaches the important conclusion:

(a). That Acolhuacan or Tezcuco had settlements tributary to it alone, (p. 246).

(b). That the "Empire" had tributaries of itself.

(c). That certain pueblos paid tribute both to Tezcuco and to Mexico, (p. 246), Epazoyuca, "pertenecieron tambien á Tetzcoco, y en el reinado de Itzcoatl quedaron por mitad para México y para Tetzcoco, á fin de que de allí sacaran los imperiales las navajas para sus macanas." Taken probably from Relacion 3.

The "Imperiales" were, therefore, the confederates, and the "Imperio" the confederacy. But if, within the area conquered by these confederates, each one of them received its share of tributary tribes, how could it be their task or tendency to unify or nationalize, since each of the three associates composed but a part of that power, and their association was a voluntary one?

(2). None of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond the exclusively military direction delegated to the Mexicans proper. "*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne, Par Alonso de Zurita,*" translated from the Spanish original by Mr. Ternaux Compans, and printed in 1840, by him in his "*Voyages Relations et Mémoires origina aux pour servir à l' histoire de la découverte de l' Amérique,*" (p. 11). "La province de Mexico était soumise à trois principaux chefs: celui de Mexico, celui de Tezcuco et celui de Tlacopan, que l'on nomme aujourd' hui Tacuba. Tous les chefs inférieurs relevaient de ces souverains et leur obéissaient. Les trois chefs supérieurs formaient une confédération et se partagaient les provinces dont ils s'emparaient. Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tezcuco et de Tacuba pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l' un d' eux ne se mêlait jamais du

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igines settled within the area tributary to the valley-tribes. Con- 631
sequently we need not look beyond the tribe, for any *larger group* 648

gouvernment des autres," (p. 16). "Chaque souverain confirmait l' election de ses vasseaux, car, ainsi qu' on l' a déjà dit, leur jurisdiction était indépendante pour les affaires civiles et criminelles."

Fray Toribio de Motolinia, "*Historia de los Indios de Nueva España*," in Vol. I, of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos, etc." (Epistola proemial, p. 5). "Despues el señorio de Tetzcoco fué tan grande como el de México." (Id. p. 11) "Los de Tetzcoco, que en antigüedad y señorio no son menos que los Mexicanos." (Tratado III, Cap. VII, p. 182) "Esta cindad de Tetzcoco era la segunda cosa principal de la tierra, y asimismo el señor de ella era el segundo señor de la tierra; sujetaba debajo de si quince provincias hasta la provincia de Tuzapan, que está á la costa del Mar del Norte. . . . . á la parte de Oriente tiene México Tenuchtitlan á una legua la ciudad ó pueblo de Tlacopan, adonde residia el tercero señor de la tierra, al cual estaban sujetas diez provincias: estos dos señores ya dichos se podrian bien llamar reyes, porque no les faltaba nada para lo ser. (p. 183) "Las de las provincias y principales pueblos eran como señores de ditado ó salva, y sobre todos eran los mas principales los dos, el de Tetzcoco y el de Tlacopan; y estos con todos los otros todo lo mas del tiempo residian en México, y tenian corte á Moteuczoma." We know, however, that the fact of *residence* of the head-war-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan at Mexico, is not true, though their frequent visits there on military business, and their protracted stay after the Spaniards had entered the pueblo, may explain the error. The latter passage is amended by the good father (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187), as follows: "y si de esto algun señor tenia exencion era el de Tetzcoco."

Fernando Cortés, *Carta Segunda*, (In *Vedia's* "*Historiadores primitivos, etc.*" Vol. I, p. 29). Speaking of Cacamatzin, he says: "é segun lo que despues dél supe, era él muy cercano deudo de Muteczuma, y tenia su señorio junto al del dicho Muteczuma; cuyo nombre era Haculuacan." Cortés further relates that when Cacamatzin threatened to take up arms, he requested Montezuma to direct him to come to Mexico, but the chieftain of Tezcuco refused, saying, "that if they wanted something of him, they might come over on his land, where they would find out who he was, and what kind of obedience he was held to." Montezuma even was afraid, upon this reply, to suggest open violence, dissuading Cortés from it altogether. This shows clearly that the Mexicans had no authority over the Tezcucans, and even were loth to assail them.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara. *Conquista de Méjico* (In Vedia. Tom. I, p. 346). "Habia asimesmo otros muchos señores y reyes, como los de Tezcuco y Tlacopan, que no le debian nada, sino la obediencia y homenaje." Also, on the treacherous seizure of Cacamatzin, he confirms Cortés (p. 353), "La prision de Cacama, rey de Tezcuco." (Id. p. 433), "a Chimapopoca sucedió el otra su hermano, dicho Izcona. Este Izcona señoréo á Azcapuzalco, Cuanhnau, Chalco, Coatlichan y Huexocinco, mas tuvo por accompañados en el gobierno á Nezaualcoyocin, señor de Tezcuco, y al señor de Tlacopan, y de aqui adelante mandaron y gobernaron estos tres señores cuantos reinos y pueblos obedecian y tributaban á los de Culúa; bien que el principal y el mayor dellos era el rey de Méjico, el segundo el de Tezcuco, y el menor el de Tlacopan."

Bernal Diez de Castillo. *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España*. (Vedia, Vol. II, Cap. C. p. 100.) "Como el Cacamatzin, señor de la ciudad de Tezcuco que despues de Méjico era la mayor y mas principal ciudad que hay en la Nueva España." Also on the seizure of Cacamatzin, confirmatory of Cortés and of Gomara (pp. 101 and 102).

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. *Historia natural y general de Indias*. Madrid, 1853 (Lib. XXXIII, cap. VIII, pp. 294 and 296). The entire chapter is devoted to the seizure of Cacamatzin, and is almost a verbal copy of the report made by Cortés, (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LII, p. 339). It contains a letter written to Oviedo, by the vice-roy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, under date of 6 October, 1541, in which this functionary says: "Y lo de aqui no es tan poco que no podays hacer libro dello, é no será pequeño; porque aunque Montecuma é México es lo que entre nosotros ha sonado,

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631 of social organization. The confederacy of tribes, as we have
648 already shown, carried no influence whatever on the organization.

no era menor señor el Caconci de Mechuacan, y otros que reconoscian al uno ni al otro." We quote this passage merely as a general illustration.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva-España, published by Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, in 1829 (Vol. II. lib. VIII, cap. III. p. 276), "El cuarto señor de Tezcoco se llamó Netzahoalcoiotzin, y reinó setenta y un años, y en tiempo de este se comenzaron las guerras, y tuvo el señorio de Tezcoco siendo señor del de México Itzcoatzin, y estos entrambos hicieron guerra á los de Tecpaneca, de Atzcaptzalco, y á otros pueblos y provincias, y el fué fundador del señorio de Tezcoco in Aculhoacan." (Id. Vol. III. lib XII. cap. XLI, page 59, close of chapter.)

Fray Diego Durán. Historia de las Yndias de Nueva España é Islas de Tierra Firme. Published by Sr. José Fernandez Ramirez at Mexico, in 1867, (Cap. XIV, p. 123). "El rey Itzcoatl, aunque mal dispuesto, holgó de la victoria y dió las gracias á todos los señores y principales, al qual, agravándosele la enfermedad, entendiendo de se acertarçle la muerte, mandó llamar al Señor de Tezcuco, Neçaualcoyotl, pariente cercano suyo, y aconsejóle que no tuviese guerra con los Mexicanos, sus parientes y amigos, sino que antes se hiciese con ellos y fuese en su favor siempre: y dexó ordenado que desde en adelante fuese de Tezcuco el segundo rey de la comarca y el tercero el de Tacuba, á quien llamauan el rey de Tlaluacpan. . . ." (p. 124). ". . . y solo estos tres reynos mandaron y governaron la tierra, de hoy en adelante, siendo el de México sobre todos ellos, y casi como emperador y monarca del nueuo mundo." Nearly the whole of Cap. XV is devoted to the formation of the confederacy, but cannot be inserted here. The editor, Sr. J. F. Ramirez, appears to incline to the opinion, however, that there was a confederacy on equal terms, (note 2, p. 130). The same author also
[796] states repeatedly that the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan sacrificed (slaughtered) captives at the chief teo-calli of Mexico, on very solemn occasions, together with the head-chief of Mexico, thus showing equal rights. (Cap. XXIII, p. 197 and others.) But his plainest statement is found (Cap. XLIII, p. 317), and reads as follows: "Algunos han querido decir quel reyno de Tezcuco era libre de todo reconocimiento y parias al monarca, y que en nada le era sujeto, lo qual allo al contrario en esta ystoria Mexicana; porque aunque á la verdad no tributauan á Mexico mantas ni joias ni plumas ni cosas de comida, como otras provincias tributauan, hallo empero á los Mexicanos, metidos en las tierras tezcucanas donde sembraban y cogian, y algunos dellos hechos terrazgueros de los señores de México; y allo que en ofréciéndose estas fiestas y solenidades, daban tributo desclauos para ella, de lo qual ninguno estaua esento ni reservalo. Tambien allo que ofréciéndose dar guerra á alguna ciudad y provincia, al primero que llamauan y acudian para que apercibiese sus gentes, era al rey de Tezcuco, y como abemos, notado en esta ystoria, le hacian venir á Mexico todas las veces que se ofrecia ocasion, loqual no era poca sujecion, dado que tuviese sus préeminencias y libertades de rey y señor de aquella provincia de Aculuacan; . . . ."

Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc. Crónica Mexicana. (9th Vol. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") This author agrees so closely with Durán in most instances, that we can dispense with full quotations. See Cap. XIX and XX, on the pretended conquest of Tezcuco by the Mexicans. Tezozomoc is very positive on the question of joint sacrifice (Cap. LXIX, p. 117). A singular remark is, however, found (Cap. XCVII. p. 172). After the Huexotzincas had sent delegates to Mexico to sue for
[728] peace, the Mexican council was called together: "dijo zihuacoatl resoluto: Señor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra los reyes de Acuihuacan-Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi." This important incident shows that not even the Mexicans had the right to treat alone with a power hostile to the three tribes; consequently that the other two were their *confederates*, and *not their feudal vassals*. Fray Durán confirms the incident in chapter LX, p. 473, of his work, precedingly quoted.

Joseph de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, Madrid, 1608, derives his information from the same source as the two preceding, namely: the Codex Rami

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it was only a partnership, formed for the purpose of carrying on 631
the business of warfare, and that intended not for the extension of 648

rez, now in process of publication at Mexico. Acosta mentions and describes (Lib. VII, Cap. XV, p. 490). the traditionary war between the Mexicans and Tezcucans concluding: "Con esto quedó el Rey de Mexico por supremo Rey de Tezcuco, y no quitandoles su Rey, sino haziendole del supremo Censejo suyo." (Cap. XVI, p. 490.) Both chiefs, of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, are mentioned by him as "electors" of the Mexican head-chiefs.

Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo and President of the Royal Audiencia at Mexico. "*Lettre . . . à sa majesté Charles V*," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Premier Recueil de Piéces relatives à la Nouvelle-Espagne," and bearing date 3 Nov., 1532 (p. 254). "Les souverains de Tezcoco, de Tacuba, qui étaient trés puissants dans cette contrée, agissaient de méme que Mutizuma. Ils partageaient entre eux et ce souverain le fruit de leurs conquêtes; cependant les souverains de Mexico étaient les plus puissants, et ils eurent toujours une plus grande différence." The same words about are repeated in the "*Second Recueil*," printed 1840, (the first "Recueil" appeared in 1838), on p. 222. The Report is therein stated to be by the President *and* the Audiencia.

"*Lettre des Chapelains Frére Toribio et Frére Diego D'Olarte à Don Luis de Velasco* etc.," date: St. François de Cholula, 27 Aõut, 1554. (Ternaux, "Recueil," 1, p. 403), "Toutes les autres obéissaient à Montezuma, au souverain de Tezcuco, et à celui de Tlacopa. Ces trois princes étaient étroitement confédérés; ils partageaient entre eux tous les pays qu'ils subjuguaient. Montezuma éxerçait la toute-puissance dans les affaires relatives à la guerre et au gouvernment de la confédération."

Fray Géronimo de Mendieta. "*Historia ecclesiastica Indiana*," published by Icazbalceta in 1870. After having mentioned (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129) that the chiefs of Mexico and Tezcuco sent challenges to foreign tribes to recognize "the chief of Mexico" as their superior, and to give him tribute, he says (Cap. XXVIII, p. 134), "Es de saber que los señores de México, Tezcuco y Tacuba, como reyes y señores supremos de esta tierra. . . . ." (Cap. XXXVII, p. 156.) "Los señores de las provincias ó pueblos que inmediatamente eran subjetos à Mexico, iban luego alli à ser confirmados en sus señorias, despues que los principales de sus provincias los habian elegido, y con algunos. . . . . En los pueblos y provincias que inmediatamente eran subjetos à Tezcuco y à Tacuba tenian recurso por la confirmacion à sus señores; *que en esto y otras cos si estos dos señores no reconocian superior*." Italics are my own.

Antonio de Herrera. "*Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra-Firme del mar Oceano*." 1726, Madrid. (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XII, p. 190). He almost copies Gomara, and in regard to the seizure of Cacamatzin he not only confirms Cortés, Gomara, and Bernal Diez, but is much more detailed and positive yet. (Dec. II, lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 217, 218.) Finally he asserts: (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV. p. 133), "Con Mexico estaban confederados los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que aora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que ganaban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra, i tenian algunos Pueblos comunes en sucesion, asi de los Señorios, como de los Maiorazgos, i haciendas."

We now turn to an author who plainly takes an opposite view of the question, claiming, in place of a *Mexican* "Empire," the supremacy for the *Tezcucans*, or an ancient "Empire" of the Chichimecas. The latter claim has already been discussed in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 394, note 10). This assumption,—which strongly combats the view that there was anything at all like an Empire, while it implies the existence of a mere confederacy,—is set forth by the following well known Tezcucan native author.

Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl. "*Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens Rois de Tezcuco*." This is the french translation of the original "Historia de los Chichimecos, etc., etc.," contained in Lord Kingsborough's 9th volume. Since abstracts might prove too lengthy, I merely refer to (Cap. XXXII), on the formation of the confederacy as containing some very plain and remarkable passages (pp. 218, 219, and 240), among

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631 territorial ownership, but only for an increase of the means of sub-
648 sistence.[6]

which is one: "ces trois dynasties gouvernaient la Nouvelle-Espagne jusqu'à l'arrivée des chrétiens. Cependant, quoiqu'elles fussent égales en rang, en puissance et en revenu, il y avait de certains tributs dont le roi de Tlacopan ne recevait qu'un cinquième, tandis que ceux de Mexico et de Tezcuco en recevaient chacun deux." See also (Cap. XXXIV, cap. XXXVI, pp. 245 and 246; cap. XXXVIII, pp. 269 and 273; 2d vol., Cap. LXXI, pp. 109 and 110), and others. Nevertheless, Ixtlilxochitl reproaches bitterly Montezuma with having usurped the leading power which belonged to the Texcucans (according to him), and having taken the direction of the confederacy into his hands. (Cap. LXXV, p. 128, to XXVI, p. 132, etc.). These charges are violently repeated in his other and more extensive work: "*Relaciones Historicas.*" Also in Vol. IX of Lord Kinsborough. As a specimen, I refer to the "Venida de los Españoles" translated also by Mr. Ternaux under the title of "*Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique.*" In regard to the war between Tezcuco and Mexico, in which he, of course, attributes the fullest victory to the former see also "*Undécima Relacion*" (Kingsborough, IX, pp. 407 and 408). Ixtlilxochitl is seconded and followed by his illustrious contemporary. *Fray Juan de Torquemada.* "*Los veinteiun Libros Rituales i monarchia Indiana*, etc., etc." Edition of 1723. This distinguished ecclesiastic is such a consistent advocate of feudalism, that he even assigns the division of Tenochtitlan into four quarters to an "edict" of the "Chichimecan Emperor" Techotlalatzin (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 88 and 89), or to an order of Mexican "Lords" (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295). Still he is very plain about Tezcuco being equal and not subject to Mexico. Compare for instance (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 304), "nunca perdió su antigua estimacion, y siempre tuvo Rei, y Señor legitimo, que la regia, y governaba, y era igual con el de Mexico," (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 144), about the confederacy; (Cap. XI, p. 146). About the pretended war between the two tribes (Cap. XLII, p. 149. "Y no solo no es verdad; pero es directamente contra ella." On the supposed intrigues of Montezuma against the Texcucans (Lib. II, caps. LXXXIII, LXXXIV, etc., etc.), until the first passage of Cap. LXXXVII, (p. 227), "muerto el Rei Neçahualpilli de Tetzcuco, y entrando en su lugar su Hijo Cacama . . . . corrió la confederacion de los Reies, como hasta entonces lo avian acostumbrado . . . ." also (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 353), " . . . . no deja de ser su igual, y semejante el de Tetzcuco . . . . ." (Cap. XXVII, p. 358; cap. XXVIII, p. 361.) Copy of Mendieta. About warfare of the Confederates (Lib. XII, cap. VI, p. 382; Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 533; Cap. II, p. 537). Division of Spoils and of Tributes Idem. (cap. VIII, pp. 546, 547 and 548), "porque cierto es asi, que el Rei de Mexico no era maior en Autoridad, que el de Tetzcuco . . . . ." From these, but especially from Torquemada's history of the conquest, which occupies the entire fourth Book (Vol. I), enough can be gathered to show that this cumbrous but important authority admits no Mexican Empire, but only a confederacy of Mexicans, Texcucans, and Tlacopans.

Fray Agustin de Vetancurt, "*Teatro Mexicano*," (Edition of 1870), admits the supremacy of the Mexicans (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XIV, p. 291), "y remataron la fiesta que dando Izcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que nezahualcoyotl, y este por rey de los acolhuas, y al de Tacuba le hicieron rey de la parte de mazahuacan, etc. . . . . ." But the confederacy "liga," of the three chiefs is acknowledged everywhere. (Also Trat. II°, cap. III, p. 382), "cuando los Mexicanos, los tezcocanos ó de Tlacopan (que eran los reyes que estaban confederados para las guerras, etc. . . . ."

To this lengthy collection of quotations many others might be added, from the same period as well as of a later date. They appear to justify the proposition advanced, namely: none of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond that of *exclusively military* leadership, which had been awarded to the Mexicans proper.

The conquerors never interfered with the government, organization, and mode of life of tribes whom they had overpowered. No attempt, either direct or implied, was made to assimilate or incorporate them.

My friend *Dr. G. Brühl*, author of the highly interesting and conscientious work

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Our investigations are therefore confined to the limits of the single tribe, and we have selected for that purpose the Mexicans |28

"*Die Culturvoelker des alten Amerika*" (Cincinnati, 1876, '77, '78), has, in regard to the statements made in "*Art of War*" (p. 100, note 17; p. 133, note 152), and in "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 412 and 413, also note 56; pp. 417 and 418, also note 69), called my attention to a passage from *Sahagun*, "*Historia general*" (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313), "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados, para que cada un año los diesen al señor que les habia conquistado, y el tributo era de lo que en ella se criaba y se hacia, y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." The author himself, however, gives the explanation of what he intends to designate by such "governors and officials who should preside in said province." In his 12th Book, (Cap. II, p. 5, Vol. III), he says: "La primera vez que parecieron navios en la costa de esta Nueva-España, los capitanes de Moctheuzoma que se llamaban *Calpixques* que estaban cerca de la costa luego fueron á ver que era aquello que vino, que nunca habian visto navios, uno de los cuales fue el calpixque de Cuextecati que se llamaba Pinotl: llevaba consigo otros calpixques uno que se llamaba Yaotzin, que residia en el pueblo de Mictlanquauhtla, y otro que se llamaba Teozinzocati, que residia en el pueblo de Teociniocan, y otro que se llamaba Cuitlalpitoc, este no era calpixque sino criado de uno de estos calpixques, y principalejo que se llamaba Tentlil." In this Sahagun about agrees with *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*, Cap. CVI, CVII, CVIII, CIX), inasmuch as the latter also states the officers to have been calpixques, th. is, "Stewards" or *gatherers of tribute*. Compare *Alonzo de Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," (Parte IIa, p. 12.) 631 648

The names of these Indians who received Cortés are found nearly alike in all the authors, but we are struck by the fact that many of them call the natives "governors" of Montezuma. I quote *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 32 and 33, Vedia, Vol. II) *Gomara* (pp. 312, 313, 314, etc., Vedia I). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. LXXIX, p. 100). "*Cruautés horribles*," (p. 3.) *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 116; Cap. V, p. 117). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 367; Cap. XVII, p. 369, etc.). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. IV, p. 43). *Fray Joseph Joaquin Granados y Galvez*, ("*Turdes Americanas*" Mexico, 1778, 9th evening, p. 234). *Abbate F. X. Clavigero* ("*Geschichte von Mexico*," Leipzig, 1790, a german translation of the Italian original which appeared at Cesena in 1780. Vol. II, Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 16). These *governors* therefore were but "calpixques," in other words *collectors of tribute*. This is already stated by *Oviedo y Valdés* (Vol. III, Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 259), speaking of Cempoal, "porque los indios è ministros, que alli estaban para mandarlos, eran oficiales è mayordomos de la cibdad de México." The "*Real Ejecutoria de S. M., Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga pertenecienté á os Cuciques de Axapuzco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba*," (Col. de Doc's, Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 5), calls all the Indians in question "enviados por el gran Montezuma."

This explains the evident contradictions of Sahagun.

It is a singular fact, but one amply proven by the records of the conquest, that nowhere did the Spaniards, on their whole march from the coast to Mexico, meet with Mexican *administrators* or *rulers* of subjected tribes. Quotations are useless, we only refer to the remarkable description furnished by Bernal Diez of the events at Quiahuiztlan (Vedia II, Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41), which culminated in the violence done to the "recaudadores de Montezuma." This scene, which is highly characteristic, has been beautifully "remodeled," through a few omissions, by our own great *W. H. Prescott* ("*History of the conquest of Mexico*," 1869, Book II, chap. VII, p. 349). There is, finally, abundant proof of the fact that neither the Mexicans, nor any of their confederate-, ever attempted to change or subvert the organization and mode of government of any of the tribes whom they overthrew. I refer to *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 502). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). *Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*, (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 274). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista* 631 636 648

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|28| proper, who dwelt, as elsewhere established by us, on the partly artificial islands in the lagune of the Mexican valley.[7] Besides the prominence acquired by them in the annals of history, it may safely be assumed that, in a general manner, their Institutions are typical of those of other sedentary tribes.[8]

|21| *Tribal* society, based according to Lewis H. Morgan upon KIN, and not *political* society which rests, according to the same author, upon TERRITORY and PROPERTY, must therefore be looked for among the ancient Mexicans. It remains for us to establish its degree of development, its details, and the manner of its working.

In order to comprehend the true nature of these questions, we should secure as much information as possible of the *past* of the tribe under consideration. Institutions are never wilfully or accidentally created, but evolved; in other words, they are the result of growth in knowledge and experience.[9] The great difference existing between tribal society and political is explained as a dif-

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de México," Col. de Doc., Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 561, and especially p. 592), "México tenia en su tiempo en el hacer guerra esta órden; que yendo á la guerra, al que se daba de paz no tenia sobre él tributo cierto, sino que tantas veces en el año lo llevaban presente á su discrecion del que lo llevaba; pero si era poco mostrábales mal rostro, y si mucho agradeciaselo. Y en estos no ponia mayordomo ni recaudador ni cosa; el señor se era señor. Los que tomaba de guerra decian *tequitin tlacotl*, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los Señores mandaban su gente, eran debajo de la mano destos de México . . . . ." *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185), *Granados y Galvez*. (5th night, p. 168), a singular picture of purest feudality, for which Gomara may be responsible in part. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Letter of 4th Nov.*, 1532, 1st; "*Recueil*," (pp. 245, 246, and 247). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 16), to be compared with Mendieta and Torquemada.

Consequently there was no tendency towards unification or nationalization in all the successful and extensive raids which the Nahuatlaca of the valley of Mexico carried on for a full century. No organic body, larger than the tribe, resulted from these sanguinary forays; because the confederacy itself was not the end, but the beginning of these undertakings. This justifies the view which I shall hereafter advocate in regard to the nature of that confederacy namely: as a mere partnership to carry on the business of warfare the latter in turn being part of the mode of subsistence.

[7] "Based upon territory and property" according to L. H. Morgan, in contra-distinction to tribal society, based upon "Kin." ("*Ancient Society*," chapter II, page 62).

[8] "*Art of War*," p. 56.

[9] "*Art of War*," p. 150. "*Tenure of Lands*," pp. 421, 422.

[8] "*Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 245). "Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit de Tezcuco doit s'entendre aussi des deux autres, ..." *Gomara* (p. 440, Vedia, I). "To speak of the Mexicans, signifies as much as speaking of all New Spain." The title of the section is: "Costumbres de los hombres," and the original text reads: "Hablando de méjicanos, es hablar en general de toda la Nueva-España." Although *Zurita* (p. 5) insists upon the variety of customs among the aborigines,—changing from settlement to settlement, from tribe to tribe,—his own report furnishes the proof of the contrary, and it is evident from the text that he alludes principally to the diversity in languages and dialects.

[9] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Chap. I, p. 6).

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while their last vestiges were perpetuated until after 1690, when 174
Fray Augustin de Vetancurt mentions four chief quarters with 618
their original Indian names, comprising and subdivided into *twenty* "barrios." Now the Spanish word "Barrio" is equivalent to the Mexican term "calpulli." Both indicate the kin, localized and settled with the view to permanence.[55]

What is often conceived as the establishment of a vast feudal 174
monarchy at the time just treated of, resolves itself therefore into two very plain features. One of these consists in the establishment of the confederacy, the other is but the appearance in broad daylight of the peculiar organization of aboriginal society among the Mexicans. Thus we have no sudden change of base, no revolution in the institutions of the tribe; the only progress achieved consisted in the extension of inter-tribal relations and in their assuming the shape of a military partnership. 174

The year 1473 witnessed another event which seemed to affect 648

All these titles were permanent, though not hereditary, as it is plainly seen in the 565
case of the four leaders of the four "phratries" about which *Sahagun* says: (Lib. 618
VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318) "The chief elected, forthwith they elected others four which were like senators that always had to be by his side . . . . (these four had different names in different places) . . . . " *Durds* (Cap. XI. p. 103). "To these four lords and titularies, after they were elected princes, they made them of the royal council, like presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion nothing should be done. When the king died, his successor had to be taken from those, neither could any others but brothers or sons of kings be clothed with these dignities. Thus if one of these was elected, they put another in his place. We must know that they never put a son of him who had been elected ("King") or of the deceased, since, as it has been said, the sons never succeeded (in office) by inheritance, to the titles or lordships, but through election. Therefore, whether son, brother, or cousin, if elected by the king and those of his council, to that dignity, it was given to him,—it being sufficient his being of that lineage and near relative, and so the sons and brothers went on inheriting gradually, little by little . . . . and the title and lordship never went outside of that descendancy ("generation" also kin), being filled by election, little by little."

The other titles are frequently met with up to the time of the conquest, as a few in- [648]
stances will abundantly prove. Assuming, with the majority of authors, the date of 1431, for that of the formation of the confederacy, we meet, during the unlucky foray of the confederates against Michhuacan, about fifty years later, with the following war-chiefs of the Mexicans. Tezcacoatl, Huitznahuacatl, and Quetzaltocatl (*Tezozomoc*, Cap. LII, pp. 84 and 85), also Coatecatl (Cuauhtecatl). At the time of Cortés' first arrival off the coast (1518) we meet in the council of Mexico with Huitznahuacatl, Huey-camecatl (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. XIII, p. 379). Finally when, after the resistance of the Mexicans had ceased, Cortés assembled all the chiefs in his presence, we again meet with Huitznahuatl, Mexicatlecuhtli, Teuctlamacazqui (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571). Evidence of this kind could be produced in profusion, but it would only increase unnecessarily the size of this annotation. Compare the titles of the Iroquois sachemships in *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. V, pp. 130 and 131).

[55] Compare note 53. Also *Molina* (Parte I, p. 13), and others.

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174 the Mexican tribe in a more direct manner. It was the overthrow
648 and capture, after a short but bloody struggle, of the pueblo of Tlatilulco.[56] Owing to the close connection of the latter with the Mexicans both had remained on a non-hostile footing; for the suspicious watchfulness with which each viewed the other did not comport with any more intimate relations, those of trade and exchange excepted. When the confederacy came into existence, Tlatilulco was counted in as a part of Mexico, since its people acknowledged themselves to be Mexicans; but there is no evidence authorizing the conclusion that the Tlatilulca played any other role, beyond that of auxiliaries to their kindred of Tenuchtitlan.[57] The rash attempt of the former at the organization of a conspiracy to become "Mexico alone" terminated fatally; their place was taken and barbarously sacked, their leaders were killed in the fray or sacrificed afterwards, and the Mexicans, exasperated at the conduct of their treacherous kinsmen treated them in an unusually severe manner. We have seen already that, in any conquest, the conquered tribe, if not exterminated, was only subjected to more or less heavy tribute. But the Tlatilulca were dealt with far worse:
[562] they were degraded to the rank of "*women*," their public market
174 was ordered closed, their council-house left to decay and their
648 young men, expressly debarred from the privilege of carrying
727 arms in aid of the Mexicans, were required to become the carriers of supplies to their captors. Such a punishment was unknown in the annals of Indian conquest, and appears even to militate against our views of aboriginal society in Mexico; still it was in perfect harmony with the institutions of the latter. The Tlatilulca were, as we should never forget, not only a tribe

[56] The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Plate XIV, also explanation Vol. VI, p. 138), concurs in this date, or the year seven "calli" which is indeed 1473.

[57] This acknowledgment—"to be Mexicans"—on the part of the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, was in the nature of a *claim*, and with a spirit of jealousy and envy. Although *Durán* says (Cap. XXXII, p. 257), "aniendo estado hasta entonces sujetos á la corona real de Méjico," this affirmation is utterly disproven, not only by all the other sources, but by his own statements (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 46). The confused and contradictory tales about the state of war preceding the formation of the confederacy still make the Tlatilulca always appear as assisting their neighbors of Tenuchtitlan, more or less. Sometimes they were neutral only, and at times they may have felt inclined to foster attempts at destruction of their rivals by outsiders, but they still were afraid of the consequences of it for their own independence. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 46). The singular statement that the Tlatilulca even attempted, though fruitlessly, to withdraw the Tezcucans and Tlacopans from Tenuchtitlan, inducing them to become their associates in the work of its overthrew, is significant. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LVIII, p. 176) "Quisose aliar con los de Tlacupa, y Tetzcuco, los quales no le acudieron."

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connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

[58] The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("*Idea*" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Européo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos i Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos tenvieron grandes diferencias: é Montecuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeodar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, desterrólos de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los quel quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de alli, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mezquique, é que le sirviessen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Montecuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatiluco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 335 and 336).

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

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This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

seis parcialidades. que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *kins*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X. p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 551, 552), Yacocalco (p. 552), Tlacuchcalco (p. 552), Amazac, Coyonacazco (p. 552). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 552), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI. p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX. pp. 498, 499). *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 131). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 153).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 550) and *Vetancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 193) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron à la tierra no les dejaron tornar à libertad ninguna, ni à tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (9th Edition, 1800, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

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sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man 441
who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men 439
gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the 441
market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products 648
for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of 441
Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The recep- 527
tion was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

venden comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 56, etc.), 441
"oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 69). In general, nearly 439
all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of 437
their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 283 and 384, cap. XII).

[76] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tianamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 127, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[77] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicaquitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "naoaloztomeca," literally "peddlars of the Nahuátl." *Molina* (II, p. 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

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and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.[78]

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[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Méxique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 512, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nuevo-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 56), that the Tlatilnica were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II). and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlailotlac, ó acxôtecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 585), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que había de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 222, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: "y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatória, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por sí; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 339–342), how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 56. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

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642 We have already stated that the tribe was a voluntary association of kins for mutual protection. Though this was undoubtedly the original purpose, it becomes evident that, in course of time and as a result of success in warfare, the tribe, as a military organization, grew into a cluster for procuring and increasing subsistence.[288] This was achieved by gathering booty in successful raids, and by imposing tribute upon tribes whose military power had been overcome in such dashes and forays.

642 Previous to the formation of the confederacy, but few tribes had 648 been conquered by the Mexicans.[289] In fact, it was the nearly equally balanced power of the Pueblos occupying the lake basin, that made the formation of that confederacy possible. Such a course was necessary to prevent them from destroying each other for the benefit of expectant neighbors.[290] But when once this confederacy was formed, then their joint efforts were directed to conquest, and to the acquisition of the means of subsistence through tribute. As the imposition of tribute was a military measure, so, also, its collection was in the hands of the *military* branch of the tribal government. This is evident from the fact that the kins had delegated to the tribe all authority over outside [643] matters.[291] Hence the "chief of men" became the official head of tribute-gatherers.[292]

[288] "*Art of War*" (pp. 96, 97 and 98, also notes).

[289] The number and names of these tribes are yet undefined. The specifically *Mexican* sources insisting upon a *conquest* of Tezcuco (by force of arms) by the Mexicans, it follows that, according to the *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 51 to 61), the tribes subjected before that supposed event, were the Tecpaneca, the Xochimilca, and those of Cuitlahuac, or the settlements to the west and southwest. *Durán* (Cap. IX to XV) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. VIII to XX) concur; so does, of course, *Acosta* (Lib. VII. cap. XII to XV). The *Codex Mendoza* (plates V and VI) adds to the above the pueblos of Chalco, Acolhuacan and of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca). If we compare it with the *Tezcucan* tradition, as reported by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXI, p. 216) we notice that it is claimed for that tribe, that it assisted the Mexicans in the conquest of Xochimilco and Cuitlahuac, although the formal confederation took place (according to the same authority, Cap. XXXII) some years later. According to *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLII, pp. 145, etc.), *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XIV, p. 201), the Xochimilcas were conquered by the confederates. According to *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," Lib. III. cap. I, p. 150), the Tezcucans subjected Xochimilco. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. V, p. 225) agrees with the Mexican version.

[290] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 61).

[291] This resulted from the constitution of the tribe, as an association of kins for mutual protection and sustenance.

[651] [292] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X. p. 18): "y aunque envian á dario á Tlaxcalli era para todos los Mexicanos en comun." The fact that the gathering of tribute was directly controlled by the "chief of men" is so generally admitted that it hardly needs any further proof. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Lettre*," etc., p. 248, 1er *Recueil*) ascribes the gathering of tribute to an officer whom he calls "tecuxcalcatectli." This should be, properly,

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Whenever any tribe, with or without a struggle, yielded to the warlike power of the Mexicans and their associates, the amount and kind of articles to be delivered, as tribute, at fixed periods, was at once determined between "the parties.[293] For the faithful performance of that contract, the vanquished stood in daily peril of their lives;[294] and in order to watch them constantly, and to regulate the delivery and transmission of the tribute, special officers were maintained among the conquered pueblos by their conquerors. These officers were called "gatherers of the crops," calpixqui. Each one of the three confederates sent its own "calpixqui" among the tribes, which had become its exclusive prey, and where, as sometimes occurred, one pueblo paid tribute to all three confederates, it had to submit to the residence in its midst, of as many representative gatherers of duties.[295]

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"tlacochcalcatl-tecuhtli." But we know that the duties of the latter officer were quite different. Still, the collection of tribute being a branch of military life, the mistake is easily accounted for. The military chronicles of the Mexican tribe teem with instances where the stewards are described as under direct orders of the "chief of men," as in *Durán* (pp. 66, 69, 70). It may also be inferred from the exaggerated statements about the tribute system among the Tezcucans, contained in *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV, pp. 229-241).

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[293] I refer to the following passages of *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. IX, p. 16, Capture of Ascapotzalco; Cap. XV, p 24, Cuyuacan; XVII, p. 28, Xochimilco; XVIII, p. 29, Cuitlahuac; XXVI, p. 40, Chalco; XXVII, p. 41, Tepeacac and Tecamachalco; XXIX, pp. 44 and 45, Talcocac and Tucpan; XXXII, p. 58, Ahuilizapan, and the Totonaca; XXXVIII, p. 58, Coayxtlahuacan; XXXVIII, p. 61, Huaxaca; Cap. LXI, p. 108, Chiapan and Xilotepec; Cap. LXV, p. 110, Cuextlan; Cap. LXXII, p. 122; Teloloapan; LXXVI, p. 130, Tecuantepec and others; LXXIX, p. 136, Xoconuchco; LXXXIV, p. 148, Nopallan; LXXXVIII, Xaltepec; XCI, p. 150, Quetzaltepec). *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 77; X, p. 94; XII, p. 112; XVII, p. 151; XVIII, p. 159; XIX, p. 171; XXI, p. 189; XXII, p. 194; XXIV, p. 205; XXXIV, p. 269; XLI, p. 321; XLVI, p. 373, etc.). These passages fully illustrate the manner in which the tribute was imposed on the vanquished, at the close of a successful foray. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 271 to 273). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 318): "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados. . . ."

[294] *Durán* (Cap. LIII, p. 423), Also the complaints of the Indians of Campohual and Quishuiztlan (Totonacoanas) (on the coast), to Cortés, about the dread in which they continually stood of being overrun again by the Mexicans and their confederates. (*Cortés* "*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I), *Bernal Díaz* (Cap. XLV, p. 40; XLVI, p. 41, Vedia II), "*Real Ejécuteria, etc.*" (Col. de Doc's II, p. 12).

[295] This results from the "articles of agreement" of the confederacy. See besides: *Durán* (p. 67). *Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotl* ("*Memorial dirigido al rey, etc.*" "*Géografía de las Lenguas*," *Orozco y Berra* pp. 244 and 245) also states: "The pueblos whose tributes were distributed among Mexico and Tezcuco and Tacuba were the following: Coayxtlavacan, Cuauhtuchco, Cotlaxtlan, Aviçapan, Tepeaca." Against this there stands the version of *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XLI, p. 59): "Luego allí habló otro principal que se llamaba Mixcoatlayiolicazaoluiotectzin, dile al señor capitan, que cuando vivia Moctheczuzoma el estilo que se tenia en conquistar, era esto, que iban los Mexicanos, y los Tezcucanos, y los de Tlacupan, y los de las Chinampas, todos

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648 Thus the Mexicans had a number of such officers scattered
651 among tributary settlements. The "chief of men" controlled their actions, but his power did not extend over the "calpixca" of the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan. He could not even appoint the stewards sent to dwell among the tributary foreigners,[296] this power being vested in the council alone.[297] Such an office was by no means a post of honor and enjoyment. On the contrary, there was no more responsible or dangerous duty within or without the tribe. The "calpixqui" while he had not the slightest authority to meddle with the affairs of the tribe where he lived,[298] was expected to watch closely the dispositions and incli-

juntos iban sobre el pueblo ó provincia que querian conquistar, y despues que lo habian conquistado, luego se volvian á sus casas, y á sus pueblos, y despues venian los señores de los pueblos que habian sido conquistados, y traian su tributo de oro y de piedras preciosas, y de plumages ricos, y todo lo daban à Mocthecuzoma, y asi todo el oro venia à su poder." This plain and very natural statement, from a Tlatilulco chief who afterwards became "gobernador" of Tlatilulco (*Sahagun*, Lib. VIII, cap. II, p. 274), has been twisted by *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 573), so as to say among other things: "and they had the tributes gathered at Mexico, and here it was distributed among the three Lords according to the directions given by him of Mexico." *Torquemada* has, in this instance, evidently changed the text of his predecessor. There is also an undeniable confusion here between booty and tribute. The former had to be divided among the conquerors while they were yet together; the latter occurred regularly afterwards, and hence did not need to go through the hands of Mexicans again. The story of Torquemada is corroborated by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIX, p. 282), who clearly says that "Fasting Wolf" put stewards only when the tribute belonged to his tribe, but that the whole tribute was brought to Mexico and there "the agents of the three chiefs divided it among themselves. Finally, we have the obscure statements of *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (pp. 244, 247, in 1er Recueil of Mr. Ternaux).

[296] The "Calpixcayotl" was a permanent office, not a temporary duty or mission; consequently its incumbents could not be appointed by a single war-chief. There is evidence to that effect. According to *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, p. 164), after those of Tepencac had been conquered, "Cihuacohuatl" placed a steward in their midst: "Mirá que en ello no aya falta ni quiebra; y para questo mejor se cumpla, os quiero poner un
[643] gobernador de los señores Mexicanos, al qual aneis de obedecer y tener en lugar de la real persona, el qual se llama Coacuech, y con esto os podeis ir en norabuena à vuestras tierras y ciudades porque al rey no le podeis hablar." (Cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). The steward for Cuetlaxtlan was chosen by the "Snake-woman;" or at least his choice was proclaimed by that officer. (Cap. XXIII, p. 199): "Acabado el sacrificio y despedidos los guéspedes, Tlacaelel, con consejo del rey, enuió un virey á Coaixtlavac para que tuviese cargo de aquella provincia y de los tributos reales, el qual se llamaua Cuanxochitl. . . . ."

[297] This results from the fact that the "Cihuacohuatl" announced the newly chosen "Calpixqui." In this case he plainly acted as *foreman of the council*, proclaiming their choice.

[298] I have already, in note 4, disposed of the statements of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." In further explanation thereof, I beg to call attention to some statements of the interpreters of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XX and XXI): "Los pueblos figurados en los dos planos siguientes, resumidos aqui, son diez y ocho pueblos, segun que están entitulados. Por

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nations of those by whom he was surrounded and to report forthwith any suspicious movements or utterances that came to his notice. Thus he appeared, in the eyes of the people among whom he resided, as a spy, whose reports might, at any time, bring down upon them the wrath of their conquerors. Again, it was his duty to control the bringing in of the articles promised as tribute, at stated times. Consequently he was the hateful tax-gatherer, the living monument of their defeat with all its unfortu-

los Señores de Mexico tenian puesto un gobernador llamado Petlacalcatl, aunque en cada un pueblo tenian puesto un Calpixque, que es como Mayordomo, que tenian à cargo de hacer recojer las rentas y tributos que los dichos Señores tributaban al Señorio de México y todos los dichos mayordomos acudian al dicho Petlacalcatl, como su governador;" (plates XXII and XXIII): " . . . . tenian puestos Calpixques, en cada uno de ellos, y en lo mas principal dominaba sobre todos ellos un governador, para que los mantubiese en paz y justicia, y les hiciese cumplir sus tributos y porque no se rebelasen;" (plates XXIV and XXV): "Y á que fuesen bien regidos y governados, los Señores de Mexico en cada uno de ellos tenian puestos Calpixques, y sobre todos les Calpixques un governador, persona principal de México, y ansi mismo los Calpixques eran Mexicanos, lo qual se hacia é probeya por los dichos Señores y á seguridad, para que no les rebelasen, y á que les administrasen justicia y oyesen en policia." It follows from the above that the "Governors" were placed, not so much over the tribes, as over the "calpixca" themselves, and indeed the "Petlacalcatl," "man of the house of chests," was the head-steward, to whom all the other stewards had to direct their consignments of tributs. Consequently, it is not to be understood as "governor of a province," but only "governor of the stewards," which is totally different.

Besides, there is positive evidence to the effect, that the Mexicans and their associates never interfered with the autonomy of tributary tribes. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relación*," etc., p. 582): "Los que tomaba de guerra decian tequitin tlacotle, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los señores mandaban su gente, era debajo de la mano destos de México. . . . *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 68): "Les chefs, restant seigneurs comme avant la guerre, conservaient la jurisdiction civile et criminelle dans toute l'étendue de leurs domaines."

When the tribes of the gulf coast (the Totonacas, etc.) arose against the Mexicans, murdering the stewards who had been placed among them, they were speedily overcome again, and when they attributed their revolt to the intrigues of their head-chiefs, asking the Mexicans to punish them for it, the Mexicans replied, according to *Durán* (Cap. XXIV, p. 294): "nosotros no traemos autoridad para matar á nadie sino es en guerra: vuestros señores no han parecido en esta guerra ni los emos visto, pero no por eso se escaparán, pues vuestras razones y deseo y lo que pedis, se dirá al rey nuestro señor Montezuma, y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado, y luego sin mas dilacion los traed aqui á todos ante nosotros y á muy buen recaudo." Afterwards: "enviaron á Cuaunochtli y á Tilancalqui, que eran de los mayores oydores del consejo supremo, para que executasen aquella justicia." The two chiefs were cruelly butchered (p. 296). This story is also related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV, pp. 55 and 56), and it is evidently the instance referred to and illustrated by the *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXVII). The foregoing tells us that even in a case of dangerous treachery and rebellion such as the above, the Mexicans did not claim the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the conquered tribe, of their own accord, but that it required the positive request of that tribe to cause them to act in the premises. Furthermore, the position of the "chief of men" as military executor is clearly defined: "y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado." A very important statement!

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648 nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience
651 to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

648 The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered
651 their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in
202 annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-
[727] Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[299] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII. inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 535, 6 and 77), *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XV). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 167 and 168) confining himself to the Tezcucans and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Zurita* (pp. 246, 247 and 248), *Ramírez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 281). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 20 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans. pp. 333 and 334): on *Malinalcinco*, *Zurita* (pp. 394-397), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramírez*" (pp. 62 and 63), and especially from the traditions on the forays and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 58, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.), *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues miré que lo sacais de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que los piacia de lo llevar allá y serullos, ..." (Cap. XXII. p. 201): "y que se obligaseu á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 208, Cap. XXV, p. 222, etc., etc., etc.)

567 [302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 212 and 213). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of medicine subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "outcasts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 69, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traianlos atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuezos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonaca's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I).

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assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied 648
the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication 651
might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, 202
it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all 487
through the land roads should be opened which would be prac- 202
ticable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly 491
increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely 651
escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by 489
the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[303] "*Second Recueil de Pièces sur le Mexique*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 328) figures a bridge at Huejutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Metlaltoyuca shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 461): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere *runners*. ("Correos"—"Tciuhca titlantli" *Molina* I, p. 30, from "Iciuhca"—quick and "titlantli"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 32 and 113). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 535 and 536), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 65).

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households,[314] still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the 647
hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and 651
thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.[315]
Over these stores the "Petlacalcatl" presided. This officer was,
in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was account- [212]
able in the first place to the "Cihuacohuatl," who kept a register
or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment.
These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise
to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of [217]
Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[316]

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,— not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,— and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society — the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is 648
superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

[314] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 419 and 426).

[315] See the concurrent reports about the great drouth, while "Wrathy chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Montezuma Ilhuicamina") was "chief of men."

[316] This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.

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648 to cast the heterogeneous elements into one uniform mould, because there was no idea of any form of society other than that based upon kin, and of this, the tribe, characterized by independent territory, a dialect of its own and a common name and worship, formed the highest governmental expression.

000 We have thus, involuntarily almost, retraced our steps to the point of departure and justified, as we believe, our original propositions. We have tried to show that there was, in aboriginal Mexico, neither state, nor nation, nor political society of any kind. We have found a population separated into tribes representing dialectical variations of speech, each tribe autonomous in matters of government, and occasionally forming confederacies for purposes of self-defence and conquest. Out of that confederacy, brought so prominently forward by the events of the Spanish conquest, we have selected on account of its military pre-eminence, one tribe,—the ancient Mexicans—and we have shown that it was an organic body composed of twenty autonomous kins for purposes of mutual protection and subsistence. A social organization resting upon such a foundation must, of necessity, have been a democratic body. Indeed, we have found that each kin was governed by strictly elective officers, subject to removal at the pleasure of their constituents; that the twenty kins, for their mutual benefit, had delegated their powers to transact business with outsiders to a council of the tribe, in which every kin was represented, by one member and consequently, had the same voice and vote as either one of the others. The execution of the decrees of this council was left to elective officers, whose power was limited to military command, and whom the tribe might depose at pleasure. With the exception of some very inferior positions, these officers had not the power of appointing others to office, not even their assistants of high rank. The dignity of chief, so commonly transformed into hereditary nobility, has been found to have been, merely, a reward of merit and carried with it no other prerogatives than personal consideration and occasional indulgence in finery. Taking all this together, and adding to it the results of our investigations into the military organization of the ancient Mexicans, as well as of their communal mode of holding and enjoying the soil, we feel authorized to conclude *that the social organization and mode of government of the ancient Mexicans was a military democracy, originally based upon communism in living.*

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311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

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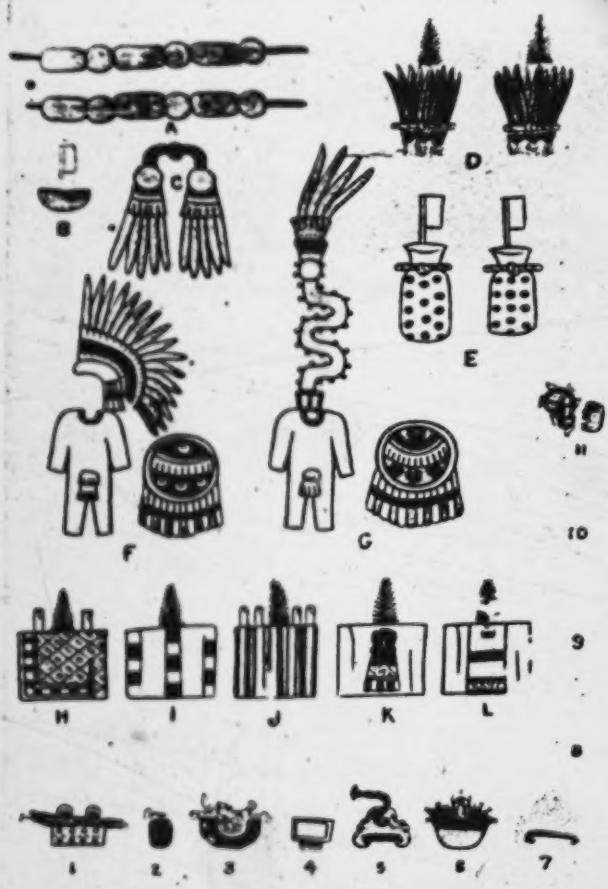

PLATE 64
AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Tribute Roll of Montezuma (after Spinden, 1928). The tributary towns are in the columns at bottom and right, designated by numbers. The goods comprised: (a) two strings of jade beads; (b) 20 gourd dishes of gold dust; (c) a royal headdress; (d) 800 bunches of feathers; (e) 40 bags of cochineal dye; (f–g) 2 warriors' costumes; (h) 402 cotton blankets of this pattern; (i) 400 blankets; (j) 404 blankets; (k) 400 blankets; (l) 400 blankets. Note the use of fingers for units, flags for twenties and treelike signs for four hundreds. The sign for eight thousand may be found on Plate 62 (*bottom right*) in the top left-hand corner, designating the number of containers of honey.

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174 quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldly to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.[2]

651 648 The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion was the exaction of tribute from richer and weaker 651
neighbors. (See Plate 29, top row; Fig. 1.) Quinatzin of 648
Texcoco instituted the system first in the northern Valley in the early fourteenth century, and it is an interesting point to speculate as to whether or not the Chimalpanec immigrants suggested this as a practice found successful in their homeland. Quinatzin, by force of arms or by persuasion, induced a number of towns to turn over to him supplies of various sorts. The local chiefs recognized him as an overlord but maintained a complete political independence. He, in turn, granted the vassal chiefs the full measure of his military support. Yet these vassals had no sense of loyalty and were quite ready to revolt or transfer their allegiance to a stronger suzerain.[2] (See Plate 42, top.)

When Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco saw his tribe develop 648
to the point where it had to expand he found the southern Valley overpopulated, so that he had to challenge the power of Texcoco. His first move was to create disaffection in the vassal states, after which he could move against his rivals with good hope of military success. Yet so light was Tezozomoc's tenure of control that it was relatively easy for the conquered tribes to combine later and wreck his domination.

Alliances like that formed by Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tacuba were so very rare that much is made of this combination as an example of the excellence of Aztec statecraft. It would seem that the division of spoils, two parts each to the larger states, and one part to Tlacopan, was in force only for that campaign. Later Texcoco and Tenochtitlan undertook wars for their mutual advantage, but there was constant intrigue in the hope that one of the two could overcome the other and derive the full benefits of the booty taken. By the

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuia: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

KL. Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, a yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie parecia: todos los camjnãtes se abscondian de mjedo dellos, y si con alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se defendia: maltrataũle de tal manera q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njnguna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes mataua muchos catiuos y otros

1. Marginal notation: *Jenjar* for *dar* one.

561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
[697] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquipiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jztzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezronica mamanca in etl, in chian, in ouuhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiouachpetlatl, quauhaiouachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
●651 house of the majordomos and stewards.
681 Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the
344 majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo açi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from
574 everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords
431 unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them
344 all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhconcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

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11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia M1* contains an account of the Coloquios, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix B.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 288-289, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca monta; el quauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia M1*, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited tensely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech clouts, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponjx: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlapitzalli in tecsiztli, in oqujpitzque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tletl, njman ic cemeoa, in jxqujch iuquizquj, motempapauja, mjcali, qujtlemjna in teucalli.

Auh in achto in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan qujmjctia, in tetru, tecpatica queltetequjj.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh altepetl, njmã ic ic nemalpoalo, in quezqujch malli: ioan in quezqujch omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi qujcaqujtia in tlatoanj, injc tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman qujnnaoatia, in tecutlatoque: injc qujtemachtitiuj, injc qujtecaqujtititiuj, in jnchan in jtzqujnti, oiaumjqujto, injc choqujliloxque in jnchachan, in oiaumjqujto: ioan qujtecaqujtia in jnchan, in quezquj otlamato iauc, ic vncan qujcujia in mauizziotl, in jpampa oqujchiotl: iõan qujmomaceujaia in jxqujch itiscneliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, iqan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc cenca qujmjcneliaia in tlaçopipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, qujmaca calpixcantli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotli necujltonolli, in mauizziotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame qujtlacoa iauiotl, njman vmpa qujnmjctia in iauc qujnviujtequj, qujntetepachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, qujmocujcujlia ce malli, qujtoa ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no qujtoa ca nomal: intlacamo ce tlacatl itech nelti, aiac no qujmjttac, in quenjn tlamaque: iehoantin qujntlatzontequjlia, in tonatiuh itlatocahoan: aiac tle onqujça in jmonextin in qujmocujcujlia in malli: iuh qujtzontequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce itech pouhquj iex in malli: vitzcalli qujpoaia, calpolco qujcaoaia, in jchan tlacateculotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oaxioac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman icoac motlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacalaqujlli itech mana in tlein vmpa muchioa, auh njman no iquac ixque- 728 651

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 301-302, referring to the *barrio* of Cuauhtlan, where dawn bought and died in sacrifice: "Este era en el patio del templo que se dice Uitzcalco."

728 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a
651 steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he
693 heard all the accusations and the complaints, the
565 afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his
[577] judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for
[681] a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

tzalo in calpixquj, in qujmocujtlaujz, in jpan tlatoa in tlacalaquijlli.

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia luezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in tetlatzontequjliliztli, qujcaquja in jxqujch in jneteilhujl: ioan in jchoqujz, in jnentlamachiliz in jnetolinjliz in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh injc uel qujneltiliaia in tlatoanj in teneteilhujl anoço tetlatlacul qujmjxquetzaia, qujnpepenaia in jtecutlatocahoan: iehoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncã in qujnj, in qujquanj, in mocujltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oqujchti, in iauc omoxcaltique, mjiec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjliztli, oqujmaujçoque: auh in jxquj tlamantlj qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in jnpiltian oqujmomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan nemjliztli, iuqujçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhq̃ij, injc qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, inic qujmjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti iehoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omooapaouhque, in tiacahoan in oqujchti, in mjiec tlamantli oqujmaujçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in qujnpaqujltia, in qujntlauhtia, ioan in qujnmaca, in jxqujch intech monequj:

iuhque in in qujmjxquetzaia, in qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliujz moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca qujmaujzpia in tecuiotl, amo cochinj, cenca cochiçanj amo tle qujcnjuhchioa: amo tle qujoaiolcachioa: amo tle qujtecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlaujltica qujcaquj, anoço qujtzontequj: qujmjqujznaoatiaia, in tlatoanj: injc melaoac qujchioazque in jntequjuh, in tecutlatollj: auh intlacamo, ca iehoantin conmotzacujlitiazque in tecutlatoque, in tlein qujtlacozque.

Auh in jcoac, oqujmjxquetz in tlatoanj: in jtecutlatocahoan qujnmacaia vntetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

5. *Jueces*: cf. *ibid.*, p. 318 (*los mayores jueces*) and p. 321 (*oyadores*).

sons; bean greens[31] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxqujch qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutimalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquauitl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoquitecomatl, ioã in jxqujch tlamantli çoquitlatquitl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in iehoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo quimocuitlauia, intequiuh, iotoco, ioan caoaltilo in intequiuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiuitl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo quinextiz in aquin quicobuili, in tlein tlachtectli, quitzacutiuh, miquia, iuhqui tlatzontequiliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mimacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia, [685]

in intequiuh catca tianquizpantlaca quichioaia iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, inic ipan tequitia tianquiztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequitlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

31. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 235, describes epazotillo as "hojas y renuevo de los frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mesembryanthemum Nimalum L.

[p. 70 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

[651
301
292]

[778
346]

—*Ajtee Paso y Troncoso*

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns—ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 painted along the outer and lower margins of the page, the rest of the
128 page being taken up by the items of tribute for which these towns
[211 were jointly responsible. The place names on a given page prove to
65]] be geographically contiguous on modern maps, and so it is evident that the towns were regarded as a unit, as all having something in common. I have called each region thus indicated a "province," partly in order to provide some territorial division, but also because these groupings of towns were in some measure expressions of former political or linguistic units. Most of the Matlatzinca-speaking towns, for example, cluster on a page of their own; moreover, they were all conquered in a continuous campaign of a few years. These provinces (indicated on the map by large arabic numerals) I have named after the introductory glyphs, assuming the first glyph on each page to represent the most important town. Other available sources justify this. In another source, for instance, in the province I have named Tepequacuilco, Tepequacuilco is stated to be the "presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recogieron de toda la cuisca [Cchuixca]";[8] in that which I have named Coayxtlahuacan, Coayxtlahuacan is called "donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."[9] The borders of the provinces as they existed in 1519 have been commented on in detail where these were adjacent to non-Mexican lands.

Most of these invaluable place glyphs of the *Matricula* could be read even if they were all we had, and they are of course the final authorities. The task of reading them, however, is greatly simplified by the annotations they bear; the *Matricula* itself contains scattered and not always reliable identifications in roman letters, and the copy of the *Matricula* in the *Codex Mendocino* contains a complete series of highly reliable ones. In order to have some norm for spelling, I have everywhere followed these *Mendocino* versions. There are objections to this procedure—which gives us "Tuluca" for what is better rendered "Tolocan,"—but it shows how one Indian pronounced all the names of the Empire before the corrupting European influences set in.

[8] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223.

[9] *PNE*, 4: 165; 4: 198 agrees. Likewise, Tochpan (Tuchpa in *Mendocino*) has seven towns, and Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras historicas* [1892], II: 197) says that "La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividia en siete provincias." The fact that the initial glyph is often the only one identified in roman letters in the *Matricula* is also taken into account.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,* and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.*

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino,* the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles* of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

* See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendricks, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

* See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

* The *Mendocino résumé,* in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaua gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.[20] 651

2. Tepequacuilco

Sources of the Map

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied as folio 37' of the *Codex Mendocino*, are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below: 635 114 103

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Alahuiztlã, 21	Alahuistlán
Atenanco, 8	Atengo del Río
Cocolan, 13	Cocula
Cueçalan, 7	Cuetzala
Chilacachapã, 12	Chilicachapa
Chilapan, 4	Chilapa
Huitzoco, 16	Huitzuco
Ohuapã, 6	Oapan
Oztoma, 19	[Missing]
Teloloapan, 11	[No change]
Tepequacuilco, 15	Tepecoacuilco
Tlachmalacac, 18	Tlaxmalac
Ychcateopã, 20	Ixcateopan
Ycallan, 17	Iguala

All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted 635

[20] "Al rrey que era de Mexica ... le dauan esclavos e mantas e oro en polso que sacauan y lavaban de los rrios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos dauan al dicho Montecuma eran para que los dichos Mexicanos comyesen" (*PNE*, 6: 158).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[*] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[*]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17') accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[*] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[*]

● 651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[*] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[*] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan guerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamaluria, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y limites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...." *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[*] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[*] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[**] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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651 ●
[301
314
323
325]

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[a]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[b]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[c]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[d]

Ozlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[e] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[f] [386]

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[g] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[h]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[b] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[c] "A Motecçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[d] "Era de Motecçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[e] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para haner color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[f] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[g] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas vezes del año embiaban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' que sabes" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[26]

[567 721] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[27] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[28]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacã, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapã, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Izcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpã (10).

[26] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[27] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que esto le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[28] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[*] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[*] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[*] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[*] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[114] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[*] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[*] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[*] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[*] Corrected from 1,200.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[88]

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[89]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[90]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[91] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[88] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios cassados un guipil y unas enaguas ... . Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della coxian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[89] "Relación de Sultepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[90] *PNE*, 7: 10: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi.

[91] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[***] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[***] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[28] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35′ of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[28] *PNF* 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[111]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la Jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenantzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiteca*, de dificil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—If we allot the foregoing equally between the two towns forming this province, we find that each must have contributed as much in produce as was collected from the whole province of Tlachco, in which there were nine towns, and that each must likewise have paid the equivalent of nearly one-third of the tribute in mantles collected from Tlachco Province.

8: Barlow B-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[294 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan
[128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[20] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[21] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[20] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[21] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlazomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING [291]

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen**

FOOD [262]

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)**[30]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other dimin- 651
utive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of 632
the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[31] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[*]

TRIBUTE

● 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[*]

317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauhtitlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north [128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[*] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

** *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[294 714]

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31r of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[26] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the verv Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely
635 stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, ånd Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province
131 of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[27] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[28] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

● 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[29] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[30] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[31]

[26] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.

[27] Cf. n. 35 above.

[28] *PNE*, 6: 201.

[29] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.

[30] Corrected from 400.

[31] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[a] 651 632

12. Axocopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex,* folio 27'.[a] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below: 635 114 [128]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquiahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayā, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpā, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpā, 10	Ixmiquilpan

[103]

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[a] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[a] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz- 635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[**] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING [291
714]

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD** [262
263]

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632
Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[**]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[**] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Texcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[**] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[**] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; haziaule nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia montesuma q̃ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[46]

Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[47]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocã, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyã, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atocpan has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[46] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[47] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[47] as did Tequixquiac[48] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[49]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[241 714] 400 little decorated mantles**
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[50]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[51]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[52]

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[47] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[48] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[49] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[50] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[51] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[52] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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635 114 [31] represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, I — Ojitipa de Mirador

Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to [651] judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[8] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[9]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[10]

635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tamboloa"—now a rancho of Valles.
[9] Meade, *La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[10] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI: 275.

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton: 635 105 [726]

> ...they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton. [439]

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[a] 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack. 635 131

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period: 651

CLOTHING[b] [291]

2,010 bundles[c] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[c] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[b] [262]

400 loads of dried *ají*

OTHER TRIBUTE[b] [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan. 177 651

CLOTHING

9 "sayanas"

FOOD

30 loads of *ají*
9 jars of honey
... maize

[a] *RVE*, 1:1:126. [b] Corrected from 2,000. [c] Corrected from 800.

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177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54[v]). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map"
[128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is
[648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communications with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 113, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

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635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[26] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[27] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[28]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[29] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[30] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[31]

TRIBUTE

● 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula*, Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[26] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[27] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Mende (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[29] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[31] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 196.

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651 ●

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** [714]
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
. . . . . plain mantles
. . . . . women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins [281
100 live deer [231
100 large (live) parrots [237
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1890), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalaco" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatzinhque [Ilacatzinhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of 632
Tlatlauhquitepec.[a] 131

Tenextícpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuatropa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197
belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635
still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648
of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[b] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[c]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635
of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131
south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635
coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103
part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651
cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matrícula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[e] [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[e]
400 bundles of loincloths[e]
808 bundles[d] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[e]

[a] RHE, 1: 487.
[b] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).
[c] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[d] Corrected from 800.

1 [p. 58.—Analyst] 2 [p. 56.—Analyst]

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[65] 816 bundles[32] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
[29] 408 bundles[33] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[34] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
[14] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

[26] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

[23] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
[30] 2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[14] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[35] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[29] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[35] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[36] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[37]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[38]

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[32] Corrected from 800.
[33] Corrected from 400.
[34] Corrected from 400.
[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[36] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[37] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenían todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[38] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 110–111.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.[80] 651 632

17. Atlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.[81] In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.[82] Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."[83] 635 114

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two. 635 131

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "...otra capitania ...a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte ...."[84]

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[80] RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."
[81] Cf. Malinalco, above.
[82] *PNE*, 3: 97.
[83] *ENE*, 8: 160.
[84] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

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635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

● 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles** of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. Tlapacoyan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

** Corrected from 400.

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TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.*

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.*

19. ATOTONILCO EL GRANDE

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [128] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyī, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

* RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
* RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[*] 632
and seventeen leagues from México.[*] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears 131
eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[*] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[*]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[*]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiq- 635
uity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún com- 175
ments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[*] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[*] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[*] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande 635
lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and 131
probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atoto- 651
nilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING [291 714]

800 bundles of rich mantles**
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[*] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[*] *GPM*, p. 250.
[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[*] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos poquellos como tzihuiquiluca [*sic*] y tetlystaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[*] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[*] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 199.

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651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.**

20. Acolhuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco, [28] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temazcalapã, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

** *PNE*, 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seyçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

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651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles** [291]
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD [263]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632
of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651
maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412]
After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.*

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412]
Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.*

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

* RHE, 1:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antecesor de montecuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de bolateria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Montecuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

* RHE, 1:142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonzes se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

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632 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called
651 "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.[80] However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*[81] gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, *circa* 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomitl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao
[262] of Xoconochco (2,400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.[82]

[326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."[83]

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se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

[80] *PNE*, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

[81] Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ...," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

[82] *PNE*, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del rreynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodon de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodon de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacão de a beinte e quatro myll cacaos carga, de zoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

[83] RHE, 1: 152.

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frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matrícula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23". The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corronpemos agora aquel bocablo y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a 181
general opinion.[32] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which [633]
they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[33]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was sur- 635
rounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of 131
the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[34] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at 635
least.[35]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted 651
from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles** [29]
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[36] [714]

[32] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ..."

[33] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[35] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[36] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matrícula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl tozttli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

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651

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323 2,000 pottery bowls**
289] 8,000 reams of native paper**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. Huaxtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and [128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayomochapã, 24	Axochiapan
Çoacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

[22] *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[*] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[*]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[*] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[*]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths** [291]
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors 323
8,000 reams of native paper 289

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. 727

[*] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[*] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Tazcala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[*] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[*] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

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651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[30]

[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[31]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40r. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco,* according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[32]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[33]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[34] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[35]

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[30] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[31] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[32] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[33] *GPM*, p. 112.

[34] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[35] *GPM*, p. 104.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.**

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"**

** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuiloí quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

* Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jicaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhuatl word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

16 pieces of colored lacquer
268 fine *jícaras* and *tecomates*
20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[28]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the *Matrícula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (2 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quauhtecomatla may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[29] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[30]

Quiauhteopan was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[31] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[28] The list is quoted in n. 56 above.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[30] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 210.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.*

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.*

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

* See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

* *FNE*, 5:57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de las de la Mixteca sujetos a la doctrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5:77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Tozola."

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632 651 half the honey formerly paid by the province, according to the *Matrícula*). Besides this, two special milpas were cultivated and their [314] yield was sent to the near-by mines of Ayoteco.[a]

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 437: "Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias quinientos y veinte y ocho pesos y dos tomines de tipuzque, y catorce xiquipiles de cacao y seis mill y dozientos y ochenta cacaos, y esto dan al dicho su amo en dineros que son quatroçientos y çinquenta pesos, y ocho xiquipiles de cacao y sesenta xarrillos de miel, y cada año le hazen dos sementeras de maiz y se lo ponen en las minas de Ayoteco." On *tipuzque*, see Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (1883), II: 7, and Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (1890), II: 416 and 450.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar***[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[32] and liquidambar.[33]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Totodlan, 1	Totútla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de montecuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

[chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl — Analyst]

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [712] *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

[175] *Tuchçonco*, though shown in the *Matrícula* as a pre-Hispanic town, seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[28]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[29]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[30] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[31]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino*, among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[32] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[33] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[EN] 400 large mantles[34]

[28] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san jᵒ cuescomatepeque de la juriadizion de guatusco." Domínguez (*Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[29] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[30] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ytzoyuca."

[31] Domínguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[32] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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651

FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [362]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632
fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651
what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 49' of the 635
Codex Mendocino. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114
kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128]
sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Micflanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632
Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coxomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1:158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10:61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^d hago m^ed a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p° de myctlanquauda media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos'en va cerra."

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Teoçiocan is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[28] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[29]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[30] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla." The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[31]

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[30] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[31] RHE, 1: 131.
[32] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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 635 197

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco. 635 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items: 651

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore** [291]
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard* [714]
1 gold shield***
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers* [301]
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads***
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao [262]

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec (*sic*) que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Ucila.

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OTHER GOODS

16,000 rubber balls
100 pots of liquidambar
24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhùacan when it was first subjugated:[30]

CLOTHING

40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

2,000 rubber balls
400 measures of cochineal

Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[31]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

Tribute of the component towns.—Even more detailed information may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[32]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[30] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[31] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Oxitztitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[32] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

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the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[46]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[47]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[48]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[46] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE*, 5: 2).

[47] *PNE*, 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[48] *PNE*, 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montezuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montezuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montezuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.* It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds*
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.*

* Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.

* Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81 identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.

* *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho arjuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tiestones al Respeto."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
[314] 4,000 loads of thick canes
[281] 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
[482] 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus passados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizèn que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ymfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y coseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

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[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daus ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á montecuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia montecuma jente de guarnición aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á montecuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[46]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[47]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[48]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[49]

33: Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39r). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[46] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was "... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujeción otro tributo alguno."

[47] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y esentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[48] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[49] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schultze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[*]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses[**]
402 bundles[*] of little red-striped mantles[**]
800 bundles of large mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[*]

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[*] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[*]

[*] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[**] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[*] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteçuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçisco de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunes."

[*] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarrenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, dautsecadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]

[316 243 253] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and [144] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72]

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not [28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.[74]

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[75]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpizque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

[i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted — Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[28] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles* [291
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino.* It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[30] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[28] *PNE,* 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco, que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[29] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[30] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

OTHER GOODS[a] 651

2 strings of chalchiuites
800 bunches of quetzal feathers [316
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni* 25]
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning 632
the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which [436]
served as money. They also gave military aid.[a]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.[a]

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.[a]

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.[a]

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.[a]

[a] *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescataua a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Munteçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

[a] *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Mónteççuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

[a] See Chila, above.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

[a] "En tienpo de su yafidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed
651 through the town.[30]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[31]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[32]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[33]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The
114 principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which
128 has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotitlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[30] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exerxitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco pasauan bastimentos."

[31] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que conpravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[32] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Moteçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Moteççuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de zuzula."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the 632
proper spelling.

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Moctecuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[220]

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teoza- [648]
potlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[221] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula*.

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma a few years before the Spanish invasion.[222]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional 632
seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, 648
in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teoza- 175
potlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[223] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[224] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican [651]
garrison "only in order to be friendly."[225] Tribute is tribute.

[220] *PNE*, 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles biniesen, a Moteçuma."

[221] *PNE*, 4: 105.

[222] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto montesuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[223] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[224] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE*, 4: 102: " ... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula*; also, by the relación of Teticpac (*PNE*, 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Monteçuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula*.

[225] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran

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632 *Tecuicuilco* owned Moctezuma as lord after being conquered by force of arms.[116]

Teticpac was subject to Teozapotlan, and later to Moctezuma.[117]

Tlalcuechahuayan may be found on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Tlacolula, by virtue of having been subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to Moctezuma.[118]

Tlaliztacan is another subject of Teozapotlan, and therefore, it is to be inferred, of the Mexicans also.[119]

Totomachapa may be found on the 1912 map of Oaxaca made by the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Xaltianguisco, the Jaltianguis Santa Maria of today, is cited under its old name in a document of Ixtepexi,[120] as well as in several other places.

Xilotepec was one of the "pueblos peñoles," all of which were subject to the Empire.[121]

Yoloxonecuilan was a town the name of which has atrophied to "los Yolos." In its earlier form the name of this place appears in the conquest lists of the Empire, jointly with the names of such towns as Xaltianguisco and Itztitlan (6) (Ixtlán de Juárez?). Yoloxonecuilan had, moreover, the same cura as Atepec.[122]

Zenzontepec appears late in the conquest lists of the Empire.

Çoquiapan and certain neighboring towns are said to have "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[123]

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[651] guerroros por si, y Monteçuma que era el Señor de Mexico: de todos estos tres solo auia aqui quando vinieron los españoles vna guarniçion juncto adonde es aora la ciudad de Antequera, la qual guarniçion era de Montecçuma: esta dizen los yndios que avia puesto alli por via de buena amistad y sin guerra, para pasar por alli adelante a Tecoantepec y Guatimala ... y dizen que a estos mexicanos no les dauan ningun tributo, sino por via de amistad, sino que el rrey de Teoçapotlan se tenia su señorio absolutamente."

[116] See Atepec, above.

[117] *PNE,* 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, above.

[118] *PNE,* 4: 145: "en tiempo de su ynfidelidad, tuuieron por señor al señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan el qual hera señor de toda esta tierra." See, however, Teozapotlan, above.

[119] *PNE,* 4: 179: "en tiempo de su gentilidad, tenia por señor al caçique e señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan." See Teozapotlan, above.

[120] *PNE,* 4: 20: "Santianquisco, questa dos leguas deste dicho pueblo hazia el norte." A relación of the town appears in *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 123.

[121] See Itzquintepec, above.

[122] *GPM,* pp. 92–93.

[123] See Atepec, above.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the 197
predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, 174
especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one 635
of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced un- 131
friendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, 712
however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid 651
the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles 291
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian) 262

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger 316
20 bags of cochineal 237

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Certain elements of the fore-
632 going tribute may be traced.

Atepec, Çoquiapan, Tecuicuilco, and Xaltianguisco acquired the
[#39] tribute items exacted from them—green (quetzal?) feathers and chalchiuites—by barter with other regions.[127]

Coatlan gave gold and mantles, receiving military protection in return. (The gold tribute was three marks of gold dust quarterly in early colonial days.[128])

Eztetlan and five other towns jointly paid a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[129]

Huiztepec, as one of the "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

Itzquintepec gave part of a joint tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Iztepexi, which had two masters, Mixtec and Mexican,[130] paid them tribute in base gold, green feathers, deer, maize, and turkeys; also, its inhabitants rendered personal services to the Mexican garrison near Oaxaca. The gold and feathers were acquired in a unique fashion, being earned by going to the Isthmus and working six months or a year there cultivating lands.[131]

Ocelotepec gave gold dust and mantles and cochineal, "all in small quantities and once a year," and received in return mantles, sandals, and feathers of many colors.[132] This exceptional treatment was doubt-

[127] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123, speaks of "çierto tributo que le pagaban en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de Plumas verdes y Piedras verdes" obtained in trade.

[128] *PNE*, 4: 133. To Moctezuma "le tributaban oro en polbo y mantas, y el tenya quidade denbialles sienpre gente de guarnyçion." To their colonial encomendero "segun dizen los antiguos naturales cada yndio tributaba en cada ochenta dyas tres marcos de oro en polbo."

[129] For the tribute of this and the two following towns, see n. 105 above.

[130] See n. 106 above.

[131] *PNE*, 4: 16. Suffering from double demands, "les pagauan de tributo oro baxo y plumeria verde y benados que tomauan en los montes y mayz y gallinas de la tierra, y leña, acudiendo con servicios personales a los mexicanos en Guaxaca ... ," all without fixed tribute dates, "y la plumeria y oro que asi tributauan lo yban a buscar a Teguantepeque y a la provincia de Soconusco e Guatemala, arquilandose en carga mercadurias de mercaderes y en beneficiar y cultivar tierras en la dicha provincia donde se detenian seys y siete meses y vn año, y otros se ocupauan en lo que por los señores y caçiques deste pueblo les hera mandado, y por lo susodicho les pagauan oro y plumas verdes, y esto trayan y guardauan para pagar se tributo, y por tener a dos señores a quien acudir con los dichos tributos muchas veces quedauan confusos, y no osauan rebelarse contra ellos porque no los destruyesen a todos."

[132] *PNE*, 4: 138. Ocelotepec "en su antigüedad tenyan por señor a monteçuma, señor de Mexico, al qual tributaban oro en polbo y mantas de que ellos se bisten, y grana, todo en poca cantidad, y en cada vn años [*sic*] vna vez, lo qual el reçebia ... y el les enbiaba otras cosas de mas balor como eran mantas y los 'cactles' que ellos traen, y plumas de muchas colores."

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less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier. 651 632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[184]

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.[185]

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves.[186] [567]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison.[187] [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.[188]

Tlacolula gave military service only.[189]

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.[190]

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[191]

Xilotepec, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.[192]

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[183] See Itzquintepec, above.

[184] *PNE*, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, ques vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

[185] *PNE*, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

[186] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

[187] *PNE*, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

[188] *PNE*, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

[189] *PNE*, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

[190] See n. 105 above.

[191] See n. 105 above.

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located;
[128] and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen on the 1: 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ....." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Pociepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

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[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208–213.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [29]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac[7] [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

[7] San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related. 101 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlalmanalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco. 635 131

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco. 635

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco: 651

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

[291 714]

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[262]

[p. 134 is blank]

565
463

are they to serve in wars and on the frontiers." This was surely what happened in Tenochtitlan although unfortunately we have no such clear affirmation for this place.

/p. 24/ assert that among the Tenochcas there was present a marked differentiation with respect to labor: there were people who undertook manual labor and people dedicated to directive activities. These latter, also appear in our data strongly related to the calpulli.

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The difference in the social division of labor which we have seen in the last paragraph had possibly as its principal manifestation the position with respect to the paying of tribute: some were tributaries and some received tribute. It is told us in this regard that "the poor macehuales worked all day for their tribute and in order to give food to them (to the lords) to eat; because in a village of a thousand people there are a chief /cacique/ and a hundred lords / principales/ among whom the village is divided into wards... and these eat and drink and loaf at the expense of the poor workers (or macehuales, as we have seen) who support it all; and this is a very old custom in all the provinces of the land" (8), (that is, also in Tenochtitlan and not through

8. López Gerónimo, 11, p. 151. Although the assertion of a confirmed pro-slavist, it is useful and synthesizes many isolated facts.

Spanish influence). From our data we conclude first, that the lords were approximately 10 percent of the population and moreover, that there was a division between people receiving tribute—those undertaking directive work—and people tributary—those who undertook manual work—, and there comes to light again the relationship between this social stratification and the division of land, only that now with respect to the paying of tribute, the lords receiving tribute were those in charge of the town wards. Everything is confirmed in other sources: we are told that the macehuales "worked a plot of land for their lord or head (of the calpulli) for his sustenance and gave him service according to the people there were in the village" (9). Another

9. Zurita, p. 142.

author tells us that the elders used to say "that the common people

565 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their
463 houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the
651 lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and
511 of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuales had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common
[651] people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed " (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Martín de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[525] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in less

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428

22. Pomar, p. 25. Actually Pomar gives contradictory information: "they always leave as heir to their estate the son of the legitimate wife" and "to the most virtuous, although he be the youngest... (or) of the other women." Nevertheless, paternal inheritance remains as the fact common to all.

information does not refer to Tenochtitlan, certainly it was valid also for the lords of that place, and Zurita does confirm it in part (23).

23. Zurita, p. 90.

Another author tells us that in cases of rebellion by the lords, they were removed and the rulers placed a near relative, such as a brother, in his place, but not his son (24). It resulted from this that the legal

24. Mendieta, History [Historia], p. 154.

heir of the calpulli chief was in these cases a relative of the predecessor, although not necessarily his son: possibly it can be said that the relatives of the chief of the calpulli were lords, that they could potentially become tribute-exactors like the chiefs if they ever achieved this category, and that not all did achieve it. However, the wives and children of the calpulli chief certainly had the benefit of the tribute paid to him (25).

25. Muñoz Camargo, with respect to Tlaxcalla tells us that "the family estates [mayorazgos] entailed by them (the pillis), are never divided, and they (this must refer to the macehuales) were obliged only to support all the relatives and brothers of that family" (p. 8).

565
651

We are told that there were in the wards other persons of authority besides the chief, such as the telpochtlato (26) or director of the school

26. Torquemada, II, p. 220.

of each ward, who certainly lived from tribute. We are told on many occasions of tribute for the temples (see page 42) thus making some

565 651 priests tribute receivers. But there are still some other very important complementary data: on one hand that "painters, whom they called tlaculoca (sic: tlácuiloque), were exempted from contributions and from some services... also the singers... and the players of instruments... neither did the instructors contribute..." (27). On the other

27. Fuenleal, p. 249.

hand we know that all who contributed were called macehuales (28)

28. Fuenleal, p. 249.

and that the relatives of rulers and some lords did not contribute (29),

29. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

from which we can infer that the musicians, singers, instructors, etc. who did not contribute, were people from among the rulers and lords, and not from the macehuales; although such a conclusion is not absolutely necessary or compelling.

There are, nevertheless, within the scheme of the tributary [729] macehuales and the tribute-exacting lords some exceptions: those who distinguished themselves in war were exempted from taxation (30),

30. Fuenleal, p. 249.

which obliges us to think that they were macehuales who enjoyed a privilege which the other macehuales did not have. Certainly these macehuales were the ones who were made nobles by favor (31) and

31. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

about whom there are no data to indicate that they received tribute, that is that they were "nobles," lords by inheritance, nor could they have "tenants" [“terrasgueros”] (32), that is, could live from tribute,

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

and /p. 28/ who for that reason, like the common macehuales, personally worked their lands: their distinctive character was simply that

565 of not contributing. On the other hand we have a counterpart to these
651 macehuales who did not contribute: there were lords who being caught
[681] in a crime were punished by "being condemned to death" or to exile or to being sheared, or they were made macehuales (33), that is, they

33. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

were pillis from whom was taken the right to exact tribute and on whom was imposed the obligation of contributing. We saw also earlier that not all lords were exempt from contribution. We can think, nevertheless, that these cases must have been an exception, and that in general the macehuales were tributary and the pillis tribute-exacting.

We would thus have in Tenochtitlan a whole gamut of people in different situations with respect to tributation: people receiving tribute from all tribute-paying persons, people receiving tribute from the members of their calpulli, people neither tributary nor tribute-receiving, and people not tribute-receiving but tributary. According to the above data there is no doubt that there was present a marked differentiation among these levels of the population, at least. If we were to take these data only into account, of course we would have to think that the Tenochca society had classes; but if we analyze other data at our disposal, we will see the great importance which inheritance had in the belonging to each one of these levels (except that composed of the valiant in battle), which removes the class-
565 like character from them. In the first place we are told that upon
852 the birth of children "they were washed by the priests and after being washed they [the priests] would place in the child's right hand a tiny sword and in the left, a little shield." The children of the common people were given the insignia of their occupation, and all this beneath some idol" (34). From this it is infered that the people were

34. Acosta, José de, p. 425.

differentiated by their rank from birth: some were born destined to serve in war and on the frontiers (those with the little shields, who were not commoners) and were not to apply themselves to base work, and others were born destined to be laborers and to have humble and
565 vile occupations. Now this situation was hereditary since the pillis were called "lords" (35) and were the sons and grandsons and

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our deaths. The Great Montezuma would order them to be killed because they were leading chiefs of Cempoala, and had broken their fealty by refusing to pay him tribute and by imprisoning his tax gatherers when the rebellion took place which I have already written about in the course of this story.

When Cortés observed the determination with which they demanded permission, he answered them through Doña Marina and Aguilar that they need not have the slighest fear that they would come to any harm, for, as they would go in our company, who would dare to annoy either them or us? and he begged them to change their minds and stay with us, and he promised to make them rich. Although Cortés pressed them to stay, and Doña Marina put it in the most warm-hearted manner, they never wished to stay, but only to return to their homes. When Cortés perceived this he said, "God forbid that these Indians who have served us so well should be forced to go," and he sent for many loads of rich mantles and divided them among them, and he also sent to our friend the fat Cacique who was Lord of Cempoala two loads of mantles for himself and for his nephew the other great Cacique named Cuesco. He also wrote to his lieutenant Juan de Escalante whom we had left there as Captain, and who at that time was Alguacil Mayor, and told him all that had happened to us, and how we were now on our way to Mexico, and he told him to look well after his neighbours, and to keep a good watch, and by day and night to be on the alert, and to finish building the fortress, and to help the natives of those towns against the Mexicans, and not to let any of the soldiers who were with him annoy the [friendly] natives in any way whatever. When this letter was written and the people of Cempoala had left us, we set out on our journey, keeping well on the alert.

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and fifty pesos and they said:—"Malinche, accept these presents which we give you and look on us in the future as your friends." Cortés received them with great good will and promised to help them in whatever they needed, and when he saw them together he told the Padre de la Merced to counsel them regarding matters touching our holy faith, and that they should give up their Idols, and he told them all that we were accustomed to say in all the towns through which we had passed, and to all this they replied that it was well said and that they would see to it in the future. Cortés also explained to them about the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and how we had come to right wrongs and to stop robbery, for it was for this purpose that our Emperor sent us to these countries.

When they heard this, all these towns that I have named, secretly, so that the Mexican Ambassadors should not hear them, made great complaints about Montezuma and his tax gatherers, who robbed them of all they possessed, and violated their wives and daughters, if they were handsome, before them and their husbands, and carried them off, and made the men work as though they were slaves, and made them carry pine timber and stone and firewood and maize either in their canoes or over land, and many other services such as planting cornfields, and they took their lands for the service of the Idols. They made many other complaints, which, as it was many years ago, I do not remember.

Cortés comforted them with kindly words which he knew well how to say to them through Doña Marina, but added that at the present moment, he could not undertake to see justice done them and they must bear it awhile [and] he would [presently] free them from that rule, and he secretly ordered two of their chiefs to go with four of our Tlaxcalan allies, and inspect the cleared road, which the people of Huexotzingo had told us not to follow, and to

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on 643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There [276 were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and 314] gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that 212] was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made 289] of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte- 411

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him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need.

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,[1] and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders.

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

[1] Mechuacan in the text.

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Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spokén about. 648

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tochel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former [651 712]

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CHAPTER CIV.

How Cortés told the great Monteruma that he should order all his Caciques throughout the land to pay tribute to His Majesty, for it was generally known that they possessed gold, and what was done about it.

As Captain Diego de Ordás and the other soldiers already named by me, arrived with samples of gold and the report that all the land was rich, Cortés, by the advice of Ordás and the other Captains and soldiers, decided to speak to, and demand of Montezuma, that all the Caciques and towns of the land should pay tribute to His Majesty, and that he himself as the greatest Chieftain, should also contribute from his treasure. Montezuma replied that he would send to all his towns to ask for gold, but that many of them did not possess any, only some jewels of little worth which had come to them from their ancestors. He at once despatched chieftains to the places where there were mines and ordered each town to give so many ingots of fine gold, of the same size and thickness as others that they were used to pay as tribute, and the messengers carried with them as samples two small ingots. From other parts they only brought small jewels of little worth.

He also sent to the province whose Cacique and Lord was that near kinsman of his who did not wish to obey him, who has already been mentioned by me. This province was distant from Mexico about twelve leagues, and the reply the messengers brought back was to the effect that he neither wished to give any gold nor to obey Montezuma, that he also was Lord of Mexico and that the dominion belonged to him as much as to Montezuma himself, who was sending to ask him to pay tribute.

When Montezuma heard this he was so enraged that he immediately sent his seal and sign by some faithful

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651 captains with orders to bring him as a prisoner. When this kinsman was brought into Montezuma's presence he spoke to him very disrespectfully and without any fear, and very valiantly, and they say that he had intervals of madness, for he was as though thunderstruck. Cortés came to know all about this, and he sent to beg Montezuma as a favour, to give this man to him as he wished to place a guard over him, for he had been told that Montezuma had ordered him to be killed. When the Cacique was brought before him Cortés spoke to him in a most amiable manner and told him not to act like a madman against his prince, and wished to set him free. However, when Montezuma heard this he said that he should not be set free but should be attached to the great chain like the other Kinglets already named by me.

Let us go back to say that within twenty days all the chieftains whom Montezuma had sent to collect the tribute of gold, as I have already mentioned, came back again. And as they arrived Montezuma sent to summon Cortés and our captains and certain soldiers whom he knew, who belonged to his guard, and said these formal words, or others of like meaning :—

"I wish you to know, Señor Malinche and Señores Captains and soldiers, that I am indebted to your great King, and I bear him good will both for being such a great Prince and for having sent to such distant lands to make inquiries about me; and the thought that most impresses me is that he must be the one who is to rule over us, as our ancestors have told us, and as even our gods have given us to understand in the answers we have received from them. Take this gold which has been collected; on account of haste no more has been brought. That which I have got ready for the Emperor is the whole of the Treasure which I have received from my father, which is in your possession and in your apartments.

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925

NU7 Aztec NU7

TARASCO NU34

ZAPOTEC NU4?

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico A 325

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones." A [324]

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca. A T Z 325 171

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion. A T Z [651]

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the A 325 [412 301]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 580.) The capture of Montezuma did
[643] not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztécs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their
● [651] "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
574 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin*. This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618] [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 215. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[33] 643 651

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 174 648

[33] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America." Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III. 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "cenalli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located*, in *order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship. 178 174 423 565 651 428

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the grants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

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tribute was gathered by stewards, the only Mexicans permanently 728
residing on Tecpanecan soil, and it was distributed in accordance with the tribal organization: among the calpules for the use of their public households and of their individual members, and to the "tecpan" for the maintenance of the tribal government and business; out of the former, a certain share was reserved for the purpose of religious worship.[56]

This tribute consisted of objects held and acquired by the 651
Tecpanecas through trade, war and their own manufacture. But it also included the products of their *horticulture*. These had to be raised annually either on their own garden-beds, or on a certain expanse reserved in each "calpulli" for the production of tribute. The Tecpanecas having the same system of distribution of the soil as the Mexicans, and the kindred group being the unit of their organization also, the latter method was naturally resorted to. Therefore in each one of the areas held by the calpules of the conquered tribe, a certain plot was set off, to be tilled in common by the members of the kin, for the benefit of their conquerors.

[56] Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 483), that they took all the lands for themselves: "with this, those of Azcapuzalco were left so poor, that they had not even crops of their own." Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79, "They went to Azcaputzalco and seized ('se entregaron') its lands and distributed them among themselves.") Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16 and 17). It is difficult to connect these and similar statements with the positive facts asserted by Zurita (Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne.") "The sovereign of Mexico had beneath him, in all matters relating to warfare, those of Tacuba and of Tezcuco; in regard to all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them intervened in the government of the others" (p. 11),— by Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 161), and even by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXIV, p. 235), which establish the complete *territorial* independence of the Tecpanecas from the Mexicans; even after their defeat. Durán also says (Cap. IX, p. 77): that the Tecpanecas promised tribute and lands. Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16) confirms, stating that they offered tribute, personal service, and assistance in war. We cannot conciliate these different reports except by admitting that the Tecpanecas submitted to the ordinary manner of Indian conquest, namely: to tribute, to military aid, and for the purpose of tribute, to the reservation of certain tracts whose crops were to go exclusively to the conquerors. Of the latter we have positive proof. See Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 17). Only these authors mention that these tracts went to persons or individuals. But how is this possible, since no individual possession of land appears in Mexico, at the time of the conquest even; as we shall see further on. The tracts in question must, therefore, have been given to such persons as representatives of certain kinships, or "calpules," as Tezozomoc intimates, saying (Cap. XV, p. 21): "and let us distribute the lands among all of us, in order to hold of them some pastime and sustenance for us, our children and heirs." Besides, Durán asserts: that the division took place for the benefit of the chiefs, and of the quarters ("barrios," or calpules), which tends to prove that there were "official lands" and "lands of the kinship" set off for the conquerors on the conquered territory. That a portion of the latter provided for religious purposes, is established by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 483), and by Durán (Cap. IX). [114]

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651 The crops raised thereon were again apportioned by the latter among themselves as we have explained previously, but they did not acquire any title to the *possession*, still less to the *ownership* of the soil itself.[57] Once started on their career of conquest, the

728 [57] See Durán (Cap. IX. p. 79 and 80). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16. "Para amansar y traher á paz á los Mexicanos que tan pujantes y orgullosos estavan contra los Tecpanecas, digéron estos: señores Mexicanos, como vencidos que somos de vostros, y os tenemos dadas nuestras hermanas y hijas que os sirvan y nuestras mugeres, y nos proferimos á vasallage, y de todas las veces que fuéredes en guerras y batallas con estrañas, irémos nosotros como vasallos, y llevarémos á cuestas vuestro matalotage, y llevarémos á cuestas vuestras armas, y en caso que en las guerras, algunos, á alguno de los Mexicanos muriere, nos proférimos á traheros los cuerpos cargados á vuestra tierra, ciudad, á ser con honra enterrados, y venidos que seais de las guerras, y antes y despues barerémos, y regarémos, vuestras casas, tendrémos cuidado de vosotros con nuestro servicio personal, pues asi estamos obligados conforme á usanza de guerra, y nosotros de servidumbre." The Mexicans then spoke to themselves and said: "you now have heard the promises, subjection, and domination to which the Tecpanecas of Azcaputzalco submit, offering to give us wood, planking, stones and lime for our houses, to plant for us maize, beans, calabashes, spices of the country, chile, and tomate, and to be our servants, and the principals of them to become our stewards . . . .") This expresses about the amount and measure of subjection of one tribe to another. Zurita further informs us (pp. 66 and 67). "When the Kings of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba conquered a province, they used to retain all the native chieftains in their offices; whether they were supreme or but inferior. The people always kept its property, finally the usages and customs of the established government were respected. These sovereigns designated territories proportionate to their conquests: the vanquished tilled them in common and made plantings appropriate to the soil. This kind of tribute, or homage ("homage-lige"), was paid to officers ("des intendants") established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or Tacuba, according as the vanquished had become vassals of one or of the other prince. Besides, they were liable to military service, which obligation rested indiscriminately on all the conquered provinces. The chiefs remaining Lords as before the war, preserved civil and criminal jurisdiction in the full extent of their domain." Nevertheless, we have detailed reports about certain lands having been applied by the Mexicans to certain chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XV, p. 24): it was done at the time that such chiefs received certain titles or dignities. These titles and dignities, however, were not hereditary, but elective (Durán, cap. XI, p. 103). "To these four chiefs and titularies, after they were elected princes) they made them belong to the royal council as presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion (or consent, advice "parecer") nothing could be done, and the King being dead, from these and no others his successor had to be chosen, and neither could they be placed in such positions unless they were sons or brothers of Kings, and thus, if one of these four had been promoted, they put another one in his place, and it is to know that they never chose a son of him whom they elected for King, or of him who died, because as I have said, the sons did not obtain the titles through inheritance, but by election. Thus, whether son, brother, or cousin, if the King and his council elected him to any title, it was given to him,—it being sufficient that he belonged to that lineage and was a near relative, and thus the sons and brothers went succeeding little by little, and the title and Lordship remained in that generation (descendancy), being elected successively. These Lords had vassals who to them paid tribute, small pueblos, rented lands ("estancias terrazgueros") that gave them all kinds of supplies and clothing . . . . ." It is also stated that the Mexicans, when they conquered the Tecpanecas, distributed *of* their lands to the quarters (Cap. IX. p. 79. Durán,—and Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 485. "Señalaron tambien tierras de comun para los barrios de Mexico a cada uno las suyas, para que con ellas acudiessen al culto y sacrificio de sus dioses.")

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Mexicans, supported by their allies, sought to extend their power. The tribes of the southeast, the Xochimilcas, the Chinampanecas, (also called the four chieftaincies: "Nauhteuctli") were the first to become their prey. Their fate, after they had once submitted, was the same as that of the Tecpanecans. The territory was not annexed, neither was the organization changed. But they were held to military assistance, and especially to tribute. The latter drew forth, as a consequence, the establishment of tribute-lands, like those which we have already met with at the close of the Tecpanecan war.[58]

When finally, after a contest of unusual length and bitterness, the tribe of Chalco also had to submit to the same conditions of tribute and warlike control,[59] — the Mexicans were really the leading power of the valley.[60] Their means of subsistence, besides, had greatly increased through tribute, among which the crops of the tribute-lands were most conspicuous — as well as through trade. One single tribe of the "Nahuatl" of the valley remained unsubdued, the Aculhuas of Tezcuco. Instead, however, of engaging in a deadly conflict, the result of which might have been equally

If we attentively consider the above, we find:

(1). That no change was made in the tenure of lands, and no conversion of the Tecpanecan territory into a Mexican domain was effected by the conquest.

(2). That certain expanses were set aside, which continued to be held by the conquered, and worked by them after the usual communal plan, but whose crops went exclusively towards the *tribute*.

(3). That these crops were divided, corresponding to the organization of the Mexicans, — between the official requirements — ("tecpan" —) ("calpulli" as official house for the quarters)—the people (quarters "barrios,") and worship. The analogy with Peru (Inca, worship and people), is striking.

The distribution of lands to certain chiefs therefore, mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Tecpanecas, simply indicates that these lands were applied to the maintenance of such offices, and not an hereditary "fief" to a certain family. Durán positively expresses, that the office belonged in the "kin" ("lignea" — "generacion,") and was not hereditary. The lands therefore pertained to the office as a governmental feature of the kinship or calpulli, and not to the person or offspring of any incumbent. In the same way, certain tracts (or rather their crops), went to the tecpan or its occupants, as a governmental feature of the *tribe* (Bustamante, Parte III cap. V, p. 233).

[58] Durán (Cap. XII, Id. XIII, p. 114. XIV, p. 123). Tezozomoc (Cap. XVII, p. 28, XVIII, p. 29), and Acosta.

[59] Durán (Cap. XVII, p. 152). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXVI, pp. 39 and 40). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 403), etc. etc.

[60] Out of the five Nahuatl tribes who had originally settled in the valley of Mexico, three were then subjected to the Mexicans. Consequently the Tezcucans or Aculhuacans alone remained. Territorially, the latter probably covered the larger expanse, but the Mexicans and their allies had the advantage in position and numbers.

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soil, and to establish its customs at the time when the Europeans 423
first trod the Mexican shore.

We readily distinguish several classes of lands, bearing each a different name, besides the "altepetlalli," or tribal territory or range. The latter was the widest circumscription for which the Nahuatl language had a term. (The word "Anahuac," which is often used, is utterly inapplicable, as we have elsewhere shown).[73] No other idea of tenure was connected with it, beyond that of *tribal occupation*.

Each of the numerous tribal areas, overrun by the confederacy 423
(provided the natives were of a sedentary character), contained 651
what we have ventured to call tribute-lots. The name given to 648
these tracts was possibly "yaotlalli," but rather "milchimalli" ("lands of war," and "shield-lands").[74] As before said, the soil of these tracts was still held in original tenure by the kinships composing the conquered tribe, but the *crops* went towards the tribute. There is no indication about the size of these areas, and they were the only ones directly connected with the conquerors.

Of those tracts whose products were exclusively applied to the 651
governmental needs of the pueblo or tribe itself (taken as an in- 423
dependent unit) there were, as we have already seen, two particular classes:

The first was the "tecpan-tlalli:"—land of the house of the community, whose crops were applied to the sustenance of such as employed themselves in the construction, ornamentation, and repairs of the public house. Of these there were sometimes several within the tribal area. They were tilled in common by special families who resided on them, using the crops in compensation for the work they performed on the official buildings.[75]

[73] Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 32, and note 10) makes the very sensible remark that the name "Anahuac" did not at all apply to a "state" or "empire," etc., but in general to all countries situated in the neighborhood of considerable bodies of water;—such as lakes or large streams; or the shores of the sea. [104]

[74] MSS. from Simancas "De l'ordre de succession observe par les Indiens relativement à leurs Terres et de leurs Territoires communaux," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in "Recueil de Pièces," etc., pp. 223 and 224. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV. He includes them positively in the soil of the kinships, and treats them as communal lands, the produce of which furnished military supplies). "Yaotlalli" is improper (see "Art of War," p. 135, note 158), but "Milchimalli" is possible.

[75] From "tecpan," chief-house (Molina, Parte II, p. 95), and "tlalli," soil (Id. p. 124). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). "There was another class of lands which belonged to the chief's income; and those who dwelt on them and cultivated them were

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●651 423 The second class was called "tlatoca-tlalli"—land of the speakers. Of these there was but one tract in each tribe, which was to be "four-hundred of their measures long on each side, each measure being equal to three Castilian rods."[76] The crops raised on such went exclusively to the requirements of the household at the "tecpan," comprising the head-chief and his family with the assistants.[77] The tract was worked in turn by the other members

called Tecpanpouhqui, or Tecpantlaca, which signifies: people of the palace and renters of the King. Such were held to keep in repair the royal palaces, clean the gardens, and to attend to the cleanliness and to the necessities of the royal palaces. They were regarded with much respect, as people most directly connected with the houses of the King. When the Lord sallied forth, they accompanied him, and they paid no other tribute but bouquets (Itamilletes," flower-bunches) and birds of all kind, which they offered to the King. Such lands descended from father to son, but they could not sell them, nor dispose of them in any way, and if one of them died without heirs, or left the place, his house and lands remained for those of his kin ("parcialidad") to put another in his place, according to the commands of the King, or of the Lord."—Herrera (Dec. III, lib. cap. XV, p. 135).—Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196). "Besides these each pueblo also had other kinds of lands called tecpantlalli, or lands of the palace or rentals of the chief, because its crops also went integrally towards the constructions and repairs of the palaces of the Kings, and towards other expenses aside from the sustenance. The people who cultivated them were also plebeians, but they were set apart for it in each place, and were called tecpanpuhque or tecplantlaca, that is, people pertaining to the palaces, and they could not work any other lands." Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques cap. XXXV, p. 242. "There were others known by the name of Tecpantlali, or lands which depend from the palaces of the Lords. The Indians tilling them were called tecpanpouhque, or people connected with the palaces of the Lords"). Bustamante ("Tezcoco," etc., Parte III, cap. V, pp. 233 and 234). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "The ownership of the crownlands, called Tecpantlalli, remained in the King, but certain gentlemen called Tecpanpouhque or Tecpantlaca, *i.e.* people of the palace, had the enjoyment thereof. These paid no tribute but flowers and certain birds which they offered to the King in token of allegiance. But they were obligated to keep the royal palace in repair, or to construct new ones if needed; to tend to the royal gardens, and to care for the vassals in their district. It was their duty to attend court, to escort the King, if he appeared in public; and thus they were highly considered. If one of them died, his son succeeded in all his duties, but he lost his rights by removing from the place, in which case the King gave him the use of another tract, or left it to the community, in whose area the land lay, to assign to him another piece."

The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the King, and only the crops went to certain official purposes. The occupants thereof were not serfs, since it is implied that they might remove at their pleasure, but, as any other members of a calpulli, in accordance with what we shall hereafter show, they lost by removal their right of use to that particular tract. They were properly the "official artisans."

[804]

[76] Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Vedia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "This had to be four-hundred of their measures in square ('encuadro,' each side long); each one of these being equal to three castilian rods. . . ." See "Art of War" (p. 944, note 183). "The rod" (vara) is equal to 2.78200 feet English (Guyot).

[77] From "tlatoca" speakers, or "tlatoani" speaker, and "tlalli." Simancas M. S. S. on the customs of succession ("Recueil de Pièces, etc." p. 223). Herrera (Doc. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "There were other kinds of lands that were attached to the lordship (office?), which they called of the lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, and rented them to whom they pleased, drawing much rent from them,

[Errata, should be "Kin". See 16: Bandelier, cat. 116, p. 663, note 216.—Analyst]

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of the tribe, and it remained always public ground, reserved for the same purposes.[78] 651 423

Both of these kinds were often comprised in one, and it is even not improbable that the first one may have been but a variety of the general tribute-lands devoted to the benefit of the conquering confederates. Still, the evidence on this point is too indefinite to warrant such an assumption.

While the crops raised on the "tecpan-tlalli," as well as on the "tlatoca-tlalli," were consumed exclusively by the official houses and households of the tribe, the soil itself which produced these crops was neither claimed nor possessed by the chiefs themselves, or their descendants. It was simply, as far as its products were concerned, official soil.[79]

The establishing and maintaining of these areal subdivisions was very simple with the tribes of the mainland, since they all possessed ample territories for their wants and for the requirements of their organizations. *Their* soil formed a contiguous unit. It was not so, however, with the Mexicans proper. With all their industry in adding artificial sod to the patch on which 423 311

spending it in the house of the King.") Ixtlilxochitl (Ibid. cap. XXXV, p. 242. "In the best location of the territory there was set off a field, which held exactly four hundred measures in length and breadth. This was called Tlatocatlali or Tlatocamilli that is: land or plantation of the Lord, and also Itonal Yutlacal, or lands on which the inhabitants are compelled to work.") Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 537). Veytia, (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 125, confirms Ixtlilxochitl almost verbally, adding: "For the sowing and cultivation of these the calpixque, which was an officer of the community in each pueblo, daily designated those who had to attend to it, out of the plebeians and tributaries, and all the crops went to the Lord for the maintenance of his house ('casa' family)." Zurita does not use the term which we have adopted, because he is chiefly struck by the communal tenure, as exhibited in the "calpulalli." The fact of their being communal land, though set off for a special purpose, and *not owned* by the chiefs, is plain.

[78] Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 125). It is superfluous to revert to the erroneous impression, that the chiefs might dispose of it.

[79] "Patrimonial Estates" are mentioned frequently, but the point is, where are they to be found. Neither the "tecpantlalli" nor the "tlatoca-tlalli," still less the "calpulalli," show any trace of individual ownership. "Eredad" (heirloom) is called indiscriminately "milli" and "cuemitl" (Molina Parte Ia. p. 57). The latter is also rendered as "tierra labrada, ó camellon" (Molina. Parte IIa. p. 26). It thus reminds us of the "chinamitl" or garden-bed (as the name "camellon" also implies), and reduces it to the proportion of an ordinary cultivated lot among the others contained within the area of the calpulli. It is also called "tlalli," but that is the general name for soil or ground. "Tierras o eredades de particulares, juntas en alguna vega," is called "tlalmilli." This decomposes into "tlalli" soil, and "milli." But "vega" signifies a fertile tract or field, and thus we have again the conception of communal lands, divided into lots improved by particular families, as the idea of communal tenure necessarily implies.

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423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 190 and 191).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII,
[351] p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population,—in the
[312 North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and
764] only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 34). See note 57.

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tracts were but "official tracts," and they were apart from those 651 reserved for the special use of the kinships. The latter may have 423 furnished that *general* tribute which, although given nominally to the head war-chief still was, "for all the Mexicans in common."[84]

The various classes of lands which we have mentioned were, as 618 far as their tenure is concerned, included in the "calpulalli" or 423 lands of the kinships. Since the kin, or "calpulli," was the unit of governmental organization, it also was the unit of *landed-tenure.* Clavigero says: "The lands called altepetlalli, that is: those who belonged to the communities of the towns and villages, were divided into as many parts as there were quarters in a town, and each quarter held its own for itself, and without the least connection with the rest. Such lands could in no manner be alienated."[85] These "quarters" were the "Calpulli," hence it follows *that the consanguine groups* held the "altepetlalli" or *Soil of the tribe.*[86]

We have, therefore, in Mexico, the identical mode of tenure of 423 lands, which Polo de Ondogardo had noted in Peru and reported to the king of Spain as follows: ". . . . . although the crops and other produce of these lands were devoted to the tribute, the land itself belonged to the people themselves. Hence a thing will be apparent which has not hitherto been properly understood. When any one wants land, it is considered sufficient if it can be shown that it belonged to the Inca or to the sun. But in this the Indians are treated with great injustice. For in those days they paid the tribute, and *the land was theirs.* . . . . ."[87]

The expanse held and occupied by the calpulli, and therefore 618 called calpulalli," was possessed by the kin in *joint* tenure.[88] It 423

[84] Tezozomoc (Cap. X. p. 18). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 227). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138. "i no era en mano del Señor disponer de estos Tributos á su voluntad, porque se alteraba la Gente, i los Principales." This refers specially to the tribute by quarters "barrios."

[85] Storia del Messico" (Lib. VII, cap. XIV).

[86] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichim.," Cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545).

[87] "Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, translated from the original Spanish manuscripts, and edited by Clement R. Markham." Publication of the "Hacklluyt Society," 1873. "Report of Polo de Ondegardo" who was "Regidor" of Cuzco, in 1560; and a very important authority (See Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," note to Book I, cap. V). Confirmed by Garcia ("El Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 102).

[88] Zurita ("Rapport, etc., etc., p. 50). "The chiefs of the second class are yet called Calpullec in the singular and Chinancallec in the plural. (This is evidently incorrect, since the words "Calpulli" and "Chinancalli" can easily be distinguished from each other. "Chinancalli," however, after Molina means "cercado de seto" (Parte IIa, p.

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423 posing the tribe; but the idea of sale, barter, or conveyance or alienation of such by the kin had not been conceived.

3. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, held but the right to use certain defined lots for their sustenance, which right, although hereditary in the male line, was nevertheless limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom the said lots were assigned.

4. No possessory rights to land were attached to any office or chieftaincy. As members of a kin, each chief had the use of a certain lot, which he could rent or farm to others, for his benefit.

5. For the requirements of tribal business, and of the governmental features of the kinships (public hospitality included), certain tracts were set apart as official lands, out of which the official households were supplied and sustained; but these lands and their products were totally independent from the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

648 6. Conquest of any tribe by the Mexicans was not followed by
651 an annexation of that tribe's territory, nor by an apportionment of its soil among the conquerors. Tribute was exacted, and, for the purpose of raising that tribute (in part), special tracts were set off; the crops of which were gathered for the storehouses of Mexico.

631 7. Consequently, as our previous investigation (of the warlike
642 institutions and customs of the ancient Mexicans) have disproved the generally received notion of a military despotism prevailing among them,—so the results of this review of Tenure and distribution of lands tend to establish: "that the principle and institution of feudality did not exist in aboriginal Mexico."

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life:[73] hence little was left to him beyond his legitimate wants. 463
We see thus, that hardly any chance was given for the formation of a class which, resting upon the kind of occupation, might assume the position of "caste" in the organization of aboriginal Mexican society.

It is repeatedly asserted, and on high authority, that the mer- 441
chants or traders of Mexico enjoyed particular privileges. We must premise here that merchants, in the sense of venders of other people's manufactures or products (thus living off of the difference between cost and proceeds) were known only in one way.[74] The name for merchant was "man who exchanges one

[73] That the artisans or mechanics contributed a portion of their wares in the shape of tribute, is amply proven. See for instance, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap LI, p. 530. Easily misunderstood!) This passage of Oviedo explains the action of "wrathy chief" towards the "jewellers" and "goldsmiths" at the arrival of Cortés, as related by Tezozomoc, Durán, and by Sahagun. See also: *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 223). *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*, etc.," Parte III, cap. V, p. 232). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 480). *Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. VI, pp. 221 and 222). [651]

[74] The existence of currency, or of money, in the shape of grains of cacao, T shapen 436
pieces of tin or copper, and quills filled with gold dust is generally admitted. See 437
for instance, *Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book IV, cap. II, p. 140). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, pp. 381, 382, and 383). Cacao played, among the ancient Mexicans, the same role as "wampum" did among the northern Indians, for purposes of exchange, but did not go beyond it. In regard to the so-called copper or tin coins, or rather marks or checks, it is well to examine the matter more closely. *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*" in Vedia I, p. 111), says very positively that at Tacheo, he obtained sundry small pieces of tin like very thin money ("á manera de moneda muy delgada"), which he indeed found to have been used as currency by the natives. ("halló que en dicha provincia, aun en otras, se trataba por moneda"). *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCII, p. 89, Vedia II) mentions axes of "brass, copper, and tin" ("hachas de laton y cobre y estaño"), bartered at the market place of Tlatelulco, "and before we left this square ("plaza") we met with other traders, who from what they said, sold gold in grains as they obtained it from the mines, and enclosed in quills of the geese of the land, and so thin ("asi blancos" so white) that the gold might be seen, and by the length and size of the quills they determined how many mantles or "jiquipiles" (bags of 8000 grains) of cacao they were worth, or slaves, or any other things for which they bartered it," ("ó otra qualquier cosa á que lo trocaban"). *Gomara* ("Conquista, etc.," pp. 348 and 349). "But the chief one is cacahuati, which serves as coin. . . ." "Their buying and selling consists in exchanging one thing for another. . . ." (Id., p. 451). "No tenian moneda, teniendo mucha plata, oro y cobre, y sabiéndolo hundir y labrar, y contratando mucho en ferias y mercados. Su moneda usual y corriente es cacauati ó cacao." *Oviedo* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, pp. 316, 317. Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536) mentions only cacao as currency. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIV, p. 260). "It was customary at these marts ('en estos mercados') to exchange ('trocar') one thing for another, and even nowadays this is sometimes practised; but everywhere cacao is most commonly used. In other parts they used, besides, some small mantles which they call Patolquachtli. . . . . Elsewhere they used plentifully some copper coins, almost like unto ("de hechura") a Tau T, two or three fingers wide and made of thin plates ("planchuela") some thicker, other less thick. Where there was much gold ("donde avia mucho Oro"), small quills filled with it, circulated among the Indians," ("traian unos Canutillos de ello, y andaba entre los Indios mucho de esto"). *Alonzo Zuazo* ("*Carta*

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and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.[78] 441 556 565

[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Méxique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 512, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 58), that the Tlatilulca were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II). and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlailotlac, ó acxôtecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 586), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que habia de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 223, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: 'y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por si; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 339–342), how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 58. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively [651 648]

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"tlatocan" as a consequence of the formation of the tribe. Crimes committed at such localities were punished with unusual severity, because they were offences desecrating *neutral* ground which was 368 621 693

plainly stated by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555), and it would even appear as if, notwithstanding the importance attached to Tlatelulco by many authors, that the principal market was the one mentioned by this author as "el que está en la Poblacion de San Juan . . . ," and consequently the proper "tianquiz" of the Mexican tribe. This could only be neutral ground, over which no single kin exercised any authority. It may have been different in regard to the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco; at least the following indications of *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 270) deserve full attention: "Fecho esto mandó el rey que aquella plaça y mercado que ellos ganaron, pues los tlatelulcas no tenian mas tierra, que fuese repartido entre los señores y que la parte que á cada uno cupiese, que de todos los tlatelulcas que alli hiciesen asiento, de todo lo que vendiesen les diesen alcauala, de cinco uno, y así se repartió la plaça entre todos, de donde cada uno cabraua alcauala de lo que en el lugar que le auia cauido se vendia." The above is not quite definite enough, because the "plaza y mercado" of which the friar speaks, is evidently the one mentioned by him (p. 200): "y encerrándoles en la plaça de su mercado, haciéndose los tlatelulcas fuertes, no dexauan entrar á la plaça nenguno de los Mexicanos en ella," whereas he says (p. 270): "que alli hiciesen asiento," as if the place was built over. The fact that the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco was "distributed among the Mexicans" is further asserted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XLVI, p. 75. Kingsborough, Vol. 9): "Axayaca mandó tambien se hiciese repartimiento del tianquiz de Tlatilolco á los Mexicanos, y comenzaron á medir primera suerte Axayaca, luego á Zihuacoati Tlacaelelitzin, luego par su orden Tlacochcalcati, y á todos los capitanes, que fué tenido el tianquiz en mas de sí ganaran cien pueblos." It would therefore appear, if we interpret this "distribution" as it should be done, namely: *as a division of spoils among the kins*, that the latter claimed a share of tribute from the traffic or barter going on in the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco, a fact corroborated besides by that other statement of *Durán* (p. 200): "El rey le mandó, que pues aulan sido traidores á su corona real, que de alli adelante queria y era su voluntad que aquella parcialidad Mexicana del tlatelulco le fuesen tributarios y pecheros como las demas ciudades y provincias, . . ." This, and the uncertainty as to which tianquiz is always meant, favors the assumption that *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 349. Vedia I) mentions Tlatelulco when he says: "Los que venden pagan algo del asiento al Rey, ó por alcabala ó porque los guarden de ladrones." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," pp. 32, 33 and 34) does not mention it, for the words: "donde están personas por guardas y que reciben certum quid de cada cosa que entra" do not apply to the market which he describes as having visited and which, in spite of *Bernal-Díez* ("*Hist. Verdadera*," Cap. XCII, p. 89) I still believe to have been that of Tenuchtitlan, and not that of Tlatelulco. Cortés is strictly followed by *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, pp. 300 and 301) whereas *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 195) copies Gomara. [366]

I have dwelt thus long on this question because it disposes of the notion that the "government" of Mexico levied a tax on the traffic of the members of the tribe. This tax limits itself to a tribute paid by the subjected tribe of Tlatelulco alone, because, as *Durán* says (p. 270) "they had no more soil than that of their tianquiz." This tax was distributed among the kins, like any other tribute. But it does not follow that therefore the kins exercised judicial power over the Tlatelulcan market. This power either remained with the Tlatelulcan tribe, or devolved upon the officers of the tribe of Tenuchtitlan. The former is more likely, although the latter might also have been the case since the Tlatelulcans were treated with great severity, as traitors and outcasts (*Durán*, Cap. XXXIV, pp. 269-271), in which case the tribal authorities would have had to punish them. [651]

That the central or tribal "teocalli" and the courts surrounding it were committed to the care of the tribe, as representing all the kins, on equal terms, in the share which each had in it, is self-evident, and needs no further proof.

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643 of its judicial decisions, although, as will be seen hereafter, this part of the duty was properly assigned to other officers.

The "Cihuacohuatl" was responsible to the council for the careful housing of the tribute received, as far as it was applied to tribal requirements, and for the faithful distribution of the remainder[219] among the kins. This, and the fact that he kept the [65] [212] paintings recording the tribute, has caused Bernal Diez de Castillo to call him "mayordomo mayor," or general Intendant, and "keeper of the tribute" as we have already mentioned.[220]

How the "snake-woman" was the actual associate and colleague of that other chieftain who, after having been originally principal war-chief of the Mexicans, became at last commander of the confederate forces, we have already noticed.[221] We shall yet recur

[219] This results from the authority exercised by the Zihuacoatl over the captives in war. I have already alluded to this feature, and now but recapitulate the following quotations: *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173). Also *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXIX. p. 45, Cap. XL. pp. 64 and 65, Cap. LXII, p. 104, Cap. LXVI, pp. 110, 111, Cap. LXX, p. 119), etc., etc.

[220] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia II): "Acuérdome que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo mayor un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de su papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos."

[221] There is no doubt in regard to the *equality of rank*, though the duties were somewhat different. "*Codice Ramírez*," (p. 66): "Concluidas las obsequias, el capitan general Tlacaelliel que todavia era vivo, juntó los del consejo supremo . . . . . Estos juntos . . . . trataron de elegir nuevo Rey, y todos se encaminaban al valeroso Tlacaelliel, el qual como otras veces, nunca quizo admitir el Reyno, dando por razon que más útil era á la República que hubiese Rey y coadjutor que le ayudasse como era él, y no solo el Rey . . . . . Pero no por esto dejaba de tener tanta y mas autoridad que el mismo Rey, porque le respetaban y honraban, servian y tributaban como á Rey, y con mas temor, porque no se hazia en todo el Reyno mas que lo que él mandaba. Y assi usaba tiara y insignias de Rey, saliendo con ellas todas las vezes que el mismo Rey las sacaba." (P. 67), when the old Zihuacoatl died, his successor was elected: "con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenia." The "*Fragmento No.* 1" ("*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*") is very positive also, almost always mentioning both officers together. *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenóse que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaelliel pudiese traer çapatos en la casa Real y que ningun grande entrase calçado en palacio, so pena de la vida, y solo ellos pudiesen traer çapatos por la ciudad, y ningun otro . . . ."; (Cap. XXXII, p. 255): "Tlacaelliel respondió: qué mas honra puedo yo tener que la que hasta aqui é tenido? qué mas señorio puedo tener del que tengo y e tenido? pues ninguna cosa los reyes pasados an hecho sin mi parecer y consejo en todos los negocios civiles y criminales . . ."; (Cap. LXI, p. 326), the speech of Tlacaelliel there reported is rather too lengthy to copy. Its substance is contained in the closing words: "luego rey soy y por tal me aueis tenido; pues qué mas rey quereis que sea? y asi como asi tengo de tener el mismo oficio y exercicio, hasta que me muera . . . . Sosegaos, hijos mios, y hace mi voluntad, que ya yo soy rey, y rey me seré hasta qué muera; . . ." (Cap. XLIV, p. 357): "el viejo Tlacaelliel, á la mesma manera, al qual, dice esta ystoria, respetanan como á rey;" (Cap. XLVIII. p. 381): "el nombre de Cinacoatl, que el padre tenia, el qual era ditado de mucha grandeça eredado de los dioses; y asi desde aquel dia le llamauavan Tilpotonqui Cinalcoatl, que era sobre nombre diuino." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap.

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642 We have already stated that the tribe was a voluntary association of kins for mutual protection. Though this was undoubtedly the original purpose, it becomes evident that, in course of time and as a result of success in warfare, the tribe, as a military organization, grew into a cluster for procuring and increasing subsistence.[288] This was achieved by gathering booty in successful raids, and by imposing tribute upon tribes whose military power had been overcome in such dashes and forays.

642 Previous to the formation of the confederacy, but few tribes had
648 been conquered by the Mexicans.[289] In fact, it was the nearly equally balanced power of the Pueblos occupying the lake basin, that made the formation of that confederacy possible. Such a course was necessary to prevent them from destroying each other for the benefit of expectant neighbors.[290] But when once this confederacy was formed, then their joint efforts were directed to conquest, and to the acquisition of the means of subsistence through tribute. A e imposition of tribute was a military measure, so, also, its collection was in the hands of the *military* branch of the tribal government. This is evident from the fact that the kins had delegated to the tribe all authority over outside
[643] matters.[291] Hence the "chief of men" became the official head of tribute-gatherers.[292]

[288] "*Art of War*" (pp. 96, 97 and 98, also notes).

[289] The number and names of these tribes are yet undefined. The specifically *Mexican* sources insisting upon a *conquest* of Tezcuco (by force of arms) by the Mexicans, it follows that, according to the *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 51 to 61), the tribes subjected before that supposed event, were the Tecpaneca, the Xochimilca, and those of Cuitlahuac, or the settlements to the west and southwest. *Durán* (Cap. IX to XV) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. VIII to XX) concur; so does, of course, *Acosta* (Lib. VII. cap. XII to XV). The *Codex Mendoza* (plates V and VI) adds to the above the pueblos of Chalco, Acolhuacan and of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca). If we compare it with the *Tezcucan* tradition, as reported by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXI, p. 216) we notice that it is claimed for that tribe, that it assisted the Mexicans in the conquest of Xochimilco and Cuitlahuac, although the formal confederation took place (according to the same authority, Cap. XXXII) some years later. According to *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLII, pp. 148, etc.), *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XIV, p. 291), the Xochimilcas were conquered by the confederates. According to *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," Lib. III. cap. I, p. 150), the Tezcucans subjected Xochimilco. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. V, p. 255) agrees with the Mexican version.

[290] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 61).

[291] This resulted from the constitution of the tribe, as an association of kins for mutual protection and sustenance.

[651] [292] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X. p. 18): "y aunque envian á darlo á Tizcoatl era para todos los Mexicanos en comun." The fact that the gathering of tribute was directly controlled by the "chief of men" is so generally admitted that it hardly needs any further proof. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Lettre*," etc., p. 248, 1er *Recueil*) ascribes the gathering of tribute to an officer whom he calls "tecuxcalcatectli." This should be, properly,

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Whenever any tribe, with or without a struggle, yielded to the warlike power of the Mexicans and their associates, the amount and kind of articles to be delivered, as tribute, at fixed periods, was at once determined between "the parties."[293] For the faithful performance of that contract, the vanquished stood in daily peril of their lives;[294] and in order to watch them constantly, and to regulate the delivery and transmission of the tribute, special officers were maintained among the conquered pueblos by their conquerors. These officers were called "gatherers of the crops," calpixqui. Each one of the three confederates sent its own "calpixqui" among the tribes which had become its exclusive prey, and where, as sometimes occurred, one pueblo paid tribute to all three confederates, it had to submit to the residence in its midst, of as many representative gatherers of duties.[295]

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"tlacochcalcatl-tecuhtli." But we know that the duties of the latter officer were quite different. Still, the collection of tribute being a branch of military life, the mistake is easily accounted for. The military chronicles of the Mexican tribe teem with instances where the stewards are described as under direct orders of the "chief of men," as in *Durán* (pp. 66, 69, 70). It may also be inferred from the exaggerated statements about the tribute system among the Tezcucans, contained in *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV, pp. 239-241). [643 651]

[293] I refer to the following passages of *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. IX, p. 16, Capture of Ascaputzalco; Cap. XV, p 24, Cuyuacan; XVII, p. 28, Xochimilco; XVIII, p. 29, Cuitlahuac; XXVI, p. 40, Chalco; XXVII, p. 41, Tepeacac and Tecamachalco; XXIX, pp. 44 and 45, Tlacocac and Tucpan; XXXII, p. 50, Ahuilizapan, and the Totonaca; XXXVIII, p. 52, Coayxtlahuacan; XXXVIII, p. 61, Huaxaca; Cap. LXI, p. 103, Chiapan and Xilotepec; Cap. LXV, p. 110, Cuextlan; Cap. LXXII, p. 122; Teloloapan; LXXVI, p. 130, Tecuantepec and others; LXXIX, p. 136, Xoconuchco; LXXXIV, p. 148, Nopallan; LXXXVIII, Xaltepec; XCI, p. 159, Quetzaltepec). *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 77; X, p. 94; XII. p. 112; XVII, p. 151; XVIII, p. 159; XIX, p. 171; XXI, p. 185; XXII. p. 191; XXIV, p. 205; XXXIV, p. 269; XLI, p. 331; XLVI. p. 373, etc.). These passages fully illustrate the manner in which the tribute was imposed on the vanquished, at the close of a successful foray. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 271 to 273). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados. . . ."

[294] *Durán* (Cap. LIII, p. 423). Also the complaints of the Indians of Cempohual and Quishuiztlan (Totonacoaas) (on the coast), to Cortés, about the dread in which they continually stood of being overrun again by the Mexicans and their confederates. (*Cortés* "*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I), *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XLV, p. 40; XLVI, p. 41, Vedia II), "*Real Ejécutoria, etc.*" (Col. de Doc's II, p. 12).

[295] This results from the "articles of agreement" of the confederacy. See besides: *Durán* (p. 67). *Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotl* ("*Memorial dirigido al rey, etc.*" "*Géografía de las Lenguas*," *Orozco y Berra* pp. 244 and 245) also states: "The pueblos whose tributes were distributed among Mexico and Tezcuco and Tacuba were the following: Coayxtlavuacan, Cuauhtuchco, Cotlaxtlan, Avlicapan, Tepeaca." Against this there stands the version of *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XLI, p. 59): "Luego allí habló otro principal que se llamaba Mixcoatlayotlacanelitoctzin, dile al señor capitan, que cuando vivia Mocthecuzoma el estilo que se tenia en conquistar, era este, que iban los Mexicanos, y los Tezcucanos, y los de Tlacupan, y los de las Chinampas, todos

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Thus the Mexicans had a number of such officers scattered among tributary settlements. The "chief of men" controlled their actions, but his power did not extend over the "calpixca" of the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan. He could not even appoint the stewards sent to dwell among the tributary foreigners,[296] this power being vested in the council alone.[297] Such an office was by no means a post of honor and enjoyment. On the contrary, there was no more responsible or dangerous duty within or without the tribe. The "calpixqui" while he had not the slightest authority to meddle with the affairs of the tribe where he lived,[298] was expected to watch closely the dispositions and incli-

juntos llan sobre el pueblo ó provincia que querian conquistar, y despues que lo habian conquistado, luego se volvian á sus casas, y á sus pueblos, y despues venian los señores de los pueblos que habian sido conquistados, y traian en tributo de oro y de piedras preciosas, y de plumages ricos, y todo lo daban á Moctheuzoma, y asi todo el oro venia á su poder." This plain and very natural statement, from a Tlatiluican chief who afterwards became "gobernador" of Tlatiluico (*Sahagun*, Lib. VIII, cap. II, p. 234), has been twisted by *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 573), so as to say among other things: "and they had the tributes gathered at Mexico, and here it was distributed among the three Lords according to the directions given by him of Mexico." *Torquemada* has, in this instance, evidently changed the text of his predecessor. There is also an undeniable confusion here between booty and tribute. The former had to be divided among the conquerors while they were yet together; the latter occurred regularly afterwards, and hence did not need to go through the hands of Mexicans again. The story of Torquemada is corroborated by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIX, p. 362), who clearly says that "Fasting Wolf" put stewards only when the tribute belonged to his tribe, but that the whole tribute was brought to Mexico and there "the agents of the three chiefs divided it among themselves. Finally, we have the obscure statements of *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (pp. 244, 247, in her Recueil of Mr. Ternaux).

[296] The "Calpixcayotl" was a permanent office, not a temporary duty or mission; consequently its incumbents could not be appointed by a single war-chief. There is evidence to that effect. According to *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, p. 104), after those of Tepeacac had been conquered, "Chimalpahnahtl" placed a steward in their midst: "Miré que en ello no aya falta ni quiebra; y para queste mejor se cumpla, es quiero poner un gobernador de los señores Mexicanos, al qual sueis de obedecer y tener en lugar de la real persona, el qual se llama Coanoch, y con esto os podeis ir en norabuena á vuestras tierras y ciudades porque al rey no le podeis habiar." (Cap. XXI, pp. 198 and 187). The steward for Cuetlaxtlan was chosen by the "Snake-woman;" or at least his choice was proclaimed by that officer. (Cap. XXIII, p. 209): "Acabado el sacrificio y despedidos los gintepoduo, Tlacaelel, con consejo del rey, creió un virey á Coaixtlavac para que viviese cargo de aquella provincia y de los tributos reales, el qual se llamaua Cuauhchil. . . . ."

[297] This results from the fact that the "Chimalpahnahtl" announced the newly chosen "Calpixqui." In this case he plainly acted as *forman of the council*, proclaiming their choice.

[298] I have already, in note 4, disposed of the statements of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 338): "y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." In further explanation thereof, I beg to call attention to some statements of the interpreters of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XX and XXI): "Los pueblos figurados en los dos planos siguientes, pertenecen aqui, son diez y ocho pueblos, segun que todos entendidos. Por

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nations of those by whom he was surrounded and to report forth-648
with any suspicious movements or utterances that came to his 651
notice. Thus he appeared, in the eyes of the people among whom he resided, as a spy, whose reports might, at any time, bring down upon them the wrath of their conquerors. Again, it was his duty to control the bringing in of the articles promised as tribute, at stated times. Consequently he was the hateful tax-gatherer, the living monument of their defeat with all its unfortu-

los señores de Mexico tenian puesto un gobernador llamado Petlacalcatl, aunque en cada un pueblo tenian puesto un Calpixque, que es como Mayordomo, que tenian á cargo de hacer recojer las rentas y tributos que los dichos señores tributaban al señorio de México y todos los dichos mayordomos acudian al dicho Petlacalcatl, como su gobernador;" (plates XXII and XXIII): " . . . . tenian puestos Calpixques, en cada uno de ellos, y en lo mas principal dominaba sobre todos ellos un gobernador, para que los mantuviese en paz y justicia, y los hiciese cumplir sus tributos y porque no se rebelasen;" (plates XXIV and XXV): "Y á que fuesen bien regidos y gobernados, los Señores de Mexico en cada uno de ellos tenian puestos Calpixques, y sobre todos los Calpixques un gobernador, persona principal de México, y asi mismo los Calpixques eran Mexicanos, lo qual se hacia é probaya por los dichos señores y á seguridad, para que no los rebelasen, y á que les administrasen justicia y oyesen en policia." It follows from the above that the "Governors" were placed, not so much over the tribes, as over the "calpixes" themselves, and indeed the "Petlacalcatl," "man of the house of chiefs," was the head-steward, to whom all the other stewards had to direct their consignments of tribute. Consequently, it is not to be understood as "governor of a province," but only "governor of the stewards," which is totally different.

Besides, there is positive evidence to the effect, that the Mexicans and their associates never interfered with the autonomy of tributary tribes. *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 582): "Los que tomaba de guerra decian ésquilin tlacotle, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los señores mandaban su gente, era debajo de la mano destos de México. . . . *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 68): "Les chefs, restant seigneurs comme avant la guerre, conservaient la juridiction civile et criminelle dans toute l'étendue de leurs domaines."

When the tribes of the gulf coast (the Totonacas, etc.) arose against the Mexicans, 669
murdering the stewards who had been placed among them, they were speedily overcome again, and when they attributed their revolt to the intrigues of their head-chiefs, asking the Mexicans to punish them for it, the Mexicans replied, according to *Durán* (Cap. XXIV, p. 204): "nosotros no traemos autoridad para matar á nadie sino es en guerra: vuestros señores no han perecido en esta guerra si los emos visto, pero no por eso se escaparán, pues vuestras razones y deseo y lo que pedis, se dirá al rey nuestro señor Montezuma, y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado, y luego sin mas dilacion los traed aqui á todos esos nosotros y á muy buen recaudo." Afterwards: "enviaron á Cuauhchili y á Tilancalqui, que eran de los mayores oydores del consejo supremo, para que executasen aquella justicia." The two chiefs were cruelly butchered (p. 206). This story is also related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV, pp. 86 and 88), and it is evidently the instance referred to and illustrated by the *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXVII). The foregoing tells us that even in a case of dangerous treachery and rebellion such as the above, the Mexicans did not claim the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the conquered tribe, of their own accord, but that it required the positive request of that tribe to cause them to act in the premises. Furthermore, the position of the "chief of men" as military executor is clearly defined; "y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado." A very important statement!

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648 mata results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience
651 to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, were the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[200]

648 The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered
651 their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in
202 annually.[200] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-
[727] Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[201] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[202] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[200] *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[200] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII. inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 365, 76 and 77), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 267 and 268) confining himself to the Tecuanas and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Durán* (pp. 246, 247 and 248), *Ramírez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 282). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciation* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 20 Sept., 1554, 24 "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 202 and 204): on *Mechoacan*, *Durán* (pp. 264-267), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 149). The latter mostly copies from Durán. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramírez*" (pp. 62 and 63), and especially from the traditions on the *Sayas* and dances of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[200] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 58, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.), *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues mirad que lo mais de llevar á México vuestros tecomas. Eliss respondiéron que los placia de lo llevar allá y servillos, ..." (Cap. XXIII, p. 234): "y que se obligaron á traelle á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 238, Cap. XXV, p. 248, etc., etc., etc.)

567 [200] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 219 and 212). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of merchandise subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 25, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets, or "automata" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Díaz de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 88, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traianles atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuezos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonacs's" of the coast by the Mexicans "calpixcas" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 16, Vedia I).

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assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[305] "I believe that all through the land roads should be opened which would be practicable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[306] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenochtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[307]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenochtitlan at their head.[308] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[305] "*Second Remedi de Fluos ser le Mudgue*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 181 and 182).

[306] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. [illegible]) figures a bridge at Huejutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Malinaltepec shows, according to his own words (*Id.* p. [illegible]): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[307] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere runners. ("Cerreos"—"Yehuhen tlamatl" *Molina*, I, p. 30, from "Iztuhon"—quick and "tlamatl"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 32 and 112). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. [illegible] and [illegible]), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[308] "*Codex Mendoza*" (p. [illegible]).

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651 489 tives to whom it was delivered.[207] If the gathering of tribute thus required a set of officers necessarily placed beneath the orders of the military chieftain, another set was needed for its preservation and judicious distribution. If the one consisted of stewards dwelling outside of the pueblo, the other was composed exclusively of home-stewards. Every convoy was therefore "consigned" to a proper officer, whose duty it was to receive it and then abide the directions of his superiors as to its apportionment.[208]

[643] 647 651 We have already mentioned the "Cihuacohuatl" as the officer, who was responsible to the council for the administration of the stores and the proper distribution thereof, though he had beneath him another officer, to whom this duty was really and practically assigned. Torquemada and those who have followed his school, call this subordinate "great crop-gatherer," "Hueycalpixqui,"[209] whereas Tezozomoc and Durán apply to him the title of "man of the house of chests" "Petlacalcatl"[210] In both cases, however, he is represented as "chief steward," to whom all the others should render account. He superintended the distribution of the tribute,[211] and to him the kins came for their share—perhaps the largest of all. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish the principles upon which the division took place. All that we know is, that the tribe received one portion and the kins or "calpulli" the other, and that the "man of the house of chests," under whose eyes the distribution took place, afterwards looked to those stores, in particular, which were reserved for the tribe, i. e.: for the demands of the tribal government.[212] Therefore, the "man of the house of chests" frequently appears to be under the direct orders of the "chief of men," who could apply to him, more particularly, for such articles as were required for the exercise of tribal hospitality including gifts, and for displays of finery on particularly solemn occasions.[213] It is true that, as we have elsewhere shown, particular tracts of land, "tecpan-tlalli," were reserved among tributary tribes for the demands of the official

[207] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X, p. 38), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136).

[208] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXII, p. 81): "A los dichos pueblos fué un mayordomo para cobrar este tributo, como para todos los demas pueblos, que en Mexico havia un mayordomo, y otro en el mismo pueblo para mayor cogecion y vasallage."

[209] *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, pp. 344, 345), copied by *Velascurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. IIº, cap. Iº, pp. 370 and 371), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. X, pp. 402 and 403).

[210] Also by the *Codex Mendoza* (Interpretation to plates XX, XXI, etc.).

[211] See note 208, also *Tezozomoc* and *Durán*.

[212] This is so frequently mentioned by *Tezozomoc*, that I forbear detailed quotations.

[213] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," sundry places, too numerous to refer to).

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households,[314] still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the 647
hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and 651
thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.[315]
Over these stores the "Petlacalcatl" presided. This officer was,
in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was account- [212]
able in the first place to the "Cihuscohuatl," who kept a register
or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment.
These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise
to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of [217]
Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[316]

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,— not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,— and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society — the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is 648
superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

[314] "Tenure of Lands" (pp. 419 and 425).

[315] See the concurrent reports about the great dearth, while "Wrathy chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Montezuma Ilhuicamina") was "chief of men."

[316] This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.

000 **Seventeenth Chapter, in which it is told how the Spaniards took Moctezuma with them as they went into the great palace; and what there happened.**

And when they had gone on to reach and enter the palace, forthwith they seized Moctezuma and kept him under guard,[1] never letting him from their sight, and with him Itzquauhtzin.[2] But the others only ran away.

And when this had come to pass, then the guns shot off. All flew into disorder, ran off to one side, pushed from view [as the guns] flashed and spouted sparks.[3] All were as if stricken, drunk, as if all had looked upon [evil]. Fear reigned, as if everyone had lost heart. Even before it grew dark, all huddled in frightened, awed, and thunderstruck groups. All slept in terror.

And when dawn broke, all the things which [the Spaniards] needed were proclaimed [by the crier]: white tortillas, roasted birds, eggs, fresh water, wood — wood for burning, charcoal; earthen vessels — polished ones, water jars small and large, skillets, all [manner of] earthen vessels. [For] in truth [so] Moctezuma had commanded.

And when he summoned the noblemen, they defied him. They were wroth; they would not come to him; they would not go there. He was not listened to. But although not left at his feet,[4] all was given that [the Spaniards] needed—food, drink, chocolate, and fodder for deer.

●652 And when [the Spaniards] were settled, they thereupon inquired of Moctezuma as to all the treasure of the city — the devices, the shields. Much did they tax him; with great zeal they demanded gold. And Moctezuma, upon this, proceeded to lead the Spaniards, who went surrounding and crowding about him as he went among them. He went at their head; they advanced with hands laid upon him, taking hold of him. And when they had ar-

Injc caxtolli omome capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles quivicaziaque Motecuçoma injc calaquijto vei tecpil: yoan in tlein vmpa mochiuh.

Auh in oncito tecpan, in ocalaquijto: çan njman vel quitzizquijque, vel quixpixtinenca, amo connjzcaoaia in Motecuçoma, in neboan Itzquauhtzin: auh in oc cequjntin çan oalquijzque.

Auh in ie iuhquij: njman ie uvetz in in tlequjquijztli, iuhquijn tlayxneliuj, avic viiou, tlaixmoiaoa, tlachichitoca, iuhquijn tlacica, çan oqu juhquijn netequjpecholo, iuhquijn nenanacavilo, iuhquijn tlen mach onnettitilo, maujxtli oonoc, iuhquijn mochi tlacatl quitollo yiollo: çanoc iuh oniiac, nemamauhtilotoc neihiçavilotoc, necujcujtiuechotoc, necochmamauhtilotoc.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic motzatziliã in jxquijch intech monequj, in iztac tlaxcalli, totollaleoatzalli, totolnetl, chipaoac atl, in quauijd, in tlatlatilquauijd, in tecolli, in apaztli, in petzcaxitl, in apilloli, in tzotzocolli, in tlatzoionjlcazitl, in ie ixquijch in çequjtlatquijtl: ichoatl uel tlanaoetica in Motecuçomatzin.

Auh in qujnoalnotzaia pipilti, aocmo quijtlacamatia, ça quallanj, aocmo iujc quiça, aocmo ivic quiça, aocmo iujc omuj, aocmo mocaquj: auh tel amo icxic caoalo, maco in jxquijch itech monequj in qualonj, in joalanj, ioan in atl, in maçatlaãlli.

Auh in no uel motlalique: njmã ie ic quijnemolia in Motecuçomatzin in jxquijch in jeczõ in alepetl, in tlaujztli, in chimalli, ceuca quijmatzaquijlia, cẽca quijmauijzcmoa in teucujdati. Auh in Motecuçomatzin: njman ie ic qujniacanxiuh in Españoles, cokolhujtiuj, quijcpeujtiuj, iaxcpondo icxiuh, thiacac icxiuh, quijxiizquijtiuj, caxxiuj. Auh in onacique in tlatlelicali: itocaiocan, teucaico: njman ie ic oallaqujztilo in jxquijch in petlacoti, in quetzalapane-

1. Cervantes de Salazar, in *Crónica de Nueva España* (México: Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnografía, 1936). Chapter XXVIII[illegible], develops this narrative with much color and detail.

[633] 2. Governor of Tlatelolco (corresponding Spanish text).

3. See Soler, op. cit., p. [illegible], n. 1.

4. Soler (op. cit., p. [illegible]) reads the phrase as *ceno de alimento* — he was not therefore ignored.

652 rived at the treasure house, called Teocalco,[5] thereupon were brought out all the brilliant goods—the quetzal feather head fan, the devices, the shields, the golden discs, the devils' necklaces, golden nose crescents, golden leg bands,[6] golden arm bands, golden head bands.

Thereupon was the gold torn from the shields and from all the devices; and as all the gold was detached, they then burned—set fire to and consumed in flames—all the various precious things [from which the gold was taken]. It all burned. And the gold the Spaniards melted into bars. And of the green stone, as much as was good to their eyes they took. And the rest of the green stone the men of Tlaxcalla stole. And [the Spaniards] walked everywhere; they went digging into every place—where things were hidden, storage rooms, where things were guarded. They took all, all which they saw to be good.

caiuel, in tlaxjtli, in chimalli, in teocujtlacozcalli in iacuaqui diablome, teocujtlaiacametztli, in teocujtlacotzacozcatl, in teocujtlamatemecatl, in teocujtlaiquamatl:

njmman ic ic tlaxculcoalo in jxcch chimalli in teocujtlatl: yoan in jxcch in jxquijch tlaxiztli: auh inic mochi omocolcuh in teocujtlatl, ic ic onxtlecavia, cõtlequechia, oontlemjna in iaquijch nepopoan tlaçotli mochi tlatlac. Auh in teocujtlatl quijxxxxtecaque in Españoles: auh in chalchiviztl in quezquijch quijqualittaque, quicujque: auh in oc cequi chalchiviztl, çan quijnamizque in tlaxcalteca: yoan noviil nenque, quijxaqualotinenque in novian tlatlatican, tlatlaticali, tlatlatiloian, mochi quicujque in jxquijch in quijttaque, in quijqualittaque.

5. The Spanish text of Chapters 16 and 17 refers to the same market, presumably the location of the Tianquiz.
6. Tlazquilchicuaxtli should be read.

423 But on the other hand there were others which were not or appeared
794 not to be in the same condition, since in these the priests functioned
793 as mayordomos (38) and had tenants and neighbors who gave tribute

38. Clavigero, I, p. 281.

only to the temples (39). Perhaps this means that they were calpullis

39. Román, I, p. 120.

or tlaxilacallis whose lords were priests. Reinforcing this assertion is the fact that these people were differentiated from others and felt it to be an honor to be occupied in that employment (40), somewhat

40. Torquemada, II, p. 165.

similarly to what happened in the case of the tecpantlacas. What we can deduce from all the above, anyway, is that in order to speak of the lands of the Temples one takes as criterion the tribute and not the direct utilization of the land by the priests. Furthermore we can ascertain from our data that the calpulli was an organism basic to the existence of these lands in their particular distribution: each calpulli giving a part of its products, or entire calpullis dedicating themselves to giving tribute exclusively for the sustenance of the religious needs. In some cases these were towns removed from the city proper which were tributary to the temples and which alternated each half year (41). But we do not know what happened during the

41. Torquemada, II, p. 164.

half year when they did not give tribute to the temples. It may be that they continued with their calpulli organization and perhaps only gave tribute to their lords.

423 Something similar to that which occurred with the lands of the
● 652 temples happened with the lands for war, or yaotlallis, which had various names according to the products which they yielded, cacalomilli, milchimalli (42) and which were "for /p. 43/ food

42. Vetancourt, I, p. 372.

423
652

rations during periods of war" (43). In part they were lands distrib-

43. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

uted "in calpullis and wards according to the number of people there were in each district" (44), possibly of the city proper. These lands

44. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

were to be found also in conquered areas, since we are told that Moctezuma had in all the towns lands marked out which they sowed for him, as for the temples, and whose produce they brought to Tenochtitlan—if there was no garrison—or the garrison ate it, and if they did not sow, they fed them [the garrison] at any rate (45).

45. Oviedo, III, p. 537.

Thus they appear to be simply lands of the calpullis the tribute from which was destined for the sustenance of warriors and for the needs of war. There is however a reference which apparently contradicts the above, although it is possible that it only supplements it: we are told that these lands for war were on the boarder lines and belonged to no one, nor did anybody inherit them, they being occupied and kept up by the chief who was promoting the war (46). This

46. Anonymous. Relation [Relacion], 1554? p. 145.

appears to mean that the tribute from these lands was not inherited by a determined person but was given over to whoever was the war-chief. Indeed they were occupied by common laborers but their tribute was given to the chief of the armies for the needs of war. The reference to their being on the boarder lines may mean that they boardered on conquered land. The possibility that the characteristic of this type of land was that it was destined solely for tribute could be reinforced with the data of Ixtlilxóchitl where [one finds that] in the lands of conquered lords and subjects there were other kinds of land divisions which were called laotlalli (sic. Yaotlalli), which were gained through wars, and of these the greater part belonged to the three heads of the empire one of whom was

423 652 the war chief; and the rest was given and distributed to the lords and citizens who had aided with their persons and vassals in the conquest of such towns gained in war and this most of the time came to be a third of the conquered towns or provinces (47). According to the

47. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

above it appears that the criterion for characterizing this type of land ownership was the ownership of tribute since they were in reality lands of the calpullis like the rest.

423 We are told of another type of land: the tecuhtlalli (the lands of the tecuhtlis). To elucidate what this means we have three references: one, that on these lands the rulers and lords sheltered those who came fleeing from other towns and provinces (48); another, that

48. Annunciation [Anunciación], p. 238.

each Indian lord on his land /p. 44/.....

[Missing section of text. Translator].....

...when people came to it to settle from other parts and to those that were settled they gave land on which to sow, marked "that everyone might know the lands he is to sow, and most of them have their house on the inheritance which they consider their own" (49).

49. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

According to this all the lands which gave tribute to the tecuhtlis appear to be called tecuhtlalli but their organization may have been in calpullis if the arrived settlers remained together with those who were already settled. One has to think, this possibility notwithstanding, that population immigrations were not always of peoples forming calpullis nor that they organized themselves into calpullis upon becoming established. It could well be that part of these lands were those they called tlatocamilli, of which it is said they were 400 units in length and width, that they were leased, and that the rent was eaten and consumed in the house of the ruler (50), and they

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797 already understood something of the language, and Montezuma gave his permission and ordered us to be supplied with all the material we needed. In two days we had our church finished and the holy cross set up in front of our apartments, and Mass was said there every day until the wine gave out. As Cortés and some of the other Captains and the Friar had been ill during the war in Tlaxcala, they made the wine that we had for Mass go too fast, but after it was all finished we [still] went to the church daily and prayed on our knees before the altar and images, for one reason, because we were obliged to do so as Christians and it was a good habit, and for another reason, in order that Montezuma and all his Captains should observe it, and should witness our adoration and see us on our knees before the Cross, especially when we intoned the Ave Maria, so that it might incline them towards it.

● 652 When we were all assembled in those chambers, as it was our habit to inquire into and want to know everything, while we were looking for the best and most convenient site to place the altar, two of our soldiers, one of whom was a carpenter, named Alonzo Yañes, noticed on one of the walls marks showing that there had been a door there, and that it had been closed up and carefully plastered over and burnished. Now as there was a rumour and we had heard the story that Montezuma kept the treasure of his father Axayaca in that building, it was suspected that it might be in this chamber which had been closed up and cemented only a few days before. Yañes spoke about it to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo, who were Captains and relations of mine, and Alonzo Yañes had attached himself to their company as a servant, and those Captains told the story to Cortés, and the door was secretly opened. When it was open Cortés and some of his Captains went in first, and they saw such a

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number of jewels and slabs and plates of gold and chalchihuites and other great riches, that they were quite carried away and did not know what to say about such wealth. The news soon spread among all the other Captains and soldiers, and very secretly we went in to see it. When I saw it I marvelled, and as at that time I was a youth and had never seen such riches as those in my life before, I took it for certain that there could not be another such store of wealth in the whole world. It was decided by all our captains and soldiers, that we should not dream of touching a particle of it, but that the stones should immediately be put back in the doorway and it should be sealed up and cemented just as we found it, and that it should not be spoken about, lest it should reach Montezuma's ears, until times should alter.

Let us leave this about the riches, and say that as we had such valiant captains and soldiers of good counsel and judgment, (and first of all we all believed for certain that our Lord Jesus Christ held His Divine hand over all our affairs,) four of our captains took Cortés aside in the church, with a dozen soldiers in whom he trusted and confided, and I was one of them, and we asked him to look at the net and trap in which we found ourselves, and to consider the great strength of that city, and observe the causeways and bridges, and to think over the words of warning that we had been given in all the towns we had passed through, that Montezuma had been advised by his Huichilobos to allow us to enter into the city, and when we were there, to kill us. That he [Cortés] should remember that the hearts of the men are very changeable, especially those of Indians, and he should not repose trust in the good will and affection that Montezuma was showing us, for at some time or other, when the wish occurred to him, he would order us to be attacked, and by the stoppage of our supplies of food or of water, or by the raising of

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Ninetoenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianquijsco: auh in ichoatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquijztli, ioã ixquich tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeualli, ioan ixquich aoa, tepeoa in jcnoelacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaquijia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieeian, çan iononian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquijztli: ioan ixquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiioaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzaliztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototl, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixquich nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tiltrochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, aiatl,

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

ioan in ixquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tlilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tiltic chiã, chiauztaotzol, iztzul: tzoli, vezolotl, çiaoatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vej nacaztli: Cymbopetalum pseudolifferum* (Donnell) Rose, in Standley, op. cit., p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "una semilla como hormiga blanca."

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
● 656 from the Cuixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs,
[314] water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
[317] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and
412] rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[20a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzinacaiocl chilli, chiltecpin, teziochilli, chilcoztli, coujzcaiocl chilli, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pochecac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzquijtlamantli zochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçazocotl, zazocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, tezocotl, nochtli, mjzquijtl, itlaaquijllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiocoachtli, quauhaiocoachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, iscuijtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquauijtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlatecoaj, aujctli, matlaquauijtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozciolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in izquijch tlamãtli quijlitl qualonj, xonacatl, tzaianalquijlitl, vitzquijltl, oauhquijlitl, oauhzoontli, itzmjquijlitl, quijllanenel, iztac xoxocoiqoli, xoxocoiohujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaquijlitl, aionanacatl, aiozochquijlitl, eçoquijlitl, cxotl, elotl, xilotl, ooatl, mjiaoztamalli,

4. *Atzitzicuilod*: "*son redondillas, tienen los pies largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos: son crecientes y tienen el pecho blanco: dicen que nacen en la provincia de Anáhuac; viven a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas o lluvia: son muy buenas de comer. Dicen que lloran, y los cuerpos del agua, por tiempo se vuelven en pezes, dicen que las ven correr a bandas en la mar, dentro del agua, y que nunca más parecen*" (*ibid.*, p. 178). Cf. also Sahagún, *Bilingue Kapital*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Anáhuac* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, I, p. 667 (*ahichichilotar*) says there are two species—*Phalacrocorax urinatrix* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipiztzin*: "*son blancos y del grandor de palomas, tienen alto pecho, crianse junto la mar, y al tiempo de comer el mudo vienen and derecho a la tierra: cuando crian aves nacen, entiendese que es tiempo de comer el mudo*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 143). In Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *apipizca*.

6. *Tlalcuacuel*: "*Anseres mexicanos . . . . grandes como los de España: tienen las pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos: tienen buena carne: tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas: las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas cabezas para cuerdas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalcuacuel*), according to Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*—"*Cierto género de chile llamado chiltecpin, muy sazonado y mezclado con ulli*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 192)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Similar, *op. cit.*: note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tecocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, III, p. 158).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *cacomichtli*, *el edible root* (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, I, p. 357). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Zoemedium compositifolium* Hemsl. (p. 659) or *D. parviflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chaiotl*: *chayote*—*Sicyos edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucurbita ficifolia* (Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of quauhquauhtli are identified as *Jacquinia revosa* Linn., *Mimosa sellicina* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metlhuatl*: *cual* (maguey), *cuitlaxcal* (*principio, cimiento*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Sahagún must be in error in translating *cuitlaxcal* as *cardoon*, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*cuitlaxcalli*) as, "*En México especie de alcachofa*" (*artichoke*).

19a. See Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 565-6, 568. Simon suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium: *C. Hundiana* and *C. quinoa* are mentioned.

20. *Xonacatl*: *jocqui*—*Gualt. coquimbalis* H. B. K.; *G. carnosiusculus* L.; *G. conspicuus* Cav.; *G. carnicillus* Dc. (Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Beauchamp (*op. cit.*, p. 226) mentions other varieties of *Gualt.*, but on p. 213 notes that the term *xonacatl* is used also for *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that *xonacapalin* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

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mane; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chia seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necuxtamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 443 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquauitl, acaiiecl, iiectlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocomotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequantli, ioan apantli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xxiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoquitecomatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoquitlatquitl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in ichoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo quimocuitlauia, intequiuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in intequiuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca, aço tlaçotilmacti, anoço chalchiuitl, intla oximachililoc, intlacamo quinextia in aquin quicobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, quitzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequiliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia, [685]

in intequiuh catca tianquizpantlaca quichioaia iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan tzotzoztalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, inic ipan tequitia tianquiztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequitlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 275, describes quauhtli as "hojas y renuevo de las frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *Mercadoyanthemum Mandoni* L.

[p. 70 is blank]

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Cortés ordered Cristóbal de Olid to bring him all the Tlaxcalan captains together so that he could speak to them, and they did not delay in coming; then he ordered them to gather together all their men and go and camp in the fields, and this they did, and only the men from Cempoala remained with us.

648 Just then certain Caciques and priests of Cholula who belonged to other districts of the town, and said that they were not concerned in the treasons against us (for it is [665] a large city and they have parties and factions among themselves), asked Cortés and all of us to pardon the provocation of the treachery that had been plotted against us, for the traitors had already paid with their lives. Then there came the two priests who were our friends and had disclosed the secret to us, and the old woman, the wife of the captain, who wanted to be the mother-in-law of Doña Marina, as I have already related, and all prayed Cortés for pardon.

When they spoke to him, Cortés made a show of great anger and ordered the Ambassadors of Montezuma, who were detained in our company, to be summoned. He then said that the whole city deserved to be destroyed, but that out of respect for their Lord Montezuma, whose vassals they were, he would pardon them, and that from now on they must be well behaved, and let them beware of such affairs as the last happening again, lest they should die for it.

Then, he ordered the Chiefs of Tlaxcala, who were in the fields, to be summoned, and told them to return the men and women whom they had taken prisoners, for the damage they had done was sufficient. Giving up the prisoners went against the grain with them [the Tlaxcalans], and they said that the Cholulans had deserved far greater punishment for the many treacheries they had constantly received at their hands. Nevertheless as Cortés

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treszna fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289] 778 [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: anti vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe *today* in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y dẽsto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y á preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres viẽn que su hijo era de edad para

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721 chamber to thank him for so great a favour and the order was given that the youth[1] who was in Montezuma's company, who was also his nephew and the brother of Cacamatzin, should be raised to the Kingship of Texcoco.

721 I have already said that he had come here to seek the
666 protection of his uncle when his brother wished to kill him, and that he was the next heir to the kingdom of Texcoco. So as to make the appointment with all solemnity and with the consent of all the city, Montezuma summoned before him the principal chieftains of the whole province and after fully discussing the matter, they elected him as King and Lord of that great city, and he was named Don Carlos.

721 After all this was over, when the Caciques and Kinglets, nephews of the great Montezuma, namely the Lord of Coyoacan, and the Lord of Iztapalapa, and he of Tacuba saw and heard of the imprisonment of Cacamatzin, and learnt that the great Montezuma knew that they had joined in the conspiracy to deprive him of his kingdom and give it to Cacamatzin, they were frightened and did not come to pay their court to Montezuma as they were used to do. So with the consent of Cortés, who clamoured and persuaded him to order them to be seized, within eight days they were all in prison and attached to the great chain, and our Captain and all of us felt not a little relieved.

000 The reader who is interested may see what lives we were leading, for every day they were planning to kill us and eat our flesh, if the great mercy of God which always followed us had not come to our rescue, and but for that good Montezuma who always gave a favourable turn to our affairs. Just think what a great Prince he was who, although imprisoned, was so faithfully obeyed, that all was once more made peaceful, and those chieftains were prisoners.

[1] Cuicuitzcatzin.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Therefore, near the eighth decade of the fourteenth century, or about thirty years after the settlement of Mexico, the office of "chief of men" (Tlacatecuhtli) appears to have been established.[48] This is commonly heralded as the creation of monarchy, thus abolishing the basis of organization, or tribal society itself. It is however overlooked that only an office was created, and not a hereditary dignity with power to rule.[49] Its first incumbent, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli), was duly elected, and so were his successors.[50] We have already seen that the Mexican family itself was so imperfectly constituted as to preclude the notion of a dynasty, and it was therefore, as we shall further establish, to the "kin" that the so-called succession or rather the choice was limited.[51] We do not know, nor would it be safe to guess, *which*

Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 159; cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, pp. 190 and 191). It was a military measure.

[48] The dates are variously given. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 53), says 1364, or rather he states that "Handful of Reeds" died at the age of 60, and that his death occurred 1404. He had been elected when 20 years old, therefore forty years previous to the latter date, or in 1364, A. D. *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270), says 3d of May, 1361, or 1368. According to *Sahagun*, and from his lists of Mexican "Kings" (Lib. VIII, cap. I, pp. 268-271), it would be about 1369, but (Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 280), he says he was elected in 1364. *Veytia* (quoting also *Carlos de Siguenza*), says (Lib. II, cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 188), 1361. *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190. Appendix to 1st Vol., p. 598. Vol. II, Sec'd Dissertation, Cap. II, p. 327), says 1352. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), 1375. In the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 9), a date 1384 appears, but this date is of doubtful origin. The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Vol. I, Kingsb., Plate I, and Explanation, Vol. VI, p. 134), says in the year 11. cane, ("Acatl") or 1399. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, cap. VI, p. 356), 1350. *Prof. Valentini* ("The Mexican Calendar-Stone," p. 108), 13, Acatl, or 1375.

In regard to the title of "Tlacatecuhtli" compare "*Art of War*," (p. 122, note 104). There is a singular analogy between it and the title of "*Great War Soldier*," given by the Iroquois confederacy to its head-war-chiefs ("*Ancient Society*," p. 146). Under "men" the Mexicans also understood "braves." Therefore "chief of the braves" also.

[49] In a general way, the following passages are interesting. *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), "because in these times the brothers, sons of the King inherited one another, although from what I have noted of this history, there was no heredity nor succession, but that only those which the electors chose, whether brother or son, nephew or cousin, in the second degree, of him who died, and this order it strikes me they carried (on) in all their elections, and so I believe that many of those who clamor and pray for lordships ("señorios") because of their fathers having been Kings and Lords at the time of their infidelity do not, as I understand, justly claim ("no piden justicia"). For according to their ancient law there were rather elections than successions and inheritances, in all kinds of lordships." I shall give the full text of this very important passage further on. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 336). "Of the Mexican republic I confess this manner of succession, and that sometimes they were elected without regard to anything save their personal qualification."

[50] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[51] Compare *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 336). The former says in addition to what is quoted in note 49. "In all the other lordship I only found but elections and the will of the electors, and thus they never could fail to have a King of that lineage, even to the end of the world, because if to-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 643 666 was the particular "calpulli" of Mexico who furnished the Mexican head-war-chiefs down to 1520 A. D.

174 643 Analogous to the New Mexican pueblo, the tribe of Mexico had, from that time on, its supreme council and finally two executive head-chiefs; for with the creation of the military office of "chief of men," the "Snake-woman" rose correspondingly in importance.[52] No change in that organization took place until the Spanish conquest although within the period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (approximately) thus indicated, we find, at three distinct epochs, mention of virtual changes or subversions of the aboriginal institutions of the Mexican tribe.

174 631 The first one of these critical dates agrees with the third decade of the fifteenth century, or the time when, through a well executed dash, the Mexicans overthrew the power of the Tecpanecas on the mainland.

This successful move, perhaps originally conceived in self-defence, finally brought about the confederacy of the "nahuatl" tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and of Tlacopan. We have nothing to add to our first picture of this military partnership, as drawn in "Tenure of Lands."[53] Still the event deserves special men-

day they elected the brother, to-morrow they elected the "grandson, and the day after the nephew, and thus they went through the whole lineage without any end." This is a plain description of the succession of office in the kin. Torquemada is about equally explicit, and this agreement between two authors who represent antagonistic tribal traditions, is certainly of great weight. To this should be added the statement of *Sahagun* (Vol. II, p. 318), "and (they) selected one of the most noble ones of the lineage ("linea") of the lords post." Even the series of contradictions of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp. 12-20), contain a plain description (if attentively studied) of succession in the kin, and not in the family.

[52] At the time Francisco Vasquez de Coronado reached and conquered New Mexico, its sedentary Indians were governed by a council of old men, and besides they had governors and captains. This is explicitly stated by *Pedro de Castañeda y Nagera*, ("*Relation du Voyage de Cibola, entrepris en* 1540,"), who went with Coronado in 1540, in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1838 (Cap. XI, p. 61), about Tuscayan Cibola, although flatly contradicted again by himself (Part. II. cap. III. p. 164), in regard to Cibola. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XL. p. 681), mentions the "mandòn" (commander) and after him what he calls a "crier" "y despues de èl, es el que pregona, y avisa las cosas, que son de Republica, y que se han de hacer en el Pueblo." The same author is also very explicit (Lib. XI, cap. XVII, p. 337), when he distinctly states: "El Govierno de los del Nuevo-Mexico parece de Senado, ù de Señoria," mentioning also the two other officers.

For the actually prevailing governmental system of the New-Mexican Pueblos the sources are very numerous. I simply refer to *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. I, pp. 546 and 547), *W. W. H. Davis* ("*The Spanish Conquest of New-Mexico*," 1869, p. 415, note 4), *Oscar Loew* ("*Lieutenant G. M. Wheeler's Zweite Expedition nach New-Mexiko und Colorado*, 1874," in Petermann's "*Geographische Mittheilungen*," Vol. 22, p. 212). All the other main sources it would be useless to enumerate.

[53] Pp. 416, 417, and 418, and notes 61 to 70 inclusive. Also note 4 of this paper. In re-

X 787 **Twenty-fifth Chapter,** which telleth of the fourteenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was 771, a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the ● 666 day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxictentica.[1] They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

Injc cempoalli on macujlli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl onnavi machiotl, in jtoca ce itzcujntli: inin qujlmach qualli tonalli, ioan qujl itonal catca, in xiuhtecutli: in qujtoaia Tlalxictentica, cenca vei ilhujtl qujchioaia: ioan ypan motlatocaaltiaia in tlatoque.

X 787 —then set in the one named One Dog. This, they 776 said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedi- 778 cated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli. 782 They formed his image there in his temple. There they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provióed it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] *nextlaualli.* All the food [and array of] Tlalxictentica[3] they burned before him.

Niman oalmoquetza in jtoca, ce itzcujntli: injn qujtoaia qualli tonalli, vncan qujtonaltiaia in tletl, in jtoca Xiuhtecutli: qujtlaliaia yxiptla in vmpa itcupan: vncan qujtlamanjliaia, ixpan tlacotona, copaltema, qujchichioa, qujcecencaoa, in jaqujch amatlatqujtl, inmac iecauja in moteneoaia amatecque, amatlamatque, qujviiotiaia, qujvitzetzeloa, qujnepapaniviiotia, tlaçoiujtica qujnepapanivitzetzeloa: ioan qujchachalchiuhiotia, quitocaiotia nextlaoalli, itlaqual in tlalxictentica, much ixpan qujtlatiaia:

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and Amantlan,[4] they made [the goo] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It seemed that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They spattered and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

auh in noviian cecencalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujltonokoia, in puchtlan, in amantlan: cenca qujveichioaia injc qujmaviztiliaia, tlatlaquakoia, aatlioaia, netlacamacho, necnanotzalo, oc ueca ioan, cenca oc tlaujncalpan in qujtlatiaia amatl, in mjtoa ic qujtlamaca tletl, qujvicatiuh, qujtocatiuh in copalli, cecen petlacalli, ovn petlacalli in contepeça tleco, chipaoac, iztac copalli: ioan qujacotona çaçoltin, iuhqujn tlecujlixquac tlãpatlaca, tlapapatlaca, ieço nemamacaoca, tlalli ic necujujteco tlecujlixquac qujtzitzicujtza, qujnonoqujo in jmerço: ioan no achto tlecujlixquac qujtotoiaoa in vetli: auh çatepan tlecujlnacazco nauhcampaixti qujtoniaoa:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Este decisiue: ser el signo del dios del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, o tlalxictenica.*"
2. *Ibid.*: "*los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica: hauia la fiesta de su eleccion.*"
3. *Ibid.*: "*cerca de la mañana, quemauan las ofrendas de papel, y copal, diciendo: que con esto comia, dauã de comer al fuego.*"
4. Mendoza, op. cit., pp. 70, 64, 68: *calpulli* of merchants, feather workers, etc.

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175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the
796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[18]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was
[669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan.
[731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence,
[782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[14]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-ot-se'en.

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[532]

FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

[754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, sorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[8] (See Fig. 6.)

175 When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a politi-
● 669 cal problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

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city-states, or pueblos, between the Valley of Mexico and the coast were independent communities and, even if tributary to the Valley powers, were often reluctantly so. Therefore, many of these tribes, like the Totonacs, welcomed the invaders as the spearhead for an open revolt. Others, like the completely independent and warlike Tlaxcalans, put the power of Cortes to a practical test in open battle and, when the Spaniards won, became the most loyal of Cortes' supporters. Cholula, a large town loosely allied to the Aztecs, met the Spaniards as friends, plotting to overcome them by treachery, a good Indian political maneuver instigated, perhaps, by Montezuma. The Spaniards, suspecting such a move, counteracted its efficacy by a judiciously executed massacre, thus, if not gaining a friendly community, at least creating a noncombatant one. (See Figs. 7–9.)

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Montezuma and his more cautious counselors watched this

[532]

FIG. 7. Cortes and his army, on passing the great volcanoes southeast of Mexico City, ask the way. Note the smoke issuing from the crater of Popocatepetl. *Codex Florentino*

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nations of those by whom he was surrounded and to report forth- 648
with any suspicious movements or utterances that came to his 651
notice. Thus he appeared, in the eyes of the people among whom he resided, as a spy, whose reports might, at any time, bring down upon them the wrath of their conquerors. Again, it was his duty to control the bringing in of the articles promised as tribute, at stated times. Consequently he was the hateful tax-gatherer, the living monument of their defeat with all its unfortu-

los Señores de Mexico tenian puesto un gobernador llamado Petlacalcatl, aunque en cada un pueblo tenian puesto un Calpixque, que es como Mayordomo, que tenian á cargo de hacer recojer las rentas y tributos que los dichos Señores tributaban al Señorio de México y todos los dichos mayordomos acudian al dicho Petlacalcatl, como su governador;" (plates XXII and XXIII): " . . . . tenian puestos Calpixques, en cada uno de ellos, y en lo mas principal dominaba sobre todos ellos un governador, para que los mantubiese en paz y justicia, y les hiciese cumplir sus tributos y porque no se rebelasen;" (plates XXIV and XXV): "Y á que fuesen bien regidos y governados, los Señores de Mexico en cada uno de ellos tenian puestos Calpixques, y sobre todos les Calpixques un governador, persona principal de México, y assi mismo los Calpixques eran Mexicanos, lo qual se hacia á probeya por los dichos Señores y á seguridad, para que no les rebelasen, y á que les administrasen justicia y oyesen en policia." It follows from the above that the "Governors" were placed, not so much over the tribes, as over the "calpixca" themselves, and indeed the "Petlacalcatl," "man of the house of chesta," was the head-steward, to whom all the other stewards had to direct their consignments of tribute. Consequently, it is not to be understood as "governor of a province," but only "governor of the stewards," which is totally different.

Besides, there is positive evidence to the effect, that the Mexicans and their associates never interfered with the autonomy of tributary tribes. *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 582): "Los que tomaba de guerra decian tequitin tlacotle, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos penia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los señores mandaban su gente, era debajo de la mano destos de México. . . . *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 68): "Les chefs, restant seigneurs comme avant la guerre, conservaient la jurisdiction civile et criminelle dans toute l'étendue de leurs domaines."

When the tribes of the gulf coast (the Totonacas, etc.) arose against the Mexicans, [669]
murdering the stewards who had been placed among them, they were speedily overcome again, and when they attributed their revolt to the intrigues of their head-chiefs, asking the Mexicans to punish them for it, the Mexicans replied, according to *Durán* (Cap. XXIV, p. 204): "nosotros no traemos autoridad para matar á nadie sino es en guerra: vuestros señores no han parecido en esta guerra ni los emos visto, pero no por eso se escaparán, pues vuestras razones y deseo y lo que pedis, se dirá al rey nuestro señor Montezuma, y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado, y luego sin mas dilacion los traed aqui á todos ante nosotros y á muy buen recado." Afterwards: "enviaron á Cuauuochtli y á Tilancalqui, que eran de los mayores oydores del consejo supremo, para que executasen aquella justicia." The two chiefs were cruelly butchered (p. 206). This story is also related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV, pp. 55 and 53), and it is evidently the instance referred to and illustrated by the *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXVII). The foregoing tells us that even in a case of dangerous treachery and rebellion such as the above, the Mexicans did not claim the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the conquered tribe, of their own accord, but that it required the positive request of that tribe to cause them to act in the premises. Furthermore, the position of the "chief of men" as military executor is clearly defined: "y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado." A very important statement!

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tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a
serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
ing ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver
and jade, precious substances reserved for religious orna-
ments, was also a mortal crime.

Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public dis-
grace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage
done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws,
and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with
serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal
property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its pro-
duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

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685 In the above review of those offences and their punishments,
671 immediately connected with that rule of tribal society which
212 places the persons and property of the members of a kin under that kin's special protection, we cannot pretend to have furnished more than illustrations, and not at all a full catalogue. Still, enough has been told, we believe, to explain what is frequently styled the "penal code" of the ancient Mexicans. It is well known, that no actual written laws existed, but on the other hand, at the time of the Spanish conquest, the natives still had a large number of paintings which represented their own manners and customs. Since a considerable proportion of these picture-leaves bore on the same subjects, the inference could be easily drawn that they indicated forms for the guidance of the people, or in other words, that they were a substitute for a written code. This was not at all their object. They were simply efforts of native art intended to represent scenes of everyday life, since these were the most handy subjects for such purposes. Therefore such pictures are to be regarded as convenient remains of aboriginal art, out of which many details concerning aboriginal customs may be gathered, but not as "official" sources, from which to seek information as to the "law of the land."[141]

plata y oro lo desollaban vivo y sacrificaban al dios de los plateros, que llamaban Xipe, y lo sacaban por las calles para escarmiento de otros, por ser el delito contra el dios fingido." This sacrifice to one particular Idol, however, is neither mentioned by Torquemada nor by his predecessor and main source, Mendieta. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII. p. 487) copies Vetancurt almost textually. So does *Ortega* (Vol. III, p. 225, Appendix to *Veytiais* "*Hist. Antigua*"). *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196) copies the former again. Still it is singular that the older the source, that is, the nearer in date to the time of the conquest, the less positive it is on the point of sacrifice. It will be safe to admit that the criminal was killed for a crime committed against worship, without insisting upon a particular place or mode of punishment.

[141] Elsewhere ("*On the Sources for Aboriginal History of Spanish America*," in Vol. XXVII of the "*Proceedings of the American Association for Advancement of Science*," 1878) I have attempted a discussion of the nature of Mexican paintings, and of their value as sources of history. I will add here but two positive declarations, on the subjects of the paintings, which I had not noticed at the time the above paper was read at St. Louis, Missouri, Aug., 1878. *Juan de Solorzano-Pereyra* ("*Disputationem de Indiarum Jure*," 1629, Vol. I, Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 331, § 96): "Quod de Phœnicibus tradit etiam Lucanus, et in Mexicanis nostris experti fuimus, qui si non litteris, imaginibus tamen, et figuris ea omnia, quæ sibi memoranda videbantur, significabant, et conservabant." The other is of recent date, being taken from a discourse delivered before the "Académia Mexicana," by my friend Señor *D. J. G. Icazbaleeta* ("*Las Bibliotecas de Eguiara y de Beristain*," p. 353 of No. 4. Vol. I, of "*Memorias de la Academia*"): "El antiguo pueblo que ocupaba este suelo no conocia las letras, y con eso está dicho que no podia tener escritores ni literatura. Su imperfectisimo sistema de representar los objetos é ideas, tenia que limitarse á satisfacer, hasta donde podia, las necesidades más urgentes de la sociedad, sin aspirar á otra cosa. Así es que no se empleaba sino en registrar los tributos de los pueblos, en señalar los limites de las

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793 nize a priesthood completely separate from civil officialdom; both were mutally dependent. There was a priestly hierarchy, it is true, but it probably operated in conjunction with civil position. Permanent positions may have existed, but in the chapters on religion we shall describe more fully how completely the realms of Church and State coalesced among the people of ancient Mexico, in contrast to the cleavage between them in our own society.

567 Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe, and each member was supposed to do his part in preserving the community. However, the bane of working social orders as well as hypothetical social schemes are those unfortunates who, by mischance, maladjustment or just plain deviltry, do not do their part. The Aztecs, too, had this problem to cope with, and there developed a social class of people who had lost their civil rights and become slaves. This they might do voluntarily or because they were prisoners of war or were punished for crimes or were sold by their parents. Their treatment differed according to the circumstances of their enslavement.* (See Plate 38, bottom left.)

Military captives usually were sacrificed, but those who [727] demonstrated some unusual skill were sometimes bought for domestic service or put to work on some communal enterprise. Criminal slaves lost their free status for such offenses as failure to denounce treachery, membership in a traitor's family, kidnaping for sale a free man, selling another's property without his consent, theft without restitution when over [672] ten years old or hindering a slave from gaining the sanctuary of a chief's house. Penal slaves were privately owned, usually to make restitution to those whom they had injured.

Voluntary slavery was assumed by the poor and landless

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tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
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serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
ing ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver
and jade, precious substances reserved for religious orna-
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Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public dis-
grace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage
done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws,
and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with
serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal
property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its pro-
duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

X 787 754 And when he brought destruction on one, then he chose an evil day sign; he sought and searched it out. They said that he did great evil to one on Nine Dog, or Nine Death, or Nine Grass, and indeed on all the ninth positions, and the other bad day signs mentioned—each of the different positions named.[6]

auh in jpan tepoloaia, vncan quimattiuja in aqualli tonalli, ichoatl contonocaia, contlatotoquiliaia, quitoa cenca ipan tepoloaia in chicunauj itzcujxtli, anoço chicunauj mjquiztli, chicunauj malinalli: ioan in ie muchi chichicunanauj, ioan in oc cequj moteneua aqualli tonalli, in jzquican omoteneuh,

X 787 And of such different positions, it is told that he who had work of this sort, whose labors became these separate tasks, who undertook these various burdens, was never content. He had no food. He lived only in poverty, destitute, without a house or home; nowhere was he a householder; nowhere was he of a happy home, a householder of tranquility. He went looking forward only to misery. He went eating and consuming food for himself only if somewhere something were given him, if he were offered something in order to destroy people as a reward for doing evil to them. Perhaps somewhere he was seized when already he became negligent, slothful, or developed an aversion [to evil]. Then he was seized, and they cut hair from the crown of his head; they took his renown from him and damaged his day sign for him. Thus he was abandoned to his death by the hands of others.

auh in iuh quezquican oenjto, in aquin nuhquj in itequjuh, itetequjuh muchioa, quimotetequjlia, aic auja, atle quiquanj, çan motolinjtinemj, aoneoatinemj, âcan ichã, âcan chanca, amo chane caca, acan chantlamattica: acan chane ca tlamattica, çan icnoiotl quitztinemj, çan ic conquztiuh, çan ic onmotlamjtiuh, intla cana itla maco, nemaqujlilo injc tepoloa, injc netlaquevilo: ânoce-ean axioa in jquac ie otlatlatziujti, ie ontlaxujti, ie otlatlatzilhuj, vncan ano, quitzoncuj, quitleiocnjlia, quitonalitlacoa: ic ça temac onmomjquitzcacaoa:

X 787 754 [778] ● 674 And the ones known as men who danced with a dead woman's forearm, who crazed people,[7] when perhaps they would commit a robbery somewhere and spirit something from someone's home, would adorn the image of One Wind [Quetzalcoatl]. It went as their guide, at their head, guiding, marching in front. And they went bearing with them the forearm[8] of a woman who had died in childbed, and could not give birth to what was in her womb. When they took it from the one who had died, they only stole it during the night: they cut it off at midnight.

auh in ieboantin moteneoa, temamacpalitotiquc, tepupuzzaquzujque, in jquac tla cana ichtequjzque, techan tlaquixtizque, quichichioaia in jxiptla ce hecatl: quinjacantiuja iniacac, inmjxpan icatiuja. ioan quitquicuj in jmacpal moçionquetzquj, in iti ic iauh in auel mjxiuj iquac quicujliaia in quin onmjquj. çan oquichteccacuja, ioaltica in quitequjliaia, ioonlli itic.

And so did they bury her, not at her home, but only leaving her there in the road; there at the very crossroads they buried her. They went skirmishing, fighting over her, and howling as they carried her. And as they brought her out of her house, it was not from the front; only at the back of the house,

auh injc quitocaia amo ichan, çan vmpa concaoaia in vtlica, vncan in uel omxnac contoca, quinôcaliltitiuj, ipan necaliocatiuh, coiovitiuj injc quiujca: auh injc quioalquixtia ichan, amo izcopa in jcal, çan quicujtlacoionja in calli, vmpa quiquixtia injc concaoa vmxnac:

6. *Omoteneua* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*tomapalmitotiquc, o por otro nombre orjnjquanquinjque.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*Un brazo desde el codo, hasta la mano, de alguna muger, que avianse muerto, del primer parto: las curauan, o hacen, el dicho yequando.*" *Sahag., loc. cit.*, describes hypocritics "who knocking on the threshold of a house with the hand of a woman who died in childbed, send the entire household into a paralyzed and unmovable state, and then plunder with impunity the whole house and commit every possible infamy upon its humans."

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they broke a hole, through which they removed her so that they could leave her at the crossroads.[9]

And when those who danced with the forearm would somewhere destroy or rob people, one person carried and bore the forearm of the woman who had died in childbirth, on his shoulder. It was the one on her left, her left forearm. When he came to reach one's home, but had not yet entered the house, first of all he struck the mid-point of the courtyard with the forearm. Twice he struck. On reaching the entrance of the house, he struck the portal, the lintel, and then he passed by the square, wooden pillar. Then he once again struck there before the hearth.

When such came to pass, it was said, no more did one speak out. No one could be aroused. Verily, the householders had swooned with fear. And some of them were in a deep sleep, snoring and rumbling; there was sleeping as if one's nose were broken. And if now some only in vain sat looking, they could not move, nor stir, nor resist. They were stunned; their arms and legs were deadened. For verily they were spread out gazing upward with unseeing, glassy, and staring eyes.

And these great, evil thieves thereupon lit up the torches and sought out the food. First of all they ate; they took it for themselves. None could restrain them. For in truth they had overcome and bewitched the people. When they had satisfied themselves, then they entered the storerooms, the storage chambers, and bundled up and removed all the capes; the large, cotton blankets; the green stone; the gold. Indeed, everything that had been hidden away — the treasures, the guarded things, — all was laden on their backs; all was appropriated and sorted out. Whatsoever it was, they placed as much on their backs, and with it arrayed themselves.

And in very truth, so it is said and so it is known, they did not leave them having done nothing; nor, with no result, did they take their pleasure with them taking advantage of their sleep, of the sleep into which the common folk had been thrown, to hang on to [the women], line them up, rolling them aside and enjoying another's place. There where each one lay apart, where she was stretched out, they simply rolled her over to another place. How much the wicked ones made sport of them cannot be said.[10]

auh in ieoantin in temamacpalitotique, in jquac cana tepolonque, ichtequjzque, oc tlacatl conquechpanoa conmoquechpanoltia in jmacpal, mocioquetzquj, iehoatl in in jopuch, iopuchma, in jquac oacito techan, in aiamo calaquj calitic: oc ie achto itoalnepantla ic tlaujtequj in macpalli, ic oppa tlaujtequj, in oacique, calitempan, qujujtequj in calixquatl, in tlaixquatl: njman iee in tlaquetzalli, ic conmocaoa in tlecujlixquac, oc ceppa oncan tlaujtequj,

in jquac in iuh mjtoa njman aocac naoati, aocac uel mopoçaoa, vel ioiolmjquj in chaneque, auh in cequjn çan vel cocochmjquj, tlacotaliuj, tlaquaqualaca, iuhqujn neacatzaianalocochioa, auh intla ça oc aca nenitztoc, aoc vel molinja, aoc uel mocuechinja, aoc vel momaputla, vel çoçotlaoa, çoçotlacmjquj yn jnma, in jmjcxi, ca nelli mach in acopa teiitztoque, ixtepepetzme, ixpepetzteme onoque, ixpepetzintoque:

auh in ichoantin ichtecpitlachpopul, njman ie ic tlepitza, qujtemoa in tlaqualli, achtopa tlaqua, vel motlacauja aiac qujmelleltia, ca nel oontepoloque, ontepuzaquaujque in jquac qnmoiollaliique njman ic calaquj in tlecopa, in tlatlatilcali, tlamololoa, tlaquixtia in jxqujch tilmatli, in quachtli, in chalchiujtl, in teocujtlatl, in ie ixqujch tlatilonj, in tetzontli, in pielli, netlacujtlaputzmamaltilo, netlanêuectilo, netlatatililo, in çaço ac qnenqujch ic conmotlamamaltia, ic onmochichioa:

auh in nel cenca iuh onmjtoa, in iuh onmachiati, amo nentecaoa, amo nenquijca, teca mauijltitoa in iuh cochioa, necochitilo macecalpan pilcoutoc, vipantoatoc, teiiquanja, tepapatla, in vncan ceceiaca ioneia, inetecaia, oc ie cecni conteca, amo vel mjtoa, in quenqujch ic teca manjltia tlaueliloque:

9. Cf. account of the [illegible] in Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, pp. 316 ff.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible], y desmantelaban en las mugeres, de aquello [illegible]."

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And as they went along the road, nowhere did they rest or refresh themselves. They immediately sought out their homes. It was so said and affirmed that if any of them rested by the road, he could no longer go, rise up, nor travel. There the dawn would overtake him. He would betray his fellow thieves. They would be seized; each one seized and imprisoned, despoiled, and firmly bound.

auh injc vi otlica acan mocuja, ſclan mjpaqiscevia, ça qujn cē vmpa qujmattiuj in jnchan: inh mjtua, qujlmach intla aca mocevix vtlica: aioc vel yaz, aio uel mocaz, aioc vel otlatocaz: vncan ipan tlathujz, qujnnexoqlaz in jchteccaicnjoan, anoaque, çaçacoaque, namoiolonque, tecácatzilpilos.

Thirty-second Chapter, which telleth of the tears, the lamentations, and the misery of those who had been robbed, whom those who had danced with the dead forearm had plundered; and of the rest of the houses belonging to [One Wind].

In] cempoalli ommatlactli omome capitulo: yztchpa tlatoa in jnchoquiz, in jntlaocul, yoan in jnnetolinjliz in jchtequjliloia: in quimjchtequjliaia in temamacpalitotique: yoan in oc cequj calli, in jtech pouhquj yn.

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And those who had been despoiled later then revived, moved, continued to stir, and rose up; they arose one by one. They to whose home the thieves had come stood up. They looked into the hearth, and into their coffers, woven reed containers, and palm leaf baskets. The bracelets, the green stone, and the quetzal feather mats, the mats of quetzal feathers, no more lay about. All was bare and laid waste.

Auh in ichoantin otlaquiztililoque: quinjquac muzcalia, moölinja, mocuecuechinja, meoa, meeoa, meoatiquetza, in oacique itichan ychtecque: yn ontlachia in tlecopa, yoan yn jntopco, in jnpetlacalco: in jtanaioc in maquiztli in chalchiuitl: auh in quetzalpetlatl, yn jpetlaioc in quetzalli, aioc tle onvetztoc, ça cácactoc, ça nemjuhian:

otlacemjtquijque, otlaccia, oquimontlacemjtquijlique, ontlamaololoque, oquimontlamaolollhuique, ontlanamuxique, oquimontlannamojelique, otlanavac *ontlavicaque, ontlacemjuhcaxtilique, oquimonpeztoccauhque*, ovekquimonchiuhque, oquimonjcnochiuhque, icnoiotl oquimontlaxilitiaque, oquimontlaixpulvique, oquimontlacecemmanjlique:

ça ẽia, ça nelli mach in moorta, tlachoquiztleoa, tlatecoioca, tlatetecoioca, tlatzatzirtleoa, momamatlatzinja, momamapuztequj, mixaiopatzca in cioa: que çan nel oc nen, quen oc, tle ça nel nen, tle ça nen, tle oc nen, tle oc ytlatollo: ac onnelhujlos, campa nel onmjtas, in manel momamaiavi, motetentimaiavi, mixtetzoctona choca, ca onitquiosc, ontlacemjchictia, oncemjchictia, ontlachichictiaque, oconcemjchictiaque, yo atlaxxcavilli, in aiaxcaio, in aiaxcan otzintic, oncloaioeac, in jpatiuh in molicpitl, in tetepantli, in aiaxcan onex, oçaçaliuh: injc omacoquexa, omotlapivi in jcococauh in tetecujo in tlatquijtl er.

In this manner they said that those who danced with a dead woman's forearm destroyed people, those known verily as genuine thieves, struck-by-

Iuin in quitoa tepoloaia: in motenecoaia vel teuchtecque, tetlõtonque, tepatlachti: in ichoantin temamacpalitotique. Auh injc tocaietilo tepotzmque:

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X 787 stones, crushed-by-stones. And hence were they named "struck-by-stones"; if somewhere they could
674 be taken, they just stoned them. They set upon them
685 with stones; they were felled by stones; they beat and mangled them with stones; they crushed their heads with stones. Then and there were taken and plundered practically all their stolen goods and loot, etc.

X 787 And as was said above, so that it be not mere idle words, we shall consider it, and it will be discussed and explained in detail; we shall elucidate and explain at great length, expound it, develop it, and enlarge upon it. That which is different we shall go on explaining in detail; we shall do it twice, thrice, or four times. But to make it clear, we reflect upon, try to realize and give form to that not yet apparent, and not determined above; that which is still being established, considered, denied;[1] that which is not yet in one's heart, not yet understood or comprehended — not yet taken to heart, the discussion not yet clear. For many times we have gone hurrying back to all which hath been told. For that reason, that which is here present we pass over, we quickly skip over, we hurriedly leap over the fragment. No more do we correct or deal with over the fragment. No more do we correct or deal with over the fragment. No more do we correct or deal with

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

692 that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsi-
[186] bility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were
775 rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

• 681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuia: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

1 g KL
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros,
4 c yuã por juncas a Citlaltepec: que se
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab-
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se
13 e defendia: maltrataualle de tal manera
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn-
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian
g 13
A 14
b 15
c 16
d 17
e 18
f 19
g 20
A 21
b 22
c 23
d 24
e 25
f 26
g 27
A 28
b 29
c 30
d 31
e 1[1]

los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes mataua muchos cativos y otros

1. Marginal notations: fenjan los dias xxx.

In this house,[1] which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante della perfumes, y comjda: dezian que este era el signo de quetzalcoatl. 796[A] [778]

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and beseought of this god that he grant them favors; for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjqujztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comjda: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gẽte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso. [778]

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Cioapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuatecalli*, or by another name, *ciuatepan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatetauitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujauitl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quãdo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas enfermedades, a los que topauã fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan ciouatecalli, o por otro nombre ciouatepan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amatetauitl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles. [776] [784] [778]

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce qujauitl: en la quarta casa que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy malafortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de superticion: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viessen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to- [681] [777] [463]

[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

all had set forth, at the place of embarkation, thereupon all bathed, and then departed.

And the canoe they then went and beached, at its resting place, at the place for beaching canoes.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all the priests washed the blue color from their foreheads, over at the priests' bathing place.

And whoever had hidden himself away, who had fled, hiding, during the fast for Tlaloc, when men were arrested [for misdemeanors], then, when the blue stain was washed from their heads, they cast him [into the water].

And when this was done, then all departed. Then they took outside the reed mats, bringing them from the priests' dwelling. They were carried out, and they cast them behind the priests' dwelling.

Enough. Here endeth [the account of] the feast day, Etzalqualiztli.

in neacalaqujloia, njman ie ic nealtilo, mec viviloa. 796X

Auh yn acalli, njman ic vi qujtecazque, yn jonoia, yn acaltecoian: [504]

auh yn otlatujc, njman ie ic nequatexopaco: in tlamacazque vmpa yn jnnealtiaian, tlamacazque. [515]

Auh yn aqujn çan motlati, in çan mjnax, in iquac netlalocaçaoaloia, yn axioac, qujniquac ica nequatexopaco: vmpa atlan qujpapachoa. [681]

Auh yn ie iuhquj mec viloatz, mec tlaqujqujxtilo, tlaccoalo in tolpepechtli in vn: ..i calmecac: tlaqujqujxtilo, calteputzco contlatlaça.

Je ixqujch, vncan tlamj y, yn ilhujtl, in etzalqualiztli.

X 796 264 bore [food], who carried [food] in their cloaks, who served at table; [and] the pages. Beginning with the first-comers, he who served at table thus served them X 796 262 as many *tamales* as they could take in one hand. He gave them perchance *tamales* made of maize treated with lime; or else made with fruit; some [he gave] *tamales* of maize blossoms; or with twisted ends, or sweetened with honey. Of the *tamales,* some had twisted ends and were filled with grains of maize; some took the twisting forms of green beans and were filled with grains of maize.[2]

in tetlamacazque, in tetlamamacazque, yiacac valpeoa in tetlamacac, injc tetlamaca, in quexqujch veliti qujtzitzquja tamalli, izqujch qujtemaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço xocotamalli, cequj mjiacotamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollaoio, cequj iezoõcoolotlaoio:

X 796 264 And they who served [food] looked to the small children, serving them well, with much concern. And some of the table-servers offered *tamales* only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as their kin or their friends. Twice or thrice they offered them [food].

auh in tetlamacaia in qujmittaia pipiltzitzinti, cenca vel qujntlamacaia, cẽca tlatlaocultiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacaque, çan qujteiximatcamaca in tamalli: qujmjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, expa in qujntlamaca.

And none might deceive in taking *tamales.* And any whom they saw trying to take *tamales* dishonestly, such, when they saw him, they punished, striking him, leaving bloody welts, with a cord made of reeds. What had been given him, they took from him all; they took all his *tamales,* his own which he had set aside, those which had fallen his lot.

● [681 283]

Auh aiac motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aqujn qujttaia motamalixcuepaznequj, in tlaittvz, qujviviteguj, qujtatacapitzvitequj tolmecatica: in quexqujch omacoca mochi qujcujlia, qujcencujlia in jtamal, inevian conmocavilia, inevian õmonexotla.

And some they did not come to—[those] with whom [the line] broke off, those who came last, at the end, at the tail [of the line], even though they crowded their way forward, going up among the throng. Nothing at all was offered them, for at first there was much crowding and violent forcing, because they feared that with them [the line] might break.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, ichoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temaxelotiuh, injc tetlan calaquj: çan njman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachto, cenca nemamaliva, cenca netotocholo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlacoton.

And those with whom [the food supply] ended all wept. They said:

"What shall we do, we who are ill-fated? Evilly hath the feast day come! To what vain end is our ill fortune? Unhappy are our little ones!"

Auh in quexqujchtin impan tlacotonj, nechoqujlilo: qujtoaia,

quennel titotolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen totlaihiioviliz motolinja in topilhoantzitzin.

And if they saw that, apart, perchance, [*tamales*] were still being eaten, then they hurried over there. All ran; there they betook themselves; there they jostled them, like clamoring [beggars]. Although [those who ate] came against them and beat and struck their heads, yet they went on breaking in among [the eaters], crowding among them roughly.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaqualo, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlalolo, vmpa motquj, vmpa onxoqujvi, iuh qujnamopevilmatque, in manel qujnoaltoca, qujnvalhujtequj, in qujnvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

X 796 736 And this feasting went on for seven days. And for this reason was this done—purely that the chief might show benevolence to others by giving his bounty to

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh injc mochioaia y, çan je tetlaocuiiaia in tlatoanj, in qujntlaoculiaia in maceoaltzintli: iehica ca

2. "Ces tamalli étaient faits avec . . . tenexilli, chaux; xaxaxi, fruit; mizauxal, fleur de maïs; yacacolli, espèce de maïs, et xocotli, miel. Les deux autres étaient composés, le premier avec le maïs appelé yacacolli, et le second avec des fleurs (xaxi) séchées (cocolisc)" (Joseph and Simpson translation of Sahagún, p. 118, n. 2).

X796
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689

condemned to die. Not now might he leave; no longer was there help for him nor [now] a second judgment; no longer had he hope.

When whosoever [had been tried] had been condemned, all were summoned at sundown, assembled, and set apart, that the words [of the judge] might be published everywhere.

It was said: "On the morrow they will die. All of the common folk will be moved. Some of those who drank we shall leave alone, that, verily, they may fall into fear."

They came with wrists bound together. They placed them in the midst [of the market place]. Thereupon the judges spoke, warning all, speaking of wine, which no youth might drink. Only when they matured, when they had become old, [might they drink]. And those who had youths, who already had maidens [as grown children], verily their privilege it was that they might drink wine.

[681] And thereupon, when [the judge] had delivered his judgment, then Moctezuma's executioners, his slayers, struck the backs of [the criminals'] heads. [The executioners were] the Quauhnochtli, Ezuauacatl, Tiçociauacatl, Tencacoacatl, Maçatecatl, and [644] Atenpanecatl.[12] These men were not noblemen, but only lesser officials,[13] who were under command, who were chosen and approved for their office [because of their] strength, vigor, and ingenuity, and because they spoke pleasingly.

And when [the drinkers] had been slain, then all who were reasonable were struck with terror and fright, so that they verily changed their ways. And those who were foolhardy and undisciplined, who could not be spoken to, the effeminate, the stupid—they only laughed; they only jested at the warning. They only listened to it lightly and ill. Not then did they note the words; not thus were they frightened of death.

And thereupon, when all had been slain, then all dispersed in disorder, raising a great dust, shaking out their cloaks—scattering, breaking up, dispersing, all going off to their homes. Then the place where they were became calm.

Here ended the celebration of the feast day called Uei tecuilhuitl.

tlatzontequjlilo, mjquix, aocmo quiçaz, aoctle itzacujl, aocmo ichicomatl, aoctle ynetemachil.

In aq'n oixnaoztilox, teutlacpa in tetlalujlo, in necenquijxtilox, necentecox, in çaço cãpa ie motenenaz, in jtlatollo:

mjtoaia, muztla micoaz, inquijch tlacatl olinix in maçeoalli cequjntin tiquijncaoa in tlaoãque, in ca mauiztli uetzix.

Mamailpitiuitze, tlanepantla qujntlalia: njman ie ic tlatoa, in tecutlatoque, tenonotza, itechpa tlatoa in vetli, in aiac quix in telpuchtli: ça quinjquac in otlachicalujque, yn oueuetique: yoan in telpuche, in ie ichpuche, vel innemac catca in tlaoanazique.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ontzonquix, in tecutlatolli: njman ic qujncuexcochujujix quj, yn itemicticaoan, in itequacaoan in moteçumatzin· in quauhnochtli, iezoaoacatl, ticociaoacatl, tezcacoacatl, maçatecatl, atenpanecatl: in ichoantin yn, amo tetecuti, çan achcacauhti, tlanaoatilti, tlaixquetzalti, tlaqualitalti, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, yoan iolloque, in vellatoa.

Auh yn iquac ie mictilo, ic necujtiuecho, ic mocujtiuetzi in tlacaqujni, in uel monotzanj: auh in iollotlaueliloque, yn atlanonotzalti, yn auel monotza, in tlacioaizcaltilti, in tzonteme, çan qujuetzca, çan qujcamanaloa in tenonotzaliztli, çan qujcamanalcaquj, çan caujlcaquj, avmpa qujtta in tlatolli, amo ic mauhca çonequj, in temjctilizti.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn oomjcoac: njman ic tlatzomonj neacomanalo, teuhtli qujquetza, netzetzelolo, cecenmanoa, xitinoa, xiritonoa, moiaoa, viujloa, viuj yn jochachl: njman cactiuetzi yn vncan onooaia.

Nican tlamj, njcan tzonquiça, inic ilhujtl muchioaia: yn jtoca Vey tecujlhujtl.

12. *Quauhnochtli* is the term given the heart of the sacrificed victim. See *supra*, Chapter 21. The others may refer to the towns from which the officials came.

13. "Y de estos mancebos no se elegían los ancianos que regían los pueblos, sino otros oficiales más bajos de la república, que se llamaban *tlachcacauhtin* y *tlacochcalcatl*, porque no traían barras solas, por ser amancebados y también decir palabras lisonjeras y usar de burla, y *tlaxilaloa* con *tolerlos* y *condonarse*" (Ixtlilxóchitl ed., Vol. I, p. 281).

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 563 684

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Tequjuacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautrequj: 701

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, ichoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aquju tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ic calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa; in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia. çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc iohoan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 624 535 291 301 342 513

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açoc tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açoc atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzootequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açoc qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlacochcalcatl, tlacatecatl*: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-63.
10. *Atlac nemecatiliztli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *amoyo tetlamacatiliztli*—or adultery.

561 681 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the [697] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquijpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in oauhtli, in chiantzotzol, ixtacomjtl, ixtaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiocachpetlatl, quauhaiocachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncalxaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 651 681 344 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujncaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoalixtli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel: njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 574 431 344 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatenteetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtenteetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Cuitlaxcoac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Tailpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada tailpilcyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca leve; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought for were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; ● [681] hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia Iuezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in tetlatzontequjliliztli, qujcaquja in jxqujch in jneteilhujl: ioan in jchoqujz, in jnentlamachiliz in jnetolinjliz in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh injc uel qujneltiliaia in tlatoanj in teneteilhujl anoço tetlatlacul qujmjxquetzaia, qujnpepenaia in jtecutlatocahoan: ichoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaieculiliz in oncã in qujnj, in qujquanj, in mocujltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oqujchti, in iauc omozcaltique, mjiec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjliztli, oqujmaujçoque: auh in jaquj tlamantlj qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in jnpiltian oqujmomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan nemjliztli, iauqujçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhq̃ij, injc qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, inic qujmjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti ichoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omooapaouhque, in tiacahoan in oqujchti, in mjiec tlamantli oqujmaujçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in qujnpaqujltia, in qujntlauhtia, ioan in qujnmaca, in jxqujch intech monequj:

iuhque in in qujmjxquetzaia, in qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in mocalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliujz moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca qujmaujzpia in tecaiotl, amo cochinj, cenca cochiçanj amo tle qujcnjuhchioa: amo tle qujoaiolcachioa: amo tle qujtecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlaujltica qujcaquj, anoço qujtzontequj: qujmjqujznaoatiaia, in tlatoanj: injc melaoac qujchioazque in jntequjuh, in tecutlatollj: auh intlacamo, ca ichoantin conmotzacujlitiazque in tecutlatoque, in tlein qujtlaconque.

Auh in jcoac, oqujenjxquetz in tlatoanj: in jtecutlatocahoan qujnmacaia vntetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

5. [illegible] cf. ibid., p. 318 (for [illegible]) and p. 321 ([illegible]).

565 of not contributing. On the other hand we have a counterpart to these
651 macehuales who did not contribute: there were lords who being caught
[681] in a crime were punished by "being condemned to death" or to exile or to being sheared, or they were made macehuales (33), that is, they

33. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

were pillis from whom was taken the right to exact tribute and on whom was imposed the obligation of contributing. We saw also earlier that not all lords were exempt from contribution. We can think, nevertheless, that these cases must have been an exception, and that in general the macehuales were tributary and the pillis tribute-exacting.

We would thus have in Tenochtitlan a whole gamut of people in different situations with respect to tributation: people receiving tribute from all tribute-paying persons, people receiving tribute from the members of their calpulli, people neither tributary nor tribute-receiving, and people not tribute-receiving but tributary. According to the above data there is no doubt that there was present a marked differentiation among these levels of the population, at least. If we were to take these data only into account, of course we would have to think that the Tenochca society had classes; but if we analyze other data at our disposal, we will see the great importance which inheritance had in the belonging to each one of these levels (except that composed of the valiant in battle), which removes the class-like character from them. In the first place we are told that upon
565 the birth of children "they were washed by the priests and after being
852 washed they [the priests] would place in the child's right hand a tiny sword and in the left, a little shield. The children of the common people were given the insignia of their occupation, and all this beneath some idol" (34). From this it is infered that the people were

34. Acosta, José de, p. 425.

differentiated by their rank from birth: some were born destined to serve in war and on the frontiers (those with the little shields, who were not commoners) and were not to apply themselves to base work, and others were born destined to be laborers and to have humble and vile occupations. Now this situation was hereditary since the pillis
565 were called "lords" (35) and were the sons and grandsons and

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily
556 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.
565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 380 and 381). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 389, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 360. Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, p. 536, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

[681]

[618] That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Aoachtlan, y otro Atlanhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventaderos y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cado uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tumemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

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618 only established within that kin's territory, but it is also recog-
346 nized even at the central medicine-lodge of the tribe.

727 A further evidence of it is found in the manner of distribution of the captives, upon the return of a successful war-party. It is known that prisoners were always offered up to the idols. Such a person, therefore, as soon as secured, became an object of "medicine;" he was so to say a sacred object. Well treated as long as he was not needed for the slaughter-block, nothing could in the end save him from sacrifice. But this sacrifice itself was not made in behalf of his captor, but on behalf and for the *kin* to whom the captor belonged. Therefore upon arrival at the pueblo, the prisoners of war were turned over to the respective calpulli as their share thus furnishing another illustration of "Separate Rites of Worship" of the kins composing the ancient Mexicans.[118]

000 Having already discussed, in a former paper, the *tenure of Lands and customs of Inheritance*[119] we now pass on to one of the most essential features of tribal society, and one which involves some of the vital points of organization and customs.

618 *The kin was obligated to protect and defend the persons and prop-*
681 *erty of its members, and to resent and punish any injury done to them, as if it were a crime committed against the kin itself.*[120]

The impression justly prevails, that the so-called "penal code" of the Mexicans was simple but severe, death being, in most instances, the punishment of offenders. This resulted, in a great measure, from the fact that any offence against an individual

[118] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII. p. 133), rather contradicts himself when he says first: that the captive belonged to his captor, but at the same time, that this captor was even killed if he *gave* away his prisoner to another man. Second: that each one had to watch his own prisoners, and at the same time they were guarded in common, and at the risk of the "barrio" or kin, which was responsible for their safe keeping. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540) copies this almost literally. Much more positive and clear is *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173): "mandó Tlacaellel repartir los cautivos, porque eran muchos, por todos los barrios y que cada barrio se encargase de guardar y sustentar tantos . . . . . Los mandones de los barrios repartieron los presos á cada barrio, á como les cauia." (Cap. XXI, p. 186): "Montecuma los mandaua vestir y adereçar y llamauaya á los Calpixques, que son los mandoncillos de los barrios, y entregauanlas, para que tuviesen cuidado dellos, diciendo que eran la merced del sol, Señor de la tierra, que los daua para el sacrificio." (Id., cap. XXII, p. 192. Cap. XXVIII, p. 237): "luego fuéron repartidos entre los barrios y encomendados á los mandoncillos." (Cap. XLII, p. 343, etc.). *Tezozomoc* ("*Cronica*," cap. XXIX, p. 45; XXXII, p. 51; XXXIII, p. 53; XXXVIII, p. 61; XLIX, p. 80, etc.), confirms Durán as might be expected.

[119] "*Tenure of Lands and Customs of Inheritance*," 11th *Report of Peabody Museum*, 1878.

[120] "*Ancient Society*," (pp. 76 and 77). Compare *H. Ludwig* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," pp. 501 and 502), among the ancient Germans.

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became, according to rules of kinship, one against the social group to which he belonged. This presupposes again a general division of crimes into two classes, one of which includes such as were committed by members of the kin against other members thereof or against institutions of the same group to which they belonged. The other comprises offenses committed by inhabitants of one calpulli against those of another. It is only the first class which we take under consideration here, the second we reserve for our discussion of the mode of government. Crimes committed within the kin can be classified as against persons, against property, and against medicine. 618 681

The aborigines of Mexico are generally represented as being, in their every-day's intercourse, of a quiet, peaceable, inoffensive disposition, contrasting strongly with their savage ferocity in warfare. This was not however due to any innate gentleness and mildness of nature, but only to the peculiar restraint enforced upon them by the law of retaliation or revenge.[121] Brawls resulting in bodily injury were therefore of extremely rare occurrence, and then it was left to the parties to settle it among themselves. In such cases, as in the event of mutual jealousy, a challenge often passed between them, and this challenge brought about an encounter at *the next campaign* when, while the warriors were engaged with the enemies of the tribe, the contestants fought as if they had belonged to opposite camps, until one of them [181] 626

[121] The character of the Mexican Aborigines is variously depicted by older writers. It appears as a mixture of childlike docility and fierce passions. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 18. Vedia, Vol. I). speaks of them according to the reports of the Tlaxcaltecans. *Bernal Diez* ("*Historia* etc.," pp. 309 and 310. Cap. CCVIII. Vedia II). specially dwells on their vices and their cruelty, as evidenced in their sacrifices. "*El Conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Docum., I, pp. 371, 383, 387, and 397), places great stress on their ferocity, although he also says that they are very obedient. The missionaries generally exalt their good sides—their docility and faithfulness. Compare *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XIV, pp. 76 and 77). The same (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), mentions, however, their vices also, attributing nearly all of them (idolatry excepted), to their inclination towards intemperance. (Trat. II, cap. IV, p. 113): "Lo que de esta generacion se puede decir es, que son muy extranos de nuestra condicion . . . ." *Zurita* (p. 197—207), is very bitter against such as treat the Indians as barbarians. (Id., 42 and 43). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLIII, p. 206), says that they were very willing to forgive and ask to be forgiven, the latter taking place, before going to confess themselves, sometimes before all the relationship and the neighbors: "suelen algunos juntar (al tiempo que se quieren confesar) toda su parentela y vecinos con quien communican, y pediriles perdon en la manera dicha." Against this, it is reported by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535), that "these people were naturally more vindictive, than all the rest of the world." Compare also the descriptions of the character of the Mexicans in *Clavigero* (Lib. I, cap. XV).

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In this rapid sketch, we have failed to find, among aboriginal 681
modes of punishment, two which were common to almost every nation of the old world, namely: whipping, and imprisonment.

Whipping, beating, or lashing was, among the Mexicans as well as amongst all American natives, known only as a *deadly insult*. It is nevertheless true that the Mendoza Codex contains pictures representing a Mexican father who applies to a son the rod of punishment.[142] Again, the candidate for the office of chief had to endure beating[143] along with the other sufferings incident to his time of trial. But no "bondsman" was ever whipped or flogged, neither was a criminal subjected to this degrading penalty, for which death would have been a thousand times preferable.[144]

The Mexicans had places of confinement—dark and gloomy 697
recesses with entrances compared to "pigeon-holes."[145] Every official building, and also the places of worship contained them. They were called: "place of the taken one," "teilpiloyan;"[146] "place of entombment or confinement," "Tecaltzaqualoyan,"[147] and "house of wood," Quauhcalli."[148] The latter, which is particularly described as a wooden cage placed within a dark chamber, was reserved for those whose doom was sealed, whether they were criminals sentenced to immediate execution, or captives to

heredades. en recordar las ceremonias de la religion. y en contribuir á conservar la [212]
memoria de los sucesos más notables, que aun con ese auxilio habria perecido, á no perpetuarse en las tradiciones recogidas por los primeros predicadores del Evangelio."

[142] "*Mendoza Codex*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plates LX, part 3), the boy being nine years old.

[143] *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII. p. 157). *Torquemada* (Lib XI, cap. XXIX, p. 262). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII. p. 472), etc., etc.

[144] It was no dishonor to suffer tortures, but whipping was a deadly insult, as among other Indians.

[145] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 128): "Tenian las cárceles dentro de una casa oscura y de poca claridad, y en ella hacian su jaula ó jaulas; y la puerta de la casa que era pequeña como puerto de palomar, cerrada por defuera con tablas, y arrimadas grandes piedras." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 253).

[146] *Molina* (II, p. 94), "teilpi"—el que prende o encarcela a otro"—"teilpiliztli" "prendimiento tal." (Id. I, p. 98). "prender" "niteylpia." Among the 78 edifices of the great central place of worship, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix. p. 210) mentions one place "Acatlayiacapan Veicalpulli" "esta era una casa donde juntaban los esclavos que habian de matar á honra de los Tlaloques." (Id., Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304. Cap. XXI, p. 309) mentions "jails" in connection with the official house or "tecpan." That the different calpulli or "barrios" had each its places of confinement is noticed by *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 187): "Los calpixques los receulan y los ponian en las casas de sus comunidades ó del sacerdote de tal barrio."

[147] *Molina* (II, p. 91): "Tecalli" a vault, "casa de bóveda." Since the Mexicans had no arches, it meant actually a tomb.

[148] *Molina* (II, p. 89): "Jaula grande de palo, adonde estanan los presos por sus delictos."

681 And then also at that time[1] died those who were
696 in jail, who were there for something which demanded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic catz, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in motenecoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no iehoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received
761 life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motecaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonakhicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquixtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilquixtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujaçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

x 787 And when someone was then born,[3] they feared
851 that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend. But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh quin jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi quiqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

x 787 And also it was said that he who was then born
754 a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into
791 something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aquin ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlâciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla macecalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moquixtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jxquich tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teioiolmala-

3. An additional phrase in the *Real Palacio* MS will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo malitoya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del epípeio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*] . . . *De esta primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se convirtió el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejercitar obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un nahualli poderoso y malaplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahuali, nahuala, "verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'rogar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embauca a las gentes. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: nahualcaqui, entre disimulado, con cautela, secretamente; nahualtoa, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; nahualtachi, mirar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de nahualli o un derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llaman nahualli. . . .*

". . . *quando el niño nace, el demonio por el punto expreso o tacito que sus padres tienen con el, le dedica o sujeta al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como decir por duelo de su natividad y echar de sus aciertos o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste punto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierto la denominacion y significacion del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raizes que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio; la tercera, ocultarse o rebozarse, y aunque es conveniencia para que se entiendan las dos primeras significaciones, me quedo mas la tercera, que es del verbo nahualtia que es encenderse cubriendose con algo, que viene a ser lo mesmo que rebozarse, y asi, nahualli dira rebozado, o disfrazado debajo de la appariencia del tal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *infra*.

42

1/n [i.e., the day One Rain. – Analyst]

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Injc matlactlomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujnquechtzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuexcochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzinja, in motepeoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacactztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681● 684 727 761 789 824

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away — the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê qujveimatia, qujmaviztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixqujch cozcatl, in cozcapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jxqujch nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xocoxitzli.* — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II. p. 154: *jocoxitzli — Bromelia pinguin L.* "*En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un manojo de alambres y cerca hojas cenicientas o las de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbútica.*"

2. Translatable also as "men of Pochtlan," a *barrio* of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tiçaoc, Marutlocatlod, Xibai, Titai, Xôn, Tepetzinco, Cuyuilotochtli, Chicome xochitl, Xochiquetzal, Yiacatecutli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Atcontinti ca pochtecatlatolque, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dijeramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres . . . se atribuyen al que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es como padre y madre de todos los mercaderes"* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jenss, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 60): "*aber chichimekischer Volksstamm in der südöstlich der Seen von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco.*" Acxotlan was a merchant's *barrio* in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nuui Ehecatl, Chicomquiauitl, Xomoanil, Cochinotl, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecatecutl (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jenss, *op. cit.*, p. 238, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Meere aus dem Orte Ozomoan . . . . der auf Wanderschaft gehende Klein und Marktsteuerer zusamt ab der auf weiter Reisen gehende Grosskaufmann, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

5. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a
serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
ing ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver
and jade, precious substances reserved for religious orna-
ments, was also a mortal crime.

Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public dis-
grace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high- 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage
done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws,
and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with
serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal
property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its pro-
duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

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626 was disabled or until he voluntarily withdrew.[122] Slanderers, [689] however, were punished by the kin, having their lips cut off [682] or publicly sliced.[123] Homicide, and murder, were invariably [683] punished by death.[124]

689 Intemperance in public was free to people more than seventy years old, while if grown men below that age appeared in a drunken state (festivities excepted), their heads were shorn clean in punishment. But whenever the delinquent was a chief he was publicly degraded; and any officer was forthwith removed and relieved of his duties.[125] Women who attempted to act as

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16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

calpulli, and especially the slaying, wilful or accidental, of members of one kin by those of another, became the cause of a claim by the offended calpulli upon that of the offender.[189] This claim was submitted to the tribal council by the "speaker" of the complainant kinship. He produced his evidence, sometimes even in the shape of paintings, not so much to prove the facts as to sustain his claim. From the opposite side, the "speaker" defended the interests of his clan, and he also supported his pleadings with whatever testimony he might command.[190] The remaining "tlatoca" listened attentively to both parties, and when the argument was concluded, they deliberated among

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[189] *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, pp. 458 and 459) was the first, to my knowledge, to call attention (in note 39) to the difference of opinion among authors, in regard to the punishment of murderers. He refers to the unpublished parts of the work of *Fray Diego Durán*. We find in the *Codice Ramirez* ("*Tratado de los Ritos y Ceremonias y Dioses que en su Gentilidad usaban los Indios desta Nueva España*," Cap. I, p. 103): "El matar uno á otro era muy prohibido, y aunque no se pagaba con muerte, hazian al homicida esclavo perpétuo de la mujer ò parientes del muerto, para que les sirviesse y supliesse la falta del muerto, ganando el sustento de los hijos que dejaba." This is very interesting since it shows the autonomy of the kins. The murderer stood, towards the calpulli of the slain, in the same relation as, among northern Indians, a prisoner of war did towards the hostile tribe. Both could be adopted, and this condoned the deed. The offending kin lost one member; the offended kin obtained one in return for the one that had been killed. However, this was only in exceptional cases: the rule, as established by the majority of authors was that life alone could atone for life. In the same manner, and under the same head, the contradictory reports must be placed, about the punishment of theft, which have already been noticed. There are consequently, for each crime or kind of crime, two classes; one, of such as were committed within the kin, and the other, of such as were committed without.

[682]

[190] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304): "Otra sala del palacio se llamaba tecali, ó tecalco. En este lugar residian los senadores y los ancianos para oïr pleitos y peticiones, que les ofrecian la gente popular, y los juecès procuraban de hacer su oficio con mucha prudencia y sagacidad, y presto los despachaban; porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como hacienda, casas, ó maizales; y despues cuando ya se queria acabar el plejto, buscaban los senadores los testigos." I quote this passage, although it applies particularly to the judicial functions of the council, because the mode of proceedings is therein illustrated. *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 297), speaking of Tezcuco, is very positive: "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban tepantlatoani, que quiere decir *el que habla por otro*. . . . ." I need not recall here that "tlatoani" (plural "tlatoca") was the title of the members of the council, and that consequently these "attorneys" belonged thereto. The same statement (derived from Veytia also) is found in *Bustamante* ("*Tezcuco*," Parte II, cap. VII, p. 191). These two works contain (in the chapters indicated) the most detailed information as to the proceedings. Still, there is evident confusion in the minds of these authors in general: they fail to discriminate between arbitration and tribal jurisdiction. The bulk of the other authorities commit the same mistake. Compare *Burrita* ("Rapport," pp. 103-105), whom *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 126) has almost verbally copied. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 294 and 295).

The absolute lack of division of powers which characterizes so well ancient Mexican society is well established by *Veytia* (III, cap. VII, p. 296), speaking of what he

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a
serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
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duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

x796 And the old woman And the old man, those who

887 made and refined salt, and sold and trafficked in salt,
463 and those who dwelt in the salt marshes, drank wine.
273 Wine was drunk, and one became besotted. In their midst they poured out the wine in a flower-decked jar.

iztachichique, yn iztatlatique, youn yn istanamacaque, yn istanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlãtlaoana tlãtlaoano, motlatlaoantia, tlanepantla xochapantica qujoalmana yn vctli:

x796 One of the men poured out [the wine], and prepared it and distributed it. This one was not one who
273 had made [his wife] pregnant, whose wife was with child. If he who poured out the wine had made [his wife] with child, [then] he would not make one drunk; men would not be drunk. They would only counterfeit drunkenness; no one would become besotted [from] the wine.

oc tlacatl tetlaoantia, qujtetecx, qujtemamacx, amo iehouj in tlavetztia, in vetztli ycioauh. Auh intla tlautztia tetlaoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntioaz: çan teyujcopina, aiac itechquiçaz in vctli.

And when the feast day had ended, when it had
[578] been celebrated, at nightfall all then lay about. And some who were well-besotted insulted one another, or belabored others, or cried out at others. And at last they fell exhausted, and slept as they fell. And whoever yet had wine which he had left over, which he had left because he had been sated, which was named sleep-producing wine, afterwards, next day, he drank and finished it.

Auh yn ouetz cemjlhujtl, yn onjlhujtlaque yn oiooac, mec neteteco: auh in cequjntin yn oveliujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquauhtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi: auh yn aqujn, yn oc qujcaoa vctli, in qujxujcaoa, itoca cochvctli, qujn imuztlaioc inquj, in qujtlamja:

683 And any who had mishandled others, or brawled
x796 with them, or cried out at them, thereupon, when day broke, when they had come to their senses, supplicated [the injured ones to drink] this same wine, that they might satisfy them. And those who had not drunk, who had been cried out at or affronted, they let themselves be satisfied with [drinking] the wine; the offense was pardoned, and he held not against [the supplicants] their dispute, their injuries, etc.

auh yn aqujn temicti, yn aço teaoac, yn anoço tetzatzili, qujniquac yn otlatvic, yn omuzcali: çan ie no ie in vctli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic teiolceuja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzililoni, in pinauhtiloni, njman moiolceuja ynica vctli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujmolnamiqujlia, yn inneaoaliz, yn innemictiliz etc.

Here ended and concluded the feast of Tecuilhuitontli.

Nican tlamj, nican tzonquiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

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His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[11]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[12]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zotl.

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tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
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a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

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life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt scorn thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Tomochtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the folds. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Auh intla çan zicca, yn jtlapilchioal, tlamacxuhquj: 785
qujlhuja,
timotzonoztzaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlazculçaoaz, 776
naujlhujd: 783
anoço qujlhuja
tiztoztia, timotetzuhcaoaz, titepiquiz: 795

anoço qujlhuja.

ca xel vetli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiquinquixtiz in tomochtin.

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc quinaoztia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamacoaz ioaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlauhtiaz: yn momazac, amatl tlaitzcopeoalli in mantiaz: centitl mjcampa, motzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac tioalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jmjxpan tonecujooan, yn tetru, yn mamacue.

Auh yn jquac otlamacxuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajan, monemjlizcuepa: qujlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoa, quji ça aocmo tlaoculilonj.

Qujlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequauitecli, in tetlazimalistli: in quitoaia veuetque.

Jnjc moiolmelaoaia veuetque: qujlmach, ichoatl, ynjc amo tlacujtiloaque, njcan tlalticpac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla cuetlaxini ynjc amo quatetlaxililoz, ynjc amo quatepitzinjloz, ynjc amo quatetzotzonaloz, moiolmelaoa. [684]

Jn tlapouhqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman ocan qujtoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein ilhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ich yn jlhujlo, in nonotzalo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in maco, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ich motta, in macoalli.

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn tepitoton tetzuh: yn quintoquilia, yn omotenzuhque, yn veuentin tetzuh. 776

Xiuhtecutli: ixcoçauhquj, yoan cueçaltzin. Jchoatl motocaiotia in tlel, anoço veue tzutl yean toca:

tzutl ipan machoia: ishica, ca tetlatia, tepaloa, tecchichinoa, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacnelia: ca ic nonoalo, ic tlapaoazo, ic tlacuxitilo, ic tlaxco, ic izxatlatilo, ic tecutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tenextlatilo, ic tlatetzoionjlo, yc tlatzoionjlo, ic tlatleoztzalo, yc tetlocujlolo, ic temaxcallatilo, ic cuitlatilo, ic tlaxextlatilo.

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64. The same characteristic emblem of Tlaquiloni (in a bronze wrapped with a chinampitzli—paper impressed with pointed figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, records of Coliquiyauhqui). The paper loin cloth is an element of this same pattern. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text here "que son semejantes de Espiritual que los antiguos dichos."

796 [535] leapt about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

796 302 293 [237] There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

796 [534] And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

796 535 And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

[301] 302 And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

796 684 688 Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitos tonccachocholoa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaleque, moquaquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzinteloloio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaiaoaloa, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate cheoxticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetzizoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aioujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn izqujch teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, moteneoa mococoloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococoloa, ichica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ymomomochicozquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopochtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxteleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn izqujchtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujntitilioça, qujmiiccça:

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*saltar o bayler de la fiesta de xuxuel*"; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 298) translates xocotlhuetzi as "*se salta el salto de Toxcatl.*"

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Rulandon edition, Vol. III, pp. 162-3 and 187. The last-mentioned reference to xuxuel is: "*Hay otra ave que se llama xuxuel: es negra y usaba el para corona.*" Seler (*op cit.*, p. 106, n. 2) calls xuxuel jackdaw or dove; or (*ibid.*, p. 233) reed thrush. Of this and of xuxuiaoaxtlan he says it is "*ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und dessen Schrei, auch dem Glucksen der Menschen, Landvogen verkündete sollte. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Er wird auch ein Vogel mit dünnlichen schwarzen Gefieder gewesen sein wie das der xuxuel oder Dohlen.*" Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: "*y que usaba llamarse xuxuiaoaxtlan, por causa de la burla, que llamaba alusa, en el xuxuel.*" See also *supra*, p. 94.

For he had committed a crime in the temple; for he had done a wrong. They said to him: "Verily, here penitence is done; here a feast is held."

And as night fell during the dance, so closed the day of feasting when the day ended.

And next morning, when [the feast] was over, again there was dancing. Again all danced the serpent dance.

And [this day] died Ixtucale,[19] he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him they also named Tlacauepan,[20] and Teicauhtzin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. On his paper crown were eagle feathers. His headdress hung in disorder. Upon the crown of his head rested a flint knife made of red feathers.

And also he had his network cape; over it hung a small net bag; and his [ornament like a priest's] maniple hung from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast. He fastened shells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went first in line guiding the others.

And purely of his free will, when he wished, he would die. When he wished, then he delivered himself to the place where he would die.

Priests called *tlatlacaouali* seized him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, and cut open his breast. His heart they lifted up as an offering to the sun.

And his head also they strung on the skull rack. So he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head was] strung [on the skull rack].

And at this time, the priests cut the skin: with a stone knife they cut the skin of youths, young boys, and even small children yet lying in their cradles. Thus they cut the skin of their stomachs, their breasts, both upper arms, and [both] forearms.

This was done only at the time of [the feast of] Teucatl, when it ended, each year; [and] thus ended [the feast].

ichica in qujnmjctiaia ca teupan, ca tlaujlquiztia, qujmjlhuja: ca vncan tlamacoalo, vncan ilhujtlalo.

çan iuh onicoa in netotilo, ic ontlamj in cemilhujtl, in ontzonquiz ilhujtl.

Auh yn jnuztlaioc, in apeoalco no netotilo, no necocololo:

auh iquac mjquj, yn Jxtucale, ynin neoan onenca Titlacaoan: auh ynjn no motocaiotia, tlacavepã, yoan Tehicauhtzin.

Auh ynjc tlacujlolli, yn jamatlaquj, tezcapocio yn jamacal, quahujujio, momoiaoa yn jvitzoncal: teopatl iquanepantla icatiuh, tlapalihujtl ynic tlachioalli:

yoan no ycuechin, icampa vetztiuh, icpatoxi, yoan imatacax imac pilcatiuh, tequaneoatl, oiocalli contlalitiuh, tehoan mjhtotia, mococoloa, teiacantinemj, teiacac ycatinemj.

Auh çan iillotlama, in quenman miquiz, in quĩman connequiz, yn oqujnec, njman ie ic onmotemaca, yn vncan mjquiz:

qujoalana in tlamacazque, motocaiotia, tlatlacanaoalti, qujtitilinja, caana, quehtezequj: yn iiollo conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

auh yn itzontecon, çan no tzompatitech conquauhço, çan no iuh tlantica yn iuh quauhçotica titlacaoen.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepaxotla in tlamacazque, qujnpaxotla in telpopuchti, in telpuchpipil: yoan yn oc vel pipitoti, yn coçolco onoque: ynic quinpaxotla ymelpan, ymelchiquijppan, yoan nenecoc ymacolpan, yoan inmatzotzopazpan:

çan yio iquac y, in muchioaia, yn ipan teucatl: apeoalco, ceztiuhtica ic ontlatzonquiça.

796 x
[684 ●
688]

796 x
293

796 x

[304]

19. Ixtucale, ". . . que quiere decir: Gran del Señor de la Casa Divina, ó del Señor Divino de la Casa; y por otro nombre Tlacapehua (sic), que es nombre del otro Dios, conquistador de este Huitzilopochtli, cada tiempo que este Cantico, llamado nombrar Teicauhtzin, que quiere decir: Hermano menor, por quanto venia por menor á Huitzilopochtli, Rey de los Mexicanos . . . el dedicado á Tezcatlipoca, y este acompañado á Huitzilopochtli, celebran juntos todo el Año de su adoracion, para el beneficio de este Dios: para cada noche diferenciaba entre los dos; porque el que representaba á Tezcatlipoca, á Tlaloc, adoraban, y reconocian como á Dios, á menos á tiempo de aquel Dios . . . y á entrar, llamado Huitzilopochtli, que adoraban, al nombrar con este respecto. . . ."—Juan de Torquemada: Segunda parte de los veinticuatro libros rituales i monarquia indiana (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), p. 268.

20. Tlacapehua Cuauhtlatoa "dios invisible de la guerra, hermano menor y conquistador de Huitzilopochtli. . . . Donde tiene este nombre cada año fal en la noche de Tezcatzoncatl" (Chavero, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 94).

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[4] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tlilli: itoca xujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlaça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiacalotimãca, ixtlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapicia, vel teixpicia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca cittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoquja jmoztlaioc, anoço quja iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, ilãtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 535

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan ceniauh yn imicxi: yuan ontzitzinqujça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn ixqujpantli tlaujltetl: yn oncito yñ

4. See Plate 28.

X 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

[535] And when it all ceased, already it was late at night,
[512] already time for all to sleep, as when one nodded; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[534] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen,
[373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

X 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who
836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of honors, made their plea for the women only in
● 684 secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his
[831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlauje, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhioua, ie netetequizpan: yn iuh miztlaxilia axcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie izquich, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet veuetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn ixqujchtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenqujxtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca motenjcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlaueliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatecaoan, in cioateiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oaliocoalquiça, çan moiocoalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in quiça:

auh inin aca ittoz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in ixquich ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlêtlecaleoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquixecan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicālcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiiauh nocne aço toqujchtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toqujch miqujcā:

796x 684 836

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoeoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, tētentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtotoca, in cioatetiachcaeth: aoqujc no teoā cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcenmacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcaūja, aoq'c ceppa motenachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in ichoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njnan ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiauceujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn moteneoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itēco coztic, auh yn iaquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn iconqui chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoā yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

796x [302] 301

[292 293]

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muzzla:

796x

in cemilhujtl conpeoaltia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vecan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquixecan: ynjc excan vncan yn aquja, yn atēnchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopeliujaia yn

796x 805

7. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and logical in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanations in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec column is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquia* is probably an assimilation of *aquatl*.—Angel María Garibay, personal communication.

692 nounced. And in what was there made known, the
695 lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caqujtiloia tlatoque atle qujcnjuhchioaia atle tlaxtlaujltica qujxpachoaia, anoço qujuecaoaia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiençia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlatoque.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently
[212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuztlae imjxpan moteilhujaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuxca, in qujcaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in qujpoaia, in qujttaia neteilhujlli: auh injc qujnneltiliaia, qujntemoaia, qujmjtlanja in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in qujmachilia moteilhujque, in tlein qujmocujcujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhuja.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla qujnmachili in iehoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic qujuecaoa, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uxiujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl qujnemjtia in amo uel qujtzontequj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoaiolcaiotl: njman qujmjlpia, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujtzacutiuj, qujmjctia, injc mauhca iezque tecutlatoque.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Iztlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toquai. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

Tlatocati motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in qujnmachili tecutlatoque mjxcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, iztlaca mjxcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinquj, tlatilulco in amo melaoac qujchioaia in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman qujmjlpi, quauhcalco qujntlali, qujtzacutiaque, qujnmjcti.

692 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
565 place of discussion where were the brave warriors
684 and the noblemen.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan tajtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oqujchti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla qujmachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman qujtlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznaoatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpauique ix-

5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."
6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 287, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecuhtli, electo anualmente por los vecinos; determinaba de causas livianas, dando cuenta diariamente á los jueces superiores.*" Clark, (*op. cit.*, I, p. 97) wrote: "The four seated figures behind the judges, called *tecuhtli*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also ff. 67r and 68r of the Mendoza Codex.)
7. *Tiacauh, pilli, tecpilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jens, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.
8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

aduhtery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 672 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 672

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc iohoan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [624] 535 [591] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açoatl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açoqujnmecanja, anoço qujnteteçachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlacochcalcatl, tlacatecatl*: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *nemecatiliztli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *amoçe nehenemaliztli*—or adultery.

793 684 And if the ruler learned that a fire priest or [another] priest lived in concubinage, and had looked upon a woman, he then pronounced judgment upon him and proceeded to visit punishment upon him. He was despoiled of his goods; they were secreted in his house, [so that] nothing[1] was to be seen [of them]. Likewise judgment was pronounced upon a fire priest or [other] priest if he was drunk. [689]

Auh yn tlatoani yntla quimachiliz, tlenamacac, tlamacazqui omomecati, oquitac çiuatl, niman quitlatzontequilia, quitzacuhtiuh, namoclo, tlatataco yn icha, atl neneçi. ça no yuh tlatzontequililoya yntla otlauan tlenamacac, tlamacazqui.

1. *Atl*: probably *ade* is meant.

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tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape 567
threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their 731
children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or 562
of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for 565
the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether 837
different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such [634]
purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became [548
tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in 595]
the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 138) mentions one in 1454 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1462. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the elder, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these alimonts." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 201) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 225) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 369), agrees with *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 282): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451-1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLVII, p. 138) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

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procuresses were severely punished, though not with loss of 689
life.[126]

While clandestine relations between young men and girls were [836]
known to exist and, if not sanctioned, still were not punished,[127] 684
it was different if a married man attempted to seduce a maiden who was not an outcast. The seducer was invariably punished.[128] Intercourse between unmarried people was tolerated, as a preliminary to marriage and the consequent increase of kinship, but if a husband, in contravention of the obligation "not to marry in the kin," endeavored to satisfy his lusts upon one of that kin's wards, as the daughters of members all were, then he committed

VII, cap. XVII, p. 486). all affirm, besides, that young people, while yet in care of the "houses of training," if intoxicated, were killed. This is also confirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib. III. appendix, cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271). Except by *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), it is generally conceded that drunkenness was well controlled in aboriginal Mexico.

[126] Although prostitution was tolerated, still, houses of ill-fame did not exist. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. II. p. 276): "Esto parece, porque permitieron, que huviesse Mugeres, que se daban à los que querian, y se andaba á esta vida suelta, y gananciosa, como las de nuestra España, y otros Reinos; puesto que no tenian casa señalada, ni publica para la execucion de su mal oficio, sino que cada qual moraba donde le parecia, y el acto deshonesto, en que se ocupaba, servia de lugar publico. y en el mismo vicio se hacia publica y se manifestaba." *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 469): "Permitian los mexicanos, mujeres que ganasen con sus cuerpos, aunque no tenian lugares señalados." It is, therefore, not quite clear what may be meant by the term "alcahueta." In the sense of the French word "entremetteuse," alone, they were amenable to punishment, since it was the duty of the man to hunt his "female," although he sometimes employed women called "cihuatlanqui" for that purpose I suppose that such women were punished, [548]
not for the *immorality* of their conduct, but for their *unauthorized forwardness* in [562]
addressing themselves to men, and thus trespassing upon the dignity of that superior being. In regard to authorities on the mode of punishment, I but refer to those quoted by *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 469, note 101).

[127] I have already shown that young people held intimate relations with each other before the formalities of marriage were arranged. Thus, while he was yet at the "Telpuchcalli," the youth had his female friend, "amiga" or "manceba," outside. This is positively stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, p. 271): "y estos mancebos tenian sus amigas cada uno dos ó tres, la una tenian en su casa, y las otras estaban en las de sus familias." and *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 276). That these female "friends" were regarded with more than a feeling of platonic love, is dryly expressed by *Sahagun* (Id: cap. V, p. 270): "y los que eran amancebados ibanse á dormir con sus amigas." It is also asserted by *Torquemada* (see above): "que despues que aquel mancebo havia un Hijo, en la dicha manceba, luego le era forçoso, ó dejarla, ó recibirla por muger legitima." *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 469): "los mancebos antes de casarse tenian sus mancebas, y solian pedirlas á las madres." This almost establishes promiscuity among the ancient Mexicans, as a preliminary to formal marriage.

[128] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 486) says that the punishment was not like that of the adulterer, "because the husband was not required to the same amount of conjugal fidelity as the wife." With "slaves" concubinage was permitted, and the result of childbirth was freedom to the child. Death was invariably the punishment of those who held, or attempted to hold, intercourse with girls in care of the house of worship. *Durán* (p. 198, etc.). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): "El que hazia fuerza à virgen, era fuese en el campo, era en casa del padre moria por ello."

684 a crime which the calpulli was bound to punish in the most exemplary manner.

689 While we are not at all surprised at such severity in the cases
562 above stated, it cannot fail to astonish us, that such apparently harmless acts as those of a *man wearing female dress* and of a *woman appearing in male attire* were visited upon the offenders with death.[129] Still, the ancient Mexicans could assign from their peculiar point of departure good cause for such cruel punishments. The position of woman was so inferior, they were regarded as so far beneath the male, that the most degrading epithet that could be applied to any Mexican, aside from calling him a dog, was that of "woman." It was more injurious than coward. Now, for a man to assume the garb of such an inferior being became almost equivalent to a crime against nature. It was an act of wilful degradation which was a deadly insult to his own kin. On the other hand, if a woman presumed to don the dress of her lord and master, it again was a crime of an equally heinous nature. In both cases the dignity of the whole consanguine group became deeply affected, and death alone could satisfy its honor. After this, it is needless to say how the actual crimes against nature were regarded and punished.[130]

687 It was also a capital crime for any man, to assume the dress or ornaments peculiar to an office, without being himself that office's lawful incumbent. Besides being a grave insult to the rightful officer, it was a dangerous offence towards the kin, especially in case of war, when it amounted to actual treason.[131]

684 Since it was the kin's duty to protect, not only the persons, but also the property of its members, it follows that adultery committed with a married woman entailed deadly punishment upon the male, whether he was married or not. His crime was that of stealing the most precious chattel of one member of the calpulli.

[129] This is so generally mentioned by all authors, that special references are superfluous.

[684] [130] All authors insist that incest was punished with death. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. IV, p. 360): "Todos los que cometian incesto en el primer grado de consanguinidad, tenian pena de muerte, si no eran cuñados, y cuñadas." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 137). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 481). All these authors appear to have gathered their information from the same source, or rather Torquemada is frequently Mendieta's plagiary, while Vetancurt often copies Torquemada. To avoid superfluous quotation, I beg to refer, on the subject of "unnatural crimes," to *Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 466, 467 and 468, "*Native Races*").

[131] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 133), copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540), *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, pp. 214, 215 and 216), and others.

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The woman, as participant in the offence, was also killed. Both were executed in public.[132] Theft of objects was variously punished. If the article was of small value and could be returned, its restitution settled the matter;[133] but if it were of greater value and could not be returned, then the thief became "bondsman" to the injured owner or even suffered death for his crime.[134] The [634] 635

[132] If, however, the husband killed the wife himself, even if he caught her *flagrante delicto*, he lost his own life. This shows clearly, that the crime was considered as one not so much against the man, as against the cluster of kindred to which he belonged, and they were consequently not only bound but *entitled* to avenge it. Evidence of this punishment of the injured husband in case he avenged himself, is found in many authors. See *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136), *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. IV, p. 378), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 464), and *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 408).

In strange contrast with the frequent assertions of the high-handed manner in which the chiefs are said to have used, at their will and good pleasure, the women of the land, as for instance in *Gomara* (Vedia I, pp. 426 and 439), *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 125) and others, we find it positively stated that adultery and rape were severely punished even in the case of the highest officers and chieftains. Thus, the case of the chief of Tlaxcallan, who was executed for adultery, is related with full details by *Las Casas* ("*Hist. apologetica*," Cap. 213, in Vol. VIII, of Kingsborough, p. 183), *Burtis* (pp. 107 and 108) *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. XV, p. 396). Another story of a son of the chief of Tezcuco, killed for intercourse with girls then in the houses of worship, is also fully given. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XLIV, pp. 315-320), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXV, p. 189), etc. These are strange contradictions and are, sometimes, found even between fact and fact as told by the same author.

[133] *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 448), says: "El ladron era esclavo por el primer hurto," but this is not sustained by others, in the case of small thefts. For instance, *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): "El ladron que hurtaba hurto notable, ... por la primera vez era hecho esclavo." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 361), but especially (Lib. XIV, cap. XXI, p. 564): "Al que hurtaba pequeños hurtos, si no eran muy frequentados, con pagar lo que hurtaba hacia pago." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII).

[134] The statements are positive to that effect. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136), *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 361), *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 483). "*Anónimo*" (Col. de Doc: I, p. 366) exaggerates. "*De l'ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens*" Mr. Ternaux Compans' translation of a Simancas MSS., (1st Recueil, p. 22c) confirms the "anonymous." *Fray Francisco de Bologna* ("*Lettre au R. P. Clément de Mendia*," 1st Recueil, p. 211): "Ils n'étaient pas tres crueis dans les punitions qu'ils infligèaient aux coupables." *Gabriel de Chaves* ("*Rapport sur la province de Mestitlan*," French translation by Mr. Ternaux, 3d Recueil, p. 312,—original held by Sr. Icazbalceta). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 121), about Nicaragua: "Cortaban los Cabellos al Ladron, i quedaba Esclavo del Dueño de lo hurtado, hasta que pagase." (Lib. III, cap. XV, p. 101), at Iscatlan: "con los bienes del Ladron, despues de justiciado, satisfacian al agraviado. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 306): "Celui qui volait dans les villages ou dans les maisons devenait l'esclave du volé, quand il n'avait pas commis d'effraction. et que le vol était de peu d'importance; dans le cas contraire il était pendu." *C. Ortega* (Appendix to Veytia, Vol. III, p. 213): "Casi siempre se castigaba con pena de muerte, á menos de que la parte ofendida conviniese en ser indemnizada por el ladron. Tambien tenia el ladron la pena de ser esclavo del dueño de lo que robaba; y si este no lo queria, era vendido por los Juezes, y con su precio se pagaba el robo." *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte IIIa, cap. I, p. 197).

Several of the authors above quoted, relate the well known tale about "wrathy chief" (Montezuma) picking some ears of corn in a gardenplot, for which he was ap-

787 was chaste and conscientious; who was audacious, who saved all, who sought his sustenance; who planned, sought, and watched for that which might alleviate, for that which he might lay hand on in the near future, and for what he might offer his children; for what might be obtained, and what he could quickly seize if sickness and misfortune came.

Thus, everywhere he watched for, considered, and sought whatsoever he might use as merchandise, whatsoever his manner of wares might be; whatsoever he might live by, by which he might increase and augment his goods and his gains.

And this one emerged, and rose to honor, if he deliberated well, and was attentive, not resentful of criticism, nor lazy. The counsel with which he was counseled and the rearing with which he was reared took effect; he seized and held fast to it. And if he was made fun of, he took no revenge; he made no reprisals. He returned nothing in kind.

[684 565] And if a woman were then born, it likewise befell her as hath been said and told above. If a noblewoman was an adulteress, her head was crushed between two stones so that she died. And only in misery and affliction was she given to dwell. She encountered misery and want. Nowhere on earth was her face radiant; nowhere on earth was she [of any account]; nowhere was she regarded; nowhere did she hold a husband. Thus was it stated: "Just so is her nature; so is her life; so her birthright; and so her day sign. Thus, on such [a day], was she bathed; at such a time was she born. Monstrous was her day sign; a wild beast was she; hers was the day of the wild beast, etc."

782 And they venerated Four Movement as a day sign. Thus did they say, that it was the day sign of the
821 sun. Moctezuma paid great honor to it. When it was this day, when Four Movement set in, they slew quail and offered incense before the image of the sun; they placed on it what was known as the spreading red arara feather device. And at noon captives died and were slain [as sacrifices].

787 And for him who was then born, no [true sign] appeared. In two ways might it fall. They said that if it were a man, he might either take captives or die in war. As they said, "With this the sun is nourished." Hence everyone did penances when it was this sign. At this time all came together from all parts; none remained or did otherwise. Verily, everyone — men, women, children — cut their ears and

vmpilcaxoc, in jaqujch caxtu, in qujxemoa in jocchca, yn jocuhca, in quplnamjquj, in conjtilia, in contlachielia, tle itech vmpatiz, tle itech ontlaanaz in mocuj, in matlac, tlẽ qujmonmacaz in jpilhoan, çan onmaçoaz, tlẽ concujtivetziz in ocalla cocolistli icnoiotl:

ic noviiampa mjxtia tlanemjlia, qujxemoa, in tlein qujmonanahtiz, in catleoatl inanauh vmmochioaz, in tlein vel ic onnemjz, ic onmacoquetzaz, ic ontlapiujas itlatquj icnopilloah.

Ioan ichoatl quiçaia, panvetzia, in vel monotza, in tlacacquj, in amo quiçquammati, qujxmati in onotzaloca, ixcalilnca, içan itech quipachoa, içan quimacuj, quimapiquj: auh intla ica necacaiaoalo, amo quitecuepilinia, amo quicuepcaiotia, atle ic quilochtia.

Auh intla çioatl ipan otlacat: no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, in tlacpac omjto, omoteneuh: intla ciopilli tetlãximaia, quatepipitzinjloia injc mjquja: auh çan icnoiotica, cococaiotica, in monenemjtiaia, icnoiotl, netolinjliztli quitztinemj, ican ixtona in tlalticpac, ican tlalticpac ca, ican motztica, ican vel oquichpia: ic mjtoaia, cẽ njman iuh quiz, iuhquj iiohliz, iuhquj itlacatiliz, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan malti, iuhcan tlacat, itlacacemelle in itonal, ca tequanj, tequantonale. Etc.

Auh in naolin quitonaltiaia: iuh quitoaia, itonal in tonatiuh, cenca quimavizztiliaia in Motecuçuma: yn jquac, y, moquetzaia naolin, tlacotonaia, tlenamacaia, yn ixpan ixiptla tonatiuh, quitlaliaia itoca cueçaltonameiotl: auh in nepantla tonatiuh, mjquja, mjctiloia, in mamalti:

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, atle vel inenca, vme vitz quitna. Yntla oquichtli aço tlamaz, aneço iaomjquiz: in iuh quitoaia, ca ica motcaltia in tonatiuh, ic muchi tlacatl tlamaceoaia. yn jquac, y in vncã, y, cenvetzi, ipanoca, aiac mocaoa, aiac ixcavi, vel mochi tlacatl in oquichtli, in çioatl, im piltzintli, monecatequia, mjçoia, mjtoaia: ic iacaltilo in tonatiuh.

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other hours. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a mouse and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already blasted, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away—the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Injc matlactiomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, gnjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujnquechtzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuexxochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan ioan in mjctiloia, in oallavi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan ciqujn vncan mjqujja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca ichoan inca motzcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanoualti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecako nonjian caaqujaia, in tlacaçeculoxocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacacatztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 681 727 761 789 824

Auh in ichoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oxtomeca, in motlacamati, iê qujvetimatia, qujmavizttiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixquich cozcatl, in concapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in ixquich nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xamamitl.* — Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II p. 154: *jarmitz* — *Bromelia pinguin* L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un metro de altura y cría hojas armadas a lo de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbática."

2. Translatable also as "men of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were: Tezcatl, Macuilxochitl, Xilonen, Tlaloc, Tepeyollotl, Coyolxauhqui, Chicomecoatl, Xochiquetzal, Yacatecuhtli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Acxotecatl* or *pochtecatlahtoani*, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tenía como el dichoso que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y como dos nombres . . . es antiguo el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 80): "*ober eingeborenlicher Fürstenrang in der eidlichkeit der Inca von Mexiko gelegener Landschaft Cholula.*" Acxotecatl was a merchant's barrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nanahuatzin, Cuauhxicalli, Xocotzin, Cuchcuauhtli, Yacapitzactli, Nacaztli, Chalmecatecuhtli (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 10 and n. 5. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 228, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Mann aus dem Stamm Chalmecatecuhtlan . . . der auf Wanderschaft gehende Kaufmann und Marktschreier . . . der auf weite Reisen gehende Geschäftsmann, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

5. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned the fifteenth sign, named One House. And it was said to be evil. It was said that the men then born were thieves, patrons of vice and sin. All which befell them was bad. And it was said that the women [then born] were very lazy and much given to sleep, and did nothing useful.

—One House. This One House, they said, was a totally evil day sign, the breeding-place of vice and sin. And also, at that time, descended the so-called Goddesses; and what then came to pass hath already been told in many places. The midwives especially paid them honor; each one individually made offerings to them in her own home.

He who was then born, they fully expected, would thus come to a bad end: perhaps he would die in battle, or be taken captive; or perish at the crossing of the waters; or he would enter [among the foe] and be carried off. Perhaps he would be offered as a striped one in gladiatorial sacrifice, or be shot full of arrows; or his head would be burst in the fire, or he would be cast into the flames. Perhaps they would twist him in a net, or smash him, or tear out his entrails—violently tear out his entrails: or just destroy him like a water rat, pushing him under the water, spearing and stabbing him; or they would just cook him [in the steam bath].

And in this way he would come to a bad end. Perchance he would commit adultery. Perhaps he would covet a woman. Perhaps he would covet another's woman. Perhaps he would eat another's food, lift his head from another's [bed]. And the woman would be his companion in death; they would break and smash both their heads. Hence were adulterers called "broken heads" or "smashed heads."

And so in this way he came to a bad end. Perchance he would sell himself, would eat and drink his substance, would swallow himself, would put an end to himself.[1] Discontented, nowhere did he feel tranquil. Thus he lived a thief. He robbed, he

Injc ompoalli on chiceme capitulo: vncan moseneoa, injc caxtoltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce calli: ioan qujl amo qualli, qujl in vncan tlacatia toqujchti, ichtecque catca, teuhtli tlaçolli qujmocujtlaviaia: mochi amo qualli in jupan mochioaia: auh qujl in çioa cenca tlatxiujnj, cenca cochinj, njman atle qualli qujchioa. 787X

In ce calli: jnjn ce calli, qujtoaia, njman amo qualli tonalli, tlaçolli, teuhtli iolian, ioan no ipan temoia in omoteneuhque cioatetco, auh in tlein vncan mochioaia, ic mjeccan oanjto: in iehoan titici, oc cenca iehoan qujnmaujztiliaia, ceceniaca qujntlamanjliaia in jochachan, 787X 776 844

in aqujn ipan tlacatia, cenca qujtlatenmachiliaia, injc ohujcan qujçaz, aço iaomjqujz, axioaz, iapaniocan popoliuja, anoço calaquja, vicoz, aço oacanaloz, oacanoz, aco cicalioaz, aço quatlecueponjloz, aço tlepan tlaxoz, anoço qujmatlapatzcazque, quevitequjzque, anoço qujxicanazque, qujxictetecoanazque, anoço çan catoçanpolouque, catlanpapachouque, vncan qujxixiliuque, tlatzotzopotztinemj, anoço çan qujtemazque, 787X

ioan injc ovican qujçaz, aço tetlanximaz, aço tetlan aquja, aço cueitl, vipilli tepan canaz, aço tetlaqualia, tetlan quateuja: auh in cioatl imjqujztevical iez, vmextin qujnquatepipitzinjzque, qujnquatexazamanjzque, ic tocaiotilo in tetlanxinquj, quatepitzic, quatexamac: 787X 684

ioan injc ovican qujçaz, aço monamacaz, moquaz, mja motoloz, motlamja, ácan avia, acan tlacaco tlamati, injc nemj, iichtequj, motlitlacuja, tetlitlatlalochtia, tetlacujcujlia, tetlatlaçaltia, tecacalxaputla, tequjqujmjliquanja, 787X

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Ocasion: que otra cualquiera, que el tuviese en cualquiera, y cosquiera, y hacerla su propio.*"

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

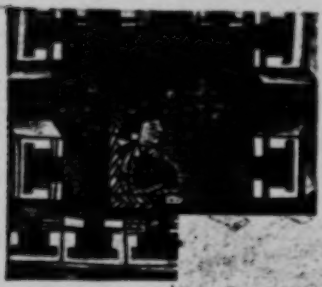

Rich Man

[482]

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

Poor Man

[735]

Beggar Man

Goldsmith

[326]

Thief

[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

[701
441
714]

[p. 112(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

692 that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsi-
[186] bility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were
775 rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

• 685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by plucking ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver and jade, precious substances reserved for religious ornaments, was also a mortal crime.

Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public disgrace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws, and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its produce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

sense; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and saucer vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chia seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

ekolaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, 443
necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcal- 643
mjnjlli. 656
262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca 443
acaquaxjtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xoch- 463
iocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tle- 656
quantli, ioan apantli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcoenjtl,
ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in [276]
çoquitecomatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoquitlat- [445]
quitl.

Auh in ichantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intla- 685
camo quimocuitlauia, intequiuh, totoco, ioan caoal-
tilo in jntequiuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca,
ap̃ tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiuitl, intla oximach-
ililoc, intlacamo quinentia in aquin quicobuili, in
tlein tlachtectli, quicxacutiuh, mjquia, iuhqui tla-
tlaontequiliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmaca-
çia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quiçonia,

in jntequiuh catca tianquizpantlaca quichioaia 443
iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan 722
texoxotzalli, ioan necamalhoatzalli, inic ipan tequitia 651
tianquitztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaix- 705
quetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequitlatoque catca.

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 233, describes quequelitl as "hojas y renuevo de las frijoles"; on p. 238, however, it is given as Mimosadysanthemum Schenkianum L.

[p. 70 is blank]

Chapter 4

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

423 Let us analyze another of the aspects of the social organization of the Tenochcas, which might lead one to think that it did not have its origin in kinship: viz., ownership of land. In the sources we find that for the most part it was related to the existence of the calpullis.

In the Spanish sources of the beginning of the conquest three really very different criteria are always taken, almost interchangeably, to refer to the ownership of land: one is the working of it personally; another is the receiving of tribute from the one who works it, and another is the receipt of rent. This last is not going to be discussed at length here; but with reference to all these criteria we can shed a little light: we are told that the Indians in their plans indicated three types of land: those of the calpullis, yellow; flesh-colored for those of the lords; and a bright red for those of the king's household (1). The significance which these indications had is what is going

1. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

to occupy us principally.

Let us establish first of all that the lands of Tenochtitlan had been originally occupied only by members of the same Tenochca group; but that there appear to be indications of later immigrations from other regions, as from Xochimilco (2), although generally we lack

2. Vetancourt, III, p. 124; Torquemada, II, p. 60.

complete data in this respect. We can suppose, however, that in the event of there having been immigrations, these were isolated with consent of the group in general since we are told, without par-
[685] ticularizing, that whoever pulled up and took away the landmarks and boundaries of the villages was subject to the death penalty (3);

3. Román, I, p. 285.

in the case of Tenochtitlan, through being in a very special situation of isolation, it was very unlikely that an invasion could occur.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 554 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of those animals.[87] Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.[88]

701 555 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.[89]

[87] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepec (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 200 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a "peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody "might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that "he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII. cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . . the head "was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and "with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

"Duran (Cap. XXXVII, p. 299). " . . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos "los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cua-"chic, que eran una órden de caballeria que no auia de voluer piè atras ó morir . . " . " Tezozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachi, and Tequihusques . . . . being "always leaders" ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 83) says: " . . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths "a Cuachic, to five others an Otomi, then again an Achcauhtli, and a Tequihua; all "conquerors." This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The "Otomitl" is also called by Tezozomoc a "general" occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ò varon "fuerte llamado Coachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos "etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 565) calls the "Quachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

[88] By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were [685] extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for "abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ò de "noche, o tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladron que se "adjudicaba y queria para si el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this vigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcautin," "quauhtin," and "ococelo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlatl") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlatl") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient [556] disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Les chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 438). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostrarles otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos Maria de Bustamante. Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes*," 1826. Parte tercera. (Cap. III, p. 212). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, [564] cap. V, p. 462). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49). "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlatl" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 243). "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estas artes todos tuviéron principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, [685] p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 467). *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes de los Mexicanos").

287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works—those made of feathers—is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 486, and, with slight variations, also by *Vetancurt*, Vol. I, p. 389.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See in general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 187 and 188), also *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

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565 doms, had other ways to make slaves) we say: that many condi-
567 tions were lacking, to create them actual slaves. For of these slaves of this New-Spain, some had means, might own and possess them of their own, and they could not be sold again except under the conditions mentioned hereafter. The service rendered to their master was limited, not for always, nor ordinary. Some, upon marrying, became released, their relatives or brothers taking their place. There were also skilful slaves who, besides serving their masters, still kept house, with wife and children, purchasing and holding slaves themselves. The children of slaves were born free."[84]

567 The Mexican term for slave was, literally a "purchased man" ("tlacotli.") He was in fact but a "bondsman." Through a special contract, made before authorized witnesses, his services, the proceeds of his labor, *and not his person*, became pledged to another. The member of a kin had no direct ownership in him whom he employed, he could not sell him again without that employer's consent, nor could he take his life in punishment of crime. If the latter broke his contract through repeated
[685] evasion he might finally be "collared," that is, his neck was enclosed in a wooden yoke, by means of which he was fastened to a wall at night. If the man still contrived to escape, then he was turned over to worship and sacrificed; but in case he succeeded in secreting himself in the official house without being intercepted by his master or one of that master's people, then he was spared, and even liberated from his bonds.[85] In addition to the supply furnished to the class of outcasts in the manner above indicated, there were accessions to it from outside. Fugitives were of rare occurrence, since such, if from a tribe against which war was waged, were regarded as precious additions, too important to be ranged among the outcasts.[86] But we have several instances, in the ancient history of Mexico, of destructive
[731] drouths as well as of disastrous inundations, depriving the inhabi-

[84] "*Monarchia Indiana*" (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 364).

[85] I have gathered these details mostly from *Torquemada* (Vol. II, pp. 564-566). Compare besides others, *Veinaeuri* (Vol. I, pp. 433, 434, and 435) and nearly all modern writers.

[86] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI. p. 130): "Y si de la parte contraria salia alguno á descubrir y dar aviso cómo su señor ó su gente venian sobre ellos, al tal dábanle mantas y pagábanle bien." Copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 538), and *Veinaeuri* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. III, p. 364).

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The woman, as participant in the offence, was also killed. Both were executed in public.[132] Theft of objects was variously punished. If the article was of small value and could be returned, its restitution settled the matter;[133] but if it were of greater value and could not be returned, then the thief became "bondsman" to the injured owner or even suffered death for his crime.[134] The

[132] If, however, the husband killed the wife himself, even if he caught her *flagrante delicto*, he lost his own life. This shows clearly, that the crime was considered as one not so much against the man, as against the cluster of kindred to which he belonged, and they were consequently not only bound but *entitled* to avenge it. Evidence of this punishment of the injured husband in case he avenged himself, is found in many authors. See *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136), *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. IV, p. 276), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 484), and *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 495).

In strange contrast with the frequent assertions of the high-handed manner in which the chiefs are said to have used, at their will and good pleasure, the women of the land, as for instance in *Gomara* (Vedia I, pp. 438 and 439), *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 125) and others, we find it positively stated that adultery and rape were severely punished even in the case of the highest officers and chieftains. Thus, the case of the chief of Tlaxcallan, who was executed for adultery, is related with full details by *Las Casas* ("*Hist. apologética*," Cap. 213, in Vol. VIII, of Kingsborough, p. 122), *Zurita* (pp. 197 and 198) *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. XV, p. 298). Another story of a son of the chief of Tescuco, killed for intercourse with girls then in the houses of worship, is also fully given. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XLIV, pp. 315-320), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXV, p. 189), etc. These are strange contradictions and are, sometimes, found even between fact and fact as told by the same author.

[133] *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 448), says: "El ladron era esclavo por el primer hurto," but this is not sustained by others, in the case of small thefts. For instance, *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): "El ladron que hurtaba hurto notable, ... por la primera vez era hecho esclavo." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 261), but especially (Lib. XIV, cap. XXI, p. 564): "Al que hurtaba pequeños hurtos, si no eran muy frequentados, con pagar lo que hurtaba hacia pago." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII).

[134] The statements are positive to that effect. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136), *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 261), *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 483). "*Anónimo*" (Col. de Doc: I, p. 366) exaggerates. "*De l'ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens*" Mr. Ternaux Compans' translation of a Simancas MSS., (1st Recueil, p. 226) confirms the "anonymous." *Fray Francisco de Bologna* ("*Lettre au R. P. Clément de Mendès*," 1st Recueil, p. 211): "Ils n'étaient pas tres crueis dans les punitions qu'ils infligèaient aux coupables." *Gabriel de Chaves* ("*Rapport sur la province de Mextitlan*," French translation by Mr. Ternaux, 2d Recueil, p. 312,—original held by Sr. Icazbalceta). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 121), about Nicaragua: "Cortaban los Cabellos al Ladron, i quedaba Esclavo del Dueño de lo hurtado, hasta que pagase." (Lib. III, cap. XV, p. 101), at Iscatlan: "con los bienes del Ladron, despues de justiciado, satisfacian al agraviado. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 296): "Celui qui volait dans les villages ou dans les maisons devenait l'esclave du volé, quand il n'avait pas commis d'effraction, et que le vol était de peu d'importance; dans le cas contraire il était pendu." *C. Ortega* (Appendix to Veytia, Vol. III, p. 213): "Casi siempre se castigaba con pena de muerte, á menos de que la parte ofendida convinieses en ser indemnizada por el ladron. Tambien tenia el ladron la pena de ser esclavo del dueño de lo que robaba; y si este no lo quería, era vendido por los jueces, y con su precio se pagaba el robo." *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte IIIa, cap. I, p. 197).

Several of the authors above quoted, relate the well known tale about "wrathy chief" (Montezuma) picking some ears of corn in a gardenplot, for which he was ap-

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duration of this bond, whether for certain time or for life, is not stated. If any one changed the limits (lines) of the individual lots ("talmilpa"), or of the official tracts, he lost his life. His offence was not so much against the occupant as against the kin, who had fixed the destination of each particular plot of land, and determined its boundaries.[135] It is also mentioned that "he who squandered the property of minors left to his care" suffered death for it. The case could only be that of an oldest son, or of a father's brother, in whose care the "tialmilli" improved by the deceased was left, to be improved for the benefit of the latter's children. If now this warden failed to have that lot tilled for two years, it became lost to his wards, who were thereby left without means of subsistence. There was no restitution possible, therefore the negligent administrator paid with his life for the neglect.[136]

In general, we discern the ruling principle: that for theft there were but two ways of atonement. One consisted in the return of the stolen property, and if that was no longer possible, then the person of the thief had to suffer for it. Wherever no bodily labor could replace the value of the loss (as in the last case mentioned) the life of the criminal became forfeited to the kin, since the sufferers looked to that cluster for redress.[137] This carries us

prehended by its owner or at least occupant. This story shows, that no chief was exempt from punishment even for slight misdemeanors.

I refer to *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXI, p. 364), *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Vol. I, p. 489), *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 197) for the assertion that the *kin* of the thief assisted him in discharging the penalty for his crime. The former says: "y si no tenia de que pagar, una, y dos veces, los parientes se juntaban, y repartian entre si el valor del hurto, y pagaban por el, diez, y doce mantas, y desde arriba: ni es de créer, que hacian Esclavo por quarenta, ni cinquenta mazorcas de maiz, ni por otra cosa de mas precio, si él tenia de que pagar, ó los Parientes." On this important point—the *solidarity of the kindred* in the case of the crime of one of their number, see, further on, note 137.

[135] To the authorities so frequently quoted on other subjects, I will add here *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones históricas*," Vol. IX, *Lord Kingsborough*, p. 367).

[136] *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. VII, p. 356) calls this an "extravagant law." Further quotations useless.

[137] It is stated by *A. de Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*, Vol. I, p. 489): "En los hurtos era ley general que siendo cosa de valor tenian pena de muerte; y si la parte se convenia, pagaba en mantas la cantidad al dueño, y otra mas para el fisco real; á esto acudian los parientes." This "obligation to help" on the part of the kin we have already met with in the case of marriage, where the kin assisted the newly married couple. (See *Burdin*, "*Rapport*," p. 138): "Si le jeune homme était pauvre, la communauté où il avait été élevé l'aidait." We find it subsisting after the conquest, as when an Indian died, leaving debts, his kinship paid them for his estate (which in most cases was insolvent), or "worked it out for him." This is asserted as follows by *Fray Augustin Dávila Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de*

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to a class of thefts and other similar offenses, committed against 685
worship or "medicine."

Any attempt at seduction of a female who had taken the 688
pledge of chastity in behalf of medicine, was most cruelly punished, both in the persons of the seducer and the female; and if a medicine-man broke his vows, he suffered a horrible death.[138]

We have already mentioned that it was a capital crime on the 687
part of a warrior to take for himself a prisoner of war secured by 688
another.[139] Such cases occurred only during an engagement or immediately after it. Why an action of that kind should entail so rigorous a punishment can be easily inferred, if we recollect that a captive of that kind became at once sacred — an object of medicine. No return could atone for the offence, since it had been committed against the "rites of worship," one of the kin's most sacred and important attributes. Under the same head must be placed the capital punishment of such as wrongfully appropriated to themselves gold or silver. Both of these metals were regarded as objects of medicine, and whoever seized them unlawfully, committed a crime against worship also.[140]

Santiago de México," 2d Edition, 1625, Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83): "Si muere alguno dellos con deudas, como si los deudos las heredassen por parecerse deudas y deudas en el nombre, procuran luego entre los parientes pagarlas, porque el anima de su difunto no dilate la entrada en el cielo. Y si no tienen caudal para pagar, procuran que se perdone la deuda, y sino salen con esta traça, se dan luego todos en servicio al acreedor hasta que del todo se pague lo que el difunto devia. Viviendo yo en el colegio de San Luys de predicadores el año de 1586, sucedió morir un Indio que trabajaua en aquel sumptuoso edificio, y era muy diestro cantero; auia recibido dineros adelantados, y quando murió quedava deviendo veynte pesos, ó reales de á ocho. Viniéron luego al colegio los parientes reconociendo la deuda, y pidiendo que los ocupasen en servicio del colegio, para que se descontasse lo que su defunto denia. No se les dana mucho a los padres del colegio por cobrar estos dineros; porque demas de ser pocos no parecia que auia modo para cobrarlos; y mas por acudir á la devocion de los deudos, le dixéron á uno, que viniesse à trabajar en la huerta. Era marauilloso el cuydado del Indio, ansi en venir cada dia, como en venir muy de mañana; y preguntandole un religioso la causa de su cuydado, dixo, que le tenia porque su paciente se fuesse al cielo, y desde alla le ayudasse con Dios, y no estuviesse en el infierno chiquito, que los predicadores llaman purgatorio."

My friend Col. F. Hecker, to whom I communicated the above, at once recognized in it an analogue to the ancient Teutonic "*Gesammt-Burgschaft*." He called my attention to the remarkable organization of the Germans. Compare *Luden* ("*Geschichte*," etc., Vol. I, p. 502), which valuable source I also owe to the kindness of the distinguished German jurist.

[138] In regard to "priests" it is also stated that they were merely degraded and cast away; but this is hardly probable since, the higher the position of the culprit, the severer was his punishment.

[139] Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 419). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, chapter II, p. 47).

[140] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 138). *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 484): "Al que hurtaba

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685 In the above review of those offences and their punishments,
671 immediately connected with that rule of tribal society which
212 places the persons and property of the members of a kin under that kin's special protection, we cannot pretend to have furnished more than illustrations, and not at all a full catalogue. Still, enough has been told, we believe, to explain what is frequently styled the "penal code" of the ancient Mexicans. It is well known, that no actual written laws existed, but on the other hand, at the time of the Spanish conquest, the natives still had a large number of paintings which represented their own manners and customs. Since a considerable proportion of these picture-leaves bore on the same subjects, the inference could be easily drawn that they indicated forms for the guidance of the people, or in other words, that they were a substitute for a written code. This was not at all their object. They were simply efforts of native art intended to represent scenes of everyday life, since these were the most handy subjects for such purposes. Therefore such pictures are to be regarded as convenient remains of aboriginal art, out of which many details concerning aboriginal customs may be gathered, but not as "official" sources, from which to seek information as to the "law of the land."[141]

plata y oro lo desollaban vivo y sacrificaban, al dios de los plateros, que llamaban Xipe, y lo sacaban por las calles para escarmiento de otros, por ser el delito contra el dios fingido." This sacrifice to one particular Idol, however, is neither mentioned by Torquemada nor by his predecessor and main source, Mendieta. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII. p. 487) copies Vetancurt almost textually. So does *Ortega* (Vol. III, p. 225, Appendix to *Veytia's* "*Hist. Antigua*"). *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196) copies the former again. Still it is singular that the older the source, that is, the nearer in date to the time of the conquest, the less positive it is on the point of sacrifice. It will be safe to admit that the criminal was killed for a crime committed against worship, without insisting upon a particular place or mode of punishment.

[141] Elsewhere ("*On the Sources for Aboriginal History of Spanish America*," in Vol. XXVII of the "*Proceedings of the American Association for Advancement of Science*," 1878) I have attempted a discussion of the nature of Mexican paintings, and of their value as sources of history. I will add here but two positive declarations, on the subjects of the paintings, which I had not noticed at the time the above paper was read at St. Louis, Missouri, Aug., 1878. *Juan de Solorzano-Pereyra* ("*Disputationem de Indiarum Jure*," 1629, Vol. I, Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 331, § 96): "Quod de Phœnicibus tradit etiam Lucanus, et in Mexicanis nostris experti fuimus, qui si non litteris, imaginibus tamen, et figuris ea omnia, quæ sibi memoranda videbantur, significabant, et conservabant." The other is of recent date, being taken from a discourse delivered before the "Académia Mexicana," by my friend Señor *D. J. G. Icazbalceta* ("*Las Bibliotecas de Eguiara y de Beristain*," p. 253 of No. 4. Vol. I, of "*Memorias de la Accademia*"): "El antiguo pueblo que ocupaba este suelo no conocía las letras, y con eso está dicho que no podía tener escritores ni literatura. Su imperfectísimo sistema de representar los objetos é ideas, tenía que limitarse á satisfacer, hasta donde podía, las necesidades más urgentes de la sociedad, sin aspirar á otra cosa. Así es que no se empleaba sino en registrar los tributos de los pueblos, en señalar los límites de las

Thirty-second Chapter, which telleth of the tears, the lamentations, and the misery of those who had been robbed, whom those who had danced with the dead forearm had plundered; and of the rest of the houses belonging to [One Wind].

And those who had been despoiled later then revived, moved, continued to stir, and rose up; they arose one by one. They to whose home the thieves had come stood up. They looked into the hearth, and into their coffers, woven reed containers, and palm leaf baskets. The bracelets, the green stone, and the quetzal feather mats, the mats of quetzal feathers, no more lay about. All was bare and laid waste.

They had carried away all the goods with them. All was gone. They had borne all away from them. They had heaped and massed the goods together, had robbed and looted them; they had stripped all of value. They had caused ruin and left them bare. They had worked thoroughly and wrought misery for them. They had plunged them into misery, destroyed them, and brought them to disaster.

In vain there was desperate searching. The women raised wails and howls, continuous howls; they raised a cry, beat their hands, pounded with their fists, and wept tears. Verily, how could it be? What could they do? Truly, of what profit was it? Of what profit was their work? What was left? What still could they say? Nothing more could be said. Where in truth could it be told? Each one even threw herself to the ground, cast herself on her face, beat her face, and wept; for it was carried away, scraped all together,—scraped clean—swept bare. They had stripped the necessities of life [procured] by drudgery; the things arduously established and founded; the solace of [the labor of] the elbow and the knee; that which had appeared and accumulated with effort, to increase and augment the property and possessions of our lord, etc.

In this manner they said that those who danced with a dead woman's forearm destroyed people, those known verily as genuine thieves, struck by-

Inj cempoalli ommatlactli omome capitulo: yetchpa tlatos in jnchoquiz, in jntlaocul, yoan in jnnetolinjliz in jchtequjjiloia: in qujmjchtequjjiaia in temamacpalitoiqueque: ycan in oc «erpej calli, in jtech poubquj yn.

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Auh in ichoantin otlaqujxtililoque: qujnjquac mozcalia, molinja, mocuecuechinja, meoa, meoa, meoatiquetza, in oacique inchan ychtecque: yn otlachia in tlecopa, yoan yn jntopco, in jnpetlacalco: in jtanaioc in maqujztli in chalchivitl: auh in quetzalpetlatl, yn jpetlaioc in quetzalli, aioc tle oivetztec, ça cácacoc, ça nemjuhian:

ixlacemjtquijque, otlaceia, oqujmoetlacemjtequjlique, ontlamaololoque, oqujmontlamaololhujque, ontlanamuxique, oqujmontlanzamojelique, otlanavac ontlavicaque, omlanemjuhcantilique, oqujmonpetztoccaulique, ovelqujmonchiuhque, oqujmonjcnechiuhque, icnoiotl oqujmoetlaxilitiaque, oqujmontlaixpulvique, oqujmontlacecemmanjlique:

çan ôia, ça nelli moch in moorra, tlachoqujztlesa, tlatecoioca, tlatetecoioca, tlatzatzintleoa, momamatlatzinja, momamapozteequj, mjxaiopatzca in cioa: que çan nel oc nen, quien oc, tle ça nel nen, tle ça nen, tle oc nen, tle oc ylatollo: ac onnelhujlos, campa nel onmjtos, in manel momamaiqvi, moetentimaiavi, mjxtetzòtzona choca, ca onitequjoac, ontlacemjchictia, onoemjchictia, ontlachichictiaque, oconcemjchictiaque, yn atlaxxcavilli, in aixxcaio, in aixxcan oztitic, onclosiooac, in jpatinh in molicpitl, in tetepantli, in aixxcan oozz, oçaçalish: injc omacoquetz, omotlapivi in jcocacash in tetecajo in tlatequjtl er.

Iujn in quijtos tepeioaia: in momoioaia wel tetichtecque, teradzaaque, tepetlachti: in ichoanin temamacpalitoique. Auh injc tocaiotilo tetzetzaque:

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stones, crushed-by-stones. And hence were they named "struck-by-stones"; if somewhere they could be taken, they just stoned them. They set upon them with stones; they were felled by stones; they beat and mangled them with stones; they crushed their heads with stones. Then and there were taken and plundered practically all their stolen goods and loot, etc.

1787 And as was said above, so that it be not mere idle words, we shall consider it, and it will be discussed and explained in detail; we shall elucidate and explain at great length, expound it, develop it, and enlarge upon it. That which is different we shall go on explaining in detail; we shall do it twice, thrice, or four times. But to make it clear, we reflect upon, try to realize and give form to that not yet apparent, and not determined above; that which is still being established, considered, denied;[1] that which is not yet in one's heart, not yet understood or comprehended — not yet taken to heart, the discussion not yet clear. For many times we have gone hurrying back to all which hath been told. For that reason, that which is here present we pass over, we quickly skip over, we hurriedly leap over the fragment. No more do we correct or deal with what hath been mentioned: the different accounts of the day signs each in its proper place. So only here they are gathered, assembled, brought together, unassed, and arranged in succession. We place them in clusters and join and put them together. So only these are being clustered, brought together, joined together, set separately, arranged in procession and in succession, the different numbers of the series, with their assigned tasks: Two House, Three Lizard, Four Serpent, Five Death, Six Deer, Seven Rabbit, Eight Water, Nine Dog, Ten Monkey, Eleven Grass, Twelve Reed, Thirteen Ocelot.

When the count of these different days, the time of each one of the days, had ended, then set in —

intla cana owl amoque, çan quiquetzpachoa, quiquecicali, tetica vetzi, quiquetzotzona, quiquepatica, quiquaxtepipitzinja: yquac vecan cujtilo, nemotalilo in amo çan quezquijch imjchtech, intlapojtil. er.

Auh in juh omjto tlacpac: inijc amo çan ilujtzlatlauli tocontemjtiaque, omujtoa, ommotetequipanotiz, çan tontlatepeoaque, tontlatequipepeoaque, tocontlatepeualtiaque, tocontlaaxquijtiaque, tocontlatlalilitiaque: in amo çan ichoatl tictoquipanotimjtiaque, tiovppavizque, tiquetzpavizque, ticnanappavizque: çan ichoatl ipan tontixpoa, tontoiolpoa, tocontjxtoca, ipan tontlanciocolia, in aiamo neci, in aiamo panj calmotlalia: in oc thapechiuhtica, mocujlitica, mococujtlitica, in aiamo teyollipan, in aiamo teiollo quiçamjquj, in aiamo teiollo contoca, in aiamo teiollo itlan quiça, teiollo ipan iauh tlaolli: ca mjecpa omocujcujtlacaeptinca, in jxquich omjto: ipampa in ça ajcan iaco tonquiça, tonconchócholhujtiquiça, tocuchaechcholhujtiquiça. Aiocmo vempa tontlavica: aiocmo tocontchouilhuja yn omotecnuh, inijc nemequa tlatollotaque inquijtemo tonalti: yn çan njcan ommocentlalia, ommotecpichoa, ommomechicoa, ommocnequjxtia, ommotonequjlia, tiquijmonnenetzollalia, tiquijmonnenetechçaloa, tiquijmonnenetechtlalia: ic çan ommenetzolcate, nenetechcate, nenetech çaliuhticate, mocuequetzticate, mototocaticate, mototoquijlitocate, yn jxquijtemo njcan omacalpan tequippanequi: in ichoatl vme calli: ey cuetzpalin, navi coatl, macuilli mjquijztli, chiquacen maçatl, chicome tochtli, chicuei ail, chicunavi ytzcuintli, matlactli ocomatli, matlactli oçe malinalli, matlactli omome acatl, matlactli omey ocelotl.

Yn jquac oontlan inquijlhujtl yn, in thapealpan: yn jutlacemjlhujoltiaia: njquan calmoquetza.

1. Repetition of the above totalis commence in Eighty-second year in the National year.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

685 duration of this bond, whether for certain time or for life, is not stated. If any one changed the limits (lines) of the individual lots ("talmilpa"), or of the official tracts, he lost his life. His offence was not so much against the occupant as against the kin, who had fixed the destination of each particular plot of land, and determined its boundaries.[135] It is also mentioned that "he 686 who squandered the property of minors left to his care" suffered death for it. The case could only be that of an oldest son, or of a father's brother, in whose care the "tlalmilli" improved by the deceased was left, to be improved for the benefit of the latter's children. If now this warden failed to have that lot tilled for two years, it became lost to his wards, who were thereby left without means of subsistence. There was no restitution possible, therefore the negligent administrator paid with his life for the neglect.[136]

685 In general, we discern the ruling principle: that for theft there were but two ways of atonement. One consisted in the return of the stolen property, and if that was no longer possible, then the person of the thief had to suffer for it. Wherever no bodily labor could replace the value of the loss (as in the last case mentioned) the life of the criminal became forfeited to the kin, since the sufferers looked to that cluster for redress.[137] This carries us

prehended by its owner or at least occupant. This story shows, that no chief was exempt from punishment even for slight misdemeanors.

I refer to *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXI, p. 564), *Velascurt* ("*Teatro*," Vol. I, p. 433), *Bustamante* ("*Tecoco*," p. 197) for the assertion that the *kin* of the thief assisted him in discharging the penalty for his crime. The former says: "y si no tenia de que pagar, una, y dos vezes, los parientes se juntaban, y repartian entre si el valor del hurto, y pagaban por el, diez, y doce mantas, y desde arriba: ni es de creer, que hacian Esclavo por quarenta, ni cincuenta mazorcas de maiz, ni por otra cosa de mas precio, si él tenia de que pagar, é los Parientes." On this important point—the *solidarity of the kindred* in the case of the crime of one of their number, see, further on, note 137.

[136] To the authorities so frequently quoted on other subjects, I will add here *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones históricas*," Vol. IX, Lord Kingsborough, p. 367).

[136] *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. VII. p. 285) calls this an "extravagant law." Further quotations useless.

[137] It is stated by *A. de Velascurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*, Vol. I, p. 433): "En los hurtòcra ley general que siendo cosa de valor tenian pena de muerte; y si la parte se convenia, pagaba en mantas la cantidad al dueño, y otra mas para el fisco real; á esto acudian los parientes." This "obligation to help" on the part of the kin we have already met with in the case of marriage, where the kin assisted the newly married couple. (See *Burtin*, "*Rapport*," p. 132): "Si le jeune homme était pauvre, la communauté où il avait été élevé l'aidait." We find it subsisting after the conquest, as when an Indian died, leaving debts, his kinship paid them for his estate (which in most cases was insolvent), or "worked it out for him." This is asserted as follows by *Fray Augustin Davila Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de*

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a
serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
ing ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver
and jade, precious substances reserved for religious orna-
ments, was also a mortal crime.

Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public dis-
grace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage
done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws,
and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with
serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal
property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its pro-
duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

796 346 who were called Tlaloca. And this was done once yearly.

tlatlaloque. Auh injn cexiuhtica in muchiuhtivia ipan

Maculilcalli, and Maculilquiauitl.

796 346 687 648 Here, in this place, here died the informers, those who imparted secrets which they had discovered to those who were not dwellers here—the Tlaxcalteca, or the Uexotzinca, or the Cholulteca, who entered the fortifications here in Mexico; who bore information hence.

And if they escaped, if they went forth taking information, these Tlaxcalteca, or Uexotzinca, or Cholulteca, and all who had entered the fortifications then would emplace [themselves], and thus wait [in ambush] for the Mexicans. And when the Mexicans came there, great numbers would die at that place.

And if [the informers] were noted here in Mexico, then [the Mexicans] laid hands upon them and slew them, hacking them limb from limb, here at Maculilcalli or Maculilquiauitl.

Macujlcalli, ioan macujlqujavitl.

In vncan yn, vncan mjquja in tetlanenque: in qujmjlhujaia tezauhtlatoque, in amo njcan chanequc, in tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, in valiaucalaquja njcan mexico: in qujvalcuja tlatolli.

Auh intla ovelquijaque, intla oconcujco tlatolli, in ichoantin tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço cholcltcca, yoan in ye ixquich valiaucalaquja: njman ic tlateca, injc qujnchia mexica: auh in jquac onvi mexica, cenca mjiec in vmpa onmjqujja.

Auh intla oitoque njcan mexico: njman qujntzitzqujaia, ioan qujnmjctiaia, qujntetequjja: in vncan macujlcali, anoço macujlquijavitl.

Teccizcalli.

796 346 Teccizcalli: here Moctezuma himself did penances and offered incense. And here dues were paid [to the gods]. And fasts were observed at the time of the great feasts. And then were slain, and died, the captives.

Teccizcalli.

In teccizcalli: vncan tlamaceuaia in ichoatl motecuçuma, vncan tlenamacaia: ioan vncan mozzlavaia. Auh çan iquac in vncan moçauaia, in vevey ilhujtl qujçaia: yoan vncan mjcovaia, vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Poiauhtlan.

Poiauhtlan: here fasted Mexico's fire priest and the fire priest of [the Temple of] Tlalocan, once yearly, at [the feast of] Etzalqualiztli. They offered incense at Poiauhtlan. And here were slain, and died, the captives.

Poiauhtlan.

In poiauhtlan: vncan moçauaya in mexico tlenamacac, ioan in tlalocan tlenamacac: cexiuhtica, ipan in etzalqualiztli: nehoan vncan tletemaia in poiauhtlan: ioan vncan mjcovaia vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

The Skull Frame[8] of Mixcoapan.

The Skull Frame of Mixcoapan: here they strung up the severed heads of those who died in the Temple of Mixcoatl.[9]

Mixcoapan tzumpantli.

In mjxcoapan tzumpantli: vncan qujçoia in jztmontecuin, in mjquja mjxcoatempan.

8. Actually the severed heads were strung on the skull racks, and then allowed to decompose.
9. Probably Mixcoatempan was intended for Mjxcoatzinpan.

532
[687]
[625]

[689]
[526]

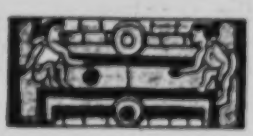

[533
534]
[735]

[482]

—After Pap y Tronco

86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a careless musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game *ulaliztli* (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

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[p. 36(L) is blank]

692 nounced. And in what was there made known, the
695 lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caqujtiloia tlatoque atle qujcnjuhchioaia atle tlaxtlaujltica qujxpachoaia, anoço qujuecaoaia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently
[212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

●687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Iztlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toqual. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiencia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlatoque.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuztlac imixpan moteilhujaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuxca, in qujcaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in qujpoaia, in qujttaia neteilhujlli: auh injc qujnneltiliaia, qujntemoaia, qujmjtlanja in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in qujmachilia moteilhujque, in tlein qujmocujcujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhuja.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla qujnmachili in iehoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic qujuecaoa, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uxiujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl qujnemjtia in amo uel qujtzontequj, aço gan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoaiolcaiotl: njman qujmjlpia, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujtzacutiuj, qujmjctia, injc mauhca iezque tecutlatoque.

Tlatocati motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in qujnmachili tecutlatoque mjxcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, iztlaca mjxcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinqui, tlatilulco in amo melaoac qujchioaia in jntequjub tecutlatolli: njman qujmjlpi, quauhcalco qujntlali, qujtzacutiaque, qujnmjcti.

692 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
565 place of discussion where were the brave warriors
684 and the noblemen.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, iuan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oqujchti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla qujmachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman qujtlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznauatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpauique ix-

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5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"*otra sala.*"

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 267, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecali, cierto consistorio por los ancianos, determinaba de causas livianas, dando cuenta diariamente á los jueces superiores.*" Clark, *Top. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The large painted figures behind the judges, called *tecali*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also ff. 67r and 68r of the *Mendoza Codex*.)

7. *Tecuani, pilli, tecpilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

643 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the
701 Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

tiacahoan, in oqujchtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchnemj in pipilti.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oqujchiuh. Niman qujnnaotia, in tlatoanj: in jxqujchtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz; in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in qujnmacaz, in qujntlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oqujchtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto qujnnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxqujch chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, qujncaqujtia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz ce altepetl: qujntlauhtia, in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan qujnmaca, in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic qujnnaotia: in jxqujch in jmaçeoal, injc iauqujçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oqujchtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquasta. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixqujchtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, qujnmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjztiuj, in ixqujchtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl qujmjztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjztiuj, in jxqujch acolhoacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujztiuj, in jxqujch tepanecatl, no cemjlhujtl qujztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjztiuj, in jxqujch moquastaitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in
● [687] among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacauitztli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

Auh in jcoac, oaxioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in ichoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teumaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan qujça, çan njmɔn vncã qujnmjctia, qujnujujtequj, in aqujn tlaixneloznequj: tetlan qujçaznequj, in oommoten ixqujch iauqujzquj, in ie inman in ocalhuetz acaujztli, in tlaioalli injc tlaioocalcujoaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca mochiia in tletl, in quenman cue-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "*Mandaua luego, a los calpixques, que llouassen armas, a todos los principales, para si, y para sus soldados; y entonces lo notificaua a su gente, y les daua armas.*"

3. Tenutepan, tlachinoltempan: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 183 (*lugares para la guerra-soldados*), and p. 185 (*los lugares de los soldados*).

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited tensely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech clouts, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponjz: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ieã in tlapitzalli in tecuiztli, in oquipitzque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tletl, njman ic cemeca, in jxquijch iauquizquj, motempepauja, mjcali, qujtlemjna in texcalli.

Auh in achto in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan qujmjctia, in teteu, tecpatica quelteteqjuj.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh altepetl, njmã ie ic nemalpoalo, in quexqujch malli: ioan in quexqujch omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi qujcaqujtia in tlatoanj, injc tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman qujnnaoatia, in tecutlatoque: injc qujtemachtitiuj, injc qujtecaqujtititiuj, in jnchan in jxqujnti, oiaumjquito, injc choqujliloazque in jnchachan, in oiaumjquito: ioan qujtecaqujtia in jnchan, in quexquj otlamato iauc, ic vncan qujcujia in maujziotl, in jpampa oqujchiotl: ioan qujnomacevjaia in jxquijch itzicbeliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmazli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc cenca qujmjcneliaia in tlaçopipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, qujmaca calpixcantli: ioan in jxquijch tlaçotli necujltonolli, in maujziotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame qujtlacoa iauiotl, njman vmpa qujnmjctia in iauc qujnviujtequj, qujntetepachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, qujmocujcujlia ce malli, qujtoa ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no qujtoa ca nomal: intlacamo ce tlacatl itech nelti, aiac no qujmjttac, in quenjn tlamaque: ichoantin qujntlatzontequjlia, in tonatiuh itlatocahoan: aiac tle onquiça in jmomextin in qujmocujcujlia in malli: iuh qujtzontequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce itech pouhquj iez in malli: vitzcalli qujpoaia, calpolco qujcsoaia, in jchan tlacateculotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oaxicoac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman icoac motlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacalaqujlli itech mana in tlein vmpa muchioa, auh njman no iquac iaque- 728 651

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 381-382, referring to the dawn of Cuauhtemoc, whom chosen fought and died in sacrifice: "Este era en el patio del templo que se dice Uitzcalco."

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed him-
292 self, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
301 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

● 687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

veuetl: ioan in iaquich maçeoallaquitl, ioan netotiliztli, aquin cujcaitoz, aquiquac in tziacanazque, aquin teponaçoz, aquin veuetzoaz, mochi[6] achto mocencaoaia injc ade itlacauja.

Auh in ie icoac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhuitl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj cozzic teucujtlaio, injc quijpia itzon, cozzic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, cozzic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, açe chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcaqetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac quitlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço cozzic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceozzitli, tlaçotlanquj injc mitoxia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in quimololoa, in quimoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in quimomaxtlatia,

njman ic no quicencaoa quintlauhtia: in iaquichtin tlatoquiq, ioan pipilti, in ocquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan quinmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jaquitlamantin omoteneuhque.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cujcanjme: açe teponaztli quichalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, quipolos cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipolos netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quitzacutiuh injquja.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncā mjtoa injc intoçoaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpāpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocujtlauiaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl ceioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, açe cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca intoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in ioholtica quenmanjan quiçaia quiiaoalos in altepetl quiita tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh açe ie necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

in jaquijchtin isutenaque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içcioual tlapizque, in tiuatenpan in tlachinoltempil, 726
in qujmocujtlauizque oçelotenamjtl, quauhtenamjtl,
in isuotli: ioan qujmanazque qujnezizquizque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in qujoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jquijn isutlatoloc, auh in
oqujcacque ca ie isutlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
isutlapializtica.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[10] was to be seen in their homes.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenonotzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame qujmati in mexica in inchan oalmocalhotia, in tetlanenque in jisohoan no qujtzacutiuja, inca nenonotzaloia in chaneque, ioã in jnpilhoan, ioan namoieloia in intlatquj atl neneçia in inchan.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlamaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialoz in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çeioal, in ma aca qujtlachichiujli altepetl, in ma 722
isuiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icanaz tlatoanj,
ioan altepetl qujnaoztiaia in tlatoanj in telpuchtlatoque, in tiacahoan: ioan in izqujch telpuchtli, injc [533]
momoztlae ioaltica cujcoanozque, injc qujoalcaquja
izqujch altepetl, in qujiaoalotoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan izqujch mexicatl.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaua: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan izqujch altepemaitl, icoac qujça in
jaquijchtin tlamacazque, noujian in ontlamaçeua
noujian tepeticpac, ioan ic ontlapia in aço itla qujnamjquijtiuj ie tlatujnaoac ⸗ oalcalaquja injc ontlapiaia çeçeioal iuh qujchiouia.

10. Sandoval, op. cit., identifies *mixtil* as an intoxicating plant, and *chopul* as Rhizoma convolvuli, a medicinal plant. Olmos, op. cit., p. 223, has, for Hector a cuve enfoncé, o dar mal consejo: *Mixtil, chopul, cuauxuchqui, cuauxuel tlacatecolotl*. . . . ¿ Iar Embarrachar, o mio de arre: *Yuach aquaxo in ocelt, in cuauxuel, in mixtil, in cuauxuchqui iuiz ayaxtiz, iuiz ayaxtiz*, In Lib. VI, fol. 28v, of the Florentine Codex, this passage appears: "*In tlatlacatecoyo, in tlacatecuiltonoyo; in pohqui mixtil, in pohqui chopul ontiquac. Inchqui mixtiuiz in aquaxo cuauxuel, quichquatzquiz, tencuauhtlatlatli: ca inchqui in ma tlamanqui, ma chopul ayaxqui: iuiz ayaxtiz ainic ma qualhuiquiqui in ilhuia ic tecontlaxtia: ipampa iuiz ainic, in ainic ayaxtiz: ilnelhua. Tlein cuauxtli ontiquac, tlein cuauxtli ontiquac: ainic cuel huiquiz, ainic cuel huiquiz, ainic qualhuiquiz in mixtlalli: in ainic tlaxtli, ainic in tlaxtli.*" The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Este letrado quiere decir. Andar [illegible] y dandose palmadas en el pecho como hombres que a consejo hablaban. Por metaphora se dice: de capuz que tiendo trompeta y [illegible] en el viaje, tiendo corrigido, no se quiere conocer; y a esto del dicendo que no hacyda que se corrigida que ninguna hora conoyo conocer en corrigida.*"

11. *Tetlan nenque*: vacillando, according to Sandoval, op. cit. *Tetlanqui-nenel*, however, in Molina, op. cit., is translated as chiromancia or suertes (pungir, taladrarse; hacer, punzadas, taladrar).

12. *Ahi*: probably *ayhi* is meant.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliçion, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were seng as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiauhque, oanqujhjouiqque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican açoçan annechuztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlaiolli:

[667]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujçaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlaria qujnpopolosa.

727

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuqujin oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocempjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omochiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj ithoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh inalli:

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezqujntin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, açoçequjntin motequjoacaxima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnqujxtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

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Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, açoçe vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in qujça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chicomoztoc*: Sahagún's commentary on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "*y lo de la tierra seca, que son los consumidores de los chicomoztoc.*"

701 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor,
721 as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

726 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones
● 687 in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

701 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] re-
431 membered him, sought him out, and drew him from
643 his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts: he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full or maize grains: and he provided him with *chia*—he weighed out two large measures of *chia*. And thereafter once again he placed himself, among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

701 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior],
726 he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

inocelloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauh. inic ayac ỹ uini ça quipopouhtinemi in [illegible] in ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz. auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemoliui i ye ytlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in ôpa tepeuazqa. oc cemilhuipã i yaoteca.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no ometitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i moteoççoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'cualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuikiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahcualmacaya.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xinitl anoço ôxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in ôya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli açó quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço onteti y ucy tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quĩ ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yoxõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquis in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquãchicyo in imoxõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in ocelloyotl.

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[687]

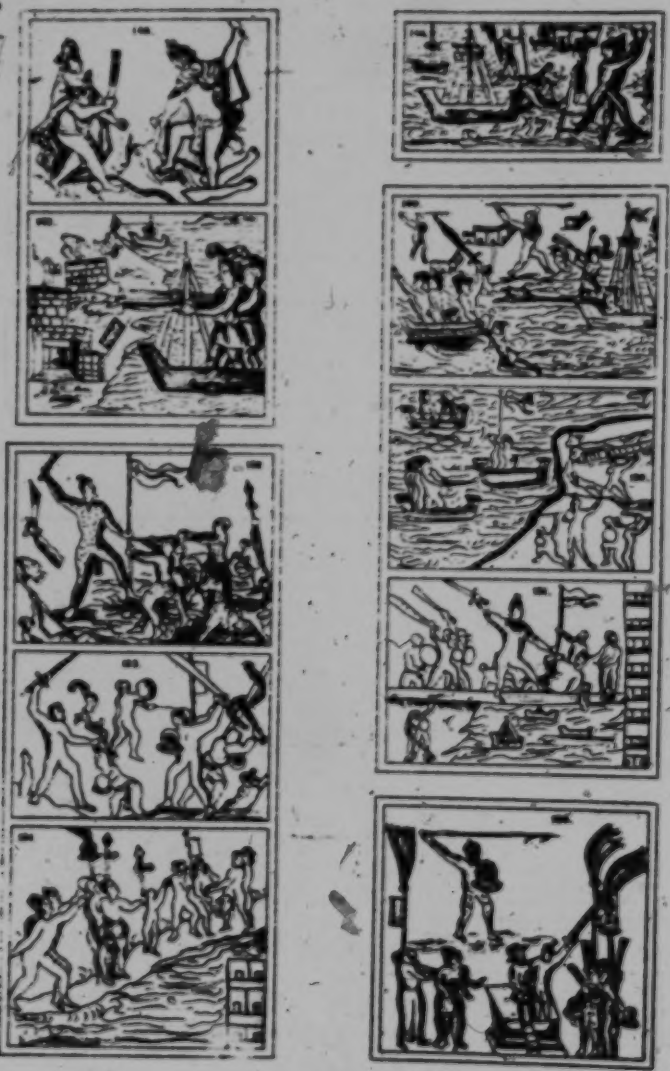

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

146. Quetzalcoatl and Moyocoyani punish the sinners (Chapter 33). 147, 148. Spaniards arrive at Yucatan (Chapter 33, 34). 149-151. Montezuma disperses the Spaniards and captures some (Chapter 34). 152-155. Montezuma captures and sacrifices fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many slaves (Chapter 35).

[p. 44 (4)]

726 And all the boats which were at Nonoalco then were assembled there; all left from there in order to pursue. Then they proceeded to hem in those of Xochimilco. Thereupon they slew them; they speared and beat them. But some they only took. And almost all died there; in truth, there they were destroyed. And all [the women] whom they had seized, all of them they left there. None of the beloved women were taken away.

And while this was already coming to pass, then the Spaniards settled back.

And just as those of Xochimilco had devised, and would have done, just so [the Spaniards] would do away with us through deceit. And all whom they seized of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, etc., they thereupon brought and hurried there to Yacacolco, where now is [the Church of] Santa Ana.[1] There were Quauhtemoc and Mayeuatzin, ruler of Cuitlauac (for he was here at the time of the war).

And when [those of Cuitlauac] had been brought, they greeted Mayeuatzin. They said to him: O my younger brother, [may it] be well with thee." But Mayeuatzin replied to them: "You fools, have I perchance bidden you? What have you done?" And Quauhtemoc then said to Mayeuatzin: "O my younger brother, do thy work." And Mayeuatzin thereupon offered up as sacrifices four, whom he slew, of his vassals. Likewise Quauhtemoc slew four.

And later, of all who were included among the captives, it was commanded that they be slain, everywhere in the temples of the devils. Everywhere the captives gave blood to [the images].

726 687 Ahd afterwards the Mexicans were wroth because of this. They said: "Verily, here among us, mingling with us, are the people of Xochimilco; they have already made their homes here. Do they not, in truth, deliver their messages [to our foes]? So these we shall take forth; they shall perish!" And upon this, when judgment was indeed pronounced, thereupon were drawn out all the beloved women and old women, and those already mature. All were slain. None were spared, because of those who went bearing false witness of them and doing undeserved ill: those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac who came [saying] they would help us.

Auh in nonovalco in onoca in jaqujch scalli: njmá ic nechi vmpa moomjequjc, nauch vmpa in iuic tlaxtoca: njmá ic quintzacujlico in Suchimjlca: njman ic ic temjctia, tezzili, tevivizequj. Auh cequjntin çan quimacique: auh vel muchintin, vncá mjcque, vel oncan mjztlaique. Auh in jaquichtin in quimacique, çá muchtin vncan quimcauhq; aiac vioc in cioatzintinti.

Auh in jquac ic iuh muchica in, njman ic mocentextlalique in Españoles.

Auh in juh quimolhujca, in juh quichivaqujqa xochimjlca, çan ic technacalpolonequja: auh in jxquichtin quimacique in xuchimjlca: in Cuitlavaca &c. njman ic ic quiavica, quintotoxa in vmpa Jacatulco, in axcan ic xant Ana: vmpa icaca in Quauhtemoctzj, yoan in Maichoeztzin, cuitlauac tlatoanj (ca njcan ipan muchiuh in iauiztl).

Auh in oxivaque conthapalo[illegible]maaj in Maichoeztzin: conjlhuja. Nicaubtzine, n[illegible]olicatzin: auh in maichoeztzin, quinvalilhuja. In antlapalpopul cuix namechcujctlavi, tle oamaxque. Auh in quauhtemoctzin njman quiolilhuj in Maichoeztzin. Nicaubtzine ma ximotlacotili: auh in Maichoeztzin: njman ic ic tlamjctia, navi in oômjcti in jmacoalhoan: no navi in conmjcti in Quauhtemoctzin.

Auh in çatepan in ac oniaquj in mamalti, oallanavatiloc injc mjctilouque novian in intecupan tlatlacatecuilo, vel novian tepanjztique in mamalti.

Auh çatepá ic ic qualanj in Mexica: quitoque, Ca njcan totlanonoc, technelonoc in suchimjlcad in ic njcan chanchiva, amo nel vmpa contlalia in jtlatol. Auh inin ça tiquincaca, çan popolivi: auh in ic iuhquj, in ovel motaõec, njman ic ic teçaçaco in cioatzintinti, in jlamatzintzin yoã in ic tlapalivi, muchintin mjmjctiloque, aocac mocauh [illegible]e, ça iuhquja quimontlatolevico, quimoncujtlachivico in ovallaque in techpalevinequja xochimjcad, in cuitlauacad.

1. Spanish text: "en el Tlaltelolco." A barrio, "cerca del quitorio de Cuauhtlatoac, donde actualmente se encuentra el templo de Santa Ana en la calle del Peralvillo," according to R. H. Barlow: "Una pintura de la conquista en el templo de Santiago," Tlamatini a través de los códices, VI (1949), p. 58. Caso (op. cit.) identifies it as a district of neighborhood in the barrio of Sta. Ana Atlamaxac, near Tlatelolco.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

684a crime which the calpulli was bound to punish in the most exemplary manner.

689 While we are not at all surprised at such severity in the cases
562 above stated, it cannot fail to astonish us, that such apparently harmless acts as those of a *man wearing female dress* and of a *woman appearing in male attire* were visited upon the offenders with death.[129] Still, the ancient Mexicans could assign from their peculiar point of departure good cause for such cruel punishments. The position of woman was so inferior, they were regarded as so far beneath the male, that the most degrading epithet that could be applied to any Mexican, aside from calling him a dog, was that of "woman." It was more injurious than coward. Now, for a man to assume the garb of such an inferior being became almost equivalent to a crime against nature. It was an act of wilful degradation which was a deadly insult to his own kin. On the other hand, if a woman presumed to don the dress of her lord and master, it again was a crime of an equally heinous nature. In both cases the dignity of the whole consanguine group became deeply affected, and death alone could satisfy its honor. After this, it is needless to say how the actual crimes against nature were regarded and punished.[130]

687 It was also a capital crime for any man, to assume the dress or ornaments peculiar to an office, without being himself that office's lawful incumbent. Besides being a grave insult to the rightful officer, it was a dangerous offence towards the kin, especially in case of war, when it amounted to actual treason.[131]

684 Since it was the kin's duty to protect, not only the persons, but also the property of its members, it follows that adultery committed with a married woman entailed deadly punishment upon the male, whether he was married or not. His crime was that of stealing the most precious chattel of one member of the calpulli.

[129] This is so generally mentioned by all authors, that special references are superfluous.

[684] [130] All authors insist that incest was punished with death. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. IV, p. 280): "Todos los que cometian incesto en el primer grado de consanguinidad, tenian pena de muerte, si no eran cuñados, y cuñadas." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 137). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 481). All these authors appear to have gathered their information from the same source, or rather Torquemada is frequently Mendieta's plagiary, while Vetancurt often copies Torquemada. To avoid superfluous quotation, I beg to refer, on the subject of "unnatural crimes," to *Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 466, 467 and 469, "*Native Races*").

[131] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132), copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540), *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, pp. 214, 215 and 216), and others.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to a class of thefts and other similar offenses, committed against 685
worship or "medicine."

Any attempt at seduction of a female who had taken the 688
pledge of chastity in behalf of medicine, was most cruelly punished, both in the persons of the seducer and the female; and if a medicine-man broke his vows, he suffered a horrible death.[138]

We have already mentioned that it was a capital crime on the 687
part of a warrior to take for himself a prisoner of war secured by 688
another.[139] Such cases occurred only during an engagement or immediately after it. Why an action of that kind should entail so rigorous a punishment can be easily inferred, if we recollect that a captive of that kind became at once sacred — an object of medicine. No return could atone for the offence, since it had been committed against the "rites of worship," one of the kin's most sacred and important attributes. Under the same head must be placed the capital punishment of such as wrongfully appropriated to themselves gold or silver. Both of these metals were regarded as objects of medicine, and whoever seized them unlawfully, committed a crime against worship also.[140]

Santiago de Mixico," 3d Edition, 1625, Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83): "Si muere alguno dellos con deudas, como si los deudos las heredassen por pareceese deudas y deudas en el nombre, procuran luego entre los parientes pagarlas, porque el anima de su difunto no dilate la entrada en el cielo. Y si no tienen caudal para pagar, procuran que se perdone la deuda, y sino salen con esta traça, se dan luego todos en servicio al acreedor hasta que del todo se pague lo que el difunto devia. Viviendo yo en el colegio de San Luys de predicadores el año de 1586, sucedió morir un Indio que trabajaua en aquel sumptuoso edificio, y era muy diestro cantero; auia recibido dineros adelantados, y quando murió quedava deviendo veynte pesos, ó reales de á ocho. Viniéron luego al colegio los parientes reconocíendo la deuda, y pidiendo que los ocupasen en servicio del colegio, para que se descontasse lo que su defunto deuia. No se les daua mucho a los padres del colegio por cobrar estos dineros; porque demas de ser pocos no parecia que auia medo para cobrarlos; y mas por acudir á la devocion de los deudos, le dixéron á uno, que viniesse á trabajar en la huerta. Era marauilloso el cuydado del Indio, ansi en venir cada dia, como en venir muy de mañana; y preguntandole un religioso la causa de su cuydado, dixo, que le temia porque su pariente se fuesse al cielo, y desde alla le ayudasse con Dios, y no estuviesse en el infierno chiquito, que los predicadores llaman purgatorio."

My friend Col. F. Hecker, to whom I communicated the above, at once recognized in it an analogue to the ancient Teutonic "*Gesammt-Burgschaft*." He called my attention to the remarkable organization of the Germans. Compare *Luden* ("*Geschichte*," etc., Vol. I, p. 502), which valuable source I also owe to the kindness of the distinguished German jurist.

[138] In regard to "priests" it is also stated that they were merely degraded and cast away; but this is hardly probable since, the higher the position of the culprit, the severer was his punishment.

[139] Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 419). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, chapter II, p. 47).

[140] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 484): "Al que hurtaba

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692 that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsi-
[186] bility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were
775 rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

The sixth month they called Ezzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Ezzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuia: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

[136X] [3.5] [7.6] [785]

Chapter 6
Ezzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Cíllaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Ezzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *ezzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon in such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

1. Mexicanos matauan [illegible] dia.

Cap. 6.
Ezzalqualiztli.

1 g XL. Ezzalqualiztli. g 13
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los A 14
3 b sacrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, b 15 [137]
4 c yuã por juncas a Cíllaltepec: que se c 16
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en d 17
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli e 18 [346]
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los f 19
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie g 20
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- A 21
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con b 22
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto c 23 [651]
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se d 24
13 e defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera e 25
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque f 26 [681]
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se g 27
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena A 28
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de b 29
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer c 30
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- d 31
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian e 1[1]
las sacrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Ezzalqualiztli: todos hazã vna manera de puchãs o poleadas que se llama Ezzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia. [262] [786]

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el seruicio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos. [688]

En este mjsmo mes mataua muchos cautiuos y otras

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fire-serpent surplice; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had cattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

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Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk. When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnávi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teotl, yn ioca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan neneuhque, ynjc netetutiloia tecpantzinca intzuh: 776
yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca toqujchti ipan cioacochiz, 688
anoço ciostl, ipan oqujchocchiz: mjtoaia, qujntlaçulmjctia 753
yn jneçaoaliz,
ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujtzilhujltiaia, qujtema- [785
ceualtiaia, in xochiciuiztli; yn menexoaliztli, tlapalanaltiliztli, 834]
quexiliuiliztli,
yuicpa netoloa, nenetoltiloia, ynjc qujceuiz, ynjc
qujquaniz ynjc qujcaxaoaz, cuculiztli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtliloia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa 776
navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chil- 796
caoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, [264]
ioalnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlo'atulli in qujia, xochitontli
yn ipan ca, mexpchiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh
qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujtcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli
qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:
yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtliloia, iquac ce tlacatl
qujmixiptlatiaia, commaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtoiaia,
qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia, tlacoqujxtiloia: yeã tlamanjliloia yn jtzupan, macujltetl in [785]
qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey
ipan ycatiuh xuchmjtl:

776
yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc commanjliaia, yoan centoquiliaia [415]
oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitoton, mollotiuja: yoan vntetl 262
tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl 796
tiltic, centetl tlatlauhquj.

Auh yn aca izquitl, anoço necuzquitl, anoço xnecujlli,
papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzocollaxcalli, tzocolchimalli,
tzocolmjtl, tzocolmaquaujtl, tzocolnenetl:

yoan neujian oalcanaloia, in mamalti ojcan mexico, 776
motenteoa maltequjme, yn jzquich techiaoalotoc, yn 796
727

cuer quauxuxuchqui—two arrow shafts or wooden dolls, projecting forward above the frontal bone on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *cuer xcal* ("2 staff") or the *xuxuchqui* (fire-doll) (see illus.). *Solar: The Tonalamatl of the Aztec Collection*, p. 75. *Tlaxotzcuac*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlacochtzcuac*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*bubas, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, divisas, incordios, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text: "*pasar azimos.*"

796 [535] 796 302 293 [237]

leapt about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech-clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

796 [534]

And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

796 535

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

[30] 302

And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

796 684 688

Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitos tocacchocholoa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaleque, moquaquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzinteloloio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaiaoloa, ic tlaxiuiltiuj yn intzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate cheostitate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aiaujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn izqujch teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, motenecoa mococolloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococolloa, ichica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicozquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, motzaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxeluiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn izqujchtin yn mococolloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: ,njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujntitilieça, qujmiiieça:

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*saltar o bailar de la fiesta de toxcatl*"; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 298) translates *tocaxpachchalolaya* as "*se saltó el saltar (de) Toxcatl.*"

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Robredo edition, Vol. III, pp. 142-3 and 187. The last-mentioned reference to *tzanatopil* is: "*Hay unos cuos que se llaman tzanatl; es negro y tiene el pico corvo.*" Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 196, n. 2) calls *tzanatl* jackdaw or daw; or (*ibid.*, p. 233) rook thrush. Of this and of *ai cuahuarchin* he says: it is "*ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit nach Norden fliegt und dessen Federn, nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Landregen verkündeten sollen; lich halte den Mamen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Es wird sonst ein Vogel mit blutfarbenen schwarzen Gefieder gemeint; eine Art der tzanatl oder Drossel.*" Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: "*a que llamaban tzanatopilli, por razon de la barba, que llamaban ahuiz, en el vermejo.*" See also *supra*, p. 44.

For he had committed a crime in the temple; for he had done a wrong. They said to him: "Verily, here penitence is done; here a feast is held."

And as night fell during the dance, so closed the day of feasting when the day ended.

And next morning, when [the feast] was over, again there was dancing. Again all danced the serpent dance.

And [this day] died Ixteucale,[19] he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him they also named Tlacauepan,[20] and Teicauhtzin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. On his paper crown were eagle feathers. His headdress hung in disorder. Upon the crown of his head rested a flint knife made of red feathers.

And also he had his network cape; over it hung a small net bag; and his [ornament like a priest's] maniple hung from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast. He fastened shells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went first in line guiding the others.

And purely of his free will, when he wished, he would die. When he wished, then he delivered himself to the place where he would die.

Priests called *tlatlacamaiãti* seized him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, and cut open his breast. His heart they lifted up as an offering to the sun.

And his head also they strung on the skull rack. So he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head was] strung [on the skull rack].

And at this time, the priests cut the skin: with a stone knife they cut the skin of youths, young boys, and even small children yet lying in their cradles. Thus they cut the skin of their stomachs, their breasts, both upper arms, and [both] forearms.

This was done only at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl, when it ended, each year; [and] thus ended [the feast]:

ichica in qujnmjctiaia ca teupan, ca tlazujlqujxtia, qujnjlhuja: ca vncan tlamaceoalo, vncan ilhujtlalo.

çan iuh oniooa in netotilo, ioontlamj in cemilhujtl, in ontzonquiz ilhujtl.

Auh yn jmuztlaioc, in apeoalco no netotilo, no necocololo:

auh iquac mjquj, yn Jxteucale, ynin necan onenca Titlacaoan: auh ynjn no motocaiotia, tlacavepã, yoan Tehicauhtzin.

Auh ynjc tlacujlolli, yn jamatlatquj, tezcapocio yn jamacal, quabujujio, momoiaoa yn jvitzoncal: tecpatl iquanepantla icatiuh, tlapalihujtl ynic tlachioalli:

yoan no ycuechin, icampa vetztiuh, icpatoxi, yoan imatacax imac pilcatiuh, tequaneoatl, oiooalli contlalitiuh, teboan mjhtoria, mococoloa, teiacantinemj, teiacac ycatinemj.

Auh çan iillotlama, in quenman miquiz, in quẽman connequiz, yn oqujnec, njman ie ic onmotemaca, yn vncan mjquiz:

qujoalana in tlamacazque, motocaiotia, tlatlacanaoalti, qujtitilinja, caana, quelteteqij: yn iiollo conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

auh yn itzontecon, çan no tzompatitech conquauhço, çan no iuh tlantica yn iuh quauhçotica titlacaoan.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepazotla in tlamacazque, qujnpazotla in telpopuchti, in telpuchpipil: yoan yn oc vel pipinotõti, yn coçolco onoque: ynic quinpazotla ymelpan, ymelchiqujppan, yoan nenetec ymacolpan, yoan inmatzotzopazpan:

çan yio iquac y, in muchioaia, yn ipan tzoxcatl: apeoalco, cexiuhtica ic ontlatzonquiça.

796 x
[684
688]

796 x
293

796 x

[304]

19. Ixteucale, ". . . que quiere decir: Ojos del Señor de la Cosa Divina, ó del Señor Divino de la Cosa; y por otro nombre Tlacapelaua (sic), que es nombre del que Dios, conquistaba de sus Hueichiqueztli, esto imagen era este Camino, llamado también Teicauhtzin, que quiere decir: Hermano menor, por quanto venia por menor á Huitzilopochtli. Estos dos Mancebos . . . el dedicado á Tezcatlipoca, y este consagrado á Huitzilopochtli, andaban juntos todo el Año de su adoracion, para el Sacrificio de este Dios: para esta muerte determinada entre los dos; porque el que representaba á Tezcatlipoca, ó Titlacaoan, adorabaen, y representaba como á Dios, á como á imagen de aquel Dios . . . y a estarse, llamado Huitzilopochtli, no adorabaen, ni sentaban con este respeto. . . ."—Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinticinco libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigues Franco, 1723), p. 265.

20. Tlacaupan Quauhtlatoa: "*Aun también de la guerra, hermano menor y conquistador de Huitzilopochtli. . . . Donde tuvo este nombre este cuerpo fue en la corte de Tezcuco*" (Chavero, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 94).

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter,** which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.[1]

Juic cempoalli omomacuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa yn ilhujtl, yoan yn jntlamanaliz in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in mótenecoaia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily [137] at that place were formed very long reeds called *aztapilin* or *tolmimilli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.

And these they pulled up, cutting them at their white ends, at a place in the water called Temilco, or Tepexic Oztoc.

And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

[482] Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.

X 796 And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and when they returned, the road [which they followed] ●688 was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.

And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them, they wrested from them all that they had; they snatched away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

Etzalqualiztli: ynin ilhujtl, yn aiamo onaxiza, in ipan muchioaia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inneçaoaliz achtopa onatolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: ichica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchioaia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, yoan cenca tzinizttac: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, qujtezcopina, itocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

auh yn oconanque, njmã ie ic qujchichioa, qujcujcujtlalpia, qujqujmiloa, qujtotolqujmjloa:

njman ie ic qujmecapallotia, qujmemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaizquamamalo: njman ie ic ualoa, ualoalo, viloatz, aiac qujxtlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch quemacamama.

Auh ynjc vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic calmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac qujtoca, aocmo qujtoca in nenenque:

auh yntla acame oqujnnamjcque, njman vncan qujntlacujcujlia, qujntlanamoielia, qujntlacencujlia, qujntlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapatla, njman qujnmjctia, qujntetentimaiauj, qujmihicça qujtotitilicça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic qujujujtequj, qujntlatlal-

1. Sahagún (*Bobodo* ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: "*hacían una manera de puchas, o pelotas, que se llama ezcalli*"; and in *ibid.*, p. 149: "*una ezcalli era hecha de mais cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210, defines *ezcalli* as boiled corn and beans. Pozo y Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his interpretation of the *Codex Borbonicus*' account of this month, —that is "*las pelotas de ezcalli hechas de frijol, cuyas semillas negras eran allí sobre la cenza, y de maíz, cuyos granos blancos aparecían con las cáscaras negras.*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 152) has *Behauptsprosessen* for Etzalqualiztli. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89) regards Etzalqualiztli as derived from *ed* (bean), *tzalan* (amongst us), and *qualiztli* (eating). In "Bobodo text," p. 298, Garibay has "*Comida de manojo de frijoles,*" and in his *Llave del náhuatl vocabulary*, "*ezcalli de puchas.*"

[221] 565 Tover (Kohler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 25) identifies the beans of this month as those of the working people and lower class, now eating plain agricultural work. Hence the offering of *ezcalli* to them.

2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *aztapilpatlal* as "*pesaos juncadas de juncos blancos y verdes.*" *Tolmimilli*, in the Bobodo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, is a kind of juncia. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 53, equates *aztapilin* with *aztapilli*, and quotes Molina ("junco largo, gordo y redondo"). Jourdanet and Simeón, in their translations (p. 104, n. 3) write that it is the equivalent of *aztapilli*, "*de caná, tipo de maíz verde, es pelo, principal, grand*"; of *tolmimilli*, they write: "*nerve de tullin, jonc, et mulli, chanvre indient*" (*loc. cit.*).

stamped upon them, they trampled upon their outstretched bodies, they jumped upon them; they beat them [as they lay stretched] on the ground; they dragged them along; they made them cry out; they beat them—they beat their backs; they beat them sorely; they kicked them as they fled away.

And when these had been robbed, when they had been stripped, then they [could] only turn back, they [could] only go back to their homes.

[For] even if [that which was taken] was verily tribute, even this [the priests] took. Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents; he held them in reverence; he feared them because they were priests, because they did penances and laid offerings before [the gods]; for they were priests.

And when they had arrived [at the temple], when the white reeds[3] had been brought, thereupon were sewn together and woven these reeds. They fashioned green and white mats[4] of the reeds, and, binding the reeds, they made stools, and they made seats with backs on which men might rest. In the same manner were fashioned, with the green and white reeds, seats with backs.

Thereupon they bound some thin reeds in a bundle. And when they had tied them in a bunch, then they were arranged in order, sewed, girt tightly, on the ground, with *maguey* roots, with fibers of *maguey*.

And when this had been done, then began the fasting in honor of Tlaloc. When night fell, then the priests all gathered in the priests' dwellings—the warrior-priests [who had taken three or four captives], and the priests [who had captured only one];[5] then those priests who were singers and beaters [of drums]; then all the lesser priests, and those who were yet children, the novice priests.

And when this had come to pass, then were spread upon the ground before the fire the [white and green] mats, the reed beds.

And when they had spread out the reed mats, the fire priest arrayed himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket and placed on his left arm [the maniple] called *matacaxtli*.[6]

And with it he took the incense bag, and he took his incense burner [in his right hand]. Thereupon

mecamauj, qujntzatzatzitia, qujnujujtequj, qujncujtlaujujtequj, qujxipetlavitequj, qujncujtlamelaoa. 796x 688

Auh yn ontlacujcujliloque, yn onpepetlaoaloque, çan vncan mocuepa, çan vncan iloti yn jnchan:

in tlanéllacalaqujlli, vel qujcuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma ichica ca tlamaceuhque, compopoa contepopoaltiaia, qujpopooaia ynjc tlamacazque, ynic tlamaceoa, ymixco ymicpoc qujmanaia, ynic tlamacazque. [793]

Auh yn oacico, yn ocaxitico aztapili: njman ic ic moço, moçoço, in aztapili: qujchioa yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan qujilpia in toli, tolicpalli qujchioaia, yoan qujchioaia tepotzoiepalli netlaxonj: çanoie ic muchioa in aztapili, aztapiltepotzoicpalli. 796x 285 352

Niman ie ic acquj qujcujcujtlalpia, in tuli in tulpitzaoac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, njman ie ic mouipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacatzilpitiuh menelhoatica metzonmecatica. 796x 284

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vmpeoaz, netlalocaçaoalizth: yn oiooac njman mocacaltema, necacaltemalon tlamacazque: in tlamacazcatequjoaque tlamacazcayiaque: njman ichoan in tlamacazque cujcanjme, tlaujtequjnj: njman ie muchintin, in tlamacazcateicaoan, yoan in oc pipiltotonti tlamacazcatoton, tlamacatoto. 796x 793

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic onmoteca, tlecujlixquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli: 796x

auh yn onmoçouh aztapilpetlatl: njman ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, yoan conaquja yn iopuchcopa, itoca matacaxtli:

yoan itlan conana in copalxiquipilli, yoan concuj

3. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies of these reeds: "*todo lo q̃ era de varas del agua, es vna blanca.*"
4. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún states that the reeds were observed (probably between 1 and 2): "*Luego las cosieron, y compusieron, y entrepusieron, la blanca a la verde: a manera de esteras pintadas.*" Elsewhere, he refers to "*petates pintados, de juncos blancos y verdes.*"
5. The number of captives is explained in *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 8.

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter,** in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned [482] warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

[441] And upon the morrow, once again all departed to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriage-able age. And the small boys they took up [the X 796 pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their 785 shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [224] [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

X 796 And when arrows were being formed, all did pen- 785 ances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen 688

Injc cempoalli ōmatlactli omei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoā in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in qujchioaia, in jpā ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in moteneoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Quecholli:

in ōquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ōquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncā in neacamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncā in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ōnemacoc, njmā ic qujitqujtze qujquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ic no ce pa ic viloa in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoaloz, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixqujch, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa viloa, mootequj in acatl, vel ixqujch cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oqujchpipiltotonti, qujtletlecavia in teucalli, vncā tlatlapitztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmezço computzca, incanaoacā conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocēqujxnoto tzuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmā ic ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixqujch tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by *Garibay* (*op. cit.*, p. 309). Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 167-8) states that the month was named for the bird of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores; Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 280) writes similarly— ". . . *nombre de un Pasaro de plumas azul, y colorado, que al en esta Tierra, en especial en unos manantiales, y ojos de Agua, que al pasto del Pueblo de Quecholan*"; see also p. 299. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *flecha arrojadiza*.

Tovar, while mentioning the bird of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *magueY* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *magueY* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmarde ed.), Vol. III, pp. 341, 298.

in amo mjço qujpepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iccen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj. 796x [795 685]

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vctli. [834 273]

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicaz. 796x 411 [285] [381]

Auh in ocõcençauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa. [314]

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenqujz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixquich tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neieiecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aqujque vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjtia. 796x 526

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, ça mjxcaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conoocotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncan toctitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia: 796x 765

Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the rôles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçatecs* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Nican mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia. 796x

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amono tequjxqujo, amono tenexio: a-h tlacatlaqualoia. [735] [262]

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xixiiotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl qujçaia, moteneoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuittotiloia:

yoan ixq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papalotl, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototl, in temoli, tecujtlaololo: yn ipan moquixtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moquixtiaia in cochiztli, in xocotamalcozquj, yoan totolnacatl yn jncozquj: yoan ymjxpan yeaca, in tonacacuezcomatl, tenticac in xocotamalli. [262]

Auh no muchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjqujlnamaqujlia, yn mipiequaquauhnamaqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teucocozquj ypan moquixtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in teculutl, in chichtli ipan qujçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moquixtiaia. [463]

Auh motlaliaia in tlaloc, ixpan mãca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cueiame, yoan in ichoantin moteneoa, maçateca, vncan qujntoloaia in cocoa, çan ioioltiuja, cecciaca, incamatica in qujmonanaia, amo inmatica: çan qujmontlanquechiaia, ynjc qujmon- 796x

6. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 319) translates *tzacuiltiloia* as "*se cubrieron la cara.*" *Amacaxoia* appears in the same text, translated as "*se hallo como cubierto del agua.*" Cf., however, *amacalli* in Molina, *op. cit.*

7. *Tecuhtl: buho; chichtli: lechuza* (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel María Garibay K. in *Tlalocan*, Vol. I, p. 309.

The Iztac Ciuatl Ciuaquacuilli.

793 The Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli also kept watch there and took care of the [Temple of] Atenchicalcan; and she was in charge of the sweeping and the laying of fires [there]. And any who made supplications [to the goddess] spoke to the Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli. This one determined all that was done here at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

Cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl.

In cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl çã no vmpa tlapiaia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatovaia in tlachpanaliztlj in tletlaliliztli, yoan in aqujn vmpa monetoltiaia, iehoatl conilhujaia in cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl, muchi iehoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia atenchicalcã.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco.

The duties of the Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco, [concerned] the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli. He caused it to be cried abroad that it be gathered in the forests. And those who gathered it were only those youths whose right it was [to gather it]. And when they had gathered the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli, they piled it up in the priests' dwelling at Tzonmolco.

Iscoçauhquj tzõmvlco teuhoa.

In jscoçauhquj tzõmulco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhtecuquavitl, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quauhtla, auh in concuja çan iehoantin in telpupuchtin intequjuh catca, auh in oqujcujto xiuhtequavitl, vmpa conquetzaia in tzõmulco calmecac.

Tlaçolquacuilli.

The Tlaçolquacuilli was charged that he should guard and take care of [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket, and he had his gourd for tobacco. Much did he venerate the Temple here at Mecatlan. None might urinate here; and if anyone did urinate here, then they seized him and brought him within. There they punished him and drew blood from him.

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Tlaçolquacujlli.

In tlaçolquacujlli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiaia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, ixicol yietecõton ietinemj, cenca tlamavizotiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlã, aiac vncan maxixaia, auh in aqujn vncan omaxix, njman qujtzitzqujaia, qujcalaqujaia calitic, vmpa quitlatzacujltiaia quiçoçoia.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco guarded and cared for [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco. And his task was to have charge of the offerings. He caused it to be cried abroad that offerings be made here at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco.

Tecpantzinco teuhoa.

In tecpantzinco teuhoa, vncã tlapiaia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tecpãtzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatovaia in ventli quitzatzilitiia injc tlamanaloz vncan tecpãtzinco.

Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton.

793 532 The Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton was concerned with the songs. When anyone molded figures [of the mountain gods], he consulted with him that he

Epcoaquacujlli tepictotõ.

In Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton ipã tlatovaia in cujcatl, iquac in aqujn tepiquiz iehoatl iehoatl conilhujaia in qujmisquetzaz, qujnnavatiz in cujcanjme,

4: Sahagún. M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

874 193 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

vitztlalia, itecciz ictiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oacito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

[673] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, [252] together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ça oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *maguey* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

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Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vctli qui, aço cioapotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoçoa yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ie tachcaoa, atlã õmahtiaia.

Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink]/water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

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Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatça neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Thapalos, sc. manjar al pan casi panaje, quddo comerse" (Molina, op. cit.).

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *tewaelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. *Yoan* is repeated in the MS.

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Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in icatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquilia, ixpan quimana in izquican ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in ixquich tlacatl in telpopochtequioaque iuhquin nececêquetzalo, iuhquin in ioiolipã in jlhuitlazque, in ilhuitlamatizque, inic quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltizq̃, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitoalco, inic vmpa necocololoz. Auh in ocecenquixoac: nimã ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cuico yoan necocololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan ixtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaieiecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aquin maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iazmxel. Auh in aquin çan niman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicuitlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, caculhuitequj, calitiçpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conixiquetza, mihixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacnacoati:

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cenca ichoã tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintzacuiliaia: auh in ie ixquich telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocoloeque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in moteneoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quintzaquaia: quimjlhujaia, vmpa xiviã on nocne, anquitzittitia, amo techitto.

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[p. 52 is blank]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to a class of thefts and other similar offenses, committed against 685
worship or "medicine."

Any attempt at seduction of a female who had taken the 688
pledge of chastity in behalf of medicine, was most cruelly punished, both in the persons of the seducer and the female; and if a medicine-man broke his vows, he suffered a horrible death.[138]

We have already mentioned that it was a capital crime on the 687
part of a warrior to take for himself a prisoner of war secured by 688
another.[139] Such cases occurred only during an engagement or immediately after it. Why an action of that kind should entail so rigorous a punishment can be easily inferred, if we recollect that a captive of that kind became at once sacred — an object of medicine. No return could atone for the offence, since it had been committed against the "rites of worship," one of the kin's most sacred and important attributes. Under the same head must be placed the capital punishment of such as wrongfully appropriated to themselves gold or silver. Both of these metals were regarded as objects of medicine, and whoever seized them unlawfully, committed a crime against worship also.[140]

Santiago de México," 2d Edition, 1625, Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83): "Si muere alguno dellos con deudas, como si los deudos los heredassen por parecerse deudas y deudas en el nombre, procuran luego entre los parientes pagarlas, porque el anima de su difunto no dilate la entrada en el cielo. Y si no tienen caudal para pagar, procuran que se perdone la deuda, y sino salen con esta traça, se dan luego todos en servicio al acreedor hasta que del todo se pague lo que el difunto devia. Viviendo yo en el colegio de San Luys de predicadores el año de 1586, sucedió morir un Indio que trabajaua en aquel sumptuoso edificio, y era muy diestro cantero; auia recibido dineros adelantados, y quando murió quedava deviendo veynte pesos, ó reales de á ocho. Viniéron luego al colegio los parientes reconociendo la deuda, y pidiendo que los ocupasen en servicio del colegio, para que se descontasse lo que su defunto denia. No se les daua mucho a los padres del colegio por cobrar estos dineros; porque demas de ser pocos no parecía que auia modo para cobrarlos; y mas por acudir á la devocion de los deudos, le dixéron á uno, que viniesse á trabajar en la huerta. Era marauilloso el cuydado del Indio, ansi en venir cada dia, como en venir muy de mañana; y preguntandole un religioso la causa de su cuydado, dixo, que le tenia porque su pariente se fuesse al cielo, y desde alla le ayudasse con Dios, y no estuviesse en el infierno chiquito, que los predicadores llaman purgatorio."

My friend Col. F. Hecker, to whom I communicated the above, at once recognized in it an analogue to the ancient Teutonic "*Gesammt-Burgschaft*." He called my attention to the remarkable organization of the Germans. Compare *Luden* ("*Geschichte*," etc., Vol. I, p. 502), which valuable source I also owe to the kindness of the distinguished German jurist.

[138] In regard to "priests" it is also stated that they were merely degraded and cast away; but this is hardly probable since, the higher the position of the culprit, the severer was his punishment.

[139] Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 419). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, chapter II, p. 47).

[140] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 138). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 484): "Al que hurtaba

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to 567
provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prostitutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan [426]
from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made the slave live at home and perform only personal services. Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or even have slaves of his own. His children were always born free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office, which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his commission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs in- [689] ●
volved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial 626
acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human behavior. Membership in the community brought safety and subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown existed in the field of public service rather than in the acquisition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held to a minimum.*

Growth of the community to a size where none but the 692
great were known to society at large probably tended to 186
break down the sense of membership and participation, so

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tated against the social advantages of the gathering. To steal 685
corn, the staple of life, when growing in the field, was a
serious offense, demanding the death penalty or slavery, but
a wayfarer might with impunity satisfy his hunger by pluck-
ing ears from rows adjacent to the road. To filch gold, silver
and jade, precious substances reserved for religious orna-
ments, was also a mortal crime.

Murder, even of a slave, brought the death penalty. Rebels 682
and traitors received the same fate, but kidnapers were sold [683
into slavery. Drunkenness was a serious crime except at pre- 687]
scribed ceremonial occasions. Social disapproval, public dis-
grace, even death by stoning or beating, were penalties 689
suffered by the intemperate. However, the old of both sexes,
who had fulfilled their tribal obligations, were allowed great [672]
latitude in their potations.

The witch or practicer of black magic was sacrificed, and 683
death was likewise the lot of him who impersonated a high 687
official. A slanderer had his lips cut off and sometimes his [304]
ears as well. Brawling and fighting in the market place were
dealt with severely, but in an ordinary case of assault the 689
assailant paid for the cure of the assailed and for any damage
done. Adultery was punished with great severity, even death,
when committed outside the pale of the divorce laws. Hang- 684
ing was the usual penalty for violation of the incest laws,
and sodomy was punished with revolting brutality.

Thus reduced to cited instances, Aztec law was brutal. 421
Actually, from childhood on, the individual grew up into [671]
correct social behavior; the violator of the code met with
serious consequences. All people had some kind of personal
property, but land belonged to the tribe and only its pro-
duce to the individual. Therefore, the elaborate legislation

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 27.

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in qujmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc. 736 793 [301 287]

Ce tlacatl qujquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, excan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujoalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzoa: 796

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco qujoallalia: iehoõ qujmati in machiceque catca in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in oozl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl. [262 264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl netotiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioo, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniollóco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, moxaoaia. [302]

Ixqujch tlacatl motamaluja mozocotamalujaia: qujntlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan. [868

Auh in ueuetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli. 273]

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujtzacutiaz netitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796 273 689

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condemned to die. Not now might he leave; no longer was there help for him nor [now] a second judgment; no longer had he hope.

tlatzontequjlilo, mjquiz, aocmo qujçaz, aoctle itzacujl, aocmo ichicomatl, aoctle ynetemachil.

When whosoever [had been tried] had been condemned, all were summoned at sundown, assembled, and set apart, that the words [of the judge] might be published everywhere.

In aq'n oixnaoatiloz, teutlacpa in tetlalujlo, in necenqujxtiloz, necentecoz, in çaço cãpa ie motenecoaz, in jtlatollo:

It was said: "On the morrow they will die. All of the common folk will be moved. Some of those who drank we shall leave alone, that, verily, they may fall into fear."

mjtoaia, muztla micoaz, ixqujch tlacatl olinia in maçeoalli cequjntin tiqujncaoa in tlaoãque, in ca mauiztli uetzia.

They came with wrists bound together. They placed them in the midst [of the market place]. Thereupon the judges spoke, warning all, speaking of wine, which no youth might drink. Only when they matured, when they had become old, [might they drink]. And those who had youths, who already had maidens [as grown children], verily their privilege it was that they might drink wine.

Mamailpitiuitze, tlanepantla qujntlalia: njman ie ic tlatoa, in tecutlatoque, tenonotza, itechpa tlatoa in vetli, in aiac qujz in telpuchtli: ça qujnjquac in otlachicalujque, yn oueuetique: yoan in telpuche, in ie ichpuche, vel innemac catca in tlaoanazque.

[681] And thereupon, when [the judge] had delivered his judgment, then Moctezuma's executioners, his slayers, struck the backs of [the criminals'] heads. [The executioners were] the Quauhnochtli, Ezuauacatl, Tiçociauacatl, Tezcacoacatl, Maçatecatl, and
[644] Atenpanecatl.[12] These men were not noblemen, but only lesser officials,[13] who were under command, who were chosen and approved for their office [because of their] strength, vigor, and ingenuity, and because they spoke pleasingly.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ontzonquiz, in tecutlatolli: njman ic qujncuexcochujujtzquj, yn itemicticaoan, in itequacaõan in moteçumatzin· in quauhnochtli, iezoaoacatl, ticociaoacatl, tezcacoacatl, maçatecatl, atenpanecatl: in ichoantin yn, amo tetecuti, çan achcacauhti, tlanaoatilti, tlaixquetzalti, tlaqualitalti, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, yoan iolloque, in vellatoa.

And when [the drinkers] had been slain, then all who were reasonable were struck with terror and fright, so that they verily changed their ways. And those who were foolhardy and undisciplined, who could not be spoken to, the effeminate, the stupid—they only laughed; they only jested at the warning. They only listened to it lightly and ill. Not then did they note the words; not thus were they frightened of death.

Auh yn iquac ie mictilo, ic necujtiuecho, ic mocujtiuetzi in tlacaqujni, in uel monotzanj: auh in iollotlauelilo̜que, yn atlanonotzalti, yn auel monotza, in tlacioaizcaltilti, in tzonteme, çan qujuetzca, çan qujcamanaloa in tenonotzaliztli, çan qujcamanalcaquj, çan caujlcaquj, avmpa qujtta in tlatolli, amo ic mauhca çonequj, in temjctiliztli.

And thereupon, when all had been slain, then all dispersed in disorder, raising a great dust, shaking out their cloaks—scattering, breaking up, dispersing, all going off to their homes. Then the place where they were became calm.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onmjcoac: njman ic tlatzomonj neacomanalo, teuhtli qujquetza, netzetzelolo, cecenmanoa, xitinoa, xixitonoa, moiaoa, viujloa, viuj yn jnchachã: njman cactiuetzi yn vncan onomaia.

Here ended the celebration of the feast day called Uei tecuilhuitl.

Nican tlamj, njcan tzonquiça, inic ilhujtl muchioaia: yn jtoca Vey tecujlhujtl.

12. Quauhnochtli is the term given the heart of the sacrificed victim. See *supra*, Chapter 21. The others may refer to the towns from which the officials came.

13. "*Y de estos mancebos no se elegían los senadores que regían los pueblos, sino otros oficiales más bajos de la república, que se llamaban tlatlacatecca y tlacochcalcas y achcacauhtin, porque no tenían buena vida, por ser amancebados y carecían de su palabra honesta y eran de burla, y hablaban con soberbia y cualquiera*" (Rubiodo ed., Vol. I, p. 293).

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vetli mja itoca matlalvetli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vetli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vetli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittozque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machililo[illegible]que, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoã qujnquatexoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelaxitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 639

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic maviztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja, yietl, yn iiepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contitlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlaflali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vetli ipan icac, yn vetlali: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276] [252]

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacalioa, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quacatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oquiccencauhque chõchaiotl, mec mozeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

19. See Fl. 31.

874 273 689

Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,[1] or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].[2] Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

874 836

And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

874 [582]

When the masters of the youths had consented,[3] when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his house.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals[4] were taken thence. Lords and mar-

Injc. 6. capitulo: vncan motenecoa in tetlatzacuiltilizztli, in tetlamaceoaltilizztli, ynjc quijntlatzacuiltizia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaoanaia.

Injc nezcaltiloia telpuchcali, cẽca necujtlavilo, in nochpanouztli, njman aiac quja in vetli.

auh in ie vel oquijchti, ĩ ie chicaoaque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vetli, cenca motlatiaia, çan nj.nan amo teispan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quexq'ch in quja,

auh intla ytoia haca telpuchtli tlaoana, in itto in at vetlica [illegible]ico, anoço vetztoc anoço quica, anoço cana teoan tlaoantica itto, njman ica necentlalilo, ica nenechicolo:

auh ica mavizztli vetzi, intla çan maceoalli, anoço ça can aquin, teixpan vivitecq, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miqui, anoço mecatl quiccaltia.

auh intla tlaçopilli ichtaca quijnecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchti ohome, ieey in jnnecaoan oncatca, aço ce vel ichã in ca, aço quezquijotin chaiaoatoque. auh inaiquac quilhuja motelpuchtlali, tlazzlaoa injc quijntlalcavia in telpupuchti quachtli, quicaoa aço matlactli, aço cemipilli in mocuihtonoa,

yn oazque in tachcaoan in oquimacauhque njmã (mitoa) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cihoatl conana in ichan quijpia.

auh in moucalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaoa telpuchiotl, cenca ẽcã veveti in telpuchpan; auh yiollotlama in tlatoanj, quijnaotia,

auh amo cenca mjecpa in telpuchpan anoço in tecuti, çã tlatlacatecca, tlatlacochcalca, achcacauhti yn

1. *Quica*: probably *cuica* is meant. Sahagún, in *Biblioteca Mexicana*, p. 345, translates the Nahuatl as *cuica pepenas*—"was filled with fish."
2. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 346, n. 1, says of *quauhtica mimi quauhtica miqui*: "Parodia una quadrica mimi, quadrica mimi—dolorosa, é mesmo."
3. *Ometeque*: reference to the *Real Palacio* MS suggests that this should read *oniquque*.
4. See Chapter V, nn. 3, 4.

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[482]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a careless musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game *tlachtli* (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

[This caption is an error. - Analyst]

[p. 36(L) is blank]

793
684 And if the ruler learned that a fire priest or [another] priest lived in concubinage, and had looked upon a woman, he then pronounced judgment upon him and proceeded to visit punishment upon him. He was despoiled of his goods; they were secreted in his house, [so that] nothing[3] was to be seen [of them]. Likewise judgment was pronounced upon a fire priest or [other] priest if he was drunk.

[689]

Auh yn tlatoani yntla quimachiliz, tlenamacac, tlamacazqui onomecati, oquitac çiuatl, niman quitlatzontequilia, quitzacuhtiuh, namoclo, tlatataco yn icha, atl neneçi. ça no yuh tlatzontequililoya yntla otlauan tlenamacac, tlamacazqui.

3. *Abb: probably only in manuscript.*

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shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was 589
also regarded as a reprobate.[81]

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is 689
a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship.* Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82]

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the 565
pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to 567
foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live.* Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave.*

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversion to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 397): "& gente che stima meno le donne di quanti nationi sono al mondo, perchi non gli comunicherebbe mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscesse che il farlo gli potesse melter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 336). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 366), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XV, p. 57); *Burlin* (p. 129). If a girl abandoned her house, she might finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("ou les abandonnait").

[82] *Burlin* (p. 56): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre." (*Id.* p. 54): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demeurer dans un autre, on lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 125). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 565 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 420).

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626 was disabled or until he voluntarily withdrew.[122] Slanderers,
[681 however, were punished by the kin, having their lips cut off
682] or publicly sliced.[123] Homicide, and murder, were invariably
683] punished by death.[124]

689 Intemperance in public was free to people more than seventy years old, while if grown men below that age appeared in a drunken state (festivities excepted), their heads were shorn clean in punishment. But whenever the delinquent was a chief he was publicly degraded; and any officer was forthwith removed and relieved of his duties.[125] Women who attempted to act as

[122] *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440): "no traen armas sino en la guerra, y alli averiguan sus pendencias por desafios." *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Historia apologética de Indias*," cap 213 and 214. Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough, note XLV, p. 124). Bystanders interfered, separating the parties, if they came to blows. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, p. 23), says that such strife and quarrels only occurred when they were drunk: "Y fuera de estar beodos son tan pacificos, que cuando riñen mucho se empujan uno á otro, y apenas nunca dan voces, si no es las mugeres que algunos veces riñendo dan gritos." (Cap. XIV, p. 76): "Sin rencillos ni enemistades pasan su vida." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. XV, pp. 338 and 339). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136).

[123] *Zurita* ("Rapport," etc., pp. 129 and 130) speaks only of children, punished by splitting the lips for lying. This is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI. p. 136) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 478). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, p. 482), however, declares this punishment to have been meted out to adults, adding: "to-day there would be many without lips, so much do they lie" *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 438, Vedia I) speaks of this punishment as having been instituted by Quetzalcohuatl, and for adults as well as for children. This, attributing it to Quetzalcohuatl, is an evident error. Compare *Sahagun*, (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 244). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 489) is positive about adults. *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 195) says that slanderers were killed.

[124] *Las Casas* ("*Historia Apologética*." cap. 213, Kingsb: Vol. VIII, p. 123): Destos era el que mataba à otro, el cual moria por ello." *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 442): "Matan al matador sin excepcion ninguna." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX. p. 136): 'Sentenciaban á muerte á los que cometian enormes y graves delitos, asi como á los homicidos. El que mataba á otro, moria por ello." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. VIII, p. 387), almost copies the preceding. Nearly all the authors agree on this point, except, according to *Mr. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol II, p. 450. note 59), Durán, who is said to assert: "that the murderer did not suffer death, but became the slave for life of the wife or relatives of the deceased." In this Durán agrees with the "*Codice Ramirez*." *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Vol. I, p. 485) says that even for murder committed in a drunken state, the culprit was killed (hung). *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XVII, p. 484) briefly states that all homicide was punished with death. As to the manner of execution, it is variously stated. It would be unsafe to attempt going into details.

776 [125] It is well known that there was an idol for the drunkards. *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XXII. p. 40) even gives the names of thirteen "dioses del vino." According to *Gregorio Garcia* ("*Origen de los Indios*," etc. Lib. III. cap. II, §VI, p. 92, who mentions as authority *Fray Estevan de Salazar*, "*Historia, ó Relacion de la Teologia de los Indios Mexicanos*" lost in a shipwreck, 1564), they had three hundred gods of the drunkards "que de solos los borrachos tienen 300 Dioses." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 38) and others. The punishments are given by me after *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXX, pp. 139 and 140). Copied textually by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. X. p. 550). Besides these, *Zurita* (pp. 110–112) asserts the same, even more explicitly, and he is followed by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib, IV, cap. XVI, p. 136). *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 485). *Clavigero* (Lib.

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procuresses were severely punished, though not with loss of 689
life.[126]

While clandestine relations between young men and girls were [836]
known to exist and, if not sanctioned, still were not punished,[127] 684
it was different if a married man attempted to seduce a maiden who was not an outcast. The seducer was invariably punished.[128] Intercourse between unmarried people was tolerated, as a preliminary to marriage and the consequent increase of kinship, but if a husband, in contravention of the obligation "not to marry in the kin," endeavored to satisfy his lusts upon one of that kin's wards, as the daughters of members all were, then he committed

VII, cap. XVII, p. 488), all affirm, besides, that young people, while yet in care of the "houses of training," if intoxicated, were killed. This is also confirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271). Except by *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), it is generally conceded that drunkenness was well controlled in aboriginal Mexico.

[126] Although prostitution was tolerated, still, houses of ill-fame did not exist. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. II, p. 376): "Esto parece, porque permitieron, que huviese Mugeres, que se daban à los que querian, y se andaba á esta vida suelta, y gananciosa, como las de nuestra España, y otros Reinos; puesto que no tenian casa señalada, ni publica para la execucion de su mal oficio, sino que cada qual moraba donde le parecia, y el acto deshonesto, en que se ocupaba, servia de lugar publico, y en el mismo vicio se hacia publica y se manifestaba." *Velascurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "Permitian los mexicanos, mujeres que ganasen con sus cuerpos, aunque no tenian lugares señalados." It is, therefore, not quite clear what may be meant by the term "alcahueta." In the sense of the French word "entremetteuse," alone, they were amenable to punishment, since it was the duty of the man to hunt his "female," although he sometimes employed women called "cihuatlanqui" for that purpose I suppose that such women were punished, [548]
not for the *immorality* of their conduct, but for their *unauthorized forwardness* in [562]
addressing themselves to men, and thus trespassing upon the dignity of that superior being. In regard to authorities on the mode of punishment, I but refer to those quoted by *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 469, note 101).

[127] I have already shown that young people held intimate relations with each other before the formalities of marriage were arranged. Thus, while he was yet at the "Telpuchcalli," the youth had his female friend, "amiga" or "manceba," outside. This is positively stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, p. 271): "y estos mancebos tenian sus amigas cada uno dos ó tres, la una tenian en su casa, y las otras estaban en las de sus familias." and *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 376). That these female "friends" were regarded with more than a feeling of platonic love, is dryly expressed by *Sahagun* (Id: cap. V, p. 270): "y los que eran amancebados ibanse á dormir con sus amigas." It is also asserted by *Torquemada* (see above): "que despues que aquel mancebo havia un Hijo, en la dicha manceba, luego le era forçoso, ó dejarla, ó recibirla por muger legitima." *Velascurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "los mancebos antes de casarse tenian sus mancebas, y solian pedirlas á las madres." This almost establishes promiscuity among the ancient Mexicans, as a preliminary to formal marriage.

[128] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 485) says that the punishment was not like that of the adulterer, "because the husband was not required to the same amount of conjugal fidelity as the wife." With "slaves" concubinage was permitted, and the result of childbirth was freedom to the child. Death was invariably the punishment of those who held, or attempted to hold, intercourse with girls in care of the house of worship. *Durán* (p. 108, etc.). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 130): "El que hazia fuerza à virgen, ora fuese en el campo, ora en casa del padre moria por ello."

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684 a crime which the calpulli was bound to punish in the most exemplary manner.

689 While we are not at all surprised at such severity in the cases 562 above stated, it cannot fail to astonish us, that such apparently harmless acts as those of a *man wearing female dress* and of a *woman appearing in male attire* were visited upon the offenders with death.[129] Still, the ancient Mexicans could assign from their peculiar point of departure good cause for such cruel punishments. The position of woman was so inferior, they were regarded as so far beneath the male, that the most degrading epithet that could be applied to any Mexican, aside from calling him a dog, was that of "woman." It was more injurious than coward. Now, for a man to assume the garb of such an inferior being became almost equivalent to a crime against nature. It was an act of wilful degradation which was a deadly insult to his own kin. On the other hand, if a woman presumed to don the dress of her lord and master, it again was a crime of an equally heinous nature. In both cases the dignity of the whole consanguine group became deeply affected, and death alone could satisfy its honor. After this, it is needless to say how the actual crimes against nature were regarded and punished.[130]

687 It was also a capital crime for any man, to assume the dress or ornaments peculiar to an office, without being himself that office's lawful incumbent. Besides being a grave insult to the rightful officer, it was a dangerous offence towards the kin, especially in case of war, when it amounted to actual treason.[131]

684 Since it was the kin's duty to protect, not only the persons, but also the property of its members, it follows that adultery committed with a married woman entailed deadly punishment upon the male, whether he was married or not. His crime was that of stealing the most precious chattel of one member of the calpulli.

[129] This is so generally mentioned by all authors, that special references are superfluous.

[684] [130] All authors insist that incest was punished with death. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. IV, p. 380): "Todos los que cometian incesto en el primer grado de consanguinidad, tenian pena de muerte, si no eran cuñados, y cuñadas." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 137). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 481). All these authors appear to have gathered their information from the same source, or rather Torquemada is frequently Mendieta's plagiary, while Vetancurt often copies Torquemada. To avoid superfluous quotation, I beg to refer, on the subject of "unnatural crimes," to *Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 466, 467 and 468, "*Native Races*").

[131] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132), copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540), *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, pp. 214, 215 and 216), and others.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to 567
provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prostitutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan [426]
from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made the slave live at home and perform only personal services. Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or even have slaves of his own. His children were always born free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office, which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his commission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs in- [689]
volved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial 626
acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human behavior. Membership in the community brought safety and subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown existed in the field of public service rather than in the acquisition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held to a minimum.*

Growth of the community to a size where none but the 692
great were known to society at large probably tended to 186
break down the sense of membership and participation, so

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

692 that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsi-
[186] bility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were
775 rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixquich tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan atlioa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenquixtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aquiçque tlatlacoa, vncan quintlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxquich tlamantli in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaquijliaia, vncan quintlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixquich tlamantli mjquiztli vncan quintzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca quitetepachozque, anoço aca quauhtica mjquiz quiujuitequjxque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloz, tototoz, callaliloz, maceoalcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan quintlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjtequintin, in quinnamacaque in jntelpuchoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oquicac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicoloxque, in jxquichtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzaloxque in jntecujioboan, injc macoxque, injc cuepililoxque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc quimpatiotica pipilti, ioã oppamjxtlapan injc quintlaxtlaujli, injc quintlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in neteilhujlli, çan niman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, pp. 22-23: "Este nombre, tlatoani, quiere decir, persona noble, generosa o magnífica. . . . Y los conquistadores de México que se conquistaron este nombre tomaronlo, significando persona noble, como decimos en tlatoani, una persona honrada, o mayor." Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung der Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf, aus dem Azteckischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1957), p. 32.
2. Clark, op. cit., I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the feet."
3. See Pls. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 87.

692 695 nounced. And in what was there made known, the lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caqujtilcia tlatoque atle quicnjuhchioaia atle tlaxtlaujltica qujxpachoaia, anoço qujuecaoaia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

[693] Teccalli,[6] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[7] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently [212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Iztlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toqual. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

INIC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiencia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlat..que.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuiztlae imixpan moteilhujaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, nijian iocuxca, in qujcaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapaillacujlolpan in qujpoaia, in qujttaia neteilhujlli: auh inic qujnneltiliaia, qujntemoaia, qujmjtlanja in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in qujmachiha moteilhujque, in tlein qujmocujcujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhuja.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla quinmachili in iehoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic qujuecaoa, in jnneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uiujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl qujnemjtia in amo uel qujtzontecuj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoaiolcaiotl: njman qujmjlpia, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujtzacutiuj, qujmjctia, inic mauhca iezque tecutlatoque.

Tlatocati motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in quinmachili tecutlatoque mjxcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, iztlaca mjxcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinquj, tlatilulco in amo melaoac qujchioaia in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman qujmjlpi, quauhcalco qujntlali, qujtzacutiaque, qujnmjcti.

692 565 684 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the place of discussion where were the brave warriors and the noblemen.

INIC EI PARRAPHO: vncan tajtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oqujchti, in iauc matinj, in tlaroanj intla aca itla qujmachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman qujtlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznauatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpauique is-

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5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 267, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecali, claro amalmente por los sacerdotes; determinaba de causas livianas, donde cuenta diariamente á los jueces superiores.*" Clark, (*op. cit.*, I, p. 97) wrote: "The four seated figures behind the judges, called *tecali*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also ff. 67r and 68r of the *Mendoza Codex*.)

7. *Tecuani, pilli, tecpilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Ixtlilxochitl, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Ixtlilxochitl, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 672 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 672

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in ꝏqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein téqujtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia. çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlac in oc ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [524] 535 [591] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açoatl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açoqujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlacochcalcatl, literally:* see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *nemecatiliztli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *amoçe nehuiztiliztli*—or adultery.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Such were, in a general way, the higher functions of the Mexican council, and they appear, if we are permitted to characterize them to be only arbitrative and directive. Yet the members of that council had other duties of a purely judicial nature. 646 692

No conflict occurred between its jurisdiction and that of the kins. It was neither superior nor inferior to it, but wholly independent, even without any connection with it. Hence it extended:

1. Over the unattached class, the hangers-on to the tribe, or outcasts from the bond of kinship.[199]

2. Over all the people composing the tribe, irrespective of kinship, at places specially placed under tribal care, or reserved for tribal business, and therefore *neutral ground* for the members of all the calpulli. These neutral localities were the official buildings, the central or tribal "house of god," and especially the great "tianquiz" or market places.

The outcasts were, happily for the preservation of tribal society, not very numerous. Still, from their very origin, they were the most disorderly part of the people and crimes were certainly more common among them than among those upon whose passions the tie of kinship and the obligations resulting therefrom acted like a wholesome check. It required a judiciary power constantly on hand to repress and punish the misdemeanors committed among this class.

The "tecpan," the great central "teocalli" and the square on which it stood, and the market, were regular meeting-places of 368 621 693

siguiente, etc. . . . . ." (Cap. LX. p. 473): "Montezuma, apiadándose dellos, los mandó aposentar, y llamando su consejo, propusoles la demanda que traian." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 61): "El Rey Itzcohuatl mostró gran contento con la embajada respondiendo con muy gratas palabras; mandó aposentar á los mensajeros, y honrarlos, y tratar como á su propia persona, diziéndoles que descansassen, que el dia siguiente les daria la respuesta." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap I, p. 333): "Acabada la Embaxada, si el Embaxador no era de mui gran Principe, no se le respondia cosa, hasta otro Dia; salian con él algunos, acompañandole á la Calpixca, adonde se proveia de lo necesario, y en el entretanto el Señor comunicaba con los de su Consejo lo que se havia de responder, lo qual hacia uno de ellos, y no él." But the most complete picture of such delegations and the manner in which they were received is found in *Velasquez* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIª y Trat. IIa, cap. II. pp. 378 and 379). It is too long to be copied. I merely allude to the words: "Acabada la embajada, le volvian á la posada mientras se juntaban para la respuesta." It has been adopted by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, pp. 470 and 471).

[199] The unattached class was under protection of no kin; therefore, if such a "bonded man" made his escape to the Tecpan, he became liberated from his bond. Already mentioned by *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia, I. p. 448), and subsequently confirmed by others.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 The power to appoint, which the "chief of men" enjoyed within the limits of the official household, implied, to the same extent, the power to remove and to punish. It was not even necessary to refer such cases to the action of the council.

In punishing summarily acts of insubordination, or of treachery, when committed during warfare, the "chief of men" acted as commander-in-chief and in strict compliance with the duties of that office.

Lastly, a certain amount of discretionary power was necessarily vested in the chief commander for the public good. Placed at the "tecpan" to "watch, guard and protect" the tribe and the confederacy, it was necessary to empower the "Tlacatecuhtlli" in cases of great urgency, to act "on the spur of the moment." It was not a privilege of royalty or a despotic right, but an obligation resulting from the nature of the office.

643 692 Consequently the "chief of men" was not, properly, the executioner of tribal justice either. This duty devolved upon other war-chiefs of lower rank, who, although superior in command to the leaders of the kins, when on the war-path, never otherwise interfered with the duties of the latter, any more than tribal jurisdiction conflicted with that of the autonomous kins. These chiefs were the "four leaders of the four great quarters of Mexico Tenuchtitlan,"[271] or, as we have already intimated, of the four *phratries* into which the twenty kins had again agglomerated for religious and military purposes. These four "great quarters," named respectively, "Moyotlan," "Teopan," "Aztacalco" and "Cuepopan,"[272] were not, as the current notion has it, so many governmental subsections, or wards of aboriginal Mexico. Shells

even treat them as traitors, and secure their persons to prevent injury to the public cause. All this, of course, provided the story be true!

The cases where secrecy is enjoined under penalty of death, are so plain that no illustration is needed. The "chief of men" had the right, in preparing general business, to give secret orders, to detail particular persons on secret missions. Anyone divulging the secrets entrusted to him, committed an act of treason, and therefore it was necessary that he should be chastised on the spot and on the spur of the moment, to obviate further mischief.

[271] "*Art of War*" (pp. 120, 121 and 122, especially notes 97, 99 and 101).

103 [272] The formation of these geographical circumscriptions I have already explained. The names can, in part, be etymologized. They are respectively: "Moyotlan" or place of the mosquito, from "moyotl," mosquito (*Molina* II. p. 58); "Teopan" or place of God, from "Teotl," God; "Aztacalco," "place of the house of the heron," from "Aztatl," heron (*Molina* I, p. 65 and II, p. 10), and "calli," house; "Cuepopan" or "place of the dyke," from "cuepotli," dyke (*Molina* I, p. 22, II, p. 26). All of which are, respectfully, submitted.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common 643
leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic 692
cluster.[272] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, 701
are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

[272] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original 103
kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, 701
named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Aztacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," 633
etc., p. 124). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "councillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli"—"barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 494 and 496) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Mechuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 102 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpaneca, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 236) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 493), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con- [643]

532
[714
726
411]
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—After Paso y Troncoso

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, izquijch tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan atlioa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenqujxtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aquijque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxquijch tlamantli in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan izquijch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca qujtetepachozque, anoço aca quauhtica mjquiz qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloz, totocoz, callaliloz, macoualcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjiequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oqujcac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicolozque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalozque in jntecujioboan, injc macozque, injc cuepililozque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica pipilti, ioã oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in neteilhujlli, çan njman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 22-23: "*Este nombre, tlatoani, quiere decir, persona noble, generosa o magnífica. . . . Y los compuestos de tlatoani que se componen con nombres nominales, significan persona cuerda, como diciendo en tlatoani, una persona hombre, o varón.*" Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung des Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf, aus dem Azteckischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1957), p. 32.
2. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the foot."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 87.

692 nounced. And in what was there made known, the
695 lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caqujtiloia tlatoque atle qujcnjuhchioaia atle tlaxtlaujltica qujxpachoaia, anoço qujuecaoaia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently
[212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Iztlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca,[7] Toqual. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiencia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlatoque.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuztlae imixpan moteilhujaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuxca, in qujcaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in qujpoaia, in qujttaia neteilhujlli: auh injc qujnneltiliaia, qujntemoaia, qujmjtlanja in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in qujmachilia moteilhujque, in tlein qujmocujcujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhuja.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla qujnmachili in ieboantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic qujuecaoa, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uxiujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl qujnemjtia in amo uel qujtzontecuj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoaiolcaiotl: njman qujmjlpia, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujtzacutiuj, qujmjctia, injc mauhca iezque tecutlatoque.

Tlatocati motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in qujnmachili tecutlatoque mjxcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, iztlaca mjxcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinquj, tlatilulco in amo melaoac qujchioaia in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman qujmjlpi, quauhcalco qujntlali, qujtzacutiaque, qujnmjcti.

692 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
565 place of discussion where were the brave warriors
684 and the noblemen.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan najtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oqujchti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla qujmachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman qujtlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznauatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpauique ix-

5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 267, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecalli, cierto ayuntamiento por los vecinos: determinaba de causas livianas, donde cuenta diversas á los jueces superiores.*" Clark, (*op. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The four seated figures behind the judges, called *tecuti*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also ff. 67r and 68r of the *Mendoza Codex*.)

7. *Tiacauh, pilli, tecpilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jens, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

728 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a
651 steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he
693 heard all the accusations and the complaints, the
565 afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his
[577] judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for
[681] a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Tecalli, where they

tzalo in calpixqui, in quimocuitlauiz, in ipan tlatoa in tlacalaquilli.

INIC VME PARRAPHO: ip[illegible] quenin quinpepenaia luezes.

In tlatoani oc cenca quimocuitlauiaia in tetlatzontequilliztli, quicaquia in ixquich in inteilhuiil: ioan in ichoquiz, in inentlamachiliz in inetolinjliz in cuitlapalli, atlapalli in icnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh inic uel quineltiliaia in tlatoani in teneteilhuiil anoço tetlatlacul quimixquetzaia, quinpepenaia in itecutlatocahoan: ichoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncã in quini, in quiquani, in mocuiltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oquichti, in iauc omozcaltique, miiec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjliztli, oquimauiçoque: auh in ixquij tlamantij qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in inpiltian oquimomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan nemjliztli, iauquiçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhq[illegible], inic quinpepenaia tlatoani, inic quimixquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti ichoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omoopaoubque, in tiacaboan in oquichti, in miiec tlamantli oquimauiçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoani, in ipal atli, tlaqua, in quinpaquiltia, in quintlaubtia, ioan in quinmaca, in ixquich intech monequi:

iubque in in quimixquetzaia, in quinpepenaia tlatoani, in itecutlatocahoan, in mimatini, in mozaliani, in tlanemjliani, in vellacaqui, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotiani, in amo ahauillatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliuiz moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoanani, cenca quimauizpia in tecuiotl, amo cochini, cenca cochiçani amo tle quicnjuhchioa: amo tle quioaiolcachioa: amo tle quitecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlauiltica quicaqui, anoço quitzontequi: quimixquiznaoatiaia, in tlatoani: inic melaoac quichioazque in intequiuh, in tecutlatolli: auh intlacamo, ca ichoantin conmotzacuiltiazque in tecutlatoque, in tlein quitlaoaque.

Auh in ioac, oquimixqueti in tlatoani: in itecutlatocahoan quinmacaia vntetl in tlaiecacalli, in tec-

5. Inwardstimulants: cf. ibid., p. 318 (for mayeque juices) and p. 321 (wrestlers).

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznaualtailotlac, Ticociuacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Athauacatl, Ticociuacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan ieuque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatla- 693
tolli, 565
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzon-
tequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuh- [344]
ca qujtzontequja intenetcilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul.

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan 693
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujca- [374]
quja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchi- 565
pauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlol- 695
pan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã [212]
qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc
vmpa motzontequj.

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc 695
iehoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoa-
catl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezca-
coacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ti-
ociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, ie-
hoa[illegible], in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja,
quj[illegible]ia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machice-
que, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchi-
chioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca
quauhcaloo otlahloc.

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujx, 693
njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc iehoantin qujmjc-
tia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtete-
pachoa, anoço qujtetequj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn 535
netocilos. 643
In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoa-
lizzli, in papaqujlizzli, injc qujmellaquaos, injc qujn-
iollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan
tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli,
atlapalli, in maçeoalli:
achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz 643
qujnnaoctiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujichecoaque injc 533
qujchicaoazque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oyen, muy diligentemente, y prueban, Examinan el saber: para que los testimonios fundamentos que tienen principales, muy calificados, que son el audiencia, y residencia."
7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes mixcoatlailotlac; commencal appears as ejercencal. The title Tlacochcalcatl is repeated in the Azteca text of the Florentine Codex.
8. Con dispic: que es probable error (cf. ibid.).
9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 144, 291, 293; II, pp. 310, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 100, and III, p. 53.

726 soned warrior, a shorn one, named Uitziluatzin, placed himself above, on the roof terrace of the young men's house. Like a wall he now became.[10] Meanwhile, the common folk followed him a little. But the Spaniards then fell upon them and bore down on them, and thereupon beat, hacked, and pierced him. Then once more the chieftains set upon [the Spaniards], and they then quickly loosed the chieftain [Uitziluatzin]. Then they went to lay hands on him, but he did not, nevertheless, die. Then they went, and all was quiet.

And [the temple with] images of the devils [the Spaniards] then set fire to. They burned it.[11]

And the chieftains to no purpose came to hold their position. Yet [the Spaniards] shot no arrows at the women, but only at those who came out as men [of war]. And when all ceased, there was only a little sun.

And on the fourth day likewise it came to pass that our foes marched forth together. Wheresoever there were common folk, there the Spaniards moved cautiously. Very softly they kept going. And the chieftain and commanding general Temilotzin in vain opposed them. He took refuge behind a wall. [411] As an eagle [warrior] he stepped forth; he had his iron sword with him, with which he would cut them down. But when he saw that nowhere could he do anything, then he cast himself into, and made his way in, the water. There were great war cries. Then once again the battle engulfed them. Only there did they reach. In truth, all day did the battle last.

And when it had dawned, when already it was the fifth day, once again our [Indian] foes and the Spaniards made an assault. And all who surrounded us, in truth, marched together. They were around us, hemming us in. Nowhere could any go nor proceed. All were indeed compressed. All were verily crushed and trampled. And when they had come close among us, a woman poured water upon them; she drenched their faces; she dashed water into the faces of our foes.[12]

● [693] And the ruler Quauhtemoc, and the chieftains Coyoueuetzin, Temilotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin the chief justice, Tlacotzin, and Petlauhtzin

tocac in macevalli. Auh in Españoles: njmã ic imp̃. ommotepeuhque, impan ommotqujque: njman ic ic qujvivitequj, qujtlatlapana, qujtzelnilia: njman ic ic no ceppa qujvallazque in tiiacaoan: auh njman ic qujcauhtiqujzque in tiiacauh. njnaan ic conanato, amo tel vel mjc, njmã ic iaque, cactimoman.

Auh in diablome imjxiptlavan: vncan contlecavique, contlatlatique.

Auh in tiiacavan, oc nen valmomantivi tel amo ma qujnmjna in cioa: çan iehoantin in oqujchicativitze: auh in necacaoaloc ça achiton tonatiuh.

Auh injc navilhujtl çan ie no ivi in mochiuh cemolinque in toiaovan: in vmpa onoc macevalli vmpa tlamattivi in Españoles, cencan ivian in iativi. Auh in tiiacauh tlacateccatl in temjlotzin, oc nen qujnmopachiviaia, tepantli qujmotocti Quauhtli ipan qujzticac, itepuzmaquauh ieticac, injc qujncotonazquja: auh in oqujttac in aoccampa veli, njmã ic atlan valmomaiauh, axotlatiuh, cenca tlacavaca: vncan ie no ceppa motetemmã in iauiotl, çan vncan acito: vel cemjlhujtl in manca iauiotl.

Auh in otlatvic, in ie ic macujlilhujtl· ie no ceppa vel qujcẽtlaz in toiaouh in Españoles: yoan in jxqujch in techiaoalotoc, vel cemolin, vel techiavaloque, techololhujque, aocac campa vel huja vel nezaxocolo, vel nepapatzolo, vel mjequjntin patzmjcque, nequequeçaloc. Auh in cenca ie in techonaci, ce civatl qujvallatequja, qujmjxatequja, qujmjxapapatza in toiaovan.

Auh in tiatoanj in Quauhtemoctzin yoan in tiiacavan in Coiovevetzi in Temjlotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Tlacutzin, Pe-

10. *Ibid.*: "yo capitan que se llamaba Vitzilouatzin con muchos soldados que estaua sobre las diademas combatiendo a reuir [reuistir?] a los españoles penjendoue por mueo pues que no pudieron a Dios estaua el conquista."

11. *Ibid.*: "y aue dia los españoles pegaron fuego aquella casa en la qual auia muchos estatuas de los ydolos." See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 168 (Conclusion).

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "la mugeres echaban polaruan echando a los contrarios con el agua de las ouejas arrojandosela con las rrauas."

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them seized upon a great chieftain named Tlapaltecatl opochtzin, whose home was Costlan. Thereupon they arrayed him, and put on him the quetzal feather owl[13] which had been the device of Auitzotzin. Quauhtemoc said: "This device was the device of my begetter, of my father Auitzotzin.[14] Let him wear it. Let him die in it. May he gain honor before the people. May he become a portent in it. May our foes see and marvel at him." [15] And when they put it on him, he was indeed terrifying. Truly wonderful he appeared. And [Quauhtemoctzin] commanded four to aid him and be at his side. They gave him the darts[16] [and dart thrower] which were the devil's — the throwing spears with flint points.

tlauhtzin. Nimã ic conanõ ce vei tiacauh, itoca Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin costlan ichã njman ic ic qujchichios, conaqujque, in quetzalteculotl: itlaviz catca in Aujtzotzin: qujto in Quauhtemoctzin. Injn tlaviztli, itlaviz catca in notechiuhcauh in notatzi Aujtzotzin, ma ichoatl conjtquj ma ipan cemmjquj ma cõcemaviçolti ma ipan tetlattiti ma qujttacan in toiaovan ma qujmaviçocan. Auh in oconaqujque vel temamauhti, vel maviztic in neci: auh navinti in qujonavatique in qujvalpalevitiazque, in qujvallamatilitiazque, qujvalmacaque in jmjuh catca tlacateculotl, tlacumjtl, iacatecpaio.

And when they had done this, it became like a portent for the lords of the Mexicans. The ruler's vicar Tlacotzin said: "O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! Hath Mexico been nothing — that on which Mexican rule was founded? It is said to be with the power of Uitzilopochtli, which he hurled at one. It is none other than the fire serpent, the fire drill, with which he walked, casting it at our foes — which you, O Mexicans, have held as his power of the dart. Forthwith you will aim it against our foes. You will cast it not to the earth; you will hurl it with strength at [the foe]. And if one or two will be struck — if one or two of our enemies will be reached, — it is in truth a token for us [that] yet, for a little, we shall look to favor; [that] yet our lord [the god] may desire it." Thereupon went the quetzal-owl [bedight warrior], with quetzal feathers as if parted.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuhque in, iuhqujnma intlapoal muchiuh in tlatoque in Mexica: qujto in Civacoatl tlacutzin. Mexicae tlatilulcae, atlei injc mexico ocatca, injc ommanca mexicaiutl: in mjtos in vncan inavatil in vitzilobuchtli in tepã qujtlaça ca çan iee in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoatli in otepã qujtlaztinenca in toiaupan in ie anconcuj Mexicae in jnaoatil in mjtl: çan njmã vmpa anqujtlachieltizque in ivicpa toiaovan, amo çan tlalpan anqujmaiavizque cenca intech in anqujtlaçazque: auh intla ce, anoço vme momjoaz: auh in ano ce, anoço vme in maçiz toiaouh ca nel totlapoal, oc achitzin tinacazitztiazque, oc quenjn qujmonequjltiz in totecujo: njman ie ic iauh in quetzalteculotl, in quetzalli iuhqujn xezeliuhtiuh.

And when our foes saw him, [it was] as if a mountain had burst. In truth, all the Spaniards took fright; much did he terrify them, as if they had seen in him something [inhuman]. Then the quetzal-owl [warrior] climbed up to the roof terrace. And none of our foes, who could see him, stood up. Then they forced him to turn back, and took after

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan, iuhqujn tepetl vitomj vel muchintin moenauhtique in Españoles, cenca qujnmauhti, iuhqujnma itla ipan qujttaque: njman ic tlapanco tlecoc in quetzalteculotl. Auh in cequjntin toiaovan in ovel qujttaque moquetzque: njman ic qujvalcuepque, qujvaltocaque: ie no ceppa no qujocoep qujntocac in quetzalteculotl, njman

13. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 211: "un buho (*buho de plumajes vivos y esparcidos*)."

14. While Book XII was in press Dr. Anderson wrote the following comment from Florence, Italy: "The word is almost illegible in the MS. [illegible] of the original (Med.-Palat. 218-220, Laurentian Library, Florence), in connection with remarks in Europe made possible by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, suggests that *cuauhtlacuauhli* (my mother or begotter) is meant."

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "Entonces ya los mexicanos armaron de todas partes de los emisarios [illegible] y aquí [illegible] y hablo el señor de México que se llamaba [illegible], y dice a los principales que eso el estaba . . . haganme experimentar a mí si pudiesen conseguir [illegible] peligro [illegible] que [illegible] [illegible] y dicen [illegible] que [illegible] [illegible] Entonces [illegible] a su [illegible] [illegible] que se llamaba Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin que era del barrio de Costlan donde se agarra la provincia de 1.° [illegible] en el [illegible]."

16. The Aztec text may read *iaj tajiuh*. *In jiujiuh* is probably meant.

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443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 854 373] article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 364] canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 514] laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish
[314 289 386 276] if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 344] are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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000 delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

643 There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great 643 Caciques from distant lands came before him about 695 boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then [212] he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great [693] Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

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512 [264] no meat, only chili peppers,[1] then he was occupied for an hour in hearing suits from many parts brought by Caciques who came to him from distant lands. I have already stated in the chapter that tells about it, the manner in which they came in to do their business and the reverence that they showed to Montezuma, and that at such times he always [693] had in his company twenty elderly men who were his judges to decide cases, and as this has been already noted I will not repeat it. It was then that we found out that from among the many women whom he had as his mistresses, he gave wives to his Captains and to very favourite chieftains, and he even gave some of them to our soldiers, and the one he gave to me was a lady from among them, and her bearing clearly showed it, and she was called Doña Francisca. So Montezuma passed his life, sometimes laughing and sometimes thinking about his imprisonment.

I wish to state here, although it has nothing to do with our story, as some inquisitive persons have asked me just why the soldier mentioned by me, who called Montezuma a dog, and even that not in his presence, was flogged by order of Cortés, (there being so few of us soldiers), so that the Indians should hear about it. I say so [again], that at that time all of us and even Cortés himself, when we appeared before the great Montezuma, paid respect to him by always doffing our headpieces and besides being King of New Spain, his person and his rank entitled him to it, and he was so kind and well mannered that he did honour to us all. In addition to all this, one may well remember that our lives were at stake, and at a word to his vassals, they would have removed him from his prison and made war on us. Observing his bearing and royal generosity, and seeing that he always had with him

[1] Ají.

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618 themselves until they finally agreed upon an award.[191] The
646 same thing occurred when two calpulli claimed possession or
695 enjoyment of the same piece of land.[192] No appeal was possible to any higher authority; but every eighty days an extraordinary gathering took place at the "tecpan," consisting of the council and the executive chieftains, the war-captains of the four great quarters, the "elder brothers" of the kins, and the leading medicine-men, and any cause pending before the "tlatocan" might be deferred until the next of these general meetings; and even in case a decision had been rendered, a reconsideration thereof, on that occasion, was sometimes agreed upon.[193]

calls "supremo consejo:" "Tratábanse en este consejo todo género de negocios de estado, justicia, guerra, hacienda etc., etc."

[191] This picture is mainly based upon *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," III. cap. VII), and *Bustamente* ("*Texcoco*," pp. 191 and 192). The statement in the latter is only worthy of credit because copied from the former.

[192] *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, y. 483). For a copy of the paintings reproduced, see *A. de Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères*," etc., Vol. I, plate V. Ed. 8vo).

[643 693] [193] I affirm this in the face of all the authorities on the subject, who, without exception, assert that there was an appeal to the "king." The *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXX, "Declaracion de la figurado") is even very positive: "Y si era negocio de calidad del consejo. havia apelacion por via de agravio ante Montequma, en donde habia conclusion de la causa." My opinion is based on what precedes about the authority of the council, on what I expect to prove in relation to the true nature of the duties of the head-chiefs and which will hereafter follow, and on the contradictions among the authors themselves. Thus the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58) places the supreme power into the hands of the councils "sin parescer de los quales ninguna cosa se habia de hacer," and (pp. 64 and 65) it does not mention any power of appeal whatever. *Zurita* (pp. 100 and 101): "Les appels étaient portés devant douze autres juges supérieurs qui prononçaient d'apres l'avis du souverain." It is queer to notice, how the writers of the texcucan school, appear eager to place the power of final decree or the decision of final appeal in a "high tribunal," or rather simply a supreme council of their tribe. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXXI, p. 146) mentions a supreme council, "á los quales avian de venir todas las cosas graves, y criminales, para que ellos, con el Rei, las determinassen." (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 354): "Para estos dos Jueces Supremos se apelaban las causas graves, los quales las admitian, pero no determinaban, ni sentenciaban, sin parecer, y acuerdo de el Rei." *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 199) speaks of the establishment of "tribunals" by "Fasting wolf" ("Nezahualcoyotl"—properly "fasting coyote"), and adds: "pero concediendo á las partes el recurso de apelacion para el gran tribunal de justicia que erigió en su corte de Texcuco." This so-called tribunal was, as we have shown at the close of note 190, the "Council of the tribe." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) almost copies Zurita. *Sahagun* ("*Historia general*," etc., Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 314): "y los casos muy dificultosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase, juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian." "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque. . . . ." In this case the learned father speaks of tribal jurisdiction and not of arbitration. Still it is plain that he admits the *council's decree as final*. The chief, "señor," appears only as member of this council, a position of which we shall hereafter speak. Without making any further quotations from similar authorities, I beg to revert to those which place, *by the side of the so-called "King,"* an independent "supreme Judge"—the "Cihuacohuatl," whose tribunal

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Aside from these arbitrative functions, other duties occupied the 646
council's time at its full meetings. If any calpulli felt wronged 618
in the distribution of the incoming tribute, it might through its delegate or "speaker,"[194] complain about the tribal officers answerable for it to the "tlatocan." The investiture of chiefs and officers of the kins belonged to the highest authority of the tribe

is positively mentioned as the final court of appeals. That this "Cihuacohuatl" [643
occupied a high position, was already noticed by *Cortés* ("*Carta tercera*," Vedia I, 693]
p. 89), and subsequently, when he became still more prominent, by *Tezozomoc*. But *Torquemada* has been to my knowledge, the first one to establish his position as independent supreme Judge. It is not devoid of interest to notice what he writes about this office. ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 252): "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y Juez maior, cuio nombre, por raçon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl . . . . . De este Presidente no se apelaba para el Rei, ni para otro Juez alguno, ni podia tener Teniente, ni substituto, sino que por su misma persona havia de determinar, y decidir todos los negocios de su juzgado, y audiencia." He further adds; "lo qual no corria en este dicho Juez Cihuacohuatl; porque de su ultima determinacion no habia recurso á otro." *Fray Augustin de Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I, Parte 2a, Trat. 2°, cap. I, p. 309): "Despues del Rey . . . habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion á otro. Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." These statements distinctly hint at the existence of an appellate judicial body, of which this Cihuacohuatl was foreman, and over which the so-called "King" had no control. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481) even states that while there was no appeal from the Cihuacohuatl whatever, there was one of these officers "at the court and the principal cities of the kingdom." These views in regard to the "Cihuacohuatl" have been plainly accepted by *W. H. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Vol. I. p. 29): "There was no appeal from his sentence to any other tribunal, not even to the king," and *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435).

The confusion is apparent, for we have here three different views of the same case. One is that the "head-chief" was the highest appellate authority, the other that the head-chief, *with the council*, formed the court of last resort, and the third that a "supreme Judge" was appointed by the so-called "King" to render final decisions. Now we have already seen that the supreme authority was the council or "tlatocan," consequently what is commonly called the "king" could not be the last resort in judiciary matters, still less could he appoint an officer for that purpose. Our proposition appears, therefore, sustained, that there was no appeal from the decisions of the council to any superior authority whatever.

But, finally, it was possible to reconsider, so to say, the cases decided by the council, and for such the so-called "*Nauhpohualtlatolli*" or "*eighty days-talk*" was instituted. Authorities are almost unanimous on this point, although it is commonly ascribed to *Tezozomoc* alone, and I refrain from quoting them in detail, referring but to *Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, p. 439, etc.).

[194] This becomes evident from the relative positions of kin and tribe. As we shall hereafter see, the officers gathering and those receiving the tribute were tribal officers, consequently subject to the council. It was to the council, therefore, that any complaint had to be brought against them, and this could be done only through the "speaker" of a particular kin. That the tribute was distributed partly among the "calpulli" is indicated by *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 79): "Tambien dieron á sus barrios para el culto de sus dioses, á cada barrio una suerte, etc.," and *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. X, p. 19): "y aunque venian á darlo á Ytzcoatl, era para todos los Mexicanos en comun."

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Such were, in a general way, the higher functions of the Mexi- 646
can council, and they appear, if we are permitted to characterize 692
them to be only arbitrative and directive. Yet the members of that council had other duties of a purely judicial nature.

No conflict occurred between its jurisdiction and that of the kins. It was neither superior nor inferior to it, but wholly independent, even without any connection with it. Hence it extended:

1. Over the unattached class, the hangers-on to the tribe, or outcasts from the bond of kinship.[199]

2. Over all the people composing the tribe, irrespective of kinship, at places specially placed under tribal care, or reserved for tribal business, and therefore *neutral ground* for the members of all the calpulli. These neutral localities were the official buildings, the central or tribal "house of god," and especially the great "tianquiz" or market places.

The outcasts were, happily for the preservation of tribal society, not very numerous. Still, from their very origin, they were the most disorderly part of the people and crimes were certainly more common among them than among those upon whose passions the tie of kinship and the obligations resulting therefrom acted like a wholesome check. It required a judiciary power constantly on hand to repress and punish the misdemeanors committed among this class.

The "tecpan," the great central "teocalli" and the square on 368
which it stood, and the market, were regular meeting-places of 621
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siguiente, etc. . . . . ." (Cap. LX. p. 473): "Montezuma, apiadándose dellos, los mandó aposentar, y llamando su consejo, propusoles la demanda que traian." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 61): "El Rey Itzcohuatl mostró gran contento con la embajada respondiendo con muy gratas palabras; mandó aposentar á los mensajeros, y hoarrarlos, y tratar como á su propia persona, diziéndoles que descansassen, que el dia siguiente les daria la respuesta." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap I, p. 533): "Acabada la Embaxada, si el Embaxador no era de mui gran Principe, no se le respondia cosa, hasta otro Dia; salian con él algunos, acompañandole á la Calpixca, adonde se proveia de lo necesario, y en el entretanto el Señor comunicaba con los de su Consejo lo que se havia de responder, lo qual hacia uno de ellos, y no él." But the most complete picture of such delegations and the manner in which they were received is found in *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIª, Trat. IIa, cap. II. pp. 378 and 379). It is too long to be copied. I merely allude to the words: "Acabada la embajada, le volvian á la posada mientras se juntaban para la respuesta." It has been adopted by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, pp. 470 and 471).

[199] The unattached class was under protection of no kin; therefore, if such a "bonded man" made his escape to the Tecpan, he became liberated from his bond. Already mentioned by *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia, I. p. 443), and subsequently confirmed by others.

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368 people from *all* the calpulli, but over which no single kin could
621 exercise any control.[200] This control had been delegated to the
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[200] In regard to the "tecpan," the simple term "casa de comunidad," used particularly by *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48, and again Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477): la "Tecpan, que es el palacio," explains much. It is, besides, self-evident that the tribal places of business and of worship were under the control of no particular kin, being expressly reserved for the tribe. There is, however, no definite expression as yet, in fact it hardly amounts to a clear conception, of the number and position or location of the original "tianquiz" of Tenuchtitlan. There are four eye-witnesses of the conquest reporting upon the markets: Cortés, Andrés de Tapia, the anonymous conqueror, and Bernal-Diez de Castillo. I quote these in succession. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia, I, p. 22): "Tiene esta ciudad muchas plazas, donde hay continuos mercados y trato de comprar y vender. Tiene otra plaza tan grande como dos vezes la ciudad de Salamanca, toda cercada de portales al rededor, donde hay cotidianamente arriba de cesenta-mil animas comprando y vendiendo, . . ." "*Carta Tercera*," (p. 74): "hasta otra puente que está junto á la plaza de los principales aposentamientos de la ciudad." Note 2 of the Archbishop Lorenzana: "Antes de llegar á la plaza de la Universidad hay muchas puentes, y naturalmente habia aqui desta plaza ó mercado, que era muy grande." Id., (p. 76): "E porque este trabajo era incompartable, acordó de pasar el real al cabo de la calzada que va á dar al mercado de Temixtitan, que es una plaza harto mayor que la de Salamanca, y toda cercada de portales á la redonda;" (Id., p. 79): "seguimos nuestro camino, y entramos en la ciudad, á la cual llegados, yo reparti la gente desta manera; habia tres calles donde lo que teniamos ganado, que iban á dar al mercado, al cual los indios llaman Tianguizco, y á todo aquel sitio donde está llámen de Tlaltelulco; y la una destas calles era la principal, que iba á dicho mercado, . . Las otras dos calles van dende la calle de Tacuba á dar al mercado." Id. (p. 81), after the repulse of the Spaniards: "todos los españoles vivos y muertos que tomaron los llevaron al Tlatelulco, que es el mercado." Id. (p. 83): "E aquel dia acabamos de ganar toda la calle de Tacuba y de adobar los malos pasos della, en tal manera que los del real de Pedro de Albarado se podian communicar con nosotros por la ciudad, é por la calle principal, que iba al mercado, se ganaron otras dos puentes y se cegó bien el agua. . . ." Id., "y seguimos la calle grande, que iba á dar al mercado;" (p. 86): "Otro dia siguiente, estando aderezando para volver á entrar en la ciudad, á los nueve horas del dia vimos de nuestro real salir humo de dos torres muy altas que estaban en el Tatelulco ó mercado de la cindad." *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., in *Col. de Doc.*, II, p. 582): mentions only the "patio de los ídolos." "*El Conquistador anónimo*" (Col. de Doc., I. p. 392): "Sono nella cittá di Temestitan Messico grandissimo et bellissimo piazze, dove si vendono tutte le cose che usana fra loro, et specialmente la piazza maggiore che essi chiamano el Tatelula, che puo esser cosi grande como sarebbe tre volte la piazza di Salamanca, et seno all'intorno di essa tutti portici; . ." (p. 394): "Et oltra q'uesta gran piazza ve no sono dell'altre et mercati in che si vendono cose da mangiare in diverse parti della cittá." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, II, cap. XCII, p. 89): "y cuando llegamos á la gran plaza, que se dice el Tatelulco, como no habiamos visto tal cosa, quedamos admirados de la multitud de gente y mercaderias que en ella habia, . ." He also states that the "gran plaza" was "cercado de portales." (Cap. CLII, p. 183): "que si nos parecia que fuesemos entrando de golpe en la ciudad hasta entrar y llegar al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor Méjico, que es muy ancha, . . ." (Cap. CLV, p. 198): "que les entrásemos todo cuanto pudiésemos hasta llegalles al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor, adonde estaban sus altos cues y adoratorios." We notice at once a contradiction. Cortés first mentions a market of Tenuchtitlan, and afterward he calls it of Tlatelulco. Archbishop Lorenzana identifies it with the "plaza de la Universidad," or in the neighborhood of the Cathedral. See *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," p. 9): "en la esquina de las calles del Arzobispado y Seminario."

366 There were two great market-places in ancient Mexico, one of which was in Tenuchtitlan, and the other in the conquered neighboring pueblo of Tlatelulco. This is very

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"tlatocan" as a consequence of the formation of the tribe. Crimes committed at such localities were punished with unusual severity, because they were offences desecrating *neutral* ground which was 368 621 693

plainly stated by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555), and it would even appear as if, notwithstanding the importance attached to Tlatelulco by many authors, that the principal market was the one mentioned by this author as "el que está en la Poblacion de San Juan . . . ," and consequently the proper "tianquiz" of the Mexican tribe. This could only be neutral ground, over which no single kin exercised any authority. It may have been different in regard to the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco; at least the following indications of *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 270) deserve full attention: "Fecho esto mandó el rey que aquella plaça y mercado que ellos ganaron, pues los tlatelulcas no tenian mas tierra, que fuese repartido entre los señores y que la parte que á cada uno cuplese, que de todos los tlatelulcas que allí hiciesen asiento, de todo lo que vendiesen les diesen alcauala, de cinco uno, y así se repartió la plaça entre todos, de donde cada uno oabraua alcauala de lo que en el lugar que le auia cauido se vendia." The above is not quite definite enough, because the "plaza y mercado" of which the friar speaks, is evidently the one mentioned by him (p. 200): "y encerrándoles en la plaça de su mercado, haciéndose los tlatelulcas fuertes, no dexauan entrar á la plaça ninguno de los Mexicanos en ella," whereas he says (p. 270): "que allí hiciesen asiento," as if the place was built over. The fact that the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco was "distributed among the Mexicans" is further asserted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XLVI, p. 75, Kingsborough, Vol. 9): "Axayaca mandó tambien se hiciese repartimiento del tianquiz de Tlatilulco á los Mexicanos, y comenzaron á medir primera suerte Axayaca, luego á Zihuacoatl Tlacaelcltzin, luego par su orden Tlacochcalcatl, y á todos los capitanes, que fué tenido el tianquiz en mas de sí ganaran cien pueblos." It would therefore appear, if we interpret this "distribution" as it should be done, namely: *as a division of spoils among the kins*, that the latter claimed a share of tribute from the traffic or barter going on in the "tianquiz" of Tlatelulco, a fact corroborated besides by that other statement of *Durán* (p. 269): "El rey le mandó, que pues auian sido traidores á su corona real, que de allí adelante queria y era su voluntad que aquella parcialidad Mexicana del tlatelulco le fuesen tributarios y pecheros como las demas ciudades y provincias, . . ." This, and the uncertainty as to which tianquiz is always meant, favors the assumption that *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 349, Vedia I) mentions Tlatelulco when he says: "Los que venden pagan algo del asiento al Rey, ó por alcabala ó porque los guarden de ladrones." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," pp. 32, 33 and 34) does not mention it, for the words: "donde están personas por guardas y que reciben certum quid de cada cosa que entra" do not apply to the market which he describes as having visited and which, in spite of *Bernal-Díaz* ("*Hist. Verdadera*," Cap. XCII, p. 89) I still believe to have been that of Tenuchtitlan, and *not* that of Tlatelulco. Cortés is strictly followed by *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, pp. 300 and 301) whereas *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 198) copies Gomara. [364]

I have dwelt thus long on this question because it disposes of the notion that the "government" of Mexico levied a tax on the traffic of the members of the tribe. This tax limits itself to a tribute paid by the subjected tribe of Tlatelulco alone, because, as *Durán* says (p. 270) "they had no more soil than that of their tianquiz." This tax was distributed among the kins, like any other tribute. But it does not follow that therefore the kins exercised judicial power over the Tlatelulcan market. This power either remained with the Tlatelulcan tribe, or devolved upon the officers of the tribe of Tenuchtitlan. The former is more likely, although the latter might also have been the case since the Tlatelulcans were treated with great severity, as traitors and outcasts (*Durán*, Cap. XXXIV, pp. 269-271), in which case the tribal authorities would have had to punish them. [651]

That the central or tribal "teocalli" and the courts surrounding it were committed to the care of the tribe, as representing all the kins, on equal terms, in the share which each had in it, is self-evident, and needs no further proof.

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368 621 693 then respected as open to use for all the kins in common.[201] So many people met there daily, that the daily exercise, at least the presence, of judicial authority was absolutely necessary.[202]

[201] *Las Casas* ("*Historia apologética*," Cap. 214, in note XLV of Lord Kingsborough, Vol. VIII, p. 124): "pero cuando reñian en los mercados, como á escandalosos y alborotadores del pueblo eran muy gravemente castigados." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, p. 225) says even of those who disposed of stolen articles: "the Judges and chiefs took them and sentenced them to death." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. V, p. 281): "El que hurtaba en la Plaça ó Mercado, que llaman Tianquizco, luego alli era muerto á palos, por tener por muy grave culpa, que en semejante lugar, y tan publico, huviese tanto atrevimiento." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 484): "He who changed the measures established by the government, in open market, was executed on the spot," and (p. 487): "He who stole in the market, was at once beaten to death." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 138): "Porque tenian por grave el pecado cometido en la plaza ó mercado."

[202] We have again here the eye-witnesses. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*." Vedia, I, p. 22): "Hay en esta gran plaza una muy buena casa como de audiencia, donde están siempre sentados diez ó doce personas, que son jueces y libran todos los casos y cosas que en el dicho mercado acaecen, y mandan castigar los delinquentes. Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89): Vedia, II, "y tenian alli sus casas, donde juzgaban tres jueces y otros como alguaciles ejecutores que miraban las mercaderias." These two statements, with more or less variation, are at the base of all that has been subsequently said on this subject, except by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, p. 323): "El señor tambien cuidaba del tianguiz y de todas las cosas que en el se veddian por amor de la gente popular, y de toda la gente forastera que alli venia, para que nadie los hiciese fraude, ni sin razon en el comercio de la feria. Por esta causa ponian por órden todas las cosas, que se vendian cada una en su lugar, y elegian por la misma oficiales que se llamaban tianquizpantlayacaque, los cuales tenian cargo del mercado, y todas las cosas que alli se vendian de cada género de mantenimientos ó mercaderias; tenia uno de estos cargo para poner los precios de las cosas que se vendian y para que no huvrise fraude entre los compradores y vendedores." "Tianquizpantlayacaque" decomposes into "Tianquizpan," "feriar, o tratar en mercado," *Molina* (II, p. 114), and "Tlayacatla," "cosa primera o delantera" (Id., p. 120); consequently, "the foremost or first ones of those who trade in open market." We have to discriminate therefore between these and such officers as "*sat*" ("están siempre sentados," says Cortés) within that "very good house" in the market, or rather close by, and acted as Judges. *Herrera* (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 196) says this house was "cerca del Mercado"—a statement which he afterwards changes to "en la plaza de Mexico" (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 137). We are now informed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 555) that the *tecpan* of Tlatelulco "que son las Casas de Cabildo, y Audiencia" was, at his time, on one of the sides ("acera") of the *market* of Tlatelulco, and it appears to have been customary for the natives to have the official building facing the "tianquiz." Such was the case at Tezcuco if we are to believe *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 247): "Le palais avait deux cours, dont la première, qui était la plus grande, servait de place publique et de marché; elle est même encore aujourd'hui destinée à cet usage;" and if the market of Tenuchtitlan really was where Archbishop Lorenzana places it (see note 200), then it is evident that the Mexican tecpan must have been very near it, if not actually facing the square. The "great house" mentioned by the eye-witnesses quoted, was therefore, in all probability, but the council or official-house of the tribe, and the old men who, in number from three to twelve, are said to have officiated as "Judges," were members of the "tlatoran" or supreme council on judicial duty, as we shall hereafter see. Those officers who circulated among the people maintaining peace and order, were executive

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It therefore demanded the daily attendance at the official house of the tribe of a body of men sitting as "judges." The decisions of these judges had to be final even in matters of life and death. Therefore the chiefs composing the highest authority of the tribe, the members of the council or "tlatoca," were also its supreme judges. It is stated that for this daily work the twenty "speakers" were subdivided into two bodies sitting simultaneously in two different halls of the ".tecpan." One of these bodies is called "court of the nobles" because it attended, not merely to tribal cases, but especially to the preparatory business of government in general, whereas the other limited its decrees to judicial questions only.[203]

officers delegated for that special purpose, and, as we shall find, probably under orders of the military commanders of the tribe.

[203] This division of the council into two bodies for the purpose of greater dispatch of judicial work is particularly affirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib VIII, cap. XIV, p. 303. Cap. XV, p. 304, and Cap. XXV, pp. 313 and 314), who, however, contradicts himself in regard to the position and rank of his "Judges." Thus (p. 303) he calls his officers of the "sala de la judicatura," "el rey, los señores, cónsules, oidores, principales nobles" as distinguished from those of the "audiencia de la causas civiles," whom he designates as "los senadores y los ancianos," thus intimating, if not asserting, that the former were superior to the latter in rank and power. The hall wherein the former met, is called "tlacxitlan," the latter "teccalli." I shall return to these terms again. He further asserts (p. 314), speaking of the former: "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoques," and establishes them as a court of appeal for the lower court. Now (Cap. XXX, p. 318) he says: "juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoques . . ." Consequently, he tacitly admits that the "senadores" who, according to him, composed the "lower" court were also the *equals* of those of the higher, and all belonged to the same class of officers. Finally, his picture of the duties of both bodies is rather obscure. He even (p. 314) might be construed so as to establish *three* courts. If we now examine the names given by him, we find that of the "lower" to be "house of chiefs," from "tecuhtli" and "calli," house. Indeed, *Molina* (II, p. 92) has "teccalli," "casa, o audiencia real." "Tlacxitlan," however, signifies (II, p. 120) "en lo baxo, o al pie de los arboles, o de cosa semejante." The proper derivation, however, is from "ni tlacxitoca" "to correct writings, or count over what has been already counted" (p. 120), which would indeed correspond to a "court of appeals." "To appeal" is "nitlacuepa;" "appeal," "tlacuepaliztli; occeccan neteihuiliztli," *Molina* (I, p. 12). It stands properly for the act of demurring, or of returning, folding, doubling up, and it is not likely to have been used by the natives to define an appeal in our sense of the word. Father Sahagun has probably introduced the word "tlacxitlan" himself. At all events, he is responsible for the notion of a superior body of judges, to whom a lower court, sitting in the same house, referred all cases of importance, contenting itself with taking testimony and despatching unimportant cases; while at the same time he tells us that the members of *both* groups *held the same office*, and were consequently equal and had the same title. This title we have found to be that of the members of the council, consequently the two groups formed but fractions of that body, co-ordinated and assisting each other, and not a higher and a lower branch of a tribal judiciary.

Father Sahagun and contemporary authors of the Franciscan school, whose writings have just now come to light in the "*Libro de Oro*," can easily be traced as the source of most of the later pictures of Mexican judicial customs as in the present instance. Thus his highest tribunal of *thirteen* "senadores" reappears in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 442,

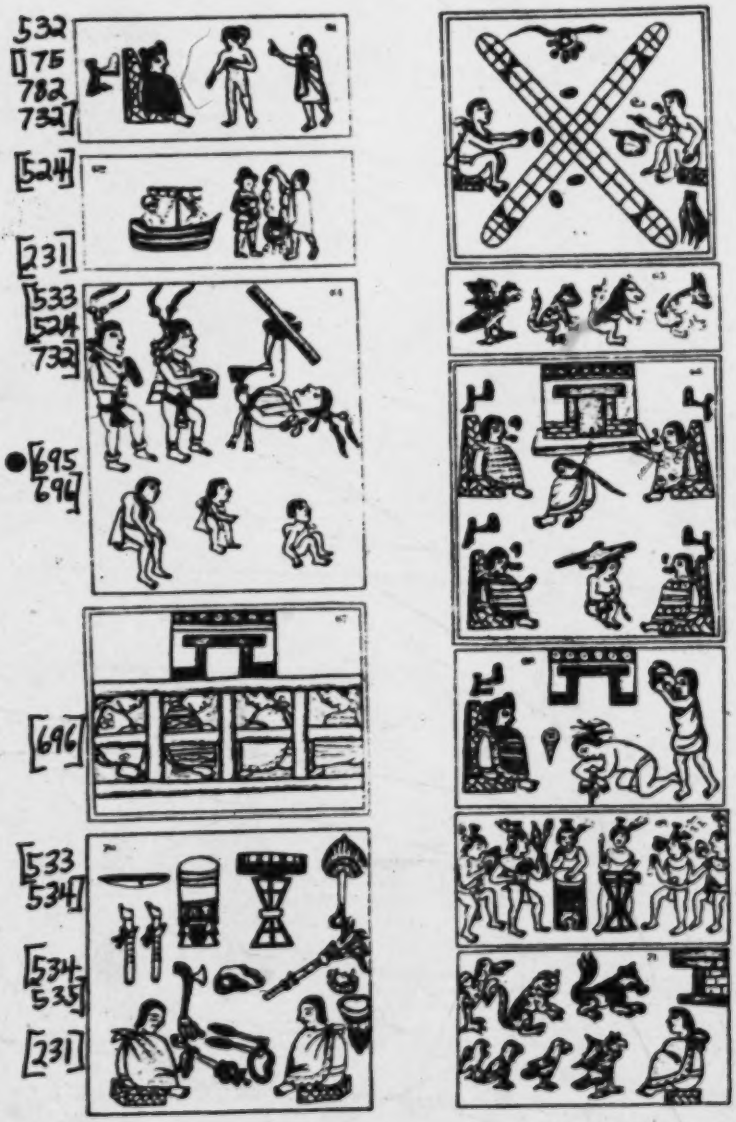

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Omens (concluded). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Riding a leg on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlaxcalan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tezpulcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Mexicans (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

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—Hijo Pano y Tremecoto

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

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Fourteenth Chapeer: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capítulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixqujch tlacat] vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan atlica tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenqujxtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is describ[illegible] the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauiia, in aqujque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxqujch tlamantli in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca qujtetepachoaque, anoço aca quauhtica mjqujz qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pi'ii, anoço tecutlato, ximaloz, totocoz, callaliloz, maceoalcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjiequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchcoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oqujcac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicoloxque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzaloxque in jntecujioboan, injc macoxque, injc cuepililoxque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica pipilti, ioã oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in neteilhujlli, çan njman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 22-23: "*Este nombre, tlácatl, quiere decir, persona noble, generosa o magnífica. . . . Y los compuestos de tlácatl que se componen con nombre numerales, significan personas nuevas, como diciendo un tlácatl, una persona hombre, o mujer.*" Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung der Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Sippe und Beruf, aus dem Azteckischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1957), p. 22.
2. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the foot."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 87.

692 695 nounced. And in what was there made known, the lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caqujtiloia tlatoque atle qujcnjuhchioaia atle tlaxtlaujltica qujxpachoaia, anoço qujuecaoaia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiençia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlatoque.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently [212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuztlae imixpan moteilhujaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuxca, in qujcaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapailacujlolpan in qujpoaia, in qujttaia neteilhujlli: auh injc qujnneltiliaia, qujntemoaia, qujmjtlanja in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in qujmachiha moteilhujque, in tlein qujmocujcujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhuja.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla qujnmachili in iehoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic qujuecaoa, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uxiujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl qujnemjtia in amo uel qujtzontecuj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoxiolcaiotl: njman qujmjlpia, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujtzacutiuj, qujmjctia, injc mauhca iezque tecutlatoque.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Iztlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toqual. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

Tlatocati motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in qujnmachili tecutlatoque mjxcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, iztlaca mjxcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinqui, tlatilulco in amo melaoac qujchioaia in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman qujmjlpi, quauhcalco qujntlali, qujtzacutiaque, qujnmjcti.

692 565 684 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the place of discussion where were the brave warriors and the noblemen.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oqujchti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla qujmachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman qujtlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznaoatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpauique ix-

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5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"*otra sala.*"

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 267, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecalli, cierto amaluacate por los ancianos, determinaba de causas livianas, dando cuenta diariamente á los jueces superiores.*" Clark, (*op. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The four seated figures behind the judges, called *tecali*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also ff. 67r and 68r of the *Mendoza Codex*.)

7. *Tiacauh, pilli, tecpilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jana, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Jana, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan iezque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzontequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuhca qujtzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujcaquja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchipauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. 693 [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc iehoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, iehoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja, qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machiceque, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlaliloc. 695 643

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz, njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc iehoantin qujmjctia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtetepachoa, anoço qujtetequj. 693 696

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn netotiloz.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoaliztli, in papaqujliztli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujnjollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçeoalli: 535 643

achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz qujnnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujichecozque injc qujchicaozque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 643 533 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los cuatro, muy diferentemente, y graves, llamandose el uno: para que los entendiesse juntamente con todos principales, muy calificados, que eran el audiencia, y residencia."
7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes mixtecatlailotlac; mixtecatl appears as a synonym.
The title Tlaxitlanecatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.
8. Can slepin: can is probably meant (cf. ibid.).
9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 291, 293; II, pp. 310, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 180, and III, p. 53.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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000 delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

643 There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great 643 Caciques from distant lands came before him about ●695 boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then [212] he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out [693] the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and without turning their backs and with three obeisances they retired to the hall, and as soon as they left the presence of Montezuma they put on their rich garments and took walks through Mexico. 643 695

I will not say anything more at present about this imprisonment, and will relate how the messengers whom Montezuma sent with his sign and seal to summon the Captains who had killed our soldiers, brought them before him as prisoners, and what he said to them I do not know, but he sent them on to Cortés, so that he might do justice to them, and their confession was taken when Montezuma was not present and they confessed that what I have already stated was true, that their Prince had ordered them to wage war and to extract tribute, and that if any Teules should appear in defence of the towns, they too should be attacked or killed. When Cortés heard this confession he sent to inform Montezuma how it implicated him in the affair, and Montezuma made all the excuses he could, and our captain sent him word that he believed it [the confession] himself, but that although he [Montezuma] deserved punishment in conformity with the ordinances of our King, to the effect that any person causing others, whether guilty or innocent, to be killed, shall die for it, yet he was so fond of him and wished him so well, that even if that crime lay at his door, he, Cortés, would pay the penalty with his own life sooner than allow Montezuma's to pass away. With all this that he [Cortés] sent to tell him, he [Montezuma] felt anxious, and without any further discussion Cortés sentenced those captains to death and to be burned in front of Montezuma's palace. This sentence was promptly carried out, and, so that there could be no obstruction while they were being burned, Cortés ordered shackles to be put on Montezuma himself, and when this was done Montezuma roared [with rage], and if before this he was scared, he was then much more 000 [202]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

646 the critical period of Cortés' first stay at Tenuchtitlan, the twenty "speakers" held daily meetings at the official house.[185]

In a society based upon kin we cannot expect a clear division of the powers of government, particularly as there were no written laws,[186] and custom alone ruled. The functions of the ancient Mexican council were not properly legislative, but they were rather *directive* and *judicial* combined. One of its first duties was, however, to maintain harmony among the kins.

The twenty independent social units composing the Mexican tribe, while bound together by the necessity of mutual aid to secure territorial independence, could not be expected always to live in peace with one another. Difficulties would necessarily arise between kin and kin, and to prevent such disputes from leading to actual warfare,[187] the council as a body of *official arbitrators* was needed.

618 According to the rules of kinship, the calpulli was not only
646 bound to avenge any wrongs suffered by one of its members, but
695 it was also responsible for the offences committed by the kinfolk towards any outsider.[188] Hence theft committed outside of the

Durán (cap. X, p. 83. XI. pp. 107, 108, 109, XIV, pp. 117, 123, XVI, p. 132, XVIII, p. 156), etc., etc. We forbear further quotations, since they would be too numerous. All go to prove that the council was frequently called together between the times of regular meeting. Quotations from *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*") are useless, since they are very numerous and agree with those of Durán in the main. The fact of irregular meetings of the council having been called during the conquest, is further proven by *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. III. p. 7). and *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XIV, p. 385).

[185] *Bernal Díaz de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," Vedia, Vol. II, cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la cuatina estaban en su compañia veinte grande señores y consejeros y capitanes." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á negociar y el acato que el tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces."

[186] A number of paintings are mentioned as representing the customs and manners
[212 533] of the natives. Specimens of these are found in *Codex Mendoza*, Lam., 58 to 72 inclusive. But none of these contained, or could contain or express, anything like a *law*. Compare, on Mexican paintings in general and their value, "*On the Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America*," in Vol. 27 of "*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*." Señor *Orozco y Berra* ("*Códice Mendozino,– Ensayo de descifracion geroglífico*," beginning in No. 3, of Vol. I, "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*") has commenced a publication which can be expected to shed much light on such picture-leaves, and the true position which they held among the ancient Mexicans.

[187] Conflicts between the inhabitants of different "barrios" during festive turnouts and religious gatherings could not always be prevented.

[188] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 76 and 77). *Durila-Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*," Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83). The custom is general among other tribes and Mr. Morgan has adverted to it among the Maya of Yucatan and the Peruvians. It would be unnecessary display to produce further evidence: the remarkably clear statements of Mr. Morgan fully "cover the case."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

calpulli, and especially the slaying, wilful or accidental, of members of one kin by those of another, became the cause of a claim by the offended calpulli upon that of the offender.[189] This claim was submitted to the tribal council by the "speaker" of the complainant kinship. He produced his evidence, sometimes even in the shape of paintings, not so much to prove the facts as to sustain his claim. From the opposite side, the "speaker" defended the interests of his clan, and he also supported his pleadings with whatever testimony he might command.[190] The remaining "tlatoca" listened attentively to both parties, and when the argument was concluded, they deliberated among

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[189] *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, pp. 458 and 459) was the first, to my knowledge, to call attention (in note 59) to the difference of opinion among authors, in regard to the punishment of murderers. He refers to the unpublished parts of the work of Fray *Diego Durán*. We find in the *Codice Ramirez* ("*Tratado de los Ritos y Ceremonias y Dioses que en su Gentilidad usaban los Indios desta Nueva España*," Cap. I, p. 103): "El matar uno á otro era muy prohibido, y aunque no se pagaba con muerte, hazian al homicida esclavo perpétuo de la mujer ò parientes del muerto, para que les sirviesse y supliesse la falta del muerto, ganando el sustento de los hijos que dejaba." This is very interesting since it shows the autonomy of the kins. The murderer stood, towards the calpulli of the slain, in the same relation as, among northern Indians, a prisoner of war did towards the hostile tribe. Both could be adopted, and this condoned the deed. The offending kin lost one member; the offended kin obtained one in return for the one that had been killed. However, this was only in exceptional cases: the rule, as established by the majority of authors was that life alone could atone for life. In the same manner, and under the same head, the contradictory reports must be placed, about the punishment of theft, which have already been noticed. There are consequently, for each crime or kind of crime, two classes; one, of such as were committed within the kin, and the other, of such as were committed without.

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[190] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304): "Otra sala del palacio se llamaba teccali, ó teccalco. En este lugar residian los senadores y los ancianos para oir pleitos y peticiones, que les ofrecian la gente popular, y los jueces procuraban de hacer su oficio con mucha prudencia y sagacidad, y presto los despachaban; porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como hacienda, casas, ó maizales; y despues cuando ya se queria acabar el pleito, buscaban los senadores los testigos." I quote this passage, although it applies particularly to the judicial functions of the council, because the mode of proceedings is therein illustrated. *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207), speaking of Tezcuco, is very positive: "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban tepantlatoani, que quiere decir *el que habla por otro*. . . . ." I need not recall here that "tlatoani" (plural "tlatoca") was the title of the members of the council, and that consequently these "attorneys" belonged thereto. The same statement (derived from Veytia also) is found in *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte II, cap. VII, p. 191). These two works contain (in the chapters indicated) the most detailed information as to the proceedings. Still, there is evident confusion in the minds of these authors in general: they fail to discriminate between arbitration and tribal jurisdiction. The bulk of the other authorities commit the same mistake. Compare *Zurita* ("Rapport," pp. 102–105), whom *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 136) has almost verbally copied. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

The absolute lack of division of powers which characterizes so well ancient Mexican society is well established by *Veytia* (III, cap. VII, p. 208), speaking of what he

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

618 646 695 themselves until they finally agreed upon an award.[191] The same thing occurred when two calpulli claimed possession or enjoyment of the same piece of land.[192] No appeal was possible to any higher authority; but every eighty days an extraordinary gathering took place at the "tecpan," consisting of the council and the executive chieftains, the war-captains of the four great quarters, the "elder brothers" of the kins, and the leading medicine-men, and any cause pending before the "tlatocan" might be deferred until the next of these general meetings; and even in case a decision had been rendered, a reconsideration thereof, on that occasion, was sometimes agreed upon.[193]

calls "supremo consejo:" "Tratábanse en este consejo todo género de negocios de estado, justicia, guerra, hacienda etc., etc."

[191] This picture is mainly based upon *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," III. cap. VII), and *Bustamente* ("*Texcoco*," pp. 191 and 192). The statement in the latter is only worthy of credit because copied from the former.

[192] *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, y. 483). For a copy of the paintings reproduced, see *A. de Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères*," etc., Vol. I, plate V. Ed. 8vo).

643 695 [193] I affirm this in the face of all the authorities on the subject, who, without exception, assert that there was an appeal to the "king." The *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXX, "Declaracion de la figurado") is even very positive: "Y si era negocio de calidad del consejo, havia apelacion por via de agravio ante Montezuma, en donde habia conclusion de la causa." My opinion is based on what precedes about the authority of the council, on what I expect to prove in relation to the true nature of the duties of the head-chiefs and which will hereafter follow, and on the contradictions among the authors themselves. Thus the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58) places the supreme power into the hands of the councils "sin parescer de los quales ninguna cosa se habia de hacer," and (pp. 64 and 65) it does not mention any power of appeal whatever. *Zurita* (pp. 100 and 101): "Les appels étaient portés devant douze autres juges supérieurs qui prononçaient d'apres l'avis du souverain." It is queer to notice, how the writers of the texcucan school, appear eager to place the power of final decree or the decision of final appeal in a "high tribunal," or rather simply a supreme council of their tribe. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXXI, p. 146) mentions a supreme council, "á los quales avian de venir todas las cosas graves, y criminales, para que ellos, con el Rei, las determinassen." (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 354): "Para estos dos Jueces Supremos se apelaban las causas graves, los quales las admitian, pero no determinaban, ni sentenciaban, sin parecer, y acuerdo de el Rei." *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 199) speaks of the establishment of "tribunals" by "Fasting wolf" ("Nezahualcoyotl"—properly "fasting coyote"), and adds: "pero concediendo á las partes el recurso de apelacion para el gran tribunal de justicia que erigió en su corte de Texcuco." This so-called tribunal was, as we have shown at the close of note 190, the "Council of the tribe." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) almost copies Zurita. *Sahagun* ("*Historia general*," etc., Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 314): "y los casos muy dificultuosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase, juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian." "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque. . . ." In this case the learned father speaks of tribal jurisdiction and not of arbitration. Still it is plain that he admits the *council's decrees as final*. The chief, "señor," appears only as member of this council, a position of which we shall hereafter speak. Without making any further quotations from similar authorities, I beg to revert to those which place, *by the side of the so-called "King,"* an independent "supreme Judge"—the "Cihuacohuatl," whose tribunal

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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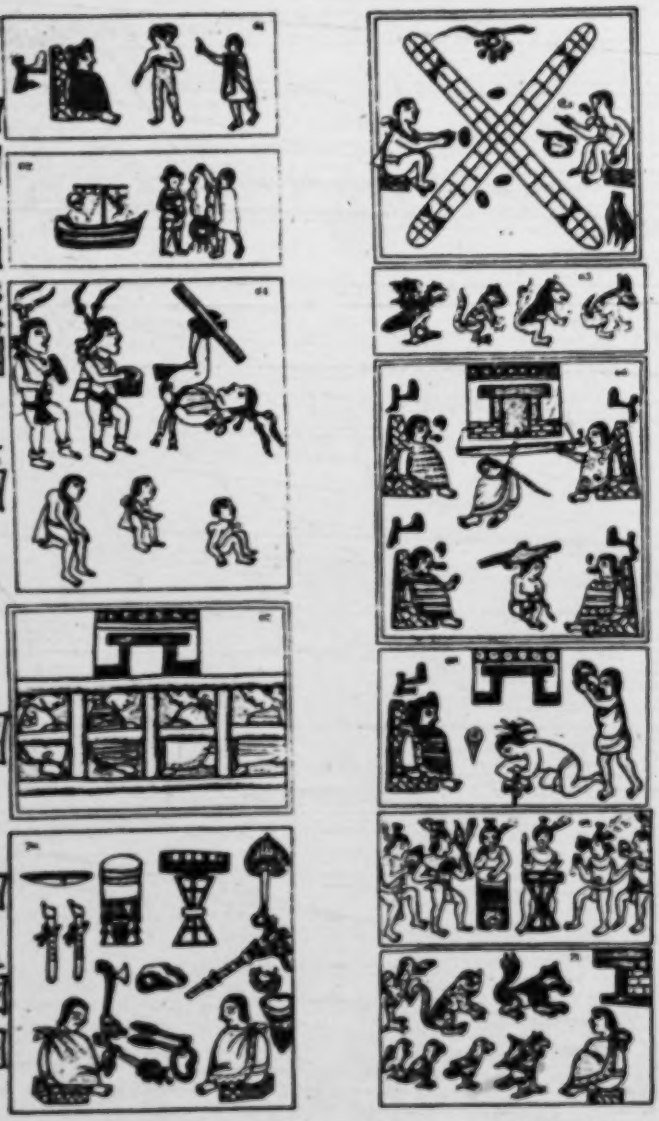

—After Paso y Troncoso

Omeca (concluded), 61. Two-headed man (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *pasolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlaxcalan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

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Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixqujch tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe isuiotl: ioan vncan atlioa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenqujxtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aqujque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxqujch tlamantli in jnteilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca qujterepachoaque, anoço aca quauhtica mjquja qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloc, tococoz, callalilox, maceoalcuepalox, anoço aca ilpilox quauhcalco tlalilox: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjiequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in equjcac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicoloxque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalonque in jntecujjohoan, injc macoxque, injc cuepililoxque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica pipilti, ioã oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollax pipilti. 731 567 643

In this place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in netelhujlli, çan ajman icuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, pp. 22-23: "Este nombre, tlatoani, quiere decir, persona noble, gobernar o magnificar. . . . Y los compañeros de tlatoani que se compusieron con nombres nuevos, significan personas nombradas, como diciendo es tlatoani, una persona honrada, o mayor." Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: Glaubenswelt der Alt-Amerikanischen Völker in Familie, Stand und Beruf, aus dem Amerikanischen Werke Bernardino de Sahagun's (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1957), p. 32.
2. Clark, op. cit., I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the feet."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 87.

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in ꝏqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia. çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlac in oc ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [624] 535 [891] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açe atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açe qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. Tlacochcalcatl, literally: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After nemecatiliztli, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *anoço nelaoanaliztli*—or adultery.

561 681 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the [697] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injquijpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in oauhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiocachpetlatl, quauhaiocachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 651 681 344 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli:[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujmaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoalixtli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujzzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 574 431 344 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Tailpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 248-249, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada tailpilloyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca leve; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan iexque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzontequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuhca qujtzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujcaquja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchipauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. 693 [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc iehoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, iehoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja, qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machicoque, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlalilec. 695 643

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz, njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc iehoantin qujmjctia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtetepachoa, anoço qujtetequj. 693 696

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn netotilor. 535

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoalitzli, in papaqujlitzli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujnjollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçeoalli: 643

achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz qujnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujichecoaque injc qujchicaoaque in cujcatl, ioan tepoaztli, olmaitl, 643 533 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los oyen, muy diligentemente, y graues, llamandos el señor: para que los conuencian juntamente con treze principales, muy calificados, que eran el audiencia, y residian."

7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezoaoacatlailotlac; ezoaoacatl appears as a pochteca.

The title Tlacochcalcatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.

8. Can tlapic: que le probably meant (cf. ibid.).

9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 164, 281, 293; II, pp. 318, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 108, and III, p. 53.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

In this rapid sketch, we have failed to find, among aboriginal 681
modes of punishment, two which were common to almost every nation of the old world, namely: whipping, and imprisonment.

Whipping, beating, or lashing was, among the Mexicans as well as amongst all American natives, known only as a *deadly insult*. It is nevertheless true that the Mendoza Codex contains pictures representing a Mexican father who applies to a son the rod of punishment.[142] Again, the candidate for the office of chief had to endure beating[143] along with the other sufferings incident to his time of trial. But no "bondsman" was ever whipped or flogged, neither was a criminal subjected to this degrading penalty, for which death would have been a thousand times preferable.[144]

The Mexicans had places of confinement—dark and gloomy 697
recesses with entrances compared to "pigeon-holes."[145] Every official building, and also the places of worship contained them. They were called: "place of the taken one," "teilpiloyan;"[146] "place of entombment or confinement," "Tecaltzaqualoyan,"[147] and "house of wood," Quauhcalli."[148] The latter, which is particularly described as a wooden cage placed within a dark chamber, was reserved for those whose doom was sealed, whether they were criminals sentenced to immediate execution, or captives to

heredades. en recordar las ceremonias de la religion. y en contribuir á conservar la [212]
memoria de los sucesos más notables, que aun con ese auxilio habria perecido, á no perpetuarse en las tradiciones recogidas por los primeros predicadores del Evangelio."

[142] "*Mendoza Codex*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plates LX, part 3), the boy being nine years old.

[143] *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII. p. 157). *Torquemada* (Lib XI, cap. XXIX, p. 382). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII. p. 473), etc., etc.

[144] It was no dishonor to suffer tortures, but whipping was a deadly insult, as among other Indians.

[145] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 128): "Tenian las cárceles dentro de una casa oscura y de poca claridad, y en ella hacian su jaula ó jaulas; y la puerta de la casa que era pequeña como puerto de palomar, cerrada por defuera con tablas, y arrimadas grandes piedras." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 353).

[146] *Molina* (II, p. 94), "teilpi"—el que prende o encarcela a otro"—"teilpiliztli" "prendimiento tal." (Id. I, p. 98). "prender" "niteylpia." Among the 78 edifices of the great central place of worship. *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix. p. 210) mentions one place "Acatlayiacapan Veicalpulli" "esta era una casa donde juntaban los esclavos que habian de matar á honra de los Tlaloques." (Id., Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 204. Cap. XXI, p. 209) mentions "jaila" in connection with the official house or "tecpan." That the different calpulli or "barrios" had each its places of confinement is noticed by *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 187): "Los calpixques los recoulan y los ponian en las casas de sus comunidades ó del sacerdote de tal barrio."

[147] *Molina* (II, p. 91): "Tecalli" a vault, "casa de bóveda." Since the Mexicans had no arches, it meant actually a tomb.

[148] *Molina* (II, p. 86): "Jaula grande de palo, adonde estanan los presos por sus delitos."

681 And then also at that time died those who were in jail, who were there for something which de-
696 manded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no ichoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he
761 was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: cã ichoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquixtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilquixtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujzçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

x 787 And when someone was then born,[3] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend.
851 But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

x 787 And also it was said that he who was then born
754 a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into
791 something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlãciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla macecoalli, no iubquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moqujxtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jzqujch tlauelilocaiotl, cicamotznequj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlallacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teioiolmala-

3. An additional phrase in the *Real Palacio* MS will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo malitaya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún." *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significa . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del epíperio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*] . . . *De esta primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se concibe el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejecutar obras: que no con del hombre consiste; hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un tonalli poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahuali*, *nahuale*, "*perro arisco, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'cegador, deslumbrar' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo aparentes, embauca a las gentes. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: nahualoaqui, cegar deslumbrado, con capuzio, encantamento: nahualtzoltia, tomar algo o otro con cautela o disimulación; nahualtlachia, sonhar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de tonalli o un derivado suyo.*"

Ib Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llaman* nahual). . . .

". . . *quando el niño nace, el demonio por el pacto expreso o tacito que sus padres tuvieron con el, le dedica o asigna al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como decir por duelo de su naturaleza y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste pacto quedo el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierto la denominacion y significacion del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raizes que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio, la tercera, ordenar o rebajarse, y aunque es conveniente para que se entiendan las dos primeras significaciones, no quadra mas la tercera, que es del verbo nahualtia que es ocultarse cubriendose con algo, que viene a ser la misma que rebajarse, y asi, nahualli dira rebajado, o despojado debajo de la apariencia del tal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *infra*.

42

1 a [i.e., the day One Rain. - Ana lyst]

721 **Twenty-sixth Chapter,** *in* which it is told how
696 these rulers (upon the day sign mentioned) proclaimed war. And at that time were sentenced those who were to die.[1]

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo: vncan motenecoa, in quenjn ichoantin tlatoque (in jpan in tonalli omotenecuh) iaotlatoaia, ioan vncan tlatzontequjlilloia in mjqujztli ipan catca.

701 When already the election ceremony had taken
721 place, with festivity,[2] [the newly-elected rulers] disposed themselves for war to be declared. Also in this way it was said that for a second time, in war, the rulers would hold the election ceremony. Then to a considerable degree did the chieftains, the strong, cast their lot with him. They were urged and thrust upon him that they might show him their skill and aid him; so that they might take captives for him. This was because in this way they sought, dedicated themselves to, and gained their drink and food, and their capes, through the help of which they would live and have raiment; and he would honor them, etc. They would become his standard-bearing warriors, who, it was said, courted danger, hurled themselves against the foe, and joined in the fray.

In jquac ie omotecpac tecoanotzaliztica: njman ie no cuele oalmotlalia injc iaotlatolo, no ic mjtoa ic oppa iaoc motecpacaz in tlatoanj, iquac cenca ipan mopepena in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, ipan netotocholo, nemamalioa, injc qujtlamatilizque, qujpalevizque, injc ichoan uel qujtlamaltizque, ipampa ca qujxtoca, ipan mjxpoa, qujmototoqujlia in jtuh, in jtlaqual, in jtilma, injc ipal nemjzque, ipallaquemjzque, qujnmaujzçotiz, Er[a]. itlaujcecaoan mochioazque in mjtoa: injc aqujtiaçotla in jntzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, teca momotla, teujc mopetlatiuj:

696 And it was also said that on this [day sign] One Dog a court of justice was held. Then was sentence pronounced upon those who were to die. And at this time were released and freed those who had done nothing serious. And they absolved of their crimes those who had suffered injustice for no apparent crime or discernible fault, and had served and paid a penalty for it: those who had only wrongly been imprisoned for some invented wrong, who only paid and atoned another's fault or crime, or perhaps served in another's place. Perhaps they imprisoned one for another's fault. So they had been forced into bondage and had become slaves. At once they bathed there at Chapultepec to lay aside their crimes.[3]

ioan mjtoa no ipan tecutlatoloia injn ce itzcujntli, vncan tlatzontequjlilloia in jmpan ca mjqujztli: auh iquac qujxtiloia, caoaloia, in amo cenca ovi ic caie, ioan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti, in amo cenca melaçac, in amo uel ixnezquj, in amo cenca uel neztica ic tlacoti, ic tlanamjquj in aço çan tlapictli qujtzaqua, çan tlapiqujloque, çan ixpopoiotlanamjctiloque, ixpopoiotlanamjcque, aço çan tepon in tlaiccoa, aço çan tecujtl in qujtzaqua, injc cujtiloque in victli, mecapalli, injc victique, mecapaltique, iquac njman vmpa onmaaltia, in chapultepec, injc qujncaoa, intlatlaculi:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en el mismo amonestaron a muerte, a los que por algũ gran crimen, estavan presos.*"

2. *Ibid.*: "*En acabando de hacer la fiesta de la dedication de su señorio, . . . asi de mostrar la grandeza de su señorio.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chapter xli: Ma chapultepec ximaltl. In the Garibay ed., VI, 41, 67, the corresponding Spanish text reads: "Dicen irse a bañar a Chapultepec, o querría poder irme a bañar a Chapultepec. — *Este refrán dice el que ha tenido alguna gran enfermedad o algún cargo pesado, con deseo de estar libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad, dice:* Ma chapultepec ximaltl, *que quiere decir, bañarme he ya en aquel remedio cuando este cargo o enfermedad se me quitare. Chapultepec es una fuente que está cerca de México, muy buena; los que se bañan en ella piensan que les hace dicir gran merced. Así, este adagio se de los mexicanos.*"

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

697 be sacrificed forthwith.[149] The two former kinds of prisons were used for lighter degrees of offenders. At any rate they were but temporary places of detention, for any prisoner left there for any length of time invariably died of hunger, filth, and bad air. Permanent confinement simply meant death.[150]

618 The execution of all these penalties necessarily presupposed for the kin a regulated administration. It therefore leads us to the governmental machinery proper of the calpulli. The nature of this government is expressed by the following rule of kinship, already found in vigor among more northern Indians.

The kin had the right to elect its officers, as well as the right to remove or depose them for misbehavior.[151]

This at once establishes the calpulli, as we have already stated in several places, to be an autonomous body, enjoying self-government, consequently a DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION. The truth of this we intend to show by an investigation of the different offices to which the care of the kin's business was committed.

A *council*, consisting of a number of old men, formed the highest authority of the calpulli. How many they were is not stated, but it is probable that their number varied according to that of the members of the kin. Medicine-men may, also, have been members of this body, which held its meetings at intervals in the official house of the "quarter." It exercised criminal jurisdiction as well as civil, and attended to all grave questions affecting the kinship. It is also stated that, on certain occasions, a general meeting of all the members of the calpulli was convened.[152]

[149] No better illustration of the "Quauhcalli" can be found than that given by *H. H. Bancroft* ("Native Races," cap. XIV, p. 453. Volume II).

[150] The cruel and unwholesome nature of aboriginal places of detention previous to the conquest is amply stated. As it is very justly remarked by *Mr. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 453): "They had prisons, it is true, and very cruel ones, according to all accounts, but it appears that they were more for the purpose of confining prisoners previous to their trial, or between their condemnation and execution, than permanently, for punishment." To the authorities quoted by the celebrated Californian, I will add here in further support of his views (and mine), *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 442): "Las cárceles eran bajas, húmedas y escuras, para que temiesen de entrar allí." *Velancurt* (Vol. I, Part II. Trat. II, cap. I, p. 370). *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. XCIX, p. 178): "mandóles llevar á la carcel á todos, que llamaban cuauacalco, que era á manera de una caja, como cuando entapian ahora alguna persona, que les dan de cómer por onzas."

[151] "*Ancient Society*" (Part. II, chapter II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Chap. VIII, p. 225, Cap. XI. pp. 285 and 297).

[152] It is singular that this council of the kin or "gens," while some parts of its functions are preserved in nearly every author, has as a body been so generally overlooked. *Zurita* (pp. 55 and 56) says: "the chief does nothing without consulting the other old men of the calpulli." Indirect evidence of it is given by *Sahagun* (Lib. II, cap.

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PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

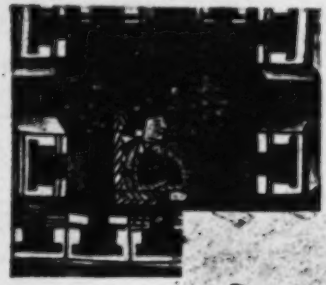

Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

[326]

Thief

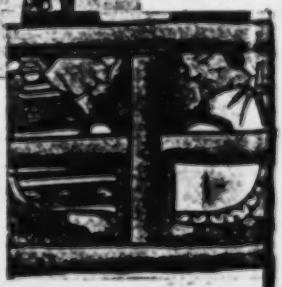

[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

[701
411
714]

[p. 112(B)]

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affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the 624
young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated 618
the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to 646
the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body 701
elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were [615]
evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the 701
abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In 643
Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-ca'-la.

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701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

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776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladiatorial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in [796 701] ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca, likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec religion.* (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year. His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this symbolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly [796 782] flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59, bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,* (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,† "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,‡ "Flower

*Chee-co'-me-co-atl.
†Shee-lo'-nen.
‡Sho-chee-kay-tza'l.

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727 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval
775 knight or career soldier in our own culture.[8]
782

721 The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral
726 sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

701 The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[8]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its 701
military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The 702
telpuchcalli, houses of youth, through which boys passed [883]
at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with 411
sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl.* Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For de- 714
fensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

X 796 301 maize;[26] with coyote heads made of a paste of amaranth seeds; with S-shaped *tortillas* and thick rolls[27] covered with a paste of amaranth seeds and with toasted maize on top; and red amaranth, which was really red feathers, and maize stalks with ears of green or tender maize.

X 796 535 After midday, the priests rested. Thereupon the Tenochca and the Tlatelulca came together, two rows of Tenochca and two rows of Tlatelulca facing each other. All danced very slowly; the dance proceeded in harmony. Then all emerged, coming out of the palace gate, and all arranged themselves. Moctezuma came forth with them; he came out dancing. At his right and left came two great princes, Neçaualpilli of Texcoco and Totoquiuaztli, ruler of the Tepaneca. Great solemnity reigned as all danced.

And when it was already dark, when it was already night, all dispersed. Then began the singing and dancing [with interlocked hands];[28] there danced
●[701] the novice warriors, the chief warriors—those who had captured four captives or more, as well as those who had taken one or two. And these were named also young leaders. And also the princes danced. And likewise women danced with them—those known as
[548] mothers, but only if they wished; they were not forced. And also immodest women, harlots.

And then all departed, when midnight was nigh, when trumpets had been blown. For twenty days it continued in this manner, until the Feast of Toçoztontli arrived.

cujllaxcalli, teumjmjlli, çan no tzoalli ic qujpepechoaia, qujmomochiotiaia panj: yoan oaubchichilli, çan tlapalhujtl catca, yoan cintopilli, eloio, anoço xiloio.

Yn omotzcalo tonatiuh, moceuja in tlamacazque, njman ic ic monepanuja, montlamanuja, in tenuchca in tlatilulca, vmpanti in tenuchca, no vmpanti in tlatilulca, mixnamjctiuj, cenca çan yujian, yn netotilo, cenca vel cooamantiuh in netotiliztli: njman oalqujxoa intecpa qujiaoac, oalnemanalo, oalteujca in motecuçoma, oalmjtotitiuh, qujtzatzacutouitze, qujoalitzcatitiuj, vmentin veueintin tlatoque Neçaoalpilli tetzcuco, totoqujouztli, tepanecapan tlatoanj: vel mauiztli oonoc in nehtotiloia.

Auh ic tlaqoiaoa, ic tlaixcuecuetziuj in necacaoalo, njman ic peoa, in cujcoanolo, mjtotiaia in telpuchtequjoaque, teachcaoa, in nauj cacitinemj, yn anoce oc quezqujnti ymalhoan: yoã in ce, vme, cacitinemj. Auh no motocaiotiaia hy, telpuchiiaque: no yoan in tlatoque mitotia. Auh no tehoan in cioa mjtotia: mjtoa tenaoan, çan illo tlama, amo tequjuhtiloia: auh çan no ieholtin yn aujianjme, in maaujltia.

Auh iquac necaoaloia, in ie hiciuhtiuh, ioalnepantla tlatlapitzaliztpa: cempoalilhujtl, yn iuh tlamanca, yn iuh tlamanja: vmpa onaci yn ipan toçoztontli.

26. Cf. Pane y Trasmoza, op. cit., p. 199: ". . . *es decir, las tortillas de tamales de maíz que se guardaban para esta fiesta envolvíanlas por encima tortillas del mismo de los mismos.*"
27. See Anderson and Dibble (op. cit., p. 14). Possibly these resembled the wrapped loaves in Pl. 12.
28. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (Orizaba, México: n. p., 1940), pp. 80, 219. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*unos tomados de las manos, unos demandando unos enlazando.*"

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[9] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatozin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech cloth reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiouali*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey tocoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlamman; the fourth, Uixtocioatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa quijquijxtiaia: in motenene xuchinespãtli.

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaxpololli: yoan conaquijaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuxcatl, yn jcuxquj, oc cepa yielpancuxquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ic yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatozi, iuhquijn icpaxiquijpilli:

njman ic nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel quitlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quixquentiuh, iuhquijn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynic tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quimetztopeoa:

auh njman ic ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: iehoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquiztl: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in iehoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ic oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ic itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ic itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl quittaia, mocioaostiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh quitepeoaia, quixtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhquijnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaxtazel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech quijlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncinacuchtinemi, yn onciaoaotinemj: nauijotin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no ceziuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynic vme xilone, ynic ey Atlatona, ynic nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ic itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

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301
[306]
[292]
796
[584
545]
[302
701]
[283
301]
[833]
[551]

9. "Unos arquillos de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llevaban a las orejas, en ornamento como bolas, de un palmo en quadro de lienzo blanco, con sus bordes y flecadura" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo edition), Vol. II, p. 330.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 143. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma corvina, comunmente llamada madera de los cabellos, dos bordes con sus flecaxos, bordes de plumas, y eso, y turbaxuel, muy corvinas, que eslan blancuzcas amarillas." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 98) describes "The first head of quetzalli [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, xpoxcicuc xihuitl, because of the resemblance between its turbaxuel or red ribbon's fur; the ground of which is turbaxuel in a separate of dark red, has separate of white feathers. The fringe is also of red turbaxuel." From this, it would appear that turbaxuel is red string, and turbaxuel is red downy of white birds.

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[3]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with short hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maizanaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiiovizia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjquian catca. 796 796

Auh in jnqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izquilhujtl cujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepezzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tletecq tlavilter, ipan in tlavilterl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlavilterl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlaterl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujlterl, hoontlacujtlanaoaterlli: auh ynjc quaqauhtic catca, cecen quapantli: 372

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalqujxoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: ichoantin in mazujltia, yn aujenjme: ichoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquijxtilti: 548

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan ichoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan. 302 565

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn ihcue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamolinhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio. 796 292

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtozquj much uetei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtotia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquiac qujoalteca. 302

Auh amo mopotonja, amono moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichioaia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioa catca, ichoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin. 622 301 304 701

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, [illegible] may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For [illegible], Sahagún has "we extend."

X 796 and long rows of all the varied flowers, the most beautiful flowers, the threaded ones.

778 Then flowers were offered to all the rest of the gods, to the images of the gods, [or] devils. They were adorned with flowers; they were girt with [garlands of] them; flowers were placed upon their heads, there in the temples.

Thereupon all together, in all the houses, the homes of the majordomos, the homes of the great noblemen, and the houses of the youths, they laid flowers out [before the idols]. And they spread them out in the homes of each and all.

X 796 And afterwards, when each had been ornamented, then there were feasting and drinking. Everywhere, everyone ate; all were in a festive mood.

535 And when midday came, then all sang and danced —verily, they drew up all the youths; the masters and the leaders of the young men, the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí.[4] Here in the god's courtyard there was dancing—in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli.

● [701] And those who led [the dance] were the fearless warriors, the great warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who were not laggards in war; who turned [the enemy] back, [whose exploits] wheeled them hence.

[548] Also the women danced—not the daughters [of onlookers, but] courtesans, harlots—who went between [pairs of the men], they were [all] stretched in a row, taken by the hand or grasped about the waist. They moved all in line: they went winding to and fro, nowhere breaking the line, at no time losing hands. They went in orderly procession.

[533] And the singers, who sang for them, who beat drums for them, who beat the ground drums, were quite apart [from the dancers]—to one side; they were upon a [counterfeit] house, upon the round

[778] altar [or pyramid].[4] And the altar was completely round, round like a shield, like a millstone. And here, upon this, stood [the musicians].

And thus they danced: they did not leap, nor make great movements; they did not make dance gestures; they did not move throwing themselves about, nor dance making arm-movements, nor go bending their

nepapan xuchitl, in tlapoxuchitl, in manqui, in tlamatli:

njman ie ic tenuchimaca, cenvetzi in iaquichtin teteu, yn iniixiptlaoan teteu, tlatlacatecuio, tenuchitilo, tenuchiapano, teicpacxuchitilo, in vncan in tetempan:

njman ie ic cenvetzi in noujan calpan, in calpinque inchan, in vetzi pipilti inchan: yoan in tetelpuchcali, quiceentzacotimanj, quiceentzacotimomana in techachan.

Auh in ie iuhqui yn otecencaoaloc mec tlatlaquaio, hastlioa: noujan tlatlaquaio, yilhujtlamacho.

Auh yn oacic nepantla ionatiuh mec cujoiauaio, vel iaquich quicencaoa, in telpuchtli, in teachcaoan, in telpuchiaque, in tequioque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in teuitoalco, yn itualco Vitzilopochtli.

Auh in teiacana, ichoantin in quaquachicti, in vetzi tiacaoã yn iuhqui cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mitzacujlia iaoc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoanj.

No ichoantin in cioa mjetoiaia, amo ichoan in teichpuchoan, ichoantin in mahaujltianj, yn aviaujme intzatzalan mantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mocujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, moccolotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacaoa vipantiuj.

Auh in cujcanjme, in quincujcatia, in quintlatzotzonjlia, quinuetzotzonjlia, çan nonqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emomortitech: auh in momortli, çan iaoaltic, teujlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn itlan manj.

Auh ynic mjtotia, amo chocholoa, amono ontlayiaoa, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlazziuj, amo

[701] 3. Here and elsewhere, the following equivalents are offered: quaquachictli—fearless warrior; cujcatlalli—youth; tlacatecuhtli—master of the youths; telpuchtlatoani—ruler of the youths; telpuchtlapixqui—leader of the youths; tequioque or yaoquique—seasoned warrior. To a degree, each designation can, perhaps, be arbitrary. The suggested equivalents, however, are based upon the following passages from Sahagún (Bustamante ed.): Vol. I, p. 252, and Vol. II, pp. 187, 267 (quaquachictin, tequioque); Vol. I, pp. 132, 168, 182, 199, 215, 289, 291, and Vol. II, p. 162 (telpuchtli); Vol. I, pp. 168, 291, and Vol. II, pp. 310, 319 (tlacatecuhtli); Vol. I, p. 291 (telpuchtlatoani); Vol. II, p. 321 (yaoquique). See also Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94, on cuauhtli and quaquachictli; pp. 69, 116, on tlacatecuhtli, telpuchtlatoani; Vol. II, pp. 32, 95, 96, 136 on tequioque or yaoquique; Garibay (Libro del cielo, p. 243) on telpuchtlatoani; Soler, op. cit., p. 158 (telpuchtlatoani), p. 144 (tequioque), pp. 144, 158 (telpuchtlapixqui).

4. Cf. Soler, op. cit., p. 158.

x 796 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or
292 youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets
on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

301 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4]
304 And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had
lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs,
some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangu-
lar.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair
long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which
were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had]
only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates
made of small, white, sea shells. And those with
shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with
round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-
formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with
lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the
youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands,
all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought
themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands,
[which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very
costly.

x 796 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of
the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in
293 the form of birds. They carried them upright over
their heads.

[301 And the captains carried upon their shoulders
714] feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three
places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot
skin. And at the base they were wound in three
places with red string.

237 And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form
of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament;
x 796 some set up the head plumage in bird form; some
the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they
placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong
was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

x 796 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed
a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek
302 ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And
some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in iaquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaxi, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn jncuechin, muchi tenjxo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

auh in tiaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jxtenpilol, quinamictia, cequj aujtlatzti, cequj itzcujxtenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzetzocoleque, ymachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn iaquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomij, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh y.ı quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in tetotenpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in mocecenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquiaia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intotolamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmatiaia, ezcan yictiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelueoatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintlã ezcan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xilozochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotol in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chucholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçaeoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tiltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has down Perlenfischbein for pearl-mother-layer.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

874 **Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the customs which they practised and observed in order to live there, where they were reared and ripened [in] the young men's house.**

And when he entered the young men's house, then [the leaders] charged him with sweeping [of the house] and with the laying of fires. And then they had him begin the penances. When there was singing at night (which was called song with dance), there he consorted with the others, he danced with the others. With the others there was conversation; songs were composed.

And when [he was] yet an untried youth,[1] then they took him into the forest. They had him bear upon his back what they called logs[2] of wood—perchance now only one, or, then, two. Thus they tested whether perhaps he might do well in war when, still an untried youth, they took him into battle. He only went to carry a shield upon his back.

And when [he was] already a youth, if mature and prudent, if he was discreet in his talking, and especially if [he was] of good heart, then he was made a master of youths; he was named *tiachcauh*. And if he became valiant, if he reached manhood, then he was named ruler of youths (*telpochtlato*). He governed them all; he spoke for all the youths. If one [of them] sinned, this one judged him; he sentenced [the youths] and corrected them. He dealt justice.

874 701 And if he was brave, if he took four [captives], then he attained [the office of] commanding general,[3] general,[4] [or] chief.[5] And also [in those days] one rose to be called constable.[6] Today it is the same, and he is known as *alguacil* [or. constable], he who

Injc. 5. capítulo: itechpa tlatoa intlamanitiliz, ynjc vncan nenca, in quichioaia in quitequipanoaia yn vncã muncahtiaia moospanoaia telpuchcali.

Auh in iquac ocalac in telpuchcali, niman vel quitequitia in tlachpanalli, in tletlalilizttli. auh njman conpeualtia in tlamaceualizttli: yn iquac cujco iocaltica (in mjtoa: cuicanolo), vncan tehoan nemj, tehoan mjtoria, tehoan mjtoa cujcojanoja.

auh in ie telpuchtontli, njman quivica in quauhtla, quimamaltia, in quilhuja mimiliuhquj quavitl, aço çan oc centetl, anoço niman vncan onteti ic qujciecoa, yn aço ie vel aciz iaoc, in ie vel telpuchticationtli, quivica in iaoc, çan oc chimalli in qujmamatiuh.

auh in ie vel telpuchtli, intla moncalia, intla mimati, in tlauhmelaoac. auh oc cenca ichoatl intla ioneio yiollo, njman tachcauhtlalilo, tocaiotilo, Tiachcauh, auh jntla ovelmacic oqujchtli, intla oc cenca moncalia, niman tocaiotilo Telpuchtlato, quincenpachoa, qujncẽtlatalhuja im inqujchtin telpuchtin, in oc tlatlacoa, ichoatl quitlatzontequilia, q'ntlatzontequilia, qujntlatlalilia, quichioa Justicia:

auh intla oquichti intla navi mani, vncan quiça in tlacatecatl, in tlacochcalcatl, in quauhtlato: auh no vncan quiça, in quilhuja achcauhtli, yn axcan ipan pori, ipan momaci in alguaçil, in topile, ca no intoto-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a los quatro años.*"
2. Mindladen quantity: literally, round wealth.
3. Cf. Andrews and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, p. 114, n. 15. The corresponding Spanish text here "capitan, y governador al pueblo." Sahagún, in *Rivage Kapital*, p. 343, translates *tlacatecatl* as lord of the dwelling, and in *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 65-66, describes him as an officer of justice, a messenger, a military captain—offices given his life by the rulers, other rulers they appointed in the house. He also says *tlacochcalcatl* is the same as *tiachcauh*. Durán calls him "príncipe, é caudillo, é otro superior dicho" (op. cit., p. 124). Sandoval (op. cit.) defines it as "Tiene autoridad en soldados valerosos que saben hacer quatro cautivos é la guerra; un hombre cuerdo en tiempo en gobierna que encomendaba sus cargos de Reyes hombres, oficiales alguacilli (Ind., Chan.)."
4. Cf. Andrews and Dibble, loc. cit. Sahagún, in *Rivage Kapital*, translates *tlacochcalcatl* as lord of the spear house, and in *Collected Works*, loc. cit., identifies him as the same as the *tlacatecatl*. He adds that four chiefs held the highest office, directed the four main divisions of the Mexican tribe, and formed the king's special council; these were the *cuauhtlatoqui*, the *tlacatecatl*, the *tlacochcalcatl*, and the *tlilancalqui*. Sandoval (op. cit.) defines the *cuauhtlatoqui* as "Magistrado, juez en materias civiles," and also as "gobernador, capitanes."
5. Sandoval (op. cit.): "Un diligente cuidado de soldados que saben hacer quatro cautivos é la guerra; un hombre cuerdo que se hace la chief de sus pueblos (Ind.)."
6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*son cosas agora alguacil, y tenjo sus guardas, y procedia a los delinquentes, y los pensja en la carcel.*"

874 [701] beareth a staff. For also [in times past] they had staves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

pil catca, yoan in ça ie ichoantin in onteilpiaia, in quauhcalco ontetlaliaia,

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

yxquich y, in jnpauetziliz, in inpauechiliz in telpupuchti.

874 And in this way of life, few showed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriors]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

auh injn nemiliztli amo çan quexquichtin in ipan nenca, in ipan mooapaoaia, amo çã tlapoalti in motocaiotiaia telpupuchti, ipampa ca çan njmã amo tecoco in jnnemiliz in telpupuchti, ca in oc pipiltotonti, vncan cencochi in quilhuja telpuchcali vncan cemonoque.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud[7] [for *adobes,* making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

auh in aqujn poliuja, in amo telpuchcalco cochi, quitlatzacujltiaia, yoan inchan ontlaquia. auh cemololiuhtiui in canpa tlein quichioa, in aço pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, quichioa, motquitiui, anoço motzexeloa. auh quzuhtla uj, concuj, conmama in quilhuia cuicatlauilli:

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but not—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

auh ĩ ça achi tonatiuh quicaoa in tlein quichioa, njman mocencaoa, muchichioa, achtopa mahaltia, njman môça, amo no quilhuja in inxaiac nima mocozcatia.

874 301 The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.[8] Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they pasted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted *maguey* fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shorn ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

Yn oquichtin in tiacaoan, vevej chipoli in qujmocozcatia, anoço teucujtlacozcatl, motlacuechmanilia, motlaeoatimanilia, njman mjchio, mjtoaia motliltzotia hapetztli ic conpotonja, in jnechioal, monacochtia, moxixjuhnacochtia, moztatia, mochalcacatia, ynjn chalcaiatl tlamalintli in jcpatl, tlatlalpitl, iuhqujn matlatl cillo, in tlatoque teucujtlacillo in jnchalcaaiauh, in quaquachicti inchalcaisuh mjtoa xoxocoio, ynjc mjtoa xoxocoio, veveypupul in itech qujpipiloa icpatetl,

874 535 When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

yn iõc ie onaqui tonatiuh njman tleteca in quilhuja cujcacalco, tlehquazco in tletletlalia telpupuchti, in ie tlaixmiqui, niman peoalo in cujco, muchi tlacatl

7. The word *pololli,* as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make *adobes.*

8. In *Kroeber Kapitel* (p. 344, n. 1), Seler offers a variant for *motlacuechmanilia* and *motlaeoatimanilia.* *Cuechli* and *cuatl,* however, may be warriors' garments, as here translated.

X 796 [534] horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they reached the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] tramped upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

[417 778] And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [home] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to her home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled ● [701] the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his eagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers] [352] of an eagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

qujtzotzontivi in teponaztontli, itech tlaçalolli, atecontontli: ie injc moteneoa, tecomapiloa.

In oacito tzompantitlan: njmã ic conjoça in jveveuh: auh in tequjoaque, ie qujchixtoque: vncan oneoa in jmexxaiac injc qujcaoazque iauc: vncã oneoa colollhujtivi in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, in tlaçanj: cenca motlaloa.

Auh in oacito, in vmpa contlalianj in iaupan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacaztlan in iztac tepetl: itocaiocan, popotl temj: aivian in contlalia, qujpoaltoca: anoce qujntoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in ocõtlalito quauhticpac, in jmexxaiac: mec viloatz, mec no vi in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ichoatl Toci: in ocõcaosto, iconeuh: njman ie ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxoa in tiacaoã, in jxqujchtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ie ixqujchtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelittoque in tiacaoan, in jiolloco chicaoaque, in amo qujtlaçotla in intzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjquj̃zmauhq̃, in vel in ca momotla in toiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocenqujxoac: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecuçoma, ichoatica quauhpetlapan, vel ichoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipeoalli in jpan coatica, yoan ocelotepotzoicpalli in jpan motlazzica, vel ie in ocelotl yieoaio, injc tlaqujmjlolli icpalli:

11. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 306) translates *ic mocuecueyaz iovcuch quixtia in ceu que ic dada*: "*golpea su tambori.*" The corresponding Spanish text implies use of the foot (*pear*).

12. See note 22.

13. The importance of these officers above warriors, chiefs, and so on, is suggested by the following passages (*in* Sahagún (Rubendo ed.), Vol. II):

". . . *aquellos que han de tener cargo de regir la república, o han de ser tlacatecatl, o tlacochcalcatl, dadles habilidad para que sean padres y madres de la gente de guerra que andan por los campos y por los montes, y sabed los rostros, y desviandolos o las barrancas, y en su mano ha de estar el sustentar o matar a los enemigos y criaturas. . . .*" (p. 53).

". . . *los padres y madres del sol, que se llama tlacatecatl (y) tlacochcalcatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al sol y a la tierra, con la sangre y carne de sus enemigos; estos son los que tienen por riquezas la rodela y las armas, y allí mueren las aves reales y las bestias reales, y las borlas de la cabeza y las aparejos de las mudanzas. . . .*" (p. 163).

". . . *sobre los soldados y capitanes había dos principales que los regían, el uno era tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; el uno de los dichos era pilli y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra, y siempre parecían un noble con un soldado para estar afuera. También para capitanes generales de las cosas de la guerra parecían dos, uno noble, o generoso y del palacio, y otro valiente, y muy ejercitado en la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; estos ordenaban las cosas de la guerra, y en ordenar todas las cosas que concernían a la milicia*" (p. 167).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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532
[796
643]

[366
262]
415]

[643
701]
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—After Paso y Troncoso

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

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[291
302]

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714]

[283
286]

[701
714
793
411]

[723]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*uipilli, cuaitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc trixpan tetepacholoc. 672 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenotzaia in tiacaboan in jpampa iaujotl. 672

Tequjoacatcalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneiscaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in ꝏqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcaboan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [624] 535 [591] [301] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açoatl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açoquauhtica qujnujujtequj trixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujxtli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlacochcalcatl, literally:* see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *conmantiuj*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *amoçe tetlacuitlaualli*—or adultery.

643 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the
701 Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquata. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in
[687] among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacauitztli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

tiacahoan, in oqujchtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchnemj in pipilti.

auh in ie iubquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oqujchiuh. Niman qujnnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxqujchtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz; in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in qujnmacaz, in qujntlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oqujchtin in iauteoatoque, in iubquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto qujnnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxqujch chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, qujncaqujtia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz ce altepetl: qujntlauhtia, in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan qujnmaca, in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic qujnnaoatia: in jxqujch in jmaçeoal, injc iauqujçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oqujchtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixqujchtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, qujnmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in ixqujchtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch acolhoacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, in jxqujch tepanecatl, no çemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxqujch moquataitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oaxioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in ichoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teumaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan qujça, çan njmen vncã qujnmjctia, qujnujujtequj, in aqujn tlaixneloznequj: tetlan qujçaznequj, in oommoten ixqujch iauqujzquj, in ie inman in ooalhuetz acaujztli, in tlaioalli injc tlaiocalcujoaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca mochiia in tletl, in quenman cue-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "Mandaua luego, a los calpixques, que llenassen armas, a todos los principales, para si, y para sus soldados; y entonces los notificaua a su gente, y les daua armas."

3. Tonatiuh, tlachinoltempan: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 103 (lugares para la guerra ordenados), and p. 105 (los lugares de las batallas).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

Injc caxtolli onome cap^t, vncan mjtoa in jnneiehecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn vel qujchioazque intequjuh, in jntlatocaio. 643

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in tlatecpanalizztli, in qujtitlanja injc iauqujçaia. 643 701

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca in iauiotl, injc iehoatl qujtzontequj, qujtecpana, qujçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads—where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in campa oujca, in campa ic calacoaz, in ic iuhquj achto oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlali: in altepetl, in poliujz, ic onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui vtli, in campa oujcan, quezqujcan in calacoaz. 643 723 [102]

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

Niman ic qujoalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumácazque in quezqujcan calaquiz iauqujzquj, in quezquilhujtl monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc iehoantin, iautlatozque qujnnaoatizque: in jxqujch in qcauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioã tlaujztli.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos—the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Aztacalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzintepec. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

Auh in iehoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in jxqujchtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauhnaoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl: tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappanecatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl, matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl, axocopanecatl, itzcujncujtlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aiotzintepecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc qujoalcujzque, in jxqujch in jnpiel, in tlacalaqujlli, in tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli in cozric teucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jxqujch tlaçochimalli. 643 714

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

Auh in jcoac oqujoalitqujque in calpixque: in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli: iichoatl tlatoanj, njman qujcencaoa qujntlaujzmaca in jxqujchtin tlaçopipilti, in ic imjxco ca iautilizztli: ioan in jxqujchtin 643 701

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

nemjz qujcujtlaujltia in tlamaceoaliztli, in ioaltica in acxoiatlaliliztli içaçocampa acxoiatlalitiuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali qujcalaquja, inmac concaoa in tiachcaoan, qujcujtlaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianoliztli, in jxquich tlamantli tlamaçeoaliztli mochioaia.

565 868 ●701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

Auh in jcoac ie caxtolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamachtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl injc qujça iauc, in iehoantin tequjoaque achtopa qujnnotza qujntlaqualtia qujmatlitia, ioan qujntlauhtia in jxqujchtin tequjoaque, in qujnmaca aço quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman qujtlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ie no iuhquj in omjto tlacpac injc qujntlatlauhtia.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[3] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

Auh njman ic qujhujca, in iauc: vel qujmocujtlaujtiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel qujmachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautioa, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcoac ie mochioa iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, uel conjttitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlamaz: aço njmã tepallama, anoço njman vel ic açi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochioa.

[202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiqujça in tequjtque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in qujoalnonotztiuetzi motecuçuma:

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[3] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Matlatzinca,

auh in oacico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma qujlhuja. Totecujoe notelpoczine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujtzilobuchtli, ca otepan qujtopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca oia in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatitiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepanecatl, in aculhoa, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie ixqujch tlalhoacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. *Vel ic cuei*: the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ce* for *ic*.
3. *Tlatlamatitiaque*: Kondon, *op. cit.*—*tlalamatitiaque*.

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiauhque, oanqujhjoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican açoçan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlaria qujnpopolea.

727

Auh in vmpa iuac in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oncalitila quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omuchiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

auh in qujmelauijlaia in quezqujntin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, açoçequjntin motequjoacaxima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacati. Jn çujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnqujxtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

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Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, açoçe vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in qujça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chimalpanecatl*: Sahagún's comment on fol. 33 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y he de la *tierra seca, que son los cuexomas de los chimalpan*."

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the
●701 back of the head." And if this was so said of him,
he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast him-
self [into the fray] in order to take a captive with
others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who
then did not take a captive with the aid of others
might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his
head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn:
it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they
shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiacalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his
lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair
had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only
another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his
small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken
captives, if he took one, was therefore named a lead-
ing youth and a captor. And when this came to pass,
then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the
palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the
majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples
with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiacaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ispan quiuica in motecuçoma in umpa tlatocãn. Auh ipan ipan motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecoçauhuia in icalpiscahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine
colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech
clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear
capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoacanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took
him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and like-
wise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young
men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There
he reared the young men, there where there was song
and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacatecaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoiaocoaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitecoçauhuia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yoaoc ompa quimpaxoaia*—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*una manta con unas listas labradas de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras colores labores de colorado que se llamaua colotlapalli; y . . . un manto labrado de colorado, largo que arrastraua bien colgado, y otro manto labrado de todos colores.*"

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Cinatecpanecatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[3] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlisco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[4] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atliaco or[5] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[6] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic naui caci ieh icoac quitequioacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compeoaltia in tequioacatocaitl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnaoacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in isquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac contlalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquiztoque in ueuei tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociaoacatl, tocuiltecatl, atenpanecatl, ichoantin quauhiaca i, tẽçacaoaque cuitlasnacochique qiauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. 701 [293]

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlisco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui tẽçacatl ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan cuetlasnacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no icoac maco in tilmatli chicoapalnacazmingui, ioan cuetlastilmatli. [43] [293] 301

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlisco anoco vexotzinco ie ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in coztic tẽçacatl iiomesti quititlani in xoxouhqui tẽçacatl. [293 301

fin

3. *Tenitl*: "*Tener valor así llamaban* [Olmecas, Uetecas, Mixtecas] *antes hacía el valeroso del sol, y llamaban también valiente, porque hablan longue labbrera*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *chilpilonti*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quauhtilpilonti*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be *auel anoço*.

6. *Quititlani*: a marginal gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS suggests that the term is mandated *auer*. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text, *auel*, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, *tilani*, *tlanis*, *tlanilia*.

7. Following *cuestecatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ie centic*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no test material]

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[2] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monestiiuitze mochintl quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im maceualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz maceualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were passed with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

auh ỹ yeoatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpiaqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in q̃pieztque. 727

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.

This passage originally, in the *Real Academia* MS, completed the section ending *tlahtol quintlachaua mochintlachtia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-que* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *discretequilia*, and *cruelmente tequilia*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*ipc uel y mahuana intemmatzcca*—is "*in richtiger Weise die Zahl der Vierhundert*."

4. *Anca*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba, Méx.: [Imprenta Mayli], 1940), p. 188; also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shorn ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wherenever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya cuztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. moteccuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh i mastlatl. 701 293 [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im moteccuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quaquauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [576]

Auh no yquac quimahcoua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya moteccuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tlilpapatlauac chichicuee çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopaltẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacozcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin i in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaotequaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. moteccuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichisticate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in 701 721

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

701 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor,
721 as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauã. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopouhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye itlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in õpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã i yaoteca.

726 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones
687 in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no omettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i moteoçcoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamabceualmacaya.

701 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] re-
431 membered him, sought him out, and drew him from
643 his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts: he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full of maize grains; and he provided him with *chia*—he weighed out two large measures of *chia*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço õxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in õya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço.ontetl y uey tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quã ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

701 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior],
726 he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlixco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

Then were drawn forth and chosen the general and the commanding general. Then the man dexterous in arms attained his end; such honor he won that no one anywhere might be adorned [like him]; no one in his [own] house might assume all his finery. For in truth [because of] his dart and his shield there was drinking and eating, and one was arrayed in cape and breech clout. For verily in Mexico were we, and thus persisted the reign of Mexico.

oncan quiztiuia oncam pepenaloya. in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl mochiuaya. oncan y tlamiani in q̃uhyotl inic pãuechouaya inic ayac çan campa onochichiuaya. ayac çan icalitic. oquicuic in isquich ynechichiual. ca nel mitl ca chimalli in oyuac in oqualoc. auh in oquemouac in tilmahtli im mastlatl. ca nel mexico in ticate ca ic mani i mexicayotl. 701

532
726

[502]

[701
502]

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

119. Spaniards attack Coyoacan (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Utzilian (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Utzilian (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horsemen spear a Tlaxilakan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Slaves cast lead from warheads (Chapter 31).

[p. 44(R)]

●701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be [301] recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he [293] disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[5] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them — in both places he had them on his arms. And the [301] golden arm bands glistened.[4] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin otomjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in tlaotonxintli, ichica amo imjxco tlachiaia in iniaovan in manel Españoles, amo tle impan qujmjttaia, vel tlacenmamauhtiaia: in jquac in qujttaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocototztlaliaia in tolaovan: auh cenca qujtemoaia, injc qujmjctizque, in aço qujtepanzmjvizque, in anoço qujtlequjqujzvizque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çã mjxpoloa injc amo ixima-chot: in quenman tlaviztli in ommaqujaia, itenpilol compiloaia, yoan itetecujtlanacoch yoã conmocoa-catia in jcoxquj chipoli, çan tlapouhtiuh in jtzon-tecon, nextiuh injc otomjtl: auh in quẽmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc ommoquaqujmjloa, auh in q̃manjan injc mjxpoloa cõmaqujaia ihujtzoncalli, quatzone quauhtlalpilonj icuexcochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh ichoatl injc tetlepantlaxoia, iuhquja tetle-pantlazquj ipã qujztiuh, qujntlaiciecalhujtiuh in tetlepantlazque itetecujtlamatemecauh necoccampa in ietiuh yiocanjxti ietiuh in jmac: auh in trecujtla-matemecatl cuecuenio auh no ie in jcxic icietiuh, cotzeoatl, trecujtlacotzeoatl çan petlanquj)

726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauh-caltitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

Auh njmã imuztlaioc in ie no cuel ceppa qujçaco in jmacal conacanaco nonoalco, aiauhcaltitli: auh njman no qujçaco in tlacxipanvia yoan in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl yoan otomjtl, vel tonac in qujntepeviti-vitze in Españoles. Auh in oacico nonoalco: njmã ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel motetemman in tlaieco-lizzli in iauiotl, necoc in mjcoaia ixqujch mjnaloa in iniaovan, no ixqujch in mexicatl, necoc ivi, neco-colo, iuh ommjlhujtl, iuh ioac in necalioac.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzayectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacaoã in amo mjtzacujlianj, in atle inpan qujmitta in iniaovã catca, in amo quj-tlçotlaia in innacaio. Jnjc ce tlacatl itoca Tzaiectzin. Jnjc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teeca in omote-neuh in Tzilacatzin.

3. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Ceremonies, Chapter 29.
4. Ceremonies probably [illegible] in season.
5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco — Cora, op. cit.

726 him. Another time the quetzal-owl [warrior] turned them back and pursued them. Thereupon he took from them the quetzal feathers and the gold [looted by the foe],[17] and then he jumped down from the roof terrace. He did not die, nor did our foes carry him off. Now also, three of our foes had been taken. At last the battle came to an end; with this, stillness spread, and no more was done. Then our foes departed. All was quiet, and nothing more took place. Thus night fell.

ie ic quinamoia in quetzalli, yoan in teucuitlatl: auh ninman ic vmpa valhuetz in tlapanco, amo mic, amo quivicaque in toiaovan: ie no ieintin in axivaque in toiauvã ça iccen contzotzon in iauiotl ic cactimoman, aoc tle muchiuh: ninman ic iaque in toiaovan, cactimoman, aoc tle muchiuh inic oniovan.

And upon the morrow, likewise no more happened. None spoke aloud. The common folk only settled back. And the Spaniards did nothing more. They only remained still; they remained looking at the common folk. Nothing more occurred; they remained quiet, in place.

Auh in imuztlaioc, çan ninmã aoc tle muchiuh, aocac navati, ça pachiuhtoc in macevalli. Auh in iehoantin Españoles aoc no tle ay, ça onoque, quinonjztoque in macevaltin aoc tle mantoc, cencã ça onoq̃.

●701 And here are named all the chieftains, the great men who were wise in the ways of war, who disposed [men] for battle, who assumed the burden of war: the general Coyoueuetzin, and the Tzilacatecutli Temilotzin. These were Tlatilulcans. And those of Tenochtitlan [were] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin and the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin. These are they who were the great chieftains of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan.

Auh ninçan moteneoa in jzq'ntin tiiacavan, in vevei oquijchtin, in vel imjxco catca iauiotl, in iautecaia in jpan icaca iauiotl. Tlacuchcalcatl, Coioveve-tzin, Tzilacatecutli Temjlotzin: in iehoantin in ca tlatilulca. Auh in tenuchca, iehoantin in. Cioacoatl tlacutzin, vitznaoatl Motelchiuhtzin: oca iehoãtin in, in veveintin tiiacavan catca in tlatilulco, yoan inic tenuchtitlan.

17. This is explained in the Spanish text: "[illegible]."

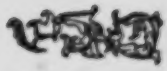

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

Injc campoalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: 726
vncã mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica in jquac ovel 787
qujncaltechpachoto in nez in mottac Eztetl: iuh-
q'nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh injc valnextia iuhqujn
vei tlexuchtli.

And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Late at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, snapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacanco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axtauatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies[7] Motecchiuhtzin, the constable[8] of Mexico, and the lord priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatiluco — the

Auh in ovalioac: njman ic ic ꝗujꝗujiavi, avach-
ꝗujꝗujiavi, ic tlaquauhiova in nez tletl: in juh
mottac, in juh nez, iuhqujn ilhujcacpa valla, iuh-
qujn ecamalacutl, momamalacachotiuh, motevilaca-
chotiuh, iuhqujn cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj
vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhqujn tlemo-
iutl, iuhqujn tcatepuztli, moquetza, cenca icoioca,
tetecujca, titicujca, çan qujiavalo in atenamjtl: coio-
nacazco in valiztia: njmã ic ia in anepantla, vmpa
popolivito,

aiac motenvitec, aiac navat:
auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle machiuh, ça onoac,
ça no onoque in toiaovan.

Auh in capitan tlapãco vallachixtica in amaxac, 000
Aztavatzin itlapanco, cevalcalco, tlatlapalli in ceval-
calli, qujmoojtztica in macevaltin, cololhujtoque in
Españoles, mononotztoque.

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; youn in oc cequjntin 701
tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacotzin. Tlillancalquj. vitzna- 565
oatl. Petlauhtzin. Motecchiuhtzi mexicatl. Achcauh-
tli, Tecutlamacazcatzin. Niman in ichoantin in tla-
tiluico tlatoque. Tlacuchcalcatl. Coiovevetzin. tla-

1. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 546, translates *cuauh* (*cuauhtli* eagle) as *Blackstone*. See, however, Simeón, op. cit.
2. Sahagún, loc. cit., has also *Windball* (?).
3. See Chapter 34, n. 5.
4. We have rearranged the first four of the nobles as Sahagún does in op. cit., p. 547, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. *Cihuacoatl*. Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Republica pues de los indios i sus Reyes rituales i ceremonias indianas* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodríguez Franco, 1723), II, p. 552; Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. 193.
6. *Tlillancalqui*. Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., fol. 68. For *tlillancalcatl*, Torquemada, op. cit., p. 178, has *cuculcan* eagle.
7. *Tlacochcalcatl*. Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., fol. 67.
8. *Achcauhtli*. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 33.
9. *Tecuhtlamacazcatzin*. Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., II, p. 112.

701 565 general[10] Coyoueuetzin; the commanding general Temilotzin; the army commander[11] Topantemoctzin; the chief justice[12] Auelitoctzin; the captain of the armies[13] Uitzilinitzin; the Tlacopan ruler Uitzitzin. All of these rulers were assembled at Tolmayecan; they appeared to consult among themselves how this should be done: what we should offer as tribute, and how we should yield to [the Spaniards].

728 Thereafter only two [men] took Quauhtemoc in a boat. The two who took him and went with him were the seasoned warrior Tepuztzitoloc, and Yaztachimal, Quauhtemoc's page. And the one who poled [the boat] was named Cenyaotl.

And when they carried Quauhtemoc off, then there was weeping among all the common folk. They said: "Now goeth the young lord Quauhtemoc; now he goeth to deliver himself to the gods, the Spaniards!"

catecatl. Temjlotzin. Ticociuacatl. Topantemoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Auelitoctzin, vitznacatl. vitzilivitzin. tepanecatl vitzitzin: in muchintin in tlatoque, in ocentlaliticatca tolmaiecan mononotztoca in quenjn muchioaz in tlein ticteqojtizque: auh in quenjn intlan tocalaqujzque.

Niman ie ic qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin, acaltica, çan ommote: vmêtin in convicaque, itlan ietiaque. Tepuztzitoloc tequjoa, yoan Jaztachimal izolouh in Quauhtemoctzin. Auh ce qujtlanelhujtia itoca Cenjaotl:

auh in jquac ie qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin: njmá ie ic mochoqujlia in izqujch macevalli qujtoque. Je iauh in tlacatl zocoiotl in Quauhtemoctzin ie iauh qujnmomacaz in tetru in Españoles.

10. Tlacochcalcatl. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, loc. cit.

11. Tlacochcalcatl. Cf. Clark, op. cit., I, fol. 45. The emblem is omitted in the Florentine Codex.

12. Mixcoatlailotlaca. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 48.

13. Tequanacatl. Cf. Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. 142. Carrasco de Salazar, op. cit., III, p. 288, mentions capture of the same time as Quauhtemoc of the ruler of Tlacopan (Tlacopan); so does Leibersohn, op. cit., p. 48.

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en les lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y coseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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[181] like customs and propensities. *War*, at first *defensive*, afterwards *offensive*, became the *life of the tribe*. Religion demanded it for its bloody rites; revenge, so deeply rooted in Indian nature, called for it at every moment. But especially was it required for the *subsistence* of the tribe, whose increasing numbers could not live from agriculture on the scanty soil allotted to them, and who, therefore, were compelled to depend upon the spoils gathered from inroads upon their neighbours. *If there was no war in progress, the Mexicans deemed themselves "idle."*[7] We may therefore presume that the military organization of the Mexicans, their preparations for warfare, and the mode of the latter, are features of [701] importance, and worthy of serious attention.

[852] Every male of the Mexican tribe was born a warrior. When still a babe his father placed alongside of the child a small bow[8] and some arrows, in token of its future duties. There was no military caste at Tenuchtitlan or Mexico; with the exception of children, old people, infirm or crippled persons, and sometimes priests, every one had to go to war. Boys fifteen years old were taken along, and in some instances it was even directed "that no "youth over fifteen years of age should remain; that all had to "go, except children and old people."[9] Thus there was no "standing army" the available force being composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe of Mexico.[10]

[7] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 32). "Pasados algunos años dijo el rey Moctezuma à "Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin general y oydor: pareceme que ha muchos dias que estamos "muy *ociosos*." This term, "idle," applies to the lack of any war, since immediately thereafter the war against Chalco was kindled by the most wanton provocation on the part of the Mexicans.

[8] Fr. X. Clavigero (Storia del Messico. Cesena, 1780. Lib. VI, cap. XXXVI). Francisco Lopez de Gomara ("Historia general de las Indias." Second part, "Conquista "de Méjico," contained in the collection of Vedia, volume I,—"This done, they put in "the right hand of the child, an arrow if a boy, a shuttle if a girl, to mark that he would "have to improve by the use of arms, and she by spinning and weaving," p. 438, Vedia, I). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 430, of Vol. II, says this was done four days after the birth of the child). Clavigero intimates that only those children "whose fathers were warriors," received the token, but this is not at all confirmed. Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España" in "Coleccion de Documentos para la "Historia de Mexico," by Señor Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1866, volume I. "Y entonces si "era varon poníanle una saeta en la mano, . . . el varon porque fuese valiente para "defender à si y á la patria, porque las guerras eran muy ordinarias cada año." Tra-
[463] tado I. cap. V, p. 37). There were no hereditary professions or trades, so to say.

[9] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 141, and cap. XC, p. 158). Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. XXVI, pp. 442 and 443).

[10] What the Germans call "*Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*," existed among the Mexicans on the most extensive scale. But their forces, although always ready, never went *permanently* outside of the pueblo, for they were not numerous enough, and did not gather

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We have not the slightest reliable indication concerning the 701
strength and numbers of that force.[11] This point is as vague and indefinite as the number of the population of the pueblo itself. Both, being closely connected, suffer from the same contradictions and exaggerations.[12] It is true that a "guard" of 10,000 men is mentioned as having occupied always the square of the main temple ("teocalli").[13] But, aside from the grossly exaggerated numbers, "guards," in the sense of a military body doing permanent duty, were unknown to the Mexicans.[14] The scanty mention of a body guard of Montezuma appears an imaginary tale if we look for its presence where and when it should have been most conspicuous: at the meeting of Montezuma and Cortés on the causeway,[15] and when Cortés carried that chieftain away from his house as a hostage. It is an established fact, that only unarmed Indians [648]
met Cortés on his entrance to Mexico, and it is equally positive, that no "guard" came to Montezuma's rescue.

stores in sufficient quantities for such a purpose. Within the pueblo of Mexico there was no need of being armed, and therefore every Mexican went unarmed in the pueblo. The "guards" of which Gomara and Bernal-Diez both speak, never existed. See Gomara ("En la ciudad nadie trae armas, ..." p. 345, vol. I, Vedia). [114]

[11] Not even Bernal-Diez contains a statement. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," Relacion XIIIa, in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, "De la venida de los Españoles," translated also into the French by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, and published under the title of "Cruautés Horribles des conquérants "du Mexique," in the first series of his inestimable collection of translations) says: "the Mexicans lost over 240,000 men" during the siege of Mexico. The only reasonable approximate I found in Durán (Hist. de las Indias, etc., cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288). Before the Mexicans (including Tezcuco and Tlacopan and the others of the valley) set out against Michhuacan, in 1479, they counted their forces and found 24,000 men ("allaron que auia veinte y cuatro mil combatientes"). This is possible.

[12] The population of Mexico is variously reported. The extremes are: 60,000 *souls* ("sessanta mila habitatori") of the "Anonymous Conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Icazbalceta. Vol. I, p. 391), and 60,000 *families*. [161]

[13] The length of the walls of that square was "one cross-bow shot," after Gomara. How could 10,000 *men remain there always*, besides the priests and their numerous assistants?

[14] "Guardas" are mentioned by Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera de la conquista de Xueva-España" in vol. II, of Sr. Vedia's collection, cap. XCV); by Gomara (p. 342 of vol. I, Vedia). Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. VI, p. 344, vol. II), and others. But Cortés and Andrés de Tapia make no mention of them.

[15] Three eye-witnesses of that celebrated meeting have described it: Cortés ("Cartas de Relacion," in Vedia, I, "Carta Segunda," p. 25). Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 83), and Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tápia, sobre la conquista de Mexico," in vol. II, of Icazbalceta's Col. de Documentos, p. 578). Neither of them would have omitted to notice armed men among the Indians, had there been any with Montezuma.

The Mexicans, on their part, could not have failed to make an ostentatious display of armed soldiery, had they existed, when they met the armed strangers at the entrance to the pueblo.

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701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief.
[643] Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 560.) The capture of Montezuma did not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 334) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia
[651] says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillières et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

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Almost insensibly we have here abandoned the field of the arma- 701
ment of the Mexicans, entering, nay, trespassing, upon that of their *military organization*.

This organization is but imperfectly known to us. Still, its knowledge is of the highest importance, since, with a tribe as essentially warlike as the Mexicans, military institutions are often blended with those of civil life, and we may presume that the same principle pervades both; that the degree of development of the one gives a clue to that of the other. According as we picture to ourselves the condition of ancient Mexican society, we shall view and judge their military organization.

All the older authors upon Mexico; and they have been implic- 114
itly followed by the great mass of subsequent writers, describe to us a Mexican empire, with an hereditary nobility and an *elective* despot at its head. This autocrat was not only absolute civil chief, he was also Judge and military commander. He declared peace and war, directed the forces, he nominated and deposed officers at his pleasure. Some restraints are allowed, occasionally, to have existed, upon such a power analogous only to that of the despots of Asia, but even the most distinguished writers of *modern* times have unhesitatingly accepted the picture of an absolute Indian monarchy in Mexico.[69]

Still this picture, however tempting and fascinating, to imagination especially, has not always satisfied the student's mind. Without placing much stress on the clumsy attacks of James Adair[70] upon the Spanish authors on Mexico, or on De Pauw's injudicious "Researches,"[71] we meet, however, with an earnest and careful criticism in Robertson's classical work. While the great

[69] A. de Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," 1825, Lib. II, chap. VI, p. 374, "Leur systeme de feódalité, leur hiérarchie civile et militaire se trouvant dés "lors si compliqués, qu'il faut supposer une longue suite, d'évènements politiques pour "que l'enchainement singulier des autorités de la noblesse et du clergé ait pu s'établir; "et pour qu'une petite portion du peuple, esclave elle-même du sultan Méxicain, ait "pu subjuguer la grande masse de la nation"). W. H. Prescott ("History of the Con-"quest of Mexico," Book I, chapter II, p. 23. Book II, chapter VI. p. 312). Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale"), and H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States"). I quote but the most prominent writers on Mexico of this (19th) century.

[70] James Adair ("History of the American Indians," London, 1775).

[71] "Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains," a very injudicious book, which, by its extravagance and audacity, created a great deal of harm. It permitted Clavigero to attack even Robertson, because the latter had also applied sound criticism to the study of American aboriginal history, and by artfully placing both as upon the same platform, to counteract much of the good effects of Robertson's work.

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purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminol- 114
ogy never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[75]

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh 174
where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sec- 619
tions, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed 701
of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of

[75] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II, p. 14b), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads." [643]

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh." Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatiluico, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God). "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *wards* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa María la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatiluico became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545) " . . . . y asi estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que son Barrios, y ancedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

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174 numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to
619 four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-
701 bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

701 Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrange-*
555 *ment* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever*,

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 20). "Rapport sur les differentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonzo de Zurita. French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 53).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together the four lead-"ers of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] "These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 83, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diez, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371). "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata, en tal modo ligata sopra le spalle, che non gli da alcun distorbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli puo sligare, ne torglielamai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "pani," above.

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no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-* 701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank 555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-* 565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and 643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two 701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were 701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the 554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, "they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, "that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had "been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de "Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées antrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient "un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.:" p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were "called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If "one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of "it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been "invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Montezuma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 116). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "nanyéké" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

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701 554 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of those animals.[87] Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.[88]

701 555 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.[89]

[87] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepec (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 260 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a "peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody "might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that "he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII, cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . . the head "was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and "with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

[88] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 289). " . . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos "los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cua-"chic, que eran una órden de caballeria que no auia de voluer piè atras ó morir . . " . ." Tezozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachi, and Tequihuaques . . . . being "always leaders" ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 83) says: " . . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths "a Cuachic, to five others an Otomi, then again an Achcauhtli, and a Tequihua; all "conquerors." This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The "Otomitl" is also called by Tezozomoc a "general" occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ò varon "fuerte llamado Coachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos "etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 565) calls the "Quachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

[89] By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-
[685] cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for "abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ò de "noche, ò tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladron que se "adjudicaba y queria para si el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this vigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcantin," "quauhtin," and "ococelo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

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The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the 701
Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending or- 565
ders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the 701
young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauh-* 702
tin," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus proprias personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every [555]
one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title.

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 225) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 263), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil maior." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 23), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them: "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 60) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

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701 posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests ex-
702 cepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

[293] As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

701 A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "mi-
619 nor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

701 Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI. p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad, que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que cuelga atras, y bezote y "oregeras, y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces," "De l'ordre de succession," p. 225), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport." p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra, que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas apretadas á la cabeça y unas oregeras de concha, largas, y unas bezotes "en los labios, muy bien armados, y empeçaron á componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Cuyuacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, then they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 24, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

[98] Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 490) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[99] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-

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members of the chief council,[100] and we suggest their titles to have been, respectively: "cutter of men" ("Tlacateccatl"), "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), "blood-shedder" ("Ezhuahuacatl"), and "chief of the eagle and tuna" ("Cuauhnochtecuhtli," or, abbreviated, "Cuauhnochtli").[101] We have no in- 701

tion of the existence of feudal institutions in Mexico. The divisions were treated as geographical sections only, the sub-divisions by kin were overlooked, and little importance was attached to the fact that every office was filled by election only, and never by appointment. Thus, says Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), " . . . . y asi electo uno destos "cuatro, luego ponian otro en su lugar." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Despues del rey era el grado de los quatro como principes electores, los quales despues "de eligido el Rey, tambien ellos eran eligidos y de ordinario eran hermanos o' parientos muy cercanos del Rey." Clavigero says positively (Lib. VII, cap. XXI): "The "highest military dignity was that of commanding general of the army. There were "four different classes of generals, among which the Tlacochcalcatl had the highest "rank. Each class had its particular tokens, but we are unable to determine how far "the three other classes were subordinate to the first. Neither can we give their names, "since the authors differ with each other on the subject. To the generals succeeded "the captains, each of which commanded a certain number of soldiers." See, besides, note below.

[100] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), after naming the four grades, or rather dignities, proceeds: "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de electos principes los hacian del "consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, sin parecer de los "quales nenguna cosa se ania de hacer." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

[101] "Tlacochcalcatl," from "Tlacochtli," dart, "calli," house, "tlacatl," man. "Tlacateccatl,"—"tlacatl," man, "tequi," to cut or carve. "Ezhuahuacatl,"—"eztli," blood, "nanana," to scratch, "tlacatl," man. "Cuauhnochtecuhtli,"—"cuauhtli," eagle, "nochtli," tuna, "tecuhtli," chief. These four titles, as pertaining to the four principal Mexican chiefs, are given by Durán (Cap. XI, p. 102). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441). Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 24), and Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II. cap. XIX, p. 75), who copies, evidently, Acosta. Tezozomoc says: "All these were like principal "caciques and titularies ('señores de titulo') in the government and command of the "Mexican tribe, and after them come the Tiacanes, valorous soldiers, surnamed captains, in their order; . . . ." But all those authors substitute "Tilliancalqui," in place of "Cuauhnochtli." Nevertheless, we have ventured to accept "Cuauhnochtli," since "Tilliancalqui" (from "Tiltic," black object, "tlan," affixum denoting place, and "tlacatl," man), man of the black place or black house, denotes a *civil and religious office*, and not a warrior proper. Durán says: "We must know that there was an idol "of blackness, and that of this idol, and of his house, came forth the title for this "chief." Acosta affirms positively that the three first named titles were "those of warriors" ("eran de guerreros"). On the other hand, "Cuauhnochtli" is frequently mentioned, both by Tezozomoc and by Durán, as "captain-general," and the bishop of Santo Domingo. Ramires de Fuenleal, in his letter to Charles V, dated Mexico, 3 Nov., 1538, says: "An officer, called Guamuchil, fills the office of 'alguacil major!'" (Coll. Ternaux-Compans: "Recueil de Pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique," p. 249). Torquemada, also, after calling "Cuauhnoctli" a "judge," calls him subsequently a chief executioner (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, pp. 363 and 364). Finally, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57), after enumerating the principal chieftains of Mexico, "three of which, "Cuauhnoctli, Tlacatecatl, and Tlacochcalcatl, called Chachi as much as any of the "others, and who, for their high valor, had their hair bound behind the occiput with "red leather."

The "Chachi" of Tezozomoc are identical with the "Quachictin" of Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543), "and one of the highest degrees and honors which could be "attained was to be allowed to tie [illegible] hair, being the token of great captain, and these "were called Quachictin, which was the most honorific title given to captains, a title held

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701 formation regarding the title of the principal war-chief of Tlatilulco, the names given occasionally being personal.[102]

701 The distinctive mark of these chieftains consisted in having the
554 hair tied behind or above the occiput with a strap of red leather;

"by few only." "Cuauhnoctli," therefore, being "Chachi," or "Quachictin," whereas "Tillancalqui" is but a civil or religious chief, as it is furthermore shown by his being sent as a delegate to Cortés, to the coast (Tezozomoc, Cap. CVII, p. 191). I have ventured to substitute the former as one of the four war-chiefs, each commanding the warriors of one of the four great quarters of Mexico. It may be objected that, aside from Tezozomoc, I have not adduced any other direct proof of the actual existence of these four chieftains. I have already alluded to the probable reason why they are not mentioned as such by the sources of Mexican aboriginal history. Their true position, the nature of their office was simply overlooked. But we know that the tribe of Mexico had divided into four quarters; we know, further, that not only in Mexico, but all over Central America, this same division existed, for civil as well as for military purposes. Each of these four great sections must have had, therefore, its civil, and its military
[555] head, and it is but natural to admit, that those heads were the *most distinguished warriors of the tribe*, since *merit, and not descendancy or wealth*, entitled alone to *promotion in rank and office*. Therefore the military chiefs of the four quarters must have been the four "chachi" of Mexico. On the other hand, those four dignities were each elective, and not filled by appointment. But, for an election, there must be electors, and a constituency. We know that the "captains were elected (by the kin which they should "command)", and it is but logical to admit that the *four greatest military chiefs* of the tribe were elected to command its *four greatest subdivisions*. Therefore, again, the "chachi" of Tezozomoc must have been the military chiefs of the four quarters of Mexico. Besides, we may ask: Why *four* chiefs, and not any other number? if not that these four principal chieftains corresponded to, and actually represented, a like number of greatest fractions of the whole tribe.

If the older authors observe a certain uniformity in their enumeration of these four chiefs, always beginning with the "Tlacochcalcatl," we must not infer from it that one or the other of the four was inferior or superior to the others. They were all alike in rank, although Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) places the "Tlacochcalcatl" above the others. The very confusion among some of the statements shows that no reliance can be placed upon their assertions in that respect. (Compare, for inst.: Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXII, p. 185, with cap. LXV, p. 189, and lib. IV, cap. 13, p. 379.) It results from all these statements, but especially from the positive and consistent assertions of Tezozomoc, that while the four were equal in rank, it still sometimes happened that one or the other, from age or experience, took the superior command according to emergency. Their influence was even decisive, sometimes, with the head war-chief of Mexico himself. See the part played by "Tlacochcalcatl" in the attack upon Tlatilulco (Tezozomoc, Cap. XLV, p. 73), and the resolute action of "Tlacateccatl" in the battle against the Tarasca of Michhuacan, which occurred in 1477, when he compelled Axayaca to retreat before the victorious enemy (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII, p. 84). Also, the assertion of Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), "without whose consent he could do nothing."

[102] "Itzquauhtin" is mentioned by Torquemada (Vol. IV). This would be "eagle
[554] of obsidian," or "flint-eagle." We must always distinguish *personal* names from *titles*. In most cases only the latter were given, and the presumption therefore arises that the *title took the place of the name*. Says my friend Sr. J. M. Melgar y Serrano, of Vera Cruz: "Creo deber aconsejar a V no tome como nombres de las personas muchas "de las palabras con que estaban designadas, pues eran el que se los daban el titulo "del cargo que tenian." (Letter under date of 26 January, 1875.)

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a distinction reserved exclusively for them and for the head war-chiefs of the Mexican tribe.[103] 701 554

Highest in military command, as head war-chief of the Mexican tribe, was the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"),[104] represented to us as the king or emperor[105] of Mexico. But he was neither a monarch nor an autocrat, nor a despot. Elected out of a certain kin or descendancy[106] for life, but upon the condition of good behaviour, he could be deposed and degraded, should he incur the 643 701

[103] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). "Los mas preeminentes destos eran, los que tenian "atada la corona del cabello con una cinta colorada, y un plumaje rico, del qual col-"gauan unos ramales hazia las espaldas con unas borlas del mismo al cabo; estas "borlas eran tantas en numero, quantas hazañas auia hecho. Desta orden de Cauallo-"ros era el mismo Rey tambien, y asi se hallaba pintado, con esto genero de plumajes, "y en Chapultepéc, donde estan Moteçuma y su hijo esculpidos en unas peñas que son "de ver, ..." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) condenses the statement of Acosta only. Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères, etc.," Vol. I): "Il (Montezuma) a les cheveux "réunis au sommet de la tête, et liés avec un ruban rouge, distinction militaire des prin-"ces et des capitaines les plus vaillants." The figure is from the "Codex anonymous," of the Vatican.

[104] This title is given by Tezozomoc, and also by Ramirez de Fuenleal, in Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pièces," p. 247): "Mutizuma portait le nom de 'tacatecli,' "'tetuan,' 'jutlacal.'" It is easy to discern "tiacatecuhtli," and "tiatoani,"—of the latter title we shall hereafter speak. Also: "Il existe parmi eux une espèce de chef à "qui ils donnent le nom de tacatecle ou tiatuan."

[105] The Mexican language has no word for emperor (Molina I, p. 51). But Tezozomoc renders the expression "cemanahuac tiatoani" by "emperor of the world." It signifies, however, simply "speaker for what dwells near the water."

[106] The question of succession in office among the Mexicans is a very difficult one. Still, it certainly never descended from father to son, but was always transmitted by election, either to a brother or to a nephew of the former incumbent. The manner of electing the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" of Mexico is very fully described by Sahagun: "When "the king or lord died, all the senators, called Tecutlatoques, and the old men of the "tribe, called Achcacauhti, and also the captains and old warriors, called Tautequioa-"ques, and other prominent captains in warlike matters, and also the satraps (priests), "called Tlenamacaque and Papaoaqui,—all these assembled in the royal houses. "There they deliberated and determined upon who had to be lord, and chose one of "the most noble of the descendancy (lineage) of the past lords, who would be a val-"iant man, experienced in warlike matters, daring and brave, who should not drink "wine, should be prudent and wise, raised in the Calmecac, a good speaker, of good "understanding, esteemed and loving. When they agreed upon one, they at once nom-"inated him as lord, but this election was not made by ballot or votes, but, all confer-"ring together, they at last agreed upon the man." Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), speaking of the four war-chiefs: "y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros, "y tampoco podian ser puestos en este cargo y ditados sino eran hijos ù hermanos de "reyes; . . . . nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los "señorios, sino por election." "Y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado "y señorio, eligiéndolos poco a poco." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Lo pri-"mero en que parece auer sido muy politico el govierno de Mexicanos, es en el orden "que tenian, y guardauan inviolablemente de eligir Rey." Whether we are authorized to go any further than to say that the Tlatatecuhtli had to belong to a certain kin, is very doubtful.

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displeasure of the tribe.[107] He was but the commander-in-chief of the Mexican warriors; an office which, among a nation so essentially warlike, was of the highest importance and rank, and which might have procured to the incumbent an influence tending to impair the freedom of its institutions. But there was a wholesome check placed upon such encroachments by the commanding war-chief, through the election of an associate, which carried the singular and strange title of "snake-woman," or "female-snake" ("Cihua-cohuatl") and who, while being more of a civil chieftain, still alternated with him in command, as emergency required.[108] Through this arrangement, the tribe of Mexico became always provided with at least one military head, and if the "chief of men" was out leading a foray, the "Cihua-cohuatl" remained at the pueblo, or vice-versa. The chief command of a campaign, could, besides, be delegated by them to a subordinate leader.[109]

We know too little of the office of "Cihua-cohuatl" to enter into any details regarding it. The "chief of men," however, has become famous in history through the last three incumbents of the office,[110] It required an extraordinary man, among the tribe, to fill it. He was to be "an earnest and sober man" (says Sahagun), "wise, affable, and a fluent speaker." But especially was he required to be one of the most prominent warriors, who had given proofs of undaunted bravery, ability, and of great circum-

[107] Montezuma was deposed during his life-time, and Cuitlahua was appointed his successor. Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, p. 132, cap. CXXVI): when they spoke to Montezuma they said: "Hacemosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por "señor, ... y alli le nombró cómo se llamaba, que se decia Coadlauaca, señor "de Iztapalapa, que no fué Guatemuz, el cual desde á dos meses fué señor." Cortés (Note 2 to "Segunda Relacion," p. 42, Vedia I): "Los Indios le mataron por cobarde." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494, and cap. LXX, p. 497). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. X, p. 267).

[108] The "Cihua-cohuatl" (from "cihuatl," woman, and "cohuatl," snake) is variously designated as "vice-roy," "captain-general," "supreme judge," "coadjutor of the king," "second king." He was a warrior, too, and during the siege officiated as commander in chief, together with Quauhtémotzin. It results from the statement of Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352) that he was equal to the so-called "king." What the exact functions of this office were, it is not here the place to discuss; it is sufficient for the purpose of this essay, to determine that there were, in all likelihood, two head-chiefs of the Mexican tribe, or two principal war-chiefs, like those of the Iroquois. The "Cihuacohuatl," according to Tezozomoc, was also elective.

[109] Thus we see, sometimes "Tlacochcalcatl," then again "Tlacatecoatl," and "Cuauhnoctli," made commanders-in-chief.

[110] These were: Montezuma II (Motecuhzuma Xocoyotzin), Cuitlahuatzin, and Quauhtemotzin.

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spection.[111] Therefore, he was always one of the four great war-chiefs of the quarters[112] previous to his election, and his war-dress differed in fact but little from that of the latter. As we have already stated, he wore the hair bound up behind the occiput with red leather, and on his helmet or on the bare head a towering bush of green feathers.[113] A long and wide mantle covered his armour, which was otherwise similar to that of the other chiefs.[114] But his ear-rings of gold,[115] and the green stone-pendant from the bridge of his nose,[116] the golden lip-ring,[117] his wristbands of featherwork and leather,[118] the upper-arm-bands of gold,[119] the

[111] Sahagun (Historia Universal, Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 264): "El capitan general tiene "por su oficio, mandar en la batalla, y dar orden y manera para efectuarla, y concertar "los escuadrones, teniendose por grande aguila y leon, y presumiendo de ser victo-"rioso por los buenos aderezos con que va adornado á la guerra á manera de aguila, y "dando á entender que su oficio es morir en la guerra por los Suyos." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Ordinarily they elected young men for their kings, because "the kings always went to war, and it was almost the principal object of this office; "therefore they looked to their being proper to military duty, and fond of it, also." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap, XXVII, p. 132): "Tenian estos naturales en mucho cuando su "señor era ezforzado y valiente, porque teniendo tal señor capitan, salian con mucho "ánimo á la guerra." (Idem) "Demas de esto, tenian respeto entre los hijos á aquel "que en las guerras se habia mostrado animoso, y á este elegian." Torquemada (Lib. XI. cap. XXVII, p. 257).

[112] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos "principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, "sin parecer de los quales nenguna cosa se auia de hacer, y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos "estos ditados eran del consejo supremo, ... ; y muerto el Rey, auia de ser "eligido por Rey, hombre que tuuiesse algun ditado destos quatro."

[113] This distinction was worn by the Indian chiefs of Mexico at least twenty years after the conquest. See, in Vol. II. of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos:" "Relacion de la Jornada que hizó Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor "natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco, Provincia de Chalco, con el Señor Visorey "Don Antonia de Mendoza, etc., etc." (in 1541). "Don Francisco Acazitli llevó por "divisa y armas cuando fué á la guerra de los chichimecas, una calavera de plumería "con sus penachos verdes, una rodela de lo mismo, y en ella un bezote de oro retor-"cido, con su espada y su ichcahuipil, y vestido con un jubon colorado, y sus zara-"güelles, zapatos y borceguies, y un sombrero blanco, y un pañuelo grande con que "se amarraba la cabeza, y un collar de pedreria con dos cadenas" (p. 307). (Idem, p. 235) "Relacion de la Entrada de Xuño de Guzman," by Garcia del Pilar. "Y viendose "asi los señores destas comarcas, que eran Tapiezuela, señor desta cibdad, y el señor "de Tatelulco, y el de Guaxucingo, y el de Tascaltectle, y otros muchos señores y prin-"cipales destas comarcas, le fueron à rogar y suplicar, ... que se sirviese de "todas sus divisas que eran de oro y de plumas verdes muy galanas, ..." Also (Relacion de Acazitli, p. 311. "con su divisa de quetzalpatzatli de plumeria verde").

[114] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 213).

[115] "nacochtli" (Molina, I. p. 91).

[116] "Yacaxinitl," from "Yacatl," nose, "xinitl," turquoise, or fine green stone in general.

[117] "tenteti," from "tentli," lips, and "tetl," stone.

[118] "matzopetzli" (Molina, II. p. 54). "braçalete."

[119] "maiemecatl," "braçalete de oro, o cosa semejante" (Molina, II, p. 53).

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701 643 293 golden tubes enclosing his ankles,[120]—they were all of a more elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Cihua-cohuatl" were entitled to wear them thus.[121]

But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123] A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

[120] "Coscatl," or "coscapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Cozcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaciel pudiesen "truer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro-"vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la cauça con plumeria." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Came" and "Vuku'b-Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1699. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, re-"ducciones y progressos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "subtle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "vitoriose tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcance." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con que los reyes luzian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, o sus generales, los quales tocanan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure may be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of chiefs, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure,—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Minutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatimala." Berlin, 1832) has: Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada,

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Both the "chief of men," and his "*coadjutor*," the "Cihuacohuatl," while exercising, under certain extraordinary circumstances, discretionary powers in military matters, were still subject to a *higher* authority. This was the *council of chiefs*[125] ("tlatocan"), of which they were, ex-officio, members, with the additional title of "speakers" ("tlatoani"), and occupying, therefore, the "speaker's-seat" ("tlatoca-ycpalli").[126] In this council the *ultimate power of government* was vested, its functions were equally *legislative* and *judiciary;* the execution of its decrees belonged to the war-chiefs. *Peace and war* lay in its hands, the war-chiefs alone could not decide upon either.[127] The existence of this council as

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is plainly recognizable. In all those figures of Central American reliefs we discern the characteristic parts of the Mexican costume: the breech-cloth ("maxtlatl") and the head-dress. Several of them have the jacket. "huepil," and the chiefs have, as ornaments, the "coscatl," the "matzopetztli," and especially, the ear-rings and the towering plumage. Lip-pendants and nose-rings are very prominent on the statues of Copan. An illustration of the costume of the two chiefs, both being dressed exactly alike, is given by Durán on plate 8 (to chapter 22 of the first part of his work). Axayaca is also represented in full armour on plates 10 and 11.

[125] The word is from Molina (Vocab. II, p. 141,—"tlatocan,"—"corte ò palacio de "grandes señores." Id. I, p. 20, "consejo real," "tlatocanecentlalilistli"). It derives from "ni-tlatoa," to speak. A very good illustration of this council is found in the "Popol-Vuh" (Part II, cap. VIII), notwithstanding the diffuse language, we can easily discern how the council of chiefs was constituted at "Xibalba," "Hunahpu," and "Xbalanqué," upon their arrival at the council-hall, found there twelve chiefs, the names of which are all given (p. 147). After Montezuma was captured and brought to Spanish quarters "there were always in his company twenty great lords and compan-"ions and councillors" (Bernal-Diez, Cap. XCV, p. 95, vol. II, Vedia). These were probably the members of the supreme council.

[126] "Tlatoani,"—"hablador, ò gran señor" (Molina, II, p. 141). Bernal-Diez says (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 28, Vedia. II) that when they arrived at San Juan de Ulloa: "vini-"eron dos canoas muy grandes, ... y en ellas viniéren muchos Indios Mejica-"nos, y como vieron los estandartes y navio grande, conocieron que allí habian de ir á "hablar al capitan, y fuéronse derechos al navio, y entran dentro y preguntan quien era "el Tlatoan, que en su lengua dicen el señor." Señor Icazbalceta, in his note No. 36 (p. 12 of Vol. II of "Coleccion de Documentos") defines "Tlatoani" as follows: " . . . " . era la denominacion que se daba á los superiores y gobernantes, equivalente á "la antigua nuestra señor, y con la cual llamaban á los españoles." ("Real Ejécutoria "de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente à los caciques de "Axapusco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba.") "Tlatoca-ycpalli," from "tlatoca," and "icpalli," stool.

[127] The fact of the supremacy of the council in all matters is amply proven (Durán, Cap. XIV, p. 117; cap. XVI, p. 133). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "All these "four titularies were of the supreme council, without whose advice the king neither "made, nor could make, anything of importance." But especially the remarkable paragraph from Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332), speaking of the "Cihuacohuatl:" "Este Juez parece tener veces, y autoridad de Virrei. á los quales comunica el Rei au-"toridad absoluta. para governar, y despachar negocios, cometidos a su sola, y abso-"luta determinacion, ... pues en cosas de su Govierno, *conoce la audiencia, que "toda junta se hace persona de Rei, y con su autoridad la pueden reprimir, y reprimen.*" It is unfortunate that we have not any definite and detailed knowledge of the composition of this council. All we can say positively is, that it existed, and was supreme.

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174 618 The existence of *twenty* autonomous consanguine groups is thus revealed, and we find them again at the time of the conquest,

565 618 "Obeldisa-Snake" (*Racohuatl*), we have twenty-five chiefs in all. Now we cannot fail to notice:—

[70] (1). "Racohuatl," the "chief of men" or head-war-chief.

(2). "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," and "Cuanhuochtli," the four military leaders of the four great quarters ("phratries") of Tenochtitlan. (See "*Art of War*," pp. 120, 121, and 122, also notes 97 to 101 inclusive.)

(3). "Tillancalqui"—"Man of the black-house," a chief connected with "medicine" or worship, as I shall hereafter show. He was rather a counsellor or advisor, than a captain, as *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II. cap. XIX, p. 75) positively state, whereas *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 104) asserts the religious origin of his office.

(4). "Tlacochel," who, as Durán and Tezozomoc both repeatedly and plainly assert, was the snake-woman or "Cihuacohuatl." In this instance, however, he is graced with the title of "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), and thus made one of the four leaders of the "phratries." This is an evident mistake, as the latter title belonged to Montezuma (the first, or "old one"). Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVI, p. 140; cap. XLIII, p. 158, where he is called "captain-general"), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XV, p. 233), also *Durán* (Lam. 6a, Parte Ia).

(5). Twenty war-chiefs, each one of whom commanded the warriors of one kin or calpulli, hence they were the military leaders of twenty Mexican kins. Besides the indications to that effect furnished by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224), "á los señores de los *calpules* no los vimos ni nos hablaron," said the sorcerers which had been sent to Huitzilopochtli's mother, after she had asked them about the chiefs or captains, seven in number, which had led the Mexicans originally, (see note 33). *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), while corroborating the statements of Durán (with the exception that he omits the chief "Mexicatlitecutli," and thus gives only twenty-seven chieftains), inserts the following explanation about these twenty (or twenty-one after Durán) captains: "After these four (the four first ones), go the Tlacanes, called valorous soldiers, surnamed captains." The "Tlacan" or "tlacauh," properly "teachcauhtin," *Elder brother*, was the military chief of each "barrio" or "calpulli," therefore of each *kin* ("*Art of War*," p. 119, notes 91, 92, and 93), consequently these twenty chieftains represent here as many consanguine relationships composing the tribe of the ancient Mexicans.

It will be noticed, however, that Durán has twenty-one chiefs, whereas we assume but twenty, according to Tezozomoc. The latter omits "Mexicatl-tecutli" and, perhaps properly too. This word signifies but "Mexican chief," in general, and cannot therefore well be the title of one particular leader. It recurs occasionally in the course of Mexican history. Still, this is only a suggestion on my part, for the matter is far from being proven. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 371) mentions "*Mexicatl-ocharuhtli*" among the chiefs who went with Quauhtemotzin before Cortés on the day after the resistance of the Mexicans had ended. Again Tezozomoc mentions two chiefs of the same title "Cuauhquinacatl," as also does Durán. Now this would be impossible, since Tezozomoc calls the second one of that name, a son of "Cuauhnochtli." It may be now that the latter author has omitted the "Mexicatl-tecutli," and that "Cuauhquinacatl" is to be counted but once. It results from the statements of Vetancurt already alluded to, that there were twenty Mexican "calpulli," consequently there were but twenty leaders of kins. The analogy between these "barrios" and the chiefs of Durán and Tezozomoc is greatly increased by the fact that for the three chiefs of Culhuacan mentioned by the latter, we have also three barrios of "Otomites," therefore, in each case but seventeen original kins of Mexicans proper (*Vetancurt* "Crónica," Vol. III, p. 128).

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to the relative positions occupied by both officers, and merely advert, here, to the fact, that, since the latter has commonly been called a monarch, the designations of "coadjutor to the King," "second-King," previously quoted, are explained, though not justified. The same explanation applies to the title of "vice-roy," or "royal lieutenant." 643

Finally, the "Cihuacohuatl" was ex-officio commander-in-chief of the Mexicans proper, whenever his colleague directed the entire confederate force.[222] If, however, this was not the case, then the

XXXIII. p. 82): "De la manera que fué vestido y adornado Moctezuma, lo fueron tambien Zihuacoatl y Tlacaelelitzin;" (Cap. XXXVI. p. 58): "pues solos dos eran los que havian de tener cetles, que eran Moctezuma, Zihuacoatl y Tlacaelelitzin, como segunda persona del rey, porque se entendiese havian de ser temidos de todos los grandes del imperio;" (Cap. XL, p. 66). Speech of Tlacaelel: "tocante á lo que tratais del señorio, yo siempre lo he tenido y tengo, ... porque yo como segunda persona que siempre fui del rey y de los reyes pasados, etc." Further quotations from this author would become too numerous, consequently too bulky. Besides these sources, to which should be added *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral.*" Lib. VII, cap. XVII. p. 494, Cap. XVIII, p. 495), we find significant testimony in two authors who certainly did not gather their information at the source, from which the above series of authors obtained theirs. I refer to *Juan de Torquemada* ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 252): "Aqui parece lo mismo, que reservando el Rei Mexicano para si, la autoridad Real, le hace su igual en la Judicatura." *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Tratado II°, cap. I, p. 269): "Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." In regard to the fact that both chiefs wore the same characteristic ornaments and dress, see *Durán* (Lámina 8a to Cap. XXIII of Trat. I°), also "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*," comparing it with the head-dress of the leading figure of the sculptures on the rim of the cylinder known as the "stone of sacrifice," in the Museo Nacional of Mexico.

[222] "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 59, 60, 61, 62 and 63), treating of the "capitan-general Tlacaelel:" haziendo hazañas dignas de gran memoria por medio de su general Tlacaelel." The war against Chalco was waged by the Mexicans *and* their confederates, therefore we read (p. 4): "Y asi fué que acudiendo esto Rey en personas á la guerra." (P. 67) his office was: "de capitan-general y segundo de su corte. . . *Durán* (Cap. XVII, pp. 147 and 148). war against Chalco, when both chiefs went along. (Cap. XVIII. p. 150), foray against Tepeaca. both chieftains in the field, as both Mexicans and confederates participated. (Cap. XIX). against the Huaxteca. (Cap. XXII, p. 169): "Tlacaelel, principe de la milicia," in the raid against Coayxtlahuacan. In place of Tlacaelel, "era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada," Cuauhnóchtli commanded the Mexicans. The most explicit and positive author of all is *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XIX, p. 88, Cap. XXI, p. 89): "Zihuacoatl Tlacaelelitzin general y oydor,"—"y su presidente y capitan-general Zihuacoatl Tlacatlelitzin." In regard to the protracted hostilities against the tribe of Chalco, it is stated that the "Cihuacohuatl" alone commanded (Cap. XXII, p. 84); but it follows from p. 85, that after the first bloody though indecisive fight, the allies were called upon for assistance, although Tezozomoc says it was only a delegation to insure their quiet. This explains the contradiction between him and the two preceding authors. In (Cap. XXIV, p. 87), he acknowledges that Montezuma Ilhuicamina went along, together with Cihuacohuatl. The fact, that the conquest of Chalco was made by the Mexicans, with the assistance of allies, is conceded by other authors. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLIV and L). *Ortega* ("Apendice" to Veytia, Cap. III, pp. 240-242). Therefore the Cihuacohuatl commanded the Mexicans. In the foray against Tepeaca and Tecamachalco, the confederate forces sallied out, (Cap. XVII): "nada uno con su capitan y 701

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643 latter led the Mexicans in person, or a substitute for either of them might take the command.[223] During the last days of aboriginal Mexico, when warriors from different tribes, together with the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, crowded into the invested pueblo, the so-called "King of Mexico" appeared as the *confederate* commander, while the "snake-woman" only wielded the authority and performed the duties of "captain-general" of the *Mexican* contingent.[224]

All these different attributes may be united in the functions of one office, namely: that of head-chief of the tribe. As such, we must consider the "Cihuacohuatl," and as such was he recognized by Cortés when in 1521, he created the last "snake-woman" "governor" of the remnants of the Mexican tribe and of the so-called Indian wards within which they "were" subsequently settled.[225]

We have seen that the "snake-woman" was the colleague, or associate in matters of tribal importance, of another officer, who had originally filled his place, but whose sphere of action had been so much extended through the formation of the confederacy, that a colleague became needed in tribal affairs. This officer, commonly entitled "King of Mexico," sometimes even "Emperor of Anahuac," was the "chief of men," "Tlaca-tecuhtli".[226]

[701] capitanes señalados," and both war-chiefs of Mexico were present and in the field (p. 41). Not to increase the volume of quotations beyond measure, I shall simply add that, as the Cihuacohuatl grew older and could not well go to war, other captains took his place. These captains I will refer to hereafter. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII).

[223] Evidence to that effect is found in *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 199) and especially in *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 76): "Cuauhnochtli, capitan general." (Cap. LXXI, LXXII and XCI, pp. 168 and 181, etc., etc.). This explains why the title of chief-commander of the Mexicans is so variously stated. See the very sensible remarks of *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI. p. 494, etc.). These chiefs were, in this instance, temporarily appointed, since it was not the creation of an office, but simply a delegation of power for a certain special purpose. When the foray was over, the charge ceased to exist, the war-chief returning to his original rank.

[224] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," Vedia I. p. 80): E desde a poco volvió con ellos uno de los mas principales de todos aquellos que se llamaba Cigualcoacin, y era el capitan y gobernador de todos ellos, é por su consejo se seguian todas las cosas de guerra." This fact is generally accepted, and needs no further proof.

[225] *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*," Vedia I, p. 119). *Petition to Charles V, by four Indian chiefs of Mexico*, June 18, 1523, in "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants espagnols*," of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1st Series (Appendix, pp. 265, 266 and 269): "Moi, don Hernando de Tapia, je suis fils de Tapia, et ancien Tecotecle, gouverneur de Mexico, sous le marquis del Valle." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. VIII, pp. 122 and 123). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CLVII, Vedia II, pp. 198 and 199). *Ixtlilxochitl in Cervantès-Salazar* ("*Tres Diálogos*," Introd. to 2d Dialogue, pp. 75 and 76).

[114] [226] I have used this title, perhaps for the first time among recent writers, in "*Art of War*," (p. 122). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 149). *Ramírez de Fuenleal* ("*Letter*,

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of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic cluster.[273] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

[273] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Aztacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Veinaucart* ("*Crónica*," etc., p. 184). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 48). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "conceilliors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 102) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli" — "barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 494 and 495) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Michuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 101 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpaneca, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 291) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 469), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con-

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701 office was, of course, elective and non-hereditary, and the election took place in the same manner and (sometimes, at least) at the same time as that of the "chief of men."[276] In case the latter was unable to lead the confederate forces on the war-path, and the "Cihuacohuatl" himself was not available either, then the posts of chief commander as well as of leader of the Mexicans proper, might be filled by one or the other of them.[277] This, however, was always a temporary situation, and there appears to have been no difference of rank between the four, since the Mexican

[613] cerning "Ezhuahuacatl," Cap. XXII, p. 160): "y luego Tlacaellel, principe de la milicia, mandé en nombre del rey que fuesen apercibidos, etc., etc. . . ." "Llamó el rey á un señor que se llamaua Cuauhnochtli y hizolo general de toda la moltitud diciéndole que Tlacaellel era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada, dándole todas las exenciones y autoridad que semejante oficio requeria, ..." (Cap. XXXIV, p. 297, etc., etc.). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVII, p. 27), Tlacaellel, subsequently elected "Cihuacohuatl," was then only "Tlacochcalcatl," and he is, at that time, merely mentioned as "uno de ellos de los capitanes." Still (p. 28) he appears as "capitan general de ellos." (Cap. XXII, p. 34): "Respondió Tlacatleltzin y dijo: quiero dar aviso á Tlacatecatl. y á Tlacochcalcatl, para que publiquen luego en toda esta república esta guerra por los varrios, . . ." (Cap. XXVIII, p. 43): "mandaron el rey Moctezuma y Zihuacoatl, á los capitanes Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Cuauhnochtli. y Tilancalqui, que luego al tercer dia se apercibiesen y pusiesen en camino con sus armas y vitualias," etc., etc. This entire "Crónica" bristles with facts of that kind, too numerous to quote. The fact, amply proven heretofore, that the "Zihuacoatl" was also ex-officio head-war-chief of the tribe of Mexico, is alone sufficient to establish the inferiority of the four others. See "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67).

[276] In evidence of this there is the entire series of specifically Mexican authors, starting with the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 57): "Primeramente ordenaron que siempre se guardasse este estatuto en la corte Mexicana, y es que despues de electo Rey en ella, eligiessen quatro señores, hermanos ó parientes mas cercanos del mismo Rey, los quales tuviessen ditados de principes: los ditados que entonces dieron á estos quatro al primero fue . . . (follow the four names and titles). . . ." The same version has been adopted with more or less variation, by *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 101 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap XIX, pp. 75 and 76). Besides, there is the independent version of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap, XXX and XXXI, pp. 318 and 319), who is even too positive, stating, or at least leading to the inference, that at every election of a "chief of men," the four offices were also newly filled, and invested at the same time. This appears to be a misconception, explained by the Codice Ramirez and by Durán.

It may be in place here to refer to a different version, which reduces the number of these assistants to the "chief of men" to two only. We find it in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 442): "Las apelaciones iban á otros dos Jueces mayores, que llaman tecuitlato, y que siempre solian ser parientes del señor . . . ." and also in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 95). By reference, however, to *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX), it will be seen that the celebrated Franciscan speaks of only two of the four which he mentions (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). These two are "Tlacochcalcatl" and "Tlacatecatl" ("Tlacochtecutli" and "Tlacatecutli" by abbreviation), whom he again calls (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311) "principal captains, of which there were always two," while (Lib. IX. cap I, p. 356) he calls the same, "governors of Tlatiluico." The Tlatiluican tradition appears very plainly in the writings of the learned friar, which writings have wielded such a vast influence in literature on aboriginal Mexico.

[277] "*Art of War*" (p. 122), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311), *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 160), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494).

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chroniclers mention them indiscriminately as military captains of 701
the highest rank. Still, while this fact remains undisputed, we notice among later authors that two of the four, namely: "Ezhuahuacatl" and "Tlacateccatl" are called: "judges."[278] How the duties of a judge sitting permanently, could be performed by a war-chief, is rather difficult to comprehend, whereas those of a chief executioner of judicial decisions agree well with those of a military office, in primitive society. "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" is positively stated to have been "chief executioner" ("alguazil maior") or sheriff."[279] The Codex Mendoza, however, makes all four equal, by calling each of them "executive officer." Samuel Purchas, in his "Pilgrimage," renders this incorrectly by "officer of dispatch."[280] Such was indeed their true position. What the "elder brother" was to the kin, the four great war-captains were to the tribe. To them the judicial decisions of the council were communicated through the "Cihuacohuatl" or the "Tlacatecuhtli," and *they* were intrusted with their execution. Consequently they superintended the maintenance of order and quietness at every place where the tribal authorities exercised control, as, for instance, in the markets, and in the central square encompassing the great "house of God." But they were also the immediate military assistants of the "chief of men," and as such, as far as he exercised any power to punish, they also acted as his "executive officers" when necessary.[281] It is doubtful, however, if the four leaders

[278] The "Tlacatecatl" is called a "Judge," second in jurisdiction only to the "Cihuacohuatl" by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332). The same author calls him a "valiant captain" (Lib. II, cap. LXXVI, p. 211). After this author, he has been called a Judge by *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat II°, cap. I, p. 370), by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). It is singular to notice that for instance *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XVIII, p. 320) mentions that "Water-Rat" ("Ahuitzotl") was "Tlacatecatlo, captain general of the Mexicans." In this he follows *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. LXIII, p. 166), who, in turn, agrees with his predecessor, *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXV and XXXVI, p. 151). The latter is particularly explicit. His statements agree with those of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XIII and XVIII). "Ezhuahuacatl" is also represented as "alcalde" in the *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXIX, tercera Partida, No. 18), which again represents him as "executor" (plate LXVI, tercera Partida, No. 10). All this tends to show that these officers, besides being principal war-captains, were also executors of judicial decrees.

[279] *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Lettre*, Mexico, 3 Nov., 1532, "*Premier Recueil*," etc., p. 348): "Un officier, nommé Guzmuchil, remplit les fonctions d'alguazil mayor. . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, pp. 334 and 335), *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 370, etc.), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXVI, tercera Partida, No. 7) calls him "executor," like "Tlilancalqui" and "Ezhuahuacatl."

[280] *Codex Mendoza* (plates LXVI and LXVIII). In the latter he calls them "Valientes." For the interpretation of Purchas see *Kingsborough* (Vol. VI, pp. 73 and 74).

[281] Instances of that kind are frequently found, both in Durán and Tezozomoc.

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701 had the right to appoint the assistants whom they needed, beyond sending out subordinates, or rather detailing them on particular errands. As to watchmen in the market-places,—the officers who circulated about preserving peace and order there—they were placed at their posts by the tribe. But it was their duty to report to the chief executive officers, nay, to apply to them for assistance, whenever anything happened which required the exercise of higher power. On the other hand, these subalterns obeyed their orders in the interests of tribal business.

701 643 We have already noticed that, among the four, "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" is most distinctly mentioned as judicial executioner, even prominently before the others. But this officer again is lost sight of at the election of a "chief of men." Then another looms up in his place. This is the "man of the black house," Tlilancalqui. It appears that each of the three first-named positions namely: "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacateccatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," was, together with the last-named "Tlilancalqui," a preparatory stage for the office of "chief of men."[262] "One of these four had to be elected king" says the Codex Ramirez.[263] While it is difficult to

[262] This statement rests upon the authority of the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 38), which document agrees almost verbatim with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103). Aside from *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV) and *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), who both, though rather vaguely, confirm the above, there are other indications confirming it. For instance, *Codex Mendoza* (plate XI, interpretation or rather text): "Ytzn el dicho Tiqoqicatzl fue por estremo valiente y veliceso en armas, y antes que subcediese en el dicho señorio, hizo por su persona en las guerras cosas hazañosas de valentia, pordonde alcanzó tomar dictado de Tlacatecatl, que tenia por titulo de gran calidad y estado, y en el punto de que ex vacando dicho señorio, el tal punto y grado subcedia luego en el dicho señorio, lo qual assimismo sus antecesores hermanos altras contenidos, y padre, y agudo tuviéron el mismo curso de los titulos y dictado, por donde subiéron á ser señores de México." Again (plate LXVIII, tercera partida), no difference is made between "Tlacatecatl" and "Tlacochcalcatl;" both are called "valientes" and "capitanes de los exercitos Mexicanos." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 173): "y que Axayacatl, Hijo de Tepoçomoctli (Señor Mexicano) era Hombre Valeroso, y de mui gran fuerte, para el Reinado, fue de comun consentimiento, pasado á esta Dignidad, de la que tenia de Tlacuhcalcatl, y Capitan General, y hecho Rei." (Cap. LXIII, p. 186): "Ahuitzotl, Hermano del Difunto, y de su Antecesor Axayacatl, era Tlacatecatl, ó Capitan General de los Mexicanos. . . ." Thus he acknowledges that both Tlacatecatl and Tlacochtecatl were alike eligible. It is but natural to read similar assertions in *Veinemont* (Parte IIe, Trat. Ie, cap. XVI, p. 305, cap. XVIII, p. 320), and *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 268, cap. XXII, p. 287). This author speaks of the different "chiefs of men" having been "generals in chief" of the Mexicans. Now since (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 404) he states that the "Tlacochcalcatl" was the "principal" among the war-captains, it follows, that the chiefs named by him had all attained that rank. But we know that other authorities frequently give them another title also, therefore the conclusion is but natural that there were *several* head-chiefs for military purposes, etc., from whom the "chief of men" might be chosen.

[263] "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (p. 56).

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conceive why the captain "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" should *not* be one 701
of the privileged four, it is easy to understand why the "man of 643
the black house" should be of that number. The dark house, "Casa Lobrega" of Nuñez de la Vega, in Chiapas, plays a conspicuous part in the worship, or "medicine" of the aborigines of Mexico and Central America.[284] The "man of the black, or dark house," was therefore an intermediate between "medicine" and tribal government. As such, he appears to occupy a stage preparatory to the high office of "chief of men," and represents, together with the "satraps and papaoaqui" named by Sahagun,[285] the element of medicine or worship in the election of that officer. "Tlilancalqui" is occasionally, though rarely, mentioned as a war-chief,[286] but missions of importance appear to have been intrusted to him; and Joseph de Acosta calls the three other chiefs "warriors,"[287] to his exclusion: and finally, he is made a confidential advisor in times of great public danger. This is about all we know of this office, in relation to the government of the Mexican tribe.

The fact, amply proven as it is, that the "chief of men" had to be selected from among the four chiefs and officers enumerated, bears directly on the nature of the dignity with which the "Tlacatecuhtli" was invested. It fully disposes of the assumptions, that this officer was anything but an Indian war-chief of the highest order, or that heredity was attached to the office, though it does not disprove succession of office limited to any single *kin*. While it thus explains many incidental features of organization and government, it leads us back to the office of "chief of men" and through it, recalls some of the fundamental attributes of the tribe.

[284] *J. H. von Minutoli* ("*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala*," etc., "*Teatro Critico Americano*," by *Felix Cabrera*, German translation, p. 31): "house of darkness which he (Votan) had built in the space of a few respirations." But the dark house is yet more positively noticed in Guatemala. *Popol Vuh* (Part II. chap. II, p. 85): "Gekuma Ha," from "Gek" black. "*Grammaire QQuiché*" (p. 160). Also (Chap. VIII, p. 147, cap. IX, pp. 148 and 149). It is interesting to notice, in connection with this, that the same gathering of aboriginal traditions also mentions (p. 81) a house filled with lances (darts): "E'oo chicut Chayim-ha u bi, utuquel chakol chupam zakielohre chi cha, chi tzinnic, chi yohohic, chiri pa ha." (Cap. IX, p. 134): "qate chicut ta x-e oc chi qabolab pa Chaim-ha." This corresponds with the Mexican "Tlacochcalcatl." Again we are treated (p. 86) to a "house of tigers" also repeated (p. 134), and it is easy to recognise in it a counterpart to the "Tlacatecatl." Thus again the analogy between the Guatemaltecans and the Mexicans, appears sustained to some extent. [712]

[285] "*Historia general*," etc. (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[286] By *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are superfluous. See his "*Crónica*."

[287] "*Historia natural y moral de Indias*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

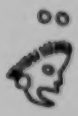

721 696 **Twenty-ninth Chapter, in which it is told how these rulers (upon the day sign mentioned) proclaimed war. And at that time were sentenced those who were to die.**[1]

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capítulo: vncan motenecoa, in quenja ichountin tlatequc (in jpan in tonalli omotenculi) iaotlatoaia, ioan vncan tlatzontequjlloia in mjqujztli ipan caica.

●701 721 When already the election ceremony had taken place, with festivity,[2] [the newly-elected rulers] disposed themselves for war to be declared. Also in this way it was said that for a second time, in war, the rulers would hold the election ceremony. Then to a considerable degree did the chieftains, the strong, cast their lot with him. They were urged and thrust upon him that they might show him their skill and aid him; so that they might take captives for him. This was because in this way they sought, dedicated themselves to, and gained their drink and food, and their capes, through the help of which they would live and have raiment; and he would honor them, etc. They would become his standard-bearing warriors, who, it was said, courted danger, hurled themselves against the foe, and joined in the fray.

In jquac ic omotecpac tecuanotzalistica: njman ic no cueic oalmotlalia injc iaotlatolo, no ic mjtoa ic oppa iaoc motecpacaa in tlatoanj, iquac cenca ipan mopepena in tiacaoan, in chicoaqueque, ipan netecocholo, nemamalioa, injc qujtlamatilizque, quipalevizque, injc ichoan uel qujtlamaltizque, ipampa ca qujxtoca, ipan mjxpoa, qujmotetequjlia in jauh, in jtlaqual, in jtilma, injc ipal nemjzque, ipallaquemjzque, quinmauizçotia, Er°. itlaujcecaoan mochioazque in mjtoa: injc aquitiçotla in jntzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, teca mocnotla, teujc mopetlatiuj:

696 And it was also said that on this [day sign] One Dog a court of justice was held. Then was sentence pronounced upon those who were to die. And at this time were released and freed those who had done nothing serious. And they absolved of their crimes those who had suffered injustice for no apparent crime or discernible fault, and had served and paid a penalty for it: those who had only wrongly been imprisoned for some invented wrong, who only paid and stoned another's fault or crime, or perhaps served in another's place. Perhaps they imprisoned one for another's fault. So they had been forced into bondage and had become slaves. At once they bathed there at Chapultepec to lay aside their crimes.[3]

ioan mjtoa no ipan tecutlatolaia injn ce itzcujntli, vncan tlatzontequjlloia in jmpan ca mjqujztli: auh iquac qujxtiloia, cacaloia, in amo cenca ovi ic cate, ioan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti, in amo cenca melaoac, in amo uel ixnezquj, in amo cenca uel nezticа ic tlacoti, ic tlanamjquj in aço çan tlapictli qujtzaqua, çan tlapiqujloque, çan ixpopoiotlanamjctiloque, ixpopoiotlanamjcque, aço çan tepan in tlaiccoa, aço çan tecujtl in qujtzaqua, injc cujtiloque in victli, mecapalli, injc victique, mecapaltique, iquac njman vmpa onmaaltia, in chapulepec, injc quincaoa, intlatlacul:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en el mismo centenario o nuevo, a los que por algún gran crimen, estaban presos."*

2. *Ibid.*: *"En acabando de hacer la fiesta de la dedicación de su señorío. . . . otra de nuevo la grandeza de su señorío."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chapter xii: *Mis chapulepec ynmaaltl.* In the Garibay ed., VI, 41, 67, the corresponding Spanish text reads: "Dicen como o bañar a Chapulepec, o quitarle pudor como o bañar a Chapulepec. — *Este refrán dice el que ha tenido alguna gran enfermedad o alguna carga pesada, con deseo de nuevo libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad, dice: Mis chapulepec nimaaltl, que quiere decir, bañarme he yo en aquel rincón cuando esta carga o enfermedad se me quitare. Chapulepec es una fuente que está cerca de México, muy buena, las que se bañan en ella piensan que les hace dicha gran merced. Así, está adagio es de los mexicanos.*"

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its 701
military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The 702
telpuchcalli, houses of youth, through which boys passed [883]
at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with 411
sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl.* Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For de- 714
fensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

X796 nity, and, escorted by many captives to the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, here this same one, before Uitzilopochtli, tore out the hearts of four captives. The rest he left, that the priest might slay them.

[702] In this month the lord drew up a parade of all the warriors and of the young men who had never gone to war. These he gave arms and insignia, and they became soldiers; so that from then on they could go to war. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in its account.

dole de muchos cativos al cu de Vitzilobuchtli: alli este mesmo delante de Vitzilobuchtli, sacaua el coraçon a quatro cativos: y los de mas dexaualos para que los matasse el satrapa.

En este mes hazia alarde el señor de toda la gente de guerra: y de los mancebos que nũca aujan ydo a la guerra: a estos daua armas y diujsas, y asentauan por soldados: para que de alli adelante fuessen a la guerra. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta que estan a la larga puestas en su historia.

side; some had long hair; some already had hair wound about the head.[9] They bound the cobs of maize in groups of seven; these were the clusters [of cobs of maize]. They wrapped them in red paper, and painted them with liquid rubber; and they sprinkled on them drops of liquid rubber.

ic omaxtlauh: chichicuamolol in quijilpia, ichoal yn ocholli caca, cumaquentia, tlauhio, colxaca: yoan conolchichipixca.

796X [302] [314]

And they pasted the young girls' arms and legs with red feathers; they painted their faces, fastening [on them] two [circles of] fish paste[10] flecked with iron pyrites on both sides, on their cheeks.

Auh in ichpopuchti, tlapaliujtica quijnpotonja, in inmac, yniczic, yoã quijnxaoaia, ovme quijnpalhuja chapopoli apetztzo, tlaxpetzujlli, tlaxpeztiotilli: necoccampa in camatepa.

[302]

Then, they accompanied the young girls, who carried upon their backs the dried maize, also called Cintetol. They kept going before them; they went surrounding and encircling them, looking on fascinated. None of those crowded about looked upon them; [none] looked fixedly at them; none joked with them.

Niman ic ic qujnujca yn ichpopuchti, qujmamatiuj in cintli, no cintetul motocaiotiaia: ymixpã hicatiuj, qujntepeuitiuj, qujmololhujtiuj, cemixtli invic: aiac in maca qujmjtta, qujnocecemjtta, aiac qujncamanalhuja.

And if anyone was merry with one of them, they chid him. They said unto him:

Auh intla aca tecamanalhuja, qujcalaoa qujcalilhuja:

"Verily, he with the long [tangled] hair of a youth also speaketh! Dost thou indeed speak? Be thou concerned over how may be removed thy tuft of hair, thou with the long hair! Thou with the evil-smelling, stinking forelock, art thou not only a woman like me? Nowhere hath thy excrement [yet] been burned."[11]

no uellatoa in cuexpalle, vel teh titlatoa? ma ic ic xitlaocuja, quen uetztz in mocuexpal, cuexpaltone? cuexpaliiac, cuexpalpoto, amo çan tinocioapo? acan motlachinauja mocujil.

796X 702

Some answered her and said unto her:

Cequjntin quioalcuepaia, qujcoaia

"[What thou sayest] is good. I am going, I. I know that it is true and verity; thou hast done well. Now also shalt thou go. Anoint thy stomach with mud; scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other and fall to the earth; drop upon the dust. There is a stone, a rough one; strike thy face therewith, that blood may spurt forth; scratch thy nose with the stone; or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe, that thou mayest spit through it. Be on thy way; go as thou likest."

ca ic qualli, çã onjia, ic nehoatl, nicmati, haçanelli, hiçayuj, otitlacneli ca no te tiez: xonmitiçoquijuj, xonmjtichichiquj, ximocxiualina, tlalli ic ximoujtequj, tlalli xiquijpotoztiuetzi: vmpa ca tetlhon, techachalli, ic xonmixtetzotzona, ic xonmjxtzotzona, ezli tiqualasacuchoa: ximoiacatechichiquj, noce xonmococotlecoionj, vmpa tioalchichichaz, çan xinemj, çã tiuhquj xinemj.

[372]

And although these words were thus expressed by

Auh maciuj yn iuhquj hin intlatol muchicaia

9. "*Amamatlli, sal, amamatl, cabello largo que dexaban a un lado dicho cabaço dos dexaban quando los casaquillos*" (Molina, op. cit.). *Amamatlli* (sp., Spanish-Nahuatl section) is translated as "*Cabello cortapuntas y redondos del cabaço de la muger.*"

10. *Chapopotli*, See Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, pp. 72, 288.

11. In view of the double meanings which make this passage difficult to put into English, reference to Inoue's translation in Sahagún's *Historia* is helpful. A summary in the Bakeudo edition (Vol. I, p. 171) mentions "*Los muchachos y muchachas; cabos aquellos que tenían cortados de cabellos en el empeine, que llamaban cuexpaltapaxtli.*" Further on (Vol. II, pp. 111-2): "*Los grandes y pequeños por donde cortaban los que habían de llegar a las mujeres deprisadas, eran cosas que se siguen: cuando eran pequeñuelos cortaban o cercenaban la cabeza, y llegando a los dos años dejábanle crecer una cadeja de cabellos en el empeine, a la cual eran llamados tocuexpaltin; a los quatro años tenían ya aquella cadeja larga, y llamábanles cuexpaltotomajtl, porque ella cimpeine eran cuando habían hecho los en la guerra; y si en la guerra acontecía que él y otro, o, él y otros dos o tres, o más, cautivaban a algunos de los enemigos, quitábanle la cadeja de los cabellos, y aquello era señal de hombre.*

"*Y cuando quitaban la cadeja del cabellillo, dejábanle una cadeja sobre la oreja derecha, que le colgaba la oreja o cabo con hasta que era el derecho, y aun cuando parecía que tenía cara proporcionada, que era señal que en compañía de mujer había cometido adulterio; y por haber cometido esto con compañeras, y haber dejádole la cadeja en señal de hombre, le sobrebolvían con ellas; a este tal distribuían: Mucho mancebo, hace bagaje la cara de sol, y la mujer: ya cuando otra cosa; porque te bienestar y te alegrarse; a cualquier en compañía de otra; mira que te cabellos sale perdiente y que te acontecerá tus enemigos, que no que otra vez cometiendo en compañía de otra, porque si esto fuese quedábanle otra cadeja de la parte de la otra oreja, que pareciese muchacha, y esto te cabellos mucho que atemorizaste esto.*"

See also Lib. VIII, cap. xxi.

X 796 ●702 us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

X 796 [346] And when [the young girls] were carrying upon their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

[532] They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *xonillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly; there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

X 796 824 243 And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[12] black maize;[13] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[14] large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[15] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[16] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[17] the after-fruit;[18] double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toquichti, ca çanenpanca, ca ça in tonenhcatlatol: ca uel ic qujmomtzinteponia in cioa iaoc, ic tiolitoneua, ic tiolouia, ic tiollo tlacujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca qujtoa, in toquichti

eço tecoco, yn intlatol cioa, eço teiitic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiqujtoque, yn ahtinemizque: aço itla tonaceoal tocnjuhtze.

Auh in qujmamatiuj in cicinterteuh, yn oquitquja itzupan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuezcomaiollo muchioa, cuezcomac contema.

Auh yn iquac tetoco, in ic toquizpã, ichoatl qujtocaia qujxinachioaia, qujxinachioa.

Auh injn qujlhujtlaltia, qujlhujchiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhqujn cioatl qujtlaliaia ixiptla. Qujtoaia, ca uel ichoatl in tonacaiotl: iuhq'nma qujtomequi, ca uel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tiolitinemj, teoapaoca: intlacamo ichoatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn aquin, atle qujqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlaoa, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipã momana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in ichoatl chicome coatl, ca qujchioa yn izquich tonacaiotl:

in iztac tlaolli, in cozric tlaolli, in xiuhtoctli, yiauitl, yiauhnenel, iauhcacalqui, tlaolpatlachtli, in totoiontic, in tlaolpiçilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhqujn eneoaoanqui, escujcujhic:

njman ier in quappachiztli: iuhqujn quappachtli, itlachielis, momochicintli, in molqujtl, cinnaitl, cintzazapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamatl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI, *op. cit.*, of the *Florentine Codex* defines *xinkintli* as "*Pan de maiz verde, tierno, pequeño y redondo.*"

13. "*Espigas de maiz negro*" (*loc. cit.*). Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*maiz negro o negro.*"

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*) defines *xiuhtocatlaloni* as "*Espigas de maiz por diversos colores.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The National text reads: "*tlachichilli cinta cintli diapalcamaqui, diapalcamaqui tlatocatlin, tlacuajcuilchiqui, tlacuajcuilchiqui, tlacuajcuilchiqui, tlacuajcuilchiqui tlacuatlin, tlacuajcuilchiqui.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Espigas de maiz lleonado.*" In the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 102, there is reference to "*olotes maiseros de maiz que nacen anchos y pequeños, o lleonados, que en la Dogana se llaman tzontecomatl, quappachtli.*" A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that *tzontecomatl* are "*Espigas de maiz que nacen de dos en dos.*" In Simeon (*op. cit.*) *quappachtli* is given as tawny or tawny as tanbark. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*color leonado, o manchado manado.*" For *quappachtli*, Simeon has "*maiz grueso en hoja, que servirá á guisa de quadrumanos provenientes de la Isla de Cuba (Sch.).*"

17. Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 99) defines *momochtli* as "*maiz reventado o tostado,*" and on fo. 37r of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagún states that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que salta grano en reventando por blanquearse.*"

18. *Redrojo de maiz* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

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When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22]

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa-

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maîtres du temple et du *collège militaire*, . . . " The boy (Mexican "piltontli") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97).

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España," in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "captains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 131) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness."

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.)

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1726. Decada II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlatilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al otro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nàcia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse à casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicati-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayácatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 239 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

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public storehouses connected with the temples of each tribal subdivision.[28]

The name given to these public store-houses was "houses of darts" (tlacochcalco).[29] They were, probably, not limited to the immediate vicinity of the chief temple, but each subdivision of the pueblo had its "house of darts" as well as its central "teocalli."[30] The following description of an aboriginal Mexican "pueblo," furnished by a missionary who arrived in New-Spain as early as

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[28] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121. Immediately preceding the foray against Xoconocheo, "each day the youth went to the quarters, to practise at the school of arms, "telpuchcalco . . . . " *Idem*, cap. LXXVIII, p. 134). The *Anonymous Conqueror*, whose relation is contained in vol. I of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos," both in the original Italian taken from Ramusio ("Relatione di alcune cose della Nuova "Spagna, & Della Gran Citta di Temestitan Messico, fatta per uno Gentil' homo del "Signor Fernando Cortese"), and in the Spanish translation by the distinguished Mexican scholar, says (p. 394, "Del tempii, é Meschite che havevano"): "Before they left "(for war), they all went to the principal *mosque* ("meschita maggiore"—main teocalli) "and provided themselves with the arms stored over the main entrances" (of the square around the temple). We have few positive indications as to the true situation of the store-houses, beyond that they were probably connected with the "school, houses" ("telpuchcalco"), and therefore with the temples. Torquemada, who gives an elaborate description of the chief temple of Mexico (Lib. VIII, of 2d volume), says (Cap. XI, p. 146): "and at each one of the four entrances to the court of the temple "there was an extensive (very large) hall, connected with numerous rooms and closets, "high as well as low, which served as houses of arms, where these were kept together "with the ammunition. For, as they regarded the temples as their strongest places, "and their retreats in case of danger, they held there their arms and means of defence." He further mentions, under the uncouth name of "Tlacochcalcoacatlyacapan," "another hall . . . . Here they kept a quantity of arrows (or darts, 'saetas') which "were made every year, and there deposited until wanted." See also Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVII). Gomara (Vedia, I. "El templo de Méjico," p. 349). "At each door (of "the four) of the court of the principal temple there was a large hall surrounded by "high and low additions. These were filled with arms, like public and communal "houses, for the temples were the strongholds of each pueblo, and therefore contained "the arms and ammunition." Of course the square of the great "teocalli" of Mexico attracted principal attention.

[29] "Tlacochalco," or "Tlacochcalli," derives from "tlacochtli," dart, and "calli," house.

[30] Every author concedes that there were several "houses of arms" at Mexico. Bernal-Diez says there were two (Cap. XCI, p. 87, of vol. II, Vedia). Gomara ("Casas de armas," Vedia, I, p. 345) says: "Montezuma had some (rather 'several' 'algunas') houses of arms, whose blazon were a bow and two quivers over each door." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 196) says; "he had, not one, but many houses for the "keeping and storage of arms;" (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 197) he copies almost textually Gomara's statement about the halls over the entrances of the court to the temple of Mexico, and adds also, like Gomara, "porque los templos, aliende de que "servian de casas de Oracion, eran las Fortaleças con que en tiempo de Guerra mas se "defendian, i tenian en ellos la municion, i Almacen." Previously he says (p. 196): "There were many temples in Mexico; according to the parishes, or quarters, of which "there were many." See also Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 188): "porque tenian "muchas casas de varas con sus puntas de pedernal, etc., etc." It shows that the storehouses *were distributed over the pueblo, and not only limited to the main temple.* Cortés, when he burnt Quauhpopoca, emptied for that purpose the arsenals of the main

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the 701
Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending or- 565
ders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the 701
young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauh-* 702
tin," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus propriae personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title. [555]

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 223) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 263), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil major." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 25), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them: "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 60) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests ex-
702 cepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

[293] As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

701 A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "mi-
619 nor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

701 Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad, que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que cuelga atras, y bezote y "oregeras, y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces," "De l'ordre de succession," p. 235), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra, que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas apretadas à la caueça y unas oregeras de concha, largas, y unas bezotes "en los labios, muy bien armados, y empeçaron à componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Cuyuacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, *then* they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 24, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

[98] Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 400) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[99] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-

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mais; bean greens[31] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and smoking jars, and flat cooking plates; and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chia seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

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elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquijch qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necuxlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli.

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaqpanjtl, acaiiotl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequantli, ioan apantli, ioan zoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoquijcomatl, ioã in jxquijch tlamantli çoquijtlatquijtl.

[685]

Auh in ichoantin tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo quimocuitlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oximachililoc, intlacamo quinexitia in aquin quicobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, quitzacutiuh, mjquja, iubquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia,

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in jntequjuh catca tianquijzpan tlaca quichioaia iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianquijztli, ioan tianquijzpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca.

31. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 235, describes quauhtli as "frijol y ejotes de los frijoles"; on p. 238, Simeon, it is given as Mesoamericanum Phaseolus L.

[p. 70 is blank]

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Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion lleboan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando passaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y escentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22] 871 702

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa- 796 702

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maitres du temple et du *collège militaire*, . . . " The boy (Mexican "piltontli") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97). [561]

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España." in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "captains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness." [705]

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.) [642]

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 167). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

the other hand, the fresh water emptying out of Lake Xochimilco was thrown to the east side of the dyke into Lake Tezcuco. By this simple contrivance the Mexicans surrounded their pueblo with a huge pond on all sides, isolating, or rather *fortifying* it beyond all conceivable means of Indian assault.[197] *The causeways leading to Mexico were, therefore, military constructions.*[198] Subsequently the dyke was continued to the north until where Guadalupe Hidalgo now stands (anciently Tepeyacac), thus closing up the western basin completely, and another causeway, running east and west was constructed to Tacuba. From the southern dyke a branch ran to Cuyuacan, starting at Xoloc and extending to the southwest. In order to insure free circulation of the waters, sluices were cut, which interrupted the causeways at several places. Wooden bridges, easily removable, were laid across these ditches. Thus Mexico needed no outer fortifications nor walled enclosures.[199]

one inch higher than the level of Lake Tezcuco. This elevation was purely artificial (Humboldt, "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Paris, 1827. Vol. II, pp. 96, 97 and 98). After the causeways running north and south had been constructed, the waters emptying into the swamp from the west side could not any longer run freely into the salt-water basin of Tezcuco. They were actually kept around the pueblo, and the swamp thus changed into a lagune. That those sources were powerful enough for such a purpose is amply shown by the great inundation which their careless opening occasioned under Ahuitzotl, in 1498 ("Essai politique," Vol. II, p. 101), of which the old authors bear ample testimony. (Durán, Cap. XLVIII and XLIX.) (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXX.) (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. LXVI.) (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXVII, pp. 192 and 193.)

[197] The levels of Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco are 1 vara 11 inches higher than the "plaza mayor" of Mexico. Their outlet is to the northwest, between Churubusco and Iztapalapan. Previously, when Mexico was surrounded by water, this outlet was between Mexicalzinco and Churubusco (then called "Huitzilopochco"). At Churubusco the great causeway began, and the waters emptying out of Lake Xochimilco flowed along its right hand side into Lake Tezcuco. The causeways thus increased the effects of natural drainage upon the central basin. It was certainly a very primitive but very effective work on the part of the Mexicans. We find a parallel to it, at a comparatively recent date, in Bolivia. When Andrés Tupac Amaru, the son of the unfortunate José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was blockading Sorata, in 1782, he could not, without artillery, hope to succeed against the well fortified town. Therefore, by a system of circumvallation, he enclosed the town with the waters of the Sierra, which finally destroyed the earthworks, leaving the entrance free to the infuriated Indians. 22,000 whites perished in the massacre ensuing.

[198] It is to the Hon. L. H. Morgan that we owe the first intimation in regard to the true character and purpose of these causeways. They were not merely for the purpose of insuring communication with the mainland, but especially for the defence of Mexico. Without them the area extending between the pueblo and the western shore would, at best, have remained a swamp, or would have become, as it now is, dry land. In both cases the defensive power of the Mexicans was at an end, and the course of events in Mexico would have turned quite differently.

[199] Mention is made of a fortification of some kind at "Xoloc," where the branch dyke from Cuyuacan joined the main causeway. (This must have been in the neighborhood of San Antonio.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by 363
footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all
parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west [491]
and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Te-
peyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoa-
can. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they en-
tered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus
at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the 312
mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been con-
structed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so
that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could
remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by
Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern cause-
way. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but 364
boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when [241
filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery 432]
vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the [415
Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight 386]
and these simple methods for getting fresh water and dis-
posing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in
Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were
abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifi- 712 ●
cations, and formal military architecture was rare. The tem- 212
ples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points;
indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the
burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would
submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a 346
high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork
of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 by the maturer warriors. A tribesman had the right to elaborate his dress in accordance with his prowess, and the great chiefs wore attached to their backs immense frames covered with feathers. Tribes, and even clans, wore special insignia, so that friend could be distinguished from foe and chief from common warrior. The term uniform could hardly be used, since the rich variety and indulgence in individual fancy produced a kaleidoscopic effect in the motley array of bright colors and strange forms.[8]

712 To supply these forces was a very considerable task. Each quarter of the town had its *tlacochcalco,* or house of darts, an arsenal where the military supplies were stored. This was situated near the chief temple, the lofty sides of which made it a natural strong point. At a call to arms the clan leaders could rapidly assemble their men and equip them at these rallying points, which were also centers of the religious and social life of the community.[9]

724 An offensive campaign was a more serious undertaking. Having no beasts of burden, the warriors had to carry their own food with them. Due to the governmental system, wherein each town was independent, the armies did not dare live off the country for fear of inciting revolt and also because most communities lacked the food to sustain a large body of men. Thus, prior to a war, negotiations had to be made whereby supplies could be concentrated and allies brought together at a point as near as possible to the zone of attack. Usually a single battle decided the issue, since the [726] attacking force could not maintain itself in the field for more than a very few days. The calculations necessary to fight a war two or three hundred miles away in Oaxaca, say, were highly complex, and much of the Aztec force on such a cam-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

paign must have been composed of local tribesmen, stiffened 724
with a *garde d'élite* of Tenochcas and Texcocans.

Owing to this difficulty in respect to transport, siege 712
operations were virtually impossible, so that formal fortifications were rare. Some towns were built in very strategic locations, high on a mountainside or in the bend of a river, having access restricted to a narrow neck of land. Tenochtitlan, owing to its situation on the lake, was a natural fort. The causeways were penetrated by canals at intervals, so that removal of the portable bridges created natural barriers. The flat roof tops offered good points from which to harry the enemy in the street below, and the many temples were strong points difficult to reduce. (See Plate 37, top.)

Miles of defensive walls surrounded a site in Tlaxcala, where a ditch backed by a wall enclosed an area of several square miles. At Huexotla,* a fief of Texcoco, a wall at least fifteen feet high still exists and must have had a strong defensive value, although its ostensible purpose was to enclose the area about the main temple. Xochicalco† is situated on a high hill which was intensively terraced, and it was further strengthened by a wide ditch cut through the point of easiest access. Sometimes a site was chosen between two ravines which made impassable obstacles to an attacking force. However, while defensive *purposes* were often taken into account in building towns, strictly defensive *works*, in the nature of fortifications, were seldom undertaken.[10]

Open fighting, the difficulty of keeping up extended cam- 726
paigns and the informal character of the military force were factors which stultified the development of tactics or strategy. In battle the howling mob which represented the collective

*Way-sho'-cla. †Sho-chi-ca'l-co.

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atempan.

In atempan, vncan qujntecpichoaia in tlacatecuhti: auh in jquac in oqujntecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiacalochtia, qujntlapechvia. 796^A 346

Auh in jquac oqujmonthlaiacalochtique: njman ye ic qujmoçaca, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, amoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

Tencacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tencacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tencacoac tlacochcalco

In tencacoac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjec malli: yoan vncan mopixia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Çalpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenqujtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oqujcenquijxtique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia: [561]

auh in jquac in oqujmonmjctique, njman vncan qujntetequjq, yoan qujnpanacia, caiouchqujlhujaia in jnnacaio. [266]

Auh ya jquac oqujnpanaque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jtqujch tecutlatoque: amono ichoantin in macceaki, ça yehoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[13]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acroistemaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ie mochi calteoeti in tlaiacalooc, inan qujtlaloooc teucalli: in mjoaia calpulli, vncan neçaoaloia: 796^X 346 785

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achocauhti, tequjnaque vncan moçavaia, cempoualtica,

mjoaia: nemacujçaoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc ieh macujlilhujtl quj-

13. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*zacatec*).

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had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded 632
a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there [317]
is no salt from this province in the tribute list. 131

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after [712]
the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a [712]
local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels [648]
with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde pedian poblar y açer va fuerte, de manera questiviese zeme en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espunable ... era la mas principal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[m] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[n]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17') accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[o] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[n]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[p] of mantles *colchadas***
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white**
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
1,600 bundles of large mantles**
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)*

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian**
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[m] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[n] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[o] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[n] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[p] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amaçuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlaçhco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Totla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.,* p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

633 *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

[112] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[3]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecuma."[4] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[5]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the 197 Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[9] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[2] *GPM*, p. 9: *ENE*, 14: 79.

[3] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[4] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec "... reconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Montecuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), I: 320.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, [175] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[32]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[33]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[34] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[35]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[36] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[37] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 large mantles[38]

[32] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵒ cuescomatepeque de la juridizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Cuecomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[33] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[34] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[35] Dominguez, *Cuecomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[36] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 156.

[37] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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It appears in the Mo-
632 *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[80] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[81] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[82] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[83] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[84]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
● 712 show.[85] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[86]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[87] The chief language of the

[80] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[81] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[82] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[83] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[84] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[85] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[86] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[87] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecian al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

½ [i.e., Chinantlan – Analysis]

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one
712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one
131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD**

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[b]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early
651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[c]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 8v. Identified as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.
[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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632 *Ayoxochiquilazala* seems to have been the anchor of the Empire in
●[712] this region. A local Mexican garrison consumed all the tribute, which never reached Mexico.[19]

Ehuacalco, suggests Troncoso,[20] may be the Calihualá [Cal-eual-lan] of today. The proposed identification seems reasonable.

Patlanalan is a name which apparently survives only in documents. The town was subject to Tonalá (a) and was half a league from "Çilacajoapa."[21]

Piaztla was probably "Old Piaztlan" (Huehuepiaztlan), which lay to the west of the site of the modern town. Among the towns subject
632 to Piaztla in 1581—and probably also linked with it in 1519—were
131 Tuzantlan (c) and Ilamatzinco (b). These appear on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, 1908.

Yxicayan became "Xicayan de Tovar" in colonial days.[22] It confined with Puctla and Tlacomayztlauaca,[23] which are the Putla Santa Maria and Tecomaxtlahuacan of today. Xicayan de Tovar was nine leagues southwest of "Instlauaca" (Juxtlahuaca)[24] and four leagues in the same direction from Ayoxochiquilazala.[25] Northeast of the ancient Acuitlapan, Guerrero, are a C. Jicayan and a R. Jicayan which indicate the site. It should be pointed out that the Jicayán of today (near Tlacamama), also existing in the sixteenth century,[26] is a quite different pueblo.

Ycpatepec, which enjoyed a certain pre-Hispanic fame, may be located by piecing together a variety of references. Though it is described in the relación of Cuauhuitlan along with towns of the modern district of Jamiltepec on the Oaxaca coast, it is stated to be no less than thirty-five leagues to the northeast of those towns,[27] beyond a sierra, in the Mixteca Baja.[28] Elsewhere it is given as ten leagues from Mixtepec

[19] See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
[20] *PNE*, 5: 238.
[21] *PNE*, 5: 238; *GPM*, p. 20. Its estancias were called Guastepec and Santa Clara.
[22] *PNE*, 1: No. 810; *GPM*, p. 65; *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[23] *PNE*, 1: No. 810.
[24] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137.
[25] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[26] *PNE*, 1: No. 808.
[27] *PNE*, 4: 158.
[28] *PNE*, 4: 155: "muy apartado [de Cuahuitlan] porque cae en la provincia de la Mixteca Baja." Its encomendero was Francisco de Alfaro.

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635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 532] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[41]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[42]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[43]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[44]

[41] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[42] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[43] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daus ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[44] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le ácudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçébida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[88] 632

Huitzannola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[89]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[90] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[91] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast. 632 712 [101]

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[92] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo. 632 131

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[93] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[94] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla- 101 197

[88] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesquerie." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[89] *GPM*, p. 106.

[90] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[91] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[92] *GPM*, p. 98.

[93] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Náhuatl.

[94] *GPM*, p. 27.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[66] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[67]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[68] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[69] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[70] and its identification by Toscano

[66] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[67] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[68] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[69] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[70] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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635 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the
114 glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based
[128] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[78] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

● [712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[79]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[78] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llamauan 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[79] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauaca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

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paying tribute, but "the lords of Chila, when it pleased them to," exchanged presents with Moctezuma.[30] 632

Icxitlan was a subject town which gave no tribute beyond feeding the highland troops that passed through it.[31]

Malinaltepec (10) sent its tribute to Coayxtlahuacan.[32] This Malinaltepec, which is stated to lie eight leagues northeast of Atlatlaucca and five leagues west of "los Yolos" [Yoloxonecuilan], appears on Bevan's map.[33] It should not be confused with the nearest of several homonyms, that is, with the Malinaltepec southwest of Atlatlaucca. [131]

Mictlan, as Jiménez Moreno has pointed out,[34] must be the present Mitlatongo.

Papaloticpac paid tribute to its cacique, and he to Moctezuma;[35] probably the Papalotiquipaque of the sixteenth century[36] is one of two towns called Papalo today, southeast of Quiotepec.

Petlaltzinco, like Icxitlan, paid its tribute by supplying the armies of the Empire with food and men.[37]

Tepeucila had been subjected by Moctezuma shortly before the Spaniards arrived.[38]

Xaltepec appears on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Yancuitlan may be found on the 1912 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Çoçolan was conquered by the younger Moctezuma, as will be detailed in the second part of this work. It is mentioned as a garrison town on folio 17r of the *Mendocino,* with two governors—a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli" (cf. chap. viii, no. 37). [712]

[30] *PNE,* 5: 66: "era subjeto al ymperio de la ciudad de México ... embialle [a Moctezuma] los senores de Chila, quando les agradaua, algunos presentes de joyas de oro y mantas," etc.

[31] *PNE,* 5: 75.

[32] See Atlatlaucca, above.

[33] Bevan, *The Chinantec* (1938).

[34] *Códice de Yanhuitlán* (1940).

[35] *PNE,* 4: 90: "tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma ... que llevavan à las guarniciones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra."

[36] *PNE,* 4: 88.

[37] "El dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo pasauan bastimentos, y asi mismo servian con alguna gente de guerra, y no otra cosa alguna" (*PNE,* 5: 70).

[38] *PNE,* 4: 95: "Al tienpo que vinieron los españoles era Señor natural de este pueblo vn cazique que se dezia canchuchu camiñaa, y en tienpo de este los sujeto Monteçuma."

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632 *Eztetlan* was near the modern Tepantepec.[386]

[712] *Guaxacac* (as Huaxac[ac]) is one of the garrison towns mentioned on folio 17' of the *Mendocino* (cf. chap. viii, no. 37) as being governed by a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli." The fortress was actually located on the Cerro del Fortin (Acatepec or Ecatepec), according to the "Relación de Cuilapa" (*Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 20).

Huiztepec and certain neighboring towns together paid tribute to Moctezuma.

Itzquintepec was a town the identification of which involves the whole question of the "pueblos peñoles." Probably we may identify it with the modern town of Peñoles.

Iztepexi recalled in the 1580's that "certain Mexica" had overcome them, whereupon they paid double tribute, as the Mixtec also exploited them.[387]

Macuilxochic remembered only being subject to Teozapotlan,[388] but figures along with the rest of the Empire in the *Matricula*.

Mictlan (28), since it was subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to the Mexica.[389]

Ocelotepec was a town the inhabitants of which "anciently had Moctezuma, lord of Mexico, as their lord."[390]

Quauxiloticpac, now Huajoloticpac, is derived from "quauxilotl"

[386] A collective relación which includes this and the two following pueblos exists (*RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 185–191). Six pueblos in all are listed, in this order: Itzquintepec, Eztetla, Quauxoloticpac [*sic*], Huictepec [*sic*], Totomachapa, and Jilotepec, "los quales estan como aqui van puestos uno en pos de otro y corren norte sur." Now three of these appear on any map: No. 3, Quaxoloticpac (11 leagues from Antequera or Oaxaca City), is Huajolotipac; No. 4, Huiztepec (12 leagues from Antequera), is Huitepec; and No. 6, Jilotepec (17 leagues from Antequera and defined as "çerro al modo de una mazorca de maiz"), is Elotepec. In view of these three fixed points, Itzquintepec (6 leagues from Antequera and 9 leagues from Teotzacualco) is most likely the modern Peñoles. Eztetla (lying between Itzquintepec and Quauxoloticpac and 7 leagues from Teotzacualco) should fall somewhere near modern Tepantepec. And, finally, Totomachapa (like Jilotepec, 10 leagues from Zola) is perhaps the modern Yucucando. (Totomachapa was 8 leagues from Teotzacualco, and Jilotepec only 6.) All these six pueblos peñoles "Jueron ... en tiempo de su jentilidad de monteçuma señor de mexico al qual tributaban oro y mantas de algodon."

[387] *PNE*, 4: 16: "ciertos mexicanos los subjetaron por mandado del Señor de Mexico ... enpeçaron a tributarles asi a los mexicanos questauan en Guaxaca por Monteçuma, y a los mistecos por el señorio que sobrellos tenian, temiendose de los unos y de los otros ... ."

[388] *PNE*, 4: 102: "El gobierno que tenian hera lo que les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... ." See Teozapotlan, below.

[389] *PNE*, 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, below.

[390] *PNE*, 4: 138: "en su antigüedad tenyan por senor a Monteçuma, señor de Mexico ... ."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the 197
predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[126] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[127]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, 174
especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[128]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one 635
of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced un- 131
friendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, [712]
however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid 651
the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles [291]
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian) [262]

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger [316]
20 bags of cochineal [237]

[126] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[127] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[128] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier. 651 632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[283]

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.[284]

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves.[285] [567]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison.[286] [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.[287]

Tlacolula gave military service only.[288]

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.[289]

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[290]

Xilotepec, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.[291]

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[283] See Itzquintepec, above.

[284] *PNE*, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, quas vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

[285] *PNE*, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

[286] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

[287] *PNE*, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

[288] *PNE*, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

[289] *PNE*, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

[290] See n. 105 above.

[291] See n. 105 above.

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fold: we have a list of certain garrison towns with their governors—175
the framework of the Empire—and we have a list of those towns near Tenochtitlan of which no mention is made in the long series of tribute pages. (Even here, however, only the towns are listed, and not their tribute.)

Frontier garrison towns mentioned with Çitlaltepec.—Page 2 of the 175
Matricula is divided in two by a horizontal line, and the upper half is 712
subdivided by a vertical line, three divisions resulting. In the upper left appears a glyph of a box filled with water. The *Mendocino* identifies it as Atzacan (unlocated). Beside it is a nopal, which is identified in both manuscripts as Xoçonochco (Soconusco). Below are two towns which lay close together in the northern extreme of Puebla (see chap. iv, pp. 61–62): Atlan and Teçapotitlan (also identified in both manuscripts).

Glyphs representing the four garrison towns appear on folio 18r of the *Mendocino,* accompanied by the comment that these towns and certain others had special governors "porque no se rrebelasen." To this group the *Mendocino* adds a town glyph from the preceding page of the *Matricula:* Oztoma, the great Guerrero fortress on the Tarascan frontier.

Page 1 of the *Matricula* is badly effaced, but we can recognize the remnants of four town glyphs: Oztoma, in the lower left-hand corner (copied out of place in the *Mendocino,* as noted above); and three others (*Mendocino* copy, fol. 17r), Poctepec (lower right, unlocated) and, identifiable with the two remaining tepetl-glyphs of the *Mendocino* (fol. 17r), Huaxac[ac] (Guaxacac) and Çoçolan in the upper part of the drawing.

This is all the *Matricula* tells us. Probably a whole sheaf of pages is lost from the beginning of this remarkable manuscript: a section referring chiefly to the conquests of the Tenochca and their allies, which we know only through the *Mendocino* (sec. 1). In the present case, however, we need not lament the lack of further information, for we have it—though certainly rearranged—in the copy (e.g., Oztoma).

Three other glyphs of key towns in various parts of the Empire appear in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 17r, in the upper center, upper right corner, and right margin center respectively: Quauhtochco

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula,* our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located; and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen
[128] on the 1: 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula,* Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need.

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,[1] and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders.

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

[1] Mechuacan in the text.

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Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spoken about. 648

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tochel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former [651 712]

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701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

● 712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 580.) The capture of Montezuma did
[643] not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia
[651] says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

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sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlatilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al atro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 259 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

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public storehouses connected with the temples of each tribal sub-division.[28]

The name given to these public store-houses was "houses of darts" (tlacochcalco).[29] They were, probably, not limited to the immediate vicinity of the chief temple, but each subdivision of the pueblo had its "house of darts" as well as its central "teocalli."[30] The following description of an aboriginal Mexican "pueblo," furnished by a missionary who arrived in New-Spain as early as

[28] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121. Immediately preceding the foray against Xoconochco, "each day the youth went to the quarters, to practise at the school of arms, "telpuchcalco . . . . " *Idem*, cap. LXXVIII, p. 134). The *Anonymous Conquèror*, whose relation is contained in vol. I of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos." both in the original Italian taken from Ramusio ("Relatione di alcune cose della Nuova "Spagna, & Della Gran Citta di Temestitan Messico, fatta per uno Gentil' homo del "Signor Fernando Cortese"), and in the Spanish translation by the distinguished Mexican scholar, says (p. 394, "Dei tempii, é Meschite che havevano"): "Before they left "(for war), they all went to the principal *mosque* ("meschita maggiore"—main teocalli) "and provided themselves with the arms stored over the main entrances" (of the square around the temple). We have few positive indications as to the true situation of the store-houses, beyond that they were probably connected with the "school, houses" ("telpuchcalco"), and therefore with the temples. Torquemada, who gives an elaborate description of the chief temple of Mexico (Lib. VIII, of 2d volume), says (Cap. XI, p. 146): "and at each one of the four entrances to the court of the temple "there was an extensive (very large) hall, connected with numerous rooms and closets, "high as well as low, which served as houses of arms, where these were kept together "with the ammunition. For, as they regarded the temples as their strongest places, "and their retreats in case of danger, they held there their arms and means of defence." He further mentions, under the uncouth name of "Tlacochcalcoacatlyacapan," "an-"other hall . . . . Here they kept a quantity of arrows (or darts, 'saetas') which "were made every year, and there deposited until wanted." See also Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVII). Gomara (Vedia, I. "El templo de Méjico," p. 349). "At each door (of "the four) of the court of the principal temple there was a large hall surrounded by "high and low additions. These were filled with arms, like public and communal "houses, for the temples were the strongholds of each pueblo, and therefore contained "the arms and ammunition." Of course the square of the great "teocalli" of Mexico attracted principal attention.

[29] "Tlacochalco," or "Tlacochcalli," derives from "tlacochtli," dart, and "calli," house.

[30] Every author concedes that there were several "houses of arms" at Mexico. Bernal-Diez says there were two (Cap. XCI, p. 87, of vol. II, Vedia). Gomara ("Casas de armas," Vedia, I, p. 345) says: "Montezuma had some (rather 'several' 'algunas') houses of arms, whose blazon were a bow and two quivers over each door." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 186) says; "he had, not one, but many houses for the "keeping and storage of arms;" (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 197) he copies almost textually Gomara's statement about the halls over the entrances of the court to the temple of Mexico, and adds also, like Gomara, "porque los templos, aliende de que "servian de casas de Oracion, eran las Fortaleças con que en tiempo de Guerra mas se "defendian, i tenian en ellos la municion, i Almacen." Previously he says (p. 196): "There were many temples in Mexico; according to the parishes, or quarters, of which "there were many." See also Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 188): "porque tenian "muchas casas de varas con sus puntas de pedernal, etc., etc." It shows that the storehouses *were distributed over the pueblo, and not only limited to the main temple.* Cortés, when he burnt Quauhpopoca, emptied for that purpose the arsenals of the main

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712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over
361 "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great "quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places "it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of "which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking "towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at "the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, "they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and "three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness "from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and "the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to "the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content "himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in "each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were "other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes "three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are
421 often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (500 cartloads, says Tapia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX, p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello mui aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"ters (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

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Even ornaments and dresses were also preserved at some of those places.[33]

We may divide the *armament* of the Mexicans into weapons for offence and defensive armour for protection.

Among the offensive arms the *missiles* occupy the principal place, as we may infer from the general mode of Indian warfare, which consists in striking an enemy, if possible, from a distance, and with as little risk to the assailant as possible, too. *Darts* or *javelins*, *bows* and *arrows*, *slings* and *stones*, were therefore of primary importance to the Mexican warrior.

The dart or javelin ("*tlacochtli*," "*tlatzontectli*") was the main weapon of the Mexicans.[34] It consisted of a short spear made of hard and elastic canewood ("*otlatl*"), whose point, shaped after the manner of the well known arrow-head, was mostly of flint, of obsidian, and perhaps, occasionally, of copper. This point or head was inserted into the stem or rod through a slit at its end, gummed in, and fastened besides by a strong thread wound around it.[35] The javelin sometimes had two or three branches with points, so as to strike several wounds at once,[36] the warrior often had it tied to his arm by a long cord, but sometimes, also, he carried a number of darts loose.[37]

49.) Bernal-Diez says that "mayordomos" had control of the "houses of arms." (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia, II.) At their head was the "Petlacalcatl." "or man of the house of chests," from "petlacalli," chest or box made out of canes. Bernal-Diez mentions that functionary, but says they called him Tapia, his Indian title he does not remember (Cap. XCI). Each tribe subject to Mexico had a "calpixqui" residing among it.

[33] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXV, p. 35, and LXX, p. 119).

[34] Tezozomoc never mentions the bow and arrow, but always "varas tostadas," "varas arrojadiças," "tlatzontectli." Rods hardened by fire were used *once* by the Mexicans, at the time of their most abject misery, when fighting for the Culhua against Xochimilco (Clavigero, lib. II, cap. XVI). Even the poor aborigines of the Lucayos (Bahamas) used points of fish-bone, and not simply hardened points of wood. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[35] Gomara ("Conquista," p. 345. Vedia, vol. I).

[36] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[37] It would be difficult, otherwise, to account for the number of darts "spent" in the engagements, had each warrior carried but one javelin. Torquemada (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 43) mentions a sort of cross-bow (ballesta), which he calls "atlatl," by the means of which they are said to have sped their darts ("que tiraban con cierto artificio, que llamaron Atlatl"). "Atlatl," however, means a strap ("amiento") fastening the helmet around the chin. Mendieta says: "Al principio jugaban de hondas y varas "como dardos que sacaban con jugaderas y las tiraban muy recias." "Jugadera" means a shuttle. In his note to Durán (Cap. IV, p. 31), "inventando aquel modo de ar-"mas y varas arrojadizas que llamamos fisgas." Señor Ramirez says "Refiérese pro-"bablemente al arma Mexicana llamada Atlatl, especie de ballesta, que segun la tradi-"cion fué inventada en Tacubaya . . . ." "Fisga" is a trident or harpoon. The use of the cross-bow, therefore, by the Mexicans, as the term "ballesta" implies, while

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Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in conflict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines. 726 712

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of*, *settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[181] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 465). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in these fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezozomoc. [648 721]

[181] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la Salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an-"cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebelin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. 228. "El primer rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

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712 area of the settlement thus enclosed, forming a terrace or platform, or whether it merely constituted a *belt around it.* As principal means of *protection*, they resorted to *elevation.*[162]

The pueblo of "Quauhquechollan (now Huacachula, in the State of La Puebla), lying to the South-east of Mexico, and tributary to the Mexicans in 1520, was considered very strong, and Cortés has left us the following description of its natural as well as of its
A artificial defenses:—

712 "This town of Guacachula lies on a plane, protected on one
361 "side by a high and steep hilly range, and on two sides by two "rivers, distant from each other about two cross-bow shots. Both "rivers run in deep and precipitous gorges; there are, conse-"quently, but few places where an entrance could be effected, "and even these are of difficult access, steep of descent and of "ascent, on horseback. The place is surrounded by a strong "wall of line and stone, outside of the city as high as four fath-"oms, and almost level with the ground inside. A parapet one-"half fathom in height runs along the top of this wall. For to "sally there are four entrances wide enough for a horse-man to "pass through; at each entrance there are three or four folds of "the enclosure entering one into the other; on each fold of the "wall a corresponding breastwork. Along the entire enclosure
T "they have heaps of stones and pebbles, with which they fight."[163]

712 This idéa of constructing the pueblos on a mountain declivity, so as to be compelled to artificially protect *but one or two sides alone*, we find in several instances. The place of Chamula in the present State of Chiapas, when attacked by the Spaniards under

[162] Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España." Trat. III. Cap. XVI. p. 229), speaking of Tlaxcallan: "Their reason for building in high places was that in "order to feel more safe during their frequent wars, they looked to high and open "places, where they might sleep with less anxiety, since they had neither doors nor "walled enclosures, although they had entrenchments and fortifications ('albarradas "y reparos') in some places, they being sure of war to occur every year." The Mexican name for tribe, or settlement, or pueblo, "altepetl," itself indicates an elevated object, the word "tepetl" signifying "mountain" or "hill."

[163] "Carta Segunda (Vedia I. p. 50); also, Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXXII. p. 143), and several others. Clavigero (Lib. IX. cap. XXVIII) says that the walls of Quauhquechollan were fully 20 feet high, 12 feet wide, and had a parapet of 3 feet in elevation. The fathom: "Estado," "Braza," or "toesa," is equal to 2 "varas," or to 6 Castilian feet. According to this the wall would have been about 6.68-100 metres above the outer surface, or 22 feet, English. The text of Cortés reads: "tan alto como cuatro "estados por de fuera de la ciudad, e' *por de dentro esta' casi igual con el suelo.*" This would indicate that the "wall" was rather a *facing* of stone to a *large terrace*, upon which the pueblo itself had been erected.

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Diego Godoy, in 1524, was situated on a high and steep hill or ridge, surrounded by a gorge. The ascent was very difficult, and when the Spaniards had reached a certain height they met a palisade of timbers set crosswise into the ground, and tied together. Higher up there was a wall two fathoms high and four feet wide, of earth and stone, with some posts. In the most rugged corner there was a ladder leading upwards. The wall was surmounted by a guard of strong planking held between timbers set both within and without. Besides, vines of great thickness, and ropes, were fastened to the planks.[184] T 712

In some cases, several tiers of enclosures or platforms, one above the other and surmounted by parapets, covered one side of a mountain-declivity. The dwellings of the people rested on the highest terrace, within the uppermost circumvallation, but huts or bowers sheltering the warriors were erected even on the outermost defenses. Such appears to have been the condition of Quetzaltepec,[185] before it was captured under the last Montezuma, A 712

[184] Chamula, or "Chambó," according to the late Mr. Brasseur ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 33, Note No. 10) is still the most populous place of the State of Chiapas, and lies about three leagues to the N. W. of San Cristobal. Its inhabitants speak the "Zotzil" language. They were never conquered, perhaps not even attacked, by the Mexicans. The description of its fortifications is from the "Relacion hecha por "Diego Godoy a' Hernando Cortés" (Vedia I, p. 466). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI) and Herrera (Dec. III, lib. V, cap. VIII, p. 163) mention it also. We meet here with a plain description of earthen or stone embankments surmounted by *guards of wood*. This may throw some light on some of the circumvallations found in the United States, and ascribed to the "mound-builders." (A still more detailed description, of a similarly fortified place, is given by Cortés himself in his fifth letter. 3 Sept., 1526. (Vedia, I, p. 128). Compare "Hist. de la Conq. y Reduccion de los Itzaes." Lib. I. cap. VII. p. 41).

[185] For a description of Quetzaltepec ("Mountain of brilliant or changing green "hues") see Tezozomoc (Cap. XC, pp. 158 and 159), and especially Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 443): "porque Tototepec, demas de tener el rio grande por amparo, hiço hacer cinco "cercas las mas fuertes que pudo, todas de piedra y tierra muy apisonada y de maderas "grandes y de todo género de fagina. Acauadas estas cercas, que la que cercaua el "pueblo era de seis braças en alto y de quatro en ancho, siendo los demas que se les "iban siguiendo de a' quatro y de cinco en alto, ..." Although Durán uses the expression "cerca" (enclosure), there is little doubt but that they were but *platforms*, surmounted by stone or wooden parapets. Tezozomoc (Cap. XC), while speaking of six works ("albarrada," or "paredon"), distinctly mentions that there were huts or houses on them ("Luego mandó poner fuego á la segunda albarrada, que tenian *encima* "mucha caseria de buhios, . . ." "El primer paredon era de cinco braças de ancho, "y de tres de altura, y mucha peña encima; la segunda, tercera y quarta al proprie "tenor, excepto la sesta que era de dos brazas de altura y de seis brazas de ancho, *muchos* "*buhios encima, pocales, y mucha gente*," p. 158). We are forcibly reminded here of the hill of Sacsa-huaman, at Cuzco, in Peru, whose defenses consist, according to the Hon. E. G. Squier: "of three lines of massive walls, each supporting a terrace and a parapet. "The walls are nearly parallel, and have approximately accurate entering and reënter-"ing angles for their total existing length of 1,800 feet. The first or outer wall has an "average present height of 27 feet; the second wall is 35 feet within it, and is 18 feet high;

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7/2 and it is not improbable that the celebrated "pyramid of Xochicalco" may yet prove to have been a fortified pueblo, analogous to or of the type just described.[186]

"the third is 18 feet within the second, and is, in its highest part, 14 feet in elevation. The "total elevation of the works is therefore 50 feet." According to the descriptions of Tezozomoc and Durán the fortifications of Quetzaltepec were very similar to, only perhaps more extensive, even, than those of the Ynca stronghold, at Cuzco. In the art of fortification, however, the Ynca of Peru were far in advance of the other American aborigines. Nowhere else, on this continent, do we find anything near alike to Ollantay-tambo, Pisac, or Piquillacta. Mexican fortified pueblos were probably analogous to the "pucara" or strongholds of the Aymara Indians on the Bolivian high-plateau. (See E. G. Squier: "Peru, Incid. of Travel and Explor. in the land of the Incas," New York, 1877.)

172 [186] "Xochicalco," the "place of the house of flowers" ("xochitl," flower, — "calli," house), is situated near Temisco, S. E. of Cuernavaca (the ancient "Quauhnahuac"), in the State of Mexico proper. The pyramid was probably first described by Don Joseph Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, Mexico, 1791. "Descripcion de las Antiquidades de "Xochicalco." Robertson (Note XXXIX, to p. 139, of vol. III) describes a pyramid: "a "temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco.' The most complete descriptions, however, are those of Pietro Marquez ("Due antichi monumenti di architettura Messicana," Roma, 1804); of Baron A. von Humboldt ("Vues des Cordilléres "et Monuments des peuples indigénes de l'Amérique," pp. 129 to 137 of the Edition 8vo "of 1816, vol. I, and plate No. IX of the Atlas in folio); of Nebel; of E. Tylor ("Anahuac"), and of Brantz-Mayer ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1847). Lord Kingsborough has of course furnished splendid illustrations of the monument, in vol. IV of the "Antiquities of Mexico," and a description by Capt. Dupaix, in vol. VI, p. 430. Also has Mr. H. H. Bancroft, with the usual faithfulness to his sources, characteristic of this eminent compilator. We quote from Brantz-Mayer (p. 178): "From this eminence the guide . . . . pointed out to me a small mountain, at the "extremity of the plain in front, on which was situated the Pyramid of Xochicalco, "the subject of our day's explorations. The *cerro* appears to rise directly out of the "levels between two mountains, and the plain continuing to its very foot, might seemingly be traversed in half an hour." But this intervening space was cut up by deep gullies (barrancas), making the trip to the hill very tedious, difficult, and lengthy. The author's general description of the eminence is as follows (pp. 180 and 181): "At the "distance of six leagues from the city of Cuernevaca, lies a cerro, three hundred feet "in height, which, with the ruins that crown it, is known by the name of Xochicalco, "or 'the Hill of Flowers.' The base of this eminence is surrounded by the very distinct remains of a deep and wide ditch; its summit is attained by five spiral terraces; "the walls that support them are built of stone, joined by cement, and are still quite "perfect; and, at regular distances, as if to buttress these terraces, there are remains "of bulwarks shaped like the bastions of a fortification. The summit of the hill is a "wide esplanade, on the eastern side of which are still perceptible three truncated "cones, resembling the tumuli found among many similar ruins in Mexico. On the "other sides there are also large heaps of stones of irregular shape, which seem to "have formed portions of similar mounds or tumuli, or, perhaps, parts of fortifications "in connection with the wall that is alleged by the old writers to have surrounded the "base of the pyramid, but of which I could discern no traces." On the top of this esplanade there seems to have been an edifice of five terraces (as Alzate relates), or stories, but only the lowest one is yet in existence. Nebel has given an ideal reconstruction of this building ("Viaje pintoresco y arqueologico a' la Republica de Mexico"), also Alzate. Closing his investigation of the ornaments and sculptures still visible in the ruins of the summit, Brantz-Mayer remarks: "The day was far advanced when I "stood for the last time on the corner-stone of the upper terrace and looked at the "beautiful prospect around me. It was the centre of a mighty plain. Running due "north were the remains of an ancient paved road, leading over prairie and barranca

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But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were 000

"to the city (Quauhnahuac) distinctly visible at the foot of the Sierra Madre" (p. 187). 172
Baron Humboldt gives the measurements as follows: Height of the hill from its base, 117 mètres (about 380 feet), divided into five tiers. Each tier is about 20 mètres high. Circumference of the hill-base about 4,000 mètres (13,000 feet). Summit platform 72 mètres long, from N. to S., and 36 m. from E. to W. The wall once enclosing this platform was about 2 m. in height. Base of the top-edifice, 20 m. 7' by 17 m. 4'. On the north side there are a number of excavations in the rocks, artificial caverns, whose openings Brantz-Mayer found "at the foot of the first terrace on the northern side of "the hill." These excavations *are said* to have been visited in 1823.

Baron v. Humboldt concludes: "Le fossé dont la colline est entourée, le revêtement "des assises, le grand nombre d'appartemens souterrains creusés dans le roc du coté "du nord, le mur qui défend l'approche de la plate-forme, tout concourt à donner au "monument de Xochicalco le caractère d'un monument militaire. Les naturels desig-"nent même encore aujourd'hui les ruines de la pyramide qui s'élevait au milieu de la "plate-forme, par un nom qui équivaut à-celui de château fort ou de citadelle. La "grande analogie de forme que l'on remarque entre cette prétendue citadelle et les mai-"sons des dieux azteques (teocallis), me fait soupçonner que la colline de Xochicalco "n'était autre chose qu'un temple fortifié" (p. 134, vol. I of ed. 8vo).

E. B. Tylor ("Anahuac," Cap. VII, p. 186), speaking of Xochicalco, says: "It was "a fortified hill of great strength." Humboldt makes of it: "a fortified temple." But the hill is too high and too large for such a purpose alone. Besides, the rooms excavated in the rock, analogous to the "cliff-houses" of Arizona, the road leading originally towards Quauhnahuac, the central position of the hill itself;—all tends to indicate that "Xochicalco" was once a *pueblo, fortified after the principles prevailing among the aborigines*, and whose inhabitants dwelt partly in the rock, partly on the tiers or on the esplanade into which the summit had been levelled. The "teocalli," or temple, occupied the hill-top, being there as well in the *centre of the population* as in *any pueblo* situated on the *level of the plain*. The five tiers or terraces were probably lined with wooden parapets, long since decayed, and only the uppermost platform had a stone enclosure.

Another pyramidal structure, found by Capt. Gul. Dupaix, near Old Tepexe, in Tehuantepec, is represented on Plate I, part III, vol. IV, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico." It is composed of eight stories or tiers. Capt. Dupaix remarks (Kingsborough, Vol. VI, p. 467): "This wall exhibits a species of fortifications which I "cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent." This structure has more analogy, in its outlines, with the picture given by Clavigero of the great "teo-calli" of Mexico, than any other. The drawing by the learned Abbè is entirely faultive as far as the Mexican temple is concerned, but it is not out of place when applied to a fortified pueblo, occupying an entire hill.

When the Mexicans, previous to their flight into Culhuacan and subsequently into 712
the lagune, were hemmed in on the hill of Chapultepec by the tribes of the valley, they [173]
fortified the hill in the following manner, according to Durán (Cap. III, pp. 27 and 28): Their newly elected war-chief (Huitzilihuitl) directed that "along the entire declivity "of the hill many stone walls should be constructed, arising one above the other like "steps, one fathom in width, thus leaving above a spacious square where all gathered "and fortified themselves, keeping watch diligently day and night, placing the women "and children into the centre of their troop, preparing arrows, macanas, darts, cutting "stones, making slings for their defence." According to this paragraph, the hill of Chapultepec would have presented an appearance, perhaps, not entirely dissimilar to that of Xochicalco, or Tepexe,—terraced, like the "andenes" of Peru. Cervántes-Salazar, whose "Tres Diálogos latinos," or "Mexico, in 1554," have been republished, in 1875, by Sr. Icazbalceta (to whose great kindness I take occasion to offer a humble tribute of gratitude), seems to allude to remains of this original grading in his 3d dialogue, when Alfaro (one of his personages) inquires (p. 277): "Para que son estas gra-"das tan anchas y largas, que llegan hasta arriba, y rodean casi todo el cerro?" Fur-

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361 But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were open places, without circumvallations or enclosures,[187] constructed after the plan which we have already exposed,[188] and without any other strongholds than their massive communal dwellings, and the 361 pyramidal temple, or "teo-calli."[189] On the flat roofs of the former 712 heaps of stones could be collected and hurled down upon the enemy from behind a guard of planks or adobe running along the edge of the roof.[190] The truncated pyramid, on its graded ascent, afforded room for a number of combatants.[191] Both gave the re-

[712] ther on he says: "Como se va adelgazando el cerro hasta la eremita," and "Zuazo" makes the very characteristic reply: "Asi vino bien para que se pudiera ver todo lo "que esta' abajo." (As a military position would indeed require.) In the Introduction to this Dialogue (p. 256), the learned Mexican scholar remarks: "Parece que estas al-"barradas o' escalones se conservaron hasta despues de la conquista, y que los emper-"adores Aztecas los habian llenado de tierra, convirtiéndolos en jardines, por no tener "ya objeto como obras de fortificacion."

[187] The letter written by "Fray Francisco de Bologna," from Mexico, to the provincial of Bologna, published in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil "de piéces, etc.") says: "Généralement leurs villes n'étaient pas fermées, mais les es-"pagnols leur ont appris à les entourer de murailles" (p. 212). The Mexican tongue distinguishes "altepetl," a pueblo (or tribe), from "tename-altepetl," a pueblo surrounded by a wall ("tenamitl" "muro," walled enclosure). The Quiche-language of Guatemala has adopted the Nahuatl word "tenamitl," changing it into "tinamit," to signify a tribe or place.

[188] Motolinia ("Hist. de los Ind. de N. España," "Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 63-65.

[189] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229. Id. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXVI).

[190] When the Spaniards entered Cholula they soon found out, according to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 20) and Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. LXIII, p. 75), "that "the roofs were covered with pebbles and lined with guards of adobe." The Tlaxcallans had previously warned Cortés about Cholula, saying (p. 19 "Carta Segunda,"): "y "que tenian muchas de la calles tapiadas, y por las azoteas de las casas muchas pie-"dras, para que despues que entrásemos en la ciudad tomarnos seguramente y aprove-"charse de nosotros á su voluntad." They also warned him about Mexico, saying: "that all the roofs were flat, with guards like breastworks, so that they might fight "from the house-tops" (Bernal-Diez, cap. LXXVIII). During the street fights previous to the retreat of Cortés on July 1st, 1520, and also during the gradual capture of Mexico, the Mexicans fought desperately from the roofs, hurling stones, rocks and pebbles upon the assailants. See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 41, 42 and 43; "Carta "Tercera, pp. 74, 76, 84, 86). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CXXVI, pp. 130, 131; cap. CLI, p. 183). I refrain from quoting later writers, who copied mostly from the eye-witnesses' reports, and merely add the words of Fray Toribio de Parédes (Motolinia), in his History, written about 1540. ("Coll. de Doc.," I, trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187 "Estaba "Mexico muy fuerte y bien ordenada, ... Tenia por fortaleza los templos del "demonio y las casas de Moteuczoma, señor principal, y las de los otros señores."

[191] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 42): "Y en la torre muy alta y mas principal della se "subieron fasta quinientos Indios, que segun me parécio, eran personas muy princi-"pales. Y en ella subieron mucho mantenimiento de pan y agua y otras cosas de comer-"y muchas piedras; é todos los mas tenian lanças muy largas con unos hierros de pe-"dernal mas anchos que las de las nuestras, y no menos agudos; è de alli hacian mucho "daño a' la gente de la fortaleza, porque estaba muy cerca della. La cual dicha torre "combatieron los españoles dos a' tres veces y la acometieron a' subir; y como era muy "alta y tenia la subida agra, porque tiene ciento y tantos escalones; y los de arriba es,

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source of fighting *under shelter from above*, while the assailant had to struggle *unprotected from below*. As against an *Indian* foe, these massive constructions were *indeed strongholds*, and even, as we shall hereafter see, they opposed strong obstacles to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, as often as it was possible, the aborigines added to the defensive means of their architecture the resource of a *strong natural position*, and *those* tribes proved to be most *powerful* and *aggressive*, whose *defensive* position was either naturally or artificially, or in both respects, *the least vulnerable*.[192]

We have already mentioned the pueblo of Mexico as one of the strongest positions ever occupied by Indians up to the sixteenth century. Still, it was an open place, without circumvallations or

"taban bien pertrechados de piedra y otras armas, ..." Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXVI, p. 131). The latter, in the very "likely" style of the "Historia Verdadera" (?) mentions 4.000 men as having occupied "one teocalli." Cortés is more modest and certainly nearer the truth. See, also, Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187. "Tenia por fortaleza los templos del demonio"). When the Mexicans conquered Tlatiluico, the principal stronghold of the Tlatilulcans was their *temple*. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XLV, p. 74). Durán (Cap. XXXIV, p. 208: "el rey subió a' lo alto del templo con "otros canalleros suyos aunque con mucho trabajo por la mucha resistencia que halló"). We again refer to what has already been stated: that the temple being the highest, and therefore strongest, part of the pueblo, its capture or destruction was the signal of victory.

[192] The tribes of Chiapas were much feared on account of their ferocity, and of their naturally and artificially strong places. Compare Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI. p. 225, "porque ciertamente eran en aquel tiempo los mayores guerreros que yo habia visto "en toda la Nueva-España"). Cachula, Chiapas, and Chamula, were all naturally and by art well fortified. We have already alluded to Atitlan, in Guatimala (Report of Alvarado, Vedia I, p. 400. Bernal-Diez, Vedia II, cap. CLXIV, p. 221: "y que eran "muy malos y de malas condiciones"). Tlaxcallan itself enjoyed a very strong defensive position, although the place was open and not enclosed. Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229: "El señor mas antiguo y que primero lo fundó, edificó en un cerre-"jon alto, que se llama Tepeticpac, que quiere decir encima de sierra"). Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18: "porque es muy mayor que Granada y muy mas fuerte"). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XII, p. 265). Gomara ("De Tlaxcallan," Vedia I, p. 333), etc., etc. Utlatlan, or rather "Gumarcaah," the QQuiché pueblo of Guatemala, of which Fuentes especially has made the capital of a vast "empire of Quiché," was a very strongly situated place. (See Stevens' "Travels in Central America, Yucatan, and Chiapas.") The village of Santa Cruz del QQuiche now stands in the vicinity. Alvarado, its conqueror, reports (Vedia I, p. 456): "as the city is most remarkably strong, and has not more "than two entrances, one by thirty and some, high steps of stone, and the other by a "dyke made by hand." The Abbé Brasseur describes it as follows ("Popol-Vuh," cap. IX, pp. 312 and 313, foot-note): "Utatlan or Gumarcaah was composed of three distinct "plateaux, surrounded by ravines communicating however by paths (or roads) flanked "by cut stones . . . . There was but one entrance to this great town, the same "by which it is now reached. (The QQuiché text says: "where the town with its ra-"vines was built of stone and lime and covered with cement.") Thus we have the principal pueblos of Middle America all established in strong defensive places, for Mexico, as we have already said, was perhaps the least vulnerable of all, and also the one which occupied the most prominent position.

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361 walled enclosures.[193] But it was surrounded by *water* on all sides.
712 This was a *natural* protection, *apparently*. However, the lake around Mexico was the work of the Mexicans themselves, and deserves, as such, to be regarded as an evidence of no ordinary
312 skill on their part. When they fled ~~into~~ the space subsequently
361 transformed into a lagune, it was an extensive swamp, covered with canebrake. Many parts of it could be waded through with ease, at some places the streams emptying into it from the West filtered through the deeper channels into Lake Tezcuco. Flakes of turf or of sand occasionally protruded over the surface, and on one of these dry spots the Mexicans huddled together for existence.[194] Unmolested on account of their extreme weakness, they could extend this area of dry soil by additions of sod, by scanty artificial foundations of turf thrown into the shallow morass and, erecting upon it their frail dwellings, they lived in poverty until they found out the great advantage which this isolated position gave to them over the surrounding tribes. They realized that, while *they* might sally forth with impunity, having a safe retreat behind them, an attack upon *their* position was both difficult and dangerous for the assailant. Once *their* first attempt crowned with success they continued and, valuing their situation as the main element of strength, they improved the foothold on the mainland by compelling subjected tribes to build for them a causeway, running from the outlet of Lake Xochimilco northward, to the pueblo of Mexico.[195] This dyke, while it insured communication with the mainland, penned up the waters flowing into the swamp from the west-side, and *accumulated* them there.[196] On

[193] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). When the Tlaxcallans represented to Cortés the dangers to which he exposed himself by going to Mexico, they did not mention fortifications (Bernal-Diez, LXXVIII, p. 70), but simply how the place was surrounded by water, the strength of the houses, and their difficult access.

[194] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 5). Durán ("Hist. de las Yndias de Nueva España," Cap. IV, pp. 36 and 37) is very explicit: "y pasaron por la otra parte del rio (the outlet of "Lake Xochimilco) metieronse en los carriçales y tulares de la laguna." "Deste lugar "vinieron buscando y mirando si allarian algun lugar que fuese acomodado para po "der hacer asiento, y andando desta manera por unas partes y otras entre las espa- "dañas y carriçales, allaron un ojo de agua hermosissimo." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X and cap. XI, p. 92).

[195] Durán (Cap. XII, p. 112): "pues vuelto a' los de Xochimilco les mandó que luego, "sin mas tardar, mandasen a' todos los de la ciudad hiciesen una calçada de tres bra- "ças en ancho desde su pueblo hasta la ciudad de Mexico, de piedra y tierra, cegas- "en el agua quel termino desta calçada tomase, y hiciesen sus puentes á trechos para "que el agua tuviese por donde salir de una parte a' otra." (Also, Cap. XIII, p. 113.)

[196] We must remember that the level of the "plaza mayor" of Mexico was, towards the beginning of this century, but one "*vara*" (of three Castilian feet), one foot and

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the other hand, the fresh water emptying out of Lake Xochimilco 312
was thrown to the east side of the dyke into Lake Tezcuco. By 361
this simple contrivance the Mexicans surrounded their pueblo with a huge pond on all sides, isolating, or rather *fortifying* it beyond all conceivable means of Indian assault.[197] *The causeways leading to* [711]
Mexico were, therefore, military constructions.[198] Subsequently the dyke was continued to the north until where Guadalupe Hidalgo now stands (anciently Tepeyacac), thus closing up the western basin completely, and another causeway, running east and west was constructed to Tacuba. From the southern dyke a branch ran to Cuyuacan, starting at Xoloc and extending to the southwest. In order to insure free circulation of the waters, sluices were cut, which interrupted the causeways at several places. Wooden 312
bridges, easily removable, were laid across these ditches. Thus 361
Mexico needed no outer fortifications nor walled enclosures.[199] 712

one inch higher than the level of Lake Tezcuco. This elevation was purely artificial (Humboldt, "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Paris, 1827. Vol. II, pp. 96, 97 and 98). After the causeways running north and south had been constructed, the waters emptying into the swamp from the west side could not any longer run freely into the salt-water basin of Tezcuco. They were actually kept around the pueblo, and the swamp thus changed into a lagune. That those sources were powerful enough for such a purpose is amply shown by the great inundation which their careless opening occasioned under Ahuitzotl, in 1498 ("Essai politique," Vol. II, p. 101), of which the old authors bear ample testimony. (Durán, Cap. XLVIII and XLIX.) (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXX.) (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. LXVI.) (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXVII, pp. 192 and 193.)

[197] The levels of Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco are 1 vara 11 inches higher than the "plaza mayor" of Mexico. Their outlet is to the northwest, between Churubusco and Iztapalapan. Previously, when Mexico was surrounded by water, this outlet was between Mexicalzinco and Churubusco (then called "Huitzilopochco"). At Churubusco the great causeway began, and the waters emptying out of Lake Xochimilco flowed along its right hand side into Lake Tezcuco. The causeways thus increased the effects of natural drainage upon the central basin. It was certainly a very primitive but very effective work on the part of the Mexicans. We find a parallel to it, at a comparatively recent date, in Bolivia. When Andrés Tupac Amaru, the son of the unfortunate José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was blockading Sorata, in 1782, he could not, without artillery, hope to succeed against the well fortified town. Therefore, by a system of circumvallation, he enclosed the town with the waters of the Sierra, which finally destroyed the earthworks, leaving the entrance free to the infuriated Indians. 22,000 whites perished in the massacre ensuing.

[198] It is to the Hon. L. H. Morgan that we owe the first intimation in regard to the true character and purpose of these causeways. They were not merely for the purpose of insuring communication with the mainland, but especially for the defence of Mexico. Without them the area extending between the pueblo and the western shore would, at best, have remained a swamp, or would have become, as it now is, dry land. In both cases the defensive power of the Mexicans was at an end, and the course of events in Mexico would have turned quite differently.

[199] Mention is made of a fortification of some kind at "Xoloc," where the branch dyke from Cuyuacan joined the main causeway. (This must have been in the neighborhood of San Antonio.)

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361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
312 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1860. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

conceive why the captain "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" should *not* be one 701
of the privileged four, it is easy to understand why the "man of 643
the black house" should be of that number. The dark house, "Casa Lobrega" of Nuñez de la Vega, in Chiapas, plays a conspicuous part in the worship, or "medicine" of the aborigines of Mexico and Central America.[284] The "man of the black, or dark house," was therefore an intermediate between "medicine" and tribal government. As such, he appears to occupy a stage preparatory to the high office of "chief of men," and represents, together with the "satraps and papaoaqui" named by Sahagun,[285] the element of medicine or worship in the election of that officer. "Tlilancalqui" is occasionally, though rarely, mentioned as a war-chief,[286] but missions of importance appear to have been intrusted to him; and Joseph de Acosta calls the three other chiefs "warriors,"[287] to his exclusion: and finally, he is made a confidential advisor in times of great public danger. This is about all we know of this office, in relation to the government of the Mexican tribe.

The fact, amply proven as it is, that the "chief of men" had to be selected from among the four chiefs and officers enumerated, bears directly on the nature of the dignity with which the "Tlacatecuhtli" was invested. It fully disposes of the assumptions, that this officer was anything but an Indian war-chief of the highest order, or that heredity was attached to the office, though it does not disprove succession of office limited to any single *kin*. While it thus explains many incidental features of organization and government, it leads us back to the office of "chief of men" and through it, recalls some of the fundamental attributes of the tribe.

[284] *J. H. von Minutoli* ("*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala*," etc., "*Teatro Critico Americano*," by *Felix Cabrera*, German translation, p. 31): "house of darkness which he (Votan) had built in the space of a few respirations." But the dark house is yet more positively noticed in Guatemala. *Popol Vuh* (Part II. chap. II, p. 85): "Gekuma Ha," from "Gek" black. "*Grammaire Q Quiché*" (p. 180). Also (Chap. VIII, p. 147, cap. IX, pp. 148 and 149). It is interesting to notice, in connection with this, that the same gathering of aboriginal traditions also mentions (p. 81) a house filled with lances (darts): "R'oo chicut Chayim-ha u bi, utuquel chakol chupam zaklelohre chi cha, chi tzinimic, chi yobohic, chiri pa ha." (Cap. IX, p. 154): "qate chicut ta x-e oc chi qaholab pa Chaim-ha." This corresponds with the Mexican "Tlacochicalcatl." Again we are treated (p. 85) to a "house of tigers" also repeated (p. 154), and it is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the "Tlacatecatl." Thus again the analogy between the Guatemaltecans and the Mexicans, appears sustained to some extent. [712]

[285] "*Historia general*," etc. (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[286] By *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are superfluous. See his "*Crónica*."

[287] "*Historia natural y moral de Indias*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

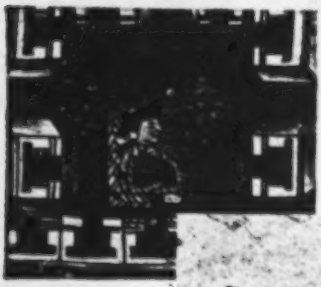

Rich Man

[482]

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

Thief

[326]

[685]

Feather Worker

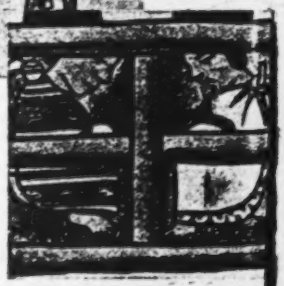

[286]

Warriors

[701
441
714]

[p. 112(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its 701
military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The 702
telpuchcalli, houses of youth, through which boys passed [883]
at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with 411
sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl.* Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For de- 714
fensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 by the maturer warriors. A tribesman had the right to elaborate his dress in accordance with his prowess, and the great chiefs wore attached to their backs immense frames covered with feathers. Tribes, and even clans, wore special insignia, so that friend could be distinguished from foe and chief from common warrior. The term uniform could hardly be used, since the rich variety and indulgence in individual fancy produced a kaleidoscopic effect in the motley array of bright colors and strange forms.[8]

712 To supply these forces was a very considerable task. Each quarter of the town had its *tlacochcalco*, or house of darts, an arsenal where the military supplies were stored. This was situated near the chief temple, the lofty sides of which made it a natural strong point. At a call to arms the clan leaders could rapidly assemble their men and equip them at these rallying points, which were also centers of the religious and social life of the community.[9]

724 An offensive campaign was a more serious undertaking. Having no beasts of burden, the warriors had to carry their own food with them. Due to the governmental system, wherein each town was independent, the armies did not dare live off the country for fear of inciting revolt and also because most communities lacked the food to sustain a large body of men. Thus, prior to a war, negotiations had to be made whereby supplies could be concentrated and allies brought together at a point as near as possible to the zone of attack. Usually a single battle decided the issue, since the [726] attacking force could not maintain itself in the field for more than a very few days. The calculations necessary to fight a war two or three hundred miles away in Oaxaca, say, were highly complex, and much of the Aztec force on such a cam-

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan qujxtilo, teititilo, teiximachtilo, qujntlamamaca, qujnmamaca yn jmamanechichioal: 796x 289 292

ynjc cppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatquj.

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc cepa ichoatl yn intlatquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

iccen qujnchichioaia, iccen qujnmacaia, iccen qujtquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic qujntlatlatizque, ynjo ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oacoanozque ça iccen qujcuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo qujpapatla: yoan vltica qujnoahoanchichioa. [314]

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac totoliujtica. 796x 292 [237]

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalitotiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlattitia, ynjc oacoano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoaçotiuh, qujtilquetztiuh in chicaoaztli, chachalaca, cacalaca. [714 534]

Auh muchinti, iuh muchichioaia, yn ixqujchtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oahoanozque, yn iquac oacic ilhujtl tlacaxipeoaliztli.

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search and University of Utah, 1950; Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of xoxo yopi, and its relations to Xipe xoxo, see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 69.

[796] must cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crowns] [793] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his [292] round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tzitzinhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, [302] he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mixquatezoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, connapetzotiaia:

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yaxhdi*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatzitli cuerhcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatzitli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatzitli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoatli:

And a number of priests carried in their arms rub- [314] ber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlrteu:

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which [257] were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitzric, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ie iuhquj ꝗ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in ꝗxqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzitzitzqujtimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemotzoltzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamaztoton, yn oaxioaque, tolisoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ie oncoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

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16. "*Y vna manta delgada manperuana, que se llama atenhquemajl*" (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions "*manta delgada que llaman ayall*" (Rebendo ed., Vol. IV, p. 46).

17. "*Vna flor de papel grande redonda, redondo a manera de rodela*" (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the diaquechpanoaiol as "*ornamento, que va sobre el pescuezo.*"

18. "*El colodrillo, vna flores de papel, ambaos franceses, que embrauan a modo pares de la cabeça a manera de orejas de papel, como medias coronas*," and, later in the same chapter, "*vna ornamento, que se pusieron tras el colodrillo, como vna flor hecha de papel*" (*loc. cit.*).

19. "Mexican warriors (*teyacahuanime*) colored the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (*apatzcali*)" (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. "*Hay vna que se llama yaxhdi. Es muy verde, tiene muchas ramas y crecen todas juntas hasta arriba; (y) siempre huele; es semblante medicinal para los que tienen calenturas, molidas y bebidas con el cacao; hace de tomar, y despues molidas y mezcladas con el cacao. Aprouecha semblante para los que corrompen sangre; y para los que tienen calenturas*" (Sahagún, Rebendo ed., Vol. III, p. 270).

21. Probably the singular of quaquauitzin is meant by quauitzli. Sahagún, however, defines quauitzli as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following our order, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*; and *almostpide yamich yeuac ancopilli, auel, in tlachichinalli yaxil papper y yamich ouac, auael yaxch yolcamich, yaxch yoxchuich, yaxc tlacatilli ancoqui, quinquipolotiar, ceuaca quemmichiliztiar,*—and in the midst of them wept when is called a reed cut, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper were hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They were carrying it with much reverence.

x 796 292 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

301 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4]

304 And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

x 796 293 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

[701 ● 714] And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

237 x 796 And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

x 796 302 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in izquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn incuechin, muchi tenjxo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, qujnamictia, cequj aujtlatztli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymaachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn ixquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in tototenpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aqujque in mococenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, excan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, occlueoatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintlã excan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin qũatototl in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçacoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tliltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has *dunne Perlenkleidung* for *yuemanchichipac*.

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tlilli: itoca aujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chach-paca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimãca, ixtlaçantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujzcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapieia, vel teixpieia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoqujn jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlàtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 535

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan ceniauh yn imicxi: yoan ontzitzinqujça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn izqujpantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn

6. See Plate 28.

X796
532
714
411
292

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[415]

[p. 102 D]

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[34]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-weaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl: [796x] [714 411]

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlaubtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaquijlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca ichoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, ichoatl in qujmomiaca cuextecatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn suchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaiaoalo in teucalli. [535]

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id es:, iaoiutl, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic ceniazque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, iepuizco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn tzõtli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh. [533]

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuztlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujnjquac motlatiizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quezqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço- [714]

34. See Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1306. Seler mentions (pp. 131, 132) a pointed, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose plate; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. Rather these relate to the wars of Ahuytzotl among the Huaxtecs, or also "the Mexicans were [down to preachers] themselves to be the servants, followers, kinsmen, of the old mother of the gods, Totec tlazon, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxtecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from them." [776 177]

λ 796 richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal ● 714 feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

λ 796 And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[15] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then [241] they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They [314] bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, 289 well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had [302] their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] [317] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. 237 And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocatecujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj momatlaçaque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauizçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no tototecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in intetepan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in oncoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoã aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepnjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixoa njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oaltemo in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jepac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiqujça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

15. "*Los sacerdotes, de la diosa chicomecoatl*" (corresponding Spanish text).
16. "*Estos se subian, encima en un pequeño, que se llamaban [dei] la casa de adivinaciones*" (loc. cit.). *Cuahr Barbarian*, month of Ochpaniztli, *Huitzilopochtli* = Pian y Tuscano, op. cit., p. 143.
17. *Xiuhtecuhtli*, in Sahagun (op. cit.) is defined as male *tunque*. See, however, n. 12, p. 62.
18. "*Pusiaslo abajo, en un lugar que se llamaba cuauhpil, que era un espacio, que avia en cuanto, y al pasio abajo, al qual espacio subia por cinco, o seys, gradas*" (corresponding Spanish text).

[796] came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come down, then he went direct to [the place] called the [346] god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

obuchtli: in ooaltemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in moteneoa Teutlachco: vncan qujmõmjctia navintin: vme amapan, vme vappatzan: in oqujmõmjcti, mec qujnvivilana, tlachco: iuhqujn ic tlatlacujloa imezço.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received [778] him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan qujça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonooalco: vncan cantiqujça itoca Quavitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichiual, tel çan ie motiçaoaoan:

And when [the latter] had greeted [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

auh in oconantiqujz, mec vi, vmpan ommocoloa tlaxotlan: njmã ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiqujça, çan iciuhca:

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan qujça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izqujtlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiqujça, in conmjctia, itoca Izqujtecatl:

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acacninanco.

mec vi, vncã qujztiqujça in tepetocan, ie coiooacã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncã oallacoloa: njman ic qujoalmelaoa in acachinanco.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in ichoãtin tlaamavia, iquac peoa, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlatoca Paynal.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [These latter] [714] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilti, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequjntin tiacaoan: qujnmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cujtlachixxo: çan ocoquavitl in immac oonoc.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird [441] arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, battle was joined; truly, [some] were slain.

Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatzontectli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilti qujnnamjquj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiotl in muchioaia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 282, the four slaves were sacrificed in a ball court (*tenlachco*)—not in the *barrio* of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the *barrio* of Teotlachco.

10. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods. See, however, corresponding Spanish text.

11. Though the Nahuatl text describes the movements of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*Luego descendia en andrajos, con gran priesa trayendo en los brazos, la estatua de paynal, nuevo de Vitzilopochli.*" This priest was dressed in the trappings of Quetzalcoatl, according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 282).

12. "*Alli le salia a recevir, el sacrapo de aquel en, con la ymagen del dios Quavitlyoar*" (corresponding Spanish text).

643
714 **Twelfth Chapter, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars.**

Injc matlactlomome capitulo, vncan mijtoa: injc muchichioia in tlatoque, in quijtlanja iuapan.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [237] [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold.

Tlauhquecholtzontli tlaçotlaçqui cuitic teucuitlaio: cenca mjiec in quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio: injcal in tlamamalli, vequi in colotli tlachiuhtli, cuitic teucuitlaio:

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *xapote* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

 auh in ichoatl cuammaquja tlatlauhqui, tlauhquecholiujtl injc tlachiuhtli: cuitic teucuitlatl in jcxapaio, auh in jtzapacue mochiuhtoc çan moch quetzalli.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

Chimalli, cuitic teucuitlatl, in tlatecozotli iuauacaio, tlaçoiujtl in jcxtlapilollo mochiuhtoc,

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

chalchiuhcouacatl, tlacenquijxtilli in olohuqui, in veuej, chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl

The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga [237] feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers.

xiuhtotozontli, cuitic teucuitlaio, quetzalli in jcuecuetlacacaio, in jtzontecon conmaqueja tlatoua: auh in jtlac conaquja xiuhtotocouatl,

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

auh in tlamamalli xoxouhqui vequi in colotli tlachiuhtli cuitic teucuitlaio

All quetzal feathers was its *xapote* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of thin gold [plate].

çan muchi quetzalli in jtzapacue, mochi tlaçoiujtl in jtlapilollo, cuitic teucuitlatl in tlacatecolli in jtetecpaio, in xiuhtotocouatl,

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

ocelotocuc, ocelocuatl injc tlachiuhtli, cuitic teucuitlatl injc tlachiuhtli in jtetecpaio,

Its *xapote* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

ça muchi quetzalli in jtzapacue,

The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of [531] gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches.

ocelocuetl in tlamamalli cuitic teucuitlatl injc tlatlauhtequi.

The shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Chimalli xiuhtotoica tzacqui, cuitic teucuitlatl ic itixapo,

1. *Tecuepaio*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *cuyos de oro*, whose *cuyo* translation says "flint knives." The shape of the *cuyo* is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also Sandoz, *op. cit.*, and Seler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 394, where *Steinmesser* is used consistently.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS follows *muchichiuhtoc* with *çe ocuchi quetzalli ye ixcuchquilla mochichiuhtoc*—some quetzal feathers, to which small grasshoppers [of gold] are added at the points.

3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Y colgaua deste phenacie, hecho los cuydados, un atambor pequeñuelo, puesto en una andarilla, como para llevar carga.*" This passage Seler (*op. cit.*, II, p. 394) translates as "*Dem wird auf den Rücken eine Trommel gehangen, auf einem Gestell herumhend, der mit Gold überzogen ist.*"

643
714
531

The quetzal feather butterfly was the burden for the back; with it belonged the yellow parrot feather shirt, [decorated] with hawk scratches in gold.

The shield with a golden disc had a golden butterfly in the middle. [There was] a quetzal feather claw,[4] with gold. The shirt [which belonged to this] was of yellow parrot feathers.

The golden hood had horns of quetzal feathers; its shirt was of yellow parrot feathers.

The silver hood had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch [decorations] in gold.

[There were] the quetzal feather banner of the spear house; the silver banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top; and the golden banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top.

The finely wrought obsidian butterfly was of quetzal feathers and gold; its teeth and claws were all of precious feathers; and it had quetzal feather horns.

The finely wrought butterfly of [the goddess] Xochiquetzal [was made of] precious feathers; and its horns were of gold and quetzal feathers.

[There was] a quetzal feather crest-like device. With it belonged a blue cotinga-feather shirt; the shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

The Xolotl head of yellow parrot feathers, with balls of quetzal feathers, was ornamented with gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch decorations in gold.

The blue Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a blue shirt.

The white Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a white shirt.

The bright red Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold; its shirt was likewise bright red.

The headdress of trupial feathers was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers.

The yellow demon of the air was made all of gold, and had quetzal feathers and balls of quetzal feathers.

The blue demon of the air had quetzal feathers, was made all of gold, and had balls of quetzal feathers.

quetzalpapalotl in tlamamalli, inamjc toçeoatl, coztic teucujtlatl injc tlotloujtecquj.

Chimalli teocujtlatica itixapo, teucujtlapapalotl ijtic manj quetzalxopilli, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl in jeoaio.

Coztic teucujtlaquacalalatli, iquetzalquaquauh, ieoaio coztic toçeoatl.

Iztac teucujtlaquacalalatli, quetzaltecomaio: inamjc toçeoatl coztic teucujtlatl ic tlotloujtecquj

quetzalpanjtl tlacochcalcaiotl. Iztac teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio. Coztic teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio.

Itzpapalotl tlaçotlanquj quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jtlan, in jizti muchi tlaçoiujtl: iquetzalquaquauh.

Xochiquetzalpapalotl, tlaçotlanquj in tlaçoiujtica: ioan coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzalquaquauh

quetzalpatzactli, xiuhtotoeoatl iujcallo in chimalli xiuhtotoica tzacquj, coztic teucujtlatl ic itixapo,

tozquaxolotl iquetzaltemal, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl inamjc, coztic teucujtlatl injc motlotloujtec,

xoxouhquj quaxolotl, quetzallo coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc xoxouhquj eoatl.

Iztac quaxolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc iztac eoatl.

Chichiltic quaxolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jeoaio, çan no chichiltic.

Çaquantzontli, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio toçeoatl inamjc,

tozzitzimjtl: muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, quetzallo, iquetzaltemal.

Xoxouhquj tzitzimjtl, quetzallo, muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, iquetzaltemal.

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4. Cf. discussion in Seler, op. cit., II, pp. [illegible], as well as corresponding Spanish text—"y manera de chapa, y en todo la orilla traia cosa flocadosa, de plumas ricas, y con oro."

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tiztimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643 714 531

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, izquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in eostl, toçeostl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in eostl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecuçiztli, ioan qujquizti in mopitza isuc injc çemeoa isuquizque, injc mjcali: in quachpanjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in tecujtia in isuc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in izquj quachpanjtl. Niman çemeoa in isuquizque, injc mjcali, 534 727

quetzalionatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in ionatiuh ijtic mantiuh in quetzalli ieoaltic. Xiloxochipetzactli, quetzalli in jixoxio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jcanacacin mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomaltectli. Maquauitl iztzo in jtenco tlatectli, quetzalazatzontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxiziltqui: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in jpoçonca quetzalxiziltqui: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec in quetzalli. 643 714 [441]

[p. 36 has no textual material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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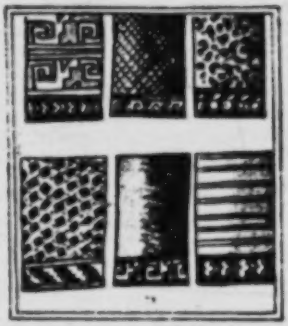

532

[291
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714]

[283
286]

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793
411]

[723]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*uipilli, cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

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726
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[695]

—*Alvez Pano y Troncoso*

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads —where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos —the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Aztacalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzintepec. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

Injc caxtolli onome cap⁷, vncan mjtoa in jnneiehecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn vel qujchioazque intequjuh, in jntlatocaio. 643

INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in tlatecpanalizzli, in qujtitlanja injc iauqujçaia. 643 701

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca in iauiotl, injc iehoatl qujtzontequj, qujtecpana, qujçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in campa oujca, in campa ic calacoaz, in ie iuhquj achto oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlali: in altepetl, in poliujz, ie onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui vtli, in campa oujcan, quezqujcan in calacoaz. 643 723 [102]

Niman ic qujoalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque in quezqujcan calaqujz iauqujzquj, in quezquilhujtl monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc iehoantin, iautlatozque qujnnaoatizque: in jxqujch in quauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioã tlaujztli.

Auh in iehoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in jxqujchtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauhnaoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl: tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappanecatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl, matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl, axocopanecatl, itzcujncujtlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aiotzintepecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc qujoalcujzque, in jxqujch in jnpiel, in tlacalaqujlli, in tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli in coztic teucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jxqujch tlaçochimalli. 643 714

Auh in jcoac oqujoalitqujque in calpixque: in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli: iiehoatl tlatoanj, njman qujcencaoa qujntlaujzmaca in jxqujchtin tlaçopipilti, in ie imjxco ca iautilizzli· ioan in jxqujchtin 643 701

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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648

[714]

[411
482]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Itzquauhtzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532

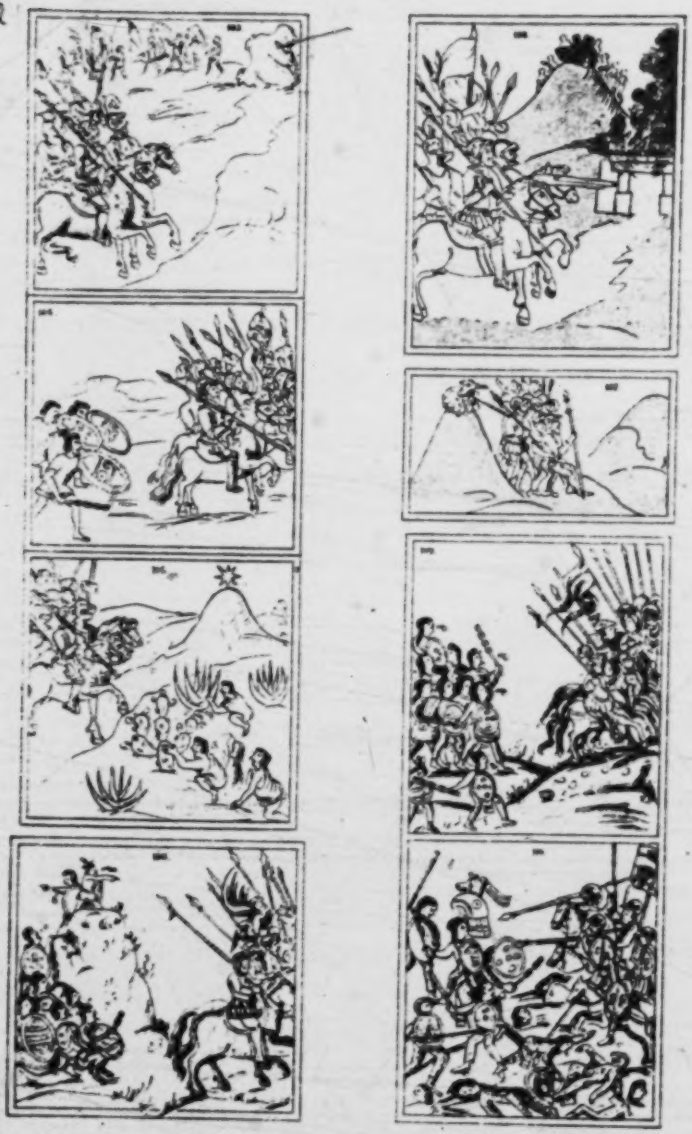

[726
714

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

103. Spaniards reach Teponaztlan (Chapter 26). 104. Mexican warriors pursue the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 105. Spaniards reach Citlaltepec (Chapter 26). 106. Spaniards reach Xalac (Chapter 26). 107. Spaniards reach Axtaquemecan (Chapter 26). 108. Mexicans on mountain-top watch for the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 27). 109, 110. Battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27).

[p. 44 (P)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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648
714
[502]
[724]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacac arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a nobleman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacac is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p. 44 (T)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[*] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[*]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17') accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[*] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[*]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[*] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
• [714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[*] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[*] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[*] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[*] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[28] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[29] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[30] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[31] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[314] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[262] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[28] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[29] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[30] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[31] Corrected from 1,200.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[*]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[*] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[*] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[*] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[108] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[108] *PNF* 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[36] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[37] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

[36] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[37] *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[*]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
714 400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[**]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez.* These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino.* The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[*] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[**] *PNE,* 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285] 4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [125] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[86] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely
635 stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province
131 of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[87] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[88] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[89] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[90] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[91]

[86] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[87] Cf. n. 35 above.
[88] *PNE,* 6: 201.
[89] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[90] Corrected from 400.
[91] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz- 635
titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was 131
Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan 635
lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[80] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses."[81] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography,* and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the 651
other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING [291 714]

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD** [262 263]

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in 651
which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[82]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty [235]
days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[80] Axocopan, *PNE,* 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE,* I: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE,* 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE,* 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE,* 3: 73).

[81] *PNE,* 6: 14 and *passim.*

[82] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE,* 6: 15).

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[67] as did Tequixquiac[68] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[69]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 400 little decorated mantles**
● 714] 400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[263 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
263] 400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the
632 tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[70]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[71]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[72]

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[67] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[68] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[69] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[70] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[71] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[72] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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651

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 714]
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [248]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237]
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalsotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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[65] 816 bundles[52] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
[291] 408 bundles[53] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[54] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

[262] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

[23] 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
[301] 2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov-
[114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[55] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure
[357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[56] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[57]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[58]

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[52] Corrected from 800.
[53] Corrected from 400.
[54] Corrected from 400.
[55] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[56] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[57] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos le mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenian todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[58] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[29] 714 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.*

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.*

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acxxochitla, 3	Acxxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Huayapan, 5	[No change]
Quechquecçaloyá, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çuilmiquilco	[See Remarks on Towns]

* RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos sino de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mexicanos lo hacian y no otra cosa."
** RHE, 1: 481: "ordinariamente tributaban á mexicanos mantas de algodon."

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[28] 632
and seventeen leagues from *México*.[29] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears 131
eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[30] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[31]

Çtzihuinquilocs may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[32]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiq- 635
uity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún com- 175
ments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[33] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[34] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[35] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande 635
lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and 131
probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atoto- 651
nilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING [291 714]

800 bundles of rich mantles[36]
2,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen[37]
4 warriors' costumes with shields[38]

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[28] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[29] *PNE*, 2: No. 135.
[30] *GPM*, p. 270.
[31] *PNE*, 2: No. 21.
[32] RHE, 1: 240: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyucca] eran muchos pueblos pequeños como tulinquilocs [*sic*] y tulyamca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas cuadras [*sic*]."
[33] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[34] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[35] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 199.

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TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [241]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD [262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632 of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651 maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cempoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412] After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.*

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412] Ahuitzotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.*

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* Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fans.

* RHE, 2:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de texcoco nezahvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico yzcoaltzin pusieron los pueblos de xaxpanala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzapala se quedo en el señorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de texcoco Reyno de acolhuacan tributaban sabajas con que hacian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico yzcoaltzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año Ichaches vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuizotzin sucessor de moctezuma fue el primero que mando tributasen sesenta gallinas y todo genero de bolatería [this for a new temple] como sucedio Moctezuma en su lugar no quiso perseuerlas tributos."

* RHE, 2:142: "eran del señorio de texcoco ... no tributaban nada solamente sabajas con que hacian macanas y siendo señor en mexico yzcoaltzin pidiole al señor de texcoco que se tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonces se dividió este pueblo porque ganaron tambien el señor de mexico las sabajas la mitad llevó el de texcoco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos sujetos del señorio de mexico como cempoalaxochitlan tlaquilpa pachuca tepeapulco y tenantzingo todos estos pueblos pusieron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudaron a sacar sabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el sucessor de moctezuma que

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frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire. 635 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire: 651

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields* [291 714]

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli [262]

22. Quauhnahuac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matrícula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.' This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23'. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlypac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacuztida, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoyan, 9	Atlacholoya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

* Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dice Cuadlabaca [!] e comunalmente corrompiendo agora aquel nombre y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[181] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[182]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.[183]

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[184] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[185]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields**

[181] *Códice Ramírez*, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca dessos seis reinos . . ."

[182] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaloicas [*sic*] . . . los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora possen, tomando por principal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oxxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquilenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[183] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its enormous figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[184] *Códice Ramírez*, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuicas."

[185] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuexteca?) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the century and divinities of that region. In the *Matrícula* it is clearly marked "xoxopanti cuexteca tuctli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuexteca? Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–602).

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[a] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[b]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[c] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[d]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors [323
8,000 reams of native paper 259]

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. [727]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[b] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Tazcala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[c] "Estan las dichas tres cabeneras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altas; llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos eran poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[d] RHE, 11: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente quanto la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamente no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepeçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran estas cabeçeras."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[*]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles[**]
1 warrior's costume with shield[*]

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey[**]

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se embixavan"[***]

[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitzilocuah, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quauitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[**] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "bezan amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y abundan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhuatl word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame. 101 197

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a] [531]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries. 635 131

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands: 651

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291]
1 warrior's costume with shield* [714]

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey* [263]

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells** [326]
80 copper axeheads** [317]
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over 652 651

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *FNE*, 5: 57: "Fuentle ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de las de la Mixteca sujetos a la doctrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Tonala."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco. 635 131

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety: [291 714]

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[20] of black-and-white striped mantles[21]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[22]

OTHER GOODS [314]

800 cakes of liquidambar[23]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[24] and liquidambar.[25] 632 651

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[26]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matrícula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[27] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Totodan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotli.

[20] Corrected from 1,600.
[21] Cf. Krickeberg, *Les totonaques* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[22] Cf. n. 6 above.
[23] RHE, 1: 460: "eran basallos de monteçuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[24] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.
[25] [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]
[26] [illegible]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[28] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[29]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[30] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[31] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[32]

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1538), IV: 134.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[30] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[31] RHE, 1: 131.
[32] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield**
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads**
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Tochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sujetó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Tozoctzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viaste de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y veinte piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce provincias, asimismo sujetas, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de armas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Uxilla. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Uxilla.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[a]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[b]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[c]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[d]

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[a] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 73), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[b] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[c] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el passaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en esto dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexi- 651
cano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the 212
tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify: 651

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses** [291
402 bundles* of little red-striped mantles** 714]
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos [316
de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity 415]
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding 632
the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the 651
early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following [415
every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer 291
and tiger skins; fish and cotton.* In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 248
40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as 262]
well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.*

* Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

* Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

* *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteçuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiço de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tigures, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunes."

* *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en polvo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[*] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[*]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING [291

400 large mantles** 714]

1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316

5 sacks of cochineal 237]

400 bunches of quetzal feathers

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43r of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[*] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[*] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian sido de Tuxuepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[*] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[*] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Cuauxaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states* to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

* Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relations of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nexxitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101
the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197
little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635
flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131
manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635
longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col 651
lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

[291 714]

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[262]

[p. 134 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many [344] of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. 411 There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton 714 armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am 231 forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird 136 that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

411 his sword attached or suspended from the wrist.[51] Clubs ("quauhololli") may have been also in use. But battle-axes, or anything like the Peruvian "chumpi," do not appear to have been known to the Mexicans.[52]

●714 If now we turn to the *defensive* arms, to the *protective armour* proper, of the Mexicans, we meet in the first instance the *shield* ("chimalli"). Not the merely ornamental shields used and carried by warriors and chiefs on festive occasions only,[53] but the

"con agudos Pedernales, engeridos por los filos, . . . que dando grandes golpes no se "deshacia; cortaban en lo blando, quanto topaban, pero en lo duro resurtian, como eran "los filos muy delgados"). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). "The first blows alone "were fearful, as the edge soon wore out." (The name "Macuahuitl" may derive from "maitl," hand, and "cuahuitl," tree). The tables accompanying the work of Durán have many representations of the maccuahuitl. The "handle" or hilt is usually formed by a ball or knob, sometimes by a ring.

[51] H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America. Vol. II, p. 411). If we have not heretofore quoted, and may perhaps not quote hereafter, this splendid compilation, it is merely because we revert to original authorities, and not at all out of disregard for the highly valuable assemblage of data which the distinguished author has furnished to science.

[77] [52] Mr. Bancroft has given a fine illustration of a club used by some of the Indians of the *present Republic of Mexico*. But among the Mexicans proper, the sword, "maccuahuitl," was the most common and frequently used weapon. Clavigero figures it like the blade of a saw-fish, with teeth; and Tezozomoc calls it "espadarte." But there can be no doubt that the intention of the Indians was to make a *continuous blade* (or edge), and not a *row of teeth*. (Along the sea-coast the "proboscis" of the saw-fish may have been *used occasionally as a weapon*, but it certainly never furnished a *type*.) The Peruvian "chumpi" was a peculiar weapon, and has nothing analogous elsewhere on this continent. It required both hands to wield it. An illustration of it is found in Herrera, Frontispiece to the fifth Decade, where the portraits of thirteen Yncas are given. Both Manco-Capac and Viracocha each hold a "chumpi" or spear terminating in a broad star, like the "Morgenstern" of the Swiss. Some authors persist in giving to the Mexican sword the name of "macana," but this word is not Mexican. Neither is it Carib. It was imported from the Antilles by the Spaniards, and is probably "arua." Von Tschudi "Peru, Reise-skizzen" (St. Gall, 1846) describes, vol. 2, chap. 7, p. 231, the macana still in use among the wild Indians of the Peruvian "Montañas," East of the Andes. He says: "the sword, macana, is also, like the bow, made out of the hard "chunta. This wood is dark brown, very hard and heavy. The macana is four feet "long, one inch thick, and five to six inches broad; at the handle it is only three inches "wide and rounded, both edges are as sharp as those of a sabre." The same author describes also the club, "matusino," of the same tribes. It is a rough imitation of the "chumpi" of the Incas, deer-prongs taking the places of the metallic star. Its length is about four to five feet. Durán also has drawings of a *Mexican* club, corresponding to the figure given by Mr. H. H. Bancroft.

[53] These shields, richly ornamented with featherwork, were used at great festivals, at the dances. Illustrations are given in Herrera, Frontispiece to the second Decade, in Clavigero, and especially in the "Raccolta di Mendoza," printed in Lord Kingsborough. They were frequently sent as presents, and among the presents which Cortés received while at Vera-Cruz, Gomara mentions once twenty-four, and again five, of such shields. "Cinco rodelas de pluma y plata," and "veinte y cuatro rodelas de oro y "pluma y aljofar, vistosos y de mucho primor" (Vedia I, p. 223). He distinguishes them from the war-shield which he describes as "una rodela de palo y cuero, y á la re-"donda campanillas de laton morisco, y la capa de una plancha de oro, esculpida en "ella Vitzilopuchtli, dios de las batallas, y en aspa cuatro cabezas con su pluma é pelo, "al vivo y desollado, que eran de leon, de tigre, de aquila, y de un huarro."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

round, small, "target," worn by the "brave" on his left arm and 714
made of "canes netted together and interwoven with cotton 'two-
"fold,' covered on the outside with gilded boards and with feath-
"ers, and so strong that a hard cross-bow shot could alone pene-
"trate them . . . ."[54]

With this shield they warded off blows in close combat,[55] and
even arrows and darts at full speed. Each warrior probably car-
ried his own shield, although it is sometimes stated that the ar- [726]
chers, while shooting, were shielded by others.[56] This, however,
would necessarily imply a greater progress of the military art
among the Mexicans than we may safely allow.

The remainder of the protective armour of the Mexicans is in-
timately connected with their *costume*.

The ordinary dress of a Mexican consisted of a sleeveless jacket 291
("huepil") fastened on the right shoulder, and of the breechcloth 714
("maxtlatl"). The head, arms, and legs from the knees down-
wards, were bare. A mantle, short among the common Indians,
longer among the chiefs, completed the costume.[57] Sometimes 714
they went to war without any other protection, but in most cases
the warrior wore a frock of quilted cotton, about three-quarters of

[54] The "anonymous conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373). Compare Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422), and Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[55] See the description of a single combat between a Cempoaltecan and Tlaxcaltecan (Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. VI, p. 143, and Torquemada, Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422).

[56] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII) and the anonymous conqueror both assert, that each warrior had a shield. But Fray G. de Méndieta is still more positive (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Tras estos llegaban los golpes de espada y rodela, con los cuales iban "arrodelaloe los de arco y flecha, y allí gastaban su almacen." However, Fray Diego Durán says: (Cap. XIV, p. 121) "y llegados á un lugar que llaman Tecuitlatenco, hicie-"ron alto y esperaron la armada de Mexico que venian por la laguna, que eran mill "canoas, muy bien Adereçadas de gente y pauesos con gran numero de flagas y varas "arrojadiças, flechas y rodelas y de hombres para defensa de los flecheros, los quales "estaban tan diestros en desviar flechas con las rodelas, que era espanto, porque en "viéndola venir, luego la danan con la rodela que la echauan à través." This seems to indicate that there were special men detailed to protect the archers, and therefore a division into different arms, although there is no other evidence of such a fact. It may have been the case here, since the fight (against Cuitlahuac) was to take place on water chiefly, but nowhere else do we meet a division into kinds of arms, like archers, spearmen, swordsmen, etc., etc. All Mexican warriors were armed as nearly alike as possible. The Anonymous Conqueror, after mentioning the different weapons, says: "y "molti, ò la maggior parti di esse portano tutte queste sorti di armi con che combattono." ("Relatione, etc.," in Vol. I. of Col. de Doc., p. 374.)

[57] Gomara (Conquista de México. Vedia, Tom. I. p. 440. "Calzan unos zapatos como "alpargatas, punicos por bragas. Visten una manta quadrada, afiudada al hombro "derecho como gitanas"). The Anonymous Conqueror (p. 376. "La maniera del ves-"tire de gli huomini"). Tezozomoc (Crónica, Cap. XXXVI, p. 56. "the macehuals "of lower grade, wore short mantles, plain, of cotton or nequen"). The "maxtlatl" is described by the Anonymous Conqueror as follows: "a towel, like unto a sheet

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 an inch thick, up to one and one-half inches, and therefore strong enough to resist an arrow-shot, or even the dart at long range. This was the cotton-armour subsequently adopted by the Spaniards under the name of "Escaupil" ("Ichcahuipilli").[58] Sometimes even the limbs were encased in such quilted armour,[59] and the outside of the "ichcahuipil" was adorned with feathers and plates of gold or silver. The *feet* were protected by leather soles or moccasin-like shoes ("cactli," "cotaras"), but the use of them was not general.[60] Warriors of merit especially, inserted their *heads*

[241] "worn over the head while travelling, of various colors, and variously adorned, with "the ends hanging downwards, one in front and the other behind." It was common to the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, and is represented on the sculptures of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Chichen-Itza. The tables of Durán give, perhaps, the most reliable picture of these costumes.

[58] "Ichcahuipilli" derives from "Ichcatl," cotton, and "huepil," jacket. Alvarado, in his second letter to Cortés, dated 28 July, 1524 (Vedia. Vol. I), mentions an ichcahuipil used by Indians of Guatemala, which was three inches thick and reached as far down as the ankle: "porque venian tan armados, que el que caia en el suelo no se po- "dia levantar; y con sus armas cosseletes de tres dedos de algodon, y hasta en los "pies. . . . ." (p. 402.)

[59] There are several representations of such protection of the thighs, and also of the arms, especially in the splendid work of Lord Kingsborough, taken from the Mendoza codex. The entire costume, from the neck to the knee, seems to be of one piece. We have no accurate *description*, however, of them. It is doubtful whether they terminated into upper "leggings," or whether into a frock-like continuation, reaching from the girdle to the knee. Perhaps both; at least there are traces of both. (Anonymous Conqueror, p. 374. Clavigero, Lib. VII, cap. XXIII.) The absence of the "Ichcahuipil" was not, however, always a sign of low rank. Some warriors of particular merit even went to war almost naked (See Humboldt, "Vues de Cordillières," Tab. XIV, fig. 4), and Herrera (Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 267, speaking of the natives of Tepeaca, who were subject to Mexico: "and the most valiant ones went only in breech-cloth, painting their naked body black and red"). There was, consequently, no absolute uniformity and uniform distinction in dress and armament, and this was still increased by the variety of customs among the numerous tribes which assisted the Mexicans in war, each tribe having its own manner of dress, and keeping separate on the battlefield. A Mexican army must have been a rather strange, motley crowd. Still there was, in all probability, less variety than among the Peruvian warlike bodies. Of the latter's variegated array the report of Francisco de Xerez, secretary of Pizarro, gives a good illustration (Vedia, vol. II).

[60] "Cactli," corrupted into "catis," is rendered by Molina (II, p. 11) as "shoes, or sandals." Torquemada says (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 430, vol. I): "the King wore "golden shoes, which they call cacles, and are after the fashion of those of the ancient "Romans, adorned with much jewelry, the soles fastened with cords." (Idem: Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 305) "they gave to him cotaras or sandals . . . ." Gomara (Conquista, etc., p. 323), in the list of presents sent by Cortés to the Emperor, mentions: "many shoes like so of grass, made of deer-hides, some with golden thread, and the "soles of certain white and blue stones . . . ." "other shoes, six pairs, of leather "of different color, adorned with gold or silver or pearls." The question is, whether they were moccasins or sandals. The sculptures of Palenqué show an approach to either. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), in speaking of the distinctions of dress, says: "And [242] "thus it was ordained, first: that the Kings should not appear in public, except in ur- "gent cases; that the King alone might wear a crown in the city, but that in war all the "great chiefs and valiant captains might wear crowns also, and royal tahaus . . . .

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into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imitating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes "in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes "on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those "who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their "bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and "painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "cotarras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation achieved in war, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe."

"Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 373). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 3d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

"Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-"mada, decadas y labradas con diversas labores y pinturas y diferencialias quando á "él le pareciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó haçaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que allí se le señalaba con sus cañidores y bragueros, que "alcançan y siguien la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, avió determinado que ninguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de seguen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, salvo si "no tuviese alguna señal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 36). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

"Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 37). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 267). The figure of the Aztec in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war "they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once, "since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and were. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names.

"The head-dress, or "divisa."—"tlauizili," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 288, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty-"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

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714 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the 287 question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of 237 the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each sub-division of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time; [302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 86) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototi." It is "*Trogon resplendens*." (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 86, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquechol" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1868, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, in vol. II. of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 267, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to imitate the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face yellow ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was blue (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tiñéndose las caras con la tierra divisa, quelles asi llamauan, y el rey Auitzotl vestido de ricas mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas azules . ."

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when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty prisoners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears, proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

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555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

425 A married man received a plot of land directly from the
511 clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief
555 glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success-
[575] ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli*
[654] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.*

624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval knight or career soldier in our own culture.[8]

The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[8]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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723 648 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 796 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearning when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he [775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little /74
scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at 721 ●
a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was plan- 644
ning an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefoted, with down- [643]
cast eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out /74
by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the 644
appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pic-

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce izcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, *ixtas*, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treszena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce izcuintli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y podcrosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vaiquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la eleccion de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solēnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289 774] [565] [666 431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchihuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and reverenced her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

Lā quinzena decima fiesta mouible comū.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuēta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a pregantar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le baptizar. Quando le baptizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al baptismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha ceremonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beber.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La setzena decima fiesta mouible.

Despues los padres viau que su hijo era de edad para

584

643 701 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquasa. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in [687] among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacatoitzli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

tiacahoan, in oqujchtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchnemj in pipilti.

auh in ic iuhquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oqujchiuh. Niman qujnnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxqujchtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz; in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in qujnmacaz, in qujntlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oqujchtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto qujnnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxqujch chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, qujncaqujtia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz ce altepetl: qujntlauhtia, in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan qujnmaca, in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic qujnnaoatia: in jxqujch in jmaçeoal, injc iauqujçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oqujchtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixqujchtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, qujnmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in ixqujchtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch aculhoacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, in jxqujch tepanecatl, no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxqujch moquataitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oazioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teamaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan quiça, çan njmon vncã qujnmjctia, qujntujujtzquj, in aquja tlaxnelozzequj: tetlan quiçazzequj, in oommotea ixqujch iauqujzquj, in ic inman in oealhuetz acsujztli, in tlaioalli injc tlaioalcujoaz: auh in jcoac ic itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca mochiia in tletl, in quemman cae-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "Mandaua luego, a los calpixques, que llamauan arriaz, a todos los principales, para el, y para sus soldados; y enviaua la mesma a sus gentes, y los dauaa armas."

3. Tlaxnelozzequj, doubtful translation; cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 105 (lugares para la guerra solitarios), and p. 109 (los lugares de los desiertos).

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh quimjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanquijçiauhque, oanquijhjoujque in oçeloquichtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman quimoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oquicaquitique moteçuma quintlatlatia quinpopoloa.

727

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ic ihuqui in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezquitzontli omuchiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in quioalnonotzã motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in quioalitquj tlatolli, in quezquitzontli omochiuh malli:

auh in quimelauiliaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhuique in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequintin motequioacaxima anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn quicaquia in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquia ipampa ca ipilhoan in ootlamaque: auh quinjquac quinquiztiaia, in quincaltzaquaia in tequipan titlanti quimõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

721 ●
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Auh intla oalmjtus iauiotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel quimmauiztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ootlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in quipachoa altepetl, auh quinjquac intlan quintlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chimalpanecatl:* Sahagún's comment on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y he de la figura mas, que son los consejeros de los chimalpanecas."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipehualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shown ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wherever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhchalpiaya coztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couazayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. motecuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli omõtiuh i mastlatl. 701 293 [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im motecuiçoma. cẽca motlcyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [576]

Auh no yquac quimahcua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacatecatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacatecatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocatl mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in iequichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'tlauhtiaya motecuiçoma. yquac in tequiçquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tilpuputlauac chichicuec çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in tetpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopalihuauanq' colotlalpili nochpolmastlatl yacayecaconcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin i in otiq'tlemeuhqz i yaoequaqz i yaotachcatl. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. motecuiçoma anoço quimotlximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmiouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichiuiczz quipopouhticzz in iuquauhyo in 701 721

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

701 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor,
721 as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

726 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones
687 in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

701 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] re-
431 membered him, sought him out, and drew him from
643 his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts; he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full of maize grains; and he provided him with *chia*—he weighed out two large measures of *chia*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

701 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior],
726 he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauh. inic ayac ỹ uini ça quipopoohtinemi in immiquiz. im ma uehcihco yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemiqz. auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã ommolini i ye ixtlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in ẽpa tepeuazqz. oc ommihuipã i yautecca.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitini in quequachicti. no ommettitini. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i motecoçoma. aocmo calaqz in ẽuhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço iccotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahcualmacaya.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço ẽxiuitl. in quitemoua. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in ẽya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia cen q'milli in q'maca tilmath. yuã quitlaohtia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço ontetl y ucy tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quã ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in ẽuhcali. ypampa ca ontlamalceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizaço.

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yxtõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlixco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic pequi in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichrin tlahueqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oppan tlamahqz isquachicyo in imoõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotino in quauhyotl in occloyotl.

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648 them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their
717 obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could
648 not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

721 AFTER the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

[1] *Acapillasen;* literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

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of us that they could [capture] bound to Mexico. And he 721
sent grand promises together with many presents of jewels
and cloths, also a golden drum, and he also sent word to
the priests of the city that they were to retain twenty of [782]
us to sacrifice to their idols.

All was in readiness and the warriors whom Montezuma 725
quickly sent were stationed in some ranchos and some
rocky thickets about half a league from Cholula and some
were already posted within the houses, and all had their
arms ready for use, and had built up breastworks on the
Azoteas and had dug holes and ditches in the streets so as
to impede the horsemen, and they had already filled some
houses with long poles and leather collars and cords with
which they were to bind us and lead us to Mexico; but
our Lord God so ordained that all their plots should be
turned against them.

Let us leave this now and go back to say that when, 721
as I have said, they had taken us to our quarters they fed
us very well for the first two days, and although we saw
them so peacefully inclined, we never gave up our good
custom of keeping fully prepared, and on the third day
they neither gave us anything to eat nor did any of the
Caciques or priests make their appearance, and if any
Indians came to look at us, they did not approach us, but
remained some distance off, laughing at us as though
mocking us. When our Captain saw this, he told our
interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar to
tell the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, who
remained with us, to order the Caciques to bring some
food, but all they brought was water and fire wood, and
the old men who brought it said that there was no more
maize.

That same day other Ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, and joined those who were already with us and they said to Cortés, very impudently, that their Prince had

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•721 sent them to say that we were not to go to his city because he had nothing to give us to eat, and that they wished at once to return to Mexico with our reply. When Cortés saw that their speech was unfriendly, he replied to the Ambassadors in the blandest manner, that he marvelled how such a great Prince as Montezuma should be so vacillating, and he begged them not to return to Mexico, for he wished to start himself on the next day, to see their Prince, and act according to his orders, and I believe that he gave the Ambassadors some strings of beads and they agreed to stay.

When this had been done, our Captain called us together, and said to us—"I see that these people are very much disturbed, and it behoves us to keep on the alert, in case some trouble is brewing among them," and he at once sent for the principal Cacique, whose name I now forget, telling him either to come himself or to send some other chieftains. The Cacique replied that he was ill and could not come.

721 When our Captain heard this, he ordered us to bring
743 before him, with kindly persuasion, two of the numerous priests who were in the great Cue,* near our quarters. We brought two of them, without doing them any disrespect, and Cortés ordered each of them to be given a chalchihuite, which are held by them to be as valuable as emeralds, and addressing them with friendly words he asked them what was the reason that the Cacique and chieftains and most of the priests were frightened, for he had sent to summon them and they did not want to come. It seems that one of these priests was a very important personage among them, who had charge of or command over all the Cues in the City, and was a sort of Bishop among the priests and was held in great respect. He replied that they, who were priests, had no fear of us, and if the Cacique and chieftain did not wish to come, he would go himself and summon them, and that if he spoke to them he

* [i.e., temple pyramid.—Analyst]

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721 believed they would do as he told them and would
783 come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his
721 company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Montezuma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Montezuma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

721 While this conversation was taking place, three of our
725 friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Asoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At
721 this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians
782 whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

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721 "Take heed, Malinche, for this City is ill disposed, and we
782 know that this night they have sacrificed to their Idol, which is the God of War, seven persons, five of them children, so that the God may give them victory over you, and we have further seen that they are moving all their baggage and women and children out of the city." When
721 Cortés heard this, he immediately sent these Tlaxcalans back to their Captains, with orders to be fully prepared if we should send to summon them, and he turned to speak to the Cacique, priests and chieftains of Cholula and told them to have no fear and show no alarm, but to remember the obedience which they had promised to him, and not to swerve from it, lest he should have to chastise them. That he had already told them that we wished to set out on the morrow and that he had need of two thousand[1] warriors from the city to accompany us, just as the Tlaxcalans had provided them, for they were necessary on the road. They
721 replied that the men would be given, and asked leave to go
723 at once to get them ready, and they went away very well contented, for they thought that between the warriors with whom they were to supply us, and the regiments sent by Montezuma, which were hidden in the rocky thickets and barrancas, we could not escape death or capture, for the horses would not be able to charge on account of certain breastworks and barricades which they immediately advised the troops to construct, so that only a narrow lane would be left through which it would be impossible for us to pass. They warned the Mexicans to be in readiness as we intended to start on the next day and told them that they were going to give us two thousand[2] warriors to accompany us, so that as we marched along, off our guard, between the two forces our capture would

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[1] "Blotted out "three or four."—G. G.

[2] Blotted out "four."—G. G.

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be sure and they would be able to bind us, and this they might look on as a certainty, for they [the Cholulans] had made sacrifices to their War Idols who had promised them victory. 721 723

Let us cease speaking of this which they looked on as a sure thing and return to our Captain who, as he wished to be more thoroughly informed about the plot and all that was happening, told Doña Marina to take more chalchihuites to the two priests who had been the first to speak, for they were not afraid, and to tell them with friendly words that Malinche wished them to come back and speak to him, and to bring them back with her. Doña Marina went and spoke to the priests in the manner she knew so well how to use, and thanks to the presents they at once accompanied her. Cortés addressed them and asked them to say truly what they knew, for they were the priests of Idols and chieftains and ought not to lie, and that what they should say would not be disclosed in any manner, for we were going to leave the next morning, and he would give them a large quantity of cloth. They said the truth was that their Lord Montezuma knew that we were coming to their city, and that every day he was of many minds and could not come to any decision on the matter, that sometimes he sent to order them to pay us much respect when we arrived and to guide us on the way to his city, and at other times he would send word that it was not his wish that we should go to Mexico, and now recently his [Gods] Tescatepuca and Huichilobos, to whom he paid great devotion, had counselled him that we should either be killed here in Cholula or should be sent, bound, to Mexico. That the day before he had sent out twenty thousand warriors, and half of them were already within this city and the other half were stationed near by in some gullies, and that they already knew that we were about to start to-morrow; they also 721 [787]

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•72| told us about the barricades which they had ordered to be made and the two thousand warriors that were to be given to us, and how it had already been agreed that twenty of us were to be kept to be sacrificed to the Idols of Cholula.

Cortés ordered these men to be given a present of richly embroidered cloth, and told them not to say anything [about the information they had given us] for, if they disclosed it, on our return from Mexico we would kill them. He also told them that we should start early the next morning, and he asked them to summon all the Caciques to come then so that he might speak to them.

That night Cortés took counsel of us as to what should be done, for he had very able men with him whose advice was worth having, but as in such cases frequently happens, some said that it would be advisable to change our course and go by Huexotzingo, others that we must manage to preserve the peace by every possible means and that it would be better to return to Tlaxcala, others of us gave our opinion that if we allowed such treachery to pass unpunished, wherever we went we should be treated to worse [treachery], and that being there in the town, with ample provisions, we ought to make an attack, for the Indians would feel the effect of it more in their own homes than they would in the open, and that we should at once warn the Tlaxcalans so that they might join in it. All thought well of this last advice. As Cortés had already told them that we were going to set out on the following day, for this reason we should make a show of tying together our baggage, which was little enough, and then in the large courts with high walls, where we were lodged, we should fall on the Indian warriors, who well deserved their fate. As regards the Ambassadors of Montezuma, we should dissemble and tell them that the evil-minded Cholulans had intended treachery and had attempted to put the blame for it on their Lord Montezuma, and on themselves

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as his Ambassadors, but we did not believe Montezuma had given any such orders, and we begged them to stay in their apartments and not have any further converse with the people of the city, so that we should not have reason to think they were in league with them in their treachery, and we asked them to go with us as our guides to Mexico.

They replied that neither they themselves nor their Lord Montezuma knew anything about that which we were telling them. Although they did not like it, we placed guards over the Ambassadors, so that they could not go out without our permission, and Montezuma should not come to know that we were well aware how it was he who had ordered it to be done.

All that night we were on the alert and under arms with the horses saddled and bridled, and with many sentinels and patrols, although indeed it was always our custom to keep a good watch, for we thought that for certain all the companies of the Mexicans as well as the Cholulans would attack us during the night.

There was an old Indian woman, the wife of a Cacique, who knew all about the plot and trap which had been arranged, and she had come secretly to Doña Marina our interpreter, having noticed that she was young and good looking and rich, and advised her, if she wanted to escape with her life, to come with her to her house, for it was certain that on that night or during the next day we were all going to be killed, for the Great Montezuma had so arranged and commanded that the Mexicans and the people of the city were to join forces, and not one of us was to be left alive, except those who would be carried bound to Mexico. Because she knew of this, and on account of the compassion she felt for Doña Marina, she had come to tell her that she had better get all her possessions together and come with her to her house, and

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she would there marry her to her son, the brother of a youth who was with another old woman who accompanied her.

When Doña Marina understood this (as she was always very shrewd) she said to her, "O mother, thank you much for this that you have told me, I would go with you at once but that I have no one here whom I can trust to carry my clothes and jewels of gold of which I have many, for goodness sake, mother, wait here a little while, you and your son, and to-night we will set out, for now, as you can see, these Teules are on the watch and will hear us."

The old woman believed what she said, and remained chatting with her, and Doña Marina asked her how they were going to kill us all, and how and when and where the plot was made. The old woman told her neither more nor less than what the two priests had already stated, and Doña Marina replied—"If this affair is such a secret, how is it that you came to know about it?" and the old woman replied that her husband had told her, for he was a captain of one of the parties in the city, and as captain he was now away with his warriors giving orders for them to join the squadrons of Montezuma in the barrancas, and she thought that they were already assembled waiting for us to set out, and that they would kill us there; as to the plot she had known about it for three days, for a gilded drum had been sent to her husband from Mexico, and rich cloaks and jewels of gold had been sent to three other captains to induce them to bring us bound to their Lord Montezuma.

When Doña Marina heard this she deceived the old woman and said—"How delighted I am to hear that your son to whom you wish to marry me is a man of distinction. We have already talked a good deal, and I do not want them to notice us, so Mother you wait here while I begin to bring my property, for I cannot bring it all at once, and you and your son, my brother, will take care of it, and then

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we shall be able to go." The old woman believed all that was told her, and she and her son sat down to rest. Then Doña Marina went swiftly to the Captain and told him all that had passed with the Indian woman. Cortés at once ordered her to be brought before him, and questioned her about these treasons and plots, and she told him neither more nor less than the priests had already said, so he placed a guard over the woman so that she could not escape.

When dawn broke, it was a sight to see the haste with which the Caciques and priests brought in the warriors, laughing and contented as though they had already caught us in their traps and nets, and they brought more Indian warriors than we had asked for, and large as they are (for they still stand as a memorial of the past) the courtyards would not hold them all.

Early as it was when the Cholulans arrived with the warriors, we were already quite prepared for what had to be done. The soldiers with swords and shields were stationed at the gate of the great court so as not to let a single armed Indian pass out. Our Captain was mounted on horseback with many soldiers round him, as a guard, and when he saw how very early the Caciques and priests and warriors had arrived, he said—"How these traitors long to see us among the barrancas so as to gorge on our flesh, but Our Lord will do better for us." Then he asked for the two priests who had let out the secret, and they told him that they were at the gate of the courtyard with the other Caciques who wished to come in, and he sent our interpreter, Aguilar, to tell them to go to their houses, for he had no need of their presence now. This was in order that, as they had done us a good turn, they should not suffer for it, and should not get killed. Cortés was on horseback and Doña Marina near to him, and he asked the Caciques, why was it, as we had done them no harm what-

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721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

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us should be sacrificed before it, and that three nights ago they had sacrificed seven Indians to it so as to ensure victory, which was promised them; but as the Idol was both evil and false, it neither had, nor would have power against us, and all these evil and traitorous designs which they had planned and put into effect were about to recoil on themselves. Doña Marina told all this to them and made them understand it very clearly, and when the priests, Caciques, and captains had heard it, they said that what had been stated was true but that they were not to blame for it, for the Ambassadors of Montezuma had ordered it at the command of their Prince.

Then Cortés told them that the royal laws decreed that such treasons as those should not remain unpunished and that for their crime they must die. Then he ordered a musket to be fired, which was the signal that we had agreed upon for that purpose, and a blow was given to them which they will remember for ever, for we killed many of them,[1] so that they gained nothing from the promises of their false Idols.

Not two hours had passed before our allies, the Tlaxcalans, arrived, whom I have already said we had left out in the fields, and they had fought very fiercely in the streets where the Cholulans had posted other companies to defend the streets and prevent their being entered, but these were soon defeated. They [the Tlaxcalans] went about the city, plundering and making prisoners and we could not stop them, and the next day more companies from the Tlaxcalan towns arrived, and did great damage, for they were very hostile to the people of Cholula, and when we saw this, both Cortés and the captains and the soldiers, on account of the compassion that we had felt for them, restrained the Tlaxcalans from doing further damage, and

[1] Blotted out; "and others were burned."—G. G.

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for the work, for, between the two great dangers in which we found ourselves, it was better and more to the purpose to seize Montezuma than to wait until he attacked us; for if he began the attack, what chance should we have? Some of us soldiers also told Cortés that it seemed to us that Montezuma's stewards, who were employed in providing us with food, were insolent and did not bring it courteously as during the first days. Also two of our Allies the Tlaxcalan Indians said secretly to Jerónimo de Aguilar, our interpreter, that the Mexicans had not appeared to be well disposed towards us during the last two days. So we stayed a good hour discussing the question whether or not we should take Montezuma prisoner, and how it was to be done, and to our Captain this last advice seemed opportune, that in any case we should take him prisoner, and we left it until the next day. All that night we were praying to God that our plan might tend to His Holy service.

The next morning after these consultations, there arrived, very secretly, two Tlaxcalan Indians with letters from Villa Rica and what they contained was the news that Juan de Escalante, who had remained there as Chief Alguacil, and six of our soldiers had been killed in a battle against the Mexicans, that his horse had also been slain, and many Totonacs who were in his company. Moreover, all the towns of the Sierra and Cempoala and its subject towns were in revolt, and refused to bring food or serve in the fort. They [the Spaniards] did not know what to do, for as formerly they had been taken to be Teules, that now after this disaster, both the Totonacs and Mexicans were like wild animals, and they could hold them to nothing, and did not know what steps to take.

When we heard this news, God knows what sorrow affected us all, for this was the first disaster we had suffered in New Spain. The interested reader may see

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how evil fortune came rolling on us. No one who had seen us enter into that city with such a solemn and triumphant reception, and had seen us in possession of riches which Montezuma gave every day both to our Captain and to us, and had seen the house that I have described full of gold, and how the people took us for Teules, that is for Idols, and that we were conquerors in all our battles, would have thought that now such a great disaster could have befallen us, namely that they no longer attributed to us our former repute, but looked upon us as men liable to be conquered, and that we should have to feel their growing insolence towards us.

As the upshot of much argument it was agreed that, by one means or another, we should seize Montezuma that very day, or we would all die in the attempt.

So that my readers may see how Juan de Escalante fought this battle and was killed in it, he and six soldiers and a horse and the Totonac allies whom he took with him, I wish here to describe it before coming to the seizure of Montezuma, so as not to leave anything behind, for it is necessary that it should be clearly understood.

CHAPTER XCIV.

How the Mexican Captains fought a battle against Juan de Escalante, and killed him and a horse and six soldiers and many of our Totonac allies.

•721 It was in this way; you may remember my having said in the chapter that treats of the subject, that when we were camped at a town called Quiahuitztlan, that there came together many allied towns which were friendly with the people of Cempoala, and our Captain persuaded them to agree not to pay any more tribute to Montezuma, and there were more than thirty towns which rebelled against

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him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need. 721

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,[1] and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders. 712 721 721 651 721

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

[1] Mechuacan in the text.

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721 the Mexicans telling them not to annoy or rob those towns, for their Lord Montezuma approved of our all being great friends, and that if they did so he would come against them and attack them. The Mexicans took no notice of that reply or of the threat, but said that we should 726 find them in the field. Juan de Escalante who was a very competent man and prompt in his actions, summoned all our allies from the towns in the Sierra to come with their arms, that is bows, arrows, lances and shields, and he also called together the most active and healthy of his soldiers, (for I have already said that nearly all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica were invalids and sailors,) and with two cannon and a little powder, three crossbows, two muskets, and forty soldiers and over two thousand Totonac Indians, he went in search of the Mexican garrison, who were already out robbing a town of our allies. They met in the fields at dawn of day, and as the Mexicans doubled in number our Totonac allies, and as the latter were always in terror of them on account of their former wars, at the first attack of the Mexicans with arrows, darts, stones and war cries, they took to their heels and left Juan de Escalante to fight the Mexicans alone, in such a manner that he and his poor soldiers barely reached a town called Almeria, which they set on fire and burned the houses. There he rested a little for he was badly wounded.

In those skirmishes and attacks, the Mexicans carried off alive a soldier named Argüello, a native of Leon, a man with a very large head and black curly beard, and he was very sturdy in appearance and a man of great strength. Juan de Escalante and six of his soldiers were very badly wounded and one horse was killed. They returned to Villa Rica and within three days Escalante and the six soldiers were dead.

000 It was in this way that what we call "the affair at Almeria"

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and Montezuma released, and that some of them should proclaim themselves as Kings of Mexico, as I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER C.

How the nephews of the great Montezuma went about assembling the other Lords and persuading them to come to Mexico and free the great Montezuma from his imprisonment and drive us out of the City and kill us.

As Cacamatzin, lord of the City of Texcoco, which after Mexico is the largest and most important city that there is in New Spain, knew that his uncle, Montezuma, had been imprisoned for many days, and that we were taking the upper hand in every way that was possible, and also got to know that we had opened the chamber where the great treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was kept, but had not taken anything from it, he determined, before we could take possession of the treasure, to call together all the Lords of Texcoco, who were his vassals, and the lord of Coyoacan, who was his cousin and Montezuma's nephew, and the lord of Tacuba, and the lord of Iztapalapa, and another great Cacique who was lord of Matalçingo, who was very nearly related to Montezuma and of whom it was even said that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom and lordship of Mexico, and who was a chieftain known among the Indians for his personal bravery. While he [Cacamatzin] continued to negotiate with these and other Mexican chieftains that on a given day they should come with all their forces and attack us, it seems that the Cacique whom I have said was known for his personal bravery (whose name I do not know), said that if he [Cacamatzin] would assure to him the Kingship of Mexico, to which he was the rightful heir, that he and all his relations, and the people of the province called Matalçingo,

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631 would be the first to take up arms and turn us out of
643 Mexico, or not leave any one of us alive. It appears that
721 Cacamatzin replied that the Chieftainship of Mexico belonged to him and that he himself must be King, for he was the nephew of Montezuma; and that if he [the Lord of Matalçingo] did not wish to come, that they would make war on us without his help or that of his people, for it seems that Cacamatzin had got ready all the Lords and towns already named by me, and had already arranged the day on which they were to fall on Mexico, and that the chieftains of his faction who were then in the city would facilitate their entry.

721 While these negotiations were going on, Montezuma knew all about them from his powerful relation [the lord of Matalçingo] who would not come to an agreement with Cacamatzin, and to be more sure of it, Montezuma sent to summon all the Caciques and chieftains of that City [Texcoco], and they told him how Cacamatzin was going about persuading them all with words and gifts to join him in an attack on us, and to free his uncle. As Montezuma was prudent and did not wish to see his city rise up in arms or riots, he told Cortés what was happening. Our Captain and all of us soldiers knew a good deal about this disturbance, but not so fully as Montezuma now detailed it. The advice that Cortés now gave him was that he should give us his Mexican followers and we would fall on Texcoco and capture or destroy that city and its neighbourhood. As that advice did not suit Montezuma, Cortés sent to tell Cacamatzin that he should cease his preparations for war, which would be the means of his destruction, for he wished to have him as a friend, and that all that he could do for him personally he would do, and many other compliments. Now Cacamatzin was a young man who found many others, who shared his opinions, ready to support him in the war, so he sent to tell Cortés,

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that he understood his flatteries and did not want to hear any more of them, but that when he saw him coming then he would say to him whatever he liked. Cortés again sent to tell him that he should beware not to do an ill turn to our King and Lord, for he would pay for it with his person, and lose his life for it. He replied that he knew no King and wished he had never known Cortés, who, for all his fair words, had imprisoned his uncle.

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When he [Cacamatzin] sent this answer, our Captain implored Montezuma, as he was such a great Prince, and had among his Captains in Texcoco both great Caciques and kinsmen who were not friendly with Cacamatzin, who was very haughty and much disliked, and as Montezuma had with him there in Mexico a brother of this same Cacamatzin, a youth of a good disposition, who had fled from his own brother to escape being killed by him, (for after Cacamatzin he was the heir to the kingdom of Texcoco,) [our captain implored Montezuma] to concert measures with his people in Texcoco to seize Cacamatzin, or to send secretly to summon him to come [to Mexico,] and if he did come, to lay hands on him and keep him in his power until he had quieted down. Moreover as this (other) nephew was in his house and was subject to him, he should presently promote him to be the Lord and should take the chieftainship from Cacamatzin, who was doing him an injury and going about stirring up all the cities and Caciques of the land to make him Lord over his [Montezuma's] city and kingdom.

Montezuma said that he would at once send to summon him, but he did not think he would come, and that if he did not come he would make arrangements with his Captains and relations to seize him.

Cortés thanked him heartily for this, and even said: "Señor Montezuma, you may indeed believe me that if you wish to go to your Palace, you are free to do so,

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for since I understand that you are well disposed towards me, I am so devoted to you, that were I not in such a [difficult] position, I would not even insist upon accompanying you when you proceed to your palace with all your nobility. If I have failed to carry out such a plan, it is on account of my Captains who went to seize you, for they are not willing that I should set you free, and also because you say that you prefer to stay in confinement so as to avoid the disturbances through which your nephews would attempt to obtain power over this City of yours, and deprive you of your rule."

Montezuma answered that he thanked him, and as he began to understand Cortés' flattering speeches and saw that he made them, not with any intention of setting him free, but only to test his good will, and also because his page Orteguilla had told him that it was our captains who had advised Cortés to take him prisoner, and he must not believe that Cortés would set him free without their consent, Montezuma added that it was as well for him to remain a prisoner until he could see whither the treachery of his nephews would lead. Moreover he would immediately send messengers to Cacamatzin, begging him to appear before him, as he wished to speak to him about friendship between him and us, and would send to tell him, that as for his imprisonment he need not trouble himself about it, that had he desired to free himself many opportunities for doing so had offered, and that Malinche had twice told him to return to his palace, but he did not wish to do so, but to fulfil the commands of his Gods that he should remain a prisoner. Indeed if he did not so remain, he would soon be a dead man, and the priests who ministered to the Idols had known this for many days, and for this reason it would be advisable to be on good terms with Malinche and his brothers. Montezuma sent the same message to the Captains of Texcoco, telling

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them that he was sending to summon his nephew to make friends, adding that they should beware how that youth turned their brains so that they would take up arms against us. 721

Let us leave this talk, which Cacamatzin thoroughly understood, for he took counsel with his chiefs as to what should be done. Cacamatzin then began to bluster and say that he would kill us all within four days, and that his uncle was a chicken not to attack us when he advised him to do so, when we were coming down the mountain towards Chalco, where he had the troops all posted and everything ready, that [instead of doing so] he personally received us in his city as though he knew that we had come to confer some benefit on him, and had given us all the gold that had been brought to him as tribute. Moreover we had broken into and opened the house where the treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was stored, and added to all this we had taken Montezuma prisoner, and were already telling him that he must get rid of the Idols of the great Huichilobos, as we wished to set up our own in their places. So that things should not come to a worse pass, and so as to punish such deeds and affronts, he [Cacamatzin] prayed his chieftains to give him their help, for all that he had told them they had seen with their own eyes, even how we had burnt Montezuma's own Captains, and nothing more could be endured, and they ought all to unite as one man and make war on us.

Cacamatzin promised them there and then, that if the Lordship of Mexico should fall to him, he would make them great chieftains, and he also gave them many golden jewels, and told them that he had already made arrangements with his cousins, the lords of Coyoacan and Iztapalapa and Tacuba and other relations, to help him, and there were other chieftains in Mexico itself who would assist him and let him into the city at whatever hour he might

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•72| choose. He said that some of them might go along the causeway and all the rest could go across the lake in their pirogues and small canoes, and they would enter the city without meeting opponents to defend it, for his uncle was a prisoner, and they need have no fear of us, for they knew that only a few days ago, in the affair of Almeria, his uncle's Captains had killed many Teules and a horse, and they had seen the head of the Teul and the body of the horse; that they could kill us all in an hour and could have feasts and stuff themselves with our bodies.

When this speech was finished, they say that the Captains looked at one another, waiting for those who usually spoke first in councils of war, and that four or five of these Captains replied to him, how was it possible for them to go without the permission of their great prince Montezuma, and wage war in his very house and city? that they should first send to let him know about it, and if he consented, they would accompany Cacamatzin with the greatest good will; but otherwise they did not wish to turn traitors. It seems that Cacamatzin was angered with the Captains and ordered three of those who gave that reply to be imprisoned. As there were present at that meeting and council others, who were his relations, who were longing for a riot, they said that they would aid him to the death. So he decided to send to his uncle the great Montezuma to say that he ought to be ashamed of sending him word to come and make friends with those who had done him such harm and dishonour in holding him a prisoner, that such a thing was only possible because we were wizards and had stolen away all his great strength and bravery with our witchcraft, and that our gods and this great lady from Castile, whom we said was our Counsellor, had given us the great power to do what we had done. And in this which he said last he was not in error, for it was certainly the great mercy of God and his

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blessed Mother that helped us. To return to our story, the gist of his message was, that he would come in spite of us and of his uncle to speak to us and to kill us. 721

When the great Montezuma heard that insolent reply, he was greatly angered, and at once sent to summon six of his most trusted captains. And he gave them his seal, and he also gave them some golden jewels, and ordered them to go to Texcoco, and secretly to show that seal to certain Captains and relations of his, who were on bad terms with Cacamatzin on account of his haughtiness, and so to manage that they should make prisoners of Cacamatzin and those who were in his confidence, and bring them before him at once. When those Captains had departed, and it was understood in Texcoco what it was that Montezuma had ordered, as Cacamatzin was greatly disliked, he was taken prisoner in his own palace while he was discussing the subject of the war with his confederates, and they brought five of them as prisoners in his company. [643]

As that city stands close to the lake, they got ready a great pirogue with awnings, and they placed Cacamatzin and the other prisoners in it and with a great crew of rowers they brought them to Mexico. When they had disembarked, they placed Cacamatzin in a richly adorned litter fit for a king such as he was, and with the greatest show of respect they brought him before Montezuma. [501]

It seems that in his interview with Montezuma, he was even more insolent than he had been before, and Montezuma knew of the plots he had made to raise himself to the lordship of Mexico, about which he learnt further complete details from the other prisoners who had been brought to him. If Montezuma was angry with his nephew before, he was now doubly so, and he promptly sent him to our Captain to be held as a prisoner, and the other prisoners he ordered to be set free.

Cortés went at once to the palace to Montezuma's

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721 chamber to thank him for so great a favour and the order was given that the youth[1] who was in Montezuma's company, who was also his nephew and the brother of Cacamatzin, should be raised to the Kingship of Texcoco.

721 666 I have already said that he had come here to seek the protection of his uncle when his brother wished to kill him, and that he was the next heir to the kingdom of Texcoco. So as to make the appointment with all solemnity and with the consent of all the city, Montezuma summoned before him the principal chieftains of the whole province and after fully discussing the matter, they elected him as King and Lord of that great city, and he was named Don Carlos.

721 After all this was over, when the Caciques and Kinglets, nephews of the great Montezuma, namely the Lord of Coyoacan, and the Lord of Iztapalapa, and he of Tacuba saw and heard of the imprisonment of Cacamatzin, and learnt that the great Montezuma knew that they had joined in the conspiracy to deprive him of his kingdom and give it to Cacamatzin, they were frightened and did not come to pay their court to Montezuma as they were used to do. So with the consent of Cortés, who clamoured and persuaded him to order them to be seized, within eight days they were all in prison and attached to the great chain, and our Captain and all of us felt not a little relieved.

000 The reader who is interested may see what lives we were leading, for every day they were planning to kill us and eat our flesh, if the great mercy of God which always followed us had not come to our rescue, and but for that good Montezuma who always gave a favourable turn to our affairs. Just think what a great Prince he was who, although imprisoned, was so faithfully obeyed, that all was once more made peaceful, and those chieftains were prisoners.

[1] Cuicuitucatzin.

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sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlatilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 236, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 232. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al otro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 229 and 230). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

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646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

●721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[198] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It
[782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[199] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi-
[726] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[198] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the foray against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 30; cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXI, p. 48). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 150.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[199] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[200] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in-"auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclaves que sacrificar à los dioses y cebar à los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizocic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 121, 122, and 123). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 198).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

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The question of peace or war could only be decided by the supreme council of chiefs.[133] If war was to take place it was *sometimes*, but *not always*, resolved to send delegates to the tribe concerned, challenging it to fight or to submit and to become tributary to the Mexicans.[134] These delegates carried particular distinctive tokens;[135] they proceeded unmolested to the pueblo which they were to notify, and, entering the council-house, briefly exposed the object of their coming to the chiefs there gathered. If, after deliberation, the tribe thus threatened agreed to submit and to give tribute, then all was well, and the delegates departed again, loaded with presents. But if any reparation or proposal for accommodation other than *actual submission* was proffered, or if the reply was even defiant, the Mexican delegates at once stepped up to the head war-chief of the enemy, and with white paint (which they carried in their casket of supplies) anointed his arms. Further, they placed feathers on his head and gave to him a shield and sword. This was the declaration of war.[136] Thereupon they withdrew, but if a custom prevailing among all the tribes then inhabiting the

[133] We have, on this point, the positive declaration of the last Montezuma himself. When the tribe of Huexotzinco sent delegates to Mexico, proposing an alliance against Tlaxcallan, Montezuma replied to them: "Brothers and sons, you are welcome, rest "Yourselves a while, for although I am king indeed, I alone cannot satisfy you, but "only together with all the chiefs of the sacred Mexican senate" ("Yo solo no puede "valeroc, sino con todos los principales del sacro senado Mexicano." Tezozomoc, Cap. XCVII). Also, Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I).

[134] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI. p. 129): "This was the common way, although "sometimes they took them by surprise."

[135] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I. p. 534): "In the right carried an arrow, holding it "by its head, the feathered end upwards, and in the left hand a small shield."

[136] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des Anciens rois de Tezcuco," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 268, 270, 271, and 272) claims that they sent three different summons, one by the Mexicans, one by the Tezcucans, and another by the Tlacopans. But this is not otherwise confirmed. The answer, unless time was positively requested, and the Mexicans deemed it politic to delay, decided the very first time.

Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129): "Determined and resolved that there should "be war, they sent certain shields and robes to those whom they intended to assail (as "it was their custom to never send a message without a present)." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537, almost a literal copy from Mendieta). Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15; cap. XXVII, p. 40, etc., etc.). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXVIII). Durhn (Cap. IX, p. 74; cap. LVII, p. 430. Montezuma being challenged by the Huexotzinca, and Cap. LIX, p. 464, by the Cholulteca). The white paint, "tizatl" (Molina, II, p. 113, "cierto barro, o tierra blanca." See, also, Tezozomoc, Cap. VIII), was an emblem of death, the shield, "for to defend himself therewith," and the sword, "for to offend if "he was able." The latter is analogous to the red tomahawk sent in token of war by northern savages (Loskiel: "Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter "den Indianern in Nord-Amerika." Barby, 1788, Part I, cap. XI, p. 187. Also, Adair: "History of the American Indians").

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72 | country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it.* Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous [203] drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

72 Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 555): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax-"adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, teniendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanocatl Tlacaelelitzin" returned for the second time to Ascaputzalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezozomoctli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "macuahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanocatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 488 and 489), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Montezuma. ("Huehue-Montezuma," or "Montezuma Ilhuicamina.")

[139] Bernal-Diaz (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y allí tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tenian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infiernos, y mas de "dos leguas de allí se oia; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 388, of Vol. II).

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their 175 numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 146) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Ycpatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York." pp. 297–312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por "que los naturales della eran amigos de Muteczuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Muteczuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimarca), at the confines of Toluca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 88): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi-"marca, que dizen Tlazimoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Toluca se volvieron, viendo que su campo no llegava: al ira adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with arrows, but no close combats are mentioned.

[180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

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Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in conflict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines.

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of*, *settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[161] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 463). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in those fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezozomoc.

[161] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la Salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an-"cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebelin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. [illegible]. "El primer rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

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174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

[54] Durán (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, XII, XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII. XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I. pp. 15 and 16).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 66). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 478. "Con esta ocasion, ora sea que ellos de proposito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los avia hecho merced, no podian aprovecharse, por ancreelos desbaratado el caño por muchas partes. por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbaratasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera," p. 71, Vedia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero, Lib. X. cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 256 and 257). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezozoc en los ult: Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

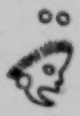

721 696 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which it is told how these rulers (upon the day sign mentioned) proclaimed war. And at that time were sentenced those who were to die.**[1]

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo: vncan motenevia, in quenjn ichoantin tlatoque (in jpan in tonalli omotenevih) iaotlatoaia, ioan vncan tlatzontequjlilloia in mjqujztli ipan catca.

701 721 When already the election ceremony had taken place, with festivity,[2] [the newly-elected rulers] disposed themselves for war to be declared. Also in this way it was said that for a second time, in war, the rulers would hold the election ceremony. Then to a considerable degree did the chieftains, the strong, cast their lot with him. They were urged and thrust upon him that they might show him their skill and aid him; so that they might take captives for him. This was because in this way they sought, dedicated themselves to, and gained their drink and food, and their capes, through the help of which they would live and have raiment; and he would honor them, etc. They would become his standard-bearing warriors, who, it was said, courted danger, hurled themselves against the foe, and joined in the fray.

In jquac ic omotecpac tecoanotzaliztica: njman ic no cuele oalmotlalia injc iaotlatolo, no ic mjtoa ic oppa iaoc motecpacaz in tlatoanj, iquac cenca ipan mopepena in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, ipan netoochoio, nemamalioa, injc qujtlamatolinque, quipalevinque, injc ichoan uel qujtlamaltizque, ipampa ca qujxtoca, ipan mjxpea, qujmcentoqujlia in jauh, in jtlaqual, in jtilma, injc ipal nemjzque, ipallaquemjzque, qujnmuujzçotia, Er°. itlaujcecaoan mochioazque in mjtoa: injc aqujtiaçotla in jntzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, teca mcmiotla, ueujc mopetlatiuj:

696 And it was also said that on this [day sign] One Dog a court of justice was held. Then was sentence pronounced upon those who were to die. And at this time were released and freed those who had done nothing serious. And they absolved of their crimes those who had suffered injustice for no apparent crime or discernible fault, and had served and paid a penalty for it: those who had only wrongly been imprisoned for some invented wrong, who only paid and stoned another's fault or crime, or perhaps served in another's place. Perhaps they imprisoned one for another's fault. So they had been forced into bondage and had become slaves. At once they bathed there at Chapultepec to lay aside their crimes.[3]

ioan mjtoa no ipan tecutlatoloia injn oc itacujntli, vncan tlatzontequjlilloia in jmpan ca mjqujztli: auh iquac qujxtiloia, caoaloia, in amo cenca eui ic cate, ioan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti, in amo cenca melaoac, in amo uel ixnezquj, in amo cenca uel nentica ic tlacoti, ic tlanamjquj in aço çan tlapictli qujtzaqua, çan tlapiqujloque, çan ixpopoiotlanamjctiloque, ixpopoiotlanamjoque, aço çan tepon in tlaiecoa, aço çan tecujtl in qujzaqua, injc cujuiloque in victli, mecapalli, injc victique, mecapaltique, iquac njman vmpa oimaahia, in chapultepec, injc qujncaoa, intlatlacul:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en el mismo ceremoniaron a nuestro, a los que por algún gran crimen, estaban presos.*"

2. *Ibid.*: "*Era acabado de hacer la fiesta de la dedicación de su señorío. . . . mas de nuestro la grandeza de su señorío.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, loc. cit.

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chapter xiv: *Mo chapultepec ximaahi.* In the Garibay ed., VI, 41, 67, the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Dicen otro a bañar a Chapultepec, a quarla poder irse a bañar a Chapultepec. — Este refrán dice el que ha tenido alguna gran enfermedad o algún cargo pesado, con deseo de verse libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad, diciendo: Mo chapultepec ximaahi, que quiere decir, bañarse ha ya en aquel remedio cuando este cargo o enfermedad se me quitare. Chapultepec es una fuente que está cerca de México, muy buena; los que se bañan en ella piensan que les hace dicha gran merced. Así, este adagio es de los mexicanos.*"

or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

in jxqujchtin iauteoaque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içcioual tlapiazque, in teuatenpan in tlachinoltempã. 726
in qujmocujtlaujzque oçelotenamjtl, quauhtenamjtl,
in iauotli: ioan qujmanazque quintzitzquizque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in qujoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jquin iautlatoloz, auh in
oqujcacque ca ie iautlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
iautlapializtica.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenonotzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame quj-
mati in mexica in inchan oalmocallotia, in tetlanen-
que in jiaohoan no qujtzacytiuja, inca nenonotzaloia
in chaneque, ioã in jnpilhoan, ioan namoicloia in
intlatquj atl neneçia in inchan.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlatoaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialoz in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çeioal, in ma aca qujtlachichiujli altepetl, in ma 722
iauiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icatiaz tlatoanj,
ioan altepetl qujnnaostiaia in tlatoanj in telpuchtla-
toque, in tiacahoan: ioan in ixquich telpuchtli, injc [533]
momoztlae ioultica cujcoanozque, injc qujoalcaqujz
ixquich altepetl, in qujiaoalotoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan ixquich mexicatl.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaoa: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan ixquich altepemaitl, icoac qujça in
jxquichtin tlamacazque, noujian in ontlamaçeoa
noujian tepeticpac, ioan ic ontlapia in aço itla quj-
namjqujtiuj ie tlatujnaoac ỹ oalcalaquja injc ontla-
piaia çeçeioal iuh qujchioaia.

10. Simeon, op. cit., identifies ocizitl as an intoxicating plant, and chopul as Heimia connamomi, a medicinal plant. Olmos, op. cit., p. 223, has, for Hacer a otro enfermo, o dar mal consejo: Mizitl, chopul, cocoxochqui, nanacatl nicnitzinzmi. . . .; for Embriagarse, o salir de seso: Yiach cqueni in mizitl, in nanacatl, in cocoxochqui inic cyoaiaic, inic ocoxomic. In Lib. VI, fol. 20Vv, of the Florentine Codex, this passage appears: "Yo atontolmeno, o desatinadamente: iá yohqui mizitl, in yohqui chopul atiquiyc. Itechpa mipania: in cqueni oncmo quiçaqujxtiquiyc tecuacuilmitl: ic tohqui in ma tlamatqui, ma chopul cqueqque: injc ocuij: oncmo quiçaqujxtiquiyc in tlein ic mocuitlaoia: ipampa injc ania, in ama mocuitlo: tlein. Tlein mach oncque, tlein mach oncpopolo: ma cel cujxtoma, oncmo quiçalaoaia in mocuitlo: in oncmo tiotij, ticoui in tlacuilli." The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Esto loco quiere decir. Andas tocando y dando palmadas en el pecho como hombre que a comido hallucinos. Por metaphora se dice: de aquel que sirvido trayeron y derbarcado en su casa, sirvido obrepido, no se quiere enseñar: y a este tal decirle que se bayale que se conjele que ninguna bien enseña resulta su corazon."

11. Tetlan aczquer: accusado, according to Simeon, op. cit. Tetlanenemi, however, in Molina, op. cit., is translated as chismere or malsin (gossip, tattlemongr; lit., ?, possibly, informer).

12. Ab: probably ate is meant.

sons; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualooj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 443 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquauijtl, acaiiectl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoquitecomatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoquitlatquitl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in ichoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo quimocuitlauia, intequiuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequiuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca, aço tlaçoilmatli, anoço chalchiuitl, intla oximachililoc, intlacamo quinextia in aquin quicobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, quitzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequiliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia, [685]

in jntequiuh catca tianquizpantlaca quichioaia iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequitia tianquiztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli equichti, ioan çioa in tequitlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 235, describes epyquilitl as "hojas y ramas de las frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mimosa pigra var. Mimosa L.

[p. 70 is blank]

342 643 [373] 644 722

And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, likewise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go out. It was watched all night and made to burn with pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Coacalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecçan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj çeioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlauijloia ocotica, in vncan iieian tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coacali, in jntenetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texicali in jnneçenqujxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlãlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh catca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapieloia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioal tlauijloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapieloia.

643 542

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelquixtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac quittaia, çujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoztiaia, injc ollamaloc, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaquiltiaia tlatoanj: quinnaoztiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujzque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçoatl, ioan maieoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlauijlilo, tlaxahujlo, tlachpano:

643 525

And all which the ruler was to wager in the game—the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoc tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtenteti, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcozcatl, teucujtlacozcatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalis in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjzque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxqujch itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, iceciaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj qujquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque qujtema in ixqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujnmaca in jxqujch oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

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13. *Tlaxitlan/pan:* see Arturo Monzón: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochcas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlaxitlanalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 369, "los pueblos quedaron subdivididos en nueve calpulli ó barrios, excepto los parcialidades otra, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlaxitlanalli."

14. *Tlaçotl:* the corresponding Spanish text refers to dowry, in which case the Aztec should read dowry.

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[5] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

in onoca, in çoçetoca, tonatiuh qujxnamjctoca. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl, amo qujçoçoque in intzontecô in veca tlaca. auh in axioaque Españoles onteçpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhteri cavallos:

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalioa: amo ic mocaoa in tlapielistli, in novian techiaoalotinemj ic xuchmjlca in acaltica, necoccampa tlamalo, necoccampa mjoua.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[6] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and swallows; and maize straw,[7] and salt-grass.[8] And they ate *calorie* wood,[9] and they ate the glue orchid,[10] and the frilled flower;[11] and tanned hides, and buck-skin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

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Auh in jxqujch macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia maisnoia, mjec in mapiztmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoã mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much quaioc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxqujçacatl: yoan qujquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan qujquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, qujmoonqujaia qujtotetepotzaia, qujtotoponjaia injc qujquaia yoã in tetzmetl, yoan in xantetl qujtetzoaia: aoc tle iubquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Los capitanes eran ahor . . . los otros indios eran hacer . . . los caballos eran hacer.*"

4. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 550, reads this passage.

5. *Huauhtli*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which Mexican cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as "*hierba . . . se muy verde y tiene parecer como el trigo, y es blanca, almacaba las cosechas y estas amarradas.*" Remesal, op. cit., p. 259, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

6. *Tequisquipanoli*: probably pastures on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, op. cit., p. 271, has "*hierba muy deprava y espinosa, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . se hierba para quemar.*" Remesal, op. cit., p. 225, citing Hernández (op. cit.), calls it some grass or marsh grass, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. *Grama* (*tequisquipanoli* in Molina, op. cit.), Santamaría (op. cit., II, p. 31) identifies as *Paniceum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

7. *Tzompanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (op. cit., III, p. 275), "*es árbol verdinegro, tiene las cosas redondas y de buen parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman xopanchichitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y se suelen dar ensiguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman xopinitl*"; p. 246: "*Xopanitl, árbol, flor y fruto del Colorín.* Erythrina corallodendron. *D.C.* Leguminosae." Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 321, giving the same botanical identification and *E. americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompanuale*), and observes of the bean (*colorín*) that it is "*especie de frijolillo rojo, duro que constituye un alimento muy venenoso.*"

8. *Tizaxochitl*. Remesal, op. cit., p. 309, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Mirabilis campanulata* La Llave and Lex. (?), *Epidendrum pastoris* La Llave and Lex (?), *Cassarrina macedonica* Rzedowski (?) — all orchids. Hernández, op. cit., II, pp. 375-376: *Tizaxochitl o tizaxochitl flordeliz*: *Mirabilis campanulata* La Llave y Lex, or *B. crocifolia* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlapozilli*. In Molina, op. cit., tlapozilli is *pheasant* or *cinnamon*. *Tlapozilli*, however, is given by Remesal, op. cit., p. 226, as "billed flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as marvella. It is medicinal. Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 184, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera, and prunpatilla.*

10. *Tecuxuchitl*. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 249, says it is like *xocuxuchitl*: "*hojas muy verdes y redondas, y también muy lucidas, y tienen las cosas coloradas. . . . olor . . . dulce, y aspera y lampiñas . . . la semilla de esta cosa redonda*" (medicinal). Remesal identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moziño and Sessé — commonly, *siempreviva* (op. cit., p. 222). Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 43, adds *S. quitense* H. B. K. and *S. roseum* Sess.

11. Cf., however, Sahagún, op. cit., p. 550: "*und Stock und Leder und Hirschhaut, die braten, backen, rösten, brennen, essen es so, und Tizaxochitl und Lehmziegel und eine Tecuxuchitl.*" Of *tecuxuchitl* or *tecuxuchitl*, Sahagún (op. cit., p. 249) says it is a bad-smelling plant used for coloring. Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 142 (*tecuxuchitl*), says it is "*también conocer de varias plantas endemoniadas, como el coyoxochitl o cuyoxochitl (Cosmosiphon tulipanosis), el tecuxuchitl (Mirabilis longiflora), y otras.*"

100 –

such suffering. It was terrifying how they were besieged; truly, in great numbers they starved. And quite calmly [the enemy] hemmed us in and contained us.

in apixmjc: auh çan jvian tachvalcaltechpachotiquac, çan jviã techololãlique. 722 262

[p. 102 is blank]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 strength of one tribe tried to rout the yelling horde of their adversary, and the first to run lost the battle. Captives were taken, tribute imposed, the temple burned, and the defeated group was then left alone again.

To attain victory more easily surprise attacks, sometimes implemented by a little treachery, were instituted. However, the cumbrous process of getting an army onto the field of battle usually prevented this favored method of warfare. More often the Tenochcas and their allies would feint with a screen of warriors, who would be easily repulsed in a pretended rout. The main body would wait in a place of concealment until the pursuing enemy came into view, whereupon they would charge out and demolish them. Losses were chiefly felt in the number of captives taken, since these short hand-to-hand combats were not very damaging to the man power of either side. [787] The capture of a chief or the recognition of a sign of evil portent was sufficient to demoralize an army and, despite their bravery and constant experience in warfare of this type, the Aztecs were little fitted to resist soldiers trained in European techniques.

723 There was rather more opportunity for strategy than for battle tactics. Considerable planning, as we have said, was necessary to move troops upon the field of battle. The Aztecs won campaigns in Oaxaca, Puebla, western Mexico and along the Vera Cruz coast, as far north as Tamaulipas.* Having to move step by step and to intimidate or win over town after town, they needed patience and knowledge of geographical and political conditions. One reason for the honor in which merchants were held was the information of this character which they could furnish from their travels.

*Ta-mow-le'e-pas.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The triple alliance was a typical example of Aztec strategy. Nezahualcoyotl wanted to restore the hegemony of Texcoco and destroy Tezozomoc's Tepanec power, the center of which was Azcapotzalco. The two towns were separated by the Lake of Mexico. To move troops overland would have required several days; to move them across the lake in canoes would have meant having a landing base on the western shore. Nezahualcoyotl, therefore, induced Tlacopan and Tenochtitlan, which were at the back door of Azcapotzalco and tributary to it as well, to declare war. Thus he had a base at which to land his canoes filled with troops, and while his allies engaged the enemy strongly in this quarter, the Texcocan chief had time to bring reinforcements around the lakes by the overland route to attack another point.

The town of Chiconauhtla offers another example of these simple strategic ideas. This settlement dominated the straits through which the northern lakes of Zumpango and Xaltocan empty into Lake Texcoco. The people here could destroy any force in canoes moving east against Texcoco or west against Azcapotzalco. Their forces also could make a flank attack on land armies skirting the lakes against either of those two objectives. Early in the thirteenth century Chiconauhtla became a fief of Texcoco and participated, as a sort of guardian of the western marches, in campaigns against rebellious western tribes and in the great war with Tezozomoc. Later it seems to have become part of the Tenochtitlan chain of vassal towns, and its chief had the honor of sharing a royal apartment in Montezuma's palace with the rulers of far more important city-states. To confirm this documentary evidence excavation of the site reveals, in the quantity and quality of the material culture surviving, evidence of partici-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

723 648 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 796 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearning when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he [775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

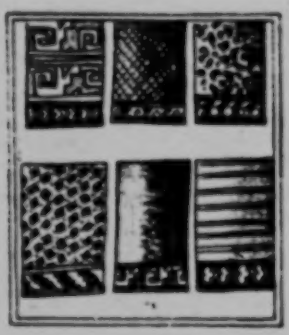

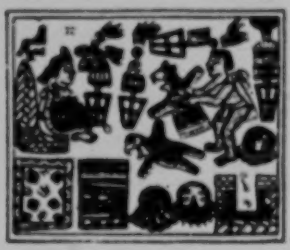

532

[291
302]

[643
714]

[283
286]

[701
714
793
411]

[723]

—After Paso y Troncoso

72-74. Women's array—*napili, cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads—where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos—the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Aztacalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Ulipan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzintepec. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

Injc caxtolli omome cap°, vncan mjtoa in jnncie- 643
hecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn vel quichioazque inte-
qujuh, in jntlatocaio.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in- 643
tlatecpanalistli, in quititlanja injc iauquiçaia. 701

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca
in iauiotl, injc ichoatl quitzontequj, quitecpana,
quiçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

achto quinaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjòaque, in 643
connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in
campa ouica, in campa ic calacoaz, in ic iuhquj achto 723
oquinemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlali: in
altepetl, in poliujz, ic onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui
vtli, in campa ouican, quezquican in calacoaz. [102]

Niman ic quioalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlaca-
teccatl, in tiacahoan quinnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque
in quezquican calaquiz: iauquizquj, in quezquilhujtl
monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan quinnaoatia,
injc ichoantin, iautlatoaque quinnaoatizque: in
jxquich in qcauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc
moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioã tlaujztli.

Auh in ichoatl tlatoanj: njman quinnonotza in 643
jxquichtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauh- 714
naoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl:
tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, teprquacujlcatl, hoappa-
necatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl,
matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl,
axocopanecatl, itzcuincujtlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aio-
tzintepecatl, quinnaoatia, injc quioalcujzque, in
jxquich in jnpiel, in tlacalaquijlli, in tlaçotlanquj
tlaujztli in cozticc teucujtlaio, in quezallo: in jxquich
tlaçochimalli.

Auh in jcoac oquioalisquijque in calpixque: in 643
jxquich tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli: iichoatl tlatoanj, nj- 701
man quicencaoa quintlaujzmaca in jxquichtin tlaço-
pipiltj, in ic imjxco ca iautilistli: ioan in jxquichtin

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 99; Sahagún, op. cit., I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

And he who in vain would save himself, implored and said to them: "What do you do, O Mexicans? I am not [the one]." They answered him: "Thou art [one of them] also, O fool; [art thou] not a carrier?" Then and there they slew him. They only [continued] to guard the people; they went about cautious of others. Their eyes and concern were only to guard the Mexicans. Many they punished for imagined [evil], those who perished without warning, whom they punished not for their own crime.

Auh in oc nen momaquixtiznequj, in qujntlatlauhtia quimjlhuja. Tle amai mexicae, camono tehoatl: conjlhuja, ca no tehoatl nocne, amo titequjtquj: njman ic vncan cõmjctia ça teixpipia, ça motecujtlavitinemj, ça imjx intequjuh, ça tepipia in mexica: ca mjequjntin in tlapictli qujtzacutiaque in jxpopoiomjctiloque in amo vel intlatlacul qujtzacutiaque. 726

And still other carriers hid and sheltered themselves. No more were they to be seen; they showed themselves to no one; no longer would they come forth to the people. They were in great fright, swooning with fear. They lived hidden, lest they fall into the people's hands.

Auh in oc cequjnti tequjtque motlatique, mjnaxque, aocmo moteititiaia, aocmo motenextiliaia, aocmo tevic quiçaia, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhçaçonequja, mjinaxtinenca, injc amo temac vetzizque.

And when they laid siege to the Spaniards, for only seven days did they join battle with them in their quarters. And for twenty-three days they were shut in. And for as many days, the canals were dredged, widened, deepened, and made precipitous. Everywhere the canals were made dangerous and difficult. And on the roads, in various places, they erected barriers, laid walls, and placed ramparts. Passages between houses were made dangerous.

Auh in jquac oquincaltzacque in Españoles: çan chicomjlhujtl in quincalicalque. Auh in caltzacuticatca cempoalilhujtl omei: auh izquilhujtl in, in acalotli motatatacac, mopapatlauh, movevecatlano, motetepexiõtz novian movicantlaii, moovitili in acalotli: Auh in vtli ipã, netetenantiloc, tenamjtl motetecac, netetenantlaliloc, mooviujcantlali in caltzalãtli: 723 726

And when this had taken place[9]—

auh in ie iuhquj.

9. Chapter 21 may end with an interruption completed in the beginning of Chapter 22. Angel María Garibay (*Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, p. 292), however, identifies the break as one of several lacunae. See also the ending of Chapter 33.

[p. 58 is blank]

-57-

000 **Twenty-second Chapter. Here is told how it became known that the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, was coming, and that he was returning to Mexico.**

—it became known that the Captain now was coming from Tepeyacac.[1] He had set forth bringing with him many Spaniards, and a great number of men of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla—many of them, large numbers, an abundance, a teeming multitude, a great host. Not only [in numbers] were they coming, [but] they came to war; they came with devices, in war array, [with] their shields, obsidian-bladed swords, and wooden clubs borne upon their shoulders. They came stirring up a column of dust, [so that] their faces were covered and ashen with dust. They were caked with earth—clothed in dust, in much earth, [which] flaked off. In haste they ran and hurried here. They said, as they went: "Come along, O men of Tlaxcalla! O men of Cempoalla!"

●723 And the Mexicans determined among themselves that thereafter they would not be seen, but would hide and conceal themselves. As if the earth lay dead, they would speak aloud no more, [but] only remain spying out of entrances, openings in walls, and holes which in some measure they had pierced through walls, through which they could look out. Only those who had [houses] by the roadside—those along the edge of the road—could do so. But those who were among houses could not. [For] if the Spaniards had seen how many chieftains there were in some places, marshaled together, they would have thought in their hearts that the Mexicans would begin, start, and initiate the war.

And after this, [Cortés] went to and entered the palace; whereupon they shot off the guns.[2]

726 And when this had taken place, then [the Mexicans] came forth intent upon battle. Thereupon there were [war] cries and there was fighting; the fray was then joined; there was battle. Arrows and rocks fell upon the Spaniards.[3]

Iajc cempoalli omome capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn machiztico in ie vitz capitan don hernãdo Cortes injc oalmocuepaia mexico.

In omachiztico in ie vitz in Capitan tepeiacacpa in quiçaco, mjequjntin in quinoalhujcac in Españoles yoan cenca mjequjntin in tlaxcalteca yoã in cempoalteca vel mjequjntin vel ixtlãin, vel itzachintin, vel tonac, vel tonaque: amo çan iuh vallaque, valiztiaque, valmotlavizztiiaque, valmoiauchichiuhtiaque, inchichimal, inmamaquauh, inmamavitzoc quiquequequechotivitze, teuhtli quioalçtztiaque, omach itztlaliuhque omach yixtenextiuhque, omach moca tlalloaque, omach tetetuhquimjliuhque, çã moca tlaltin, omach cocoztlaloaq̃ cenca oalmotlaloa, cenca oalhujcinj, motzatzatzilitivi: quitotivi, vallatotoca tlaxcaltecae, cempoaltecae.

Auh in Mexica monaoatique, injc amo quin mottitizque, çã motlatizque, mjnaiazque, iuhquin tlalli mjctimotecac, aocac naoui, tel hoallachiclotoc in tlazacujlcamac, yoan tepancamac, yoan tlacoiocco achi quicocoionjque in tepantli, injc vmpa ontlachie: çan ichoan in otenoaque, in otentli quitocatoque in iuh quichiuhque: auh in calaiepantla onoque amo iuh quichiuhque. Auh intla quimjttanj in cana quexquichtin manj, tepeuhtimanj, in tlacaoan, ca iniol iuh tlamatizquja in Españoles, ca in mexica ichoan quipeoaltia, ichoan quitzintia, ichoan inpeoal in iuiiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ocalaquico vei tecpan: njman ie ic quitlatlaça in tlequiquizttli:

auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic oalquiça quioalixtis in mjcalizque: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca, ie ic necaliza, njmã ie ic muchico in iauiotl, njman ie ic tlaiecolo onvetzi in mjtl, in tetl, in inupan Espanoles.

1. Tepeyacac: presumably not the site north of Tenochtitlan, but one between it and Tlaxcalla.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*comenzaron a subir todos los tiros en alegría de los que venían llegando, y para atemorizar a los enemigos.*"
3. The clubs is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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721 "Take heed, Malinche, for this City is ill disposed, and we
782 know that this night they have sacrificed to their Idol, which is the God of War, seven persons, five of them children, so that the God may give them victory over you, and we have further seen that they are moving all their baggage and women and children out of the city." When
721 Cortés heard this, he immediately sent these Tlaxcalans back to their Captains, with orders to be fully prepared if we should send to summon them, and he turned to speak to the Cacique, priests and chieftains of Cholula and told them to have no fear and show no alarm, but to remember the obedience which they had promised to him, and not to swerve from it, lest he should have to chastise them. That he had already told them that we wished to set out on the morrow and that he had need of two thousand[1] warriors from the city to accompany us, just as the Tlaxcalans had provided them, for they were necessary on the road. They
721 replied that the men would be given, and asked leave to go
723 at once to get them ready, and they went away very well contented, for they thought that between the warriors with whom they were to supply us, and the regiments sent by Montezuma, which were hidden in the rocky thickets and barrancas, we could not escape death or capture, for the horses would not be able to charge on account of certain breastworks and barricades which they immediately advised the troops to construct, so that only a narrow lane would be left through which it would be impossible for us to pass. They warned the Mexicans to be in readiness as we intended to start on the next day and told them that they were going to give us two thousand[2] warriors to accompany us, so that as we marched along, off our guard, between the two forces our capture would

[1] "Blotted out "three or four."—G. G.

[2] Blotted out "four."—G. G.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

be sure and they would be able to bind us, and this they might look on as a certainty, for they [the Cholulans] had made sacrifices to their War Idols who had promised them victory. 721 723

Let us cease speaking of this which they looked on as a sure thing and return to our Captain who, as he wished to be more thoroughly informed about the plot and all that was happening, told Doña Marina to take more chalchihuites to the two priests who had been the first to speak, for they were not afraid, and to tell them with friendly words that Malinche wished them to come back and speak to him, and to bring them back with her. Doña Marina went and spoke to the priests in the manner she knew so well how to use, and thanks to the presents they at once accompanied her. Cortés addressed them and asked them to say truly what they knew, for they were the priests of Idols and chieftains and ought not to lie, and that what they should say would not be disclosed in any manner, for we were going to leave the next morning, and he would give them a large quantity of cloth. They said the truth was that their Lord Montezuma knew that we were coming to their city, and that every day he was of many minds and could not come to any decision on the matter, that sometimes he sent to order them to pay us much respect when we arrived and to guide us on the way to his city, and at other times he would send word that it was not his wish that we should go to Mexico, and now recently his [Gods] Tescatepuca and Huichilobos, to whom he paid great devotion, had counselled him that we should either be killed here in Cholula or should be sent, bound, to Mexico. That the day before he had sent out twenty thousand warriors, and half of them were already within this city and the other half were stationed near by in some gullies, and that they already knew that we were about to start to-morrow; they also 721 [787]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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491 town called Tlamanalco,[1] both of them subject to Mexico;
[636] that the one road was well swept and cleared so as to induce us to take it, and that the other road had been closed up and many great pines and other trees had been cut down so that horses could not use it and we could not march along it. That a little way down the side of the
491 mountain along the road that had been cleared, the
723 Mexicans (thinking that we must take that road) had cut away a piece of the hill side, and had made ditches and barricades, and that certain squadrons of Mexicans had waited at that point so as to kill us there. So they counselled us not to go by the road which was clear, but by the road where the felled trees were, saying that they would send many men with us to clear it, and as the Tlascalans were also with us, between them they would clear away the trees, and they said that that road came out at Tlamanalco.

000 Cortés received their present very kindly and told them that he thanked them for the counsel they had given him, and that with God's help he would not abandon his march but would go the way they advised him. Early the next morning we began our march, and it was nearly midday when we arrived at the ridge of the mountain where we found the roads just as the people of Huexotzingo had said. There we rested a little and began to think about the Mexican squadrons on the intrenched hillside where the earth works were that they had told us about.

Then Cortés ordered the Ambassadors of the great Montezuma who came in our company to be summoned, and he asked them how it was that those two roads were

[1] Bernal Díaz seems to have gone wrong in his topography. At the gap between the two volcanoes the roads probably divided, one (to the right) going by way of Tlamanalco to Chalco, the other (more direct) going to Amecameca. The Spaniards probably took the more direct (the blocked up) road to Amecameca, and did not go to Tlamanalco at all. Cortés, in his second letter, says that he went to Amecameca, and does not mention Tlamanalco.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 by the maturer warriors. A tribesman had the right to elaborate his dress in accordance with his prowess, and the great chiefs wore attached to their backs immense frames covered with feathers. Tribes, and even clans, wore special insignia, so that friend could be distinguished from foe and chief from common warrior. The term uniform could hardly be used, since the rich variety and indulgence in individual fancy produced a kaleidoscopic effect in the motley array of bright colors and strange forms.*

712 To supply these forces was a very considerable task. Each quarter of the town had its *tlacochcalco*, or house of darts, an arsenal where the military supplies were stored. This was situated near the chief temple, the lofty sides of which made it a natural strong point. At a call to arms the clan leaders could rapidly assemble their men and equip them at these rallying points, which were also centers of the religious and social life of the community.*

724 An offensive campaign was a more serious undertaking. Having no beasts of burden, the warriors had to carry their own food with them. Due to the governmental system, wherein each town was independent, the armies did not dare live off the country for fear of inciting revolt and also because most communities lacked the food to sustain a large body of men. Thus, prior to a war, negotiations had to be made whereby supplies could be concentrated and allies brought together at a point as near as possible to the zone of attack. Usually a single battle decided the issue, since the [726] attacking force could not maintain itself in the field for more than a very few days. The calculations necessary to fight a war two or three hundred miles away in Oaxaca, say, were highly complex, and much of the Aztec force on such a cam-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

paign must have been composed of local tribesmen, stiffened 724 ●
with a *garde d'élite* of Tenochcas and Texcocans.

Owing to this difficulty in respect to transport, siege 712
operations were virtually impossible, so that formal fortifications were rare. Some towns were built in very strategic locations, high on a mountainside or in the bend of a river, having access restricted to a narrow neck of land. Tenochtitlan, owing to its situation on the lake, was a natural fort. The causeways were penetrated by canals at intervals, so that removal of the portable bridges created natural barriers. The flat roof tops offered good points from which to harry the enemy in the street below, and the many temples were strong points difficult to reduce. (See Plate 37, top.)

Miles of defensive walls surrounded a site in Tlaxcala, where a ditch backed by a wall enclosed an area of several square miles. At Huexotla,* a fief of Texcoco, a wall at least fifteen feet high still exists and must have had a strong defensive value, although its ostensible purpose was to enclose the area about the main temple. Xochicalco† is situated on a high hill which was intensively terraced, and it was further strengthened by a wide ditch cut through the point of easiest access. Sometimes a site was chosen between two ravines which made impassable obstacles to an attacking force. However, while defensive *purposes* were often taken into account in building towns, strictly defensive *works*, in the nature of fortifications, were seldom undertaken.[10]

Open fighting, the difficulty of keeping up extended cam- 726
paigns and the informal character of the military force were factors which stultified the development of tactics or strategy. In battle the howling mob which represented the collective

*Way-ha'-ta. †Sho-chi-cal'-co.

of Uexotzinco,* and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tlaxcalan, and the lords of Acolman, and the ruler of Tlalmanalco, and all the lords posted on the shores of the ocean, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tacuba.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them colors.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the hidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To get forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquer. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and hand fands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

tequc, iuan tequchtlan tlacatecpan, iuan ocuitec tlacatecpan 643
iuan tequanquer tlacatecj: iuan in jaqujchtin tlacatecpan, ytlaxcamatcli quijtocaqueque, iuan in jaqujchtin 527
tlacatecpan in ohcpatl ipan, quijcualanque mexica, iuan 648
cuco tlacatecj, iuan tlacapan tlacatecj.

Auh in jcuac ocmoquixquer in jaqujchtin tlacatecatlalchtin tlacatecpan, in jcuiaxcan tlacatecpan iuan ilcahuan: ninoan ic quijtlaqualchia, quijtoneca in ixi, in tlacualli, tlaqualaqujj, quijtlalchia in jaqujch tlaqualli, iuan tlapanaualli, iuan tlaujcoli, iuan tlapalaqujj chimalli, ueuetlo macuahu, cuijco, cuicui cuijlujujl, in tequequijchin tlacatecj.

auh in jcuac no quijtlalchia, in jaqujchtin pipiltin, tlacatecl, iuan tecutlatecpan, iuan achcacauhti, iuan tlapochtlatecpan, iuan jaqujchtin cujcanjque, iuan in- [431]
quijchtin teopixque tlamacazque, tlamacazque:
auh in ocmoquix tecuancuallotli, ninoan ic ompeua in jaqujchtin tlacatecatlalchi.

INIC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mijna. 643
in quanja mocuecueuia, in tlacatecj, inic cana iauia, 292
ohcpatl ipan. 726
Auh çan ninoan iquequijchiuac, iaxtlauia in tla- 724
tecatecj, inic cana iauiquiauiztiuh, quijtlalchia in
tlacatecpan tlaqualaqujj iuan chimalli iuan pipiltl, iuan in
jaqujchtin tlacahuan, oquijchi: auh iuanin in tlacatecj
in iaxtlauiac, in oniauquiça, in ontequa quijujca in
jaqujchtin iauquiçaque, iuan in nonjuan tlacatecpan ohcpatl ipan inic oniauquiça, ontequa: auh in jcuac
tlacatecpan, oniauquiçato cenca pogui, in quauquijch
mulli ocuanto, inic mochintin ixpan vitzilopochtli
quijnejcitiuia, inic, inca illuiquijchtia. Auh iß in-
quijchtin tlacatecpan, tlamatiquac, quijnemijxtiotia, mijac
tlamatilli inic quijnejcmilia, quijtlalchtia in tlaqualli, iuan maxtlatl, iuan tequcatl, iuan tlalpilonj,
iuan quijtocaueca inic mamjxtilliauaque, inic tlacamachtiauaque, inic oquijchi, tlacatecatl.

6. In this, [illegible] tlacatecpan is followed by many [illegible], tlacatecpan, and colors of the Mixtec country.

[p. 66 is blank]

65

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armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished 726
[illegible] weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried 726
mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each 724
household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,—shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ("tlatzontectli"), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenochtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used 608
for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 111), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proveyan de sus "grandes trojes y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que pedia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes 243
"gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacaztutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chiya, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "viscocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meals (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan bizcochado, tamales mechosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used [illegible] to compose a beverage called "yolatli," which possessed particularly vivifying 276
qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 280 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been 554
slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of 558
newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this *degrading work (beasts of burden!)* was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not ne-

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726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI, p. 113); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

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726 therefore, that sallied out of Mexico was sure to find at the meet-
648 ing-place appointed, numerous reinforcements from various tribes, fully armed and equipped, with an organization similar to their own,[153] ready for the onward march, at the end of which, if successful, a certain share of human victims and of plunder would reward their efforts.[154]

As soon as the entire force was duly collected at the appointed meeting-place, it began to move forward speedily and swiftly, and in a straight line, if possible, towards the enemy's country. The various tribes, as well as their respective subdivisions, kept distinct from each other, led by their own native chiefs. The Mexicans were mostly in the rear. The approach of this body of warriors was not always pleasant to tributary or friendly settlements situated along the marchroute. These were expected to come out with reinforcements, with food and presents, and if any one of them failed or neglected to comply with these requisitions, it became exposed to the most barbarous violence. Such pueblos were sacked, plundered, the people ill-treated. In their fury the Mexicans sometimes went so far as to empty and destroy the stores of maize, and to kill wantonly the few domestic animals (dogs and fowls) of the unfortunate inhabitants.[155]

[724] The tribute which the valley pueblos paid to Mexico may yet, perhaps, prove to have been more a religious offering than anything else. They were certainly more on terms of equality, whereas the foreign tribes were held in subjection proper. The word "popoluca," stammerers, applied by the Mexicans to those of the coast, and which has induced Clavigero to adopt the erroneous idea of a "Popoluca" language, shows the disdain and hatred nourished by tribes of different stock towards each other.

[153] Each tribe had to prepare its own arms and supplies, it remained under its own chiefs and captains. Tezozomoc and Durán both agree on this point. Their organization was essentially the same as that of the Mexicans. Everywhere in the valley, and even in Matlaltzinco, we find the characteristic division of the Mexicans,—the two head-war-chiefs, the four quarters, and the minor captains and braves.

[154] Ixtilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 273) says that Mexico and Tezcuco had each two-fifths, Tlacopan one-fifth, of the spoils. Tezozomoc claims three-fourths for Mexico alone. The point is yet in doubt. (Zurita, "Rapport, etc.," p. 12.)

[725] [155] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "The Mexicans never lacked food nor supplies," when on the march, since they "were so much feared by all the tribes, that as soon as "they arrived they were well received and treated. When their forces were on the "war-path neither man nor woman remained outside of their dwellings, out of fear of "the warriors, and if these perchance met any one, any laborer or trader, they robbed "him even up to his very clothes. Such tribes as did not go out to meet them they plun-"dered and robbed of everything, emptying their stores of maize, killing their fowls "and even their dogs." (Id. Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147.) Durán (Cap. XXI, p. 183): "porque "para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proveian de todo lo necessario, como tengo "dicho, so pena de ser destruidos." It thus appears that for the march the Mexicans did not have to provide any food, since the settlements along the route had to maintain

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The objective point of this march was, as we have already stated, the enemy's territory. There was no strict boundary-line dividing the tribes of Mexico from each other; a belt of uninhabited or deserted land merely surrounded and thus isolated every tribe.[156] This neutral strip was the ground on which the enemy expected the Mexicans (provided they knew of their coming, and felt strong enough to meet them in the open field).[157] It was, therefore, commonly called "ground of war or battle" ("Yaotialli"),[158] and as soon as the Mexican force approached this region, its movements grew less swift and proportionately more cautious. At dusk they halted on this dangerous area, selecting for their encampment, if possible, an elevated, open position, unfavorable for surprise. The huts (and perhaps tents) and bowers, for which some materials had been taken along, were hurriedly

726 [131]

them, Duran positively saying, on the same page, after a lengthy enumeration of the supplies and provisions prepared for the journey: "lo qual, luego fué en seguimiento "de la gente; lo qual no se proveia sino para el lugar donde se avia de asentar el real, "porque para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proveian de todo lo necessario, etc., "etc., etc." The same author continues (p. 194): "Hacianse servir como dioses, y en "todos los caminos no parecia gente por donde iban los soldados y la gente de guerra, "todos se encerraban que no osavan andar por los caminos, porque los soldados les "quitaban quanto llevaban en sus cargas, y si acaso le queria defender, los apaleavan "y herian, y algunos mataban y iban robando las sementeras y matando quantas galli-"nas y perillos topaban; iban haciendo quanto mal podian, como lo hacen agora "nuestros españoles, si no los van a' la mano, ... y asi en sabiendo que avia "guerra, todos los vecinos de los pueblos, por donde avian de pasar los del exercito, se "escondian y escondian el maiz, el chile, las gallinas y los perros, finalmente escondian "quanto tenian." This shows a very simple mode of subsistance,—they lived upon the country through which they passed. But it also shows the barbarous condition of the Xahuxil tribes. Even on their march through a friendly country from whose annual tribute they partly subsisted, they behaved little better than a large horde of savages, or at least of cut-throats and highway robbers. The "civilized" troops of Europe were little better at that time, and even up to the close of the 17th century.

[156] Gomara ("De las guerras," Vedia, I, p. 442): "They call quiahtiali the space and "area which they left depopulated between the boundaries of each province for to fight "there, and it is like unto sacred." See Tezozomoc (Cap. LXVIII, p. 113; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151; cap. XCV, p. 167, etc., etc.). The delegates sent by Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, to assist at the festivals in Mexico, were always met "half way in the woods" ("la mitad del monte") separating the tribes. Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. XXXIII, p. 123) mentions a boundary line between the territories of Mexico and Tezcuco, but the description of it is such that the statement remains more than doubtful.

[157] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 328): "Quando se admitia la Batalla, y venian "los unos, contra los otros, salian los de la Provincia, o' Pueblo a' un lugar particular, "que tenian entre sus terminos los quales llamaban Tauhtialli, que quiere decir; Ter-"mino o' Lugar de la Guerra. Aqui salian los Proprietarios de la Tierra a' recibir a los "contrarios." Also, Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 442).

[158] From "yaoti," enemy, or "yaoyotl," battle or war, and "tialli," ground or soil.

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of us that they could [capture] bound to Mexico. And he 721
sent grand promises together with many presents of jewels
and cloths, also a golden drum, and he also sent word to
the priests of the city that they were to retain twenty of [782]
us to sacrifice to their idols.

All was in readiness and the warriors whom Montezuma 725
quickly sent were stationed in some ranchos and some
rocky thickets about half a league from Cholula and some
were already posted within the houses, and all had their
arms ready for use, and had built up breastworks on the
Asoteas and had dug holes and ditches in the streets so as
to impede the horsemen, and they had already filled some
houses with long poles and leather collars and cords with
which they were to bind us and lead us to Mexico; but
our Lord God so ordained that all their plots should be
turned against them.

Let us leave this now and go back to say that when, 721
as I have said, they had taken us to our quarters they fed
us very well for the first two days, and although we saw
them so peacefully inclined, we never gave up our good
custom of keeping fully prepared, and on the third day
they neither gave us anything to eat nor did any of the
Caciques or priests make their appearance, and if any
Indians came to look at us, they did not approach us, but
remained some distance off, laughing at us as though
mocking us. When our Captain saw this, he told our
interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar to
tell the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, who
remained with us, to order the Caciques to bring some
food, but all they brought was water and fire wood, and
the old men who brought it said that there was no more
maize.

That same day other Ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, and joined those who were already with us and they said to Cortés, very impudently, that their Prince had

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721 believed they would do as he told them and would
783 come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his
721 company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Montezuma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Montezuma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

721 While this conversation was taking place, three of our friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to
● 725 Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Asoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At
721 this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians
782 whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

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726 erected, each tribe camping distinct from the other, the Mexicans occupying the centre of the entire camp.[159]

It was customary with the Mexicans to send out spies who, under different disguises, penetrated the hostile country ere the force had reached its neighborhood.[160] Besides, as soon as the latter halted on the "war-ground," numerous braves ventured out in advance, as scouts, stealthily creeping through the woods, as near the enemy as possible, to ascertain its position and numbers, as well as armament. The information gathered from these sources was reported during the night to the Mexican chieftain in command, who sat in council of war with the other principal leaders. This meeting, guided partly by the information thus obtained, devised the plan of attack for the coming day. The tactics of the [725] Mexicans were extremely simple: a decoy, in the shape of a precipitate retreat, and an ambush at the termination of it, seem to have been their highest conception. Therefore, during the night, they often dug pits far in advance of the encampment, wherein, at the close of the council, the most daring braves (and even the Mexican commander himself, occasionally) concealed themselves, their bodies covered with straw, branches, or foliage.[161] Meanwhile the warriors were overhauling their arms, painting them-

[159] Duran (Cap. XIX, p. 166): "Asi se partio' el exercito de Tulancingo y caminó "hasta llegar á vista de los enemigos, donde empeçaron a' hacer tiendas y xacales, "cada provincia y nacion para si." (Idem, Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 184; cap. XXII, p. 190; cap. XXXVII, p. 288: "donde a' tercer dia se juntaron todos los soldados y gente de "guerra con toda la priesa posible y mandaron asentar el real, el qual asentaron con "muchas tiendas y casas de esteras, quellos usauan en sus guerras y oy en dia las usan "en los mercados, que son unos tendejones de juncos que echan las espadañas.") Tezozomoc (Cap. LI, p. 83; cap. LXXVIII, p. 139). This author contains so many details on this subject that we forbear quoting him further with reference to chapter and page. He distinctly says that each tribe camped by itself, the Mexicans in the middle.

[160] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 126): "enviaban delante sus espias muy disimuladas y pláticas en las lenguas de la provincia a' do iban a' dar guerra." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 526) copies almost textually.

[725] [161] Tezozomoc mentions this very frequently. (Cap. XLVIII, he relates how the chief Axayaca hid himself in such a pit, in the foray against the Matlaltzinca. This is confirmed by Durán, Cap. XXXV, p. 277: "Y quedandóse en celada el rey, metidos en-"tre las ramas y otros debaxo de la tierra escondidos todos los soldados viejos y princi-"pales valerosos.") He also mentions (Cap. XIX, pp. 169 and 176) a very extensive ambush of that kind against the Huaxtecas. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 131): "They used ambushes, and often very artificial ones, since they laid down on the "ground, covering themselves with straw or herbs, etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 530) agrees almost literally with the above. Also Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV): "They used ambushes frequently, and concealed themselves in bushy places, "or even in pits made for that purpose, as the Spaniards often experienced it. Fre-"quently they took to flight in order to draw the enemy into dangerous positions, or to "assail his rear with fresh troops." We shall revert to this point hereafter.

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721 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval
715 knight or career soldier in our own culture.[8]
782

721 The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral
726 sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

701 The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[9]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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714 by the maturer warriors. A tribesman had the right to elaborate his dress in accordance with his prowess, and the great chiefs wore attached to their backs immense frames covered with feathers. Tribes, and even clans, wore special insignia, so that friend could be distinguished from foe and chief from common warrior. The term uniform could hardly be used, since the rich variety and indulgence in individual fancy produced a kaleidoscopic effect in the motley array of bright colors and strange forms.[8]

712 To supply these forces was a very considerable task. Each quarter of the town had its *tlacochcalco*, or house of darts, an arsenal where the military supplies were stored. This was situated near the chief temple, the lofty sides of which made it a natural strong point. At a call to arms the clan leaders could rapidly assemble their men and equip them at these rallying points, which were also centers of the religious and social life of the community.[9]

724 An offensive campaign was a more serious undertaking. Having no beasts of burden, the warriors had to carry their own food with them. Due to the governmental system, wherein each town was independent, the armies did not dare live off the country for fear of inciting revolt and also because most communities lacked the food to sustain a large body of men. Thus, prior to a war, negotiations had to be made whereby supplies could be concentrated and allies brought together at a point as near as possible to the zone of attack. Usually a single battle decided the issue, since the [724] attacking force could not maintain itself in the field for more than a very few days. The calculations necessary to fight a war two or three hundred miles away in Oaxaca, say, were highly complex, and much of the Aztec force on such a cam-

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paign must have been composed of local tribesmen, stiffened 724
with a *garde d'élite* of Tenochcas and Texcocans.

Owing to this difficulty in respect to transport, siege 712
operations were virtually impossible, so that formal fortifications were rare. Some towns were built in very strategic locations, high on a mountainside or in the bend of a river, having access restricted to a narrow neck of land. Tenochtitlan, owing to its situation on the lake, was a natural fort. The causeways were penetrated by canals at intervals, so that removal of the portable bridges created natural barriers. The flat roof tops offered good points from which to harry the enemy in the street below, and the many temples were strong points difficult to reduce. (See Plate 37, top.)

Miles of defensive walls surrounded a site in Tlaxcala, where a ditch backed by a wall enclosed an area of several square miles. At Huexotla,* a fief of Texcoco, a wall at least fifteen feet high still exists and must have had a strong defensive value, although its ostensible purpose was to enclose the area about the main temple. Xochicalco† is situated on a high hill which was intensively terraced, and it was further strengthened by a wide ditch cut through the point of easiest access. Sometimes a site was chosen between two ravines which made impassable obstacles to an attacking force. However, while defensive *purposes* were often taken into account in building towns, strictly defensive *works*, in the nature of fortifications, were seldom undertaken.[10]

Open fighting, the difficulty of keeping up extended cam- 726
paigns and the informal character of the military force were factors which stultified the development of tactics or strategy. In battle the howling mob which represented the collective

*Way-ehs'-tla. †Sho-chi-ca'l-co.

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726 strength of one tribe tried to rout the yelling horde of their adversary, and the first to run lost the battle. Captives were taken, tribute imposed, the temple burned, and the defeated group was then left alone again.

To attain victory more easily surprise attacks, sometimes implemented by a little treachery, were instituted. However, the cumbrous process of getting an army onto the field of battle usually prevented this favored method of warfare. More often the Tenochcas and their allies would feint with a screen of warriors, who would be easily repulsed in a pretended rout. The main body would wait in a place of concealment until the pursuing enemy came into view, whereupon they would charge out and demolish them. Losses were chiefly felt in the number of captives taken, since these short hand-to-hand combats were not very damaging to the man power of either side. [787] The capture of a chief or the recognition of a sign of evil portent was sufficient to demoralize an army and, despite their bravery and constant experience in warfare of this type, the Aztecs were little fitted to resist soldiers trained in European techniques.

723 There was rather more opportunity for strategy than for battle tactics. Considerable planning, as we have said, was necessary to move troops upon the field of battle. The Aztecs won campaigns in Oaxaca, Puebla, western Mexico and along the Vera Cruz coast, as far north as Tamaulipas.* Having to move step by step and to intimidate or win over town after town, they needed patience and knowledge of geographical and political conditions. One reason for the honor in which merchants were held was the information of this character which they could furnish from their travels.

*Ta-mow-li'e-pas.

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723 648 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 796 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearning when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he [775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

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fenses in history. It was the last sacrifice, in which Aztec 726
civilization offered up its very existence in an effort to survive. Aztec culture achieved, with Stone Age tools, a civilization patterned to balance the life of man against the dimly perceived forces of the universe. Its downfall was inevitable when confronted with that inexorable European world of steel, objective reasoning and a religion adjusted to meet such totally different concepts as the demands of the powerful and the needs of the weak.

We cannot tell what Aztec civilization might have become. 000 Like all the nations of the past, and of the present too, which have flourished and ultimately withered in death, the Aztecs nurtured within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. But before we turn from their remote splendor to the preoccupations of our modern life let us catch two last glimpses of Aztec civilization: one of the city of Tenochtitlan as the Spaniards first saw it, the other of the Aztecs in their ultimate war, profane and deadly on this final occasion.

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a defense carried on with that courage found in forsaken men, in this case abandoned by their very gods. We have seen, in the bitter year of 1940, the same pattern repeated when France collapsed and England found a new strength in despair.

An examination of the Mexican social structure in relation to the psychological state of the Aztec mind shows that the Spaniards arrived at a time very favorable for conquest. Comparison of the Aztec military technique with the European discipline and armament of the day reveals an exceptional opportunity for the triumph of European tactics. To explain the familiar tale of the Conquest from the Indian point of view may throw into sharper relief this conflict between two systems of civilization.

Aztec war was highly ceremonial and fought in a spirit very different from the realistic calculation of European strife. The *technical* equipment of the Indians did not meet the requirements of a conflict waged in terms of European military *practice*. Moreover, Cortes arrived at the end of the summer, when the tribes of Mexico were too busy harvesting the crops essential for their survival to think seriously of military affairs. A final factor dooming the Aztecs to inevitable defeat was the political structure of Indian Mexico, which provided no way of converting military success to the establishment of a powerfully consolidated state.

The Aztec theocracy did not lend itself to governing or absorbing conquered peoples, although in time a social mechanism might have been developed. While the Aztecs received tribute from over a wide territory, there were constant revolts and betrayals. Probably this same process went on among the other tribal groups in Mexico, so that the politi-

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[532]

FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

[754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, sorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[8] (See Fig. 6.)

175 669 When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a political problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ments from the army of Narvaez to join the beleaguered [726] troops of Alvarado. The ceremonial aspect of war in Indian Mexico did not envisage the splitting of an adversary's army and the separate destruction of its weakened parts, a rudimentary law of European military tactics.

Yet once the Spaniards were united in the city they ceased to be a military problem and became the emotional focus of the Indians' wrath and fear. They had to shut themselves up in the palace of Axayacatl to resist the force of this uprising in which the whole tribe participated. The Aztecs, having immobilized their enemies, visited their hate and rage in a manner unparalleled in the annals of Indian campaigns. Every citizen joined in hurling missiles at the besieged in-

[532]

Fig. 15. Here the Spanish are dislodging the Aztecs from a temple, where the Indians had gathered to enfilade them. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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175

[532]

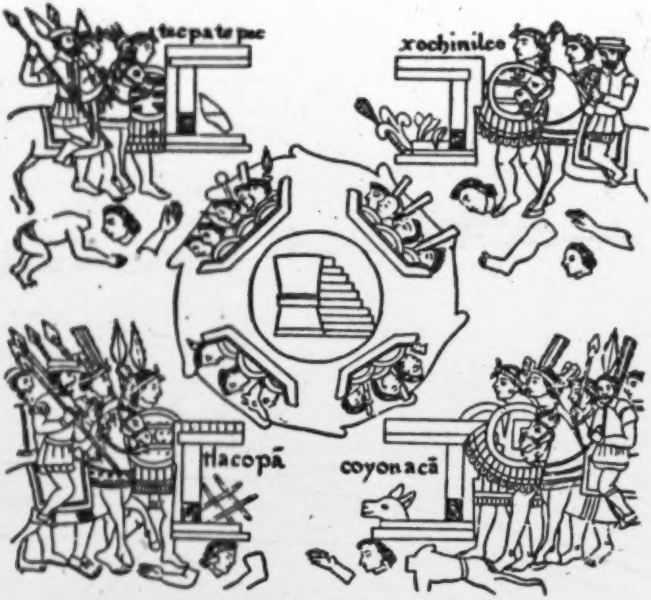

FIG. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[726] In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

175 648 Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio Templi adeat.*

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes haziã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

796X [805 776 785]

Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

1 e KL. e 9[1]
2 f El segundo dia deste mes començauã f 10
3 g todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can- g 11
4 A tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de A 12
5 b su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to- b 13
6 c dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares c 14
7 d a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez: d 15
8 e durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte e 16
9 f dias. f 17
10 g A los nueue dias deste mes: apare- g 18
11 A jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que A 19
12 b aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas b 20
13 c colores, componjãlos con muchos pa- c 21
14 d peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos, d 22
15 e en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom- e 23
16 f bre pareados cantando y baylãdo. f 24
17 g A los deziseys dias deste mes: co- g 25
18 A mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los A 26
19 b esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen- b 27
20 c çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan c 28
todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

796X [535] [346] [726]

532
[714
726
411]
[727
782]
[693]
[726
714
411]
[693]
[695]

—Ilter Pasa y Troncoso

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

643 701 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

tiacahoan, in oqujchtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchnemj in pipilti.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oqujchiuh. Niman qujnnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxqujchtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz; in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in qujnmacaz, in qujntlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oqujchtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto qujnnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxqujch chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, qujncaqujtia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz ce altepetl: qujntlauhtia, in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan qujnmaca, in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic qujnnaoatia: in jxqujch in jmaçeoal, injc iauqujçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oqujchtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

●726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquasta. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixqujchtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, qujnmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in ixqujchtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch aculhoacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, in jxqujch tepanecatl, no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxqujch moquataitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacauitztli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

[687]

Auh in jcoac, oaxioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teumaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan qujça, çan njmon vncã qujnmjctia, qujnujujtequj, in aqujn tlaixneloznequj: tetlan qujçaznequj, in oommoten ixqujch iauqujzquj, in ie inman in ooalhuetz acaujztli, in tlaioalli injc tlaiooalcujoaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca mochiia in tletl, in quenman cue-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "*Mandaua luego, a los calpixques, que llevassen armas, a todos los principales, para si, y para sus soldados: y entonces lo notificaua a su gente, y les dauan armas.*"

3. *Teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan:* cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, p. 103 (*lugares para la guerra ordenados*), and p. 105 (*los lugares de las batallas*).

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited tensely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech clouts, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponjz: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlapitzalli in tecuiztli, in oqujpitzque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tletl, njman ic cemeoa, in jxqujch iauquizquj, motempapauja, mjcali, qujtlemjna in teucalli.

Auh in achto in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan qujmjctia, in tetru, tecpatica queltetequjj.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh altepetl, njmã ie ic nemalpoalo, in quexqujch malli: ioan in quexqujch omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi qujcaqujtia in tlatoanj, injc tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman qujnnaoatia, in tecutlatoque: injc qujtemachtitiuj, injc qujtecaqujtititiuj, in jnchan in jzqujnti, oiaumjqujto, injc choqujlilozque in jnchachan, in oiaumjqujto: ioan qujtecaqujtia in jnchan, in quezquj otlamato iauc, ic vncan qujcujia in maujziotl, in jpampa oqujchiotl: ioan qujmomaceujaia in jxqujch iteicneliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc cenca qujmjcneliaia in tlaçopipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, qujmaca calpixcantli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotli necujltonolli, in maujziotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame qujtlacoa iauiotl, njman vmpa qujnmjctia in iauc qujnviujtequj, qujntetepachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, qujmocujcujlia ce malli, qujtoa ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no qujtoa ca nomal: intlacamo ce tlacatl itech nelti, aiac no qujmjttac, in quenjn tlamaque: iehoantin qujntlatzontequjlia, in tonatiuh itlatocahoan: aiac tle onqujça in jmomextin in qujmocujcujlia in malli: iuh qujtzontequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce itech pouhquj iez in malli: vitzcalli qujpoaia, calpolco qujcaoaia, in jchan tlacateculotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oaxioac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman icoac mxtlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacalaqujlli itech mana in tlein vmpa muchioa, auh njman no iquac ixque- 728 651

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 301-302, referring to the barrio of Cuauhtin, where slaves fought and died in sacrifice: *"Este era en el patio del templo que se dice Uitzcalco."*

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

veuetl: ioan in ixqujch maçeoallatqujtl, ioan netotiliztli, aqujn cujcaitoz, aqujque in teiacanazque, aqujn teponaçoz, aqujn veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacaujz.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed himself, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
292 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a
301 yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

Auh in ie icoac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc qujlpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlamacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac qujtlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in qujmolololoa, in qujmoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in qujmomaxtlatia,

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

njman ic no qujcencaoa qujntlauhtia: in ixqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oqujchti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oqujchtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan qujnmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzqujtlamantin omoteneuhque.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

Auh intla itla qujtlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli qujchalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, qujpoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in qujpoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aqujn tlatlacoa, qujtzacutiuh mjquja.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa injc ixtoçoaia in aqujn tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpãpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl ceioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca ixtoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoaltica quenmanjan qujçaia qujiaoaloa in altepetl qujtta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ie necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

in jxqujchtin iauteoaque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içeiooal tlapiazque, in teuatenpan in tlachinoltempã, 726
in qujmocujtlaujzque oçelotenamjtl, quauhtenamjtl,
in iauotli: ioan qujmanazque qujntzitzqujzque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in qujoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jqujn iautlatoloz, auh in
oqujcacque ca ie iautlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
iautlapializtica.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenonotzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame quj-
mati in mexica in inchan oalmocallotia, in tetlanen-
que in jiaohoan no qujtzacutiuja; inca nenonotzaloia
in chaneque, ioã in jnpilhoan, ioan namoieloia in
intlatquj atl neneçia in inchan.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlatoaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialoz in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çeioal, in ma aca qujtlachichiujli altepetl, in ma 722
iauiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icatiaz tlatoanj,
ioan altepetl qujnnaoatiaia in tlatoanj in telpuchtla-
toque, in tiacahoan: ioan in ixqujch telpuchtli, injc [533]
momoztlae ioaltica cujcoanozque, injc qujoalcaqujz
ixqujch altepetl, in qujiaoalotoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan ixqujch mexicatl.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaoa: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan ixqujch altepemaitl, icoac qujça in
jxqujchtin tlamacazque, noujian in ontlamaçeoa
noujian tepeticpac, ioan ic ontlapia in aço itla quj-
namjqujtiuj ie tlatujnaoac ỹ oalcalaquja injc ontla-
piaia çeçeioal iuh qujchioaia.

10. *Simdon, op. cit.*, identifies *mizial* as an intoxicating plant, and *tlapatl* as *Ricinus communis*, a medicinal plant. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 223, has: *los Hazer a otro vellaco, o dar mal consejo: Mizial, tlapatl, cuauxuhqui, nauauil mictoitiocmi. . . .*; *los Embriachoar, o sabio de uino: Ytech quoua in octli, in nauauil, in mizti, in cuauxuhqui inic oyaniuic, inic oococuic.* In Lib. VI, fol. 209r, of the *Florentine Codex*, this passage appears: "*In tiriciztiocmj, in timoltzoncuitiocmj: in juhquj mjzial, in juhquj tlapatl oniquac. Itechpa mjzuia: in oquja niocmo quijzaquizaquj tzoncuitiuiti: ca inhquj in ma tlaxoaquj, ma tlapatl oquçqua: injc oruj: niocmo quijnuiquj in tlein ic moxoxalaia: ipampa injc oinic, in amo momocuitia: ilnilnia. Tlein mach oticqua, tlein mach oticpopolo: ainc ual mjzicoa, niocmo quijalcaua in mocallo: in niocmo ticzuj, ticcua in tlacoujdo tlellelkoc. Por metaphora se dize: de aquel que siendo trauejuo y desbarazado en su oficio, siendo corregido, no se quiere enmendar: y a este tal dizenle que se beuido que el conejdo que ninguno biua cosrja rescibe su corazon.*"

11. *Tetlan nenque*: sentinels, according to Simdon, *op. cit. Tetlanenuiui*, however, in Molina, *op. cit.*, is translated as *chismero* or *malsin* (gossip, tattlebearer; hence, possibly, informer).

12. *Ad*: probably *ade* is meant.

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, 643
ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxqujchtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcaatentli qujtztoque, ioan in jxqujchtin 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, qujiaoalotoque mexico, tetz-
cuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac ocenqujzque in jxqujchtin tlacoa-
notzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiau-
hoan: njman ic qujntlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in
tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, qujntlauhtia in jxqujch tlaço-
tilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaço-
tlanquj chimalli, netotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceioal
cemjlhujtl, in tepaqujltia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no qujntlauhtia, in jxqujchtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixqujchtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
qujchtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:
auh in otzonqujz tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic om-
peoa in jxqujchtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, 292
altepetl ipan.

Auh çan njman iquezqujlujioc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, injc cana iauqujxoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in
jxqujchtin tiacaboan, oqujchti: auh iioma in tlatoanj
in iauh iauc, in oniaoqujça, in ontepeoa qujujca in
jxqujchti iauqujzque, ioan in noujian tlatoque alte-
petl ipan inic oiaoqujça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac
ōtepeoato, oiaoqujçato cenca paquj, in quexqujch
malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli
qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujqujxtiaia. Auh in ix-
qujchtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmaujziotia, mjiec
tlamãtli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotil-
matli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj,
ioan qujntocamaca injc maujztililozque, injc tlaca-
machozque, injc oqujchti, tiacaboã.

8. In *ibid.*, *uexotzinco dancer* is followed by *yoay mixtecapan dancer*, and rulers of the Mixtec country.

[p. 66 is blank]

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701 721 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor, as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauã. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopouhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye iatlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in õpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã ĩ yaoteca.

726 687 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no ometitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i motecoçoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlãçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahceualmacaya.

701 431 643 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] remembered him, sought him out, and drew him from his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts; he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full or maize grains; and he provided him with *chía*—he weighed out two large measures of *chía*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

auh in quilnamiquia açõ ce xiuitl anoço õxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in õya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli açõ quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. açõ ontetl y uey tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quí ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

701 726 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior], he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

Fourteenth Chapter, in which it is told how Moctezuma ordered closed the road, so that the Spaniards might not come to arrive here in Mexico.

And Moctezuma had vainly commanded that they obstruct the road; that with maguey they plant the highway which led direct here to Mexico; and that there they be shown the road which led to and entered Tezcoco.

And when they had blocked the way with rows of maguey, [the Spaniards] then learned of it and saw that they had only closed the way. They thought nothing of it. They took [the plants] up; they kicked each one far; they hurled them out. Far off they cast the maguey plants.

They slept at Amaquemecan.[1] Then they went on, direct, along the road and came to reach Cuitlauac. There also they slept.

Assembling from all parts the rulers who held sway over the people of the floating gardens — Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic — they spoke to them just as they had spoken to the rulers of Chalco. And these rulers of the dwellers in the floating gardens then also submitted.

And when the Spaniards had been satisfied, then they moved on and settled themselves at Itztapalapan. Thereupon they called for and sought the rulers known as the Four Lords — [those of] Itztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, Colhuacan, and Uitzilopochco. In the same manner they spoke to and addressed them (as hath been told). And just so they peacefully and quietly submitted to the Spaniards.

And Moctezuma commanded that none make war upon them nor contend against and meet them in battle. He ordered only that they not neglect [the Spaniards' needs]; that great care be taken of them.

And upon this, here in Mexico, all lay quiet; [the people] did not go out or venture forth. Mothers did not let [children] go out. The roads were empty, and clear; the roads were clean, as in early morning.

1. Details are to be found in Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188.

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma tlanaoati in motzatzaquaz vtli injc amo vel aciqujvi Españoles, in njcã mexico. 726

Auh in Motecuçoma, oc nen tlanaoatica in qujtzatzaquazque in vtli, in vchpantli, qujmetecaque in oallamelauhticac njcã Mexico: auh ie vmpa qujmontlachieltiaia, in jpan vtli iaticac, calacticac tetzcucu.

Auh in vncan qujmetepãtzacca: njman qujmatque, qujttaque in çan oqujtzatzacque, atle ipan conjttaque, caanque, veca conxoxopeuhque, quioalchichitotzque, veca ica ommamaiauhque in metl:

vncã cochque amaquemecan, njmã ie ic vitze, tlamelauhtivitze, qujmelauhtivitze in vtli, acico in cuitlaoac, çan oc no vncan cochque:

in oqujncentlalique tlatoque, in jzqujcan tlatocachioa injc chinãpaneca in Suchmjlco in cujtlaoac, in mjzqujc: çan ie no ivi in qujmjlhujque, in juh qujmjlhujque chalcatlatoque. Auh in iehoanti chinanpaneca tlatoque, çan njmã no intlan oncalacque.

Auh in oiniollo vmpachiuh, in Españoles: njman ic oalolinque ommotlalico in jtztapalapan: njman ie no ic qujnnotza, qujnnenotzallanj in tlatoque: Nauhtecutli mjtoa. In jtztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, culhoacan, Vitzilobuchco: çã ie no ie in qujmjlhujque, injc qujntlatoltique (in oiuh mjto). Auh çan no ivian, iocuxca intlan oncalacque in Españoles.

Auh in Motecuçomatzin, amo tlanaoatiaia injc aca qujniauchioaz, injc aca iauiotica qujnnamjqujz, aiac iauiotica qujnnamjqujz, çan tlanaoatiaia, injc amo çan tlacomachozque, ça cenca inca nechioaloz.

Auh in jquac y, in njcan Mexico, ça iuhqujn cactoc, aocac oalqujça, aocac oalqujztica. In tenanhoan aocmo oaltequjxtitlanj, ça chichipaoaticac in vtli, ichpelpul icac, ça ichpeliuhticac in vtli, ça iuhqujn tlal-

Then all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains — those of Tlaxcalla, of Tliliuhquitepetl, of Uexotzinco — sped along at the rear. They came girt for war, with their cotton armor, their shields, their bows; their quivers filled and crammed with feathered arrows, some of barbed, wooden points, some blunted, some with obsidian points. They came crouching, and as they went, loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads.

And some bore burdens upon their backs; they carried rations on their backs. Some carried things [held by a tump line about] their foreheads, or, some, their breasts; some bore things on carrying frames, some in cage-like baskets, some in deep, reed baskets; some bore bundles; they carried them upon their backs; some dragged the great lombard guns, which rested upon wooden wheels. And they moved them along shouting.

njman ie ixquich in aoatepeoa, in tlateputzcatl, in tlaxcaltecatl, tliliuhquitepecatl, in vexotzincatl: tlatoquilitivitze, moiauchichiuhtivitze imjichcavipil, inchichimal, intlatlavitol, inmjmjcon tetentiuh, cacatatzcatiuh in totomjtl, cequj chichiqujlli, cequj tihpontli, cequj itzmjtl momamantivi, motenvitectivi, motenpapavitivi, tocujleuhtivi, tlatlanqujqujztivi, moquacuecuechotivi. 648 726

Auh in cequjntin tlamama, itacamama, cequjntin tlaixquamama, cequjntin tlaelpanmama, cequjntin tlacacaxvia, cequjntin tlaoacalhuja, cequjntin tlatompiavia, cequjntin tlaqujmjlhuja, mamaço tlaqujmjlmamama, cequjntin quivilana in vevei, in totomaoac tlequjqujztli, quauhtemalacac oonotiuh, qujcavatztivitze. 648 726 482

[p. 40 is blank]

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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

29. The road to Tenochtitlan is sown with maguey plants (Chapter 14). 30. Spaniards receive the submission of two of the Four Lords. (Chapter 14). 31-36. Spaniards on the march from Ixtapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(F)]

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itzquauhtzin's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itzquauhtzin's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detected leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Tecalhuayocan comfort the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

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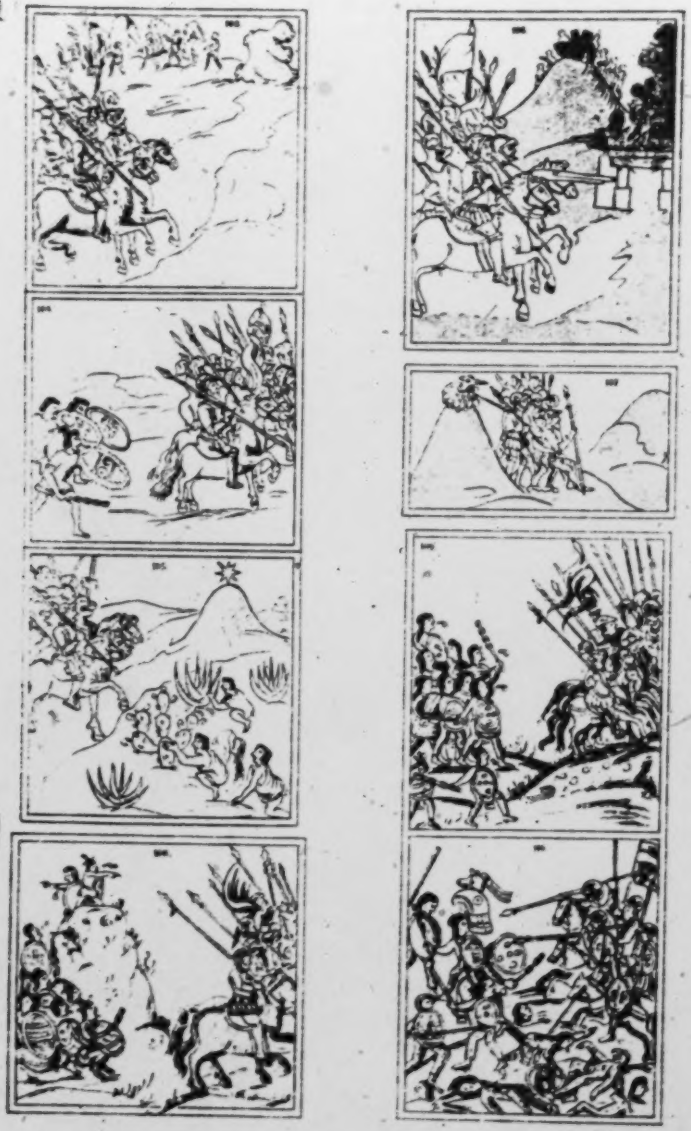

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

103. Spaniards reach Tepoxuodan (Chapter 26). 104. Mexican warriors pursue the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 105. Spaniards reach Cetulutepec (Chapter 26). 106. Spaniards reach Xoloc (Chapter 26). 107. Spaniards reach Aztaquemecan (Chapter 26). 108. Mexicans on mountain-top watch for the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 27). 109, 110. Battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27).

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119. Spaniards attack Çaquiapan (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xolloco (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xolloco (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Uitzillan (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Uitzillan (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horseman spears a Tlatilulcan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Shorn ones land from warboats (Chapter 31).

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

128. Spaniards are attacked on both sides (Chapter 31). 129. Mexican warriors toss the captured cannon into the water at Tetamapolco (Chapter 31). 130. Mexicans flee from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 32). 131. Exploits of Tzilacatzin (Chapter 32). 132-134. Battle about Ayauhcalxitlan and Nonoalco (Chapter 32). 135-137. The warrior Tzilacatzin in three disguises (Chapter 32).

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacan arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a nobleman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacan is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p. 44 (T)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

146. Quauhtemoc and Motecuzoma punish the traitors (Chapter 33). 147, 148. Spaniards arrive at Yaxalamco (Chapter 33, 34). 149-151. Mexicans disperse the Spaniards and capture some (Chapter 34). 152-155. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35).

[p. 44 (U)]

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●726

[417]

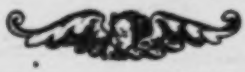

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

156, 157. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35). 158. Spaniards enter the market place at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36). 159. Spaniards fire the temple at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36). 160, 161. Battle in the market place at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36).

[p. 44(V)]

796 778 **Twentieth Chapter.** Here is told how the Spaniards[1] slew and destroyed the Mexicans who were celebrating the Feast of Uitzilopochtli in the place called the Temple Courtyard.

726 And after this, when already the feast was taking place, all were dancing and singing, and there was song with dance. The song roared.

When now it was time, and the moment was opportune for the Spaniards to slay them, then they issued forth girt for battle; they came to block everywhere the ways leading out and in, [called] Quauhquiauac, Tecpantzinco, Acatl yiacapan, and Tezcacoac.[2] And when they had closed them off and also various [other] places, [the people] were contained, [so that] nowhere could they get out.

And this having been done, they then entered the temple courtyard to slay them. They whose task it was to kill them went only afoot, each with [his] leather shield, some with their iron-studded shields, and each with iron sword. Then they surrounded those who danced whereupon they went among the drums. Then they struck the arms of the one who beat the drums; they severed both his hands, and afterwards struck his neck, [so that] his neck [and head] flew off, falling far away. Then they pierced them all with iron lances, and they struck each with the iron swords. Of some they slashed open the back, and then their entrails gushed out. Of some, they split the head; they hacked their heads to pieces; their heads were completely cut up. And of some they hit the shoulder; they split open and cut their bodies to pieces. Some they struck in the shank; some on the thigh. Of some, they struck the belly, and then their entrails streamed forth. And when one in vain would run, he would only drag his entrails like something raw, as he tried to flee. Nowhere could he go. And one who tried to go out, there they struck and pierced him.

But some climbed the wall, and so succeeded in taking flight. Some entered the various tribal temples, and there escaped. And some eluded [the

Inic cempoalli capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles qujnmjctique, qujmjatlatique in Mexica, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia Vitzilobuchtli in vncã mjtoaia Teuitoalco.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ie illujtlamacho, in ie netotilo in ie cujco, in ie cujcoanolo: in cujcatl, iuhqujn xaxamacatimanj.

In ie inmã, in ohlainmantic inic temjctinque in Españoles: njman ie ic oalqujça omoiauchichiuhque, ocontzatzaquaco, in jzqujcampe quixoaia, calacoaia, in quauhqujiaoac tecpantzinco, acatl yiacapan, Tezcacoac. Auh in ocõtzatzacque: no izqujcã momanque, aocac vel hoalqujça.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic calaquj in teuitoalco in temjctinque: in intequjuh in temjctique çan tlacxipãvia imeevachimal, cequj intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: njman ie ic qujniaoalos in mjtoia, njmã ie ic vi in vevetitlan, njmã qujmavitecque in tlatzotzona oalcocoton vmeztli in jmacpal çatepan qujquechvitecque veca vetzito in jquech: njmã ie muchintin texixili tepuztopiltica, yoan teviviteque tepuzmaquauhtica: cequjntin qujncujtlaço. njman valmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcol, cequjntin qujnquatzatzaianque, vel qujtzeltilique in intzontecon, vel itzeltix in intzõtecõ. Auh in cequjntin qujmaculhujtecque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequjntin qujncotzvivitecque, cequjn qujnmetzvivitecque, cequjntin qujmjtivitecque, njmã moch oalmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcul. Auh in aca oc nen motlaloa in jcujtlaxcul, ça qujvilana, iuhqujn xoxoqujova in momaqujxtiznequj, aoc campa vel huj: auh in aquin qujçaznequj, vmpa qujoalhujtequj, qujvalxixili.

Auh cequjntin, tepantli qujtlecavique, tel huel momaqujxtiq: cequjntin calpulco cacalaque vmpa momaqujxtique. Auh in cequjntin intlan momaq'a-

1. In the Codex, the slide is omitted.

2. These were, respectively, the south gate of the main temple square (see map) to the Itzapalapan road; the west gate to the Tlacopan road; and, probably, the north and east gates. — Cone, Barrier, compound.

●726 Spaniards] among [the dead]; they went in among those who had died, only feigning death, and were able to escape. But one who stirred, when they saw him, they pierced.

And the blood of the chieftains ran like water; it spread out slippery, and a foul odor rose from the blood. And the entrails lay as if dragged out. And the Spaniards walked everywhere, searching in the tribal temples; they went making thrusts everywhere in case someone were hidden there. Everywhere they went, ransacking every tribal temple as they hunted.

And when [all this] became known, there then was a shout: "O chieftains! O Mexicans! Hasten here! Let all prepare the devices, shields, and arrows! Come! Hasten here! Already the chieftains have died; they have been put to death, destroyed, shattered, O Mexicans, O chieftains!" Thereupon arose an outcry, a shouting, a shrieking with hands striking the lips. Quickly the chieftains marshaled themselves: as if working with a will they brought the arrows and shields. Then the fray joined. They shot at them with barbed arrows, spears, and tridents, and they loosed darts with broad, obsidian points at them. It was as if a [mass of] deep yellow reeds spread over the Spaniards.

[4!]

tique, intlan cacalacque in ovelmjcque, çan momjcanenequja, vel momaquixtique: auh in aca oc mopoçaoa in conjtta, conjxili.

Auh in jmesço in tiacavan iuhqujn atl ic totocac, iuhqujn aalacatoc, yoan xoqujiac coatoc in eztli. Auh in cujtlaxcolli iuhqujn tlavilanj. Auh in Españoles, novian nemj in tlatemoa in calpulco, novian ontlaxiltivi in tlatemoa, in açaca vmpa mjnaia, novia nenque, quixaqualotinenque in iaqujcan calpulco in tlatemoque.

Auh in omachoc, njman ie ic tzatzioa. Tiacavane mexicae vallatotoca, ma nechichioalo in tlaviztli, in chimalli, in mjtl, vallacivi, vallatotoca, ie mjquj in tiacaoan: ommjcque, onixpoliuhque, ommjxtlatique: Mexicae tiacaoane. Njmã ie ic tlacavaca, ie ic tzatzioa, netenviteco, iciuhca valnechicaovac in tiacavan iuhqujn nececenquetzalo in mjtl in chimalli quijtquj. Nimã ie ic necalioa, qujmõmjna in jca tlatzontectli, in jca tlacochtli, yoan in mjnacachalli, yoan in tlatzontectli, itzpatlacio in co. .aça: iuhqujn çozpul ommoteca in acatl, in impan Españoles.

Twenty-first Chapter. Here is told [how] war first began, when the Mexicans gave battle to the Spaniards here in Mexico.

And the Spaniards fortified themselves. And the Spaniards also shot at the Mexicans with iron arrows, and fired the guns at them. And then they put Moctezuma in irons.

And all the chieftains who had died [in the temple courtyard] were thereupon taken out and brought forth, and identified. And the mothers and fathers raised a cry of weeping; all wept over them; there was wailing. First they took them to their homes. Later they carried them to the temple courtyard, brought them together there, and burned them together there at the place called Quauhxicalco.[1] But some [were] burned only at the various young men's houses.

And when the sun was about to enter his house, [but] a little sun still [shone], thereupon Itzquauhtzin cried out; on the [palace] roof-top, he called out and spoke: "O Mexicans, O men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco, your ruler, the lord of men, Moctezuma, beseeceth you and saith: 'Let the Mexicans hear! We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]![2] Let [the battle] be abandoned! Let the arrow and shield be stilled! Unhappy [are] the poor old men and women, the common folk, those not yet of understanding — who toddle, who crawl, who lie placed in cradles or on [cradle] boards, those yet untrained!' For this reason doth your ruler say: 'We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]; may [the strife] cease' — because they have shackled him; they have had irons placed on his feet!"

And when he had said this, then they raised a clamor and chid him. The Mexicans became more and more enraged. One, much inflamed by anger, said: "What saith Moctezuma, O fool? [Art thou] not one of his warriors?"[3] Whereupon there was

Injc ceampoalli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa iancuj- 726
can peuh iauiotl, injc qujmjcalque Mexica in Españoles in njcan mexico.

Auh in ichoantin Españoles: njman valmotepetlatzatzacque. Auh in Españoles no qujnvalmjna in Mexica in jca tepuzmjtl, yoan ic qujnvalmotla in tlequjqujztli. Auh njman tepuztli contlatlaliique in Motecuçoma:

auh in jxqujchtin tiacavan in omjcque: njmã ie ic 764
tequjxtilo, teçaçaco, teiiximacho. Auh in tenanvan in tetaoan tlachoqujztleoa tetchoqujlilo, nechoqujlilo, oc inchachan qujnvicaca, çatepan qujnoalhujcaque in teuitvalco, qujncentlalique: vmpa qujncentlatique, cecnj in jtocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequjntin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali.

Auh in ie oncalaqujz tonatiuh, in oc achiton tona- 648
tiuh: njman ie ic valtzatzi in Jtzquauhtzin, tlapanco valtzatzi: qujoalito. Mexicae, tenuchcae, tlatilulcae, amechtlatlauhti in amotlatocauh, in Tlacatecutli in Motecuçoma: qujoalitoa. Ma qujcaqujcan in Mexica, ca amo titenamjcvan, ma motlacavaltican, ma momana in mjtl in chimalli, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in aiamo qujmati in moquequetza, in movelana, in coçultentoc, in vapaltentoc, in aiamo qujmomachitia: ipampa conjtoa in amotlatocauh. Camo titenamjcvan, ma netlacaoaltilo, ca ocontepuziotique, tepuztli icxic ocontlatlalilique:

Auh in oconjto in, njmã ie ic conchachalatza, conaoa, çan ie ilhujce tlavelcuj in Mexica qualanj, ce ilhujce poçonj: conjlhuja. Tlein qujoalitoa Motecuçoma nocne? amo ce yioqujchoan? Nimã ie ic tlacaoaca, niman ic maantimoquetz in tlacaoaca:

1. Four places named Quauhxicalco, in the temple square, are mentioned in Book II — *The Ceremonies*, pp. 168, 170, 171.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: *"¡nosotros somos hombres no muy fuertes mas que nosotros."*
3. *Ibid.:* *"Que dice el pobre de Moctezuma? Y no valiente eres el, no guerrero de la guerra."* *Nacer:* literally, "my friend."

648 an outcry, and then the tumult rose and spread. Thereafter arrows fell upon the roof-tops. But the Spaniards sheltered Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin under their shields lest the Mexicans pierce them with the arrows.

For this reason were the Mexicans in great wrath: because [the Spaniards] had completely destroyed the chieftains [in the Temple Courtyard]; without warning, they had slain them by treachery.[4]

726 Not yielding to force of arms, [the Mexicans] surrounded the palace. They watched various places that none might enter it secretly — that none might in stealth take in tortillas. Hence, at once was stayed all which they had been receiving; forthwith they left no more. In this way they would starve them.[5]

And as for those who would in vain advise [the besieged], or gain merit by secretly giving [one of them] a little food, if they were seen or detected, they then and there slew them. They killed them on the spot. They either struck them on the back of the head, or they stoned them.

At one time some Mexicans were seen carrying in furs. These let word fall that through them some had secretly gone in. Therefore all were strictly commanded that every road and canal be well guarded and watched; that all take great care in the watching. And those who took in the furs [482] [were] carriers,[6] the emissaries of the stewards of Ayotzintepec and Chinantla. Then and there they breathed their last; their work dropped; at the canal they struck them on the back of the head with wooden clubs.[7] Those of Tenochtitlan had only quarreled among themselves, and quite in confusion had seized the carriers. They said: "Surely he is one [of them]!" Then they put him to death. And if they noted someone [wearing] his fine crystal lip rod, then they quickly seized and killed him. They said: "Surely this one also walketh entering within, to serve food to Moctezuma." And if they saw someone who had tied on himself the maguey fiber cape[8] of a carrier, him also they quickly seized. They said: "This one also is a brute who goeth bearing evil tales, and letteth them in to see Moctezuma."

njmã ie ic onvetzi in mjtl in tlapanco. Auh in Motecuçomatzin yoan Itzquauhtzi, qujnchimalcaltia in Españoles in ma qujnmjnti in Mexica.

Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica: iehica ca vel qujmjxtlatique in tiacaoan in ainnemachpan in qujnçoiomjctique,

in amo ivivi ic concauhque qujiaoalotinem; in tepancalli: tlatlapia in açaca onjchtacacalaquj, in açaca conjchtacacalaquja tlaxcalli, çan njman ic ommotzacu in jxqujch in omacoia, çan njmã aocac tle concaoaia: iuhquin qujncujtlaoatzque.

Auh in aqujque oc nen xonexcaia, tlamatzoaia, motlamaceviaia, in ichtacatzin cõmacaia in tlaqualtzintli: intla oittoque, intla oittaloque, njman vncã qujnmjctia, vncan qujntlatlatia, açe qujncuexcochvitequj, anoço qujntetepachoa.

Cequjntin mexica ceppa ittaloque, qujcalaqujaia totomjtl: iehoantin tlanexotlaque, inca cequjntin oncalaquj ichtaca, ic cenca netlaquauhnaoatiloc injc vellapielotz, vel mopiaz in jxquj vtli yoan in jxquj acalutli, vel necujtlaviloa vel ixpialoia. Auh in qujcalaqujaia totomjtl tequjtque intlaivalhoã in calpixque aiutzintepecatl yoan chinantecatl: njman vncan ihiotl qujz, njmã vncã intequjuh vetz, acaloco in qujmõcuexcochviviteoque, vitzantica, çan monetechvia in tenuchca, yoan çan jliviz in qujntzitzquja in tequitque, qujtoaia. Ca iehoatl in: njmã ic conmjctia. Auh intla aca conjttaia ichopilotenteuh: njman qujcujtivetzi, conmjctia: qujtoa, ca no iehoatl in oncalactinemj in contlatlamaca in Motecuçoma: yoan intla aca qujtta, qujmolpilia tequitcaaiatl, no qujcujtivetzi, qujtoa: ca no iehoatl in tlapalpul, in tetzauhtlatolli qujtqujtinemj, cõcalaquja, in conjtta motecuçoma.

4. For *qujqujpopoiomjctique* read *qujnicpopoiomjctique*.

5. Literally, "they dried their entrails."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los arrojaron a pajes de Motecuçoma."*

7. *Vitzantica*: read *ontzantica*.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: *"ropas mantas delcadas que llamã ayatl."*

And he who in vain would save himself, implored and said to them: "What do you do, O Mexicans? I am not [the one]." They answered him: "Thou art [one of them] also, O fool; [art thou] not a carrier?" Then and there they slew him. They only [continued] to guard the people; they went about cautious of others. Their eyes and concern were only to guard the Mexicans. Many they punished for imagined [evil], those who perished without warning, whom they punished not for their own crime.

Auh in oc nen momaquixtiznequj, in qujntlatlauhtia quimjlhuja. Tle amai mexicae, camono nehoatl: conjlhuja, ça no tehoatl nocne, amo titequjtquje njman ic vncan cõmjctia ça teixpipia, ça motecljtlavitinemj, ça imjx intequjuh, ça tepipia in mexica: ca mjequjntin in tlapictli qujtzacutiaque in jxpoposomjctiloque in amo vel intlatlacul qujtzacutiaque. 726

And still other carriers hid and sheltered themselves. No more were they to be seen; they showed themselves to no one; no longer would they come forth to the people. They were in great fright, swooning with fear. They lived hidden, lest they fall into the people's hands.

Auh in oc cequjnti tequjtque motlatique, mjnaxque, aocmo moteittitiaia, aocmo motenextiliaia, aocmo tevic quiçaia, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhçaçonequja, mjinaxtinenca, injc amo temac vetzizque.

And when they laid siege to the Spaniards, for only seven days did they join battle with them in their quarters. And for twenty-three days they were shut in. And for as many days, the canals were dredged, widened, deepened, and made precipitous. Everywhere the canals were made dangerous and difficult. And on the roads, in various places, they erected barriers, laid walls, and placed ramparts. Passages between houses were made dangerous.

Auh in jquac oqujncaltzacque in Españoles: çan chicomjlhujtl in qujncalicalque. Auh in caltzacuticatca cempoalilhujtl omei: auh izqujlhujtl in, in acalotli motatatacac, mopapatlauh, movevecatlano, motetepexiõtz novian movicantlali, moovitili in acalotli: Auh in vtli ipã, netetenantiloc, tenamjtl motetecac, netetenantlaliloc, mooviujcantlali in caltzalãtli: 723 726

And when this had taken place[9] —

auh in ie iuhquj. COO

9. Chapter 21 may end with an interruption completed in the beginning of Chapter 22. Angel María Garibay (*Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, p. 252), however, identifies the break as one of several instances. See also the ending of Chapter 33.

[p. 58 is blank]

000 **Twenty-second Chapter. Here is told how it became known that the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, was coming, and that he was returning to Mexico.**

—it became known that the Captain now was coming from Tepeyacac.[1] He had set forth bringing with him many Spaniards, and a great number of men of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla—many of them, large numbers, an abundance, a teeming multitude, a great host. Not only [in numbers] were they coming, [but] they came to war; they came with devices, in war array, [with] their shields, obsidian-bladed swords, and wooden clubs borne upon their shoulders. They came stirring up a column of dust, [so that] their faces were covered and ashen with dust. They were caked with earth—clothed in dust, in much earth, [which] flaked off. In haste they ran and hurried here. They said, as they went: "Come along, O men of Tlaxcalla! O men of Cempoalla!"

723 And the Mexicans determined among themselves that thereafter they would not be seen, but would hide and conceal themselves. As if the earth lay dead, they would speak aloud no more, [but] only remain spying out of entrances, openings in walls, and holes which in some measure they had pierced through walls, through which they could look out. Only those who had [houses] by the roadside—those along the edge of the road—could do so. But those who were among houses could not. [For] if the Spaniards had seen how many chieftains there were in some places, marshaled together, they would have thought in their hearts that the Mexicans would begin, start, and initiate the war.

And after this, [Cortés] went to and entered the palace; whereupon they shot off the guns.[2]

●726 And when this had taken place, then [the Mexicans] came forth intent upon battle. Thereupon there were [war] cries and there was fighting; the fray was then joined; there was battle. Arrows and rocks fell upon the Spaniards.[3]

Injc cenpoalli onnume capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn machiztico in ie vitz capitan don hernãdo Cortes injc oalmocuepaia mexico.

In omachiztico in ie vitz in Capitan tepeiacacpa in quiçaco, mjequjntin in quinoalhujcac in Españoles yoan cenca mjequjntin in tlaxcalteca yoã in cempoalteca vel mjequjntin vel ixa ·in, vel ixachintin, vel tonac, vel tonaque: amo çan iuh vallaque, valiauiaque, valmotlavizticiaque, valmoiauchichiuhtiaque, inchichimal, inmamaquauh, inmamavitzoc quiquequequechotivitze, teuhtli qujoalçtztiaque, omach iixtlaliuhque omach yixtenexiuhque, omach moca tlalloaque, omach teteuhquimjliuhque, çã moca tlaltin, omach cocotztlaloaq̃ cenca oalmotlaloa, cenca oalhujcinj, motzatzatzilitivi: qujtotivi, vallatotoca tlaxcaltecae, cempoaltecae.

Auh in Mexica monaoatique, injc amo quin mottitizque, çã motlatizque, mjnaiazque, iuhquin tlalli mjctimotecac, aocac naoati, tel hoallachielotoc in tlatzacujlcamac, yoan tepancamac, yoan tlacoiocco achi quicocoionjque in tepantli, injc vmpa ontlachie: çan iehoan in otenoaque, in otentli quitocatoque in iuh quichiuhque: auh in calnepantla onoque amo iuh quichiuhque. Auh intla quimjttanj in cana quexquichtin manj, tepeuhtimanj, in tiacaoan, ca iniol iuh tlamatizquja in Españoles, ca in mexica iehoan quipeoaltia, iehoan quitzintia, iehoan inpeoal in iuiiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ocalaquito vei tecpan: njman ie ic quitlatlaça in tlequjquitzli:

auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic oalquiça quioaliztia in mjcalizque: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca, ie ic necaliou, njmã ie ic muchioa in iauiotl, njman ie ic tlaiecolo onvetzi in mjtl, in tetl, in impan Espanoles.

1. Tepeyacac: presumably not the site north of Tenochtitlan, but one between it and Tlaxcalla.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*començaron a sonar todos los tiros en señyal de los que eniyan llegado, y para atemorizar a los enemigos.*"
3. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

● 726 But the Spaniards shot iron bolts and guns. Many men were pierced by the arrows and shot by the guns. The crossbowmen aimed the bolts to good purpose; they sighted well along the bolt upon whom they would pierce. And the iron bolts, when they went, seemed to fly humming and whizzing; great was their whirring. And not purposelessly did the arrows fly. All struck and pierced people through. And the guns were well trained upon and aimed at the people. And when [the shots] struck, all went down stretched out on the ground, extended like sleeping-mats. Without one's knowing, it struck one; without warning, it slew one. As many as they hit, so many died,[4] when they struck vital spots — perhaps the forehead, or the back of the head, or the heart, or the breast, or the belly, or the abdomen. But if they struck only the thigh or the shoulder, they did not then die. They were not endangered, but would recover. And when the Mexicans saw how the gun [shots] and iron bolts struck, they went from side to side, as if back and forth, hither and thither. They kept good watch and observed carefully.

And when there had been battle for four days, then [some] chieftains climbed up — selected and chosen ones, who possessed devices, in whose faces was war. All went up to the top of the [pyramid] temple. They carried up two beams and many rounded oak logs, called the god's wood, which they carried up in order to cast them down [on the foe].

And after them climbed the Spaniards; they mounted the [pyramid] temple. The Spaniards[5] proceeded in squadrons and in files. Ahead went the arquebusiers, who climbed up very deliberately, not massed. They advanced firing the arquebuses and thus loosing shots. Second went the crossbowmen, the archers using iron bolts. Third went the swordsmen. Fourth went the lancers, the halberdiers.

And the chieftains in vain marshaled themselves to cast the wood, the thick oak logs, down upon the Spaniards. They only fended them off with their shields at once and took no heed [of them]. And when the Spaniards had reached the summit, they thereupon struck, pierced, and stabbed [the foe]. And the chieftains, on this, threw themselves to the

Auh in ichoãtin Españoles: qujoallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli, mjec tlaçatl mjnaloc yoan tlequjqujzviloc: in tlatepuztlavitolhujanj, vel qujxcatzinta in mjtl, vel ipan qujtlachialtia in mjtl in aquin qujmjnaz: auh in tepuzmjti injc ꝫuh iuhquin qujqujnacatiuh, iuhquin çoçolocatiuh, cenca çolonj: auh atle çan nen qujça in mjtl, moch temjna, mochi nalqujça in teitic: yoan in tlequjqujztli, vel tepan qujiacatia, vel tepan contlachialtia. Auh in jquac vetzi, vellaltitech viloa, vellaltitech nepacholo, iuhquin pepechtli neteco, amo tenemachpan in tepã iauh, amo qujteimachitia in temjctia, in quezquj ipan iauh vel itzquj mjquj: in jquac imovican vetzi, in aço imjxquac, in anoço incuexçochtlan, anoço iniollopan, anoço imelchiqujpan, anoço imjtipan, in anoço vel inxillan: auh intla çan Imetzpan, anoço imacolpan vetzi, amo njmã ic mjquj, amo ic oviti, çan tel vmpati. Auh in oquittaq̃ mexica in juh vetzi tlequjqujztli yoan in tepuzmjtl, ça avic vivi, iuhquin ixtlapalhujuj, tlatlaxtlapaloa cenca vel motlachielia, vel mjmati.

Auh in ie iuh navilhujtl necalioa: in tiacaoan tlecoque, ichoan in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlavicoque, in jmjxco ca iauiotl, muchintin tlecoque in jcpac teucalli, vme vepantli qujtlecavica, yoan mjec in aoaquavitl, mjmjmjltic, itoca, teuquavitl in qujtlecavique, in impan qujoallaçazquja.

Auh njmã ie ic tleco in Españoles qujtlecavia in teucalli, tlatlamãtitivi, cuecuentitivi in Espanoles; tlaiacantivi in matlequjqujceque, cencã tlamach in tleco, amo mamana, qujtlãztivi in matlequjqujztli, ic tlamotlativi, tlaõcaiotitivi, in tepuztlavitoloanj, in tlatepuzmjvianj, tlaiecaiotia in tepuzmaquaveque, in tlanaubcaiotitivi, tepuztopileque, tzinacãtopileque.

Auh in tiacaoan oc nen valmomamanaia in qujoallaça quavitl, in tomaoac aoaquavitl in impã Españoles: çan qujchinaltopeoa, ç... njman aoc tle onievat. Auh in opanvetzito in Españoles: njmã ie ic tevivitequj, yoan tezixili, tetzotzopitza. Auh in tiacaoã njman ie ic valmotepeoa in jtlamamatlaioc teucalli, iuhquin tlilancatl valmotepeoa. Auh in Espa-

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*[illegible] los españoles tales sus tiros [illegible] muy certeros que sabe heroman tire que no matase con el.*"
5. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

landings of the temple [pyramid];[6] like black ants they tumbled down. And the Spaniards[7] hurled indeed all of them from the temple [pyramid]; none then escaped. And when they had come from dealing death, thereupon [the Spaniards] entered [the palace] and quickly barricaded themselves.

And this happened during the hour of eating.

And when this had come to pass, then it was made known to the people, and [the dead] were taken forth; and when all who had been cast from the temple [pyramid] had been taken out, then all were burned at the various young men's houses.[8]

noles vel mochintin quinteucalhujque in jxquichtin tlecoca in tiiacaoan, vel mochinti moteucalhujque, njman aocac maquiz. Auh in ontemjctico, njman ie ic callacq̃ valmotzatzacutivetzque. 726

Auh inin muchiuh ie tlaqualizpan:
auh in ie iuhquj njmã ie ic teiximacho, teçaçaco: 264 764
auh in ie muchintin oçacoque in moteucalhujq̃, njmã ie ic tetlatilo in tetelpuchcali.

6. See Pl. 83.

7. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y llegando ale alto del co, començaró a huir y matar a los que estauan arriba, y muchos dellos se despeñaró por el co abajo, finalmente todos murieron los que eran subidos al co turnaronse los españoles a su fuerte y bastecieronse muy bien. Los mexicanos enterraron a los que alli murieron porque toda era gente principal y de mucha cuenta en la guerra."

[p. 62 is blank]

764 And as it burned, with pure hatred, with little good will, some chid him, and said: "This evildoer! He terrorized the world! In all the world there was dread [of him]; in all the world there was fear and fright before him; this man, when anyone offended him only a little, he then slew. Many he punished for imagined evil, which was not real but only a fabrication of words."[4] And still many who cursed him, grumbled in their teeth, chattered, and shook their heads.

But Itzquauhtzin they went off with in a boat. They proceeded to take his body in a boat, to arrive here at Tlatilulco. They were deeply saddened; their hearts were desolate. All burst into tears.[5] None chid him; none belittled him. They said: "The lord, the commanding general Itzquauhtzin, suffered torments. He, with Moctezuma, underwent fatigue and affliction. How much pain he endured for us since we have come here and tarried during all the time that Moctezuma was [alive]!" Thereupon they set in order the palace flag and the rest of the paper array with which they bedight him, and they laid food before him.[6] And then they took him in order to burn him in the Temple Courtyard at a place called Quauhxicalco. With great honors his body burned.

●726 And for four days there was fighting. For only seven more days the Spaniards were contained in their quarters. And when the seven days had passed, [some Spaniards] again sallied forth, going to observe, look about, and arrive there at Maçatzintamalco.[7] They went to gather stalks of green maize; they went to secure green ears of maize. Even as enemies they went to gather the green maize. They were in great haste; they no more than got there, and then quickly returned to enter [the palace]. And when they set out, the sun was high; [on their return, the sun] was setting.

Auh injc tlatlac, çan tlavelpan, aocmo cenca teiollocopa: cequj caoa: qujtoa. Inin tlapalpul: cemanaoac in otlamamauhtiaia, cemanaoac in ooalimacaxoia. cemanaoac in oivic valnemamauhtiloia, valneiçaviloia: in ichoatl in, in aqujn çã tepitzin, injc qujiolitlacoaia, njman contlatlatiaia, mjec in tlapictli oqujtzacujlti in amo nelli in çan tlatolchichioalli: yoan oc mjectin in caoaia, qujqujnacaia, ôoiovaia, moquaquacuecuechoaia.

Auh in Itzquauhtzin conacaihujto, acaltica conanato in jnacaio, injc caxitico njcan tlatilulco, cenca motlaocultique, cenca ichoioac in iniollo, teixaiovitoa, aiac ma cavaia, aiac in ma qujtelchioa: qujtoaia. Oqujhiovi in tlacatl, in tlacuchcalcatl in Itzquauhtzin, ca ivan otlaihiovi, yoã omotolinj in Motecuçoma, quexqujch oqujhiovi in topampa in vmpa otivallaque, otioalitztiaque in ixqujch cavitl in ocatca in Motecuçoma: njman ie ic qujchichioa in tecpanjtl, yoan oc cequj amatlatqujtl ic qujchichiuhque: yoan qujtlamamacaque: auh njman ic qujvicaque in qujtlatito in teuitvalco, itocaiocan quauhxicalco: cenca tlamavizzililiztica injc tlatlac in jnacaio.

Auh iuh navilhujtl necalioac, ça on chicomjlhujtique in caltzacuticatca in Españoles. Auh in oacic chicomjlhujtl: oc valqujzque ommotlachielito, ommotlatlachielito, vmpa onacito in maçatzintamalco: concujto ovatl, valxiloiotia, çan coniaucujto in toqujzvatl, cenca çan onjciuhtivia, çan tequjtl onacito: njma ic valcalactivetzque: auh in onqujzca ie vmmotzcaloa, ie vncalaquj in tonatiuh.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: *"dgenos denios mal de Moteçuçoma porque mujo sido muy cruel."*

5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los del dañadro lloraron mucho a su gouernador porque era muy bien quisto."*

6. See Pl. 88.

7. *"Entre Popoala y Chapolapec,"* according to R. H. Barlow: "Anales de la conquista de Tlaxcala en 1473 y en 1521," *Tlaxcala a través de los tiempos*, V (1945), p. 40, n. 7; it is also noted that *"Ixhilcichil (2:297) lo colocan en 'el valle de Almoradi.'"* The *Anales de Tlaxcala* (Heinrich Berlin, ed.; México: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1948), p. 65 (§312), mentions the place in connection with Nonoalco. —In this paragraph, as in many others, is to be noted a great similarity between Sahagún's translation and the *Anales de Tlaxcala* (§§302, 303). — Rafael García Granados, personal communication.

Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards and those of Tlaxcalla set out and fled from Mexico by night.

And after dark, when midnight came, thereupon came out the Spaniards, crowded together, and all of the men of Tlaxcalla. The Spaniards took the lead, and the Tlaxcallans followed behind, covering the rear, like their walls, their rear guard. They went carrying a wooden bridge, which they proceeded to lay across the canal over which they passed.[1]

At the time, it was drizzling; there was a fine sprinkle, a gentle spray, of rain. They crossed easily some of the canals, at Tecpantzinco, Tzapotlan, and Atenchicalco. But when they went to attain Mixcoatechialtitlan,[2] the fourth canal, then it was seen that they were leaving. A woman fetching water spied them, whereupon she cried out and said: "Mexicans! Come here quickly! Already they leave! Your foes are already slinking away!" Then also a man cried out from the top of the [pyramid] temple of Uitzilopochtli. His cries spread well out over the people; everyone heard him. He said: "O chieftains, O Mexicans! Your foes are already setting out! Hasten here by war boat and along the roads!"

And when it was heard, then there was an outcry. On this, the war boatmen broke forth. They rushed; they plied the poles furiously; the boats struck and bumped one another. They came to [a place called] Mictlantonco Macuilcuitlapilco.[3] And from two sides the war boats came upon them. They pressed upon them, the war boats of those of Tenochtitlan and the war boats of those of Tlatilulco. And a number went afoot, direct to Nonoalco, making their way toward Tlacopan, intending to cut off their advance.

Injc cexpoalli onnavi Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles yoan in tlaxcalteca qujzque, choloque in mexico ioaltica. 726

Auh in ovaliovac in oacic ioalnepantla, njmã ie ic qujça in Españoles: ommotenque, yoan in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl: in españoles iacattivi, auh in tlaxcalteca tlatoqujlitivi, tlatzinpachotivi, iuhqujnma intenanoan, intzacujlhoan muchiuhti:, qujvicatiaque quauhtlapechtli contecatiaque in acaloco in jpan ompanotiaque: [312]

in jquac in aoachqujauhtimanj, aoachtzetzeliuhtimanj, aoachpixauhtimanj, oc cequj in vel companavique acalotli Tecpantzinco, Tzaputla Atenchicalco. Auh in oacito mjxcoa mjxcoatechialtitlã injc nauhcan acaloco: ie vncan ittoque, in ie qujça: ce atlacujc civatl, in qujmjttac: njman ie ic tzatzi: qujto. Mexica, xioalnenemjcan, ie qujça, ie navalqujça in amoiaovan: njmã no ce tlacatl tzatzic in jcpac vitzilobuchtli vel tepan moteoac in jtzatziliz, ixqujch tlacatl qujcac: qujto. Tiacavane, mexicae, ie onqujça in amoiauoan, vallatotoca in acalchimalli, yoan in vtli ipan. 487 [263]

Auh in ocacoc: njmã ie ic tlacaoaca: njmã ie ic tlatzomonj in acalchimaleque, totoca, tequjtlaneloa, macalhujtequj, macalhujtectivi, tlamattivi mjctlantonco, macujlcujtlapilco: auh in acalchimalli, necoc in impan valmonamjc, in impan valmopic, in tenuchca imacalchimal, yoã in tlatilulca imacalchimal: yoan cequjntin icxipã iaque, nonoalco tlamelauhque, tlacupampa itztiaque, qujniacatzacujlizquja: 726

1. The Aztec would permit sending "bridges" and "canals." — According to all other sources, they carried only one wooden bridge, which was mined in the first canal (that is, at Tecpantzinco, before the present site of the Post Office) and could not be used for the rest of the canals (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. Mixcoa is repeated in the Nahuatl MS.

These places were all at canals near the main temple square, on the road to Tlacopan. Cano (*op. cit.*) says of Atenchicalco and Mixcoatechialtitlan that they were on the Calzada de Tacuba between S. Juan de Letrán and Cuauhtemoc; Tzapotlan was on the same calzada in the barrio of Tlacopan.

3. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "*un lugar que se llamaba mictlantonco, macuilcuitlapilco*"; Cano (*op. cit.*) mentions a Macuilcuitlapilco, "*que pertenece a Sn. Pablo y mencionan Sahagún (IV-183).*"

726 [411] Thereupon the war boatmen cast their barbed spears at the Spaniards. From two sides—from both sides—fell the barbed spears. And the Spaniards also shot arrows at the Mexicans; they shot iron bolts and guns. On both sides there was death. The Spaniards and the Tlaxcallans were shot by arrows; the Mexicans were shot. And when the Spaniards reached Tlaltecayoacan, there at the Tolteca canal,[4] there they fell into what seemed a deep chasm; they filled an abyss. There all fell. Those of Tlaxcalla and Tiliuhquitepec tumbled in, as well as Spaniards, and the horses, and some women. With them the canal was completely filled, full, clear to the banks. But those who came at the very rear, emerged and crossed over on men, on bodies.

And when they had proceeded to reach Petlacalco,[5] where there was another canal, very slowly, cautiously, and softly, with guarded measure, they set forth upon the wooden bridge. Here they recovered themselves, caught their breaths, and revived their valor.

And when they reached Popotlan,[6] it was dawn, and light was spreading. Already [the Mexicans] set out to attack: already they had been recognized from afar. And then they went raising a war cry against them and surrounding them. The Mexicans took after them; they took those of Tlaxcalla; and Spaniards were slain. And also Mexicans and Tlatilulcans were killed. On both sides was death dealt. They made the Spaniards leave Tlacopan; they pursued them. And when they advanced forcing them from Tiliuhcan and Xocotlihiovican, there at Xoxocotla,[7] there Chimalpopoca, son of Moctezuma, died in the fray. They came upon him pierced by a barbed spear, and wounded. Likewise Tlaltecatzin, [648] lord of the Tepaneca, died there. They had guided the Spaniards, and gone ahead to show them the route, keep them from wrong roads, maintain them on their course, and make the way for them.[8]

Thereupon they passed the Tepçolatl (a small stream). They crossed and forded the water there at Tepçolatl.[9] Then they climbed the embankment

njmã ie ic contlaça in acalchimalleque in tlatzcatectli in impã in Españoles: necoccampa necoc in valhuetzi in tlatzontectli. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, no qujnvalmjna in Mexica, qujvallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli necoc mjcoa: mjnalo in Españoles, yoan tlaxcalteca: mjnalo in Mexica. Auh in Españoles in oacique in tlaltecaioacan in vncan in tulteca acaloco: vncan iuhquin motepexivique, motepexitenque, mochintin vncã onvetzque, ommotepeuhque in tlaxcaltecatl, in Tiliuhquitepecatl, yoan in Españoles, yoã in cavallome, cequj cioa: vel ic ten in acalotli, vel ic tzoneuh. Auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ça tlacapan, ça nacapan in onqujzque, in vmpanoque.

Auh in oacito petlacalco, in oc ce vncan icaca acalutli, çan jvian, çan matca, çan tlamach, çan tlamatzin in onqujzque, in jpan quauhtlapechtli, vncan patito, vncan imjhio qujcujque, vncã moqujchquetzque.

Auh in oacito popotlan, otlatvic, otlanez, ie oqujchcuhtivi, ie veca motlamatilitivi. Auh njmã ie ic qujmjcaoatztivi, qujmololhujtivi, intech icativi in Mexica, qujmaantivi in tlaxcalteca yoã in Españoles mjctivi: auh no mjctilo in Mexica in tlatilulca, necoc mjcoatiuh, tlacupan qujnqujztique in qujntoca. Auh in oqujnqujztito Tiliuhcan, xocotlihiovican, vncan in xoxocotla, vncan in iaumjc in chimalpupuca, in jpiltzin Motecuçoma: in jpan qujçato mjntoc, tlatzõtectica, yoan vivitectoc, çã ie no vncan in mjc, Tlaltecatzin, tepanecatl tecutli in qujniacanaia, in qujntlaiztlatitivia, qujmotlaxilitivia, qujmotequjlitivia, qujmoquechilitivia in Españoles:

njmã ie ic companavique in Tepçolatl (ce atoiatontli) vmpanoque, onapanoque, in vncan tepçolac, njmã ic ontlecoque in acuecu, ommotlalito otoncal-

4. *Ibid.*: "*Escaba por Sn. Fernando y la Ermita de los Mártires o de Sn. Hipólito*" (citing Don. Fernando Ramírez).

5. *Ibid.*: canal on Calzada de Tacuba — the next to last canal.

6. See map. Caso (*op. cit.*), however, identifies it as the last canal on the Calzada de Tacuba.

7. Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "*el camino que va dela* Tacuba."

8. In the Robredo edition of Sahagún (IV, p. 73), the account, from Bustamante's 1840 edition, is that "*murieron dos hijos de Moctezuma, el uno se llamaba Chimalpopoca y el otro Tlalocatzi, los cuales iban guiando a los españoles.*"

9. Tepçolatl: a stream near Ommalpulco (Bustamante, *loc. cit.*).

[Acueco][10] and went to quarter themselves at Otoncalpulco,[11] [where] wooden barriers or palisades stretched about the courtyard. There they refreshed themselves; each one rested. And there they breathed. They caught their breaths; there they revived. [And] there those of Teocalhueyacan[12] came to meet them and lead them forward.

pulco, quauhtenaniotoc, quauhtenametoc in itvalli: vncã mocevique, mococevique, yoã vncan ihiio cujque, imjhio qujcujque, vncan patito, vncã qujnnamjqujco in teocalhujacan in valteiacan. 726

10. Bulnes edition, *loc. cit.*: "*una cuesta que se llama Acueco.*"
11. Corresponding Spanish text: Otoncuculco; Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*cerca se llama Santa María de los Remedios.*"
12. Teocalhueyacan is the usual spelling.

[p. 68 is blank]

727 all was claimed as booty. He who came upon something, took it, whatever it was; he appropriated it, carried it off on his back, and took it to his home. And on the very place where there were the killings, all—whatsoever it was—which they had gone from and left in fear, and much war equipment, were there stolen: the lombard guns, the arquebuses. And some lay there strewn; gunpowder, iron swords, iron lances, halberds, iron crossbows, and iron bolts lay scattered. And also there were looted iron helmets, corselets of iron and of chain mail, and leather, iron,[1] and wooden shields. And there were claimed as booty the bars and plates of gold, and gold dust, and golden necklaces with pendants.

And when all had been pillaged, thereupon all dispersed into the water and, severally, searched for things, some using their hands, some using their feet.

And as they had set forth, those in the lead had been able to escape. But those who had closed the march, those fell [into the canal] and sank in the water. All had died. It seemed as if verily mountains of [dead] men had been formed. They had pressed against one another and indeed slain themselves, smothered.

●726 And while this was going on, there at Acueco [the Spaniards] had slept; still at night, yet well toward the dawn, they arose, bedight themselves, and girt themselves for battle. Each put on his war array. Thereupon they departed, moved on, and placed themselves in order. And the Mexicans took after them, shouting and crying out—following after them only at a distance, keeping after them from there. And when they reached another place, called Calacoayan, on top of a rounded hill, on a small rise, where there were rows of rocks,[2] there they set upon and slew the people, spearing them. The people there were unwarned, these Calacoayan folk. Without notice they were slain. [The Spaniards] vented and loosed their wrath upon them. And when they had put the people to death, thereupon they came down below and occupied the flat lands, the small plain called Tiçapan. After this they climbed up to Teocalhueyacan.

çaço tlein ipan oquiçato, quicuitivetzi, quimotechtia, quimomamaltia quitquj in jchan, yoan vel ipan nemimjctiloc in jxquich in çaço tlein oquimauhcacauhtiquizque yoan mjec in iautlatquitl in vncan namoieloc in tomaoac tlequiquiztli in matlequiquiztli, yoan cequj vncan tepeoac, vncan tepeuh in tlequiquiztlalli, in tepuzmaquavitl, in tepuztopilli in tzinacantopilli, in tepuztlavitolli, in tepuzmitl: yoã no vncan maceoaloc in tepuzquacalalatli, in tepuzvipilli, in tepuzmatlavipilli, in eoachimalli, in tepuchimalli, in quauhchimalli: yoan vncan momaceuh in teucuitlatl in tlaxantectli, yoan teucuitlacomalli, yoan teucuitlatl tlaxaqualolli, yoan in chaioac concatl teucuitlaio.

Auh in ie ixquich in otlanamoieloc, nimã ie ic onnetepeoalo in atlan, netlatetemolilo, cequintin tlamatemoa, cequintin tlacxitemoa.

Auh injc quizque in iacattiaque, ie vel quizque: auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ichoantin in motepexivique in matlanvique, mochintin mjcque vel iuhquj tlacatepetl motlali monenepanotoque, çan monetechmjctique, mjhiomjctiq̃:

auh in ie iuhquj in vncã acueco, in oncochque, oc veca iovan oc vellavizcalpan in meuhq̃, in mochichiuhque. in moiauchichiuhque, in õmaaquique in iautlatquitl: njman ie ic oncoa, onolinj, õmotema. Auh in mexica quimjcavatztivi quimoiovitivi, aocmo intech onaci, ça vecapa quimjtztivi ça quin vecapa vitivi, ça quinnachcapavitivi. Auh in onacique cecnj, itocaiocan calacoaian, tlamjmjlolticpac, tlacpactonco, in vncã tecuecuentla, vncã õtemjctitiquizque ontexixilque, amo quimjmachitique in vncan tlaca, in calacoaiantlaca, amo innemachpan in mjctiloque, intech motlavelquixtique, intech mellelquixtique. Auh in ontemjctique: nimã ie ic ontemo in tlanj, connamjquj in tlalpechtli, in jxtlaoatontli: itoca, Tiçapan: njman ie ic ontleco Teucalhujacan.

1. *Tepuzbimalli* and *tepuzchimalli*.
2. See Pl. 98.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans came to and reached the Spaniards as they followed them at the rear.

Injc cempoalli on chicume capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica intech acito in Españoles injc qujnteputztocaia. 726

Also this very time was when the Mexicans advanced and arrived in order that they might cut off [the Spaniards'] progress. The Mexicans went to and established themselves at the foot of a mountain called Tonan. And when dawn broke, the Spaniards[1] arrayed themselves and ate. Likewise the Mexicans bedight themselves and ate and drank. They drank a mixture of *pinole* and water.[2] Some climbed to the top [of the mountain], as scouts and sentinels, to watch for when the Spaniards would depart and move on. In truth, standing guard was their very charge, their concern.

No vel iquac in onacito Mexica in qujniacatzacujlizquja: in ommotecato mexica itzintlan tepetl itoca Tona. Auh in otlatvic nec mocencaoa in Espanoles tlatlaqua: no ivi mexica mocecencaoa tlatlaqua, aatli, pinolatl qujy: cequjntin tlacpac tlecoque, iautlachixque, iautlapixque, qujmonjtztoque in quēmā oneoazque, in quenman onolinjzque in Españoles: vel imjx intequjuh in ontlachixticate. [262 272]

And after this, when the Spaniards[3] already proceeded and followed the road, then the scouts cried out and said: "O Mexicans, your foes are already going! Let us array ourselves! Let us arm ourselves, each one! Let us all proceed! Let us all go together! Let none remain behind!" And when they heard this, there was running; all ran hither and thither and went in pursuit.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie olinj in ie utlatoca in Espanoles: njman ie ic valtzatzi in iautlachixque: qujvalitoa. Mexicae ie iauh in amoiaouh, ticcencaoa, ticcecencaoa; ticemolinj, ticenvi, aiac moczuhtiaz. Auh in oqujcacque nec netlalolo, tlaixqujqujça, tlatotoca.

And when the Spaniards saw them, they waited for them. They then closed ranks in order to encounter them. They studied them carefully in order to consider how to fare well against them. And after this, [the Mexicans] then ran at them; they hurled themselves at them, so that all were enclosed within [the Spaniards' ranks]. Then they were speared and lanced; indeed, then died in great numbers those of Mexico and Tlatilulco. They went to deliver themselves, cast themselves into [the Spaniards'] hands, and came upon death. But few fled from their hands and so did not die. And those who remained at a distance, who remained following from afar, did not die. And when the Spaniards had dealt death among the people, and had spent their rage, they thereupon departed. All who bore burdens went following them. No one knew of them where they

Auh in oqujnvalittaque in Españoles: qujnvalmochialtique, ic oalmomanque in qujnnamjqujzque, vel qujnnemjlia in quenjn vel qujnchivazque. Auh in ie iuhquj nec qujnxopiloa, qujncujtlaxeloa in quexqujch calitic momantiqujz, nec texixilioa, tetzotzopitzalo, vel vncan tonacamjcque in mexica in tlatilulca, çan qujmōmomacato, inmac ommotlaçato, çā conmotoqujlique in mjqujztli, ça quezqujn in tematitlampa qujz in amo mjc: auh in veca manca, in tevecapaviti manca amo mjcque. Auh in ontemjctique in imellel onqujz in Españoles: njman ie ic vi, qujnteputzvitivi in jxqujchtin tlamama. Ca aocac qujnmati in campa cochque in jquac: vncan in in valmocuepato, in qujmonjcxicaoato, qujmonteputzcaoato in Españoles.

1. *Espanoles:* the tilde is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

2. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, II, p. 479) says that it is now a drink of ground toasted maize mixed in water with cacao, sugar, cinnamon, and *achiote* (*achiote* — *Bixa orellana* L.).

3. See footnote 1 *supra*.

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 727 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who had died, who had been speared. There they burned all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them: they buried them in the earth.

805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlami,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl caualo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] — in which began the new year — also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished; when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

000 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left —

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic teiiximacho in tiacaoan in omjcque, in oxixiliosque, vncan qujntlatique in jxqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujnenechicoaia, coolokaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in izqujlhujtico in Mexico inic calaqujco in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlaltiz Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique yme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oacic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic qujoaltoqujlia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Tititl no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Jzcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl moteneoa Nemontemj: auh in ontzoqujz macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quavitl eoa, vncã xiuhqujtzqujlo, vncan peoa in iancujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã qujoaltoqujlia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan ixpoliuhque Tiacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Tecujlhujtontli, ie vncan in qujzque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in qujzque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic qujzque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jzqujlhujtique matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: iuh nemachoc in ca oiccen iaque, in ca iccen oiaque, aocmo cepa valmocuepazque, aocmo ceppa imjloch qujchicoa-

4. The Aztec wet ships Amatzolli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 154.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VII — *The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 23; Sahagún, Bulmalo ed., II, p. 269.

000 to and established quarters at Coyoacan, and it became the Marquis' charge — as well as the road from Acachinanco[3] which led into Tenochtitlan; for the Marquis knew that those of Tenochtitlan were great warriors, great chieftains.

●726 And at Nextlatilco, or Iliacac, there in truth first came the fighting, when they quickly came to and reached Nonoalco.[4] The chieftains came pursuing them. None of the Mexicans died. Then the Spaniards turned back. The chieftains, who fought valiantly by boat, the warboatmen, shot darts at them. Their darts rained upon the Spaniards. They then entered [Nonoalco]. And the Marquis thereupon threw himself upon those of Tenochtitlan; he proceeded along the Acachinanco road. Many times, in truth, there was battle; and the Mexicans contended against him.

ques: auh in vtli in acachinanco vallaticac tenuchtitlan, in moma marques ca vei oqujchtli in tenuchcatl vei tiacauh:

auh in nextlatilco, anoço iliacac, vel vmpa achto iaupevaco, njman acitiuetzico in nonoalco in qujnvaltocaque tiacavan, aiaac mjc in Mexica: njman ic moteputztiqué in Españoles. In tiacavan in acaltica tlaecoa, in acalchimaleque qujmômjna: in immjuh, ontzetzelivi in impan Españoles: njman ic calaque. Auh in Marques njman ie ic qujvallaça in invicpa tenuchca qujvaltoca in vtli in acachinãco: mjecpa valmicalia, auh connamjquj in Mexica.

3. A location in the lake, which can now be fixed as to the east of the Calzada de S. Antonio Abad and south of the Calzada de Fr. Servando Teresa de Mier (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

4. Nextlatilco and Iliacac are parts of the barrio of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco. Nonoalco (S. Miguel) is described as an "*Islote al norte de la Calzada de Tacuba*," an area today bounded N. by Calle de la Emigración and Manuel Gonzáles; E., irregular line approximating Guerrero; S., approximately Luna and Plaza de Alameda; and W., Olivo. — Caso, *op. cit.*

Thirtieth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards fashioned their boats there at Texcoco, in order to come here to conquer Mexico.

And when their twelve boats had come from Texcoco, all of them were brought together there at Acachinanco. Then the Marquis moved [his camp] there to Acachinanco, whereupon [the Spaniards] proceeded to find out where the boats could enter—where the canals were straight, or deep, or not deep [enough], so that they might nowhere be grounded. But the canals were twisting and winding; they could not there get them in.

Two boats they brought in there; they forced them through the road going straight from Xolloco. And once [for all] they resolved and determined to do away completely with the Mexicans. When they had so decided, then they placed themselves in order. They carried guns; in the lead they went bearing the large cotton banner. And so, without confusion or impatience, they proceeded beating drums, and sounding flutes, and blowing wooden whistles.

And the two boats came floating slowly; at one side only were the boats floating. But on the other side came no boats, because it was a place built up with houses. Then they came, giving battle. On both sides death was dealt and captives were taken. And when those of Tenochtitlan who dwelt in Çoquipan saw this, they then ran off; they fled in fear. The small children were taken from among the people. Into the water they went; all in the water were the common folk. A cry of weeping arose. And the boatmen filled boats with their little ones. They plied the boat poles; they plied them with vigor. Nothing else did they take with them, but left, hastily, in their fear, all their wretched belongings. Indeed everything they left scattered in their hurry. And our foes plundered as they went, taking whatsoever they came upon. What they found as they went, they took; they carried off with them perchance [regular] capes; or large, cotton ones; or devices; or two-toned drums; or ground drums.

Injc cempoalli onmatlactli capitulo vncan mj- 000
tot in quenjn Españoles qujxinque imacal vmpa tetzcocu injc tepevaco njcan mexico.

Auh in ovalla imacal tetzcocu matlactetl omuine, çan oc much vmpa mocenten in acachinanco, njman vncã valmjquanj in Marques in acachinanco: njmã ie ic qujtlatemolitinemj incampa vel calaqujz acalli, incampa ie melavaticac acalotli, in açq vecatlan, in acanoço vecatlan injc amo cana macanaz: auh in acalotli in cocoltic, in cuecuelpachtic, amo vei vncan qujcalaqujque,

vntetl in acalli in concalaqujque, concujtlaviltequjltique in vtli xolloco vallamelauhticac: auh ceppa quĩcentlatalhujque, quicemjtoque, injc quincentlazilizque mexica in quincentlatalhujzque: nec motecpana, qujvica in tlequjqujztli qujniacantivitz in quachpanjtl, çan njman amo mamana, amo momocivia, tlatzotzontivitze, yoan tlapitztivitze yoan quavilacapitztli.

Auh in vntetl acalli, çan jvian onotivitz, çan cec- 726
tlapal in vallonotia in acalli: auh in oc cectlapai atle valla in acalli, iehica ca calla, nec iativitze, necalivativitz, necoc mjcoa, necoc tlamalo. Auh in oqujttaque in tenuchca in çoqujpan onoque: nec motlaloa, momauhcatlaloa, tetlan tlaano in pipiltzitzinti, çan atlan in vi, cematl mantiuh in macevalli, tlachoqujztleva. Auh in acaleque qujmacaltenque in impilhoantzitzin, qujntlanelhuja, qujntequjtlanelhuja, aoc tle ma itla conmocujlique, çã moch conmauhcacauhtiqujzque, in intlatqujtzin, çan much vmpa contepeuhtiqujzque. Auh in toiaovan tlanamoxtivi, qujcujtivi in tlein ipan oqujçato, in tlein oqujpantito qujcuj, qujmotqujlia in açq tilmatli, in açq quachtli, in anoço tlaviztli, in anoço teponaztli in anoço vevetl.

726 And those of Tlatilulco fought, there at Çoquipan,[1] in war boats. And when [the Spaniards] came to reach Xolloco, where there was a wall which cut across shutting off the road, they fired at it with the big guns. As the first [charge] fell, it did not crumble; but at the second, it collapsed; at the third, finally it quite went to the ground; and at the fourth, at last the wall [fell] completely leveled.

And the two boats moved in to meet those in war boats.[2] There was fighting in the water. And the guns occupied the entire prows of the boats. And there where the [Mexicans'] boats lay thick, where they lay close together, there, upon them, they fired. Many men died thereby. Then the boats went bobbing up and down and rocking, and sank. Just so was it with the bolts; the one upon whom they could take aim could not escape; he then died and there breathed his last. But when the Mexicans could behold and determine where the gun [shots] and bolts would strike, no longer did they follow a direct course. Only from side to side would they veer; only sideways, at a slant, they traveled.

And when [those on land] also already saw that now the big gun was to fire, they all fell to the ground: all stretched out on the ground, and lay flat. And the chieftains withdrew to enter the spaces among the houses. The road became clear; the wide road lay empty [of people].

And then [the Spaniards] proceeded to and reached Uitzillan,[3] where was yet another wall. And many [Mexicans] were spread out by it, crouched, taking refuge behind the wall. For a short time the [Spaniards'] boats were grounded there, as their prows struck land. There for a brief space they tarried while they prepared the guns.

Auh in tlatilulca vmpa tlaiecoque in çoquipan, acalchimaltica: auh in xolloco in oacico in vncan tenamjtl onoca, in onepãtla in quitzacutoca vtli: in tlequjquiztli vei, ic quimotlaq̃, aiamo xitin in iancujcan vetz, auh injc vppa, xitin: auh injc expa, iequene vel tlaltitech ia: auh injc nappa iequene vel iccen tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl.

Auh in ontetl acalli quinnamjctiuh in acalchimaleque, necaliva in atlan. Auh in tlequjquiztli imacaliacac tetentiuh: auh in vnca tetzavatoc acalli, in vncan tecpichauhtoc: vmpa inpan contlaça mjec tlacatl ic mjc: njman aaquetztivetzi, nenecujliuhtivetzi, papachiuhtivetzi: çan ie no ivi in tepuzmjtl in aquin vel quimottilia, aocmo quiça, njman mjquj, vncan qujhiovia. Auh in ovel quitzaque Mexica, in ovel quinemjliq̃ in juh vetzi tlequjquiztli, yoã in tepuzmjtl, aocac motlamelauhcaquetza, ça xvic vivi, tlatlaxtlapaloa, ça ixtlapalhujvi.

Auh in jquac ie no quitta in ie vetziz in vei tlequjquiztli, tlaltech viloa, tlaltech neteco, nepacholo. Auh in tiacavan cacalçtivetzaque in caltzalan chipavatimoquetz in vtli, in vchpantli, ça iuhquin chipaçpul icac.

Auh njman onacico in vitzillan, in oc ce vncã onoc tenamjtl: auh mjequjntin itlan mopachoroca quimotoctitoca in tenamjtl: achitonca vncan ommacã, ontzotzen in jmacal, vncan achitonca onvecavaque in oquiz conchichiuhque tlequjquiztli.

1. *Barrio*, also known as S. Pablo, Tenpan Çoquipan, or Xoloxiuhco, an area bounded now N. by Calle de Guatemala and Miguel Negrete; E., Calzada de Tlalpan; S., Calzada del Chabacano and Calle de Morelos; and W., Calzada de S. Antonio Abad. — Cano, op. cit.

2. See Pl. 120.

3. Near the Church of S. Pablo (corresponding Spanish text).

Thirty-first Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards came with the brigantines and took after those who were in boats in order to join battle with them, and then emerged and came to arrive near all the houses.

And when they had readied [the guns], thereupon they fired upon the wall. And the wall then gave way and parted from behind. And the second time [the shot] struck, the wall then fell to the ground destroyed; it burst open, pierced through. Then likewise the road appeared clear [of men]. And the chieftains who were by the wall then dispersed. All fled from there, escaping in terror. And all the various men [allied to the Spaniards] then quickly advanced filling each canal. Then they speedily leveled them with stones, adobes, and some logs so that they were filled.

And after the canals had been filled, then came the horse[men], perhaps ten of them. They rode in a circle; they came wheeling about, twisting and circling. [And] once again horse[men] came, following after the others. And a number of Tlatilulcans who had quickly entered the palace which had been the home of Moctezuma then emerged in terror, and came up against the horse[men]. One [of them] lanced a Tlatilulcan. And though he had speared him, yet he took hold firmly of the iron lance. Then his companions went up to tear it from [the rider's] hands, threw him down upon his back, and upset him. And when he had fallen tumbled to the earth, they hit him repeatedly, they struck him on the back of the head. He died there.

Thereupon the Spaniards assembled and set out together. Then they reached Quauhquiyauac (the Eagle Gate). And they took with them the lombard gun and the equipment which went with it. They placed it at the Eagle Gate. (And for this reason is it called the Eagle Gate, that there stood an eagle carved in stone, a good man's height tall — so high — and flanking it stood, on one side, an ocelot, and on [the other] a wolf, likewise hewn of stone [)].

Injc ompoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles ic valietiaque in vergantines, qujnvaltocaque in acaltica nenca in qujnnamjqujto: njmã ic valqujzque itech acico in jxqujch calli. 726

Auh in oconchichiuhque: njmã ie ic qujvalmotla in tenamjtl: auh in tenamjtl, njmã tzatzaian, cujtlaxeliuh. Auh injc vppa vetz: njmã tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl, vevelocac, vmpet, oncoion: njman no iuhqujn chipacpul moquetz vtli. Auh in tiacavã in tenantitlan onoca, njmã ic valxitinque, valnetlalolo, nemauhcaqujxtilo. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl: njman iciuhca contetentivi in acalotli, njman iciuhca conjxmana tetica, xantica yoan cequj quavitl injc tlaatzopque.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ommatzop acalotli: njman ie ic valcoa in cavallome, aço matlacteme, ontlaiavaloco, ontlamalacachoco, ommocovitzoco, ommotevilacachoco: ie no ceppa centlamantli valevaque in cavallome, qujnvalcujtlapãvitiaque. Auh cequjntin tlatilulca talactivetzque in tecpan catca in jchan motecuçoma: njman ic valmauhcaqujçaia, qujmonmonamjctico in cavallostin: ce qujxilico in tlatilulca. Auh in oqujxilico, oc vel can in jtepuztopil: njman qujmacujlito in jcnjvan, icujtlapan qujoalmaiauhque, qujvaltzineuhque: auh in otlalpan vetzico mec qujvivitequj, concuexcochvivitecque, oncan ommjc.

Niman ie ic qujoalcentlaça, oalcemolinj in Españoles: njmã ic onacico in quauhqujiavac. Auh in tomaoac tlequjqujztli qujvicativi, intlatquj ietiuh, contecaque in quauhqujiavac. (Auh injc moteneoa quauhqujiaoac, ca vncan icaca in quauhtli, tetl in tlaxixintli, vel cennequetzalli injc quauhtic, inic vecapan: auh qujztatzacutimanj, in centlapal icaca ocelotl: auh in centlapal icaia cujtlachtli, çanno tetl in tlaxintli. Auh in ie iuhquj in vevei tiacavan, oc nẽ [351 532]

726 And, when this had come to pass, the great chieftains in vain took refuge behind the stone columns; and
[347] the stone columns [were] in two rows, altogether eight [of them]. And also the chieftains crowded on the roof terrace of the Coacalli.[1] They filled the roof terrace. None of the chieftains [could] go beyond.

And the Spaniards at first remained quiet. And when they fired the gun, it became very dark; smoke spread out. And those who were hiding behind the stone columns all fled; and all those who were on the roof terrace hurled themselves down, and all ran far away. Then [the Spaniards] took up the gun and went to place it upon the large, round stone.
[1534] And on top of the [pyramid Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, holding vigil to no purpose, [priests] struck two-toned drums; as if with all force they struck the two-toned drums. And then two Spaniards climbed up, going to club them there. And when they had gone there to strike them, they cast them down; they threw them down from there.

And the shorn ones, all the chieftains, who had been fighting in boats, all came forth and issued on to the dry land. And those who plied the boating poles for them [were] the young boys; only these guided the boats. And upon this the chieftains then took note of the spaces among the houses. They ran fast; all in truth shouted and said: "O chieftains, make haste!"

And when it came to pass that the Spaniards saw that they were about to come to grips with and pursue them,[2] then they cowered and sped away; they turned tail; they indeed fled and ran. From both sides they were shot at with darts and barbed arrows; and from both sides they were pelted with stones. Shortly, then, they went to find respite at Xolloco, to catch their breath. There [the battle] quieted, and thereupon [the Mexicans] all turned back. And the Spaniards then also returned and went to establish themselves at Acachinanco. But the gun, in their haste, they abandoned there on the large, round stone. Then the chieftains seized it, ran it forward, and went to toss it into the water. They pulled it to Tetamaçolco.[3]

qujmototoctiticaca in tetlaquetzalli: auh in tetlaquetzalli ompantli, nepan chicuej. Auh in coacalli ixlapãioc, no tetentoque in tiacavan, motlatlapantenque aocac ixtlapal iauh in tiiacavan.

Auh in Españoles çã njman amo mamana: auh in oquitlazque tlequjqujztli cenca tlaiovac, poctli motecac. Auh in qujmototitimanca in tetlaquetzalli, netlaloloc yoan in jxqujchtin tlapanco onoca valmotepeuhque veca netlaloloc, nec qujvallecavia in tlequjqujztli contecaco temalacatitlan: auh in jcpac vitzilobuchtli, oc nẽ tlapiaia, qujvitequja in teponaztli, iuhqujn ontetemj qujvitequj teponaztli: auh njmã ic ontlecoque vmentin Españoles, vmpa qujmonvivitequjto: auh in oqujmonvivitequjto in ca valmaiauhque, qujnvalchicanauhque:

auh in quaquachictin in jxqujchtin in tiacavan in acaltica tlaiecoaia, muchintin valqujzque, vallalvacaqujzque: auh in tetlanelhuja in telpopotzizinti, çan ichoãtin in qujvalhujvicaque in acalli. Auh in ie iuhquj in tiaiacavan, nec qujmottilia in caltzalantli vellatotoca, vel netzatzililo: qujtoa. Tiacavane, ma vallatotoca:

auh in ie iuhquj, in oqujttaque in Españoles in ie impan monamjquj in ie qujntotona, njmã ic mocototztlalique, motepuztique, vel totoca, motlaloa necoccampa in valmjnaloia in tlatzontectica, yoan necoccampa in valtepacholo, qujn vmpan xolloco patito, imjhio qujcujto, vmpa valmomanaro: njman ie ic valnecuepalo. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, njman ic no mocuepa motlalito in acachinanco: auh in tlequjqujztli vncan qujcauhtiqujzque in temalacatitlan: njman conanque in tiacavan, qujtototza qujmaiavito atlan, tetamaçolco qujtztlititiaque.

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1. Spanish text: "*muchos otros grandes estaban encima de la casa que estaba armada sobre las columnas.*" The Coacalli is described in Book VIII —*Kings and Lords*, p. 44.

2. *Qujmotoctiticaca*: probably *qujmotoctiticaca in tetlaquetzalli*.

3. Spanish text: "*en esta agua profundo que llamaban Tlilmaçapalco, que está cabe el mesón que se llama Tepanécaco, donde estaba las bombas.*"

Thirty-second Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans in terror left their city, from fear which they felt of the Spaniards.

Inje cempoalli ommatlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica valmauhcaquizque in vncan imaltepeuh ipan in quimjmacazque Españoles. 726

And meanwhile those of Tenochtitlan came to enter, here, in Tlatilulco. There were cries of weeping, and there were shouts. Many were the tears of the beloved women. And the men[1] went with their women. One or another carried his child upon his shoulders. When, then, they abandoned their city, it was for only a day. And the Tlatilulcans yet again went there to Tenochtitlan to give battle.

And at this time Pedro Alvarado yet once more moved there against Iliacac, which is toward Nonoalco. Nothing could he accomplish. It was as if he had arisen against a stone. For those of Tlatilulco put forth great effort. On both sides was there fighting, on the road and on the water with war boats. When Alvarado grew tired, then he turned back and went to camp at Tlacopan. And only two days after they had thrown against them the boats which first went — only[2] two — then all [the boats] set forth together and stopped at the outer houses of Nonoalco. Thereupon they issued on to the dry land, the firm ground. Then they followed the narrow road, [into] the heart of the settlement.

And when the Spaniards came, all was clear. No man of the common folk appeared. But Tzilacatzin, a great chieftain and very brave, then cast three of his stones which he carried — great, huge, round rocks: wall stones, or white stones. One he had in his hand; two he bore upon his shield. Thereupon he gave chase to and went against the Spaniards, dispersing and scattering them in the water. Into the water they went. In truth, heavily laden on the water [were the boats] as they went down [into them].

Auh in jquac in, in tenuchca valcalaque in ojcan tlatilulco, tlachoquiztlaoa, tlatzatziztlaoa, ixachi in jmjxaio cioatzitzinti: auh in toquichtin quinvivicatze in incicivaoi in aca quiquechpanoa in jpiltzin: njmã iquac in quicsuhque in jmaltepeuh ça cemjlhuitl. Auh in tlatilulca ie ne vmpa itztivi in tenuchtitlan in mjcalizque.

Auh in ie iuhquj in Pedro aluarado: ie ne vmpa quivallaz in iliacac, in jvicpa nonoalco, aiatle vel quichiuhque, iuhquin tetitech onevaco: ichica ca in tlatilulca cenca mochicauhque, necoc in tlaiecoloc, vtli ipan, yoan atlan in acalchimaltica: in omoxixiuhtlati in aluarado, njmã ic mocuep, motlalito in tlacuban: auh çan jviptlaioc in quivalcentlazque in acalli in acachto valla, can oc ontetl: auh çatepã muchi cõquiça in caltenco nonoalco ommotemato: njman ie ic oalquiça in tlalhoacpã, in tlalhoacpan: njma ie ic quivaltoca opitzactli, in calla icac, quivaliolloia.

Auh in vncan valquizque Españoles ocactivetz, aocac tlacatl oquiz in maçevalli. Auh in tzilacatzin vei tlacauh cenca oquichtli: njmã ic quivallaz, etetl in quitquj iteuh, vevei tepopul mamalacachtic ie in tenuiocatetl, anoço iztac tetl, ometetl imac ietiuh, vnetl ichimaltitlan ietiuh, njman ie ic quintoca quimontepevaio atlan, quimõtoxavaio in Españoles, ça atlan in oniaque, vel aiaetizque in ontetemoque

1. *Tiopipiltin*: literally, we (men, as somewhat rendered in this translation.
2. *Can*: probably *çan* is meant.

701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be [301] recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he [293] disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[3] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them — in both places he had them on his arms. And the [301] golden arm bands glistened.[4] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin otomjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in tlaotonxintli, iehica amo imjxco tlachiaia in iniaovan in manel Españoles, amo tle impan qujmjttaia, vel tlacenmamauhtiaia: in jquac in qujttaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocototztlalixia in toiaovan: auh cenca qujtemoaia, injc qujmjctiazque, in aço qujtepuzmjvizque, in anoço qujtlequjqujzvizque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çã mjxpoloa injc amo iximachoz: in quenman tlaviztli in ommaqujaia, itenpilol compiloaia, yoan itetecujtlanacoch yoã conmocozcatia in jcozquj chipoli, çan tlapouhtiuh in jtzontecon, neztiuh injc otomjtl: auh in quẽmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc ommoquaqujmjlos, auh in q̃manjan injc mjxpolos cõmaqujaia ihujtzoncalli, quatzone quauhtlalpilonj icuexcochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh iehoatl injc tetlepantlaxoia, iuhqujn tetlepantlazquj ipã qujztiuh, qujntlaiciecalhujtiuh in tetlepantlazque itetecujtlamatemecauh necoccampa in ietiuh yiocanjxti ietiuh in jmac: auh in teucujtlamatemecatl cuẽcuenio auh no ie in jcxic ieietiuh, cotzeoatl, teucujtlacotzeoatl çan petlanquj)

● 726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauhcaltitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

Auh njmã imuztlaioc in ie no cuel eppa qujçaco in jmacal conacanaco nonoalco, ataubcaltitlã: auh njman no qujçaco in tlaxipanvia yoan in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl yoan otomjtl, vel tonac in qujntepevitivitze in Españoles. Auh in oacico nonoalco: njmã ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel mostemman in tlaiecolizzli in iauiotl, necoc in mjcoaia ixqujch mjnaloa in iniaovan, no ixqujch in mexicatl, necoc ivi, necocolo, iuh cemjlhujtl, iuh ioac in necaliosc.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzayectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacaoã in amo mjtzacujlianj, in atle inpan qujmitta in iniaovã catca, in amo qujtlaçotlaia in innacaio. Injc ce tlacatl itoca Tzaiectzin. Injc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teeca in omotenuh in Tzilacatzin.

3. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Conquest, Chapter 28.

4. Commentator probably meant to insert.

5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco — Cano, op. cit.

And when the Spaniards tired, when they could achieve nothing, when they could not break through the Mexicans, then they went, and entered [their encampment], much afflicted in spirit. Their allies went following behind them.

Auh in omoxhuhtiuiqoe in Españoles, in avel quiqa- 726
chiou, in avel quiqopetla in Mexica: njman ic iaque, calacque, vel imellel acic, quiocuitlapanvitivi in intavilanalhoan.

[p. 90 is blank]

726 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalcoan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.**

726 648 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochimilco, Mizquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itztapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

[41] [43] 72 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them devices and shields, and they gave them each chocolate. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Injc cempoalli onnnadlactli omei capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn chinanpaneca in Suchmjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jtztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in quinpalevizquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in iehoantin suchmjlca, cujtlaoaca mjzqujca, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, quinonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: quimjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic ixtlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenquiçaco in quauhtli ocelutl in acaltica: ca qujl axcã quicentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzque njman ie ic quimjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanquimjhiovilique, oanquimociaviltique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaieiecavi:

njman ie ic quintlauhtia, quinmaca in tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan quincacacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in quinmacaque cacaoatl: njmã ie ic quimjlhuja. tlacueleoatl, tla tlaieiecavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cuitlavaca in quinvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in jtzquican vtlica: njman ie ic necalioa.

Auh in iehoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmã ie ic tenamoia, quinnamoxque in cioatzitzinti, yoan in pipiltzitzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'nmjctique vncan ihiotl quiz. Auh in oc cequjntin amo quinmjctique, çan ivian acalco quimontemovique.

Auh in ie iuh quichioa inin ie tenaoalpoloa: njman ic tzatzique in tequivaque, quitoque. Mexicae tlein ic quichioa in, tlaveliloque? ma vallatotoca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, quintoca acaltica.

726 And all the boats which were at Nonoalco then were assembled there; all left from there in order to pursue. Then they proceeded to hem in those of Xochimilco. Thereupon they slew them; they speared and beat them. But some they only took. And almost all died there; in truth, there they were destroyed. And all [the women] whom they had seized, all of them they left there. None of the beloved women were taken away.

And while this was already coming to pass, then the Spaniards settled back.

And just as those of Xochimilco had devised, and would have done, just so [the Spaniards] would do away with us through deceit. And all whom they seized of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, etc., they thereupon brought and hurried there to Yacacolco, where now is [the Church of] Santa Ana.[1] There were Quauhtemoc and Mayeuatzin, ruler of Cuitlauac (for he was here at the time of the war).

And when [those of Cuitlauac] had been brought, they greeted Mayeuatzin. They said to him: O my younger brother, [may it] be well with thee." But Mayeuatzin replied to them: "You fools, have I perchance bidden you? What have you done?" And Quauhtemoc then said to Mayeuatzin: "O my younger brother, do thy work." And Mayeuatzin thereupon offered up as sacrifices four, whom he slew, of his vassals. Likewise Quauhtemoc slew four.

And later, of all who were included among the captives, it was commanded that they be slain, everywhere in the temples of the devils. Everywhere the captives gave blood to [the images].

726 687 And afterwards the Mexicans were wroth because of this. They said: "Verily, here among us, mingling with us, are the people of Xochimilco; they have already made their homes here. Do they not, in truth, deliver their messages [to our foes]? So these we shall take forth; they shall perish!" And upon this, when judgment was indeed pronounced, thereupon were drawn out all the beloved women and old women, and those already mature. All were slain. None were spared, because of those who went bearing false witness of them and doing undeserved ill: those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac who came [saying] they would help us.

Auh in nonovalco in onoca in jxqujch acalli: njmã ic muchi vmpa mocemjtequjc, much vmpa in inic tlantoca: njmã ic quintzacujlico in Suchmjlca: njman ie ic temjctia, teixiili, teviviitequj. Auh cequjntin çan qujmacique: auh vel muchintin, vncã mjcque, vel oncan mjztlatique. Auh in jxqujchtin in qujmacique, çã muchtin vncan qujncaubã aiac vicoc in cioatzitzinti.

Auh in jquac ie iuh muchioa in, njman ic mocototztlalique in Espeñoles.

Auh in juh qujmolhujca, in juh qujchivazquja xochimjlca, çan ic technacalpolozquja: auh in jxqujchtin qujmacique in suchimjlca: in Cujtlavaca. &c. njman ie ic qujnvica, qujntototza in vmpa Jacaculco, in axcan ie sant Ana: vmpa icaca in Quauhtemoctzi, yoan in Maichoatzin, cujtlaoac tlatoanj (ca njcan ipan muchiuh in iauiotl).

Auh in oaxivaque contlapalo'imanj in Maichoatzin: conjlhuja. Nicauhtzine, n.oiolicatzin: auh in maichoatzin, qujnvalilhuja. In antlapalpopul cujx namechcujcujtlavi, tle oamaxque. Auh in quauhtemoctzin njman qujoalilhuj in Maichoatzin. Nicauhtzine ma ximotlacotili: auh in Maichoatzin: njman ie ic tlamjctia, navi in cõmjcti in jmaceoalhoan: no navi in conmjcti in Quauhtemoctzin.

Auh in çatepan in ac onaaquj in mamalti, oallanavatiloc injc mjctilozque novian in intetreupan tlatlacateculo, vel novian tepanjzque in mamalti.

Auh çatepã ie ic qualanj in Mexica: qujtoque. Ca njcan totlanonoc, technelotoc in suchimjlcatl in ie njcan chanchiva, amo nel vmpa contlalia in jtlatol. Auh inin ça tiqujncaoa, çan popolivi: auh in ie iuhquj, in ovel motzõtec, njman ie ic teçaçaco in cioatzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin yoã in ie tlapalivi, muchintin mjmjctiloque, aocac mocauhque, ca iuhqujn qujmontlatolevito, qujmoncujtlachivito in ovallaque in techpalevizquja xochmjlcatl, in cujtlaoacatl.

1. Spanish text: "en el Tlatelolco." A barrio, "onde del gobierno de Cuauhtémoc, donde actualmente se encuentra el templo de Santa Ana en la calle del Peralvillo," according to R. H. Barlow: "Una pintura de la conquista en el templo de Santiago," *Tlatelolco a través de los siempos*, VI (1945), p. 58. Caso (*op. cit.*) identifies it as a district or neighborhood in the barrio of Sta. Ana Atenanitech, near Tenochtitlan.

And then, some days later, two boats came there to Ysuhtenco.[2] The Spaniards came alone, proceeding in the early dawn. There were no [allied Indian] men; [the Spaniards] came quite alone. And upon this, when they had beached their boats, they thereupon leaped out on dry land. And when they had set forth on the firm ground, then they came giving battle. They went each firing guns and crossbows.

And the chieftains flattened themselves behind walls; they remained hidden in houses or behind walls. And the sentinel [had] as his care and charge [to know] when to break forth. And when it was already good time, at the right moment, he then cried out and said: "O Mexicans, onward!"

Auh njman iquezqujlhujoc, ontetl in acalli quj-726
ꝫco, vncan in jiauhtenco çan mjxcavico in Espa-
ñoles, ioatzinco in quj̃çaco, aiaac tlacatl, çan oc val-
mjxcavitiaque. Auh in ie iuhquj in oconacanque
imacal: njman ie ic vallalhoecaquj̃ça: auh in oval-
lalhoecaquj̃zque njman ie ic mjcaltivitze, tlatlequj-
quj̃zvitivitze, tlatepuzmjvitivitze.

Auh in tiacavan cẽca mopachoa tenantitlan, yoã quj̃mototoctitimanj in calli anoço tepantli. Auh in iautlachixquj vel yix itequjuh in canjn neovaz: auh in ie qualcẽ in ie inman, njman ie ic tzatzi: quj̃toa. Mexicae ma ie cuel.

2. Port of Huexotla. — *Ibid.*

[p. 94 is blank]

726 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans took captive and seized fifteen[1] Spaniards.**

Injc cempoalli onmatlactli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica tlamaque in qujmacique Españoles caxtolti.

"O Mexicans, onward!"

Mexicae ma ie cuel:

On this, the sentinel raised a war cry. [Shell] trumpets were sounded, and they charged with shield.

njman ie ic tlacaoaca, yoan tlapitzalo yoan chimallaça in iautlachjxquj:

Thereupon they took after the Spaniards, they followed dispersing them and taking captives. Fifteen of the Spaniards were seized. Then they brought them in. And their boats [the enemy] withdrew, going to stand by in the middle of the lagoon.

njman ie ic qujntoca in Españoles, qujmaiauhtivi yoã qujmantivi, caxtoltin in anoque in Españoles: njmã ic qujnoalhujcaque: auh in jmacal njmã ic qujtzinquixtique, anepantla contecato.

727 And when they had brought the eighteen where they were to die, there at the place called Tlacochcalco,[2] they thereupon stripped them; they took from them all their arms and their cotton armor, and all which was on them. All they tore from them. Then they were made slaves; they slew them. And their companions remained watching them from the middle of the lagoon.[3]

Auh in oqujmazitico caxtoltin omei in vncan mjqujzque itoca: tlacuchcalco: njmã ie ic qujnpepetlaoa, moch qujncujlique in iniautlatquj, yoã in jmjchcavipil, yoan in jxqujch in intech catca, moch qujntepeoaltique: njman ie ic tlacoti qujnmjctia: auh in jmjcnjoan qujnvalitztoque anepantla.

726 And at one time they put in two of their boats there at Xocotitlan.[4] When they had landed, thereupon they went looking in the settlement of the people of Xocotitlan. And Tzilacatzin and other chieftains, when they saw the Spaniards, set upon them and sent them fleeing, casting stones at them as they went. They came to chase the Spaniards into the water.

Auh ceppa qujcalaqujque vntetl in imacal in vmpa xocotitlã: in oconacanque, njmã ie ic vmpa itztivi in incalla xocoteca. Auh in Tzilacatzin, yoan oc cequjntin tiacaoan: in oqujmittaque in Españoles: njman intech oalietiqujzque, qujnoallalochtocaque, qujntepachotivi, atlan qujntepeoaco in Españoles.

And another time [the Spaniards] brought their boats there to Coyonacazco[5] to wage war and give battle. And on arriving, then some Spaniards came out. Leading them came Castañeda Xicotencatl,[6] who walked wearing his [device of] quetzal feather

Auh ie no ceppa qujoalhujcaque in jmacal in vncan coionacazco injc tlaiecozque, injc mjcalizque. Auh in oacico njman ic valqujzque cequjntin Españoles, qujnvaliacan in castañeda xicotencatl: iquetzaltemal ietinemj. Nimã ie ic vallatepuzmjvia: auh

1. Eighteen are mentioned here. Cf. also Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, p. 189 (chapter heading). The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* has fifteen.

2. Buenaventura, *loc. cit.*: *"en que estaba una cava que era como casa de audiencia, cerca de donde agora es la iglesia de Santa Ana."*

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los encerraron los cerraron delante del pueblo que se llamaba Mazajuxtec y los otros españoles estuvieron mirando desde las sargentinas como los mataron."*

4. Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, p. 190: *"que es agora [el barrio de] S. Francisco."* Cano (*op. cit.*) says it is the same as Cihuatempan, in Macuxtlaulan.

5. Buenaventura, *loc. cit.*: *"cerca del barrio de Sta. Lucía (que por otro nombre se llama Amaxac)."* Cano (*op. cit.*) identifies Coyonacazco as a part of the *barrio* of Tolpachotzinco, to the north in Tlaxcalan. R. H. Barlow ("Cinco siglos de las calles de Tlaxcalan," *Tlaxcalcia a través de los tiempos*, IX [1947], p. 32) places it *"no lejos de la estación del Ferrocarril de Hidalgo."* A map in Antonieta Espejo and R. H. Barlow: "El plano más antiguo de Tlaxcalan," *Tlaxcalcia a través de los tiempos*, I (1944), shows it in the northeast part of the city.

6. Buenaventura, *loc. cit.*: *"Rodrigo de Castañeda (á quien los indios llamaban Xicotencatl, por usarla por sobrenombre)."*

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●726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenanteputzco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at To-
[491] tecco,[8] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came,
[443 317] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied]
[533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjnoc izquac, njman ic momjqujli: ichoatl in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoã itech ietiquizque, atlan qujnnemjtique, qujntetepachoque: auh vncã mjqujzquja in castañeda: auh ça acaltitech pilcatia injc qujvicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenanteputzco, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, çan tlatlãpixtoca in atlan. Auh in ie ioa qujvica.

Auh iquezquilhujoc ie no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ie qujoalmottilique in quauecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhticac iztanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl, in aculhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ie ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in quãmjmjlli, in acatl qujcujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cencã ivian in iativitze, qujniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapittivitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampã onotivitze in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ie ixqujch altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, meeltzotzona in tlaxcalteca, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, queoa in çaço tlein qujlnamjquj, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoã vel nepacholo, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, qujtetetzontlaliaia, qujchixtoque in quemman teevitilox, in quenman quj-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"cerca de aquella yglesia que se llama ahora luxia."* Cano (*op. cit.*) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, *barrio* of Tlaxpachuhuhcan.

8. *"Cerca de la Cruz, pueblo desmantelado."* — Cano, *op. cit.*

9. El Peñón de los Baños — east of the center of Tenochtitlan, in the lake. However, Espejo and Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and map, locate it as a hill in the southeastern part of Tlatilulco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"determinaron entre sí los españoles de darnos guerra por allí."*

11. Quauhcacalitlan *ampatli* — *"calle que iba derecho de Nonoalco al Mercado de la Sal. . . . probaqueha hasta encontrar el Ahuehuetlo y probablemente correspondía con la Calzada de Nonoalco, Mercado, Almacenes, Corralejo y Rivera."* — Cano, *op. cit.* Espejo and Barlow, *op. cit.*, show it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Bustamante, *loc. cit.*, the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the *Florentine Codex*: *"por razon de los españoles que los indios habian muerto en su presencia, tornaron á preparar guerra de nuevo, haciendo juramento solemne que la guerra no habia de cesar hasta que vengasen la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no muriese en su manos; de cuyo acuerdo comenzaron á cegar todas las acequias y caminos de canoas por donde pudiesen entrar los barquillos no podian entrar, y así comenzaron á derribar casas, y allanar todas las acequias."*

13. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en barrio que se llama Tlalmacan que es agora santa mjjo"* (San Martin).

heads. They waited until the time that the command to charge would be given, the time that they would hear the battle cry, and the order to advance. And when the cry was given, [it was]: "O Mexicans, onward against them!" Then the Tlapaneca Ecatzin, an Otomí [warrior], came to engage them and to hurl himself at them. He said: "O chieftains of Tlatilulco, onward! Who are these barbarians? Move forward!" Then he proceeded to throw himself against a Spaniard and struck him to the ground. This [Ecatzin] came first to cast him to the ground. He did it to him first. And when he had gone to overthrow him, then they went dragging the Spaniard off.

caqujzque tzatziliztli, in teevitiliztli: auh in otza- 726
tzioac. Mexicae, ma ie cuel iehoatl: njman ic qujvalixti, in Tlapanecatl hecatzin, otomjtl, inca ommomotlac: qujto. Tiiacavane tlatilulcae, ma ie cuel, aqujque inin Tenjme, xivalnenemjcan: njman ic ica ce maiavito in Español, tlalli ic qujvitec: iehoatl in valiacattivia in qujmaiavito in qujvaliacatitivia. Auh in oqujmaiavito: nec convilanato in Español.

[p. 98 is blank]

726 **Thirty-fifth Chapter.** Here is related how once again the Mexicans took captives and seized Spaniards, and, as counted, the captured Spaniards [were] fifty-three. And also [were taken] many men of Tlaxcalla, Texcoco, Chalco, and Xochimilco. Also [it is told] how they slew all in sacrifice there before those which were their gods.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: vncan moteneoa, in quenjn ie no ceppa tlamaque mexica in qujmacique Españoles, in juh mopouhque in axivaque Españoles, ontecpãtli ommatlactli omei: yoã no mjequjn tlaxcalteca, Tetzcuca, chalca, xuchmjlca. Auh in quenjn muchtin, vncã qujnmjctique in imjxpan inTeuoan catca./.

And when this had come to pass, then the chieftains who had been crouched, together fell upon them; they fell upon them from their ambush in the spaces among houses. And the Spaniards, when they saw this, [were] as if drunk. Thereupon were
727 captives made. Many men of Tlaxcalla, Acolhua-
726 can, Chalco, Xochimilco, etc., were taken. Verily, myriads of captives were made and men slain. Truly, they forced the Spaniards into the water, and indeed all the [allied] people.

Auh in ie iuhquj in jxqujchtin tiiacavan, nec qujvalcentlaça in omopachotoca, caltzalantli qujvaltotocatiqujzque. Auh in Españoles in oqujttaque ça iuhqujn tlavãque: njman ie ic tlamalo, mjequjntin in axivaque in tlaxcalteca, in aculhoaque, in chalca, in xuchmjlca, &c. vel tonacatlamaloc, tonacamjcoac, vel atlan qujnnemjtique in Españoles, yoã in ie ixqujch tlacatl:

And the road became very slippery. It could no longer be traveled; each one could only slip and slide. And the captives were dragged along. Here in this place the [Spaniards'] standard was taken. Here it was seized. Those of Tlatilulco took it. It was captured there where now is [the church] named San Martín. But [the Spaniards] showed no concern over it; they were not troubled over it.[1] And others escaped [the Mexicans'] hands. They went leaving them exhausted at Colhuacatonco,[2] at the edge of the canal. There they retired to establish themselves.

auh in vtli vel petzcauhtimoquetz, aoc vel nenemoa, ça nepepetzcolo, ça neaalaoalo. Auh in mamaltin tevivilano. Ie vncan in, in axioac in vandera, vncan anoc: ichoantin caciõ in Tlatilulca: vncan in macic, in ie axcan sanct Martin moteneoa: çan atle ipã qujttaque, amo õnecujtlaviloc. Auh in oc cequjntin tematitlampa qujzque: vmpa qujmõciauhcavato in colhoacatonco, acalotenco, vmpa valmomanato.

727 And after this they took the captives there to Yacacolco. They were urged forward; they went surrounding their captives. One went weeping; one singing; one crying war cries while striking the mouth with the palm of the hand. And when they had been brought to Yacacolco, thereupon they were placed in rows, in files. One by one they proceeded to the small pyramid, where they were slain. First went the Spaniards. They took the lead. But all those of the [allied] cities came only last, following. And when they had been slain, then they strung the

Auh njmã ie ic qujnvica in mamaltin in vmpa iacacolco, tetototzalo, qujmololhujtivi in immalhoan, in aca chocatiuh, in aca cujcatiuh, in aca motenvitectiuh. Auh in onteaxitiloc iacaculco: njmã ie ic tevipano, tevipanolo, ceceniaca oniatimanj in mumuzco, in vncan tlamjctilo, iacattiaã in Españoles, coniacatique: auh ça vntlatzacujque, ontlatoqujlique in ixqujchtin altepeoaque. Auh in ontlamjctiloc, nec qujnquaquauhço in intzontecon in Españoles: no qujçoçoque in cavallosme intzõtecon, tlatzintlan in qujtecaque: auh in intzontecon Españoles tlacpac

1. It was captured by an Indian from Tlatilulco named Tlapanecatl or Tlapanecatl Iacatzin, according to the version in Bustamante, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192; here it is said that this exploit preceded the capture of the fifty-three Spaniards.

2. A barrio in the Parcialidad de Sta. María la Redonda Cuepopan or Tlaxpachiahcan; now bounded N. by Calle del Organo; E., República de Chile; S., Perú; W., Allende (approximately). — Cano, *op. cit.*

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[5] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

in onoca, in çoçotoca, tonatiuh quixnamjctoca. Auh in jxquich nepapan tlacatl, amo quinçoçoque in intzonteco̱ in veca tlaca. auh in xxioaque Españoles ontecpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos:

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalioa: amo ic mocaoa in tlapieliztli, in novian techiaoalotinemj in xuchmjlca in acaltica, necoccampa tlamalo, necoccampa mjcoa.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *colorin* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

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Auh in jxquich macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia maianoia, mjec in mapizmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoã mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxqujçacatl: yoan qujquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan qujquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, qujmooxqujaia qujtototopotzaia, qujtotoponjaia injc qujquaia yoã in tetzmetl, yoan in xantetl qujtetexoaia: aoc tle iuhquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los españoles eran afuera . . . los otros indios eran dentro . . . los caballos eran hasta.*"

4. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 550, reads this *yenal*.

5. *Eloçacatl*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which Mexican cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as "*hierba . . . es muy verde y tiene porrones como el trigo, y es blanco, almacenlo los conejos y otros animales.*" Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 259, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

6. *Tequixquiçacatl*: probably pasture on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 271, has "*hierba muy dulzora y sepinosa, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . es buena para quemar.*" Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 223, citing *Simdon* (*op. cit.*), calls it some grass or couch grass, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. *Grama* (*tequixquiçacatl* in Molina, *op. cit.*), Santamaría (*op. cit.*, II, p. 31) identifies as *Panicum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

7. *Tzumpanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 275), "*es árbol mediano, tiene ramas arrojadas, tiene la copa redonda y de buen parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman equimixóchitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman equimitl*"; p. 348: "*Equimitl. Árbol, flor y fruto del Colorín.* Erythrina corallodes. *D.C.* Leguminosa." Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 331, giving the same botanical identification and *E. americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompanche*), and observes of the bean (*colorín*) that it is "*especie de frijolillo rojo, duro que contiene un alcaloide muy venenoso.*"

8. *Tzacuxuchitl*. Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 309, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Mexia compendaria* La Llave and Lex (?), *Epidendrum parviri* La Llave and Lex (?), *Oncidium macrolenum* Kunth (?) — all orchids. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxuchitl o tzacalli florido*: *Mexia compendaria* La Llave y Lex, or *B. cordata* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, *op. cit.*, tlaquilli is plaster or stucco. *Tlaquilin*, however, is given by Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 226, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as marvella. It is medicinal. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 186, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera, and trompetilla.*

10. *Tetzmetl*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 249, says it is like *xantetzmitl*: "*hojas muy verdes y carnosas y redondillas, y también mucho leche, y tiene las ramas coloradas. . . . nacen . . . duces, y especas y largullas . . . lo interior de esta raíz medicia*" (medicinal). Emmart identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moziño and Sessé — ornamental, *siempreviva* (*op. cit.*, p. 223). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85, adds *S. quaerum* H. B. K. and *S. reversum* Stev.

11. Cf., however, Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 550: "*und Stuck und Leder und Hirschhaut, die brieten, buken, rösteten, brannten, auch es so, und Tetzmetzpaz und Lehmziegel und auch Tezcal.*" Of *tezcal* or *tescal*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 289) says it is a hot country plant used for coloring. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 163 (*tezcate*), says it is "*nombre vulgar de varias plantas malvaceadas, como el capulincillo o nigua* (Cocoxiqui xalapensis), *el tecopote* (Malvaviscus arreigera, y otras."

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726 **Thirty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards for the first time came to and entered the market place here in Tlatilulco.**

And at one time it came to pass that four horse-[men] came to enter the market place. And when they had proceeded to come in, they then traveled in a circle; they followed about the outer edge of the market place and went lancing the chieftains. Many were the dead. They had penetrated the market place at this time — the first time that they had come to look at the market place. Then they went; they fled.

And the chieftains dared to come up to and give them chase. And at the time they had come, entering the market place for the first time, [it was] unexpected; they had given no warning.

And also this was the time that they burned the temple.[1] They laid fire to it. And when they had set it afire, then it flared up. Very high rose the blaze, the tongues of flame. It was as if the fire roared and kept flaring up. And when [the Tlatilulcans] saw that the temple was now burning, then there was weeping; there were tearful greetings. For it was thought that there would be plundering.[2]

And after there had been battle for a long time in the market place, the war spread to the outskirts. Little by little, they abandoned the wall,[3] there at Tenexnamacoyan. And there at Copalnamacoyan,[4] and at Atecocolecan[5] and at Xochicalco,[6] [the Mexicans][7] entered among the houses. The chieftains took positions on the wall. And all the houses of those of Quauhquechollan, which stood around the market place, all became a barrier. Many [of the Mexicans] took their places upon the roof terraces,

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli ocs capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles iancujcan calaqujco tianquijco in njcan tlatilulco.

Auh ceppa mochiuh nauhteme in cavallos in calaqujco tianquijco. Auh in ocalaqujco, nec tlanaoatl quitoca, tianquijztentli quitoca in tiiacavan quinxixiltivi, mjeq'ntin in mjcque concujtlaxeloco in tianquijztli: iquac iancujcan quittaco in tianquijztli: njman ic iaque, ic moteputztique.

Auh in tiacaoan intech motlapaloque quintocaq̃: auh in jquac calaqujco iancujcan tianquijzco amo tenemachpan, amo quiteimachitique:

auh yoan njmã iquac quitlatique in teucalli, contlemjnque: auh in ocontlemjnque nec cuetlan, cenca veca eoac in tletl, in tlenenepilli, iuhquin ihicoioca tletl yoan cuecuetlanj. Auh in oquittaque in ie tlatla in teucalli: njman ie ic nechoquililo, nechoqiiztlapalolli: iuh nemachoc in ca ie ontenamoieloz.

Auh vecauhtica in necalioac in tianquijzco, vel tetemman in iauiotl, aiaxcã in quicauhque in tenamjtl, in vncan in tenexnamacoiã. Auh in vncan copalnamacoian, yoan atecocolecan, yoã in vncan xuchicalco in caltzalan, in calacoaia, vel ipã mantinenca in tiacavan in tenamjtl. Auh in jxquich quauhquecholteca calli in tianquijztli quiiavalotoc moch tenamjtl mochiuh mjequintin tlapanco onoca in vallamotla, qiiioallaça in tetl, in mjtl, oallatepachoa, vallamjna, yoan moch mocujtlacoionj in quauhquechol-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"el mesmo dia pusieron fuego al en mayor que era de Vitzilobuchli."*
2. *Ibid.*: *"temuerõ mal agüero de ser quemar el en."*
3. *Ibid.*: *"desmayaron los españoles y se retraxeron con el artilleria."*
4. Probably near Yacacolco, Tlilhuacan, and Amanqua, in Tlatilulco, on the Amanac road or *tlatilacalli*; now Calle de Gonzáles Bocanegra. — Cano, *op. cit.* Tenexnamacoyan can be presumed to have been nearby.
5. Sta. Cruz Atecocolecaya, now *"a la esquina norueste de las patios de los Ferrocarriles."* — R. H. Barlow: "Las ocho ermitas de Santiago Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, IX (1947), p. 69.
6. In a *barrio* of Tlatelolco, bounded now, N., by an extension of Calle de la Comunacia; E., approximately la Parcialidad; S., Matamoros; and W., extension of Sta. María la Redonda. — Cano, *op. cit.*
7. From here on, Tlatilulco is the scene of battle. Doubtless warriors of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco fought together. The term "Mexicans," from this point forward, in brackets, implies Indians of both these cities.

●726 in order to throw rocks. They cast down stones and darts; they cast rocks and shot arrows. And all the back walls of the houses of the people of Quauhquechollan[8] were pierced with openings. They made small openings. And when again the horse[men] pursued them, then they would try to cling to their legs and cut off their advance. [Then] the chieftains quickly entered [the openings].

teca calli, achitoton qujcoionjque. Auh in jquac ie no valtetoca in cavallosme, in ie no qujnxopiloznequj, in ie qujniacatzacujliznequj: vmpa cacalactivetzi in tiacavan.

And at one time it came to pass that the Spaniards proceeded to enter Acatl yiacapan.[9] Then there was plundering, and poor, common folk were spirited away. And when the chieftains noted it, then they fell upon the [enemy] chieftains. There came to stand a shorn one, named Axoquentzin. He pursued his foes. He forced them to let [the common folk] go; he made them turn about. And this chieftain died there. They shot him with an iron bolt, there, in the breast. When they shot him, the arrow pierced his heart. He lay as if stretching after a sleep.[10] So had he died. And then our foes withdrew to establish themselves.

Auh ceppa muchiuh in Españoles: acatl yiacapan in valcalacq̃ nec tenamoielo, nec teçaçaco in macecoaltzitzinti. Auh in oqujttaque in tiiacavan: nec qujvallaça in tiiacavan, vncan icativitz quachic: itoca Axoquentzin qujntocac in jiaovan, qujntetlaçalti, qujnmalacacho: auh inin tiacauh vncã momjqujli, vncan qujtepuzmjviq̃ yielpan, in qujtlaxilique, yiollopan in qujtlaxilique tepuzmjtl, iuhqujn necochaano inic ommomjqujli: auh njmã ic mocototztlalique in toiaovan.

And there at Yacacolco,[11] similarly was there battle. The Spaniards[12] who shot iron bolts came in order to aid and join the Four Lords,[13] who had gone to close off the road. And the chieftains then crouched, in order to cut into their rear as the sun already hung [low]. And at this point, when they were already coming, some of our foes climbed upon the roof terrace. And, crying out, they said: "Ho, O Tlaxcallans! Hasten here! Here are our foes!" Then they cast down darts upon those who were spread out on the ground. Then they broke through.[14]

Auh in vmpa in iacacolco: çan no ivi in tlaiecolo, in Espanoles in tlatepuzmjvia tecpantivitze, qujnpalevitivitze, qujntlamatilitivitze in nauhtecutli, qujtzacutivitze in vtli. Auh in tiacavan nec nepacholo, injc qujncujtlaxeloztque, ie ommopiloa in tonatiuh. Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vitze: cequjntin tlapanco tlecoque in toiaovan: auh in otzatzic, qujto. huj tlaxcaltecae, xioalnenemjcan, njcan cate in amoiaovan: nec qujvallaça in mjtl, in impan in mopachotoca, nec xitinque:

Slowly [the Spaniards] came to reach Yacacolco, where the battle had spread to the outskirts. They had come only to skirmish; they could not break the Tlatilulcans, who were on the other side of the water, shooting arrows and casting rocks at them. No overpass, no bridge did [the Spaniards] take.

yiolic onacico in iacaculco vncã motetemmã in iauiotl: çan vncã ommotzotzonaco avel qujnpetlaque in Tlatilulca, in amac onoque qujnvalmjna, qujnvaltepachoa aoc tle in panoanj, aoc tle acuepanavaztli, ocaanque.

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8. Sans. —va at Xochicalco (note 6); probably the market was [illegible] — Cam. op. cit.

9. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 194: "Otro dia los españoles volvieron a hacer entrada á tiempo por la parte del patio donde estaba el Cú grande de Vitzilopochli, por el patio del mismo que se llama Acatlyacapa."

10. If read never home, the passage would be translated: "It was as if [the arrow] extended on both sides, so that he perished."

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "se revolvieron los españoles que pelearon de la parte de su reja." In Bustamante, op. cit., p. 195, the fighting is said to have taken place at Zacualco, "que es á donde está agora la iglesia de Santa Ana."

12. *Espanoles*: the tilde is omitted in the MS.

13. See Chapter 14.

14. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 195: "y dando todos juntos los españoles y tlaxcaltecas, algunos tlaxcaltecas y españoles subieron sobre las azoteas de las casas que estaban en rededor del tianguez. Estos que subieron sobre las azoteas descubrieron la ciudad, y dieron voces á los que iban por bajo y dijeron. . . . ¡Mirad, tlaxcaltecas, que vuestros enemigos están aquí en ciudad! Y luego comenzaron a flechar á los que estaban en la ciudad, matándose y destrozándose, y los de la ciudad como vieron que ya los habian sido, comenzaron á huir."

Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans laboriously uncovered by night the waterways which the Spaniards had filled in by day.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in q̃nin Mexica in cohuvitiaia in qujtlatlaqoaia in atl in ioaltica, in vncan catzupaia Españoles in tlaca. 726

And our foes went filling in the canals. And when the enemies had gone, once more [the Mexicans] took up the rocks with which the foes had filled them in. When dawn broke, once again it was even as it had been the day before. Often they so did, where [the Spaniards] had filled in the canals — immediately taking up the stones, the wood, etc. — so that by a little the war was lengthened, and gradually [the Spaniards] broke through [the Mexicans]. For these canals were looked upon as great walls.

Auh in toiaovan, catzuptivitze in acalutli. Auh in onoiaque in iavme ie no ceppa qujqujxtia in tetl injc otlaatzupca iaume: in otlatvic ie no ceppa iuhcan, in juhcan catca ialhoa: muchipa iuh qujchiuhque in vncã catzupaia in acalotli, in çan njmã qujvalqujxtiaia in tetl in quavitl. &c. ic achi vecaoac in iauiotl, aiaxcan in qujnvalpetlaque: auh in acalotli in, iuhq'n vei tenamjtl ipan momatia. 726 487

And [as for] the Spaniards and all the Tlaxcallans, their common charge was the road, the highway to Yacacolco, and to Thilhuacan and Atezcapan.[1] And Yacacolco, Cuepopan,[2] Apauazcan,[3] and Atliceuhyan, with which went Ayacac[4] and Totecco, were the charge of those of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic, Colhuacan, and Itztapalapan. It became their common task to give battle in boats.

Auh in Españoles yoan in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl incentequjuh in vtli, in vei vtli iacacolco, yoan in tilhoacan in atezcapan. Auh in iacaculco, in cuepopan, in apaoazcan, yoan atliceuhian injc iaticac aiacac, in totecco intequjuh muchiuh in Xuchmjlcatl, in cujtlaoacatl, in mjzqujcatl, in culhoacatl in Jtztapalapanecatl, incẽtequjuh muchiuh in acaltica in tlaiccoaia.

And the boatmen and archers of Atliceuhyan and Ayacac girded themselves to come to grips with them. They lost no time. In truth, they were evenly matched. [It was] as if it rained barbed spears; like serpents, arrows streamed and poured. When they hurled them with spear throwers, it was as if a deep yellow mass spread over the foes.

Auh in atliceuhca, yoan aiacacalque in acaleque, in tlamjnanj, vel muchicaoa injc qujnnamjquj, amo moquequetza, vel moneneuhcavia, iuhqujn tzetzelivi in tlatzontectli, iuhqujn coatl motlamjna mopipiaçoa in mjtl: in jquac atlatica qujtlaça iuhqujn cozpul ommoteca in impan iaume: 726 [411]

And a number of chieftains — the Tezcacoacatl Xiuhcozcatzin, the Tepanecatl Quaquatzin,[5] Uitzitzin, and Itzcuintzin, people of Yacacolco, whose houses were situated there, neither tarried, nor abandoned their beloved women and children. With difficulty they went to bring them safely to a house by another canal which was in Amaxac.

auh in cequjntin tiacaoan in Xiuhcozcatzin quaquatzi, Tezcacoacatl, Tecpanecatl, Vitzitzin, Itzcujntzin: in iacaculca vel ipan mantivia in calli: amo moquequetzaia, amo qujxiccavaia in Cioatzintli, in piltzintli, aiaxcan in qujmõcaltechpachoto in oc ce acalotli itech in amaxac icac.

1. A *barrio* fronting that of Tlaxcallan in Tenochtitlan: an area now bounded N. by Calle de Manzanares; E., Comonfort; S., Orgaz; and W., Sta. María la Redonda and the water's edge. — Cline, *op. cit.* R. H. Barlow ("Los solares aztecas," p. 61) locates it "*entre las calles de Jaime Nunó y de González Bocanegra.*"

2. Cuepopan or Tlaquechiahuac, an area bounded now, N., by Calle de Manzanares; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Pedro Moreno (once a canal); and Lerdo. — Cline, *op. cit.*

3. To the east of the Plaza de Tlatelolco. — *Ibid.*

4. Atliceuhyan and Ayacac were probably in the *barrio* of *Tolpochcalchiuhcan.* — *Ibid.*

5. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 555, groups the names and titles as given here.

●726 And once it befell that the Spaniards came forth there at Totecco. And when they had reached where the young men's house stood, a place called Ayacac, then they set fire to it.

And another of the Spaniards' boats put in there at Atliceuhyan, and many of the boats of those of Xochimilco entered with it. And the chieftain Temilotzin, the commanding general, placed himself upon a small pyramid and stood looking toward the Spaniards. And the chieftain Coyoueuetzin put on the device of an eagleocelot [warrior]—half eagle and half ocelot. In a boat he came from Tolmayecan to fall upon [the Spaniards]. And many war boats[6] came following him. He said: "O chieftains, onward! Let us repulse them!" Thereupon they struck against the ship. And when the Spaniards had seen this, they then turned back, and [the Mexicans] went after them. Then [Coyoueuetzin and the Mexicans] made straight for Atliceuhyan. And the Spaniards' boats then withdrew from the others and went to take position at Amanalco. And many of those of Xochimilco died of the arrows. And after this, when [the Mexicans] had pursued them, once again [the Spaniards] held a position, and then drove the chieftains back. Coyoueuetzin hid himself behind a small pyramid. Then he succeeded in turning them back and forced them there where stood the young men's house at Atliceuhyan. Once more [the Spaniards] pursued Coyoueuetzin and came making him jump into the water. And once again Itzpapalotzin, a young Otomí [warrior], threw them back. He had also assumed a device. Then he took after them; like a ball of mud he rolled them together. In truth, he went to battle with them in a boat.[7] Then they departed. Thus were they undone.

And those of Cuitlauac thought that their ruler Mayeuatzin had indeed died—that he had perished with the others. They were exceeding wroth; they said: "You have slain our ruler. Bring him forth! Why have you slain our ruler?" And Mayeuatzin, when he had learned that his vassals were angry, that they were angry in his behalf, then said to Coyoueuetzin:[8] "O my elder brother, set up one of our elders who can shout loudly—of loud speech and

Auh ceppa muchiuh in vmpa totecco, vmpa oalquizque in Españoles: auh in onacico in vncan telpuchcalli icac: itocaiocan aiacac: njman contlemjnque.

Auh in oc centetl in jmacal in Españoles, valcalac in vncan atliceuhian, yoã mjec in jmacal in Xuchimjlca in qujvalhujcaticalac. Auh in tiiacauh in Temjlotzin, tlacateccatl: momuzco in oquetzticac, qujmonjtzticac in Españoles: auh in tiiacauh Coiovevetzin: in onaquj tlaviztli quauhtlocelutl: cectlapal quauhtli cectlapal ocelutl acaltica in valla tolmaiecampa in qujvallaz: yoan mjec in acalchimalli, in qujtlamatilitivitze: qujvalitotia. Tiacavane ma ie cuel ichoatl ticcentlaça: njmã ie ic macalhujtequj. Auh in oqujttaque in Españoles: njman ic motepuztzitique, qujntocaque: nec vallamelaoa in atliceuhiã. Auh in jmacal Españoles: nec qujtzinqujxtia, contecato amanalco. Auh in Xuchimjlca, mjequjntin injc mjcque mjtl: auh in ie iuhquj in oq'ntocaque, oc ceppa valmomãque, nec qujnvaltoca in tiiacavan: in Coiovevetzin qujmotocti in mumuztli: njmã ic qujcuep vel qujmaxitito in vmpa icac telpuchcalli in atliceuhian: ie no ceppa qujvaltocaque in coiovevetzin atlan conchololtico: ie no cuele contlaz in telpuchotomjtl, Jtzpapalotzin in no onaquj tlaviztli, nec q'ntoca, iuhqujn çoqujtl qujmololoa, vel qujntepeoato aca acalco: njman ic iaque, ic popolivito.

Auh in cujtlaoaca in momatque ca omjc, ca otehoan mjc, in intlatocauh in Maiehoatzin, cenca qualanj: qujtoaia. Ca oanqujmjctique in totlatocauh Xiqualnextican, tleica in oanqujmjctique totlatocauh. Auh in Maiehoatzin in oqujma in ca qualanj, in jmaceoalhoan: injc qujtlaqualanjlia: njmã qujlhuj in Coiovevetzin. Nachcauhtzine, tla ce xiqualquetza in tachcavan in vel tzatzi, in tlatolchicaoac, in tozcachicaoac: njman ic qujvalnotzque ce tequjoa,

6. See Pl. 116, 117, 121.

7. *Ana ocelov:* ana is probably a copyist's error. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 536, reads the phrase *qujmoyoua ocelov.*

8. The MS is apparently corrected here to read as reproduced: *qujlhuj in coiovevetzin.*

strong voice." Then they spoke to a seasoned warrior named Tlamayocatl, and then Mayeuatzin commanded and said to him: "Go forth and tell those of Cuitlauac: 'O men of Cuitlauac! Your ruler Mayeuatzin hath sent me! Behold him! There he standeth upon the small pyramid!'" And when those of Cuitlauac had heard him, they answered him: "Nay, ye have slain him!" Then he said unto them: "Nay, he is not dead! Look well upon him! There he now standeth!" And [Mayeuatzin] spoke forth: "I have not died. Let nothing injure my lip rod, my green stone [jewels], my devices!" And when he ended his speech, then a cry arose [among the Indians who were with Spaniards], whereupon there was fighting. Then they pursued [the Mexicans]. But in the market place, there at Copalnamacoyan, the battle, gradually abating, lasted long.

And once our foes of Tliliuhquitepec and Atetemollan* together conferred and took note of a narrow road which led between house clusters. It was the path of a nobleman named Tlacatzin. And when our foes had already entered, then the chieftains drove them forth. And a man, a chieftain and a seasoned warrior named Tlapanecatl, whose home was at Atezcapan, then engaged them. Our foes then quickly seized him. And the [Mexican] chieftains then rushed and went shooting arrows at our foes. Then they made [the enemy] loose the captured chieftain. But our foes then smote him in the calf of the leg, there where the leg is bled. Then [the enemy] departed; the fighting ceased.

itoca: Tlamaiocatl: nec qujnaoztia in Maichoeztzin: 726
qujlhuja. Tla xoniauh, tla xiqujmonjlhuj in cujtlaoaca: Cujtlavacac, onechoaliva in amotlatocauh in Maichoeztzin, xoconjttacan nechca moquetzticac mumuzco. Auh in oqujcacque cujtlaoaca, qujvalitoque. Ca amo, ca oanqujmjctique: nec qujmonjlhuja. Ca amo mjquj, vel, xocottacan ic in nechca icac: yoan qujvalitoa, ca amo njmjquj, ma itla nechitlacalhujti, in notençac, in nochalchiuh, in notlaviz: auh in ocontzonqujxti in jtlatol, nec tlacaoaca: njman ic ic necalioa, nec qujvaltoca. Auh in tianqujzco in vmpa copalnamacoian, aiaxcan in mocauh, vncã vecaoac in iauiotl. [293]

Auh ceppa tecentlatalhujque in toiaovan in Tlil- [491]
iuhqujtepeca, atetemoleque: ic qujmottilique in vpitzactli in calla qujzticac, yiovi catca ce pilli: itoca, Tlacatzin. Auh in ic calaquj in toiaovan: nec qujntoca in tiiacaoan. Auh ce tlacatl tiacauh, tequjoa, itoca Tlapanecatl, atezcapã ichan catca: nec qujnoalnamjquj, njmã ic qujcujtivetzque in toiaovan: auh in tiiacavan, njmã ipan ommotepeuhque, qujnmjntivi in toiaovan: njmã ic contetlaçaltito in cacica tiiacauh. Auh in toiaovan nec qujvalmetzvitecque: vncã in jnezcoaian: njman ic iaque, õmocacauhque in mjcali.

* Corresponding Spanish text: "se repartió los amojes de dizando."

[p. 108 is blank]

726 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards set up a catapult with which they would by trickery slay the Tlatilulcans.**

And then the Spaniards set up a catapult upon a small pyramid, in order to hurl rocks at the common folk. And when they had readied it, when they were about to fire it, much did they come circling it; much did they point with their fingers. They pointed to the common folk; they motioned there where they had assembled at Amaxac.[1] All the common folk noted with concern the Spaniards pointing with their arms, as they were about to hurl and cast it, as if using a sling on them. Then [the Spaniards] wound and twisted [the ropes]. Then the wooden beam of the catapult rose upright. But the stone would not go there upon the common folk; it only went to fall beyond the back of the market place at Xomolco.

And so, there, [the Spaniards] quarreled among themselves; it appeared as if the Spaniards jabbed [one another's] faces with their fingers. Much did they chatter. And the catapult kept teetering and swaying, and little by little stilled itself. Then indeed it could be seen that the sling was on top; very thick was the rope. Because [it was provided with] a rope, [the Mexicans] named it "the wooden sling."

And once more the Spaniards hurled [their strength] against [the Mexicans]. And all the Tlaxcallans thereupon formed themselves in rows at Yacacolco, and Tecpancaltitlan,[2] and Copalnamacoyan. Then, there at Atecocolecan, they headed all those who were besieging us.[3] Very slowly they proceeded, taking position. And the chieftains went taking their places.[4] They gathered courage, and indeed stood up as men [of war]. None swooned nor behaved like women. They said: "Come, O chieftains! Who are these little barbarians — little men of low condi-

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omei capitulo: vncã mjtca in quenjn españoles qujtlalique quauhtematlatl, injc qujnpoiomjctizquja in tlatilulca.

Auh njman in iehoan Españoles, qujtlalique in quauhtematlatl in mumuztiepac, injc qujntepechozõ in macevaltin. Auh in oqujcencaubque, in ie qujtlaçazque, cenca cololhujtinemj, cẽca ommapiloa, qujnmapilhuja in macevalti, ommapiloa in vmpa omocenqujxtiõ in amaxac, in ie ixqujch macevalli, cenca qujmõmottitia, ommaçoa in Españoles, injc impan contlaçazque conmaiavizque, in juhquj qujntematlavizque: nec qujmalacachoa nec qujtevilacachoa: njmã ic meoatiquetz in quauhtemalacatl in jquauhio. Auh in tetl amo vel vmpa ia in jpã macevalli, çan ie icampa iteputzco in vetzito tianqujztli xumolco.

Auh ic vncã mjxnamjcque in juh nezque Españoles iuhqujn mjxmapilxixili, cenca chachalaca. Auh in quauhtematlatl mocuecuepa avic iaiauh, çan jvian motlamelauhcaquetztia: njman ic vel nez in jiacac catca in tematlatl cenca tomaoac in mecatl, injc mecaio: njman ic qujtocaiotique quauhtematlatl:

auh ie no ceppa qujcentlazque in Españoles: yoã in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl, njmã ie ic motecpana in iacaculco, yoan tecpancaltitlan yoan copalnamacoia: njmã ie vmpa atecocolecan qujniacana in jxqujch techiaoalotoc, cencan ivian in onotiuj. Auh in tiiacaoan valmomãtivi, vel mochichicaoa, vel moqujchquetza, aiac tlacuecuetlaxoa, aiac tlacioatlamachtia: qujtoa. Xioalnenemjcan tiiacavane, aqujque in tenjtotonti, tlalhujcatotonti. Auh in tiiacavan avic vivi, ixtlapalhujvi, aocac tlamelauhca icac, motlamelauhcaquetza

1. In the *barrio* of Tlaxomulco, "*cerro la Concepcion*," in the version of Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 209. Cano, *op. cit.*, identifies it as a *dazitlacalli* in the *barrio* of Atenanitlan, an area bounded now, N., by Calle del Canal del Norte; E., Ave. del Trabajo; S., *barrio* of Metamolinaco and a broken line from intersection of Tehuca and Manzanos to approximately the intersection of Pelado and Jesús Carranza; and W., Jesús Carranza.

2. A *barrio* occupying an area bounded now, N., by Calle de la Independencia; E., a line approximately along Morrupó, prolonged to Plaza de S. Juan; S., Pugibet; and W., Luis Moya. — *Ibid.* The context would suggest, however, another place of the same name in Tlatilulco.

3. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 559, translates thus: "*In Atecocolecan liegt ganz ruhig der Führer über die gegenüber* (*Ixwiqkfiw*), *die uns umringen* (*ainwikkiuwa*)."

4. The context does not indicate whether Tlaxcallan or Mexican chieftains are meant; it may be speculated that the latter are referred to. See a parallel passage, *supra*., Chap. 34.

● 726 tion?"[5] And the chieftains kept going from one side to the other, back and forth. None stood upright nor rose straight.

(And often the Spaniards placed themselves among their enemies. They were not to be seen; as the natives were arrayed, so also they bedight themselves. They put on devices and bound on mantles over [their shoulders], in order to disguise themselves. They went hiding themselves among the people and took watchful care. When [the Spaniards] struck someone with an arrow, all crouched; all fell to the ground. There was much watching; there was alertness as to whence came and whither went the iron bolt. Well did the chieftains of Tlatilulco take care and keep good watch.)

And little by little [the Spaniards] penetrated them and laid siege to them. And at Copalnamacoyan, on the road to Amaxac, the [bearers of] shields came close to one another; they met face to face.

And there was a man whose name was Chalchiuhtepeua, who hid himself behind a wall there at Amaxac. And this one was a Mexican from Tlatilulco. And he spied a horse, in order to spear it. And when he had speared the horse, then the Spaniard [riding it] went down back of it. Then his companions quickly came forth to seize him, and then put to flight all the chieftains and lords who were with them. Then they fell in behind them in pursuit. So once again they made them come to a stand at Copalnamacoyan, where stood the wall. Forthwith each rested, and each departed and entered his house.

And once it came to pass that all who were about us, though not the Spaniards, came and assembled there at Teteuhtitlan.[6] It was yet early dawn when they took position. Thereupon they leveled over a lagoon; they filled in the body of water named Tlaixcuipan,[7] for they went about crowded together. All manner of rocks they bore; all kinds of wood, pillars, door lintels, adobes, worked corner stones, etc. They moved with much chattering, raising the dust. For this reason had they so done, that they thought and imagined that thus they could rob the common folk who were at the edge of the road, who dwelt on the border of the way which led to Tepeyacac.

(auh mjecpa motlacacuepaia in Españoles, amo monextiaia in juh mochichioa njcan tlaca: no iuh mochichioaia, tlaviztli cõmaqujaia, tilmatli panj qujmolpiliaia, injc mjxpoloaia, çan motetocticiuiztiz, çan jc qujteimachitia, in oaca qujmjnque, nepacholo, tlahtech vikoa, cenca tlachialo, cenca mjxpepetza in campa ie vallauh, in campa ie valitztiuh in tepusmjtl, vel mjmati, vel motlachielia in tiiacaoan in Tlatilulca:)

Auh cencan yiolic intech xocotivi, intech caltechpachotivi. Auh in copalnamacoian in jpan vtli amaxac cenca netechpachiuhtiuh in chimalli, moquanamjcctiuh.

Auh ce tlacatl itoca catca Chalchiuhtepeoa, qujmotocti tepantli, vncã in amaxac. Auh in ichoatl in ca mexicatl tlatilucatl: auh cenca qujmottilia in cavallo injc qujxiliz: auh in oqujxil cavallo: njman ic valmotzincuh in Español: njman ic caantiqujzque in icnjvan, njman ic qujnteputztique, çan much ieõtin in tiiacavan, yoan in pipiltin, intech ietiqujzq̃ noc imjcampa qujnteputztique, ic ie no ceppa qujnquetzato in copalnamacoian, in vncan tenamjtl onoca: nec ic onceceuh, viviloac, cacalacoac.

Auh ceppa muchiuh in jxqujch in techiaoalotoc: amo no ichoan in españoles: cenqujçato in vmpa Teteuhtitlan oc ioan in momanato: njmã ie ic tlaatzupa, catzupa in atezcatl in itoca Tlaixcujpã iuhqujn moquequeztinemj ixqujch tetl qujtequj, ixqujch quavitl, tlaquetzalli, tlaixquatl, xamjtl, tenacaztli, &c. chachalacatinemj teuhtli qujquetztinemj: in jpampa iuh qujchiuhca, ca iuh qujlnamjquja, iuh qujmopictiaia, injc qujnnamoiezque in macevalti in otentoque in onoque in jpan vtli tepeiacac iaticac.

5. See Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, pp. 133, 132.

6. Near — or surrounding? — Tlaixcuipan: "probablemente en el barrio de Tlaxcuichilco." — Cline, op. cit.

7. A pond (estanque) in or near Teuxhtitlan. — Ibid.

And when the chieftains had beheld what now [the foe] did and intended, thereupon they deliberated as to what they would do. And when they had decided, thereupon went a boat, very carefully, which they poled rapidly. It came to a stop at the road's edge. No war device showed; it only came covered over. Another came. Just so, cautiously, they poled it forth rapidly. And once more came two boats, so making four. Then arose two eagle and two ocelot [warriors]. The first eagle [warrior] was Topantemoctzin; the second, Tlacotzin. And the first ocelot [warrior] was Temilotzin; the second, Coyoueuetzin. Thereupon broke forth one ocelot and one eagle [warrior], poling their boats furiously—as if the boats flew. They went cautiously to Teteuhtitlan, in order to intercept and cut off the advance [of the foe]. And when they had gone, once again, also, two—another eagle and another ocelot [warrior]—sped forth to hurl themselves into the midst [of the fray]. And when they had already gone, the flutes were blown, and thereupon people were robbed. And some from there approached to cut off the advance of the chieftains.

And when our foes saw this, they would have fled. Many died in the water, sunk and submerged, only piled up one on another, as if no longer conscious, as if stunned, fallen, soaked. Those who in vain tried to flee, only fell between the beams. They were pulled out, it is said, completely smeared with mud, slippery with mud, well soaked and completely drenched. Very many perished; there they died in myriads. And this was the last time that there our foes, the various people [allied to the Spaniards] died in numbers. And when our foes had died, the next day was quite calm.

And thus came the Spaniards here to Amaxac. They went to and reached where the common folk had taken refuge.[8] They had completely surrounded us. The battle spread all around, there at Amaxac and on the road which led to Tepeyacac. Then [the Spaniards] went to and entered the young men's house named Ueican,[9] for there assembled all the young men. Then they climbed up to the roof terrace. And all the common folk thereupon jumped down behind the young men's house, and then all dispersed into the water. And a great sea-

Auh in oquittaque tiiacaoan in ic tlein quichioa, 726
qujmopictia: njman ie ic qujnemjlia in quenjn vel
quichioazque: auh in ovel qujnemjlique, njman
ie ic ce vitz in acalli, cencā yiolic, in quitlanelhujtivitze, contecaco vtenco, amo valneztia in tlaviztli,
çan vallepachiuhtia, ie no ce valla, çan ie no ivi in
jiolic quivallanelhujtiaque: auh ie no ceppa valla
vme in acalli ic onnauhtetix. Nimā ic valmevatiquetz
vntetl quauhtli, ontetl ocelutl: injc ce quauhtli, iehoatl in Topātemoctzin: injc vme, iehoatl in Tlacutzin. Auh injc ce ocelutl iehoatl in Temjlotzin: injc
vme, iehoatl in Coiovevetzin: njmā ie ic oneoa: ce
ocelutl, ce quauhtli, qujntequjtlanelhuja, iuhqujn
patlanj acalli, vmpa tlamattiuh in teteuhtitlan in
q'niacacotonazque, in qujnviltequjzque. Auh in
jquac oisque ie no ceppa no contlazque in omentin
no ce quauhtli, auh no ce ocelutl qujntlacomotlazque: auh in jquac ie vi nec tlapitzalo, njman ie
ic tenamoielo: auh ceq'ntin njpa qujniacatzacujlico
in tiiacaoan.

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan motlaloznquja mjec
in atlan mjc, in polacō in illaoque, ça netech ommotilinjaia, iuhqujn aocmo qujmati, ça iuhqujn çoçotlaoa ça iuhqujn chachapantivetzi, in oc nen motlaloznequj ça quauhcamac activetzi, tevivilano, omach
moçoqujneloque, omach moçoqujpetzcoque, vel chachaquanque, vel popolacque, vel mjec in ixpoliuh,
oncan vel tonacamjcoac: auh ça yioppa in vncā
ontonacamjcque in toiaovan in nepapan tlaca: auh
in jquac ommjqujco in toiaovan, in jmuztlaioc, ça
cactimanca:

auh ic vallaque in Españoles in vncan amaxac, vel
vmpa acito, in vmpa tlantoque in macevaltin, vel
techiacaloque, vel motetemmā in iauiotl, in vel vncā
amaxac yoan ipan vtli in tepeiacac iaticac: njmā
ic calaqujto in telpuchcali: moteneoa veican: iehica
ca vncan monechicoaia in jzqujch telpochtli: njman [561
ic tlecoque in tlapanco. Auh in jzqujch maceoalli: 344]
njman ie ic ommotepeoa in jcampa Telpuchcalli, nec
atla onnetepevalo. Auh ce vei tiiacauh quachic itoca,
Vitzilhoatzin tlapanco moquetz, icpac in telpuchcalli, oc iuhqujn tenamjtl muchiuh, oc ic achi con-

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "donde eran la iglesia de la christiandad."
9. Ibid.: "Juntamente llegaron a donde estaban el mozaco de los mexicanos."

726 soned warrior, a shorn one, named Uitzilustzin, placed himself above, on the roof terrace of the young men's house. Like a wall he now became.[10] Meanwhile, the common folk followed him a little. But the Spaniards then fell upon them and bore down on them, and thereupon beat, hacked, and pierced him. Then once more the chieftains set upon [the Spaniards], and they then quickly loosed the chieftain [Uitzilustzin]. Then they went to lay hands on him, but he did not, nevertheless, die. Then they went, and all was quiet.

And [the temple with] images of the devils [the Spaniards] then set fire to. They burned it.[11]

And the chieftains to no purpose came to hold their position. Yet [the Spaniards] shot no arrows at the women, but only at those who came out as men [of war]. And when all ceased, there was only a little sun.

And on the fourth day likewise it came to pass that our foes marched forth together. Wheresoever there were common folk, there the Spaniards moved cautiously. Very softly they kept going. And the chieftain and commanding general Temilotzin in vain opposed them. He took refuge behind a wall. [411] As an eagle [warrior] he stepped forth; he had his iron sword with him, with which he would cut them down. But when he saw that nowhere could he do anything, then he cast himself into, and made his way in, the water. There were great war cries. Then once again the battle engulfed them. Only there did they reach. In truth, all day did the battle last.

And when it had dawned, when already it was the fifth day, once again our [Indian] foes and the Spaniards made an assault. And all who surrounded us, in truth, marched together. They were around us, hemming us in. Nowhere could any go nor proceed. All were indeed compressed. All were verily crushed and trampled. And when they had come close among us, a woman poured water upon them; she drenched their faces; she dashed water into the faces of our foes.[12]

[693] And the ruler Quauhtemoc, and the chieftains Coyoueuetzin, Temilotzin, Tepantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin the chief justice, Tlacotzin, and Petlauhtzin

tocac in macevalli. Auh in Españoles: njmã ic imp̃: ommotepeuhque, impan ommotzquijque: njman ic ic qujvivitequj, qujtlatlapana, qujtzeltilia: njman ic ic no ceppa qujvallazque in tiiacaoen: auh njman ic qujcauhtiquijzque in tiiacauh. njman ic conanato, amo tel vel mjc, njmã ic iaque, cactimoman.

Auh in diablome imjxiptlavan: vncan cnotlecavique, contlatlatique.

Auh in tiiacavan, oc nen valmomantivi tel amo ma qujnmjna in cioa: çan ichoantin in oqujchicativitze: auh in necacaoaloc ça achiton tonatiuh.

Auh injc navilhujtl çan ic no ivi in mochiuh cemolinque in toiaovan: in vmpa onoc macevalli vmpa tlamattivi in Españoles, cencan ivian in iativi. Auh in tiiacauh tlacateccatl in temjlotzin, oc nen qujnmopachiviaia, tepantli qujmotocti Quauhtli ipan qujzticac, itepatzmaquauh ieticac, injc qujncotonazquja: auh in oqujttac in aoccampa veli, njmã ic atlan valmomaiauh, axotlatiuh, cenca tlacavaca: vncan ic no ceppa moertemmã in iauiotl, çan vncan acito: vel cemjlhujtl in manca iauiotl.

Auh in otlatvic, in ic ic macujlilhujtl: ic no ceppa vel qujcẽtlaz in toiaouh in Españoles: yoan in jxqujch in techiaoalotoc, vel cemolin, vel techiavaloque, techololhujque, aocac campa vel huja vel nexnocolo, vel nepapatzolo, vel mjequjntin patzmjcque, nequequeçaloc. Auh in cenca ic in techonaci, oc civatl qujvallatequja, qujmjxtatequja, qujmjxapapatza in toiaovan.

Auh in tlatoanj in Quauhtemoctzin yoan in tiiacavan in Coioovetzi in Temjjotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin. Mixnotlailotlactzin. Tlacotzin, Pe-

10. *Ibid.*: "vn capitan que se llamaua Vitzilustzin con muchos soldados que estaua sobre los diputados constituyeron a vnos (redado?) a los españoles pensandose por otro para que no pasassen a dicho estaua al rompido."

11. *Ibid.*: "y aun dio los españoles pegaron fuego a vnos de la qual auia muchos estaua de los yndios." See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Conquistadores*, p. 148 (Cuauhtin).

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "los mexicanos tomaban polvaraas arquebuz o los contrarios con el agua de los arroyos arrojandosela con los rostros."

then seized upon a great chieftain named Tlapaltecatl opochtzin, whose home was Costlan. Thereupon they arrayed him, and put on him the quetzal feather owl[13] which had been the device of Auitzotzin. Quauhtemoc said: "This device was the device of my begetter, of my father Auitzotzin.[14] Let him wear it. Let him die in it. May he gain honor before the people. May he become a portent in it. May our foes see and marvel at him."[15] And when they put it on him, he was indeed terrifying. Truly wonderful he appeared. And [Quauhtemoctzin] commanded four to aid him and be at his side. They gave him the darts[16] [and dart thrower] which were the devil's—the throwing spears with flint points.

tlauhtzin. Nimã ic conanq̃ ce vei tiacauh, itoca Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin costlan ichã njman ic ic qujchichioa, conaqujque, in quetzaltecu[l]tl: itlaviz catca in Aujtzotzin: qujto in Quauhtemoctzin. Jnjn tlaviztli, itlaviz catca in notechiuhcauh in notatzi Aujtzotzin, ma ichoatl conjtquj ma ipan ommjquj ma cõtemaviçolti ma ipan tetlatiti ma qujttacan in toiaovan ma qujmaviçocan. Auh in oconaqujque vel temamaubti, vel maviztic in neci: auh navinti in qujnnavatique in qujvalpalevitiazque, in qujvallamatilitiazque, qujvalmacaque in jmjuh catca tlacateculotl, tlacumjtl, iacatecpaio.

And when they had done this, it became like a portent for the lords of the Mexicans. The ruler's vicar Tlacotzin said: "O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! Hath Mexico been nothing—that on which Mexican rule was founded? It is said to be with the power of Uitzilopochtli, which he hurled at one. It is none other than the fire serpent, the fire drill, with which he walked, casting it at our foes—which you, O Mexicans, have held as his power of the dart. Forthwith you will aim it against our foes. You will cast it not to the earth; you will hurl it with strength at [the foe]. And if one or two will be struck—if one or two of our enemies will be reached,—it is in truth a token for us [that] yet, for a little, we shall look to favor; [that] yet our lord [the god] may desire it." Thereupon went the quetzal-owl [bedight warrior], with quetzal feathers as if parted.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuhque in, iuhqujnma intlapoal muchiuh in tlatoque in Mexica: qujto in Civacoatl tlacutzin. Mexicae tlatilulcae, atlei injc mexico ocatca, injc ommanca mexicaiutl: in mjtoa in vncan inavatil in vitzilobuchtli in tepã qujtlaça ca çan iee in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli in otepã qujtlaztinenca in toiaupan in ie anconcuj Mexicae in jnaoatil in mjtl: çan njmã vmpa anqujtlachieltizque in ivicpa toiaovan, amo çan tlalpan anqujmaiavizque cenca intech in anqujtlaçazque: auh intla ce, anoço vme momjnaz: auh in ano ce, anoço vme in maçiz toiaouh ca nel totlapoal, oc achitzin tinacazitztiazque, oc quenjn qujmonequjltiz in totecujo: njman ie ic iauh in quetzalteculotl, in quetzalli iuhqujn xexeliuhtiuh.

And when our foes saw him, [it was] as if a mountain had burst. In truth, all the Spaniards took fright; much did he terrify them, as if they had seen in him something [inhuman]. Then the quetzal-owl [warrior] climbed up to the roof terrace. And some of our foes, who could see him, stood up. Then they forced him to turn back, and took after

Auh in oqujttaque in toiaovan, iuhqujn tepetl vitomj vel muchintin momaubtique in Españoles, cenca qujnmauhti, iuhqujnma itla ipan qujttaque: njman ic tlapanco tlecoc in quetzalteculotl. Auh in cequjntin toiaovan in ovel qujttaque moquetzque: njman ic qujvalcuepque, qujvaltocaque: ie no ceppa no qujncuep qujntocac in quetzalteculotl, njman

13. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 211: "*un buho (buho de plumaje vivo y esparcido).*"

14. While Book XII was in press Dr. Anderson wrote the following comment from Florence, Italy: "The word is almost illegible in the MS. (reproduction of the original (Ms.-Palat. 218-220, Laurentian Library, Florence), in connection with researches in Europe made possible by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation), suggests that *matchiuhcauh* (my father or begetter) is meant."

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Entonces ya los mexicanos arrendaro de todos parte de los enemigos arrebaron de temor presentaro o aparecieron ellos ya mexicanos no sentiero o el los quedaron lugar de ganaper de aquel gran peligro en que estando; y hablo el señor de mexico que se llamaua quauhtemotzin, y dixo a los principales que eran el estando . . . hagamos experimentar a ver si podemos ganaper deste peligro I que estaueis ganaper en de los ueis enbiaron que se metieron mantuuo y estaueis los arrenos y dieipor que pasa de mi padre ahuitzotzin. luego llamaron a un mancebo valiente hombre que se llamaua Tlapaltecatl apuchtzin que era del barrio de costlan donde se agaro la parcuela de 1.° estaueis en el dichoho.*"

16. The Aztec text may read *iuj iujuh*. *In jujuh* is probably meant.

726 him. Another time the quetzal-owl [warrior] turned them back and pursued them. Thereupon he took from them the quetzal feathers and the gold [looted by the foe],[17] and then he jumped down from the roof terrace. He did not die, nor did our foes carry him off. Now also, three of our foes had been taken. At last the battle came to an end; with this, stillness spread, and no more was done. Then our foes departed. All was quiet, and nothing more took place. Thus night fell.

And upon the morrow, likewise no more happened. None spoke aloud. The common folk only settled back. And the Spaniards did nothing more. They only remained still; they remained looking at the common folk. Nothing more occurred; they remained quiet, in place.

701 And here are named all the chieftains, the great men who were wise in the ways of war, who disposed [men] for battle, who assumed the burden of war: the general Coyoueuetzin, and the Tzilacatecutli Temilotzin. These were Tlatilulcans. And those of Tenochtitlan [were] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin and the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin. These are they who were the great chieftains of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan.

ie ic qujnamoia in quetzalli, yoan in teucujtlatl: auh njman ic vmpa valhuetz in tlapanco, amo mjc, amo qujvicaque in toiaovan: ie no icintin in axivaque in toiauiã ça icoen ontzotzon in iauiotl ic cactimoman, aoc tle muchiuh: njman ic iaque in toiaovan, cactimo[illegible]n, aoc tle muchiuh injc oniovan.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, çan njmã aoc tle muchiuh, aocac navati, ça pachiuhtoc in macevalli. Auh in ieboantin Españoles aoc no tle ay, ça onoque, qujmonjxtoque in macevaltin aoc tle mantoc, cencã ça onoq̃.

Auh njcan motenevia in jzq'ntin tiiacavan, in vevei oqujchtin, in vel imjxco catca iauiotl, in iautecaia in jpan icaca iauiotl. Tlacuchcalcatl, Coiovevetzin, Tzilacatecutli Temjlotzin: in ieboantin in ca tlatilulca. Auh in tenuchca, ieboantin in. Cioacoatl tlacutzin, vitznaoatl Motelchiuhtzin: oca ieboãtin in, in veveintin tiiacavan catca in tlatilulco, yoan injc tenuchtitlan.

17. This is explained in the Spanish text: "*salio este con su el dispuesto donde los dexaron tenjan quitado y tomado de sus enbidos.*"

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: 726 787
vncã mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica in jquac ovel qujncaltechpachoto in nez in mottac Eztetl: iuhq'nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh injc valneztia iuhqõjõ vei tlexuchtli.

And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Late at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, snapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacazco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

Auh in ovalioac: njman ie ic qujqujiavi, avachqujqujiavi, ie tlaqusuhiova in nez tletl: in juh mottac, in juh nez, iuhqujn ilhujcacpa valla, iuhqujn ecamalacutl, momamalacachotiuh, motevilacachotiuh, iuhqujn cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhqujn tlemoiutl, iuhqujn ecatepuztli, moquetza, cenca icoioca, tetecujca, titicujca, çan qujiavalo in atenamjtl: coionacazco in valiztia: njmã ic ia in anepantla, vmpa popolivito,

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

aiac motenvitec, aiac navat:

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle muchiuh, ça onoac, ça no onoque in toiaovan.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axtavatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

Auh in capitan tlapãco vallachixtica in amaxac, Axtavatzin itlapanco, cevalcaloo, tlatlapalli in cevalcalli, qujmonjtztica in macevaltin, cololhujtoque in Españoles, mononotztoque.

And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies[7] Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[8] of Mexico, and the head priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatiluco — the

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; yoan in oc cequjntin tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacotzin. Tlillancalquj. vieznaoatl. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzi mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazcatzin. Niman in ichoantin in tlatiluco tlatoque. Tlacuchcalcatl. Coiovevetzin. tla- 701 565

1. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 306, translates *amatl* (*amatl* [illegible]) as *Blackjaw*. See, however, Simeón, op. cit.
2. Sahagún, loc. cit., has *ein Windball* (?).
3. See Chapter 34, n. 5.
4. We have rearranged the first line of the notes as Sahagún does in op. cit., p. 307, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. *Gobernador*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigues Franco, 1723), II, p. 352; Chimalpáhin, op. cit., p. 195.
6. *Tlilancalqui*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 65. For *tlilancalcatl*, Torquemada, op. cit., p. 178, has *cuvinan mayor*.
7. *Tlacatecatl*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 67.
8. *Achcauhtli*. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 33.
9. *Tecuhtlamacazcatzin*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 117.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ...they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.*

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING**

2,010 bundles† of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles‡ of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD*

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE*

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

* *ENE*, 10: 126. † Corrected from 2,000. ‡ Corrected from 800.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 the Mexicans telling them not to annoy or rob those towns, for their Lord Montezuma approved of our all being great friends, and that if they did so he would come against them and attack them. The Mexicans took no notice of that reply or of the threat, but said that we should find them in the field. Juan de Escalante who was a very competent man and prompt in his actions, summoned all our allies from the towns in the Sierra to come with their arms, that is bows, arrows, lances and shields, and he also called together the most active and healthy of his soldiers, (for I have already said that nearly all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica were invalids and sailors,) and with two cannon and a little powder, three crossbows, two muskets, and forty soldiers and over two thousand Totonac Indians, he went in search of the Mexican garrison, who were already out robbing a town of our allies. They met in the fields at dawn of day, and as the Mexicans doubled in number our Totonac allies, and as the latter were always in terror of them on account of their former wars, at the first attack of the Mexicans with arrows, darts, stones and war cries, they took to their heels and left Juan de Escalante to fight the Mexicans alone, in such a manner that he and his poor soldiers barely reached a town called Almeria, which they set on fire and burned the houses. There he rested a little for he was badly wounded.

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In those skirmishes and attacks, the Mexicans carried off alive a soldier named Argüello, a native of Leon, a man with a very large head and black curly beard, and he was very sturdy in appearance and a man of great strength. Juan de Escalante and six of his soldiers were very badly wounded and one horse was killed. They returned to Villa Rica and within three days Escalante and the six soldiers were dead.

It was in this way that what we call "the affair at Almeria"

796 sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and
702 learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster
[721] and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlat-
702 ilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

702 These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious
726 character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding
712 temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 232. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al atro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse à casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicati-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 259 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 197, of 1st volume).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

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public storehouses connected with the temples of each tribal subdivision.[28]

The name given to these public store-houses was "houses of darts" (tlacochcalco).[29] They were, probably, not limited to the immediate vicinity of the chief temple, but each subdivision of the pueblo had its "house of darts" as well as its central "teocalli."[30] The following description of an aboriginal Mexican "pueblo," furnished by a missionary who arrived in New-Spain as early as

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[28] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121. Immediately preceding the foray against Xoconochco, "each day the youth went to the quarters, to practise at the school of arms, "telpuchcalco . . . . " *Idem*, cap. LXXVIII, p. 134). The *Anonymous Conqueror*, whose relation is contained in vol. I of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos," both in the original Italian taken from Ramusio ("Relatione di alcune cose della Nuova "Spagna, & Della Gran Citta di Temestitan Messico, fatta per uno Gentil' homo del "Signor Fernando Cortese"), and in the Spanish translation by the distinguished Mexican scholar, says (p. 394, "Del tempii, é Meschite che havevano"): "Before they left "(for war), they all went to the principal *mosque* ("meschita maggiore"—main teocalli) "and provided themselves with the arms stored over the main entrances" (of the square around the temple). We have few positive indications as to the true situation of the store-houses, beyond that they were probably connected with the "school, houses" ("telpuchcalco"), and therefore with the temples. Torquemada, who gives an elaborate description of the chief temple of Mexico (Lib. VIII, of 2d volume), says (Cap. XI, p. 146): "and at each one of the four entrances to the court of the temple- "there was an extensive (very large) hall, connected with numerous rooms and closets, "high as well as low, which served as houses of arms, where these were kept together "with the ammunition. For, as they regarded the temples as their strongest places, "and their retreats in case of danger, they held there their arms and means of defence." He further mentions, under the uncouth name of "Tlacochcalcoscatlyacapan," "an- "other hall . . . . Here they kept a quantity of arrows (or darts, 'saetas') which "were made every year, and there deposited until wanted." See also Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVII). Gomara (Vedia, I. "El templo de Méjico," p. 349). "At each door (of "the four) of the court of the principal temple there was a large hall surrounded by "high and low additions. These were filled with arms, like public and communal "houses, for the temples were the strongholds of each pueblo, and therefore contained "the arms and ammunition." Of course the square of the great "teocalli" of Mexico attracted principal attention.

[29] "Tlacochalco," or "Tlacochcalli," derives from "tlacochtli," dart, and "calli," house.

[30] Every author concedes that there were several "houses of arms" at Mexico. Bernal-Diez says there were two (Cap. XCI, p. 87, of vol. II, Vedia). Gomara ("Casas de armas," Vedia, I, p. 345) says: "Montezuma had some (rather 'several' 'algunas') houses of arms, whose blazon were a bow and two quivers over each door." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 186) says; "he had, not one, but many houses for the "keeping and storage of arms;" (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 197) he copies almost textually Gomara's statement about the halls over the entrances of the court to the temple of Mexico, and adds also, like Gomara, "porque los templos, allende de que "servian de casas de Oracion, eran las Fortaleças con que en tiempo de Guerra mas se "defendian, i tenian en ellos la municion, i Almacen." Previously he says (p. 196): "There were many temples in Mexico; according to the parishes, or quarters, of which "there were many." See also Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 188): "porque tenian "muchas casas de varas con sus puntas de pedernal, etc., etc." It shows that the storehouses *were distributed over the pueblo, and not only limited to the main temple.* Cortés, when he burnt Quauhpopoca, emptied for that purpose the arsenals of the main

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round, small, "target," worn by the "brave" on his left arm and 714
made of "canes netted together and interwoven with cotton 'two-
"fold,' covered on the outside with gilded boards and with feath-
"ers, and so strong that a hard cross-bow shot could alone pene-
"trate them . . . ."[54]

With this shield they warded off blows in close combat,[55] and even arrows and darts at full speed. Each warrior probably carried his own shield, although it is sometimes stated that the archers, while shooting, were shielded by others.[56] This, however, would necessarily imply a greater progress of the military art among the Mexicans than we may safely allow. [726]

The remainder of the protective armour of the Mexicans is intimately connected with their *costume*.

The ordinary dress of a Mexican consisted of a sleeveless jacket 291
("huepil") fastened on the right shoulder, and of the breechcloth 714
("maxtlatl"). The head, arms, and legs from the knees downwards, were bare. A mantle, short among the common Indians, longer among the chiefs, completed the costume.[57] Sometimes 714
they went to war without any other protection, but in most cases the warrior wore a frock of quilted cotton, about three-quarters of

[54] The "anonymous conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373). Compare Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 423), and Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[55] See the description of a single combat between a Cempoaltecan and Tlaxcaltecan (Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. VI, p. 143, and Torquemada, Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422).

[56] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII) and the anonymous conqueror both assert, that each warrior had a shield. But Fray G. de Mendieta is still more positive (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Tras estos llegaban los golpes de espada y rodela, con los cuales iban "arrodelados los de arco y flecha, y alli gastaban su almacen." However, Fray Diego Durán says: (Cap. XIV, p. 121) "y llegados á un lugar que llaman Tecuitlatenco, hicie-"ron alto y esperaron la armada de Mexico que venian por la laguna, que eran mill "canoas, muy bien Aderegadas de gente y paueses con gran numero de fisgas y varas "arrojadiças, flechas y rodelas y de hombres para defensa de los flecheros, los quales "estauan tan diestros en desviar flechas con las rodelas, que era espanto, porque en "viéndola venir, luego la dauan con la rodela que la echauan à traves." This seems to indicate that there were special men detailed to protect the archers, and therefore a division into different arms, although there is no other evidence of such a fact. It may have been the case here, since the fight (against Cuitlahuac) was to take place on water chiefly, but nowhere else do we meet a division into kinds of arms, like archers, spearmen, swordsmen, etc., etc. All Mexican warriors were armed as nearly alike as possible. The Anonymous Conqueror, after mentioning the different weapons, says: "y "molti, ò la maggior parti di esse portano tutte queste sorti di armi con che combattone." ("Relatione, etc.," in Vol. I. of Col. de Doc., p. 374.)

[57] Gomara (Conquista de Méjico. Vedia, Tom. I. p. 449. "Calzan unos zapatos como "alpargates, pannicos por bragas. Visten una manta quadrada, aíudada al hombro "derecho como gitanas"). The Anonymous Conqueror (p. 376. "La maniera del ves-"tire de gli huomini"). Tezozomoc (Crónica, Cap. XXXVI, p. 56. "the macehuals "of lower grade, wore short mantles, plain, of cotton or nequen"). The "maxlatl" is described by the Anonymous Conqueror as follows: "a towel, like unto a sheet

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646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It [782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi- [726] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the foray against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 30; cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXI, p. 48). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 159.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in-"auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar à los dioses y cebar à los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizoczic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 131, 132, and 133). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 195).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

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72 | country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it.* Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous [203] drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

72 Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax-"adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, teniendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanecatl Tlacaeleltzin" returned for the second time to Azcaputzalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezozomoctli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "maccuahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanecatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 482 and 483), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Montezuma. ("Huehue-Montezuma," or "Montezuma Ylhuicamina.")

[534] [139] Bernal-Diez (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y alli tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tanian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infiernos, y mas de "dos leguas de alli se oia; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 362, of Vol. II).

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armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished 726
with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried 726
mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each 724
household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,— shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ("tlatzontectli"), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used [505]
for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojes y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes [262]
"gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chiau, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "vizcocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolatl," which possessed particularly vivifying [272]
qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been [554
slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this 558]
degrading work (*because woman-like!!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu-

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726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-

[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc. Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

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pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future opportunity;[147] it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes, whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico.*[148] Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,[149] calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.[150]

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,[151] still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.[152] The force,

[147] It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

[148] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133): "Con Mexico estaban confederados "los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que hora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que gana-"ban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecuhtli." (Zurita, p. 11).

[149] This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the Cronica Mexicana, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

[150] When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinco-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 83). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 288). Axayacatl: "mandó partiese el exercito de "la ciudad y que en sus capitanias fuesen à los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que alli "se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos terminos de Matlatzinco y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,—"commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three "days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Meztitlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu-"raua la uncion y estar velando salvo sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la "gente que estuviese aperceuida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que alli "aguardasen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

[151] There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

[152] Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with *kindred* tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalca of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Anahuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

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726 therefore, that sallied out of Mexico was sure to find at the meet-
648 ing-place appointed, numerous reinforcements from various tribes, fully armed and equipped, with an organization similar to their own,[153] ready for the onward march, at the end of which, if successful, a certain share of human victims and of plunder would reward their efforts.[154]

As soon as the entire force was duly collected at the appointed meeting-place, it began to move forward speedily and swiftly, and in a straight line, if possible, towards the enemy's country. The various tribes, as well as their respective subdivisions, kept distinct from each other, led by their own native chiefs. The Mexicans were mostly in the rear. The approach of this body of warriors was not always pleasant to tributary or friendly settlements situated along the marchroute. These were expected to come out with reinforcements, with food and presents, and if any one of them failed or neglected to comply with these requisitions, it became exposed to the most barbarous violence. Such pueblos were sacked, plundered, the people ill-treated. In their fury the Mexicans sometimes went so far as to empty and destroy the stores of maize, and to kill wantonly the few domestic animals (dogs and fowls) of the unfortunate inhabitants.[155]

[724] The tribute which the valley pueblos paid to Mexico may yet, perhaps, prove to have been more a religious offering than anything else. They were certainly more on terms of equality, whereas the foreign tribes were held in subjection proper. The word "popoluca," stammerers, applied by the Mexicans to those of the coast, and which has induced Clavigero to adopt the erroneous idea of a "Popoluca" language, shows the disdain and hatred nourished by tribes of different stock towards each other.

[153] Each tribe had to prepare its own arms and supplies, it remained under its own chiefs and captains. Tezozomoc and Durán both agree on this point. Their organization was essentially the same as that of the Mexicans. Everywhere in the valley, and even in Matlaltzinco, we find the characteristic division of the Mexicans,—the two head-war-chiefs, the four quarters, and the minor captains and braves.

[154] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 273) says that Mexico and Tezcuco had each two-fifths, Tlacopan one-fifth, of the spoils. Tezozomoc claims three-fourths for Mexico alone. The point is yet in doubt. (Zurita, "Rapport, etc.," p. 12.)

[724] [155] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "The Mexicans never lacked food nor supplies," when on the march, since they "were so much feared by all the tribes, that as soon as "they arrived they were well received and treated. When their forces were on the "war-path neither man nor woman remained outside of their dwellings, out of fear of "the warriors, and if these perchance met any one, any laborer or trader, they robbed "him even up to his very clothes. Such tribes as did not go out to meet them they plun-"dered and robbed of everything, emptying their stores of maize, killing their fowls "and even their dogs." (Id. Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147.) Durán (Cap. XXI, p. 183): "porque "para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proveian de todo lo necessario, como tengo "dicho, so pena de ser destruidos." It thus appears that for the march the Mexicans did not have to provide any food, since the settlements along the route had to maintain

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The objective point of this march was, as we have already 726
stated, the enemy's territory. There was no strict boundary-line [131]
dividing the tribes of Mexico from each other; a belt of uninhabited or deserted land merely surrounded and thus isolated every tribe.[156] This neutral strip was the ground on which the enemy expected the Mexicans (provided they knew of their coming, and felt strong enough to meet them in the open field).[157] It was, therefore, commonly called "ground of war or battle" ("Yaotlalli"),[158] and as soon as the Mexican force approached this region, its movements grew less swift and proportionately more cautious. At dusk they halted on this dangerous area, selecting for their encampment, if possible, an elevated, open position, unfavorable for surprise. The huts (and perhaps tents) and bowers, for which some materials had been taken along, were hurriedly

them, Duran positively saying, on the same page, after a lengthy enumeration of the [724]
supplies and provisions prepared for the journey: "lo qual, luego fué en seguimiento "de la gente; lo qual no se proueia sino para el lugar donde se avia de asentar el real, "porque para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proueian de todo lo necessario, etc., "etc., etc." The same author continues (p. 184): "Hacianse seruir como dioses, y en "todos los caminos no parecia gente por donde iban los soldados y la gente de guerra, "todos se encerraban que no osauan andar por los caminos, porque los soldados les "quitaban quanto llevaban en sus cargas, y si acaso le queria defender, los apaleauan "y herian, y algunos mataban y iban robando las sementeras y matando quantas galli-"nas y perillos topaban; iban haciendo quanto mal podian, como lo hacen agora "nuestros españoles, si no los van a' la mano. . . . . y asi en sabiendo que auia "guerra, todos los vecinos de los pueblos, por donde auian de pasar los del exercito, se "escondian y escondian el maiz, el chile, las gallinas y los perros, finalmente escondian "quanto tenian." This shows a very simple mode of subsistance,—they lived upon the country through which they passed. But it also shows the barbarous condition of the Nahuatl tribes. Even on their march through a friendly country from whose annual tribute they partly subsisted, they behaved little better than a large horde of savages, or at least of cut-throats and highway robbers. The "civilized" troops of Europe were little better at that time, and even up to the close of the 17th century.

[156] Gomara ("De las guerras," Vedia, I, p. 442): "They call quiahtlali the space and "area which they left depopulated between the boundaries of each province for to fight "there, and it is like unto sacred." See Tezozomoc (Cap. LXVIII, p. 113; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151; cap. XCV, p. 167, etc., etc.). The delegates sent by Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, to assist at the festivals in Mexico, were always met "half way in the woods" ("la mitad del monte") separating the tribes. Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. XXXIII, p. 125) mentions a boundary line between the territories of Mexico and Tezcuco, but the description of it is such that the statement remains more than doubtful.

[157] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 538: "Quando se admitia la Batalla, y venian "los unos, contra los otros, salian los de la Provincia, o' Pueblo a' un lugar particular, "que tenian entre sus terminos los quales llamaban Yauhtlalli, que quiere decir; Ter-"mino o' Lugar de la Guerra. Aqui salian los Proprietarios de la Tierra a' recibir a los "contrarios." Also, Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 442).

[158] From "yaotl," enemy, or "yaoyotl," battle or war, and "tlalli," ground or soil.

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726 erected, each tribe camping distinct from the other, the Mexicans occupying the centre of the entire camp.[159]

It was customary with the Mexicans to send out spies who, under different disguises, penetrated the hostile country ere the force had reached its neighborhood.[160] Besides, as soon as the latter halted on the "war-ground," numerous braves ventured out in advance, as scouts, stealthily creeping through the woods, as near the enemy as possible, to ascertain its position and numbers, as well as armament. The information gathered from these sources was reported during the night to the Mexican chieftain in command, who sat in council of war with the other principal leaders. This meeting, guided partly by the information thus obtained, devised the plan of attack for the coming day. The tactics of the [725] Mexicans were extremely simple: a decoy, in the shape of a precipitate retreat, and an ambush at the termination of it, seem to have been their highest conception. Therefore, during the night, they often dug pits far in advance of the encampment, wherein, at the close of the council, the most daring braves (and even the Mexican commander himself, occasionally) concealed themselves, their bodies covered with straw, branches, or foliage.[161] Meanwhile the warriors were overhauling their arms, painting them-

[159] Duran (Cap. XIX, p. 168): "Asi se partio' el exercito de Tulancingo y caminó "hasta llegar á vista de los enemigos, donde empeçaron a' hacer tiendas y xacales, "cada provincia y nacion para si." (Idem, Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 184; cap. XXII, p. 190; cap. XXXVII, p. 288: "donde a' tercer dia se juntaron todos los soldados y gente de "guerra con toda la priesa posible y mandaron asentar el real, el qual asentaron con "muchas tiendas y casas de esteras, quellos usauan en sus guerras y oy en dia las usan "en los mercados, que son unos tendejones de juncos que echan las espadañas.") Tezozomoc (Cap. LI, p. 83; cap. LXXVIII, p. 135). This author contains so many details on this subject that we forbear quoting him further with reference to chapter and page. He distinctly says that each tribe camped by itself, the Mexicans in the middle.

[160] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "enviaban delante sus espias muy disim-"uladas y pláticas en las lenguas de la provincia a' do iban a' dar guerra." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 538) copies almost textually.

[725] [161] Tezozomoc mentions this very frequently. (Cap. XLVIII, he relates how the chief Axayaca hid himself in such a pit, in the foray against the Matlaltzinca. This is confirmed by Durán, Cap. XXXV, p. 277: "Y quedandóse en celada el rey, metidos en-"tre las ramas y otros debaxo de la tierra escondidos todos los soldados viejos y princi-"pales valerosos.") He also mentions (Cap. XIX, pp. 169 and 170) a very extensive ambush of that kind against the Huaxtecas. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 131): "They used ambushes, and often very artificial ones, since they laid down on the "ground, covering themselves with straw or herbs, etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 539) agrees almost literally with the above. Also Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV): "They used ambushes frequently, and concealed themselves in bushy places, "or even in pits made for that purpose, as the Spaniards often experienced it. Fre-"quently they took to flight in order to draw the enemy into dangerous positions, or to "assail his rear with fresh troops." We shall revert to this point hereafter.

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selves afresh, and the captains attended to their respective detach- 726
ments, exhorting the men to courage and endurance. Each tribe agreed upon its particular war-cry, to be used in action only. Finally, the whole encampment sometimes joined in an awful yell: the defiant war-whoop of thousands of Indians, and intended to mark, not their presence (which they supposed to be known), but their numbers and ferocity. This shout not unfrequently called forth a response from the enemy lurking in front of them.[162] Then the stillness of the night, of the gloomy and treacherous night preceding an Indian engagement, settled at last upon the "land of war."

This quietness did not last very long. Even if neither of the opposing parties attempted to surprise the other under cover of darkness, both were certainly alert before daybreak.[163] The Mexican force, preceded by a cloud of scattered braves as skirmishers or scouts, advanced cautiously, not in one solid body, but by tribes and subdivisions of tribes, as upon the march. Very soon their extreme outposts encountered those of the enemy, the war-whoop was raised on both sides, and a series of personal combats engaged along the whole line. Pebbles, carried along for that purpose, were hurled by means of the sling; stones picked up from the field were thrown at each other, accompanied by hideous yells and defiant epithets. Then followed darts and arrows, both parties dancing about to avoid the missiles. Meanwhile accessions from the main bodies moved up, the fight came to closer quarters, the sword and club being resorted to. If the enemy was sufficiently strong so as not to give way at once, the Mexicans feigned to retreat, rushing back towards the place where an ambush had been prepared. The pursuing foe, once caught in the trap, was roughly handled, their adversaries pressing upon them from all sides, and his efforts to disentangle himself were always accompanied with the heaviest loss, either in prisoners or in killed. At other points of the line similar snares were extended to the Mexicans by their opponents. Thus the fight progressed like an extensive skirmish, each party bent upon weakening the other by partial losses through rude stratagems, until the enemy, reduced in numbers and dis-

[162] The war-whoop ("alarido," or "la grita," as the Spanish authors call it) is distinct from the war-cry, the latter serving to identify the warriors of the same tribe or "quarter." The former is "tzatziliztli," the latter, "yaotzatziliztli."

[163] The usual time for such attacks was daybreak or dawn (Tezozomoc, Caps. LXXXIV, p. 148, and LXXXVIII, p. 185: "al amanecer del alva").

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726 heartened by the death or capture of many principal warriors, gave way in an unmistakable manner.[164] Then a precipitate

[164] Besides Tezozomoc, who is so full of details on these fights that it is wasting space to quote him extensively, we find the most concise and reliable statements in Mendieta's "Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana." The descriptions of Mendieta agree perfectly with those of Tezozomoc (less with those of Duran), while the two authors had nothing in common, besides, Mendieta, the revered Franciscan father, terminating his work about 1596, and Tezozomoc, the simple Indian, his MSS. in 1598. Neither of these works were printed previous to this century. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI): "At "the outset they sped stones by slings, and rods like darts. . . . . They also threw "stones by hand. Thereafter they resorted to sword and shield, and the archers went "in at the same time well protected thereby, and thus they spent their ammunition. "The archers from Tehuacan sometimes were so dexterous that they sped two or three "arrows at once with the same precision as one bowman would shoot one alone. Af-"ter the vanguard had spent a good deal of their munition they charged with sword "and dart, the sword being of wood, long, and lined with cutting pieces of flint. It "was tied to the wrist, in order that dropping it they might seize an enemy (as "their main object was to capture men alive) without losing the weapon. They had no "style of fencing, neither did they charge directly, but skirmished and rushed back "and forth. At first one party would turn to flee, as it seemed, the others pursuing, "killing and wounding and capturing all those lagging in the rear. Then the party "fleeing would suddenly turn back upon the pursuers, which fled in turn. Thus they "proceeded as in a tournament ('juego de cañas'), until they were tired, when fresh "bodies moved up to take up the fight. They had well disposed and agile people to "care for the wounded, bringing them to the rear where their surgeons were with the "medicines, healing and nursing them." See also, Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV), and the Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 374): "during the fight they shout "and sing, uttering sometimes the most horrid shrieks." (Mr. Prescott speaks of hospitals which "were established in the principal cities." This is doubtful, at least.) The most detailed account of such an engagement is found in Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 84), confirmed in the main by Durán (Cap. XXXVII, pp. 289 and 290), where he describes the disastrous fight of the Mexicans (1479) against the Tarasca of Michhuacan. It appears from the description of the former that during this bloody conflict, lasting a whole day, the different tribes moved up in succession and distinct from each other. There is but one instance of a higher tactical move, and this is found in Tezozomoc also (Cap. XCVIII, p. 93). When the Mexicans sallied against Tlaxcallan: "the gen-"eral Cuauhnochtli commanded that the Chalca should go by one road or path, those "of Aculhuacan by another, the Tecpaneca by another, and the Mexicans in the centre "where the Tlaxcallans were expected to be; all the other tribes extended in order to "take the Tlaxcalteca in the middle" (surround them). Notwithstanding the glowing descriptions of Clavigero, Torquemada, and Ixtlilxochitl, those engagements turn out to be ordinary Indian skirmishes on a large scale, in proportion to numbers, of course, but still after the same principle. These same authors even indicate, involuntarily, that there were less actions of masses, than individual exploits. For instance, Torquemada relates (Lib. II, cap. LXI, p. 183) that the principal chief, dressing himself in the garb of a common warrior, challenged the prominent chieftain of the enemy to single combat and overcame him, which deed decided the fortunes of the day. Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. XLV) even tells us how a single Tezcucan brave alone fell upon the enemy while his own army was yet at breakfast, and put them all to flight. If such stories are true, they militate strongly against the impression which these same authors would convey to us, of formidable hosts, well organized, opposing each other. A commander, responsible for the fate of tens of thousands committed to his guidance, could not expose his own person in such a manner. Either these stories, or the representation of the numbers engaged, and their tactics, are untrue.

[759] "Surgeons" are mentioned both by Mendieta and Torquemada. The Mexican name of surgeon is "texoxotla ticitl" (Molina, I, p. 35). "Texoxqui" means a sorcerer, and

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retreat began on one side, and an equally rapid pursuit on the other.[165] The objective point of this retreat was the settlement or "pueblo" of the attacked tribe, but if the vanquished succeeded in placing between them and their pursuers some natural obstacle, like a river, or deep ravine, or if they took refuge upon a wooded range of steep hills, then the victors were arrested, as they seldom ventured to attack when this attack necessitated a strong simultaneous effort on the part of the whole force.[166] Still less could they execute rapid flank-movements. In course of time they might circumvent certain obstacles, but then their supplies were so limited that, if there was no positive indication of success, either in storming the position *without great danger*, or in carrying it within a very *short time* by some rude feint, they preferred to desist from further endeavors, and to return home with whatever spoils the battlefield alone had furnished. Thus they "collared"[167] their captives (which had been carefully watched behind the battle-front) and returned to Mexico in moderate triumph, leaving it to future times to proclaim: that such and such a tribe had been subdued by them, whereas they had only defeated it in one engagement, and the tribe had still preserved afterwards its complete independence.[168]

"ticitl" a physician or diviner. Both agree very well with the conception of an Indian "medicine-man." There are, besides, evidences that priests went to war also, and I would suggest that it may have been a part of their duties to care for the wounded. A certain class of priests were called "tlamacazqui," certainly derived from "tlama," physician or doctor.

[165] A slow and orderly retreat is a movement hardly known to Indians. They rush either way, advancing or retiring. Even the return of the Mexicans from the unsuccessful onslaught on the Tarasca (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII. p. 84) was as near to a disorderly flight as possible. Durán says (Cap. XXXVII, p. 291): "El rey Axayacatl mandó, "alçar su real, y asi como huyendo y medio afrentado, con la poca gente que le auia "quedada, todo desbaratado y lo mas de la gente herida."

[166] Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 131): "Those who gained the battle continued the pursuit "until the opponents reached some place where they could fortify themselves." Also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXII, p. 34, and cap. LVII, p. 94).

[167] If, on the battlefield, a captive still resisted, they cut the tendons of his feet, thus rendering him incapable of motion. After the action the prisoners were secured by wooden collars ("cuauh-cozcatl") and thus they were led home in the van of the returning force. Arrived at Mexico they were conducted first to the chief-teocalli, and after prostrating themselves before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, *were marched around the great stone of sacrifice*. (Compare the relation of Adair, "History of the American Indians," Argument XVI, pp. 165 and 167.—Return of a Chikkasah war party from a foray into Illinois, in 1765.)

[168] Such was the case with Mextitlan (Cap. LVII, p. 94, of Tezozomoc, and Durán, Cap. XL, p. 314). Tizoczic made about 40 prisoners, and returned with the loss of 300 men ("Y que con aquello auian los contrarios recogidose a' sus lugares"). Still it is mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl as subject and tributary to the valley tribes.

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726 If the vanquished tribe found no such point of refuge, then the pursuit continued without relenting until the town or settlement itself was reached. Frequently both pursuers and pursued entered it almost at the same time. The torch was applied to the temple first, and an indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants began.[169]

728 Nothing short of speedy submission to tribute could arrest this butchery. The vanquished, therefore, if not prepared to flee from their homes forever,[170] made signals of peace. A parley ensued, and to it succeeded a surrender on the part of the defeated tribe. Generally one year of tribute was paid in advance, and thus the Mexicans might return homewards loaded, both with the spoils acquired on the battlefield and with the first guarantee of future contributions from the vanquished tribe.[171]

726 It sometimes occurred, however, that the tribe attacked had provided its settlement with artificial defenses, and the Mexicans, victorious in the open field, found themselves in presence of the simple fortifications, which we shall hereafter describe, like palisades or even platforms of earth or stone surmounted by parapets. An attack upon these was only attempted if there appeared no doubt as to the result, in consequence of the superiority of the Mexicans, or of the great losses sustained by their defenders in the previous fights.[172] Then, but only then, ladders were con-

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[169] The "teo-calli" or temple being in the centre of the settlement, and also its highest, and therefore, according to Indian notions, its strongest edifice, the destruction thereof by fire was the signal of decisive victory of the assailants. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31). Durán (Cap. XV, p. 129).

[170] In cases where the pueblo of the enemy had been completely deserted, either through flight of its inhabitants, or through their extermination, as was the case with Alahuitzlan, these sections were repeopled by colonies from Nahuatl stock. Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXIV, pp. 125 and 126) and Durán (Cap. XLV, p. 364, etc.) both relate in detail how it occurred. This may account in some degree for the presence of Nahuatlac stock at a distance from the valley, and may yet throw some light even upon the singular colonization of the Peruvian "Mitimaes."

[171] This suing for peace, where the tribe was of foreign stock-language, took place, sometimes through interpreters, "nahuatlats," sometimes merely by signs. The defeated generally fled to the top of a hill and from there beckoned to the pursuing Mexicans to stop the carnage, with humble and pitiful gestures. But the first parley did not always result in peace. The massacre of women and children recommenced often twice, ere the tribute offered by the vanquished satisfied the Mexicans. This tribute was exacted in proportion to the resistance offered and to the resources of the tribe. After peace was agreed upon the Mexicans still feasted from the food of those whom they had ruthlessly conquered. The prisoners, once taken, were never released nor exchanged. They had to carry the spoils and tribute to Mexico, but were generally well fed and cared for until the day when they were slaughtered to the idols.

[172] A good illustration is found in Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI), describing the foray against Tututepec and Quetzaltepec. But Durán is still more explicit on the same events. According to him (Cap. LVI, p. 547), after the unfortified pueblo of Tu-

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Then, but only then, ladders were constructed,[173] and with due precaution and under cover of various [417] 726
feints, the walls were scaled.[174] A regular siege was out of the question, the Mexicans not being provided for a protracted stay outside of their territory. They might lie in wait or hover around the enemy's defenses for a short time, bent upon attempting a surprise of some kind, but if the place could not be carried at a rush in some way the assailants finally had to abandon the attack and return home.[175]

We have heretofore presupposed that the tribe assailed by the Mexicans had been formally challenged, or at least notified of their coming. But this was not always the case. In many instances the Mexicans made their attack without previous warning, and a nocturnal surprise was attempted which was almost sure to succeed.

It is next to superfluous to venture a description of such a nightly onslaught. The scene, like that of the surprise of any settlement whatever by Indians during the hours of darkness, may be faintly imagined, but not adequately told. The main sallies and entries were occupied by the assailants,—creeping up stealthily,—the chief "teo-calli" surrounded, then the war-whoop was raised, and the miserable inhabitants of the pueblo realized at once that they were doomed. Few survivors only remained on such occa- 726
sions, and even these, unless the tribe surrendered at the first on- 727

tutepec had been sacked, the Mexicans moved upon Quetzaltepec, which was well fortified, and whose people sallied forth to meet the Mexicans in the open field three days in succession, until the third day at last they were signally defeated, and the defenses scaled in a rush.

[173] Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI). Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 448). The former describes these ladders ("escalas") minutely, giving their size and the number used.

[174] Tezozomoc speaks of archers posted outside, protecting by a shower of missiles the ascent of the scaling party or parties, while other bodies were burrowing through the wall. Durán gives a more plausible statement (p. 448): "Otro dia salió al campo la "gente tepaneca con toda su provincia, que era gran numero de gente, la qual se uvo "tan valerosamente, que no los pudiendo resistir los de la ciudad, se empeçaron a' re- "traer hacia el muro. Montecuma, viendo que los tepanecas peleaban tan valerosamente "y que hacian retirar al enemigo, mandó tocar al arma, y en un punto salió el Mexicano "al campo y por otra parte el tezcucano, y arremetiendo todos de trapel, apellidando "los unos Mexico, Mexico, los otros Tezcuco, Tezcuco, acudieron cada uno por su "parte rompiendo por el exercito de los enemigos; y aunque de las murallas recibian "gran daño de las piedras grandes y troços de palos que arrojaban, llegaron a' ella y "arrimando escalas, y otros, como gatos, subieron por ella, y otros cabando por el "cimiento ganaron la primera cerca." This shows that indeed it was carried at a rush.

[175] For this reason the wars with the neighboring tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholullan, took the shape of regular fights at stated times. A long campaign was out of all question. We may, in the course of this essay, investigate shortly the question of the wars between Mexico and Tlaxcallan, although it is not properly pertaining to the object of the present discussion.

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their 175 numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Yepatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1689,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York," pp. 297-312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[648] [178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por-"que los naturales della eran amigos de Mutecçuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mutecçuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Toluca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 85): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi-"maroa, que dizen Tlazimoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Toluca se volvieron, viendo que su campo ño llegava: al iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with arthers, but no close combats are mentioned.

[648] [721] [180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

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Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in con- 726
flict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which 712
shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines.

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of, settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[161] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the [648
exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at
fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply re- 721]
sulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 465). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in these fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezcomoc.

[161] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la Salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an- "cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebelin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. [illegible]. "El primer rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

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361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
712 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1860. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

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tés against Tlaxcallan, and the celebrated fight near Otumpan, 726 both of which have been so beautifully described by Mr. Prescott. 175 Although in the engagements against the Tlaxcallans the Mexicans proper were not concerned, we know that both tribes were so nearly alike in military resources and faculties, that we can easily substitute the one for the other, taking the action of the one as illustrative of the action of the other in a similar emergency. At Otumpan Mexicans and allied tribes opposed the Spaniards. Both examples will more particularly relate to *offensive* warfare, being combats in the open field.

Purposely we have used the term of "*campaign*" as connected with Tlaxcallan, avoiding the conception of "battles," or "great "battles" even, so liberally employed by the majority of authors. It is erroneous to admit that *regular battles* were ever fought during the time Cortés advanced against the pueblo of Tlaxcallan. As far as we can rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, they merely prove that the Tlaxcallans allured, so to say, by the numerical inferiority of the Spanish invaders, pounced upon them with all the fury of a wild horde and, being saluted by a well nourished fire of murderous effect, they returned to their primitive warfare of decoys, ambushes, and surprises, hoping to tire out the Spaniards through this constant and desultory skirmishing. The tactics of Cortés, on this occasion, were simply to hold out in defensible positions; a task of no small difficulty if we consider that his men during many days could obtain no rest, and scarcely any food. But by persevering in this attitude he "turned the tables" upon the Indians of Tlaxcallan by finally tiring out, and wearing out, their power of *aggression*. Then *he* took the *offensive*, and by successful dashes, both revictualled his people and brought the enemy to favorable terms.[203]

[203] The descriptions furnished by various authors of the 16th century, of this campaign against Tlaxcallan are most contradictory. Ixtlilxochitl says in his 13th Relation ("De la venida de los Españoles") that from Cempoalan to Tlaxcallan "the natives "received them with the greatest joy, feasted them, and there were neither fights nor "quarrels, beyond those which the Spaniards themselves provoked; *if there were any at all.*" In the "Histoire des Chichimèques," however, the same author speaks of an action of two days, in which he estimates the numbers of the Tlaxcallans at 150,000 men (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 189).—Tezozomoc (Cap. CX, p. 190) relates that the Otomies of Tecoac met together and spoke: "are we perhaps the vassals of those that have come? "did they overcome us in just war? come on, Chichimecas, to arms against them!—and "so, as like mountaineers, they forthwith armed themselves, and as they came shouting "and hurling darts, the camp armed also, and gave them a discharge of small arms "and fieldpieces, so that after an hour nothing more was left to do, the entire field "being covered with dead bodies." This agrees almost verbally with Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. X, p. 422).

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726 175 Of all the actions fought during the conquest none has taken so much the character of a regular battle as that of the 8th of July, 1520, and commonly named the battle of Otumpan. It was, however, but a "running fight," lasting a whole day or nearly. The Spaniards, without fire-arms, almost famished, reduced in numbers, and mostly all wounded, were pursued as soon as they left the pue-

Cortés ("Carta Segunda" Vedia I, p. 16 and 17) gives a clearer description from which we glean the following facts: On entering the Tlaxcallan grounds, the van-guard of the Spaniards fell into an ambush, which they soon forced. "E desque sintiéron que "los nuestros se acercaban se retiraron, porque eran pocos, y nos dejaron el campo." He then moved on to a small stream, one league further, where he established his camp. The next day the Spaniards proceeded further, and were soon assaulted by a number of Indians. "Muy armados y con muy gran grita, y comenzaron a pelear con nosotros. "tirándonos muchas varas y flechas." This attack was a feint, and drew the whites into an ambuscade ("hasta nos meter entre mas de cien mil hombres de pelea, que por todas "partes nos tenian cercados, y peleamos con ellos, y ellos con nosotros, todo el dia, "hasta una hora antes de puesto el sol, que se retrajéron."); *they continued advancing however all day*, and at night occupied the defensive position which Cortés thereafter held until the Tlaxcallans submitted. "Aquella noche me fice fuerte en una torricella "de idolos que estaba en un cerito." On the following day Cortés made a successful razzia upon five or six small settlements, and on the next morning the Tlaxcallans in turn attempted to attack the Spanish camp. This attack was speedily repulsed, the Spaniards fortifying their position so, "que en obra de cuatro horas habiamos fecho "lugar para que en nuestro real no nos ofendiesen, puesto que todavia hacian algunos "arremetidas." In other words, the Tlaxcallans rushed up against the encampment, were beaten back, and then hovered around during the remainder of the day, skirmishing, and attempting to draw their foes into ambushes which they held prepared. From this time on the Indians never assaulted, but Cortés made occasional sallies and forays, revictualling his men, and burning the houses and crops of the natives, until the tribe made proposals of peace.

Andrès de Tapia, another eye witness, an officer of high rank. ("Relacion, Col: "de Doc, II, pp. 567 and 568") fully confirms the statement of Cortés. The first day's engagement he describes as follows: "And about eight in the morning there sallied "forth against us so many men of war, that it strikes me as if there had been one hun-"dred thousand, while some are of opinion that there were many more. Some of them "expected us in certain deep ravines of streams crossing our path, and, traversing "them with much difficulty, we went in against them.....The Marquis always went in "the lead with the horsemen, fighting, and returning from time to time to concert his "men, keeping them close together....Some Indians would close up with the horsemen "so as to seize their lances, and thus while *fighting they proceeded that day* to a house "of idols near which were two or three huts. There the Spaniards established them-"selves during eighteen days, and went out fighting as the Marquis commanded. . ."

. . . . .

According to the above two eye-witnesses, the "great battle" of the 2d Sept: 1519. (Prescott Vol. I, p. 427) appears on the part of the Indians, to have consisted of a wild rush or dash (perhaps a feint) speedily repulsed, an ambush, soon forced, and for the remainder of the day constant skirmishing and harassing of the Spanish march, until the latter reached a strong position. The "decisive victory" of the 5th Sept: 1819 (Prescott, Vol. I, pp. 437-447) was a fierce onslaught upon the Spanish camp at daybreak ("Otro "dia en amaneciendo dan sobre nuestro real mas de ciento y cuarenta y nueve mil "hombres," Cortés, p. 16) which met with a prompt repulse, and the remainder of the day was also filled with more or less heavy skirmishing on both sides. These are the two prominent days of fighting during the entire two weeks of hostilities against Tlaxcallan, and they certainly were not pitched battles, as commonly admitted. An atten-

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blo of Zacamulco in the morning. Harrassed in flank and rear by the Mexicans who, not any longer checked by the volleys of musketry, dashed up to closer quarters, the Spaniards toiled on, fighting and marching, until, in the plains of Apan, they were completely surrounded on all sides. This was the *final ambush* prepared for them by the Mexicans. The engagement *there* must have been of the most desperate character, but it was of *short duration*, the Spaniards, with the courage of despair, cutting their way out. The Indians had so firmly relied upon annihilating their foes on that day that they desisted from future pursuit.[204]

726 175

The engagements near Otumpan were the last conflicts occurring after the terrible night of the 1st of July, 1520, and previous to the resumption of the campaign by Cortés, from his headquarters at Tlaxcallan. The numerous actions which took place after-

tive and critical reading even of the third eye-witness, the too much esteemed Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera" in Vedia II, Caps. LXIII, LXIV, LXV, p. 55 to 58) confirms these views to the fullest possible extent, although the latter, bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position, less acquainted with general operations, enhances the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It must not be inferred from the above that the achievements of the Spaniards are therefore less memorable. If the fighting was on a scale different from that of European wars, it was none the less exhausting. Any charge of a few horsemen could scatter the enemy, but the next moment a new attack, from some unexpected quarter might be looked for. The danger consisted less in injury on the battlefield, than in the gradual wearing out of the men by the never ceasing watchfulness required. The successful result reflects the highest credit upon the military capacity of the Spaniards, as well as upon their great commander.

[204] Cortés ("Carta Segunda") pp. 45, 46. "And it appeared as if the Holy Ghost had "enlightened me by this advice, after what occurred the next day. For, having moved "on in the morning, at the distance of one and a half leagues large numbers of Indians "came to meet us, so that in the van, rear and flanks the field seemed covered with "them, and they assailed us with such violence, that we hardly knew each other, from "being mixed up with them. . . . In this condition *we remained much of the whole* "*day*, until it pleased God that one of their number was killed, who appeared to be of "such quality, that with his death the fight ceased. Then we proceeded, somewhat "relieved, but nevertheless exhausted, until to a small house in the plain, where we "staid for the night." . . . . .

The ambush had been prepared for several days (Bernal-Diez, Cap. CXXVIII, p. 136), for during their incessant pursuit on the preceding days the Mexicans had shouted to them: "Thither you shall go where none of you will escape alive" (p. 136). Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. XXVII, p. 434) says the Spaniards halted: "Los Españoles como les "vieron ir tras si con gran prisa entendieron que querian pelear y pararonse y pusiéronse "en órden de guerra; y los mexicanos como eran muchos tomaron en media à los Espa-"ñoles y commenzaron à combatirlos de todas partes." See also Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist: "des Chichimeques" Cap. LXXXIX). It was certainly a hand to hand conflict, the Indians, feeling sure to overpower their foes, striving to *capture* as many of them as possible *alive*. This, and the few horses remaining, saved the Spanish troop.

It is upon the statement of Bernal-Diez, that when the emblem or token carried by or near one of the principal chiefs fell, the fight ceased, that the conception has arisen, as if the fall of the chief banner decided the fate of an engagement. But there is no other evidence of the existence of a central banner or emblem.

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726 wards are of minor interest to us up to the time when the siege of
175 Mexico began. A rapid sketch of the events of this siege, however, should illustrate the *defensive* warfare of the Mexicans.

648 It is well known how, by a shrewd policy, as well as by able
175 strategy, Cortés succeeded in *dismembering*, rather than overpow-
726 ering, the Nahuatl confederacy of the valley of Mexico. He thus isolated the Mexican tribe proper, cut off its sources of reinforcement, and, above all, cut off its *subsistence*, by depriving it of tribute and barter. The time came at last when even those pueblos on the lake shores nearest to Mexico could not, or would not, any longer recognize friendly connections with their former military head. The surface of the water-sheet and the causeways were alone left to the tribe and to such additional warriors as had joined them in their abode, from the outside, to share their fate. As long as the lake could be freely navigated by Mexican canoes, any point of the mainland was exposed to attack by their warriors. Therefore Cortés launched his boats or "brigantines," which soon cleared Lake Tezcuco proper, driving the canoes to shelter in the narrow canals which ran all through the pueblo. His land forces occupied three out of the four issues of the causeways on the mainland. *Then* the Mexicans were effectually hemmed in, without any outlet beyond the limited circulation on the ponds lying west of the chief causeways. Cortés' first step was to seize Chapultepec, and to cut off the supply of fresh water running thence along the causeway to Mexico.[205] Thus deprived of drinking water, almost, since that of the lagune was not wholesome, with limited supplies of food only, the Mexican tribe was surrounded by human enemies *without*, whilst two of the greatest plagues of mankind, thirst and famine, were sure to threaten them, ultimately, *within*.

[205] Mexico was provided with a constant supply of fresh water from Chapultepec. (Clavigero, Lib. VII, Cap. LIV.) The channels were constructed of stone, five feet high, and two feet broad (Cortés, "Carta Segunda"). It was one of the first moves of Cortés to seize the spring supplying these channels. The Mexicans, feeling the importance of the action, defended the position desperately. (Bernal-Diez. Cap. CL, p. 176.) "Acordamos que entrambas capitanias juntas fuésemos à quebrar el agua de chapultepeque "de que se proveia la ciudad, que estaba desde alli de Tacuba aun no media legua. "E yendo à los quebrar los caños, toparonnos muchos guerreros, que nos esperaban en "el camino; porque bien entendido tenian que aquello habia de ser el primero en que "los podiamos dañar; y asi como nos encontraron cerca de unos pasos malos, comen-"zaron à nos flechar y tirar vara y piedra con hondas, é nos hirieron à tres soldados; "mas de presto les hicimos volver las espaldas, y nuestros amigos los de Tlascala les "siguieron de manera, que mataron veinte y prendieron siete ò ocho dellos; y como "aquellos grandes escuadrones estuvieron puestos en huida, les quebramos los caños "por donde iba el agua à su cindad, y desde entonces nunca se fué à Mejico entre tanto "que duró la guerra." (Also Cortés. 1 Carta III, p. 71.)

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Cortés might have quietly *waited* for these two terrible allies to do their work almost alone, had it not been for two reasons: 174 726

The principal reason was, that his position was not secure among the fickle Indian tribes, which the thirst for revenge, the lust of spoil, and dazzling success on his part had temporarily attached to his fate. A protracted siege lay beyond the military conceptions, nay, beyond the military *ability* of the Indians. They could not remain outside of their homes for such a length of time.[206]

On the other hand, the Mexicans, equally unprepared for a lengthy defence, compelled him to aggressive action.

Resorting to their only mode of warfare where a sudden dash with overwhelming numbers was not any longer possible,[207] they made a number of feints, with the intention of drawing their enemies into an ambush. Moving against the Spaniards and their allies upon the causeways, they precipitately fled towards the first cut as soon as that onslaught was repulsed. When the pursuers arrived there, they would be charged in flank by heavy bodies of warriors, while in front it rained missiles of every kind upon them from behind the embankments erected on the inner side of the ditches.[208] The Spaniards, however, knew too well how disastrous

[206] Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, Vedia II) "Dejemos de hablar de los grandes "combates que nos daban; y digamos como nuestros amigos los de Tlascala y de cholu-"la y Guaxocingo, y aun los de Tezcuco, acordaron de se ir à sus tierras." They were disheartened, says the old captain (p. 189), but there is no wonder, since the place had not been carried, Indian-fashion, at a rush, and thus they grew tired of waiting.

It is the most decisive testimony in favor of our views, heretofore already expressed, that the Mexican Indians were not able to carry on a protracted campaign, still less a siege of any duration.

[207] During the siege, there is hardly any doubt but that the Indian allies of Cortés *outnumbered the Mexicans*. It would be, of course, unsafe to rely upon the numerical statements of the old authorities. They all vary. But if we only recollect that Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, Cholula, Chalco, Tescuco, and some of the other main tribes joined the Spaniards, it necessarily convinces us that the numerical superiority was on the side of the besiegers. The great art of Cortés lay in consolidating the forces of these different tribes, which otherwise, in many cases, were enemies of long standing. With the Spaniards *as their leaders*, the fate of Mexico was sealed, provided they held out long enough. In all the engagements, the European soldiers formed but the nucleus around which their allies agglomerated. If *they* advanced, the others followed, occupying always so many of the Mexicans, and diverting them from falling too heavily upon the whites. In proportion, however, as the power of the Mexicans gave out, the deeds of the allies of Cortés grew more prominent, since there were more non-combatants to slaughter.

[208] The bridges had all been removed, and entrenchments constructed *behind* them. Besides, pits had been dug, with earthworks on both sides, for the express purpose of arresting the cavalry. Long lances, armed with sword blades captured from the Spaniards during the "Noche triste," were used by the Mexicans to attack the horsemen. Against the brigantines, rows of pointed piles had been rammed in below the surface of

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174 a retreat would prove under such circumstances, so, followed by
726 their native allies, they persisted and overcame the obstacles by *storm*. The very Indian tactics intended for the destruction of the whites enabled the latter to gain a foothold on the causeways with less loss than a directly planned assault would have entailed.[209]

175 Until then, the Mexicans could make use of canoes, harassing
726 both flank and rear of their enemies. But Cortés speedily widened the first cut in the causeway, and sent his scows with artillery to the west side.[210] Thence on, while the brigantines could not effect anything against the pueblo itself, they still kept at bay the canoes of the Mexicans, and moving up along the causeways with the land force, they successfully sustained, by a lively cannonade, the efforts of the latter against the defences at the cuts and ditches.[211]

the water. Bernal-Diez (Cap. CL, pp. 176, 177) relates that, after the corps of Alvarado had occupied Tacuba, the Mexicans began to shout to them vociferously from the causeways and the water (then yet free to them). "Y aquellas palabras que nos decian eran "con pensamiento de nos indignar para que saliésemos aquella noche à guerrear, y herir-"nos mas á su salvo." Further on he says: "Y como aquello hubimos hecho, acordaron "nuestros capitanes que luego fuésemos á dar una vista y entrar por la calzada de Tacu-"ba y hacer lo que pudiésemos para les ganar una puente; y llegados que fuimos á la "calzada, eran tantas las canoas que en la laguna estaban llenas de guerreros y en las "mismas canoas y calzadas, que nos admirábamos dello; y tiraron tanta de vara y "flecha y piedra con hondas, que en la primera refriega hirieron treinta de nuestros "soldados é murieron trés; y annque nos hacian tanto daño, todavia les fuimos entrando "por la calzada adelante hasta una puente, y à lo que yo entendi, ellos nos daban lugar "à ello, por meternos de la parte de la puente; y como alli nos tuvieron, digo que car-"garon tanta multitud de guerreros sobre nosotros que no nos podiamos valer." The Mexicans always *provoked* the Spanish attack, until the brigantines were masters of the ponds lying to the west of Mexico, also. (See also Cortés, "Carta tercera," Vedia I, p. 71."

[209] The first attack of Alvarado was repulsed. But subsequently they captured "many works and bridges." The fighting was very obstinate, the Mexicans charging at every hour of the day and night. See Prescott (Vol. III, Book VI, Cap. p. 106 and 107). "During the first five or six days after their encampment, the Spaniards experi-"enced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavored to prevent their "taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the sci-"ence of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to "their usual practice the Indians made their attacks by night as well as by day. The "water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, "but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send "showers of arrows into the Christian camp."

[210] The brigantines were flat-bottomed scows, manned with small guns. Even on the water, the Mexicans resorted to ambushes. The vicinity of the pueblo was surrounded by rows of pointed piles, below the surface of the lake, and squadrons of canoes were sent to decoy the brigantines into such treacherous places. On one occasion they succeeded in capturing one of the vessels in this manner. (Prescott, Vol. III, p. 28, quoting from Bernal-Diez.)

[211] The points occupied by the three Spanish divisions were: Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo), at the north, Tacuba at the west, and Cuyuacan to the southwest. It was originally intended to occupy Iztapalapan, but the position could not be carried, and

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

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175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
●726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
[645] allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled*. Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 191). The Council opposed the advice of Quanhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

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iron hand, but by *free common consent*. It is an additional proof of the facts we have advanced: that the Mexicans were not subject to a despotical power, but organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free *military democracy*.

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441 his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One
765 day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And
then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in
778 [the place] which they called the god's courtyard,
at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

●726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

X-787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

[851 He who was then born they did not yet bathe;
553] they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

auh intla çã otlalmjc ontomecatl, qujtoznequj: intlacamo oiaomjc, in aço çan ococolizcujc, çan ie no ivi in qujchichioaia icujllo, icce çan ichan in tlatlaia, amo ioalnepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie onmotzcaloa, onmopiloa tonatiuh qujtlatiaia.

No ioan mjtoa: in jquac ypan in ce coatl tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in jquac oiaotlatoloc, oteiaotlalhujloc, in omjto, in otecaqujtiloc iaoiotl, vel iqua ipan vnpeoaia in iaoc: vncan iaoqujxoaia, ipan otlatocoia, ipan vnneotemaloia, vnmotema, onmacocuj, onmolinja, eua, nẽnemj, icxiconana, in jxqujch quauhtlocelotl:

auh in aquin ipan otlacat ce oçelotl tonalli, qujtoaia, qujpãtiaia, qujnemactiaia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, ilhujle, mãcoale muchioaz, mocujltonoz, vnca qujquanj iez: auh intlaca mouellamaceoa, in iuhquj itonal in, amo ipan muchios in jnemac, in jcnopil: çan iehoatl qujmitlacalhuja, qujtlopopolhuja, mjtoa. iaeviian conmocaujlia, qujmotlãçolmjctilia. Eze.

yn aquin ipã otlacat in, aiamo caltiaia, quin ipã caltiaia in Ey maçatl: iquac qujtocamaca, ipampa ie mjieccan omjto: in eitionian tonalli, in jquac tlacemilhujtiltia, qujqualittaia in tonalpouhque: iehoatl ic contlastotoqujliaia, vmpa qujtlatequjniaia, vmpa contlachieltiaia, injc cenca qujtonalchicanaia.

Auh in qujtoqujlia, vme mjqujztli, iuh qujtoa: amo qualli, atle vncã ca mãcoalli. Auh in ey maçatl: iuh qujtoa qualli tonalli, ie omjto: in eitionia muchipa qualcan, vncan ca tlacnopilhujlizzli in iuh qujcilhujaia tonalpouhque. Auh in navi tochtli, in tlanauhcaiotia tonalli, in nauhcaiopa tlavica, tlacem-

3. *Otlalmic: Ibid., "Y si el tal mercader moria, de su enfermedad."*

4. *Molina, op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl), *Lado diestro.*

5. *The text reads ce oçelotl; it is correct in the Real Palacio MS.*

Sixth Chapter, which telleth of drinking.[5]

As to drinking, there, also was a delusion of the ancients, somewhat like the account of stepping over one.

And in this wise was the account of it: when, perchance, one drank; if one yet a small child drank first, and afterwards one drank who was a little older, already grown, then [the elder] restrained and took the water from the small child. He said to him: "Why dost thou wish to drink first? Thou wilt not grow large, but remain small. Now let thy elder brother drink, for he is already bigger."[6]

Inje chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in atliliztli. 271

In jtechpa atliliztli: no vncatca innezttlacaviliz in 856
vevetque: çan ie achi no iuhquj in jtlatlatollo in tecuencholhujlixtli.

Auh ivin in, ca itlatlatollo: in jquac tla ie atli, in tle ie achto atli oc piltontli: auh intla çaçepan atli in ie achi tachcauh, in ie quauhtic: njman qujtlacaoaltia, qujcujlia in atl in piltontli, qujlhuja: tle ipampa in achto tatliznequj, amo tiquauhtiez, çan ye tizqujchtontiez: ma oc ie conj in motiachcauh, achic ca ie quauhtic.

Seventh Chapter, which telleth of him who dipped into the cooking pot.

Of this there was also a delusion of the natives, known especially of the men. And in this wise was it known: when, perhaps, men ate, and one only dipped into the cooking pot — not into a sauce dish — then also the mothers and fathers restrained him. They said to him: "Do not dip into the cooking pot; there [in war] thou wilt leave thy captives. If thou goest to war, none wilt thou seize; no one will become thy captive."

Inje chicome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in aquja zocco ontlapaloa. 264

In jtechpa in: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in nj- 726
can tlaca: oc cenca intechpa mocaquj in toqujchtin. Auh ivin in mocaquj: in jquac intla tlaqua toqujchti: auh çan zocco, in ontlapalotica, amo molcaxic: njman no qujtlacaoaltia in tenanoan, in tetaoan, qujlhvia: macamo zocco xontlatlapalo, vncan tiqujmoncaoa in momalhoan: intla tiaz iavc, aiac ticaciz, aiac momal muchioaz.

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of tamales stuck [to the cooking pot].

Concerning tamales stuck [to the cooking pot] as another deception of the natives, it was said that the men and women would not eat them. It was stated that if the men were to eat them, when they would shoot arrows in warfare, the arrow which was shot would not find its mark. Or perchance therefore they might die, or one's wife would with difficulty bear children.

And just so was it as to a woman. If she were to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot], she could not bear children. Her child would only adhere to and thus die in her womb. Therefore the mothers sternly forbade them to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot].

Inje chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jxqujuhquj tamalli. 264

In jtechpa in jxqujuhquj tamalli: oc no centlamantli innezttlacaviliz in njcan tlaca, qujlmach amo vel qujquazque, in oqujchtin, ioan cioa: qujlmach intla qujquazque toqujchti, amo axcan in qujçaz mjtl, injc qujmjnazque iauc: auh anoçe ic mjqujz, yoan aixxcan tlacachioaz in juamic.

Auh çan ie no yuhquj in jtechpa cioatl: intla qujquaz ixqujuhquj tamalli, amo vellacachioaz: çan itech ixqujviz in jconeuh, ic mjqujz in ijti: ipampa cenca qujtecaoaltiaia in tenanoan, injc amo moquaz, in jxqujuhquj tamalli.

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: "quiere decir, hacer al menor, como del mayor."

6. Ibid.: "si bebían dos hermanos, si el menor bebía primero, decíale: el mayor: no beas primero, que yo: porque si beas primero, no crecerás: mas quedarás chico, como eres agora." See also Garibay, op. cit., p. 516: "decir, es adscribir, con que se remedia . . . que al diferencia entre esta persona, o cosa, y otra."

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648 when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle
175 they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty pris-
[304] oners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the
175 battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces
●727 in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears, proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly
[721] the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

175 So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

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793 nize a priesthood completely separate from civil officialdom; both were mutally dependent. There was a priestly hierarchy, it is true, but it probably operated in conjunction with civil position. Permanent positions may have existed, but in the chapters on religion we shall describe more fully how completely the realms of Church and State coalesced among the people of ancient Mexico, in contrast to the cleavage between them in our own society.

567 Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe, and each member was supposed to do his part in preserving the community. However, the bane of working social orders as well as hypothetical social schemes are those unfortunates who, by mischance, maladjustment or just plain deviltry, do not do their part. The Aztecs, too, had this problem to cope with, and there developed a social class of people who had lost their civil rights and become slaves. This they might do voluntarily or because they were prisoners of war or were punished for crimes or were sold by their parents. Their treatment differed according to the circumstances of their enslavement.[8] (See Plate 38, bottom left.)

Military captives usually were sacrificed, but those who [727] demonstrated some unusual skill were sometimes bought for domestic service or put to work on some communal enterprise. Criminal slaves lost their free status for such offenses as failure to denounce treachery, membership in a traitor's family, kidnaping for sale a free man, selling another's property without his consent, theft without restitution when over [672] ten years old or hindering a slave from gaining the sanctuary of a chief's house. Penal slaves were privately owned, usually to make restitution to those whom they had injured.

Voluntary slavery was assumed by the poor and landless

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. 782
Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the 174
world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the 782
braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. [727]
Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances [567]
women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure
growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

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have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and politieal advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redonbtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval knight or career soldier in our own culture.[8]

The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[8]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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fan-weapon; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had conchs and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people feasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Therefore [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no chili, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted atoll," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the feet of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without chili; [this] also [they did] at *midday*.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing arrows through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some then offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched arrows or lightning-bolts; [or] *butterfly-tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and darts.

And here, as Mixtec, from everywhere, were brought capes, called "vulture-capes,"[74] [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnavi capitulo: inchpa tlatoa in teotl, yn ioca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nemohque, ynjc netentilloia tecpantenca intech:
yn jquac neçaujtiloia, intla aca tequjchti ipan cioacochia, anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchocchic: mjtoaia, qujatlaçulnjctia yn jneçaualiz,
ic quimmacoia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujxillnujltiaia, qujxmacoaltiaia, in xochicuiztli, yn menenaualiztli, tlapalanaltilitli, quexilhuitlitli,
yniepa temoua, nemotolilloia, ynjc qujçeuiz, ynjc qujçeuaia ynjc qujçeuaoaz, cuculiztli.
Auh yn jquac ilhujquiztililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa nevilhujtl nemochiçanalo: in cequjntin ic meçaoaia, chilcaoaia, qujnenpantla tomatiuh, in tlaquaia, cemtlaquaia, inelnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochiouetli yn ipan ca, momochiçoa:

machi qujçqua in velic, çan no nepantla tomatiuh qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujçcaviaia, in ielaxcalli qujçqua, ayc chilli: no nepantla tomatiuh qujmattiuh:
yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujquiztililoia, iquac ce tlacatl qujmixiqelatiaia, commaqujaia yn jtlatqui, ipan mjtotiaia, qujtlatocamjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tomatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçoaia, tlacuqujtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan, macujltecl in qujchinjliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey ipan yeatiuh xochujtl:

yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc commanjliaia, yoan contoquiliaia oc no macuiltecl tamalupinoan, mollotiuja: yoan vntecl tamalli yiel pewjia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, omitl tlitic, omitl tlatlauhqui.

Auh yn aca iuquitl, anoço necuquitl, anoço tomacujlli, papaloctaxcalli, ielaxcalli, tecoallaxcalli, tecoalchimalli, tecoalnjtl, tecoalnuquiauitl, tecoalnamitl:

yoan teujian oalcanaloia, in mamalti ajcan mexica, mamaoan malinquijna, yn jequjch tachiualoanc, yn

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[72] Corresponding Spanish text reads: "heridas, como enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbres del miembro secreto, dolores, tiñosidades, etc."

[73] In corresponding Spanish text: "pasar salvas."

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796 surrounding us, brought by those [Nahua] living on the
727 borders of warring people. Those who had taken these pri-
soners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] have
guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him,
they brought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

776 This the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated.
And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips
there was the impiter of a hand. His face was red and burnt.
He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his
back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the
top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges.
He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two
Reed (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Ultzanac.[74] It was said that
he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations
to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people.
Though him it came to pass that men gathered together,
that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought
his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in
esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered.
He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him
who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I
shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do
to thee."

[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often
caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and
the food. And when, [so] one said, he ate the god, often he
sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat;
the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake.
His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he
stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whoso are the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was
the home of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of
the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and
drank, drinking wine. And when they broke, they stabbed
Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred
roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been ac-
quitted, as if one were commanded to a feast, and were
forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast
ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because
they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he dressed: he had a crown of feathers—

ixcuamapa, yn ixcuaca ximpa, quiyauhcaxia yn jamal-
hua, yn jaltzintzun, in malmapilhua, xinchinxia: ajcan
quijqujxia, yn calpixqui, in cuculpixqui.

Auh inda ica ximiki, inda tlachalohi, ypan tlacaquiztoca,
motlacuecuejxia, quijxipehxiaxia, quijxipehxia:
in tlachcaui, yecan mixpijn, yn jquac ilhujqujxitilhia.

Auh yn jxochichiuhcal: xoxoquqali ixtlapalcuatzale, tlaxtla-
palcuatzalijli, tlaxtlaqualtilli, yhujxoxocale, qquchichiquja,
vixmapij yn jtlamacal, vixmacatlamacale, ypan icac,
tzoalopanjtl, quetzalxaxaxa, quetzalxaxaxaxaxa, quetzal-
xaxaxaxa, quetzalxaxaxaxa, tzaclapalica motzinjjqui,
motzinqua, yxmalocac, tzualocaqua.

Juic caxtolli capitulo, yuchqa tlamo yn ueuil, yn jnca
Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vizmanac, ueuil caxca, yn jnech tlamjlaia,
in piqujlilaia, quijxnaia ca ichaual imactia, in cuaualtl, in
tecuamatzalitzli, in tetlacamatilitzli, in tetlaqualtilitzli: yn-
mixjan machiaia yn jnacacatlalitia, yn jnacamaqujxtilia
tzaualqua, tachi vicaia, vmpa macamachiaia, jlcujtlaujlaia
yn jnjqula.

Auh no quijxnaia, yatlacamo mavizcalia, yn jnhujqujxa
cuamocuala, tlavalcuja: uecchqa, amoqo uecchixpan tzoaia,
quijlaujaia, yn aquja quijamjqui. Jn tehuatl tleyca yn amo
tlaechmovizmati; ajmitztlalcaluia: auh ic ne ajcmati, in
tlein mopan ajcchiuaz.

Auh inela caxca moçauia, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa
tzontli quijxnolaia, in atl, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aquj
yn mjtoa tzoqua, mincpa mocoxoa: yajc quijxilinja, malcima,
yxcpac mjlacatzoa in atl: mahuqtlamja in jquac tlaqua:
auh yeela xoxonij momoqtlamja, motecujnja, motlavinqui.

Auh yajc ilhujqujxitilhia: yn aquja tzoqua, achtqua
quichiuaia, tzontjnilli, yiamjja in uetl catca: qan tlacatl,
tzopinqui calpole, can mahcpil yajc huivitac, vel tzoxmanac,
mjmjlaic.

Auh yn xiamo tzoxmanca, oc achtqua tlatlaqualo, ollaia,
tlacoxo: auh yn ololtlaujc cuujxtequinja, yn omacatl
cuauhjctia: ajman ic tzoxmanca, motlatlaqueujlo, tzoxmilujlo,
in tzonujujlli:

iquac quaqualo, iahujqujn ic tzoxmiztlaia, tzolacquujxilia,
tetlilujlia, tzoxkacualtlia: ca yn aquiqui mocuia, yn iquac
ic ilhujtlaujqujxi, cuccujlacuitlaxaxia, tzopqueuia, yyamqui
ca cuahcuitlaxaxia.

Jn ixochichiuhcaxca: ilxiuxocale, quauhxocale, yxil

74. Probably the temple of Ultzanac (Ultzanac calmecac) in Acolmán. Cf. Seler: Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (Historia general, Vol. I, p. 222). The name means suggests various other meanings—the south, the barrio or part of the city named Ultzanac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See ibid., Vol. I, pp. 157, 197-99, 215, 221, 222, 229, and also Seler: op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

λ 796 priests] preceded playing [musical instruments], singing, and dancing before them.

[787] When they took the children to be slain, if they wept and shed many tears, those who carried them rejoiced, for they took [it] as an omen that they would have much rain that year.

λ 796 ● 727 Also in this month they slew many captives in honor of these same gods of the water. They slashed them first, [with their swords,] fighting them as they were tied upon a stone like a mill wheel; and when they threw them down, wounded, they carried them off to tear their hearts from them in the temple which was called Yopico.

When they slew these captives, their owners—they who had taken them—went gloriously arrayed in feathers, dancing before them and showing their valor. This continued through all the days of this month. In this feast were enacted many other ceremonies, which are set down at length in its telling (*fol.* 15).

10 g yuan adornadas con plumajes, y con *g 11*
11 A flores: yuan, taliendo, cantando, y bay- *A 12*
12 b lando delante dellos *b 13*
13 c Quando lleuauan a los niños a *c 14*
14 d matar: si llorauan, y echauan muchas *d 15*
15 e lagrimas, alegrauanse los, que los *e 16*
16 f lleuauan: porque tomauan pronostico, *f 17*
17 g de que auian de tener, muchas aguas *g 18*
18 A este año. *A 19*
19 b Tambien en este mes: matauan *b 20*
20 c muchos cautiuos, a honrra de los mismos *c 21*
dioses del agua: acuchillauanlos primero peleando cõ ellos, atados sobre vna piedra, como muela de molino, y desque los derrocauan acuchillados: lleuauanlos a sacar el coraçon al templo, que se llamaua, iopico.

Quando mataua a estos captiuos: los dueños dellos, que los auian captiuado, yvan gloriosamente atauiados cõ plumajes, y baylando delante dellos, mostrando su valentia. Esto passaua por todos los dias, deste mes. Otras muchas cerimonias, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la larga, en su historia. fo. 15.

X796 Before they dismembered the captives, they flayed them; and others put on the skins, and, [wearing them,] fought mock fights with other youths, as if it were a war. And those [of one band] took captive [those of] the other [band].

[72] After what hath been set forth above, they slew other captives, battling with them—these being tied, by the waist, with a rope which passed through the socket of a round stone, as of a mill; and [the rope] was long enough so that [the captive] might walk about the complete circumference of the stone. And they gave him arms with which he might do battle; and four warriors came against him with swords and shields, and one by one they exchanged sword blows with him until they vanquished him. Etc.

Antes que hiziesen pedaços a los cativos: los desollauan, y otros vestian sus pellejos, y escaramoçauan con ellos, con otros mancebos, como cosa de guerra: y se prendian los vnos a los otros.

Despues de lo arriba dicho: matauan otros captiuos, peleando con ellos: y estando ellos atados por medio del cuerpo, con vna soga, que salia por el ojo de vna muela, como de molino, y era tan larga, que podia a andar por toda la circũferencia de la piedra, y dauanle sus armas, con que peleasse: y venjan contra el quatro, con espadas, y rodelas, y vno a vno se acuchillauan con el, hasta que le vencian. Etc.

4

X 796 **Twenty-first Chapter,** which telleth of the honors paid, and of the blood offerings which were made, in the second month, which was called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

[721] Tlacaxipeualiztli. This feast came and was thus celebrated; [it was] when all the captives died, all those taken in war—the men, the women, the children.[2]

Those who had taken captives, when, on the morrow, their prisoners were to die, then began the captives' dance, when the sun had passed noon. And they held an all-night vigil for their prisoners there in the tribal temple. And they placed [the captives] before the fire[3] and took hair from the top of the captives' heads, when half the night had passed and when they made offerings of blood from the ear.

And when the dawn came, then they made them leave, that they might go to die, they who were to die appropriately to this feast day. For during the entire festival they were all flayed. Hence they called [the feast] Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And the captives were called *xipeme* and *tototecti*.[4] Those who slew them were the priests. Those who had taken them captive did *not* kill them; they only brought them as tribute, only delivered them as offerings;[5] [the priests] went laying hold of their heads, and seizing [the hair of] their heads. Thus they went leading them up to the top of the temple.

And when some captive faltered, fainted, or went throwing himself upon the ground, they dragged him.

And when one showed himself strong, not acting

Jnic cempoali oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tlamauiztlilizti, yoan in nextlaoalizti, in qujchioaia, yn jpan vel ic vnterl metztli, in mjtoaia, tlacaxipeualizti.

Tlacaxipeualizti: ynin ilhuitl qujçaia: auh inic muchioaia, iquac miquja, yn ixqujch malli, yn jxqujch tlaaxitl, yn ixqujch haxioac: yn oquichtli, in cioatl, yn ixqujch piltzintli.

Jn maleque, in ic iuh muztla miqujxque in malhoan, iquac peoa, in momalitotia, in ic onmotzcaloa tonatiuh: auh ceiocal qujtoçauja yn jmal, in vncan icalpulco: yoan vncan qujtzoncuj, iquaiolloco, tecuilixquac qujtlalia, iquac in ioalli xeliuj, neçaoalizpan.

Auh in ooallatuje, vncan coneoaltia, inic mjqujtiuh: in miquja vel ipan in jlhujtl: auh vel iuh cemjlhujtl muchinti qujnxipeoaia, xipeoaloia: ic mjtoaia tlacaxipeoalizti.

Auh in mamalti motocaiotiaia xipeme, yoan tototecti: in temictiaia, iehoantin in tlamacazque: amo iehoanti qujnmictiaia in maleque, çan tequjtl qujmoncaoaia, çan tequjtl temac qujmoncaoaia, qujnquatemotzultziztzqujtiuj, inquatla qujmantiuj, ymjcpac qujmantiuj, ynjc qujntlecauja teucalticpac.

Auh yn aca malli, vel çotlaoa, iolmiquj, ça chachapantiuh, ça qujvilana:

auh yn aca vel muchicaoa, amo mocioatlamachtia,

1. This most spectacular of ceremonies—the flaying of men—was said by Fray Diego de Durán to have been invented by Moctezuma I's general Tlacaélel. See *Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España y Islas de Tierra Firme* (José F. Ramírez, ed.; México: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867), Vol. I, p. 174. Miguel Acosta Saignes, in *Tlacaxipeualizti, un complejo mesoamericano entre los caribes* (Caracas: Universidad Central, 1950), *passim*, argues that it is an ancient complex and in various aspects very widespread.

In México, its place as a spring festival, celebrated when the soil was prepared for planting, is well recognized. Those who wore the human skins represented the renewal of vegetation. Cf. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71. See also Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 27-8, where, besides, origin of the ceremony in Guerrero or Oaxaca is suggested.

2. Clavijero (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 149) adds that "*algunos de estos víctimas eran los ladrones de oro y plata que eran condenados por la ley del reino a ser juzgados sacrificados.*"

3. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 62) translates thus: "*legte ab*"—the hair—"*vor dem Feuerherde nieder*"; Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*puesto al fuego hacían esta ceremonia.*"

4. "The flayed" (*xipeme*) and "those who die for the honor of our god Tezcatl" (*tototecti*). See corresponding Spanish text, which also says: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados, se ponían muchos manojuelos, a los quales llamaban tototecti.*" Francisco Pino y Troncoso, in *Descripción Historia y Exposición del Codice Pictórico de los Antiguos Nahuatl. . . .* (Florencia, 1899), p. 109, writes: ". . . Xipeme ó Tototecti; es decir: los que iban vestidos con la piel del dios Xipe Tótek puesta sobre la piel del desollado, la cual usaban al cuerpo desnudo, para colorirla después con el tinte y los adornos propios del dios. . . ."

[787] Besides hemp worn as described, the skins are said by Juan de Torquemada to have been used to forecast a wet or dry year, and the chiefs directed agricultural work accordingly.—George Kubler and Charles Gibson: *The Tovar Calendar*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 20 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 22.

5. Sahagún, in the Spanish text, definitely states that the captive was delivered to the priest by the captor.

X 796 **Sixth [Twenty-fourth] Chapter, which relateth the feast and blood sacrifices made during all the days[1] in the fifth month, which was called Toxcatl.[2]**

In [the month of] Toxcatl, the great feast of Tezcatlipoca was [held]. At that time he was formed and set up. Wherefore died his impersonator, who for one year had lived [as Tezcatlipoca].

And at that time once more was offered [to the people] his [new] impersonator, who would again live for one year.

X 796 For many impersonators [thus] lived, whom guardians[3] kept and maintained. Perchance there were
● 727 ten. These were select captives, chosen when captives were taken. Then was one chosen if he was good to look upon and fair of body. Then such were taken, and the guardians cared for them. But one whom they destined to be a slave, the captor slew.

X 796 For he who was chosen was of fair countenance,
727 of good understanding and quick, of clean body—
832 slender like a reed; long and thin like a stout cane; well-built; not of overfed body, not corpulent, and neither very small nor exceedingly tall.

X 796 For anyone who was formed [thus] defective, who
832 was too tall, to him the women said: "Tall one; head-nodder; handful of stars!" He who was chosen impersonator was without defects.

[He was] like something smoothed, like a tomato, or like a pebble, as if hewn of wood. [He did] not [have] curly hair, [but] straight, long hair; [he had] no scabs, pustules, or boils on the forehead, nor skin growths on the forehead, nor [was he] large-headed, nor with the back of the head prominent; nor of a head shaped like a carrying-net, nor with the sutures of the crown yet soft; not broad-headed, nor with a square head; not bald, nor with

Jnic chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia, yn ipan ic cemjlhujtl ic macujlli metztli, in mitoaia, Toxcatl.

In ipan in toxcatl, vel yueiilhujuh catca in tezcatlipoca: vncan tlacatia, vncan moquetzaia: ipampa ca vncan miquja, yn jxiptla in cexiuhtica onen.

Yoan iquac njman noce vncan mixquetzaia yxiptla, yn oc no cexiuhtica nemiz:

ca miequjntin in nemja, teixiptlaoan in quinpia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpixque: aço quẽ matlactli in nenj: y ichoantin y, ca mamalti tlaqujxtilti qujxtiloia, yn iquac oalxitiloia mamalti, vncan pepenaloia, intla aca ce oqualittoc, in qualli ynacaio: njman onano, qujmonpialtiaia in calpixque: auh iece ipan qujoalixquetzaia tlacotli, ichoatl qujnictia in tlamanj:

ca ichoatl ic pepenalo, in qualli itlachieliz, in mjmatquj, in mjmatinj, in chipaoac ynacaio, cujllotic, acatic, piaztic, iuhqujn otlatl, ipanoca temjmjltic, amo tlacaçolnacaio, amo tomaoac, amo no tetepiton amo no cenca quauhtic:

ca yiaioca muchioa, yn aqujn cenca quauhtic, qujlhuja in cioa: quauhtitin, quauhchachalan, citlalmaololo: yn aqujn pepenaloia, in teixiptla, atle yiaioca:

iuhqujn tlachictli, iuhqujn tomatl, iuhqujn telolotli, iuhqujn, quaujtl tlaxixintli, amo quacocototztic, quacolochtic, vel tzõmelaoac, tzompiaztic, amo ixquachachaquachtic, amo ixquatotomonquj, amo ixquaxitontic, amo ixquaxiqujpiltic, amo quametlapiltic, amo cuexcochujtztic, amo quachitatic, amo quapatztic, amo quapatlachtic, amo quaoacaltic, amo quaxoxomalacqui, amo ixquamamalacachtic, amo ixquatolpopoçactic, amo ixquatolmemetlapiltic, amo

1. *Cemilhuitl* is usually translated as "one day" or "all day." Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 291) renders it "the first day." Simeón (*op. cit.*), in his extended discussion, admits a meaning of "the first day," or "all the days"; this latter appears to fit the events related in Chapter 24.

2. Of this name, Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37) writes: "Toxcatl, Tepopochoiliztli. *De todas las interpretaciones dadas á la palabra Toxcatl, la más grosera á nuestro entender, es la dada por Gama, tomada del P. Acosta: 'una soga gruesa torcida de sartales de maíz tostado.'*"

Clavigero (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 402) explains that "*La figura del mes quinto es la de una cabeza humana con una cadena debajo, para representar aquellas sartas de maíz tostado que se ponían al cuello, y con las cuales adornaban también al ídolo de Tezcatlipoca, por lo que el mes tenía el nombre Toxcatl*"; and (p. 152) "*unos sacerdotes vestidos de negro y vestidos del traje del ídolo, los bajaban en unas andas bien adornadas al pie de la escalera. Los mancebos y vírgenes del templo rodeaban las andas de una cuerda gruesa compuesta de sartas de maíz tostado y ponían al ídolo una sarta al cuello y una guirnalda en la cabeza. A esta cuerda por ser de grueso sartal y símbolo de la sequedad que pretendían evitar con sus plegarias, llamaban* toxcatl, *el cual nombre se dió por esta ceremonia al mes quinto de que hablamos.*"

Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 291) also suggests as a translation for the name "*sun dryness, sun drought*"—"*sumatra secura.*"

3. Sahagún (Bulnes edition, Vol. II, p. 315) refers to "*los mayordomos de las provincias, que llamaban calpixques de las provincias*"; and (Vol. III, p. 122) adds: "*Estos eran habla urbana y mandaban que mandaban a sus súbditos; había principales, personas conocidas, como son los que llamaban calpixque, que regían a los demás.*"

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643 714 531

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, izquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in ecatl, toçecatl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in ecatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli teruçiztli, ioan qujqujztli in mopitza 534 isuc injc çemeca iauqujzque, injc mjcali: in quach- 727 panjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in teruçtia in isuc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in jzquj quachpanjtl. Niman çemeca in iauqujzque, injc mjcali,

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic 643 mantiuh in quetzalli iaoaltic. Xiloxochipatzactli, que- 714 tzalli in jizoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jcanaoacân mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomaltectli. Maquaujtl itztzo in jtenco tlatectli, quetzalaztatzontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in jpoçonca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec in quetzalli. [41]

[p. 36 has no textual material]

532
[714
724
411]
[727
782]
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[726
714
411]
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[695]

—*Hist. Pueb. y Tenoch.*

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited tensely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech cloats, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzalcoo[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was strained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponja: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlapitzalli in tecuciztli, in oquipitzque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tletl, njman ic cemeoa, in jxquich iuquiuxquj, motempapauja, mjcali, qujtlemjna in teucalli.

Auh in achto in çaçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan qujmjctia, in teteu, tecpatica quelitequj.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh altepetl, njmã ie ic nemalpoalo, in quexqujch malli: ioan in quexqujch omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi qujcaqujtia in tlatoanj, injc tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman qujnnaoatia, in tecutlatoque: injc qujtemachtitiuj, injc qujtecaqujtititiuj, in jnchan in jxqujnti, oiaumjqujto, injc choqujliloxque in jnchachan, in oiaumjqujto: ioan qujtecaqujtia in jnchan, in quexquj otlamato iauc, ic vncan qujcujia in maujziotl, in jpampa oqujchiotl: ioan qujmomaceuiaia in jxquich iteicneliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc cenca qujmjcneliaia in tlaçopipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, qujmaca calpixcantli: ioan in jxquich tlaçotli necujltonolli, in mauziotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame qujtlacoa iauiotl, njman vmpa qujnmjctia in iauc qujnviujtequj, qujntetepachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, qujmocujcujlia ce malli, qujtoa ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no qujtoa ca nomal: intlacamo ce tlacatl itech nelti, aiac no qujnjttac, in quezqui tlamaque: ichoantin qujntlatzontequjlia, in tonatiuh itlatocaboan: aiac tle onquiça in jmomextin in qujmocujcujlia in malli: iuh qujtzontequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce itech pouhquj iex in malli: vitzcalli qujpoaia, calpolco qujcaoaia, in jchan tlacateculotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oazioac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman icoac motlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacalaqujlli itech mana in tlein vmpa muchiua, auh njman no iquac inque- 728 651

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 301-302, referring to the *barrio* of Cuauhxa, where drawn fought and died in sacrifice: "Este era en el punto del templo que se dice Tlamacazco."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

565
868
701

Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanquijçiauhque: oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: xinotlalican açó çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oquicaquitique moteçuma quintlatlatia quinpopoloa. [687]

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuqui in oia in oompoliuh, alteperl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oncaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezquitzontli onnuchiuh. 727

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezquitzontli onnochiuh malli: [202 701]

auh in qujmelaujliaia in, quezquintin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, açó cequintin motequjoacaxima anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnquixtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmõtehoan motlatlauhtia. [431]

Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, açó vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa alteperl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma 721 729 727

4. Chimalpanocatl: Sahagún's comment on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y he de la tierra caca, que son los comunes de los chinampas."

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in iuhquima tlamamatlatl injc tlecoia in jxqujchica tecutlato muchioa. 302 855

Auh izcatquj injc ontzinti, in imemjliz in telpuchtontli, in iacachtó çan oc moquateçonoa in oc piltontli: auh in ie matlacxiujtl icoac mocuexpaltia, auh in caxtolxiujtl, icoac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in acan tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço oteoncaioti, anoço oteecaioti, anoço otenãuhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica injc otepal tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc qujmoxexelhuja inmal chiquaceccã qujça. Injc ce vel iehoatl in tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: iehoatl in tomaiauhcãpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochcopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia iehoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzopaz. 727 858

Auh in in icoac mocuespallaça, inic moxima motzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcãpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalaci iioca motema initzotzocul: in icoac y oc centetl quicui inixaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic ittoz ca otepallama omocuespallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlatzin quilhuia. Nosuiuhtze omitzmixamili in tonatiuh, i tlaltecutli ocentetl ticcuic in moxaiac, auh ça otia, inmicpa xonmomaiaui ma mitzuicacan in toiauoã intla nen oc ceppa tepal xitlania tle tiez cuis timatzomocoltiz, ma nen ie no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomotla in toiauhoan. 603 [604] 861

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[3] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monestiiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc, ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im maceualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz maceualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztlena. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

auh ỹ yeoatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpisqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in q̃piezque. 727

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.

This passage originally, in the *Real Academia* MS, completed the section ending *nikmati quinehtekaua mochilachtin*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-qua* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *tlaxcuacuepaliz*, and *cruelmente tequilia*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*iqc uel y melauaca ininmocuaxca*—is "*in richtiger Weise die Zahl der Vierhundertne.*"

4. *Anca*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Oaxaca, Méx.: [Imprenta Mayó], 1940), p. 108; also Hernán Cortés: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he lanced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimã ye ic quimaca in motecçuiçoma in tlauiztli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech poxia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicauaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him. up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuã quinchiuaya. Auh niman cõmaca ỹ yocotzonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in imal. uel ispã im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ỹ ye iuhqui in oçe-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli mihtouaya teooctli. inic quiiq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in õya. niman ic coniaua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cõmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in õya. niman ic cõuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuiterqui auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moychecultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlaçamo tiacauh çan niman õmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan icuahca onmaquetzteteca niman ic conelteq' conculia in iyollo coniaulia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

Auh i ye iuhqui omnicouac. nimã ye ic mihtotia in tlauahuanqz in otemictiqz ⁊ yeuantin tlamacazqz. in ipan mihtotia cecentetl in tzontecomatl intlan caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca q'nchoq'lia ⁊ yehuãtin ypilhuã in omicqz. 796 727 793

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

auh i yeuatl malli nimã ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui][3] in ieuayo. in isquichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in imeuayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco. inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecsi* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecsi*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecsi;* they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

oc uel youã im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani in quemmã ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh in tiacaua nimã ye ic no motecpana q'mimamictimomana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in motztimani. auh nimã ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa õuetzi in tototecti q'moncotoniña in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mocotoniliqz nimã ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa q'mõmana in innemanaya in itocayocã totectzontecontitlã. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl q'mõcaua. 796

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecsi* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimã ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techã. uel nouian calaq̃ auh im macualli ye iuhca ỹyollo quinchie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallaacalli. yztocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepancacalaq' in ontlaçotlalo. 796 431 262

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlaeuã. in queheua cõmaca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl. aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc. momoztlae yui.

3. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

000 smarteth. Where, in truth, [may we turn], O our lord?"

Then [the messengers] commanded those who watched; they said to those at the head of the guard: "Even though he sleepeth, tell him: 'Lo, they whom thou hast sent over the water have come!'"

And when they went to tell him, then he replied: "I shall not hear it here; I shall hear it in the Coacalli. There let them go." And he commanded and said: "Let two captives be covered with chalk."

727 782 [202]

And then the messengers went to the Coaralli,[1] and also the noble Moctezuma himself.

Thereupon, before them, were slain the captives; they slashed open their breasts; they sprinkled the messengers with their blood. For this reason did they so do: that they had traveled into very perilous places; that they had gone to see — had looked into the faces and at the heads of, and had verily spoken to — the gods.

Niman qujmõnaoatique in qujpia in jtzontlan tlapia qujmonjlhujque intla mocochitia xicmolhujlican ca ovallaque in tiqujnmotitlanj atl itic.

Auh in oconjlhujto: njman qujoalito. Amo njcan njccaquja, vmpa njccaquja in coacalco, ma vmpa vian, yoan oallanaoati: qujoalito: ma ontetiçavilo in mamalti.

Auh njman vmpa iaque in coacalco in titlanti: no ichoatl in motecuçomatzin,

njmã ic ic imixpan mjcoa qujmeltetequj in mamalti, in jmezio ic qujmonatzelhujaia in titlanti (ipampa in juh qujchiuhque in, ca cenca ovican in ovia ca oqujmjttato, imixco imjcpac otlachiato, vel oqujnnotzque in teteu.

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 44.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

Injc chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenju ie- 000
hoatl motecuçoma, qujmjoa in nanaoalti in tlatlacateculo, in tetlachivianjme, injc itla impan qujchioazque in Españoles.

Niman iquac tlaioa in Motecuçoma in qujmjoa 64-3
mocheoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanaoalti: 791
yoan qujmjoa in achcacauhti, chicaoaque, in tiacaoli 262
in jpan tlatozque in jxquich intech menequjx in qualonj in totoli in tototlteti, io jztac tlaxcalli: yol in tlein qujtlanjzque, yoan injc ca oc vel pachiviz in iniollo, vel qujmjtzazque, qujmjoa in mamalti, ic monemachti, cujx qujtque in jmezço: auh iuh qujchiuhque in titlanti. [727]

Auh in jquac oqujttaque: cenca motlaeltique, chi- 000
chicha, ixtetenmotzoloa, ihicopi, motzontecõvivixoa: auh in tlaqualli eztica catzelhujque, queezvique, cenca invic coac, qujntlaelti: ichica ca cenca xoqujiac in eztli.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuh motecuçoma, ca qujnteuma, teteu impan qujnma qujnteutocac: ic notzaloque, ic tocaiotiloque, teteu ilhujcac vitze: auh in tiltique teucacatzacti mjtoque,

qujn ichoatl qujquaque iztac tlaxcalli, tlatzincujtl, 262
tototlteti, tototli, auh in ie ixquich xochiqualli, quauhtzaputl, teçontzaputl, atztzaputl, tototcujtlatzaputl,

1. Guthey, in "Parallelismus de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 170, refers to the "'*duplicación de la persona*' o el '*desdoblamiento*'" in regard to *nanaoli*. The term may be related etymologically to *nani* (4) — a quadruple personality, an archaic verb *nanali*, *nanalo* (to feed or disembalm, as in magic rites), or Maya-Quiché *na*, *nan*, *nana* (wisdom, science, magic). Guthey favors the second possibility (*nanali*, *nanalo*).

2. *Tlachiaueloc*: concerning the term *tlachiaueloloni*, Guthey refers to an *arte de hombre peruicioso*, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Robredo ed.), p. 33 — "*tiene pacto con el demonio*" (*diaueloloni*) (*ibid.*, p. 174). In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 389, he refers to *diaueloloni* as "*brujo*," "*mago*," "*hombre que perjudica a la gente*, *hombre peruicioso*"; "*precipitaba y procuraba la muerte.*" There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

3. *Tlaiolque*: we have previously used the term "soothsayer." In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), Guthey, noting that Molina translates the term as *astrólogo*, states: "*La rede exile, parece denotar fundamento astrológico*," and notes the relationship of the term to *tonalámatl*, one who prevents hail from falling. He cites *Lo poblanido del valle de Tonalámatlo*, II, p. 494.

4. *Quauhzapotl*: sapota (*Lucuma salicifolia* HBK.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Instituto Universitario, 1946), I, p. 274; same as *tzapotl* (*genérico* name), according to Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — Lucuma mamosa, *L. longipedi*, *Achras mammosa*, *A. sapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

5. *Tzapotzapotl*: mamey (Lucuma mamosa Gaertn.), sapotaceous (Santamarina, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (D. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 733, n. 2, this explanation appears: "*Les premiers Espagnoles d'Amérique confondirent* [with various sapotas] *le fruit beaucoup plus gros du tzapotzapotl ou bananier sauvage, de la famille des sapots, qu'ils appellent aujourd'hui mamey. C'est probablement le même fruit que les dialogues commentaires nomment le mamey de tzapotzapotl.*" See also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

6. *Atzapotl*: probably the same as *atzapotl*. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 267-268, this is Lucuma salicifolia Kunth. It is also identified by Santamarina, *loc. cit.*, as Lucuma salicifolia — *caimito tropical* or *sapotillo*. In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 224, it is identified as *sapote sapotillo* — *fruta gruesa* (*redondo*). The *atzapotzapotl* (yellow sapota) is now generally known as *sapote harinoso* (*personal communication*, Rafael García Granados).

7. *Tzontecomatzapotl*: *sapote prieto* (*Diospyros ebenaster* Retz — *ebenáceas*), in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

648 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.**

Tlacatecutli was the name, and Otoncoatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked [262] and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, saith: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

●727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla, and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman; [302] naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, vncã mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuica qujnamjqujco in Españoles yoan qujnmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacatecutli itoca, otoncoatl in jpiltoca, in valteiacã, in vncan qujcavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, totolin, totollalevatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, tototletl, yoa cequjn ioioli in tututin, yoan cequj nochtli contecaque ixpan in capitan:

qujtoque. Oanqujmjhioviltique, oqujmociaviltique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech maxitican, ma mjhiocujtican:

njmã qujnoalnãqujli in Malintzin: qujto. Notechiuhcavan, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmã qujlhujque. Ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmã qujoalito in Malintzin. Ça ic qualli otechmocnelilique, vmpa tiazque in muztla, vmpa ticuchizque.

Auh njmã vel iquac in otlatlavizcalli ieoac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ic ixqujch Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalcu, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltitlan, tulla, tulitic in qujmamaiavito, qujmõtzotzopontitlaçato, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa qujntlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, coztalanpopul, coztemjloltique in cioa, muchintin qujnpepetlauhq̃ qujntlacujcujlique, qujntlatepevilique, qujnpetztoccauhque.

Auh in Espanoles nonqua qujntetenque, qujuvivipanque, ic on tolcellome, ic õ mezttallome, ic on acaxilome ic on tolcellutl innacaio, yoan qujnçaçacque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in jxqujch in intlatquj in tlamamalchichiuhtiuh muchi namoieloc, muchi maceoaloc, in aqujn

●727 all was claimed as booty. He who came upon something, took it, whatever it was; he appropriated it, carried it off on his back, and took it to his home. And on the very place where there were the killings, all—whatsoever it was—which they had gone from and left in fear, and much war equipment, were there stolen: the lombard guns, the arquebuses. And some lay there strewn: gunpowder, iron swords, iron lances, halberds, iron crossbows, and iron bolts lay scattered. And also there were looted iron helmets, corselets of iron and of chain mail, and leather, iron,[1] and wooden shields. And there were claimed as booty the bars and plates of gold, and gold dust, and golden necklaces with pendants.

And when all had been pillaged, thereupon all dispersed into the water and, severally, searched for things, some using their hands, some using their feet.

And as they had set forth, those in the lead had been able to escape. But those who had closed the march, those fell [into the canal] and sank in the water. All had died. It seemed as if verily mountains of [dead] men had been formed. They had pressed against one another and indeed slain themselves, smothered.

726 And while this was going on, there at Acueco [the Spaniards] had slept; still at night, yet well toward the dawn, they arose, bedight themselves, and girt themselves for battle. Each put on his war array. Thereupon they departed, moved on, and placed themselves in order. And the Mexicans took after them, shouting and crying out—following after them only at a distance, keeping after them from there. And when they reached another place, called Calacoayan, on top of a rounded hill, on a small rise, where there were rows of rocks,[2] there they set upon and slew the people, spearing them. The people there were unwarned, these Calacoayan folk. Without notice they were slain. [The Spaniards] vented and loosed their wrath upon them. And when they had put the people to death, thereupon they came down below and occupied the flat lands, the small plain called Tiçapan. After this they climbed up to Teocalhueyacan.

çaço tlein ipan oquijçato, quicuitivetzi, quimotechtia, quimoamaltia quitquj in jchan, yoan vel ipan nemjmjctiloc in jxquich in çaço tlein oquimauhcacauhtiquizque yoan mjec in iautlatquitl in vncan namoieloc in tomaoac tlequiquiztli in matlequiquiztli, yoan cequj vncan tepeoac, vncan tepeuh in tlequiquiztlalli, in tepuzmaquavitl, in tepuztopilli in tzinacantopilli, in tepuztlavitolli, in tepuzmitl: yoã no vncan macoaloc in tepuzquacalalatli, in tepuzvipilli, in tepuzmatlavipilli, in coachimalli, in tepuchimalli, in quauhchimalli: yoan vncan momaceuh in teucuitlatl in tlaxantectli, yoan teucuitlacomalli, yoan teucuitlatl tlaxaqualolli, yoan in chaiaoac coxcatl teucuitlaio.

Auh in ic ixquich in otlanamoieloc, nimã ie ic onnetepeoalo in atlan, netlatetemolilo, cequitin tlamatemoa, cequitin tlacuitemoa.

Auh inic quizque in iacattiaque, ie vel quizque: auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, iehoantin in motepetivique in matlanvique, mochintin mjcque vel iuhquj tlacatepetl motlali monenepanotoque, çan moetechmjctique, mjhiomjctiq̃:

auh in ie iuhquj in vncã acueco, in oncochque, oc veca iowan oc vellavizcalpan in meuhq̃, in mochichiuhque. in moiauchichiuhque, in õmaaquique in iautlatquitl: njman ie ic oneoa, onolinj, õmotema. Auh in mexica quimjcavatztivi quimoiovitivi, aocmo intech onaci, ça vecapa quimjtztivi ça quin vecapa vitivi, ça quinnachcapavitivi. Auh in onacique cecnj, itocaiocan calacoaian, tlamjmjlolticpac, tlacpactonco, in vncã tecuecuentla, vncã õtemjctitiquizque onteixilque, amo quimjmachitique in vncan tlaca, in calacoaiantlaca, amo innemachpan in mjctiloque, intech motlavelquixtique, intech mellelquixtique. Auh in ontemjctique: nimã ie ic ontemo in tlanj, connamjquj in tlalpechtli, in jxtlaoatontli: itoca, Tiçapan: njman ie ic ontleco Teucalhujacan.

1. Tepuzmitl: read tepuzmitl.
2. See Pl. 98.

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who
● 727 had died, who had been speared. There they burned all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them: they buried them in the earth.

Auh in ic iuhquj: njmã ic ic teiizimacho in tiacaoan in omjcque, in oxiziloaque, vncan qujntlatique in jaqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujnenechicoaia, coolokoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlamj,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemj. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl caualo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] —in which began the new year—also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished: when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

Auh in ic iuhquj: njmã ic ic teiizimacho in tiacaoan in omjcque, in oxiziloaque, vncan qujntlatique in jaqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujnenechicoaia, coolokoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in inquilhujtico in Mexico inic calaqujco in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlactiz Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique vme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oncic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic qujoaltoqujlia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Tititi no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Jzcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl moteneoa Nemontemj: auh in ontzonquja macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quauitl eua, vncã xiuhqujtzqujlo, vncan peoa in iancujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã qujoaltoqujlia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: vncan qujvaltoqujlia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan inpoliuhque Tiacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Tecuilhujtontli, ie vncan in qujzque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in qujzque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic qujzque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jaqujlhujtique matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left—

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: iuh nemachoc in ca oiccen iaque, in ca iccen oiaque, aocmo cepa valmocuepaque, aocmo cippa imjlloch qujchiouaa-

4. The Aztec year skips Atemoztli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Conversion*, p. 134.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VII—*The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 25; Sahagún, Bulmarda ed., II, p. 300.

726 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans took captive and seized fifteen[1] Spaniards.**

"O Mexicans, onward!"

On this, the sentinel raised a war cry. [Shell] trumpets were sounded, and they charged with shield.

Thereupon they took after the Spaniards, they followed dispersing them and taking captives. Fifteen of the Spaniards were seized. Then they brought them in. And their boats [the enemy] withdrew, going to stand by in the middle of the lagoon.

●727 And when they had brought the eighteen where they were to die, there at the place called Tlacochcalco,[2] they thereupon stripped them; they took from them all their arms and their cotton armor, and all which was on them. All they tore from them. Then they were made slaves; they slew them. And their companions remained watching them from the middle of the lagoon.[3]

726 And at one time they put in two of their boats there at Xocotitlan.[4] When they had landed, thereupon they went looking in the settlement of the people of Xocotitlan. And Tzilacatzin and other chieftains, when they saw the Spaniards, set upon them and sent them fleeing, casting stones at them as they went. They came to chase the Spaniards into the water.

And another time [the Spaniards] brought their boats there to Coyonacazco[5] to wage war and give battle. And on arriving, then some Spaniards came out. Leading them came Castañeda Xicotencatl,[6] who walked wearing his [device of] quetzal feather

Injc cempoalli onnauhtlactli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica tlamaque in qujmacique Españoles caxtolti.

Mexicae ma ic cuel:

njman ic ic tlacaoaca, yoan tlapitzalo yoan chimalloça in iautlachjaquj:

njman ic ic qujntoca in Españoles, qujmaiauhtivi yoã qujmantivi, caxtoltin in anoque in Españoles: njmã ic qujnoalhujcaque: auh in jmacal njmã ic qujtzinqujxtique, anepantla contecato.

Auh in oqujmaxitico caxtoltin omei in vncan mjqujxque itoca: tlacuchcalco: njmã ic ic qujnpepetlaoa, much qujncujlique in iniautlatquj, yoã in jmjchcavipil, yoan in jnqujch in intech catca, moch qujntepeoaltique: njman ic ic tlacoti qujnmjctia: auh in jmjcnjoan qujnvalizztoque anepantla.

Auh ceppa qujcalaqujque vnteti in imacal in vmpa xocotitll: in oconacanque, njmã ic ic vmpa itztivi in incalla xocotieca. Auh in Tzilacatzin, yoan oc cequjntin tiacaoan: in oqujmittaque in Españoles: njman intech oalietiqujzque, qujnoallalochtocaque, qujntepachotivi, atlan qujnteponaco in Españoles.

Auh ic no ceppa qujoalhujcaque in jmacal in vncan coionacazco injc tlaiecozque, injc mjcalizque. Auh in oacico njman ic valqujzque cequjntin Españoles, qujnvaliacan in castañeda xicotencatl: iquetzaltemal ietinemj. Nimã ic ic vallatepuzmjvia: auh

1. Eighteen are mentioned later. Cf. also Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 189 (chapter heading). The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* has fifteen.

2. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*en que estaba una casa que era como casa de audiencia, cerca de donde agora es la Iglesia de Santa Ana.*"

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los caracoles los compusieron delante del pueblo que se llamaba Mixiffuacan y los otros españoles estaban enfrente donde los mexicanos estaban los mataban.*"

4. Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 190: "*que es agora [el barrio de] S. Francisco.*" Cano (*op. cit.*) says it is the same as Cihuatempan, in Mexico-Tlatelolco.

5. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*cerca del barrio de Sta. Lucía (que por otro nombre se llama Amaxac).*" Cano (*op. cit.*) identifies Coyonacazco as a part of the barrio of Tlaxcoaltitlan, to the north in Tlatelolco. R. H. Barlow ("Cinco días de los años de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, IX [1947], p. 32) places it "*en lo bajo de la ermita del Peñonzuelo de Hidalgo.*" A map in Armendáriz Espejo and R. H. Barlow: "El plano más antiguo de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, I (1944), shows it in the northeast part of the city.

6. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*Dadiego de Castañeda (él quiere los indios llamaban Xicotencatl, por nombre por sobrenombre).*"

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726 **Thirty-fifth Chapter.** Here is related how once again the Mexicans took captives and seized Spaniards, and, as counted, the captured Spaniards [were] fifty-three. And also [were taken] many men of Tlaxcalla, Texcoco, Chalco, and Xochimilco. Also [it is told] how they slew all in sacrifice there before those which were their gods.

And when this had come to pass, then the chieftains who had been crouched, together fell upon them; they fell upon them from their ambush in the spears among houses. And the Spaniards, when they saw this, [were] as if drunk. Thereupon were
727 captives made. Many men of Tlaxcalla, Acolhua-
726 can, Chalco, Xochimilco, etc., were taken. Verily, myriads of captives were made and men slain. Truly, they forced the Spaniards into the water, and indeed all the [allied] people.

And the road became very slippery. It could no longer be traveled; each one could only slip and slide. And the captives were dragged along. Here in this place the [Spaniards'] standard was taken. Here it was seized. Those of Tlatiluico took it. It was captured there where now is [the church] named San Martin. But [the Spaniards] showed no concern over it; they were not troubled over it.[1] And others escaped [the Mexicans'] hands. They went leaving them exhausted at Colhuacatonco,[2] at the edge of the canal. There they retired to establish themselves.

727 And after this they took the captives there to Yacacolco. They were urged forward; they went surrounding their captives. One went weeping; one singing; one crying war cries while striking the mouth with the palm of the hand. And when they had been brought to Yacacolco, thereupon they were placed in rows, in files. One by one they proceeded to the small pyramid, where they were slain. First went the Spaniards. They took the lead. But all those of the [allied] cities came only last, following. And when they had been slain, then they strung the

Inje omppoalli on caxtolli capitulo: vncan motenecoa, in quenjn ie no oppa tlamaque mexica in quimacique Españoles, in jnh mopouhque in axivaque Españoles, ontecpátli onmatlactli omei; yoā no mjequjn tlaxcalteca, Tetzcuca, chalca, xuchmjlca. Auh in quenjn muchtin, vncā quinmjctique in injxpan in Teuoan catca./.

Auh in ie iuhquj in jxqujchtin tiiacuvan, nec quivalontlaça in ontopachotoca, caltzalanli quivalototocatiquijxque. Auh in Españoles in oquiztaque ça iuhquin tlavique: njman ie ic tlamalo, mjequjntin in axivaque in tlaxcalteca, in ácolhoeque, in chalca, in xuchmjlca, &c. vel tonacatlamaloc, tonácamjcoac, vel atlan quinnemjtique in Españoles, yoā in ie ixqujch tlacatl:

auh in vtli vel petzcauhtimoquetz, aoc vel nenemoa, ça nepepetzcolo, ça nexalanalo. Auh in mamaltin tevivilanoc ie vncan in, in axioac in vandera, vncan anoc: iehoantin cacić in Tlatiluica: vncan in macic, in ie xxcan sanct Martin moteneoa: çan atle ipā quittaque, amo ōnecujtlaviloc. Auh in oc cequjntin tematitlampa quijxque: vmpa quimōciauhcavato in colhoacatonco, acalotenco, vmpa valmomanato.

Auh njmā ie ic qujnvica in mamaltin in vmpa iacacolco, tetototzalo, quimololhujtivi in immālhoan, in aca chocatiuh, in aca cujcatiuh, in aca motenvitectiuh. Auh in onnexxitiloc iacaculco: njmā ie ic tevipano, tevipanolo, oceniaca oniatinanj in mumuxco, in vncan tlamjctilo, iacattiać in Españoles, coniacatique: auh ça vntlatzacujque, ontlatoquijlique in ixqujchtin altepeoaque. Auh in ontlamjctiloc, nec quinquaquauhço in ītzonteccon in Españōles: no quiçoçoque in cavalloome intzōtecon, tlatzintlan in quitecaque: auh in intzonteccon Españoles tlacpac

1. It was captured by an Indian from Tlatiluico named Tlapanecatl or Tlapanecatl Ixcuitin, according to the version in Bustamante, op. cit., pp. 191-192; here it is said that this captain preceded the capture of the fifty-three Spaniards.

2. A barrio in the Parroquia de Sta. María la Redonda Cuepopan or Tlaquetzalcuan; now bounded N. by Calle del Organo; E., República de Chile; S., Perú; W., Alhondiga (approximately). — Cano, op. cit.

●727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] stavas [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[9] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

in onoca, in çopotoca, çonatiuh quiçanmijctoca. Auh in jnquijch nepapan tlacatl, amo quinçoçoqui: in innonacto in voca tlaca. auhqui xiuhmqui Españoles centecpanxili onmatlactli onei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos.

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

auh tel noviian tlatlapiclo, necaliuo: amo ic mocaoa in tlapiclizti, in noviian techiaoalotinemj ic xochmjlca in acaltica, nocochimpa tlamalo, nococampa mjoua.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *calorin* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

[137]

Auh in jnquijch macevalli, cenca tlaihiovizia mainoia, mjec in mapiztmjquijli aocmo quja in quallitl, in ecatl, çe tequjzquijtl in qtoja ic mjec tlacatl momjquijli, yoã mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli quijtlaz in mjc: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpolin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjzquijçacatl: yoan quijquaquaque in tzompanquavitl, yoan quijquaquaque in tzacuxchitl, yoan in tlaquijli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçeoatl, quijtletoatzaia, quimocaqujaia quijtotoporzaia, quitotoponjaia inic quijquaia yoã in tetzmeti, yoan in xaxatl qujetzaoaia: aoc tle inhquj inic tlaihiovilloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

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3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los capitanes eran diez . . . los otros indios eran buenos . . . los caballos eran buenos."*

4. Ibid., op. cit., p. 570, omits this passage.

5. *Huapatl*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which Mexicans cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados). — In Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as "*hierba . . . es muy verde y tiene parecido como el trigo, y es blanco, edionda las comejan y eran animales.*" Kennett, op. cit., p. 239, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

6. *Tequizquipatl*: probably pasture or, either lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados). — For this, Sahagún, op. cit., p. 271, has "*hierba muy dulzera y sabrosa, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . es buena para ganado.*" Kennett, op. cit., p. 223, citing Hernández (op. cit.), calls it "*zacate grama or crecido grass, possibly Distichlis spicata (L.) Greene. Grama (tequizquipatl) in Molina, op. cit.*). Bustamante (op. cit., II, p. 51) identifies as *Paniceum repens* L., very abundant in the Amazonas.

7. *Tzompanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (op. cit., III, p. 273), "*es árbol medianos, tiene ramas arrugadas, tiene la cepa redonda y de buen parecer, dicen unos flores que es Eritrina corallodendrón; son muy colorados y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; los hojas de este árbol es Eritrina corallodendrón*"; p. 348: "*Tzquauitl. árbol, flor y fruto del Colorín. Erythrina corallodendron. D.C. Leguminosas.*" Bustamante, op. cit., III, p. 321, giving the same botanical identification and *E. americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompanxochitl*), and observes of the bean (*colorín*) that it is "*veneno de pajarillo cojo, dicen que envenena sus chichichis muy peligrosos.*"

8. *Tzacuxchitl*. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 300, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Bletia campanulata* La Llave and Lex. (?), *Epidendrum pastorio* La Llave and Lex. (?), *Gymnosiphon macrolepis* Kunth (?) — all orchids. Hernández, op. cit., II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxochitl o tzacuhili flexible. Bletia campanulata* La Llave y Lex, or *B. coccinea* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, op. cit., tlaquilli is glandé or stamen. Tlaquilli, however, is given by Kennett, op. cit., p. 224, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as marvellis. It is conditional. Bustamante, op. cit., III, p. 346, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera, and trompadilla.*

10. *Tetzmeti*. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 249, says it is like *xamaitlin*: "*hojas muy verdes y carnosas y colorados, y sembrado encima hecho, y tiene las mismas colores. . . . olores . . . dulce, y aspera y burguillas . . . la hacen de una vara redondo*" (conditional). Kennett identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moçiño and Sessé—commonly, *siempreviva* (op. cit., p. 223). Bustamante, op. cit., III, p. 85, adds *S. quitense* H. B. K. and *S. cremeum* Benth.

11. Cf., however, Ibid., op. cit., p. 556: "*and Stock and Leder und Hirschhaut, de bríncos, hojas, rámanos, brocanos, asaron se en, and Tzacuxtlaquia and Lehmziegel and asaron Tecuxal.*" Of *tecuxal* or *tecuxil*, Sahagún (op. cit., p. 289) says it is a hot country plant used for coloring. Bustamante, op. cit., III, p. 143 (*tecuxcatl*), says it is "*semillas redondas de varios plantas medicinales, como el capulincillo o tlápan (Cornus sericea), el tecuxquite (Mimosa lacelgana, y otros.*"

100 -

Fortieth Chapter. Here is told how the men of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan and their leaders yielded to the Spaniards,[1] and what befell when they were among them.

And when they had betaken themselves to bring him and disembark him, thereupon all the Spaniards came to see. They drew him along; the Spaniards took him by the hand. After that they took him up to the roof-top, where they went to stand him before the Captain, the war leader. And when they had proceeded to stand him before [Cortés], they looked at Quauhtemoc, made much of him, and stroked his hair. Then they seated him with [Cortés] and fired the guns. They hit no one with them, but only made them go off above, [so that] they passed over the heads of the common folk.[2] Then [some Mexicans] took and got into a boat and guided it there to the house of Coyoueuetzin.[3] And when they arrived, then they climbed up to the roof-top, whereupon once again they slew men and many died there. But [the Mexicans] only fled. With this the war reached its end.

Then there was shouting; they said: "Enough! Let it end! Eat grass!" When they heard this, the common folk thereupon issued forth. On this, they went, even into the lagoon.

And as they departed, leaving by the great road, once more they there slew some,[4] wherefore the Spaniards were wroth that still some again had taken up their obsidian-bladed swords and their shields. Those who dwelt in house clusters went straightway to Amaxac; they went direct to where the ways divide. There the common folk separated. So many[5] went toward Tepeyacac, so many toward Xonoulitlán, so many toward Nonoalco. But toward Xolloco and toward Maçanintamalco no one went.

Inic ompoalli capítulo vnca mjtoa in quenjn ie- 728
hoantin tlatilulca yoã tenuchca yoan in intlatocauh
in intlan oncalacque Espanoles: auh in tlein mu-
chiuh in jquac ie intlã cate./.

Auh in oconaxitito in ocontlalhoacaquiztito: nj-
man ie ic much vallachis in Españoles, quivalanque,
inmatiech quivalanque in Españoles njman ie ic
quitlecavia in tlapanco ixpan conquetzato in Capitan
in iautachcauh. Auh in oixpan conquetzato, njmã
ie ic quitta, quimoottitia, quipepepetla in Quauh-
temoctzin: njman ic itlan quitlalique yoan contlan-
que in tlequipqujztli, aiac ic quimotlaque, çan impan
quipqujztique çan jmjcpac quiz in macevalti: njman
ic cẽtetl convicaque, concalaquique in acalli: vmpa
cõvicaque in jchan Coioveuetzin. Auh in oacique:
njmã ic tlecoque in tlapanco: njman ie ic no ceppa
temjctia mjec in vncan mjc: auh çã choloque, çan
jc vmpolivito in iniiol:

nec valtzatzion: quiton. Ie inquich ma quiton, 727●
xicmoquaktitin in quiltzintli: in oiuh quicacque in
njman ie ic oneua in macevalli: njman ie ic vi, çan
atlan.

Auh in oquijçato vei vtli ipan, ie no ceppa ocquin
vmpa quinmjctia, ic qualique in Españoles in oc no
çan ocquintin quitquj in iuamaquauh yoan inchimal:
in calla onoca quivalmelauhque in amaxac vallamelaoa, in vncain vei vmaxac: vncan xexelitiuh in mace-
valli, inquich tepeiacac itztia, inquich xonoulititlã
itztia, inquich nonoalco itztia. Auh in xolloccopa,
yoan in maçatzintamalcopa, aiac vmpa itztia.

1. Reproduce the title is omitted in the MS.

2. Probably an auxiliary salvo, without projectiles; we know that Cortés used this ruse to impress the Indians. Perhaps this time it was to fire over the end of the war (personal communication, Rafael Ortiz Gonzalez).

3. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 765, implies that they brought a cannon (*tlamaxac cuauhtli*). What appears to be the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando este cuauhtli salieron dos canones de manbarcar y entraron en la casa de un principal que se llamaba Coioueuetzin.*"

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*desde entonces se mataron algunos indios de los amigos de los españoles muchos.*"

5. So many: Barrera, op. cit. 62, however, Molina, op. cit.

727 481 And all who lived in boats and [in houses] on poles, and those at Tolmayecan,[6] went into the water. On some, the water reached to the stomach; some, to the chest; and on some it reached to the neck. And some were all submerged, there in the deeps. Little children were carried on the backs [of their elders]; cries of weeping arose. Some went on happy and rejoicing as they traveled crowding on the road. And those who owned boats, all the boatmen, left by night, and even [continued to] leave all day. It was as if they pushed and crowded one another as they set out.

Auh in jaquijch acalica onoca yoan in tlapechco catca, yoan in tolmaiecan çan ailan in iaque: in aca ixillan acitiuh in atl, in aca ielchiquipan, in aca iquechtlan acitiuh: auh in aca vel polaquj, in vacan vecatlan: in pipiltzitzinti temamamalo, tlachoquiztlesa: cequjnti mopapaquiltitivi, maaviehtitivi: in oonnacpanoto vtli Auh in acalaque, in jaquijch acale ça ioalica in quijs, yoã tel cemjlhujtl in çujaque iuhquijn moquequentivi injc vi.

727 And everywhere the Spaniards were seizing and robbing the people. They sought gold; as nothing did they value the green stone, quetzal feathers, and turquoise. [The gold] was everywhere in the bosoms or in the skirts of the wretched women. And as for the men, it was everywhere in their breech clouts and in their mouths.

Auh in jaquijcan antica tetlatlaçaltiaia in Españoles in teucujtlatl quijtemoa amo tle ipan quijtta, in chalchivitl, in quetzalli yoan in xivitl: novian nemja in ixtilla in incuetitlan, in cinatzitzinti. Auh in toquijchtin novian nemj ih imaxtlatitlan, yoan in iscamac

And [the Spaniards] seized and set apart the pretty women — those of light bodies, the fair[-skinned] ones.[7] And some women, when they were [to be] assaulted, covered their faces with mud and put on old, mended skirts and rags for their shifts. They put all rags on themselves.

yoan quijmanaia, quijnpepenaia in Cioa in chipavaque, in Cuztic innacaio in cuztique. Auh in cequjntin cioa injc motetlaçaltiaia, mjcoqujvique, yoan tatapatli in quijmocuetiq̃ tnotzomatli in quijmovipilhique, çan moch tnotzomatli in intech quijtlalique.

And also some men were singled out — those who were strong, grown to manhood, and next the young boys, of whom they would make messengers, who would be their servants, and who were known as their runners. And on some they burned [brand marks] on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their lips.

Auh no cequjntin pepenaloque in toquijchtin iehoantin in chicaoaque in iniolloco oquijchtin yoã in quijn telpupuchtotonti in qujntitlanjzque, in intitlanvan icaque, in motenoa intlamacazcaoan: cequjntin njmã quijncamatlatiq̃ cequjntin quijncamaicujloque: cequjntin quijntenjcujloque.

And when the shield was laid down, when we gave way, it was the year Three House and the day sign was One Serpent.

Auh in omomã chimalli: injc tiititinque, in xiuhtonalli ei calli. Auh in cemjlhujtlepoalli ce coatl:

728 And when Quauhtemoc went to deliver himself, up, they then took him, after nightfall, to Acachinanco. And on the morrow, when already a little sun shone, once more the Spaniards, a good many of them, came forth likewise to put an end [to the fray] — girt for war, [in] iron corselets and iron helmets, but not with their iron swords nor their shields. They all only pressed white linen cloths against their noses as they passed by; [for] the dead sickened them; they already smelled foul and stank.

Auh in jquac in ômotemacato in Quauhtemoctzin: njmã quijvicaque in acachinanco in ie ioa. Auh in jmantlaioc in ie achiton tonatiuh, ie no ceppa valaque in Españoles: vel mjequjntin, no çan iuh tlantivitze, in tlemuchichiu'tivitze, tepanvipilli, in tepanpacalaloti: auh aoc tle in intepanmaquauh, yoan aoc tle in inchimal, ça muchintin valmoiacapachotiaque intac canaoac ica quijtlaichtinia in mjmjoque in ie iyaia, in ie petenj:

6. Cinc, op. cit., mentions Tolmayecan (Tolmayecan?) as probably the same as Aquiaca.

7. Literally, of yellow bodies, the yellow ones.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[28]

[567 721] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[29] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[30]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacã, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapã, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpã (10).

[28] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[29] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est, le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[30] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiavan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[*] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[*]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[*] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[*]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors [323
8,000 reams of native paper 289]

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. [727]

[*] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[*] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Tazcala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[*] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[*] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[80]

[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[81]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco,* according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[82]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[83]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[84] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[85]

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[80] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE,* 6: 8).

[81] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[82] *PNE,* 5: 210.

[83] *GPM,* p. 112.

[84] *PNE,* 5: 250.

[85] *GPM,* p. 104.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

happened, and not as the historian Gomara has written it, for he says in his history that Pedro de Ircio went to settle at Panuco with certain soldiers. I do not know how, owing to a misunderstanding, so eloquent an historian could make such a statement. All the soldiers that Cortés had with him in Mexico did not number four hundred, and most of them had been wounded in the battles at Tlaxcala and Tabasco and we had not sufficient men to keep a good watch, much less for sending to settle at Panuco. Moreover he says that Pedro de Ircio went as their captain, when he was not a captain and not even an officer at that time, and they did not employ him nor take any notice of him, and he remained with us in Mexico. The same historian also says many other things about the imprisonment of Montezuma. I do not understand his writing, and stare at it when he writes such things in his history, for there must be conquistadores alive who were there at the time, who when they read it will tell him, that this did not take place in such a manner. In this other matter he says what he likes, so let us leave him there and return to our story.

The Mexican Captains after the battle with Escalante that I have spoken about, sent the news of it to Montezuma, and even sent and presented to him the head of Argüello, who it seems died of his wounds on the road, for they had carried him off alive. We heard that when they showed the head, which was large and strong looking and had a large curly beard, to Montezuma, he was terrified and feared to look at it, and ordered that it should not be taken as an offering to any temple in Mexico, but to some other Idol in another town. Montezuma asked his Captains how it was that having such thousands of warriors with them, they had not conquered such a small number of Teules, and they replied that their darts and arrows and hard fighting availed them nothing, and they could not drive their enemy

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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727 to flight because a great *Teleçiguata*[1] of Castile marched before them, and this Lady frightened the Mexicans and said words to encourage the Teules. Then Montezuma thought that great Lady must be Saint Mary who we had told him was our protector, and whose image, with her precious Son in her arms, we had given to him some time before. However, I did not see this myself, for I was in Mexico, but certain conquistadores who were present say so, and pray God that it was so, and certainly all the soldiers who were with Cortés believed it and so it is true, and the divine pity of Our Lady the Virgin Mary was ever with us, for which I give her many thanks. I will leave off here and go on to narrate what happened about the seizure of the Great Montezuma.

CHAPTER XCV.

Of the Seizure of Montezuma and what was done about it.

000 As we had determined the day before to seize Montezuma, we were praying to God all that night that it would turn out in a manner redounding to His Holy service, and the next morning the way it should be done was settled.

Cortés took with him five captains who were Pédro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Francisco de Lugo and Alonzo de Ávila, and he took me and our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and he told us all to keep on the alert, and the horsemen to have their horses saddled and bridled. As for our arms I need not call them to mind, for by day or night we always went armed and with our sandals on our

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[1] Tequeçihuata in the text.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

retreat began on one side, and an equally rapid pursuit on the other.[165] The objective point of this retreat was the settlement or "pueblo" of the attacked tribe, but if the vanquished succeeded in placing between them and their pursuers some natural obstacle, like a river, or deep ravine, or if they took refuge upon a wooded range of steep hills, then the victors were arrested, as they seldom ventured to attack when this attack necessitated a strong simultaneous effort on the part of the whole force.[166] Still less could they execute rapid flank-movements. In course of time they might circumvent certain obstacles, but then their supplies were so limited that, if there was no positive indication of success, either in storming the position *without great danger*, or in carrying it within a very *short time* by some rude feint, they preferred to desist from further endeavors, and to return home with whatever spoils the battlefield alone had furnished. Thus they "collared"[167] their captives (which had been carefully watched behind the battle-front) and returned to Mexico in moderate triumph, leaving it to future times to proclaim: that such and such a tribe had been subdued by them, whereas they had only defeated it in one engagement, and the tribe had still preserved afterwards its complete independence.[168]

"ticitl" a physician or diviner. Both agree very well with the conception of an Indian "medicine-man." There are, besides, evidences that priests went to war also, and I would suggest that it may have been a part of their duties to care for the wounded. A certain class of priests were called "tlamacazqui," certainly derived from "tlama," physician or doctor.

[165] A slow and orderly retreat is a movement hardly known to Indians. They rush either way, advancing or retiring. Even the return of the Mexicans from the unsuccessful onslaught on the Tarasca (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII. p. 84) was as near to a disorderly flight as possible. Durán says (Cap. XXXVII, p. 291): "El rey Axayacatl mandó, "alçar su real, y asi como huyendo y medio afrentado, con la poca gente que le auia "quedada, todo desbaratado y lo mas de la gente herida."

[166] Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 131): "Those who gained the battle continued the pursuit "until the opponents reached some place where they could fortify themselves." Also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXII, p. 34, and cap. LVII, p. 94).

[167] If, on the battlefield, a captive still resisted, they cut the tendons of his feet, thus rendering him incapable of motion. After the action the prisoners were secured by wooden collars ("cuauh-cozcatl") and thus they were led home in the van of the returning force. Arrived at Mexico they were conducted first to the chief-teocalli, and after prostrating themselves before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, *were marched around the great stone of sacrifice*. (Compare the relation of Adair, "History of the American Indians," Argument XVI, pp. 165 and 167.—Return of a Chikkasah war party from a foray into Illinois, in 1765.)

[168] Such was the case with Mextitlan (Cap. LVII, p. 94, of Tezozomoc, and Durán, Cap. XL, p. 314). Tizoczic made about 40 prisoners, and returned with the loss of 300 men ("Y que con aquello auian los contrarios recogidose a' sus lugares"). Still it is mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl as subject and tributary to the valley tribes.

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Then, but only then, ladders were con-
structed,[173] and with due precaution and under cover of various [417] 726
feints, the walls were scaled.[174] A regular siege was out of the question, the Mexicans not being provided for a protracted stay outside of their territory. They might lie in wait or hover around the enemy's defenses for a short time, bent upon attempting a surprise of some kind, but if the place could not be carried at a rush in some way the assailants finally had to abandon the attack and return home.[175]

We have heretofore presupposed that the tribe assailed by the Mexicans had been formally challenged, or at least notified of their coming. But this was not always the case. In many instances the Mexicans made their attack without previous warning, and a nocturnal surprise was attempted which was almost sure to succeed.

It is next to superfluous to venture a description of such a nightly onslaught. The scene, like that of the surprise of any settlement whatever by Indians during the hours of darkness, may be faintly imagined, but not adequately told. The main sallies and entries were occupied by the assailants,—creeping up stealthily,—the chief "teo-calli" surrounded, then the war-whoop was raised, and the miserable inhabitants of the pueblo realized at once that they were doomed. Few survivors only remained on such occa- 726
sions, and even these, unless the tribe surrendered at the first on- 727

tutepec had been sacked, the Mexicans moved upon Quetzaltepec, which was well fortified, and whose people sallied forth to meet the Mexicans in the open field three days in succession, until the third day at last they were signally defeated, and the defenses scaled in a rush.

[173] Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI). Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 448). The former describes these ladders ("escalas") minutely, giving their size and the number used.

[174] Tezozomoc speaks of archers posted outside, protecting by a shower of missiles the ascent of the scaling party or parties, while other bodies were burrowing through the wall. Durán gives a more plausible statement (p. 448): "Otro día salió al campo la "gente tepaneca con toda su provincia, que era gran numero de gente, la qual se uvo "tan valerosamente, que no los pudiendo resistir los de la ciudad, se empeçaron a' re-"traer hacia el muro. Montecuma, viendo que los tepanecas peleaban tan valerosamente "y que hacian retirar al enemigo, mandó tocar al arma, y en un punto salió el Mexicano "al campo y por otra parte el tezcucano, y arremetiendo todos de trapel, apellidando "los unos Mexico, Mexico, los otros Tezcuco, Tezcuco, acudieron cada uno por su "parte rompiendo por el exercito de los enemigos; y aunque de las murallas recibiar "gran daño de las piedras grandes y trocos de palos que arrojaban, llegaron a' ella y "arrimando escalas, y otros, como gatos, subieron por ella, y otros cabando por el "cimiento ganaron la primera cerca." This shows that indeed it was carried at a rush.

[175] For this reason the wars with the neighboring tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholullan, took the shape of regular fights at stated times. A long campaign was out of all question. We may, in the course of this essay, investigate shortly the question of the wars between Mexico and Tlaxcallan, although it is not properly pertaining to the object of the present discussion.

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 175 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Yepatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York," pp. 297-312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[648] [178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por "que los naturales della eran amigos de Muteczuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Muteczuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Toluca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 85): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi-"maroa, que dicen Tlaximoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Toluca se volvieron, viendo que su campo ño llegava: al iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with archers, but no close combats are mentioned.

[648] 721 [180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

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174 648 the Mexican tribe in a more direct manner. It was the overthrow and capture, after a short but bloody struggle, of the pueblo of Tlatilulco.[56] Owing to the close connection of the latter with the Mexicans both had remained on a non-hostile footing; for the suspicious watchfulness with which each viewed the other did not comport with any more intimate relations, those of trade and exchange excepted. When the confederacy came into existence, Tlatilulco was counted in as a part of Mexico, since its people acknowledged themselves to be Mexicans; but there is no evidence authorizing the conclusion that the Tlatilulca played any other role, beyond that of auxiliaries to their kindred of Tenuchtitlan.[57] The rash attempt of the former at the organization of a conspiracy to become "Mexico alone" terminated fatally; their place was taken and barbarously sacked, their leaders were killed in the fray or sacrificed afterwards, and the Mexicans, exasperated at the conduct of their treacherous kinsmen treated them in an unusually severe manner. We have seen already that, in any conquest, the conquered tribe, if not exterminated, was only subjected to more or less heavy tribute. But the Tlatilulca were dealt with far worse: [562] 174 648 727 they were degraded to the rank of "*women*," their public market was ordered closed, their council-house left to decay and their young men, expressly debarred from the privilege of carrying arms in aid of the Mexicans, were required to become the carriers of supplies to their captors. Such a punishment was unknown in the annals of Indian conquest, and appears even to militate against our views of aboriginal society in Mexico; still it was in perfect harmony with the institutions of the latter. The Tlatilulca were, as we should never forget, not only a tribe

[56] The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Plate XIV, also explanation Vol. VI, p. 138), concurs in this date, or the year seven "calli" which is indeed 1473.

[57] This acknowledgment—"to be Mexicans"—on the part of the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, was in the nature of a *claim*, and with a spirit of jealousy and envy. Although *Durán* says (Cap. XXXII, p. 257), "aviendo estado hasta entonces sujetos á la corona real de Méjico," this affirmation is utterly disproven, not only by all the other sources, but by his own statements (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 46). The confused and contradictory tales about the state of war preceding the formation of the confederacy still make the Tlatilulca always appear as assisting their neighbors of Tenuchtitlan, more or less. Sometimes they were neutral only, and at times they may have felt inclined to foster attempts at destruction of their rivals by outsiders, but they still were afraid of the consequences of it for their own independence. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 46). The singular statement that the Tlatilulca even attempted, though fruitlessly, to withdraw the Tezcucans and Tlacopans from Tenuchtitlan, inducing them to become their associates in the work of its overthrew, is significant. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LVIII, p. 176) "Quisose aliar con los de Tlacupa, y Tetzcoco, los quales no le acudieron."

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connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

174 648 727 [558]

"The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("*Idea*" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Européo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos i Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos tenvieron grandes diferencias: é Montecuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeodar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, desterróles de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los que quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de alli, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mezquique, é que le sirviessen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Montecuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatilnco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 335 and 336). [441]

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

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population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated, 565

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 154-157; cap. LXII, p. 184; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H.* 595
Bancroft (Vol. II. p. 276) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 200): "Tenia esto Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, á las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 336) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 81), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou, "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 38), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II, 56). See in a further note.

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia 595
and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept* 567
these women for their work. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir suelta, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necessidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban à necesitarse mucho, y haciansse Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 566): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Anónimo* says (p. 367): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, il che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre."

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have [727] been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Anónimo*," p. 373), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 39).

[89] They were the "tamenes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from [482]
"tlacatl"—man, and "nitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 336, Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 250, 251, and 260) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos et Quiroga a l'Impératrice*." (Mexico, 20 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Les Indiens ont de tout temps porté des fardeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . ."

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "macehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

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618 only established within that kin's territory, but it is also recog-
346 nized even at the central medicine-lodge of the tribe.

727 A further evidence of it is found in the manner of distribution of the captives, upon the return of a successful war-party. It is known that prisoners were always offered up to the idols. Such a person, therefore, as soon as secured, became an object of "medicine;" he was so to say a sacred object. Well treated as long as he was not needed for the slaughter-block, nothing could in the end save him from sacrifice. But this sacrifice itself was not made in behalf of his captor, but on behalf and for the *kin* to whom the captor belonged. Therefore upon arrival at the pueblo, the prisoners of war were turned over to the respective calpulli as their share thus furnishing another illustration of "Separate Rites of Worship" of the kins composing the ancient Mexicans.[118]

000 Having already discussed, in a former paper, the *tenure of Lands and customs of Inheritance*[119] we now pass on to one of the most essential features of tribal society, and one which involves some of the vital points of organization and customs.

618 *The kin was obligated to protect and defend the persons and prop-*
631 *erty of its members, and to resent and punish any injury done to them, as if it were a crime committed against the kin itself.*[120]

The impression justly prevails, that the so-called "penal code" of the Mexicans was simple but severe, death being, in most instances, the punishment of offenders. This resulted, in a great measure, from the fact that any offence against an individual

[118] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII. p. 128), rather contradicts himself when he says first: that the captive belonged to his captor, but at the same time, that this captor was even killed if he *gave* away his prisoner to another man. Second: that each one had to watch his own prisoners, and at the same time they were guarded in common, and at the risk of the "barrio" or kin, which was responsible for their safe keeping. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540) copies this almost literally. Much more positive and clear is *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173): "mandó Tlacaelel repartir los cautivos, porque eran muchos, por todos los barrios y que cada barrio se encargase de guardar y sustentar tantos . . . . . Los mandones de los barrios repartieron los presos á cada barrio, á como les cauia." (Cap. XXI, p. 186): "Montoçcuma los mandaua vestir y adereçar y llamanava á los Calpixques, que son los mandoncillos de los barrios, y entregananlas, para que tuviesen cuidado dellos, diciendo que eran la merced del sol, Señor de la tierra, que los dana para el sacrificio." (Id., cap. XXII, p. 192. Cap. XXVIII, p. 257): "luego fuéron repartidos entre los barrios y encomendados á los mandoncillos." (Cap. XLII, p. 343, etc.). *Tezcomoc* ("*Cronica*," cap. XXIX, p. 45; XXXII, p. 51; XXXIII, p. 58; XXXVIII, p. 61; XLIX, p. 69, etc.), confirms Durán as might be expected.

[119] "*Tenure of Lands and Customs of Inheritance*," 11th *Report of Peabody Museum*, 1878.

[120] "*Ancient Society*," (pp. 76 and 77). Compare *H. Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," pp. 361 and 362), among the ancient Germans.

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him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular 643 644
respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relación*," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), 114
simply says: "The said Moteczuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Diaz is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500), from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcaltecs ("*Art of War*," p. 155, note 231), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diaz de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw more of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to magnify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of his troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). 727
Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecalaachalco and 114
Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlalpiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuacuilizin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 62), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Mazatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhnelnequas, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipilas, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenuchtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the Matlatzincas;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with groans, and wails of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning
with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 302). "They went in pro- 114
cession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in 576

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648 nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience
651 to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

648 The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered
651 their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in
202 annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-
727 Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[299] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII, inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 535, 6 and 7), *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XV). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 167 and 168) confining himself to the Texcucans and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Zurita* (pp. 246, 247 and 248), *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 251). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 20 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans. pp. 223 and 224): on *Matlatzinco*, *Zurita* (pp. 394-397), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 63 and 65), and especially from the traditions on the forays and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 52, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.). *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues miré que lo sacais de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que les placia de lo llevar allá y servillos, ..." (Cap. XXII. p. 291): "y que se obligasen á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 206, Cap. XXV, p. 208, etc., etc., etc.)

567 [302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 212 and 213). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of medicine subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "outcasts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 88, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traianlos atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuezos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totobaca's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I).

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away—the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Injc matlactlomoxtlí capitulo: itechpa tlatna, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujnquechtzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuexcochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmoonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca ichoan iuca mozcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan oc qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, qujpopotxaqujaia, qujcacacatztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 684 727 761 789 824

Auh in ichoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê quivetimatia, qujmavizztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhqujj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixqujch cozcatl, in cozcapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in ixqujch nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xuxuxtli.* — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *jocoque — Bromelia pinguin L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un manojo de alfiler y crece hasta remejantes a las de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbútica."*

2. Tenochtitlán also as "town of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlaloque, Macuilxochitl, Xiuhtecuhtli, Tlazolteotl, Xilo, Tepetzintecuhtli, Coyolinchauhqui, Chicomecóatl, Xochiquetzal, Tlazoteotl (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the pochteca.

3. *Atcuitlaxtli se pochtecatlahtoani, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dijéramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre dos mercaderes . . . se entiende el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes"* (Sahagún, Codex, Lib. X, 14, 5).

Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 69): *"eine eigentümliche Volksnamen in der eigentlich der Sinn von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco."* Acxoteca was a merchant's barrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nosi Eheca, Chicomecóatl, Xoxoutzi, Cochinoti, Yacapitzauac, Nacxit, Chalmecatzinti (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 328, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: *"Neben den Grar Gaumann . . . , der auf Wanderschaft gehende Kleine und Marktsteuller zuweilen als der auf seiner Reisen gehende Grosskaufmann, auch Kaufmann i. A."*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
●728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.*

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.* (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited remotely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopuchtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as-many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech cloths, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzilopochtli[6] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponia: inic tlequanchilaca tlamacazqueq: ioã in tlapiz- 726
alli in tonacatli, in oquiqizaqueq tlamacazqueq:

ioan in ocuepon tlel, ninan ic omoua, in jaquich
iaxquiuqui, motemquaqueuja, mjcali, quitlemjna in
tocalli.

Auh in achen in caqi malli in malinacatl, can ninan
vncan, inixpan quimjctia, in teteu, tecpatica quehe-
tequj.

Auh in jcoac ouqcalioh ahcpetl, ninã ic ic nemal- 727
peuio, in quexquich malli: ioan in quexquich omic
mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, ninan muchi quicaquijtia in
tlatoanj, inic tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli inic
otlamaloc, ioan omjcnac: auh in tlatoanj ninan
quijnaoaia, in tecutlatoque: inic quitemachtitiuj,
inic quitecaquijtitiuj, in jochan in jaquijoti, oiaxmj-
quijo, inic choquilitaqueq in jochachan, in oiaxmj-
quijo: ioan quitecaquijtia in jochan, in quexquj
otlamato iaoc, ic vncan quicuja in mauiztiel, in
ipampa oquichiol: ioan quinomacecujaia in jaquich
teicnelhuia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotlmatli, in maxtlatl,
in itl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujtli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli:
oc ceuca quijnjcnelhuia in tlaçopipiltj, in tlatoanj intla
otlamato, quinaca calpixcauh: ioan in jaquich tla-
çotli necujhtomolli, in mauiztiel, in teiztl, in teiztl. [555]

Auh intla acamo quitlacoa iauiztl, ninan vnqa 637
quinmjctia in iaoc quinvicuiqequi, quinteteqachoa.

Auh intla acamo, quinecujcujlia ce malli, quitoa 727
ce tlacatl, ca nemal, in oc ce tlacatl no quinoa ca
nemal: inelacamo ce tlacatl iech nelti, aiac no quinj-
tlac, in quenjn tlamaqueq: ichoantin quintlatzonte-
quilia, in tonatiuh itlacatlaoan: aiac ce onquiça in
jmamextin in quinecujcujlia in malli: iuh quinon-
tequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce iech
pouhqui ica in malli: vitzcalli quipoiaia, cilpoiaia
quicaoaia, in jchan tlacatecatl.

Auh in jcoac oaxiaac ahcpetl in ouqcalioh, ninan 728
iaoac motlalia, in tequitl, in tlacalaquilli iech mana 651
in tlein vnqa muchiua, auh ninan no iquac iaqua-

6. Cf. ibid., pp. 301-302, referring to the dawn of Creation, when divine Knight and God in sacrifice: "Blue are we of pain del sangre que se dió Dios."

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[1] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been round. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a foe. The ruler might condemn them to death;

[681] hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

tzalo in calpixcqui, in quimocuitlauia, in ipan tlatoa in tlacalaquilli.

INIC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mixua, in quenin quinpepenaia luezes.

In tlatoani oc cenca quimocuitlauiaia in tetlamontequilliztli, quicaquia in iaquich in ineteilhuiil: ioan in ichocuiia, in inentlamachiliz in inetolinjliz in cuitlapilli, atlapalli in icnotlacatl, in motolinja in macrcoalli:

auh inic uel quinelitiliaia in tlatoani in tenetelhuiil anoço tetlatlacul quimixquetzaia, quinpepenaia in iteculatocahoan: ichoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncá in quinj, in quiquani, in mocuiltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oquichti, in iauc omoncaltique, mijec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjlizti, oquimauiçoque: auh in iaquij tlamantij qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in inpiltian oquimomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan [illegible]nijliztli, iauquiçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhq[illegible], inic quinpepenaia tlatoani, inic quimixquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti ichoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omoneapacuhque, in tiacahoan in oquichti, in mijec tlamantli oquimauiçoque, iteicnelilia tlatoani, in ipal ili, tl[illegible]ia, in quinpaquiltia, in quintlaubtia, ioan in quimaca, in iaquich intech monequi:

iuhque in in quimixquetzaia, in quinpepenaia tlatoani, in iteculatocahoan, in mimatini, in mozcaliani, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaqui, in vellatoa, in motlaiolloiani, in amo ahauiltatoa, in amo cacamanalos, in amo iliuix moocuiubtia, amo tlaoanani, cenca quimauizpia in tecuiod, amo cochini, cenca cochiçani amo tle quicnjubchioa: amo tle quiosiolcachioa: amo tle quitecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlauiltica quicaqui, anoço quitonbtequi: quimixquiznaoetiaia, in tlatoani: inic mclaoac quichioaque in intequiuh, in tecutlaulli: auh intlacamo, ca ichoantin conmotracuiliniaque in tecutlatoque, in tlein quitlachiaque.

Auh in iceac, oquimixquetz in tlatoani: in iteculatocahoan quimacaia vuetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

5. [illegible] cf. ibid., p. 321 (for [illegible]) and p. 321 ([illegible]).

Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art noh he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli onume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, qujoa ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoã oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injc qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl. 643 728

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmã ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjaquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cõnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl, vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmõmacaque teucujtlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoã teucujtlaconecatl. 431 301

Auh in oqujmõmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzica, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn cooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel iehoatl in cença camjquj, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoortititivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oçujttaque Tzioacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx iee hin in Motecuçoma: Qujmjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmõichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie iehoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, qujmjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçoma? Conjto. Ca nehoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmã qujlhujque. Nepa xiauh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacavix, amo vel toca timocaisoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatilos, amo vel titechichchinaz, amo vel titechixcuepaz, amo vel titechixpatiliz, amo vel titechtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopoloz, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechixçoqujvix, amo vel titechixçoqujmatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel technetlatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tototi, cujx patlanjx? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648 728 there somewhere a mountain pierced by a hole that he may enter? For we shall see him; for we shall not fail to look into his face. We shall hear his words; we shall listen to that [which cometh] from his lips."

Thus they only despised and belittled him. Thus came only to nothing still another of their welcomes and greetings.

Then they hurried straight and took the road direct [to Moctezuma].

coinoquj yiuic calaquiz ca tiquijtazque, ca amo maca ixco titlachiezque, ticcaquizque in jtlatol, itenco titlacaquizque,

ic çan contelchiuhque, atle ipan coojtaque ic çan onnenpoliuh in oc çequj in intenamjc, in intetlapalol:

ic njmã quioalmelauhtivetzque in melaoac vtli.

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NU7 Aztec NU7

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29. The road to Tenochtitlan is sown with magury plants (Chapter 14). 30. Spaniards receive the submission of two of the Four Lords (Chapter 14). 31-36. Spaniards on the march from Iztapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

727 And all who lived in boats and [in houses] on
481 poles, and those at Tolmayecan,[6] went into the water. On some, the water reached to the stomach; some, to the chest; and on some it reached to the neck. And some were all submerged, there in the deeps. Little children were carried on the backs [of their elders]; cries of weeping arose. Some went on happy and rejoicing as they traveled crowding on the road. And those who owned boats, all the boatmen, left by night, and even [continued to] leave all day. It was as if they pushed and crowded one another as they set out.

Auh in jxqujch acaltica onoca yoan in tlapechco catca, yoan in tolmaiecan çan atlan in iaque: in aca ixillan acitiuh in atl, in aca ielchiquipan, in aca iquechtlan acitiuh: auh in aca vel polaquj, in vncan vecatlan: in pipiltzitzinti temamamalo, tlachoquj-tlesa: cequjnti mopapaqujltitivi, maavicltitivi: in oconnepanoto vtli Auh in acaleque, in jxqujch acale ça ioaltica in quja, yoã tel cenjlhujtl in qujxque iuhqujn moqueqexxtivi injc ui

727 And everywhere the Spaniards were seizing and robbing the people. They sought gold; as nothing did they value the green stone, quetzal feathers, and turquoise. [The gold] was everywhere in the bosoms or in the skirts of the wretched women. And as for the men, it was everywhere in their breech clouts and in their mouths.

Auh in jxqujcan antica tetlatlaçaltiaia in Españoles in teucujtlatl qujtemos amo tle ipan qujtta, in chalchivitl, in quetzalli yoan in xivitl: novian nemja in inxilla in incuetitlan, in cioatzitzinti. Auh in toqujchtin novian nemj in imaxtlatitlan, yoan in incamac

And [the Spaniards] seized and set apart the pretty women — those of light bodies, the fair[-skinned] ones.[7] And some women, when they were [to be] assaulted, covered their faces with mud and put on old, mended skirts and rags for their shifts. They put all rags on themselves.

yoan qujmanaia, qujnpepenaia in Cioa in chipavaque, in Cuztic innacaio in cuztique. Auh in cequjntin cioa injc motetlaçaltiaia, mjçoqujvique, yoan tatapatli in qujmocuetiq tzotzomatli in qujmovipiltique, çan moch tzotzomatli in intech qujtlalique.

And also some men were singled out — those who were strong, grown to manhood, and next the young boys, of whom they would make messengers, who would be their servants, and who were known as their runners. And on some they burned [brand marks] on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their lips.

Auh no cequjntin pepenaloque in toqujchtin iehoantin in chicaoaque in iniolloco oqujchtin yoã in qujn telpupuchtotonti in qujntitlanjxque, in intitlanvan iexque, in moteneoa intlamacazcaoan: cequjntin njmã qujncamatlatiq cequjntin qujncamaicujloque: cequjntin qujntenjcujloque.

And when the shield was laid down, when we gave way, it was the year count Three House and the day count was One Serpent.

Auh in omomã chimalli: injc tixitinque, in xiuhtonalli ei calli. Auh in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce coatl:

● 728 And when Quauhtemoc went to deliver himself up, they then took him, after nightfall, to Acachinanco. And on the morrow, when already a little sun shone, once more the Spaniards, a good many of them, came forth likewise to put an end [to the fray] — girt for war, [in] iron corselets and iron helmets, but not with their iron swords nor their shields. They all only pressed white linen cloths against their noses as they passed by; [for] the dead sickened them; they already smelled foul and stank.

Auh in jxquac in ômotermacato in Quauhtemoctzin: njmã quivicaque in acachinanco in ie ioa. Auh in jmuxtlaioc in ie achiton tonatiuh, ie no ceppa vallaque in Españoles: vel mjequjntin, no çan iuh tlantivitze, in moiauchichiu-tivitze, tepuzvipilli, in tepuzquacalaladi: auh aoc tle in intepuzmaquauh, yoan aoc tle in inchimal, ça muchintin valmoiacapachotiaque iztac canaoac ica qujntlaieltiaia in mjmjeque in ie iyaia, in ie potonj:

6. [illegible], etc., translates Tolmayecan (Tolmayecan?) as probably the same as Apanco.

7. Literally, of yellow bodies, the yellow ones.

Fortieth Chapter. Here is told how the men of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan and their leaders yielded to the Spaniards,[1] and what befell when they were among them.

And when they had betaken themselves to bring him and disembark him, thereupon all the Spaniards came to see. They drew him along; the Spaniards took him by the hand. After that they took him up to the roof-top, where they went to stand him before the Captain, the war leader. And when they had proceeded to stand him before [Cortés], they looked at Quauhtemoc, made much of him, and stroked his hair. Then they seated him with [Cortés] and fired the guns. They hit no one with them, but only made them go off above, [so that] they passed over the heads of the common folk.[2] Then [some Mexicans] took and got into a boat and guided it there to the house of Coyouacuetzin.[3] And when they arrived, then they climbed up to the roof-top, whereupon once again they slew men and many died there. But [the Mexicans] only fled. With this the war reached its end.

Then there was shouting; they said: "Enough! Let it end! Eat greens!" When they heard this, the common folk thereupon issued forth. On this, they went, even into the lagoon.

And as they departed, leaving by the great road, once more they there slew some,[4] wherefore the Spaniards were wroth that still some again had taken up their obsidian-bladed swords and their shields. Those who dwelt in house clusters went straightway to Amaxac; they went direct to where the ways divide. There the common folk separated. So many[5] went toward Tepeyacac, so many toward Xoxouiltitlan, so many toward Nonoalco. But toward Xolloco and toward Maçatzintamalco no one went.

Injc oempoalli capitulo vnca mjtoa in quenjn ie-hoantin tlatjlulca yoã tenuchca yoan in intlatocaiuh in intlan oncalacque Espanoles: auh in tlein mu-chiuh in jquac ie intlã cate./. 728

Auh in oconaxitito in ocontlalhoacaqujxtito: nj-man ie ic much vallachia in Españoles, qujvalanque, imatitech qujvalanque in Españoles njman ie ic qujtlecavia in tlapanco ixpan conquetzato in Capitan in iautachcauh. Auh in oixpan conquetzato, njmã ie ic qujtta, qujmoottitia, qujpepepetla in Quauh-temoctzin: njman ic itlan qujtlalique yoan contlaz-que in tlequjqujztli, aiac ic qujmotlaque, çan impan qujquijxtique çan jmjcpac qujz in macevalti: njman ic cẽtetl convicaque, concalaqujque in acalli: vmpa cõvicaque in jchan Coiovevetzin. Auh in oacique: njmã ic tlecoque in tlapanco: njman ie ic no ceppa temjctia ẽjec in vncan mjc: auh çã choloque, çan jc vmpolivito in iauiotl:

nec valtzatzioa: qujtoa. Ie ixqujch ma qujxoa: xicmoqualtitin in qujltzintli: in oiuh qujcacque in njman ie ic oneoa in macevalli: njman ie ic vi, çan atlan. 727

Auh in oqujçato vei vtli ipan, ie no ceppa cequjn vmpa qujnmjctia, ic qualãque in Españoles in oc no çan cequjntin qujtquj in immaquauh yoan inchimal: in calla onoca qujvalmelauhque in amaxac vallame-laoa, in vncan vel vmaxac: vncan xexeliuh in mace-valli, ixqujch tepeiacac itztia, ixqujch xoxovilxitlã itztia, ixqujch nonoalco itztia. Auh in xollocopa, yoan in maçatzintamalcopa, aiac vmpa itztia.

1. Repeated: the title is contained in the MS.

2. Probably an auxiliary salvo, without projectiles; we know that Cortés used this system to impress the Indians. Perhaps this time it was to pay over the end of the war (*guerrand ceremonialidad*, Rafael García Granados).

3. Seler, op. cit., p. 303, implies that they brought a cannon (*cañonazo*, *quemó*). What appears to be the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando este domonicio salieron dos cosas de mentiras y entraron en la casa de un principal que se llamaba Coiouacuetzin.*"

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*donde quedaron [illegible] muchos indios de los amigos de los españoles matandolos.*"

5. So many: Sandoz, op. cit. Cf., however, Seler, op. cit.

701 565 general[10] Coyouecatzin; the commanding general Temilotzin; the army commander[11] Topantemoctzin; the chief justice[12] Auelitoctzin; the captain of the armies[13] Uitzilinitzin; the Tlacopan ruler Uitzitzin. All of these rulers were assembled at Tolmayecan; they appeared to consult among themselves how this should be done: what we should offer as tribute, and how we should yield to [the Spaniards].

●728 Thereafter only two [men] took Quauhtemoc in a boat. The two who took him and went with him were the seasoned warrior Teputzitoloc, and Yaztachimal, Quauhtemoc's page. And the one who poled [the boat] was named Cenyaotl.

And when they carried Quauhtemoc off, then there was weeping among all the common folk. They said: "Now goeth the young lord Quauhtemoc; now he goeth to deliver himself to the gods, the Spaniards!"

cateccatl. Temjlotzin. Ticociavacatl. Topantemoctzin. Miscoatlailotlactzin. Auelitoctzin, vitznaoatl. vitzilivitzin. tepanecatl vitzitzin: in machintin in tlatoque, in ocentlaliticatca tolmaiecan mononotztoca in quenjn muchioaz in tlein tictequjtizque: auh in quenjn intlan toncalaqujzque.

Niman ic ic qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin, acaltica, çan ommote: vmẽtin in convicaçque, itlan ietiaque. Teputzitoloc tequjoa, yoan Jaztachimal ixolouh in Quauhtemoctzin. Auh ce qujtlanelhujtia itoca Cenjautl:

auh in jquac ie qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin: njmã ie ic mochoqujlia in iaqujch macevalli qujtoque. Je iauh in tlacatl xocoiotl in Quauhtemoctzin ic iauh qujnmomacaz in teteu in Españoles.

10. *Tlacochcalcatl.* Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*

11. *Tlacatecatl.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 65. The *codex* is contained in the *Florentine Codex*.

12. *Mixcoatlailotlaca.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 68.

13. *Tepanecatl.* Cf. Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Cervantes de Salazar, *op. cit.*, III, p. 288, mentions captains at the same time as Quauhtemoc of the ruler of Tacuba (Tlacopan); so does Ixtlilxochitl, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

All went forth afoot holding, by their capes, Quauhtemoc, Coanacotzin, and Tetlepanquetzatzin[9] — grasping only these three: [And also appeared] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin, the lords' judge Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, the keeper Tlaçolyaotl — the men who guarded all the gold.

Then they went straightway to Atactzinco,[9] to the house of the chieftain and commanding general Coyoueuetzin. The Spaniards came in files; they stretched out in two rows, which went to their ends at a distance and extended far. And when they had reached the house of Coyoueuetzin, then they climbed up to the roof-top, on to a platform. Then they sat down. With a many-colored cloth they made a canopy for the Captain. Then the Marquis sat there, and with him stood Marina.

And Quauhtemoc was by the Captain. He had bound on the cape of quetzal feathers, each half of different color, with humming bird feathers, after the manner of those of Ocuillan. It looked soiled. He had only this. Then, after him, came Coanacotzin, ruler of Texcoco, who had bound on only a maguey fiber cape bordered with flowers and with a design of radiating flowers. It also seemed dirty. Then after him came Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan. He likewise was covered by a cape of maguey fiber, also very dirty — much soiled. Then, next, came the chief justice Auelitoctzin, and last walked Yopicatl Popocatzin, a prince. On the other side were the men of Tenochtitlan — Tlacotzin, Petlauhtzin, Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, and the keeper Tlaçolyaotl.[10]

muchintin vallacxipanvitiaque, quivalquitzquitia- 728
que itilmatitech in Quauhtemoctzin, Coanacotzin, Tetlepanquetzatzin, çan icixtin valmantiaque. Auh in Cioacoatl tlacutzin: Tiillancalquj. petlauhtzin, vitznaoatl, motelchiuhtzin mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazquj, Coatzin, tlatlati, tlaculiautl, in ie-hoantin in quipiaia in jxquich tescujtlatl:

njman vmpa tlamelauhque in atactzinco, in vncan ichan in tiiscauh in tlacuchcalcatl, in Coioveetzin: pipilivi in Españoles, ie vmmecatl motilinja, veca tlantivi, veca acitivi: auh in oacito in jchã coioveetzin, njmã ic tlecoque in tlapanco, in tlapechco: njman ic motlalique, tlatlapalquauhtli in quicevalcatique capitan, njmã ic oncã ommotlali in Marques, itlan ommotlali in Malintzin:

auh in Quauhtemoctzin itlan ca in Capitan: in [292]
quimolpilia quetzalichpeztli, tlatlacuhujtectli, vitzitzilin hivio injc ocujlinecaio, omach catzaoac, çan quizcavitica: njmã contoquilitica in Coanacutzin, tetzcucu tlatoanj: in quimolpilitica, çan vel ichtilmatli, xoxochitcio, xochimoiiaoac, omach no catzaoac: njmã cõtoquilitica. Tetlepanquetzatzi, tlacuban tlatoanj, çã no itubquj in quimolpilitica in ichtilmatli, ono vel catzactix, ouel catzaoac: njmã contoquilitica. Mixcoatlailotlac, avelitoctzin: tlatzacutica Jopicatl, pupucatzin, pilli: cectlapal onoque in tenochca. Tlacutzin. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzin mexicatl, achcauhtli, tecutlamacazquj, coatzintlatlati, Tlaculiautl. [292]

9. Rulers of Tlacopan and of the Tlaxpanec, respectively, according to Buenaventura, op. cit., p. 222.

9. "Donde abrea una ediffiçada la iglesia de Santa Leuda, aqui en el Tlatelolco" — loc. cit.

10. Tlacochcalcatl: the cedilla is omitted in the MS. In this passage, coatzintlatlati appears to be run together in the MS. Cf., however, Molina, op. cit., and Simeon, op. cit. (Anales).

[p. 120 is blank]

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Forty-first Chapter, in which are told the words with which Don Hernando Cortés addressed the rulers of all the cities, here in Mexico, in Tezcoco, and in Tlacopan, when the shields had been stilled, and [how] he questioned them as to the gold which [the Spaniards] had in haste scattered there at the Tolteca canal, when they escaped and fled from Mexico.

Thereupon the Marquis, the Captain, addressed the rulers. He said to them: "What of the gold which was stored in Mexico?" On this, all the gold was taken from the boats — the golden banners, the golden conical caps, the golden arm bands, the golden bands for the calf of the leg, the golden hatds, the golden discs. All [these] they had laid out before the Captain, [and] indeed all of it the Spaniards had taken up.

Then, the Captain said: "Is this all the gold which was stored in Mexico? Have you brought all of it forth?" For our lords sought it diligently.

Then Tlacotzin spoke: "May our lord, the god, hear! That which was brought to our palace we walled up, all of it, with adobes. Did not, in truth, our lords take it all with them?"

Then Marina said to him: "The Captain saith, 'It is so. We took all of it. All was gathered together, and all was marked. And they caused us to cast away all of it there at the Tolteca canal, there where they all set upon us. They must bring forth all!'"

Thereupon the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin answered: "May the god, the Captain, hear! The men of Tenochtitlan rise not [to battle] in boats; it is not their wont. Only the men of Tlatilulco have made it their way of doing. In boats they gave battle and set forth to stem the advance of our lords. Did not in truth those of Tlatilulco take it all?"

After this Quauhtemoc spoke and said to the ruler's vicar: "What dost thou say, O ruler's vicar? Even if the men of Tlatilulco took it, were not the guilty imprisoned therefore? Did they not produce all of it? Was it not gathered together at Texopan? And what took our lords with them [if] not this?" Quauhtemoc pointed to the gold with his finger.

Inic omopeuhti ocn capitanlo vncã mjtoa in tlatolli inic quijnonotz do hernando Cortes in jaquijchtin altepetl ipã tlatoque in njcan Mexico: auh tetzcoco, tlacopa, in jquac ic omoman chimalli, in quijtemolinia in cuaitic teucujtlatl, in vncan quijcemanxiquijquc tulteca acalco, in jquac quijquc, choloque mexico.

Niman ic ic quijnonotza in Marques in Capitan in tlatoque: quijmjlhuja. Catli in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico: njman ic ic vallaquixtilo in acalco in jaquijch in teucujtlatl, in teucujtlapanjtl, in teucujtlacopilli, in teucujtlamatemecatl, in teucujtlacotevatl, in teucujtlaquacalaladi, in teucujtlacomalli: muchi ixpan contecaque in capitan, çã much ichoan in Españoles in vallaquixtique:

njman ic ic quijtoa in Capitan, çan ic iaquijch in in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico, muchi anquijnextiaque? ca vel quijcemoa in totecujovan:

Nimã ic ic ontlatoa in Tlacutzin. Tla quijmocaquijti in totecujo in teutl, ca oipan maxitico in totecpan, ca much ticxxxantzacque, amo nel much quijmotequjlique in totecujovan?

njman quivalito in Malintzin, quijmjtalhuja in Capitan, Quemaca ca much ticcujque, muchi omocentlali, yoan muchi omumachioti: auh ca much techtlaçaltique in vncã tulteca acalco, much oncã techtepevaltique, much quijnextizque:

njmã ic ic tlanaquijlia in Cioacoatl tlacutzin, tla quijmocaquijti in teutl in Capitã. Ca vel acalco moquetza in tenuchcatl, ca amo ichivil, ca çan incincavil quijchiuh in tlatilulcatl, in acaltica tlaicocque, in quijnecatzacujlito in totecujovã amo nel ichoantin muchi quijcujque in tlatilulca:

njmã ic ic vallatoa in Quauhtemoctzin: quivalilhuj in Cioacoatl, tlein tiquijtoa Cioacoatle: maço quijcojq in tlatilulca, amo ic çaçaque in tlamacoubque? amo muchi quijnextique? amo ixpan in mocochico? auh tlein oconmocujlique in totecujovan amo ichoatl in? oconmapilhuj in teucujtlatl in Quauhtemoctzin:

648 728 Then Marina spoke to him: "The Captain saith, 'Is this all?'"

Then the ruler's vicar spoke: "Purchance some commoner took it. But it will be sought; our lord the Captain will behold it."

Then once again Marina spoke: "The Captain saith, 'Ye will find all two hundred [pieces] of gold.'" She measured off [the size] with her hands; her hands described a circle.[1]

Again the ruler's vicar answered; he said: "Doubtless some poor woman put it in her skirt. It shall be sought out. He shall behold it."

Upon this the chief justice Auelitoctzin spoke; he said: "May the lord, our lord Captain, hear! When Moteçuma yet was [alive], when somewhere there was to be a conquest, the men of Mexico and of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca and the Acolhua, moved together. All the Tepaneca, all the Acolhua, and all the dwellers in the swamp lands — we set out together when we conquered. And when the city fell, thereupon all turned back. Each man returned to [his] city. And thereafter came the masters of the city, the conquered ones. They brought their tribute, which had become the goods of [the victors]: green stone, gold, quetzal feathers, and the other precious stones — fine turquoise; and blue cotinga feathers, and red spoonbill feathers. They offered this to Moteçuma. All together it reached there. All together, there to Tenochtitlan, came all the tribute, all the gold."

njmã quivalilhuj in Malintzin quimjtalhuja in capitan. Çan ie ixquich in?

njman ic conjto in cioacoatl, aço aca quiçquizti in Macevalli, atel motlazemoliz, a quimottilia in totecujo in capitan:

njmã ie no ceppa quivallito in Malintzin, quimjtalhuja in Capitan Matlacpoalli anquinextiaque in teucujtlatl ixquich in: quivalxamachiuh imatica, quivaliavallali in jma:

ie no ceppa ontlananquijli in civacoatl: quijto. Aço ça aca ipan mocueti in civatzintli, a motemolia, a quimottilia:

njman ie ic ontlatoa in Miscoatlailotlac, avelitoctzin: quijto. tla quimocaquijti in tlacatl in totecujo in Capitan, in oc vnca Motecuçoma, in jquac ontrepevaloia cana, ca cemolinj in Mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, in tepanecatl in aculhoa: in jxquich tepanecatl, in jxquich aculhoa yoan in jxquich chinampanecatl, ca ticemolinj, in tontepeva: auh in onia altepetl, ca njmã ie ic valnecuepalo, ceceniaca cõmati in jmaltepeuh. Auh çatepan valhuj in altepevaque in ie pevallaca, quivalitquj in intlacalaquijl, intlatquj valmuchiuhtiuh in chalchivitl in teucujtlatl, in quetzalli yoan in oc cequj tlaçotetl, in teuxivitl, in xiuhtototl, in tlauhquechol: quijtõlmacaia in Motecuçoma, çan cẽ vmpa valaci, çã vmpa valmocemaci in tenuchtitlan in jxquich tlacalaquijli in teucujtlatl.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Otra vez dice Marina: 'El capitán dice que buscarán doscientos escudos de oro sin quedar, como sale y enhelaba con las manos, el grosor de una pulgada de ancho.'"

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 If the vanquished tribe found no such point of refuge, then the pursuit continued without relenting until the town or settlement itself was reached. Frequently both pursuers and pursued entered it almost at the same time. The torch was applied to the temple first, and an indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants began.[169]

728 Nothing short of speedy submission to tribute could arrest this butchery. The vanquished, therefore, if not prepared to flee from their homes forever,[170] made signals of peace. A parley ensued, and to it succeeded a surrender on the part of the defeated tribe. Generally one year of tribute was paid in advance, and thus the Mexicans might return homewards loaded, both with the spoils acquired on the battlefield and with the first guarantee of future contributions from the vanquished tribe.[171]

726 It sometimes occurred, however, that the tribe attacked had provided its settlement with artificial defenses, and the Mexicans, victorious in the open field, found themselves in presence of the simple fortifications, which we shall hereafter describe, like palisades or even platforms of earth or stone surmounted by parapets. An attack upon these was only attempted if there appeared no doubt as to the result, in consequence of the superiority of the Mexicans, or of the great losses sustained by their defenders in the previous fights.[172] Then, but only then, ladders were con-

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[169] The "teo-calli" or temple being in the centre of the settlement, and also its highest, and therefore, according to Indian notions, its strongest edifice, the destruction thereof by fire was the signal of decisive victory of the assailants. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31). Durán (Cap. XV, p. 129).

[170] In cases where the pueblo of the enemy had been completely deserted, either through flight of its inhabitants, or through their extermination, as was the case with Alahuitzlan, these sections were repeopled by colonies from Nahuatl stock. Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXIV, pp. 125 and 126) and Durán (Cap. XLV, p. 364, etc.) both relate in detail how it occurred. This may account in some degree for the presence of Nahuatlac stock at a distance from the valley, and may yet throw some light even upon the singular colonization of the Peruvian "Mitimacs."

[171] This suing for peace, where the tribe was of foreign stock-language, took place, sometimes through interpreters, "nahuatlats," sometimes merely by signs. The defeated generally fled to the top of a hill and from there beckoned to the pursuing Mexicans to stop the carnage, with humble and pitiful gestures. But the first parley did not always result in peace. The massacre of women and children recommenced often twice, ere the tribute offered by the vanquished satisfied the Mexicans. This tribute was exacted in proportion to the resistance offered and to the resources of the tribe. After peace was agreed upon the Mexicans still feasted from the food of those whom they had ruthlessly conquered. The prisoners, once taken, were never released nor exchanged. They had to carry the spoils and tribute to Mexico, but were generally well fed and cared for until the day when they were slaughtered to the idols.

[172] A good illustration is found in Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI), describing the foray against Tututepec and Quetzaltepec. But Durán is still more explicit on the same events. According to him (Cap. LVI, p. 547), after the unfortified pueblo of Tu-

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

[54] Durán (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, XII, XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII, XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I, pp. 15 and 18).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 63). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 476. "Con esta ocasion, ora sea que ellos de propósito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los auia hecho merced, no podian aprovecharse, por auerseles desbaratado el caño por muchas partes. por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbaratasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera," p. 71, Vedia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero. Lib. X. cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 236 and 237). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los últ. Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

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tribute was gathered by stewards, the only Mexicans permanently residing on Tecpanecan soil, and it was distributed in accordance with the tribal organization: among the calpules for the use of their public households and of their individual members, and to the "tecpan" for the maintenance of the tribal government and business; out of the former, a certain share was reserved for the purpose of religious worship.[56]

This tribute consisted of objects held and acquired by the Tecpanecas through trade, war and their own manufacture. But it also included the products of their *horticulture*. These had to be raised annually either on their own garden-beds, or on a certain expanse reserved in each "calpulli" for the production of tribute. The Tecpanecas having the same system of distribution of the soil as the Mexicans, and the hundred group being the unit of their organization also, the latter method was naturally resorted to. Therefore in each one of the areas held by the calpules of the conquered tribe, a certain plot was set off, to be tilled in common by the members of the kin, for the benefit of their conquerors.

[56] Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 485), that they took all the lands for themselves: "with this, those of Azcapuzalco were left so poor, that they had not even crops of their own." Durán (Cap. IX, p. 79. "They went to Azcaputzalco and seized ('se entregaron') its lands and distributed them among themselves.") Tezozomoc (Cap. IX. p. 16 and 17). It is difficult to connect these and similar statements with the positive facts asserted by Zurita (Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne.") "The sovereign of Mexico had beneath him, in all matters relating to warfare, those of Tacuba and of Tezcuco; in regard to all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them intervened in the government of the others" (p. 11),—by Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 161), and even by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXIV; p. 235), which establish the complete *territorial* independence of the Tecpanecas from the Mexicans; even after their defeat. Durán also says (Cap. IX, p. 77): that the Tecpanecas promised tribute and lands. Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16) confirms, stating that they offered tribute, personal service, and assistance in war. We cannot concilate these different reports except by admitting that the Tecpanecas submitted to the ordinary manner of Indian conquest, namely: to tribute, to military aid, and for the purpose of tribute, to the reservation of certain tracts whose crops were to go exclusively to the conquerors. Of the latter we have positive proof. See Durán (Cap. IX. p. 79). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 17). Only these authors mention that these tracts went to persons or individuals. But how is this possible, since no individual possession of land appears in Mexico, at the time of the conquest even; as we shall see further on. The tracts in question must, therefore, have been given to such persons as representatives of certain kinships, or "calpules," as Tezozomoc intimates, saying (Cap. XV, p. 21): "and let us distribute the lands among all of us, in order to hold of them some pastime and sustenance for us, our children and heirs." Besides, Durán asserts: that the division took place for the benefit of the chiefs, and of the quarters ("barrios," or calpules), which tends to prove that there were "official lands" and "lands of the kinship" set off for the conquerors on the conquered territory. That a portion of the latter provided for religious purposes, is established by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 485), and by Durán (Cap. IX).

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651 The crops raised thereon were again apportioned by the latter among themselves as we have explained previously, but they did not acquire any title to the *possession*, still less to the *ownership* of the soil itself.[37] Once started on their career of conquest, the

728 [37] See Durán (Cap. IX. p. 79 and 80). Tezozomoc (Cap. IX, p. 16. "Para amansar y traher á paz á los Mexicanos que tan pujantes y orgullosos estavan contra los Tecpanecas, digéron estos: señores Mexicanos, como vencidos que somos de vostros, y os tenemos dadas nuestras hermanas y hijas que os sirvan y nuestras mugeres, y nos preferimos á vassallage, y de todas las veces que fuéredes en guerras y batallas con estrañas, irémos nosotros como vassallos, y llevarémos à cuestas vuestro matalotage, y llevarémos á cuestas vuestras armas, y en caso que en las guerras, algunos, à alguno de los Mexicanos muriere, nos proférimos á traheros los cuerpos cargados á vuestra tierra, ciudad, á ser con honra enterrados, y vencidos que seais de las guerras, y antes y despues barerémos, y regarémos, vuestras casas, tendrémos cuidado de vosotros con nuestro servicio personal, pues asi estamos obligados conforme á usanza de guerra, y nosotros de servidumbre." The Mexicans then spoke to themselves and said: "you now have heard the promises, subjection, and domination to which the Tecpanecas of Ascaputzalco submit, offering to give us wood, planking, stones and lime for our houses, to plant for us maize, beans, calabashes, spices of the country, chile, and tomate, and to be our servants, and the principals of them to become our stewards . . . .") This expresses about the amount and measure of subjection of one tribe to another. Zurita further informs us (pp. 66 and 67). "When the Kings of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba conquered a province, they used to retain all the native chieftains in their offices; whether they were supreme or but inferior. The people always kept its property, finally the usages and customs of the established government were respected. These sovereigns designated territories proportionate to their conquests: the vanquished tilled them in common and made plantings appropriate to the soil. This kind of tribute, or homage ("homage-lige"), was paid to officers ("des intendants") established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or Tacuba, according as the vanquished had become vassals of one or of the other prince. Besides, they were liable to military service, which obligation rested indiscriminately on all the conquered provinces. The chiefs remaining Lords as before the war, preserved civil and criminal jurisdiction in the full extent of their domain." Nevertheless, we have detailed reports about certain lands having been applied by the Mexicans to certain chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XV, p. 24): it was done at the time that such chiefs received certain titles or dignities. These titles and dignities, however, were not hereditary, but elective (Durán, cap. XI, p. 103). "To these four chiefs and titularies, after they were elected princes) they made them belong to the royal council as presidents and members ("oydores?) of the supreme council, without whose opinion (or consent, advice "parecer") nothing could be done, and the King being dead, from these and no others his successor had to be chosen, and neither could they be placed in such positions unless they were sons or brothers of Kings, and thus, if one of these four had been promoted, they put another one in his place, and it is to know that they never chose a son of him whom they elected for King, or of him who died, because as I have said, the sons did not obtain the titles through inheritance, but by election. Thus, whether son, brother, or cousin, if the King and his council elected him to any title, it was given to him,—it being sufficient that he belonged to that lineage and was a near relative, and thus the sons and brothers went succeeding little by little, and the title and Lordship remained in that generation (descendancy), being elected successively. These Lords had vassals who to them paid tribute, small pueblos, rented lands ("estancias terrazgueros") that gave them all kinds of supplies and clothing . . . . ." It is also stated that the Mexicans, when they conquered the Tecpanecas, distributed of their lands to the quarters (Cap. IX. p. 79. Durán,—and Alvarado, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 460. "Señalaron tambien tierras de comun para los barrios de Mexico a cada uno las suyas, para que con ellas acudiesen al culto y sacrificio de sus dioses.")

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Mexicans, supported by their allies, sought to extend their power. The tribes of the southeast, the Xochimilcas, the Chinampanecas, (also called the four chieftaincies: "Nauhteuctli") were the first to become their prey. Their fate, after they had once submitted, was the same as that of the Tecpanecans. The territory was not annexed, neither was the organization changed. But they were held to military assistance, and especially to tribute. The latter drew forth, as a consequence, the establishment of tribute-lands, like those which we have already met with at the close of the Tecpanecan war.[58]

When finally, after a contest of unusual length and bitterness, the tribe of Chalco also had to submit to the same conditions of tribute and warlike control,[59] — the Mexicans were really the leading power of the valley.[60] Their means of subsistence, besides, had greatly increased through tribute, among which the crops of the tribute-lands were most conspicuous — as well as through trade. One single tribe of the "Nahuatl" of the valley remained unsubdued, the Aculhuas of Tezcuco. Instead, however, of engaging in a deadly conflict, the result of which might have been equally

If we attentively consider the above, we find:

(1). That no change was made in the tenure of lands, and no conversion of the Tecpanecan territory into a Mexican domain was effected by the conquest.

(2). That certain expanses were set aside, which continued to be held by the conquered, and worked by them after the usual communal plan, but whose crops went exclusively towards the *tribute*.

(3). That these crops were divided, corresponding to the organization of the Mexicans, — between the official requirements — ("tecpan" —) ("calpulli" as official house for the quarters) — the people (quarters "barrios,") and worship. The analogy with Peru (Inca, worship and people), is striking.

The distribution of lands to certain chiefs therefore, mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Tecpanecas, simply indicates that these lands were applied to the maintenance of such offices, and not an hereditary "fief" to a certain family. Durán positively expresses, that the office belonged in the "kin" ("lignea" — "generacion,") and was not hereditary. The lands therefore pertained to the office as a governmental feature of the kinship or calpulli, and not to the person or offspring of any incumbent. In the same way, certain tracts (or rather their crops), went to the tecpan or its occupants, as a governmental feature of the *tribe* (Bustamante, Parte III cap. V, p. 233).

[58] Durán (Cap. XII. Id. XIII, p. 1[illegible]. XIV, p. 122). Tezozomoc (Cap. XVII, p. 28, XVIII, p. 29), and Acosta.

[59] Durán (Cap. XVII, p. 152). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXVI, pp. 39 and 40). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 468), etc. etc.

[60] Out of the five Nahuatl tribes who had originally settled in the valley of Mexico, three were then subjected to the Mexicans. Consequently the Tezcucans or Aculhuacans alone remained. Territorially, the latter probably covered the larger expanse, but the Mexicans and their allies had the advantage in position and numbers.

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631 of social organization. The confederacy of tribes, as we have
648 already shown, carried no influence whatever on the organization.

no era menor señor el Caconci de Mechuacan, y otros que reconoscian al uno ni al otro." We quote this passage merely as a general illustration.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva-España, published by Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, in 1829 (Vol. II. lib. VIII. cap. III. p. 276), "El cuarto señor de Tezcoco se llamó Netzahualcoiotzin, y reinó setenta y un años, y en tiempo de esto se comenzaron las guerras, y tuvo el señorio de Tezcoco siendo señor del de México Itzcoatzin, y estos entrambos hicieron guerra á los de Tecpaneca, de Atzcaptzalco, y á otros pueblos y provincias, y el fué fundador del señorio de Tezcoco in Acuihoacan." (Id. Vol. III. lib XII. cap. XLI, page 59, close of chapter.)

Fray Diego Durán. Historia de los Yndias de Nueva España é Islas de Tierra Firme. Published by Sr. José Fernandez Ramirez at Mexico, in 1867, (Cap. XIV, p. 123). "El rey Itzcoatl, aunque mal dispuesto, holgó de la victoria y dió las gracias á todos los señores y principales, al qual, agravándosele la enfermedad, entendiendo de se acertarególe la muerte, mandó llamar al Señor de Tezcuco, Neçaualcoyotl, pariente cercano suyo, y aconsejóle que no tuviese guerra con los Mexicanos, sus parientes y amigos, sino que antes se hiciese con ellos y fuese en su favor siempre: y dexó ordenado que desde en adelante fuese de Tezcuco el segundo rey de la comarca y el tercero el de Tacuba, á quien llamauan el rey de Tlaluecpan. . . ." (p. 124). ". . . y solo estos tres reynos mandaron y governaron la tierra, de hoy en adelante, siendo el de México sobre todos ellos, y casi como emperador y monarca del nueuo mundo." Nearly the whole of Cap. XV is devoted to the formation of the confederacy, but cannot be inserted here. The editor, Sr. J. F. Ramirez, appears to incline to the opinion, however, that there was a confederacy on equal terms, (note 2, p. 130). The same author also
[796] states repeatedly that the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan sacrificed (slaughtered) captives at the chief teo-calli of Mexico, on very solemn occasions, together with the head-chief of Mexico, thus showing equal rights. (Cap. XXIII, p. 197 and others.) But his plainest statement is found (Cap. XLIII, p. 317), and reads as follows: "Algunos han querido decir quel reyno de Tezcuco era libre de todo reconocimiento y parias al monarca, y que en nada le era sujeto, lo qual allo al contrario en esta ystoria Mexicana; porque aunque á la verdad no tributauan á Mexico mantas ni joias ni plumas ni cosas de comida, como otras provincias tributauan, hallo empero á los Mexicanos metidos en las tierras tezcucanas donde sembraban y cogian, y algunos dellos hechos terrazgueros de los señores de México; y allo que en ofreciéndose estas fiestas y solenidades, daban tributo descianos para ella, de lo qual ninguno estaua esento ni reservado. Tambien allo que ofreciéndose dar guerra á alguna ciudad y provincia, al primero que llamauan y acudian para que apercibiese sus gentes, era al rey de Tezcuco, y como abemos, notado en esta ystoria, le hacian venir á Mexico todas las veces que se ofrecia ocasion, loqual no era poca sujecion, dado que tuviese sus préeminencias y libertades de rey y señor de aquella provincia de Aculuacan; . . . ."

Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc. Crónica Mexicana. (9th Vol. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") This author agrees so closely with Durán in most instances, that we can dispense with full quotations. See Cap. XIX and XX, on the pretended conquest of Tezcuco by the Mexicans. Tezozomoc is very positive on the question of joint sacrifice (Cap. LXIX. p. 117). A singular remark is, however, found (Cap. XCVII. p. 173). After the Huexotzincas had sent delegates to Mexico to sue for
[728] peace, the Mexican council was called together: "dijo zihuacoatl resoluto: Señor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra los reyes de Acuihuacan-Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi." This important incident shows that not even the Mexicans had the right to treat alone with a power hostile to the three tribes, consequently that the other two were their *confederates*, and *not their feudal vassals*. Fray Durán confirms the incident in chapter LX, p. 473, of his work, precedingly quoted.

Joseph de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, Madrid, 1608, derives his information from the same source as the two preceding, namely: the Codex Rami

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by an-
728 other means. In conquered territories successful warriors
471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this
[428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im-
438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent
32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

X 796 292 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

Auh in ixquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tiltic yn jncuechin, muchi tenjzo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

301 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4]

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, qujnamictia, cequj aujtlatezli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

304 And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymaachichilacachtempilol:

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

auh yn ixquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in tototenpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

Auh yn aquijque in momocenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

X 796 293 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

[301 714] And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

Auh in tequjoque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, ezcan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelueoatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintlã ezcan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

237 X 796

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin uztaxelli, in cequjntin quatototl in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçaeoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

X 796 302 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh ynic mjchioaia, ẽjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tlilzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) hält dieses Perlenhalsband für [illegible]

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves." [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçisuhque: oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican açoçan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlatia qujnpopoloa.

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Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omuchiuh.

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Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj ichoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezqujntin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, açoçequjntin motequjoacxima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnqujxtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

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Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, açoçe vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl, ic oncan in qujça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chinampanecatl*: Sahagún's comment on fol. 13 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "*y lo de la tierra seca, que son los cercados de las chinampas.*"

729
[643]
431
301

He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[6] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two trupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships: possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

643 And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Tlillancalqui tecutli.[7]

in qujnmaca coztic teçacatl, anoço coztic tencololli, anoço xoxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xoxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtenteetl, anoço tlanjtenteetl: njman ic quetzallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiocic, anoço çaquan tlalpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, ichoatl in tlatocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticatetecomaio, anoço itzmjxicalcoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzicoliuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quesquijch tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquacalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixtelolo, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotoieoatl, anoçe tozeoatl in ie uel ixqujch tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan qujnmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in qujnmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

Auh intla mjqujz tlatoanj: ichoantin ceme anaiola, injc ichoantin qujpachqizque altepetl. Auh çan no ichoantin, cequjntin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in qujtzõtecticate mjqujztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociaoacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

5. *Tlaujztzotl*: Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *tlaquistzotzotl*.

6. After *yoan tlaçomaxtlatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quetzcomaxtlatl—Kolchopfschmuck*, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in açe ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in inoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin iconac teca momotla inic tepallama.

●729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama iconac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiacalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im açe ie imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallax aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh ĩ aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ispan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocãn. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaqu.ia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecoiztauhtuia in icalpiscaboan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh iconac compeoaltia in tlacuilolxilmatli quiquerini.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoiamocoaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitecoaxcuahuia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yoan ompa quimpotoniqui*—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*vna manta cuadrada de color morado: y otra manta labrada, de otras diversas labores de colorado que se llamaua colotlapalli: y . . . vn mantle labrado de colorado, largo que estuuiesse hasta colgado, y otro mantle labrado de todos colores.*"

565 651 priests tribute receivers. But there are still some other very important complementary data: on one hand that "painters, whom they called tlaculoca (sic: tlácuiloque), were exempted from contributions and from some services... also the singers... and the players of instruments... neither did the instructors contribute..." (27). On the other

27. Fuenleal, p. 249.

hand we know that all who contributed were called macehuales (28)

28. Fuenleal, p. 249.

and that the relatives of rulers and some lords did not contribute (29),

29. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

from which we can infer that the musicians, singers, instructors, etc. who did not contribute, were people from among the rulers and lords, and not from the macehuales; although such a conclusion is not absolutely necessary or compelling.

There are, nevertheless, within the scheme of the tributary [729] macehuales and the tribute-exacting lords some exceptions: those who distinguished themselves in war were exempted from taxation (30),

30. Fuenleal, p. 249.

which obliges us to think that they were macehuales who enjoyed a privilege which the other macehuales did not have. Certainly these macehuales were the ones who were made nobles by favor (31) and

31. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

about whom there are no data to indicate that they received tribute, that is that they were "nobles," lords by inheritance, nor could they have "tenants" ["terrasgueros"] (32), that is, could live from tribute,

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

and /p. 28/ who for that reason, like the common macehuales, personally worked their lands: their distinctive character was simply that

423 and apparently not "for life," that is, the members of one calpulli did not really pass to another calpulli. (In part this does not happen either in the calpullis studied by Redfield in 1920 (23), thus suggest-

23. Redfield, 1920, p. 288.

ing that the calpulli was a property-holding group rather than a ward). In any case we must assert that in general the majority of the people must have had land in their calpullis and that possibly the leaving for other calpullis was an exception. (We could also think that among the Tenochcas the same happened as among the Maoris, where it was possible /p. 40/ for a person from one group to pass to another, in which he was adopted (24). Thus it appears that the

24. Goldenweisser, 1922, p. 382. Mishkin, N. 1937, p. 429.

calpulli was a true proprietary group, the use of the land being proof of its ownership. These were the lands pointed in yellow, their existence clearly recognized.

There was, besides the land given to the common macehuales of the calpulli of which we have just talked, a mode of distribution of the calpullis' lands which was of fundamental importance: the land
• 729 given to those courageous in battle [henceforth "valiants"]. These lands were given by favor for heroic deeds in war (25). But they

25. Torquemada, II, p. 545, 546; Vetancourt, I, p. 273.

were lands, and this is the fundamental thing, used for sustenance and where one could not have tenants (26); that is, they were lands

26. Torquemada, H. [sic. 1] p. 545. Zurita (p. 116) tells us that the tenants pay rent "To the master of these," a statement which does not appear to refer to macehuales or even to the nobles, that is to say not contradicting the former affirmation of Torquemada.

which they worked and which yielded them fruits, but which did not

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 ceremonial contest between warriors of two tribes or groups of tribes, in order that prisoners might be taken for sacrifice without the economic dislocation of formal war. This practice was known long before in the Valley, the Tenochcas participating in such struggles with the Chalcas in 1376–84, but the Tenochcas had been so continuously at war that they were accustomed to take their prisoners the hard way.[6]

175 The crops failed from 1451–56, owing to severe storms
●731 and frost. Many people died, and others, unable to support themselves, adopted voluntary slavery in order to share the bounty of the more fortunate. Usually a famine led to increased military activity to replenish the empty larders with supplies exacted as tribute. But in this case the situation was so severe and the Tenochcas so weak that they had to be content with a War of Flowers.

175 Axayacatl* succeeded his father Montezuma I in 1469. He extended Tenochcan domination over a still-wider area, spreading west into the Matlatzinca country and south to Oaxaca and Tehuantepec. He conducted a campaign into the Tarascan territory and met with a dreadful defeat which ensured the independence of these tribes of Michoacan up to their conquest by the Spaniards. This was the only serious Tenochcan military disaster until the grim days of 1519.[7]

Neither Axayacatl nor his successors were able to transform domination of a region into dominion. He did succeed, nevertheless, in reducing the neighboring town of Tlaltelolco, killing its chief and denying its council the right to meet with the Tenochcas in matters of tribal importance. Tlaltelolco up to that time had maintained its independence

*Ash-ay-a'h-catl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the
796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[13]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was
[669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan.
[731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence,
[782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[14]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-ot-se'en.

The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the sextons] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Ciuatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year count[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Inic chicome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

Ce tochtli.

moteneoa: uitztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: matlacxiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlatoctia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in izquitetl xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In iehoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipāpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanestia. 805 823

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, iehoatl in tecpatl: moteneoa mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatotoca in mimicque. Iehica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconiilpique: vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitztiltitimotlaliaia. [775] [764]

Auh inic naui, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: iehoatl in calli moteneoa, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipāpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, socaque toquichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: izquiteme ceceppa moquetztiui, tonalpeuhcaiome muchiuhtiuj. 805

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omeei, quitlamja, conaxitia, quitzonquistia nauhteistin: inic tlaiaoalotiui, quimomacatiui, quimocauilitiui, intequiuh, cecexiuhtica: iehoatl itech onaci, itech ōmocaoa, itech ontzopi, itech ontlatzotzona, ontlatzonquistia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ic ocaxiti in matlacxiuitl omei itequiuh.

Auh niman ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uitztlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia itequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlauicaz, tlaotlatoctiz: cenca 805 731

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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and set it upon its way, all were much frightened and there was apprehension; all were filled with dread because in this [year] occurred the famine called Necetochuiliztli. All were exceedingly terrified and in awe when [the year] One Rabbit came—when they reached and came to it; though not [when it was] Two or Three [Rabbit]. Etc.

nemauhtiloia, tlatẽmachoia, netẽmachoa: ipampa, in ipan muchioaia maianaliztli, moteneoa necetochuiliztli: Çaniio uellamauhtiaia, uel imacaxoia: in icoac on omoquetz ce tochtli, in onoitech axioac, onoiterh onpachiooac: amono ie in ome, anoço ey. etc.

And in his reign there came a great
173 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jxquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Callixtlauacan, Ecatepec, Cozcaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxaualco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipã nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in ieboatl axaiaca, quipeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, callixtlaoaca, hecatepec cozcaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenãco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxaoalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Tilllatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcaatl, and Coaatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered those of Tziuhcoac, and Mollonco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itencopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl oztotl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tilllatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, coahatl, inma in coioacã ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl qujtztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in aiamo mjqui aujtzutl. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ic iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaioatimanca, nezque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oaltemozque in tzitzimime, tequazque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiotlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecuçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. *Inma in coioacã.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ỹ mani for inma.*

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Ciuacoatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iolloxonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlauapan,[4] Nopalan, Iztec tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichiualtatacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

caxtolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maianaliztli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian tepan cenman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in maianaliztica. 175 [731]

Çã no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlaelnapaloa, queuh veiah noqueztepole uel xomjtotia, atlã tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachizti in Españoles. [787]

Çã no ichoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in chocaia qujtoaia. Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no ichoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocoliztli, njman motocac yitoaico ipan qujtemanque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac in cihoatl micquj mozcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in vncan motocaca tlatlatacco motlapo, auh in tetl ic motemanca vêca veuetzito: auh in ichoatl cihoatl in oiuh mozcali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in motecuçuma in tlein qujttac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca inic onjnozcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie izqujch ca tehoatl moca tzonqujça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca tehoatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aqujque in ie uitze ca ichoantin tlalmaceoaqujuj, ichoantin onozque in mexico: auh in ichoatl mjcca çihoatl ie no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh iconeuh oquichtli: 175 787

Ioan miiec in altepetl qujpeuh motecuçuma in jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlaoacan, çocollan, tecomaixtlaoacã, çacatepec, tlachqujauhco, iolloxonecuillan, atepec, mjctlan, tloapan, nopalan iztec tlalocan, cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichioaltatacalan. 175 648 [103]

Çan no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl aciqujui españoles mottaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica oalmoquetzaia cenca tomaoac in tlanextli iuhqujn tlemjiaoatl iceoal tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçaiampa oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalqujça tonatiuh, 175 787

2. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. *Cuicar es repantle tocar. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has ení panti. Nepantle is clearly an error.*
4. *Tlauapan.* Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

175 787 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac polihuh oc iuh nauhxiujtl açiqujui in españoles

175 646 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçique injc qujpeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancujc españa de mjll e qujnjentos y dezinueue.

175 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

●731 646 Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Cujtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalihujtl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchiuh in oalla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in noujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej totomonaliztli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, qujtlacalhui in jtzaiac: injc qujquiztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcque, ca muchi atlan qujmontlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca noujian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaiaxtimomã, injc hijaxque mjmjcque.

175 646 797 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc ichoantin españoles qujpeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in noujian ic qujiaoalotoc ixquich altepetl. Icoac tlãtocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipilhoan Sanct frãcisco, in qujtecaoaltico tlateotoquiliztli: ioan qujtemachtique tlaneltoquiliztli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Injc matlactiomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Caextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl iepan españoles noujian iauqujçato in caextlan, huduras, auh in ichoatl nonum de guzman, qujuicac in vej culhoacan vmpa mjqujto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

5. *Ça muchi atlan.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *en lar ga.*
6. *Iepan:* *ye iaupan in ibid.*

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

The fourteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Diego Vanitl was fourteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc matlactli onnauj tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don Diego vanjtl, ic matlactli onnauj tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

The fifteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Diego Teuetzquiti was fifteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for thirteen years. It came to pass in his time that a great sickness came to be prevalent, known as a plague. From people's noses, blood issued; there was much death everywhere because of it, and there was death from famine. Very many were buried every day, everywhere. And in his time it was that the Chichimeca—those of Xochipilla—and the people of Cibola were destroyed and conquered.

Injc castolli tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don Diego teuetzquiti, ic castolli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiujtl ipan exiujtl; ipan mochiuh inic momañaco vei cocoliztli mjtoa pestilencia teiacapa quiz eztli cenca ic mjcoac in noujian ioan apizmjcoac cenca mjec in motocaia cemjlhujtl in noujiã. ioan ipan muchiuh injc poliuhque, peoaloque chichimeca, xochipilteca ioan Scipola tlaca. 731 [648]

The sixteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Cristóbal Cecepatic was sixteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc caxtolli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don xpoual cecepatic, ic caxtolli oce, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

[p. 6 is blank]

175 648 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Coextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçique compeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vêca españoles injc tepeuhque in coextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Ciuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Azcapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden [231] cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

Don Martin hêca ic vme tlatocat in tlatilulco: exiujtl ic impan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çioacoatl qujqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa azcapuitzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncã tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motetique tlatlazque, oontetl in quauhtetl qujtlazque icecentetl quauhtli.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Iuan avellittoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Iuan quauje onoc, ic nauj latocat in tlatilulco chicoxiujtl ioan icoac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlã, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamaujçolli vej neixcujtilli injc tlamjz cemanaoac

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco oxjujtl.

[731] Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth; and he ruled Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cibola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

Don Martin tlacateccatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chieoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocoliztli ioan in iaoiutl injc peoaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoça visorrej in njcan jancujc españa

[731] Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocoliztli, itoca quechpoçaoaliztli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in ichoatl matlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

1. For *manca no manca*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *manca no nonqua*.
2. In *ibid.*, *xochipilteca*, *ynon tenotlan tlaca*, *ynon* follows *nochtlan tlaca*.

175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctèzuma.

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

[731] And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

[797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

çuma: ioan qujmacaque in jxqujch in jntetlapaloaia, injn tetech açia, in teucujtlatl, ioan oc cequj.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in iehoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoiauchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in qujnamjqujto in caltenco, in vmpa xolloco, çan qujpaccanamjqujto: ioan qujtlatlauhti, qujtlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman qujujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jxqujchtin españoles.

Auh in jquezqujlhujioc, in iehoatl capitan oqujlpi in motecuçuma:

auh in jcoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in iehoatl capitan oqujnnamjqujto, cequjntin qujnujcac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan qujcauhtia in don pedro alvarado, ioan oc cequjntin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

Auh in jquac in oqujz ilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in iehoatl don p° aluarado, ioan in espanoles in jtlan catca, mjiequjntin, qujnmjctique in mexica, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

Auh in jcoac in ooalmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjiequjntin, qujnoalhujcac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca qujtototzaia in iaujutl.

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1520 icoac omjc in motecuçuma, auh in iehoantin españoles, oqujzque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocoliztli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatioac: ioan cenca mjiequjntin mjcque, in njcan tlaca.

In jpan xiujtl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcuco, uecauhtica qujniauchiuhque, qujmpeuhque, qujmjcalque, in mexica.

In jpan xiujtl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xitinca in jpampa iauiutl

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmomen sãct francisco padreme, in qujntlaneltoqujtique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixqujch tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan atlioa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenqujxtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlatoloia, in audiençia in jqüac itla itlacauija, in aqujque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxqujch tlamantli in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque, anoço aca qujtetepachozque, anoço aca quauhtica mjqujz qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloz, totocoz, callaliloz, maceoalcuepaloz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjiequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oqujcac motecuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicolozque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalozque in jntecujioboan, injc macozque, injc cuepiliozque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica pipilti, ioã oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in neteilhujlli, çan njman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 22-23: *"Este nombre, tlacatl, quiere decir, persona noble, 'grande o magnífico. . . . Y los compuestos de tlacatl que se componen con nombres numerales, significan personas grandes, como diciendo de tlacatl, una persona hombre, o mujer."* Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung der Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf, aus dem Aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 32.

2. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the feet."

3. See Pl. 66.

4. See Pls. 67, 87.

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far ● [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc vntetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monomavi in tlatlac, cuetlan, aiac ma qujtlecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: mjtoaia, iteioc itocaiocan Tlacateccan: in nez ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalqujca in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca conpalo in ixiqujch calquavitl: njman ie ic tlacaoaca, qujtoa. Mexicae ma vallatotoca, tla cevilor, amaapilol: auh in jquac caatequjaia, in qujcevizneçuja, çan ie ilhujce mopitza, aocmo vel ceuh, vel tlatlac.

Injc ce[illegible]tzavitl: vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzũmulco: iteupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachqujavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caqujztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

Injc nauhtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietetetia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa; auh vmpa itztia in jqujçaianpa, iuhquj in tlesuchtli pipixauhtiuh, veca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca acitiuh in jcujtlapil: auh in oittoc cẽca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oiovalli õmoman.

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl qujpoçonalti, iuhqujn momomoloca, iuhqujn xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetz: auh in calli tzitzintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixitin in calli: ichoatl in vei atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa cioatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi; qujtotinemj. Nonopilhoantzitzin, ie ic çan ie tonvi: in

4. Probably Itepeyac is meant for *itoior*. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also *Memoriale en 3 columnas*, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún*—*Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 161.

5. Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* has *ioic* in a similar passage. In the *Real Palacio* MS it reads: *yoic ỹ calqujca*.

6. *Ce* can appear in *loc. cit.*

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII—Kings and Lords, p. 18, n. 5.

8. In the *Real Palacio* MS, this passage reads: "*auh ỹ calli ximimoloa cajic dioh ocq' papachioh ocqui xixitin.*"

9. In *loc. cit.*, manj is followed by "*dioh yoic mocecep yoic cecenoh çã no ompa ye ỹ ompa oaiaio ỹ ocq apãjan.*"

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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[766]

[731]

—*Ajuer Fuse y Trovarso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

Twenty-ninth Chapter. Here is related how the plague[1] came, named smallpox, of which the natives died, when the Spaniards set forth from Mexico.

And [even] before the Spaniards had risen against us, a pestilence first came to be prevalent: the smallpox. It was [the month of] Tepeilhuitl when it began, and it spread over the people as great destruction. Some it quite covered [with pustules] on all parts—their faces, their heads, their breasts, etc. There was great havoc. Very many died of it. They could not walk; they only lay in their resting places and beds. They could not move; they could not stir; they could not change position, nor lie on one side, nor face down, nor on their backs. And if they stirred, much did they cry out. Great was its destruction. Covered, mantled with pustules, very many people died of them. And very many starved; there was death from hunger, [for] none could take care of [the sick]; nothing could be done for them.

And on some the pustules were widely separated; they suffered not greatly, neither did many [of them] die. Yet many people were marred by them on their faces; one's face or nose was pitted. Some lost their eyes; they were blinded.

At this time, this pestilence prevailed sixty days, sixty day signs. When it left, when it abated, when there was recovery and the return of life, the plague had already moved toward[2] Chalco, whereby many were disabled—not, however, completely crippled. When it came to be prevalent, [it was the month of] Teotl eco. And when it went, weakened, it was Panquetzaliztli. Then the Mexicans, the chieftains, could revive.

And after this, then the Spaniards came; they marched from Tezcoco. By way of Quauhtitlan they set out, and quartered themselves at Tlacopan. There then the task was divided; their routes were there separated. Pedro de Alvarado's charge became the road leading into Tlatilulco. And the Marquis went

Injc cempoalli on chicuacuaxi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn valla Totomonjztli, injc mjcque njcã tlaca: in jtoca vei çavatl, in jquac oquijzque Españoles in Mexico. 731

Auh in aiamo totechmoquetza in Españoles: achtopa momanaco vei cocoliztli, totomonaliztli, ipan tepeilhujtl in tzintic, in tetechmotecac vevei tepopul: cequj vel pepechtic, novian in motecac in teixco, in teicpac, in teelpan, &c. vellaixpolo, vel mjequjntin ic mjcque, aoc vel nenemja, ça onoc in jmonoian in incuchian, aoc vel molinjaia, aoc vel mocuechinjaia, aoc vel mocuecuetzouia, aoc vel monacacicteca, aoc vel mjxtlapachtecaia, aoc vel maquetztitecaia. Auh in jquac mocuechinjaia, cenca tzatzia: cenca tlaixpolo, in pepechtic, in pepechiuhquj in çoatl, vel mjec tlacatl, ic momjqujli, yoã mjequjntin çan apizmjcque, àpizmjcoac, aocac motecujtlaviaia, aocac teca muchivaia.

Auh in cequjntin çan veveca in intech motlali in çavatl, amo cenca qujmjhioti, amo no mjequjntin ic mjcque: yoã mjec tlacatl ic itlacauh in jxaiac, ichachaquachiuhque, iacachachaquachiuhque, cequjtin yixcueponque, ixpopoiotque:

iquac in manca inin totomonjliztli, vel epoalilhujtl, epoaltonal in qujz in cuetlan, in necmachoc, in iolioac: ic chalcopa vatztia in totomonjliztli, yoã mjec injc cocototzauh: amo tel iccen cocototzauh. In momanaco Teutl eco: auh in cuetlanjto ipan in Panquetzaliztli: vncan vel caxavaque in Mexica, in tiacaoan.

Auh in ic iuhquj: njmã ic vitze, valelinj in Españoles in vmpa Tetzcoco: quauhtitlampa in quiçato omomotlalico Tlacuban: nec vncan motequjmaca, vncã mozcloa: in Pedro de Alvarado, itequjppã muchiuh in vtli vallaticac tlatilulco. Auh in Marques coioacan motlalito: auh itequjuh muchiuh in mar- 600

1. Corresponding Spanish term: *pestilencia*. Sahagún (op. cit., p. 531) has *matlatzahuatl* for this term, and "great rash" for *vei cocoztli*. Chimalpahin (op. cit., p. 192, n. 3, has *matlatzahuatl* for *cocoztli*.—The term is spelt *matlatzahuatl* in the Codex.

2. Probably either *cuitlaxia* or *cuitzia* should be read.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 133 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second [312] letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 58) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, [782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 133 312 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan- [241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, 127 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the 133 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along 731 the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches,[1] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[1] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. — Analyst]

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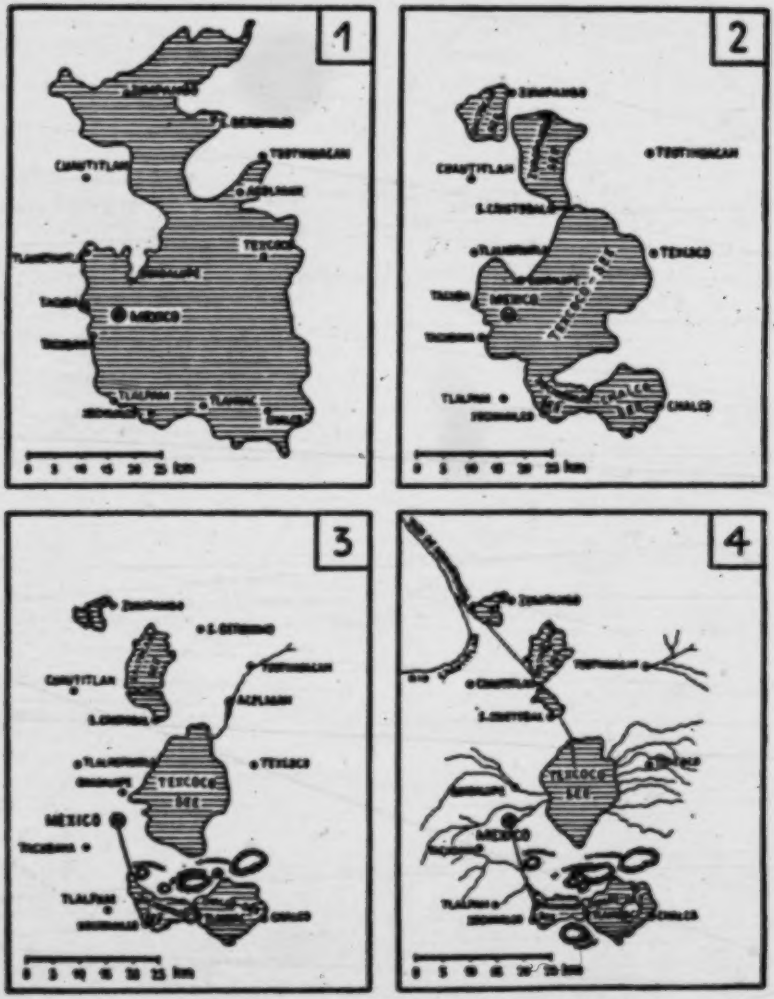

Fig. 1. Sketch maps of the lakes of the Valley of Mexico, (1) during the Ice Age, (2) at the beginning of the 16th century, (3) at the beginning of the 19th century, (4) in 1889. Reproduced from Schilling (1939).

the salt lake from the streams on the eastern side of the Valley, were described by Motolinía in 1540 (Steck edition 1951, p. 263). That seiches also occurred may be inferred from Cortés' reference to "tides" (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1, p. 256). Moreover, Sahagún records in Book Eight a tradition, regarded later as an omen of the coming of the Spaniards, to the effect that "the water of the lake foamed up, and

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10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 the wind did not stir it up. It was as welled up .... and it reached the
133 lower parts of the houses" (1954 edition, p. 18). There appear to
●731 be no modern observations of seiches, but the extraordinary Gómara remarks (1940 edition, pp. 195–196) that "the salte water ebbeth and floweth, accordyng to the wynde that bloweth".

127 Whether irrigation was practiced in Middle America is a question
312 that has never been adequately considered (Millon, 1954; Palerm, 1955). Clearly it would not have been necessary in Aztec times in the Valley of Mexico; *chinampa* agriculture, which substituted for irrigation, has an ancient history in the Valley (Apenes, 1943), but it is not known elsewhere nearer than the Vale of Kashmir (West and Armillas, 1950). At other times and in other places it seems certain that the dense population could not have been maintained without irrigation. The great ceremonial center of Teotihuacán lies in a subdivision of the Valley that receives less precipitation than Mexico City, and some irrigation is practiced there today. We know from the work of Apenes (1943) and Sears (1952) that just prior to Teotihuacán times (about 500 B. C.) the Valley lakes were appreciably lower than today, and the conclusion is inescapable that Teotihuacán culture was founded on high ground and flourished during a dry time when irrigation must have been essential. Deforestation (Vaillant, 1941) complicates the hydrographic picture for Teotihuacán times but it is evident that the rise and spread of Aztec culture was related to increased moisture, reflected in high lake levels during the 14th to 16th centuries. The high levels would doubtless have continued through the 18th century, in agreement with climatic oscillations elsewhere, if sporadic attempts to drain the Valley had not been partially successful in the early 17th century (they were not completely successful until 1900).

Aztec control of hydrography, then, did not include irrigation where it was unnecessary, but was devoted, in the last centuries before the Conquest, to regulating the levels of the lakes. Before the Aztecs entered the Valley, however, they lived in many places, not all of
127 which were lacustrine. So far archaeology has made little progress in reconstructing the details of their history during the migration period. The problem is exceedingly complicated, and four centuries of scholarship have not made it less so. The Aztecs were interested in their own history, and attempted to draw it together in pictorial manuscripts. These have been lost, and what have come down to us are copies, made, probably from memory, by hispanicized Indians under the prodding of the 16th-century friars. In the interpretation and verbalization of these pictorial histories we have to contend with ideas implanted by the friars, and the result is a picture of the migration period that is strongly reminiscent of the wandering of the Israelites, joined to a

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 503 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 503 731 These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Albarradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 503 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and crowned with a strong wall of rubble masonry, and was protected on both sides by a strong stockade which broke the force of the waves.

"The dyke divided the lake into two parts, the larger to the East was known as the Lake of Texcoco, from the city situated on its shores, the lesser to the West was called the Lake of Mexico because the capital was surrounded by its waters on all sides. From this arrangement Mexico derived an aggregate of inestimable benefits. The great lake, like all lakes having no outlet for their waters, was salt, notwithstanding the volume of all the rivers which flowed into it, or in fact it owed its saltness to this very flow which carried in its current the soluble salts which the falling rain has robbed from the land. The salt water saturating the soil has little by little rendered it sterile, and in addition, the carbonate of soda and the thousand other impurities with which it is charged are hostile to animal life to such an extent that fishes could not live in it, neither to-day nor at the time of the Conquest, as was stated by the writers at that epoch, although the water was then less salt than it is at the present. As the lakes of fresh water to the south poured their surplus water into the lake of Mexico through the narrows of Culhuacan and Mexicaltzingo, those waters spread through the western lake, the Lake of Mexico, and completely filled it, separated as it was from the salt lake by the dyke of Netzahualcoyotl. In this way the basin of fresh water was converted into a fish pond and a home for all sorts of aquatic fowl. Chinampas covered its surface, separated by limpid spaces which were furrowed by swift canoes, and all the suburbs of this enchanting capital became flowery orchards."[1]

It will be noticed in the Upsala map that within the dyke men are depicted catching fish, while no fishermen are shown in the Lake of Texcoco, which was, however, then, as it is now, the home of numberless wild fowl. The great dyke was provided with numerous openings for the passage of canoes, but these openings were furnished with sluice gates which could be closed during the rainy season when the water of Texcoco rose and threatened to flood the City, and could be opened again to let out the fresh water from Mexico when the rapid evaporation during the summer months had lowered the level of Texcoco.

The fluctuations of level in the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco were probably always less than in Lake Texcoco owing to the great number of copious springs of beautifully clear water which well up around their margins, especially on the west side, as well as in the lake of Xochimilco itself.

[1] Francisco de Garay, *El valle de Mexico, apuntes historicos sobre su hidrographia*, pp. 13 & 14.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 doms, had other ways to make slaves) we say: that many condi-
567 tions were lacking, to create them actual slaves. For of these slaves of this New-Spain, some had means, might own and possess them of their own, and they could not be sold again except under the conditions mentioned hereafter. The service rendered to their master was limited, not for always, nor ordinary. Some, upon marrying, became released, their relatives or brothers taking their place. There were also skilful slaves who, besides serving their masters, still kept house, with wife and children, purchasing and holding slaves themselves. The children of slaves were born free."[84]

567 The Mexican term for slave was, literally a "purchased man" ("tlacotli.") He was in fact but a "bondsman." Through a special contract, made before authorized witnesses, his services, the proceeds of his labor, *and not his person*, became pledged to another. The member of a kin had no direct ownership in him whom he employed, he could not sell him again without that employer's consent, nor could he take his life in punishment of crime. If the latter broke his contract through repeated
[685] evasion he might finally be "collared," that is, his neck was enclosed in a wooden yoke, by means of which he was fastened to a wall at night. If the man still contrived to escape, then he was turned over to worship and sacrificed; but in case he succeeded in secreting himself in the official house without being intercepted by his master or one of that master's people, then he was spared, and even liberated from his bonds.[85] In addition to the supply furnished to the class of outcasts in the manner above indicated, there were accessions to it from outside. Fugitives were of rare occurrence, since such, if from a tribe against which war was waged, were regarded as precious additions, too important to be ranged among the outcasts.[86] But we have several instances, in the ancient history of Mexico, of destructive
[731] drouths as well as of disastrous inundations, depriving the inhabi-

[84] "*Monarchia Indiana*" (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 564).

[85] I have gathered these details mostly from *Torquemada* (Vol. II, pp. 564-566). Compare besides others, *Velancurt* (Vol. I, pp. 483, 484, and 485) and nearly all modern writers.

[86] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Y si de la parte contraria salia alguno á descubrir y dar aviso cómo su señor ó su gente venian sobre ellos, al tal dábanle mantas y pagábanle bien." Copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 538), and *Velancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. III, p. 394).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape 567
threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their 731
children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or 562
of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for 565
the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether 837
different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such [684]
purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became [548
tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in 595]
the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 136) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1402. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 203) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 235) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap I, p. 269), agrees with Durán and Tezozomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 263): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451–1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 158) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

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732 DEFECTIVES--incidence of serious physical defects (e.g., blindness, deaf-mutism, crippling infirmities and deformities, feeblemindedness); interpretation of deformities and defects; care and treatment of defectives (e.g., neglect, persecution, euthanasia, home care, charity, institutionalization); organization, operation, and financial support of special institutions for defectives; adjustments to defects (e.g., seeing-eye dogs, prosthetic devices, hearing aids); sterilization of defectives; etc. See also:

Incidence of insanity 158
Sign language 201
Guardianship 429
Aids to locomotion 481
Care of war veterans 739
Begging 735
Care of the insane 758
Interpretations of physical abnormalities . . . 926
Infanticide 847
Care of aged 737, 889

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seen there, like a number of people coming massed?" And when they were about to answer, that which they looked at vanished. They could say nothing.

[As] eighth omen, often were discovered mis-shapen people. They had two heads, but only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecac, where Moctezuma beheld them. When he had looked at them, then they vanished.

Injc chicuetetl tetzaujtl, mjiecpa motenextiliaia tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, ça ce in jntlac vnpa qujmonujcaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa qujmjttaia in motecuçuma: in oquijttac njman poliujia. [732]

[p.20 is blank]

524 525 won[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

ololiuhquj anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchiuhtenteti, teucujtlanacochtli, xomoiujtilmatli. Auh in aqujn patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic teequechili, in moquetzticaz etl, in vmpa ic tiinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan mottaia: njman muchi qujtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezqujtetl aquilli, injc netennonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

526 411 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green [301] stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about [643] his wrist.

Tlatlamjna tlaujtoltica, tipontica, totomjtica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With [223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

Tlatlacaloazuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoaztli, iujcallo telolomatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

mozochimjltia, mozochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

522 524 There were their jesters who provided them solace and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

vncatca intelaveuetzqujticahoan in qujmellelqujxtiaia, in qujcecemelti: ioan quaujlacatzoque in qujpaqujltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzqujti, ioan maujztic, in jca ixocpal tlanjpa injc tlámati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quanmjmjlli in qujtotia ica ixocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli ça ichoatl in jxocpal ic tlamati,

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There [732] were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, [231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

mjiec tlamãtli, in tececemelti in qujchioa, vncatca imaachoan, ixoloan in qujnujcatinenca in qujmehellelqujxtiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, qujnpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cujcujtlachtin, ocotochtin, nepapan tototl.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads quidamino (he wagered) instead of *quitlamjlia*.

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—After Paso y Troncoso

Omens (concluded). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatlan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Theirs were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; maguey spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, injc mo-ichecoaia çioa. 286 462

Neanonj, mecamaxalli, quatzontli, xiiotl, otlatl, tzotzopaztli cacalaca, patlaoac: tzotzopaztli pitzaoac, omjtzotzopaztli, tzotzopaztepiton, ic tlamachioa: teçacatl, tlaujteconj, malacatl, tzaoalcaxitl, tiçatl, xaxalmalacatl ic iujtzaoa: ichcatanatli, tochomjtanatli, icpatanatli, iujtanatlj, iujtecomatl: tzatzaztli, tlacujlolquaujtl injc qujcujloa icpatl in qujqujti: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan qujpatla intlapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana tlein tlamachtli qujchioa; vitztli injc quj-uitzcuj icpatl: [386]

tlaqualchioa, achioa, qujnomauja: vncate in jnnahoan in qujmjzcaltia, ioan in cocoa tepotzoine çihoa, tzapame, cujca, tlatzotzona: injc melelqujxtia. 462 732 [534 522]

[1] Tlaxilquauitl: Sahagún (op. cit., III, p. 222) describes the tree as "Iaxcuyo, y tienen los otros mayor que parecen pinitos sobre el Iaxcuyo, es dedal muy provechoso, porque de él se hacen tapaxuntos, sombreros y cilindros. . . ." One is pictured in Hernández, op. cit., VI, 68.

[p. 50 is blank]

beloved sons, now we are about to go!"[10] Sometimes she said: "O my beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

A seventh omen: at one time the fisher folk who hunted or snared with nets took captive an ashen hued bird like a crane. Then they went to show it to Moctezuma, [who was] in the Tlillan calmecatl.[11] It was past noon, and still daytime. On its head was as it were a mirror, round, circular, and as if pierced in the middle,[12] where were to be seen the heavens, the stars—the Fire Drill [constellation]. Arid Moctezuma took it as an omen of great evil when he saw the stars and the Fire Drill. And when he looked at the bird's head a second time, a little beyond[13] [the stars] he saw people who came as though massed, who came as conquerors, girt in war array. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the soothsayers and the sages.[14] He said to them: "Do you not know what I have seen there, which was as if people came massed?" And when they would answer him, that which they looked at vanished. They could tell [him] nothing more.[15]

An eighth omen: often were discovered men of monstrous form, having two heads [but] only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecatl, where Moctezuma beheld them; but when he looked at them, they then vanished.

quenmanjan qujtoa. Nonopilhoantzitzin, campa namechnovisqujliz. 787

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzavitl: ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamatlaviaia in atlaca; centetl cacique tototl nextic, iuhqujn tocujlcoiotl: njmã qujtitito in Motecuçoma, tlillan, calmecac: ommotzcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca, iuhq'n tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, tevilacachtic, iuhqujn xapotticac: vmpa onnecia in ilhujcatl, in cicitlaltin, in mamalhoaztli. Auh in motecuçoma, cenca qujmotetzavi in jquac qujmjttac cicitlaltin, yoã mamalhoaztli. Auh injc vppa ontlachix in jcpac tototl, ene qujttac, iuhquj on in ma acame, moquequetztivitze, tepeuhtivitze, moiaochichiuhtivitze, qujnmama mamaça. Auh njman qujnnotz in tlaciuhque, in tlamatinjme: qujmjlhuj: Amo anqujmati in tlein onoconjttac, iuhqujn acame moquequetztivitze: auh ie qujnanqujlizquja, in conjttaque, opoliuh, aoc tle qujtoque. 788

Injc chicuetetl tetzavitl: mjecpã motenextiliaia, tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, çan çe in intlac, vmpa qujmõvicaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa qujmjttaia in motecuçoma, in oqujmjttac njmã polivia. 789

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10. Cf. *loc. cit.*, where *yã yoã tiui* appears.

11. In Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 10, this is explained: "*Se llamaban á presencia de Moctheuzoma, el cual por entonces estaba en unos palacios que le llamaban* Tillancalmecatli (*quiere decir, palacios negros de negro*) *y parece que como tenia otros palacios para alegrarse, recrearse edificados, este* Tillancalmecatli *tenia para recogerse en el tiempo de adversidad y tristeza.*"

12. A *tlachiloni* (instrument for sewing), attribute of Tezcatlipoca and the fire god (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 4).

13. In the *Real Palacio* MS, a similar phrase is written: "*Zoc q'mitzac, yoãq'n acamac mocquequeztivitzac.*" On *mocquequeztivitzac*, see Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880) — *quequeztic*. In corresponding Spanish passages, Sahagún translates as "*marchadamente de gente junta*" or "*marcha gente junta.*"

14. *Tlamatinjme*: see Angel María Garibay K.: "Teotlamatinime de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171. *Amoãqui* is favored as translation: "*La vida cierta, parece denotar fundamento metaviológico.*"

15. In the *Real Palacio* MS, following *opoliuh*, we read: "*aoc tle ual q'mopã. ac oppa q'mitlani ỹ tlacuilaque in tlamatinime, tle yoan tonal quilhuiqu ceno ual yohual yn quatocuati.*" (In the original, the abbreviation for *-que* resembles *-qz*; hence it is thus reproduced here.)

[p. 4 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate 643
standing up with much reverence and without looking at 264
his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either [415]
red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From [415
time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels 832
of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which 272]
they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very [522
ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies 732]
almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men 643
of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the second house, when it was the time of this sign, named Two Rabbit; and those then born in it did nothing but drink wine.

Injc navi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc ontetl calli, in jpan, y, machiotl, in jtoca vme tochtli: auh in vncan tlacatia, iehoan in çan qujxcavia tlatlaoana.

And of Two Rabbit, which followed, it was said that he who was then born was a great drunkard. Indeed, he required, lusted for, and used wine like a pig, he gorged himself and was a glutton with wine. Only to it did he dedicate himself; he depended upon it, consumed it to excess, and overindulged himself in it. He took it to himself inhumanly and needed it immoderately. Only his drinking did he consider. With it he awoke, with it he arose; never did he arouse himself, take notice, or sober up.[1]

Auh in qujoaltoqujlia vme tochtli: mjtoa, in aqujn ipan tlacatia, cenca tlaoananj, vel qujtolina qujztlaquj, qujpitzonequj in vctli, vel ocpoça, ocxixicuj: çan iee in qujmotequjuhtia, ipã mjxpoa, qujmotequjmaca, qujmotlaelmaca, âqujmotlacamaca, qujtlaelnequj, çan jauh povi, ipan oaliiça, ipan oalmeoa, aic mozcalia, aic tlachia, aic ix qujcuj:

In truth, sometimes he no longer took food. At such a time he only became a slave to it. No longer did he take to his bed. Night after night, when he arose, he visited various wine makers' houses begging wine. Never did he come to his right mind. He was not well even when he drank nothing. And he did not bother about it, nor abhor it, nor become distressed nor nauseated by it even though it were only the dregs, which indeed were like spoiled clots, with dirt, or full of gnats — full of filth and rubbish. So he swallowed it, sucked it in, and gulped it. Like a dog he licked his lips.

in nel quenman, aoc qujtlaquallotia, ça iuhcapan in conmomaca, aocmo qujpepechtia, ioiooac in moquetza, tlachicque inchã cacalaquj, tlatlapevia, aquenmã tlapohuj in jiollo, âvel ca in maca tle conj: auh aoc quen qujmati, amo qujtlatzilhuja, amo yvic eoa, amo qujtlaeltia, in manel ça xaiocujtlatl, in çan iuhquj tetzacpol, chapantica, anoce moca çaioli, çaiollo, moca tlaçolli, tlâtlaçollo, ça iuhquj qujtoloa, iuhquj qujçolotza, qujltequj: iuhqujn chichi motempapaloa.

If he did not find wherewith he could become drunk, in order to buy wine he hurriedly seized his cape, or his breech clout, thereby finding for himself poverty. He could not abstain or steel himself.

Intlaca oc tle qujtta, qujtlaoanaz, ic moccoviz, qujcujtivetzi in jtilma, yn jmaxtli: icnoiotl ipampa qujmottitia, aocmo vel motlacaoaltia, moiollotechioa:

Nevermore thereafter did he live in bliss and contentment. Still, when indeed he passed a calm day, once again he was quite drunk, very drunk, lying stupefied, filthily drunk. No longer did he take heed. He pitched forward upon his face; he fell head first. He went wallowing in ordure,[2] with blanched or reddened face, debauched, with hair tangled, uncombed, twisted, and matted; no more did he tend

njman aoqujc vellacaconemj, tlacaco tlamati, in ma oc ivian oncemjlhujti, onocuel ivintic, tequjzocomjc, onocuellapolo, tlaelivintic, aocmo qujmati, ça mjxicquetza, motzonjcquetza, cujtlanexiuhtinemj, ixtenexiuhtinemj, ixchichilivi, ixchichilpul, quapôpoliuhtinemj, quatzomaiuhtinemj, quapôpolpol, quatzômapol, aoc onmomatoca, aoc onmopepetla, aoc onmoquapepetla, intlanel cana momaiavi, mjx-

1. *Ic qujnej.* See *Ixnicuel* in Molina, *op. cit.*, and Simeon, *op. cit.*

2. Cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 236: *yya tzompachpul, yya cuitlanexpul momamiqui.*

X 787
●733

it with his hands, or comb and arrange it. If somewhere he threw himself down, and fell on his face, or his nose, or his knees — if he fell and skinned his knees; or he broke a hand or a foot, etc., — no longer did he heed or note the pain. Nowhere was there peace or virtue in his face.

And his hands only quaked, quivered, and shook. And his speech was no longer prudent; it only quavered. He only spoke as a drunkard; intemperate words emerged from his lips, which he should not have said. Continually he shouted at others, harangued them, affronted them, and quarreled with them. All that he said was not fit to be repeated. He went howling and shouting, boasting that he was a brave man. He danced in a circle, opening wide his mouth as he sang. He was disrespectful and impudent. He seized everything to brandish and raise as a threat — the beast, the stone, the club.[3] He went carrying his stone or his piece of wood with him, constantly troubling and threatening people, and blocking the way.

He brought poverty to his children — always causing them fear, constantly terrifying them, scattering them.

Never did he sleep or rest easily. In time he fell exhausted, consumed by pain and affliction. No more did he say: "Wherewith will my home appear attractive?" — [for] he thought of nothing but his wine. Only rubbish prevailed and ashes were strewn throughout. In his home, no one swept; no fire burned. It remained in darkness. Misery reigned.

It mattered not where with others he slept and lay down to sleep. [For] his heart was only there in the taverns, the wine shops. When he found no wine, he seemed anguished of heart, as if he hung high, or tumbled into a pitfall, like a vagabond.

And if somewhere he found a drinking place, there he satisfied his longing, quieted his anguish, as if gladdened and calmed.[4] There he sat firmly and fast, dedicated to sitting, seated happily. No more did he think to depart.

And if he were bidden to drink somewhere, as never before did he spring up to run and take pains to enter. As if spontaneously,[5] he suddenly ran,

toxaoa, moiacatoxaoa, motlanquatoxaoa, motlanquaxipeoa, momapoztequj, mocxipuztequj. Etc. aocmo qujmati, aocmo qujtecococamati, aoccan tlacacemelle, aoccan tlacaiectli yn jxaiac:

auh in jma ça cuecuechca, ça viviioca, papatlaca, ioan in jtlatol aocmo mjmati, ça cuecuechca, çan tlatlaoancatlatoa, ça much tlacaçollatolli in jcamacpa qujça, in qujcacamacaoa, çan jc nemj in tetzatzilia, in tetlacaqujtia, in tepinauhtia in teaoã: much qujtoa in aitolonj oiouhtinemj, tzatzitinemj, moqujchitotinemj, momamantinemj, mocamatzaiana in cujca, atle qujmauhcaitta, atle qujmamati, much qujcujtivetzi, cacocuj, cacoleoa in tequanj, in tetl, in quavitl: iteuh iquauh ietinemj, tlacatl qujcocomonja, tlacatl qujcuecuetlanja, vtli qujtzatzacutinemj:

icnoiotl qujmjttitia in ipilhoan, muchipa qujnmamauhtia, qujmjiçavia, qujncecenmana,

aic tlacacochi, motlacateca: qujnjquac quauhtenvetzi, in jellel onacic in onmellelaxiti, aocmo qujtoa, in tlein ic ontlavelneciz nochan: ça mache in jvc qujmati, ça tlaçolli qujztoc, tequjxqujtl coxontoc, in jchan, aiac tlachpana, amo tlatla, tlaioaticac, icnoiotl qujztoc,

ça canjn tetlan cocochi, tetlan mocochteca, ça vmpan ca iiollo tlachiccan, vctlaliloia, in atle qujtta vctli, iuhqujn nentlamati yiollo, iuhqujn aco pilcac, iuhqujn ãactiuetzi, iuhqujn avic iauh.

Auh intlacana otlaipantili tlaoanoia: iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia yiollo, iuhqujn iioiolipan, iuhqujn iiollo yizztaia, yiollo cecelia. vncan motetcuhtlalia, motepitztlalia, mocentlalia, mopaccatlalia, aoc tlacaoalizztlamati.

Auh intlacana tlaoancanotzalo: iuhqujn aoc ie choloteoa, ie çomocacaquj, iuhqujn ce inacaz, iuhqujn onvicinj onmotlaloa, mjçiuhcatlaloa, momama-

3. Cf. Simeón, *op. cit.* (*tepuzmi*) and Olmos, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 242, and elsewhere (*tetl*, *quauitl*), where the terms *tepuzmi*, *tetl*, and *quauitl* are used metaphorically for "chastisement." Sahagún, however, renders them literally.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xii, fol. 193r.

5. Cf. Sahagún, "Memoriales con escritos," p. 204 (glosa 8).

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears
[589 to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case
734] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship,
or in case of great infirmities, for which the calpulli provided.[111]
No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of
the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom
the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the
[587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, pro-
vided for her.[112]

428 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same
764 with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of
the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office
was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at
his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons
and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs
428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of
their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incum-
bents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none
of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right
of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with
the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father
to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to
nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

[793]

[111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 547–553), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1514, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1864, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 108, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164–167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV. p. 177. Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 256, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

Rich Man

[482]

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagún made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

Thief

[326]

[685]

Feather Worker

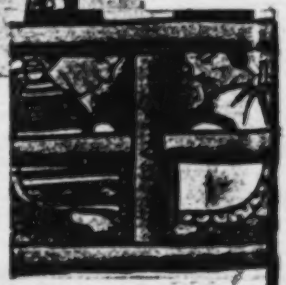

[286]

Warriors

[701
441
714]

[p. 112(B)]

X 796 **The eighth month** they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to [805] the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender 776 maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls— ● [735] in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lõs ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they 735 fed men and women, young and old. Then, very 262 early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them *tamales*. He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the 536 ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their [302] hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. [373] They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Cap. 8.

1	e	KL	Vei tecujlhujtl	e	22[1]
2	f		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	f	23
3	g		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	g	24
4	A		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	A	25
5	b		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	b	26
6	c		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	c	27
7	d		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	d	28
8	e		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	e	29
9	f		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	f	30
10	g		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	g	1[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	A	2
12	b		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	b	3
13	c		tomar dos vezes maltrataualle, y to-	c	4
14	d		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	d	5
15	e		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	e	6
16	f		solar a los pobres: porque en este	f	7
17	g		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	g	8
18	A		mãtenjmjentos.	A	9
19	b		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	b	10
20	c		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	c	11[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y persueruauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

1. Marginal notation: *Xuxuxi quaiz; Efi or xuxi.*
2. Marginal notation: *Pij papar or Mort.*
3. Marginal notation: *Julius he diar xuxi.*

The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; musty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[13] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. And when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[13]

This was the time when they bought people;[14] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

Inic chicuey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apiztli, in maianaliztli, in icoac tlauicaia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapoalli, ce tochtli.

Auh in icoac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, netetzontilo, netecatilo, mocuezcomatema in tonacaiotl: soc tle motlaça, muchicoac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzãtli, in miiaoatl, in metzolli, in nochzochitl, in mescalli, in necutlaxoeuilli.

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in ouuhtli çan yoã mocoonoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iazaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opatzaoac. Auh icoac, muchi tlaiecoa, tlaxcotlaça tlahiiocuitia in petzicatl, in chichic ouuhtli, anoço teuouuhtli, iacacolli:

ie icoac tecoã, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlametl, tlaiztotiani, atle quiacaoa, tlaistamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuie, tzotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneoztinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicqui, in teuciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quitta ihiiocuiia, iceuhca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motolia: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin:

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262

805
567
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735

12. *In xuuhtli yan yoã in ipolocaio:* cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1950), II, p. 268: "*xuuhtli yolocayo, es la semilla de las cosas que se siembran, con todas sus inmundicias.*" Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Jones "*ipolocaio* was *aquel donde lo desechado sale.*"

13. Some of these terms are identified in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. *Yacacolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva-España* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeón, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*cogollo de maíz.*" See also the Robredo edition, Vol. I, p. 139.

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jones (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-71), *q. v.*

Quinonoa appears in the *Real Palacio MS* as *quiqinoni.* The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *in onoque* (see ne oneuil), toward the end of the paragraph.

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[687]

[625]

[689]

[526]

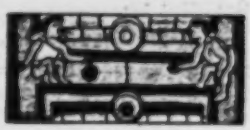

[533
534]

• [735]

[482]

—After Paso y Troncoso

o 86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a careless musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game *tlachtli* (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

1/A [This caption is in error. - Analyst]

[p. 36(L) is blank]

X 796 264 bore [food], who carried [food] in their cloaks, who served at table; [and] the pages. Beginning with the first-comers, he who served at table thus served them X 796 262 as many *tamales* as they could take in one hand. He gave them perchance *tamales* made of maize treated with lime; or else made with fruit; some [he gave] *tamales* of maize blossoms; or with twisted ends, or sweetened with honey. Of the *tamales*, some had twisted ends and were filled with grains of maize; some took the twisting forms of green beans and were filled with grains of maize.[2]

in tetlamacazque, in tetlamamacazque, yiacac valpeoa in tetlamacac, injc tetlamaca, in quexqujch veliti qujtzitzquja tamalli, ixqujch qujtemaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço xocotamalli, cequj mjisoatamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollaoio, cequj ixxococolotlaoio:

X 796 264 And they who served [food] looked to the small children, serving them well, with much concern. And some of the table-servers offered *tamales* only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as their kin or their friends. Twice or thrice they offered them [food].

auh in tetlamacaia in qujmittaia pipiltzitzinti, cenca vel qujntlamacaia, cẽca tlatlaocultiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacaque, çan qujteixiximatcamaca in tamalli: qujmjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, expa in qujntlamaca.

And none might deceive in taking *tamales*. And any whom they saw trying to take *tamales* dishonestly, such, when they saw him, they punished, striking him, leaving bloody welts, with a cord made of reeds. What had been given him, they took from him all; they took all his *tamales*, his own which he had set aside, those which had fallen his lot.

[68 283]

Auh aiac motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aquin qujttaia motamalixcuepaznequj, in tlaittva, qujvivitequj, qujtatacapitzvitequj tolmecatica: in quexqujch omacoca mochi qujcujlia, qujcencujlia in jtamal, inevian conmocavilia, inevian ōmonexotla.

And some they did not come to—[those] with whom [the line] broke off, those who came last, at the end, at the tail [of the line], even though they crowded their way forward, going up among the throng. Nothing at all was offered them, for at first there was much crowding and violent forcing, because they feared that with them [the line] might break.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, iehoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temaxelotiuh, injc tetlan calaquj: çan njman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachto, cenca nemamaliva, cenca netotocholo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlacoton.

And those with whom [the food supply] ended all wept. They said:

"What shall we do, we who are ill-fated? Evilly hath the feast day come! To what vain end is our ill fortune? Unhappy are our little ones!"

Auh in quexqujchtin impan tlacotonj, nechoqujlilo: qujtoaia,

quennel titotolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen totlaihiiovilitz motolinja in topilhoantzitzin.

And if they saw that, apart, perchance, [*tamales*] were still being eaten, then they hurried over there. All ran; there they betook themselves; there they jostled them, like clamoring [beggars]. Although [those who ate] came against them and beat and struck their heads, yet they went on breaking in among [the eaters], crowding among them roughly.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaqualo, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlalolo, vmpa motquj, vmpa onxoqujvi, iuh qujnamopevilmatque, in manel qujnoaltoca, qujnvalhujtequj, in qujnvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

X 796 ● 736 And this feasting went on for seven days. And for this reason was this done—purely that the chief might show benevolence to others by giving his bounty to

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh injc mochioaia y, çan jc tetlaoculiaia in tlatoanj, in qujntlaoculiaia in maceoaltzintli: ichica ca

2. "Ces tamalli étaient faits avec . . . , tamalli, *chaux*; xocotl, *fruit*; mizzitl, *fleur de maïs*; yuacalli, *espèce de maïs*, et necutli, *miel*. Les deux autres étaient composés, le premier avec le maïs appelé yuacalli, et le second avec des fleurs (mizzitl) sèches (cocoltic)" (Jourdanet and Simēon translation of Sahagún, p. 118, n. 2).

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[3]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, 796
cenca oncã mjhiioviaia, inociavia: cenca vncã tomj- 736
qujan catca.

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izqujlhujtl cujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca çã achiton tonatiuh, cenca çã pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiqua- [372]
cenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, acti-
manca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontla-
cujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen
quapantli:

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalqujxoa, in cujcacali, cuj-
catiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: [548]
iehoantin in mazujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in
tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti:

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj,
çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan [302
in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn 565]
otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan
jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan.

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, 796
much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn
incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamo- 292
liuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl; cequj
çan petatic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi
cuetenio.

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj
pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj
cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn
jtozquj much uetuei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatla-
oac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtotia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan
intzon qujquequntinetnj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, [302]
ymixquac qujoalteca.

Auh amo mopotonja, amono mozaoa.

Auh ynic muchichiotia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechi- [622]
chioal catca, iehoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in
teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, [301
motocaiotia innochpalcuechin. 394
701]

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, *hombros[illegible]* may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For *cerca quapantli*, Sahagún has "*un estado.*"

S: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

821
843

into mice; each of their children might turn into a mouse.

And because they feared evil, in order to protect themselves, in order that this might not befall [them], they placed obsidian in their mouths or in their bosoms, because with this their children would not be born with mouth eaten away—lipless; or they would not be born with noses eaten away or broken off; or with twisted mouths or lips; or cross-eyed, squint-eyed, or with shrunken eyes; nor would they be born monstrous or imperfect.

This moon those of Xaltocan worshipped as a god, and they laid offerings before him and paid him honor.

821
751
843

Auh inic quintemmatia: inic mopatiaia, inic amo iuhqui impã muchioaz: itztli incamac, anoço inxillã quitlaliaia: ipãpa inic amo tencoaiuizque, tencoatizque impilhoan: anoço iacacoatizque, iacacotonizque, anoço tempatziuizque, tennecuiliuizque, ispatziuizque, innecuiliuizque, iocaliuizque: in anoço atlacacemele tlacatiz, in amo tlacamelaoac.

782

Inin metztli, iehoan quimotutiaia in xaltocameca: quitlamaniliaia, quimauiztiliaia.

[p. 10 is blank]

539 After the sun had set, the moon began to move. Thus the one got away from the other. And thus they come forth at different times. The sun endureth one day, and the moon worketh at night (or illuminateth at night). From this cometh what is said: that Tecuciztecatl would have been the sun if he had cast himself first into the fire, because he was named first, and offered precious things in his penance.

Despues que el sol se puso començo la luna a andar: desta manera se desuiaron el vno del otro: y ansi salen ẽ diuersos tiempos. El sol dura vn dia y la luna trabaia en la noche o alumbra en la noche. De aqui parece lo que se dize q̃ el tecuciztecatl avia de ser sol si p'mero se ouiera echado en el fuego porque el p'mero fue nõbrado y ofrecio cosas preciosas en su pñia.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821 When the moon is eclipsed, he becometh almost dark; he becometh blackened; he turneth a dark brown. Then the earth darkeneth. When this cometh to pass, women with child feared miscarriage. A great dread seized them that that which they had in their bodies would become mice. And as a remedy for this they took a piece of obsidian in the mouth or they placed it in the girdle over the belly and [did so] in order that the children [whom they carried] in the womb would not be born lipless or noseless or wry-mouthed, or cross-eyed, or that [one] might not be born monstrous.

[843 751]

Quando la luna se eclipsa parase casi oscura, ennegrecese, parase hosca: luego se escúrese la tierra. Quando esto aconteçe las prefiadas temian de abortar, tomauales gran temor que lo q̃ tenian en el cuerpo se a de boluer raton. Y para remedio desto tomavan vn pedaço de ytztli ẽ la boca o ponianle en la çintura sobre el vientre y para que los ninos que en el vientre no saliesen sin beços o sin narizes, o boquituertos, o bizgos: o porq̃ no naciese monstro.

The people of Xaltocan held the moon as a god and made him special offerings and sacrifices.

Los de xaltoca tenian por dios a la luna y le hazia particulares ofrendas y sacrificios.

846 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which are told and mentioned what they did when they visited women recently delivered, and other things which were done where a woman recently delivered dwelt.**

And here it is told that when a child was born, and when [the mother's] relatives knew of it, and it was known and the news spread and was noised abroad, her family and blood relations were assembled and brought together. They set forth, and came and proceeded to visit the much revered child.

When they entered, at the very first, they took ashes; they anointed their knees with ashes; they rubbed themselves. And also they put ashes on the knees of their children yet in the cradles; or those still crawling, going on all fours; those who stood, who already took to their feet; the boys, girls, youths, young men, unmarried girls, and young women. Everywhere, on all parts of the body they placed ashes; on every joint and articulation: their ankles, their elbows, their buttocks, over the kidneys, the napes of their necks, their shoulders, but especially their knees.

[751] And it was so said and averred that thereby they would not become lame. But if this were not so done, they would become lame, and all the joints, in every place, would creak.

846 And also for four days they carefully watched the fire. It never went out. It continued to flare up, to
372 grow and increase, to flare red. They thus carefully started it; it was well set. And no one might take the fire. And if anyone wished to take the fire, or a light, they would not give it to him, lest he take renown from the child who had been born, until the
[851] four days had ended, or for still a few days, when they bathed him.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa, motenecoa: in tlein qujchioaia in qujmontlapaloaia in mjxiuhque: yoan in oc cequj in muchioaia, in vncan onoca mjxiuhquj.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jquac aqujn tla otlacat piltontli: in oconmatque yoaiolque, in onmachoc, in otepan ocenman, in otepan onmotecac. Niman ic nenechicolo, necenqujxtilo, in jtlacaiooan, in jcujtlaxcolloc eoa, viloa, pipiliooa in qujtlapalozque, in jxco, ijcpac, tlachiazque piltontli.

In iquac oncalacque, oc ie achto concuj in nextli: ic onmotlanquanexvia, onmomamatiloa: yoan no qujmontlanquanexuja in inpilhoan, in oc coçulti, anoço in ie movilana, coionenemj, in ie moquequetza, in ie imjcxi caana in oqujchpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in telpupuchpipil, telpucatoton, ichpupuchpipil, ichpucatoton: novian qujntlatlalilia in nextli; in jzqujcan inçaçaliuhian, in jmjhilpicaiocan, in jnquequeiultitech, in jnmolicpi ytech, yn jntzintenpan, in incujtlacaxiuhian, in jnquechtepultitech, in jmacolpan: oc cenca ichoatl in jntlanquac.

Iuh mjtoa, qujlmach ic amo tlanquananatzinjzque: auh intlacamo yuh muchioa, tlanquananatzinjzque: yoan nanatzinjz, in jzqujcan in çaçaliuhian.

Auh yoan navilhujtl in vel qujpia tletl aquĕman cevi, xotlatica, oalantica, oacalantica, mopipitztica, vel qujcpeoa, vel ic peuhtica: yoan aiac vel ontlecuj. Auh intla aca ontlecujznequj tletlecujc: amo qujmaca, injc amo qujtleiocujlizque piltontli, in otlacat: ixqujchica in ontlamj navilhujtl: anoço in oc izqujlhujtl caltizque.

[p. 112 is blank]

843 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue bump. Or [he might
●752 catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc neci aiomama, ycujtlapan ca, iuhquin posatontli, iuhquin texotic: anoçc cuetzpalicivitli. Injc neci cuetzpalicivi piltontli: cecicoal in choca, yoan yquexilco, yciacac motlatlalia nacatotonti, olototonti, melactotonti. Auh injc pati: quiznotla, quiquiquixtia in nacatotonti.

843 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of]
821 them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will be harelipped!"

Ioan in ozztli: in jquac aiamo vel tlacatl motlalia in jconcuh, quintlacaoaltiaia, in jquac calmomana metztli: injc amo conacopaitzazque, quimjlhuiaia: macamo xoconjttacan in metztli, mjmjquiz, anoçc tenquaiviz in amoconcuh.

825 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's hand.

Injc cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in oçomatli ymacpal.

777 The merchants sought and cherished greatly a
441 monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In oçomatli imacpal: in puchteca oncca quitemoaia, quimopialtiaia: in jquac in campa tiamjquia, in tlanamacaia: vncan quitecaia, quijlmach ic iciuhca aquj, iciuhca muchi coalo in tlein quinamaca: quijl ichoatl iuh quichios in oçomatli yma: ynjc motlapololtia.

777 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere
264 was disposed of that which they sold, when no one
824 bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoantin in tilmanamacaque: in jquac acan aquj in quinamaca, in aiac quicoa: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço vipilli, quijlmach: quichilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc quichioaia: in jquac calvia inchan, quitoaia: acan cac in totiamjc: ma xoconchilquaqualtican: njman ic ijtic contema, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: quijlmach ic aquja, injc iuh quichioaia in, ic quitoa: quichilquaqualtia.

777 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle and the griddle.

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in texolotl, yoan comalli.

525 When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his home, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aquin patoaia, in jchan, in jtexolouh, ioan in jcomal, ioan in jmetl: ixtlapach quimanaia: auh in texolotl cana xomoloco quipiloaia; quijlmach: ic amo quitlanizque in chane, çan ic tlatlanjz.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*otra enformedad, que llaman cuetzpalicivitli, o que hebenillar en la ingle.*" Note also *Codex Rios* (*El manuscrito mexicano Vaticano 3738 llamado El Codex Rios* [Roma: Biblioteca Danesi, 1900], p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to *patolis*, which is an error.

776 **Tenth Chapter,** which telleth of the goddesses [called] the Princesses (Cihuapiltin).[45]

[753] These were five devils, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They have people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and contended with the Cihuapiltin, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Wherefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Cihuapiltin arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

776 796 And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they made them offerings of soft, folded *tortillas* called *tlamatzoalli*, butterfly-shaped *tortillas* called *papalotlaxcalli*, [others shaped like] sacrificial notched sticks (*xonecuili*),[46] small tamales called *xocuichtlamatzoalli*,[47] and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

776 And they were thus bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, darkened with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with pointed figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

Jnic matlactli, capitulo: ynchpa tlatua, yn cioatetua, cioapipiltti:

Diablome catca y, macujltia, tenne yn jniziptlaoan; inmch tlamjloia, qujlmach tetlauelia, teca mocaiaoa, ynjc aca itech qujnecoia tlauelilocati, tennecujliuj, innecujliuj, matsicoliuj, icxicopichouj, icxinjmjquj, momacoecuetza, tenqualacquica: ic mjtoaia omotenamictl, ypan oquinque cioapipiltti, vmaxac chanequa. Jpampa y yn tetaoa, anoço tenaoa, qujmilhujaia yn jnpilhoan: maca xonequjca tlalpan aci, temo in cioapipiltti.

Auh ipampa y, yn iquac ymjlhujuh, ynjc qujntlamanjliaia: tlamatzoalli, papalotlaxcalli, xonecujli, xocuichtlamatzoalli, inqujtl.

Auh yn vncan momaza y, in quenman vncan yn cioatecalco, in quenman, vmaxac.

Auh yn jnnechichioal catca, mjztiçauique: auh panj tlaolxacalti, tlaitzcopeualtectli, tlaitzcopeoalli, yn jmamatlaquen, potoncacaquique.

Eleventh Chapter: which telleth of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli ycue), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered a god[dess]; her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that *she* belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swelled, and formed whirlpools about them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She upset the canoe, she emptied it; she lifted it, tossed it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it heaved to and fro; it was said, "It playeth; it billoweth, it splasheth like the stamping of feet; the water striketh the shore, spraying water and foaming."

Jnic matlactli vce capitulo: ynchpa tlatua, yn cioatutl, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue: iahoatl yn atl.

Teutl ipan machoia: iuhquin cioatl qujziptlatiaia, inh mjtoaia, qujlmach ynvan pouj, inurltiuh in tlaloque:

ynic mauirtililoia, ynic imacazoia, ynjc mauhcaittoia, ynjc tlamauhtiaia, teatoctiaia, teatlanmjctiaia, tepolactiaia, tepan poçonja, motepanaça, maziciotia, tepan motsujlacachoa, ynjc tecentlanjujca:

yn acalli qujcuepa, qujztlapachcuepa, queoatiquetza, ca aco maiauj, ca tema.

Auh in quenma tepachoa, teapotzauja, mocuiciotia, titicujca xazamacatimanj, cocomocatimanj, hatlacamanj:

yn jquac ocruh, yn ie cruj, aujc iaiauh: qujtoa, maujltia, xiniquipiliuj, cocomotzauj, atentli itech cemotlatlatoa, cemochachaquanja, mapopoçequillotia.

se have descender lluvia. . . . El chiamauith es el por símbolo de las fertilidad y, sin duda, también instrumento mágico con que se obtenía lluvia" (pp. 179-80).

45. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 324-5; Vol. II, pp. 181-5. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 38, and pt. 3, p. 100, and Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 69, 80) *ibid.*, holds that *Cihuapiltin* (the princesses) are the same as *Cihuateteo* (the goddesses)—women who died in childbirth (*mocuiaquetzque*) or at the sacrificial stone, and hence were the equivalent of warriors killed in battle or offered up as sacrifices. Seler describes them as spectral earth-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were arrayed in certain warriors' symbols—eagle feathers and down sandals, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to incite men to sin and crime.

46. An S-shaped cake, made to resemble lightning.—Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 47.

47. Braided *tortillas* in the form of agave-fibers, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 8.

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fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stones. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili;* [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan neneuhque, ynjc neteutiloia tecpantzinca intenuh:
yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca tocujchti ipan cioacochiz,
anoço ciostl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoaia, qujntlaçulojctia
yn jneçaoaliz,
ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujteilhujltiaia, qujtemacoaltiaia, in xochiciuiztli, yn menexoaliztli, tlapalanaltilitli, quexiliuiltiztli,
yuicpa netolua, nenetoltilaia, ynjc qujceuia, ynjc qujquaniz ynjc qujcaxaoaz, cuculiztli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chilcaoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, ioalnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli yn ipan ca, mozochiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujscaviaia, in iotlaxcalli qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:

ye tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl qujmixiptlatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia, tlacoquixtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey ipan ycatiuh xuchujtl:

yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan contoqujliaia oc no macuiltetl tamalnepitoton, molloctiujia: yoan ventetl tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcartica, mantivia, centetl tilitic, centetl tlatlauhquj.

Auh yn aca izquitl, anoço necunquitl, anoço xonecujlli, papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalchimalli, tzocalmjtl, tzocalmaquauitl, tzocalnenetl:

yoan noujian ualtaoaloia, in mamalti njcan mexico, moteneua maltequjme, yn jtequjch techiaoalotoc, yn

776 688 753 785 834 776 796 264 785 776 415 262 796 776 796 727

omo quamamalhuaztli—two arrow shafts or wooden drills, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *omo acatl* ("2 reed") or the *mamalhuaztli* (fire-drill) (see illus.). Seler: *The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 75. *Tlacoxtzouac*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlacochtzouac*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*heria, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, dolores, incordios, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text: "*panes crudos.*"

776
796 surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the borders of warring people. Those who had taken these pris-
727 oners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him, they bought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

776 Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated. And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and burnt. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges. He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Uitzmauac.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

●[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whoso ate the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the bone of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

iuuenoaque, yn iuomco onoque, qujnealcaqaia yn jnmalhoan, yn jntlaaxioan, in maltequjhoan, muchioaia: njcan qujnpiaia, yn calpixque, in cacalpixque.

Auh intla aca tlaielti, intla tlacololti, ypan tlacaquetzaia, motlacacnujaia, qujxiptlaioctiaia, qujxiptlatiaia:
in tlatlacuiti, vncan miqujia, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia.

Auh yn jnechichioal: tenmacpale istlapaloatzale, tlaiztlapaloatzalujlli, tlaiztlapalvilli, yhujtonncale, quachichiqujle, vitonquj yn jtlamamal, vitoncatlamamale, ypan icac, tenalopanjtl, quetzaltzonio, quetzaltzontecomaio, quetzaltzontecome, quetzaltzontecomio, tentlapaltica motzinjlpi, motzinapa, ytonalocac, tenalocaque.

Jnic caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca Omacatl.

Jnja omacatl, vitzmauac, teutl catca, yn jtech tlamjloia, in piqujliloia, qujtooaia ca ichoatl imactia, in cooaiutl, in tecooanotzalizti, in tetlacamatilizti, in tetlatlaqualtilizti: ymatijan muchioaia yn jnnecentlaliliz, yn jnnecenqujxtiliz teoaiolque, techã vicoia, vmpa mac:imachoia, necujtlaujloia yn jxiptla.

Auh no qujtooaia, yntlacamo mavizitilo, yn juhqujma cooanotzalo, tlavelcuja: tecochpa, anoço tecochizpan teaoaia, qujlhujaia, yn aquja qujtemjquj. Jn ichoatl tleyca yn amo tinechmavizmati; njmitztlalcahuiz: auh ie ne njcmati, in tlein mopan njcchioaz.

Auh intla cenca moçuma, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa tzontli qujtztololtia, in atl, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aquj yn mjtoa tzuqua, miecpa mococoa: ynjc qujtolinja, melcima, ycopac mjlacatzoa in atl: meltepotlamja in jquac tlaqua: auh yntla nezemj motepotlamja, metecujnja, motlavizequj.

Auh ynjc ilhujqujxtililoia: yn aquja tzuqua, achtopa qujchioaia, tzumjmilli, yiomjio in teutl catca: çan tlacatl, tzupizquj calpole, cen molicpitl ynjc hujviiac, vel totomaoac, mjmjltic.

Auh yn aiamo nemamaco, ec achtopa tlatlaqualo, atlioa, tlaoano: auh yn otlathujc tenjtitzopinja, yn omacatl conmjctia: njman ic nemamaco, netlatlapanjlo, nezezelhujlo, in tzumjmjlli:
iquac quaqualo, iuhqujn ic tetzoiotiloia, tetlacaqujtilo, tetlalhujlo, temolcaoaltilo: ca yn aquique macoia, yn iquac ie ilhujuhqujçaz, mocujtlaxcolizitlaoaia, mopopooaia, ypampa ca entlaxtlaoaia.

Jn inechichioal catca: ilhvitzoncale, quauhtzoncale, yoã

74. Probably the temple of Uitzmauac (Uitzmauac calmecac) is meant. *Cf.* Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 222). The name omoze suggests various other meanings—the south, the *barrio* or part of the city named Uitzmauac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. *See ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 215, 221, 222, 229, and also Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

776 white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

çançalvitonquj yn jtlamamal, ytonalopan ipan icac, totonaloio yn jmaneapan, totonaloio yn jchimal, tlauhio yiollotopil, xopilcuxque, yamamazcli, tzitzile, coiole, itonalocac.

Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlalocs. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

776 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water,
796 food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants,
[273] scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their rattle-beards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Jnic castolli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn teutl, yn itoca catca opuchtli: jn qujmotutiaia ie tocauh, nican tlaca.

Inin opuchtli, ipan mizoaia, tlaloc: atlaca intuh catca, qujmotutiaia.

Juh qujtoaia, ca ichoatl itlatzintil, ytlamextil, qujnezti, qujtzittii in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjnacachalli, yn avictli, tzonoaztli.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujtzililoia, atl, tlaqualli, vctli, in ventli muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xuchitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, qujtepevilioia, ic qujnanamiquja: chicaoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl qujchaiavilioia: iubqujn tecivitl povia: no yoã qujcujcatiaia, yn iveviooan, yn jlamaiooan, çalpoleque.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

He was the god of the sea-shore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

776 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his
● 753 attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

776 Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would
796 thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All hastened pursuing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

Jnic caxtolli vmey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca, xipe totec.

Anaoatl itouh: tzapoteca in vel intuh catca,

yn itequinh pouja, yn itcuian ytlachioal, yn inetzcavil: ic temotlaia, ic tezozaia, ichoatl qujtemacaia, in totomonjlizcli, papalaniliztli, çaçaoztilizcli, itcoculizcli, ixchichitinalizcli, intzapipinqujlizcli, intamaçoliciuizcli, intzauhpachiuilizcli, intzacapachiuilizcli, itoxocivizcli, intzotolicivizcli, intzcaycivizcli.

Jn aquin ipam muchioaia, yn cuculizcli toqujchti, yuicpa monetoltiaia, yujcpa mjtoaia: ynjc onmaquiz yn jieoaia, ynjc itlan aquiz, yn jquac ilhujqujztililo: motocaiotia, tlacaxipeoalizcli:

tlapainaltiaia, tetocaia, mjequjztin momanaia, muchinti euiotiuj, chichiinoatiuj, chichipic-tiuj, tocxotlantiuj in

79. *Cf. Sahagún, Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 388 (*tecpaquachichiquilli*).

80. *Cf. Seler (Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 531) *for explanation of manto del sol.*

81. ". . . *un dardo de tres puntas que se llama minacachalli.*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: ". . . *es como fuga, aunque no tiene, sino tres puntas*, [marginal insertion, partly missing: *(of?) triangulo (or?)mo tridente*] *con que hace, a los peces; y tambien es el mantan azul.*"

[501] 82. Standing in the boat, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the verb *remo*, oar, which is technically inaccurate.

83. Seler (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 103) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.*, Lib. III, cap. 13) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Tuxtlan district. A close discussion of the "*yepimez y chapanez*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 133. See also note 89.

84. Meaning problematical.

well-matured, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some went shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest [the wine] sour.

They should look to their strict abstinences; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[120]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[121] to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the green mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the disposal of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the dregs in the vessel, of the wine, of watered wine,[122] of fruit wine,[123] of white wine, of sleep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gout, as was said above, he was thus cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made thus paid his debt and thus fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornment—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their staves of round thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,[124] their cloud-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little sauce bowls with calhujque, in ie quaitaque, in ie tzonitaque, yoan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque: 273 782

ixhoan vel innemac catca, in vctli in quinque. 755

Auh in otlaivintic, niman ie ic viujloa, cecenmanoia, xititinjoa:

yn aca mochoqujlitiuh, yn aca moqujchitotiuh, mjtotitiuh, mmmamatiuh: yn aca tetzatilitiuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaxaltiloia: çan no onmeca yn inequjuh, yn jchiujl:

tlacaqujtiloia, navilhujtl maçaoaia, qujneçaujliaia yn inequjuh, ynic amo xocniaz:

vel mopiaia, vel motlacaxaltiaia, amo cioacochia, amo [834]
equjchcochia, intla cioatl:

çan niman aiac vel ontlapaloaia yn vctli, yoan in necutli, ynic muchioaia:

aiac inmanel imapil, conaqujaia, vel ymacaxna, vel mallujlioia, yn inequjchica, moiacaxapotlaz yn vctli.

Auh yn aequja, ichtaca tlapaloaia, yn tlachtaca yia inmanel çan tepitzon ocompalo: iuh mjtoaia tennecujlivia tepantiliviia, avic mmamana avic xoqujvi yn ite: 753

yoan in aca matricolinjia, yma qujcuecuetza, icxi quicnecuetza, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicuecuechca, yhixatonco, tempapatlaca, tenviviioca, itech qujneoa: mjtoa, equjtlaveliique in xoxouhque tepicme.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ie ic apenalo: iyn apeoa çan ixhoan, yn ioniolque, in vel icalloc, in centlaca, cemeca, in vel icujtlaxcolloc, yn vel imecaioc: 782 592 755

motenoua apeoalo, iquac cempoliuja tlatlamj, in quezqujch mocaoaia, in atl, in tlaqualli:

yoan in oc quezqujch omocauh xaiocmejc in vctli, in aiuctli, in tlachiualvctli, in intac vctli, in cuchvctli. [273]

Auh yn tepiqujnj, in tepicquj: intla cuacivi, yn juh omjto tlacpac, ic patiz: yoan yn aequja atlan miquinquja ynjc amo mjc: ixhoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc mentlaoa, ynjc qujneltilia ymetzal. 755 782

Auh yn jaqujch, yn jmechichioal, yn jntlaquen, yn jmamanoapan, yn jmomapil, yn jntlapetlanjliquauh, yn jmaisuhcocul:

yoan yn jochalchiuhtzinl, yoã yn jntlaquaia molcaxtoaxti,

120. *Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 39, citing marginal gloss in MS Biblioteca del Palacio.* Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 38.

121. *Probably inexplicable in nature. It also appears in MS Biblioteca del Palacio (Cf. Seler, loc. cit.)*

122. *Possibly atoli.*

123. *See Molina (Vocabulario).*

124. Alfonso Toussaint, *Histoire de Musique* (M. Tornero-Campana, ed.; Paris: P. Jamet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 300, describes this as a light flame-colored disks ". . . *en ala dit qu'il en avoit des flammes et des étincelles.*" Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (*Blitzholz*).

And afterwards, at night,

they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one began to boast of what he had gained, and of the distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

mauan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus assientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatlipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendiziesse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto acontecja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mjsmo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce oçomatli they said that the goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it; that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers on these days did not let their children go outside the houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Oçumatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas cioapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Second Chapter, which telleth how they considered a god one named Titlacauan or Tezcatlipoca; even as an only god they believed in him.

Of this one who was called Titlacauan they said that verily his were the heavens and the earth. All these in truth he made. And he gave to men all that which was necessary; that by which all live; that which can be drunk. He gave riches to men; he made them prosper.

And also of Titlacauan they said [that he was] invisible—like the darkness; [like] the wind.[1] When sometimes he called out to one, he spoke like a shadow. Verily, what one knew within one, [that] he knew. There was much calling out and praying [to him]. It was said to him:

"O protector of all, O giver of life, O Titlacauan, pity me, give me what is necessary for my life and for my strength—of thy gentleness and sweet essence. For now there is want; there is fatigue in gaining one's needs. [This] now there is upon earth. Take pity upon me; incline thyself to me. For I am thy orphan, I am poor, I am in need. Do I, perchance, serve thee in nothing? For I sweep, I sweep up rubbish, I lay fires there where I attend thee, there in thy poor house. Ah! Quickly slay me, trample me with thy feet! Ah! May my body come to rest!"

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And also they said of Titlacauan that he gave woe and affliction. And men he burdened and scourged with plagues which were great and grave —leprosy, boils, dropsy, cancers, the itch, haemorrhoids, piles, chilblains,[2] and other sicknesses.

And when he laid these upon men, it was when he was wroth—that someone had forsaken his vows and promises, and that he had mishandled the fasting; that a man had lain with a woman [or] a

Injc vme capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenjn Dios vel ipã qujmatia in iehoatl in mjtoa Titlacaoan, anoço Tezcatlipuca in juhqujma ipan qujmatia ce dios.

In ichoatl in motenesa titlacaoa qujtoaia ca ichoatl ilhujcaoa tlalticpaque, ichoan muchi vel quichioa: yoan muchi quitemaca, in ixquich in tetech monequj, in nemoalonj, yn ioalonj, ichoatl tecuiltonoa, ichoatl tetlamachtia:

auh yoan in Titlacaoã qujtoaia, amo hitonj, çan iuhqujn ioalli, i ehecatl in quẽmã aca qujnotzaia, çan iuhquj ceoalli tlatoaia, vel teitic tlamati, mati, cenca tzatzihloia, tlatlauhtiloia, ilhujloia,

Tloquee, naoaquele, ipalnemoanje, titlacaoane; xinechmotlaocolili, ma xinechmomaquili, in notechmonequj in nonenca, in nochicaoaca, in motzopelica, in maviaca ca ie mihiiovia, ca ie mociavi, ie vmpa õqujça in tlaticpac, ma xinechmocnoitili, ma xinechmocnomachiti, in njmocnotlacauh in nitoxonqui, in nioaçonqui. Cuix atle nimjtznochivililia, ca nitlachpana, ca nitlacuicui, nitletlalia, in vncan nimjtznotlatolchialia, in vncan mocnochã. auh manoço cuele xinechmotlatlatili, xinechõmocxipachilvi, ma cuele nicceujto in nonacaio.

Auh yoan in titlacaoan, qujtoaia, ca no ichoatl in qujtemacaia in netolinjliztli, in cooac teupouhquj: yoan tetech qujtlaliaia, ic temotlaia in cocoliztli, in vey, in ouj, in teucocoliztli, in nanaoatl, in tlanquaalaualiztli, in qualocatl, in xiiotl, in xochiciuiztli, in quexiliujliztli, in xoteuconaujliztli: yoan in oc cequj cuculiztli.

Auh in jquac tetech qujtlaliaia, iquac in iolitlacoloia: yn aquin amo qujnehtiliaia, yn jnetol, yn jtlacemitol: yoan in qujtlacoaia in necaçaliztli, yn ac ipan

1. Tezcatlipoca, according to Caso (*op. cit.*, p. 19), signified the seasonal cycle and was associated with the moon and all the earlier gods. Hence he brought misfortune, death, and destruction, and was associated with witchcraft. Always young (*xilpachtli*), he was regarded as patron of warriors, and sometimes called Yaotl (war). For this reason he was also associated with Huitzilopochtli. See also Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 29, and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, p. 2.

2. Problematical; possibly to be related to *xoxoquauhtli* (Simeon, *Diccionario de la lengua nahuatl o mexicana* [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885]; Sahagún, Rubendo ed., III, p. 166).

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753 woman with a man, or that otherwise the fasting had been broken.[3]

776 And when the sick man suffered greatly, he prayed much to him, he cried out to him, he reached his
755 hand toward him.[4] He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, abate [my suffering] for me. May I do no more for thee—may I no longer hear nor serve [thee]! But if now thou shalt heal me, I vow to thee that I shall serve thee. If I shall gain something for myself, I shall not eat of it of a morning,[5] but do thou come to set it at thy foot. I shall bring it [to thee]."

And the sick man [who was] in sore straits, who might not recover, who could not now end [the suffering], who could now endure no more, sometimes berated [Titlacauan]. He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Now that thou takest thy pleasure [with me], slay me quickly!"

Some Titlacauan then healed, not angered by this. And some nevertheless then died for this.

776 And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiatzin, Yaotzin, Necoc-iaotl, and Neçaualpilli. And hence was he called Moiocoia[tzin]: that which was in his mind, that which he thought of, he forthwith made. No one invented [anything for him]; none might prevent him. And in the heavens and all the earth around, whomever he wished he might endow; he would enrich him. And whomever he wished, he might afflict. And whenever he might be wroth, or might so wish, or when he was neglectful, he would bring down the heavens above us, and we should perish.

And Titlacauan, [who] extended throughout this
[778] world, was therefore besought, called to, and prayed to. And everywhere they set up his sanctuaries, shrines[6] by the road, at crossroads. Everywhere he was awaited. And in the shrines they had fir branches laid on the five days with which the twenty-day [month] ended.[6] Always they went to do this on each of the [five] days with which each month ended.

Enough.

cioacuchi oquichtli, yn ac ipan oquichcuchi cioatl: yoan anocz monecaoalujlhequj.

Auh in jquac in cenca tlaihiiouja cucuzquj, cenca qujtlatlauhtia qujtzatzilia, ymac tlatetoloc; qujlhuja.

Titlacaoane, ma oc xinechmocazzujli, macaocmo iuh njnochioaz, ma onjcac, ma oc notlaiecul: auh intla oc tinechmopatilix, moujctzinco njnonetoltia, ma njmjtznotlatlaiecultiliz: intla itla njcnonenextilix, camo njctlacaquaz, çan mocxitzin ic ticmoquechiliqujuh, nican: njcujcaz.

Auh in cucuzquj cenca tlanauj, yn amo vel pati, yn aoc ontlaiecoa yn aoc vel i: in quenmanjan cahoaia: qujlhujaia.

Titlacaoane, cujlonpole: ie tonmotlatlamachtia, manoço cuele xinechtlatlati:

in cequjntin njman qujnpatiaia amo ic qualanja, y cequjntin tel njman ic miquja.

Auh in titlacaoan, no qujtocaiotiaia tezcatlipoca, moiocoiatzi, iaotzi, necoc iaotl, neçaoalpilli: auh ynjc motenecoa, moiocoia, in tlein qujioccoia, in tlein qujlnamjquj, njman qujchioa: aiac qujiocoia, aiac quelleltia: yoan yn ilhujcatl, yoan in jaqujch anaoatl tentica, yn aqujn qujnequj qujcujltonoz, qujcujltonoa: yoan yn aqujn qujttitiz, in cococ teupouhquj, qujttitia. Auh yn iquin moçomaz, immonenequiz, yn jqujn tlatziuiz, qujoalpachoz yn ilhujcatl topan manj, tipopoliuinque.

Auh yn titlacaoa, qujcentzacutimanca yn njca ynic notzaloia, in tlatlauhtiloia in tzatzililoia: auh noviian qujtlalilia yn jchial, in mumuztli in vtlica, in vmazac, noujian chialoia. Auh in mumuzico acxoiatl qujtlaliliaia, ynjc tlamacujlti ilhujtl, ynjc tzonqujça cempoalilhujtl: muchipa iuh mochiuhtiuja, yn jpan cecentetl ilhujtl, ynjc tlantiuh cecempoalilhujtl.

ie inquijch.

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3. The corresponding Aztec text of this passage has [illegible] and [illegible], probably means for [illegible] and [illegible].
4. See Pl. 7.
5. In "Postlapsarians de Sahagún" (p. 171, n. 7), Godfrey notes that [illegible] may also be seen literally rendered "[illegible]; *a sin 'cause* ([illegible]) *a mother, etc.*'"

In this paragraph, we have read *nijnjnoc* as *ni-i-noc*; it might equally well be *ni-noc* (I shall sing).

So, "*Yo cantaré*," in the corresponding Spanish. See, however, Molina, *op. cit.* ([illegible]), and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 16, 102. The term [illegible] is variously rendered.
6. See Pl. 8.

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Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of the eleventh sign, called One Monkey, and of its fortune. It was said of those then born that one was a man of good standing, friendly, amiable, and happy, given to music and the other arts. And it was said that at this time descended to earth those who were the "Goddesses"; and that those whom they met on the road or in paths between houses they injured and visited with sickness. And for this reason, when it was this day sign, no one could fare forth. And one who then sickened the physicians forthwith abandoned.

Injc cempoalli vnoome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl oce machiotl, in jtoca ce oçomatli: ioan in jtonallo, quijlmach in aquijque vncan tlacatia qualli iiollo catca, teicnjoan, tlaçotlalonj, papaquijnj, qujmocujtlaviaia in cujcatl, ioan in oc cequj tollecaiotl: auh quijl in jquac oaltemoia, in aquijque cioateteu in tlalticpac: auh quijl in aquijque quijnnamjquija, in vtlica, in anoço caltzala qujtlaueliaia cocolizzli itech qujtlalia: auh ipampa in jpan in tonalli catca, aiac vel quiçaia: auh in aquijn iquac mococoaia, çan njman qujxnaoatiaia in titici.

787 One Monkey set in. This Monkey [day sign] they regarded as favorable.

Moquetza ce oçomatli: inin oçomatli, quijqualittaia:

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But also they said that at that time the so-called "Princesses" or "Goddesses" descended. It was the time when they were expected, the time of their arrival. At this time they looked upon the children with much apprehension. They simply shut them in the houses; they did not wish them to appear at the entrances or on the road, so that [the Goddesses] would not come upon or harm them. Perhaps one of them would have twisted lips, or a shrunken mouth; or be cross-eyed or of weak vision; or his lips would quiver or quake; or he would be maddened—a devil would possess him and he would foam at the mouth; or he would have withered, twisted arms; or be lame, etc.

auh ioan qujtoa, no uncan temoaia inchielpan, imaçia, in motenecoaia cioapipilti, cioateteu, cenca vncã qujntlamauhcaittiliaia in tepilhoan, çã qujntzatzaquaia calitic, amo qujmonequjxtitlanja, in qujaoac, in vtlica, injc amo motenamjctizque, qujmjtlacozque, aço aca tennecujliviz, temputziviz, ixnecujliujz, ixvitzaliviz, iten papatlacaz, iten viujiocaz, iollotlauelilotiz, itech qujneoaz, tenqualacoujçaz, matzicoliujz, macopichaujz, icxi qujujlanaz. Etc.

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And if someone began to sicken, the physicians told him that he would become dangerously sick; he would not recover. For he had come upon the Princesses, and they had set upon him; it was the time of their descent and arrival when [this sickness] began. For it was [so] willed.

auh intla aca ipan opeuh mocoona, qujteilhujaia in titici, ca tlanauiz, aocmo qujçaz, ca omotenamjcti, ipan oquijaque in cioapipilti, ca intemoian, imẽcoian in opeuh, ca oelcujloc:

And likewise it was said that if someone were of good standing, of a good day sign, and able, if at this time they injured him, they said that the Princesses had indeed willed it upon him and that he had contended with them.[1]

auh no ioan mjtoa, intla aca qualli yiollo, in qualli itonal, ioan qualli itlachielix: vncan qujtlacalhujaia, qujtoaia: ca çan oquelcujque, oquijnmonamjcti in cioapipilti.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si alguno que era bel diapasonte, enfermaua en aquel dia, decian: que les dauan la mujer durmiendo la hermosura, y se la mujer quedaba."

BEHOLD THE APPENDIX OF THE FIFTH BOOK. HERE ARE TOLD THE DIFFERENT THINGS WHICH GOD'S CREATURES, THE IDOLATERS, WRONGLY BELIEVED.

IZCATQUJ YANCA INJC MACUJLLI AMUXTLI: VNCAN MJTOA, YN JZQUJTLAMĀTLI ITECHPA CHICOTLAMATIA IN JTLACHIVALOAN DIOS, IN TLATEOTOCANJME.

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First Chapter, which telleth of the white amaryllis.[1]

This kind of flower was thus called — white amaryllis (*omixochitl*). And also a kind of sickness — decaying of the genitals — was also called *omixochitl*, because indeed in some such manner as [the flower], so was [the member] scarified. And so did the ancients invent, and so deceive themselves. It was said of him upon whom this sickness, which they called *omixochitl*, settled, that it began thus: perhaps one had urinated or stepped upon it; or one had smelled it many times. It was as if it had thereby bewitched him. In such manner did they deceive themselves.

Injc ce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in omixuchitl.

Injn centlamantli xuchitl: iuh motocayotia in omixuchitl. Auh no centlamantli cocoliztli, tlapalanaltiliztli: no motocayotia omixuchitl: ichica ca çan vel iee injc ca, injc tritziquijltic: auh injc compiquj, in juh mozcalacavixia venetque: quijlmach in aquin ytech motlalia, injn cocoliztli, in motocayotia omixuchitl: ic peoa, in aço ypan omaxix, anoço oipan moquetz: in anoço mjiecpa oquinecu, iuhquj injc quixoxa, in juh mozcalacavia.

Second Chapter, which telleth of the poinsettia.[2]

This kind of flower [was] fragrant. And yet another kind of sickness of the genitals was called *cuetlaxochitl* (poinsettia). And this sickness was especially the lot of women — particularly their sickness; not of men. And of this ill it was said that thus did it begin — so were the ancients deceived: they had perchance stepped over it, or smelled it, or else sat upon it. Therefore it then cast a spell upon her; thus it befell her. And hence mothers restrained and scolded their daughters; they said to them: "Do not smell it; do not jump over this flower; [the sickness] will be settled upon you."

Injc vme capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in cuetlaxuchitl.

Injn centlamantli xuchitl, iseconj. Auh oc no centlamantli tlapalanaltiliztli, no motocayotia cuetlaxochitl: auh ynin cocoliztli, oc cenca inpan muchioa in cioa, oc cenca incocolix: amo no yehoan in toquichtin. Auh injn cocoliztli: quijlmach ic peoa, in iuh mozcalacavia vevetque: in aço oquicuencoilhuj, in anoço oquinecu, in anoce oipan motlali: ipampa in juhquj ic quixoxa, ic itech motlalia. Auh ipāpa in tenancan quintlacavaltiaia, quimauaya in jmichpuchoan, quimjlhujaya: macamo xiquinecuican, ma ypan ancholoti injn xuchitl, amotech momanaz.

1. *Omixochitl*, according to Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 354, is the same as *omixquilitl* (*Polianthes tuberosa* L., *P. mexicana* Zucc., *P. gracilis* Link), a fragrant flower appearing in July and August, used as a fabrifuge. Sahagún (Gurdley ed.), Vol. IV, p. 347: *Polianthes tuberosa*, *P. mexicana*. Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, Pt. 2-4, p. 89: "'bone flower' — 'a white flowering Amaryllidaceo or Iridaceo.'"

2. *Cuetlaxochitl*. Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1943), Vol. III, p. 970: *Euphorbia (poinsettia) pulcherrima* Willd. Paul C. Standley: "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States Herbarium*, Vol. 23 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), Part 3, p. 680: *cuitla-cuchil*, used in a decoction for nursing women to increase lactation. Sahagún (Gurdley ed.), Vol. IV, p. 331: *Euphorbia pulcherrima*.

252 it over." Or if, perchance, her husband had gone somewhere distant, she said: "Now he cometh, for he hath kicked over my tortilla."

napa veca oya, qujtoaia: ca ye hujtz, ca qujoaltilicçac yn notlaxcal.

861 **Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of small children who licked the surface of the grinding stone.**

Injc caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn pipiltotonti qujxpalos metlatl.

When small children licked the surface of the grinding stone, the mothers chid and scolded their young ones for it, and restrained them from it, saying to them: "Do not lick the grinding stone; your teeth will thus quickly break and fall out." Because of this, they filled their small children with great fear, so that this would not befall them.

In jquac pipiltotonti qujxpapalos metlatl: yc teaoaia, yc qujmaoaia, yc qujntlacaoaltiaia in tenanoan yn jnpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ximcpapalocan in metlatl, yc icihca cocotoniz, yciuhca vevetziz in amotlan. Ipampa yn, cenca qujmjmacaxiltiaia in pipiltotonti: injc amo iuh ynpan muchiouz.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of him who leaned against a square pillar.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn aquin itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli.

When they saw one who leaned against a square pillar, there also was folly of the natives;[14] they chid him for it, and restrained him from doing so; they prevented their children from doing it. They said to them: "Do not lean against the pillar; it is a liar." Thus did they speak: "It giveth one lies; it is like unto one who lieth." [With] this, they terrified the children lest such might befall them and they tell lies.

In jquac aca qujttaia, in jtech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tla: yc teaoaia, ic tetlacaoaltiaia, ic qujntlacaoaltiaia in ynpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ytech ximotlaxtica in tlaquetzalli, yhjztlacati: iuh qujtoaia: ca iehoatl qujtemaca in jztlacatilizttli, itech qujcuj: in aquin ihiztlacati. Injn, cenca qujmjmacaxiltiaia in tepilhoan: injc amo iuh inpan muchiouz, ynjc amo yhiztlacatizque.

861 264 **Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the maidens who ate standing.**

Injc caxtolli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn jchpopuchti in çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua.

In times past, when the natives saw their maidens eat standing, they also restrained them from it. They prevented their children from doing so. They said to them: "Eat not while thou art standing. Thou wilt marry far from here.— Who will follow thee?" It was said that it would befall one that she would marry in a distant place; she would be taken somewhere far away, not in her own city where she lived.

In ie vecauh in njcan tlaca: in jquac in qujmjttaia in jmjchpuchoan ꝗ çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua: no yc tetlacaoaltiaia, ic qujntlacaoaltiaia in jnpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ximoquetztica in titlaqua, veca timoochotis, ac mjzicxitocaz: qujlmach iehoatl ipan muchiouia, in veca moquijchvatia, in cana veca vico: in amo yalteperuh ipan nemj.

846 ●753 **Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth how maize cobs were burned.**

Injc caxtolli omey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in quenjn motlatia olotl.

When one had just given birth to a child, she who, residing there, had given birth should not then burn maize cobs. It was said that if there [maize cobs]

In jquac aca mjxivia, avel vncan qujtlatiaia in olotl: in vncan omoc mjxiuhquj, qujl intla vncan tlatlaz: yc ichchichitinjz in piltontli. Auh intla ça

15. *In mjnac ihcac* read *ihcac.*

were to be burned, because of it the child's face would be pock-marked.[16] And if maize cobs were to burn there, first she passed and carried them before the child's face,[17] so that such would not befall him — so that his face would not be pock-marked.

vncan tlatlaz in olod: achtopa ijxco conquijquijxtilia, ijxco convivica in piltontli: injc amo iuh ipan muchioaz, injc amo ichichitinjz. 846 753

Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the woman with child.

Injc caxtolli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn cioatl otztli. 843

The woman with child might not look at one whom they had hanged, because, it was said, when she gave birth, the child would come forth with a cord of flesh wrapped about his neck. Wherefore in times past they frightened pregnant women from doing so.

In cioatl otztli, amo vel qujttaz in aqujn ie qujpilloa: yehica, qujlmach in jquac mjxtiviz, nacatica oalquechmecaiotiaz in piltontli. Ipampa yn, ic qujmjmacaxiltiaia in ie vecauh in ootzti.

Likewise, when a woman was with child during an eclipse of the sun or moon, she might might not look at it. It was said that if she saw it, her child would be harelipped. But in order to forestall this, the woman with child placed an obsidian knife in her bosom; it was said that thereby her child would not be harelipped.

No yoan yn jquac otztli cioatl, in jquac qualo tonatiuh, anoço metztli: amo vel qujttaia, qujlmach intla qujttaz: tenquatic iez in jconeuh. Auh injc qujpaleviaia otztli: ytztli ixillan contecaia, qujl ic amo tenquaiviz in piltontli. [821]

Neither might she chew asphalt,[18] it was stated, lest the child be harmed in suckling[19] when he was born. And she could not walk about at night; it was felt that her child would be one who cried much. Likewise men might not walk about by night; perhaps they would come upon a ghost; perhaps the child would suffer a sickness of the heart. And so that this would not happen, the woman with child placed a pebble, or ashes from the hearth, or wormwood,[20] in her bosom. And the men [carried] a pebble, or tobacco [on the chest]; for it was said that also, at that time, [the child] might acquire what they called a swelling.[21]

Amono vel qujquaquaz in chapuputli, qujl ic amo motentzoponjz in piltontli: in jquac otlacat. Yoan amo vel iooal nenemiz, qujl cenca chocanj iez in jconeuh: no iuhquj in toqujchtin: amono vel iooal nenemjz, anoçe itla qujmonamjctiz, aço mjmjquijz. Auh injc amo iuh ipan muchioaz otztli: xaltetl, anoço tleconextli ixillan qujtema, anoço iztauhiatl. Auh in toqujchtin xaltetl, anoço picietl: ichica qujl no vncan qujcuj, in qujtoa: aiomama. 843 753

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16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*la cara del niño, que saja manida; sería pecosa o hoyosa.*"

17. Ibid.: "*mazorcas primero en la cara del niño, llamándolas por ensima: sin tocar en la cara.*"

18. *Chapopotli*: "*betún de asfalto; betún de judeo. . . . Los indios le usaban antiguamente como masticatorio*" (*chapopote* — Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 468). The corresponding Spanish text has "*aquel betún, que llamó mastic.*" On the relationship between *mastic* and *chapopotli*, see Sahagún (Garibay ed.), X, 24, 18 and 27; and also Vol. IV, pp. 333, 344, for definitions.

19. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ocasionaría asfixia, que llamaba mastecimiento, que muerte della, los criaturas recién nacidos; y cuando de que quando nacen la criatura, si es macho de pecho le sale la sea, de la boca, lastimase en el paladar; y luego quedo muerto.*" Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 344; and Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Carlos María Bustamante, ed.; México: Alejandro Valdés, 1829), Vol. II: "*mastecimiento* (hay mastecimiento) *o sea embarazo en la respiración, que muerte de ello los criaturas recién nacidos.*"

20. *Iztauhiatl*: "*ceniza parece de almoraz*" (corresponding Spanish text); *ceniza* (*Artemisia mexicana* Willd.) — "*los hojas despidiendo fuerte olor aromático y tienen sabor amargo. Estas cenizas antihelminticas poderosas*" (Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 426).

21. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 324.

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Thirty-second Chapter, which telleth of green stalks of maize.

Of green stalks of maize, it was said that no one should chew them at night. One who chewed them at night, it was said, would thereby have toothache.[33] Whosoever had toothache had done this: he had chewed green stalks of maize at night. But if one were to chew a little, first he heated it in the fire. It was said that in this way nothing would befall him.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ooatl —

In ichoatl ooatl: qujlmach aiac vel iooaltica qujquaquaz: in aqujn iooaltica qujquaquaz, qujlmach ic tlanqualoz: ichoatl iuh qujchioa in aqujn tlanqualo: in iooaltica oqujquaqua ooatl. Auh intlaca qujquaquaz tepiton: achtopa qujtotonja tleco, qujl ic amo iuh ipan muchioaz.

787

Thirty-third Chapter, which telleth of creaking roof beams.

When during the day, or at night, the roof beams creaked, like the snapping of sticks, or, indeed, the roof beam itself broke, they said and it was thought that it indicated that perhaps the householder would die; or he would be sick, or else his children and kin living there in his house.

Injc cempoalli ommatlacomey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in calquavitl nanatzca.

In jquac cemjlhujtl, anoço iooaltica in tlatlatzca, in juhquj popoztequj: anoce vel poztequj in calquavitl, qujtoaia: qujl ichoatl qujnezcaiotia in aço ic mjqujz in chane, anoce ic mococoz, anoce ypilhoan, anoce yoajulque in vel vncã nemj ichan.

Thirty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of grinding stones.

The grinding stone was an omen of evil to the natives, when someone was grinding there, and it broke. Thus it appeared, it was said, that she who ground would die; or else the householder, or[34] their children, or some of their household would die.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in metlatl.

In ichoatl metlatl, qujmotetzaujaia in njcan tlaca: in jquac aca vncan tezttoc in oalpuztequj: ic necia: qujlmach ic mjqujz in otecia, anoce ichoatl in chane, anoco inpilhoan, anoce cenc mjqujzque in jnchantlaca.

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Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of drilling a new fire in the house.

When someone made himself a house, when he drilled a new fire for it, he assembled all the old men, and before them he drew the new fire. If quickly he made a fire—if it did not take long—they said and it was believed that the householder who had erected the house would rejoice and be content. But if with difficulty the fire fell, it was said that thus the old men saw that the householder would not be happy and content.

[787]

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn calmamalilizttli.

In jquac aqujn mocaltiaia: in jquac calmamali, muchintin qujcentlalia in vevetque, imjxpan in tlequauhtlaçaia. Intla iciuhca qujtlaça, in amo vecauhtica, qujtoa: qujlmach mopaqujltitiez, vellamattiez in chane: in omocalti. Auh intlacaizzcan vetzi in tletl, qujlmach ic qujttaia in vevetque: amo pactiez, amo vellamattiez in chane.

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33. Cf. Molina, op. cit.: "tener resquilmo, o gusano en los dientes y muelas."

34. *Amoxo.* The cedilla is omitted in the MS.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

[754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, scorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[8] (See Fig. 6.)

175 669 When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a political problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nencioatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenqujzcaiotl, nenqujçaliztli, ßoneoutinemjliztli.

Auh in aqujn vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatêmachililoia: auh intla oqujchtli qujtocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenqujzqui, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoqujch. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccãli, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, motícujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aqujn motepotlamjaia: qujlhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aqujn ipan y, cocoliztli qujcuja mococoaia: muchi tlacatl qujtoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo qujçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maqujça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatmaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oqujmonomavili, oqujmoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oqujzcauhque injoaiolque, ca oiqujtecaque: aocmo iuhcan qujzoaiã inon oquẽteltzin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio qujcujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipoaallo in jzqujlhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 36) adds that people did not gather in the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony rite.

262 toes,[8] manihot,[9] white[10] and yellow[11] sweet potatoes, colored sweet potatoes, *jícamas*,[12] plums,[13] *jobos*,[14] guavas,[15] *guajilotes*,[16] avocadoes,[17] carob fruit,[18] *tejocotes*,[19] American cherries,[20] tuna cactus fruit,[21] mulberries,[22] white[23], yellow,[24] and whitish-red cactus fruit,[25] *pitahayas*,[26] water *pitahayas*.[27] And the food for the deer [was] *pipillo*[28] and *tlachicaztli*.

754 And it is told why Moctezuma sent magicians and
648 soothsayers — that they might behold what kind [of men] they were, and that perchance they might bewitch and cast a spell over them. Perhaps they might blow them away, or enchant them. Mayhap they might cast something at them, or they might, with some words of the Evil One, utter an incantation over them, so that they might sicken and die, or else because of it turn back.

But these, when they performed their charge and commission upon the Spaniards, were at once powerless. Nothing could they do.

Then they quickly returned and came to tell Moctezuma what they were like and how strong they were: "We cannot contend against them; we are as nothing."

camutli, quauhcamutli, poxcauhcamutli xochicamutli, tlapalcamutli, xicama, maçaxocotl, atoiaxocotl, xalxocotl, in quauhxilotl, aoacatl, oaxi, tezocotl, in capoli, in nochtli, in amacapuli, iztac nochtli, coznochtli, tlatocnochtli, tzaponochtli, anochtli: auh in maçatlaqualli, pipillo, tlachicaztli:

Auh qujl injc qujmjoa Motecuçoma in nauaoalti, in tlaciuhque, injc qujmjttazque in quenamjque in aço vel qujntlacateculovizque, qujntlachivizque, in aço vel qujmjpitzazque qujnxoxazque in aço oc itla ic qujnmotlazque, in aço itla tlacateculotlatolli, ic qujntlanonochilizque, injc aço cocolizcujzque, mjmjquizque, in ainoce ic ilotizque.

Auh in iehoantin in qujchiuhque in intequjuh, in innaoatil in intechpa españoles, çan njmã avelitque, atle vel qujchiuhque:

niman ic oalmocueptivetzque qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma injc iuhque, injc chicaoaque, amo titenamjcoan, iuhqujn atitleme:

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8. *Camotli*: sweet potato, *batata* (*Ipomoea batatas* Poir, in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521; *I. batatas* Lam., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

9. *Quauhcamotli*: guacamote or cassabe (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl. —*euforbiáceas*) in *ibid.*, p. 334; yuca in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 36, and in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 524 (*M. aculeata* Crantz).

10. *Poxcauhcamotli*: probably sweet potato of white skin and interior, Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521).

11. *Xochicamotli*: reddish or yellow sweet potato (*loc. cit.*).

12. *Xicama* (*jícama*): in *ibid.*, II, p. 522, *Pachyrhizus angulatus* Rich.; *P. palmatilobus* H. B. K. in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

13. *Maçaxocotl*: plum — *Spondias* sp. (*anacardiáceas*) (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

14. *Atoyaxocotl*: *Spondias lutea* L. (*anacardiáceas*: *loc. cit.*). *Jobo* (*Spondias mombin*, or *S. luteus*, or *purpurea*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153, 155. See also Sahagún (Bourbourg and Simeón w.), p. 734, n. 6.

15. *Xalxocotl*: *Psidium pomiferum* L. (*mirtáceas*), in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 335; guava.

16. *Quauhxilotl* (*guaxilote*): *Parmentaria edulis* D.C., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; *Bonplandia palmeri* S. Wats, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

17. *Aoacatl* (*ahuacate*, *aguacate*): *Laurus persea* in Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simeón w.), p. 734, n. 1.

18. *Oaxin* (*guaje*): *Leucaena esculenta* Benth. (*leguminosas*), in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 335.

19. *Tezocotl* (*tejocote*): *Crataegus mexicana* Moc. & Ses., in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150.

20. *Capoli* (*cerezo indígena*): *Prunus capuli* Cav. (*rosáceas*), in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 334.

21. *Nochtli*: *Nopal opuntia*, in *op. cit.*, p. 335.

22. *Amacapuli*: *moral indio* (*Chlorophora tinctoria* Gaud.; var. *mexicana*), in *loc. cit.* Black mulberry or blackberry in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

23. *Iztac nochtli*: white cactus fruit (*Opuntia* sp.), in Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 934, 936; *tuna blanca* (cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 230).

24. *Coznochtli*: *cuauchinanchi* (*Opuntia pseudo-tuna* Salm. Dyck; *cardona*), in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335. *Tuna amarilla*?—cf. Santamaría, *loc. cit.* *Opuntia* sp. of yellow fruit in Hernández, *loc. cit.*

25. *Tlatocnochtli*: "*tuna blanca tirando a bermejo*"; *Opuntia* sp., in *loc. cit.*

26. *Tzaponochtli* (*zapotonchi*, *pitahaya* — Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 314).

27. *Anochtli*: possibly *tuna de agua*, *pitahaya del agua* (*Peresquiopsis opuntia* Britt. & Rose); cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 229.

28. *Pipillo*: possibly *Arabopsis mandoni* Ph.; cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 495.

681 And then also at that time died those who were in jail, who were there for something which de-
696 manded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quaubcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no ichoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he
761 was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: ca ichoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquixtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilquixtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujzçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

* 787 And when someone was then born,[3] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend.
851 But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

* 787 And also it was said that he who was then born
● 754 a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into
791 something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlâciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla maceoalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moquixtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jxqujch tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, tiioiolmala-

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3. An additional phrase in the Real Palacio M3 will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo maltiaya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún." *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.* pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del egipcio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*] . . . *De este primario significado pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se concibe el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejercitar obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un nahualli poderoso y malintencionado.*" Derivation of the word stay be from *nahuali, nahuala, "verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embauca a las gentes. En léxicos hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: nahualcaqui, entrar disimulado, con cautela, secretamente; nahualtcuitia, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; nahuallachia, acechar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de nahualli o un derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otros costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llamaban nahualli. . . .*

". . . *cuando el niño nace, el demonio por el punto expresado o tacito que sus padres tienen con él, le dedica o sujeta al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como decir por dueño de su voluntad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste punto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierte la denominacion y significacion del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raizes que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio, la tercera, ocultarse o rebozarse, y aunque de conocimiento para que se acomoden las dos primeras significaciones, me quedo con la tercera, que es del verbo nahualtia que es acomodarse quebrandose con algo, que viene a ser lo mismo que rebozarse, y asi, nahualli dira rebozado, o disfrazado debajo de la apariencia del tal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *infra*.

1/A [i.e., the day One Rain. – Analyst]

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he knew their secrets. He recovered things for people. He provoked and incited people, and caused them to believe diverse things. And [he was] a demon; he caused demons to enter one; he destroyed people and brought them to ruin. He swept people's paths for them [indicating sins which they must confess];[6] he set up ceremonial wooden figures of those killed in war, and caused them to burn for people.[7] He was a magician, one who removed his leg.[8] These were only the works of this person.

He hired and lent himself to others in order to make his living. When at night he went forth somewhere to ruin people, he changed himself into, perhaps, a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. He who hated someone hired him to destroy his enemy, when he wished and willed death upon him. Four times, on four nights, he performed his task when he destroyed people.

This same one sought out an evil day sign; then was the time to destroy someone. When he had done his task well on one, when already four times he had returned to the victim's home, it was said: "He hath drawn him forth." But sometimes [the evildoer] fell into [his victim's] hands; he fell and was taken into the hands of others, and was seized and quickly captured. The brave one who was to be destroyed, who was hated, vigilantly stalked him in order to catch him. He seized his hair; from the top, the crown, he pulled hair from his head. He jerked off his hair; he seized, wrenched, and tore it off; he removed his hair. No more did he escape. Forthwith he died; he could only reach his home to die.

And if in vain he tried to remedy, or, indirectly, to palliate [the situation], so that he might not die, still seeking to follow his work and control and establish his fate, in vain he contrived to take or borrow something — perchance water or fire, or a bowl, which he borrowed from the house of the one he had gone forth to destroy, who had there seized him. But if the one to be destroyed were indeed wise, prudent,[9] and well advised, he gave nothing at all to anyone. All during the day, until [the next] dawn came, he lent nothing to anyone. On the morrow,

cacho, teiollapan, teioiollapan, tetlatlaneltoqujti, ioan tlacatecolotl, tetlatlacatecolovia, tepoloa, tlâtlalpoloa, tecacalochpana, teevillotlatia, tetlatlatoqujlia, tlaujpuchtli, mometzcopina, çan vel iê itequjuh,

ic tlaqueoalo, ic motetlaqueoaltia, ic motlaiecoltia, in cana iooaltica tepolotiuh, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipâ mocuepa, in aqujn tecocolianj qujtlaqueoa, injc qujpolotiuh itlacocolil, in qujmjqujtlanj, qujmjqujztemachia, nappa nauhiooal in ontepoloa, in qujchioa itequjuh:

çan no iê qujtztiuh, in aqualli tonalli, in vncan itepoloaia, in aca ouel qujchiuh, in ic nappa oilo ichan, mjtoa: ocontlaqujxtili, auh in quenman temac vetzi, temac aquj, temac maquja, axioa, cujtiucchio, in aqujn iolchicaoac pololonj, cocolilonj, uel quimopachiuia injc caci, qujtzoncuj, iquaccpantla, yquaiolloco qujmomotzalhuja in jtzon, qujquatemotzoltzitzquia qujquavivitla, qujtzoncopina, aocmo qujça, njman iquac mjquj, ça onmjctaci in jchan:

auh in oc nen, ic mopatiznequj, ic mopaiaoalochtiznequj, injc amo mjqujz, oc motlaiecoltia, motonalanaznequj, motonallalilizznequj, oc nen itla qujmocujcujcachioa, qujmotlatlanevia, aço atl, aço tletl, aço caxitl, in conmotlaneuja ichan in oquipoloto, in vmpa ocacique: auh in vel qujmati, in tlaueuemachtilli, in tlanonotzalli in pololonj: njman aoc tle qujtemaça, in iuh cemjlhujtl in oallatvic, aoc tle qujtetlaneuhtia, yn jmoztlaioc: ic vncan vel tematlac maquja, in tlacatecolotl, onmjquj, ca nel ie oncan ca itequjuh, ca iê in qujtetemoa, ca ic vncan ca ipoliujz:

6. Cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Weltreligionen, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1959), p. 350: "*Das Fest des Weggefegens wurde zu Ehren der Göttermutter veranstaltet, deren Priester die Beichte derer entgegennahmen, die sich geschlechtlich versündigt hatten. Der Wort besagt also: Er fegt den Leuten den Zugangsweg zu den Häusern wieder sauber; in übertragenem Sinn: Er bewirkt dass die Leute geschlechtliche Sünden zu beichten haben und dadurch ihrer ledig werden.*"

7. Cf. *infra*, Chap. 19, where a full description appears.

8. Cf. variant translation in Jena, *op. cit.*, p. 141: "*Und hinter ihm kommt eine Hexe her, eine vom Monde, die genau so gut jener Arbeit tut.*"

9. *Tlamelmachtilli* in the Real Palacio MS.

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then, indeed, the demon was enclosed in one's net. He died. For in truth this was his destiny, for they sought him continually, and it then was the time of his ruin. For he knew in his heart, while yet he lived, that perchance somewhere he might be seized. For so had he been born only to die.[10] Never was he content nor happy; he went about in rags, poorly clothed. And he lived only in suffering. He raged over drink and food. Everywhere was he feared; nowhere could he enter among people. No one was his friend.

But although he were seized and taken, he was not frightened, nor did he therefore cease. He paid no heed. If he had children, always he lived the same, never wishing to mend his ways. There he went to his end, and they punished him. Thus all went; thus all was destroyed.

Just so if it were a woman, all evil were her works. She lived in great misery. Nowhere was her home. Even though she were a noblewoman, nowhere was she favored or noticed. Just as if dead, she lived in affliction. It was said that just so was her day sign one of misery.

ca njmã iuh iiollo qujmatia in oc nemj, in aço cana axioaz: ca njman iuh ipan tlacat içan miquiz: njman aic avia, aic vellamati, itzotzoma, itatapa ietinemj auh çan moxixicotinemj, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, noviian imacaxo, acan vel tepan calaquj, aiac icnjuh:

auh in manel ie oanoc, oaxioac, amo ic momauhtia, amo ic motzaqua, amo ic qujcaquj, intla oncate ipilhoã, çan mochipa iuh nemj, amo qujcaoaliztlamaci, vncan activi quitzacutiuj, much iuh vi, much iuh polivi,

çan no iuhquj itequjuh catca intla çioatl, muchi amo qualli in jtequjuh catca, cenca motolinjuinenca, âcan ichan, in manel cioapilli, âcan ixtona, âcan motztica, can iuhquj onmjquj, totoneoatiuh in jiollo, mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal in jcnoiotl.

10. *Ya que con mágicas lo ataó.*

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of the eighteenth sign, named One Wind, and the evil, the bad, which was with it. It was said that those then born gained as reward an evil day sign.

— One Wind. This One Wind, they said, was evil. At this time they made offerings to the one called Quetzalcoatl, who was the representative of the wind, the whirlwind.

And of him who was then born, they said that, if he were a nobleman, he would be a wizard,[1] inhuman; an astrologer,[2] one who had spells to cast.[3] It was evident to them that he was a man; nevertheless he was evil, corrupt, one who deluded, laid enchantments — the devil's works. He breathed [evil] on people, or cast the evil eye at them, or said spells over them, brought harm on them, or invoked the god [to do evil] to one. All his doings he mastered — all. Perhaps his was the disguise of a fierce beast, or a coyote, etc.

And if it were a commoner, in just the same way it was said of him that he was a demon: he caused one to be possessed, or to become demented; he danced with the arm taken from a woman dead in first childbed; he was a destroyer of men; he burned images for one.[4] Likewise, if it were a woman, she could enchant by taking apart or disarticulating the bones of the foot,[5] etc.

Injc cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa injc caxtolli vmei machiotl, in jtoca ce hecatl: ioan in amo qualli, in amo iectli in jtech ca: qujl amo qualli tonalli qujmáceoaia, in vncan tlacatia. 787X

In ce hecatl: inin ce hecatl, qujtoa amo qualli, vncan qujtonaltitizia, in moteneoa quetzalcoatl, in jxiptla catca hecatl, hecamalacotl:

auh in aqujn vncan tlacatia, qujtoa intla pilli, naoalli iez, amo tlacatl, tlaciuhquj, nenonotzale, impanj neçi ca tlacatl, içcé amo qualli, itlacauhquj, itla qujmati, tlacatecolotlatolli, tlacatecoloiotl, teipitzanj, texoxanj, tetlachiujanj, tetlanonochili, tetlateononochili, much ichiujl much qujmati, aço tequannaoale, coionaoale. Er[a]. 787X 754

auh intla maceoalli çan ie no iuhquj iehoatl in mjtoa: tlacatecolotl, tetlatlacatecolouja, tepupuxquavia, temamacpalitotia, tepoloanj, teruijllotlatia: no iuhquj intla cioatl mometzcopinquj, mometzcopinanj. Er[a].

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*sería embaydor . . . se transfiguraría en muchas formas . . . sería nigromantico, y hechicero, y malefico.*" Seler (Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 1-2, p. 53) describes the *nanahli* as a magician and sorcerer of high class. His attributes marked him since his youth; he knew the hidden things of heaven and hell; he had supernatural powers, such as of forecasting rain, dispersing hail and pestilence, and protecting against wicked magicians; he lived unmarried, as a priest, in a temple, and advised the king and the people; he fasted, and for his arts used tobacco and such narcotics as *ololiuhqui* and peyote.

See also Chapter 11, n. 4, *supra*.

2. "*Nombre más o menos valorizando con* [*nainhiliztqui, nechiuhtz, gramiuhtz, hail-thrower*]. *La raíz cinh, parecer demonio familiarizar manejadiguiar.*" (Garibay, "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171). Simeón, *op. cit.*, defines *tlacinhqui* as "*familiar en parecer del demonio, que dentro más parecemos chico los Demonios al que l'ven menos consulta de hacer bien* (Sub.)."

3. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *tlacinhcihlia*. *Nenemiztia*, however, could imply a pact or an understanding with the demonio as in Chapter 11, n. 4.

4. Cf. *supra*, Chapter 19.

5. *Matanepina*, in Harold Key and Mary Richie: *Vocabulario mixteno de la Sierra de Zacapoaxtla, Puebla* (México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano and Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas, 1953), is defined as *se mata* (*el pie*): *matiyar*, in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 388, is "*Descoyuntar, disarticular los huesos.*"

Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 56, describes one who "cuts himself up. He lays his hands and feet in separate places. He dismembers all the joints. Then he covers the mangled members with a light cloth, and then they begin to sprout and to grow again, so that it seems as if he had not been cut up, and thus he proves that this too is a juggler's trick."

See also *Matanepinqui* in Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 344.

X 787 754 And when he brought destruction on one, then he chose an evil day sign; he sought and searched it out. They said that he did great evil to one on Nine Dog, or Nine Death, or Nine Grass, and indeed on all the ninth positions, and the other bad day signs mentioned—each of the different positions named.[6]

auh in jpan tepoloaia, vncan qujmattiuja in aqualli tonalli, ichoatl contotocaia, contlatotoquiliaia, qujtoa cenca ipan tepoloaia in chicunauj itzcuintli, anoço chicunauj mjquiztli, chicunauj malinalli: ioan in ic muchi chichicunanauj, ioan in oc cequj moteneua aqualli tonalli, in jaquican omoteneuh,

X 787 And of such different positions, it is told that he who had work of this sort, whose labors became these separate tasks, who undertook these various burdens, was never content. He had no food. He lived only in poverty, destitute, without a house or home; nowhere was he a householder; nowhere was he of a happy home, a householder of tranquility. He went looking forward only to misery. He went eating and consuming food for himself only if somewhere something were given him, if he were offered something in order to destroy people as a reward for doing evil to them. Perhaps somewhere he was seized when already he became negligent, slothful, or developed an aversion [to evil]. Then he was seized, and they cut hair from the crown of his head; they took his renown from him and damaged his day sign for him. Thus he was abandoned to his death by the hands of others.

auh in iuh quezquican omjto, in aquin iuhquj in itequjuh, itezequjuh muchioa, qujmotezequjlia, aic auja, atle qujquanj, çan motolinjtinemj, aoneoatinemj, ácan ichã, ácan chanca, amo chane caca, acan chantlamattica: acan chane ca tlamattica, çan icnosotl qujtztinemj, çan ic conquatiuh, çan ic onmotlamjtiuh, intla cana itla maco, nemaqujlilo injc tepoloa, injc netlaquvilo: ánoce ~~cem~~ axioa in jquac ie otlatlatziujti, ie ontlaxujti, ie otlatlatzilhuj, vncan ano. qujtzonçuj, qujtleiocujlia, qujtonalitlacoa: ic ça tmac onmomjqujzacacoa:

X 787 754 [778] 674 And the ones known as men who danced with a dead woman's forearm, who crazed people,[7] when perhaps they would commit a robbery somewhere and spirit something from someone's home, would adorn the image of One Wind [Quetzalcoatl]. It went as their guide, at their head, guiding, marching in front. And they went bearing with them the forearm[8] of a woman who had died in childbed, and could not give birth to what was in her womb. When they took it from the one who had died, they only stole it during the night: they cut it off at midnight.

auh in ieboantin moteneoa, temamacpalitotoque, tepupuxaquauiqque, in jquac tla cana ichtequjzque, techan tlaqujxtizque, qujchichioaia in jxiptla oc hecatl: qujniacantiuja iniacac, imjxpan icatiuja. ioan qujtqujtiuj in jmacpal moçionquetzequj, in iti ic iauh in axel mjxtiuj iquac qujcujliaia in qujn onmjquj, çan oqujchteccacuja, ioaltica in quitequjliaia, iooalli itic.

And so did they bury her, not at her home, but only leaving her there in the road; there at the very crossroads they buried her. They went skirmishing, fighting over her, and howling as they carried her. And as they brought her out of her house, it was not from the front; only at the back of the house,

auh injc qujtocaia amo ichan, çan vmpa concaoaia in vtlica, vncan in uel omaxac contoca, qujnêcalihtitiuj, ipan necaloatiuh, coiovitiuj injc qujujca: auh injc qujoalqujxtia ichan, amo ixcopa in jcal, çan qujcujtlacoionja in calli, vmpa qujqujxtia injc concaoa vmaxac:

6. Omoteneuh in the Real Palacio MS.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*temazpalitotoque, o por otro nombre tepupuxaquauiqque.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*Un brazo desde el codo, hasta la mano, de alguna mujer; que muriese muerta, del primer parto: las curiosas, a horas, el brazo yaquando.*" Sahagun, *loc. cit.*, describes hypocritical "who handling on the threshold of a house with the hand of a woman who died in childbed, send the entire household into a paralysed and immovable state, and then plunder with impunity the whole house and commit every possible infamy upon its inmates."

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they broke a hole, through which they removed her so that they could leave her at the crossroads.[9]

And when those who danced with the forearm would somewhere destroy or rob people, one person carried and bore the forearm of the woman who had died in childbirth, on his shoulder. It was the one on her left, her left forearm. When he came to reach one's house, but had not yet entered the house, first of all he struck the mid-point of the courtyard with the forearm. Twice he struck. On reaching the entrance of the house, he struck the portal, the lintel, and then he passed by the square, wooden pillar. Then he once again struck there before the hearth.

When such came to pass, it was said, no more did one speak out. No one could be aroused. Verily, the householders had swooned with fear. And some of them were in a deep sleep, snoring and rumbling: there was sleeping as if one's nose were broken. And if now some only in vain sat looking, they could not move, nor stir, nor resist. They were stunned; their arms and legs were deadened. For verily they were spread out gazing upward with unseeing, glassy, and staring eyes.

And these great, evil thieves thereupon lit up the torches and sought out the food. First of all they ate; they took it for themselves. None could restrain them. For in truth they had overcome and bewitched the people. When they had satisfied themselves, then they entered the storerooms, the storage chambers, and bundled up and removed all the capes; the large, cotton blankets; the green stone; the gold. Indeed, everything that had been hidden away — the treasures, the guarded things, — all was laden on their backs; all was appropriated and sorted out. Whatsoever it was, they placed as much on their backs, and with it arrayed themselves.

And in very truth, so it is said and so it is known, they did not leave them having done nothing; nor, with no result, did they take their pleasure with them taking advantage of their sleep, of the sleep into which the common folk had been thrown, to hang on to [the women], line them up, rolling them aside and enjoying another's place. There where each one lay apart, where she was stretched out, they simply rolled her over to another place. How much the wicked ones made sport of them cannot be said.[10]

auh in ieoantin in temamacpalitotique, in jquac cana tepolozque, ichtequjzque, ce tlacatl conquechpanoa conmoquechpanoltia in jmacpal, mocioquetzquj, iehoatl in in jopoch, iopuchma, in jquac oacito techan, in aiamo calaquj calitic: oc ie achto iqoalnepantla ic tlaujtequj in macpalli, ic oppa tlaujtequj, in oacique, caltempan, qujujtequj in calixquatl, in tlaixquatl: njman iee in tlaquetzalli, ic conmocaoa in tlecujlixquac, oc eppa oncan tlaujtequj,

in jquac in iuh mjtoa njman aocac naoati, aocac uel mopoçaoa, vel ioiolmjquj in chaneque, auh in cequjn çan vel cocochmjquj, tlacotaliuj, tlaquaqualaca, iuhqujn neacatzaianalocochioa, auh intla ça oc aca nenitztoc, aoc vel molinja, aoc uel mocuechinja, aoc vel momapatla, vel çoçotlaoa, çoçotlacmjquj yn jnma, in jmjcxi, ca nelli mach in acopa teiitztoque, ixtepepetzme, ixpepetzteme onoque, ixpepetzintoque:

auh in iehoantin ichtecpatlachpopul, njman ie ic tlepitza, qujtemoa in tlaqualli, achtopa tlaqua, vel motlacauja aiac qujmelleltia, ca nel oontepoloque, ontepuxaquaujque in jquac onmoiollalique njman ic calaquj in tlecopa, in tlatlatilcali, tlamaololoa, tlaqujxtia in jxqujch tilmatli, in quachtli, in chalchiujtl, in teocujtlatl, in ie ixqujch tlatilonj, in tetzontli, in pielli, netlacujtlaputzmamaltilo, netlanêuectilo, netlatlattililo, in çaço ac quexqujch ic conmotlamamaltia, ic onmuchichioa:

auh in nel cenca iuh onmjtoa, in iuh onmachiztl, amo nentecaoa, amo nenquijça, teca mauhjtiteoa in iuh cochioa, necochitilo maceoalpan pilcoatoc, ejpantoatoc, teiiquanja, tepapatla, in vncan ceceiaca ionoia, inetecaia, oc ie cecni conteca, amo vel mjtoz, in quexqujch ic teca manjltia tlaueliloque:

9. Cf. account of the [illegible] in Sahag, *Rimjr Kapital*, pp. 316 ff.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] *y desvaneciéndose en los suyos, de aquella suerte.*"

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And as they went along the road, nowhere did they rest or refresh themselves. They immediately sought out their homes. It was so said and affirmed that if any of them rested by the road, he could no longer go, rise up, nor travel. There the dawn would overtake him. He would betray his fellow thieves. They would be seized; each one seized and imprisoned, despoiled, and firmly bound.

-auh injc vi otlica acan mocetuja, ꞗcan mjzquacevia, ça qujn cẽ vmpa qujmattiuj in jnchan: inh mjtoa, qujlmach intla aca moceviz vtlica: aioc vel yaz, aio uel meoaz, aioc vel otlatocaz: vncan ipan thathujz, qujnnenotlaz in jchteccaicnjoan, anouque, çaçacoque, namoiaiouque, tecácatzilpiloz.

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjquj totolpipil, ic qujtoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaqujco, anoço oqujmjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oqujntlaçolmjcti: ic qujmatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi totolme, injc mjquj.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
236 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse, whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then
837 believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Qujl no iuh inpan muchioa in namjqueque: in aço cana qujtlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toqujchtin: injc qujmati, çan qujpiqui in aaquetztivetti, anoce cana motlavitequj.

286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

Injc cempoalli onmacujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl qujqujti.

In jcpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in jquac qujqujti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviaqujxtiuh, in tennecujliuhtiuh, qujtoaia: qujlmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj, çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chía field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

In jquac qujavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquin vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli qujiaoac qujoaltepeoa, itvalco: qujlmach yc amo teciviloz in jmjl, qujl ic poliui in tecivitl.

● 754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**
776
789 At night walked demons — perchance wizards and sorcerers — where they harmed one in one's home. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

In iocaltica nemj tlatlacateculo: aço manacalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oqujmjttaque in aço itla ic qujnpoloa in chaneque: mjman atlan conteca ytztli puertatitlan, anoço itoalco qujmana in iocaltica, qujtoaia: qujlmach vncan onmotencavia in tlatlacateculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa: aço mjcoaz, anoce cocolizztli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los pollos se cayan muertos, los ponen arriba: y esto, llaman daçolmjqui."*

28. Corresponding Spanish text: *"or perverse, or que la tela, or puntas biscornuda."* Cuenoyo, in Simeon, op. cit., is to make a false seam.

754 776 789

At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman choloa, aiocmo ceppa tepolotivi: in jquac oqujttaque itztli, atlan onoc.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

825

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[29]

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal.

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualiaia, qujlmach in aqujn qujqualia yn q'caoa qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oqujchtequjco in qujmjchin, oqujchtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualiaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoz: in aqujn qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

826 776

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztitl.

Qujlmach in tozti, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in ichoatl avitzotl, qualli qujxoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aqujn qujlaqujaia, qujqujxtiliaia in jzti, ioan ixtelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

827

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli.

In jquac aca acuchoa, qujtoaia in ie vecauh: aqujn nechitoa, aqujn nechteneoa: anoce qujtoaia: aqujn nêchicoitoa, anoçe qujtoa: aqujque in noca mononotza. Qujl ichoatl qujnezcaiotiaia, ichoatl ic qujmatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca qujnteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

853

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltotonti.

In ichoantin in pipiltotonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaqualo, anoço itla mjz, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, qujlmach ic amo tritzicunoz, amo moenlinjz in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

29. Corresponding Spanish text: "*de harto, o de sabidoria, o de otra cosa.*"

30. *Animal*: Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2. 21, refers to it as a spectral water animal or sprite "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of immersed men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66 (*ahuizotl*), calls it *nutria o perro del agua* (Lutra felina).

31. Corresponding Spanish text: "*quando comejan, o bevjan en presencia de algun niño.*"

32. *Ibid.*: "*en la boca.*"

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

● 755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]: they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

popocatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço quenõjuztel tepetl in quintenouaz in quijpiqui.

Auh in quijpiquja, in quimiztplatiaia in tetepe, çan tzoalli, quintlacatlaliaia, quintlacatlachieltivia, tlacatlachistiçaca:

quintlantiaia xiouachili, auh in quimjttelolotiaia xiecutli: in quenamj yntlatequj in quimiztplatiaia, in quipipiquja çan no iuhqui ynic quinchichioaia.

Auh yoan quichioaia, amatetenjtl, colchachapatrvia, colchipiniaia, quinquequentiaia:

auh in cequj amatetenvitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, tlecatitech quipipiloaia, tlecatitech quinenetochilpiaia, quinnetetechçaloaia, ymjxpan antec, ic itzacutoque in tepicme:

hiçamacatec papapatlacatec, papatlantec, ostepilquanjtl, necoc, nenecoc, necocampa tlatlalacticac, tzinzonotiçac, yn itech antec tetenjtl.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaiztlapantli, tlaiztitatzcli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhticalli ipan poujia, vcili vnca ca, vcili ic mamanca.

Auh çan iehoan in tlamacazque, yn jovequith, in machiceque catca, yn quinchichinaia, in quintlaliaia: aiac çan moiocuiaia, in calla in quinchichioaia.

Auh tlacujtica in quintlalhujaia, mjxia: quinmolcaxaltiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ic cauhque tepicme, njman ic ic quinnençavia, quincuiaxtia:

in cricoal napa in quintlamanjlia, tamalololli in quinmacaia, quinmanaia ymjxpa, in tlamacazque, in tepiccujca:

no napa in quintlamacaia cricoal, yoan quintlapichilia,

çuinmaquiquixiliaia tecuicitli in quipipichiliaia, yoan vilacapiztli, cocuujlotl,

vilacapitzoaia, çan tulpepochtli, papaquinj, haxivinj, mihivintinj, tecomeltinj, cocoloque, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn otlatvic njman quinnictia yn tepicme, quinquechcotona, quinquechcuj, quinquechilacatzoa, çaiepan quinxemololoa, conececuj, in tepictzoalli, quiquj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiquinj, njman ic yc calaquih yn itlacatzontlahoan, yn jovecoen, vecan mopia, mopiztoque:

auh in ic iooctinh, in ic tevtlac njman ic ic tlaxana, motlaxancatlalia in vecutlaca, yn ic chicaxoque, yn otlachi-

117. Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac chief) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*vez masica*), in the Spanish columns; Sobre cuerdas de cruzecillas de *Samen der Stachelmelone* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de goma de tule, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetenxil*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 120).

well-matured, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some went shouting.

And few; the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest [the wine] sour.

They should look to their strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[129]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[130] to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the green mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the dispensing of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the drugs in the vessel, of the wine, of watered wine,[131] of fruit wine,[132] of white wine, of sheep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the goat, as was said above, he was thus cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made thus paid his debt and thus fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornment—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder (as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods), their sprays of round thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,[134] their closed-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little sauce bowls with

calhuyque, in ie quintaque, in ie tzonintaque, yuan 273
ilamatlaca yn ilamatque: 782
ichoan vel intemac cazca, in vetli in quinque. 755

Auh in otlaiviniz, ninan ie ic viujlos, cocoxmeuia, xititiujos:

yn ace mochoquijlitiuh, yn ace moquichiuitiuh, mjutitiuh, tzomomoctiuh: yn ace tetzetzilitiuh.

Auh in vetlali, achto molcaxaltilois: çan no cemoca yn inquijuh, yn jchiujl:

tlacaquijtilois, nevilhujtl maçaxaia, qujnçaujlisia yn inquijuh, ynic axo xocoias:

vel mopisia, vel motlacaxaltisia, axo cioxochia, axo [834]
equjchocchia, intla cioxtl:

çan ninan ninc vel ontlapaloaia yn vetli, yuan in nocutli, ynic mochinaia:

ninc inmanel inapil, cenaqujaia, vel ynacazoa, vel mallaujlaia, yn inquijchica, moiacazapotlas yn vetli.

Auh yn aquja, ichtaca tlapaloaia, yn tlachtaca yia inmanel 753
çan tepitoa ocompolo: inh mjtoaia tenaccujlivia tepantilivia,
avic momamana avic xoquivi yn itz:

yuan in ace matzicolinjia, yma qujcuecuexa, icxi
quicuecuexa, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicuecuechca,
yhixaxoxoca, xopopotlaca, onvivitoca, inch qujxoxa: mjtoa,
equjtlavelique in xoxohqui tepicme.

Auh yn otlathuje, ninan ie ic apenalo: yn apeoa çan 782
ichoan, yn iconiolque, in vel icalloc, in centlaca, cemeoa, in 592
vel icujtlaxcalloc, yn vel imocaioc: 755

moxmoxa apenalo, iquac compolinja tlatlamj, in quex-
quijch mocoxaia, in atl, in tlaqualli:

yuan in oc quenquijch omocauh xaiocomjc in vetli, in 273
aiactli, in tlachioalvetli, in intac vetli, in cochvetli.

Auh yn tepiquijnj, in tepiequj: intla coaciri, yn juh omjxo 755
tlacpac, ic patiz: yuan yn aquja atlan miquinquja ynjc amo 782
mjc: ichoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc mextlaoa, ynjc qujnelilia
ynactzl.

Auh yn jnquijch, yn jnnochichinal, yn jntlaquen, yn
jnnomamaquen, yn jnnomapil, yn jntlaqueilanjlquauh, yn
jnnianhocxal:

yuan yn jnchalchiuhxinal, yuã yn jntlaquaia molcaxxonxal,

129. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 29, citing mangled phrase in *MS Bibliotheca del Palacio*. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 38.
131. Probably *tecquilitlaxcalli* in source. It does appear in *MS Bibliotheca del Palacio* (Cf. Seler, loc. cit.)
132. Possibly *ocoxtli*.
133. See Molina (*Vocabulario*).
134. Adriano Tarcovsky, *Histoire de Mexique* (M. Tarcovsky-Cazapous, tr.; Paris: P. Jouve, 1931), Vol. I, p. 300, describes this as a light flame-colored stick: ". . . un cône de papier en forme de flammes et de tentacules." Seler (op. cit., p. 36) calls it a lightning stick (*Blitzstab*).

755
782 which [the celebrants] ate, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepetzinco: they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Panxitlan.

776 **Twenty-second Chapter,** which telleth of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontotochtin).

He [was] the wine, in times past[120] considered full of sin. For he hurled people off crags, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an awesome being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Ijouhtecatl, Acolhua, Tlilhoa, Panucatl, Izquitecatl, Tolucatl, Papaztac, Tlaltecaiouo, Ome tochtli, Tepoztecatl, Chimalpanecatl, Colhuatzintecatl.[121]

And as for the array of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white heron feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper ear-plug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red arara feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representatives of] scorpions. He carried the pulque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the flint staff. And also he had rattles.

quauhcaxtotomi, çoçojocototomi, ouchi vuqui cuecueuia tepetzinco: atlan contepeuia, vuqui ouquatila, yuocuiccan panxitlan.

Juic cempoalli vnume capitulo, yuchqui tlatoa in tezcatzoncatl, yn jnoan pouj centzontotochtli.

Jehoatl in vctli, ieppa tlatlacolli ipan machoia: ca tetepeximja, tequechnecanja, tentlauja, temjctia;

tetzavitzinj, amo pinavilonj, amo chicoitalonj.

Auh yuju tezcatzoncatl, ynoan pouj, ynoan ora, yn motenoua, centzontotochtli, yn vctli innacaio, yn iJauhtecatl, Acolhoa, tlilhoa, panucatl, Jzquitecatl, Tolucatl, papaztac, Tlaltecaiouo, vme tuchtli, tepuztecatl, chimalpanecatl, Colhoatzincatl.

Auh yn jnchichioal Tezcatzoncatl, ezzatzone, iacametzo, amanacuiche, cvçalvizocaoa, chaiaoac cuaqui, colotlalpile, vuetuchchimale, itztopile, tezpatapile, no cuitzile.

fin del libro

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120. Yeppa: formerly, in times past (Molina: op. cit.). The meaning also could be "drain."
121. See Sahagun: op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 314; Vol. III, p. 139; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950
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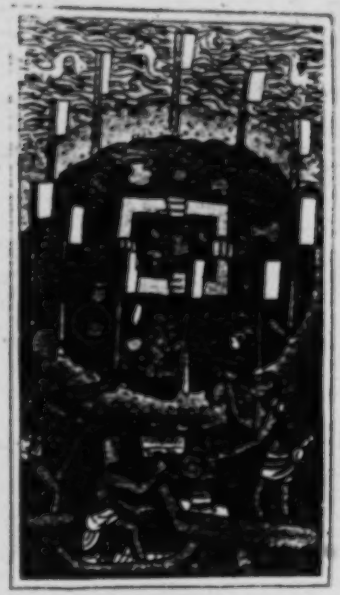

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29—Tzapotlan temo (Chap. 9), Chalchihuitl ynac (Chap. 11). Chicome ozotl (Chap. 7). 30—Tlapitzauli—Coatlaxian (Chap. 12). 31—Xopa tecuitl (Chap. 28). 32—Tepiztoton (Chap. 21). 33—Pantitlan (Tepiztoton) (Chap. 21). 34—Appendix, Chap. 12. 35—Appendix, Chap. 12.

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua. 796^ [852 776]

Chapter 5
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

1. Marginal notation: *Apollo habet flos suos.*

Cap. 5.
Toçoztontli.

1 c KL. *c 14*
2 d En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias *d 15* [824
3 e de las flores, que aquel año primero *e 16* 346]
4 f nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y *f 17*
5 g antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua *g 18*
6 A oler flor. *A 19*
7 b Los officiales de las flores, que se *b 20*
8 c llaman xochimanque: hazian fiesta, a *c 21*
9 d su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro *d 22*
10 e nombre coatlã tona. *e 23*
11 f Tambien en este mes: se desnu- *f 24*
12 g dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los *g 25*
13 A pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des- *A 26*
14 b ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar *b 27*
15 c en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan *c 28*
16 d iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro- *d 29*
17 e cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan *e 30*
18 f hediendo, como perros muertos: y *f 31*
19 g despues que los aujan dexado: se *g 1*[1] [755]
20 A lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: *A 2*[2]
Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dexian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos. 796^ 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comida: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

2. Marginal notation: *Mortui egipciorum.*

X 796 [279] Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aquijn connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlaelcuiaia in mihiuintia telpopochti.

[755] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequjntin ic monetoltia, yn eoatlatiaque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço ixcococia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic pati, in aca amo pati:

Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[6] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

[301 289] ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaquitiuj in eoatl, amateteujtl, ymacolpan mamãtiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

[515] Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiixtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, ainamjquiztli: çan neiacapacholo ynjc namjco, ynic tetla quiça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn eoatl, ocototzauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica quinapaloa, yn ouehepioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappitzoac.

And the captors came in lead of the *tototeci*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

[431 531 291] Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacan.uj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: quimoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoaoanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn eoatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaouia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac eoatl, ojman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oquioalcopin eoatl, eontlaça ica onmaiauj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, quioalcauhtiquiça, quioaltentiquiça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 515 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oquicaouto eoatl, yn onmaquitiuja, amo mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxaqualoua, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixiotexuja:

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6. See Chapter 20, n. 4.

7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 325, Seler translates *cuacapalli* as *kastanienfarbene* or *in orange-farbener Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kastanienfarbenen* (*von der Braunen Farbe der Kandles der Rauten schale*)." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado oscuro*.

For *nochpalli*, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*karmoisinfarbenen* (*von der Farbe des Nochtzetli, der Kakteu-Schildläuse*)."

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and *Ibid.*, p. 331.

And when this was done, then he scattered incense. And when he had scattered it, then they gave him his mist rattle board, and he rattled it, he shook it, he raised it as an offering [to the god].

And when they finished, then all departed, [the crowd] broke up, all dispersed and scattered, each one going to his priests' dwelling. [But] the novice priests, them they only took to their houses.

And when they had entered the priests' dwellings, then all put off [their adornments], and sat in order.

And at night, thereupon began and took place a feast, on the top of the Temple of Tlaloc.

The horizontal drum was beaten, flutes were played, conch shells and reed pipes were blown. There was song. The horizontal drums croaked, growled, and droned, and rattles were rattled.

They caused those who were to be slain, the likeness of the rain gods, to spend the night in vigil.

And when midnight came, when night divided in half, then began the slaying. First to be slain were the captives. They became as the fundament [of those who followed]. And when [these] died, thereupon died [the impersonators of] the rain gods.

Then also [was the time] when they burned all the paper offerings, and the quetzal feathers, and various [other] precious feathers; and some of the green stones—well-formed, those which were in no way blemished, which had no defects, as well as some of the green stones which were rough and brown, or dark.

And when they slashed open the breasts [of the victims], when they opened the breast of one of them, they seized his heart; they placed it in a vessel, painted blue, named the cloud vessel, which was painted with liquid rubber on four sides. And it was decked with paper dotted with drops of liquid rubber, with much rubber,—full of rubber.

Thus they did to all the impersonators, and they cast all their hearts there [into the cloud vessel].

And when this was done, at midnight, when they were slain, all the bystanders, who were watching, all had in their hands their wormwood flowers.[27] They walked thrusting [these], hanging with them to and fro, and fanning their children [with them]. It was said that thus they frightened away the worms, that their [children's] eyes might not become wormy. Some put [the flowers] in their ears. Some just walked carrying them gathered in their hands.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njman contepeoa yn jiauhtli: auh yn ocontepeuh, njman conmaca yn aiochicaoztli, concacalatza, conujujxoa, coniyiaoa. 796x

Auh ỹ ontzonquiz, njman ic viujlooa, cecenmanoa, momoiaooa, xitinooa, viuj yn jncacalmecac: auh yn tlamaztoton, çan qujnujujca yn inchachan.

Auh yn onnetecoto calmecac, mec nexixitinjlo, netlatlalilo:

auh yn oniooac njman ic ic peoa, in tlalhujmãmanj, in teycalticpac tlalocan:

teponaçolo, tlapitzalo, ichoatl in mopitza tecciztli, yoan acatecciztli: cujco, yn teponaztli, mjmjlcatoc, nanalcatoc, iuhqujn qujqujnacatoc, yoan aiacacholo: [534]

qujntoçauja in miquizque yn imixiptlaoan tlaloque.

Auh yn oacic ioalnepantla yn iquac xeliuj ioalli: mec peoa in micoa, iacattiuj in mamaltin miquj: iuhqujn inpepechoan muchioa: auh yn onmjcque, njman ie ic miq' in tlaloque:

njman no yquac tlatla, yn ixqujch nextlaoalli amatl, yoan in quetzalli, yoan in nepapan tlaçoihujtl: yoan cequj chalchiujtl yn jcucic, yn atle itlaciuiz, yn amo tlaciujce: yoan cequj olchalchiujtl, iaiauhquj, iaiactic, anoço yiauhtic.

Auh yn iquac qujmeltetequj, in ce onpeti yiechiqujuh, conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalitiuj comjc, tlatexoujlli motocaiotia, mixcomjtl, nauhcampa in tlavlxaoalli: auh yn itlaquen amatl tlavlchipinilli, cenca vllo moca vlli: [415]

much iuh qujnchioa yn ixqujntin teixiptlaoan, much vmpa contlaztimanj yn jniollo.

Auh yn iquac muchioa ioalnepantla, ynjc mjcoa: yn ixqujchtin tlatlattaque, in tlatlachia, muchi imixtauhiaxochiuh, inmac tetentinemj, qujtlatlaujtzotinemj, sujc qujtlaztinemj, ic mẽcapeujtinemj, yn inpilhoã, qujlmach ic qujnpeujaia in ocujlti, ynic amo yxocujlloaxque: cequjntin in nacaztitlan caaquja, cequjn çan qujmamapictinemj. [755 278]

27. Ixnacatlaoaliztli: ixnacatlaoal is wormwood or salt wort, according to Sahagún, Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 79.

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woman with a man, or that otherwise the fasting had been broken.[3]

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And when the sick man suffered greatly, he prayed much to him, he cried out to him, he reached his hand toward him.[4] He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, abate [my suffering] for me. May I do no more for thee—may I no longer hear nor serve [thee]! But if now thou shalt heal me, I vow to thee that I shall serve thee. If I shall gain something for myself, I shall not eat of it of a morning,[5] but do thou come to set it at thy foot. I shall bring it [to thee]."

And the sick man [who was] in sore straits, who might not recover, who could not now end [the suffering], who could now endure no more, sometimes berated [Titlacauan]. He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Now that thou takest thy pleasure [with me], slay me quickly!"

Some Titlacauan then healed, not angered by this. And some nevertheless then died for this.

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And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiatzin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neçaualpilli. And hence was he called Moiocoia[tzin]: that which was in his mind, that which he thought of, he forthwith made. No one invented [anything for him]; none might prevent him. And in the heavens and all the earth around, whomever he wished he might endow; he would enrich him. And whomever he wished, he might afflict. And whenever he might be wroth, or might so wish, or when he was neglectful, he would bring down the heavens above us, and we should perish.

And Titlacauan, [who] extended throughout this world, was therefore besought, called to, and prayed
[778] to. And everywhere they set up his sanctuaries, shrines[6a] by the road, at crossroads. Everywhere he was awaited. And in the shrines they had fir branches laid on the five days with which the twenty-day [month] ended.[6] Always they went to do this on each of the [five] days with which each month ended.

Enough.

cioacuchi oqujchtli, yn ac ipan oqujchcuchi cioatl: yoan anoce monecaoalujltequj.

Auh in jquac in cenca tlaihiiouja cucuxquj, cenca qujtlatlauhtia qujtzatzilia, ymac tlatetoroc; qujlhuja.

Titlacaoane, ma oc xinechmocaxaujli, macaocmo iuh njnochioaz, ma onjcaç, ma oc notlaiecul: auh intla oc tinechmopatiliz, moujctzinco njnonetoltia, ma njmjtznotlatlaiecultiliz: intla itla njcnonenextiliz, camo njctlacaquaz, çan mocxitzin ic tiemoquechiliqujuh, nican: njcujcaz.

Auh in cucuxquj cenca tlanauj, yn amo vel pati, yn aoc ontlaiecoa yn aoc vel i: in quenmanjan cahoaia: qujlhujaia.

Titlacaoane, cujlonpole: ie tonmotlatlamachtia, manoço cuele xinechtlatlati:

in cequjntin njman qujnpatiaia amo ic qualanja, y cequjntin tel njman ic miquja.

Auh in titlacaoan, no qujtocaiotiaia tezcatlipuca, moiocoiatzi, iaotzi, necoc iautl, neçaoalpilli: auh ynjc moteneoa, moiocoia, in tlein qujiocoia, in tlein qujlnamjquj, njman qujchioa: aiac qujiocoia, aiac quelleltia: yoan yn ilhujcatl, yoan in jsqujch anacatl tentica, yn aqujn qujnequj qujcujltonoz, qujcujltonoa: yoan yn aqujn qujttitiz, in cococ teupouhquj, qujttitia. Auh yn iqujn moçomaz, immonenequiz, yn jqujn tlatziuiz, qujoalpachoz yn ilhujcatl topan manj, tipopoliuizque.

Auh yn titlacaoa, qujcentzacutimanca yn njca ynic notzaloia, in tlatlauhtiloia in tzatzililoia: auh noviian qujtlalilia yn jchial, in mumuztli in vtlica, in vmaxac, noujian chialoia Auh in mumuzco acxoiatl qujtlaliliaia, ynjc tlamacujlti ilhujtl, ynjc tzonqujça cempoalilhujtl: muchipa iuh muchiuhtiuja, yn jpan cecentetl ilhujtl, ynjc tlantiuh cecempoalilhujtl.

ie ixqujch.

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3. The corresponding Aztec text of this passage has [illegible] and [illegible], probably means for [illegible] and [illegible].
4. See Pl. 7.
5. In "Tratado de Sahagún" (p. 171, n. 7), Garibay notes that [illegible] may also be more literally rendered "[illegible]; o sea 'comer (durmiendo) a madrugada, etc.'"
In this paragraph, we have [illegible] as [illegible]; it might equally well be [illegible] (I shall sing).
5a. "Vs [illegible]," in the corresponding Spanish. See, however, Molina, op. cit. ([illegible]), and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, pp 16, 182. The term [illegible] is variously translated.
6. See Pl. 6.

They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hawk scratches. They went naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper miter-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Toci's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the costume [of Tetes innan] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, painted eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, *tetzitzilit*. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

motiçanique, motolonjuneque, çan papatlaubtiuj, in 776
itetecomatzli: amacalli in quimama, mahualacaquetzalle, 796
ichcauchtlo, hinjquetzalle: [302]

vnqa concaca, in tocitilan: quachtlapecho cuitlalitzia yn 776
jeuxin.

Auh ynjc nechichiouale, motemolcopi, tlaxapuchtli quimo-
datlalili yn jcamapá ichcauchtlo, çuiatemale, cuchcueie,
mocuechcueti: ic mjtoa, citlalli ycue, citlalcueie, quavivih,
tetzelitlahquj yn jxipil, quauhtzetzelitlahquj, itzac quavihujio,
quauhtuitaçq; yn jchimal, tzucujtlaytizaqo, tetzicxio,
popoa, iaquijon.

Ninth Chapter, in which one hundred of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made turpentine.

She healed man's bodies; those with itch of the head;[39] they who were hoarse used the turpentine unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was warm, [it was used for] the *tortilla-sickness*.[41]

Its oil and its heat were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the turpentine unguent bought slaves and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like dried poppy-seed pods,[43] and they rattled bone rattles.

Thus was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were sprinkled over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble corn-tassels. She carried the miter-cardboard.[44]

Jnjc chicunauj capitulo: vncan mocuepa, yn cioatzul, yn jueca Tzapotla tenan.

Ce cioatl, ipan mjtoaia, yn ozitl yuacaio muchioaia:

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quipalouia yn tonacaio, yn aquja quauocociuj, tonca- 278
mjuocoiuj, motencacoxiuja: chaquachiuj, çuaçoati, tozta- 757
ianj, tontzaianj, iztetçonauj, matetçonauj, ictitzatzaianj,
yoan in quaio, yn tlaxcaliciuj:

yn jchiouaca yn jumal vel miecan monequj.

Auh yn jquac ilhujquitilouia, yn ozinamacaqui, motlaca- 776
cauiaia, tlacamjctiaia, qujtocaillotiaia yn jxipda, quicuja- 796
tiaia, yn iuvcioean, qujtepanacilhujaia, caiocuocuaqlia,
caiouiaquqlia, caiacachilhuja, oamjchicaocilhuja.

Jnjc nechichiouale omexaoale, amacala, olchachapanqui,
tlaolchipinilli yn jumacal, yoan quetzalmjuoaio, xinchi-
cuaco.

36. See Plate 8.
37. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 182, calls it parlor.
38. Cf. text and illus. in MS *Biblioteca del Palacio*, cited in Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 482-3, in which these are described as a hand-bread of amaranth seeds.
39. ". . . *ueue mazaua, de Indios, o ueruas, que tuuo, en la cabeça*" (corresponding Spanish text).
40. ". . . *otra enfermedad . . . cui ueuas, que tuuo en la cabeça que se nomo bubas*" (loc. cit.).
41. See p. 41, n. 130.
42. Cf. Diego de Durán: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de Tierra Firme* (México: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.
43. "*Ayacachli, semejar hechas a manera de sonajitas*" (Molina, op. cit.).
44. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 474; and *Einige Kapitel*, p. 7—*Nahui-Ramillete* (cloud-cardboard). The same author, cited in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. V ("*Los cantares de los dioses*"), says: "*Esta voz (ayachicauali) significa ordinariamente la maraca y, manejada a una sola variedad en el modo de pronunciar, tenia origen de ayachichica-cuali. Servia al instrumento para encantamiento de la lluvia. . . .*" (pp. 47-8); "*El chicauali, bastón de sonajas, instrumento musical que traen en la mano los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la procesión de los sacerdotes en la Huitzilpuchli, llevan delante el ayachicauali, sonajas de tecolote. Es el instrumento mágico, con que*

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[75] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquauhpanteuchil, nacaxix, yxcuchin, ielpaxcuqui cyli 776
tzacatlatlapanqui yn jxaiac: yn jnechichinal, ytiçanacoch,
ytiçachinal, amapaio, ytlachiaia ymac catca, ytolicpal,
acacpalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlaltecuani).[76]

Jnic castolli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jxtca, catca, ixtlilton, tlaltecuja.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jtenpan catca, ytocaiocan tlacujlocan: in vncan ytenpan, mjec yn apaztli, tzatzacutimanca, motocaiotia ixlilauh. [346]

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aquijn mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn jtenpan ixtlilton: centel, qujtlapoaia yn apaztli, conjtiaia yn jtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli. 776 757

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aquijn qujtotia, copaltica in conanaia, ynic qujvicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in nuchichionia. 776 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Jn oacic ychan, tlatotia, teytotia: njman tlatlaqualo, atlixo: yn otlaqualoc, njman mjtotia, yn jxtlilton: yn omjtoti, yn omonacruh, calitic oncalaquj: ishuxtl qujtlapoa in vctli, navilhujtica tzacuimica: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacazapoela, vitzmana. 776 [273]

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Niman ye vmpeoa, yn ic tlaoano: oc cepa oalquiça itoalco, qujtlapoa yn jxlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic macujilhujxtl in qujtlapoa:

If dirt, cobweb, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] scowd discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic motemoaia, intla tlaçolli, yntla tocatzaoalli, yntla tzontli, intla tecolli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, açe tetlaxima, açe ichtec, anoço ahavilnemj, mahavilnia: ac açe tlacacemelle, in tlatotia, ic qujmotlaia, qujacomacaia, qujpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla motecca: ichica, ca qujteixcomaca, qujteixpantia, ic tuixmotla, yn tetlatlacul. [187]

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called *ixquen* (face-covering).[78]

Auh ynjc oalquiça tachá, quachili yn qujmacaia motocaiotia, ixquen. [292]

Thus was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic muchichionia, moçac, mocemjxtlilpopotz, mjxticçatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tetepoquachichiquijle, quetzallo, 776

75. For description, see illustrations and text in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 515 and 523; and also illustration (Omacatl) —Plate 13.

The term *cuachili* means the natural cape or mantle, with one small shell located where the cords crossed. The *chalcuayal* and the *macuayal* were presumably the same or similar. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 5, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Apendice, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "*un ornamento de un palmo en quadro, hecho en tela rala, al qual llamavan yxcuchin, creo son unas cuerdas de algodon o las puchas. . . .*"

76. God of medicine. *Tlaltecuani* (or *tlaltecuani*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tecuanini*. Cf. Seler: *Ewige Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: "*. . . los que mocomonaxtic hacedaban los magueyes y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba octzpli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*es este abrimiento, llamavan tlaiacazapoela, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *omonacruh*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *macujilhujxtl*.

78. ". . . *demanda mihan: los quales llamavan ixquen: que quiere decir, cubrimiento de la cara: porque quedava, amorçagado, aquel que anjo hecho, de fuera. . . .*" *Loc. cit.*

15-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[622
441]

THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

Chief

Merchant

[463]

Lawyer

Doctor

[759]

Women

Sailor, boxer

[502
501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (c)]

776 cape-like over-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[29] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[30] men's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[31] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[32] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteu innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were [759] physicians, leeches, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

[791] Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.[33]

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

776 And when there was a feast, when it was time for the
796 slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteu innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They solaced her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they amused her. They wished her not to weep. They bid [her fate] from her;[34] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they battled; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huitznaua,[35] who accompanied him on either side.

Jnic chicome capitulo: vacua mocemoa, yn cioatzotl: yn jtoca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: ichoatl ipan mjaccaia, qujmjxiptlatiaia, in tonacaiotl: yoan in çaçe tlein yonnoc, yiolca macoualli, ynjoa, ynquale.

Auh yuja ynnochichioale catca; ixtlauhxacale, amacale, axochiavipile, axochiacuaie, no poçulcaque, tonalchimale, tonatiuhchimale.

Jnic chicuei capitulo: vncã mocemoa, yn cioatzotl, yn jtoca: Teteu yonna: no motocaiotia, Tlalli yiollo, yoan Toçi.

Jnnã catca yn teteu, qujmotetutiaja, in titici, in teixtamjnque, tetzinanque, tetlanocujlique, teixpatique.

Auh yn cioa, temjxiouhque, tepillalilique, tetlatlatilique, tlapouhque, atlan teixtanj, tlaolchaiauhque, mocatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

No ichoantin qujtlatlauhtiaia, in temazcalque; ypampa y, quitlalilaia yn jxipela, in temazcalixquac, qujmocaiotiaia, temazcaltoci.

Auh yn jquac, in ie illujqujxtililoia, in ie imjquixtequippa: in ichoantin titici, yn jxipela catca teteu yonna, qujtlaoculpopoloaia, amo vel chocaia, quetelqujxtiaia, qujtlaocnectiaia, qujtlaccnequjltiaia, qujcaceltiaia, haqujchectlaaja, qujtlatlahtitiaia, momjquixquequeloaia, qujnecaliliaia, qujiacchioaia, qujtlacaocnchiliaia, cuiaujaia, tlauimcuilloia, netlauiztmacoia, netlauhtiloia: in qujmjlinhca muchioaia in tiiacaoa, ic quintiçanjaia, ic qujpotonjaia, qujmotmacujlitiuja, ic panj mixquetzaia.

Auh yn jquac omojc, yn jxipda: ujnan ce tlacatl omomqujaia, yn jeoaia, yoanpantla ualmoquetzaia, vnontin ycuexoa, qujujcaia, qujxxtmacuiujia:

29. See Plate 29, which explains the name.
30. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.
31. Cf. Edward Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 446.
32. Although Seler (op. cit., p. 444) uses the term "foam," he cites Sahagún as referring to flowers. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.
33. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 233-54.
34. Cf. also Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 100, 178.
35. Seler, *Ewige Kapitel*, p. 6. Cf. also Sahagún, op. cit., p. 178, referring to the Tozi festival: "*dan delante de ella aquellos sus devotos que se llaman tzontlatlaua.*"

The eleventh month they named Ochpanizitli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que qujere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

796X [805 776]

Chapter 11
Ochpanizitli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Marginal notation: September 1st this one.

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjztli.

1 b KL Ochpanjztli. b 21
2 c Cinco dias antes que començasse este c 22
3 d mes: cesauan todas las fiestas y regozi- d 23
4 e jos del mes pasado entrando este mes, e 24
5 f baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin f 25
6 g teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la g 26
7 A muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ A 27
8 b llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los b 28
9 c ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la c 29
10 d mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de d 30
11 e mugeres con ella: especialmente las e 31
12 f medicas y parteras: y partiansе en dos f 1'
13 g vandos y peleauan apedreandose con g 2
14 A pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas A 3
15 b y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa- b 4
16 c dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal- c 5
17 d sochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro d 6
18 e dias. e 7
19 f Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras f 8
20 g desta calidad: procurauan que aquella g 9
muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, atauja uanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pelejo.

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

[534 535] [759] [524 137] [787]

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La tresena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcuintli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mismas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mismo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289 778] [565] [666 431 721]

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

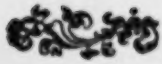

X 796 **Thirtieth Chapter:** here are related the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the days of the eleventh month, which was named and known as Ochpaniztli.

The eleventh feast was known as "The Sweeping of the Way."[1] At this time the actual feast had not yet arrived. For another five days nothing was done; there was then no activity. And when five days had X 796 passed, then began the hand-waving dance—when there were fifteen days before Ochpaniztli. It was 535 carried on for eight days.

And thus they danced the hand-waving dance: All were arranged in order; four rows were formed; all formed four lines. Thus they danced: They went marching only in circles; their hands were filled with Tagetes flowers and branches, which they went grasping in either hand.

They did not sing; none called out; they went in complete silence.

[273] But if some mischievous youths became drunk, they imitated the ground drums. As the ground drums roared, just so they went about doing. [The dancers] went moving their hands here and there; they moved in equal rows. None broke ranks; none turned [another] from his course; none went astray.

And when the hand-waving dance began, it was already near sundown. And when all ceased, the sun had already set. And when eight days had passed, then began the mock-battle [of the medicine women], which they carried on for four days before the house of song and dance.

X 796 In this manner and in this way proceeded all the [159] medicine women—old women, maidens, and some of the harlots:

They were divided [into two bands. The likeness of] Teteo innan went with a certain number [of them, and] as many more went opposing her, skirmishing against her, [that] thus they might banish her sad thoughts, her sorrow; [that] they might amuse her and cause her to laugh; that she might not be sad. For if she should weep, it was said, it would be an omen of evil. It was said that many men who were dexterous as warriors would die in

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capítulo: vncã moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in tlamaviztililiztli: in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl oce metztli: in mjtoaia, in moteneoaia: Ochpanjztli.

Injc matlactetl oce ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa, Ochpanjztli: in aiamo onaci, in vel iquac vel ilhujtl: oc macujlilhujtl, in aiatle muchioaia, in çan oc cactimanj: auh in õquiz macujlilhujtl njmã ic vmpeoa in nematlaxo, iquac in tlacaxitolti ochpanjztli: chicuelhujtl in muchioaia.

Auh injc nematlaxo, netetecpanaloia, nappantioa, nenappantililo: injc mitotiaia, çan nenentivi, tlatlaiaoaloa, cempoalxuchitla mapoxtectli in immac tetẽtiuh, nenecoc in immac qujzitzitzequjtivi:

amo cujcaia, aiac naoatia; çan nõ .ivi:

tel intla cequjntin in telpuchtlaveliloque, in mjrvintia contlaccalhuja in vevetl: in juh caqujzti vevetl, çan no iuh quçhiuhtivi, necoccampa in conjauhtivi imma, çan tecpantivi, çan cemonotivi, aiac chicopetonj, aiac tepatilia, aiac onchicoquiça.

Auh in penaia in nematlaxo, ie teutlac: auh in necacaoaloia ie õcalaquj tonatiuh. Auh in otzonquiz chicuelhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in çonecali, navilhujtl in muchioaia: vncan in cujcacalli ixpan.

Ivin in muchioaia, iuhquj in, in muchioaia: in jxquçhtin cioatitici, in jlamatque, yoan in jchpupuchti, yoan cequjntin avienjme:

moxeloaia, monepãtlaxeloaia, iaquj intlan mãtivi, in teteu innan, no iaquj in quinamjctivi, in quçtiiaiavtla, ic quçpopoloftiaia in jtlaocul, quçtlatlacaavileoaia, quçvevetzquçtiaia, injc amo tlaocuiaz; auh in tlachocaz, quçlmach tlatetzaviz: quçl mjec iaumj-

1. *Barrendero de caminos*, or Guthey's rendering (*op. cit.*, p. 306); *der "Wegkehrer,"* according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 171); *fiesta barrenderos*, in Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198.

war, or that many women would die in child-bed, when from their wombs [children] would come.

And in this wise did they proceed in the mock-fight: First began [the party of the woman who was the likeness of] Teteo innan to pursue the others. With her were the great medicine [women]. The [first] one [was named] Aua; the second, Tlauitecqui; the third Xoquauhtli. These three were her old women.

In this manner they pursued and pelted the others. Thus they proceeded hurling at them matted tree parasites[2] gathered into balls, and reeds pressed into balls, and cactus leaves, and Tagetes flowers. And all carried tobacco gourds girt to their waists. Once again they fell upon [the others], pelting them as they went. [And] not for long, but for only a few times, were they pursued.

And thereupon they took [her in the likeness of] Toci[3] where she was guarded. For four days they proceeded with their skirmishing.

And when the four days of skirmishing had ended, then, upon the morrow, she tramped over her market place toward sundown. As she came forth, the medicine [women] encircled her. When she was surrounded, then [the priests of] Chicome coatl[4] came out to receive [her who impersonated Toci]. And when they had come forth to receive her, they made a great circle [about her]. And when she was surrounded, then she came into the midst of them. Then she scattered, there, cornmeal. Thereby she tramped over her market place[5] for the last time, as if taking leave of the market place.

And when she had tramped over it, then they took her where she was guarded, at her temple. Much did the medicine [women] console her.

They said unto her: "My dear daughter, now at last the lord Moctezuma will sleep with thee. Be thou happy."

They told her not that she was to die. For verily she was to die unaware. Then they adorned and completely arrayed her.

And when it was midnight, then they led her forth [to the temple]. Then none spoke, none talked, none coughed; [it was] as if the earth lay dead, late at night. And everyone gathered round in the darkness.

And when they came to the place where she was

qujx, in quauhtli ocelutl: anoço mjequjntin mocioa- 796 X
quetzazque in cioa in jmiti ic iazque.

Auh ivi in, in muchioaia injc çonecalia: achto peoa
in teteu innan in tetoca, itlan mantivi in vevei titici. [759]
Iehoatl in Aoa: Jnjc vme Tlavitecquj. Injc ei xo-
quauhtli. In iehoantin im eirtin y, ilamaiooa:

injc qujntoca, qujntepachotivi: injc qujntepachoa,
papachtli ica, tlaolollalilli, tlaoolollalili, yoan toltapa- [824]
iolli, yoan nupalli, yoã cempoalsuchitl: yoã muchin-
tin imjietecõ ic mocujcujtlalpia: enocuele qujnte-
putztia, qujntepachotivi: amo vecaoa çan quezqujpa,
in ommototoca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ic qujvica in toci, in vmpa
pielo: inin navilhujtl in qujchioaia in mjscali:

auh in otzonqujx in çonecali, navilhujtl: njmã
imuztlaioc in qujoalicça itianqujx, ie teutlac: injc
oalqujça cololhujtivitze in titici: auh in ie iativitz,
njmã ic qujoalnamjquj in chichicomecoa: auh in
oqujoalnamjcque njmã ic oallaiaoaloa: auh in ontla-
iaoalo, vncã vmmoquetza, in tlanepantla: njmã vncã
contetepeoa, tlaoltextli: njmã ic conjcça in jtianqujx,
ça iiopa, ça ie cõnaoatia in tianqujztli.

Auh in oconjcçato, njman ic qujvica, in vmpa
pielo, in jteupan, cenca qujiollalia in titici:

qujlhuja. Nochputzin, ca iequene axcã mote-
tzinco aciz in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ma ximopapac-
tzinn:

amo qujmachitiaia in jmjqujx, çan iuhquj in ich-
taca mjquja: mec qujchichioa, qujcencaoa.

Auh in jquac ie onaci iooalnepantla njmã ic quj-
vica, çan njmã aiac naoati, aiac tlatoa, anoac tlatlaci,
ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctoc: auh ixqujch tlacatl, cenqui-
çaia in iooaltica.

Auh in oconaxitique vncã mjqujx: njmã ic qujoal-

2. Spanish bejuco; *Tillandsia usneoides L.* (Check, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 106).
3. Text: identical with Teteo innan and with Tlaquimil. Cf. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 14; Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 45.
4. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
5. "*A este pasaron llamando amancebajiste del tiempoar porque nunca mas anja de holver a el*" (corresponding Spanish text).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 heartened by the death or capture of many principal warriors, gave way in an unmistakable manner.[164] Then a precipitate

[164] Besides Tezozomoc, who is so full of details on these fights that it is wasting space to quote him extensively, we find the most concise and reliable statements in Mendieta's "Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana." The descriptions of Mendieta agree perfectly with those of Tezozomoc (less with those of Duran), while the two authors had nothing in common, besides, Mendieta, the revered Franciscan father, terminating his work about 1596, and Tezozomoc, the simple Indian, his MSS. in 1598. Neither of these works were printed previous to this century. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI): "At "the outset they sped stones by slings, and rods like darts. . . . . They also threw "stones by hand. Thereafter they resorted to sword and shield, and the archers went "in at the same time well protected thereby, and thus they spent their ammunition. "The archers from Tehuacan sometimes were so dexterous that they sped two or three "arrows at once with the same precision as one bowman would shoot one alone. Af-"ter the vanguard had spent a good deal of their munition they charged with sword "and dart, the sword being of wood, long, and lined with cutting pieces of flint. It "was tied to the wrist, in order that dropping it they might seize an enemy (as "their main object was to capture men alive) without losing the weapon. They had no "style of fencing, neither did they charge directly, but skirmished and rushed back "and forth. At first one party would turn to flee, as it seemed, the others pursuing, "killing and wounding and capturing all those lagging in the rear. Then the party "fleeing would suddenly turn back upon the pursuers, which fled in turn. Thus they "proceeded as in a tournament ('juego de cañas'), until they were tired, when fresh "bodies moved up to take up the fight. They had well disposed and agile people to "care for the wounded, bringing them to the rear where their surgeons were with the "medicines, healing and nursing them." See also, Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV), and the Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 374): "during the fight they shout "and sing, uttering sometimes the most horrid shrieks." (Mr. Prescott speaks of hospitals which "were established in the principal cities." This is doubtful, at least.) The most detailed account of such an engagement is found in Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 84), confirmed in the main by Durán (Cap. XXXVII, pp. 289 and 290), where he describes the disastrous fight of the Mexicans (1479) against the Tarasca of Michhuacan. It appears from the description of the former that during this bloody conflict, lasting a whole day, the different tribes moved up in succession and distinct from each other. There is but one instance of a higher tactical move, and this is found in Tezozomoc also (Cap. XCVIII, p. 93). When the Mexicans sallied against Tlaxcallan: "the gen-"eral Cusuhnochtli commanded that the Chalca should go by one road or path, those "of Aculhuacan by another, the Tecpaneca by another, and the Mexicans in the centre "where the Tlaxcallans were expected to be; all the other tribes extended in order to "take the Tlaxcalteca in the middle" (surround them). Notwithstanding the glowing descriptions of Clavigero, Torquemada, and Ixtlilxochitl, those engagements turn out to be ordinary Indian skirmishes on a large scale, in proportion to numbers, of course, but still after the same principle. These same authors even indicate, involuntarily, that there were less actions of masses, than individual exploits. For instance, Torquemada relates (Lib. II, cap. LXI, p. 183) that the principal chief, dressing himself in the garb of a common warrior, challenged the prominent chieftain of the enemy to single combat and overcame him, which deed decided the fortunes of the day. Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimêques," Cap. XLV) even tells us how a single Tezcucan brave alone fell upon the enemy while his own army was yet at breakfast, and put them all to flight. If such stories are true, they militate strongly against the impression which these same authors would convey to us, of formidable hosts, well organized, opposing each other. A commander, responsible for the fate of tens of thousands committed to his guidance, could not expose his own person in such a manner. Either these stories, or the representation of the numbers engaged, and their tactics, are untrue.

[759] "Surgeons" are mentioned both by Mendieta and Torquemada. The Mexican name of surgeon is "texoxotla ticitl" (Molina, I, p. 35). "Texoxqui" means a sorcerer, and

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

retreat began on one side, and an equally rapid pursuit on the other.[165] The objective point of this retreat was the settlement or "pueblo" of the attacked tribe, but if the vanquished succeeded in placing between them and their pursuers some natural obstacle, like a river, or deep ravine, or if they took refuge upon a wooded range of steep hills, then the victors were arrested, as they seldom ventured to attack when this attack necessitated a strong simultaneous effort on the part of the whole force.[166] Still less could they execute rapid flank-movements. In course of time they might circumvent certain obstacles, but then their supplies were so limited that, if there was no positive indication of success, either in storming the position *without great danger*, or in carrying it within a very *short time* by some rude feint, they preferred to desist from further endeavors, and to return home with whatever spoils the battlefield alone had furnished. Thus they "collared"[167] their captives (which had been carefully watched behind the battle-front) and returned to Mexico in moderate triumph, leaving it to future times to proclaim: that such and such a tribe had been subdued by them, whereas they had only defeated it in one engagement, and the tribe had still preserved afterwards its complete independence.[168]

"ticitl" a physician or diviner. Both agree very well with the conception of an Indian "medicine-man." There are, besides, evidences that priests went to war also, and I would suggest that it may have been a part of their duties to care for the wounded. A certain class of priests were called "tlamacazqui," certainly derived from "tlama," physician or doctor.

[165] A slow and orderly retreat is a movement hardly known to Indians. They rush either way, advancing or retiring. Even the return of the Mexicans from the unsuccessful onslaught on the Tarasca (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII. p. 84) was as near to a disorderly flight as possible. Durán says (Cap. XXXVII, p. 291): "El rey Axayacatl mandó, "alçar su real, y asi como huyendo y medio afrentado, con la poca gente que le auia "quedada, todo desbaratado y lo mas de la gente herida."

[166] Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 131): "Those who gained the battle continued the pursuit "until the opponents reached some place where they could fortify themselves." Also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXII, p. 34, and cap. LVII, p. 94).

[167] If, on the battlefield, a captive still resisted, they cut the tendons of his feet, thus rendering him incapable of motion. After the action the prisoners were secured by wooden collars ("cuauh-cozcatl") and thus they were led home in the van of the returning force. Arrived at Mexico they were conducted first to the chief-teocalli, and after prostrating themselves before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, *were marched around the great stone of sacrifice*. (Compare the relation of Adair, "History of the American Indians," Argument XVI, pp. 165 and 167.—Return of a Chikkasah war party from a foray into Illinois, in 1765.)

[168] Such was the case with Meztitlan (Cap. LVII, p. 94, of Tezozomoc, and Durán, Cap. XL, p. 314). Tizoczic made about 40 prisoners, and returned with the loss of 300 men ("Y que con aquello auian los contrarios recogidose a' sus lugares"). Still it is mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl as subject and tributary to the valley tribes.

761

761 LIFE AND DEATH--theories about life and death; notion of a life force; conception of death (e.g., as natural, as unnatural); beliefs about the causes of death; attitude toward death (e.g., confidence, fear, fatalism); etc. See also:

Theories of health and disease 75
Conception of fate, animistic beliefs, eschatology, and myths about origin of death . 77
Mortality statistics 165
Prescriptions for longevity 886

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.'

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenquizçaiotl, nenquizçaliztli, ãoneuti-nemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaitihlóia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quinca-iotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in iquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonoosia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaca-oaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, toiolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotla-mjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotla-mjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma timjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli quicuja moco-coosia: muchi tlacatl quitoaia, Concocoliscuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo tru-meiolloti, aocmo itech ça netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oscnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioçulili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neel-lasquaoaloc, oquizcauhqoc injoaiolquc, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo, iuhcan quizoaiã inon oquẽtelxin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio quicujc, ca temauhti in ipan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipocallo in jzquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Twenty Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 36) adds that people did not gather in the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony rite.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.[1]

NICAN VMPEOA IN JANCA, INJC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN JMANJMAOĀ IN OMJCQUE. YOAN OC CEQUJ IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL.

775 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

Injc ce capítulo: itechpa tlatoa yn imanjman in miquja in vmpa vía mjctlan, yoan in quenjn tocoia.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.[2]

In juh qujmatia in nican tlaca in vevetque; yoan in tlatoque ca in jxqujchtin miquja. Ezcan in vi, yn iquac miquj.

The first place was there to the land of the dead[3] where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecaciuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

Jnjc ceccan vmpa in mjctlan, auh in vncan mjctlan, vncan onec, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecacihoatl, yn icioauh mjctlī tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

auh in vmpa vi, mjctlī ichoantin, in jxquichtin tlalmiqui, in çan coculiztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in macemalti.

764 And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihoatl, anoço pilhōtli. auh injc quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in moniquiliaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc vezztoc, in çan oc acantoc.

"My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth [761] here on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

Nopiltze oyhjiotl ticmomachiti, oticmociavilti, omitzmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocenchan in tlalticpac, ca çan achitzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titotonio ca, çan ipaltzinco titiximatico in totecujo.

"And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee 764 there—Acolnauacatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecaciuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath provided thee a seat. 775 Lo, there is the abode of all of us; there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

auh in azcan ca omitzalmanili in mjctlan tecutli, in Aculnaouacatl in Tzotemoc, yoan in Mjctecacihoatl, ca omitzalmotetzonti, ca omjtzalmoçpalti, canel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocenpopolivjian, vmpa tlatlalpatlaoa, ca oiccen onquiz,

"For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings.[3] For

ca otonmovicac in quenamjcan, xinocoaian in viloaian, in apochqujiaoaiecā, in atlecalocan, ca ocmo cppa miloch mononcsepol tiechiaua, ca ocmo tiosilla-

1. Tlatoa-ca, in the Aztec column, is probably to be read chocoaca.
2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.
3. Although Sahagún invariably translates *ocicioc* as *infierno*, the literal meaning is hard or place of the dead.
3a. The terms *apochqujiaoaiecā* and *atlecalocan* might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For elaboration see here and *tonquipan*.

764 no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what
[775] thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou leavest bereft and orphaned thy children and grandchildren. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

761 "My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force; apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy]
764 half-tortilla.[80] Take courage. Of what avail is what we say? Is it that [our lord] feeleth ill will toward us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our lord hath willed and commanded that he hath already fulfilled his office and reached his end here. What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth alone and awaiteth the commandment of our lord, be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy orphanhood.

764 "What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son, use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers and fathers have gone, they who well uttered and recounted their consolations and lamentations. And this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers and fathers have entreated thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound the paper. And when they had prepared the paper adornment, thereupon they arrayed the dead one; they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl, and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and thereupon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped them round and round him and tied them firmly

matiz in monica motepotzco, in macujl in matlac, ca otiquimonjcnocauhteoac, otiquimontlacacauhteoac, in mopilhoan, in mexvioan, ca ocmo tihoallamatiz y çaço quen popoliviaque, ca motech tonacitivi, motech tonpachivitivi, in macujl in matlac.

Auh izcatquj ic qujtlatlauhtiaia in mjccaoa.

Nopiltze ma ixquich xicmanili, ma ixquich motlapal xjcmochivili, ma ximochicaoa, ma ticcauh yn atolatl, in tlapãqui, ma ximelaqtiaoa, quennel tiquitoanj, cujx çan aca ic techcocolia, cujx çan aca ic techqueloa, ca oquimonequilti oquimjtalhuj in totecujo, ca ie vncan ca itzqujuh, ca ie vncã ca itzonqujçaia, quen xoconchioa in ma oc achitzin ca in ma oc cemilhujtzintli conmotlanevianj in tlalticpac.

Auh ynjn tlacuelchoatl ontoneoa, onchichinaca in moiollotzin in monacaiotzin, tlacuelchoatl ontlaioatica in vncan ontlacauhteoac, in vncan ocontlatolchiaia in totecujo, tlacuele centlamjquoconmomachiti in jcnopilotl,

quennel timotolinja, nopiltze ma ixquich motlapal, xicmochivili, ma nocuele iuhqujn tlaocoli tocontolo, ca çan nican achitzin, ic ticchicauhtivitze in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin, ca nican popovi ixtlavi, in naniotl, in taiotl, ca otlanemiuhiantili in totecujo, ca oiaque in monanoa in motsoa, in vel quiteneoaia in vel quijpoaia in choquizio, in ixaioiotlatolli. auh ca ie ixquich, injc mitzmotlatlauhtilia yn monaoa, in motaoa tle ticmatcatzintli.

Niman qujntlachichiviliaia yn amatlamatque, in veveique in machiceque catca: yn amatl quixototlaia, quitetequja quihilpiaia. auh in oquicencauhque in amatlatqujtl, njman ie ic quichichioa in mjcqui, quicocototztlalia, icpac contecca atl,

quilhuja. Jzcatquj yn oticmotlamachtico ino ic tinenca tlalticpac.

auh njmã achi contenco contecca in atl, conmaca quilhuja.

Yacatquj injc tonotlatocaz,

njman itic conaqueja niman ie ic quiquiquimilloa, quitecuhquimilloa, quitecuhilpia, quicacazilpia in mjcqui njman ie quimamaca, in tamatlaqui, auh in

80. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 295. This is the small child's ration as given in Codex Mendoza.

681 And then also at that time[1] died those who were in jail, who were there for something which de-
696 manded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So
761 it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

A 787 And when someone was then born,[2] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend.
851 But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

A 787 And also it was said that he who was then born a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That
754 is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into
791 something [else]; because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

Auh yoan no iquac vncā mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic catz, in vei qujtzacutocatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in motenecoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no ichoan in mamaltin, cenpjntin vncan mjquja,

mjtoa: ca ichoan inca moncaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moqujxtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilqujxtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momauhçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: aüh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlâciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

auh intla macecoalh, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moqujxtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynacol mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jxqujch tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, zochica, cjoatlatole, tempochioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teiololmala-

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3. An additional phrase in the Real Palacio M1 will change the meaning somewhat: *oyamo mahuiya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, one then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Ángel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos fin Sahagún." *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'duende' del alma, a manera del epípolo* [sitting a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*]. . . . *De esa primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicidad de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se consulta el brujo cuyas de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos sitios y lugares, de ejercer otras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay en tahuelli poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *tahuali, tahuale*, "*verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conserva muy bien el significado, como el mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embauca a las gente. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: tahualoaqui, matar disimulado, con cautela, secretamente: tahualtzitlia, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; tahualhuchia, sorbar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de tahuelli o un derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al oficio que el demonio les ordenaba para que fuesen lo que llaman tahuelli. . . .*

". . . *quando el niño nacía, el demonio por el padre expresaba o hacía que sus padres tuvieran con él, le dedica o nombra al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por tahual, que es como dicen por duelo de su natividad y orbar de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste parto quedó el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padecerá el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierte la denominación y significación del nombre tahuelli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raíces que significan: la primera, mandar, la segunda, hablar con imperio, la tercera, ocultarse o robarse, y aunque es conveniente para que se acomodan las dos primeras significaciones, me quedo con la tercera, que es del verbo tahualtia que es amonestar embrujando con algo, que viene a ser lo mismo que robarse, y así, tahuelli dice robaquito, o disimulado debajo de la apariencia del tal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, infra.

1 A [i.e., the day One Rain. – Aun'lyst]

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Inje matlactiomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel ujman amo qualli. 787X

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it thawed, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

!n jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechtnecanjaia, qujnquechtzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuecochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motzcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan oc qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanacoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacacatztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 684 727 761● 789 824

But the merchants,[2] these known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away—the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê qujvetimatia, qujmaviztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixqujch cozcatl, in coxcapetlatl, in petlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in ixqujch nepapan iviitl, iê quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xocopitzli.* — Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *pitzitzin — Bromelia pinguin L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un manto de alfombra y crece hasta convertirse en las de la piña. . . . propiedad embarazadora."*

2. Tenochtitlán also as "town of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlán occupied by merchants, whose gods were: Tlipana, Macuilmalinali, Xihui, Tlaxi, Xilo, Tepanitzinli, Cuyuilitzinli, Chicome xochitl, Xochiquetzal, Yacatecuhtli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Acxotecatl* or *pochtecahtlahtoani*, "*mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dijéramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre los mercaderes . . . se entiende el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre o madre de todos los mercaderes*" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 14, 5).

Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 68): "*eine eingeborene Volksstamm in der südlichen der Seen von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Cholco.*" Acxotlan was a merchant's barrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were: Nosi Ehecatl, Chicomquiauitl, Xoxoucatl, Cochimeti, Yacapitzauac, Macuitl, Chalmecatecuhtli (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 328, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Mawo ear dem Gros Oztomecatl . . . , der auf Wanderschaft gehende Kleine und Marktschreier zusamt ab der auf quer Reisen gehende Grosskaufmann, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

5. Ibid., p. 195.

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Second Chapter, which telleth of the rulers who governed in Tlatilulco when the reign had not yet perished and when, later, once again the Spaniards gave back and restored [it] to them, until the year 1560.

Injc vme capitulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque in otlatocatque tlatilulco, in aiamo poliuj tlatocaiotl, ioan in çatepan oc ceppa oqujnmacaque oqujncuepilique españoles in ixqujchica ipan xiujtl de 1560.

The first ruler of Tlatilulco, Quaquapitzauac, who first began [the reign], governed Tlatilulco for sixty-two years. He conquered the people of Tenayuca, and Coacalco, and Xaltocan. When this one then ruled, two rulers of Tenochtitlan came together [one after the other], who were named Acamapichtli and Uitziliuitl.

Injc ce tlatilulco tlatoanj Quaquappitzaoac achto compeoalti tlatocat in tlatilulco iepoalxiujtl omome, qujmpeuh in tenaiocan tlaca, ioan coacalco ioan xaltocan, in iehoatl, y, ic tlatocat qujnnamjcticatca vmentin tlatoque in tenochtitlan in omoteneuhque Acamapichtli ioan vitziliujtl.

The second ruler of Tlatilulco.

Tlacateotl [was] the second, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. It came to pass in his time that all the people of Acolhuacan and those of Coyoacan were conquered.

Injc vme tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Tlacateutl ic vme, tlatocat in tlatilulco, cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl omej, ipan muchiuh injc peoaloc ixqujch aculhoacatl ioan coioacatl.

The third ruler of Tlatilulco.

Quauhtlatoa [was] the third, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. Two rulers, also, came together [one after the other], in Tenochtitlan. These [were] Itzcoatl and Moctezuma the Elder. It came to pass in his reign that the people of Azcapotzalco, and Coaixtlauacan, and Cuetlaxtlan, and Quauhtlinchan, and Xochimilco and all the people of Quauhnauac were destroyed and conquered.

Injc ei tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Quauhtlatoa, ic ei tlatocat in tlatilulco cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolli omej xiujtl, qujnnamjcticatca no vmentin tlatoque catca in tenochtitlan, iehoatl itzcoatl, ioã veue motecuçuma. Ipan muchiuh injc poliuh injc peoaloc, azcaputzalcatl ioan coaixtlaoacã, ioã cuetlaxtlan, ioan quauhtlinchan, ioan xochmjlco ioan in jxqujch quauhnaoacatl.

The Fourth ruler of Tlatilulco.

Moquiuixtli [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco nine years. In his time the reign of Tlatilulco came to an end; for he and his brother-in-law, Axayacatl, ruler of Tenochtitlan, quarreled. [The latter] then made war upon Moquiuixtli and the people of Tlatilulco. And this Moquiuixtli of his own will quickly ascended to the summit of a [pyramid] temple, that he might cast himself from there; wherefore he then died.

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Injc nauj tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Moqujujxtli, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco: chicunauhxiujtl, ipã impoliuh tlatocaiotl tlatilulco, inic çan mococolique in jtex axaiaca tlatoanj tenochtitlan, injc qujiauchiuh moqujujxtli ioan tlatilulca. Auh in iehoatl moquiujxtli çan jnoma in tlecotiuetz iicpac teucalli injc vmpa calmomaiauh injc vncan mjc.

Don Pedro Temilo: when he was made ruler of Tlatilulco, he was the one who again started the

Don pedro temjlo icoac omotlatocatlali in tlatilulco, iehoatl ic no compeoalti in tlatocaiotl, in oiuh

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

13. Roasting maize attracting the Toltecs (Chapter XI)
14. Quetzalcoatl in a drunken sleep (Chapter XIII)
15. Preparation of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
16. Burning of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
17. Conference with masters of the youths, upon birth of a child (Appendix, Chapter IV)
18. Taking children to the young men's house (Appendix, Chapter V)
19. Tending fires in the song house (Appendix, Chapter V)

[p. 36(E)]

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HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.[1]

NICAN VMPEOA IN JANCA, INJC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN JMANJMAOĀ IN OMJCQUE. YOAN OC CEQUJ IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL.

115 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.[2]

The first place was there to the land of the dead[3] where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecaciuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

●164 And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

[161] "My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth here on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

164 "And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee there—Acolnauacatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecaciuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath pro-
115 vided thee a seat. Lo, there is the abode of all of us; there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

"For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings.[4] For

Injc ce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa yn imanjman in miquja in vmpa via mjctlan, yoan in quenjn tocoua.

In juh qujmatia in nican tlaca in vevetque; yoan in tlatoque ca in jxqujchtin miquja. Excan in vi, yn iquac miquj.

Jnjc ceccan vmpa in mjctlan, auh in vncan mjctlan, vncan onoc, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecacihoatl, yn icioauh mjctlā tecutli.

auh in vmpa vi, mjctlā ichoantin, in jxquichtin tlalmiqui, in çan coculiztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in macegualti.

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihoatl, anoço piltōtli. auh injc quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in momiquiliaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc vetztoc, in çan oc acantoc.

Nopiltze oyhjotl ticmomachiti, otitmociavilti, omitzmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocenchan in tlalticpac, ca çan achitzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titotonio ca, çan ipaltzinco titiximatico in totecujo.

auh iñ axcan ca omitzalmanili in mjctlan tecutli, in Aculnaouacatl in Tzotemoc, yoan in Mjctecaciuatl, ca omitzalmotetzonti, ca omjtzalmocpalti, canel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocenpopolivjian, vmpa tlatlalpatlaoa, ca oiccen onquiz,

ca otonmovicac in quenamjcan, ximoouian in viloouian, in apochquijiaouiocā, in atlecalocan, ca ocmo oppa miloch monecuepal tiechioua, ca ocmo tioalla-

1. Tlacatecutl, in the Aztec column, is probably to be read tlacatecuhtli.
2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.
3. Although Sahagún invariably translates mictlan as *infierno*, the literal meaning is land or place of the dead.
3a. The terms apochquijiaouiocā and atlecalocan might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For discussion see land mesopan.

764 no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back.
[775] Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou leavest bereft and orphaned thy children and grandchildren. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

761 "My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force; apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy]
764 half-tortilla.[20] Take courage. Of what avail is what we say? Is it that [our lord] feeleth ill will toward us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our lord hath willed and commanded that he hath already fulfilled his office and reached his end here. What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth alone and awaiteth the commandment of our lord, be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy orphanhood.

764 "What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son, use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers and fathers have gone, they who well uttered and recounted their consolations and lamentations. And this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers and fathers have entreated thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound the paper. And when they had prepared the paper adornment, thereupon they arrayed the dead one; they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl, and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and thereupon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped them round and round him and tied them firmly

matiz in monica motepotzco, in macujl in matlac, ca otiqujmonjcnocauhteoac, otiqujmontlacacauhteoac, in mopilhoan, in motxvioan, ca ocmo tihoallamatiz y çaço quen popolivizque, ca motech tonacitivi, motech tonpachivitivi, in macujl in matlac.

Auh izcatquj ic qujtlatlauhtiaia in mjccaoa.

Nopiltze ma ixquich xiccnanili, ma ixquich motlapal xicmochivili, ma ximochicaoa, ma ticcauh yn atolatl, in tlapâqui, ma ximelaquaoa, quennel tiquitoanj, cujx çan aca ic techcocolia, cujx çan aca ic techqueloa, ca oquimonequilti oquimjtalhuj in totecujo, ca ie vncan ca itequjuh, ca ie vncã ca itzonquçaia, quen xoconchioa in ma oc achitzin ca in ma oc cemilhujtzintli conmotlanevianj in tlalticpac.

Auh ynjn tlacuelehoatl ontoneoa, onchichinaca in moiollotzin in monacaiotzin, tlacuelehoatl ontlaioatica in vncan ontlacauhteoac, in vncan ocontlatolchiaia in totecujo, tlacuele centlamjc xoconmomachiti in jcnopilotl,

quennel timotolinja, nopiltze ma ixquich motlapal, xicmochivili, ma nocuele iuhqujn tlaocoli tocontolo, ca çan nican achitzin, ic ticchicauhtivitze in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin, ca nican popovi ixtlavi, in naniotl, in taiotl, ca otlanemiuhiantili in totecujo, ca oiaque in monanoa in motaoa, in vel quiteneoaia in vel quipoaia in choquizio, in ixaioiotlatolli. auh ca ie ixquich, injc xnitzmotlatlauhtilia yn monaoa, in motaoa tle ticmatcatzintli.

Niman qujntlachichiviliaia yn amatlamatque, in vevetque in machiceque catca: yn amatl quixozotlaia, quitetequja quihilpiaia. auh in oquicencauhque in amatlatqujtl, njman ie ic quichichioa in mjcqui, quicocotoztlalia, icpac conteca atl,

quilhuja. Jzcatquj yn oticmotlamachtico ino ic tinenca tlalticpac.

auh njmã achi contonco conteca in atl, conmaca quilhuja.

Yzcatquj injc tonotlatocaz,

njman itic conaquja niman ie ic quiquiquimiloa, quitecuhquimiloa, quitetcuhilpia, quicacaxilpia in mjcqui njman ie quimamaca, in iamatlatqui, auh in

[20] Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 395. This is the small child's ration as given in Codex Mendoza.

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about the dead one. Then they laid out his paper adornment in order. And when they had arranged it in order, then they gave it all to him. They placed it as an offering before him and said to him:

ocontlamamacaque, njman ie conmaca centlamantli ixpan cõmana quilhuja. 764

"Behold wherewith thou shalt pass there where the mountains come together.

Yzcatquj inic tonqujçaz in vncan tepetl imonamiquja. 764

"And behold how with this thou shalt pass the road which the serpent watcheth.

auh izcatquj ic itla tonquiçaz in vtli qujpia yn coatl. 775

"And behold wherewith thou shalt pass the green lizard, the *xochitonal*.

auh izcatquj iqu itlan tonqujçaz, in xoxouhqui cuetzpalin in xochitonal.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt cross the eight deserts.

auh izcatqui ynjc tocontocaz chicuey ixtlaoatl.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt go over the eight hills.

auh izcatquj ic tonquiçaz in chicue tiliuhcan.

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel the place of the obsidian-bladed winds."

Yzcatquj ic tonquiçaz in itzehecaian.

For there, in that place, the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, it was said that all suffered much. By winds were all the obsidian blades, and stones, borne. And hence, when valiant men died, [their kin] burned all of their baskets with insignia, their shields, their obsidian-bladed swords, and all the things [which they had wrested from] their captives; and all their capes, and all their clothing of whatever sort.

auh in vncan y, ytzehecaian, quil cenca netolinilo, muchi hecatoco in jtztli, yoan in xaltetl, auh ipampa in miquja in oquichtin in jntlavizpetlacal yn jnchimal, yn jnmaquauh, yoã in ixqujchtin ymalteooan, yoã in ixqujch in itilma, yoan in jxqujch in tlein itlatlatqui, muchipan quitlatiaia;

Likewise, [if it were] a woman, all her baskets, her waist bands, her divided cords for holding up the textile, her skeins, her shuttles, her battens, her cane stalks, her combs—also all [this] burned with her.

ça ie no ivi in cihoatl in ixqujch in itana, in ineanaia, yn imecamaxal, yn iquatzõ, yn ixiiouh in itzotzopaz, in ivtlauh, yn iteçacauh ytziquaoaz, no muchi ipã tlatla,

It was said that they would encircle themselves [with these things] and thus be protected in the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, and not suffer greatly. And he who had nothing among his wretched belongings, who went bare, underwent much pain and suffered much in order to pass the place of the obsidian-bladed winds.

quilmach quimotenãtiz, ic mehecatzacuiliz yn itzehecaiã, amo cenca motoliniz. auh yn aq'n atle itlatquitzin içan iuh iauh, cẽca tlaihjiovia cenca motolinja, inic quiça itzehecaian.

And also they caused him to carry a little dog, a yellow one; they fixed about its neck a loose cotton cord. It was said that [the dog] bore [the dead one] across the place of the nine rivers in the land of the dead.

Auh yoã centetl chichiton quivicaltia ieh in coci, concozcatia potonqui icpatl, quilmach quipanaviz chicunaoapan in mjctlan.

And when Mictlan tecutli was reached, he offered up all with which they had adorned the dead ones on earth—the ceremonial papers,[4] the pine incense burners, and bundles of canes [for perfume], loose cotton thread, and red cotton thread, or his cape

auh in iquac onaxioa in jterh mjctlan tecutli, quitlamamaca I tlaticpac in tlein qujnchichivilia mimicque in evilotl, ocotlenamactli, yoan quiqujmiloaia acaquavitl, yoan potonqui, yoan chichilicpatl, aço yulma, anoço ymaxtli. auh in cihoatl icue, ivipil. yoa

4. *Ihiltoli*: meaning is problematical. In Seler's *Einige Kapitel* (p. 287, n. 3) this is collected: "*ihiltoli—Bekleidung, vgl. Molina ceilolaia—* *hier eine Bedeutung*."

764 775

or his breech clout. And a woman, her skirt [or] her shift, and indeed all her clothing she had left they bound together.

in ie muchi itlathtquj, in oquicauhteoac muchi quiquimiloa,

And when eighty days [had passed], then they burned [these]. Likewise was this done after a year, and after two years, and after three years. And when four years had passed, [then was] the last time that they did [this].[5]

in iquac nappoaltica iquac tlatla, no iuh muchioaia yn iquac cexiuhtica. yoan in iquac oxiuhtica, yoan in iquac ieziuhtica: auh in iquac nauhxiuhtica ça cen in conchioa.

And all this, it was said, came to Mictlan tecutli. And when the four years had ended, thereupon [the dead one] went to the nine lands of the dead,[6] [where] lay a broad river.

auh injn quilmach much itech onaci, in Mictlan tecutli: auh in otzonquiz nauhxivitl, njman ie ic iauh in chicunauhmjctlan, icac atl patlaoac,

There the dogs carried one across. It was said that whosoever came walking [to the bank] looked over to the dogs. And when one recognized his master, thereupon he came to throw himself into the water in order to carry his master across. Hence the natives took pains to keep the dogs.

ie vncan in tepanavia chichime, quil in aquin oquiçato ivic oalachia in chichi. auh in oquioalixima yn itecujo njman ie ic oalmomaiavi in atlan injc quipanaviz in itecujo, ipampa in njcan tlaca cenca qujnnemjtiaia in chichime.

And it was said that the white dogs and the black ones, those which were black, could not carry one over the river to the land of the dead. It was said that the white dog said: "I have just washed myself." And one which was black said: "I have just stained myself black." Only a yellow [one][7] could bear one across.

auh quil in iztac chichi. yoã in tliltic, in tlilca quil avel tepanavia yn mjctlan, quil quitoa in iztac ca quin ononnotlapaquili. auh in tlilca quitoa ca quin ononnoçac, çan ye yio in coci vel tepanavia.

And there at the nine lands of the dead, the [dead] were completely destroyed.

auh in vncan chicunamjctlan ẽcã ocempopolioca.

764

And when it came to pass that [the old men] had ornamented [the dead one], then they took him to the fire. And first they slew the little dog; thereupon they burned [the dead one and the dog].

Auh in ie iuhqui yn oquicencauhque, njmã ie quivica in tleco, yoan in chchiton achto conmjctia, njman ie ic tlatla,

Two old sextons took great care of [the dead one]. And some of the sextons stayed singing. And when the body of [the dead one] already was burning, they took great pains with it, they kept packing it down. And the body crackled and popped, and smelled foul. And when it came to pass that they had burned it, thereupon they gathered and heaped up the coals. And they said: "Let him be bathed"; and thereupon they bathed him—they cast water upon him; they sprinkled and poured the water on him. When [the coals] grew cold, once more they gathered up the charred remains, and thereupon dug a round hole in which to place it—a pit, and this they called a cave.

cenca quimocuitlavia in tlalhoaque vmentin, auh in cequjntin tlalhoaque cujcatoque: auh in iquac ie tlatla inacaio cenca qujmocuitlavia quixixiliinemj. auh in tonacaio, tzotzoioca, cuecuepoca, yoan tzoiaia: auh in ie iuhquj in ocontlatique, njmã ie ic collolalia, quitepeuhtitlalia in tlexochtli. Yoan qujtoa ma onmalti, njman ie ic caltia catequja capapachoa, capapatztza, in oceceuh, ie nó ceppa collolalia in tecolli, njman ie ic tlatataca iaoaltic in quitlalia, tlatatactli,

5. Cf. also Seler: *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f. Gómez gives the priests of the underworld were a false mummy bundle of various wood, clothing, and a mask. Similar rites were performed for those who died far from home, or had been taken captive and sacrificed. Seler adds that if query fell in an expedition, the ruler prepared a public feast, in which there were singing and dancing in honor of the dead, and the burning of a mummy bundle, gifts, and belongings of the dead. The feast lasted four days.

6. The nine lands or regions of the dead were thought of as arranged in tiers, or layers, the ninth being the deepest. See Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, IV, pp. 178. The heavens likewise rose in tiers.

7. Red, according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f.). See, however, *Kingsborough*, p. 298 (yellow).

Thereupon they swiftly filled the pit with the charred remains. There they covered it with earth.

And [this was done with] the noblemen as well as peasants.

When they had burned, they gathered and heaped up the bones, filling a small jar or small bowl [with them]. Upon the bones they laid a green stone. They buried [the bowl] in the home or the tribal temple [of the dead one].[9]

And where they buried [the ashes], they always laid offerings for them.

And when the chiefs and princes died, they laid in their mouths green stones.[9] And those who were only peasants [they provided] only a [common] greenish stone or [a piece of] obsidian. It was said that these became their hearts.

And the chiefs with many things they thus bedizened: their paper adornment which they made [was a] princely paper streamer of either four fathoms' or three fathoms' [length] of papers which they glued one to another. And upon it they hung various feathers—[those of] the heron and the trupial; dark yellow parrot breast feathers; the red arara; quetzal breast feathers; hawk feathers,[10] and yet other feathers.

And some were made [their] companions—the beloved slaves, perchance a score of the men and as many of the women. Thus they said that they were those who cared for their master, and still made chocolate and prepared food for him. And the men they sent as servants, likewise to care for him in the land of the dead.

And when the chief already burned, thereupon they slew the slaves, driving only bird arrows through their throats. They did not burn [with] the chief. Quite separately they buried the slaves, and quite alone the chief burned.[11]

ynjn quitocaiotia ontetl njman ie ic contentiquetza in teculli, tlatatactli vncã contoca. 764

auh yoan in pipilti, yoan in maceoaltin,

yn iquac otlatlaque, quipepena quicenquixtia in jnomio, contõco, xoctonco quitentiquetza, in omitl ipan contlalia chalchivitl, quitoca ichan icalpolco.

auh in vncan qujntoca muchipa qujntlamanilia.

Yoan in iqẽ ĩ miquia in tlatoque, yoan in pipilti qujntololtiaia chalchivitl. auh in çan maceoalti, çan texoxoctli, anoço iztli, quilmacia iniollo muchioa. 764 766

auh in tlatoque mjec tlamantli, injc qujnchichioa, yn amatlatquitl quichioaia tecpanitl anoço nãmatl, anoço iẽmatl, amatl quiçaçaloa. yoan itech quipipiloa, in nepapan ihujtl, aztatl çaquan, xollotl, cueçali, tziuhtli, cuixihujtl, yoan oc cequi ihujtl. 766

auh cequjntin tevicalti muchioa in tlatlacotzitzintin, aço cen tecpantli yn oquichtli, no izqui ĩ cihoatl iuh quitoaia in quenjn oquimocuitlavique in jntecujo, yn oc achiviliaia, yn oqu itlaqual chiviliaia, auh in oquichti qujntititlani, çan no iuh quimocuitlavizque in mjctlan:

auh in iquac ie tlatla tlatoanj, njman ie ic qujmomjctia in tlatlacoti, çan totomjtl in quechtlã conaquia, amo yoan tlatla in tlatoanj, çan nonqua qujntoca in tlatlacoti, çan vel yioca tlatla in tlatoanj.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en una camara de su casa.*"

9. See Pl. 15. *Quimolotiaia:* more literally, "made them swallow."

10. *Xolloti:* cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 165. See also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 299, n. 3: "*Vergeblich versuchten auptsächlich 'ala' in einer Arara.*" *Tzuihuli* and *cuquihuitl* are identified in the same place in the text.

11. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 521 ff.) thus describes the funeral ceremonies for a chief: Neighboring towns were notified of the death, and the ceremonies were scheduled usually for four or five days later. Chiefs of nearby towns brought gifts (mantles, feathers, slaves). The body of the deceased was wrapped in mantles and adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. A green stone was laid in the mouth, as heart. Hair was cut from the crown of the head of the deceased and kept in a wooden box with a painting of the god (ornament); a slave was killed in honor of the god. On the mourning bundle were placed the ornaments of the god. A solemn procession, including neighboring chiefs, relatives, friends, wives of the deceased, and dancing priests marched (without beating of drums) to outer other priests at the temple. At the foot of the pyramid, they ignited the pyre of wood and some incense. As the body burned, as many as one or two hundred slaves were sacrificed in the usual manner, and burned in another pyre. These were household slaves (including dwarfs, jesters, and the like) and others presented by visiting dignitaries. Next day, the ashes were gathered, along with the remaining bone previously cut. Friends, relatives, and wives laid offerings before the box. There were four days of such ceremony, after which fifteen or twenty more slaves were sacrificed, since, it was thought, the soul of the deceased had undertaken its travels and was in need of aid. Other slaves—up to a dozen or so—were later killed at the end of twenty, forty, sixty, and eighty days. Yearly observance, for four years, quail, rabbits, birds, and butterflies were offered before the box, along with incense, food, wine, flowers, and some of tobacco. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing.

[p. 44 is blank]

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The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

Inic chicome capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the sextons] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Cioatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year count[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Ce tochtli.

moteneoa: uitztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: 805
matlacxiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlatoctia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in 823
izquiteri xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In ichoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipāpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanextia.

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, ichoatl in tecpatl: moteneoa mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: [775]
iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatotoca in mimicque. Ichica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconilpique: [764]
vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitztiltitimotlaliaia.

Auh inic naui, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: ichoatl in calli moteneoa, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipāpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, aocaque toquichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: izquiteme ceceppa moquetztiui, tonalpeuhcaiome mu- 805
chiuhtiuj.

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omeci, quitlamja, conxitia, quitzonquixtia nauhteixtin: inic tlaiaoalotiui, quimomacatiui, quimocauiliciui, intequiuh, cecexiuhtica: ichoatl itech onaci, itech ômocaoa, itech oncaopi, itech ontlacxotoaua, ontlamonquixtia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ic ocaxiti in matlacxiuitl omei itequiuh.

Auh niman ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uitz- 805
tlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia 731
itequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlauicac, tlaotlatoctia: cenca

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[764]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itzquauhtzin's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itzquauhtzin's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detected leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Tenochtitlan comfort the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

[p. 44(N)]

Twenty-first Chapter. Here is told [how] war first began, when the Mexicans gave battle to the Spaniards here in Mexico.

And the Spaniards fortified themselves. And the Spaniards also shot at the Mexicans with iron arrows, and fired the guns at them. And then they put Moctezuma in irons.

And all the chieftains who had died [in the temple courtyard] were thereupon taken out and brought forth, and identified. And the mothers and fathers raised a cry of weeping; all wept over them; there was wailing. First they took them to their homes. Later they carried them to the temple courtyard, brought them together there, and burned them together there at the place called Quauhxicalco.[1] But some [were] burned only at the various young men's houses.

And when the sun was about to enter his house, [but] a little sun still [shone], thereupon Itzquauhtzin cried out; on the [palace] roof-top, he called out and spoke: "O Mexicans, O men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco, your ruler, the lord of men, Moctezuma, beseeceth you and saith: 'Let the Mexicans hear! We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]![2] Let [the battle] be abandoned! Let the arrow and shield be stilled! Unhappy [are] the poor old men and women, the common folk, those not yet of understanding — who toddle, who crawl, who lie placed in cradles or on [cradle] boards, those yet untrained!' For this reason doth your ruler say: 'We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]; may [the strife] cease' — because they have shackled him; they have had irons placed on his feet!"

And when he had said this, then they raised a clamor and chid him. The Mexicans became more and more enraged. One, much inflamed by anger, said: "What saith Moctezuma, O fool? [Art thou] not one of his warriors?"[3] Whereupon there was

Inje ompoalli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa iancuj- 726
can peuh iauiotl, injc qujmjcalque Mexica in Españoles in njcan mexico.

Auh in ichoantin Españoles: njman valmotepetlatzatzacoque. Auh in Españoles no qujnvalmjna in Mexica in jca tepuzmjtl, youan ic qujnvalmotla in tlequjqujztli. Auh njman tepuztli contlatlaliique in Motecuçoma:

auh in jxqujchtin tiacavan in omjcque: njmã ie ic 764
tequjztilo, teçaçaco, teiiximacho. Auh in tenanvan in tetaoan tlachoqujztleua tetchoqujlilo, nechoqujlilo, oc inchachan qujnvicaca, çatepan qujnoalhujcaque in teuitvalco, qujncentlalique: vmpa qujncentlatique, cecnj in jtocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequjntin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali.

Auh in ic oncalaqujz tonatiuh, in oc achiton tona- 648
tiuh: njman ie ic valtzatzi in Jtzquauhtzin, tlapanco valtzatzi: qujoalito. Mexicae, tenuchcae, tlatilulcae, amechtlatlauhti in amotlatocauh, in Tlacatecutli in Motecuçoma: qujoalitoa. Ma qujcaqujcan in Mexica, ca amo titenamjcvan, ma motlacavaltican, ma momana in mjtl in chimalli, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in aiamo qujmati in moquequetza, in movilana, in coçultentoc, in vapaltentoc, in aiamo qujmomachitia: ipampa conjtoa in amotlatocauh. Camo titenamjcvan, ma netlacaoaltilo, ca oconteputziotique, tepuztli icxic ocontlatlalilique:

Auh in oconjto in, njmã ie ic conchachalatza, conaoa, çan ie ilhujce tlavelcuj in Mexica qualanj, ce ilhujce poçonj: conjlhuja. Tlein qujoalitoa Motecuçoma neçne? amo ce yioqujchoan? Nimã ie ic tlacaoaca, niman ic maantimoquetz in tlacaoaca:

1. Four places named Quauhxicalco, in the temple square, are mentioned in Book II — *The Ceremonies*, pp. 168, 170, 171.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*¿qué somos hombres que somos fuertes como que somos?*"
3. Ibid.: "*¿Que dice el pues de Moctezuma? Y no soldado eres el, no compañero de guerra?*" *Hermano*, literally, "my friend."

landings of the temple [pyramid];[6] like black ants they tumbled down. And the Spaniards[7] hurled indeed all of them from the temple [pyramid]; none then escaped. And when they had come from dealing death, thereupon [the Spaniards] entered [the palace] and quickly barricaded themselves.

And this happened during the hour of eating.

And when this had come to pass, then it was made known to the people, and [the dead] were taken forth; and when all who had been cast from the temple [pyramid] had been taken out, then all were burned at the various young men's houses.[8]

noles vel mochintin qujnteucalhujque in jxqujchtin tlecoca in tiiacoan, vel mochinti moteucalhujque, njman aocac maquijx. Auh in ontemjctico, njman ie ic callacõ valmotzatzacutivetzque. 726

Auh inin muchiuh ie tlaqualizpan: [264] 764

auh in ie iubquj njmã ie ic teixtimacho, teçaçaco: auh in ie muchintin oçacoque in moteucalhujõ, njmã ie ic tetlatilo in tetelpuchcali.

6. See Pl. 83.

7. The slide is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y luego de dia dio en, comdujerõ a barlo y matar a los que estauan arriba, y muchos dellos se despeñaron por el cu abajo, finalmente todos murieron los que estaua subido al cu turnaronse los españoles a su fuerte y barricaronse muy bien. Los mexicanos enterraron a los que alli murieron porque todo era gente principal y de muchos cuidos en la guerra."

[p. 62 is blank]

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Twenty-third Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma and a great nobleman of Tlatilulco had died, and how [the Spaniards] had cast their bodies out before the gate — before the gate of the dwelling in which the Spaniards were.

And when four days had passed since all [the chieftains] had been hurled from the [pyramid] temple, [the Spaniards] came out and cast forth [the bodies of] Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, who had died,[1] at the water's edge at a place called Teoayoc. For here was a carved stone image of a tortoise;[2] like a tortoise was the representation in stone. And when they were seen and recognized as being Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, they then took up Moctezuma in their arms and carried him there to a place called Copulco.[3] Thereupon they laid him on a pyre and then kindled and set fire to it. After this, the flames blazed up; it was as if they roared, as the fire formed tongues which rose like tassels of fire. And Moctezuma's body seemed to lie sizzling, and it smelled foul as it burned.

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Injc cempoalli vmei Capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, yoan ce vei pilli tlatilulco mjcque: auh in innacaio qujvallazque iqujiaoaioc in calli in vncan catca Españoles.

Auh ie iuh navilhujtl netucalhujloc in qujmontlaçaco in Motecuçoma, yoan Itzquauhtzin, omjcque, atêco itocaiocan, Teoaioc: ca vncan catca in jxiptla aiotl, tetl in: tlaxixintli, iuhqujn aiotl ipan mjxeuhtica in tetl.

Auh in oittoque, in oiximachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin njmân qujoalnapalotiqujzque, qujoalhujcaque in vncan itocaiocan Copulco: njman ie ic qujquaquauhtlapachoa, njman ie ic contlemjna, contlequechia: njman ie ic cuecuetlaca in tletl, iuhqujn tetecujca, iuhqujn nenenepiloa tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlemjmjiavatl moquequetza, in tlenenepilli: auh in jnacaio Motecuçoma, iuhqujn tzotzoiocatoc, yoan tzoiaia injc tlatla.

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1. Rafael García Granados points out, in a personal communication, that "concerning the death of Moctezuma various versions exist, but all of them may be included in two large groups: those emanating from the natives and those emanating from the Spaniards. The former maintain that Moctezuma was killed by the Spaniards, and the latter that his death was due to being struck by a rock as he tried to calm his subjects. Among reports of indigenous origin we consider the opinions of Durán, *Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España*, II, 50 — '. . . *le hallaron muerto con una cadena a los pies y con cinco puñaladas en el pecho*'; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Décimo Tercia Relación de la venida de los Españoles*, p. 12 — '. . . *en donde dicen que uno de ellos le tiró una pedrada de la cual murió, aunque dicen sus vasallos que los mismos españoles lo mataron, y por las partes bajas le metieron la espada*'; Acosta, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 588 — '*Al rey Moctezuma hallaron los mexicanos muerto, y pasado, según dicen, de puñaladas; y es su opinión que aquella noche le mataron los españoles con otros principales*'; Códice Ramírez, p. 199 — *estaba muerto, y no faltó quien dijo que porque no le dieron la herida le habían metido una espada por la parte baja*'; Orozco y Berra, *Hist. Ant. y de la Conquista*, IV, 436 — '*Sea cual fuere el modo con que hemos discurrido, lo cierto fué que Cortés mandó dar gracias a los reyes y señores que en su poder estaban*'; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, 51 — '*hallaron los mexicanos muertos a Moctezuma y al Gobernador de Tlatilulco — echados fuera de las casas reales. . . .*' Reports of Spanish origin are given by Díaz del Castillo, *Hist. Verdadera*, II, 83 — '. . . *y le dieron tres pedradas, una en la cabeza, otra en un brazo y otra en una pierna, y puesto que le regalaban se curaba y comiese y le daban cabo ello palabras, no quiso, antes cuando no nos catamos sintimos a decir que era muerto*'; López de Gómara, *Hist. de la Nueva España*, I, 301 — '*que de una [pedrada] que le acertó en las sienes le derribaron y mataron sus propios vasallos*'; Cortés, *Cartas de Rel.*, I, 233 — '. . . *le dieron una pedrada las mujeres en la cabeza, tan grande, que de allí a tres días murió*'; Vázquez de Tapia, p. 39 — '. . . *tanto que no le dieron con una piedra, tirada con honda, arremetió de la frente, que luego se sintió muerto*'; Aguilar, *op. cit.*, p. 77 — '. . . *entre otras piedras que venían determinadas, una redonda como una pelota, la cual dió a Moctezuma cuando entre los dos metido, entre las sienes y cayó*'; *ibid.*, p. 78 — '*Moctezuma herido en la cabeza, dió al cuerpo a tres días*' . . . *y en el aposento donde él estaba había otras muy grandes señores detenidos con él, a los cuales el dicho Cortés con parecer de los capitanes mandó matar, sin dejar ninguno.*' Besides these, we have the opinion of Clavijero, which we consider the most reasonable (*Hist. Ant. de México*, II, 211) — '*Los historiadores mexicanos atribuyen su muerte a los españoles y los españoles a los mexicanos. — Yo no puedo creer que los españoles se determinasen a quitar la vida a un rey a quien debían tantos bienes y de cuya muerte ellos podían esperar grandes males.*' Muñoz Camargo, *Hist. de Tlaxcala*, p. 234, says that he died baptized and that his gaolkeepers were Cortés and Alvarado. — Chimalpahin (*op. cit.*, p. 191 — *quimmiquac Españoles y Motecuçomatzin quipoctlaquilitlacuaqueac*, the Spaniards killed Moctezuma, strangling him), agrees with the source used by Orozco y Berra.

2. The corresponding Spanish text: *un buey, lo cual, galapago* — fresh water tortoise. According to Ignacio Alcazar, *Apuntes sobre la antigua México-Tenochtitlan* (Tlatelolco, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1925), p. 86, it was where now is "*la capilla de Guadalupe en Tacuba*."

3. Corresponding Spanish text: *en oratorio.* — The version of this report, in Anales, *loc. cit.*, differs considerably from that of the *Florentine Codex*.

Cotes, *op. cit.*, identifies Copulco (Copulco) with a barrio adjacent to Tlatilulco, bounded now N. by Calle de Mosquera; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Mosquera; and W., Landa (formerly a canal).

764 And as it burned, with pure hatred, with little good will, some chid him, and said: "This evildoer! He terrorized the world! In all the world there was dread [of him]; in all the world there was fear and fright before him; this man, when anyone offended him only a little, he then slew. Many he punished for imagined evil, which was not real but only a fabrication of words."[4] And still many who cursed him, grumbled in their teeth, chattered, and shook their heads.

But Itzquauhtzin they went off with in a boat. They proceeded to take his body in a boat, to arrive here at Tlatilulco. They were deeply saddened; their hearts were desolate. All burst into tears.[5] None chid him; none belittled him. They said: "The lord, the commanding general Itzquauhtzin, suffered torments. He, with Moctezuma, underwent fatigue and affliction. How much pain he endured for us since we have come here and tarried during all the time that Moctezuma was [alive]!" Thereupon they set in order the palace flag and the rest of the paper array with which they bedight him, and they laid food before him.[6] And then they took him in order to burn him in the Temple Courtyard at a place called Quauhxicalco. With great honors his body burned.

726 And for four days there was fighting. For only seven more days the Spaniards were contained in their quarters. And when the seven days had passed, [some Spaniards] again sallied forth, going to observe, look about, and arrive there at Maçatzintamalco.[7] They went to gather stalks of green maize; they went to secure green ears of maize. Even as enemies they went to gather the green maize. They were in great haste; they no more than got there, and then quickly returned to enter [the palace]. And when they set out, the sun was high; [on their return, the sun] was setting.

Auh injc tlatlac, çan tlavelpan, aocmo cenca teiollocopa: cequj caoa: qujtoa. Inin tlapalpul: cemanaoac in otlamamauhtiaia, cemanaoac in ooalimacaxoia, cemanaoac in oivic valnemamauhtiloia, valneiçaviloia: in ichoatl in, in aqujn çã tepitzin, injc qujiolitlacoaia, njman contlatlatiaia, mjec in tlapictli oqujtzacujlti in amo nelli in çan tlatolchichiouilli: yoan oc mjectin in caoaia, qujqujnacaia, ôoiovaia, moquaquacuecuechouia.

Auh in Itzquauhtzin conacaihujto, acaltica conanato in jnacaio, injc caxitico njcan tlatilulco, cenca motlaocultique, cenca icnoioac in iniollo, teixziovi-ton, aiac ma cavaia, aiac in ma qujtelchioa: qujtoaia. Oqujniovi in tlacatl, in tlacuchcalcatl in Itzquauhtzin, ca ivan otlaihiovi, yoã omotolinj in Motecuçoma, quexqujch oqujhiovi in topampa in vmpa otivallaque, otioalitztiaque in isqujch cavitl in ocatca in Motecuçoma: njman ie ic qujchichioa in tecpanjtl, yoan oc cequj amatlatqujtl ic qujchichiuhque: yoan qujtlamamacaque: auh njman ic qujvicaque in qujtlatito in teuitvalco, itocaiocan quauhxicalco: cenca tlamaviztililiztica injc tlatlac in jnacaio.

Auh iuh navilhujtl necalioac, ça on chicomjlhujtique in caltzacuticatca in Españoles. Auh in oncic chicomjlhujtl: oc valqujzque ommotlachielito, ommotlatlachielito, vmpa onacito in maçatzintamalco: concujto ovatl, valxiloiocia, çan conisucujto in tequjzvatl, cenca çan onjciuhtivia, çan tequjtl onacito: njma ic valcalactivetzque: auh in oncujzca ie vmmeczcaloa, ie vncalaquj in tonatiuh.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*dijeron dentro eso de Motecuçoma porque mujo sido muy cruel.*"

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los del Cabildo Tlatelolco [illegible] a su gouernador porque no muy bien quisto.*"

6. See Pl. 82.

7. "*Bueno Pequeño y Chiquitopo*," according to R. H. Barlow: "Anales de la conquista de Tlatelolco en 1473 y en 1521," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, V (1945), p. 40, n. 7; it is also noted that "*Tetilolchiel* (?) [illegible] *la colina en 'el sitio de Almendro.'*" The *Anales de Tlatelolco* (Heinrich Berlin, ed.; México: Antiguo Librería Robredo, 1948), p. 45 (§111), mentions the place in connection with Moctezuma. —In this paragraph, as in many others, is to be noted a great similarity between Sahagún's translation and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (§§102, 103). — Rafael García Granados, personal communication.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, pp. 190 and 191).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII,
[351] p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population,—in the
[312] North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and
764 only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 34). See note 57.

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Granada.[105] It was different, however, in Mexico, where we meet 428
with traces of a decided progress. Not only had descent been changed to the male line,[106] but heirship was limited, to the exclusion of the kin and of the agnates themselves, to the children of the male sex.[107] Whatever personal effects a father left, which were [768
not offered up in sacrifice at the ceremonies of his funeral,[108] they 764]
were distributed among his male offsprings, and if there were none, they went to his brothers. Females held nothing whatever, beyond [562]
their wearing apparel and some few ornaments for personal use.

The "tlalmilli" itself, at the demise of a father, went to his oldest son, with the obligation to improve it for the benefit of the entire family until the other children had been disposed of by marriage.[109] But the other males could apply to the chief of the calpulli for a "tlalmilli" of their own:[110] the females went with

[105] Gomara ("Historia de las Indios," Vedia I, p. 201). Garcia ("Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. 23, p. 247). Piedrahita (Parte I, lib. I, cap. 5, p. 27). Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y Colonisazion de la Nueva-Granada," Cap. XI, p. 201). Ternaux-Compans ("L'ancien Cundinamarca," pp. 21 and 38).

[106] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Gomara (p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). Zurita (pp. 12 and 43).

[107] Letter of Motolinia and Diego d'Olarte, to Don Luis de Velasco, Cholula, 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 407). "The daughters did not inherit, it was the principal, wife's son . . . ." Besides, nearly every author designates but a son, or sons,—as the heirs. There is no mention made of daughters at all. In Tlaxcallan, it is also expressly mentioned that the daughters did not inherit (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 348). In general, the position of woman in ancient Mexico was a very inferior one, and but [562]
little above that which it occupies among Indians in general. (Compare the description of Gomara, p. 440. Vedia I, with those of Sahagun. Lib. X, cap. I, p. 1; cap. XIII, pp. 30, 31, 32 and 33. The fact is generally conceded). H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races." Vol. II, Cap. VI, p. 234, etc.

[108] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XLII to XLVIII, pp. 515 to 529). Acosta (Lib. V, cap. VIII, pp. 320, 321 and 322). Gomara (pp. 436 and 437. Vedia, I). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XI., pp. 102 and 103). Clavigero (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX. "They burnt the clothes, arrows, and a portion of the household utensils . . . . .")

[109] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120), "el cual hacer de testamento no se acostumbraba en esta tierra, sino que dejaban las casas y heredades á sus hijos, y el mayor, si era hombre, lo poseia y tenia cuidado de sus hermanos y hermanas, y yendo los hermanos creciendo y casándose, el hermano mayor partia con ellos segun tenia; y si los hijos eran por casar, entrábanse en la hacienda los mismos hermanos, digo en las heredades, y de ellas mantenian á sus sobrinos y de la otra hacienda." Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 434). "It is customary among tributary classes that the oldest son shall inherit the father's property, real and personal, and shall maintain and support all the brothers and nephews, provided they do what he commands them. The reason why they do not partition the estates is in order not to decrease it through such a partition . . . . . Simancas M. S. S ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 224). "Relative to the calpulalli . . . . the sons mostly inherited."

[110] Zurita (p. 55). "He who has no land applies to the chief of the tribe (calpulli), who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him a tract suitable for his wants, and corresponding to his abilities and to his strength." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 125).

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428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case [589 784] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship, or in case of great infirmities, for which the calpulli provided.[111] No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the [587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

428 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same ● 764 with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs 428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

[793] [111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 547-553), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1544, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1864, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 108, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164-167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV. p. 177, Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 336, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

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582 It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the
[562] ritual details themselves, but we must lay particular stress on the fact, that the wife became the *property* of her husband and that she was, as such, placed under the direct protection of his kinsmen. Such marriages could be annulled by mutual consent,
[586] provided the kin gave its approbation. In such a case the woman was at liberty to marry again, and also to return to the calpulli from which she issued.[110]

● 764 We might now be expected to cast a glance at the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans since it was *one of the attributes of the kin to enjoy common burial.*[111] But this question is so intimately connected with that of creed and belief that we refrain from trespassing too much on that field. The Mexicans practised cremation and, in the case of warriors slain in battle, at least, it is known that the exercises were conducted by the officers and leaders of each kin, *all its members*, and not the special relatives and friends only of the deceased, attending the ceremony.[112] Our knowledge of the burial places of aboriginal Mexico is still very indefi-

583 was given by their hand, out of which there arise great discomforts, and marriage
584 among free persons is not as free as it should be, therefore, we ordain and command: that no Indian principal of whichever condition or rank ("estado,") shall of his own accord or authority give away any wife to anybody whatsoever, nor shall he prevent any Macegual from marrying freely the woman whom he may wish, and who may like him,—under penalty of thirty days of imprisonment, and other penalties which the Judge may determine upon."

("*Concilios Provinciales, Primero y Segundo, celebrados por la muy noble, y muy Leal ciudad de México etc., etc. Dedos á Luz el Ilmo Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia* Año de 1769). The "principales Indios" are the officers of the "Kina," and thus we have, thirty five years after the conquest, a formal recognition of the custom among the Mexican Indians that marriage was controlled by the Kin. How the "encomenderos" subsequently interfered with that custom, in order to conceal their own criminal doings, is plainly told by *Fray Antonio de Remesal* "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala, etc., etc.*" Madrid, 1619 (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 327).

[110] It is singular that some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers imply that there was no rule of repudiation or divorce among the ancient Mexicans. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 303). The same authority, however, attributes this to the baneful effects of contact with the Spaniards, in consequence of which the customs of the natives grew more or less dissolute and immoral (p. 304). *Burita* (p. 97) confirms, and *Torquemada* (Lib. XVI, cap. XXIV, p. 196), copies Mendieta literally. For the customs of divorce see *Burita* (p. 97), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 304), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XV, pp. 441 and 442). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440), *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. C, XVII, pp. 72 and 73), *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196), and others. The division of property mentioned as accompanying the divorce, applies only to personal effects, since the wife brought nothing else. See "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, and note 107).

The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans will be more thoroughly discussed by me in another monograph, subsequent to one on "Religious Beliefs."

[111] "*Ancient Society*" (pp. 71 and 83).

[112] Compare *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 154 and 156), and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXV, pp. 37 and 38).

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nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the 764
Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a de- 771
tailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religious rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli 618
had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, 346
within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of [782]
the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of Sahagun (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, etc.), we have also the testimony of *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 45, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 80), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturae*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 146).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

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643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at them. See *Bernal Diaz* (Cap. XCI, p. 96, Vedia II), *Clavijero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 479). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 388) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 251), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahualipa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1789, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

764 [251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 87, cap. LXIX, p. 115, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 8, Trat. I°).

[252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hizieronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las exequias conforme á persona tal se debian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 406): "le hizieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes avian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de México, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 60 and 61), as late as 1788 or 1784, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

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again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also 643 644
dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed 644
many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially [202]
did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of 643
the community," that is the place where the business of the entire 644 344
social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was transacted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don J. F. Ramirez* ("*Durán*," p. 231, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (re-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff. 764

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecahtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL., p. 68). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to these funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "mellicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96. also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 65): "Puso asi mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos. los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 189).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), which is very interesting in a general way.

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

411
796x
[805
776]

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: *Necessidad de dar sus.*

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f KL. Quando hazian las saetas por espa-
2 g cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan
3 A de las orejas y la sangre que exprimjan
4 b dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si-
5 c enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias
6 d para yr a caçar venados: los que no se
7 e sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en
8 f pena: njngun hombre se echaua con
9 g su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni
10 A viejas beujan polcre: porque hazian
11 b penjtencia.
12 c
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha-
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas
15 f saetas chiquitas y atauanlas de quatro
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas,
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so-
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon-
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas
f 20
g 21
A 22
b 23
c 24
d 25
e 26
f 27
g 28
A 29
b 30
c 31
d 1'
e 2
f 3
g 4
A 5
b 6
c 7
d 8

y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x
[778
342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796x
224

796x
[785]

765
796x

Thirty-second Chapter, in which are related the feasts and sacrifices which they made, in the days of the thirteenth month, which was known as, and named, Tepeilhuitl.

The thirteenth feast was known as the "Mountain Feast."

All the digging sticks which were kept in men's houses, and the heavier sticks,[1] made as [representations of] mountains, they covered with a coating of dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And their bones were likewise fashioned of a dough of [ground] amaranth seeds, long and cylindrical in shape. Either fish amaranth[2] or *chia* [was used].[3]

And also they fashioned [images in the form of] mountains for, perchance, one who had died in the water—having drowned—or had been struck by lightning.

And for whosoever had been [thus] slain and not burned but only buried,[4] [to honor him] they also made images of the mountains; they made them all of the dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And upon the eve of the feast, toward sundown, they were bathed, their faces were washed.[5] When they [went to] wash them, they went blowing and sounding little clay whistles and little sea shell whistles for [the images].[6]

And they bathed them there at the Mist House; [with] fresh cane shoots they washed their faces. And some [men] washed them only at nearby shores.[7]

And when they had been washed, then the return was made whence they had come; in the same manner they came blowing whistles, with a great din as of shouting. Thereupon were given human form

Inic cempoalli on matlactli omome capitulo: vncan moteneoa in jlhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl omei metztli in moteneoaia, in mjtoaia Tepilhujtl. 796X

Injc matlactetl omei ilhujtl iehoatl in moteneoa tepeilhujtl:

in jzquichtin cocoa im pipialo techachan, yoan in ecatotonti, qujtetepetlaliaia, tzoalli injc qujnpepechoaia: [241] 796X 778

auh in jmomjo muchioaia, çan no tzoalli, mjmjmjltic, aço mjchioauhtli, anoço cócotl:

auh no qujtepetlaliaia, in açaca atlan mjc, in jlaquijlo, in anoçe viteco: [765 778]

yoã in aquin omomjquili, in amo tlatilo, in çan qujtoca, no tepetl ipan qujquixtiaia, çan moch tzoalli in qujnchichioaia: 796X

Auh in oquiuh muztla ilhujtl teutlacpa in teaaltilo, anoço teixamjlo: injc qujmonaltia qujntlapichilitivi, in qujnpichilitivi, cocovikotl, yoan tecciztotonti. [534]

Auh in qujmonaltiaia, vmpan aiauhcalco, acatzontli iehoatl in celtic ic qujmjxamja: auh in cequjntin çan imatenco in qujmonaltia.

Auh in ontealtiloc, mec oaltecuepalo, çã no ivi, [534] 796X 778

1. See corresponding Spanish text. Cap. XIII has: "*Amidl ellieron unos trapos de palo grandes como la medida larga Immonadas Estatuas.*" Of these and of cocoa, Tezozomoc (*op cit.*, Lib. II, p. 279) writes: "*Para esta solemnidad, la primera era, hacer unos colodros de palo, ó de cuero de Ardillas, labrandolos las cabezas lo mas pudidamente que sabian. Hacian tambien de trapalos pequeños unos figurillas, á manera de los Muñecos, que acostumbran los Niños, en manera Mexica Española, las quales llamaban Immonas.*" . . . . Chavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-7, wrote similarly.

2. *Mexican Mexicana* in Molina, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary. In this chapter, however, Sahagún refers to *mexicanamaranth* as yellow amaranth. See also p. 63, n. 28.

3. In the Bolognian ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 344, Mariano Leon has defined *cocoatl* as "*Tiriesia* (*Chia de*)"; in his study he used the numerical illustrations in Pozo y Tezozomoc's reproductions. *Cocoatl* is No. 955.

4. Tezozomoc (*loc. cit.*) further explains: ". . . *en necessario de algunos difuntos, en especial de los que se avian ahogado en Agua, ó avian muerto de muerte, que no pudieron ser quemados sus cuerpos, ó fueron enterrados por algunos tiempo.*"

5. Both Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) and Seler (*op. cit.*, pp. 198-91) differ from this version. In Sahagún, the people wash the cane upon which the images stood; in Seler, the people are washed.

6. Though the entirely serious to refer to the images, in the Spanish text Sahagún writes: "*La cuylla de cada fiesta lavaban a lavar como vasos al rio o a la fuente. . . .*"

7. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) has: "*al agua que pasaba junto a su casa.*"

[X 776 778] and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments. [314 289]

qujntlapíchilitivitze, iuhqujn tlacaocativitz, njmã ic ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo qujmpepechoa:

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in qujnpepechoa, injc qujntlacatilia, qujmizolhuja, yoan mjchiouhtli in quimõtlalilia incampan, qujmõquentia in tetevitl, yoan qujmõaquja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

[765] And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in qujntlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tasalli in qujnchichioaia.

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço axali in impã qujtlaliaia:

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them. [262]

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic qujntlamanjlia: in qujnmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itacuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan qujntlenamaqujlia.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan iuquich in qujntlamanjliaia.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequjntin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

The first was named Tepeuoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maiauel, representing the *magueyes*; the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent. [776]

Injc ce itoca Tepeuoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maiavel: ixiptla metl. Injc macujlli: itoca Milnauatl: inin oqujchtli, ixiptlan coatl:

Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner. [314 289]

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlaqujj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them. [493]

ioatzinco in qujmpeoaltia in qujnnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, qujntlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, qujntlatlaiaoalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, qujncujcatitivi.

8. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Lo cabaqo de cada un monstro tenia dos caras, una de persona, y otra de caballo. . . ."*
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (loc. cit.), "vsaban o vsaron hombres de barro, sembrados con yuyos de amaranto."
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 22, n. 118.
12. In the Robredo ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 239, *otzalli* is explained: *"Hay otro que se llama tecuapilli, es muy verde y dicen unos caballeros llamaron como espadillo hombre que se llama otzalli y otros otros dicen que, y cuando se vendo entre los dichos caballeros la entienden."*

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, never more restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with maguey fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[1] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] maguey plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet tamales. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

in amo mjçe quipepetlaoaia, socmo quimaca in jtilma, iccen quitquilia in tepãmanj. 796[x]

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacoaltiaia, quimocaoaltiaia in vctli. [834] 273]

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalquiça itamachiuhca, çan muchixquich, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixquich, atle chicoviac, atle tlapaniliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac quioallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquia in quitlaxichaquia, vel quichtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica quitetecuja, injc amo cuitlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinja, injc vel tzitzicas. 796[x] 411 [283] [381]

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan icinhcã muchioa. [314]

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacuitlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocuitlaipia: auh in otlacenquiz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanaka, onnevipanolo, oncempanoioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic vivilioa.

Auh injc navilhuitl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, iquich tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc navilticlo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca quioalquetzaia metl, quimjmjna, vncan neci in aquiçue vel quimaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna. 796[x] 526

Auh injc macuilhuitl, çe mjacaviaia in mjmjcque, quimchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjatitl, no achitonn ic conococtzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concuitlalpia ica petonquj, impã contetema, in vncan tocxitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan omjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njmon ie ic quintlatlaxilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia: 796[x] 765

1. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmarde ed.), Vol. III, pp. 341, 399.

I 796 And when they had burned, they there buried their
[766] charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton
[237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from un-
[793] der the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast
[776] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec,
[342 513] nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

I 796 Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All,
224 in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

. auh in omtlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan inezo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiacomjxque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, oonquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vizitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaztatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: moteneoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc moteneoa, çacapan qujxoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: ichoatl in ocoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, oc petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjxotia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjxotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iocotzinco in peoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ic iuhquj, njman iecviloa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in intecuh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn moteneoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujxqujch haxtioa nexxacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, nexxcolo.

Auh in oclatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo ãtlicoa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nehaapanalo:

mec viloa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniaoalo in jxqujchtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoialo,

3. "*Ils sont allés à la grosse*" (*[illegible]*), according to Guillay (loc. cit.).

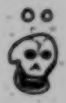

000 **Ninetenth Chapter. Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.**

Injc caxtolli vnnavi capitulo: vncan motecheoa, in ventli in qujchioaia, im impãpa vecanemja ioan injc mortlacoaia in jpampa in mjquja.

441 And his household thereupon began the penances. They let themselves become dirty. No longer did
984 they wash their heads with soap, though they could bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they
585 submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

Auh in jchantlaca: njman iquac compeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzoiotia, aocmo mãmovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, iece, aocmo polaquj: auh nanapoaltica qujmattiuj, in mamovitiuj: injc qujnextia, qujtemachitia, ca ipampa tlamãçeoa in jxiconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jxcauhque, ixujcti caujtl iuh qujchiuhtinemj, in jqujn qujçaqujuh:

441 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform
●765 and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual[1] for their child.

auh intla noce omjqujto, iehoan achto caqujtilo, in puchteca veuetque, intequjuh in teiolmelaoazque, in teiolpachiujtizque, iehoantin qujcalaquja in choqujztli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjqujto, ic qujtemachitia, injc naujlhujtl ilnamjcoz, mjccaoatizque in jchantlaca, injc tlapalolozque, ellaquacolozque, qujmjlloz in inconeuh:

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

auh in oquiz navilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlãca: ic mjtoa, momjccaaltia injc compopolcia, conjilcaoa intlaxcol:

441 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set up an image of him made of pine torches bound
765 together.[2] They made and formed his image; they adorned his likeness. This *evillotl* was only a statue
778 of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

auh intla cana oiaomjc, qujtlaliaia ieujllo, quetujllotia, queujllotlalilia, ixiptla qujchichiujlia, injn Evillotl: çan ocoquavitl in qujtzatzaianaia, çatepan qujcujtlalpia: auh ixujch itech qujtlalia, in amatlatqujtl, in amanechichioalli, in amaxicolli, in amacozcatl, in amaneapantli, qujtlaolololtia, qujtlatepeoaltia qujtlamamaca, injc mochi ioan qujtlatizque: in ie iubquj in oqujcencauhque evillotl, in jquac ie choqujlilozoiaomjc, oc cemjlhujtica, in jeujllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in eostica: auh qujnjquac in ioalnepantla, qujtlatiaia, vmpa in qujtocaiotiaia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tromjpantitlan:

1. *Qujmjlloz*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.
2. *Evillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "*se ponen de ocote, atados unos, con otros.*"

441 his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One
●765 day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And
778 then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in [the place] which they called the god's courtyard, at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

X787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

[851 He who was then born they did not yet bathe;
553] they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

ꝏ intla çã otlalnjc ontomecatl, quijtoznequj: intlacamo oiacanjc, in aço çan occoliuczujc, çan ie no ivi in quichichiuaia ieujlla, iece çan ichan in tlatlaia, amo ioalnepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie onmotzcaloa, onmopilua tonatiuh quijtlatiuia.

Nõ iosn mjtoa: in jquac ypan in ce coatl tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in jquac oiaotlatoloc, oteiaotlalhujloc, in omjto, in otecaqujtoloc iaoiotl, vel iqua ipan vnpeoaia in iaot: vncan iaoqujxoaia, ipan otlatocoia, ipan vnneotemaloia, vnmotema, onmacocuj, onmolinja, eoa, nẽnemj, icxiconana, in jaquich quauhtlocelotl:

ꝏ in aquin ipan otlacat ce oçelotl tonalli, quitoaia, quijpãtiaia, quinemactiaia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, ilhujle, mõcenale muchiuen, mocujltonoz, vncã quiquanj ie: ꝏ intlaca mocellamocoua, in iuhqui itonal in, amo ipan muchioa in jnemac, in jcnopil: çan ichoatl quinitlacalhuja, quinnepopolhuja, mjtoa: iieviian conmocauilia, quinotlãçolmjctilia. Er.

yn aquin ipã otlacat in, aiamo caltiaia, quin ipã caltiaia in Ey maçatl: iquac quitocamaca, ipampa ie mjiccan omjto: in citiouian tonalli, in jquac tlacemilhujtiltia, quiçualittaia in tonalpouhque: ichoatl ic contlatotoquiliaia, vmpa quijtlateçujniaia, vmpa contlachichtiaia, injc cenca quitonalchicacoia.

Auh in quitoquilia, vme mjquiztli, iuh quitoa: amo qualli, atle vacã ca mõcenalli. Auh in ey maçatl: iuh quitoa qualli tonalli, ie omjto: in citiouian muchipa qualcan, vncan ca tlacnopilhujlintli in iuh quitcilhuaia tonalpouhque. Auh in nauj tochtli, in tlanauhcaiotia tonalli, in nauhciopa tlavica, tlacem-

3. Ordoñez: *ibid.*, "*Y si el tal mercader muriese, de su enfermedad.*"
4. Molina. *op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl), *Lado diestro.*
5. The text reads *ce oçelotl*; it is correct in the *Real Palacio* MS.

Thereupon they swiftly filled the pit with the charred remains. There they covered it with earth.

And [this was done with] the noblemen as well as peasants.

When they had burned, they gathered and heaped up the bones, filling a small jar or small bowl [with them]. Upon the bones they laid a green stone. They buried [the bowl] in the home or the tribal temple [of the dead one].[8]

And where they buried [the ashes], they always laid offerings for them.

And when the chiefs and princes died, they laid in their mouths green stones.[9] And those who were only peasants [they provided] only a [common] greenish stone or [a piece of] obsidian. It was said that these became their hearts.

And the chiefs with many things they thus bedizened: their paper adornment which they made [was a] princely paper streamer of either four fathoms' or three fathoms' [length] of papers which they glued one to another. And upon it they hung various feathers—[those of] the heron and the trupial; dark yellow parrot breast feathers; the red arara; quetzal breast feathers; hawk feathers,[10] and yet other feathers.

And some were made [their] companions—the beloved slaves, perchance a score of the men and as many of the women. Thus they said that they were those who cared for their master, and still made chocolate and prepared food for him. And the men they sent as servants, likewise to care for him in the land of the dead.

And when the chief already burned, thereupon they slew the slaves, driving only bird arrows through their throats. They did not burn [with] the chief. Quite separately they buried the slaves, and quite alone the chief burned.[11]

ynjn quitocaiotia ostoc njman ie ic contentiquetza in tecuilli, tlatzacutli vncã conauca. 764

auh yoan in pipilti, yoan in macecaltin,

yn iquac otlatlaque, quipepena quicenquiztia in jmomio, coentõco, xocoxoco quicentiquetza, in omitl ipan contlalia chalchivitl, quitoca ichan icalpoken.

auh in vncan quintoca muchipa quintlamanilia.

Yoan in iqẽ i miquia in tlatoque, yoan in pipilti quintololtiaia chalchivitl. auh in çan macecaltl, çan texoxoctli, anoço iztli, quilmacia iniollo muchioa. 764 766

auh in tlatoque mjec tlamantli, injc quinchichioa, yn amatlatquitl quichioaia tecpanitl anoço nãmatl, anoço iẽmatl, amatl quiçaçaloa. yoan iecb quipipiloa, in nẽpapan ihujtl, aztatl çaquan, xolloel, cuecçali, tziuhtli, cuixihujtl, yoan oc cequi ihujtl. 766

auh cequintin tevicaltl muchioa in tlatlacozizintin, aço cen tecpantli yn oquichtli, no iztqui i cihoatl iuh quitoaia in quenjn oquinocuitlaviquc in jntecujo, yn oc achiviliaia, yn oqu itlaqual chiviliaia, auh in oquichti quintitiulani, çan no iuh quimocuitlaviztque in mjctlan:

auh in iquac ie tlatla tlatoanj, njman ie ic quimomjctia in tlatlacoti, çan totomjtl in quechtlã conaquia, auo yoan tlatlã in tlatoanj, çan nonqua quintoca in tlatlacoti, çan vel yioca tlatla in tlatoanj.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en una ossuario de su casa.*"

9. See Pl. 35. *Quetzalchiuhtl*: more literally, "tender green emblem."

10. *Xolloel*: cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 149. See also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 299, n. 1: "*Vielleicht vielleicht* 'the' or 'some' drawn." *Tzuhtli* and *cuixihuitl* are identified in the same place in the text.

11. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 521 ff.) thus describes the funeral ceremonies for a chief: Neighboring towns were notified of the death, and the ceremonies were scheduled usually for four or five days hence. Chiefs of nearby towns brought gifts (mantles, feathers, slaves). The body of the deceased was wrapped in mantles and adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. A green stone was laid in the mouth, or heart. Hair was cut from the crown of the head of the deceased and kept in a wooden box with a painting of the god (unnamed); a slave was killed in honor of the god. On the ceremony benches were placed the ornaments of the god. A solemn procession, including neighboring chiefs, relatives, friends, wives of the deceased, and dancing priests marched (without beating of drums) to meet other priests at the temple. At the foot of the pyramid, they ignited the pyre of wood and some incense. As the body burned, as many as one or two hundred slaves were sacrificed in the usual manner, and burned in another pyre. These were household slaves (including dwarfs, jesters, and the like) and others presented by visiting dignitaries. Next day, the ashes were gathered, along with the remaining hair previously cut. Friends, relatives, and wives laid offerings before the box. There were four days of such ceremony, after which fifteen or twenty more slaves were sacrificed, since, it was thought, the soul of the deceased had undertaken its travels and was in need of aid. Other slaves—up to a dozen or so—were later killed at the end of twenty, forty, sixty, and eighty days. Yearly thereafter, for four years, quail, rabbits, birds, and butterflies were offered before the box, along with incense, food, wine, flowers, and cones of tobacco. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing.

[p. 44 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

[Second Chapter][1]

775 The second place [where] they went [was] there to Tlalocan. And in Tlalocan all prospered greatly; all enjoyed much wealth. Never did one suffer. Never was there lack of ears of green maize, [nor] squash, squash blossoms, heads of amaranth,[2] green *chilis*, tomatoes, green beans, [nor] the Tagetes flower.

Injc vecan vilos vmpa in tlalocan. auh in tlalocan cenca netlamachtilo, cenca necuiltonolo, aic mihjiovia, aic polivi in elotl, in aiotetl, yn aioxochquilitl, in ouuhtzontli, in chilchotl, i xitomatl, yn exotl, in cempoalxochitl:

And there dwelt the Tlaloca, who were like priests, the long haired ones;[3] who were like the fire priests.

auh vmpa nemj in tlaloque, iuiqui in tlamacazque, pipipanque, iuhque in tlenamacaque çatca:

●76b And there went those who had been struck by thunderbolts, and those who had been submerged in the water, and those who had died in the water. And those who were leprous, or affected by venereal sickness, or by boils, or by the itch, or by sores, or by the gout; and those full of tumors, [those] they took [there], and those swollen by the dropsy,[4] [who] thus died.

auh in vmpa vi ichoantin in viteco, yoã in ilaquilo, yoan in atlan miqui, yoan ichoantin in teococoxque, yoan in nanaoti, yoan in xochicjpj, yoan in xixjioti, yoan in papalani, yoan in coaciui, yoan in popoçaoaliztli quinvica, in teponaoacivi ic miquj.

These, when they died, they did not burn, but only buried. They applied liquid rubber to their faces; and with fish amaranth [paste] they covered their cheeks; and they colored their foreheads blue [with blue papers]. And they gave them [each] a paper lock of hair at the back of the head. Mountain images they placed before them. And they placed paper capes over them, and in their hands they placed for them large staves of wood.

in ichoãn jn, yn iquac miqui, amo tlatla, can qujntocaia, quimixoiviaia, yoan michiouuhtli, incamapan conpachoca, yoan quimjxquixeuiaia, yoan quimahamacuexpaltiaia, tepeiotl, in qujntlalilaia yn imixquac: auh amatl in qujnquequentiaia, yoan inmac qujntequiliaia ontepil quavitl:

775 And so they said that in Tlalocan all is ever green, always in growth, always spring; it is always spring time.

auh qujtoa in tlalocan, muchipa tlacelia, muchipa tlatzmolini, muchipa xopantla tlaxopãmaxanj.

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1. Chapter heading is omitted in the Wolfrat[illegible] version.
2. [illegible]. Sahagún (*Hist. Kapital*, p. 308) has [illegible]. The corresponding Spanish text has [illegible] de Maíz.
3. Sahagún version (Bulmalo ed., II, p. 321): "Cuando [illegible] el cabo o rey, para elegir aquí [illegible] los sacerdotes que llamaban [illegible] y también los viejos del pueblo que llamaban [illegible]; y también los capitanes, soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamaban [illegible] y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y también los ancianos que llamaban [illegible]."
4. Identification of diseases is problematical. Sahagún (loc. cit.) has sickness of the genitals for *aiotzin*, skin disease for *papalani*, infected sores which did not heal for *coaciui*, swelling of the body for *popoçaoaliztli*, and infectious disease for *teponaoacivi*.

[p. 46 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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532
[346]
[766]

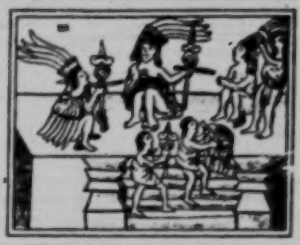

[731]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

[p. 44 (Q)]

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 727 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who had died, who had been speared. There they bugged all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them: they buried them in the earth.

805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlami,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl caualo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] —in which began the new year—also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished: when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

000 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left—

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic tziximacho in tiacaoan in omjcque, in oxiziliosque, vncan qujotlatique in jxqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujonenechionaia, coololoaia, çatepã contecaia, contlaitocaia.

Auh in izquilhujtico in Mexico inic calaqujco in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc murtla tlamatlactiz Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique vme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oçic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic qujoaltoquijlia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã qujvaltoquijlia Tititl no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoquijlia Izcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl mõtenenoa Nemontemj: auh in ontzonquiz macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quavitl eua, vncã xiuhquitzquijlo, vncan peoa in iaçujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã qujoaltoquijlia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoquijlia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoquijlia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: [illegible] qujvaltoquijlia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan izpoliuhque Tiacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã qujvaltoquijlia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoquijlia Tecujlhujtontli, ie vncan in qujzque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in qujzque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic qujzque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jzquilhujtique matlacpoalli oçe, omcaxtolli: auh in tocnjoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: iuh nemachoc in cã oiccen iaque, in ca iccen oiaque, aocmo cepa valmocuepanque, aocmo ceppa imjloch qujchiuaz-

4. The Aztec see chipe Atemoztli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 134.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VII — *The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 25; Sahagún, Bulmolo ed., II, p. 268.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had
at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such
as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The
mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here
too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close
to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all
blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and
tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were 266]
sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were
also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and [412]
chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat
in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house,
some distance away from it, were some great piles of
firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from
the covered channel which enters the city from Chapul-
tepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were
many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had
other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue
was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in
perfect order, which one could look at but could not count,
for there were too many of them. The skulls were by
themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place
there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes
of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, [292]
and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

"Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeualiztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos.

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacultiz, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeualiztli

1 d KL. Tlacaxipeualiztli d 22°
2 e A los captiuos que matauan: arran- e 23
3 f cauallos, los cabellos de la coronilla, y f 24
4 g guardauanlos, los mismos amos, como g 25
5 A por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul A 26
6 b delante del fuego. b 27
7 c Quando lleuauan los señores de los c 28
8 d cativos a sus esclauos al templo: donde d 1°
9 e los auian de matar, lleuauanlos por e 2
10 f los cabellos: y quando los subian, por f 3
11 g las gradas del cu, algunos de los cap- g 4
12 A tiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los A 5
13 b subian arrastrando por los cabellos, b 6
14 c hasta el taxon donde auian de morir. c 7
15 d Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna d 8
16 e piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco e 9
17 f mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos f 10
18 g sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos g 11
19 A cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por A 12
20 b los braços, y vno por la çaluça: y venia b 13°
luego el sacerdote, que le auia de matar, y douale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara.

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mismo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, vna a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujhti, y le lleuaua a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer.

* Antolínez palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outspread. In Webster's Dictionary, the Portuguese palmo is 0.27 m.; in the Encyclopædia Britannica (1946 ed.), the Spanish palmo is 0.229 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal numbering: Cabellos como parte.
2. Marginal numbering: Sacrificio hecho delante del fuego.
3. Marginal numbering: Llegando al taxon.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Granada.[103] It was different, however, in Mexico, where we meet 428
with traces of a decided progress. Not only had descent been changed to the male line,[106] but heirship was limited, to the exclusion of the kin and of the agnates themselves, to the children of the male sex.[107] Whatever personal effects a father left, which were [765]
not offered up in sacrifice at the ceremonies of his funeral,[108] they 764]
were distributed among his male offsprings, and if there were none, they went to his brothers. Females held nothing whatever, beyond [562]
their wearing apparel and some few ornaments for personal use.

The "tlalmilli" itself, at the demise of a father, went to his oldest son, with the obligation to improve it for the benefit of the entire family until the other children had been disposed of by marriage.[109] But the other males could apply to the chief of the calpulli for a "tlalmilli" of their own:[110] the females went with

[103] Gomara, ("Historia de las Indios," Vedia I, p. 201). Garcia ("Origen de los Indios," Lib. IV, cap. 23, p. 247). Piedrahita (Parte I, lib. I, cap. 5, p. 27). Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y Colonisazion de la Nueva-Granada," Cap. XI, p. 201). Ternaux-Compans ("L'ancien Cundinamarca," pp. 21 and 38).

[106] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Gomara (p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIII). Zurita (pp. 12 and 43).

[107] Letter of Motolinia and Diego d'Olarte, to Don Luis de Velasco, Cholula, 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 407). "The daughters did not inherit, it was the principal, wife's son . . . ." Besides, nearly every author designates but a son, or sons,—as the heirs. There is no mention made of daughters at all. In Tlaxcallan, it is also expressly mentioned that the daughters did not inherit (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 348). In general, the position of woman in ancient Mexico was a very inferior one, and but [562]
little above that which it occupies among Indians in general. (Compare the description of Gomara, p. 440. Vedia I, with those of Sahagun. Lib. X, cap. I, p. 1; cap. XIII, pp. 30, 31, 32 and 33. The fact is generally conceded). H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races." Vol. II, Cap. VI, p. 224, etc.

[108] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XLII to XLVIII, pp. 513 to 529). Acosta (Lib. V, cap. VIII, pp. 320, 321 and 322). Gomara (pp. 436 and 437. Vedia, I). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 162 and 163). Clavigero (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX. "They burnt the clothes, arrows, and a portion of the household utensils . . . . .")

[109] Motolinia (Trat. II, cap. V, p. 120), "el cual hacer de testamento no se acostumbraba en esta tierra, sino que dejaban las casas y heredades á sus hijos, y el mayor, si era hombre, lo poseia y tenia cuidado de sus hermanos y hermanas, y yendo los hermanos creciendo y casándose, el hermano mayor partia con ellos segun tenia; y si los hijos eran por casar, entrábanse en la hacienda los mismos hermanos, digo en las heredades, y de ellas mantenian à sus sobrinos y de la otra hacienda." Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 434). "It is customary among tributary classes that the oldest son shall inherit the father's property, real and personal, and shall maintain and support all the brothers and nephews, provided they do what he commands them. The reason why they do not partition the estates is in order not to decrease it through such a partition . . . . ." Simancas M. S. S ("Recueil, etc., etc.," p. 224). "Relative to the calpulalli . . . . the sons mostly inherited."

[110] Zurita (p. 55). "He who has no land applies to the chief of the tribe (calpulli), who, upon the advice of the other old men, assigns to him a tract suitable for his wants, and corresponding to his abilities and to his strength." Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 125).

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

556 555 fully worked utensils and tools and well-tended and productive fields, while an unsuccessful man had a small and miserable equipment. Yet except for the intervention of natural disaster the differential was largely due to the ability of a man and his household to produce with their own hands the symbols of his wealth or to exchange his specialized product for equivalent superior equipment made by others. The entrepreneur and broker had small place in the undertaking of production and its distribution.[1]

● 771 The gods also stimulated good craftsmanship. Every home had an altar, and every act was accomplished through the favor of some deity. Ceremonies to appease these custodians of natural force were of frequent occurrence. Thus the use of symbols, referring to the god whose favor was sought, came to exercise an important influence on design. Since a man does reverence with his most esteemed social attitudes and his best material possessions, each household must try to surpass its previous efforts to honor the gods. The temple equipment, therefore, tended to represent the cream of local craftsmanship.

324 Work in stone, the most durable natural substance available, is a common gauge of human ability. Since the tools last forever, it is possible to compare the technical abilities of peoples over an enormous span of human history. However, for basic equipment like projectile points, axes, grinding stones, and the like, satisfactory forms are reached fairly early and do not change in proportion to cultural advances in other directions. Thus the arrow or the dart points of Aztec times were not technically better than those used by the Middle Culture peoples. However, the technical demands of the sacrificial cult called for a heavy broad-bladed flint

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

economic, social and religious stimulation of their sudden 532
rise to power as a license to convert craftsmanship into great religious art.

The Aztecs did not create their art forms or their religion, 532
which seems to have seeped in from the Mixteca-Puebla 771
country. There the religious manuscripts and the ritualistic 177
concepts hewn in stone and painted on vases were more complex and better drawn than their Aztec equivalents. Unfortunately, as yet, archaeological investigation has not extended to more than a sampling of this potentially rich area of Mexican civilization. However, the Valley people, given the opportunity, eagerly accepted these forms and created their own versions of the parent art.[14] (See Plates 57, top; 58, 59.)

The same elements portrayed in stone monuments ap- 532
peared in smaller objects. Wooden drums and *atl-atls* had relief carvings the equal of the temple ornaments in all except scale. The same divinities were graven in bone against a background of turquoise mosaic. The goldworkers reproduced in miniature the images of the gods and goddesses and the symbols of their cult, carrying out in costume ornament the elements of the ritual in which they were used. Lapidaries succeeded in reducing jade, obsidian, rock crystal, opal, moonstone and amethyst into tiny sculptures which carry the same emotional authority as the grand-scale art. The bulk of first-rate material is enormous. It would seem that the products of tribal craftsmanship had been raised en masse into arts. Virtually overnight a cluster of primitive villages had transformed themselves into great creative centers.[15] (See Plates 45–48; 55, bottom left.)

Painting and drawing did not reflect this transmutation.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER X

RELIGION

A brief survey of the Aztec universe and the unpronounceable gods and goddesses who presided over it and ruled men's fate

AZTEC RELIGION, in purpose and practice, tried to attract those natural forces which are favorable to human existence and repulse those which are harmful. Ethical control and spiritual perfection fell within the province of social custom, so that the moral goals of our own religion were largely absent; the Aztec religion had no Savior of mankind, no heaven or hell to reward or punish the consequence of human behavior.[1]

The Aztecs and their forebears believed that the forces of nature acted for good or evil very much as does mankind, so that it was logical for them to personalize the elements as gods or goddesses. The process of worship entailed offering presents, uttering prayers and performing symbolic acts to induce the divine powers to operate for the public benefit. The tribal intellect was mobilized, as it were, to sort out the processes of nature, find out how they acted and devise magical procedures or rituals to win them to action favorable to man.

Nature operates in series of recurrences which give the effect of rhythms. Birth, maturity and death follow relent-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

771 lessly in human life; night succeeds day; the stations of the year rotate endlessly through spring, summer, fall and winter; the planets move in eternal sequence through the sky. Thus to discover what those rhythms were and follow their complicated but regular beat would, in Aztec philosophy, ensure the happy survival of the community. There was little thought of the perfection of the individual when vast powers hovered close, ready to destroy the whole tribe if it ceased its vigilant watch on nature. Thus rhythm and form become an essential part of worship and found their outlet in ritual and religion, art, philosophy and science.

The growth of civilization, with the resultant ramification of social function and material equipment, led likewise to a more complex perception of the universe, expressed in the stratification of gods and goddesses and a specialization of their functions. This result led to a more intense observance of ritual, which consumed a great part of the material and intellectual product of the tribe.

Aztec religion was an outgrowth of the recognition and fear of natural forces and the attempt to constrain them. The process by which man defines these forces and grades them in order of importance is as much a part of the evolution of culture as art, mechanics or social organization. The Aztecs developed a conception of the relationship of the supernatural forces to the universe that, given the precision of our method of thought, could have been developed into an imposing philosophy.

773 According to Aztec belief, the world passed through four
776 or five ages, or Suns. Details differ, but the record on the great Calendar Stone may be taken as the official version in Tenochtitlan. The first era, Four Ocelot, had Tezcatlipoca

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

They had to overcome several hazards before they could 775
take up their life there, so they were equipped with charms and gifts for the journey, which took the sacred number of four days. The wayfarer had to travel between two mountains which threatened to crush him, avoid first a snake and then a monstrous alligator, cross eight deserts, surmount eight hills and endure a freezing wind which hurled stones and obsidian knives upon him. Then he reached a broad river which he crossed on the back of a little red dog, sometimes included in the grave furniture for the purpose. Finally arriving at his destination, the traveler offered gifts to the Lord of the Dead, who assigned him to one of nine different regions. Some versions make the dead spend a probationary period of four years in the nine hells before they take up their life in Mictlan, which was, like the Greek Hades, devoid of moral significance.*

The Aztecs, as we have said, conceived of their universe 771
as extending horizontally outward and vertically upward 772
and downward. The world, as horizontally divided, implied the association of divine powers with the phenomena of geography and climate. This significance of direction is a familiar religious concept. The vertical arrangement of the heavens had rather more to do with rank and order than with a realization of natural phenomena. The hierarchy of the Christian saints, with its implicit recognition of position and authority, approaches closely to the point of view with which the Aztec peoples regarded their gods. Aztec and ritualized Christian worship have much the same attitude toward distinctions between philosophy and practice, and between the point of view of the instructed theologian and the humble worshipers.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

war or sacrifice, childbirth or drowning, passed upon death 776
to their domain. (See Plate 55, bottom left.)

This incomplete description of the gods and goddesses who thronged the Aztec pantheon gives an idea of their variety of purpose and character, outlined more fully in Table X. For an individual to try to do honor to so many gods could result in an insupportable situation. Yet even the modern Navajos pass a third of their time in ceremonial activity, and they do not have half the economic wealth of the Aztec peoples. While the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do the most ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.

The priests gave guidance and prescribed the ceremonies, 793
and the worshipers gave heed to those especial divinities upon 776
whose patronage their life directly depended, much as a de- 771
vout Catholic selects certain saints for veneration above the list of those whose days are recorded on the calendar. In the same way the Aztec tribal god has his counterpart in the patron saint of country, town or craft. The Aztec, however, thought of his gods as having strong material powers, but their spiritual aspect counted little with him.

The ritual of Aztec religion was as complex as the theol- 796
ogy. The organization of the priesthood followed the pyramided structure of the social order, but the ceremonies were worked out in accordance with the ritualistic requirements of the calendar and the seasons. In the following chapter we shall describe the priesthood, the ceremonies and also the Aztec methods of counting, recording and using time.

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CHAPTER XI

RITUAL

In which are Summarized the Nature of the Religious Organization, the Feasts, and the Relationship between Ritual, Calendar and Writing

RELIGION was a general group activity necessary for the social and economic safekeeping of the tribe, and the priesthood was a highly important force in the direction of the communal life. In the early simple societies there were two executive chiefs, one for war and one for religious affairs. We do not know whether the priesthood comprised laymen who performed the ritual acts of specific ceremonies or whether it was an established group whose whole life was devoted to religious ends. It is probable that selected individuals originally carried out the religious duties of the tribe in addition to their civil obligations, but as Aztec culture became more elaborate, the complexity of their functions molded them into a body of permanent officials.[1]

In Tenochtitlan the Chief of Men and the Snake Woman had double duties in respect to civil and religious affairs, the former actively leading the services and the latter supervising the temples, the form of the rites and the internal affairs of the priesthood. Two high priests directed cult activities in honor of the War God, Huitzilopochtli, and the Rain God, Tlaloc, the chief divinities worshiped in this city. They

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the 764
Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a de- 771
tailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religious rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli 618
had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, 346
within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of [782]
the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, *etc.*), we have also the testimony of *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 42 and 43, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 80), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturae*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 146).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

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as the presiding god, who, at the end, transformed himself 773
into the sun, while jaguars ate up the men and giants who 776
then populated the earth. Quetzalcoatl was the divine ruler of the second era, Four Wind, at the expiration of which hurricanes destroyed the world and men were turned into monkeys. The Rain God, Tlaloc, gave the world light in the third epoch, Four Rain, brought to a close by a fiery rain. Chalchihuitlicue,* "Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt," was a Water Goddess who presided appropriately over the fourth Sun, Four Water, wherein a flood came, transforming men into fish. Our present age, Four Earthquake, is under the control of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, and it will be destroyed, in time, by earthquakes.[2] (See Plate 52.)

While the versions vary from place to place, we seem to 773
have a recapitulation of the great disasters from flood, volcanic eruption, hurricanes and earthquakes that beset the communities of ancient Mexico. Also there is a reflection of the order in which the gods attained prominence in the local worship. In the history of the Mexican tribes there are references to struggles within single towns between the devotees of two cults, as to which would have the mastery.[3]

The universe itself was conceived in a religious rather than 772
a geographic sense and was divided horizontally and verti- 776
cally into areas of religious significance. The horizontal uni- 823
verse, possibly the older concept, recognized five directions, the four cardinal points and the center. The Fire God, old and fundamental in Mexican religion, controlled the central zone. The east was assigned to the Rain God, Tlaloc, and the Cloud God, Mixcoatl (Cloud Snake), and was a region of abundance. In this idea geography was combined with

*Chal-chee-we'et-le-kway.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

772 ritual, since the intensely fertile Vera Cruz coast plain is the
776 actual source of the seasonal rains caused by the condensa-
823 tion of warm air when the Gulf of Mexico is exposed to the chill winds of the Central Plateau. The south was considered evil, possibly because of the arid zones south of Morelos and Puebla, but had as presiding deities gods associated with spring and flowers, Xipe (the Flayed One) and Macuilxochitl* (Five Flower). The west, however, had a favorable significance, being the home of the planet Venus, the evening star, which was associated and even identified with Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), the God of Knowledge. The north was a place gloomy and awful, presided over by Mictlantecuhtli† (Lord of the Dead), who, in one of those contradictions so frequent in Mexican theology, was sometimes connected with the south as well.[4] (See end papers.)

772 The vertical world was divided into heavens and hells
776 which had no moral significance, being merely overworlds
775 and underworlds. The number of heavens varied up to thirteen and represented the dwelling places of the gods, according to their rank in the hierarchy, the original creator living in the topmost heaven, and so on down the scale. One of these heavens belonged to Tlaloc, who received those who died by drowning, lightning or other causes connected with water. One school of thought divided the heavens into east
[821] and west, according to the passage of the sun. The east was the home of warriors, whose death in battle or sacrifice nourished the sun, and the west the home of women who died in childbirth, thus sacrificing themselves in the bearing of potential warriors.[8] (See Plate 57, bottom right.)

775 The rest of the dead passed to Mictlan, the underworld.

*Ma-kweel-tho'-chitl. †Meek-tla'n-tay-coot-li.

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*Chal-chee-we'et-le-kway.

776
796 surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the borders of warring people. Those who had taken these pris-
727 oners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him, they brought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

776 Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated. And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and burnt. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges. He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Uitznauac.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whose are the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the bone of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

izcmoaqua, yn iocmoc omiqua, quiqualcoaia yn jmalhoin, yn jtelaxiuqa, in maltequjhoua, muchioaia: njcan quiqpiaia, yn calpinqua, in cacalpinqua.

Auh intla aca tlaiehi, intla tlacholohi, ypan tlacaquetzaia, motlacacoujaia, quixiptlaiotiaia, quixiptlatiaia:

in tlatlacoti, vincan miquja, yn jquac ilhujqujxtilloia.

Auh yn jnechichinal: tzonmacpale istlapaloatzale, tlaistlapaloatzalujlli, tlaistlapalvilli, yhujtzoncale, quachichiqujle, vitonquj yn jtlamamal, vitoncatlamamale, ypan icac, tomalopanjtl, quetzaltzoain, quetzaltzontecomaio, quetzaltzontecome, quetzaltzontecomio, teotlapaltica motzinjlpi, motzinapa, ytzalocac, tomalocaqua.

Jnic caxtolli capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa yn teotl, yn jueca Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vitznauac, teotl catca, yn jtech tlamjloia, in piqujlloia, qujtocaia ca ichoatl imactia, in cocaiutl, in tecoanotzalistli, in tetlacamatilistli, in tetlatlaqualtilistli: yiuatijan muchioaia yn jmocentlalilia, yn jmocencqujxtiliz teoioloque, tachi vicoia, vmpa macuimachoia, necujtlaujloia yn jxipda.

Auh no qujtocaia, yntlacamo mavizcilo, yn juhqujma cocanotzalo, tlavelcuja: tecochpa, anoço tecochizpan teaoaia, quilhujaia, yn aquin quitemjquj. Jn tehoatl tlayca yn amo tinechnavizmati; njmitztlalcahuia: auh ie ne njcmati, in tlein mopan njcchioaz.

Auh intla cenca moçuma, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa centli qujtetolohtia, in atl, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aquj yn mjtna teuqua, miecpa mococua: ynjc qujtolinja, melcima, ycopac mjlacatzoa in atl: meltepetlamja in jquac tlaqua: auh yntla nenemj motepetlamja, motecujnja, motlavitecquj.

Auh ynjc ilhujqujxtilloia: yn aquin teuqua, achtopa quichioaia, teumjmilli, yiomjio in teotl catca: çan tlacatl, teupiaquj calpole, cen molicpiol ynjc hujviiac, vel tetomacoac, mjmjltic.

Auh yn aiamo nemamaco, ec achtopa tlatlaqualo, atlioa, tlacoano: auh yn otlathujc conjtitocpinja, yn omacatl conmjctia: ojman ic nemamaco, netlatlapanjlo, nenezelhujlo, in teumjmjlli:

iquac quaqualo, iuhquin ic tetzoiotiloia, tetlacaquitilo, tetlalhujlo, temolcoaltilo: ca yn aquique macoia, yn iquac ie ilhujohquiçaz, macujtlaxcolistlaoaia, mopopoioaia, ypampa ca omtlaxtlaoaia.

Jn inechichinal catca: ilvitzoncale, quauhtzoncale, yoli

74. Probably the temple of Uitznauac (Uitznauac calmecac) is meant. *Cf. Seler: Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 3, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 222). The name Uitznauac suggests various other meanings—the south, the herrie or part of the city named Uitznauac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 215, 221, 222, 229, and also *Seler: op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

776 white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

cueçalvitonquj yn jtlamamal, ytonalopan ipan icac, totonaloio yn jmaneapan, totonaloio yn jchimal, tlauhio yiellotzpil; xopilcuaque, yamamaxtli, ximtile, cuiole, itonalocac.

Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlaloca. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

776 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water,

796 food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants,

[273] scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their rattle-beards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Jnic castolli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn teutl, yn itoca catca opuchtli: yn qujmotzutiaia ic uecauh, nican tlaca.

Inin opuchtli, ipan mizcoaia, tlaloc: atlaca intzuh catca, qujmotzutiaia.

Juh qujtoaia, ca ishoatl itlatzintli, ytlaxeztli, qujxxti, qujtzittiti in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjnaacachalli, yn aviotli, tzmoaztli.

Auh yn iquac illujqujxtililoia, atl, tlaqualli, vetli, in vendi muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xuchitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, qujtzepeviliaia, ic qujnanamiquja: chicaoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl qujchaiaviliaia: iuhqujn tecivitl povia: no yoã qujcujcatiaia, yn ivevioouan, yn jlamaioouan, calpoleque.

Jn jnechichioal catca: amacale, tlaõçalli, tlaolaltilli, artatzoue, quetzalmjjaoaio, amamaxtle, amaneapanale, tonaloio.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

He was the god of the sea-shore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

776 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his

753 attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

776 Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would

796 thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All hastened pursuing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

Jnic caxtolli vmey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca, xipe totec.

Anaxtl itzuh: tzapotecca in vel intzuh catca,

yn itequiuh pouja, yn ixcoian ytlachioal, yn inetzacavil: ic temodaia, ic tezozaia, ishoatl qujtemacaia, in totomonjlintli, papalanilintli, çaçaoatilintli, ixcuculintli, inchichitinalintli, intenpipixaqujlintli, intzmaçaliciuintli, intzitzuhpachinilintli, intzacapachiuilintli, intzacacivintli, intzotolicivintli, intzacayciuintli.

Jn aquja ipan muchioaia, yn coculintli tequjchti, yuicpa monestitiaia, yujcpa mjtoaia: ynjc ommaqujx yn jiouaio, ynjc itlan aquia, yn jquac illujqujxtililo: motzcaiotia, tlacaxipeualintli:

tlapainaltiaia, tztocaia, mjequjotin momanaia, muchinti tonictiuj, chichiiaoztiuj, chichipic-tiuj, tzotzotlantiuj in

79. *Cf. Sahagún, Historia general,* Vol. II, p. 380 (*tecpanquauhchiquilli*).

80. *Cf. Seler (Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* Vol. II, p. 931) for explanation of *manta del sol.*

81. ". . . *un dardo de tres puntas que se llama mizcacachalli.*"—*Sahagún, op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: ". . . *es como flaga, aunque no tiene, sino tres puntas,* [marginal insertion, partly missing: *(of) triangulo (or) tres tridentes*] *con que hace, a los peces; y también es el matan asni.*"

82. Sounding in the boat, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the term *remo,* oar, which is technically inaccurate.

83. *Seler (Translation of the Aubin Collection,* p. 105) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.,* Lib. III, cap. 15) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Tenochtitlan district. A clear discussion of the "*xepitzac y tlapanaca*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general,* Vol. III, p. 133. See also note 88.

84. Meaning problematical.

776
796 goods)." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among
[565] those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food
[595] and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iccan, quinquetza: mòch tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech quinttalilia: ipã mjtoniaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahlamj yn jncuje, ynje momiquinquequelos.

Auh intla aca cittoc, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in ielizmatquj, yn jne, yn iollo: quijquixtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achica, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no quintlelia, quinmotlaccioaotiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, izquatzo, ixquatzoae, quetzallalpile, teucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomastle, tzitzile, oiocale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlaçaia ymac omoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

● [773] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and batheth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjxcoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, quimotetutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacotechjuhque, ytech mopouia:

iuh quitoaia, ca iehoatl achto quinmachti, quimititi, in petlachioalitli, yn icpalchioalitli:

iehoatl axcaoa cococaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlanextile, tlatzintila, tlapeoaltile.

Joan iuh quitoaia ca iehoatl quipeoaltia, quiquixtia, in toli in tolpitzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, xitapili, in tolquiutl, in tolcapotl, yn jtztoli, xonali:

yoan yn jquac illujuhquiçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan quijtztzelea, tepan quipixna, yn aoachili, cenca tlaihelanjlilia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quixcoaia, tlacotli, in quimictiaia ixtiuhtica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "esta cubierta con una manta azul, y sobre el azul, una red negra: de manera que azul, se parecye, por las mallas de la red."

111. The *tlachtlauhqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

[618] 112. *Calpulli*—clan or gens, which contained, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed to common lands among members (Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 83, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve sumario relativo*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its membership.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "*Napan calizco de juncias: que llaman tolcuetli.*"

114. *Cf.* Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

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Del Principio de los Dioses

HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD BOOK

NICAN PEOA INJC EY AMOSTLI.

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First Chapter, in which it is told how the gods had their beginning.

How the gods had their beginning and where they began is not well known. But this is plain, [that] there at Teotihuacan, as they say, in times past, when yet there was darkness, there all the gods gathered themselves together, and they debated who would bear the burden,[1] who would carry on his back—would become—the sun. (This hath already been told elsewhere.) And when the sun came to arise, then all [the gods] died that the sun might come into being.[2] None remained who had not perished (as hath been told). And thus the ancient ones thought it to be.

Injc ce capitulo, vncan mjtoa jn quenjn otzintique in teteuh.

In quenjn tzintique in teteuh in canpa tzintique, amo vel mzcho, ca ie iehoatl in panj ca in vncan teotioacan, qujtoa in canjn yn iqujn, in oc iovaian vncan mocentlalique, in ixqujchtin teteu, yoan mononotzque, in aqujn tlatlquiz, in aqujn tlamamaz, in aqujn tonatiuh iez, (Ynjn ca ie omjto cececnj,) auh in iquac in omomanaco tonatiuh, niman muchintin vncan mjcque, inca muzcalti in tonatiuh: aiac mocauh in macamo mjc (in oiuh mjto). auh in juh qujmatia veveteque.

TO VITZILOPOCHTLI the Mexicans paid great honor.

The following they believed of his beginning, his origin. At Coatepec, near Tollan, there always had dwelt and lived a woman named Coatl icue,[3] mother of the Centzonuitznaua. And their elder sister was named Coyolxauhqui.

And this Coatl icue performed penances there; she swept; she was charged with the sweeping. Thus

JN VITZILOPOCHTLI, in cenca qujmavizztiliaia in Mexica.

Yvin in qujmatia, in itzintiliz, in ipeoaliz, ca in coatepec, yvjcpa in tullan, cemilhujtl quitztica, vmpa nenca cihoatl, itoca Coatl icue: innan centzonuitznaoa. auh inveltiuh, itoca, Coiolxauh.

auh in iehoatl coatl icue, vncan tlamaceoaia, tlachpanaia, quimocuitlaviaia, in tlachpanalli. Injc tlama-

1. *Tlatlquiz* (here probably a copyist's error) appears as *tlaquiz* in the corresponding passage in the *Real Palacio* MS. Cf. *loqui. supra.* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

2. The story appears later in Sahagún's *Historia* (Book VII). In simple terms, the most usual version is told in Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 13ff. An interesting variant appears in Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigo Franco, 1723), pp. 77-8; and another in "La leyenda de los soles" (in *Códice Chimalpopoca*; Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), pp. 121f.

3. Mother of the gods—that is, of the sun (Huitzilopochtli), moon (Copolnahqui), and stars (Centzonuitznaua)—according to Caso (*op. cit.*, pp. 26-9. He states: "*Yo hemos visto ahora como nace de ella Huitzilopochtli en el nacimiento en que los astrólogos, explicándolo por la Luna, pretendían mostrarla porque no creen en el prodigio de la concepción divina, y como el Sol-Huitzilopochtli nace de su vientre armado del rayo de luz y mata a la Luna y a las estrellas.*"

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did she do penance at Coatepetl. And once, as she swept, feathers, as it were, a ball of feathers, descended upon her. Then Coatl icue snatched it up and placed it in her bosom. And when she had swept, [when] she came to take the feather [ball] which she had placed in her bosom,[4] she found nothing. Thereupon Coatl icue conceived.[5]

And when the Centzonuitznaua saw that their mother was already with child, they were very wrathful. They said: "Who brought this about? Who hath made her heavy with child? She hath dishonored and shamed us!"

And their elder sister, Coyolxauhqui, said to them: "My elder brothers, she hath affronted us; we must slay our mother, the wicked one who is already with child. Who is the cause of what is in her womb?"

And when Coatl icue learned of this,[6] she was sorely afraid and deeply saddened. And her child, who was in her womb, comforted her. He spoke and said to her: "Have no fear; already I know [what I shall do]."

When Coatl icue heard the words of her son, she was much consoled by them and her heart was eased of what had so terrified her.

And upon this, when the Centzonuitznaua had assembled for their deliberations, when they had made up their minds that indeed they would slay their mother because verily she had brought dishonor, much did they harden themselves; they were exceeding wroth. As if bursting her heart, Coyolxauhqui greatly incited and aroused the anger of her elder brothers, that they might slay their mother. And the Centzonuitznaua thereupon arrayed and prepared themselves for war.

And these Centzonuitznaua were like seasoned warriors. They wound and twisted [their hair]; they bound their hair about their heads [in warrior array].

And [there was] one named Quauitl icac, who was a traitor; that which the Centzonuitznaua said, he then told and brought as news to Uitzilopochtli.

And Uitzilopochtli said to Quauitl icac: "Watch well what they do, my dear uncle, and pay careful heed; for already I know [what I shall do]."

And finally, when [the Centzonuitznaua] were determined and of one mind in their deliberations

cenaia, in coatepec. auh ceppa in iquac tlachpanaia, in coatl icue ipan oaltemoc ihujtl, iuhqujn ihujtelolotli, njman concujtiuetz in Coatl icue: ixillan contlali, auh in ontlachpan njman cõcuizquja yn ivitl, in ixillan oqujtlalica aoc tle qujttac, njman ic otztic in Coatl icue.

auh in oqujttaque in centzonvitznaoa in jnnan ie otztli, cenca qualanque qujtoque ac oq'chivili y? aqujn ocotzti? techavilq'xtia, techpinauhtia.

auh in jnveltiuh in Coiolxauh: quimjlvi noqujchtioan techavilqujxtia çan ticmjctia in tonan, in tlauelilloc in ie otztli: ca oqujchivili in itic ca.

auh in oqujma Coatl icue: cenca momauhti, cenca motequipacho. auh in jconeuh in jtic catca qujiollaliaia, quioalnotzaia quilhujaia, maca ximomauhti ie ne njcmati,

in oqujcac in Coatl icue, in itlatol in jconeuh, cenca ic moiollali, motlali yn jiollo, iuhquin juhcan tlama.

auh in ie iuhq', in centzonvitznaoa in oqujcẽtlalique in jntlatol, in oqujçemjtoq̃ içа qujmictizque in jnnan, iehica ca otlapinauhti, çа çenca muchicaoaia, cenca qualanja, iuhquj in qujçaia in jiollo, in Coiolxauhquj, cenca qujnioleoaia, qujniollococoltiaia in joqujchtioa, in macuele miquj in jnnan. auh in cẽtzonvitznaoa, njman ie ic mocẽcaoa, moiaochichioa.

auh in iehoantin centzonvitznaoa, iuhq'n tequjoaque catca tlacujaia, tlaquauicujaia, quiquauicujaia in jntzon, in jnquatzon.

auh ce itoca Quavitl icac, necoc qujtlalitinenca in itlatol, in tlein qujtooaia centzonvitznaoa, njman conilhujaia, connonotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in vitzilobuchtli: quioalilhujaia in Quavitl icac: cenca tleticmomachitia notlatzine, vel xonmotlacaqujlti ic ne njcmati.

auh in ie iuhquj in iequene oqujcemjtoque, in ocentetix in jntlatol, injc quimjctizque, injc quitlatla-

4. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has "*en el seno juntó a la barriga.*"
5. Quetzalcoatl is, in some stories, also said to have been miraculously born. See Caso (*op. cit.*, p. 27), which, however, refers to a virgin birth.
6. Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 43) says that one of Coatl icue's sons told her of the plot to kill her.

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that they would put to death and dispose of their mother, they thereupon set forth. Coyolxauhqui led them. Much did they exert and drive themselves. They were in war array, which was distributed [among them]; all put in place their paper array, the paper crowns,[7] their nettles,[8] painted paper streamers, and they bound bells to the calves of their legs. These bells were called *oyoalli*. And their darts [had] barbed points.

Thereupon they set forth; they went in order, in columns, in armed display, moving with deliberation. Coyolxauhqui led them.

And Quauitl icac thereupon hastened to run up [the hill], that he might warn Uitzilopochtli. He said: "Already they are coming."

Then Uitzilopochtli spoke: "Watch well where they come."

Thereupon Quauitl icac said to him: "Already they are at Tzompantitlan."

Again Uitzilopochtli addressed him: "Where now do they come?"

Then [Quauitl icac] said to him: "Already they are at Coaxalpan."

Once more Uitzilopochtli called out to Quauitl icac: "See where they now come."

Then [this one] said to him: "Already they are at Apetlac."

Once again [Uitzilopochtli] spoke forth to him: "Where now do they come?"

Then Quauitl icac answered him: "Already they have come half way[9] up the slope of the mountain."

And Uitzilopochtli again spoke forth to Quauitl icac; he said: "Watch where they now come."

Then Quauitl icac said unto him: "At last they are coming up here; at last they reach here. Coyolxauhqui cometh ahead of them."

And Uitzilopochtli then burst forth, born.[10]

Then his array he brought forth with him—his shield [named] *teuecuelli*,[11] and his darts, and his dart thrower, all blue, named *xiuatlatl*. And in di-

tizque in jnnan, njman ie ic vi teiacana in Coiolxauhquj, vel muchichicaoa, mocecenquetza, moiaochichiuhque, motlamamacaque, intech quitlalique in jmamatlatquj, in anecuiotl, intzitzicaz, amatitech pipilcac, tlacujlolli, yoan in coiolli incotztitech qujilpique, injn coiolli mjtoaia oiovalli, yoan in jnmiuh tlatzontectli,

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niman ie ic vi, tetecpantivi, tlatlamantitivi, tlaieiecotivj, momamātivi, teiacana in Coiolxauhquj.

auh in Quavitl icac, njman ie ic motlalotitleco, in qujnonotzaz in Vitzilobuchtli quilhuj ca ie vitze,

njman qujto in Vitzilobuchtli, vel xontlachie can ie vitze

njman ie ic conilhuja in Quavitl icac: ca ie tzonpantitlan,

ie no ceppa quioalilhuja in Vitzilobuchtli, cā ie vitze,

njman conilhui ca ie coaxalpan vitze,

ie no ceppa quioalilhuj in Vitzilobuchtli in Quavitl icac: tla xontlachie can ie vitze,

njman ic conilhui ca ie apetlac,

ie no ceppa quioalilhui, can ie vitze,

njman conilhuj in Quavitl icac: ca ie tlatlacapan iativitze.

Auh in vitzilobuchtli: ie no ceppa quioalilhuj, in Quavitl icac. quilhuj tla xontlachia can ie vitze.

njman jc conilhuj in Quavitl icac, ca iequene oalpanvetzi, iequene oalaci teiacantivitz in Coiolxauhquj.

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman jc oallacat,

njman itlatquj oalietia in ichimal, tevevelli, yoan in jmiuh, yoan yiatlauh xoxoctic, mjtoa xioatlatl, yoan icxitlan tlatlaan, ic ommichiuh yn iconecujtl, mjtoaia

7. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 69.

8. See Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 99, where medical properties of *xoxocotzli* are mentioned.

9. *Tlalacapan*: on use of *tlaca* in composition, see Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II (1946), p. 171.

All the place names given here (Tzompantitlan, etc.) are translated in Eduard Seler's *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (ed. Cecilie Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwaedtner, 1927), p. 256. In the original myth, possibly they were place names, which, in Nahuatl, later came to be names of places around the Teopan of Huitzilopochtli, used perhaps to recall the original account. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed., I, 181, and II, 382), where Apetlac and Coaxalpan are referred to not as towns but as places about the temple.

10. See Pl. 1.

11. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 256, n. 1: "*Schild mit Bällen von zusammengerollten Zweigen.*"

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agonal stripes[12] was his face painted, with his child's offal, called his child's painting. He was pasted with feathers about his forehead and about his ears. And on his one thin foot, his left, he had the sole pasted with feathers, and he had stained both of his thighs with blue mineral earth, and both upper arms.

And one named Tochancalqui laid fire to the serpent *xiuhcoatl*[13] at the command of Uitzilopochtli.

Then with it he pierced Coyolxauhqui, and then he quickly struck off her head. It came to rest there on the slope of Coatepetl.[14] And her body went falling below; it went crashing in pieces; in various places her arms, her legs, and her body kept falling.

And Uitzilopochtli then arose and pursued the Centzonuitznaua, and went among them, and pounced upon them, and scattered them from the top of Coatepetl.

And when he had pursued them to the base, the foot [of the mountain], he took after them and gave them chase around the skirts of Coatepetl. Four times he pursued and followed them around. In vain they went about doing what they might against him; in vain they stood against him, striking about with their shields.[14a] No more could they do, no more could they achieve; neither could they take refuge. Uitzilopochtli quite overpowered them; he made them turn tail; he destroyed them in battle. He completely bested and ill-used them.

And not even now did he let them alone. He kept on. Much did they [then] importune him. They said to him: "Let this be enough!"

But Uitzilopochtli would not content himself with this. With force he hurled himself against them and took after them. And only very few fled his presence and escaped his hands. They went toward a haven to the south.[15] For indeed to that place these Centzonuitznaua[16] journeyed—the few who escaped the hands of Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had slain them, when he had spent his wrath, he took from them their vestments, their adornment, their paper crowns ornamented with feathers. He arrayed himself with these and took

ipilnechiual, moquaxpotonj, izquac, yuan inanacaztlan, auh ce pitzaoac in jcxi yiopochcopa, quijpotonj in jxocpal, yoan quijtzaoaoan in jmetz vmezti. yoan vmezti in jacol.

auh ce itoca Tochancalquj contlati in xjuhcoatl, quioalnaoati in Vitzilobuchtli:

njman jc quixil in Coiolxauhquj: auh njman quechcotontivetz, in itzontecon vmpa ommocauh in jtenpa coatepetl. auh in itlac tlatzintlan vetzico tetezititivetz, cececcan veuetz in jma, in jcxi, yoan itlac.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman ic oaleoa, quijnoaltoca intlan aquj, quijnoaltemovia, q'noaltepeoa in centzonvitznaoa, in Coatepetl icpac.

auh in oquijmazitico in tlalchi, in tlatzintlan, niman ic ic quijntoca, quijniaiaoalochti in Coatepetl, nappa in q'ntlatlaiaoalochti, in qui iaiaoalochti, oc nen quioaloiuhtivia oc nē quioaloiouiaia, oalmochimalvitectiuia, aoc tle vel quichiuhque, aoc tle vel axque, aocmo vel quitzacuilique, çan quijncemeviti in Vitzilobuchtli: quijncentepotzzi, vel quijnpopolo, vel quimixtlati, vel quijnpoctlantili.

auh in ça aocmo vel quijncaoaia, in ovel in cēntech mopilo, cenca quitlatlauhtiaia, quilhujaia ma izquich.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: amo ic moiolcevi, ca cenca intech motlapalo in quijntocac. auh ça quezquitcon in ixpanpa coaque, in imacpa quizque vmpa itztiaque in vitztlanpa, ichica ca vmpa itztiaque, inin centzonvicnaoa, in oquizquijntin in inastitlanpa quizque in Vitzilobuchtli:

auh in ie iuhquj in oquijnmjcti, in oyiellelquiz quijncuili in jntlatquj, in jnnechichiual in anquiotl,

12. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Uno cuchillo, hecho de una, que es llamado xiuhcoatl.*"

14. See Pl. 2.

14a. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 257) translates this passage thus: "*vergeblich rannte sie ihn an mit ihren Rundschilden, vergeblich rannten sie ihr Schilden an, schlugen sie (nur ähnlich gegen ihn) auf ihre Schilde, sie konnten nichts mehr machen, nichts mehr tun, konnten sich nicht mehr gegen ihn verteidigen.*"

15. Following *xiuhcoapa*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *yn in centzonuitznaua xiuhcoapa*. The passage would then read: "This place is known as Uitzilopochtli, because indeed there these Centzonuitznaua journeyed. . . . ."

16. *Centzonuitznaua*: probably *centzonuitznaua* is intended.

[them] for himself; he assumed [them] as his due, as if taking the insignia to himself.

And Uitzilopochtli was also known as an omen of evil; because from only a feather which fell, his mother Coatl icue conceived. For no one came forth as his father.

This one the Mexicans cherished, by making offerings to him, and by honoring and serving him. And Uitzilopochtli rewarded him [who did so].[17] And this veneration was taken from there, at Coatepec, just as had been done in days of yore.[18]

Enough [of this].

qujmotlatquiti, qujmaxcati, qujmotonalti, iubq'n qujmotlavizti. 773

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: no mjtoaia tetzavitl, iehica ca çan jvitl, in temoc injc otztic in jnan in coacue: caiac nex in ita. 539

Jehoatl in oqujpiaia in mexica injc otlamanitiaia, inic oqujmaviztiliaia, oquitlaecoltiaia, ioan in itech muchioaia in Vitzilobuchtli. auh in iehoatl in tlamaviztililiztli ocatca, ca vmpa tlaãtli in Coatepec, in juh muchivi ca ie uecauh

ie izquijch.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how they did honor to Uitzilopochtli and thus worshipped him as a god.

And when the body of Uitzilopochtli was shapen, when they gave it form upon their feast day of Panquetzaliztli, they made it of a dough of amaranth, of fish amaranth seed, which is a spiny herb. They ground it; they pulverized it well; they crushed it into a powder and placed it in earthen vessels, as if it were an unguent—as if it were feather down. They rid it of *chicalotl* seeds—they cast them aside as useless; they threw away all the *petzicatl* [bird] seed,[19] the black-seeded amaranth, and the siftings and the corrupted material, and other small rubbish. And this they cast out and tossed away.

And when the amaranth seed dough was made, [it was] like pine [resin], like cooked *maguey*, like an unguent.

And upon the next day the body of Uitzilopochtli died.

And he who slew him [was] the [priest known as] Quetzalcoatl.[20] And [that] with which he slew him was a dart, pointed with flint, which he shot into his heart.

INJC VME PARRAPHO vncan moteneoa in quenjn qujmaviztiliaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc qujmoteutiaia. 796

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: iñ iquac tlacatia in jnacaio in qujtlacatiliaia injlhujuh ipan. in iquac panquetzaliztli, in quichioaia tzoalli, michiõauhtzoalli, ie in chicalotl, qujtecia, vel quicuechoaia, quicuechtiliaia, caxtlaliaia, caxtiliaia, iuhqujn axjn, iuhquin ivitl, qujtlaçaia in chicalotl, vel quitlacujcuiliaia, muchi quiquiztiaia in petzicatl, in tezcaoauhtli, yoan ipolocatl, yoan in palanquj, yoan in oc cequi tlaçoltotonti, muchi quiquistiaia, muchi quichichitotzaia,

auh in muchioaia tzoalli, iuhqujn ocotl ie on mexcalli, iuhqujn axi.

auh in imuztlaioc in miquia in Vitzilobuchtli in jnacaio.

auh in quimjctiaia iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl: auh injc qujmjctiaia ie mitl, iacatecpaio conaqujliaia yiollopa,

17. For *muchioaia*, the *Real Palacio* MS has *muchiomaya*, which is perhaps more logical.
18. See Pl. 3.
19. *Chicalotl* and *petzicatl*: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63, nn. 28—which identifies *chicalotl* with *michiomichli* or "fish amaranth"—and M. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 258) translates the phrase *miki chicaxtli tzoalli* as *den Samen der Fischpflanzen*; for *chicalotl* he has *Stachelmohn* (*Argemone mexicana*)—prickly poppy.
20. See below (Appendix, Ch. 9).

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—*After Pasu y Troncoso*

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

[p. 36(C)]

000 Third Chapter, where is told what Moctezuma commanded when he heard the account of those who saw the boat which first came.

Injc ei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma in jquac oqujcac intlatol, in iehoantin in qujttaque acalli in achto valla.

Moctezuma thereupon commanded [Pinotl] of Cuetlaxtlan and the others, and said unto them: "Ye shall order that guard be kept everywhere on the shores [at the places] thus named: Nauhtlan, Toztlan, and Mictlanquauhtla — wheresoever [the strangers] would come to land."

Then the stewards departed. They gave the command that watch be kept.

In motecuçoma, njman ic ic q'nnaoatia in Cuetlaxtecatl, yoan in jzqujntin: qujmjlhuj. Xitlanaoticã, ma tlapielo, in noviã atenco; injc mjtoã. Nauhtlan Toztlan, mjctlan quauhtla: in campa ie qujçaqujvi:

njmã ic iaque in calpixque, tlanaoatique injc tlapieloia.

644 And Moctezuma assembled his lords: the ruler's vicar Tlilpotonqui, the commanding general Quappiaztzin, the army commander Quetzalaztatzin, and the uitznauatlailotlac Ecatenpatiltzin.[1] He acquainted them with the news and he showed and discovered to them the necklaces which [the messengers] had brought him.

Auh in motecuçoma: qujncentlali in jtecuioan, Cioacoatl, Tlilpotonquj, Tlacochcalcatl, Quappiaztzin, Ticociaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Vitznaoatlailotlac, hecatenpatiltzin: qujncaqujti in tlatolli, yoan qujmjttiti, qujmjxpanti in qujoalcujque cozcatl:

He said to them: "We have marveled at [this] fine, blue turquoise. It shall be well guarded. The keepers will protect it well. If they lose one [piece, their houses will be] our houses; [their children,] our children; [their women with child,] our women with child."[2]

qujmjlhuj. Ca oticmaviçoque in matlalteuxivitl, vel mopiaz, in tlatlatique vel qujpiazque: intla centetl qujchitonizque tocacal, topipilhoan, titeheoan.

000 And then the year made its round. When [the year] Thirteen Rabbit met [One Reed], when already it was about to end, at the time of the closing of [Thirteen][3] Rabbit, then [the Spaniards] came to arrive. Then once again were they seen.[4]

Auh njman ie mocuepa in xivitl, ie imonamjcioc in matlactli omei tochtli: auh ie tlamjznequj, ie itzonqujzian in xivitl omei tochtli, in qujçaco, in ie no cêppa itioque.

773 [202] And then [the stewards] hastened to inform Moctezuma. When he learned of it, then speedily he dispatched messengers. For thus he thought, and it was so regarded, that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had arrived. For thus was it [held] in their hearts that indeed he would come — that he would come to land on and visit his domain.[5] For

Auh njman qujnonotztivetzico in Motecuçoma, in oqujcac, njman iciuhca tlaioa, in iuh qujma, in iuh moma, ca iehoatl in topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in oqujçaco: ca iuh catca iniollo in çan oallaz, in çan qujçaqujuh, qujoalmatiz in jpetl, in jcpal: ipampa ca vmitztia, in jquac ia. Auh in qujmjoa macujltin, in qujnamjqujtivi, in qujtlamamacativi: in teiacantia

1. Cf. Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), II, p. 330; also James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), Vol. I, p. 56. For some time, like uitznauatlailotlac, a satisfactory English equivalent is difficult to suggest.

2. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 460; also corresponding Spanish text: "*joyeria en los que tienen cargo de guardar la resumera.*"

3. Before omei, in the Aztec text, probably matlactli should be read.

4. Arrival of Cortés in 1519.

5. In Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba: [Imprenta Mayli], 1940), p. 188, the passage "*Ca yuh catca in iyollo in ica huallac, in ica quinqualoh quilnamjcoc in iquel in iepal*" is thus translated: "*Así fue su determinación, que habría de venir, habría de regresar, habría de tornar a su tierra y arribar.*"

773 verily he traveled there [to the east] when he went. And [Moctezuma] sent five to go to receive him and
648 to offer him gifts. The leader was Teuoa [such
565 was] his lordly name; his name as a nobleman was Yoalli ichan. The second was [the steward of] Tepoztlan; the third, of Tiçatlan; the fourth, of Ueuetlan; the fifth, of Ueicamecatlan.[6]

Teuoa, in jtecutoca, in jpiltoca Joalli ichan. Injc vme Tepuztecatl. Injc ci, tiçaoa. Inic navi vevetecatl. Injc macujlli Veicamecatl heca.

6. Cf. Seler, loc. cit., where these are given as lines from towns. *Veicamecatl* here is interpreted as Uéicamecatenco.

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see that they were evil and of little worth, for where we had set up crosses such as those his ambassadors had seen, they dared not appear before them, through fear of them, and that as time went on they would notice this. 797

The favour he now begged of him was his attention to the words that he now wished to tell him; then he explained to him very clearly about the creation of the world, and how we are all brothers, sons of one father and one mother who were called Adam and Eve, and how such a brother as our great Emperor, grieving for the perdition of so many souls, such as those which their idols were leading to Hell, where they burn in living flames, had sent us, so that after what he [Montezuma] had now heard he would put a stop to it and they would no longer adore these Idols or sacrifice Indian men and women to them, for we were all brethren, nor should they commit sodomy or thefts. He also told them that, in course of time, our Lord and King would send some men who among us lead very holy lives, much better than we do, who will explain to them all about it, for at present we merely came to give them due warning, and so he prayed him to do what he was asked and carry it into effect.

As Montezuma appeared to wish to reply, Cortés broke off his argument, and to all of us who were with him he said: "with this we have done our duty considering it is the first attempt."

Montezuma replied—"Señor Malinche, I have understood your words and arguments very well before now, from what you said to my servants at the sand dunes, this about three Gods and the Cross, and all those things that you have preached in the towns through which you have come. We have not made any answer to it because here throughout all time we have worshipped our own gods, and thought they were good, as no doubt yours are, so do not trouble to speak to us any more about them at present. Regarding the creation of the world, we have held the same [773]

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797 belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for
773 certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

648 Cortés replied, Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

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Mother: "nantli" — "tenantzin" — "teciztli."[18]

Aunt: "auitl" — "teaui."[19]

Grandmother as well as grand-aunt: "citli."[20]

Great-grandmother "piptontli."[21]

Descending from the "Ego."

Son: "tepiltzin," "tetelpuch." But the women (mother, sisters, etc.), call him "noconeuh."[22]

[18] *Molina* (I, p. 80; II, pp. 63, 92, 96). "Citli" is probably the same as "Citli,"—hare, or grandaunt. The fact that the same name should be given to a near female relative or even to the mother, and to a fleet, timid, quadruped, is very singular. It may be that the timidity of the animal has given occasion to bestow the name, or, since hare's hair was frequently woven into fine mantles, together with feathers, that this also may have given rise to it. The latter is first mentioned by *Peter Martyr, of Anghiera*, "*De nouo Orbe*," *or the* "*Historie of the West Indies, etc., etc.*" London, 1612. An English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden, of the famous "Decades," also entitled "*De Rebus Oceanicis*," (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 229), he mentions having seen among the objects brought to the court of Spain by Juan de Ribera, garments; "they compact of Conies haire, and they set these feathers in such order between the Cony haire, and intermingle them between the thriddes of the cotton, and weave them in such difficulty, that we do not well understande how they might do it." *Sahagun* (Lib. XI, Cap. 1, p. 157) mentions another animal to which the name "cioatlamacazqui" is given, which he translated "little old woman," basing upon its other designation of "tlamaton." [237] [286]

The reverend father is, however, in error. The first name signifies literally, "woman medicine-man," or "female doctor" (Indian notion of course), and the second "little medicine-man," from "ciuatl" woman, Molina, II, p. 22, "tlama"—medicine-man, (II, 125). This animal seems to be the Raccoon, as the following quotations prove: *Joannis Eusebius Nieremberg*, ("*Historia naturæ maxima peregrime*," Antwerp, 1635 Lib. IX, Cap. XLII, p. 175). "Antra canitates montium atque collium Tzozocolci hospitatur animal peregrinum, quod cuncta manibus praetentat. Mapach ab Indis dicitur, sed non firmo nomine; alij illamaton seu vetulam appellant, alij maxtlo seu gossypinum cingulum, alij cioatlamacazque seu sacerdotissam." *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XII, Cap. XXXIX, p. 422), he calls "Coçumatle," an animal which is probably the Coati, makes no mention of the "mapach," but *Clavigero* (Liv. I, Cap. X, p. 76) treats of this animal fully.

The naming of a female relationship, "Citli" appears the more strange, as this name is given, in the Mexican mythological tales, to a *god* who tried to compel the sun to move, and lost his life in the attempt. This story is due to *Andrés de Olmos*, neither Sahagun nor Motolinia mention the occurrence in this manner. Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, Cap. II, p. 245, etc., etc.); *Mendieta* (Lib. II, Cap. I, pp. 77, 78) and *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, Cap. XLI, p. 76). Both refer it to his authority. We shall refer to it in our essay on "Creed and Belief." [773]

[19] *Molina* (I, 113; II, 9, 91).

[20] *Molina* (I, 113; II, 22). See note 18.

[21] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, 82). There is also, "nipipinia"—"pararse flaco de vejez," and "Pipinqui ynacayo"—"viejo flaco y arrugado." The affix "tontli" is a diminutive.

[22] *Molina* (I, p. 71). A singular etymology is shown here: The man says, {"Thy / Their} boy" or {"Thy / "Their} youth." ("Te-piltzin"—"Te-telpuch" {from "Tehnatl" / or "Te"} "thou" / "their"} and "Piltzintli," child, male or female, (II, p. 82,) and "Telpochtli," youth, (p. 96). The woman, however, calls: "my child" (or boy, since the same name is for both

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settlement is not stated, but while some sources mention *twenty* 618 chiefs as composing the original council of the tribe, others speak of but *ten leaders*. This might, according to the view taken, indicate in both instances *ten* kins, or *twenty* in the former and *ten* in the latter. At any rate the number is larger than that originally composing the tribe, thus showing that the segmentation so characteristic of tribal society according to Mr. Morgan, had already begun. Of the government of the tribe Clavigero says: "The 645 whole nation was under a senate or college of the most promi- 643 nent men."[45] No mention is made anywhere of a head-war-chief

[45] *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 94. Lib. III, 618 cap. XXII. pp. 289, 290, and 291). *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47).

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of kins composing the Mexican tribe at at that time. The number of chiefs and their names are variously stated. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47), mentions six chiefs and four priests. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), mentions ten chiefs. The "*Codex Mendoza*" also says ten chiefs (Tab. I. Vol. I, Kingsborough). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p, 190. note r). mentions twenty. It is interesting to compare the names, also those of the twenty leaders of *Torquemada* (Lib II, cap, III, p. 83), with those of the twenty "barrios" of Vetancurt.

Durán.	*Mendieta.*	*Torquemada.*	*Clavigero.*	*"Barrios" of Vetancurt.*
Acacitli,	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	Tzapotia,
Tenoch,	*Tenuch,*	*Tenoca,*	*Tenoch,*	Huehuecalco,
Meci.	Tecineutl,	*Nanacatzin,*	*Nanacatzin,*	Tecpancaltitlan,
Ahuexotl,	*Auexotl,*	*Ahuexotl,*	*Ahuexotl,*	Cihuateocaltilan,
Ocelopan,	*Ocelopan,*	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan.*	Yopico.
Tecpcatetl,	Quahpan.	*Tecpacatetl,*	*Tezacatl,*	Teocaltitlan,
Quauhtloquetzqui,	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	Tlaxilpan,
Ococal,	Xocoyal.	*Quentzin,*	*Quentzin,*	Tequicaltitlan,
Chachalaitl,	*Xiuhcaqui.*	*Xiuhcac,*	*Xiuhcac,*	Atlampa,
Axolosa.	Atototl.	*Axolohua,*	*Axolohua,*	Tlacacomoco,
		Tlalala,	Tlalala.	Amanalco,
		Tzontliyayauh,	Tzontliigagauti,	Tepetitlan,
		Tuzpan,	Tochpan,	Atizapan,
		Tetepan,	Tetepan,	Xihuitengo,
		Cozca,	Cozcatl,	Tequixquipan,
		Ahatl,	Atzin.	Mecaltitlan,
		Achitomecatl,	Achitomecatl,	Xoloco,
		Acohuatl,	Acohatl,	Chichimecapan,
		Mimich,	Mimich,	Copolco,
		Tezca.	*Tezcatl.*	*Tezcatzonco.*

I have italicized such names as are alike. We see that of the ten chiefs named by Durán and Mendieta, six are also named by the two other authorities. As might be expected, there is hardly any concordance between these names of chiefs and those of the Mexican "barrios."

If it were known to us whether, in this case, each "chief" represented a kin only, 618 or whether Durán, Tezozomoc, and Mendieta alone indicated the true number, we 773 could or might, of course, determine the number of the calpulli. That the chief is used to denote his kinship in the old authors is distinctly stated by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224). This chapter relates the mission of sixty "wizards" ("brujos"-"hechiceros,") sent by the chief "Montezuma Ilhuicamina" (the first "stern or wrathy chief" of that name), to an old woman or goddess purported to be "Huitzilopochtli's" mother. Arrived before the old hag (as she is described), she inquires of them for her son and for

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643 as yet; this peculiarly military office was not yet established in permanence. However, there are indications that one executive chieftain for tribal affairs may, at least rudimentarily, have existed namely: the "Snake-woman" (cihuacohuatl). But the attributes of this office did not assign to it any marked prominence.[46]

174 The position of the Mexican tribe, about the middle of the fourteenth century, was still a very precarious one. With barely sufficient sod to dwell upon, blockaded, so to say, by powerful tribes along the lake shore; with the independent cluster of Tlatilulco, jealous and threatening, within an arrow-shot of its homes, it was forced into a peculiar attitude of military defence. The elements for a warlike organization were contained in the autonomous kins, which were grouped into the still larger cluster of the brotherhood, and all together composing the tribe. The leaders were found in the officers and chiefs of the kins. But the state of insecurity then prevailing required an office whose incumbent should be in constant charge of the military affairs of the tribe. This was plainly within the scope of tribal society; such functions had already been exercised previously, in times of particular need. Now, under the pressure of circumstances, and with a permanent settlement, permanence of the charge became a necessity.[47]

[618 773] the seven chiefs "which seven went for leaders of each quarter" (p. 222). The wizards reply (among other things): "Great and powerful Lady (?) we have neither seen, nor spoken to, the chiefs of the *calpules*." Judging from this, the original number of them was *ten*, and it is presumable that if such was the case they were the *war-chiefs*, whereas the others were more properly the administrative officers analogous to the "*sachems*" of the Iroquois. (Compare *Morgan*, "*Ancient Society*." Part II, cap. II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Cap. IV, p. 114. Cap. V, pp. 129, 130, etc., etc., to 148). We shall have occasion to return to this again in a subsequent note.

[46] The office of "Cihuacohuatl" is very old. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones*" "*Segunda Relacion*," pp. 323 and 324), after speaking of the seven leaders of the Toltecs, mentions "Ziuhcoatl" tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores" as discoverer of Jalisco. Confirmed (the last mention excepted) by *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37). *Veytia* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 220). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (Plate II in Vol. I of Lord Kingsborough), represents the first regular head-war-chief of the Mexicans, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli) with a head and face of a woman and snake surmounting his own head or rather the forehead, whereas the "name" proper stands, as usual, behind the occiput. The expanatory note thereto (Vol. VI, p. 8), says: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuotl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a Monarchy this title was retained."

[47] *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 44). *Acosta* (Lib. III, cap. 8, p. 468). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 35). "The cause of his election was the increase in numbers, and their being surrounded by enemies who made war upon them and damaged them." "La causa de su eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian guerra, y afligian."

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692 that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsi-
[186] bility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were
775 rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

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772 ritual, since the intensely fertile Vera Cruz coast plain is the
776 actual source of the seasonal rains caused by the condensa-
823 tion of warm air when the Gulf of Mexico is exposed to the chill winds of the Central Plateau. The south was considered evil, possibly because of the arid zones south of Morelos and Puebla, but had as presiding deities gods associated with spring and flowers, Xipe (the Flayed One) and Macuilxochitl* (Five Flower). The west, however, had a favorable significance, being the home of the planet Venus, the evening star, which was associated and even identified with Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), the God of Knowledge. The north was a place gloomy and awful, presided over by Mictlantecuhtli† (Lord of the Dead), who, in one of those contradictions so frequent in Mexican theology, was sometimes connected with the south as well.[4] (See end papers.)

772 The vertical world was divided into heavens and hells
776 which had no moral significance, being merely overworlds
775 and underworlds. The number of heavens varied up to thirteen and represented the dwelling places of the gods, according to their rank in the hierarchy, the original creator living in the topmost heaven, and so on down the scale. One of these heavens belonged to Tlaloc, who received those who died by drowning, lightning or other causes connected with water. One school of thought divided the heavens into east
[821] and west, according to the passage of the sun. The east was the home of warriors, whose death in battle or sacrifice nourished the sun, and the west the home of women who died in childbirth, thus sacrificing themselves in the bearing of potential warriors.[5] (See Plate 57, bottom right.)

775 The rest of the dead passed to Mictlan, the underworld.

*Ma-kweel-sho'-chitl. †Meek-tla'n-tay-coot-li.

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They had to overcome several hazards before they could 775
take up their life there, so they were equipped with charms and gifts for the journey, which took the sacred number of four days. The wayfarer had to travel between two mountains which threatened to crush him, avoid first a snake and then a monstrous alligator, cross eight deserts, surmount eight hills and endure a freezing wind which hurled stones and obsidian knives upon him. Then he reached a broad river which he crossed on the back of a little red dog, sometimes included in the grave furniture for the purpose. Finally arriving at his destination, the traveler offered gifts to the Lord of the Dead, who assigned him to one of nine different regions. Some versions make the dead spend a probationary period of four years in the nine hells before they take up their life in Mictlan, which was, like the Greek Hades, devoid of moral significance.*

The Aztecs, as we have said, conceived of their universe 771
as extending horizontally outward and vertically upward 772
and downward. The world, as horizontally divided, implied the association of divine powers with the phenomena of geography and climate. This significance of direction is a familiar religious concept. The vertical arrangement of the heavens had rather more to do with rank and order than with a realization of natural phenomena. The hierarchy of the Christian saints, with its implicit recognition of position and authority, approaches closely to the point of view with which the Aztec peoples regarded their gods. Aztec and ritualized Christian worship have much the same attitude toward distinctions between philosophy and practice, and between the point of view of the instructed theologian and the humble worshipers.

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have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

727 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval knight or career soldier in our own culture.[5]

The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[6]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

723 648 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 796 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearning when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he [775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.[1]

NICAN VMPEOA IN JANCA, INJC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN JMANJMAOĀ IN OMJCQUE. YOAN OC CEQUJ IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL.

115 **First Chapter,**[2] which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.[3]

The first place was there to the land of the dead[3] where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecaciuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

164 And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

[161] "My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth here on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

164 "And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee there—Acolnauacatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecaciuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath pro-
115 vided thee a seat. Lo, there is the abode of all of us; there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

"For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings.[3a] For

Injc ce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa yn imanjman in miquja in vmpa via mjctlan, yoan in quenjn tocoia.

In juh qujmatia in nican tlaca in vevetque; yoan in tlatoque ca in jxqujchtin miquja. Ezcan in vi, yn iquac miquj.

Jnjc ceccan vmpa in mjctlan, auh in vncan mjctlan, vncan onoc, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecacihoatl, yn icioauh mjctlã tecutli.

auh in vmpa yi, mjctlã ieheantin, in jxquichtin tlalmiqui, in çan coculiztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in maceoalti.

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihoatl, anoço piltõdi. auh injc quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in moniquiliaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc vetztoc, in çan oc acantoc.

Nopiltze oyhjotl ticmomachiti, oticmociavilti, omitzmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocenchan in tlaltiepac, ca çan achitzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titotonio ca, çan ipaltzinco titiximatico in totecujo.

auh in azcan ca omitzalmanili in mjctlan tecutli, in Aculnaoacatl in Tzotemoc, yoan in Mjctecacihoatl, ca omitzalmotetzonti, ca omjtzalmocpalti, canel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocenpopolivjian, vmpa tlatlalpatlaoa, ca oiccen onquiz,

ca otonmovicac in quenamjcan, ximoaian in viloaian, in apochquijaouiocã, in atlecalocan, ca ocmo ceppa miloch monecuepal ticchicoz, ca ocmo tioalla-

1. Tlacatecutl, in the Aztec column, is probably to be read tlamacazqui.
2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.
3. Although Sahagún invariably translates mictlan as *inferno*, the literal meaning is land or place of the dead.
3a. The terms *apochquijaouiocã* and *atlecalocan* might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For *atlecalocan* we have read *tecuiyapan*.

764 no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou [775] leavest bereft and orphaned thy children and grandchildren. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

761 "My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force; apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy] half-tortilla.[26] Take courage. Of what avail is what 764 we say? Is it that [our lord] feeleth ill will toward us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our lord hath willed and commanded that he hath already fulfilled his office and reached his end here. What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth alone and awaiteth the commandment of our lord, be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy orphanhood.

764 "What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son, use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers and fathers have gone, they who well uttered and recounted their consolations and lamentations. And this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers and fathers have entreated thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound the paper. And when they had prepared the paper adornment, thereupon they arrayed the dead one; they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl, and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and thereupon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped them round and round him and tied them firmly

matiz in monica motepotzco, in macujl in matlac, ca otiquijmonjcnocauhteoac, otiquijmontlacacauhteoac, in mopilhoan, in monvioan, ca ocmo tihoallamatiz y çaço quen popoliviaque, ca motech tonacitivi, motech tonpachivitivi, in macujl in matlac.

Auh izcatquj ic qujtlatlauhtiaia in mjccaoa.

Nopiltze ma izquijch xicmanili, ma izquijch motlapal xicmochivili, ma ximochicaoa, ma ticcauh yn atolatl, in tlapãqui, ma ximelaquaoa, quennel tiqujtoanj, cujx çan aca ic techcocolia, cujx çan aca ic techquelloa, ca oquimonequilti oquimjtalhuj in totecujo, ca ie vncan ca itequjuh, ca ie vncã ca itzonquçaia, quen xoconchioa in ma oc achitzin ca in ma oc cemilhujtzintli conmotlanevianj in tlalticpac.

Auh ynjn tlacuelehoatl ontoneoa, oochichinaca in moiollotzin in monacaiotzin, tlacuelehoatl ontlaioatica in vncan ontlacauhteoac, in vncan ocontlatolchiaia in totecujo, tlacuele centlamjc xoconmomachiti in jcnopilotl,

quennel timotolinja, nopiltze ma izquich motlapal, xicmochivili, ma nocuele iuhqujn tlaocoli tocontolo, ca çan nican achitzin, ic ticchicauhtivitze in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin, ca nican popovi ixtlavi, in naniotl, in taiotl, ca otlanemiuhiantili in totecujo, ca oiaque in monanoa in motaoa, in vel quiteneoaia in vel quijponia in choquitzio, in ixaioiotlatolli. auh ca ie izquich, injc mitzmotlatlauhtilia yn monaoa, in motaoa tle ticmatcatzintli.

Niman qujntlachichiviliaia yn amatlamatque, in vevetque in machiceque catca: yn amatl quixoxotlaia, quiteteqnja quihilpiaia. auh in oquicencauhque in amatlatqujtl, njman ie ic quichichioa in mjcqui, quicnonotztlalia, icpac conteca atl,

quilhuja. Jzcatquj yn oticmotlamachtico ino ic tinenca tlalticpac.

auh njmã achi contonco conteca in atl, conmaca quilhuja.

Yzcatquj injc tonotlatocat,

njman itic conaquja niman ie ic quiquiquimiloa, quiteteuhquimiloa, quiteteuhilpia, quicacatzilpia in mjcqui njman ie quimamaca, in iamatlatqui, auh in

26. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 295. This is the small chili's ration as given in *Codex Mendoza*.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

about the dead one. Then they laid out his paper adornment in order. And when they had arranged it in order, then they gave it all to him. They placed it as an offering before him and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt pass there where the mountains come together.

"And behold how with this thou shalt pass the road which the serpent watcheth.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt pass the green lizard, the *xochitonal*.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt cross the eight deserts.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt go over the eight hills.

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel the place of the obsidian-bladed winds."

For there, in that place, the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, it was said that all suffered much. By winds were all the obsidian blades, and stones, borne. And hence, when valiant men died, [their kin] burned all of their baskets with insignia, their shields, their obsidian-bladed swords, and all the things [which they had wrested from] their captives; and all their capes, and all their clothing of whatever sort.

Likewise, [if it were] a woman, all her baskets, her waist bands, her divided cords for holding up the textile, her skeins, her shuttles, her battens, her cane stalks, her combs—also all [this] burned with her.

It was said that they would encircle themselves [with these things] and thus be protected in the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, and not suffer greatly. And he who had nothing among his wretched belongings, who went bare, underwent much pain and suffered much in order to pass the place of the obsidian-bladed winds.

And also they caused him to carry a little dog, a yellow one; they fixed about its neck a loose cotton cord. It was said that [the dog] bore [the dead one] across the place of the nine rivers in the land of the dead.

And when Mictlan tecutli was reached, he offered up all with which they had adorned the dead ones on earth—the ceremonial papers,[6] the pine incense burners, and bundles of canes [for perfume], loose cotton thread, and red cotton thread, or his cape

ocontlamamacaque, njman ie conmaca centlamantli ixpan cõmana quilhuja. 764

Yzcatquj inic tonquijçaz in vncan tepetl imonamiquja. 764

auh izcatquj ic itla tonquiçaz in vtli quipia yn cuatl. 775

auh izcatquj iqu itlan tonquijçaz, in xoxouhquj cuetzpalin in xochitonal.

auh izcatqui ynjc tocontõcaz chicuey ixtlaoatl.

auh izcatquj ic tonquiçaz in chicue tiliuhcan.

Yzcatquj ic tonquiçaz in itzehecaian.

auh in vncan y, ytzehecaian, quil cenca netolinilo, muchi hecatoco in jtztli, yoan in xalterl, auh ipampa in miquja in oquichtin in jntlavizpetlacal yn jnchimal, yn jnmaquauh, yoã in ixquijchtin ymalteooan, yoã in ixquijch in itilma, yoan in jxquijch in tlein itlatlatqui, muchipan quitlatiaia;

ça ie no ivi in cihoatl in ixquijch in itana, in ineanaia, yn imecamaxal, yn iquatzõ, yn ixiiouh in itzotzopaz, in ivtlauh, yn iteçacauh ytziquaoez, no muchi ipã tlatla,

quilmach quimotenãtiz, ic mehecatzacuiliz yn itzehecaiã, amo cenca motoliniz. auh yn aq'n atle itlatquitzin içan iuh iauh, cẽca tlaihjiovia cenca motolinja, inic quiça itzehecaian.

Auh yoã centetl chichiton quivicaltia ieh in coci, concozcatia potonqui icpatl, quilmach quipanaviz chicunaoapan in mjctlan.

auh in iquac onaxico in jtech mjctlan tecutli, quitlamamaca ĩ tlalticpac in tlein qujnchichivilia mimicque in evĩlotl, ocotlenamactli, yoan quisujmiloaia acaquavitl, yoan potonqui, yoan chichilicpatl, aço ytilma, anoço ymaxtli. auh in cihoatl icue, ivipil. yoa

6. Bulbul: meaning is problematical. In Seler's *Einige Kapitel* (p. 297, n. 3) this is offered: "*ocotl*—*Bohrwurmer, vgl. Molina ocotlaxtli*—*hier etwa Auchkleeria.*"

764 or his breech clout. And a woman, her skirt [or] her shift, and indeed all her clothing she had left they
775 bound together.

in ie muchi itlatlatquj, in oquicauhteoac muchi quiquimilua,

And when eighty days [had passed], then they burned [these]. Likewise was this done after a year, and after two years, and after three years. And when four years had passed, [then was] the last time that they did [this].[5]

in iquac nappoaltica iquac tlatla, no iuh muchioaia yn iquac cexiuhtica. yoan in iquac oxiuhtica, yoan in iquac iexiuhtica: auh in iquac nauhxiuhtica ça cen in conchioa.

And all this, it was said, came to Mictlan tecutli. And when the four years had ended, thereupon [the dead one] went to the nine lands of the dead,[6] [where] lay a broad river.

auh injn quilmach much itech onaci, in Mictlan tecutli: auh in otzonquiz nauhxiviti, njman ie ic iauh in chicunauhmjctlan, icac atl patlaoac,

There the dogs carried one across. It was said that whosoever came walking [to the bank] looked over to the dogs. And when one recognized his master, thereupon he came to throw himself into the water in order to carry his master across. Hence the natives took pains to keep the dogs.

ie vncan in tepanavia chichime, quil in aqujn oquiçato ivic oalachia in chichi. auh in oquioalixima yn itecujo njman ie ic oalmomaiavi in atlan injc quipanaviz in itecujo, ipampa in njcan tlaca cenca qujnnemjtiaia in chichime.

And it was said that the white dogs and the black ones, those which were black, could not carry one over the river to the land of the dead. It was said that the white dog said: "I have just washed myself." And one which was black said: "I have just stained myself black." Only a yellow [one][7] could bear one across.

auh quil in iztac chichi. yoã in tliltic, in tlilca quil avel tepanavia yn mjctlan, quil quitoa in iztac ca quin ononnotlapaquili. auh in tlilca quitoa ca quin ononnoçac, çan ye yio in coci vel tepanavia.

And there at the nine lands of the dead, the [dead] were completely destroyed.

auh in vncan chicunamjctlan ẽcã ocempopolioca.

764 And when it came to pass that [the old men] had ornamented [the dead one], then they took him to the fire. And first they slew the little dog; thereupon they burned [the dead one and the dog].

Auh in ie iuhqui yn oquicencauhque, njmã ie quivica in tleco, yoan in chchiton achto conmjctia, njman ie ic tlatla,

Two old sextons took great care of [the dead one]. And some of the sextons stayed singing. And when the body of [the dead one] already was burning, they took great pains with it, they kept packing it down. And the body crackled and popped, and smelled foul. And when it came to pass that they had burned it, thereupon they gathered and heaped up the coals. And they said: "Let him be bathed"; and thereupon they bathed him—they cast water upon him; they sprinkled and poured the water on him. When [the coals] grew cold, once more they gathered up the charred remains, and thereupon dug a round hole in which to place it—a pit, and this they called a cave.

cenca quimocuitlavia in tlalhoaque vmentin, auh in cequjntin tlalhoaque cujcatoque: auh in iquac ie tlatla inacaio cenca qujmocuitlavia quixixiltinemj. auh in tonacaio, tzotzoioca, cuecuepoca, yoan tzoiaia: auh in ie iuhquj in ocontlatique, njmã ie ic collolalia, quitepeuhtitlalia in tlexochtli. Yoan qujtoa ma onmalti, njman ie ic caltia catequja capapachoa, capapatztza, in oceceuh, ie no ceppa collolalia in tecolli, njman ie ic tlatataca iaoaltic in quitlalia, tlatatactli,

5. Cf. also Seler: *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f. Gifts given the prince of the underworld were a false mummy bundle of resinous wood, clothing, and a mask. Similar rites were performed for those who died far from home, or had been taken captive and sacrificed. Seler adds that if many fell in an expedition, the ruler prepared a public feast, in which there were singing and dancing in honor of the dead, and the burning of a mummy bundle, gifts, and belongings of the dead. The feast lasted four days.

6. The nine lands or regions of the dead were thought of as arranged in tiers, or layers, the ninth being the deepest. See Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, IV, pp. 178f. The heavens likewise rose in tiers.

7. Red, according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f.). See, however, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 298 (*gelbe*).

[Second Chapter][1]

775 The second place [where] they went [was] there to Tlalocan. And in Tlalocan all prospered greatly; all enjoyed much wealth. Never did one suffer. Never was there lack of ears of green maize, [nor] squash, squash blossoms, heads of amaranth,[2] green *chilis*, tomatoes, green beans, [nor] the Tagetes flower.

Injc vecan viloa vmpa in tlalocan. auh in tlalocan cenca netlamachtilo, cenca necuiltonolo, aic mihjiovia, aic polivi in elotl, in aiotetl, yn aioxochquilitl, in ouhtzontli, in chilchotl, i xitomatl, yn exotl, in cempoalxochitl:

And there dwelt the Tlaloca, who were like priests, the long haired ones;[3] who were like the fire priests.

auh vmpa nemj in tlaloque, iuiqui in tlamacazque, pāpapaoaque, iuhque in tlenamacaque catca:

766 And there went those who had been struck by thunderbolts, and those who had been submerged in the water, and those who had died in the water. And those who were leprous, or affected by venereal sickness, or by boils, or by the itch, or by sores, or by the gout; and those full of tumors, [those] they took [there], and those swollen by the dropsy,[4] [who] thus died.

auh in vmpa vi ichoantin in: viteco, yoã in ilaquilo, yoan in atlan miqui, yoan ichoantin in teococoxque, yoan in nanaoati, yoan in xochicivi, yoan in xixjioti, yoan in papalani, yoan in coacivi, yoan in popoçaoalizzli quinvica, in teponaoacivi ic miquj,

These, when they died, they did not burn, but only buried. They applied liquid rubber to their faces; and with fish amaranth [paste] they covered their cheeks; and they colored their foreheads blue [with blue papers]. And they gave them [each] a paper lock of hair at the back of the head. Mountain images they placed before them. And they placed paper capes over them, and in their hands they placed for them large staves of wood.

in ichoãn jn, yn iquac miqui, amo tlatla, can quintocaia, quimixolviaia, yoan michioauhtli, incamapan conpachooa, yoan quimjxquatexoviaia, yoan quimahamacuexpaltiaia, tepeiotl, in quintlaliliaia yn imixquac: auh amatl in quinquequentiaia, yoan inmac quintequiliaia ozzopil quavitl:

775 And so they said that in Tlalocan all is ever green, always in growth, always spring; it is always spring time.

iuh quitoa in tlalocan, muchipa tlacelia, muchipa tlatzmolini, muchipa xopantla tlaxopīmamanj.

1. Chapter heading is omitted in the Nahuatl version.
2. Omohxoxotl. Seler (*Hoge Kapitel*, p. 308) has omohxoxotli (*Bouwkaar*). The corresponding Spanish text has *semillas de Mahiz*.
3. Sahagún writes (Bulnes ed., II, p. 321): "*Cuando morie el señor o rey, para elegir otro presidieron los ancianos que llamaban tecuilonqui, y también los mejor del pueblo que llamaban tehuamahtiniz; y también los capitanes, soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamaban yautequioque, y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y también los sabiaques que llamaban tlamacazque o papaoaque.*"
4. Identification of diseases is problematical. Seler (*loc. cit.*) has *ochoanes* of the genitals for *xixjioti*, skin diseases for *papalani*, inflamed sores which did not heal for *coacivi*, swelling of the body for *popoçaoalizzli*, and infectious diseases for *teponaoacivi*.

[p. 46 is blank]

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Third Chapter, in which are recorded those who went to heaven.

Jnic ey capitulo, vncã moteneoa ih aqujque via ilhujcac.

The third place to which they went was there to the home of the sun, in heaven. Those went there who died in war, either, verily, those who died then in battle, to be despoiled there on the battlefield, where they breathed their last, where fate overtook them, or else [those who] were brought home that later they might die [as sacrifices]. Perchance [one such] was slain in gladiatorial sacrifice, or cast into the fire, or shot with arrows, or slain with pointed canes, or fought with and slain, or covered with resinous wood [to which they laid fire]. All [these] went to the home of the sun.

Injc Eacan vilou: vmpa in ichan tonatiuh ilhujcac, ichoantin vmpa vi, in iaomiqui, in anoço vel vncan njman miquj iaoc, in iapaniocan, in vncan qujnnamoia, vncã ihiotl, quiça, vncan ii ɔequjub vetzi, yn anoço çan calaquilo, i çatepan miquizque. Yn aço oooano, aço tlepantlaxo, aço tlaxichvilo, aço teoconvilo, anoço cacalioa, anoço ocopotonjlo, muchintin vi in tonatiuh ichan,

It was said that they dwelt where was only a place like a plain; when the sun burst forth and arose, then they shouted and cried out to it and struck their shields together. And he whose shield was pierced in perhaps two or three places could well look at the sun. And he whose shield nowhere was pierced could in no wise see the sun nor look into its face. And there, where dwelt those slain in war, [were] the *magueyes*, the thorny shrubs,[1] and clumps of mesquites. And all offerings which [the living] offered them—these they could receive; these could reach them.

quil ça çemonoque, in canin iuhcan ixtlaoacan, in iquac in oalmomana in oalquiçaia tonatiuh, nimã quicaoatza, coiovia, muchimalhuitequj, auh in aqujn ichimal, in aço vncca, anoço iexcan tlamintli vncã vel quitta in tonatiuh. auh in aqujn acan tlamintli ichimal, avel quitta in tonatiuh, avel ixco tlachia, auh yn vmpa onoĩ, in iaomjcque nequametl, tzivactli, mizquitla; auh in jxqujch yn ventli in qujnmanilia, vel quitta vel itech aci.

And when four years had gone by, then they were changed into birds of precious feather—humming birds, flower birds,[2] yellow birds blackened about the eyes;[3] chalky butterflies, feather-down butterflies, large varicolored butterflies,[4] which sucked [honey

auh in iquac onauhxiuhtique, njmã ic mocuepa, tlaçototome, huitzitzilti, xochitototi, totocoztli, mixtetlilcomolo, tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl, xicalteconpapalotl, tlachichina in vmpa in monoian. youn in njcan

1. *Teiuxtli*: according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, p. 56), it is probably a thorny plant found in the Chiahuac highlands; he cites Hernández to identify it as a cactus with cylindrical stem. "It is, therefore, the national weapon in the hand of the god of the Otomí."

2. *Xochitototi*: Simeón (*op. cit.*) identifies it as a *cuzcatl*—a bird of yellow throat, breast, and stomach. Sahagún (Robredo ed., III, p. 184) calls it so. "*era como flor: tenia la garganta, y el pecho, y la barriga amarillos, como flor muy amarilla; tenia en la cara unos ojos: tenia la cabeza y espaldas y las alas y la cola, entreladas de negro y blanco; tenia las pies negros.*"

3. Cf. Seler: *Einige Kapitel*, p. 382.

4. The butterflies are thus described in Seler, *loc. cit.*, and *Collected Works*, IV, p. 82. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 214) mentions *xicalpapalotl*: "*son muy pintadas de diversos colores.*"

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from the flowers] there where they dwelt. And here upon earth they came to suck [honey] from all the varied flowers—the *erythrina coralloides*,[5] the *carolines princeps*,[6] the *calliandra*.[7]

tlalticpac oalhui in quioalchichina, in jxquich nepapan xochitl in equimjtl, anoço tzonpanquaviti xilohxochitl, tlacoxilohxochitl.

5. Cf. Saher, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. 1-2, p. 53, Pt. 3-4, p. 174; and *Rimjpe Kapixel*, p. 302. He says *equimitl* is the leaf of the tzonpanquaxitl, the *erythrina coralloides* or *coralloidendron*. Apparently it was used magically; cf. Sahagún, Lib. IX, caps. iii-iv, and Saher's translations of the Nahuatl text in Sahagún (Robredo ed., V, p. 234). Sahagún (Robredo ed., III, p. 275) writes: "*Hay también unos árboles que se plantan en las florestas que se llaman tzonpanquahuitl; es árbol redondo, tiene ramas apretadas, tiene la cepa redonda y de buen parecer; tiene unas flores que se llaman equimitlitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; se hojas de este árbol se llaman equimitl.*"

6. Cf. Saher, *Rimjpe Kapixel*, *loc. cit.* In *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, pp. 132-3, he defines it as "*palo de rosa*" (name in Chiapas), "*cabello de ángel*" (*miimosaceae calliandra*). The former is *bauhinia equestrina* K. Schum or *carolinea princeps* L. fil. Saher believes *xilocochitl* is a name given two distinct flowers. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, 276) describes them as "*coloradas y a manera de bolas derhiladas; hácese en una hierba que se llama xilocochitl: es una olorosa, pero son muy hermosas.*" See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, cap. xxviii.

7. Cf. Saher, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5: This passage is related to one in the song chanted every eight years when water tunnies were eaten. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, pp. 136, 149 ff.; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 212.

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The Wind

That which was known as [the wind] was addressed as Quetzalcoatl. From four directions it came, from four directions it traveled. The first place whence it came was the place from which the sun arose, which they named Tlalocan. This wind which came from there they gave the name of the Tlaloc wind. Little did it frighten men; lightly did it blow. With it, one could go in a canoe; with it one could land; with it one could cross the water.

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The second place whence it came [the north] was called Mictlampa; and this was named the wind from the land of the dead. This was much feared, and caused much terror. Violently did it blow, when it set in, and the canoes could not contend with it. They could not travel forward. They could not venture forth; they could not pass across; they could not get under way in the water. Rather, all the boatmen came out and left [their craft] because of fear—those who gained their livelihoods on the water, the fishermen who used nets, or who speared [the fish]. When they saw that it was Mictlampa ehecatl which arose, then they feared evil and were troubled. They hurried, hastened, and greatly quickened their pace, plying the pole—plying it rapidly. They strained their arms, that they might come out and beach [the canoe] on the shore, on the edge of the water, near the water line. And so they said: "Often it drowneth men and sinketh canoes."

The third place whence it came [the west] was known as Ciuatlampa; it was named Ciuatecayotl and Ciuatlampa ehecatl. Also it was called One Wind. or Maçaua; for it came from Maçauacan. And this one did not blow fiercely. Nevertheless, it was very cold. Men suffered much from [its] cold; they became livid and stiff from cold. It made them shiver; it was deadly. It made men tremble, shake, and quake; it exhausted them; it gave them stomach pains, or pains in the lungs, or the head. And yet, with it they could go ashore from the water. It did not frighten men nor terrify them.

And the fourth place whence came the wind [the south] was there from Uitztlampa. It was named Uitztlampa ehecatl. And this one was much feared and held in dread. All feared harm. It made men speechless with terror; it made them silent with fear. Because it blew swiftly, it frightened them greatly. They said: "When it arieth, it uprooteth and breaketh trees: and it teareth walls to pieces—old walls

Ehecatl

Moteneoaia: ic quinotzaia quetzalcoatl. Nauhcampa oallauh, nauhcampa oalitztiuh. Inic ceccan oallauh: vmpa in iquiçaiampa tonatiuh, quitoaia tlalocã: inin ehecatl, vmpa oallauh, quitocaiotiaia, tlalocaiotl: amo cẽca temauhti, amo cenca totoca, uel ipan acaltica viloa, vel ipan quixoa, in atlan: vel ipã panoa.

Inic occã oallauh, moteneoa mictlampa: auh inin motocaiotia mictlampa ehecatl. In hin uel imacazo, uellamauhtia: cenca totoca, in icoac moquetza, amo vel quisnamiqui in acalli: amo vellauilteco, amo uel tlastlapalolo, avel istlapal viloa, auel tlanecuilolo in atlan: çan mauhcaquixoa, mauhcaquiça in tlapanauique, in atlãca, in tlãtlamãque, in tlamjnque. In oquittaque, ca mictlampa ehecatl in omoquetz: ic cenca motenmati, motequipachoa, uel motequimati, ompilcatoque, ompipilcatoque, in tlaneloa, in tequitlaneloa: vel momaquauhtilia, inic uel onquiça, onmacana atenco, atexipalco, achichiiacpa: iuh quitoa, ca miecpa, teatlanmictia, quipolactia in acalli.

Inic escan oallauh: moteneoa cioatlãpa, motocaiotia, cioatecaiotl, cioatlampa ehecatl: no quitocaiotia ce ehecatl, anoço maçaoa ipampa vmpan oalitztiuh maçaoacan. Auh in hin, amo no cenca totoca: iece cenca itztic, uel tececmjti, tepineoalti, tepinuch, tetetziliuiti, tetetzilquisti, tetzitzilquiti, teuiztioquilti, tecuecuechquiti, tecuecuechmiquiti: texillanquauhtili, teiomotlanquauhtili, tetzonteconeuh. Auh tel, uel ipan quixoa in atlan, amo temauhti, amo tẽmauizcuiti.

Auh inic nauhcampa, oallauh ehecatl, vmpa uitztlampa: motocaiotia uitztlampa ehecatl. Auh inin, cenca vel imacazo, mimacaci: netenmacho, aoc tenaostilti, aoc tetlatolti: ipãpa cenca totoca, cenca tlamauhtia. Quitoa, in icoac moquetza: vel quitzjneoa, quipoztequi in quauitl: yoan quixixinja in tepantli, in tepançolli, in xacalli: quecatoctia in tlatzacuilli, in chinancalli. Auh in vei atl vel colinja, quiteponaçoa,

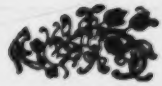

The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the sextons] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Ciuatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year counit[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Inic chicome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

Ce tochtli.

moteneoa: uitztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: 805
matlacxiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlatoctia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in izquitetl xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In ichoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipãpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanestia. 823

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, ichoatl in tecpatl: moteneoa mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: [775]
iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatotoca in mimicque. Ichica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconiilpique: [764]
vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitztiltitimotlaliaia.

Auh inic naui, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: ichoatl in calli moteneoa, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipãpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, aocaque toquichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: izquiteme ceceppa moquetztiui, tonalpeuhcaiome muchiuhtiuj. 805

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omeci, quitlamja, conxxitia, quitzonquistia nauhteistin: inic tlaiaoalotiui, quimomacatiui, quimocauilitiui, intequiuh, cecexiuhtica: ichoatl itech onaci, itech ōmocaoa, itech onitopi, itech ontlatzotzona, ontlatzonquistia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ic ocxxiti in matlacxiuitl omei itequiuh.

Auh niman ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uitz- 805
tlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia 731
itequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlauicaz, tlaotlatoctiz: cenca

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men make certain burns on the wrist in honor of those stars. They said of him who was not marked by those burns that, when he died, there in hell they would produce fire on his wrist, drilling it as those do who here drill fire with the stick.

maduras quando se muriese q̃ alla en el infierno avian de sacar el fuego de su moñeca barrenãdola como qñ aca sacã el fuego del palo.

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The star Venus these people named Citlalpol or Uey citlalin, and they said that when it riseth in the east it maketh four assaults. The [first] three times it shineth little and hideth again; and at the fourth it cometh forth with all its brightness and followeth its course. And they say of its light that it is like that of the moon. On its first assault they held it an omen of evil, saying that it brought sickness with it. And therefore they shut the doors and windows so that its light might not come in. And sometimes they took it as a good omen. And at the beginning of the time that it started to appear to the east, they slew captive men in reverence to it, and offered it their blood, spattering it toward [the star] with their fingers.

A la estrella de venus la llamaua esta gente citlalpul, vey citlalli y dezian que quando sale por el oriente haze quatro aremetidas, y a las tres luze poco y bueluese a asconder: y a la quarta sale con toda su claridad y procede por su curso. y dizen de su luz que parece a la de la luna. En primera arremetida teniaula de mal aguero diziendo que traya enfermedad contigo, y por esto cerrauan las puertas y ventanas porq̃ no entrase su luz. Y a las vezes la tomavan por buen aguero. Y al p'ncipio de tp̃o que començaua a aparecer por el oriente matauan hõbres captiuos por su reuerencia, y ofrecianle la sangre salpicando hazia ella con los dedos.

X 787 776 So he fled from its presence;, back of him it went rattling at him as it pursued him. And if he stood, if he stopped in alarm, it also sat, and remained rattling. And if he gathered courage to seize it quickly, it only mocked him for doing so. Far did it rise when it jumped; he could not catch it. Hence, in the same manner, he let it alone in his fear; from its presence he fled, exerting all force in order to run terrified to his home.

Auh intla moquetza, motilquetza, no motlalia chachalcatinemj: auh intla omoiollochichili, injc qujcujtiuetziz çan jc qujquelloa, ueca ieoa in choloa, amo uel cana: çan no iuh conmauhcacaoa: ixpampa ieoa: iuqujch qujtoctia, injc momauhcatlaloa ichan.

X 787 775 Just so the dead also appeared to people. They were in [funeral] wrappings, with head wrappings, and were groaning. If, somewhere, one appeared before one, it moaned at him. Only the valiant could venture toward it in order to seize it and cling to it. But then it only made sport of them: perhaps a clump of grass or a hard clod remained in their hands. [776] Thus they quickly transformed themselves. So it was said that all this was only a disguise of Tezcatlipoca by which he mocked men. Etc.

Çan ie no iuhquj in mjcquj, no moteititiaia: yilpitica, quaquailpitica, quiqujnacatica: in cana moteititiaia; tequjqujnatza: çan iehoan in jollochicavaque, vel iujc motlapaloa in qujcujtiuetzi: itech mopiloa. Auh injc çan inca mocacaiaoa, aço tlachcujtl, anoço tlaquavac tetl in jmmac mocauhtiquiça: injc mocueptiuetzi: iuh mjtoa, ca çan muchi ich, inaoal in tezcatlipoca injc teca mocacaiaoaia etc.

The omen of the linnet.[4]

X 787 825 The linnet is a bird like a woodpecker,[5] and far into the forest is its home. And when it cried out at someone, it was taken as an omen.[6] They said: "It is not a good time that we have come; for something will spring out on us."

Tetzaujtl itechpa chiqujmoli.

In chiqujmoli, ca centetl tototl, iuhquin quauhchochopitli: auh veca quauhtla in jchan. Auh in iiçc tepan tzatzia, netetzaujloia: qujtovaia, ca amo qualcan, in otioallaque: ca itla ipan ticholoaque.

The omen of the coyote.

[776] They said it was Tezcatlipoca. Often he disguised himself as a coyote; and this coyote often intercepted men on the road. And when he did this, then was heard: "This is by no means a good time for him who goeth; perhaps thieves or robbers are somewhere on the road, or something harmful will spring out at them."

Tetzaujtl itechpa in coiotl.

Qujtoaia, ca in tezcatlipoca: mjiecpa qujmonaoaltiaia in Coiutl: auh injn coiutl, mjiecpa teiaiacatzacujlia in vtlica. Auh in jquac iuh qujchioa y, njman ic mocaquj, ca amo qualcan in viloa: aço ichtecque, anoço tetlatlaçaltique, cana vtlica cate: anoço itla ipan chololoaciuh, in tecoco.

Here end the omens which the natives of New Spain took as portents.

Nican tzonquiça in tetzauitl, yn qujtzonmatia, injcan nauan españa tlaca.

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4. Molina, op. cit.: *chiquitlin pasaro*; Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 514 (*chiquinoli*): *jilguerillo—especie de jilguero.* Sahagún (Guilbert ed.), Vol. IV, p. 334: "*Ave canora, cantamente parlera. . . . Deyshonra matarla hacerla.*"

5. *Quauhchochopitli*: Martín Antonio Rincón, in *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus seu Plantarum Animalium Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia ex Francisci Hernandez* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1651), p. 33, appendix, book Chap. XCIV, "*De Quauhchochopitli, seu Avicula ligna excavante,*" and writes: "*Avicula est, Monimae Cotarnici formà, & magnitudine, plumis nigris, aut pallis, linea albà, transversim discurrentibus distinctis; ventre, pectoreque, minii colore. Singua picorum more, quorum est species proprius: nisi in frigidis, & arboribus ventre nudiusculi petitur avenatur.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*las bozes del pico [maggie]: quando le oyan bozear en las montañas.*"

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four 787 777
days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate
the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved 553
to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction where- 777
by the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favor-
able period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque 553
over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the ac- 776
couchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God,
whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures.
The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools 553
which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the
motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her
pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name,
that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the
child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his
birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal,
like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor,
like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the
time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alter-
native animal title. Girls' names frequently were com-
pounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its pur- [862]
pose was to induct the child into the techniques and obliga- 861
tions of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which
handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in
adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized cul-
ture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers in-
structed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children
listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned
the uses of the household implements and performed minor
household chores.[2]

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701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

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PLATE 53

AZTEC ART

TOP: This feathered snake in the Mexican National Museum may well symbolize Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning and the Priesthood. This representation differs from the fire snake in that it lacks a raised crest over the head. BOTTOM: The enormous snake at the foot of the balustrade to the great temple in Mexico is a dramatic architectural ornament, frequently employed in Aztec temple building. Snakes were the major ornament at Tenayuca (Plate 50, above) and many other Aztec buildings, appearing also far to the east in Mexican Chichen Itza.

[p. 160(E)]

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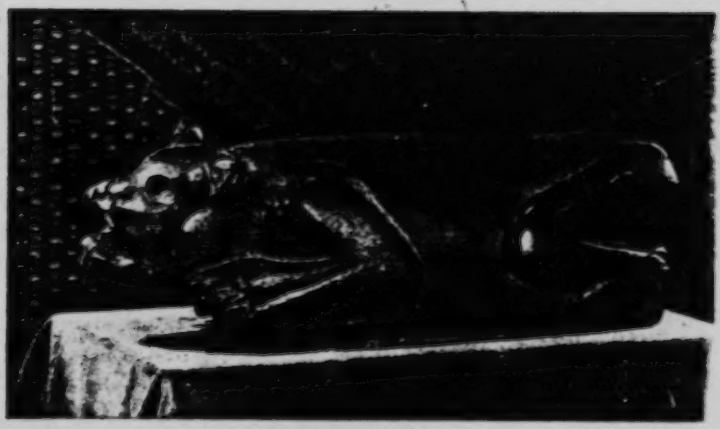

PLATE 54

AZTEC ART

TOP: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. BOTTOM: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 55
AZTEC ART

TOP: Another presentation of Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods. An earth goddess, she is also associated with death, so that in this case her head is a human skull. BOTTOM: *Left:* Small rock-crystal skull representing the Death God. This is a fine example of Aztec lapidary work. *Right:* A box, symbolically carved, to hold human hearts. Note the glyph for jade, i.e., "precious," banding the sides of the container.

[p. 160(G)]

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PLATE 56

AZTEC ART

TOP: This Corn Goddess is envisaged as a young girl. Her soft Indian beauty is brought out with the same sure simplicity which characterizes the warriors on Plates 40 and 49. BOTTOM: A colossal head, nearly four feet high, of Coyolxauhqui, sister of the War God. She is shown dead. Simple handling of details enhances this monumental conception.

[p. 160 (H)]

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324 346 532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.*

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs*, which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

323 532 322 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

776 532 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 attribute similar attitudes to their gods, and, as a result, the
532 soft emotionalism so characteristic of European art is almost totally absent. Thus Aztec sculpture is even more forbidding and gloomy than other Middle American arts, which have at first a depressing effect on observers accustomed to Old World aesthetics.[9] (See Plates 40, 49, 52–56.)

532 The same sense of proportion so evident in Aztec architecture produced a monumental quality in their sculpture. The smallest piece has the same dignity that attends the most massive temple carvings. A photograph reveals no impression of the original scale, and in one case the head of a goddess was carved identically in a small piece of jade and a four-foot block of basalt, with no loss of plastic or monumental values to either.[10]

In relief sculpture the forming of the object and the disposition and subordination of details show the mastery of design inherited by eyes trained in centuries of weaving. The vast block of the thirteen-foot Calendar Stone is carved with as delicate an appreciation of the relative values of space as similar designs painted on pottery vessels or graven on jade. (See Plate 52.)

532 The finest Aztec sculpture, to the Western eye, repro-
778 duces the young gods and goddesses that presided over the crops. Thus the Aztec body, long of trunk, short of limb, softly rounded in its well-fleshed strength, is simply and accurately portrayed with passive grace. The patient and resigned features were perfect subjects for the sculptor and his medium. Some gods could assume the guise of animals, and the sculptors took full advantage of their close observation of nature to carve a coyote with ear atilt or to dignify a red basalt grasshopper with the armored malevolence of an insect

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

771 lessly in human life; night succeeds day; the stations of the year rotate endlessly through spring, summer, fall and winter; the planets move in eternal sequence through the sky. Thus to discover what those rhythms were and follow their complicated but regular beat would, in Aztec philosophy, ensure the happy survival of the community. There was little thought of the perfection of the individual when vast powers hovered close, ready to destroy the whole tribe if it ceased its vigilant watch on nature. Thus rhythm and form become an essential part of worship and found their outlet in ritual and religion, art, philosophy and science.

The growth of civilization, with the resultant ramification of social function and material equipment, led likewise to a more complex perception of the universe, expressed in the stratification of gods and goddesses and a specialization of their functions. This result led to a more intense observance of ritual, which consumed a great part of the material and intellectual product of the tribe.

Aztec religion was an outgrowth of the recognition and fear of natural forces and the attempt to constrain them. The process by which man defines these forces and grades them in order of importance is as much a part of the evolution of culture as art, mechanics or social organization. The Aztecs developed a conception of the relationship of the supernatural forces to the universe that, given the precision of our method of thought, could have been developed into an imposing philosophy.

773 According to Aztec belief, the world passed through four
● 776 or five ages, or Suns. Details differ, but the record on the great Calendar Stone may be taken as the official version in Tenochtitlan. The first era, Four Ocelot, had Tezcatlipoca

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as the presiding god, who, at the end, transformed himself 773
into the sun, while jaguars ate up the men and giants who 776
then populated the earth. Quetzalcoatl was the divine ruler of the second era, Four Wind, at the expiration of which hurricanes destroyed the world and men were turned into monkeys. The Rain God, Tlaloc, gave the world light in the third epoch, Four Rain, brought to a close by a fiery rain. Chalchihuitlicue,* "Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt," was a Water Goddess who presided appropriately over the fourth Sun, Four Water, wherein a flood came, transforming men into fish. Our present age, Four Earthquake, is under the control of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, and it will be destroyed, in time, by earthquakes.[2] (See Plate 52.)

While the versions vary from place to place, we seem to 773
have a recapitulation of the great disasters from flood, volcanic eruption, hurricanes and earthquakes that beset the communities of ancient Mexico. Also there is a reflection of the order in which the gods attained prominence in the local worship. In the history of the Mexican tribes there are references to struggles within single towns between the devotees of two cults, as to which would have the mastery.[3]

The universe itself was conceived in a religious rather than 772
a geographic sense and was divided horizontally and verti- 776
cally into areas of religious significance. The horizontal uni- 823
verse, possibly the older concept, recognized five directions, the four cardinal points and the center. The Fire God, old and fundamental in Mexican religion, controlled the central zone. The east was assigned to the Rain God, Tlaloc, and the Cloud God, Mixcoatl (Cloud Snake), and was a region of abundance. In this idea geography was combined with

*Chal-chee-we'et-le-kway.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

772 ritual, since the intensely fertile Vera Cruz coast plain is the
776 actual source of the seasonal rains caused by the condensa-
823 tion of warm air when the Gulf of Mexico is exposed to the chill winds of the Central Plateau. The south was considered evil, possibly because of the arid zones south of Morelos and Puebla, but had as presiding deities gods associated with spring and flowers, Xipe (the Flayed One) and Macuilxochitl* (Five Flower). The west, however, had a favorable significance, being the home of the planet Venus, the evening star, which was associated and even identified with Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), the God of Knowledge. The north was a place gloomy and awful, presided over by Mictlantecuhtli† (Lord of the Dead), who, in one of those contradictions so frequent in Mexican theology, was sometimes connected with the south as well.[4] (See end papers.)

772 The vertical world was divided into heavens and hells
776 which had no moral significance, being merely overworlds
775 and underworlds. The number of heavens varied up to thirteen and represented the dwelling places of the gods, according to their rank in the hierarchy, the original creator living in the topmost heaven, and so on down the scale. One of these heavens belonged to Tlaloc, who received those who died by drowning, lightning or other causes connected with water. One school of thought divided the heavens into east
[821] and west, according to the passage of the sun. The east was the home of warriors, whose death in battle or sacrifice nourished the sun, and the west the home of women who died in childbirth, thus sacrificing themselves in the bearing of potential warriors.[5] (See Plate 57, bottom right.)

775 The rest of the dead passed to Mictlan, the underworld.

*Ma-kweel-sho'-chitl. †Meek-tla'n-tay-coot-li.

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776 At the head of the Aztec pantheon, in a theological sense, was a supreme and ineffable god, Tloque Nahuaque; but an active cult in his honor seems to have been restricted to a single temple, at Texcoco, which became a center of religious philosophy under the stimulus of the great chief, Nezahualcoyotl. Ranking below this abstraction of divine power and far more widely recognized was a supreme couple, Tonacatecuhtli* and Tonacacihuatl,† "Our Lord and Lady of Subsistence." These gods were theologically important and fulfilled the functions of parenthood and origin for other divinities. They were not extensively worshiped, since their control of nature was remote. An equivalent being, Ometecuhtli,‡ "Lord of Duality," occupied an analogous position, resulting from priestly speculation as to the ultimate origin of the gods who controlled man's destiny. The Sun God, Tonatiuh, who also discharged the functions of a heavenly overlord, was, however, more closely associated with the active expression of Aztec religion. The daily appearance of the celestial orb, so infinitely important to the existence of all life, made sun worship an essential part of the Aztec religion.

There were several gods who intervened in human affairs and were venerated above all others. Usually one of this group was the tutelary spirit of a community and had arrogated to him supreme powers. Such a god was honored by the principal temple, synthesized the abstract position of the gods invented by the theologians and partook of all the supreme powers exerted by the chief god of other commu-

*To-na-ca-tay-co'o-tli.
†To-na-ca-se'e-watl.
‡O-may-tay-co'o-tli.

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nities. This group, without exception, was composed of sky gods. 776

Tezcatlipoca, the "Smoking Mirror," sometimes appeared on the scene as an adversary of the Toltec divinity Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent." He was widely worshiped, and his powers were shared by other chief gods. His attributes, as depicted in the sacred manuscripts, showed him to be protean, and they were often assigned to the tribal divinities of other places. A Mixtec manuscript, which emanates from the probable center of the Tezcatlipoca cult, shows the same divinity presiding over the four directions but with a different color in each instance. The powers and dress of this great god passed to local tribal divinities with the spread of Mixtec religion and the Tezcatlipoca cult to the Valley of Mexico. (See Plates 57, top; 61, top.)

The red Tezcatlipoca of the west took the name of Xipe, or Camaxtli, the tutelary god of Tlaxcala. Huitzilopochtli, the great War God of the Tenochca, assumed the functions and dress of the blue Tezcatlipoca of the south and was a Sun God as well, but his adversary and opposite divinity of the night retained the name Tezcatlipoca and was shown as the black Tezcatlipoca of the north. Quetzalcoatl was sometimes depicted as a white Tezcatlipoca, associable with the east as a morning star and the west as an evening star. Under the name "Feathered Serpent" but with the attributes and powers of Tezcatlipoca, he presided over the destinies of Cholula. Tezcatlipoca, as god of a favorable region, as surrogate of the sun and as the chief god of the original cult, was the chief divinity worshiped at Texcoco.

Tlaloc, the Rain God, is an ancient god, going back to Toltec times. His eye rings, his fangs and the volute over his

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776 lips render him an easily recognized figure in the Mexican pantheon. At Tenochtitlan he shared the great temples with Huitzilopochtli, and his control of rain made the attraction of his powers essential to survival on the Mexican plateau. (See Plate 59, bottom left.)

Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent," God of Civilization and the planet Venus, seems to have been widely venerated but under different guises. In contrast to Tezcatlipoca, whose functions and appearance were assigned to tribal gods with different names, Quetzalcoatl had several forms shared by distinctive divinities. The sculptures of Teotihuacan and Chichen Itza show that a feathered snake was honored, and the local records mention Quetzalcoatl and Kukulcan, Nahuatl and Maya names having the same meaning. At Tenochtitlan there is ample evidence of a feathered-serpent cult, but the records refer to Xiuhcoatl,* "Fire Snake," as well as to the standard sacred variety. The term Quetzalcoatl applies as well to a bearded god with a projecting mask, also called Ehecatl, the "Wind God." In parts of the Mixteca-Puebla area and the Valley, as we have seen, there is evidence that the "white" Tezcatlipoca had the name "One Reed," the date name synonymous with Quetzalcoatl.[8] (See Plates 23, 53; 59, bottom left.)

776 173 In addition to this confusion over Quetzalcoatl, the God of Civilization, the annals and myths tell of Quetzalcoatl, the great king, who civilized the Toltecs and left for the east to return again. The friars seized upon this myth as evidence that St Thomas the Apostle had visited Mexico and converted its inhabitants, who later slid back into pagan ways. Therefore, the friars, to justify the Conquest, made

*She'e-oo-co-atl.

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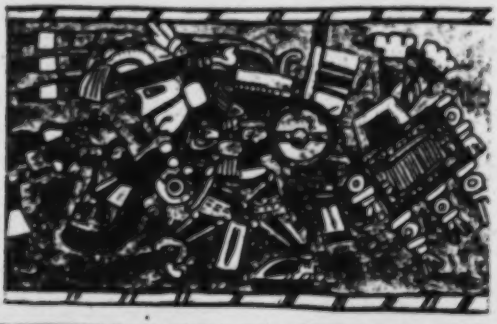

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PLATE 57

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tizatlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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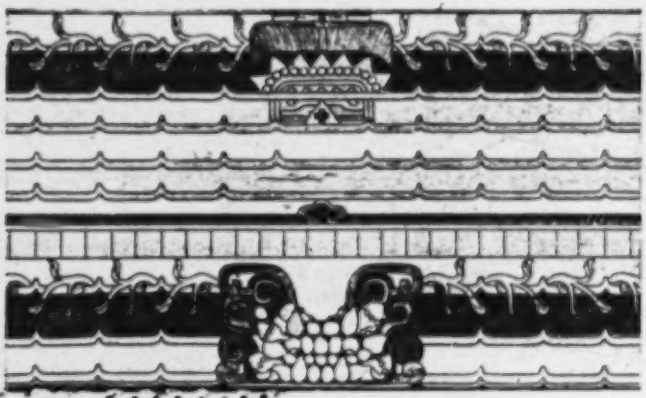

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PLATE 58

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Altar at Teotihuacan with symbols of agricultural worship. Note glyph at top center. MIDDLE: Codex Florentino, special ceremony involving gods' descent to earth, with birdmen, snake dancers, rain-gods and priests dressed as the chief gods of the pantheon. BOTTOM: Vienna Codex, scene partly ceremonial and partly historical. Gods, dates, temples, chiefs and fire making are shown.

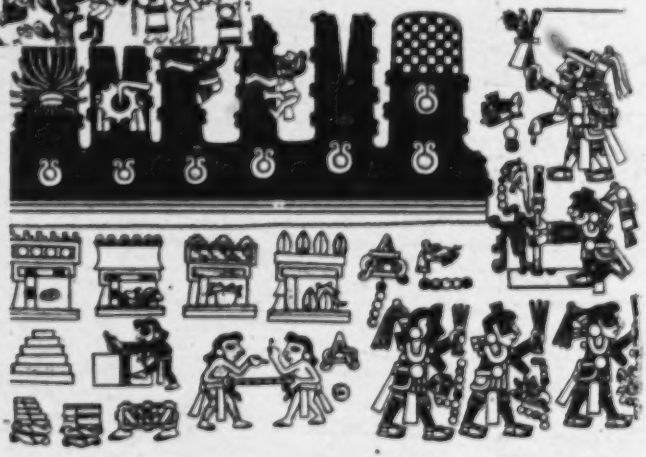

[p. 176 (B)]

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PLATE 59

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Tlaloc, God of Rain. *Right:* Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning, in guise of Ehecatl, God of Wind. BOTTOM: Page from *Tonalamatl* of Codex Borbonicus. The goddess Itzpapalotl, presiding over the fifteenth week, One House, is shown in the large division. The broken tree signifies Tamoanchan, a legendary homeland; the house below, with a man on top and the night sign in the door and the spider above, signifies the realm of darkness. The other symbols are offerings. The rectangular divisions refer to the days and their Gods. The day signs and numbers begin at the lower left with One House and end at top left with Thirteen Eagle. A Night God is drawn in each day square, beginning with Piltzintecuhtli and ending with Chalchihuitlicue (Table XVI, 194). The squares above the bottom row and to the right of the vertical row reveal the Gods of the Day Hours and their birds, beginning at the left with Xiuhtecuhtli and ending at the top with Ilamatecuhtli (Table XV).

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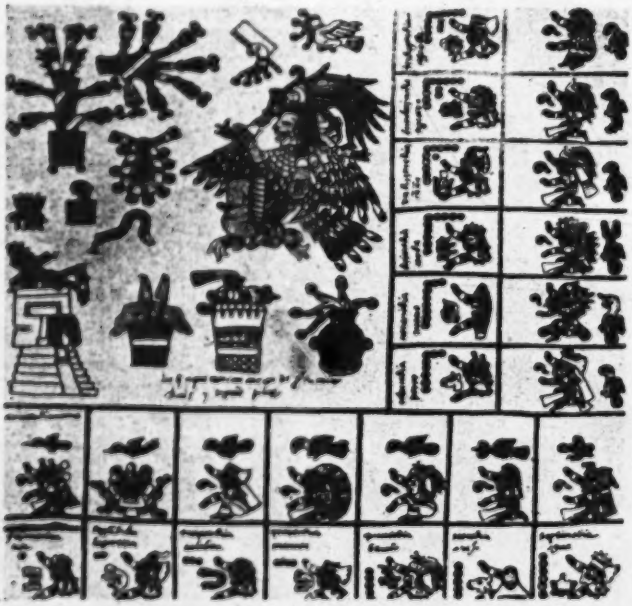

[p. 176 (C)]

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776 173 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people, promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

554 174 177 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladiatorial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in [796 701] ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca, likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec religion.* (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year. His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this symbolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly [796 782] flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59, bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,* (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,† "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,‡ "Flower

*Chee-co'-me-co-atl.
†Shee-lo'-nen.
‡Sho-chee-kay-tza'l.

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Bird," were the embodied spirits of young growth and, by 776
analogy, youth and the games. These had as male counterparts such gods as Cinteotl, "Maize God," Xochipilli,* "Flower Prince" and Macuilxochitl, "Four Flower," whose functions, identified with growth, youth and games, are almost synonymous. (See Plates 31; 56, top left; 57, bottom left.)

About the maguey plant revolved another cult embracing 776
the goddess Mayauel, who represented the plant and whose 802
four hundred sons were associated with pulque. According 273
to some accounts, the various styles of drunkenness were recorded in terms of these gods or their associated animal, the rabbit. Four hundred rabbits stood for complete drunkenness, while fifteen or twenty suggested mere conviviality. The chief of these pulque gods was called "Two Rabbit," after his day in the almanac, and another, Tepoztecatl, was the tribal god of Tepoztlan, honored by a temple placed high in the mountains of Morelos.

The gods of the earth and death were highly important, 776
since growth takes place in the earth and the dead are received there. The sun on rising seems to be born in the earth and at its setting to be hidden by it, thus passing apparently to the world of the dead. The gods and goddesses associated with the earth had significance for the solar cults as well as for growth and fertility.

Tlaltecuhtli, "Lord of the Earth," was depicted as a male monster of horrifying aspect, partaking of the attributes of a toad and an alligator. His open mouth could consume even [821]
the sun, since the setting sun passed into the earth, according to Aztec astronomical ideas. The goddesses, however, seem

*Sho-chee-pe'e-ly.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

•776 to have been worshiped more extensively, and the clay images made in their honor also continued in unbroken line the tradition of the Middle Culture figurines. Coatlicue (Our Lady of the Serpent Skirt) was the mother of the gods in their stellar aspect but also was honored as the mother of Huitzilopochtli. The measure of her importance may be gauged by [778] the great statue of her in Mexico which is a masterpiece of sacerdotal art and undoubtedly had a temple to itself. Coatlicue was also represented as a mother carrying a child in her arms. In this guise her function as a mother goddess brought her image into almost every home in the valley. Tonantzin (Our Mother), which may have been an aspect of this same goddess or of Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), had a temple at Tepeyac, now the site of the shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and her cult was transferred to the Virgin by the early missionaries, an act exemplifying their intelligent procedure in evangelizing the Aztecs. A goddess, Tlazolteotl (Eater of Filth), was extensively worshiped and was also synonymously known as the "Mother of the Gods." Primarily an earth-goddess, she, alone of the goddesses, had a moral significance, since in eating refuse she consumed the [783] sins of mankind, leaving them pure. A rite of confession developed in her cult. (See Plates 54–55.)

Standing out from the numerous divinities associated with death were Mictlantecuhtli and Mictlancihuatl,* (Our Lord and Lady of the Region of Death). They wore masks made from human skulls, and their ornaments were either human bones or representations of them. They presided over the northern regions and also ruled the hells below the earth. Theirs was no punitive function, for all who died, save in

*Meek-tlan-se'e-watl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

war or sacrifice, childbirth or drowning, passed upon death 776
to their domain. (See Plate 55, bottom left.)

This incomplete description of the gods and goddesses who thronged the Aztec pantheon gives an idea of their variety of purpose and character, outlined more fully in Table X. For an individual to try to do honor to so many gods could result in an insupportable situation. Yet even the modern Navajos pass a third of their time in ceremonial activity, and they do not have half the economic wealth of the Aztec peoples. While the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do the most ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.

The priests gave guidance and prescribed the ceremonies, 793
and the worshipers gave heed to those especial divinities upon 776
whose patronage their life directly depended, much as a de- 771
vout Catholic selects certain saints for veneration above the list of those whose days are recorded on the calendar. In the same way the Aztec tribal god has his counterpart in the patron saint of country, town or craft. The Aztec, however, thought of his gods as having strong material powers, but their spiritual aspect counted little with him.

The ritual of Aztec religion was as complex as the theol- 796
ogy. The organization of the priesthood followed the pyramided structure of the social order, but the ceremonies were worked out in accordance with the ritualistic requirements of the calendar and the seasons. In the following chapter we shall describe the priesthood, the ceremonies and also the Aztec methods of counting, recording and using time.

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TABLE X

PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE AZTEC PANTHEON, THEIR CHARACTER, AND SPHERES OF WORSHIP

	Month	*Week*	*Day*	*Day Hour*	*Night Hour*
GREAT GODS					
Huitzilopochtli, Hummingbird Wizard, War and Sun God, chief god of Tenochtitlan	5* 9 15				
Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, chief god of pantheon, solar attributes, chief god of Texcoco	5 12		13 8	10	
Quetzalcoatl, Feathered Serpent, God of Learning and of Priesthood, chief god of Cholula, frequently shown as Ehecatl, the Wind God		2	2	9	
CREATIVE DEITIES					
Tloque Nahuaque, Lord of the Close Vicinity, creative spirit, theological abstraction					
Ometecuhtli, Lord of Duality, like Tonacatecuhtli and his wife					
Tonacatecuhtli, Lord of Our Subsistence, Creator God, chief of the gods		1	1		
Tonacacihuatl, Lady of Our Subsistence, wife of the above					
FERTILITY GODS					
Tlazolteotl, Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother, worshiped under many synonyms	11	13	14	5	7
Teteoinnan, Mother of the Gods, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Ixcuina, Four Faces, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Toçi, Our Grandmother, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Chicomecoatl, Seven Snake, Corn Goddess, ancient goddess dating from Middle Culture times	4 11				
Cihuacoatl, Serpent Woman, Earth Goddess, ruling childbirth and death thereby					
Tonantzin, Our Mother, synonym of Cihuacoatl					
Coatlicue, Serpent Skirt, Earth Goddess, associated with spring, mother of Huitzilopochtli					
Cinteotl, Corn God, son of Tlazolteotl, husband of Xochiquetzal, important				(12) (7)	4
Xochiquetzal, Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers, of Craftsmen, important		19	20	(13)	
Xochipilli, Flower Prince, God of Pleasure, Feasting, Frivolity			11	(3) 7	
Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, synonym of Xochipilli					

*The numbers refer to the *Tonalamatl* of the *Codex Borbonicus*. Those in parentheses refer to variations found in the *Tonalamatl Aubin* and the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.

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TABLE X (*Continued*)

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	Month	Week	Day	Day Hour	Night Hour
Xipe, Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime and Planting, the red Tezcatlipoca, highly important	2	14	15	(11) (4)	
Xilonen, Young Maize Mother, Goddess of the Young Corn	8				
Ilamatecuhtli, the Old Princess, a goddess of ancient times, related to corn and the earth	17			13	
GODS OF RAIN AND MOISTURE					
Tlaloc, He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God, very important	6 13	7	7	8	(8) 9
Tlaloques, minor rain gods, children or brothers of Tlaloc, a plural synonym	3 1 16				
Chalchihuitlicue, She of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess, very important	1	5	5	3	6
Huixtocihuatl, Salt Woman, Goddess of Salt and of the Dissolute	7				
Napatecuhtli, Four Times Lord, one of the Tlalocs					
Ehecatl, Wind, Wind God, a frequent guise of Quetzalcoatl					
FIRE GODS					
Xiuhtecuhtli, Lord of the Year, Fire God, a divinity of ancient times, important	18 10	20 9	9	(7) 1	1
Huehueteotl, Old God, a synonym of Xiuhtecuhtli					
Chantico, In the House, goddess associated with the hearth and volcanic fire		18	19		
PULQUE GODS					
Mayauel, She of the Maguey Plant, Goddess of the Maguey and also of Fertility		8	8		
Patecatl, He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine, husband of Mayauel		11	12		
Tezcatzontecatl, Straw-Covered Mirror, an important pulque god, identifiable with the Chac Mool figures in stone					
Centzon Totochtin, Four Hundred Rabbits, the many pulque gods					
PLANETARY AND STELLAR GODS					
Tonatiuh, the Sun, Sun God with intimate connections with Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca				4	
Piltzintecuhtli, Young Prince, synonym of Tonatiuh					3
Metztli, the Moon, Moon God, sometimes identified with Tezcatlipoca					
Tecciztecatl, He from the Sea Snail, synonym of Metztli		6	6		(5)
Mixcoatl, Cloud Serpent, God of Stars and of Numbers	14				
Camaxtli, god of Tlaxcala, synonym of Mixcoatl, a War God					

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TABLE X (*Continued*)

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	Month	Week	Day	Day Hour	Night Hour
Itzpapalotl, Obsidian Knife Butterfly, stellar and also agricultural goddess		15	16		
Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus, the morning star, variant of Quetzalcoatl		9		(1) (12)	
Coyolxauhqui, Painted with Bells, Moon Goddess, sister of Centzon Huitznaua					
Centzon Huitznaua, 400 Southerners, star gods of south					
Centzon Mimixcoa, 400 Northerners, star gods of north					
Tzitzimime, Monsters Descending from Above, stellar gods					
GODS OF DEATH, EARTH					
Mictlantecuhtli, Lord of Region of Death, God of Death		10	10	11	5
Mictecacihuatl, Lady of Region of Death, wife of Death God					
Tepeyollotl, Heart of the Mountains, Mountain God, Jaguar God		3	3		8
Tlaltecuhtli, Lord of Earth, earth monster, personification of earth in contrast to sun				2	
Teoyaomiqui, God of Dead Warriors, a specialized Death God				6	
Huahuantli, the Striped, synonym of Teoyaomiqui				(6)	
VARIANTS OF GREAT GODS					
Itzli, Stone Knife, a surrogate of Tezcatlipoca in guise of sacrificial knife		20			2
Itzlacoliuhqui, Curved Obsidian Knife, another variant of Tezcatlipoca		12	(13)		
Paynal, the Hasty, messenger of Huitzilopochtli					
Yacatecuhtli, Lord Who Guides, God of Traveling Merchants	15 12				
Chalchiuhtotolin, Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca		17	(18)		
Yaotl, Enemy, synonym of Tezcatlipoca				(5)	
OTHER GODS					
Xolotl, Double, Monster God, twin of Quetzalcoatl		16	17		
Ixtlilton, Little Black Face, God of Health and Cures from Ills				(2)	
Cihuateteô, Goddesses, witches, spirits of women dead in childbirth					
Huehuecoyotl, Old Coyote, backbiter or mischief-maker, god of Otomi		4	4		

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[END PAPER MAP (B)]

De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA, IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

First Chapter, which talketh of the highest gods[1] who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Humming-bird from the Left (Uitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.[2] [He was] a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a madman, a deceiver,[3] a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague —that is, war.[4] And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up. The merchants bathed them.[5]

And he was thus arrayed: he had an ear-pendant of blue cotinga feathers;[6] he had the fire serpent diagram, the blue nomad cloth,[7] the arm band.[8] He wore rattles and shells.[9]

Ynic ce capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa, yn oc cenca tlapanauja teteuh: yn qujnmotutiaia, yoan yn qujtlamanjliaia, yn ie necauh.

Vitzilubuchtli: çan macuualli, çan tlacatl catca: naualli, tetzaujtl, atlacacoemelle, teixcuepanj: qujiocoianj in iaoiutl, iaotecanj, iaotlatoanj:

ca itechpa mjtoaia, tepan qujtlaça yn xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli, q. n. iaoiutl, teuatl, tlachinolli. Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtiloia, malmjcoaia, tlaaltilmjcoaia: tealtiaia, yn pochteca.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia: xiuhtotomacoche catca, xiuhcozaxaxale, xiuhtlalpile, matacaxe, tzintile, oiocalle.

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Second Chapter, which talketh of the god named He who Hummeth (Paynal), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Paynal was "the delegate," "the substitute," "the deputy"; because he represented Uitzilopochtli when there was a procession. He was named Paynal, because he pressed on and urged them ahead.[10]

Ynic vme capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca paynal: yn qujmotutiaia, yoan in qujtlamanjliaia in necauh.

Paynal: motepatilleteianj, motexiptlatianj: tepan mixcoaj: ishica ca qujmixiptlatiaia, in vitzilubuchtli, yn iquac tlaixcalouia, motecaiotia paynal: ipampa ca cenca, qujtzontemia, qujmodalochtiaia.

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1. The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: "Capítulo primero, que habla del principal dios. . . ."
2. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 423, refers to him as our *an Sterneboten*.
3. Seler thus phrases the passage: "Uitzilopochtli was only a man, a conjurer, an unlucky omen, a wicked rogue, one who deluded the people with visions."—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 4.
4. *Cf.* Rémi Simeón: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Aimée de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 239. ". . . of him it is related that he thrown the starboard and the firebrand, i. e., war, venice (spear-throwing) and fire at the people" (Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 218). *Cf.* also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 102, ". . . *muestra dios Vitzilopochtli nadie de dos cosas para contra sus enemigos para ascuchar y obedecerle; la una se llama xiuhtlal, y la otra mamalhuaztli . . . y él tenía por otra cual en la mano una celedra hecha de mexcaxa, que llaman xiuhtlal, en derecha una serpiente a cordada, y aquella, siendo vivo, como nigromántico en las batallas como que conjuraba vino la celedra sobre los enemigos con que los espantaba y hacía huir.*"
5. The meaning (*cf.* *nadia*) is to offer as a sacrifice, or to bathe as omens (*cf.* Sahagún, *op cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 379, 384).
6. *Cf. ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 104. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 423) identifies the bird as *Cotinga cineta s. cerulea*, and suggests that the feathers were arranged in a mosaic pattern. Simeón, *op. cit.*, p. 699, calls the bird *Herbaceus ceric* (Hum.).
7. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 426. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 379, suggests that such an article of clothing was sometimes worn about the legs.
8. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223, and Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 144, and Vol. II, p. 380, say the arm-band was provided with a hole or a reed, to insert a decoration. In the Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, fo. 37r, Sahagún defines *matacazte* as "*pellejo de bestia fiera, a manera del manipulo, que se usa en la misa.*" *Cf.* also Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, 40), who says that it is the same as quauhchaquauhtl. See illus. of Uitzilopochtli.
9. The *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* reads *tzintlli, oyoalli, in iaoio*—an indication that they were worn on the calves of the legs—Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 427-8.
10. Sahagún (*Florentine Codex*, corresponding Spanish text) describes Paynal as figure *aparejado*.

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776 And the people followed [the impersonator], jostling,
796 howling, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

Auh in macuxaltl, quimocuia, quimiztlachocuia, cuitlauitinja, quicaoatzinja, tzuhuli quiquetzinja, tlalli quipopotzinja: inhuejo tlatimpujujuja, tlalli tzocuja:

[778] And one man carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

auh ce tlacatl quimopalotinja.

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather headornament in the manner of coastal people. Bees were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. He was the hummingbird disguise. He had the hummingbird mirror; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

Auh yuje tzoctlichiuia, tzoquentinja, quetzalquemecuitl, in cuetlaxtinja, iztacxilichiuale, iztlalichiuale, mixtlalichiuh, xiuhtecuxjuo, viuitlatzacuale, elotzacua, xiuhchiuale.

776 [796] **Third Chapter,** which telleth of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in times past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Jaie ey, capitulo, yuchqui tlamo in teotl, yn jueca tezcatlipoca: in quijtoaiaia, yuan in quijtlamanjtinia, ie uecauh.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose ability was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

Tezcatlipoca: yuin uel teotl ipan muchuia, nenjian yuanjjin: mictla, tlalticpac, yllujcac. Jn jquac nemja tlalticpac, ichcauil quijolintinja, in tuhuli tlaçolli: ceceu tequehqui, cujuinintinia.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

teuali, tenpanda motenxia: ipampa y, mjtuia necuc iuzti, nezchi quijocoiaia, quijuauajaja, quijuecaujtinia, qujuecujtinia yn jaquich aquilli tepan muchuia: tecu tenjjtinia, tequequtinia.

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, relationship, nobility, honor.

Auh in quenon, quijuauacia, in necujlmeuili: in tlaquijtl, in aquijchiol, in tlacuchiuil, in teoiul, in tlamacuiul, in pilloli, in mecuiqui.

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the priest.[13]

Jaje nauj capitulo, yuchqui tlamoia yn teotl, yn jueca tlaloc, tlamacuiqui.

Tlaloc: the priest. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunder-bolts.

Tlaloc, tlamacuiqui: yuje ipan muchoia, in quijauijtl: ca ichcauil quitocuia, quijuecujuia, quijpixoia, in quijauijtl, yuan in tecujtl: quiuelahtinja, quijuecalaxtinja, quijuecuitlatinja, quicuepontinja, quicaltinia in quauijtl, in çacatl, in tonacatl. Yuan no inuch tlaujtinia, in tetlaquijtinti, in tlaujtequjlinti.

And he was then decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;[14] it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.[15] He had a sleeveless chest-jacket of netted fabric; he had a crown of brown feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals, and also sandals. He had a painted-reed banner.[16]

Auh yuje: tzoctlichiuia, tlaxtlilipoctzolli, tlaxtlilhujlli, tzoltlaqui, imajchiuaua, imxichiuaxilo, xuchtzicale, xiuhtzicola, xoxouaua, chalchiuhtecuqui, poquitecqui, no tzinzile, ezuxilipaua.

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Jaie mauijll capitulo, yuchqui tlamo yn teotl, yn jueca quetzalcoatl.

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11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Sahagun (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 44) dubious as to a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, says over the shoulders (indeed and the upper-arms) (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the idol.

13. Sahagun (*Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 46) says that *tlamacuiqui* and *tlamacuiqui* means "priest" and "priest." He himself translates *Tlaloc tlamacuiqui* as "Rogatorio . . . Rogatorio," in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Cuentos Sahagún, Wilhelm Lehmann, Wilhelm Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwartzer, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*): "*im Gesicht eine Bepinselung mit flüssigem Kautschuk.*"

15. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 180; see also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 462-4.

16. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 149.

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Quetzalcoatl—he was the wind, the guide and road-sweeper of the rain gods,[17] of the masters of the watery, of those who brought rain. And when the wind rose, when the dust rumbled, and it crackled and there was a great din, and it became dark and the wind blew in many directions, and it thundered; then it was said: "[Quetzalcoatl] is wrathful."

And thus was he bedight: he had a conical[18] ocelot-skin cap. His face was thickly smeared with soot. He was adorned with [spiral] wind and mesquite symbols.[19] He had a curved, turquoise mosaic ear-pendant.[20] He wore a gold neckband of small sea-shells.[21] He had the quetzal-pheasant as a burden on his back. He had ocelot anklets with rattles. He wore a cotton hune[-ribbed] jacket.[22] He carried the shield with the wind-shell design.[23] He had the curved [inlaid] spear-thrower[24] and also foam sandals.

Quetzalcoatl: yn ehecatl ynteiacuncauh yntlachpancauh in tlaloque, yn acoque, yn quiquijauhti. Auh yn jquac molhuja ehaca, mjtoa: tzahtli quaqualaca, yeoioca, teteujca, tlatlaioca, tlatlalpitta, tlatlatzinj, motlatlametitia.

Auh yuja yn tuchichioaia: ocelocopile, mjatlilpepoca, hecanechioale, mixqujnechioale, tzicoliuhcanacoche, tzucujtlaacuechcoupa, quetzalcopallamamale, ocelotzittile, icpamjcicujle, hecacuecachimale, hecaujque, no peçulcaque.

Sixth Chapter: here are noted the greatest goddesses who were worshipped as idols, whom the natives falsely reverred as gods.

The savage Snake-woman (Cioacoatl), ill-omened and dreadful,[25] brought men misery. For it was said: "She giveth men the hoe and tump-line. Thus she forceth men [to work]."

And when she appeared before men, she was covered with chalk, like a court lady, with obsidian ear-plugs. She was in white, having garbed herself in white, in pure white. Her tightly wound hairdress rose like two horns above her head.

By night she walked weeping and wailing, a dread phantom foreboding war.[26]

And in this wise was her image adorned: her face was painted one-half red, one-half black.[27] She had a head-dress of [eagle] feathers[28] and golden ear-plugs. She wore a

Jnjc chiquacē capitulo: vncan motenca, yn oc cenca tlapanauja yn cioatetu: yn qujmoteutiaia, in qujteutlapiqujaia yn njcan tlaca.

Cioacoatl tequanj: yoan tetzaujtl, tetetzaujanj, ittoiutl qujtititia: ca mjtoaia, victli mecapalli, qujtemacaia, ic temolaia.

Auh yujc motititiaia, mometztlilaia: iuhquja tecpan cioatl, nanacoche, itztacoche, itztaian moquetza, itztaian actica, itztactla ycaia, itztaticac, vel panj qujquetza yn jueuetlacol, yn jaxtlacujl,

ioaltica chocatimeca, tecoiuhtimeca, no iuztetzujtl cetca.

Auh yuj yn tuchichioaia yxiptla, yn jaxtac, centlacochichiltic, centlacotlilitic, yujquetzone, teucujtlanacoche, quechqueme, xiuhtzotzopaca.

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17. Cf. Edward Seler: *Translation of the Aztec Collection* (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd., 1901), pp. 42-3; and Juan de Torquemada: *Monarquia indiana*, Vol. II, pp. 47 and 52. The connection between Quetzalcoatl and the Thaloc is illustrated in this passage (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 203): "*Este genio atribuia el viento a un dios que llamaban Quetzalcoatl, hijo cuyo como dios de los vientos. Según el viento de cuatro partes del mundo por mandamiento de este dios, según ellos decian; de la una parte viene de hacia el oriente donde ellos dicen estar el paradiso terrenal al cual llaman Tlaloman, (y) a este viento le llamaban tlalchiquequi; no se viento furioso, cuando El sopla no impide (a) los cuerpos andar por el agua.*"

18. Conical shape is not specifically implied; but the definition of capilli in Simeon (*op. cit.*) is mitre. Furthermore, the conical cap is a distinguishing mark of Quetzalcoatl.

19. Wind-painting, according to Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 475; see also pp. 436 and 437). Parts of the costume, as illustrated, bear of the wind-dress—the rounded edges of the mantilla, for instance. Inferior cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

20. Edward Seler (*ibid.*, p. 475) calls it "*den derzeig gebrochenen Ohrpflock.*" In corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, writing more fully than in the Aztec text, says: "*Tenia, veste ovejuna, de turquesas, de labor mosaico. . . . .*" The word *tenjpil* means turquoise used in mosaic work (Simeon, op. cit.).

21. The corresponding Spanish text of Sahagún reads: "*tenia un collar de oro, de que colgaban, veste caracoles marinos, preciosos.*"

22. See Edward Seler, op. cit., p. 475.

23. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has: "*una rodela, con una pintura, con cierto angular; que llaman, el joel de viento.*" The term *ecanepachtli* may be translated more literally as "shield with pendent shell" design. A bitumed shell design usually hangs as a boxer shield on representations of Quetzalcoatl; this same design appears on the shield. (See *Translatoral of Codex Borbonicus.*)

24. Corresponding Spanish text says: "*con cierto empuñadura de espada.*"

25. Cf. *also tetzaujtenc*, epithet of snake mentioned by Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 286), as sound because "*mata con espanto.*"

26. This is explained in *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 281, 284.

27. See illustration, which indicates that the part of the face below the nose is black.

28. Seler translates this as eagle feathers. His citations from the Hymns of Centzonmimi are convincing. Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 59.

776 cape-like cow-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[30] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] held in her charge our food,[30] men's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[31] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[32] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Jnic chicome capitulo: vncan momoua, yn cioatetl: yn jtoca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: ihcatl ipan mjtoaia, qujmjxiptlatiaia, in tonacaiotl: yoan in çaço tlein yoanca, yiolca macuxalli, yniçu, yniquaio.

Auh yojn ynnechichioale catca; intlauhtzacale, amacala, xnochiavipile, xnochiacuxie, no poçolicaque, tonalchimale, tonatiuhchimale.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteu innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were [759] physicians, leeches, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.[33]

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

776 And when there was a feast, when it was time for the
796 slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteu innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They solaced her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they amused her. They wished her not to weep. They bid [her fate] from her;[34] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they buried; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with maxtlas, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huaxocs,[35] who accompanied him on either side.

Jnic chicuai capitulo: vncã momoua, yn cioatetl, yn jtoca: Teteu yma: no motocaiotia, Tlalli yiollo, yoan Toçi.

Jnnã catca yn teteu, qujmoteutiaja, in tiiici, in teiximjnque, teximanque, tetlaxopijlique, teixpatique.

Auh yn cioa, xmjxiojtique, tepillalilique, tetlatlazilique, tlapouhque, ezlan mitzaij, tlaolchaiauhque, mocatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlaocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

No ichoantin qujtlatlauhtiaia, in temazcalque; ypampa y, quithalilia yn jxipela, in temazcalinque, qujxcaiotiaia, temazcalteci.

Auh yn jquac, in ie illujquejtilloia, in ie inijquimoquippa: in ichoantin tiiici, yn jxipela catca teteu yma, qujtlaxoxilpeloaia, amo vel chocaia, quetzlequjxtiaia, qujtlamocuxtiaia, qujtlacmoqujtiaia, qujxcoltiaia, haqujchocolanja, qujtlatlaltiaia, momjquinquequlaia, qujnecalitiaia, qujnochiaia, qujtlacaxachiliaia, ennujaia, tlacuxcaltiaia, tetlaxinmocuia, tetlauhtiloia: in qujmjlhuca machiuia in tlacaca, ic quintiçaujaia, ic qujpotonjaia, qujmomacujlitiaja, ic panj moquetzaia.

Auh yn jquac: ennjc, yn jxipela: ujmon ce tlacatl ennequjaia, yn jeuaia, yuaquauila ochinquetzaia, vncan yoanca, qujujoaia, qujtzatzacutiujia:

29. See Plate 29, which explains the name.
30. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.
31. Cf. Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 448.
32. Although Seler (op. cit., p. 449) uses the term "foam," he cites Sahagún as referring to flowers. Illustrations show the gods wearing in fact, feathered sandals.
33. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 235-54.
34. Cf. also Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 169, 176.
35. Seler, *Ensayo Especial*, p. 6. Cf. also Sahagún, op. cit., p. 178, referring to the Toçi festival: "*Iban delante de ella aquellos que decoraban que se llamaban huaxocos.*"

They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hawk scratches. They went naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mitre-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Toci's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the costume [of Totec iuan] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, pointed eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, *totoicxiti*. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

motiçaiaque, motlotlauitzcopa, çan pepetlauhtiuj, in momocamatti: amacalli in qujmama, mahmalacaquetzalle, ichcauchiio, hiujquetzalle:

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[302]

vmpa concoca, in tocitiztlan: quauhtlapechco cuotlaliaia yn jonaio.

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Auh ynjc nechichiuale, motenolcopi, tlazapuchtli qujmotlatlalili yn jcamapá ichcauchica, çoiatemale, cuechcueie, mocuechcueti: ic mjtoa, citlalli ycua, citlalcueie, quavivih, tzotzeliuhquj yn juipil, quauhtzotzeliuhquj, iztac quavihujio, quauhtenitaço; yn jchimal, teucujtlaytixapo, tetzacuio, popoa, iequjoa.

Ninth Chapter, in which one hearth of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made turpentine.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;[39] they who were hoarse used the turpentine unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was eaten, [it was used for] the *tecolle*-sickness.[41]

In oil and in heat were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the turpentine unguent brought slaves and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like dried poppy-seed pods,[43] and they rattled bone rattles.

Thus was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were spattered over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble corn-tassels. She carried the nine-rattlehead.[44]

Jnjc chicunauj capitulo: vncan motenoa, yn cioatzul, yn jnoc Tzaputla tena.

Ce cioatl, ipan mjtoaia, yn ozitl ynacaio machiotia:

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quipaleuja yn tenacaio, yn aquja quazoçiuj, tozcamjtoaciuj, motencaoiuja: chaquachiuj, quaçoçoti, xozaianj, tentzaianj, iztetçonauj, matetçonauj, iczitzaiaianj, yoan in quala, yn tlazaliciuj:

yn jchinaca yn jtonal vel mieccan momequj.

Auh yn jquac illujquiztlioia, yn ozinomacaque, motlaccoujaia, tlacamjctiaia, qujtecollotiaia yn jxipela, qujcujcatiaia, yn ieweiocan, qujtepemacilhujaia, caiocozomjlia, caiocujquujlia, caiocuchilhuja, comjchicuacilhuja.

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Jnjc nechichiuale omeacaola, amacali, olchachapanqui, tlaolchipinilli yn jamacal, yoan quetzalujtaoaia, aiochicaoaca.

36. See Plate 8.

37. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 182, calls it goddess.

38. Cf. text and illus. in MS *Biblioteca del Palacio*, cited in Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 448-9, in which these are described as a hand-head of compact cotton.

39. ". . . *cosa maravillosa, de hombres, o mujeres, que tienen, en la cabeza*" (incomprehensible Spanish text).

40. ". . . *cosa enfermedad . . . tener mujeres, que tienen en la cabeza que se llama hoba*" (loc. cit.).

41. See p. 41, n. 150.

42. Cf. Diego de Durán: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme* (Mexico: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.

43. "*Sonajuelas, semejan hechas a manera de dormideras*" (Sahagún, op. cit.).

44. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 474; and *Einige Kopfzier*, p. 7—*Nahui-Ravellenti* (*chaud-rattlehead*). The same author, cited in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. V ("*Los cantares de los dioses*"), says: "*Esta voz* (*ravellenti*) *significa evidentemente la cabeza y, mucho a esta hora variación en el modo de pronunciar, tanto origen de sonajuelas-rasuelli. Sarta el instrumento para encontramiento de la flauta. . . .*" (pp. 47-8); ("*El chicuacuelli, bálculo de sonajas, instrumento musical que usan en la mano los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la procesión de los sacerdotes en la Resalquelhuitl, llevan delante el sonajuelacuelli, sonajas de varilla. Es el instrumento mágico, con que*

● 776 **Tenth Chapter, which telleth of the goddesses [called] the Princesses (Cuaspiltin).**[46]

[753] These were five devils, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They hate people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and contended with the Cuaspiltin, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Wherefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Cuaspiltin arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

776 796 And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they made them offerings of soft, folded *tortillas* called *tlamatzoalli*, butterfly-shaped *tortillas* called *papalotlaxcalli*, [others shaped like] sacrificial notched sticks (*xoncuili*),[46] small tamales called *xocuichtlamatzoalli*,[47] and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

776 And they were thus bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and over this, darkened with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with painted figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

Jnic matlactli, capitulo: ynechpa tlama, yn cioatzin, ciospipilti:

Diablome catca y, macujltin, tzme yn jmiztlaxan; intech tlamjlnia, qujlmach tetlaxelia, tzca mocaiana, ynjc aca itech qujnecuia tlaxelilocati, tzmecujliuj, ixnecujliuj, matzicoliuj, icxicopichauj, icximjmjquj, momacuecuetza, tzmqualacquiça: ic mjtoaia omotzmamicti, ypan oquiaque ciospipilti, vmaxac chanequc. Jpampa y yn tetzca, anoço tzmaoa, qujmilhujaia yn jupilhoan: maca xonqujça tlalpan aci, tzmo in ciospipilti.

Auh ipampa y, yti iquac ynjlhujuh, ynjc qujntlamanjliaia: tlamatzoalli, papalotlaxcalli, xoncujli, xocuichtlamatzoalli, izquijtl.

Auh yn vncan momana y, in quemman vncan yn cioatzocalco, in quemman, vmaxac.

Auh yn jmochichioal catca, mjztiçauique: auh panj tlaolxaoalti, tlaitzcopeoaltictli, tlaitzcopeoalli, yn jmamatlaquan, pozonocaquequa.

Eleventh Chapter: which telleth of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli ycue), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered a god[dess]; her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that she belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swelled, and formed whirlpools about them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She upset the canoe, she emptied it; she lifted it, turned it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it heaved to and fro; it was said, "It playeth; it billoweth, it splasheth like the stamping of feet; the water striketh the shore, spraying water and foaming."

Jnic matlactli vce capitulo: ytechpa tlama, yn cioatzoul, yn jtocca chalchiuhtli ycue: iehoal yn atl.

Teotl ipan machoia: iuhquin cioatl quiztlatlaiaia, iuh mjtoaia, qujlmach yoean pouj, iouhtinh in tlaloque:

ynic mazicuitlilloia, ynic imacxaxaia, ynic mauhcaitzoia, ynic tlamauhtiaia, tzatzctiaia, tzatlaanjctiaia, tzpolactiaia, tzpan poçonja, mozpouaçoa, mazicioia, tzpan motzujlacachoa, ynic tzontlanjujca:

yn acalli quicoepa, quiztlapachcoepa, quemtiquetza, ca ano malauj, ca tzma.

Auh in quemma tzapachoa, tzapotzauja, mocuiciotia, tzicujca xxxanacatimanj, cocomocatimanj, hatlacamanj:

yn jquac ozcuh, yn ic ozuj, ouje iaiauh: quitoa, tzaujltia, tzizipujpilinj, cocomotzauj, atzotli itech omotlatlazaua, omotchachaquanja, mapopoçoquilloia.

se hace descender lluvia. . . . El chicomecóatl es el par simbólico de las fertilidad y, sin duda, también instrumento mágico con que se obtiene lluvia" (pp. 129-30).

46. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 324-5; Vol. II, pp. 181-5. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 2, p. 38, and pt. 3, p. 100, and Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 49, 80) *ibid.*, holds that Cuaspiltin (the princesses) are the same as Cihuateo (the goddesses)—women who died in childbirth (mocihuaquetzque) or on the sacrificial stone, and hence were the equivalent of warriors killed in battle or offered up as sacrifices. Seler describes them as special earth-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were conveyed in certain warriors' symbols—eagle feathers and down sandals, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to incite men to sin and crime.

46. An S-shaped color, made to resemble lightning.—Seler, op. cit., Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 47.

47. Painted novelties in the form of square-flours, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 6.

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework: they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloca, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Thus they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [-goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the mist-rattleboard,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattimanj, atencattitimanj, petlantimanj, cuecuriocatimanj. 776

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujxtiliola, çan no iquac yn etzalqualiztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtiliola tlaloque, 796

colodi in qujchichioaia yxiptla: qujcuetiaia, qujujpiltiaia, qujcoecatiaia, coecapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuetic teucujtlacomalli: [805]

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtlenamacacauh, yiauhtli, ixpan qujtepevilia, [778]

caiochicaoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcujcatia in calpoleque, ycujcacaoan.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in qujcoaia, ichoan qujnettiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl ye motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaleque, yn apantlaca: yoan acalquetzque tianquixco, in qujtechiletia atl. [567] [463]

No iuh qujchichioaia, no iuh qujtlamamacaia, no iuh qujcencaoaia: iuh tlantiuja: in miquja, ytocaiocan tlalocan: yn vncan intepan, tlaloque, queltetequjo.

Jn jquac y, no cenca qujmauiztiliaia, yn motecuçuma: ixpan tlenamacoia, yn jxiptla, qujtlacotenjlia,

iuh qujtoaia: qujiauhtlatlanj in tlacatl, qujtlamachuja yn jmacaoal: yoan vncan mocnelilmati, ynjc qujmahujztiliaia atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn inquich tetech monequj.

No iuh qujmauiztiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaiotl, yn jtoca, chicome coatl; yoã yn jxiptla iztatl, ytoca Vixtociuatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn ja tlamanjati:

ca vel ynenca muchioa in macoualli, ic vellamati, ic vel nemj. 776

Auh yujn, in muchichioaia: mozaoia, teoxica, motenujltec, motezotenujltec, mixcoçalhuj, chalchiuhcuetque, xiuhmacoche, teoamacale, quetzalmjiacoaio, atlacujlolhvipile, atlacujlolhuiujpile, atlacujlolcuaia, atlacueçomanchimale, xiuchicaoaçe, cacalaca; poçolocque.

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48. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "*este atolli era hecho de maiz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 219): "*el maiz cocido por el solo llamaxic pegaldy pero a causa de revolverlo con frijol (el) le llaman atpally.*"

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: ". . . *la festejaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua: como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaça. . . .*"

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *porque dexian, que estos tres dioses: sustentavan, a la gente pupular: para que pudiesen, vivir, y multiplicar.*"

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *la pintavan, la cara, con color amarilla. . . .*"

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenia en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con una cruz: hecho a manera, de la custodia, en que se lleva el sacramento, quando van solo le llevan: y con como cetro, dezia diosa.*" See p. 9, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhtli yoan and Tlaçolteotl.

776 **Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteutl).**[53]

Tlaçolteutl was also called Iscuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteutl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 And as to her name Iscuina: it was said there were four
551 women—the first named Tiacapan (the older sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocutzin (the youngest sister).[54] These four women, it was said, were god-[desses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteteu).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[55] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities;
[783] one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteutl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green
[783] and yellow waters.[56]

And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteutl the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

793 And her warden[57]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[58]
776
783

Jnic mathactli vnome capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteutl.

In tlaçultteutl: yoan itoca iscujna, yoan itoca tlaelquanj. Jnic motocaiotia tlaçulteutl, qujl ipampa, qujl ichoatl yiauca, ytlatquj, ytech pouj, in teuhtli, in tlaçulli: in qujtemequj, xvilnemjlistli, qujl ipan tecuti, ypan tlatocati, yn aujlnemjliçqui.

Auh ynjc itoca, iscujna: qujl navinti ioah, in cioa: ynjc ce ytoca tiacapan, ynjc vme, ytoca teicu, ynjc ey, itoca tlaco: ynjc nauj itoca xocutzin. Jnjque hin, naujatin cioa: qujl teteu. Jnjque hin, cecenca yntoca: tlaçulteteu.

Auh ynjc motocaiotia tlahelquanj: qujl ipampa, imixpã mjtoa, imjxpan mopoa, yn jaqujch nequalli: iixpan mjtoa, momelaoa, yn jaqujch tlahellachicoalli: immanel cenca temamauhti, iximanel cenca oujh: atle mopinaviacaoa, vel mochi, iixpan neci, ixpan mjtoa. Neiolmelaoalistli.

Qujlnach in tlaçulli, in teuhtli, in aujlnemjlisiel: ichoatl qujtemaca, ic temotla, ic tehipitza in tlaçulteutl. Auh çan no ichoatl, qujtepolhuja: ichoatl chico, xnaoac qujujca, qujtaca: ichoatl, tepapaca, tehaltia: ichoatl imac manj yn matlalatl, in tuxpalatl.

Auh injc qujtepopelhuja ynjc chico, tlanaoac, qujujca, qujtaca: iixpan neiolcujtilo, iixpan neiolmelaoalo, yn tlaçulteutl, iixpã mopoa, mjtoa, in tetlachiual.

Auh iix, ynacac, ytlacatcauh mochiua, in tlapouhqui, in

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53. The chapter on Tlaçolteutl is not included in *MS Escorial* or *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Einige Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

54. *Cf.* Edward Seler, *Translations of the Aztec Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called Iscuinan, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteutl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Iscuina, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as stated by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the girls—the cleansing to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

55. Eater of filth or of embrace (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*remedera de cosas sucias.*"

56. *Cf.* Edward Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, discussing Chalchihtlicue and Tlaçolteutl: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the mutability and evanescence of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchihtlicue*. May she cleanse of the dirt which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady *Chalchihtlicue*, the Lord *Chalchihtlatonac* . . . water the water, the blue (*Matlalat*), the yellow, (*Tzapalat*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee all evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from the father, from the mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), says ". . . *ovarienses con que la parteera ovaba a la diosa del agua llamada* Chalchihtlicue *y* Chalchihtlatonac, *y decía así: 'Entonces nuestra* Chalchihtlicue *y* Chalchihtlatonac, *vosotros ha a vuestra presencia esta criatura: rociaos que la revistan.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echada sobre ella su vasella, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y también la vertía el pecho con ella, y el colchon de la cabeza, a manera de cuando se pone el dios y crisma a los niños, y decía de esta manera: 'Hijo mio muy amado,—y si era varon decía, hijo mio muy amado—, llegaos a vuestra madre y padre la señora Chalchihtlicue y* Chalchihtlatonac; *témanos ella, porque ella es la de lavar a criaturas y es las brazos en este mundo.' Y luego metía en el agua a la criatura, y decía: 'Entra hijo mio—o hija mia—en el agua, que es llama Matlalat y Tzapalloc; lávate en ella, limpiate el que está en todo lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de ti todo mal que traes con ya desde antes: del principio del mundo.'*" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Tonalamatl of the Aztec Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchiuhtlicue, the water goddess holds the head of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throne of the water goddess and in the current is the headdress of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations mentioned Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

57. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xiii (text, *tenacazy*); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 249.

58. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 5) uses the term *Kalendermadchen*.

the *tlapouhqui*, wise in reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting; the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been uttered.[39]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[40] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[41] bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer went there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou comest [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatsoever way thou art moved, in whatsoever manner it is, whatsoever thou hast done, whatsoever thou hast achieved, whatsoever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil odor, thy corrupteness.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatinj, yn jmac manj, yn amuxtli, yn tlacujlolli: in qujpia 776
yn tilli, yn tlapalli, yn matile, yn piale, yn nonotzale, yn 793
oquju 783

yn mojelmelaxaz in tlapilchioale; achto qujtlacaqujtia in tlapouhquj, qujlhuja.

Ca ytechtzinco njnaxitimequj, yn tlacatl, yn totecujo, in tloque nauaque: in totecujo, yioalli, yn ehecatl, ytepoxin, ypetlacaltzin, njcnotztilizmequj.

Qujlhuja in tlapouhquj: otimotlacnelili:

qujnaoatia, yn iquja oallaz: qujpepena in tonalli, qujcta [787]
yn jamux, yn jtlacujlol: qujtta, yn iquja qualli tonalli, yn
ieccan, in qualcan: mjtoa: qujtonalpepenja.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie ynaoatilpan, iancujc petlatl quicua: yoan copalli, yoan quauitl: yn tlamauizti in tlamacuhquj, çan ichan yn moiolmelaoa, ie vmpa iauh in tlapouhquj. Auh anoce teujc iauh, in tlamacuhquj:

iancujc petlatl in moteca, vellachpano yn vncan motlalia; [788]
yoan tletlalilo: njman copalli contema in tleco in tlapouhquj,
qujnotza in tletl; qujlhuja.

Teteu ynnan, teteu ynta, veue teutl, njcan oallatia, in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn macoualli: njcan chocatiujtz, tlaocuxtiujtz, motzupoahtiujtz, ancan omalauh, ancan omotzpotlamj, ancan oqujxamjc yn vitlallotl, in tocatzoalli, yn çacamjtl; aquj ielitlacua, qujtequjpachoa, Tlacatle, totecujoe, tloquehe nauaquehe, macoçe xicmocujli, ma xicmocaqujti, yn jnentlamachiliz yn macoualli.

Niman qujnotza, yn moiolmelauhquj, in ihoatl tlapouhquj: qujlhuja.

Tiualmoviccatia quintzinco, itzpantzinco, in tloque nauaque; ticmolhujlico, ticmo[illegible]qujlico, yn mjiaca, in mopalanca: ticmotlapolhujlico, in motop, immopetlacal,

a ma ao cappa ieh njcan timatoiauj, timotzpexiuj: ma ispantzinco ximopepetlaua, ximomamazauj, in tloque, nauaque, in totecujo, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

A cujx tictlacaittaz in totecujo, a cujx njtztlacanotztlac: ca ioalli, ca ehecatl.

Auh ynja quen tiujtz, ma tictlapo im motop, in mopetlacal: ma xicpoa in nonemjlix, in motlachical, ynin quenja ticmati, ynin quenja cah: in quenja muchiuh, in quenja tax: in quenja tlachiuh, in monequal, in monequaujuc:

xicnoquj, xicpetlaej, in maiectica, in maqualtica, in mjiaca in mopalanca.

Auh xicmotlaocuhtomochili, yn totecujo, in tloque nauaque,

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39. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Sahagún, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

40. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of *yoalli*, *ehecatl* (1) "espíritu, aire y invisible"; and (2) "*aire invisible sin sangre . . . impalpable, y favorecedor y empecedor y indepedientes, por cuyo virtud andan vivos. . . .*" Angel María Garibay K, *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, México: n. p., 1940), p. 113, translates *tloque nauaque* as "*que está cerca y junto*"—the one, God in general.

41. Context suggests that possessive refers to the penitent.

●776 783 793 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and carrieth thee upon his back.[62]

"Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 776 783 793 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his sins.

Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do.—When the Ciuapipiltí dreamed, when the feast of the Ciuapipiltí or the Incuimame is celebrated,[63] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and maguey spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or maguey spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in momaçpaltitica, y macuchetica, in tepuztetica;

ximotlapalo, ma timopinoçquetz, ma tiniciuh.

Nimá ôelalqua in tlamacuhquj, oncopaltema: njman ixpan motlalia in tlapouhquj: qujlhuja, injc teviujti, ynjc tepatiloti, ynjc teizipda.

Totecujoe, tloquehe, nanaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaquitia, in njiaca in nopalanca: mjxpantzinco, njnopepetlaoa, njnonamaxauja: ca onac, ca onjechiuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaiocoalan, ca tzacac, ca tlavilpan im mjxpantzinco, yn onac.

Niman compeoaltia: in jtlapilchioaliz, vel iujn quenja cah, vel yujn quenja qujchiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, cenca çan jvin conoa, cencan yvin conjtoa, yn juh qujchiuh, in imaca çan vtli, cencan qujtocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj cencan qujtocatiuh.

Auh yn oelamjto yn jtlatol, yno muchi qujto ytlachioal:

qujnanquilia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jvtli, yn nacatli muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatilloti: qujlhuja.

O ca ticmomochilia, ca ticmomaquilia, in tloque nanaque, im motlachioal, in monequavitec.

Auh ynjn, ca iuca yn taix, yn tiechioaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoçe yn jquac ynjlhujuh cioapipilti, yn jacujname: nauilujtl timoçaoaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, timomomatzaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujtl, in ie oallauijh, in ioaltica tiçacatlaçaz, tiolatoquijztic: ynjn motlapilchioal, iuh tiomamjctic y: auh ynjn iuh namjque ez y:

auh jn quenja ticmequiz, iuh ticmequiz: yutla tiçacatlaçaz, iehoatl in tiucalçacatl tiquijztia, anoçe tlacotl. Auh aço monacaxco in tiolaquijztia, anoçe momenepilco.

Auh ynjc tiquijztic: ca amo ma çan titlamacoua, ca teuhtli, tlaçulli in tictlaça, tictlançua, tiocujtlacuepoaia, ỹ momenepil, mjxpampa ticaquia,

motoiolan in tiequjztia, in tictlaçaz: aço çan ceuan in tiequjztia, anoçe çan ticeuequjztia, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centoontli, aço vntoontli, in tiequjztia tlacotl:

ie pollaia, in motlatlacul, in motlapilchioal, im momequal.

62. Cf. Mem 56.

63. See Cap. X. The Ciuatetes or Ciuapipiltin were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they incited men to sin and crime.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Totochtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the[illegible] he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Auh intla çan xicca, yn jtlapilchioal, tlamacruhquj: 785
qujlhuja,
timotemoatzaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, 776
naujlhujtl: 783
anoço qujlhuja
titlatotia, timotetruhcaoaz, tiepiquiz: 793

anoço qujlhuja.

ca nel vetli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiquinqujxtiz in totochtin.

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc quinaoatia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamacteoaz ioaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlaubtiaz: yn momazac, amatl tlaitzcopeoalli in mantiaz: centetl mjcampa, motzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac tioalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jmjxpan totecujocoan, yn tetru, yn mamacuz.

Auh yn jquac otlamaceuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajan, monemjlizcuepa: qujlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoz, qujl ça ancmo tlaoculilonj.

Qujlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequaujtectli, in tetlaximalizdi: in qujtoaia vetztoc.

Jnjc moialmelaoaia vetztoque: qujlmach, ichoatl, ynjc amo tlacujlcilooque, njcan tlaltiepac, yn jtclapilchioal: yntla [684]
ontlaxini ynjc amo quatetlaxililot, ynjc amo quatepitzinjlot, ynjc amo quatetzocoaloz, moiolmelaoa.

Jn tlapoohqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman ocan qujtoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein ilhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ieh yn jlhujlo, in nomocualo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in mazo, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ieh motta, in macoualli.

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn 776
tepitoan tetzuh: yn qujntoqujlia, yn omotemruhque, yn vuezitzin tetzuh.

Xiuhtecutli, iccuçauhquj, yoan cuençaltzin. Jehoatl motocaiotia in tletl, anoço vezz tzuul yoan tota:

tzuul ipan machoia: ichica, ca tetlatia, tepalua, tecchichoua, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacuelia: ca ic necoolo, ic tlapanaao, ic tlacuzitilo, ic tlazco, ic izcatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic temetlatjlo, ic tlaztzoionjlo, yc tlatzoioaoalo, yc tetlecujlolo, ic temazcallatilo, ic omitlatilo, ic tlaoeztlatilo.

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64. The more characteristic emblem of Tlazolteotl is a broom wrapped with a tlalcuapaxtli—paper impressed with pointed figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, month of *Ochpaniztli*). The paper hats cloth is no doubt of this same pattern. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the hats cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text has: "*que son nuestros en dignidad que los arriba dichos.*"

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of
796 Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tozmulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 431] And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Izcoçauhqui. There [the
[304 852] parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

776 [Izcoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtililoia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan yxcalli: quixiptlatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacozmaloia, copaltemjlilo,

oauhqujltamalli nechivililoia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan qujmanjliaia in tletl, çatepan qualoia.

Auh yn jveveioean, iuh cemjlhujtl, in qujcujcatia, qujtecciztpichilia, qujteponacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cõmaçoaia in comalco, tetlacaoaltiloia, ynjc amo aca motlatiz, mochichinoz: ipampa in iancujcan oqualoc oauhqujltamalli, ynjc otlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin qujntlaxqujaia: yn aca coatl: cujiatl, xoujli, axolotl, totod: in çaço tlein ocacic ioioli, ycamac contlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxquja yn tota.

Auh yn cioouac, noujan tlatlaoanaia in veveteque, ylamatque: iuh qujtoaia, qujtlatniaujliaia yn tletl, tezcalcetuja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauirtililoia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujtotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jtzucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzomulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no izquijch tlacatl, qujpaloaia, qujltequja, in vctli, in pipiltotonti: ic motocaiotiaia, pillaoano:

yoan vncã qujntlatiaia, qujnmahujtiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce oquijchtli, in qujntemoaia pilhoaque, qujntlauhtiaia; ichoantin qujnmamatihuja, vmpa qujmoncaoaia, yn itzupan izcoçauhquj: vmpa qujnnacazxapotlaia, qujnnacxcoionjaia: iuhquin ic qujnmachiotiaia, ynjc qujmjtta, yntlacoan, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jnechichioal catca: tlilticca motezuijtec, chalchiuhtezcle, xiuhtotoamacale, quetzalmjiaoaia, mjtzione, tlacoztzone, xiuhcooanacoche, amacozmeapanale, no tzitzile, cocujole, tiuhtezcatlatlapanquj yn jchimal, tlachieltopile.

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66. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y atillas, tiene las hojas redondas. Las tallas de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cenizas, esprimese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hacense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilaxe." "1." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 233. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men roasted the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 209, see translations in Simeon: *op. cit.*

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; patron or protector). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tlatli* and *oaxi* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchiuhtezcalli*—a strap for the head, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cozinga (*xiuhtotoal*); *quetzalpanitl* or *mahtlatzacatl quetzalmiaoaqui*—a tiara of feather mosaic work in the form of a reversed cone, broadening upwards; *mitzontli tlacochtzqualli* or

fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

776

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili;* [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan neneuhque, ynjc netrutiloia tecpantzinca intzuh: 776
yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca toqujchti ipan cioacochiz, 688
anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoaia, qujntlaçulmjctia 753
yn jneçaoaliz,
ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujteilhujltiaia, qujtema- [785
creoaltiaia, in xochiciuiztli, yn menexoalizti, tlapalanaltilizti, 834]
quexiliuilizti,

yuicpa netoloa, nenetoltiloia, ynjc qujceuiz, ynjc
qujquaniz ynjc qujcaxaoaz, cuculizti.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa 776
navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chil- 796
caoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, [264]
ioalnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli
yn ipan ca, mexochiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh
qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujxcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli
qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl
qujmixipilatiaia, commaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia,
qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ic nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia,
tlacoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in [785]
qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey
ipan ycatiuh xuchujtl:

776
yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc commanjliaia, yoan contoquiliaia
oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitoton, mollotiuja: yoan vntetl [415]
tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl 262
tiltic, centetl tlatlauhquj. 796

Auh yn aca izquitl, anoço necuzquitl, anoço xonecujlli,
papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzoçllaxcalli, tzoçalchimalli,
tzoçalmjtl, tzoçalmaquauitl, tzoçalxnetl:

yoan noujian oalcaoaloia, in mamalti ajcan mexico, 776
motenoa maltequijme, yn jxquich techiçoaloloc, yn 796

cuauhmalhuapitl—two arrow shafts or wooden dolls, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting *the cuac acatl* ("2 reed") or the *mamalhuaztli* (fire-drill) (see illus.). *Solar: The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 75. *Tlaxcoxtzoac*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlaxcoxtzoac*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*hueva, cosa enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, diviesos, incordios, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text: "*panes asimos.*"

776
796 surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the borders of warring people. Those who had taken these pris-
727 oners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him, they bought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

776 Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated. And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and burnt. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges. He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Uitznauac.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whose ate the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the bone of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

ixtemoaque, yn iocuaco omoque, quinoalcaoaia yn jmmalhoan, yn jutlaxtiuan, in mahuqijhoan, mochioaia: njcan quijtpiaia, yn calpinque, in cacalpinque.

Auh intla aca thiehti, intla tlacholohti, ypan tlaiaquetzaia, motlacacoujaia, quijxiptlaiotiaia, quijxiptlatiaia:

in tlaclacoti, vncan mipujia, yn jquac ilhujqujxtilloia.

Auh yn jnechichioal: tummacpale ixtlapaloztzale, tlaixtlapaloztzalujlli, tlaixtlapalvilli, yhujxoncale, quachichiqujle, vitonqoj yn jtlamanal, vitzocatlamamale, ypan icac, tonalopanjtl, quetzaltzoaia, quetzaltzontecomaia, quetzaltzontecome, quetzaltzontecoujo, tintlapaltica mozinjlpi, motzinapa, ytonalocac, tonalocaque.

Jnic caxtolli capitula, ynchpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vitznauac, teutl catca, yn jtech tlamjlooia, in piqujlilooia, qujtocaia ca ichoatl inactia, in cocaiutl, in tecoanotzalistli, in tetlacamatilistli, in tetlatlaqualtilistli: ynatijan mochioaia yn jnnecentlalilia, yn jnnecenquixtiliz teoaioloque, tachi victoia, vnpa macizmachoia, necujtlaujloia yn jxipcla.

Auh zo qujtoaia, yntlacamo mavizcilia, yn jshcujma cnoanotzalo, tlavelcuja: tzcchpa, amoqo tecochirpan teaoaia, qujlhujxia, yn aquja qujnmjquj. Ja tehoatl tleyca yn amo tinechmavizmati; njmitztlalcahuia: auh ie ne njcmati, in tlein mopan njcchioas.

Auh intla cenca moçuma, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa tzontli qujtetolohia, in atl, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aquj yn mjtoa tzuqua, miecpa mocxoa: ynjc qujtilinja, melcima, ycepac mjlacatzoa in atl: mehepotlamja in jquac tlaqua: auh yntla nenemj mozepotlamja, motecujnja, motlavitzquj.

Auh ynjc ilhujqujxtilloia: yn aquja tzuqua, achtopa qujchioaia, tzumjmilli, yiemjio in teutl catca: çan tlacatl, tzupinquj calpole, cen molicpid ynjc hujvitac, vel totomaoac, mjmjltic.

Auh yn aizmo nemamaca, oc achtopa tlatlaqualo, atlica, tlaoaxe: auh yn otlathujc cmjtztcopinja, yn omacatl cnemjctia: njnam ic nemamaca, netlatlapanjlo, nezzalhujlo, in tzumjmjlli:

iquac quoqualo, ichujja ic tetoxicitilloia, tetlacaqujtilo, tetlalhujlo, tzmolcanaltilo: ca yn aquique macoia, yn iquac ic ilhujchujqjqac, mocujtlaxcalitlaoaia, mopopoaia, ypampa ca cenlatztlaoaia.

Ja inechichioal catca: ilvitzoncale, quauhtzoncale, yoá

74. Probably the temple of Uitznauac (Uitznauac cuicatzin) in Mexico. Cf. Seler: Collected Works, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (Historia general, Vol. I, p. 222). The name uitznauac suggests various other meanings—the south, the barrio or part of the city named Uitznauac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See ibid., Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 215, 221, 222, 239, and also Seler: op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[75] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquauhquentenchil, naoaio, ycuachin, ielpanouaqui cyli 776
tzacatlatlapanquj yn jxaiac: yn jxechichioal, ytiçanacoch,
ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachiaia ymac catca, ytolicpal,
acaçpalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlalteteçuini).[76]

Jnic castolli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jtoca, catca, ixtlilton, tlalteteçujn.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jteupan catca, ytocaiocan [346]
tlacujlocan: in vncan yteupan, mjec yn apastli, tzatzacuti-
manca, motoçaiocia ixtlauh.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aqujn mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn 776
jteupan ixtlilton: centel, qujtlapoaia yn apastli, conjtiaia 757
yn jtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a mask, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aqujn qujtotiz, copaltica in conanaia, ynjc 776
qujvicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Jn oacic ychan, tlatoxia, teytotia: njman tlatlaquaia, 776
atlixa: yn otlaqualoc, njman mjxtia, yn jxtlilton: yn
omjtoti, yn onmacruh, calitic oncalaquj: ichoatl qujtlapoa [273]
in vctli, navilhujtica tzacutimâca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacaxapedia,
vicmana.

Niman yc vmpeoa, yn ie tlacoano: oc cepa oalquijça itoalco, qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] sowed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic motemeoaia, intla tlaçolli, yntla tocatzaoalli, [787]
yntla tzontli, intla tecelli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, açq
tetlazima, açq ichtec, anoçq ahavilnemj, mahavilcia: ac
açq tlacacemelle, in tlatoxia, ic qujmotlaia, qujxomacaia,
qujxpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla motecca: ichica, ca
qujtzicomaca, qujtzixpantia, ic teizmoela, yn tetlatlacul.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called *ixquam* (face-covering).[78]

Auh ynjc oalquiça tochã, quachili yn qujmacaia motocaio- [292]
tia, ixquam.

Thus was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic muchichioaia, moçac, mocrmjxtlilpopoca, mjxti- 776
çatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tecpaquachichiquijle, quezzalle,

75. For description, see illustrations and text in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 515 and 523; and also illustration (Omacatl) —Plate 13.

The term *cuachichil* means the natural cape or mantle, with one small shells knotted where the cords crossed. The *chalcuayal* and the *tecuayal* were presumably the same or similar. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 3, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 3. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex, fo. 37v*), Sahagún refers to "*vn ornamento de vn palmo en quadro, hecho en tela rala, al qual llamauan yxuachtin, atado con vnas cuerdas de algodon a los pechos. . . .*"

76. God of medicine. *Tlalteteçuini* (or *tlalteteçuani*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *teteçuinia*. Cf. Seler: *Ensiqo Kapital*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . *he que mococoaiaia hacaldaban los mozuelos y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba vitzli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamauan tlaiacaxapedia, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *mococoaiaia*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *mococoaiaia*.

78. ". . . *demanda mihor: los quales llamauan ixquam: que quiere decir, cubertura de la cara: porque quadraua, amorgonado, aquel que asjo hacha, la fuera. . . .*" *Loc. cit.*

●776 white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

cueçalvitenquj yn jtlamamal, ytonalopan ipan icac, totonaloio yn jmanaspan, totonaloio yn jchimal, tlauhio yiellotepil, xopilcuruque, yamamaztli, tritzile, cxiole, itonalocac.

Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

Jnic caxtolli vmome capitulo, yuchpa tlatoa, yn teutl, yn itoca catca opuchtli: yn quimoteutiaia ie tecauh, nicaã tlaca.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlalocs. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

Inin opuchtli, ipan mizeoaia, tlaloc: atlaca intzuh catca, quimoteutiaia.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

Juh quitoaia, ca ichoatl itlatzintil, ytlanextil, quinezti, quiteittiti in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjnacachalli, yn avictli, tzonoaztli.

776 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water, food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants, scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their rattle-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

796 [273]

Auh yn iquac ilhujquiztililoia, atl, tlaqualli, vctli, in ventli muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xuchitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, quitepeviliaia, ic quinanamiquia: chicaoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl quichaiaviliaia: iuhquin tecivitl povia: no yeã quicuicatiaia, yn iveviccoan, yn jlamaiccoan, calpoleque.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Jn jnechichioal catca: amacale, tlaõçalli, tlaolaltilli, artatzone, quetzalmjiaoaia, amanastle, amaneapanale, tonaloio.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

Jnic caxtolli vmey, capitulo, yuchpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca, xipe totec.

He was the god of the sea-shore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

Anaoatl itzuh: tzapoteca in vel intzuh catca,

776 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

753

yn itequiuh pouja, yn iccnian ytlachioal, yn ineixcavil: ic temotlaia, ic tzozaia, ichoatl quitamacaia, in totomonjztli, papalanilztli, çaçaoatilztli, incuculztli, ichichitinjlztli, intenpipinquijlztli, intamaçolicivztli, intiauhpachinjlztli, imacapachinjlztli, intoococivztli, intotolicivztli, intzacycivztli.

776 Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

796

Jn aquin ipam muchioaia, yn cuculztli tequjchti, yuicpa monetohtiaia, yujcpa mjtoaia: ynjc onmaquja yn jicoaio, ynjc itlan aquia, yn jquac ilhujquiztililo: motecaietia, tlacaxipeoalistli:

All hastened pursuing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

tlapainaltiaia, tetocaia, mjequjatin momanaia, muchinti tcaiotinj, chichiiaoatinj, chichipic-tinj, tocoxtlantinj in

79. *Cf.* Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 380 (*tecpanquachichiquilli*).

80. *Cf.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 531) for explanation of *manto del sol*.

81. ". . . *un dardo de tres puntas que se llama minarachalli*."—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: ". . . *es como fuga, arrojan un tiro, tiene tres puntas*, [marginal insertion, partly missing: *(o?) triangulo (no?)ma trabajan*] *con que hace, a las aves; y también el al mesmo caso*."

82. Standing in the boat, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the term *remo*, oar, which is technically inaccurate.

83. Seler (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 103) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.*, Lib. III, cap. 15) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Tuxtlan district. A clear discussion of the "*yopimes y tlapanecos*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 133. See also note 89.

84. Meaning problematical.

-16-

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[85] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[86] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tonecco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[88] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[89] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[90] was in his hand.

Ninetenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[91]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[92] the stout traveling staves[93] with

tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecalitiaia, qujnnamjquj- 776 796
in tiiacaoan, tlapepenti, tlatocanati:

yoan in iuqujchti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque, [524]
teca momotlanj, iaotlavelilloque: vncan moieiecoaia, moiaomamachtiaia, yn juh mjcaliaque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia [346]
yn aiac, mjtoaia tetecco.

Auh yn totecti njman ic ic neujan, tepan cacalaquj, no [292
tlatlaeoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuxcatia, qujn- [352
xochinexpanaltia, qujmicpacaochitia, qujntlaoantia. 302]

Auh intla aca cioatl, totemonja, ixcocoiria: qujtoa, ma njctlamanilia, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoalixtli.

Jn inechichioal, mizcolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, 776
yiopitzon contlaliticac mazaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tlacaieoatl, yiaoaio malli, tzoechaiaoale, tezcujtlanacoche, tzapocueis, tiitzile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac.

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca intruh catca: cenca qujmavizztilaia, qujtlaquen- 776
tiaia amatica: yn jatopil, ymotlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj 463
484

85. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En este fiesta, hacian como un juego de cañas: de manera que si un vencido, iba de la parte deste dios, o venagen del dios totec: y estos todos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que eran muertos, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y esados, y personas valientes, y esforçados: que no tenjan en nada la muerte: esados, atrevidos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se exercitaná, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauajan los vnos, a los otros: hasta su pasaia, y de alli, bolujan huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos á cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, cañoleando gallardamente, y arrojándose cañas de las que se vaqueros con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, has tecoco in the Aztec text, instead of *ciac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Tonecco."

87. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Totetecti.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tonecco as "*los muertos a honra del dios Totec.*"

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is mizquitzhuitzac, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Seler also (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term mizquitzhuitzac (quail face painting).

89. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates yopi as "the red people" (Tlapanecs), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

90. "The word chicaoaztli means 'wherewith anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chicaoaztli with the first sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 100.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be iaoac-teculatl or yacatecutlatl ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 57). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacatolichqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz aguileña*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiocatecutli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecutli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Itztapalupqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era una cuba, manjua, que ellos llaman vilaol. Y tambien vsan de otra manera de barado,*

776 which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set
463 them up; before them they did penances, they drew [their]
484 blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

. All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds —the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black
[825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

medlatocaia, incãpa cuchisque, vncan qujtilquetza, ixpan tlamacoca, mjço, qujcopaltemjlia, ynjc qujtlaubtia yn jnteuh yiacatecutli, ynjc qujtlanjlia, ynjc qujmatataqujlia, yteicnelilia:

noujan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic moteneoa, pochteca yiaque: itech canque, yn iteca intzuh, yiacatecutli:

Ontoneca, anaoac calaqujnj, vel qujtemotinemj, in tlein qujmonanauhtiuque, anaoatl qujzaqualotinemj, anaoatl qujlacatzotinemj,

tonalciiauhtinemj, heecaciuhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtiuj, elciciuhtiuj, mociauhquetztiuj, ymellelactiuh, ymjaçua tlatlatiuh, intonal qujmacujtiuj, intonalomjuh ietiuh:

ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, qujtemouja, qujtlecauja, ixqujchca ana: inmolicpi, intetepon ic tlatlacça, ic moquetquetza:

vel qujciiavj vel qujhiiouja, ynic qujtemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoçonalli, in tecujtlatl: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtototl, in tzutli, çaqua: quauhtli, in tequanoatl, yn ocelupetlatl.

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que es vna cosa larga lisjsma, marina: sin fiado ninguno: que es como junco, de las que se vsan en España." Clark, *in Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 57-8) says they gathered the moves all together, girt with a ribbon, worshipping the moves as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente (ostomeca anaoac calaquim)* (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: *"Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyacatecutli ('der Herr der Wegsperrenden') war der Gott der Karawanenführer der ostomec anaoac calaquim der reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten."*

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ostoteca in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtototi*.

The references in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 350, to the *Nanalcatomeca*, appears to refer to a grade or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca tlatoque*.

[103] 96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as *"todas las poblaciones, que estan rebera de la mar."* In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states *"Tabasco hasta Anáhuac, que dista más de cien leguas"* (from Tula). Also, *"Entraban en la provincia de Anáhuac, no todos, sino aquellos que iban de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . iban todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En ese pueblo se dividían, unos iban a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anáhuac Xicalanco."—Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac Xicalanco as the area of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. *"Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y atzli piedra de navaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin mancha ninguna, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene manchas, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente."* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. *"Tecuhtzuit, quiere decir turquesa de las dueñas . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy lucida."—Loc. cit.*

99. *"Las plumas que crían en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobléganse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente."—Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. *"El tocado que tiene en la cabeza este ave (quetzalcoatl) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llaman a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene este ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; es precioso este plumaje llámanle tzinitzcan."—Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name; *"Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene crían en el pecho y en las cobertas y debajo de las alas; son la mitad pretas y la mitad verdes resplandecientes."—Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tecquechol* means red *quechol*; or precious *quechol*. It is an aquatic bird. *"Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino."—Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 653). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 37n., gives *Platalea Ajaja rosea* L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtototi* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta S. Coerulea* (*ibid.*, p. 654). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.

103. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: *"Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) revuelven el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llama de fuego y como oro, crianse en Anáhuac."*

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And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105][But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomequiauitl, or Chalmecaciauitl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzacpotzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sid in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquauitl, yn atzaccaiutl:

[292]

ixtlauel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalitica, in nezintica, in tlatoltica quintlachecalhuja in chaneque.

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan quipoiomjctia, quinchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nõ tematitlanpa quiça, ixhoatl quioalnonotzaia in motecuçuma:

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ic vncan qujmaca, caquilia, yapoçomaltentzuh, yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezcaiotia, in tiiacauh, vncan ic oquichtia.

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Auh yn iquac ealacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecurpal oquichiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: izquich tlacatl quinotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic moteititiaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca qujmavizilia yn itopil, yn jtlaçcaia yiacatecutli:

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cana in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn iquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, quitlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

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[778]

Auh intla aca tealtix, ixhoatl caltiaia, quiteoaia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço cenne ixhoantin yn machenaia, in quinmotetutiaia in chiconequiauitl, anoço chalmecaciauitl, yoan acxomocuil, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzauac, aiac quijiocuja, yiollodama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca aleiz tlacatl:

vmpa cencovaia yn tlacanecujloca atzapotzalco: motlabtlatilia, motlapapatilia, quijncuecuepa, quinjhitta, yn qualtin quinccoaque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuque, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

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yajc ixhoan quinmictique, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan illujquitzilioia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac quinchichinaia, quintlamamaca, intech quitlalia yn juhquj yxochichinal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn ximo quinmjctia, achtopa quinteititiaia: mjtoa quinmjmextia, ic quinmachiria in tealtique:

104. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 57): Yxomolihqui "pusiponente representa persona, que tiene vivaça, ó habilidad, para mejor gracionamente, ó engañar, y es sabio, y sagaz (que se propia condicion de Mercaderes) . . . ."

105. Cf. Seler (Einige Kapitel, p. 22) citing Hist. Repu. Colh. Mex. B. II §80.

106. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines calpulli as "yglesia del barrio, ó parrochia" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the sacrificer in this manner: "Estos diablos que mataban a estos cativos."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Seler (Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 92) interprets Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomequiauitl or Chalmecaciauitl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

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796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among
[565] those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food
[595] well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iccan, qujnquetza: mûch tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech qujntlalilia: ipã mjtotiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahlamj yn jacujc, ynjc momiquinquequelos.

Auh intla aca cittec, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in iolizmatquj, yn jac, yn iollo: qujqujxtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achica, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no qujxtiloia, qujnmotlacacioaoatiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, izquatzo, tzquatzoac, quetzallalpile, tzutzujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, ciocale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlaçcaia ymac onoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of
[173] large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and bathetb men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech peuj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjacoion, incatjan, in calpollec, qujmotetitiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopeaia:

inh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl achto qujnmachti, qujmititi, in petlachioaliztli, yn icpalchioaliztli:

iehoatl azcaca cocucaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlamettile, tlatzintile, tlapeoaltile.

Joan inh qujtoaia ca iehoatl qujnnahia, qujqujxtia, in tali in tolpitzoac, in tolpetlactli, in tolmjmjlli, artapili, in tolqujtutl, in tolcaputl, yn jztoli, xonali:

yoan yn jquac illujuhqujçaia, inh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan qujtzetzelua, tepan qujpitoa, yn aoacholi, cenca tlaihtlanjlilia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan qujteuaia, tlacotli, in qujmictiaia tezcatlipoca:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "*esta vestuario con una manta azul, y sobre el azul, una red negra de manera quadrada, a parejas, por las mallas de la red.*"

111. The *tezcatlalhuqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

112. *Calpulli*—clan or gens, which contained, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed to common lands among members (Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 89, citing Alonso de Zurita: *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its membership.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "*Napoa calcipo de petatos: que llaman tolcuatili.*"

114. Cf. Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpuleque*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpuleque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] bedight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hair-dress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

qujchichioaia, ymac mazcinenca, xoxoujc, xoxouhquj 776
xicalli: vncan istinemj atl, vexotica ic teatzelhvia. 796
567

Auh yn jquac amo ilhujuh, yn çan nenmajan: oc no ce 467
qujxiptlaiotiaia, qujchichioaia:

yn jquac tla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtotia,
qujnepieltia: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, teatzelhujtiuh,
tzacochvitiuh, iuhquja ic qujtlanjliaia, ynjc qujmicneliz.

Yoan iuhquja yvic mocujtlascuixtlaoaia: yn açaca ic
vnca itlaquj, yazca:

qujtoaia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo,
macamo njcnicauj, yn nocneliloca: ma onquale, ma onjoa,
ma onpopoliuj, ma ic onmjtoti in toxouh napa tecutli:
ma çaquen njnonemjtia, yn ac iuhquj njcochiz, ac iuhquj
njneoaz, iehe qujmati, yn açoc itla, nechmomaquixiz,
qujmomacavilia:

ic quixquentiaia ce quachtli, yn ixipela muchioaia. ic
oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic mochichiaztl, tlatlaquaia yn jnaniloque. 776
Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yaiptla, ceaca tlamauiz- 467
tilitia, tlacelitia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlatzteca,
icpaltzteca, tlatzetzelua, tlachpana, tlacuzuj, tlelialia,
muchipa copaltema, tlatzacaliuhtoc tlatzacaliuhtimanj, [356]
atle vezzoc, çe tlaçalli.

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia, motlilocac, mjxtlilpopoca, 776
mixtlilhuj, mjchchiaujticac, amacale, yiama:uexpal. ama-
mazcle, mixtile, ixtaccaque, atlacuçmanchimale, axtapil-
tepile.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlaloca.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloca.

These thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images, that they would make representations of

Jnic cempoalli vce capitulo, vtechpa tlatoa yn inoca tepictoton: yn jnoan pouja tlaloque.

No ynoan pouj, intech tlanjlioia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepicto, çan qujmonpiquijia. qujmixiptlaio-
tiaia, in tempe, in çaço catle tepetl.
Auh yn aquja coachujia, oc.apanoaia, quaquauhtia, 776
cocotzaujia: amoço yn aquja atlac miquimequj, ehecatl ipan 782
moquetza atla: vncan mocuitlaia ynjc tepiquia, in
qujpiquia: quetzalcoatl, ic chalchivitl yeoc, in tlaloc:

115. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "un ramo de sabçi" (*ramo*).
116. According to Durán, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 223), the *calpuleque* were "*señores o guardas de barrios.*"

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

popucatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: ynan in çaçe quexquijtzi tepetl in qujtemoua in qujpiqui.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

Auh in qujpipiqoja, in qujmixipdatiuia in ytepe, çan tzoalli, qujntlacatlaliaia, qujntlacatlachialtiuia, tlacatlachiticatca:

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

qujntlantiuia xiuauchtli, auh in qujmjxtelolotiuia xiecutli: in quenamj yntlatqui in qujmixipdatiuia, in qujpipiqujia çan no iuhqui ynjc qujchichiouia.

And they made papers, and they spattered them with
[314 liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.
289] And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

Auh ynan qujchiouia, amatetzujtl, colchachapatztia, colchipiniaia, qujnquequentiaia:

auh in cequj amatetzvitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatitech qujpipilouia, mecatitech qujnemetzchilpiaia, qujnemetechçaloaia, ymjxpan antoc, ic itzacutoque in tepicme:

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

hiçuacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, ontopilquaujtl, necoc, nenecoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tetzotzontlicac, ya itech antoc tetzujtl.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the
793 tecuxuac cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

Auh tzilacaiuitl, tlaixtlapantli, tlaixtitzactli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipan ponjia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic mamanca.

And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experienced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None
532 of the householders dared make or adorn them.

Auh çan ixhoua in tlamacazque, ya jxtequitoh, in machiotque catca, ya qujchichiouia, in qujntlalaiaia: aiac çan motocuiaia, in calla in qujchichiouia.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

Auh macujhtica in qujntlalhujaia, mjtoa: qujmolcaualtiaia in tlamacazque:

When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
782 a vigil and made music for them.

ya o ic cauhque tepicme, njman ic ic qujtemçatjia, qujncujcuia:

During the night, they made offerings four times; they
755 set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

in caiocal nappa in qujntlamanjlia, tamalolli in qujnmacaia, qujmamaia ynujpa, in tlamacazque, in tepiccujca:

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

no nappa in qujntlamacaia caiocal, ynan qujntlapichilia,

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

qujmaquiquijtalia tocacistli in qujnpichilia, ynan vilacapitztli, cocuujlod,

Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.
463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

vilacapitztia, çan telpopochti, papaquijnj, hauiouj, tulivintiauj, tecromeltiauj, cocolopa, no tlamacaia.

Auh ya otlatvic njman qujmictia ya tepicme, qujquochcotolla, qujquochcuj, qujquochilacatoua, çatepan qujcocololoa, conolcuj, in tepictonalli, qujtqui ya calmécac ya vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

Auh in tepiquijo, njmao ic ye calaquih ya ilamatzontlahoan, ya jxtecoua, vncan mopia, mopiztiquo:

And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
273 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
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auh in ic iocotitoh, in ic tovtlac njman ic ic tlacoua, mochoaxcatlalia in vctecaca, ya ic chicuacque, ya otlachi-

117. Gods of the sea, of water, and of rain (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac cloud) are prominent peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*vez masa*), in the Spanish columns; Sobre muchos é proporcionados Zumos de Starbolmolmo (*Tratado Kapard*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de goma de ule, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetzoli*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 130).

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782 which [the cuahxicame] are, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepetzinco: they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Panzolan.

776 **Twenty-second Chapter,** which telleth of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontotochtin).

He [was] the wine, in times past[128] considered full of sin. For he hurled people off cliffs, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an evil-natured being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Ijuhtecatl, Acolhua, Tlilhua, Pantecatl, Iniquincatl, Tolncatl, Papaztac, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Ometochtli, Tepoztecatl, Chimalpantecatl, Colhuatzincatl.[129]

And as for the array of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white heron feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper ear-plug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red macaw feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the palque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the fire staff. And also he had rattles.

quimhuetzoncatl, quapijoncatzoncatl, nuchi vuapa cuecuexin tepetzinco: ailan cuenpanoia, vuapa cuepanoia, yuxuiocan panoidan.

Juic ompaualli vmmo cuptlahu, yuchqua tlatoa in tezcatzoncatl, ye jnnan pouj cuecuexonchi.

Jehuatl in vetli, ixpan tlaelcauhtli ipan machoia: ca tempeninja, tequechmecanja, tzoalinja, tzonjctia;

tzoavitzouj, amo pinavilouj, amo chimoiouhtouj.

Auh yuja tezcatzoncatl, yuxan pouj, yuxan ecu, ye mexmoxa, centzontotochtin, ye vetli ixnecuio, ye iJuhtecatl, Acolhua, tilhua, pantecatl, Jnquincatl, Tolncatl, papaztac, Tlahuizcalpa, vme tochtli, tepoztecatl, chimalpantecatl, Colhuatzincatl.

Auh ye jnechichiual Tezcatzoncatl, xiuxuxua, iacuxoxua, amanacachu, cuepalvitzocua, chaiocac cuapa, colotlalpile, vmetuchchimaxic, itzopile, tecpatzpile, no tzinzile.

fin del libro

128. Yappar formerly, in times past (Siméon: op. cit.). The meaning also could be "drains."
129. See Sahagún: op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 314; Vol. III, p. 139; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

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1—Uitzilopochtli. 2—Paiani. 3—Tezcatlipoca. 4—Tlaloc.

—After Pane y Tezozomoc

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—After Paso y Troncoso

5—Quetzalcoatl. 6—Chicomecoatl. 7—Chicome mazatl. 8—Tlaloc Ixiuhcan.

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9—Tuxpitlac tecuin. 10—Cuauhpilli. 11—Chalchihuitl yeca. 12—Tlaxcalteca.

—After Paso y Troncoso

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—After Paso y Troncoso

13—[illegible]. 14—Macuilxochitl or Xochipilli. 15—Omacatl. 16—Ixtlilton.

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17—Opochtli. 18—Xipe totec. 19—Yiacatecutli. 20—Napa teuctli.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

21—Tamastamatl. 22-26—Teptiotoes.
27—Chalchihuitl pyes (Chap. 11). 28—Tlaloxan (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. 11).

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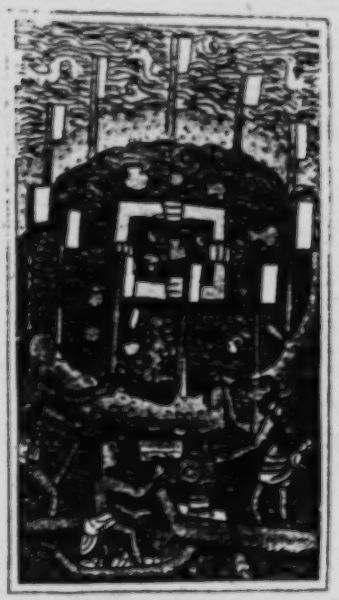

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29—Tzapotlan temoa (Chap. 9), Chalchiuhtli yeme (Chap. 11), Chiconac cuauhtli (Chap. 7). 30—Tlapalcuauhtli—Confusion (Chap. 12). 31—Napa tecuhtli (Chap. 10). 32—Tepictoton (Chap. 11). 33—Pantitlan (Tepictoton) (Chap. 11). 34—Appendix, Chap. 12. 35—Appendix, Chap. 12.

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—After Pozo y Tezozomoc

36—Appendix (Refutation). 37—Appendix (Refutation) 38—Tlilhuacan. Xiuhtecutli. 40—Opochtli.
41—Tlacatecolli. 42—Tezcatzoncatl; 43—Tepitoton.

De las Cerimonjas

SECOND BOOK, WHICH TREATETH OF THE FEASTS AND SACRIFICES BY WHICH THESE NATIVES HONORED THEIR GODS IN THEIR STATE OF INFIDELITY.

LIBRO SEGUNDO QUE TRATA DE LAS FIESTAS, Y SACRIFICIOS: CON QUE ESTOS NATURALES, HONRRAUAN A SUS DIOSES, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU INFIDELIDAD.

805 X796 **First Chapter**, concerning the calendar and the feasts of fixed date, the first of which is the one which followeth.[1]

The first month of the year was called, among the Mexicans, Atl caualo, and in other parts Quauitl eua. This month began upon the second day of February, when we celebrate the Purification of Our Lady. On the first day of this month, they celebrated a feast in honor—according to some—of the Tlaloc gods, whom they held to be gods of rain; [or]—according to others—of their sister, the goddess of water, Chalchiuhtli icue; [or]—according to [still] others—in honor of the great priest or god of the winds,[2] Quetzalcoatl. And we may say that [they celebrated the feast] in honor of all of these. This month and all the rest, which are eighteen [in number], each have twenty days.

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Capitulo primero, del canlendario, de las fiestas fixas, la primera de las quales es lo que se sigue.

El primero mes, del año se llamaua entre los mexicanos Atl caoalo: y en otras partes quavitl eoa. Este mes començaua en el segundo dia del mes de Hebrero quando nosotros celebramos, la purificacion, de nuestra señora. En el primero dia deste mes: celebrauan vna fiesta a honrra (segun algunos) de los dioses tlaloques, que los tenjan por dioses de la pluuja: y segun otros de su hermana, la diosa del agua, chalchiuhtli ycue: y segun otros a honrra del gran sacerdote, o dios de los vientos quetzalcoatl: y podemos dezir, que a hõrra de todos estos. Este mes, con todos los de mas, que son deziocho tienen a cada veynte dias.

Atl caualo or Quauitl eua

X796 In this month they slew many children; they sacrificed them in many places upon the mountain tops, tearing from them their hearts, in honor of the gods of water, so that these might give them water or rain.

[493] The children whom they slew they decked in rich finery to take them to be killed; and they carried them in litters upon their shoulders. And the litter went adorned with feathers and flowers. [The

5ª	d	KL	Atl caualo, o quavitl eoa	d	1ª
1	e		En este mes matauan muchos njños	e	2
2	f		sacrificavanlos, en muchos lugares en	f	3
3	g		las cumbres de los montes: sacandoles	g	4
4	A		los coraçones a hõrra de los dioses del	A	5
5	b		agua, para que les diesẽ agua o llujia.	b	6
6	c		A los njños, que matauan: com-	c	7
7	d		ponjanlos con ricos ataujos para lleuar-	d	8
8	e		los a matar, y lleuauanlos, en vnas	e	9
9	f		literas, sobre los hõbros: y las literas,	f	10

1. The first nineteen chapters, largely a digest of more expanded material in Chapters 20-38, are presented unannotated; most of the translators' notes will be found in this later section. For these nineteen chapters the original has no corresponding Nahuatl text.
2. Marginal notation: *Cultus deae calendarii.*
3. Marginal notation: *Cursus del calldario romano.*

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos. 796 X [305 776]

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuiltin, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeoaliztli

1 d KL Tlacaxipeoaliztli *d* 22[1]
2 e A los captiuos que matauan: arran- *e* 23
3 f cauãlos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y *f* 24
4 g guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como *g* 25
5 A por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul *A* 26
6 b delante del fuego. *b* 27
7 c Quando lleuauan los señores de los *c* 28
8 d catiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde *d* 1[2]
9 e los aujan de matar, lleuanuanlos por *e* 2
10 f los cabellos: y quando los subian, por *f* 3
11 g las gradas del cu, algunos de los cap- *g* 4
12 A tiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los *A* 5
13 b subian arrastrando por ios cabellos, *b* 6
14 c hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir. *c* 7
15 d Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna *d* 8
16 e piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco *e* 9
17 f mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos *f* 10
18 g sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos *g* 11
19 A cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por *A* 12
20 b los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja *b* 13[3]
luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con [413]
ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a
manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el
agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el
coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna
xicara.

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues [415]
de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia
el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a
rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en
vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, [767
que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul: 266]
donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer.

* Actually a *palmo* is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In *Webster's Dictionary*, the Portuguese *palmo* is 0.64 m.; in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed.), the Spanish *palmo* is 0.229 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal notation: *Cuitlahua muere pero.*
2. Marginal notation: *Moctezuma hablar dios muy.*
3. Marginal notation: *Sacadri corbaçjh et cuef.*

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes. llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluuias. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua. 796^ [805 776]

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

1 c KL
2 d En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias
3 e de las flores, que aquel año primero
4 f nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y
5 g antes que las ofreciesen, nadie osaua
6 A oler flor.
7 b Los officiales de las flores, que se
8 c llaman sochimanque: hazian fiesta, a
9 d su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro
10 e nombre coatlã tona.
11 f Tambien en este mes: se desnu-
12 g dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los
13 A pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des-
14 b ollado el mes pasado: y-los a echar
15 c en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan
16 d iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro-
17 e cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan
18 f hediendo, como perros muertos: y
19 g despues que los aujan dexado: se
20 A lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas:
c 14
d 15
e 16
f 17
g 18
A 19
b 20
c 21
d 22
e 23
f 24
g 25
A 26
b 27
c 28
d 29
e 30
f 31
g 1'
A 2'

[824 346]

[755]

Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos. 796^ 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

1. Marginal notation: *Apollo habet diu xxx.*

2. Marginal notation: *Marue cypriaue.*

The fourth month they called Uei toçoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazia fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

[796] [805 776 785]

Chapter 4
Uei toçoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acroyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli;* and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chía*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all those things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

Cap. 4.
Vey toçoztli

1 b KL. Vey toçoztli b 3
2 c En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a c 4
3 d las puertas de las casas ensangrenta- d 5
4 e uanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de e 6
5 f las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, f 7
6 g de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan g 8
7 A sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman A 9
8 b acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus b 10
9 c dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada c 11
10 d vno tenja en su casa. d 12
11 e Despues desto, yuan por los ma- e 13
12 f hizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que f 14
13 g aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas g 15
14 A con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de A 16
15 b sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan b 17
16 c calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda c 18
17 d delante dellos. d 19
18 e Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: e 20
19 f yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan f 21
20 g chicome coatl: y alli delante della g 22[1]
hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año pasado: yuan en procesion, a presẽtarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las trojes, por estar bendito.

[785] [776] [241]

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente.

[778]

1. Marginal numerals: *Sacrificios antes de hacer pesar.*

The fifth month they called Toxcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Tezcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoe, y por otro nombre Texcatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

796 X [305 776] [533]

Chapter 5
Toxcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Tezcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] heavier [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

1. Marginal notation: *Matar la dar xoxi.*

Cap. 5.
Toxcatl

1	A	KL.	Toxcatl	A	23
2	b		Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas	b	24
3	c		las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya	c	25
4	d		cerca de la pascua de resurrection	d	26
5	e		pocos dias despues: este mancebo	e	27
6	f		criado, como esta dicho era muy bien	f	28
7	g		dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos:	g	29
8	A		tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.	A	30
9	b		Quando en esta fiesta matauã al	b	1'
10	c		mãcebo que estaua criado para esto:	c	2
11	d		luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de	d	3
12	e		morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo	e	4
13	f		el pueblo muy ataujado con flores en	f	5
14	g		la mano, y con personas que le acõpa-	g	6
15	A		ñauan saludaua a los que topaua graci-	A	7
16	b		osamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel	b	8
17	c		la ymagẽ de Texcatlipuca: y se pros-	c	9
18	d		trauã delante del, y le adorauan donde	d	10
19	e		quijera que le topauan.	e	11
20	f		Viente dias antes que llegasse esta	f	12'
			fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dis-		
			puestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los		
			veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el		
			traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los		
			cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros ataujos mas		
			galanes.		

[833] [302] [302]

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompañauanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de morir: lleuauanle a un cu, o oratorio que llamauã tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse alli en vn lugar que [346]

2. Marginal notation: *Nouil, Arbõl auge Pan.*

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

796X
[325
[76]
785]

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

1 g KL. *g 13*
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los *A 14*
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, *b 15*
4 c yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se *c 16*
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en *d 17*
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli *e 18*
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los *f 19*
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie *g 20*
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- *A 21*
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con *b 22*
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto *c 23*
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se *d 24*
13 e defendia: maltrataualle de tal manera *e 25*
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque *f 26*
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se *g 27*
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena *A 28*
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de *b 29*
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer *c 30*
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- *d 31*
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian *e 1*[1]
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

[137]
[346]
[651]
[681]

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

[262]
[786]
[688]

En este mjsmo mes mataua muchos cativos y otros

1. Marginal notation: *Jueves de diez reyes.*

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecujlhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtociuatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa. 796 [805 776]

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They went held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all wore garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *cempoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

1 f KL. La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y
2 g dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y
3 A moças y muchachas yvan asidas de
4 b vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las
5 c manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra
6 d por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan
7 e sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas
8 f de axenxos desta tierra que se llama
9 g iztauhiatl: gujauadas vnos viejos, y
10 A regian al canto en medio dellas yva la
11 b muger que era la ymagen desta diosa,
12 c y que avia de morir adereçada con
13 d ricos ornamentos.
14 e
15 f La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan
16 g las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de
17 A morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la
18 b noche: venjda la mañana: adereça-
19 c uanse todos los sacrapas, y hazian vn
20 d areyto muy solemne: y todos los que
21 estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman cempoalsochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos cativos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtociuatl: allí matauan primero a los captivos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76.

f 2[1] [535] 3 4 5 6 7 [301] 8 137] 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 f 16 [535] g 17 A 18 b 19 c 20 [137] d 21 [273]

1. Marginal notation: Marvellous, poet, sage Sun.

X 796 **The eighth month** they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to [805] the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender 776 maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls— [735] in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lós ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they fed men and women, young and old. Then, very 735 early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank 262 as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them *tamales*. He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the 535 ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their [302] hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. [373] They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Cap. 8.

1	e	KL	Vei tecujlhujtl	e 22[1]
2	f		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	f 23
3	g		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	g 24
4	A		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	A 25
5	b		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	b 26
6	c		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	c 27
7	d		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	d 28
8	e		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	e 29
9	f		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	f 30
10	g		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	g 1[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	A 2
12	b		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	b 3
13	c		tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y to-	c 4
14	d		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	d 5
15	e		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	e 6
16	f		solar a los pobres: porque en este	f 7
17	g		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	g 8
18	A		mãtenjmjentos.	A 9
19	b		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	b 10
20	c		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	c 11[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseueruauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

1. Marginal notation: *Sanxti gaudiej Eph. et sanj.*
2. Marginal notation: *Jnlior ha diez sanj.*
3. Marginal notation: *Pij papae et Mart.*

X 796 **The ninth month** they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

[805 ●776]

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[23] 262 On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this [778] feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 535 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who [534 778] beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Cap. 9

1 d KL **Tlaxochimaco** *d 12*
2 e La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa- *e 13*
3 f uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros *f 14*
4 g para comer, en hazer tamales y otras *g 15*
5 A cosas concernjentes a la comida: luego *A 16*
6 b de mañanita el dia desta fiesta: los *b 17*
7 c satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ *c 18*
8 d muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des- *d 19*
9 e pues de compuesta la estatua deste *e 20*
10 f dios: componjan las estatuas de los *f 21*
11 g otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales *g 22*
12 A y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan *A 23*
13 b todas las otras estatuas de los calpules, *b 24*
14 c y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cal- *c 25*
15 d pisques y principales y maceguales, *d 26*
16 e todos componjan las estatuas que ten- *e 27*
17 f jan en sus casas con flores. *f 28*
18 g Compuestas las estatuas todos los *g 29*
19 A dioses: luego començauan a comer *A 30*
20 b aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas *b 31*
de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Durauã este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos reziamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jxcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

1 c KL. Xocotl vetzi *c 1°*
2 d Durante la fiesta de tlasochimaco: *d 2°*
3 e yuã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al- *e 3*
4 f tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle *f 4*
5 g arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: *g 5*
6 A alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan- *A 6*
7 b tauan enhiesto y estaua assi enhiesto *b 7*
8 c hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en- *c 8*
9 d tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ *d 9*
10 e mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos *e 10*
11 f para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia *f 11*
12 g desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan *g 12*
13 A muchos carpinteros con sus herrami- *A 13*
14 b ẽtas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso. *b 14*
15 c Despues de mondado y de auerle com- *c 15*
16 d puesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles: *d 16*
17 e atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan- *e 17*
18 f tauanle con muchas bozes y muchos *f 18*
19 g estruendos y afixauanle muy bien. *g 19*
20 A Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã- *A 20°*
tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos aderẽçauãse con sus plumajes y atauajos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

1. Marginal notation: *despues de diez veyn.*
3. Marginal notation: *Barrendo delante.*

2. Marginal notation: *Puesto al rededor.*

pains of] their death

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la mãdre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que quijere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

796X [805 776]

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Mexican calendar: September 1st–20th.

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjztli.

1 b KL Cinco dias antes que començasse este
2 c mes: cessauan todas las fiestas y regozi-
3 d jos del mes pasado entrando este mes,
4 e baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin
5 f teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la
6 g muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃
7 A llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los
8 b ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la
9 c mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de
10 d mugeres con ella: especialmente las
11 e medicas y parteras: y partiansе en dos
12 f vandos y peleauan apedreandose con
13 g pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas
14 A y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa-
15 b dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal-
16 c sochitl. Este regozijo durauã quatro
17 d dias.
18 e
19 f Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras
20 g desta calidad: procuraũ que aquella
muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse (porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, ataujauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pelejo.

21 b
22 c
23 d
24 e
25 f
26 g
27 A
28 b
29 c
30 d
31 e
1 f
2 g
3 A
4 b
5 c
6 d
7 e
8 f
9 g

[534 535] [754] [524 137] [787]

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al doseno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que quiere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado.

796x [805 776]

Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

1. Marginal notation: Deificatio omnd Michael.

which they then used.

Cap. 12
Teutl eco

1 A KL
2 b A los quinze dias deste mes: los
3 c moços y muchachos, enramauan
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de los
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de
6 f las casas como por los camjnos y en-
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que
8 A hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan
9 b vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros
10 c dos o tres maçorcas.
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios
12 e (que siempre es mancebo que le
13 f llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titla-
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y
15 A rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua pri-
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comida en su cu,
17 c y aquella noche comjan y beujan y
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los
19 e viejos, y viejos que beujan vino, por la
20 f llegada del dios: y dezian que lo
A 10
b 11
c 12
d 13
e 14
f 15
g 16
A 17
b 18
c 19
d 20
e 21
f 22
g 23
A 24
b 25
c 26
d 27
e 28
f 29 lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vijlia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada.

En vinjendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua boxes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los

[465] [776] [273] [252] [534]

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

411 796x [805 776]

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: [illegible]

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f Quando hazian las saetas por espa- f 20
2 g cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan g 21
3 A de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan A 22
4 b dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si- b 23
5 c enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias c 24
6 d para yr a caçar venados: los que no se d 25
7 e sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en e 26
8 f pena: njngun hombre se echaua con f 27
9 g su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni g 28
10 A viejas beujan pulcre: porquẽ hazian A 29
11 b penjtencia. b 30
12 c c 31
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha- d 1'
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas e 2
15 f saetas chiquitas y atauanlas de quatro f 3
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi g 4
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, A 5
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so- b 6
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon- c 7
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas d 8
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

796x [785]

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x [778 342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796x 224

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teoxlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

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3. Marginal notation: Dedicatio Templi Mexicani.

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes hazia fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penitencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

796^x [805 776 785]

Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

1	e	KL.	e	9¹
2	f	El segundo dia deste mes començauã	f	10
3	g	todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can-	g	11
4	A	tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de	A	12
5	b	su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to-	b	13
6	c	dos juntos: começauan estos cantares	c	14
7	d	a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez:	d	15
8	e	durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte	e	16
9	f	dias.	f	17
10	g	A los nueue dias deste mes: apare-	g	18
11	A	jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que	A	19
12	b	aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas	b	20
13	c	colores, componjãlos con muchos pa-	c	21
14	d	peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos,	d	22
15	e	en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom-	e	23
16	f	bre pareados cantando y baylãdo.	f	24
17	g	A los deziseys dias deste mes: co-	g	25
18	A	mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los	A	26
19	b	esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen-	b	27
20	c	çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan	c	28

796^x [535]

todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebrẽdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teuzlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, morian algunos en la escaramuça.

[346]

[726]

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sexto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

796[x] [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

Quando començaua a tronar los satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los deziseis dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

[314] [834]

Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

[778 289] [324]

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

[413 286]

1. Marginal notation: Sacrificing empty.
2. Marginal notation: Dancing for dice game.
3. Marginal notation: Expulsion from Mexico 9.

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Coxcamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre coxcamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo su ademanes de bayle.

796x [805 776] [535]

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Marginal notation: [illegible]

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

1 e KL
2 d A esta muger que matauan en esta
3 e fiesta: componjanla con los stauios de
4 f aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que
5 g se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom-
6 A bre Tona quiere dezir nuestra madre
7 b esta muger ansi compuesta con los
8 c stauios estan puestos en la historia,
9 d baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos vie-
10 e jos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua,
11 f acordandose que luego auia de morir:
12 g pasando el medio dia, componjanse los
13 A satrapas con los ornamentos de todos
14 b los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su-
15 c bianla al cu, donde auia de morir:
16 d echada sobre el tazon de piedra, su-
17 e cauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la ca-
18 f beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos
19 g que yva adornado como dios, y delan-
20 A tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca-
bellos: hazian areyto cõ ella guiaua el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

c 19 d 20 e 21 f 22 g 23 A 24 b 25 c 26 d 27 e 28 f 29 g 30 A 31 b 1* c 2 d 3 e 4 f 5* g 6 A 7

796x 535

El mesmo dia que mataũ esta muger los mjnjstros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abazo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

796x

El dia sigujente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

796x 565 524 [415]

2. Marginal notation: [illegible]

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

796X
[805
778]
776
[852
304
608]

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *xauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bisextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1	*b*	KL.		*b*	8
2	*c*	A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã		*c*	9
3	*d*	fuego nuevo a la media noche delante		*d*	10
4	*e*	la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa-		*e*	11
5	*f*	mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos,		*f*	12
6	*g*	luego en amaneciendo venjan los man-		*g*	13
7	*A*	cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos		*A*	14
8	*b*	anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez		*b*	15
9	*c*	dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de		*c*	16
10	*d*	tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que		*d*	17
11	*e*	tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y		*e*	18
12	*f*	ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque-		*f*	19
13	*g*	llos anjmales para que se asassen: y		*g*	20
14	*A*	dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu-		*A*	21
15	*b*	chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que		*b*	22
16	*c*	ellos llamauã Vauhquiltamalli: los		*c*	23
17	*d*	quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia,		*d*	24
18	*e*	y todos comjan dellos por honrra de		*e*	25
19	*f*	la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y		*f*	26
20	*g*	beujan y regozijauanse.		*g*	27

[262]

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del bisexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jxcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

[535]

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nostoros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796x 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

o Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- *A 28*
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que *b 29*
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos *c 30*
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- *d 31*
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoqujch, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

[551] [578] [787]

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio mataua capituos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796x [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

785 796x 463

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
X 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornizes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

X 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
● [276] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, atauiauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the
[276] second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the court-
[463] yard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

X 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[304] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[438] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los más ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

In this house[1] which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la aderençauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante della perfumes, y comjda: dezian que este era el signo de quetzalcoatl. [796] [778]

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjquiztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comjda: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gẽte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso. [778]

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Ciuapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuateocalli*, or by another name, *ciuateopan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatetuitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujauitl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan Ciuapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en'la casa del sol, y que quãdo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas emfermedades, a los que topauã fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan ciouteocalli, o por otro nombre ciouteupan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amatetuitl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles. [776] [784] [778]

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce qujauitl: en la quarta casa que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy malafortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de superticion: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las jeyas, en que trataua, sacandolas, para que las viesen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to- [681] [777] [463]

[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

And afterwards, at night,

they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one began to boast of what he had gained, and of the distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

manan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus assientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatlipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendiresse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto aconteçja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mjsmo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce ocomatli they said that the goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it: that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers on these days did not let their children go outside the houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

La doueena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Ocumatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas ciospipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treszena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcuintli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mismas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mismo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solēnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] 289 772 [565] [666 431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que trataua en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras grageriias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuēta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La seyzena decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

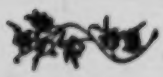

1796 **Twenty-sixth Chapter** in which are related the feast and ceremonies celebrated upon the feast in the seventh month, which was named Tecuilhuitontli.[1]

Tecuilhuitontli: When this feast arrived, they celebrated the minor feast of the lords for twenty days. And at this time died—[for thus] her fate then befell her—at this time died [in sacrifice], a war captive's 1796 death, [she who was the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, ● 776 god[dess] of those who made salt, the salt-makers. 317

This Uixtociuatl, so it was said, was thought to be the elder sister of the rain gods. And it was thought that the rain gods were her brothers. [In] one thing she angered and offended them, that she mocked at her brothers. And then they pursued their elder sister over to the salt beds. There she discovered salt—how it existed, how it was formed, and how were made the salt jars; and also salty sand.

And, on this account, greatly did men who lived where there was salt pay honor to her.

1796 And the array of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was [303 [thus]: Her [face] paint and ornamentation were 301 yellow. This was of yellow ochre or the [yellow] of maize blossoms.[2] And [she wore] her paper cap with quetzal feathers in the form of a tassel of maize. It was of many quetzal feathers, full of quetzal feathers, so that it was covered with green, streaming down, glistening like precious green feathers.

And [she had] her golden ear plugs. And the golden ear plugs glittered and flashed and were very yellow, like squash blossoms. And her shirt was embroidered[3] to resemble water [waves].[4] And the border of her shirt was as if painted with green stones, designed to represent billowing clouds on the hem [of her shirt]; the edge was painted in a cloud design. And her skirt was designed in the same fashion.

And on her ankles[5] she had placed bells—golden bells—or rattles. On the calf of her leg she had bound an ocelot skin on which were the bells. And when

Jnic cẽpoualli on chiquace capitulo, vncan moteneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in muchioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic chicome metztli, in mjtoaia: Tecujlhujtontli.

Tecujlhujtontli: yn in qujçaia in muchioaia, in tecuilhujtontli, no cempoalilhujtica: auh vncã mjquja, vncan itequjuh vetzia vncan teumjquja in vixtocioatl, yn jnteouh iztatlaca, iztachiuhque.

Jnjn vixtocioatl, iuh mjtoa qujlmach inveltiuh, catca in tlaloque: yoan qujlmach yioq'chtioan in tlaloque: centlamãtli ic qujnqualanj, ic qujniollitlaco, inca mocaiauh, yn joqujchtioan: auh njman ic qujtotocaque yn jnveltiuh vmpa yn iztapan: vmpa qujnexitito yn iztatl, yn juh ioli, yn juh tlacati, yn juh muchioa iztacomjtl, yoan iztaxalli.

Auh ipampa y, cenca qujmauiztiliaia yn iztapaneca, yn iztapãtlaca.

Auh in vixtocioatl, yn jnechichioal catca, yn jxaoal, yn jnechioal cuztic: ichoatl in tecoçaujtl anoço tomjoli: yoan yamacal, quetzalmjiaoaio, quequetzalo, moca quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujuj, xoxoqujuhtimanj, momoiaoa, xexeliuj, iuhqujn xoxopaleoa, xoxozouja:

yoan yteucujtlanacoch, teucujtlanacoche: auh in teucujtlanacochtli, pepetlaca, pepepetlaca, cenca coztic, iuhqujn aioxochqujlitl: yoan yujpil tlaaicujlolli, aycujliuhquj: auh yn iten yn ivipil, tlachalchiujcujlolli, chalchiujcujliuhquj, tẽmizmolonquj, tlatenmjxicujlolli: auh yn icue çan ic no iuhquj ynic tlacujlolli,

yoan icxic cẽpalia coiolli, teucujtlacoiolli, anoço tzitzilli: itlaniuio in qujlpiaia, oceluecoatl yn ipan

1. *"Fiesta de los señores,"* according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 300); *"der kleine Herrenfest,"* or *"kleines Herrenfest,"* in Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 130, 131).
Torres describes this month and the next basically as the lords' months, in contrast to Ennalqualoni. Cf. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
2. In *op. cit.*, p. 131 and p. 131, n. 1, Seler refers to *"gelber Pflanzenfarbe."* Mimmi, however, is translated by Molina (*op. cit.*) as *"la espiga y la flor de la caña de maya."*
3. Literally, *pensado*; Sahagún, however, writes *"labrada."*
4. Cf. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text: also Plate 24.
5. *"Las corpanas de los pies,"* in Sahagún's Spanish. Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 9.

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[34]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-weaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl: [796x] [714 411]

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca iehoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, iehoatl in qujmomaca cuextecatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in onotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. [535] Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impariuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn suchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaiaoalo in teucalli.

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlaçatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id es, iaoiutl, çujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic ceniazque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, itepuzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, [533] ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn tzõtli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh.

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuztlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujnjquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, [714] ca quenqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço-

34. See Sahagún, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1288. Sahagún mentions (pp. 13), 137) a pointed, cone-shaped hat; a disc or crescent fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose plate; a golden ear pendant; and sandals. Sahagún there relates to the wear of Aztecpipil among the Huaxtecs, or that "the Huaxtecs were [down to preaching] themselves to be the servants, followers, Huaxtecs, of the old mother of the gods, Tetec Ixtoca, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxtecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Huaxtecs from days." [776 177]

X 796 **Thirty-first Chapter**, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound together. Only the young men laid them down, on [346] every small pyramid, in the temples of the Cinateteo,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was [252] named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

And on the third day of the spreading out of ● [776] branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

X 796 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offerings for him. They offered him fish amaranth seed, 252 ground and made into a ball of dough.

First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

Inic ceuppoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: ierehpa tlatoa in ilhuijtl, yoan in nextlaoalizzli; in muchiuaia, in jpã vel ic ceujlhujtl, injc matlactetl on ume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

Injc matlactetl on ume ilhujtl: ichoutl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

in ic iuh tlamacujlti, njuã vncan vmpeoa in acxoistemalo: in acxoiatl, ichoutl in acatl, ẽci in quijpiaia; çan ichoantin in telpopochtin quijtemaia, novian in momoteco, in cioatecucalco, yoan in novian techachan, in vncan pipiclo in jmjxipilacoan diabloene:

auh in techachã novian onacxoistemaia, quijnoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhtzintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, naolotl: in cana icolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli quijoaltemaca: moteneoa, cacalotl ca quijmocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nẽ mocalhujaia, can ichoantin injmel, in tlaceliaaj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochicanj, in ameo tlatlacanequjnj in jmel.

Auh in ie ic icilhujtl acxoistemalo: iquac heco in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, ichoatl achto heco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlaççanj, coeze:

ipampa in achto oalaci, yoan quijtlamanjliaia: in qujmanjliaia, mjchiouuhtli, in tlapololli:

achtopa qujcequj, quijtomotza comalco, çatepan quijteci: auh in oquijtecque, çatepã quijpolouia, atica: cequj necutica, in quijpolouia: aço macujltetl, aço

1. *Teoco hero—Los dioses llegan*, in Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 387. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 185, refers to modern as in feasts de la venida de los dioses. The spelling "Tetl eco" is in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. See note 3, p. 59. In Cap. xxxiv (Pinquentemilitli), Sahagún explains that "*por ramos llevaban cada verde y espinos de magueys*," and, in Cap. xxv (Ennepalizztli), "*donde no había cerro ponían cuchillas cada verde en lugar de ramos*."

3. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that "*Tenían edificados oratorios a honra de estos dioses en todos los barrios donde había dos calles; los cuales llamaban cinateocalli, o por otro nombre cihuacapan; en estos oratorios tenían los vasquezos de estos dioses. . . .*" Clavigero, (*loc. cit.*) says: "*reconocían los templos y los convecindades de las calles.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

4. *Olotl* is more properly corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 32; however, he usually renders it maize ear.

5. "*Cuartos, o tenazuelas . . . para asbrar granos de maiz tostado en el rescoldo*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the same equivalent.

6. These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[7] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still,

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzauac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coololoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec quitquitiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia. [252]

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, quijlmach quicxipaca. [888 273]

Auh in oacic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoistemalizitli: iquac quitepeoa in acxoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in quichioaia, iotexitli, quitepitztlaliaia, quipachoaia, iaoaltic injc quitlaliaia, petlapã in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, quicencaoaia, cemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta iotexitli, moteneoa: icxi. [793]

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza iotexitli, texxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca ohecoque in teteu: [787]

njman ic quioalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, quitzacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu. [534]

Auh in jxquich maceoalli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanazque inteupã, in intetecupan diablome: çã moche in tlapololli, in quinmanjlia:

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie ioaa: çan iẽ no ivi in quichioa, tlatlaoana in veveque, in jlamatzitzin, quijlmach, quimjcxipaca in ohecoque teteu. [888 273]

Auh in jmuztlaioc, iquac heco in Jacapitzaoac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca inteouh cauca, yoa in Izcoçauh- [776]

7. The word ololoia is explained by Carochi (op. cit., p. 307): "[illegible] quando [illegible] se hacen [illegible] [illegible]" — "y [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

X 796 Ixcoçauhqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came
● [776] last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

X 796 And when they were being cast into the fire, there then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He
292 was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a
535 crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which
[198] was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was
[534] he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

X 796 They took one another's hands, grasping them firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken,
535 where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hands."

And next day all assembled at the same time to
[237] dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasure songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here endeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

quj, iehoatl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca intouh catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoqujlitivia, ça qujoalcentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlaxo, vncan in teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in qujntlepantlaçaia, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaxo, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiqujltone, quachichiqujle, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujmamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoatzalxontli: in jquac ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

yoan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhqujn tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vnietl in jaiacach, vccampa in aiacachotinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazque: injc oaltemo, imaamaneapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca moteteuhtzitzquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhqujn mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic movitequj, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin moteneoa mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in coztic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xoxoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca ixqujch tlacatl, çan ichoantin in oqujchtin:

njman ie ic penalo in necocololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle queoa, çan avilcujcatl: auh in necacaoalo, ie ioca: auh in aca cenca compaquj, vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jiomjlhujixti y, ie cuel cõcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je ixqujch njcan tlamj, njcan tzonqujça in ilhujtl Teutl eco.

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8. ". . . *en el donde cada año sacaban vivos en un gran recondo de fuego muchos cautivos, en la fiesta que se llamaba tecalco; y hacían los dichosos capellín ceremonias que se llamaban atecalcoxcaxa, como se dice en la misma fiesta de tecalco*" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 224).

9. ". . . *porque no les hacían mal el dios Acolmiztli*" (*ibid.*, p. 226). Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., p. 188.

[796] and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

[778] And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][9] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

[314 289]

qujntlapschilitivitze, iuhqujn tlacaoacativitz, njmã ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo qujmpepechoa:

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in qujnpepechoa, injc qujntlacatilia, qujmixolhuja, yoan mjchioauhtli in quimõtlalilia incampan, qujmõquentia in tetevitl, yoan qujmõaquja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

[765] And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in qujntlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in qujnchichioaia.

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço axali in impũ qujtlaliaia:

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. [262] They offered them fruit *tamales,* and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic qujntlamanjlia: in qujnmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan qujntlenamaqujlia.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan ixujch in qujntlamanjliaia.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequjntin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

[776] The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maiauel, representing the *maguey;* the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

Injc er itoca Tepoxoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maiavel: ixiptla metl. Jnjc macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oqujchtli, ixiptlan coatl:

[314 289] Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

[493] Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

ioatzinco in qujmpeoaltia in qujnnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, qujntlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, qujntlatlaioalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, qujncujcatitivi.

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9. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: "*La cabeça de cada vna vnsaua vnaja dos veces, vna de parenas, y otra de cabellos. . . .*"
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), "*vnaban o vnsaua hechos de hoias, redondas como tapetes de esteras.*"
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 22, n. 119.
12. In the Robredo ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 233, atoll is explained: "*Hay otra que se llama tecuapilli, es muy verde y tiene unos cabellos hecho como aquellos hueles que se llaman atoll, y crecen cerca del agua, y cuando se vnsaua vnsaua entre los diamates cuando la cosecha.*"

X 796 And when they had burned, they there buried their
[765] charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton
[237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places
[793] the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast
● [776] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all
[342 513] made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed
X 796 in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All,
224 in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan inezo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaomjxque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, oosqusuhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonqui ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaztatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: moteneoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc moteneoa, çacapan qujxoa, mocuetzelos, çacatl: iehoatl in ocoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, oc petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjtotia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in peoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iecviloa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in inteouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn moteneoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujzqujch hazzioa nezzacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo ãtlioa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nehaspanalo:

mec viloa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniaoaloa in jzqujchtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoiala,

3. "Ils vont à la prairie" (*zacapan quimoque*), according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

scized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and slew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeoatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivecho, izqujch in tematitlampa quiça, in aiamo imjquja.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aquja maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, qujntlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli:

intla tlamanj, qujmoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujtlatiz tanaco, anoço qujmonamaqujliz: yoan in tlamanjme qujntlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atli.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic viloatz, çaiio in intzontecon qujoalhujvica intlan qujmaana, chichipicativitz in eztli, in oacico inchachan, aco qujnpip̄los auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan qujxooaia: iquac qujnmacaia in imamatlatquj in jtzqujntin mjqujzque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequjntin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome iehoatl in Izqujtecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: iehoan qujmaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja iehoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in qujnnextiaia: auh no iehoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izqujtecatl: no iquac qujcuja in jmamatlatquj.

Aũh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjqujzque: vmmoezcalo, in tonatiuh: mec qujnvica in vmpa mjqujzque: qujmõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõiaoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa qujnvivica in jncacalpulco, ceioal in qujntoçavia, qujnpia, qujnpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncujva: auh in oqujmõtzoncujque, njmã ie ic motlatlatlãlia: in oqujchtli, qujtlatia, in jpan yoan itilma,

4. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *que quemaçiçiolo* might better be read for *inquiçiolo*. Cf. also Seler (op. cit., p. 199).
5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. I, n. 5.
6. Cf. supra, p. 97, n. 7.

Temple of Uitzilopochtli
Costepetl.[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitznauac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shapen. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all then danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Iopoch.

And in the morning Paynaltzin came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Paynal was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly bedight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Paynal was thus adorned: [it had on] its humming bird disguise, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back went hanging the mirror device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli ineocal
costepetl. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, expa in qujçaia ilhujuh, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia, yn ipan ce xivitl. 796x

Injc cepa ipan in mjtoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoqujçaia, in iehoatl vitzilobuchtli, ym omextin yn jtoca Tlacauepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic qujtlecaujaja in iehoatl vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixquich in tlamacazquj, in telpuchtli in qujnapaloaia: auh yn ixiptla catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tzoalli, cenca vey, cennequetzalli. [776] 776 796x

Auh ynjc vme in jtoca Tlacauepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tzoalli in jxiptla catca.

Auh in muchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacauepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in muchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitznaoac calpulco: auh cenioual in qujmicuxtiiaia, in qujntlacatiliaia.

Auh in otlatujc, ie otlacatque: njman ie ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ie teutlac, njman ie ic netotilo, necocololo: auh çan ic oncalaquj, in tonatiuh, in qujntlecaujaia: auh yn oqujmoontlalito, njman ie ic oaltemoa, vmpa ceioal catc: yoan qujnpiaia tlamacazque, yn jntoca Iopuch: [793]

Auh yn otlatujc, niman ie ic oalquiça, in paynaltzin, in çan no ie yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, qujnapaloa: auh yn ixiptla paynal, çan quauitl tlaca ietiuh: auh in qujnapaloa, itoca topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: cenca mochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla paynal ynic muchichioaia, yvitzitzilnaoal, yianecuiouh, yteucujlapã, ychalchiohcoxquj: auh yn icujlapan pilcatiuh, iehoatl in cujlatencoal, çan muche in teuiuid: 796x 293

1. See Lib. III, cap. 4, § 1.
2. Identified as companion of Uitzilopochtli (Tezozomoc, op. cit., pp. 146, 155).
3. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. III, p. 111.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

● 776 **Second Chapter**, which telleth how they considered a god one named Titlacauan or Tezcatlipoca; even as an only god they believed in him.

Of this one who was called Titlacauan they said that verily his were the heavens and the earth. All these in truth he made. And he gave to men all that which was necessary; that by which all live; that which can be drunk. He gave riches to men; he made them prosper.

And also of Titlacauan they said [that he was] invisible—like the darkness; [like] the wind.[1] When sometimes he called out to one, he spoke like a shadow. Verily, what one knew within one, [that] he knew. There was much calling out and praying [to him]. It was said to him:

"O protector of all, O giver of life, O Titlacauan, pity me, give me what is necessary for my life and for my strength—of thy gentleness and sweet essence. For now there is want; there is fatigue in gaining one's needs. [This] now there is upon earth. Take pity upon me; incline thyself to me. For I am thy orphan, I am poor, I am in need. Do I, perchance, serve thee in nothing? For I sweep, I sweep up rubbish, I lay fires there where I attend thee, there in thy poor house. Ah! Quickly slay me, trample me with thy feet! Ah! May my body come to rest!"

776b 753 And also they said of Titlacauan that he gave woe and affliction. And men he burdened and scourged with plagues which were great and grave —leprosy, boils, dropsy, cancers, the itch, haemorrhoids, piles, chilblains,[2] and other sicknesses.

And when he laid these upon men, it was when he was wroth—that someone had forsaken his vows and promises, and that he had mishandled the fasting; that a man had lain with a woman [or] a

Injc vme capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenjn Dios vel ipã qujmatia in ichoatl in mjtoa Titlacaoan, anoço Tezcatlipuca in juhqujma ipan qujmatia ce dios.

In ichoatl in moteneua titlacaoa qujtoaia ca ichoatl ilhujcaoa tlalticpaque, ichoan muchi vel quichioa: yoan muchi quitemaca, in ixquich in tetech monequj, in nemoalonj, yn ioalonj, ichoatl tecuiltonoa, ichoatl tetlamachtia:

auh yoan in Titlacaoã qujtoaia, amo hitonj, çan iuhqujn ioalli, i ehecatl in quẽmã aca qujnotzaia, çan iuhqui ceoalli tlatoaia, vel teitic tlamati, mati, cenca tzatzililoia, tlatlauhtiloia, ilhujloia,

Tloquee, nauaqueie, ipalnemoanje, titlacaoane; xinechmotlaocolili, ma xinechmomaquili, in notechmonequj in nonenca, in nochicaoaca, in motzopelica, in maviaca ca ic mihiiovia, ca ic mociavi, ic vmpa õqujça in tlalticpac, ma xinechmocnoitrili, ma xinechmocnomachiti, in njmocnotlacauh in nitozonqui, in nioaçonqui. Cuix atle nimjtznochivililia, ca nitlachpana, ca nitlacuicui, nitletlalia, in vncan nimjtznotlatolchialia, in vncan mocnochã. auh manoço cuele xinechmotlatilli, xinechõmocxipachilvi, ma cuele niccrujto in nonacaio.

Auh yoan in titlacaoan, qujtoaia, ca no ichoatl in qujtemacaia in netolinjliztli, in cococ teupouhquj: yoan tetech qujtlaliaia, ic temotlaia in cocolizztli, in vey, in ouj, in teucocoliztli, in nanaoatl, in tlanquaslauliztli, in qualocatl, in xiiotl, in xochiciuiztli, in quexiliujliztli, in xoteuconaujliztli: yoan in oc cequj cuculiztli.

Auh in jquac tetech qujtlaliaia, iquac in ioliflacolola: yn aquja amo qujneltiliaia, yn jnetol, yn jtlacemitol: yoan in qujtlacoaia in necaoaliztli, yn ac ipan

1. Tezcatlipoca, according to Caso (*op. cit.*, p. 19), signified the nocturnal cycle and was connected with the moon and all the earlier gods. Hence he brought misfortune, death, and destruction, and was associated with witchcraft. Always young (*injpochtli*), he was regarded as patron of warriors, and sometimes called Yaotl (*war*). For this reason he was also connected with Huitzilopochtli, his son. Edward Seler, *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1960), Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 20, and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, p. 2.

2. Probably [illegible], possibly to be related to [illegible] (Simeón, *Diccionario de la lengua nahuatl o mexicana* [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885]; Sahagún, Robredo ed., III, p. 180).

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woman with a man, or that otherwise the fasting had been broken.[5]

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And when the sick man suffered greatly, he prayed much to him, he cried out to him, he reached his hand toward him.[6] He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, abate [my suffering] for me. May I do no more for thee—may I no longer hear nor serve [thee]! But if now thou shalt heal me, I vow to thee that I shall serve thee. If I shall gain something for myself, I shall not eat of it of a morning,[6] but do thou come to set it at thy foot. I shall bring it [to thee]."

And the sick man [who was] in sore straits, who might not recover, who could not now end [the suffering], who could now endure no more, sometimes berated [Titlacauan]. He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Now that thou takest thy pleasure [with me], slay me quickly!"

Some Titlacauan then healed, not angered by this. And some nevertheless then died for this.

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And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiatzin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neçaualpilli. And hence was he called Moiocoia[tzin]: that which was in his mind, that which he thought of, he forthwith made. No one invented [anything for him]; none might prevent him. And in the heavens and all the earth around, whomever he wished he might endow; he would enrich him. And whomever he wished, he might afflict. And whenever he might be wroth, or might so wish, or when he was neglectful, he would bring down the heavens above us, and we should perish.

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And Titlacauan, [who] extended throughout this world, was therefore besought, called to, and prayed to. And everywhere they set up his sanctuaries, shrines[8] by the road, at crossroads. Everywhere he was awaited. And in the shrines they had fir branches laid on the five days with which the twenty-day [month] ended.[9] Always they went to do this on each of the [five] days with which each month ended.

Enough.

cieacuchi oquichtli, yn ac ipan oquichcuchi cioatl: yoan anoce monecaoalujtequj.

Auh in jquac in cenca tlaihiiouja cucuxquj, cenca quitlatlauhtia quitzatzilia, ymac tlatetonc; quijhuja.

Titlacaoane, ma oc xinechmocaxaujli, macacomo iuh njnochioaz, ma onjcac, ma oc notlaiecul: auh intla oc tinechmopatilia, moujctzinco njnonetoltia, ma njmjcanotlatlaiecultilia: intla itla njcnonenentilia, camo njctlacaquaz, çan mocritzin ic ticmoquechilijujuh, nican: njcujcaz.

Auh in cucuxquj cenca tlanauj, yn amo vel pati; yn aoc ontlaiecoa yn aoc vel .: in quenmanjan cahoaia: quijhujaia.

Titlacaoane, cujlonpole: ie tonmotlatlamachtia, manoço cuele xinechtlatlati:

in cequjntin njman quijnpatiaia amo ic qualanja, y cequjntin ye njman ic miquja.

Auh in titlacaoan, no quitocaiotiaia tezcatlipuca, moiocoiatzi, iaotzi, necoc iautl, neçaoalpilli: auh ynic moteneoa, moiocoia, in tlein quijocoia, in tlein quijnamjquj, njman quichioa: aiac quijocoia, aiac quelleltia: yoan yn ilhujcatl, yoan in jequich anacatl tentica, yn aquin quinequj quicujhonoz, quicujhonoa: yoan yn aquin quittitiz, in cococ tenpoalhquj, quittitia. Auh yn iquin moçoniaz, immoenequiz, yn jquin tlatziuiz, quioalpachoz yn ilhujcatl topan manj, tipopoliuiztque.

Auh yn titlacaoa, quicentzacutimanca yn njca ynic notzaloia, in tlatlauhtiloia in tzatzilioia: auh noviian quitlalilia yn ichial, in mumuztli in vtlica, in vmxac, noujian chialoia Auh in mumuzco acxoatl quitlalilia, ynic tlamacujlti ilhujtl, ynic tzonquiça cempoalilhujtl: muchipa iuh muchiuhtiuja, yn ipan ocentetl ilhujtl, ynic tlantioh ocempoalilhujtl.

ie izquich.

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5. The corresponding Aztec text of this passage has [illegible], probably meaning [illegible].
6. See IX, 7.
7. In "Paralipómenos de Sahagún" (p. 171, n. 7), Garibay notes that [illegible] may also be more literally rendered "spouse; a and 'mate' [illegible], a 'mother, wife'."

In this paragraph, we have read [illegible] as [illegible]; it might equally well be [illegible] (I shall sing).

In "Tu amásame," in the corresponding Spanish, Bas, however, Mallon, op. cit. ([illegible]), and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, pp. 141, 142. The term [illegible] is variously translated.

8. See IX, 8.

Third Chapter, which telleth—in which is related—[the story of] Quetzalcoatl, who was a great wizard;[1] and of the place where he ruled,[2] and of what he did when he went [away].

This Quetzalcoatl they considered a god. They all adored him as a god. He was prayed to in olden times there at Tula.[3]

And there was his temple, [which was] very tall and high; lofty and towering. Very many [were its] steps, extending in a multitude, and not wide; but each one, in truth, was very narrow. On each step, the sole of one's foot could not be extended.

There, it is said, he lay; he lay covered; and he lay with only his face covered. And, it is said, he was monstrous.

His face [was] like a huge, battered stone, a great fallen rock; it [was] not made like that of men. And his beard was very long—exceedingly long. He was heavily bearded.

And the Toltecs, his vassals, were highly skilled. Nothing that they did was difficult [for them]. They cut green stone, and they cast gold, and they made other works of the craftsman and the feather worker. Very skilled were they. These started and proceeded from Quetzalcoatl—all craft works and wisdom.

And there stood his green stone house, and his golden[4] house, and his coral house, and his shell house, and his house of beams, his turquoise house, and his house of precious feathers.

And [for] his vassals the Toltecs, nothing with which they dealt was [too] distant. Very quickly they could arrive whither they went. And because they were fleet, they were named *tlanquacemilhuiaue*.[5]

Inic Ey capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jnoloca in Quetzalcoatl in vej nacalli catca: in canjn tlatocac, yoan in tlein quichiuh iquac ia.

In ichcatl, in quetzalcoatl: iuhquijma teutl ipan quijmatia, netecutiloia, teumachoia, in iquijn ic vecauh, in vmpo nallan.

auh in vncá onoca in itecpan, cenca vecapil, cenca quauhtic, itzchiquauhtic, itzchivecapan, cenca miec in itlaxamatlaio, vel tecpichauhtoc, axpo papatlaoac, çan pitzaxtoton, amo vel coce zocpalli, vmpan onoca

quijl çan tlapachiuhtoca, çan itzlapachiuhtoca, yoan quil xilacacemolle catca:

in itzxiac iuhquijn tetecujnpol, tehtlanipol, hamo tlatlacaiocoia. auh in itentzon cenca viac, cenca vitlatetic, tentemopachtic,

auh in tolteca, in imaceoalhoan, cenca mjmatia, ale ovi in quichioaia, in quitequja chalchiviel, yoan tecujtlapitzaia, yoan quichioaia, in oc cequj toltecaiotl in amantecaiotl, cenca vel mimatia vel itech peuhtica, vel itech quiztica, in Quetzalcoatl in itzquich in toltecaiotl, in nemachtli,

yoan onicaca ichalchiuhcal, yoan itecujtlacal, yoan itzpachcal, yoan itecizacal, yoan itopalcal, itziuhcal, yoan iquetzalcal.

auh in imaceoalhoan, in tolteca hacan in veca quichioaia, vel icinlica acitivetztiia in campa via: auh inic cenca totocaia motocaiotiaia, tlanquacemilhujme,

1. Simeón Guilloy (op. cit., pp. 170, 171) translates the name as above, but suggests three possibilities for precise understanding of the word: (1) If *mecl* is the root, a twisted-quadruped is implied; (2) if the root is *cuitectl*, *cuitecatl* (an archaic verb surviving in composition), then the meaning is close to magician or prestidigitator, or—following Molina (cf. *cuitecatqui*, *cuitecatlehua*, *cuitecatlehua*, etc.)—to fool; (3) if the root is the blunt *ne*, *nec*, *necc*, then the meaning approximates wisdom, science, magic. Guilloy favors the second possibility.

2. Seler (*Ausgw. Kapitel*, p. 268, n. 1) corrects *in campo* to *in quemic*. This is perhaps more logical.

3. As a deity, Quetzalcoatl was wind god and priest god (Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 28), or morning star god, god of life, of the morning (Caso: op. cit., p. 19). See also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, pp. 2-3.

Possibly the most coherent account of Quetzalcoatl as the priest-chief of Tula is in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, of which the best editions are Walter Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und México* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), and Primo Feliciano Velázquez's, in *Códice Chimalpopoca*. According to this source (pp. 42, 49ff., in Lehmann's *Geschichte*, and pp. 11ff. in Velázquez's *Códice*), he reigned at Tula for ten or twenty years following A. D. 873, having been born thirty years earlier of Chimalman, widow of Tezcatzoncatl, who died A. D. 894. (See *supra*, Chap. I, n. 4.) Chimalman is said to have swallowed a green stone, and from it to have conceived. See also Tezozomoc, op. cit., p. 30.

4. Tezozomoc: gold or silver, according to Silva Galeotti, op. cit. Xicotencatl (*or xuit cuepalpil*) is gold, and *iztac xuitcatl* is silver. Cf. Molina (op. cit., Spanish-Mexican section).

5. Those who walked the whole day without doing, according to Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 114.

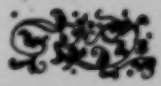

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

The Lord of Tlaloccan

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He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chia*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

[137]

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And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Tlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishement. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once, for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or forboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Ic macuilli cepitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in mixtli.

Tlaloci secutli.

Teutl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quiauitl, in atl: inh quitoaia, ic quichioa in ticoua, in tiqui, in qualoni, in joani, in tonenca, in toiolca, in tocochca, in toneuhca, in tocemilhuitiaia, in tonacaiotl: in ic iaquich xopaniotl, in itzmolintoc, in celintoc, in quauitl, in ouhtli, in chian, in aiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: yoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in euhtli, in xiuitl.

Auh in icoac ilhuiqiuitilitoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçaoaia, motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: in motenoua calmecac moouipoua, moxcalchia.

In icoac oacic nauilhuitl, in ic neoalco, in ic ilhuitl muchioa: matlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uei apan: amo iuiian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmetzotzopontitlaça, onmotzotzopontimaiaui: çan monetechuja, vncan çoquititlan quinemjtia, quipopolactia, quiauilana: icpac cantinemi, quititilicça, atlã tlatzotzopontzinemj, xicotzotzinemi, tlamomolontzinemi: inmac mouuitlatinemi, in tlamacazque,

in otlatlaco, in calmecac itlã oncholo: intlatol çan aca tlamotepotlani, itlã oconixxixopeuh, oc uel ic conaciqui, ic ic inmal ça quipipia, axcmo conjcaua, inic catlampapachoque.

Auh amo çan quenjn quipolou: uel quiccoltia, quellelaxitia, ça quen quimatioc, ça mopopoçauhtoc, ça ipomocatoc, ça micqui in quicalmaiani atencc: aiac uel ipan tlatoa, vncan quimonana in intahoua, in innaloua. Auh in aquin quichamahcaxitilia, in quichalmachilia ipilxin, inic amo catlampapachoque: conquixtiaia ilaxin quinmacaia in tlamacazque, ayo tocolin, ayo tlaquilli: ic quicaoaia.

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Sixth Chapter. Here are mentioned the snow, the clouds, and the hail.

[Frost]

The frost [*pol*] was called Itztlacolihqui. Once yearly the cold came. During the feast of Ochpaniztli the cold began. And for one hundred and twenty days—one hundred and twenty suns—this persisted and there was cold. And it cooled and disappeared [during the feast] called Tititl.

When [the month] came to an end, it was said: "For the frost hath departed. Now there will be sowing—it will be the time of sowing. Already land will be planted, so that [seeds] will be placed in the soil. Already it is warm, mild, calm. Already the season is good, the time is propitious; the hour is at hand; the time is ripe; the moment hath come." [For] already they hastened and were diligent. Already there was unrest; all men would be agitated and solicitous; they would be preoccupied. No longer would there be rest. Already the days would fly;[11] already there would be the setting forth for the working of the fields, the fresh working of the soil, the reworking of the fields; already the fields would be reworked. Now there would be planting of beans; beans would be placed. Now amaranth seed would be cast broadside; amaranth would be placed. Now *chia* seed would be cast; chili plants set out and transplanted. Already off-shoots would be pruned and separated, and all would bear fruit.

Snow

It was only the servant and companion which followed, accompanied, and spread the frost over the earth. It was considered to be like the rain. And it was said that when there was snow, [crops] would be harvested; the crops would be good. It foretold, and was an omen of, [good] crops.

Ic chicuacen cxpiztle, vncan mitoa: in ołpaiuitl, ynan mitl, ynan in tecuitl.

Cetl, mitoa: itztlacolihqui, cexiuhtica in ołlatiuh, in cesetzi: ipan ochpaniztli, in pesa cesetzi. Auh chicuacempoualilhuitl, ch:macipoalhuia: in mani, in cesetzi. Auh ipan quiça, ipan poliui, in itoca tititl: 821 776

icuac tlami, mitoa ca oquix in cetl, ic tecoz, ic tequinpan, ic tlatlaxqui[illegible], ic tlallan ontlatlalilos: ic tlatotonja, ic tlacacaoaca, ic tlaiamanja: ic qualcan, ic uncan, ic inman, ic tlainman, ołlainmanoc: ic tlacisi, ołlacitih, ic neamaloz, ic neacomanaloz, ic nemocitilos, ic tlamocitiz, ac onnetlalilos: ic tlacaitl ooz, ic motocaz in tlachimiztli, in tlapopozolli, in çacamolli, ic çacamolos, ic etlaxos, ic etlaçalos: ic ouhpixoloz, ic ouhquetzaloz, ic chiempixoloz, ic chiltecos, ic chilaquiloz: ic ołpipilcoz, ic onnemaiohoz, ic netlacatilos.

Cepaiuitl.

Çan iuical, çan iehecal, quinequilia, quinocatiuh, yoł onocitiuh in cetl: iuhquin quiauitl ipan poui. Auh mitoa, in icuac cepaiuitl: pieroz, tlamochiuoz: quinotia, inemaz in piepiniztli. 821

11. Here we follow Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Weltanschauung, Menschenopfer und Kalender der alten Azteken, nach den mexikanischen Urquellen des Sahagún's Florentiner und anderen* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1950), pp. 32, 368-369. As alternative, however, might be "turn on fresh, or other" (*iteuit, ueuit*).

One condition of cuyaçhuaxoc and xocoxochiuhcan is questioned.

821
[176]

Clouds

When [clouds] billowed and formed thunderheads, and settled and hung about the mountain tops, it was said: "The Tlaloca are already coming. Now it will rain. Now the masters of the rain will sprinkle water."

Hail

It was formed and took shape when very white clouds settled on mountain tops. It was said: "Now it will hail; now our food will be hailed out."

And thus did hail fall, making a din as of rattling, beating one about the head, pelting one [as if] with stones. Thus, truly, died and were despoiled our crops. For some distance, it flattened on the ground and spread birds over the surface of the water. At that time the water dwellers went gathering for themselves; they brought in their catch.

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And that it might not hail, that they might not be hailed upon, and the young maize plants might not be damaged by hail, then the [sorcerers who] cast away hail and rain drove and headed it off. They removed it from the waters [of the lake]; they showed it the way and took it [hence]. Or else they cast it forth into the deserted places, the uncultivated lands where there were no crops, no one lived, and nothing existed; poverty-ridden lands—barren lands where nothing grew, nothing issued: the land was void. It was only an abandoned place; the [very] stones were dry.

Mistli.

In iconc tepeticpac moloni, momoloca, motlatlalia, mopilou: mitoaia, ca ie uitze in tlaloque, ie quiiauitz, ie pixauinque in aoaque.

Teciuitl

Ic machiua, ic neci: in iconc tepeticpac motlatlalia mistli, cêca ittac: mitoa, ca ie teciuia, ie teciuiloz in tonacaiotl.

Auh inic uetzi teciuitl, iuhquin tlacacalaca, tequacacalanja, tetemotla: vel ic miqui, ic ispoliui, ic tonacamiqui, cematl quimana, atlaco quinmana in totoxne. Auh vel oncan mopiaquia, quin mopiaquia, tonacatlama, in atlaca.

Auh inic amo teciuiz, inic amo teciuiloz, inic amo tecinmiquiz tocti: niman quiiopena, quipeuia, in teciuhtlazque, in quiauhtlazque: atlanpa quiquanja, quitlachichtia, quiuica: anoço vmpa quitlaça in çacatla, çacaitl-oacan, in atle imuchiouian, atle iiouia, atle onoc, atle iieouia, atle cootoc, atle iquiçaiil, atle quiztoc, atle onuetztoc: çan iuhcatla, tetl oacacca.

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These people attributed the wind to a god whom they named Quetzalcoatl, something like god of the wind. The wind bloweth from the four quarters of the world by command of this god, according to what they said. The first quarter it cometh from is from the east, where they say is the terrestrial paradise which they call Tlalocan. This wind they called Tlalocayotl. It is not a furious gale; when it bloweth, it doth not hinder the canoes from moving on the water. The second wind bloweth from the north, where they say hell is; and hence they name it Mictlampa ehecatl, which meaneth the infernal wind. *In hin uel imacazo*, etc.: this wind is violent, and therefore they fear it greatly. When it bloweth, canoes cannot go on the water. And all which are on the water come out with all the speed they can [master] because of fear when it bloweth; for often they are endangered by it. The third wind bloweth from the west, where they said was the abode of the Amazons. They called it Ciuatlampa ehecatl or Ciuatecayotl, which is to say wind which bloweth from where the women abide. This wind is not savage, but it is cold. It maketh one tremble with cold. With this wind, navigation is good. The fourth wind bloweth from the south, and they name it Uitz-

Esta gente atribuia el viento a vn dios q̃ llamauan quetzalcoatl bien asi como dios de los vientos. Soßa el viento de quatro ptes del mundo por mandamiento deste dios segun ellos dezian. De la vna pte viene de hazia el oriente, donde ellos dizen estar el payso terrenal al qual llaman tlalocan. A este viento la llamauan tlalocayotl: no es viento furioso, quando el soßa no impide las canoas andar por el agua. El segundo viento soßa de hazia el norte donde ellos dizen estar el infierno y asi le llaman mictlampa ehecatl que q. d. el viento infernal. Yn hin vel ymacazo etc. este viento es furioso y por eso le temen mucho quando el soßa no pueden andar las canoas por el agua. Y todos los que andan por el agua se salen por temor qñ el soßa con toda priesa que puedẽ porque muchas vezes peligran con el. El tercero viento soßa de hazia el occidente donde ellos dezian que era la abitacion de las amaçonas llamauanle ciuatlampa ehecatl o ciuatecayotl que q. d. viento que soßa de donde abitan las mugeres. este viento no es furioso: pero es frio, haze templar de frio con este viento bien se nauegan El quarto viento soßa de hazia el medio dia y llamanle vitzilõpa ehecatl q. d. viento q̃ soßa de aquella pte donde fueron los dioses que llaman vuitznaua: este viento en estas ptes es furioso,

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Variously they named the sheet lightning or thunder bolts. They attributed them to the Tlalocs or *tlamacazque*. They said that these made the thunderbolts and sheet lightning and peals of thunder, and [that] they smote with them whomsoever they would.

Por diversos nombres nombran al relampago o rayo atribuyãle a los tlaloques o tlamacaces. Dezian que ellos hazian los rayos y relampagos y truenos y ellos herian con ellos a quien querian.

821
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Fifth Chapter

Clouds and rain these natives attributed to a god whom they called Tlalocan tecutli, who had many other [gods] under his command, who were named Tlalocs and *tlamacazque*. These [people] thought that they created all things needed for the body, such as maize and beans, etc.; and that they sent the rains so that all things growing in the earth would

Las nubes y las plumias atribuianlas estos naturales a vn dios que llamauan tlaloca tecutli, el qual tenia muchos otros debaxo de su dominio a los quales llamauan tlaloque y tlamacazque. Estos pensauan que criauan todas las cosas necesarias pa el cuerpo como mayz y frisoles etc. Y que ellos embiauan las plumias para que naciesen todas las cosas que se crian

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They said that these gods $\frac{1}{1}$ made the clouds, the rains, and hail, snow, peals of thunder, sheet lightning, and thunderbolts.

Estos dioses dezian que hazian las nubes y las lluuias, y el granizo, y la nieue, y los truenos y los relampagos y los rayos.

821

The rainbow is something like an arch of hewn stone. It showeth divers colors. When it appeareth, it is a sign of clear weather.

El arco del cielo es a manera de arco de canteria tiene aparencia de diuersos colores. quando aparece es señal de serenidad.

$\frac{1}{1}$ [i.e. Tlaloccan tecutli & Tlalocs & tlamacazque – A]

Fourth Chapter. Here is told what Moctezuma then commanded[1] when he knew that the Spaniards had come back: the second time [that] they came, [they did so under] Don Hernando Cortés.

He said to them: "Come, O ye intrepid warriors; come! It is said that our lord hath at last arrived. Receive him. Listen sharply; lend your ears well to what he will say. You will bring back what is well heard. Behold wherewith you will arrive [before] our lord."

[First was] the array of Quetzalcoatl:[2] a serpent mask made of turquoise [mosaic];[3] a quetzal feather head fan;[4] a plaited neckband of precious green stone beads, in the midst of which lay a golden disc;[5] and a shield with [bands of] gold crossing each other,[6] or with [bands of] gold crossing [other bands of] sea shells, [with] spread quetzal feathers about the [lower] edge and with a quetzal feather flag; and a mirror upon the small of the back,[7] with quetzal feathers, and this mirror for the small of the back [was] like a turquoise shield, of turquoise mosaic — encrusted with turquoise, glued with turquoise; and green stone neck bands, on which were golden shells; and then the turquoise spear thrower, which had on it only turquoise with a sort of serpent's head; it had the head of a serpent;[8] and obsidian sandals.

Injc nauj capítulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlaonaoati Motecuçoma, in oquijma in quenjn çan oalmocuepque Españoles, injc vppa oallaque, ichoatl in don hernando Cortes.

Quimjlhuj tla xicalhujan mocloqujchtle, tla xicalhujan quji-iequene oquijçaco in totecujo tla xicnamjquji, vel xitlacaqujcan, vel xinacaçocan, tlein qujtoa, vel nacaztli in anqujoalcujaque: iscatquj ic itech amaciaque in totecujo,

ichoatl in jtlatquj Quetzalcoatl: cuaxaiacatl, xiuhtica tlachioalli, quetzalapanecaiotl, chalchiuhcoxcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh teucujtlacomalli, yoan cestetl chimalli, teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj anoço teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj, quetzaltençouhquj, yoã quetzalpanio; yoan tezcacujtlapilli quetzallo: auh inin tezcacujtlapilli, iuhquin xiuhchimallo tlaxiuhtzacutli, xiuhtica tlatzacutli, tlaxiuhçalolli, yoan chalchiuhcuecuezti, teucujtlacoiollotoc: tjnan ic ichoatl xioatlati, çan motequjtica xivitl, iuhquin cozcatontecometica, costromtecome, yoan itzcactli.

1. *Tlamomaui*: *tlamomaui* is probably meant.

2. Seler, op. cit., p. 461, n. 1, says: "In Wahrheit ist dies die Tracht Xiuhtecutlis."

3. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), II, p. 413, in which a figure corresponds to the description in the corresponding Spanish text: "una mascara labrada de mosaico de turquesas tenia esta mascara labrada de las mejores piedras verdes cubiertas doradas y remendado encima dorados eres el pico de la nariz y la remendado que hasta la frente era como lienzo de la nariz largo se dispalia la cada de la cabeça y la cabeça con parte del cuerpo pues por cubrir el en cejo de manera que hasta cejo y la cada cosa parte del cuerpo pues por cubrir el cuerpo cejo y hasta cera cejo."

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "Estaua esta mascara encaxada en esta corona alta y grande llena de plumas ricas largas y muy hermosas de manera que pareçiendan la corona sobre la cabeça se pueça la mascara en la cara."

5. Cf. *Codex Vaticanus*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Llevaua por joal una medalla de oro redonda y encima estaua una mesma cartelas de piedras preciosas que cubaban al cuello cubrian los hombros y todo el pecho."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Llevaua tambien una rodela grande hordada de piedras preciosas con una mandas de oro que llegauan de orilla abaxo por toda ella, y otra mandas de perlas atrauesadas sobre las de oro de orilla abaxo por toda ella y las espaldas que hauia estas mandas las quales eran como redes de red pues pasauan otras capitas de oro tenia esta rodela otra rapaçejas en la haste que estaba en la rodela otra mandas que estaba dentro la manejas de la rodela hecha de plumas ricas."

7. *Ibid.*: "una medalla grande hecha de obra de mosaico que la llevaua atada y colgada sobre las espaldas."

8. *Ibid.*: "un cuerpo como cuerpo de obispo toda labrada de obra de mosaico de turquesas y la hechura de arriba era una cabeça de una culebra rabiatiza o encrucada."

451 The second [gift] which they went offering him
476 was the array of Tezcatlipoca — the headpiece of
292 feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell
301 earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the
breast ornament decorated and fringed with small
shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzalli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic]
[416] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli quijmacaco, ichoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli; cozticc teucujtlatica cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcoxcatl; elpan concatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjaxa hivitica tenpoçonqui: yoan cenetl tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, cuitzilli, quiualacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh teacacujtlapilli: yoã ec no centlamatli, teucujtlacoiolli, itlanjzico molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, itzac cactli.

[237] Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green
[416] stone; his neck ornament, his plained, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, ichoatl in jnechichical catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalxoxouhqui, çã moca quetzalli, moxopixica quetzalli, iuhquin xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimani: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epetepanjuhqui: yoan ichalchiuhtecomacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhtucujlolli: in jcoxqui chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlacomallo, no teacacujtlapile, in juhqui omjto, no tzitzile; teachiuacacuio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatepil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

[237] Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the painted ocelot skin cap,[16] with plumed feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plained green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ic no ichoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ic ne centlamantli: ocelocepalli, omalitic; veiepal in chalchiuhtl yicpac ca ic quetzacuitica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachic, itech pilcatica teucujtlacepcoiolli; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlacomalli in joepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itzaqui, quetzalhençouhqui, no quetzalpanio:

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9. *Ibid.*: "una cabellera hecha de plumas ricas que colgaban por la parte deste hasta cerca de la cintura, cosida toda de cosillas de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "unos zarpajos de oro que llamaban colgaderos como quasquillos de oro y metidos de cornezuelos marinos blancos y horadados deste metales colgaban por encima que era como gato y llamaban cotzolin [sic] de manera que subian todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaban este genero de joyas cornezuelos arrodillados; colgaban por todo el."

11. *Ibid.*: "un manto de cosillas blancas pintado la cuelta de abajo deste manto que llamaban llamaban este labor por nombre el cabadar."

12. *Ibid.*: "este manto era de cada delta era un ojal abierto y todo labrado alrededor de muchas labores de un ojal muy fino llamaban este manto tecuitlli este manto se prendia por las cantoras atado por las espaldas el cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.*: "otra metetlli, de tecuaqui, atado al cuerpo sobre las lomos."

14. *Ibid.*: "unos pendientes de chalchihuitl, metidos que eran ellos unos redondillos de chalchiuhtl."

15. Translation is probable; theme in the Aztec column.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "una cofia de cuero de tigre, y colorado [sic] de la cuera, sobre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de ricaros, llamaban la cofia en chalchihuitl grande, y redondo, en la punta."

17. *Ibid.*: "de cuaquyas de turquesas."

12

½ [There is no known genus of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is used colloquially. — Analyst]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[19] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[20] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yuã hecxoxecujilli, quecolhic, intac chalchivitl injc citlallotec yoan ipoçolcac. 431 776 301 292

Oca inquijtlamãtli in, in motencoa teutlatquijtl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in quijquijque in intenamiquja Teucujtlaquatecuitli tocuitlapilolo, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Niman ic ic tlatanatemalo, tlecacaxchichiualo. Auh in omotecaculque macujltin; njman ic ic qujnnacoztia in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiqujlhujican, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: iacatquj mjcxalmomaquilia, ca omaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico: 431 482 202

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ic no ceppa vncan oncaq acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatquitl. Auh in oatlaacaltemaloc, njman ic ic vi, ommatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal. 505

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac ameuan? campa anealloque? njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico: 648

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujjpiquj, aço çi toca anmocacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in ximilhopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoaltilinjque: njman no quiualquetzque ocaoatli.

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19. *Ibid.*: "Ye quad rodela ennoc[illegible] con plumas ricas en la haza de la rodella [sic] salia una corona de plumas ricas."

20. *Ibid.*: "un bastón labrado de escuyas de turquesas y en la hoxa de arriba pusiera unas piedras ricas a partes resplandecientes en la cha de arriba."

21. *Ibid.*: "una mitra de oro hecha a manera de caracol marino el cual resplandecía de plumas ricas que colgaban hasta las espaldas."

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "otra mitra dorada."

[p. 14 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls [381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

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of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood 346
that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole 778
place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the
left hand there stood the other great image the same
height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and [416]
eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call
Tezcat, and the body plastered with precious stones like
that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers;
and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge [776]
of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with
figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were
so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in
the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another
stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's
sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a
recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and
in it was another image half man and half lizard, with
precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered
with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure [776]
is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and
they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest,
but I do not remember its name, and everything was
covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench
was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out
of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when 346
they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to [534]
say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could
hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the
skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In
that small place there were many diabolical things to be [534]
seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of
Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols,
and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

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346 so much of it, that I curse the whole of it, and as it stank like a slaughter house we hastened to clear out of such a bad stench and worse sight. Our Captain said to Montezuma through our interpreter, half laughing: "Señor Montezuma, I do not understand how such a great Prince and wise man as you are has not come to the conclusion, in your mind, that these idols of yours are not gods, but evil things that are called devils, and so that you may know it and all your priests may see it clearly, do me the favour to approve of my placing a cross here on the top of this tower, and that in one part of these oratories where your Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca stand we may divide off a space where we can set up an image of Our Lady (an image which Montezuma had already seen) and you will see by the fear in which these Idols hold it that they are deceiving you."

776 Montezuma replied half angrily, (and the two priests who were with him showed great annoyance,) and said: "Señor Malinche, if I had known that you would have said such defamatory things I would not have shown you my gods, we consider them to be very good, for they give us health and rains and good seed times and seasons and as many victories as we desire, and we are obliged to worship them and make sacrifices, and I pray you not to say another word to their dishonour."

783 When our Captain heard that and noted the angry looks he did not refer again to the subject, but said with a cheerful manner: "It is time for your Excellency and for us to return," and Montezuma replied that it was well, but that he had to pray and offer certain sacrifices on account of the great *tatacul*, that is to say sin, which he had committed in allowing us to ascend his great Cue, and being the cause of our being permitted to see his gods, and of our dishonouring them by speaking evil of them, so that before he left he must pray and worship,

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But |05
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my
"chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in
"all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my
"duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for
"many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-
"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently*
given to the Méxicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I
"shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and
"I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this |74
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their
appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico
as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as
such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a
naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and
marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently |81
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to
the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 450). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 137 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus [311]
of Tenuchtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 8, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Géronimo de Mendieta (Historia eclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hicieron fuertes en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada al manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se rancharon (como decimos "en el libro de los Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas choças, rodeados "de carrizo, y Espadañas, que ellos llamas Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 453. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espessura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.")

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guate- [171]
mala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 460, 461 and 462, of Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

626 was disabled or until he voluntarily withdrew.[122] Slanderers,
[689 however, were punished by the kin, having their lips cut off
[682 or publicly sliced.[123] Homicide, and murder, were invariably
683 punished by death.[124]

689 Intemperance in public was free to people more than seventy years old, while if grown men below that age appeared in a drunken state (festivities excepted), their heads were shorn clean in punishment. But whenever the delinquent was a chief he was publicly degraded; and any officer was forthwith removed and relieved of his duties.[125] Women who attempted to act as

[122] *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440): "no traen armas sino en la guerra, y alli averiguan sus pendencias por desafios." *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Historia apologética de Indias*," cap. 213 and 214. Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough, note XLV, p. 124). Bystanders interfered, separating the parties, if they came to blows. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, p. 23), says that such strife and quarrels only occurred when they were drunk: "Y fuera de estar beodos son tan pacificos, que cuando riñen mucho se empujan uno á otro, y apenas nunca dan voces, si no es las mugeres que algunos veces riñendo dan gritos." (Cap. XIV, p. 78): "Sin rencillos ni enemistades pasan su vida." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. XV, pp. 306 and 309). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136).

[123] *Zurita* ("Rapport," etc., pp. 129 and 130) speaks only of children, punished by splitting the lips for lying. This is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 478). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, p. 482), however, declares this punishment to have been meted out to adults, adding: "to-day there would be many without lips, so much do they lie." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 438, Vedia I) speaks of this punishment as having been instituted by Quetzalcohuatl, and for adults as well as for children. This, attributing it to Quetzalcohuatl, is an evident error. Compare *Sahagun*, (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 244). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 480) is positive about adults. *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 195) says that slanderers were killed.

[124] *Las Casas* ("*Historia Apologética*," cap. 213, Kingsb: Vol. VIII, p. 123): Destos era el que mataba á otro, el cual moria por ello." *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 442): "Matan al matador sin excepcion ninguna." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 136): "Sentenciaban á muerte á los que cometian enormes y graves delitos, asi como á los homicidos. El que mataba á otro, moria por ello." *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. VIII, p. 387), almost copies the preceding. Nearly all the authors agree on this point, except, according to *Mr. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol II, p. 450, note 50), Durán, who is said to assert: "that the murderer did not suffer death, but became the slave for life of the wife or relatives of the deceased." In this Durán agrees with the "*Codice Ramirez*." *Velancurt* ("*Teatro*," Vol. I, p. 485) says that even for murder committed in a drunken state, the culprit was killed (hung). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 484) briefly states that all homicide was punished with death. As to the manner of execution, it is variously stated. It would be unsafe to attempt going into details.

[778] [125] It is well known that there was an idol for the drunkards. *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 46) even gives the names of thirteen "dioses del vino." According to *Gregorio Garcia* ("*Origen de los Indios*," etc. Lib. III, cap. II, §VI, p. 92, who mentions as authority *Fray Esteban de Salazar*, "*Historia, ó Relacion de la Teologia de los Indios Mexicanos*" lost in a shipwreck, 1504), they had three hundred gods of the drunkards "que de solos los borrachos tienen 300 Dioses." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 58) and others. The punishments are given by me after *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXX, pp. 139 and 140). Copied textually by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. X, p. 550). Besides these, *Zurita* (pp. 110-112) asserts the same, even more explicitly, and he is followed by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 136). *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 485). *Clavigero* (Lib.

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drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã ãqualli: ynic qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztiliaia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxinela, qujtlamanjliaia: no ichoan in cioa tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, ace vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel aizque mjmatizque, toltecatizque, vellalalizque, vellacujlozque: in jpan intlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mãaltiaia, maujujxoaia, yn jquac neoalco, in vncan ilhujquiztililoia, chicome xochitl:

787x 782 286 785

And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla ace tlãmachchiuhquj, ynneçaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, avilrocaitl: injc çã ãavilnemjz, ãavienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mãaviltiaia in tiamachchiuhque,

787x 286 785 548

It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

qujlmach ichoatl inca mocaiaoaia, quiquequeloaia in inteouh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia, xochiciujztli, palanjliztli:

787x 286 776

But she also did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

auh in aqujn vel ontlamaceoa in vel monotza, ca oncã quiçaia, maviztia, momavizçotiaia, cana motztica, vel moietztica tepaltzinco in tẽc:

787x 286

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchiouz in toltecaiotl, vel tõtoitecatiz, tlatlaneçmjliz, iõiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz: auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iaujlqujzca, iquequeloloca in qujmomaceviaia.

And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept: nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wandering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wish for public esteem — to become a mer-

Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujtica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelneaca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhqujn ecatocotinemj, avic iatinemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atleti: ca nel iuhquj itonal, conjxtoca, ipan onmjxpoa, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, teaachti, tetlãtlavicalti, tecãcamanalhuj. Etc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan nẽia motlatlaõotla, mone-

X 787 And if it were a noblewoman, or only a commoner [woman], who was then born, so likewise it was her lot. She was considered as a man, esteemed as if a man; a comforter. Hence she caused others no apprehension, was not negligent, and did not dishearten others.

And also it was said that one who was born upon this [day sign], One Deer — it was told that he was exceedingly timorous; he lived thinking only of his fears; he walked with his terrors, and only lived afraid, indeed frightened to death. When he witnessed a thunder clap, or a bolt of lightning, or lightning flash — a flash of lightning — then he could not endure it. Indeed the lightning and thundering frightened him and caused him to be in terror and dread.

And so they said that sometimes, on some occasions, it happened to him; for his fear followed him and persisted with him; his fears came upon him as a judgment. For his dread came upon him. Verily, he was struck by lightning; that befell him which he feared and of which he lived in anxiety. And even if it was summer, he was still smitten by a summer flash. Also, when he bathed in the water, there he died, drowned; his eyes were torn out;[2] his finger nails were removed and torn out.

Hence was it said: "Verily, so was his lot; so was he born. Even as the deer is a great coward, just so was he, whose day sign this is, a great coward; fearful." So seldom did his kin, his parents, trouble themselves; they did nothing for him.

776 782 And also it was told that then, too, was one of the times when those known as the Goddesses descended. They made offerings to them, and then they clothed [their images] in their paper vestments and their paper adornments.

Auh intla çioapilli: anoço çã macoxelli ipan tlacatia, no iuh mahcxnale catca, teoquichtlamachti: iuhquin oquichpoui, tencotlaz, atle ic tenentlamachti, amo tenmachonj, amo tecuetlaxo.

Auh no ioan mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacati oc maçatl: quilmach oica momauhtiaia, çan imaviz in quimattinenca, çan imauhcac in nemja, çan mamauhcanenca, vel iolmjquja, in jquac quicaquja tlatlatzinjlizzli, anoço tlavitequjlizzli, tlapetlanalizzli, tlapetlanjllotl: njman ticoniecoaia, vel quiçaviaia, quicujcujtiuetzilitia, quimaviscujtia in onotlapetlan, onotlatlatzin.

Auh iuh quitoa, in quêman, in quenmanjan çã ipan neltiaia, ca imaviz contocaia, ipã ontlamelaca, çã imaviz quitlamachiliaia, ca inemauhtil ipan oniuh, vel vitecoia, ipan muchicoaia in quimacaci, in quimamattinemj. Auh intlacanelmo xopantla, çan tonalhujteco: no ioan in jquac atlan maltia, vncan mjquja, ilaquilo, intelolococopinalo, intitlatlaxo, intococopinalo,

ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan motlacatili: in iuhquj maçatl, cenca momauhtianj: çan no iuhquj in aquin itonal catca, vel mauhca tlacatl, mavitzoco: ic çanyca mellaquaca, in joaniolque, in jtaoan, aquê commatia.

Auh ioan mjtoa: no vncan ceppa ipan temeia, in motenecoa çioatetecu: vncan quitotlamanjliaia, ioan vncan ic quintlaquentiaia yn imamatlaquen, in imamanechichioal

2. Cf. Spanish text.

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one in authority. Haughtily, he thought well of himself. He did not deflate himself; he did not overcome nor chastise his tongue. No one could force him to recant. He thought himself superior, better than others.

Indistinct was his speech. What did he say? He was as if stirred, and his words bubbled up and burst forth. It was as if he argued, harangued, enforced silence, and drove all people away, put them to flight, numbed them with terror, visited them with afflictions, made them shrink with fright, and assailed them with his words.

It seemed that he disgusted others, and did not inquire what they said. Wherever they may have spoken, or undertaken something, he seemed to make little of it and kick it aside. But when he had drunk nothing, he seemed to be dumb, one who whispered, fearful of people, quite frightened.

For all this he excused himself by saying: "It is because I no longer knew what I said; for I was drunk. The wine had taken effect upon me; I was overwrought."

And another drunkard was very suspicious. He misunderstood; not as things were did he hear them. Often he blamed his wife. If anyone only looked at her, he then said to him: "Why dost thou make eyes at my wife?" Then he gave rise to hatred, fury, and murder, etc. And all that which was spoken he took as applying to him. He suspected that when there was occasion for mirth, he was thereby being defamed, the object of ridicule. Without reason he belabored the people. The wine and drinking cursed him.

And if it were a woman, she simply went to her knees; she remained on her knees. No longer was she rational. She sat with legs outstretched; she remained with legs outstretched. And if she were much besotted, if she were much affected, her hair simply formed a mantle over her. She tumbled there, with hair streaming out, etc.

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All of these kinds [of drunkenness] here mentioned, each one, showed upon and were the doing of the drunkard. It was said: "So is his rabbit. Thus was his day sign; in this way did the wine gods manifest themselves on him." And if a drunkard fell over a precipice, or else fell somewhere [else], it was said: "He was affected by the wine gods." Because in many ways the wine showed its power,

aquillanj, aiac vel quitlaxolikchtia: vel moiexatoca, motepanaviltoca,

aixnexquin itlatol, tlein mach quiçoa, iuhquin momoloca, iuhquin quinomolotza ytlatol, iuhquin quicuecuepotza itlatol, iuhquin móolbuia, iuhquin motitza, iuhquin cactoc quiçteteca, iuhquin tococentlaça, iuhquin tetotocaticalac, iuhquin tepópouhtitlac, iuhquin tetotoliuhtitlali, iuhquin tococotoztlali, iuhquin tecujcujiuetz, itlatol:

iuhquin tequacécepouh, iuhquin xcontetemoa, tlein quitoa: canin mach ontlatoa, canin mach ontlaana, iuhquj tlaclacxotla, iuhquin tlaquéqueça: auh in ie atle conj, iuhquin noetli iuhquin anaoatl, vel teimacazquj, vel mauhquj,

ça ixquich injc mopáxia, in quiteilhuia: ca socmo njcma, in tlein njquito, ca njvintic, ca notech motlali, njtlançomalti.

Auh in aca tlaoiiquj vel ipan chicotlamati, chichicotlacaquj, amo iuh tlátlacaquj: tlpiecpa tetech quitlamja yn jciouh: in açaca çan conjeta, ie cuel quijhuia: tle ic tiquiznotza in nonamjc: vncan quipeoaltia in qualantli, in tlauelli, in nemjctilistli. Etc. Ioan moch quimocuitia, in tlein tlatolli mitoa: ioã in tlein vetzquililo, in momatica ichoatl in ica nenonozalo in vetzquililo, çan jliviz in teaoa, quiveuzcatlachichtia in vctli, in tlailli.

Auh intla çioatl: ça papachiuhtimotlalia, ça pápachica, aocmo quimati, momemelauhtimotlalia, momemelauhtica: auh intla cenca vel oiviztic, in vel oiellelacic, ça itzon quiçoentica; vncan quauhtemvetzi, itzon patlaoatoc. Etc.

In jxquitlamantli in: njcã omoteneuh, iccciaca itech neci, iccciaca itlachioal tlaoanquj, mitoa: ca iuhquj itoch, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ic ipan mitzoa, in totochtin: ioan intla omotepexivi tlaoanquj, in anoço cana ovetz, mitoa: omotochvi: ichica in mjccã quiça itlachioal vctli, ic mitoa: centzontotochti: ipanpa ca amo çan quexquijch in jtech quiça ãqualli.

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776

it was called the Four Hundred Rabbits; for very few did it affect favorably.

And when, it was said, the day Two Rabbit set in, then was celebrated the feast day of the principal wine god, who was called Izquitecatl. And although only he alone was named, yet at that time they remembered all the wine gods, who became the wine. Thus was Izquitecatl greatly revered. They set up his image in his temple. There they laid gifts before him; for him they sang and provided music with gourd tubes. And before him stood a stone basin, called two-rabbit basin — full, to the brim. Into the wine dipped the drinking tubes, extending from it so that those who sampled the wine stood drinking it: but only those who could drink, the old men, the old women, the intrepid warriors, the bold, the foolish, who paid the debt with their heads and their breasts. That is, they would be captured sometime when war was declared; or else on issuing forth [to battle] they would capture others and take prisoners. So [by drinking] they went about mocking death.

And the wine which they drank never came to an end; [the basin] never stood empty. The wine makers, the wine making officials, continued pouring it into [the basin]. All came assembling there where they cut the maguey, when everywhere it was the time and season for breaking into the maguey. This was because then they offered new wine. If someone for the first time broke into the maguey, he first poured the extracted material there. Thus they said he poured out wine and offered the wine-pouring to Izquitecatl; they gave him wine to drink.

But not only at this time did they pour wine; rather, always were offerings so made in his temple.

Iuan in jquac mjtoaia, moquiztza tonalli, vme tochtli: vncan illhujquiztilloia, in jmachcauh totochti: in motenoa Izquitecatl: auh macivin çan jcel motenoa, ca oncan quincemjlnamjquia, in totochti, ovcti, ic oncca mavizillloia in izquitecatl, quitlaliaia, iziptla in jeupan: vncan quitlamatjlia, quicujcalia, quitlapichilia acocotica: yoan ixpan icaca tecomjtl, ilnca vmetochtecomatl, tentimanj, petontimanj, in vetli: ipã manj piaztli, pizçotimanj, mamaiço ic conjtimanj in aquijque vmpa ontlatlapaloa: ui çan [415]
ichoan in ic thoananj, in veuetque, in jlamatque ioan in iactlauelilloque, in mjvintia: in aquen tlatta, in quipopoa, yn intzontecon, yn jmelchiquiuh, quiztonequj: ca onvicoaque in quenmã, in oaalmjto iaoiol: auh oo ce onquiçativi, oahecalequiçaque ontlamatiuj: ic mtemjquiçaquequetotinenca:

auh in vetli quja, aquenman tlamja, ãquẽman cuetoc, in contecatimanj tlachiõque, tecutlachique: izquich oalacitimanj in vetlichic, yn noviian tlachicpan, tlachicoaian, ca vncan vitzmana intla aca ilicujcan otlatlapan, vncã achto quiteca in jtlachic: ic quitoaia tlatoiaoa, quijmanjlia itlatoiaoal in Izquitecatl, quitlatoievilia:

auh amo çanjio iquac, y, in tlatoiaoaia: ca çan machipa iuh tlamaneca, in ieupan.

[p. 18 is blank]

X 787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth house, named Nine Crocodile — they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

Inic chicuei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, inic macujltetl machiotl, in jnoca ce acatl: auh amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, qujlmach in aquijque vncan tlachia, intla vncan tlacatia, inic chicuacuhtetl calli, in jnoca chicunavi cipactli: qujtoaia qujlmach cenca techicaitoanj, ioan teteixpanvianj: auh qujlmach injn machiotl, ichoatl itonal in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatequc, in pipilti, vncan mixtlacoaia ioan themanaia.

X 787 805 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time. Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in amo qualli, in amo ieccan izquijlhujtl,

qujtequjlitica yn ipan vme ocelotl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cuacuauhtli, macujlli olin, chiquacen tecpatl: in jzquijtetl in tonalli mjtoaia amo qualli, amo ieccan;

X 787 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noblemen paid him great honors. They made offerings at the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

● 776 778 782

qujlmach itonal cenca itonalpan in quetzalcoatl. Iehica in quetzalcoatl, i ehecatl ipan mjxtoaia, inic teteocoia: auh in jquac in moquetzaia ce acatl tonalli, cenca tlamavistilisia in tlatoque, in pipilti, themanaia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jxiptla Quetzalcoatl, izpan qujtlatequjlisia, qujtlamamacaia muchi iquac qujcencavilisia, itech qujtlalilisia, in jzquijtlamantli inechichioal, yn iamatlatequj, ioan izpan qujtequjlisia suchitl, yeel, qujcopaltemplisia ati, tlaqualli, qujmanjlia, iuh qujtoaia vncan qujtonalxia, qujtonalquechia in Quetzalcoatl.

X 787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life. It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; for such was his nature. The same befell he if it was a woman.

Auh inic mjtoa: amo iecoin, in aquin ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço macoxalli, atle cenca iaxcocol, ilhujl caica, çan iuhquin ehecatl ipã povia iacmilia, ôcatocoia, atle itlaanca, inelhoaio mochioaia: ipampa in jonalpan quetzalcoatl, ôcatl otlacat, ca niman iuhcan oquiz, no iuhquj ipan mochioaia, intla çioatl,

1. The calmecac, house of priestly learning, is defined as "Lugar de Estado de la casa' y convento de sacerdotes" by Antonio Molina in *El vocabulario en la organización social de los mexicanos* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949); p. 77. There were six, in the entire subpolis, probably pertaining to clans (as the term is used by Monzón): Tequixo, Huitznáhuac, Tlamatzinco, Tlilancalco, Tetzahuitl, and Mixtec (pp. 47-52).

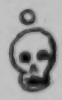

Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the sixth sign, called One Death, and of the good fortune belonging to it. It was said to be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. And many were the offerings and blood sacrifices with which they did him honor. And each person provided much pleasure to the slaves.

One Death set in. This was said to be a good day sign, but also somewhat bad, as will here appear in its discussion. For it was said that when this occurred, then they honored Tezcatlipoca. The lords greatly venerated [the day sign]. Each one made offerings and beheaded quail at his personal [altar] in his house and in each of the tribal quarters in the temples called *tecalli*.

Thus did they speak: "This one is he by whom we live, Titlacauan, master of the earth, master of the lords of the earth, who now hath his blessed day."

For everyone then showed devotion, was humbled, and sorrowed, in order that he would show them favor. And not alone did the lords thus act, but also the brave warriors, the seasoned warriors, and the wealthy, the rich, and he who was wise; for the day sign of Titlacauan had set in. They also observed the day sign and made offerings in his dwelling place in his tribal temple. For this reason they showed great devotion, for this was the time to pray for favors.

And as for its not being accounted a good and favorable time: there then was fear and dread lest this same one be wrathful and wilful. For thus did they say: "He whom he had favored and honored, and to whom he had revealed his sweetness, fragrance, and mercy, from this same one he might withdraw and remove it." Yet it was not without reason; when [the man] became vain and haughty, he disregarded and neglected what was his birthright. Still [the god] showed compassion and gave it as a gift to the one who sought him diligently and who went about weeping and sighing for his sake. So was it said that everywhere he was awaited; everywhere there was humility and sorrow before him. Nowhere was the dwelling place of the war [god]

Iniac chicuaevi capitulo: inchpa tlatua, injc chiquacentetl machiotl, in jtoca ce mjqujztli: ioan in qualli tonalli itech ca, qujlmach itonal in Tezcatlipuca: auh mjec in ventli, in nextlaoalli injc qujmaviztiliaia, ioan cenca qujpapaquiltiaia in tlatlacoti.

Moquetza ce mjqujztli: ynjn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: auh ioan achi amo qualli, in iuh neçix nican, ipan itlatollo, ca mjtoa in jquac, y, vncan qujtonaltiaia in Tezcatlipuca, cenca tlamavizilliaia, in tlatoque, tlamanaia, tlacotonaia, ceceniaca yn jncaliticc, in jmjxcoian in cacalpulco, in ecotenecoa in teucalli, in teucalco:

iuh qujtoaia, ca ichoatl in jpal tinemj, in titlacaoan, in tlalticpaque, in tlaltecue, in axcan itonalpantzinco,

ic muchi tlacatl vncan tlatemachiaia, nentlamatia, tlaocoiaia, injc qujcneliz: auh amo çanioque in tlatoque, iuh qujchioaia, y, no ichoan in tiacaoã, in tequjoaque, yoan in mocujltonoa, in motlacamatia, ioan in aquin qujmatia, ca itonal moquetza in titlacahoã, no tlaonaltiaia, tlamanaia, in jchã, in jcalpulco: ypampa injc cenca tlatemachiaia, ca vncan tlaitlanjliloia, injc teicneliz:

auh injc amo qualcan, ioccan, ipan machoia, ca vncan nentlahtiloia, ymacaxoia, injc amo çan no ie moçomaz, monenequjz, ca iuh qujtoaia, in aquin qujcnelia, in oconmaviçolti, in oixpan conqujxti, in jtzopelica, in javiiaca, in jetlaocoliliz: çan no ie conjnailia, conjquanjlia, tel amo çan nen iquac in ie ardamati, in ie cuecuenoti in aoc tle ipan tlatta, conmjxcaoaltia, in jmâceoal, ocatca, oc ie quicnoitta, connemactia, in qujtlamatstaqujlia, in jca chocatinemj, elciciuhtinemj, ic mjtoaia: noviian chialo, noviian ivicpa nentlamacho, tlaocoialo, ican vel ichan in iaotl Tezcatlipuca: çan jtlan conantinemj in jpetl, jcpal.

X 787
● 776 Tezcatlipoca: he only went withdrawing rule and power from others.

X 787 And of him who was born on the day sign One Death it was said that he would prosper and be rich, whether a nobleman or only a poor vassal. Many were his gifts. Honor came his way and rested on him when he performed well his penances and humbled himself. But if he did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign.

X 787 If, at this time, someone were born, then they bathed him and gave him a name. Small children
553 performed the naming ceremony.[1] If a boy had been born, then therefore called forth [as his name] Mi-
851 quiz, or Yaotl, Cenyaotl, Necoc yaotl, Chicoyaotl, or Yaomauitl. So they placed on him a name of Tezcatlipoca. Of this one it was said: "None may wish him harm: none may wish him to die." If anyone should wish or desire his death, he would simply sicken and suddenly die.

567 At this time it was the day sign of the slaves, the wretched slaves, whose dwelling places were by the hones for sharpening and the grinding stones. None of the slave-owners could scold them, or abuse them with vile words, or call angrily or indignantly to them when they learned that the morrow would be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. They then, first, took from them, struck off, and removed from them the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee. Then they soaped them and bathed them, and made much of and flattered them. They showed them great esteem, because, so they thought, they were his likenesses and representatives:[2] his beloved
[825] sons. It was said that they were like the blue cotingas, the trupials, the precious birds of Tezcatlipoca. And those who owned slaves warned and on threat of death[3] ordered their children, youths, and growing sons, commanding them sternly and rigorously, not to chide, deal vainly with, nor strike the slaves.

Auh in aquin ipã tlacatia itonal ce mjquiztli: mjtoaia mocuiltonoz, motlamachtiz, intla pilli, anaço çan macoualtzintli, muchi inemactia, itech açia, itech pachivia, in maviçotl: iquac in tlauellamaceoa, mocnomati: auh intlacamo uellamaceoa, ca çan ynevjian conmocauilia, quimjtlacalhuja yn jtonal.

yn jquac, y, tla aca otlacat, njman caltiaia, quitocamaca, quixicvenquaqualia in pipiltotonti, intla oquichdi otlacat, ic quinotza mjquiz, anoço iaotl, ceniaotl, necoc iaotl, chicoiaotl, iaomavitl, ic quitocamanaia in Tezcatlipuca: injn mjtoaia, aiac vel quicocolia, aiac vel quimjquitlanja, intla aca quimjquitlanj, quimjquiztemach... çan iẽ in mococolia onmjctiuetzi.

Auh in jquac in catca ipan tonalli: in tlatlacoti, in tlatlacotzitzinti, in teatexatitlan, temetlatitlan innemjan: aiac vel quimaoaia, aiac vel quintenquanviaia, quintlauelnotzaia, quinoqualancanotzaia, in tlacaoaque, in oquimatque, ca muztla itonalpan iez in Tezcatlipuca: njman achto quintomaia, quitequjlia, quintlaxilia in quauhcozcatl, in coliuhquj, injc pieloia, inic ilpitinenca, injc amo cholozque: njman ic quimamoviaia, quimaltiaia, cenca quintlaçotlaia, quinxoxocoiomatia, vel quinmavizmatia, ipampa iuh quimatia, ca ixiptlaoa, ipatilloca, ytlaçopilhoan, mjtoa iuhquin iquecholhoan, içaquantotooa, itlaçototooan in Tezcatlipuca: auh in tlacaoaque, vel quinnemachtiaia, quinmjquiznaoatiaia, quintlaquauhnaoatiaia, quintepitznaoatiaia, in impilhoan, in intlazcaltilhoan, yn intlaoapaoalhoan: injc amo quimaoazque quincuecuenochichioazque, anoço quinvitequizque in tlacaoã:

1. Of this ceremony, the Spanish text reads: "*vendaban a los niños, y les daban de comer, para q̃ supiesen el nombre, del que avia nacido: y le llamaban o llamar, por los dichos.*" Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), p. 315, translates an explanatory passage from the *Academia de la Historia MS*: *ximoan ye ic quimocuecuetza in cuauchpipilhuanti in ipan omilloque ximoan ye ic quimomaxaca in ximoan omilaxtlan[a] in ilcin yeuca auh quintlalhuia in aqui yaotl anoço xiuitl auh ximoan ye ic ximoxiuia quilhuia nimalhuia xictlamat xictlamatquaquaqua i yaotl iquac quincaquaxilia in ximoa ynic ocachi tlaxoal ic quimotaxa — daman ruft er die Knaben. Nachdem sie gewaschen sind, gibt er ihnen die Nabelschnur-Opfergabe und fragt (die Angehörigen), wie er heisst, und er nennt ihnen (die Namen) Yaotl oder Uitzil (Krieger oder Kahlkopf). Und darauch fangen sie an zu schreien und sprechen: "Kommt her, Freunde, der Nabelschnuropfer Yaotl ist ihm." Dann nachdem sie seinen Namen (der Kinder), mit dem alle er nannten rollen.*

2. See Florentine Codex, Book VI, fol. 203v.

3. *Quimotaxaxamatiaxtiz*, the term so appears in the Nahuatl column.

1 [i.e., One Death.—Analyst]

X 787 **Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the seventh sign, named One Rain, and of the evil day signs which belonged with it. They said that those then born were sorcerers and soothsayers and demons. — And *tlacatecolotl* meaneth demon. — Almost all the houses belonging to this [sign] were evil and unfavorable. Only the thirteenth was good.**[1]

[776]

Inic matlactli onc capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, inic chicuentetl machiotl, in jtoca ce qujavitl: ioan in amo qualli tonalli, in jtech catca: qualmach in aquijque vncan tlacatia, nanaoalti catca, ioan tetlachivianj, tlatlacatecolo: auh in tlacatecolotl, ca irhoatl qujtoznequj in Diablo, achi muchi in calli itech pouhquj, in amo qualli, in amo iectli: çanjio inic matlactetl vmey qualli.

X 787 One Rain set in, of which it was said that it was in no way a good day sign. It was full of evil, vice, misery, orphanhood, affliction, suffering, anguish, misfortune, and indigence.

Moquetza ce qujauitl: injn mjtoaia, njman amo qualli tonalli, motqujtica teuhtli, tlaçolli, icnoiotl, icnotlacaiotl, tlaciaujliztli, tlacococaviliztli, teopouhcaiotl, atle onquiçaliztli, atle oneoatinemjliztli:

X 787 776 This was because during the time of this day sign, so it was said, then descended those known as the Goddesses, inhuman ones, mockers of the people. Hence most sternly [parents] commanded their children not to go out; not to travel along the roads. They should only remain at home. Thus did they speak to them: "Go not forth. You will encounter the Princesses, for they descend and arrive upon earth." Hence the fathers regarded them with fear, lest one of [the children] might develop misshapen lips, or crossed eyes, or a hare lip, or be possessed.

ipampa in jpan, y, tonalli, iuh mjtoa: ca vncan temoia, in moteneoa cioateteo, ãtlacacemellequc, teca mocaiaoanj: ic cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, in tepilhoan, in aiac qujçaz, aiac vtli qujtocaz: çan cali onozque: iuh qujmjlhujaia maca zonqujçaca, anmotenamjctiaque, ca temo, ca tlalpan açi in çiospipiltı: ic qujntlamauhcaittiliaia in tetaoan: injc amo aca tennecujliviz, iznecujliuja, tenpatziuja, itech qujneuaz:

778 782 When this [day came], everywhere in the Goddesses' sanctuaries and temples — everywhere offerings were made. For in every single place stood a temple of Goddesses, in each neighborhood,[2] there at crossroads. They covered with white streamers each of the images which were there — five [figures] of stone, placed in a row, their faces rubbed and painted with liquid rubber. He who made a vow to them covered them at the time of their descent, at the time of their day count, on the day sign of their descent. As many of them as there were he covered with white paper streamers.

in jquac in, in noviian çioateupan, çioatrúcalli, noujian tlamanaloia, ca noviian cecenteti mãcs, in çioateucalli, cecentlaxillacalpã vncan in omaxac, tetecujtl qujmonquequentia, in vmpa catca, ymjxiptlaoan, macujteme in teme, tecpantoca, tlaoltzaoalti, moolxaubque in aquin ivicpa monetoltiaia, qujntlaquentia yn jquac in intemoia, yn jntlapoalpan, in jpan tonalli temoia, iznujteme amatetecujtl qujnquentia.

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1. The Spanish text reads, in part: "*Este que en este signo nacen, son nigromanticos, brujos, hechiceros, enhaqueros. Es de notar, que este vocablo tlacatecolotl, propiamente quiere decir, nigromantico, o brujo: inspirandoles el mal, por diablos: mas todos los otros deste signo: eran de malas disposiciones. Pero la decima casa, y la treyntadecima casa, ventajosamente I todos los signos: eran felices.*" See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book XII, "The Conquest of Mexico," p. 21, ch. 1, 2, 3, *nigromantic, sharpsighted, and enchantment*. Depending upon the context, we have at times translated *tlacatecolotl* as demon.

2. *Ibid.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 58, n. 13.

x 787 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the tenth
● 776 sign, called One Flint Knife. And it was said that it was of good fortune, and claimed that those then born were brave and became seasoned warriors. And it was said that the women then born were forceful; they were able in all things and made their goods very well. And it was said to be the day sign of Uitzilopochtli, to whom it was dedicated. His domain was war. It was said also to be the day sign of Camaxtli. And when this sign began, they observed the feast [of Uitzilopochtli]. And it was said that all the day signs were good—[all] thirteen.

Injc ompoalli ce capitulo: iechpa tlatia, injc matlactetl machiotl, in jtoca ce tecpatl: ioan quijqualli in jtonalio, auh quijn in aquijque vncan tlacatia chicaonque catca, ioan tequijuacatia: auh quijn in cioa vncan tlacatia oquijchiotlioque catca, muchi in veli catca, cenca uel quijcentiuia in jntlatequj: auh quijl itonal catca in Vitzilopuchtli, in jtech pouhquj catca, in jtequjuh catca iiauiotl, quijl no itonal in Camaxtle: auh in jquac vmpeoaia injn machiotl, quijlbujquixtiliaia, auh quijl muchi qualli catca in jaquijlbujtl, matlequjlbujtl vmei.

776 One Flint Knife set in. On this One Flint Knife,
782 when it tarried for a day, they then made offerings to Uitzilopochtli, whose day sign it was, and to Camaxtli, god of the Uexotzinca.

Moquetza ce tecpatl: inin ce tecpatl, in jquac tlacemilhujtiltiaia, vncan quijtonaltiaia, ytonalpan catca in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan in camaxtle, vexotzinca intecuh,

Thus it is said they made offerings and paid great
776 honor [to Uitzilopochtli] there at his temple, in his
782 tribal district, at the place whose name was Tlacatecco. There was his image guarded, and all his
776 array. They had it all spread out before him and laid in the sun; they offered incense and presented him[1] what were called the quetzal feather cape, the blue cotinga feather cape, the red spoonbill feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the humming bird feather cape.[2] But only after them came
[825] last the no longer very precious feathers, like the white heron feather cape or the reed thrush feather cape.[3] Severally they laid all of them down, offered them separately, arranged them in rows, placed them in order, etc.

injc mjtoa: quijtonaltiaia, cenca quimaviztiliaia, in vncan ieuqan icalpulco in jtocaiocan catca tlacatecco, vncan pielcia in jxiptla in jaquijch itlatequj, much ixpan quijtequjliaia, quijtotonjaia, quijtlenamaquijliaia quijtlacotonjliaia, in moteneoa quetzalquemjtl, xiuhtotoquemjtl, tlauhquecholquemjtl, tozquemjtl, vitzitzilquemjtl, auh ça quijtoquijlia, quijtzacuja, in aocmo cenca tlaçoiviti, in iuhquj aztaquemjtl, tzanaquemjtl: muchi nononqua quijtecaia, quijtlatlamantilia, quicuecuentilia, quijvivipana. Er[a].

And all these precious capes, when they spread
782 them out, remained there a day. By doing this, it was said, they sunned them for Uitzilopochtli. And there offerings were made; there they laid out all the gifts, called fast foods. And all the good, prepared

[1]auh much ie in tlaçotilmatli ipan quijtecaia, vncan cemjlhujtia: ichoatl injc mjtoa quijtlatotonjlia in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan vncan tlamanaloia, vncan quijtecaia in jaquijch ventli, in moteneoa tlacatlaqualli: ioan in jaquijch ietli, in tlachichiualli tlaqualli, in

1. [illegible] literally could mean "they beheaded quail for him."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] quetzal-quemjtl, que quiere decir; capa de quetzales verdes, y resplandecientes; [illegible] xiuhtotoquemjtl, que quiere decir; capa de pheniques azules, y resplandecientes; [illegible] tozquemjtl, que quiere decir; capa de pheniques amarillos, y resplandecientes; [illegible] vitzitzilquemjtl, que quiere decir; capa de pheniques resplandecientes de colores."

3. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 233. In ibid., p. 168, n. 2, it is jacksbee.

787 Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of the
776 eleventh sign, called One Monkey, and of its fortune.
753 It was said of those then born that one was a man of
784 good standing, friendly, amiable, and happy, given
to music and the other arts. And it was said that at
this time descended to earth those who were the
"Goddesses"; and that those whom they met on the
road or in paths between houses they injured and
visited with sickness. And for this reason, when it
was this day sign, no one could fare forth. And one
who then sickened the physicians forthwith aban-
doned.

Inic composalli vnome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, inic mathactetl oce machiotl, in jtoca ce oçomatli: ioan in jtonalio, quijmach in aquijque vncan tlacatia quall: iiollo catca, teicnjoan, tlaçotlaloni, papaquijnj, quijnocujtlaviaia in cujcatl, ioan in oc cequj tolreca-iotl: auh quijl in jquac oaltemoia, in aquijque cioste-teu in tlaticpac: auh quijl in aquijque quinnamjquja, in vtlica, in anoço caltzala quijtlaueliaia cocolixtli itech quijtlalia: auh ipampa in jpan in tonalli catca, aiac vel quiçaia: auh in aquin iquac mococoaia, çan njman quijnaoatiaia in titici.

787 One Monkey set in. This Monkey [day sign] they
regarded as favorable.

Moquetza ce oçomatli: inin oçomatli, quijçualitaia:

776 But also they said that at that time the so-called
"Princesses" or "Goddesses" descended. It was the
784 time when they were expected, the time of their
arrival. At this time they looked upon the children
855 with much apprehension. They simply shut them in
the houses; they did not wish them to appear at the
entrances or on the road, so that [the Goddesses]
would not come upon or harm them. Perhaps one
of them would have twisted lips, or a shrunken
mouth; or he cross-eyed or of weak vision; or his
lips would quiver or quake; or he would be mad-
dened—a devil would possess him and he would
foam at the mouth; or he would have withered,
twisted arms; or he lame, etc.

auh ioan quitoa, no uncan temoaia inchielpan, imaçia, in motencoaia cioapipilti, cioateteu, oncz vncã quintlamauhcaittiliaia in tepilhoau, çã quintzatzaquaia calitic, amo quimothquijtitlanja, in quiaoac, in vtlica, injc amo motenamjctiaque, quimjtlacoçque, aço aca tennecujliviz, tempetziviz, ixnecujliuja, ixvitzaliviz, iten papatlaçaz, iten viujiocaz, iollotlaueliloiiz, itech quijneoaz, tenqualacquijçaz, matzicoliuja, macopichauja, icxi quijujlanaz. Etc.

And if someone began to sicken, the physicians
776 told him that he would become dangerously sick;
753 he would not recover. For he had come upon the
Princesses, and they had set upon him; it was the
time of their descent and arrival when [this sickness]
began. For it was [so] willed.

auh intla aca ipan opeuh mococoa, quijtcilhujaia in titici, ca tlanauiz, aocmo quijçaz, ca omotenamjcti, ipan oquijsque in cioapipilti, ca intemoian, imẽcoian in opeuh, ca oelcujloc:

And likewise it was said that if someone were of
good standing, of a good day sign, and able, if at this
time they injured him, they said that the Princesses
had indeed willed it upon him and that he had con-
tended with them.[1]

auh no ioan mjtoa, intla aca qualli yiello, in qualli itonal, ioan qualli itlachielix: vncan quijtlacalhujaia, quijtoaia: ca çan oqueleujque, oquijamonamjcti in cioapipilti.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si alguno que era bien dispuesto, enfermaua en aquel dia, decian: que los dioses le auian deseado, y se le auian quedado."

X 787 **Twenty-fifth Chapter,** which telleth of the fourteenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was
● 776 a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxictentica.[1]
666 They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

Injc cempoalli on macujlli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl onnavi machiotl, in jtoca ce itzcujntli: inin qujlmach qualli tonalli, ioan qujl itonal catca, in xiuhtecutli: in qujtoaia Tlalxictentica, cenca vei illujtl qujchioaia: ioan ypan motlatocaaltiaia in tlatoque.

X 787 — then set in the one named One Dog. This, they
776 said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedicated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli.
778 They formed his image there in his temple. There they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight
782 it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provided it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] *nextlaualli.* All the food [and array of] Tlalxictentica[3] they burned before him.

Niman oalmoquetza in jtoca, ce itzcujntli: injn qujtoaia qualli tonalli, vncan qujtonaltiaia in tletl, in jtoca Xiuhtecutli: qujtlaliaia yxiptla in vmpa itcupan: vncan qujtlamanjliaia, ixpan tlacotona, copaltema, qujchichioa, qujcecencaoa, in jxqujch amatlatqujtl, inmac iecauja in moteneoaia amatecque, amatlamatque, qujviiotiaia, qujvitzetzeloa, qujnepapanjviiotia, tlaçoiujtica qujnepapanivitzetzeloa: ioan qujchachalchiuhiotia, quitocaiotia nextlaoalli, itlaqual in tlalxictentica, much ixpan qujtlatiaia:

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and Amantlan,[4] they made [the god] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It seemed that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They spattered and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

auh in noviian cecencalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujltonoloia, in puchtlan, in amantlan: cenca qujveichioaia injc qujmaviztiliaia, tlatlaqualoia, aatlioaia, netlacamacho, necoanotzalo, oc ueca ioac, cenca oc tlaujzcalpan in qujtlatiaia amatl, in mjtoa ic qujtlamaca tletl, qujvicatiuh, qujtocatiuh in copalli, cecen petlacalli, ovn petlacalli in contepeoa tleco, chipaoac, iztac copalli: ioan qujncotona çoçoltin, iuhqujn tlecujlixquac tlãpatlaca, tlapapatlaca, ieço nemamacaoca, tlalli ic neujujteco tlecujlixquac qujtzitzicujtza, qujnonoquja in jmezço: ioan no achto tlecujlixquac qujtotoiaoa in vctli: auh çatepan tlecujlnacazco nauhcampaixti qujtotoiaoa:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Este decian: ser el signo del dios del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, o Tlalxictentica."*
2. *Ibid.:* *"los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica: hacian la fiesta de su eleccion."*
3. *Ibid.:* *"cerca de la mesma, quemaban las obradas de papel, y copal, diciendo: que con esto comia, dando de comer al fuego."*
4. Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 64, 68: *calpulli* of merchants, leather workers, etc.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned the fifteenth sign, named One House. And it was said to be evil. It was said that the men then born were thieves, patrons of vice and sin. All which befell them was bad. And it was said that the women [then born] were very lazy and much given to sleep, and did nothing useful.

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo: vncan moteneoa, injc caxtoltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce calli: ioan qujl amo qualli, qujl in vncan tlacatia toqujchti, ichtecque catca, teuhtli tlaçolli qujmocujtlaviaia: mochi amo qualli in jnpan mochioaia: auh qujl in çioa cenca tlatziujnj, cenca cochinj, njman atle qualli qujchioa. 787x

—One House. This One House, they said, was a totally evil day sign, the breeding-place of vice and sin. And also, at that time, descended the so-called Goddesses; and what then came to pass hath already been told in many places. The midwives especially paid them honor; each one individually made offerings to them in her own home.

In ce calli: jnjn ce calli, qujtoaia, njman amo qualli tonalli, tlaçolli, teuhtli iiolian, ioan no ipan temoia in omoteneuhque cioateteo, auh in tlein vncan mochioaia, ie mjeccan omjto: in iehoan titici, oc cenca iehoan qujnmaujztiliaia, ceceniscа qujntlamanjliaia in jnchachan, 787x 776● 844

He who was then born, they fully expected, would thus come to a bad end: perhaps he would die in battle, or be taken captive; or perish at the crossing of the waters; or he would enter [among the foe] and be carried off. Perhaps he would be offered as a striped one in gladiatorial sacrifice, or be shot full of arrows; or his head would be burst in the fire, or he would be cast into the flames. Perhaps they would twist him in a net, or smash him, or tear out his entrails—violently tear out his entrails: or just destroy him like a water rat, pushing him under the water, spearing and stabbing him; or they would just cook him [in the steam bath].

in aqujn ipan tlacatia, cenca qujtlatenmacluiliaia, injc ohujcan qujçaz, aço iaomjqujz, axioaz, iapaniocan popoliujz, anoço calaqujz, vicoz, aço oacanaloz, oacanoz, aco cãcalioaz, aço quatlecueponjloz, aço tlepan tlaxoz, anoço qujmatlapatzcazque, quevitequjzque, anoço qujxicanazque, qujxicteteoanazque, anoço çan catoçanpolozque, catlanpapachozque, vncan qujxixilizque, tlatzotzopotztinemj, anoço çan qujtemazque, 787x

And in this way he would come to a bad end. Perchance he would commit adultery. Perhaps he would covet a woman. Perhaps he would covet another's woman. Perhaps he would eat another's food, lift his head from another's [bed]. And the woman would be his companion in death; they would break and smash both their heads. Hence were adulterers called "broken heads" or "smashed heads."

ioan injc ovican qujçaz, aço tetlanximaz, aço tetlan aqujz, aço cueitl, vipilli tepan canaz, aço tetlaqualiz, tetlan quateujz: auh in cioatl imjqujztevical iez, vmextin qujnquatepipitzinjzque, qujnquatexamanjzque, ic tocaiotilo in tetlanxinquj, quatepitzic, quatexamac: 787x 684

And so in this way he came to a bad end. Perchance he would sell himself, would eat and drink his substance, would swallow himself, would put an end to himself.[1] Discontented, nowhere did he feel tranquil. Thus he lived a thief. He robbed, he

ioan injc ovican quiçaz, aço monamacaz, moquaz, mjz motoloz, motlamjz, ican avia, acan tlacaco tlamati, injc nemj, iichtequj, motlitlacuja, tetlitlatlalochtia, tetlactujcujlia, tetlatlaçaltia, tecacalxaputla, tequjqujmjliquanja, 787x

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*desdichado, que antes cualquiera, que el mesmo se sentenciaba, y consumia, y hurtaba su granjia.*"

X 787 Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of the seventeenth sign, called One Water. It was said to be an evil day sign. And it was said of those then born that they rejoiced a little only at the beginning of their lives, and that they ended in evil. And it was said always to be evil when they died. And it was said to be the day sign of Chalchiuitl icue, whose feast day the water folk observed.

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, inic caxtolli omome machiotl, in jtoca ce atl: quilmach amo qualli tonalli: auh quijl in aquijque vncan tlacatia, çan ipeuhian in jnnemjlix achi poquja: auh injc tzonquijçaia amo qualli, auh quijlmach mochipa, amo qualli, injc mjquja: auh quijl itonal catca in chalchiuitl icue, quilhuiquixtiliaia in atlaca.

One Water. This One Water, they said, was also evil. And they said it was quite varied, of different qualities, all good or all bad.

Ce atl: injn ce atl: quitoa, amono qualli: yoan quitoa, çan chictlapantli, chictlapantica: izquich qualli, izquich amo qualli:

At this time they made offerings to the one named Chalchiuhtli icue, who represented the water. Especially did the sellers of water, the owners of boats — those who transported water with boats — and those who launched boats, made offerings to her. These formed her image; they set in place the framework [for her image] at her temple, in her tribal district.

vncan quitonaltiaia: in jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue, in jpan mjaeoaia atl: oc cenca ichoan quitlamanjliaia, yn anamacaque, in acaleque, acaltica atlacuj, yoan acalquetzque: ichoan quixiptlatiaia quitlaliaia ycoloio in jteupan, in jcalpulco.

And thus was it said to be diverse [in fortune], one which could not attain and carry with it very much good. That is to say, of the one then born, very few resulted great and fortunate at this time. For according to his deserts, his day sign, he was only all evil, completely surrounded by vice. And in evil he would go; in it he would die. Perchance somewhere he would be stoned — he would be felled by a stone; or else he would be drowned — he would perish in the water.

Auh injc mjtoa çan chictlapanquj yn amo vel macitica motquitica ic qualli, quitoznequi in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan vej quiçaia cenca çan aca in vncan quijçaia tlacnopilhujani, ca in juh ca vel inmaceoal, itonal çan muchi ãqualli in cololotica motquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, auh amo qualli ynjc iaz, inic miquiz, aço çan cana tetepacholoz, tetica uetziz, anoço, atocoz, atlan mjquiz,

But even if, on the other hand,[1] he merited some reward, only for a miserable[2] moment, only for a short time, a very short time, and frequently for a brief space, a moment, for a time only, would he partake of his riches.[3] So of him were said the words of the talkative inhabitants, that in the world there are bad days. Sometimes one succeeded; sometimes one failed; if, in his childhood, he should suffer

auh imla ça noço itla imaceoaltiz, çã cencpol, çan cuel achic, çan cuecuel achic, çan achica, çan achitonca, çã achitzinca, çan izquich cauitl in, in jxpan onquijçaz in jnecujltonol, ic ipã mjtoa, in jndatol tlalticpac tlatlatoanj, çan tatacapitz uel in tlalticpac, quẽman veli, quemmãn aveli, inda ipiltian motolinia, quin itonoco in achi moiollaliz:

1. [illegible] 2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y si algunos hiciere alguna recuenlo: algun poco tiempo, los grandes el mayor tiempo, en los cuidados la ventura."

Thirty-third Chapter, in which is mentioned the nineteenth sign, named One Eagle. It was said to be an evil day sign, and he who was then born was boastful, and brave, daring, fearing nothing and no one. And it was said that the women also were daring, of ill fame, of evil tongue, shameless, and immodest. And it was said that at this time descended the lesser Goddesses; and they did evil to the small children. Hence they did not let them go out of doors, nor did they bathe them at that time.[1]

Injc ōppōalli ōmatlactli vnsey capōtlulo: vncan motenecoa ynjc cuxtolli vnnavi ōtlachiod, yn itoca ce quauhtli: quil amo qualli in tonalli, auh in ipan tlacatia, mochachamacanj, yoā chicaoque, aiac ixco tlachia, atle ypan tlatta, atle ypā teitta: yoan quil in cihoa, ano tle ypā tlachia, yoan cenca tlaviliquixtianj, tentlaveliloque, ixquauhti, amo pinacanj: auh quil yn iquac, oaltemoia yn aquique tepitoton cihoateteu: auh quinōtlaueliaia in conetotonti, yc amo quinoalquixtiaia in qujiaoac, amono quimaltiaia yn iquac. 787x

In ce quauhtli: ynjn ce quauhtli, mjtoa amo qualli tonalli, no vncan temoia, in qujntocaiotia cihoateteu, quilmach yn juh oamjtoa ça xoxocnio, ça teiccaoan yn vncan temoia, iece cenca vellamauhtiaia, ypampa quil cenca ihjioque, tlaveleque, tetlavelique, amo elkleculque, amo icnocaque, njman aiamjquixti, ynjc teca mavltianj, yn juh oamjto quezquican: yn juh conitoa in iquac hin, njmā aiac vel petlauhtinenca in pipiltotōti, cenca malhujloia, ypampa cenca tlaquauh vncan tetech quincoaia, tennecujlocoaia, tempatzinoaia, ixnecujlocoaia, ixcatzinoaia, iacanecujlocoaia. etc. 787x 776 855

And therefore they paid them great honor there in the places where they were awaited, there in the different Goddesses' temples. In each neighborhood, in the house clusters and their vicinities, reeds were strewn and scattered; sand was sprinkled on the roads and at street crossings and crossroads — places where roads came together.

suh injc cenca qujnmavixtiliaia in vncan inchielpā yn iquicā cicihoateucalco, in tlatlazilacalpā, tetlatlazilacalloc, tetlatlazilacaltian, tlaoltzetzelolo, tlatoltzetzelolo, tlaixalhujlo yn vtlica, yn vmaxac, yn inepanivjian vtli. 776 782

One who made a vow to them that he would cover and wrap them, adorned their offerings, the paper banners of the Goddesses painted and spattered with liquid rubber. There he covered the different images of the Goddesses, as they were arranged in order. It was at midnight, just at the dividing of the night, that the making of offerings

Jn aquijn invicpa monetoltia: in qujnquentic quintlaquentic, quinchichivilia yn jancuitlaoal, in cihoatetuxid amatl, tlacoixacalli, colpeiioac, vmpa qujmoquequentia yn iaquitzme, tecpantoque, yn inixiptlaoan iocalonepantia, çan jc onxellivi, iocalli im pena tlamanililo, auh iquac mocxoa yic nepantla tonatiuh, yic tlaquelizpā auh in aquijn amo quintlaquentia, çan [778]

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "no les dexaban salir de casa, ni bañarse, al tiempo que eran dignas ropjanas."

2. Pohlmann: see "Mamacuilcho en 3 ocelotzin," p. 212.

●776 begun. And when it ceased, it was midday, when it
782 was already time to eat. And he who did not cover
them only offered and arranged a little drink and
food, or white incense, or coarse incense. The youths,
the young unmarried warriors, the masters of the
youths,[3] the guardians there at the Goddesses'
temple, who watched and kept vigil for one night,
kept the food as a gift, took and appropriated it to
themselves.

And when silence fell, when at each place there
was a cessation of offerings, then forthwith began
the libations. Only in each person's home, each
person's house, was it done. No more did one prac-
tise restraint: no more were there inhibitions. They
made the old men and the old women drink and
poured out the wine for them. So there were tearful
greetings of one another and animation of one
another, etc.

X787 And it was said that he who was then born, was
perverted. If a man, he became a chieftain, a man-
at-arms, debauched, evil, and daring. Only his ex-
ploits, his chieftainship, did he relate and make
public. He considered that no one rejected him. He
pretended to excel others. He respected no one. He
wished others destroyed. He despised others. He
became presumptuous. And then, being of ungov-
ernable tongue, he interrupted people and belittled
the word of others, and scoffed and grumbled at
them. He rose up in rage; he constantly shook his
head; he interfered in others' affairs; he pretended
to know all; he praised himself. He pretended that
he spoke well and truthfully. He would not be out-
done in talk. He was vainglorious; he was a flatterer.
He pretended to be virtuous, but to see no virtue in
others. He belittled others' words. He contradicted,
denied, and twisted his own words. All his works,
all corresponded to him; he merited all; all indeed
became him: vice, drunkenness,[4] and corruption.
And sometimes, if he became neglectful, he was
captured and imprisoned, or died in battle, etc.

It was just the same if it were a woman. She was
truly of evil tongue, vile-mouthed, inhuman in
speech — big-mouthed, of biting words. Her great
joy, her great pleasure, was evil speaking. She was
one who vituperated others, who insulted and af-
fronted them. Like a dog, [she let] no one head her

ueztinti, tlequakuiztli in cêmanaia, in centecpanaia,
anoço iztac copalli, copaltzalli, in tlaqualli ichoti qui-
moveveniia quimocuilia, quimotechia in telpuchti,
telpuchtequjoxque, yoan tiiachcacoi, in vmpa tlapiz-
toque cihuatzincalco, in vmpa ezioual oyntoçoque,
onoçoque,

auh yn ocactiveni, yn onecacaualoc tlamanalo, ni-
man ic peua I tlatlatoiaviliio, ça techachan, ça tecacal-
itic yn muchioa, aocac ôtemamati, aocmo onnema-
macho, icholiti quintlaoaniia, quintlatoiaviliia yn ve-
venque, yn ilamatque, ic mochochoquintlapaloa,
mellaquaoa et[a].

Auh mjmo yn aquin vncan tlacati, atlacacemelle,
intla oquichtli, tlacauhti, oquichti, ôquen tlatta,
ôquen tlatlatta, aiac izco tlachia, çan jioquichio, ytia-
cauhio in conpopoa, yn jzco quimana, niman aiac
quimotlaçalitoca, motepanaviltoca, aiac te cõmpoa,
motepoloitoca, atle ontepoa, cenca itmoquixtia, yoã
nimã feendacatl, vel tepãpatzoa, tepãpatzaoa, tetlidi-
via, tequiquinatza, mitteua, moquaquacuecuechoa,
motlãtlamachixtia, motlatlamachitoca, motlatlanixti-
tia, movevellatoltoca, moieiectlatoltoca, ãmotẽpana-
villanj, momamachotia, temãmachotia, moiẽiectoca,
tlaiectoca, tetẽpatzlatoa, motẽtencuepa, tlatlatol-
cuepa, tlatlatolmalacachoa, much ychivil, much
quimopanjtia, much quimolhujtia, much vel iech
muchioa in tlatlauelilocaiotl, yn ehi iujntilizti, yn
ᵃaviliquizcaiotl, auh in quẽman intla otlatlatzivini vica,
calaquilo, iacmjquj et[a].

Çan ie no iuhquj intla cihoatl, vel tentlavelilloc,
camatlavelilloc, ahxentlacatl, temxaxacal, camatlatz-
coa, cenca ipac, cenca ivelmach yn tentlauelilocaiotl,
vel tepapacanj, tenovjiantocanj, tepaçotlaoani, iuh-
quiiauia chichi aiac vel quiiacaolinia, quiiacapeionia,
yntlaca iech onaci, nimã quitlecavitiquiça, ytech mo-

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "los mozalores, de aquellos ornatos." — Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 102.
4. Bibliotheca in the Red Schools 101.

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— After Paso y Troncoso

56. Twelve House, Thirteen Lizard, and Ten Crocodile (Chapter 15). 57. Uitzilopochli (Chapter 17). 58, 59. Merchants (Chapter 18); 60, 61. Three Deer and bathing of child (Chapter 19). 62. Uitzilopochli (Chapter 20).

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

71, 72. One water and bathing of child (Chapter 30). 73. [Eleven] Rain (Chapter 30). 74. One Wind and Quetzalcoatl (Chapter 31). 75, 76. Thieves (Chapter 32). 77. One Eagle (Chapter 33).

[p.126 m]

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— After Paso y Troncoso

9-12. Death of the "Children" and attendant ceremonies (Chapter 33), 61-65. Visit to the recently deceased mother (Chapter 35).

[p. 126 m]

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Third Chapter, in which is told the omen taken as a portent when at night they heard as if someone shot iron arrows into something or as if he chopped wood; this they called the night axe.

Likewise there was an omen which was taken as and considered portentous; its name was the night axe. When it made itself heard, it was well into the night,[1] when none spoke aloud:

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When the priests went forth to do penances and to lay down fir branches at their places of doing penance on mountain tops, whereaoever they all went, then it was heard that it resounded like someone chopping and splitting wood. It rang out for a great distance; much did it frighten the people. It made them faint and swoon with fear. This night axe, so we are told—it was said that it took the form of Texcatlipoca, to make sport and fun of people.

They said that he who looked upon it, one who was bold and wise, and not given to fright, of strong spirit,[2] could then hurl himself at it. He seized it and would no more give up, in order to see it. He would call to it as to a person and, indeed, hang on to it—force himself on it—as he pursued it. He followed at its back and forced it on; because thus he could catch it and see what manner of omen his was. Thus do they say, that whosoever would catch it when he saw it could with difficulty approach it; yet he pursued it and made it go everywhere; everywhere he came up to it.

When he tired it, somewhere on the road he awaited it without fear. And when now he saw it, he beheld it like a man without a head—a headless one, with neck severed at the nape, and with chest framework and belly broken open. Thus they said it was thought that that which was heard was his [split] chest framework when its halves met [like] a mouth continually opening and closing, with a sucking sound.[3]

Ic ei capitulo, vncan motenena: in tetzaujtl catca, in tetzammachoia: in jquac ioualtica qujcaquja, in juhquj aca, tlatepuzmjuja: in juhquj quauhxeloaia, in qujtoaia, ioaltepuztli.

No ioan, tetzaujtl catca, netetzaujloia, tetzammachoia: in jtoca ioaltepuztli. Iquac caquijztia, in ouellalliimjctimotecac: in aocac naouti.

In ontlamaceoato, in onacaoiatlaliito tlamacazqua: in jntlamaceqaian tepeticpac, in çaço campa ie, onuja, injc mocaquja, injc caquiztia, iuhqujn aca, tlaxeloa, quauhxeloa: cenca veca caquijzti, cenca temamauhti, teiolmjcti, teqotlauh. Inin, ioaltepuztli, iuh mjtoa, qujlmach ichoatl, ipan mjzeoaia, in tezcatlipuca: injc teca mocacaiaoaia, teca mauijtiaia,

qujtoa. In aqujn qujttaia, in mjhiujntia, in jiollo qujmati, in amo momauhtianj, in tonallapaliuj, vel ic momotla: qujmomaca, aiocmo qujcaoa, injc vel qujttaz, qujtlacanotzaz, vel itech mopiloa, itech motlapaltilia, injc qujtoca: qujtepuztaoca, qujtlalochtoca, ipampa injc yel cacia: qujttaz, in quenamj itetzauh: in juh conjtoa, in aqujn vel cacia, in qujttaia: aiaxcan in vel itech puchiuj: oc qujtotoca, noujñ qujnemjtia: noujan caxitia.

Iquac in oquiciammjcti, cana otlica qujoalmuchieltia: auh in ie qujztta in ie qujztticac, iuhqujn tlacatl quechcotonquj, quechcotoctic, quechtepultic: ioan elchiqujuhtlapanquj, ellapanquj: in juh conjtoa: qujlmach ichoatl, in caquijzti, ielchiqujuh: iuhqujn ommonamjquj ommocacamapiquj, ommopipiquj, onchachaquanj.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "el primer sueño de la noche: quando todos durmian profundamente."
2. Ibid.: "algun hombre animoso y esforçado y esmerado en la guerra."
3. Ibid.: "el pecho rompido abierto: y tenia todo para como una portezuela, que se abria, y se cerraua, haziendo en el sonido: y el cerrar de abrir: que hazian aquellos golpes, que se oyan lexos." Sun Pl. 2.

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And of this [apparition] he to whom it appeared, whether priest or bold one, or reckless warrior, when he had succeeded in reaching and seeing it, then saw his heart. He seized it; he clutched it and took it tightly in his fist; he tore it out. So he demanded what it would give, grant, or award him — perhaps riches, perhaps the taking of captives, perhaps valor; or poverty — perhaps the hoe or the tump line. So was it said that all which it thus awarded him became his gift.[4]

And if it spoke to him, it said: "O our friend, O humming bird, O warrior. What dost thou say to me? What wilt thou have of me? Unhand me, and I shall give thee what thou wishest." At once did it then address him, calling him by his name as a man — whatever was his name — and his name as a nobleman.

And the vassal to whom it had appeared said to it: "I shall not let thee go, for I have taken thee."

Then it said to him: "Behold one thorn; I give it to thee. Leave me alone."

The brave-hearted one liked this not;[5] he thought it not well. At last he left it if it gave him three or four thorns. Thus these showed and made evident that he went skillfully to war, not going forth in vain.[6] As many [captives] would he take as it showed and gave him thorns. Thus he then received as reward all earthly happiness and contentment — flowers, tobacco, riches; capes, lip pendants, head bands.

And also it was said, and so was the common opinion and report, that whosoever could not make it talk, immediately tore and ripped out its heart. He who had cut out its heart fled from it and ran away. He buried it somewhere: he wrapped it up thoroughly and tightly, and later, when it had dawned, he looked at it, and then it showed him whether [his fortune were] good and propitious. When he saw a soft, white feather, or thorns — perchance one, or two — then it appeared that his lot would be good. But if it were not good, he saw a piece of charcoal or a rag. Thus it indicated that his reward had become only poverty and misery.

And whosoever was not of strong spirit, who was not well based — of poor foundations — the coward,

Auh ie ichouel, in, yn aquja oquinnetiti: in aço tlamacaxquj, in anoço çan mihinjtia in jactiauelliac: in ypnac in ouel cacic, in ouel quijtac, njman ie quinnotilia in jiollo: quicnjnuetzi, quijtlalochaua, quinnotzoltzitzaquja, quicotonilia: ic quijtlaitlanjlia, in tlein quinnacac, in tlen quinnactia, in tlein quinnacoaltia: aço necujtonolli, aço tlamaliztli, aço oquichiztl: anoço netolinjliztli, aço victli, aço mecapalli: iuh mjtoa, ca much ie quinnacoaltiaia, inamac muchiuaia.

Auh intla ie quinotza, quijluja: Tocnjuhtze, vizitle, iaotle: tle tinechiluja, tle tinechnequjlia, xinechcaua: njmjtzmacas in tlein ticnequj: vel njman ic tenotzaia, ic quijtlacatocaiotaia, in aquja tlein iaoca, in jpiltoca.

Auh quijluja in macroilli, in oquinnotiti: amo nimjtzcaoaz, ca onjmjtzan.

Ic vncan quijluja, inca ce vizitli: njmjtzmaca, xinechcaua:

amo quicelia, amo quiuelitta, in jollochicaoac: quinjquac quicaoa, intla eci, anoço ie aauj, quimaca vizitli: ic quinzaia, quinzacaiotia, ca tlamatiuh in iaoc, amo nenquicas: inquj cacix in oquinzeuili, in oquimacac vizitli: ic much vncan, quimaccoaltia in tlaltic pac pacquijlizitli, neiollalilizitli: in xuchitl, in jiztl, in netlamachtilli: in tilmatli, in tençacatl, in tlalpilonj.

Auh yeti mjtoa, iaiuca in nenonotzalli, in tlatlatolli: in aquja amo quijtlatlaoltia, çan vel njman quicotonjlia, quijtlaçacotonjlia in ijollo: inpampa iehua, motlaloa in oquicotonjli yiollo: caua quijlaia, vel quicqiqquinjlloa, quicpitzilacatzoa: quinjquac in otlachnic quiztac, in quicentitia, intla qualli, intla iectli: in conjta: iatac ivid in molonica, anoço vizitli, aço çe, anoço vme, ic quinzaia ca qualli, in jmacozal: omichiuh. Auh intlacamo qualli, in conjta: necolli, anoço tzotzomatli, ic quinzaia, in çan icnoiotl, netolinjliztli, oquimacoaltl.

Auh in aquja, amo conca tzaallapaloj, in amo iniin, amo iniizin, in mauhcatlacatl: amo can vel

4. "Mamaitiche en 3 sahumerios" [no translation].

5. [illegible] either [illegible] or [illegible] may be read. Cf. Molina, op. cit.

6. *Pinquinian*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

could nowhere seize [the specter]. He only heard it, and, giving up the chase, left it in terror. He could not pursue it; he was exhausted, vexed; deadened was his body; he only went flattened on the ground; he could walk no more. So he knew that the night axe was an omen to him, only making sport and fun of him. Perchance sickness or death, or misery, slavery, and sin, [the specter] gave him when it came upon him.

cana, çanijo qujcaquj, çan icampa ontlacuecuetlaxoa, ontlacuecuechcaoa: amo vel qujtoca, çan onciammjquj, onmociauhcanequj, mjmjquj in jnacaio, ça vtlica chachapantiuh, aiocmo vel nenemj: ic qujmati in çan oqujtetzauj ioaltepuztli, çan ica onmocacaiauh, ica ommaujlti: aço cocoliztli, mjqujliztli: anoço icnoiotl, tlacujutl, tlatlculli, in oqujmacac: injc oqujmotlac.

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[p. 160 is blank]

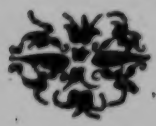

Ninth Chapter, in which is related the omen which they regarded as a portent when an animal of strong stench, called a skunk,[1] now entered one's home or else sprayed and loosed an odor,

Likewise all regarded as an omen the skunk when it entered someone's home or there bore its young.

They said: "Now the householder will die"; because, so they said, its abode, its dwelling place, was by no means among houses, in one's home. Maize fields, meadows, maguey and cactus fields [were] its dwelling places and abodes.

Also, they supposed that it was the likeness of the demon Tezcatlipoca. And when it loosed an odor, when it loosed a foul odor at one, they said: "Tezcatlipoca breaketh wind."

And if someone tried to capture or chase it, thus it mocked and gibed him: it raised and lifted high its tail, and then, if it drew quite near one, it forthwith loosed its stench at him. Like one sprinkling, its spray appeared and was seen; like a rainbow it arose. And it penetrated one; its evil stench entered into one. With difficulty did it abandon him. So one's cape dropped—was cast aside, thrown away. [Its stench] was spread all over the area; it extended all over the region. It reached everywhere, and spread on people. So did its stink-sicken one and molest one's nose.

And they said that when it arrived, when it was smelled, one should not spit. It was believed that if one spat, his hair would whiten; it would flare brightly. Hence they severely warned the children not to spit. When its stench was smelled, they only covered their mouths.

Ic chicuenauj capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzauitl in quimotetzaujaia, in jquac centetl iolquj, in cenca hijac, in jtoca Epatl: in jquac ic oncalaquj ichân, auh anoço in jquac moxixa: mjexi. 787x 825

No ioan in epatl, netetzaujloia: in jquac aca ichan calaquj, anoço vncan mopilhoatia:

quitoa, ic mjquix in chane: ipampa iuh quitovaia, ca amo inentla, amo inemja in calla, in techan: ca mjlpan, çacatla, memetla, nonopalla, in jnemjia, in jquiçaia.

No ipan quimatia, ca ixiptla in tlacatecuhtl, tezcatlipuca: auh in jquac mjexi, in teiexi, quitouia: omjex in tezcatlipuca. [176]

Auh intla aca canaxnequj, in ace quitoca: çan ic quiqueloa, ic ica mocaiaoa: cenca quiquetza, cacoquetza in jcuitlapil: auh quinjquac, intla ic uel itech onaci: njman ic quiualiexi, iuhquin aca tlaalpichia, vel neci, vel itto, in jiel: iuhquin aiauhcoçamalotl, ic moquetza: auh vel temaoa, tetechaquj in ijel, aiaxcan tecaoa: ic vetzi, ic tlaxo, ic tlaçalo in tetilma: vel centlalli moenana, centlalli manj: nouijan aci, tepan moteca, injc yiac, injc tetlachti: teiacanolocho.

Auh quitoa, in jquac in eco, mjnecuj, auel onchicha: quilmach intla aca onchichaz, quaztaliujz, comonjz: ic cenca quintlacaoaltia, in tepilhoã: injc amo onchichaazque: in jquac ineco yel: çan onmotempachoa. [827]

1. Sahagun, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 20.

[p. 172 is blank]

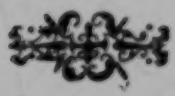

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Eleventh Chapter, in which is told the omen from which a portent was drawn when, at night, they saw the towering men, the giants.[1]

Likewise all regarded as an omen the towering man[2] when it was seen as an apparition at night. It was said: "But all this is the disguise, the transformation, of the demon Tezcatlipoca, with all of which he maketh sport of men."

When it was thus visible to someone, he thereby held it as an omen that he would either die in war or be carried off. But one who was very bold,[3] strong of heart or spirit, would not more let [it] go. He seized it firmly in his hands and hung on to it. He demanded thorns of it, thus seeking valor and the taking of captives.[4]

And it was said that one who was of simple mind, neither prudent nor determined, when he saw it only spat or hurled dung at it. But in nothing at all would it benefit him; it only cursed him with some misery, afflicted him, smote and brought disaster on him thereby, and visited him with the digging stick and the tump line.

And [when] he who was only a coward saw an apparition, in no way did he banish his fears. Indeed, he fainted and swooned away; he no longer had saliva—the roof of his mouth was all dry; his mouth was parched. His mouth stuck fast, no longer moist. Not now was his mouth wet. With caution he withdrew, leaving its presence. He no longer wished to look at it. He fled in terror, feeling, thinking that someone would now snatch him away. In some manner he went to reach his home and rushed inside it, bursting in through its door, coming in on all fours and throwing himself with outspread arms upon those who slept.

Ie matlactli oce capítulo, vncan motemeoa in tetzaujtl: injc motetzaujaia: in jquac iovaltica, quijnjtzaia tlacaujaqoc, quijnameti.

No yoan, netetzaujloia in tlacaujiac: in jquac iovaltica motititia, mjtoa: çan ie mache ...oual, inecuepalix in tlacatecuiotl tezcatlipoca, mach ic teca mocaiaoa:

in jquac aca iuh quimottitia, ic quitetzauja in aço ie iaomjquiz, aço ic vicoa. Auh in aquin vel mjhiviñtia, in jollotlapaliuj, in tonalchícavac, aiocmo quicaoa, quitetzuhtzitzquja, itech mopiloa: quitlanjlia in vitztli, injc quitemolia oquichiotl, in tlamaliztli.

Auh mjtoa in aquin ahquimamatcaoa, in amo iolizmatquj, in amo nenonotzale: in jquac oquitac çan conchicha, anoço cuitlatl ic contepachoa: auh amo tle ic quicnelia, çan no quitelchioa, itla nesolinjlizzli ic quiteopoa, ic quimotla, ic quiueipoloa, aço vitzli, mecapalli quitititia.

Auh in aquin, çan vel mauhcatlacatl quimottitia: njman amo conieoa, in jtemamauhtilia: vel çotlaoa, iolmjquj, aocmo chiche: vel icopac tlaoaquj, icamac tlapolinj, icamac tlaçaçalia: aocmo tlapalti, aocmo tlapaltia in jcamac: çan tlamach contlalcavia, ispampa ieoa: aocmo quioalittaznequj, momauhcatlalaoa: in juh momati, ie omma aca ie quicuitiuetziz: in oquenelizin acito ichan, motlaloticalaquj, quitpetlaticalaquj in jtlatzacujl: tepan manenentical-aquj: tepan mamaçouhtiuetzi, in vncan cochioa.

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1. See N. 5. The corresponding Spanish text translates the terms as *encantajar*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 931, has the following note: "QUINAMETIN, *m. pl. Los quinametes, primitivos pobladores del Anáhuac, encantaron a los antiguos, a los cuales la leyenda asigna talla de gigantes y que compusieron las ruinas del Anáhuac, en Puebla, principalmente.*"

2. Garibay, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311, n. 13: "El 'hombre largo' (*tlamacuepan*), o lo que parece, era una fantasma que se alargaba hasta el cielo, cosa los calabaín, o disminuía de las cosmolitas."

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*algun valiente valiente, y esforçado.*"

4. *Ibid.*: "*que cada de capitanear en la guerra tomar captivos, quantos captivos le dieron.*"

[p. 176 is blank]

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Twelfth Chapter, in which is related what was another omen, whose name was "bundle of ashes."[1]

Likewise there was an omen, which was a portent to them, the "bundle of ashes." Thus was it said: "Indeed, all this is the disguise, the reappearance, the apparition of Tezcatlipoca."

When it was seen, it only went rolling, groaning, and billowing. He who saw it then held it as an omen that he would die, either in war or of some sickness;[2] or that something evil would meet and fall upon him.

Whoever was not strong and sturdy of heart, who was just a coward, if it appeared to him, only fled and ran from its presence. Then it frightened and terrified him, lest soon he die or something evil should come upon him, etc.

But he who was sturdy of heart, one who was renowned as intrepid in war, then prepared, arrayed, and bedight himself. Then he thus took counsel with himself: at night he would hunt the wizards who walk everywhere. He went in pursuit of them — on all the wide ways where they dwelt at night. He went seeking it, that perchance somewhere it would appear to him; that he might demand from it his reward, his gift — thorns.

And if now one appeared before him like this one, he sought it out and seized it; he grasped it firmly in his hands, and clung to it. Not now did he let it go; he tortured it. He said to it: "Who art thou, O rogue? Speak to me! Fail not to speak! For I have taken thee, and I shall not let thee go." For a long time he persisted in torturing it.

When it spoke to and answered him, if now he vexed it, when, perhaps, it was about to dawn and morning to break, it said to him: "Loose me now! Thou harmest me! Whatsoever thy heart wisheth, I shall give thee. What shall I give thee?" It said: "Take it. I give thee a thorn."

"I will not have it; I will not take it!"

Ic matlactli omome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in oc centlamantli tetzaujtl catca: in jtoca catca: tlacanexqujmilli.

No yoan, tetzaujtl catca, tetetzaujaia: in tlacanexqujmjlli, iuh mjtoa: çan ie muchi ich inaoal, inecuepaliz, inenextiliz in tezcatlipoca:

in jquac itoia, çan momjmjlotiuh, qujqujnacatiuh, tehtentiuh. In aqujn qujttaia, ic qujtetzanuja, in ie mjqujz: aço iavc, anoço çan tlalmjqujz: anoce ytla, amo qualli ie qujmonamjctiz, ipan vetziz.

In aqújn amo iollochicaoac, in amo iollatlapaliuj, in çan mauhcatlacatl, intla oqujmottiti: çan ixpampa iehoa, motlaloa: vncan qujtonalcaoaltia, qujhiçavia: injc yciuhca mjqujz, anoço itla amo qualli qujmonamjctiz. etc.

Auh in aqujn, vel iollotlapaliuj: in motencoa: iaotlaueliloc, ic nomanja, ic mochichioa, ic mocencaoa: njman iuh qujmolhuja, in iooaltica, naoahtemoz, novijan nenemj: qujtotocatinemj, in jzquj vchpantli, iooalnenemj, qujtetemotinemj, in aço cana itla qujmottitia: injc qujtlanjliz itenemac, iteicneliliz vitztli.

Auh intla ie oqujmottiti in juhquj y, qujtetemoa: qujcujxiuetzi, qujtetcuhtzitzquja, itech mopiloa: aocmo qujcaoa qujtlatoltia, qujluja: ac tehoatl jn nocnc? xinechnotza, amommaca titlatoz: ca onjmjtzan, amo njnjtzcaoaz: vecauhtica qujnemjtia, in qujtlatoltia:

iquac qujnotza, qujnanqujlia intla ie caamana: in ace ipan tlathviznequjj, in ace qujtlathujltia, qujlvia: xinechcaoa ie tinechitlacoa, tlein qujnequj moiollo: njmjtznacaz, tlein tinechmacaz: qujluja, yzca njmjtznaca, ce vitztli:

amo njcia, amo njccelia

1. Cf. Ouelbey, op. cit., p. 311, n. 14. The corresponding Spanish text describes them as *vnas fantasmas: que no dauan pies, ni cabeças. Las quales andauan rodando por el suelo, y dando gemidos, como soplando.*

2. *Ibid.: "muerte . . . o besar de su enfermedad."*

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"What shall I do?" It offered him two, three, four [thorns].

Verily, not for them did he loose it. Later, when it gratified and satisfied him, it now said: "I give thee all prosperity. Thou shalt be honored on earth." Then he released it;[3] for in truth he had realized what his heart sought — for which he had lived sighing and in discontent, etc.

tle njcchioax, vme, Ey, nauj qujmaca:

ça nel amo ic qujcaoa: quinjquac in oquijiolpachiujti, in oquijiolpachiuhcaioti in ic qujluja: muchi njmjtzmaca in necujltonolli, titlamaviçoz in tlalticpac: yquac qujcoa: ca nel oconjttac in qujtemoa ijollo, injc oelciciuhtinenca, onentlamattinenca. Etc.

3. [illegible]

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Thirteenth Chapter, in which are told the rest of the omens which showed themselves at night.

Likewise all took as an omen [what] appeared before them called "hunched shoulder," or "little maize basket." In Acolhuacan it was called "little squashed one."[1] Thus were they named.

They said that they showed themselves to men only at the latrines, the dung heaps. If someone wished to urinate, and went forth quite alone at night, when, perhaps, the moon shone or it was dark, then they appeared to him. All this now only revealed to him an omen of death. He to whom it appeared thus took it as a portent that now he would die, or something would now befall him. But if he did *not* so do, it only terrified him.

And thus did it look — like a little girl, indeed, quite small; a very little girl, not a bit tall — only small like a sandal, a little cooking pot; a squat dwarf, pressed down like dung. She had hair, much hair, [flowing] like a garment, a mantle of hair, hanging. Clear to her hips did her hair fall — her mantle of hair. And as she walked, she only went creeping on the surface of the ground, waddling.[2]

He to whom she appeared could not catch her. If, now, he pursued her, she only disappeared from before him; thus she only mocked him. Further off, apart, she appeared. He pursued her there, he who tried to catch her; she vanished away. So he only let her alone, in terror; she tired him out; he was defrauded.

Just so, the severed head also appeared to the people at night. To him to whom it appeared, it often made known [its presence] by suddenly springing at the calf of his leg. Or else he heard it behind him, coming rattling[3] as it took after him.

Ic matlactli omei capitulo, vncan motencoa: yn oc cequj tetzavitl, in iooaltica monextiaia.

No yoan, netetzaujkoia moteittitiaia: in jtoca cujtlapanton, anoço cintanaton: mjtoa in acolhoacan centlapachton: iuh tocaiotilo.

Qujtoa, çan vncan in neaxixaloian, in tlaçulpan moteittitiaia: intla ie aca axixmjquj, in çan icel iooaltica quiça: in aço metztona, anoço tlaiooa: iquac qujmottitia: çan ieh much ie qujnextiaia in mjqujztetzaujtl. In aqujn qujmottitia, ic qujtetzanvia in ace miquiz, anoço itla ipan ie muchioas: auh yn acanoço tlei, çan conmamauhtia:

auh injc ittoia, iuhqujn civapiltontli, çan vel tepiton, civapiltepiton: amo achi quauhtic: çan cacapanton, chachapaton, tzapaton, cujtlapachton, tzonqueme, tzotzonqueme, tzotzoquenpile: vel icujtlacaxiuhian vetzi, in jtzon, in jtzonquen: auh injc nenemj çan tlalli ixco onotiuh, pepeiocatiuh,

amo vel cana in qujmottitia: intla ie qujtoca çan ixpan ompolivi, çan jc qujquelo: iene cecnj, in valmonextia: vmpa qujtoca in canaznequj ompoliuhtiuh: çan iuh commauhcacaoa, conciauhcaoa, ommonenencoa.

Çan ie no iuhquj in tzontecomatl, no moteittitia in iooaltica: in aqujn qujmottitia, çan jc qujmachitia, amo inemachpan in jcotzco cholo: anoce icampa, concaquj chachalcativitz, in qujualtoca: ic ixpampa iehoa, icampa chachalcatiuh in qujtoca.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"una muger pequeña enana."* Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 326: *"'El cuenillo.' Ser pandeado que era ogiaro."* Cuenquenuco is cuquillo (*ibid.*, p. 332).

2. Corresponding Spanish text: *"una muger pequeña enana . . . que tenía los cabellos largos: hasta la cinta, y su cabar, era como una cabezada."*

3. Cf. *ibid.* In Molina, *op. cit.*, however, *chachalcatiuh* is to could. On *chachalcatiuh*, see Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 476.

X 787 So he fled from its presence; back of him it went
●776 rattling at him as it pursued him. And if he stood, if he stopped in alarm, it also sat, and remained rattling. And if he gathered courage to seize it quickly, it only mocked him for doing so. Far did it rise when it jumped; he could not catch it. Hence, in the same manner, he let it alone in his fear; from its presence he fled, exerting all force in order to run terrified to his home.

Auh intla moquetza, motilquetza, no motlalia chachalcatinemj: auh intla omoiollochichili, injc qujcujtiuetzin çan jc qujquelloa, ueca ieoa in choloa, amo uel cana: çan no iuh conmauhcacaoa: ixpampa ieoa: iaqujch qujtoctia, injc momauhcatlaloa ichan.

X 787 Just so the dead also appeared to people. They
775 were in [funeral] wrappings, with head wrappings, and were groaning. If, somewhere, one appeared before one, it moaned at him. Only the valiant could venture toward it in order to seize it and cling to it. But then it only made sport of them: perhaps a clump of grass or a hard clod remained in their hands.
[776] Thus they quickly transformed themselves. So it was said that all this was only a disguise of Tezcatlipoca by which he mocked men. Etc.

Çan ie no iuhquj in mjcquj, no moteittitiaia: yilpitica, quaquailpitica, quiqujnacatica: in cana moteittitiaia: tequjqujnatza: çan iehoan in jollochicavaque, vel iujc motlapaloa in qujcujtiuetzi: itech mopiloa. Auh injc çan inca mocacaiaoa, aço tlachcujtl, anoço tlaquavac tetl in jmmac mocauhtiquijça: injc mocueptiuetzi: iuh mjtoa, ca çan muchi ieh, inaoal in tezcatlipuca injc teca mocacaiaoaia etc.

The omen of the linnet.[4]

X 787 The linnet is a bird like a woodpecker,[5] and far
825 into the forest is its home. And when it cried out at someone, it was taken as an omen.[6] They said: "It is not a good time that we have come; for something will spring out on us."

Tetzauitl itechpa chiqujmoli.

In chiqujmoli, ca cêntetl tototl, iuhqujn quauhchochopitli: auh veca quauhtla in jchan. Auh in iijc tepan tzatzia, netetzaujloia: qujtovzia, ca amo qualcan, in otioallaque: ca itla ipan tícholozque.

The omen of the coyote.

[776] They said it was Tezcatlipoca. Often he disguised himself as a coyote; and this coyote often intercepted men on the road. And when he did this, then was heard: "This is by no means a good time for him who goeth; perhaps thieves or robbers are somewhere on the road, or something harmful will spring out at them."

Tetzauitl itechpa in coiutl.

Qujtoaia, ca in tezcatlipuca: mjiecpa qujmonaoaltiaia in Coiutl: auh injn coiutl, mjiecpa teiaiacatzacujlia in vtlica. Auh in jquac iuh qujchioa y, njman ic mocaquj, ca amo qualcan in viloa: aço ichrecque, anoço tetlatlaçaltique, cana vtlica cate: anoço itla ipan chololoatiuh, in tecoco.

Here end the omens which the natives of New Spain took as portents.

Nican tzonquiça in tetzauitl, yn qujtzummatia, njcan nauaua españa tlaca.

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4. Molina, *op. cit.*: *chiquimoli pájaro*; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 514 (*chiquimoli*): *pájaro — especie de pájaro*. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 334: "*Ave canora, cantamente parlera. . . . Dryobates scalaris baiardi.*"

5. *Quauhchochopitli*: Martín Antonio Rincón, in *Rerum Mediarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus seu Plantarum Animalium Mineralium Medicinarum Historia ex Francisci Hernandez* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1651), p. 33, appendix, heads Chap. XCIV, "*De Quauhchochopitli, seu Avicula ligna excoquente*," and writes: "*Avicula est, Mexicanae Cuauhtzintz forma, & magnitudine, plumis nigris, aut pullis, linea albis, transversim discriminibus distinctis; ventre, pectoreque, rubij colore: linguae plurimum mucro, quorum est operior pedicus. niisi in frigidis, & arboribus mortuis conjunctili petitur cuncta.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los bozes del pico [maggie]: quando le oyan bozear en los montados.*"

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjçquj tototlpipil, ic qujtoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaqujco, anoço oqujmjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oqujntlaçolmjcti: ic qujmatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi tototlme, injc mjquj.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
235 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse, whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then
837 believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Quil no iuh inpan muchioa in namjqueque: in aço cana qujtlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toqujchtin: injc qujmati, çan qujpiqui in aaquetztivetzi, anoce cana motlavitequj.

286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl qujqujti.

In jcpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in jquac qujqujti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviaqujxtiuh, in tennecujliuhtiuh, qujtoaia: qujlmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj. çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chía field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

In jquac qujavi, in cenca tecivi: in aqujn vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli qujisoac qujoaltepeoa, itvalco: qujlmach yc amo teciviloz in jmjl, qujl ic poliui in tecivitl.

754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**

● 776 At night walked demons — perchance wizards
787 and sorcerers — where they harmed one in one's home. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

In iooaltica nemj tlatlacateculo: aço nanaoalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oqujmjttaque in aço itla ic qujnpoloa in chaneque: njman atlan conteca ytztli puertatitlan, anoço itoalco qujmana in iooaltica, qujtoaia: qujlmach vncan onmotezcavia in tlatlacateculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa: aço mjcoaz, anoce cocoliztli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los pollos se cayan muertos, los ponen arriba: y esto, llaman tlaçolmjqui.*"

28. Corresponding Spanish text: "*es perverso, en que la tela, se parecen biscornuada.*" Cuerauaço, in Simeon, op. cit., is to make a false seam.

At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman choloa, aiocmo ceppa tepolotivi: in jquac oqujttaque itztli, atlan onoc. 754 776 789

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal. 825

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[29]

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualiaia, qujlmach in aqujn qujqualia yn q'caoa qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oqujchtequjco in qujmjchin, oqujchtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualiaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoz: in aqujn qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztitl. 826 776

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Qujlmach in tozti, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in iehoatl avitzotl, qualli qujxoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli vez. Ipampa: in jquac aqujn qujlaqujaia, qujqujxtiliaia in jzti, ioan ixtelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli. 827

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, qujtoaia in ie vecauh: aqujn nechitoa, aqujn nechteneoa: anoce qujtoaia: aqujn nêchicoitoa, anoçe qujtoa: aqujque in noca mononotza. Qujl iehoatl qujnezcaiotiaia, iehoatl ic qujmatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca qujnteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo, ȳtechpa tlatoa in pipiltotonti. 853

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

In iehoantin in pipiltotonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaqualo, anoço itla mjz, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, qujlmach ic amo tzitzicunoz, amo motolinjz in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

29. Corresponding Spanish text: *"de harto, o de adulterio, o de otra cosa."*

30. *Axitzod*: Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2. 21, refers to it as a spectral water animal or sprite "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of innocent men" (cuang Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66 (*ahuizote*), calls it *monstruo o perro del agua* (Lastra Ichina).

31. Corresponding Spanish text: *"quando comjan, o bevian en presencia de algun niño."*

32. *Ibid.*: *"en la boca."*

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CHAPTER VI

THE MAN AND THE TRIBE

In which are set forth the basic ideas of Aztec education, government, law and social customs

642 618 THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION of the Aztec tribes was in theory completely democratic. An individual was a member of a family which, in turn, belonged to a cluster of families or a clan.* Theoretically twenty of these clans made up a tribe, each of them regulating its own affairs but, in matters of tribal importance, joining with the others in a council composed of all the leaders. The council appointed one chief to control civil and religious affairs and usually a second for war. Originally designed for simple farming communities and presumably of an antiquity dating back to Middle Culture times, this organization later ramified into the governmental complexity of a populous and highly complicated city-state.[1]

844 The working of a community is best illustrated by the position of the individual in it, a process which is described in the third part of the Codex Mendoza. Immediately a child was born it was washed and swaddled by a midwife. Since 777 the gods governed the fate of man on earth, the parents con- 787 sulted a priest who looked in the *tonalamatl*,† or book of

*The term clan is used to mean a tribal division without connotation of male or female descent.

†To'-na-la-matl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four 787 777
days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved 553
to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction where- 777
by the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favorable period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque 553
over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the ac- 776
couchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God, whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures. The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools 553
which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name, that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal, like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor, like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alternative animal title. Girls' names frequently were compounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its pur- [862]
pose was to induct the child into the techniques and obliga- 861
tions of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized culture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers instructed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned the uses of the household implements and performed minor household chores.[2]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realization of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the *tonalpohualli* (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five-day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[8]

The *tonalpohualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. - Analyst]

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi; que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796x 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- A 28
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que b 29
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos c 30
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mi- d 31
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

[551] [578] [787]

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se çelebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio matauã capituos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796x [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

785 796x 463

In this house[1] which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la 796 x
adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante
della perfumes, y comida: dezian que este era el [778]
signo de quetzalcoatl.

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjquiztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales
a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este
era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en [778]
sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de
muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y
ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comida: y sacrificauan
codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça.
Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gẽte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta,
y lo mismo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los
cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les
hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso.

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Ciuapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuateocalli*, or by another name, *ciuateopan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatetenuitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujauitl: en la pri- [776]
mera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan
Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que
murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian
diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quãdo
reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con
diuersas emfermedades, a los que topauã fuera de
sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de
sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra [784]
destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos
calles: los quales llamauan cioateucalli, o por otro [778]
nombre cioateupan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las
ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan
con papeles, que llamauan amateteujtl. En esta fiesta,
destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a
muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles.

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

La nona fiesta moujble.

En el signo llamado ce qujauitl: en la quarta casa [681]
que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy mal- 777
afortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que
estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algu-
nos esclauos, por via de supersticion: y los mercade-
res, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las [463]
joyas, en que trataua, sacandolas, para que las viessen
todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to-

[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289 778] [565] [666 431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que trataua en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que a, en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vian agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777● 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had [412] in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to ● [777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for [276] the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers.

585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car- [482 313] ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her [372] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuujesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determjnauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honrradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esqujna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

X796 **Twentieth Chapter,** which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [805] [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlalocs.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[789] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenmantli,* by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they [202 314 289] erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

Jnic 20. capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoalizzli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in qujtocaiotiaia, in qujtoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eoa.

Quauitl eoa, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujxtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã neteteuhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytia, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauitl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech iectiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujmóncaoaia pipiltxitzinti, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quijauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonjoquauitl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitleua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (Mexico: Tipografia de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "Xilomanaliztli,—Atlacahualco,—Cuahuitleua,—Cihuailhuitl. *Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de xilosl ó plores; nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitleua, quemazon de los árboles; nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. Atlcahualco ó Atlacahualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos; segun el P. Leon, detencion de las aguas, y es la interpretación de todos que más nos satisface. Cihuailhuitl, fiesta de la mujer. El símbolo religioso es la imágen de Tláloc y un árbol reverdeciendo, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: "*. . . el primer mes, cuyo nombre Atcahualco o Atlacahualco, significa la cesación del agua, pues en el mes de marzo cesan las lluvias del invierno en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o tolteca. La llamaban también Quauhtleua, lo que significa la regeneración de los árboles, que se verifica en este tiempo en los países fríos. Los tlaxcaltecas llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, oblación de las mazorcas de maiz, porque en él ofrecían a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la siembra que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (*Tlalocan,* Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuitl eua* as *palo se alza.* Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen uebersetzt uberarbeitet* (Cecelie Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Stecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 55, translates the name as *die Baume erheben sich (machen sich auf dem Weg).*

2. *Nezzlaoaloa.* Seler rather commonly renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *izdaua* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nezzlaoalli* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.,* p. 292) translates *teteuujl* as *tiras sagradas.*

4. In *loc. cit.,* Garibay renders *tlacateteuhti* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl sermons No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel,* p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opferstreifen* (*Opferpapiere in Menschengestalt*). They may actually have been paper streamers surmounted by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.,* p. 60) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de gotas de oli o los quales papeles llamauan amatetenal.*" *Tlaulchachapatztli;* cf. *chachapani,* in Molina (*op. cit.*).

X 796 each [of the old men] a bowl of wine, or a gourd for each, or a small earthenware jar for each; quite 274 freely and purely of their own accord they brought with them the wine, pouring it into a large earthenware vessel. And the old men sat drinking wine and refreshing themselves, not, [however,] becoming drunk.

çan in iollocopa, çan in iollotlamati, in concaoa vetli, qujoaltecatimanj apazco: auh tlaoãtoque in vevetque, texcalcevitoque, amo ivinti:

Enough of this.

ie izqujch.

X 796 For when were ended these twenty days of Izcalli, thereupon set in the five days of *nemontemi*, or *nenontemi*, which are not counted.[9] And the *nemontemi* were feared and held in awe. None commanded others, none quarreled [with others]. And if any, at this time, disputed with others, it was said they would always do thus. And he who was born at this time they named Nemo. They said: "It hath been said that [he hath] no day sign. No reward is his; he will live in misery. He will live in poverty upon the earth."

Auh in onqujz y, cempoalli Izcalli, njmã ie ic oalmotlalia in macujlilhujtl in nemõtemj, anoço nenontemj, acampouhquj: Auh in nemontemj, vel imacaxxoia, mauhcaittoia, aiac teaoaia, aiac maoaia: auh in aca vncã teaoa, qujlmach cenqujcuj. Auh in aqujn vncan tlacati: qujtocaiotiaia. Nemo: qujtoaia, qujlmach atle ilhujl, atle imaceoal muchioa, qujhiovitiremjz, vmpa onqujztinemjz in tlalticpac.

[55] 777

And during [the month of] Izcalli, in the first, second, and third years, nothing [in addition] was done. But on the fourth year, a great [festival] was observed. At that time died those [adorned as] Izcoçauhqui, the impersonators of Xiuhtecutli—ceremonially bathed ones. Sometimes many died; sometimes not many.

Auh in jpan jn Jzcalli: injc ce xivitl, yoan ic oxivitl, yoan iquexivitl, atle muchioai : auh qujn ic nauhxivitl in moveichioa, qujniquac mjquja in Ixcoçauhque, in jxiptlaoan Xiuhtecutli: tlaaltilti, in quẽmã mjequjntin in mjquja, in quemã amo mjequjnti.

And upon the morrow, on the morning of [the feast of] Izcalli, the bathed ones entered the sand. They brought them into the sand there at Tzonmolco. All the women carried all their womanly array, and the men carried all their array (as hath been told elsewhere). And they carried for them their paper adornment; it went upon a wooden globe.

[293]

Auh in ie iuh muztla, in ie oallatvj Izcalli: in tlaaltilti, onxalaqui, qujmonxalaquja in vmpa tzommolco: in cioa muchi qujtquj, in jxqujch incioatlatquj: yoan in oqujchtin, muchi qujtquj in jxqujch intlatlatquj (in juh omjto cecnj): auh in jmamatlatquj, muchi qujmjtqujlia: quauhtzontapaioltica ieietiuh.

And when they brought them there, thereupon they arrayed them, [so that] all were ornamented. They put upon them their paper array. And when all were prepared and arrayed even as Izcoçauhqui was arrayed, and the women adorned also in the same manner, thereupon all climbed up to [the Temple of] Tzonmolco, in rows. And when they came reaching there, they circled about the offering stone. Then once again all came down, likewise walking in rows.

Auh in oqujmonaxitiq̃, njman ie ic qujnchichioa, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in jxqujch imamatlatquj. Auh in ontecencaoaloc: auh injc muchichioa, ivin muchichioa Ixcoçauhquj: auh in cioa, çan ie no ivin muchichioa: njmã ie ic tleco in tzommolco, tecpantivi: auh in vmpan vetzito: njmã ie ic qujoaliaoaloa in techcatl: njmã ic no ceppa, oaltemo, no motecpãtivitze.

And when they came down, thereupon they took them to the tribal temple, and then took apart [the paper vestments], and put [the victims] in a house and guarded them well. And they fastened the men

Auh in otemoco njmã ie ic qujnvica in calpulco, mec qujnxixitinja, vncan mocencaltilia, vel q'npipia: in oqujchtin qujnxillãmecaiotia, in jquac maxixa qujntitilinjtivi. Auh in oacic iooalnepantla: njmã ic

9. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 236) refers to the "*Nenontemi* (unnützen Tage) die für nichts gerechnet werden"; *i.e.*, they were dedicated to no god. One meaning of the verb *nemi*, however, is to rest.

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and até and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed awe [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[3]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuiltecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [thus] all entered their homes.

Thus one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And thus ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during those days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

queniman tlatviz, in quenman tlatlavilotleoaz, in quenmã tlatoz cujcujtzcatl. 796*

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, aatlioa: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in qujncujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoàn iavi, vncan qujtotia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oalcenqujxoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotilizti, in cujqujztli, cepã caoantimomana, xxxamacatimanj in cujcatl: 852 [535] [533]

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vctli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoãtia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoton, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano: 273 796* 852

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vctli,

yoan intlaoancax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: ei icxi, nauhcampa nacace, [415]

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmetzivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexoxocolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech neaano, neaanalo, neçecenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalacoa techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vctli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc ontzonqujça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã oalmotlalia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonalli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpouhquj cenca imacazoia, cenca mauhcaittoia: 777 796* 805

ichica ca çan nẽqujzquj, vncã nenenqujxtilo, atle vnqujxoa, nenencolo, nenenencolo: ichica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mãceoalli, can vncan icnoiotl, neto-

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 24.

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjliztli, nenquizcaiotl, nenquiçaliztli, ãoneoatinemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quitocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizqui, acan ompouhqui acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in iquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli quicuja mococooaia: muchi tlacatl quitoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz. aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oquixcauhque injoziolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan quixooaiã inon oquẽteltzin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio quicuje, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipoaallo in jzquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 36) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other customary acts.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eighteenth Chapter, in which it is told how they chose those who would govern.

The ruler was thus given office and chosen. The lords assembled and deliberated as to whom they would set in office and choose to be ruler. In the same manner assembled the old men and the seasoned warriors, brave warriors, men [at arms], and the leaders of the youths; lords; and keepers of the gods; fire priests—the long-haired ones.[1] All were gathered there at the great palace, the residence of the ruler, in order to consult and choose him who was to be ruler. They cast votes for all the princes who were sons of lords; men [at arms]; brave warriors, experienced in war, who shrank not from the enemy;[2] who knew not wine—who were not drunkards, who became not stupefied;[3] the prudent, able, wise; of sound and righteous rearing and upbringing; who spoke well and were obedient, benevolent, discreet, and intelligent.

And when were settled the deliberations and choosing, they were as one [in their] accord. When a certain prince was chosen and given the charge of being ruler, then also were raised to their office and chosen those who were to help him, the [four] princes who would be by his side; who would be his lords. They were invested with, and given, the titles Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Pochtecatlailotlac, and Ticociauacatl.

When this was done, when the choosing was settled, then was determined on what good day sign would be installed those who had been elected—the ruler and the lords. Then the command was given when there would be a meeting, and all the noblemen were commanded then to come to assemble in the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli.

Injc caxtolli omej capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn 643
qujnpepenaia, in aqujque tlatocatizque.

In tlatoanj, injc ixquetzaloia, inic pepenaloia, mocentlaliaia, mononotzaia, in tecutlatoque, injc qujxquetzaia, injc qujpepenaia, in aqujn tlatoanj iez çan no iuhquj mocentlaliaia in achcacauhtli ioan tequjoaque, tiacahoan, oqujchtin, ioan tiachcauh tlatoque, ioã teupixque tlenamacaque, papaoaque, ixqujchtin mocentlaliaia in vncan vei tecpan tlatocan, injc mononotzaia, injc qujpepenaia in ac iehoatl tlatocatiz, qujnteneoaia in jxqujchtin tlaçopipilti, in tlatoque impilhoan, in oqujchti, in tiacaoan in iac matinj, in amo qujtlaçotla in jntzontecõ, in jmelch qujuh, in amo qujximati in vctli, in amo tlaoanaq in amo qujmotequjtia mjxitl, tlapatl, in mjmatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlamatinj, in qualli iectli inezcaliliz, inneoapaoaliz, in vellatoa, in vellacaquj, in tetlaçotlanj, in jxe in iollo. [577]

Auh in jcoac in omocencauh nenonotzaliztli, tla- 643
pepenaliztli, in ocentet tlatolli, in ac iehoatl tlaçopilli 644
in oanoc, in oixquetzaloc in tlatoanj iez: njman no iquac ixquetzalo, pepenalo in qujpaleujzque, in jtlan iezque in tlaçopipilti, in jtecutlatocahoan iezque: motecutlalia, motocamaca tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl:

in ie iuhquj in omocencauh tlapepenaliztli, njman nenonotzalo, tlein qualli cemjlhujtonalli in jpan tlalilozque, in opepenaloque: in tlatoanj ioan in tecutlatoque, ic tenaoatilo in jqujn cenqujxooaz: ioan naoatilo in jxqujchtin pipilti, injc cenquiçaqujuj in jitoalco vitzilopuchtli: [777]

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: *"juntaronse los ancianos que llamauan Teuculatoque: y tambien los viejos del pueblo, que llamauan achcacauhti; y tambien los capitanes soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamauan tiamiqueque: y otros capitanes que eran principales, en las casas de la guerra: y tambien los sacerdotes, que llamauan Tlenamacaque, o papaoaque."*

Papaoaque: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III, Appendix, cap. ii. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 533, n. 2, the term is thus explained: *"'Ceux qui ont les cheveux tombant en touffe sur les oreilles'; singulier papaoa, formé du mahuanil papatli, chevelure longue et en désordre."*

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

3. *Mjxitl, tlapatl:* see Chap. 17, n. 10, *supra.*

643 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did
644 they eat.

783 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler
785 and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[77] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how
527 the ruler made summons to a feast.
648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

Auh iioaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in iehoantin tẽupixque papaoaque, qujntlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço ioualnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoçue, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixqujmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izqujlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izqujioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonqujxtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otzonqujz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzaliztli, in iehoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecuanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

APPENDIX OF THE FOURTH BOOK, IN THE SPANISH VERNACULAR, WHICH IS JUSTIFICATION IN DEFENSE OF THE TRUTH CONTAINED HEREIN.

APENDIZ DEL QUARTO LIBRO EN ROMÃCE Y ES VNA APPOLOGIA EN DEFENSION DA LA VERDAD QUE EN EL SE CONTIENE.

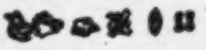

805 Because some have been deceived, and the delusion even today endureth, concerning certain [systems of] counting which these natives used in days of old, I consider it helpful to place here an explanation of three kinds of counting [systems] which they used and in some places still use.

The first count is the division of the year into its months. The fact is that they divided the year into eighteen parts, and to each part they gave twenty days. These may be called months. Thus their year had eighteen months, which comprised three hundred and sixty days. The five left over to make a full year are not counted: rather, they called them idle
[177] and unlucky days, because to no god were they dedicated. The purpose for which they established this division was that they dedicated each month or [period of] twenty days to a god, and during each they held celebrations and made sacrifices; except that in two of the months they celebrated the feasts of four gods, [in each] assigning ten days to one and another ten to the other. And so, although there were eighteen months, the feasts celebrated in them were twenty. This count is called a calendar in which all the days of the year are dedicated to the gods except the five which, as is told, they considered idle and of evil fortune. This count, which is the calendar these natives had had from time immemorial, has nothing to do with the other two counts which will now be described.

805 212 The second count which these natives used is called the year-count, because [by it] they counted a certain number of years in the following way. They had four characters placed in four positions with respect to a circle. One of these characters they called Ce acatl, meaning One Reed. This character was represented as a green reed, and, with reference to the circle, was to the east. The second character they called Ce tecpatl, meaning One Flint Knife. [It was] made in the manner of a lance head, half of it blood-stained. This was placed to the north with

Porque algunos se an engañado, y aun todavia dura el engaño, cerca de ciertas cuentas, que estos naturales vsauan antiguamente: tengo por cosa prouechosa poner aquj, la declaracion de tres maneras de cuentas, que vsauan, y avn en algunas partes las vsan.

Es la primera cuenta, la division del año por sus meses. Es el caso que ellos repartian el año, en deziocho partes, y a cada parte, le dauan veinte dias; estos se pueden llamar meses: de manera, que su año tenja deziocho meses: los quales contienen trezientos y setenta [*sic*] dias, y los cinco que sobran, para ser año cumplido, no entran en cuenta, sino llamauanlos dias baldios, y aziagos, porque a ninguno dios eran dedicados. El fin a que enderecauan [*sic*] esta diuision es, que cada mes o cada veinte dias, los dedicauan a un dios, y en ellos le hazian fiestas, y sacrificios, excepto que en dos meses hazian fiesta a quatro dioses, dedicando diez dias a al vno, y otros diez al otro. Y assi con ser los meses deziocho, las fiestas que celebrauan en ellos eran veinte. Esta cuenta, se llama calendario, donde todos los dias del año, se dedican a los dioses, excepto los cinco que como esta dicho les tenjan baldios y aziagos. Esta cuenta, que es el calendario que estos naturales tenjan de tiempo sin memoria, no tiene que hazer, con las otras dos cuentas, que luego se dirá.

La segunda cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, se llama cuenta de los años, porque contauan cierto numero de años, por la forma que se sigue: tenjan quatro caracteres, puestos en quatro partes en respecto de vn circulo redondo. A al vno destos caracteres llamauã, Ce acatl, que quiere dezir, vna caña: este caracter, era como vna caña verde pintada, y en respecto del circulo, estaua hazia al oriente. Al segundo caracter, llamauan ce tecpatl, que quiere dezir vn pedernal: hecho a manera de hierro de lança tiñjdo la mjtad del con sangre: este estaua puesto

843 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue bump. Or [he might
752 catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc neci aiomama, yoijtlapan ca, iuhquin poxonotli, iuhquin texotic: anoço cuetzpalicivitli. Injc neci cuetzpalicivi piltontli: cocoioal in choca, yoan yquezilco, yciacac motlatlalia nacazotoni, olototoni, melacazoni. Auh injc peti: quijzmoda, quijquijxtia in nacazotoni.

843 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of]
821 them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will be harelipped!"

Ioan in ozztli: in jquac aiamo vel tlacatl motlalia in jconcuh, quijtlacaoaltiaia, in jquac calmomana metztli: injc amo conacopaitzinque, quimjlhujaia: macamo xocoojtacan in metztli, mimjxquja, anoço tenquiviz in amococonih.

825 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's
●777 hand.

Injc ceppoalli cxpitulo, yxchpa tlatoa: in oçomatli ymacpal.

441 The merchants sought and cherished greatly a monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In oçomatli imacpal: in puchieca omca quijtemoaia, quimopialtiaia: in jquac in campa tiamjxquja, in tlanamacaia: vncan quijtocaia, quijlmach ic iciuhca aquj, iciuhca muchi coalo in tlein quijnamaca: quijl ichoatl iuh qujchioa in oçomatli yma: ynjc mochapoloitia.

777 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere
264 was disposed of that which they sold, when no one bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was
824 said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoantin in tilmanamacaque: in jquac acan aquj in quinamaca, in aiac qujcoa: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço vipalli, quijlmach: qujchilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc qujchioaia: in jquac calvia inchan, quitoaia: acan oac in totianjc: ma xocoonchilquaqualtican: njman ic ijtic contema, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: quijlmach ic aquja, injc iuh qujchioaia in, ic quitoa: qujchilquaqualtia.

777 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle
525 and the griddle.

Injc ceppoalli oce cxpitulo, itechpa tlatoa in texoloti, yoan comalli.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his home, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aquin patoaia, in jchan, in jtexolouh, ioan in jcomal, ioan in jmetl: irtlapach quijmanaia: auh in texoloti cana xomolco quijpaloaia: quijlmach: ic amo quitlaniaque in chane, çan ic tlatlaniz.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*otra enfermedad, que llaman cuentzpalaxiuitli, a cero hebrillas en las ingles.*" Note also *Codex Rios* (*El manuscrito mexicano Vaticano 3738 llamado El Codex Rios* [Madrid: Biblioteca Denoël, 1988], p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to *patolos*, which is an error.

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His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[21] 175 [684]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[22] 175 778 532 [782]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual- 175 [648] 796

*Ah'-weet-zod.

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PLATE 54

AZTEC ART

TOP: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. BOTTOM: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 55
AZTEC ART

TOP: Another presentation of Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods. An earth goddess, she is also associated with death, so that in this case her head is a human skull. BOTTOM: *Left:* Small rock-crystal skull representing the Death God. This is a fine example of Aztec lapidary work. *Right:* A box, symbolically carved, to hold human hearts. Note the glyph for jade, i.e., "precious," banding the sides of the container.

[p. 160(G)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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PLATE 56

AZTEC ART

TOP: This Corn Goddess is envisaged as a young girl. Her soft Indian beauty is brought out with the same sure simplicity which characterizes the warriors on Plates 40 and 49. BOTTOM: A colossal head, nearly four feet high, of Coyolxauhqui, sister of the War God. She is shown dead. Simple handling of details enhances this monumental conception.

[p. 160 (H)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 attribute similar attitudes to their gods, and, as a result, the
532 soft emotionalism so characteristic of European art is almost totally absent. Thus Aztec sculpture is even more forbidding and gloomy than other Middle American arts, which have at first a depressing effect on observers accustomed to Old World aesthetics.[9] (See Plates 40, 49, 52–56.)

532 The same sense of proportion so evident in Aztec architecture produced a monumental quality in their sculpture. The smallest piece has the same dignity that attends the most massive temple carvings. A photograph reveals no impression of the original scale, and in one case the head of a goddess was carved identically in a small piece of jade and a four-foot block of basalt, with no loss of plastic or monumental values to either.[10]

In relief sculpture the forming of the object and the disposition and subordination of details show the mastery of design inherited by eyes trained in centuries of weaving. The vast block of the thirteen-foot Calendar Stone is carved with as delicate an appreciation of the relative values of space as similar designs painted on pottery vessels or graven on jade. (See Plate 52.)

532 The finest Aztec sculpture, to the Western eye, repro-
● 778 duces the young gods and goddesses that presided over the crops. Thus the Aztec body, long of trunk, short of limb, softly rounded in its well-fleshed strength, is simply and accurately portrayed with passive grace. The patient and resigned features were perfect subjects for the sculptor and his medium. Some gods could assume the guise of animals, and the sculptors took full advantage of their close observation of nature to carve a coyote with ear atilt or to dignify a red basalt grasshopper with the armored malevolence of an insect

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

in heroic scale. The serpent, emblem of Quetzalcoatl, symbol of time and the year, representative of mystery and power, was frequently carved. The sinuous curves ending in the savage symmetry of the head offered a challenge which the sculptors accepted with a success that evokes the mysterious horror of the Aztec universe. (See Plates 53, 56.)

532 778

The grotesque gods are abstract and horrible to our modern eye. Coatlicue,* the "Lady of the Serpent Skirt" and mother of Huitzilopochtli, was thought of as powerful and awesome, so the task of the sculptors was to transmute those qualities into stone. The great statue in Mexico, whose head is twin serpents, whose necklace human hands and hearts, whose feet and hands are viciously armed with claws and whose skirt is a mat of writhing snakes, brings into a dynamic concentrate the manifold horrors of the universe. A smaller carving, simpler and less detailed, produces this same effect, implying that the very essence of fear was honored and worshiped. An altar of red lava, dug up in the street behind the cathedral, is grimly adorned with ranked skulls, but the design is so harmonious that death becomes an abstraction, part of a distant universe of fear, and not the imminent individual disaster which besets us moderns. (See Plates 54–55.)

The Calendar Stone embodies a finite statement of the infinity of the Aztec universe. In the center is the face of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, flanked by four cartouches which singly give the dates of the four previous ages of the world and together represent the date of our present era. The twenty names of the days circle this central element, and they, in turn, are ringed with a band of glyphs denoting jade or turquoise, which give the idea of being precious and sym-

532 805

*Co-at-le'e-kway.

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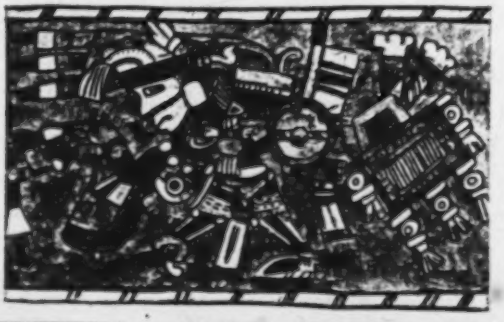

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PLATE 57

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tizatlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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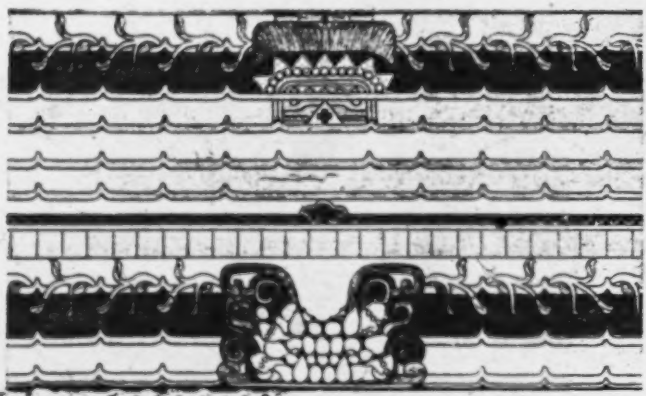

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PLATE 58

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Altar at Teotihuacan with symbols of agricultural worship. Note glyph at top center. MIDDLE: Codex Florentino, special ceremony involving gods' descent to earth, with birdmen, snake dancers, rain-gods and priests dressed as the chief gods of the pantheon. BOTTOM: Vienna Codex, scene partly ceremonial and partly historical. Gods, dates, temples, chiefs and fire making are shown.

[p. 176 (B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 to have been worshiped more extensively, and the clay images made in their honor also continued in unbroken line the tradition of the Middle Culture figurines. Coatlicue (Our Lady of the Serpent Skirt) was the mother of the gods in their stellar aspect but also was honored as the mother of Huitzilopochtli. The measure of her importance may be gauged by [778] the great statue of her in Mexico which is a masterpiece of sacerdotal art and undoubtedly had a temple to itself. Coatlicue was also represented as a mother carrying a child in her arms. In this guise her function as a mother goddess brought her image into almost every home in the valley. Tonantzin (Our Mother), which may have been an aspect of this same goddess or of Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), had a temple at Tepeyac, now the site of the shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and her cult was transferred to the Virgin by the early missionaries, an act exemplifying their intelligent procedure in evangelizing the Aztecs. A goddess, Tlazolteotl (Eater of Filth), was extensively worshiped and was also synonymously known as the "Mother of the Gods." Primarily an earth-goddess, she, alone of the goddesses, had a moral significance, since in eating refuse she consumed the [783] sins of mankind, leaving them pure. A rite of confession developed in her cult. (See Plates 54–55.)

Standing out from the numerous divinities associated with death were Mictlantecuhtli and Mictlancihuatl,* (Our Lord and Lady of the Region of Death). They wore masks made from human skulls, and their ornaments were either human bones or representations of them. They presided over the northern regions and also ruled the hells below the earth. Theirs was no punitive function, for all who died, save in

*Meek-tlan-se'e-watl.

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completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces 346
broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impres- 361
sion of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side 174
by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood 346
coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could 778
clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

diabolic images to which they ministered. In front of the temples stood the great drum which was soon to throb across the lake as a nation suffered its death agony.

It was from this point that Montezuma showed Cortes his empire, and Bernal Diaz, who witnessed the scene, left us this unforgettable description:

"Then Montezuma took Cortes by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water and the many other towns and the land around the lake. . . . So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico . . . and we saw the [aqueduct of] fresh water that comes from Chapultepec, which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart . . . and we beheld on the lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food, others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise, and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house except by drawbridges, which were made of wood, or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues [temples] and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold!"[8]

776 And the people followed [the impersonator], jostling,
796 howling, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

[776] And one man carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather headornament in the manner of coastal people. Bars were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. He was the humming-bird disguise. He had the breastmirror; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

Auh in macoualti, qujtocaia, qujtlalochtocaia, cniohujtiuja, quicaoatztiuja, teuhtli quiquetztiuja, tlalli qujpopotztiuja: inhuqjn tlaizquiçqiça, tlalli tetecujca:

auh ce tlacatl qujnapalotiuja.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia, teuquemetiuja, quetzalapanecaiutl, in cuetlalitiuja, ixnacalichioale, ixcitlalichioale, mixcitlalichioh, xiuhtzanjoa, vitzitzilnacatl, elxecaoa, xiuhchimale.

776 [796] **Third Chapter,** which telleth of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in times past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose abode was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, rulership, nobility, honor.

Jnic ey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn jtoca tezcatlipoca: in qujmonotiaia, yoan in qujtlamanjliaia, ie necuh.

Tezcatlipoca: ynin vel teutl ipan machoia, noujian ynemjian: mictla, tlaltícpac, yllhujcac. Jn jquac nemja tlaltícpac, ixhuatl qujolitiaja, in teuhtli tlaçolli: cococ teupouhqui, cujteititiaia,

tetzalli, tonepantla motecaia: ipampa y, mjtoaia necoc iautl, muchi qujococaia, qujtemoujaja, qujtencaujltiaia, qujtecujtiaia yn jxquich aqualli tepan muchioaia: teca manjltiaia, teqoquetoaia.

Auh in quenman, qujtemacaia, in necujltonolli: in tlatequjtl, in oquichiutl, in tlacauhiutl, in tecuiotl, in tlatecaiutl, in pillotl, in maniqotl.

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the priest.[13]

Tlaloc the priest. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunder-bolts.

And he was thus decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;[14] it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.[15] He had a sleeveless cloud-jacket of netted fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals, and also rattles. He had a plaited-reed banner.[16]

Juje nauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoaia yn teutl, yn jtoca tlaloc, tlamacazqui.

Tlaloc, tlamacazqui: ynjn ipan machoia, in qujiaujtl: ca ixhuatl quiococaia, qujtemoujaia, qujpixoaia, in quijauitl, yoan in tecinjtl: quixotlaltiaja, qujtemolinaltiaja, qujxonnvialtiaja, quicuepanaltiaja, quincaltiaia in quauitl, in çacatl, in tonacaiotl. Yoan no inch tlamjloia, in teilaqujlintli, in tlaujtequjlintli.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia, tlaixtlilpopotzalli, tlaixelhujlli, metlilocac, izmjchioave, izmichioauhio, xuachxicole, aiauhxicole, axtaxoua, chalchiuhcuaque, poçulcaque, no tzintile, aztapilpane.

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Juic macujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca quetzalcoatl.

11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Sahagun (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 44) defines it as a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the xicolli (jacket) and the tzitzquemitl (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the idols.

13. Sahagun (*ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 46) says that *tlamacazqui* and *tlamacazqui* means "priest" and "priest." He himself translates *Tlaloc tlamacazqui* as "*Rogacyoni . . . Rogacyoniste*," in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Cuauhtlatoa Sahagún, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwaedtke, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*): "*im Gesicht eine Bepinselung mit flüssigem Kautschuk.*"

15. *Cf.* Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 185; see also Sahagun, *Gesamtausgabe Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 443-4.

16. *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 145.

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework: they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloca, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Thus they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [-goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the mist-rattleboard,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattimanj, atzecatitimanj, 776
petlantimanj, cuecuziocatimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujztiloia, çan no iquac yn ezualqua- 796
listli: yn vncan ilhujquiztililoia tlaloque,

[805]

coloeli in qujchichioaia yxiptla: qujcuztiaia, qujujpiltiaia,
qujcuecatiaia, cuecapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuztic teucujtla- [778]
comalli:

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtlenamacacauh,
yiauhtli, irpan qujnepevilia,

caiochicaoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcujcatia in calpoleque,
ycujcacaoan.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yequac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in [567]
qujcoaia, inhoan qujnextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl ye
motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaleque, yn apantlaca: [463]
yoan acalquetzaque tianquisco, in qujtechiltia atl.

No iuh qujchichioaia, no iuh qujtlamamacaia, no iuh qujcencaoaia: iuh tlantiuja: in miquja, yteocaiocan tlalocan: yn vncan intrupan, tlaloque, quelitzequja.

Jn jquac y, no cenca qujmauiztiliaia, yn motecuçoma: ixpan tlenamacaia, yn jxiptla, qujtlacotenjlia,

iuh qujnaia: qujiauhtlatlanj in tlacatl, qujtlamacehuja yn jmaceual: yoan vncan mocnelilmati, ynjc qujmahujztiliaia atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn inquich tetech monequj.

No iuh qujmauiztiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaiotl, yn jtoca, chicome coatl; yoã yn jxiptla ixtatl, ytoca Vixtociuatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjxti:

ca vel ynenca muchioa in macteualli, ic vellamati, ic vel 776
nemj.

Auh yujn, in muchichioaia: mexaoaia, texotica, motenujltec, motezotenujltec, mizcoçalhuj, chalchiuhcuaque, xiuhnacoche, tezoamacale, quetzalmjiaoaio, atlacujlolhvipile, atlacujlolhuiujpile, atlacujlolcueis, atlacueçonanchimale, aiuchicoaçe, cacalaca; poçulcaque.

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48. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "*este atzolli era hecho de maiz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 239): "*el maiz cocido por el solo llamaxle pozolli pero a causa de revolverlo con frijol (atl) le llaman atzolli.*"

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: ". . . *la festejaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua: como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaça. . . .*"

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *porque dezian, que estos tres diosas: mantenjan, a la gente popular: para que pudiesen, viuir, y multiplicar.*"

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *la pintaban, la cara, con color amarilla. . . .*"

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenia en la mano, derecha, vn vaso, con vna cruz: hecho a manera, de la rectedia, en que se lleua el sacramento, quando vas solo la llaua: y era como cetro, diuis diosa.*" See p. 5, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhtli yoan and Tlaqueloa tonan.

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484
[416]
[439]

And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquauitl, yn atzaccaiutl:

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalixtica, in nezintica, in tlatoltica qujntlachecalhuja in chaneque. [292]

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

Auh intla otlanaçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujpapoiomjctia, qujnchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nel tematitlanpa qujça, ichoatl qujoalnonotzaia in motecuçuma: [263] [266]

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçonaltenteuh, yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezcaiotia, in tilacauh, vncan ic oqujchtia. [431] [301]

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

Auh yn jquac oalacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oqujchiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: izqujch tlacatl qujnotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic motzititiaia: [304]

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca qujmavizziliaia yn itopil, yn jtlaçaia yiacatecutli: 776

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia. 796 [778]

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicnquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

Auh intla aca tealtiz, ichoatl caltiaia, qujxeoaia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme ichoantin yn mocheoaia, in qujnmotetutiaia in chiconqujauitl, anoçp chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomucujl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzaoac, aiac qujiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcapuzzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

vmpa concovaia yn tlacanecujloca azcaputzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecuepa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujncoazque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn atle intlaciuh ca: 776 796 567

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

ynjc ichoan qujnmictinque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujqujztililoia vitzilubuchtli:

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujntlamamaca, intech qujtlalia yn juhquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh yn aiamo qujnmjctia, achtopa qujntititiaia: mjtoa qujmjanextia, ic qujtemachitia in tealtizque:

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104. Cf. Tezozómoc (op. cit., p. 57): Yacomilohqui "propiamente representa persona, que tiene viveça, ò habilidad, para mofar graciosamente, à engañar, y si adrie, y engañ (que es propio condicion de Mercaderes) . . . ."

105. Cf. Seler (Einige Kapitel, p. 22) citing Hist. Reyn. Coth. Mex. B. II §83.

106. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De las ceremonia que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que es llama lavatorio de pies, meaning washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines calpulli as "yglesia del barrio, ò parroche" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: "Estos dioses que mataban a estos esclaves."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 219.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Seler (Collected Works, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) assignsin Cachimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicnquiauitl or Chalmecaciuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomucuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

The fourth month they called Uei toçoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: haziã fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta. 796 [805 776 785]

Chapter 4
Uei toçoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli;* and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chia*. For they said that the was the maker and giver of all those things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

Cap. 4.
Vey toçoztli

1	b	KL	Vey toçoztli	b	3
2	c		En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a	c	4 [785]
3	d		las puertas de las casas ensangrenta-	d	5
4	e		uanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de	e	6
5	f		las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos,	f	7
6	g		de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan	g	8
7	A		sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman	A	9
8	b		acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus	b	10
9	c		dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada	c	11
10	d		vno tenja en su casa.	d	12
11	e		Despues desto, yuan por los ma-	e	13
12	f		hizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que	f	14
13	g		aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas	g	15
14	A		con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de	A	16
15	b		sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan	b	17
16	c		calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda	c	18
17	d		delante dellos.	d	19
18	e		Despues de echo esto, en los barrios:	e	20 [776]
19	f		yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan	f	21
20	g		chicome coatl: y alli delante della	g	22[1]

hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año pasado: yuan en procesion, a presẽtarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las troxes, por estar bendito. [241]

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente. [778]

1. Marginal notation: *Sacrificios notable et bali pensij.*

X 796 **The ninth month** they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year. [805 776]

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[231 262] On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli [778] with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started 535 a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who [534 778] beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1	d	KL.	Tlaxochimaco	d	12
2	e	La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa-		e	13
3	f	uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros		f	14
4	g	para comer, en hazer tamales y otras		g	15
5	A	cosas concernientes a la comida: luego		A	16
6	b	de mañanita el dia desta fiesta: los		b	17
7	c	satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ		c	18
8	d	muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des-		d	19
9	e	pues de compuesta la estatua deste		e	20
10	f	dios: componjan las estatuas de los		f	21
11	g	otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales		g	22
12	A	y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan		A	23
13	b	todas las otras estatuas de los calpules,		b	24
14	c	y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cal-		c	25
15	d	pisques y principales y maceguales,		d	26
16	e	todos componjan las estatuas que ten-		e	27
17	f	jan en sus casas con flores.		f	28
18	g	Compuestas las estatuas todos los		g	29
19	A	dioses: luego començauan a comer		A	30
20	b	aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas		b	31

de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Durauа este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos rezjamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

K 796 pains of] their death. They tied them hand and foot, and, thus bound, they slung them over their shoulders, and walked with them as if performing a dance about the edge of a great fire and tall mound of live coals. Thus proceeding, they went casting them upon the mound of coals—now one, and, after a little, another. And him whom they had cast they let burn for a good while; and, still alive and tossing, they [413] took him forth, dragging him out with something like a hook, and cast him upon the sacrificial stone. And, having opened his breast, they tore out his heart. In this manner suffered all those unhappy captives.

[778] The tree was made fast by many ropes from the top, as the rigging of a ship hangeth from the topsail. On the top of this stood upright the statue of that god, made of a dough which they call *tzoalli*. When the aforesaid sacrifice had been offered, all the young men assailed [the statue] with great vigor. Many other ceremonies were enacted, as hath been written at length below, in this feast.

los piez y las manos, y assi atados ponialos sobre los hombros, y andauã con ellos como haziẽdo areyto en rrededor de vn grã fuego y grã mõton de brasa, assi andando yvãlos arrojando sobre el monton de brasas: agora vno y desde a vn poco otro: y el que avian arrojado, dexauanle quemar vn buen interualo, y avn quando biuo y barqueando sacauanle fuera arrastrando con qual que garauato, y echauãle sobre el tazõ: y abierto el pecho sacauanle el coraçon: desta manera padecian todos aquellos tristes catiuos,

Estaua el arbol atado con muchas sogas de lo alto, como la jarcia de la nao: esta pendiente de la gabia en lo alto del, estaua en pie la ymagen de aquel dios: hecha de masa que llaman tzoalli: acabado el sacrificio ya dicho, arremetian con gran impetu todos los mancebos. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian segun a la larga esta escripto adelante en esta fiesta.

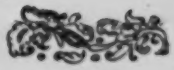

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã flublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

196 [805 778]

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Marginal notation: October *In this month.*

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

1	g	K.I.		g	30
2	A		Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas	A	1'
3	b		culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles,	b	2
4	c		y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra:	c	3
5	d		haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo gru-	d	4
6	e		esos como la muñeca largos llamauan-	e	5
7	f		los Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las	f	6
8	g		culebras los investian cõ aquella masa	g	7
9	A		que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los in-	A	8
10	b		vestian a manera de montes, arriba les	b	9
11	c		ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de per-	c	10
12	d		sona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes,	d	11
13	e		en memoria de aquellos que se aujan	e	12
14	f		ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de	f	13
15	g		tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino	g	14
16	A		que los enterrauan.	A	15
17	b		Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas,	b	16
18	c		aujan puesto en sus altares a las yma-	c	17
19	d		genes dichas: ofrecianles tambien ta-	d	18
20	e		males y otras comjdas: y tambien los	e	19

dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

[273]

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnacatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy ataujadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

796 [289 314 293 483 482]

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The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Miscoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They drew many deers in honor of this god.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two tamales. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlaxcalcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbits, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they scattered and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Hospital [illegible] Mexicanos de [illegible].

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos ciervos.

411
796x
[805
776]

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f KL. Quando hazian las saetas por espa-
2 g cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan
3 A de las orejas y la sangre que exprimjan
4 b de las orejas y la sangre que exprimjan
5 c dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si-
6 d enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias
7 e para yr a caçar venados: los que no se
8 f sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en
9 g pena: njngun hombre se echaua con
10 A su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni
11 b viejas beujan polcre: porque hazian
12 c penjtencia.
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha-
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas
15 f saetas chiquitas y atauanlas de quatro
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y asi
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas,
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so-
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon-
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas ceremonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

1 f 20
2 g 21
3 A 22
4 b 23
5 c 24
6 d 25
7 e 26
8 f 27
9 g 28
10 A 29
11 b 30
12 c 31
13 d 1'
14 e 2
15 f 3
16 g 4
17 A 5
18 b 6
19 c 7
20 d 8

796x
[834
273]
765
796x

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlaxcalcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y ningguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x
[778
342]

Otro dia en amanesciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796x
224

The eleventh month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlaloc began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rain would come.

Al mes decimo esto llamauan Atemoztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començauan a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

796[x] [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlaloc, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tepetlli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *ixocotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their houses with a *tentzopontli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *marlow*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ceremonies with which

Cap. 16.
Atemoztli.

Quando començauan a tronar: los satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llamaan Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los dezinueue dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjitencia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tezal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman ixocotli: y luego les ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de averles velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianles por los pechos, con vn tentzopontli: que es instrumento con que teien las mugeres, casi a manera de marlote: y sacauanles el corazon, y cortauales las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre sí,

[314] [834] [778 289] [324] [413 286]

1. Marginal variation: Atemoztli mesyo.
2. Marginal variation: Ilamauan Atemoztli mesyo V.

2. Marginal variation: Remedio de dios agua.

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de sí: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujeraua las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

796X [805 778] 776 [852 304 608]

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *nenhquilitamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1	b	KL. Izcalli	b	8
2	c	A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã	c	9
3	d	fuego nueuo a la media noche delante	d	10
4	e	la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa-	e	11
5	f	mente atauiada: y encendidos fuegos,	f	12
6	g	luego en amaneciendo venjan los man-	g	13
7	A	cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos	A	14
8	b	anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez	b	15
9	c	dias passados vnos de agua, y otros de	c	16
10	d	tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que	d	17
11	e	tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y	e	18
12	f	ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque-	f	19
13	g	llos anjmales para que se asassen: y	g	20
14	A	dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu-	A	21
15	b	chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que	b	22
16	c	ellos llamauã Vauhqujltamalli: los	c	23
17	d	quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia.	d	24
18	e	y todos comjan dellos por honrra de	e	25
19	f	la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y	f	26
20	g	beujan y regozijauanse.	g	27

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del biserto que ẽra de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchas y preciosos y curiosos atauijos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jxcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

[262] [535]

In this house[1], which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante della perfumes, y comida: dezian que este era el signo de quetzalcoatl. [796^x] [778]

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and beseeched of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

La septima fiesta mouible.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjquiztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comida: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gẽte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos oruan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso. [778]

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Cioapipiltl. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuatecalli*, or by another name, *ciuatepan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatetenuitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

La octaua fiesta mouible

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce quiauitl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan Cioapipiltl: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que moruan en la casa del sol, y que quando reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas enfermedades, a los que topauã fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no ossauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan ciouecalli, o por otro nombre ciouetepan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amatetenuitl. En esta fiesta, dezian diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles. [784] [778]

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecat), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce quiauitl: en la quarta casa que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy malafortunado, mataua en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de superticion: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viesen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to- [681] [777] [463]

[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

And afterwards, at night,

X 796 they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes
[302] of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one began to boast of what he had gained, and of the
[51] distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

mauan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus assientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatlipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

[778]

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendiziese, y le hiziese multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto aconteçja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mismo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

[753 774] In the sign named ce ocomatli they said that the goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it; that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers on these days did not let their children go outside the [784] houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Oçomatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas ciuapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce izcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treszna fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, haxian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [288] 778 [565] [666 431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and reverd her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to fasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despues los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored—part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vccã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic onoanquj.

Jnjc ezcan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotisia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in cacujtiuja, epoçpanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaquijlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzquican yn, in miquja nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixtolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichiouujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

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6. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times bear some of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of phenomena is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*es una sierra cimiyente que está cerca del Tlamolinco.*"

7. *Yiapaltic.* Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *leonado* (lion colored, tawny) for *yiapalli*. For *papaltic*, Siméon (op. cit., p. 34) has *grisâtre*; Molina (op. cit.), *cosa teñida de negro*; Simeón (op. cit.), *brown or black*.

8. The Spanish text explains: "*es una sierra cimiyente que está cabe quauhtepec.*"

9. *Loc. cit.*: "*es capital montecillo, que está delante dicho Quauhtepec, pertenece del Tlamolinco.*"

10. *Loc. cit.*: "*es un montecillo, que está en los cimientos de Tlamolinco, y está cabe Quauhtepec.*"

11. *Loc. cit.*: "*es un montecillo que está cabe dicho Quauhtepec.*"

12. Seler (op. cit., p. 57) reads *yauauhtlatzon*, which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Feiner*.

13. Sahagún (loc. cit.) says "*pusiéronles unos alas de papel como angeles.*"

feathers; and in these [the children]
were kept

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. Those who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grime. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vexed them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he matched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of brown feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncã onoca, in teupan, ynic mãltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, anno quinmamatiloaia, çan quintzotzona, quintlatlatzinja, iehqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel quiça in chiaualiztli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja: 796[K] 515 [388]

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, quinmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjma netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, quiquetza in male, quitlalia quauhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech quitlatlalia: yn jamatlaquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796[K] [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlaelittalli chicaoac: ie no ceppa ic ic muchichioaia, ipan tetoaoca, tococenmana, tlacatl quicocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcalcitiuh, quicacalatzziuh ychicaoac quicaoatzziuj, quitetoca, q'tepachotiuj, quitecicali:

muchi tlacatl quimauhtia, ipan macuuj: quitoa, Ie uitz tetzonpacquj:

auh iztla aca cana, iztla aca quicujtiuetzi, quipepetlaoa, quitlatlalochcia yn jtilma: in quezçuj quitecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepanala tlalli ic quiujujnequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco quiquetza, itlacatzipeualitzquauh, in tlamanj: ic quiuetzia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[K] 778

Auh yoan yn iquac y, tlaccapiloaia: auh ynaca oc conchokokiaia, yn iquezzepol malli: yoan mecaxicolli, ueuapatlacuatli iech pilcac. [291 237]

Auh in quezzepolli, ueuaica quiquiquimiloaia, quiçaiocxiaia: auh yniju motzoiotinia, malinxtl. [289]

9. Molina: op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl section (*amolli*).
10. Corresponding Spanish text: "un globo redondo, hecho de paxaro."
11. Ibid.: "Hacia dentro hay [*sic*] otro que es como adornado, el cuerpo quando muerto."
12. Cf. Sahagún: Historia de Nueva España, p. 96, n. 1: corresponding: "Y no se atreve [*sic*] ninguno [*sic*] de enfrente, de cualquier [*sic*] manera, que el cuerpo estando [illegible] quien dice: cuidado [illegible] [illegible]." This would imply a double connotation.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text requires that the thigh bone was thus manipulated. Sabin, in Sahagún Kupfer, p. 81, has "rotula."
14. *Cuitlapanquetzaliztli*, in Sabin, loc. cit.

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *maguey* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

● [778] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, five *tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac,* "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

ontzaoac, yn omotlali, hi tzontoliuhtimanj, iniokatimanj.

Auh yn otlathuje, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, oncal nemj, tecalpanoa, qujcenocujtiuj in calli, no iehoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlaeujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihixnamiquj:

in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa qujpaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeua, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izqujcan manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlexinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujoalitquj, yn inchachan:

qujmxotochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujntlaquentia, qujntlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujhtetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujatlaoatzalli, tepioacquj, quappiczticc, tlaixtexoujlli. qujtzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan ecio izqujtl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli qujtequj acatl vncan qujtemjtia, qujtentiquetza, yn izqujtlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepizcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa qujcuj, qujmamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, motenecu calonooac, cali onooac: ichica ca çan cali çan tetlachan in maniztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teutlac, vmpa qujmoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa qujnamoc, ic nesujltilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yean, in cintli, xinachtli ien: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, qujnmamaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca tzontzocoltone, yn aca tzonquetne, yn aca

6. *Cañas de maíces* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates the term as *mazo de maíz;* Molina (*op. cit.*) as "pavesa o mazo de maíz que se quemó." 7. "Otras yerbas, que llamaban, maguey," in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 239), referring to the maguey, says: "Las raíces, llamadas *mezcales de jabalíes.*"

8. Granulated maize mixed with chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

X 796 in five days the feast day of Toxcatl would come, then they began to sing [and dance].

Now, during this time, Moctezuma came not forth; those who had been [the impersonator's] companions provided the people with food and favors.

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecanman. On the second day, in the place where they kept the image of Titlacauan, in the house of the keeper who guarded it. On the third day, at Tepetzinco, in the midst of the lagoon. On the fourth [day], at Tepepulco, which is also near Tepetzinco.

[501] After they had sung [and danced], then he embarked in a canoe. The women went traveling with him; they went consoling him and keeping him merry. Then the canoe arrived; then it touched the shore; then it was beached at a place called Acaquilpan or Caualtepec.

For here he was abandoned, a little [distance] from Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned; and only they who had freely become his pages accompanied him while he yet lived.

[346] So, it was said, when he arrived where he was to die, [where] a small temple stood, called Tlacochcalco, he ascended by himself, of his free will, to the place where he was to die. When he climbed the first step, as he passed one [step], he there broke, shattered, his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had reached the summit, then the priests fell upon him; they threw him on his back upon the sacrificial stone. Then [one] cut open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives offered up. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull-rack. Thus he ended in the adornment in which he died. Thus he there ended his life, there he terminated his life, when he went to die there at Tlapitzauaian.

And this betokeneth our life on earth. For he who [538] rejoiceth, who possesseth riches, who seeketh and coveteth our lord's sweetness, his gentleness—riches and prosperity—thus endeth in great misery. For it is said: "None come to an end here upon earth with happiness, riches, and wealth."[12]

X 796 And here in Mexico, when [it was the month of] ● 778 Toxcatl, was set up and formed a figure of Uitzilcuíhi, oquiuh macuíilhuítl quiçaz yn ilhuítl Toxcatl, in pena cuícuíca:

yn iquac y, yn iaquilhuítl y, aocmo onmachiztia yn motecuçoma, oc ie ycenuíc catca, tetlaqualtia tetlauhtia,

ynic omilhuítl cuícuíca, itocaiocan tecanma: ynic omilhuítl, vncan in pialoia, in teixiptla in titlacauan, yn ichã aquín calpixaquí, yn oquípiaia: ynic eilhuítl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa tepepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn on cuícuíca: nimán ie ic onmacalaquía, itlan ietihuí in cioa, quíiollaltitiuí, quellaquauhtiuí: vmpa vnquíça, vmpa onatenquíça, vmpa químonacana in acalli, ytocaiocan acaquílpan, anoço caoaltepec:

ipampa ca vncan ontecaoaloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan oalmocuepa: auh çã ichoã in matian muchioa, yn iachoan ocatca, yn oquítocatinenca in iõc oc nemí.

Iuh mítoa yn oacic, in vncan míquía teucaltontli icaia, itoca tlacochcalco: çan nomá in tleco, çan monomatlecauía, in vmpa míquía: in ce tlamamatlatl contlecauía, in ce conpanauía, ce vncan quíxamanía, quípuztequí yn itlapitzal, yn ívilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oquípantlaz, yn izquí tlamamatlatl, yn opanuetzito tlacpac: nimán quícuítiuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetztiteca in techcac: nimán ie ic queltetequi, conanilia yn iiollo, no conjauíia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn ídlac amo quíoalmímílooaia, çan quíoaltemoujaia, quínauhcauíaia:

auh yn itzontecõ, tzompatitech conquauhço, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omíc ynechichioal: ic vmpa ontlamí yn inemíliz, vmpa contzonquistia yn inemíliz, yn vmpa omíquíto Tlapitzaozian.

Auh ynín ca quínezcaiotia, in tlalticpac tonemíliz: ca in aquín paquí, motlamachtia, in quítta in químauçoa in itzopelica, yn iauíiaca in totecuío, in necuíhtonolli, in netlamachtilli: inic tzonquíça vey nezolinílíztli: ca iuh mítoa, aiac quítlamitiuh in tlalticpac, paquílíztli, necuíhtonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Toxcatl: motlalia

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauhelotochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *excobedia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Inic cēpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanalizzli: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in moteneoaia Tlasuchimaco. 796[x]

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: moteneoa tlasuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl: [805]

viptlatica in suchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixquich suchitl, in nepapan suchitl, in tepepan suchitl, yn acocosuchitl, vitzitzillacusuchitl, tepecempoalsuchitl, nextamalsuchitl, tlacosuchitl, ocelusuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocusuchitl, anoço aocusuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iollosuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalsuchitl, acasuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolsuchitl. 796[x] 137

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaxitico suchitl, yn oaxiosco, yn otlatujc, njmā ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoa: auh yn omoçoçoc, suchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatezzic, totomaoac, vel tomactic. 796[x]

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn isquich maceoalli cenoetzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujtla totolti, yoß in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoa, tetchichinolo, in monequizque iostzico: [231 252]

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yilhujnemoa, inhqujn tlatlaciuj, netetequjpacholo, injc tlacencaoaolo.

Auh yn otlatujc in ichoastin teupixque, njman ic ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopochtli, qujsuchicuzcatia, conixpanchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in ixquich 796[x] 778

1. Cf. Gamaio y Beyo (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 32): "Micuilhuitontli, Tlaxochimaco. El primero era nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. . . . El segundo nombre es Tlaxochimaco, palabra que Tlaxcanada interpreta, cosando con dadas y repartidas las flores; ordinarios Veynte días, cuyos de flores, las la fiesta principal del año, comparada á Huitzilopochtli, fe ocupaban de día y las flores fueron ofrendadas profusamente con flores. . . ." Clavigero (op. cit., pp. 162-3) further writes: ". . . adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, que adornaban a los que se encontraban en los templos, eran también a los que traían por derrotados en sus casas; que por esto dedicaban el mes el nombre de Tlaxochimaco."

2. Sahagún ed., Vol. III, pp. 27-4; Cf. also Fabri Sandoz, op. cit., passim, and Sahagún, Biblioteca Mexicana, p. 156 (where a few Gamaio equivalents are given). Some are described also in Martín Antonio Sánchez Barrera Mexicanorum Herba Illustratio Tlaxcaxoc (Rome: Vitalis Mascardi, 1651).

X 796 and hung rows of all the varied flowers, the most beautiful flowers, the threaded ones.

● 778 Then flowers were offered to all the rest of the gods, to the images of the gods, [or] devils. They were adorned with flowers; they were girt with [garlands of] them; flowers were placed upon their heads, there in the temples.

Thereupon all together, in all the houses, the homes of the majordomos, the homes of the great noblemen, and the houses of the youths, they laid flowers out [before the idols]. And they spread them out in the homes of each and all.

X 796 And afterwards, when each had been ornamented, then there were feasting and drinking. Everywhere, 535 everyone ate; all were in a festive mood.

And when midday came, then all sang and danced —verily, they drew up all the youths; the masters and the leaders of the young men, the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí.[3] Here in the god's courtyard there was dancing—in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli.

[701] And those who led [the dance] were the fearless warriors, the great warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who were not laggards in war; who turned [the enemy] back, [whose exploits] wheeled them hence.

[548] Also the women danced—not the daughters [of onlookers, but] courtesans, harlots—who went between [pairs of the men], they were [all] stretched in a row, taken by the hand or grasped about the waist. They moved all in line they went winding to and fro, nowhere breaking the line, at no time losing hands. They went in orderly procession.

[533] And the singers, who sang for them, who beat drums for them, who beat the ground drums, were quite apart [from the dancers]—no one side; they were upon a [counterfeit] house, upon the round [778] altar [or pyramid].[4] And the altar was completely round, round like a shield, like a millstone. And here, upon this, stood [the musicians].

And thus they danced: they did not leap, nor make great movements; they did not make dance gestures; they did not move throwing themselves about, nor dance making arm-movements, nor go bending their

nepapan xuchitl, in tlaçoxuchitl, in manquj, in tlamantli:

njman ie ic texuchimaco, centetzi in inquijchtin teten, yn imixiptlaoan teten, tlatlacatecuio, texuchitilo, texuchiapano, teicpacxuchitilo, in vncan in tetecpan:

njman ie ic centetzi in noujan calpan, in calpixque inchan, in veuei pipilti inchan: yoan in tetelpuchcali, quicentzacutimanj, quicentzacutimomana in techachan.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ocecencaoaloc mec tlatlaqualo, haztlica: noujan tlatlaqualo, yllhujtlamacho.

Auh yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh mec cujcoianolo, vel inquijch quicencaoa, in telpuchtli, in teachcaoan, in telpuchiaque, in tequjoaque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in teuitoaloc, yn itoaloc Vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in teiacana, ichoantin in quaquachicti, in veuei tiacaoã yn iuhquj cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mitzacujlia iaoc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoanj.

No ichoantin in cioa mjtotiaia, amo ichoan in teichpuchoan, ichoantin in mahaujktianj, yn aviaxjme intzatzalan mantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mocujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, mococolotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacaoa vipantiuj.

Auh in cujcanjme, in qujacujcatia, in qujntlatzotzonjlia, qujnuenetzotzonjlia, çan nonqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emomoztitech: auh in momoztli, çan iaoaltic, teujlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn itlan manj.

Auh ynic mjutia, amo chocholoa, amono ontlayioa, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlaztiuj, amo

[701] 3. Here and elsewhere, the following equivalents are offered: quaquachictli—[battle squadron]; tlalpochtli—[youth]; tlatlacatecuhtli—[master of the youths]; tlalpochtlato—[elder of the youths]; tlalpochtlapiltzin—[leader of the youths]; tequjoa or quaquajoa—[seasoned warrior]. To a degree, such definitions are, perhaps, arbitrary. The suggested equivalents, however, are based upon the following passages from Sahagún (Robredo ed.): Vol. I, p. 202, and Vol. II, pp. 137, 307 (quaquachictin, tequjoaque); Vol. I, pp. 131, 168, 182, 199, 215, 289, 291, and Vol. II, p. 182 (tlalpochtli); Vol. I, pp. 168, 291, and Vol. II, pp. 310, 319 (tlatlacatecuhtli); Vol. I, p. 291 (tlalpochtlato); Vol. II, p. 321 (tlalpochtlapiltzin). See also Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94, on otomi and quaquachictli; pp. 88, 114, on tlatlacatecuhtli, tlalpochtlato; Vol. II, pp. 92, 93, 96, 136 on tequjoa or quaquajoa; Garibay (*Llave del náhuatl*, p. 303) on tlalpochtli; Siméon, op. cit., p. 258 (tlalpochtlato), p. 144 (tequjoa), pp. 144, 158 (tlalpochtlapil).

4. Cf. Siméon, op. cit., p. 198.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *magney* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *amecuiatl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *tromimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[13] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan m vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia: [796]

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon: [778] [352 532]

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa caca, yn oqujpepechoque: [824]

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononolca, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli: [292]

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli ezzlapanquj: [293 237]

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli. [237]

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, queztepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli caca. [532]

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl caca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cenpoalmatl: [289 292]

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapalos: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapalosque, ynjc monapalos ymaxtli: [411]

excan in tlapotonjlli caca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vacan yn jmamazqocan: [411 237]

13. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 sqq. In the Rubendo edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Seler defines quauhtamatl as "la materia manufacturada por la capa de liber de algunos árboles de género ficus. Sirvió de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer los calzones, camisas y otras cosas que el indio de los dioses requería."

X 796 ●778 When they had ornamented [the figure of Uitzilopochtli], the young, seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths, and the youths took it up. His breech clout went stretched and spread out before him. They went in procession; they went dancing [and singing].

When they brought it to the foot of the temple, they carried up [the platform]. Cords fastened it to the four [corners], so that they might take it up, that they might carry it. They went stretching [the cords] that [the platform] might not twist.

Then they began to climb up. They went rolling, winding, and reeling [the breech clout] up, coiling it.

As they went rolling up his breech clout, the officials proceeded to take up, gathering and collecting them together, the ceremonial arrows.

And when they had come to the top, when they had raised [the figure of Uitzilopochtli] to the summit, then they placed upon the serpent bench [the paper roll]. They placed it before him; they bound it to [the serpent bench]; they bound it on tightly and firmly.

X 796 When they had come to place it [there], then all came down; and there remained the officials, the priests, the guardians who guarded it.

Then all the people came down.

And this came to pass, that they went up at sundown, when a little sun still shone; and also at sundown an offering was made.

[262] And the *tamales* which they ate were fruit *tamales*, [which were] red, or *tamales* made of maize softened with lime, or bean and cornmeal cakes,[14] colored *tamales*, *tamales* of coarse, white flour, and [*tamales*] rolled up in amaranth seed dough.

These cylindrical *tamales*, wrapped up in amaranth seed dough—these *tamales* they offered at the temple.

And when it dawned, then offerings were made in their houses; only some made offerings before the devil [Uitzilopochtli].

And quail were beheaded by everyone, women and men.

Moctezuma began [the offering]. He himself, with his own hands, beheaded four quail.

And the priest beheaded other quail, but only by laying his hands upon them.[15]

Then, breaking [loose], the common people followed. All the people beheaded quail—men and women.

yn oquiencatlhque, cacoquixtia in telpuchtequiçaque, yoan in teschcaoan, in telpopuchti, ixpan cnotiuh, ixpañ çouhtiuh yn jmaxtli, tlaiaealotiuj, qujtotitiuj:

yn ocxitique yxtintlan teucalli, in ie quitlecatiiçque, ca nauhcampa ixticaca mecatl, injc cacoquixtiçque, ynjc qujnapalonque, qujcitilinjtiuj, ynjc amo monecujlox:

njman ie ic quipeoaltia in tlecoz, qujlacatzotiuj, qujcujxtiuj, qujtecuja, qujtecujxtiuj:

yn jamamaxtli qujoallaztiuj, in teumjtl concujtiuj, qujnechicotiuj, qujcententiuj in tequipanequc.

Auh yn opanuetxito tlacpac, yn oquipantlazque: njman ie ic conteca coatlapechco, ixpan qujtequjlia, itech qujlpia, qujcacatzilpia, qujteteuhilpia,

yn ocontlalito: njmã oaltemoa, vmpa onmocaoa in tequipaneque, tlamacazque, in tlapixque, in qujpiaia:

njman ie ic oaltemo in ixquich tlacatl.

Auh ynin mochioaia, in acoquiçaia: teutlacpa oc achi tonatiuh, yoan no teutlacpa muchioa ventli:

yoã in quiquazque tamalli, xocotamalli chichiltic, anoço tenextamalli, anoço quatecujcujlli, tlapactamalli, quauhnextamalli, yoan tzocalilacatzolli:

ynjn mjmjltic in tamalli, tzoalli ynjc tlailacatzolli, qujcẽmana ỹ in tamalli in teupan.

Auh yn oclathujc, njman ie ic tlatlamanalo intechachan, çan aca in ontlamanaia vel ixpan tlacatecuiotl:

yoan tlacotonalo ixquich tlacatl, yn cioatl in toquichti:

conpeoaltia yn Motecoçuma, nauhtetl in çolin yn inoma, yn ñoma quicotona.

Auh yn oc cequj, çoçolti, tlenamacac, in quincotona, çan inpã conmanaiuh yn jma:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, cenuetzi in macteoaltzõli, yn ixquich tlacatl in tlacotona, yn oquichtli in cioatl.

14. Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Tezozomoc-Comparon, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 249, has, for quauquinili-amalli, bean and cornmeal cakes with bird or other meat.

15. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 104) suggests that the priest merely touched them to behead them symbolically.

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Twenty-ninth Chapter, in which are named the feasts and blood offerings which they made upon the days of the tenth month, which was called Xocotl uetzi.[1]

The tenth feast, that which [was called] "Xocotl Falleth," likewise was of twenty days. They concluded it on the twentieth day.

And when they implanted the *xocotl*, [the Feast of] Tlaxochimaco had ended. They began at dawn; thus for the whole day was exhausted their strength. The overseer[2] shouted that they hasten; he cried out and called to them by name.

He said unto them: "[Use] all your force! Pull upon the ropes! Put strength to it! Exert all your might!"

And he who shouted became hoarse, as if his voice were cracked.

Earth was piled up, a mound of earth was raised,[3] that [the *xocotl*] might be lifted up in place; all exerted themselves; they took hold with all their force.

And the *xocotl* was twenty-five fathoms long. They stripped its leaves and branches; only its crown remained. When they had thus raised it, for twenty days it [waited] as they had brought it, not yet adorned.

And when twenty [days] had gone by, then verily came the celebration of the feast, "Xocotl Falleth." And when the feast was to be observed two days hence, once again they lowered [the *xocotl*]. Gradually, carefully they let it down; they took pains lest it break, crack, or snap. They brought it to rest upon wooden supports;[4] it was let down upon wooden supports, with much caution.

And when they had let the *xocotl* down in some manner, then all went home; all rested. And they piled up all the heavy ropes on the *xocotl*; they cast them back upon it.

Jnic cempoalli on chicuacuj capitulo, vncan motenoua in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalistli: in qujchiouia, in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic matlactetl metztli: in mitoaia Xocotl vetzi.

Inic matlactetl ilhujtl, ichoatl in xocotl vetzi: no cempoalilhujtl vel qujtlamja, in cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in qujquetza xocotl, oiuhialoa tlasuchimacotl, iostzinco in qujpeoaltia, ic cemilhujtica vel ontlamj, yn jntlapaliuiz, tlacaoacatimanj in tepan manj, in tlaciujja, tzatzi, tetzatzilia:

qujtoa. Izquich amotlapal, xitlatilinjcan, ximotilinjcan, ximotlapaltilican:

auh in tetzatziliaia içaoacaia, iuhquj yn jnmaquj tzatzaianja.

Mololhujaia, mocentlatilulcaujaia, ynic meoatiquetzaia, vel motlapaltiliaia, izquich caanaia yn Intlapaliuiz.

Auh in xócotl, injc viac catca, cempoalmatl onmacujlli: muchi qujtepeviliaia in jmatzocotl: ça yio in jxcallo mocaoaia: inic iuhquj in ocujquetzaque, cempoaltica in çan oqujvicaca, aiatle itlatquj.

Auh in oacic cempoalli: vel iquac ilhujtl in xócotl vetzi: auh in oqujuhviptla ilhujtl iez, oc ceppa qujteca, can jvian, çan tlamach in qujteca, qujmalhuja in ma cuetla, in ma natzin, in ma poztec: quauhtonmaçatl, quioalquechilitivi, quauhtonmaçapã in motecatiuh, cenca çan tlamach.

Auh ino quentel qujtecaque xócotl: njman ic cacalaca, nececevilo: auh in jaquich vepanmecatl ipan cîcpeuhtitlalia in xocotl, ipan contozauhtitlalia.

1. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 303) translates *Xocotl vetzi* as "*El Xocotl sienta o cae.*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 140, 161) has "*der Xocotl fällt herab*" for both *xocotl vetzi* and *xocotl uetzi*.

In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 54-5, however, Seler argues that *Xocotl uetzi* should have been celebrated on the feast of Ozomatli, god and measure of the Ocuad, rather than for Xiuhtecutli. "For Ozomatli is the Xocotl, whose likeness was set up at the feast on the top of the tree. . . ." As evidence, Seler mentions the adornment of the *xocotl* and a passage from the *MS del Palacio* (*ed. also* Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 303): *iquac in tlamacazqui yn tlamacaz Ozomatli*. Sometimes, Seler adds, the figure was a mummy bundle.

2. In the Pedrido ed., Vol. I, p. 108, Sahagún defines the duties of the topon *mazal* as "*los que tienen cuidado de vengar la gente.*" The corresponding Spanish text for *Xocotl uetzi* appears to use the term *disparagar* as a synonym, here rendered into Spanish as *conducidores*.

3. Cf. *Codex Borbonicus*, where illustrations of this scene and others for the month *Xocotl uetzi* are in better accord with the text than the illustrations in the *Florentine Codex*.

4. Although the *g* in *quauhtonmaçatl* seems clear in the Nahuatl orthog., Sahagún uses *c* in the Spanish text, and defines the term as "*una cuchara cuadra de dos en dos.*" Probably the word is *quauhtonmaçatl* (*cf.* Rémi Simeon, *op. cit.*).

[i.e., a large tree, -Analysis]

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[5] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech clout; its papers[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, heave! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in ōtlatvic: njman ōalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalīquj, intlatquj oalietiuh in mateponxtli, tlaximalteponxtli, vel qujpetlaoa, qujxipetzoa, in vncan yixe, in vncā titicujztic, in vncā xizipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jxcalo xocotl, vel cōnevivilia in jxcalo, in jquapitzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecacitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmā ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepātlapque. Eintin, cenca chicaoque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin caica.

In ce itoca: coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhquin mjxpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xōcotl, in qujnacaiotizia: mjchioauhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjxtac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlaliaia: yiamaneapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzō, ixoxocvipil, ixocvipil, vme: amo onacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquijlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquijlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no eteti tuccoiotl in qujchioa, qujquauhço: ezcan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xōcomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xōcotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmā ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzioa:

qujtoa. Ma ectel tlacahoane, ximotilinjcan, iquijch amotlapal:

njmā ie ic quauitiquetzivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtonmaçatl, yoan qujquāmujvia: auh in iquene ie iauh, in ie meuatiquetzitiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzioa, cenca chachalacoa:

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[412 463]
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[483 401]

5. Probably pronounced in reverse. Cf. the Jourdanet-Simeon edition, p. 139.
6. Referring could be to either paper or bark (*amatl*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much
● 778 did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

auh in ie iuhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoã comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmã ie ic qujtetema: muchi ichoatl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omoteten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic viviloa, cacalaçoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were [302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained [237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles [293] or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmama tlavizzli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic moteneoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

And so they went dancing with the captives; they [535] went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with [301] white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper [302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and [292] they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaxmamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmã ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentli'comoloa.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan ommotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in qujça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

After that the captors then took [some of the cap- [302] tives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked. [413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aqujton intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it [415] into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

in ie jubquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Bini Simeon, however, renders *ampouili* as skin.
8. The context suggests a distinction between dismissing and sleeping.

house and hung it high, that thus it might be shown that he had taken captives; that thus his manly exploits might be boasted. Always it hung from the roofing of the house, from the roof beams. It never came down until the time that he died.

And when they had cut [the captives'] hair, the owners of the captives slept but little. They guarded and watched them well; [for] it was their duty, their office, [to guard] lest those who were to be cast into the fire should flee.

And on the morrow, at dawn, thereupon they ranged [the captives] before the skull frame. And as they stood in order, then a man [priest] took off and pulled off the backs of [these] others their banners and their paper adornments—also perchance their wretched little cloaks—and placed them in the eagle vessel, where they burned.

Thereupon, of all the captives, who followed, they continued to place their banners and their little cloaks [in the fire]; there they all burned up. For now at last they were indeed to depart forever from the earth; futilely they stood in order. They awaited the end, for in truth now their hour had come.

And here they awaited Painal,[9] the envoy of Uitzilopochtli. And when Painal came, thereupon he ascended to the place where men were sacrificed,[10] where the unhappy captives were to suffer. And then, no sooner had Painal come than he then descended [from the pyramid]; a man [priest] brought him down, carrying him down under one arm. He who brought him down was called his father, or his elder brother. And when he descended, he came before and into the presence of the captives.

A second time Painal quickly went up. And a captor stood there, awaiting him. Then the captor seized [the captive] by the head,[11] grasping in his hand[12] [the hair of] the crown of his head. Then he went off leading him; and when they reached the foot of the pyramid steps,[13] there [the captor] left the captive.

Then those who cast men into the fire descended and came to seize him. First they threw incense in his face; then they bound his wrists, bringing his hands behind his back, and they bound his ankles.

ca tlamanj, ic moquichitoa, muchipa pilcac calqua-, itech in calquavid, aic oaltemo ixquich cavitl in injquja: 796x

auh in otetzoncujoac oc achi concuchi, in maleque: vel quijmpia, vel quijmjxpia, vel imjx intequjuh, in ma cholotl in motlepanthaçasque.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlalchipaoac, njmã ie ic qujmecpana, tzompãtli ixpan: auh in ie tecpantimani, njman çe tlacatl compeoalkia, qujmonpeoaltia, qujmonetzinţilinja in oc coqujnti: in jpan yoan in jamatlatquj, yoan in aço itilmaçoltzin conthalia quauhtxicalco, vncan tlatla. [415]

njman ie ic mochintin ẽatimanj, ommotocatimanj in mamalti, contlalitimanj in impan, yoan in intilmatzitzi, vncan contlatla, ca ie iccen cõcaoazque in tlalticpactli, çaçan ie vncã tecpantimanj, qujchixtimanj in immjquja, ca nel ie otlaimmãtic:

auh vncã qujchixtimanj in Painal, in jxiptla vitzilobuchtli. Auh in jquac oacico Painal: njman ie ic tleco in tlacacouhcan, in vncan tlacotinque, mamaltzitzinti: auh in ie iuhquj: çan tequjtl onaci in Painal, njmã ie ic oaltemo: çan ce tlacatl in qujoaltemovia, qujciacavitivitz: inin qujoaltemovia, motenecoa jca, anoço ich. Auh in oaltemoc: imjxpan oalqujça, imjxtlan oalqujça in mamalti: [778]

ie no ceppa tlecotivetzi in Painal. Auh in tlamanj, ça iqujcac, qujchixticac: njmã ie icpac conana in tlamanj, amatica in cõtzitzquja, in jquaciolloco: njmã ie ic qujvicatinh; in oc ezitito in apetlac, vncã qujcaoa in malli:

njmã ie ic oaltemo, in tetlepantlaque, qujoalana: achopa, qujxiiuahcmja, çaepan qujmailpia, icampa qujviviquja in jma, yoan qujcxilpia:

9. It is to be understood that Painal was an image carried by a priest who, in this passage and those following, climbed up and down the steps carrying the image.

10. In both Nahuatl and Spanish columns, and in Seler (op. cit., p. 168), the spelling is *chacacoaco* ("*en Matacoaco quienes sacrifican*" according to Seler). The context appears to favor *chacacoaco*. Cf. corresponding Spanish version in the Bulmarde ed., and *chacacoaco* in Bird Gibson, op. cit.

11. More extensive in Seler, op. cit., p. 167, n. 1, 2.

12. On *apetlac*, see p. 47, n. 32. Sahagún (Bulmarde ed., Vol. 1, p. 191, and Vol. II, p. 207) writes of "*el cualquiera del en que se lavaban aquellos que se decían sacrificados los grandes*," and "*los grandes sacrificados . . . decían cuando la cosa o aquello del en.*"

X 796 [534] horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they reached the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] tramped upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

[417] 778 And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [home] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to her home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled [701] the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his cagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers] [352] of an eagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

quitzoteontivi in teponaztontli, itech tlaçalolli, atecontontli: ie injc motemeoa, tecomazpilos.

In oacito tzompantitlan: njmã ic conjcça in jveuuh: auh in tequjoaque, ie qujchiztoque: vncan oncoa in jmexxaiac injc qujcaoazque iuuc: vncã oncoa cololhujtivi in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, in tlaçanj: cenca motlalos.

Auh in oacito, in vmpa contlalianj in iaupan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacaztlan in iztac tepetl: itocaiocan, popotl temj: aivian in contlalia, qujnoalnoca: anoce qujnitoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in ocõtlalito quauhticpac, in jmexxaiac: mec viloatz, mec no vi in teisuoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ichoatl Toci: in ocõcaosto, iconeuh: njman ic ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxoa in tiacaoã, in jxqujchtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ie inqujchtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelitoque in tiacaoan, in jiolloco chicaoaque, in amo qujtlaçotla in intzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjqujxmauhq̃, in vel in ca momotla in teisuoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocenqujzoac: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecuçoma, ichoatica quauhpetlapan, vel ichoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipeoalli in jpan eoatica, yoan oceloteponzoicpalli in jpan motlaztica, vel ie in ocelotl yieouio, injc tlaqujmjlolli icpalli:

11. Guthrey (op. cit., p. 306) translates *ie contrarungo iuuquk quiuoa in ceu que ie dooie*: "*quipan ne tamborill.*" The corresponding Spanish text implies use of the feet (*pisar*).

12. See note 22.

13. The importance of these officers (brave warriors, chiefs, and so on, is suggested by the following passages (Robredo ed.), Vol. II:

"... *aquellos que han de tener cargo de regir la republica, o han de ser tlacatecatl, o tlacochcalcatl, dadles habilidad para que sean padres y madres de la gente de guerra que andan por las conquas y por las ganarias, y saben las vitorias, y dominadores o los barrenadores, y en su tiempo ha de venir al amonestar o mostrar a los estrangeros y criadores.* ..." (p. 53).

"... *los padres y madres del sol, que se llaman tlacatecatl (y) tlacochcalcatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al sol y a la tierra, que le sirven y sirven de sus estrangeros: estos son los que tienen por regimen la cabeza y las orejas, y alli nacieron las orejas vivas y las horadan vivas, y las traen de la cabeza y las orejas de los muertos.* ..." (p. 169).

"... *sobre los principales y capitanes habia dos principales que los regian, el uno era tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; el uno de los dichos era jefe y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra, y siempre parecian en todas cosas sus soldados para estos oficios. Tambien para capitanes generales de las cosas de la guerra parecian dos, uno soldado, o gentecuan y del pueblo, y otro soldado, y muy ejercitado en la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; estos ordenaban las cosas de la guerra, y del ordenar todas las cosas que concernian a la soldadesca*" (p. 187).

Thirty-second Chapter, in which are related the feasts and sacrifices which they made, in the days of the thirteenth month, which was known as, and named, Tepeilhuitl.

The thirteenth feast was known as the "Mountain Feast."

All the digging sticks which were kept in men's houses, and the heavier sticks,[1] made as [representations of] mountains, they covered with a coating of dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And their bones were likewise fashioned of a dough of [ground] amaranth seeds, long and cylindrical in shape. Either fish amaranth[2] or *chia* [was used].[3]

And also they fashioned [images in the form of] mountains for, perchance, one who had died in the water—having drowned—or had been struck by lightning.

And for whosoever had been [thus] slain and not burned but only buried,[4] [to honor him] they also made images of the mountains; they made them all of the dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And upon the eve of the feast, toward sundown, they were bathed, their faces were washed.[5] When they [went to] wash them, they went blowing and sounding little clay whistles and little sea shell whistles for [the images].[6]

And they bathed them there at the Mist House; [with] fresh cane shoots they washed their faces. And some [men] washed them only at nearby shores.[7]

And when they had been washed, then the return was made whence they had came; in the same manner they came blowing whistles, with a great din as of shouting. Thereupon were given human form

Inic tempoalli on tlatlactli omome capitulo: vncan moteneoa in jlhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl omei metztli in moteneoaia, in mjtoaia Tepilhujtl. 796X

Injc matlacteri omei ilhujtl ichoatl in moteneoa tepeilhujtl:

in jxqujchtin cocos im pipialo techachan, yoan in ecatzotonti, qujtetepetlaliaia, tzoalli injc qujnpepechoaia: [241] 796X 778

auh in jmomjo muchioaia, çan no tzoalli, mjmjmjltic, aço mjchioauhtli, anoço cócotl:

auh no qujtepetlaliaia, in açaca atlan mjc, in jlaqujlo, in anoçe viteco: [765 778]

yoã in sequjn omomjqujli, in amo tlatilo, in çan qujtoca, no tepetl ipan qujqujxtiaia, çan moch tzoalli in qujnchichioaia: 796X

Auh in ocujuh muztla ilhujtl teutlacpa in teaaltilo, anoço teixamjlo: injc qujmonaltia qujntlapichilitivi, in qujnpichilitivi, cocovilotl, yoan tecciztotonti. [534]

Auh in qujmonaltiaia, vmpan aiauhcalco, acatzontli ichoatl in celtic ic qujmjxamja: auh in cequjntin çan imatenco in qujmonaltia.

Auh in ontealtiloc, mec oaltecuepalo, çã no ivi, [534] 796X 778

1. See corresponding Spanish text. Cap. XXII here: "*Aunque estaban como troyes de palo grandes como la cualidad larga Barrenadas Rentonadas.*" Of these and of crosses, Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Lib. II, p. 277) writes: "*Para cada sahumadero, de palmares arriba, hacen cruces redondas de palo, y de cada de Arboles, labrandolas las cabezas de cada palohuerto que estan, Haciendo cuchillos de respaldar pequeños como figurillas, á manera de las Medianas, que acostumbran las Niñas, en manera Montes Imperiales, las quales llamaban Rentonadas. . . .*" Clavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-7, writes similarly.

2. *Mexican Mexican* in Molina, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary. In this chapter, however, Sahagún refers to *michihuauhtli* as yellow amaranth. See also p. 63, n. 32.

3. In the Bulmarda ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 364, Nicolás León has defined *cocotl* as "*Tórtola (Chia de*)"; in his study he used the numbered illustrations in Pere y Tamayo's translation. Cocotl is No. 998.

4. Torquemada (*loc. cit.*) further explains: ". . . *en amanecio de algunos difuntos, en especial de los que se habian ahogado en Agua, ó habian muerto de rayos, que no pudieron ser quemados sus cuerpos, ó fueron enterrados por algunos amigos.*"

5. Both Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) and Seler (*op. cit.*, pp. 100-01) differ from this version. In Sahagún, the people wash the idols upon which the images rested; in Seler, the people are washed.

6. Though the coloring refers to color to the images, in the Spanish text Sahagún writes: "*Los ídolos de cada frente Barrenaban y hacian cantar silbatos o de barro. . . .*"

7. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) here: "*al agua que pasaba junto a su casa.*"

[776] and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

[778] And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

[314 287]

[766] And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

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When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

[776] The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maisuel, representing the *magney;* the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

[314 287] Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

[493]

qujntlapichilitivitze, inhquin tlacioacativitz, njmã ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo qujmpepechoa:

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in qujnpepechoa, injc qujntlacatilia, qujmixolhuja, yoan mjtchiouhtli in quimõtlalilia incampan, qujmõquentia in tetevitl, yoan qujmõsquja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in qujntlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in qujnchichioaia.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tulpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço azali in impã qujtlaliaia:

Auh in ie inhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic qujntlamanjlia: in qujnmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan qujntlenamaqujlia.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in nitlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan ixquich in qujntlamanjliaia.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequjntin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

Injc ce itoca Teposoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maisvel: ixiptla metl. Jnjc macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oquichtli, ixiptlan coatl:

in jnechichioal, in jnmamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no inhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

ioatzinco in qujmpeoaltia in qujnnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, qujntlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechoa, qujntlathiaoalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, qujncujcatitivi.

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8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: "*La cabeça de cada vno vnsauan tenjo dos colores, vna de parauisos, y otra de colorado . . .*"
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), "*vnaban o rematauan hacian de barro, redondo como vagas de vnsauas.*"
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 22, n. 111.
12. In the Kobenhavn ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 235, *otcalli* is explained: "*Hay otra que se llama tecuapalli, es vna cosa y dentro vnas cañas huecas como aquellas hacian que se llaman otcalli y echauan encima del agua, y remataba el vnsauas encima como los diuisos colorados de vnsauas.*"

And [the women] who carried [litters] were well and proudly budgets, all in new shirts and skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted and they were arrayed in feathers.

And when the time was favorable that [the victims] should die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they proceeded to leave them there at the [Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there and stretched them out upon the offering stone, then the officiating priests and the slayer came to take their places, and thereupon cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had suffered, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down. And thus they lowered them: they only went rolling them down [the steps], with great care turning them over and over.

And when they had come down with them, then they carried them to the skull rack. And when they had brought them there, then they cut off and severed their heads. There they inserted into their heads [the cross pieces of the rack].

And when they had severed the heads from the bodies, then they took [the bodies] to the tribal temples [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, [took place the ceremony] called "They are dismembered." Thereupon they dismembered the [figures made of] amaranth seed dough. And when [the bodies] were dismembered, then they took them up to the roof tops, there to dry in the sun—to dry still and hard. Little by little they kept taking some of it and eating it, and gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular seats which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the rafters of the tribal temples. For one year they stood for them; then they threw them down, scattered, in the Mint House. Only the paper vestments they [then] scattered; the circular seats they scattered to their houses.

Here ended the feast which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlanapaloa, vel mocencaoa, iccan moquetza, mochi iancuiz, in intech qujtlaliaia in incue, in invipil, yoã mozaoa, mopotonja.

Auh in otlaimmãtic in ic iquac mjquijtoque: njmã ic ic qujtecca in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, qujmoncavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oquimonaxitique, mec qujmõtecca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequipanoque, in temjctianj: njmã ic ic qujmeltetequi.

Auh in ontlacotique, in omo[illegible]oque, njmã ic qujnoaltemovia: auh injc qujnoaltemovia, çan qujnoalmjmjlotivi, omoca çan quẽmach, in qujncuecuepticvizze.

Auh in oquimõquechcotomque, in intlac: njmã ic tecomputiclan: auh in oquimonaxitique, njmã ic quimõquechtequi, quimõquechcotoua: vncã quimõçoço in intomoteõ.

Auh in quimõquechcotomque, in intlac: njmã ic quivica in incacalpolco: auh in jmoztlaioc, in oallaxvic: in mjmoaia, Texinjlo, texixiinjlo: njmã ic ic quixiniqa in tzoalli: auh in oquixiniqque, njmã ic tlapanco quitlecavia, vmpa oaquj, quaulvaquj, tepiaquj: achchi concuijivi in quiçqua, can juh quitlamja.

Auh in jmomotlaquj ocatca, quiçquepontia in jaxcalli ocatca: auh in oquiçquepoltique calqueuc compitza, calpolco, çe xivitl quimoztlah, in quiçlaçaivi, in quiçquepontivi, in vmpa xiuhcalco: çanjo in jmomotlaquj, contzoua: auh in tzoalli quiçnelaquj.

Nicua tlamj in jlhuitl, in momoue Tepeilhuitl.

796x [292]

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3: Sahagun M-3 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X 796 Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which they tell of the feasts and sacrifices which were performed on the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Panquetzaliztli.[1]

The fifteenth feast day: this one was called Panquetzaliztli.

[785] When the feast of Panquetzaliztli had not yet arrived, the priests fasted for eighty days, and laid down green boughs. When they began [the fast], it was upon the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread the green boughs, on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they laid the green boughs, they [292] went quite naked, wearing nothing. They went carrying green boughs; these [were] green reeds and [534] thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets and pottery whistles.[2] They proceeded blowing [them] alternately.

And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when was intoned the song named the Tlazoteaciotl—the song of Uitzilopochtli. This was begun at nightfall; and it was ended at the [534] time when the trumpets sounded, when the conch shells were blown.

Also, among them, the women sang and danced—harlots, who went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this, until twenty days [had passed].

V 796 And when the ninth day before [the feast] arrived, then were bathed in sacred water [the victims 778 known as] the ceremonially bathed ones, or those to die the captives' death.[3] The old men of the tribal temple scoured the water; they got the water there

Inic 34 capítulo: itechpa tlamo in ʼIhuitl, yoan in nezcaoaliztli, in muchiosia in ipan ic cemilhuitl, ic caxtolteti metztli, in mijmaia: Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtolteti ilhuitl: ichoatl in motenteoa, Panquetzaliztli:

in ziamo aci ilhuitl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhuitl in moçaoaia, yoan acxoiztlaliaia: iquac quipeoaltiaia, in ith onoquin innurtlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in ioalnepantla onacxoiazma, in nevian teizpeticpac, yoã in momomonoco, in veca.

Auh inin qujchiõtia, inqujchica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in onacxoiztlaliaia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intech vetztiuh, quinquitivi in acxoiztl, ichoatl in acatl xoxouhqui, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cocovilutl quipitztivi, quipapatlativi in quipitza.

Auh in õquiz Quecholli ilhuitl: nimã ic peoa in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in eos itoca tlazoteaciotl, icuic in Vitzilobuchtli: im peoaloia, iquac in tlatlapoiaca: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalizpã, in ic tlatlapitzalo:

no teoan cujcoianos in cioa in xvienjme, teztzalan mantivi (in ith omjo) momurtlac in muchiou, inqujchica cempoalilhuitl.

Auh in oacic tlachicuavivi, vncan motecualtiaia in tlatlalilli, mooço xuchimjoque: in calpulveque, cotonaia atl: vmpa in vitzilobucheo cotonaia ml,

1. "Ilhuitecuhtli de Izcalinca," in Gerhard, op. cit., p. 312; "el mes de cuarenta el pendiente" (Chavero, op. cit., p. 179)—possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the raising of Pyramid up to the skies in the Temple of Huitzilopochtli. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 289) writes: "Huitzilopochtlis de Pendones, ó Vanderas; porque el por este Tiempo se hacian hacer los estandartes de sus Penas; los quales ponian, enarbolaban ó levantaban en Cuarenta; y en este tiempo enarbolaban sus Mayorazgos, Alferes, y Lenderos; y defendian sus Tierras, y Mayorazgos, y otras cosas de honrra que tenian. De aquesto, que en todo este libro andan los Pendones, en devisa, y constituyen cada, y hacian entre ellos, como pendon Guerra, y Bandera: porque tambien eran tenidos á menosprecio, y tenido mucho Gusto, y honra quando perdian, y despojo, y premio de Cautivos, y Esclavos, y de muchos Pueblos, y generales Provincias, en señal de conquista, como quel, con Reinos, y Señorios. Y como de los estandartes en enarbolandolos unos de otros; porque los Pueblos, y Arrabaldes, no se rebelan, ni desmerecen; y para esto hacian grandes Ofrendas á su Dios Huitzilopochtli, ó Camaxtli, ofreciendole Aves, y otras cosas, pidiendole favor, y ayuda contra sus enemigos."

According to Tezozomoc (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 32) it was the special festival of the war captains, who set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.

2. "Trompetas ó Gaitas de Tierra," according to Sahagun, op. cit., p. 288.

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 5; p. 10. Sahagun (Bulmarda ed., II, p. 276) says: "Los sacerdotes hacian sus banquetes en que daban á comer carne humana; este hacian en la fiesta que se llama panquetzaliztli. Para esta fiesta compraban muchos que se llamaban tlacatecolos,

at [the village of] Uxxilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uxxilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uxxilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

vmpan ca vixilatl, ontoc, avevetica in qujoaltzatzacuivi, intlan qujoalaantivi: 796^x 778

in oqujoalhujcaque: njman ic ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jxxitlan Vixxilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmmamatlatquj, in jmamanechichioal in jpan mjquijzque, yoan qujntzaco vavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpā tlatlamj: yoā imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in xxōtli, in cozic, yoan qujmoztlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuiotl. 796^x 302 [301]

Auh in ic iuhquj in oqujmōchichiuhque, in oqujmōcencauhque, njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalquijquijztiquijça, njmā ic ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnxixicinja, qujntlatlalilia in intlatquj, qujmōcanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compocaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioeon. 796^x 567

Auh in oacic, vncā tlamacujlti: njmā vncā compeualtia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in iualnepanda: vmpā aiauhcalco in oemmaltiaia, vncan oneua in calpulco. [515]

Auh in cioatl tenkia, çan vncā in jaxnco oemmaltia: oc vixxtli cōquetza aiauco cuyo: auh in oxōquijzavilhujd, injc moçaua: njmā ic oaliova in cuanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltichi, yoā in tealtique, yoan in teaquc yoan in tatemovique, yoā im panoa- [535]

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que quieren decir, hombre, porque los hombres y mujeres para que engendraran, para que no cesse nunca sobre-vivido los hombres de mentir y de vivir, [illegible] como [illegible] de [illegible], porque allí hacía hecho de [illegible] y allí los [illegible] los que [illegible] en [illegible]."

The Kiel Folio 301 (Gerdes, op. cit., p. 107) reads: "Auh ioc [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

X-796 came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come
[346] down, then he went direct to [the place] called the god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then
[778] he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

And when [the latter] had greeted [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acachinanco.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [These latter]
[714] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they
[441] cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, battle was joined; truly, [some] were slain.

obuchtli: in ocalhemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in motenoa Teutlacho: vncan qujmõmjctia navintin: vme amapan, vme vappatzan: in oquimõmjcti, mec quijzvilana, tlachco: iuhquin ic tlatlacujloa imenço.

Auh in ic iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan qujça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonoualco: vncan cantiqujça itoca Quauitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichiouh, tel çan ic motiçacaoan:

auh in oconantiqujz, mec vi, vmpan ommocolos tlaxotlan: njmã ic ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiqujça, çan iciuhca:

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan qujça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izquitlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiqujça, in conmjctia, itoca Izquitecatl:

mec vi, vncã qujztiqujça in tepetocan, ic coioouacã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçtlan, vncã oallacolos: njman ic qujcalmelaoa in acachinanco.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in icholtin tlaamavia, iquac pena, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlateca Paynal.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilõ, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequjotin tiacaoan: qujmmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cujtlachiztzo: çan ocoquavitl in iuamac oonoc.

Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatzontectli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilõ qujmamjqujj, çan tzcomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiotl in mochiouia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, op. cit., p. 202, the four slaves were sacrificed in a ball court (tlachtlico)—not in the temple of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the temple of Tlatelolco.
10. Seler (op. cit., p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods; but, however, corresponding Spanish text.
11. Though the Huitzil was therefore the successor of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "Luego descendió su estrago, con gran prisa corriendo en los brazos, de cuanto de paynal, carrera de Tlatelolco."
12. "allí le salió a recibir, el estrago de aquel era, con la presencia del dios Quauhtlyac" (corresponding Spanish text).

X 796 night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

amazodlalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl: auh in ozlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech mouivipana, tlaltitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jzonco; itoalnepantla in qujquequetza, vei oncā cemjllujtia:

X 796 And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

auh in tepiqoc achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazqui, injc qujnchivilizque imamatlatquj, tepictotō: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instruments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujtqujtze in inchā tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoā imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquētia:

And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço m cujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl or Iztac cioatl, Tlaloc, Yoalteca tl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhquemc, Tepeztintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[6]

Auh in quinpiquja ichoauzin in tetepe: in popocatepetl, in jztactepetl, anoço iztac cioatl, in tlaloc, in ioualtecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhquemc, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chioume coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceedingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and saucer bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

Auh in oquinccencauhque, mec quintlamaca, ococenj mjecavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çī achitzon, papatlachoztonti papatlachpipil: quauhcaxtomco in quinteremjlia, yoā inmolcaxtoton, yoan inçoquiccōtoton, çan no tepitoton cīcā achi in omaquj cacaoatl:

And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was [in them]. And the green jars were made of these green gourds.[7] They split them, and took out their seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[8] Thus all night they sang for [the

auh nappa in quintlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan manj vaxtl chalchiuhteomatl vetli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, ichoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, quintlapatzaia, quioalquintilia in jaiovachio, quioalaiouachquintia: yoan quioalquintilia in jcujtlaxcol, in jaiaqui mecatl, vacan contoca in oiocti,

4. These are listed in the chapter on Ad omnia. See p. 43. Tepeztintli and Tepepolli probably are the Tepeztinco and Tepepulco named in that chapter.
5. *Cucurbita ficifolia* Bouché (Sahagun, op. cit., p. 221).
6. Cf. Sahagun (loc. cit.)—*Ecatl*. *Ecatl*, however, is defined (Pérez Martínez op. cit.) as a mixture of honey and water.

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they mixed what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed mats, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mint House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the hidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." Now came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spattered paper

iuh ceioal in qujncujcatia, qujntoçavia, yoan qujntlapichilia, qujnvilacapitzalhuja. 796x 778

Auh in tlapitzalli amo ichoan in tequjppaneque, çan telpopochtin, cencz no mavizmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaztiloia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopaztli, njmã ie ic qujmonaqujlia in iollopan. [284]

Auh in oconaqujli, njmã ic qujoalquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchios, qujoalmaca in tepiqujnj, xonovic xicalco, in qujoallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõmjctique tzoalti: njmã ic ic qujncenqujxtia, qujtecpichoa, in jxqujch imamatlatquj tepictotoa, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cõtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxtototon, in quauhcaxtecomti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxqujch aztapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan oztopilquavid, yoan in jxqujch in tlaquaia in caxtomti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl much vmpa concaoa in aiauhcalco.

In ie vi qujcaoztque, njmã ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlacoanotzalti, in tepictlaquaxque: mec tetlamaco, cococnj, neixcavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmã ie ic qujnmaca in vctli. 796x

auh in cioa no calaquj, motenoa ontamalcaoa, niac çan juh iauh, muchi tlacatl itlaol qujnqujtiuh in cioa qujcuecuezanotivi: auh in oca icintzin in qujçqj, aço cuxtolotol, moço tlamjc.

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec qujntlamaca tetlamaco: njmã no qujmaca in vctli, qujntlaokia, qujnoalmanjlia tilapantica in vctli, yoã qujoalmana in tetlaoan, in tlaoanonj, in tlaoõcaxitl, çan no dibõc. [273 415]

Auh in jpan: cancaoa tenvid, in nextlacolli cõtoa [202]

7. "Los Palacios MS. omitted children (Kirchhoff, op. cit., p. 314); "[illegible]" [illegible] "[illegible]" Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 302) thus translates it: "[illegible] por los pechos, con un Tlachiquitl, que es un palo verde, con que sacan los [illegible], y mezcan de [illegible], y [illegible] el [illegible], que [illegible] los [illegible] [illegible] de la [illegible] y [illegible] los [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y [illegible]."

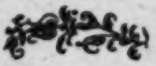

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Iscalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Iscalli.

Upon the tenth day of Iscalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood she on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his mat was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was down, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

Jnic cempoalli on caxtolli omume, cept. ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequipanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtoltetl omey metztli, in mjtoaia in moteneoaia Yzcalli. 796[K]

Inic caxtoltetl omey ilhujtl: ichoatl in motencoa Yzcalli:

in iscalli tlamatlacti in qualoia oauhqujltamalli, 796[K]
moteneoa, mitoaia, motlaxqujan toca, ichoatl in tletl, 778
qujtlaliaia; yxiptla, çan colotli, in qujchioaia, qujxa-
iscatiaia, yn ixiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, ziujtl ynic [262]
ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca
iuhqujn cuecueioca, cenca miliiotia:

yoan conaquja yn itzontecō quetzalcomjtl, çan [237]
tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn zezeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquasquauh muchioa, neneeoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzalzontecomaio yiomexti: auh yn jtzintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencā quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacxxiuhian vetztica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli.

Auh yn iquac oconaquiçque, iuhqujn ma nelli itzon:

yoan conqueztia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motequjtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in ehecatl ielan calaquj, iuhqujn maacomana, iuhq'n cuecueioca, iuhqujn cuecueioa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, ocelocoztl, ocelupetlatl ma- [281]
naçoualoac, çan iuh ca in jxcontecon, ixtlapach onoc:
auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, iocalnepantla in tlequimelaça. Auh in ovetz tletl, njman ic [372]
ic quiçiua, moc tlelalia:

auh in omotlali tletl, in ovevic, in otlatlalchipanoc, 796[K]
moc omomoçpana, tlamiacatia in telpopochti, in

1. "Iscalli," or "the quenching," according to Orozco, op. cit., p. 116. Temporarily leaving the meaning "ashes" (op. cit., p. 300); "quitar fuego; Remolino, 6 el de la encrucijada; porque que apaga fuego, 6 quema cenizas 6 deshace, y pasar de fuego 6 calor, y encender la Primavera." In Quiñones (op. cit., p. 172, n. 54) it is suggested that the literal meaning of Iscalli is "burn in the hearth."

2. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text reads: "hacían la estatua del dios, del fuego de respaldar, y ponían máscara, como una cara, que ellos llamaban ixtlali, que quiere decir tlaxcalli, o mandil."

X 796 selves in line and came up the youths and small boys, who offered the old men serpents which they had captured. The old men took these from them and cast them into the fire—everything, whatever they had captured; all the birds—the thrush, the precious [136] thrush, small birds found among the reeds—all the varied kinds of birds; and the water dogs, scorpions, striped lizards, trout, the white fish, the sand fish, crabs, frogs, gulls[3]—all these they cast into the fire.

[262] Then appeared [the boys], and [the priests] offered each one a *tamal* stuffed with greens. And all the common folk made themselves *tamales* stuffed with greens. They laid them before [the image of] Xiuhtecutli. As many as offered to Xiuhteculti did so purely voluntarily. And some laid them as offerings only in the tribal temples.

And the *tamales* stuffed with greens they also named precious green stone *tamales*. And all the common folk presented among themselves their *tamales* stuffed with greens; they were presented among themselves. Whoever first cooked her *tamal* of greens then went to offer it to her kin. Thus she showed her self-esteem.

[262] And the sauce of the *tamales* stuffed with greens was a sauce of crabs.[4] And the sauce was called *chamolmolli*. And when the good common folk ate, they stood sweating and burning themselves. And the *tamales* stuffed with greens were very hot and gleaming; and they ate them hot, [so that even] their noses steamed. And the husks they set apart; no one let them reach the fire. They strewed all of them in the water.

[273] And when this was done, when all was eaten, thereupon wine was drunk. It was said: "They are refreshed; the old men refresh [themselves] there in the Temple of Xiuhtecutli." And thus they refreshed [themselves] with wine; they sat drinking and singing until it was dark. Here ended and concluded [the time when] *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten; the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens.

X 796 And when Izcalli came, when twenty days were counted, [this was] when Milintoc roasted something
● 778 for himself—[he who] likewise [was god of] fire. They also set up his image, which was only a frame-

pipiltotoni, qujnõmacatimanj, in vevetque, in cocoa in oquimacique: qujnoalcujlitimanj in vevetque, tleco qujmonstlastimanj, yoan in ic inquijch, in aquijn çaço tlein ocacic, in jnquijch tototi, in acatzanatl, in teutzanatl, in acatechichictl, in ic inquijch nepapã tototi, yoan in xxoloti, in acaltetepon, in mjlquixochtli, xovili, in amjlotl, in xalmjchi, in acocilin, in cujatl, anenez, moch tleco qujmõtlastimanj:

njmã ic oalquijtimanj, qujnoalmacatimani, cecentetl in ossuhquijtamalli. Auh inquijch tlacatl in macecalli moosuhquijtamalhuja: ixpan ontlamanaia in xiuhtecutli: çan triollotlama, in quenquj ontlamanaia ixpan Xiuhtecutli: auh in cequjntin çan in cacalpulco in tlamanaia.

Auh in ossuhquijtamalli, no qujtocaiotiaia, chalchiuhtamalli: auh in jnquijch macecalli netech qujmomacaia, in inosuhquijtamal: netech motlatlamacaia: in aquin achto oicucic, iosuhquijtamal: mec iauh qujmacaz in jaõiolquj, ic qujnezttia in netlaçotlalizttli.

Auh in ossuhquijtamalli in jmollo catca, acocilatonjlli: auh in tlatonjlli, motocaiotiaia, chamolmolli: auh in jquac tlaquaia macecalxtizinti, tajltonjtoque, mochichinotoque: auh in ossuhquijtamalli, vel tetonquj totontlapetatic qujtotoncaqua, iaiacapoçontoque: auh in jacaio, çan nonqua qujtlaliaia, aiac tleco conaxitiaia: mochi atlan contepeoaia.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ontlathquaiac, njmã ic ic tlaoano: mjtoa, texcalcovilo, texcalcovia in vevetque in vmpa itcupan xiuhtecutli: auh injc texcalcovia vetli, tlaoantoque, cujcatoque, çan iuh ioca, njcã tlamj ic tzonqujça, in ossuhquijtamalli quaio, in anoço vsuhquijtamalqualizttli.

Auh in omacic Izcalli, in jquac tlaomposoli: iquac motlazquijnia in Milintoc, çan no ic in tletl: no qujtlaliaia inipela, çan no oncotli in quichioaia, conaquja ixtiac, tapachtli in tlachioalli, moxentlilhuj, in tlili

3. Cf. Sahagún (Bulnes ed.), Vol. III, p. 190 (*[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*); p. 199 (*[illegible]*, *[illegible]*); p. 196 (*[illegible]*); pp. 197-8 (*[illegible]*); p. 198 (*[illegible]*). *[illegible]* in *[illegible]* according to Gerbay (*Libro del alfabeto*, p. 198), and *[illegible]* (*[illegible]* spoon) according to Clavé (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 79); Robert Lehmann-Nitsche ("Tierdarstellungen und Quecksilbermark," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. LXX, p. 79) uses it in a "*[illegible]*" (*Fischkorb*). For *[illegible]*, Clavé (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 90) has *Cypriniae [illegible]* (Vol. II, p. 73) "a white fish like a small eel." Cf. also Seler, *Mexiko Reisebuch*, p. 233.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 199-4.

work which they made.[6] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *tezcatl*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchiox, ichoatl in tlilric teti, motocaiotiaia teutetl, yoan ixtlan tlatlaun, tezcapoztli ica:

796x
778
[301
302]

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal mochiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolxuchiuh, tozolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhquin ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilanoc.

[237]

Auh ixpan quimanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in quiteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catonnjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmā ic quimana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

796x
[252]

Auh in oquitlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, cecenioca in macoololi, cenizuh in mamacujlli, itzachi in jupā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

Auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotoni, quauhtitech quiquipilloa in cocoa, yoan in jequjch omjno in ioiolinc: quimonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco quimōnaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjtin çan tepitoton in ioiolinton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in vevetonin cocoa, in ximoncaque, quimonantivi, tlexjllan quimollactimanj, vacā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan quinque in calpollucvetque.

796x
262

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotoni, ic calquijtimanj, cecen quimonmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iohquj in ouquiloc, macuextlaxcalli:

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotoni, ic calquijtimanj, cecen quimonmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iohquj in ouquiloc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmā ic ic tencalevilo, tencalevia in vevetque in vocan iccopan, in jcalpoloo Milintoc. Auh in tlachioque, in tecuitlachioque, quiquicaua cecen caxid in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecen apilolxpiztli,

796x
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2. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible]."
6. Paragraph [illegible] in Lib. III, Cap. I, §1 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 198). Sahagún says of the Mixtec temple, "[illegible]."
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "y correspondían como pendientes de plumas galanas, que parecían como guardas de cabeza."
8. Sahagún: "[illegible]." (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. II, p. 180).

Temple of Uitzilopochtli

Cuezpetl.[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitzmaoac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shapen. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all then danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Iiopoch.

And in the morning Paynalxin came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Paynal was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Teptilxin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly budight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Paynal was thus adorned: [it had on] its humming bird disguise, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back went hanging the mirror device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli ixtocal

cuezpetl. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, cepa in quiçaia ilhujuh, in quijhujquiztiliaia, yn ipan ce xiuitl. 796x

Injc cepa ipan in mjtoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoquiçaia, in ixhoatl vitzilobuchtli, yn omextin yn jtoca Tlacauepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic quitlecaujaja in ixhoatl vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixquich in tlamacazquj, in teipochtli in quinapaloaia: auh yn ixiptla catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tzoalli, cenca vey, cennequetzalli. [776] 776 ● 796x

Auh ynic vme in jtoca Tlacauepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tzoalli in ixiptla catca.

Auh in muchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobochtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacauepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in muchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitzmaoac calpulco: auh cenioaal in quinicuxitiaia, in quintlacatilaia.

Auh in ozlatujc, ic otlacaqui: njman ic ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ic teutlac, njman ic ic netoxilo, necuololo: auh çan ic oncalaqui, in teoatiuh, in quintlecaujaia: auh yn oquinmontlalico, njman ic ic oaltemoa, vmpa ceioal cate: yoan quinpiaia tlamacazqui, yn jtoca Iiopoch: [793]

Auh yn ozlatujc, niman ic ic oalquiça, in paynaltzin, in çan no ic yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, quinapaloa: auh yn ixiptla paynal, çan quauijl tlaca ixtiuh: auh in quinapaloa, itoca tepiltzin Quetzalcoatl: cenca mochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla paynal ynic muchichioaia, yvitzitzilmaxal, yimaxcaiouh, yteocuitlapil, ychalchihuitl: auh yn icuitlapan pilcatiuh, ixhoatl in cuitlatecuel, çan mache in teuxiuitl: 796x 293

1. See Lib. III, cap. I, § 1.
2. Described in association of Quetzalcoatl (Thompson, op. cit., pp. 142, 155).
3. Ed. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. III, p. 111.

X 796 [293] all of fine turquoise. And he who led [the god] carried his serpent staff covered with turquoise.

And when [the priest with] Paynal came to Teotlachco, then [men] were slain before him. Those who died, who were named Amapantzizin, were both impersonators [of the god Amapan].[4] And many more captives [also] died.

And when they were slain, then they began the procession of Paynal. They arrived at Tlatelolco, and when they had arrived there, the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense and beheaded many quail [before him]. And then they set forth [again] and reached Popotlan; and in the same way the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. And again they started forth, and arrived there at Chapultepec, and in like manner the common folk greeted him and burned incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. Thereupon they continued and arrived at Tepetocan, and also the common folk came out to meet him and offered up incense and also beheaded many quail [before him]. Then they set forth and reached Acachinanco, and also the common folk came out to receive him, offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him].

Thereupon the insignia went forth first, and when the insignia arrived, thereupon they mounted to the top of Coatepetl, where was [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had gone up, then they laid out the wooden serpent[5] and circled about it many times. Then all came down from there.

● [778]

auh in qujiacana qujtqujtiuh ycoatopil, xiuitl ic tlaqujmjlolli.

Auh yn onacic, in teutlachco in paynal, njman ie ixpã mjcoa: ichoantin in miquja yn jntoca Amapantzitzin, çan vmẽtin teixiptlaoan: auh ich cenca mjequjntin in mamalti miquja.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic vmpeoa, yn tlaiaoaloz Paynal: vmpa onaci in tlatilulco, auh yno onacic, njman ie ic qujnamjquj in maceoalli, qujtlenamaqujlia yoan miec çolin qujcotonjliaia. Auh njman ie ic vmpeoa, onaci in popotlan, çan no iuh qujnamjq'a in maçeoalli, qujtlenamaqujlia: yoan miec çolin qujcotonaia. Auh njman ie no cuel vmpeoa, vmpa onaci in chapultepec, çan no iuh qujnamjquj in maceoalti, qujtlenamaqujlia: yoan miec çolin qujcotonjlia. Niman ie ic vmpeoa onaci in tepetocan: no qujnamjquj in maceoalli, qujtlenamaqujlia, yoan no mjec çolin qujcotona. Niman ie ic oalpeoa, valaci in vncan acachinãco: no qujnamjquj in maceoalti, qujtlenamaqujlia, no mjec çolin qujcotona.

Niman ie ic oalpeoa in machiotl, auh yn oacico im machiotl, njman ie ic tleco, yn jcpac coatepetl: in vmpa ca vitzilobuchtli: auh yn odecoc, njmã ie ic conteca, in ezpanjtl, yn otlaiaoalo: njman ie ic oaltemo.

4. See esp. [illegible], [illegible].

5. See fac. [illegible], and n. 17.

were then made. But everyone drew blood; straws were passed through tongue or ear-lobe, and incense was offered. Everyone [did so]; none were negligent.

And there was the image of that one, [the sun, at a pyramid temple] called Quauhxicalli. There was erected his image, his image was designed as if it had the mask of a man [but] with [the sun's] rays streaming from it.[10a] His sun ornament was round, circled with feathers; surrounded with red spoonbill [feathers]. Here in his presence was the fasting done, and the passing of straws through the flesh, the laying of offerings, and the slaying of quail.

And upon his feast day, also many captives died, and these were also called "those who died in war." These went to the house of the sun and dwelt with the sun.

neçocohoaia, tlacoquistiloia, tlenamacoia muchi tlacatl aiac ixcauhticatca,

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auh inon catca ixiptla, ichoatl, in motenchoaia quauhxicalli, vncan moquetzaia in jxiptla, injc mjcujlovaia in jxiptla iubq'n tlacaxaiaque itonamecio itech quiztoia in jtonstiuhtlatquj iavaltic vej ihujtica tlatzaqualli, tlauhquechol injc tlatzaqualli, vncan ixpan muchioaia néçoliztli, in tlacoquistiliztli, in tlamanaliztli, in tlacotonaliztli.

796 x
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Auh inilhûjuh ipã no mjiequjntin miquja mamalti, auh no mjtovaia in iaumiquj : natiuh ichan vjia itlan nemj in tonatiuh.

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10a. Sol-ill, 68.

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woman with a man, or that otherwise the fasting had been broken.[3]

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And when the sick man suffered greatly, he prayed much to him, he cried out to him, he reached his hand toward him.[4] He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, abate [my suffering] for me. May I do no more for thee—may I no longer hear nor serve [thee]! But if now thou shalt heal me, I vow to thee that I shall serve thee. If I shall gain something for myself, I shall not eat of it of a morning,[5] but do thou come to set it at thy foot. I shall bring it [to thee]."

And the sick man [who was] in sore strain, who might not recover, who could not now end [the suffering], who could now endure no more, sometimes berated [Titlacauan]. He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Now that thou takest thy pleasure [with me], slay me quickly!"

Some Titlacauan then healed, not angered by this. And some nevertheless then died for this.

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And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiococztzin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neçaualpilli. And hence was he called Moiococ[tzin]: that which was in his mind, that which he thought of, he forthwith made. No one invented [anything for him]; none might prevent him. And in the heavens and all the earth around, whomever he wished he might endow; he would enrich him. And whomever he wished, he might afflict. And whenever he might be wroth, or might so wish, or when he was neglectful, he would bring down the heavens above us, and we should perish.

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And Titlacauan, [who] extended throughout this world, was therefore besought, called to, and prayed to. And everywhere they set up his sanctuaries, shrines[6] by the road, at crossroads. Everywhere he was awaited. And in the shrines they had fir branches laid on the five days with which the twenty-day [month] ended.[7] Always they went to do this on each of the [five] days with which each month ended.

Enough.

cioacuchi oquichtli, yn ac ipan oquichcuchi cioatl: yoan anoce moneçaualuiltequj.

Auh in jquac in cenca tlaihiiouia cucuxquj, cenca quitlatlauhtia quitzatzilia, ymac tlatetoc; quilhuja.

Titlacaoane, ma oc xinechmocaxaujli, macaocmo iuh njnochioaz, ma onjcac, ma oc notlaiecul: auh intla oc tinechmopatiliz, mouictzinco njnonetoltia, ma njmjtznotlatlaiecultiliz: intla itla njcnonenextiliz, camo njctlacaquaz, çan mocxitzin ic tiemoquechiliquiuh, nican: njcujcaz.

Auh in cucuxquj cenca tlanauj, yn amo vel pati, yn aoc ontlaiecoa yn aoc vel i: in quenmanjan cahouia: quilhujaia.

Titlacaoane, cujlonpole: ic tonmotlatlamachtia, manoço cuele xinechtlatlati:

in cequjntin njman quinpatiaia amo ic qualanja, y cequintin tel njman ic miquja.

Auh in titlacaoan, no quitocaiotiaia tezcatlipuca, moiococztzi, iaotzi, necoc iautl, neçaoalpilli: auh ynic moteneoa, moiocoia, in tlein quiiocoia, in tlein quilnamjquj, njman quichiua: aiac quiiocoia, aiac quelleltia: yoan yn ilhujcatl, yoan in jequich anaoatl tentica, yn aquin quinequj quicuiltonoz, quicuiltonoa: yoan yn aquin quitztiz, in cococ teupouhquj, quitztia. Auh yn iquin moçomaz, immonenequiz, yn iquin tlatziuiz, quioalpachoz yn ilhujcatl topan manj, tipopoliuizque.

Auh yn titlacaoa, quicentzacutimanca yn njca ynic notzaloia, in tlatlauhtiloia in tzatzililoia: auh noviian quitlalilia yn jchial, in mumuztli in vtlica, in vmazac, noujian chialoia. Auh in mumuzco acxoiatl quitlaliliaia, ynic tlamacujki ilhujtl, ynic tzonquiça ompoalilhujtl: muchipa iuh muchiuhtiuia, yn ipan ceceneztl ilhujtl, ynic tlantiuh cecempoalilhujtl.

ic inquich.

3. The corresponding Aztec text of this passage has [illegible] and [illegible], probably means for [illegible] and [illegible].
4. See Pl. 7.
5. In "Postdiscursos de Sahagún" (p. 171, n. 7), Garibay notes that [illegible] may also be more literally rendered "[illegible] o sea 'nunca (fuera) a medio, sin.'"
In this paragraph, we have read [illegible] as [illegible]; it might equally well be [illegible] (I shall dig).
5a. "Pie mañana," in the corresponding Spanish. See, however, Molina, op. cit. ([illegible]), and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, pp. 14, 182. The term [illegible] is variously translated.
6. See Pl. 6.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

53. Tribute taft for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Astec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

59-64. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(J)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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— After Paso y Troncoso

68. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Uitzilopochli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p. 44(K)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 . NU7 Aztec NU7

[redacted]

Nineteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards commanded the Mexicans to observe the Feast of Uitzilopochtli; yet this came to pass not in the presence of the Captain, for at that time he had gone to the coast where Pánfilo de Narváez had arrived.

And thereafter [Pedro de Alvarado] [1] then asked, as to the Feast of Uitzilopochtli, how the festival [was celebrated]. He wished to marvel at and see how and in what manner it was done. Thereupon Moctezuma issued the command. Those of his vassals who had access to him brought forth the word.[2]

And when the behest had come forth from where Moctezuma was imprisoned, thereupon the women who had fasted for a year ground the amaranth and prickly poppy[3] seed there in the temple courtyard. The Spaniards appeared, decked with great war array; they were dressed in battle gear, bedight as warriors. They came into [the group], walked among them, encircled them, looked at each one—stared into the faces of the grinding women. And after this, when they had come to see them, they then entered the great palace. As is known, they say that at that time they would have slain them if many of us warriors should have been assembled.

And when the Feast of Toxcatl had arrived, toward sundown they began to give man's form to the body [of the amaranth seed dough image of Uitzilopochtli]. They formed it, and gave it the look and appearance of a man. And of this one they fashioned the body only of a dough of amaranth seed and of fish amaranth seed.[4] They formed him on a framework of twigs—[the framework of] Uitzil [opochtli; one laid in] angles.[5]

Injc cxxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quçinjn Españoles, qujnnecotique Mexica: injc qujchioazque injllujuh vitzilobuchtli: auh inin amo ixpan muchiuh in Capitan: ca iquac in vmpa ia atenco injc acico Panphilo de narbayez.

Auh çatepan, njman ie ic qujtlanj in jilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in quenamj ilhujuh, qujmaviçoznequj qujttaznequj, in quenamj, in quenjn muchioa: njmã ie ic tlanaoatia in Motecuçoma, in aquijque vel oconcalaquj itechiuhcaoan, qujoalqujxtiaia in tlatolli.

Auh in ovalqujx tlatolli in vmpa caltzacutica motecuçoma: njman ie ic qujteci in oauhtli chicalutl in cioa, mocexiuhçauhque, vncã in teuitoalco, oalqujzque in Españoles, cenca onocecencauhq̃ in jca iautlatqujtl, moiauchichiuhque, moqujchchichiuhque, intlan qujqujça, intzalan qujqujça, qujniaiavaloa, qujnccecmjtta, imjxco tlatlachia in teci cioa. Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmonjttaco, njmã ie ic calaquj in vei tecpan, iuh machiztic: qujlmach iquac temjctizqujo intla mjec tlacatl cenqujçani toqujchtin. 796

Auh in ie oncic ilhujtl in toxcatl, teutlacpa in qujpeoaltia in qujtlacatilia in jnacaio, qujtlacatlaiaia, qujtlacatlachichtiaia, qujtlacaxnextia. Auh inin qujnaciotiaia çan tzoalli, ie in mjchioauhtzoalli, tlacopechpan in qujtlaliaia, ie in vitzitzillacatl, yoã nacatlacatl. 796 778

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

2. Cf. J.-M.-A. Aubin: *Mémoire de la ratio quotidien . . . réproduction du Codex de 1576* (Paris: Imprimerie Poires, 1893), pp. 89ff., where the meaning of the Conquest varies a different version.

3. Clavigero: cf. Brinton, op. cit., III, pp. 202-203 (*chiahuitl* = *argiae*; "seeds," Argemone mexicana L.); Sahagún, op. cit., I, p. 482 (*chiahuitl*); Bernal, op. cit., p. 283 (mexican dragonsnut of Mexico); Cecilio Robelo: *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1907), pp. 137-138 (poppy family—*dragonsnut genus*).

4. Jakobsen, in *Hidrja Kapital*, p. 101, n. 1, citing Sahagún, III, 1, 22. Identifies *xiuhhuauhtli* as *chiahuitl*. See also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Conquest*, p. 62.

5. Personal communication from Mgr. Angel Maria Garibay and Byron Mackay, Nov., 1954: "Y a este le hacían en cuerpo con Huitzilopochtli, con Huitzilopochtli (Argemone mexicana, esp. Lehmanni). Hacían el armazón de varas de sauce, y el armazón de Huitzilopochtli, y el armazón de engalanar." Thus authorities explain: "Lo hacían *vitzilhuatl* o con 'varas de Huitzilopochtli,' porque está formado de palos delgados y cortados del tamaño que se usaban para y figura (miniaturizado en Huitzilopochtli), y el nombre del dios está derivado Huitzilopochtli 'pájaro, colibrí' que significa el dios azteca Quetzalcóatl, el de la izquierda del armazón, que es el sur.—Huitzilhuatl lit. 'varas de colibrí.' La palabra huitzilopochtli, huitzilopochtli tiene varias fases y variantes, entre ellas la de los dioses. Se hallo también en el antiguo mexicano. Huitzilopochtli es 'colibrí, engalanar,' y 'varas de engalanar' significa que era el armazón, o aparato para construcción de varas rajadas o acomodadas en forma de palitroques delgados y trenzados. Sobre este armazón se ponían las flechas o sonajitas de huitzilopochtli, que eran precisamente de la planta dicha. Llamaban también huitzilopochtli, 'flechas de pescado.' Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 62; Sahagún (Bolaños ed.), I, p. 137, or Sahagún (Acosta S. ed.), I, p. 153.

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● 778 And when he had already taken shape, then they pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After
[237] that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was
[532] wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and
[289] members [of men; it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was] [7] only of paper; it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife at the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

Auh in ie utlacat, njmã qujquapotonja, yoan quj-chioa, ixtlã tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxivitl in tlaqs-lolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl, teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxoxopiltectli, yoã yiacapilol, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlateicujlolli: no itech pilcais moteneoa vitznaoaiutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan tẽcuxtli yoã icpac conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmã contoqujlia, itoca anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vixtic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmã ie ic in tozpololli icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuex-palli, yoã itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmolololica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncã icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapach-tli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujxtli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl icboatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli texoacxilquj, auh injquezpan qujmamanticatca iacatecpaio: in jexpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauh-can tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapan-quj, moteneoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in expanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic qujcentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex imacpilcac, coiotonjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pil-catica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica* sp.?); on pp. 328-330 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica* sp.; others are *Urtica dioica*, var. *angustifolia*; Berendsohn originally Kozlski Chaney ("quemadura," "ortiga"); and *W. urenens* — H. B. K. ("ortiga de tierra caliente"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 486, writes of *chichicaste*: "*la ortiga amarillenta. . . . La especie principal es la jarnapha urens L. . . . En México, planta herbácea, semiarrpadera, cuando es de tierras cálidas y templadas*" (*México desconocido*, Representación desconocidamente). Also, "*Planta urticácea, llamada también ortiga, mal hombre, malp mujer, quemadora, chichicastillo, duchinola, en México.*" But also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicastli* (*Urera caracasana* [Jacq.] Griseb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *jmi*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 298, has supplied *-xuxo*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the ceremony is *-maxtl*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 60, *amatl-amatl* is given as "coarse, thickly filmed paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bell's bark *amate* (*Amate carrizpera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia amatlmatlatl por la capa de libro de algunos debaxo del gibaro fino. Sirvio de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer los adornos, cuchillos y otros objetos que el indio de los dioses requerian.*"

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called Amaxolli. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had[1] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lack of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Yoan is expunged / a the left.

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Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monezoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquilia, ixpan quimana in izquican ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in izquich tlacatl in telpopochtequioaque iuhquin nececêquetzalo, iuhquin in ioiolipã in jlhuitlazque, in ilhuitlamatizque, inic quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltizq̃, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa izztiova in teuitoalco, inic vmpa necocololoz. Auh in ococenquixoac: nimã ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cuico yoan necocololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtionemj: in tetzaqua imoococquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaieiecalhuia in ococquavitl: auh in aquin maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iuxtaxel. Auh in aquin çan niman atlatlacamati, in amo-tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicuitlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, cacalhujequj, calitícpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacnaoati:

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cenca ichoti tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiocatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintzacujliaia: auh in ie izquich telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzinequc, yoan in tzotzocolequc, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in motenoa in telpuchiaque, in oc ic nemj, in oc cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quinzaquaia: quimjlhujaia, vmpa zivã on nocne, anqejenitiria, amo techinto.

[785]
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[p. 52 is blank]

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796 Twentieth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards[1] slew and destroyed the Mexicans who were celebrating the Feast of Uitzilopochtli in the place called the Temple Courtyard.

Injc ceppoalli capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles qujnmjctiqué, qujmjxtlatique in Mexica, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia Vitzilobuchtli in vncã mjtoaia Teuitzoalco.

726 And after this, when already the feast was taking place, all were dancing and singing, and there was song with dance. The song roared.

When now it was time, and the moment was opportune for the Spaniards to slay them, then they issued forth girt for battle; they came to block everywhere the ways leading out and in, [called] Quauhquiuac, Tecpantzinco, Acatl yiacapan, and Tezcacoac.[2] And when they had closed them off and also various [other] places, [the people] were contained, [so that] nowhere could they get out.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ie ilhujtlamacho, in ie netotilo in ie cujco, in ie cujcoanolo: in cujcatl, iuhqujn zazamacatimanj.

In ie inmã, in otlainmantic injc temjctizque in Españoles: njman ie ic oalquiça omoiauchichiuhque, ocontzatzaquaco, in jzquicampa quixoaia, calacoaia, in quauhquijiaoac tecpantzinco, acatl yiacapan, Tezcacoac. Auh in oõcõzatzacque: no izquicã momanque, aocac vel hoalquiça.

And this having been done, they then entered the temple courtyard to slay them. They whose task it was to kill them went only afoot, each with [his] leather shield, some with their iron-studded shields, and each with iron sword. Then they surrounded those who danced whereupon they went among the drums. Then they struck the arms of the one who beat the drums; they severed both his hands, and afterwards struck his neck, [so that] his neck [and head] flew off, falling far away. Then they pierced them all with iron lances, and they struck each with the iron swords. Of some they slashed open the back, and then their entrails gushed out. Of some, they split the head; they hacked their heads to pieces; their heads were completely cut up. And of some they hit the shoulder; they split open and cut their bodies to pieces. Some they struck in the shank; some on the thigh. Of some, they struck the belly, and then their entrails streamed forth. And when one in vain would run, he would only drag his entrails like something raw, as he tried to flee. Nowhere could he go. And one who tried to go out, there they struck and pierced him.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic calaquj in teuitoalco in temjctizque: in intequjuh in temjctique çan tlacxipãvin imecvachimal, cequj intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: njman ie ic qujniaoalos in mjtotia, njmã ie ic vi in vevetitlan, njmã qujmavitecque in tlatzotzona oalcocotzon vmezti in jmacpal çatepan quiquechvitecque vecu vetzito in jquech: njmã ie muchintin tezxixili tepuztopilticu, yoan teviviteque tepuzmaquauhtica: cequjntin qujncujtlaço. njman valmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcol, cequjntin qujnquatzatzaianque, vel qujtzchilique in intzontecon, vel itzeltix in intzõtecõ. Auh in cequjntin qujmaculhujtecque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequjntin qujncotzviviteoque, cequjn qujnmetzviviteque, cequjntin qujmjtivitecque, njmã moch oalmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcul. Auh in aca oc nen motlalos in jcujtlaxcul, ça quivilana, iuhqujn zazoquiova in momaquiztizaxequj, aoc campa vel huj: auh in aquin quiçazaequj, vmpa quiçoalhujtequj, quivalxizili.

But some climbed the wall, and so succeeded in taking flight. Some entered the various tribal temples, and there escaped. And some chaded [the

Auh cequjntin, tepantli quitlecavique, tel huel momaquiztij: cequjntin calpulco cacalaque vmpa momaquiztique. Auh in cequjntin intlan momaq'a-

1. In the Codex, the title is omitted.

2. These were, respectively, the north gate of the main temple square (see map) to the Ixtapalapan road; the west gate to the Tlacopan road; and, probably, the north and east gates. — Cline, *Aztec antiquities*.

796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter. Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.**

Inje cempoalli on chicuasi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiuhq̃ in jquac oquizque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237 on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oacic vei tecuilhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujquiztique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn izquich in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ie no ceppa quinccecencauhque, quintlaquentique, quinquequetzallotique, quinccocoxcatique, quimonasquique xiuhxaiacatl, yoan quinquequentia in tenquemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in tozquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatquitl in monec, quipaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it
805 Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Itzalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcauale was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman quiqoaltoquijlia in Tlaxuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã quivaltoquijlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquija y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicuappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jtzalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemoetemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eua. Tlacaxipeualiztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjtoque tulteca acaloco.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleventh[th] score [of days], in the month of] Itzalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ie no ceppa quiçaco, in ie no ceppa tiçquizque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jtzalli: quauhtitlan in quiçaco, ommotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchiccenjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoalhtim. Auh ie no ceppa quiçaco, çan quiztiçquiçque quauhtitlampa itztiaque: çan tequijtl ommjctitiquiçque in

1. So the Aztec reads (compositive see Molina, op. cit., *xocotlulia*, *xocpaulia*). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observance of feast days (personal communication, Rafael Girard (Guatemala).

2. See various translation in Seler, op. cit., p. 328.

3. The fifteenth and sixteenth months are reversed in the Aztec text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls [381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the left hand there stood the other great image the same height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call *Tezcat*, and the body plastered with precious stones like that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and in it was another image half man and half lizard, with precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest, but I do not remember its name, and everything was covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In that small place there were many diabolical things to be seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols, and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

very important one. The most specific Mexican chronicles call 643
him "coadjutor to the King," "second King," "governor."[210]
By other authorities he is mentioned as "vice-roy,"[211] and more
frequently yet as "supreme judge."[212] Finally, eye-witnesses of
the conquest apply to the "snake-woman" the titles of "keeper
of the tribute"[213] and "captain-general" of the Mexicans.[214]

la asia puesto por recombre y grandeza aquel nuevo dilado qua." *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," cap. XXXIX, p. 80) mentions the title together with the first actions of "wrathy chief," the Elder. But it also appears to have been very much older. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones Históricas*" *Segunda Relacion*, p. 282, Vol. IX of Kingsborough), speaking of the migrations of the Toltecs says: "Llegaron á Xalloco, tierra que estaba cerca de la mar, y aquí estuvieron ochó años, siendo descubridor Zulhcochcatl, tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores." *Fuentes* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 200) attributes to the same the discovery of another region. It appears as if this title,—whose origin we may speculate upon but, as yet, without any hope of positive results,—was always in existence, but appeared as a distinct office only after the confederacy had been formed. A historical question of some interest looms up here: whether or not the first reported incumbent of the office after the formation of the confederacy, Atempanecatl Tlacaelelzin, really existed. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 171) denies his existence, and perhaps hints at the "Codice Ramirez" when he speaks of "la mala, y falsa Relacion, que de este tiene, que yo tengo cierto poder escrito de mano, con el mismo lenguage, y estilo." *Sr. José F. Ramirez* already noticed this sally of the provincial, in note 1 (p. 282) of *Durán*, "*Hist. de las Indias*," etc., and recognized it at once as applying to the Codice R. *Fuentes* (Lib. II, cap I, p. 88, etc.) acknowledges the existence of Tlacaelleel, so does of course *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18), and all those who followed the same sources as the "Codex Ramirez." The present city of Mexico, however, has two monuments which, to my judgment, establish beyond a doubt the existence of this [778] ●
Tlacaelleel. One of these is the "Stone of Sacrifice," and the other a commemorative stele, figured and described in No. 2 of Vol. I. "*Anales del Museo National de México*," by the great Mexican scholar, Sr. Orozco y Berra. See my article in No. I, Vol. II of the "*American Antiquarian*," "*The National Museum of Mexico and the Sacrificial Stone*" (pp. 20 and 27).

[210] For these titles I refer in general to the *Codice Ramirez*, *Durán*, and *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are useless and would only serve to increase the size of the volume.

[211] Already *Tezozomoc* mentions him a "teniente." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 344). *Fèlencourt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Trat. IIº, cap. I, p. 300): "Despues del Rey que heredaba, venia se ha visto guardando el órden de la sangre real, habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era en segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya autoridad no habia apelacion al rey."

[212] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 344). *Fèlencourt* ("*Teatro*," p. 300). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 461). *Prescott* ("*Conquête*," B'k I, cap. II, p. 28). *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435). *Codex Mendoza* (Tab. LXIX, "*Myxcoatlcalleque, Justicia mayor*").

[213] *Bernal-Diaz de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*, etc.," Cap. XCI, p. 97, Vedia II): "Acordamos que era en aquel tiempo un mayordomo un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia en su mano de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de papel, que no dice amati, y tenia destos libros una gran casa delles." Now this "Tapia" reappears again as "governor" of Mexico in different places. "*Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor Natural que fué del pueblo de Tlahuanuelco*" ("Col. de Documentos." Icazbalceta, p. 305, Vol. II): "y á estos los Mexicanos llevó, y fueron por sus caudillos Tapia y D. Martin el de Tlatelulco." "*Cuarta Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman*" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 471): "Viendo el señor desta ciudad de México, que se llama Tapia." *Letter of the "Señores" Salamca, Malinzin, Cuyuac, and Quiaqua*

X 787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth house, named Nine Crocodile—they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

Inje chicuacē ōpōhualo: itechpa tlatoa, inje macujltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce acatl: auh ano qualli tonalli in jtech ca, quijlmach in aquiquac vncan tlacatia, intla vncan tlacatia, inje chicuacuhtetl calli, in jtoca chicuacuevi cipactli: quimaia quijlmach cenca techcoiouanj, ioan tezcapuruanj: auh quijlmach inja machiotl, ichaotl itoual in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatoque, in pipilti, vncan mixtlauia ioan tlamauia.

X 787 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time. 805 Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in ano qualli, in ano iecxan inquijlhujtl,

quiuoquijlioca yn ipan vme ocelotl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cuecaquauhtli, macujlli olin, chiquacen tecpatl: in jaquijtl in tonalli mjmeia ano qualli, ano iecxan,

X 787 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented 771 the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And 773 when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noblemen paid him great honors. They made offerings at 782 the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

quijlmach itoual cenca itoualpan in quetzalcoatl. ichaoa in quetzalcoatl, i chocatl ipan mjmeia, inje teviccia: auh in jquac in mocquetzaia ce acatl tonalli, cenca tlamavitilitia in tlatoque, in pipilti, tlamauia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jajptla Quetzalcoatl, ixpan quijtlaxquijlitia, quijtlamohuacaia mach iquac quijcencavilitia, itech quijtalilitia, in jaquijtlamantli inechichiotl, yn iamatlatquj, ioan ixpan quijtequijlitia xuchitl, yetl, quijcopalxamjlitia ati, tlaquatli, quijmanjlia, iuh quijtoia vncan quijmaltia, quijtoalquechia in Quetzalcoatl.

X 787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life. It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; *He* such was his nature. The same befell her if it was a woman.

Auh inje mjmeia: ano iecxan, in aquja ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço macoualli, ate cenca iaukcoxol, ilhuji catca, çan iohuajn chocatl ipil pevia iacmilia, ocacoia, ate itlaoca, inelhoaio mochiuia: ipampa in jtoualpan quetzalcoatl, ocatl otlacat, ca mjmian iohcan oquiz, no iohquj ipan mochiuia, intla çiuatl,

1. The reference, literal or probably humorous, is defined as "Lugar de Grado de la casa" y casada de soltera" by Antonio Mendoza in *El calpulli en la organización social de los mexicanos* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 77. There were six, in the *calpulli* probably pertaining to them (or the term is used by Mendoza): Teopan, Huitzcatenco, Tlamatzinco, Tlilancalco, Tlelcatenco, and Mixtec (pp. 67-82).

X-787 **Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the seventh sign, named One Rain, and of the evil day signs which belonged with it. They said that those then born were sorcerers and soothsayers and demons. — And *tlacatecolotl* meaneth demon. — Almost all the houses belonging to this [sign] were evil and unfavorable. Only the thirteenth was good.**[1]

[776]

Inic matlactli oce capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, inic chicuacetl machiotl, in jtoca ce qujavitl: ioan in amo quall tonalli, in jtech catca: quilmach in aquiçque vncan tlacatia, nanaualti catca, ioan tetlachivianj, tlatlacatecolo: auh in tlacatecolotl, ca ichoatl quitoznequj in Diablo, achi muchi in calli itech pouhquj, in amo quallj, in amo ieetli: çanjio inic matlactetl vmey quallj.

X-787 One Rain set in, of which it was said that it was in no way a good day sign. It was full of evil, vice, misery, orphanhood, affliction, suffering, anguish, misfortune, and indigence.

Moquetza ce quiauitl: injn mjtoaia, njman amo quallj tonalli, motequjtica truhtli, tlaçolli, icnoiotl, icnotlacaiotl, tlaciaujlistli, tlacoocavilistli, teopouhtaiotl, atle onquiçalistli, atle oneoatinemjlistli:

X-787 This was because during the time of this day sign, so it was said, then descended those known as the Goddesses, inhuman ones, mockers of the people. Hence most sternly [parents] commanded their children not to go out; not to travel along the roads. They should only remain at home. Thus did they speak to them: "Go not forth. You will encounter the Princesses, for they descend and arrive upon earth." Hence the fathers regarded them with fear, lest one of [the children] might develop misshapen lips, or crossed eyes, or a hare lip, or be possessed.

776

ipampa in jpan, y, tonalli, iuh mjtóa: ca vncan temoia, in motenoa cioatetea, itlaoacmelleque, teca mocaiaoanj: ic cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia, in tepilhoan, in aiac quiças, aiac vtli quitocaz: çan cali onoaque: iuh quimjlhujaia meca xonquiçaca, anmotenamjctiaque, ca temo, ca tlalpan açi in çioapipiltj: ic quintlamauhcaittiliaia in tetaoan: injc amo aca temnecujlivia, iknecujliuja, tenparaiuja, itech qujneua:

● 778 When this [day came], everywhere in the Goddesses' sanctuaries and temples — everywhere offerings were made. For in every single place stood a temple of Goddesses, in each neighborhood,[2] there at crossroads. They covered with white streamers each of the images which were there — five [figures] of stone, placed in a row, their faces rubbed and painted with liquid rubber. He who made a vow to them covered them at the time of their descent, at the time of their day count, on the day sign of their descent. As many of them as there were he covered with white paper streamers.

782

in jquac in, in noviian çioatempan, çioatrucalli, noujian tlamaxaloia, ca noviian cecentetl mácx, in çioatecalli, cecentlaxillacalpá vncan in omaxac, teteujtl qujmonequequentia, in vmpa catca, ymjxipelaoan, macujlteme in teme, tecpantoca, tlaolxaoalti, moolxauhque in aquja ivicpa monetoltiaia, quintlaquentia yn jquac in intemoia, yn jntlapealpan, in jpan tonalli temoia, inquiteme amateteujtl quinquentia.

1. The Spanish text reads, in part: "*Los que en este signo nacen, son nigromanticos, brujos, hechiceros, endiablados. De de nacer, que son cuchillo chamuscado, pronosticos quien dicen, nigromanticos, o brujos: ingredientes en ese, por diablos: casi todos los casas deste signo: eran de malos dispuestos. Pero la decima cuna, y la cuenta decima cuna, ninguna desdicha: E todos los signos: eran felices.*" See Andrews and Dibble, op. cit., Book XII, "The Conquest of Mexico," p. 21, nn. 1, 2, 3, on *nacerse*, *chamuscado*, and *endiablados*. Depending upon the context, we have at times translated *chamuscado* as demon.

2. *Ibid.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 58, n. 13.

A 787 was not hopeless. This one the readers of the day signs then sought out so that they might then somewhat better the day sign of the one born on One Grass.

● 778 782 And the day sign Two Reed, which followed, they said was a very good day sign; because also at that time they honored Tezcatlipoca Tlahcauaz by placing the image of [a god] called Omacatl. In the same manner [as Tezcatlipoca][4] was the face painted; they ornamented it when they placed it.

And whosoever wished to place the image of Omacatl guarded it in his house for two hundred [days]. He placed it on the day sign Two Reed. And if he who placed it did something well, that is, if now his goods and possessions increased and appeared, no more did he wish to relinquish it. He just placed and introduced it permanently into his house, and guarded it for a long time.

And if now he wished to abandon it, and no longer to guard it, he likewise abandoned it on the day sign Two Reed. This same one chose his day sign; on [the day sign] in which he had placed it, on it likewise he abandoned it. He left it there at his temple in the tribal district of Omacatl, and went offering it incense. And there, to take it, would go he who earlier had wished to guard it in his home. The old men of the tribal district accompanied it with song; the [new] householder served food to the people; there was feasting and drinking in his house. And when it grew dark there was drunkenness. In the same way was the placing and termination. Then was the breaking off and the finishing; then they observed the two hundred days of guarding it in one's house when [the image] entered as well as when it left.

X 787 And, it was said, he who was then born, they said, would become rich and wealthy. And well would he gain his livelihood. What he might do would not fail. He would find his consolation.

And on Four Eagle, and Five Vulture, and Six Motion, as it was said, these various day signs were in no way good. They were always as hath been said. For him who was then born, his fate, his gifts, were the same: misery. He lived given to talking; he would bear false witness; accusations were made; there were outcries; among others he lived in vice, corruption, and evil, as hath already in many places

linia tonalpouhque, injc achi vncan quiçqualtilisia itonal, in jpan tlacatia oc malinalli.

Auh in quitoquijlia, vme acatl tonalli quitoaia vel qualli in tonalli: ipampa ca no vncan quitoaltiaia yn Tezcatlipoca, titlacaoa, injc quitlaliaia ixiptla itoca Omacatl: çan no ivi in mjchioaia, ic quichichioaia, injc quitlaliaia:

auh in aquin quinequja, quitlaliaia in ixiptla Omacatl, matlacpoaltica in quipiaia ychan, ipan in quitlaliaia, vme acatl tonalli, auh intla ic itla vel maaiilia, in aquin oquitlali, quitoanequj: intla ic tlapiuja, ixnecj, iaxca itlatquj, aocmo quicaoaliztlamatia, çan quicentialiaia, quicencalaquiaia in ychan, vecauhtica quipiaia:

auh intla ic oquinec in quicaoaz, in aocmo quipiaz: çan no ipan in quicaoaia vme acatl tonalli, çan iec quimattiuja in itonal, ipan in quitlaliaia, no ipan in quicaoaia: vmpa concaoaia in itecpan, in jcalpulco omacatl, quitlenamaquiltiuh: auh vmpa canatiuh, in aquin oc ic oquinec, quipiaz ichan, quicuicatiaia in calpuleque, ic tetlatlaqualtia in chane, tlatlaqualo, astlica, yn ychan: auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, çan ic iuh tlatlahili, çan ic iuh tlatecolli, çan vncan tectica, çan ic vncan tlantica, çan ic vncan quimattiaia, in matlacpoaltica pialoia techan iquac calaquia, no iquac quiçaia:

auh mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, quitoaia mocuiltonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan vel muchioaz in jnetlacoltiliz, in tlein maaiiliz, amo nenquiçaz, vel quitaz in jnciollaliliz.

Auh yn ipan nauj quauhtli, yoan macuilli ocelquauhtli, yoan chiquacen olin, iuh mjtoa: injman amo tle qualli in jequitetl yn, tonalli, çan muchipa iuh mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan yec in ilhuiil, inemac in netolinjliztli, yoan tlatolli cololhuitinemj, tetlacolevia, yoan tlatolevilo, oiovila, tenepantla quitlaliaiaz in xiuitl, cuitlatl, in aqualli: in juhquj ye mjiccan omoteneuh. Auh in oc nen ic quiçqualtilisia

4. At this place in the Real Palacio MS a marginal note in Sahagún's hand reads: "de la ceremonia de la yma[gen] de Tezcatlipoca."

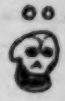

000 **Nineteenth Chapter.** Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.

Injc castolli vnnavi capitulo: vncan motencoa, in ventli in qujchioaia, im impãpa vecanemja ioan injc mortlaoaia in jpampa in mjquja.

441 And his household thereupon began the penances. They let themselves become dirty. No longer did 984 they wash their heads with soap, though they could 585 bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

Auh in jchantlaca: njmen iquac compeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzoioia, aocmo mãmovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, iece, aocmo polaquj: auh nanapoaltica qujmattiuj, in mamovitiuj: injc qujnextia, qujtemachitia, ca ipampa tlamãçeoa in jaconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jxcauhque, inqujch caujtl auh qujchiuhtinemj, in jquin quiçaqujuh:

441 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were 765 notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual[1] for their child.

auh intla noce omjqujto, ichoan achto caqqjtilo, in puchteca veuetque, intequjuh in teiolmelaoazque, in teiolpachiujtizque, ichoantin qujcalaquja in choqujztli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjqujto, ic qujtemachitia, injc naujlhujtl ilnamjcoz, mjccaostizque in jchantlaca, injc tlapaloloazque, ellaquaoalozque, qujmjlolos in inconeuh:

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

auh in oqujz navilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlaca: ic mjtoa, momjccaaltia injc compopoloa, conjlcaos intlaccol:

441 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set 765 up an image of him made of pine torches bound together.[2] They made and formed his image; they 778 adorned his likeness. This *cuillotl* was only a statue of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

auh intla cana oiaomjc, qujtlaliaia ieujllo, qocujllotia, qocujllotlalilia, ixiptla qujchichiujlia, injn Evillotl: çan ocoquavitl in qujtzatzaiaaaia, çatepan qujcujtlalpia: auh inqujch itech qujtlalia, in amatlatqujtl, in amanechichiualli, in amaxicolli, in amacozcatl, in amanecapantli, qujtlaolololtia, qujtlatepeoaltia qujtlamamaca, injc mochi ioan qujtlatinque: in ic iuhquj in oqujcencauhque evillotl, in jquac ic choqujlloz oiaomjc, oc cemjlhujtica, in jeujllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in eostica: auh quinjquac in ioalnepantla, qujclatinia, vmpa in qujtocaotinia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tzompanicilan:

1. *Quimjlolos*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.
2. *Evillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "*de cuantos de tea, cuales eran, así eran.*"

441 his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One
765 day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And
then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in
778 [the place] which they called the god's courtyard,
at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

X787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

[851 He who was then born they did not yet bathe;
553 they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave
him a name, for the reason already many times told:
the day sign of the third place, when they waited for
the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

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3. *Oldebaric: Ibid.*, "*Y si el iba mercadear muerto, de su enfermedad.*"

4. Molina, *op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl), *Lado derecho.*

5. *This text reads as repeated; it is correct in the Real Palacio MS.*

suh intla çã otlalmjc oxomocuil, qujxuaxoqui: intlacamo oisomjc, in aço çan ococolincujc, çan ie no ivi in qujchichiouia icujllo, iece çan ichan in tlelaia, amo ioalnepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie onmotzcaloa, onmopilou tonatiuh qujtlatiuia.

No iuan mjtoa: in jquac ypan in ce cuetl tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in jquac oiaotlatoloc, oteisotlalhujloc, in omjto, in otecaqujtiloc iaoiotl, vel iqua ipan vipeoaia in iaoc: vncan iaoquixoaia, ipan otlatocoia, ipan vnneotemakoia, vnnotecma, onmococuj, onmolinja, eoa, nẽnemj, icxicomana, in jaquich quauhtlocelotl:

suh in aquja ipan otlacat ce oçelotl tonalli, quj-toaia, qujpãtiuia, qujnemactiuia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, ilhujle, mãcoale muchioua, mocujl-tetoua, vnca qujquanj ixx: suh intlaca mouelhuaca-coa, in iuhquj itonal in, amo ipan muchioa in iaemac, in jcnopil: çan ichoatl qujmitlacalhuja, qujmo-popolhuja, mjtoa: ineviian coanocauijlia, qujmotlh-çolmjctilia. Er.

yn aquja ipã otlacat in, aiamo caltiuia, quja ipã caltiuia in Ey macatl: iquac qujtocamaca, ipampa in mjococan omjto: in ciuioua tonalli, in jquac tlacen-ilhujcilitia, qujpualitaia in tonalpouhque: ichoatl ic conthatotoquijtiuia, vmpa qujdatequjuiaia, vmpa on-tlachichtiuia, injc cenca qujtonalchiccaoaia.

Auh in qujtoquijlia, vme mjqujetli, iuh qujtoa: amo qualli, ale vncã ca mahuelli. Auh in ey macatl: iuh qujtoa qualli tonalli, ic omjto: in ciuioua muchipa qualcua, vncan ca tlacnopilhujitetli in iuh qujcilhujoia tonalpouhque. Auh in nevi tochtli, in tlanauhcaiotia tonalli, in nauhnoipa tlaviica, tlacen-

X 787 776 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the tenth sign, called One Flint Knife. And it was said that it was of good fortune, and claimed that those then born were brave and became seasoned warriors. And it was said that the women then born were forceful; they were able in all things and made their goods very well. And it was said to be the day sign of Uitzilopochtli, to whom it was dedicated. His domain was war. It was said also to be the day sign of Camaxtli. And when this sign began, they observed the feast [of Uitzilopochtli]. And it was said that all the day signs were good—[all] thirteen.

Injc composolli ece capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl machiotl, in jtoca ce tecpatl: ioan quijl quallí in jtonalle, auh quijl in aquijque vncan tlacatia chicaxnque catca, ioan tequjoacatia: auh quijl in cioa vncan tlacatia ocquichiellioque catca, machi in veli catca, ceneca uel qujcentiaia in jatlatequj: auh quijl itonal catca in Vitzilopochtli, in jtech pouhquj catca, in jxquijuh catca itaxiotl, quijl no itonal in Camaxtle: auh in jquac vmpeuia injn machiotl, quijlhujquztilia, auh quijl machi quallí catca in jaquijhujtl, matlaquijlhujtl vmei.

776 782 One Flint Knife set in. On this One Flint Knife, when it parried for a day, they then made offerings to Uitzilopochtli, whose day sign it was, and to Camaxtli, god of the Uexotzinca.

Moquetza ce tecpatl: inin ce tecpatl, in jquac tlacentlhujtilitia, vncan quijtonaltitia, ytonalpan catca in Vitzilopochtli, ioan in camaxtle, vexotzinca intecuh,

776 782 776 Then it is said they made offerings and paid great honor [to Uitzilopochtli] there at his temple, in his tribal district, at the place whose name was Tlacatecco. There was his image guarded, and all his array. They had it all spread out before him and laid in the sun; they offered incense and presented him[1] what were called the quetzal feather cape, the blue cotinga feather cape, the red spoonbill feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the humming bird feather cape.[2] But only after them came [828] but the no longer very precious feathers, like the white heron feather cape or the reed thrush feather cape.[3] Severally they laid all of them down, offered them separately, arranged them in rows, placed them in order, etc.

injc mjjoa: quijtonaltitia, ceneca quimatiztilitia, in vncan iesupan icalpaxco in jtocaiocan catca tlacatecco, vncan pielotia in jxiqtia in jaquijch itlatquj, machi ixpan quijtequjlitia, quijtotonjaia, quijtlenamaquijlitia quijtlacotonjlitia, in motzacoa quetzalquemjtl, xiuhtotoquemjtl, tlauhquecholquemjtl, tozquemjtl, vitzitzilquemjtl, auh ça quijtoquijlia, quijxacuja, in aocmo ceneca tlaçaiviztl, in iuhquj ittaquemjtl, tzanaquemjtl: machi nononqua quijtecaia, quijlatlamantilia, quijnecuentilia, quivivipana. Er[4].

And all these precious capes, when they spread them out, remained there a day. By doing this, it 782 was said, they sunned them for Uitzilopochtli. And there offerings were made; there they laid out all the gifts, called fast foods. And all the good, prepared

auh machi ie in tlaçotlmatli ipan quijtecaia, vncan ceujlhujtia: ichoxtl injc mjjoa quijtlacotonjlia in Vitzilopochtli, ioan vncan tlamanaloia, vncan quijtecaia in jaquijch ventli, in motzacoa tlacatlaquilli: ioan in jaquijch iectli, in tlachichiualli tlaquilli, in

1. Quijtonaltitia literally could mean "they beheaded quail for him."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "una ca flamenca quetzalquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa de quetzales verdes, y vuelphalcolchiuc: cara ca flamenca cholchiuquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa de plumas verdes, y vuelphalcolchiuc: cara ca flamenca tozquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa de plumas amarillas, y vuelphalcolchiuc: cara ca flamenca vitzitzilquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa hecha de plumas vuelphalcolchiuc de colibrues."

3. Cf. Dibble, op. cit., p. 233. In ibid., p. 160, n. 2, it is jacalchiuc.

X 787 Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the fourteenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxicueica.[1] They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

Injc ompoualli on macuijlli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl onnavi machiotl, in jtoca ce itzcuintli: inin quijtoach qualli tonalli, ioan quijl itonal catca, in xiuhtecutli: in quijtoaia Tlalxicueica, cenca vei ilhuitl quichioaia: ioan ypan motlatocaahtiaia in tlatoque.

X 787 —then set in the one named One Dog. This, they said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedicated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli. They formed his image there in his temple. There they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provided it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] neztlaualli. All the food [and array of] Tlalxicueica[3] they burned before him.

Niman oalmoquetza in jtoca, ce itzcuintli: injn quijtoaia qualli tonalli, vncan quijonaltiaia in tletl, in jtoca Xiuhtecutli: quijchiaia yxiptla in vmpa itzupan: vncan quitlamanjliaia, ixpan tlacotona, copaltema, quichichioa, quijcencaoa, in jxquich amatlequitl, inmac iccauja in motencoaia amatecque, amatlamatque, quivitoctiaia, quivitzetzcloa, quinepapaniviitoia, tlaçoiujica quinepapanivitzetzcloa: ioan quichachalchiuhtiotia, quinocaiotia neztlacalli, itlaqual in tlalxicueica, mach ixpan quitlatiaia:

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and Amantlan,[4] they made [the goo] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It seemed that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They sprinkled and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

suh in noviian cecencalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujhtonokaia, in pochtlan, in amantlan: cenca quivichioaia injc quijnevizttiaia, tlatlaqualoia, astiouia, netlacamacho, necoanotzalo, oc ueca ioac, cenca oc tlaujzcalpan in quijtlatiaia amatl, in mjtoa ic quijtlamaca tletl, quivicatiuh, quijocatiuh in copalli, cecen petlacalli, ova petlacalli in coçtepeca tleco, chipaoac, ietac copalli: ioan quinocotona çqoltin, iuhquja tlecujlixquac tlãpatlaca, tlapapatlaca, ieyo nemamacaoca, tlalli ic neujnjeco tlecujlixquac quitzinzujzca, quinomoquja in jmeraço: ioan no achto tlecujlixquac quinoaiaca in vctli: suh çaepan tlecujlnocasco mochampaiati quinoaiaca:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Este decimo: era el signo del dia del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, o tlalxicueica."
2. Ibid.: "Los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica. Acaban la fiesta de su dedicacion."
3. Ibid.: "cosas de la mesmos, quemaron las ofrendas de papel, y copal, decimos: que con estas cosas, dauan de comer al fuego."
4. Motolinia, op. cit., pp. 70, 69, 68: colquell of moschaoan, feather workers, etc.

X 787 Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the seventeenth sign, called One Water. It was said to be an evil day sign. And it was said of those then born that they rejoiced a little only at the beginning of their lives, and that they ended in evil. And it was said always to be evil when they died. And it was said to be the day sign of Chalchiuitl icue, whose feast day the water folk observed.

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capinalo: itechpa tlatoa, inic cextolli omome machiotl, in jtoca ce atl: quijlmach amo qualli tonalli: auh quijl in aquijque vncan tlacatia, çan ipeuhian in jnnemjliz achi paquja: auh injc tzonquiçaia amo qualli, auh quijlmach mochipa, amo qualli, injc mjquja: auh quijl itonal catca in chalchiujtl icue, quijlhujquiztiliaia in atlaca.

One Water. This One Water, they said, was also evil. And they said it was quite varied, of different qualities, all good or all bad.

Ce atl: injn ce atl: quijtoa, amono qualli: yoan quijtoa, çan chictlapanti, chictlapantica: inquich qualli, inquich amo qualli:

At this time they made offerings to the one named Chalchiuhtli icue, who represented the water. Especially did the sellers of water, the owners of boats—those who transported water with boats—and those who launched boats, made offerings to her. These formed her image; they set in place the framework [for her image] at her temple, in her tribal district.

vncan quijtonaltiaia: in jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue, in jpan mjzcoaia atl: oc cenca ichoan quijtlamanjliaia, yn anamacaque, in acaleque, acaltica atlacuj, yoan acalquetzque: ichoan quijxiptlatiaia quijtlaliaia ycoloio in jtenpan, in jcalpulco.

X 787 And thus was it said to be diverse [in fortune], one which could not attain and carry with it very much good. That is to say, of the one then born, very few resulted great and fortunate at this time. For according to his deserts, his day sign, he was only all evil, completely surrounded by vice. And in evil he would go; in it he would die. Perchance somewhere he would be stunned—he would be felled by a stone; or else he would be drowned—he would perish in the water.

Auh injc mjtoa çan chictlapanquj yn amo vel macitica motquitica ic qualli, quitoznequi in aquijn ipan tlacatia, çan vej quiçaia cenca çan aca in vncan quijçaia tlacnopilhujani, ca in juh ca vel inmaceoal, itonal çan muchi ãqualli in cololotica motquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, auh amo qualli ynjc izz, inic miquiz, aço çan caza tetepachoka, tetica uetziz, anoço, atocoa, atlan mjquja,

But even if, on the other hand,[1] he merited some reward, only for a miserable moment, only for a short time, a very short time, and frequently for a brief space, a moment, for a time only, would he partake of his riches.[2] So of him were said the words of the talkative inhabitants, that in the world there are bad days. Sometimes one succeeded; sometimes one failed; if, in his childhood, he should suffer

auh intla çã noço itla imacteoaltiz, çã cotocpol, çan cuel achic, can cuecuel achic, çan achica, çan achitonca, çã achizinca, çan inquich caujtl in, in jxpan onquiçaz in jnecujhtonol, ic ipã mjtoa, in jntlatol tlahtiçpac tlathanaoj, çan tstacapitz uel in tlaticpac, quãnaan veli, quenaman aveli, intla ipiltian motolinix, quijn itzonco in achi motollaliz:

1. Inda ga ueyac: Rimbaldi, op. cit., has and (although, yet) or quizzaia (as you will) for inda ga, and ueyac (and not) for ueyac.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y si alguna buena suerte tuviere, tuviere poco tiempo, por ventura si tuviere tiempo, se le acabaua la ventura."

X 787 754 And when he brought destruction on one, then he chose an evil day sign; he sought and searched it out. They said that he did great evil to one on Nine Dog, or Nine Death, or Nine Grass, and indeed on all the ninth positions, and the other bad day signs mentioned—each of the different positions named.[4]

auh in ipan tepoloaia, vncan quimattiuja in aquilli tonalli, ichoatl contoocaia, contlatoqquilaia, quitoa cenca ipan tepoloaia in chicunauj itzcuintli, anoço chicunauj mjquiztli, chicunauj malinalli: ioan in ic muchi chichicunanauj, ioan in oc cequj moteneua aquilli tonalli, in jzquican omoteneuh,

X 787 And of such different positions, it is told that he who had work of this sort, whose labors became these separate tasks, who undertook these various burdens, was never content. He had no food. He lived only in poverty, destitute, without a house or home; nowhere was he a householder; nowhere was he of a happy home, a householder of tranquility. He went looking forward only to misery. He went eating and consuming food for himself only if somewhere something were given him, if he were offered something in order to destroy people as a reward for doing evil to them. Perhaps somewhere he was seized when already he became negligent, slothful, or developed an aversion [to evil]. Then he was seized, and they cut hair from the crown of his head; they took his renown from him and damaged his day sign for him. Thus he was abandoned to his death by the hands of others.

auh in ioan quezaquican omjto, in aquin inhquj in itequjuh, itezequjuh muchioa, quimoteztequjlia, aic auja, atle quiquanj, çan motolinjtinemj, aoccatinemj, ãcan ichã, ãcan chanca, amo chane caca, acan chantlamattica: acan chane ca tlamattica, çan icnoiotl quiztzinemj, çan ic conquatiuh, çan ic ommotlamjtiuh, iztla cana itla maco, nemaqujlilo injc tepoloa, injc netlaquevilo: ãnoce-cuan xxioa in jquac ic otlatlatziujti, ic ontlaxujti, ic otlatlatzilhuj, vncan ano quitzaoncuj, quitlaiocujlia, quitonalitlacoa: ic ça temac omomjquizacaoa:

X 787 754 [778] 674 And the ones known as men who danced with a dead woman's forearm, who crazed people,[7] when perhaps they would commit a robbery somewhere and spirit something from someone's home, would adorn the image of One Wind [Quetzalcoatl]. It went as their guide, at their head, guiding, marching in front. And they went bearing with them the forearm[8] of a woman who had died in childbed, and could not give birth to what was in her womb. When they took it from the one who had died, they only stole it during the night: they cut it off at midnight.

auh in ichoantin moteneua, temamacpalitotique, tepupuxaquaujque, in jquac tla cana ichtequjzque, techan tlaquiztinque, quichichioaia in jniptla oc hecatl: quiniacantiuja iniacac, imjxpan icatiuja. ioan quitquiciuj in jmacpal moçioaquetzaquj, in iti ic iauh in aoel mjxiuj iquac quicujliaia in quin onmjquj. çan oquichteccacuja, ioaltica in quitequjliaia, ioaalli iric.

And so did they bury her, not at her home, but only leaving her there in the road; there at the very crossroads they buried her. They went skirmishing, fighting over her, and howling as they carried her. And as they brought her out of her house, it was not from the front; only at the back of the house,

auh injc quitocaia amo ichan, çan vmpa concaoaia in vtlica, vncan in ael omazac contoca, quiçoçalitlitiuj, ipan necaliostiuh, coiovitiuj injc quiujica: auh injc quiualquixtia ichan, amo iscopa in jcal, çan quicujtlacoionja in calli, vmpa quiquixtia injc concaoa vmazac:

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4. Omitted in the *Real Palacio* MS.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*mamacpalitotique, o por ser mandey mipupuxaquaujque.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*Un brazo desde el codo, hasta la mano, de alguna mujer, que estando muerta, del primer parto, los cortaban, o hurto, el brazo quitando.*" Sahagun, *loc. cit.*, therefore hypothesizes "who kindling on the threshold of a house with the hand of a woman who died in childbed, said the entire household into a paralyzed and immovable state, and then plunder with impunity the whole house and commit every possible robbery upon its furniture."

Thirty-third Chapter, in which is mentioned the nineteenth sign, named One Eagle. It was said to be an evil day sign, and he who was then born was beautiful, and brave, daring, fearing nothing and no one. And it was said that the women also were daring, of ill fame, of evil tongue, shameless, and immodest. And it was said that at this time descended the lesser Goddesses; and they did evil to the small children. Hence they did not let them go out of doors, nor did they bathe them at that time.[1]

—One Eagle. This One Eagle, it was said, was an evil day sign. Also at that time descended those named the "Goddesses." It was said, and it was so stated, that they were only the youngest ones, only the sisters,[2] who then came down. Nevertheless, [the people:] took great fright, because it was said that they were very harmful, furious, hateful, hostile, and merciless. As they could not be resisted, so they made sport of people, as is told in various places and mentioned here and now. None of the small children might go naked. They were carefully watched, because at this time they might be violently possessed, their lips twisted and withered, their eyes crossed and cloudy, their noses crooked, etc.

And therefore they paid them great honor there in the places where they were awaited, there in the different Goddesses' temples. In each neighborhood, in the house clusters and their vicinities, reeds were strewn and scattered; sand was sprinkled on the roads and at street crossings and crossroads—places where roads came together.

One who made a vow to them that he would cover and wrap them, adorned their offerings, the paper banners of the Goddesses painted and spattered with liquid rubber. There he covered the different images of the Goddesses, as they were arranged in order. It was at midnight, just at the dividing of the night, that the making of offerings

Injc cõpoalli ẽmatlactli vnsey capitulo: vncan motenoa ynjc cuxtolli vnnavi machiotl, yn. itoca ce quauhtli: quil amo qualli in tonalli, auh in ipan tlacatia, mochachamsoanj, yoã chicaoque, aiac ixco tlachia, atle ypan tlatta, atle ypã teitta: yoan quil in cihoa, ano tle ypã tlachia, yoan cenca tlavilquixtianj, tentlaveliloque, ixquauhti, amo pinsoanj: auh quil yn iquac, oalcenoia yn aquique tepitoton cihoatetcu: auh quintlaueliaia in conetotonti, yc amo quinoalquixtiaia in qujiaoac, amono quimaltiaia yn iquac. 787x

In ce quauhtli: ynjn ce quauhtli, mjtoa amo qualli tonalli, no vncan temoia, in qujntocaiotia cihoatetcu, quilmach yn juh onmjtoa ça xoxocoio, ça teiccaoan yn vncan temoia, iece cenca vellamaubtiaia, ypampa quil cenca ihjioque, tlaveloque, tetlavelique, amo elleleculoque, amo icnooaque, njman aixnamjquizti, ynjc teca mavltianj, yn juh onmjto quezquican: yn juh conitoa in iquac hin, njmã aiac vel petlauhtinenca in pipiltotõti, cenca malhujloia, ypampa cenca tlaquauh vncan tetech quinecoaia, tennecujlooaia, temputzioosia, ixnecujlooaia, ixcatzioosia, ixcanecujlooaia. etc. 787x 776 855

auh injc cenca qujnmavistiliaia in vncan inchielpã yn izquicã cicihoatezcalco, in tlatlazilacalpã, tetlatlaxilacalloc, tetlatlexilacaltian, tõoltzetzaclolo, tlatoltzetzelolo, tlaizallujlo yn vtlica, yn vmatzac, yn inepanivjian vtli. 776 782

Jn aquin invicpa monectoltia: in qujnquentia quintlaquentia, quinchichivilia yn jancetlacal, in cihoatetentl amatl, tlacoltzacalli, ocõpeioac, vmpa quimoquequentia yn ixquiteme, tecpantoque, yn iniixtlacoan iooalnepantia, çan jc ozzellivi, iocalli im poon tlamaxililo, auh iquac mocaoa yie nepantla tonatiuh, yie tlaquallupã auh in aquin amo quintlaquentia, çan [778]

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Este fue domingo salió de casa, y[illegible], el tiempo que estas figuras reynaban."
2. Paragraph: see "Manuscrito no 3 [illegible]," p. 212.

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
● 778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years—[the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion
785 they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced
304 the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and
805 there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which they divided into eighteen months, to each of which
796 they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and
443 during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mjra, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y qujnjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y qujnjētos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y qujnjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrētandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelāte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que hazil su biesto, contando seis de nemontemj.

La otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en deziocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-

X796 And before she died, she danced. The old men beat the drums for her; the singers sang for her—
536 they intoned her song. And when she danced, she
[181] wept much, and she sighed; she felt anguish.[4] For time was but short; the span was but brief before she would suffer, when she would reach her end on earth.

X796 And when the sun was past its zenith, they then took her up to the top of the temple. All the impersonators of the demons went, laying hold of and accompanying her, proceeding in rows. Yet another, the impersonator [of Ilama tecutli], went leading the people—one whom verily they thought a god[dess] on earth, who was only a man whom they [so] adorned.

And when they reached [the summit], they cut open her breast. And when she was slain, then they severed her head. And her head they gave to him who led. He took it in his right hand, going off with it, going dancing, marking the dance rhythm with the head. He went before them, leading all the likenesses and vicars of the devils. They circled the temple; then they descended, in the same way [as they had come up], ranged in rows, and going in lines. And when they reached the ground, thereupon they dispersed and went to their houses, to their tribal temples, where [the gods' raiment] was guarded.

And the vicar, the likqueu, of Ilama tecutli, he thus danced: he stepped back, kicking his heels up behind him. And then he went off supporting himself upon his staff, a cane.

[293] Its head, its upper end, was divided off into three [points], like a three-pronged harpoon. It was called his thorny staff. And when he thus danced, one said: "Ilama tecutli backeth away." And they put upon him a mask looking in two directions. It had huge lips and large eyes. And upon his head moved an array of little banners, arranged in rows. They seemed like a wreath of flowers upon his head.

[417] And when this [took place], it was said: "His grain bin burneth." His granary was fashioned[5] of pine branches joined together, like a framework.[6] Then they wrapped paper about it; they caulked it with paper. They placed it upon the eagle vessel.

Auh in nimo mjquj mjtotinia, qujtlatzotzonjlinia in vevetque, in cujcanjme, qujcujcatia, quevilia in jcujc. Auh in jquac mjtotinia, vel mochoqujlinia, yoan elcicivia, mociappoa: ichica ca ça achitonca, ça izqujch cavitl y, ça izqujch cavitontli y, inic ontlacotia, in ic campolon tlaltícpactli.

Auh in jquac ßmotzcalo tonatiuh: njmã ic ic qujtlecavia in tescaltícpac, qujxitzqujtivi, qujtocativi in jzqujchtin im jxiptlaoã diablome compantitivi, teiacãtiuh in oc cppa ixiptla, in vel-qujmotzutia tlaltícpac, çan tlacatl in qujchichioaia.

Auh in oconaxiéque, njmã ic coneltequi: auh in ßmomjqujli, njmã ic qujoalquechcotona: auh in jxontecõ, qujoalmaca in teiacantiuh, itlan conana imaiauhcampa in qujxitzqujtiuh, mjtotiiuh ic ontlaiauhtiuh in tõtecomatl, imjxpan icatiuh, qujniacantiuh in jzqujchtin imjxiptlaoan, in impatilloan Diablome, qujoaliacalaa in teucalli, njman ic oeltemo, çã no ivi, motecpantivitze, cenpantitivitze: auh in oemoco tlalchi, njmã ic ic vivi, momoiaoa, vmpa vivi in inchachan, in incacalpulco, in vmpa pipiolo.

auh in teixiptla, in jxipctla Ilama tecutli: injc mjtociaia tzitzintlaça, itzintlampa in conjaua icxi: yoan ic motlatlaqueschitiuh impil, ẽtlatl:

in jiacac, in jquac, ezcan in mazaltic, iuhqujn mjuacachalli: motecuiotia, yiotlavitzil, auh in juh mjtotinia y, mjtos, motzinoa in Ilama tecutli: yõ xaiacatl cõmaquja, occampa tlachia, tezxazacaltic, tezxazacalpul, yoan iztotolonpol, auh in jcpac pantotzintl terpantoc, vipantoc: iuhqujn icpacxuchiuh tuchina:

yoan in jquac y, no motenoua icuezcõ tlatla: in jcuencon qujchichioaia ocuquavitl in qujnenepeoaia, iuhqujn colotli, ic qujtlaliaia camaqujmjloaia, camaqepechoa, vncan qujquetza in qusuhxicalco:

[illegible] por [illegible], porque la pusieran; pero que no eran dioses [illegible], y de otros pueblecitos, otras [illegible] grandes de dioses."

4. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 204) writes, however, that "*a esta Muger le era permitido llorar, y entrañablemente sentir (como suyuda en labor, que [illegible] entre Dios) y así se entristecía, suspiraba, y llaraba, con la amargura de la muerte, que de presente, y cerca esperaba.*"

5. *Chicahua* may be rendered in two ways. We have been guided largely by the context.

6. In the text diagram (Tezcoco) Sahagún states that "*tenían la estatua del dios de fuego de arquitas, y poko atadas, como una cerca, que ellos llaman calcali, que quiere decir atadoiro o cercado.*"

●782

Aztec NU7

[Most of the information on propitiation, which forms a major portion of Aztec ceremonies, will be found in category 796]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

At one place they split up; at another they sac-
175
[782]
rificed three individuals, according to the prescribed ritual of opening up the stomach and tearing out the heart; and at a third place they learned how to make pulque.

175
648
Their records make little reference to the tribes already in the Valley, and their own entrance was relatively unnoticed by the others. However, the hieroglyph of Tenozomoc in one manuscript suggests the obvious conclusion that they had to have Tepanec permission to pass through Azcapotzalco and settle at Chapultepec, where the beautiful park now is. Here they remained happily for nearly a generation. Their neighbors seem to have been small but growing communities, so that conflict was inevitable. The Tenochcas began the [583] strife because their young men went up the lake to Tenayuca to raid and steal wives, a common North American Indian method of gaining prestige. Their more powerful neighbors became irritated and made up a punitive expedition in which Tepanecs, Culhuas and Xochimilcas took part. The result was horrid: the Tenochca chief Huitzilhuitl* and most of the tribe had to go to Culhuacan territory to dwell in serfdom, while the rest escaped to the lake where some low-lying islands offered refuge. The main body stayed in Tizapan,† near the present San Angel, where they were under the eye of Coxcox,‡ the chief of Culhuacan. The Tenochcas detested the waste which was barren in all except poisonous snakes and insects. Huitzilopochtli they still enshrined, but his worth had sunk so low that the Culhuas came to mock him at his shrine and toss nameless filth into the temple.*

Finally, however, the tide turned. Coxcox became involved in a war with Xochimilco and called upon his vassals to aid him. When the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

*Wee-tee'ul-weed. †Tee-za-pa'n. ‡Cosh-cosh.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenoch- 175
titlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she [684]
was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[21]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahual- 175
pilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had 778
previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most 532
important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This mon- [782]
strous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[22]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first 175
task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, [648]
in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims 796
played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zoel.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the
796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[18]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was
[669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan.
[731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence,
[782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[19]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-o-tzin.

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532 bolize the heavens and their color. This strip is girdled by
805 the signs for stars, through which penetrate designs emblematic of the rays of the sun. Two immense Fire Serpents, symbolic of the Year and Time, circle the exterior to meet face to face at the base. Boring back through these forms to the significance behind them, we have a grandiose conception of the majesty of the universe.[11] (See Plate 52, top.)

349 In recent years, under the Presidential Palace in Mexico
532 City, a monolith over a meter high was found, which represented a platform and a stair crowned at the top by a similar solar disk. Reliefs on the sides show Huitzilopochtli, God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, God of the Smoking Mirror, symbolizing the sacred war between night and day. Probably the Calendar Stone was set up in much the same manner, and it is tantalizing to think of the lost reliefs which explained and ornamented the great disk when it was in position.[12] (See Plate 52, bottom.)

532 The historical accounts record that the Calendar Stone
805 was made in 1479 and the great eagle vase of Tizoc during
782 his rule from 1481 to 1486. A trough, extending from the basin to the edge of the vase, has been explained as a drain for blood to run out. However, the design is not keyed to this drain, and the purpose of the basin is to burn hearts, not to receive blood. Therefore, the furrow was probably made by the Spaniards, who sought either to use the vase as a nether millstone or tried unsuccessfully to smash it as an example of idolatry.[13]

532 The dates of these two monuments indicate that this was the time when Aztec civilization burst into flower. It is a tribute to Aztec artists that, originally fettered by the more lowly tasks of handicraft, they could accept the tremendous

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PLATE 60

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Priests and laymen sacrifice two victims in honor of the War God. *Right:* War captive on sacrificial stone defends himself against members of the warrior orders. BOTTOM: *Left:* Sacrificial knife with mosaic handle representing an Eagle Knight, in the British Museum. These pictures from the Codex Florentino reveal the technique of using a stone knife to make a deep enough incision to reach the heart and tear it out. *Right:* Sacrifice to the Sun.

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[p. 176(D)]

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776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladiatorial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in [796 701] ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca, likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec religion.* (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year. His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this symbolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly [796 782] flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59, bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,* (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,† "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,‡ "Flower

*Chee-co'-me-co-atl. ‡Sho-chee-kay-tsa'l.
†Shee-lo'-nen.

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796 continuance of their existence endowed the ritual with profound solemnity. The New Fire Ceremony was symbolized by the extinction of the old altar fire, which had burned perpetually for fifty-two years, and the kindling of a fresh one in token of the new grant of life.* (See Plate 29, top row.)

During the five useless days (*nemontemi*) of the final year the people let their fires go out and destroyed their household furniture. Fasting and lamentation were the order of the day while the populace awaited catastrophe. Pregnant women [789] were shut up in granaries, lest they be changed into wild animals, and children were marched up and down and kept awake, for fear that sleep on that fatal evening would result in their turning into rats.

At sunset the priests, in solemn panoply, representatives of the whole array of the Aztec pantheon, ascended the Hill of the Star, anciently known as Huixachtecatl. This extinct volcanic crater rises abruptly from the Valley floor and is visible from almost every quarter of the Valley of Mexico. From the temple to its summit the priests anxiously scanned the heavens as the night wore on, awaiting the hour when a certain star or stars, Aldebaran or the Pleiades, reached the center of the heavens and gave the sign that their world would continue.

[372] At the very moment when these stars passed the meridian [782] the priests seized a wooden fire drill and kindled a new fire in the open breast of a victim freshly slain for the purpose. The populace—priests, chiefs and commoners—thrilled to a great happiness. Runners lit torches from the new fire and rekindled the altars in the temples of every town and hamlet, whence the people bore the flames to their hearths. Like fireflies the darting torchbearers sped through the night, bringing the promise of a new life to every man, woman and child.

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With the dawn, more than ever gracious in its fulfillment of a 796
nations' piety, the populace rallied, renovating their temples, refurbishing their houses and making new utensils for temple and household use. There was feasting on special food, and sacrifice both by personal bloodletting and the immolation of [785] captives betokened the measure of popular gratitude.

Another striking ceremony fell on the day Four Earthquake (or Motion), the sign of the present age, and symbolized the passage of the sun through the heavens. At dawn a captive dressed as the Sun God, Tonatiuh, ascended the platform where the Calendar Stone was set. Four priests spread-eagled the victim, and a fifth opened his breast to tear out the heart as an offering to the god. The populace then feasted until noon, gashing their ears and parts of their bodies with blades of obsidian. In the afternoon the Eagle and Tiger [785] Knights, votaries of the solar cult, took part in a dance dramatizing the sacred war wherein the sun is slain, to be reborn the following day. The dance culminated in a gladiatorial sacrifice. Selected Eagle and Tiger Knights, armed with real weapons, slew a captive warrior, chosen for his military distinction, who was tethered to a circular stone representing the sun's disk and who defended himself with dummy weapons only.[10] (See Plate 60, top right, bottom.)

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A curious type of sacrifice took place in connection with the worship of the god Xipe and may be the origin of the arrow sacrifice which is performed in honor of the morning star by the Pawnee of our Western plains. In the Mexican rite the victim was lashed to a scaffold, and priests, using bows or *atl-atls*, shot him to death.[11]

The Aztecs performed a hideous ceremony in honor of the Fire God, Huehueteotl. Prisoners of war and their cap-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 Prisoners of war and their cap-
[276] tors took part in a dance in honor of the god, and the next day
782 the captives ascended to the top of a platform, where a powder, *yauhtli* (Indian hemp), was cast in their faces to anesthetize them against their ghastly fate. After preparing a great fire, each priest seized a captive and, binding him hand and foot, lifted him onto his back. A macabre dance took place around the burning coals, and one by one they dumped their burdens into the flames. Before death could intervene to put an end to their suffering the priests fished out the captives with large hooks and wrenched the hearts from their blistered bodies.[12]

In contrast to the callous brutality of the fire sacrifice, the ceremony in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca was strikingly dramatic, tinged with the pathos with which we view the taking of a life. The handsomest and bravest prisoner of war was selected a year before his execution. Priests taught him the manners of a ruler, and as he walked about, playing divine melodies upon his flute, he received the homage due Tezcatlipoca himself. A month before the day of sacrifice four lovely girls, dressed as goddesses, became his companions and attended to his every want. On the day of his death he took leave of his weeping consorts to lead a procession in his honor, marked by jubilation and feasting. Then he bade farewell to the glittering cortege and left for a small temple, accompanied by the eight priests who had attended him throughout the year. The priests preceded him up the steps of the temple, and he followed, breaking at each step a flute which he had played in the happy hours of his incarnation. At the top of the platform the priests turned him over the sacrificial block and wrenched out his heart. In deference to his former godhood his body was carried, not ignominiously

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flung, down the steps; but his head joined the other skulls spitted on the rack beside the temple.[11] (See Plate 61, top.) 796 [782]

Every one of the great monthly sacrifices had a dramatic significance, and a list of the principal feasts, the gods they honored and the month of their occurrence is set forth on Table XVII. Several authors have availed themselves of Friar Sahagun's matchless descriptions to set forth the elaborate rituals which we have lightly sampled here. The elements of time, training and elaborate preparation of costume, it can be readily seen, must have absorbed a large part of the resources of the tribe. The tentacles of ritual extended throughout the tribal activities, so that even games and sports were transformed into acts of religious meaning, although the participants undoubtedly derived a great deal of fun from their performance.

The ball game, *tlachtli*, was such a game, played in a court shaped like the capital letter *I*. Walls extended on either side of the stem of the *I*, and in the middle of each a stone or wooden ring was set vertically, in contrast to the horizontal position of a basketball hoop. The players tried to pass through this ring a hard rubber ball, which they could only strike with their elbows, hips or legs. There must have been some other method of scoring than by goals alone, since these, very naturally, were of rare occurrence—so much so that, in the event of one, players and backers had the right to snatch the wearing apparel of their adversaries. The game was played far and wide, courts having been found from the Republic of Honduras to southeastern Arizona. It has a special interest for us in that the first description of rubber, so important in our modern economy, was when Oviedo, in the sixteenth 796 526

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[14]
526 (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 There were also games of chance which were played with
796 a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[15]

796 Another important entertainment involved the erection of
526 a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[16]

782 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple cere-
174 monial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. 782 174
Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the 782
braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. [727]
Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances [567]
women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure
growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

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growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Ceremonial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did horrible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

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have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redonbtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

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727 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval
715 knight or career soldier in our own culture.[8]
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721 The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral
726 sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

701 The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[8]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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174 was set with razor-sharp obsidian blades. Usually he was
796 killed in the most honorable of deaths, that of sacrificial vic-
349 tim to the Sun God, Tonatiuh, but sometimes he would resist so successfully that he gained a pardon. Other disk-shaped stones were placed about the plaza. One, thirteen feet in diameter, was set vertically on a special platform. Carved with a consummate mastery of design, it represented the symbolic history of the world. Another disk, set flat, was hollowed in the center, so that hearts wrung from war captives might be burned to nourish the great gods. This was carved on its surface and edge to commemorate the many conquests of War Chief Tizoc, who was shown dressed as a god, with his captives before him.

174 In another part of the plaza a sacrifice was to be made.
782 Before a small temple dedicated to one of the myriad Aztec gods a group was gathered, some in the gay panoply of merchants and others wearing the sinister black of the priesthood. A tightly pinioned slave stood in their midst and looked unseeingly before him, resignation, not fear, on his face. The priests rushed him up the steep steps of the temple, followed by the merchants at a more leisurely pace. Two priests seized the slave by either arm, forcing him backward, while two others pulled his legs from under him until his body curved, belly upward, over the altar. A fifth priest plowed his flint knife in a long sweep from the breastbone to the base of the stomach and, reaching into the aperture, with a dexterous twist tore out the heart. This he burned, while it was still throbbing, in a carved stone vase, while the merchants, swinging long ladles of smoking incense, chanted their thanks for a safe and profitable excursion into the hot country. (See Plate 60.)

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpulequi*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpulequi*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they should [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] twilight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hairdress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

Twenty-first Chapter, which tells of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlaloca.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloca.

These thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind came over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images, that they would make representations of

qujchichiuaia, ynac mantinemca, zozouje, xoxouhquj zicalli: vncan ixtiuemj atl, vexotica ic teatzellhvia. 776 796

Auh yn jquac omo ilhujuh, yn çan nenamajan: oc no ce qujxiptlaiotiuia, qujchichiuaia: 567 467

yn jquac tla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtotia, qujnepiellis: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, teatzellhujtiuh, tonachvitiuh, iuhquin ic qujtlanjliaia, ynjc qujmicuelis.

Yoan iuhquin yvic mocujtlazculistlaoaia: yn açaca ic vnca itlaquj, yazca:

qujtoaia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo, macamo njcnixcauj, yn nocuelilocaz: ma onqualo, ma onjoa, ma onpopoliuj, ma ic onmjtoti in totecuh napa tecutli: ma çaquen njnonemjtis, yn ac iuhquj njcochiz, ac iuhquj njnecez, iehe qujmati, yn açoc ida, nechmomaquilix, qujmomacavilis:

ic quinquentiaia ce quachtli, yn ixiptla muchiuaia, ic oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchitlacatl, tlatlaquaia yn jouaniolque. 776

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yxiptla, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlâcoliaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlatoteca, icpaltoteca, tlatectulia, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tletlalia, muchipa cupaltema, tlatetecalihtoc tlatetecalihtimanj, atle vetztoc, çe tlaçolli. 467 [356]

Auh yuju yn muchichiuaia, motilloçac, mjxtlilpapoxx, mixtlillujj, mjchchiaujticac, amacale, yiamacuexpal, amamaxtle, tuitulle, ixtaccaque, atlacuçomanchimale, aztapilitapile. 776

Jnic cempoalli vce capitulo, ynchpa tlaiza yn itoca tepictoton: yn jnoan pouja tlaloque.

No yoan pouj, intech tlamjnia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepicto, çan qujmonpiqujia, qujmixipelaiotiuia, in tetepe, in çaço catle tepetl.

Auh yn aquja cocoxujia, cocopaoaia, quaquauhtia, cocotocauja: mocça yn aquja atlan miquimoquj, chocatl ipan mocuepoua atle: vncan momotchiuia ynjc tepiquia, in qujpipiqui: quemalouaz, in chalchiuitl yeoz, in tlaloc: 776 782

115. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "un cuero de ciervo" (leather).
116. According to Durán, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 219), the *calpuleques* were "*señores o guardas de barrios.*"

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Itzac
782 tepetl, Poinchouccti,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With wherever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fas-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded cases [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
held the rubber-spatted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the
tamponic cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None
532 of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
a vigil and made music for them.

755 During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepicmeen, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepicmeen].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jousters, in their caps, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepicmeen [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepicmeen
figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon
returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people are drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

popocatepetl, itzac tepetl, poinchoucti: ynon in çaçe
quenquijxel tepetl in quijtemoua in quijpiqui.

Auh in quijpiquia, in quiniipilatiuia in ynque, çan
tocalli, quiptlacatlaliuia, quiptlacatlachieltiuia, tlacatlachi-
tiuanca:

quiptlantiuia xiouachili, auh in quijmiloloteiuia xiocuili:
in quomonj yxtlatequj in quiniipilatiuia, in quijpiquia
çan no inhuqj ynic quijnchichiouia.

Auh ynon quichiouia, amatemujl, colchachapoctiuia,
colchipiniuia, quijnquequentiuia:

auh in ocquj amatemuiil, tlacolchipinjlli, tlacolchachapo-
tzalli, mocatitoch quijpipilouia, mocatitoch quijnemechilpiuia,
quijnemetechçalouia, ynipxpan amoc, ic itzacuque in
tepicme:

hiçmacatec papapatlacatec, papatlamec, ontepilpanujl,
mecec, nemecec, necocxampa tlatlalochcac, tetzontectec, ya
iuch amoc temujl.

Auh tzilacatzili, tlaintlapanili, tlaintzacili: ynimpan
momanca, chalchihuitzalli ipan poujia, vetli vnca ca, vetli ic
momanca.

Auh çan inhuan in tlamacazque, ya jnnequich, in
tlachiuque cuica, ya quichichiouia, in quiptlaliuia: aiac
çan moiocuiaia, in calla in quichichiouia.

Auh mocujtlica in quiptlalliujuia, ynjua: quijmolcaualti-
tiuia in tlamacazque:

ya o ic cauhque tepicme, ynjuan ic ic quinnoçaviia,
quiccujxtia:

in cuiaol xapa in quiptlamanjlia, tamalolli in
quijmacaia, quijmamaia ynipxpa, in tlamacazque, in
tepiccujca:

no xapa in quiptlamacaia cuiaol, ynon quiptlapichiliuia,

quijmoquiquijxiliuia tecuicuili in quiqipichiliuia, ynon
vlacapitzli, cocouijlol,

vlacapitzuia, çan tolquechti, papaquijuj, huiuinj,
tolitiuitinj, tecomoltinj, cacalaqui, no tlamacaia.

Auh ya ontetic ynjuan quijmicia ya tepicme, quinquech-
cotoua, quinquechcuj, quinquechilacatoua, çanpan quincua-
ololoua, cuecheuj, in tepicmoalli, quiqui ya calmecac ya
vnque ontepan, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiquijuj; ynjuan in ye calaquijh ya tlacatecmoal-
huca, ya jcoxoua, vecoa ontepin, mopiatequa:

auh in ic iouanich, in ic teotlac ynjuan in ic tlacatec,
mochiuaxcalchiu in vecoaca, ya in chicuacpan, ya ontlachi-

117. Gods of the sky, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Itzac tepetl (Iztac citlali) are mountain-gods in the Valley of Mexico; Poinchouccti is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (very sacred), in the Spanish colonial Bible translated as [illegible] Zeremonien des Buschdienstes (Ensign Kopitzsch, p. 27).

119. ". . . cuero pegajoso llamado de goma de ulli, o hule (caucho pegajoso llamado [illegible])" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 128).

well-mannered, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, disperced and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-headed; some went shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, but [the wine] sour.

They should look to their strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[130]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side,[131] to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the green mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the disposal of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the drugs in the vessel, of the wine, of varnished wine,[132] of fruit wine,[133] of white wine, of sheep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gear, as was said above, he was then cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made then paid his debt and thus fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornments—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their sceptres of sacred thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,[134] their closed-handles;

and the turquoise cups and their little sauce bowls with

calhujque, in ic quaitaque, in ic tamitaque, yuan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque:

ichoan vel iuamac catca, in vctli in quiqua.

Auh in otlaivintic, ninan ic ic vinjlca, cocomanoia, xiximjnjoc:

yn aca mochaqujlitiuh, yn aca moqujchitoctiuh, mjuctitiuh, momamatiuh: yn aca tetamiliciuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaoaltilcia: çan no ontenca yn inequjuh, yn jchiuji:

tlacaqujtilcia, navilhujtl maçoaia, qujneçaujlicia yn inequjuh, ynic amo xocniac:

vel mopinia, vel motlacaoaltiaia, amo cioacochia, amo equjchocchia, intla cioaci:

çan ninan aiac vel ontlapalouia yn vctli, yuan in necutli, ynic mochiouia:

aiac iuamal inapil, conaqujaia, vel ynacazua, vel malhujlicia, yn inqujchica, moincaxapotlac yn vctli.

Auh yn equja, ichtaca tlapalouia, yn tlachtaca yin iuamal çan tepitoa ocupalo: iuh mjtouia tonnacujlivia tepantilivia, avic momomana avic xoquivi yn ic:

yuan in aca matricoliujia, yma qujcuecuetza, icxi quicuecuetza, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicuecuechca, yhiaxtoteca, tuquapatlaca, tauviviica, itech qujnoa: mjtoa, equjtlavelique in xoxouhqui tepictoa.

Auh yn otlathujc, ,njman ic ic apozalo: yn apozaa çan ichoan, yn iuaniclque, in vel icalloc, in ontlaca, cencca, in vel icujtlaxcolloc, yn vel imecaioc:

momoxoa apozalo, iquac compalioja tlatlauj, in quaequjch mocaoaia, in atl, in tlaquallli:

yuan in oc quanqujch omocauh xniecunjc in vctli, in ainutli, in tlachiualvctli, in itzac vctli, in cochvctli.

Auh yn tepiquiuj, in tepiquj: intla cuacivi, yn juh omjnotlacpac, ic panic: yuan yn equja/atlan miquinquja ynjc amo mjc: ichoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc mantlaoa, ynjc qujpoltilia yuacual.

Auh yn jaquich, yn janachichinal, yn jatlaquan, yn jnamomapan, yn jnamapil, yn jatlapatlanjquauh, yn jnaimbocoal:

yuan yn jachalchinchinal, yuh yn jatlaquaia molcaxoaual,

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128. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 29, citing corrupted phrase in MS Bibliotheca del Palacio. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 38.
131. Probably inappropriate in context. In these appears in MS Bibliotheca del Palacio (Cf. Sahagún, loc. cit.)
132. Possibly curdled.
133. See Molina (Vocabulario).
134. Alonso Tezozomoc, Histoire du Mexique (M. Tezozomoc-Chimalpa, ed.; Paris: P. Jaccoux, 1853), Vol. I, p. 249, describes this as a light flame-coloured stick: "... un air de qu'il en sortait des flammes et des étincelles." Sahagún (op. cit., p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (Rámpolo).

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782 which [the cuhhcuxcu] are, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepetzinco: they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Panzalan.

776 **Twenty-second Chapter,** which talketh of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontotochtin).

He [was] the wine, in times past[128] considered full of sin. For he hurled people off cliffs, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an evil being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Ipalnemoani, Acolhua, Tlilhua, Pantzaut, Izquitzaut, Tolocatl, Papaztac, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Ome tochtli, Tepoztecatl, Chimalpantecatl, Colhuacatzincatl.[129]

And as for the army of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white horse feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper ear-plug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red macaw feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the pulque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the fleur staff. And also he had cactus.

quauhxoxouhqui, quapipiloxouhqui, nauhi ynqui cencaxix tepetzinco: ailac ontlapanoa, ynqui ontlapanoa, yxcuinca panzalan.

Jnic ompaualli ynnemac ompiltzin, yxcuepa tlamo in tezcatzoncatl, yn jnnon pouj centzontotochtin.

Jehuatl in octli, ixquich tlahuelcalli ipan mochiuia: ca tetepeuinja, tequechcuecuepa, tetlaxoja, tetzjtzin;

tetzcuitzauj, ano pinauhtiauj, ano chicoxtiauj.

Auh ynjn tezcatzoncatl, yxcuin pouj, yxcuin ono, yn nouemac, centzontotochtin, yn octli ixtecxin, yn ijpalnemoani, Acolhua, tlilhua, pantzaut, Jxquitzaut, Tolocatl, papaztac, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, ome tochtli, tepoztecatl, chimalpantecatl, Colhuacatzincatl.

Auh yn jnechichiual Tezcatzoncatl, ximoxoxo, ixcuauxo, amoxocuchi, cuequalxiuhcauac, chaiaoac: cuaqua, colotlalpilli, xoxoctlachimalli, ixtapilli, tecpatzapilli, no cuitlalli.

fin del libro

128. Yxpan tonmatlac, in ciuac pan (Seler: op. cit.). The meaning also could be "drinks."
129. See Sahagun: op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 319; Vol. III, p. 139; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590)1950
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—After Paso y Troncoso

[illegible]—Teocalli. [illegible]—Tepetlacalco.
[illegible]—[illegible] [illegible] (Chap. III). [illegible]—Tolmec (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. III).

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950
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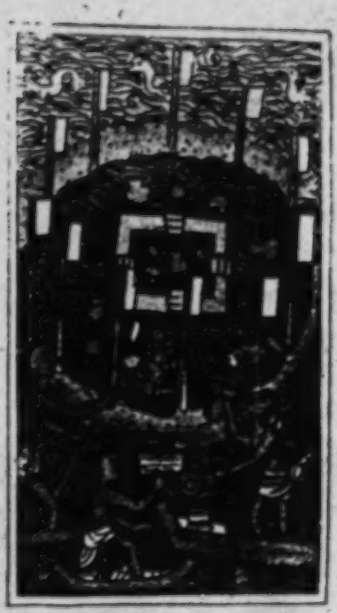

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—After Pow y Trueman

[illegible]—Tlaquiche tecuz (Chap. 9), Chalchihuitl yoto (Chap. 11), Chimaz xuitl (Chap. 7). [illegible]—Tlaquiloni—Cuchillo (Chap. 10). [illegible]—Xiuz tecuitl (Chap. 10). [illegible]—Tapalcatz (Chap. 13). [illegible]—Petlillac (Tapalcatz) (Chap. 13). [illegible]—Aquamitlis, Chap. 14. [illegible]—Mixquiquamitlis, Chap. 14.

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Here It Told In What Manner the Mexicans Made Offerings, and What They Made as Offerings in Their Temples.

Offerings.

Then were offerings made: with food and with copal were offerings made, and with all kinds of living things—purchase turkeys, purchase birds; or copal. Or else whatever was newly formed—purchase cocoa, or chia, or flowers, or whatever [was newly grown].

And then did the young [unmarried] women make offerings: before dawn their mothers and fathers awoke them. So they went down making offerings of gifts carried in the palms of their hands—little swallow, [which were] very small,—and then they quickly proceeded to lay gifts before the devil; in bowls they carried them then to present them [to the gods].

Only in the houses were the swallow made. Then did the young women make [their] offerings.

The Offering of Incense.

And then was the offering of incense performed, with an incense ladle. It was made of clay, with [stems in its ladleful making] a cross. Then they laid live coals in the incense ladle. When these blazed up, daily they filled it with copal incense, and then came forth before the devil, or else in the middle of the courtyard, where were the braziers. [This] was made of clay.

And when they came up to the devil, then they dedicated the incense brazier to the four directions, then offering incense. And when they had offered [incense] to the four directions, then they threw [the incense and the coals] into the brazier. Here the copal incense lay smoking.

And then was it done: the mothers and fathers thereafter set down under the children, [whether] male[-children] or women[-children]; then they weight other incense quickly, they awoke them; then

Niman mononono in quenjo chocoaia, yeno ic chiaia ya jonoqueu, in mexica.

Tlamacehualli.

Injc chocoaia: chocoaia, yeno tlamacen chocoaia, yeno yca in tlein iniuh: aço tecolin, aço xocol, aço tlilxocotl: aço in tlein iuncujcan mochiua, aço cuauh, aço chian, aço ueuhcl, aço in tlein.

Auh injc chocoaia cuenitoni: ineuc in quinjuitzinoa inmamaca, inmamaca: injc quinmaxiui xocoxocotl, in tlacatzintli tepitoton, injc yeiuica quinmaxiui ipapan ilhuia: cuetlaxcoa in quinquiza xocotl ic cocoaia:

yan inchan mochiuia in tlacatl, injc chocoaia cuenitoni.

Tlamaquilitl.

Auh injc mochiuia tlamaquilitl, in jon tlacatl: quqqui tlachichinoli, cocolchia, xocon cotonia in tlamachtli in tlamaco: in cocoxqui[415]tlapan ic cocoaia copalli, yc ochquiza in ipapan[314] ilhuia: ouqo in jonhuqueuia, ic xocon yeuc tlaquetzalli: quqqui tlachichinoli.

Auh in cocoxqueuaia ipapan ilhuia: niman mochiuiqo quiteua in tlamajtl, yuic tlaquechcha: auh ya jqueuc cocoxqueuaia cuenitoli, ic niman cotona in tlaquaua, xocon yeqoxtica in copalli.

Auh yuic mochiuia: ao yeuxinoua in quinjuitzinoa in tepilhuan, in cuqitzin, in ouqo ciua quinjuitzinoa in xocoxocoa, in xocoxocoa yuic chocoaxqueuc inhuan

they might not become doubtful was this done in the heaven.

quinyaiaiaia inic ano tlatzinacujoque tochan in mochiuaia ya.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

Copalmoliztli.

Auh in copalmoliztli ic mochiuaia, ya iquac in tein tlatolli ic mijtoa, ayo tecuitolli ic mitoa, achtec contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in aquijn ic tlatoa, çan yecan mococa in copalli xicalejca: anoço cujcatj in ic cujcatz, ic pecaz, achtec contemaz in copalli in tlequauhco, ninoan ic peoa in cujcatj.

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

And then was *pilfered*, then was *snatched* one's word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, then he said unto him:

"If what thou sayest is true, do thou kiss the earth."

Whomever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

Tlalquaztli.

In tlalquaztli ic mochiuaia, iquac in campa ualhujiuaia, mochi tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imapil, ayo iquac diablo, anoço tlecuijxaquac:

yeca ic tlaxoltilitia, ic achtia in tlatolli: ya iquac tein ano cenca achocoia tlatolli: ic tellaujlitia

intla ueli in tiquijtoa, tlaxoxtlalqua:
ic ninoan tlalquaia in aquijn, ic quijxelilitaia itlatol.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

And then was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first ate [before], *indeed*, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

Tlatlaçaliztli.

Auh inic mochiuaia tlatlacaliztli, iquac in tein quaiac: ya ximoo quaia, ayo tlaquaiz, achtopa achtec tepitl mocotoma, tlecuijxaquac omotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc: ninoan ic peoa inic tlaquaiaz: ninc achtec tlaquaia vel achtec tlatlaçaloia, in tlecuijxaquac.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

Then was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when then it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

Tlatlauiliztli.

Inic mochiuaia tlatlauiliztli, iquac in tlatlauilia, ayo vitzinoloia: iquac in ace iancujcan quijtlalia vetli, ya iquac ouijtlapoui, iquac ic tenotzaia, quijtlauaia apanitca tlecuijxaquac, yeca tetlauacxiquiaia.

And when men were to drink, they poured wine forth into the drinking vessel, and then poured a libation in front of the hearth. They poured the wine in a libation in the four directions.

And when they had poured a libation of the wine, then everyone drank the wine, then all began the drinking.

Auh yn iquac ic ytlacuaztic, cenquiza ytlacuaztica in vctli, ninoan ic cuauhxica in tlexiliquac, nenehcqui cuauhxica in vctli.

Auh yn iquac ocuauhxicah vctli, ninoan ic nenchi tlacat, quin yn vctli, ninoan ic nenchi pena in ytlacuaztica.

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Here Are Told the Various Modes in Which Blood Was Shed and Offered up.

Sacrificial Slaying, &c.

Thus was performed the sacrificial slaying of men, when captives and slaves died, who were called "Those who have died for the god."

Thus they took [the captive] up [to the pyramid temple] before the Devil, [the priest] going holding him by his hands. And he who was known as the arranger [of captives], this one laid him out upon the sacrificial stone.

And when he had laid him upon it, four men stretched him out, [grasping] his arms and legs. And already in the hand of the fire priest lay the [sacrificial] knife, with which he was to slash open the breast of the ceremonially bathed [captive].

And then, when he had split open his breast, he at once seized his heart. And he whose breast he had open was quite alive. And when [the priest] had seized his heart, he dedicated it to the sun.

Yeccan ximoan in quenquehcan ocquichtin, ye ccalli in chocoyoztlin.

Tlacatlaliztli, &c.

Inic ocmohuiz tlacatlaliztli, inic ximoquix ocalli yeccan tlacatli in ximoan tonmiqui

inic ocmohuiztiuh ixpan tlalli, yan cuauhtli ixcuitecatl, auh in tecuhtlacatecatlaiz, ichcapol cuauhtzin in ipan tecuhcal,

auh in ixcac ximan cuauhtzac: nevi tlacatl in quipiztlaiz in ixca in icxi, auh ic ixcac ozoc in tlamamaxac tlamacazqui in ocpatl inic quehcanquin tlachilli,

auh ximan ic cuechcapoj ozoc, ic ochoc in ixcac: auh ça ochoc in quehcanqui, auh in ixcac ocmanjiquac yoallo cuepontlaiz in tlacatzah.

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The Drawing of Straws [Through Parts of the Body].

The drawing of straws was then done, only upon days proper for [such] drawing of straws.

And indeed in all parts [of the body was it done] —perchance in one's ear, or, wherever willed it, one's tongue or one's thigh. And then they pierced the flesh: with a thornlike obsidian point. And then they then here drew a slender twig, or a straw; and then they gathered the flesh with a cord, that there they might pass a straw [through it]; and then all performed a penance.

And when slender twigs had been passed [through the flesh], upon the morrow the straws were swept up and gathered; and the straws were much bloodied. And this was done in the house of the devil, or along roads where devils lay.

The Offering of Thorns.

The offering of thorns was then performed: they plucked green 'roots and yet unpoxy spines, and

Tlacopiniliztli.

In tlacopiniliztli ic mochivaia, yan no ipan in tlein tonalli in tlacopiniloia,

auh yan nonjian ayc iuncanca, ayaqui in aquiyo quimopoin iuncapilco, anoco iuncopan, auh inic quicuitlapilo iuncaio ichcatl in ytzmolinqui in itztli, auh ic ximan vecan quipiqui in tlacatl, anoqui çacatl, auh inic quipilloia in iuncaio mecatica inic vecan quipiqui tlacatl inic tlamocuelaia,

auh in ipan ohcatepeilhuitl, in mochivaia tlachpanaia mochipanaia in tlacatl ypan in çacatl cica cuya, auh in mochivaia y, ichan Diablo anqui vel in vecan iuncy Diablomac.

Nevtlamamaliztli.

In nevtlamamaliztli ic mochivaia ouecoja in ayo-

bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places—some of them purchasers in two places, or three, they laid the thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was of their own will.

The Bloodying.

When they bloodied themselves, then did they do: they cut their ears with an obsidian blade, and then took that blood from about the ears.

The Cutting of the Ears.

Likewise this bloodying was a cutting of the ears, when one was bloodied by the cutting of the ears.

The Twisting off of the Heads [of Birds].

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him, and cast down [the body] before the devil. Then the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.

The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods].

Then was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: When [the priests] had cut open a deer's or a captive's breast, then [the owner of the victim] took his blood in a vessel reed, purchasers, cast a paper into the vessel, which drew up the blood.

Then he took [the blood] in the vessel and placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods].

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when anything something had bothered one, purchaser debtor, when he recovered, then purchaser he then paid his debt with *copal* [incense] or paper [spattered with] liquid rubber. Because he did

ixtl pan conmaqui in mevizitl, ouh quevijuia ic quivalmamaia in ipil ocuxtal vmc in vizitl

mevizitl in nca ayo vecan zaaço ecan in quimanaia vizitl, zaaço macuilcan çan tzaillelcana.

Neqaliztli.

In mijquia inic quichiuia iztli ica in conmaqui in jnacazcu, ouh ninoli ic quivalpipilouia in ezli in inacazcuiclan.

Nenecazcquilizti.

Çan ic no ichcauil in neqaliztli in nenecazcquilizti in mijquia in nenecazcmaqui.

Tlapachocoualizti.

In tlapachocoualizti ic machiuia ca iconc in tlacazcuiztli ixpan quivecanaia in Diablo no conjevijtiuia, vecan conlaçaia in ixpan Diablo, vecan tlapachococ in jiiac in cazcuiztli.

Tlatlaqualizti.

Inic machiuia tlatlaqualizti, in iconc ocoxtlacoque in tlacazcuiztli zaaço mulli, nijman quicuja in ieaço cuxtica pan ayo zaaçal conlaçaia in cuxtic quichichiuhtiuia in ezli,

nijman ic quivaqui cuxtica in Inquimin Diablome in tonco quipiolchilitiuia in ezli machiuia in jeaço tonmaqui.

Nochcauiliztli.

In nochcauiliztli inic machiuia in jquac ayo nca in tlein ipil machiuia, ayo cocolizti in jquac ayaxic, nijman ayo cuquilli pan zaaçal inic mocuiluaia, inic

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not die he paid his due in that manner; because, verily, he would [otherwise] have died.

The Spreading of Fir Branches.

Thus was done the spreading of fir branches: In the woods they plucked fir branches, so that upon them they might lay [bleeding] thorns as offerings. First they spread out the fir branches, and then they laid upon them, as offerings, two thorns [stained] with blood.

The Piling up of [Fire]wood for the God.

The piling up of [fire]wood for the god was thus done: They took green wood in the forest and cut it. In order to burn it in the house of the devil, they built up [a pile of it]. Those did this who dwelt and did penance in the house of the devil.

The Sweeping.

[358] The sweeping was thus done: Strictly did they force [the young ones], faithfully were the children, whether women[-children] or men[-children], made to sweep there the courtyards of their houses.

And when they had first swept, before dawn, then they made their offerings carried in the palms of their hands, which they laid before the devil. And when they had gone to make the offerings, thereupon they took up their incense ladles that they might offer incense.

Vigils. 1. All-night Vigils.

Thus was kept a vigil, when it was night.

They who dwelt here in the house of the devil, who kept watch during the night, remained very wakeful that they might not leave undone their duties because of sleeping. Hence they kept watch during the night, until dawn broke.

For this reason they kept watch: because of those things which should be done at midnight, or very late at night, or [when it was] already near dawn. Because of this they faithfully kept watch all night and tended the fire.

amo onjc inhuqjnma ic tlatlava, ichica ca oniquinquja.

Acxoiatemaliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia acxoiatemaliztli ca concuja quauhtla in acxoiatl xoxouhquj injc ipan nevitzmanaloa achto contemaia in acxoiatl ipan conmanaia in vitztli vme ezço.

Tequauhquetzaliztli.

Jn tequauhquetzaliztli, ic muchivaia, ca concuja in xoxuhquj quahujtl in quauhtla contequja injc vncan tlatlac ichan Diablo qujmaquetzaia, ichoantin quichivaia in vncan nenca ichan diablo in tlamacevaia.

Tlachpanaliztli.

Jn tlachpanaliztli ic muchivaia, cenca qujncuitlaviltiaia, cenca cujtlaviltiloia in tepilhoan in aço cihoa, anoço oquichtin in vncã inchachan in jmjcvalco injc tlachpanazque.

auh in jcoac iovatzinco in cachto tlachpanque, njmã quichivaia in ventlamapictli in conmanaia izpan Diablo, auh in jcoac ontlamanato, njmã ic concuja in intlema injc tlenamacazque.

Toçovaliztli. 1. ixaçoaliztli.

Inic muchivaia toçoliztli, iquac in ioualtica:

ichoantin in vncan nenca ichan diablo, in qujpiaia ioalli, cenca ixtoçotinenca, injc amo tlacochcauazque, ynjc qujpiaia ioalli, in izquichica tlathuiz:

ynjc qujpiaia, ichica, in tlein muchioaz yn iquac ioualnepantla, anoço tlaquauhioaz, anoço ic tlathujnaoac, ipampa in, vel qujpiaia in ioalli, yuã qujpiaia in tletl.

Abstinence.

When all detained, they did not fast. But none washed themselves with soap nor in the steam bath; neither did [men] lie with women. Only when it was [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli did they fast for seven days.

Nequamilizli.

Inic nequamilizli uno tlacatlequalolo, çan ie nic quamamilia, nic motemaia, ayoiac cincocchia: çanyio yquac in panquetzaliztli, tlacatlequalolo chicuacilhuitl.

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Here Are Told, in Very Truth, the Offerings Which They Made, in Order to Pay Honor to the Devil.

Niman mitoa, in vel nelli tlamanaliztli, in quichiuaia, inic quipanvitilitia tlacatecuhtzin.

The Swallowing of Serpents.

Thus was done by those who swallowed serpents, when they observed [the feast of] Atamalqualiztli. They who were named mayanca swallowed [the serpents] while they were quite alive, holding them only in their mouths, cutting them to pieces [with their teeth] that they might swallow them. And when they had swallowed them, thereupon they were offered gifts, as hath been told in its place, and water *zamate* were eaten. [This happened] every eight years.

Cuauxolotlatl.

Inic mochiuaia, in oncal quipiaxoaia, iquac ya atamalqualoia quichiuaia: mamacoaia mayanca, çan ixtiuia in quipixoaia, çan incamatica in quimocuaia, quipixcamacxtiuia, ynic quipixoaia. Auh ya iquac oquintlaqua, çeçepan motlaxtiuia, ya ixhuqui ipan omito, atamalqualoia chicuexiuhtica.

The Swallowing of Frogs.

And thus they swallowed frogs, likewise alive. When this was similarly done, these very same mayanca performed [the swallowing].

Cuexolotlatl.

Auh inic cuexoia quipixoaia çan no ixtiuia, çan no iquac mochiuaia, çan no ichoontin in mayanca quichiuaia.

Making Birds Fly.

[231] Thus was it done [when] birds were made to fly at the time of the feast of Etzalqualiztli: The youths tied birds to wooden rods; thus they danced as all [the birds, fastened by strings], circled [the wooden rods].

Tonpoluhtilitl.

Inic mochiuaia, tonpoluhtilitia iquac in etzalqualiztli, in telpopochtin quxohtiteh quimijpixia in tonme ic mijoxtiuia in iquac tlaiaxalotia.

Processions.

Processions were thus undertaken. For whatever feast was established, when this was done, all the people went in processions, perchance at dawn, or at sundown. Then they all dispersed.

Tlaiaxolotlatl.

In tlaiaxolotlatl, ic mochiuaia in tlein ilhuitl motlalitivia iquac mochiuaia, mochi tlacatl tlaiaxolotia, ayo ixhuatzinco, anyo ic tentlac, ic tlaxitinjxia.

Singing in the Manner of Women.

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And the singing in the manner of women was thus done, when, maybap, they formed [the image of] whatever devil. Then everywhere all the women

Cihuapilcuicatlatl.

Auh in jcihuapan cuicatlatl ic mochiuaia iquac in ayo tlacatin Diablo, in tlein, iquac mochiuaia

and men danced [together, as] during the feast of Tlaloc.

The Maintaining of Chalk.

Thus was done the maintaining of chalk: when they quickly snatched the chalk, then he who maintained the chalk ran. Thus he appeared running fast, and a number followed him. They went running him, and any who did not hasten fell quickly under the stones.

The Lifting [of Children], that They Might Grow.

Thus was done the lifting of children that they might grow: Also upon a certain day they lifted up all the small children [by the head] that they might grow. Along the roads and on all the ground lay the *nopal* [cacti], or mogguy plants; thus, it was said, these thus would swiftly grow.

mijtoznia in cihuatl novian yeuan ciquichtin iquac initlatoaiah tlaloc.

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Tiçapaloliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia tiçapaloliztli: in iquac concuiniçqiça in tiçatl nijman ic motlaloa in tiçapaloa injc nencia in ceuca tlecça yeuan cequjntin quitocaia, quitepachoaiva nah in nepaja ano tlecçaia iciuhca tetica vetzia.

Tetecalaualiztli.

Jnjc muchivaia teiscalaualiztli no ipan in tlein tonalli muchiztia in pipiltontli quimiscalaanaia velica yeõ in izquich tlalticpac onoc in nopalli, anoço metl, ic mijmaia inic hiciuhca moscalaua. [827]

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A True [Relation] of Still Other Offerings with Which Similarly They Paid Honor to the Devil.

Hanging [an Object] over the Breast.

Thus was done the hanging [of objects] over the breast; thus was the tying with loose cotton thread: they tied [them] about the wrists and the necks of small children and [suspended on the cords], in small bags, *xoxillar* made of green maize. Here [in the *calpulli*] they set forth these, on small jar-stands, and small earthen jars, and lifted the jars up by the ears, and with their hands went filling their bags with water. And when they had reached the twentieth day, when [it was the feast] known as Teotl ecu, [that was] when they untied the feathered thread which they had about the small children.

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[For] Pain.

[308] And [for] pain, thus was done upon the feast of [the god] Acolmiztli: the small children were ornamented in feathers [applied to them]; in colored feathers, [set] everywhere on their bodies. And the old people similarly applied feathers on their stomachs, over their breasts, and upon their backs. Thus they set feathers upon them—so it was said—because then Acolmiztli would not bewitch them.

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The Sewing Out of the Children.

Thus was done the sewing out of the children. They took all of them there to the house of the devil, and had in truth all the children dance before them, and made them drunk. Hence it was called the sewing out of the children; for they had them all appear in the house of the devil.

The Act of Striking.

Thus was done what was named the act of striking: when mock battle was joined, the shield and

Inuchuan in oc cequj tlamamalitli in çan no ic quijmoteilhuia Diablo.

Nechpilitli.

Injc nuchiuia nechpilitli, auic nechpiloia ica ipul in quinjilpioia pipiuctoni in iuauapechtlan, yuan in jaquechtlan yuan in jaujac elotlaxcahuaxtli in vecan cuauauia vacalouaco yuan teolxoxtli, vacalouaco conquetzaia tentiuh in ul in jaua ixac, auh in ijc oacico ipan composilihuijtl in iquac mononeua totoc heco iquac quijtemilinia in jcpul petoquj injc omoolpiqui pipiloctli.

Neçquolilitli.

Auh in neçquolilitli ic nuchiuia ipan ilhuijuh acolmiztli mijhuiçoçquilouia in pipiloxuxi tlapalilhuica, nauijan in jtech inacaio. Auh in vecpilaca çiyio in jnculpan, in jnitlapan yuan in jacuijlapan, quinamjctinia in ilhuijl, injc quinpotonjnia, quihuach ipampa inic amo tzitlaquan acolmiztli.

Pilquolilitli.

Injc nuchiuia pilquolilitli vmpa nuchiuia quijuicaia in iteupan Diablo, in pipiloxuxi vel nuchiuia inupan quinjuiçoyoia yuã quinjolouaxtiuia injc mononeua pilquolilo ca nuchiuia quijuolquiztia in pipiloxuxi in Diablo ichan.

Tlamamalitli.

Injc nuchiuia in mononeua tlamamalitli in jquac mulli nuchiuia ichiual tonquauh inuac

war club of the captive lay in his hand, but his war club lacked obsidian points. And they who stripped had their shields and war clubs, in order to fight in gladiatorial sacrifice in supposed battle with the captive or slave.

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Lying in the Sacred Place.

For five days all lay stretched out in the reed [swamp]. Then was penance done for Tlaloc when in the cave were laid the two *culcuzcatl*.

Placing of Men upon the Straw.

The placing of men upon the straw: Of those who flayed men, some put on the [flayed] skins. Such were named Xipes. And straw was shaken out, upon which they placed [the Xipes]. Hence was it said that they were set forth upon the straw.

Quickening [the Sun or the Fire].

The quickening was thus done: When the ears were cut, they sprinkled the blood upward, [or] perchance sprayed it into the fire. Thus, it was said, they caused the fire and the sun to quicken.

The Spreading of Grass.

The spreading of grass was thus done: when grass had been plucked, then they were spread everywhere upon the altars. No one, anywhere, failed to do so. This was known as the spreading of things which had been plucked by hand.

The Spreading of a Bed of Straw.

The spreading of a bed of straw was thus done: Like the kissing of the earth, it was fitting when anywhere one entered a door where stood the image of the devil. Thus, [when] one entered in his presence, he pulled up straw and shook it out before the devil when he came forth before him.

Others followed the roads, and where there was

ennoc ooc moiuzno in imaqauah. auh in tlavavanque inchinol inmocqauah ininac: injc tlavavanaia iuhqujn qujcali malli anoço tlacatl.

Tempan omolistli

Macujlilhujtl in tolpan nenoia injc neçavilhloia tlaloc in iquac vmoc tlalihoia vmc culnavati.

Çacapan nemanalistli

In çacapan nemanalistli, ichoantin in quixipevaia tlaca in imevaio cequjxtin conmaquixia in chouatl in motenevaia xixipeme, auh motenezcloaia in çacatl iqun qujcualmanaia ipampa in motenevaia çacapan valnemanalo.

Tlacalilistli.

In tlacalilistli ic muchivaia iquac in monacazteqeja acapa contenezcloaia in entli anoço tleco contzitzicujujnia injc mjtoaia quincalxis in tletl yoan in tonatiuh.

The Spreading of Grass.

In tlazoalloonanalistli injc muchivaia, in iquac omocujjo tlazoualin, ojquan ic motetema in novjian mononoco, acan mocava vel novjian, ichouatl in mjtoaia tlamacujnanalistli.

Neçacapachoonanalistli.

In neçacapachoonalistli injc muchivaia çan no ichaqui in chalqualistli iqun pevia in iquac campa qujcuaia in canja yoan iuqula Diablo injc iuqd qujcuaia campa in çacatl iqun contenezcloaia in Diablo, in iquac tlalqpan qujquia

Oc cequjxtin in vel qujcuaia, iuil in iquac iuvc, [785]

X 796 war, they made, as it were, a supplication when
● 782 anyone went where there was war, lest something
783 might go amiss [with them]. They said:

"Not here shall I die; [it is] in war that I go to die."

And when battle was already joined, they first plucked grass, shook it out toward the sun, and said:

"He will destroy and slay [our foe]," or, "He will capture [him]."

In this wise was a prayer raised to the sun.

inhuqiyauaz ic nemoteltiloia, in iquac ocz iauh iuac iuda ica ic motelinjtiuemj quijauia

amo nijcan in nijmiqoiz, iuac in nijmiqoiztiuh

auh in iiqc ic muchivaz iauiztl achto quijpia in çacatl quijxuctaloaia in jvicpa in tonatiuh quijauia, vnpopolihuia y in tlamiqoiz, anoço tlamoz

inhuqiyn ic monotolitiuia ivic tonatiuh.

The Blowing of Trumpets.

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Thus was done the blowing of trumpets: when it was late at night, when it was already approaching midnight, [then it was] when trumpets were sounded, that all [the priests] might offer blood in the house of the devil. Therefore were [the priests] awakened.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in tlatlapitzaliztli iquac in ic tlequauhiouac, in ic onaciuh iovalnepantla iquac tlapitzaloia ic nepohoaia in jchan Diablo, ic teiztilloia.

The Illumination with Fire.

Thus was done the illumination with fire: when we people had passed [the night until] midnight and also trumpets had been sounded, then were we awakened. Thus those known as the beaters began the keeping of the watch. And if any did not awake, they poured water upon him, or else they shook [coals of] fire upon him, or else they cast him into the water at Tilapan or at Coapan.

Tlachia tlavilizti.

Injc muchivaia tlatica tlavilizti, in iquac ic titlaca in iohoalnepantla oacic, no tlapitzalo, ic teixitilo, ic pevaia in tlapializti motenchoaia tlavizquijti, auh in aquijn amo velicz ic ipan quinequijaia, anoço tetl ipil quijxuctaclovaia, anoço atlan contlaçaia vmpa tilapan, anoço coapan.

The Piercing of Ears.

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The piercing of ears was also undertaken [because of] the devil. Hence were ears bored.

Nenecuapohaliztli.

In nenecuapohaliztli no ic tlaiecalhuijlaia in Diablo injc nenecuacoiniloia.

The Piercing of the [Lower] Lip.

In like manner the piercing of the [lower] lip: similarly, for the devil, was the boring of the [lower] lip endured.

Nenepopohaliztli.

I Çan no inhuej in nenecuapohaliztli çan no ic tlaiecalhuia in Diablo in nenepopohaliztli.

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A True [Relation] of how They Prayed to the Devils, and how Oaths Were Made.

When an oath was taken: when anyone made a vow [for] his children before the devils, he made vows in perchance two [temples] or in three of what he would cause to be done for the devils. Mayhap his young son had been struck [by sickness]; or, for whatever had befallen, when he made the vow, [he promised] that he would perform penances for them.

And also when an oath was taken, when anyone stated something, in order that he prove it, it was said [to him]:

"That thy words be proved, that thou shalt not lie, do thou kiss the earth."

When, thus, he kissed the earth who had stated something, he thus bore witness to his words, and that he not be held as a liar, he said:

"Well do the sun and the earth-goddess know [the truth of this]. Now I kiss the earth [in token of it]."

Thus were oaths taken.

And if [it was] a supplication, it was done with three—the offering of incense, and sacrifices, and the kissing of the earth, and the offering of blood.

Inchanca in quenjo tlachichilchiz diablome, yeuan in quenjo machiztiz Juramento.

In iquac machiztiz Juramento in iquac ica quijnotzitzin ixmoch ivicpa Diablome, ajo vecan, anajo Ecan quijnotzitzin, in tlein quijchivilia Diablome, ajo motlavizquij pilhuatl, anoço tlein ipan machiztiz, iquac quinotzitzinia, injc ivicpa themacoxan.

Auh no ixtl iquac machiztiz in Juramento in iquac ica tlein quijcilhuijuia, injc quijnchiliuia, ilhuijtiz.

Injc nehtic mochiuh, injc ano tlatlacatiz tlamatilqui.

iquac ajmo tlalquaia in aquejn tlen quijcilhuijuia ic quijnchiliuia in jplatol inic ano ixtlacamachiuia quijtoaia,

vel quijmati in tonatzin, ij tlalticutli ic nonxitlaqua.

Ichapij in injc machiztiz Juramento.

Auh intla tlatlachiliztli, ic machivaia çan ichouti in tlamanquiliztli, yeuan nextlavaliztli, yol tlalqualiztli, nextlavaliztli.

4: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1952
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—After Paso y Troncoso

7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a roadside shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sinner (Chapter IX)

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heavy pall, or cloth of many colors—which were spread before his face.

Eclipse of the Sun

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When this came to pass, he turned red; he became restless and troubled. He faltered and became very yellow. Then there were a tumult and disorder. All were dispirited, unnerved, frightened. There was weeping. The common folk raised a cry, lifting their voices, making a great din, calling out, shrieking. There was shouting everywhere. People of light complexion[1] were slain [as sacrifices]; captives were killed. All offered their blood; they drew arrows through the lobes of their ears, which had been pierced. And in all the temples there was the singing of fitting chants; there was an uproar; there were war cries. It was then said: "If the eclipse of the sun is complete, it will be dark forever! The demons of darkness will come down; they will eat men!"

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Tonalpohualli speaks.

In ixtac machiton, y, chichilchiuhcauac: ac tlacu mani, ac tlacu ca, ca mocuecuepiuani: cihca tlacopinia: niman ic tlacomani, tlacati cuani: ac-cocuzaia, necuzaiaia, necuzaiaiaia, cochopiliia, tlachopintiuia in macuahi: ocuzaiaia, ocuzapapaia, tlacuaca, tlacuazaia, tzatzia: cicuilli mo-tlica, Tlacatlaiaia, mahuiza, ayac tlacopinilia: nonacatzco: nab in tetzapan, cuechcuica, tlachalo-toc, tlacuacuac: ic mimia, inda tlamia, in quale tonatiuh: cenhiuana: cuhcuaqua, in tlaxiuani, ecpaqui.

1. Literally, "people of lighter color." The corresponding passage in the Matritense manuscript (Appendix to this volume), where the phrase is translated "Tlacatlaiaia de cabellos blancos y cara blanca."

into mice; each of their children might turn into a mouse.

And because they feared evil, in order to protect themselves, in order that this might not befall (them), they placed children in their mouths or in their bosoms, because with this their children was did not be born with mouth cross-eyed—lipless; or they would not be born with noses cross-eyed or broken off; or with twisted mouths or lips; or cross-eyed, squint-eyed, or with shrunken eyes; nor would they be born monstrous or imperfect.

This means those of Xalocan worshipped as a god, and they laid offerings before him and paid him honor.

Auh inic quintemamaitia: inic mopaxinia, inic ano tehuqui ixquichiuhca: ixuhi iocmac, ano ixuhi quimilinia: ipapa inic ano tomacoxiquac, tomacoxquac ixquilhuan: anoço iocmacoxiquac, iocmacoxiquac, anoço tomapaxiquac, tomacoxiquac, ixquixiquac, iocmacoxiquac, iocmaxiquac: in anoço ahacamatic tlacatic, in ano tlacamichac.

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Inin motenti, ichcan quimocuitiaia in xalocamoca: quintemamaitiaia, quimocuitiaia.

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Third Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

The Fire Drill[7]

When [these] appeared and set forth, incense was offered and burned. Thus was it said when Yoalteccutli [and] Yacamiztli had come forth: "What will the night bring? How will the day break?"

And there were offered incense. Three times was it done: when night fell—well into the night; and when it was time to sleep—the time when the flutes were blown.[8] When this [took place], this was the time for offering their blood and offering maguey spines stained with blood. The third time incense was offered was when it dawned, when the morning broke, when the earth was visible—when morning was near.

And hence was it said that they resembled the fire drill: because when fire was drawn with a drill, and the drill bored, thus fell, ignited, and fired the fire.

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And also for this reason all burned [spots on] their wrists; for this reason were we men burned on the wrists, to show awe of him. He was feared and dreaded. It was said and considered of any whose wrists were not burned that on his wrists fire would be drilled in the land of the dead, when he died. Therefore we men—every one—were burned on the wrists. On both sides of each wrist they arranged in order, in rows, the wrist burns. Thus they represented the fire drill. In the same manner as [the stars] were arranged in order and in line, so also they placed in order, in rows, their burns on their wrists.

[The Morning Star or Great Star]

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Of the morning star, the great star, it was said that when first it emerged and came forth, four times it vanished and disappeared quickly. And afterwards it burst forth completely, took its place in full light,

Inic ey capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

Mamalhoaztli.

In icoac ualnecí, ualmotema: tlenamacoia, tlatotonilia: ic mizoaia, oualuetz in iocalteccutli, in iacaiztli: quen uetzia in ioualli, quen tlathuia.

Auh in hin tlenamacoia, espa in [illegible]chiosia: icoac in tlapoiaca, tlaquauh tlapoiaca, yoan netetequizpan, tlatlapitzalizpa. Icoac, y, neçoaia, neuitzmanaloia: ic espa tlenamacoia, icoac in tlauizcaleoa, tlauizcalli moquetza: in tlatlalchipaca, in ic tlathuinaoac.

Auh inic mizoa, mamalhoaztli, itech moonenuilia in tlequauitl: ichica, in icoac tlequauhtlaxo, ca momamali in tlequauitl: inic uetzi, inic xetla, inic mopizca tlexi.

No yoan, inic nematlatiloia: inic moomatlatiaia toquichtin, ichoatl quimacacia, mimacacia imacaxoia, mixoaia: quilmach in aquin amo nematlatile, inmac tlequauhtlaxoz in mictlan, in icoac omic. Ichica in toquichtin, muchi tlacatl moomatlatiaia, nenecoc inmac quiuiujpanaia, quintecpanaia in innematlatil: ic quitlachecalhuiaia in mamalhoaztli: in ixh vipantec, tecpantec, no ixh quiuiujpanaia, quintecpanaia in inmac innematlatil.

Citlalpol, uei citlalin mizoa: in icoac ioccicac ualcholoa, ualpoiça, nappan polini, popolihuiztzi: zan çaçapil uel cuepani, cuepantimoztlalia, cuepantica, tlapeuhica: ioloçpin mezmoaia ic tlanezia.

7. The names of various constellations and stars vary or may not correspond to the names by which they are now known. In the Spanish text and in the Mexicanized text similar, however, Sahagún on occasion deals with the terminology current in his time. See also Figures 1-7, 21.

8. Tlatlapitzalizpa: cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble *Florentine Codex*, Book 8, *The Commercial* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 1[illegible]; also Sandoval, op. cit.; Gurdley, op. cit., p. 232. The expression called for use of flutes or trumpets, according to Sandoval of flutes, according to Gurdley. Sources vary as to the exact time when flutes were blown.

821 became brilliant, and shone white. Like the moon's rays, so did it shine.

And when it newly emerged, much fear came over them; all were frightened. Everywhere the outlets and openings[a] [of houses] were closed up. It was said that perchance [the light] might bring a cause of sickness, something evil, when it came to emerge. But sometimes it was regarded as benevolent.

821 782 And also [captives] were slain when it emerged, [that] it might be nourished. They sprinkled blood toward it. With the blood of captives they sprinkled toward it, flipping the middle finger from the thumb; they cast [the blood] as an offering; they raised it in dedication.

Ach in icoac, inacocan cuichaloa: ohca mamiti motecaia, nemachilia: necuiua nemacuiuaia in tlecalli, in pachquimoui: mixoia, ayc cocolizqui, ihi aquilli quiquixtiaia, in ayaiyac: ach in quimoua quicualtiaia.

Ach no mixoia, in icoac: cuichaloa, inchilloia, quithecuilloia: inacapica in mamahi, cuitlatzinacuilloia, cuitlatlaxilloia, cuetlaxiuilloia.

[i.e. The morning star or great star —A.]

a. The corresponding Spanish text mentions chiefly doors and windows. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III, p. 20, n. 2.

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Ninth Chapter, in which is described what was called "The Binding of Our Years," or "When the Years are Bound," [which occurred] when one by one the four year signs had each reigned thirteen years and when fifty-two years had passed; and what then was done.

When [came] the time of the binding of our years, always they gradually neared and approached [the year] Two Reed. This is to say: they then reached and ended [a period of] fifty-two years. For at that time [these years] were piled up, added one to another, and brought together; wherefore the thirteen-year [cycle] had four times made a circle,[18] as hath been made known. Hence was it said that then were tied and bound our years, and that once again the years were newly laid hold of. When it was evident that the years lay ready to burst into life, everyone took hold of them, so that once more would start forth—once again—another [period of] fifty-two years. Then [the two cycles] might proceed to reach one hundred and four years. It was called "Our Old Age" when twice they had made the round, when twice the times of binding the years had come together.

Behold what was done when the years were bound—when was reached the time when they were to draw the new fire, when now its count was accomplished. First they put out fire everywhere in the country round. And the statues, hewn in either wood or stone, kept in each man's house and regarded as gods, were all cast into the water. Also [were] these [cast away]—the pestles and the [three] hearth stones [upon which the cooking pots rested]; and everywhere there was much sweeping—there was sweeping very clean. Rubbish was thrown out; none lay in any of the houses.

And when they drew the new fire, they drew it there at Uitzilxochitlan, at midnight, when the night divided in half. They drew it upon the breast of a captive, and it was a well-born one on whose breast [the priest] heard the fire drill. And when a little

Inic chiuaueuel caplitoc, vecan mitoa: in mitoa, tezcuauaqui, auaqui inic malpilia xiuitl: yn ieuac matlactlicpa omocepa ciuitoc, yn iuauhxiuitl ceceuel xipptoc: inic omoti vmpoaltiuitl ipan matlactiuitl omoteuac, ynan in ilcin ieuac mochiuaya.

Ic vecan, ic ipan in xuitlauaxtlalia: auachipa ic 805
quimatiuh, quimatiuh in vmc acxi. q. n. Ca vecan ici, uecan tlami ompoaltiuitl ouacherti, yni omiuiti. Ca vecan mocentlalia, mocepanoa, mocuauiqui: inic ochiuauio nauhcampa matlactiuitl omoty, in iuh omotecuih: ic mitoa, vecan molpia, malpilia in tonieh, oc cappa iuecuiccan vecan xiuhxiuapilo: inic mocuecuecuitia, in xiuitl ieuac; mochi tlacuel cõquimpoloia, inic oc cappa ic ipoua, oc no iuqui xiuitl 52 ailes, inic acitiuh mocuilpoaltiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl: mitoa cue uecuilitoti, in oppa tlaiuelua, in oppa mocuauiqui inolpilicac xiuitl.

Incuqui in uuchiuaia, ieuac malpilia xiuitl: in 805
ieuac oniuac, in vucl uetzia tlequauiti, in ic ilequal- 372
pan: achto vel nentlan chiuaia in tlei in uuauauac-
cac, ynan in iuquich pielaia tochachti, in uetzilicia
uquauchti, in apo quauitl, auaqo uel tlaxinti, uuchi
ellan omoteqpoaia: No iuhcuel in tonilotl, in tuu-
uauitl, ynan uetzian ilitlachpoaia, tlauauaxtli,
tlauauac tlaxiuc, uetzic uetzoia in tochachan.

Auh in vetzia tlequauiti, vuqui in vitzcalco: ieual- 805
uqueuetla in vetzia, vel ieuac in xelini ieuelli: mulli in 372
ielpan vetzia, ielcuel in tlequilli ielpan in quimoua- 782
lia tlequauiti. Auh in ieuac quelehuia ouetz, in oc-
pin: nauac ic ielehua, quehuecuecuel in mulli, oc-

18. See Note 18.

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[fire] fell, where it took flame, then speedily [the priest] slashed open the breast of the captive, seized his heart, and quickly cast it there into the fire. Then he revived and fed the fire. And the body of [the captive] all came to an end in the flames. And those who drew fire were exclusively the priests, the fire priests, the devout. Of the fire priest of Copalco, who was experienced, it was his office to draw, to drill, the new fire.

ocelle in ielle, tleco conchaviztzi: inic quimolin, quichaoaca tlel. Auh in inocaia, çan ocachi tlecoaxi. Auh in tlequamichiçaia, çan ixhuiã in tlamacazqui, in tlamacazqui, in tlamacehqui: cequiuh tlamacazqui, in vel iouaia, in iuquiuh cuica, in quimiçaia, in quimomaiia tlequamitl.

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sleep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uxachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

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Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and sprinkled the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and sprinkled it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

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Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *iopanaxi*. Etc.

Ic ça mincaqia, mocuecuetoni in ontlachichinaz, in omixtoc, in ômopachoaxtoc, uixachtecatl itopa: iquich tlacatl ynipa ontlachtomati, tlamomachtia, in qualtzaqia uetzi tlepanitl, in qualtzaqia cuecuepani, cuepanini. Auh in ipan, opanitzinia ual uetz, in ouepiza, in ouyalac: çaçepan ic cuetlani, cuepani, nonoiaz tlaxci, calitto in ylica.

Nimman ic mochi tlacatl momocuecuetlaxtoni, cuauhtzinzinilia iuqichcapa in tletl: in mamel cuepilo omoc no cuecuezaxtopa, cuecuilia iniaxca, cuauhtzinzinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca mochi tlacatl tlamacaxa,

ic cuechtecopa, in jolpan ontlequauhtlaxtoc, cuauhtzinzinjo in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca iopanaxi. etc.[6]

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Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pottery. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new skirts and shifts.

Then it was said that only the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For then it is ended; then sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were sacrificed, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense balls, and raised it in deflexion to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Then was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth seed cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were hidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then captives and commonly bathed men died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again fires were newly laid and placed.

And [so for] the pregnant women who had been [illegible], if any of them then gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born to her child, they named him Mixcóatl, Xiuhtlatopil, Xiuhtzinteopil, Xiuhtli, Tlexuan, Tlexipitzlac, Quetzalcóatl, Xiuhquan, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhcozcatl, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcozpil, etc.

And when, in the time of Moteuczoma, our years were limited, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] xiuhtl. Wherewover [he was], this one was to be seized. And que was taken—a man from Uexotzinco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Inic motlachtomaca, cuipinola, vecan mizoc: in quemin in iepich tlacatl, in icuac omocuic in iancuic tlad: auh in icuac, y, mochi tlacatl, quiitlacolhua in ilaquayo, yoan in iepich calitlaquipil.

Niman ikuac, iepich iancuitlo, in calitlaquipil: . cquichtlaquipil, in cioatlaquipil, in petlatl, in tolcuetlil, in icpalli: mochi iancuic in motecuca, ioli in tenamastli, in ezoctetl. No iquac iancuic neqepaxtilo, netlalilo in tlimatli: in cioatl, iancuic omomaquia, in iacuac, in iaxipil.

Ic mizoc, ca nel iancuic ompoa in xiuitl: papaxoa, netlamacheloc: yoan quimaxia, ca ic ompia, ic omochichiui in cocoliztli, in mizoualiztli. Niman ic cocopaltemalo, tlacotemalo, tlemamaco: omoui in tlemaitl, nauhcampa conitoca in itlachiu, ynepan conmamaxtecoca, inic otlemamaoc copalli:

nimi ic ic necpan tamoxolquelo, vecan ic nequanlichichilo, inic niac atlin, ic centlachiu: quincuamamaxtiuia in nequatla tamoxtli. Auh in oncic, nequatla tamoxtli, niman ic nicpui in mamalti, yoan tlachichi: quinicac: cempapaxoa, tlilquauilo: iomac oc oppa ilacuican netlilocatilo, netlilocatilaliztli.

Auh in cincuacuacia ocuaxi, inic ica iomac omoiuh, ohocuchiuh: inic oquichchi iocuauhtlacac, quincuacuacia mochi, xiuhtlaqui, xiuhtzinteopil, xiuhtli, tlexuan, xiuhtlacac, quetzalcóatl, xiuhquan. Etc.° Auh inic cioatl, xiuhcozcatl, xiuhcue, xiuhcozpil. Etc.°

Auh in iomac, ipan mochichi motecuquaxo, tonitlamatqui omoui motlaca ic tlamomoi, inic tonatiuh mochi: in iacu xiuitl, in ipan oompa itl omoa. Auh ic quimoc omomaquiqui, chopqui: iacu xiuhtlamin, tlachichiuhca mochi quechichiuh: in tlamomoi iacu iaxipin, auh ic tonatiuhac, ic mitotiac xiuhtlamimmi: on ichcauhtl

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Z [See cat. 116, p. 27 — Analyst]

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and became a captive at Tlatlaoco. The captor was named Itzcuin, and henceforth he was known as and called "Captor of Xiuhtlamin."[10] For on the breast of his captive fire was drawn by the drill, and all his body was consumed in the fire. And they made [the victim's] image of pure amaranth seed dough, so that it might represent him; they set cooked grains of maize upon it, so that they could give it to the people to eat.

ixpan were, in theyanti inal, anchi tlaco tlan in jiaccito: ash ça tonhuelli, inic quinipiloni, in ipan quipouh: tlachpoinali ipan quinitlali, inic quinquali.

10. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún writes: "Los mozos en lucha de amorejos, muy gruesos, el cual se dicen, xiuhtlamin y le miran en la pecho, en cuitlahuac de tlatlaoco, que cada otro llamaban por lo qual despues, le llamaron a el, xiuhtlamin. . . ." In Jones, op. cit., p. 79, the passage is translated: "And these lads on whom blows are Tzcuinlan, whom blows somehow Xiuhtlamin and Itzcuin, are Tlatlaoco, they were Xiuhquipilqueque the Mexica warriors, the female blow and the decorquished the Mexica, which and Xiuhtlamin greatness stands."

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THE SEVENTH BOOK TREATETH OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS, AND OF THE YEAR OF JUBILEE

EL 7.° LIBRO TRATA DEL SOL Y DE LUNA Y ESTRELLAS Y DEL AÑO DEL JUBILEO.[38]

First Chapter, of the sun.

821 The sun hath the quality of shining and of lighting and of casting rays from himself. He is hot and he scorcheth; he maketh one sweat, and turneth a man's body and face dark brown or tawny.

El sol tiene propiedad de resplandecer y de alumbrar y de echar rayos de si. Es caliente y tuesta, hace sudar pa hueco o luro el cuerpo y la cara de la persona.

821 They celebrated a feast to the sun once each year in the sign named Four Olin. And before the feast they fasted four days as the vigil of the feast. And in
785 this feast of the sun, four times they offered incense
782 and blood from the ears—once at sunrise, another time at midday, at the vesper hour, and when [the sun had] set.

Hazian fiesta al sol vna vez cada año en el signo que se llama 4. olin. Y antes de la fiesta ayunavan quatro dias como vigilia de la fiesta. Y en esta fiesta del sol ofrecian incienso y sangre de las orejas quatro vezes: vna en saliendo el sol, otra al medio dia, y a la hora de visperas y qñ se ponia.

Yxcalini. t. incalidatica in noyollo: My heart is calmed, or cooled, in love. Pret., oixcalioh. oixcalidaticac.

33. yxcalini. t. incalidatica yn noyollo. refriarse o declinar mi corazon en el amor. pt.° oixcalioh. oixcalidaticac.

Vel cen tecomatl in ati ocoaxiocoh: A whole gourd[ful of water] was overturned while being drunk.

34. Vel cen tecomatl ỹ ati ocoaxiocoh. trastornose vna xicara llena borracho.

38. Sahagún (Orus y Tuesca ed.), Vol. VI, pp. 177-225.

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821 And when he came forth in the morning, they said: "Now the sun starteth his work. How will it be? What will come to pass on this day?"

And at sunset they said: "The sun hath ended his work, or task." Sometimes when the sun riseth, he seemeth blood-coloured; and at times whitish; and sometimes he riseth sickly-hued because of the mist or the clouds which cover him.

Y quando a la mañana salia decian ya comienza el sol su obra que era, qué acontecerá á este dia.

Y a la puesta del sol, decian acabó su obra, o su tarea el sol. A las veces qñ sale el sol parece de color de sangre: y a las veces parece blanquecino: y a las veces sale de color enfermizo por razon de las niebles o de las nubes que se le atipanó.

When the sun is eclipsed, he turneth red; it seemeth that the sun becometh disquieted, or troubled; or he turneth to and fro, or he stirreth. And he turneth very yellow.

Quando se eclipsa el sol parece colorado parece que se desasosiega o se turba el sol, o se remueve, o rebuelve y amarillecese mucho.

821 When the people see this, they then raise a tumult.
785 And a great fear taketh them, and then the women weep aloud. And the men cry out, [at the same time] striking their mouths with [the palms of] their hands. And everywhere great shouts and cries and howls were raised. And then they hunted one man of fair hair and white face; and they sacrificed them to the sun. And also they sacrificed captives, and they anointed themselves with the blood of their [own] ears. And, besides, they hunted [the bites of]
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Quando esto ve la gente luego se alborota.
Y sucede gran temor, y luego las mugeres lloran a voces. Y los hombres dan gritos hiriendo las bocas con la mano. Y en todas partes se daná grandes bozes y gritos, y alaridos. Y luego buscaban los hombres de cabellos blancos y caras blancas: y los sacrificaban al sol. Y tambien sacrificaban captivos y se untaná con la sangre de las orejas: y tambien agujereaban las orejas con puntas de magueí y pasaban mimbres o cosa semejante por los agujeros q̃ las puntas avian

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their ears with magney spines and passed flexible twigs or the like through the holes which the spines had made. And then, in all the temples, they sang and sounded [musical instruments], making a great din. And they said: "If the sun becometh completely eclipsed, nevermore will he give light; eternal darkness will fall, and the demons will come down. They will come to eat us!"

hecho. Y luego por todos los templos cantaban y tañian haciendo gran ruido. Y decian si del todo se acaba de eclipsar el sol nunca mas alumbrara ponerse han perpetuas tinieblas y descenderan los demonios vendran nos a comer.

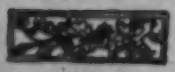

Second Chapter.

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When the moon newly appeareth, he seemeth like a thin, little curve of wire. He doth not yet shine. By little and little he goeth growing. On the fifteenth day he is full. And when now he is full, he cometh forth in the east or eastward. He seemeth like a great millstone—very round and very red. And as he goeth rising, he becometh white or shining. [There is what] looketh like a rabbit in the middle of him. And if there are no clouds he shineth almost like the

Capítulo Segundo

Quando la luna nuevamente nace, parece como vn arquito de alambre delgado aun no resplandece: poco a poco va creciendo. A los quince dias es llena. Y q̃d ya es llena sale por el oriente o la puesta del sol: parece como vna rueda de molino grande muy redonda y muy colorada. Y q̃d va subiendo se pone blanca o resplandeciente: parece como vn conejo en medio della. Y si no ay nubes resplandece casi como el sol, casi como de dia. Y d'spues de llena c̃ipõ-

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—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire on the breast of a sacrificial victim
17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to houses
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

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Third Chapter, of the Stars Called Castor and Pollux.

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These people paid particular reverence and [made] special sacrifices to Castor and Pollux, in the sky, which move near the Pleiades, which are in the sign of Taurus. They made these sacrifices and ceremonies when [the stars] newly appeared to the east after sunset. After having offered incense, they said: "Now [hath] Youlteculi come forth, and Yacanistli. What will come to pass this night? Or what end will the night have—fortunate or adverse?" Three times they offered incense (and [this] must be because they are three stars), the first time at the first quarter of the night, another time at ten, and the third [time] when it beginneth to be morning.—They name these stars

821
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mamalhuanili, and by that same name they call the sticks with which they drill a fire; because it seemeth to them that they somewhat resemble [the stars] and that from them there came to them this manner of producing fire. From this it was customary that the

Hazia esta gente particular reverencia y particulares sacrificios a los mancebos del cielo q̃ andã cerca de las cabrillas que es en el signo del toro. hazian estos sacrificios y cerimonias q̃ nuevamente parecia por el oriente despues de la puesta del sol. Despues de auer ofrecidole encienso, dezian ya salido youlteculi y yacanistli, que acontecera esta noche o que fin aura la noche prospero o aduerso. Tres veces ofrecian encienso y deue ser porque ellas son tres estrellas. la vna vez a p'ma noche. la otra vez a hora de las diez. la 3.ª quando comiença amanecer.—llaman a estas estrellas mamalhuanili y por este mismo nõbre llaman a los palos con q̃ auen hazer fuego q̃ los parece q̃ tienen alguna semejança cõ ellas y que de allí les vino esta manera de hazer fuego. De aqui tomaron por costumbre de hazer vnas quemadurias en la nuca los varones a hazera de aquellas estrellas. Dezian que el q̃ no fuese señalado de aquellas que-

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—Sfer Pan y Tronco

Courses (concluded), 61. Two-headed snake (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of parcheesi (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Flagellation (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quartering (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Torpedo (Chapter 14). 69. Mendicants (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Indigo (Chapter 17). 85. A wind (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

Under the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cape so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he fanned with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cap [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of great heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

niuil ye ic quimaca in motecuiçoma in tlamaxti quetzalcozaxtl. inic ypan tlamictin. auo uel yuch pouia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mimiztia ychicauaz yztiuh. auoço iztapaloti. auoço quetzalcozaxtl tocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

auh i yeuatl malli. ninan ic quinica in ompa miquiz tenalacac icpac cantiuh cuitlehcoaia, in oncan q'nahuanauiqa malli. ynac concaua ytoca cuitlachtecac. in inac onacitinanca mamalti inhq'nan ypilhuã quinchiuaya. Auh ninan cõmaca ꝯ yocotonteuh nenhuetl inic q'momotlac tlamauaq', yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. auo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tlelcuauacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çan moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in iual. uel ipã im miq'.

Auh ꝯ ye iuhqui in oçe-ncauh malli in cuitlachtecac, ninan ye ic yauh quitia in octli mihtouaya tuocti. inic quinq' acatecoaxtl tlatempotonilli. in ꝯya. ninan ic conitua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl mach coniua. inic cõmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachtecac. ninan ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanac ychimal ymacquauh yztiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

auh in ꝯyc. ninan ic cõuinq' im malli. auh no q'uallpaiuqui auh intla yollo chicauac im malli inda uel tiacauh y uel oq'chili. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moyehcuhtia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouilhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chili intlacamo tiacauh çan ninan tlemoteca in oncan tenalacac auo ontlachicoua. çan icuhca ommaquetzinoca ninan ic conehq' [illegible]illia in iyollo conimilia in tonatiuh. ompa uaiq'ça

727 782 [202]

smarteth. Where, in truth, [may we turn], O our lord?"

Then [the messengers] commanded those who watched; they said to those at the head of the guard: "Even though he despeth, tell him: 'Lo, they whom thou hast sent over the water have come!'"

And when they went to tell him, then he replied: "I shall not hear it here; I shall hear it in the Cocalli. There let them go." And he commanded and said: "Let two captives be covered with chalk."

And then the messengers went to the Cocalli,[1] and also the noble Moctezuma himself.

Thereupon, before them, were slain the captives; they slashed open their breasts; they sprinkled the messengers with their blood. For this reason did they so do: that they had traveled into very perilous places; that they had gone to see — had looked into the faces and at the hands of, and had verily spoken to — the gods.

Niman quimónacatique in quipia in jtzontlan tlapia quimonjllujque intla mocochitia zicmolhujlican ca ovallaque in tiquinmotitlanj ati itic.

Auh in oconjhujto: njman quiualito. Amo njcan njccaquja, vmpa njccaquja in coscalco, ma vmpa vian, yeua ollaxaosti: quiualito: ma ontetiçavilo in mamalti.

Auh njman vmpa iaque in coscalco in titlanti: no iehoatl in motecuçomatzin,

ninal ic ic inixpan mjcoa quimelretequj in mamalti, in justzio ic quimonatzelhujaia in titlanti (ipampa in juh quichiuhque in, ca cenca ovican in ovia ca oquinmitato, inixco inicpac otlachiato, vel oquinonaque in teteu.

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 44.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[782] [103]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7. [101] *PNE*, 7: 4. [102] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.
[103] See p. 23 above. [104] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 133 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second [312] letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pozo (Garcia Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 38) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, [782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 133 312 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan- [241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, 127 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the 133 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along 731 the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches[1] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets that brought large river fish through

[1] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. — Analyst]

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us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—" Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797 [782 266] [838]

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of us that they could [capture] bound to Mexico. And he 721
sent grand promises together with many presents of jewels and cloths, also a golden drum, and he also sent word to the priests of the city that they were to retain twenty of [782] us to sacrifice to their idols.

All was in readiness and the warriors whom Montezuma 725
quickly sent were stationed in some ranchos and some rocky thickets about half a league from Cholula and some were already posted within the houses, and all had their arms ready for use, and had built up breastworks on the *Azotras* and had dug holes and ditches in the streets so as to impede the horsemen, and they had already filled some houses with long poles and leather collars and cords with which they were to bind us and lead us to Mexico; but our Lord God so ordained that all their plots should be turned against them.

Let us leave this now and go back to say that when, 721
as I have said, they had taken us to our quarters they fed us very well for the first two days, and although we saw them so peacefully inclined, we never gave up our good custom of keeping fully prepared, and on the third day they neither gave us anything to eat nor did any of the Caciques or priests make their appearance, and if any Indians came to look at us, they did not approach us, but remained some distance off, laughing at us as though mocking us. When our Captain saw this, he told our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar to tell the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, who remained with us, to order the Caciques to bring some food, but all they brought was water and fire wood, and the old men who brought it said that there was no more maize.

That same day other Ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, and joined those who were already with us and they said to Cortés, very impudently, that their Prince had

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721 believed they would do as he told them and would
713 come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his
721 company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Monteruma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Monteruma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

721 While this conversation was taking place, three of our
725 friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Aozteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At
721 this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians
782 whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

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721 "Take heed, Malinche, for this City is ill disposed, and we
782 know that this night they have sacrificed to their Idol, which is the God of War, seven persons, five of them children, so that the God may give them victory over you, and we have further seen that they are moving all their baggage and women and children out of the city." When
721 Cortés heard this, he immediately sent these Tlaxcalans back to their Captains, with orders to be fully prepared if we should send to summon them, and he turned to speak to the Cacique, priests and chieftains of Cholula and told them to have no fear and show no alarm, but to remember the obedience which they had promised to him, and not to swerve from it, lest he should have to chastise them. That he had already told them that we wished to set out on the morrow and that he had need of two thousand[1] warriors from the city to accompany us, just as the Tlaxcalans had provided them, for they were necessary on the road. They
721 replied that the men would be given, and asked leave to go
723 at once to get them ready, and they went away very well contented, for they thought that between the warriors with whom they were to supply us, and the regiments sent by Montezuma, which were hidden in the rocky thickets and barrancas, we could not escape death or capture, for the horses would not be able to charge on account of certain breastworks and barricades which they immediately advised the troops to construct, so that only a narrow lane would be left through which it would be impossible for us to pass. They warned the Mexicans to be in readiness as we intended to start on the next day and told them that they were going to give us two thousand[2] warriors to accompany us, so that as we marched along, off our guard, between the two forces our capture would

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[1] "Blotted out "three or four."—G. G.

[2] Blotted out "four."—G. G.

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648 reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

346 I think that the curious reader must be already satiated
782 hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had
246 finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

787 Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las
[114] Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

Category 782-789

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231 136 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 266 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and 782
banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and 266
the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to
these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house 231
many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their 136
tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst
vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery
vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs
and rear their young, and they give them to eat the
bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the
flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We
even knew for certain that when they drove us out of
Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that
they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days
on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and
season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated
to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them
company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions
and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled
and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it
seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled 463
workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that
was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries
and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work,
which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to
admire, and of these there were a great number of the
best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from
Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchi-
huites, which are like emeralds, there were other great
artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather
work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined;
from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782 266]
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and [412]
chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, [292]
and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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for each one, and they turned out to be as good and fast as though they had taken a month to set up the models, for Martin López was a past master of the art, and it was he who afterwards built the thirteen sloops to aid in capturing Mexico, as I shall relate further on; he was also a good soldier in war time.

Let us leave this and say that Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to go to his temples and make sacrifices, and pay the devotion to his gods that it was his duty to do, so that his Captains and chieftains might observe it, especially certain nephews of his, who came every day to tell him that they wished to free him and to attack us, and he answered them, that it pleased him to be with us, so they should think it was as he had told them, that his God Huichilobos had commanded him to stay with us, as he had made them believe before. Cortés replied that as to this permission he asked for, he should beware not to do anything for which he might lose his life, and so as to prevent any disorders, or commands to his Captains or priests either to release him, or attack us, he would send Captains and soldiers [with him] who would immediately stab him to death, should any change be noticed in his bearing. He might go and welcome, but must not sacrifice any human beings, for that was a great offence against the true God, that was to the God we were preaching to him about, and there stood our altars and the image of Our Lady, before whom he could pray. Montezuma said that he would not sacrifice a single human being, and he set off in his rich litter in great state with many great Caciques in his company as was his custom, and they [293] carried his insignia in front of him in the form of a sort of staff or rod, which was the sign that his royal person was going that way (just as they do [now] to the Viceroys of New Spain). There went with him as a guard four of our Captains, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Pedro de

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Alvarado, Alonzo de Ávila and Francisco de Lugo and one hundred and fifty soldiers, and the Padre de la Merced also went with us to stop the sacrifice if he should offer human beings. So we went to the Cue of Huichilobos and when we came near to that cursed temple, he [Montezuma] ordered them to take him from his litter and he was carried on the shoulders of his nephews and of other Caciques until he arrived at the temple; as I have already stated, as he went through the streets all the chieftains cast down their eyes and never looked at his face. When we arrived at the foot of the steps leading to the oratory there were many priests waiting to help him with their arms in the ascent. 782

There had already been sacrificed the night before four Indians, and in spite of what our Captain said and the dissuasions of the Padre de la Merced, he paid no heed but persisted in killing men and boys to accomplish his sacrifice, and we could do nothing at that time only pretend not to notice it, for Mexico and the other great cities were very ready to rebel under the nephews of Montezuma, as I shall explain further on. When he [Montezuma] had completed his sacrifices, and he did not tarry much in making them, we returned with him to our quarters, and he was very cheerful, and gave presents of golden jewels to us soldiers who had accompanied him.

Let us leave this here, and I will relate what next happened.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It
[782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi-
[724] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the foray against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 80; cap. XXI, p. 83; cap. XXXI, p. 48). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 159.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in-"auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar à los dioses y cebar à los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to insugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizoczic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 131, 132, and 133). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 195).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the 764
Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a de- 771
tailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religious rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli 618
had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, 346
within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of [782] the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, etc.), we have also the testimony of *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 42 and 43, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 80), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturae*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 158).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

787 was chaste and conscientious; who was audacious, who saved all, who sought his sustenance; who planned, sought, and watched for that which might alleviate, for that which he might lay hand on in the near future, and for what he might offer his children; for what might be obtained, and what he could quickly seize if sickness and misfortune came.

Thus, everywhere he watched for, considered, and sought whatsoever he might use as merchandise, whatsoever his manner of wares might be; whatsoever he might live by, by which he might increase and augment his goods and his gains.

And this one emerged, and rose to honor, if he deliberated well, and was attentive, not resentful of criticism, nor lazy. The counsel with which he was counseled and the rearing with which he was reared took effect; he seized and held fast to it. And if he was made fun of, he took no revenge; he made no reprisals. He returned nothing in kind.

[684 565] And if a woman were then born, it likewise befell her as hath been said and told above. If a noble-woman was an adulteress, her head was crushed between two stones so that she died. And only in misery and affliction was she given to dwell. She encountered misery and want. Nowhere on earth was her face radiant; nowhere on earth was she [of any account]; nowhere was she regarded; nowhere did she hold a husband. Thus was it stated: "Just so is her nature; so is her life; so her birthright; and so her day sign. Thus, on such [a day], was she bathed; at such a time was she born. Monstrous was her day sign; a wild beast was she; hers was the day of the wild beast, etc."

●782 And they venerated Four Movement as a day sign. Thus did they say, that it was the day sign of the 821 sun. Moctezuma paid great honor to it. When it was this day, when Four Movement set in, they slew quail and offered incense before the image of the sun; they placed on it what was known as the spreading red arara feather device. And at noon captives died and were slain [as sacrifices].

787 And for him who was then born, no [true sign] appeared. In two ways might it fall. They said that if it were a man, he might either take captives or die in war. As they said, "With this the sun is nourished." Hence everyone did penances when it was this sign. At this time all came together from all parts; none remained or did otherwise. Verily, everyone — men, women, children — cut their ears and

vmpilcatoc, in jaqujch caana, in qujtemoa in jcochca, yn jneuhca, in qujlnamjquj, in conjttilia, in contlachielia, tle itech vmpatiz, tle itech ontlaanaz in macujl, in matlac, tlẽ qujmonmacaz in jpilhoan, çan onmaçoaz, tlẽ concujtivetziz in ocalla cocolíztli icnoiotl:

ic noviiampa mjztia tlanemjlia, qujtemoa, in tlein qujmoñanauhtiz, in catleoatl inanauh vmmuchioaz, in tlein vel ic onnemjz, ic onmacoquetzaz, ic ontlapiujaz itlatquj icnopillouh.

Ioan ichoatl qujçaia, panvẽtzia, in vel monotza, in tlacacquj, in amo qujquammati, qujtemati in onotzaloca, izcaliloca, içan itech qujpachoa, içan qujmacuj, qujmapiquj: auh intla ica necacaiaoalo, amo qujtecuepilizia, amo qujcuepcaiotia, atle ic qujlochtia.

Auh intla çioatl ipan otlacat: no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, in tlacpac omjto, omoteneuh: intla cioapilli tetlãximaia, quatepipitzinjloia injc mjquja: auh çan icnoiotica, cococaiotica, in monenemjtiaia, icnoiotl, netolinjliztli qujtztinemj, ãcan ixtona in tlalticpac, ãcan tlalticpac ca, ãcan motztica, ãcan vel oqujchpia: ic mjtoaia, ca njman iuh qujz, iuhquj iioliliz, iuhquj itlacatiliz, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan malti, iuhcan tlacat, ãtlacacemelle in jtonal, ca tequapj, tequantonale. Etc.

Auh in naolin qujtonaltiaia: iuh qujtoaia, itonal in tonatiuh, cenca qujmavizziliaia in Motecuçuma: yn jquac, y, moquetzaia naolin, tlacotonaia, tlenamacaia, yn ixpan ixiptla tonatiuh, qujtlaliaia itoca cueçaltonameiotl: auh in nepantla tonatiuh, mjquja, mjctiloia, in mamalti:

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, atle vel inezca, vme vitz qujtoa. Yntla oqujchtli açe tlamaz, anoçe iaomjquiz: in iuh qujtoaia, ca ica mozcaltia in tonatiuh, ic muchi tlacatl tlamaceoaia. yn jquac, y in vncã, y, cenvetzi, ipanoca, aiac mocaoa, aiac ixcavi, vel mochi tlacatl in oqujchtli, in çioatl, in piltzintli, monacaztequia, mjçoia, mjtoaia: ic izcaltilo in tonatiuh.

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drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã âqualli: ynic qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztiliaia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxiptla, qujtlamanjliaia: no iehoan in cioa tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, aca vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel aizque mjmatizque, toltecatizque, vellalalizque, vellacujlozque: in jpan intlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mãaltiaia, maujujxoaia, yn jquac neoalco, in vncan ilhujqujxtililoia, chicome xochitl:

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And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla aça tlãmachchiuhquj, yneçaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã âavilnemjz, âavienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mãaviltiaia in tlamachchiuhque,

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It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

qujlmach iehoatl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquequeloaia in intecouh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia, xochiciujztli, palanjliztli:

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But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

auh in aqujn vel ontlamaceoa in vel monotza, ca oncã qujçaia, maviztia, momavizçotiaia, cana motztica, vel moietztica tepaltzinco in tẽc:

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Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tõtoltecatiz, tlatlanemjliz, iõiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz: auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iaujlqujzca, iquequeloloca in qujmomaceviaia.

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Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujtica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelneaca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhqujn ecatocotinemj, avic iatinemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atleti: ca nel iuhquj itonal, conjztoca, ipan onmjxpoã, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, teaachti, tetlãtlavicalti, tecãcamanalhuj. Etc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan nẽia motlatlamotla, mone-

X-787 And if it were a noblewoman, or only a common [woman], who was then born, so likewise it was her lot. She was considered as a man, esteemed as if a man; a comforter. Hence she caused others no apprehension, was not negligent, and did not dishearten others.

And also it was said that one who was born upon this [day sign], One Deer — it was told that he was exceedingly timorous; he lived thinking only of his fears; he walked with his terrors, and only lived afraid, indeed frightened to death. When he witnessed a thunder clap, or a bolt of lightning, or lightning flash — a flash of lightning — then he could not endure it. Indeed the lightning and thundering frightened him and caused him to be in terror and dread.

And so they said that sometimes, on some occasions, it happened to him; for his fear followed him and persisted with him; his fears came upon him as a judgment. For his dread came upon him. Verily, he was struck by lightning; that befell him which he feared and of which he lived in anxiety. And even if it was summer, he was still smitten by a summer flash. Also, when he bathed in the water, there he died, drowned; his eyes were torn out;[2] his finger nails were removed and torn out.

Hence was it said: "Verily, so was his lot; so was he born. Even as the deer is a great coward, just so was he, whose day sign this is, a great coward; fearful." So seldom did his kin, his parents, trouble themselves; they did nothing for him.

776 And also it was told that then, too, was one of the times when those known as the Goddesses ●782 descended. They made offerings to them, and then they clothed [their images] in their paper vestments and their paper adornments.

Auh intla çioapilli: anoço çã maceoalli ipan tlacatia, no iuh mãceoale catca, teoqujchtlamachti: iuhqujn oqujchpovi, teacotlaz, atle ic tenentlamachti, amo tenmachonj, amo tecuetlazo.

Auh no ioan mjtoa: in aqujn ipan tlacati ce maçatl: qujlmach cẽca momauhtiaia, çan jmaviz in qujmattinenca, çan imauhcac in nemja, çan mamauhcanenca, vel iolmjquja, in jquac qujcaquja tlatlatzinjliztli, anoço tlavitequjliztli, tlapetlanaliztli, tlapetlanjllotl: njman âconiecoaia, vel qujçaviaia, qujcujcujtiuetziltia, qujmavizcujtia in onotlapetlan, onotlatlatzin.

Auh iuh qujtoa, in quẽman, in quenmanjan ça ipan neltiaia, ca imaviz contocaia, ipã ontlamelaoa, ça imaviz qujtlamachiliaia, ca inemauhtil ipan oniauh, vel vitecoia, ipan muchicoaia in qujmacaci, in qujmamattinemj. Auh intlacanelmo xopantla, çan tonalhujteco: no ioan in jquac atlan maltia, vncan mjquja, ilaqujlo, ixtelolococopinalo, iztitlatlaxo, iztococopinalo,

ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan motlacatili: in iuhquj maçatl, cenca momauhtianj: çan no iuhquj in aqujn itonal catca, vel mauhca tlacatl, mavizoco: ic çanyca mellaquaoa, in joaniolque, in jtaoan, aquẽ commatia.

Auh ioan mjtoa: no vncan ceppa ipan temoia, in moteneoa çioateteu: vncan qujntlamanjliaia, ioan vncan ic qujntlaquentiaia yn jmamatlaquen, in jmamanechichioa!

2. Cf. Spanish text.

x 787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth house, named Nine Crocodile — they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

Injc chicuei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc macujltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce acatl: auh amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, qujlmach in aqujque vncan tlacatia, intla vncan tlacatia, injc chicunauhtetl ẽalli, in jtoca chicunavi cipactli: qujtoaia qujlmach cenca techicoitoanj, ioan teteixpanvianj: auh qujlmach injn machiotl, iehoatl itonal in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatoque, in pipilti, vncan muxtlaoaia ioan tlamanaia.

x 787 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time. 805 Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in amo qualli, in amo ieccan izqujlhujtl,

qujtoqujlitica yn jpan vme ocelutl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cozcaquauhtli, macujlli olin, chiquacen tecpatl: in jzqujtetl in tonalli mjtoaia amo qualli, amo ieccan,

x 787 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented 776 the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And 778 when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noblemen paid him great honors. They made offerings at the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] ● 782 For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

qujlmach itonal catca itonalpan in quetzalcoatl. Iehica in quetzalcoatl, i ehecatl ipan mjxeoaia, injc tevtocoia: auh in jquac in moquetzaia ce acatl tonalli, cenca tlamaviztiliaia in tlatoque, in pipilti, tlamanaia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jxiptla Quetzcoatl, ixpan qujtlatequjliaia, qujtlamâmacaia much iquac qujcencaviliaia, itech qujtlaliliaia, in jzqujtlamantli inechichioal, yn iamatlatquj, ioan ixpan qujtequjliaia suchitl, yetl, qujcopaltemjliaia atl, tlaqualli, qujmanjlia, iuh qujtoaia vncan qujtonaltia, qujtonalquechja in Quetzcoatl.

x 787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life. It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; for such was his nature. The same befell her if it was a woman.

Auh injc mjtoa: amo ieccan, in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço maceoalli, atle cenca imâceoal, ilhujl catca, çan iuhqujn ehecatl ipã povia inemiliz, ẽcatocoia, atle itlaanca, inelhoaio mochioaia: ipampa in jtonalpan quetzalcoatl, ẽecatl otlacat, ca njman iubcan oquiz, no iubquj ipan muchioaia, intla çioatl,

1. The *calmecac*, house of priestly learning, is defined as "*lugar de linaje de la casa' y escuela de nobles*" by Arturo Monzón in *El calpulli en la organización social de los nahuas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 77. There were six, in the nobler *calpulli*, probably pertaining to clans (as the term is used by Monzón): Yopico, Huitznahuac, Tlamatzinco, Tlilancalco, Tetlamaca, and Mexico (pp. 47-52).

X787 776 ●782 Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the sixth sign, called One Death, and of the good fortune belonging to it. It was said to be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. And many were the offerings and blood sacrifices with which they did him honor. And each person provided much pleasure to the slaves.

Injc chicunavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chiquacentētl machiotl, in jtoca ce mjqujztli: ioan in qualli tonalli itech ca, qujlmach itonal in Tezcatlipuca: auh mjec in ventli, in nextlaoalli injc qujmaviztiliaia, ioan cenca qujnpapaquiltiaia in tlatlacoti.

One Death set in. This was said to be a good day sign, but also somewhat bad, as will here appear in its discussion. For it was said that when this occurred, then they honored Tezcatlipoca. The lords greatly venerated [the day sign]. Each one made offerings and beheaded quail at his personal [altar] in his house and in each of the tribal quarters in the temples called *teocalli*.

Moquetza ce mjqujztli: ynjn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: auh ioan achi amo qualli, in iuh neçiz nican, ipan itlatollo, ca mjtoa in jquac, y, vncan qujtonaltiaia in Tezcatlipuca, cenca tlamaviztiliaia, in tlatoque, tlamanaia, tlacotonaia, ceceniaca yn jncalitic, in jmjxcoian in cacalpulco, in moteneoa in teucalli, in teucalco:

Thus did they speak: "This one is he by whom we live, Titlacauan, master of the earth, master of the lords of the earth, who now hath his blessed day."

iuh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl in jpal tinemj, in titlacaoan, in tlalticpaque, in tlaltecue, in axcan itonalpantzinco,

For everyone then showed devotion, was humbled, and sorrowed, in order that he would show them favor. And not alone did the lords thus act, but also the brave warriors, the seasoned warriors, and the wealthy, the rich, and he who was wise; for the day sign of Titlacauan had set in. They also observed the day sign and made offerings in his dwelling place in his tribal temple. For this reason they showed great devotion, for this was the time to pray for favors.

ic muchi tlacatl vncan tlatemachiaia, nentlamatia, tlaocuiaia, injc qujcneliz: auh amo çanioque in tlatoque, iuh qujchioaia, y, no iehoan in tiacaoā, in tequjoaque, ioan in mocujltonoa, in motlacamati, ioan in aquin qujmatia, ca itonal moquetza in titlacahoā, no tlatonaltiaia, tlamanaia, in jchā, in jcalpulco: ypampa injc cenca tlatemachiaia, ca vncan tlaitlanjliloia, injc teicneliz:

X787 776 And as for its not being accounted a good and favorable time: there then was fear and dread lest this same one be wrathful and wilful. For thus did they say: "He whom he had favored and honored, and to whom he had revealed his sweetness, fragrance, and mercy, from this same one he might withdraw and remove it." Yet it was not without reason; when [the man] became vain and haughty, he disregarded and neglected what was his birthright. Still [the god] showed compassion and gave it as a gift to the one who sought him diligently and who went about weeping and sighing for his sake. So was it said that everywhere he was awaited; everywhere there was humility and sorrow before him. Nowhere was the dwelling place of the war [god]

auh injc amo qualcan, ieccan, ipan machoia, ca vncan nemauhtiloia, ymacaxoia, injc amo çan no iê moçomaz, monenequjz, ca iuh qujtoaia, in aquin qujcnelia, in oconmaviçolti, in oixpan conquixti, in jtzopelica, in javiiaca, in jtetlaocoliliz: çan no iê conjnailia, conjquanjlia, tel amo çan nen iquac in ie atlamati, in ie cuecuenoti in aoc tle ipan tlatta, conmjxcaoaltia, in jmâceoal, ocatca, oc iê qujcnoitta, connemactia, in qujtlamatataqujlia, in jca chocatinemj, elciciuhtinemj, ic mjtoaia: noviian chialo, noviian ivicpa nentlamacho, tlaocoialo, âcan vel ichan in iaoel Tezcatlipuca: çan jtlân conantinemj in jpetl, jepal:

X-787 **Eleventh Chapter,** which telleth of the seventh sign, named One Rain, and of the evil day signs [776] which belonged with it. They said that those then born were sorcerers and soothsayers and demons. — And *tlacatecolotl* meaneth demon. — Almost all the houses belonging to this [sign] were evil and unfavorable. Only the thirteenth was good.[1]

Injc matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicontetl machiotl, in jtoca ce qujavitl: ioan in amo qualli tonalli, in jtech catca: quilmach in aqujque vncan tlacatia, nanaoalti catca, ioan tetlachivianj, tlatlacatecolo: auh in tlacatecolotl, ca ichoatl qujtoznequj in Diablo, achi muchi in calli itech pouhquj, in amo qualli, in amo iectli: çanjio inic matlactetl vmey qualli.

X-787 One Rain set in, of which it was said that it was in no way a good day sign. It was full of evil, vice, misery, orphanhood, affliction, suffering, anguish, misfortune, and indigence.

Moquetza ce qujaujtl: injn mjtoaia, njman amo qualli tonalli, motqujtica teuhtli, tlaçolli, icnoiotl, icnotlacaiotl, tlaciaujliztli, tlacococaviliztli, teopouhcaiotl, atle onqujçaliztli, atle oneoatinemjliztli:

X-787 This was because during the time of this day sign, so it was said, then descended those known as the 776 Goddesses, inhuman ones, mockers of the people. Hence most sternly [parents] commanded their children not to go out; not to travel along the roads. They should only remain at home. Thus did they speak to them: "Go not forth. You will encounter the Princesses, for they descend and arrive upon earth." Hence the fathers regarded them with fear, lest one of [the children] might develop misshapen lips, or crossed eyes, or a hare lip, or be possessed.

ipampa in jpan, y, tonalli, iuh mjtoa: ca vncan temoia, in moteneoa cioateteo, âtlacacemelleque, teca mocaiaoanj: ic cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, in tepilhoan, in aiac qujçaz, aiac vtli qujtocaz: çan cali onozque: iuh qujmjlhujaia maca zonqujçaca, anmotenamjctizque, ca temo, ca tlalpan açi in çioapipilti: ic qujntlamauhcaittiliaia in tetaoan: injc amo aca tennecujliviz, ixnecujliujz, tenpatziujz, itech qujneuaz:

778 When this [day came], everywhere in the Goddesses' sanctuaries and temples — everywhere offer- ●782 ings were made. For in every single place stood a temple of Goddesses, in each neighborhood,[2] there at crossroads. They covered with white streamers each of the images which were there — five [figures] of stone, placed in a row, their faces rubbed and painted with liquid rubber. He who made a vow to them covered them at the time of their descent, at the time of their day count, on the day sign of their descent. As many of them as there were he covered with white paper streamers.

in jquac in, in noviian çioateupan, çioateucalli, noujian tlamanaloia, ca noviian cecentetl mãca, in çioateucalli, cecentlaxillacalpã vncan in omaxac, teteujtl qujmonquequentia, in vmpa catca, ymjxiptlacoan, macujlteme in teme, tecpantoca, tlaoltzaoalti, moolzauhque in aqujn ivicpa monetoltiaia, qujntlaquentia yn jquac in intemoia, yn jntlapoalpan, in jpan tonalli temoia, izqujteme amatetelujtl qujnquentia.

1. The Spanish text reads, in part: *"los que en este signo nacen, son nigromanticos, brujos, hechiceros, embaydores. Es de notar, que son vocablo diablo, propiamente quiere decir, nigromantico, o brujo: improprimente es un, por diablo: casi todos los cosas deste signo: eran de malo digestion. Pero la decima casa, y la seteta decima casa, universalmente E todos los signos: eran felices."* See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book XII, "The Conquest of Mexico," p. 21, nn. 1, 2, 3, on *nonalli, desventurado,* and *tetlachianani.* Depending upon the context, we have at times translated *desventurado* as demon.

2. *Ibid.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 58, n. 13.

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A 787 was not hopeless. This one the readers of the day signs thus sought out so that they might then somewhat better the day sign of the one born on One Grass.

liaia tonalpouhque, injc achi vncan quijqualiliaia itonal, in jpan tlacatia ce malinalli.

778 And the day sign Two Reed, which followed, they said was a very good day sign; because also at that time they honored Tezcatlipoca Titlacauan by placing the image of [a god] called Omacatl. In the same manner [as Tezcatlipoca][4] was the face painted; they ornamented it when they placed it.

● 782

Auh in qujtoqujlia, vme acatl tonalli qujtoaia vel qualli in tonalli: ipampa ca no vncan qujtonahtiaia yn Tezcatlipoca, titlacaoa, injc qujtlaliaia ixiptla itoca Omacatl: çan no ivi in mjchioaia, ic qujchichioaia, injc qujtlaliaia:

And whosoever wished to place the image of Omacatl guarded it in his home for two hundred [days]. He placed it on the day sign Two Reed. And if he who placed it did something well, that is, if now his goods and possessions increased and appeared, no more did he wish to relinquish it. He just placed and introduced it permanently into his home, and guarded it for a long time.

auh in aqujn qujnequja, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla Omacatl, matlacpoaltica in qujpiaia ychan, ipan in qujtlaliaia, vme acatl tonalli, auh intla ic itla vel maaiia, in aqujn oqujtlali, qujtoznequj: intla ic tlapiuja, ixneçi, iaxca itlatquj, aocmo qujcaoalitztlamotia, çan qujcentlaliaia, qujcencalaqujaia in jchan, vecauhtica qujpiaia:

And if now he wished to abandon it, and no longer to guard it, he likewise abandoned it on the day sign Two Reed. This same one chose his day sign; on [the day sign] in which he had placed it, on it likewise he abandoned it. He left it there at his temple in the tribal district of Omacatl, and went offering it incense. And there, to take it, would go he who earlier had wished to guard it in his home. The old men of the tribal district accompanied it with song; the [new] householder served food to the people; there was feasting and drinking in his home. And when it grew dark there was drunkenness. In the same way was the placing and termination. Then was the breaking off and the finishing; then they observed the two hundred days of guarding it in one's home when [the image] entered as well as when it left.

auh intla ic oqujnec in qujcaoaz, in aocmo qujpiaz: çan no ipan in qujcaoaia vme acatl tonalli, çan iee qujmattiuja in jtonal, ipan in qujtlaliaia, no ipan in qujcaoaia: vmpa concaoaia in jteupan, in jcalpulco omacatl, qujtlenamaqujlitiuh: auh vmpa canatiuh, in aqujn oc itt oqujnec, qujpiaz ichan, qujcujcatiaia in calpuleque, ic tetlatlaqualtia in chane, tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, yn jchan: auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, çan ie iuh tlatlaiilli, çan ie iuh tlatecolli, çan vncan tectica, çan ie vncan tlantica, çan ie vncan qujmattiaia, in matlacpoaltica pialoia techan iquac calaquja, no iquac qujçaia:

X 787 And, it was said, he who was then born, they said, would become rich and wealthy. And well would he gain his livelihood. What he might do would not fail. He would find his consolation.

auh mjtoa: in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujtoaia mocujltonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan vel muchioaz in jnetlaiecoltiliz, in tlejn maailiz, amo nenqujçaz, vel qujttaz in jneiollaliliz.

And on Four Eagle, and Five Vulture, and Six Motion, so it was said, these various day signs were in no way good. They were always as hath been said. For him who was then born, his fate, his gifts, were the same: misery. He lived given to talking; he would bear false witness; accusations were made; there were outcries; among others he lived in vice, corruption, and evil, as hath already in many places

Auh yn jpan nauj quauhtli, yoan macujlli cozcaquauhtli, yoan chiquacen olin, iuh mjtoa: njman amo tle qualli in jzqujtetl yn, tonalli, çan muchipa iuh mjtoa: in aqujn ipan tlacatia, çan yee in jlhujl, inemac in netolinjliztli, yoan tlatolli cololhujtinemj, tetlatolevia, yoan tlatolevilo, oiovilo, tenepantla qujtlalitinemj in xixtli, cujtlatl, in aqualli: in juhquj ye mjieccan omotenteuh. Auh in oc nen ic qujqualtiliaia

4. At this place in the Real Palacio MS a marginal note in Sahagún's hand reads: "de la ceremonia de la yma[g]e de Tezcatlipoca."

X 787 776 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the tenth sign, called One Flint Knife. And it was said that it was of good fortune, and claimed that those then born were brave and became seasoned warriors. And it was said that the women then born were forceful; they were able in all things and made their goods very well. And it was said to be the day sign of Uitzilopochtli, to whom it was dedicated. His domain was war. It was said also to be the day sign of Camaxtli. And when this sign began, they observed the feast [of Uitzilopochtli]. And it was said that all the day signs were good—[all] thirteen.

Injc cempoalli oes capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl machiotl, in jtoca ce tecpatl: ioan qujl qualli in jtonallo, auh qujl in aqujque vncan tlacatia chicaoaque catca, ioan tequjoacatia: auh qujl in cioa vncan tlacatia oqujchiolloque catca, muchi in veli catca, cenca uel qujnextiaia in jntlatquj: auh qujl itonal catca in Vitzilopuchtli, in jtech pouhquj catca, in jtequjuh catca iiaoiotl, qujl no itonal in Camaxtle: auh in jquac vmpeoaia injn machiotl, qujlhujquixtiliaia, auh qujl muchi qualli catca in jtzqujlhujtl, matlaqujlhujtl vmei.

776 782 One Flint Knife set in. On this One Flint Knife, when it tarried for a day, they then made offerings to Uitzilopochtli, whose day sign it was, and to Camaxtli, god of the Uexotzinca.

Thus it is said they made offerings and paid great 776 honor [to Uitzilopochtli] there at his temple, in his 782 tribal district, at the place whose name was Tlacatecco. There was his image guarded, and all his 776 array. They had it all spread out before him and laid in the sun; they offered incense and presented him[1] what were called the quetzal feather cape, the blue cotinga feather cape, the red spoonbill feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the humming bird feather cape.[2] But only after them came [825] last the no longer very precious feathers, like the white heron feather cape or the reed thrush feather cape.[3] Severally they laid all of them down, offered them separately, arranged them in rows, placed them in order, etc.

Moquetza ce tecpatl: inin ce tecpatl, in jquac tlacemilhujtiltiaia, vncan qujtonaltiaia, ytonalpan catca in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan in camaxtle, vexotzinca inteouh,

injc mjtoa: qujtonaltiaia, cenca quimaviztiliaia, in vncan ieupan icalpulco in jtocaiocan catca tlacatecco, vncan pieloia in jxiptla in jxqujch itlatquj, much ixpan qujtequjliaia, qujtotonjaia, qujtlenamaqujliaia qujtlacotonjliaia, in moteneoa quetzalquemjtl, xiuhtotoquemjtl, tlauhquecholquemjtl, tozquemjtl, vitzitzilquemjtl, auh ça qujtoqujlia, qujtzacuja, in aocmo cenca tlaçoivitl, in iuhquj aztaquemjtl, tzanaquemjtl: muchi nononqua qujtecaia, qujtlatlamantilia, qujcuecuentilia, qujvivipana. Er[a].

And all these precious capes, when they spread them out, remained there a day. By doing this, it was said, they sunned them for Uitzilopochtli. And 782 there offerings were made; there they laid out all the gifts, called fast foods. And all the good, prepared

auh much ie in tlaçotilmatli ipan qujtecaia, vncan oemjlhujtia: iehoatl injc mjtoa qujtlatotonjlia in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan vncan tlamanaloia, vncan qujtecaia in jxqujch ventli, in moteneoa tlacatlaqualli: ioan in jxqujch iectli, in tlachichioalli tlaqualli, in

1. *Qujtequjliaia* literally could mean "they behaded quail for him."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*uno se llamaua quetzal-quemjtl, que quiere decir: capa de quetzales verdes, y resplandeciente: otro se llamaua cichitzquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa de plumas azules, y resplandecientes: otro se llamaua tozquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa de plumas amarillas, y resplandecientes: otro se llamaua vitzitzil-quemjtl, que quiere decir: capa hecha de plumas resplandecientes de colores.*"

3. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 233. In *Ibid.*, p. 160, n. 2, it is jacdaw.

●762 foods came forth from the palace; and from the houses in the commoners' localities they [also] emerged and came forth.

But only for a little while it was, remained, and rested there. Then the old men of the temple district [of Uitzilopochtli] removed, continued to take and transport, divided, and distributed, what pertained to them. They removed it to a number of places. They consumed all. No one remained alone. Everyone came to it: the devout of the place, those who had fasted for a year; those who had danced and fasted for Uitzilopochtli.

[824] And Moctezuma then offered all manner of precious flowers [before the image] — varied flowers which were sweet-smelling and fragrant: magnolia,[4] maize flowers,[5] cacao flowers,[6] popcorn flowers,[7] and garlands of maize ears,[8] which grew everywhere; basket flowers,[9] raven flowers;[10] yellow and blue tobacco flowers;[11] milky corn silk flowers;[12] and all manner of precious flowers, prepared,—well-formed, well-arranged, made as shields of flowers, circular, radiating, and spreading; and the pleasant-smelling ones. It seemed as if the fragrance, the perfume, spread and blanketed his temple.

And so they burned [tubes of] tobacco — only in bundles. First they bound them about the middle. As they burned them, they filled [the area] before [the image].[13] It was as if the smoke arose, spread a cloud, extended, came to settle, and lay billowing.

782 274 Likewise it was said at the time of the day sign One Flint Knife, that the wine-makers showed special concern. At that time they cut and bored

tlatocan calquiçnia: ioan in çan calla, mocxualpĩ calteoia, calquiçnia:

auh çan achiton cá, in vncan vmanj, vncan onoc, vncan onmotecq: niman ic quijquanja çan ic concujtimanj, ic conjquanjtimanj, intech povi in calpulveuetque, quimoxcelhuja, quimomamaca, quecizquican quimjcuanjlia, vntetlanj, ainc izcauj, muchi tlacatl itech aci, in vncan tlamaceuhque, in moccxiuhçauhque, in jtech mjtotinemj, in quimeçaujlia Vitzilopuchtli:

auh in Motecuçoma in jxquich tlaçonnchitl, in nepapan xochitl, in velic, in aviiac vncan quimana in iolloxochitl, in eloxochitl, in cacaoxochitl, in izquixochitl, ioan cacaoacincozcatl, in izquican icac, oacalxochitl, in cacaloxochitl, in coztic iiexochitl, auh in xoxouhquj iiexochitl, in xiloxochitl, ioan in ic izquich nepapan tlaçoxochitl, in tlamantli, in vellalilli, in tlatecujcujlolli, in mjmati, in chimalxochitl, in ololiuhquj, in momoiaca, in xexelivi: auh in çaçan tlatlanecutli, iuhquin tlaujiaxtoc, tlauceuelixtoc, tlaujiaxtimanj, tlauceuelixtimanj, in jxcupan:

auh injc quijtlatiaia iietl, çan ce cemmecatl çan iuh cujtlalpitiuh in quijtlatiaia, contenteuj ixpan, iuhquin puchteoatoc, ainvitl mantoc, ainvitl quixtoc, iuhquin mononomolocatoc.

No ioan mjtoa in jpan in tonalli ce tecpatl, cenca vncan tlatemachiaia in tlachicque, vncan quijtlapanaia in inmeuh, ic quijtemachiaia injc cenca meiac,

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4. *Iolloxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana* D. C. Don) — Mexican magnolia, a flower reserved solely for the nobility. — Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin, 241), Vatican Library. An Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310.

5. *Elosochitl*: probably *Compositae* (?) (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275). In Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), Vol. III, p. 841, it is classed with *yeyochitl*. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 598, identifies it as *Magnolia dealbata* Zucc.; also called *yelosochitl*.

6. *Cacaoxochitl*: *Theobroma cacao* L. (a cacao plant). — Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 311. Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 921, calls it *Quauxilhas fructifera* (Llave) Standl. See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 298.

7. *Izquixochitl*: *Bourreria huanita* (La Llave & Lex.) Hemsl. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275).

8. Cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 249.

9. *Uauhxochitl*: *Xanthosoma* sp. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 234); *Phyllodendron affine*, Hemsl., "Una planta cultivada, de las aráceas, cultivada en [México]" (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 102).

10. *Cuervoxochitl*: *Plumeria rubra* L., attributed of important properties, according to Sahagún (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308). Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 806, says *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir, "flor de cuervo."

11. *Yeyochitl*: *flor de tabaco* (no botanical name given); "El Yeyochitl, que algunos llaman chiuchitl o cua flor de chuí, y otros cuauhxipinchitl o yeyochitl amarillo" (Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 841, 842).

12. *Xilonochitl*: *Bombax ellipticum* H. B. K., according to Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 455, and Paul C. Standley, "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States National Herbarium* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), pp. 793-794; *Calliandra emarginata* (Kunth) McBride, according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

13. *Real Palacio MS*: *contenimiento*.

their maguey plants;[14] so they showed special concern in order that their maguey plants would flow much and produce well. And so they offered gifts in the temple of Uitzilopochtli. There they offered their wine, which had been newly brewed, called *aiztli*; they went pouring it into bowls on which rested sucking tubes. And the ones who there partook of it were the already aged, called *quauhcuetzaqui*, who already had the privilege of drinking wine. These drank; they continued drinking with the sucking tubes.

ontlaiez inmcuh: auh injc tlauenchioaia, in jteupan Vitzilopuchtli: vmpa conmanaia in jmoc, in iancujcan tlachictli, in moteneoa vitztli, acatecomac, contecatimanj: vncan ipan icaca ce piaztli: auh in aqujn vmpa vntlatlapaloaia, in ie chicaoaque, in moteneoa quāveuetque: in ie inqemac tlaoanaliztli, iehoan conja, ic conjtimanj in piaztli:

782 274 [888]

And he who was born on this [day], One Flint Knife, they said, would be valiant, a chieftain; he would gain honor and riches.

auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, y, ce tecpatl qujtoaia, oqujchtiz tiacauhtiz, maujztiz, mocujltonoz:

787x

Likewise, if it were a woman, she would be of merit, gifted, and deserving. Her labors would be good; there would be wherewith to eat and drink; there would be sustenance. She would become rich and wealthy; courageous, strong, reckoned as a man, and hardy. She would give honor as a man. And, [among] all her gifts, she would speak well, be eloquent, give good counsel, and arrange her conversation and manner of speaking well in her home. She would be observant, of good memory, discreet, etc.

no iuhquj intla çioatl, maçeoale iez, nemaque, ilhujle, vel itla mailiz, oniez in qujquaz, in qujz, vnca qujquanj iez, mocujltonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan oqujchnacaio, chicaoac, oqujchtlamatiz, moqujchpoaz, oqujcheoaz, teoqujchtlamachti iez: ioan much inemac vellatoz, motlatoljmatiz, yel tenonotzaz, vellatoltecpanaz, yiciciau, icacatian, in qujtlaliz, tlatolli, vel ixc, iollo, mozcalianj iez. Er[a].

And Two Rain, and Three Flower, Four Crocodile, Five Wind, Six House, Seven Lizard, Eight Serpent, Nine Death, Ten Deer, Eleven Rabbit, Twelve Water, Thirteen Dog—all, in truth all, were as hath been told in their account. All went to be considered and were observed as of, and they followed, the same pattern. They were only one, regarded as only one in their relation and account, as they went in order there day by day, each one of the days in its proper place, so proceeding in order, one, two, three, henceforth[15] until they reached and completed the end of the day count, thirteen.

Auh in vme qujavitl, ioan ei xochitl, nauj cipactli, macujlli ēcatl, chiquacen calli, chicome cuetzpalin, chicuei coatl, chicunavi mjquiztli, matlactli maçatl, matlactloce tochtli, matlactli omome atl, matlactlomej itzcujntli: in jxquich in çan moch iuhquj in jtlatollo omjto: çā much umpa itztiuh, çan much vmpa tlachia, çan much vmpa tlaujca, cā ie centetl, çan centetitiuh in jtlatlatollo, in jtoloca, in iuh tecpantiuh, in vncan tlaceceujlhujtlitiuj, cecenteme tonaltin, in jnicician ic tecpantiuj in ce, in vme, in ei: ixquichica, injc onacitiuh, injc ontlatlantiuh tonaltzontli matlatlactlomeci.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Los sabios de los magueyes, o sabiamente que cuidan el pulque, sacaban, y agujereaban los magueyes: para que manasen sujo en este efecto: tenjan que por agujeriarlos en este efecto, se metian canutos.*"

15. Bernardino Rendalli: *Glossarium Latino-Latinum et Latino-Americanum* (Mediolani: Valentinus et Mors, 1889), has *exponebat* and *hinc* (henceforth, from here on), for *inpédicion*.

[p. 80 is blank]

X 787 Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the fourteenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was 771, a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the 666 day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxictentica.[1] They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

Injc cempoalli on macujlli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl onnavi machiotl, in jtoca ce itzcujntli: inin qujlmach qualli tonalli, ioan qujl itonal catca, in xiuhtecutli: in qujtoaia Tlalxictentica, cenca vei ilhujtl qujchioaia: ican ypan motlatocaaltiaia in tlatoque.

X 787 —then set in the one named One Dog. This, they 776 said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedi- 778 cated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli. They formed his image there in his temple. There 782 they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provided it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] *nexttlaualli*. All the food [and array of] Tlalxictentica[3] they burned before him.

Niman oalmoquetza in jtoca, ce itzcujntli: inin qujtoaia qualli tonalli, vncan qujtonaltiaia in tletl, in jtoca Xiuhtecutli: qujtlaliaia yziptla in vmpa itenpan: vncan qujtlamanjliaia, ixpan tlacotona, copaltema, qujchichioa, qujcecencaoa, in jxqujch amatlatqujtl, inmac iecauja in moteneoaia amatecque, amatlamatque, qujviiotiaia, qujvitzetzeloa, qujnepapaniviiiotia, tlaçoiujtica qujnepapanivitzetzeloa: ioan qujchachalchiuhiotia, quitocaiotia nextlaoalli, itlaqual in tlalxictentica, much ixpan qujtlatiaia:

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and Amantlan,[4] they made [the goo] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It seemed that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They spattered and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

auh in noviian cecencalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujltonoloia, in puchtlan, in amantlan: cenca qujveichioaia injc qujmaviztiliaia, tlatlaqualoia, aatlicoaia, netlacamacho, necoanotzalo, oc ueca ioac, cenca oc tlaujzcalpan in qujtlatiaia amatl, in mjtoa ic qujtlamaca tletl, qujvicatiuh, qujtocatiuh in copalli, ceoen petlacalli, ovn petlacalli in contepeoa tleco, chipaoac, iztac copalli: ioan qujncotona çoçoltin, iuhqujn tlecujlixquac tlãpatlaca, tlapapatlaca, ieço nemamacaoca, tlalli ic neujujteco tlecujlixquac qujtzitzicujtza, qujnonoquja in jmezço: ioan no achto tlecujlixquac qujtotoiaoa in vetli: auh çatepan tlecujlnacazco nauhcampaixti qujtotoiaoa:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Este decian: ser el signo del dios del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, o tlalxictentica."
2. Ibid.: "los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica: hacian la fiesta de su eleccion."
3. Ibid.: "entre de la cuchara, quemaban las ofrendas de papel, y papel, decian: que con esto comia, dando de comer al fuego."
4. Mendoza, op. cit., pp. 50, 64, 68: calpolli of merchants, feather workers, etc.

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw coarse incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a
643 celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6] on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities
431 came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

[482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan maceoaltzintli, in motolinja, çan copalxalli in tleco qujtema: auh in ça iequenc qujzacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in lavia, in auellamati: çan ic in jauhtli tleco qujtepeoa, ic quj-tlamaca in jxcoian itleuh:

ioan mjtos in tlatoque vncan motecuthaliaia motlatocatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujntli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhacatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj onotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol qujoalcuj, qujoalitquj in macuextli, in tilmatli, in xuchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamaujzço, yximachoca imaltepeuh, in campa, in quexqujchca oaleoa, qujtlamamaca, qujtlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan quj-tlapaloa, qujtlatlauhtia, oalmotlalia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, qujtlacuepilia, qujntlananqujlilia:

auh çan [illegible]uj in chicoalo, in namjco, çan ic mocuepa in jntetlaçotlaliz, injc motlaneuj, injc mjximati, injc momakcochoa, injc mocochioa, qujmomamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan qujqujmjliuhtiuh, çan quj-qujmjlietiuh, çan qujmjltica in qujmomaca, in, in qujmotlauhtia, qujiaiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetech-tilmatli, in vel intonal icalitic ochioaloc, otlatlan, iquac impan qujnpepena, inpan qujnuelitta, qujntla-tlattilia, qujmjipantia, qujnpapantia, qujnpapanjtia, in quenamj qujnmacazque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua qujnmaujztilia, qujnvecapano, intetla-ujcalhoan.

tlaliuj, tlãtlaliuj, tlãtlalhujtiuj, tlãtlalioca, in tla-mamalo, in tlãtlatqujoa, quxquailpitiuh in netlauh-tilli: auh in netlacaujlli, ãtle tlaçotli, ãtlatlaçotli, tla-

5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los pobres echavan un enciensos, que llaman copalxalli, en su mismo hogar: y los muy pobres, echavan unas yerbas olorosas, que se llama yauhtli en sus mismos hogares."* — In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, it is *Tagetes lucida*; see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Emmart, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Reiffner, in *Le médecine chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 95, identifies yauhtli as a species of chenopodium; A. Guerra, in *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1909), p. 54, says it is definitely narcotic. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar los idolatrías de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies yauhtli as perfume, which, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 290, is *"Nombre vulgar que en el norte del país, en México, se da a una planta parecida al compuesto* (Tagetes minuta), *cuyas hojas huelen a anís."*

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: *"la fiesta de su elección, que llaman mochanaqua."*

X 787 Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of the seventeenth sign, called One Water. It was said to be an evil day sign. And it was said of those then born that they rejoiced a little only at the beginning of their lives, and that they ended in evil. And it was said always to be evil when they died. And it was said to be the day sign of Chalchiuitl icue, whose feast day the water folk observed.

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, inic cattolli omome machiotl, in jtoca ce atl: qujlmach amo qualli tonalli: auh qujl in aqujque vncan tlacatia, çan ipeuhian in jnnemjliz achi poquja: auh injc tzonqujçaia amo qualli, auh qujlmach mochipa, amo qualli, injc mjquja: auh qujl itonal catca in chalchiujtl icue, qujlhujqujxtiliaia in atlaca.

One Water. This One Water, they said, was also evil. And they said it was quite varied, of different qualities, all good or all bad.

Ce atl: injn ce atl: qujtoa, amono qualli: yoan qujtoa, çan chictlapantli, chictlapantica: izquich qualli, izquich amo qualli:

● 782 At this time they made offerings to the one named Chalchiuhtli icue, who represented the water. Especially did the sellers of water, the owners of boats — those who transported water with boats — and those who launched boats, made offerings to her. These formed her image; they set in place the framework [for her image] at her temple, in her tribal district.

vncan qujtonaltiaia: in jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue, in jpan mjxeoaia atl: oc cenca ichoan qujtlamanjliaia, yn anamacaque, in acaleque, acaltica atlacuj, yoan acalquetzque: ichoan qujxiptlatiaia qujtlaliaia ycoloio in jteupan, in jcalpulco.

X 787 And thus was it said to be diverse [in fortune], one which could not attain and carry with it very much good. That is to say, of the one then born, very few resulted great and fortunate at this time. For according to his deserts, his day sign, he was only all evil, completely surrounded by vice. And in evil he would go; in it he would die. Perchance somewhere he would be stoned — he would be felled by a stone; or else he would be drowned — he would perish in the water.

Auh injc mjtoa çan chictlapanquj yn amo vel macitica motquitica ic qualli, quitoznequi in aqujn ipan tlacatia, çan vej quiçaia cenca çan aca in vncan qujçaia tlacnopilhujani, ca in juh ca vel inmaceoal, itonal çan muchi ꞗqualli in cololotica motquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, auh amo qualli ynjc iaz, inic miquiz, aço çan cana tetepacholoz, tetica uetziz, anoço, atocoz, atlan mjqujz,

But even if, on the other hand,[1] he merited some reward, only for a miserable moment, only for a short time, a very short time, and frequently for a brief space, a moment, for a time only, would he partake of his riches.[2] So of him were said the words of the talkative inhabitants, that in the world there are bad days. Sometimes one succeeded; sometimes one failed; if, in his childhood, he should suffer

auh intla ça nóço itla imaceoaltiz, çã conepol, çan cuel achic, can cuecuel achic, çan achica, çan achitonca, çã achitzinca, çan izquich caujtl in, in jxpan onqujçaz in jnecujltonol, ic ipã mjtoa, in jntlatol tlaticpac tlatlatoanj, çan tatacapitz uel in tlaticpac, quẽman veli, quenman aveli, intla ipiltian motoliniz, qujn itzonco in achi moiollaliz:

1. *Inde go mayo:* Bancroft, op. cit., has *cui* (*dishonoured, yet*) *or quantosis* (*as you will*) *for indeed, and mayor* (and not) for mayo.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y si alguna buena dexa encuentra, tendrá poco tiempo, por ventura el mayor tiempo, se ha conducido la ventura.*"

Thirty-third Chapter, in which is mentioned the nineteenth sign, named One Eagle. It was said to be an evil day sign, and he who was then born was beautiful, and brave, daring, fearing nothing and no one. And it was said that the women also were daring, of ill fame, of evil tongue, shameless, and immodest. And it was said that at this time descended the lower Goddesses; and they did evil to the small children. Hence they did not let them go out of doors, nor did they bathe them at that time.[1]

—One Eagle. This One Eagle, it was said, was an evil day sign. Also at that time descended those named the "Goddesses." It was said, and it was so stated, that they were only the youngest ones, only the dolls,[2] who then came down. Nevertheless, [the people] took great fright, because it was said that they were very harmful, furious, hateful, hostile, and merciless. As they could not be resisted, so they made sport of people, as is told in various places and mentioned here and now. None of the small children might go naked. They were carefully watched, because at this time they might be violently possessed, their lips twisted and withered, their eyes crossed and cloudy, their noses crushed, etc.

And therefore they paid them great honor there in the places where they were awaited, there in the different Goddesses' temples. In each neighborhood, in the house clusters and their vicinities, reeds were strewn and scattered; sand was sprinkled on the roads and at street crossings and crossroads—places where roads came together.

One who made a vow to them that he would cover and wrap them, adorned their offerings, the paper banners of the Goddesses painted and spattered with liquid rubber. There he covered the different images of the Goddesses, as they were arranged in order. It was at midnight, just at the dividing of the night, that the making of offerings

Injc cẽpoalli ẽnaxtlacxtli vnnay capitulo: vncan motenecoa ynjc caxtolli vnnavi machiotl, yn itoca cẽ quauhtli: quil amo qualli in tonalli, auh in ipan tlacatia, mochachamacoanj, yoã chicaoque, aiac ixco tlachia, atle ypan tlatta, atle ypã teitta: yoan quil in cihoa, amo tle ypã tlachia, yoan cenca tlavilquixtianj, tentlaveliloque, iaquauhti, amo pinacoanj: auh quil yn iquac, cohtemoia yn aquique tepitoton cihoatetzu: auh quintlauelilaia in conetotonti, yc amo quinoalquixtiaia in qujiacac, amono quimaltiaia yn iquac. 787x

In cẽ quauhtli: ynjn cẽ quauhtli, mjtoa amo qualli tonalli, no vncan temoia, in qujntocaiotia cihoatetzu, quilmach yn juh onmjtoa çã xoxocoio, çã teiccacan yn vncan temoia, iece cenca vellamauhtiaia, ypampa quil cenca ihjioque, tlaveleque, tetlavelique, amo elleleuhque, amo icnoaque, njman aixnamjquixti, ynjc teca mavltianj, yn juh onmjto quenquican: yn juh conitoa in iquac hin, njmã aiac vel petlauhtinenca in pipiltotõti, cenca malhujloia, ypampa cenca tlaquauh vncan tetech quineneia, tennecujlooaia, tempatzioonia, ixnecujlooaia, ixcatzioonia, iacanecujlooia. etc. 787x 776 855

auh injc cenca qujnmaviztilizia in vncan inchielpã yn iaquicã cicihoatecucalco, in tlatlaxilacalpã, tetlatlaxilacalloc, tetlatlaxilacaltian, tlaoltzetzelolo, tlatoltzetzelolo, tlaixtlaujlo yn vtlica, yn vmaxac, yn inepanivjian vtli. 776 782

Jn aquin invicpa monetoltia: in qujnquentiz qujntlaquentiz, qujnchichivilia yn jnacatlhoal, in cihoatetuitl amatl, tlacolxaoalli, colpeiaoac, vmpa qujmoquequentia yn iaquiteme, tecpantoque, yn iaxiptlaoan iooalnepantla, çan jc onxellivi, iooalli im pena tlamanililo, auh iquac mocaoa yic nepantla tonatiuh, yic tlaqualixpã auh in aquin amo qujntlaquentia, çan [778]

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "no les decaxan salir de casa, ni bañarse, el tiempo que eran dignas respetadas."
2. Tlaxcalteca: see "Matrimonio en 3 adolescencias," p. 212.

776 begun. And when it ceased, it was midday, when it
782 was already time to eat. And he who did not cover
them only offered and arranged a little drink and
food, or white incense, or coarse incense. The youths,
the young unmarried warriors, the masters of the
youths,[2] the guardians there at the Goddesses'
temple, who watched and kept vigil for one night,
kept the food as a gift, took and appropriated it to
themselves.

And when silence fell, when at each place there
was a cessation of offerings, then forthwith began
the libations. Only in each person's house, each
person's house, was it done. No more did one peac-
tise restraint: no more were there inhibitions. They
made the old men and the old women drink and
poured out the wine for them. So there were tearful
greetings of one another and animation of one
another, etc.

X 787 And it was said that he who was then born, was
perverted. If a man, he became a chieftain, a man-
at-arms, debauched, evil, and daring. Only his ex-
ploits, his chieftainship, did he relate and make
public. He considered that no one rejected him. He
pretended to excel others. He respected no one. He
wished others destroyed. He despised others. He
became presumptuous. And then, being of ungov-
ernable tongue, he interrupted people and belittled
the word of others, and scoffed and grumbled at
them. He rose up in rage; he constantly shook his
head; he interfered in others' affairs; he pretended
to know all; he praised himself. He pretended that
he spoke well and truthfully. He would not be out-
done in talk. He was vainglorious; he was a flatterer.
He pretended to be virtuous, but to see no virtue in
others. He belittled others' words. He contradicted,
denied, and twisted his own words. All his works,
all corresponded to him; he merited all; all indeed
became him: vices, drunkenness,[4] and corruption.
And sometimes, if he became neglectful, he was
captured and imprisoned, or died in battle, etc.

It was just the same if it were a woman. She was
truly of evil tongue, vile-mouthed, inhumane in
speech—big-mouthed, of biting words. Her great
joy, her great pleasure, was evil speaking. She was
one who vituperated others, who insulted and af-
fronted them. Like a dog, [she let] no one head her

ꞁtzintli, tlaqualtzintli in ohuanaia, in cuauhpanaia,
anoço iztac ocpalli, ocpaltzalli, in tlaqualli ichtli quim-
movenqia quimocaillia, quimocochoia in telpopuchti,
telpochtlapojoque, yoan tiziachcaol, in vmpa tlapiz-
toque cihuatecaleco, in vmpa cricoal oyntoçoque,
otoçoque,

auh yn ocactivetz, yn onecacaoalac tlamanalo, ni-
man ic peoa I tlatlatoaiviliilo, ça techachan, ça tecacal-
itic yn muchica, aocac ômmanaci, aocmo onnecan-
macho, ichollti quintlacoaillia, quintlatoaiviliia yn ve-
vetque, yn ilamatque, ic mochochoquintlapalos,
mellaquaxa et[a].

Auh mjtoa yn aquin vncan tlacati, atlacacemelle,
intla oquichtli, tlacatlti, oquichti, ôquen tlatia,
ôquen tlatlatta, aiac ixco tlachia, ça jioquichio, yti-
cauhio in cuepopoa, yn jxco quimana, niman aiac
quimotlaçaltoca, motepanavilitoca, aiac de cuepoa,
mozpololtoca, atle ontepoa, ceuca immoquintia, yoi
nimi ticmelacati, vel tepôpoztoca, tepôpeztoca, tetitli-
via, tepiquinatza, mitteoa, moquequecuecuechoa,
motlilmamachiztia, motlatlamachitoca, motlatlanizti-
tia, moveellatoltoca, moiecticatoltoca, ômotipana-
villanj, momamachotla, temômachotla, moiêctocoa,
ticiectoca, mitpatztlatoa, motlencuepa, tlatlanal-
cuepa, tlatlanmalacachoa, much ychivil, much
quimopanjtia, much quimolhujktia, much vel itech
muchioa in tlatlanelilocaiotl, yn chi injnciliztli, yn
avilquincaiotl, auh in quêman intla otlachiviti vico,
calaquijlo, iconijquj et[a].

Çan ic no inhoqui intla cihoatl, vel tentlavelilac,
cuauhtlavelilac, alacatlacatl, temazacal, cuauhtlac-
coa, ceuca ipac, ceuca ivelmach yn tentlanelilocaiotl,
vel tepapacuj, tenvijnacuj, tepacoçtlacuj, inh-
quijmma chichi aiac vel quijacolinia, quijacopeionia,
yztlaca itech ocuaci, nimi quintlacaviniquiça, ytech mo-

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "los mejores, de aquellos ministros."—Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 142.
4. Mitchell-Hedges in the Leaf Pictorial MS.

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who had escaped from their hands, who pilfered, plundered, and robbed, would now wrest goods from their hands, and plunder, strip, sack, and rob them. Or somewhere, some of them might now faint and collapse, to be cast aside. Or they would be eaten by wild animals — the fare of brutes; they would become the game of wild beasts. Or somewhere they would be encircled by, and encounter, war.

tzinque, ie cuvetzinque, ie ommomaintzinque: noce, ie omtequanoalanque, teqolitlaquaikin, tequanjme intlaquaihoan, ie ommochioanque: aoeçe, cana inpan ie oalmotzaquez isoiotl: ie commomanjctinque.

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When this was so, he who was leader, who went commissioned leader, who proceeded as principal there along the road, then began to encourage them. He greeted his younger brethren with tears, his charges who were being taught. Along the way he instructed them and said to them:

In jquac yn, in aquin tachcauh, in tachcauhchiuhtiuh, in tachcauh icatiuh vtlipan, vncan peoa, in quimelaquaoa, in quinchoquitlapaloa, inticcaoan, itlahcapavalvan: in vtli ipan quimitlamachtia, quimjlvia.

"Be of good cheer, O my sons, O my younger brothers. Of what profit is it that we are afflicted? Let no one be sad or heavy of heart. In truth for this we came: we came to die; so went our hearts heavy and foreboding. Thus we went from and left our homes and the houses of others:[4] our aunts, our uncles, our nephews, our elder sisters. For this reason they shed tears for us; they poured out upon us their weeping, their sorrow, that perhaps here, somewhere, on the desert, on the plains, in the gorge, in the forest, in various places will lie scattered our bones and our hair; in many places our blood, our redness, will spread, poured out and slippery. For in truth this hath been our reward. Let no one feel womanish in heart. Yield completely to death; pray to our lord. Let none think of or brood over [our condition]; for only later shall we know of whatsoever things[5] we may strike against. Then, in the end, we may weep for ourselves.

Ximellaquamacan, nopilhuane, noteiccaoane, quenel tiotolinja: macaiac tlaocuja, nentlamati in jiollo, ca nel ic tioallaque, in timjequjco: ca iuh oalietia, iuh quioalmattia in tiolollo: injc tiocalakanjque, tiquallaloique in tonca, in teca: in tauj, in totla, in tomach, in tuuehtiuh: ca ic injc techchoquijli, injc topan quipino, in ichoquja, in jtlaocul: aço cana nican, itlahoatl, atlauhtli itic, quavitl itic, cecemmacoz in tuenjo: in tozzoa, nonoqujuhoa, aalacatoz in tezço, in totlapallo: ca nel otomaccoaltic, ma caiac quicioitlamachti in ijollo: xicmotlaquammacacan in mjquiztli, xicmoclatlauhtilican in totecujo: ma caiac tic itic quinemjti, quilnamjquj: ma ça quin jc ticmatizque, in çaço tic itech titomotzonativi: vncan ic ommaian, tontechochoquilinque:

"For truly, this is how we come giving honor[6] and luster to our lords, the merchants who lead, raising them to glory and lifting high their heads. Ere now they have gone knowing and marveling at such things. We are not then the first to discover and behold what will befall us. Strengthen your hearts, O my sons!"

ca nel ichoatl injc tiquinteiotico, tiquimjtauhcaietico, tiquijtonaleoaco, tiquinzontecconacocujco intechiuhcaoan, in puchteca, in jiaque: ca ieeppa iuh quimattivi, iuh quimaujçotiuj, camo quin tehoan iancujcan ie tocomettinque, ie tocomjtauque, in tlein topan tlachioaz: ximellaquaoacan, nopilhoane.

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And if somewhere night fell, they gathered, joined, crowded, and assembled themselves somewhere at the foot of a tree or the opening of a gorge,

Auh istla cana oimpan ioac, cana quauitl izintlan, aaço atlauhcamac, ommololoa, ommocemolaoa, ommoteputhitlalia, momechicoa, quicujtialpia, qui-

4. Probably *tonca* and *teca* are to read *tocal* and *tecal*. In Bernardino de Sahagún, "Memoriales en 3 columnas," *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hiasa y Hijos, 1905), Vol. VII, p. 398, the phrase is *yo tonca, yo teca*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando partiamos de nuestras casas*."

5. "Memoriales en 3 columnas," p. 391, *ahora lo pago de, lo que he hecho*, literally, *lo pago de*.

6. In fact, *ciz*, is to *chipahuaqui*.

and bound and tied, fastened together, and placed on the ground, all their staves, which represented their god Yiacatecutli. Here, before him, they did penance, bled themselves, cut their ears, and drew straws through them; so they only yielded to whatsoever might befall them. But no one worried or speculated whether it might befall them as the white hooded hawk had foretoded to them.

And perhaps they quite escaped, [or] perchance nothing happened to them who were then terrified when the time of their fright had occurred. If nothing befell them, their hearts were therefore again a little lifted; they raised their heads and revived their spirits; for their fates were so established that fear should no longer be with them.

But the fearful ones, the younger brothers who were not of firm fortune, not of rugged day signs, when they learned of [the omen], went fearing it. No longer were they happy; they talked no more — no longer did they speak aloud; nowhere were their hearts content. Things only worsened as they traveled; they only went engraving on their minds whatever they imagined. No longer with calm, but vainly, did they a little way follow the land; rather, they thought that perchance soon they would somewhere come upon what in truth meant the omen which had occurred and by which they had been frightened.

It hath already been said, nevertheless, that no one knew whether, indeed, it would be verified, or would not be so. For its words were understood, since it spoke in two [ways], to be good and evil.

oncuijtlalpia, quiocmjlpia, quiocmmana in jntopil, in jpan quiaxoaia in intecuh: Yiacatecutli. Vncan inpan tlamacroa, mjço, monacaztequj, tlacoqujxtia, ça quimocemmacatoque, in tlein inpan, ie oenmuchioat: auh aocac ontlamati, aocac itlamatia, intla iuhquj inpan muchioa, in juhquj ic oquinteztauj oactli. 787x 484 782

Auh anoçe çan maçuiça, acaço tle inpan muchioa: in vncan in nemauhtiaia, in jomauizcuijan omochiuhca. Intla catle inpan omochiuh, ic oc ceppa achitzin, oalmoiolizcalia: oalaquetza onmoquaahiouja: ic ommotonallalilia: injc intech oacca maujztli: 787x 484

auh in mauhcatlaz, tenziccaua, in amo tonalchicaoaque, in amo tonallapaliuj: ça ie in quimattiuj, in quimamattiuj: aocmo paquj, aocmo tlatoa, aocmo naoati, aoccan auja in jiollo: ça tlanauhtiuj, in nenemj, ça imjtic tlacujcujiotiuj, in tleinmach quilnamiquj: aiocmo iujian, in oc nen achi quitoca tlalli: ça ie in quimati, aço quin cana in ie commonamjctizque, in tlein vel quitoznequj, intetzauh omuchiuh: injc omotetzauiçque.

Ie omjto, tel aiac quimati, in aço vel neltiz: in acanoçomo, ca itlatol itech mocaquj: injc ome vitz quitoa, qualli ioan amo qualli.

[p. 156 is blank]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 to have been worshiped more extensively, and the clay images made in their honor also continued in unbroken line the tradition of the Middle Culture figurines. Coatlicue (Our Lady of the Serpent Skirt) was the mother of the gods in their stellar aspect but also was honored as the mother of Huitzilopochtli. The measure of her importance may be gauged by [778] the great statue of her in Mexico which is a masterpiece of sacerdotal art and undoubtedly had a temple to itself. Coatlicue was also represented as a mother carrying a child in her arms. In this guise her function as a mother goddess brought her image into almost every home in the valley. Tonantzin (Our Mother), which may have been an aspect of this same goddess or of Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), had a temple at Tepeyac, now the site of the shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and her cult was transferred to the Virgin by the early missionaries, an act exemplifying their intelligent procedure in evangelizing the Aztecs. A goddess, Tlazolteotl (Eater of Filth), was extensively worshiped and was also synonymously known as the "Mother of the Gods." Primarily an earth-goddess, she, alone of the goddesses, had a moral significance, since in eating refuse she consumed the [783] sins of mankind, leaving them pure. A rite of confession developed in her cult. (See Plates 54–55.)

Standing out from the numerous divinities associated with death were Mictlantecuhtli and Mictlancihuatl,* (Our Lord and Lady of the Region of Death). They wore masks made from human skulls, and their ornaments were either human bones or representations of them. They presided over the northern regions and also ruled the hells below the earth. Theirs was no punitive function, for all who died, save in

*Meek-tlan-se'e-watl.

776 **Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteotl).**[53]

Tlaçolteotl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlazlquani. As to the name Tlaçolteotl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 551 And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiscapan (the elder sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocuzuin (the youngest sister).[54] These four women, it was said, were god-[desses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteotes).

And as for her being called Tlazlquani:[55] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; [783] one told, one opened, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteotl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green and yellow waters.[56]

● [783] And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteotl the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

793 And her warden[57]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[58]

776 783

Juic matlactli vnume capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteotl.

In tlaçolteotl: yuan itoca ixcuina, yuan itoca tlazlquanj. Juic motocaiotia tlaçolteotl, çujl ipampa, çujl ichaotl yiauca, ytlatquj, ynch pouj, in teuhtli, in tlaçulli: in çujçuuecquj, ayiiuemjlizoli, çujl ipan tecui, ypan tlamacati, yn aujiuemjliçqui.

Auh ynjc itoca, ixcuina: çujl nauiui euah, in cioa: ynjc ce ytoca tiscapan, ynjc ome, ytoca teicu, ynjc ey, itoca tlaco: ynjc nauj itoca xocuzuin. Jnjquc hin, nauj tlatin cioa: çujl tetua. Jnjquc hin, cecenca yuauca: tlaçolteotes.

Auh ynjc motocaiotia tlazlquanj: çujl ipampa, imixpã mjtoa, imixpan mopoa, yn jaçujch necquilli: iixpan mjtoa, momelaua, yn jaçujch tlatlellachiuilli: imuaual cenca tenamacuhti, iruaual cenca çujh: ede mopinaviscoua, vel tuchi, iixpan neci, ixpan mjtoa. Neiohmelaçoeliztli.

Çujlmach in tlaçulli, in teuhtli, in çujiuemjliztiol: ichaotl çujtemaca, ic temoda, ic tlaxpixia in tlaçolteotl. Auh çan no ichaotl, çujçepolhuja: ichaotl chico, tlamacac çujujca, çujuca: ichaotl, tepapaca, tehelxia: ichaotl imac manj yn matlalatl, in tzapalatl.

Auh injc çujçepolhuja ynjc chico, tlamacac, çujujca, çujuca: iixpan neiolcujtzilo, iixpan neiolmelaaaia, yn tlaçolteotl, iixpã mopoa, mjtoa, in tetlachioa.

Auh iix, ynacac, ytlacacauh tuchina, in tlapouhçuj, in

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53. The chapter on Tlaçolteotl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Einige Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

54. Cf. Eduard Seler, *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 99: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called Ixcuinan, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuina, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as stated by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the throwing to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

55. Rather of filth or of ordure (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*ensuciadora de cosas sucias.*"

56. Cf. Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, discussing Chalchihuitlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the transitory and evanescence of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchihuitlicue*. May the disease of the dirt which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady *Chalchihuitlicue*, the Lord *Chalchihuitlatonac* . . . come the water, the blue (*Matlalcue*), the yellow, (*Tzapalcue*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.' " Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), says ". . . *ceremonias con que la partera crebaba a la diosa del agua llamada Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac, y decía así: 'Señora nuestra Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac, veinte ha a vuestra presencia esta criatura: renigaos que la restituis.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echaba sobre ella su remolino, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y también la tocaba el pecho con ella, y al calabro de la cabeza, a manera de cruzado se pasó el dios y crismó a los niños, y decía de esta manera: 'Hijo mio muy amado,—y si era varón decía, hijo mio muy amado—, llegaste a vuestra madre y padre la señora Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlatonac; atended ella, porque ella es la de la lavar a vuestra y en los brazos en este mundo.' Y luego metía en el agua a la criatura, y decía: 'Entre hijo mio—o hija mia—en el agua, que es llama Matlalhue y Tzapalhue; lávese en ella, limpiase el que está en todo lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de ti todo mal que traiste con tu desde antes del principio del mundo.' " Seler (loc. cit.) establishes a connection between Chalchihuitl icue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchihuitl icue, the water goddess holds the head of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throats of the water goddess and in the earrings in the headdress of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations mentioned Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

57. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib VI, cap. xiii (text, commentary); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 249.

58. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 5) uses the term *Kalenderwahrsager*.

the *tlapouhqui*, wise in reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting; the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been entered.[59]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[60] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[61] bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer was there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou comest [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatever way thou art moved, in whatever manner it is, whatever thou hast done, whatever thou hast achieved, whatever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil odor, thy corruption.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatinj, yn jmac mani, yn amatli, yn tlacujlolli: in quijpia, yn tilli, yn tlapalli, yn matile, yn piala, yn nonotzale, yn ompjte 776 793 783

yn mojolmelaoaz in tlapilchiuale; achto qujtlacaqujtia in tlapouhqui, qujlhuja.

Ca ynchtzinco ajnaxitimequj, yn tlacatl, yn totecujo, in tloque nauaque: in totecujo, yiualli, yn ehecatl, ypupexia, ypetlacaltzin, ajcnotztilizmequj.

Qujlhuja in tlapouhqui: ocimotlacaelili:

qujnoontia, yn iquja oallaz: qujpepena in tonalli, qujtta, yn jamux, yn jdlacujlel: qujtta, yn iquja qualli tonalli, yn iccoua, in qualcan: mjtua: qujtonalpepenja. 787

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie ynaoztilpan, iancujc petlatl quicua: yoan copalli, yoan quauitl: yn tlamauizti in tlamacuhqui, çan ichan yn moiolmeloa, ie vmpa iauh in tlapouhqui. Auh anoce teujc iauh, in tlamacuhqui:

iancujc petlatl in motoca, vellachpano yn vncan motlalia; yoan tletlalilo: ajmaa copalli contema in tleco in tlapouhqui, qujnoona in tleti; qujlhuja. 788

Totzu yanan, totzu ynta, vetze teutl, ajcan oallatia, in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn macoualli: ajcan chocatiujtz, tlaocuxtiujtz, motzupoulztiujtz, ancan omalauh, ancan omotepotlanj, ancan oquijaanqc yn vitlallotl, in tocatzoalli, yn çacanjtl; aquj ininlacoa, qujtequjpachoa, Tlacatle, totecujoe, tloquahe nauaquhe, manoço xicmocujli, ma xicmocaquiti, yn jnontlamachilia yn macoualli.

Niman qujnotza, yn moiolmelauhqui, in ichaol tlapouhqui: qujlhuja.

Tlealmovicatia yujctzinco, ilapantzinco, in tloque nauaque; ticmolhujlico, ticmomaqujlico, yn mjiaca, in mopalanca: ticmoclapolhujlico, in motop, immopetlacal,

a ma no eppa ieh ajcan timatuiauj, timotepexiuj: ma ispantzinco xinopepetlaoa, xinomamaxauj, in tloque, nauaque, in totecujo, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

A cujx tictlacaittaz in totecujo, a cujx mjtztlacanotzaz: ca ioalli, ca ehecatl.

Auh yaja quen tiujtz, ma xictlapo in motop, in mopetlacal: ma xicpoa in monenjlix, in motlachioal, yvin quenja ticmati, yvin quenja cah: in quenja muchiah, in quenja tax; in quenja ticchiah, in monequal, in monequaujtuc:

xinoquj, xicpetlanj, in maiectica, in maqualtica, in mjiaca in mopalanca.

Auh xinoctlaocuinomochili, yn totecujo, in tloque nauaque,

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59. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Sahagún, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

60. Cf. corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of *yoalli*, *ehecatl* (1) "*espíritu, aire y divinidad*"; and (2) "*Dios invisible sin tempo . . . impalpable, y forzosamente y omipotente y independiente, por cuya virtud todos viven. . . .*" Angel María Garibay K, *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, México: n. p., 1940), p. 113, translates *tloque nauaque* as "*que está cerca y junto*"—the one, God in general.

61. Context suggests that pronoun refers to the penitent.

776 783 793 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and carrieth thee upon his back."

"Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 776 783 793 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his sins.

Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]: he said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Cinaspipilti descend, when the feast of the Cinaspipilti or the Izcuiname is celebrated,[62] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and *magney* spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or *magney* spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in momapaltitica, y macochetica, in tepotzotica;

zimoelapalo, ma timopinoquetz, ma tizticiolo.

Nimã ẽtlalqua in tlamacuhqui, omopaltemo: ajman ixpan motlalia in tlapouhqui: quijhuja, injc teuujti, ynjc tepatiloni, ynjc minipela.

Tonecujoc, tloquahc, nanoquahc: ca tiemocujlia, ca tiemomaquixtia, in ajnca in nopalanca: mjxpantzinco, ajnopeperlaoa, ajnomamazauja: ca omaz, ca cnjcchiuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaiocuian, ca tencac, ca tlavilpan in mjxpantzinco, yn omaz.

Niman compocaltia: in jtlapilchioalix, vel iujn quanja cah, vel yujn quanja quichiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, cencn çan jvin omoua, cencan yvin conjtoa, yn juh quichiuh, in imaca çan vel, cencan quitocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj cencan quitocatiuh.

Auh yn odamjto yn jtlatol, ync muchi quito ytlachioal:

quinamquilia, yn tlapouhqui, yn jxtli, yn nacatli muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatiloni: quijhuja.

O ca tiemomochilia, ca tiemomaquilia, in tloque nauaque, in motlachioal, in momoquavitec.

Auh ynjn, ca inca yn tais, yn tiechioac: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cinaspipilti, anoçe yn jquac ymjlhujuh cinaspipilti, yn jxcujname: nanjlujtl timoçaoaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, timomoatzaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujtl, in ie oallanjh, in ioaltica tiçacatlaçaz, titlacuquixtiz: ynjn motlapilchioal, inh tinamjctia y: auh ynjn inh namjquac ez y:

auh jn quanja tiemequiz, inh tiemequiz: ynila tiçacatlaçaz, iehoatl in teucalçacatl tiquixtia, anoçe tlacotl. Auh aço momocauco in titlaquixtia, anoçe momonepilca.

Auh ynjc tiquixtia: ca amo ma çan titlamacoua, ca tenhtli, tlaçalli in tictlaça, tictlacoçoa, ticcujtlacuepoma, ỹ momonepil, mjxpanqa ticaquia,

mocuietlan in tiequixtia, in tictlaçaz: aço çan cecen in tiequixtia, anoçe çan ticmomaquixtia, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centzontli, aço vntzontli, in tiequixtia tlacotl:

ic poliuia, in motlatlacotl, in motlapilchioal, in momoqual.

62. Cf. Note 56.

63. See Cap. X. The Cinaspipilti were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they incited men to sin and crime.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Tezcatlipoca."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or heaven with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Auh intla çan xicca, yn jtlapilchioal, tlamacuhquj: 785
qujlhuja,
tinotemoztzaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, 776
naujlhujd: 783
anoço qujlhuja
titlaxotia, timotetzuhcaoaz, titepiquiz: 793

anoço qujlhuja.

ca nel vetli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiquinequjxtiz in totochtin.

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc quinaxotia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamacoaz icaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlauhtiaz: yn momazac, amatl-tlaitzcopeualli in mantiaz: centiel mjcampa, mocintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac tioalmocuepaz, vmpa tecontlaçaz yn jmjxpan totecujoaan, yn tetzu, yn mamacue.

Auh yn jquac otlamacuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic ennnajan, monemjlizcuepa: qujlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoa, quil ça aocmo tlaoculilouj.

Qujlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequaujtectli, in tetlaxinalitli: in quinoaia vetztequz.

Jnjc moiolmelaoaia vetztequz: qujlmach, ichoatl, ynjc amo tlacujltiloaque, njcan tlaltiçpac, yn jnclapilchioal: yntla otetlaxini ynjc amo quatetlasililez, ynjc amo quatepitzinjlez, ynjc amo quatetzotzonalez, moiolmelaoa. [684]

Jn tlapouhqui, yn jitzpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman ezan qujnez, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein illhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ieh yn jlhujlo, in nonotzalo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in maco, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ieh motta, in macoualli.

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn 776
tepitoton tetzuh: yn quinoquajlia, yn omotenzuhque, yn
teuxiuxin tetzuh.

Xiuhtecutli: iacoçauhqui, yoan cueçaltzin. Jehoatl motocaiotia in tletl, anoço vetz teutl yoan tota:

teutl ipan machoia: ishica, ca tetlatia, tepalna, techichinna, tlachinna: yoan mjac tlamantli, ynjc tlacuelia: ca ic nenculo, ic tlapacazo, ic tlacuxitilo, ic tlaxco, ic iztatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tmazdatilo, ic tlaxtzoionjlo, yc tlatzoionjlo, ic tlatlaoztzalo, yc tetlacujlolo, ic tamazcallatilo, ic cuitlatilo, ic tlaxxtlatilo.

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64. The outer characteristic emblem of Tlazolteotl is a brown wrapper with a *tlahuipinolli*—paper impressed with painted figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, month of *Ochpaniztli*). The paper loin cloth is no doubt of this same pattern. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text has: "*que son menores en dignidad que los antiguos dioses.*"

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua.

796 [802 776]

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

1 c KL. c 14
2 d En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias d 15
3 e de las flores, que aquel año primero e 16
4 f nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y f 17
5 g antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua g 18
6 A oler flor. A 19
7 b Los officiales de las flores, que se b 20
8 c llaman sochimanque: hazian fiesta, a c 21
9 d su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro d 22
10 e nombre coatlã tona. e 23
11 f Tambien en este mes: se desnu- f 24
12 g dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los g 25
13 A pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des- A 26
14 b ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar b 27
15 c en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan c 28
16 d iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro- d 29
17 e cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan e 30
18 f hediendo, como perros muertos: y f 31
19 g despues que los aujan dexado: se g 1[1]
20 A lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: A 2[2]
Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

[824 346]

[755]

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos.

796 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

1. Marginal notation: *Apollo habet dies xxx.*

2. Marginal notation: *Marte egyptiorum.*

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tliltic in jmama, ioan qujmaaqujlia impocolcac iztac: njman ic qujnontlapachoa, qujmonixquimjloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tliltic omjcallo, ioan qujnonmaca icpaxiqujpilli, tliltic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli ontentiuh: njman ic no qujntlecauja cecenme, qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc qujntlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenime concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopuchtli qujpopochuja.

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SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oalquiçaia naujlhujtl.

Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapepochujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic qujoaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xoxoctic: njman ic no ceceiaca qujnoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj, ceceiaca in jca neçaoalquachtli ōmjcallo.

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qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca qujmonujca in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopochtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa quiça, çan cheoaticate; in jcoac ic nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujmonana, qujntlacoaantiuj ixqujmjliuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac oootiuh in jntlema icecemme, ioan itlan cantiuh ceceiaca in jicpaxiqujpil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in qujntlecauja in jcpac vitzilopachtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oalteno tecpantiujtze, ixtlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: qujnjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça ceppa in tlaqua ccmjlhujtl.

6. Impossible: impossible to convert.
7. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has quienquienquien for quienquien.

643 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did
644 they eat.

783 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler
785 and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iioaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in iehoantin teupixque papaoaque, qujntlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço iooalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoçue, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixqujmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izqujlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izqujioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[77] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonqujxtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otzonqujz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan modatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how
527 the ruler made summons to a feast.
648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzaliztli, in iehoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan chololtan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca mosmoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y ichoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli ychoatl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz ycheço, yoan tecucizzli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [281] [276 415]

[534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moxtlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn tlexoyauh, yn iuitz ycheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitzinijtze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Glaubenswelt der Alt-Azteksischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form *tamoi*: "*Da er im Text dieses Bemeichnet, die den Copalbeutel trugen, wird er sich um Priester handeln.*" The term *tlamacazque* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlicht die mit einer Soutane.*"

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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346 so much of it, that I curse the whole of it, and as it stank like a slaughter house we hastened to clear out of such a bad stench and worse sight. Our Captain said to Montezuma through our interpreter, half laughing: "Señor Montezuma, I do not understand how such a great Prince and wise man as you are has not come to the conclusion, in your mind, that these idols of yours are not gods, but evil things that are called devils, and so that you may know it and all your priests may see it clearly, do me the favour to approve of my placing a cross here on the top of this tower, and that in one part of these oratories where your Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca stand we may divide off a space where we can set up an image of Our Lady (an image which Montezuma had already seen) and you will see by the fear in which these Idols hold it that they are deceiving you."

776 Montezuma replied half angrily, (and the two priests who were with him showed great annoyance,) and said: "Señor Malinche, if I had known that you would have said such defamatory things I would not have shown you my gods, we consider them to be very good, for they give us health and rains and good seed times and seasons and as many victories as we desire, and we are obliged to worship them and make sacrifices, and I pray you not to say another word to their dishonour."

•783 When our Captain heard that and noted the angry looks he did not refer again to the subject, but said with a cheerful manner: "It is time for your Excellency and for us to return," and Montezuma replied that it was well, but that he had to pray and offer certain sacrifices on account of the great *tatacul*, that is to say sin, which he had committed in allowing us to ascend his great Cue, and being the cause of our being permitted to see his gods, and of our dishonouring them by speaking evil of them, so that before he left he must pray and worship.

In this house[1], which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la 796x
adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante
della perfumes, y comjda: dezian que este era el [778]
signo de quetzalcoatl.

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjquiztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en [778] sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comjda: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gẽte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziese mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso.

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Ciuapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuateocalli*, or by another name, *ciuateopan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatetauitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujaujtl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan [776] Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quãdo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas enfermedades, a los que topauã fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra [784] ● destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan cioateucalli, o por otro [778] nombre cioateupan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amateteujtl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles.

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called nauí ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce qujaujtl: en la quarta casa [681] que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy mal- 777]
afortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de supersticion: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las [463] joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viessen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to-

[1] A [the calmecac. — Analyst]

And afterwards, at night,

X 796 they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one [302] began to boast of what he had gained, and of the distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled [521] the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

mauan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus assientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatlipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of [778] Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendixesse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto acontecja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mjsmo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

[753 774] In the sign named ce oçomatli they said that the goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it: that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers on these days did not let their children go outside the [784] houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Oçumatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas ciuapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *tamales* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Coateca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, esteemed [these *tamales*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[5]—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jnic cempoali onume capitulo, vncã motenena yn illhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in motenoaia, Tlacaxipeoaliztli. 796[x]

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpulueuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico, cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhuitl, in tlacemilhuitiltitoque, ic tlalhujquixtitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic uruetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in ixquich nepapan xochitl, in iancuican cuéponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto qujnecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, qujuenchioaz, qujuĕmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotõti qujttaia, cuecuepontoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aqujtoton, hacqujpipil, hacqujtetoton, çan quecizquj, çan quezqujtoton, çan quecizquipipil, çan quezqujquauhtoton qujcujcujtlalpia, qujilpia. 796[x] 824 [784] [532]

Auh ynic xochitetemoaia, qujcenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj qujoalnamacaia, in millaca: 796[x] [432]

auh yn iquac y, qujquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [262]

oc cenca ichoanti qujmauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: qujtlamanjlia yn inteouh, itoca coatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn jtech tlaquauhtlamati, yn jnnetemachil, yn jtech moquauhiotia, yn inquauhio, yn jtech motzatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac enatlatilo, onmotlatia, onmocacoa, yn jmeouio tlaca, vmpa iopico onaactiuj:

1. The corresponding Spanish text qualifies: ". . . *que hacían en el postrero día del segundo mes, que se decía Quauitleualiztli.*"
In Chapter 3, this month is correctly named Toquoztontli.
2. *Iuan entonces quando sembrauan*—"*Y es decir 'es quando sembraron maiz*'" (Garibay: "Relación breve," p. 294). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 77) has, for *sembrauan*, "*Seder man das Samenkorn mit der Hand.*"
3. "*Los viejos de aquel barrio*," according to Sahagún's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagún: *Histoire des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, p. 92, n. 3: *tamapalmamalli*—"*Pan-de-pour tamapamalli, de tamapali, épine ou herbe piquante, et amalli, pâte de canal.*"
5. Bustamante: Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 78) uses the same *corpulentos*; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 295) has, for *yoan ontemoyo huentzilla*, "*y se llenaban, 'se sentaban las pieles'*"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "*sentaban sus cáscaras secas.*"

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A True [Relation] of Still Other Offerings with Which Similarly They Paid Honor to the Devil.

Hanging [an Object] over the Breast.

Thus was done the hanging [of objects] over the breast; thus was the tying with loose cotton thread: they tied [them] about the wrists and the necks of small children and [suspended on the cords], in small
[415] bags, *tortillas* made of green maize. Here [in the *calpulli*] they set forth these, on small jar-stands, and small earthen jars, and lifted the jars up by the ears, and with their hands went filling their bags with water. And when they had reached the twentieth day, when [it was the feast] known as Teotl eco, [that was] when they untied the feathered threads which they had about the small children.

[For] Pain.

[302] And [for] pain, thus was done upon the feast of [the god] Acolmiztli: the small children were ornamented in feathers [applied to them]; in colored feathers, [set] everywhere on their bodies. And the old people similarly applied feathers on their stomachs, over their hearts, and upon their backs. Thus
[784] they set feathers upon them—so it was said—because then Acolmiztli would not bewitch them.

The Setting Out of the Children.

Thus was done the setting out of the children. They took all of them there to the house of the devil, and had in truth all the children dance before them, and made them drunk. Hence it was called the setting out of the children; for they had them all appear in the house of the devil.

The Act of Striping.

Thus was done what was named the act of striping: when mock battle was joined, the shield and

Imelavaca in oc cequj tlamanaliztli in çan no ic qujmavizticiaia Diablo.

Neelpiliztli.

Injc muchivaia neelpiliztli, inic neelpiloia ica icpatl in quimjilpiaia pipiltotonti in immaquechtlan, yoan in jnquechtlan yoan in jmjtac elotlaxcaltotonti in vncan conmanaia vacaltonco yoan tecôtontli, vacalnacazco conquetzaia tentiuh in atl in jma itac, auh in ïçc oacico ipan cempoalilhujtl in iquac moteneva teteu heco iquac quijnoniliaia in jcpatl potoquj injc omoolpique pipiltoetôti.

[For] Pain.

Auh in necocoliztli ic muchivaia ipan ilhujuh acolmiztli mjhujcujcujlovaia in pipiltotonti tlapalihujtica, novjian in jtech inacaio. Auh in veuejtlaca çãyio in jmelpan, in jniollopan yoan in jncujtlapan, quinamjctiaia in ihujtl, injc quinpotonjaia, quilmach ipampa inic amo triolloquaz acolmiztli.

Pilquistliztli.

Injc muchivaia pilquistiliztli vmpa muchintin quinvicaia in itcupan Diablo, in pipiltotonti vel muchintin impan quimjtoyaia yoã quinvlavantiaia injc moteneva pilquistilo ca muchintin quinvalquiztia in pipiltotonti in Diablo ichan.

Tlavavanaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in motenehua tlavavanaliztli in iquac malli moiauchivaia ichimal imaquauh imac

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is told and mentioned what was an evil manifestation for him who stumbled or fell at this time; and the evil which befell those born at this time, in the eighth house, called Eight Death. Here are told all the various kinds of evil which belonged with [the day signs].

Inic matlactli vmey capitulo, vncan mjtoa: quijmach amo qualli inezca catca, in aqujn moteputlamjaia, in anoço vetzia, yn ipan jn: ioan in amo qualli inpan muchioaia, in aquiquc vncan tlacatia, in jpã ic chicuetetl calli: yn jtoca chicuey mjqujztli: vncan moteneoa in jaqujtlamantli in amo qualli intech ca 787x

Likewise was it said: no one [on the day sign Four Wind] might quarrel, nor fall, nor trip, nor stumble, nor sprain an ankle, nor break nor twist a foot. So there was apprehension. It was said: "O that this may not always be! He is affected by Four Wind." That is to say, he was hurt on Four Wind.

No ioan mjtoa: aiac vel macoaia, anoço motlaujtequja, motepotlamja, motecujnja, moxoquechaquja, moxocuetlanja, mocxicueloa: ic tlatenmachililoia, huloia, ma qujcencuj, ca omonauecauj, qujtoznequj: ca nauecatl in jpan omococo. 784 ●

And also it is told that as to him who was then born, the readers of the day signs made it favorable for him and provided him with merits. He would, so they said, become rich and a chieftain, a brave warrior; he would become terrifying and menacing; he would gain honor; he would be of a strong day sign. And they did not yet bathe him, [they bathed him later][1] on Seven Serpent. So they said that they made the day sign even stronger for him so that he became very rich, provided with merits, gifts, and good deserts. For [the day sign] Seven Serpent represented our sustenance — grains of dried maize, completely edible. And so they said that the days of the seventh place were always a time of good.

No ioan mjtoa: in aquin ypan tlacatia, quipãtiaia, quinemactiaia, in tonalpouhque, iuh qujtoaia: mocujltonoz, ioan tiacauhtiz, oquichtiz, tlamauhtiz, tlamamauhtiz, momaujzçotiz, tonalchicaoac iez: auh aiamo caltiaia, in jpan chicome coatl, iuh qujtoaia: oc cenca vel ipan qujtonalchicaoaia, injc cenca mocujltonoz, injc mãceoale, nemaque, ilhujle, mochioaz: ipampa in chicome coatl ca qujxiptlatiaia in tonacaiotl, in tlaolli, motequjtica qualonj: ioan in iuh qujtoa, in chicometioaia ipan tonalli, muchipa qualcan. 787x [851]

But Five House and Six Lizard, which followed, as hath been said, were in no way good day signs. Both were the times of ritual to Macuilxochitl and Mictlan tecutli. For the one born at this time, man or woman, nothing resulted as his deserts. He labored only in vain; his fate, deserts, and gifts were full of misery. And he was only given to talk, completely enveloped in talk. He was hot-tempered.[2] He reprimanded people; he only knew how to agitate them and cause them to riot. So it was said, so was he reprimanded, when he restrained one from doing something, belabored one in something, or besmirched someone: "At least sometimes the brute is human! The vile brute, the mean and vile-tongued one, the fool! What can be done? His is the day

Auh in quicaltoqujlia macujlli calli, ioan chiquacen cuetzpalin: iuh mjtoaia: njmã amo qualli tonalli, in jontrixtin, y, in tlatoaian macujlxochitl, ioan mjctlan tecutli: in aquin ipan tlacatia in oquichtli, in çioatl, njman atle imãceoal mochioaia, çan oalnenquçaia, motequjtica netolinjliztli, in ilhujl, in jmãceoal, ynemac, ioan çan tlatolli cololotinemj, tlatolli cololhujtinemj, tlatolli itlaqual, tlacatl quicaotzinemj, çan ic nemj in tlacatl quicuecuetlanja, tlacatl quicocomonja, iuh mjtoa injc aio: in iquac on oitla contechioalti, in on oitla contecacujlti, in on oitla ic onteatlatzicujnj, macel ica ontlacanemj in tlapalpul, iollochicopul, iollopatlachpul, iollotlauelilocapul, quemnel noço macujltonale, ca ic iuhque in mamacujltonaleque, aquen tlatta, ca nel ic monotz-

1. The words çaiio ceuipa ontlaia in the *Real Palacio* MS give this phrase.
2. See Note 3, Chapter 3, supra.

X-787 Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of the
776 eleventh sign, called One Monkey, and of its fortune.
It was said of those then born that one was a man of
good standing, friendly, amiable, and happy, given
753 to music and the other arts. And it was said that at
this time descended to earth those who were the
● 784 "Goddesses"; and that those whom they met on the
road or in paths between houses they injured and
visited with sickness. And for this reason, when it
was this day sign, no one could fare forth. And one
who then sickened the physicians forthwith aban-
doned.

Inic ompoalli vnnome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa,
inic matlactetl occ machiotl, in jtoca oc oçomatli:
ioan in jtonallo, quijnach in aquijque vncan tlacatia
quall: iiollo catca, teicnjoan, tlaçotlalonj, papaquijnj,
quijnocujtlaviaia in cujcatl, ioan in oc cequj tolteca-
iotl: auh quijl in jquac oalteneoia, in aquijque cioste-
teu in tlalticpac: auh quijl in aquijque quijnnamjquijs,
in vtlica, in anoço calizala quijtlaueliaia cocolistli
itech quijtalia: auh ipampa in jpan in tonalli catca,
aiac vel quijçaia: auh in aquijn iquac mococoaia, çan
njman quijxnacotiaia in titici.

X-787 One Monkey set in. This Monkey [day sign] they
regarded as favorable.

Moquetza oc oçomatli: inin oçomatli, quijqualit-
taia:

776 But also they said that at that time the so-called
"Princesses" or "Goddesses" descended. It was the
784 time when they were expected, the time of their
arrival. At this time they looked upon the children
855 with much apprehension. They simply shut them in
the houses; they did not wish them to appear at the
entrances or on the road, so that [the Goddesses]
would not come upon or harm them. Perhaps one
of them would have twisted lips, or a shrunken
mouth; or he cross-eyed or of weak vision; or his
lips would quiver or quake; or he would be mad-
dened—a devil would possess him and he would
foam at the mouth; or he would have withered,
twisted arms; or be lame, etc.

auh ioan quijtoa, no uncan temoaia inchicipan,
imaçia, in motecteoaia cioapipilti, cioatetu, cenca
vncã quijtlamauhcaitilinia in tepilhoan, çã quijntza-
tzaquaia calitic, amo quijnonequjxtidanja, in quijoaac,
in vtlica, inic amo motenamjctinque, quijnjtlacoz-
que, aço aca tenaecujliviz, tempatziviz, ixnecujliujz,
izvitzaliviz, itca papatlacaz, itca viujocaz, iollotlaue-
lloiiz, itech quijnoaac, tenquaiscoujçaz, matzicoliujz,
macopichauiz, icxi quijujlanaz. Etc.

And if someone began to sicken, the physicians
776 told him that he would become dangerously sick;
753 he would not recover. For he had come upon the
Princesses, and they had set upon him; it was the
time of their descent and arrival when [this sickness]
began. For it was [so] willed.

auh intla aca ipan opeuh mococoa, quijcilhuijaia in
titici, ca tlamaia, aocmo quijças, ca omotenamjcti,
ipan oquijquac in cioapipilti, ca intemoioa, imêcoian
in opeuh, ca oclcujloc:

And likewise it was said that if someone were of
good standing, of a good day sign, and able, if at this
time they injured him, they said that the Princesses
had indeed willed it upon him and that he had con-
tended with them.[1]

auh no ioan mjjoa, intla aca qualli yiollo, in qualli
itonal, ioan qualli itlachielia: vncan quijtlacalhuijaia,
quijtoaia: ca çan oquelcujquc, oquijnnotenamjcti in
cioapipilti.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si alguno que era bien dispuesto, conforme en otro dia, decian: que los dioses le traian dormido la buenaventura, y en la suerte quedaba."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

With the dawn, more than ever gracious in its fulfillment of a 796
nations' piety, the populace rallied, renovating their temples, refurbishing their houses and making new utensils for temple and household use. There was feasting on special food, and sacrifice both by personal bloodletting and the immolation of [785] captives betokened the measure of popular gratitude.

Another striking ceremony fell on the day Four Earthquake (or Motion), the sign of the present age, and symbolized the passage of the sun through the heavens. At dawn a captive dressed as the Sun God, Tonatiuh, ascended the platform where the Calendar Stone was set. Four priests spread-eagled the victim, and a fifth opened his breast to tear out the heart as an offering to the god. The populace then feasted until noon, gashing their ears and parts of their bodies with blades of obsidian. In the afternoon the Eagle and Tiger [785] Knights, votaries of the solar cult, took part in a dance dramatizing the sacred war wherein the sun is slain, to be reborn the following day. The dance culminated in a gladiatorial sacrifice. Selected Eagle and Tiger Knights, armed with real weapons, slew a captive warrior, chosen for his military distinction, who was tethered to a circular stone representing the sun's disk and who defended himself with dummy weapons only.[10] (See Plate 60, top right, bottom.)

A curious type of sacrifice took place in connection with the worship of the god Xipe and may be the origin of the arrow sacrifice which is performed in honor of the morning star by the Pawnee of our Western plains. In the Mexican rite the victim was lashed to a scaffold, and priests, using bows or *atl-atls*, shot him to death.[11]

The Aztecs performed a hideous ceremony in honor of the Fire God, Huehueteotl. Prisoners of war and their cap-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Cere-
[266] monial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood
[785 was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did hor-
304] rible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

212 The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice
782 and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

793. The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling
212 acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth
[871] in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

776 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and
783 carrieth thee upon his back."[42]
793 "Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his
776 sins.
783 Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he said unto him:
793 "Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Cuaspipilti descend, when the feast of the Cuaspipilti or the Ixcuinane is celebrated,[43] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and *magney* spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or *magney* spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Then shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in momapaltitica, y macochetica, in teputzotica;

ximotlapalo, ma timopinoqueza, ma titzicolo.

Nimã ãtlalqua in tlamacuhquj, omopaltema: njman izpan motlalia in tlapouhquj: qujlhuja, injc tevinjti, ynjc tepatiloti, ynjc ninipela.

Tomcujoa, tloquehe, nanaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaqujtia, in njiaca in nopalanca: mjxpantzinco, njnopepetlaca, njnonamaxauja: ca onez, ca onjcchiub: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaiocolaa, ca tezcac, ca tlavilpan in mjxpantzinco, yn onez.

Niman compeualtia: in jtlapilchioalix, vel iujn quenja cah, vel yujn quenja qujchiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, cenca çan jvin cenoua, cencan yvin conjtoa, yn juh qujchiuh, in ienaca çan veli, cencan qujtocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj cencan qujtocatiuh.

Auh yn otlamjto yn jtlatol, yno muchi qujto ytlachioal:

qujnanqujlia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jxtli, yn nacazdi muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatilloti: qujlhuja.

O ca ticmononochilia, ca ticmomaqujlia, in tloque nanaque, in motlachioal, in monequaviztec.

Auh ynjn, ca izca yn taix, yn tiechioaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoçe yn jquac ynjlhujuh cioapipilti, yn jacujname: nauhjujti timoçaoaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, timotemoatzac.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujti, in ie oallatujh, in inahica tiçacatlaçaz, titlacoqujztic: ynjn motlapilchioal, iuh tienamjctis y: auh ynjn iuh namjque ez y:

auh jn quenjn ticnequiz, iuh ticnequiz: ynela tiçacatlaçaz, ishoat! in teucalçacatl tiçujztic, anoçe tlacotl. Auh aço monacazco in titlaqujztic, anoçe momempilco.

Auh ynjc tiçujztic: ca amo ma çan titlamacoua, ca teuhtli, tlaçulli in tictlaça, tictlacoçoa, ticmjtlacuepouia, ỹ momempil, mjxpampa ticnequiz,

mozintlan in tiçujztic, in tictlaçaz: aço çan cecen in tiçujztic, anoçe çan ticzmoqujztic, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centzontli, aço vntzontli, in tiçujztic tlacotl:

ic pilinix, in motlatlacul, in motlapilchioal, in momequal.

42. Cf. Note 34.

43. See Cap. X. The *Cuaxtecs* or *Cuaspipilti* were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they incited men to sin and crime.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Totochtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Auh intla çan xicca, yn jtlapilchioal, tlamacuhquj: 785
qujlhuja,
timotenoztaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, 776
naujlhujd: 783
anoço qujlhuja
titlatocia, timoteteuhcaoaz, titepiquiz: 793

anoço qujlhuja.

ca nel vetli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiqujnequjxtiz in totochtin.

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc qujnaocetia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamaceoaz ioaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlaubtiaz: yn momaxac, amatl tlaitzcopeoalli in mantiaz: centitl mjcampa, metzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac tioalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jmjxpan totecujooan, yn teteu, yn mamacue.

Auh yn jquac otlamaceuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajan, monemjliacuepa: qujlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoz, qujl ça aocmo tlaoculiloej.

Thus he said unto him:

"Thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Totochtin."

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"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Qujlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequaujtectli, in tetlaximalizcti: in qujtoaia veuetque.

Jnjc moiolmelacaia veuetque: qujlmach, ichoatl, ynjc amo tracujtilouque, njcan tlaticpac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla ostlaxini ynjc amo quatetlaxililoz, ynjc amo quatepitzinjloz, ynjc amo quatetzotzonaloz, moiolmelaoa. [684]

Jn tlapouhqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman acan qujtoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein ilhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ish yn jlhujlo, in nonotzalo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in maco, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ich motta, im macoalli.

Thirteenth Chapter, which relates of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: ynnchça tlatoa, yn tepiotoa teteuh: yn qujntoqujlia, yn omotenuhque, yn veuetitin teteuh. 776

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Xiuhtecutli: iacançuhquj, yoan cueçaltzin. Jehoatl motecaiotia in tletl, anoço veue teutl yoan toca:

teutl ipan machoia: ishica, ca tetlatia, tepaloa, techichinoa, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacuelia: ca ic nescolo, ic tlapooazo, ic tlacuxitilo, ic tlaxco, ic istatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic temeztlatilo, ic tlatetzoionjlo, yc tlatzoionjlo, ic tlatleoatzalo, yc tetlecujlolo, ic temazcallatilo, ic oxitlatilo, ic tlaxeztlatilo.

64. The most characteristic emblem of Tlaqlhuaqui is a *tlaitzcopeoalli*—paper impressed with pointed figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, month of Ochpaniztli). The paper loin cloth is no doubt of this same pattern. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate LI) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text has "*que son menores en dignidad que los arriba dichos.*"

fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had turtle and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

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Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili,* [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli,*" on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili;* [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas, tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and darts.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Juie matlactli vnnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teotl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nemeuhque, ynjc netentilloia tecpantzinca intruh: 776

yn jquac neçaujlilloia, intla aca toqujchiti ipan cioacochiz, 688
anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoaia, quindaçulmjctia 753
yn jnoçaoalitz, [785]

ic quitemacoaia, tetech qujdalaiaia, qujtilhujltiaia, qujtema- [834]
ceualtiaia, in xochicuiztli, yn menexoalistli, tlapalanaltilirtli,
quexiliuilirtli,

yuicpa netolea, nemeultiloia, ynjc qujcetuiz, ynjc
qujquauiz ynjc qujcamoaz, cuculirtli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa 776
navilhujtl nexochiçoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chil- 796
cuoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia.
ioalnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli [264]
yn ipan ca, mouxchiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh
qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli
qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl
qujmixipclatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia,
qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcaciaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia,
tlatoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjlilloia yn jxcupan, macujltetl in [785]
qujchinjliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cuaca vevey
ipan ycatiuh xuchmjtl:

yn aca quauhcazitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan contoquiliaia 776
oc no macuiltetl tamalcpitzoua, mollotiuja: yoan vntetl [785]
tzoalli yiol peujia, no cecnj quauhcazitica, mantivia, centetl 262
tiltic, centetl tlatlauhquj. 796

Auh yn aca izquitl, anoço necuzquitl, anoço xuxacujlli,
papelotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzocallaxcalli, tzocalchimalli,
tzocalmjtl, tzocalmaquauitl, tzocalmeztl:

yoan teoujian oalcaualoia, in mamalti ynçan mexico, 776
motenoua maltequjme, yn jxquich techiaoalotoc, yn 796

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xuxacujlli—*xuxacujlli*, see arrow shafts or wooden darts, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temple and exhibiting the *xiuc xiuitl* ("2 reed") or the *macuilxochitl* (five-flower) (see illus.). Sahagún: *The Tonalamatl of the Aztec Collection*, p. 75. *Tlaxcuyoua*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlaxcuyoua*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*heridas, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbres del miembro secreto, diviesos, tiñosidad, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text: "*pasas secas.*"

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes. llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua.

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Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

1. Marginal notation: *Apollo Arbor dies sua.*

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

1 *c* KL. *c* *14*
2 *d* En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias *d* *15* [824
3 *e* de las flores, que aquel año primero *e* *16* 346]
4 *f* nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y *f* *17*
5 *g* antes que las ofreciessen, nadie ossua *g* *18*
6 *A* oler flor. *A* *19*
7 *b* Los officiales de las flores, que se *b* *20*
8 *c* llaman xochimanque: hazian fiesta, a *c* *21*
9 *d* su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro *d* *22*
10 *e* nombre coatlã tona. *e* *23*
11 *f* Tambien en este mes: se desnu- *f* *24*
12 *g* dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los *g* *25*
13 *A* pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des- *A* *26*
14 *b* ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar *b* *27*
15 *c* en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan *c* *28*
16 *d* iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro- *d* *29*
17 *e* cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan *e* *30*
18 *f* hediendo, como perros muertos: y *f* *31*
19 *g* despues que los aujan dexado: se *g* *1*[1] [755]
20 *A* lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: *A* *2*[2]
Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos.

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Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

2. Marginal notation: *Mirror apjplause.*

The fourth month they called Uei toçoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: haziã fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

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Chapter 4
Uei toçoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli;* and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chia*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all those things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

1. Marginal notation: *Sacrificios usados en Indi pueblo.*

Cap. 4.
Vey toçoztli

1 b KL. *b 3*
2 c En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a *c 4* [785]
3 d las puertas de las casas ensangrenta- *d 5*
4 e uanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de *e 6*
5 f las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, *f 7*
6 g de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan *g 8*
7 A sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman *A 9*
8 b acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus *b 10*
9 c dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada *c 11*
10 d vno tenja en su casa. *d 12*
11 e Despues desto, yuan por los ma- *e 13*
12 f hizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que *f 14*
13 g aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas *g 15*
14 A con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de *A 16*
15 b sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan *b 17*
16 c calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda *c 18*
17 d delante dellos. *d 19*
18 e Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: *e 20* [776]
19 f yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan *f 21*
20 g chicome coatl: y alli delante della *g 22*[1]
hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año passado: yuan en procesion, a presẽtarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las trojes, por estar bendito. [241]

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente. [778]

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6:
Etzalqualiztli.

1 g KL.
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros.
4 c yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab-
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se
13 e defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn-
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cativos y otros

1. Marginal notations: *fasting for four days.*

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

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796x
[805
776]

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: *Nonumber he dier ses.*

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f KL
2 g Quando hazian las saetas por espa-
3 A cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan
4 b de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan
5 c dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si-
6 d enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias
7 e para yr a caçar venados: los que no se
8 f sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en
9 g pena: njngun hombre se echaua con
10 A su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni
11 b viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian
12 c penjtencia.
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha-
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas
15 f saetas chiqujtas y atauanlas de quatro
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas,
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so-
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon-
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

f 20
g 21
A 22
b 23
c 24
d 25
e 26
f 27
g 28
A 29
b 30
c 31
d 1[1]
e 2
f 3
g 4
A 5
b 6
c 7
d 8

796x
[785]
[834
273]
765
796x

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

796x
[778
342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, cieruos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

796x
224

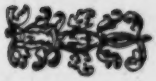

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

"Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes haziã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penitencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

796X
805
776
785

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

1 e KL. e 9[1]
2 f El segundo dia deste mes començauã f 10
3 g todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can- g 11
4 A tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de A 12
5 b su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to- b 13
6 c dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares c 14
7 d a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez: d 15
8 e durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte e 16
9 f dias. f 17
10 g A los nueue dias deste mes: apare- g 18
11 A jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que A 19
12 b aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas b 20
13 c colores, componjãlos con muchos pa- c 21
14 d peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos, d 22
15 e en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom- e 23
16 f bre pareados cantando y bayldo. f 24
17 g A los deziseys dias deste mes: co- g 25
18 A mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los A 26
19 b esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen- b 27
20 c çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan c 28
todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

796X
535
[302]
796X
[535]
[346]
[726]

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio Templi* added.

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796x 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- *A 28*
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que *b 29*
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos *c 30*
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- *d 31*
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

[551] [578] [787]

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio matauã capitnos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796x [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

785 796x 463

785 fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in
x 796 order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well
463 and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para tezer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornizes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

x 796 In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the
[776] first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that
[289] then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, atauiauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

The Fourth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second
273 house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the
[776] second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the court-
[463] yard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had
[415] some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comida, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan cetando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

The Fifth Movable Feast

x 796 In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they
[301] otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts
[432] to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace foll.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival
[346] to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *tiici*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo. 585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: erãn moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y anjmales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro. 796 [304 854] [535 785]

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei toçoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uei toçoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *maguey*[4] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Jnic cẽpoualli omei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli.

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic muchioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: qujquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlachezujlli, hezaço, tlaezçotilli noujã:

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia , qujquequetzaia, qujtitilquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aqujn telpuchtli, itech qujqujxtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech.

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoiatema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli:

tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oqujchiubque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneoa, aquetzalli:

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic qujteteca in atolli, izqujatecomac,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn oitztix, yn

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1. Great Vigil (*Gran Velada*), according to Gerbner (*op. cit.*, p. 294). Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 274) refers to Uey toçoztli as *gran pascuala*, and to Tepeilhuitl as "*pascuaderilla . . . porque antiba pasada esta alguna cosa de una parte á otra.*"

2. Sahagún describes these as *cañabolas*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 74, has *Bumskopfe* (*Typha sp.*), and in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rohrkolben* or *Kolbenrohr* as alternatives.

3. *Pin—Abies religiosa* (*H. B. K.*) *Lehmbr. & Chase*, in Clark's *Mendoza Codex* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; pine, in Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 83, citing Molina (*abeto, árbol de que se cuece el olio de abeto*) and Hernández (Madrid, 1790, I, 24)—"*arbor est conifera et cernua, Abiati nostrati sat similis, sed congenor.*" He equates *ocuxiuit* with *cypressus*, as does Gerbner (*Libro del calendario*, p. 212). Sahagún used the term *laurel silvestre*; Seler says, and adds that *ocuxiuit* was a name given to a variety of green branches. It is pictured in No. 377 of Pasc y Troncoso's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. XI).

4. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican name *maguey* is used in this translation.

5. Sahagún, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 306: "*quauhnexatolli, que es hecho con harina cruda y muy blanca, hecho con tequisquitl.*" In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 84, Seler speculates that the grains of maize were "*mit Pottasche gebrühen.*"

6. A sour gourd, in Seler, *loc. cit.* Gerbner (*op. cit.*) states that an acid fruit, such as tamarin, was used.

X796 he offered incense; he went forth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

in itlema: njman ic ic tlenamaca, qujiaoac oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ic iuhquj, contema tlequazco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, onmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

[262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelolotli, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oqujmjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

Otimjtzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, moxixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixqujchtin tlamacazque, cecciaca cõtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelolotli.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço izoztomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

cenca vellachielo, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjmjlozc, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamazopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

yoan intla aca ytech qujttazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic neaxioa:

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoã nauhioal, in nematcanemoaia.

And after that the old priests[9] took away [the offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: qujmocujlia intech monequj, qujqua: naujlhujtl in qujmocujliaia, in motlaueuenjaia:

[262]

And when it was not yet midnight, then shell trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *maguey* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

auh yn aismo onaci ioalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ic ic mezuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ic iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

[793]

7. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. 1, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"tlamacazque (que) es como sacerdote; . . . tlamacazque, que es como diácono; . . . tlamacazcac, que es como acólito. De estos sacerdotes los mayores eligían por sumos pontífices. . . ."

8. *Izoztomatl*: leaf (Molina, op. cit.), or species of tomato (Simeon, op. cit.).

9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "unos viejos, que llamaban quaquacujilti: los quales traían los curos vejidos de ungre, remendados: eshos en la cerimonia de la cabeça, que tenía los cabellos largos, el resto de los sacrificios."

handled them and cast them to the ground. If somewhere there was a puddle of water, there they cast them down and slid and rolled them, leaving them to wallow in the mud, covered with mire. Just so they forced them to the banks of the lake, to the place where they dragged people to the water, at a place called Tosecco.

And when they had arrived there, the [chief] fire priest and the other fire priests thereupon [sacrificially] burned the papers and the gods molded in incense, and those formed of rubber. And the incense they scattered in various directions and spread over each of the reed mats.

And when this was done, it was as if they wounded the water when they cast [their captives] into the water. Like a roaring host the water stormed and rose. And if any tried to come out from under the water, they plunged him under, [so that] he sank deep.

And if any were experienced in water, when [the captors] had submerged them, they fared well.[23] They came out of the water at a distance, and then took off, fleeing and escaping.

And some, in truth, [the captors] caused to faint, and verily they swooned. Indeed, they left them, hurt, truly as if dead, laid out at the water's edge.

And some, who had swallowed much water—this bitter water—[their friends] held head down, that [the water] which they had swallowed might come out through their noses and mouths.

And when all this had come to pass, then all turned back, all returned again, blowing their conch shells as they went.

And those who had been cast into the water went only to their houses; their kinfolk accompanied them. They went sickened, trembling, shivering, that at home they might recover.

And when [the priests] had reached their houses, again were laid and spread out the mats of green and white reeds. And also were strewn about reeds. Here again began the fast named "the day fast." Also there was fasting for four days. Not now was one detained [for misdemeanors]; nor did they now eat [only at midday].

At this time they began the [priests'] varied adornment. The novice priests aided the priests in their arraying. They prepared all the divers paper vestments

tlacana manj quiaoatl, vmpa quimontlaça vmpa quinpepetzcoa, quinmjmjlloa, quinçoquipetzcotinemj, quiçoquinelotinemj, çan iuh quimonaxitia yn atenco, in teatlan papacholoian, itocaiocan tosecco. 796X

Auh yn iquac yn onazioac in tlenamacac, yoan oc cequintin tletlenamacaque, njman ie ic quitlatia yn amatl, yoan copalteteu, yoan vlteteu: yoan yn jiauhtli, quitetepeua, quicecenmana in tolpepechpan.

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, yn atl iuhquin tzoponti-manj, ynic teatlan papacholo: iuhquin tlacaoacatimanj, vel macoquetza yn atl: auh yn aca oalpanuetziznequj conpolactia, centlanj iuh.

Auh yn aca amatinj, yn oconpolactique, çan ic ceniauh, vecan onpauetzi, njman ic choloa, moieltia, momaquixtia:

auh in cequintin vel quimjhiiocaoaltia vel çoçotlaoa, ça mjmjcque in quincaoa, ça q'nmictoccaoa atenco quinoalitetema:

auh in cequintin oquitotoloque atl, in chichic atl, quintzonixpiloua ic oalquiça, yn iniacac yn jncamac, yn oquitotoloca.

Auh in ie iuhquj njman ic oalujloua, icujtlaujc oalujloa oc cepa oallapiztiuj:

auh yn ontlanpapacholoque, çan inchan vihuj, quinujujoca in inchantlaca, cocoztiuj, viujujzcatiuj, tzitziqilcatiuj, yn oconihiiocuizque inchan.

Auh yn oxiouto calmocac, oc cepa tlatetecо, motetecа yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan no motetema yn atulia, oc cepa vncan peoa in neçaoalitzli, itoca netlacaçaoalitzli, no nauilhuitl in motlacaçaoaia, aocmo nezziea, aocmo tlacatlaqualo: [785]

njman ic vncā onpeoa in tlatlachichioalo, quitlachichiujlinia in tlamacazque, tlamaxtotoa, quicecencaoa yn ixquich amatlatquitl, in tlaquechpaniotl, yn 796X 301

23. Either *le* contained or some *lauh* would be acceptable reading for the Aztec text. Sahagún, in the Spanish column, states that they swam under water to escape.

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tilli: itoca aujtolli no ca petzuja. 796r 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlaçça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiacalotimãca, ixtlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapicia, vel teixpicia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoqujn jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlãtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalquiçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalquiçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796r 535

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan cenauh yn imicxi: yoan ontzitzinquiça, itlan quiçquiztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn izquipantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn

6. See Plate 22.

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.**[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned [482] warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

And upon the morrow, once again all departed to [441] the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriage-
X 796 able age. And the small boys they took up [the
● 785 pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with [224] blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

X 796 And when arrows were being formed, all did pen-
785 ances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen
688

Injc cempoualli ômatlactli omei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in qujchioaia, in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in moteneoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Quecholli:

in ôquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ôquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncã in neacamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncã in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ônemacoc, njmã ic qujitqujtze qujquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ic no oc, ça ic vilos in jitoaloa Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoaloz, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixquich, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa vilos, mootquj in acatl, vel ixquich cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oqujchpipiltotonti, qujtletlecavia in teucalli, vncã tlatlapizztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmezço conparaca, incansoocã conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocêqujxoto teuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmã ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixquich tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 307). Chavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 147-8) states that the month was named for the kind of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores; Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 280) writes similarly— ". . . *nombre de un Pajaro de plumas azul, y colorado, que al en este Tiempo, en especial en unos manantiales, y ojos de Agua, que al pasar del Pueblo de Quecholac*"; see also p. 299. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *fiesta arrojadizas*.

Tower, while mentioning the kind of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *magueyy* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practiced, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *magueyy* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 250.

in amo mjço qujpepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iccen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj.

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vetli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaaltiaia, qujmocaaltiaia in vetli.

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlazaianja in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinja, injc vel tzitzicaz.

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa.

Auh in ciecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenquiz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, izqujch tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aquique vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna.

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, ça mjacaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitotem ic conoocotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonqui, impã contetema, in vncan tocttitoque, mjmjoque: yoan ontetl tzepelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia:

X796 **Thirty-fourth Chapter,** in which they tell of the feasts and sacrifices which were performed on the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Panquetzaliztli.[1]

The fifteenth feast day: this one was called Panquetzaliztli.

[785] When the feast of Panquetzaliztli had not yet arrived, the priests fasted for eighty days, and laid down green boughs. When they began [the fast], it was upon the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread the green boughs, on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they laid the green boughs, they went quite naked, wearing nothing. They went carrying green boughs; these [were] green reeds and thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets and pottery whistles.[2] They proceeded blowing [them] alternately.

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And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when was intoned the song named the Tlazotecaiotl—the song of Uitzilopochtli. This was begun at nightfall; and it was ended at the time when the trumpets sounded, when the conch shells were blown.

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Also, among them, the women sang and danced—harlots, who went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this, until twenty days [had passed].

And when the ninth day before [the feast] arrived, then were bathed in sacred water [the victims known as] the ceremonially bathed ones, or those to die the captives' death.[3] The old men of the tribal temple secured the water; they got the water there

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Inic 34 capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nezttaoaliztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl, ic caxtoltetl metztli, in mjtoaia: Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtoltetl ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa, Panquetzaliztli:

in aiamo aci ilhujtl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhujtl in moçaoaia, yoan acxoiztlaliaia: iquac quijpeoaltiaia, in iuh onquiz imuztlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in ioalnepantla onacxoiztema, in novian tetepeticpac, yoã in momomozco, in veca.

Auh inin qujchioaia, ixqujchica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in onacxoiztlaliaia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intechcavetztiuh, qujtqujtivi in acxoiztl, ichoatl in acatl xoxouhqui, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cocovilutl qujpiztivi, qujpapatlativi in qujpitza.

Auh in ôquiz Quecholli ilhujtl: njmã ic peoa in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in eos itoca tlaxotecaiotl, icujc in Vitzilobuchtli: im peoaloia, iquac in tlatlapoioaca: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalizpã, in ie tlatlapitzalo:

no tesan cujcoianoa in cioa in avienjme, tetzatzalan mantivi (in juh omjto) mumuztlae in muchioa, ixqujchica cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in oacic tlachicunaviti, vncan motecualtiaia in tlatlaltilti, anoço xuchimjoque: in calpulveveque, conanaia atl: vmpa in vitzilobuchco conanaia atl,

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1. "Hieroglifo de Izquierda," in Gallery, op. cit., p. 312; "el acto de crucificar al pendido" (Clavigero, op. cit., p. 170)—possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the statue of Peyotl up to the altar in the Temple of Uitzilopochtli. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 299) writes: "Llamabanlo dia de Pendonar, ó Vandera; porque si por este Tiempo se hacian hacer los cruzeiros de sus Pueos; los quales pusiaes, enterrandos á tresar sus Guerras; y en este tiempo renovaban sus Mojoneras, Alidades, y Landeras; y defendian sus Terrenos, y Heredades, y otras cosas de importe que tenian. De manera, que en todo este Mes andaban los Provincias, en armas, y ocupadas todas, y hacian entre ellas sus Guerras, y Batallas; porque cuacho cosas tenian á complimiento, y muchas muchas Gente, y hacia grandes pérdidas, y desgracias, y precios de Cautivos, y Esclavos, y se sentaban Pueblos, y grandes Provincias, en orden de ampliar, cada qual, sus Reinos, y Señorios. Y antes de las cruzeiros se acostumbraban cada dia esto; porque los Pueos, y Levadizos, no se robaran, ni desvararan; y para este hacian grandes Ofrendas á su Dios Huitzilopochtli, ó Camaxtli, ofreciendole Armas, y otras cosas, pidiendole favor, y ayuda contra sus enemigos."

According to Tovar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 32) it was the special festival of the war captives, who set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.

2. "Trompeta de Guerra tocaban Tambien," according to Seler, op. cit., p. 295.

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 3; p. 19. Sahagún (Bulnes ed., II, p. 370) says: "Los sacerdotes hacian sus banquetes en que daban á comer carne humana; esto hacian en la fiesta que se llama panquetzaliztli. Para esta fiesta compraban cautivos que se llamaban tlaxilacalli,

And of them who aided the Uitznaua, if one were taken, he met his end. In truth, the bathed ones slew [their opponents]; using a two-toned drum [as an offering stone], upon it they cut open their breasts.

And the onlooker, he who oversaw [the battle], when he noted that [he who bore the likeness of] Paynal already approached, then cried out, saying: "Mexicans! Now he cometh! Now already is brought the lord! Enough!"

And when they heard this, then the bathed ones took after [the others]. Then dispersed, melted away, and departed those who had aided [the Uitznaua], who had rolled up the paper.

Thereupon came [he who bore] Paynal. First arrived the standards, two devices for seeing, made of [sprays of] feathers, with a hole in their midst. Two mere boys bore them hence, hastening greatly. Then [from the boys] two warriors took [the standards] quickly—[warriors] who could hasten and run fast.

And when they had run a certain distance, two other [warriors] took it briskly from them. So they carried it in relays.

And when they reached the eagle portal[13] [of the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli], none took these from them; they took the devices up [to the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. These who came ahead, when they had brought up the devices for seeing, cast them upon the image of Uitzilopochtli, which [was made of a dough of] amaranth seed. [There] they fell to the ground, faint, and lay panting.

And the fire priest thereupon came forth and cut their ears with a flint knife, whereupon they came to themselves; thus they revived.

And when they had revived, then they climbed down, taking the amaranth seed dough [image] which they had captured.[14] They took it to their homes, [for] it was in truth their captive, and ate it. They offered it to their kin and to their neighbors, who all ate of it.[15]

Auh in tlapalevia in qujmpalevia vitznaoa, intla çe axiocaci, no mjqujz: vel iioma qujmjctia in tlaaltilti, çan teponaztli in jpan coneltequj. 796 [534]

Auh in tlachiztquj, in oqujttac, in oconjttac in ie vitz Paynal: mec tzatzi, qujrva, Mexicae, ca ie vitz, ca ie movicatz in tlacatl, ma izqujch.

Auh in oqujcacque: mec tetoca in tlaaltilti: vncan xiuitinj, tlaxitinj, vivi, in otepaleviaia, in otlaemaviaia.

Niman ie ic vitz in Paynal: achtopa oaléoa in machiotl, auh in tlachicloonj vmetl hivitl in tlachioalli, yiticoionquj, çã oc pipiltotonti in qujoalitquj, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia, njman qujncujlitiqujça in tiacaoan, in vel paina, in vel tetoca:

auh in oquexqujch oqujoaltocticque, oc ceppa no vmetin, qujncujlitiqujça, çan juhqujn qujnomamacativi.

Auh in oacico quauhqujiaoac, aocac vel qujncujlia, ie coan qujpantlaçaxque, in jicpac Vitzilobuchtli: in vel iacattiuh, in opanvetzito in tlachicloonj, ipan contlaça in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, in tzoalli ça onchachapantivetzi, vel çoçotlaoc, ça cicintoque.

Auh in tlenamacac, njman ie ic iauh, qujnnacaztecpavia, ic oallachia, injc moucalia. [785]

Auh in omoucalique mec oalteno, qujnqujzac in ocacique tzoalli, qujmotqujlia in inchan, ca nel immal, qujqua, qujnmamaca in ineanielque, yoan in tlaxillacaleque, qujcenqua. [262]

13. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmarde ed., Vol. IV, p. 98): "y luego se juntaron los capitanes y cuarenta deudos del un paño que se llamaba quauhquiaoac. . . . En este lugar estaba este dicho de piedra grande y alto como un estado de hombre, y por ese llamaban a aquel paño quauhquiaoac; de la una parte del dicho estaba un tiro de piedra, y de la otra en esa también de piedra."

14. Clavigero (op. cit., p. 168) says such images had been made of both Uitzilopochtli and Paynal: ". . . fabricaban . . . dos estatuas de aquellos dioses, de la pasta de varias semillas con sangre de niños sacrificados, y la pasaban por hombres alquanto lobos de aquella."

15. In op. cit., pp. 169-70, Clavigero writes: "aquella noche que era la décima del mes, celebran también los mexicanos y a la mañana siguiente llevaban a la estatua de masa de Huitzilopochtli a una cala que había en el recinto del templo, y en presencia solemnemente del rey, de cuatro diputados del templo y de cuatro superiores de los sacerdotes, el sumo sacerdote Quetzalcoatl, que era jefe de los Quauhquiqui o pertenecientes arriba en lado a la estatua con que la arrancaba de parte a parte. Con esto decían que ya había muerto su dios; uno de los sacerdotes le quaba el corazón y lo presentaba todo el rey para que lo comiese; el cuerpo se dividía por miembros y lo unos existía se daba a los diputados y lo otro quedaba para los sacerdotes; de esta estatua del mismo modo. Estas ceremonias explicaban con la palabra teocualo, comer a Dios. Los mexicanos no probaban de esta sagrada masa por mucho, como se pensó como de no pertenecer a su raza el empleo de la guerra."

Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the *rôles* of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçatecs* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Nican mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia. 796[x]

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amono tequixquijo, amono tenexio: a[illegible]h tlacatlaqualoia. [785] [262]

Auh yn aquja amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aquja amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xixiiotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl quiçaia, motenoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuimotloia:

yoan isq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papaloti, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototi, in temoli, tecujtlaololo: yn ipan moquixtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjxtin ipan moquixtiaia in cochiztli, in xococamalouiquj, yeçan tonalnacatl yn jxcouiquj: yoan ymixpan ycaca, in tonacacuecomatl, tenticac in xococamalli. [262]

Auh no nuchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjquijnamaquijlia, yn motequaquauhnamaquijlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teucocouiquj ypan moquixtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjxtin totome, in tecuhtl, in chichtli ipan quiçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moquixtiaia. [463]

Auh motlalilaia in tlaloc, ixpan mikca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cuciame, yoan in ichoutin motemoa, maçateca, vncan qujntoloaia in cocoa, çan iniehtiuja, ceceiaca, incamatica in quimonanaia, amo inmatica: çan quimontlanquechixia, yniic quimon- 796[x]

6. Gerhard ("Huitzilin huetz," p. 318) translates *tzacuiltiloia* as "*se remedian la cara*," *chicuexiuhtica* appears in the same text, translated as "*se hacen como viejos del agua*." Cf., however, *amatlalli* in Molina, op. cit.

7. Tecuhtli (lit. chief): *tecohuac* (lit. old). Cf. also Clark, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel Maria Garibay K, in Tlalocan, Vol. I, p. 309.

Tlalxicco.

Tlalxicco: here died he who was named [and who was arrayed in the manner of] Mictlan Tecutli. Each year he died upon the feast of Tititl. And when the impersonator of Mictlan Tecutli died, then the Fire Priest of Tlillan offered incense. And this was done only by night, not by day.

Tlalxicco.

In tlalxicco: vncan mjquja, in jtoca catca Mjctlan tecutli: cexiuhtica in mjquja, ipan in tititl quiçaia. Auh in ommjc in jxiptla mjctlan tecutli: njman vncan vallenamacaia, valletemaia, in tlillan tlenamacac. Auh injn muchiuaia: çan iooan, amo cemjlhujtl.

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Uey Quauhxicalco.

Uey Quauhxicalco was Mocteçuma's place of penances. Here, when there was fasting, one said it was the fasting for the sun. And every two hundred and three days there was a fast for the sun. And also here died they who were named Chachanme—only four [of them]; and here died [he who was the] likeness of the sun-[god] and of the moon-[god]. And likewise many captives died here. And this [occurred only] when fate so decreed.

Vey quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco, itlamaceuaian catca in Motecuçuma: iquac in vncan moçauaia, mjtoaia: netonatiuhçaualoia: auh mamatlacpovalti... vncitica in juh muchiuaia, in netonatiuhçaualoia. Auh ioan vncan mjquja: in mjtoaia, chachanme: çan navintin: yoan vncan mjquja in jxiptla tonatiuh, ioan metztli: auh ioan cenca mjiequja in mamalti, vncan mjquja. Auh ynjn, çan tepan ietiuh.

[785]

Tochinco.

Tochinco: here died [he who was the] likeness of [Ome tochtli], once yearly, during the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tochinco.

In tochinco: vncan mjquja in jxiptla tochinco, cexiuhtica: ipan tepeilhujtl.

Teotlalpan.

Teotlalpan. Here was made a procession yearly, when the feast of Quechelli arrived. And when the procession was made, then they departed for Çacatepec. And when they reached it, then all hunted [game]. And Mocteçuma then rewarded [the successful hunters]. Auh when he had rewarded [them], then he returned; no longer did he stay there. Likewise [the huntsmen] then all departed; no longer did they remain here, [but] departed for Mexico; and they took a different road. Verily, many men went to the Çacatepec.

Teotlalpan.

In teotlalpan, vncan tlaiauaiovaia, cecexiuhtica: iquac in quechelli quiçaia ilhujtl. Auh in oztlaiauaiaiaoc: njman ie ic vmpeua in çacatepec: auh in onazivac, njman ie ic omjoa: auh in motecuçuma, njman vmpa ommocuetlavaia: auh in ommocuetlauh, njman ye ic valpeua: ayocac vmpa ommocaoa. Çan no yvi injc vilouaia, aiac neiac njcan mocauhtivia in mexico: yoan oiocac vtli quitocaia: vel mochi tlacatl vmpa via in çacatepec.

Tilapan.

Tilapan: here were bathed the five priests—at night only, and often. And when they had bathed, thereupon they cast incense into the fire and offered

Tilapan.

In tilapan: vncan mahuia in tlenamacaque, çan iouahica: ioan muchipa. Auh in iquac omomaliqueque: njman ie ic tlotoua, tlenamaca, in vmpa mjtocaqueque.

feast of] Teotl eco was this done, and also yearly. And when they had cast men into the fire, then the priests came down, and then they [performed the ceremony of] pricking paper with thorns.

muchioaia, no cexiuhtica. Auh yn onnetlepantlaxoc: njman ye ic oaltemo in tlamacazque, njman ye ic amatlavitzoa. 796 346

The Skull Frame.

The Skull Frame: Here they strung up the severed heads of the captives whom they had cast into the fire, who had died there at the Teccalco. Likewise this was done yearly.

Tzumpantli

In tzumpantli: vncan quiçoia in mamaltin intzontecon, in quintlepantlaçaia, in vmpa mjquja teccalco: çan no cexiuhtica yn muchioaia.

The Temple of Uitznauac.

The Temple of Uitznauac: here died those named the Centzonuitznaua; and many [more] were the captives who here died. And upon [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli was this done, and [it was done] yearly.

Vitznaoac teucalli.

In vitznaoac teucalli: vncan mjquja, in jntoca centzonvitznaoa, yoan mjiec malli vncan mjquja: auh ipan in panquetzaliztli muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Tencacalco.

Tencacalco: here captives were slain and died, only when fate so decreed—not every year.

Tencacalco

In tencacalco: vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan tepan yetiuh, amo cexiuhtica.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan: here were guarded the spears and arrows. Also here captives were slain and died. And it was only by night that they were slain, and only at times when it was wished [that they should be slain].

Tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan.

In tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan: vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: auh çan iooan in mjcoaia, yoan çan molnamjquja yn jquja.

Tecciacalco.

Tecciacalco: likewise here were slain and died captives—only by night, also only when it was their fate, when it was the whim [of the priests].

Tecciacalco.

In tecciacalco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan no iooaltica, çan no tepan yetiuh, çan molnamjquja.

Uitzteoalco.

Uitzteoalco: here the priests, those who did penance, scattered the thorns; or else the green boughs, when they did penances in various places.

Vitzteoalco

In ,vitzteoalco: vncan quiçteoaia in tlamacazque in ja tlamacoaia, in vitztli: anoço acxoitl, yn jquac canjn ontlamacoaia. [785]

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Atempan.

In atempan, vncan qujntecpicheoaia in tlacateuhti: auh in jquac in oqujntecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiacalochtia, qujntlapechvia. 796^x 346

Auh in jquac oqujmontlaiacalochtique: njman ye ic qujnmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tezcacoac tlacochcalco

In tezcacoac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjier malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenqujztiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oqujcenqujztique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia: [567]

auh in jquac in oqujmonmjctique, njman vncan qujnteteqoja, yoan qujnpacacia, caiosuchqujlhujaia in jnnacaio. [266]

Auh yn jquac oqujnpacaozque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jzquijch tecutlatoque: amono ichoantin in macoaltl, çn yehoantin in tlatoque.

Tochielli.

Tochielli: here were placed fir branches.[10]

Tochielli.

In tochielli: vncan acaxiotemaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, those who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ic mochi calxotoni in tlaiacalotoc, ioan qujiacalotoc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan neçacaloia: 796^x 346 785

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempoualtica,

mjtoaia: nemacujlçacaloia.

Auh in jquac moçacaia, oc iuh macujlilhujtl quj-

10. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

X 796 the feast was to be celebrated. And only when the feast day came was there fasting.

346 And thus was the fasting; [thus] did they abstain from food: some ate at midday, [fasting] until past 785 midnight; and some, when they ate at midnight, thereupon went past midday [fasting]. Thus they proceeded mortifying themselves.

And they fasted for the space of five nights—not by day but by night. And every time night fell, then they went within [the *calpulli*]. And when day broke, they went forth and performed their tasks.

Daily they thus did, until they had spent five days. [834] And not then did they lie with women.

çaz ilhujtl: auh çan ypan in jlhujtl quiçaz moçaoaia:

auh injc mocaoaia, tlaqualizcaoaia: cequjntin tlaquaia nepantla tonatiuh, ixquichica onaci iocalnepantla: auh in cequjntin yquac tlaquaia in iocalnepantla, no yquac onaci in nepantla tonatiuh: çan iuh mopatlatiuh.

Auh in moçaoaia macujliocal, amo cemjlhujtl, çan iocan: auh in jquac ie ioca, njman calaquj: auh in otlathujc, valquiçaia, tlatequjpanoaia:

mumuztlae iuh quichioaia, injc onaci macujlilhujtl: yoan ayocmo cioacochia.

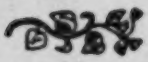

X 796 782

Here Are Told the Various Modes in Which Blood Was Shed and Offered up.

Sacrificial Slaying, &c.

Thus was performed the sacrificial slaying of men, when captives and slaves died, who were called "Those who have died for the god."

Thus they took [the captive] up [to the pyramid temple] before the devil, [the priests] going holding him by his hands. And he who was known as the arranger [of captives], this one laid him out upon the sacrificial stone.

And when he had laid him upon it, four men stretched him out, [grasping] his arms and legs. And already in the hand of the fire priest lay the [sacrificial] knife, with which he was to slash open the breast of the ceremonially bathed [captive].

And then, when he had split open his breast, he at once seized his heart. And he whose breast he laid open was quite alive. And when [the priest] had seized his heart, he dedicated it to the sun.

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The Drawing of Straws [Through Parts of the Body].

The drawing of straws was thus done, only upon days proper for [such] drawing of straws.

And indeed in all parts [of the body was it done] —perchance in one's ear, or, whoever willed it, one's tongue or one's thigh. And thus they pierced the flesh: with a thornlike obsidian point. And thus they then here drew a slender twig, or a straw; and thus they gathered the flesh with a cord, that there they might pass a straw [through it]; and thus all performed a penance.

And when slender twigs had been passed [through the flesh], upon the morrow the straws were swept up and gathered; and the straws were much bloodied. And this was done in the house of the devil, or along roads where devils lay.

The Offering of Thorns.

The offering of thorns was thus performed: they plucked green reeds and cut mogney spines, and

Vncan mjtoa in quenquican neçoloia ya ezili ic tlamamaloia.

Tlamjctilistli, &c.

Jnic muchivaia tlamjctilistli, injc mjquja malli yoan tlacutli in mjtoaia teumiquj

injc contlecaviaia ixpan diablo, çan caantivi imatitech. auh in tevelteca motocaiotiaia, ichoatl contecaia in jpan techcatl,

auh in jcoac oipan contecac navi tlacatl in qujritilinjaia in jma in icxi, auh ic imac onoc in tlenamacac tlamacazquj in tecpatl injc quehtetequiz tlaaltilli,

auh njman ic conehtequj conaxjlia achto in jiollo: auh ça ioltoc in quehtequja, auh in jcoac oconanjliquc yiollo conjavilinia in tonatiuh.

Tlacoqujzilistli.

Jn tlacoqujzilistli ic muchivaia, çan no ipan in tlein tonalli in tlacoquizilaia,

auh çan novjian aço inacazco, anoço in aquja quinequiz inenepilco, anoço imetzpan, auh injc qujcoionjaia inacaio ichoatl in vitzaubquj in itztli, auh ic niman vncan quiquistiaia in tlacutl, anoço çacatl, auh injc qujzilinjaia in inacaio mecatica injc vncan quiquistiaia tlacutl injc tlamacevaloia,

auh in jcoac oxlacoquizilac, in muztlaioc tlachpanoia muchpanoia in tlacutl yoan in çacatl cẽca eneço, auh in muchivaia y, ichan Diablo anoço vtli in vncan manj Diablome.

Nevizmamalistli.

Jn nevizmamalistli ic muchivaia concuja in acto-

bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places—some of them perchance in two places, or three, they laid the thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was of their own will.

istl yoan contequja in mevitztli, auh quezvjaia ic quivalmanaia in ipil aczoiatl vme in vitztli

noviian in aca ayo vecan anoço ezcan in quimanaia vitztli, anoço macuilcan çan teiollotlama.

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The Bloodying.

When they bloodied themselves, thus did they do: they cut their ears with an obsidian blade, and then took out blood from about the ears.

Nepolintli.

Jn mijçoia injc quichioaia itztli ica in contequja in jnacazco, auh njmã ic quivalpipiloizia in eztli in innacaztitlan.

[412]

The Cutting of the Ears.

Likewise this bloodying was a cutting of the ears, when one was bloodied by the cutting of the ears.

Nenecaztequilintli.

Çan ie no ichoatl in neçcliztli in nenacaztequilintli in mijçoia in monacaztequja.

The Twisting off of the Heads [of Birds].

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him, and cast down [the body] before the devil. There the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.

Tlaquechcotonalintli.

Jn tlaquechcotonalintli ic muchivaia ca icoac in tlatotozintli ixpan quicotonaia in Diablo no conjavilisia, vncan contlaçaia in ixpan Diablo, vncan tlapapatlaztoc in jtlac in totozintli.

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The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods].

Thus was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: When [the priests] had cut open a slave's or a captive's breast, then [the owner of the victim] took his blood in a vessel and, perchance, cast a paper into the vessel, which drew up the blood.

Then he took [the blood] in the vessel and placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

Tlachichiquilintli.

Jnjc muchivaia tlachichiquilintli, in jcoac ocontlecque in tlacutli anoço malli, njman quicuja in icxço castica yoan aço amatl contlaçaia in caxic quichichinahizia in eztli,

njman ic quiçquja castica in izquintin Diablome in tesco quiçulatlalikizia in eztli muchintin in jexço tzumjcopij.

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods].

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when mayhap something had befallen one, perchance sickness, when he recovered, then perchance he thus paid his debt with *copal* [incense] or paper [spotted with] liquid rubber. Because he did

Nestlavalintli.

Jn nestlavalintli injc muchivaia in jquac aço aca in teix ipã muchivaia, aço cocolizzli in jquac opatic, njman aço copalli yoã amatl injc mestlavaia,

[314]

Abstinence.

When all abstained, they did not fast. But none washed themselves with soap nor in the steam bath; neither did [men] lie with women. Only when it was [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli did they fast for seven days.

Neçaualiztli.

Inic neçaualoia amo tlacatlaqualoia, çan ie aiac mamoviaia, aiac motemaia, anoiac cioacochia: çanyio ÿquac in panquetzaliztli, tlacatlaqualoia chiconilhuitl.

796x
782
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X 796 war, they made, as it were, a supplication when anyone went where there was war, lest something
782 might go amiss [with them]. They said:
788 "Not here shall I die; [it is] in war that I go to die."

And when battle was already joined, they first plucked grass, shook it out toward the sun, and said:
"He will destroy and slay [our foe]," or, "He will capture [him]."

In this wise was a prayer raised to the sun.

iuhqujnma ic nenetoltiloia, jn jquac aca iauh iavc intla itla ic motolinjtinemj qujtoaia

amo njcan in njmiquiz, iavc in njmiquitiuh

auh in iõc ie muchivaz iauiotl achto qujpia in çacatl qujtzetzeloaia in jvicpa in tonatiuh qujtoaia, vnpopolihuiz y in tlamiquiz, anoço tlamaz

iuhqujn ic monetoltiaia ivjc tonatiuh.

The Blowing of Trumpets.

X 796 [533] Thus was done the blowing of trumpets: when it was late at night, when it was already approaching
782 midnight, [then it was] when trumpets were sounded, that all [the priests] might offer blood in the house of the devil. Therefore were [the priests] awakened.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in tlatlapitzaliztli iquac in ie tlaquauhiovac, in ie onacitiuh iovalnepantla iquac tlapitzaloia ic neçohoaia in jchan Diablo, ic teixitiloia.

The Illumination with Fire.

Thus was done the illumination with fire: when we people had passed [the night until] midnight and also trumpets had been sounded, thus were men awakened. Thus those known as the besters began the keeping of the watch. And if any did not awake, they poured water upon him, or else they shook [coals of] fire upon him, or else they cast him into the water at Tilapan or at Coapan.

Tlatica tlavilizti.

Injc muchivaia tlatica tlaviliztli, in iquac ie titlaca in ishoalnepantla oacic, no tlapitzalo, ic teixitilo, ic pevaia in tlapializtli motenehoaia tlavitequjni, auh in aquin amo veliça atl ipan qujnoqujaia, anoço tletl ipã qujtzetzelovaia, anoço atlan contlaçaia vmpa tilapan, anoço coapan.

The Piercing of Ears.

X 796 The piercing of ears was also undertaken [because
782 of] the devil. Hence were ears bored.
785

Nenacazzapotlaliztli.

In nenacazzapotlaliztli no ic tlaiiecalhujloia in Diablo injc nenacazcoioniloia.

The Piercing of the [Lower] Lip.

In like manner the piercing of the [lower] lip: similarly, for the devil, was the boring of the [lower] lip endured.

Netezapotlaliztli.

I Çan no iuhquj in nenacazzapotlaliztli çan no ic tlaiiecalviloia in Diablo in netezapotlaliztli.

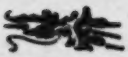

X796 **A True [Relation] of how They Served the Sun; and of how many Times Trumpets Were Blown During the Day and During the Night; and of how many Times Incense Was Offered.**

Each day, when the sun arose, quail were slain and incense was offered. And thus were quail slain: they wrung the necks of the quail and raised them dedicating them to the sun.

And they invoked [the sun], saying:

"The sun hath come forth—the shafts of heat, the turquoise child, the soaring eagle. And how he will go on, or how he may tarry [we know not]. Perchance something [ill] will be done his servants and vassals."

They said unto him:

"Work; perform thy office [for us], O our lord."

And this each day was thus done when the sun rose, [as hath] been said.

And thus was incense offered four times during the day, and five times during the night: The first time [was] when the sun burst forth. The second time [was] when [it was] time to eat [the first meal]. And the third time [was] at midday; and the fourth time [was] when already the sun had set.

And at night, thus was incense offered: the first time, when it was dark; the second time, when it was time to sleep; the third time, when the shell trumpets were sounded; the fourth time, at midnight; and the fifth time, near dawn. And when it was dark, incense was offered and a supplication was made to the night.

It was said:

"The Lord of the Night, he of the sharp nose, hath unfolded, and we know not how his office will end."

X796 And [his] feast day came upon the day of the day-count [called] nauí ollin, every two hundred and three days. And when the day had come, all did penances; all fasted for four days. And when they reached the day of the day-count, at noon, shell trumpets were blown, and straws were passed through the flesh to draw blood. And they cut the ears of little children lying in their cradles. And all the people bloodied themselves, and no supplications

Imelaoaca, in quenjn tlaiecultiloia tonatiuh: yoan quezqujpa in tlapitzaloia in cemjlhujtl, yoan in ceiocoal: yoan quezqujpa in tlenamacoia.

In mumuztlae in jquac valqujçaia tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, yoan tlenamacoia. Auh injc tlacotonaloia qujquechcotonaia in çolin, conjaviliaia in tonatiuh,

yoan qujtlapalovaia qujtoaia

Oqujçaco in tonatiuh, in tonametl, xiuhpiltontli, in quauhtlevanjtl: auh quen onotlatocaz quẽ cemilhujtiz, cujx itla ipan mochivaz in jcujtlapil, in jiatlapal

conilvjaia.

Ma ximotequjtili, ma xjmotlacotili, totecujoe.

auh injn mumuztlae iuh muchivaia in iquac valqujçaia tonatiuh mjtoaia.

Auh injc tlenamacoia, nappa in cemjlhujtl, auh macujlpa in iovaltica. Injc ceppa iquac in valmomana tonatiuh. Injc vppa iquac in tlaqualizpan, auh injc Expa iquac in nepãtla tonatiuh, auh injc nappa iquac in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh.

Auh in iovaltica, injc tlenamacoia. Injc ceppa tlapoiaoa. Injc vppa netequilizpan. Injc Expa tlatlapitzalizpan, auh injc Nappa ticatla, auh injc macujlpa tlatvinavac, auh in iquac tlapoiava tlenamacoia tlapaloloia, in iovalli

mjtoaia.

Ovalçouh in iovaltecutli in iacavîztli, auh quen onvetziz in jtequjuh.

Auh in ilhujuh qujçaia ipan cemjlhujtonalli navi ollin, matlacpoalli, vmei iça, auh in iõc ie onaci ilhujuh, neçavaloia, navilhujtl tlacatlaqualoia, Auh in ipã cemilhujtonalli in oacic ilhujuh, in nepantla tonatiuh, tlapitzaloia, tlacoqujstiloia: auh in pipiltzintli coçolco onoque qujnnacaztequja: auh muchi tlacatl mjçoia, auh atle ic tlapaloloia, çan jaqujch in

were then made. But everyone drew blood; straws were passed through tongue or ear-lobe, and incense was offered. Everyone [did so]; none were negligent.

And there was the image of that one, [the sun, at a pyramid temple] called Quauhxicalli. There was erected his image, his image was designed as if it had the mask of a man [but] with [the sun's] rays streaming from it.[12a] His sun ornament was round, circled with feathers; surrounded with red spoonbill [feathers]. Here in his presence was the fasting done, and the passing of straws through the flesh, the laying of offerings, and the slaying of quail.

And upon his feast day, also many captives died, and these were also called "those who died in war." These went to the house of the sun and dwelt with the sun.

neçocohoaia, tlacoquistiloia, tlenamacoia muchi tlacatl aiac ixcauhticatca, 796x [285]

auh inon catca ixiptla, ichoatl, in motenehoaia quauhxicalli, vncan moquetzaia in ixiptla, injc mjcujlovaia in ixiptla iuhq'n tlacaxaiaque itonameio itech qoiztoia in itonatiuhtlatquj iavaltic vej ihujtica tlatzaqualli, tlauhquechol injc tlatzaqualli, vncan ixpan muchioaia nêçeliztli, in tlacoquistiliztli, in tlamanaliztli, in tlacotonaliztli. 796x 778

Auh inilhûjuh ipâ no mjiequjntin miquja mamalti, auh no mjtovaia in iaumiquj : natiuh ichan vjia itlan nemj in tonatiuh. 796x

12a. See 29, 68.

796 he had bathed it, then once more he placed the array [on the image] and took it in his arms. Loudly they played the flutes for him.

And after this they bore [the image] to Itepeyoc and set it in place. And when they had come to set it down, thereupon they went away; all dispersed. Then ended the fasting and penances of [those who had] for the year [been] eaters of the god.[24]

in oconalti, niman ie no ceppa itlan aquj, quinapaloa, cenca quitlapichiliaia.

auh njman ie ic qujvica in itepeioc vmpa contlalia, auh in iõjc ocontlalito, njman ie ic momoiaoa, viviloa, ie vncan tzonquiça, in ineçaoaliz, in jntlamaceoaliz, in teuquaque ce xivitl.

●785 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which are related other burdensome works which those did who received the body of Uitzilopochtli.

Still another group at this time began to fast in the year that they were to eat the god. They proceeded in this manner each year; thus they all continued giving [way to others]. They all went on exchanging [places]; there was mutual taking over and trading [of functions]. And likewise for the priests of the tribal temples there was fasting for a year. Great also was their suffering.

Much from this did their affliction grow; great was their anguish, [which] filled their hearts and bodies. Verily, their misery surpassed [all else], since for one year there was to be fasting—since for a year they were to fast. [Each] man was to pass every night burning [wood] and providing light. Very much wood was consumed each night, as was the custom; and many broken up pine sticks, that torches might be lit. And they brought forth *chili*, tomatoes, salt, squash seeds, and water and food.

785 423 And when they had nothing more with which to buy, they gave up their precious capes, that they might buy things, or else they sold their land, which they had enclosed, or which lay in others' territory, or which somewhere they had kept. And they did even so with all lands—the tribal lands, the cultivated lands, marshy lands, the dry and dusty lands, or the cut-over, cultivated fields upon which they worked.

And if one who could not bring forth the tribute

INJC NAVJ PARRAPHO vncan motenecoa in oc centlamantli tequjtl vel etic, in quichiouia in ichoantin quiçelisia in jnacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Ie no centlamantin vncan cõpeoaltia, in moçaoa in jpan xivitl teuquazque, çan juh otlatocatiuh, cecexiuhtica, çan jc nemamacotiuh, çan necacaviliotiuh, nepapatlalotiuh, nepapatlalo: auh çan ie no ivi in calpoloque, no ce xivitl in moçaoa cenca no motolinia,

vel vmpa conquiça in netolinilintli, vel totoneoa, vel chichichina yn jniollo, in jnnacaio, vel iniacacpa quiquiça in: jnnetolinilix injc ce xivitl quitlaça moçaoa, injc mocexiuhcaoa, ice tlacatl ceioal quitlaça in tlatlacia, in tlavia, cenca miec in polivi intlatlatil quavitl icciual, yoan miec in ocotl tzomonoquj, injc tlavikoia, yoi quinextiaia, chilli, tomatl, iztatl, aiocechtli, yoan atl, tlaqualli.

auh in aoc tle itlacoaia, itech quioallaçaia in jtilmatzin, injc tlacoa, anoço quinamaca itlal, in quioaltzaçia, anoço canah temac motlalia, canah netlacujlli quichioa: auh injc quichioaia ipampa tlalli in quexquich quichioa in calpollali, yoan in chinamitl, in chinahcalli, in teuhtlalli, anoço xinmilli ie in ipan tequjtia:

auh in aquje in amo conieccoaia tequitl, ic quica-

24. The meaning of the term *tolpoloc* may be taken as either image or impersonator. The context of this passage, in both the Nahuatl and Spanish versions, suggests the impersonator bore the image to the Mint House, where the keeper of the god (*teohuatl*) bathed the image; either he bathed also the impersonator, or the latter bathed himself. The impersonator then took up the image.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

therefore pledged the land, they made him leave it; they made him abandon it.

And when their fasting came to an end, much did they make merry. They bathed with water; they washed [their heads] with *amolli* soap.[28] And fruit was eaten—they made fruit *tamales*, and sauces. Or they stew and ate a dog, and they drank wine. Thus they showed that verily they were through with [their tribute]; that their works had fallen behind them.

For no longer a burden upon their backs was their fasting. [It was] as if [now] they could move briskly and with security; now they awoke [from their sleep] with joy and peace; they awoke tranquil. They had no offerings to make. In peace they might make their livings and find the means by which they might subsist either by fishing or in the *magney* fields; or perchance they might frequent the market places in one town or another. No more did they live in bondage.

Enough.

ooia in tlalli, ic quicaoaltiaia, ic quicacaoaltiaia:

785 [423]

ash in iquac in tzonquiçaia in jneçaoaliz, cenca papaquja, mashtiaia, mahamoviaia, yoan motocoquaiaia, quichioaia zocotamalli; yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuintli qujmjctiaia qujquaia, yoan tlaoanaia, ic quinextiaia in ca oquimotlaxilique, imicampa ovetz, in jntequjuh,

[262]

i ma iuhqui tlamamalli in neçaoalizzli, in juhqui opouhtivetzque, ic pacca, iocotza oaliça oalpaccaiça aoc tle qujmamana çan iria in motlaccoltia in quitemoa in cochcaiotl, in neuhcaiotl, anoço tlatlama, in anoço tlachiquj, in aço motitianquiz in ahoácan tepehoácan: aoc tle qujiolitlacotiuh.

Je izquich.

28. See Fig. 3, 4.

[p. 10 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

874 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps
793 half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

[273] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves,
[252] together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

[273 Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given
836 to women, or committed a great [fault], then they
688] went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with maguey spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

[785] Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[26] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

vitztlalia, iteccix ietiuh, tlapiztiuh, in canj yn evitztlalisia, yn oncino vmpa oallapiztiuh.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in iocalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iocalli zellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztiech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica mavixtli vezzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichica, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioiolloc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapoallo, çan njman atle vel comitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quinzitzicazvia.

Jnjc. ii. in iocalnepãtla apoztemoia in ic tachcaoa, atli ômakinia.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaualiztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaualiztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjnnin iocalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iocalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjnnin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no mozzla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztal quiquaia, amo tle ic cochi in manel atl, quiioa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaua cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtilloia in qualli tlatolli,

26. "Hapaloa, ni. *comer al poco cual pasaje, quizás comer*" (Molina, op. cit.).

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heavy pall, or clouds of many colors—which were spread before his face.

Eclipse of the Sun

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When this came to pass, he turned red; he became restless and troubled. He faltered and became very yellow. Then there were a tumult and disorder. All were disquieted, unnerved, frightened. There was weeping. The common folk raised a cry, lifting their voices, making a great din, calling out, shrieking. There was shouting everywhere. People of light complexion[3] were slain [as sacrifices]; captives were killed. All offered their blood; they drew straws through the lobes of their ears, which had been pierced. And in all the temples there was the singing of fitting chants; there was an uproar; there were war cries. It was thus said: "If the eclipse of the sun is complete, it will be dark forever! The demons of darkness will come down; they will eat men!"

[785]

Tonatiuh qualo.

Jn icoac muchioa, y, chichiliubtimomana: aoc tlaca manj, aoc tlaca ca, ca mocuecueptimanj: cẽca tlacoçauia: niman ic tlatzomonj, tlacatl comonj: neacomanalo, necomonjlo, nemauhtilo, nechoquililo, tlachoquiztleoa in maceoalti: netenujteco, netempapaujlo, tlacaoaca, tlacaoatzalo, tzatzioa: oiooalli moteca, Tlacaztalmicoa, malmicoa, neçoa tlacoquistilo: nenacazteco: auh in tetcupan, suauchcuico, tlachalantoc, tlacaoacatoc: ic mitozia, intla tlamiz, in qualo tonatiuh: centlaiooaz: oaltemozque, in tzitzittimi, tequaquiui.

3. Tlamatzinca: cf., however, the corresponding passage in the *Memoriales* *con escolios* (Appendix to this volume), where the phrase is translated "*hombres de colorados blancos y cara blanca.*"

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Third Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

The Fire Drill[7]

When [these] appeared and set forth, incense was offered and burned. Thus was it said when Yoaltecutli [and] Yacauitztli had come forth: "What will the night bring? How will the day break?"

And these were offered incense. Three times was it done: when night fell—well into the night; and when it was time to sleep—the time when the flutes were blown.[8] When this [took place], this was the time for offering their blood and offering maguey spines stained with blood. The third time incense was offered was when it dawned, when the morning broke, when the earth was visible—when morning was near.

And hence was it said that they resembled the fire drill: because when fire was drawn with a drill, and the drill bored, thus fell, ignited, and flared the fire.

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And also for this reason all burned [spots on] their wrists; for this reason were we men burned on the wrists, to show awe of him. He was feared and dreaded. It was said and considered of any whose wrists were not burned that on his wrists fire would be drilled in the land of the dead, when he died. Therefore we men—every one—were burned on the wrists. On both sides of each wrist they arranged in order, in rows, the wrist burns. Thus they represented the fire drill. In the same manner as [the stars] were arranged in order and in line, so also they placed in order, in rows, their burns on their wrists.

[The Morning Star or Great Star]

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Of the morning star, the great star, it was said that when first it emerged and came forth, four times it vanished and disappeared quickly. And afterwards it burst forth completely, took its place in full light,

Inic ey capitulo, intechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

Mamalhoaztli.

In icoac oalneci, oalmotema: tlenamacoia, tlatotoniloia: ic mitoaia, ocoaltecutli, in iacauiztli: quen uetziz in ioualli, quen tlathuiz.

Auh in hin tlenamacoia, espa in [illegible]chioaia: icoac in tlapoiaoa, tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, yoan netetequizpan, tlatlapitzalizpa. Icoac, y, neçoaia, neuitzmanaloia: ic espa tlenamacoia, icoac in tlauizcaleoa, tlauizcalli moquetza: in tlatlalchipaoa, in ie tlathuinaoac.

Auh inic mitoa, mamalhoaztli, itech monenenilia in tlequauitl: ichica, in icoac tlequauhtlazo, ca momamali in tlequauitl: inic uetzi, inic xotla, inic mopitza tletl.

No yoan, inic nematlatiloia: inic momatlatiaia toquichtin, ichoatl quimacacia, mjmacacia imacaxoia, mjtoaia: quilmach in aquin amo nematlatile, imac tlequauhtlazoz in mjctlan, in icoac oenjc. Ichica in toquichtin, muchi tlacatl momatlatiaia, nenecoc inmac quiuiujpanaia, quitetecpanaia in innematlatil: ic quitlaichecalhuiaia in mamalhoaztli: in iuh vipantoc, tecpantoc, no iuh quiuiujpanaia, quitetecpanaia in immac innematlatil.

[The Morning Star or Great Star]

821

Of the morning star, the great star, it was said that when first it emerged and came forth, four times it vanished and disappeared quickly. And afterwards it burst forth completely, took its place in full light,

Citlalpol, vei citlalin mitoa: in icoac iancuican oalcholoa, oalquiça, nappan polini, popoliuhtiuetzi: auh çaçpã uel çaçpoui, çaçpoctimotlalia, çaçpontica, tlanestica: iuhquin metztona ic tlanestia.

7. The names of various constellations and stars may or may not correspond to the names by which they are now known. In the Spanish text and in the Mexicanized one similar, however, Sahagún equated them with the terminology current in his times. See also Plates 1-7, 21.

8. *Tlatlapitzalizpan*: cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 192; also Sandoz, op. cit.; Godoy, op. cit., p. 252. The ceremony called for use of flutes or trumpets, according to Sandoz; of flutes, according to Godoy. Sources vary as to the exact time when these were blown.

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

The Lord of Tlaloca

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He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chia*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

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And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Tlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishment. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once, for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or foreboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Ic macuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in mistli.

Tlaloca tecutli,

Teutl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quisuitl, in atl: iuh quitoaia, ie quichioa in ticoua, in tiqui, in qualoni, in joani, in tonenca, in toiolca, in tocochca, in toneuhca, in tocemilhuitiaia, in tonacaiotl: in ie iquich zopaniotl, in itzmolintoc, in celiztoc, in quauitl, in onuhtli, in chian, in aiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: yoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in xuchitl, in xiuitl.

Auh in icoac ilhuiquistililoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçaoaia, motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: in moteneoa calmecac moçapaoa, mozcaltia.

In icoac oncic nauilhuitl, in ie neoaloa, in ie ilhuitl muchioa: matlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uei apan: amo iuiian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmotzotzopontirlaça, onmotzotzopontimaisui: çan monetechuja, vncan çoquititlan quinemjtia, quipopolactia, quiuiuilana: icpac cantinemi, quititilioça, atlã tlatzotzopoztinemj, aiocotztinemi, tlamomoloztinemi: inmac mouiuitlatinemi, in tlamacazque,

in otlatlaco, in calmecac itlã oncholo: intlanel çan aca ômotepotlami, itlã oconicxixopeuh, oc uel ic conacique, ie ic inmal ça quipipia, aocmo conjscaoa, inic catlampapachonque.

Auh amo çan quenjn quipolos: uel quicocoltia, quellelaxitia, ça quen quimattoc, ça mopopoçaulztoc, ça içomocatoc, ça micqui in quicalmaisui atenco: aiac uel ipan tlatoa, vncan quimonana in intlaoan, in innaboan. Auh in aquin quitlamauhcaitilia, in quitlotêmachilia ipiltzin, inic amo catlampapachenque: conquistiaia itlatzin quinmacaia in tlamacazque, aço tetolin, aço tlaqualli: ic quicaoaia.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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water, in order that they should let him go, he offered the priests something of value—either a turkey or food. In return for it they let [his son] be.

And when this came to pass, everywhere, in the houses of all, in each house, *etz·lli*[9] was eaten. Each one made *etzalli* for himself; and there was a dance in which *etzalli* was begged. With green maize stalks they danced. Those who danced the *etzalli* dance entered house after house, each one begging and asking. [The householders] offered them all this same *etzalli*, [placing it] in the small jars, the *etzalli* jars, which they bore in their hands.

These [gods] were called Tlaloca. To them were attributed clouds, rain, hail, snow, mist, sheet lightning, thunder, and lightning bolts which struck men.

The Rainbow

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As if arched—bent and rounded—it thus appeared. Varicolored, many-hued was its appearance. The single colors which showed in it [were] green, dark green, blue green, and black; and yellow and orange or tawny; then vermillion and ruby red; and [various shades of] blue, and dark green.[10]

And they said that when it appeared it revealed, made evident to men, and denoted—whereby it was known, realized, and seen—that it would not rain; would not rain hard—would not pour. But it would break up the clouds. It would dissipate, impede, and quiet the rain—the downpour which wet, soaked, and drenched one. If clouds piled up, if heavy clouds blackened [the sky] so that everywhere it was dark, it only dissipated [them]. Although it rained, no longer was the rain heavy; no longer did it increase. It only sprinkled; it drizzled; a few drops fell; a haze, a fog, a thin mist drifted and fell. Or at most it sprinkled; the sprinkling and the spray continued.

And they said—it was averred—[that] if it appeared over magney plants, because of it the green [leaves] yellowed, turned, dried, reddened, and withered. And also they said [that] when it appeared many times, thereby it was evident [that] the rains were to end forthwith. They said: "Soon the masters of the rain will go; already the Tlaloca are about to leave."

Auh in iconac, y, in notiian techachan, in cecencalpan etzalqualoia: cecciaca metzalhuiaia, yoan etzalmaceoaloia: cintopiltica mitotia, tepan cacalaqui, motlatlaeuia, motlatlaitlanja, in etzalmaceuhque: çan muche in etzalli quinmaca, inxoxochuicol, imeetlalcon intlan caana.

In ichoantin, y, moteneoa tlaloque: intech tlamiloia in mistli, in quiauitl, in teciuitl, in cêpaiauitl, in aiauitl, in tlapetlaniliztli, in tlatlatziniliztli, in teuitequilizti.

Ainulicoçamalol.

Iubquin uitoluhqui: tlauitoltic, coltic, inic oalmoquetza, tlatlatlapalpoalli, motlatlapalpouh in itlachieliz. In centlamantli tlapalli, itech neci: xoxoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iiapaltic, quilpalli, iiapalli: yoan coztic, xopaltic, xochipalli: niman ie chichiltic, tlapaltic: yoã tlaztaleoaltic, tlaztaleoalli: yoan texôtic, texôtli, matlaltic, matlalli.

Auh quitoa, in iconac oalmoquetza: quinestia, quiteittina, quinezcaiotia, ic macho, ic machizti, ic ino: in amo quiauiz, amo tlaelquiauiz, amo tilaoaz: çan quimomoiaoaz in mistli, quipopoloa, quellictia, quiiacatzacuilia in quiiauitl, in tlaelquiiauitl: in tepaltili, in techacnani, in teçoquitili. Intla cenca omotlatlali mistli, in ouel cuicuicheoac, in onouiian tlatlaioonc: çan quipepopoloa. Intlanel quiauí, aocmo cenca tilaoa, aocmo molluia: ça oachquiauí, aoachtli in onoueiezti, in onchichipini: aoachpiztactli, aoachpicilli, aoachpicilitoton, in ontzitzicuini in onoueetti: amoçe çan aoachtilaoa, aoachtilaoatimani, aoachtzetzeliuhtimani.

Auh quitoa, quilnach intla metl, ipan moquetza: ic macueçalicini, macoçauia, maoaqui, machichilini, motlatlanja, macuetlanja. No yoan quitoa, in iconac miecpa oalmoquetza: ic neci, çan ouel quiçaz, in quiauitl: quitoaia, çan ouel iazque in aoaque, ic quiçanque in tlaloque.

9. Etzalli: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 79.

10. Sahagún (Memorial de los ancianos) has green for xoxoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iiapaltic, quilpalli, and iiapalli. Alonso de Molina, in his Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), gives blue-green for quilpaltic and brown or black for iiapaltic. The second occurrence of this latter and of quilpalli is omitted in this translation. Molina translates xochipaltic as ruddy or rose-colored. In Memorial de los ancianos, Sahagún treats both chichiltic and tlapaltic as red. For tlaztaleoaltic, Molina has red or rose-colored. For matlaltic and matlalli, the Memorial has blue.

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sleep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uixachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

[785] Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and spattered the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and spattered it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

[782] Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *iztõnac*. Etc.

Ic ça miscauja, mocemmati in ontlachielotoc, in onitztotoc, in õnequechanotoc, uixachtecatl iicpac: isquich tlacatl vmpa ontlatenmati, õnotemachia, in quẽmanja uetzi tlequauitl, in quẽmania oalcueponi, oalpetzini. Auh in iccac, oquenteltzin vel uetz, in omopitz, in oxotlac: çatepan ic cuetlani, cueponi, nouiian õneci, oalitto in vẽca.

Niman ic muchi tlacatl monacaztectiuetzi, contlatzitzicuinilia isquichcapa in tletl: in manel coçolco onoc no connacaztequi, concuilia iniezço, contzitzicuinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca muchi tlacatl tlamaceoa,

ic coneltetequi, in jelpan ontlequauhtlaxoc, conelcoionja in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca iquaoac. etc."

Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pozzles. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new shirts and skirts.

Thus it was said that truly the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For thus it is ended; thus sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were decapitated, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense ladle, and raised it in dedication to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Thus was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth seed cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were bidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then captives and ceremonially bathed ones died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again fires were newly laid and placed.

And [in fire] the pregnant women, who had been feared, if any of them then gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born as her child, they named him Mixcóatl, Xiuhtlalpil, Xiuhtzinquí, Xiuhtli, Tezcatl, Xiuhtlatlac, Quetzalxiuh, Xiuhquen, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhnenetl, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcoyol, etc.

And when, in the time of Moctezuma, our years were honored, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] xiuitl. Wherewover [he was], this one was to be seized. And one was taken—a man from Uexotzinco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Inic matlactlomome, capitulo, vncan mitoa: in quenin in iaquich tlacatl, in icoac omocuic in iancuic tlad: auh in icoac, y, muchi tlacatl, quiikcuillaia in itlaquen, yoan in iaquich calitlaquitl.

Niman icoac, iaquich iancuiia, in calitlaquitl: . oquichtlatquitl, in cioatlaquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuetli, in icpalli: muchi iancuic in motenca, ioã in tenamastli, in tezolotl. No iquac iancuic nequentilo, nelpililo in tilmatli: in cioatl, iancuic omnaquia, in incue, in inuipil. 372

Ic mitoa, ca nel iancuic ompeoa in xiuitl: papacoa, netlamachtilo: yoan quitoaia, ca ic oquiz, ic oechtlalcaui in cocolitzli, in maianalitzli. Niman ic cocopaltemale, tlacotonale, tlenamaco: concui in tlemaitl, nauhcampa coniiaoa in itholoco, çaepan contema tlexicco, inic otlenamacoc copalli: [782]

nimã ic ic nocpan tzocuoalquale, vncan ic neçaoalittlalhuilo, inic aiac atlix, ic centlathuix: quincomomattiuiia in nepantla tonatiuh. Auh in oacic, nepantla tonatiuh, niman ic miqui in mamalti, yoan tlaltiti: quinicoac cempopacoa, tlitlaquale: icoac oc cenpa ikcuican netlitlecuilitilo, netlitlecuillalililo. [785]

Auh in oimacazoia oczti, istla aca icoac omixiuh, otlacachiuh: istla oquichtli iconcuh odlacat, quinocaiciuia mokpili, xiuhtlalpil, xiuhtzinquí, xiuhtli, tezxiuh, xiuhtlatlac, quetzalxiuh, xiuhquen. Etc.* Auh istla cioatl, xiuhnenetl, xiuhcue, xiuhcoçol. Etc.* [551]

Auh in icoac, ipan muchiuh motecuçoma, tuxiuhtoipilli omoca nouitlan ic tlanonoti, inic temoloc malli: in iaoca xiuitl, in çaço campa id mocc. Auh oc oxiuac tocpatzinoatl, tlaçopilli: iaoca xiuhtlamin, tlatlilco malli muchiuh: in tlamanj iaoca itocuin, auh ic tocaiotlac, ic nocualoc xiuhtlamimanaui: ca ichcatl 796 372 782

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3/4 [See cat. 116, p. 27 — Analyst]

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THE SEVENTH BOOK TREATETH OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS, AND OF THE YEAR OF JUBILEE

EL 7.° LIBRO TRATA DEL SOL Y DE LUNA Y ESTRELLAS Y DEL AÑO DEL JUBILEO.[19]

First Chapter, of the sun.

821 The sun hath the quality of shining and of lighting and of casting rays from himself. He is hot and he seareth; he maketh one sweat, and turneth a man's body and face dark brown or tawny.

El sol tiene propriedad de resplandecer y de alumbrar y de echar rayos de si. Es caliente y tuesta, haze sudar pa bosco o loro el cuerpo y la cara de la persona.

821 785 782 They celebrated a feast to the sun once each year in the sign named Four Olin. And before the feast they fasted four days as the vigil of the feast. And in this feast of the sun, four times they offered incense and blood from the ears—once at sunrise, another time at midday, at the vesper hour, and when [the sun had] set.

Hazian fiesta al sol vna vez cada año en el signo que se llama 4. olin. Y antes de la fiesta ayunavan quatro dias como vigilia de la fiesta. Y en esta fiesta del sol ofrecian encienso y sãgre de las orejas quatro vezes: vna en saliendo el sol, otra al medio dia, y a la hora de visperas y qñ se ponia.

Ytzcaliui. t. itzcaliubtica in noyollo: My heart is calmed, or rested, in love. Pret., oitzcaliuh. oitzcaliubticatca.

II.
ytzcaliui. t. itzcaliubtica yn noyollo. refriarse o declino mi coraçon en el amor. pt.° oitzcaliuh. oitzcaliubticatca.

Vel cen tecomatl in atl ocontzinouh: A whole gourd[full of water] was overturned while being drunk.

34.
Vel cen tecomatl ỹ atl ocontzinouh. trastornose vna xicara ẽtera beuiẽdola.

19. Sahagún (Pinto y Tuesman ed.), Vol. VII, pp. 177-215.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

821 And when he came forth in the morning, they said: "Now the sun starteth his work. How will it be? What will come to pass on this day?"

Y quando a la mañana salía decían ya comiença el sol su obra que será, que acontecerá é este dia.

And at sunset they said: "The sun hath ended his work, or task." Sometimes when the sun rieth, he seemeth blood-colored; and at times whitish; and sometimes he rieth sickly-hued because of the mist or the clouds which cover him.

Y a la puesta del sol, decían acabo su obra, o su tarea el sol. A las veces q̃ sale el sol pareçe de color de sangre: y a las veces parece blanquezino: y a las veces sale de color enfermizo por razon de las nieblas o de las nubes que se le afiponé.

When the sun is eclipsed, he turneth red; it seemeth that the sun becometh disquieted, or troubled; or he moveth to and fro, or he stirreth. And he turneth very yellow.

Quando se eclipsa el sol parase colorado parece que se desasosiega o se turba el sol, o se remueve, o rebuelve y amarillecese mucho.

821 When the people see this, they then raise a tumult.

Quando esto ver la gente luego se alborota.

785 And a great fear taketh them, and then the women weep aloud. And the men cry out, [at the same time] striking their mouths with [the palms of] their hands. And everywhere great shouts and cries and howls were raised. And then they hunted out men of fair hair and white faces; and they sacrificed them to the sun. And also they sacrificed captives, and they anointed themselves with the blood of their [own] ears. And, besides, they bored [the lobes of]

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Y tomaba gran temor, y luego las mugeres lloran a voces. Y los hombres dan gritos hiriendo las bocas con la mano. Y en todas pates se daná grandes bozes y gritos, y alaridos. Y luego buscavan los hombres de cabellos blancos y caras blancas: y los sacrificavan al sol. Y tambien sacrificavan captivos y se untavan con la sangre de las orejas: y tambien agujeravan las orejas con puntas de magueí y ponían zimbalos o cosas semejantes por los agujeros q̃ las puntas avian

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their ears with maguey spines and passed flexible twigs or the like through the holes which the spines had made. And then, in all the temples, they sang and sounded [musical instruments], making a great din. And they said: "If the sun becometh completely eclipsed, nevermore will he give light; eternal darkness will fall, and the demons will come down. They will come to eat us!"

hecho. Y luego por todos los templos cantauan y tañian haziendo gran ruido. Y dezian si del todo se acaba de eclipsar el sol nunca mas alumbrara ponerse han perpetuas tinieblas y descenderan los demonios vendran nos a comer.

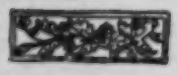

Second Chapter.

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When the moon newly appeareth, he seemeth like a thin, little curve of wire. He doth not yet shine. By little and little he goeth growing. On the fifteenth day he is full. And when now he is full, he cometh forth in the east at sunset. He seemeth like a great millstone—very round and very red. And as he goeth rising, he becometh whiter or shining. [There is what] looketh like a rabbit in the middle of him. And if there are no clouds he shineth almost like the

Capitulo Segundo

Quando la luna nuevamẽte nace, parece como vn arquito de alambre delgado aun no resplandece: poco a poco va creciendo. A los quinze dias es llena. Y qñ ya es llena sale por el oriente a la puesta del sol: parece como vna rueda de molino grande muy redonda y muy colorada. Y qñ va subiendo se para blanca o resplandeziente: parece como vn conejo en medio della. Y si no ay nubes resplandece casi como el sol, casi como de dia. Y d'spues de llena cõpli-

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tiltic in jmama, ioan qujmaaqujlia impocolcac iztac: njman ic qujmontlapachoa, qujmonizqujmjlloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tiltic omjcallo, ioan qujzonmaca icpaxiqujpilli, tiltic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli ontentiuh: njman ic no qujntlecauja cecenme, qujntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc qujntlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopuchtli qujpopochuja.

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SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oukqujçaia nauilhujtl.

Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapopochujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic qujoaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo zozoctic: njman ic no ceceiaca qujnoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj, ceceiaca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo.

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quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca qujmonujca in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia nauilhujtl, amo campa quiça, çan cheoxticate; in jcoac ic nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujmonana, qujntlacoaantiuj ixqujmjlhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh ceceiaca in jicpaxiqujpil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in qujntlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oaltemo tecpantiujtze, ixtlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: qujnjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça ceppa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

6. Impossible: impossible to means.
7. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has qujmonujca for qujmonujca.

643 644 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did they eat.

783 785 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iioaltica, in jcnac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan cencuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in icboantin teupixque papaoaque, qujntlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjçn ioualnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixquijmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izqujlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izquj-ioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[777] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonquixtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ic iuhquj in otzonqujz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj jn jnchan.

Auh in ic iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

643 527 648 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler made summons to a feast.

Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzaliztli, in ichoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn ꝛço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y ichoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli thlli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecucirtli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quizuiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [291] [276 415]

[534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, nimã yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiujtze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Glaubenswelt der Alt-Azteken, Volk in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form *ximoi*: "*Da es im Text durgängig bespichnet, die den Copalbeutel trugen, wird es sich um Priester handeln.*" The word *ximoimpoalli* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlüssel ist mit einer Schnur.*"

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called xoxouqui. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyac. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Text is repeated in the MS.

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Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in iuatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic mocetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaxquilia, ixpan qujmana in ixqujcan ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in ixqujch tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhqujn nececõquetzalo, iuhqujn in ioiolipã in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltizã, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa ixtiova in teuitoalco, injc vmpa necococololoz. Auh in ococenquixoac: njmã ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necococololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaieiecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aquin maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaxtaxel. Auh in aquin çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicuitlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, cacuilhujtequj, calticpa contopeoa, conchiccanoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacxiztiuh niac temacnaoati:

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[785]
[292]
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[628]

cenca ichoã tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiscatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintzacujliaia: auh in ie ixquich telpuxtzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocolteque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in motenoa in telpuchiaque, in oc ic nemj, in oc cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quintzaquaia: qujmjhuiaia, vmpa xiviã on nocne, anqujxiztitia, amo techizo.

[785]
[302]

[p. 52 is blank]

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16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

In both the above instances (or kinds of instances) actions of particular merit facilitated, at least, the acquisition of the title; but it could, also, be obtained:—

3. By the observance of rigorous and even cruel rites of "medicine" for a stated time, which put the courage, fortitude, and self-control of the candidate to the severest tests.[170] Although a detailed account of these rites might perhaps be withheld for a subsequent sketch of ancient Mexican worship, yet they equally deserve a place here.

The candidate appears to have been presented at the great central place of worship by the representatives of his kin, perhaps, also, by the other chiefs of his tribe. There he underwent four days and four nights of the most cruel torments. While but little nourishment was allowed him (some went even so far as not to eat anything at all during this time), his blood was drawn freely, and no sleep was permitted to settle on his weary eyes. From time to time he was exposed to taunts, to injurious words, to blows and even to stripes. While he was thus hungry and thirsty, weakened from loss of blood through self-sacrifice, others ate and drank plentifully before his eyes. Finally, his clothes were torn from his body, and with nothing on but the breech-cloth or diaper, he was at last left alone at the "calmecac," there to do the rest of his penance. When these four initiatory days were past, the candidate went back to his calpulli, to spend the remainder of the time (about a full year), in retirement, and abstinence, frequently attended with more or less self-inflicted bodily suffering. When the kin had secured the necessary amount of articles to be offered up in worship, or given to the medicine-men, officers, chiefs, and guests attending the installation, this final solemnity was allowed to take place, provided always that the courage and personal strength of the novice had not forsaken him. Another period of fasting, sacrifice, and torture, similar to the one at the opening of the career of preparation, closed the probation. Some of the ceremonies were again of the most trying nature. Finally the store of gifts was distributed; eating and drinking alternated with

ceas ya como caballeros, y tuvian divisas particulares por sus hazañas." . . . *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Suplique*," etc., 20 Nov., 1554. "*Troisième relation d'Ixtlilxochitl*," Appendix, p. 267). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens Iroquois*" *Jésuites au Nouv.*" (Ed "Burnett," p. 222). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156).

[170] *Sotomayor* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 479). "*Des Cérémonies observées*," etc. (pp. 222, etc.). *Mendieta* (p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX and XXX, etc.).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

555 solemn dances to the monotonous rythmic noise called Indian music.
● 785 The candidate was, at last, once more dressed in becoming apparel,
618 and could recuperate, being himself now the "feasted one."[171]

618 Men, however young in years, who had successfully endured such
554 great trials, certainly deserved to be looked upon thereafter as persons of uncommon fortitude. Hence indeed the chiefs or "tecuhtli" were particularly fitted for responsible offices of any kind. They were looked upon with deference, their voice was heard and listened to, and it is no wonder if higher charges, especially those of a military nature, were filled by such as had, in one way or another, achieved this distinction.[172] But no privilege was connected with their dignity, except that of wearing certain peculiar ornaments, and none was transmitted through them to their descendants.[173] That the "tecuhtli," besides, did

[171] For the above description of the formalities of creating a "Tecuhtli," I refer to the sources quoted in the preceding three notes. It is interesting to compare similar ceremonies used by the Indians of the Orinoco, *Gumilla* ("*Histoire*," etc., Vol. II, cap. XXXV). Of the Yncas, *Garcilasso de la Vega* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV to XXVI). *Cristoval de Molina* ("*An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas*," translated by C. R. Markham, in Hackluyt Society's Volume of 1873). "*Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas.*" *Herrera* (Dec. V, lib. III, cap. VII, p. 68, etc.). We are forcibly reminded of the words of the quaint old poet and soldier, *Alonso de Ercilla*.

"Los cargos de la Guerra, y prehemineneia
No son por linaje medios proveidos,
Ni van por calidad, ni por herencia,
Ni por hacienda, i ser mejor nacidos;
Más la virtud del brazo, y la excelencia,
Esta hace á los hombres preferidos,
Esta ilustra, habilita, perficiona,
Y quilata el valor de la persona."

("*La Araucana*." Parte Ia, Canto I°. Edition of 1735, p. 2).

[172] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161: "Los que tenian el dilado de Tecutli, tenian muchas preeminencias, y entre ellas era que en los concilios y ayuntamientos sus voces eran principales." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 426). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366). It should always be remembered, that the dignity of Tecuhtli appears most prominent in Tlaxcallan. This people however, was but a league, very similar to that of the northern Iroquois, only consisting of four, instead of six tribes. Among them, the peculiar nature of the dignity of chief became more evident than it was among the Mexicans to the Spaniards. But there is no difference between the "Tecuhtli" of Tlaxcallan, and the "Tecuhtli" of Mexico or Tescuco. That the head-chiefs of Mexico were always "Tecuhtli" themselves, previous to their election, needs hardly any proof. *Domingo Munoz Camargo* ("*Histoire de la République de Tlaxcallan*." Translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, in Vol. 28 and 29 of "*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*," 1843. See Vol. 28, p. 178, etc.)

[173] About the privileges of the Tecuhtli, compare *Gomara* ("*Conquista*" Vedia I, p. 426), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 161), *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 366), *Zurita* (p. 48, etc.). It is evident however, that the latter confounds the rank of chief with the particular office which might have been entrusted to him, else the "cultivation of lands" could not be included in the list of advantages derived from the position. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*," *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," etc., p. 225). Sr. Bustamante frequently copies *Zurita*. *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 128). In regard to the non-heredity of the dignity, I refer to the above authorities, and more especially to *A. de Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 49: "Lorsqu'un de ces chefs mourait, le prince accordait

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drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã ãqualli: ynic qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztiliaia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxiptla, qujtlamanjliaia: no ichoan in cioa tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, aca vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel aizque mjmatizque, toltecatizque, vellalalizque, vellacujlozque: in jpan intlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mãaltiaia, maujujzoaia, yn jquac neoalco, in vncan ilhujqujztililoia, chicome xochitl:

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And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla aca tlãmachchiuhquj, yneçaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã ãvilnemjx, ãvienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mãaviltiaia in tlamachchiuhque,

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It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

qujlmach ichoatl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquequeloaia in inteouh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia, zochiciujztli, palanjliztli:

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But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

auh in aqujn vel ontlamaceoa in vel monotza, ca oncã qujçaia, maviztia, momavizçotiaia, cana motztica, vel moietztica tepaltzinco in tẽc:

787x 286

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tõtoltecatiz, tlatlanemjliz, iõiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz: auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iaujlqujzca, iquequeloloca in qujmomacevisia.

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And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept; nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wandering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wish for public esteem — to become a mer-

Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujtica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelnezca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhquin ecatocoinemj, avic iatinemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atleti: ca nel iuhquj itonal, conjxtoca, ipan onmjxpor, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, texachti, tetlãtlavicalti, tecãcamanalhuj. Etc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan nẽia motlatlamotla, mone-

For, so was it said, he had fallen into great sin.[6] There rags and tatters lay strung out; there misery and orphanhood were the reward. And there was the great flood, the great crag, the pit, where there was a falling into the flood, or from the crag, or into the pit.[6] And there lay the snare, where one was snared.

So was it said of him to whom it so befell that his fate and merits had been good; only of his own will and by his own act he had harmed, destroyed, and ruined it, etc.

And if a woman were born upon the day One Flower, it was said that she would be an able embroiderer. But nevertheless, in order to gain her deserts, and to achieve skill in embroidering, she should do great penances, and fast, and draw blood when the day sign One Flower set in. But if she did not do penances, if she took not good heed, if her upbringing and training were not good, she herself harmed her day sign.

Likewise it befell her (as was told here) that her labors were in vain; she merited complete poverty and misery. Thus her deserts only came to an end, to naught; they became corruption. She became a harlot, a courtesan. She sold herself; she became a paramour. For it was said that just so was her day sign, One Flower; for it fell two ways. They said it was good and evil.

Also it was said that when One Flower set in, then began, continued, and was always held, a dance, a procession. But only Moctezuma in his own heart knew — [for] no one [else] determined — for how many days he established his dance. Perchance for forty days there would be dancing.

And that it might be known that a dance had been arranged, two poles with flowers were set up; they remained at the palace of the ruler. Thus was made known the day of the flowers: there would be enjoyment of and rejoicing over the day of flowers.

At that time the ruler determined and requested the kinds of song to be intoned — perhaps after the manner of those of Cuextlan,[7] the drunkards of Cuextlan;[8] or of Huexotzinco or Anahuac; or the merchants; or those of Nonoalco, or Coxcatlan; or of

ca iuh mjtoa, tlaalavi, tlapetzcavi, ãtlacacemellecan vncan vilantoc in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, vncã mãcenalo in jcnoiotl, in jcnotlacaiotl: auh vncan icac, in vei atoiatl, in vei tepexitl, in tlaxapuchtli, vncã neatoiavilo, netepexivilo, netlaxapuchvilo: ioan vncan manj in tzonoaztli, vncan netzonoaztvilo: 787X

ic mjtoa, in aqujn iuhquj ipan muchioaia, y, qualli ocatca: in jtonal, in jmãceoal, ça inêviian, ça onmonevianvi, in oconmjtlacalhuj, in oconmopôpolhuj, yn oconmotlaçolmjctili. Etc.

Auh intla aca cioatl, ipan tlacatia ce suchitl: mjtoaia, vuellamachchiuhquj iez: auh iece injc vel quicnopilhujz imãceoal, injc vel qujttaz tlãmachtli, cêcatlamaceoaia, moçaoaia, mjçoja in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl tonalli: auh intlacamo tlamaceoa, intlacamo vel monotza, intlacamo vellaoapaoalli, vellazcaltilli mochioa, çan no qujtlaueliaia yn jtonal: [785]

no iuhquj ipan muchioaia (in iuh omjto njcan) atle onquçaia, çan moch icnoiotl, netolinilizttli in qujmomaceviac auh injc ça ontlatzontia, ontlatzonquixtia, ça aujlquizcaiotl, in jnemac mochioa, aavienjti, maaujltia, monanamaca, motzitzinnamaca: ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal in ce suchitl, ca vme vitz qujtoa, qualli, ioã ãqualli.

No yoan mjtoa, in jquac moquetzaia ce suchitl: vncan oncempeoa, vncan vnmocemana, in muchipa macteoalo, netotilo, çan ice qujmati in Motecuçumã yiollotlãma aiac qujiocoia, in quezquilhujtl, qujtlaliz ymaceoaliz in aço vmpoalilhujtl manjz mãceoalizttli: 527 535

auh injc necia, ynjc temaceoalizttlalhujloia, vme suchiquavitl oalmoquetzaia, oalmomanaia tecpan, tlatocan: yc monextia in suchilhujtl, suchipacca, nexuchitlamachtilo:

vncã tlatlãtlamj, tlanenequj in tlatoanj, in catle cujcatl coneoaz, in anoço cuextecaiotl, tlaoancacuextecaiotl, vexotzincaiotl, anaoacaiotl, ottomecaiotl, nonoalcaiotl, coxcatecaiotl, tenjcaiotl, tepetlacaiotl, chichimecaiotl, metztitlancalcaiotl, otoncujcatl, quata- 527 533

5. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 191v: *dudung, dispensung in dubiyan*. See also fol. 210v.

6. Cf. also *loc. cit.* The passage is metaphorical.

7. Probably Huaxteca. (see, however, Sahagún (Cuelbay ed.), X, 29, 78-82 (cf. Vol. I, p. 9, for coloration system, so far used hereafter except in special issues).

8. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 7, 5.

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then
372 raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years—[the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
796 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion
●785 they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced
304 the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it
805 Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which
they divided into eighteen months, to each of which
796 they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and
443 during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mira, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y quinjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y quinjêtos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y quinjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinse años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrêtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziã su biserto, contando seis de nemontemj.

la otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en dezioche meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quja-

The sixth month they called Ezzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Ezzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuia: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes passado.

Chapter 6
Ezzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Ezzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *ezzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Ezzalqualiztli.

Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con alguno encõtrauã: tomauãlle quãto traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se defendia: maltrataulle de tal manera q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Ezzalqualiztli: todos hazã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Ezzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el seruicio dellos: castiguauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cativos y otros

1. Bilingual centuries begin the day one.

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CHAPTER VI

THE MAN AND THE TRIBE

In which are set forth the basic ideas of Aztec education, government, law and social customs

642 618 THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION of the Aztec tribes was in theory completely democratic. An individual was a member of a family which, in turn, belonged to a cluster of families or a clan.* Theoretically twenty of these clans made up a tribe, each of them regulating its own affairs but, in matters of tribal importance, joining with the others in a council composed of all the leaders. The council appointed one chief to control civil and religious affairs and usually a second for war. Originally designed for simple farming communities and presumably of an antiquity dating back to Middle Culture times, this organization later ramified into the governmental complexity of a populous and highly complicated city-state.[1]

844 The working of a community is best illustrated by the position of the individual in it, a process which is described in the third part of the Codex Mendoza. Immediately a child was born it was washed and swaddled by a midwife. Since 777 the gods governed the fate of man on earth, the parents con- 787 sulted a priest who looked in the *tonalamatl*,† or book of

*The term clan is used to mean a tribal division without connotation of male or female descent.

†To'-na-la-matl.

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fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four 787 777
days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate
the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved 553
to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction where- 777
by the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favor-
able period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque 553
over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the ac- 776
couchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God,
whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures.
The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools 553
which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the
motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her
pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name,
that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the
child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his
birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal,
like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor,
like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the
time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alter-
native animal title. Girls' names frequently were com-
pounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its pur- [862]
pose was to induct the child into the techniques and obliga- 861
tions of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which
handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in
adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized cul-
ture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers in-
structed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children
listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned
the uses of the household implements and performed minor
household chores.[2]

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726 strength of one tribe tried to rout the yelling horde of their adversary, and the first to run lost the battle. Captives were taken, tribute imposed, the temple burned, and the defeated group was then left alone again.

To attain victory more easily surprise attacks, sometimes implemented by a little treachery, were instituted. However, the cumbrous process of getting an army onto the field of battle usually prevented this favored method of warfare. More often the Tenochcas and their allies would feint with a screen of warriors, who would be easily repulsed in a pretended rout. The main body would wait in a place of concealment until the pursuing enemy came into view, whereupon they would charge out and demolish them. Losses were chiefly felt in the number of captives taken, since these short hand-to-hand combats were not very damaging to the man power of either side. [787] The capture of a chief or the recognition of a sign of evil portent was sufficient to demoralize an army and, despite their bravery and constant experience in warfare of this type, the Aztecs were little fitted to resist soldiers trained in European techniques.

723 There was rather more opportunity for strategy than for battle tactics. Considerable planning, as we have said, was necessary to move troops upon the field of battle. The Aztecs won campaigns in Oaxaca, Puebla, western Mexico and along the Vera Cruz coast, as far north as Tamaulipas.* Having to move step by step and to intimidate or win over town after town, they needed patience and knowledge of geographical and political conditions. One reason for the honor in which merchants were held was the information of this character which they could furnish from their travels.

*Ta-mow-le'e-pas.

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cal organization of the region as a whole was far from that of 642
an empire. In reality a multitude of independent city-states 648
seethed with intrigue and war and were further disunited by differences in language, dialect, physical type and geographic economy. An invader, with a strongly disciplined force small enough to live off the country and thus to stay in the field, could have an astonishing success, particularly if he had a taste for intrigue. Cortes, as events proved, was the ideal man for such a purpose, and he was further favored by the psychological reaction of the Aztecs to his arrival.

The years before the Spanish Conquest had, to the Aztecs, 787
been full of portents suggestive of future evil. There seems to have been in the air that same sense of paralysis that the French knew to their cost in 1939 and 1940. Montezuma, the war chief of the Aztecs and an amateur of witchcraft, had had an experience calculated completely to shake his nerve. He and Nezahualpilli, the chief of Texcoco, had fallen to arguing about the respective merits of their soothsayers, since the Texcocan held that strangers were going to rule the land of Anahuac. So convinced was Nezahualpilli of the [525]
correctness of his interpretation that he wagered his kingdom against three turkey cocks, the result to be decided by a ritualistic ball game with Montezuma. The latter won the first two games, but Nezahualpilli took the last three in a row. The defeat must have been disheartening to Montezuma, not only because he had so much to fear from the future, but also because his own experts had been held so cheap. (See Fig. 3.)

In close succession followed a series of phenomena, each bearing its message of woe to come. A column of fire was seen every midnight throughout the year; two temples were

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● 787 destroyed, one by a sudden fire, the other by lightning unaccompanied by thunder. A comet was seen by day, and sudden waves came up on the Lake of Texcoco. A sixth sign was a woman's voice crying, "My children, we are lost." Monsters appeared and were brought before the chief, only to disappear as soon as he had seen them. Most sinister of all

[532]

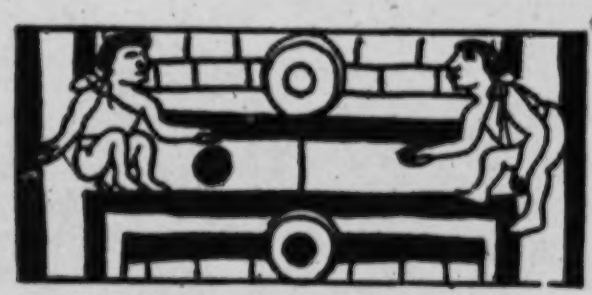

FIG. 3. The years before the Spanish Conquest had been full of evil omens for the Aztecs. To determine whether the dire predictions of Nezahualpilli, chief of Texcoco, were correct, Montezuma played and lost a ritualistic game of "basketball" with him as depicted above. *Codex Florentino*

was a bird brought in by some hunters. This bird had a mirror in its head, revealing the heavens, and when Montezuma peered at it a second time a host of armed men was disclosed. When the chief brought his soothsayers to witness this augury and to explain its significance, the bird flew away. Distorted as these occurrences seem to us, they must have had a most upsetting effect on the population of the Valley of Mexico.[2] (See Figs. 4, 28A–B.)

175 Consequently the emotional condition of the people was peculiarly receptive to the rumors, drifting in from the southeast, which told of four-legged monsters with human bodies issuing from their backs. As these strange beings moved up the coast Montezuma's spies and ambassadors began to bring

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

back more precise reports as to their nature, and even presents and messages for their chief. (See Fig. 5.) 175

[787 532]

FIG. 4. Montezuma views the magical bird in the head of which was a mirror, showing first the heavens, then hosts of armed men, foretelling, according to tradition, the Spanish Conquest. *Codex Florentino*

The strangers were human, for they were vulnerable, receiving wounds and dying from assaults upon them. They had new and strange weapons, noisy and lethal, for cannon, muskets, crossbows and steel swords were unknown to the Aztecs. Also novel and dreadful adjuncts of war were the horses and the savage mastiffs of the Spaniards. In battle the strangers were invincible, operating in a manner completely

[532]

FIG. 5. The Spaniards land in 1519 at the site of Vera Cruz. Their ship and equipment are carefully shown. At the right, Malina, Cortes' interpreter, is conducting his diplomacy on a mission. *Codex Florentino*

the diapendujqui, who is reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the pictures [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting: the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been secured."

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the mother, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[39] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, when day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[40] brought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer was there. Or penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Mother, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secret.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou cannot [to the god], whatever thy secret, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatsoever way thou art moved, in whatsoever manner it is, whatsoever thou hast done, whatsoever thou hast achieved, whatsoever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Otherwise, poor fool: thy vices, thy wrongdoings; [or perhaps] thy evil odor, thy corruption.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatiniz, yn jnnac mauj, yn amatli, yn tlacujlolli: in quijnjx 776
yn tlilli, yn tlapalli, yn matlia, yn pinla, yn nemoanilo, yn 793
ayajyo 783

yn mojpiolaoaz in tlapilchiuale; achto quijtlacaquijtia in tlapeuhquj, quijlhuja.

Ca yuchcauac ajnantlamaquj, yn tlacatl, yn tonccujo, in tlaqui nacaqui: in tonccujo, yiualli, yn ehecatl, yuqcaia, yyetlacaletia, ajnoccnitlamaquj.

Quijlhuja in tlapeuhquj: ximoolacaxelli:

quijnacatia, yn iquja ollac: quijqpeno in tonalli, quijtia [787]
yn jnnac, yn jtlacujlol: quijta, yn iquj: qualli tonalli, yn
iccua, in qualcan: mjnac: quijnualquenja.

Auh yn ic yquac, in ic yuacatlipan, inccujc petlatl quicua: yuan copalli, yuan quauijtl: yn tlamaxiui in tlamocuhquj, qan ichan yn mocichnolaca, in ueupa ichi in tlapeuhquj. Auh mocx teujc iuch, in tlamocuhquj:

inccujc petlatl in mocua, vellachpano yn vecan motlalia; yuan tlelelilo: ajnnan copalli cuecuua in tlaco in tlapeuhquj, [788]
quijnoua in tlel; quijlhuja.

Teteu yuan, teuu yuia, veuc uutl, ajcan ollacia, in cujtlapilli, yn ualopalli, yn macuualli: ajcan chocaiujca, tlaccuiujca, mocuepachujca, ancan omalaxh, ancan omocuepolanij, ancan ouijnanjc yn vialallol, in tocatzualli, yn qocanjd: aqui ininlacca, quijnequjpachoa, Tlacacia, tonccujoa, tlaqualo nacaqualo, maxcqo xicmocujli, ma xicmocaquji, yn jnnelamachilli yn macuualli.

Niman quijnoua, yn mocichnolaxhquj, in ichaual tlapeuhquj: quijlhuja.

Tlamoiuiccatia yujcoiuica, iuqaccuica, in tlaqui nacaqui; tlamolhujlica, tlamomaquilica, yn mjaca, in mopolanca: tlamolhujlilica, in mocuep, inmocpolacal,

a ma ac cappa ich ajcan tlamaxiuij, tlamopaxiuj: ma iquaccuica xicmopolaca, xicmomaxiuij, in tlaqui, nacaqui, in tonccujo, in iualli, in ehecatl.

A cujx tlelacaxiuia in tonccujo, a cujx ajnnelacaxiuia: ca iualli, ca ehecatl.

Auh yujx quen tlaqui, ma xicchapo in motop, in mopolacal: ma xicqui in tonccujlio, in motlachiual, yuan quenja tlamati, yuan quenja cuh: in quenja mochich, in quenja ic: in quenja tlachich, in mocuepal, in mocuepanjuc:

xicmopaj, xicpolaaj, in motlaxtica, in mopaxtica, in mjaca in mopolanca.

Auh xicmolacaxiuchilli, yn tonccujo, in tlaqui nacaqui,

39. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Sahagún, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

40. Cf. corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of *yualli, ehecatl* (1) "noche, dia y sudido"; and (2) "dia sucidio sin tempo . . . inquietado, y fatigado y cansado y indispuesto, por cosas viciosas [sobre viciosas . . .]" Angel Maria Garibay K, *Llave del náhuatl* (Colombia, Editorial n. p., 1940), p. 113, translates *tlaqui nacaqui* as "que está carne y pecado"—the man, God in general.

41. Cuecuia suggests that penance refers to the penitent.

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's down headband in red eyes, and a cape of earring with snail-shells.[75] He hence ornaments had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chilly earplug; his shield was shell-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for swing was in his hand. [He was upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

ypanohquamocuechil, mamaia, yeuechin, ielpanecuqui cyli 776
tecuelaelapanqui yn jnaiac: yn jnechichiual, yniçaxacuch,
yniçachiual, omapaio, ytlachinia ymac caxca, ynelicpal,
ocuqalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which treats of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-scamper (Tlalocatzin).[76]

Jnic castolli vcc capitulo ynchpa tlacua, in teuil yn jnaca, caxca, ixtlilton, tlalocatzin.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlamilolcan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teuil caxca, qan quavid yn jnenpan caxca, yncuaican tlacujlocan: in vacan ynenpan, mjec yn apanti, tecuacuitamaca, mamaxinia ixtlilauh.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aquje mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa quijcjcaia yn 776
jnenpan ixtlilton: cenxel, quijtlapouia yn apanti, conjciaia 757
yn jxtlilauh; ic panio in piltontli.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a vase, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aquje quijtoia, cepaltica in cmamaia, ynic 776
quijxicaia ychan yn jnipala: qan tlacatl in machichiuia. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and drink was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Jn oncic ychan, tlatoia, teyouia: ynnan tlatlaquaio, 776
atlua: yn otlaquaioc, ynnan mjtoia, yn jxtlilton: yn 716
omjtoti, yn omacrah, calitic: oncalaquj: inhuel quijtapoa in vcti, navilhujtica tecutimaca: ic mjtoia, tlaiocaapoia, vitzmana. [273]

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Ninan ye vmpana, yn ic tlaoana: oc cepa calquijca ixnaio, quijtapoa yn jxtlilauh, no tzacutimaca navilhujtica: ic macujlilhujtl in quijtapoa:

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said parchment he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a sorcerer, he who had the dance. Then they confronted and reproached him openly. Then they said [the god] scowled because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic momomaia, ixnia tlaçolli, yanla tocatzacalli, yanla tzontli, ixnia tecalli, vacan vetzoc: ic mjtoaia, aço 787
tolaxima, aço ichoc, anoço ahavilnanj, mahavilia: ac aço tlacacomalla, in tlatoia, ic quijmoelaia, quijxtomaia, quijpanoia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tonepanila monoca: ixnica, ca quijnicomaca, quijniqapania, ic teinnopila, yn tetlatlacol.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called *ixpaxo* (face-covering).[78]

Auh yniic calquiça ychá, quachili yn quijnacaia panocaxio, ixpaxo. [292]

Then was [Ixtlilton] bedaghe: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic machichiuaia, mopac, momonjxtlilquapan, mjxi- 776
çaxtolli, yn jxnaqui: tonpaquichiqujlo, quauvilla,

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75. For descriptions, see Hernández and see in Sahagún: Carmenatio Alfabetíquegos, Vol. II, pp. 313 and 320; and also Hernández as (Chapter 1) —Plate 19.

The mere mention of earrings (the natural caps or mantles, with snail-shells fastened where the ears crossed. The *chalchuites* and the *mexapanil* were presumably the same as similar. Sahagún: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 1, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "un ornamento de un palmo en que iba, hecho en cada cabo, el qual llamaban yanahilin, cuando eran unos cuadros de algodón a los pechos. . . ."

76. *God of medicine*. Tlalocatzin (or *tlalocatzinti*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tzontzin*. Cf. Seler: *Codex Laud*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 319: ". . . *los que mantenían borracheras los mayores y hacían vino de ello, que es llamado octli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*es este abrimiento, llamamos tlalocamapalli, quiere decir, este es abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *mamapalli*, see Sahagún, op. cit., p. 37, for a definition of *mamapalli*.

78. ". . . *durando todos los quales llamaron ixpaxo: que quiere decir, cubrimiento de la cara: porque quedaban, como pegados, aquel que mejor hacía, la fiesta . . .*" Loc. cit.

λ 796 priests] pretended playing [musical instruments], singing, and dancing before them.

● [787] When they took the children to be slain, if they wept and shed many tears, those who carried them rejoiced, for they took [it] as an omen that they would have much rain that year.

λ 796 727 Also in this month they slew many captives in honor of these same gods of the water. They slashed them first, [with their swords,] fighting them as they were tied upon a stone like a mill wheel; and when they threw them down, wounded, they carried them off to tear their hearts from them in the temple which was called Yopico.

When they slew these captives, their owners—they who had taken them—went gloriously arrayed in feathers, dancing before them and showing their valor. This continued through all the days of this month. In this feast were enacted many other ceremonies, which are set down at length in its telling (*fol.* 15).

10 g yuan adornadas con plumajes, y con *g 11*
11 A flores: yuan tañendo, cantando, y bay- *A 12*
12 b lando delante dellos *b 13*
13 c Quando lleuauan a los niños a *c 14*
14 d matar: si lloraua, y echauan muchas *d 15*
15 e lagrimas, alegrauanse los, que los *e 16*
16 f lleuauan: porque tomauan pronostico, *f 17*
17 g de que auian de tener, muchas aguas *g 18*
18 A este año. *A 19*
19 b Tambien en este mes: mataua *b 20*
20 c muchos cativos, a honra de los mismos *c 21*
dioses del agua: acuchillauanlos primero peleando cõ ellos, atados sobre vna piedra, como muela de molino, y desque los derrocauan acuchillados: lleuauanlos a sacar el coraçon al templo, que se llamaua, iopico.

Quando mataua a estos captiuos: los dueños dellos, que los auian captiuado, yvan gloriosamente atauiados cõ plumajes, y baylando delante dellos, mostrando su valentia. Esto passaua por todos los dias, deste mes. Otras muchas cerimonias, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la larga, en su historia. fo. 15.

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que quijere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

796x [805 776]

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a sweet youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Mengland [illegible] September 1st [illegible].

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjztli.

Cinco dias antes que començanse este mes: cessauan todas las fiestas y regozijos del mes pasado entrando este mes, baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de mugeres con ella: especialmente las medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos vandos y peleauan apedreandose con pellas de puchtli y con hojas de tunas y ſoſ pellas hechas de hojas de cañas, y con flores que llamã cempoalxochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro dias.

Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras desta calidad: procurauan que aquella muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal agouero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, atauja[illegible]nla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la llevauan para que durmjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo rebuen vestiase el pellejo.

Este que vestia el pellejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acompañan-

[534 535] [754] [524 137] [787]

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del biesexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796x 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- A 28
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que b 29
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos c 30
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- d 31
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoqujch, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

[551] [578] [787]

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named nauí ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio mataua captiuos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796x [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the scribes celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las lebrõleras ayunauã quarẽta

785 796x 463

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treszena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y arcytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796x [314] [289 778] [565] [666 431 721]

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que trataua en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to fasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauale, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

X 796 feathers, and in these [the children] were kept. And they were sounding flutes for them.

All mourned much; men wept for them; men loosed their tears for them; they mourned them and they groaned.

And when they reached the place of vigil, in the Mist House,[16] here was spent the night in vigil. Vigil was kept for them by the priests and the *quaquacuilai*,[17] who were the old priests. [And if] any of the priests separated themselves from them, they were called *tocoxahque* (they who are abandoned); no longer did [such an one] join others in intoning chants; no longer was he needed; no more was he counted [among them].[18]

[787] And if the children went crying, their tears coursing down and bathing their faces, it was said and understood that indeed it would rain. [For] their tears signified rain. Therefore [men] were joyful; thus were their hearts at rest. Hence they said: "Verily, soon rain will set in; yea, now soon we shall have rain."

[787] And if one who was dropsical was [met] somewhere, they said: "It will not rain for us."

And when the rains were about to end, when they were soon to finish, to close, then the *cuitlacochin* bird cried—a forecast that continual, soft rain was about to set in. Then came the gulls. And also came the falcons, flying with much clamor. And they forecast when would come the ice, and that it would freeze.

And at the time called Quauitl eua, there on the round sacrificial stone appeared and came into view all those who were to be sacrificial victims.[19] And of those who were thus to die, it was said: "They raise poles for the striped ones." They were brought to Yopico, [Xipe] Totec's temple. There they made them fight in mock battle, in the same manner as they would later die, [when] they would tear their hearts out of them. They counterfeited this with them. [Using] *xerillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime [as mock-hearts], they thus cut their hearts out.[20]

amaamatlapaloque: tlapechtica in vicnia, quetzalcalloiuja, yn vncã momaniuja, quintlapichilitiuja:

cenca tlatlaocultiaia, techoctiaia, techoquiztimaia, teicnotlamachtiaia, yn ca cicicioaia.

Auh yn oxitiloque toçacan, aiauhcalco, vncan ceiooal toçaujlo, quintoçaviia tlamacazque: yoan in quaquacuijti, ichoan in ie veuetque tlamacazque. Auh in tlamacazque, yn o ceme ontetlalcaujque, motocaiotiaia mocauhque: aocmo tecujcananamiquj, aoccan onmonequj, aoccan onpeuale.

Auh in pipiltzizintli, intla chocatiuj, intla imixaio tstocatiuh, intla imixaio pipilcatiuh, mitoaia, motenecoaia, ca qujiauiz: yn imixaio qujnezcaiotiaia, in qujiaujtl, ic papacoaia, ic tziollo motlalinia: iuh qujtoa, ca ie moquetzaz in qujiaujtl, ca ie tiquijiaujlozque.

Auh intlacana ca, ytixiuhquj, q'toaia, amo techqujiauilotla.

Auh yn ie qujçaz qujiaujtl, yn ie tlamiz yn ie itzonco: njman ie ic tlatoa in cujtlacochi, ynezca, ynic ujtz, inic moquetzaz tlapaqujiaujtl: njman oalhuj, pipizcãme: no yoã oalhuj necujlicti, tletlecton, tzatzitinemj, ynezca ie uitz in cetl, ie cenetziz.

Auh ynic mjtoaia quauitl eua: vncan necia, vncan onjxnecia, yn izqujntin oacanozque temalacac: yoan in quexqujch çan miquiz, motenecoaia qujnquavicteoaltiaia yn oacanti: vmpa ovico yiopico, yn itcupan Totec: vmpa qujntlaiecalviaia, in quenjn miquizque, qujmelteqoja: çan oc qujntlaioculiaia: iotlaxcalli, anoço iopitlaxcalli, ynic qujmelelteqoja.

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16. In *loc. cit.*, *ciuatlaolco* is described as "un emplazamiento que estaba frente a [illegible] de la parte del occidente."

17. *Quaquacuilli*. In Seler's *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 17, it is suggested that the meaning of the term is probably "he who is chosen as the head." In Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, tr.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 110, n. 2, the translators render the term *premier de chef*.

18. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún explains in greater detail: "El oficio de los sacerdotes del templo, y como el Sacerdote quaquacuilli, y los viejos se hacían a sus cosas, y no llegaban a llamarse unos de otros, los oficios temporales por informes, y cadáveres de ningún oficio publico: de ay adelante llamaríanles sacerdotes, que quieren decir desechados."

19. *Quauitl*. According to Seler, the meaning is "the striped tree," or, more freely, the sacrificial [illegible] for sacrifice. See op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94; Vol. II, Pt. 1, pp. 161, 162; and Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 23. See also Appendix to this volume, pp. 176, 190.

20. *Ixitlaxcalli*. See Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book 2—*The Gods* (Santa Fe: School of American Re-

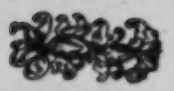

X 796 **Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the honors paid, and of the blood offerings which were made, in the second month, which was called Tlacaxipeualiztli.**[1]

[722] Tlacaxipeualiztli. This feast came and was thus celebrated; [it was] when all the captives died, all those taken in war—the men, the women, the child-ren.[2]

Those who had taken captives, when, on the morrow, their prisoners were to die, then began the captives' dance, when the sun had passed noon. And they held an all-night vigil for their prisoners there in the tribal temple. And they placed [the captives] before the fire[3] and took hair from the top of the captives' heads, when half the night had passed and when they made offerings of blood from the ear.

And when the dawn came, then they made them leave, that they might go to die, they who were to die appropriately to this feast day. For during the entire festival they were all flayed. Hence they called [the feast] Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And the captives were called *xipeme* and *tototecti*.[4] Those who slew them were the priests. Those who had taken them captive did not kill them; they only brought them as tribute, only delivered them as offerings;[5] [the priests] went laying hold of their heads, [and seizing the hair of] their heads. Thus they went leading them up to the top of the temple.

And when some captive faltered, fainted, or went throwing himself upon the ground, they dragged him.

And when one showed himself strong, not acting

Jnic cempoali oze capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tlamauiztlilitztli, yoan in nextlacualiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan vel ic vnterl metztli, in mjtoaia, tlacaxipeoalizttli.

Tlacaxipeoalizttli: ynin ilhuitl quçaia: suh inic muchioaia, iquac miquja, yn ixqujch malli, yn jxqujch tlaaxitl, yn ixqujch haxioac: yn oquichtli, in cioatl, yn ixqujch piltzintli.

Jn maleque, in ie iuh muztla miqujzque in malhoan, iquac peoa, in momalitotia, in ie onmoxicaloa tonatiuh: auh ceiocal qujtoçtuja yn jmal, in vncan icalpulco: yoan vncan qujtzoncuj, iquaiolloco, tecuilixquac qujtlalia, iquac in ioalli xeliuj, neçaoalizpan.

Auh in ooallauic, vncan conecoaltia, inic mjquj-tiuh: in miquja vel ipan in jlhujtl: auh vel iuh cemjl-hujtl muchinti qujnxipeoaia, xipeoaloia: ic mjtoaia tlacaxipeoalizttli.

Auh in mamalti motocaiotiaia xipeme, yoan toto-tecti: in temictiqia, ichoantin in tlamacazque: amo ichoanti qujnmictiaia in maleque, çan tequjtl qujn-oncaoaia, çan tequjtl temac qujmoncaoaia, qujnqua-temotzultzitzqujtiuj, inquatla qujmantiuj, ynjçpac qujmantiuj, ynic qujntlecauja teucalticpac.

Auh yn aca malli, vel çotlaoa, iolmiquj, ça chacha-pantiuh, ça qujvilana:

auh yn aca vel muchicaoa, amo mocioatlamachtia,

1. This most spectacular of ceremonies—the flaying of men—was said by Fray Diego de Durán to have been invented by Moctezuma I's general Tlacaélel. See *Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España y las islas de Tierra Firme* (José F. Ramírez, ed.; México: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867), Vol. I, p. 174. Miguel Acosta Saignes, in *Tlamaitipeualiztli, un complejo mesoamericano entre los aztecas* (Caracas: Universidad Central, 1950), passim, argues that it is an ancient complex and in various aspects very widespread.

In Mexico, as elsewhere in a spring festival, celebrated when the soil was prepared for planting, it well recognized. Those who were the human victims represented the renewal of vegetation. Cf. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71. See also Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 27-8, where, besides, origin of the ceremony in Guerrero or Oaxaca is suggested.

2. Clavigero (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 149) adds that "*algunos de estos sacrificados salían con los hombros de oro y plata que eran condenados por la ley del reino a semejante suplicio.*"

3. Seler (*Gesamt Kapitel*, p. 62) translates thus: "*legte es*"—the hair—"*vor dem Feuerherde nieder*"; Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*puesto al fuego hacían este ceremonia.*"

4. "The flayed" (*xipeme*) and "those who die for the honor of our god Tezcatlipoca" (*tototecti*). See corresponding Spanish text, which also says: "*Todos los pulperos de los desollados, o estatuas muertas matadores, a los quales llamaban tototecti.*" Francisco Pomar y Troncoso, in *Descripción Histórica y Expositiva del Codice Pictórico de los Antiguos Nahuas. . . .* (Florencia, 1899), p. 109, writes: ". . . Xipotec ó Tototecuitlatl; es decir: los que eran vestidos con la piel del dios Xipe Tótek, puesto sobre la piel del desollado, la cual atandaba al cuerpo desnudo, para celebrar después con el traje y los adornos propios del dios. . . ."

Besides being worn as described, the skins are said by Ixtlilxóchitl to have been used to forecast a year's dry year, and the chiefs directed agricultural work accordingly.—George Kubler and Charles Gibson: *The Tovar Calendar*, Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 20 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 22.

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5. Sahagún, in the Spanish text, definitely states that the captive was delivered to the priest by the captor.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a floor of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his feet; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[2] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still.

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzinec, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coxlekoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec quipapaxtiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia.

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaxano, tlatlacoanalo, in vyventzizin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh qujtoaia, qujlmach qujcxipaca.

Auh in oacic ic nauilhujtl, vncan omtlamj, in acmistemalistli: iquac qujtepeos in acxoistl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teotl eco, in ie ic oeslamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in qujchioaia, ioteztli, qujtepitztlalisia, qujpachoaia, iacaltic injc qujtlaliaia, petlapã in comtlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, qujcencacoaia, oemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta ioteztli, motenoa: icxi.

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, ioteztpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza ioteztli, texxitinj: njmã ic neti, ca ohecoque in teteu:

njman ic qujualitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maxtimoquetza in tlapitzalo, qujtzacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu.

Auh in jnquich macoualli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanaque intenpã, in intecupan diablome: çã moche in tlapokolli, in qujmanjlia:

auh in oatlachmanalec, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie ioan: çan ie no iei in quichioa, tlachanoa in vventzizin, in jlamatzitzin, qujlmach, qujmjcxipaca in ohecoque teteu.

Auh in jmatlaioc, iquac hecoa in Jacapitzinec, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca itenoah caxca, yua in Iacoçauh-

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2. The word ololiztli is explained by Molina (op. cit., p. 107): "Ololiztli, quel que rompe la hoja redonda como ololiztli [shield]."—"Ololiztli, cosa redonda como hoja, o pedazo de cosa redonda de hoja de maíz."

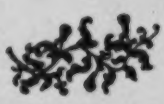

Tenth Chapter, which telleth of still another work of magic which this same sorcerer brought to pass, by which he cast a spell on Tula.

Behold also how the devil brought evil to Tula.

It is said that a white hire, with wounded head pierced by an arrow, flew by, passing to and fro over the Toltecs, not far [above] them. It kept nearing the earth as it flew back and forth. They saw it clearly as they stood and lingered looking upward.

Behold too yet another act of sorcery which was taken as an evil omen for the Toltecs. It is said that a mountain, called Çacatepetl, burned. By night, it was evident from afar how it burned. The flames rose high. When the Toltecs saw it, they became very restless; they raised their hands to heaven; there was great anxiety. All cried out, all shouted together. No longer was there tranquillity; no longer was there peace. And when they saw this omen of evil, they said: "O Toltecs, now is all in truth going [from us]; already the power of the Toltecs goeth. Yea, we are forsaken. What shall we do? Whither shall we go? O unhappy we! Let us take heart!"

Behold yet another act of sorcery. It is said that stones rained on the Toltecs. And when the stones rained, then a large sacrificial stone fell from the heavens; there at Chapoltepecuitlapilco[1] it came falling down. And afterwards a little old woman lived there. She sold [paper] flags; she walked about saying: "[Here are] your little flags." And any desired to die said: "Buy me one," and thereupon went where the sacrificial stone was. None asked: "What now dost thou do?" They were as if lost.

Injc mauhcitli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj tetzavitl, in ça ic no ichoatl quichiuh nacalli, injc tlatetzanvi tullij. 539

Inca yoan injc tlatetzāvi in tlacateculotl, in tullan, quilmach istac cuixi, tlatzontectica mjntinenca, patlantinenca, mocanauhtinenca, in jnpan tulteca amo veca in quitztinenca in tlalli injc mocanauhtinenca, vel quijttaia acopa conitztivenca, conacopaitztinenca.

Jaca yoan oc cētlamantli in tetzavitl, in jntetzauh mauchiuh in tulteca, quil centetl tepetl itoca çacatepetl tlatlaia, in icoaltica, veca necia, injc tlatlaia in tlecuçallotl veca icoaia, in iquac quijttaia tulteca, vel mocomoniaia, macomanaia, maltinoquetzaia, in netzvitecoia, in netenpapaviloia, aoc tlatlaca mamanca, aac yvian icloaia, auh injc quittaia itla tetzavitl, quitoaia, Tultecaie ca ie izquich ca ietivi, ie iauh in tultecaiotl, ca otitlatlatzivitique quēnel campanel tiauque, o totlavelitic, ximellaquacacā. [181]

Inca oc centetl in tetzavitl: quil inpan tequijauh in tulteca, auh in otequijauh, çatepan oaltemoc ilhujcacpa centetl vej tecbcatl vmpa in chapoltepecujtlapilco in vetzico, auh çatepan, onnenca illamato, papannamacaia, quitotinēca ma amopetzin, auh in aquique, momiquitlanja quitoaia ma xinecbconcvi, nimian ie ic iauh in vmpa ca tecbcatl, aiac quitoaia in tlein ie tay inhequja otlapoloā.

1. Chapoltepecuitlapilco, an eminence, see Clavigero, Storia del Messico, p. 198. Presumably the place was near Chapultepec, today a suburb of Mexico City. Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) regards another as a place name (Tlatelolco), an alternative name of Chapultepecuitlapilco.

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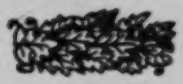

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

Inic nauí Capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

The Comet

It was said [to be] an omen for the ruler. Because of it a ruler was to perish; perchance some person of noble lineage would die. And likewise they said that somewhere he might be imprisoned, or war would begin. Or else there would be famine. The common folk said: "Perhaps this is our hunger; perchance famine," they said.

Citlalin popoca.

Mitoa: tlatocatetzauitl, ic tlatocamicoaz, aço aca uey tlaçopilli ic mjquiz: yoan no quitoaia, aço cana ic oalmoztacoaz, aço ic olinjx teuatl tlachinolli: yoan anoço ic maianaloz. Quitoaia in macoualti: aço tapiz hi, aço apiztli quitoa.

821
787

The Shooting Star

It was said that the passing of a shooting star rose and fell neither without purpose nor in vain. It brought a worm to something. And of [the animal] wounded by a shooting star, they said: "It hath been wounded by a shooting star; it hath received a worm." [Such] was not to be eaten. It was looked at with fear, abhorred, and shunned. It turned one's stomach.

Citlalin tlamina.

Mitoa: amo nenquiça, amo nēuetzi, in itlamjnaliz: tlaocuillotia. Auh in tlamintli, mitoa: citlalmjnqui, ocuillo, aocmo qualo, mauhcaitto, tlaelitto, hihielo, tetlaiektia.

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And by night all were well protected. All covered themselves; they clothed themselves, wrapped themselves in mantles, and bound on their garments, for fear of the shooting star.

Auh in iocaltica vel nemalhuilo, neololoto, netlapacholo, nequentilo, netlalpiliio: imacazo in itlaminaliz citlalin.

821

The S-Shaped Stars

[These] were apart; they appeared by themselves, shining and shimmering. And for this reason were they called S-shaped stars—that they were similar to and very much like a [kind of maize] tortilla which was made, or an amaranth seed tortilla. [These] were, at both ends, twisted and rounded over. They were eaten on the day Xochitl, everywhere, in each house. In all places, in men's dwellings everywhere, they were made.

Citlalxuecuilli.

Çan iioca onoc, iioca neztoc, tlanextitoc, cuecuepocatec: Auh inic mitoa, citlalxuecuilli: ca quinenecuilia, vel no iuhqui centlamantli tlachichioalli tlacalli, anoço tzocalli: nenecoc, cecentlapal quacoltic, quatcuilacachoic: xuchilhuitl ipan in quaqualoia, nouiian cecencalpan: quitzacutimanca, in nouiian techchan nechxilloia.

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The Scorpion Stars

In the same manner, [these] resembled and appeared in the aspect of the venomous scorpion, with upcurved tail. Arched and upcurled is its tail; wherefore [these] are called the Scorpion Stars.

Citlalcoiotl.

Çan no iuhqui: quinecuilia, quinamiqui, in itlachichiliz tequani coiotl: cuitlapilocoltic, mamalacachtic, tetoxilacachtic in jcuitlapil: ipampa inic mitoa citlalcoiotl.

821

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[725]

men make certain burns on the wrist in honor of those stars. They said of him who was not marked by those burns that, when he died, there in hell they would produce fire on his wrist, drilling it as those do who here drill fire with the stick.

maduras quando se muriese q̃ alla en el infierno avian de sacar el fuego de su moñeca barrenãdola como qñ aca sacã el fuego del palo.

821
787

The star Venus these people named Citlalpol or Uey citlalin, and they said that when it riseth in the east it maketh four assaults. The [first] three times it shineth little and hideth again; and at the fourth it cometh forth with all its brightness and followeth its course. And they say of its light that it is like that of the moon. On its first assault they held it an omen of evil, saying that it brought sickness with it. And therefore they shut the doors and windows so that its light might not come in. And sometimes they took it as a good omen. And at the beginning of the time that it started to appear to the east, they slew captive men in reverence to it, and offered it their blood, spattering it toward [the star] with their fingers.

A la estrella de venus la llamaua esta gente citlalpul, vey citlalli y dezian que quando sale por el oriente haze quatro arremetidas, y a las tres luze poco y bueluese a asconder: y a la quarta sale con toda su claridad y procede por su curso. y dizen de su luz que parece a la de la luna. En primera arremetida tenianla de mal aguero diziendo que traya enfermedad consigo, y por esto cerrauan las puertas y ventanas porq̃ no entrase su luz. Y a las vezes la tomavan por buen aguero. Y al p'ncipio de tẽpo que començaua a aparecer por el oriente matauan hõbres captiuos por su reverencia, y ofrecianle la sangre salpicando hazia ella con los dedos.

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

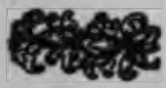

Fourth Chapter.

821 The comet these people called *citlalin popoca*, which meaneth smoking star. They held it as a prognostication of the death of some prince or a king, or of war, or of hunger. The common folk said: "This is our hunger."

[787]

Llamaban esta gente a la cometa. citlalin popoca que q. d. estrella que humea: teníanla por pronostico de la muerte de algun principe o rey, o de guerra, o de hambre. La gente vulgar decia, esta es n/a hambre.

The fla[illegible]g [tail] of the comet these people called *citlalin tlamina*, which meaneth, the star cometh a dart. And they said that that dart always fell upon something living—a hare, or a rabbit, or some other animal; and wherewhere it would go, a worm was then formed. Wherefore that animal was not to be

A la influencia de la cometa, llamaban esta gente citlalin tlamina que q. d. la estrella tira saeta y decian que siempre q. aquella saeta. caya sobre algun animal liebre o conejo o otro animal, y donde iria luego se criaba un gusano. Por lo qual aquel animal no era de comer. Por esta causa prohibian esta gente de

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the sung house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Cinacatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Coaxomulnalaxcan, Çocollan, Teoxomulnalaxcan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Ixtlaxomocuillan, Atepec, Micchan, Tlemaxac,[4] Napalan, Itztec tlalocan, Cuetlan, Quetzalxopec, and Chichinaltenocalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun come

cazmolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maiaxalistli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian tepan cemuan in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in maiaxalistica. 175 [731]

Çil no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlaelnapaloa, queuh veiah noquexstepole uel xomjotia, xalli tiuetzinoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachiztli in Españoles. [787]

Çil no ichoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho..ia qujtoaia. Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no ichoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocolizztli, njman motocac yitoalco ipan qujtemacaque, ic iuh nauilhuitl motocac in cihoatl micoquj moxcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in vncan motocaca tlatlacaco motlapo, auh in tetl ic motemanca vêca veuetzito: auh in ichoatl cihoatl in oiuh moxcali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in motecuçuma in tlein qujtac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca inic onjnoxcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie izquijch ca tehoatl moca tzonquiça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca tehoatl mopan mantiuz in altepetl mexico. Aquijque in ie uitze ca ichountin tlalmaceuaquijxj, ichountin onoque in mexico: auh in ichoatl mjoca çihoatl ie no cempoalxiuitl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh icoouh oquichtli: 175 787

Ioan nûec in altepetl qujpeuh motecuçuma in jtoca, icpatepec, caxomulnalaxcan, çocollan, teoxomulnalaxcâ, çacatepec, tlachquiauhco, ixtlaxomocuillan, atepec, mjctlan, tlaxpan, napalan itztec tlalocan, cuetlan, quetzalxopec, chichinaltenocalan. 175 648 [103]

Çan no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiuitl xoiquijxi oquallaxo mazatzin xexxuhujlica, in ioaltica oalmoquetzaia cenca tomauac in tlaxcalli iahquja tlaxipanoal icoual tlaxcaltitlaca tzontiuh iquiçiaxopa oalmoquetzaia vaquilujo in ie oalquja tzontiuh, 175 787

2. The corresponding Spanish was translated three years of famine.
3. Cuicac or cuicatl means. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has not parallel. Respecto la claridad en sentido.
4. Tlemaxac. Cfl. corresponding Spanish text.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 787 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxinjtl in mochipa mottaia ioalica auh in jcoac polioh oc iuh nauhxinjtl açiquijni in españoles

175 648 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçiquac injc quijpoloquac Mexico in vacan axcan onoquac Españoles ioan in nenjjian in nican ioacujc españa de xiptl e quijpiçtoa y dezinueue.

175 731 648 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cuitlauac, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoualhujtl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Ichoatl ipan mochiuh in oalla vei cocolistli, i cenca ic mjcoac in tonjjian altepetl ipan: mjjo ca vej çanatl, vej tonamoualistli: in aic cappa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, quitlacalhui in jxuac: injc quijpiotic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaa in mjmjcque, ça mochi atlan quijnoathaçia: ca in jcoac cenca ma..jian atlan catca in mexico, iuh cenca tlaiuztinomaui, injc hijauque mjmjcque.

175 648 797 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce: tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxinjtl, ipan mochiuh: injc ichoantin españoles quijpoloque, caçiquac in altepetl in mexico, iuh in nenjjian ic quijnoalotoc inqmich altepetl. Icoac tlatocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipalhoan Sanct fráciscо, in quijccaoaltico tlatectopilhtli: ioan quijtemachtique tlanchoquilistli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquerors—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan eximjtl ipan españoles nenjjian inquijçato in cuextlan, hadurus, auh in ichoatl nenoua de guzmaua, quijnoac in vej colhoacan vmpa mjjquijto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: eximjtl.

5. Qu omoch ahtlan. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has on four pa.
6. Aquauc: pa ioaquauc in ibid.

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Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Tezcoco, and as many years as they governed.

Injc ej capitulo vncan mjtoa in tezcuco tlatoque, injc izqui xiuitl tlatocatque. 173

The first ruler, who began the reign in Tezcoco, was Tlaltecatzin. He ruled only eighty days, and nothing [of note] happened in his time. This one [was one of] the Chichimeca rulers.

Injc ce tezcuco tlatoanj, Qujpeoalti in tlatocaiutl in tezcuco ichoatl in tlaltecatzin çan napoalilhujtl in tlatocat atle ipan muchiuh, chichimeca tlatoque, y.

And the second who became ruler, who followed Tlaltecatzin, was Techotlalatzin the Chichimeca. And he ruled seventy years; nor did anything [of note] occur in his time.

Auh injc vme tlatoanj muchiuh, in qujoaltoqujli in tlaltecatzin ichoatl in techotlalatzin chichimecatl, auh in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the third who became ruler of Acolhuacan[1] was Ixtlilxochitl the Elder. He ruled for sixty-five years. [And] nothing [of note] befell in his time.

Auh injc ej, tlatoanj muchiuh acolhoacan ichoatl in veue ixtlilxochitl in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ioan macujlxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the fourth who became ruler of Tezcoco was Neçaualcoyotzin. He ruled seventy-one years. And at this time, in the time of Neçaualcoyotzin, the war was begun. The two, [Neçaualcoyotzin and] the ruler of Tenochtitlan, Itzcoatzin, conquered the Tepaneca, and they conquered people everywhere. Thereafter this Neçaualcoyotzin founded and laid down the seat of authority[2] of Acolhuacan or Tezcoco.

Auh injc nauj tlatoanj muchiuh tezcuco ichoatl in neçaoalcoiotzin in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan cexiujtl, auh in ichoatl, y, in neçaoalcoiotzin ipan peuh in isoiutl im omextin in tenochtitlan tlatoanj. Itzcoatzin inic qujpeuhque tepaneca: auh in noujian tepeuhque qujn ichoatl qujpeoalti in neçaoalcoiotzin in qujtecac in petlatl in jcpalli in acolhoacan tezcuco. 173 648

And the fifth who became ruler of Tezcoco was Neçaualpilli, and he ruled for fifty-three years. In his time war was made in all parts through which people were conquered. And when these two, Neçaualcoyotzin and Neçaualpilli, ruled, they were besieged by Tlaxcala and Uexotzinco.

Auh injc macujlli, muchiuh tlatoanj tezcuco, ichoatl in neçaoalpilli auh in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl vn matlactli iosi exiujtl in jpan muchiuh iauiutl in noujian ic tepeoaloia auh in ichoantin im omextin in neçaoalcoiotzin ioan neçaoalpilli in jcoac tlaxcatque tzacutictoca in tlaxcalla ioan vexotzinco.

And in the time of Neçaualpilli began what kept appearing, in the heavens, like a light, like a flame of

Auh in neçaoalpilli ipan peuh in tlein oalmoquetzaia illuijcatitech in iuhquj tlanextlj in iuhquj 173 787

1. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"señor de Tezcoco, o de Acolhuacan"*; cf. also Charles E. Dibble: *Códice Ixtlilxóchitl* (México: Universidades de Utah y de México, 1951), Pls. III. The term Acolhua refers to a grouping held together by kinship and political alliance occupying territory east of Lake Texcoco, with Texcoco as its center. Their main competitors for dominance in the valley were the Tepaneca, centered at Azcapotzalco. On the Acolhua, see Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl: *Historia Chichimeca* (México, 1892), pp. 41, 42, 49; also *Relaciones* (México, 1891), p. 303. "*Y así juntó los vasallos y pueblos que eran de su parte de los acolhuas, que son Texcoco, Huexotzinco, Coatlichan.*" "*Coatlichan de los acolhuas*" is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 299; "*Al Rhiano de estos tres, que era Tlaxcalaque, mandaba de poco ahora, hubo de los acolhuas, le dió á Coatlichan con cuyos vasallos pueblos y lugares donde los mayo pobladores eran los donde son conquistados*" (*ibid.*, p. 307).

2. *In petlatl, in icpalli*—the green mat and the seat. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún uses the term *señorío*. The expression is illustrated then figuratively in Andrés de Olmos: *Gramática de la lengua mexicana* (José Fernández, ed.; Porfirio Hernández Hernández, 1875), pp. 218, 221.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

173 787 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

themiquiz icniol tlatecuitica, auh nauhxiuitl in ipan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancuican necico auh impoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactlooce tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiuitl mijeccan xiti tepetl in texcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiuitl aciquiuj in Espaÿoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaualpilli aocmo izpan

175 648 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco ichoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiuitl. Ichoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Coanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco, ichoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macuijxiuitl ichoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica im omentin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocoltzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco ichoatl in tecocoltzin in tlatocat cexiuitl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in texcuco catca marques vncan moiauchichiuh injc quimpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Itzlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[3] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco ichoatl in itzlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicueiuitl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica quijujcatiuja in marques idan ommoquetz ioã quijuicaia in vej mollan ichoãtin imjxpan muchiuh injc vei modatlali altepetl injc tlaellalali marques nehoan coanacuchtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactli tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco ichoatl in ioiontzin in tlatocat cexiuitl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauetzquititzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactlopoe tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco ichoatl in tetlauetzquijtitzin in tlatocat macuijxiuitl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlaxilotzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco ichoatl in don Antonjo tlaxjlotzin in tlatocat chicuacexiuitl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactli omej tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco,

3. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (J. M. Anders: *Histoire de la nation mexicaine*. . . . *Représentation du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve, Frères, Editeurs, 1891]), p. 67, and *Mapa de Tepechpan*.

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Sixth Chapter, in which it is told how signs and omens appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, and when they were yet unknown to the dwellers here.

When the Spaniards were not to arrive here for ten years, an omen first appeared in the heavens like a flame, a tongue of fire, as if it were showering the light of the dawn.[1] It appeared as if it were piercing the heavens; it was wide at the base and pointed at the top. Well into the midst of the heavens, well into their center it stood reaching; well into the heart of the heavens it was arriving. [That which] thus was seen arose there to the east,[2] and when midnight had passed, it appeared that dawn was breaking. When day broke, soon the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a whole year it came forth (it was in [the year sign] Twelve House that it began), and when it appeared, there was much crying out as they struck their mouths with their hands. All were frightened; all waited in dread.

The second omen came to pass here in Mexico. Of its own accord, fire broke out and burned fiercely in the house of the devil Uitzilopochtli. No one set fire to it; of its own accord it took fire. It is said that the name of the place[3] was Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the squared, wooden pillars were blazing. From within, the flame, the tongues and flames of fire, came forth. Very quickly it consumed all the house beams. Then there was shouting; [the priests] said: "Mexicans! Run here to extinguish [the fire! Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they poured water upon it, when they tried to put it out, still more did it flare up. It could not be extinguished, and it burned completely.

[As] the third omen, a temple was struck by a thunder bolt.[4] It was only a straw hut, a place named

Ic chiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtoa in nez, in mottac, in machiotl, ioan in tetzaujtl, in aiamo oallujz españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, ioan in aiamo ixima-choia, in njcan chanepse.

In aiamo oallaci españoles, oc matlacxiujtl: centla-mantli tetzaujtl achto nez ilhujcatitech, iuhquj in tlemjiaostl, iuhqujn tlecueçallotl, iuhqujn tlauizcalli pipixauhticaca, injc neçia iuhqujn ilhujcatl quiçoti-cac, tzimpatlaoac, quapitzaoac, uel inepantla in jlhuj-catl, uel iiolloco in açiticac ilhujcatl, vel ilhujcaiollo-titech açiticac in iuh ittoia vmpa tlapcopa in oalmo-quetzaia, oiuh onquijx ioalnepantla in neçia tlathuil-iaia, ipan tlathuja. Qujn ichoatl quioalpoloaia in tonatiuh, in jcoac oalquiçaia: uel cexiujtl in oalmo-quetzaia (ipan matlactlomome calli in peuh) auh in jcoac neçia tlacaoacaia, netemujtecoia, neiçaujloia, tlaitemmachoia.

Injc vntetl tetzaujtl muchiuh, njcan mexico, çan monomauj in tlatlac cuetlan, aiac ma quitlecauj çan monoma tlecauj, in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli mjtoaia itocaiocan tlacateoca in nez ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli iitic oalquiça in tlemjiaostl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecue-çallutl, cenca çan iciuhca compalo in ixquich calqua-ujtl. Niman ie ic tlacaoaca quitoa. Mexicae, ma oallatotoca, tlaceujlos, amapilol: auh in jcoac caste-quiaia, in quiceujznequja, çan ie ilhujce mopitza aocmo uel çeuh uellallac.

Injc etetl tetzaujtl, vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzomitoloco, itcupan in

1. This may be clarified by reference to Pl. 4, Book XII.
2. Cf. variant versions in Chaps. I and III, and in Book XII, Chap. I, as well as in the Nahuatl version in the *Real Palacio MS*, the corresponding Spanish text, and Eduard Seler: *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Camillo Sofer-Gudin, Walter Lehmann, Walter Eckebrecht, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwartz, 1927), p. 453. Alternative translations appear to be possible.
3. *Mjtoaia Amoxtocat*: in a similar passage, the *Memoriales en 3 Columnas* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún—Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España* [Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905], VII, p. 93) has *mitoaqui, ytoquyoc, yitocquyoc*. Cf. also Pl. 5, Book XII.
4. Cf. Pl. 7, Book XII.

175 787 Tzonmulco, the Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was not raining hard, but only sprinkling. This was taken as an omen of evil, [for] it was said that it was only a summer flash, and that thunder did not sound.

[As] the fourth sign of evil, [while] there was still sun, a comet fell. It became three parts and began from where the sun set and went toward where he arose. It went as if showering sparks; for a great distance its wake went extending; far out did its tail reach. And when it was seen, there was much shouting; like [the rattle of] shells[6] it spread about.

[As] the fifth omen, the water [of the lake] foamed up, and the wind did not stir it up. It was as if it welled up, as if it boiled up with a cracking noise. Very far did it go as it rose upward, and it reached the lower parts of the houses; and, wet by the water, the houses crumbled. This was the great lake which extendeth by us here in Mexico.[6a]

[As] the sixth omen, often was heard a woman, who went weeping and crying but at night. She cried out loudly; she went about saying: "O my beloved sons, now we are at the point of going!" Sometimes she said: "My beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

[pa 3] [As] the seventh omen, at one time the fisher folk hunted or snared with nets. They took a bird of ashen hue, like a crane. Then they came to show it to Moctezuma, [who was in] the Tlillan calmecac.[7] The sun was past his zenith, and there was yet daylight. There was what was like a mirror upon its head—round, disc-like, and as if pierced. From it appeared the heavens—the fire drill, the stars. And Moctezuma took it as a most evil omen when he saw the stars and the fire drill. And when he gazed a second time at the bird's head, beyond, he beheld what appeared to be like a number of people, coming massed, coming as conquerors, coming in war panoply. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the astrologers[7] and the wise men, and said to them: "Do you not know what I have

ziuhtecutli, amo tilaxia, çan axachquijaia in iuh tetzammachoc, iuh mjto in ca çã tonalhujtecoc, amoxo caquiztic in tlatlazinjlizti.

Injc nauhteitl tetzamachiotl, oc veca in tonatiuh in xiujtl vetz: ietectia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaçujampa, auh vmpa itzia in jquiçaiampa, iuhquin tlexuchtli pipixauhtiuh, ueca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca açitiuh in jcuitlapil. Auh in oittoc cenca tlacaoacac, iuhquin oiealli onmoma.

Injc macujltetl tetzaujtl, poçon in itl amo i chocatl quipoçonalti, iuhquj mumuloca, iuhquj xixitemumoloca: cenca veca in ia injc macoquetz, auh in calli tzitzintla cacic auh capapachiuh xixitin in calli iehoatl in vej atl totlan manj ajcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzaujtl mjiecpa çihoatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioalitoca, cenca tzatzi: quitotinemj, nonopilhoantzitzin ie ic çan ie tiuj: in quenmanja quitoa, nonopilhoantzitzin campa namechnouijquijlia.

Injc chicuetlamantli tetzaujtl, ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamaitlaujaia in atlaca, centetl caçique tototi, nextic: iuhquin tocujlcoiotl. Niman quitzilico in motecuçuma, tlillan calmecac omotacalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca: iuhquin tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, teujlacachtic, iuhquj xapotocac: vmpa onneçia in ilhujcatl: inmamalhoaz in çiçitlalti. Auh in motecuçuma cenca quimotetzauj in jcoac quimjttac çiçitlalti ioan mamalhoazzli: auh injc oppa ontlachix, in jcpac tototi: ene quittac iohquj on in ma acame moquequetzitiujtze, tepeuhtiujtze moiotchichiuhtiuztze quinamama mamaça, auh njman quinnotz in tlaçiuhque in tlamatinjme quimjlhuj. Aiso aoquimati, in tlein oneconjttac iuhquin acame moquequetzitiujtze. Auh ie quinanquilizquia in conjttaque opoliuh aoc tle uel quitoque.

5. The term *cuculli* appears to be capable of interpretation as rattle, bell, or shell. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, *The Gods* (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 1, and Book VII, *Sun, Moon, and Stars* (1953), Appendix, volume, under Tonatiuh *quale*, Sahagún's term 7 *tecuilatzin ayocuilli* occurs. Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904), II, pp. 438, 462.

Cf. also Zelia Nuttall: *The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans* (Berkeley: University of California, 1903), Part I, fols. 8, 48, where the *cuculli* are pictured in an anonymous Codex in Florence, Italy.

5a. *Alter texte*, the Manuscrits en 3 Colonnes reads: "*Auh ceuf papaxlioh ceuqui xiuitin*"; *alter texte*: "*Auh yuic mocenqui yuic cocouah yã ne ceuqui yn ỹ ceuqui xuitoti ỹ ceuqui xiuitin.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en de palmas, en una sola, que llamamos Tlillan calmecac.*" Cf. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), IV, pp. 24-25 (same cf.).

7. Tlapixque: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), pp. 167, 171.

Alter texte, the Manuscrits en 3 Colonnes reads: "*ioan ilc ceuf q'ouqui, ne ceuqui q'tlalhoa: yn tlamatinimeh, ilc yuic cocouh quilhuiqui omo ne yehouatl in quimmaui.*"

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seen there, like a number of people coming massed?" And when they were about to answer, that which they looked at vanished. They could say nothing.

[As] eighth omen, often were discovered misshapen people. They had two heads, but only one body. They took them there to the Tillan calmecac, where Moctezuma beheld them. When he had looked at them, then they vanished.

Inic chicueteri tetzauitl, ynjocpa motenextiliaia tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, çe oc in jutlac vnpa quijmoouijcaia in tillan calmecac, vnpa quijmjtaia in motecuçuma: in oquittac njman poliouia. [732]

[p. 20 is blank]

524 was[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, branches on which were sewed, green stones or fine turquoise, sprouted feathers, shows, bracers, fields, precious copper, stone, large copper, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, dark feather capes. And he who played pottle, who cast the beans, if there he made one [of these] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great stone; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Then were all spread; then all came to the end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this he hanged a bracelet on which were large, sewed, green
[301] stones or fine turquoises. The color placed it about
[43] his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, [illegible] so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in there all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them color
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet: they bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, sewed log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There were their servants, their pages who attended them
[132] and gave them colors; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, vultures, wolves, mountain lions, and various birds.

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible],

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—*After Pérez y Tranco*

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Huitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Usumil. 16. Don [illegible] Tezozomoc. 17. Don Cristóbal Cuauquec. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Officers observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauquauhtzin. 19. Tlacotzin. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquihuix. 22. Don Pablo Tecuichpo. 23. Don Martín Ezpil. 24. Don Juan Axoltzin. 25. Don Martín Tlacotzin. 26. Don Diego Huanacuchtzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhtaxtlah. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenoch. 29. Tlahuatzin. 30. Techotlalatzin. 31. Itztlacoliuhqui. 32. Nopaltzin. 33. Nopaltepilli. 34. Cacamatzin. 35. Cuauhtlehuanitzin. 36. Tezozomoc. 37. Itztlacoliuhqui. 38. Yopicatzin. 39. Tezozomoctzin. 40. Don Antonio Huitzilihuitzin. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

42. Omens observed at Tenoch (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uitzilo. 43. Mixcoatzin month. 44. Tecuhi month. 45. Ayamitzin month. 46. Quetzalcuitlatzin month. 47. Tlacaxipehualiztli month. 48. Xilomanaliztli month. 49. Micaxuchitzin. 50. Tlaxochimaco. 51. Tozozontli. 52. Cuauhnahuatl. 53. Tepeilhuitzintli. 54. Coaitlehuanitzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Universal weeping. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]
[p. 36(D) is blank]

De la Conquista Mexicana

TWELFTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH HOW WAR WAS WAGED HERE IN THE CITY OF MEXICO.[1]

INIC MATLACTETL OMUME AMOXTLI, ITECHPA TLATOA IN QUENIN MUCHIUH IAUIOTL IN NICAN IPAN ALTEPETL MEXICO.

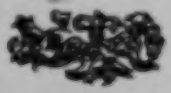

●787 First Chapter. Here are told the signs which appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come here to this land, when they were not yet known to the natives here.[2]

When the Spaniards had not arrived, by ten years,[3] an omen first appeared in the heavens. It was like a tongue of fire, like a flame, as if showering the light of the dawn. It looked as if it were piercing the heavens. [It was] wide at the base and pointed [at the head]. To the very midst of the sky, to the very heart of the heavens it extended; to the very midpoint of the skies stood stretched that which was seen off to the east. When it arose and thus came forth, when it appeared at midnight, it looked as if day had dawned. When day broke, later, the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a full year [the sign] came forth. (It was [in the year] Twelve House that it began.) And when it appeared, there was shouting; all cried out striking the palm of the hand against the mouth. All were frightened and waited with dread.

Inic ce cuçitado vncã mjtoa in nez, in motlac in machiotl yoã in tetzauid, in aiamo valloj españoles, in njcan tlalli ipan in aiamo no iximachoa in njcã chanopa.

In aiamo vallaci españoles, oc matlacaiviti, omotlamãtli tetzauid achto nez, illuijcatitech iuhquj in temjjiaoatl, iuhquj in tlecuçaluiti, iuhquin tlauiscalli, pipixaulticaca inic necia, iuhq'n illuijcati quijoticac: tlimpactoac, quapixaoac: vel iuepantla in illuijcati; vel yiollo in acitocac illuijcati, vel illuijcaiolloitech acitocac, in iuh itoaia vmpa tlapcopa: in calmoquetzaia, oiuh onquin iualuepantla in necia tlauiliuia, ipan tlauia, q'n ichcauj quijualpoloaia in tonatiuh, in jquac oalquijpia: vel oc xiuitl in calmoquetzaia (ipan matlactli omume calli in peuh). Auh in jquac necia tlacoaccaia, netzauiztoca, acipcuhtia, tlatzmucheia.

1. Book XII, as well as the other eleven, Sahagún says, was written in Tlatelolco. See Carlos Sis. de Bustamante (ed.): *La aparición de Nra. Señora de Guadalupe de México, comprobada con la relación del argumento impreso que presentó D. Juan Bautista Muñoz, fundándose en el testimonio del P. Fr. Bernardino Sahagún* (Mexico: Ignacio Cumplido, 1840). The Tlatelolcan point of view is especially evident in this account. Cf. esp. p. 1. For a full history of the writing of the *Historia general*, however, see Wigberto Jiménez Moreno: *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún y su obra* (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1950), and Angel María Garibay: *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1954), passim, and II, pp. 248 sqq.

The translations regard this history of the Conquest as an Aztec account. Hence there is no attempt to compare it with histories by contemporary Spanish writers, or with other sources, except to clarify the Nahuatl text. The student of the history of the Conquest will find such sources as Cortés' letters, Bernal Díaz, Cervantes de Salazar, Aguilar, and others, necessary for the complete narrative.

2. See the Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book VIII — Kings and Lords (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1954), Chapter VI.

3. Two years, in Bustamante, op. cit., p. 3. Edward Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun über die Eroberung Mexicos* (Camillo Sachs-Barby, Walter Lehmann, and Walter Krickeberg, eds.: Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), p. 402, n. 1, states: "D. S. used Sahagún as the Ambassador the Spanish (after Bode in A.D. 1517) this daughter where, then there Ichcauhtecuhtli could Sahagún see the Ambassador the Spanish gunshot wounded and, whenever also which on the Angelic Sun."

●787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Iuipeyac,[4] at the place named Tlacatecco. When [the fire] appeared, already the
[335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire!
[718] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

Inic ueuel tetzauitl mochiuh, ninan mexico: çan momomoui in tlatlac, cuetlan, ninc mu quijtocaui, çan momomu tlecui in jcal diablo uitzilohuchtli: mjtouia, iniac iuiuiocan Tlacatecco: in nen ic tlatla in tlapetzalli, in jpac, cuiquiya in tlemjlocuil, in tlemecpilli, in tlemeçalitl, ceuca çan ictiuhca ompaio in ixquich calqueuitl: nijman ic ic tlecuecua, quijtoa. Mexicae mu valiuecoca, tla cevilica, amapilol: auh in jquac cuemquijxia, in quijcuiuiocquia, çan ic illuiqac mapitica, necuio uel ocuh, uel tlalac.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmolco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

Inic eueil tetzauitl: vincoc ipan tlatlazaia teocalli, çan xacalli ceca, iuiacocan tzilmulco: iccupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilauia, çan aoqhquijavia in juh tetzaumachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan teuallhujccoc, amomo cuquijtic in tlatlazinjlizti.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

Inic nauhtzi tetzauitl: oc vecu in tonatiuh in zivitl veca ixtiztia, vmpa calpeuh in tonatiuh icalaquizampa; auh vmpa ixtzia in jquijcaiampa, iuhqui in tlexochtli pipizauhtiuh, veca mocuijlquilitiuh, veca actiuh in jcuitlapil: auh in oiuoc ofca tlecuecoc, iuhquiin cioualli tlaxoaua.

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled,
[731] as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

Inic macuijlzti tetzauitl: poçon in atl, amo ichcatl quijpoçonalti, iuhquin momomoloca, iuhquin xiuitemomoloca, ceuca veca in ia, inic macuquen: auh in calli tuinzuia cacic, auh cuquqchiuh, xiuiin in calli: iehoatl in vei atl tetlan mauj ninan mexico.

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [so] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Inic chiquacentlamantli tetzauitl: nijcpa cioatl cecuia chocatiuh, tuetzinzuia, iuhica ceuca tuetzi; quijtotiuauj. Nonapilhuantiuia, ic ic çan ic tauvi: in

4. Probably Iuipeyac is meant for Aztec. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also Motolinía as I understand, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún — Historia de las cosas de Nueva España (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905), VII, p. 95; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 220; and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Conquistador, p. 161.

5. Book VIII of the Florentine Codex has this in a similar passage. In the Real Palacio MS it reads: "pan ꝑ calquiqua."

6. Its pun appears in the ms. ed.

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 18, n. 3.

8. In the Real Palacio MS, this passage reads: "auh ꝑ calli ximitlaiuia cuqic chuch cuq' yquachilitl ꝑququi ximitlaiuia."

9. In the ms. ed., mauj is followed by "chuch yuhi ximauqui yuhi ximauch qꝑ ma ximqua ya ꝑ ximqua ximitlaiuia ꝑ ximq ayququi."

beloved sons, now we are about to go!"[10] Sometimes she said: "O my beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

A seventh omen: at one time the fisher folk who hunted or snared with nets took captive an ashen hued bird like a crane. Then they went to show it to Moctezuma, [who was] in the Tlillan calmecatl.[11] It was past noon, and still daytime. On its head was as it were a mirror, round, circular, and as if pierced in the middle,[12] where were to be seen the heavens, the stars—the Fire Drill [constellation]. And Moctezuma took it as an omen of great evil when he saw the stars and the Fire Drill. And when he looked at the bird's head a second time, a little beyond[13] [the stars] he saw people who came as though mounted, who came as conquerors, girt in war array. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he commanded the soothsayers and the sages.[14] He said to them: "Do you not know what I have seen there, which was as if people came mounted?" And when they would answer him, that which they looked at vanished. They could tell [him] nothing more.[15]

An eighth omen: often were discovered men of monstrous form, having two heads [but] only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecatl, where Moctezuma beheld them; but when he looked at them, they then vanished.

quemanjan quijtoa. Nonopilhoaztzitzin, campa namechnoviquijtz. 787

Injc chicuetlamanaltl tetzavitl: oppa tlatlamaia, [223]
manoço tlamatlaviaia in atlaca; centeti cacique totoltl-
nextic, iuhquin tocujlcoiotl: njmã quijtitito in Mo-
tecuçoma, tlillan, calmecac: ommotzcalo in tonatiuh,
oc tlaca, iuhq'n tencotl icpac mani, malacachtic, te-
vilacachtic, iuhquin xapotticac: vmpa onnecia in il-
hujcatl, in cicitlaltin, in mamalhoaztli. Auh in
motecuçoma, cenca quimoetztzavi in jquac quijmjttac
cicitlaltin, yoã mamalhoaztli. Auh injc vppa ontla-
chix in jcpac tototi, ene quijttac, iuhquj on in ma
acame, moquequetztivitze, tepeuhtivitze, moiaochi-
chiuhtivitze, quijamama mamaça. Auh njman quin-
notz in tlaciuhque, in tlamatinjme: quimjlhuj: Amo
anquimati in tlein onoconjttac, iuhquin acame mo-
quequetztivitze: auh ie quinanquilizquia, in conjtta-
que, opoliuh, aoc tle quitoque.

Injc chicuetetl tetzavitl: mjecpa motenextiliaia, [732]
tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, çan çe in in-
tlac, vmpa quimõvicaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa
quijmjttaia in motecuçoma, in oquijmjttac njmã po-
livia.

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10. Cf. loc. cit., where gli può dirsi oppure.

11. In Bustamante, op. cit., p. 10, this is explained: "In Huexotzinco, il governo di Moctezuma, al cui cui [illegible] in cui [illegible] Tlillancalmecatl (quattro [illegible], [illegible] di sangue) y [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is related how Moctezuma sent still other soothsayers in order that they might cast a spell over the Spaniards,[1] and what befell them on the way.

And another company of messengers, who were soothsayers and magicians, and fire priests, also went and made their way to contend with them. But they could do nothing. They could not cast a spell over them; no more could they contend against and exert power over them. No longer could they succeed.

For a drunkard came along the way. They went up against him and stopped, stunned. They beheld him as one from Chalco, for so was he arrayed. He was dressed as a man from Chalco; he acted as a Chalcan. Like one besotted, he bore himself and acted like one who is drunk. With eight grass ropes was he bound about the chest.[2] He accosted them, having come ahead of the outposts of the Spaniards.[3]

And he rose up against them and said: "What do you come to do here again? What do you now wish? What would Moctezuma yet wish to do? Hath he perchance now come to his senses? Is he now filled with a great fear? For he hath committed a fault. He hath abandoned the common folk; he hath destroyed men. People have been struck upon the head; they have been bound [in wrappings for the dead]. He hath laughed at and deceived them!"

And when they had thus seen this, when they had heard his words, to no purpose did they give him attention, praying humbly to him and quickly setting up his abode — his earth pyramid and his straw bed. But he would not then look at it; vain was its erection. To no purpose had they made the earth pyramid.

Just as if they had plunged him into his rage, he presently chid and abused them, and spoke harshly.

Injc matlactli omei capítulo vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma: qujmjxa oc cequjntin tetlachivizmjme injc qujtlachivizquja Espanoles yoan in tlein vtlica impan mochiuh. 648 791 787

Auh ic no centlamantique titlanti: ichoan in tlaciuhq̃ in nanaoalti, yoan tlatlenamacaque, no ic iaca, no ic iaque in tenamjquixque: auh aoccã vel mochiuhque, aoccan vel teittaque, aocmo tlaipantilique, aocmo teipantilique, aocmo onicoatque:

çan ic ce tlaoanquj vtlica ica onmoeztzonato, qujmonamjctito, ica onmjxtilquetzato: injc qujttaq̃ iuhqujn chalcatl ic omochichiuh, mochalcachichiuh, mochalcanenequj: iuhqujn tlapãqui, mjvincanenequj, motlaoãcanenequj: chicuei çacamecatl ic melilpi, qujmjxnamjctivitz hiiacac icativitz in Españoles.

Auh çan inca iecac: qujmjlhuj. tle noma amatitivitze in njcã? tlen oc anquinequj? tle noma qujchicoznequj in Motecuçoma? cujx quja omozcali? cujx quja xocan ic momauhticapul? ca otlatlaco, ca oconcavili in macozalli, ca otlacaixpolo teca omoquavizc, ca teca omequjmjlo, ca teca omavilti, ca teca omocacaiauh.

Auh in ciuh qujttaque in, in ciuh qujcacque itlatol, oc nen itlan aquj, in qujmocnotlatlauhtilia, qujtlalitivetzque ichiel itlalmomoz, yoan içacapepech, çan njmã aocmo vmpa qujcalittac: tel çan ncapanca in ommotlalica, in vncan oc nen qujtlalmomuztica:

çan ic iuhqujn icamac ommaçujque, ic vncan qujmaoa, qujntequjaia, iuhqujn motititzatlatoa:

1. *Repeated:* the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.
2. See H. 27.
3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Venyo borracho a los puestos delos soldados y venyo hechar de hazes como de esparto, y venyo de hazes dende arriba los espaldas.*"

648 He said to them:

787 "Why do you vainly stand here? No longer will there be a Mexico; [it is gone] forever. Go hence; it no more existeth. Turn about; look at what befalleth Mexico — what thus already cometh to pass!"

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Then they looked there; they quickly turned there to see. They beheld that already all the temples, the tribal temples, the priests' dwellings,[4] and all the houses in Mexico burned; and [it looked] as if already there were fighting.

And when the soothsayers had seen this, it was as if they had lost heart; they could say nothing; it was as if they had been made to swallow something.

They said: "This is not for us to see; it must needs be that Moctezuma see what we have seen. For this is no common being; this is the youth Tezcatlipoca."

Then he vanished, and they saw him no more.

And so the messengers went no further to encounter [the Spaniards]; they no longer pressed on toward them. From there the soothsayers and fire priests turned back and came to tell Moctezuma. There they and those who earlier had gone [with] Tziuacpopocatzin saw one another.

And when these messengers had come to arrive, just so they related to Moctezuma how this had come to pass and how they had beheld it. Moctezuma, when he heard it, only bowed his head; he stood with his head lowered. He hung his head: he stood with his head downcast. He did not then speak, but only remained full of woe for a long time as if beside himself.

Finally he thus answered them, and said: "What can we do? What can be done? For we are finished; we have taken the medicine. Shall we perhaps climb a mountain? Should we perhaps flee? For we are Mexicans. Shall we in truth perhaps enslave the Mexican domain? Unlucky[5] are the poor old men and old women! And the children, who have no understanding — where may they be taken? What can be done? Where, in truth, can one go? For now we have taken the medicine. Come what may, in whatsoever way it may befall, we shall marvel at it!"

quimjlhuj.

Tle çi nen in njcan amjcativitze aoquje iez in Mexico, ie ic cémáiia, nepa xivia, aocmo vncá, tlaxommocuepocan, tlaxontlachiacan in Mexico, tlein ie mochioa: in juh ie mochioa.

Nimá ic oallachixque, oallachixtivezxque, in qujoalitta ie tlatlí in jxqujch teucalli, in calpulli, in calmecac, yoan in jxqujch mexico calli, yoan iuhquin ma ie cuel necaliva.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in tlaciuhque, iuhquin canjn ia, iniollo, aocmo onnacatique, iuhquin aca itla quintololti:

quitoque inin ca amo tonechmonequja in tiquittazque, ca ie itech monequja quittaz in Motecuçoma, in otiquittaque: ca amo çan aca, ca ithoatl in telpuchtli Tezcatlipoca:

njman ic poliuh, aocmo quittaque.

Auh in titlanti aocmo tenamjquito, aocmo tevic quiçato, ça vncá oalilosque in tlaciuhque, in tlatlenamacaque, quinonotzaco in Motecuçoma: oalnepanjxtiaque in achto isque in Tziuacpopocatzin.

Auh in oacico ichoantin titlantin, iuhquj povilique in Motecuçoma in juh mochiuh in juh quittaque. In motecuçoma, iñ oiuh quicac, ça oaltolo ça oaltolotimotlali, oalquechpilo, oalquechpiltotimotlali, aocmo oalnaoat, çan ontlanauhtimotlali, vecauhtica in iuhquj ontlapolo,

ça izquich injc quinoalnanquili: quinoalilhuj. Quennel mocechtle ca ie ic toncate, ca ie otictomacaque, cujx cacah tepetl tictlecaviaque: auh cujx ticholoque ca timexica, cujx nellaontimaliviz in mexicaiutl, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama: auh in piltzintli, in aia quimati, campa neviquilikeque, quénel, quéçannel nen, quénoçonel, campa nel, ca ie tictomacaticate in çaço tlein, in çaço quenamj in ticmaviçaque.

4. *Calpulli, calmecac* — tribal temple and priests' dwelling and translations of these terms previously used in this work, for which there is precedent. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., passim. Rafael Aguilar Mendoza *El calpulli en la organización social de los mexicas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), passim (*calpulli*) and p. 77 (*calmecac*); or Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," Memorias del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, VI (1954), pp. 20ff. (*calpulli*), 36 (*calmecac*).

5. From manuscript on, the passage is translated in Marcelo Carmelo *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1917), p. 326.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Pozo y Tratado

1. Landing of the Spaniards (preceding text). 2. Spaniards marching (preceding text). 3. Spaniards smashing a temple in Iztaccan (Chapter 1). 4. First attack: the temple of fire (Chapter 1). 5. Second attack: burning of Temple of Vitzilopochtli (Chapter 1). 6. Third attack: burning of Temple of Xiuhtecutli (Chapter 1). 7. Fourth attack: attack in three parts (Chapter 1).

[p. 44(C)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Astec NU7

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[187]

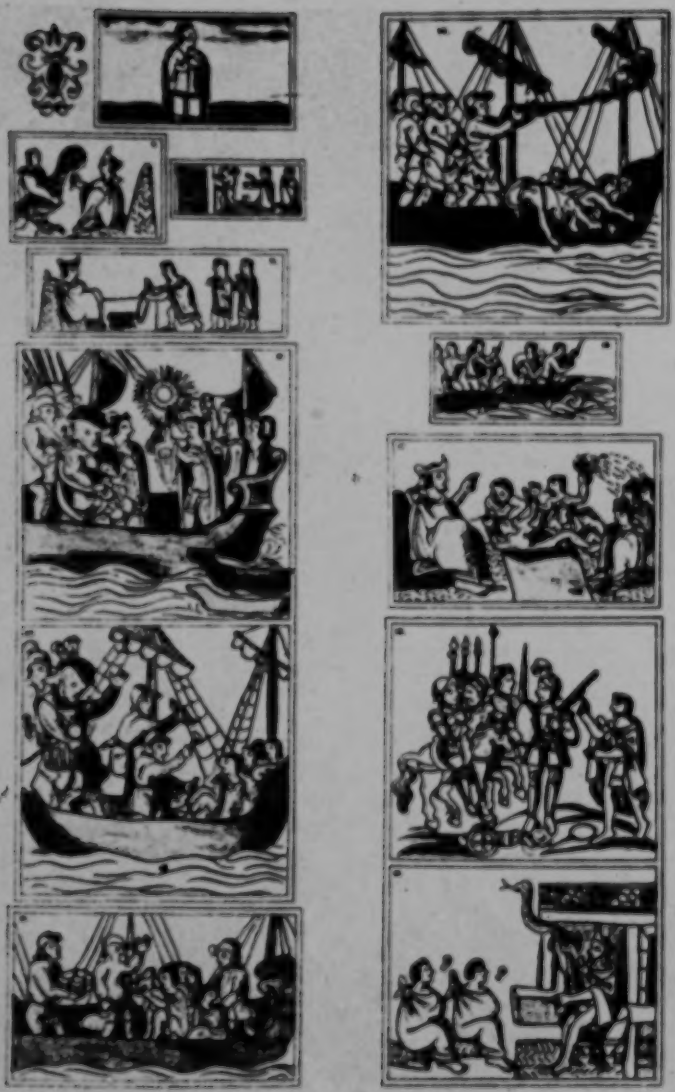

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

8. Sixth omen: the weeping woman (Chapter 1). 9. Seventh omen: the omen bird with a mirror (Chapter 1). 10. Eighth omen: two-headed man (Chapter 1). 11. Stewards present Spaniards' gift to Moctezuma (Chapter 2). 12. Moctezuma's messengers present gifts to Cortés (Chapter 5). 13. Spaniards bind Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 14. Spaniards fire guns and terrify the messengers (Chapter 5). 15. Spaniards give food to Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 16. Moctezuma's messengers return to the mainland (Chapter 6). 17. Captives are slain before Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 6). 18. Spaniards in war array (Chapter 7). 19. Moctezuma hears description of the Spaniards (Chapter 7).

[p. 44(D)]

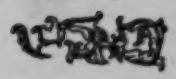

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: 726
vncã mjtoa in quenjn ieboantin Mexica in jquac ovel 787
quincaltecipachoto in nez in mottac Eztetl: iuhq'nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh injc valnextia iuhqujn vei tlexuchtli.

And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Late at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a cappery wind it arose, crackling, mapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacasco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axtauatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies[7] Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[8] of Mexico, and the head priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatiluco — the

Auh in ovalioac: njman ic ic quiquijiavi, avachquiquijiavi, ic tlaquauhiova in nez tletl: in iuh mottac, in iuh nez, iuhqujn ilhujcacpa valla, iuhqujn ecamalacutl, mõnamalacachotiuh, motevilacachotiuh, iuhqujn cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhqujn tlemoiutl, iuhqujn ecatepuztli, moquetza, cenca icoioca, tetecujca, titicujca, çan quijiavalo in atenamjtl: coionacasco in valixtia: njmã ic ia in anepantla, vmpa popolivito,

aiac motenvitec, aiac navat:
auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle muchiuh, ça onoac, ça no onoque in toiaovan.

Auh in capitan tlapico vallachixtica in amaxac, 000
Axtavatzin itlapanco, cevalcalco, tlatlapalli in cevalcalli, quimonjtztica in macevaltin, cololhujtoque in Españoles, mononotztoque.

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; yoan in oc cequjntin 701
tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacutzin. Tlillancalquj. vizzna- 565
oatl. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzi mexicitl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazcatzin. Niman in ieboantin in tlatiluico tlatoque. Tlacuchcalcatl. Coiovevetzin. tla-

1. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 946, translates *amatl* (*amoxtli* [*codex*]) as *Kinjhuan*. See, however, Simeon, op. cit.
2. Sahagún, loc. cit., has *ale Wirbelwind* (?).
3. See Chapter 34, n. 2.
4. We have rearranged the last line of the entire as Sahagún does in op. cit., p. 947, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. *Almonacil*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigues Franco, 1723), II, p. 355; Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. 195.
6. *Tilillancalqui*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 48. For *tilillancalqui*, Torquemada, op. cit., p. 178, has *cuculcan mayor*.
7. *Mizmacatl*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 47.
8. *Achcauhtli*. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 31.
9. *Tecuhtlamacazcatzin*. Cf. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 117.

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be sure and they would be able to bind us, and this they might look on as a certainty, for they [the Cholulans] had made sacrifices to their War Idols who had promised them victory. 721 723

Let us cease speaking of this which they looked on as a sure thing and return to our Captain who, as he wished to be more thoroughly informed about the plot and all that was happening, told Doña Marina to take more chalchihuites to the two priests who had been the first to speak, for they were not afraid, and to tell them with friendly words that Malinche wished them to come back and speak to him, and to bring them back with her. Doña Marina went and spoke to the priests in the manner she knew so well how to use, and thanks to the presents they at once accompanied her. Cortés addressed them and asked them to say truly what they knew, for they were the priests of Idols and chieftains and ought not to lie, and that what they should say would not be disclosed in any manner, for we were going to leave the next morning, and he would give them a large quantity of cloth. They said the truth was that their Lord Montezuma knew that we were coming to their city, and that every day he was of many minds and could not come to any decision on the matter, that sometimes he sent to order them to pay us much respect when we arrived and to guide us on the way to his city, and at other times he would send word that it was not his wish that we should go to Mexico, and now recently his [Gods] Tescatepuca and Huichilobos, to whom he paid great devotion, had counselled him that we should either be killed here in Cholula or should be sent, bound, to Mexico. That the day before he had sent out twenty thousand warriors, and half of them were already within this city and the other half were stationed near by in some gullies, and that they already knew that we were about to start to-morrow; they also 721 [787]

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I must stop talking about this City and all that happened there, and say that the Squadrons sent by the Great Montezuma, which were already stationed in the ravines near Cholula and had, as was agreed, constructed barricades and narrow passages so that the horses could not gallop, as I have already related, as soon as they learned what had happened, returned, faster than at a walk, to Mexico and told Montezuma how it all happened. But fast as they went the news had already reached him, through the two Chieftains who had been with us and who went to him post-haste. We learned on good authority that when Montezuma heard the news he was greatly grieved and very angry, and at once sacrificed some Indians to his Idol Huichilobos, whom they looked on as the God of War, so that he might tell him what was to be the result of our going to Mexico, or if he would permit us to enter the city. We even knew that he was shut in at his devotions and sacrifices for two days in company with ten of the Chief Priests, and that a reply came from those Idols which was, that they advised him to send messengers to us to disclaim all blame for the Cholulan affair, and that with demonstrations of peace we should be allowed to enter into Mexico, and that when we were inside, by depriving us of food and water, or by raising some of the bridges, they would kill us; that one day only would suffice, if he attacked us, to leave none of us alive, and then he could offer his sacrifices to Huichilobos who had given this reply, and to Tescatepuca the god of Hell, and they could feast on our thighs and legs and arms, and the snakes and serpents and tigers which they kept in wooden cages, (as I shall tell later on at the proper time and place,) could gorge on our entrails and bodies and all that was left of us.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma felt and say how this affair and punishment at Cholula became known throughout the provinces of New Spain and if we had a

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plotted a treason with the intention of killing us; and as we are men of such character that it would be impossible to hide any matter of double dealing, or treachery, or iniquity, which they might wish to enact against us without our knowing of it at once, for this reason we punished some of those who intended to carry out the plot. As he [our Captain] knew that they were his [Montezuma's] subjects, [it was only] out of respect for his person, and on account of our great friendship, that he refrained from destroying and killing all those who were concerned in the treason. However, the worst of it all is that the priests and Caciques say it was on his advice and command, and that of his ambassadors, that they intended to do it. This of course we never believed, that such a great prince as he is could issue such orders, especially as he had declared himself our friend, and we had inferred from his character that since his Idols had put such an evil thought as making war on us into his head, he would surely fight us in the open field; however, whether he fought in the open or in a town, by day or by night, we would kill those who thought of doing such a thing. But as we look upon him as our great friend and wish to see and speak to him, we are setting out at once for his city to give him a more complete account of what Our Lord the King had commanded us to do.

648

When Montezuma heard this message and learned through the people of Cholula that we did not lay all the blame on him, we heard it said that he returned again with his priests to fast and make sacrifices to his Idols, to know if they would again repeat their permission to allow us to enter into the city or no, and whether they would reiterate the commands they had already given him. The answer which they gave was the same as the first, that he should allow us to enter and that once inside the city he could kill us when he chose. His captains and

[187]

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648 tribute to His Majesty, and that as he now understood about the great power of our Lord and King, to whom many lands pay tribute and taxes and many great kings are subject, it would be well for him and all his vassals to give him their fealty, for such is the custom, first to give fealty and then to give tribute and taxes. Montezuma replied that he would gather his vassals together, and talk to them about it. And within ten days nearly all the Caciques of that territory assembled together, but that Cacique who was most nearly related to Montezuma did not come. I have already said that he was reported to be very valiant, and in his bearing and body and limbs and in his face he clearly showed it. He was somewhat blustering, and at that time he was staying at one of his towns named Tula.

It was rumoured that the kingdom of Mexico would come to this Cacique on the death of Montezuma, and when they sent to summon him he replied that he did not wish to come, nor to pay taxes, for he was not able to keep himself with the income from his provinces. Montezuma was very angry at this reply, and at once sent some Captains to take him prisoner, but as he was a great Lord, and had many relations, he was warned of this and withdrew to his province where they were not then able to catch him.

648 I must leave him now and state how, in the discussion that Montezuma held with the Caciques of all the territory
● 787 whom he had called together, after he had made a speech without Cortés or any of us, excepting Orteguilla the page, being present, it was reported that he had told them to consider how for many years past they had known for certain, through the traditions of their ancestors which they had noted down in their books of records, that men would come from the direction of the sunrise to rule these lands, and that then the lordship and kingdom of the

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Mexicans would come to an end. Now he believed, from what his Gods had told him, that we were these men, and the priests had consulted Huichilobos about it and offered up sacrifices, but their Gods would no longer answer them as they had been accustomed to do. 648 787

All that Huichilobos would give them to understand was, that what he had told them before he now again gave as his reply, and they were not to ask him again, so that they took it to mean that they should give their fealty to the King of Spain whose vassals these Teules say that they are :— 648

"As for the present it does not imply anything, and as in time to come we shall see whether we receive another and better reply from our Gods, so we will act according to the time. For the present, what I order and beg you all to do with good will is to give and contribute some sign of vassalage, and I will soon tell you what is most suitable, and as just now I am importuned about it by Malinche, I beg that no one will refuse it. During the eighteen years that I have been your Prince, you have always been very loyal to me, and I have enriched you and have broadened your lands, and have given you power and wealth, and if at this present time our Gods permit me to be held captive here, it would not have happened, unless, as I have told you many times, my great Huichilobos had commanded it."

When they heard these arguments, all of them gave as an answer that they would do as he had ordered them, and they said it with many tears and sighs, and Montezuma more tearful than any of them. Then he sent a chieftain to say that on the following day they would give their fealty and vassalage to His Majesty. This was on the [1] day of the [1] month, in the year 1519.

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[1] Blank spaces left in the original.

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Thus As
soon as we had placed the image of Our Lady and the 787
Cross on the Altar which we had made on the Great Cue and the Holy Gospel had been preached and Mass said, it seems that Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca spoke to the priests, and told them that they wished to leave their country as they were so badly treated by the Teules, and they did not wish to stay where those figures and the Cross had been placed, nor would they remain there unless we were killed, and this was their answer and they need not expect any other, and they should inform Montezuma and all his Captains, so that they might at once go to war and kill us. The Idols further told them that they could see how all the gold that used to be kept for their honour, had been broken up by us and made into ingots, and let them beware how we were making ourselves lords over the country, and were holding five great Caciques prisoners, and they told them of other misdeeds so as to induce them to attack us. In order that Cortés and all of us 000
should know about this, the Great Montezuma sent word to tell Cortés that he wished to speak to him on very important matters, and the page Orteguilla came and said to him that Montezuma was very sad and much disturbed, and that during the previous night and part of the day many priests and leading Captains had been with him and had said things to him privately that he [the page] could not understand.

When Cortés heard this he went in haste to the palace where Montezuma was staying and took with him Cristóval de Olid, who was Captain of the Guard, and four other Captains and Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, and, after they had paid much respect to him, Montezuma said: "Oh! Señor Malinche and Captains, how distressed I am at the reply and command which our Teules have given to our priests and to me and all my Captains, which is that we should make war on you and

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But |105
during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent
principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have ut- 776
tered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and 787
"my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my
"chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in
"all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my
"duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for
"many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-
"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently*
given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I
"shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and
"I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this |74
utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their
appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico
as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as
such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a
naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and
marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently |61|
converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to
the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 450). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 127 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenuchtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta (Historia eclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hicieron fuertes en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se rancharon (como decimos "en el libro de los Pobladores) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas chozas, rodeados "de carrizo, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 465. " . . . . y dividiendose una parte y otra, por toda aquella espesura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commenzaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.") [311]

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 480, 481 and 482, of Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also. [17]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

2. To cases of military insubordination, or treachery:[269] 643

3. To instances of great importance, demanding sudden action in order to avoid public danger.[270]

cases, the right of summary punishment, as well as in the case of unfaithful stewards or disobedient subordinates in general. Compare, on the same subject, *Durán* (Cap. LIII. pp. 419 and 420). The fact, that the "Cihuacohuatl" spoke to the young men, further shows that the exercise of such extreme power was known to, and sanctioned by, the council.

[269] Quotations are useless, the necessity for such a power being too plain. But it is well, here, to state that among much ruder tribes even, and where the democratic element was carried to its greatest extremes, arbitrary punishment by war-captains sometimes occurred. Thus it is asserted that, at the bloody engagement of Point Pleasant, Va., 10 of October, 1774, "Cornstalk," the great Shawnee war-chief, tomahawked one near him who had "by trepidation and reluctance to proceed to the charge, evinced a dastardly disposition." *Alex S. Withers* ("*Chronicles of Border Warfare*," Chap. VII, p. 129). It explains also the summary punishment of traitors and deserters, as well as of those who assumed the dress of the prominent war-chiefs during a raid or an engagement.

[270] The incarceration of runners or messengers may be (and has been to me in conversation by an aged friend) brought up in proof of the belief, that the "chief of men" had a despotic power. Instances of that kind are related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CVI, p. 189). This is the truly admirable description of the first news brought to México of the approach of European ships. It is too lengthy to be inserted here. A runner from the coast carried the news, and "Wrathy Chief" said to Petlacalcatl, take him to the cell made of logs (probably split logs, "tablon") and look after him. This was done to keep the news secret until the matter could be investigated, and was, therefore, a preliminary measure of policy. But, aside from the fact that the isolation rather than incarceration (since the latter would have been death) of a news-carrier was a matter of policy, and as such a *duty* of the "chief of men," it was also an established custom among the Mexicans. This is stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVII, pp. 317 and 318): "Habiendo cautivado á alguno, luego los mensageros que se llamaban tequipantitlanti, venian á dar las nuevas al rey de aquellos que habian cautivado á sus enemigos, y de la victoria que habian obtenido los de su parte . . . . . y el señor los respondia diciéndoles: "Seais muy bien venidos, huélgome de oir esas nuevas, sentad y esperad, porque me quiero certificar mas de ellas, y asi los mandaba guardar, y si hallaba que aquellas nuevas eran mentirosas, hacialos matar." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 536): "y que no le dejasen salir de Palacio hasta tener segundo Correo, que confirmase aquella buena nueva, que él havia traido. *Feinaccri* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa, Trat. II°, cap. II, p. 381), almost a textual copy of the preceding author, as might be expected.

Among the many tales of prodigies, supernatural warnings, witchcraft, etc., etc., connected with the months and years immediately preceding the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, there is, also, one bearing a particularly pure Indian character. See *Durán* (Cap. LXVIII, pp. 521-530). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CVI, p. 188 and 189). "Wrathy Chief," alarmed by mysterious prognostics, called upon all the old men, women, and the medicine-men, to report what they *might dream* or *had dreamed* within a certain lapse of time. It is well known what high value is attached by the Indians in general to *dreams*. There can be no doubt that, with the prevailing notion that dreams contained important and solemn premonitions, warnings from a higher source (*Sahagun* Lib. V), the request to communicate such dreams for the benefit of the tribe, to the "chief of men," was very natural. According to *Motolinia* ("*Hist. de los Indios de la Nueva-España*," Col. de Doc., Trat. II, cap. VIII, p. 196), certain men were particularly expert in explaining and interpreting dreams, so much so, that they were generally applied to for such purposes. If now, as the story in question has it, the said people refused to comply with such requests, the "chief of men" might, of his own accord,

[787]

17: Sahagún
●787

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[For information on divination and soothsaying, see category 116, pp. 1-25, 29-45, 49-60, 70-77, 79-87, 92-109, 124, 126d-126s, 126v-133, 138-139, 143, 145-46, 151-180, 194.]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial [788] bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal [415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving [395] the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[4]

324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

648 mid-fifteenth century both Tenochtitlan and Texcoco had grown to the point where they had to have additional supplies or else starve, so, because of this common necessity, the alliance endured fairly well.[4]

186 Despite their common background of language, thought, religion, custom and material culture, the Aztecs had no sense of unity. Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco, both of which are within the city limits of modern Mexico, existed side by side in complete independence for many years; not until 1473 did the Tenochcas make up their minds to conquer their neighbors. Each town and hamlet was sufficient unto itself, and its members felt no larger loyalty. In modern Teotihuacan this feeling still persists, and the members of one *barrio*, or ward, look upon those of the adjacent one as a congregation of the most horrible criminals. Not even the Spanish siege of Mexico brought unity to the Aztecs, and the Texcocans blithely joined the invaders to exterminate their former ally Tenochtitlan.

648 439 Although community was potentially hostile to community, individuals could move freely about the countryside. Trade in simple commodities was carried on extensively from the early times of the Middle Cultures. In the Aztec period the traveling merchants became a special class, and their security of body and property, preserved at first for the advantages which each town could derive from their wares, was guaranteed by the force of Aztec arms. Pilgrims [788] going to worship at special shrines had free and unmolested passage; and a suggestion that such journeys were made in the distant past is given by the Middle Culture figurines of foreign origin. One site especially, Tetelpan, produced so great a variety of idols from such a wide area that it must

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redonbtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

the diapouhqui, who is reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the pictures [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting; the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been created.[39]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the one; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the maker and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[40] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The confessor said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[41] bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored personage, he made his confession in his own house; the new mat; there. Or penitentiaries the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the new mat the incense into the flames. He sacrificed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, purify, the torment of this man."

Then the one spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil complaint, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secret.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt see not the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou commit [to the god], uncover thy secret, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatever way thou art cursed, in whatever manner it is, whatever thou hast done, whatever thou hast achieved, whatever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil [illegible] consequence.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlacatiuj, yn jnnac mauj, yn amatlj, yn tlacujlolli: in quipia 776
yn tlilli, yn tlapalli, yn matlatl, yn pinlli, yn nemauiztli, yn 793
ayajcqui 783

yn mojnelnelnaz in tlapilchiuhca; ochtec quitlacaquitia in tlapouhqui, quijlhuia.

Ca yuchtzinco ajnantzinoqui, yn tlacatl, yn tetecujo, in tlaqui nenequi: in tetecujo, yiualli, yn ohcatl, yuqcuin, yyetlacatzin, ajnantzinlinoqui.

Quijlhuia in tlapouhqui: ximotlacnelli:

quijnanatia, yn iquijo ollac: quijpepena in amalli, quijna 787
yn jamaca, yn jtlacujlol: quijta, yn iquijo qualli amalli, yn
iacana, in quaican: mjtna: quijnanalquanja.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie ynantlipan, iaccujo petlatl quicua: yuan copalli, yuan quauijtl: yn tlamatini in tlamacuhqui, qui ichan yn mononelnaca, ie ynqui inch in tlapouhqui. Auh anoc teujc inch, in tlamacuhqui:

iaccujo petlatl in tectan, vellachquito yn vecati metlelia; 788
yuan tlotlalilo: ajnan copalli xamma in ohco in tlapouhqui,
quijnotza in tlotl; quijlhuia.

Teteo yuan, tenu yuan, vecu tonl, ajcan ollatia, in cujlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn macualli: ajcan chocatiujtz, tlaiocatiujtz, mononpohuiujtz, ancan omolcoh, ancan omonpolonj, ancan cuijnamjc yn vielaltzi, in tecatzualli, yn qocamjtl; aquj inlilacna, quijnequipachoa, Tlacatlo, tetecujoe, tlaquaiac nenequiaz, matcqui xinnecujli, ma xinnecuqui, yn jnnelnenchilio yn macualli.

Niman quijnotza, yn mononelnehqui, in inhual tlapouhqui: quijlhuia.

Tlaelnenelcatia yujctinoca, inquantinoca, in tlaqui nenequi; tlamelhujlica, tlamomequjlica, yn mjlaca, in mopalanca: tlamotlapalhujlica, in mocuqui, inmopelacal,

a ma no cuppa iilli: ajcan xinantzinoj, tlamopanoj: ma inquantinoca tlamequjlica, tlamomanaxuj, in tlaqui, nenequi, in tetecujo, in iualli, in ohcatl.

A cujo tlelocatzinoca in tetecujo, a cujo mjnelnenequi: in iualli, in ohcatl.

Auh yujo quen tlaujca, ma tlatlaqui in mocuqui, in mopelcali: ma xiquan in quenenjlic, in motlachiual, yvin quenjo tlamati, yvin quenjo cuic: in quenjo machiuh, in quenjo tez: in quenjo tlachiuh, in mononjual, in mononquijuc:

tlamoqui, tlapolonj, in mononiria, in mopalaina, in mjlaca in mopalanca.

Auh tlamotlacnelnenelchilli, yn tetecujo, in tlaqui nenequi,

39. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Sahagún, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

40. Cf. corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, given as synonyms of yualli, ohcatl: (1) "*aquí está, aire y tinieblas*"; and (2) "*dios invisible sin forma . . . inmaculado, y fortaleza y compañero y independiente, por cuya virtud todos viven. . . .*" Angel María Garibay K., *Llave del náhuatl* (México, Editorial n. p., 1940), p. 113, translates *ayqui nenequi* as "*que está como y junto*" —the one, God in general.

41. Context suggests that pronoun refers to the patient.

war club of the captive lay in his hand, but his war club lacked obsidian points. And they who striped had their shields and war clubs, in order to fight in gladiatorial sacrifice in supposed battle with the captive or slave.

onoc aoc moitztzo in imaquauh. auh in tlavavanque inchimal inmacquauh ictiçac injc tlavavanaia iuhquin qujçali malli anoço tlacutli. 796X 782

Lying in the Sacred Place.

For five days all lay stretched out in the reed [swamp]. Thus was penance done for Tlaloc when in the cave were laid the two *culnauati*.

Teupan onolizti

Macujlilhujl in tulpan netecoia injc neçavililoia tlaloc in iquac vztoc tlaliloia vme culnavati.

Placing of Men upon the Straw.

The placing of men upon the straw: Of those who flayed men, some put on the [flayed] skins. Such were named Xipes. And straw was shaken out, upon which they placed [the Xipes]. Hence was it said that they were set forth upon the straw.

Çacapan nemanalizti

In çacapan nemanalizti, ichoantin in qujxipevaia tlaga in imevaio cequjntin conmaqujaia in choatl in motenevaia xixipeme, auh motzetzeloaia in çacatl ipan qujuvalmanaia ipampa in motenevaia çacapan valnemanalo.

Quickening [the Sun or the Fire].

The quickening was thus done: When the ears were cut, they spattered the blood upward, [or] perchance sprayed it into the fire. Thus, it was said, they caused the fire and the sun to quicken.

Tlazcaltilizti.

In tlazcaltilizti ic muchivaia iquac in monacaztequja acoçu contzetzeloaja in eztli anoço tleco contzitzicujnjaia injc mjtoaia quiacaltia in tletl yoan in tonatiuh.

The Spreading of Greens.

The spreading of greens was thus done: when greens had been plucked, then they were spread everywhere upon the altars. No one, anywhere, failed to do so.This was known as the spreading of things which had been plucked by hand.

Tlatzmolintemalizti

In tlatzmolintemalizti injc muchivaia, in iquac omocujto tlatzmolin, njman ic motetema in novjian momuzco, acan mocava vel novjian, ichoatl in mjtoaia tlamacujtemalizti.

The Spreading of a Bed of Straw.

The spreading of a bed of straw was thus done: Like the kissing of the earth, it was fitting when anywhere one entered a *dive* where stood the image of the devil. Thus, [when] one entered in his presence, he pulled up straw and shook it out before the devil when he came forth before him.

Others followed the roads, and when there was

Neçacapechtemalizti.

In neçacapechtemalizti injc muchivaia çan no iuhquj in tlalqualizti ipan povia in iquac campa qujnovaia in canjn ycac ixiptla Diablo injc inpã qujnoaia ompia in çacatl inpan contzetzeloaia in Diablo, in iquac tlaxpan qujçaia [201]

Oc cequjntin in vtli qujnoaia, in iquac iavc, [788]

X 796 war, they made, as it were, a supplication when anyone went where there was war, lest something 782 might go amiss [with them]. They said:

"Not here shall I die; [it is] in war that I go to die."

And when battle was already joined, they first plucked grass, shook it out toward the sun, and said:

"He will destroy and slay [our foe]," or, "He will capture [him]."

In this wise was a prayer raised to the sun.

iuhqujnma ic nenetoltiloia, jn jquac oca iauh iavc intla itla ic metolinjtinemj qujtoaia

amo njcan in njmiquiz, iavc in njmiqujtiuh

auh in iqc ie muchivaz iauiotl achto qujpia in çacatl qujtzetzeloaia in jvicpa in tonatiuh qujtoaia, vnpopolihuiz y in tlamiquiz, anoço tlamaz

iuhqujn ic monetoltiaia ivjc tonatiuh.

The Blowing of Trumpets.

X 796 [533] Thus was done the blowing of trumpets: when it was late at night, when it was already approaching 782 midnight, [then it was] when trumpets were sounded, that all [the priests] might offer blood in the house of the devil. Therefore were [the priests] awakened.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in tlatlapitzaliztli iquac in ie tlaquauhiovac, in ie onacitiuh iovalnepantla iquac tlapitzaloia ic neçohoaia in jchan Diablo, ic teixitiloia.

The Illumination with Fire.

Thus was done the illumination with fire: when we people had passed [the night until] midnight and also trumpets had been sounded, thus were men awakened. Thus those known as the beaters began the keeping of the watch. And if any did not awake, they poured water upon him, or else they shook [coals of] fire upon him, or else they cast him into the water at Thilapan or at Coapan.

Tlatica tlavilizti.

Injc muchivaia tlatica tlavilizti, in iquac ie titlaca in iohoalnepantla oacic, no tlapitzalo, ic teixitilo, ic pevaia in tlapializtli motenehoaia tlavitequjni, auh in aquin amo veliça atl ipan qujnoqujaia, anoço tletl ipil qujtzetzelovaia, anoço atlan contlaçaia vmpa tilapan, anoço coapan.

The Piercing of Ears.

X 796 The piercing of ears was also undertaken [because 782 of] the devil. Hence were ears bored. 785

Nenácazapotlaliztli.

In nenacazapotlaliztli no ic tlaiecalhujloia in Diablo injc nenacazcoionilo.

The Piercing of the [Lower] Lip.

In like manner the piercing of the [lower] lip: similarly, for the devil, was the boring of the [lower] lip endured.

Netezapotlaliztli.

I Çan no iuhquj in nenacazapotlaliztli çan no ic tlaiecalvilo in Diablo in netezapotlaliztli.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

317 Obsidian must have had important economic value for the
439 Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very
324 useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial
[788] bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal
[415] innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

303 The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play.
● 789 They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving
[395] the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[9]

324 Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

were called *Quetzalcoatl-Totec-tlamacazqui** and *Quetzalcoatl-Tlaloc-tlamacazqui*. The name Quetzalcoatl was given them perhaps as an honorific title in memory of the God of Civilization and Learning, who was the archetype of the priestly ideal. The second names refer to the gods of the respective cults, and the third word means priest. Ranking below these two officials was a third, *Mexicatl-Teohuatzin*, who, like a vicar-general, supervised general religious business in the city-state and conquered towns. Two assistants looked after the instruction in the schools for citizen-warriors and for priests, and other officials supervised the pulque ceremonies.[2]

Next in rank were the priests who were in charge of the worship, temple and ritual of each specific god or goddess and who, in the ceremonies, assumed the dress of the divinity, impersonating him on earth. They, in turn, had a host of assistants who were supplemented by aspirants to the priesthood, the bottom of the hierarchical scale. There seem to have been priestesses as well, and schools for their instruction were established in connection with certain temples. As might be expected as an accompaniment of a highly ritualized religion far above the comprehension of the masses, there was an active practice of magic carried on by male and female witch doctors. Undoubtedly many of these unsanctioned rites were rooted in the more primitive stages of the Aztec development; and in modern times, although the formal Aztec religion has been almost completely eradicated, the indigenous population continues many of the old magico-medical practices.

The priests, however, directed the intellectual life of the

*Ksy-tz'al-co-atl-To'-tec-tla-mah-ca'z-kee.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

continuance of their existence endowed the ritual with profound solemnity. The New Fire Ceremony was symbolized by the extinction of the old altar fire, which had burned perpetually for fifty-two years, and the kindling of a fresh one in token of the new grant of life.* (See Plate 29, top row.)

During the five useless days (*nemontemi*) of the final year the people let their fires go out and destroyed their household furniture. Fasting and lamentation were the order of the day while the populace awaited catastrophe. Pregnant women were shut up in granaries, lest they be changed into wild animals, and children were marched up and down and kept awake, for fear that sleep on that fatal evening would result in their turning into rats.

At sunset the priests, in solemn panoply, representatives of the whole array of the Aztec pantheon, ascended the Hill of the Star, anciently known as Huixachtecatl. This extinct volcanic crater rises abruptly from the Valley floor and is visible from almost every quarter of the Valley of Mexico. From the temple to its summit the priests anxiously scanned the heavens as the night wore on, awaiting the hour when a certain star or stars, Aldebaran or the Pleiades, reached the center of the heavens and gave the sign that their world would continue.

At the very moment when these stars passed the meridian the priests seized a wooden fire drill and kindled a new fire in the open breast of a victim freshly slain for the purpose. The populace—priests, chiefs and commoners—thrilled to a great happiness. Runners lit torches from the new fire and rekindled the altars in the temples of every town and hamlet, whence the people bore the flames to their hearths. Like fireflies the darting torchbearers sped through the night, bringing the promise of a new life to every man, woman and child.

X 796 **Twentieth Chapter**, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [805] [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl cualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlalocs.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

● [799] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenuanztli*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed [202 314 289] white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

Juic 28. capítulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in qujtocaiotiaia, in qujtoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eua.

Quauitl eua, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujztililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã netetenhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauitl, moteneoa cuenuantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech iectiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujmoncaoaia pipiltzitzinti, in moteneoaia tlacatetenhtli: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquauitl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapaztli.

1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitlaua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (Mexico: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "*Xilomanaliztli,—Atlacahualco,—Cuahuitlehua,—Cihuailhuitl. Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de ciñal ó plantas: nombre acaso por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitlehua, quemaçon de los árboles: nombre peculiarmente á lugares fuera de México. Atlacahualco ó Atlacahualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos; segun el P. Leon, derrotero de las aguas, y es la interpretación de todas que más nos satisface. Cihuailhuitl, fiesta de la mujer. El símbolo religioso en la imágen de Tlaloc y su árbol reverdecendo, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de' Messico* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: "*. . . el primer mes, cuyo nombre Atlahualco o Atlacahualco, significa la cuenca del agua, pues en el mes de marzo crecen las lluvias del invierno en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o azteca. Lo llamaban también Quauhitlehua, lo que significa la vegetación de los árboles, que se verifica en este tiempo en los países fríos. Los llamaban también a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, relación de las sementeras de maíz, porque en él ejecutaban el mes dicho las del año corrido, para ayudar la siembra que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares cálidos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (Tlalocan, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuitl ehua ni pahi ni ehua*: Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún über die Azteken*, *verfasst, übersetzt* (Cuauhtlehua Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Stecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 23, translates the name as *ein Baume erbeben sich* (*machen sich auf dem Weg*).

2. *Nextlaoaloa*. Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *ixtlaua* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Jesús Piedrasanta, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1909), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nextlaoali* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *teteujtl* as *tres sagrados*.

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacatetenhtli* as *tres hombres* and makes it clear (Nahuatl summary No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 95) refers to them as *blutenden Opferpapiere* (*Opferpapiere in blutenden*?). They may actually have been paper amulets represented by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See Illustration (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 60) from the Bibliotheca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de gotas de ulli o los quales papeles llamamos amatenutli.*" Tlaulchachapaztli: cf. *ulchachapaztli*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat clipper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of magney fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his magney thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat playing the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are writhful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking heavenly, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, talked like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Vilos, cuauvemaxic, tlapanalotiuh, quipizaxnj, in xocuitl, cohcoxilac chikiliuh.

Auh in machiotin tlamacazqueq, quinnamaxa yn imixiocuach, yxnecacocoqui, intlamecacocoqui, inch pipilcatiuh yn imixiocuach, ontecentiuh yiaquelli: yoan quinicacatiuh in tlenamacac, ylcmauh ictiuh, yoan yuixc ictiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiquipil.

Auh ce tlacatl quacuilli tziacatiuh, quiquiechpanotiuh, aiochicaoztli, no iuoca naualquauxjl, panoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan vijac, vitlatztic, yoan cacaleca, quicacalaztiuh

aocac ce onmocaoli calmecac, cenjchictiuh, centlaoquetza, cicitiuetti in calmecac.

Auh çan nauhxiuin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjnac, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiocachotoque; quiqatztoque in quiquijtzli, quiquiçotoque.

Auh yn oncito atenco, yn jaoacalizin tlamacazqueq: nauhcampa in mauca yn aiouhcalli, njman ic ic nêtenco, netlalilo, tlatzitzica, tlaviujoca, tlacaccuechca, netlamatzilitzcalo:

in ic iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in vene iuoca chalchiuhquaquijlli: quitoa.

Cozti ycomocaiii, amoiotl ycaocaxian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoaa, aztapilcuechtetlacaxian:

yn ocoyjto y, njman ic ic onnetipeualoa ada, tlachachaquaztinemj, yn adan, tlamaujtochinemj, tlacaxiujtocinemj, atlacaxiuiocinemj, tlatzitinemj, ycaocatinemj, quiqatlaichcalhuja yn iaquichin xocone:

cuqui cannahtlaoa, tlacacauja, coçtzin quiqatlaichcalhuja, in pilquizti, pipiztlaoa: coquipiaia quiqatlaichcalhuja, yn atacolone, acacolaoa: ocquiqatlli aztalaoa, coquipiaia xnoquequlaoa, cequja tacujcoiolaoa:

yn vacan mokinia yn, tlacquanala mauca in cuen-

10. CHIMAL: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: Historia de la cerámica en México (México: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21: *cabezadas; escudillas (cazuelas)*(?).

11. "Todos llevaban a cuestas, como adoquiera anduvo con esos cerdiciones de cabeza, con unos bardos al cuello; y de esos colgaban, como unos de papel pintados, cuidados con los cuernos colgaban, que llamaban pinpinxoli; y en aquellos colgaban llamaba unos cabezas de barro, hechos a la manera de [illegible] de cuerno, que eran llamados pinpinxoli, que era colgadizado con tinta, y con polvos de color [illegible] que eran llamados pinol, que es como [illegible] de cuerno" (translation by Spanish text).

Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 37n.) writes: "*Amoxoli*: *cord* [illegible], *pull tobacco*. The Mexicans had these bands in [illegible] the *pull* or Mexicanos [illegible] fabric; the quadrangular [illegible] *pull tobacco*, or Mexicanos [illegible] L.; and *pinol*: *pulling cords*, *pull tobacco*; or Mexicanos [illegible] L.; [illegible] or *cord* or *charcoal* in pulling called *pinpinxoli*; *pull tobacco*, *quadr.*, *pinol*, or *cordoled* or *cigars* or *pinpinxoli*; *pinol cordoles*; *pill tobacco*. When [illegible] *tobacco* was [illegible] *cordoled*, *pinpinxoli*, *pinolis*, *barbs*, and *charcoal*." Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 136.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. [illegible] 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Rubiales op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 168-81. Sahagún defines these *mapachtli* or (probably) green-winged teal; the Aztecs also spoke of herons; kingfishers (*xoquiquiri*) and cranes (*Grulla Angel*, p. 118, [illegible] 3-5).

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[776]

Clouds

When [clouds] billowed and formed thunderheads, and settled and hung about the mountain tops, it was said: "The Tlalocs are already coming. Now it will rain. Now the masters of the rain will sprinkle water."

Hail

It was formed and took shape when very white clouds settled on mountain tops. It was said: "Now it will hail; now our food will be hailed out."

And then did hail fall, making a din as of rattling, beating one about the head, pelting one [as if] with stones. Then, truly, died and were despoiled our crops. For some distance, it flattened on the ground and spread birds over the surface of the water. At that time the water dwellers went gathering for themselves; they brought in their catch.

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And that it might not hail, that they might not be hailed upon, and the young maize plants might not be damaged by hail, then the [sorcerers who] cast away hail and rain drove and headed it off. They removed it from the waters [of the lake]; they showed it the way and took it [hence]. Or else they cast it forth into the deserted places, the uncultivated lands where there were no crops, no one lived, and nothing existed; poverty-ridden lands—barren lands where nothing grew, nothing issued: the land was void. It was only an abandoned place; the [very] stones were dry.

Mist

In iconc tepetlcpac mohoni, momohoca, motlatlalia, mopilon: mimoia, ca ic uitze in tlalocpc, ic quimoia, ic pizauiquc in aiaqui.

Tecuitl

Ic machiua, ic noci: in iconc tepetlcpac motlatlalia mistli, ofca iuuc: mimo, ca ic tecuitz, ic tecuitlac in tonacatl.

Auh ytic ueuei tecuitl, iuhquin tlacacalaca, tepacacalanja, tomomotla: vel ic miqui, ic ipolini, ic tonacamiqui, cemaxi quimana, atlaco quimana in tlaxmac. Auh vel oncan mopiaqui, quin mopiaqui, tonacatlama, in atlaca.

Auh inic amo tecuiz, inic amo tecuilac, inic amo tecuitmiquiz tectli: nimao quinopeua, quipeuia, in tecuitlatzqui, in quiouhtlatzqui atlanja quiquanja, quitlachichia, quimica: anoço vmpa quitlaça in çacatla, çacatl-oacan, in atlc iuuchitlaxin, atlc iuonoia, atlc onoc, atlc iuonoia, atlc oxotoc, atlc iquiçaill, atlc quintoc, atlc onuetzinoc: çan iuhcatla, tetl onoacca.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[a] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[b]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men); two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[c] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[a] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuiltecs," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[b] In Tlachinolicpac, *FNE*, 3: 130.

[c] *FNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de henequen, que se hace de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan cargas con que senbo-

17: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a mortar and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already blasted, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorceress destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away — the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Injc mottaccitomoztac capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

In ipan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujnquechzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpilloa, qujncuexcochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzinja, in motenecoa tlaçotchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan ioan in mjctiloia, in oallavi ie tlacujtlapoçaua, atlan qujmonmamaizvi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca ichoan inca motcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan oc qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopolouia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacatecuhlo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxaia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecaltco noujian canqujaia, in tlacatecuhlozocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacacatztaxia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 684 727 761 789 824

Auh in ichoantin pochteca, in motenecoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê qujvetmatia, qujmavizztiliaia, ca vncan qujzotonjaia, in iaquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhqui, in tomaric, in acatic, in ie iaquich cozcatl, in omocapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jaquich nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xocotzintli.* — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 254: *Jocotzin — Bromelia pinguin L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un metro de altura y cuya hoja extendiéndose a lo de la pita. . . . propiedad antacuerdolitica."*

2. Tlatlacatecolo also as "man of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlipan, Mamalitzcalco, Xilonen, Tlaloc, Xiloc, Yopicatzinco, Cuauhtlahuac, Chicomecoatl, Xochiquetzal, Tlazoteotl (Alfonso Morales, op. cit., p. 59). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1950), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the pochteca.

3. *Acxoteca* or *pochtecatlahtoani*, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como el dichoteca que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre los mercaderes . . . es antiguamente el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es como padre y maestro de todos los mercaderes" (Sahagún, Codex ed., X, 16, 5).

Jiménez, op. cit., p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 69): "*eine eidechsenähnliche Fabelgestalt oder eidechsenähnlich der Kopf eine Maske gelegentlich Lendenschurz Chalco.*" Acxoteca was a merchant's barrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nanahuatzin, Xochiquetzal, Xantocatl, Cuchimilco, Tlazoteotl, Macuilxochitl, Chalchiuhtlicue (Morales, loc. cit.).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jiménez, op. cit., p. 308, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: "*Menschen oder deren Gottheiten . . . . der auf Wanderschaft gehende Mann und Marktjänder vereinigt sich der auf andere Reisen gehende Gewerbetreiben, auch Kaufleute i. A.*"

5. Ibid., p. 148.

825 235 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjquj totolpipil, ic quitoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaquico, anoço oquimjtlac, anoço aca vel chane in oquintlaçolmjcti: ic quimatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi totolme, injc mjquj.

825 235 837 It was said that also the same befell those who were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse, whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Quil no ith inpan muchiua in namjqueque: in aço cana quitlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço tequichtin: injc quimati; çan quipiqui in aaquetztivetti, anoce cana motlavizequj.

286 Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.

Injc cempoalli onmacuilli capitulo, ytechpa tlatia: in icpatl quiquiti.

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

In jcpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in jquac quiquiti in chicopetilivi, in chicoviaquixtiuh, in tennecuiliuhtiuh, quitonia: quilmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan coeciuhquj, çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatia in tecivitl.

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chia field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

In jquac quiavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquin vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli quiiaoac quiioaltepeoa, itvalco: quilmach yc amo tecivilocz in jmjl, quil ic polini in tecivitl.

754 776 789 Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

At night walked demons—perchance wizards and sorcerers—where they harmed one in one's home. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

In iocalitica nemj tlatlacatecuilo: aço nanaoalti, tlavipuchtin in canin onnepoloa in tachan: in oquimjtlaque in aço itla ic quinpoloa in chanoque: niman ytlan costeca yztli puertatitlan, anoço iocalco quimana in iocalitica, quitonia: quilmach vncan onmotencavia in tlatlacatecuilo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa: aço mjcoac, anoce cocolizzli tepan muchioac.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los pollos se cayan muertos, los pusos arriba: y esto, llamaua diçiendo:*"

28. Corresponding Spanish text: "*no parecia, no que li tale, no parecia biaruanda.*". Cuaresma, in Sahagun, op. cit., la se ruaba o falso ruaua.

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At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic ujman choloa, aiocmo cẹpẹa tepolotivi: in jquac oquitzaque itztli, atlan onoc.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

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Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal.

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[29]

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualiaia, qujlmach in aquin qujqualia yn q'caos qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oqujchtequjco in qujmjchin, oqujchtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualiaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoz: in aquin qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

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Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jxtirl.

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out—not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Qujlmach in tozi, in jquac motenequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in ichcatl aviztozi, qualli quixoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aquin quilaquiaia, quiquixtiliaia in jxti, ioan ixtololo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

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Injc cempoalli onnamatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli.

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, quitoaia in ie vecauh: aquin nechitoa, aquin nechteneoa: anoce quitoaia: aquin nechicoitoa, anoçe quitoa: aquiquc in noca mononotza. Quil ichcatl quinecacioiaia, ichcatl ic quimatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canaça veca quinteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

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Injc cempoalli onnamatlactli on capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltotoni.

When small children still lay in the cradle, and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be affected by what he ate or drank.

In ichcantin in pipiltotoni: in jquac yn oc coçoico anoque: in jquac tlaquilo, anoço itla mjx, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, quilmach ic amo tuitiacoaz, amo motolinjz in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

29. Corresponding Spanish text: "de harto, o de sababoria, o de cosa cierta."

30. *Axolotl*: Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2, 21, refers to it as a aquatical water animal or spirit "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of immersed men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, 12, and V, App., cap. 29). Santamarina, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66 (*Axolotes*), calls it *ajolote o perro del agua* (Lastra Salinas).

31. Corresponding Spanish text: "quando comejan, o beuian en presencia de algun niño."

32. *Ibid.*: "en la frente."

776 cape-like over-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[30] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[30] men's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[31] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[32] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Jnic chicome capitulo: vncan momoua, yn ciouatl: yn jtoca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: ichouol ipan mjtoaia, qujmjtipletiaia, in tonacaiotl: yoan in çaço tlein yuanca, yiolca macuoalli, yujua, yuquale.

Auh yuju ynnochichiouale catca; itilauhxacala, amacale, axochiuipile, axochiacuaie, no poçulcaque, tonalchimale, tonatiuhchimale.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteu innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were [759] physicians, leeches, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

Also women, midwives, these who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.[33] [791]

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

776 And when there was a feast, when it was time for the
796 slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteu innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They solaced her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they amused her. They wished her not to weep. They bid [her fate] from her;[34] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they battled; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huastecs,[35] who accompanied him on either side.

Jnic chicuei, capitulo: vncã momoua, yn ciouatl, yn jtoca: Teteu jnna: no momoaiotia, Tlalli yiollo, yuan Toçi.

Jnnã catca yn teteu, qujmomotitiaja, in titici, in teitemjnque, teixinanque, teilanequjlique, teixpatique.

Auh yn cioa, temjnoijtique, tepillalilique, tetlatlaxilique, tlapeuhque, atlan teitanj, tlaolchaiauhque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujoujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

No ichouantin qujtlatlauhtiaia, in temazcalaque; ypampa y, quitlalilaia yn jxipda, in temazcalixquac, qujtocaiotiaia, temazcalteci.

Auh yn jquac, in ic ilhuiqujxtilloia, in ic inijquixequippa: in ichoantin titici, yn jxipda catca teteu ynna, qujtlaoculpopoloaia, amo vel chocaia, quetelequjxtiaia, qujtlanemectiaia, qujtlaxemequjltiaia, qujcocelaia, haqujchoctlanja, qujtlatlahtitiaia, mamjquinquequeloaia, quinecalilitiaia, qujiacchioeia, qujtlacaoachilitia, cuicujtia, tlauimeztiloia, netlauimacaia, netlauhtiloia: in quinjliuhca muchioaia in tiiacaua, ic quintiçaujaia, ic quipopotonjeia, quimotacujlitiuja, ic panj moquetzaia.

Auh yn jquac omujc, yn jxipda: ujmoa ce tlacatl omoquijaia, yn jxoaia, yuaquantla oelmoquetzaia, vmentin ycuaua, quijujcaia, quitzatzacutiuja:

29. See Plate 29, which explains the name.

30. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

31. Cf. Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 446.

32. Although Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 446) uses the term "foam," he cites Sahagún as referring to flowers. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

33. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 235-54.

34. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 176.

35. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 6. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 178, referring to the Toçi festival: "*Iban delante de ella aquellos que devotos que se llaman huastecos.*"

Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

Injc chicuel capítulo: vncan mjtos in quenjn ie-hoatl motecuçoma, qujmjtos in nanaoalti in tlatlacateculo, in tetlachivianjme, injc itla impan qujchiouzque in Españoles.

Niman iquac tlaios in Motecuçoma in qujmjtos mocheoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanaoalti: yoan qujmjtoi in achcacauhti, chicaoaque, in tiacaoã in jpan tlatozque in jxquich intech monequjz in qualonj in totoli in totoltetl, in jztac tlaxcalli: yoã in tlein qujtlanjzque, yoan injc ça oc vel pachiviz in iniollo, vel qujmjttazque, qujmjtos in mamalti, ic monemachti, cujx qujzque in jmerço: auh iuh qujchiuhque in titlanti.

Auh in jquac oquittaque: cenca motlaeltique, chichicha, ixtetenmotzolos, ihicopi, motzontecõvivixos: auh in tlaqualli eztica catzelhujque, queezvique, cenca invic eoac, qujntlaelti: ichica ca cenca xoqujiac in eztli.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuh motecuçoma, ca qujnteuma, teteu impan qujnma qujnteutocac: ic notzaloque, ic tocaiotiloque, teteu illujcac vitze: auh in tiltique teucacatzacti mjtoque,

qujn iehoatl qujquaque iztac tlaxcalli, tlatzincujtl, totoltetl, totoli, auh in ie izquich xochiqualli, quauhtzaputl, teçontzaputl, atztzaputl, totolcujtlatzaputl,

1. Guibay, in "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1948), p. 170, refers to the "'*duplicadas de la persona*' o al '*desdoblamiento*'" as regard to nenauli. The term may be related etymologically to nani (4) — a quadruple personality, an archaic verb nenauli, nenaole (to feel or disembodiment, as in magic sticks), or Maya-Quiché na, nau, naua (wisdom, science, magic). Guibay favors the second possibility (nenauli, nenaole).

2. *Tlatlacateculo*: concerning the term *desnaturalizado*, Guibay refers to an *arte de hombre perniciosa*, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Rubredo ed.), p. 33 — "*viene pacto con el demonio*" (*desnaturalizado*) (*ibid.*, p. 174). In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 305, he refers to *desnaturalizado* as "*brujo*," "*mago*," "*hombre que perjudica a la gente, hombre pernicioso*"; "*presagiaban y pronosticaban la muerte.*" There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

3. *Tlatelolqui*: we have previously used the term "soothsayer." In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1948), Guibay, noting that Molina translates the term as *astrólogo*, states: "*Le cabe culto, parece denotar fundamento matemático-religioso*," and notes the relationship of the term to *tetelolmapoli*, one who prevents hail from falling. He cites *La publicidad del culto de Tezcatlipoca*, II, p. 464.

4. *Quauhtzaputl*: sapota (*Lucuma obovata* HBK.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), I, p. 274; zapote or zaputl (generic name), according to Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — *Lucuma zapotensis*, *L. hemphillii*, *Achras zapotensis*, *A. sapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 225.

5. *Tzontzaputl*: zapote (*Lucuma zapotensis* Gaertn.), *zapotenhuevo* (*Sarcoporia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva-España* (D. Joaquín and José Rivera, eds.; Paris: C. Maurin, 1880), p. 733, n. 2, this explanation appears: "*Les premiers Espagnoles d'Amérique confondirent* [with various sapotas] *le fruit beaucoup plus gros du tzontzaputl ou lucuma zapotensis, de la famille des sapotes, qu'ils appellent aujourd'hui* zapote. *C'est probablement le même fruit que les Américains connaissent sous le nom de tzontzaputl.*" See also Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 225.

6. *Atztzaputl*: probably the same as atzaputl. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 267-268, this is *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth. It is also identified by Santamarina, *loc. cit.*, as *Lucuma salicifolia* — *cuzte* (*zapotl* or *zapotillo*). In Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), III, p. 334, it is identified as *zapote amarillo* — *tecpanca* (*zapotl*). The *atztzaputl* (yellow sapota) is now generally known as *zapote borracho* (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

7. *Tlatlacotzaputl*: sapote prieto (*Diospyros ebenaster* Retz — *ebenaster*), in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

.7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is related how Moctezuma sent still other soothsayers in order that they might cast a spell over the Spaniards,[1] and what befell them on the way.

And another company of messengers, who were soothsayers and magicians, and fire priests, also went and made their way to contend with them. But they could do nothing. They could not cast a spell over them; no more could they contend against and exert power over them. No longer could they succeed.

For a drunkard came along the way. They went up against him and stopped, stunned. They beheld him as one from Chalco, for so was he arrayed. He was dressed as a man from Chalco; he acted as a Chalcan. Like one besotted, he bore himself and acted like one who is drunk. With eight grass ropes was he bound about the chest.[2] He accosted them, having come ahead of the outposts of the Spaniards.[3]

And he rose-up against them and said: "What do you come to do here again? What do you now wish? What would Moctezuma yet wish to do? Hath he perchance now come to his senses? Is he now filled with a great fear? For he hath committed a fault. He hath abandoned the common folk; he hath destroyed men. People have been struck upon the head; they have been bound [in wrappings for the dead]. He hath laughed at and deceived them!"

And when they had thus seen this, when they had heard his words, to no purpose did they give him attention, praying humbly to him and quickly setting up his abode — his earth pyramid and his straw bed. But he would not then look at it; vain was its erection. To no purpose had they made the earth pyramid.

Just as if they had plunged him into his rage, he presently chid and abused them, and spoke harshly.

Injc matlactli omei capítulo vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma: qujmjoa oc cequjntin tetlachivianjme injc qujtlachivizquja Espanoles yoan in tlein vtlica impan muchiuh.

Auh ic no centlamantique titlanti: ichoan in tlaciuhq̃ in nanaoalti, yoan tlatlenamacaque, no ic iaca, no ic iaque in tenamjqujzque: auh aoccã vel mochiuhque, aoccan vel teittaque, aocmo tlaipantilique, aocmo teipantilique, aocmo onicoatque:

çan ic ce tlaoanquj vtlica ica ommotiotzonato, qujmonamjctito, ica onmjxtilquetzato: injc qujttaq̃ iuhqujn chalcatl ic omochichiuh, mochalcachichiuh, mochalcanenequj: iuhqujn tlaoãquj, mjvincanenequj, motlaoãcanenequj: chicuei çacapecatl ic mellipi, qujmjxnamjctivitz hiiacac icativitz in Españoles.

Auh çan inca ienac: qujmjlhuj. tle noma amaxtivitze in njcã? tlen oc anqujnequj? tle noma qujchioaznequj in Motecuçoma? cujx qujn omozcali? cujx qujn axcan ic momauhticapul? ca otlatlaco, ca oconcavili in macecalli, ca otlacaixpolo teca omoquavitec, ca teca omoqujmjlo, ca teca omavilti, ca teca omocacaizuh.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in, in oiuh qujcacque itlatol, oc nen itlan aquj, in qujmocnotlalauhtilia, qujtlalilitivetzque ichiel itlalmomoz, yoan içacapepech, çan njmã aocmo vmpa qujoalittac: tel çan nenpanca in ommotlalica, in vncan oc nen qujtlalmomuztica:

çan ic iuhqujn icamac ommaqujque, ic vncan qujmaoa, qujntequjaia, iuhqujn motititzatlatoa:

1. *Repeated: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.*

2. See H. 27.

3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*traya ochipilo a los pechos como enhorcado o traya hechos de hasta cuatro de cuerda, y venía de hacia donde estaban los españoles.*"

-33-

648 He said to them:
787 "Why do you vainly stand here? No longer will
●791 there be a Mexico; [it is gone] forever. Go hence; it no more existeth. Turn about; look at what befalleth Mexico—what thus already cometh to pass!"

Then they looked there; they quickly turned there to see. They beheld that already all the temples, the tribal temples, the priests' dwellings,[4] and all the houses in Mexico burned; and [it looked] as if already there were fighting.

And when the soothsayers had seen this, it was as if they had lost heart; they could say nothing; it was as if they had been made to swallow something.

They said: "This is not for us to see; it must needs be that Moctezuma see what we have seen. For this is no common being; this is the youth Tezcatlipoca."

000 Then he vanished, and they saw him no more.

And so the messengers went no further to encounter [the Spaniards]; they no longer pressed on toward them. From there the soothsayers and fire priests turned back and came to tell Moctezuma. There they and those who earlier had gone [with] Tziuacpopocatzin saw one another.

And when these messengers had come to arrive, just so they related to Moctezuma how this had come to pass and how they had beheld it. Moctezuma, when he heard it, only bowed his head; he stood with his head lowered. He hung his head: he stood with his head downcast. He did not then speak, but only remained full of woe for a long time as if beside himself.

Finally he thus answered them, and said: "What can we do? What can be done? For we are finished; we have taken the medicine. Shall we perhaps climb a mountain? Should we perhaps flee? For we are Mexicans. Shall we in truth perhaps enslave the Mexican domain? Unlucky[5] are the poor old men and old women! And the children, who have no understanding—where may they be taken? What can be done? Where, in truth, can one go? For now we have taken the medicine. Come what may, in whatsoever way it may befall, we shall marvel at it!"

qujmjlhuj.

Tle çã nen in njcan amjcativitze aoqujc iez in Mexico, ie ic cẽmãia, nepa xivia, aocmo vncã, tlaxommocuepacan, tlaxontlachiacan in Mexico, tlein ie mochioa: in juh ie mochioa.

Nimã ic oallachixque, oallachixtjvetzque, in qujoalitta ie tlatlã in jxqujch teucalli, in calpulli, in calmecatl, yoan in jxqujch mexico calli, yoan iuhqujn ma ie cuel necaliva.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in tlaciuhque, iuhqujn canjn ia, iniollo, aocmo onnaoatque, iuhqujn aca itla qujntololti:

qujtoque inin ca amo totechmonequja in tiqujttazque, ca ie itech monequja qujttaz in Motecuçoma, in otiqujttaque: ca amo çan aca, ca iehoatl in telpuchtli Tezcatlipuca:

njman ic poliuh, aocmo qujttaque.

Auh in titlanti aocmo tenamjqujto, aocmo tevic qujçato, ça vncã oalilotque in tlaciuhque, in tletlenamacaque, qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma: oalnepanjxtiaque in achto iaque in Tzioacpopocatzin.

Auh in oacico iehoantin titlantin, iuhquj povilique in Motecuçoma in juh mochiuh in juh qujttaque. In motecuçoma, in oiuh qujcac, ça oaltolo ça oaltolotimotlali, oalquechpilo, oalquechpilotimotlali, aocmo oalnaoat, çan ontlanauhtimotlali, vecauhtica in iuhquj ontlapolo,

ça ixqujch injc qujnoalnanqujli: qujnoalilhuj. Quennel mocechtle ca ie ic toncate, ca ie otictomacaque, cujx cacah tepetl tictlecavizque: auh cujx tichoIoxque ca timexica, cujx nellaontimaliviz in mexicaiutl, mitolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama: auh in piltzintli, in aia qujmati, campa neviqujlilozque, quẽnel, quẽçannel nen, quẽnoçonel, campa nel, ca ie tictomacaticate in çaço tlein, in çaço quenamj in ticmaviçozque.

4. *Calpulli, calmecatl*—tribal temple and priests' dwelling and translations of these terms previously used in this work, for which there is precedent. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., passim. Refer also to Arturo Monzón *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochcas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), passim (*calpulli*) and p. 77 (*calmecac*); or Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," Memoria del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, VI (1954), pp. 20ff. (*calpulli*), 36 (*calmecac*).

5. From according on, the passage is translated in Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 526.

X 787 her spinning bowl, her sweeper, and her broom.
844 Thus they showed that the girl was one who went nowhere; only the house was her abode. Hence, near the grinding stone, at the edge of the hearth, they buried her umbilical cord.

in ſcampa ianj cioatzintli, çan cali ichan: ic çan metlatitlan, tlecujtnacazco contocaia yn jxic.

X 787 And this count of days—so was it claimed—
791 was an invention of the two called and named Oxomoco and Cipactonal, who gave it to the people. Oxomoco they painted as a woman, and Cipactonal
805 [as] a man. They who were readers of day signs embellished their book of days with their representations, which they placed in the middle when they painted them. For it was so said that there they became lords of all the day count.

Auh inin tonalpoc!li, iuh mjtoaia: iehoan intlanextil, iehoan qujtemacaque, in vmentin teneoalo, intoca Oxomoco, ioan cipactonal: in Oxomoco cioatl inic qujcujloaia: auh in Cipactonal oqujchtli: in tonalpouhque catca yn jntonalamauh qujiollotiaia, yn jmjxiptla ynepantla qujntlaliaia, injc qujcujcujloaia: ca iuh mjtoaia: vncan tlatoque muchioa yn jpan ixqujch tonalpoalli.

[p. 4]

681 And then also at that time died those who were in jail, who were there for something which de-
696 manded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei qujzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no ichoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he
761 was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: ca ichoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquixtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilquixtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujaçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

* 787 And when someone was then born,[3] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend.
851 But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh quin ipan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

* 787 And also it was said that he who was then born
754 a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into
●791 something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aquin ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlâciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla maceoalli, no fuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moqujxtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jxqujch tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teioiolmala-

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3. An additional phrase in the *Real Palacio* MS will change the meaning somewhat: *ayemo mahiaya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del epípeio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*]. . . . *De esta primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se convirtió el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejercitar obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre; hay un nahualli poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahualli, nahuala*, "*verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embauca a las gentes. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos:* nahualcaqui, *entrar disimulado, con cautela, secretamente;* nahualtilia, *tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación;* nahualtlachia, *acechar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de* nahualli *o un derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llaman* nahualli. . . .

". . . *cuando el niño nace, el demonio por el pacto expreso o tácito que sus padres tienen con él, le dedica o sujeta al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como decir por dueño de su natividad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste pacto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierto la denominación y significación del nombre* nahualli, *que puede derivarse de una de tres raíces que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio; la tercera, ocultarse o rebozarse, y aunque oy conservancias para que se acomoden las dos primeras significaciones, me quedo con la tercera, que es del verbo* nahualtia *que es encenderse cubriéndose con algo, que viene a ser lo mesmo que rebozarse, y así,* nahualli *dice rebozado, o disfrazado debajo de la apariencia del tal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *infra*.

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½ [i.e., the day One Rain. – Aun lyst]

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he knew their secrets. He recovered things for people. He provoked and incited people, and caused them to believe diverse things. And [he was] a demon; he caused demons to enter one; he destroyed people and brought them to ruin. He swept people's paths for them [indicating sins which they must confess];[6] he set up ceremonial wooden figures of those killed in war, and caused them to burn for people.[7] He was a magician, one who removed his leg.[8] These were only the works of this person.

He hired and lent himself to others in order to make his living. When at night he went forth somewhere to ruin people, he changed himself into, perhaps, a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. He who hated someone hired him to destroy his enemy, when he wished and willed death upon him. Four times, on four nights, he performed his task when he destroyed people.

This same one sought out an evil day sign; then was the time to destroy someone. When he had done his task well on one, when already four times he had returned to the victim's home, it was said: "He hath drawn him forth." But sometimes [the evildoer] fell into [his victim's] hands; he fell and was taken into the hands of others, and was seized and quickly captured. The brave one who was to be destroyed, who was hated, vigilantly stalked him in order to catch him. He seized his hair; from the top, the crown, he pulled hair from his head. He jerked off his hair; he seized, wrenched, and tore it off; he removed his hair. No more did he escape. Forthwith he died; he could only reach his home to die.

And if in vain he tried to remedy, or, indirectly, to palliate [the situation], so that he might not die, still seeking to follow his work and control and establish his fate, in vain he contrived to take or borrow something—perchance water or fire, or a bowl, which he borrowed from the house of the one he had gone forth to destroy, who had there seized him. But if the one to be destroyed were indeed wise, prudent,[9] and well advised, he gave nothing at all to anyone. All during the day, until [the next] dawn came, he lent nothing to anyone. On the morrow,

cacho, teiollapan, teiosollapan, tetlatlaneltoqujti, ioan tlacatecolotl, tetlatlacatecolovia, tepoloa, tlãtlalpoloa, tecacalochpana, teevillotlatia, tetlatlatoqujlia, tlaujpuchtli, mometzcopina, çan vel iẽ itequjuh,

ic tlaqueoalo, ic motetlaqueoaltia, ic motlaiecoltia, in cana iooaltica tepolotiuh, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipã mocuepa, in aqujn tecocolianj qujtlaqueoa, injc qujpolotiuh itlacocolil, in qujmjqujtlanj, qujmjqujztemachia, nappa nauhiooal in ontepoloa, in qujchioa itequjuh:

çan no iẽ qujtztiuh, in aqualli tonalli, in vncan itepoloaia, in aca ouel qujchiuh, in ie nappa oilo ichan, mjtoa: ocontlaqujxtili, auh in quenman temac vetzi, temac aquj, temac maquja, axioa. cujtiuecho. in aqujn iolchicaoac pololonj, cocolilonj, uel qujmopachiuia injc caci, qujtzoncuj, iquanepantla, yquaiolloco qujmomotzalhuja in jtzon, qujquatemotzoltzitzquia qujquavivitla, qujtzoncopina. aocmo qujça. njman iquac mjquj, ça onmjctaci in jchan:

auh in oc nen, ic mopatiznequj, ic mopaiaoalochtiznequj, injc amo mjqujz, oc motlaiecoltia. motonalanaznequj, motonallalilizznequj, oc nen itla qujmocujcujcachioa, qujmotlatlanevia, aço atl, aço tletl, aço caxitl, in conmotlaneuja ichan in oqujpoloto, in vmpa ocacique: auh in vel qujmati, in tlaueuemachtilli, in tlanonotzalli in pololonj: njman aoc tle qujtemaca, in iuh cemjlhujtl in oallatvic, aoc tle qujtetlaneuhtia, yn jmoztlaioc: iẽ vncan vel tematlac maquja, in tlacatecolotl, onmjquj, ca nel ie oncan ca itequjuh, ca iẽ in qujtetemoa, ca ie vncan ca ipoliujz:

6. Cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Weltrauerei, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1950), p. 350: "*Das Fest des Wegefegens wurde zu Ehren der Göttermutter veranstaltet, deren Priester die Beichte derer entgegennahmen, die sich geschlechtlich verunreinigt hatten. Das Wort besagt dies: Er fegt den Leuten den Zugangsweg zu den Häusern wieder sauber; im übertragenen Sinn: Er bewirkt dass die Leute geschlechtliche Sünden zu beichten haben und dadurch ihrer ledig werden.*"

7. Cf. *infra*, Chap. 19, where a full description appears.

8. Cf. variant translation in Jena, *op. cit.*, p. 141: "*Und hinter ihm kommt eine Mere her, eine vom Monde, die gewiss so gut jenes Arbeit tut.*"

9. *Tlamahmatcilli* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

X 787 754 791

then, indeed, the demon was enclosed in one's net. He died. For in truth this was his destiny, for they sought him continually, and it then was the time of his ruin. For he knew in his heart, while yet he lived, that perchance somewhere he might be seized. For so had he been born only to die.[18] Never was he content nor happy; he went about in rags, poorly clothed. And he lived only in suffering. He raged over drink and food. Everywhere was he feared; nowhere could he enter among people. No one was his friend.

But although he were seized and taken, he was not frightened, nor did he therefore cease. He paid no heed. If he had children, always he lived the same, never wishing to mend his ways. There he went to his end, and they punished him. Thus all went; thus all was destroyed.

Just so if it were a woman, all evil were her works. She lived in great misery. Nowhere was her home. Even though she were a noblewoman, nowhere was she favored or noticed. Just as if dead, she lived in affliction. It was said that just so was her day sign one of misery.

ca njmã iuh iiollo qujmatia in oc nemj, in aço cana axioaz: ca njman iuh ipan tlacat içan miquiz: njman aic avia, aic vellamati, itzotzoma, itatapa ietinemj auh çan moxiixicotinemj, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, noviian imacaxo, acan vel tepan calaquj, aiac icnjuh:

auh in manel ie oanoc, oaxioac, amo ic momauhtia, amo ic motzaqua, amo ic qujcaquj, intla oncate ipilhoã, çan mochipa iuh nemj, amo qujcaoaliztlamati, vncan activi quitzácutiuj, much iuh vi, much iuh polivi,

çan no iuhquj itequjuh catca intla çioatl, muchi amo qualli in jtequjuh catca, cenca motolinjtinenca, ãcan ichan, in manel cioapilli, ãcan ixtona, ãcan motztica, can iuhquj onmjquj, totoneoatiuh in jiollo, mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal in jcnoiotl.

18. *Ya que con miquiz in ihiol.*

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[191]

— *Tlaxcala*; *Tenochtitlan*

1. Ometeotl and Cipactonal (Chapter 1). 2-5. One Cualtor and following signs (Chapter 2). 6. One Deer (Chapter 3). 7. Mother with child (Chapter 3). 8. 9. Two Rabbits: drunkenness and drunkards (Chapters 4, 5).

[p. 126 d]

X796 cords, called flower cords, and thus went stretched out in line. They went with wormwood flowers[13] 535 placed upon their heads.

[533] And they went singing, crying out loudly, singing in a very high treble. As the *centzontli* bird takes [its song, so was] their song. Like a bell their voices [rang out].

The old men led [the singing women]; they loosed the song and went directing them—the men and elders of the tribal temple. And they were named keepers of the god[dess].

And [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl went in the midst of them. Before her went a brilliant feather ornament which an old man carried in his arms. And this [ornament] was called Uixtociuatl's brilliant plumage.[14]

And for [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was sung the women's song every day until all ten days had been reached. And when the tenth day had come to pass, that night she began her vigil. They sang [and danced] all night. At no time did they rest; they passed the night sleepless. Thus they passed the night in vigil.

And as [the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl danced, the old women seized her and held her as they made her dance.

Likewise the captives danced all the night—those who would come first, who would die [first], as her fundament; those whom they would make her fundament.

X796 And when dawn broke, when verily the feast day [came], then were arrayed the priests who would slay ● 792 the victims. These were called Uixtoti. They were adorned and painted like Uixtotin; they were painted with the face painting of Uixtotin. They carried their paper neck rosettes and their paper shoulder rosettes. And their [head] insignia were made [like] the claws of eagles, [made] of quetzal head feathers and eagle down.

X796 And the legs of the eagle were also made of eagle down. These insignia [were supported] upon wooden 293 head rests with holes [in the head rests, in which the insignia were inserted]. Here lay the insignia, tied [across the back], bound around the stomach with cotton bands, tied firmly and tightly. And their cords were bands, narrow woven bands.

And all the common folk who looked on, all car-

motitilinjtiuj: ym jhiztauhiaxtochiuh, ym icpac contecatiuj:

yoan cujcatiuj, cenca tzatzi, cenca tlapitzaoa: iuhquin tzontli cana incujc: iuhquj in coiolli intozquj:

qujniacana in ueuetque, cuicatlaça qujncujcatlaxilitiuj, in calpuleque, in calpulueuetque: yoan motocaiotia teuoaque.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, tlanepantla icatiuh, ce petlacotl qujiacana, ce tlacatl veue in qujnapaloa: auh ynjn mitoaia vixtopetlacotl.

Auh in ieboatl vixtocioatl, momuztlae in qujcioapancujcatiaia, yn ixqujchica matlaqujlhujtl onaci: auh yn oacito matlaqujlhujtl, teutlacpa im peoa qujtoçauja, qujcujcatia iuh ceiooal, aquenman cochi, acochiztli qujmochioaltia, iuh vetzi in ioalli.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, mitotia caana, caantinemj yn ylamatque in qujtotia:

no iuh ceiooal in mjtotia mamalti, in iacatiazque mjquizque, in iuhquj ypepechoan iezque, in qujnmopepechtizque.

Auh yn otlathujc, yn iquac ie vel ilhujtl, mec muchichioa in tlamacazque, in tlamictizque: in iehoan y, motocaiotiaia Vixtoti, movixtochichioa, moujxtoychioa, intlatlaquechpaiouh, yoan ymaamacuexpal: auh yn jntlquiz, quaviztitl muchioa, quetzaltzontecomaio quãmolocio.

Aull in quauhtli imetz muchioa, no quãmolocio, ynjn tlaviztli cãcacaxo, cõcocoio, yn vncã onmaña tlauiztli, ic maapana, ic moxixillancujtlalpia, ic motetevilpia, ic mocacatzilpia: auh yn jmecaio, yn jmmecaio, tlaxochtli, tlaxochpitzactli.

Auh in jxqujch tlacatl maceoalli, in tlatlatta, mu-

13. Cf. p. 83, n. 27. Simeon (*op. cit.*) defines it as *artemisia latiniana*; see, further, note 15, below. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*Itzauhyatl. axenjo o aceruezo yerua*"; Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) has the same. See also Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 252.

14. "*Su plumaje suyo hermoso; hecho a manera de manga de cruz*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish).

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262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
• 793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

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tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

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562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

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a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. 441
The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement 463
and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth 441
and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, 439
tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In 463
time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have 463
attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and featherworkers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion 793
penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in [622]
the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

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793 nize a priesthood completely separate from civil officialdom; both were mutally dependent. There was a priestly hierarchy, it is true, but it probably operated in conjunction with civil position. Permanent positions may have existed, but in the chapters on religion we shall describe more fully how completely the realms of Church and State coalesced among the people of ancient Mexico, in contrast to the cleavage between them in our own society.

567 Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe, and each member was supposed to do his part in preserving the community. However, the bane of working social orders as well as hypothetical social schemes are those unfortunates who, by mischance, maladjustment or just plain deviltry, do not do their part. The Aztecs, too, had this problem to cope with, and there developed a social class of people who had lost their civil rights and become slaves. This they might do voluntarily or because they were prisoners of war or were punished for crimes or were sold by their parents. Their treatment differed according to the circumstances of their enslavement.[8] (See Plate 38, bottom left.)

Military captives usually were sacrificed, but those who [727] demonstrated some unusual skill were sometimes bought for domestic service or put to work on some communal enterprise. Criminal slaves lost their free status for such offenses as failure to denounce treachery, membership in a traitor's family, kidnaping for sale a free man, selling another's property without his consent, theft without restitution when over [672] ten years old or hindering a slave from gaining the sanctuary of a chief's house. Penal slaves were privately owned, usually to make restitution to those whom they had injured.

Voluntary slavery was assumed by the poor and landless

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war or sacrifice, childbirth or drowning, passed upon death 776
to their domain. (See Plate 55, bottom left.)

This incomplete description of the gods and goddesses who thronged the Aztec pantheon gives an idea of their variety of purpose and character, outlined more fully in Table X. For an individual to try to do honor to so many gods could result in an insupportable situation. Yet even the modern Navajos pass a third of their time in ceremonial activity, and they do not have half the economic wealth of the Aztec peoples. While the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do the most ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.

The priests gave guidance and prescribed the ceremonies, 793
and the worshipers gave heed to those especial divinities upon 776
whose patronage their life directly depended, much as a de- 771
vout Catholic selects certain saints for veneration above the list of those whose days are recorded on the calendar. In the same way the Aztec tribal god has his counterpart in the patron saint of country, town or craft. The Aztec, however, thought of his gods as having strong material powers, but their spiritual aspect counted little with him.

The ritual of Aztec religion was as complex as the theol- 796
ogy. The organization of the priesthood followed the pyramided structure of the social order, but the ceremonies were worked out in accordance with the ritualistic requirements of the calendar and the seasons. In the following chapter we shall describe the priesthood, the ceremonies and also the Aztec methods of counting, recording and using time.

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CHAPTER XI

RITUAL

In which are Summarized the Nature of the Religious Organization, the Feasts, and the Relationship between Ritual, Calendar and Writing

RELIGION was a general group activity necessary for the 771
social and economic safekeeping of the tribe, and the priesthood was a highly important force in the direction of the communal life. In the early simple societies there were two executive chiefs, one for war and one for religious affairs. We do not know whether the priesthood comprised laymen who performed the ritual acts of specific ceremonies or whether it was an established group whose whole life was devoted to religious ends. It is probable that selected individuals originally carried out the religious duties of the tribe in addition to their civil obligations, but as Aztec culture became more elaborate, the complexity of their functions molded them into a body of permanent officials.[1]

In Tenochtitlan the Chief of Men and the Snake Woman 793
had double duties in respect to civil and religious affairs, the former actively leading the services and the latter supervising the temples, the form of the rites and the internal affairs of the priesthood. Two high priests directed cult activities in honor of the War God, Huitzilopochtli, and the Rain God, Tlaloc, the chief divinities worshiped in this city. They

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793 were called *Quetzalcoatl-Totec-tlamacazqui** and *Quetzalcoatl-Tlaloc-tlamacazqui*. The name Quetzalcoatl was given them perhaps as an honorific title in memory of the God of Civilization and Learning, who was the archetype of the priestly ideal. The second names refer to the gods of the respective cults, and the third word means priest. Ranking below these two officials was a third, *Mexicatl-Teohuatzin*, who, like a vicar-general, supervised general religious business in the city-state and conquered towns. Two assistants looked after the instruction in the schools for citizen-warriors and for priests, and other officials supervised the pulque ceremonies.[2]

Next in rank were the priests who were in charge of the worship, temple and ritual of each specific god or goddess and who, in the ceremonies, assumed the dress of the divinity, impersonating him on earth. They, in turn, had a host of assistants who were supplemented by aspirants to the priesthood, the bottom of the hierarchical scale. There seem to have been priestesses as well, and schools for their instruction were established in connection with certain temples. As
789 might be expected as an accompaniment of a highly ritualized religion far above the comprehension of the masses, there was an active practice of magic carried on by male and female witch doctors. Undoubtedly many of these unsanctioned rites were rooted in the more primitive stages of the Aztec development; and in modern times, although the formal Aztec religion has been almost completely eradicated, the indigenous population continues many of the old magico-medical practices.

793 The priests, however, directed the intellectual life of the

*Kay-tz'al-co-atl-To'-tec-tla-mah-ca'z-kee.

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tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realiza- 793
tion of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would [642]
be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was 796
arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the 805
tonalpohualli (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five- [777]
day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[8]

The *tonalpohualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. - Analyst]

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782 growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Cere-
[266] monial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood
[785 was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did hor-
304] rible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

212 The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice
782 and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

793 The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling
212 acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth
[871] in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

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ing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. We could write: "I can be hospitable," in terms of the sounds given to pictures of an eye, a tin can, a bee, a horse, a hole in the ground and a table. The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone *tena* from which sprouted a nopal cactus, *nochtli*, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, *pantli*, on a conventionalized hill, *tepec*. Color, position, puns and abbreviations all contributed to recording sounds by this means. Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel or movement, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations of action.[19] (See Fig. 2.)

Aztec writing offered no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas. Yet the full accounts of historical events, set down after the Conquest in Spanish or Nahuatl, indicate that oral traditions, possibly learned as a chant or saga, supplemented these ideographic records.

Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 × 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 × 20 × 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans. (See Fig. 2.)

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a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

776 **Twelfth Chapter, which treats of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteotl).**[53]

Tlaçolteotl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteotl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 551 And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiacapan (the older sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocotzin (the youngest sister).[54] These four women, it was said, were goddesses. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteteo).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[55] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; [783] one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteotl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green and yellow waters.[56]

[783] And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteotl the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

793 776 783 And her warden[57]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[58]

Jnic matlactli vmome capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteotl.

In tlaçolteotl: yoan itoca ixcuina, yoan itoca tlaelquanj. Jnic motocaiotia tlaçolteotl, quj ipampa, quj ichcaoti yiaoca, ytlatquj, ytech pouj, in tenhtli, in tlaçalli: in qujtemaquj, ayilnamjlizti, quj ipan tecui, ypan tlazocati, yn aujlnemjlizçual.

Auh ynjc itoca, ixcuina: quj navinti ceah, in cioa: ynjc ce ytoca tiacapan, ynjc ome, ytoca teicu, ynjc ey, itoca tlaco: ynjc nauj itoca xocotzin. Jnjquo hin, nauinzin cioa: quj teoa. Jnjquo hin, ceoioca ytoca: tlaçolteteo.

Auh ynjc motocaiotia tlaelquanj: quj ipampa, inixpã mjtoa, imjxpan mopoa, yn jaqujch aequalli: ixpan mjtoa, momelaoa, yn jaqujch tlabellachinalli: immanel conca temamauhti, ixmanel conca ouijh: atle mopinãvixcoa, vel mochi, ixpan neci, ixpan mjtoa. Nrioluelaoalistli.

Qujlmach in tlaçolli, in tenhtli, in aujlnemjlizticti: ichoatl qujtemaca, ic temoela, ic tehipizta in tlaçolteotl. Auh çan no ichoatl, qujtepolhuja: ichoatl chico, :mooc qujujca, qujuca: ichoatl, tepapaca, tehaltia: ichoatl imac manj yn matlalatl, in tezpalatl.

Auh injc qujtepopolhuja ynjc chico, tlazaoac, qujujca, qujuca: iixpan neioiecujtilo, iixpan neiolmelaualo, yn tlaçolteotl, ixpã mopoa, mjtoa, in telachinal.

Auh iix, ynacac, ytlacazcauh mochioa, in tlapouhqoj, in

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53. The chapter on Tlaçolteotl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Ewige Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

54. *Cf.* Eduard Seler, *Tonalamatl of the Aztec Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called *Ixcuinan*, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuina, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as sexual by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar illegal sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the drowning to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

55. Name of filth or of sorbaca (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*ensuciadora de cosas sucias.*"

[846] 56. *Cf.* Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, discussing Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only confluence of the vivifying and evanescent of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchiuhtlicue*. May the cleanse of the dirt which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, the Father, the Lady *Chalchiuhtlicue*, the Lord *Chalchiuhtlatonac* . . . come the water, the blue (*Matlalcue*), the yellow, (*Tezpalcue*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), states ". . . *acostumbraban con que la partera acabaa a la criatura del agua llamada Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatonac, y decia así: 'Señora nuestra Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatonac, aquella ha a venirse presente este criatura: rociagme que la vestida.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echaba sobre ella su vasuelo, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y también la tocaba el pecho con ella, y el cabello de la cabeza, a manera de cuando se pone el dios y criatura a los niños, y decíale de esta manera: 'Hijo mio muy amado,—y si era mujer decia, hija mia muy amada—, llegate a vuestra madre y padre la señora Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatonac; témanse ellos, porque ella es los de lavar a criatura y en las bocas en este mundo.' Y luego metia en el agua a la criatura, y decia: 'Entra hija mia—o hijo mio—en el agua, que es llamada Matlalcue y Tezpalcue; lávate en ella, limpiate d'que cual es todo lugar, y tengo por bien de apartar de ti todo mal que traiste con vos desde antes del principio del mundo.'" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Tonalamatl of the Aztec Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchiuhtlicue, the water goddess holds the hand of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throne of the water goddess and in the contrast is the breakdown of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations mentioned Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

57. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xiii (*ante, remarks*); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 249.

58. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Ewige Kapitel*, p. 5) uses the term *Kalendermachinaqui*.

the tlapouhqui, wise in reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting: the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been uttered.[59]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[60] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[61] bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer went there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou comest [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatsoever way thou art moved, in whatsoever manner it is, whatsoever thou hast done, whatsoever thou hast achieved, whatsoever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil odor, thy corrupteness.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatinj, yn jmac mazj, yn amuxtli, yn tlacujlolli: in quipia 776
yn tilli, yn tlapalli, yn matile, yn piale, yn nonotzale, yn 793
equjto 783

yn mojolmelaoez in tlapilchiuale; achto qujtlacaqujtia in tlapouhquj, qujlhuja.

Ca ytechtzinco njnaxitimequj, yn tlacatl, yn totecujo, in tloque naoaque: in totecujo, yioalli, yn ehecatl, ytoptzin, ypetlacaltzin, njcnotztilimequj.

Qujlhuja in tlapouhquj: otimoclacnelili:

qujnaoatia, yn iqujn oallax: qujpepena in tonalli, qujtta [787]
yn jamux, yn jtlacujlol: qujtta, yn iqujn qualli tonalli, yn
ieccan, in qualcan: mjtoa: qujtonalpepenja.

Auh yn ie ypquac, in ie ynaostilpan, iancujc petlatl quicoa:
yoan copalli, yoan quauitl: yn tlamauizti in tlamaceuhquj,
çan ichan yn moiolmelaoa, ie vmpa iauh in tlapouhquj. Auh
anoce teujc iauh, in tlamaceuhquj:

iancujc petlatl in motoca, vellachpano yn vncan motlalia;
yoan tletlalilo: njman copalli contema in tleco in tlapouhquj, [788]
qujnotza in tletl; qujlhuja.

Tetzu ynnan, tetzu ynta, vexe teutl, njcan oallatia, in
cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn macoualli: njcan chocatiujtz,
tlaocuztiujtz, motzupoubtiujtz, ancan omalauh, ancan
omotepotlamj, ancan oqujnamjc yn vitlallotl, in tocatzaoalli,
yn çacamjtl; aquj iolitlaoza, qujtequjpachoa, Tlacatle,
totecujoe, tloquehe naoaquehe, manoço xicmocujli, ma
xicmocaqujti, yn jnentlamachiliz yn macoualli.

Niman qujnotza, yn moiolmelauhquj, in ichoatl tlapouhquj: qujlhuja.

Tioalmovicatia yujctzinco, iispantzinco, in tloque naoaque;
ticmolhujlico, ticmomaqujlico, yn mjiaca, in mopalanca:
ticmotlapolhujlico, in motop, immopetlacal,

a ma no ceppa ieh njcan timatoisuj, timotepexiuj: ma
ispantzinco ximopeptlaoa, ximomaxzuj, in tloque,
naoaque, in totecujo, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

A cujx tictlacaittax in totecujo, a cujx mjztlacanotzaz:
ca ioalli, ca ehecatl.

Auh ynjn quen tiujtz, ma xictlapo im motop, in mopetlacal: ma xicpoa in monemjliz, in motlachioal, yvin quenja
ticmati, yvin quenja cah: in quenja muchiuh, in quenja tax;
in quenja ticchiuh, in monequal, in monequauitec:

xicnoquj, xicpetlanj, in maiectica, in maqualtica, in mjiaca
in mopalanca.

Auh xicmoclaocuilanocchili, yn totecujo, in tloque naoaque,

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59. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Sahagún, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

60. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p 71, gives as meanings of yoalli, ehecatl (1) "*espíritu, aire y invisible*"; and (2) "*dios invisible sin imagen . . . impalpable, y favorecedor y amparador y independiente, por cuya virtud todos viven. . . .*" Angel María Garibay K, *Llave del náhuatl* (Oaxaca, México: n. p., 1959), p. 113, translates tloque naoaque as "*que está cerca y junto*"—the one, God in general.

61. Context suggests that penitent refers to the penitent.

776 783 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and carrieth thee upon his back.[62]

● 793 "Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 776 783 793 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his sins.

Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Cuaspipilti descend, when the feast of the Cuaspipilti or the Izcuiname is celebrated,[63] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and *maguey* spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or *maguey* spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in momaqualtitica, y macochetica, in tepuztetica;

ximotlapalo, ma timopinoquetz, ma titzicolo.

Nimã õdalqua in tlamaceuhquj, omopaltema: njman ixpan motlalia in tlapouhquj: qujlhuja, injc teviujti, ynjc tepatiloti, ynjc teiziptla.

Totecujuc, tloquehe, naoaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaqujtia, in njiaca in nopalanca: mixpantzinco, njnopepetlaoa, njnomamazauja: ca omaz, ca onjechiuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaitoaian, ca tencac, ca tlavilpan im mixpantzinco, yn omaz.

Niman ompeoaltia: in jtlapilchioalix, vel iujn quenjn cah, vel yujn quenjn qujchiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, omca çan jvin conoua, omcan yvin conjtoa, yn juh qujchiuh, in imaca çan vel, omcan qujtocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj omcan qujtocatiuh.

Auh yn otlamjto yn jtlatol, yno muchi qujto ytlachioal:

qujnanqujlia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jztli, yn nacastli muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatiloti: qujlhuja.

O ca ticmononochilia, ca ticmomaqujlia, in tloque naoaque, im motlachioal, in monequavitec.

Auh ynjn, ca izca yn taix, yn ticchicaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoço yn jquac ymjlhujuh cioapipilti, yn jzcujname: nauJlujtl timoçaoaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, timotemoatiaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujtl, in ie oallatujh, in ioaltica tiçacatlaçaz, titlacoqujztiz: ynjn motlapilchioal, iuh tiznamjctiz y: auh ynjn iuh namjque ez y:

auh jn quenjn ticnequix, iuh ticnequix: yntla tiçacatlaçaz, iehoatl in trucalçacatl tiqujztiz, anoço tlacotl. Auh aço monacazaco in titlaqujztiz, anoço monenepilco.

Auh ynjc tiqujztiz: ca amo ma çan titlamaceua, ca teuhtli, tlaçulli in tictlaça, tictlacuçoa, ticcujtlacueponiz, ỹ monenepil, mixpampa ticaquix,

motzintlan in ticqujztiz, in tictlaçaz: aço çan ocen in ticqujztiz, anoço çan ticcenqujztiz, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centzontli, aço vntzontli, in ticqujztiz tlacotl:

ic polixiz, in motlatlacul, in motlapilchioal, im monequal.

62. Cf. Note 56.

63. See Cap. X. The Cuaxtecs or Cuaspipilti were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they instilled men to sin and crime.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Totochtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee, [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Auh intla çan xicca, yn jtlapilchiual, tlamacxuhqui: 785
quilhuia,

timoxmoxtzaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, 776
xauilhujtl: 783

anoço quilhuia

titlatotix, timotetzuhcaoaz, titepiquix: 793

anoço quilhuia.

ca nel vetli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiquinquixtiz in totochtin.

Auh quilhuia, ynic quinnaxtia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamacxoaz ioaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlauhtiaz: yn momaxac, amatl tlaitzcupecalli in mantiaz: centiri mjcampa, motzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn iquac ticalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jmjxpan totecujooan, yn teteu, yn mamacue.

Auh yn iquac otlamacxuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajax, monemjlincuepa: quilmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoz, quil ça aocmo tlaoculilonj.

Quilmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequauitectli, in tetlaximalixtli: in quitoaia veuetque.

Jnic moiolmelaoaia veuetque: quilmach, ichoatl, ynic amo tlacujtlilooque, njcan tlaltiepac, yn jxtlapilchioal: yntla otetlaxini ynic amo quatetlaxilloz, ynic amo quatepitzinjloz, ynic amo quatetzotzomaloz, moiolmelaoa.

Jn tlapouhqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njmaan acan quitoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein illhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ieh yn jlhujlo, in nonoczalo, ca tloque, ca neoque, in maco, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ieh motta, in macroalli.

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn tepitoan teteuh: yn quintaquilia, yn omoteneuhque, yn vuecintin teteuh.

Xiuhtecutli: inconauhquj, yoan cueçaltzin. Jehoatl motocaiotia in tletl, anoço veue teutl yoan tota:

teutl ipan machoia: iehica, ca tetlatia, tepaloa, techichinoa, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacuelia: ca ic neixcolo, ic tlapanoxo, ic tlacuzitilo, ic tlaxco, ic iztatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tomextlatilo, ic tlatetzitzonjlo, yc tlatzoionjlo, ic tlatlecoztualo, yc tetlecujlolo, ic temaxcallatilo, ic ontlatilo, ic tlaxextlatilo.

[684]

64. The most characteristic emblem of Tlazolteotl is a broom wrapped with a *tlaitzcapinolli*—paper impressed with pointed figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, month of *Ochpaniztli*). The paper loin cloth is no doubt of this same pattern. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text line: "*que son menores en dignidad que los arriba dichos.*"

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with ehella, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their caps, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

papucatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço quetzaljtetl tepetl in qujtemoaz in qujpiqui.

Auh in qujpipiqui, in qujmixipletoiaia in tepe, çan tzoalli, qujtlacatlaliaia, qujtlacatlachiolteia, tlacatlachiteaxca:

qujtlantaia xiocuechtli, auh in qujmjxtlolotiaia xiocutli: in quemamj yxtlatzaj in qujmixipletoiaia, in qujpipiqujia çan no iohqui yxjc qujnchichioaia.

Auh yoan qujchioaia, amatzaujtl, colchachapatzaia, colchipiniaia, qujpaqueuiaia:

auh in cequi amatzaujtl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatitech qujpipiloaia, mecatitech qujmomechilpiaia, qujmomechçalouia, ymjxpan anoc, ic itzacutoque in tepicme:

hiçamacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, ontopilquauitl, necoc, nemeneoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tentozontiteac, yn itech anoc tetzujtl.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaittitatactli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipan poujia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic mamanca.

Auh çan iehoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequiuh, in machiceque catca, yn qujnchichioaia, in qujntlaliaia: aiac çan moiocuiaia, in calla in qujnchichioaia.

Auh ceçujltica in qujntlalhujaia, mjtoa: qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ie cauhque tepicme, njman ie ic qujntoçaviia, qujncujcatia:

in cricual napa in qujntlamanjlia, tamalololli in qujnmacaia, qujmanaia ymjxpã, in tlamacazque, in tepicujca:

no napa in qujntlamacaia cricual, yoan qujntlapichilizaia,

qujnmaquiquitzilaia tecuicintli in qujnpichilaia, yoan vilacapitzli, cocoujlotl,

vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, papaquinj, haavienj, mihivienj, tecomaltianj, cocoleque, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn ozlavic njman qujmictia yn tepicme, qujnquechcotona, qujnquechcuj, qujnquechilacatzoa, çanpan qujncomololoa, comecicuj, in tepictzoalli, qujtquj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiquinj, njman in yc calaquijh yn ielacuonomalhuan, yn jcuaxoan, vncan onopia, onopiztoque:

auh in ie iuxatiuh, in ie tevtlac niman ie ic tlaxaxa, motlaxancatalalia in vecatlaca, yn ie chicaueque, yn otlachi-

117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain* (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac cloud) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*tzoalli*), in the Spanish columns; Sahagun renders it *masa*; see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *como papeles llenos de goteo de oli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatzaujtl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 120).

One day before they slew the woman who was to die in honor of the goddess Xilonen, the women who served on the pyramid (who were called *cioatlamacazque*) performed a dance in the courtyard of this same pyramid, and sang the [hymns of] praise and the canticles of this goddess. They all went surrounding her who was to die [and] who went bedight in the ornaments of this goddess. In this way, singing and dancing, they kept watch all night before the day when she was to die.

And at dawn all the nobles and warriors performed a dance in this same courtyard, and with them also danced the woman who was to die, with many other women arrayed like her. The men went dancing in front, by themselves, and the women went behind them.

As soon as all, thus dancing, arrived at the pyramid where that woman was to die, they made her go above, up the steps. When she reached the top, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder; and in this position, they struck off her head and then tore out her heart and offered it to the sun. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast. Etc.

Vn dia antes que matassen a la muger que auja de morir: a honrra de la diosa xilonẽ: las mugeres que serujã en el cu (que se llamauã cioatlamacazque) haziã areyto en el patio del mjsmo cu, y cantauan los loores y cantares desta diosa, yvan todas rodeãdas de la que avia de morir, que yva compuesta con los ornamẽtos desta diosa. Desta manera cantando y baylando: velauan toda la noche precediẽte el dia en que avia de morir.

Y en amaneciendo todos los nobles y hõbres de guerra: hazian areyto en el mjsmo patio, y con ellos baylaua tambiẽ la muger que auja de morir, con otras muchas mugeres adereçadas como ella: los hombres yvan por si baylãdo delante y las mugeres yvan tras ellos.

Desque todos assi baylando: llegauã al cu donde auja de morir aquella muger, subiãla por las gradas arriba: llegada arriba tomauãla vno a cuestas espaldas cõ espaldas: y estãdo assi, la cortauan la cabeça y luego la sacauã el coraçon y le ofreciã al sol: Otras muchas cerimonjas se haziã en esta fiesta. Etc.

stamped upon them, they trampled upon their outstretched bodies, they jumped upon them; they beat them [as they lay stretched] on the ground; they dragged them along; they made them cry out; they beat them—they beat their backs; they beat them sorely; they kicked them as they fled away.

mecamauj, qujntzatzatzitia, qujnujujtequj, qujncujtlaujujtequj, qujzipetlavitequj, qujncujtlamelaoa.

796x 688

And when these had been robbed, when they had been stripped, then they [could] only turn back, they [could] only go back to their homes.

Auh yn ontlacujcujliloque, yn onpepetlaoaloque, çan vncan mocuepa, çan vncan iloti yn jnchan:

[For] even if [that which was taken] was verily tribute, even this [the priests] took. Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents; he held them in reverence; he feared them because they were priests, because they did penances and laid offerings before [the gods]; for they were priests.

in tlanellacalaquijlli, vel qujcuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma ichica ca tlamaceuhque, compopoa contepopoaltiaia, qujpopooaia ynjc tlamacazque, ynic tlamaceoa, ymixco ymicpac qujmanaia, ynic tlamacazque.

[793]

And when they had arrived [at the temple], when the white reeds[5] had been brought, thereupon were sewn together and woven these reeds. They fashioned green and white mats[6] of the reeds, and, binding the reeds, they made stools, and they made seats with backs on which men might rest. In the same manner were fashioned, with the green and white reeds, seats with backs.

Auh yn oacico, yn ocazitico aztapili: njman ic ic moço, moçoço, in aztapili: qujchioa yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan qujilpia in toli, tolicpalli qujchioaia, yoan qujchioaia tepotzoicpalli netlaxonj: çãnoie ic muchioa in aztapili, aztapiltepotzoicpalli.

796x 285 352

Thereupon they bound some thin reeds in a bundle. And when they had tied them in a bunch, then they were arranged in order, sewed, girt tightly, on the ground, with *magueyy* roots, with fibers of *magueyy*.

Niman ic ic acquj qujcujcujtlalpia, in tuli in tulpitzaoac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, njman ic ic mouipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacatzilpitiuh menelhoatica metzonmecatica.

796x 284

And when this had been done, then began the fasting in honor of Tlaloc. When night fell, then the priests all gathered in the priests' dwellings—the warrior-priests [who had taken three or four captives], and the priests [who had captured only one];[7] then those priests who were singers and beaters [of drums]; then all the lesser priests, and those who were yet children, the novice priests.

Auh in ic iuhquj in ic vmpeoaz, netlalocaçaoalizitli: yn oiooac njman mocacaltema, necacaltemalon tlamacazque: in tlamacazcatequjoaque tlamacazcayiaque: njman iehoan in tlamacazque cujcanjme, tlaujtequjnj: njman ic muchintin, in tlamacazcatricaoan, yoan in oc pipiltotonti tlamacazcatoton, tlamacatoto.

796x 793

And when this had come to pass, then were spread upon the ground before the fire the [white and green] mats, the reed beds.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njman ic ic onmoteca, tlecujlixquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli:

796x

And when they had spread out the reed mats, the fire priest arrayed himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket and placed on his left arm [the maniple] called *matacaztli*.[8]

auh yn onmoçouh aztapilpetlatl: njman ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn iztcol, yoan conaquja yn iopuchcopa, itoca matacaztli:

And with it he took the incense bag, and he took his incense burner [in his right hand]. Thereupon

yoan itlan conana in copalxiqujpilli, yoan concuj

1. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies of these reeds: "*todo lo q̃ era drecho del agua, es muy blanco.*"
4. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún states that the reeds were shortened (probably bottom to top): "*Luego las cortaban, y emmapujaban, emmapujaban, y emmapujaban, lo blanco a lo verde: a manera de manteles grandes.*" Elsewhere, he refers to "*petates jaspeados, de juncias blancas y verdes.*"
5. The number of caqueres is explained in *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. Andrews and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 8.

X796 he offered incense; he went furth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

in itlema: njman ic ic tlenamaca, qujsoac oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ie inhquj, contema tlequazco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, onmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

[262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelolodi, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oqujmjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

Otimjzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, motixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixqujchtin tlamacazque, cecciaca cõtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelolotli.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço itoatomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

cenca vellachiclo, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjtnjloz, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamaxopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

yoan intla aca ytech qujttazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic neixioa:

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoã nauhioal, in nematcanemoaia.

And after that the old priests[9] took away [the offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

Auh in ie inhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: qujmocujlia intech monequj, qujqua: naujlhujtl in qujmocujliaia, in motlauenenjaia:

[262]

And when it was not yet midnight, then shell trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *maguey* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

auh yn xiamo onaci icalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ic ic meçuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ie inhquj mec nequetzalo.

[793]

7. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"tlamacazque (que) es como sacerdote; . . . tlamacazqui, que es como diácono; . . . tlenamacac, que es como acólito. De estos sacerdotes los mayores eligían por sumos pontífices. . . ."
8. *Itoatomatl*: leaf (Molina, op. cit.), or species of tomato (Simeón, op. cit.).
9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "unos viejos, que llamaban quaquacujlti: los quales traían los curos tebidos de magueys, manojudos como en la cuerda de la cabeça, que traía los cabellos largos, al modo de los clérigos."

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat copper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *maguey* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *maguey* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Vilos, onnevtemalo, tlapitzalotiuh, qujpitztiuj, in tecciztli, cohcouiloc chililizli. [276 X 534]

Auh in muchintin tlamacazque, qujmamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan qujniacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiqujpil. [276]

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, qujquechpanotiuh, aiochicaoaztli, no itoca nacalquauajtl, patlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, qujcacalatztiuh [789]

aocac ce onmocaoã calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachotoque; qujpitztoque in qujqujztli, qujqujçotoque. [534]

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn aiauhcalli, njman ie ic neteteco, netlalilo, tlatzitzilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo: [823]

in ie iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in vetue itoca chalchiuhquaqujlli: qujtoa. [793]

Coatl yçomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ie ic onnetepeoalon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacziujtectinemj, atlacziuitectinemj, tzatzitinemj, ycaoacatinemj, qujntlaichecalhuja yn izqujchtin totome: [198]

cequj canauhtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin qujntlaichecalhuja, in pihpiztzi, pipiztzlatoa: cequjntin qujntlaichecalhuja, yn acacalotoc, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin aztatlatoa, cequjntin azoquenzlatoa, cequjn tocujlcoiotlatoa: [825]

yn vncan maltiaia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuen- [136]

10. Cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21; *ocomaitl: ocomitlo (ocoal)(?).*

11. "*Todos llevaban a cuestas, como talegillos colgados con unos cordelejos de Ixtli, con unas bolsas al cuello; y de otras colgaban, unas llenas de polvo pintado, cernido con las mismas talegas, que llamaban yaqualli; y en aquellas talegas llevaban unos manojos de hierba, hechos a la manera de cabezal de varones, que eran llamados yaqujpilli, que eran adornados con tinta, y con polvos de una yerba que eran llamados yiiol, que se como hebdos de cantillo*" (corresponding Spanish text).

Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: "*Acujpil: small cane, yiil tobacco.* The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the yiil or Nicotiana tacamica Schl.; the quauhyiil: quauhchic nicotiana, yiil tobacco, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and pinolyiil: pinolic small, yiil tobacco, or Nicotiana tabacum L. Tobacco either as snuff or charcoal in pellets called yaqualli: yiil tobacco, yaqualli yiiol, or smoked as cigars or puryiil: yaqualli ocoaiã, yiil tobacco. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with cochineal, aromatic herbs, and charcoal." Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 134.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. ii, § 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 168-81. Saldívar defines them respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; ibis; American egret or heron; kingfisher (*amquaxo* or *amquaxocatl*); and sandhill crane (*Biología Azteca*, p. 118, items 3-7).

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *magney* fiber cape, or a small cotton *manta*.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[11]

And all which was paid, all this, the capter, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

11. "Buñuelo de masa" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic axioa. 796

Auh intla aca, amo qujxtiaci, intlacamo teictiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tzhoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aqujque axioa, oc vel momaquixtia, oc vel moquixtia, oc vel maquiça: aço tzotolin yca, aço maxtlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica. [291]

Auh yn jcnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moquixtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn jxquich nequjxtilonj, moch qujmocujlia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moquixtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moquixtiaia, aocmo qujceliaia.

Auh in ie iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl maceoalli, qujmochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, aiac yn macamo metzalhujaia: [292]

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech qujmomamaca, nepanotl ic mococoochioa.

Auh in cequjntin papaqujnj, yn ahaujcni: yoan in cequjntin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelquixtia:

injc muchichioa mixteiaiaoaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan caantinemj xocujcolli etzalcoanjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjtzcalixxapotlaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujoalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlalicinj yn etzalcoanjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoaliztli, icalnepanda in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necaceualo, cactiaetzi, [535]

auh yn oealquiz tonatiuh, njman ie ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixiool, pani conmololoa aizl, itoca xiuhqueanjtl, anoço aoachquenjtl, [293 292]

[796] [793] [292]

must cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tritziuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yuan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

[302]

And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mixquatexoujxia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, conapetzotiaia:

[824]

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatzztli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatzztli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatextli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yuan cc quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoztli:

[314]

And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlrteu:

[237]

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ynca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ie iuhquj ¶ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in ĩxqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzitzitzqujtimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemotzoltzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They have [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamaztotoa, yn oaxioaque, toliaoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ie achi qualtotoa, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

[714]

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ie oncoa, njman iquac qujnpeualtia in qujocujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

[793]

16. "*Vna manta delgada cuadrada, que se llama mixquaquetzal*" (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions "*manta delgada que llamaua ayal*" (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. "*Vna flor de papel grande redonda, redondo a manera de rodela*" (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the diagnostic as "*arcauceros, que es sobre el pecho*."

18. "*El cabellillo, vna flores de papel, semejan franjillas, que sobresaen a ambas partes de la cabeça a manera de orejas de papel, como vendas colgadas*," and, later in the same chapter, "*vna arcauceros, que se ponjan tras el cabellillo, como vna flor hecha de papel*" (*loc. cit.*).

19. "Mexicanus sacerdos (*sacerdotissimus*) coloravit totum caput suum nigrum, excepto facie, ut cognoscatur ex picturis. Et in facie suam picturavit, et aspersit pyrites ferreos" (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 91n.).

20. "*Vna cosa que se llama yauhtli. Es como verde, tiene muchas conchas y caracoles sobre ellas, llamase yauhtlatexi. (y) siempre huele: es semejante a medicinal para los que tienen calenturas, cocinado y bebido con el cacao: hace de tener, y despues cocinado y mezclado con el cacao. Aprouecha también para los que corrompen sangre: y para los que tienen calenturas*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 279).

21. Probably the singular of *quaquamilli*; in context by *quaquilli*, Sahagún, however, defines *quaquilli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following our edition, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh ciuapiltin yaxtiuh yoan ocmpohli, ocpol, in tlachichinoli yoal papar y yoanah ocac, ocmol yacca pilaxtiuh, yacca yaxchiuh, yoan tlacualli ocmoliqui, quimpolinoti, ocmo quemmilitiuc,—and in the midst of them went what is called a royal cane, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper was hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They were carrying it with much reverence.*

1796 805 wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

1796 When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained [533] sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the lead- [552] ing warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

1796 Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were painted with red feathers. 585 And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also ● 793 they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their fore- [302] heads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[9] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their [301] heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Carophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

1796 And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, 793 which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, [534] which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

[534] And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonqujçaia,

çã qujtoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic [illegible]laiaoalotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh iontzinco miquiz in Xilonen: ceioual in cioapan cujcoia, toçooaia, muchi tlacatl ixtoçooaia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, queoaia queviliaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel ixujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan moxaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjiccacxochiuh, inxoxochiconqui cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ichoã yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonneloua yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in ichoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa itepuxco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, tecciztli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

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8. *Bixa orellana* L., the anatta shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 4). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llamaban cempoalxóchitl, son amarillas y de buen olor*" (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tapena, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 88, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *tlamacazqui cuicacuicac* (chanting priests), says "The player is called the *teponaqui*, and the drum, *teponazcli*. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonnerea excelsum* Bonth, this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of elder." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tenpon on the bottom (corresponding Spanish text).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 27.

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in qujmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmõloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc. 776 x 793 [301] [287]

Ce tlacatl qujquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, excan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujoalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzoa: 796 x

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco qujoallalia: iehoã qujmati in machiceque catca in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in oozitl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl. [262 264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl netoçiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, moxaoaia. [302]

Ixqujch tlacatl motamaluja moxocotamalujaia: qujntlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan. [868 273]

Auh in uevetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpochtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli.

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujtzacutiaz neetitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796 x 273 689

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[5] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech clout; its papers[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, braves! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in otlatvic: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalitquj, intlatquj oalictiuh in matepoztli, tlaximalteporzli, vēl quipetlaoa, qujxipetzoa, in vncan yixe, in vncā titicujtztic, in vncā xixipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jxcalo xocotl, vel cōnevivilia in jxcalo, in jquapitzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmā ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepātlaçque. Eintin, cenca chicaoaque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin caica.

In ce itoca: coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhquin mixpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xócotl, in qujnacaiotiaia: mjchioauhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjztac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlaliaia: yiamaneapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzō, ixoxocovipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo onacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquijlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquijlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no etetl tzocoiotl in qujchioa, qujquauhço: excan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xócomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xócotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmā ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzioa:

qujtoa. Ma ecuel tiacahoane, ximotilinjcan, ixqujch amotlapal:

njmā ie ic queoatiquetztivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtonmaçatl, yoan qujquāmjvia: auh in iequene ie iauh, in ie meoatiquetztiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzioa, cenca chachalacoa:

796 X
778
[412
463]
[793]
[483
401]

5. Probably pronounced in manner. Cf. the Jourdanet-Simeon edition, p. 129.
6. Reference could be to either paper or fabric (*algodonera*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[7] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still,

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzauac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coololoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec quitqujtiuh: in oacic ixpã mex contema, contemjlia. [746 X] [252]

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaounalo, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, qujlmach quicxipaca. [888 273]

Auh in oacic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoistemalizitli: iquac quitepeoa in acxoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in quichioaia, iotextli, quitepitztlaliaia, quipachoaia, iaoultic injc quitlaliaia, petlapã in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, quicencaoaia, cemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta iotextli, motenecoa: icxi. [793]

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza iotextli, texxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca ohecoque in teteu: [787]

njman ic quiualitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, quitzacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu. [534]

Auh in jzquich macoualli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanazque intcupã, in intcteupan diablome: çã moche in tlapololli, in quinmanjlia:

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie ioua: çan ie no ivi in quichioa, tlatlaoana in vevetque, in jlamatzitzin, quilmach, quimjcxipaca in ohecoque teteu. [888 273]

Auh in jmuztlaioc, iquac heco in Jacapitzaouac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca intecuh catca, yoa in Izcoçauh- [776]

7. The word *ixtlaio* is explained by Carochi (*op. cit.*, p. 107): "*Auh quil ouach in ixmac ualhuia ceme ixtlaio in tlalqui ouacil chaolouali*"—"*y dicque cuando venian los dioses, se partia el cerro ixtlaio de harina de maiz.*"

1 796 [765] And when they had burned, they there buried their charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton [237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places [793] the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast [776] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, [342 513] nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

X 796 Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, 224 in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

suh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan inczo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaomjcque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, ooaquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaztatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa conocaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: moteneoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc moteneoa, çacapan qujxoa, mozetzeloa, çacatl: ichoatl in ocoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, ce petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujnõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjtotia inmac: njmã ic qujnõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in peoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iecviloa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in intecouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn moteneoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujxqujch haxtioa nexaçacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo flatlioa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nehaapanalo:

mec viloa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl mocilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniacaloa in jtzujchtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoialo,

3. "Se sale a la grama" (zacapan quimoqui). according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

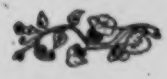

Temple of Uitzilopochtli
Costepetl.[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitznauac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shapen. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all then danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Iiopoch.

And in the morning Paynaltzin came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Paynal was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly bedight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Paynal was thus adorned: [it had on] its humming bird disguise, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back went hanging the mirror device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli ieuccal
costepetl. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, expa in quiçaia ilhujuh, in quilhujquixtiliaia, yn ipan ce xiuitl. 796x

Injc cepa ipan in mjtoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoquiçaia, in ichoatl vitzilobuchtli, ym omextin yn jtoca Tlacauepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic quitlecaujaja in ichoatl vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixquich in tlamacazquj, in tetlpuchtli in quinapaloaia: auh yn ixiptia catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tzoalli, cenca vey, cennequetzalli. [776] 776 796x

Auh ynic vme in jtoca Tlacauepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tzoalli in jxiptla catca.

Auh in muchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacauepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in muchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitznaoac calpulco: auh ceniocoal in quimicuxitiaia, in quintlacatiliaia.

Auh in otlatujc, ie otlacatque: njman ie ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ie teutlac, njman ie ic netotilo, necococolo: auh çan ic oncalaquj, in tonatiuh, in quintlecaujaia: auh yn oquimontlalito, njman ie ic oaltemoa, vmpa ceioal cate: yoan quinpiaia tlamacazque, yn jntoca Iiopuch: [793]

Auh yn otlatujc, niman ie ic oalquiça, in paynaltzin, in çan no ie yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, quinapaloa: auh yn ixiptla paynal, çan quauitl tlaca ietiuh: auh in quinapaloa, itoca topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: ceoca mochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla paynal ynic muchichioaia, yvitzitzilnaoal, yiaoecuiouh, yteucujlapil, ychalchiuhcoaquj: auh yn icujtlapan pilcatiuh, ichoatl in cujtlatezcatl, çan mocho in teuxivitl: 796x 293

1. See Lib. III, cap. i, § 1.
2. Identified as a manifestation of Huitzilopochtli (Tezozomoc, op. cit., pp. 146, 155).
3. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmarde ed.), Vol. III, p. 111.

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A True Relation of all Those Who Served in the Houses of Each of the Gods.

The Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans.

Thus did the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans with his sleeveless jacket, his incense ladle and his pouch, that he might with them pay honor to the devil. And so did he keep watch that verily it was a matter of his being like the father of [those in] the priests' dwelling. He was like the ruler of the lesser keepers of the gods indeed everywhere.

And all the children were left in his care, that he might train them, that he might by words move them to live well. And whether men commanded, or were rich, or were leaders, or directed, all this was the charge of the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans.

And also this one commanded in the temples everywhere; he told the lesser keepers of the gods what they might do. And if perchance any should sin, much did the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans take heed of it.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac, Omacatl.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac similarly maintained usages, just as the Keeper of the Gods of Mexico maintained usages. Likewise he oversaw, in the priests' dwelling, that they trained the children well.

The Keeper of the Gods of Others.

The Keeper of the Gods of Others: his overseeing was similar to the overseeing of the Keeper of the Gods of Mexico. Because, in truth, he appointed to all how [those of the] priests' dwellings should oversee; how they should bring up the children, and train them; and, verily, the things which the lesser keepers of the gods everywhere should do.

Ome Techutlo.

Ome techutlo had as his charge that he should assemble the Cuicaxtecatechin [singers]; even all of

Imelayaca in inqujutin tlatequjpanoaia in jochchan cecenme teteu.

Mexicatl teuhoatzin

Injc muchivaia mexicatl teuhoatzin ixicol, ixtema, ixiqujpil injc qujmaviztiliaia Diablo, yoan ic tlapiaia ca iuhquj in teta muchiuhticatca in calmecac, iuhquin intlatocauh catca in teteuhoatzitzin injc novjian:

yoã in ixqujch in tepilhoan itech oncavaloia injc qujmizcaltiz, injc quivapavaz tlatoltica injc vel nemizque, yoã in aço tlatocatizque, anoço mocuiltonozque, anoço teiacanazque, tlapachozque muchi iehoatl itequjuh catca in Mexicatl teuhoatzin, [871]

yoã no iehoatl tlanavatiaia in novjian teteupan qujmilhujaia in tlein quichivazque teteuhoatzitzin, auh in anoço aca tlatlacoa muchi iehoatl qujmatia in Mexicatl teuhoatzin.

Vitznava teuhoatzin omacatl.

In vitznavac teuhoatzin, çan no iuhquj injc tlamanitiaia in juhquj ic tlamanitiaia Mexico teuhoatzin no iuhquj injc tlapiaia in calmecac in quenjn vel tlacavapavaia.

Tepan teuhoatzin.

In tepan teuhoatzin çan no iuhquj in itlapializ catca, in juhquj ic tlapiaia in Mexico teuhoatzin, ichica ca muchi iehoatl qujnnavaciaia in quenjn tlapiazque calmecac, in quenjn tlacauacaltiaia, tlacavapavaia, çan muchiuhquj in qujchivaia injc novjian teuhoatzinia. [871]

Vme techutlo.

In vme techtzin iequjuh catca in qujnochicovaia cenmoatzonochtin in ic muchiuqin, aiac mocavaia, auh

793 them. None should fail. And here, over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who was made, as it were, their leader.

793 [445] 273 Then they arranged the rabbit [wine] jars. These they filled with [ceremonial] five[-fold] wine, which they also called sacred wine. Then he brought forth the sucking-tubes, made of reeds, and laid them with the sacred wine—two hundred and three of them, but only one was bored through.

And when they had set them out, thereupon all danced and went in procession; the Centzontotochtin danced.

Thereupon they went up to the sacred wine. There was much jostling about until one should see the [sucking tube which was] bored through. And when he who saw it then took up the bored [tube], then they made room for him.

Only he alone drank the sacred wine. And when he had drunk the sacred wine, thereupon all dispersed.

vncan tepan icaca im patecatl, iuhquin tachcauh muchivaia,

njman ic quiquetza in tochtecomatl vncã costeca in macujlvctli in qujlvjaia teuvctli, njman ic qujvalquistia in piaztli acatl vncan cõmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlacpoalli vmei, auh çan ce in coionquj,

auh in ocõma, njman ic ic netotilo, tlaiavalolo, mjtotia in centzontotochtin,

njman ic ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac ichoatl quijttaz coionquj, auh in aquin oquittac, in oquicujc coionquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

ça icel quijticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlaoanoc, njman ic viujloca.

Epcoaquacuiltzin.

793 [805] The Epcoaquacuiltzin—behold what were his duties: when feasts should be celebrated, perchance when a new fifty-two-year cycle should start—verily, all feasts—all of them he announced; or when fire was laid. In truth, all that should be done, all things this man thus commanded and furthered.

Epcoaquacujltzin.

In epcoaquacujltzin, inca yn jtequjuh catca: Yn iquac ilhujtl quijçaia, yn aço xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ic muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipã tlatoaia, injc tletemaloz in ic muchi muchivaz muchi ichoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloneo.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloneo also had this as his duty: In his charge were the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, and all which this one needed when [sacrificial victims] were to die. And he had in his charge the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauecatl, and the incense ladle, the quail, and the black plumes with which [he who was arrayed in the likeness of] Chiconauecatl was feathered.

Moloncoteuhoa.

In moloncoteuhoa, çan no ichatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copalli, in vlli, in tlilli, in isquich itech monequja in ichoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tlilli ic moçaia, in chicunavecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tlilticic mopotonjaia in chicunavecatl.

The [Priest of] Cinteotl.

The duties of the [Priest of] Cinteotl were that all things which were required be thus commanded, so that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber,

Cinteutzin.

In itequjuh catca cinteutzin çan isquich in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechiconaia in amatl in copalli, in vlli in jiauhtli in itech monequja xilo-

the sweet-smelling herbs should be gathered together which [the goddess] Xilonen needed when her feast was observed. And he arranged for all [things] and the incense-ladles which the temple needed when [the impersonator of] Xilonen died.

nen in jquac ilhujuh quiçaia, yoan muchi ipan tlatovaia, in tlemaitl in jtech monequja o calli in jquac mjquja xilonen. 793

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan.

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan—behold what were his duties. This one required, and hence commanded, that there should be gathered together the feathers, the eagle-down and the pointed eagle plumes, with which [she who was ornamented in the likeness of] Toci was adorned, when she died.

And this one cried out [summoning] the Huaxtec youths to do penances here at Atempan.

Atempan teuhoatzin.

In atempan teuhoatzin, izca in jtequjuh catca, iehoatl ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicovaia ihujtl, in qusuhtlachcaiutl, yoan in qiauhtevitztli injc mopotonjaia toci in iquac miquja

yoan iehoatl qujtzatziliaia in cuecuexteca in telpupuchtin, injc moçavazque vncã atempan. [203]

The Caretaker.

The Caretaker took charge of the songs of the devils, of indeed all the sacred songs, that none might do ill [with them]. Greatly was he concerned that they teach the sacred songs, and he cried [the summons] that the singers be gathered, or the chiefs, that they might be taught the songs.

Tlapiscatzin.

In tlapiscatzin qujmocujtlavjaia in jncujc Diablome in ie muchi teucujcatl injc aiac tlatlacoz, vel qujmocujtlavjaia, injc qujtemachtiaia in teucujcatl, yoan qujtzatziliaia injc monechicozque in cujcanjme anoço tetecutin injc qujmomachtizque in teucujcatl. [533] [203]

The Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan.

The duties of the Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan were similar to what were the duties of the Keeper of the God of Atempan; for he was concerned with, and commanded that there should be gathered together all the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the sweet-smelling herbs which [she who was arrayed in the likeness of] Tzaputlatenan needed when she died.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin, çã no iuhquj in jtequjuh catca, in juhquj itequjuh catca: Atempa teuhoatzin, ichica ça no muchi ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, inic monechicovaia amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan in jiauhtli, in jtech monequja in tzaputla tenan in iquac mjquja

The Keeper of the God of Tecanman.

The Keeper of the God of Tecanman was concerned that there should be torches, or bundles of resinous wood used as torches. And the charge of this one was that he should collect the red ochre, the black stain, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, and the bells which [the impersonator] of Xiuhtecutli, the old god, needed when he died.

Tecanman teuhos.

In tecanman teuhos iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in ocutl in tlepilli iez yoan iehoatl itequjuh catca, in qujnechicovaia in tlavitl, in tilli yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli in jtech monequja xiuhtecutli, veuetectl in iquac mjquja [373]

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Ome Tochtli Tezcatzoncatl.

Ome tochtli Tezcatzoncatl: this one likewise was concerned with the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the foam sandals, the paper, the heron feather headdress, the pine flowers [as mentioned above]. Hence he commanded that all be assembled; that they gather together the offerings which [he who was ornamented like] Tezcatzoncatl would need when he died. This was done upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tezcatzoncatl vme tochtli.

In tezcatzoncatl vme tochtli, çan no ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in poçolcactli in amatl, in aztatzontli, in ocozochitl, ic tlanavatiaia injc muchi monechicoz in valcenqujcaz in ventli in jtech monequja tezcatzoncatl in iquac mjquja ipã in tepeilhujtl mochivaia.

Ome Tochtli Yiauhqueme.

Ome tochtli Yiauhqueme likewise was concerned with the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the bells, the sleeveless jacket, the heron feather headdress, and the pine flower. Therefore he commanded that all that hath been mentioned be gathered, when they were needed, when [the impersonator of] Ome tochtli Yiauhqueme died. [This was] also upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli yiauhqueme.

In vme tochtli yiauhqueme çã ie no ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tzitzilli, in xicolli, in aztatzontli, in ocozochitl, ic tlanavatiaia injc monechicovaia in isqujch omjto, iquac monequja in iquac miquja vme tochtli yiauhqueme çan no ipan in tepeilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Tomiauh.

Ome tochtli Tomiauh: the duties of this one were [that] he be concerned with all things needed when [he who was bedight as] Ome tochtli Tomiauh died —the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, the bells, the sleeveless jacket, which have already been told of. [This was] also upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli tomjiauh.

In vme tochtli tomjiauh ichoatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatovaia in isqujch in monequja in iquac mjquja vme tochtli tomjiauh, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in tzitzilli, in xicolli, in e ixqujch omjto, çan no tepeilhujtl ipan.

Ome Tochtli Acalua.

Ome tochtli Acalua: likewise this one's duties were that he be charged with all the duties which Ome tochtli Tomiauh had.

Acalva vme tochtli.

In acalhoa vme tochtli çan no ichoatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatovaia in isqujch itequjuh catca vme tochtli tomjiauh.

Ome Tochtli Quatlapanqui.

The duties of Ome tochtli Quatlapanqui were that this one was in charge of the paper, the *copal* [incense], the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the princely sandals which [the impersonator of] Quatlapanqui had need of when he died, upon the feast of Panquetzaliztli.

Quatlapanquj vme tochtli.

In quatlapanquj vme tochtli in jtequjuh catca, ichoatl ipan tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan in itzcactli in jtech monequja quatlapãquj in iquac mjquja ipan panquetzaliztli.

Onne Tochtli Tilhua.

Onne tochtli Tilhua: likewise this one was concerned with the paper, the *copal* [incense], the sleeveless jacket, the bells, all things which have been mentioned, which also this one, [he who impersonated] Onne tochtli Tilhua, needed upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tilhoa onne tochtli.

In tilhoa vme tochtli, çan no ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in isquich omjto, çan no ichoatl itech monequja in tilhoa vme tochtli ipan tepeilhujtl. 793

Onne Tochtli Pitecatl.

Onne tochtli Pitecatl: this one produced the five[-fold] wine; he took by the hand and went with the artificer, the one who made the sacred wine, upon the feast of Panquetzaliztli, when they used the five[-fold] wine.

Vme tochtli pitecatl.

In vme tochtli pitecatl ichoatl qujiolitiaia in macujlvctli imac concavaia in tultecatl ichoatl qujchivaia in teuvctli ipan panquetzalizztli in popolivia in macujlvctli. [273]

Onne Tochtli Napa Tecutli.

Onne tochtli Napa tecutli was in charge of the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber—all that was needed when [he who was arrayed as] Napa tecutli died, upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli nappa tecutli.

In vme tochtli nappa tecutli ipã tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli: in ie ixquich monequja in jquac miquja nappa tecutli, ipan tepeilhujtl.

Onne Tochtli Papantac.

Onne tochtli Papantac: this one also made the wine which was called "chalky wine." This one laid it before Moctezuma, and [did so] when all the children, or the men, or the women became drunk upon the feast of [Uei] Toçoztli.

Vme tochtli papantac.

In vme tochtli papantac, çan no ichoatl qujchivaia in vçtli in mjtovaia tiçavctli: ichoatl conmacaia in motecoçoma, auh iquac tlanavaia ie ixq'ch pipiltzintin, in anoço oquichtli, anoço cihoatl ipan toçoztli. [273]

The Same Onne Tochtli.

Similar were his duties. His charge was [like that of] Onne tochtli Papantac; and [these things] were done upon the feast of Atl cahualo.

Vme tochtli idem.

Çan no iubquj catca in itequjuh, in itequjuh catca, vme tochtli papantac, auh in muchivaia ipan in atl cavalo. [273]

Cinaquacuilli.

The charges of the cinaquacuilli were all the offerings which were needed by her of the Temple of Atzachicalcan [Toçi]—the flowers, the tobacco which she laid before Toçi; verily, all things which the women offered when the hand-holding dance was danced. All this was the charge of the cinaquacuilli.

Cihoaquacujlli.

In cihoaquacujlli itequjuh catca, in isquich ventli, in vacan monequja, atzachicalcatl, in xuchitl, in ietl injc qujdlamanjliaia toci vel inquich in ontlamanaia in cihoa in jquac navaloia ichoatl nuchi itequjuh catca, in cihoaquacujlli.

The Iztac Ciuatl Ciuaquacuilli.

793 The Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli also kept watch there and took care of the [Temple of] Atenchicalcan; and she was in charge of the sweeping and the laying of fires [there]. And any who made supplications [to the goddess] spoke to the Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli. This one determined all that was done here at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

Cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl.

In cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl çã no vmpa tlapiaia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatovaia in tlachpanaliztlj in tletlaliliztli, yoan in aqujn vmpa monetoltiaia, ichoatl conilhujaia in cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl, muchi ichoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia atenchicalcã.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco.

The duties of the Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco, [concerned] the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli. He caused it to be cried abroad that it be gathered in the forests. And those who gathered it were only those youths whose right it was [to gather it]. And when they had gathered the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli, they piled it up in the priests' dwelling at Tzonmolco.

Iscoçauhquj tzõmvlco teuhoa.

In jscoçauhquj tzõmulco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhtecuquavitl, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quauhtla, auh in concuja çan ichoantin in telpupuchtin intequjuh catca, auh in oqujcujto xiuhtequavitl, vmpa conquetzaia in tzõmulco calmecac.

Tlaçolquacuilli.

The Tlaçolquacuilli was charged that he should guard and take care of [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket, and he had his gourd for tobacco. Much did he venerate the Temple here at Mecatlan. None might urinate here; and if anyone did urinate here, then they seized him and brought him within. There they punished him and drew blood from him.

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Tlaçolquacujlli.

In tlaçolquacujlli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiaia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, ixicol yietecõton ietinemj, cenca tlamavizotiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlã, aiac vncan maxixaia, auh in aqujn vncan omaxix, njman qujtzitzqujaia, qujcalaqujaia calitic, vmpa quitlatzacujltiaia qujçoçoia.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco guarded and cared for [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco. And his task was to have charge of the offerings. He caused it to be cried abroad that offerings be made here at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco.

Tecpantzinco teuhoa.

In tecpantzinco teuhoa, vncã tlapiaia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tecpãtzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatovaia in ventli qujtzatzilitiia injc tlamanaloz vncan tecpãtzinco.

Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton.

793 The Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton was concerned with the songs. When anyone molded figures [of the mountain gods], he consulted with him that he

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Epcoaquacujlli tepictotõ.

In Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton ipã tlatovaia in cujcatl, iquac in aqujn tepiquiz ichoatl ichoatl conjlhujaia in qujmisquetzaz, qujnnavatiz in cujcanjme,

might provide the singers and make them sound well, when they went to sing in the home of him who molded figures [of the mountain gods]. Verily, this one, the Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton, passed judgment upon [the songs].

injc qujcativi in jchan in aqujn tepiquiz, vel ichoatl qujtzontequja in Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton. 793 [532]

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton.

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton was upon [the pyramid], and his charge was that he caused it to be cried abroad that offerings [should be made]. When the little children, whether men[-children] or women[-children, first] began to talk, they went carrying their offerings of *copal* [incense], or flowers, or whatever sorts of gifts were made. Each of [these] things they bore with them.

Ixtlilco teuhoa.

In jxtlilco teuhoa ipan jcaca, ipan tlatovaia, qujtztiliaia in ventli injc motenmamalia pipiltzitzinti in in aço oqujchtin, in anoço cihoa qujitquitivi in jnven in copalli, in anoço suchitl in ic isqujch ventli muchivaia cecentlamantli in qujtquja. [203]

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli at Aticpac.

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli, at [the Temple of] Aticpac, had encharged to him [her who was arrayed in the likeness of the Goddess] Aticpac calqui ciuatl, [and that] they should collect the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber which Aticpac calqui ciuatl needed when she died. And they flayed her, and the fire-priest put on her skin and went forth holding a [live] quail in his teeth, which went dangling from his mouth.

Aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli.

In aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli ipã tlatovaia, in aticpac calquj cihoatl qujnechicovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in jtech monequja aticpac calquj cihoatl in iquac mjquja, auh qujxipehoaia in jiehoaio cõmaqujaia tlenamacac, yoan qujtlanquativja çolin icamac pilcatiuh.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli, at Atlixeliuhqui.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli at Atlixeliuhqui was charged with collecting the adornment, the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam medals, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the sweet-smelling herbs, the chalk, the black stain, and the heron feather headdress and the tousled hair which [he who was arrayed like] Opochtli would send when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli.

In atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli, ipan tlatovaia, qujnechicovaia in jnechichival, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tritzilli, in jiauhtli, in tiçatl, in jaiapalli, yoan aztacxõtli, papatli, in jtech monequja obuchtli in jquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico, took care, when that one [arrayed in the likeness of the god Tequizin] died, of the paper, the *copal* [incense],

Xippe iopico teuhoa.

In xippe iopico teuhoa qujnecujtlavjaia, in ipan mjquja in ichoatl tequjzin, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tlahujtl, auh injc mopotonjaia io-

and the foam sandals, the red ochre; and that this one be arrayed in feathers—in white turkey feathers—and in the fine mantle of masterly design which fell his lot.

hoatl in iztac totolihujtl, yoan in tolectilmatli tultecajutl in jpã vetzia.

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli, at Pochtlan.

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli, at Pochtlan, oversaw that they should collect for him [who was to be arrayed as] Yiacatecutli the various feathers, the rabbit fur—all the feather[-like adornment]; and the precious mantle, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the sandals of all colors.

Pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli.

In pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli ipan tlatovaia qujnechicovaia in jJacatecutli in nepapan ihujtl in tochiujtl in ie izquich ihujtl. yoan in tlaçotilmatli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan tlatlapalcactli.

The Same, for Chiconquiauitl, at Pochtlan.

Chiconquiauitl: this one also oversaw all that hath been mentioned which the keeper of the god at Pochtlan oversaw.

Chiconqujahujtl pochtli idem.

In chiconqujahujtl, çan no ichoatl, ipan tlatovaia in jzquich omjto in ipan tlatovaia pochtlan teuhoa.

The Keeper of the God of Izquitlan.

The Keeper of the God of Izquitlan looked after the sleeveless jackets, the bells, and the foam sandals, and the sacred wine, and he took the *syrup* [from the *maguey*es] in the fields. This [*maguey* plant] was afterwards broken up, that no one might drink [of it], and that no one might take it.

Izquitlan teuhoatzin.

In izquitlan teuhoatzin ipan tlatovaia, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoã in poçolcactli: yoan teuvctli, concuicuja in necutli in mjlpã, ichoatl in qujn omotlapan in aiaiac quj, in aiaiac concuj.

The Keeper of the Chachalmeca Gods, at Zapotlan.

The Keeper of the Chachalmeca Gods, at Zapotlan, had it in his charge that [he who impersonated] the man of Zapotlan be adorned, [and supplied with] paper, *copal* [incense], and incense ladle—all things which the man of Zapotlan needed when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin chachalmeca.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin chachalmeca, ipan tlatoaia injc muchichioaia in ipan miquja in tzaputlacatl, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in tlemaitl, in ie izquich itech monequja tzaputlacatl in iquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli icue Acatonal.

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli icue acatonal oversaw the gifts and caused it to be cried abroad what this [woman arrayed in the likeness of] Chalchiuhtli icue needed when she died—the pine-nut skirt, the

Chalchiuhtli icue acatonal cuacujlil.

In chalchiuhtli icue acatonal quacuilli, ipan tlatoaia in ventli, qujxatziliaia in jzquich itech monequja, in ichoatl chalchiuhtli ycue in ipan miquja, in oco-

water skirt; and all the paper, the *copal* [incense], and still other [things].

calcueitl, yn acueitl: yoan in ixqujch yn amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in oc cequj. 793

Acolnauacatl, Acolmiztli.

Acolnauacatl, Acolmiztli had charge of all the adornment with which this Moctezuma adorned himself when he fasted. Only upon the great feasts did he fast—when all fasted for Tlaloc, and when there was fasting for the sun, and for [the feast of] Quecholli. [He] saw to the mantles, the sleeveless jackets, and the foam sandals.

Acolnaoacatl, acolmiztli.

In acolnavacatl acolmiztli, ipan tlatoaia in ie ixqujch nechichioalli, injc muchichioaia in ichoatl motecuçoma, in jpan moçaoaia: çan ipan in veucy ilhujtl moçaoaia, ipan in netlalocaçaoaloia, yoan in netonatiuhçaoaloia, yoan in nequecholçaoaloia: ipam tlatoaia in tilmatli, in xicolli, yoan in poçolcactli.

The Keeper of the God Totoltecatl, at Tollan.

The keeper of god of Tollan: this one saw to what [he who impersonated the God] Totoltecatl needed: the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the princely sandals, the heron feather headdress, and the lordly flowers—verily, all that [the impersonator of] Totoltecatl needed when he died, at [the feast of] Quecholli tlami, [or] when it was the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tollan teuhoa totoltecatl.

In tollan teuhoa, ichoatl ipã tlatoaia, in jtech monequja totoltecatl: yn amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan yn itzcactli, yn aztatzontli, yoan in tecusuchitl: in ie ixqujch itech monequja totoltecatl, in jquac mjquja, ipan in quecholli tlamj, auh in quenman ipã in tepeilhujtl.

[793] **A True [Relation] of what Was Accomplished and of the Works Which Were Done in the Houses of the Devils.**

Imelaoaca in neiehecolizti anoço tlatequjpanolizti in muchiouia teupan in tlacatecolocalco.

The Education of Men.

The priest who educated [the young priests] led them by the hand to the priests, to those who dealt blows, to those who guarded.

Tlacazaltilizti.

In teizcaltiaia tlenamacac, imac concaoaia, in tlamacazque, in tlavitequjnj, in tlapianj.

Admonitions.

Thus they admonished them, that they might lead good lives; that they might not waste time nor live lazily.

Tenonotzalizti.

Ic qujnnonotzaia, injc vel nemjzque, in amo maviltizque, in amo tlatziuhtinemizque.

Sweeping.

[356] That they might sweep the courtyard of the temple, he cried out to all the little priests that they should sweep.

Tlachpanalizti.

Injc tlachpanazque, in teuitvalco quintzatzilia in jxqujchtin in tlamacazcatepitzitzin injc tlachpanazque.

The Laying of Fires.

And he had them see to it that they should lay fires, that they should watch them, where they set in order the various fires. And everywhere in the [373] temple courtyard fires were laid; there perchance [even] ten rows [of them] burned—very many [of them].

Tletlalizti.

Ioan qujncujtlaviltiaia, injc tletlalizque injc tlapialoia, vncan netetecoia in tletl itla, auh çan novjian in tletlaliloia in teuitvalco, in tlequazco in vncan in vncã tlatlaia aço matlactecpantli cẽca mjiec.

Guarding During the Night.

Guarding during the night: they who were priests cared for [this]; it was the duty of those who were trustworthy.

In iovallapializtli.

In iovallapializtli ichoantin qujmocujtlavjaia, in tlamaceuhque, in jxtlamatque intequjuh catca.

The Carrying of Wood.

[373] The carrying of wood. Thus they took care that fire should burn in the priests' dwelling: those who were very young priests gathered it—they who were not yet very prudent.

Quauhçequjlizti.

In quauhçequilizti, injc tlapiaia in tlatlaia calmecac, ichoantin concuja, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in aiamo cenca ixtlamati.

The Cutting of Thorns.

The cutting of thorns: they cut them who were priests not yet much experienced. These [were the ones] who took them.

Vitztequjliztli.

In vitztequjliztli, ichoantin cõtequja in tlamacazque in ãmo cenca ixtlamati, in qujnõtlacuixque. 793

The Gathering of Fir Branches.

The gathering of fir branches: likewise they who were priests secured them, and these were already experienced.

Acxoiaçequjliztli.

In acxoiaçequiliztli, çan no ichoantin concuja in tlamacazq̃ auh ichoantin in ic ixtlamati.

The Blowing of Shell Trumpets.

The blowing of shell trumpets: this was the charge of those who were young trumpet-blowing priests; and [they were] experienced and of various sorts.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

In tlatlapitzaliztli, ichoantin intequjuh catca, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin. yoan in ic ixtlamati neneliuhtivjia. [534]

The Dissolving of Black Coloring.

The dissolving of black coloring was the task of those [who were] the young blowers of shell trumpets. These dissolved the black stain, and everyone anointed himself with it. Verily all together put it on when they stained themselves; none failed [to do so]. And they dissolved it in the black stain canoe. And the black coloring was dissolved only at night, and all stained themselves at the moment of dawn.

Tlilpatlaliztli.

In tlilpatlaliztli, ichoantin intequjuh catca: in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in qujpatlaia tlilli, muchi tlacatl ic moçaia, vel mocemaqujaia injc moçaia, acan mocavaia: auh in qujpatlaia vncã in tlillacalco, auh in tlilpatlaloia, çan iovaltica, auh in neoçaloia iquac in tlavizcalli ichoa. 793 386

Account of What the Women Did There at the Temples.

Behold the life of the priestesses whom [their mothers] vowed [to service] there in the great temple.

In this manner they put them [into the temple], when yet very small—perchance after [they were] already twenty days or forty days [old]. And thus they took them; thus they left them there. Only they went carrying them; they went in the arms of their mothers. And then they went with their brooms which went filling the arms of the children; and they bore their incense ladles and *copal* [incense]. Not yet was there fire [in the ladle]; wherever the old priest so disposed, there would the incense ladle be used.

And when she had gone to dedicate the little girl, she thereupon took her away. She left there only the incense ladle and the *copal* [incense]. And this old priest then admonished the mother that she not lose her child through neglect, and that [the child] not fail to go to leave the brooms and the *copal* [incense], or wood shavings, every twenty days there at the tribal temple.

And when already discreet, when already a maiden, purely of her own will she went into the tribal temple. And purely of her own will she performed the veiling [ceremony] and also went taking with her the incense ladle and *copal* [incense].

And when she was a grown woman, if this priestess was asked [in marriage], and if the words were well spoken, and if the fathers and the mothers and the lords of the suburb agreed, thereupon were a number of things bought. They bought quail, and *copal* [incense], flowers, tobacco, and an incense ladle. And food was bought.

Then this priestess forthwith went to perform the veiling [ceremony] and took with her all that had been bought, as hath been told. And for her performing of the veiling [ceremony there was] a cape called *tlazquachtli*, which had many heads [worked upon it]. Thereupon they laid out a large cape, the *quachtli*. Then they set forth the offerings in a reed vessel; here they placed the gifts that they might

Imehouca in quenja tlazoqujpanoaia cioa in vmpa templ.

Izcatquj, in jnnemiliz in cihoatlamacazque, injc qujnnectoltiaia in vmpa vej teupan.

Jnjc qujncalaqujaia, oc vel tepitoton, aço quin ie cempoaltia, anoco quin ie vmpoaltia. auh injc quinvicaia, injc qujmoncavaia, çan qujnnapalotivia, çan inmac ietivj in jnnanvan, auh njman impopouh ietivia, in pipiltotonti inmac tentivia, yoan intlema qujzquja, yoan copalli aiatle vnietiuh tletl quin ie-hoatl qujmatia in ichoatl quacujlli in campa moneq'z in tlemaitl.

Auh in ocõnectoltito in cihoapiltontli njman ic qujvica: çã inquich in vmpa concavaia in tlemaitl, yoan in copalli: auh in ichoatl, in quacujlli njman qujvalnaoatia, in nantli injc amo qujxiccaoaz in jconeuh yoan injc amo tlaxiccaoaz, injc qujcaoatiuh in popotl, yoan in copalli, anoço tlaxipoualli, in cecempoaltica in vmpa calpulco.

Auh in iquac in ie movelitta in ie ichpuchtli, çã monomavizia in calaquja, in calpulco: yoan ça yiollotlama in teisquentiaia, no qujtqujtiuh in tlemaitl in copalli.

Auh in iquac in ovelmaçic cihoatl, intla ie itlane, in ichoatl in cihoatlamacazquj, auh intla vel omotlali in tlatolli intla ocenque, in tetahoan, in tenanhoan in tlazillacaleque in pipilti, njman ie tlacocohoalo qujcohoa, in çolin, yoan in copalli, in suchitl, in jietl, yoan in tlemaitl, yoan mocohoaia tlaqualli,

njman in ichoatl in cihoatlamacazquj njman ie ic isuh in teisquentiz qujtquj in jequich omococouh, in omjio, auh injc teisquentiaia in tilmatlj itoca tlacaquachtli, tzotzontecomaio, njmã ie ic contlalia in cenca vej tilmatli in quachtli, njmã ie ic tlamana acaquachcuitica, vncan contlalia in ventli in quil-

● 793 [262] cozauh—fast foods of only three *tamales*. Thereupon they offered a wooden vessel filled with only five *tamales*, and a sauce perchance of turkey or of duck, which they had gathered together as food.

vian tlacatlaqualli çan etetl, in tamalli, njman ic ic conmana, in quauhcuitl vncan tentiuh, çan macujltetl in tamalli, auh in mulli, aço tenolin, anoço canauhtli, in qujnamjctinin tlaqualli.

Here Endeth the Part of Book II Called the Appendix.

Nican tlamj in icuonca inic vme amatlli yn jtoca apendix.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

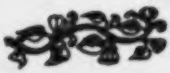

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Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.[1]

All became priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth nor vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.[2]

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.[3] The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chatiel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl,[4] to him who is feathered in

Injc chiconse capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn quenjn tlatoque, pipiltin qujmõçaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in quenamj tlamanitiliztli, ynjc tlamanja in vmpa moteneoa calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequjntin vel nanti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in qujmaquja in qujnnetoltia in jnpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequjntin in-aquja quinequi,

muchintin tlamacazque muchioa in pipilti ypampa, in nencalilotan calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teiscaltiloian, chipaoaca nemoouiã, necxiiciecoloia, nẽmachoia ixtlamachoia, qualtioaia, iectioaia: çan njmã hatzoio, hatcuhio, atle iniaioca in tlamacazque innemilix, yn calmecac neoapaoaliztli,

Jn tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mocuiltonoa in iõc quinetoltia in caquja jnpiltzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujncentlalia in tlamacazque, yoan qujnnotza in quaquacujlti, yoã qujncentlalia yn nanti, yn tati, in vevetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevetlaca, qujntlatlauhtia in tlamacazque quimilhuja.

Totecujooane, tlamacazquee, nican anoalmouicatiaque amocxitzin anquioalmanilique, aço tlacotl, çacatl cana oanquioalmocxinamiquilique, aço cana amocxõtzin oanqujoalmocuelhuique, oanqujoalmotecujnilique;

ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecujo, anqujmocuilia, anqujmocaqujltia, a ca nelle, axcan centetl cocatl quetzalli, oqujnomacavili in toteujo, in tloque naoaque

tiremiqui, ticcochitleoa, a ca nelle axcan tle oniez, in pilõdli, in conetontli: cuix malacatl, tzotzopaztli, aticmacazque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amotlatquitzin, yn axcan ivicxtzinco tiqujtoa in tlacatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tilpotõqui, calaquiz in calmecac, in

1. Torquemada, op. cit., p. 22, says they were taken by the *cuhcuacac* at the age of four. Clavigero, op. cit., pp. 199, 200, says the age for these entering both the *cuhcuacac* and the *telpochcalli* was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the *cuhcuacac* than in the *telpochcalli*. Cf. Cano, op. cit., p. 54.

Cano (*ibid.*, pp. 57) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, star lore (magic, omens, time-reckoning), the calendar (prediction of the future, astrology), mythology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the *calmecac*. Priests also participated in the wars and were the formal educators.

3. *Ye mauil, ye tati:* an alternative rendering could be "those with fathers and mothers." Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 347), translates: "Ihr guten Vatersbrüdern sich befindenden Mütter (und) Väter."

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the *cuhcuacac* and of the education of priests and noblemen (Cano, op. cit., p. 28).

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black, that he may enter the priests' house, the house of weeping, of tears, and of sadness, where grow and ripen the sons of our lords.

"And there prayers are raised to the savior and protector of all; there he poureth forth prayers to our lord; there he is importuned with weeping, tears, and sighs. There one is given [gifts], and is chosen for him [our lord]. For there we speak in his worthy house—there where [the shell trumpet] is blown, where the fire is bored, where the children of our lords are reared—where there is sweeping, the clearing of trash; where [sin] is put to one side. [This] disposition our lord will bring about.[5]

"In your noble laps, on your revered backs, in your valued protection we place the child. Grant him [your love], for we give you our child. Grant him your love; give him [your protection]. May he be planted here that he may be reared and wax strong; that he may do penances all night and all day, going about on elbow and on knee, calling and crying out to our lord, weeping, sad, and sighing.

"This is all which you have been caused to know and to hear, O priests."

Behold how the priests responded and replied:

"Here we have taken and received your valued spirit and words. Although we are unworthy, although we do not deserve it, although we do not merit it, your valued spirit and words have come forth [telling] how and why you are anguished over your jewel, your quetzal feather. But we only hear [on behalf of] our lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl, of him who is feathered in black. What will he require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? What will he wish of you? What will become of your jewel and quetzal feather?

"Without doubt we would be foolish [to say] that thus this [is], that this one [is] thus. Let us all trust in our lord, savior and protector of all. What will he wish of us? Let us put our trust in him."

choquizcali, in jxaiocali, in tlaoculcalli, in vncan izcaltilo, oapaoalo in totecujooan in tepilhoã.

auh in vncan tlaitlanililo, in tloque naoaque, in vncan ixillã, itonçatlan mamaisaoa in ichoatzin totecujo, in vncan tlamatataquililo, in choq'ztica, in jxaiotica in elciciuiliztica: auh in vncan motetlamamaquilia, in vncan motepepenilia in ichoatzin, ca vmpa toconitoa in ichantzinco, in vncã pitzalo, mamaisoa in izcaltilo ĩ totecujooa, in tepilhoan, in vncan ochpanoaztli, tlacuicuiliztli, chico tlanaoac, tlatequiliztli qujmochivililiz in totecujo:

amocuexantzinco, amoteputzinco, amomamalhoaztzinco, tocontlalia, manoço tlacaoa in amoiollotzin, ca tamechtoconemaquilia, ma tlacaoa yn amoiollotzin ma xiqualmanilican, ma quimontoca, ma quimonnelo, in izcaltilo, in oapaoalo, in tlamaceoa in ceioal, cemilhujtl, in jmolicpitzin, in jntetepontzin ic tlaçatimj in qujmonochilia, in qujmotzatzililia in totecujo, in choca, in tlaocuia, in elcicivi;

ca izquijch y, anquimocujlia, anquimocaqujtia tlamacazquehe.

Jzcatquj, injc tlananquiliaia, ynjc quicuepaia tlatolli in tlamacazque.

Ca njcan tonconcuj toconana in amihjiotzin, in amotlatoltzi ma çã tehoan titottati, ma tictolhuiltocati, ma tictomactocati, in njcan oalquiça in amihjiotzin, in amotlatoltzi injc ica, injc ipampa, anmonẽtlamachitia, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal, ca çan ticiotlacaquililia in totecujo in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tilpotonquj anca quen qujmonequililia, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal. auh anca quen amechmonequililia yn amehoantin, anca quenami iez, in cozcatl, in quetzalli,

mach tocontotenitalhuizque in ma iuhqui, y, in ma ichoatl, y, ma tictocentemachilicã in totecujo, in tloque naoaque, quen techmonequililia, ma oc titlacentemachica,

5. Mention of the protection of the god and the priests, and of expected rewards, is probably a reference to the fact that from the calmecac came the priesthood and high military, administrative, and judiciary officials (*Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.). Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 124-5) writes: "*La segunda manera de educarse los hombres era por la ygnoria allegandose al capudonio de donde despues de haver servido en los templos con gran exemplo y penitencia y reverencia se eligian antiguos los oficiales y cargos honrosos en las republicas que oy en dia tienen entre ellos diferentes nombres diversos y nombres que hablando en nuestro manera y segun el respeto y reverencia se les hacia y oy en dia se les hace se como duques condes duques o marqueses obispos o arzobispos et. pues con ellos se celebraban las cortes y se tomaban los parecres y consejos se juntaban a los cavildos y juntas. Los reyes sin el consejo y parecer deste no tomaban hazer cosa cual el mesmo modo que los consejos que se congregaban para descargo de su real conciencia asi a la mesma manera eran estos personas en aquellos dignidades despues de largos penitencias y trabajos y hidas y exemplo a los quales quando les daban estas dignidades y reverencias hacian muchas ceremonias cortesanas segun largo estilo llamandoles la tierra con que siempre ordenaban embiandos de suerte que pudiesse dalle el nombre de determinado pues con aquellas ceremonias celebraban grandes prohibiciones y austeridad de cavalleros haciendo gran fiesta y banquete y oy en dia se hace al uso antiguo lo qual puede afirmar como testigo de hizo pues me he hallado en mas de quatro grandes fiestas y para que los que oyen y escuchen el presente discurso quiero declarar los diversos grados con ensiarme a amar diversamente variadamente diversbelladamente inopinadamente heterogeneamente abrolados opuesto.*"

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech clouts, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[6] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quitquj in pilhoaque, in tlatoque anoço pipilti, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cozcatl, quetzalli chalchivitl, in quivenchiouia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, anoço yiauhtli in quitquj in jnven muchioa, 874 793 565

yn oconvicaque, njman cohça tlitica, vel quixtlilpopotza, njman tlacopatli quicozcatia, yn jcnoiiaca çan ixqujch potonquj quicozcatia, njmã qujnacaztequi, contlatlaxilia in ixiptla Diablo in iezio piltõdi, intla oc piltontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlatooanj ipiltzin, icozquj vmpa c.ocaoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque, [302] [301]

njman quimachtia yn ixqujch nemiliztli, njc nemoa calmecac, in tlatecpantli.

6. *Aristolochia maxima* (Simeon, op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

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Eighth Chapter, which telleth of the way of life which they kept in the priests' house, where lived or were reared the fire priests and [other] priests.

First: All the priests slept there in the priests' house.

Second: It was required that everyone should sweep when it was well before dawn.

Third: Those already grown, already [more] hardy, then went to seek *maguey* thorns. They said, they pruned the *maguey* thorns.

Fourth: When they were already novice priests of whatever kind, they went forth when it was still night, or when midnight had passed; they started to go to the forest in order to gather and carry upon their backs wood which they called logs. This they burned all night in the priests' house as the priests kept watch.[1] And if anywhere mud [for adobes], a wall, cultivation of the soil, or a canal were to be undertaken, all went forth just before dawn. Those who guarded [the house] were left [behind], as well as those who would go to serve the food. They went in a group. None failed. In good order they passed the whole day.

Fifth: A little before they ceased their work, they went to see to the god's affairs, the duties in the priests' house, and the penances. When still a little sun [shone], or when it was already becoming dark, [this was the time which] was called the cutting of *maguey* spines. When it was quite dark, when it was already deep night, then the priests began what was called the placing of the *maguey* spines. One at a time they went forth. First [each] bathed himself. Then they took [their] shell trumpets, and incense ladles, sacks filled with incensè, and they took up pine torches. Thereupon [each one] set forth to place the *maguey* thorns. They went naked. Those who would perform great penances[2] might go as far as two leagues to place the *maguey* spines—perchance

Injc chicuey capítulo: ytechpa tlatoa, in nemilíztli, in mopiaia Calmecac, yn vncan nenca manoço muzcaltiaia tlenamacaq̃ yoan tlamacazque.

Injc centlamantli. yn vmpa calmecac muchinti vmpa cochi in tlamacazque.

Injc. ij. muchioa muchi tlacatl, tlachpana in vel oc iooa.

Injc. 3. iñ ie tláca, in ie chicactotonti, njman vih in quitemozque in vitztli, in qujtoa vitztlapanazque.

Injc. 4. in ie vel tlamacaztoton, in çan oço ie quenamique, oc iooan, anoço iooalnepantla oonquiz, in onpeoa quauhtla vih, in quavitl concuj conmama, in quilhuja mimiliuhqui, in ceiooal quitlatia calmecac ynjc tlapia tlamacazque. auh intla cana pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, muchioaz, vel oc iooan in viloa, mocauhtivi in tlapiazque: auh niman ie ieboantin in tetlamacativi, ololiuhtivi, aiac polivi, vellatecpanpa in qujtlaçaia cemilhujtl.

Injc. 5. çan cuel in quicaoa, in tlatequjpanoliztli quioalmati, yn jnteutequjuh in calmecac tequjtl, in tlamaceoaliztli; yn oc achi tonatiuh, anoço ie tlapoiaoatiuh mjtoa vitztequi, yn ovellaiooac, in ie tlaqusuhiooa; njmã onpeoa, in tlamacazque in mjtoa, movitztlalizque, ça vel cecenme in vih, achtopa mahaltia, niman concuj in tecciztli, yoã tlemaitl, tozitli, copalli ontentiuh, yoan concuj ocutl, njmã ie ic vmpeoa in movitztlalitiuh, petlauhtiuh, in cenca vel motlamacaltia aço ome leguas in ovih movitztlalia, aço quauhtla, aço ixtlaoacan, aço atlan yn tejccatoton, in anoço aqujn quinequi, aço media legua, in iauh in onmo-

1. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 227) writes: "*Avia Veladores, que velaban las vigilias de la noche, unos en los Templos, y otros en las encruzijadas de las Calles y Caminos. Estos velaban por sus quartos, y horas, mudandose, acabado el tiempo de su vigilia, y vela. Unos velaban desde la primera noche, hasta las diez, otros dazia media noche; y tocaban otros, entraban en la vela otros, hasta las tres de la mañana; y à otros siguian otros hasta el Alba. Su oficio era despertar à los Sacerdotes, y Ministros, los que velaban en los Templos, para que acudiesen à los Sacrificios, y horas nocturnas. Los de las encruzijadas, à los de la Republica, para lo mismo, cualquiera estaban obligados. Tenian tambien cuidado otros Velas de mirar el Fuego de los braseros, para que siempre ardiese, y nunca se apagase. Y à esta Vela Romaban Izquedilli, que quiere decir Vela.*"

2. The context of this passage suggests that *motlamacaltia* might better read *motlamacavaltia*. Otherwise the passage *in oncan nel motlamacaltia* might be rendered "[before whom] one was much frightened."

874 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps
793 half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

[673] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves,
[252] together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

[273 Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it
836 appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they
688] went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *maguey* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

[785] Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

vitztlalia, iteccix ietiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oacito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aqujn tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ic tachcaoa, atlã õmaltiaia.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Tlapaloa, ni. *manjar al poco cual pasaje, quitlo comer*" (Molina, op. cit.).

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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ne. well, then they drew blood from him [with maguey spines].

Fourteenth: Carefully were they taught the songs which they called the gods' songs. They were inscribed in the books. And well were all taught the reckoning of the days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.

Fifteenth: A strict vow of the priests was [that of] chastity, of a pure life. In no wise were they to look upon a woman.[1] A strict vow of theirs was [a life of] moderation. None then told lies. The priests were very devout. They were very god-fearing.

Now enough of this. Here is told the way of life of the priests. Much else, which is left [unsaid] must [yet] be related. [This] will be told in another place.

in aquja amo vellatoz, in amo vel tetlapaloz njman quiçoçoia.

Jnjc. 14. vel nemachtiloia in cujcatl in quilhuja teucuicatl, amoxxotoca. Yoan vel nemachtiloia in tonalpoalli in temjcamatl, yoan in xiuhamatl. [533]

Jnjc. 15. in tlamacazque vel innetol catca in nepializtli, in chipococa nemilizztli, in acan quittazque cihoatl, vel innetol catca in tlaixiciecolizztli, njman-aiac ixtlacatia, vel tlateumatinj, catca in tlamacazque, vel tenimacaçini catca, [589]

çan cuel inq'ch, y, nican onmitoz, in jnuemilix catca tlamacazque, oc mjec in mocaoa in jmitoaia monequj vccã mitoz.

1. Probably a life of celibacy is not to be understood. Cf. Charles E. Dibble, *Códice Xolotl* (Mexico: Universidades de Utah y de México, 1951) p. 75, M. 7, and elsewhere for examples of material priests.

[p. 66 is blank]

793 **Ninth Chapter:** here is told how were established and chosen the high priests, the Quetzalcoatl priests, the first of whom was [named] Totec Tlamacazqui and the second Tlaloc Tlamacazqui;[1] and [how] these whom they set up were especially wise and prudent.

And one who had distinguished his way of life and otherwise [had followed] the precepts and ordinances of the priests, this one was set apart and chosen, to be made a keeper of the god.[2] The chief, and the great judges,[3] and all the nobles chose him and gave him the name of Quetzalcoatl. There were two Quetzalcoatl priests: one was called Totec Tlamacazqui, one was called Tlaloc [Tlamacazqui].

The Quetzalcoatl priest [called] Totec Tlamacazqui was dedicated to Uitzilopochtli; the Tlaloc was dedicated to the lord of Tlalocan, the [god of] rain. These [were] exactly equal [in station].

555 793 And although he might be poor, or miserable; though his mother and father might be the poorest of the poor, if he well ordered his life and [kept] the commandments of the priests, he was taken to be named this Quetzalcoatl priest. He was called either Totec Tlamacazqui or Tlaloc.

No lineage was considered; only a good life was noted. One was sought of saintly life, of righteous life; of pure heart, good, and humane; who was resigned; who was firm and tranquil; a peace-maker, constant, resolute, brave; caressing, welcoming, and friendly to others; who was compassionate of others and wept for them; who had awe in his heart. He was called divine of heart, pious, god-fearing—one who wept, who was sad, who sighed.

793 And when he began this [training], he was still called an acolyte; then a priest; then a fire priest[4]—already due reverence. Then from these were chosen those named Quetzalcoatl priests.

Injc chicoxnauj capitulo: vncan moteneoa yn quenjn mottaliaia pepanaloia in vevej tlamacazque in quequetzalcoa, ynjc ce totecu tlamacazqui, ynjc vme tlaloc tlamacazqui, oc cẽca muchipa ichoan quintlalia in vel iztlamatque muzcalianj.

Auh in aquin vel qujmonemiliztia, y, yoan in ce cequi in jnnaoatil tlamacazque, yn jnnemiliz, ichoatl ano, ichoatl pepenalo, in teupixqui muchioa, qujpepena in tlatoani yoã in tecutlatoque, yoan muchintin in tlatoque, Quitlatocaiotia Quetzalcoatl: vmentin in quetzalcoa, ce itoca totec tlamacazqui, ce itoca tlaloc,

in quetzalcoatl totec tlamacazqui itech povia in Vitzilobuchtli, in tlaloc itech povia in tlalocan tecutli, yn qujiavitl, ynique, y, çan vel neneuhque,

auh in manel motolinja, in manel icnotlacatl, in manel quicentzacuj icnotlacatzintli, ynãtzin, ytatzin, intla ie vel quichioa, in jnnemiliz, yn jnnaoatil, tlamacazque ichoatl ano, ichoatl quetzalcoatl tocaiotilo, aço totec tlamacazquj, anoço tlaloc motocaiotia,

amo tlacamecaiotl motta ça qualnemiliztli, vel ie motta, vel ie motemoa. in qualnemilice, itl iecnemilice, in chipaoac yiollo, in qualli yiollo, in jcnoioyiollo, in tlapaccaihjiovianj, in tlarepizvianj, in tlaiolicvianj, in ãmo mocivianj, in iollochicaoac, in iollotetl, yn iollochichic, in tepepepetlanj, in temacochoanj, in tetlaçotlanj, in teltaocuiianj, in teca chocanj, ymauhquj yiollo, in mjtoa teutl yiollo, in tlateumatini, in teuimacacinj, in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in elcicivinj;

Auh injc oalpena y, oc itoca tlamacazto, njman ie tlamacazqui, njman ic tlenamacac, ic mavizti, y, njman ic vncan ano, y, in mjtoa quetzalcoatl.

1. "El nombre de Quetzalcoatl [sic] dado a ambos, es por necessario del dicho que se considerado por los mexicanos como el sacerdote" (Cruz, op. cit., p. 45). Intermediate offices between these high priests and the lower hierarchy are given briefly in *Ibid.*, pp. 47L; see also Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 178L. The responsibilities of various functionaries are also suggested in the Appendix of Book II of Sahagún, for which cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, pp. 198E. Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 221-2, mentions only one Quetzalcoatl priest: "Tenian un Rector, en su Concepto, que se llamaba del sacerdote de su Dios, Quetzalcoatl, el qual estaba muerto sobre su guarda, y Asistia, reformando la religion, y enseñando las ceremonias, y buenos exemplares."

2. The term of templegod was teotl (god) and pin (guard). Cf. Simeon, op. cit. The dictionaries define the term as priest.

3. *Tecuhtlatoque*: Sahagún describes them as "los senores jueces . . . estos acostumbran con gran diligencia los casos que ihan a sus casas"; on the death of chiefs, they were among the chosen of a new one (Sahagún, Robredo ed., II, pp. 318, 321).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, p. 74, n. 7.

793 And this priesthood lived in moderate circumstances and followed a distinguished way of life. For rather severe was the life of the priests.

Thus was the manner of rearing of the priesthood distinct from that of the young [warriors].

Auh ynjn tlamacazcaiotl, çaçan veli, çaçan qualli yn ipan nenca, in quimonemiliztiaia, ipampa yn achi ovi, yn nemiliztli catca tlamacazque:

çan vncan xeliuhticatca yn neoapaoaliztli, tlamacazcaiotl, telpochiotl.—/—

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

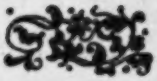

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

The Lord of Tlaloccan

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He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chia*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

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And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Tlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishment. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once, for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or foreboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Ic macelilli cqpiztlo, itechpa tlatos: in mistli.

Tlaloci tecutli,

Teutl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quiauitl, in atl: inh quitoaia, ic quichioa in ticcoa, in tiqui, in qualoni, in joani, in tonenca, in toiolca, in tocochca, in tonculuca, in tocemilhuiciaia, in tonacaiotl: in ic iquich xopaniotl, in itzmolintoc, in celiztoc, in quauitl, in ouhtli, in chian, in aiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: yoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in xochitl, in xiuitl.

Auh in ionac ilhuiquistililoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçaoaia, motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazqui: in motecca calmecac moçapaoa, momcaltia.

In ionac çacic nauilhuitl, in ic neoalco, in ic ilhuitl muchioa: matlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uei apan: amo iuiian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmotzotzopontilaça, onmotzotzopontimaiaui: çan monetechuja, vacan çoquiztlan quinemjtia, quipopolactia, quimulana: icpac cantinemi, quitilicça, atli tlamotzopontinemj, aiomotzinemi, tlamomolocti-nemi: ionac momitlatinemi, in tlamacazqui,

in ectlatoco, in calmecac itlã onchalo: intlanel çan aca ômotepotlani, itlã oconicxixopenh, oc uel ic conaciqui, ic ic iauai ça quipipia, aocmo conjcaoa, inic catlampapachoaqui.

Auh amo çan qoenjo quipolou: uel quicocolia, quellelaxitia, ça quen quimatoc, ça mopapaçaloac, ça iqueuacoac, ça micqui in quiculuaiaui atoco: aiac uel ipan tlatoa, vacan quimoana in intlaoac, in intlaoac. Auh in aquin quitlamachcaitilia, in quitlatlauacchilia ipiltzin, inic amo catlampapachoaqui: cacquistiaia ichtzin quimacaia in tlamacazqui, aqo tatlan, aqo tlapalli: ic quicaaia.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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water, in order that they should let him go, he offered the priests something of value—either a turkey or food. In return for it they let [his son] be.

And when this came to pass, everywhere, in the houses of all, in each house, *ezt lli*[9] was eaten. Each one made *ezzalli* for himself; and there was a dance in which *ezzalli* was begged. With green maize stalks they danced. Those who danced the *ezzalli* dance entered house after house, each one begging and asking. [The householders] offered them all this same *ezzalli*, [placing it] in the small jars, the *ezzalli* jars, which they bore in their hands.

These [gods] were called Tlaloca. To them were attributed clouds, rain, hail, snow, mist, sheet lightning, thunder, and lightning bolts which struck men.

The Rainbow

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As if arched—bent and rounded—it thus appeared. Varicolored, many-hued was its appearance. The single colors which showed in it [were] green, dark green, blue green, and black; and yellow and orange or tawny; then vermillion and ruby red; and [various shades of] blue, and dark green.[10]

And they said that when it appeared it revealed, made evident to men, and denoted—whereby it was known, realized, and seen—that it would not rain; would not rain hard—would not pour. But it would break up the clouds. It would dissipate, impede, and quiet the rain—the downpour which wet, soaked, and drenched one. If clouds piled up, if heavy clouds blackened [the sky] so that everywhere it was dark, it only dissipated [them]. Although it rained, no longer was the rain heavy; no longer did it increase. It only sprinkled; it drizzled; a few drops fell; a haze, a fog, a thin mist drifted and fell. Or it most it sprinkled; the sprinkling and the spray continued.

And they said—it was averred—[that] if it appeared over magney plants, because of it the green [leaves] yellowed, turned, dried, reddened, and withered. And also they said [that] when it appeared many times, thereby it was evident [that] the rains were to end forthwith. They said: "Soon the masters of the rain will go; already the Tlaloca are about to leave."

Auh in icoac, y, in nouiian techachan, in cecencalpan ezzalquaioia: cecenca nezzalhuiuia, yoan ezzalmaceoaloia: cintopiltica mitotia, tepan cacalaqui, motlatlaeuia, motlatlaidanja, in ezzalmaceuhque: çan muchc in ezzalli quinmaca, inzozochuicol, inecezzalcon intlan caana.

In ichoantin, y, motenemi tlaloque: intech tlamiloia in mistli, in qtiauitl, in teciuitl, in cêpaiauitl, in aiauitl, in tlapetlaniliztli, in tlatlatziniliztli, in teuiztequiliztli.

Aiauhcoçauaiotl

Iubquin uitoliubqui: tlauitoltic, coltic, inic oalmoquetza, tlatlatlapalpoalli, motlatlapalpoub in itlachiefiz. In centlamantli tlapalli, itech neci: xoxoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iispaltic, quilpalli, iispalli: yoan coztic, xopaltic, xochipalli: niman ic chichiltic, tlapaltic: yoã tlauzteoaltic, tlazzaloalli: yoan teaztic, teztôli, matlaltic, matlalli.

Auh quiioa, in icoac oalmoquetza: quinezzia, quitzittiza, quinezaçiezia, ic macho, ic machizti, ic ino: in amo quiauiz, amo tlacquiauiz, amo tilaoaz: çan quimomoiauaz in mistli, quipopoloa, quellchtia, quiiacazzaulia in quiauitl, in tlacquiauitl: in tepulili, in tochacoani, in teçoquitili. Intla cenca omotlatlali mistli, in oael cuicuichcoac, in omoniian tlatlaiooac: çan quipopopoloa. Intlaoel quiauz, aocmo cenca tilaoa, aocmo mollauia: çã aoachquiauz, aoachcli in omocuetzi, in oachichipini: aoachpizaoatli, aoachpicilli, aoachpicilotoa, in oazzizicoani in omocuetzi: aoocz çan aoachtilaoa, aoachtilaoaoiauani, aoachtaztlachiauani.

Auh quiioa, quilnach intla metl, ipan moquetza: ic macuçpalcini, macoçauia, macuçpi, machichilini, matlatlanja, macuetlanja. Ne yoan quiioa, in icoac micçpa oalmoquetza: ic neci, çan cuel quiçaz, in quiauitl: quiauia, çan cuel iaxpac in aoapac, ic quiçaxpac in tlaloqac.

9. Bierdt: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 79.

10. Sahagún (*Memorial*) has green for *xoxoctic*, *quiltic*, *quilpaltic*, *iispaltic*, *quilpalli*, and *iispalli*. Alonso de Molina, in his *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), gives blue-green for *quilpaltic* and brown or black for *iispaltic*. The second occurrence of this hue and of *quilpalli* is omitted in this translation. Molina translates *xochipalli* as ruddy or rose-colored. In *Memorial* one *xochipalli*, Sahagún treats both *chichiltic* and *tlapaltic* as red. For *chichiltic*, Molina has red or rose-colored. For *tlapaltic* and *xochipalli*, the *Memorial* has blue.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tenth Chapter, wherein is described the disposition of those who kept watch when the new fire appeared.

Inic matlactli capitulo, vncan moteneoa, in tlatecpaniliztli: in quipiaia, inic ilcuic tletl necia.

At nightfall, from here in Mexico, they departed. All the fire priests were arranged in order, arrayed in and wearing the garb of the gods. Each one represented and was the likeness of perhaps Quetzalcoatl, or Tlaloc, etc., or whichever one he went representing. Very deliberately, very stately, they proceeded, went spread out, and slowly moved. It was said: "They walk like gods." Thus, in deep night, they arrived there at Uixachtlan.

Ie tlapoiaoa, in nican oneoaia mexico: motecpantiuia muchinti in tletlenamacaque, muchicliuhtiui, ommaaquia in intlatqui teteu: in cecenaca impan mixeoaia, quinmixiptlatiaia, in aço quetzalcoatl, anoço tlaloc etᵃ in çaço ac ichoatl ipan quiztiuia, cenca çan iiolic, cenca çan iuian in istiuiia, onotiuiia, mantiuiia: moteneoa, teunenemi, inic uellaquauhioua onaci, vmpa uixachtlã.

And the one who was the fire priest of Copulco, who drew new fire, then began there. With his hands he proceeded to have continuously his fire drill; he went about making trials with his drill, the fire-maker.

Auh in ichoatl çopolco tlenamacac, in tlequauhtlazqui: niman nican quipeoaltia, in imac quimamamatinah itlequauh: quichecotiuh ica in imamalioaca, in itlaçaloca.

And when it came to pass that night fell, all were frightened and filled with dread. Thus was it said: it was claimed that if fire could not be drawn, then [the sun] would be destroyed forever; all would be ended; there would evermore be night. Nevermore would the sun come forth. Night would prevail forever, and the demons of darkness would descend, to eat men.

In iqoac, y, oiooac, cenca nemauhtiloia, tlatenmachoia: iuh mitoua, quilmach intlacamo, uel vetziz tlequauid: vncan cempoliooaz, centlamoaz, centlaioaz, aocmo oalquiçaz in tonatiuh: ie ic centlaioa, oalteemoaque in tzitzitzimi, tequaquiui:

Hence everyone ascended the terraces; all went upon the housetops. None remained in their houses, on the ground below. And women with child put on masks of maguey leaves and took up their maguey-leaf masks. [They] placed [the women] in granaries, for they were looked upon with fear. It was said and claimed that if, truly, the new fire were not drawn, these also would eat men; [for] they would be changed into fierce beasts.

ic mochi tlacatl itlapanco tlecoia, netlapanemaloia, aocac tlalchi, tlatzintla, cali mocaoia, motlaliaia. Auh in oeztli, momeztiacatiaia, inmemeztiac quicuia, yoan cuecuemac quintlaliaia: ipampa matlacaitoia, iuh mitoua, quilmach intlaca uel uetzi tlequauid: no ichoantin tequaque, motequãcuepaque.

And the small children they likewise masked with maguey leaves. In truth, none [of them] could sleep, or close, shut, or [even] half-close their eyes. From time to time their mothers and fathers were [there with them]; they kept waking them, punching and nudging them, calling out to them. They woke, roused, and nudged them. Because if they were to

Auh in pipiltotõti, no quinmemeztiacatiaia: aiac ved cocochia, onicopia, onnipiquia, onjemoztlouia: çan ic cate in iuallocan, in iztaiol, quinixiticate, quinipiticate, quintlaticate, quintzauilticate, quinixitia, quinipiqui, quintlo: ipampa intla cocochiaque, quilmach quiquinichtin mocuepaque, quinichiaque.

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sleep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uixachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

[785] Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and spattered the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and spattered it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

[782] Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *iequauac*. Etc.

Ic ça miscauja, mocemmati in ontlachielotoc, in onitztotoc, in ōnequechanotoc, uixachtecatl iicpac: iquich tlacatl vmpa ontlatenmati, ōmotemachia, in quēmanja uetzi tlequauitl, in quēmania oalcueponi, oalpetzini. Auh in icoac, oquenteltzin vel uetz, in omopitz, in onotlac: çatepan ic cuetlani, cueponi, nouiian ōneci, oalitto in vēca.

Niman ic muchi tlacatl monacaztectiuetzi, contlatzitzicuinilia iquichcapa in tletl: in manel coçolco onoc no connacaztequi, concuilia iniezço, contzitzicuinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca muchi tlacatl tlamacena,

ic coneltetequi, in jelpan ontlequauhtlaxoc, conelcoionja in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca iequaoac. etc.*

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eleventh Chapter, in which is told what they did when it was seen and was evident that the new fire burst out.

Inic matlactloce capitulo, vncan mitoa: in tlein quichioaia, in icoac omottac, onez, in ocuepon iiicuic tletl.

And then everyone—the priests and fire priests—took the fire from there. [Having come] from all directions, the fire priests of Mexico had been sent there, charged with the task, as well as those who had come from distant [places] everywhere—messengers and runners. For these were all only chosen ones, strong warriors, valiant men, picked as best; the fleet, the swift, who could run like the wind. Because through them they could quickly have fire come to their cities.

Auh quinicoac, isquich tlacatl vmpa tlecui, in tlamacazque, in tletlenamacaque: inic ic nouiiampa vmpa oioaloque, oisquetzaloque, in mexico tlenamacaque, yoan in ic nouiian veca oaleoa, titlanti, tlaioaltin: ca çan much ichoan in pepenaloia, chicaoaque, in oquichtin, in tiacaoan in tlatzonanti, in painanj, in tlaççani, in iuhqui hecatoca ic motlaioa: ipampa inic iciuhca, caxititiuetzizque tletl imaltepeuh ipan:

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First, the fire brand was prepared and adorned. It was called *tlepilli*. And this the fire priests brought. Before [doing] anything else, they took it up, direct, to the top of the temple [pyramid], where was kept the image of Uitzilopochtli, and placed it in the fire holder.[17] Then they scattered and strewed white incense [over it]. And then they came down, and, also before [doing] anything further, they brought and took it direct to the priests' house, the place named Mexico.[17] Later, this was dispersed, and fires were started everywhere in each priests' house and each tribal temple; whereupon it went everywhere to each of the young men's houses. At that time all of the common folk came to the flame, hurled themselves at it, and blistered themselves as fire was taken. When thus the fire had been quickly distributed everywhere among them, each one laid a fire, and was quieted in his heart.

ca achtopa ic nenemachtiloia, muchichioaia in tlecuioani: itoca tlepilli. Auh ieehoatl, ic quioalaxitiaia in tlenamacaque: oc ie achto, vmpa quitlecauiaia, quitlamelaoaltiaia in iicpac teucalli: in vmpa mopieia ixiptla vitzilobuchtli, tlequazco contlaliaia: nimã ic contepeoa, contoxaoa in iztac copalli. Auh niman ic oaltemo, oc ie no achto, vmpa quitqui, quitlamelaualtia in calmecac, itocaiocã mexico: ic çatepan moiaoa, tletletlalilo in nouiian cacalmecac, cacalpulco: niman ic ic iauh, in nouiian tetelpuchcalli. Ie vncan in isquich onxoquiuri, onmotepeoa, ontapaliui maceoalli, in motlecuilia: icoac ic nouiian, tepan moiaoatiuetzi in tletl netletletlalililo, neioiollalilo.

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This same all the village fire priests did. That is, they carried the fire and made it hasten. Much did they goad [the runners] and make them hurry, so that they might speedily bring it to their homes. They hurried to give it to one another and take it from one another; in this way they went alternating with one another. Without delay, with ease, in a

Çã no iuh quichioa, in isquich altepeoa tlenamacac: inic quitequia, quinenemitiaia tletl, cẽca quitototzaia, quimotlalochtiaia: inic iciuhca caxitizaque inchan, quimomamacatiquiça, quimocuicuilitiquiça: ic mõpapatlatiui. Amo uecauh, amo machiztli, çan isquich cauitl, y, in conaxitiaia, in quicueponaltiaia: çan achitonca in nouiiampa, cuecuepocatimoteca

16. "Ya amanecido, hecho de sol y cuanto, quanto deberse del pueblo"—corresponding Spanish text.

17. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, thus explains this distribution: "Y de allí tomaná y llevaran al aposento de los mayordomos, que se dicen mandamases: y después a otros aposentos, de los dichos mandamases, de pueblos: y de allí tomaran, y llevaran todos por mañana, de la ciudad."

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short time they caused it to come and made it flare up. In a short time everywhere fires burst forth and flared up quickly. Also there they first carried and brought it direct to their temples, their priests' houses, and each of their tribal temples. Later it was divided and spread among all everywhere in each neighborhood and in the houses.

tletl, cuecuepocatiquiça: no vmpa achto quitquitiquiça, quitlamelaoaltitiuetzi in inteupan, in incalmecac, in incacalpulco: çatepan ic moiaoa, tepan cẽmani in nouiian tlãtlaxilacalpan, yoan in calpan.

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Variously they named the sheet lightning or thunder bolts. They attributed them to the Tlalocs or *tlamacazque*. They said that these made the thunderbolts and sheet lightning and peals of thunder, and [that] they smote with them whomsoever they would.

Por diuersos nombres nonbran al relampago o rayo atribuyẽle a los tlaloques o tlamacaces. Dezian que ellos hazian los rayos y relampagos y truenos y ellos herian con ellos a quien querian.

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Fifth Chapter

Clouds and rain these natives attributed to a god whom they called Tlalocan tecutli, who had many other [gods] under his command, who were named Tlalocs and *tlamacazque*. These [people] thought that they created all things needed for the body, such as maize and beans, etc.; and that they sent the rains so that all things growing in the earth would

Las nubes y las pluuias atribuianlas estos naturales a vn dios que llamauan tlaloca tecutli, el qual tenia muchos otros debaxo de su dominio a los quales llamauan tlaloque y tlamacazque. Estos pensauan que criauan todas las cosas necesarias pa el cuerpo como mayz y frisoles etc. Y que ellos embiauan las pluuias para que naciesen todas las cosas que se crian

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burst forth. And when they observed the feast of this god and his subjects, before the celebration, those whom they called *tlamacazque* (who lived in the temple house named *calmecac*) fasted four days. And, the fast concluded, if there were a malefactor among them, in honor of those gods they mishandled him in the lake, dragging and kicking him through the mire and through the water.

en la tierra. Y quando hazian fiesta a este dios y a sus subiectos antes de la fiesta ayunauã quatro dias aquellos que llamauan tlamacazque los quales morauan en la casa del templo llamada calmecac. Y acabado el ayuno si algun malhechor entre ellos avia por honrra de aquellos dioses le maltrataua en la laguna arrestrandole y acozeandole por el cieno y por el agua.

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And if he tried to rise, by force they again pushed him under the water, until they almost drowned him. They who, in the house called *calmecac*, committed some fault—like breaking some vessel, or some such thing—these they seized and kept under guard in order to punish them on that day. And sometimes the parents of him who was thus detained gave chickens or capes or other things to the priests so that they would let [him] go and not drown [him]. To those whom they thus illtreated, neither their parents nor their kin dared show favor nor speak for them, if previously they had not freed them while they were imprisoned; and so badly did they treat [the victims] that they even left them almost for dead cast on the brink of the water. Then their parents took them up and carried them to their houses. In this feast of these gods, all the common folk ate maize boiled like rice. And the priests went dancing and singing through the streets. In one hand they carried a stalk of green maize, and in the other a pot with a handle. In this way they went asking that [the householders] give them boiled maize. And all the common folk cast that boiled maize into the pots which they carried.

y si se queria leuantar tornauãle por fuerça, a metter debaxo del agua hasta que casi le ahogauã. Los que en la casa llamada calmecac hazian algun defecto como es quebrar alguna basija o cosa semejante los prendian y tenian guardados para castigallos aquel dia. Y algunas vezes los padres del que así estaua preso daban galinas, o mantas o otras cosas a los tlamacaces porque lo soltasen y no le ahogasen. A los que maltrataua desta manera ni sus padres ni sus parientes osauan favorecellos ni hablar por ellos si antes no los avian librado estãdo presos y tanto los maltrataua hasta que los dexaua casi por muertos arrojados a la orilla del agua. Entonces los tomauan sus padres y los lleuauan a sus casas. En esta fiesta deuos dioses todos los macehuales comian mayz cocido hecho como arroz. Y los tlamacaces andauan bayllando y cantando por las calles en vna mano trayan vna caña de mayz verde y en otra vna olla con asa por este modo andauã demandando que les diesen mayz cocido y todos los macehuales les echauan en las ollas que trayan de aquel mayz cocido.

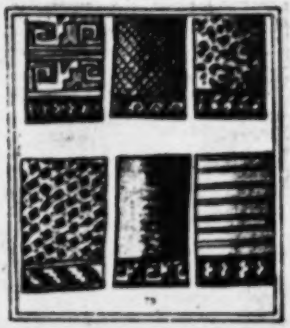

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—*Hijar Pano y Transcaso*

72-74. Women's array—*ajipilli, cuitl* (Chapter 19). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

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Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, youn tecuciztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [781] [276 415]

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yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moxtlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiujtze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Glaubenswelt der alt-amerikanischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form name: "*Da er im Tore dargingen bemerkten, die den Copalbeutel trugen, wird er sich um Priester handeln.*" The term [illegible] translates (ibid., p. 161), "*schlimm sie tun einer Schuur.*"

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684 And if the ruler learned that a fire priest or [another] priest lived in concubinage, and had looked upon a woman, he then pronounced judgment upon him and proceeded to visit punishment upon him. He was despoiled of his goods; they were secreted in his house, [so that] nothing[3] was to be seen [of them]. Likewise judgment was pronounced upon a fire priest or [other] priest if he was drunk.

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Auh yn tlatoani yntla quimachiliz, tlenamacac, tlamacazqui omomecati, oquitac çiuatl, niman quitlatzontequilia, quitzacuhtiuh, namoelo, tlatataco yn icha, atl neneçi. ça no yuh tlatzontequililoya yntla otlauan tlenamacac, tlamacazqui.

3. *Ahí*: probably *ade* in manuscript.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he danced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimã ye ic quimaca im moteccuiçoma in tlauizcalli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech pouia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicauaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him. up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuã quinchiuaya. Auh niman cõmaca ỹ yocotzonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

● [793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in imal. uel ispã im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ỹ ye iuhqui in oc'e-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli mihtouaya teooctli. inic quitq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in õya. niman ic coniaua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cõmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in õya. niman ic cõuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço nauitlacatl in q'moychecultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman õmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca onmaquetztiteca niman ic cuecheq' concuilia in iyollo coniauiliz in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti;* they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui ommicouac. nimã ye ic mihtotia 796
in tlauahuanqz in otemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. 727
in ipan mihtotia cecenteti in tzontecomatl intlan 793
caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca
q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuãtin ypilhuã in omicqz.

auh i yeuatl malli nimã ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui
ye totec, [çan moquetzticaequi][5] in icuayo. in is-
quichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in ime-
uayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco.
inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh
no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan
miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl
in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youã im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle 796
inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani
in quemmã ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz
niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh
in tiacaua nimã ye ic no motecpana q'misnamictimo-
mana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in motztimani. auh
nimã ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa õuetzi in toto-
tecti q'moncotonilia in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mo-
cotoniliqz nimã ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa
q'mõmana in innemanaya in itocayocã totectzonte-
contitlã. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl
q'mõcaua.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimã ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz 796
in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techã. uel 431
nouian calaq̃ auh im maceualli ye iuhca ỹyollo quin- 262
chie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallascalli.
ytnocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepanca-
calaq' in ontlaçotlalo.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y compoualloc. ça campa
quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlacuã. in quehua cõ-
maca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl.
aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc.
momoztlac yui.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

423 which "the king" (viz. the tlatoani) belonged. These lands "passed
428 from fathers to sons... and if anyone died or went off to other parts, his house and his land remained , and by order of the king or of the ruler, the others of the district put another in his place, " and they could not sell them (33), and the tecpantlacas worked them personally

33. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

(34). These data indicate to us, first, that among them obtained

34. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

the same situation as obtained among the lands of the calpullis and tlaxilacallis: distribution in family parcels and inheritance of use, and that they had a certain unity with respect to a group which used them: its "faction" [*"parcialidad"*]. All this makes us think that the tecpantlalli were of a calpulli or of a tlaxilacalli, the calpulli or the tlaxilacalli to which the tlatoani belonged.

423 /p. 42/ We are not told only of the tecpantlalli, but also of the tecpillalli, which " ere almost like what they called pillalli" (35).

35. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

Tecpillalli is translated as lands of the pilli or of the pillis of the tecpan, which explains to us what sort of lands they were that received this name: the lands destined for the sustenance of the pillis of the tecpan—the nobles of the calpulli of the tlatoani—, lands which possibly formed a unit with the others of the tecpan, perhaps inlike manner to the lands of other calpullis divided between macehuales and pillis.

423 There were lands and cultivated plots for the temples (36). These
794
● 793

36. Román y Zamora, I, p. 120; Zurita, p. 176.

surely were of two types since on the one hand there was "a lot in each ward" (37), that is, they were certainly distributed by calpullis.

37. Ramirez Codex [*Códice Ramírez*], p. 79.

423 But on the other hand there were others which were not or appeared
794 not to be in the same condition, since in these the priests functioned
793 as mayordomos (38) and had tenants and neighbors who gave tribute

38. Clavigero, I, p. 281.

only to the temples (39). Perhaps this means that they were calpullis

39. Román, I, p. 120.

or tlaxilacallis whose lords were priests. Reinforcing this assertion is the fact that these people were differentiated from others and felt it to be an honor to be occupied in that employment (40), somewhat

40. Torquemada, II, p. 165.

similarly to what happened in the case of the tecpantlacas. What we can deduce from all the above, anyway, is that in order to speak of the lands of the Temples one takes as criterion the tribute and not the direct utilization of the land by the priests. Furthermore we can ascertain from our data that the calpulli was an organism basic to the existence of these lands in their particular distribution: each calpulli giving a part of its products, or entire calpullis dedicating themselves to giving tribute exclusively for the sustenance of the religious needs. In some cases these were towns removed from the city proper which were tributary to the temples and which alternated each half year (41). But we do not know what happened during the

41. Torquemada, II, p. 164.

half year when they did not give tribute to the temples. It may be that they continued with their calpulli organization and perhaps only gave tribute to their lords.

423 Something similar to that which occurred with the lands of the
652 temples happened with the lands for war, or yaotlallis, which had various names according to the products which they yielded, cacalomilli, milchimalli (42) and which were "for /p. 43/ food

42. Vetancourt, I, p. 372.

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721 sent them to say that we were not to go to his city because he had nothing to give us to eat, and that they wished at once to return to Mexico with our reply. When Cortés saw that their speech was unfriendly, he replied to the Ambassadors in the blandest manner, that he marvelled how such a great Prince as Montezuma should be so vacillating, and he begged them not to return to Mexico, for he wished to start himself on the next day, to see their Prince, and act according to his orders, and I believe that he gave the Ambassadors some strings of beads and they agreed to stay.

When this had been done, our Captain called us together, and said to us—"I see that these people are very much disturbed, and it behoves us to keep on the alert, in case some trouble is brewing among them," and he at once sent for the principal Cacique, whose name I now forget, telling him either to come himself or to send some other chieftains. The Cacique replied that he was ill and could not come.

721 When our Captain heard this, he ordered us to bring before him, with kindly persuasion, two of the numerous ●793 priests who were in the great Cue[1] near our quarters. We brought two of them, without doing them any disrespect, and Cortés ordered each of them to be given a chalchihuite, which are held by them to be as valuable as emeralds, and addressing them with friendly words he asked them what was the reason that the Cacique and chieftains and most of the priests were frightened, for he had sent to summon them and they did not want to come. It seems that one of these priests was a very important personage among them, who had charge of or command over all the Cues in the City, and was a sort of Bishop among the priests and was held in great respect. He replied that they, who were priests, had no fear of us, and if the Cacique and chieftain did not wish to come, he would go himself and summon them, and that if he spoke to them he

[1] [i.e., temple pyramid. —Analyst]

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721 713 believed they would do as he told them and would come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his 721 company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Montezuma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Montezuma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

721 While this conversation was taking place, three of our friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to 725 Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Azoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At 721 this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians 782 whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower 346
which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with [415]
blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they [782 266]
cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and [412]
chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water [312]
which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the [766]
great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory 793 ●
that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes [292]
of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood.
346 Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case [589 784] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship, or in case of great infirmities, for which the calpulli provided.[111] No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the [587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

428 764 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs 428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

[793] [111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat. de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 347–353), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1514, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1864, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 108, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164–167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV, p. 177. Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 336, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

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the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

plus"). *Burita* (pp. 121-123) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 269; cap. VIII, p. 273). *Burita* (p. 121): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 183): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredades para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 60).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que alli se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap. IV, p. 268): "y le ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmecac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 283): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 12th edifice "Tillaucalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

13th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vitznaoac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 202)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 203).

32d edifice, "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

34th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac, "monasterio ó oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tecuhuelico-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Tecuhuelcatl," (p. 207).

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346 the abodes of such men as underwent the severe trials preliminary
793 to their investiture with the rank of chief ("tecuhtli.") The word "calmecac" is often interpreted as "dark house" but its etymology is probably quite different. In no case, however, was that building a school for a "privileged class of children.[105]

582 *The kin had the right to regulate and to control marriage.*[106] We have seen that the obligation to marry rested upon every member of a "calpulli." Where tribal society is still in its pure and original condition marriage in the same kin is absolutely prohibited. The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans were closely scrutinized by the Catholic church, and a rigid investigation by the early missionaries has proven that not only was marriage between close relations strictly prohibited, but it was also discouraged (if not forbidden) between members of the same kin.[107] Mr.

In all, seven "calmeca" within the enclosure surrounding the great "house of god" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan. *Torquemada* (Lib. VIII, cap. XI to XVI) also describes the various places, mentioning "Huitznahuacalmecac." "Casa de recogimiento, y habitacion de los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este lugar" (p. 150). "Tlamatzinco calmecac," donde vivian y tenian su asistencia los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este dicho Templos" (p. 151). "Yopico calmecac" "donde habitaban, y se criaban los muchachos" (p. 153). "Calmecac"—"donde se criavan los niños" (p. 149). Besides these statements, the two authors just quoted allude to the Calmecac in the same manner at various places. *Sahagun* (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VII, and especially Cap. VIII, pp. 274–276). Already the title of this chapter is significant: "De las costumbres que se guardaban en la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, donde se criaban los Sacerdotes, y ministros del templo desde niños." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, pp. 468–471). *Johannes Eusebius Nieremberg* ("*Historia Naturæ*," Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, pp. 143–146). He copies Hernandez who, in turn, almost verbally agrees with Sahagun. *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302; Cap. LI. p. 537). *Gomara* (Vedia I. p. 438).

[105] *Molina* (II, p. 11). "Calmeca tlatolli," "palabras dichas en corredores largos" and "Calmelzetli," "Sala grande y prolongada, ó corredor de la casa." The word may be decomposed into "Calli"—house, and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, or "mecatl" a cord or tie. "House of Ties"?

[106] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 74).

171 [107] Already *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII) pictures vividly the difficulties encountered by the priests in regard to regular marriage. The first question to be determined was that of the legitimate spouse. This has already been investigated in a former note. The next question was that of the degrees of consanguinity, or affinity. It was rigidly inquired into whether perhaps, custom had sanctioned intermarriage of brothers and sisters. *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 439): "No casan con su madre ni con su hija, ni con su hermana; en lo demas poco parentesco guardan; aunque algunos se hallaron casados con sus propias hermanas;" thus admitting the fact that intermarriage of that kind existed. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 305) also concedes that such may have been the case, and infers that these marriages should be regarded as valid. The question of intermarriage between children of the same isene becomes important through the statements and discussion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. VII, p. 489) about the matrimonial customs of the Indians of *Vera-Paz*: "The Indians of Vera-Paz were compelled frequently, on account of their customs of relationship, to marry brothers with sisters for this reason: It was not customary for those of one clan, or tribe, to marry the women of the same tribe (pueblo), and thus they sought for them from others, because

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Third Chapter, in which is told the omen taken as a present when at night they heard as if someone shot iron arrows into something or as if he chopped wood; this they called the night axe.

Ic ei capêmilo, vncan moteneoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in tetzammachoia: in jquac iooaltica qujcaquja, in juhquj aca, tlatepuzmjuja: in juhquj quauhxeloaia, in qujtoaia, ioaltepuztli.

Likewise there was an omen which was taken as and considered portentous; its name was the night axe. When it made itself heard, it was well into the night,[1] when none spoke aloud.

No ioan, tetzaujtl catca, netetzaujloia, tetzammachoia: in jtoca ioaltepuztli. Iquac caqujztia, in ouellallimjctimotecac: in aocac naoati.

When the priests went forth to do penances and to lay down fir branches at their places of doing penance on mountain tops, wheresoever they all went, then it was heard that it resounded like someone chopping and splitting wood. It rang out for a great distance; much did it frighten the people. It made them faint and swoon with fear. This night axe, so we are told — it was said that it took the form of Tezcatlipoca, to make sport and fun of people.

[79a]

In ontlamacteoato, in onacxoiatlaliq tlamacazque: in jntlamacteoaian tepeticpac, in çaço campa ie, onuja, injc mocaquja, injc caquiztia, iuhqujn aca, tlaxeloa, quauhxeloa: cenca veca caqujzti, cenca temamauhti, teiolmjcti, teçolauh. Inin, ioaltepuztli, iuh mjtoa, qujlmach iehoatl, ipan mjxeoaia, in tezcatlipoca: injc teca mocacaiaoaia, teca maujltiaia.

They said that he who looked upon it, one who was bold and wise, and not given to fright, of strong spirit,[2] could then hurl himself at it. He seized it and would no more give up, in order to see it. He would call to it as to a person and, indeed, hang on to it — force himself on it — as he pursued it. He followed at its back and forced it on; because thus he could catch it and see what manner of omen his was. Thus do they say, that whosoever would catch it when he saw it could with difficulty approach it; yet he pursued it and made it go everywhere; everywhere he came up to it.

qujtoa. In aquja quiztaia, in mjhiujntia, in jiollo quijmati, in amo momauhtianj, in tonallapaliuj, vel ic momotla: qujmomaca, aiocmo qujcaoa, injc vel qujttaz, qujtlacanotzaz, vel itech mopiloa, itech motlapaltilia, injc qujtoca: qujteputztoca, qujtlalochtoca, ipampa injc vel caciz: qujttaz, in quenamj ittzauh: in juh conjtoa, in aquja vel cacia, in qujttaia: aiaxcan in vel itech pachiuj: oc qujtotoca, noujã qujnemjtia: noujan caaxitia.

When he tired it, somewhere on the road he awaited it without fear. And when now he saw it, he beheld it like a man without a head — a headless one, with neck severed at the nape, and with chest framework and belly broken open. Thus they said it was thought that that which was heard was his [split] chest framework when its halves met [like] a mouth continually opening and closing, with a sucking sound.[3]

Iquac in oqujciammjcti, cana otlica qujoalmuchieltia: auh in ie qujtta in ie qujtzticac, iuhqujn tlacatl quechcotonquj, quechcotoctic, quechtepultic: ioan elchiqujuhtlapanquj, ellapanquj: in juh conjtoa: qujlmach iehoatl, in caqujzti, ielchiqujuh: iuhqujn ommonamjquj ommocacamapiquj, ommopipiquj, onchachaquanj.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "al primer sueño de la noche: quando todos dormian profundamente."
2. Ibid.: "alguno hombre animoso y esforçado y inuentado en la guerra."
3. Ibid.: "el pecho rasgado abierto: y tenia cada parte como vna portezuela, que se abrian, y se cerraban, haziendose en el medio: y al cerrar, decian: que hazian aquellos golpes, que se oyan lexos." Text Pl. 2.

423 which "the king" (viz. the tlatoani) belonged. These lands "passed
428 from fathers to sons... and if anyone died or went off to other parts, his house and his land remained , and by order of the king or of the ruler, the others of the district put another in his place, " and they could not sell them (33), and the tecpantlacas worked them personally

33. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

(34). These data indicate to us, first, that among them obtained

34. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

the same situation as obtained among the lands of the calpullis and tlaxilacallis: distribution in family parcels and inheritance of use, and that they had a certain unity with respect to a group which used them: its "faction" ["parcialidad"]. All this makes us think that the tecpantlalli were of a calpulli or of a tlaxilacalli, the calpulli or the tlaxilacalli to which the tlatoani belonged.

423 /p. 42/ We are not told only of the tecpantlalli, but also of the tecpillalli, which " ere almost like what they called pillalli" (35).

35. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

Tecpillalli is translated as lands of the pilli or of the pillis of the tecpan, which explains to us what sort of lands they were that received this name: the lands destined for the sustenance of the pillis of the tecpan—the nobles of the calpulli of the tlatoani—, lands which possibly formed a unit with the others of the tecpan, perhaps inlike manner to the lands of other calpullis divided between macehuales and pillis.

423 There were lands and cultivated plots for the temples (36). These

• 794 36. Román y Zamora, I, p. 120; Zurita, p. 176.

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surely were of two types since on the one hand there was "a lot in each ward" (37), that is, they were certainly distributed by calpullis.

37. Ramirez Codex [Códice Ramírez], p. 79.

423 But on the other hand there were others which were not or appeared
794 not to be in the same condition, since in these the priests functioned
793 as mayordomos (38) and had tenants and neighbors who gave tribute

38. Clavigero, I, p. 281.

only to the temples (39). Perhaps this means that they were calpullis

39. Román, I, p. 120.

or tlaxilacallis whose lords were priests. Reinforcing this assertion is the fact that these people were differentiated from others and felt it to be an honor to be occupied in that employment (40), somewhat

40. Torquemada, II, p. 165.

similarly to what happened in the case of the tecpantlacas. What we can deduce from all the above, anyway, is that in order to speak of the lands of the Temples one takes as criterion the tribute and not the direct utilization of the land by the priests. Furthermore we can ascertain from our data that the calpulli was an organism basic to the existence of these lands in their particular distribution: each calpulli giving a part of its products, or entire calpullis dedicating themselves to giving tribute exclusively for the sustenance of the religious needs. In some cases these were towns removed from the city proper which were tributary to the temples and which alternated each half year (41). But we do not know what happened during the

41. Torquemada, II, p. 164.

half year when they did not give tribute to the temples. It may be that they continued with their calpulli organization and perhaps only gave tribute to their lords.

423 Something similar to that which occurred with the lands of the
652 temples happened with the lands for war, or yaotlallis, which had various names according to the products which they yielded, cacalomilli, milchimalli (42) and which were "for /p. 43/ food

42. Vetancourt, I, p. 372.

13. Zurita, p. 105.

463 we can infer that the merchants as well as the artisans and laborers were in the calpullis.

Furthermore, on the one hand, in general the parents educated their children to exercise the same occupations [as they, the parents] (14), and on the other is made a statement of much importance:

14. Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino], folio 70; Zurita, p. 110, III; Román y Zamora, II, p. 127, etc.

that upon the birth of children of the common people they placed in their hands miniatures of the instruments of their calling (see p. 28). One gathers from this that from birth it was known what a child's occupation would be when he reached adulthood; and that this occupation usually was that of his father, that is, that there was inheritance of the productive occupation. This surely also happened with the merchants, since we are told that they could only be merchants with the permission of the rulers or because they came to it through inheritance (15). We thus have, beyond doubt,

15. Zurita, p. 142.

inheritance of occupation in the social division of labor.

463 It appears that in Tenochtitlan this division of labor occurred by
x618 wards, as in Tezcoco (where those in one ward had the same occu-
795 pation, all those of the ward must have it and there must be no mix-
ture of others with them (16)), since in all the provinces of Mexico

16. Torquemada, I, p. 146.

the specialization in things to sell was by "wards" (17). Moreover

17. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 236.

—and this is the fundamental proof—one can establish a correlation between names /p. 49/ of "wards" and occupations (see p. 50), drawing together scattered data or Torquemada's and Sahagún's which refer to this division of labor and to the specialization by

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groups in the worship of the deities. Three affirmations reinforce this correlation: one concerning the magical consecration of the people to an activity which was made before some idol (see p. 28), probably the ward idol; another was that the festivals of some months were "like" guild festivals (18), that is, of isolated groups, probably

18. Jonghe, p. 292.

of wards; and finally, that in the festivals for the idols were involved the members of a single "ward" and not those of others (19).

19. Magliabecchi, Commentaries on the Section [Comentarios a la Sección] 92.

The result of this correlation between activities, "wards" and deities is presented here in a table, and explains completely for us the character of the social division of labor in Tenochtitlan: it was by "wards" which separated tribal chiefs, pulque-makers, merchants, etc. It is a division which could be called a class one only with difficulty, since it makes no sense, for example, to speak of the class of pulque-makers since, if that were the case, they would be on an equal "class" footing with the merchants. It would appear rather to correspond to a guild division, since the class of a guild is the organization of people who do the same work (20) and that

20. Boak, A.R., and Pirenne, H., 1944.

within them obtains the separation between manual workers and directors which was present also among the Tenochcas, as we have already seen (see p. 23). However it would be very strange to speak of a guild of rulers, as we would have to do if we accepted that the division of labor by "wards," which the Tenochcas envinced, was by guilds; and it is to falsify the situation since the lords do not possess the characteristics of manual labor which are basic in a guild organization. I believe I can prove, furthermore, that these "wards" — which probably were calpullis since in general their names do not coincide with those of the tlaxilicallis—were clans, and that therefore the division of labor, like the ownership of the land, the territorial distribution of the population, and the social stratification, were the result of an organization of the Tenochcan population by

463 clans. And thus indeed it is not anachronistic to speak of clans of
X618 rulers, nor of clans of pulque-makers.
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/p. 50/ TABLE OF CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CALPULLI-WARDS, CALPULLI-TEMPLES, OCCUPATIONS AND DEITIES IN TENOCHTITLAN (1)

1. The names are for the most part of calpulli "wards." Nevertheless at times names of temples were taken which certainly corresponded to "wards." They appear in this case not to correspond to tlaxilacallis, except for Tzapotlan.

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Calpulli or ward	Occupation	Deities
1. Yopico 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12.	Silversmiths, 3, 4, Gold-workers 5, Xochimanques, 6, Water carriers 7, lords and kings 8, Calmecac 9, 11, 12.	Totec 2, 3, Xipe 2, 3, 4, 5, Coatlicue 6, Coatlatona 6, Chalchitlicue 7, 8, 9, Tlaloc 10, Tquiztlimayahuel 11.
2. Huitznahuac 12, 15.	lords 13, fishermen 14, Calmecac 12, 15.	Huitzilopochtli 13, 16, Opochtli 14, Huitznahuac 15, Centzonhuitznahuac 17, Tezcatlipoca 18.
3. Itepeyoc 19.	lords 19.	Huitzilopochtli 19.
4. Amantla 20, 21, 22, 23.	Tultecayotl 22, seam-stresses 23, 25, dyers (female) 23, feather workers (female) 23, painters, 24.	Tizahua, Macuilocelotl, Macuil-tochtli, Xihui, Tlati, Xilo, Tepoztecatl 20, Coyotlinahual 21, Chicomexuchitl 24, Xochiquetzal 25.
5. Pochtlan 20, 26.	merchants 20, 26.	The markets in Amantla with 20, and Yiacatecuhtli 26.
6. Auachtlan 27.	merchants 27.	

9:Monzon--55 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Calpulli or ward	Occupation	Deities
7. Atlauhco 28.	merchants 28.	
8. Acxotlan 29, 30.	merchants 29, 30, 31.	Nahui Ehecatl 30, Chiconquiahuitl, Xomocuil, Cochimetl, Yacapitzahuac, Nacxitl, Chalmecacihuatl 31.
9. Tlamatzinco 12, 32.	pulque-makers 32, 33, tavery keepers 34, Calmecac 12, 35.	Tlamatzincatl 12, 32, Izquitecatl 33, Coatlicue 35.
10. Atempan 36.	Medicasters and diviners 37.	Toci 36, Mother of the gods 37.
11. Tzonmolco 37, 39, 12.	Makers of the lord's more important vestments 38, calmecac 12, 39.	Xiuhtecuhtli 37, 38, 40, Huehueteotl 38, Ixcozauhqui 39.
12. Tzapotlan 40.	Sellers of Uxitl 40.	Tzapotlatena 40.
13.	Makers of petates 41.	Nappatecuhtli 41.
14.	Precious stone workers 42.	Chicnahuiitzcuintli, Nahualpitli, cinteotli Cihuacoatl 42.

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2. Sahagún I, p. 121, 240.

3. Torquemada, II, p. 58.

4. Torquemada, II, p. 252.

5. Sahagún, II, p. 385.

6. Torquemada, II, p. 254.

7. Sahagún I, p. 40, 116.

8. Sahagún, I, p. 22.

9. Sahagún, I, p. 84.

10. Sahagún, I, p. 84, 87.

11. Torquemada, II, p. 153.

12. Sahagún, I, p. 220. They are included also with Calmecac to Tlillancalco (Cihuacoatl), Tetlanman (Chantico) and Mexico (Tlaloc).

13. Torquemada, I, p. 193.

14. Sahagún, I, p. 39; Torquemada, II, p. 61.

15. Sahagún, I, p. 220.

16. Sahagún, I, p. 137.

17. Sahagún, I, p. 221.

18. Torquemada, II, p. 150.

19. Sahagún, I, p. 215.

20. Sahagún, I, p. 142, 215.

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21. Sahagún, II, p. 389.

22. Sahagún, II, p. 392, 389.

23. Sahagún, II, p. 392.

24. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

25. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

26. Torquemada, II, p. 272; Sahagun, I, p. 225.

27. Sahagún, II, p. 350.

28. Sahagún, II, p. 350.

29. Sahagún, III, p. 49.

30. Sahagún, I, p. 326.

31. Sahagún, I, p. 42.

32. Sahagún, I, p. 190.

33. Sahagún, I, p. 190.

34. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

35. Torquemada, II, p. 151; Sahagún, I, p. 104.

36. Sahagún, I, p. 179. Sahagún in I, p. 238 says that the cuecuextecan young men go to the ward of Atlampa during this festival.

37. Torquemada, I, p. 234.

38. Sahagún, I, p. 29.

39. Sahagún, I, p. 239.

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40. Sahagun, I, p. 20.

41. Sahagún, I, p. 46; II, p. 59.

42. Torquemada, II, p. 60; Sahagún, II, p. 387, 88.

/p. 53/ THE CALPULLI AS A CLAN

Chapter 6

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/p. 55/ PROOFS THAT THE CALPULLI WAS A CLAN

The territorial organization of Tenochtitlan, the ownership of land, the division of labor and the social stratification, and other aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which were not treated in the first part of this study, such as education (1) and religion

1. See Education among the Aztecs /La Educación entre los Aztecas/, Monzón, 1946.

(2), in which the influence of the calpulli is of great importance, and

2. In the chapter referring to the division of labor I touch lightly upon these relationships between calpullis and religion (p. 49) which suggest problems which should be studied more fully.

which have themselves a determining role, present us with the fundamental problem of the social organization of the Tenochcas: Were the calpullis clans, or simply wards, or guilds, or another type of social organism? Outwardly they have elements of all the foregoing. What was their internal organization? The answer to these questions will give us for sure a correct idea as to the bases of the social organization of the Tenochcas and of its evolutionary stage. Therefore we are going to attempt to answer them. The calpulli (Nahuatl 'large house') is an organism which has been presented as a clan by some authors, or as the remains of a clan by others (see the Introduction), and certainly the calpulli was the Tenochca clan, if the Tenochcas had clans. This granted, in order to know whether the calpulli had

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
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shadow of its former self. The rise of a new power, the Tepanec, who had as allies the vigorous but ill-established Tenochcas,* contributed to its downfall. Yet before Culhuacan succumbed completely to vassalage under the new order, members of its reigning house had twice been sought to found the lineage of Tenochtitlan.

On the documentary evidences Culhuacan was an extremely important city-state. The consecutive reigns of its chiefs stretched from the time of the fall of the western Toltec Empire to that of the rise of the important Aztec state of Tenochtitlan. Culhuacan was considered a center of civilization and for three centuries was a major power in the Valley of Mexico. Yet a visit to the modern town discloses no lofty remains, for the ancient city is razed completely. Only the temple on the Hill of the Star, which rises behind the town and dominates the lakes, is a memorial to its past splendor. For here took place, even after the Culhuas had lost their power, the New Fire Ceremony which ushered in each new cycle of fifty-two years and epitomized the spirit of Aztec religion. P A [796]

Texcoco on the eastern shore of the lakes of Mexico was the most civilized town in the Valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the ruling house, had access to the annals of his people and left a full history, distorted though it was by his wish to make his lineage rival the noble lines of Castile; but he had a strong historical sense, doubtless absorbed from the Spanish priests who educated him. His ancestors were a nomadic group which lived mainly by hunting and eventually, under a chief named Xolotl,† occupied the territory around Teotihuacan. P A 175 P A 175 114 P A 175

*To-no'tch-cas. †Sho'-lotle.

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P 172 174 Hill of the Star, behind Culhuacan. Dr Tozzer, who named the ware, found it mixed with late Teotihuacan material at the type site, but my wife and I excavated a Teotihuacan site of the same period without finding a single sherd among the 200,000 fragments we examined. At one or two places west of Tenayuca, Coyotlatelco sherds have appeared with Mazapan material. Mr Noguera found the extreme limit in lateness at Tenayuca where Coyotlatelco and Aztec II fragments were mixed. The geographical and chronological associations of this ware suggest that the makers were Culhuas or Tepanecs.

A 172 174 Culhuacan, so important in the annals as the seat of a famous line of chiefs, shows today little sign of its past greatness. Yet excavations undertaken twenty-five years ago prove that its historical importance was not overestimated, for it seems to have been the base from which Aztec culture spread over the Valley. Pottery, so dismal to read about, so important in reflecting tribal patterns, tells the story of this process.*

A 172 174 Aztec pottery is found everywhere in the Valley of Mexico, and, due to the Aztec custom of destroying household goods [796] at the end of each fifty-two-year cycle, it can be identified in terms of relatively exact periods: IV, 1507–19 (the date of the Spanish Conquest, which prevented the cyclical celebration of 1559); IIIb, 1455–1507; IIIa, 1403–55; II early and late, perhaps a century prior to 1403, and I. Periods III and IV are represented everywhere. Period II is common on the mainland but less so in Tenochtitlan, which was politically insignificant until after 1400. To date, Period I is represented in quantity only at Culhuacan. The standard ware of Periods II–IV goes through a consecutive evolution but has a close

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenoch- 175
titlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she [684]
was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[21]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahual- 175
pilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had 778
previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most 532
important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This mon- [782]
strous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[18]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first 175
task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, [648]
in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims 796
played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-wuet-zool.

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175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the
● 796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[23]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was
[669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan.
[731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence,
[782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[24]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ka'-lans. †Sho-coy-ot-se'n.

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PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by stone and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and 324
this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better 412
made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and 177
Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burn- 324
ing and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out 532
of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs, [796]
referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (cuauhxicalli*) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.[2] (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

*kwow-shee-calli.

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776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladiatorial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca, likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec religion.* (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

[796 701]

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year. His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this symbolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59, bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

[796 782]

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,* (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,† "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,‡ "Flower

*Chee-co'-me-co-atl.
†Shee-lo'-nen.
‡Sho-chee-kay-tza'l.

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war or sacrifice, childbirth or drowning, passed upon death 776
to their domain. (See Plate 55, bottom left.)

This incomplete description of the gods and goddesses who thronged the Aztec pantheon gives an idea of their variety of purpose and character, outlined more fully in Table X. For an individual to try to do honor to so many gods could result in an insupportable situation. Yet even the modern Navajos pass a third of their time in ceremonial activity, and they do not have half the economic wealth of the Aztec peoples. While the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do the most ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.

The priests gave guidance and prescribed the ceremonies, 793
and the worshipers gave heed to those especial divinities upon 776
whose patronage their life directly depended, much as a de- 771
vout Catholic selects certain saints for veneration above the list of those whose days are recorded on the calendar. In the same way the Aztec tribal god has his counterpart in the patron saint of country, town or craft. The Aztec, however, thought of his gods as having strong material powers, but their spiritual aspect counted little with him.

The ritual of Aztec religion was as complex as the theol- 796
ogy. The organization of the priesthood followed the pyramided structure of the social order, but the ceremonies were worked out in accordance with the ritualistic requirements of the calendar and the seasons. In the following chapter we shall describe the priesthood, the ceremonies and also the Aztec methods of counting, recording and using time.

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TABLE X

PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE AZTEC PANTHEON, THEIR CHARACTER, AND SPHERES OF WORSHIP

	Month	*Week*	*Day*	*Day Hour*	*Night Hour*
GREAT GODS					
Huitzilopochtli, Hummingbird Wizard, War and Sun God, chief god of Tenochtitlan	5* 9 15				
Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, chief god of pantheon, solar attributes, chief god of Texcoco	5 12		13 8	10	
Quetzalcoatl, Feathered Serpent, God of Learning and of Priesthood, chief god of Cholula, frequently shown as Ehecatl, the Wind God		2	2	9	
CREATIVE DEITIES					
Tloque Nahuaque, Lord of the Close Vicinity, creative spirit, theological abstraction					
Ometecuhtli, Lord of Duality, like Tonacatecuhtli and his wife					
Tonacatecuhtli, Lord of Our Subsistence, Creator God, chief of the gods		1	1		
Tonacacihuatl, Lady of Our Subsistence, wife of the above					
FERTILITY GODS					
Tlazolteotl, Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother, worshiped under many synonyms	11	13	14	5	7
Teteoinnan, Mother of the Gods, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Ixcuina, Four Faces, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Toçi, Our Grandmother, synonym of Tlazolteotl					
Chicomecoatl, Seven Snake, Corn Goddess, ancient goddess dating from Middle Culture times	4 11				
Cihuacoatl, Serpent Woman, Earth Goddess, ruling childbirth and death thereby					
Tonantzin, Our Mother, synonym of Cihuacoatl					
Coatlicue, Serpent Skirt, Earth Goddess, associated with spring, mother of Huitzilopochtli					
Cinteotl, Corn God, son of Tlazolteotl, husband of Xochiquetzal, important				(12) (7)	4
Xochiquetzal, Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers, of Craftsmen, important		19	20	(13)	
Xochipilli, Flower Prince, God of Pleasure, Feasting, Frivolity			11	(3) 7	
Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, synonym of Xochipilli					

*The numbers refer to the *Tonalamatl* of the *Codex Borbonicus*. Those in parentheses refer to variations found in the *Tonalamatl Aubin* and the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.

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TABLE X (*Continued*)

	Month	Week	Day	Day Hour	Night Hour
Xipe, Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime and Planting, the red Tezcatlipoca, highly important	2	14	15	(11) (4)	
Xilonen, Young Maize Mother, Goddess of the Young Corn	8				
Ilamatecuhtli, the Old Princess, a goddess of ancient times, related to corn and the earth	17			13	
GODS OF RAIN AND MOISTURE					
Tlaloc, He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God, very important	6 13	7	7	8	(8) 9
Tlaloques, minor rain gods, children or brothers of Tlaloc, a plural synonym	3 1 16				
Chalchihuitlicue, She of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess, very important	1	5	5	3	6
Huixtocihuatl, Salt Woman, Goddess of Salt and of the Dissolute	7				
Napatecuhtli, Four Times Lord, one of the Tlalocs					
Ehecatl, Wind, Wind God, a frequent guise of Quetzalcoatl					
FIRE GODS					
Xiuhtecuhtli, Lord of the Year, Fire God, a divinity of ancient times, important	18 10	20 9	9	(7) 1	1
Huehueteotl, Old God, a synonym of Xiuhtecuhtli					
Chantico, In the House, goddess associated with the hearth and volcanic fire		18	19		
PULQUE GODS					
Mayauel, She of the Maguey Plant, Goddess of the Maguey and also of Fertility		8	8		
Patecatl, He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine, husband of Mayauel		11	13		
Tezcatzontecatl, Straw-Covered Mirror, an important pulque god, identifiable with the Chac Mool figures in stone					
Centzon Totochtin, Four Hundred Rabbits, the many pulque gods					
PLANETARY AND STELLAR GODS					
Tonatiuh, the Sun, Sun God with intimate connections with Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca				4	
Piltzintecuhtli, Young Prince, synonym of Tonatiuh					3
Metztli, the Moon, Moon God, sometimes identified with Tezcatlipoca					
Tecciztecatl, He from the Sea Snail, synonym of Metztli		6	6		(5)
Mixcoatl, Cloud Serpent, God of Stars and of Numbers	14				
Camaxtli, god of Tlaxcala, synonym of Mixcoatl, a War God					

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TABLE X (*Continued*)

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	Month	Week	Day	Day Hour	Night Hour
Itzpapalotl, Obsidian Knife Butterfly, stellar and also agricultural goddess		15	16		
Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus, the morning star, variant of Quetzalcoatl		9		(1) (12)	
Coyolxauhqui, Painted with Bells, Moon Goddess, sister of Centzon Huitznaua					
Centzon Huitznaua, 400 Southerners, star gods of south					
Centzon Mimixcoa, 400 Northerners, star gods of north					
Tzitzimime, Monsters Descending from Above, stellar gods					
GODS OF DEATH, EARTH					
Mictlantecuhtli, Lord of Region of Death, God of Death		10	10	11	5
Mictecacihuatl, Lady of Region of Death, wife of Death God					
Tepeyollotl, Heart of the Mountains, Mountain God, Jaguar God		3	3		8
Tlaltecuhtli, Lord of Earth, earth monster, personification of earth in contrast to sun				2	
Teoyaomiqui, God of Dead Warriors, a specialized Death God				6	
Huahuantli, the Striped, synonym of Teoyaomiqui				(6)	
VARIANTS OF GREAT GODS					
Itzli, Stone Knife, a surrogate of Tezcatlipoca in guise of sacrificial knife		20			2
Itzlacoliuhqui, Curved Obsidian Knife, another variant of Tezcatlipoca		12	(13)		
Paynal, the Hasty, messenger of Huitzilopochtli					
Yacatecuhtli, Lord Who Guides, God of Traveling Merchants	15 12				
Chalchiuhtotolin, Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca		17	(18)		
Yaotl, Enemy, synonym of Tezcatlipoca				(5)	
OTHER GODS					
Xolotl, Double, Monster God, twin of Quetzalcoatl		16	17		
Itzlilton, Little Black Face, God of Health and Cures from Ills				(2)	
Cihuateteo, Goddesses, witches, spirits of women dead in childbirth					
Huehuecoyotl, Old Coyote, backbiter or mischief-maker, god of Otomi		4	4		

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tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realization of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the *tonalpohualli* (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five-day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[8]

The *tonalpohualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. -Analyst]

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796 805 *tonalamatl*, after the book in which it was recorded, was a sacred almanac. It covered a period of 260 days, the significance of which may have been magical or possibly of an astronomical origin, as yet unexplained. It was composed of the twenty day names of the Aztec month, combined with the numbers one to thirteen (Table XI). Whenever the sequence of numbers ended, the series was repeated, and the same arrangement held true for the list of days. Thus the fourteenth day of the twenty in the list received the number one, and so on up to seven for the twentieth day. Then when the series of day names recommenced the first name was numbered eight. By this means within the 260-day period every day was distinguished by the combination of one of twenty names with one of thirteen numerals. At the close of each period another began immediately, as is shown on Table XI.

This sacred period was further divided into twenty weeks of thirteen days each (Table XII). Every week began with the number one and the day name which came up according to the rotation of the sequence. Thus within the *tonalpohualli* period no day in one week could be confused with that of another, since the name and associated number precluded repetition.[4]

A god or goddess presided over each of the list of twenty days (Table XIII) and over each of the twenty "weeks" (Table XIV). The gods of the weeks followed the same order as the day gods, with this exception, that the god of the eleventh day was dropped from the list, moving the remainder in order up one place each. The resultant vacancy in the twentieth week, was filled by two divinities who exercised joint control. Sometimes there was a further re-

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FIG. 1. AZTEC DAY SIGNS FROM CODEX

Cipactli Crocodile	*Ehecatl* Wind	*Calli* House	*Cuetzpallin* Lizard	*Coatl* Snake
Miquiztli Death	*Mazatl* Deer	*Tochtli* Rabbit	*Atl* Water	*Itzcuintli* Dog
Ozomatli Monkey	*Malinalli* Herb	*Acatl* Reed	*Ocelotl* Jaguar	*Cuauhtli* Eagle
Cozcaquauhtli Vulture	*Ollin* Motion	*Tecpatl* Flint Knife	*Quiauitl* Rain	*Xochitl* Flower

finement whereby the nine gods and goddesses succeeded each other in governing the nights of the *tonalpohualli*, or sacred period (Table XVI). Finally thirteen of these gods influenced the thirteen stations of the Aztec day (Table XV), and nine held sway over the night hours (Table XVI). The names and characters of these divinities are set forth in the accompanying tables.

The array of gods had to be placated and honored at the appropriate time by the priesthood; but the individual, before embarking on an undertaking, could find out the proper 796

[Text continues on p. 195.--- Analyst]

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TABLE XIII

DAY GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI

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Day	God	Name and Nature
1 Crocodile	Tonacatecuhtli	Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God
2 Wind	Quetzalcoatl	Feathered Serpent, Sky God, God of Learning
3 House	Tepeyollotl	Heart of Mountains, an Earth God
4 Lizard	Huehuecoyotl	Old Coyote, Mischief-Maker
5 Snake	Chalchihuitlicue	Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess
6 Death's-Head	Tecciztecatl	He from the Sea Snail, Moon God
7 Deer	Tlaloc	He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God
8 Rabbit	Mayauel	She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess
9 Water	Xiuhtecuhtli	Lord of Year, Fire God
10 Dog	Mictlantecuhtli	Lord of Region of Dead, Death God
11 Monkey	Xochipilli	Flower Prince, God of Spring and Flowers
12 Grass	Patecatl	He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine
13 Reed	Tezcatlipoca or variant like Itzlacoliuhqui	Smoking Mirror, a Great God, cf. Gods of Weeks Carved Obsidian Knife
14 Ocelot	Tlazolteotl	Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother
15 Eagle	Xipe	Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime
16 Vulture	Itzpapalotl	Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess
17 Motion	Xolotl or variant	Double, Monster God
18 Flint Knife	Tezcatlipoca or Chalchiuhtotolin	Smoking Mirror, Great God, Jeweled Bird, Week Gods
19 Rain	Chantico	In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire
20 Flower	Xochiquetzal	Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers

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TABLE XIV

GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI WEEKS

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Week Beginning	*God*	*Name*
1 Crocodile	Tonacatecuhtli	Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God
1 Ocelot	Quetzalcoatl	Feathered Serpent, a Sky God
1 Deer	Tepeyollotl	Heart of the Mountains, an Earth God
1 Flower	Huehuecoyotl	Old Coyote, Backbiter, old Otomi tribal god
1 Reed	Chalchihuitlicue	Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess
1 Death's-Head	Tecciztecatl	He from the Sea Snail, Moon God
1 Rain	Tlaloc	He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God
1 Grass	Mayauel	She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess
1 Snake	Xiuhtecuhtli	Lord of the Year, Fire God
1 Flint	Mictlantecuhtli	Lord of the Region of the Dead, Death God
1 Howling Monkey	Patecatl	He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine
1 Lizard	Itzlacoliuhqui	The Carved Obsidian Knife, God of Cold
1 Motion	Tlazolteotl	Goddess of Dirt, Earth Goddess
1 Dog	Xipe Totec	Our Lord the Flayed One, God of Seedtime
1 House	Itzpapalotl	Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess
1 Vulture	Xolotl	Double, Monster God
1 Water	Chalchiuhtotolin	Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca
1 Wind	Chantico	In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire
1 Eagle	Xochiquetzal	Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers
1 Rabbit	Xiuhtecuhtli and	Lord of Year, Fire God
	Itztli	Stone Knife, God of Obsidian Knife

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TABLE XV

GODS OF THE DAY HOURS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED BIRDS

Day Gods	*Name*	*Associated Bird*
1. Xiuhtecuhtli	Fire God	White Humming-bird
2. Tlaltecuhtli	Lord of Earth, the Earth Monster	Green Humming-bird
3. Chalchihuitlicue	Water Goddess	Falcon
4. Tonatiuh	The Sun, Sun God	Quail
5. Tlazolteotl	Earth Mother	Eagle
6. Teoyaomiqui	Warrior Death, Death God	Screech Owl
7. Xochipilli	Flower Prince, God of Flowers	Butterfly
8. Tlaloc	Rain God	Striped Eagle
9. Quetzalcoatl-Ehecatl	God of Learning	Turkey Cock
10. Tezcatlipoca	Great God	Horned Owl
11. Mictlantecuhtli	Death God	Guacamaya
12. Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus God, variant of Quetzalcoatl	Quetzal
13. Ilamatecuhtli	Old Princess, ancient Earth Goddess	Parrot

TABLE XVI

GODS OF THE NIGHT HOURS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES IN DIVINATION

Night Gods		*Significance*
1. Xiuhtecuhtli	Fire God	Good
2. Itztli	God of Obsidian Knife	Bad
3. Piltzintecuhtli	Lord of Princes, Sun God	Good
4. Cinteotl	God of Corn, Corn God	Indifferent
5. Mictlantecuhtli	Death God	Bad
6. Chalchihuitlicue	Water Goddess	Indifferent
7. Tlazolteotl	Earth Mother	Bad
8. Tepeyollotl	Earth or Jaguar God	Good
9. Tlaloc	Rain God	Good

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divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is im- 796
probable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity.

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These ref- 212
erence books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten [289]
from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.* (See Plate 59, top.)

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in ac- 796
cordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months 805
of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do

[Text continues on p. 198. --- Analyst]

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TABLE XVII

THE SOLAR YEAR, THE EIGHTEEN MONTHS, AND CEREMONIES

Months, seasonal character, approximate Gregorian dates, presiding gods and chief ceremonies

I Atlcoualco (want of water), ceasing of rain [Feb. 12–Mar. 3]. Chalchihuitlicue and Tlalocs. Ceremonies for rain; child sacrifice; Xipe sacrifice with blunt weapons.

II Tlacaxipeualiztli (boning of men), seedtime [Mar. 4–Mar. 23]. God Xipe. Impersonation of Xipe by priests wearing skins of captives; dances by priests wearing human skins; agricultural dances.

III Tozoztontli (short fast), rain desired [Mar. 24–Apr. 12]. Coatlicue and Tlalocs. Child sacrifice to Tlalocs to bring rain; end of Xipe rites which sometimes held over a month.

IV Huei Tozoztli (long fast), worship of new corn [Apr. 13–May 2]. Centeotl and Chicomecoatl. Ceremonial bloodletting; decoration of house altars with corn plants; young girls' ceremony with blessing of seed corn.

V Toxcatl (dry or slippery), rainy season begins [May 3–May 22]. Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli; god-impersonation ceremonies for either or both great gods (p. 202); scarification of children.

VI Etzalqualiztli (bean porridge), rain desired [May 23–June 11]. Tlalocs. Ceremonial robbing; rain ceremonies; fertility rite, drowning boy and girl in canoe filled with hearts of sacrificial victims.

VII Tecuhilhuitontli (little feast of princes), rain desired [June 12–July 1]. Huixtocihuatl. Ceremony of salt-workers, who leeched product from lake; women's dance with sacrifice of priestess impersonating goddess.

VIII Hueitecuhilhuitl (great feast of rulers), adoration of ripening corn [July 2–July 21]. Xilonen. Feast for Goddess of Young Corn; eight-day feast; women wear hair loose as sympathetic magic; sacrifice of slave girl impersonating goddess; after sacrifice people can eat new corn.

IX Tlaxochimaco (birth of flowers), first flowering [July 22–Aug. 10]. Huitzilopochtli. Feasts on turkeys and corn-meal cakes in honor of the god; great dance with both sexes taking part and men even touching the women; merchants' feast, honoring their patron god Yacatecuhtli.

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X Xocotlhuetzi (fall of the fruits), heat for ripening [Aug. 11–Aug. 30]. Xiuhtecuhtli (Huehueteotl). Furnace sacrifice (p. 202); competitive climbing of high pole by young men to win special insignia at top.

XI Ochpaniztli (month of brooms), refreshment of Earth Mother [Aug. 31–Sept. 19]. Tlazolteotl or Teteoinan (Toçi). Sacrifice of woman impersonating Goddess of Ripe Corn; efforts to avoid sorrow by buffoonery, sympathetic magic to avoid rains at harvest; review of warriors and distribution of insignia of rank; drills and mock combats of Eagle and Ocelot Knights.

XII Teotleco (return of the gods), harvest [Sept. 20–Oct. 9]. Tezcatlipoca. Ceremonies honoring the return of the gods to the earth; Tezcatlipoca first to come; two absent, Xiuhtecuhtli, too old to travel, Yacatecuhtli, merchant wandering off beaten track; ceremonial drunkenness and furnace sacrifice.

XIII Tepeilhuitl (feast of the mountains), rain [Oct. 10–Oct. 29]. Tlalocs. Ceremonies for mountain rain gods, an aspect of Tlalocs; use of wooden snakes and figurines covered with amaranth paste; sacrifice of four women and a man with subsequent ceremonial cannibalism.

XIV Quecholli [bird, quail(?)], rain [Oct. 30–Nov. 18]. Mixcoatl. Making of weapons; general penance of four days; licensed old people abstain from liquor and husbands from their wives; ceremonial hunt with sacrifice of game and ceremonial feasting on the hill.

XV Panquetzaliztli (feast of the flags), winter solstice [Nov. 19–Dec. 8]. Huitzilopochtli. Festivals honoring War God; mock or staged combats; imprinting of hand impressions by captives.

XVI Atemoztli (fall of the waters), rain [Dec. 9–Dec. 28]. Tlalocs. Vigils and offerings to household gods; winter solstice at time of conquest; erection of poles with paper streamers coated with rubber.

XVII Tititl (severe weather), season of serenity [Dec. 29–Jan. 7]. Ilamatecuhtli. Sacrifice of woman impersonating goddess; sympathetic magic to bring rain by weeping, through children crying on first day of month and men and children beating women with straw-filled bags to make them cry.

XVIII Izcalli (resuscitation), toasting of corn supply [Jan. 18–Feb. 6]. Xiuhtecuhtli. Ceremonial hunt; killing of captives every four years; killing of birds and arrow sacrifice at Cuauhtitlan.

Nemontemi (five unlucky days) [Feb. 7–Feb. 11].

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796 with farming, and the days of the month were distinguished
805 by numbers, in addition to their *tonalpohualli* name and number described above. Years were identified in terms of the two methods, since they were named for the *tonalpohualli* day on which the year began.*

Only four of the twenty day names could begin the year, as a simple mathematical calculation will prove. Three hundred and sixty-five (the number of days in a year) divided by twenty (the total of the day names) leaves a remainder of five. Thus of the twenty day names only four can begin the year. House, Rabbit, Reed and Flint Knife must always recur as New Year's Day, since they are the third, eighth, thirteenth and eighteenth days in the list, thus being separated from each other by five numbers. In that thirteen, the quantity of numbers available, divides into 365 with a remainder of one, the number of the day increased by one each new year. Thus the years were numerically distinguishable—1 Rabbit, 2 Reed, 3 House, 4 Flint Knife, 5 Rabbit, and so on, until the thirteen numbers and four day names began to repeat themselves, which occurred after fifty-two (13 × 4) years. This is the mathematical reason for the Aztec cycle or major time unit, and in the Valley of Mexico they did not go further and distinguish between cycles except indirectly. In consequence there is the same sort of confusion in referring to events as would result were we to designate years within the century without distinguishing the number of centuries before or after Christ. Thus the discovery of America would be recorded as 92 and the Declaration of Independence as 76, and only a detailed knowledge of history would enable us to fix the events in their proper relationship to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. (See Plates 62, top left; 63.)

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The lag between the calendric and the solar year, for which 796
we compensate by adding a day every four years as the 805
twenty-ninth of February, was difficult to adjust by Aztec standards since so much of the time count hinged on the orderly mathematical sequence of days. Some authorities believe that the Aztecs let the calendar drop behind, others that compensation was made during the unlucky period of five days. A third suggestion interprets the celebration of a feast held every eight years as a sign that a dateless day was introduced, unrecognized in the *tonalpohualli* of the year but honored with special rites.[7] (See Plate 58, middle.)

However the matter of the leap year was settled, the close of one cycle and the beginning of a new one was celebrated with great pomp each year Two Reed chosen as the first day of each cycle for some ritualistic reason. In the Mixteca-Puebla area the *tonalamatls* show evidence that the priests observed the planet Venus and took note of a Venus Year of 584 days. At the end of two cycles (104 years) there was a tremendous ceremony of great ritualistic significance, for at the same time as the beginning of a Venus count, a solar count, a fifty-two-year cycle, and a *tonalpohualli* all coincided. That four mystical rhythms, affecting such diverse aspects of the universe and the gods that dwelt therein, could [181]
meet must have produced great satisfaction and occasioned the utmost rejoicing among people for whom pattern and form had such great significance.[8]

Although the Valley of Mexico Aztecs did not use the 796
Venus count they celebrated the cyclical change with the utmost ceremony. They thought of the change from one cycle to another as the death of one life and the beginning of a new one. The realization that nature could withhold the

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●796 continuance of their existence endowed the ritual with profound solemnity. The New Fire Ceremony was symbolized by the extinction of the old altar fire, which had burned perpetually for fifty-two years, and the kindling of a fresh one in token of the new grant of life.* (See Plate 29, top row.)

During the five useless days (*nemontemi*) of the final year the people let their fires go out and destroyed their household furniture. Fasting and lamentation were the order of the day while the populace awaited catastrophe. Pregnant women [781] were shut up in granaries, lest they be changed into wild animals, and children were marched up and down and kept awake, for fear that sleep on that fatal evening would result in their turning into rats.

At sunset the priests, in solemn panoply, representatives of the whole array of the Aztec pantheon, ascended the Hill of the Star, anciently known as Huixachtecatl. This extinct volcanic crater rises abruptly from the Valley floor and is visible from almost every quarter of the Valley of Mexico. From the temple to its summit the priests anxiously scanned the heavens as the night wore on, awaiting the hour when a certain star or stars, Aldebaran or the Pleiades, reached the center of the heavens and gave the sign that their world would continue.

[372] At the very moment when these stars passed the meridian [782] the priests seized a wooden fire drill and kindled a new fire in the open breast of a victim freshly slain for the purpose. The populace—priests, chiefs and commoners—thrilled to a great happiness. Runners lit torches from the new fire and rekindled the altars in the temples of every town and hamlet, whence the people bore the flames to their hearths. Like fireflies the darting torchbearers sped through the night, bringing the promise of a new life to every man, woman and child.

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With the dawn, more than ever gracious in its fulfillment of a 796
nations' piety, the populace rallied, renovating their temples, refurbishing their houses and making new utensils for temple and household use. There was feasting on special food, and sacrifice both by personal bloodletting and the immolation of [785] captives betokened the measure of popular gratitude.

Another striking ceremony fell on the day Four Earth- 796
quake (or Motion), the sign of the present age, and symbol- 782
ized the passage of the sun through the heavens. At dawn a captive dressed as the Sun God, Tonatiuh, ascended the platform where the Calendar Stone was set. Four priests spread-eagled the victim, and a fifth opened his breast to tear out the heart as an offering to the god. The populace then feasted until noon, gashing their ears and parts of their bodies with blades of obsidian. In the afternoon the Eagle and Tiger [785] Knights, votaries of the solar cult, took part in a dance dramatizing the sacred war wherein the sun is slain, to be reborn the following day. The dance culminated in a gladiatorial sacrifice. Selected Eagle and Tiger Knights, armed with real weapons, slew a captive warrior, chosen for his military distinction, who was tethered to a circular stone representing the sun's disk and who defended himself with dummy weapons only.[10] (See Plate 60, top right, bottom.)

A curious type of sacrifice took place in connection with the worship of the god Xipe and may be the origin of the arrow sacrifice which is performed in honor of the morning star by the Pawnee of our Western plains. In the Mexican rite the victim was lashed to a scaffold, and priests, using bows or *atl-atls*, shot him to death.[11]

The Aztecs performed a hideous ceremony in honor of the Fire God, Huehueteotl. Prisoners of war and their cap-

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796 [276] 782 Prisoners of war and their cap-
tors took part in a dance in honor of the god, and the next day the captives ascended to the top of a platform, where a powder, *yauhtli* (Indian hemp), was cast in their faces to anesthetize them against their ghastly fate. After preparing a great fire, each priest seized a captive and, binding him hand and foot, lifted him onto his back. A macabre dance took place around the burning coals, and one by one they dumped their burdens into the flames. Before death could intervene to put an end to their suffering the priests fished out the captives with large hooks and wrenched the hearts from their blistered bodies.[13]

In contrast to the callous brutality of the fire sacrifice, the ceremony in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca was strikingly dramatic, tinged with the pathos with which we view the taking of a life. The handsomest and bravest prisoner of war was selected a year before his execution. Priests taught him the manners of a ruler, and as he walked about, playing divine melodies upon his flute, he received the homage due Tezcatlipoca himself. A month before the day of sacrifice four lovely girls, dressed as goddesses, became his companions and attended to his every want. On the day of his death he took leave of his weeping consorts to lead a procession in his honor, marked by jubilation and feasting. Then he bade farewell to the glittering cortege and left for a small temple, accompanied by the eight priests who had attended him throughout the year. The priests preceded him up the steps of the temple, and he followed, breaking at each step a flute which he had played in the happy hours of his incarnation. At the top of the platform the priests turned him over the sacrificial block and wrenched out his heart. In deference to his former godhood his body was carried, not ignominiously

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flung, down the steps; but his head joined the other skulls 796 ●
spitted on the rack beside the temple.[18] (See Plate 61, top.) [782]

Every one of the great monthly sacrifices had a dramatic significance, and a list of the principal feasts, the gods they honored and the month of their occurrence is set forth on Table XVII. Several authors have availed themselves of Friar Sahagun's matchless descriptions to set forth the elaborate rituals which we have lightly sampled here. The elements of time, training and elaborate preparation of costume, it can be readily seen, must have absorbed a large part of the resources of the tribe. The tentacles of ritual extended throughout the tribal activities, so that even games and sports were transformed into acts of religious meaning, although the participants undoubtedly derived a great deal of fun from their performance.

The ball game, *tlachtli*, was such a game, played in a court 796
shaped like the capital letter *I*. Walls extended on either side 526
of the stem of the *I*, and in the middle of each a stone or wooden ring was set vertically, in contrast to the horizontal position of a basketball hoop. The players tried to pass through this ring a hard rubber ball, which they could only strike with their elbows, hips or legs. There must have been some other method of scoring than by goals alone, since these, very naturally, were of rare occurrence—so much so that, in the event of one, players and backers had the right to snatch the wearing apparel of their adversaries. The game was played far and wide, courts having been found from the Republic of Honduras to southeastern Arizona. It has a special interest for us in that the first description of rubber, so important in our modern economy, was when Oviedo, in the sixteenth

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796 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[14]
526 (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 There were also games of chance which were played with
796 a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[15]

796 Another important entertainment involved the erection of
526 a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[16]

782 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple cere-
174 monial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

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796
212

[266]

PLATE 61

AZTEC RITUAL

TOP: *Left:* Dressing a victim and equipping him with the proper headdress, shield and magical mirror to play the part of Tezcatlipoca. *Right:* Sacrifice of the victim after a year. Note the flutes discarded by him as he ascended the stair. MIDDLE: *Left:* Dressing a priest in the costume of *Xipe*, the Flayed God, who wears a human skin. *Right:* Musicians with rattle and skin-covered drum, *huehuetl*. BOTTOM: *Right:* Ceremonial cannibalism. The Codex Florentino artist had obviously never taken part in such a feast, fairly common before the Conquest.

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723 648 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 796 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearning when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he [775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

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drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli*.

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 was set with razor-sharp obsidian blades. Usually he was
796 killed in the most honorable of deaths, that of sacrificial vic-
349 tim to the Sun God, Tonatiuh, but sometimes he would resist so successfully that he gained a pardon. Other disk-shaped stones were placed about the plaza. One, thirteen feet in diameter, was set vertically on a special platform. Carved with a consummate mastery of design, it represented the symbolic history of the world. Another disk, set flat, was hollowed in the center, so that hearts wrung from war captives might be burned to nourish the great gods. This was carved on its surface and edge to commemorate the many conquests of War Chief Tizoc, who was shown dressed as a god, with his captives before him.

174 In another part of the plaza a sacrifice was to be made.
782 Before a small temple dedicated to one of the myriad Aztec gods a group was gathered, some in the gay panoply of merchants and others wearing the sinister black of the priesthood. A tightly pinioned slave stood in their midst and looked unseeingly before him, resignation, not fear, on his face. The priests rushed him up the steep steps of the temple, followed by the merchants at a more leisurely pace. Two priests seized the slave by either arm, forcing him backward, while two others pulled his legs from under him until his body curved, belly upward, over the altar. A fifth priest plowed his flint knife in a long sweep from the breastbone to the base of the stomach and, reaching into the aperture, with a dexterous twist tore out the heart. This he burned, while it was still throbbing, in a carved stone vase, while the merchants, swinging long ladles of smoking incense, chanted their thanks for a safe and profitable excursion into the hot country. (See Plate 60.)

De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK, HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA, IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

First Chapter, which treats of the higher gods[1] who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Humming-bird from the Left (Vitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.[2] [He was] a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a soothsayer, a deceiver,[3] a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague—that is, war.[4] And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially barbed thorns were offered up. The merchants barbed them.[5]

And he was then arrayed: he had an ear-pendant of blue cotinga feathers;[6] he had the fire serpent diagram, the blue tassel cloth,[7] the arm band.[8] He wore sandals and shells[9]

Jnic on capitulo, ynchipa daxoa, yn ic omoo tlapanaujo ueueh: yn qujnmoteutiaia, yoan yn qujnelanaujliaia, yn in ueueh. 776

Vitzilobuchtli: çan macuxtli, çan tlacatl catca: uecatl, tetzujtl, atlacatzoalli, uitzoqujj: qujjocoiaj in iaxiutl, iaxtecaj, iaxtlacaaj:

on ixchipa mjjoaia, ynpan qujjelaqa yn xiuhcozcatl, in mamalhuazzi, q. n. iaxiutl, uxutl, tlachinolli. Auh yn jquac illujqujxtlaia, malinjoaia, tlaxilitlujoaia: tzoltzinia, yn pochtecaa. [796]

Auh yuqc mochichinaia: xiuhcozcatzoche catca, xiuhcozcatzolo, xiuhtlalpilli, mamaxtli, uitzilli, cuecalli.

Second Chapter, which treats of the god named He who Humming (Payzal), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Payzal was "the delegate," "the substitute," "the deputy"; because he represented Vitzilopochtli when there was a procession. He was named Payzal, because he passed on and urged them ahead.[10]

Jnic vnoo capitulo, ynchipa daxoa yn uecel yn jnca payzal: yn qujnmoteutiaia, yoan in qujnelanaujliaia in uecaah. 776 796

Payzal: momapaillotiaj, momiquiztiaj: ynpan mitoaj: ishica on qujnmiquiztiaia, in vitzilobuchtli, yn iquac daxoaloaia, momaxaia payzal: ipampa on omoo, qujnootemia, qujnoolchichiaia. [661]

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1. The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: "Capítulo primero, que habla del principal dios. . . ."
2. Edward Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 425, refers to him as *ein Sterblicher*.
3. Seler thus phrases the passage: "Vitzilopochtli was only a man, a magician, an unlucky omen, a wicked augur, one who deluded the people with visions."—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 4.
4. Cf. Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Andrés de Olmos: *Gramática de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 239. ". . . of him it is related that he thrown the nahuatl and the Huehuetec, i. e., war, wars (upon-throwing) and fire on the people" (Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 218). Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 102, ". . . *muerte diez Vitzilopochtli nuestro dios como para* [illegible] *y desaparecer; la vez se llama nicatlacl, y la otra nemoaltlacatl* . . . *y él tenía por otro nombre en la nueva* [illegible] *que llamaban nicatlacl, que llamaban nicatlacl, en derecho sino terrenos o cenizas, y aquello, nicatlacl vino, como representación en las batallas como que empieza tras la cabeza sobre los enemigos con que los aquejaba y hacía hacer.*"
5. The meaning (of *mochichi*) is to offer as a sacrifice, or to barbe or scarify (cf. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 378, 384).
6. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 146; Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 425) identifies the bird as *Cotinga ceruia* c. cerulea, and suggests that the feathers were arranged in a conical pattern. Simeon, op. cit., p. 499, calls the bird *Herbaceus ceri* (Hern.).
7. Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 426; Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 379, suggests that such an article of clothing was sometimes worn above the hips.
8. Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 229, and Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 144, and Vol. II, p. 380, say the arm-band was provided with a hole or a reed, or tassel a decoration. In the Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, fo. 37r, Sahagún defines *matamatli* as "*pulsera de hueso fino, o manera del manipulo, que se usa en la misa.*" Cf. also Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, 40), who says that it is the same as *quetzalquaquatl*. See Bibliography of Ulitzilopochtli.
9. The *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* reads *mitzilli*, *ayacatl*, in *iaxi*—an indication that they were worn on the soles of the legs—Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 427-8.
10. Sahagún (*Florentine Codex*, corresponding Spanish text) describes Payzal as figure *aparecerse*.

776 776 And the people followed [the impersonator], jeering, howling, waving. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

[778] And one man carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather headornament in the manner of coastal people. Bees were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. He was the humming-bird disguise. He had the bee-ornament; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

Auh in mocuaili, quiyocoia, quiyolcolocoia, cuiuhquiuja, quicaxtoctiuja, tentoli quiquentiuja, tlalli quiquetoniuja: iehuqui tlaiuquiquja, tlalli tlecuja:

auh ce tlacatl quiuapaloctiuja.

Auh yuic mochichiuaia, tecuquentiuja, quetzalquecuecuitl, in cuetlaltiuja, iuecalichiuale, iuitlalichiuale, mixiotlalichiuh, xiuhicomujua, vicinilliuaia, elacuaua, xiuhchiuale.

776 [776] **Third Chapter,** which reflects of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in these parts, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose deeds were everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, relationship, nobility, honor.

Ynic ey, capitulo, yuchqui tlamo in teotl, yn juuca tezcatlipoca: in quiuecuitiuia, yuan in quitlaxuujjiuia, in tecuuh.

Tezcatlipoca: yuin vel teotl ipan machoia, nenjiuu yuanujiuu: nicolo, tlalticpac, yllhujcac. Ja jquac nenja tlalticpac, ixhuel quitlalitiuja, in teotlí tlaçelli: cococ tequanqui, cuiuiuiuia,

teotlí, tecuquenda cuecuia: ipampa y, mjtoaia necuc iuud, mitchi quijococoia, quiuuuujuja, quiuecuujtiuia, quiuecujtiuia yn jaquich aquelli tepan machoia: ueca tlaujtiuia, tequanqueloia.

Auh in quenuan, quiyoucoia, in necujtonolli: in tlaquujtl, in ocquichtlí, in tlacochtlí, in teuctlí, in tlaococtlí, in pillotl, in mecuquitl.

Fourth Chapter, which reflects of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the prince.[13]

Tlaloc: the prince. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunder-bolts.

And he was thus decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;[14] it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.[15] He had a decorated chief-jacket of [woven] fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had fresh conchs, and also cactus. He had a plaited-reed banner.[16]

Jnic nauj capitulo, yuchqui tlamoia yn teotl, yn juuca tlaloc, tlamacazqui.

Tlaloc, tlamacazqui: yuin ipan machoia; in quiauitl: ca iuhcuel quitocoia, quiuuuujuia, quijuuuia, in quiauitl, yuan in tecuitl: quiuelalitiuja, quiuuuuiuaitiuja, quiuuuuiitiuja, quiuuuuiitiuja, quiuuuuiitiuja, quiuuuuiitiuja, quiuuuuiitiuja, quiuuuuiitiuja, in quauitl, in cacatl, in tonacatl. Yuan no iuuh tlaujtiuia, in tolinquilitl, in tlaujuquilitl.

Auh yuic mochichiuaia, tlaxilitquequeuilli, tlaxilitquilli, tecilitquac, iuujchiuuac, iuuichiuuchiu, uuachiuuchiu, uiuchiuale, ueuuuuac, chalchiuhquac, pepelquac, no tlatzile, xoxopiquac.

Fifth Chapter, which reflects of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Jnic macujlli capitulo, yuchqui tlamo yn teotl, yn juuca quetzalcoatl.

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11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Sahagún (Collected Works, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 44) declares it was a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the shirt (jacket) and the quetzal-feather cape (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the skirt.

13. Sahagún (*ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 48) uses this determinant and determinant means "prince" and "priest." He himself translates Tlaloc determinant as "Sagrificador . . . . Sagrificador," in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Cornelius Schröder-Sieder, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schwarzer, 1927), Vol. I, p. 1.

14. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*): "*ne Gesicht eine Begleitung und Stimme Kautschuk.*"

15. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 189; see also Sahagún, *Commentaire Aztec*, Vol. II, pp. 463-4.

16. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 142.

776 cape-like over-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[30] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[31] man's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[32] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[33] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteu innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were [759] physicians, healers, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

[791] Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eye.[34]

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

776 And when there was a feast, ut-ra it was time for the
● 796 slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteu innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They adorned her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they caused her. They wished her not to weep. They bid [her feed] from her;[35] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they hunted; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huaxtecs,[36] who accompanied him on either side.

Juic chicome capitale: vecue mocemme, yn cioatoal: yn jueca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: inhuel ipan mijnoaia, quijnjtipielaiaia, in tonacaiotl: yoan in qaqo ihin yoanca, yiolca mocemalli, yejjon, yaqoala.

Auh yuja yonechichiouia ceuca; intlachcauala, omocala, cenchiaviqala, zoochicauia, no poqolcaqua, tonalchiouala, tonatichchiouala.

Juic chicuei, capitale: vuei mocemme, yn cioatoal, yn jueca: Teteu yoan: no nencaiaia, Tlalli yiollo, yoan Toci.

Jueá ceuca yn teteu, quijnnenaiaja, in tiiici, in mitznjuqua, mitznaqua, ontlamaqujlqua, mitqaqua.

Auh yn ciua, mmjnjtiqua, mqillalliqua, ontlatlaliqua, tlapouhqua, ontlan mitznij, tlatlachiouhqua, mocoloquouhqua, ontlacujcujlqua, ontlamocujlmaqua, mimocujlmaqua.

No ihcuaqja quijtlachchiaia, in tonacalaqua; yyamqa y, quitlalliaia yn jnjqola, in tonacalimqua, quijnnaiaia, tonacalocci.

Auh yn jquac, in ie ilhujqujpiilliaia, in ie inujqimaqujqua: in ihcuaqja tiiici, yn jnjqola ceuca teteu yoan, quijtlacuiqopolocaia, ano vel chocaia, quoalhqujtiaia, quijtlamocciaia, quijtlacmaqujlaia, quijxcolaia, hueqjchcolaqja, quijtlahtiaia, mmjquimqujqualaia, quijmcalhtiaia, quijmchiaia, quijtlacmochiliaia, omujqaia, tlacimmoliaia, ontlamocaia, ontlachiliaia: in quijqjlhica mochiuia in tlacaua, ic quimiqujqaia, ic quijquimqaia, quijnnocujlitiaja, ic panj mocqueuaia.

Auh yn jquac omujc, yn jnjqola: ujcoan ce tlacatl omomqujqaia, yn jnuaia, yoanquatla ochiqujqueuaia, vmmatin yoanca, quijqjcaia, quijnnocuiqujja:

30. See Plate 19, which explains the name.

31. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

32. Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 446.

33. Alfonso Caso (op. cit., p. 444) uses the term "foam," for also Sahagún is referring to flowers. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

34. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 235-36.

35. Caso, *Ensayo Kapital*, p. 6. Cf. also Sahagún, op. cit., p. 178, referring to the Toci festival: "Also dances do other equally our dances that we Roman Inquisitors."

36. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 180, 178.

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They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hook scratches. They were naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mitre-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Tezcatlipoca's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the costume [of Tezcatlipoca] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, painted eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, tecuitlatl. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

mantipaque, mantlehuipaque, qua papaloxochitl, in tezcatzontli: atecolli in quipiaua, mahuizoqueualli, ichcatzintlin, hiuipaualli:

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[302]

uapa cuecueca, in tecitlahua: quauhtlapechco cuetlaxtic ya 776
jaxin.

Auh yuje nechichiuale, mocuecuequi, tlamapechtli quipiadalilli ya jcamapil ichcatzinchin, quiauaualo, cuechcueca, mocuechcueni: ic mjxoa, citlalli yoca, citlalcuaia, quetzlih, tecuitlahuj ya jaxpil, quauhtecuitlahuj, ixtac quetzlihuja, quauhtecuitaqui; ya jchimal, tecuxjlayiuaqui, tecuxaxin, popoca, ixquipa.

Ninth Chapter, in which one hearsh of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tlaxcalan woman).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her adornment was made tlaxcalan.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;[39] they who were hoarse used the tlaxcalan unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was cold, [it was used for] the swelling-sickness.[41]

In old and in heat were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the tlaxcalan unguent brought down and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they carried carrier shaped like dried puppy-meat pole,[43] and they carried horse carrier.

Then was the ceremony: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were sprinkled over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble cane-tassels. She carried the cane-tassel-broom.[44]

Jnje chicuaxj capitulo: ynic mocuaua, ya cioatzol, ya jnca Tlaxcalla ueua.

Ca cioatl, ipan mjxtecuia, ya cuitl yuacalo nechiuia:

776
quipolujo ya tlaxcalo, ya aquja quauhcuitlaxj, tlaxcalmjxtecuitj, mocuecueqiuja: chaquachiuj, quaçaxaxj, xotaxiuj; tlaxcalmjxj, ixtaquaxaxj, mocuquaxaxj, ixitlaxaxiuj, yuan in quaia, ya tlacualiztij: 278
757

ya jchimaua ya jxaxal vel ninoxaa mocuqui.

Auh ya jquac: llaxjquintlalia, ya ninoxaaqui, mocuecuajuia, tlacaxjcuia, quijxcualtiuia ya jxipila, quijxjcuiaia, ya ixcuiaua, quijxpaccilhujuia, cuiaxaxaxjlia, cuiaxjaqujlia, cuiaxchilhuja, cuaxjhiaxcilhuja. 776
796

Jnje nechichiuale mocuaxale, xocuaia, chichiquaququi, tlachichiquilli ya jxaxaxal, yuan quetzalxjxaxaia, cuichicuaxa.

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36. See Plate II.

37. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 102, adds in parenthesis.

38. Cf. text and illus. in Del Rábanos del Fuente, cited in Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, pp. 488-9, in which there are described as a headdress of cotton flowers.

39. ". . . cosa manera, de hedor, o cosa, que cosa, en la cabeza" (corresponding Spanish text).

40. ". . . cosa enfermedad . . . cual cosa, que cosa en la cabeza que es como hedor" (loc. cit.).

41. See p. 61, n. 130.

42. Cf. Diego de Durán: Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra Firme (Edition: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalona, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.

43. "Aquatlatl, cosa de hedor o manera de desvalimiento" (Molina, op. cit.).

44. Cf. Eduard Seler: Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, p. 474, and Codex Rajadel, p. 7—Nahuatl-Spanish (Anal-Anahuacal). The same author, cited in Sahagún, Historia general, Vol. V ("Los ministros de los dioses"), says: "Esta vara (yacahuitzoli) significa evidentemente la cabeza y, conforme a esta idea verdadera en el modo de pronunciar, tomó origen de yacahuitzoli. Sirvió el instrumento para barrer el templo . . ." (pp. 47-8); "El chicuaxtli, bárdo de zacate, instrumento ceremonial que tenían en las manos los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la procesión de los sacerdotes en la Huitzilopochtli, llevan Tlaloc el yacahuitzoli, zacate de cálido. Es el instrumento religioso, con que

776 **Tenth Chapter, which tells of the goddess [called] the Princess (Cihuapiltzin).**[46]

[753] There were five devils, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They have people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's head trembled; one foamed [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and encountered with the Cihuapiltzin, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Therefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Cihuapiltzin arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

776 And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they
●796 made them offerings of *mole*, folded *tortillas* called *tlamatzoalli*, butterfly-shaped *tortillas* called *papalotzoalli*, [others shaped like] sacrificial notched sticks (*xoxoualli*),[47] small tamales called *xocoichtlamatzoalli*,[47] and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

776 And they were then bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, daubed with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with painted figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

Eleventh Chapter: which tells of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli ycue), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered a god(dess); her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that she belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was consulted, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swelled, and formed whirlpools about them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She upset the canoe, she emptied it; she lifted it, turned it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it hissed to and fro; it was said, "It plays; it billows, it lightens like the stamping of feet; the water swirlsth the shore, spraying water and foaming."

Juic matlactli, capítulo: yuncuja tlaca, ya cioatlaca, ciuapiltzi:

Diablotlaca caca y, macujiltin, tlaca ya jmixpolocaca; ixcuch tlamjlinia, quijtoach tolocatlia, tlca mocaxaca, yujc aca ixcuch quijtocaia chaualiztocaxi, tlamacujlinj, tlamacujlinj, mamacujlinj, ixcuipichauj, ixcuipujpujj, mamacuecuecua, tlamapachaquiqui: ic mjtocaia cuecuecuecui, ypan cquiquac ciuapiltzi, ytlamac chachiqua. Jpampa y ya tlaca, ancqo tlaca, quijmilnujcia ya jquilhuac: caca xmoquiza tlalpan oci, tlaca in ciuapiltzi.

776 Auh ipampa y, ya iquac yquilhujzjzh, yujc quijtocaquiztia:
tlamamalli, papalotzoalli, xoxocujli, xocoichtlamatzoalli, iaquijl.

Auh ya tlaca mamaca y, in quamaca tlaca ya cioatlaca, in quamaca, tlaxaxac.

Auh ya jmochichiualtlaca, mjxiquiquac: auh yauj chalchuatzoli, chalcuquachtzoli, chalcuquatzoli, ya jmamalcquac, pamacuecuequiqua.

Juic matlactli ce capítulo: yuncuja tlaca, ya cioatlaca, ya jtocu chalchiuhtli ycue: ahuatl ya ati.

Tonl ipan machoia: ishquja cioatl quijquiztlacia, ish mjtocaia, quijtoach yuncu pauj, tonchiuh in tlalnqua:

yujc mocuitlilitia, yujc imacaxia, yujc machoxtocia, yujc tlamachtocia, tlamacxitia, machoxjctocia, tepolactocia, tepan pagacja, mamapanqua, mamacxia, tepan mamajlacachoa, yujc tlamachtujujca:

ya ocalli quijcuepa, quijtlapachoaqua, quamiquaca, ca aca mamaj, ca tlaca.

Auh in quamaca tlapachoa, tlapamaqja, mamacxia, tlatlaqja mamacxitlaxaj, mamacocolaxaj, hachocaxaj:

ya jquac: ocach, ya in ouj, mujc ishtoch: quijoca, macujlitia, tlatlaqujlitia, cocoxaxaj, ocatli ipach tlamachtlachoaca, tlamachachiquaca, tlapapaqujlitia.

a hace descender lluvia. . . . El chalchiuhtli es el jade verdoso de las fortalezas y, los dioses, también instrumento mágico con que se chicoca dios" (pp. 139-40).

46. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 194-5; Vol. II, pp. 101-3. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 2, p. 38, and pp. 3, p. 100, and Vol. II, pp. 3, pp. 89, 88) *ibid.*, holds that Cihuapiltzin (the princess) are the sisters or Cioatlaca (the goddesses)—women who died in childbirth (mocuitlapixqui) or on the ceremonial cross, and hence were the equivalent of warriors killed in battle or offered up as sacrifices. Seler describes them as special earth-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were accorded in certain warriors' symbols—eagle feathers and down sandals, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to make men to die and cries.

46. An S-shaped color, made to resemble lightning—Seler, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 2, p. 47.

47. Folded tortillas in the form of square-flower, according to Seler, *Codex Laud*, p. 8.

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, glistening, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of Etzalqualiztli, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plumed headpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They covered aromatic herbs before her.

With the cords heard of the skirt and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they drew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they drew her, to a place called Tlaloccan. In the temple of the Tlaloca, they opened her house.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Then they said: "The chief galeeth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they then paid honor to the women.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicomecoatl; and to the image of the salt [goddess], named Uixtocihuatl. Then they remembered what they had done; then they honored the dead.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Then might he be satisfied; then, in truth, might he live.

And then was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue above the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] earplugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the rain-rattlehead,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh ya jquac ode ohcatl, tlamacitonaj, ennecatitonaj, pelactitonaj, cuecuexcatitonaj. 776

Auh ya jquac: ilhuiqujztilizia, qua no iquac ya ennelquetzlitli: ya vecan ilhujqujztilizia tlaloque, 796 [805]

cuitoli in qujchichiuia yxipela: qujcuetzia, qujujpilizia, qujcuacuatzia, cuecapetlatl, inch pilcatiuh cuetic tecuxjlocuetlli: [778]

yecan qujtlamanjlizia, qujxamanizqj ya jtlamacuccuah, yiauhcli, iapan qujquepevilia,

cuiochicoxcac ilhujtiuaqj, qujcujcuzia in calpolcqui, ycujcacoxca.

Auh in vel iniptla, yquac: mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in qujcuaia, inhuan qujquetzizia, ya ennenecque: ya atl ye mocuiaiocuitia, ya ocalica atlacuj, ya ocalcque, ya apantlan: yecan ocalquetzque tlaquiaca, in qujpechichiuia atl. [567] [463]

No inh qujchichiuia, no inh qujtlamamacuia, no inh qujcuecuecuia: inh tlacotiuja: in mjquja, ynecaocan tlalocan: ya vecan ioxopan, tlaloque, quelcmqujja.

Je jquac y, no cenca qujmocnitilizia, ya mococuzqua: iapan tlamamacuia, ya iniptla, qujtlacoxqujlia,

inh qujcuaia: qujquichichiuaj in tlacatl, qujtlamacchuja ya jmacoxtl: yecan vecan mocnelilmatl, ynic qujmaliujztilizia atl:

qujhuanjqujja, ca ic tlaxaqj, ca tamoca: yecan ic mochiua, ya inquijch tetech momoqj.

No inh qujmocujztilizia, ya iniptla tonacaiotl, ya jnoca, chicome cuatl; yuh ya iniptla iztacl, yecan Vixtocioatl: ic qujhuanjqujja; ya je tlamanjzti:

ca vel yecnon mochiua in tacuallj, ic vellohuatl, ic vel ololiuj. 776

Auh yuja, in mochichiuia: mamaia, tamoca, momoujtoc, momomanjtoc, mincuqallaqj, chalchihuacuaqui, xiuhcuecuechi, tamamacuchi, quetzalxajxaxaia, ocacujllohuipilli, ocacujllohuiujquilli, ocacujlolocuia, ocacujquamichimalli, cuechicuaqui, cuculaca; pepelocuqui.

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48. Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 198): "este cuatli era hecho de cada cosita, a manera de atole, y era muy amarillo." Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 218): "el maíz cocido por el cual llamaban pozolli, para a manera de revolcado con frijol (sic) le llamaban atzqlli."

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . la fantasiaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua como son los que venden agua, en las canoas; y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaza. . . ."

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . porque dicen, que entre ellas hacen mantenimiento, a la gente pajarera para que prosperen, viviendo, y mantenidos."

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . la pintaban, la unta, con color amarillo. . . ."

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenia en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con una cruz: hecho a manera, de la cornezuela, en que se hace el mercado, quando van a la flauta y con cuatro cuernos, dentro dellos." See p. 3, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlazolteotl.

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of
●796 Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tozzumulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 431] And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. There took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Ixcozauhqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards
[304 852] all feasted.

776 [Ixcozauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue coyanga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhuiquitztilloia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan yecalli: quiqipletiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacotonaloia, ocpaltomjlilo.

ouahquitzmalli michivtlilloia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan quimanjliaia in tletl, çenpan qualoia.

Auh yn jneveiocan, iuh cemjlhuitl, in quicuicatia, quitocinpichilia, quiqepanacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh xiuc vel ômaçquia in cemalco, tetlacoaltiloia, ynjc xmo aca mottatia, muchichinoc: ipampa in iancuican ôpualoc ouahquitzmalli, ynjc otlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin quintlaxquiaia: yn aca cuatl: cuijatl, xaujli, axolotl, tzotl: in çaço tlein ocacic inieli, yeanac centlaqui in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxquja yn tetz.

Auh yn ciouac, nauhjan tlatlacoanaia in vevetque, ylamatque: iuh quitoaia, quitlatoiaujliaia yn tletl, tezcalcuaja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc ceuca, mauistililoia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujtotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jteucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tozzumulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no isquich tlacatl, quipaloaia, quitoquja, in vetli, in pipiltotonti: ic motocaiotiaia, pillacano:

yean vecâ quintlatiaia, quinmahujtiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce ouqichtli, in quintemoaia pilhoaque, quintlauhtiaia; ichoantin quinmamatilhuja, vmpa quimoncaoaia, yn inopan ixcozauhqui: vmpa quinnacazzapotlaia, quinnacaxoxiujaia: inhuejo ic quinmachiotiaia, ynjc quimitta, yeiaoan, ymaujuan: çenpan tlaqualo.

In jaochichinal caxa: diltica motenujltec, chalchiuhtetele, xiuhtomamacalo, quetzalmjauaxio, mjtzoma, tlacotzitzona, xiuhtomamacuchi, atocomaspanale, no tritzile, cacujole, xiuhtomatlatlaçanqui yn jchinal, tlachieltopila.

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66. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas es llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y chicas, tiene las hojas redondas. Las tallas de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cocido, empremiza del agua que se cuece para comerse; hácense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilaxo." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 231. On p. 330, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents roasted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the entrails from the children as offerings and throw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 208; see translation in Simeon: *op. cit.*

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (godfather; patron or protector). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tlatli* and *ouitl* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchiuhtetelli*—a strap for the head, set with jewelled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a coyanga (*xiuhtototi*); *quetzalmamatl* or *xiuhtomamacalli* *quetzalmamaqui*—a crown of feather mosaic work in the form of a coronal crown, bearing upwards; *mitzquilli tlacochtequilli* or

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fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had turtle and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for sewing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after *midday*, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at *midday*.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Juic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn ioca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nemitzhque, ynjc netzutiloia tecpantzinca iteuh: 776
yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca tequjchti ipan cioacochiz, 688
anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchochiz: mjtoaia, qujatlaçulmjctia 753
yn jneçoaliz,
ic quinemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujxilhujltiaia, qujtema- [785
cocalticaia, in xochicuiztli, yn menezualiztli, tlapalanaltilizti, 834]
quexilitiuiliztli,
yuicpa netolos, nenezoltiloia, ynjc qujcauia, ynjc
qujquaniz ynjc qujcauaoaz, cuculiztli.
Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa 776
nevilhujtl nenochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chil- 796
cuoaia, qujnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, [264]
inelnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in quja, xochitonti
yn ipan ca, monochiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh
qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujtcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli
qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl
qujmixipdatiaia, cemmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia,
qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ic nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia, 776
tlacoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in [785]
qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey
ipan ycatiuh xuchenjtl:

yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan centoqujliaia 776
oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitoztic, molloztiuja: yoan vntetl [415]
tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl 362
tiltic, centetl tlatlauhquj. 796

Auh yn aca iaqujtl, anoço necuzqujtl, anoço xonecujlli,
papalocaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzocollaxcalli, tzocalchimalli,
tzocalmjtl, tzocalmaquauitl, tzocalmetl:

yoan neujian calcacaloia, in mamalti ajcaxi mexico, 776
motenoa maltequjme, yn jxquich tochiaoalotoc, yn 796

ome quauxmalhuatli—two arrow shafts or wooden dolls, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *ome acatl* ("2 reed") or the *xonecuilhuatzli* (fire-drill) (see illus.). Refer: *The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 75. *Tlaxtzoyoc*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlaxcalteyoc*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*heridas, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . dificultosas, podrimientos del miembro secreto, dolores, incordios, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text: "*panes asinos.*"

776
796 surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the
727 borders of warring peoples. Those who had taken these prisoners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him; they brought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

776 Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated. And the garb [of Macuilmalinti was thus]: on his lips there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and brown. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-disk, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red pelgas. He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Ulmmmac.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Though him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one, one he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [so] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whence are the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the home of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when they broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were chosen, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he dedicated: he had a crown of feathers—

ixtemoaqua, yn ixtemoa ceuqua, quijmolcaxaia yn jmoalhoan, yn jmohuiaxoan, in mohuipilhoan, mochiaxia: ajcan quijquixia, yn calpixqua, in cacalqua.

Auh inela ica daiohi, inela daohohohi, ypan tlacaquaxaia, motlacacuajoia, quijpipilaxiaxia, quijpipilaxia:

in daohoxi, vecan mixpujia, yn jquac ilhujujquilhia.

Auh yn jmochichiual: tzoniczqua, ixtlapolocaxaia, daiohipolocaxajjli, daiohiquelelli, yhujxoxaxaia, quechichiquja, vixuqui yn jdaxaxual, vixuxolxaxaxaia, ypan ixac, tzoalquanjtl, quetzalxaxaia, quetzalxaxaxaxaia, quetzalxaxaxaxaxaia, quetzalxaxaxaxaia, tzoalquilica mocuxijqui, mocuxqua, yxuxolxac, xuxolxaqua.

Jxic ontzalli capítulo, yuchqua tlamo yn teotl, yn jxuca Omacatl.

Jnqja omacatl, vixuxolxac, teotl catca, yn jnech tlamjlaia, in piqujlhoia, quijxoaia ca ixhuatl ixuctia, in cocoaxal, in tecuxuxoxaxaltiti, in tetlacuxuxaxaltiti, in tetlatlaquaxaltiti: yxuxtijo: mochiaxia yn jxuxoxolxaltia, yn jxuxoxaquijxilia xuxaxiqua, tachi vicxia, vuqua xuxiximachaxia, xuxujxlaujxia yn jxiqula.

Auh xo quijxoaia, yxuhcaxuo xuxiximachia, yn jxhuqujxua cuxuxoxaxaia, tlavelcuja: xuxchqua, xuxqo xuxchiquan xuxxia, quillaujxia, yn aquja quijxoaujqui. Jn ixhuatl tlayca yn axuo tlaochuxuxixuxxi; xjxuxolxolcaxaxia: auh ic ne xjxuxxi, ic tlein xuquan xjochixuxx.

Auh inela cuxca xuquxua, yn jquac tlaquaxia, xujxqua cuxxxi quijxoxolxaxia, in xol, in tlaquaxli iquan. Auh yn aquj yn xujxua xuquxa, xuxqua xuxxxxa: yujc quijxolxaja, xuxlxxxa, yxuquac xujlacxxxa in xol: xuxlxquxlxaxja in jquac tlaquxa: auh yxxla xxxxxj xuququxlxaxja, xuxxxxjxja, xuxlxxxquj.

Auh yujc ilhujujquilhia: yn aquja xuquxa, achxqua quichixxxia, xxxxjxxlli, yixxxjia in xxxl catca: qan tlacxxl, xxxjxxquj calpxlx, xxx xxxlxquxl yujc hujxxxc, xxl xxxxxxxx, xujxjxxx.

Auh yn xxxxx xxxxxxxx, xx achxqua tlaxlaquxlx, xxlxxx, tlaxxxx: auh yn xxlxxhujx cxxjxxxquxja, yn xxxxxl cxxxjxxxx: xjxxxx ic xxxxxxxx, xxxlxxlxquxjlx, xxxxxllxxjlx, in xxxxjxxjlli:

jquac quxquxlx, ixhujujx ic xxxxxxxxxx, xxlxxxquxjlx, xxlxllxxjlx, xxxxxxxxxxx: ca yn aquujxx xxxxxx, yn jquac ic ilhujxhujujxx, xxxxjxlxxxxxxxxxxx, xxxquxxxxx, yxxxquxx ca xxxlxxxxxx.

Jn ixxchichiual catca: ilxxxxxxxx, xxxxxxxxxx, yxx

74. Probably the temple of Ulmmmac (Ulmmmac ochcalmac) is meant. Cf. Seler: Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (Historia general, Vol. I, p. 222). The name means [illegible] the month, the house or part of the city named Ulmmmac, the people of that area, or the month house or month temple. See ibid., Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 215, 221, 232, 239, and also Seler: op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's down headband in red ocre, and a cape of nothing with snail-shells.[75] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] accoutred with a chalky war-club; his shield was shell-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for sowing was in his hand. [He was upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

ypanohquauhcuahtl, mamaie, yoaxihtic, ixipanoqui oyhtic 776
tecuelehquanqui ye jnnic: ye jnachichinol, yxipanoch,
yxipachinol, amapaie, yolochtlaia yuan: caxca, yxoiqui,
amapalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which speaks of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-scamper (Tlalcoxcoxi).[76]

Juic cuatalli vcc capitulo yuelque datos, in teuil ye jxcoa, caxca, ixtlilton, tlalcoxcojn.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacatecaxca. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teuil caxca, qua quauil ye jxcopan caxca, yxcoiacan 346
tlacojlocan: in vecan yxcopan, mjec ye apazoli, tlacatecaxca,
mamaxca, mamaxcaxia ixtlilach.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh ye aquijo mamaxcaxia, pilhuatl, vmpa quijcjaxia ye 776
jxcopan ixtlilton: cuaxol, quijtlapoaia ye apazoli, cuajtzia 757
ye jxtlauac; ic pazia in pilhuatl.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, could incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was accoutred [like the god].

Auh ye aquijo quijcaxia, cuapalxia in cuacuajo, yuic 776
quijcaxia yxhuan ye jxipola: qua tlacatl in cuachichinaia. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and drink was quaffed. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Ja cuacic yxhuan, cuaxia, ayaxia: xjnan tlalnepanla, 776
xilinia: ye ontlapaloc, xjnan mjnaia, ye jxtlilton: ye
cuajxol, ye cuamacuah, cuitlaxi cuacalaqui: inhuan quijtlapoa 273
in xoxli, xoxilhujica tlacatlinca: ic mjnaia, tlaxcaxapoaia,
vitzmana.

Ninan ye vmpaua, ye ic tlaxaua: ic cupa ontlapaja iztaca,
quijtlapoa ye jxtlauac, no tlacatlinca xoxilhujica: ic
mocuilhuapil in quijtlapoa:

Ic mjnaia, ic mamaxcaxia, iuia chapolli, yuala tlacatzoli, 787
yuala tlacatli, iuia tecolli, vecan vecaxc: ic mjnaia, ayc
tetlaxiuia, ayc ichaxc, ayaqui chochoaqui, tlalcoxitlia: ic
ayc tlacocuaxilia, in tlaxaxia, ic quijmatlaia, quijcaxcaxia,
quijpapaxia: ic mjnaia tetzahua, tzompanola mamaxcaxia: ichica, in
quijtlacuaxcaxia, quijtlapoaxia, ic mimaxcaia, ye ixtlaxlacal.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large cocoxochi called *ixpaxoa* (face-covering).[78]

Auh yuajc ontlapaja tochli, quachili ye quijmacaia mamaxcaxia, 292
ixpaxoa.

Thus was [Ixtlilton] indulgent: he was spread over with cinnamon; his face was covered with cocoxochi; about his lips was

Juic tlacatlilli: ic mjnaia, tlaxcaxapoaia, mjnaia
quitlaxilia, ye jxcoapa: tlapapachichiaqui, quauallo, 776

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75. For descriptions, see illustrations and text in Sahagún: *Garibay: Alfabeto*, Vol. II, pp. 313 and 320; and also Illustration (Charnay) —Plate 15.

The term *cuachichil* means the metal cups or mortar, with *cuacuil* shells located where the cups stood. The *chichicuacuil* and the *cuacuajo* were presumably the same or similar. Sahagún: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 3, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "*vn apazoxuelo de vn palmo en quadro, hecho en vna vida, al qual llamauan yuxtlilon, donde eran vnos vtensilios de alquimia o los parientes. . . .*"

76. *God of medicine. Tlalcoxcoxi* (or *tlalcoxcoxi*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *coxcoxtli*. Cf. Seler: *Codex Laud*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: "*. . . he que acostumbraban los mayores y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba ixtlilli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*es este ahuiatzintli, llamauan chichiquatzintli, quiere decir, este chichiquatzintzin primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *ontlacatl*, see Sahagún, op. cit., p. 37, for a definition of *ontlacatlilli*.

78. ". . . *donde estaua la quaxe llamau ixpaxoa: que quiere decir, cubierto de la cara porque quadraua, cocoxochi, cosa que cae hacia la frente. . . .*" Loc. cit.

776 white clay. He had a spray of fine leaves, with quetzal feathers.[78] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red macaw feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[79] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper branch-chest. He had conchs and shells. He had sun-shoes.

cuaqhxtomaqui ye jilonacatl, yeuaqueqan ipan itac, ocomolin ye jacamaqueqan, ocomolin ye jilonacatl, chachic yxillamapil, ueqhxtomqui, yacamacatl, cuitlaxcolli, cuitlaxcolli, ixcuitlaxcolli.

Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men have worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlaloes. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the oar, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[80] the pole for propelling boats,[81] [and] the bird-snare.

776 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water, food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants, scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their cattle-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper branch-chest [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Ynic cuatlli ynamo capitulo, yuchqui chiuac, yn itoca, yn itocac cuexa opochtli: yn quipiaxtiaia in tecuah, niman chiua.

Inic opochtli, ipan ximoaia, dabo: ualoc ixtoch cuexa, quipiaxtiaia.

Ioh quipiaia, in ixhuiui ixhuiuiti, yiuacuiti, quipiaxti, quipiaxti in tecuiui, yn ixiui, yn mixacuchalli, yn xiuitl, tlaxcuatli.

Auh yn iquac ilhuiqquitlaxia, ui, chuquilli, uctli, in tecuiui ouchiuaia: yoan cuauqhli, uachiui, yiui, cuqalli, yiuchuli, quiquauhtlaia, ic quiquauhtiquiqui: chicuacuitl ouacualchilhuia ouacuchiui quichaiuhtlaia: iuhquin uixtui pevia: ao yoi quiquiquixtiaia, yn iuxtocoan, yn jiauxtocoan, iuhquiquan.

776 Ja iuachichiui ouac: ouacuala, tlalquilli, tlaxlaxilli, ouacuaua, quauhtlajuaia, ouacuacuia, ouacuaquauia, ouacuia.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[82]

He was the god of the sun-shoes people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

776 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them,
753 [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, malaches causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, whitening of the eyes,[83] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

776 Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would
796 thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All harassed persons in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]matted, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

Ynic cuatlli ynamo capitulo, yuchqui chiuac, yn itoca, yn itocac xipe totec.

Auacal iuauh: ueqhxtomaqui in ui iuauh cuexa.

yn iuquiuh yuaqui, yn iuxiuac yiuchiuiui, yn iuxiuaui: ic tecuiui, ic tecuiuia, ixhuiui quiquauaia, in tecuiuiqui, yuquichiuiui, quauaxilli, iuxacuilli, ixchichiuilli, iuxaquixtiquiqui, iuxaquichiuiui, iuxichquechiuiui, iuxaquechiuiui, iuxacuiui, iuxaxiuiui, iuxaxiuiui.

Ja aquin ipan ouchiuaia, yn ouchiuiti uquichi, yuiqui ouacualchiuia, yuiqua mixtlaia: yuic ouacuqia yn jiauia, yuic iiuac aquin, yn jiquac ilhuiqquitlaia: ouacuiuia, ouaxiquauhtlaia.

ouquiuhtlaia, ouacuia, uiquajuiuia ouacuaia, ouchiui ouacuia; chichiuacuia, chichiqui-tlaia, ouacualouacuia; in

79. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 199 (ueqhxtomaqui).
80. Cf. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 591) for explanation of *ouacu del ui*.
81. ". . . *en donde de tres puntas que se llama ouacualchili*."—Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: ". . . *a cuyo fuego, ofrecen un agua, con tres puntas, [marginal insertion, partly missing: (of) triangular leaf?] que quemaban] con que hace, a los pescados y cosas de el mantenimiento*."
[501] 82. Standing in the line, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the same verbs, *ue*, which is substantially inconsistent.
83. Seler (*Travelmark of the Aztec Collection*, p. 103) cites Hernández (*Hist. gen.*, Lib. III, cap. 17) to indicate that Xipe enlisted special honors in the Tezcatlipoca dances. A clear discussion of the "*xipotzen y chapotzen*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 131. See also note 80.
84. Meaning problematical.

blood], so that they sacrificed those whom they followed.[89] They fought, joining in bands against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting personally, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were shits], and played at combat like fighters in war, some running.[90] This was [at Xipe Totec's temple] called Tozoca.

And the young men garbed like Xipe Totec, wearing human skins,[91] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on cypress-fibre mats; bunches of [corn] were hung on their like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any women had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[92] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his Yopi-crown[93] was placed [a head] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a cypress-leaf shirt. He had cactus. His shield was red and had circles. His cactus stick[94] was in his hand.

tetoca, yuiz tecuhcuachilinia: quimacalhinia, quimanjiqui in tlacatecuhtlaqueuaqueuaqueu

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416
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292
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266
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301
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796
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"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cocoa, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered beds with which they were at war, and were among people who were for dinner, they became like their enemies in their gestures, their hair-dress, their speech,[106] [that they might] mimic the enemy.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[107] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and dashed him with his under lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, then making him a man of consequence.

And when there who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commenced in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[108] They paid great honor to the cocoa, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[109] they set it upright. They offered it an offering fowl, when they held a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they commercially hacked and slew a man as a sacrifice,[110] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli, or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomecóatl, or Chalchiuhtlicue, Atlacoyan, and Nanáhuatl, Cuchbaná, Yacapitzinca.[111] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They brought them there at the dawn market: at Acocpatzinco, they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best ones, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they gathered them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They were dress up [like

Auh in momaxel, in pactecomal, in xiuteotli, in xopanjtl, in yn ximocuaxel:

inhuel iuxtlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, uelan ximoquj, uel calaquj, motlecuecupa in uechichiolinica, in tzoxica, in tlachiica quijnelachcuillaqui in chamqua.

Auh inin cuitlamqueuiqui, inin cimoqui: yxcan quijquimjxtia, quijchilaxilia: qa ocu, aqo ce, aqo yxcan ce: ell tomatlaqui quijqa, inhuel quijnelhuiaxia in tecuqua:

ic yxcan quimaca, ixquijlin, yxpopoxuhcauh, yn quijmixtiaxia, ic quijmocuitia, in tlacauh, yxcan ic aquijchia.

Auh yn jquac: calacia, yxchua: ya jollocli, yxnecuipal aquijchilaqui, yn ozlalochacica, yn ozlalxiquichilaqui: ixquijch tlacatl quijcuica, in pachoca: yxan in tlazoqua, ic momixtiaxia:

mjxua, mocuipaca, omoca quijmaxitilinia yn ixquil, yn jtlacqaia yiacatecutli:

omo in calpulco quijquetzia: achto quijtlamanjlia, yn jquac: uelaqualitia: yxan inhuca mel momocuecuexa, quijtlamanjlia in qua mochiqua yn jtlaqua.

Auh inin xon tzalia, inhuel calxiaia, quijxocia in jxcuch yiacatecutli: amoqo omo inhuacia yn mochanaia, in quijmotetzinia in chimaquijauitl, amoqo chalmocacaual, yxan acxomocuj, yxan nacatl, cochinaul, ixcapitzinco, ainc quijcacja, yiallohuaxa, yn aqo ce, amoqo yxcan, ce ainic tlacatl:

yxqui omotetzinia yn tlacamecajlica ompamaxiuc: motlaitlalilia, motlaquapanilia, quijxocuepa, quinjhiica, yn quinin quijxocuepa, yn ocan [illegible]quijqua, in tlaxiaxtli, in tlacamelaxqua, yn ocan cuexaqui, yn aile inlaciuh ce:

yuje inhuan quijmixtiaqua, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn yxcan iliuiquijmilinia uitzilopochtli:

yqua: quijchichinia, quijtlamamaca, intech quijtlalia yn jubqui yuechichinal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn ainmo quijmjxtia, achtqua quijmixtiaxia: mjxua quijquimaxia, ic quijmochinia in tlaxiaqua:

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106. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 57): Yuecuchiqui "quijtlamamaca yquimmaxia yxcuanca, que eran tlaxcaltecas, é hechiciaba, para mofar quechemecaqui, é engañar, y ir salir, y matar (que es propio condición de Mexicanos) . . . ."

107. Cf. Sahagún (Bierige Ausgabe), p. 222 citing Mus. Bors. Coll. Mex. B. II 300.

108. Book IX of the Florentine general work shows entirely with the exception of the ceremonies. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing sandals and hands.

109. Sahagún defines calpulli as "*barrio del templo, é parroquia*" (Spanish version).

110. Sahagún defines the sacrification in this manner: "*Entre diaches que mataban a estos cautivos*."—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

111. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 93) recognizes Cuchbaná and Ayacapitzinca as synonyms for Yiacatecutli. "Chicomecóatl or Chalchiuhtlicue is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Atlacoyan is Tlazolteotl, Nanáhuatl is Quetzalcoatl.

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gods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

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And if any were noted who were very noble, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the nobleman set him aside and put another in his place.

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Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

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[Yacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac ontlachtia, ontlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaxtlilhuan, iccac, quijnquetza: mach tlaçotlmatli, yn jxtech quijxtlalitia: ipã mjxcuiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcaxtimj, tlatlabtimj yn jxcuje, yejc inmomjquequeuaia.

Auh intla aca cenac, in cenca mjxcui tlaxtlilli, yn cujcatecuiaj, in ixtlamatqui, yn jxa, yn ixtlac: quijquixtiaia in pipiltj, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no ihcuj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachtiuhqui, anoço vellaquatchiua, vel achiua, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellxtlamatzac: no quixtitia, quijnomtlacciocuetzaia in pipiltj.

Jn jxochichiual motlatlatlali, mizquetzvi, yxmjlo, izquatzo, inquatzone, quetzallalpile, tecujtlanacache, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, cocoale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhqui yn jchimol, ytlaçaia ymac omoc, octlaxapile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

Jxic cempoalli capitulo, ynchqa tlatua yn teuctl yn jnoca cenca Napa tecutli.

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It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

Juh ninjtoa, ca no iuxtech pouj yn tlaloque: ihcuac ynjxcuiaia, incatjan, in calpolloc, quinnotzaia in petlachiuhque:

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

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They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

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And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He washeth and bathetb men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

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And also each year they slew a man who represented him, a slave.

ynteuctl, ipan quijnnotzaia, tlacotli, in quijnixtiaia ynmomjxtlac:

110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "este sombrero era una manta ayal, y sobre el ayal, una red angosta de manera que ayal, se parecia, por las mallas de la red."

111. The *tecuhtlacopil* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

112. *Calpolli*—clan or guild, which constituted, probably, of heads of old families, constituted democratic offices, distributed its common lands among members (Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 65, citing Alonso de Zurita: *Breve y sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 70-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word "guild" where the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "Aquen estaban de juntos: que fueron inventarlo."

114. Cf. Sahagun: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 145 and Vol. III, p. 272.

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[110] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecuhtli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpulequi*)[111] occurred [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecuhtli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpulequi*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] bedight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hairdress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepitoznes), who were held to be among the Tlaloca.

[The Tepitoznes] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloca.

These then named Tepitoznes were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mannikins.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were discomfited with drowning when the wind came over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images; that they would make representations of

qujchichinaia, ynac mamimaca, xoxouja, xoxouhqui, xiuhtli: vecuac ixtimauj ol, vecuica ic tzauhlivia.

Auh yn jquac amo ilhujuh, yn qua neamajac: oc no ce quipiqualoiaia, quichichinaia:

yn jquac da ica, petlachichiqui quipeuqui ychan quitocin, quipopoloia: vecpa quivicaia, in calpolequi, tecuhtlajcuh, tecuachtlinh, inhuqui ic quitlanjlaia, ynic quimicnelia.

Yeac inhuqui ynic mecujtlaxcultiolocaia: yn aqua ic vecu ilaqui, yaxca:

quitoaia, macamo ajcmempa, macamo ajcmpolo, macamo ajmiacauj, yn necuhtlaca: ma cequalo, ma cajjo, ma cempoloj, ma ic omajxoi in tecuh napa tecutli: ma çaqua ajmoomjxia, yn ac inhuqui ajtochin, ac inhuqui ajmoaxx, inhe quimati, yn aqui ida, nechmomaquixia, quimomacavilia:

ic quimomaxia ce quachtli, yn iuipia machiuaia. ic calaqui yn ichan:

auh ic machilocati, tlatlaquaia yn jcuiniloque.

Auh yn jcalpoleo in vecpa pialoia yxipila, cenca tlamauizilaia, tlacelaia, in petlachichique, machiqui petlatoca, icpalvecca, tlacuxtlaca, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tlatlalia, machiqui cupaloma, tlatzacalinhtoc tlatzacalinhtimanj, atle vecuac, qe tlaçalli.

Auh yuja yn machichinaia, matilloçac, mjxtilpopoca, mixtilhuj, mjchchiujticac, amacale, yiamacuexpal, amamacale, mizale, iztaccaque, aiacuçmanchiuale, aiacapilcapile.

Jnic ceumpoalli vno capitulo, ytechpa tlamaca yn inoca tepitoznoc: yn jnoan panja tlaloque.

No yeoan panj, inimch tlamjlaia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mijmaia tepitoz, qua quimomjquijia, quimimjpilaia, in ixtepe, in çaqo catle tapol.

Auh yn aquja cuecuija, cocopaoaia, quaquahtia, cocotzoaqui: aoqo yn aquja atlan miquimequi, chocati ipan tlaqueoa ada: vecuac momotolinia yujc tepiquin, in quipiquin: quetzalcoal, in chalchiuitl ycac, in tlaloc:

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111. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "*un varon de calle*" (*sic*).
112. According to Durán, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 223), the *calpulequi* were "*ancianos o guardas de barrios.*"

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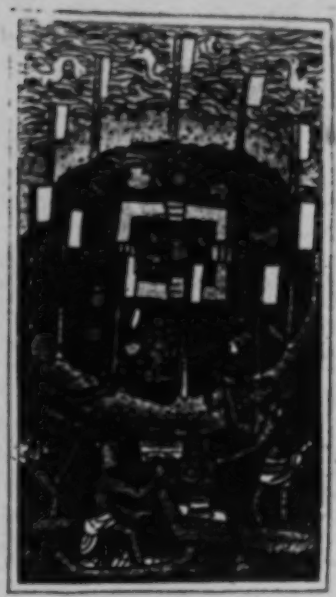

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—After Pena y Troncoso

29—Tuxpitlan tonas (Chap. 6). Cuyahuatlil pena (Chap. 11). Chiuana cuail (Chap. 7). 30—Tuxpitlan—Cordoba (Chap. 12). 31—Huaxa tonail (Chap. 19). 32—Tuxtlatan (Chap. 11). 33—Pantlitlan (Tuxtlatan) (Chap. 21). 34—Appendix, Chap. 12. 35—Appendix, Chap. 12.

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[For organized ceremonial, see category 116, pp. 1-39; 41-158; 161-192; 201-203.]

[them] for himself; he assumed [them] as his due, as if taking the insignia to himself.

And Uitzilopochtli was also known as an omen of evil; because from only a feather which fell, his mother Coatl ixac conceived. For no one came forth as his father.

This one the Mexicans cherished, by making offerings to him, and by honoring and serving him. And Uitzilopochtli rewarded him [who did so].[17] And this veneration was taken from there, at Coatepec, just as had been done in days of yore.[18]

Enough [of this].

quimotlaquiti, quimaxcati, quimotocaltí, iuhq'n quimotlaviti.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: no mjtoaia tetzavitl, iehica ca çan jvitl, in temoc injc otztic in juan in coacue: caiac nex in itz.

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Jchoatl in oquipiaia in mexica injc otlamanitiaia, inic oquimavizztilitia, oquitlaccoltiaia, ioan in itech muchiouia in Vitzilobuchtli. auh in ichoatl in tlamavizztilitztli ocatca, ca vmpa tlalíti in Coatepec, in juh muchivi ca ie uecauh

ie inquijch.

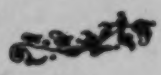

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how they did honor to Uitzilopochtli and thus worshipped him as a god.

And when the body of Uitzilopochtli was shaped, when they gave it form upon their feast day of Panquetzaliztli, they made it of a dough of amaranth, of fish amaranth seed, which is a spiny herb. They ground it; they pulverized it well; they crushed it into a powder and placed it in earthen vessels, as if it were an unguent—as if it were feather down. They rid it of *chicalotl* seeds—they cast them aside as useless; they threw away all the *petzicatl* [bird] seed,[19] the black-eeded amaranth, and the siftings and the corrupted material, and other small rubbish. And this they cast out and tossed away.

And when the amaranth seed dough was made, [it was] like pine [resin], like cooked maguey, like an unguent.

And upon the next day the body of Uitzilopochtli died.

And he who slew him [was] the [prior known as] Quetzalcoatl.[20] And [that] with which he slew him was a dart, painted with flies, which he shot into his heart.

IN THE THIRD PARAGRAPH VINCAN MOTENEOA in quenjn quimavizztiliaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc qujmoetutiaia.

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Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: in iquac tlacatia in jnacaio in quitlacatiliaia injllujuh ipan. in iquac panquetzaliztli, in quichiouia tzoalli, michioauhtzoalli, ic in chicalotl, qujtecia, vel quicuechoaia, quicuechtiliaia, cazzlaliaia, cazzilia, iuhquin ezjn, iuhquin ivitl, qujtlaçaia in chicalotl, vel quitlacujcuiliaia, muchi quiquistiaia in petzicatl, in tezcacoauhtli, ioan ipolocatl, ioan in palanquj, ioan in oc cequi tlaçoltotonti, muchi quiquistiaia, muchi quichichiotzaia,

auh in muchioaia tzoalli, iuhquin ocotl ie on mezcalli, iuhquin ezi.

auh in inuentleioc in miquia in Vitzilobuchtli in jnacaio.

auh in quimjctiaia ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl: auh injc qujmjctiaia ie zitl, iacatecpaio cuaquijlinia yiollopa,

17. Per omittitqin, the *Real Palacio* MS has omittitoque, which is perhaps more logical.
18. See M. 2.
19. *Chicalotl* and *petzicatl* cf. *Anderson and Dibble*, op. cit., p. 63, no. 29—which identifies *chicalotl* with *xochicuechtli* or "fish amaranth"—and 30. Seler (op. cit., p. 200) translates the phrase *ooki chicalotl cuaili* as *den Samen der Stachelpflanze* (*Argemone mexicana*)—*gelbliche pappe*.
20. See below (Appendix, Ch. 3).

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He died in the presence of Moctezuma and of the keeper of the god, who verily spoke to Uitzilopochtli —who verily appeared before him, who indeed could make him offerings; and of four[21] masters of the youths, front rank leaders. Before all of them died Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had died, thereupon they broke up his body of amaranth seed dough. His heart was apportioned to Moctezuma.

And as for the rest of his members, which were made, as it were, to be his bones, they were distributed and divided up among all. Two [parts] were given the Tlatelulca; and [with these] two, which were as the fundament, two more were offered to the old men of the tribal temples of the Tlatelulca. And as much was given to the Tenochca. And afterwards it was divided up among them, to each in his order, each year when they ate it. [Each] year [those of] two neighborhoods[22] ate it, and also the old men of two tribal temples. And when they divided up among themselves his body [made of] amaranth seed dough, [it was broken up] exceeding small, very fine, as small as seeds. The youths ate it.

And [of] this which they ate, it was said: "The god is eaten." And of those who ate it, it was said: "They guard the god."

in imixpã miqui ic in Motecuçoma, yuã in tehua, in vel quimotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli, in vel quimonetilaia, in vel quimoveniotiaia, yuan navintin tlachcauh tlaacatiquac, inquintin inin imixpan miquia in vitzilobuchtli,

auh in omjc, ninnan ic ic quixitinja, in inacaio in tzoalli, yn iollo itech povia in Motecuçoma:

auh in oc ceq' in jmimilla, in juhquj yiomjio machiotin tepan moiaoa nemamaca, omolol in maco in tlatilulca. Yoã vme in ipepochiuhca, no, omolol maco in calpolveuetque in tlatilulca, çan no iequi in maco in tenochca. auh çatepan quimomamaca, çan tecpãtiuh, cecexiuhtica in quiqua, oc xivitl ontlaxillacalli in quiqua no oncalpoltin in calpolveuetq̃. auh in quimomamacaia in jnacaio in tzoalli, cenca çan achitoton, çan tepitoton, pizlaxoto. ichoan in telpopuchti in quiquaia.

auh injn quiquaia injnoa tenquaio, auh in ic oquiquaque motenoua tequia.—

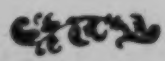

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which are related the penances which they performed who ate of the body of Uitzilopochtli.

And great was the distress which was caused. And for one full year the youths fasted. At this time they burned much wood—each night [bringing] two thousand eight hundred pieces in honor [of Uitzilopochtli], and on the following day the same, and on the next day likewise; and pine sticks. With ten large capes [they paid for that] which burned each night. This much impoverished [them].

And each man laid out one large cape and five

IDYC EY PARRAFVO, vncã motenoua in tlamaceualiztli, in quichiaia, in quiquaia in inacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Auh ca cenca vey in jnnetolinilix machiaia. auh vel oc xivitl in moçaoia in telpopochtin vncan mjjec in quitlatiaia in quavitl in cecenioal macuilxoxoli, omomoli inemachio, mazatla yvi, mazatla yuj, yuã oczl, matlactica quachtli in tlatla icioal, ichoual y, in ofica tlacolinjaia:

yuan cocoz quachtli, yuan macuilxoxoli tequachtli in

21. Following *Mendieta* (Autos citados), the *Real Palacio MS* has "*Mahamaxaque, ya xuxuq̃, cuapiqui, yuã cuauhtlato. . . .*" Complete, the passage would read: "of four fan priests, the high priests, and of four masters of the youths. . . ."

21a. Tlacallecalli: *Aztec*, according to Molina, op. cit. Antonio Mazatlo, however (*El Calendario en la Organización Social de los Tenochca* [México: Instituto de Historia, 1949], pp. 31 ssq., 49 ssq.), has "'calle' o 'barrio cálido'"; hence, possibly, neighborhoods. Cf. also his enlightening discussion of *calpolli*, esp. Chaps. VI-IX.

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small capes, and then one small basket of grains of dried maize and one hundred dried ears of maize. Each man brought forth this.

This gave rise to much distress; it caused much anguish; it afflicted [them]. And some therefore fled; they therefore went elsewhere. And many flung themselves in the midst of war;[20] they cast themselves to their deaths, they who threw themselves into the wars.

And when already they were to give up their office, when already they were to finish [their penances], when already [they had served] one year, once again they set out, each one, three small capes, for buying pine sticks, and also three [more], for buying wood, from which a torch was made. All six together were needed when it came to pass that Uitzilopochtli was bathed, when the year ended.

And they bathed Uitzilopochtli at midnight. Before he was bathed, first all took part in a winding procession. And a man was arrayed as the likeness of Uitzilopochtli, [and] named Yopoch. Upon him was placed the adornment [of the god] which for one year remained upon him.

For the space of a year he wore [Uitzilopochtli's] adornment. Hence he fasted for a year, that he might wear his array. And he danced when he wore his raiment. One [dancer] went guiding him; one went ahead, before him, named master of the youths of Uitznauac. And all the [other] masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and then all those who were intrepid in war, went following him, taking him in a winding procession.

At this time there was need of torches, pine torches. And when midnight had come, thereupon he went to be bathed. [The others] went lighting the way with torches, with hand-borne torches—with [torches] to light him held in the hand,—and with incense ladles held in the hand. They proceeded playing flutes for him. When they came to arrive at the Mist House, thereupon they set down the likeness of Uitzilopochtli.

And the keeper of the god then took up the water in a blue gourd vessel, and when he had drawn the water, he offered it before him. Then he took up the fresh, green reeds; four of them he put into the gourd vessel, and four times he took up water to bathe the face [of the image]; thus he bathed it.[21] And when

qujtlalizia cecen tlacatl, njman ic tlaolli centzin co-
pincacentli, yuan mamacuilpoalli cintli, in cecen
tlacatl, quinezzizia.

Jehcatl y, in cica tlamequjpechoaia, tlaellelaztizia,
tlatolinjaia, auh in cequjztin ic cholouia, ic canapa
itzuivia. Yuan miequjztin in ômotlacomaiavia iaoc
ômomjccatlaçaia, in ca ômomochaia in jniacan,

auh in iquac in ic quicaoanque, in intequiuh, in ic
ic tlatzonquizzinque, in ic ic ce xivitl oc cappa, qui-
tlachalizia, cecîiaca chetetl tequachtli ecocolonj no
ceteti quauhcoalonj cenetetl tlepilli ic muchica, in ic
muchi ic nepan chiquacenteti, iquac monequaia, injc
malzizia Vitzilobuchtli, injc ontlamj ce xivitl.

auh in calzizia in Vitzilobuchtli ioalnepantla, in
ziazzo malzia achtopa nococoloia, auh ce tlacatl
mochichioaia in jxiptla in Vitzilobuchtli, itoca Yo-
buch, conmaquja, in itlatquj, in ce xivitl ipan ocatca.

yn oqujccaxiuhtili, itla aquj ic moçaoa ce xiujtl
in itla aquix. auh mizotizia in oitla ac, ce qujiacâtiuh,
ce ipan icatiuh, itoca vitznaoac teachcauh, auh in
jnq'ch tlachcauhti, in teipochtequioaque. yoan in ic
izquich in quauhtlocelutl quinocativi, coloivitivi.

Je vacanja in monoqui tlepilli, in ocupilli. auh in
oacic ioalnepantla, njmâ ic ic iauh in maltiz quitla-
vilitivi, matiopilitica, mactlavilitica, matlematica, qui-
tlapichilitivj, in oacito in aiauhcalco njman ic ic
quitlalia, in ixiptla in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in teuhoa njman ic ic concuj in atl xuavic
xicalhica, auh in ocuzopilo, atl, ixpan conmana, çiço-
pan concuj, in acatl xoxouhqui, celtic, navi conaquja
xicalco neppa in concui atl ic qujxamja ic calzia. auh

[20] Sahagún (Florentine Manuscript, p. 208) mentions "[illegible] . . . de Tlaloc Ixtlac." Cf. Anonymous (above).
[21] See FS-4.

•796 he had bathed it, then once more he placed the array [on the image] and took it in his arms. Loudly they played the flutes for him.

And after this they bore [the image] to Itepeyac and set it in place. And when they had come to set it down, thereupon they went away; all dispersed. Then ended the fasting and penances of [those who had] for the year [been] eaters of the god.[20]

in oconalti, niman ic no ceppa itlan aquj, quinzpalos, cenca quitlapichiliaia.

auh niman ic ic qujvica in itepeiac vmpa centlalia, auh in iõc ocontlalito, niman ic ic momoxaoa, vivilos, ic vncan tzonquiça, in ineçaualiz, in jotlamaceualiz, in teoquaque ce xivitl.

785 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which are related other burdensome works which those did who received the body of Vitzilopochtli.

Still another group at this time began to fast in the year that they were to eat the god. They proceeded in this manner each year; thus they all continued giving [way to others]. They all went on exchanging [places]; there was mutual taking over and trading [of functions]. And likewise for the priests of the tribal temples there was fasting for a year. Great also was their suffering.

Much from this did their affliction grow; great was their anguish, [which] filled their hearts and bodies. Verily, their misery surpassed [all else], since for one year there was to be fasting—since for a year they were to fast. [Each] man was to pass every night burning [wood] and providing light. Very much wood was consumed each night, as was the custom; and many broken up pine sticks, that torches might be lit. And they brought forth *chili*, tomatoes, salt, squash seeds, and water and food.

785 And when they had nothing more with which to
423 buy, they gave up their precious capes, that they might buy things, or else they sold their land, which they had enclosed, or which lay in others' territory, or which somewhere they had lent. And they did even so with all lands—the tribal lands, the cultivated lands, marshy lands, the dry and dusty lands, or the cut-over, cultivated fields upon which they worked.

And if one who could not bring forth the tribute

INJC NAVJ PARRAPHO vncan motenecoa in oc centlamastli tequjtl vel etic, in quichioaia in ichoantin qujcelisia in jnacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Ie no centlamantin vncan cõpeoaltia, in moçaoa in jpan xivitl teuquanque, çan juh otlatocatiuh, cecexiuhtica, çan jc nemamacotiuh, çan necacavililotiuh, nepapatlaloticuh, nepapatlalo: auh çan ie no ivi in calpoleque, no ce xivitl in moçaoa cenca no motolinia,

vel vmpa onqujça in netoliniliztli, vel totoneoa, vel chichichina yn jniollo, in jnnacaio, vel iniacacpa quiquujça in jnnetoliniliz injc ce xivitl quitlaça moçaoa, injc mocexiuhcaoa, ice tlacatl ceioal quitlaça in tlatlatia, in tlavia, cenca miec in polivi intlatlatil quavitl icxioal, yoan miec in ocotl tzomonquj, injc tlaviloia, yoi quinextiaia, chilli, tomatl, iztal, aiocochtli, yoan atl, tlaqualli.

auh in aoc tle itlacoaia, itech quioallaçaia in jtilmatzin, injc tlacoa, anoço quinamaca itlal, in quioalteaçia, anoço canah temac motlolia, canah netlacujlli quichioa: auh injc quichioaia ipampa tlalli in quexquich quichioa in calpollali, yoan in chinamitl, in chinahtlalli, in teuhtlalli, anoço xinmilli ie in ipan tequjtia:

auh in aquja in amo conieconia tequid, ic quica-

20. The meaning of the term *teqpalo* may be either image or impersonator. The context of this passage, in both the Nahuatl and Spanish versions, suggests the impersonator here the image or the Mint Master, where the keeper of the god (*teotlac*) bathed the image; either he bathed also the impersonator, or the latter bathed himself. The impersonator then took up the image.

4: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

[p. 36(C)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a roadside shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sorcerer (Chapter IX)

[p. 36 (D)]

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De la astrologia

SEVENTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SUN, AND THE MOON, AND THE STARS;[1] AND OF [THE CEREMONY] OF THE BINDING OF THE YEARS.

JNIC CHICOME AMOSTLI, ITECHPA TLATOA IN TONATIUH: YOAN IN METZTLI, YOAN IN ÇIÇITLALTI, YOAN IN TOXIMOLPIA.

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First Chapter, which telleth of the sun.

The sun: [illegible]ering eagle,[2] the turquoise prince, the god.

He shone, cast forth light, sent forth rays [of light] from himself. Hot, he burned men—he burned them exceedingly; and made them sweat. He turned men's skins brown, darkening them, blackening them, blistering them.

Every two hundred and sixty days, when his feast day came, then his festival was honored and celebrated. They observed it on his day sign, called Naui olin. And before his feast day had come, first, for four days, all fasted. And when it was already his feast day, when first he came forth, when he emerged and appeared, incense was offered and burned; blood [from the ears] was offered. This was done four times during the day—when it was dawn; and at noon; and past midday, when already [the sun] hung [low]; and when he entered [his house]—when he set; when he ended [his course].

And early in the morning it was said: "Now he will work; note the sun will labor. How will the day end?" And when night fell, it was said: "He hath worked; the sun hath labored." When he issued forth [at dawn], sometimes he was blood-colored, bright red, ruby-red. And sometimes he was quite pale, white-faced, pallid, because of the clouds—a mist, a

Inic ce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in tonatiuh.

Tonatiuh, quauhtleonitl, xippilli, teutl.

Tona, tlanestia, motonameiotia: totonequi, tetlati, tetlaclati, teitoni: teistlileuh, teistlilo, teiacapotzo, teistlecaleuh.

Matlacpoaltica, ipan epoalli, in ilhuiuhqpiçaia: in ilhuichiuhlioia, ilhuiquiztlilioia: ipá quimattiuia, in itonal itoca naolin. Auh in aiamo quiça ilhuiuh: achtopa, nauilhuitl, neçaoaloia. Auh in icoac ie ipan ilhuiuh, in icoac iancilitzan, oalquiza, oalmomana, oalpetzini: tlenamacoia, tlatotonilo, neçoa. In hin, muchioaia nappa, cemilhuitl: icoac in ioatzinco, ioã nepãtla tonatiuh, ioan icoac in ie onmotacaloa, in ie onmopiloa; ioã icoac in oncalaqui, in onaqui, in oanmotzincoa.

Auh in ioatzinco, mitoaia: ca ie tequitia, ie tlacotix in tonatiuh; ¢pan vetzia in cemilhuitl. Auh in oioac, mitoaia: otequit, oclacotic in tonatiuh: inic oalmomana, in quenman uel eztic, chichiltic, tlapaltic. Auh in quenman, çan iztalectic çan cantontac, çan cocotiuh: içompa in mieti, in mixtaiauitl, anaçu mixpantl, mixtecaçuilli, in iaco moteca.

1. The reader is referred to the Introduction and notes, in this Appendix to this book, where from Francisco Pino y Tamayo, ed.: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España por Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: edición parcial en facsímile de los códices matritenses en lengua mexicana* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1927).

2. [illegible] eagle with the fiery arrows, according to Rémi Simeon: *Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885).

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heavy pall, or clouds of many colors—which were spread before his face.

Eclipse of the Sun

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When this came to pass, he turned red; he became restless and troubled. He faltered and became very yellow. Then there were a tumult and disorder. All were disquieted, unnerved, frightened. There was weeping. The common folk raised a cry, lifting their voices, making a great din, calling out, shrieking. There was shouting everywhere. People of light complexion[1] were slain [as sacrifices]; captives were killed. All offered their blood; they drew straws through the lobes of their ears, which had been pierced. And in all the temples there was the singing of fitting chants; there was an uproar; there were war cries. It was thus said: "If the eclipse of the sun is complete, it will be dark forever! The demons of darkness will come down; they will eat men!"

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Tonatiuh quaia.

In iconac machiua, y, chichilihtiztomaua: aoc tlaca manj, aoc tlaca ca, ca motecuepiuanj: ofca tlacoçauia: niman ic tlatzomonj, tlaçal comonj: neacomanalo, necomonjlo, nemauhtilo, nechoquililo, tlachoquiztleua in macoualti: netenujteco, netempapaujlo, tlacacaca, tlacacazalo, tzatzioa: oiccalli moteca, Tlacatzalmicqa, malmicoa, neçoa tlacoquistilo: nemacazteco: ouh in teteupan, xauchcuico, tlachalantoc, tlacaoacatoc: ic mitoaia, intla tlamiz, in quale tonatiuh: cenplaiouac: oahcmauqui, in tzizitzimi, tequaquini.

1. Theoretically, however, the corresponding passage in the Mexicanos are similar (Appendix to this volume), where the phrase is translated "*Sacrifices de cuitlaxcos blancos y cuyos blancos.*"

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Tenth Chapter, wherein is described the disposition of those who kept watch when the new fire appeared.

At nightfall, from here in Mexico, they departed. All the fire priests were arranged in order, arrayed in and wearing the garb of the gods. Each one represented and was the likeness of perhaps Quetzalcoatl, or Tlaloc, etc., or whichever one he went representing. Very deliberately, very stately, they proceeded, were spread out, and slowly moved. It was said: "They walk like gods." Thus, in deep night, they arrived there at Uixachtlan.

And the one who was the fire priest of Copulco, who drew new fire, then began there. With his hands he proceeded to bore continuously his fire drill; he went about making trials with his drill, the fire-maker.

And when it came to pass that night fell, all were frightened and filled with dread. Thus was it said: it was claimed that if fire could not be drawn, then [the sun] would be destroyed forever; all would be ended; there would evermore be night. Nevermore would the sun come forth. Night would prevail forever, and the demons of darkness would descend, to eat men.

Hence everyone ascended the terraces; all went upon the housetops. None remained in their houses, on the ground below. And women with child put on masks of maguey leaves and took up their maguey-leaf masks. [They] placed [the women] in granaries, for they were looked upon with fear. It was said and claimed that if, truly, the new fire were not drawn, these also would eat men; [for] they would be changed into fierce beasts.

And the small children they likewise masked with maguey leaves. In truth, none [of them] could sleep, or close, shut, or [even] half-close their eyes. From time to time their mothers and fathers were [there with them]; they kept waking them, punching and nudging them, calling out to them. They woke, rubbed, and nudged them. Because if they were to

Inic matlactli capítulo, vncan motenoua, in tlatecpanilizti: in quipiaia, inic ilcuic tletl necia.

Ic tlapoiaoa, in nican oncoia mexico: motecpantiuia muchimi in tletlenamacacac, muchiçiuhtimi, omonaquia in intlaqui tetzu: in cecenisca ipan mizenaia, quinmixiptlatiaia, in aço quetzalcoatl, anoço tlaloc et' in çaço ac ichoatl ipan quintiuia, cenca çan iislic, cenca çan iuian in iztiuiia, onotiuiia, mantiuiia: motenoua, teumenemi, inic uellaquauhiova onaci, vmpa uixachtlã.

Auh in ichoatl copolco tlenamacac, in tlequauhtlaqui: niman nican quipeoaltia, in imac quimamaltiuh itlequauh: quichecotiuh ica in imamaliooca, in itlaçaloca.

In iqoac, y, oiooac, cenca nemauhtiloia, tlatenmachoia: iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlacamo, uel vetziz tlequauitl: vncan cempoliooaz, centlamoaz, centlaioaz, aocmo ualquiçaz in tonatiuh: ie ic centlaioca, ualtemouaque ih tzitzitzimi, tequaquisi:

ic muchi tlacatl itlapanco tlecoia, netlapantemaloia, socac tlalchi, tlatzinda, cali mocaoaia, motlaliaia. Auh in ootzti, momexaiacatiaia, inmemexaiac quicuia, yoan cuezcomac quiotlaliaia: ipampa mauhcaitoia, iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlaca uel uetzi tlequauitl: no ichoatzin tequaque, motequiçcepaque.

Auh in pipiltotõi, no quinmemexaiacatiaia: niac vel oncochia, oncopia, onmiqiquia, onjurnoaloaia: çan ic cate in innãhoaa, in intahoã, quimixiticate, quintipinitiicate, quintilotiicate, quintzatzilitiicate, quimixitiia, quintipinia, quintilos: ipampa intla oncochizque, quilmach quiquimichtin ualcuepaque, quimichtiaque.

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sleep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uixachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

[185] Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and spattered the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and spattered it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

[182] Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *iequanac*. Etc.

Ic ça miscauja, mocemmati in ontlachieloteoc, in omizzoteoc, in ōnequechanotoc, uixachtecatl iicpac: iquich tlacatl vmpa ontlatenmati, ōmotemachia, in quēmanja uetzi tlequauitl, in quēmania oalcueponi, oalpetzini. Auh in icoac, oquenteltzin vel uetz, in onopiztz, in oxotlac: çatepan ic cuetlani, cueponi, nouiian ōnoti, oalitto in vēca.

Niman ic muchi tlacatl monacaztectiuetzi, contlatzizicuinilia ixquichcapa in tletl: in manel coçolco onoc no connacaztequi, concuilia iniezço, contzitzicuinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca muchi tlacatl tlamaceoa,

ic conchetequi, in jelpan ontlequauhtlaxoc, conelcoionja in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca isquaoac. etc.[a]

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Eleventh Chapter, in which is told what they did when it was seen and was evident that the new fire burst out.

Inic matlacpoloce capitulo, vncan mitoa: in tlein quichioaia, in icoac omottac, onez, in ocuepon iãcuic tletl.

And then everyone—the priests and fire priests—took the fire from there. [Having come] from all directions, the fire priests of Mexico had been sent there, charged with the task, as well as those who had come from distant [places] everywhere—messengers and runners. For these were all only chosen ones, strong warriors, valiant men, picked as best; the fleet, the swift, who could run like the wind. Because through them they could quickly have fire come to their cities.

Auh quinicoac, isquich tlacatl vmpa tlecui, in tlamacaxque, in tletlenamacaque: inic ic nouiiampa vmpa oioaloque, oisquetzaloque, in mexico tlenamacaque, yoan in ic nouiian veca oaleoa, titlanti, tlaioaltin: ca çan much ichoan in pepenaloia, chicaoaque, in oquichtin, in tiacaoan in tlatzonanti, in painanj, in tlaçani, in iubqui hecatoca ic motlaioa: ipampa inic iciuhca, caxititiuetzizque tletl imaltepeuh ipan:

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First, the fire brand was prepared and adorned. It was called *tlepilli*. And this the fire priests brought. Before [doing] anything else, they took it up, direct, to the top of the temple [pyramid], where was kept the image of Uitzilopochtli, and placed it in the fire holder.[16] Then they scattered and strewed white incense [over it]. And then they came down, and, also before [doing] anything further, they brought and took it direct to the priests' house, the place named Mexico.[17] Later, this was dispersed, and fires were started everywhere in each priests' house and each tribal temple; whereupon it went everywhere to each of the young men's houses. At that time all of the common folk came to the flame, hurled themselves at it, and blistered themselves as fire was taken. When thus the fire had been quickly distributed everywhere among them, each one laid a fire, and was quieted in his heart.

ca achtopa ic nenemachtiloia, muchichioaia in tlecuioani: itoca tlepilli. Auh ieehoatl, ic quioalaxitiaia in tlenamacaque: oc ie achto, vmpa quitlecauiaia, quitlamelaoaltiaia in iicpac teucalli: in vmpa mopieia ixiptla vitzilobuchtli, tlequazco contlaliaia: nimã ic contepeoa, contoxaoa in iztac copalli. Auh niman ic oalteemo, oc ie no achto, vmpa quitqui, quitlamelaualtia in calmecac, itocaiocã mexico: ic çatepan moiaoa, tletletlalilo in nouiian cacalmecac, cacalpuico: niman ic ic iauh, in nouiian tetelpuchcalli. Ie vncan in isquich onxoquiui, onmotepeoa, ontapaliui maceoalli, in motlecuilia: icoac ic nouiian, tepan moiaoatiuetzi in tletl netletletlalilolo, neioiollalilo.

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This same all the village fire priests did. That is, they carried the fire and made it hasten. Much did they goad [the runners] and make them hurry, so that they might speedily bring it to their homes. They hurried to give it to one another and take it from one another; in this way they went alternating with one another. Without delay, with ease, in a

Çã no iuh quichioa, in isquich altepeoa tlenamacac: inic quitquia, quinenemitiaia tletl, cẽca quitototzaia, quimotlalochtiaia: inic iciuhca caxitizque inchan, quimoenamacatiquiça, quimocuicuilitiquiça: ic mopapatlatiui. Amo uecauh, amo machiztli, çan isquich cauitl, y, in conaxitiaia, in quicueponaltiaia: çan achiccaca in nouiiampa, cuecuepocatimoteca

16. "Vn candelero, hecho de cal y canto, puesto delante del ydolo"—corresponding Spanish text.

17. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, then explains this distribution: "I de alli tornaui y llevauan al aposento de los mayordomos, que se dizen mandones: y despues a otros aposentos, de los dichos mandones, de ydolos: y de alli tornauan, y llevauan todos por ministros, de la ciudad."

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short time they caused it to come and made it flare up. In a short time everywhere fires burst forth and flared up quickly. Also there they first carried and brought it direct to their temples, their priests' houses, and each of their tribal temples. Later it was divided and spread among all everywhere in each neighborhood and in the houses.

tletl, cuecuepocaiquiça: no vmpa achto quinquiniquiça, quitlamelaoaltiuetzi in iteopan, in iocalmecac, in iocacalpulco: çatepan ic moiaoa, tepan cõmani in nouiian tlãtlaxilacalpan, yoan in calpan.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pestles. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new skirts and shifts.

Thus it was said that truly the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For thus it is ended; thus sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were decapitated, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense ladle, and raised it in dedication to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Thus was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth seed cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were bidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then captives and ceremonially bathed ones died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again fires were newly laid and placed.

And [as for] the pregnant women, who had been feared, if any of them then gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born as her child, they named him *Molpilli*, Xiuhtlalpil, Xiuhtzitzqui, Xiuhtli, Texiuh, Xiuhelatlac, Quetzalxiuh, Xiuhquen, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhnenetl, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcoçol, etc.

And when, in the time of Moctezuma, our years were bound, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] *xiuitl*. Wherewhere [he was], this one was to be seized. And one was taken—a man from Uexotzinco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Inic matlactlomome, capitulo, vncan mitoa: in quenin in isquich tlacatl, in icoac omocuic in iancuic tlell: auh in icoac, y, muchi tlacatl, quiilcuilloia in itlaquen, yoan in isquich calitlatquitl.

Niman icoac, isquich iancuiia, in calitlatquitl: . oquichtlatquitl, in cioatlatquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuetli, in icpalli: muchi iancuic in motetreca, ioli in tenamastli, in tezolotl. No iquac iancuic nequentilo, nelpililo in tilmatli: in cioatl, iancuic ommaquia, in incue, in inuipil. 372

Ic mitoa, ca nel iancuic onpeoa in xiuitl: papacoa, netlamachtilo: yoan quitoaia, ca ic oquiz, ic otechtlalcaui in cocoliztli, in maianaliztli. Niman ic cocopaltemalo, tlacotonalo, tlenamaco: concui in tlemaitl, nauhcampa coniiaoa in ithoalco, çatepan contema tlexicco, inic otlenamacoc copalli: [782]

nimã ic ic necpan tzotzoonalqualo, vncan ic neçaoaliztlalhuilo, inic aiac atliz, ic centlathuiz: quincenmomatiuiia in nepantla tonatiuh. Auh in oacic, nepantla tonatiuh, niman ic miqui in mamalti, yoan tlaltilti: quinicoac cenpapacoa, tlãtlaqualo: icoac oc ceppa ikcuican netlẽtlecuiltilo, netlẽtlecuillalililo. [785]

Auh in oimacaxxoia ootzti, intla aca icoac omixiuh, otlacachiuh: intla oquichtli iconcuh otlacat, quitocaiotiaia molpili, xiuhtlalpil, xiuhtzitzqui, xiuhtli, texiuh, xiuhelatlac, quetzalxiuh, xiuhquen. Etc.[a] Auh intla cioatl, xiuhnenetl, xiuhcue, xiuhcoçol. Etc.[a] [551]

Auh in icoac, ipan muchiuh motecuçoma, tonaiuhmolpili cenca nouiian ic tlamaoati, inic temokos malli: in iioca xiuitl, in çaço campa itl anoc. Auh oc axioac ueiptzincatl, tlaçopilli: iioca xiuhtlamin, tlatibulco malli muchiuh: in tlamaoj iioca itocain, auh ic tocaiotiloc, ic notzaloc xiuhtlaminiani: ca ichcatl 796 372 782

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[See cat. 116, p. 27 — Analyst]

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and became a captive at Tlatilulco. The captor was named Itzcuin, and henceforth he was known as and called "Captor of Xiuhtlamin."[19] For on the breast of his captive fire was drawn by the drill, and all his body was consumed in the fire. And they made [the victim's] image of pure amaranth seed dough, so that it might represent him; they set cooked grains of maize upon it, so that they could give it to the people to eat.

ielpan uetz, in tlequauitl imal, muchi tleco tlan in jnacaio: auh ça tzoholli, inic quixiptlaioti, in ipan quipouh: tlaolpacoatli ipan quitlatlali, inic quitequalti.

19. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún writes: "Los tomaba un hombre de nombre, muy guerrero, el cual se decía, xiuhtlamqui y le tenía en la guerra, un cuchillo de dardillos, que este cuchillo llamaban por lo cual después, le llamaron a él, xiuhtlamqueuqui. . . ." In Jones, op. cit., p. 79, the passage is translated: "And about him an elder Mexican and Tlatelolcan, elder Mexican warriors Xiuhqui, Xiuhtlamin and Mexuen, and Tlatelolcan, due some Kriegsgefangenen der Mexiker nahm, der Name hier und der dementsprechend der Mexica erhielt und Xiuhtlamqueuqui genannt wurde."

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire on the breast of a sacrificial victim.
17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to homes
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

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643]

[366
262]
415]

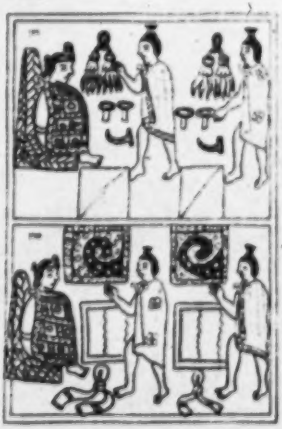

[643
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquicanomoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecuciztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [795] [791] [276 415]

[534]

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moxtlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiujtze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Amerikanischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form *tetoni*: "*Da es im Text dreymaigen bezeichnet, die den Copalbeutel tragen, wird es sich um Priester handeln.*" The term *demonyonio* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlaut sie mit einer Schnur.*"

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he danced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimã ye ic quimaca im moteccuiçoma in tlauiztli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech pouia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicauaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him. up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuã quinchiuaya. Auh niman cõmaca ỹ yocotzonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo ẹenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in imal. uel ispã im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ỹ ye iuhqui in oçic-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli mihtouaya teooctli. inic quitq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in õya. niman ic coniaua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cõmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in õya. niman ic cõuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço nauitlacatl in q'moychecultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman õmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca ommaquetztiteca niman ic conelteq' concuilia in iyollo coniauilia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti*; they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui ommicouac. nimã ye ic mihtotia 796
in tlauahuanqz in otemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. 727
in ipan mihtotia cecentetl in tzontecomatl intlan 793
caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca
q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuãtin ypilhuã in omicqz.

auh i yeuatl malli nimã ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui
ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui][5] in ieuayo. in is-
quichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in ime-
uayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco.
inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauiztopil. auh
no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan
miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl
in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youã im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle 796
inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani
in quemmã ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz
niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh
in tiacaua nimã ye ic no motecpana q'misnaqictimo-
mana in tototecti. aço nauhimapa. in motztimani. auh
nimã ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa õuetzi in toto-
tecti q'moncotonilia in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mo-
cotoniliqz nimã ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa
q'mõmana in innemanaya in itocayocã totectzonte-
contitlã oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl
q'mocaua.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimã ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz 796
in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techã. uel 431
nouian calaq̃ auh im maceualli ye iuhca ỹyollo quin- 262
chie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallascalli.
ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepanca-
calaq' in ontlaçotlalo.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa
quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlaeuã. in queheua cõ-
maca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl.
aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc.
momoztlae yui.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

●796 And when they had come to [the end of] the twenty days, thereupon they went to Yopico. There they laid away their skins; then they cast them down in a cave, a very deep place, and there buried them.

ṣuh in oociqz cempoualilhuid nimã ye ic ui i yopihco. ompa quitlalia in imeuayo niman contepeua oztoc uel huecatlã ompa contoca.

Nineteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards commanded the Mexicans to observe the Feast of Uitzilopochtli; yet this came to pass not in the presence of the Captain, for at that time he had gone to the coast where Pánfilo de Narvéz had arrived.

And thereafter [Pedro de Alvarado] [1] then asked, as to the Feast of Uitzilopochtli, how the festival [was celebrated]. He wished to marvel at and see how and in what manner it was done. Thereupon Moctezuma issued the command. Those of his vassals who had access to him brought forth the word.[2]

And when the behest had come forth from where Moctezuma was imprisoned, thereupon the women who had fasted for a year ground the amaranth and prickly poppy[3] seed there in the temple courtyard. The Spaniards appeared, decked with great war array; they were dressed in battle gear, bedight as warriors. They came into [the group], walked among them, encircled them, looked at each one—stared into the faces of the grinding women. And after this, when they had come to see them, they then entered the great palace. As is known, they say that at that time they would have slain them if many of us warriors should have been assembled.

And when the Feast of Toxcatl had arrived, toward sundown they began to give man's form to the body [of the amaranth seed dough image of Uitzilopochtli]. They formed it, and gave it the look and appearance of a man. And of this one they fashioned the body only of a dough of amaranth seed and of fish amaranth seed.[4] They formed him on a framework of twigs—[the framework of] Uitzil [opochtli; one laid in] angles.[5]

Injc caxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles, quinnaxotiquc Mexica: injc quj-chioanque iiijlhujuh vitzilobuchtli: auh inin amo ixpan muchiuh in Capitan: ca iquac in vmpa ia xtenco injc acico Panphilo de narbayez.

Auh çatepan, njman ie ic qujtlanj in jilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in quenamj ilhujuh, qujmaviçoznequj qujttaznequj, in quenamj, in quenjn muchioa: njmã ie ic tlanaxotia in Motecuçoma, in aqujque vel oconcalaquj itechiuhcaoan, qujoalqujxtiaia in tlatolli.

Auh in ovalquja tlatolli in vmpa caltzacutica motecuçoma: njman ie ic qujteci in oauhtli chicalutl in cioa, mocexiuhçauhque, vncã in teuitoalco, oalqujzque in Españoles, cenca onocezencauhq̃ in jca iautlatqujtl, moixuchichiuhque, moqujchichiuhque, intlan qujqujça, intzalan qujqujça, qujniaiavaloa, qujnceczmjtta, imjxco tlatlachia in teci cioa. Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmonjttaco, njmã je ic calaquj in vei tecpan, iuh machiztic: qujlmach iquac temjctinquja intla mjec tlacatl cenquijçani toqujchtin.

Auh in ie oacic ilhujtl in toxcatl, teutlacpa in quj-peoaltia in qujtlacatilia in jnacaio, qujtlacatlaliaia, qujtlacatlachichiaia, qujtlacanextia. Auh inin qujnacaiotiaia çan tzoalli, ie in mjchioauhtzoalli, tlacopechpan in qujtlaliaia, ie in vitzitzillacutl, yoã nacaztlacatl.

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1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. J.-M.-A. Aubin: *Histoire de la nation mexicaine . . . reproduction du Codex de 1576* (Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1893), pp. 89-94, where the narrative of the Conquest contains a different version.
3. *Chicalote*: cf. Hernández, op. cit., III, pp. 302-305 (*chicalotl* = *cepina*; "cardo," *Argemone mexicana L.*); Santamaría, op. cit., I, p. 422 (*chicalote*); Simeon, op. cit., p. 243 (*amaranto desgranado al Mexico*); Cecilio Robelo Manchón: *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1897), pp. 137-138 (poppy family — *Argemone grandiflora*).
4. *Sahagún*, in *Biblioteca Mexicana*, p. 101, n. 1, citing Sahagún, III, 1, §2. *Mexicanos antiguamente* = *chicalotl*. See also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 62.
5. Textual correspondence from Mgr. Angel María Garibay and Byron McAfee, Mex., 1954: "Y a este le hacen su cuerpo con *tlaolo*, con *Maíz de chicalote* (*Argemone mexicana*, esp. *Lehmann*). De un armazón de varas le ponen; así el armazón de *Huitzil* (*opochtli*), y el armazón de *amaranto*." Texto authentico explica: "Le hacen *cuerpo*, o sea 'varas de *Huitzil*,' porque está formado de palos delgados y cortados del amaranto que es maíces duros y lígeros (*amaranthus* in *Dorbelli*), y el maíces del *chicalote* (*Argemone mexicana*, esp. *Lehmann*). Se hacía también con el amaranto comido. *Huitzilli* es 'ovejo, *cuyuelo*,' y 'varas de *cuyuelo*' porque que era el armadijo, o aparato que construíaíbe de varas tejidas o ensamladas en forma de pedazo *dargado* y trasvasado. Sobre este armadio se ponía los *Maíces* o *tortillas* de bastedi, que eran precisamente de la planta dicha. Llamaba también *Huitzilli*, 'Maíces de pescado.' Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 62; Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), I, p. 137, or Sahagún (Acosta S. ed.), I, p. 153.

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778 And when he had already taken shape, then they pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After
[237] that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was
[532] wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and
[289] members [of men: it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was] only of paper: it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife at the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

Auh in ie utlacat, njmã qujquapotonja, yoan qujchioa, ixtlã tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxivitl in tlaçalolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl, teucujtlatl xoxopiltic, tlaxoxopiltectli, yoã yiacapilol, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlateicujlolli: no itech pilcaia moteneoa vitznaoajutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan têcuxtli yoã icpac conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmã contoqujlia, itoca anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmã ie ic in tozpololli icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuexpalli, yoã itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmolototica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncã icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapachtli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujttli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli texoacaxilquj, auh injquezpan qujmamantjcatca iacatecpaio: in jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan ichimal iericaotlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauhcan tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapanquj, moteneoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic qujcentzitzquja in ichimal yoan iopochmacuex imacpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pilcatica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates *la ortiga* (*Urtica sp.!*); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica* sp.; others are *Urtica dioica*, var. *angustifolia*, *Barnaphadon*/*segundo* Kostas Chaity ("*quemadura*," "*ortiga*"); and *W. urenens*. H. B. K. ("*ortiga de tierra caliente*"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496, writes of *chichicastle*: "*la ortiga ureruente. . . . La especie principal es la* Jatropha urens L. . . . *En México, planta herbácea, semiarpadora, común en las tierras cálidas y templada*" (*Mikania denticulata*, *Eupatorium denticulatum*). Also, "*Planta urticácea, llamada también ortiga, mal hombre, mala mujer, quemador, chichicastillo, tlachinole, en México.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — chichicastli (*Urera urenuema* [Jacq.] Griseb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *ixvi*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 506, has supplied *-ocelo*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the omission is *-maxtli*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 60, *amatl-amatl* is given as "coarse, thickly fibered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bell's horn acacia (*Acacia cornigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia amatl-amatl, que es la capa de libro de algunos árboles del género ficus. Servía de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer los adornos, vestidos y otros objetos que el cabo de los dioses requería.*"

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *tewewelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Yoan is repeated in the MS.

796 778 [283]

Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti qujtlenamaquilia, ixpan qujmana in izqujcan ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo qujtlecavique, aocmo cacoqujxtique in itepeioc: auh in ixqujch tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhqujn nececẽquetzalo, iuhqujn in iocolipã in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, injc qujntlattitizque, qujntlamaviçoltizq̃, qujntlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa izziova in teuitcalco, injc vmpa necocololoz. Auh in ocecenqujxoac: njmã ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan necocololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aqujn qujçaznequj ic qujtlaiciecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aqujn maxixaz qujtlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaztaxel. Auh in aqujn çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic qujcujtlavitequj, qujmetzvitequj, cacullhujtequj, caliticpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacnaoati:

796 778 [283] [785] [282] [314] [688]

cenca ichoã tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel qujçaia, amo qujntzacujliaia: auh in ie ixqujch telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocolleque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in moteneoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no qujntzaquaia: qujmjlhujaia, vmpa xiviã on nocne, anqujteittitia, amo techitto.

[785] [302]

[p. 52 is blank]

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796 778 **Twentieth Chapter.** Here is told how the Spaniards[1] slew and destroyed the Mexicans who were celebrating the Feast of Uitzilopochtli in the place called the Temple Courtyard.

Injc cempoalli capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles qujnmjctique, qujmjxtlatique in Mexica, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia Vitzilobuchtli in vncã mjtoaia Teuitoalco.

726 And after this, when already the feast was taking place, all were dancing and singing, and there was song with dance. The song roared.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ie ilhujtlamacho, in ie netotilo in ie cujco, in ie cujcoanolo: in cujcatl, iuhqujn xaxamacatimanj.

When now it was time, and the moment was opportune for the Spaniards to slay them, then they issued forth girt for battle; they came to block everywhere the ways leading out and in, [called] Quauhquiauac, Tecpantzinco, Acatl yiacapan, and Tezcacoac.[2] And when they had closed them off and also various [other] places, [the people] were contained, [so that] nowhere could they get out.

In ie inmã, in otlainmantic injc temjctizque in Españoles: njman ie ic oalqujça omoiauclichiuhque, ocontzatzaquaco, in jzqujcampa qujxoaia, calacoaia, in quauhqujiaoac tecpantzinco, acatl yiacapan, Tezcacoac. Auh in ocõtzatzacque: no izqujcã momanque, aocac vel hoalqujça.

And this having been done, they then entered the temple courtyard to slay them. They whose task it was to kill them went only afoot, each with [his] leather shield, some with their iron-studded shields, and each with iron sword. Then they surrounded those who danced whereupon they went among the drums. Then they struck the arms of the one who beat the drums; they severed both his hands, and afterwards struck his neck, [so that] his neck [and head] flew off, falling far away. Then they pierced them all with iron lances, and they struck each with the iron swords. Of some they slashed open the back, and then their entrails gushed out. Of some, they split the head; they hacked their heads to pieces; their heads were completely cut up. And of some they hit the shoulder; they split open and cut their bodies to pieces. Some they struck in the shank; some on the thigh. Of some, they struck the belly, and then their entrails streamed forth. And when one in vain would run, he would only drag his entrails like something raw, as he tried to flee. Nowhere could he go. And one who tried to go out, there they struck and pierced him.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic calaquj in teuitoalco in temjctizque: in intequjuh in temjctique çan tlacxipãvia imeevachimal, cequj intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: njman ie ic qujniaoaloa in mjtotia, njmã ie ic vi in vevetitlan, njmã qujmavitecque in tlatzotzona oalcocoton vmexti in jmacpal çatepan qujquechvitecque veca vetzito in jquech: njmã ie muchintin texixili tepuztopiltica, yoan teviviteque tepuzmaquauhtica: cequjntin qujncujtlaço. njman valmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcol, cequjntin qujnquatzatzaianque, vel qujtzeltilique in intzontecon, vel itzeltix in intzõtecõ. Auh in cequjntin qujmaculhujtecque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequjntin qujncotzvivitecque, cequjn qujnmetzvivitecque, cequjntin qujmjtivitecque, njmã moch oalmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcul. Auh in aca oc nen motlaloa in jcujtlaxcul, ça qujvilana, iuhqujn xoxoqujova in momaqujxtiznequj, aoc campa vel huj: auh in aqujn qujçaznequj, vmpa qujoalhujtequj, qujvalxixili.

But some climbed the wall, and so succeeded in taking flight. Some entered the various tribal temples, and there escaped. And some eluded [the

Auh cequjntin, tepantli qujtlecavique, tel huel momaqujxtiq: cequjntin calpulco cacalacque vmpa momaqujxtique. Auh in cequjntin intlan momaq'x-

1. In the Codex, the slide is omitted.

2. These were, respectively, the south gate of the main temple square (see map) to the Iztapalapan road; the west gate to the Tlacopán road; and, probably, the north and east gates. — Cline, *Barrier antiquos*.

●796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter.** Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiuhq̃ in jquac oquj̃zque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237 on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oacic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujqujxtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn ixqujch in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ie no ceppa qujncecencauhque, qujntlaquentique, qujnquequetzallotique, qujncocozcatique, qujmonaaqujque xiuhxaiacatl, yoan qujnquequentia in teuquemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in toxquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatqujtl in monec, qujpiaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they
805 also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpanjztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman qujoaltoqujlia in Tlasuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã qujvaltoqujlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eoa. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjcque tulteca acaloco.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ie no ceppa qujçaco, in ie no ceppa tiqujmjttaque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in qujçaco, ommotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchicomjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoaltito. Auh ie no ceppa qujçaco, çan qujztiqujzque quauhtitlampa itztiaque: çan tequjtl ontemjctitiqujzque in

1. So the Aztec reads (*compañeros*: see Molina, *op. cit.*, *compañero*, *compañica*). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, in conform with custom in observance of feast days (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. See variant translation in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

3. The fifteenth and sixteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22]

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa-

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maitres du temple et du *collège militaire*, . . . " The boy (Mexican "piltonth") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97).

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España," in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad. sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "captains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness."

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.)

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castel-"lanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and
702 learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster
[721] and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlat-
702 ilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

702 These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious
726 character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding
712 temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al atro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 259 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

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Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[51]

648 439 574 609

nte (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta, Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 236, 237, 238. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241–243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

[51] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 25, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Muteczuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,600 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 534, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico had to entertain (Cap. XX, pp. 175 and 176. Cap. XXIII, p. 195. The chiefs of Tezcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xuchimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fuéron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 416–421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholullan, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mesmo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 439). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 33. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "*y* los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandoles, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necessario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándolos para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendóles en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *llamarlos cada dia al palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 65). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 128).

[796]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

631 of social organization. The confederacy of tribes, as we have
648 already shown, carried no influence whatever on the organization.

no era menor señor el Caconci de Mechuacan, y otros que reconoscian al uno ni al otro." We quote this passage merely as a general illustration.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva-España, published by Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, in 1829 (Vol. II. lib. VIII, cap. III. p. 276), "El cuarto señor de Tezcoco se llamó Netzahoalcoiotzin, y reinó setenta y un años, y en tiempo de este se comenzaron las guerras, y tuvo el señorio de Tezcoco siendo señor del de México Itzcoatzin, y estos entrambos hicieron guerra á los de Tecpaneca, de Atzcaptzalco, y á otros pueblos y provincias, y el fué fundador del señorio de Tezcoco in Acolhoacan." (Id. Vol. III. lib. XII. cap. XLI, page 59, close of chapter.)

Fray Diego Durán. Historia de las Yndias de Nueva España é Islas de Tierra Firme. Published by Sr. José Fernandez Ramirez at Mexico, in 1867, (Cap. XIV, p. 123). "El rey Itzcoatl, aunque mal dispuesto, holgó de la victoria y dió las gracias á todos los señores y principales, al qual, agravándosele la enfermedad, entendiendo de se acertarsele la muerte, mandó llamar al Señor de Tezcuco, Neçaualcoyotl, pariente cercano suyo, y aconsejóle que no tuviese guerra con los Mexicanos, sus parientes y amigos, sino que antes se hiciese con ellos y fuese en su favor siempre: y dexó ordenado que desde en adelante fuese de Tezcuco el segundo rey de la comarca y el tercero el de Tacuba, á quien llamauan el rey de Tlalúacpan. . . ." (p. 124). ". . . y solo estos tres reynos mandaron y governaron la tierra, de hoy en adelante, siendo el de México sobre todos ellos, y casi como emperador y monarca del nueuo mundo." Nearly the whole of Cap. XV is devoted to the formation of the confederacy, but cannot be inserted here. The editor, Sr. J. F. Ramirez, appears to incline to the opinion, however, that there was a confederacy on equal terms, (note 2, p. 130). The same author also
● [796] states repeatedly that the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan sacrificed (slaughtered) captives at the chief teo-calli of Mexico, on very solemn occasions, together with the head-chief of Mexico, thus showing equal rights. (Cap. XXIII, p. 197 and others.) But his plainest statement is found (Cap. XLIII, p. 317), and reads as follows: "Algunos han querido decir quel reyno de Tezcuco era libre de todo reconocimiento y parias al monarca, y que en nada le era sujeto, lo qual allo al contrario en esta ystoria Mexicana; porque aunque á la verdad no tributauan á Mexico mántas ni joias ni plumas ni cosas de comida, como otras provincias tributauan, hallo empero á los Mexicanos metidos en las tierras tezcucanas donde sembraban y cogian, y algunos dellos hechos terrazgueros de los señores de México; y allo que en ofréciéndose estas fiestas y solenidades, daban tributo desclanos para ella, de lo qual ninguno estaua esento ni reservado. Tambien allo que ofréciéndose dar guerra á alguna ciudad y provincia, al primero que llamauan y acudian para que apercibiese sus gentes, era al rey de Tezcuco, y como abemos, notado en esta ystoria, le hacian venir á Mexico todas las veces que se ofrecia ocasion, loqual no era poca sujecion, dado que tuviese sus préeminencias y libertades de rey y señor de aquella provincia de Aculuacan; . . . ."

Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc. Crónica Mexicana. (9th Vol. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") This author agrees so closely with Durán in most instances, that we can dispense with full quotations. See Cap. XIX and XX, on the pretended conquest of Tezcuco by the Mexicans. Tezozomoc is very positive on the question of joint sacrifice (Cap. LXIX, p. 117). A singular remark is, however, found (Cap. XCVII. p. 172). After the Huexotzincas had sent delegates to Mexico to sue for
[728] peace, the Mexican council was called together: "dijo zihuacoatl resoluto: Señor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra los reyes de Aculhuacan-Nezahualpilli, y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi." This important incident shows that not even the Mexicans had the right to treat alone with a power hostile to the three tribes, consequently that the other two were their *confederates*, and *not their feudal vassals*. Fray Durán confirms the incident in chapter LX, p. 473, of his work, precedingly quoted.

Joseph de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, Madrid, 1608, derives his information from the same source as the two preceding, namely: the Codex Rami

805 reference to the circle. The third character was the
212 representation of a house, which they call Ce calli [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is placed to the south with reference to the circle. By means of these characters they counted fifty-two years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so describing circles by means of these characters, until
805 each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether, make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two
●796 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract,
372 or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn
x787 feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the
212 art of divination of the fortune or luck which those born would have, whether men or women. It was
x787 done in this way. They had twenty characters. The first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent, etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at the end of this Appendix.* They said that each of these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the number of days in which the sign or character
[443] reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days, and so there are, in each month, four weeks; and the *tianquiztli*, or markets, are fixed according to this number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by periods of five days they established the markets or fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days], but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in many places, they set the markets and fairs according to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llaman ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llaman ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres treze años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y ansi dando bueltas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliessen treze años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes treze que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servjr a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nueuo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las proujncias desta nueua españa fuego nueuo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de serujrlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o uentura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el qujnto coatl. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apēdiz: dezian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua treze dias, que todos juntos son dozientos y setenta [*sic*] dias. Algunos dizen que estos treze dias son semanas del mes y no es ansi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y ansi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [*sic*] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauā los mercados, o ferias, y ansi no tenjan semana, sino qujntana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entreponense los caracteres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es caña,

* See Plates 102-104.

Also at the opening of this count is placed the manner of counting the years, because these two counts are linked or matched.

Here followeth the reckoning of all the time-counts which those natives had.

The longest time-count which they reckoned was up to one hundred and four years. And this count they called a century.

Half of this count, fifty-two years, they called a bundle of years. This period of years they had reckoned from times past; it is not known when it began. But they considered it well established and a matter of belief that the world would come to an end at the conclusion of one of these bundles of years. They had a prophecy or oracle that at that time the movement of the heavens would cease, and they took as a sign [of this] the movement of the Pleiades. On the night of this feast, which they called Toximmolpilia [the Binding of the Years], it so befell that the Pleiades were at the zenith at midnight, with respect to the horizon in Mexico. On this night they made new fire, and before they made it, they extinguished all the fires in all the provinces, towns, and houses in all of this New Spain. And they went in a great and solemn procession. All of the priests and servants of the temple departed from here, the Temple of Mexico, during the first quarter of the night, and went to the summit of that mountain near Itztapalapan which they call Uixachtecatl. They reached the summit at midnight, or almost, where stood a great pyramid built for that ceremony. Having reached there, they looked at the Pleiades to see if they were at the zenith, and if they were not, they waited until they were. And when they saw that now they passed the zenith, they knew that the movement of the heavens had not ceased and that the end of the world was not then, but that they would have another fifty-two years, assured that the world would not come to an end.

At this hour a great multitude of people was on the mountains surrounding this province of Mexico —Texcoco, Xochimilco, and Quauhtitlan — waiting to see the new fire, which was a signal that the world would continue. And when the priests made the fire, with great ceremony, upon the pyramid on that mountain, then it was seen from all the surrounding

Tambien en el principio desta cuenta se pone la manera de contar de los años, porque estas dos cuentas andã vinculadas o pareadas. 805

La cuenta de todos los tiempos, que tenjan estos naturales, es la que se sigue.

La mayor cuenta de tiempo, que contauan era hasta ciento y quatro años, y a esta cuenta llamauan vn siglo,

a la mitad desta cuẽta, que son cincuenta y dos años llamauan vna gavilla de años, este tiempo de años, trayanla ab antiquo contados, no se sabe quando començo: pero tenjan por muy aueriguado, y como de fe, que el mũdo se auja de acabar en el fin de vna destas gabillas de años: y tenjan pronostico o oraculo, que entonce avia de cesar el moujmjento de los cielos, y tomauan por señal al moujmjento de las cabrillas: la noche desta fiesta, que ellos llamauan Toximmolpilia: de tal manera caya que las cabrillas, estauan en medio del cielo: a la media noche, en respecto deste orizonte mexicano. En esta noche sacauan fuego nueuo, y primero que los sacassen, apagauan todo el fuego, en todas las proujncias, pueblos, y casas de toda esta nueua españa: y iban con gran procession, y solemnidad. Todos los satrapas, y mjnjstros del templo: partian daquj del templo de mexico, a prima noche: y iban hasta la cumbre de aquel cerro, que esta cabe Itztapalapan: que ellos llaman Vixachtecatl, y llegauan a la cumbre a la media noche, o casi, donde estaua vn solemne cu, edificado para aquella cerimonja. Llegados alli, mjrauan a las cabrillas; si estauan en el medio, y si no estauan esperauan hasta que llegassen. Y quando vian, que ya passauan del medio, entendian que el moujmjento del cielo no cesaua, y que no era alli el fin del mundo, sino que avian de tener otros cincuenta y dos años, seguros, que no se acabaria el mundo. 805 787x 821 796 372

En esta hora estauan en los cerros circunstantes que cercan a toda esta proujncia de mexico, Texcuco, y Suchimjlco y quauhtitlan, gran cantidad de gente, esperando a ver el fuego nueuo; que era señal, que el mundo iba adelante, y como sacauan el fuego, los satrapas, con gran cerimonja, en el cu de aquel cerro: luego se parecia, en todo lo circunstante de los cerros: 796 372

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years — [the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
785 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
304 honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it
805 Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which they divided into eighteen months, to each of which
796 they assigned twenty days. And each of these months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and
443 during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la mjra, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y qujnjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y qujnjẽtos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y qujnjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrẽtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que haziã su bisexto, contando seis de nemontemj.

la otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en deziocho mèses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destós cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto qujn-

[still] another [town]. So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five-day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[4] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of error, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit than rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

4. See Plates 105 and 106.

tanario, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguja: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y haziagos: y ansi no hazian cuenta dellos para ninguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con todos los meses del año, y con todas las quintanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

805 796 443

Otra cuenta tenjan, entre naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quintanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan treze dias: en las quales reinaua uno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua treze dias, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son dozientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciessen. Es cuenta delicada, y muy mentirosa, y sin ninguna fundamento de astrologia natural. Porque el arte de la astrologia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursus y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que ninguna fundamento natural ay, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que ninguna hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en ninguna sciencia, nj en ninguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embuste o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erã muy honrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque ninguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por jerro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dizeron, y afirmaron falsamente.

805 212 787x

[see cat. 116, 117, 126r, 126s. - Analyst]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. 532
In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars 533 534
quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom 535
persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for [177 797]
they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

636 slavery. Now, after four hundred years, it seems that the present Republican government might achieve by means of their Indian education program the humane purpose formulated under the colonial system.

797 After 1520, when the Conquest was established, the Spaniards began the process of converting a matured Indian culture into a European one. The conquerors were granted lands and in return were supposed to exploit the new territory for the economic advantage of Spain. The Church had in its custody the education of the Indians and their spiritual and corporal welfare. The different monastic orders undertook the control of the Indians in specified localities. Their first steps were to eradicate the local idolatry and to learn the language and customs of their new charges, the better to accomplish conversion.[2]

The friars, especially selected for the task, showed great understanding. They immediately replaced one theological structure with another. The Indians tore down their temples to build churches and monasteries in their place. The use of statues and paintings in Catholic ritual answered so well the requirements of Aztec worship that the friars had great trouble in preventing adoration of the images themselves. (See Plate 26, middle.)

797 The studies that the friars made of the Indian customs
636 were admirable, with the Franciscans and Dominicans showing exceptional abilities.[3] The children of Indian tribal leaders were educated in schools to spread the gospel. Under this Spanish control there was no recognition of the old communal land tenure, so the Aztecs were frozen into possession of the lands that they occupied by tribal sanction. The chiefs who had held the usage of the official lands found

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec pictographic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[5]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

175 787 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiuitl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac polihuh oc ieh nauhxiuitl açiquijui in españoles

175 648 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochihuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçiquac injc quijpeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in nouijian in nican iancuic españa de mjll e quijujentos y deziueue.

175 731 648 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cuijtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhuijtl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchihuh in oalla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in ɪ.ouijian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej tonomonaliztli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onococoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, quitlacalhui in jxuiac: injc quijquiztic, chachaquachtic muchihuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcque, çɪ muchi atlan quijmontlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca ɪɪc..ijian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca thiaxtimomã, injc hijaxque mjmjcque.

175 648 797 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiuitl, ipan mochiuh: injc ichoantin españoles quijpeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in nouijian ic quijxoalotoc inqnich altepetl. Icoac tlãtocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipilhoan Sanct frãcisco, in quijtocaoaltico tlaxcotoquilistli: ioan quijtemachtique tlaneltoquilistli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquest—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactiomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiuitl iepan españoles nouijian iauqpiçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in iehuatl nonuan de guzman, quijuicac in vej culhoacan vmpa mjqujto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiuitl.

5. *Ça muerte atlan.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ce* for *ça*.
6. *Injpan:* *pr Inqpan* in *Ibid.*

4

175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctezuma.

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. [731] And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

● [797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

çuma: ioan quimacaque in jxquich in jnetlapaloaia, injn tetech açia, in teucujtlatl, ioan oc cequj.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in ichoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoiauchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in quinamjquito in caltenco, in vmpa xolloco, çan quipaccanamjquito: ioan quitlatlauhti, quitlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman quiujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jxquichtin españoles.

Auh in jquexquilhuiioc, in ichoatl capitan oquilpi in motecuçuma:

auh in jcoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in ichoatl capitan oquinnamjquito, cequintin quinuicac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan quicauhtia in don pedro aluarado, ioan oc cequintin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

Auh in jquac in oquix ilhuiuh vitzilobuchtli, in ichoatl don p° aluarado, ioan in espanoles in jtlan catca, mjiequintin, quinmictique in mexica, in quilhuiquittiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

Auh in jcoac in ocalmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjiequintin, quinoalhuicac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca quitototzaia in iauiotl.

Auh in jpan xiuitl 1520 icoac omic in motecuçuma, auh in ichoantin españoles, oquixque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocolitzli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaotioac: ioan cenca mjiequintin mjeque, in njcan tlaca.

In jpan xiuitl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcuco, uecauhtica quiniauchiuhque, quimpeuhque, quimjcalque, in mexica.

In jpan xiuitl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiauaca in xitinca in jpampa iauiutl

Auh in jpan xiuitl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmomen sact francisco padreme, in quinnelhuiquítique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

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us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—" Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797● [782 266] [838]

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648 them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their
●797 obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could
648 not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

721 AFTER the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

[1] *Acapillasen;* literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

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ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still 648
remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth, salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken.

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm would be done to them. They replied that within five days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it [643]
was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique] so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until he should receive other orders.

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was 797
reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety, he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking the truth; let them remember the lies which they told only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil, he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves we would do it for them. He also ordered them to white-wash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there.

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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 241 273 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they make their wine. They make very good pottery in the 323 438 city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain. 346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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648 reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

346 782 266 I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

•797 Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las [114] Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

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they will find it to be very different the one from the other. 797
I also wish to say that some good Franciscan monks, who were the first friars whom his Majesty sent to this New Spain after the Conquest of Mexico, as I shall relate further on, went to Cholula to inform themselves and find out how and in what way that punishment was carried out, and for what reason, and the enquiry that they made was from the same priests and elders of the city, and after fully informing themselves from these very men, they found it to be neither more nor less than what I have written down in this narrative, and not as the Bishop has related it. If perchance we had not inflicted that punishment, our lives would have been in great danger on account of the squadrons and companies of Mexican and Cholulan warriors who were there, and the barricades and breastworks, and if to our misfortune they had killed us there, this New Spain would not have been so speedily conquered, nor would another Armada have dared to have come, and if it did, it would have been under greater difficulty, for the Mexicans would have defended their ports, and they would still have continued in a state of Idolatry.

I have heard a Franciscan Friar called Fray Toribio Motolinea, who led a good life, say that it would have been better if that punishment could have been prevented, and they had not given cause for its being carried out; but, as it had been carried out, it was a good thing that all the Indians of the provinces of New Spain should see and understand that those Idols and all the rest of them were evil and lying, for it showed that all their promises turned out false, and they lost the adoration which the people had hitherto given them, and thenceforth they would not sacrifice to them, nor come on pilgrimages to them from other parts, as they used to do. From that time they did not care for it [the principal Idol] and removed it from the lofty cue where it had stood, and either hid it or broke it up, so

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797 that it never appeared again, and they have put up another Idol in its place. Let us leave this subject and I will relate what we went on to do.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

About certain messages and messengers that we sent to the Great Montezuma.

648 As fourteen days had already passed since we had come to Cholula we had nothing more to do there, for we saw that the city was again fully peopled, and that they held their markets, and we had established friendship between them and the people of Tlaxcala; and we had also set up a cross, and informed them about matters concerning our holy faith. But as we saw that the Great Montezuma was secretly sending spies to our camp to enquire and find out what our plans were and if we intended to go on to his city (for he came to know everything very thoroughly through the two Ambassadors who were in our company), our Captain determined to take counsel of certain captains and soldiers, whom he knew to be well disposed towards him (who besides being very valiant, were wise counsellors), because he never did anything without first asking our advice about it. It was agreed that we should send to tell the Great Montezuma, gently and amicably, that in order to carry out the purpose for which our Lord and King had sent us to these parts, (which was only to see him and tell him certain things which would be greatly to his benefit when he understood them), we had crossed many seas and distant lands, and that while we were marching towards his city, his ambassadors had guided us by way of Cholula, where they said the people were his vassals, and for the first two days after our arrival the people treated us very well, but on the next day they had

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648 Chanpoton, and likewise last year they had brought him news of another Captain who came with four ships, and that each time he had wished to see them, and now that he had us with him he was at our service, and would give us of all that he possessed; that it must indeed be true that we were those of whom his ancestors in years long past had spoken, saying that men would come from where the sun rose to rule over these lands, and that we must be those men, as we had fought so valiantly in the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and against the Tlaxcalans; for they had brought him pictures of the battles true to life.

797 Cortés answered him through our interpreters who always accompanied him, especially Doña Marina, and said to him that he and all of us did not know how to repay him the great favours we received from him every day. It was true that we came from where the sun rose, and were the vassals and servants of a great Prince called the Emperor Don Carlos, who held beneath his sway many and great princes, and that the Emperor having heard of him and what a great prince he was, had sent us to these parts to see him, and to beg them to become Christians, the same as our Emperor and all of us, so that his soul and those of all his vassals might be saved. Later on he would further explain how and in what manner this should be done, and how we worship one only true God, and who He is, and many other good things which he should listen to, such as he had already told to his ambassadors Tendile, and Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor when we were on the sand dunes. When this conference was over, the Great Montezuma had already at hand some very rich golden jewels, of many patterns, which he gave to our Captain, and in the same manner to each one of our Captains he gave trifles of gold, and three loads of mantles of rich feather work, and to the soldiers also he gave to each one

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two loads of mantles, and he did it cheerfully and in every way he seemed to be a great Prince. When these things had been distributed, he asked Cortés if we were all brethren and vassals of our great Emperor, and Cortés replied yes, we were brothers in affection and friendship, and persons of great distinction, and servants of our great King and Prince. Further polite speeches passed between Montezuma and Cortés, and as this was the first time he had come to visit us, and so as not to be wearisome, they ceased talking. Montezuma had ordered his stewards that, according to our own use and customs in all things, we should be provided with maize and [grinding] stones, and women to make bread, and fowls and fruit, and much fodder for the horses. Then Montezuma took leave of our Captain and all of us with the greatest courtesy, and we went out with him as far as the street. Cortés ordered us not to go far from our quarters for the present, until we knew better what was expedient. I will stop here and go on to tell what happened later.

797 ● [252]

CHAPTER XC.

How on the following day our Captain Cortés went to see the Great Montezuma, and about a certain conversation that took place.

THE next day Cortés decided to go to Montezuma's palace, and he first sent to find out what he intended doing and to let him know that we were coming. He took with him four captains, namely Pedro de Alvarado Juan Velásquez de Leon, Diego de Ordás, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, and five of us soldiers also went with him.

When Montezuma knew of our coming he advanced to the middle of the hall to receive us, accompanied by many of his nephews, for no other chiefs were permitted to

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enter or hold communication with Montezuma where he then was, unless it were on important business. Cortés and he paid the greatest reverence to each other and then they took one another by the hand and Montezuma made him sit down on his couch[1] on his right hand, and he also bade all of us to be seated on seats which he ordered to be brought.

Then Cortés began to make an explanation through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and said that he and all of us were rested, and that in coming to see and converse with such a great Prince as he was, we had completed the journey and fulfilled the command which our great King and Prince had laid on us. But what he chiefly came to say on behalf of our Lord God had already been brought to his [Montezuma's] knowledge through his ambassadors, Tendile, Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor, at the time when he did us the favour to send the golden sun and moon to the sand dunes; for we told them then that we were Christians and worshipped one true and only God, named Jesus Christ, who suffered death and passion to save us, and we told them that a cross (when they asked us why we worshipped it) was a sign of the other Cross on which our Lord God was crucified for our salvation, and that the death and passion which He suffered was for the salvation of the whole human race, which was lost, and that this our God rose on the third day and is now in heaven, and it is He who made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the sands, and created all the things there are in the world, and He sends the rain and the dew, and nothing happens in the world without His holy will. That we believe in Him and worship Him, but that those whom they look upon as gods are not so, but are devils, which are evil things, and if their looks are bad their deeds are worse, and they could

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Estrado.

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see that they were evil and of little worth, for where we had set up crosses such as those his ambassadors had seen, they dared not appear before them, through fear of them, and that as time went on they would notice this. [797]

The favour he now begged of him was his attention to the words that he now wished to tell him; then he explained to him very clearly about the creation of the world, and how we are all brothers, sons of one father and one mother who were called Adam and Eve, and how such a brother as our great Emperor, grieving for the perdition of so many souls, such as those which their idols were leading to Hell, where they burn in living flames, had sent us, so that after what he [Montezuma] had now heard he would put a stop to it and they would no longer adore these Idols or sacrifice Indian men and women to them, for we were all brethren, nor should they commit sodomy or thefts. He also told them that, in course of time, our Lord and King would send some men who among us lead very holy lives, much better than we do, who will explain to them all about it, for at present we merely came to give them due warning, and so he prayed him to do what he was asked and carry it into effect.

As Montezuma appeared to wish to reply, Cortés broke off his argument, and to all of us who were with him he said: "with this we have done our duty considering it is the first attempt."

Montezuma replied—"Señor Malinche, I have understood your words and arguments very well before now, from what you said to my servants at the sand dunes, this about three Gods and the Cross, and all those things that you have preached in the towns through which you have come. We have not made any answer to it because here throughout all time we have worshipped our own gods, and thought they were good, as no doubt yours are, so do not trouble to speak to us any more about them at present. Regarding the creation of the world, we have held the same [773]

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797 773 belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

648 Cortés replied, Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

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out of the city, as I shall tell later on, and that of 361
Tepeaquilla,[1] and we saw the fresh water that comes from [312]
Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the
bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain
distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed
in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld on [505]
that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming
with supplies of food and others returning loaded with
cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every
house of that great city and of all the other cities that were
built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to
house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or
in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like
towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a
wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs,
and on the causeways other small towers and oratories
which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had 361
seen we turned to look at the great market place and the 443
crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others
selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and
words that they used could be heard more than a league
off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many
parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy,
and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full
of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had
never beheld before.

Let us leave this, and return to our Captain, who said to 797
Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who has often been mentioned
by me, and who happened to be near by him: "It seems to
me, Señor Padre, that it would be a good thing to throw
out a feeler to Montezuma, as to whether he would allow
us to build our church here"; and the Padre replied that

[1] Guadalupe.

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•797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls [381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

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a splendid Cue; but it is of another form from that of Mexico although the courts are the same, very large with a double wall. I may add that the Cue in the City of Texcoco was very lofty, having one hundred and seventeen steps, and the Courts were broad and fine, shaped in a different form from the others. It is a laughable matter that every province had its Idols and those of one province or city were of no use to the others, thus they had an infinite number of Idols and they made sacrifices to them all. 346

After our Captain and all of us were tired of walking about and seeing such a diversity of Idols and their sacrifices, we returned to our quarters, all the time accompanied by many Caciques and chieftains whom Montezuma sent with us. I will stop here and go on to say what more we did. ooo

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CHAPTER XCIII.

How we made our Church and altar in our quarters and placed a Cross outside the chamber, and what else happened, and how we found the hall and treasure chamber of Montezuma's father, and how we decided to seize Montezuma.

WHEN our Captain and the Friar of the Order of Mercy saw that Montezuma was not willing that we should set up a cross on the Temple of Huichilobos nor build a church there, and because, ever since we entered this city of Mexico, when Mass was said, we had to place an altar on tables and then to dismantle it again, it was decided that we should ask Montezuma's stewards for masons so that we could make a church in our quarters. 797

The stewards said that they would tell Montezuma of our wishes, and our Captain also sent to tell him so by Doña Marina and Aguilar and his page Orteguilla, who

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797 already understood something of the language, and Montezuma gave his permission and ordered us to be supplied with all the material we needed. In two days we had our church finished and the holy cross set up in front of our apartments, and Mass was said there every day until the wine gave out. As Cortés and some of the other Captains and the Friar had been ill during the war in Tlaxcala, they made the wine that we had for Mass go too fast, but after it was all finished we [still] went to the church daily and prayed on our knees before the altar and images, for one reason, because we were obliged to do so as Christians and it was a good habit, and for another reason, in order that Montezuma and all his Captains should observe it, and should witness our adoration and see us on our knees before the Cross, especially when we intoned the Ave Maria, so that it might incline them towards it.

652 When we were all assembled in those chambers, as it was our habit to inquire into and want to know everything, while we were looking for the best and most convenient site to place the altar, two of our soldiers, one of whom was a carpenter, named Alonzo Yañes, noticed on one of the walls marks showing that there had been a door there, and that it had been closed up and carefully plastered over and burnished. Now as there was a rumour and we had heard the story that Montezuma kept the treasure of his father Axayaca in that building, it was suspected that it might be in this chamber which had been closed up and cemented only a few days before. Yañes spoke about it to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo, who were Captains and relations of mine, and Alonzo Yañes had attached himself to their company as a servant, and those Captains told the story to Cortés, and the door was secretly opened. When it was open Cortés and some of his Captains went in first, and they saw such a

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time on Gonzalo Mejía and Cortés were not very good friends. I have called all this to mind although it is outside my story, so that one may see that Cortés, under colour of doing justice, so that we should fear him, was full of craftiness, and I will leave off here.

CHAPTER CVII.

How the Great Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and what Cortés answered. Nevertheless he took her and they served and honoured her as was becoming to the daughter of such a Prince.

I HAVE many times said that Cortés and all of us always endeavoured to please and serve Montezuma and to pay him court. One day Montezuma said, "Look here, Malinche, I love you so much that I want to give you one of my daughters, who is very beautiful, so that you can marry her and treat her as your legitimate wife"; Cortés doffed his cap in thanks, and said that it was a great favour that Montezuma was conferring on him, but that he was already married and had a wife, and that among us we were not permitted to have more than one wife, he would however keep her [Montezuma's daughter] in the rank to which the daughter of so great a prince was entitled, but that first of all he desired her to become a Christian, as other ladies, the daughters of Chieftains, already were; and to this Montezuma consented.

The Great Montezuma always showed his accustomed good will to us, but from one day to the other he never ceased his sacrifices at which human beings were killed, and Cortés tried to dissuade him from this but met with no success. So Cortés took counsel with his captains as to what should be done in the matter, for he did not dare to put an end to it for fear of a rising in the City and of the

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priests who were in charge of Huichilobos. The advice that the captains and soldiers gave about this was, that he should pretend that he wished to go and throw down the Idols from the lofty temples of Huichilobos, and that if we saw that they intended to defend them, and were going to rise in revolt, that we should then demand permission to set up an altar inside the Great Cue, and place a Crucifix there and an image of Our Lady. When this was settled Cortés went to the Palace where Montezuma was imprisoned and took seven captains and soldiers with him, and said to Montezuma: "Señor, I have often asked you not to sacrifice any more human beings to your gods who are deceiving you, and you will not cease doing it, I wish you to know that all my companions and these captains who are with me have come to beg you to give them leave to remove the gods from your temple and put our Lady Santa Maria and a Cross in their place, and, if you will not give them leave now, they will go and remove them, and I would not like them to kill any priests."

When Montezuma heard those words and saw that the Captains were rather angry, he said, "Oh! Malinche, how can you wish to destroy the city entirely! for our gods are very angry with us, and I do not know that they will stop even at your lives, what I pray you to do for the present is to be patient, and I will send to summon all the priests and I will see their reply." When Cortés heard this he made a sign that he wished to speak quite privately to Montezuma without the presence of the captains whom he had brought in his company, so he ordered them to go out and leave him alone. When they had left the hall he said to Montezuma, that in order to prevent this affair from becoming known and causing a disturbance and becoming an offence to the priests on account of their Idols being overturned, that he would arrange with these Captains to the effect that they should do nothing of the sort, provided

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they were given an apartment in the Great Cue where they might make an altar on which to place the Image of Our Lady and set up a Cross, and that as time went on it would be made plain how good and advantageous it was for their souls, and for giving them health and good harvests and prosperity. Then Montezuma, with sighs and a very sorrowful countenance, said that he would confer with his priests. After much discussion had taken place about it, on the [1] day of the month of [1] in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen, this was done and our altars and an image of Our Lady and a Cross were set up, apart from their curséd Idols, with great reverence and with thanks to God from all of us, and the Padre de la Merced chanted Mass, assisted by the priest Juan Díaz and many of our soldiers. Our captain ordered an old soldier to be stationed there as guardian, and begged Montezuma to order the priests not to touch the altar, but only to keep it swept and to burn incense and keep wax candles burning there by day and night, and to decorate it with branches and flowers.

I will leave off here and say what it led to.

CHAPTER CVIII.

How the great Montezuma told our Captain Cortés to leave Mexico with all his soldiers, for all the Caciques and priests wanted to rise and wage war on us until they killed us, for so it had been decreed and advised by their Idols, and what Cortés did about it.

THERE was never a time when we were not subject to surprises of such a kind, that had our Lord God not assisted us, they would have cost us our lives. Thus as

[1] Blank spaces in the original.

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real import and value of landed concessions, was taken advantage of to deprive them of such subsequently, either through litigation or through barter for worthless trifles.[141] Unacquainted with the new order of things suddenly forced upon them, unable therefore to profit by it for subsistence, the natives of Mexico could not help being *degraded* instead of *elevated* and bettered in condition by such a transition which displaced them, in the course of a few years, from a state of tribal and communal society into one of civilization.[142] 648 178

Consequently a state of disorganization began to prevail, which threatened to ruin the country. At the same time, however, while the Indians, forlorn in the maze of difficulties in which their conquerors themselves also floundered about, were in a perfectly helpless condition, a sudden protection and relief arose to them. On the 13th of May, 1524, "one day previous to the vigils of Pentecost," there landed at San Juan de Ulúa, a cluster of twelve Franciscan friars, sent to Mexico in response to the original call of Cortès, for the purpose of converting the Indians.[143] These monks 797

[141] Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Mendieta (Letter, in Col. de Doc. II).

[142] The Europeans opened a wide field for activity. They were superior to the Mexican aborigines, not only in organization, but especially in mechanical arts and inventions for the purpose of subsistence. It was now required of the Indians to suddenly take hold of all these improvements, which it had taken the Europeans centuries upon centuries to secure through long experimenting,— and to become familiar with them in a short time, as well as to feel happy and contented at once under a state of society which tore asunder all those ties of kinship forming, since time immemorial, the basis of their organization. It was asking too much of them altogether, and if besides what was asked was even enforced violently,— then the degrading consequences could not be avoided. Therefore, the most ardent advocates of the Indian cause took great care to insist upon letting the natives alone in their communities; even prohibiting the access thereto to the Spanish colonists. Bartolomé de las Casas, in his joint memorial with Fray Domingo de Santa Tomás, in favor of the Indians of Peru, written about 1560 ("Col. de Doc." Bibliographical notes, p. XLII,) says: "Lo segundo, que porque los Españoles son siempre del bien de los indios contrarios, y en especial lo son y han de ser impedidores de aqueste negocio y concierto, que han de estorbar por cuantas vias pudieren que los indios no paguen à S. M. ni puedan pagar este servicio; por tanto es necesario que se prohiba que ningun comendero èntre por ninguna causa ni razon en los pueblos de los indios que tienen encomendados, ni sus mujeres, que son las mas crueles y perniciosas, ni negro, ni criado, ni otra persona suya (p. 233)." Alonzo de Zurita, in his memorial written at Mexico between 1554 and 1564 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. XLVII), insists strongly upon keeping the Indians apart from the Whites (p. 233). In regard to the actual degradation, see Mendieta's letter, of 1 Jan'y, 1562 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 532). Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de N. España," Trat. I, cap. I).

[143] The Franciscan friars obtained their first concession from Pope Leo X, by a bull dated 25 April, 1521 (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. V, pp. 185–190). This bull was executed in favor of Fray Francisco de Quiñones (de los Angeles), and Fray Juan Clapion. But these fathers never reached Mexico. Previous to it, three Flemish missionaries, Fray Juan de Tecto, Fray Juan de Aora, and Fray Pedro of Ghent had gone to New Spain

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797 fully realized what was asked of them, but they went still further by becoming, not only the spiritual advisers, but actually the material protectors, of the aborigines. Basing upon the authority conferred by the Pontiff at Rome, they publicly denounced, not only the individual acts of the Spaniards, but even those of the royal officers.[144] This could not fail to incite the Indians to resistance, and when the conquerors resorted to violence, not only did the oppressed find refuge and protection in the newly erected convents, but one of the most distinguished Franciscans, Fray Toribio, of Benavent (Motolinia), even notified the agents of the royal "audiencia,"—who had come to Huexotzinco to seize the fugitives and bring them to justice,—to leave the settlement forthwith, threatening, in case of non-compliance, with excommunication.[145]

The protection thus afforded would have been far more efficacious, had the good Friars understood at that time the true nature of Indian land tenure, and their usages with respect to the distribution of the soil. They might then have accompanied their violent protests with a rational remedy. Restoration of the ancient customs, limiting the Indian clusters to their territories actually tilled, without disturbing their original organization, would have been the proper way. Alongside of such communities, ample room would have remained for the settlements of whites, and the unavoidable contact between both races would have changed slowly and more permanently the condition of the natives, lifting them up gradually to the practical appreciation of ideas of civilization. But

of their own accord, and without Papal sanction. But, while Fray Pedro de Gante, for instance, rendered valuable service to science through one of his letters, it is among the "twelve apostles of Mexico" that we find those who have equally combined heroism in protecting the Indians, with due regard to the conservation of their memories and historical traditions. These "twelve" were: Fray Martin de Valencia, Fray Francisco de Soto, Fray Martin de Coruña, Fr. Juan Xuarez, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Fr. Toribio of Benavente, Fr. García de Cisneros, Fr. Luis de Fuensalida, Fr. Juan de Ribas, Fr. Francisco Ximenez. Fr. Andrés de Cordoba, Fray Juan de Palos (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. X. also cap. XI, etc.). We shall have further occasion to use their writings, therefore this humble tribute of gratitude to their memories.

[144] Compare the beautiful introduction to Motolinia's "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," by Sr. José F. Ramirez, in Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos" (Vol. I, Introd. p. XLVII to p. I), which quotes an act of Gonzalo de Salazar, 28 July, 1525 (contained in the first "Libro de Cabildo" of Mexico), containing a complaint, against the Franciscan friars for "meddling with matters of civil jurisdiction and government." See also the report of Herrera about the convention ("Junta") at Barcelona, in Spain in 1529 (Dec. IV, lib. VI, cap. XI, p. 118, etc).

[145] Introduction to Motolinia ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, p. L). Torquemada (Lib. XV, cap. XXII, pp. 56, 57-58).

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even in their letter to the emperor, dated 1st of September, 1526,[146] 797 the "apostles of Mexico" insisted upon a thorough establishment of what Mr. Prescott so justly calls the "vicious" system of Repartimientos, representing that an immediate and thorough intermingling of both races alone could promote the interests of conversion.[147]

Still, an improvement in the system gradually took place. The 648 civil and criminal jurisdiction over the natives, which formerly had been vested in each landholder,[148] was placed in the hands of special officers of the crown. It was directed that the owner should reside on his property, that the Indians could not be separated from the soil and finally, on the 20th of November, 1542, the "new laws and ordonnances for the government of the Indies" were promulgated, which contained such restrictions upon the "Repartimientos," that their further extension and increase was rendered impossible, and the number of those existing, greatly limited. The Indians themselves were declared direct vassals to the crown of Spain.[149]

Although in many parts of Spanish America these laws were but "obeyed though not executed,"[150] they still called forth a

[146] "Col. de Documentos" (Vol. II, pp. 155, 156 and 157). Joint letter of Franciscan and Dominican monks (p. 549, etc.).

[147] "Col. de Doc.," II, pp. 155–157, 549, etc.; also letter of Fray Domingo de Betanzos (pp. 190–197). Notwithstanding the agreement between Franciscan and Dominican monks on that point, Las Casas continued to protest in the most vehement manner, against the "Repartimiento." See his memorial, jointly with Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (Col. II, pp. 231–236), and to the council of the Indies, of 1562 or 1563 (Col. II, pp. 505–508), in which he says: "Thirdly, that the encomiendas or repartimientos of Indians are iniquitous, per se wrong, therefore tyrannical, and such administration is tyrannical also. Fourth, that such as give them commit a mortal sin, like those who maintain them, and if they do not give them up, they cannot be saved."

[148] It was customary for each "encomendero" to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within his "Repartimiento."

[149] "Nuevas Leyes y Ordenanzas para la Gobernacion de las Indias" (Col. de Doc., II, pp. 204–227), dated Valladolid (Spain), 4 June, 1543, promulgated at Mexico, 24 March, 1544. Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VI, cap. V, pp. 110–113). These new laws were the cause of bloody disturbances in Spanish America. Gomara (Vedia I, pp. 249 and 250).

[150] "Se obedece, pero no se cumple." There are many evidences of this saying having been put in actual practice. Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico del Descubrimiento y de la Colonizacion de Nueva Granada," 1848, cap. XVII, p. 316). At the arrival of the Licentiate Armendaris in Cauca, sent to enforce the new laws, Belalcazar at once had them promulgated, but took the responsibility of forthwith also suspending their execution. He wrote to the King from Cali, in 1544, in regard to his action. Acosta says: "Entonces comenzó en el nuevo mundo Español á campear la formula irrisoria de se obedece, pero no se cumple; con que se eludian las ordenes que no les convenia ejecutar á los funcionarios de aquellas apartados comarcas." Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VII, cap. XXIII, pp. 157 and 158).

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When the Mexicans, thus constituting a migratory cluster of 174
kins, reached the present central valley of Mexico, they found it occupied by a number of tribes of the same language as their own, though dialectically varied. The arrival of the new-comers was to those who had already settled, a matter of either war or of adoption. Adoption became very difficult, as well on account of the number of the immigrants as of the rivalry between already settled tribes. Therefore the Mexicans were tossed to and fro, until at last the straggling remnant found a shelter on some dry patches protruding from the marsh along which the other tribes had formed their settlements.

This settlement occurred about 196 years previous to the Spanish conquest, and it limits therefore the time, within which the

nombres de sus Conductores." What the unfortunate Italian Cavaliere here says of the Toltecs, is applicable to all the other branches of the Nahuatl stock, and bears also on the four "Carriers of the God," under discussion.

Veytia affirms (Cap. XIII, p. 110, lib. II), that after the election of the Huitzilihuitl mentioned in my note 36, the god Huitzilopochtli "did not dare to claim the government of the people." Is this an indication to the effect that the four "priests" exercised a military command?

Referring to note 29, concerning the four names of the years and leading days in the Mexican and Central American Calendars, and their probable connection with as many very ancient kinships, I beg leave to add here some additional data in regard to the singular part played by the number four, in Central American and Mexican mythology and earliest tradition. In note 27, I have already alluded to the four original pairs, as mentioned by the "*Popol-Vuh*" as well as by *Sahagun*. Previous to the creation of the four men, the "*Popol-Vuh*" has the following remarkable passage: (Part III, cap. I, pp. 195-197), "In Paxti and in Cayalá, as this place is called, there came the ears of yellow and of white corn. These are the names of the barbarians (? Chicop), who went after subsistence: the fox (Yac), the wolf (Utiu) the parrot (Qel), and the raven (Hoh), four barbarians (?) who brought them the news of the ears of yellow corn and of white corn which grew in Paxil, and who showed them the road to Paxil." "There they found at last the nourishment which went into the flesh of man made, of man formed, this was his blood, it became the blood of man, this corn which went into him by the care of him who engenders and of him who gives being." This QQuiché tale of *four* animals or "barbarians" (the latter is an interpretation of Mr. Brasseur, since "chicop" signifies simply a *beast*) carrying the material out of which man was made, also finds an equivalent in Mexican traditions, as reported by *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, § 12, p. 140), of four wise men who remained in the earthly paradise of "Tamoanchan" inventing there "judicial astrology, and the art of interpreting dreams. They composed the account of the days, of the nights, of the hours, and the differences of time, which were kept while the chiefs of the Toltecs, of the Mexicans, and of the Chichimecs ruled and governed." "Tamoanchan" as paradise, is strictly equivalent to "Paxil in Cayalá" of the QQuiché. The tradition of the four "Tutul-Xiu" among the maya of Yucatan, may also be classed among these tales. "*Series of Katunes*." "*Epochs of Maya History*." "*This is the Series of Katunes in Maya*." ("*helo lai u Tvolan Katunili Tu Mayab*") in Mr. *Brasseur's* ("*Relation des choses du Yucatan*") also in *J. L. Stephens* ("*Travels in Yucatan*," Vol. II, p. 465, appendix.) Also *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, pp. 222, 224).

[801 173]

[*] *Tylor* ("*Early History of Mankind*," Edition of 1878, p. 165). "Super-stitio" or "Standing Over,"—the German "Aberglaube" in the sense of "what has remained."

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Bird," were the embodied spirits of young growth and, by 776
analogy, youth and the games. These had as male counterparts such gods as Cinteotl, "Maize God," Xochipilli,* "Flower Prince" and Macuilxochitl, "Four Flower," whose functions, identified with growth, youth and games, are almost synonymous. (See Plates 31; 56, top left; 57, bottom left.)

About the maguey plant revolved another cult embracing 776
the goddess Mayauel, who represented the plant and whose 802
four hundred sons were associated with pulque. According 273
to some accounts, the various styles of drunkenness were recorded in terms of these gods or their associated animal, the rabbit. Four hundred rabbits stood for complete drunkenness, while fifteen or twenty suggested mere conviviality. The chief of these pulque gods was called "Two Rabbit," after his day in the almanac, and another, Tepoztecatl, was the tribal god of Tepoztlan, honored by a temple placed high in the mountains of Morelos.

The gods of the earth and death were highly important, 776
since growth takes place in the earth and the dead are received there. The sun on rising seems to be born in the earth and at its setting to be hidden by it, thus passing apparently to the world of the dead. The gods and goddesses associated with the earth had significance for the solar cults as well as for growth and fertility.

Tlaltecuhtli, "Lord of the Earth," was depicted as a male monster of horrifying aspect, partaking of the attributes of a toad and an alligator. His open mouth could consume even [821]
the sun, since the setting sun passed into the earth, according to Azteç astronomical ideas. The goddesses, however, seem

*Sho-chee-pe'e-ly.

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ing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. We could write: "I can be hospitable," in terms of the sounds given to pictures of an eye, a tin can, a bee, a horse, a hole in the ground and a table. The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone *tena* from which sprouted a nopal cactus, *nochtli*, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, *pantli*, on a conventionalized hill, *tepec*. Color, position, puns and abbreviations all contributed to recording sounds by this means. Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel or movement, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations of action.[19] (See Fig. 2.)

Aztec writing offered no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas. Yet the full accounts of historical events, set down after the Conquest in Spanish or Nahuatl, indicate that oral traditions, possibly learned as a chant or saga, supplemented these ideographic records.

Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 × 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 × 20 × 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans. (See Fig. 2.)

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FIG. 2. AZTEC NUMBERS AND METHODS OF ENUMERATION

a. one, a dot or finger b. twenty, a flag c. four hundred, a sign denoting hairs d. eight thousand, a bag e. ten masks of precious stone f. twenty bags of cochineal dye g. one hundred bags of cacao h. four hundred bales of cotton i. four hundred jars of honey of tuna j. eight thousand leaf-bundles of copal gum k. twenty baskets each containing one thousand six hundred ground cacao nibs l. four hundred and two cotton blankets of this type

A post-Conquest manuscript shows devices that may not have been of native origin but European adaptations of the Aztec system. For example, fractions are shown by blacking in segments of a quarter, a half or three quarters of a disk. Similarly fives and multiples of five are indicated by coloring the requisite spaces in the flag of the sign for twenty, and hundreds by showing the proportionate lines in the four-hundred symbol.[20]

175 Aztec histories consisted of annals of ancient times, contemporary events, year counts, accounts compiled yearly, specific records for each year, books of each day and day-by-day counts or diaries.[21] Some of the ancient and contemporary histories have been published, but none of

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 The second class was called "tlatoca-tlalli"—land of the speak-
423 ers. Of these there was but one tract in each tribe, which was to be "four-hundred of their measures long on each side, each measure being equal to three Castilian rods."[76] The crops raised on such went exclusively to the requirements of the household at the "tecpan," comprising the head-chief and his family with the assistants.[77] The tract was worked in turn by the other members

called Tecpanpouhqui, or Tecpantlaca, which signifies: people of the palace and renters of the King. Such were held to keep in repair the royal palaces, clean the gardens, and to attend to the cleanliness and to the necessities of the royal palaces. They were regarded with much respect, as people most directly connected with the houses of the King. When the Lord sallied forth, they accompanied him, and they paid no other tribute but bouquets (Hamilletes," flower-bunches) and birds of all kind, which they offered to the King. Such lands descended from father to son, but they could not sell them, nor dispose of them in any way, and if one of them died without heirs, or left the place, his house and lands remained for those of his kin ("parcialidad") to put another in his place, according to the commands of the King, or of the Lord."—Herrera (Dec. III, lib. cap. XV, p. 135).—Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196). "Besides these each pueblo also had other kinds of lands called tecpantlalli, or lands of the palace or rentals of the chief, because its crops also went integrally towards the constructions and repairs of the palaces of the Kings, and towards other expenses aside from the sustenance. The people who cultivated them were also plebeians, but they were set apart for it in each place, and were called tecpanpuhque or tecplantlaca, that is, people pertaining to the palaces, and they could not work any other lands." Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques cap. XXXV, p. 242. "There were others known by the name of Tecpantlali, or lands which depend from the palaces of the Lords. The Indians tilling them were called tecpanpouhque, or people connected with the palaces of the Lords"). Bustamante ("Tezcoco," etc., Parte III, cap. V, pp. 233 and 234). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "The ownership of the crownlands, called Tecpantlalli, remained in the King, but certain gentlemen called Tecpanpouhque or Tecpantlaca, *i.e.* people of the palace, had the enjoyment thereof. These paid no tribute but flowers and certain birds which they offered to the King in token of allegiance. But they were obligated to keep the royal palace in repair, or to construct new ones if needed; to tend to the royal gardens, and to care for the vassals in their district. It was their duty to attend court, to escort the King, if he appeared in public; and thus they were highly considered. If one of them died, his son succeeded in all his duties, but he lost his rights by removing from the place, in which case the King gave him the use of another tract, or left it to the community, in whose area the land lay, to assign to him another piece."

The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the King, and only the crops went to certain official purposes. The occupants thereof were not serfs, since it is implied that they might remove at their pleasure, but, as any other members of a calpulli, in accordance with what we shall hereafter show, they lost by removal their right of use to that particular tract. They were properly the "official artisans."

[80a] [76] Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Vedia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196). "This had to be four-hundred of their measures in square ('encuadro,' each side long); each one of these being equal to three castilian rods. . . ." See "Art of War" (p. 944, note 183). "The rod" (vara) is equal to 2.78209 feet English (Guyot).

[77] From "tlatoca" speakers, or "tlatoani" speaker, and "tlalli." Simancas M. S. S. on the customs of succession ("Recueil de Pièces, etc." p. 223). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136). "There were other kinds of lands that were attached to the lordship (office?), which they called of the lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispo e, and rented them to whom they pleased, drawing much rent from them,

[Errata, should be "Kin". See 16; Bandelier, cat. 116, p. 663, Note 216. - Analyst]

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CHAPTER V

THE AZTEC PERIOD

In which is recorded the history of the Tenochcas and the political background of Aztec civilization

THE CHICHIMEC PERIOD witnessed invasion of the Valley 174
of Mexico by various tribes and the gradual domination of these tribes by a culture and manner of life that seems to have emanated from Puebla and northern Oaxaca. The basic political unit consisted of a tribe resident in a town supporting itself from its own land with the supplement, if possible, of supplies derived from the tribute payments of vassals. At the head of the state was a chief of lineage who also performed ecclesiastical functions. Craftsmanship was highly skilled, and trade flourished to furnish raw materials for the artisans. This productivity, however, was directed toward religion and ritual rather than the creation of personal wealth. Religion was an elaborate polytheism based on nature worship, with some god or gods singled out for special adoration, but the working of the *tonalpohualli*,* or sacred almanac, brought the full force of divine powers to aid man in his life on earth. (See Plate 29.)

The history of the Tenochcas, the Mexico City Aztecs, 173
shows how a tribal body lived and acquired the position of an 805
important state. According to their own records, the Tenoch-

*to-nal-po-wa'hl-li.

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173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

*Mich-o-a-ca'n.

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and had grown at the same rate as Tenochtitlan, aiding in 175
many of the campaigns. It was famous for its merchants; and its market, even after its subjugation, was the greatest in Mexico. Local jealousy, however, did not lead to war until both towns competed in building temples to Huitzilopochtli, the War God. Apparently this competition for divine favor led to war, whereas economic conflict did not. Ridiculously [578]
enough the open break was induced by the insulting behavior of the Tlaltelolcan women, who flaunted their backsides at the enraged Tenochcan visitors.[8]

The religious arts reached their full development under 175
Axayacatl. In his time was made the great Calendar Stone 805
which weighs over twenty tons and is twelve feet in diameter. The block was quarried on the mainland, and the allied rulers sent help to drag this gigantic mass across the causeways. Designed to symbolize the Aztec universe, it is a masterly example of a pattern, the detail of which adds, rather than detracts from, the spaciousness of the concept.[9] (See Plate 52, top.)

In 1472, early in the reign of Axayacatl, the life of a great 175
figure in American Indian history, Nezahualcoyotl, came to an end. This Texcocan chief had begun his manhood in political exile fleeing from Tepanec vengeance, but had fought and intrigued his way back into power. He even restored the fortunes of his people who, in the previous century, had rivaled the Culhuacanos in the formative years of Aztec civilization. Nezahualcoyotl had a broad judicial sense which enabled him successfully to elaborate the administrative structure of a far-flung realm. Since the Texcocans, before the Tepanec domination in 1419–28 already had a chain of tribute-paying vassals, this resumption of control in

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PLATE 52

AZTEC ART

TOP: The Calendar Stone, thirteen feet in diameter, represents the history of the world. It is arranged in concentric circles, at the center of which is the sun set within the sign Four Motion, the date of the present era. The dates of the preceding eras are given in the four arms of the Motion sign. The twenty day names encircle the central symbols, and they are enclosed by glyphs for turquoise and jade, signifying "precious" and the color of the heavens. Beyond this band radiate sun's rays and star symbols, while the outer border consists of two great fire snakes, symbolizing time. BOTTOM: The National Stone, a monolithic block in the Mexican National Museum, suggests how the Calendar Stone was probably set on a platform. Its symbolism represents the Sacred War, the eternal conflict between the contracting and opposing forces of nature.

[p. 160(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

in heroic scale. The serpent, emblem of Quetzalcoatl, symbol of time and the year, representative of mystery and power, was frequently carved. The sinuous curves ending in the savage symmetry of the head offered a challenge which the sculptors accepted with a success that evokes the mysterious horror of the Aztec universe. (See Plates 53, 56.) 532 778

The grotesque gods are abstract and horrible to our modern eye. Coatlicue,* the "Lady of the Serpent Skirt" and mother of Huitzilopochtli, was thought of as powerful and awesome, so the task of the sculptors was to transmute those qualities into stone. The great statue in Mexico, whose head is twin serpents, whose necklace human hands and hearts, whose feet and hands are viciously armed with claws and whose skirt is a mat of writhing snakes, brings into a dynamic concentrate the manifold horrors of the universe. A smaller carving, simpler and less detailed, produces this same effect, implying that the very essence of fear was honored and worshiped. An altar of red lava, dug up in the street behind the cathedral, is grimly adorned with ranked skulls, but the design is so harmonious that death becomes an abstraction, part of a distant universe of fear, and not the imminent individual disaster which besets us moderns. (See Plates 54–55.)

The Calendar Stone embodies a finite statement of the infinity of the Aztec universe. In the center is the face of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, flanked by four cartouches which singly give the dates of the four previous ages of the world and together represent the date of our present era. The twenty names of the days circle this central element, and they, in turn, are ringed with a band of glyphs denoting jade or turquoise, which give the idea of being precious and sym- 532 805

*Co-at-le'e-kway.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

532 bolize the heavens and their color. This strip is girdled by
805 the signs for stars, through which penetrate designs emblematic of the rays of the sun. Two immense Fire Serpents, symbolic of the Year and Time, circle the exterior to meet face to face at the base. Boring back through these forms to the significance behind them, we have a grandiose conception of the majesty of the universe.[11] (See Plate 52, top.)

349 In recent years, under the Presidential Palace in Mexico
532 City, a monolith over a meter high was found, which represented a platform and a stair crowned at the top by a similar solar disk. Reliefs on the sides show Huitzilopochtli, God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, God of the Smoking Mirror, symbolizing the sacred war between night and day. Probably the Calendar Stone was set up in much the same manner, and it is tantalizing to think of the lost reliefs which explained and ornamented the great disk when it was in position.[12] (See Plate 52, bottom.)

532 The historical accounts record that the Calendar Stone
805 was made in 1479 and the great eagle vase of Tizoc during
782 his rule from 1481 to 1486. A trough, extending from the basin to the edge of the vase, has been explained as a drain for blood to run out. However, the design is not keyed to this drain, and the purpose of the basin is to burn hearts, not to receive blood. Therefore, the furrow was probably made by the Spaniards, who sought either to use the vase as a nether millstone or tried unsuccessfully to smash it as an example of idolatry.[13]

532 The dates of these two monuments indicate that this was the time when Aztec civilization burst into flower. It is a tribute to Aztec artists that, originally fettered by the more lowly tasks of handicraft, they could accept the tremendous

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tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realization of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the *tonalpohualli* (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five-day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[a]

The *tonalpohualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. - Analyst]

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TABLE XI

805 DAY NAMES AND NUMBERS OF THE AZTEC MONTH

1	Cipactli (Mythical Water Monster, Crocodile, Alligator)	
2	Ehecatl (Wind)	
3	Calli (House)	Year Name
4	Cuetzpallin (Iguana Lizard)	
5	Coatl (Snake)	
6	Miquiztli (Death's-Head)	
7	Mazatl (Deer)	
8	Tochtli (Rabbit)	Year Name
9	Atl (Water)	
10	Itzcuintli (Dog)	
11	Ozomatli (Howling Monkey)	
12	Malinalli (Grass)	
13	Acatl (Reed)	Year Name
1	Ocelotl (Ocelot)	
2	Cuauhtli (Eagle)	
3	Cozcaquauhtli (Vulture)	
4	Ollin (Motion, Earthquake)	
5	Tecpatl (Flint Knife)	Year Name
6	Quiauitl (Rain)	
7	Xochitl (Flower)	
8	Cipactli	
9	Ehecatl	
10	Calli	Year Name
11	Cuetzpallin	
12	Coatl	
13	Miquiztli	
1	Mazatl	
2	Tochtli	Year Name
	Etc., etc.	

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TABLE XII

TONALPOHUALLI: SEQUENCE OF DAY NAMES, NUMBERS, AND WEEKS 805

	I												
Crocodile	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
												XVIII	
Wind	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8
										XV			
House	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9
								XII					
Lizard	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10
						IX							
Serpent	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
				VI									
Death's-Head	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
		III											
Deer	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
													XX
Rabbit	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]
											XVII		
Water	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2
									XIV				
Dog	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3
							XI						
Monkey	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4
					VIII								
Grass	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
			V										
Reed	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6
	II												
Ocelot	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
												XIX	
Eagle	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8
										XVI			
Vulture	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9
								XIII					
Motion	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10
						X							
Flint Knife	5	12	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
				VII									
Rain	6	13	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
		IV											
Flower	7	[1]	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13

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796 *tonalamatl*, after the book in which it was recorded, was a
805 sacred almanac. It covered a period of 260 days, the significance of which may have been magical or possibly of an astronomical origin, as yet unexplained. It was composed of the twenty day names of the Aztec month, combined with the numbers one to thirteen (Table XI). Whenever the sequence of numbers ended, the series was repeated, and the same arrangement held true for the list of days. Thus the fourteenth day of the twenty in the list received the number one, and so on up to seven for the twentieth day. Then when the series of day names recommenced the first name was numbered eight. By this means within the 260-day period every day was distinguished by the combination of one of twenty names with one of thirteen numerals. At the close of each period another began immediately, as is shown on Table XI.

This sacred period was further divided into twenty weeks of thirteen days each (Table XII). Every week began with the number one and the day name which came up according to the rotation of the sequence. Thus within the *tonalpohualli* period no day in one week could be confused with that of another, since the name and associated number precluded repetition.[4]

A god or goddess presided over each of the list of twenty days (Table XIII) and over each of the twenty "weeks" (Table XIV). The gods of the weeks followed the same order as the day gods, with this exception, that the god of the eleventh day was dropped from the list, moving the remainder in order up one place each. The resultant vacancy in the twentieth week, was filled by two divinities who exercised joint control. Sometimes there was a further re-

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[212]

FIG. 1. AZTEC DAY SIGNS FROM CODEX

Cipactli Crocodile	*Ehecatl* Wind	*Calli* House	*Cuetzpallin* Lizard	*Coatl* Snake
Miquiztli Death	*Mazatl* Deer	*Tochtli* Rabbit	*Atl* Water	*Itzcuintli* Dog
Ozomatli Monkey	*Malinalli* Herb	*Acatl* Reed	*Ocelotl* Jaguar	*Cuauhtli* Eagle
Cozcaquauhtli Vulture	*Ollin* Motion	*Tecpatl* Flint Knife	*Quiauitl* Rain	*Xochitl* Flower

finement whereby the nine gods and goddesses succeeded each other in governing the nights of the *tonalpohualli*, or sacred period (Table XVI). Finally thirteen of these gods influenced the thirteen stations of the Aztec day (Table XV), and nine held sway over the night hours (Table XVI). The names and characters of these divinities are set forth in the accompanying tables.

The array of gods had to be placated and honored at the 796
appropriate time by the priesthood; but the individual, before embarking on an undertaking, could find out the proper

[Text continues on p. 195.--- Analyst]

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TABLE XIII

DAY GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI

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Day	God	Name and Nature
1 Crocodile	Tonacatecuhtli	Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God
2 Wind	Quetzalcoatl	Feathered Serpent, Sky God, God of Learning
3 House	Tepeyollotl	Heart of Mountains, an Earth God
4 Lizard	Huehuecoyotl	Old Coyote, Mischief-Maker
5 Snake	Chalchihuitlicue	Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess
6 Death's-Head	Tecciztecatl	He from the Sea Snail, Moon God
7 Deer	Tlaloc	He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God
8 Rabbit	Mayauel	She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess
9 Water	Xiuhtecuhtli	Lord of Year, Fire God
10 Dog	Mictlantecuhtli	Lord of Region of Dead, Death God
11 Monkey	Xochipilli	Flower Prince, God of Spring and Flowers
12 Grass	Patecatl	He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine
13 Reed	Tezcatlipoca or variant like Itzlacoliuhqui	Smoking Mirror, a Great God, cf. Gods of Weeks Carved Obsidian Knife
14 Ocelot	Tlazolteotl	Goddess of Dirt, Earth Mother
15 Eagle	Xipe	Our Lord, the Flayed One, God of Seedtime
16 Vulture	Itzpapalotl	Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess
17 Motion	Xolotl or variant	Double, Monster God
18 Flint Knife	Tezcatlipoca or Chalchiuhtotolin	Smoking Mirror, Great God, Jeweled Bird, Week Gods
19 Rain	Chantico	In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire
20 Flower	Xochiquetzal	Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers

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TABLE XIV

GODS OF TONALPOHUALLI WEEKS

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Week Beginning	*God*	*Name*
1 Crocodile	Tonacatecuhtli	Lord of Our Subsistence, a Creator God
1 Ocelot	Quetzalcoatl	Feathered Serpent, a Sky God
1 Deer	Tepeyollotl	Heart of the Mountains, an Earth God
1 Flower	Huehuecoyotl	Old Coyote, Backbiter, old Otomi tribal god
1 Reed	Chalchihuitlicue	Lady of the Jeweled Robe, Water Goddess
1 Death's-Head	Tecciztecatl	He from the Sea Snail, Moon God
1 Rain	Tlaloc	He Who Makes Things Sprout, Rain God
1 Grass	Mayauel	She of the Maguey Plant, Pulque Goddess
1 Snake	Xiuhtecuhtli	Lord of the Year, Fire God
1 Flint	Mictlantecuhtli	Lord of the Region of the Dead, Death God
1 Howling Monkey	Patecatl	He from the Land of Medicines, God of Medicine
1 Lizard	Itzlacoliuhqui	The Carved Obsidian Knife, God of Cold
1 Motion	Tlazolteotl	Goddess of Dirt, Earth Goddess
1 Dog	Xipe Totec	Our Lord the Flayed One, God of Seedtime
1 House	Itzpapalotl	Obsidian Butterfly, a Stellar Goddess
1 Vulture	Xolotl	Double, Monster God
1 Water	Chalchiuhtotolin	Jeweled Fowl, variant of Tezcatlipoca
1 Wind	Chantico	In the House, Goddess of Hearth Fire
1 Eagle	Xochiquetzal	Flower Feather, Goddess of Flowers
1 Rabbit	Xiuhtecuhtli and	Lord of Year, Fire God
	Itztli	Stone Knife, God of Obsidian Knife

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TABLE XV

GODS OF THE DAY HOURS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED BIRDS

Day Gods	*Name*	*Associated Bird*
1. Xiuhtecuhtli	Fire God	White Humming-bird
2. Tlaltecuhtli	Lord of Earth, the Earth Monster	Green Humming-bird
3. Chalchihuitlicue	Water Goddess	Falcon
4. Tonatiuh	The Sun, Sun God	Quail
5. Tlazolteotl	Earth Mother	Eagle
6. Teoyaomiqui	Warrior Death, Death God	Screech Owl
7. Xochipilli	Flower Prince, God of Flowers	Butterfly
8. Tlaloc	Rain God	Striped Eagle
9. Quetzalcoatl-Ehecatl	God of Learning	Turkey Cock
10. Tezcatlipoca	Great God	Horned Owl
11. Mictlantecuhtli	Death God	Guacamaya
12. Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	Lord of the House of Dawn, Venus God, variant of Quetzalcoatl	Quetzal
13. Ilamatecuhtli	Old Princess, ancient Earth Goddess	Parrot

TABLE XVI

GODS OF THE NIGHT HOURS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES IN DIVINATION

Night Gods		*Significance*
1. Xiuhtecuhtli	Fire God	Good
2. Itztli	God of Obsidian Knife	Bad
3. Piltzintecuhtli	Lord of Princes, Sun God	Good
4. Cinteotl	God of Corn, Corn God	Indifferent
5. Mictlantecuhtli	Death God	Bad
6. Chalchihuitlicue	Water Goddess	Indifferent
7. Tlazolteotl	Earth Mother	Bad
8. Tepeyollotl	Earth or Jaguar God	Good
9. Tlaloc	Rain God	Good

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divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is im- 796
probable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity.

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These ref- 212
erence books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten [289]
from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.[8] (See Plate 59, top.)

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in ac- 796
cordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months 805
of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do

[Text continues on p. 198.--- Analyst]

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TABLE XVII

THE SOLAR YEAR, THE EIGHTEEN MONTHS, AND CEREMONIES

Months, seasonal character, approximate Gregorian dates, presiding gods and chief ceremonies

I Atlcoualco (want of water), ceasing of rain [Feb. 12–Mar. 3]. Chalchihuitlicue and Tlalocs. Ceremonies for rain; child sacrifice; Xipe sacrifice with blunt weapons.

II Tlacaxipeualiztli (boning of men), seedtime [Mar. 4–Mar. 23]. God Xipe. Impersonation of Xipe by priests wearing skins of captives; dances by priests wearing human skins; agricultural dances.

III Tozoztontli (short fast), rain desired [Mar. 24–Apr. 12]. Coatlicue and Tlalocs. Child sacrifice to Tlalocs to bring rain; end of Xipe rites which sometimes held over a month.

IV Huei Tozoztli (long fast), worship of new corn [Apr. 13–May 2]. Centeotl and Chicomecoatl. Ceremonial bloodletting; decoration of house altars with corn plants; young girls' ceremony with blessing of seed corn.

V Toxcatl (dry or slippery), rainy season begins [May 3–May 22]. Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli; god-impersonation ceremonies for either or both great gods (p. 202); scarification of children.

VI Etzalqualiztli (bean porridge), rain desired [May 23–June 11]. Tlalocs. Ceremonial robbing; rain ceremonies; fertility rite, drowning boy and girl in canoe filled with hearts of sacrificial victims.

VII Tecuhilhuitontli (little feast of princes), rain desired [June 12–July 1]. Huixtocihuatl. Ceremony of salt-workers, who leeched product from lake; women's dance with sacrifice of priestess impersonating goddess.

VIII Hueitecuhilhuitl (great feast of rulers), adoration of ripening corn [July 2–July 21]. Xilonen. Feast for Goddess of Young Corn; eight-day feast; women wear hair loose as sympathetic magic; sacrifice of slave girl impersonating goddess; after sacrifice people can eat new corn.

IX Tlaxochimaco (birth of flowers), first flowering [July 22–Aug. 10]. Huitzilopochtli. Feasts on turkeys and corn-meal cakes in honor of the god; great dance with both sexes taking part and men even touching the women; merchants' feast, honoring their patron god Yacatecuhtli.

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X Xocotlhuetzi (fall of the fruits), heat for ripening [Aug. 11–Aug. 30]. Xiuhtecuhtli (Huehueteotl). Furnace sacrifice (p. 202); competitive climbing of high pole by young men to win special insignia at top.

XI Ochpaniztli (month of brooms), refreshment of Earth Mother [Aug. 31–Sept. 19]. Tlazolteotl or Teteoinnan (Toçi). Sacrifice of woman impersonating Goddess of Ripe Corn; efforts to avoid sorrow by buffoonery, sympathetic magic to avoid rains at harvest; review of warriors and distribution of insignia of rank; drills and mock combats of Eagle and Ocelot Knights.

XII Teotleco (return of the gods), harvest [Sept. 20–Oct. 9]. Tezcatlipoca. Ceremonies honoring the return of the gods to the earth; Tezcatlipoca first to come; two absent, Xiuhtecuhtli, too old to travel, Yacatecuhtli, merchant wandering off beaten track; ceremonial drunkenness and furnace sacrifice.

XIII Tepeilhuitl (feast of the mountains), rain [Oct. 10–Oct. 29]. Tlalocs. Ceremonies for mountain rain gods, an aspect of Tlalocs; use of wooden snakes and figurines covered with amaranth paste; sacrifice of four women and a man with subsequent ceremonial cannibalism.

XIV Quecholli [bird, quail(?)], rain [Oct. 30–Nov. 18]. Mixcoatl. Making of weapons; general penance of four days; licensed old people abstain from liquor and husbands from their wives; ceremonial hunt with sacrifice of game and ceremonial feasting on the hill.

XV Panquetzaliztli (feast of the flags), winter solstice [Nov. 19–Dec. 8]. Huitzilopochtli. Festivals honoring War God; mock or staged combats; imprinting of hand impressions by captives.

XVI Atemoztli (fall of the waters), rain [Dec. 9–Dec. 28]. Tlalocs. Vigils and offerings to household gods; winter solstice at time of conquest; erection of poles with paper streamers coated with rubber.

XVII Tititl (severe weather), season of serenity [Dec. 29–Jan. 7]. Ilamatecuhtli. Sacrifice of woman impersonating goddess; sympathetic magic to bring rain by weeping, through children crying on first day of month and men and children beating women with straw-filled bags to make them cry.

XVIII Izcalli (resuscitation), toasting of corn supply [Jan. 18–Feb. 6]. Xiuhtecuhtli. Ceremonial hunt; killing of captives every four years; killing of birds and arrow sacrifice at Cuauhtitlan.

Nemontemi (five unlucky days) [Feb. 7–Feb. 11].

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796 with farming, and the days of the month were distinguished
805 by numbers, in addition to their *tonalpohualli* name and number described above. Years were identified in terms of the two methods, since they were named for the *tonalpohualli* day on which the year began.*

Only four of the twenty day names could begin the year, as a simple mathematical calculation will prove. Three hundred and sixty-five (the number of days in a year) divided by twenty (the total of the day names) leaves a remainder of five. Thus of the twenty day names only four can begin the year. House, Rabbit, Reed and Flint Knife must always recur as New Year's Day, since they are the third, eighth, thirteenth and eighteenth days in the list, thus being separated from each other by five numbers. In that thirteen, the quantity of numbers available, divides into 365 with a remainder of one, the number of the day increased by one each new year. Thus the years were numerically distinguishable—1 Rabbit, 2 Reed, 3 House, 4 Flint Knife, 5 Rabbit, and so on, until the thirteen numbers and four day names began to repeat themselves, which occurred after fifty-two (13 × 4) years. This is the mathematical reason for the Aztec cycle or major time unit, and in the Valley of Mexico they did not go further and distinguish between cycles except indirectly. In consequence there is the same sort of confusion in referring to events as would result were we to designate years within the century without distinguishing the number of centuries before or after Christ. Thus the discovery of America would be recorded as 92 and the Declaration of Independence as 76, and only a detailed knowledge of history would enable us to fix the events in their proper relationship to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. (See Plates 62, top left; 63.)

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The lag between the calendric and the solar year, for which 796
we compensate by adding a day every four years as the 805
twenty-ninth of February, was difficult to adjust by Aztec standards since so much of the time count hinged on the orderly mathematical sequence of days. Some authorities believe that the Aztecs let the calendar drop behind, others that compensation was made during the unlucky period of five days. A third suggestion interprets the celebration of a feast held every eight years as a sign that a dateless day was introduced, unrecognized in the *tonalpohualli* of the year but honored with special rites.[7] (See Plate 58, middle.)

However the matter of the leap year was settled, the close of one cycle and the beginning of a new one was celebrated with great pomp each year Two Reed chosen as the first day of each cycle for some ritualistic reason. In the Mixteca-Puebla area the *tonalamatls* show evidence that the priests observed the planet Venus and took note of a Venus Year of 584 days. At the end of two cycles (104 years) there was a tremendous ceremony of great ritualistic significance, for at the same time as the beginning of a Venus count, a solar count, a fifty-two-year cycle, and a *tonalpohualli* all coincided. That four mystical rhythms, affecting such diverse aspects of the universe and the gods that dwelt therein, could [181]
meet must have produced great satisfaction and occasioned the utmost rejoicing among people for whom pattern and form had such great significance.[8]

Although the Valley of Mexico Aztecs did not use the 796
Venus count they celebrated the cyclical change with the utmost ceremony. They thought of the change from one cycle to another as the death of one life and the beginning of a new one. The realization that nature could withhold the

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plained neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloc, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Then they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicomecoatl; and to the image of the salt [goddess], named Uixtocioatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the dress.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the rain-cartoboard,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattinanj, atencattitinanj, 776
petlantimanj, cuecuecoatimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujztiloia, çan no iquac yn etzalqualiztli: yn vncan ilhujqujztililoia tlaloque, 796

colotli in qujchichiuaia yxiptla: qujcuetiaia, qujujpiltiaia, [805]
qujcoucatiaia, cuecapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuztic teucujtlacomalli: [778]

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtlenamacacauh, yiauhtli, inpan qujtepevilia,

caiochicaoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcujcatia in calpoleque, ynujcacaoan.

Auh in vel ixipda, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in [567]
qujcoaia, ichoan qujnextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc
motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaleque, yn apantlaca: [463]
yoan acalquetzque tianquinco, in qujtechieltia atl.

No ith qujchichiuaia, no ith qujtlamamacaia, no ith qujtemacoaia: ith tlantiuja: in miquja, yoncioacan tlalocan: yn vncan intrupan, tlaloque, queltetequjo.

Jn jquac y, no oncca qujmaxitiliaia, yn motecuçoma: inpan tlenamacoia, yn jxiptla, qujtlacotonjlia,

ith qujcoaia: qujtemahtlaolanj in tlacatl, qujtlamacehuja yn jmacoxol: yoan vncan mocuelitinati, ynjc qujmahujztiliaia atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tlaenj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn iuquich tetech monequj.

No ith qujmaxitiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaxtl, yn jnca, chicome coatl; yoã yn jxiptla iztatl, ynca Vixtocioatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjxti:

ca vel yonca muchioa in macoxalli, ic vellamati, ic vel tonj. 776

Auh yujo, in muchichiuaia: motonaia, tonatica, motonujtec, motonotonujtec, mincoçalhuj, chalchihuecuaque, xiuhnacoche, tonamacale, quetzalmjjnoaia, atlacujlellviqida, atlacujlelhuinjqida, atlacujlelcuaia, atlacuçonamchiuale, atuchicoaqa, cacalaca; popolocque.

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48. Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 148): "este atoalli era hecho de maiz cocido, a manera de atole, y era muy amarillo." Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 218): "el maiz cocido por el año llamado propiamente para a causa de reverencia que tenían al fuego (atl) le llamaban atoalli."

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . la fantasiaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua como los que venden agua, en las canoas; y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaza. . . ."

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . porque decían, que estos son dioses: mantenjidos, a la gente pagadas: pues que podemos, vivir, y mantenidos."

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . la pintaban, la vestia, con color amarillo. . . ."

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenía en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con una cruz: hecho a manera, de la cantimplora, en que se lleva el aguardiente, quando van sale la lluvia; y con cuyo sonido, daba voces." See p. 3, note 64. See also illustrations of Chalchihuitl yoan and Tlaquilan yoan.

De las Cerimonjas

SECOND BOOK, WHICH TREATETH OF THE FEASTS AND SACRIFICES BY WHICH THESE NATIVES HONORED THEIR GODS IN THEIR STATE OF INFIDELITY.

LIBRO SEGUNDO QUE TRATA DE LAS FIESTAS, Y SACRIFICIOS: CON QUE ESTOS NATURALES, HONRRAUAN A SUS DIOSES, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU INFIDELIDAD.

805 X 796 **First Chapter, concerning the calendar and the feasts of fixed date, the first of which is the one which followeth.**[2]

The first month of the year was called, among the Mexicans, Atl cacualo, and in other parts Quauitl eua. This month began upon the second day of February, when we celebrate the Purification of Our Lady. On the first day of this month, they celebrated a feast in honor—according to some—of the Tlaloc gods, whom they held to be gods of rain; [or]—according to others—of their sister, the goddess of water, Chalchiuhtli icue; [or]—according to [still] others—in honor of the great priest or god of the winds, Quetzalcoatl. And we may say that [they celebrated the feast] in honor of all of these. This month and all the rest, which are eighteen [in number], each have twenty days.

[776 184]

Capitulo primero, del canlendario, de las fiestas fixas, la primera de las quales es lo que se sigue.

El primero mes, del año se llamaua entre los mexicanos Atl cacualo: y en otras partes quauitl eua. Este mes començaua en el segundo dia del mes de Hebrero quando nosotros celebramos, la purificacion, de nuestra señora. En el primero dia deste mes: celebrauan vna fiesta a honrra (segun algunos) de los dioses tlaloques, que los tenjan por dioses de la plouja: y segun otros de su hermana, la diosa del agua, chalchiuhtli ycue: y segun otros a honrra del gran sacerdote, o dios de los vientos quetzalcoatl: y podemos dezir, que a hõrra de todos estos. Este mes, con todos los de mas, que son deziocho tienen a cada veynte dias.

Atl cacualo or Quauitl eua

X 796 In this month they slew many children; they sacrificed them in many places upon the mountain tops, tearing from them their hearts, in honor of the gods of water, so that these might give them water or rain.

[493] The children whom they slew they decked in rich finery to take them to be killed; and they carried them in litters upon their shoulders. And the litter went adorned with feathers and flowers. [The

5ª	d	KL.	Atl cacualo, o quauitl eua	d	1º
1	e		En este mes matauan muchos njños	e	2
2	f		sacrificauanlos, en muchos lugares en	f	3
3	g		las cumbres de los montes: sacandoles	g	4
4	A		los coraçones a hõrra de los dioses del	A	5
5	b		agua, para que les diesse agua o lluja.	b	6
6	c		A los njños, que matauan: com-	c	7
7	d		ponjanlos con ricos ataujos para lleuar-	d	8
8	e		los a matar, y lleuauanlos, en vnas	e	9
9	f		literas, sobre los hõbros: y las literas,	f	10

1. The first nineteen chapters, largely a digest of more expanded material in Chapters 20-30, are [illegible]; some of the translators' notes will be found in this later section. For these nineteen chapters the original has no corresponding Nahuatl text.
2. Marginal notation: *Cabeza deste calendario.*
3. Marginal notation: *Cuenta del calendario mexicano.*

3: Sahagun M-S (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves *to the temple where they were to slay them, they* took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuiltic, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

*Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeoaliztli

1	d	KL	Tlacaxipeoaliztli	d	22[1]
2	e		A los captiuos que matauan: arran-	e	23
3	f		cauãllos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y	f	24
4	g		guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como	g	25
5	A		por reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul	A	26
6	b		delante del fuego.	b	27
7	c		Quando lleuauan los señores de los	c	28
8	d		*captiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde*	d	1[2]
9	e		los aujan de matar, lleuauanlos por	e	2
10	f		los cabellos: y quando los subian, por	f	3
11	g		las gradas del cu, algunos de los cap-	g	4
12	A		tiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los	A	5
13	b		subian arrastrando por los cabellos,	b	6
14	c		hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir.	c	7
15	d		Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna	d	8
16	e		piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco	e	9
17	f		mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos	f	10
18	g		sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos	g	11
19	A		cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por	A	12
20	b		los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja	b	13[3]
			luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con		[413]
			ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a		
			manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el		
			agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el		
			coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna		
			xicara.		
			Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues		[415]
			de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia		
			el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a		
			rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en		
			vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos,		[767
			que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul:		266]
			donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer.		

* Actually a palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In Webster's Dictionary, the Portuguese palmo is 0.64 m.; in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th ed.), the Spanish palmo is 0.229 m. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal notation: *Cabellos como pues.*
2. Marginal notation: *Marcan sobre dos cuos.*
3. Marginal notation: *Sacaban corazonjs de cuerpo.*

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluvjas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diesen agua. 796x [805] 776

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called xochimanque, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

1. Marginal notation: Apollo Sobre dia sus.

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

Este mes, los officiales de las flores, que se llaman xochimanque: hazian fiesta, a su diosa llamada Coatl icue, y por otro nombre coatlã tona.

Tambien en este mes: se desnudauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan desollado el mes passado: yuanlos a echar en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con procesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan hediendo, como perros muertos: y despues que los aujan dexado: se lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: Algunos enfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus enfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos. 796x 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

2. Marginal notation: Manar apjrjmos.

The fourth month they called Uei tocoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cintecotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey tocoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazia fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cintecutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

Chapter 4
Uei tocoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small)[1], and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli*; and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain hins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chia*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all these things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

1. Marginal notation: [illegible]

Cap. 4.
Vey tocoztli

1 b KL. En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a las puertas de las casas ensangrentauanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada vno tenja en su casa.

Despues desto, yuan por los mahizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan calpulli: y tambien ponjan comida delante dellos.

Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan chicome coatl: y alli delante della hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año passado: yuan en procesion, a presentarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venidero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las tenaz, por estar bendito.

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biuir la gente.

The fifth month they called Toxcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Texcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoe, y por otro nombre Texcatlipoca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

796 X [805] 776 [533]

Chapter 5
Toxcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Texcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

1. Marginal notation: Mides he dias ante.

Cap. 5.
Toxcatl

1 A KL. Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas
2 b los fiestas, era como pascua, y caya
3 c cerca de la pascua de resurrection
4 d pocos dias despues: este mancebo
5 e criado, como esta dicho era muy bien
6 f dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos:
7 g tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.
8 A Quando en esta fiesta mataui al
9 b mãcebo que estaua criado para esto:
10 c luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de
11 d morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo
12 e el pueblo muy atauiado con flores en
13 f la mano, y con personas que le acõpa-
14 g fiauan saludaua a los que topaua graci-
15 A osamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel
16 b la ymagẽ de Texcatlipuca: y se pros-
17 c trauã delante del, y le adorauan donde
18 d quiera que le topauan.
19 e Viente dias antes que llegasse esta
20 f fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, bie dis-
puestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los
veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el
traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los
cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros atauios mas
galanes.

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y
vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompaña-
uanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja
de morir: lleuauanle a un cu, o oratorio que llamauã
tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse allí en vn lugar que

A 23 b 24 c 25 d 26 e 27 f 28 g 29 A 30 b 1' c 2 d 3 e 4 f 5 g 6 A 7 b 8 c 9 d 10 e 11 f 12ª

[302] [833] [302] [346]

2. Marginal notation: Nauã, dedicãl angl Pan.

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuia: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

796X
805
776
785

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called etzalli (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.
Etzalqualiztli.

1 g KL. g 13
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los A 14
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, b 15 [137]
4 c yuã por juncas a Citlaltepec: que se c 16
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en d 17
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli e 18 [346]
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los f 19
8 g cuex, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie g 20
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- A 21
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con b 22
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quito c 23 [651]
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se d 24
13 e defendia: maltrataulle de tal manera e 25
14 f q̃ lo dexauã por muerto: y aunque f 26 [681]
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se g 27
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena A 28
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de b 29
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer c 30
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- d 31
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian e 1[1]
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos hazã vna manera de puchas o polcadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia. [262] [786]

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terribleméte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã allí a la orilla del agua: de allí los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos. [683]

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cativos y otros

1. Marginal notations begin the day-sign.

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecuilhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtociotl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They were held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all wore garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *ixtauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *ompoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

1 f XI. Tecujlhujtontli. f 2[1]
2 g La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y g 3
3 A dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y A 4
4 b moças y muchachas yvan asidas de b 5
5 c vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las c 6
6 d manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra d 7
7 e por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan e 8
8 f sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas f 9
9 g de axenxos desta tierra que se llama g 10
10 A ixtauhiatl: gujsualas vnos viejos, y A 11
11 b regian al canto en medio dellas yva la b 12
12 c muger que era la ymagen desta diosa, c 13
13 d y que avia de morir adereçada con d 14
14 e ricos ornamentos. e 15
15 f La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan f 16
16 g las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de g 17
17 A morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la A 18
18 b noche: venjda la mañana: adereça- b 19
19 c uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn c 20
20 d areyto muy solemne: y todos los que d 21
estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman ompoalxochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos cautiuos al ça, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtociotl: alli matauan primero a los captiuos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la hisoria desta fiesta. fo. 76.

1. Marginal notation: Marcellus, part, aspe Bass.

X 796 The eighth month they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

[805] 776 [735]

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero diã deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ lós ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

X 796 For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they fed men and women, young and old. Then, very 735 early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank 262 as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them *tamales*. He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [*tamales*] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

X 796 All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the 535 ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their [302] hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. [373] They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Cap. 8.
Vei tecujlhujtl

1	e	KL	Vei tecujlhujtl	e	22[1]
2	f		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	f	23
3	g		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	g	24
4	A		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	A	25
5	b		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	b	26
6	c		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	c	27
7	d		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	d	28
8	e		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	e	29
9	f		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	f	30
10	g		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	g	1[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	A	2
12	b		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	b	3
13	c		tomar dos vezes maltrataua[n]le, y to-	c	4
14	d		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	d	5
15	e		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	e	6
16	f		solar a los pobres: porque en este	f	7
17	g		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	g	8
18	A		mãtenjmjentos.	A	9
19	b		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	b	10
20	c		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	c	11[3]

mugeres todos juntos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseuerauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

1. Marginal notation: *Lunes quatro* [illegible] *se cuenta.*
2. Marginal notation: *Pij pujar or blanc.*
3. Marginal notation: *Jullior los dias* [illegible]

X 796 **The ninth month** they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of ● [805 776] the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[23] On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, 262] and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this [778] feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared 535 the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who [534 778] beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1	*d*	**KL**	*d*	*12*
2	*e*	La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa-	*e*	*13*
3	*f*	uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros	*f*	*14*
4	*g*	para comer, en hazer tamales y otras	*g*	*15*
5	*A*	cosas concernientes a la comida: luego	*A*	*16*
6	*b*	de mañanica el dia desta fiesta: los	*b*	*17*
7	*c*	satrapas de los ydolos, componiã cõ	*c*	*18*
8	*d*	muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des-	*d*	*19*
9	*e*	pues de compuesta la estatua deste	*e*	*20*
10	*f*	dios: componian las estatuas de los	*f*	*21*
11	*g*	otros dioses con guirnaldas y sartales	*g*	*22*
12	*A*	y collares de flores: y luego cõponian	*A*	*23*
13	*b*	todas las otras estatuas de los calpules,	*b*	*24*
14	*c*	y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cai-	*c*	*25*
15	*d*	piques y principales y maceguales,	*d*	*26*
16	*e*	todos componian las estatuas que ten-	*e*	*27*
17	*f*	jan en sus casas con flores.	*f*	*28*
18	*g*	Compuestas las estatuas todos los	*g*	*29*
19	*A*	dioses: luego començauan a comer	*A*	*30*
20	*b*	aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas	*b*	*31*

de la noche passada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Duraua este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, taffjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos reziamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jzcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the pains of] their death.

1. Marginal notation: *despues de dios muy.*
2. Marginal notation: *Remedio abaxo.*

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

KL

Durante la fiesta de tlaxochimaco: yuã al monte cortauan vn arbol de altura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios: allí le escamondauan todo, y le leuantauan enhiesto y estaua asi enhiesto hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta entonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan muchos carpinteros con sus herramiẽtas y mondauãle y haziaule muy liso. Despues de mondado y de auerle compuesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles: atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuantauanle con muchas bozes y muchos estruendos y afixauanle muy bien.

Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuãtada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos aderecauãse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

2. Marginal notation: *Para el remedio.*

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que qujere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y mataua vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

796x [805 776]

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *zuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Marginal notation: September 1st-20th.

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjtli.

1 b KL. *b 21*
2 c Cinco dias antes que començasse este *c 22* [534
3 d mes: cessauan todas las fiestas y regozi- *d 23*
4 e jos del mes pasado entrando este mes, *e 24* 535]
5 f baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin *f 25*
6 g teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la *g 26*
7 A muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ *A 27*
8 b llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los *b 28*
9 c ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la *c 29* [759]
10 d mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de *d 30*
11 e mugeres con ella: especialmente las *e 31*
12 f medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos *f 1'*
13 g vandos y peleauan apedreandose con *g 2* [524
14 A pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas *A 3* 197]
15 b y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa- *b 4*
16 c dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal- *c 5*
17 d sochitl. Este regozijo durauã quatro *d 6*
18 e dias. *e 7*
19 f Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras *f 8*
20 g desta calidad: procurauan que aquella *g 9* [787]
muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, stajuauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pelejo.

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

The twelfth month they named Teul eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al dozeno mes llamauan Teul eco, que quiere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado.

796x [805] 776

Chapter 12
Teul eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Cap. 12
Teul eco

1 A KL Teul eco A 10
2 b A los qujnze dias deste mes: los b 11
3 c moços y muchachos, enrramauan c 12
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de los d 13
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de e 14
6 f las casas como por los camjnos y en- f 15 [465]
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que g 16
8 A hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan A 17
9 b vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros b 18
10 c dos o tres maçorcas. c 19
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios d 20
12 e (que siempre es mançebo que le e 21 [776]
13 f llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titla- f 22
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y g 23
15 A rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua pri- A 24 [273]
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comjda en su cu, b 25
17 c y aquella noche comjan y beujan y c 26
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los d 27
19 e viejos, y viejos que beujan vino, por la e 28
20 f llegada del dios: y dezian que lo f 29[1]
lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada. [252]

En vinjendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los [534]

1. Mengüal corrobora: Sahagún usaba Michael.

which they then used.

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

796 [805] [778]

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnaoatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Mengload metaphors. Consider for this word.

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

1	g	KL.	g	30	
2	A	Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas	A	1'	796
3	b	culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles,	b	2	
4	c	y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra:	c	3	778
5	d	haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo gru-	d	4	
6	e	esos como la muñeca largos llamauan-	e	5	
7	f	los Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las	f	6	
8	g	culebras los investian cõ aquella masa	g	7	
9	A	que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los in-	A	8	
10	b	vestian a manera de montes, arriba les	b	9	
11	c	ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de per-	c	10	
12	d	sona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes,	d	11	
13	e	en memoria de aquellos que se aujan	e	12	
14	f	ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de	f	13	
15	g	tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino	g	14	
16	A	que los enterrauan.	A	15	
17	b	Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas,	b	16	
18	c	aujan puesto en sus altares a las yma-	c	17	
19	d	genes dichas: ofrecianles tambien ta-	d	18	[273]
20	e	males y otras comjdas: y tambien los	e	19	

dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauajadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

796 [289] [314] [293] [493 482]

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: November he dier ano.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f KL. Quando hazian las saetas por espa-
2 g cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan
3 A de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan
4 b dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si-
5 c enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias
6 d para yr a caçar venados: los que no se
7 e sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en
8 f pena: njngun hombre se echaua con
9 g su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni
10 A virjas beujan pulcre: porque hazian
11 b penjtencia.
12 c
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha-
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas
15 f saetas chiquitas y atauanlas de quatro
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas,
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so-
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon-
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcãos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian zacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

1. Marginal numbers. *Dedicatio Templi* [illegible]

´Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes hazia fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

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Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

1	e	KL		e	9¹
2	f		El segundo dia deste mes començauã	f	10
3	g		todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can-	g	11
4	A		tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de	A	12
5	b		su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to-	b	13
6	c		dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares	c	14
7	d		a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez:	d	15
8	e		durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte	e	16
9	f		dias.	f	17
10	g		A los nueue dias deste mes: apare-	g	18
11	A		jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que	A	19
12	b		aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas	b	20
13	c		colores, componjãlos con muchos pa-	c	21
14	d		peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos,	d	22
15	e		en el qual yyan vna muger y vn hom-	e	23
16	f		bre pareados cantando y bayllãdo.	f	24
17	g		A los deziseys dias deste mes: co-	g	25
18	A		mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los	A	26
19	b		esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen-	b	27
20	c		çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yyan	c	28

796X 535 [302] 796X [535]

todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que auian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teudlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

[346] [726]

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

796[K]
[805
776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

1	d	KL	d	29[1]
2	e	Quando començaua a tronar los	e	30
3	f	satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran	f	1[2]
4	g	diligencia offrecian copal y otros per-	g	2
5	A	fumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas	A	3
6	b	dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para	b	4
7	c	dar agua: y los populares hazian votos	c	5
8	d	de hazer las ymagines de los montes	d	6
9	e	que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedi-	e	7
10	f	cadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los	f	8
11	g	dezieis dias deste mes, todos los popu-	g	9
12	A	lares aparejauan offrendas para offre-	A	10
13	b	cer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian	b	11
14	c	penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres	c	12
15	d	de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los	d	13
16	e	hombres.	e	14
17	f	Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan	f	15
18	g	el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras	g	16
19	A	de papel, y stauanlas a vnos barales	A	17
20	b	desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauan-	b	18[3]

[834]
[778]
[289]

los en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comida y los adorauan.

[324]

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

[413
286]

1. Marginal notation: *Sarauiej cuatro.*
2. Marginal notation: *Siguiente Jueues Marte 9.*

2. Marginal notation: *Deuendar de dier xxij.*

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Cencamisuh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre concamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

796X [805] 776 [535]

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Mexicanized [illegible]

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

1 c KL
2 d A esta muger que matauan en esta
3 e fiesta: componjanla con los ataujos de
4 f aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que
5 g se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom-
6 A bre Tona quiere dezir nuestra madre
7 b esta muger ansi compuesta con los
8 c ataujos estan puestos en la historia,
9 d baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos vie-
10 e jos, y baylando suspiraua y llorauа,
11 f acordandose que luego auia de morir:
12 g pasando el medio dia, componjanse los
13 A satrapas con los ornamentos de todos
14 b los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su-
15 c bianla al cu, donde auia de morir:
16 d echada sobre el tazon de piedra, sa-
17 e cauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la ca-
18 f beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos
19 g que yva adornado como dios, y delan-
20 A tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca-
bellos: hazian areyto cõ ella guisaua el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

c 19 d 20 e 21 f 22 g 23 A 24 b 25 c 26 d 27 e 28 f 29 g 30 A 31 b 1[1] c 2 d 3 e 4 f 5[2] g 6 A 7

796X 535

El mesmo dia que matauã esta muger los minjstros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abaxo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

796X

El dia siguiente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

796X 565 524 [415]

2. Mexicanized [illegible]

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Ixcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

796 [805 778] 776 [852 304 608]

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *vauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1 b KL. 2 c A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã 3 d fuego nueuo a la media noche delante 4 e la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa- 5 f mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos, 6 g luego en amaneciendo venjan los man- 7 A cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos 8 b anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez 9 c dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de 10 d tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que 11 e tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y 12 f ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque- 13 g llos anjmales para que se asassen: y 14 A dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu- 15 b chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que 16 c ellos llamauã Vauhquiltamalli: los 17 d quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia, 18 e y todos comjan dellos por honrra de 19 f la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y 20 g beujan y regozijauanse.

b 8 c 9 d 10 e 11 f 12 g 13 A 14 b 15 c 16 d 17 e 18 f 19 [262] g 20 A 21 b 22 c 23 d 24 e 25 f 26 g 27

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del bisexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jxcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica- [535]

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quijere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796x 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- *A 28*
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que *b 29*
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos *c 30*
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- *d 31*
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoqujch, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

[551] [578] [787]

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio matauã capituos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796x [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

785 796x 463

X 796 **Twentieth Chapter**, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [805] [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloca.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[789] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenmantli*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they [202 314 289] erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

Jnic 20. capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in qujtocaiotiaia, in qujtoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eua.

Quauitl eua, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujxtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã neteteuhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauitl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujmoncaoaia pipiltzitzintj, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquauitl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitleua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "*Xilomanaliztli,—Atlacahualco,—Cuahitlehua,—Cihuailhuitl. Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de maíz ó flores: nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahitlehua, quemazon de los debiles: nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. Atlacahualco ó Atlacualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos: orgen el P. Leon, detencion de las aguas, y es la conmemoracion de todas que mas nos sirviere. Cihuailhuitl, fiesta de la muger. El simbolo religioso es la imágen de Tlaloc y su debal reverenciando, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . *el primer mes, cuyo nombre Atlacahualco o Atlacualco, significa la cerrazón del agua, pues en el mes de marzo eran las lluvias del invierno en las partes septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o tolteca. La llamaban tambien Quauhtlehua, lo que significa la regocijada de los debiles, que se verifica en este tiempo en las partes frias. Las tlaxcaltecas llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, oblacion de las mazorcas de maiz, porque en él ofrecian a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la siembra que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (Tlalocan, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuel ehua* as *palo se alza*. Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen uebersetzen uebersetzt* (Cornelius Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Stecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 55, translates the name as *ein Baume erhebet sich* (*machen sich auf dem Weg*).

2. *Neezlaualoa*. Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *ixtlaua* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Jesús Piedrasanta, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pt. 4 p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *neezlaualli* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *cuenmantli* as *cruz engrudas*.

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacateteuhtli* as *cruz humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl manuscript No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opferträger* (*Opferpapiere in Menschengestalt*). They may usually have been paper streamers surmounted by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. Ixtlaua (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 66) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de gotas de cili a los quales papeles llamaban amatetelli.*" *Tlaulchachapatzli*: *cf. chachapaua*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquinecan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiiauh nocne aço toqujchtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timiztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toqujch miqujcli:

796x 684 836

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoeoatiuh, ça zonauhtiuh, tltentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtoroca, in cioatetiachcauh: aoqujc no teoi cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcenmacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in iehoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiauceujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn moteneoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itẽco cortic, auh yn ixquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn icoaquj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhiztcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoã yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

796x [302] 301

[292 293]

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muztla:

796x

in cemilhujtl conpeoaltia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vecan vncan in tacitiacacan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoqujnecan: ynjc eacan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopolinjaia yn

796x 805

7. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and logical in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec columns is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aqueo* is probably an amalgamation of *aquja*.—Angel María Garibay, personal communication.

1796 wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

1805 [For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

1796 When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained [533] sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the lead- [552] ing warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

1796 Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers. 585 And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also 793 they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their fore- [302] heads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[8] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their [301] heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

1796 And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, 793 which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, [534] which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

[534] And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns: they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic namhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonquiçaia,

çá qujtocticiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiacoalotiuh, ynic mòmalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh ioatzinco miquix in Xilonen: cecioal in cioapan cujcoia, toçoonia, muchi tlacatl iztoçooaia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, quenaia quevilaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel izqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan motzaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpactochiuh, inxonochicozquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ichoā yn, cioa, moteneoa cinatlamacazque, amo qujmonneloaa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapicujcatitiuj: in ichoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa itepotzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iubqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, tecizitli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tiamjctix, vel mocencaoa,

8. *Bixa orellana L.*, the annatto shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llaman compassuchitl, son semejantes y de buen olor*" (Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tagetes, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 89, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 95, n. 2), writing of the *tlamacazque ecicinimo* (chanting priests), says: "The player is called the *tamacazque*, and the drum, *teponaztli*, blade from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Lonaxerus ciculatus* Bonth. this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of ulder." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tongue on the harmon (corresponding Spanish text).

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauhelaxochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *excobedia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tapalcates* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Jnic cẽpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuiti, yoan in tlamanalizti: in quichiouia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in moteneoaia Tlaxuchimaco. 796^x

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: moteneoa tlaxuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl: [805]

viptlatica in xuchitemoloa, necemmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in izquich xuchitl, in nepapan xuchitl, in tepepan xuchitl, yn acocoxuchitl, vitzitzillacuxuchitl, tepecempoalxuchitl, nextamalxuchitl, tlacoxuchitl, ocelxuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocuxuchitl, anoço xocuxuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iolloxuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalxuchitl, acaxuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolxuchitl. 796^x 137

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaxitico xuchitl, yn oaxiococo, yn otlatujc, ẽjmã ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoo: auh yn omoçoçoc, xuchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic. 796^x

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlaliã, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac muchiouia yn, yn izquich maceoalli, cenuetzi in motamalhuja, itutlacpa in qujujujtla tototi, yoã in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoc, techichinolo, in monequizque ioatzico: [231 252]

neixpeloio, acuchiztli nechicaltilo, necuchiçololo, yllhujnemoa, iuhqujn tlatlaciuj, netetequipachoio, injc tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in ichoantin teupixque, njman ic ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujxuchicuzcatia, conicpauxhitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujxtecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in izquich 796^x 778

1. Cf. Gomez y Reyes (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 38): "Micailhuitontli, Tlaxuchimaco. El primero era nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. . . . El segundo, Ueytecuilhuitl, pudiera que Torquemada interpreta, cuando esta dedica y consagrada las flores: mismas Veynte dias, entera de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, consagrada á Huitzilopochtli, la empieza de lirio y las demas dicen estan adornadas profusamente con flores. . . ." Chavero (op. cit., pp. 162-3) further writes: ". . . adornaban de flores y ponian los ídolos, así adornaban a los que se veneraban en los templos, eran semejantes a los que vemos por derecho en sus casas; que por esto dicen el mes el nombre de Tlaxuchimaco."

2. See Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 273-4; Cf. also Bernardino Sahagún, op. cit., passim, and Seler, Besondere Kapitel, p. 154 (where a few German equivalents are given). Some are described also in Nicolás Antonio Rodríguez Ramón Mediterraneo Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1651).

until the ruy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed sore [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[3]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *xicalhuecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [they] all entered their homes.

Then one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And then ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during these days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

quenman tlatviz, in quenman tlatlavilotlecoaz, in quenmã tlatoz cujcujzcatl.

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Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, astlica: njmã ie ic motlalia in veveiquc calpoleqoc, cujcanjme, in jmalco in qujncujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoan iavi, vncan qujzotia, tlaiipuhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oalcenqujnoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotilizti, in cujqujztli, cepã caontimomana, zazamacatimanj in cujcatl:

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Auh vncã pesa in nemaco, in temaco vctli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujzqui, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoltia in jzqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoca, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano:

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amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopeçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapcpetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vctli,

yoan intlacoencaz qujzqujz, iuoca tzicujltecomatl: ci icxi, nauhcampa nacaz,

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iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixnetzivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixnalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nezomocolo, nepopotonolo nepanqueçalo, netotoponolo nematitech nezauo, nezauala, necezenquetzalo, nezezemacho, nepoochazaolotiuh in cacalaoa techachan:

ie mjtoa ca nel illujo in vctli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc ontzonqujça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã calmotlalia, calmotoma in Nemontemj: macujlilujzl in zoctic iuoca tonalli, in zocmo vmpovi, in zocmo vmpouhqui cenca iimacuuia, cenca mauhcatimia:

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ichica ca çan nõquipaqui, vncã nemonquijtilo, ale vmpujzua, nemonzala, nemonmacalo: ichica ca ale vncan ca illujli, nahuatlli, can vncan iximiui, nemo-

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 30.

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.'

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nencioatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjlizzli, nenquizcaiotl, nenquiçalizzli, ilonoçatinemjlizzli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaitililoia, tlatêmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quinocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizqui, acan ompouhqui acã, ompovi nenequich. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in iquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimâca in tecpan intecoali, amo tecutlaroloia, çan calooouia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequiça, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cica tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tetocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujocchia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicuja:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moricujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nemaita, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: quilhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticoçic, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocolizzli quicuja mococoaia: muchi tlacatl quitoaia, Cococolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeciolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquacaloc, oquizcauhque injouiolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan quizcoaiã inon oquêteltzin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio quicuic, ca temauhti in ipan opeuh ilhujtl Nemôtecmj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhqui, atle ipocallo in jaquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 30) adds that people did not gather in the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony [illegible].

793 them. None should fail. And here, over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who was made, as it were, their leader.

793 [805] 273 Then they arranged the rabbit [wine] jars. These they filled with [ceremonial] five[-fold] wine, which they also called sacred wine. Then he brought forth the sucking-tubes, made of reeds, and laid them with the sacred wine—two hundred and three of them, but only one was bored through.

And when they had set them out, thereupon all danced and went in procession; the Centzontotochtin danced.

Thereupon they went up to the sacred wine. There was much jostling about until one should see the [sucking tube which was] bored through. And when he who saw it then took up the bored [tube], then they made room for him.

Only he alone drank the sacred wine. And when he had drunk the sacred wine, thereupon all dispersed.

vncan tepan icaca im patecatl, iuhquin tachcauh muchivaz,

njman ie quisquetza in tochtecomatl vncã conteca in macujlvctli in qujlvjaia teuvctli, njman ie qujvalquistia in pizztli acatl vncan cõmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlacpoalli vmei, auh çan ce in coionquj,

auh in ocõma, njman ie ic netotilo, tlaiavalolo, mjtoia in centzontotochtin,

njman ie ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac ichoatl qujttaz coionquj, auh in aquin oquittac, in oquicujc coionquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

çe icel qujticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlacoanoc, njman ic viujloua.

Epcoaquacuiltzin.

793 [805] The Epcoaquacuiltzin—behold what were his duties: when feasts should be celebrated, perchance when a new fifty-two-year cycle should start—verily, all feasts—all of them he announced; or when fire was laid. In truth, all that should be done, all things this man thus commanded and furthered.

Epcoaquacujltzin.

In epcoaquacujltzin, itca yn jtequjuh catca: Yn iquac ilhujtl quiçaia, yn aço xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ie muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipã tlatoaia, injc tletemaloa in ie muchi muchivaz muchi ichoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloneo.

The Keeper of the Gods of Moloneo also had this as his duty: In his charge were the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, and all which this one needed when [sacrificial victims] were to die. And he had in his charge the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauecatl, and the incense ladle, the quail, and the black plumes with which [he who was arrayed in the likeness of] Chiconauecatl was feathered.

Moloncoxeuhoa.

In moloncoxeuhoa, çan no ichatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copalli, in vlli, in tilli, in isqujch itech monequja in ichoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tilli ic moçaia, in chicunavecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tiltic ic mopotonjaia in chicunavecatl.

The [Priest of] Cintevtl.

The duties of the [Priest of] Cintevtl were that all things which were required be thus commanded, so that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber,

Cintevtzin.

In itequjuh catca cintevtzin çan isqujch in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicoaia in amatl in copalli, in vlli in jiauhtli in jtech monequja xile-

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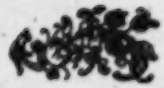

The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straigheway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the sextons] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Ciuatlzmpa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year count[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, jogged, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Inic chicome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

Ce tochtli.

motenoua: uiztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: 805
matlacxiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlanocia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cocexiuhtica, vel tlaiacuria, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in 823
iquiteri xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In ichoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipãpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanestia.

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, ichoatl in tecpatl: motenoua mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mitoa mictlampa: [775]
iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamclaoa, vmpa tlatoteca in mimicque. Iehica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconiilpique: [764]
vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitztiltitimotlaliaia.

Auh inic nani, tlanauhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: ichoatl in calli motenoua, cioatlampa tonalli. Ipãpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, aocaque tequichtin.

Inin nauhteme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: iquiteme ceceppa moquetztini, tonalpeuhcaiome mu- 805
chiuhtiuj.

Inic muchi matlatlacxiuitl omei, quitlamja, conaxitia, quitzonquistia nauhaciotin: inic tlaiacalotiui, quimomacatiui, quimocauilitiui, iuquiuh, cecexiuhtica: ichoatl iech omei, iech ômocaoa, iech ontupi, iech ontlatetzoua, ontlatzonquistia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ic ocuiti in matlacxiuitl omei iequiuh.

Auh nimon ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uiz- 805
tlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia iequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlauica, tlaotlanocia: cenca 731

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and set it upon its way, all were much frightened and there was apprehension; all were filled with dread because in this [year] occurred the famine called Necetochuiliztli. All were exceedingly terrified and in awe when [the year] One Rabbit came—when they reached and came to it; though not [when it was] Two or Three [Rabbit]. Etc.

nemauhtiloia, tlaẽmachoia, netẽmachoa: ipampa, in ipan muchioaia maianaliztli, moteneoa necetochuiliztli. Çaniio uellamauhtiaia, uel imacazoia: in icoac on omoquetz ce tochtli, in onoitech axioac, onoitech onpachiooac: amono ie in ome, anoço ey. etc.

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The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; musty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[12] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. and when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *pacarolli* maize.[13]

This was the time when they bought people;[14] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

Inic chicuey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apiztli, in maianaliztli, in icoac tlauicaia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapoalli, ce tochtli.

Auh in icoac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, netetzontilo, netacatilo, mocuezcomatema in tonacaiotl: aoc tle motlaça, muchicoac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzõtli, in miiaoatl, in metzolli, in nochxochitl, in mescalli, in necutlatotonilli.

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in oauhtli çan yoã mosconoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opatzaoac. Auh icoac, muchi tlaiecoa, tlaacotlaça tlaihiiocuitia in petzicatl, in chichic oauhtli, anoço teuoauhtli, iacacolli:

ic icoac tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlameti, tlaixtotiani, atle quiscaoa, tlaistamachiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalhuiani, teuie, tzotzoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneostinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicoqui, in teuciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui meoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quitta ihiiocuiia, iceuhca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motolua: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin:

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12. *In cuauhli que yol in ipolocaio*: cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), II, p. 300: "*huauhtli quimaqui, ce in cuauhli de los cuahuac ala llampiar, que todos son huauhtlaxiac.*" Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 69. has "*Ichtac cuan yaqui cuali de Huauhtli cuac.*"

13. Some of these terms are identified in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. *Pacarolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Éditeur, 1880), p. 118, n. 2, as "*espèce de maïs.*" See also the Robredo edition, Vol. I, p. 139.

14. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jens (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-71), *q. v.*

(*Tlaiecoa*) appears in the Real Palacio MS as *quiquecoa*. The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *ie mosqua* (see my comment), toward the end of the paragraph.

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[For] they had incurred sins. They had taken unto themselves, and placed themselves in, great wrong, through which they went always being slaves, until at last they were to die.

And even if he died, once again some one of his kin stood surety for him. Or else his beloved son offered himself and finished for him. None were neglected. Their kin and their lineage went on continuing and extending [the obligation]; they went on paying the debt and concerning themselves [with it]. Always they fulfilled the pledge, continued taking the place of others, served for one another; they all entered the households of their lords.

If sons or grandsons were born to him, at once [their elders] assigned them their great faults. When they matured, when they gained prudence, when they looked about, already servitude would be upon them. Already they wielded the hoe, they used the tump line; already they were [as] someone else's dogs, someone else's turkeys. For in truth [slavery] had come upon them; they had come against that which they could not leave—of which they could not be rid. For their fathers, their grandfathers, their mothers, and their grandmothers had proceeded to merit for them, to acknowledge for them, to bequeath them, to load and place upon them, [their transgressions]. For difficult was that which they had left and bequeathed them in time of famine—those who hungered and starved, who no longer were proud, who no longer persevered, who indeed were sick; who had eaten themselves, had sold themselves.

[This was] because they had prepared nothing for themselves, had shown no forethought for themselves; had paid no heed, had lived in negligence, and were disposed to evil before the year sign One Rabbit had begun—[when] it had not yet set in.

Thus was it said, that their fathers and grandfathers had succumbed to One Rabbit; hence they took on great sins.

When [the year] One Rabbit had fulfilled its task, when the year had been completed, then it delivered its charge to the sign of the east: Two Reed was the one which [then] set in.

motlatlaculnamictia, ueuetlatlaculli quimotitia, quimotlalilia: inic muchipa centlacotli ietiuh, in iquich cauitl miquiz.

Auh in manel onmic, oc ceppa ipan oalmoquetza, aca ioaniolqui, anoço ipiltzin ōmisquetza, ipan tlaiecoa: aiac miscaoa, ma antiui, motilinitiui, cemololiuhtiui, mocemichictiui in incalloc, in incuitlaxcolloc: muchipa impan tlaiecoa, impan oonotiui, mocepanpaleuia, cencalaqui in ichan intecuiio:

intla tlacatizque ipilhoan, in imiuioan, çan niman ie quincauilitiui in inueuetlacol: in oalmoscalizque, in oalistlamatizque, in oallachiazque, ie intech ca in intlacoio, ie uicti, ie mecapalti, ie teitzcuinhoan, ie tetotolhoan: ca nel oimpan ia, oquimonamictique, in auel tecauh, in auel poliui: ca intahoā, inculhoan, innanhoā, incihoā in quinmaceuitiui, quincuititiui, quincauilitiui, quinmamaltiti quintlalilitiui: ca ouicā in concauhque, in quimoncauilique, inic maianalco, in teuciuiian, im apizmiquia, aoc imatlamatia, aoc ontlaiecoa, uel icocoiaia: in moquaque, in monamacaque.

Ipampa, in atle cōmochioaltique, in atle ic onmotlamachique, in aquen ommomatque, in çan onmotlacomatque, onmauilmatque: in icoac aiamo peoa, aiamo moquetza xiuhtonalli ce tochtli.

Ic mitoa, ca mocetochuique in intahoan in inculhoan: inic quicuique veuetlatlacolli.

In icoac, ie otequit ce tochtli, in otlatzonquiti ce xiuitl: niman ic ie itech concaoa, in tlapcopa tonalli: ichoatl oalmoquetza in vme acatl.

Ninth Chapter, in which is described what was called "The Binding of Our Years," or "When the Years are Bound," [which occurred] when one by one the four year signs had each reigned thirteen years and when fifty-two years had passed; and what then was done.

When [came] the time of the binding of our years, always they gradually neared and approached [the year] Two Reed. This is to say: they then reached and ended [a period of] fifty-two years. For at that time [these years] were piled up, added one to another, and brought together; wherefore the thirteen-year [cycles] had four times made a circle,[18] as hath been made known. Hence was it said that then were tied and bound our years, and that once again the years were newly laid hold of. When it was evident that the years lay ready to burst into life, everyone took hold of them, so that once more would start forth—once again—another [period of] fifty-two years. Then [the two cycles] might proceed to reach one hundred and four years. It was called "One Old Age" when twice they had made the round, when twice the times of binding the years had come together.

Behold what was done when the years were bound—when was reached the time when they were to draw the new fire, when now its count was accomplished. First they put out fires everywhere in the country round. And the statues, hewn in either wood or stone, kept in each man's home and regarded as gods, were all cast into the water. Also [were] these [cast away]—the pestles and the [three] hearth stones [upon which the cooking pots rested]; and everywhere there was much sweeping—there was sweeping very clean. Rubbish was thrown out; none lay in any of the houses.

And when they drew the new fire, they drew it there at Uixachtlan, at midnight, when the night divided in half. They drew it upon the breast of a captive, and it was a well-born one on whose breast [the priest] bored the fire drill. And when a little

Inic chicuexui capítulo, vncan mitoa: in mitoa, toximmoipili, anoço inic molpilia xiuitl: yn icoac matlatlacpa omeexpa otlauicac, yn inauhtexixti cecentetl xippoalli: inic onaci vmpoalxiuitl ipan matlacxiuitl omume, yoan in tlein icoac muchioaya.

Ie vncan, ie ipan in tuxiuhmolpilia: muchipa ie quimattiuh, quitztiuh in vme acatl. q. n. Ca vncan aci, uncan tlami ompoalxiuitl ōmatlactli, yoā onxiuitl. Ca vncan mocentlalia, monepanoa, monamiqui: inic otlaiaoalo nauhcampa matlacxiuitl omecy, in iuh omoteneuh: ic mitoa, vncan molpia, molpilia in toxiuh, oc ceppa iancuican vncan xiuhtzitzquilo: inic monexcaiotiaia, in xiuitl icoatoc, muchi tlacatl cōquitzquiaia, inic oc ceppa ie ōpeoa, oc no izqui xiuitl 52 años, inic acitiuh macuilpoalxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl: mitoa cen uetetilistli, in oppa tlaiaoaloa, in oppa monamiqui imolpilican xiuitl. 805

Izcatqui in muchioaia, icoac molpilia xiuitl: in icoac oxxioac, in vncā uetzia tlequauitl, in ie itlapoalpan: achto vel nouiian cēcuia in tletl in cematonaoac, yoan in isquich picloia techachā, in netautiloia tequacuilti, in aço quauitl, anoço tetl tlaxintli, muchi atlan onmotepeoaia: No ichoatl in texolotl, in tenamastli, yoan nouiian tlātlachpanoia, tlatetzcalolo, tlanaoac tlauico, aoctle uetztoia in techachan. 805 372

Auh in vetzia tlequauitl, vmpa in vixachtlan: icoalnepantla in vetzia, vel icoac in xeliui icoalli: malli in ielpan vetzia, ichoatl in tlaçopilli ielpan in quimamalia tlequauitl. Auh in icoac quēcelizin ouetz, in omopiez: niman ic iciuhca, quehetectioetzi in malli, con- 805 372 782

18. See Plate 38.

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[fire] fell, when it took flame, then speedily [the priest] slashed open the breast of the captive, seized his heart, and quickly cast it there into the fire. Thus he revived and fed the fire. And the body of [the captive] all came to an end in the flames. And those who drew fire were exclusively the priests, the fire priests, the devout. Of the fire priest of Copulco, who was experienced, it was his office to draw, to drill, the new fire.

anjlia in iiollo, tleco contlaztiuetzi: inic quicualtia, quitlamaca tletl. Auh in inacaio, çan muchi tleco tlami. Auh in tlequauhtlaçaia, çan ichoß in tlamacazque, in tlenamacaque, in tlamaceuhque: copolco tlenamacac, in vel imatia, in iiequiuh catca, in quitlaçaia, in quimamalia tlequauitl.

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The Calendar Wheel

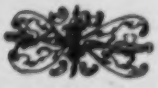

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This table placed above [opposite] is the year count, and it is a most ancient thing. They say that its inventor was Quetzalcoatl. It proceedeth in this way: they begin with the east, which is where the reeds are (or, according to others, with the south, where the rabbit is) and say One Reed. And thence they go to the north, where the flint is, and they say Two Flint Knife. Then they go to the west, where the house is, and there they say Three House. And then they go to the north, which is where the rabbit is, and they say Four Rabbit. And then they turn to the east, and say Five Reed. And thus they go, making four revolutions, until they reach thirteen, so that they end where they began. And then they return to one, saying One Flint Knife. And in this way, making revolutions, they assign thirteen years to each of the characters, or to each of the four quarters of the world. And then fifty-two years are completed, which is a bundle of years, when the Jubilee is celebrated and new fire is made in the manner set forth above [Chapters 9-12]. Then they again count as at the beginning. It should be noted that they disagree a great deal, in various places, as to the beginning of the year. In some parts, they told me that it began at some date in January; in others, that [it was] at the beginning of February; in others, that [it was] some time in March. In Tlatilulco I gathered together many old men, the most able ones whom I could secure, and, along with the most able of the college students, this matter was discussed for many days. And they all concluded that the year began on the second day of February.

Esta table, arriba puesta: es la cuenta de los años, y es cosa antiquissima. Dizen, que el inuentor della, fue Quetzalcoatl: procede desta manera: que comiençan del Oriente, que es donde está las cañas: y segun otros, del medio dia, donde esta el conejo, y dizen ce acatl: y de alli van al Norte, donde esta el pedernal, y dizen vme tecpatl: luego van al occidente, donde esta la Casa, y alli dizen iey calli: y luego van al abrego, que es donde esta el conejo, y dizen naui tochtli: y luego tornan al oriente, y dizen macuilli acatl. Y ansi van dando quatro bueltas, hasta que llegan a treze, que se acaban a donde començo: y luego bueluen a vno, diziendo ce tecpatl. I desta manera, dando bueltas: dan treze años, a cada vno de los caracteres, o a cada vna, de las quatro partes, del mundo. I entôce, se cumplen. 52. años, que es vna gauilla de años: donde se celebra, el Iubileo, y se saca lumbre nueua, en la forma arriba puesta: luego bueluen a contar como de principio. Es de notar, que discrepan mucho, en diuersos lugares del principio del año: en vnas partes me dixeron, que començaua a tantos de Enero: en otras, que a primero de hebrero: en otras, que a tantos de Março: En el tlatilulco, junte muchos viejos: los mas diestros, que yo pude auer, y juntamente, con los mas habiles de los colegiales, se alterco esta materia por muchos dias: y todos ellos concluyeron, que començaba el año, segûdo dia de Hebrero.

[p. 38 (F)]

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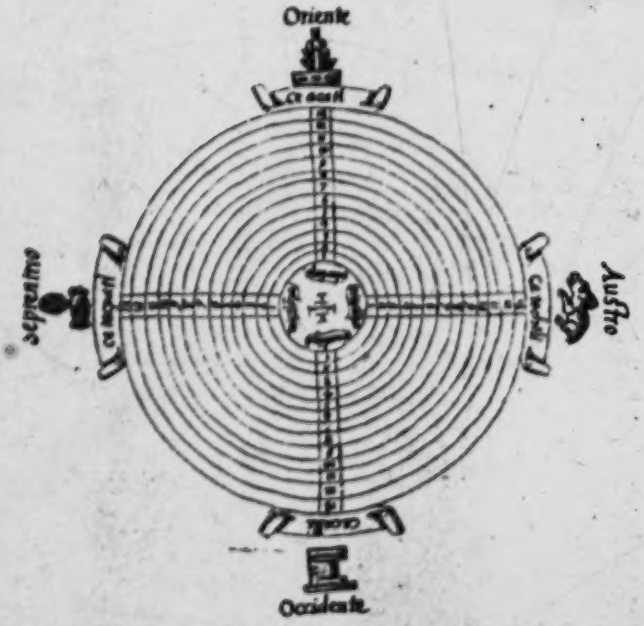

—After Paso y Troncoso

38. The calendar wheel

The reader might assume four spirals instead of the concentric lines shown. Beginning at the center with One Rabbit, proceed to Two Reed, Three Flint Knife, Four House, Five Rabbit, etc., and end at the outside circumference with Thirteen Rabbit. Begin again at the center with One Reed and proceed as before to the outside circumference at Thirteen Reed; and so on until the fourth spiral, which begins with One House, ends with Thirteen House, thus completing the fifty-two-year series.

[p. 38(G)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

22. Natural Phenomena and year signs, from *Primeros Memoriales*, cap. 2

13. Wind
14. Lightning bolt
15. Rain
16. Rainbow
17. Frost
18. Cloud
19. Snow
20. Hail

Year signs, beginning at top
One Rabbit
Two Reed
Three Flint Knife
Four House

[p. 38(I)]

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 727 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who had died, who had been speared. There they burned all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them: they buried them in the earth.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic teiiximacho in tiacaoan in omjcoque, in onixilioaque, vncan qujntlatique in jzqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujnenechicoaia, cololoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

●805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlamj,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl caualo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] —in which began the new year—also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished; when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic teiiximacho in tiacaoan in omjcoque, in onixilioaque, vncan qujntlatique in jzqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujnenechicoaia, cololoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in izqujlhujtico in Mexico inic calaqujco in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlactiz Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique vme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oacic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic qujoaltoqujlia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Tititl no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Izcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl moteneoa Nemontemj: auh in ontzonquja macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quavitl eua, vncã xiuhqujtzqujlo, vncan peoa in iancujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã qujoaltoqujlia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan izpoliuhque Tiacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Tecujlhujtontli, ie vncan in qujzque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in qujzque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic qujzque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jzqujlhujtique matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

006 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left—

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: iuh nemachoc in ca oiccra iaque, in ca iccra oiaque, aocmo cepa valmocuepanaque, aocmo cppa injloch qujchinan-

4. The Aztec year ships Annemoli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 154.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VII—*The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 25; Sahagún, Bulmarda ed., II, p. 200.

796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter.** Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

Injc ompoalli on chiuuei capítulo: vncan mjtoa in quenja Mexica vei ilhujtl quijchiuhq̃ in jquac oquijxque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237 on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oncic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ic no ceppa ilhujquixtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn izquich in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ic no ceppa quijnococencauhque, quijntlaquentique, quijnquecquetzalloticque, quijncococatique, quijmonaxquique xiuhxaiacatl, yoan quijnquequentia in teuquemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in tozquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatquitl in monec, quijpaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they
● 805 also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman quijaltoquijlia in Tlauchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã quijvaltoquijlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jacalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quauitl eua. Tlacaxipeualiztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjcque tulteca acaloca.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ic no ceppa quijçaco, in ic no ceppa tiquijmjttaque ce xiuitl, ipã matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jacalli: quauhtitlan in quijçaco, onmotlalico in Tlacubaa çan onchicuajlhujco: njman inque vaqualcim. Auh ic no ceppa quijçaco, çan quijtiquijquique quauhtitlanqo izcuique: çan tequjl onmoçtlaquique in

1. By the Aztec reckoning (compatible, see Müller, op. cit., [illegible]). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observance of feast days (general communication, Rafael Girard [illegible]).

2. See various translations in Seler, op. cit., p. 320.

3. The fifteenth and sixteenth months are reversed in the Aztec text.

●805 and were gone for forty days. But once more they came forth, to make only a quick foray; from Quauhtitlan they came. Their only object was to set out to slay [those of] Tlalistacapan and Itzcalla; people of Tlatilulco died there.[4] About four hundred perished.

And when they reached a determination, when a decision was reached about us, it was also [still] forty days to Teoxcatl, exactly two years since the chieftains had died in the temple courtyard, in the [month of] Teoxcatl.[5]

tlalistacapan yiztacalla: tlatilulco in mjcque, achi vel centzontli in mjc.

Auh in teoxtlatlahuj, in ie topan nenonotzaloc, no vmpoalica ipan teoxcatl: ie vel ic oxivitl in tlacoan mjcque in teuivalco, in Teoxatica./.

4. This passage is paralleled in Anales de Tlatelolco, pp. 44-45, [illegible]: "Después partió [Cuauh] para otra vez a Cihuatlan. De ahí a Tlacopan y se volvió a meter en el palacio. . . . Pulque 7 Mas cuatro veintenas desaparecieron allí, en Tlacopan. Y nuevamente marcharon de, a quienes siguieron. De allí volvieron y se establecieron en Teoxacalco. Trescientos 80 (días) siguió otra vez y se fue a Huitzilopo y a Quauhtitlan. De allí pasó a Tlalistlacan. Allí pereció gente Tlatelolco. De allí partió por segunda vez y vencido sobre Tlalistlacapan. Allí pereció gente Tlatelolco."

5. Cf. ibid., p. 45, [illegible]-311.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,** and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Mocte-
131 zuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

** *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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The first settlement of Chiapas is ascribed, in the tale of Votan, to *seven families*.[28] But there is still another and more remarkable tradition connected with it. Like the Aborigines of Mexico of *Nahuatl* stock, the *Tarasca* of Michhuacan, the *Maya* of Yucatan, and the *QQuiché*, *Cakchiquel* and *Zutuhil* of Guatemala, the Aborigines of Chiapas had a month composed of twenty days, bearing each a particular name. It is positively asserted by very old authority, that these twenty days were named after as many chiefs of an equal number of lineages or kins, the latter being the earliest settlers of the country. Furthermore, among these twenty names, four are everywhere prominently distinguished.

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men." The last words "xere cahib ri qui chuch oh Quiché vinak," are literally: "though four these (which, who) certainly (surely) mother us (we) QQuiché men." The note by the celebrated Abbé (p. 207, note 3), in which he states that "mother" is often applied to chief, finds a parallel in many passages of *Tezozomoc* when the tribe is also addressed as father and mother. Also *Durán* (Cap. XV, p. 127).

The creation of these four men and four women immediately precedes, in the Popol-Vuh, the tale of the first sacrifice and the distribution of the idols, and is distinctly stated as having occurred during the time of obscurity, the morning star being their only guide and most brilliant luminary ("*Popol-Vuh*," pp. 209, 211, and 213). Now an analogous tale is told by *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 248, etc.), about the first appearance of both sun and moon. The Gods disputed about the place where the two celestial bodies would rise, and *four* of them, together with *four* women, looked to the *east* for their coming. The QQuiché tradition (p. 207), places the coming of these first people also in the East. It appears to be, therefore, a tradition originally common to the "Nahuatl" and to the "QQuiché," and its bearing upon the question at issue becomes still more prominent.

[28] The two leading sources on Chiapas namely: *Nuñez de la Vega* ("*Constitution diocesana del Estado de Chiapas*, Roma, 1702), and *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Santo Domingo*," 1619), not being at my command now,—I can but refer the student to them, and to the following works besides: *Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci* ("*Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*," Madrid, 1776, § XVI, p. 115, copying *Nuñez de la Vega*, 31, § XXX), *Mariano Veytia y Echeverria* ("*Historia antigua de México*," 1836, by Ortega, Vol. I, cap. II, p. 15). *Clavigero* (Lib. II. cap. XII, pp. 164 and 165). *Paul Felix Cabrera* ("*Teatro critico Americano*," german translation by Lieut. *General J. H. von Minutoli*, incorporated in the latter's book. "*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt, die in Guatimala (Neuspanien) unfern Palenque entdeckt worden ist*," p. 30. etc., after Vega also). *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*" Introduction. pp. LXXIII, LXXXVII, CXII, etc). *Alex. von Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*," 1861. Vol. I, pp. 262 and 263; II, pp. 256 and 257). *Bancroft, H. H.*, (Vol. III, cap, X, pp. 450 and 454; and especially Vol. V, cap. III, from p. 150 on). As usual, very full and valuable, although he does not mention any source older than Nuñez de la Vega. Finally, *A. Bastian* ("*Die Culturlaender des alten Amerika*," 1878, Vol. II, pp. 360 and 362). The latter says that Votan found Chiapas already peopled. This is not confirmed by what I know of Vega and of the other (later) authority *Don Ramon Ordoñez y Aguiar* ("*Historia de la Creacion del Cielo y de la Tierra*" MSS. at the "Museo Nacional" of Mexico). Votan was "sent to divide and distribute the land" *Cabrera* says ("*Beschreibung, etc.*," "*Teatro*," p. 33), basing upon verbal communications of *Ordonnez y Aguiar*: "He (Votan) assures, that he brought seven families to this continent, of Valum Votan, and assigned land to them."

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They not only indicate the first day of each "week" of five days, but they also designate the years of the calendar. It is well-known that the largest authentically established cycle of Central American and Mexican natives consisted of 52 years, that is of a thirteen-fold recurrence of the same series of four, named alike, respectively as one of the four initial days of the weekly indictions. This peculiarity, coupled with the positive description furnished in the "Popol-Vuh" of the segmentation of four original kins into a number of smaller ones, and with the fact that nearly every aboriginal settlement, at the present time, divides into four principal groups of inhabitants, becomes suggestive of the inference, not only that the consanguine group was the original type of social organization at the remotest period, but that the ethnography of Mexico and Central America may even be derived from a segmentation of primitive kins, and reassociation of these fragments into tribes, under the influence of time and mutation of residence, dialectical variation aiding.[29]

[29] Without quoting superfluously to prove well-known facts—household words so to say, in Mexican and Central-American archæology—we will place side by side the names of the days of the Mexican, Nicaraguan, Yucatecan, QQuiché, Chiapanecan, and Tarascan month.

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NAHUATL.			MAYA.		TZENDAL.
Mexican.	*Niquiran.*	*Tarascan.*	*Maya.*	*QQuiché.*	*Chiapas* and *Socomusco.*
Cipactli,	Cipat,	Inbeari,	Ymix,	Imox,	Imox,
Ehecatl,	Ecat or Hecat,	Inthaati,	Yx,	Ig,	Igh,
Calli,	Cali.	Inbani,	Akbal,	Akbal,	Volan,
Cuetzpalin,	Quespal,	Inxichari,	Kan,	Qat,	Chanan,
Cobuatl,	Coat,	Inchini,	Chicchan,	Can,	Abah,
Miquiztli,	Miesiste,	Iarini,	Quimij,	Camey,	Tox,
Mazatl,	Macet,	Inpari,	Manik,	Quich,	Moxic,
Tochtli,	Toste,	Inchon,	Lamat,	Ganel,	Lambat,
Atl,	At,	Inthabini,	Muluc,	Toh,	Molo,
Itzcuintli,	Tequindi,	Intzini,	Oc,	Tzy,	Elab,
Ozomatli,	Ocomate,	Intzonitabi,	Chuen,	Batz,	Batz,
Malinalli,	Malinal,	Intzimbi,	Eb,	Ci,	Evob,
Acatl,	Acate,	Inthikati,	Been,	Ah,	Been,
Ocelotl,	Ocelot,	Inixotzini,	Gix,	Itz,	Hix,
Quauhtli,	Oate,	Inichini,	Men,	Tziquin,	Tzibin,
Cozcaquauhtli,	Coscagoate,	Iniabi,	Quib,	Ahmak,	Chabin,
Ollin,	Olin,	Intzeiri,	Caban,	Noh,	Chic,
Tecpatl,	Tapecat,	Inodon,	Edznab,	Tibax,	Chinax,
Quiahuitl,	Quiahit,	Inimbi,	Cauac,	Caok,	Cabogh,
Xochitl.	Sochit.	Inetzuni.	Ajau.	Huzahpu.	Aghual.

The four leaders (as I may be permitted to call them), are respectively: In Mexico, *Tochtli, Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli.* In Michhuacan, *Inchon, Inthabini, Inodon, Inbani.* In Chiapas, *Volan, Lambat, Been, Chinax.* In Guatemala, *Akbal, Ganel, Ah, Tibax.* Finally in Yucatan, *Kan, Muluc, Gix, Cauac.*

I have not the means of discussing the Tarascan calendar of Michhuacan; it is suf-

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It is not surprising therefore if, of the earliest traces which are met with concerning such Aborigines as spoke the "good sound" Scient for my purpose to establish its identity, in system, with the others. The Nicaraguan days are corruptions of the Mexican names, the "Niquiran" being a "Nahuatl" dialect.

Taking now the four remaining groups, we place opposite to each word its translation or interpretation so far as I can trace it, which is of course not always possible.

Mexican.	*QQuiché.*	*Maya.*	*Chiapanecs.*
Cipactli, *Marine monster.*	Imox. *Swordfish.*	Ymix. *Dragon.*	Imox.
Ehecatl, *Wind.*	Iz. *Breath.*	Yk, *Breath or wind.*	Ich.
Calli, House.	*Akbal, chaos* (?).	Akbal. (See below).	*Voton.*
Cuetzpalin. *Lizard.*	Cat, *Lizard.*	*Kan. Snake.*	Chanan. *Snake.*
Cohuatl. *Snake.*	Can. *Snake.*	Chechan.	Abah, *Stone* (?).
Miquiztli. *Skull.*	Camey. *Death.*	Quimij, *Death.*	Tox.
Mazatl, *Deer.*	Quich. *Deer.*	Manik, (See below).	Moxic.
Tochtli, Rabbit.	*Ganel, Rabbit.*	Lamat.	*Lambat.*
Atl, *Water.*	Toh, *Shower.*	*Mulue.*	Molo.
Itzcuintli, *Dog.*	Tzy. *Dog.*	Oc.	Elab.
Ozomatli, *Monkey.*	Batz. *Monkey.*	Chuen. (See below).	Batz. *Monkey* (?).
Malinalli. *Knot or twist*	Ci, *Broom.*	Eb, *Staircase.*	Eoob.
Acatl, Cane.	*Ah, Cane.*	Been.	*Been.*
Ocelotl, *Wild cat or tiger.*	Itz, *Wizard.*	*Giz, Wizard.*	Hix.
Quauhtli. *Eagle.*	Tziquin. *Bird.*	Men. *Builder* (?).	Tzibin.
Cozcaquauhtli, *Vulture.*	Ahmak, *Owl.*	Quib, *Gum or wax.*	Chabin.
Ollin, *Motion.*	Noh, *Temperature.*	Caban.	Chic.
Tecpatl, flint.	*Tihax, Obsidian.*	Edznab.	*Chinax.*
Quiahuitl. *Rain.*	Caok, *Rain.*	*Cauac.*	Cahogh.
Xochitl, *flower.*	Hunahpu, *Shooter out of a tube.*	Ajau, *Chief.*	Aghual.

For the interpretation, as above attempted, I have consulted the following very limited number of authors:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Relation des choses de Yucatan, etc.*" "*Popol-Vuh,*" "*Grammaire Quiché,*" "*Ruines de Palenqué.*") *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. II and III). *Orozco y Berra*, ("*Geografia de las Lenguas.*") and other sources. Mr. Bancroft translates the QQuiché "akbal" by *chaos*. I would suggest "*household,*" basing upon the following note of Mr. Brasseur: ("*Chronologia antigua de Yucatan, etc.,*" por *Don Juan Pio Perez* in "Choses de Yucatan," p. 375). "*Akbal*, mot vieilli qu' on retrouve dans la langue Quiché avec le sens de marmite, vase, peut être le même que le mot *con* ou *comitl* des Mexicains." Sr. Perez says about the word: "desconocido: tambien se halla entre los dias chiapanecas, escrito *Aghual*," (p. 374). In this the learned Yucatan is mistaken, for Aghual corresponds to the Maya and QQuiché "Ajau" or "Ahau." Now the pot or rather kettle, was distinctly connected with the housewife, and the word "Akbal" being, as the Abbé tells us, out of use, the suggestion that it may have been used to indicate something like the Mexican "Calli"—house,—is at least permitted.

I have deliberately translated "Kan" by snake, instead of by "cord of hennequen" as Pio-Perez has it (p. 372). Compare note 1 by the Abbé.

Manik is interpreted by Pio-Perez as follows: "es perdida su verdadera acepcion; pero si se divide la expresion man-ik viento que pasa, quizá se entenderia lo que fué." If this is accepted, then the signification might be: "fleetness," "swiftness," or "rapidity,"—some of the attributes of the *deer*, which is the corresponding sign in both the Mexican and QQuiché.

Chuen, for the reasons indicated by Brasseur (note 3, p. 372 of "*Chronologia, etc.,*") should be "monkey," as well as in the three other idioms.

In regard to "Gix" *Sr. Orozco y Berra* (Part II, V, p. 103), copies the three interpretations of Don Pio-Perez, one of which amounts to "the act of plundering or rob-

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Cauac" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 22, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 65, note 5).

"Batz" as monkey, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh, Hix, and Cahogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Been, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

This origin is stated as follows:—

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Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 487), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, ... This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 124), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 465), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cacalcan or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 38. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Bulurind* ("*Idea*, etc.," § XVI, pp. 113 to 121). Quoting *Nuñez de la Vega* (34, § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que al que llamaban Cuchhaotor (*que es el Demonio, segun los Indios dicen, con firme publicidad*) le tienen pintado en Sillo, y con hartas en la cabeza como de carnero, quando dicho Cualahdator se ha de corregir en Tmoc, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Toltecs,"[30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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sino por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symbolos de los días de el Año, y assi viene á ser el primer Symbolo de años." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 23, 24, and 25), "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiappa, y Soconusco con el Tulióco, ... pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Tècpatl, Calli, Tóchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiappa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Been, y Chinax, etc., etc."

Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 164). "The Chiapanecs, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México*," 1865, Vol. II, p. 223.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 412, Vol. I) "The Chiapanecs . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Been, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 483, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1788. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapanecs are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnez y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

Brasseur de Bourbourg ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologie*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 374, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper leads to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tzendal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprung through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 391, 392, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
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About the middle of the thirteenth century the Mexicans while on a migration towards more southern regions, made

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by the so-called calendars just named, which peculiarities may throw some light on the questions raised, as to whether they originally denoted kins or not.

With a single exception (Cipactli), the Mexican and allied calendars contained the name of not one object, or phenomenon, which might not be met with somewhere over the wide area which the three linguistical stocks occupied at the time of the Conquest. Still, as Sr. Orozco y Berra strikingly proves ("*Géografía de las Lenguas*," Parte IIa, Cap. V, p. 107), the Mexican month contains the names of animals unknown to the ultimate home of the tribe as well as to more northern regions. Thus the monkey ("Onomatli") is not found on the high central tableland. In regard to the sign Cipactli, I shall elsewhere refer to this sign, which may perhaps denote a "cuttle-fish" of monstrous dimensions.

Supposing now (since we have no proof yet to the contrary), that this "marine monster" was also an inhabitant of tropical seas, it must strike us that the twenty signs for the days of the aboriginal calendars under consideration

(1). Represent types and phenomena which are met with, *not exclusively, but still all*, within the area of Mexico and Central America.

(2). That some of the animal types are limited to tropical and low regions only.

(3). That none of the animals belong exclusively to the temperate zone of North America.

Consequently, that these signs are of a meridional origin, and even, taking into account that the monkey is not found in the valley of Mexico, that they originated to the south of it. Still, the four "Leaders," as I have called them (the first signs of each "week" of five days), namely: Rabbit, cane, flint, and house,—might as well have been selected at the north.

It is a fact abundantly proven, that the kins or gentes composing the tribes of North America are named after a principle identical with that found in the naming of the days among the aborigines of more southerly latitudes, namely: after objects and natural phenomena. Mr. Morgan has given the names of the gentes of at least thirty tribes, consisting in all of two hundred and ninety-six gentes. Of these two hundred and ninety-six names, ninety-eight are signs of the Mexican days, repeatedly found in the different tribes. These signs are as follows:—

Itzcuintli, Dog, mostly found, however, as wolf	22 times.
Quauhtli, Eagle	12 "
Coxcoquauhtli, Hawk (although it is the "ringed vulture")	8 "
Mazatl, Deer, Elk, Caribou, Antelope	20 "
Cohuatl, Snake	9 "
Atl, Water (also as "Ice," "Sea," etc.)	4 "
Miquiztli, Skull (as "Head")	1 time.
Ollin (as "many seasons" and "Sun")	2 times.
Calli, House (as "high village" and "lodge")	3 "
Tecpatl, Flint (as "knife")	2 "
Ocelotl, Tiger (also as "panther" and "wild cat")	5 "
Ehecatl, Wind	1 time.
Acatl, Cane (also as "Indian corn")	3 times.
Tochtli, Rabbit (also as "hare")	3 "
Cuetzpalin, Lizard ("frog")	1 time.
Xochitl, Flower (as "Tobacco")	1 "
Quiahuitl, Rain	1 "

I beg to observe, that if I have added "Cencaquauhtli" to this list, supposing it to be the equivalent of "Hawk," this is a mere suggestion, and not an affirmation on my part.

Thus sixteen, if not seventeen, of the twenty signs of days of the Mexican month, are found in North America as "*totems*" *probably of aboriginal clans or kins.*

It is further interesting to note, that of the nine clans composing the Moqui tribes of Arizona, the names of seven correspond to signs of Mexican days, ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, p. 179). What little is known of the Laguna Indians foreshadows a similar result (p. 186), thus permitting the query, whether the pueblo Indians of the

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Maya NU4

A 173 618 their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[20] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[22] We may as well add here, that these

A M central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

● [805 171] After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

A [197 173 621] [20] *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones Históricas*" "*Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) "y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also "*Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de América llamada Nueva-España*" ("*Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 333), "Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinieron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), "Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 288, note 7, to p. 342). I refer to *Veteancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (in Tarde, p. 31).

[21] "*Tardes Americanas*" (p. 31), "bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vagaearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full, I but refer to "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. V, pp. 26, 29; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. I, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *García* ("*Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 50, 60): *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Veteancurt* (Vol. I, "*Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 254, 255). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[22] The number seven (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 300, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* ("*Die Culturländer des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 400, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mendoll's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[23] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitzangoa.	Huitzahuac.	Huitzahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cihuatecpanoca.	Cihuatecpanoca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpanoca.	Tlacatecpanoca.	Tlacatecpanoca.
Tzquiteca.	Tzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.

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The place where this council assembled, was necessarily the official house of the tribe or "tecpan,"[183] and there they met at stated intervals, possibly twice every Mexican month of twenty days.[182] Such meetings were fully attended, and they could be called, besides, at any time.[184] There is evidence that, during

Bustamante ("*Tezcoco*," p. 187): "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban Tepantlátoani (el que habla por otro)."

[183] *Molina* (II, p. 92): "casa ò palacio real, ó de algun señor de salua." But of special importance is the following definition (I, p. 91): "Palacio real" — "tecpan, tlatocan, totocuacan." This shows that the tecpan was really the place where the council met." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIV, pp. 302 and 303. Cap. XXV, p. 314). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 124). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, pp. 247-252). *Pagès* (III. cap. VII, p. 199). *Torquemada* ("*Monarquia*," Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 344), identifying "la Corte" with the "lugar de Juzgado, ó Audiencia." Further quotations are useless.

[184] This fact is implied by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," cap. XXXVIII, pp. 267, 268 and 269), when he affirms that, in notifying a hostile tribe of the intention to make war upon it, the notification was repeated thrice, at intervals of twenty days. *Pagès* ("*Historia antigua de México*," Lib. III, cap. VII. p. 209), says that every twelve days "cada doce dias," the courts met to report to the "emperor." This is rather strange since (Id., p. 203, etc.), he says that these courts sat daily in what he calls the "palace." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 253): "De diez à diez Dias, y á mas tardar, de doce à doce, hacia junta el Rei de todos los jueces, asi de las Audiencias del Reino, como de los de sus Consejos." In this case he speaks of Tezcuco. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 125): "Y asi, á lo mas largo, los pleitos árduos, se concluian á la consulta de los ochenta dias, que llamaban nappoalltetolli, demas que cada diez ó doce dias el señor con todos los jueces tenian acuerdo sobre los casos árduos y de mas calidad." *Burtin* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 101): "Tous les douze jours il y avait une assemblée générale des juges présidié par le prince. On y jugeait les affaires difficiles, celles de crimes qualifiés, et l'on examinait minutieusement tous les détails." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 488), is very positive: "Each Mexican month, or within twenty days, a meeting of all the judges was held in presence of the King, to decide upon all cases not yet disposed of." He evidently bases the statement upon *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vadia I. p. 441). "Consultan con los señores cada mes una vez todos los negocios," according to *Sr. Orozco y Berra* ("*Ojeada sobre Cronologia Mexicana*," Introduction to the "Crónica Mexicana," published under the supervision of Señor José M. Vigil, pp. 174 and 178). Gomara rests principally upon an unpublished series of documents, entitled "*Libro de Oro*," now in possession of my friend, Sr. Izcabalceta, which collection was formed by the Franciscans under the auspices of the unjustly abused Fray Juan de Zumárraga, between 1531 and 1547. The statement of Clavigero is, therefore, not to be rejected. The "*Codice Ramírez*" (p. 65) says: "los quales daban noticia al Rey cada cierto tiempo de todo lo que en su Reyno passaba y se habia hecho." It is, therefore, to say the least, likely, that the full council met once a month, but, as we have stated in order to be just towards all, it is equally possible that it may have met twice. The reference to "Judges" needs no explanation. It is self-evident that for judiciary matters, alone, such meetings of executive officers were superfluous. Matters of government came up also,—and this is decisive of the kind of officers that were members of the tribal council, since they alone could fill such positions. These meetings were, therefore, full meetings of the council, and nothing else.

[185] This is abundantly proven by what has at last been recognized by *Sr. Orozco y Berra* as well as by my friend, *Sr. Chavero* ("*Ojeada*," etc.) as specifically Mexican sources of aboriginal history. See for inst.: "*Codice Ramírez*" (pp. 55, 56, 66, 67, 68). "*Fragmento No.* 1" (pp. 124, 127, 128, etc.). "*Fragmento No.* 2" (pp. 137, 147, etc.).

De la Arte Adivinatoría

FOURTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE BOOK OF DAYS WHICH THE MEXICANS HANDED DOWN. THIS WAS IN ORDER THAT THE READERS OF THE DAY SIGNS[1] MIGHT STUDY THE GOOD AND EVIL DAYS. IN IT WERE SET FORTH THE DAY SIGNS HERE RECOUNTED, AND HOW THOSE WOULD FARE WHO WERE BORN ON THEM. AND THIS BOOK OF DAYS IS MORE CORRECTLY CALLED SORCERY, FOR IT BELONGED TO THE SORCERERS.

INIC NAVI AMUXTLI: YTECHPA TLATOA, IN TONALAMATL, IN QUJTITLANJA MEXICA: IEHOATL INIC QUJTTAIA TONALPOUHQUE, IN QUALLI CEMJLHUJTL, IOAN AMO QUALLI: YN JPAN MONEZCAIOTITIUH TONALLI, IN NICAN MOTENEOA: AUH IN QUENAMJQUE IEZQUE IN JPAN TLACATIA. AUH IN, Y, TONALAMATL OC CENCA IE MELAOAC, IC MOTOCAIOTIZ, NAOALLOTL, CA NAOALTI INTECH POVIA.

X 787 First Chapter, which telleth of the first sign, which was named One Crocodile, and of the good fortune which they merited who were born then — men or women. These same destroyed and ruined it because of their negligence.[2]

Inic ce capítulo, ítechpa tlatoa, inic cenetl machiotl: in jnoca ce cipactli, ioan in qualli tonalli in qujmácoaia, in vncan tlacatia, in toquichti, in cioa: çan ichoacotin quipolouia, quimoctacalhujuia, yn jpampa in jatlatzivilin.

● 805 Here beginneth the count of each day. Just as each week was reckoned, so each of the thirteen-day periods went taking its place until one year had passed. Once more at its start began the count of each day.

Nican peua in cecemjlhujtlapoalli in iuhquj cecentetl semana ic moponia, matlatlaqujlhujtl omecy motlalitiuh, inic otlatocatiuh ce xivitl: Oc ceppa iniuhtlan oalpeoa in cecemjlhujtl tlapoalli.

The first day count was named One Crocodile.[3] It was the very beginning and precise starting point of all the day counts, whereby began, continued, and came to an end the year [of 260 days].[4]

Achto tonalpoalli yeuca ce cipactli: vel ipeuhca, vel itzin in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ynic vnpeuhtiuh, ôtlatocatiuh: ioan inic ontlantiuh ce xivitl.

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1. Cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Angel María Garibay K., ed.; México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1956; hereafter referred to as Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 259 (Tonalamatl-qui); also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), pp. 425 ff., where in conjugation of the verb *pan*, the preferred meaning is "to read." Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and Rémi Simeon: *Diccionario de la lengua nahuatl o mexicana* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), give the meanings "to read," "to relate," etc., besides "to count." See also Miguel León Portilla: *La filosofía nahuatl estudiada en sus fuentes* (México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1956), p. 395; on pp. 204 ff. there is a discussion of the number and naming of day signs.

2. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905), Vol. VII (hereafter referred to as *Real Palacio MS*), pp. 280 ff., the text has been divided into the chapters which appear in the *Florentine Codex*, and each one gives a descriptive heading, in Spanish and in Sahagún's handwriting. The Aztec heading appears to be a rendition in Nahuatl of Sahagún's Spanish. It will be noted that some of the chapter divisions to be found below appear to be arbitrary.

3. In the "Primera Adivinanza" of the *Real Palacio MS* (Vol. VI of the Paso y Troncoso ed.), pp. 73-75, 107, Sahagún begins the day count with One Dog (*ce mazatl*).

4. *Xivitl*. Though the term means a year of 365 days, a 260-day conventional year is meant.

805 It because as the leader of this group of thirteen days which belonged with it: Two [Wind],[5] Three House, Four Lizard, Five Serpent, Six Death, Seven Deer, Eight Rabbit, Nine Water, Ten Dog, Eleven Monkey, Twelve Grass, and Thirteen Reed.

187 These various days, as it was said, all were good. He who was then born a nobleman, it was stated, would be a lord, a ruler; he would prosper; he would be rich and wealthy. And if a commoner were then born, he would be a brave warrior—a valiant chief, esteemed, honored, and great. He would always eat. And if a woman were then born, she would also prosper and be rich. She would have drink and food available. She would have food for others to eat; she would invite others to feast. She would be respectful. She would be visited by others; she would await them with drink and food, with which to revive and refresh the spirits and bodies of those who lived in misery on earth, who, as they slept so they awoke—the destitute old men and women, and orphans; the forsaken; and all would be realized and come to pass that was undertaken; nothing would fail; of her fatigue and effort, nothing would be in vain. Successful would be her dealings around the market place, in the place of business; it was as if it would sprinkle, shower, and rain her waves upon her.

And furthermore they said that even though favorable was the day sign on which he had been born, if he did not strictly perform his penances, if he took not good thought, if he did not accept the reprimands and punishment meted out to him, the punishment with which he was punished and the correction with which he was corrected, the exhortations of the old men and the old women; if he became bad and perverse and followed not the way of righteousness, succeeded in nothing, and entirely by his own acts brought himself to ruin, despised himself, brought harm to himself, failed, lost through his own neglect, gave up, and endangered that which might be his good fortune,—his reward, and his lot: then he tarnished, polluted, and ruined with debauchery his birthright. Thus he found and merited affliction. As was the sleep, so was the awakening.[6] Nowhere was he content, nowhere

Injn matlactetl vmei in tonalli, in iuhquj itlavilanoan muchioa, yn itech povi: ichoatl in vme acatl, ey calli, navi cuetzpali, macujlli coatl, chiquacen mjqujztli, chicome maçatl, chicuei tochtli, chicunavi atl, matlactli itzcujntli, matlactli oce oçomatli, matlactli vmome malinalli, matlactli omej acatl.

In jaqujztel in tonalli: iuh mjtoaia, muchi qualli: in aquja ipan tlacatia pilli; mjtoaia tecutix, tlatocatix, motlacamatix, mocujltonoz, motlamachtix: Auh intla macoualli ipan tlacatia, oqujchtix, tiacauhtix, mavizzix, panvetzix, motleiotix, onca qujquanj iez: auh intla çioatl ipan tlacati, no motlacamatix, mocujltonoz, oniez in qujz, in qujquaz, tetlaqualtix, tecoanotzaz, tetlacamatix, ipan calaoaz, qujtechielitiz in atl, in tlaqualli: ypal ihiiocujoaz, ypal ceviz in jiollo, in jnacaio, in tlaihiiovitinemj tlalticpac, in iuhquj cochi, in iuhquj meoa, in jcnoveve, yn jcnoilama, in jcnopiltziotli, in tlacnocaoalli: yoan muchi neltiz, muchi onieoatiz, in tlein masilia, atle nenqujçaz, in jçiaviz, yn jtlapaliviz, atle nenvetziz, vel motitianqujz in tianquiznaoac, in nentlamachoian: iuhqujn pipixaviz, ipan tepeviz, ipan tzetzeliviz in jtiamjc.

Auh no yoã quitoaia: ma nel ivi in qualli itonal ipan otlacat, intlacamo vellamacoa, intlacamo vel monotza, intlacamo qujcuj, intlacamo iuch qujpachoa, in atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli, yn inonotzaloca, in izcaliloca, in venetlatolli, yn jlamatlatolli, in çan tlaueliloti, tlavelilocati, in çan ñic vtli qujtoca, atle onquiça, çan ynevian mopopoloa, motelchioa, mjxpopoiomjctia, mjiecoa, conmjxcaoaltia coamocavilia, qujmjtlacalhuja, yn jmãcoal ieuquja, yn itonal, yn jnemac, qujteuhiotia, qujtlaçollotia, qujtlaçolmjctia yn itlacatiliz: ic cococ, teupouhquj qujmottitia, qujmomaçevia, in iuhquj cochcaiotl, iuhquj neuhcaiotl, acan avia, acan vellamati, ompa onquiça in qujtzaqua tlalticpac netolinjlizztli: ca nel omonevizavi, yn jpampa yn jtlauelilocaio, inj atle ipan tlamaliz, yn iaquentlattaliz, yn jtlaauilmachiliz, aiac oconcaujli, ca iccoian ynevian oqujmochichivili in tonevizzli, in chichinaqujztli, ic telchioalo, aoc tle ipan itto, aoc ac

5. *Ome ozcatl* has been corrected to read *ome ozcatl* in the *Real Palacio* MS. p. 280.

6. *In tlahqui cochcaiotl, tlahqui neuhcaiotl*. Cornelio, op. cit., pp. 471, 456, favors the meaning of a general contentment (*cocochca: cocohcayotl, cocohcayotl*), though his examples do not parallel the phrasing here found. Possibly the rendering should be: "As for contentment, nowhere was he content."

X 787 her spinning bowl, her sweeper, and her broom. Thus they showed that the girl was one who went
844 nowhere; only the house was her abode. Hence, near the grinding stone, at the edge of the hearth, they buried her umbilical cord.

in ſcampa ianj cioamintli, çan calli ichan: ic çan metlatitlan, tecujlnacaxco contocaia yn jtic.

X 787 And this count of days—so was it claimed—
791 was an invention of the two called and named Oxomoco and Cipactonal, who gave it to the people.
●805 Oxomoco they painted as a woman, and Cipactonal [as] a man. They who were readers of day signs embellished their book of days with their representations, which they placed in the middle when they painted them. For it was so said that there they became lords of all the day count.

Auh inin tonalpoalli, iuh mjtoaia: ichoan intlanextil, ichoan qujtemacaqui, in vmentin tenecuale, intoca Oxomoco, ioan cipactonal: in Oxomoco cioatl inic qujcujlouia: auh in Cipactonal oquichtli: in tonalpouhque catca yn jntonalamauh qujiollotiaia, yn jmjxiptla ynepantla qujntlaliaia, injc qujcujcujloaia: ca iuh mjtoaia: vncan tlatoque muchiua yn jpan ſaquich tonalpoalli.

[p. 4]

Second Chapter, which telleth of the second [day] sign, which was named One Ocelot, and which was not a good day sign for those who were born on it—men and women—to obtain reward; but, nevertheless, he who showed prudence might well be saved through forethought; and of those born on [this day sign] almost all became slaves.

Injc vme capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc vntetl machivtl, in jtoca ce ocelutl: ioan in amo qualli tonalli, in qujmomáceviaia in aqujque ipan tlacatia, in toqujchti, in cioa: auh tel in jca innezcaliliz, in vel nenotzalizpiatia: auh in aqujque in jpan tlacatia, y, achi muchintin tlatlaoni muchioaia. 787x

The second day sign which set in was named One Ocelot. When it set in, it was said to be an evil day sign, one of fierce beasts.

It bore with it and presided over all its series[1] of thirteen, which belonged to it: Two Eagle, Three Vulture, Four Motion, Five Flint Knife, Six Rain, Seven Flower, Eight Crocodile, Nine Wind, Ten House, Eleven Lizard, Twelve Serpent, and Thirteen Death.

And those who were then born, whether nobleman or commoner, so it was said, would die in war, be taken away, abandoned, imprisoned, seized. And all bad was his lot; misery befell him. He only wallowed in evil and he was covered with filth. Nowhere had he good repute. He committed adultery, was an adulterer, adulterous, one who seized other skirts and blouses, one who remained on female navels.

And even though one such became a valiant chieftain, brave, a taker of captives, indeed he sold and yielded himself to slavery; he became someone's digging stick and tump line; he yielded to the digging stick and tump line. So it was said: "Thus was his day sign; thus was his life. On such a day was he born; thus was his birthright."

But [if] he emerged great, some brave chieftain, he was not sold [but] lived on earth in tranquillity: one who was not lazy; diligent and careful, vigilant, a receiver of [ritual] benefits, a doer of penances, one who fasted and bled himself; who swept, shook out clothing, gathered up rubbish, laid fires, and at night held vigil, rose in vigor, and was circumspect; who

Injc ome moquetza tonalli: ytoca ce oçelutl. In jquac in moquetza, mjtoaia ãpo qualli tonalli, tequantonalli, 787x 805

qojcenvica, qujcentlaça, yn itlavilan matlactli vmei, in jtech povi, ichoantin, y, vme quauhtli, ei concaquauhtli, navi olin, macujlli tecpatl, chiquaçen qujavitl, chicome xochitl, chicuey cipactli, chicunavi hecatl, matlactli calli, matlactli oce, cuetzpali, matlactli vmome coatl, matlactli vmei mjquijztli:

auh in aqujque ipan tlacatia, y, in aço pilli, anoço macoualli: auh mjtoa iaomjquja, vicoia, caoaloia, calaqujloia, axioaia, ioan muchi amo qualli in jmlcoual, in jcnopil muchioaia, çan teuhtli, tlaçolli, ic mjlacatzoinemj, teuhtli tlaçolli cokolotinemj: acan tlacatolo, tetlaxima, tepan iauh, tetlan aaquj, cucid, vipilli tepan cana, icoaxic ietinemj. 787x

Auh intlanel aca tlacauh, oquichtli, tlamanj muchioaia, vel monamacaia, motlacocaoaia, tevic, temecapal muchioaia, victli, mecapalli qujmomitiaia, iuh mjtoaia: ca iuhquj iaoual, iuhquj iol, iuhquj ipan tlacat, iuhquj itlacatiliz:

auh çi vei qujçaia in aca tlacauh, amo monamacaia, in jvian oalnemja tlatiçpac: ichaol in amo tlatziuhquj, in jeel, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochiçanj, in tlacetianj, in tlamaceoanj, in moçaoanj, in mjqonj, in tlachpananj, in tlamettelonj, in tlacujcujnj, in tletlalianj, in ioalli qujztoc, in popoxiuhtzoa, in mocujtivetti, in amo motetoca, in amo motiocaoa, in

1. The linguistic concepts illustrated in this sentence by the use of *pol-vmoa* and *Mouhtlac* presents a semantic problem difficult to put into English. Therefore in this Book we generally translate *vmoa* as "bear with it," and *Mouhtlac*, or *tlauhtlac*, as "he series," or companions, or group.

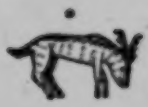

Third Chapter, which telleth of the third sign, named One Deer; and the good fortune which those then born — men or women — merited. And if it were not realized, these lost it through laziness.

Injc ei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: injc eteçi machiotl, in jtoca oc maçatl: yoan in qualli tonalli, in qujmomacevizia yn ipan tlacatia, in toqujchti, in cioa: auh intlacamo inpan neltiaia, çan iehoantin in tlatzvilizticca quipolonia. 787X

In third place set in a day sign, the one [named] One Deer, and it also bore with it thirteen [days]. These are Two Rabbit, and Three Water, Four Dog, Five Monkey, Six Grass, Seven Reed, Eight Ocelot, Nine Eagle, Ten Vulture, Eleven Motion, Twelve Flint Knife, and Thirteen Rain.

Many of these day signs, it was said, were good and of a propitious time. Nevertheless, some mixed and mingled with them, so that they corrupted, as will be told. Here are told their qualities as they went in order.

Injc expa moquetza tonalli: ieheatl in oc maçatl, no matlactlomej quivica, ieheatl in vme tochtli, ey atl, navi itzcuintli, macuijlli ocomatli, chiquacen malinalli, chicome acatl, chicuei ocelotl, chicunavi quauhtli, matlactli coecaquauhtli, matlactli oce olin, matlactlomome tecpatl, matlactlomei quiavitl. 787X 805

In jaquijtetl in tonalli, mjtoaia: qualli, ieccan: auh tel cequj itla actiuh, itzalan actiuh, injc itlacauhtiuh, in iuh motenecoaz: vncan mjtoa innenexcauijtoca, injc tecpantivi: 787X

He who was then born a nobleman, who was of noble lineage,[1] became a ruler and gained fame. Because of him there was drink and food; he rewarded others and bestowed upon and laid before them capes, breech cloths, head bands, lip pendants, and ear plugs.

in aquin ipan tlacati pilli, in tetzon, in teixti, in tetzicuenhca, in tetzicuecaçlo, in tetlapanca, in tetechpa quiz, iol, in teujcttzo, in teaoaio, in tetentzoe, in teixquamol, in tecaço, in tetlapallo, tlatocaiotia, oalmoteniotiaia, ipal actioaia, ipallaqualoia, tetlauhtiaia, qujtemecaia, tetech qujtlalilaia in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in tlalpilonj, in teçacatl, in necochtli:

And if it were only a commoner who was then born, the same likewise befell him. He attained his ends; he succeeded. He lived. He became a brave warrior, a valiant chieftain. He surpassed others; he left them overcome. He did not wish to lose stature. Nowhere did he hang on at the end. Nowhere was he inferior, the younger brother, the child, the blighted one. Proceeding everywhere mature, [like] something well-developed; going first and foremost, at the head, he brought his life to successful fruition. Nowhere did he deal in shameful things; he was ashamed of nothing and ashamed of no one. Nothing deterred him; he did not live in humiliation; nowhere did he turn tail in battle. In nothing did they consider him a woman.

auh intla çan macoualli ipan tlacatia, no iuhquj ypan machioaia, oallacaopilhoaia, oalquiçaia, oalnemjx, oqujchtia, tiacauhtia, techcaoaia, teihicaoaia: amo mopatzaoallanj, ican tlatzimpiloa, ican tetzacuja, ican teiccauhti, xocoioti, amo patzaczioti, noviian mochamauhtiuh, tlachamauhtiuh, tachcauh icatiuh, tlaiacatitiuh, panj icatiuh, coaquixtilitiuh yn jecmjlix, ican pinaviztlamati, atle qujmamati, aiac qujmamati, atle quixicololtia, amo papinoenj, ican tzinquixcatlaiecoa, atle quicioatlamachia.

1. Andrés de Olmos, in *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 212, groups most of these terms as synonymous with "*Parlamos de alguno que sabe de sus renos*"; Sahagún, in "Manuscrito con vocablos," *Academia de la Historia* MS (Vol. VI of the Pano y Tremamo ed.), cap iv, pp. 286, 288, defines the terms figuratively as *personas que tienen sucesores*. Simeon, *op. cit.*, as well as Sahagún, loc. *cit.*, gives literal meanings of most of them. See also Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xiii, fol. 28b.

X 787 Seventh Chapter, which telleth of the fourth sign, named One Flower. And the man born upon it, they said, and it was averred, would be happy, quiet ~~this~~, and much given to song and joy: a jester, an entertainer. And it was said that the women were great embroiders. It was said that this sign was indifferent; that is to say, a little bad and a little good.

X 787 One Flower and all of its various companions set in, so forming [a set of] thirteen days. Two Crocodile followed it, and Three Reed,[1] Four House, Five Lizard, Six Serpent, Seven Death, Eight Deer, Nine Rabbit, Ten Water, Eleven Dog, Twelve Monkey, and Thirteen Grass.

● 805

X 787 These various ones, it was said, were evil; but also it was said that they were somewhat good.

In this manner was considered the one then born, nobleman or only commoner. He would become a singer, a bearer of joy, a teller of tales, an artisan. And he found and merited his consolation, his riches. He lived content and happy when he was devoted to his day sign; that is, when he reflected and did his penance well.

And [as for] him who was not devoted to it, who disregarded it, who only disdained his day sign, then, so was it said, when one such was a singer, or some artisan or skilled craftsman, if there was food on hand and wealth was there, he became presumptuous, superior, ungrateful, proud, haughty, disrespectful, filled with pride. So he acted superior in mind and heart, in his songs, and in his wisdom, as a poet, a designer, a composer, a master of song.

And if somewhere there were an invitation to a feast and to song, to discussion and the forgiveness of differences, he disregarded and ignored the sweetness of the protector of all,[2] the flowers, tobacco, sustenance, and the water of life. He would not go, he would not

Inic chicome capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: injc nauhtetl machiotl, yn jtoca ce xochitl: auh in toqujchti ipan tlacatia, qujtouia: qujlmach papaquinj iez, vel moccaliaxj: ioan vel qujmocujtlavia in cujcatl, ioan in paquijxtli, ioan cicamanaltinj, cicamanale: auh quj in cioa, vevey tlamachiuhque: qujlmach çan tlanepantla ca injn machiotl, qujtouznequj achi tetolinj, ioan achi qualli.

Moquetza ce xochitl, ioan yn jaquiztl ytlavilanoan: injc matlactetl omei tonalli muchiuhtica in yehoatl contoqujlia vme cipactli, yoan ey acatl, navi calli, macujlli cuetzpali, chiquacen coatl, chicome mjquixtli, chicuei maçatl, chicunavi tochtli, matlactli atl, matlactli oce ytzcuintli, matlactlomome ocomatli, matlactlomey malinalli:

in jaquiztl in, mjtouia amo qualli: auh yoan mjtouia, achi qualli.

Injc motta in aquin ipan tlacatia pilli, in anoço çan maceoalli cujcanj, papaquinj, tlatlaquetzanj, totoltecatl muchioaia: auh qujttaia, qujmaceouia in jneiollalilia, in jnetlamachtil, pactinenca, vellamatia: in jquac ipan mjmatia ytonal, qujtouanequj: in jquac vel monotzaia, in vel omtlamaceua.

Auh in aquin amo ipan mjmatia, in atle ipan qujttaia: çan qujtlavelia yn jtonal: ca iuh mjtoa: in jquac aquin cujcanj, anoço aca toltecatl, tlachichiuhquj: intla ie vnca qujquanj, ye vnca ynecuiltonol: auh ie conpopoa, ijxco, ijcpac, ie qujmana, contepopoaltia, yz ic moquetza, in ic moquixtia, ic teijxco, teicpac nemj, ic atlamatinemj, ic cuecuenoti, injx, injiollo, in jcujcanjo, in inemach, injc tlatlatianj, injc tlaiolltujanj, injc cujcapiquinj, inic cujcatoltecatl:

auh intla cana coanotzalo, cuicatlalhujlo, tlacaquitilo, molcaoaltilo, aocmo vmpa conjtta, aoc tle ipan quitta, in javiaca, in jnopelica in tloque, in nauaque, in xochitl in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli: auh in xenilma-

1. The *Real Palacio MS* gives the correct day, *ocatl*.

2. Tezcatlipoca. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 28b (*ueopeuhqui, ueuipan*).

K 787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth house, named Nine Crocodile—they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

Injc chicuaj capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc macujltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce acatl: auh amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, qujlmach in aquijque vncan tlacatia, intla vncan tlacatia, injc chicunauhtetl calli, in jtoca chicunavi cipactli: qujtoaia qujlmach cenca techicoitoanj, ioan tetexpanvianj: auh qujlmach injn machiotl, iehoatl itonal in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatoque, in pipilti, vncan mixtlaoaia ioan tlamanaia.

K 787 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time.
● 805 Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in amo qualli, in amo ieccan izquijlhujtl,

qujtoqujlitica yn jpan vme ocelutl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cuecaquauhtli, macujlli olin, chiquacen tecpatl: in jzqujtetl in tonalli mjtoaia amo qualli, amo ieccan,

K 787 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noblemen paid him great honors. They made offerings at the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

K 787 776 778 782

qujlmach itonal catca itonalpan in quetzalcoatl. Iehica in quetzalcoatl, i ehecatl ipan mjxeoaia, injc teveoenia: auh in jquac in moquetzaia ce acatl tonalli, cenca tlamavizztiliaia in tlatoque, in pipilti, tlamanaia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jxiptla Quetzalcoatl, ixpan qujtlatequjliaia, qujtlamâmacaia much iquac qujcencaviliaia, itech qujtlaliliaia, in jzqujtlamantli inechichioal, yn iamatlatquj, ioan ixpan qujtequjliaia suchitl, yetl, qujcopaltemjliaia atl, tlaqualli, qujmanjlia, iuh qujtoaia vncan qujtonaltia, qujtonalquechia in Quetzalcoatl.

K 787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life. It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; for such was his nature. The same befell her if it was a woman.

Auh injc mjtoa: amo ieccan, in aquin ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço macceualli, atle cenca imâceoal, ilhujl catca, çan iuhquin ehecatl ipã povia inemiliz, ẽcatocoia, atle itlaanca, inelhoaio mochioaia: ipampa in jtonalpan quetzalcoatl, ẽcatl otlacat, ca njman iuhcan oquia, no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, intla çioatl,

1. The *calmecac*, house of priestly learning, is defined as "*Lugar de linaje de la casa*" y *convento de soltéros*" by Arturo Monzón in *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochcas* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 77. There were six, in the *soltéros calpulli*, probably pertaining to clans (as the term is used by Monzón): Yopico, Huitznáhuac, Tlacochcalco, Tlillancalco, Tecpancalco, and Mexico (pp. 47-52).

And one then born they hence regarded as fortunate and said that he would be rich. Our lord would reward him; through his grace he would buy slaves and ceremonially bathe them for sacrifice. Or many times he would have others sing and dance. And[7] when they gave him a name, they arranged it for Four Reed. Then they gave food to the young boys and had them perform the naming ceremony.[8] This was because that time was the time of the election rites, of the election of the rulers of the cities.

And also it was said that on One Dog the owners and breeders of dogs rubbed ochre on all the dogs' heads.[6]

And [the day signs] which followed it were Two Monkey, and Three Grass, Four Reed, Five Ocelot, Six Eagle, Seven Vulture, Eight Motion, Nine Flint Knife,[7] Ten Rain, Eleven Flower, Twelve Crocodile, Thirteen Wind. These were all the group of day signs.

All were as in their account, as mentioned. Each day went related as to the manner of gifts of those then born. This is already explained; in many places hath it been made quite apparent. And when [these had] ended, thereupon set in —

suh in aquja ipan tlacatia, injc qujtonalittaia, qujtouia: mocujltonoz, ipal iez, qujtlamaujçalhujz in tosecujo; aço tecoaz, tealtiz, aço quexquipa cujcujcaz tẽçotix: uh inic qujtocamacaia, qujn no ipan qujmattiuja in naoacatl, iquac qujtlatlaqualiaia, qujxicvenquaqualiaia in pipiltotonti: ipampa in vncan motlatocapaca, in netlatocapacaian tlatoque, altepette.

No ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce itzcujntli, in jxqujchtin chichime, qujnquatlaviaia in itzcujneque, in jtzcujnnemjtoque.

Auh in qujtoqujlia vme oçomatli, ioan ey malinalli, navi acatl, macujlli oçelotl, chiquacen quauhtli, chicome coxcaquauhtli, chicuei olin, chicunauj tecpac, matlactli qujaujtl, matlactlooc xuchitl, matlactlomome cipactli, matlactli vmei hecatl, in jxqujtetl in cencalpã tonalli,

ça ie much iuhquj in jtoloca omoteneuh, injc cecemjlhujpã tlapoaltitiuh, in quenamj innenemac ipan tlacati, ie omomelauh mjieccan vel omonenextì: suh in jquac onquja in njman ic oalmoquetza.

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4. Ehr: and is immortal.

5. See Chapter 9, n. 1.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tambien tenjan una ceremonia: que en este signo, los que criauan los perrillos, que llaman dueño, los almagraban los cabezas."

7. Tezcatl: mirror is meant.

574 357 Poised and prepared were the tobacco servers, who provided tobacco; the flower servers, who provided flowers; the servers, those who changed the servings; the bearers. Then there was the chocolate drink maker, who prepared chocolate; who made it foam and froth; and the server of chocolate. Then there were the attendants, those who greeted the guests.

574 But among those who were only commoners, among the poor folk, among the workers of the fields and the water folk, it is already told, only miserably, in poverty and want, were receptions and invitations made. Not as much was offered one as was required and customary; as was possible or of one's capability. Many things were omitted or spoiled. Thus [the feast] was a failure and fruitless when someone received or realized nothing more. Perhaps only old, withered flowers could he find or come by; perhaps only leftover, bitter sauces, and stale tamales and tortillas were offered them.

And if one had been sitting to no purpose and in vain, [he was] only forgotten there for a long time, after a considerable time. And when he grew tired of waiting, he only continued vexing himself, anxious to go, no longer able to endure it, continuing to stir, unable to sit anywhere. His seat was benumbed, stiffened, tired of sitting. So he leaped up, sprang to his feet, and ran off discontented; because perhaps whatever was served had come to an end; the banqueting had increased and grown in numbers, and became crowded. And he simply entered various houses and visited different places, begging and asking alms at each one, etc.

X 787 ● 805 In this place is only mentioned Two Vulture, which followed and came in second place after One Eagle. All these, the companion day signs in the series, have been chronicled and mentioned here. Of this, Two Vulture, there is no more need to relate anything, just to please; to invent, arrange, and contemplate some brief words. For already hath been mentioned the manner of the separate accounts of all day signs in the second [position]. For indeed all are similar as they proceed and go together there. Similar are their accounts as they advance in order, as all the days accompany one another.

805 So here we have only added and mentioned as a group the different day signs, which went in their courses as a series, as each day went traveling, following along, and changing: Three Motion, Four Flint

ic vncan ic ic hicac yn tepiomacac in teyiui, in tezuchimacac, in tezuchiui, tetlamacac, tetlamapiztili, tlanapaloque, nimã ic ichoui yn achitlaqui, ãquemaque, tlamijoqui, tlamimimj, yoan in tezuuac, nimã ieccan in tochiuque, in tetlilque.

auh in çan macoualpã, in çan jcnotlacapã, millacapã, ailacapan, ic omjio çan cocoxtli, icuaitica, icnotlacaiotica, in tetlacamacho, in tecuauetzalo, amo cenca omomoion yn juh monequj, in ic ivi, in ic vel ivi, in ic teueli, mjec tlamantli mjecaua, ytlacavi, ic tlatlacavi, tlitlatlacavi, yn aca aoc tle ipan aci, aoc tle ipan mopoua, aço ça zuchiçalli, tlacavilli yn ipanti, in quipantilia, yn ipã mopoa, yoan aço ça mollecaualli, molchichictli, tamalçolli, tlaxcalçolli, yn nemaquilio,

auh intla ça oc nẽ tlalilo, tempanoctlalilo, vecauhtica, ieouica, çan vncã yiacoalo: auh yn ẽnopetlac, ça motecuetica, yiollo cholotica, injc iuz, aocmo ontlaicoa mocaqtinemj, achcan vel motlalia, itzintepiztquãquauhtli, quãquauhtitica, tzintepiztquãquauhtitica, ic cholotoua, moquetzteua, motlauellaloa, ypampa aço otlatlacan, acaçoc tlẽ temacoxi, omiquiz, omacat, omoquoquex in tlaomomotzalli, yoan in çan cacalacqui, tetlatlapalo, motlatlaiovi, motlatlaiotinj. etc.

Nican ça omotecneua in vme concaquauhtli, in contoquilia, in comonciaotia oc quauhtli, yn juquijch in, ic omotlatlatollotl nican omotecneuh, ynic concalpan tlavica tonalli, yn ichoui y, 2. cuacquauhtli, aocmo monequj yn itla ic motlatollotiz, in ça omoqualitzac, ommoveliztac, ommopipiqui, ommoxcellaliz, itlatlatolotozti, ca ic omotecneuh in quemanj intlãtlatollo inquijch ome tonalli, ca çan ic zmuch iuhqui, çan much vmpa itztivi, çan much vmpa tlavica, çan ic otlatl yn imiuiuca; yn juh temquativi, ynic tlavica cocemilhujtl,

ypampa in çã njcã, tiquimomopichoa, tiquimomecneua yn inquincac in tonalti, in njcã concalpan tlatlatocti, ynic cocemilhujtl motecuiui, motequilitivi, mopatlacvi, in ichoui Ey olin, 4. mquatl, 5. quj-

Knife, Five Rain, Six Flower, Seven Crocodile, Eight Wind, Nine House, Ten Lizard, Eleven Serpent, Twelve Death, and Thirteen Deer.* When the day sign ended, then—

iuvitl, 6. ouchitl, 7. cipactli, 8. hecatl, 9. calli, 10. cuetzpalli, 11. coatl, 12. miquiztli, 13. mazatl. 11. 12. 13. yn ōtlan yn tonalli, ojma. 805

6. The figures "11. 12. 13." are part of an [illegible] 1-13 series in Aztec.

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x 787
● 805

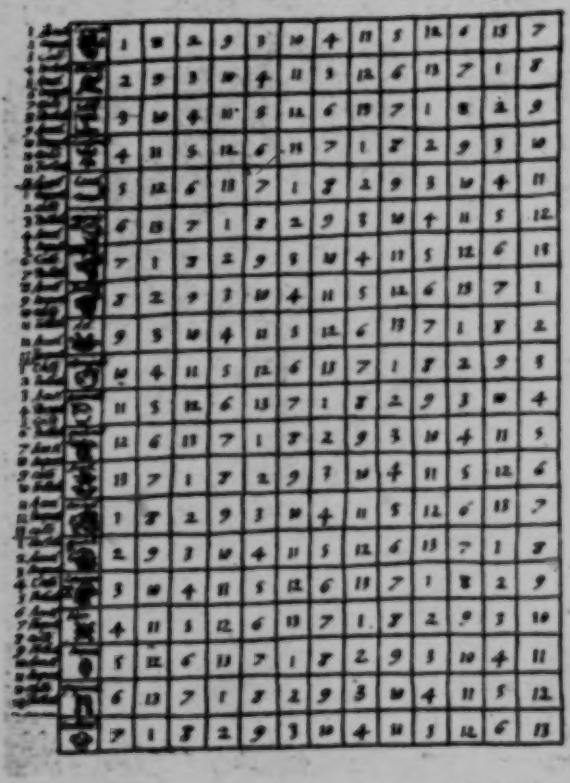

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4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13

— After Paso y Troncoso

102. Place chart for reckoning the day signs count (Appendix).

[p. 126 8]

17: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

X787
.805

—After Paso y Troncoso

[illegible]. First half of second chart for reckoning the day sign count (Appendix).

[p. 126 r]

x 787
●805

— After Paso y Troncoso

194. Second half of second sheet for reckoning the day sign count (Appendix).

[p. 126 s]

APPENDIX OF THE FOURTH BOOK, IN THE SPANISH VERNACULAR, WHICH IS JUSTIFICATION IN DEFENSE OF THE TRUTH CONTAINED HEREIN.

805 Because some have been deceived, and the delusion even today endureth, concerning certain [systems of] counting which these natives used in days of old, I consider it helpful to place here an explanation of three kinds of counting [systems] which they used and in some places still use.

The first count is the division of the year into its months. The fact is that they divided the year into eighteen parts, and to each part they gave twenty days. These may be called months. Thus their year had eighteen months, which comprised three hundred and sixty days. The five left over to make a full year are not counted: rather, they called them idle [177] and unlucky days, because to no god were they dedicated. The purpose for which they established this division was that they dedicated each month or [period of] twenty days to a god, and during each they held celebrations and made sacrifices; except that in two of the months they celebrated the feasts of four gods, [in each] assigning ten days to one and another ten to the other. And so, although there were eighteen months, the feasts celebrated in them were twenty. This count is called a calendar in which all the days of the year are dedicated to the gods except the five which, as is told, they considered idle and of evil fortune. This count, which is the calendar these natives had had from time immemorial, has nothing to do with the other two counts which will now be described.

805 212 The second count which these natives used is called the year-count, because [by it] they counted a certain number of years in the following way. They had four characters placed in four positions with respect to a circle. One of these characters they called Ce acatl, meaning One Reed. This character was represented as a green reed, and, with reference to the circle, was to the east. The second character they called Ce tecpatl, meaning One Flint Knife. [It was] made in the manner of a lance head, half of it blood-stained. This was placed to the north with

APENDIZ DEL QUARTO LIBRO EN ROMĀCE Y ES VNA APPOLOGIA EN DEFENSION DA LA VERDAD QUE EN EL SE CONTIENE.

Porque algunos se an engañado, y aun todavia dura el engaño, cerca de ciertas cuentas, que estos naturales vsauan antiguamente: tengo por cosa provechosa poner aquj, la declaracion de tres maneras de cuentas, que vsauan, y avn en algunas partes las vsan.

Es la primera cuenta, la division del año por sus meses. Es el caso que ellos repartian el año, en deziocho partes, y a cada parte, le dauan veinte dias; estos se pueden llamar meses: de manera, que su año tenja deziocho meses: los quales contienen trezientos y setenta [*sic*] dias, y los cinco que sobran, para ser año cumplido, no entran en cuenta, sino llamauanlos dias baldios, y aziagos, porque a njngun dios eran dedicados. El fin a que enderecauan [*sic*] esta diujsion es, que cada mes o cada veinte dias, los dedicauan a un dios, y en ellos le hazian fiestas, y sacrificios, excepto que en dos meses hazian fiesta a quatro dioses, dedicando diez dias a al vno, y otros diez al otro. Y assi con ser los *meses* deziocho, las fiestas que celebrauan en ellos eran veinte. Esta cuenta, se llama calendario, donde todos los dias del año, se dedican a los dioses, excepto los cinco que como esta dicho los tenjan baldios y aziagos. Esta cuenta, que es el calendario que estos naturales tenjan de tiempo sin memoria, no tiene que hazer, con las otras dos cuentas, que luego se dirā.

La segunda cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, se llama cuenta de los años, porque contauan cierto numero de años, por la forma que se sigue: tenjan quatro caracteres, puestos en quatro partes en respecto de vn circulo redondo. A al vno destos caracteres llamauā, Ce acatl, que quiere dezir, vna caña: este caracter, era como vna caña verde pintada, y en respecto del circulo, estaua hazia al oriente. Al segundo caracter, llamauan ce tecpatl, que quiere dezir vn pedernal: hecho a manera de hierro de lança tiñido la mjtad del con sangre: este estaua puesto

805 212 reference to the circle. The third character was the representation of a house, which they call Ce calli [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is placed to the south with reference to the circle. By means of these characters they counted fifty-two years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so describing circles by means of these characters, until each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether, 805 make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two 796 years. The purpose or intention of this count is to renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract, 372 or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn x787 feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewed all the statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.

805 The third count which these natives used was the 212 art of divination of the fortune or luck which those born would have, whether men or women. It was x787 done in this way. They had twenty characters. The first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent, etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at the end of this Appendix.* They said that each of these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some say that those thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the number of days in which the sign or character [443] reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days, and so these are, in each month, four weeks; and the *tianquistli*, or markets, are fixed according to this number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by periods of five days they established the markets or fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days], but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in many places, they set the markets and fairs according to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septentrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llamaban ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llamaban ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres treze años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y assi dando buelta, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliessen treze años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes treze que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servir a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nuevo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las prouincias desta nueua españa fuego nuevo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de servirlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se aija de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiuinar la fortuna o ventura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan vinte caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el quinto coatl. &c. hasta vinte como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apêdix: decian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua ,treze dias, que todos juntos son dozientos y sesenta [*sic*] dias. Algunos dicen que estos treze dias son semanas del mes y no es assi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y assi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [*sic*] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauã los mercados, o ferias, y assi no tenjan semana, sino quinzena, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiuinatoria i no licita entrepusieron los canagueros de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo memoria, que es cada,

* See Plates 102-104.

count are interspersed the characters of the year-count; that is, those four characters mentioned above, which are Reed, Flint Knife, House, and Rabbit, by which they counted the hebdomad of their years, which is fifty-two.

This very pernicious count, superstitious, and full of idolatry, as it is to be seen in this Fourth Book, some praise highly, saying that it was very ingenious and contained no blemish. This they said because they did not understand for what purpose this count, which is very evil and idolatrous, was established. Little did they appreciate the multitude of superstitions, feasts, and idolatrous sacrifices involved in it. And they called this count the calendar of the Indians, not understanding that this count doth not extend through all of the year; because it hath only two hundred and sixty days in its round, and then cometh back to its beginning. And so it cannot be and never was a calendar; for the calendar, as hath been said, is represented in the opening of the Second Book, and containeth all the days of the year, and [all] the feasts of the year. And this they who say that this soothsaying art is a calendar, do not know. And surely it was great carelessness and culpable ignorance to praise by word of mouth and in writing something so evil and full of idolatry.

The zeal for truth and for the Catholic Faith compels me to place here the very words of a treatise which a member of one of the religious Orders wrote in praise of this art of soothsaying, declaring that it is a calendar; so that wherever one may see it, he may know that it is something very pernicious to our holy Catholic Faith; and it may be destroyed and burned.

The following is the introduction of the above-mentioned treatise.

Introduction and explanation, newly made, of the calendar of the Indians of Anahuac, that is, of New Spain.

By means of the wheels reproduced above, the Indians count their days, weeks, months, years, olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and hebdomads, starting their year, like ours, with the beginning of January. In [their system] are found the means of reckoning time which all nations have had. And as is seen, the Indians who established and knew it well certainly showed themselves to be natural philosophers. They were at fault only as to the leap year.

pedernal, casa, conejo, por donde contauan la hebdomada de sus años, que son cincuenta y dos.

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Esta cuenta muy perjudicial, y muy supersticiosa, y muy llena de idolatria, como parece en este libro quarto, algunos la alaban mucho: diziendo, que era muy ingeniosa y que ninguna macula tenia, esto dizerõ por no entender a que fin se endereza, esta cuenta el qual es muy malo ydolatrico de poco entendieron la muchedumbre de supersticiones y fiestas y sacrificios idolatricos, que en ella se contienen, y llamaron a esta cuenta, el calendario de los indios: no entendiendo que esta cuenta no alcança a todo el año, porque no tiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias de circulo, y luego torna a su principio, y assi no poede ser calendario y nj nunca lo fue, porque el calendario, como esta dicho, y esta pintado, en el principio del segundo libro, contiene todos los dias del año, y las fiestas del año: y esto ignoraron los que dizen que esta arte adiujnatoria es calendario: y cierto fue grande inadvertencia, y culpable ignorancia loar por palabra, y por escrito vna cosa tan mala y tan llena de idolatria.

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El zelo de la verdad, y de la fe catholica, me compele a poner aquj, las mismas palabras de vn tratado, que vn religioso escriujo en loor desta arte adiujnatoria; diziendo que es calendario, para que dondequjera que alguno le viere, sepa que es cosa muy perjudicial, a nuestra sancta fe catholica, y sea destruydo, y quemado.

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Siguese la introducion del tractado sobredicho.

Introducion, i declaracion nuevamente hecha, que es el calendario de los indios de Anahuac, esto es de la nueva españa.

Por las ruedas aquj sumpuestas, cuentan los indios sus dias, semanas, meses, años, olimpiadas lustros indiciones, y hebdomadas: començando su año, con el nuestro desde el principio de henero: en la qual se hallan las maneras de contar los tiempos que tuujeron todas las naciones, y segun parece los indios que la compusieron, y sabian bien, ciertamente se mostraron philosophos naturales, solamente faltaron en el bizesto: pero tambien paso el gran philosopho

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But this was the case also as to the great philosopher Aristotle and his teacher Plato, and many other wise men who did not attain [knowledge of] it. And it should be known that in this calendar there is nothing idolatrous; and this is praiseworthy for many reasons, but to mention one will be enough. And it is that in this land it was not very many years ago that idolatry began. And this calendar is exceedingly ancient, and if the names of the days, weeks, and years, and their representations, are of animals and beasts, and other creatures, it is nothing to wonder at; for if we look at ours, they also are of planets and of gods which the pagans had. Even if many rites, falsehoods, and ancient sacrifices are written of here [in connection with] a thing so good, of such excellence and truth as these natives possessed, there is no reason to condemn it. For we know that all good and truth, no matter who expresseth it, is of the Holy Ghost.

Refutation of the above[2]

As to what he first saith, that by means of this count the Indians reckoned [their] weeks, months, and years: this is most false. For this count containeth only two hundred and sixty days, and lacketh one hundred and five days to be the count of an entire year. Neither did they reckon their months by this count, because their months are eighteen in a year, and each one hath twenty days, which maketh three hundred and sixty days. This count doth not reach that number. Neither, do they reckon their weeks by this count; for what they say, that they had thirteen days in a week, is false, because thus there would be a week of thirteen days and another week [which] would go into the next month with three days,[3] and so no month would have two entire weeks. But more important, their weeks were of five days, which were better called five-day periods than weeks, and there are in each month four of these five-day periods.

What he saith of olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and the like, is false and pure invention.

What he saith, that the year started in January, like ours, is most incorrect; for what they call a year by this count is of only two hundred and sixty days,

Aristoteles, y su maestro platon, y otros muchos sabios que no lo alcançaron. Y es de saber, que en este calendario, no ay cosa de idolatria: y esto se puede de alabar, por muchas razones, pero bastara decir vna: y es que en esta tierra no ha muy muchos años, que començaron las idolatrias: y este calendario es antiquissimo y si los nombres de los dias, semanas, y años, y sus figuras, son de animales, y de bestias, y de otras criaturas; no se deuen marauillar, pues si mirarmos los nuestros: tambien son de planetas, y de dioses que los gentiles tuuieron: y pues que aqui se escriuen muchos ritos, ficciones, y antiguos sacrificios, vna cosa tan buena, y de tanto primor, y verdadera que estos naturales tuuieron: no es razon de reprobarla: pues sabemos que todo bien y verdad, quienquiera que la diga, es del espiritu santo.

Confutacion de lo arriba dicho.

En lo primero que dize, que por esta cuenta[1] los indios contauan sus [sic] semanas, meses, y años, es falsissimo: porque esta cuenta no contiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias, y faltale ciento y cinco dias, para ser cuenta de vn año entiero; nj tampoco contauan sus meses por esta cuenta, porque sus meses son dezioche en vn año, y cada vno tiene veinte dias que son trezientos y sesenta dias; al qual numero, no llega esta cuenta; nj tampoco contauan, por esta cuenta sus semanas, porque aquello que dizen, que tenjan treze dias por semana es falso, porque desta manera seria vna semana de treze dias, y otra semana entrellia con tres dias en el mes siguiente, y assi cada mes no tendria dos semanas enteras: mayormente, que sus semanas eran de cinco dias las quales mejor se llamaran quintanas, que no semanas, y ay en cada mes quatro destas quintanas.

Lo que dize de Olimpiadas, y bestros, y indictiones o la mesma razon es falso, y mera ficcion.

Lo que dize, que el año, començaua [sic] en Enero, como el nuestro, es falsissimo: porque lo que llamauan vn año por esta cuenta no son mas doscientos y sesenta

1. On the equivalency between Sahagún and Mendieta regarding the nature of the calendar, see L. Nicolau d'Olwer: *Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía): Relaciones de la Nueva España* (México: Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1956), pp. LV-LVI.

2. Sahagún (Dibble ed.), IV, Ap. §; See commentary: Barrientos, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 613, defense controller, as used in Cuba, by saying "Olmos . . . de cualquier monumento del día cubo."

and of necessity it would have to end one hundred and five days before our year. And so it could not start with our year, except with some, and very rarely.

As to what he saith, that the Indians [who] devised this count showed themselves to be natural philosophers: this is most false. For they do not carry out this count according to any natural order; for it was an invention of the devil and an act of sorcerying.

As to what he saith, that they lacked the leap year, it is wrong; because in the count which may be called a true calendar they count three hundred and sixty-five days, and once every four years they counted three hundred and sixty-six days with a feast which for this reason they observed every four years.

As to what he saith, that in this calendar there is no idolatry, it is a very great lie. For it is no calendar but a sorcerying device in which are contained a great deal of idolatry, many superstitions, and many invocations to the demons, tacitly and openly, as is shown in all of this preceding Fourth Book. So that the treatise abovementioned, which that member of a religious Order wrote, containeth no truth but rather very pernicious error and falsehood.

The treatise by that member of a religious Order proceedeth.

The Indians who well understood the secrets of these wheels and calendar showed and explained them to but few, because through their knowledge they gained their livelihood and were held in esteem and considered wise and intelligent. Nevertheless, almost all adult Indians knew and were informed about the year, as to both the number and house in which they were. But of the names of the days and weeks, and many other secrets and counts which they possessed, only these masters who worked with them attained knowledge.

Now, in order to understand the count which these natives had, in order to know how they kept a time-count by means of the wheels and figures have recorded, rules are given. These are written below.

Refutation of the above.

It is already said that the calendar is different from this count and hath nothing in common with it. The calendar doeth with the months of the whole year, the days of the whole year, the weeks of the

dias, y de necesidad se avia de acabar ciento y cinco dias, antes de nuestro año: y assi no podia començar con el nuestro año, si no algunas y muy raro:

en lo que dize que los indios se compusiero desta cuenta, se mostraron philosophos naturales, es falsissimo: porque esta cuenta, no la llevan por ninguna orden natural: porque fue invencion del demonio, y arte de adivinacion,

en lo que dize que faltaron en el bisesto es falso, porque en la cuenta que se llama, calendario verdadero, cuentan trezientos y sesenta y cinco dias, y cada quatro años, contavan trezientos, y sesenta y seis dias en fiesta, que para esto haxian de quatro en quatro años.

En lo que dize que en este calendario no ay cosa de idolatria, es falsissima mãtira: porque no es calendario, sino arte adivinatoria, donde se contienen, muchas cosas de idolatria, y muchas supersticiones, y muchas invocaciones de los demonios, tacita, y expressamente, como parece en todo este quarto libro precedente: de manera que ninguna verdad contiene aquel tratado arriba puesto: que aquel religioso escrivio, mas antes cõtiene falsedad y mentira muy perniciosa.

Siguese adelante en el tratado de aquel religioso.

Los indios, que bien entendian los secretos destas ruedas, y calendario, no los enseñavan, ni descubrian, sino a muy pocos, porque por ello ganavan de comer, y eran estimados, y tenidos por hombres sabios, y entendidos, empero sabian casi todos los indios adultos y tenjan noticia del año, assi del numero como de la casa en que andavan: mas de los nombres de los dias, y semanas, y otros muchos secretos, y cuentas que tenjan: solos aquellos maestros compotistas, lo alcançavan de saber.

Agora para entender la cuenta, que estos naturales tenjan, y para saber, como contavan los tiempos: por las ruedas, y figuras aqui escritas: se ponen reglas, que son las infra escritas.

Confutacion de lo arriba dicho.

Ya esta dicho, que el calendario es distincto desta cuenta, y no tiene nada que ver con ella. Y el calendario trata de los meses de todo el año, y de los dias de todo el año, y de las semanas de todo el año, y de las

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whole year, and the fixed feasts of the whole year. All the priests and servants of the idols knew it, as well as many of the populace, because it is a simple matter which toucheth all. But the count of the soothsaying art, which he wrongly calleth a calendar, is a particular kind of count, because its purpose was established to foretell circumstances and events to befall those born under each sign or character. This count only the soothsayers and those who had the skill to learn it, knew; because it containeth many difficulties and obscurities. Those who knew this count they called *tonalpouhque*; they esteemed and honored them greatly. They considered them to be prophets and knowers of future things. Hence they depended upon them for many things, as in days of old the sons of Israel depended upon the prophets.

This [author] saith that the months are twenty in a year. This is not true, for there are only eighteen. Likewise he saith that the weeks are of thirteen days, and this is not true, for they are of only five days, so that there are four weeks or rather five-day periods in a month. The thirteen days which he wrongly calleth a week are only the number of days in which each of the twenty characters in this soothsaying art reigned, as is made clear in the preceding Fourth Book, which dealeth with this soothsaying art.

The chart and [explanation of] the manner of counting used by the soothsayers for this art, now follow.

To the reader.

805 This chart before the friendly reader is the count of the characters or signs with which we have dealt in this Fourth Book. It proceedeth in this order. First are placed twenty characters, and by them their names; and after them are placed the days over which they reign, in numerical notation; and it beginneth one, two, three, etc. The character by or facing the number one reigneth over those thirteen days [beginning with it], and the counting is started from above to below. Reaching thirteen, one then returneth to the number one, and the character before which that number one standeth, reigneth during the thirteen following days. And so with all the remaining numbers and characters. So each one of the characters cometh to reign for thirteen days, and the number of all of these days is two hundred and sixty. From there it returneth again to the beginning.

3. See Plate 142.

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h [See p. 126a, cat. 116. — Analyst]

fiestas fixas de todo el año: sabianle todos los sacrapas, y todos los mijojeros de los idolos, y mucha de la otra gente popular, porque es cosa facil, y toca a todos. Empero la cuenta de la arte adiujnatoria, a la qual falsamente llama calendario, es cuenta por si, porque su fin, se enderesa a adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de los que nacen en cada signo, o caracter; esta cuenta sabianla solamẽte los adiujnos, y los que tenian abilidad, para deprenderla porque contiene muchas dificultades, y obscuridades: y a estos que sabiã esta cuenta, llamauanlos Tonalpouhque y tenjanlos en mucho y honrauanlos mucho: tenjanlos como prophetas, y sabidores de las cosas futuras, y assi acudian a ellos, en muchas cosas, como antiguamente los hijos de Israel, acudian a los prophetas,

dize este; que los meses, son viente en vn año, y no es verdad, porque no son mas de deziocho: dize assimjsmo que las semanas, son de treze dias, y no es verdad: porque no son mas de a cinco dias, y assi son quatro semanas o por mejor dezir quijntanas en vn mes: los treze dias, a que falsamente llama semana, no son, sino el numero de dias, que reynaua cada vno de los veinte caracteres, desta arte adiujnatoria, como esta claro, en el quarto libro precedente, que tracta desta arte adiujnatoria.

Siguese la tabla y manera de contar que tenjan los adiujnos en esta arte.

Al lector.

Esta tabla, que esta frontera Amigo lector, es la cuenta de los caracteres, o signos de que en este quarto libro auemos tractado, la qual procede por esta orden, que primeramente se ponen viente caracteres, y junto a ellos sus nombres, y despues dellos se ponen los dias, en que reinan por cifras del alguarismo: y comjença, vno, dos, tres, &c. El caracter donde esta jucto el vno o frontero del, es el que reina aquellos treze dias, y comjençase a contar desde arriba hazia abaxo: y llegando a treze luego buelue a vno, y el caracter en frente de quien esta aquel vno, es el que reina los treze dias que se siguen: y assi de todos los demas numeros y caracteres. De manera, que cada vn caracter viene a reinar treze dias, y el numero de todos estos dias son dozientos y sesenta, y de alli buelue otra vez al principio.

Also at the opening of this count is placed the manner of counting the years, because these two counts are linked or matched.

How followeth the reckoning of all the time-counts which these natives had.

The longest time-count which they reckoned was up to one hundred and four years. And this count they called a century.

Half of this count, fifty-two years, they called a bundle of years. This period of years they had reckoned from times past; it is not known when it began. But they considered it well established and a matter of belief that the world would come to an end at the conclusion of one of these bundles of years. They had a prophecy or oracle that at that time the movement of the heavens would cease, and they took as a sign [of this] the movement of the Pleiades. On the night of this feast, which they called Toxiuuholpilia [the Binding of the Years], it so befell that the Pleiades were at the zenith at midnight, with respect to the heavens in Mexico. On this night they made new fire, and before they made it, they extinguished all the fires in all the provinces, towns, and houses in all of this New Spain. And they went in a great and solemn procession. All of the priests and servants of the temple departed from here, the Temple of Mexico, during the first quarter of the night, and went to the summit of that mountain near Itzapalapan which they call Uixachtecatl. They reached the summit at midnight, or almost, where stood a great pyramid built for that ceremony. Having reached there, they looked at the Pleiades to see if they were at the zenith, and if they were not, they waited until they were. And when they saw that now they passed the zenith, they knew that the movement of the heavens had not ceased and that the end of the world was not then, but that they would have another fifty-two years, assured that the world would not come to an end.

At this hour a great multitude of people was on the mountains surrounding this province of Mexico — Texcoco, Xochimilco, and Quauhtitlan — waiting to see the new fire, which was a signal that the world would continue. And when the priests made the fire, with great ceremony, upon the pyramid on that mountain, then it was seen from all the surrounding

También en el principio desta cuenta se pone la manera de contar de los años, porque estas dos cuentas andi vinculadas o pareadas. 805

La cuenta de todos los tiempos, que tenjan estos naturales, en la que se sigue.

La mayor cuenta de tiempo, que contauan era hasta ciento y quatro años, y a esta cuenta llamauan vn siglo,

a la mitad desta cuenta, que son cincuenta y dos años llamauan vna gavilla de años, este tiempo de años, trayanla ab antiquo contados, no se sabe quando començo: pero tenjan por muy sacrigiado, y como de fe, que el mundo se auja de acabar en el fin de vna destas gabillas de años: y tenjan prenostico o oraculo, que entonce avia de cesar el mouimjento de los cielos, y tomauan por señal al mouimjento de las cabrillas: la noche desta fiesta, que ellos llamauan Toxiuuholpilia: de tal manera caya que las cabrillas, estauan en medio del cielo: a la media noche, en respecto deste orizonte mexicano. En esta noche sacauan fuego nuevo, y primero que los sacasen, apagauan todo el fuego, en todas las prouincias, pueblos, y casas de toda esta nueva españa: y iban con gran procession, y solemnidad. Todos los sacrapas, y mjnjstros del templo: partian daquj del templo de mexico, a prima noche: y iban hasta la cumbre de aquel cerro, que esta cabe Itzapalapan: que ellos llamauan Vixachtecatl, y llegauan a la cumbre a la media noche, o casi, donde estaua vn solemne cu, edificado para aquella ceremonja. Llegados alli, mjrauan a las cabrillas; si estauan en el medio, y si no estauan esperauan hasta que llegasen. Y quando vian, que ya passauan del medio, entendian que el mouimjento del cielo no cessaua, y que no era alli el fin del mundo, sino que avian de tener otros cincuenta y dos años, seguros, que no se acabaria el mundo. 805 787x 821 796 372

En esta hora estauan en los cerros circunstantes que cercan a toda esta prouincia de mexico, Texcuco, y Suchimjlco y quauhtitlan, gran cantidad de gente, esperando a ver el fuego nuevo; que era señal, que el mundo iba adelante, y como sacauan el fuego, los sacrapas, con gran ceremonja, en el cu de aquel cerro: luego se parecia, en todo lo circunstante de los cerros: 796 372

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that
372 the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years—[the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
785 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
304 honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it
● 805 Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which
796 they divided into eighteen months, to each of which they assigned twenty days. And each of these
443 months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan alli a la tuya, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegria que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y quinjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mill y quinjentos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llaman Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mill y quinjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando seauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de servjrle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su serujcio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrêtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujeraban las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que hazia su biesexto, contando seis de nemontemj.

La otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en dezioche meses, y a cada mes le daban veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y desde a cinco dias en otro, y desde a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-

[still] another [town]: So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five-day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[4] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of errors, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit than rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

4. See Plates 100 and 101.

tanario, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguia: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y hazinagos: y ansi no hazian cuenta dellos para njnguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con todos los meses del año, y con todas las quintanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

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Otra cuenta tenjan, entre naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quintanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan treze dias: en las quales reinaua uno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua treze dias, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son dozientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciessen. Es cuenta delicada, y muy mentirosa, y sin njngun fundamento de astrologia natural. Porque el arte de la astrologia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursos y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun fundamento natural ay, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en njnguna sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embuste o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erã muy honrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque njnguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por yerro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dizeron, y afirmaron falsamente.

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[See cat. 116, 117, 126r, 126s. - Analyst]

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Because the foregoing chart of the soothsaying art is difficult to understand and to reckon by, I have provided the following chart, because it is clearer and the count is easier and in conformity with the way they counted. And let no one think than this chart is a calendar; because, as is said, it is only a soothsaying device. The calendar of these natives is found at the beginning of the Second Book, and it is very easily understood because of the letters of the alphabet which it hath. On one side are counted their months, which are of twenty days each. And on the other side are counted our months, which are of thirty days, one more or less. And since this count is so given, it is easy to know, of their feasts, in which of our months they fell, and on which day of each month. The other count, which is of the years, is placed in the Seventh Book of this history. There it may be seen, if it please Our Lord that it be published.

Porque la tabla precedente del arte adiuinatoria esta difficultuosa de entender, y de contar: puse esta tabla que se sigue, porque esta muy mas clara y la cuenta muy mas facil, y conforme a como ellos contauan. Y no piense nadie, que esta tabla es Kalendario porque como dicho es, no es sino arte adiuinatoria. El Kalendario destos naturales se pone en el principio del segundo libro esta muy claro de entender, porque las letras del a. b. c. que tiene: de vna parte, se cuenèan los meses suyos, que son de veynte en veynte dias. Y de la otra parte, se cuentan los nuestros meses: que son de a treynta dias, vno mas o menos. Y por estar esta cuenta desta manera, facil cosa es saber sus fiestas, en que mès de los nuestros cayan: y a quantos dias de cada mes. La otra cuenta que es de los años, se pone en el septimo libro desta historia: alli se podra ver, si plugujere a nuestro señor, que salga a luz.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 126u, 126v. - Annlyst]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

After, as I have said, they had set off to inspect the mines, let me go back to say how the great Montezuma gave our Captain a hennequen cloth, on which were painted and marked very true to nature, all the rivers and bays on the Northern coast from Panuco to Tabasco, that is for a matter of one hundred and forty leagues, and the river of Coatzacoalcos was marked on it. As we already knew all the harbours and bays marked on the cloth which Montezuma gave to Cortés, from the time we came on the voyage of discovery with Grijalva, except the river of Coatzacoalcos, which they said was very strong and deep, Cortés determined to send and see what it was like, and to take soundings of the harbour and the entrance. One of our captains named Diego de Ordás, a very prudent and valiant man, who has often been mentioned by me, said to our Captain that he would like to go and see that river, and what sort of country there was there, and what the people were like, and asked for Indian Chieftains to go with him, and Cortés had refused, because he was a man of good counsel and he wished to keep him in his company. However, so as not to displease him, he [now] granted him leave to go. Montezuma told Ordás that his authority did not extend over Coatzacoalcos, that the people there were very bold, and that he should take care what he was about, and if anything happened to him, they must not blame him [Montezuma] for it; that before arriving at that province he would come on the garrison of warriors he kept on the border, and that if he [Ordás] had need of them he might take them with him, and he [Montezuma] paid him many compliments besides. Cortés and Diego de Ordás gave him their thanks, and Ordás set out with two soldiers and some chieftains whom Montezuma sent with him.

This is where the historian Francisco Lopez Gomara says that Juan Velásquez with one hundred soldiers went to form a settlement at Coatzacoalcos, and that Pedro de

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

772 ritual, since the intensely fertile Vera Cruz coast plain is the
776 actual source of the seasonal rains caused by the condensa-
823 tion of warm air when the Gulf of Mexico is exposed to the chill winds of the Central Plateau. The south was considered evil, possibly because of the arid zones south of Morelos and Puebla, but had as presiding deities gods associated with spring and flowers, Xipe (the Flayed One) and Macuilxochitl* (Five Flower). The west, however, had a favorable significance, being the home of the planet Venus, the evening star, which was associated and even identified with Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), the God of Knowledge. The north was a place gloomy and awful, presided over by Mictlantecuhtli† (Lord of the Dead), who, in one of those contradictions so frequent in Mexican theology, was sometimes connected with the south as well.[4] (See end papers.)

772 The vertical world was divided into heavens and hells
776 which had no moral significance, being merely overworlds
775 and underworlds. The number of heavens varied up to thirteen and represented the dwelling places of the gods, according to their rank in the hierarchy, the original creator living in the topmost heaven, and so on down the scale. One of these heavens belonged to Tlaloc, who received those who died by drowning, lightning or other causes connected with water. One school of thought divided the heavens into east
[821] and west, according to the passage of the sun. The east was the home of warriors, whose death in battle or sacrifice nourished the sun, and the west the home of women who died in childbirth, thus sacrificing themselves in the bearing of potential warriors.[5] (See Plate 57, bottom right.)

775 The rest of the dead passed to Mictlan, the underworld.

*Ma-kweel-sho'-chitl. †Meek-tla'n-tay-coot-li.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Bird," were the embodied spirits of young growth and, by 776
analogy, youth and the games. These had as male counterparts such gods as Cinteotl, "Maize God," Xochipilli,* "Flower Prince" and Macuilxochitl, "Four Flower," whose functions, identified with growth, youth and games, are almost synonymous. (See Plates 31; 56, top left; 57, bottom left.)

About the maguey plant revolved another cult embracing 776
the goddess Mayauel, who represented the plant and whose 802
four hundred sons were associated with pulque. According 273
to some accounts, the various styles of drunkenness were recorded in terms of these gods or their associated animal, the rabbit. Four hundred rabbits stood for complete drunkenness, while fifteen or twenty suggested mere conviviality. The chief of these pulque gods was called "Two Rabbit," after his day in the almanac, and another, Tepoztecatl, was the tribal god of Tepoztlan, honored by a temple placed high in the mountains of Morelos.

The gods of the earth and death were highly important, 776
since growth takes place in the earth and the dead are received there. The sun on rising seems to be born in the earth and at its setting to be hidden by it, thus passing apparently to the world of the dead. The gods and goddesses associated with the earth had significance for the solar cults as well as for growth and fertility.

Tlaltecuhtli, "Lord of the Earth," was depicted as a male monster of horrifying aspect, partaking of the attributes of a toad and an alligator. His open mouth could consume even [821]
the sun, since the setting sun passed into the earth, according to Aztec astronomical ideas. The goddesses, however, seem

*Sho-chee-pe'e-ly.

S: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

De la astrologia

SEVENTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SUN, AND THE MOON, AND THE STARS;[1] AND OF [THE CEREMONY] OF THE BINDING OF THE YEARS.

JNIC CHICOME AMOSTLI, ITECHPA TLATOA IN TONATIUH: YOAN IN METZTLI, YOAN IN ÇIÇITLALTI, YOAN IN TOXIMOLPIA.

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First Chapter, which telleth of the sun.

The sun: the soaring eagle,[2] the turquoise prince, the god.

He shone, cast forth light, sent forth rays [of light] from himself. Hot, he burned men—he burned them exceedingly, and made them sweat. He turned men's skins brown, darkening them, blackening them, blistering them.

Every two hundred and sixty days, when his feast day came, then his festival was honored and celebrated. They observed it on his day sign, called Naui olin. And before his feast day had come, first, for four days, all fasted. And when it was already his feast day, when first he came forth, when he emerged and appeared, incense was offered and burned; blood [from the ears] was offered. This was done four times during the day—when it was dawn; and at noon; and past midday, when already [the sun] hung [low]; and when he entered [his house]—when he set; when he ended [his course].

And early in the morning it was said: "Now he will work; now the sun will labor. How will the day end?" And when night fell, it was said: "He hath worked; the sun hath laboured." When he issued forth [at dawn], sometimes he was blood-colored, bright red, ruby-red. And sometimes he was quite pale, white-faced, pallid, because of the clouds—a mist, a

Iuic ce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in tonatiuh.

Tonatiuh, quauhtlenanitl, xippilli, teutl.

Tona, tlanestia, motonameiotia: totonqui, tetlati, tetlatlati, teitoni: teistlileuh, teistlilo, teiscapotzo, teistlecaleuh.

Matlacpoaltica, ipan epoalli, in ilhuiuhquiçsia: in ilhuichiuililoia, ilhuiquistililoia: ipã quimattiuia, in itonal itoca naolin. Auh in aiamo quiça ilhuiuh: achtopa, nauilhuitl, neçaoaloia. Auh in icoac ic ipan ilhuiuh, in icoac iancuiçin, oalquiza, oalmomana, oalpetzini/ tlenamacoia, tlatoronilo, neçoa. In hin, muchiosia nappa, cemilhuitl: icoac in iostzinco, iol nepãtla tonatiuh, ioan icoac in ic onmotzcaloa, in ic onmopilloa; iol icoac in oncalaqui, in onaqui, in onmotzinecoa.

Auh in iostzinco, mitoaia: ca ic tequitia, ic tlacotia in tonatiuh; quen vetziz in cemilhuitl. Auh in oicoac, mitoaia: otequit, otlacotic in tonatiuh: inic oalmemana, in quenman uel eztic, chichiltic, tlapaltic. Auh in quenman, çan iztalectic çan camaztac, çan cocostiuh: ipampa in mistli, in mixtaiuitl, anoço mispanitl, mistecuicuilli, in iuco moteca.

1. The reader is referred to the *Memoriales* and *Codices*, in the Appendix to this book, when from Francisco Paso y Troncoso, ed.: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España por Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: edición parcial en facsimile de los códices mexicanos en lengua mexicana* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905).

2. (*quauhtlenanitl*: eagle with the fiery arrows, according to Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885).

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heavy pall, or clouds of many colors—which were spread before his face.

Eclipse of the Sun

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821

When this came to pass, he turned red; he became restless and troubled. He faltered and became very yellow. Then there were a tumult and disorder. All were disquieted, unnerved, frightened. There was weeping. The common folk raised a cry, lifting their voices, making a great din, calling out, shrieking. There was shouting everywhere. People of light complexion[1] were slain [as sacrifices]; captives were killed. All offered their blood; they drew straws through the lobes of their ears, which had been pierced. And in all the temples there was the singing of fitting chants; there was an up[illegible] there were war cries. It was thus said: "If the [illegible]se of the sun is complete, it will be dark forever! The demons of darkness will come down; they will eat men!"

[785]

Tonatiuh quale.

In icoac muchiua, y, chichilultimomana: ac tlaca manj, ac tlaca ca, ca mocuecueptimanj: oica tlacoçouia: niman ic tlatzomonj, tlacatl comonj: neacomanalo, necomonjlo, ximauhtilo, nechoquililo, tlachoquiztlecu in macoualti: netenujteco, netempapaujlo, tlacaoaca, tlacaoetzalo, tzatzica: cioualli moteca, Tlacaztalmicoa, malmicoa, neçoa tlacoquilitilo: nenacazteco: auh in tetepan, xauchcuico, tlachalantoc, tlacaoácatoc: ic mitoxia, intla tlamiz, in quale tonatiuh: centlaiocoa: oaltemouque, in tzitzitzimi, tequaquimi.

1. Tlacoquilitilo: cf. [illegible], the corresponding passage in the Florentine [illegible] (Appendix to this volume), where the phrase is rendered "[illegible] Blanca y cara blanca."

5 Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

Second Chapter, which telleth of the moon.

The moon (Tecuciztecatl).

When he[4] newly appeared, he was like a small bow, like a bent, straw lip ornament—a small one. He did not yet shine. Very slowly, he went growing larger, becoming round and disc-shaped. In fifteen days he was completely rounded and filled out, as he became entire and mature. And when he waxed full and round, then he appeared, then he arose there at the place where the sun appeared. When it was already dark, [he was] like a very large, earthen skillet—very round, circular. [He was] as if red, a bright, deep red.

And after this, when he had already followed his course a little, when he had risen high, he became white. It was said: "Already he shineth; already the moon is brilliant; already he giveth forth moonbeams." He was then seen to be pale, very white. Then appeared [what was] like a little rabbit stretched across his face. If there were no clouds, if it were not overcast and covered by clouds, like [the sun] he shone, and it was like daytime. It was said: "[It is] almost [like] day; everywhere it is bright. Light is spread everywhere."

And when he had completely reached and attained his brilliance, for as many days as he had thus waxed and been round, little by little he again grew small; he became smaller. Again he became as when he had newly appeared. Gradually he waned and proceeded to vanish. It was said: "Already the moon is dying; now he slumbereth soundly—he falleth into a deep sleep. It is already toward morning, star down, when he sleeth." And when he had completely disappeared, it was said: "The moon hath died."

Inic vme capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in metztli.

Metztli: tecuciztecatl.

In icoac iancuican, oalmomana cõtoqtli: iuhquin teçacanecuilli, teçacanecuiltonelli, niamo tlanextia: çan iuiian, uetztiuhi, malacachiuhtiuhi, teuilacachiuhtiuhi. Cantoltica, in vel malacachiui: teuilacachiui, in vel maci, in chicaoa. Auh in icoac, vel oiaoaliuh, omalacachiuh, inic uel neci: inic oalmomana, in ompa iquiçaian tonatiuh: in jcoac ie tlapoiaoa, iuhquin comalli, veipol: vel teuilacachtic, malacachtic: iuhquin tlapalli, chichiltic, chichilpatic.

Auh quinjcoac, in ie achi quioaltoca, in ie, oalacoquiza, iztaia: mitoa ie tlachia, ie tlanextia, in metztli, ie metztona: iztalectic, vel iztac, inic motta: inic neci, iuhquin tochtõ, iaco vepztoc: intlacamo tle mistli, intlacamo missoa, mistemi: iuhquin tona, ic tlaneci, mitoa ieh on cemilhuitl, uel tlanaltona: tlanaltonatimani.

Auh in jcoac, oielacic, oielmacic, itlanexilia: in iaquilhuitl, ic veiia, malacachiui: çan iuh nenti, oc ceppa tepitonaui, tepitonauhtiuhi, oc ceppa iuhqui nuchioa, inic iancuican oalmomana: çan iuiian polini, poliuhtiuhi: mitoa ie onmiqui, in metztli: ie uei in quicochi: ie uc in ic cochi, ie tlathuitiuhi, ie tlathuinaoac, in oalquiza. Auh in iquac uel ompoliuh, mitoa: omomic in metztli.

REHEARSE THE FABLE in which it is told how a little rabbit lay across the face of the moon. Of this, it is told that [the gods] were only at play with [the

HICAYNOE, TEUCTLAPOLLO, inic mitoa: iuhquin nuchtoa, iaco uetztoc metztli. Jn hin quilmach çã ic ica onoeanilticloc: ic conjuiuiteoque: ic conjetlatlacaoque,

4. In the Spanish version, the moon (luna) is feminine. Since both the sun (Nanahuatzin) and moon (Tecuciztecatl) are male in the fable of the rabbit and the moon, we have made both of these consistently masculine.

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539 Then it became the office of Ecatl to slay the gods. But they say thus: that Xolotl wished not to die. He said to the gods: "Let me not die, O gods." Wherefore he wept much; his eyes and his eyelids swelled.

And when he who dealt death was to overtake him, he fled from his presence; he ran; he quickly entered a field of green maize, and took the form of, and quickly turned into, two young maize stalks [growing] from a single root, which the workers in the field have named *xolotl*. But there, in the field of green maize, he was seen. Then once again he fled from him; once more he quickly entered a maguey field. There also he quickly changed himself into a maguey plant [consisting of] two [parts] called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and once more he quickly entered into the water and went to take the shape of [an amphibious animal called] *axolotl*. There they could go to seize him, that they might slay him.

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And they say that though all the gods died, even then the sun god could not move and follow his path. Thus it became the charge of Ecatl, the wind, who arose and exerted himself fiercely and violently as he blew. At once he could move him, who thereupon went on his way. And when he had already followed his course, only the moon remained there. At the time when the sun came to enter the place where he set, then once more the moon moved. So, there, they passed each other and went each one his own way. Thus the sun cometh forth once, and spendeth the whole day [in his work]; and the moon undertaketh the night's task; he worketh all night; he doth his labor at night.

From this it appeareth, it is said, that the moon, Tecuciztecatl, would have been the sun if he had been first to cast himself into the fire; because he had presented himself first and all [his offerings] had been costly in the penances.

Here endeth this legend and fable, which was told in times past, and was in the keeping of the old people.

Nimã ic ieh iequiuh ximochiuh, in hecatl, ic quimjctia in teteu: auh in iuh conitoa, in xolotl, amo momiquitlania: quimilhui in teteu. Macamo nimiqui teteuie. Ic cẽca chocaia, vel ipopoçaoac, iquatelpopoçaoac.

Auh in ie itech onaci miquiztli, çan teipãpa eoac, cholo, toctitlan calactiuetz: ipan onmixueh, ic mocueptiuetz, in toctli ome manj, maxaltic: in quitocaiotia millaca, xolotl. Auh vncan itoc in toctitlan: ie no ceppa teipampa eoac, ie no cuele metitlan calactiuetz: no ic ximocueptiuetz in metl, ome manj, in itoca mexolotl. Ie no ceppa itoc, ie no cuele atlan calactiuetz, axolotl mocuepato: ie vel vmpa canato, inic conmictique.

Auh quiton, in manel muchintin teteu omicque, ça nel amo ic olin, amo vel ic otlatocac in teutl tonatiuh: ic iequiuh ommuchiuh in hecatl, moquetz in ehecatl, cenca molhui, totocac, in ehecac: quin iehoatl vel colinj, nimah ic ic otlatoca. Auh in icoac, ie otlatoca, çan vmpa ommoçauh in metztli: quinicoac in ocalaquito icalaquian tonatiuh, ie no cuele ic oalcoac in metztli: ic vncan mopetilique, motlallotique. Inic ceppa oalquiça tlacemilhuitiltia in tonatiuh: auh in metztli ioealhequitl quitlaça cõtoal quitlaça, ioealtequiti.

Ic vncã hin neci, mitoa: ca ichoatl tonatiuh iexquia in metztli tecuiztecatl, intla ic achto onuetzinj tleco: ipampa ca ichoatl achto miquetz, inic muchi tlaçotli ipan tlamacoth.

Nican tlami, in hin nenonotzalli, çaçanilli: in ie oncath ic tlatlanonotzaia, vmotque, in impiel caica.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821 843 When the moon eclipsed, his face grew dark and sooty; blackness and darkness spread. When this came to pass, women with child feared evil; they thought it portentous; they were terrified [lest], perchance, their [unborn] children might be changed

Metztli quale,

In icoac, quale metztli: itilloac, ioeuichoac, cuichoaximomana, tlaiocuicuiomana. In icoac, y, muchioa: uel mamimatia in octzin, tlacuiomatia, momaxitiaia: ma nelli momimichcuepti, ma quiquimichtimocuepti, in itepilhoan.

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into mice; each of their children might turn into a mouse.

And because they feared evil, in order to protect themselves, in order that this might not befall [them], they placed obsidian in their mouths or in their bosoms, because with this their children would not be born with mouth eaten away—lipless; or they would not be born with noses eaten away or broken off; or with twisted mouths or lips; or cross-eyed, squint-eyed, or with shrunken eyes; nor would they be born monstrous or imperfect.

This moon those of Xaltocan worshipped as a god, and they laid offerings before him and paid him honor.

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Auh inic quintemmatia: inic mopatiaia, inic amo iuhqui impá nochioua: itzli incamac, anoço iuxilli quitlaliaia: ipápa inic amo tencoaiuizque, tencoaiz-que impilhoua: anoço iacacoatiuque, iacacotoniuque, anoço tempatziuiaque, tennecuiliuiaque, iapatziuiaque, iaiecuiliuiaque, iocacaliuiaque: in anoço atlacamele tlacatiz, in amo tlacamelaoac.

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Inin metztli, iehoan quimotrutiaia in xaltocameca: quitlamaniliaia, quimauiztiliaia.

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[p. 10 is blank]

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Third Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

The Fire Drill[7]

When [these] appeared and set forth, incense was offered and burned. Thus was it said when Yoaltecutli [and] Yacauitztli had come forth: "What will the night bring? How will the day break?"

And these were offered incense. Three times was it done: when night fell—well into the night; and when it was time to sleep—the time when the flutes were blown.[8] When this [took place], this was the time for offering their blood and offering maguey spines stained with blood. The third time incense was offered was when it dawned, when the morning broke, when the earth was visible—when morning was near.

And hence was it said that they resembled the fire drill: because when fire was drawn with a drill, and the drill bored, thus fell, ignited, and flared the fire.

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And also for this reason all burned [spots on] their wrists; for this reason were we men burned on the wrists, to show awe of him. He was feared and dreaded. It was said and considered of any whose wrists were not burned that on his wrists fire would be drilled in the land of the dead, when he died. Therefore we men—every one—were burned on the wrists. On both sides of each wrist they arranged in order, in rows, the wrist burns. Thus they represented the fire drill. In the same manner as [the stars] were arranged in order and in line, so also they placed in order, in rows, their burns on their wrists.

[The Morning Star or Great Star]

821

Of the morning star, the great star, it was said that when first it emerged and came forth, four times it vanished and disappeared quickly. And afterwards it burst forth completely, took its place in full light,

Inic ey capitulo, intechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

Mamalhoaztli.

In icoac oalneci, oalmotema: tlenamacoia, tlatotoniloia: ic mitoaia, ooalquex in iooaltecutli, in iacauiztli: quen uetziz in iooalli, quen tlathuiz.

Auh in hin tlenamacoia, espa in [illegible]chioaia: icoac in tlapoiaoa, tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, yoan netetequizpan, tlatlapitzalizpa. Icoac, y, neçoaia, neuitzmanaloia: ic espa tlenamacoia, icoac in tlauizcaleoa, tlauizcalli moquetza: in tlatlalchipaoa, in ie tlathuinaoac.

Auh inic mitoa, mamalhoaztli, itech moneneuilia in tlequauitl: ichica, in icoac tlequauhtlaxo, ca momamali in tlequauitl: inic uetzi, inic zoçla, inic mopitza tletl.

No yoan, inic nematlatiloia: inic momatlatiaia toquichtin, ichoatl quimacacia, mjmacacia imacazoia, mjtoaia: quilniach in aquin amo nematlatile, imac tlequauhtlaxoz in mjctlan, in icoac omjc. Ichoa in toquichtin, muchi tlácatl momatlatiaia, nenecoc inmac quiuiujpanaia, quitetecpanaia in innematlatil: ic quitlaichecalhuiaia in mamalhoaztli: in iuh viçantoc, tecpantoc, no iuh quiuiujpanaia, quitetecpanaia in immac innematlatil.

Citlalpol, vei citlalin mitoa: in icoac iancuican oalcholoa, oalquiça, nappan polizi, popoliuhtiuetzi: auh çatepã uel cueponj, cuepontimotlalia, cuepontica, tlanesotica: iuhquin mezzioua ic tlanestia.

7. The names of various constellations and stars may or may not correspond to the names by which they are now known. In the Spanish text and in the Mexicanized case endings, however, Sahagún sometimes uses them with the terminology current in his times. See also Plates 1-7, 21.

8. Tlachpalihpan: cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book 8, *The Conquest* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 192; also Sandoz, op. cit.; Cuelloy, op. cit., p. 232. The ceremony called for use of flutes or trumpets, according to Sandoz; of horns, according to Cuelloy. Sources vary as to the exact time when these were blown.

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821 became brilliant, and shone white. Like the moon's rays, so did it shine.

And when it newly emerged, much fear came over them; all were frightened. Everywhere the outlets and openings[a] [of houses] were closed up. It was said that perchance [the light] might bring a cause of sickness, something evil, when it came to emerge. But sometimes it was regarded as benevolent.

821 782 And also [captives] were slain when it emerged, [that] it might be nourished. They sprinkled blood toward it. With the blood of captives they spattered toward it, flipping the middle finger from the thumb; they cast [the blood] as an offering; they raised it in dedication.

Auh in iconc, iancoican oalcholoa: cêca mazatli motecaia, nemauhcilloia: nesuian motzatzacuaia in tlocalli, in pochquiiacoc: mitoaia, açô cocolinço, itla aqualli quinquimitz, in oquiçaco: auh in quemman quicualittaia.

Auh no micoaia, in iconc oalcholoa, iccalitloia, quitlacoaliaia: iancaçotica in mamalti, contlatzitzicoaliliaia, contlatlatlaxiliaia, cocholiaualiaia.

[i.e. The morning star or great star —A.]

a. The corresponding Spanish text translates these as doors and windows. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., III, p. 28, n. 2a.

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

Inic nauí Capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

The Comet

It was said [to be] an omen for the ruler. Because of it a ruler was to perish; perchance some person of noble lineage would die. And likewise they said that somewhere he might be imprisoned, or war would begin. Or else there would be famine. The common folk said: "Perhaps this is our hunger; perchance famine," they said.

Citlalin popoca.

Mitoa: tlatocatetzauitl, ic tlatocamicoaz, aço ica uey tlaçopilli ie mjquiz: yoan no quitoaia, aço cana ie oalmotzacoaz, aço ie olinjz teuatl tlachinolli: yoan anoço ie maianaloz. Quitoaia in macceoalti: aço tapiz hi, aço apizzli quitoa.

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The Shooting Star

It was said that the passing of a shooting star rose and fell neither without purpose nor in vain. It brought a worm to something. And of [the animal] wounded by a shooting star, they said: "It hath been wounded by a shooting star; it hath received a worm." [Such] was not to be eaten. It was looked at with fear, abhorred, and shunned. It turned one's stomach.

Citlalin tlamina.

Mitoa: amo nenquiça, amo nẽuetzi, in itlamjnalia: tlaocuilloaia. Auh in tlamintli, mitoa: citlalmjnqui, ocuillo, aocmo qualo, mauhcaitto, tlaelitto, hihielo, tetlaieltia.

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And by night all were well protected. All covered themselves; they clothed themselves, wrapped themselves in mantles, and bound on their garments, for fear of the shooting star.

Auh in iocaltica vel nemalhuilo, neololoto, netlapacholo, nequentilo, netlalpililo: imacaxo in itlaminalia citlalin.

821.

The S-Shaped Stars

[These] were apart; they appeared by themselves, shining and shimmering. And for this reason were they called *S*-shaped stars—that they were similar to and very much like a [kind of maize] tortilla which was made, or an amaranth seed tortilla. [These] were, at both ends, twisted and rounded over. They were eaten on the day Xochitl, everywhere, in each house. In all places, in men's dwellings everywhere, they were made.

Citlalnecuilli.

Çan iioca onoc, iioca nentoc, tlanestitoc, cuecuepocatoc: Auh inic mitoa, citlalnecuilli: ca quinenuilia, vel *no* inhqui centlamantli tlachichioalli tlascalli, anoço tzoualli: nenecoc, cecentlapal quacoltic, quateuilacachtic: suchilhuid ipan in quaqualoia, nouian cecencalpan: quitzacutimanca, in nouiian techachan nechiuililoia.

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The Scorpion Stars

In the same manner, [these] resembled and appeared in the aspect of the venomous scorpion, with upcurved tail. Arched and upcurled is its tail; wherefore [these] are called the Scorpion Stars.

Citlalcolotl.

Çan no inhqui: quinenuilia, quinamiqui, in itlachieliz tequani colotl: cuitlapilococoltic, mamalacachtic, teteuilacachtic in jcuitlapil: ipampa inic mitoa citlalcolotl.

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The Wind

That which was known as [the wind] was addressed as Quetzalcoatl. From four directions it came, from four directions it traveled. The first place whence it came was the place from which the sun arose, which they named Tlalocan. This wind which came from there they gave the name of the Tlaloc wind. Little did it frighten men; lightly did it blow. With it, one could go in a canoe; with it one could land; with it one could cross the water.

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The second place whence it came [the north] was called Mictlampa; and this was named the wind from the land of the dead. This was much feared, and caused much terror. Violently did it blow, when it set in, and the canoes could not contend with it. They could not travel forward. They could not venture forth; they could not pass across; they could not get under way in the water. Rather, all the boatmen came out and left [their craft] because of fear—those who gained their livelihoods on the water, the fishermen who used nets, or who speared [the fish]. When they saw that it was Mictlampa ehecatl which arose, then they feared evil and were troubled. They hurried, hastened, and greatly quickened their pace, plying the pole—plying it rapidly. They strained their arms, that they might come out and beach [the canoe] on the shore, on the edge of the water, near the water line. And so they said: "Often it drowneth men and sinketh canoes."

The third place whence it came [the west] was known as Cuatlampa; it was named Cuatecayotl and Cuatlampa ehecatl. Also it was called One Wind, or Maçaua; for it came from Maçauacan. And this one did not blow fiercely. Nevertheless, it was very cold. Men suffered much from [its] cold; they became livid and stiff from cold. It made them shiver; it was deadly. It made men tremble, shake, and quake; it exhausted them; it gave them stomach pains, or pains in the lungs, or the head. And yet, with it they could go ashore from the water. It did not frighten men nor terrify them.

And the fourth place whence came the wind [the south] was there from Uitztlampa. It was named Uitztlampa ehecatl. And this one was much feared and held in dread. All feared harm. It made men speechless with terror; it made them silent with fear. Because it blew swiftly, it frightened them greatly. They said: "When it arieth, it uprooteth and breaketh trees: and it teareth walls to pieces—old walls

Ehecatl

Motenecaia: ic quinotzaia quetzalcoatl. Nauhcampa oallauh, nauhcampa oalicttiuh. Inic ceccan oallauh: vmpa in iquiçaiampa tonatiuh, quitoaia tlalocã: inin ehecatl, vmpa oallauh, quitocaiotiaia, tlalocaiotl: amo cẽca temauhti, amo cenca totoca, uel ipan acaltica viloa, vel ipan quixoa, in atlan: vel ipã panoa.

Inic occã oallauh, motenecoa mictlampa: auh inin motocaiotia mictlampa ehecatl. In hin uel imacaxo, uellamauhtia: cenca totoca, in icoac moquetza, amo vel quinamiqui in acalli: amo vellauilteco, amo uel tlastlapalolo, avel istlapal viloa, auel tlanecuilolo in atlan: çan mauhcaquixoa, mauhcaquiça in tlapanauique, in atlãca, in tlãtlamãque, in tlamjnque. In oquittaque, ca mictlampa ehecatl in omoquetz: ic cenca motenmati, motequipachoa, uel motequimati, ompilcatoque, ompipilcatoque, in tlaneloa, in tequitlaneloa: vel momaquauhtilia, inic uel onquiça, onmacana atenco, atexipalco, achichiiacpa: iuh quixoa, ca miccpa, teatlanmictia, quipolactia in acalli.

Inic ecan oallauh: motenecoa cioatlãpa, motocaiotia, cioatecaiotl, cioatlampa ehecatl: no quitocaiotia ce ehecatl, anoço maçaoa ipampa vmpan oalicttiuh maçaoacan. Auh in hin, amo no cenca totoca: icoc cenca itztic, uel tececmjti, tepinecoalti, tepinuch, tetetziliuiti, tetezilquisti, tetzitzilquiti, tcuiuiõquilti, tecuecuechquiti, tecuecuechmiquiti: tezillanquauhtili, teiomotlanquauhtili, tetzontecoecuh. Auh uel, uel ipan quixoa in atlan, amo temauhti, amo temauiacuiti.

Auh inic nauhcampa, oallauh ehecatl, vmpa uitztlampa: motocaiotia uitztlampa ehecatl. Auh inin, cenca vel imacaxo, mimacaci: netenmacho, aoc tenaostilti, aoc tetlauhti: ipãpa cenca totoca, cenca tlamauhtia. Quixoa, in icoac moquetza: vel qioitzinoa, quipeztequi in quauitl: yoan quizitinja in tepanõlli, in tepançolli, in xacalli: quecatoctia in tlatzacuilli, in chimancalli. Auh in vei atl vel colinja, quiçoponaçoa,

and straw huts. The wind carrieth off fences and enclosures. And it stirreth up the sea; it maketh them froth and foam. It forneth waves; there is a great din as of waves breaking. There is a great crickling noise." And it tossed and cast canoes into the air. Just so, indeed, did the north wind sink them.

quipoçonaltia, cacuccuciotia: iuhquin tetecuicatimani, cocomocatimani: auh in scalli caacomaiaui, caacotlaço: vel no iuhqui, quinamiqui in mictlampa checatl. 821 823 502

Lightning: the Lightning Flash

They addressed it as, and named it, many things—the mist which went winding [like a serpent], the thunderbolt, the reed staff. When lighting flashed and lit up repeatedly, we were blinded, we lost our sight, our vision was darkened. It startled us; we were terrified. It was unbearable to look at; it was dazzling. Everywhere it flashed repeatedly—again and again—like the light of the dawn breaking over and over. Thus did it come; it came twisting and winding.

Tlapetlanjlloti, tlapetlanjlizti: much ic quinozaia, quitocaiotiaia, aiauhcocolli, tlapetlanjlquauitl, ozto-pilcoauitl. In icoac tlapetlani, tlãtlapetlani: tiposaoa, tiimimiqui, titiamauhtia, titocuitiuetzi: aiauamiquilizti, aiauamiquizti, nouiian tlatlaoztimoqueza: iuhquin tlauizcalli moquequetza: inic oallauh oalcocoliubtiuh, cueculiubtiuitz. 821

[p. 16 is blank]

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

Ic macuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in mixtli.

The Lord of Tlaloccan

821 776

He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chía*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

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821 793 785

And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Tlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishment. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once, for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or foreboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Tlalocã tecutli,

Teutl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quiauitl, in atl: iuh quitoaia, ie quichioa in ticoua, in tiqui, in qualoni, in joani, in tonenca, in tosoka, in tocochca, in tonenhca, in tocemilhuitiaia, in tonacaiotl: in ie iequich xopaniotl, in itzmolintoc, in celiztoc, in quauitl, in ossuhtli, in chian, in aiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: yoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in xuchitl, in xiuitl.

Auh in icoac ilhuiquistililoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçaoaia, motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: in motenoa calmecac mooapaoa, mozcaltia.

In icoac oacic nauilhuitl, in ie neoalco, in ie ilhuitl muchioa: matlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uei apan: amo iuiian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmotzotzopontitlaça, onmotzotzopontimaiaui: çan monetechuja, vncan çoquititlan quinemjtia, quipopolactia, quiuiuilana: icpac cantinemi, quititlicça, atlã tlatzotzopotztinemj, aicozotztinemi, tlamomolotztinemi: inmac mouiuitlatinemi, in tlamacazque,

in otlatlaco, in calmecac itlã oncholo: intlanel çan aca ômótepotlami, itlã oconicxizopeuh, oc uel ic conaciqueque, ie ic inmal ça quipipia, aocmo conjacaoa, inic catlampapachoaque.

Auh amo çan quenjn quipoloa: uel quicocoltia, quellelaxitia, ça quen quimattoc, ça mopopoçauhtoc, ça içomocatoc, ça micqui in quicalmaiaui atenco: aiac uel ipan tlatoa, vncan quimonana in intahoan, in innahoan. Auh in aquin quitlamauhcaitilia, in quitlaõmachilia ipiltzin, inic amo catlampapachoaque: conquistiaia itlatzia quinnacaia in tlamacazque, aço tonãn, aço tlaqualli: ic quicaoaia.

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water, in order that they should let him go, he offered the priests something of value—either a turkey or food. In return for it they let [his son] be.

And when this came to pass, everywhere, in the houses of all, in each house, *etz·lli*[9] was eaten. Each one made *etzalli* for himself; and there was a dance in which *etzalli* was begged. With green maize stalks they danced. Those who danced the *etzalli* dance entered house after house, each one begging and asking. [The householders] offered them all this same *etzalli*, [placing it] in the small jars, the *etzalli* jars, which they bore in their hands.

These [gods] were called Tlalocs. To them were attributed clouds, rain, hail, snow, mist, sheet lightning, thunder, and lightning bolts which struck men.

The Rainbow

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As if arched—bent and rounded—it thus appeared. Varicolored, many-hued was its appearance. The single colors which showed in it [were] green, dark green, blue green, and black; and yellow and orange or tawny; then vermillion and ruby red; and [various shades of] blue, and dark green.[10]

And they said that when it appeared it revealed, made evident to men, and denoted—whereby it was known, realized, and seen—that it would not rain; would not rain hard—would not pour. But it would break up the clouds. It would dissipate, impede, and quiet the rain—the downpour which wet, soaked, and drenched one. If clouds piled up, if heavy clouds blackened [the sky] so that everywhere it was dark, it only dissipated [them]. Although it rained, no longer was the rain heavy; no longer did it increase. It only sprinkled; it drizzled; a few drops fell; a haze, a fog, a thin mist drifted and fell. Or at most it sprinkled; the sprinkling and the spray continued.

And they said—it was averred—[that] if it appeared over maguey plants, because of it the green [leaves] yellowed, turned, dried, reddened, and withered. And also they said [that] when it appeared many times, thereby it was evident [that] the rains were to end forthwith. They said: "Soon the masters of the rain will go; already the Tlalocs are about to leave."

Auh in icoac, y, in nouiian techachan, in cecencalpan etzalqualoia: ceceiaca metzalhuiaia, yoan etzalmaceoaloia: cintopiltica mitotia, tepan cacalaqui, motlatlaeuia, motlatlaitlanja, in etzalmaceuhque: çan muche in etzalli quinmaca, inxozochuicol, imeetzalcon intlan caana.

In ichoantin, y, moteneoa tlaloque: intech tlamiloia in mistli, in quiauitl, in teciuitl, in cêpaiauitl, in aiauitl, in tlapetlaniliztli, in tlatlatziniliztli, in teuitequiliztli.

Aiauhcoçamalotl.

Iubquin uitoliuhqui: tlauitoltic, coltic, inic oalmoquetza, tlatlatlapalpoalli, motlatlapalpouh in itlachieliz. In centlamantli tlapalli, itech neci: xozoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iiapaltic, quilpalli, iiapalli: yoan coztic, xopaltic, xochipalli: niman ie chichiltic, tlapaltic: yoã tlaztaleoaltic, tlaztaleoalli: yoan texôtic, texôdli, matlaltic, matlalli.

Auh quitoa, in icoac oalmoquetza: quinestia, quiteittitia, quinezcaiotia, ic macho, ic machizti, ic itto: in azno quiauiz, amo tlaelquiauiz, amo tilaoaz: çan quimomoiaoaz in mistli, quipopoloa, quelleltia, quiiacatzacuilia in quiiauitl, in tlaelquiiauitl: in tepaltili, in techacoani, in teçoquitili. Intla cenca omotlatlali mistli, in ouel cuicuicheoac, in onouiian tlatlaiooac: çan quipopopoloa. Intlanel quiaui, aocmo cenca tilaoa, aocmo molhuia: ça aoachquiani, aoachtli in onueuetzi, in onchichipini: aoachpitzactli, aoachpicilli, aoachpiciltoton, in ontzitzicuini in onueuetzi: anoçe çan aoachtilaoa, aoachtilaoatimani, aoachtzetzeliuhtimani.

Auh quitoa, quilmach intla metl, ipan moquetza: ic macueçaliciui, macoçauia, maoaqui, machichilini, matlatlauja, macuetlauja. No yoan quitoa, in icoac miecpa oalmoquetza: ic neci, çan cuel quiçaz, in quiiauitl: quitoaia, çan cuel iazque in aoaque, ie quiçazque in tlaloque.

9. Etzalli: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 79.

10. Sahagún (Memorial con ensalmo) has green for xoxoctic, quilte, quilpaltic, iiapaltic, quilpalli, and iiapalli. Alonso de Molina, in his Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), gives blue-green for quilpaltic and brown or black for iiapaltic. The second occurrence of this latter word of quilpalli is omitted in this translation; Molina translates xochipaltic as ruddy or rose-colored. In Memorial con ensalmo, Sahagún writes both chichiltic and iiapaltic as red. For tlaztaleoaltic, Molina has red or rose-colored. For matlaltic and matlalli, the Memorial has blue.

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Sixth Chapter. Here are mentioned the snow, the clouds, and the hail.

Ic chiouacen capitulo, vncan mitoa: in cẽpaisuitl, yoan mistli, yoan in teciuitl.

[Frost]

The frost [god] was called Itztlacoliuhqui. Once yearly the cold came. During the feast of Ochpaniztli the cold began. And for one hundred and twenty days—one hundred and twenty suns—this persisted and there was cold. And it ended and disappeared [during the feast] called Tititi.

When [the month] came to an end, it was said: "For the frost hath departed. Now there will be sowing—it will be the time of sowing. Already land will be planted, so that [seeds] will be placed in the soil. Already it is warm, mild, calm. Already the season is good, the time is propitious; the hour is at hand; the time is ripe; the moment hath come." [For] already they hastened and were diligent. Already there was unrest; all men would be agitated and solicitous; they would be preoccupied. No longer would there be rest. Already the days would fly;[11] already there would be the setting forth for the working of the fields, the fresh working of the soil, the reworking of the fields; already the fields would be reworked. Now there would be planting of beans; beans would be placed. Now amaranth seed would be cast broadside; amaranth would be placed. Now *chia* seed would be cast; chili plants set out and transplanted. Already off-shoots would be pruned and separated, and all would bear fruit.

Cetl, mitoa: itztlacoliuhqui, cexiuhtica in oallatiuh, in ceuetzi: ipan ochpaniztli, in peoa ceuetzi. Auh chicoacempoalilhuitl, chicuacẽpoaltonal: in mani, in ceuetzi. Auh ipan quiça, ipan poliui, in itoca tititl: 821 776

icoac tlami, mitoa ca oquiz in cetl, ie tocoz, ie toquizpan, ie tlatlalaquiloz, ic tlallan ontlatlaliloz: ie tlatotonja, ie tlacacaoaca, ie tlaiamanja: ie qualcan, ie uncan, ie inman, ie tlainman, otlainmantic: ie tlaciui, otlaciuh, ie ncamaloz, ie neacomanaloz, ie nemociuiloz, ie tlamociuiz, aoc onnetlaliloz: ie tlacaitl eoaz, ie motocaz in tlaelimictli, in tlapopoxolli, in çacamolli, ie çacamoloz, je etlaxoz, ie etlaçaloz: ie ouhpixoloz, ie ouhquetzaloz, ie chiempixoloz, ie chiltecoz, ie chilaquiloz: ie onpipilcotoz, ie onnemaiaohoaz, ie netlacatiloz.

Snow

It was only the servant and companion which followed, accompanied, and spread the frost over the earth. It was considered to be like the rain. And it was said that when there was snow, [crops] would be harvested; the crops would be good. It foretold, and was an omen of, [good] crops.

Cepaisuitl.

Çan iuical, çan itlauical, quitoquilia, quitocatiuh, yoã onotiuh in cetl: iuhquin quiauitl ipan poui. Auh mitoa, in icoac cepaiaui: piscoz, tlamochioaz: quinestia, inezca in piaquiztli. 821

11. Here we follow Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Wahrsagerei, Himmelskörper und Kalender der alten Azteken, aus dem aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagún's übersetzt und erläutert* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1956), pp. 53, 268-269. An alternative, however, might be "turn out forth, or raise" (*tlamoil, ons*).

Our condition of explicitness and commodiousness is preciseness.

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Clouds

When [clouds] billowed and formed thunderheads, and settled and hung about the mountain tops, it was said: "The Tlalocs are already coming. Now it will rain. Now the masters of the rain will sprinkle water."

Hail

It was formed and took shape when very white clouds settled on mountain tops. It was said: "Now it will hail; now our food will be hailed out."

And thus did hail fall, making a din as of rattling, beating one about the head, pelting one [as if] with stones. Thus, truly, died and were despoiled our crops. For some distance, it flattened on the ground and spread birds over the surface of the water. At that time the water dwellers went gathering for themselves; they brought in their catch.

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And that it might not hail, that they might not be hailed upon, and the young maize plants might not be damaged by hail, then the [sorcerers who] cast away hail and rain drove and headed it off. They removed it from the waters [of the lake]; they showed it the way and took it [hence]. Or else they cast it forth into the deserted places, the uncultivated lands where there were no crops, no one lived, and nothing existed; poverty-ridden lands—barren lands where nothing grew, nothing issued: the land was void. It was only an abandoned place; the [very] stones were dry.

Mistli.

In iconc tepeticpac moloni, momoloca, motlatlalia, mopiloa: mitoaia, ca ie uitze in tlaloque, ie quiauiz, ie pixauizque in aoaque.

Teciuitl

Ic muchioa, ic neci: in iconc tepeticpac motlatlalia mistli, cēca iztac: mitoa, ca ie teciuiz, ie teciuiloz in tonacaiotl.

Auh inic uetzi teciuitl, iuhquin tlacacalaca, tequacacalanja, temomotla: vel ic miqui, ic ispoliui, ic tonacamiqui, cematl quimana, atlisco quinmana in totome. Auh vel oncan mopisquia, quin mopisquia, tonacatlama, in atlaca.

Auh inic amo teciuiz, inic amo teciuiloz, inic amo tecinmiquiz toctli: niman quitopeoa, quipeuia, in teciuhtlazque, in quiiauhtlazque atlanpa quisquanja, quitlachieltia, quiuica: anoço vmpa quitlaça in çacatla, çacaistl-oacan, in atle imuchioaian, atle iionoia, atle onoc, atle iieoaia, atle eoatoc, atle iquiçaiā, atle quiztoc, atle onuetztoc: çan iuhcatla, tetl oaoacca.

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THE SEVENTH BOOK TREATETH OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS, AND OF THE YEAR OF JUBILEE

EL 7.° LIBRO TRATA DEL SOL Y DE LUNA Y ESTRELLAS Y DEL AÑO DEL JUBILEO.[19]

First Chapter, of the sun.

821 The sun hath the quality of shining and of lighting and of casting rays from himself. He is hot and he scareth; he maketh one sweat, and turneth a man's body and face dark brown or tawny.

El sol tiene propriedad de resplandecer y de alumbrar y de echar rayos de si. Es caliente y tuesta, haze sudar pa hosco o loro el cuerpo y la cara de la persona.

821 785 782 They celebrated a feast to the sun once each year in the sign named Four Olin. And before the feast they fasted four days as the vigil of the feast. And in this feast of the sun, four times they offered incense and blood from the ears—once at sunrise, another time at midday, at the vesper hour, and when [the sun had] set.

Hazian fiesta al sol vna vez cada año en el signo que se llama 4. olin. Y antes de la fiesta ayunavan quatro dias como vigilia de la fiesta. Y en esta fiesta del sol ofrecian encienso y sãgre de las orejas quatro vezes: vna en saliendo el sol, otra al medio dia, y a la hora de visperas y qñ se ponia.

Ytzcaliui. t. itzcaliuhtica in noyollo: My heart is calmed, or resteth, in love. Pret., oitzcaliuh. oitzcaliuhticatca.

33. ytzcaliui. t. itzcaliuhtica yn noyollo. refriarse o declino mi coraçon en el amor. ꝑt.° oitzcaliuh. oitzcaliuhticatca.

Vel cen tecomatl in atl ocontzineuh: A whole gourd[ful of water] was overturned while being drunk.

34. Vel cen tecomatl ỹ atl ocontzineuh. trastornose vna xicara ẽtera beuiẽdola.

19. Sahagún (Paso y Troncoso ed.), Vol. VI, pp. 177-215.

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821 And when he came forth in the morning, they said: "Now the sun starteth his work. How will it be? What will come to pass on this day?"

And at sunset they said: "The sun hath ended his work, or task." Sometimes when the sun riseth, he seemeth blood-colored; and at times whitish; and sometimes he riseth sickly-hued because of the mist or the clouds which cover him.

When the sun is eclipsed, he turneth red; it seemeth that the sun becometh disquieted, or troubled; or he moveth to and fro, or he stirreth. And he turneth very yellow.

821 When the people see this, they then raise a tumult.
785 And a great fear taketh them, and then the women
782 weep aloud. And the men cry out, [at the same time] striking their mouths with [the palms of] their hands. And everywhere great shouts and cries and howls were raised. And then they hunted out men of fair hair and white faces; and they sacrificed them to the sun. And also they sacrificed captives, and they anointed themselves with the blood of their [own] ears. And, besides, they bored [the lobes of]

Y quando a la mañana salia dezian ya comiença el sol su obra que sera, que acontecera ẽ este dia.

Y a la puesta del sol, dezian acabo su obra, o su tarea el sol. A las vezes qñ sale el sol pareçe de color de sangre: y a las vezes parece blanquezino: y a las vezes sale de color enfermizo por razon de las nieblas o de las nubes que se le afponẽ.

Quando se eclipsa el sol parase colorado parece que se desasosiega o se turba el sol, o se remeçe, o rebuelue y amarillecese mucho.

Quando esto vẽe la gente luego se alborota.
Y tomales gran temor, y luego las mugeres lloran a vozes. Y los hombres dan grita hiriendo las bocas con la mano. Y en todas ptes se dauã grandes bozes y gritos, y alaridos. Y luego buscavan los hombres de cabellos blancos y caras blãcas: y los sacrificauan al sol. Y tambien sacrificauan captiuos y se vntauã con la sangre de las oreias: y tambien aguieraua las oreias con puntas de maguei y passuan mimbres o cosa semeiante por los aguieros q̃ las puntas avian

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their ears with maguey spines and passed flexible twigs or the like through the holes which the spines had made. And then, in all the temples, they sang and sounded [musical instruments], making a great din. And they said: "If the sun becometh completely eclipsed, nevermore will he give light; eternal darkness will fall, and the demons will come down. They will come to eat us!"

hecho. Y luego por todos los templos cantauan y tañian haziendo gran ruido. Y dezian si del todo se acaba de eclipsar el sol nunca mas alumbrara ponerse han perpetuas tinieblas y descenderan los demonios vendran nos a comer.

Second Chapter.

821

When the moon newly appeareth, he seemeth like a thin, little curve of wire. He doth not yet shine. By little and little he goeth growing. On the fifteenth day he is full. And when now he is full, he cometh forth in the east at sunset. He seemeth like a great millstone—very round and very red. And as he goeth rising, he becometh white or shining. [There is what] looketh like a rabbit in the middle of him. And if there are no clouds he shineth almost like the

Capitulo Segũdo

Quando la luna nuevamẽte nace, parece como vn arquito de alambre delgado aun no resplandece: poco a poco va creciendo. A los quinze dias es llena. Y qũ ya es llena sale por el oriente a la puesta del sol: parece como vna rueda de molino grande muy redonda y muy colorada. Y qũ va subiendo se para blanca o resplandeziente: parece como vn conejo en medio della. Y si no ay nubes resplandece casi como el sol, casi como de dia. Y d'spues de llena cũpli-

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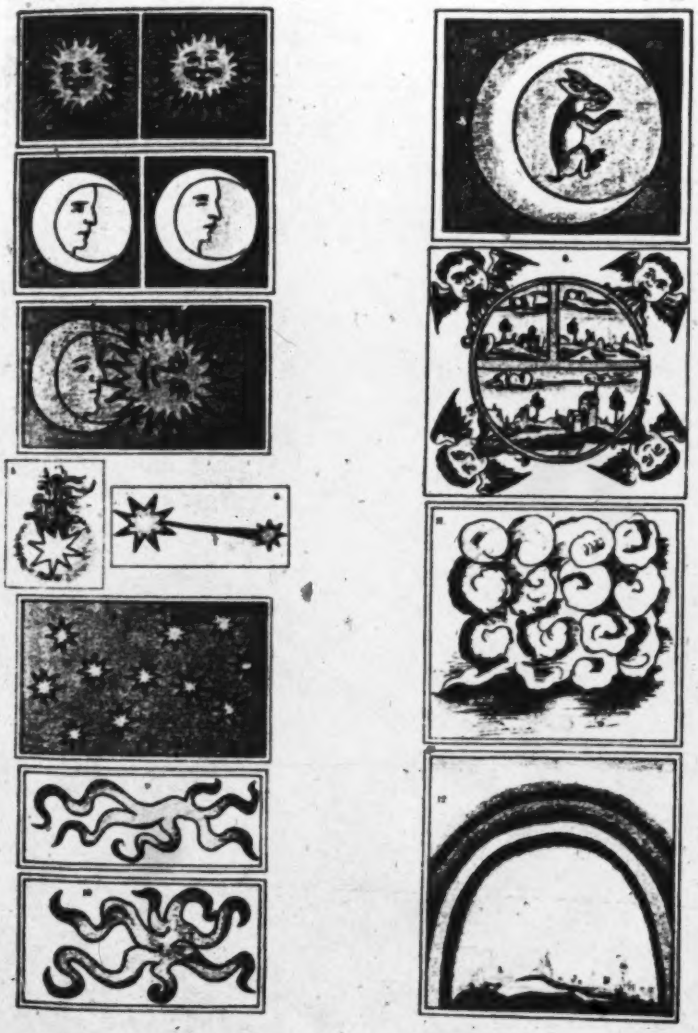

—After Paso y Troncoso

1. Sun
2. Moon
3. The rabbit in the moon
4. Eclipse of the moon
5. Comet
6. Comet's tail
7. Stars
8. The Winds
9-10. Lightning
11. Clouds
12. Rainbow

[p. 38 (D)]

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire on the breast of a sacrificial victim
17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to homes
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

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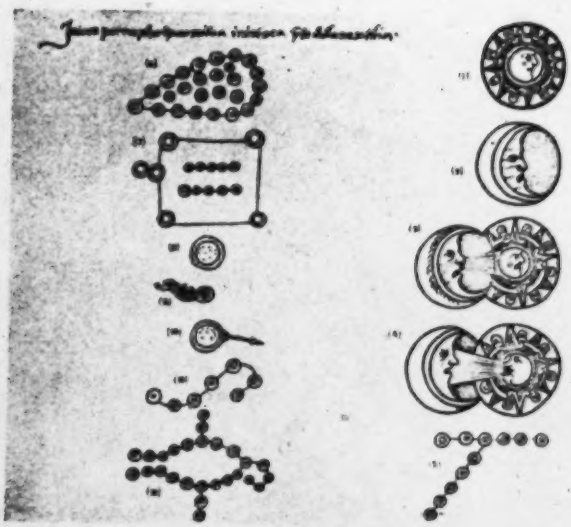

—After Paso y Troncoso

21. Sun, moon, and stars, and other natural phenomena, from *Primeros Memoriales*, Cap. 2

1. Sun
2. Moon
3. Eclipse of sun
4. Eclipse of moon
5. Fire drill
6. Fire drill
7. Venus
8-9. Comet
10. Comet's tail
11. S-shaped stars
12. Scorpion

[p. 38 (H)]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

22. Natural Phenomena and year signs, from *Primeros Memoriales*, cap. 2

13. Wind
14. Lightning bolt
15. Rain
16. Rainbow
17. Frost
18. Cloud
19. Snow
20. Hail

Year signs, beginning at top
One Rabbit
Two Reed
Three Flint Knife
Four House

[p. 38(I)]

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sun; [it is] almost as daytime. And after he hath become completely full, by little and little he goeth waning until he becometh as he was when he began. They then say: "Now the moon dieth; now he deepeth." This is when he riseth with the dawn at the time of the conjunction. They say: "Now the moon is dead."

damente poco a poco se va menguando hasta que se va a hazer como quando començo: dizen entonces ya se muere la luna, ya se duerme Esto es quando sale ya con el alua al tpo de la coniuncion: dizen ya es muerta la luna.

539 After the sun had set, the moon began to move. Thus the one got away from the other. And thus they come forth at different times. The sun endureth one day, and the moon worketh at night (or illuminateth at night). From this cometh what is said: that Tecuciztecatl would have been the sun if he had cast himself first into the fire, because he was named first, and offered precious things in his penance.

Despues que el sol se puso començo la luna a andar: desta manera se desuiaron el vno del otro: y ansi salen ẽ diuersos tiempos. El sol dura vn dia y la luna trabaia en la noche o alumbra en la noche. De aqui parece lo que se dize q̃ el tecuciztecatl avia de ser sol si p'mero se ouiera echado en el fuego porque el p'mero fue nõbrado y ofrecio cosas preciosas en su pñia.

Eclipse of the Moon.

● 821 When the moon is eclipsed, he becometh almost dark; he becometh blackened; he turneth a dark brown. Then the earth darkeneth. When this cometh to pass, women with child feared miscarriage. A great dread seized them that that which they had in their bodies would become mice. And as a remedy for this they took a piece of obsidian in the mouth or they placed it in the girdle over the belly and [did so] in order that the children [whom they carried] in the womb would not be born lipless or noseless or wry-mouthed, or cross-eyed, or that [one] might not be born monstrous.

[843 751]

Quando la luna se eclipsa parase casi oscura, ennegrecese, parase bosca: luego se escurese la tierra. Quando esto aconteçe las preñadas temian de abortar, tomauales gran temor que lo q̃ tenian en el cuerpo se a de boluer raton. Y para remedio desto tomavan vn pedaço de ytztli ẽ la boca o ponianle en la çintura sobre el vientre y para que los ninos que en el vientre no saliesen sin beços o sin narizes, o boquituertos, o bizgos: o porq̃ no naciese monstro.

The people of Xaltocan held the moon as a god and made him special offerings and sacrifices.

Los de xaltoca tenian por dios a la luna y le hazia particulares ofrendas y sacrificios.

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Third Chapter, of the Stars Called Castor and Pollux.

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These people paid particular reverence and [made] special sacrifices to Castor and Pollux, in the sky, which move near the Pleiades, which are in the sign of Taurus. They made these sacrifices and ceremonies when [the stars] newly appeared to the east after sunset. After having offered incense, they said: "Now [hath] Yoaltecutli come forth, and Yacauiztli. What will come to pass this night? Or what end will the night have—fortunate or adverse?" Three times they offered incense (and [this] must be because they are three stars), the first time at the first quarter of the night, another time at ten, and the third [time] when it beginneth to be morning.—They name these stars *mamalhuaztli*, and by that same name they call the sticks with which they drill a fire; because it seemeth to them that they somewhat resemble [the stars] and that from them there came to them this manner of producing fire. From this it was customary that the

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Hazia esta gente particular reuerencia y particulares sacrificios a los mastelexos del cielo q̃ andã cerca de las cabrillas que es en el signo del toro. hazian estos sacrificios y cerimonias qñ nueuamente parecia por el oriente despues de la puesta del sol. Despues de auer ofrecidole encienso, dezian ya salido youaltecutli y yacauiztli, que acontecera esta noche o que fin abra la noche prospero o aduerso. Tres vezes ofrecian encienso y deue ser porque ellas son tres estrellas. la vna vez a p'ma noche. la otra vez a hora de las dez. la 3.ª quando comiença amanecer.—llaman a estas estrellas mamalhuaztli y por este mismo nõbre llaman a los palos con q̃ sacan lumbre porq̃ les parece q̃ tienen alguna semeiança cõ ellas y que de alli les vino esta manera de sacar fuego. De aqui tomaron por costumbre de hazer vnas quemaduras en la moñeca los varones a honrra de aq̃llas estrellas. Dezian que el q̃ no fuese señalado de aquellas que-

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men make certain burns on the wrist in honor of those stars. They said of him who was not marked by those burns that, when he died, there in hell they would produce fire on his wrist, drilling it as those do who here drill fire with the stick.

maduras quando se muriese q̃ alla en el infierno avian de sacar el fuego de su moñeca barrenãdola como qñ aca sacã el fuego del palo.

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The star Venus these people named Citlalpol or Uey citlalin, and they said that when it riseth in the east it maketh four assaults. The [first] three times it shineth little and hideth again; and at the fourth it cometh forth with all its brightness and followeth its course. And they say of its light that it is like that of the moon. On its first assault they held it an omen of evil, saying that it brought sickness with it. And therefore they shut the doors and windows so that its light might not come in. And sometimes they took it as a good omen. And at the beginning of the time that it started to appear to the east, they slew captive men in reverence to it, and offered it their blood, spattering it toward [the star] with their fingers.

A la estrella de venus la llamaua esta gente citlalpul, vey citlalli y dezian que quando sale por el oriente haze quatro aremetidas, y a las tres luze poco y bueluese a asconder: y a la quarta sale con toda su claridad y procede por su curso. y dizen de su luz que parece a la de la luna. En primera arremetida teniaula de mal aguero diziendo que traya enfermedad consigo, y por esto cerrauan las puertas y ventanas porq̃ no entrase su luz. Y a las vezes la tomavan por buen aguero. Y al p'ncipio de tp̃o que començaua a aparecer por el oriente matauan hõbres captiuos por su reuerencia, y ofrecianle la sangre salpicando hazia ella con los dedos.

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Fourth Chapter.

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The comet these people called *citlalin popoca*, which meaneth smoking star. They held it as a prognostication of the death of some prince or a king, or of war, or of hunger. The common folk said: "This is our hunger."

Llamaua esta gente a la cometa. citlalin popoca que q. d. estrella que humea: tenianla por prenostico de la muerte de algun principe o rey, o de guerra, o de hambre. La gente vulgar dezia, esta es nra hambre.

The flam...g [tail] of the comet these people called *citlalin tlamina*, which meaneth, the star casteth a dart. And they said that that dart always fell upon something living—a hare, or a rabbit, or some other animal; and wherewever it would go, a worm was then formed. Wherefore that animal was not to be

A la inflamacion de la cometa, llamaua esta gente citlalin tlamina que q. d. la estrella tira saeta y dezian que siempre q̃ aquella saeta. caya sobre algũa cosa biua liebre o conejo o otro animal, y donde yria luego se criaua vn gusano. Por lo qual aquel animal no era de comer. Por esta causa procuraua esta gente de

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eaten. For this reason these people took pains to cover themselves at night, so that the tail of the comet might not fall upon them.

shrigurse de noche porque la inflamacion de la cometa no cayese sobrellos.

The stars which are in the Little Bear these people call Citlalxonecuilli. They represent them in the shape of an *s*, backwards, [of] seven stars. They say they are by themselves, apart from the others, and that they are brilliant. They call them Citlalxonecuilli because they resemble a certain kind of bread which they make like an *s*, which they call *xonecuilli*, which bread was eaten in all the houses each year on the day named Xochilhuitl.

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A las estrellas que estan en la boca de la bozina llama este gente citlalxonecuilli. pintanlas a manera de ese xhuelta siete estrellas, dizen q̃ estan por a aptadas de las otras y que son resplandecientes. llamanles citlalxonecuilli porq̃ tienẽ semejãça con cierta manera de pan que hazen a manera de ese al qual llaman xonecuilli, el qual pan se coõia en todas las casas vn dia el año q̃ se llama xuchilhuitl.

Those stars which, in some places, are called the Great Bear these people called the Scorpion, because they make the outline of a scorpion[28] or *alacrán*.

Aquellas estrellas q̃ en algunas ptes se llama el carro. esta gente las llama esculpiõ porque tienen figura de esculpion o alacran.

28. *Scorpion.* In the original, the *l* may have been changed to *s*.

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These people attributed the wind to a god whom they named Quetzalcoatl, something like god of the wind. The wind bloweth from the four quarters of the world by command of this god, according to what they said. The first quarter it cometh from is from the east, where they say is the terrestrial paradise which they call Tlalocan. This wind they called Tlalocayotl. It is not a furious gale; when it bloweth, it doth not hinder the canoes from moving on the water. The second wind bloweth from the north, where they say hell is; and hence they name it Mictlampa ehecatl, which meaneth the infernal wind. *In hin vel ymacazo*, etc.: this wind is violent, and therefore they fear it greatly. When it bloweth, canoes cannot go on the water. And all which are on the water come out with all the speed they can [manner] because of fear when it bloweth; for often they are endangered by it. The third wind bloweth from the west, where they said was the abode of the Amazons. They called it Cizuhlampa ehecatl or Cizuhcayotl, which is to say wind which bloweth from where the women abide. This wind is not savage, but it is cold. It maketh one tremble with cold. With this wind, navigation is good. The fourth wind bloweth from the south, and they name it Uitz-

Esta gente atribuia el viento a vn dios q̃ llamauan quetzalcoatl bien así como dios de los vientos. Soplaua el viento de quatro ptes del mundo por mandamiento deste dios segun ellos dezian. De la vna pte viene de hazia el oriente, donde ellos dizen estar el payso terrenal al qual llaman tlalocan. A este viento la llamauan tlalocayotl: no es viento furioso, quando el sopla no impide las canoas andar por el agua. El segundo viento sopla de hazia el norte donde ellos dizen estar el infierno y así le llaman mictlampa ehecatl que q. d. el viento infernal. Yn hin vel ymacazo etc. este viento es furioso y por eso le temen mucho quando el sopla no pueden andar las canoas por el agua. Y todos los que andan por el agua se salen por temor q̃ el sopla con toda priesa que puedẽ porque muchas vezes peligran con el. El tercero viento sopla de hazia el occidente donde ellos dezian que era la abitacion de las amaçonas llamauanle cizuhlampa ehecatl o cizuhcayotl que q. d. viento que sopla de donde abitan las mugeres. este viento no es furioso: pero es frio, hazе templar de frio con este viento bien se navegan El quarto viento sopla de hazia el medio dia y llamauale vizitlãpa ehecatl q. d. viento q̃ sopla de aquella pte donde fueron los dioses que llaman vizitzuava: este viento en estas ptes es furioso,

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tlampa chocul, which moveth wind blowing from that quarter where went the gods whom they call the Uoiznauia. This wind, in these parts, is violent, dangerous for boating. Such is its fury sometimes that it uprooteth trees and overturneth walls, and raiseth great waves in the water. Canoes which it moveth in the water it casteth to the bottom or raiseth high. It is savage like the arctic or north [wind].

peligroso pa nauegar, tanta es su furia a algũas veces que arancan los arboles y trastornan las paredes, y leuanta grandes olas en el agua las canoas que topa en el agua echalas a fundo o las leuanta en alto, esta furioso como el cierço o norte.

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Variously they named the sheet lightning or thunder bolts. They attributed them to the Tlalocs or *tlamacazque*. They said that these made the thunderbolts and sheet lightning and peals of thunder, and [that] they smote with them whomsoever they would.

Por diversos nombres nonbran al relampago o rayo atribuyile a los tlaloques o tlamacazes. Dezian que ellos hazian los rayos y relampagos y truenos y ellos herian con ellos a quien querian.

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Fifth Chapter

Clouds and rain these natives attributed to a god whom they called Tlalocan tecutli, who had many other [gods] under his command, who were named Tlalocs and *tlamacazque*. These [people] thought that they created all things needed for the body, such as maize and beans, etc.; and that they sent the rains so that all things growing in the earth would

Las nubes y las plouias atribuianlas estos naturales a vn dios que llamauan tlaloca tecutli, el qual tenia muchos otros debaxo de su dominio a los quales llamauan tlaloque y tlamacazque. Estos pensauan que criauan todas las cosas necessarias pa el cuerpo como mayz y frisoles etc. Y que ellos embiauan las plouias para que nasciesen todas las cosas que se crian

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burst forth. And when they observed the feast of this god and his subjects, before the celebration, those whom they called *tlamacazque* (who lived in the temple house named *calmecac*) fasted four days. And, the fast concluded, if there were a malefactor among them, in honor of those gods they mishandled him in the lake, dragging and kicking him through the mire and through the water.

en la tierra. Y quando hazian fiesta a este dios y a sus subiectos antes de la fiesta ayunauã quatro dias aquellos que llamauan tlamacazque los quale: morauan en la casa del templo llamada calmecac. Y acabãdo el ayuno si algun malhechor entre ellos avia por honrra de aquellos dioses le maltrataua en la laguna arrestrandole y acozcandole por el cieno y por el agua.

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And if he tried to rise, by force they again pushed him under the water, until they almost drowned him. They who, in the house called *calmecac*, committed some fault—like breaking some vessel, or some such thing—these they seized and kept under guard in order to punish them on that day. And sometimes the parents of him who was thus detained gave chickens or capes or other things to the priests so that they would let [him] go and not drown [him]. To those whom they thus illtreated, neither their parents nor their kin dared show favor nor speak for them, if previously they had not freed them while they were imprisoned; and so badly did they treat [the victims] that they even left them almost for dead cast on the brink of the water. Then their parents took them up and carried them to their houses. In this feast of these gods, all the common folk ate maize boiled like rice. And the priests went dancing and singing through the streets. In one hand they carried a stalk of green maize, and in the other a pot with a handle. In this way they went asking that [the householders] give them boiled maize. And all the common folk cast that boiled maize into the pots which they carried.

y si se queria leuantar tornauãle por fuerça, a meter debaxo del agua hasta que casi le ahogauã. Los que en la casa llamada calmecac hazian algun defecto como es quebrar alguna banija o cosa semejante los prendian y tenian guardados para castigallos aquel dia. Y algunas vezes los padres del que asi estaua preso daban galinas, o mantas o otras cosas a los tlamacaces porque lo soltasen y no le ahogasen. A los que maltrataua desta manera ni sus padres ni sus parientes osauan favorecellos ni hablar por ellos si antes no los avian librado estando presos y tanto los maltrataua hasta que los dexaua casi por muertos arrojados a la orilla del agua. Entonces los tomauan sus padres y los lleuauan a sus casas. En esta fiesta destos dioses todos los macehuales comian mayz cozido hecho como arroz. Y los tlamacaces andauan bayllando y cantando por las calles en vna mano trayan vña caña de mayz verde y en otra vna olla con asa por este modo andaua demandando que les diesen mayz cozido y todos los macehuales les echauan en las ollas que trayan de aquel mayz cozido.

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They said that these gods made the clouds, the rains, and hail, snow, peals of thunder, sheet lightning, and thunderbolts.

Estos dioses dezian que hazian las nubes y las lluuias, y el granizo, y la nieue, y los truenos y los relampagos y los rayos.

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The rainbow is something like an arch of hewn stone. It showeth divers colors. When it appeareth, it is a sign of clear weather.

El arco del cielo es a manera de arco de canteria tiene aparencia de diuersos colores. quando aparece es señal de serenidad.

[i.e. Tlaloccan tecutli & Tlalocs & tlamacazque -A]

821 And when the rainbow fixeth itself over a maguey, they said it would cause [the plant] to dry or wither. And they also said that when the rainbow appeareth often, it is a sign that the season of rain is about to cease.

y quando de arco del cielo se pone sobre algun maguey dezian que le haria secar o marchitar. Y tanbiẽ dezian que quando espesas vezes aparece el arco del cielo, es señal que ya quieren cesar las aguas.

*787 was chaste and conscientious; who was audacious, who saved all, who sought his sustenance; who planned, sought, and watched for that which might alleviate, for that which he might lay hand on in the near future, and for what he might offer his children; for what might be obtained, and what he could quickly seize if sickness and misfortune came.

Thus, everywhere he watched for, considered, and sought whatsoever he might use as merchandise, whatsoever his manner of wares might be; whatsoever he might live by, by which he might increase and augment his goods and his gains.

And this one emerged, and rose to honor, if he deliberated well, and was attentive, not resentful of criticism, nor lazy. The counsel with which he was counseled and the rearing with which he was reared took effect; he seized and held fast to it. And if he was made fun of, he took no revenge; he made no reprisals. He returned nothing in kind.

[684 565] And if a woman were then born, it likewise befell her as hath been said and told above. If a noblewoman was an adulteress, her head was crushed between two stones so that she died. And only in misery and affliction was she given to dwell. She encountered misery and want. Nowhere on earth was her face radiant; nowhere on earth was she [of any account]; nowhere was she regarded; nowhere did she hold a husband. Thus was it stated: "Just so is her nature; so is her life; so her birthright; and so her day sign. Thus, on such [a day], was she bathed; at such a time was she born. Monstrous was her day sign; a wild beast was she; hers was the day of the wild beast, etc."

782 And they venerated Four Movement as a day sign. Thus did they say, that it was the day sign of the ● 821 sun. Moctezuma paid great honor to it. When it was this day, when Four Movement set in, they slew quail and offered incense before the image of the sun; they placed on it what was known as the spreading red arara feather device. And at noon captives died and were slain [as sacrifices].

*787 And for him who was then born, no [true sign] appeared. In two ways might it fall. They said that if it were a man, he might either take captives or die in war. As they said, "With this the sun is nourished." Hence everyone did penances when it was this sign. At this time all came together from all parts; none remained or did otherwise. Verily, everyone — men, women, children — cut their ears and

vmpilcamc, in jxqujch caana, in qujtemoa in jcochca, yn jneuhca, in qujlnamjqui, in conjttilia, in contlachielia, tle itech vmpatiz, tle itech ontlaanaz in macujl, in matlac, tlẽ qujmonmacaz in jpilhoan, çan onmaçoaz, tlẽ concujtivetziz in ocalla cocolizttli icnoiotl:

ic noviiampa mjztia tlanemjlia, qujtemoa, in tlein qujmoonanauhtiz, in catleoatl inanauh vmmuchioaz, in tlein vel ic onnemjz, ic onmacoquetzaz, ic ontlapiujaz itlatquj icnopillouh.

Ioan ichoatl qujçaia, panvetzia, in vel monotza, in tlacacoquj, in amo qujquammati, qujtemati in onotzaloca, izcaliloca, içan itech qujpachoa, içan qujmacuj, qujmapiquj: auh intla ica necacaiaoalo, amo qujtecnepiliaia, amo qujcuepcaiotia, atle ic qujlochtia.

Auh intla çioatl ipan otlacat: no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, in tlacpac omjto, omoteneuh: intla cioapilli tetlãximaia, quatepipitzinjloia injc mjquja: auh çan icnoiotica, cococaiotica, in monenemjtiaia, icnoiotl, netolinjlizttli qujtztinemj, ãcan ixtona in tlalticpac, ãcan tlalticpac ca, ãcan motztica, ãcan vel oqujchpia: ic mjtoaia, ca njman iuh qujz, iuhquj iioliliz, iuhquj itlacatiliz, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan malti, iuhcan tlacat, ãtlacacemelle in jtonal, ca tequanj, tequantonale. Etc.

Auh in naolin qujtonaltiaia: iuh qujtoaia, itonal in tonatiuh, cenca qujmavizziliaia in Motecuçuma: yn jquac, y, moquetzaia naolin, tlacotonaia, tlenamacaia, yn ixpan ixiptla tonatiuh, qujtlaliaia itoca cueçaltonameiotl: auh in nepantla tonatiuh, mjquja, mjctiloia, in mamalti:

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, atle vel inezca, vme vitz qujtoa. Yntla oqujchtli aço tlamaz, anoço iaomjquiz: in iuh qujtoaia, ca ica moztaltia in tonatiuh, ic muchi tlacatl tlamaceoaia. yn jquac, y in vncã, y, cenvetzi, ipanoca, aiac mocaoa, aiac ixcavi, vel mochi tlacatl in oqujchtli, in çioatl, im piltzintli, monacatequia, mjçoia, mjtoaia: ic izcaltilo in tonatiuh.

Also at the opening of this count is placed the manner of counting the years, because these two counts are linked or matched.

Here followeth the reckoning of all the time-counts which these natives had.

The longest time-count which they reckoned was up to one hundred and four years. And this count they called a century.

Half of this count, fifty-two years, they called a bundle of years. This period of years they had reckoned from times past; it is not known when it began. But they considered it well established and a matter of belief that the world would come to an end at the conclusion of one of these bundles of years. They had a prophecy or oracle that at that time the movement of the heavens would cease, and they took as a sign [of this] the movement of the Pleiades. On the night of this feast, which they called Toximmolpilia [the Binding of the Years], it so befell that the Pleiades were at the zenith at midnight, with respect to the horizon in Mexico. On this night they made new fire, and before they made it, they extinguished all the fires in all the provinces, towns, and houses in all of this New Spain. And they went in a great and solemn procession. All of the priests and servants of the temple departed from here, the Temple of Mexico, during the first quarter of the night, and went to the summit of that mountain near Itztapalapan which they call Uitzachtecatl. They reached the summit at midnight, or almost, where stood a great pyramid built for that ceremony. Having reached there, they looked at the Pleiades to see if they were at the zenith, and if they were not, they waited until they were. And when they saw that now they passed the zenith, they knew that the movement of the heavens had not ceased and that the end of the world was not then, but that they would have another fifty-two years, assured that the world would not come to an end.

At this hour a great multitude of people was on the mountains surrounding this province of Mexico — Texcoco, Xochimilco, and Quauhtitlan — waiting to see the new fire, which was a signal that the world would continue. And when the priests made the fire, with great ceremony, upon the pyramid on that mountain, then it was seen from all the surrounding

Tambien en el principio desta cuenta se pone la manera de contar de los años, porque estas dos cuentas andã vinculadas o pareadas. 805

La cuenta de todos los tiempos, que tenjan estos naturales, es la que se sigue.

La mayor cuenta de tiempo, que contauan era hasta ciento y quatro años, y a esta cuenta llamauan vn siglo,

a la mitad desta cuẽta, que son cincuenta y dos años llamauan vna gavilla de años, este tiempo de años, trayanla ab antiquo contados, no se sabe quando começo: pero tenjan por muy aueriguado, y como de fe, que el mũdo se auja de acabar en el fin de vna destas gabillas de años: y tenjan prenostico o oraculo, que entonce avia de cesar el moujmjento de los cielos, y tomauan por señal al moujmjento de las cabrillas: la noche desta fiesta, que ellos llamauan Toximmolpilia: de tal manera caya que las cabrillas, estauan en medio del cielo: a la media noche, en respecto deste orizonte mexicano. En esta noche sacauan fuego nueuo, y primero que los sacassen, apagauan todo el fuego, en todas las proujncias, pueblos, y casas de toda esta nueua españa: y iban con gran procesion, y solemnidad. Todos los satrapas, y mjnjstros del templo: partian daquj del templo de mexico, a prima noche: y iban hasta la cumbre de aquel cerro, que esta cabe Itztapalapan: que ellos llaman Vitzachtecatl, y llegauan a la cumbre a la media noche, o casi, donde estaua vn solemne cu, edificado para aquella cerimonja. Llegados alli, mjrauan a las cabrillas; si estauan en el medio, y si no estauan esperauan hasta que llegassen. Y quando vian, que ya passauan del medio, entendian que el moujmjento del cielo no cessaua, y que no era alli el fin del mundo, sino que avian de tener otros cincuenta y dos años, seguros, que no se acabaria el mundo. 805 787x 821● 796 372

En esta hora estauan en los cerros circunstantes que cercan a toda esta proujncia de mexico, Texcoco, y Suchimjlco y quauhtitlan, gran cantidad de gente, esperando a ver el fuego nueuo; que era señal, que el mundo iba adelante, y como sacauan el fuego, los satrapas, con gran cerimonja, en el cu de aquel cerro: luego se parecia, en todo lo circunstante de los cerros: 796 372

were to be burned, because of it the child's face would be pock-marked.[16] And if maize cobs were to burn there, first she passed and carried them before the child's face,[17] so that such would not befall him — so that his face would not be pock-marked.

vncan tlatlaz in olotl: achtopa ijxco conquijquixtilia, ijxco convivica in piltontli: injc amo iuh ipan muchioaz, injc amo ichichitinjz. 846 753

Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the woman with child.

Injc caxtolli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn cioatl otztli. 843

The woman with child might not look at one whom they had hanged, because, it was said, when she gave birth, the child would come forth with a cord of flesh wrapped about his neck. Wherefore in times past they frightened pregnant women from doing so.

In cioatl otztli, amo vel quittaz in aquin ie quipiloa: yehica, quilmach in jquac mixiviz, nacatica oalquechmecaiotiaz in piltontli. Ipampa yn, ic quimjmacaxiltiaia in ie vecauh in ootzti.

Likewise, when a woman was with child during an eclipse of the sun or moon, she might might not look at it. It was said that if she saw it, her child would be harelipped. But in order to forestall this, the woman with child placed an obsidian knife in her bosom; it was said that thereby her child would not be harelipped.

No yoan yn jquac otztli cioatl, in jquac qualo tonatiuh, anoço metztli: amo vel quittaia, quilmach intla quittaz: tenquatic iez in jconeuh. Auh injc quipalevizia otztli: ytztli ixillan contecaia, quil ic amo tenquaiviz in piltontli. [821]

Neither might she chew asphalt,[18] it was stated, lest the child be harmed in suckling[19] when he was born. And she could not walk about at night; it was felt that her child would be one who cried much. Likewise men might not walk about by night; perhaps they would come upon a ghost; perhaps the child would suffer a sickness of the heart. And so that this would not happen, the woman with child placed a pebble, or ashes from the hearth, or wormwood,[20] in her bosom. And the men [carried] a pebble, or tobacco [on the chest]; for it was said that also, at that time, [the child] might acquire what they called a swelling.[21]

Amono vel quiquaquaz in chapuputli, quil ic amo motentzoponjz in piltontli: in jquac otlacat. Yoan amo vel iooal nenemiz, quil cenca chocanj iez in jconeuh: no iuhquj in toquichtin: amono vel iooal nenemjz, anoçe itla quimonamjctiz, aço mjmjqujz. Auh injc amo iuh ipan muchioaz otztli: xaltetl, anoço tleconextli ixillan quitema, anoço iztauhiatl. Auh in toquichtin xaltetl, anoço picietl: ichica quil no vncan quicuj, in quitoa: aiomama. 843 753

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *"le caye del ahito, que mejo matáuan: esta pensaye o hoyam."*

17. *Ibid.*: *"tomaualo primero en la cara del ejito, llamandolas por enoiuas: ala tazar en la cara."*

18. *Chapuputli*: *"aspaio de ajolos; landa de Indias. . . . Los indios le usaban antiguamente como mastiquatorio"* (*chapuputz* — Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 468). The corresponding Spanish text has *"aspal hetoa, que llamal tzicili."* On the relationship between *tzicili* and *chapujutli*, see Sahagún (Garibay ed.), X, 24, 18 and 27; and also Vol. IV, pp. 333, 366, for definitions.

19. Corresponding Spanish text: *"tomauaia aquello, que llamaua contrapoyaia, que mauaua dello, los criauaua rezaia matiliar: y emauaua de que quando nacua la criaua, el su cuerpo de pronto le saz la tez, de la boca, lastimaua en el paladar: y luego quedaua mazual."* Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 344; and Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Carlos María Bustamante, ed.; México: Alejandro Valdés, 1829), Vol. II: *"tomauaquaia (hoy tecomatl) o ma cualquiera en la respiracion, que mauaua de ello los criauaua rezaia matiliar."*

20. *Iztauhiatl*: *"vna yerua de olmos"* (corresponding Spanish text): *ensifuar* (*drawinia mexicana* WZM.) — *"los hojas despiden fuerza olor aromatico y sirven sabor amargo. Usan como antihelmintico pulverizado"* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 424).

21. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 324.

843 752 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue bump. Or [he might catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc neci aiomama, ycujtlapan ca, iuhqujn posatontli, iuhqujn texotic: anoçe cuezpalicivizti. Injc neci cuezpalicivi piltontli: cecioual in choca, yoan yquetilco, yciacac motlathalia nacatotonti, olotsonti, melactotonti. Auh injc pati: quijnmotla, quijquijxtia in nacatotonti.

843 821 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will be hardlipped!"

Ioan in oetli: in jquac aiamo vel tlacatl motlalia in jconcuh, quijntlacaoaltiaia, in jquac oalmomana metztli: injc amo conacopaittazque, quijmjlhujaia: macamo xoconjttacan in metztli, mjmjquijx, anoçe tenquaiviz in amoconcuh.

825 777 441 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's hand.

Injc cempoalli espinalo, ytechpa tlatoa: in oçomatli ymacpal.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly a monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In oçomatli imacpal: in puchteca cenca qujtemoaia, qujmopialtiaia: in jquac in campa tiamjquja, in tlanamacaia: vncan qujtecaia, qujlmach ic iciuhca aquj, iciuhca muchi coalo in tlein qujnamaca: qujl ichoatl iuh qujchioa in oçomatli yma: ynjc motlapololtia.

777 264 824 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere was disposed of that which they sold, when no one bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoantin in tilmanamacaque: in jquac acan aquj in qujnamaca, in aiac qujcoa: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço vipilli, qujlmach: qujchilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc qujchioaia: in jquac oalvia inchan, qujtoaia: acan oac in totiamjc: ma xoconchilquaqualtican: njman ic ijtic contema, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: qujlmach ic aquja, injc iuh qujchioaia in, ic qujtoa: qujchilquaqualtia.

777 525 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle and the griddle.

Injc cempoalli oce espinalo, itechpa tlatoa in texolotl, yoan comalli.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his home, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aqujn petoaia, in jchan, in jtexolouh, ioan in jcomal, ioan in jmetl: ixtlapach qujmanaia: auh in texolotl cana xomolco qujpiloaia; qujlmach: ic amo qujtlanizque in chane, çan ic tlathanjz.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*una enfermedad, que llaman cuezpalicivizti, o con labonillos en los ingles.*" Note also Codex Rios (*El manuscrito mexicano Vaticano 3738 llamado El Codice Rios* [Rome: Sodalicium Danti, 1900], p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to *patole*, which is an error.

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjquj totolpipil, ic qujtoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaqujco, anoço oquimjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oquintlaçolmjcti: ic qujmatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi totolme, injc mjquj.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
235 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse,
837 whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Qujl no iuh inpan muchioa in namjqueque: in aço cana qujtlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toqujchtin: injc qujmati, çan qujpiqui in aaquetztivetzi, anoce cana motlavitequj.

286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl qujqujti.

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

In jcpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in jquac qujqujti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviaqujztiuh, in tennecujliuhtiuh, qujtoaia: qujlmach amo tlacaiöllo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj, çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chia field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

In jquac qujavi, in cenca tecivi: in aqujn vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli qujiaoac qujoaltepeoa, itvalco: qujlmach yc amo tecivilozz in jmjl, qujl ic poliui in tecivitl.

754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

776
781 At night walked demons — perchance wizards and sorcerers — where they harmed one in one's home. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

In iocaltica nemj tlatlacateculo: aço nanacalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oqujmjttaque in aço itla ic qujnpoloa in chaneque: njman atlan conteca ytztli puertatitlan, anoço itoalco qujmana in iocaltica, qujtoaia: qujlmach vncan onmotencavia in tlatlacateculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa: aço mjcoaz, anoce cocoliztli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los pollos se cayan muertos, las potas arriba: y esto, llamaan diçolmjqui."*

28. Corresponding Spanish text: *"se parecia, en que la tela, se paraua biorrumada."* Carrasco, in Sandoval, op. cit., is to make a false seam.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

appoint his subalterns in the field, and as executor of justice he 618
had the same privilege while at the pueblo. The "teachcauhtin," therefore selected his own assistants and runners. Accompanied by them and carrying his staff of office, whose tuft of white [293] feathers intimated that his coming might threaten death,[164] the "elder brother" circulated through his calpulli, preserving order and quietness in every public place thereof. If he found or heard of any one committing a nuisance or crime, he could seize him forthwith and have him carried to the official house, there to be disposed of as the custom and law of the kin required. But it is doubtful whether, except in extraordinary instances, he was authorized to do justice himself without the council's knowledge and consent.[165]

Ere we pass over now from the functions of the kin to those of the ancient Mexican tribe, we must however dwell at some length on a peculiar institution, yet shared by the Mexicans in common with Indian tribes in general. We refer to the rank and dignity of CHIEF among them. Chieftaincy and office are far from being equivalent. The former is a purely personal, non-hereditary distinction, bestowed in reward of merit only, whereas the latter is a part of the governmental machinery.[166] Hence it follows that a chief might fill an office or not, and still remain a chief, whereas

personnes notables qui portaient le titre de achcacauhtin qui est un nom de charge, comme l'est aujourd'hui celui d'alguazile." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XVII, p. 305) calls the Achcacauhtli "(ó verdugos) que tenian cargo de matar á los que condenaba el señor." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 355), "llamabanse Achcauhtli, que quiere decir maiores." There is hardly any doubt as to their functions.

[164] White was the color of death. (Bleaching skulls and bones!) This is amply proven by their mode of declaring, or rather announcing, war. The custom of carrying [292] "staffs of office" is well established.

[165] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI. cap. XXVI, p. 355). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI. p. 482) calls those "who arrested" delinquents "topilli." But this word means simply "rod, or baton of justice, staff, etc." (*Molina*, II, p. 150), and not office. There is no evidence that these officers might kill, without previous decision of the council, except perhaps in the great market place. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 33): "Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 301) copies Cortés, adding, however, "é quiebran lo que está falso, é penan al que usaba dello." *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89) simply remarks: "y otros como alguaziles ejecutores que miraban las mercaderias," (Vedia, Vol. II). I hardly need any reference in regard to the manner of acting and mode of appearance of the "elder brothers." Their functions of "police" are repeatedly described in the older sources.

[166] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 71): "Nearly all the American Indian tribes had two grades of chiefs, who may be distinguished as sachems and common chiefs. Of these two primary grades all other grades were varieties. . . . The office of sachem was hereditary in the gens, in the sense that it was filled as often as a vacancy occurred; while the office of chief was non-hereditary, because it was bestowed in reward of per-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the presiding god, who, at the end, transformed himself 773
into the sun, while jaguars ate up the men and giants who 776
then populated the earth. Quetzalcoatl was the divine ruler of the second era, Four Wind, at the expiration of which hurricanes destroyed the world and men were turned into monkeys. The Rain God, Tlaloc, gave the world light in the third epoch, Four Rain, brought to a close by a fiery rain. Chalchihuitlicue,* "Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt," was a Water Goddess who presided appropriately over the fourth Sun, Four Water, wherein a flood came, transforming men into fish. Our present age, Four Earthquake, is under the control of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, and it will be, destroyed, in time, by earthquakes.[2] (See Plate 52.)

While the versions vary from place to place, we seem to 773
have a recapitulation of the great disasters from flood, volcanic eruption, hurricanes and earthquakes that beset the communities of ancient Mexico. Also there is a reflection of the order in which the gods attained prominence in the local worship. In the history of the Mexican tribes there are references to struggles within single towns between the devotees of two cults, as to which would have the mastery.[3]

The universe itself was conceived in a religious rather than 772
a geographic sense and was divided horizontally and verti- 776
cally into areas of religious significance. The horizontal uni- 823
verse, possibly the older concept, recognized five directions, the four cardinal points and the center. The Fire God, old and fundamental in Mexican religion, controlled the central zone. The east was assigned to the Rain God, Tlaloc, and the Cloud God, Mixcoatl (Cloud Snake), and was a region of abundance. In this idea geography was combined with

*Chal-chee-we'et-le-kway.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

772 ritual, since the intensely fertile Vera Cruz coast plain is the
776 actual source of the seasonal rains caused by the condensa-
823 tion of warm air when the Gulf of Mexico is exposed to the chill winds of the Central Plateau. The south was considered evil, possibly because of the arid zones south of Morelos and Puebla, but had as presiding deities gods associated with spring and flowers, Xipe (the Flayed One) and Macuilxochitl* (Five Flower). The west, however, had a favorable significance, being the home of the planet Venus, the evening star, which was associated and even identified with Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), the God of Knowledge. The north was a place gloomy and awful, presided over by Mictlantecuhtli† (Lord of the Dead), who, in one of those contradictions so frequent in Mexican theology, was sometimes connected with the south as well.[4] (See end papers.)

772 The vertical world was divided into heavens and hells
776 which had no moral significance, being merely overworlds
775 and underworlds. The number of heavens varied up to thirteen and represented the dwelling places of the gods, according to their rank in the hierarchy, the original creator living in the topmost heaven, and so on down the scale. One of these heavens belonged to Tlaloc, who received those who died by drowning, lightning or other causes connected with water. One school of thought divided the heavens into east
[821] and west, according to the passage of the sun. The east was the home of warriors, whose death in battle or sacrifice nourished the sun, and the west the home of women who died in childbirth, thus sacrificing themselves in the bearing of potential warriors.[5] (See Plate 57, bottom right.)

775 The rest of the dead passed to Mictlan, the underworld.

*Ma-kweel-sho'-chitl. †Meek-tla'n-tay-coot-li.

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat copper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *magney* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *magney* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Vilca, onnevtemalo, tlapitzalotiuh, qujpitztiuj, in tecciztli, cobconiloc chililitli.

Auh in muchintin tlamacazque, qujmamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan qujniacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiqujpil.

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, qujquechpanotiuh, aiochicaoztli, no itoca naoalquaujtl, petlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, qujcacalatztiuh

aocac ce onmocaoi calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachotoque; qujpitztoque in qujqujztli, qujqujçotoque.

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn aiauhcalli, njman ie ic neteteco, netlalilo, tlatzitzilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo:

in ie iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in vetze itoca chalchiuhquaqujlli: qujtoa.

Coatl yçomocaiii, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ie ic onnetepeoalon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, atlacxiuitectinemj, tzatzitinemj, ycaocatinemj, qujntlaichecalhuja yn izqujchtin totome:

cequj canauhtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin qujntlaichecalhuja, in pihpitzti, pipitztlatoa: cequjntin qujntlaichecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin aztatlatoa, cequjntin azoquentlatoa, cequjn tocujlcoiotlatoa:

yn vncan mahiaia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuen-

10. *CHÍHIH:* cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21; *ecbconiloc: cocoxilo (wood)(?).*

11. *"Todos llevaban a cuestas, unos talegillos atados con unos cordelejos de ixtli, con unos bordes al cabo: y de otros colgaban, unos tiras de papel pintadas, cosidas con los mismos talegos, que llevaban pendientes: y en aquellos talegos llevaban unos manojos de hierba, hechos a la manera de colorado de tintores, que ellos llevaban pendientes, que eso adornaban con tinta, y con polvos de una yerba que ellos llamaban yiiac, que es como hebrillas de cuchillo"* (contemporaling Spanish text).

Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: *"Aoiotl:* aoiotl cane, *yiiac* tobacco. The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the *yiiac* or Nicotiana cunicinum Schl.; the *quauhyiiac*: quauhtli tree-tobacco, *yiiac* tobacco, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and *piciietl*: picietl aoiotl, *yiiac* tobacco, or Nicotiana tabacum L., tobacco either in snuff or chewed in pellets called *yaqualli*: *yiiac* tobacco, *quauhtli* wood, or smoked in cigars or pipes: *pacatl* smoke, *yiiac* tobacco. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *xochiocuauhtl*, ocoxochitl herbs, and chewed." Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 156.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. ii, § 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Rubiodo ed., Vol. III, pp. 168-81. Sobre dichos pájaros respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; *Ibis; Ardeidae* egret or heron: kingfisher (*aztapaxo* or *aztapaxoatl*); and sandhill crane (*Hodge Kapitel*, p. 118, notes 2-7).

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlaloca descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlaloca. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *magney* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamaviztililiztli, in qujchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtolhetl occe metztli in motenecoa Atemoztli. 796[x]

Injc caxtolhetl, occe ilhujtl ichoatl in motenecoa Atemoztli:

injc motenecoa Atemoztli, ca iquac iancujcan calanj, oncalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jxqujch maceoalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuxtica, tlateumattica, muchixcaca, motemachitica: in quenmã calanjx qujavitl:

auh in ocalan qujavitl, njmã ic moquetztiquj̃ça, qujcujtivetzi in jtlema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pittaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan qujça: auh in jtzontecon coatl no cacalaca, no iollo: [445]

njmã qujxopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaonca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian qujça in teujtoalco, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qujnotza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in cequjntin maceoalti, monetoltiaia injc tepiqujxque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, yoan olli, yoa itztli, yoan ichtli in qujcoaia: [314 269]

cenca qujmaviztiliaia, yoan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiqujxque, yoã tequentinxque: amo mamoviaia injc maltiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono oqujchcochia. [515] [834]

Auh in ic iuh oallatvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemoztli, iuh ciaal in nemoa, vel neixpololo, in

1. "*Rajada de el Agua,*" according to Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 299), "*porque este hizo mucho llover, y vocar algunos dias.*" Gorlitz, (*op. cit.*, p. 313) has the same.

Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tower refers to frequent, extraordinary deluges in the region, attributed to Tlaloc.—Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

2. The Pedrido MS (Gorlitz, *loc. cit.*) places this in the lower of the rich: "*in mocuilhuanni in tlaxcalan mamaquixtiqui*"—"*en toda cosa de las cosas se hacian las dioses cerros* (Tempiales)."

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

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The Wind

That which was known as [the wind] was addressed as Quetzalcoatl. From four directions it came, from four directions it traveled. The first place whence it came was the place from which the sun arose, which they named Tlalocan. This wind which came from there they gave the name of the Tlaloc wind. Little did it frighten men; lightly did it blow. With it, one could go in a canoe; with it one could land; with it one could cross the water.

[775]

The second place whence it came [the north] was called Mictlampa; and this was named the wind from the land of the dead. This was much feared, and caused much terror. Violently did it blow, when it set in, and the canoes could not contend with it. They could not travel forward. They could not venture forth; they could not pass across; they could not get under way in the water. Rather, all the boatmen came out and left [their craft] because of fear—those who gained their livelihoods on the water, the fishermen who used nets, or who speared [the fish]. When they saw that it was Mictlampa ehecatl which arose, then they feared evil and were troubled. They hurried, hastened, and greatly quickened their pace, plying the pole—plying it rapidly. They strained their arms, that they might come out and beach [the canoe] on the shore, on the edge of the water, near the water line. And so they said: "Often it drowneth men and sinketh canoes."

The third place whence it came [the west] was known as Cuatlampa; it was named Cuatecayotl and Cuatlampa ehecatl. Also it was called One Wind, or Maçaua; for it came from Maçauacan. And this one did not blow fiercely. Nevertheless, it was very cold. Men suffered much from [its] cold; they became livid and stiff from cold. It made them shiver; it was deadly. It made men tremble, shake, and quake; it exhausted them; it gave them stomach pains, or pains in the lungs, or the head. And yet, with it they could go ashore from the water. It did not frighten men nor terrify them.

And the fourth place whence came the wind [the south] was there from Uitztlampa. It was named Uitztlampa ehecatl. And this one was much feared and held in dread. All feared harm. It made men speechless with terror; it made them silent with fear. Because it blew swiftly, it frightened them greatly. They said: "When it ariseth, it uprooteth and breaketh trees: and it teareth walls to pieces—old walls

Ehecatl

Motenenaia: ic quinotzaia quetzalcoatl. Nauhcampa oallauh, nauhcampa oalitztiuh. Inic ceccan oallauh: vmpa in iqniçaiampa tonatiuh, quitoaia tlalocã: inin ehecatl, vmpa oallauh, quitocaiotiaia, tlalocaiotl: amo cẽca temauhti, amo cenca totoca, uel ipan acaltica viloa, vel ipan quixoa, in atlan: vel ipã panoa.

Inic occã oallauh, motenecoa mictlampa: auh inin motocaiotia mictlampa ehecatl. In hin uel imacaxo, uellamauhtia: cenca totoca, in icoac moquetza, amo vel quinamiqui in acalli: amo vellauilteco, amo uel tlautlapalolo, avel istlapal viloa, auel tlanecuilolo in atlan: çan mauhcaquixoa, mauhcaquiça in tlapanauique, in atlãca, in tlãtlamãque, in tlamjoque. In oquittaque, ca mictlampa ehecatl in omoquetz: ic cenca motenmati, motequipachoa, uel motequimati, ompilcatoque, ompipilcatoque, in tlanelloa, in tequitlanelloa: vel momaquauhtilia, inic uel onquiça, onmacana atenco, atexipalco, achichiiacpa: iuh quitoa, ca miccpa, teatlanmictia, quipolactia in acalli.

Inic ecan oallauh: motenecoa cioatlãpa, motocaiotia, cioatecaiotl, cioatlampa ehecatl: no quitocaiotia ce ehecatl, anoço maçaoa ipampa vmpan oalitztiuh maçaoacan. Auh in hin, amo no cenca totoca: iece cenca itztic, uel tococnjti, tepineualti, tepinauh, tetetziliuiti, tetetzilquisti, tetzitzilquiti, teuiuiioquilti, tecuecuechquiti, tecuecuechniquiti: tezillanquauhtili, teiomotlanquauhtili, tetzonteconeuh. Auh tel, uel ipan quixoa in atlan, amo temauhti, amo temauiauiti.

Auh inic nauhcampa, oallauh ehecatl, vmpa uitztlampa: motocaiotia uitztlampa ehecatl. Auh inin, cenca vel imacaxo, mimacaci: netemmacho, aoc tenaostili, aoc tetlatolti: ipãpa cenca totoca, cenca tlamauhtia. Quixoa, in icoac moquetza: vel quitzjncoa, quipoztequi in qnauid: yoan quiximinja in tepantli, in tepançolli, in xacalli: quecatoctia in tlatzacuilli, in chimancalli. Auh in vei atl vel cuiioja, quitepenaçoa,

-14-

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

and straw huts. The wind carrieth off fences and enclosures. And it stirreth up the seas; it maketh them froth and foam. It formeth waves; there is a great din as of waves breaking. There is a great crackling noise." And it tossed and cast canoes into the air. Just so, indeed, did the north wind sink them.

Lightning; the Lightning Flash

They addressed it as, and named it, many things—the mist which went winding [like a serpent], the thunderbolt, the reed staff. When lighting flashed and lit up repeatedly, we were blinded, we lost our sight, our vision was darkened. It startled us; we were terrified. It was unbearable to look at; it was dazzling. Everywhere it flashed repeatedly—again and again—like the light of the dawn breaking over and over. Thus did it come; it came twisting and winding.

quipoçonaltia, cacuecuenistia: iuhquin tetecuicatimani, cocomocatimani: auh in acalli caaconaiani, caacotlaço: vel no iuhqui, quinamiqui in mictlampa chocatl. 821 823 502

Tlapetlanjlloti, tlapetlanjliztli: much ic quinotzaia, quitocaiotiaia, aiauhcocolli, tlapetlanjlquauitl, ortopilcoauitl. In icoac tlapetlani, tlãtlapetlani: tispouaoa, tismimiqui, titismauhtia, tirocuitiuetzi: aiuamiquiliztli, aiuamiquiztli, nouiian tlatlanezttimoquetza: iuhquin tlauizcalli ñoquequetza: inic oallauh oalcocoliuhtiuh, cuecueliuhtiuitz. 821

[p. 16 is blank]

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The Seventh Chapter telleth of the year counter and the year sign.

One Rabbit

It is said [that this was] the year sign and year counter of the south. For thirteen years it carried, set on its path, took with it, and bore the burden [of the year]. Always, during each [of the thirteen] years, it was the first, the one which led, began, made the start, and introduced as many year signs as there were: Reed, Flint, and House. Of the one [known as] Reed, it was said [that it was] as it were the sign of the east; that is, the year sign of the sun. For from there issued the light which shone forth.

And the third year sign, the one [known as] Flint, was called the sign of the north. For [the north] was said to be toward the land of the dead. Thus have the old people spoken: it is said that when one died, to that place set out, went straightway, and proceeded the dead. Therefore, when someone died—when [the women] adorned him, when they wrapped him in his mantle and bound him [in wrappings]—they made him look toward and seated him looking to that place.

And the fourth year sign, the fourth in order, [was] the one known as House—the sign of the west. For this reason they named it Cioatlampa: it is said that there dwelt but women; none of us men were there.

These four year signs, year count[ers], as many times as they came to appear, [so many times] they came to be the beginning year signs.

When all the thirteen-year [periods]—all four of them—had concluded, ended, and finished, thus proceeding around, to give and leave their works from year to year, this [last] one came to, stopped at, stopped, knocked against, and ended at Thirteen House, the sign of the west. That is, now it approached [the end of its] thirteen years of labor.

And then One Rabbit came to settle itself as the sign of the south. When this occurred and it established itself and began its work, thus to bear a year

Inic chicome capitulo, itochpa tlatoa: in xiuhtlapoalli, in xiuhtonalli.

Ce tochtli.

motenoa: uiztlampa xiuhtonalli, xiuhtlapoalli: matlacxiuitl omei tlauica, tlaotlatoctia, tlatqui, tlamama. In muchipa cecexiuhtica, vel tlaiacatia, tlaiacana, quipeoaltia, ipeuhca muchioa, quitzintia in iaquitetl xiuhtonalli in acatl, in tecpatl, in calli. In ichoatl acatl, mitoa: tlapcopa tonalli, iuhquinma, q. n. tlauilcopa xiuhtonalli: ipāpa ca umpa oalneci in tlauilli, in tlanextia. 805 823

Auh inic ei xiuhtonalli, ichoatl in tecpatl: motenoa mictlampa tonalli, ipampa in mjtoa mictlampa: iuh quitoaia in veuetque, quilmach in icoac micoa: vmpa itztiui, vmpa tlamelaoa, vmpa tlatotoca in mimicque. Ichica, in icoac aquin miquia, in oconchichiuhque, in oconquiquimiloque, in oconiilpique: vmpa quitlachialtiaia, vmpa quitzritzitimotlaiaia. [775] [764]

Auh inic nauj, tlanuhcaiotia, xiuhtonalli: ichoatl in calli motenoa, cioatlampa ꝑonalli. Ipāpan iuh quitoaia, cioatlampa: quilmach, çan muchi cioa umpa onoque, ocaque toquichtin.

Inin nauhtecme xiuhtonaltin, xiuhtlapoaltin: iquitemo cocoppa moquetztiui, tonalpeuhcaiome muchiuhtiuj. 805

Inic muchi mitlatlacxiuitl omeci, quitlanja, conaitia, quitzonquistia nauhcistin: inic tlaiocaxiui, quinomacxiui, quinocuilitini, intequiuh, cecexiuhtica: ichoatl iech omeci, iech ilnocaoa, iech oncxapi, iech ontlatocaoa, ontlatzonquistia in matlactlomei calli, cioatlampa tonalli. q. n. ic ocxiti in matlacxiuitl omei itequiuh.

Auh nimaa ic oalmoquetza in ce tochtli: uiztlampa tonalli. In icoac, y, moquetza, in quipeoaltia itequiuh, inic ce xiuitl tlauicac, tlaotlatoctia: omea 805 731

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the salt is commonly extracted from soil of several types rather from the water itself. This practice would be expected to arise in a country of inland salines, not along the seacoast. Moreover, fractional evaporation is used to give different products, according to Apenes, the last of the liquors being the source of saltpeter. We cannot yet be sure that the whole complex is pre-Cortesian, but it suggests a knowledge of limnologic and soil chemistry among the Aztecs that was at least as great as their ceramic and metallurgic skill would imply.[4] The point is not only of considerable importance, but is capable of verification by chemical archaeology; that no attempt to do so has been made so far is another indication that the scientific knowledge of non-Western peoples exceeds in some respects that of the historians and ethnographers who study them. 127 317

Salt is one of the seldom-considered essentials of human welfare. Mendizábal makes the provocative point that if the Aztecs had been more generous with their salt, the Tlaxcalans (who had no salines in their domain) might not have been so ready to ally themselves with Cortés, and the course of history might have been rather different.

HYDROGRAPHY. The demonstration that the Aztecs had detailed knowledge of all aspects of their lakes that might be used for human sustenance is not itself a proof that they had a developed limnologic science. Far more primitive people have known and done as much, and none of the practices mentioned, with the possible exception of fractional evaporation of salt water, are beyond the capabilities of the Banyoro, for example, who live on Lake Albert in Africa (Worthington and Worthington, 1933). The urbanization of Tenochtitlán, however, brought problems in its train that simpler societies could hardly have faced. Lake *villages* are known all over the world, but lake cities are much less usual. In meeting these problems the Aztecs and their 823

[4] A piece of chemical knowledge that has been entirely overlooked is the manufacture of some salt from urine. Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1910 edition, p. 72) mentions the sale of "many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use for making salt or tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared". The reference to tanning of skins shows clearly that the excrement was urine and not feces, for the tanning properties of uric acid are still taken advantage of in modern Mexico; moreover, Bernal Diaz goes on to describe the collection of feces and their use as fertilizer. What "salt" other than uric acid or sodium chloride could have been extracted from urine is problematical; nitrates would have been the most valuable, and they could conceivably have been separated from the chlorides by fractional evaporation, as in the case of salt water. In the history of western chemistry the most important salt found in urine was microcosmic salt, $NH_4\ NaHPO_4 \cdot 2H_2O$, which served Brand as the source of phosphorus. 127 385 281

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823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 133 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second [312] letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 58) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, [782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 133 312 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan- [241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, 127 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the 133 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along 731 the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches,[2] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[2] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. — Analyst]

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103 212 *chilacaxtli* = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water", all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli,* teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes,* though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone,* whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

127 ●823 If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.*, 1938) that shows part of the [289] city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

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and in the 1556 Ramusio edition of the "Anonymous Conqueror") are obviously imaginary, it may be said that the Boturini picture is possibly the oldest surviving map of a New World lake, and it is ironic that we cannot say what lake it represents. 127 823

About this famous picture all that can be said with confidence is that it shows a lake with an island. The island is universally identified as *Aztlán*, the legendary home of the Aztecs, yet the glyph at the top 127 212 823

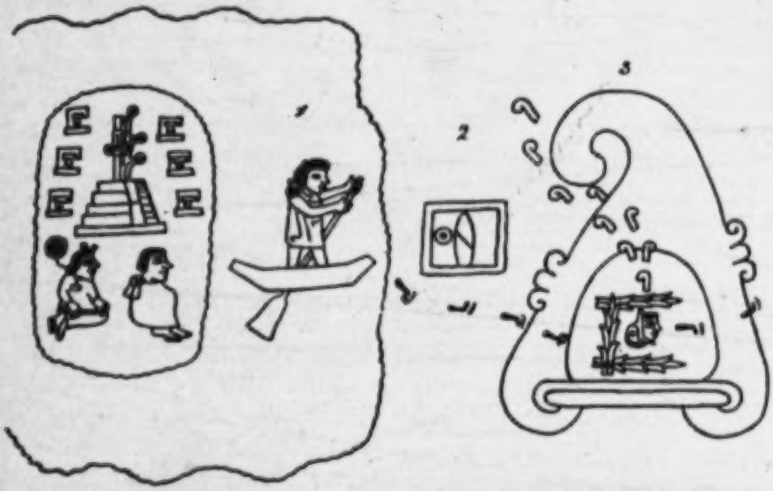

Fig. 4. Origin of the Aztecs, from the *Tira de la peregrinación Méxica* (Codex Boturini). The town, here labelled *Aacatl*, but identified by authorities as *Aztlán*, is situated on an island in a lake, presumably in western Mexico.

designates it as *Aacatl* (*atl*, water + *acatl*, reed). *Aacatl* turns up on a later page as a personal name, and it may indeed be the name of the male figure at the right of the island, for he is otherwise nameless, though his female companion is named *Matlalin*, from *matlatl*, a fish-net. It would be idle sport to list all the places that Aztlán is supposed to have been; Orozco y Berra (1880, p. 66–68) considered it to be the island of Mexcalli in Lake Chapala, while Seler (n.d.) rejected all the legendary wanderings of the Aztecs in western Mexico and brought Aztlán, full circle, back to the Valley of Mexico itself. Escalona (1943) argues with some plausibility for the lake of Metztitlán, in Hidalgo, while Rendón (1948), with even greater plausibility, prefers the lake at the headwaters of the Río Lerma, just west of the Valley. The truth is that the Aztlán part of the Aztecs' history appears full-blown in the circle of Jesuit histories stemming from the Dominican Durán, while 127

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of earthquakes.

When the earth quivered, a delusion of the natives was to be seen. When the earth quaked, then they quickly took their children by the neck and lifted them,[12] so that they might soon grow big — so that they might mature quickly. It was said that if they did not take them by the neck and lift them quickly, they would with difficulty wax larger. And they said that the earthquake would bear [the child] away if they did not grasp him by the neck and lift him. And they sprinkled water upon their faces.

And their houses, their square wooden beams, their food storage bins, their cooking pots, and indeed all their goods, everything, they sprinkled with water. And if they forgot something, they wrangled over it; it was said that the earthquake would take it away. And everyone raised a din and cried out while striking the hand to the lips in order to make known [the earthquake] to those who knew not of it.[13]

Injc matlactli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn tlallolinjliztli. 823 856

In jquac tlallolinj, centlamantli neci innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tlallolinj, njman iciuhca quinquechaana in jnpilhoan, injc yciuhca quaquauhtiezque, injc yciuhca manazque: qujlmach intlacamo quinquechaanazque iciuhca, ayaxcan quauhtiazque: yoan quitoaia, quivica in tlallolinjliztli, intlacamo quiquechaanazque, yoan quimjxalpichiaia.

Auh yn jncal, in jntlaquetzal, in jncuezcon, in jnxuc, in ye ixquich intlatquj, muchi catzelhuja: auh intla ytla oquijcauhque, yc maoaia: qujlmach quivica in tlallolinjliztli: yoan ixquich tlacatl ycaoacaia, motenvitequja: yc quinmachiltiaya, in amo quimati. 823

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the [three] hearth stones.

Concerning the [three] hearth stones there was also a delusion of the natives. When they saw someone kicking[14] the hearth stones, they restrained him from doing so. They said to him: "Do not kick the hearth stones. It will deaden thy feet when, perchance, thou goest to war." They said to him that now he would not be able to walk or run in time of battle. His feet would be numbed; quickly he would fall into the hands of their foes. Hence the natives restrained their youths, that this might not befall them.

Injc matlactli vmey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tenamaztli. 354

In jtechpa in tenamaztli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: in jquac in aca quitta, in quitlicçatica in tenamaztli: yc quitlacaoaltiaia, quilhujaia: macamo xictiliçatia in tenamaztli mitzicximjmjctiz in jquac intla tiaz iave, quilhuja: aiocmo vel nenemjz, aiocmo vel motlaloz in iaupan: ça ycximjmjquiz, yciuhca ynmac vetziz in jniaovan: ynjc quintlacaoaltiaia in jntelpuchoan, in njcan tlaca, injc amo yuh inpan muchioaz.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the tortilla doubled over on the griddle.

When a woman made tortillas, if her tortilla doubled over, there was also a delusion of theirs. She said: "Someone who now cometh hath kicked

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in comalco mocuelpachoa tlaxcalli. 252

In jquac tlaxcaloa in cioa, intla ocuelpachiuh itlaxcal: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, quitoa: aquin ie vitz oquitoaltilicçac: auh in anoce yoquichvi, in ca-

12. *Quipaxoloanac*: literally, they took them by the neck. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*tomaban a sus niños sus madres las mamas, por cabo las sienes, y los levantaban en alto.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*para que cobrar esforçadamente, que sentiesse la tierra.*"

14. *Quitilicçatica*: literally, were kicking it (cf. *tilicça*, Molina, op. cit.); corresponding Spanish text: "*los que pasaban al fin entre los trabajos, que eran tres piedras.*"

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua. 796^x [805 776]

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

1	c	KL	Toçoztontli.	c	14
2	d	En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias		d	15
3	e	de las flores, que aquel año primero		e	16
4	f	nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y		f	17
5	g	antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua		g	18
6	A	oler flor.		A	19
7	b	Los officiales de las flores, que se		b	20
8	c	llaman sochimanque: hazian fiesta, a		c	21
9	d	su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro		d	22
10	e	nombre coatlã tona.		e	23
11	f	Tambien en este mes: se desnu-		f	24
12	g	dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los		g	25
13	A	pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des-		A	26
14	b	ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar		b	27
15	c	en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan		c	28
16	d	iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro-		d	29
17	e	cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan		e	30
18	f	hediendo, como perros muertos: y		f	31
19	g	despues que los aujan dexado: se		g	1[1]
20	A	lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas:		A	2[2]

[824 346]

Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos. 796^x 785 783

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos. [755]

1. Marginal variation: *Apellic haber dier ann.*

2. Marginal variation: *Marier epipiamer.*

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

796x [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

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Atemuztli.

1 d KL
2 e Quando començaua a tronar: los
3 f satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran
4 g diligencia offrecian copal y otros per-
5 A fumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas
6 b dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para
7 c dar agua: y los populares hazian votos
8 d de hazer las ymagines de los montes
9 e que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedi-
10 f cadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los
11 g dezíseis dias deste mes, todos los popu-
12 A lares aparejauan offrendas para offre-
13 b cer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian
14 c penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres
15 d de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los
16 e hombres.
17 f Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan
18 g el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras
19 A de papel, y stauanlas a vnos barales
20 b desde abazo hasta arriba: y hincauan-
d 29[1]
e 30
f 1[2]
g 2
A 3
b 4
c 5
d 6
e 7
f 8
g 9
A 10
b 11
c 12
d 13
e 14
f 15
g 16
A 17
b 18[2]

[314] [834] [778] [289] [824]

los en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

[413 286]

1. Marginal notation: *Superstitiones mortis.*
2. Marginal notation: *Dispensatio facta Maio V.*

2. Marginal notation: *Decendor ho diez anoj.*

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored—part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vecã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic ostoanquj.

Jnjc excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ictiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa quiujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miquja nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujaçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

[796 X 778 289 292]

[314]

[825]

[796 X 292 301 237 314 624]

[289]

[493 237]

6. Map of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times bears most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "es una sierra cenicienta que esta cerca del Tlaxcalaxa."

7. Yiapaltic. Sahagún (Spanish text) has encarnado (deep red, flesh colored); later he has leonado (lion colored, tawny) for yiapalli. For yapaltic, Siméon (op. cit., p. 56) has grisâtre; Molina (op. cit.), cosa teñida de negro; Simeon (op. cit.), brown or black.

8. The Spanish text explains: "es una sierra cenicienta que esta cabo guadalupe."

9. Lat. ed.: "es aquel monteculo, que esta detras dentro laguna, frontero del Guadalupe."

10. Lat. ed.: "es un monte, que esta en la terrajuela de Guadalupe, y alli cabo tepeyacac."

11. Lat. ed.: "es un monte que esta cabo chalco arriba."

12. Seler (op. cit., p. 57) reads yamatlatzon, which he translates as Stirnbinde.

13. Sahagún (loc. cit.) says: "pusiqueles unos alas de papel como angeles."

feathers; and in these [the children]
were kept.

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *tamales* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Costeca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, esteemed [these *tamales*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[5]—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jnjc cempoali onume capitulo, vncã moteneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in moteneoaia, Tlacaxipeoaliztli. 796[X]

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpulueuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico. cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhuitl, in tlacemilhuitiltitoque, ic tlalhujqujxtitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in ixqujch nepapan xochitl, in iancujcan cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto qujnecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, qujuenchioaz, qujuẽmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotõti qujttaia, cuecuepontoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aqujtoton, hacqujpipil, hacqujtetoton, çan quecizquj, çan quezqujtoton, çan quecizquipipil, çan quezqujquauhtoton qujcujcujtlalpia, qujilpia. 796[X] 824 [784] [532]

Auh ynjc xuchitetemoaia, qujcenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj qujoalnamacaia, in millaca: 796[X] [432]

auh yn iquac y, qujquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [262]

oc cenca ichoanti qujmauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: qujtlamanjlia yn inteouh, itoca cõatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn jtech tlaquauhtlamati, yn jnnetemachil, yn jtech moquauhiotia, yn inquauhio, yn jtech motzatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac coatlatilo, onmotlatia, onmocacoa, yn jmeoaio tlaca, vmpa iopico onaactiuj:

1. The corresponding Spanish text specifies: "... *que hacian en el postrero dia del segundo mes, que se decia tlacaxipeualiztli.*" In Chapter 1, this month is correctly named Tlacaxipeualiztli.
2. *Iuan sembraron espadarte.*—"*Y se dice 'se sembraron espadas'.*" (Garibay: "Relación breve," p. 294). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 77) has, for *espadarte*, "*finder sind das Schwertkraut und der Rohrkolben.*"
3. "*Los sacerdotes de aquel templo,*" according to Sahagún's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagún: *Histoire des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, p. 92, n. 3: *tamapalamalli*—"*Pain-fait pour tamapalmalli, de tamapali, épine au hoche piquante, et tamalli, sorte de pain.*"
5. *Ilamatlatilo*: Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 78) uses the same expression; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 295) has, for *yoan mimoyo hematlatilo*, "*y se llamaba, 'se quedaron las pieles'*"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "*tamaliaban sus algunos amos.*"

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei toçoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uei toçoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *maguey*[4] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Jnic cẽpoualli onei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli. 796

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic mochioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: qujquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlachezujlli, heezço, tlaezçotilli noujã: 824

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia , qujquequetzaia, qujtitiquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aqujn telpuchtli, itech qujqujxtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech. 796 785

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoistema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli: [56 35? 824]

tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achitoa tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oqujchiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneoa, aquetzalli: 796 [262]

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic qujteteca in atolli, izqujatecomac,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn occuh, yn oitztix, yn

1. Great Vigil (*Gran Velada*), according to Gerbay (*op. cit.*, p. 256). Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 276) refers to Uey tepeilli as *gran parranda*, and to Tepeilhuitl as "*parranderilla . . . pequeña comida pasada con algunos amigos de una parte á otra.*"

2. Sahagún describes them as *espadañas*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 76, has *Bumchpole* (*Typha sp.*), and in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rohrkolben* or *Kolbenrohr* as alternatives.

3. *Pin—ábies religiosa* (*H. B. K.*) *Schlecht & Cham*, in Clark's *Mendoza Codex* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; *pino*, in Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 83, citing Molina (*abeto, árbol de que se coge el sebo de abeto*) and Hernández (Madrid, 1790, I, 24)—"*árbol así llamado de ocotum, ahiotl quemado que embarra, así compuesto.*" He equates *ocotum* with *cypressus*, as does Gerbay (*Libro del mitoteo*, p. 212). Sahagún used the term *based ahuacatl*, Seler says, and adds that *ocotum* was a name given to a variety of green *huacalote*. It is pictured in No. 275 of Pom y Tezozomoc's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. XI). [824]

3a. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican name *maguey* is used in this translation.

4. Sahagún, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 266: "*pasahuancalli, que es harina con harina hecha y muy blanca, hecho con tequisquitl.*" In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 84, Seler speaks of the gruels of maize were "*mit Pottasche gekochten.*"

5. A sour gruel, in Seler, *loc. cit.* Sorolla (*op. cit.*) states that an odd fruit, such as tamarin, was used.

X 796 702 us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

X 796 [346] And when [the young girls] went carrying upon their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

[532] They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *tortillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly; there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

X 796 ● 824 243 And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[12] black maize;[13] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[14] large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[15] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[16] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[17] the after-fruit;[18] double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toqujchti, ca çanenpanca, ca ça in toneuhcatlatol: ca uel ic qujmontzintopeuaia in cioa iaoc, ic teioltoneoa, ic tioleoa, ic teioflo tzicujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca qujttoa, in toqujchti

eço tecoco, yn jntlatol cioa, eço teittic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiqujtoque, yn ahtinemizque: aço itla tomaceoal tocnjuhtze.

Auh in qujmamatiuj in cicinteteuh, yn oqujtquja iteupan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuezcomaiollo muchioa, cuezcomac contema.

Auh yn iquac totoco, in ie toquizpã, ichoatl qujtocaia qujxinachioaia, qujxinachioa.

Auh injn qujlhujtlaltia, qujlhujchiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhqujn cioatl qujtlaliaia ixiptla. Qujtoaia, ca uel ichoatl in tonacaiutl: iuhq'nma qujtoznequi, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tiioltinemj, tooapaoaca: intlacamo ichoatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn aqujn, atle qujqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlaoa, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipã momana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in ichoatl chicome coatl, ca qujchioa yn izquich tonacaiutl:

in iztac tlaolli, in coztic tlaolli, in xiuhtoctli, yiaujtl, yiauhnenel, iauhcacalquj, tlaolpatlachtli, in totoiontic, in tlaolpicilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhqujn ezoaoanquj, ezcujcujltic:

njman iee in quappachcintli: iuhqujn quappachtli, itlachieliz, momochicintli, in molqujtl, cinmaitl, cintzatzapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamatl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI, cap. xii, of the *Florentine Codex* defines *xinhuetli* as "*Pan de maya verdes, pequeños y redondos.*"

13. "*Espigas de maya negro*" (*loc. cit.*). Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*maya morena o negra.*"

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*) defines *xinhuacalqui* as "*Espigas de maya por diversos colores.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The Nahuatl text reads: "*xochicintli izteiz cintli tlapalonamaqui, tlapalonejujtic tzoncujujtic, tzoncujujtiaqui, tzoncujujtic, momoyauhtic, momoyauhtic, momoyauhtic, momoyauhtic, momoyauhtic, momalpichtic, momalpichtic.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Espigas de maya leonado.*" In the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 102, there is reference to "*cierto maiz de color que parece anchas y aplanadas, y leonadas, que en la lengua de llamaba* tzatzapalli xochicintli, *quappachcintli.*" A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that *tzatzapalli* are "*Espigas de maya que nacen de dos en dos.*" In Simeon (*op. cit.*) *quappachtli* is green or tawny or violet. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*color leonado, o medio morado.*" For *quappachcintli*, Simeon has "*maiz gruesa es brown, que servesi à guisar los guaformenos provenant de la lisazion de es (Sah.).*"

17. Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 90) defines *momochtli* as "*maiz tostado y reventado,*" and on fo. 37*v* of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagun writes that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que cada grano es como una flor blanquísima.*"

18. *Redrojo de maizaro* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

the small ears of maize beside the main ear;[18] the ripened green maize.[19]

Then the beans—white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans;[21] black beans; flesh-colored beans;[22] fat, red beans; wild beans;[23] amaranth; the variety of amaranth call *cocotl*;[24] fine, red amaranth seed:[25] [common] red amaranth;[26] black amaranth; bright red or *chili*-red amaranth;[27] fish-amaranth [*michinantli* or *chicalotl*];[28] brilliant black amaranth seed;[29] the bird-seed called *petzicatl*;[30]

also *chía*—white *chía*, black *chía*, and wrinkled *chía*.

All these things, thus mentioned, all these they offered to [the goddess]. When her feast day was celebrated, they formed her image, and laid all before her; the old men of the tribal temple sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red—completely red on her arms, her legs, her face. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shirt also was red; her skirt was the color of ripe fruit. She had a chief's shield, painted with designs and embellished in red. She carried in either hand her double ear of maize.

Thus ended the festival of Uei toçoztli, and thus ended and passed the vigil songs. And then the winding dance, the dance with song, began. This ended at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

njman ichoatl in etl, yn iztac etl, ecoztli, echichilli, çoletl, tliletl, aquijletl, aiecotli, quavecoc, oauhtli, cocotl, tlapalhoauhtli, xochioauhtli, tliloauhtli, teuoauhtli, anoço chichiloauhtli, mjchioauhtli, chicalotl, ꝫtzcaoauhtli, petzicatl:

no yoan in chien, iztac chien, tliltic chien, chiantzotzol.

Jn ixquich y, iuh qujtoa, ca moch ichoatl, qujtemaca: in iquac ilhujuh, qujtlacatilia, muchi ixpan qujmanaia, qujcujcatia in veuetque, calpuleque: qujtlacotonjlia.

Auh yn jnechichioal motlaoçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxic, yn jxco: muchi tlacemaquilli, tlaujtl yn jamacal yn ivipil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icue cacamoliuhquj, tlatolchimali cujlolli, tlauhpoiaoac, ycinma nenecoccampa qujtqujtica.

ic ontlamj, in vey toçoztli: yoan ic vntlamj ic qujça, in toçozcujcatl. Auh iquac vmpeoa in necocololo, cujcoanolo: vmpa vntlami, yn ipan toxcatl.

796X
824
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19. Gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*): "*Mazorquillos de maiz que son hijos de las mazorcas.*" Simeon (*op. cit.*) has "*petit épi de maïs qui pousse à côté de l'épi principal.*"

20. Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 314, lists as follows: "[*Maíz*] *De maíz hasta que está un poco crecido, es tlaxilli . . . Xilotl, jilote, la mazorca de maíz tierna y por sazonar. Elotl, elote, la mazorca tierna cuando está en los granos sazonados. . . . Centli, centli, el maíz seco en mazorca: ya desgranado tlaolli, tlaxcalli, tlaxilli. . . . Olotl, olote, el carozón de la mazorca. Elotlitzuli, elotzuzuchili—los hijos que la rodean.*"

21. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún has "*Frisoles pintados de color de codornices.*" See also Bobadilla ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 343.

22. Gloss in *Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*: "*Frisoles de color encarnado.*"

23. Cf. Bobadilla ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 232: "*Hay una raíz que se llama cimatl; la hierba de esta raíz llámase quauxoxo: y semilla cimatl. Esta hierba hace unas hebras que son como frijoles grandes, y son frijoles silvestres.*"

24. "*Varias hierbas que son como ortigas o cardos de España*"—*ibidem*, *Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*

25. "*Una manera de maíz colorado fino*" (*loc. cit.*) Clavigero (*op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61) has Purslane (*xuchili*) *Portulaca oleracea L. Var.*

26. "*Una manera de maíz colorado*" (*Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*).

27. Same as note 25—"*Una manera de hierba muy colorada y muy buena*" (*loc. cit.*).

28. "*Hierba o semilla delas aves buenas de pecar*"; same as *chicalotl*—*Michinantli*: *iuan iuan chicalotl* (*loc. cit.*).

29. "*Una hierba muy semilla es muy negra*" (*loc. cit.*).

30. "*Una yerba muy semilla quieren los gallinas [sic]*" (*loc. cit.*)

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *magney* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[19] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopochtli: vncan m vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia: 796x

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhquin cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon: 778 [352 532]

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque: [624]

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhquin cuechintli: [292]

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanquj: [293 237]

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli. [237]

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezizepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca. [532]

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl: [289 292]

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlaochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapaloxque, ynjc monapaloa ymaxtli: [411]

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamaçocan: [411 237]

19. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 69, 72 esp. In the *Rabinalo* edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Seler defines quauhamatl as "la materia manufacturada por la capa de liber de algunos árboles de grueso tronco. Sirvió de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las cabezas, vestidos y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería."

X796 he offered incense; he went forth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

[262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

And after that the old priests[9] took away [the offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

[262]

And when it was not yet midnight, then shell trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *magney* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

[785]

in itlema: njman ie ic tlenamaca, qujiaoac oalmoquetza, itualco oalmoquetza:

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ie iuhquj, contema tlequazco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, conmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelolotli, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oqujmjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

Otimjxtacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, moxixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixqujchtin tlamacazque, ceceiaca cõtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelolotli.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço izoatomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

cenca vellachielo, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjmjloz, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamazopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

yoan intla aca ytech qujtzazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic neaxioa:

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoã nauhioal, in nematcanemoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: qujmocujlia intech monequj, qujqua: naujlhujtl in qujmocujliaia, in motlaueuenjaia:

auh yn aiamo onaci ioalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ie ic mezuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ie iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

[793]

7. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"tlamacazque (que) es como sacerdote; . . . tlamacazque, que es como diácono; . . . tlenamacac, que es como acólito. De estos nombraban los mayores clérigos por manos pontifices. . . ."
8. *Izoatl*: leaf (Molina, op. cit.), or species of tomato (Simeon, op. cit.).
9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "unos viejos, que llamaban quaquacujilti: los quales trayan los unos tabiques de mayz, manyplebados sobre sus hombros de la cabeça, que traxo los sabedhor largos, al modo de los clerigos."

[796] must cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] [793] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of [292] his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tzitzintlhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, [302] he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mizquatezoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, conapetzotiaia:

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatzitli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatzitli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatezitli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoaztli:

And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber [314] gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlteteu:

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which [235] were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac ▼ icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ie iuhquj ỹ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in q̃xqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzitzitzqujtimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemotzoltzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin in mazztlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamazztoton, yn oaxioaque, toliaoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ie oneoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

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16. "*Vna manta delgada temporanea, que se llama aiauhquexqui*" (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions "*manta delgada que llaman ayaui*" (Rebolledo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. "*Vna flor de papel grande redonda, redondo a manera de rodela*" (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the shapeshipped as "*ornamento, que lle sobre el pescuezo.*"

18. "*El cabadrillo, vna flores de papel, nombrado frenzidas, que colocaua a ambas partes de la cabeça a manera de orejas de papel, como medias alcandoras,*" and, later in the same chapter, "*era ornamento, que se ponjan ceo el cabadrillo, como una flor hecha de papel*" (*loc. cit.*).

19. "Mexican warriors (*ayauhcaxtec*) coloured the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (*apetlatl*)" (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. "*Hay otro que se llama yauhtli. Es muy verde, sirve muchas cosas y crecen todas juntas hacia arriba; (y) siempre huele; se tendido mediciual para los que tienen calentura, molido y bebido con el cacao; bueno de tomar, y despues molido y mezclado con el cacao. Aprovecha también para los que siempre sangre; y para los que tienen calentura*" (Sahagún, Rebolledo ed., Vol. III, p. 278).

21. Probably the *ciuapilot* of *quauquauitztic* is meant by *quacujlli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quacujlli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to love in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following your order, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh ciuapiltin yeztiuh yiaoc cuequalli, auxol, no tlachichinolli yeztl pepper y yeztiuh oaxac, auxol yiaoc pilotzinli, yeztl tlacatilli auxolqui, quinquatzotiri, ceuaca quimmaitlitiri,*—and in the midst of them went what is called a *cual* cast, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper went hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence.

war, or that many women would die in child-bed, when from their wombs [children] would come.

And in this wise did they proceed in the mock-fight: First began [the party of the woman who was the likeness of] Tetzo innan to pursue the others. With her were the great medicine [women]. The [first] one [was named] Aua; the second, Tlauitecqui; the third Xoquauhtli. These three were her old women.

In this manner they pursued and pelted the others. Thus they proceeded hurling at them matted tree parasites[2] gathered into balls, and reeds pressed into balls, and cactus leaves, and Tagetes flowers. And all carried tobacco gourds girt to their waists. Once again they fell upon [the others], pelting them as they went. [And] not for long, but for only a few times, were they pursued.

And thereupon they took [her in the likeness of] Toci[3] where she was guarded. For four days they proceeded with their skirmishing.

And when the four days of skirmishing had ended, then, upon the morrow, she tramped over her market place toward sundown. As she came forth, the medicine [women] encircled her. When she was surrounded, then [the priests of] Chicome coatl[4] came out to receive [her who impersonated Toci]. And when they had come forth to receive her, they made a great circle [about her]. And when she was surrounded, then she came into the midst of them. Then she scattered, there, cornmeal. Thereby she tramped over her market place[5] for the last time, as if taking leave of the market place.

And when she had tramped over it, then they took her where she was guarded, at her temple. Much did the medicine [women] console her.

They said unto her: "My dear daughter, now at last the lord Moctezuma will sleep with thee. Be thou happy."

They told her not that she was to die. For verily she was to die unaware. Then they adorned and completely arrayed her.

And when it was midnight, then they led her forth [to the temple]. Then none spoke, none talked, none coughed; [it was] as if the earth lay dead, late at night. And everyone gathered round in the darkness.

And when they came to the place where she was

quja, in quauhtli ocelutl: anoço mjequjntin mocioaquetzaque in cioa in jmiti ic iazque. 796 X

Auh ivi in, in muchioaia injc çonecalia: achto peoa in tetzo innan in tetoca, itlan mantivi in vevei titici. Ichoatl in Aua: Injc vme Tlavitecquj. Injc ei xoquauhtli. In ichoantin im eixtin y, ilamaioua: [759]

injc quintoca, quintepachotivi: injc quintepachoa, papachtli ica, tlaolollalilli, tlaoolollalili, yoan toltapaiolli, yoan nupalli, yoã cempoalxuchitl: yoã muchintin imjietecõ ic mocujcujtlalpia: enocuele quintepatztia, quintepachotivi: amo vecaoa çan quezquipa, in ommototoca. [824]

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ic qujvica in toci, in vmpa pielo: inin navilhujtl in qujchioaia in mjicali:

auh in otzonqujz in çonecali, navilhujtl: njmã imuztlaioc in qujoalicça itianquiz, ie teutlac: injc oalqujça cololhujtivitze in titici: auh in ie iativitz, njmã ic qujoalnamjquj in chichicomecoa: auh in oqujoalnamjcque njmã ic oallaiaoaloa: auh in ontlaiaoalo, vncã vmmoquetza, in tlanepantla: njmã vncã contetepeoa, tlaoltextli: njmã ic conjcça in jtianquiz, ça iiopa, ça ie cõnaoatia in tianquiztli.

Auh in oconjçcato, njman ic qujvica, in vmpa piclo, in jteupan, cenca qujiollalia in titici:

qujlhuja. Nochputzin, ca iequene axcã motetzinco aciz in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ma ximopapactzino:

amo qujmachitiaia in jmjquiz, çan iuhquj in ichtaca mjquja: mec qujchichioa, qujcencaoa.

Auh in jquac ie onaci iocalnepantla njmã ic qujvica, çan njmã siac naoati, siac tlatoa, ancac tlatlaci, ça iuhquin tlalli mjctoc: auh ixquich tlacatl, cenquiçaia in iocalica.

Auh in oconaxitique vncã mjquja: njmã ic qujoal-

2. Spanish bromb; Tillandsia usneoides L. (Cook, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 366).
3. Toci: identified with Tetzo innan and with Tlaçolteotl. Cf. Bancroft, Collected Works, Vol. I, p. 14; Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 65.
4. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
5. "A este patio llamaban centzonjuntos del tianquez porque nunca cesa mas de bailar a el" (corresponding Spanish text).

X 796 **Thirty-first Chapter,** which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capítulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli; in muchiouia, in jpã vel ic cemjlhujtl, injc matlactetl om ume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

Injc matlactetl om ume ilhujtl: ichoatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound together. Only the young men laid them down, on [346] every small pyramid, in the temples of the Ciuateteo,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

in ie iuh tlamacujlti, njmã vncan vmpeoa in acxoiatemalo: in acxoiatl, ichoatl in acatl, ẽci in qujlpiaia; çan ichoantin in telpopochtin qujtemaia, novian in momoxco, in ciouatecalco, yoan in novian techachan, in vncan pipielo in jmjxipdaoan diablome:

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very [252] poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

auh in techachã novian onacxoiatemaia, qujnoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhtzintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, naolotl: in cana ieolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli qujoaltemaca: moteneoa, cacalotl ca qujmocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nẽ mocalhujaia, can ichoantin injmel, in tlaccelianj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochicanj, in amo tlatlacanequjnj in jmel.

And on the third day of the spreading out of [176] branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

Auh in ie ic ieilhujtl acxoiatemalo: iquac heco in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, ichoatl achto heco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlaçanj, cotze:

X 796 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offerings for him. They offered him fish amaranth seed, 252 ground and made into a ball of dough.

ipampa in achto oalaci, yoan qujtlamanjliaia: in qujmanjliaia, mjchiouhtli, in tlapololli:

First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

achtopa qujcequj, qujxomotza comalco, çatepan qujteci: auh in oqujtezque, çatepã qujpoloaia, atica: cequj necutica, in qujpoloaia: aço macujltetl, aço

1. *Teteo hevo—Los dioses llegan*, in Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 307. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 145, refers to *tendrse en la fiesta de la venida de los dioses*. The spelling "Tetl eco" is in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. See note 3, p. 59. In Cap. xxxiv (Pinquentaliztli), Sahagún explains that "*por causa llenaban estas verdes y espinosas de magueys*," and, in Cap. xxv (Tlaxipehualiztli), "*donde no había estas verdes y espinosas de maguey*."

3. Sahagún (Bulnes ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that "*Tenían establecidos oratorios a honra de estos dioses en todos los barrios donde había dos calles; los cruzaban llamaban ciuatecalli, o por otro nombre ciuaxtecpanco; en estos oratorios tenían los simulacros de estos dioses. . . .*" Clavigero, (loc. cit.) says: "*enramaban los templos y las encrucijadas de las calles.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

4. *Olotl* is more properly corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 32; however, he usually renders it maize ear.

5. "*Cuerda, o tenazuela . . . para asar granos de maíz tostado en el rescoldo*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the term *apizoaldo*.

6. These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca.

K 796 at the ends, with cord, held together with cords so that as one struck, they made a crackling noise. Verily, they belabored and hurt one another.

[824] And if [the young warriors] caught a priest, if one was taken, they rubbed him with [powdered] *magney* leaves; sorely he burned and itched; [it was] as if his flesh crepe. And if one of the young warriors was caught, the priests bled his ears with a [*magney*] thorn, and his arms, his breast, and his thighs, [so that] he cried out loud.

[352] And if [the priests] chased the young warriors there into the royal palace, they looted it, taking all the [reed] mats, the cord mats, the seats with backs, the couches, the backless seats. And if they found horizontal, two-toned drums, or ground drums, they removed them, taking all [with them].

And if [the young warriors] took after the priests, entering the priests' dwelling, they also robbed them, removing from them mats, shell trumpets, and seats.

And they dispersed from thence, and all stopped toward evening when a little sun still shone.

And the fourth day [of Atemoztli] was named "Ashes Are Scattered." The old people said: "For the bathed ones, who died," it was said, "yet walk [upon the earth] for four days. Not yet do they depart to the land of the dead. And when ashes are scattered, then they go down into the land of the dead."

[515 348] And then were burned the paper vestments in which they had died, which had been laid in reed baskets. And then all washed their heads with soap; all bathed. Then all departed hence, thus dispersing each [to his own house].

Here ended the feast of Panquetzaliztli, after it had already taken the four days from [the month of] Atemoztli.

piaia, qujcacattilpiaia, qujtetevilpiaia, qujmecatetecujaiaia, qujmecatitlan tlaliaia ynic moujujtequj: iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, vel mococoltia, vel mococoaia.

Auh intla oce cacique tlamacazquj, iintla oce axioac, qujmealtia, cenca cuecuetzoca, quequezquja: yuhqujn iolmiquj ynaçaio. Auh intla ce axioa, telpuchtli, in tlamacazque qujçoçoia vitztica yn jnacazco, yn jacolpan, yn ielpan, yn jmetzpan, vel qujtzatzatia.

Auh in telpupuchti, intla qujntocaticalaquizque, in vmpa tecpan, tlanamoia, muchi qujnamoia in petlatl in petlamecatl, in tepotzoicpalli, in netlaxonj, in tzinicpalli: auh intla qujpãtilia teponaztli, in veuetl mpchi qujqujxtia, muchi qujcuj.

Auh intla qujntocaticalaqujzque tlamacazque in calmecac, no qujntlanamoielia, qujntlaçaçaqujlia, muchi qujnqujxtilia, in petl:tl, in tecciztli, in jcpalli: auh çan vncã xixitinj, necacac:'o, oc achi tonatiuh ie teutlac.

Auh injc navilhujtl moteneoa, nexpizolo: qujtoaia in vevetque. Ca in tlaaltilti in omjcque: qujl oc nemj navilhujtl, aiamo vi in mjctlan: auh in jquac nexpizolo, qujnjquac temo in mjctlan;

yoã iquac motlatia, mopetlacaltema, in jmamatlatquj in jpã omjcque, yoan iqnac neamovilo, neaaltilo, mec viviloa, ic cecẽmanoa.

Nicã tzõqujça in jlhujtl Panquetzaliztli, ie cuel ic naujlhujtl cõcujlia in Atemuztli.

X 796 night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

amaxodlalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl. auh in otlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlaltitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in qujquequetza, vel oncã cemjlhujtia:

X 796 And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these 778 would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

auh in tepicque achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque, injc qujnchivi'ztque imamatlatquj, tepictotõ: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instru-
[534] ments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujtqujxte in inchã tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoã imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquẽtia:

And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço m cujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl,[4] Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhqueme, Tepetzintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[5]

Auh in qujnpiquja ichoantin in tetepe: in popocãtepetl, in jztactepetl, anoço iztac cioatl, in tlãloc, in iooaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhqueme, in tepetzintli, in tepẹpolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chicome coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceed-
[415] ingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and sauce bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

Auh in oqujncencauhque, mec qujntlamaca, cecenj mjxcavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çã achitoton, papatlachtotonti papatlachpipil: qũãũhcaxtotonco in qujntetemjlia, yoã inmolcaxtoton, yoan inçoqujtecõtoton, çan no tepitoton cẽcã achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was
[415 [in them]. And the green jars were made of these
273 green gourds.[6] They split them, and took out their
824 seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[6] Thus all night they sang for [the

auh nappa in qujntlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan manj vntetl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, ichoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, qujxtlapanaia, qujoalqujxtilia in jaiovachio, qujoalaiooachqujxtia: yoan qujoalqujxtilia in jcujtlaxcol, in juhquj mecãtl, vncan conteca in aiocti,

4. These are located in the chapter on Ad omnia. See p. 43. Tepemindi and Tepepolli probably are the Tepemizoo and Tepepulco named in that chapter.
5. *Cacuchica floribus Boucbf* (Seler: op. cit., p. 221).
6. Cf. Seler (loc. cit.)—*Kakaiomatic* (*aiocti*). *Aiocti*, however, is defined (Rimi Simeon op. cit.) as a mixture of honey and water.

x796 when he had been living in the likeness of another,
[548] had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

oaqueztinēca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinēca omovelitztinenca.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said,
[827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin quinquechaana, quinacopilos: ic mjtoa quimizcalloana, quimizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiztique, manazque, mocapeoazque:

And they divided the heart of the *magueyplants*;
● [828] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

yoā in metl quijolloxeloa, quijolletzaiana, quijollotlapana, quijollotoma: auh yn nopalli quijlaiectilia, quimatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, mocaltiz, mocapaoaz.

x796 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to
852 pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair;
[301] in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan contlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, quichachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiā vetzia in tlatoque.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited.
[608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltzeonti, yn jntaboan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa quintemoliaia, in quinvicasque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in quinotzaia, mjtoa: quintlatia quimaviña, tetlati, teaviti:

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they
[431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

auh amo ineanioque in quimanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, quintlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests'
[304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And
[302 237] they passed upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

ioaloepantla in quinvicaia calmecac, vmpa quinnacazxapotla, quinnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc quicoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conequjxtia, vncā quimonjlpilia iuhquin tlatzatzitlteoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoquiztleoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica quinpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

And the women who became aunts were pasted
[608 302] with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoā inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamauchiuh cotecativia: mjtoa, intecuzochiuh.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their houses. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

In jquac oquimōnacazxapotlaque, njmā ic quinoalhujujca in inchachan, vncan quichieltitoque intoçotoque, teçotoque tlatlavilitoque, quichiztoque in

539

place. And the gods once more spoke, and said: "How may we live? The sun does not move himself! Are we to live among the peasants? Let us all die and make him revive through our death!" And then the Wind took charge of killing all the gods, and he slew them. And it is told that one, named Xolotl, refused to die, and said to the gods: "O gods, let me not die." And he wept exceedingly, so that his eyes swelled with weeping. And when the slayer came to him, he hid in the maize fields, and he changed and turned [8214] himself into the foot of a maize plant which has two stalks, and the field workers call it *xolotl*. And he was seen and found among the feet of the maize stalks. Again he took flight and hid among the maguey plants, and changed himself into a maguey plant which has two bodies, which is called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and he took flight and placed himself in the water and made himself into a fish which is called *axolotl*. From there they took him and slew him. And they say that although the gods were slain, not on that account did the sun move. And then the Wind began to blow and raise a strong gale. He made him move, so that he might go on his way. And after the sun began to travel, the moon was quiet in the place where he was.

Como podemos biuir no se menea el sol, emos d' biuir entre los villanos? muramos todos y hagamosle q̃ resucite por n̄ra muerte. Y luego ayre se encargo de matar a todos los dioses, y matolos. Y dizese que vno llamado Xolotl rehusava la muerte, y dizo a los dioses. O dioses no muera yo y llorava gran manera de manera que se le hincharon los ojos de llorar. Y quando llego a el el q̃ mataua hecho a huyr, escondiose entre los mayzales, y boluiose y con[ver]tiose en pie de mayz q̃ tiene dos cañas y los labradores le llaman xolotl. Y fue visto y hallado entre los pies del mayz, otra vez hecho a huyr y se escondio entre los magueys y convertiose en maguey que tiene dos cuerpos, q̃ se llama mexolotl: otra vez fue visto y hecho a huyr y metiose en el agua y hizose pez q̃ se llama axolotl de alla le tomaron y le mataron. Y dizen que aunque fueron muertos los dioses no por esso se mouio el sol y luego el viento començo a soplar o ventear rezianmente: el le hizo mouerse pa que anduuiese su camino. Y despues q̃ el sol començo a caminar, la lũa se estuuo queda en el lugar donde estaua.

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that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

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797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls [381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away—the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Injc matlactlomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, quinquechmecanjaia, quinquechtzonviaia, quinmecanjaia, quinpiloa, quincuexcochvivitequj, quinquatepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolctiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculomocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacacatztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 684 727 761 789 824

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, ie qujveimatia, qujmavizztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiuhtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tumatic, in acatic, in ic ixquich cozcatl, in coxcapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jxquich nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xocoxochitl.* — Francisco J. Santamarina: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 1[illegible]: *Jocoxoc* — *Bromelia pinguin L.* "*En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un matorral de ahora y cerca hojas verdosas o las de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbútica.*"

2. Translatable also as "men of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlipan, Macuilxochitl, Xilonen, Tlaloc, Xiuhtecuhtli, Cuauhtlehuanitl, Chicomecoatl, Xochiquetzal, Tlazoteotl (Arturo Monzón, op. cit., p. 58). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (Méjico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Acxotecatl* or *pochtecatlhiohuc*, "*mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tenía como si dijéramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre los mercaderes . . . es antiguo al que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es cual padre y madre de todos los mercaderes*" (Sahagún, Quiñones ed., X, 16, 5).

Jens, op. cit., p. 240 (citing Seler, Ges. Ak., II, 68): "*eher ehrbarmachender Vollzugsmann in der rituellen der Inca von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco.*" Acxotlan was a merchant's barrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nine Eheca, Chicomecoatl, Xoxoucatl, Cuchiteed, Yacapitzinca, Nacxitl, Chalmecatecuhtli (Monzón, loc. cit.).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, "The Gods," p. 13 and n. 5. Jens, op. cit., p. 326, citing Seler, Ges. Ak., II, 1070: "*Mann der dem Ort Oztomec . . . . der auf Wanderschaft gelernte Kleie und Marktfeller zuerst als der auf seiner Reise gelernte Gesetzgeberin, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

5. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

762 foods came forth from the palace; and from the houses in the commoners' localities they [also] emerged and came forth.

But only for a little while it was, remained, and rested there. Then the old men of the temple district [of Uitzilopochtli] removed, continued to take and transport, divided, and distributed, what pertained to them. They removed it to a number of places. They consumed all. No one remained alone. Everyone came to it: the devout of the place, those who had fasted for a year; those who had danced and fasted for Uitzilopochtli.

[824] And Moctezuma then offered all manner of precious flowers [before the image] — varied flowers which were sweet-smelling and fragrant: magnolia,[4] maize flowers,[5] cacao flowers,[6] popcorn flowers,[7] and garlands of maize ears,[8] which grew everywhere; basket flowers,[9] raven flowers;[10] yellow and blue tobacco flowers;[11] milky corn silk flowers;[12] and all manner of precious flowers, prepared,—well-formed, well-arranged, made as shields of flowers, circular, radiating, and spreading; and the pleasant-smelling ones. It seemed as if the fragrance, the perfume, spread and blanketed his temple.

And so they burned [tubes of] tobacco — only in bundles. First they bound them about the middle. As they burned them, they filled [the area] before [the image].[13] It was as if the smoke arose, spread a cloud, extended, came to settle, and lay billowing.

782 Likewise it was said at the time of the day sign
274 One Flint Knife, that the wine-makers showed special concern. At that time they cut and bored

tlatocan oalquiçaia: ioan in çan calla, mocoalpõ oalcoaia, oalquiçaia:

auh çan achiton ca, in vncan vmanj, vncan onoc, vncan onmoteca: niman ic quijquanja çan ic concujtimanj, ic conjquanjtimanj, intech povi in calpulvetetque, quimonxelhuja, quimonmamaca, quecinquecan quimjcuanjlia, vntetlamj, aiac ixcauj, mochi tlacatl itech aci, in vncan tlamaceuhque, in moexiuhçauhque, in jtech mjtotinemj, in quimeçaujlia Vitzilopuchtli:

auh in Motecuçoma in jxquich tlaçonochitl, in nepapan xochitl, in velic, in aviiac vncan quimana in iolloxochitl, in elxuchitl, in cacaoxuchitl, in izquixochitl, ioan cacaoacincozcatl, in inquijcan icac, oacalxochitl, in cacaloxochitl, in coztic iicxochitl, auh in xoxouhquj iicxochitl, in xiloxochitl, ioan in ic izquich nepapan tlaçonochitl, in tlamantli, in vellalilli, in tlatecujcujlolli, in mjmati, in chimalxochitl, in ololiuhquj, in momoiaoa, in xexelivi: auh in çaçan tlatlanecutli, iuhquin tlaujiaxtoc, tlauceelixtoc, tlaujiaxtimanj, tlauceelixtimanj, in jtexpan:

auh injc quitlatiaia iietl, çan ce oommecatl çan iuh cujtlalpitiuh in quitlatiaia, contecatuj ixpan, iuhquin puchtecoatoc, aiavitl mantoc, aiavitl quiztoc, iuhquin mõemomolocatoc.

No ioan mjtoa in jpan in tonalli ce tecpatl, oncca vncan tlatemachiaia in tlachicque, vncan quitlapanaia in inmeuh, ic quitemachiaia injc oncca meiac,

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4. *Iolloxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana* D. C. Don) — Mexican magnolia, a flower reserved solely for the nobility. — Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin, 241*), *Vatican Library. An Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 316.

5. *Elxuchitl*: probably *Compositae* (?) (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275). In Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), Vol. III, p. 841, it is classed with *yoxochitl*. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 288, identifies it as *Magnolia fuscata* Dun.; also called *yolloxochitl*.

6. *Cacaoacochitl*: *Theobroma angustifolium* D. C. (a cacao plant). — Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 311. Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 921, calls it *Quararibea funebris* (Llave) Standl. See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 278.

7. *Izquixochitl*: *Bourreria huanita* (La Llave & Lex.) Hemsl. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 277).

8. Cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 245.

9. *Uazxochitl*: *Xanthosoma* sp. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 234); *Hydrolandrum officinalis*, Hemsl., "Una planta exótica, de las acuáticas, cultivada en [México]" (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 162).

10. *Cuauhxochitl*: *Plumeria rubra* L., attributed of important personages, according to Sahagún (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 302). Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 866, says *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir, "flor de cuervo."

11. *Yecxochitl*: *flor de tabaco* (no botanical name given); "El *Yecxochitl*, que algunos llaman chocoxchitl o *cua flor de ciervo*, y otros cuauhquipinchitl o *yoxochitl amarillo*" (Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 841, 842).

12. *Xilonxochitl*: *Bombax ellipticum* H. B. K., according to Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 453, and Paul C. Standley, "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States National Herbarium* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), pp. 793-794; *Calliandra anomala* (Kunth) McBride, according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

13. *Real Palacio MS*: *cuauhtlamati*.

BEHOLD THE APPENDIX OF THE FIFTH BOOK. HERE ARE TOLD THE DIFFERENT THINGS WHICH GOD'S CREATURES, THE IDOLATERS, WRONGLY BELIEVED.

IZCATQUJ YANCA INJC MACUJLLI AMUXTLI: VNCAN MJTOA, YN JZQUJTLAMATLI ITECHPA CHICOTLAMATIA IN JTLACHIVALOAN DIOS, IN TLATEOTOCANJME.

First Chapter, which telleth of the white amaryllis.[1]

This kind of flower was thus called — white amaryllis (*omixochitl*). And also a kind of sickness — decaying of the genitals — was also called *omixochitl*, because indeed in some such manner as [the flower], so was [the member] scarified. And so did the ancients invent, and so deceive themselves. It was said of him upon whom this sickness, which they called *omixochitl*, settled, that it began thus: perhaps one had urinated or stepped upon it; or one had smelled it many times. It was as if it had thereby bewitched him. In such manner did they deceive themselves.

Injc ce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in omixuchitl.

Injn centlamantli xuchitl: iuh motocayotia in omixuchitl. Auh no centlamantli cocoliztli, tlapalanaltilizti: no motocayotia omixuchitl: ichica ca çan vel iee injc ca, injc tzitziquiltic: auh injc compjquj, in juh moztlacaviaia vevetque: qujlmach in aquin ytech motlalia, injn cocoliztli, in motocayotia omixuchitl: ic peoa, in aço ypan omaxix, anoço oipan moquetz: in anoço mjiecpa oquinecu, iuhquj injc quixoxa, in juh moztlacavia.

Second Chapter, which telleth of the poinsettia.[2]

This kind of flower [was] fragrant. And yet another kind of sickness of the genitals was called *cuetlaxxuchitl* (poinsettia). And this sickness was especially the lot of women — particularly their sickness; not of men. And of this ill it was said that thus did it begin — so were the ancients deceived: they had perchance stepped over it, or smelled it, or else sat upon it. Therefore it then cast a spell upon her; thus it befell her. And hence mothers restrained and scolded their daughters; they said to them: "Do not smell it; do not jump over this flower; [the sickness] will be settled upon you."

Injc vme capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in cuetlaxxuchitl.

Injn centlamantli xuchitl, ineconj. Auh oc no centlamantli tlapalanaltiliztli, no motocayotia cuetlaxxuchitl: auh ynjn cocoliztli, oc cenca inpan muchioa in cioa, oc cenca incocoliz: amo no yehoan in toquichtin. Auh injn cocoliztli: qujlmach ic peoa, in iuh moztlacavia vevetque: in aço oquicuencolhuj, in anoço oquinecu, in anoce oipan motlali: ipampa in juhquj ic quixoxa, ic itech motlalia. Auh ipãpa in tenanoan quintlacavaltiaia, quimausya in jmjchpuchoan, quimjlhujaya: macamo xiquinecujcan, ma ypan ancholoti injn xuchitl, amotech momanaz.

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1. *Omixochitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 354, is the same as *omixpaxtlar* (*Polyanthes tuberosa* L., *P. mexicana* Zucc., *P. gracilis* Link), a fragrant flower appearing in July and August, used as a febrifuge. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 347: *Polianthes tuberosa*, *P. mexicana*. Rémy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 2-4, p. 89: "bone flower" — "a white flowering Amaryllidaceae or Iridaceae."

2. *Cuetlaxxuchitl*. Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), Vol. III, p. 958: *Euphorbia (poinsettia) pulcherrima* Willd. Paul C. Standley: "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States Herbarium*, Vol. 23 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), Part 3, p. 688: *cuicle-cuchil*, used in a decoction for nursing women to increase lactation. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 351: *Euphorbia pulcherrima*.

824 531

Third Chapter, which telleth of flowers artificially arranged.[3]

Flowers arranged with artifice: there were many kinds thus named, flowers artificially arranged — flower shields; flowers for clipped heads, or for shorn ones, or drums; or spreading [flowers]. As to these flowers the ancients were also deluded. They said: "It is not our right to smell in the midst — the center — of them; he alone, he who pervadeth all, Titlacauan, may smell that place. Our right is only to smell them there at the edges."

Injc ey capítulo, itechpa tlatoa, in suchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.

Suchitl ic tlatlalilli: ca mjiec tlamantli injc motocaiotia in suchitl tlatlalilli, chimalsuchitl, quateçonsuchitl, quachic, vevetl, moisauac: In jtechpa yn suchitl, no motlapololtiaya in vevetque, quitoaia: ca amo tonemac in tlanepantla, in jnepantla tiquijnecujzque ca çan icelteiin vel vncan motlanecujltia in tloque naoaque, in titlacaoan: çanijo tonemac, in vncan titlanecujzque in jtenco.

824

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of dried grains of maize.

As to dried grains of maize, in many ways were the women none the less deluded. First, when they cooked it or set it in ashes — behold their folly: when they would place it in the olla with ashes, first of all they breathed upon it. It was held that in this way it would not take fright; thus it would not fear the heat. It was said that thus they mitigated the heat.

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Second, they deceived themselves in this way: if they saw or came upon dried grains of maize lying scattered on the ground, then they quickly gathered them up. They said: "Our sustenance suffereth: it lieth weeping. If we should not gather it up, it would accuse us before our lord. It would say: 'O our lord, this vassal picked me not up when I lay scattered upon the ground. Punish him!' Or perhaps we should starve."

Injc navi capítulo, itechpa tlatoa in tlaulli.

In jtechpa in tlaulli: mjiec tlamantli oc noma, ic motlapololtia in cioa. Injc centlamantli: in jquac quijcuxitia, in anoço quijnexquetza: izcatquj in jnnetlapololtiliz, in jquac ic contemazque in nexcomjc: oc achtopa conahaiovia, quijlmach ic amo momauhtiz, ic amo motonalmauhtiz: quijlmach ic contonallalilia.

Injc vntlamantli, injc mizttlacavia: intla oquijtaque, in anoço oypan quijçato tlaulli chachaiuatoc tlalpan: njman conpepentiuetzi, quijtoa: motolinja in tonacaiutl, mochochoquijlitoc: ca intlacamo tiopepenazque, ca techteixpanujz in jxpantzinco totecujo: ca quijmolhujliz. Totecujoe, injn macoxolli: ca amo nechpepen, in jquac tlalpan njcenmantoca: ipa xicmotlatzacujltili: auh anoce timaianazque.

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of stepping over one.

As to stepping over one, the natives also [were] deluded. When some child lay stretched out across one's path, if someone stepped over him, then they chid him who passed over him, saying to him: "Why dost thou step over him?"

It was said that thereby the child would grow no more; he would be only small. And in order to cure him, so that [this] might not befall the child, once again he stepped back over him.[4] Thus was it remedied.

Injc macujlli capítulo, itechpa tlatoa in tecuencholhujlistli.

In jtechpa tecuencholhujlistli: no centlamantli innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tla aca melavatoc piltontli, necujliuhtoc: intla aca ocontecuencholhuj, njman caoa in aquijn otecuencholhuj, quijlhuja. Tle ipampa in ticcuencholhuja:

quijlmach ic ayocmo manaz in piltontli, ça izquijchton ica: auh injc compatiaia, injc amo ipan muchioaz piltontli, oc ceppa quijoalpancholhuja: ic vmpatia.

3. *Suchitl ye ye tlatlalilli.* Corresponding Spanish text: "las flores, que se compusieron de muchas flores."

4. *Quijoalpancholhuia.* Corresponding Spanish text: "otra vez volvió a pasar sobre el, por la parte contraria."

843 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back
752 was as it were a small, blue bump. Or [he might
catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the
inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried
every night; and on the groin and armpits were
formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And
in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed
the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc neci xiomama, ynijtlapan co, iuhquja
pozotonti, iuhquja tezotic: anoço cuetzpalicivitztli.
Injc neci cuetzpalicivi piltontli: cezticoal in choca,
yoan yquezilco, yciacac motlatlalia nacazotonti, ololtotonti, melacazotonti. Auh injc pati: quijxmotla, quijquijxtia in nacazotonti.

843 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child
821 had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of]
them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it.
They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your
children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will
be hacklipped!"

Ioan in ozztli: in jquac aimo vel tlacatl motla'ta
in jconcuh, quintlacaoaltizia, in jquac calmoma in
metztli: injc amo conacopeixtzeque, quimjlhujia:
macamo xocontitacan in metztli, mimjqqja, anoço
tenquiviz in amocoxcuh.

825 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's
777 hand.

Injc cempoalli capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa: in oçomatli ymacpal.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly a
441 monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods
anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that
thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all
which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That
which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" —
so foolish were they.

In oçomatli imacpal: in puchteca ezmea quijxmoaia, quimopialtiaia: in jquac in campa tiamjquja, in tlanamacaia: vncan quijtecaia, quijlmach ic icuhca aquj, icuhca muchi coalo in tlein quijnamaca: quijl ichoatl iuh quichioa in oçomatli yma: ynjc mochapolohtia.

777 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere
264 was disposed of that which they sold, when no one
●824 bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was
said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods
may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When
they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods
are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat."
Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three
chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were
disposed of. When they so did this, they said that
they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoantin in tilmamacaque: in jquac acan aquj in quinamaca, in aiac quicua: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço vipilli, quijlmach: quichilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc quichioaia: in jquac calvia inchan, quitoaia: acan onc in totianijc: ma xocochilquaqualtican: niman ic ijtic centzma, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: quijlmach ic aquja, injc iuh quichioaia in, ic quijtoa: quichilquaqualtia.

777 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle
525 and the griddle.

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, inchpa tlatoa in tezoloti, yoan comalli.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle,
and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down
in his home, and hung his pestle somewhere in a
corner, it was said that thereby the householder
would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aquijn patoaia, in jchan, in jtezoloah, ioan in jcomal, ioan in jmetl: intlapach quijnamia: auh in tezoloti cana xonoalco quijpilouia: quijlmach: ic amo quijtlanizque in chane, çan ic tlatlanjz.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "otra enfermedad, que llaman encanpalicivitzli, a otra lobadillos en las ingles." Wimmer-Alva Codex Blue (El manuscrito mexicano Matritense 378 llamado El Codice Blue [Boston: Bibliotheca Danica, 1900], p. 34).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to patolli, which is an game.

776 463 464 which they journeyed. Wherever they slept, there they set them up; before them they did penances, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoises,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds—the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

[825]

motlatocaia, incãpa cuchiuque, vncan qujtilquetza, inpan tlamacoua, mjçe, qujçoçãtzmjlia, ynjc qujtlauhtia yn jnteuh yiacatecutli, ynjc qujtlanjlia, ynjc qujmatatzaqujlia, ynicnelilia:

noujan actitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic motomoua, puchtoca yiaqui: itech canqua, yn itoca intenh, yiacatecutli:

Ontomeca, anaouc calaquijnj, vel qujtomotinemj, in tlein qujmonanauhtiuque, anaouel qujzaqualotinemj, anaouel qujlacatzotinemj,

tonalcüauhtinemj, hecaciuhtinemj, mocianhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinj, elciciuhtinj, mociauhquetztinj, ynellelactinh, ynjnqua tlatlatiuh, intonal qujmatzujtinj, intoualomjuh ietiuh:

itzlaoal qujnamjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, qujtemouja, qujtlecauja, inquijchca ana: inmelicpã, intetepon ic tlatlacça, ic moquequetza:

vel qujcüavj vel qujhüeuja, ynic qujtemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoçonalli, in teucujclatl: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtotol, in tzetli, çaqua: quauhcli, in tequanemtl, yn ocelopetlatl.

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que se vea entre negros frujanos, mestizos sin donde ninguno: que es quasi jaunes, de los que se venen en España." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (op. cit., 37-8) says they gathered the stones all together, gave with a ribbon, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling merchants who went into the *tierra caliente* (*ynjtonoua anauac calaquinj*) (Seler: op. cit., p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: "*Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyacatecutli ('der Herr der Wegzugmenschen') war der Gott der Karawanenführer der tiefsten anauac calaquinj die reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ozomba in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the Xiuhtotoal.

The *ozlomeca* in ibid., Vol. II, p. 338, in the *Nonalcatzinca*, appears to refer to a grade or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* [103] *ciaqua*.

96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, especially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan cabeza de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Pedrosos hasta Anáhuac, que dista más de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Entrados en la provincia de Anáhuac, se indica, cómo aquellos que iban de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . iban todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tuxtepec. En este pueblo se dividían, unos iban a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anáhuac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 334.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac Xicalanco as the area of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y tzitzli piedra de ensayo, la cual es muy pulida y sin manchas ningunas, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene manchas, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Turquesas, quieren decir turquesas de las dificiles . . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy tersida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que crían en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, cuando vuelan hujen de espaldas, deslizándose cuando las tiende al aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 143.

100. "*El tecuani que tiene en la cabeza esta ave (quetzaltotoal) es muy hermosa y resplandeciente, llámase a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; es precioso esto plumas y llámanle tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by this name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene crecidas en el pecho y en las cabezas y debajo de las alas son la cabeza primera y la cabeza verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tzoquechol* (*quexan* and *quechol*) or *precioso quechol*. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 493). Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 37n., gives *Platalea Ajaja* rosea L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtotoal* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*graja*) (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga ginetta* S. Cornelius (ibid., p. 494). Clark (loc. cit.) gives *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.

103. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) revuelven el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llamas de fuego y como oro, crianza en Anáhuac.*"

X796 [535] the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *netecujtotilizzli*, which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl*, which is pine resin. Etc.

[304 291 825 314]

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnjdad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecujtotilizzli, quiere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciesse començauã a agujerar las orejas a los njños y njñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc.

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal feathers; and in these [the children][14] were kept.

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vecã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic caoanquj.

Jnic excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj çatca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjubquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa quiujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miqujia nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaouio: in chalchiuhconquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaxolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin mauizçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçetlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

[6] Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*es este sierro conjunto que esta sobre del Tlaxpanco*."

[7] Tlapaltic, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *amarillo* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *leonado* (lion colored, tawny) for *yiapalli*. For *papaltic*, Seler (op. cit., p. 56) has *grisáceo*; Molina (op. cit.), *color ceniciento de negro*; Simeon (op. cit.), brown or black.

[8] The Spanish text explains: "*es este sierro conjunto que esta sobre grandolejo*."

[9] *Loc. cit.*: "*es aquel monteçillo, que esta derrire dicho lugarito, frente del chalchico*."

[10] *Loc. cit.*: "*es un monte, que esta en los arenjuez de Ixtacalco, y alli esta sepultado*."

[11] *Loc. cit.*: "*es un monte que esta sobre chalco arriba*."

[12] Seler (op. cit., p. 57) reads *yamatlatzon*, which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Feiner*.

[13] Sahagún (loc. cit.) says "*pusiaban unos alas de papel como angeles*."

[14] [illegible]

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat clipper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *magney* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *magney* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Vilos, onnevtemalo, tlapizalotiuh, quijpizttiuj, in tecciztli, cohcouiloc chililiti. [776 X 534]

Auh in muchintin tlamacazque, qujmamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan qujniacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiquijpil. [276]

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, quijquechpanotiuh, aiochicaoazzli, no itoca naoalquauijtl, patlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlazztic, yoan cacalaca, qujcacalatzziuh [789]

aocac ce onmocaoã calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachotoque; quijpizztoque in quijqujztli, quijqujçotoque. [534]

Auh yn oncito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn aiauhcalli, njman ie ic neteteco, netlalilo, tlaztiztilca, tlaviujioca, tlacnecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo: [823]

in ie iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in vene itoca chalchiuhquaquijlli: qujtoa. [793]

Coatl ycomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ie ic onnetepenalon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, atlacxiuiztectinemj, tzatzitinemj, ycaocatinemj, qujntlaichecalhuja yn inqujchtin totome: [798]

cequj cannuhtlatoa, tlacacozuja, ceq'ntin qujntlaichecalhuja, in pihpitzti, pipiztlatoa: cequjntin qujntlaichecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin aztatlatoa, cequjntin xuoquentlatoa, cequjn tecujlotiotlatoa: [825]

yn vncan mahtizia yn, tlaccpantla manca in cuec-

10. CARRÁ: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (México: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21: *sonajas; sonajas (sand)(?).*

11. "*Todos llevaban a cuestas, como adoquiera andan con sus cordelejos de ixtli, con sus bolsas al cuello; y de cada cordejuelo, como cinta de papel pintada, estaba con las diversas tinturas, que llamaban piquetzalli; y en aquellas tinturas llevaban sus cuentas de hueso, hechas a la manera de cuentas de rosario, que eran floreadas pequeñas, que son diferentemente con tinta, y con polvos de una yerba que eran floreada yiel, que se usaba hablar de cuentas*" (corresponding Spanish text).

Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: "*Amapal: small cane, pipe tobacco.* The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the *yiel* or Nicotiana rustica; Bdd.; the *quauhyiel*; *quauhtlo tocoxuitl*, *yiel tobacco*, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and *piciietl*; *piciitic xuitl*, *yiel tobacco*, or Nicotiana tabacum L., which either as snuff or chewed in pellets called *popoxalli*; *yiel tobacco*, *quauhyiel*, *yiel*, or smoked in cigars or pipes; *pocatl xuitl*, *yiel tobacco*. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *xochicuauhtl*, aromatic herbs, and charcoal." Cf. also ibid., Vol. II, p. 136.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. 6, § 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Bolaños ed., Vol. III, pp. 169-91. Sahagún defines them respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; blue; American egret or heron; kingfisher (*amquam* or *amquamatl*); and sandhill crane (*Mexico Explorer*, p. 118, cuts 3-7). [136]

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

Inic nauí Capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

The Comet

It was said [to be] an omen for the ruler. Because of it a ruler was to perish; perchance some person of noble lineage would die. And likewise they said that somewhere he might be imprisoned, or war would begin. Or else there would be famine. The common folk said: "Perhaps this is our hunger; perchance famine," they said.

Citlalin popoca.

Mitoa: tlatocatetzauitl, ic tlatocamicoaz, aço aca uey tlaçopilli ie mjquiz: yoan no quitoaia, aço cana ie oalmotzacoaz, aço ie olinjz teuatl tlachinolli: yoan anoço ie maianaloz. Quitoaia in maceoalti: aço tapiz hi, aço apiztli quitoa. 821 787

The Shooting Star

It was said that the passing of a shooting star rose and fell neither without purpose nor in vain. It brought a worm to something. And of [the animal] wounded by a shooting star, they said: "It hath been wounded by a shooting star; it hath received a worm." [Such] was not to be eaten. It was looked at with fear, abhorred, and shunned. It turned one's stomach.

Citlalin tlamina.

Mitoa: amo nenquiça, amo nĕuetzi, in itlamjnaliz: tlaocuilloia. Auh in tlamintli, mitoa: citlalmjnqui, ocuillo, aocmo qualo, mauhcaitto, tlaelitto, hihielo, tetlaieltia. 821 825 262

And by night all were well protected. All covered themselves; they clothed themselves, wrapped themselves in mantles, and bound on their garments, for fear of the shooting star.

Auh in iocaltica vel nemalhuilo, neololoto, netlapacholo, nequentilo, netlalpililo: imacazo in itlaminaliz citlalin. 821

The S-Shaped Stars

[These] were apart; they appeared by themselves, shining and shimmering. And for this reason were they called *S*-shaped stars—that they were similar to and very much like a [kind of maize] tortilla which was made, or an amaranth seed tortilla. [These] were, at both ends, twisted and rounded over. They were eaten on the day Xochitl, everywhere, in each house. In all places, in men's dwellings everywhere, they were made.

Citlalnenecuilli.

Çan iioca eoac, iioca neztoc, tlanestitoc, cuecuepocatoc: Auh inic mitoa, citlalnenecuilli: ca quinenecuilia, vel no iuhqui centlamantli tlachichioalli tlacalli, anoço tzocalli: nenecoc, cecentlapal quacoltic, quatcuilacachtic: nuchilhuitl ipan in quaqualoia, nouiian cecencalpan: quitzacutimanca, in nouiian techachan nechtililoia. 821 262

The Scorpion Stars

In the same manner, [these] resembled and appeared in the aspect of the venomous scorpion, with upcurved tail. Arched and upcurled is its tail; wherefore [these] are called the Scorpion Stars.

Citlalcolotl.

Çan no iuhqui: quinenecuilia, quinamiqui, in itlachicliz tequani colotl: cuitlapilcocoltic, mamalacachtic, tetecuilacachtic in jcuitlapil: ipampa inic mitoa citlalcolotl. 821

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

127 Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), who came to Mexico in 1529. It is unfortunate that there is still no complete edition of this work in a European language. The Spanish version, written by the author toward the end of his life, was not published until the early 19th century, and is in part a condensation of the Nahuatl work written about 1547. This is particularly true of Book Eleven, which contains most of the natural history, and has therefore attracted less attention from scholars than the books dealing with ceremonies and the calendar. The edition by Anderson and Dibble (1950–54), which gives Nahuatl and English in parallel columns, has not yet reached Book Eleven, so we must rely on the 1938 Robredo edition of the Spanish text, while the illustrations
127 are to be found in the Madrid edition of 1905–07. Sahagún's vertebrate
136 zoology has recently received careful treatment at the hands of Martin del Campo (1938, 1940, 1941). Some of the flavor of his ornithology can be given by "listening to the mockingbird" (actually the curved-bill thrasher, *Toxostoma curvirostre)* when he sings in Nahuatl:

"There is a bird in this country called *cuitlacochtótotl* or *cuitlacochin;* it has longish and slender feet, and a thin and sharp beak, somewhat
[825] curved; it is of a muddy color, tending toward purplish; it sings very well; it is so called by reason of its song, which says *cuitlacoch, cuitlacoch, taratitarat, tatatati, etc.*" (Robredo edition, vol. 3, p. 189).

127 Sahagún's botany will not be discussed here, since it appears not to bear significantly on limnology. It is treated from the medical point of view by Alcocer (1938) in an appendix to the Robredo edition. Aztec medical botany, however, is much more thoroughly covered in Emmart's magnificent edition (1940) of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal of 1552, and in a memoir by Paso y Troncoso (1886), while Sahagún's general botany is competently treated by Rivera (1941).

A general impression of Sahagún's work is that it is the achievement of a man who knew no natural history when he came from Spain, but whose consuming passion for all things Mexican drove him to learn and record all he could from native informants. If so, we are entitled to read between the lines an enormous amount of information that was not recorded. It is of course no new discovery that "primitive" people are very skilful naturalists. Raymond Paynter informs me that more kinds of Yucatecan birds are named in modern Maya than in Latin, and ethnographers have repeatedly found natives to be better naturalists than themselves. This does not diminish the fact that the lacustrine flora and fauna were exceedingly well known to the Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico, many of whom spent most of their lives in canoes and depended on limnologic knowledge for their livelihood. And, though the available sources emphasize the economic basis of this knowledge, so that "comenlos"—"they eat them"—is a monotonous refrain in

X 787
776 Tezcatlipoca; he only went withdrawing rule and power from others.

X 787 And of him who was born on the day sign One Death it was said that he would prosper and be rich, whether a nobleman or only a poor vassal. Many were his gifts. Honor came his way and rested on him when he performed well his penances and humbled himself. But if he did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign.

Auh in aqujn ipã tlacatia itonal ce mjqujztli: mjtoaia mocujltonoz, motlamachtiz, intla pilli, anoço çan maceoaltzintli, muchi inemactia, itech açia, itech pachivia, in maviçotl: iquac in tlauellamaceoa, mocnomati: auh intlacamo uellamaceoa, ca çan yneujian conmocaujlia, qujmjtlacalhuja yn jtonal.

X 787 If, at this time, someone were born, then they bathed him and gave him a name. Small children
553 performed the naming ceremony.[1] If a boy had been born, they therefore called forth [as his name] Mi-
851 quiz, or Yaotl, Cenyaotl, Necoc yaotl, Chicoyaotl, or Yaomauitl. So they placed on him a name of Tezcatlipoca. Of this one it was said: "None may wish him harm: none may wish him to die." If anyone should wish or desire his death, he would simply sicken and suddenly die.

yn jquac, y, tla aca otlacat, njman caltiaia, qujtocamaca, qujxicvenquaqualia in pipiltotonti, intla oqujchtli otlacat, ic qujnotza mjqujz, anoço iaotl, ceniaotl, necoc iaotl, chicoiaotl, iaomavitl, ic qujtocamamaia in Tezcatlipuca: injn mjtoaia, aiac vel qujcocoliz, aiac vel qujmjquitlanjz, intla aca qujmjqujtlanj, qujmjqujztemachti çan iẽ in moçocolia onmjctiuetzi.

567 At this time it was the day sign of the slaves, the wretched slaves, whose dwelling places were by the hones for sharpening and the grinding stones. None of the slave-owners could scold them, or abuse them with vile words, or call angrily or indignantly to them when they learned that the morrow would be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. They then, first, took from them, struck off, and removed from them the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee. Then they soaped them and bathed them, and made much of and flattered them. They showed them great esteem, because, so they thought, they were his likenesses and representatives:[2] his beloved
●[825] sons. It was said that they were like the blue cotingas, the trupials, the precious birds of Tezcatlipoca. And those who owned slaves warned and on threat of death* ordered their children, youths, and growing sons, commanding them sternly and rigorously, not to chide, deal vainly with, nor strike the slaves.

Auh in jquac in catca ipan tonalli: in tlatlacoti, in tlatlacotzitzinti, in teatexatitlan, temetlatitlan innemjan: aiac vel qujmaoaia, aiac vel qujntenquanviaia, qujntlauelnotzaia, qujnqualancanotzaia, in tlacaoaque, in oqujmatque, ca muztla itonalpan iez in Tezcatlipuca: njman achto qujntomaia, qujtequjlia, qujntlaxilia in quauhcozcatl, in coliuhquj, injc pieloia, inic ilpitinenca, injc amo cholozque: njman ic qujmamoviaia, qujmaltiaia, cenca qujntlaçotlaia, qujnxoxocoiomatia, vel qujnmavizmatia, ipampa iuh qujmatia, ca ixiptlaoa, ipatilloua, ytlaçopilhoan, mjtoa iuhqujn iquecholhoan, içaquantotoua, itlaçototoan in Tezcatlipuca: auh in tlacaoaque, vel qujnnemachtiaia, qujnmjqujznaoatiaia, qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, qujntepitznaoatiaiaia, in impilhoan, in jntlazcaltilhoan, yn intlaoapaoalhoan: injc amo qujmaozque qujncuecuenochichioazque, anoço qujnvitequjzque in tlacaoã:

1. Of this ceremony, the Spanish text reads: *"combidauan a los nijños, y les dauan de comer: para q̃ empiezen el nombre, del que auia nacido: y le diesẽ nombre a hoze, por los calles."* Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), p. 315, translates an explanatory passage from the *Academia de la Historia MS*: *niman ye ic quimoxtauia in cuecuechpiltotonti in iquac onallaquac niman ye ic quimomaca in iuiztero onalaoaz[a] in ilcin yeuan auh quinilhuia in ajo yuan amoço nitzitl auh niman ye ic tzontzitzi quikoua zuaihuia tzcuiaoz zizicuecuequaqua i yuan yquac quicaqtzitzilia in iuqu inic ocochi daual ic quimotzac — dzen rufi ye dic Knabes. Nachdem sie gekommen sind, gibt er ihnen die Nabelschnur-Opferpfahl und fragt (die Angekommenen), wie er heisst, und er nennt ihnen (die Namen) Yaotl oder Uitzitl (Krieger oder Kolibri). Und darnach fangen sie an zu schreien und sprechen: "Kommt her, Freunde, das Nabelschnurpfahl Yaotl ausen." Dann nachdem sie seinen Namen (der Kinder), mit dem alle er nannten rufen.*

2. See *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 203v.

3. (*Inyenpiteuanaiaiaia*: the term so appears in the Nahuatl column.

34

1 [i.e., One Death.—Analyst]

X 787 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the tenth
776 sign, called One Flint Knife. And it was said that it was of good fortune, and claimed that those then born were brave and became seasoned warriors. And it was said that the women then born were forceful; they were able in all things and made their goods very well. And it was said to be the day sign of Uitzilopochtli, to whom it was dedicated. His domain was war. It was said also to be the day sign of Camaxtli. And when this sign began, they observed the feast [of Uitzilopochtli]. And it was said that all the day signs were good—[all] thirteen.

Injc cempoualli eos capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl machiotl, in jtoca ce tecpatl: ioan quijl qualli in jtonallo, auh quijl in aquijque vncan tlacatia chicaoaque catca, ioan tequjoacatia: auh quijl in cioa vncan tlacatia oqujchiolloque catca, muchi in veli catca, cenca uel qujoeztiaia in jatlatquj: auh quijl itonal catca in Vitzilopuchtli, in jtech pouhquj catca, in jtequjuh catca iiauiotl, quijl no itonal in Camaxtle: auh in jquac vmpeoaia injn machiotl, quijlhujquijztiliaia, auh quijl muchi qualli catca in jtequjlhujtl, matlaqujlhujtl vmei.

776 One Flint Knife set in. On this One Flint Knife,
782 when it tarried for a day, they then made offerings to Uitzilopochtli, whose day sign it was, and to Camaxtli, god of the Uexotzinca.

Moquetza ce tecpatl: inin ce tecpatl, in jquac tlacemilhujtitiaia, vncan quijtonaltiaia, ytonalpan catca in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan in camaxtle, vexotzinca intouh,

776 Thus it is said they made offerings and paid great
782 honor [to Uitzilopochtli] there at his temple, in his tribal district, at the place whose name was Tlacatecco. There was his image guarded, and all his
776 array. They had it all spread out before him and laid in the sun; they offered incense and presented him[1] what were called the quetzal feather cape, the blue cotinga feather cape, the red spoonbill feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the hum-
● [825] ming bird feather cape.[2] But only after them came lost the no longer very precious feathers, like the white heron feather cape or the reed thrush feather cape.[3] Severally they laid all of them down, offered them separately, arranged them in rows, placed them in order, etc.

injc mjtoa: quijtonaltiaia, cenca quimaviztiliaia, in vncan iezpan icalpulco in jtocaiocan catca tlacatecco, vncan pickoia in jxiptla in jxqujch itlatquj, much ixpan quijtequjlitaia, quijtotonjaia, quijtenamaqujlitaia quijtlacotonjitaia, in motencoa quetzalquemjtl, xiuhtotoquemjtl, tlauhquecholquemjtl, tonquemjtl, vitzitzilquemjtl, auh ça quijtoqujlia, quijtzacuja, in aocmo cenca tlaçiviztl, in iuhquj aztaquemjtl, tzanaquemjtl: muchi nononqua quijtecaia, quijtlatlamantilia, quijtzecuentilia, quijvivipana. Er.

And all these precious capes, when they spread them out, remained there a day. By doing this, it
782 was said, they sunned them for Uitzilopochtli. And there offerings were made; there they laid out all the gifts, called fast foods. And all the good, prepared

auh much ie in tlaçotilmatli ipan quijtecaia, vncan cemjlhujtia: iehoatl injc mjtoa quijtlacotonjlia in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan vncan tlamanakoia, vncan quijtecaia in jxqujch ventli, in motencoa tlacatlaqualli: ioan in jxqujch iectli, in tlachichiualli tlaqualli, in

1. [illegible] literally could mean "they beheaded quail for him."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] quetzalquemitl, que quiere decir: capa de quetzales verdes, y resplandecientes; otra de flamencos colorados, que quiere decir: capa de plumas rosadas, y resplandecientes; otra de flamencos amarillos, que quiere decir: capa de plumas amarillas, y resplandecientes; otra de flamencos colorados, que quiere decir: capa hecha de plumas resplandecientes de colorados."

3. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 233. In ibid., p. 160, n. 2, it is indicated.

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Second Chapter, in which is related the evil omen which they regarded in two ways: so it was when they heard that the white hooded hawk[1] cried out; and what the merchants did when somewhere on the road such befell them; perhaps it cried out at them.

Ic ome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in çan necoc tlachiaia: in juhquj catca, in jquac quj-caquja, in tzatzia oactli: ioan in tlein qujchioaia, puchteca in jquac cana iuhquj vtlica, in jnpan mu-chioaia in anoço inpan tzatzia.

Likewise they considered it an omen of evil when the white hooded hawk screeched at someone. As they said, it spoke in two [ways], sometimes good and sometimes bad.

No ioan, qujtetzammatia: in jq̃c aca ipan vevetzca, oactli: in juh conjtoa, vme vitz qujtoa: in quenman qualli, quenman amo qualli.

When it displayed good, then they heard its words which it said as it screamed: "A good time! A good time!" When this was the case, none were frightened; the travelers were in no way terrified by it. Rather, they rejoiced. It was as if their hearts were gladdened, because perhaps they would come upon something pleasing; perchance in something they would be favored; they would attain something beneficial.

In jq̃c qualli qujnextia, ic qujcaquj in jtlatol injc vevetzca qujtoa: ieccan, ieccan, in jquac, yn, amo netemmacho: atle ic momaubtia, in nenenque: çan ie papaquj: iuhqujn acovetzi in iniollo: ipampa, aço itla qualtzin, in jpan ie oniazque: aço itla ipan mo-povatiuj: itla qualli, qujcnopilujzque.

But when they heard that it laughed too long, in a high pitch, — as if its bosom and side were in pain; or as if it screamed swollen with joy, [then], as if they were sick and frozen, none spoke aloud. They went with heads hanging, with necks loose. No longer [was there] control. Because of this they felt that perhaps something woeful would now betide them; they would come upon something perilous. Either some one of them would die; or sickness would come or somewhere they would be ambushed. This befell them when, perhaps, [they were] somewhere among the mountains, in a gorge, in the midst of the desert,[2] in the middle of the woods, in a thicket, within and among the trees. And if it were merchants, vanguard merchants, wayfarers, whom it befell that at them the white hooded hawk laughed, they said that perhaps now they should come upon something, or their goods would be carried away by the water, or some evil men, thieves

Auh in ie oqujcacque, in juhquj ommjmjctoc, ic vetzca, tlatlapitzaoa: in juhquj, ixillan, ijomotlan, onquaquauhti: in juhquj, mocacanaoa, paquj, ve-vetzca: iuhqujn ontlanavi, iuhqujn ocevetzi, aocac naoati: ça tlaoliuj, ça tlaquechpeliuj, aiocmo tenaoa-tili: ic qujmatia, aço itla ovi, inpan ie ommuchioaz: itla ouj, ie commonamjctizque: anoço ome aca ie mjquja: aço ie vitz cocolistli, anoço cana inpan, ie oalmotzaquaz. In jnpan mochioa, yn, aço cana tepe-tzalan, atlauhitic, ixtlaoztl itic, quauhnepantla, quauhioacatla, quauhitic, quaujtl itic: auh intla puchteca, oztomeca, nenemjnj: iuhquj inpan omo-chiuh, in jnpan ovevetzcac oactli: qujtoaia. Aço, ie itla, commonamjctizque: aço ie ontlaaftctizque: anoço ie acame, tlaveliloque, inmac ie ommaqujzque, ichtecque, tetlaçnjcujlique, tetlatlaçaltique, tetlana-moelique, inmac ie ontlatlaçazque, qujntlacujcujliz-que, qujntlacencujliztque, qujntlatlaçaltizque, qujn-tlanamoelizque: anoço cana ome, ie onquauhemoe-

1. Cf. Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis G. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. IV, p. 48; he comments that the bird was thought an evil omen to traveling merchants.

2. Probably idiomatic. More literally, *ome ohtli quipiac* could be rendered "in two ways opens what it said."

3. *Quauhnepantla.* Alonso de Molina, in *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), translates the term as either woods or desert.

X 787 who had escaped from their hands, who pilfered, plundered, and robbed, would now wrest goods
●825 from their hands, and plunder, strip, sack, and rob them. Or somewhere, some of them might now
484 faint and collapse, to be cast aside. Or they would be eaten by wild animals — the fare of brutes; they would become the game of wild beasts. Or somewhere they would be encircled by, and encounter, war.

tzinque, ie onvetzinque, ie onmomaisujzque: noce, ie ontequancoalonque, tequiltlaqualtin, tequanjme intlaqualhoan, ie ommuchioanque: anoçe, cana inpan ie oalmotzaquaz iaoiotl: ie conmonamjctiinque.

X 787 When this was so, he who was leader, who went commissioned leader, who proceeded as principal
484 there along the road, then began to encourage them. He greeted his younger brethren with tears, his charges who were being taught. Along the way he instructed them and said to them:

In jquac yn, in aqujn tachcauh, in tachcauhchiuhtiuh, in tachcauh icatiuh vtlipan, vncan peoa, in qujmelaquaoa, in qujochoqujztlapaloa, iteiccaoan, itlahoapavalvan: in vtli ipan qujmixtlamachtia, qujmjlvia.

"Be of good cheer, O my sons, O my younger brothers. Of what profit is it that we are afflicted? Let no one be sad or heavy of heart. In truth for this we came: we came to die; so went our hearts heavy and foreboding. Thus we went from and left our homes and the houses of others:[4] our aunts, our uncles, our nephews, our elder sisters. For this reason they shed tears for us; they poured out upon us their weeping, their sorrow, that perhaps here, somewhere, on the desert, on the plains, in the gorge, in the forest, in various places will lie scattered our bones and our hair; in many places our blood, our redness, will spread, poured out and slippery. For in truth this hath been our reward. Let no one feel womanish in heart. Yield completely to death; pray to our lord. Let none think of or brood over [our condition]; for only later shall we know of whatsoever things[5] we may strike against. Then, in the end, we may weep for ourselves.

Ximellaquauacan, nopilhoane, noteiccaoane, quennel titotolinja: macaiac tlaocuja, nentlamati in jiollo, ca nel ic tioallaque, in timjqujco: ca iuh oalietia, iuh qujoalmattia in toiollo: injc ticoalalcaujque, tiquallalotique in tonca, in teca: in tauj, in totla, in tomach, in touehtiuh: ca ie injc techchoqujli, injc topan qujpizo, in ichoqujz, in jtlaocul: aço cana njcan, ixtlahoatl, atlauhtli itic, quavitl itic, cecemmanoz in tomjo: in tetzon, nonoqujuhtoz, aalacatoz in tezço, in totlapallo: ca nel otomacoaltic, ma caiac qujciotlamachti in ijollo: xicmotlaquammacacan in mjqujztli, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo: ma caiac tle itic qujnemjti, qujlnamjquj: ma ça qujn jc ticmatizque, in çaço tle itech titotzotzonativi: vncan ic cemmaian, tontochochoqujlizque:

""For truly, this is how we come giving honor[6] and luster to our lords, the merchants who lead, raising them to glory and lifting high their heads. Ere now they have gone knowing and marveling at such things. We are not then the first to discover and behold what will befall us. Strengthen your hearts, O my sons!"

ca nel iehoatl injc tiquinteiotico, tiqujmjtauhcaiotico, tiqujntonaleoaco, tiqujntzontzoonacocujco intotechiuhcaoan, in puchteca, in jiaque: ca ieppa iuh quimattivi, iuh qujmauiçotiuj, camo qujn tehoan iancujcan ie tuconnextizque, ie toconjttazque, in tlein topan muchioaz: ximellaquaoacan, nopilhoane.

X 787 And if somewhere night fell, they gathered,
484 joined, crowded, and assembled themselves some-
782 where at the foot of a tree or the opening of a gorge,

Auh intla cana oimpan ioac, cana quaujtl izintlan, anoço atlauhcamac, ommololoa, ommoccmololoa, ommotepeuhtitlalia, monechicoa, qujcujtlalpia, quj-

4. Probably *nenoz* and *neoz* are to read *tenoz* and *teoz*. In Bernardino de Sahagún, "Memoriales en 3 columnas," *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905), Vol. VII, p. 390, the phrase is *ya tuoz, ya nooz*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando perdieron de nosotros amos.*"

5. "Memoriales en 3 columnas," p. 391, *ellos de poco dia, nuevo acontecimiento, de poco dia.*

6. In *loc. cit.*, it is *significación.*

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Fourth Chapter, in which is told the omen taken as a portent when the horned owl[1] hooted.

Likewise all took it as an omen and an augury, and it was considered a portent, when the horned owl hooted, when perchance on someone's roof terrace or on his roof top, or up in his tree, it was hooting when they heard it, and it was saying, "Tecolo-o-o! Tecolo-o-o!"[2] In this wise it sounded when it hooted.

They said that when it was heard, it signified death or sickness; it was an omen of death. He who heard it would perhaps die, or beg, or be slothful; he would die in bondage or in war; or one of his sons would die; or his slave would flee. Perhaps now his house would be destroyed, his land would shrink; water would continually appear; weeds would cover at the gateway or the courtyard; the walls would lie crumbled, in ruins—lie devastated. There all would answer the calls of nature—would urinate and defecate—and rubbish would be cast. Salts would lie evaporated; the earth would lie smoldering.

Then it would be said, so that all might marvel: "Once, in this place, here, was the house of one who came commanding reverence. Here came a householder enjoying fame;[3] there was always honor, and [the house] was swept clean. At least the rubbish was cast aside somewhere. And none might urinate on his walls, [or] he would chide him.

"But now in his very place only the walls remain standing."[4]

Ic nauj capítulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl injc motettzaujaia, in jquac tecolutl chocaia.

No yoan netettzaujloia, tlatettzaujaia, tetzammachoia, in tecolutl choca: in jquac tla aca ythpantenco, anoço ixacaticpac, iquauhticpac chocatica: in qujcaquj qujtoica: Tecolo, o, o, tecolo o o, yvin in caqujxti, in choca.

Qujtoa in jquac in cacoia, qujnextia mjqujztli: cocolíztli, mjqujztetzaujtl: in aquja oqujcac aço ie mjqujz: aço tlaciujti, aço tlatlatziujti tlalmjqujz, anoço iaomjqujz, anoce aca ce ipiltzin ie mjquiz, anoço itlacauh ie cholez, aço ie tlalpoliujz in ychan, tlalli cansoaz, atl nenecis, acaestimanjz in qujncetl, in jthoalli, tepantli xiximiztoz, tlauiujtoaz, tlauetsloetoz, vncan nezixaloz, nezixaloz, nemanaujloz, tlaçollaztz, tequjxq'tl comoztz, tlalli ipotocatoz:

iquac itoloz injc tlamaujçoloz: ie iuhcan ocatca in, ichan in vncan ontlamatmuahtico: in vncan omatetiotico chane: zauchipa ottlamavizmamanca, otlatetzaliuhtimanca: ma ezl cana ce tlaçolli ovetztoca: auh in jcalitch aiac vel omazixaia, tzaualo:

auh yn azcan ie ça iuhcan, ça tepantli iouatoc.

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1. *Tecolotl*. According to Siler, op. cit., Vol. I, Pt. 3, p. 14, it is a horned owl or eagle owl. In Vol. IV, p. 48, he refers to it as a large owl "associated with darkness, night, and disastrous influences at night." Francisco F. Santamaría, in *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. III, p. 147, identifies it with the *barbuano* (see, however, Chapter 5, n. 1, *infra*).

2. Garibay, op. cit., p. 209, n. 6, referring to the reproduction, "Cuando el tecolotl canta, el indio muere," translates "Tecolo-o-o!" as "Perjudica a alguno." He identifies the bird as *Bubo virginianus* L. (*Indio de Jardín*).

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "En este lugar había una persona de mucha estima, y reverencia, y honrabilidad."

4. In ibid., this is rendered: "En este mismo, el que aquí está mismo, del barrio. Luego cuando el que [illegible] estaba aquí mismo, para que le dirasen, lo que sucede de fuera."

[p. 162 is blank]

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Fifth Chapter, in which is told what was the omen of the screech owl.[1]

Likewise all held and regarded the screech owl[2] as an omen, when it screeched from the front of someone's roof terrace, and went screaming.

They said: so, therefore, they thought that now someone would die; now some of the householders would die; now some would sicken. And if now twice or thrice it passed screeching, in the very same place, the front of the roof terrace or upon the house, so much were they frightened and filled with dread, that verily they believed that because of this, [misfortune] would not miss its mark — that in truth it would come to pass as the screech owl screeched at them.

Likewise, if someone were already sick when it let out a scream at him, they said that now he would not issue forth; now we would take our leave of him.[3]

For they said this: it was thought that this screech owl was the messenger, the envoy, of Mictlan tecutli and of Mictecacioatl. It knew the land of the dead. Hence [the gods of the underworld] named it "seasoned warrior"; because it was the one who called and summoned people for Mictlan tecutli and Mictecacioatl.

And when they heard it screech and rasp its claws,[4] then the men chid it and said to it: "Go quietly, O knave, thou with the big eyes sunk deep! Thou hast lain with thy mother!" And the women said to it, and thus chid it: "Vanish quietly, O sodomite! Hast thou perchance made a hole in the hair, with which I may drink [in the land of the dead]?[5] For not until then shall I go!"

When thus they had chidden it, it was thought that thus all were made secure. Thus they hindered, reversed, and headed off its warning, so that what he screeched at them would not befall them.

Ic macujlli capítulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in jtechpa chiquatli.

No yuan netetzaujlloia, tetzaujttoia, in chiquatli: anoço chichtli yn jquac aca, itlapanjzquaç tzatzi: tzatzitiquijça,

in quijtoa: cuel, ic qujnelttocaia, ca ie aca mjquijz: ic ceme mjquijzque in chaneque: ie ceme cocolizcujzque. Auh intla ie oppa, ie expa tzatzitiquijça: in çan ie vncan, in tlapanjzquac, anoço in calipan, ic cenca momaubtia, motemmati: vel ic qujnelttocaia, ca amo çan tlaneoa: ca vel neltiz, injc inpan otzatzic chiquatli.

No ioan, intla ie aca mococoa, in jpan tzatzitiquijça, quijtoaia ca aiocmo quijçaz: ca ticcaoazque.

Ipampa iuh quijtoaia, quijlmach, in itheoatl chiquatli: intitlan, intlaioal, in mjctlan tecutli: yoan mjctecacioatl: omonat in mjctlan, ic qujtocaiotiaia, iaotequjoa: ipampa ca intecancauh, intenotzcauh, in mjctlan tecutli: ioan mjctecacioatl.

Auh in jquac, qujcaquja tzatzi: ioan in mozticacalatza njman conaoa, conjluja in toqujch: ma xitlamattiuh nocne, tixtecocoiocpul: monan ticieco. Auh in cihoa conjluja, injc caoa: ma xitlamatpolotiuh, cujlonpul: cuix oticcrosonj in tzontli ic natlitiaz: ca iamo cuel in njiaz.

Injc iuh conaoa in, quijlmach iuhquijn ic onepatilo, ic quelelttia, ic quijlochtia, ic quijacatzacuilia, in itenotzalia: injc amo inpan neltiz, ic qujntzatzilia.

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1. Seler, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 52, says that the chiquatli is a smaller owl, the screech owl. Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 494, says of chiamate that it is "*ave de mal agüero de un ave de la clase de las lechuzas, llamada también lechuza tecuan y chiamatl* (Ipuetyon *centzontlatoa huyquan Hidgar.*)."

2. *Chiquatli* and *chichtli* are interchangeable terms. See corresponding Spanish text and Molina, op. cit.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*luego le presentaban la cuenta.*"

4. *Ibid.*: "*arañaba con las uñas.*"

5. *Ibid.*: "*no que tengo de hacer ello en el infierno.*"

[p. 164 is blank]

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Sixth Chapter, in which is told what the omen was, so that they took it as a portent, when someone saw a weasel which crossed in front of him.

Likewise all regarded the weasel[1] as an omen when it entered someone's house or else he came upon it on the road and it crossed over in front of him and appeared before him.

They said that now perhaps he would meet an affliction; perchance something would spring upon him. He would not arrive where he planned to go. Perhaps he would fall into the hands of some men who would slay him; or now words would be raised against him. Maybe now someone would make a declaration about him, adding lies and inventing things about him.[2]

And when it was seen, all shuddered with fright, were terror-struck, stunned; their flesh crept.[3] — We became numbed and quivered; our hair stood on end. It brought one woe and affliction.

And thus, in this manner, was it marked: with a large, varicolored, yellowish belly. And when it spoke, it squeaked, as if one whistled through one's fingers. "Tocuilesa," "Tocuilechua."[4] And also "seasoned warrior" did they name it.

Ic chiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtos: in tetzaujtl catca, injc motetzaujaia: in jquac aca qujttaia, coçamatl in teixpan tlaujltequja.

No ioan netetzaujloia in coçamatl, anoço coçtli: in jquac aca ichan calaquja: anoço vtlica, cana qujnamjquj: qujiacaujltequj, ixpan tlaxtlapaka:

qujtoaia, aço ie itla conmonamjctiz tetolinj: aço ie itla ipan cocholoa, amo vel iaz in campa iaznequj: aço acame inmac vetzitiuh, qujmjctizque: anoço ie tlatolli, itech oncoa: aço ie aca, tlatolli conocaltiz: contlatollaqujliz, contlatolchichiujliz.

Auh in jquac itto, netlacmauhtilo: necujtiuecho, cecepoca, cnecuecioca, in tenacaio, ticecepoca, ticuecuecioca, tiquacecepoca, titocujtivetzi: tetequjpachoa, teiollitlacoa.

Auh in jubqui, ic muchichiuh: yxtecujcujlpul cottic: auh injc tlatoa pipitzca, iuhqujn mapipitzoa: tocujlcoa tocujlechoa: no iacatequjoa qujocaiotiaia.

1. *Coyametl* and *coyotli* are [illegible] terms; see Molina, *op. cit.*, *coyotli*.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Se mejor de hacerse algún acontecimiento.*"
3. *Ibid.*: "*se les espantaron los cabellos, algunos se pusieron pertusos, o pasmados.*"
4. Jens, *op. cit.*, p. 383, suggests that these terms may be the title of a ruler of the dead, like the rank and priestly terms mentioned. See, however, Andrés de Olmos: *Commentaire de la langue nahuatl* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 232.

[p. 166 is blank]

A787 ●825 **Seventh Chapter,** in which is told the omen so taken as a portent concerning the rabbit when they saw that now it entered one's house.

Likewise all regarded as an omen the rabbit when it entered someone's house. The field workers, the people of the maize fields, said that now his house would be laid waste. Or else now someone would flee [from it]: he would follow the trail of the rabbit, or of the deer. Now he would be a rabbit or a deer; he would turn into a rabbit or a deer.[1]

Thus was marked the rabbit—with very long ears,[2] a blunt, very blunt snout, a white breast, and very much shortened tail.

Ic chiecome capítulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl injc motetzauja, in jtechpa tochin: in jquac qujttaia in je vncalaquj ichan.

No ioan, netetzaujloia in tochin: in jquac aca ichan calaquja, qujtoa in mjllaca, in mjlpan tlaca: ie tlalpoliujz in jchan. Anoço ie aca cholox, ie contocaz in tochtli, in maçatl ivuj: ie tochtiz, ie maçatiz, ie motochtiliz, ie momaçatiliz.

Injc muchichiuh tochin, nacazpapatlactic, tentipontic, tenteteponti, elistac: ioan çan cujtlapilitepontic.

1. Cf. Molina, op. cit. (rochelle): "[illegible]"
2. If from [illegible], to longhorn; an alternative is papatlaca, to quince.

[p. 168 is blank]

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Eighth Chapter, in which is told the omen which all took as a portent when they saw the chafer.[1]

Likewise all regarded as an omen the chafer, [which was] like a bright, brilliant red spider.

When it entered someone's house, and he saw it, or he intercepted it on the road, they said: "Now cometh sickness"; or, "Now we will meet some [evil]." Perhaps now someone would chide him — something would shame him.

And when it was seen in one's house, he who saw it forthwith seized it. He traced lines on the ground in the four directions: he made marks on the ground which he caused to take the form of a cross. And in the middle, at its center, he placed [the chafer] and there spat upon it.[2]

Thereupon he exhorted it; he said to it: "Wherefore didst thou come? Let me see, [that] I may hasten to marvel at it!"[3] Then he placed himself facing and looked toward the direction in which it would proceed.

If now it went northward, thus he who looked knew that soon he was to die. But if it did not go toward there, thereby he knew that perchance it meant something [else] perhaps of no great consequence.[4]

He who was shown the omen said: "Let it do [what it will]; let the little insect be aspersed! Shall we none the less be involved with it? Shall we none the less go with it? Later let us know what it meaneth."[5] Then he seized it and left it at a crossroads.

And some only threaded it on a hair and hung it up. If at dawn they saw that it no longer was there,

Ic chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa; in tetzaujtl, injc motetzaujsia: in jquac qujttaia pinaujztli.

No ioan, netetzaujloia in pinaujztli: iuhqujn tocatl tlatlauhqui, tlatlactic.

In jquac aca, ichan calaquj, in qujtta: anoço vilica qujiacanamjquj, qujtoa ic vitz cocolizztli, anoço ic itla conmonamjctiz: aço ie aca conaoaz, itla ic conpinauhtiz:

auh in jquac, tla oittoc techan: in aquja oqujttac: njman ic conana, nauhcampa qujtlallacujlhvia, qujtlahzochilia: iuhqujn cruz qujquechilia: auh nepantla yiolloco conthalia, vncan onchicha:

njman ie ic qujtlaxoltia, qujluja. Tlen jc otivalla, tla njqujtta, tlacuele nocommauijço: njman ic qujztimotlalia, qujztica in campa ie itztiaz.

Intla ie vmpa itztiuh, mjctlampa: ic qujmati ca ie mjquiz, in oquimoztiti: auh intlacamo vmpa itztiuh, ic quimati, aço çan itla in quitouznequj, acaçomo cenca veiztica:

quitouia in motetzauj, tla quijoculi, tla motelchioa, in ioioltzon: cuja çan ie toconmattiezque? cuja çan ie ipan toiezque? ma ça quin jc ticmatiuque in tlein, quitouznequj. Niman ic conana: homazac concaoa.

Auh in aca çan contzoouja, aco compilova: intla otlathvic socac quitta: ic cenca vel quitetzammati.

1. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 4, calls it a kind of chafer which the Mexicans considered an evil omen (shiny Beetle); he compares it with the tarantula. Molina, op. cit., defines it as "*cierto escarabajo de color por aparato.*" Gardner, op. cit., p. 110, n. 18, defines it as *Cotinis mutabilis, Strategus julianus*, or the like.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tomaban dos cañas en cruz en el medio, y ponianlo en medio dellas y escupianlo.*"

3. *Ibid.*: "*A que se metiste, quiero ver a que se comiste.*"

4. *Ibid.*: "*Alguna cosa informacion de poca importancia.*"

5. *Ibid.*: "*Pues como dando quisiere, no se me de nada de ti, o de andar pensando por ventura en lo que quisiere decir, ello se parecerá mas de manifiesto, en mas cierto de ti.*"

they were then filled with much dread. But if it drowned and it hung at this very same place, they were consoled thereby. Little did they think of it; as nothing did they esteem it. And when they placed it in the midst of spirits or wine, they said it was made drunk by it. And also it was stated that sometimes it spoke in two [ways]: it also boded good. Perhaps something fortunate would be one's reward.

Auh intla çan ipã otlatvic, in çan ie vncan pilcac, ic mocollalia: amo cenca qujcsimati, atle ipan conjtta. Auh injc contlalia tlanepantla, chichitl, anoço vxtli: mjtoa ic contlacaatia: ioan no mjtoa, in quenman ome vitz qujtoa: no qualli qujnextia, aço itla qualli temacehoal muchioa

Ninth Chapter, in which is related the omen which they regarded as a portent when an animal of strong stench, called a skunk,[1] now entered one's house or else sprayed and loosed an odor.

Likewise all regarded as an omen the skunk when it entered someone's home or there bore its young.

They said: "Now the householder will die"; because, so they said, its abode, its dwelling place, was by no means among houses, in one's home. Maize fields, meadows, maguey and cactus fields [were] its dwelling places and abodes.

Also, they supposed that it was the likeness of the demon Tezcatlipoca. And when it loosed an odor, when it loosed a foul odor at one, they said: "Tezcatlipoca breaketh wind."

And if someone tried to capture or chase it, thus it mocked and gibed him: it raised and lifted high its tail, and then, if it drew quite near one, it forthwith loosed its stench at him. Like one sprinkling, its spray appeared and was seen; like a rainbow it arose. And it penetrated one; its evil stench entered into one. With difficulty did it abandon him. So one's cape dropped—was cast aside, thrown away. [Its stench] was spread all over the area; it extended all over the region. It reached everywhere, and spread on people. So did its stink-sicken one and molest one's nose.

And they said that when it arrived, when it was smelled, one should not spit. It was believed that if one spat, his hair would whiten; it would flare brightly. Hence they severely warned the children not to spit. When its stench was smelled, they only covered their mouths.

Ic chicuaauj capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl in qujmotetzaujaia, in jquac centetl iolquj, in cenca hijac, in jtoca Epatl: in jquac ic oncalaquj ichan, auh anoço in jquac moxixa: mjexi. 787K 825

No ioan in epatl, netetzaujloia: in jquac aca ichan calaquj, anoço vncan mopilhoatia:

qujtoa, ic mjqujz in chane: ipampa iuh qujtovaia, ca amo inentla, amo inemja in calla, in techan: ca mjlpan, çacatla, memetla, nonopalla, in jnemjia, in jpujçaia.

No ipan qujmatia, ca ixiptla in tlacatecuhtl, tezcatlipuca: auh in jquac mjexi, in teixi, qujtoaia: omjex in tezcatlipuca. [176]

Auh intla aca canaznequj, in ace qujtoca: çan ic qujqueloa, ic ica mocaiaoa: cenca qujquetzaz, tacoquetza in jcujtlapil: auh qujnjquac, intla ic uel itech onaci: njman ic qujualiexi, iuhqujn aca tlaalpichia, vel neci, vel itto, in jiel: iuhqujn aiauhcoçamalotl, ic moquetza: auh vel temaoa, tetechaquj in ijel, aiaxcan tecaoa: ic vetzi, ic tlaxo, ic tlaçalo in tetilma: vel centlalli momana, centlalli manj: nouijan aci, tepan motoca, injc yiac, injc tetlaelti: teiacaxolocho.

Auh qujtoa, in jquac in eco, mjnecuj, auel onchichá: qujlmach intla aca onchichaz, quaztaliujz, comonjz: ic cenca qujntlacaoaltia, in tepilhoã: injc amo onchichazque: in jquac ineco yel: çan onmotempachoa. [827]

1. Sahagun, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 28.

[p. 172 is blank]

X 787
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Tenth Chapter, in which is related the omen, by which a portent was drawn, of ants or frogs, and mice.

Likewise all regarded as an omen ants, whether red or black. When they lived and formed an ant hill in someone's house, they indicated persecution. They said, when they were seen, "Perhaps one of our enemies is come to visit something upon us."[1] So was said and made known that that which the enemy buried became these ants. When the ones which had been buried remained, they always were attributed to the enemy, who would have one dead,[2] who wished one to perish — who hoped one would die; those of great lust; inhuman; demons, the so-called destroyers of men. These buried and placed the ants.

When they swarmed in someone's house, thus they boded and required[3] his death. He who was envious, hoped, wished, and desired that one might die, that one might perish. So he caused anger; he tormented, troubled, affronted, and afflicted;[4] and he rendered no aid.

In the same manner all such [men] bore and determined an ominous death. The enemy perchance placed house frogs[5] somewhere in an opening of the wall or in the roof of the house. When they spoke, they croaked, and continued croaking.

So also the ominous mice, perhaps [as reported in] tales,[6] all these, the inhuman people, the enemies, placed and buried. When they spoke, so were they heard; so did they sound. Much and everywhere did they squeak; they squeaked continuously.

Ic matlactli capítulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujtl injc motetzaujaia, in jotechpa ancame, anoço cuecueia: ioan in qujquimjchtin.

No ioan, netetzaujloia in ancame, in tlatlauhque, anoço tiltique: in jquac aca, ichan molonj, mopotza: qujoextiaia in tecocolilíztli: qujtoaia in jquac oittoque, aço aca totecocolicauh itla otechtoquíjlico: inh mjtoa, inh nemacho in tlein qujtetoquíjlia, tecocolianj: ichoan in mocuepa ancame, iquac in ic vecaoa, tlein oquítocaque: muchi ichoan intech tlamj in tecocolianj, in temjquítlanjnj, in temjquítzemachique, in temjquítzemachianj, in tevejecoanj, in atlaca in tlatlacatecuio: in moteneoa, tepokoanj ichoã qujntoca, qujntlalia in ancame.

In jquac aca ichan molonj, ic qujtetzauja, ic qujtlanja in jmjquíz: in aquín tlacocoa, connectia, connequíjlia, connequíjtia: in macuele mjquj, in macuel ompopoliuj: injc tlaqualanja, injc tlaiolquíztia, injc tlaamana, injc tciollo ixco icac, injc tlatequíjpachoa, injc ittloc monequj.

Ça ic no iuhquj, muchiuhquj: qujcenujca, qujcemjtoa in mjquítzetzaujtl. In ichoatl calcujatl, aço cana tepancamac: calquac in qujntlalia tezcolianj: cotaloa, cotalotica injc tlatoa.

No iuhquj in tetzauhquímjchin, anoço tetlaquechililli. Pl' chilili: muchi ichoan qujntlaliaia, qujtetoquíjlia, in atlaca, in tecocolianj: injc caco, injc mocaquj: vel pipítzca, pipípítzca, pipítzcaticate, injc tlatoa.

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*mejor de nuestros parientes ha de aquella cosa de pues de algun enfermo, o inhibiam.*"
2. *Muchi ichoan:* "Mismoichoa en 3 ochomeni" needs equalizer.
3. Jerez, op. cit., p. 23, translates this passage thus: "*Ciertamente este dia Chalcoatlaxoan alzaron (sus sin Sitch Wiqi) surjiejan, en cielo cuando sin, dia Jerez, sich mitder mordet.* Wenn man dies, sie dementsprechen jene die surjiejo haben, surjiiert, es bezeichnen sich diesen (der mitder [illegible]) sich die Chalcoatlaxoan für immer die Trauben."
4. "Mismoichoa en 3 ochomeni," p. 397, has qualcuna for qujtlanja.
5. *Tzahquimichin,* PP chiliki; probably an accidentally inserted grammatical note.
6. The corresponding Spanish text adds at the end of the chapter: "*Es todos estos agueros, pues a remedios a los agueros, que los dudaban, y dicen temprillo estaba allos.*"

[p.174 is blank]

X 787 776 So he fled from its presence; back of him it went rattling at him as it pursued him. And if he stood, if he stopped in alarm, it also sat, and remained rattling. And if he gathered courage to seize it quickly, it only mocked him for doing so. Far did it rise when it jumped; he could not catch it. Hence, in the same manner, he let it alone in his fear; from its presence he fled, exerting all force in order to run terrified to his home.

Auh intla moquetza, motilquetza, no motlalia chachalcatinemj: auh intla omoiollochichili, injc qujcujtiuetziz çan jc qujquelos, ueca ieoa in choloa, amo uel cana: çan no iuh conmauhcacaoa: ixpampa ieoa: ixquich qujtoctia, injc momauhcatlaloa ichan.

X 787 775 Just so the dead also appeared to people. They were in [funeral] wrappings, with head wrappings, and were groaning. If, somewhere, one appeared before one, it moaned at him. Only the valiant could venture toward it in order to seize it and cling to it. But then it only made sport of them: perhaps a clump of grass or a hard clod remained in their hands. [776] Thus they quickly transformed themselves. So it was said that all this was only a disguise of Tezcatlipoca by which he mocked men. Etc.

Çan ie no iuhquj in mjcquj, no moteititiaia: yilpitica, quaquailpitica, quiqujnacatica: in cana moteititiaia; tequjqujnatza: çan ichoan in jollochicavaque, vel iujc motlapaloa in qujcujtiuetzi: itech mopiloa. Auh injc çan inca mocacaioa, aço tlachcujtl, anoço tlaquavac tetl in jmmac mocauhtiquiça: injc mocueptiuetzi: iuh mjtua, ca çan muchi ich, inaoal in tezcatlipuca injc teca mocacaioaia etc.

The omen of the linnet.[4]

X 787 ●825 The linnet is a bird like a woodpecker,[5] and far into the forest is its home. And when it cried out at someone, it was taken as an omen.[6] They said: "It is not a good time that we have come; for something will spring out on us."

Tetzaujtl itechpa chiqujmoli.

In chiqujmoli, ca centetl totoil, iuhqujn quauhchochopitli: auh veca quauhtla in ichan. Auh in iujc tepan tzatzia, netetzaujloia: qujtovaia, ca amo qualcan, in otioallaque: ca itla ipan ticholoaque.

The omen of the coyote.

[776] They said it was Tezcatlipoca. Often he disguised himself as a coyote; and this coyote often intercepted men on the road. And when he did this, then was heard: "This is by no means a good time for him who goeth; perhaps thieves or robbers are somewhere on the road, or something harmful will spring out at them."

Tetzaujtl itechpa in coiotl.

Qujtoaia, ca in tezcatlipuca: mjiecpa qujmonanaltiaia in Coiotl: auh injn coiotl, mjiecpa tziaiacatzacujlia in vtlica. Auh in jquac iuh qujchioa y, njman ic mocaquj, ca amo qualcan in vtloa: aço ichtecque, anoço tetlatlaçaltique, cana vtlica cate: anoço itla ipan cholokoatiuh, in tecoco.

Here end the omens which the natives of New Spain took as portents.

Nican tzonquiça in tetzauitl, yn quiztzommatia, ojcan nacaz españa tlaca.

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4. Molina, op. cit.: *chiquelite pasaro*; Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 514 (*chiquimoli*): *jilguerillo—especie de jilguero.* Sahagún (Giuntini ed.), Vol. IV, p. 334: "*Este pasaro, comunmente parlero. . . . Deprehensus indicio buitell.*"

5. *Quauhchochopitli*: Martín Antonio Bandini, in *Rerum Mediarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus ex Plantarum Animalium Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia ex Francisci Hernandez* (Romae: Vitale Mascardi, 1651), p. 33, appendix, book Chap. XCIV, "*De Quauhchochopitli, seu Avicula lignis consumens*," said writes: "*Avicula est, Mexicanus Caterviatim furens, & magnitudine, plumis nigris, aut pullis, linea alba, transversim discriminatur dividentur; ventre, pectoreque, nonnij coloris. Singas plumas ventre, quarum ex quibus pedibus. Avis in frigidis, & arboribus vastis nonnunquam pedibus ensistit.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Ser buena del pico* (*maggio*): *quando le oyan hacer en los montados.*"

843 752 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue bump. Or [he might catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc neci aiomama, yeujtlapan ca, iuhquja pomoxoti, iuhquja texotic: anoço cuexpalicivatli. Injc neci cuexpalicivi pilxotli: cuxicoal in choca, yoan yquxilca, yciacac motlethalia nacazotoxti, olotzotzoti, melacazotoxti. Auh injc pati: quijamotla, quijquijxtia in nacazotzoti.

843 821 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will be hunchbacked!"

Ioan in ocelli: in jquac siamo vel tlacatl motlalia in jcocoxh, quijtlacaoaltizia, in jquac oalmomana metztli: injc amo conacopeittaque, quijnjlhujxia: macamo xocuijttacan in metztli, mjmjxquja, anoço tenquaiviz in amocoxoxh.

825 777 441 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's hand.

Injc cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in oçomatli ymacpal.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly a monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In oçomatli imacpal: in puchuca ceaca qujtemoaia, quimopialtiaia: in jquac in campa tiamjquja, in tlanamacaia: vncan quijtecaia, quijlmach ic iciuhca aquj, iciuhca muchi coalo in tlein quijnamaca: quijl ichoxtl iuh quichioa in oçomatli yma: ynjc mochapololtia.

777 264 824 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere was disposed of that which they sold, when no one bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoantin in tilmanamacaque: in jquac acan aquj in quinamaca, in aiac quicoa: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cocitl, anoço vipilli, quijlmach: quichilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc quichioaia: in jquac oalvia inchan, quitoaia: acan oac in totiamjc: ma xocochilquaqualtican: njman ic ijtic contema, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: quijlmach ic aquja, injc iuh quichioaia in, ic quitoa: quichilquaqualtia.

777 525 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle and the griddle.

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tezoloti, yoan comalli.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his home, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aquin patoaia, in jchan, in jtezoloxh, ioan in jcomal, ioan in jmetl: ixtlapach quimanaia: auh in tezoloti cana xomolco quipiloaia; quijlmach: ic amo quijtlaniaque in chane, çan ic tlathanjz.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*una enfermedad, que llaman cuexpalicivatli, a cual inhabilita en las ingles.*" Wimmer, *Cantar Mex* (El manuscrito mexicano Nahuatl *1529 Anno 2 Codice Mex* [Thesis: Bibliotheca Danica, 1988], p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text relates to patolli, which is an error.

And [concerning] this pestle: when they caught, trapped mice,[24] they cast the pestle out the doorway. It was thought that if it were in the house, they could not be caught; it was said that it would warn them.[25]

Yoan in ichoatl tezolotl: in jquac qujmaci, in quinmôvia qujqujmjchtin: in tezolotl qujiacac qujoallaça, qujlmach: intla çan cali iez: amo vel macisque in qujqujmjchti, qujlmach çan qujmonjoatica. 825 412

Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of mice.

Injc ompoalli onome capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in qujqujmjchti. 825 837

They said, in times past, that it was thought that mice knew well him who had a paramour, whether a young man or a woman. In order for it to be evident, the mouse made a hole in a large basket, or gnawed the edges of gourd dishes or bowls. Likewise, if men, or a woman, were married, he made holes in their mats, or the men's mantles. In the same way, he gnawed through a woman's shift or skirt. And everywhere the mouse made holes. It was said that thereby he made known that one's spouse had committed adultery.

Qujtoxia in ie vecauh, qujlmach in qujqujmjchti vel qujmati, in aquin momeneocatia: in aço telpuchtli, anoço cioatl. Injc neci in qujmjchin qujcoionja in chiqujvitl, anoço tecomatl, anoço xicalli qujtenquaquaia. No iuhque intla namjque toqujchtin, anoço cioatl: yn jnpetl, anoço yn jtilma toqujchtin qujcoionjaia: çã no iuhqujn cioatl, yn jcue, anoço yn jvipil qujcoionja: yoan noujan tlacocoionja in qujmjchin, qujl ic qujnezcaioxia: ca oqujtlaxin yn jnamjc.

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of turkey hens.

Injc ompoalli omey capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in totolme. 825 235

Turkey hens: when they were brooding, one who wore sandals might not go in among them. Especially when the chicks were about to break [the shells], it was said that [the hens] sat paralyzed. [The chicks] could not break [the shells, and] some would die. But some, when they hatched, it was thought, would only be paralyzed, those which were there in the shells. And it was said that in order that this might not happen, they placed old sandals among them when [the hens] brooded.

In totolme: in jquac tlapachoa, amo vel inpan calaquj in mocactia: oc cenca yquac in ie tlapanjzque totolti, qujlmach ic mocotoztlalia: amo vel tlapanjzque, cequjntin ic mjquj: auh in cequjntin yn jquac tlacati qujl çan cocotozpipil, in vncan cate in cacalloc. Auh qujl injc amo iuh muchiouzque yn, cacçolli intlan qujtema in tlapachoa.

Twenty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of turkey chicks.[26]

Injc ompoalli onnavi capitulo, intechpa tlatoa yn totolconentoton. 825 235 837

And when turkey chicks hatched, one might not enter among them who had a paramour, whether woman or man, or those who were married. When perchance the spouse [of one of them] had committed adultery, if he were to go in among [the chicks], they said: "He killeth them through filth."

Auh in jquac otlacatque in totolconentoton: avel inpan calaquj in momecatianj, in aço cioatl, in anoço toqujchtin, in anoço namjqueque: in jquac in aço oqujtlaxin inamjc, intla inpan ocalac, qujtoa: qujntlaçolmjctia.

24. Ibid.: "quando [illegible] [illegible] en casa."

25. Ibid.: "no entrar [illegible] [illegible], porque el ratoncito, [illegible] [illegible] que no [illegible]."

26. Turkeyhens, and turkeychicks.

825 235 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjquj totolpipil, ic qujtoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaqujco, anoço oqujmjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oqujntlaçolmjcti: ic qujmatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi totolme, injc mjquj.

825 236 837 It was said that also the same befell those who were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse, whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Qujl no iuh inpan muchioa in namjqueque: in aço cana qujtlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toqujchtin: injc qujmati, çan qujpiqui in aaquetztivetzi, anoce cana motlaviteqiuj.

286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

Injc cempoalli onmacujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl qujqujti.

In jcpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in jquac qujqujti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviaqujxtiuh, in tennecujliuhtiuh, qujtoaia: qujlmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj, çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chía field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

Injc cempoalli on chiquaoen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

In jquac qujavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquin vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli qujiaoac qujoaltepeoa, itvalco: qujlmach yc amo tecivilozz in jmjl, qujl ic poliui in tecivitl.

754 776 781 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**

At night walked demons — perchance wizards and sorcerers — where they harmed one in one's house. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

In iocaltica nemj tlatlacateculo: aço nanacalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oqujmjttaque in aço itla ic qujnpoloa in chanequc: njman atlan contecа yztli puertatitlan, anoço itoalco qujmana in iocaltica, qujtoaia: qujlmach vncan onmotencavia in tlatlacateculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa: aço mjcoaz, anoce cocolitzli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los pollos se cayan muertos, los pusos arriba: y esto, llamaan despulmjqui.*"

28. Corresponding Spanish text: "*no parecia, en que la sola, o parecia biscornada.*" Caso, op. cit., is to make a false seam.

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At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman cholоa, aiocmo ceppa tepolotivi: in jquac oquittaque itztli, atlan onoc.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

828

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal.

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[29]

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualiaia, qujlmach in aqujn qujqualia yn q'caoa qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oqujchtequjco in qujmjchin, oqujchtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualiaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoz: in aqujn qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

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Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztitl.

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Qujlmach in tozti, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in iehoatl avitzotl, qualli qujxoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aqujn qujlaqujaia, qujqujxtiliaia in jzti, ioan ixtelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

827

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli.

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, qujtoaia in ie vecauh: aqujn nechitoa, aqujn nechteneoa: anoce qujtoaia: aqujn nêchicoitoa, anoçe qujtoa: aqujque in noca mononotza. Qujl iehoatl qujnezçaiotiaia, iehoatl ic qujmatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca qujnteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

853

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltotonti.

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

In iehoantin in pipiltotonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaqualo, anoço itla mjz, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, qujlmach ic amo tzitzicunoz, amo motolinjz in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

29. Corresponding Spanish text: "*de harto, o de adulterio, o de otra cosa.*"

30. *Axolotl*: Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2. 21, refers to it as a spectral water animal or sprite "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of intoxicated men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Santamarina, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66 (*ahuizotl*), calls it merely a *perro del agua* (Lerma fellow).

31. Corresponding Spanish text: "*quando comejan, o beujan en presencia de algun niño.*"

32. *Ibid.*: "*se le hace.*"

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At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman choloa, aiocmo ceppa tepolotivi: in jquac oquittaque itztli, atlan onoc.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

825

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal.

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[29]

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualiaia, qujlmach in aqujn qujqualia yn q'caoa qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjx, ca mjtoa: oqujchtequjco in qujmjchin, oqujchtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualiaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtux: in aqujn qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjx, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

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Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztitl.

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Qujlmach in tozzi, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in ichoatl avitzotl, qualli qujxoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aqujn qujlaqujaia, qujqujxtiliaia in jzti, ioan ixtelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

827

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli.

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, qujtoaia in ie vecauh: aqujn nechitoa, aqujn nechteneoa: anoce qujtoaia: aqujn nêchicnitoa, anoçe qujtoa: aqujque in noca mononotza. Qujl ichoatl qujnezcaioniaia, ichoatl ic qujmatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca qujnteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

853

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltotonti.

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

In ichoantin in pipiltotonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaqualo, anoço itla mjx, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, qujlmach ic amo tzitzicunoz, amo motolinjx in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

29. Corresponding Spanish text: "de harto, o de sababoria, o de otra cosa."

30. *Ambiguous*: Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2. 21, refers to it as a spectral water animal or spirit "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of immersed men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Santamarina, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66 (*abadonos*), calls it *monstruo o perro del agua* (Lastra Sellma).

31. Corresponding Spanish text: "*quando comejan, o bevejan un pravendo de algun agua.*"

32. *Ibid.*: "*en la frente.*"

X 796 **Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day** [805] **[and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.**[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlaloca.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[799] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuenmantli*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 927] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they [202 314 299] erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

Juic 20. capítulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoalizzli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in qujtocaiotiaia, in qujtoaia atl cacalo anoço quauitl eoa.

Quauitl eoa, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujquixtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã neteteuhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quauitl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujmoncaoaia pipiltzitzinti, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: ichoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca ichoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquauitl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

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1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitlehua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "Xilomanaliztli.—Adacahualco,—Cuahuitlehua.—Cihuatlhuatl. Xilomanaliztli, *aparado de cabal á plomo*; nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitlehua, *quemazon de los árboles*: nombre peculiarmente á lugares fuera de México. Atlacahualco ó Atlacahualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos; *agua al P. Leon, detencion de las aguas, y es la conmemoracion de todas que más nos satisface. Cihuatlhuatl, fiesta de la mujer. El símbolo religioso es la imágen de Tlaloc y su árbol reverdecendo, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . *el primero mes, cuyo nombre Acahualco o Atlacahualco, significa la cesación del agua, pues en el mes de marzo cesan las lluvias del invierno en las países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o nahuatl. Lo llamaban tambien Quauhacahualco, lo que significa la cegueraña de los árboles, que se verifica en este tiempo en los países frios. Las sacerdotisas llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, cabeza de las matronas de maiz, porque en él ofrecian a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la siembra que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (*Tlalocan*, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cualmoi ehua in palo ei alto*: Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt und übersetzt* (Gesammelte Seler-Werke, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 55, translates the same as *die Bäume erhoben sich* (*machten sich auf dem Weg*).

2. *Nextlaoalloa*. Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. *intlaoa* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nextlaoalli* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *amatl* as *tiras sagradas*.

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacateteuhtli* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl answer No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opferwaisen* (*Opferpapiere in Menschengestalt*). They may actually have been paper amulets represented by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 60) from the Bibliotheca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de gotas de olli a los quales papeles llamamos amatemitl.*" *Tlaulchachapatztli*, cf. *ulachapani*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

X 796 in his discourse, that he might talk graciously, converse well, and greet people agreeably on the road, if he met anyone.

For he was much honored when he appeared as the impersonator; because he was the likeness of Titlacauan; he was acknowledged as our lord, treated like a lord; one begged favors, with sighs; before him the common people bowed in reverence and kissed the earth.

[827] And if they noted that his body became even a little fat, they made him drink brine, so that he became thin; the salt water thinned him, so that he became lean; he became hard; his flesh became firm.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at [the feast of] Toxcatl, he appeared [before the people]. And when the man died who had been impersonator for one year, he who had led the way, he who had cast [the spear] for one year, who had given commands for one year, forthwith was one chosen to be set in his place, from all whom the temple guardians had saved and cared for at the time that [the captives] appeared [before them].

Thereupon he began his office; he went about playing his flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

[302 567] His eight young men went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year; their hair was shorn like [the hair of] slaves, cut and clipped, not smooth like a gourd, nor cut [too] short, not [made like] growing whiskers on the head.

And four warriors, who instructed youths in the art of war, [were] similarly shorn. Their hairdress lay upright on their foreheads.

Then Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator] well and arrayed him in varied garb; he provided him [his appropriate indumentary]. He ornamented him, he adorned him in great pomp with all costly articles, which he caused to be placed upon him; for verily he took him to be his beloved god. His face was anointed with black; it was said: "He fasteth [302] with blackened face." A thick layer of black was smeared on his cheeks. White feathers were placed upon his head—the soft down of eagles. They placed it on his hair, which fell to his loins.

[301] And when he was attired, he went about with sweet-smelling flowers[7] upon his head. a crown of flowers. And these same were hung over both shoul-

ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellatoz, vel tenotza, vel tetlapaloz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztililoia yn iquac oixnez, in ie teixiptla: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca tlcicioua, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontlalqua in macoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztaiotl qujltequjtiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaioquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlalichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtl in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miquj ce tlacatl yn oteixiptlatic ce xiujtl, in ce xiujtl, ooallaotlatocti, in ce xiujtl oqujtlaz, in ce xiujtl ooallaujcac: ça çan ic mopatlatiuja yn ixquetzaloia, yn ixujchtin quinpiaia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeoaltia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitztinemj: cemilhujtl, yoan cenioual: çan connequja in campa ieh vtli qujtocaz:

qujtocatinemj yn iachoan chicueintin: navin mocexiuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa, motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloa, amo moquatetzicoa

Auh no naujntin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecuçuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, qujieecquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçoteouh ipan qujmati, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujliaia yn itzon, ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

Auh yn omocencauh ixujxochitl in icpac contecatinemj, icpac xochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in necoc-

7. *Brownrie Anonin Hernández*, according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 97, n. 1, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 68). In the former he quotes from Hernández that the flower resembled popped corn.

And for drinking wine [they used] very small drinking vessels. And all gave wine to drink to the small children.

Hence was named [the occasion] "The children all drink wine."

And at sundown this all ceased and all went to their homes. And when they had departed to their homes, once again there was dancing in their courtyards. And the kin [of those who celebrated] drank wine—the revered old men and old women.

Here ended Izcalli.

And for this reason was [the feast] named Izcalli (The Growing): at this time they lifted by the neck all the small children. It was said that thus they grasped them for growth; they grasped them for growth that they might quickly mature.

Enough. Here ended and concluded Izcalli.

Auh injc quja injc tlaoanaia, in tlaoancaxitl, çan tepiton, çã tetepiton: auh muchintin qujntlaoantiaia in pipiltotonti: 796 273 [415]

ie injc moteneoa, pillaoano.

Auh ie teutlac in necacaoaloia, viviloa in techachan: auh in onviviloac techachan, ie no cppa mjtotia in jmjtoalco, muchintin tlatlaoana in tehoaniolque, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin.

Oncan tlamj in Jzcalli.

Auh injc moteneoa Jzcalli: vncã qujnquechanaia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti: qujlmach, ic qujmizcaloana: qujmjzcalana, injc iciuhca quauhtiazque. 796 [827]

Ie ixqujch njcan tzonquiça, njcan tlamj in jlhujtl Jzcalli.

x 796 [548] when he had been living in the likeness of another, had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

oaquetztinĕca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinĕca omovelitztinenca.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said, [827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaana, qujmacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujmizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iĉiuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, mocapaozque:

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants; [824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

yoã in metl qujiolloxeloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollotlapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moscaltiz, mocapaozz.

x 796 852 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and [301] covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan contlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiã vetzia in tlatoque.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited. [608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemoliaia, in qujnvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmavitia, tetlati, teaviti:

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they [431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapẽpenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests' [304] dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And [302 237] they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

ioalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnnacazxapotla, qujnnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conquixtia, vncã qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzatzizteoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoquiztleoa in pipiltzizintl, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

And the women who became aunts were pasted [608 302] with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoã inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamazxochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

In jquac oquijmõnacazxapotlaque, ojmã ic qujnoalhujujca in inchachan, vncan qujchieltitoque ixtoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlatviltitoque, qujchixtoque in

and men danced [together, as] during the feast of Tlaloc.

mjtotiaia in cihoa novian yoan oquichtin iquac inilhuiuh tlaloc.

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782
[533]

The Moistening of Chalk.

Thus was done the moistening of chalk: when they quickly snatched the chalk, then he who moistened the chalk ran. Thus he appeared running fast, and a number followed him. They went stoning him, and any who did not hasten fell quickly under the stones.

Tiçapaloliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia tiçapaloliztli: in iquac concuitiquiça in tiçatl njman ic motlaloa in tiçapaloa injc necia in cenca tlacça yoan cequjntin qujtocaia, qujtepochotivia auh in aquja amo tlacçaia iciuhca tetica vetzia.

The Lifting [of Children], that They Might Grow.

Thus was done the lifting of children that they might grow: Also upon a certain day they lifted up all the small children [by the head] that they might grow. Along the roads and on all the ground lay the *nopal* [cacti], or *maguey* plants; thus, it was said, these thus would swiftly grow.

Teiscalanaliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia teiscalaanaliztli no ipan in tlein tonalli muchintin in pipiltotonti qujmizcalaanaia vtlica yoã in izqujch tlalticpac onoc in nopalli, anoço metl, ic mjtoaia iniac hiciuhca moscaltiz. [827]

Ninth Chapter, in which is related the omen which they regarded as a portent when an animal of strong stench, called a skunk,[1] now entered one's home or else sprayed and loosed an odor,

Likewise all regarded as an omen the skunk when it entered someone's home or there bore its young.

They said: "Now the householder will die"; because, so they said, its abode, its dwelling place, was by no means among houses, in one's home. Maize fields, meadows, magucy and cactus fields [were] its dwelling places and abodes.

Also, they supposed that it was the likeness of the demon Tezcatlipoca. And when it loosed an odor, when it loosed a foul odor at one, they said: "Tezcatlipoca breaketh wind."

And if someone tried to capture or chase it, thus it mocked and gibed him: it raised and lifted high its tail, and then, if it drew quite near one, it forthwith loosed its stench at him. Like one sprinkling, its spray appeared and was seen; like a rainbow it arose. And it penetrated one; its evil stench entered into one. With difficulty did it shandofi him. So one's cape dropped—was cast aside, thrown away. [Its stench] was spread all over the area; it extended all over the region. It reached everywhere, and spread on people. So did its stink-sicken one and molest one's nose.

And they said that when it arrived, when it was smelled, one should not spit. It was believed that if one spat, his hair would whiten; it would flare brightly. Hence they severely warned the children not to spit. When its stench was smelled, they only covered their mouths.

Ic chiuauauj capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetzaujd in qujmoetzzujaia, in jquac centetl iolquj, in cenca hijac, in jnca Epatl: in jquac ic oncalaquj ichan, auh anoço in jquac mouixa: mjexi. 787K 825

No ioan in epatl, netetzzaujloia: in jquac aca ichan calaquj, anoço vncan mopilhoatia:

qujtoa, ic mjquix in chane: ipampa inh qujtovaia, ca amo incntla, amo inemja in calla, in techan: ca mjlpan, çacatla, memetla, nonopalla, in jnemjia, in jquiçaia.

No ipan qujmatia, ca ixiptla in tlacatecuhtl, tezcatlipuca: auh in jquac mjexi, in teiexi, qujtoaia: omjex in tezcatlipoca. [176]

Auh intla aca canaznequj, in ace qujtoca: çan ic qujquelua, ic ica mocaiaoa: cenca qujquetza, cacoquetza in jcujtlapil: auh qujnjquac, intla ic uel itech onaci: njman ic qujualiexi, iuhqujn aca thaalpichia, vel neci, vel itto, in jiel: iuhqujn aiauhcoçamalotl, ic moquetza: auh vel temaoa, tetechaquj in ijel, aiazcan tecaoa: ic vetzi, ic tlazo, ic tlaçalo in tetilma: vel centlalli momana, centlalli manj: nouijan aci, tepan motecca, injc yiac, injc tetlachti: teiaçazzolocho.

Auh qujtoà, in jquac in eco, mjnecuj, auel onchicha: qujlmach intla aca onchichaz, quazzalujs, comonjz: ic cenca qujntlacaoaltia, in tepilhoß: injc amo onchichazque: in jquac inoco yel: çan onnotempechoa. [827]

1. Sahag., op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 20.

[p. 172 is blank]

754
776
789

At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman cholos, aiocmo ezppa tepoloçivi: in jquac oquittaque itztli, atlan onoc.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

Inic ompoualli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal. 825

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[20]

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualaia, qujlmach in aqujn qujqualia yn q'caoa qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oquichtequjco in qujmjchin, oquichtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoa: in aqujn qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

Inic ompoualli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztirl. 826 776

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[21] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Quilmach in tozti, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in ichoatl avitzotl, qualli qujzoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aqujn qujlaqujaia, qujqujztiliaia in jztzi, ioan iztelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of meaning.

Inic ompoualli ommátlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acuchoiztli. 827

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, qujtoaia in ie vecauh: aqujn nechitoa, aqujn nechtenecoa: anoce qujtoaia: aqujn nechicoitoa, anoçe qujtoa: aqujque in noca mononcoa. Qujl ichoatl qujnezcaioiziaia, ichoatl ic qujmatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca qujnteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

Inic ompoualli ommatlactli on capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltzonti. 853

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[22] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[23] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

In ichoantin in pipiltzonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaquaia, anoço itla mjx, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, qujlmach ic amo tzitzicunoz, amo motolinjx in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

20. Corresponding Spanish text: "de lavar, o de cabellarse, o de otra cosa."

21. *Aztlacuetl*: Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, I. 21, refers to it as a mythical water animal or species "which drive men down into the water and tear off the nails and hair of intoxicated men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Immediately, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 66 (*Aztlacuetl*), calls it merely a power del agua (Letra Inicial).

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "quando comejan, o beuian en presencia de algun niño."

23. *Ibid.*: "en la frente."

x 796 space], once more they circled back and returned [535] [whence they had started].

And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, [512] today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

And when all had stopped, when the ground drum [534] was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, [373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

And when they released them, [the girls] were [431] given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

x 796 And the young warriors, the young warriors who 836 had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of 684 honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the sing-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his [831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlauic, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoalo, ic tlaquauhioca, ic netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlauilia xucan aço ic chicunauj ora.

Auh in ic izquich, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet vetetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn izquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn oemacaque, ninan mocentlalia, in ic oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcanan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenqujxtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca motecujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlauelilo: qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoetiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan mococoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatechcaoan, in cioatetiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quiquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oalioualquiça, çan moiocalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in quiça:

auh intla aca itoc, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in izquich ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn iempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlõtlecaloa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn oeclqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X 796 **Sixth [Twenty-fourth] Chapter, which relateth the feast and blood sacrifices made during all the days[1] in the fifth month, which was called Tozcatl.[2]**

In [the month of] Tozcatl, the great feast of Tezcatlipoca was [held]. At that time he was formed and set up. Wherefore died his impersonator, who for one year had lived [as Tezcatlipoca].

And at that time once more was offered [to the people] his [new] impersonator, who would again live for one year.

X 796 727 For many impersonators [thus] lived, whom guardians[3] kept and maintained. Perchance there were ten. These were select captives, chosen when captives were taken. Then was one chosen if he was good to look upon and fair of body. Then such were taken, and the guardians cared for them. But one whom they destined to be a slave, the captor slew.

X 796 727 ● 832 For he who was chosen was of fair countenance, of good understanding and quick, of clean body—slender like a reed; long and thin like a stout cane; well-built; not of overfed body, not corpulent, and neither very small nor exceedingly tall.

X 796 832 For anyone who was formed [thus] defective, who was too tall, to him the women said: "Tall one; head-nodder; handful of stars!" He who was chosen impersonator was without defects.

[He was] like something smoothed, like a tomato, or like a pebble, as if hewn of wood. [He did] not [have] curly hair, [but] straight, long hair; [he had] no scabs, pustules, or boils on the forehead, nor skin growths on the forehead, nor [was he] large-headed, nor with the back of the head prominent; nor of a head shaped like a carrying-net, nor with the sutures of the crown yet soft; not broad-headed, nor with a square head; not bald, nor with

Jnic chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhujtl, yuã in nextlaoalli, in muchioxia, yn ipan ic cemjlhujtl ic macujlli metztli, in mitoxia, Tozcatl.

In ipan in tozcatl, vel yuciilhujuh catca in tezcatlipoca: vncan tlacatia, vncan moquetzaia: ipampa ca vncan miquja, yn jxiptla in cexiuhtica onen.

Yoan iquac njman noce vncan mixquetzaia yxiptla, yn oc no cexiuhtica nemix:

ca miequjntin in nemja, teixiptlaoan in quinpia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpixque: aço quẽ matlactli in nemj: y ichoantin y, ca mamalti tlaqujxtilti qujxtiloia, yn iquac oalxitiloia mamalti, vncan pepenaloia, intla aca ce oqualitoc, in qualli ynacaio: njman onano, qujmonpialtiaia in calpixque: auh iece ipan qujoalixquetzaia tlacotli, ichoatl qujmictia in tlamanj:

ca ichoatl ic pepenalo, in qualli itlachieliz, in mjmatqui, in mjmatinj, in chipaoac ynacaio, cujllotic, acatic, piazztic, iuhqujn otlatl, ipanoca temjmjltic, amo tlacaçolnacaio, amo tomaoac, amo no tetepiton amo no cenca quauhtic:

ca yiaioca muchioa, yn aquin cenca quauhtic, qujlhuja in cioa: quauhtitin, quauhchachalan, citlalmaololo: yn aquin pepenaloia, in teixiptla, atle yiaioca:

iuhqujn tlachictli, iuhqujn tomatl, iuhqujn telolotli, iuhqujn, quauitl tlaxixintli, amo quacocototztic, quacolochtic, vel tzõmelaoac, tzompiaztic, amo ixquachachaquachtic, amo ixquatotomonquj, amo ixquaxitontic, amo ixquaxiqujpiltic, amo quametlapiltic, amo cuexcochujztic, amo quachitatic, amo quapatztic, amo quapatlachtic, amo quaoacaltic, amo quaxoxomalacquj, amo ixquamamalacachtic, amo ixquatolpopoçactic, amo ixquatolmemetlapiltic, amo

1. *Cuauhtlaxtli* is usually translated as "one day" or "all day." Gorliney ("Relación breve," p. 291) renders it "the first day." Simeon (*op. cit.*), in an extended discussion, admits a meaning of "the first day," or "all the days"; this latter appears to fit the events related in Chapter 24.

2. Of this month, Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37) writes: "Tozcatl, Tepemacholoaztli. *De todas las interpretaciones dadas á la palabra Tozcatl, la más generosa á nuestro entender, es la dada por Gamez, tomada del P. Arcaya: 'una saga grueso tornido de cordeles de nudo tomado.'*"

Chavero (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 462) explains that "*La figura del mes quinto es la de una estatua humana con una cadena debajo, para representar capellitas cursos de nudo tomado que se ponían al cuello, y con las cuales adornaban también al ídolo de Tezcatlipoca, por lo que el mes tomó el nombre Tozcatl*"; and (p. 152) "*unas cuentecitas tejidas de negro y cuentitas del traje del ídolo, la bajaban en unas cadenitas adornadas al pie de la escalera. Los cuentecitas y ciegrones del templo rodeaban las cuentas de una cuerda grueso compuesto de mezcla de nudo tomado y ponían al ídolo una cuerda al cuello y una guirnalda en la cabeza. A esta cuerda por ser de grueso cuerpo y dándole de la seguridad que pretendían evitar con sus plegarias, llamaron tozcatl, el cual nombre se dió por esta ceremonia al mes quinto de que hablamos.*"

Gorliney (*op. cit.*, p. 290) also suggests as a translation for the name "*una dryssma, que denotaba*"—"*nuestro cuerpo*."

3. Sahagún (Bulwinkle edition, Vol. II, p. 315) refers to "*los mayordomos de los presoneros, que llamaban calpixques de los presoneros*"; and (Vol. III, p. 122) adds: "*Eran ellos habidos robados y rescatados o sus ídolos; había principales, personas eminentes, como son los que llamaban calpixques, que regían a los demás.*"

a bulbous forehead; not of swollen eyelids, nor enlarged ones; not with swollen cheeks; not of disfigured eyes or cheeks, nor with swollen face; not with cleft chin; not with a gross face, nor a downcast one; not flat-nosed nor with wide nostrils, nor with an arched, Roman nose nor a bulbous nose, nor bent nor twisted nor crooked—but his nose should be well-placed, straight; not thick-lipped nor gross- nor big-lipped, nor with bowl-like ones, nor enlarged; neither one who stammered, nor [one who talked] as if his tongue were pierced for a ring; nor one with welts on his tongue; nor one who spoke a barbarous language, or spoke thickly, or lisped, or was dumb; nor buck-toothed, nor large-toothed or fang-toothed, nor of yellowed teeth, nor darkened, nor decayed—but his teeth were like seashells, well arrayed in order; his teeth were not shaped like bowls. Neither had he scarred eyes, nor poor vision,[4] nor squinting eyes, nor scarified; not blinded, nor of small, seedlike eyes, nor angry-eyed, nor sunken, nor hollow, nor cuplike, nor stupid-looking, nor gouged, pierced, or wounded; nor had he a scarred neck, [like one which hath been] choked, nor one with lacerations, nor with double chin, nor with pocks on the neck. Not with protruding or long ears, nor with torpid neck, nor hunch-backed,[5] nor stiff-necked, nor with neck elongated, much elongated, nor twisted, nor kinked; neither with unduly long hands, nor lacking one hand, nor wanting both hands, nor fat-fingered; not emaciated, nor fat, nor big-bellied, nor of prominent, hatchet-shaped navel, nor of wrinkled stomach, nor shrunken stomach; not cringing; not of hatchet-shaped buttocks; nor of flabby buttocks or thighs.

He who was thus, without flaw, who had no [bodily] defects, who had no blemishes, no moles, who had no lacerations or wrinkles on his body, they then looked well that he be taught to blow the flute; that he might pipe and play his flute well; and that with it he hold his flowers and his smoking tube and blow and suck upon it, and smell [the flowers].

Thus he went bearing [his flute], his flowers, and his smoking tube[6] together as he walked through the streets.

And while yet he lived and was cared for in the house of the guardian, before he appeared [before the people], care was taken that he might be prudent

campoponaxtic, amo irujujlaxtic, amo canujujlaxtic, amo ixpopotxtic, amo no camachaloacaltic, amo ixmetlapiltic, amo ixpechtic, amo iacapatztic, amo iacacocoiactic, amo iacaxaxacaltic, amo iacacaxtic, amo iacachittoltic, amo iacaujttoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaxtic, amo tenxipaltotomaoac, amo texipaltotomac, texipaltotomactic, amo iacachittoltic, amo iacaujttoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaxtic, amo tenxipalcaiultic, amo popoloc, amo tentzitzipi, amo tentzitzipitlatoa, amo tenmjmjcquj, amo tlanpantic, amo tlancujcujtztic, amo coatlane, amo tlancocoztic, amo tlanxoisuhquj, amo tlanpalanquj: iuhqujn teccizitli itlan, vel onoc vipantoc, amo tlancaxtic, amo no iztitiquijltic, amo ixnacatic, amo ixujtzaltic, amo itztzitziquijltic, amo ixpopoiontic, amo ixpipiltic, ixpipicilltic, ixcocoçaltic, amo ixcocomoltic, amo ixatlacomoltic, amo ixcacaxtic, amo ixtotolontic, amo ixtotomatic, amo itztzatzapitztic, amo itztzatzamoltic, amo ixtacaltic, amo quechtitiquijltic, quechmotzoltic, quetztzitziquijltic, quechnacatic quechxixiquijpiltic, amo no nacazpatlactic, amo no nacazvilaxtic, amo quechtiltic, amo quechtepotzotic, amo quechacquj, amo quechujiac, amo quechujtlatztic, amo quechnecujltic, amo quechnenetic: amo mavujtlatztic, amo matzicoltic, amo macuecuetzin, amo mapaltotomactic, amo itiujlaxtic, amo cujtlatoltic, amo cujtlapetztic, amo xicquixquj, amo xictopoltic, amo xiccucio, amo ittitzotzoltic, amo cujtlapechtic, amo tzintopoltic, amo tzincuecuexactic, tzintamalcuecuexac. 796[A] 832

Jn aqujn iuhquj y, atle itlacauhca, atle yisioca, atle ytlaciuhca, atle ytlaciuizçe, atle ytech ca etzotzocatl, xitomaciuiztli: njmã cenca necujtlaujlo, inic vel momachtix, yn tlapitzaz: ynic vel quijpitzaz, yujlacapitz: yoan inic vel muchi ipan quijxitzquiz, yzochiuh, yoan yicuh, ipan tlapitztiaz, tlachichintiaz, tlanecutiaz: 796[X] [533 276]

iuhqujn centlalli mantiuh yn jzochiuh, yn jyicuh, yn iquac vtli qujtocaia.

Auh in çan oc nemj, in çan oc ospacalo, yn ichan calpixquj, yn aiemo izneci, cenca vel necujtlaujloia,

4. See Sahagún (op. cit.); a number of possible variants are suggested.
5. Hunchbacks is represented in pictorial writings as a humpback. Cf. also Molina (op. cit.), Spanish-Nahuatl section, *corcobado*.
6. "Gafas o cañuto de gabanarse, cuidad" (*ibid.*); "*cañuto de humo*" in Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text.

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dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate 643
standing up with much reverence and without looking at 264
his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either [415]
red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From [415
time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels 832]
of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which 272]
they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very [522
ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies 732]
almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men 643
of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

The fifth month they called Toxcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Tezcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaõe, y por otro nombre Tezcatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar. 796 [305 776] [533]

Chapter 5
Toxcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Tezcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

1. Marginal notation: Mother for that word.

Cap. 5.
Toxcatl

1	A	KL.	A	23
2	b	Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas	b	24
3	c	las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya	c	25
4	d	cerca de la pascua de resurrection	d	26
5	e	pocos dias despues: este mancebo	e	27
6	f	criado, como esta dicho era muy bien	f	28
7	g	dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos:	g	29
8	A	tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.	A	30
9	b	Quando en esta fiesta matauã al	b	1[1]
10	c	mãcebo que estaua criado para esto:	c	2
11	d	luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de	d	3
12	e	morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo	e	4
13	f	el pueblo muy atauiado con flores en	f	5
14	g	la mano, y con personas que le acõpa-	g	6
15	A	ñauan saludaua a los que topaua graci-	A	7
16	b	osamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel	b	8
17	c	la ymagẽ de Tezcatlipuca: y se pros-	c	9
18	d	trauã delante del, y le adorauan donde	d	10
19	e	qujera que le topauan.	e	11
20	f	Viente dias antes que llegasse esta	f	12[2]
		fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dis-		
		puestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los		
		veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el		
		traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los		
		cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros atauios mas		
		galanes.		

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompañauanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de morir: llenauanle a un co, o oratorio que llamauã tlacuchcalco. y ante que llegasse alli en vn lugar que

2. Marginal notation: Novel, de hilo? cape Pan.

796 [305 776] [533] [302] [833] [302] [346]

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bug called *icpatoxin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oioalli*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey tocoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociouatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacaepa quiqquixtiaia: in motenecoa tuchincapitli.

Auh yn jnacazzitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaqujaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcuzquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxiquipilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel quitlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoc, tochiacatl ynic tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quimetztopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oioali: ichoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in ichoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl quitaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh quitepeoaia, quitlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotilçauhtinenca, moxima, mixquatzontia, iuhqujnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaxtaxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech quilpia:

çan cempoalilhuitl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: nauintin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no ceziuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynic vme xilone, ynic ey Atlatona, ynic nauj, vixtociouatl.

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

796x
301
[306]
[292]
796x
[584
595]
[302
701]
[283
301]
[833]
[551]

8. "Unos cercillos de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llamase *o* los capulillos, son ornamentos como hechos, de un palmo en quadro de largo blanco, con sus hechos y floraduras" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 143. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma corvina, semejante aquella manera de los capitanes, dos hechos con sus banderas, hechos de plumas, y una, y verdemental, muy corvisima, que otra flaminguas corvandil." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 88) describes "The first head of ornaments [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, quetzalmiquilli, because of the resemblance between its ornamental or red rabbit's fur, the general of which[sic] embraced in a square of dark red, has squares of white feathers. The design is also of red ornamental." From this, it would appear that ornamental is a red string, and ornamental a red thing of rabbit hide.

1:Vaillant A-8 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

585 at last a feast, liberally lubricated with pulque, took place.
[834] The bride and the groom, after this merciless treatment, retired for four days of penance and fasting, and not until that period elapsed did they consummate their marriage.

595 As is often the case in a warrior nation which suffers from
586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed from a husband who failed to support her or educate the children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the
[587] Aztecs had not invented mental cruelty. A divorced woman could remarry as she chose, but a widow had to marry a brother of her deceased husband or one of his clansmen.[3]

562 Women had definite rights, but they were inferior to those of men. They could hold property, enter into contracts and go to courts to obtain justice. In matters of sexual morality
[834] girls had to be chaste and wives faithful to their husbands. A
[837] man transgressed the rules of propriety only when his illicit relations involved a married woman. Otherwise his wife could not formally demand his fidelity. While the legal position of women was relatively low, judged by modern standards in the United States, personal influence was great, and there were several instances where a woman acted as regent when her son was too young to assume the office of chief. In mat-
[648] ters of tribal alliance we have seen how the marriage of a chief's daughter or sister to another ruler cemented an alliance.

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fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: inchpa tlamo in teutl, yn ioca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atoli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like chinkis, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Çan nemeuhque, ynic netetilloia tecpantzinca istruh:
yn iquac neçaujtililoia, intla aca tequjchti ipan cinacochiz, amoçe cinatl, ipan oquichechiz: mjtoaia, quintlaçulmjctia yn jneçaualiz,
ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujteilhujhtiaia, qujtemaeualtiaia, in xochicuiztli, yn memeualistli, tlapalanaltiliztli, quexilinilistli,
yuicpa netoloa, nenetolitiloia, ynic qujcenix, ynic quiquanix ynic quicamoaz, cuculistli.
Auh yn iquac ilhujquiztililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa navilhujtl nexochiçaualo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chilcaoaia, quinnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, ioalnepantla quimattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochicentli yn ipan ca, momochiçaoa:
muchi quiqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh quimattiuh. Auh yn aca çan quiçcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli quiquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh quimattiuh:
yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujquiztililoia, iquac ce tlacatl quimixipolatiaia, conmoquiaia yn jtlatqui, ipan mjtoiaia, quitlamotzonjliaia, quicujcatiaia:
yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotzualoia, neçoaia, tlacoquiztiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jxcupan, macujlxel in quichinjliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey ipan ycatiuh xuchmjl:
yn aca quauhcaxitl ynic conmanjliaia, yoan centoquiliaia oc no macuilxel tamalepitzoca, mollocuja: yoan vntzel tzoalli yiel peujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centzel tlilticc, centzel tlatlauhqui.
Auh yn aca iuquitl, amoçe necuzquitl, amoçe xonecuilli, papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzocallaxcalli, tzoalchimalli, tzoalmjtl, tzoalmaquauitl, tzocalmaxtl:
yoan nenjtlan calcaualoia, in mamalti ajcan mexica, momoxoa malinquijna, yn jnquich mchinaloxoc, yn

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776
688
753
[785
834]
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[264]
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cuu quauxcalchiqui—two arrow shafts or wooden dolls, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *cuu* *xuel* ("I *xuel*") or the *cuauhchiqui* (fire-drill) (see illus.). Sahagún: *The Treatment of the Aztec Collection*, p. 73. Thevenyssen, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlacochiqui*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "heridas, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, gabarabombas del miembro secreto, dolores, tocondiles, etc."

73. In corresponding Spanish text "pasar sabroso."

well-matured, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some went shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest [the wine] sour.

They should look to their strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[120]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[121] to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became minshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the green mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the dispersal of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the drugs in the vessel, of the wine, of watered wine,[122] of fruit wine,[123] of white wine, of sleep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gout, as was said above, he was thus cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made thus paid his debt and thus fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornment—their paper garlands were over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their staves of round thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,[124] their chaul-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little mean bowls with

calhujque, in ic quaitzaque, in ic tzoniztaque, yeuan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque: 273 782

ixhuan vel iuemac cuica, in vctli in quiaque. 755

Auh in oalaiviztic, ninan ic ic viujlos, cocomonia, ziziztinjoa:

yn aca mochaqujlitiuh, yn aca moqujchiotiuh, mjtotitiuh, momamatiuh: yn aca tetzatzilitiuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaoaltilois: çan no ommca yn iaqujuh, yn jchiujl:

tlacaqujtilois, xavilhujtl maçoaia, qujnçaqujliaia yn iaqujuh, ynic amo zocoiaz:

vel mopiaia, vel motlacaoaltiaia, amo cioacochia, amo oqujchocchia, intla cioatl: [834]

çan ninan aiac vel ontlapalouia yn vctli, yeuan in aocutli, ynic machiouia:

aiac iuemal iuapil, conaqujaia, vel ymacaxoa, vel mallhujlaia, yn iaqujchica, moiacaxapotlaz yn vctli.

Auh yn aquja, ichtaca tlapaloaia, yn tlachtaca yia iuemal çan tepiton ocompolo: iuh mjtouia tonnecujlivia tepantiliviia, avic momamana avic xaqujvi yn ite: 753

yeuan in aca matmicolinjia, yma qujcuecuetza, icxi quicuecuetza, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicuecuechca, yhiztoouca, tuapapatlaca, tuaviviioca, iuch qujnoua: mjtoa, oqujtlaveliqua in xonuhqua tepicma.

Auh yn otlathuje, ninan ie ic apoualo: yn apoua çan ixhoua, yn iouinolque, in vel icalloc, in centlaca, cemoua, in vel icujtlaxcolloc, yn vel inecaioc: 782 592 755

motonoua apoualo, iquac ompolinja tlatlauj, in quauquijch mocuoaia, in ocl, in tlaqualli:

yeuan in oc quauquijch omocauh xaioconnjc in vctli, in aiocutli, in tlachicalvctli, in iztac vctli, in cuchvctli. [273]

Auh yn tepiquajnj, in tepicquj: intla coacivi, yn juh omjnotlacpac, ic pactic: yeuan yn aquja atlan miquinquja ynjc amo mjc: ixhoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc mostlaoa, ynjc qujnehtilia yaoacol. 755 782

Auh yn jaquijch, yn jauachichiual, yn jutlaquen, yn jmomamaquen, yn jmomapil, yn jutlapetlanjlquauh, yn jmoinohoacol:

yeuan yn jachalchiuhcuiaol, yeuan yn jutlaquaia molcaxomomal,

120. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 19, citing marginal glos in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 38.
121. Probably inappropriate in context. It does appear in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* (Cf. Seler, loc. cit.)
122. Possibly mead.
123. See Molina (*Pocholoiatl*).
124. Alonso Tezozomoc, *Historia de Mexicano* (H. Tezozomoc-Crespo, ed.; Paris: P. Jaussen, 1853), Vol. I, p. 300, describes this as a light flammiferous stick: ". . . *un ale de qu'il en avoit des flammes et des étincelles.*" Seler (op. cit., p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (*Blitzstab*).—

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos. 411 796x [805 776]

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

1 f KL. Quando hazian las saetas por espa- f 20 796x
2 g cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan g 21
3 A de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan A 22 [785]
4 b dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si- b 23
5 c enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias c 24
6 d para yr a caçar venados: los que no se d 25
7 e sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en e 26
8 f pena: njngun hombre se echaua con f 27 [834 273]
9 g su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni g 28
10 A viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian A 29
11 b penjtencia. b 30
12 c c 31
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha- d 1' 765
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas e 2
15 f saetas chiqujtas y atauanlas de quatro f 3 796x
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi g 4
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, A 5
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so- b 6
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon- c 7
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas d 8
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia. 796x [778 342]

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonces arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia. 796x 224

1. Marginal numbers: Mexicanos for days.

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlaloes began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua. 796[x] [805 776]

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlaloes, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

1 d KL. d 29[1]
2 e Quando començaua a tronar: los e 30 [314]
3 f satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran f 1[2]
4 g diligencia offrecian copal y otros per- g 2
5 A fumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas A 3
6 b dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para b 4
7 c dar agua: y los populares hazian votos c 5
8 d de hazer las ymagines de los montes d 6
9 e que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedi- e 7
10 f cadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los f 8
11 g dezisseis dias deste mes, todos los popu- g 9 [834]
12 A lares aparejauan offrendas para offre- A 10
13 b cer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian b 11
14 c penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres c 12
15 d de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los d 13
16 e hombres. e 14
17 f Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan f 15 [778]
18 g el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras g 16 [289]
19 A de papel, y stauanlas a vnos barales A 17
20 b desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauan- b 18[3]
los en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan. [324]

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si, [413 286]

1. Marginal notation: [illegible]
2. Marginal notation: [illegible] folio 9v.
3. Marginal notation: Diez[illegible] de dias [illegible].

a band] from ear to ear, which was called "black sweat," and they also applied pyrites [to it]. And some extended a black [stripe], called "a plaster of rubber," to their faces, and also it was sprinkled with pyrites.

And thus was their hair shorn: All were shorn like young warriors; together, all were shorn alike in the manner of young warriors. And those who had their temples closely cropped, were well shaven down, well scraped clean with a sharp piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ochre to their [remaining] hair; they colored it the color of maize flowers.

And thereupon, when they danced, they carried before them torches, pine fire brands, which flamed with much crackling and hissing. And as they carried them, the leaders of the youths [went] squatting because of the burden, as if running with thighs bent. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals scattered and fell one by one. And the [charred] pine wood fell bit by bit to the ground.

And along the sides the lighting was only from fire ladles held in the hand. They who gave light were youths who had fasted twenty days. They were spread out in a circle, ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan, and on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing —they only provided light. And they were on guard and kept close watch on people; their office was to be attentive that none might dishonor a woman; that none might look upon a woman, lest one might jest [with a woman].

If anyone was seen even only intending it, or trying it, maybe later—next day or two days hence—they punished him. They beat him with flaming pine boughs.[6] Verily, they left him for dead.

And when all were dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged and came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth. Only if he wished he did so.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand or about the waist.

And some they grasped by the hand; all grasped hands. And thus they kept on with their feet, that they might take the dance steps all together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; and they passed by the braziers, proceeding among [them]. They went back and forth among the rows of braziers. When they had reached the end [of the

no ca petzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tlilli: itoca aujtolli no ca petzuja. 796x 302

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia. [714]

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, ocopilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapalos telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl calichachaiaca. [373] [516]

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimãca, ixtlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca. [785]

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapicia, vel teixpicia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: [834]

intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, açoquja jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlàtlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujçaoa. [684]

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia: 796x 535

auh ynic tezpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaua.

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan cenizuh yn imicxi: yoan ontzitzinqujça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn ixqujpantli tlaujltetl: yn oocito yn

6. See Plate 28.

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with maguey fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] maguey plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two *sweet tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

in amo mjço quijpepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iccen qujtquijlia in tepãmanj. 796x

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vetli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vetli. [785] 688 [334] 273

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã mũchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, innũc qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlazzaianjx in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjx, injc vel tzitzicaz. 796x 411 [283] [381]

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa. [314]

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenqujx, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixqujch tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aqujque vel qujmaizvi, in vel momaizmati, in vellamjna. 796x 526

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, ça mjacaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çepemjxtitl, no achitoton ic conococotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncan toctinque, mjmjque: yoan onterl tzapelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujcia: auh in ic oncalaq:j conatiuh, njman ie ic qujetlatlaulia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia: 796x 765

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmarda ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 246.

X 796 would carry the banners, and the women who would wash their faces. [The dance] ceased when conch shells were blown [at midnight].

X 796 536 And hence was it named the serpent dance: they took one another's hands, while ranged in a line; with their hands they grasped circlets of grass, or reeds, or cord made into jar rests. The victims went trotting among [the others]; there was much running; they leapt, hurrying as if in haste, as if breathless. There was circling about, with no song, without singing.

And the old men of the tribal temple beat drums for them; and only they sang. Some looked on, marveling at [the dance]. And much was their fasting admired and respected. All abstained, even more so

[834] the owners of the victims. No [man] might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And when they had danced the serpent dance, then they dispersed.

X 796 And when it dawned, on the twentieth day, when [it was] verily the feast day, thereupon the bathed slaves went to [their owners'] houses, taking their

[386] leave. They carried with them black stain, [or] perchance blue mineral earth, or red ochre. And as

[533] leave was thus taken in [the owners'] houses, they went singing, as if their voices would crack, as if they were hoarse. When they reached the houses of those who had bathed [them], then they dipped

[386] their hands into the blue stain, or the black stain, or the red ochre. Thereupon they laid their hands upon the posts and upon the door lintels, wherever they came out of the homes of those who had ceremonially bathed [them].

And when they had proceeded to the several places where their relatives were, then they again went to [their owners'] homes; these in vain offered them food. Some yet would eat; and some could not now eat.

And when this was done, gifts awaited them, spread out. Cloaks were ready [for them], breech clouts, shifts, skirts. And when the gifts were laid out, thereupon the victims took their banners upon their backs, arraying themselves of their own free will. And the women likewise, in the same way, put upon their backs their baskets with all their womanly adornment. Thereupon they arose to carry in their arms the gifts made them; before the door, in the street, they arranged themselves in procession. And the bathed ones thereupon entered the interior of the

que, yoan in teixamjque cioa: in mocnoa iquac in tlatlapitzalo.

Auh injc motemeoa connecujlolo, maana, motetepana: injc maana iaoalli, aço toli, anoço mecatl in qujiaoallalia: in tlaaltilti intlan nactivi, cenca motlatlalos, chichitonj, vivicinj, iuhqujn tlaixtotochca, iuhqujn tlacica: moiaiaoalos, amo cujca, amo ma cujca.

Auh in calpulveveique, qujotlatzotzenjlia: auh çanjoque in cujca: cequjntin tlatlatra, tlatlamaviçoa: auh cenca tlamavizztililosa, cenca qujmavizztiliaia in neçaoalistli: vel ixqujch tlacatl, mocnitzqujaia: oc cenca iehoantin, in tealtique: aiac cioacochia, auh in cioa, ano ac oqujchcochia.

Auh in onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlazitinj.

Auh in otlatvic, in vncan tlacempoalti, in ie vel iquac ilhujtl: njman ie ic vi in tlaaltilti, mocacalnaoatizque: qujnpatilia tlilli, açi tezotli, anoço tlavitl: auh in jquac ie vi mocacalnaoatizque, cujcativi, iuhqujn no in tozqujtzatzaianj, omach içaoacaque: in onacique inchan tealtique, njmã conaquja in imma tezoitlan, anoço tlilitlan, anoço tlauhtitlan: njman ie ic commamaña tlaquetzaltitech, yoã tlaizquatl itech, izquicã quiça in inchachan tealtique.

Auh in jnquican onquizque, in inoaniolcaoacan: njmã ie ic no ceppa vi in inchachã, in nen qujotlamaca; in cequjntin oc ontlaqua; auh in cequjntin aocmo tlaqua.

Auh in jquac in, ie ic onoc in tetlauhtilli, ic qujchixtoc in tilmatli, in maxtlad, in vipilli, in cueitl: auh in onotetecac, tetlauhtilli; njmã ie ic mochichioa in tlaaltilti commomamaltia in impã, çan monomavia in muchichioa: auh in cioa çan no innoma in cõmomamaltia, intana, in jnquich inciotlatqui: njmã ie ic moquetza in tlanapalos, in qujnpalos tetlauhtilli, qujiaoac, vtlica oalmotecpana: auh in tlaaltilti, njman ie ic calaquj in cioapan, qujoalioalos in tlecujlli: mec oalquiça, mec ommoiacatia

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlaloca descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlaloca. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *maguey* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on cuatolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamavizztililizzli, in qujchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic cuatolteti occe metztli in motenena Atemuztli. 796X

Injc cuatolteti, oce ilhujtl ichoatl in motenena Atemuztli:

injc motenena Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, ooalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jaqujch macoualli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlacuztica, tlateumattica, machizcaca, motemachitica: in quemmã oalanjx qujavitl:

auh in ooalan qujavitl, njmã ic moquetztiquiça, qujcujtivetzi in jtlema, vel huijtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan quiça: auh in jxaoteoon coatl no cacalaca, no iollo: [445]

njmã quixopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian quiça in teujtoaloo, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qujnotza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in cequjntin macoualti, monetoltiaia injc tepiquiçque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, yoan olli, yoa iztli, yoan ichtli in qujcoaia: [314 269]

cenca qujmavizztiliaia, yoan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiquiçque, yoã tequentiaque: amo mamoviaia injc malitiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono equjchocchia. [515 834]

Auh in ic iuh oallacvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoaltiti Atemuztli, iuh cuiaul in nemoa, vel neixpeloloa, in

1. "Dejada de el agua," according to Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 299), "porque este mes nada llueve, y vienen algunas aguas." Gualipa, (op. cit., p. 319) has the same.
Concerning the term *Atemoztli*, Thomas refers to frequent, extraordinary deluges in the region, attributed to Tlaloc.—Kupfer and Gibson, op. cit., p. 32.
2. The Pedrido MS (Kupfer, loc. cit.) places this in the lunaria of the cielo: "Se consultaban la Adivinos astrologos"—"se cada uno de los cinco se hacian los dioses cerros (Tlamacazque)."
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

the feast was to be celebrated. And only when the feast day came was there fasting.

And thus was the fasting: [thus] did they abstain from food: some ate at midday, [fasting] until past midnight; and some, when they ate at midnight, thereupon went past midday [fasting]. Thus they proceeded mortifying themselves.

And they fasted for the space of five nights—not by day but by night. And every time night fell, then they went within [the *calpulli*]. And when day broke, they went forth and performed their tasks.

Daily they thus did, until they had spent five days. And not then did they lie with women.

çan ilhujtl: auh çan ypan in jlhujtl quiçaz moçaoaia:

auh injc mocaoaia, tlaqualizcaoaia: cequintin tlaquaia nepantla tonatiuh, izquichica onaci iocalnepantla: auh in cequintin yquac tlaquaia in iocalnepantla, no yquac onaci in nepantla tonatiuh: çan iuh mopatlaciuh.

Auh in moçaoaia macujliooal, amo cenjlhujtl, çan iocan: auh in jquac ie iona, njman calaquj: auh in ozlathujc, vàlquiçaia, tlatequipanoaia:

mumuztlae iuh quichioaia, injc onaci macujlilhujtl: yoan ayocmo cioacochia.

[796] space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

[535] And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, already time for all to sleep, as when one nodderth;

[512] today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

[531] And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen,

[373] when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

[565] None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

[431] And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

[796] And the young warriors, the young warriors who [836] had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of [684] honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they are privily.

[548] And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his

[831] adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlamac, oc ocpa momalacachoa, in cujtlauje, calmocuepa.

Auh in necacaloa, ie tlaquauhioua, ie netetequipan: yn iuh mixtlaxilia axcan aço ie chicuauj ora.

Auh in ie ixquich, yn onecacaoloc, yn ompet vetetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujlioa, yn izquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in vecci pipilti, onca cacalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlikotiuj, qujetlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenacaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujnololoa, qujncenquijxtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujnixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlauelilloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloa, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatiachcaoan, in cioatiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oalioualquiça, çan moiocalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in qujça:

auh intla aca itoa, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujnxnocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in izquich ytlatequj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlêtlecaloa, huaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap,[7] which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquiaxcan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atzochicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atzochicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiuuh nocne aço toquichtli, açɔ tlaiacauh, quen tiniitocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaquijuh in teiaoua, maça tequjch miqujcti:

yoan in tlaolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjac.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, çɔ iaiatiuh, chichicoeatiuh, çɔ zonauhtiuh, tlentiuh, ic centlatlaiacauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoc.

Auh in cioatl çan qujotoca, in cioatetiachcauh: aoqujc no teoá cujcoanoc, aoqujc no teoanoc, ic qujcennaoatja, qujcennacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccennaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa moteznachia, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoc.

Auh in ichoatl yn otlatacujtiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiaocujlia.

Auh yn siamo aci in iquac ie uel illujtl, yn motenoua vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itico cozic, auh yn iequac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoio, concapetlatl: yn iconqui chalchiujtl miecpanti, teucujlacoualli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacae yhiacac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoá yn ichicaoac chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jnjquin, in miquin mantia:

in cemilhujtl compouhtia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vecan vacan in tacicocan, tacito: yoan iccaiocan necoquiaxcan: yajc ecan vacan yn aquja, yn atzochicalcan, ynic motemoua atzochicalcan, ca vacan, oalchoboaia yn atl, yoan no vacan oalpopolinjaia yn

796x
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836

796x
[302]
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[292
293]

796x

796x
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7. Standing the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and logical in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in Seler-Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec columns is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquja* is probably an assimilation of *atoquja*.—Angel Maria Garibay, personal communication.

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until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in those times they covered themselves with nothing else. All thus danced, wrapped only in netted capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

mijnoia, inqujchica yn oqnin iocalli xelini, yn oonqnin iocalnopantla. [535]

auh nijman niac tle quimokloonia, in ixqujch ic netetilo, çanyio in nenokolo chalcaiotl, haçan nel ishqui petlaxhtinenca, [592]

yn oqnin cuicatl, nijman cecemanoa, niurtla yni, nnurtla yni, in centlaxilacalti, mòquiniui vmpa denchi in jacochia, injn telpuchcali.

auh in ie vel oquichtin in ie quiximati tlaltiepaiotl, vmpa onocochi in jnnecaoa. [836]

[p. 56 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,[1] or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].[2] Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

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836

And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

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[582]

When the masters of the youths had consented,[3] when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his house.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals[4] were taken thence. Lords and mar-

Injc. 6. capítulo: vncan moteneoa in tetlazacuiltilizti, in tetlamaceoaltilizti, ynjc qujntlazacuiltiaia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaoanaia.

Injc nezcaltiloia telpuchcali, cẽca necujtlavilo, in nochpanoaztli, njman ainc quja in vetli.

auh in ie vel oqujchti, i ie chicaoaque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vetli, cenca motlatiaia, çan nj.nan amo teispan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quexq'ch in quja,

auh intla itoia haca telpuchtli tlaoana, in itto in at vetlica namjco, anoço vetztoc anoço quica, anoço cana teoan tlaoantica itto, njman ica necentlaliło, ica neneschicolo:

auh ica mavizti vetzi, intla çan maceoalli, anoço ça can aquin, teizpan viviteco, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miquj, anoço mecatl quiiecultia.

auh intla tlaçupilli ichtaca qujmecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchti ohome, iccy in jnmezaoan oncatca, aço ce vel ichã in ca, aço quezqujntin chaiaoaque. auh in iquac quilhuja motelpuchtlali, tlaztlaoa injc qujntlalcavia in telpupuchti quachtli, quicaoa aço matlactli, aço cemipilli in mocuihtonoa,

yn oaxque in tachcaoan in oquimacauhque njmã (mitoa) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cihuatl conana in ichan qujpia.

auh in moxcalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaoa telpuchiotl, cenca ficã veveti in telpuchpan; auh yiolhotlama in tlatoanj, qujnaoatia,

auh amo cenca mjocpa in telpuchpan anoço in tecuti, çã tlatlacaçoeca, tlatlacochcalca, achcacauhti yn

1. Quizá: probablemente cuando la mamaba. Sahagún, en *Biblioteca Enciclopedia*, p. 345, representaba dos Nahuatlajos aquí propuestos—"una filled with filth."
2. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 346, n. 1, says of quauhtica vetzi: quauhtica miquj: "Parecido como quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miquj—Ahorcado, *I* ahorcado?"
3. Compare reference to the *Real Palacio* 383 suggests that this should read *quiiecultia*.
4. See Chapter V, sec. 3, 4.

874 793 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

[673] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

[252] Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

[273] 836 688 Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *magney* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

[785] Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

vitztlalia, itecciz ietiuh, tlapiztiuh, in canj yn evitztlahuia, yn oacito vmpa oallapiztiuh.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in iocalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iocalli zellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlatlaubtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic ospaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Jnjc. ii. in iocalnepãtla apantemoia in ic tachcaoa, atlã õmaltiaia.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iocalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iocalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa nomeçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. oenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Tlapaloa, sc. *comiere el pan casi partido, quitado cosmos*" (Molina, op. cit.).

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16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

procuresses were severely punished, though not with loss of 689
life.[126]

While clandestine relations between young men and girls were [836]
known to exist and, if not sanctioned, still were not punished,[127] 684
it was different if a married man attempted to seduce a maiden who was not an outcast. The seducer was invariably punished.[128] Intercourse between unmarried people was tolerated, as a preliminary to marriage and the consequent increase of kinship, but if a husband, in contravention of the obligation "not to marry in the kin," endeavored to satisfy his lusts upon one of that kin's wards, as the daughters of members all were, then he committed

VII, cap. XVII, p. 488). all affirm, besides, that young people, while yet in care of the "houses of training," if intoxicated, were killed. This is also confirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib. III. appendix, cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271). Except by *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), it is generally conceded that drunkenness was well controlled in aboriginal Mexico.

[126] Although prostitution was tolerated, still, houses of ill-fame did not exist. *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. II, p. 376): "Esto parece, porque permitieron, que huviesse Mugeres, que se daban à los que querian, y se andaba á esta vida suelta, y gananciosa, como las de nuestra España, y otros Reinos; puesto que no tenian casa señalada, ni publica para la execucion de su mal oficio, sino que cada qual moraba donde le parecia, y el acto deshonesto, en que se ocupaba, servia de lugar publico, y en el mismo vicio se hacia publica y se manifestaba." *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "Permitian los mexicanos, mujeres que ganassen con sus cuerpos, aunque no teniau lugares señalados." It is, therefore, not quite clear what may be meant by the term "alcahueta." In the sense of the French word "entremetteuse," alone, they were amenable to punishment, since it was the duty of the man to hunt his "female," although he sometimes employed women called "cihuatlanqui" for that purpose I suppose that such women were punished, [548]
not for the *immorality* of their conduct, but for their *unauthorized forwardness* in [562]
addressing themselves to men, and thus trespassing upon the dignity of that superior being. In regard to authorities on the mode of punishment, I but refer to those quoted by *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 469, note 101).

[127] I have already shown that young people held intimate relations with each other before the formalities of marriage were arranged. Thus, while he was yet at the "Telpuchcalli," the youth had his female friend, "amiga" or "manceba," outside. This is positively stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. III, appendix, cap. VI, p. 271): "y estos mancebos tenian sus amigas cada uno dos ó tres, la una tenian en su casa, y las otras estaban en las de sus familias." and *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 376). That these female "friends" were regarded with more than a feeling of platonic love, is dryly expressed by *Sahagun* (Id: cap. V, p. 270): "y los que eran amancebados ibanse á dormir con sus amigas." It is also asserted by *Torquemada* (see above): "que despues que aquel mancebo havia un Hijo, en la dicha manceba, luego le era forçoso, ó dejarla, ó recibirla por muger legitima." *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 480): "los mancebos antes de casarse tenian sus mancebas, y solian pedirlas á las madres." This almost establishes promiscuity among the ancient Mexicans, as a preliminary to formal marriage.

[128] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 488) says that the punishment was not like that of the adulterer, "because the husband was not required to the same amount of conjugal fidelity as the wife." With "slaves" concubinage was permitted, and the result of childbirth was freedom to the child. Death was invariably the punishment of those who held, or attempted to hold, intercourse with girls in care of the house of worship. *Zurita* (p. 108, etc.). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 126): "El que hazia fuerza à virgen, ora fuese en el campo, ora en casa del padre moria por ello."

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

585 at last a feast, liberally lubricated with pulque, took place.
[834] The bride and the groom, after this merciless treatment, retired for four days of penance and fasting, and not until that period elapsed did they consummate their marriage.

595 As is often the case in a warrior nation which suffers from
586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed from a husband who failed to support her or educate the children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the
[587] Aztecs had not invented mental cruelty. A divorced woman could remarry as she chose, but a widow had to marry a brother of her deceased husband or one of his clansmen.[8]

562 Women had definite rights, but they were inferior to those of men. They could hold property, enter into contracts and go to courts to obtain justice. In matters of sexual morality
[834] girls had to be chaste and wives faithful to their husbands. A
[837] man transgressed the rules of propriety only when his illicit relations involved a married woman. Otherwise his wife could not formally demand his fidelity. While the legal position of women was relatively low, judged by modern standards in the United States, personal influence was great, and there were several instances where a woman acted as regent when her son was too young to assume the office of chief. In mat-
[648] ters of tribal alliance we have seen how the marriage of a chief's daughter or sister to another ruler cemented an alliance.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

000 And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

643 THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of [302] an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He [515] was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, [595 daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as ● 837] his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free [515] from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He 643 had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other 644 rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

463 judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

[837] In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always 463 wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of 581 Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

463 Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews,[1] and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he 463 wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers 351 and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

1 [i.e., buffoons.—Bunnyst]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape 567
threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their 731
children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or 562
of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for 565
the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether 837
different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such [634]
purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became [548
tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in 595]
the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Tellerianus Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 136) mentions one in 1404 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1403. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 243) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the older, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay those aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezcocomoc* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 261) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 235) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap I, p. 288), agrees with Durán and Tezcocomoc, so does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 265): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451–1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. XLVII, p. 156) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

And [concerning] this pestle: when they caught, trapped mice,[24] they cast the pestle out the doorway. It was thought that if it were in the house, they could not be caught; it was said that it would warn them.[25]

Yoan in ichoctl tezoltl: in jquac quijmaci, in quijmolvia quiçquijnjchtin: in tezoltl quijnoac quiçaliça, quijlmach: intla çan cali iez: amo vel macia-que in quiçquijnjchti, quijlmach çan quijmonjoatica. 825 412

Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of mice.

Injc ompoalli omome capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in quiçquijnjchti. 825 837

They said, in times past, that it was thought that mice knew well him who had a paramour, whether a young man or a woman. In order for it to be evident, the mouse made a hole in a large basket, or gnawed the edges of gourd dishes or bowls. Likewise, if men, or a woman, were married, he made holes in their mats, or the men's mantles. In the same way, he gnawed through a woman's shift or skirt. And everywhere the mouse made holes. It was said that thereby he made known that one's spouse had committed adultery.

Quijnnia in ic vecauh, quijlmach in quiçquijnjchti vel quijmati, in açoçja momemecatia: in aço telpuchtli, anoço cioatl. Injc neci in quijnjchin quiçcoionja in chiquivitl, anoço tecomatl, anoço xicalli quijnequequania. No iuhque intla namjque toquijchtin, anoço cioatl: yn jnpetl, anoço yn jolma-toquijchtin quiçcoionjaia: çã no iuhquin cioatl, yn jcue, anoço yn jvipil quiçcoionja: yoan noujan tlacocoionja in quijnjchim, quijl ic quijnencaiotia: ca oquijlaxin yn jnamjc.

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of turkey hens.

Injc ompoalli omey capitulo, intechpa tlatoa in tzoalme. 825 235

Turkey hens: when they were breeding, one who wore sandals might not go in among them. Especially when the chicks were about to break [the shells], it was said that [the hens] sat paralyzed. [The chicks] could not break [the shells, and] some would die. But some, when they hatched, it was thought, would only be paralyzed, those which were there in the shells. And it was said that in order that this might not happen, they placed old sandals among them when [the hens] breeded.

In tzoalme: in jquac tlapachoa, amo vel inpan calaqui in mocactia: oc cenca yquac in ic tlapanjzque tzoalti, quijlmach ic mocoxxtlalia: amo vel tlapanjzque, cequjntin ic mjquj: auh in cequjntin yn jquac tlacati quijl çan cocoxxpipil, in vncan catz in cacalloc. Auh quijl injc amo ish mochioazque yn, cacçalli intlan quijxma in tlapachoa.

Twenty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of turkey chicks.[26]

Injc ompoalli omnavi capitulo, intechpa tlatoa yn tzoalcocoxtotoa. 825 235 837

And when turkey chicks hatched, one might not enter among them who had a paramour, whether woman or man, or those who were married. When perchance the spouse [of one of them] had committed adultery, if he were to go in among [the chicks], they said: "He killeth them through filth."

Auh in jquac oclacaque in tzoalcocoxtotoa: avel inpan calaqui in momecatianj, in aço cioatl, in anoço toquijchtin, in anoço namjquequc: in jquac in aço oquijlaxin inamjc, intla inpan ocalac, quijxma: quijnlaçolmjctia.

24. Ibid.: "quando atrapaban ratones en casa."

25. Ibid.: "no entraba los ratones, porque el entendiera, los conjuraba, para que no entraran."

26. Pseudocoxcoxtotl, small turkeycocks.

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aequectiuj injc mjquj teolpipil, ic quitoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaquico, anoço oquimjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oquintlaçolmjcti: ic quimatia, in çan muchin aequetztivi teolme, injc mjquj.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
236 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse, whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then
●837 believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Quil no iuh inpan muchiua in namjquenque: in aço cana quitlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toquichtin: injc quimati, çan quipiqui in aequetztivetzi, anoce cana motlavitequi.

286 Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.

Injc ompoalli onnaocuilli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl quiquiti.

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

In icpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in iquac quiquiti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviquixtiuh, in tenaecoliuhtiuh, quitonia: quilmach amo tlacaitlio yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueitlahqui, çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaitlio.

821 Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.

Injc ompoalli on chiquaoen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who thrift [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chia field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

In iquac quiavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquin vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli quiiaoac quiioaltepeoa, itvalco: quilmach yc amo tecivilos in imjl, quil ic poliui in tecivitl.

754 Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.

Injc ompoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

776 At night walked demons—perchance wizards
787 and sorcerers—where they harmed one in one's home. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that these the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

In iocalica nemj tlatlacatecolo: aço nanaoalti, tlavipuchtin in canin ontepolos in techan: in oquimjtaque in aço itla ic quinpolos in chanequc: niman atlan contoca yxtli puertatitlan, anoço itualco quimana in iocalica, quitonia: quilmach vncan onmotencavia in tlatlacatecolo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepolos: aço mjcoua, anoce encolistli tepan muchiuaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Los pollos se cayan muertos, los pavos arriba: y esto, llamaua diapolujqui.*"

28. Corresponding Spanish text: "*no parecia, no que le sale, no parecia biruendula.*" Cuenayo, in Sandoval, op. cit., is in doubt o false seam.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—" Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to México we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797 [782 266] [838]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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and fifty pesos and they said:—"Malinche, accept these presents which we give you and look on us in the future as your friends." Cortés received them with great good will and promised to help them in whatever they needed, and when he saw them together he told the Padre de la Merced to counsel them regarding matters touching our holy faith, and that they should give up their Idols, and he told them all that we were accustomed to say in all the towns through which we had passed, and to all this they replied that it was well said and that they would see to it in the future. Cortés also explained to them about the great power of our Lord, the Emperor, and how we had come to right wrongs and to stop robbery, for it was for this purpose that our Emperor sent us to these countries.

When they heard this, all these towns that I have named, secretly, so that the Mexican Ambassadors should not hear them, made great complaints about Montezuma and his tax gatherers, who robbed them of all they possessed, and violated their wives and daughters, if they were handsome, before them and their husbands, and carried them off, and made the men work as though they were slaves, and made them carry pine timber and stone and firewood and maize either in their canoes or over land, and many other services such as planting cornfields, and they took their lands for the service of the Idols. They made many other complaints, which, as it was many years ago, I do not remember.

Cortés comforted them with kindly words which he knew well how to say to them through Doña Marina, but added that at the present moment, he could not undertake to see justice done them and they must bear it awhile [and] he would [presently] free them from that rule, and he secretly ordered two of their chiefs to go with four of our Tlaxcalan allies, and inspect the cleared road, which the people of Huexotzingo had told us not to follow, and to

539 Then it became the office of Ecatl to slay the gods. But they say thus: that Xolotl wished not to die. He said to the gods: "Let me not die, O gods." Wherefore he wept much; his eyes and his eyelids swelled.

And when he who dealt death was to overtake him, he fled from his presence; he ran; he quickly entered a field of green maize, and took the form of, and quickly turned into, two young maize stalks [growing] from a single root, which the workers in the field have named *xolotl*. But there, in the field of green maize, he was seen. Then once again he fled from him; once more he quickly entered a magney field. There also he quickly changed himself into a magney plant [consisting of] two [parts] called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and once more he quickly entered into the water and went to take the shape of [an amphibious animal called] *axolotl*. There they could go to seize him, that they might slay him.

[136]

And they say that though all the gods died, even then the sun god could not move and follow his path. Thus it became the charge of Ecatl, the wind, who arose and exerted himself fiercely and violently as he blew. At once he could move him, who thereupon went on his way. And when he had already followed his course, only the moon remained there. At the time when the sun came to enter the place where he set, then once more the moon moved. So, there, they passed each other and went each one his own way. Thus the sun cometh forth once, and spendeth the whole day [in his work]; and the moon undertaketh the night's task; he worketh all night; he doth his labor at night.

From this it appeareth, it is said, that the moon, Tecuciztecatl, would have been the sun if he had been first to cast himself into the fire; because he had prepared himself first and all [his offerings] had been costly in the penances.

Here endeth this legend and fable, which was told in times past, and was in the keeping of the old people.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821 ● 843 When the moon eclipsed, his face grew dark and sooty; blackness and darkness spread. When this came to pass, women with child feared evil; they thought it portentous; they were terrified [lest], perchance, their [unborn] children might be changed

Niman ic ich ixquich tlamachtiloni, in hecatl, ic quinnijctia in teteu: auh in ioh conitoa, in xolotl, amo momiquiztlania: quimilhui in teteu. Macamo nimiqui teteuie. Ic ofca chocaia, vel ipopoçaoac, ixquatlapoçaoac.

Auh in ic itech onaci miquiztli, çan teiquipa oac, chalo, tocitlan calactiuetz: ipan onnijxoch, ic mocueptiuetz, in tocili ome quauj, mazalic: in quinocaiotia milloca, xolotl. Auh vncan itoc in tocitlan: ic no ceppa teiquampa oac, ic no cuele metztlan calactiuetz: no ic tlamocueptiuetz in metl, ome mauj, in itoca mexolotl. Ic no ceppa itoc, ic no cuele atlan calactiuetz, axolotl mocuepano: ic vel vmpa canaiz, inic cannictiqui.

Auh quinoa, in mazel mochiton teteu oniquipa, ça nel amo ic olin, amo vel ic otlatocac in teuil tonatiuh: ic ixquich onimochioh in hecatl, moquetz in ehecatl, cenca molhui, tonoac, in ehecac: quin ie hecatl vel oolinj, nimah ic ic otlatoca. Auh in ioac, ic otlatoca, çan vmpa onimocaah in metztli: quinicoac in ocalaquito icalaquian ynatiuh, ic no cuele ic oalcoac in metztli: ic vncan moquitlique, motlalhoique. Inic ceppa oalquiça tlacemilhuitilhia in tonatiuh: auh in metztli ioualhequitl quitlaça cêtoual quitlaça, iouallequitl.

Ic vncli hin teci, mitoa: ca ihcuel tonatiuh ixquia in metztli tecuciztecatl, iatla ic achto onontzinj tlecu: ipampa ca ihcuel achto mitquetz, inic tlachi tlaçoli ipan tlamacoah.

Nican tlatli, in hin nenonotzalli, çaçanilli: in ic oncah ic tlahtocotzinia, vecaque, in ixquitl cauia.

Moztli qualo.

821 843 In ioac, qualo metztli: ixtlilooa, ixnichoca, cuichocuiocoaca, tlaiocuiocoaca. In ioac, y, mochiton: ual motlatlaia in cuzaia, tlacuiaia, mocuechtlaia: ma ualli mocuiocuichiquiti, ma quiquiocuichiuacaqui, in ixquitlaca.

into mice; each of their children might turn into a mouse.

And because they feared evil, in order to protect themselves, in order that this might not befall [them], they placed obsidian in their mouths or in their houses, because with this their children would not be born with mouth cutem away—lipless; or they would not be born with noses cutem away or broken off; or with twisted mouths or lips; or cross-eyed, squint-eyed, or with shrunken eyes; nor would they be born monstrous or imperfect.

This moon there of Xalocan worshipped as a god, and they laid offerings before him and paid him honor.

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Auh inic quinnemmatia: inic mopatiaia, inic amo tohqui impā mochiowa: iezli incamac, amoço inxillā quitlalizia: ipāpa inic amo tencoiziuiqui, tencoiziqui impilhoua: amoço iacacoztiuiqui, iacacoztiuiqui, amoço tempaxiuiqui, tennecuiliuiqui, iqueziuiqui, imeculiuiqui, iocaliuiqui: in amoço atlacamele tlacatia, in amo tlacamelaca.

821
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843

Inin metztli, ichoan quimotoutiaia in xalocamoca: quitlamanilizia, quimaxitilizia.

752

[p. 10 is blank]

S:Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

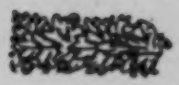

Tenth Chapter, wherein is described the disposition of those who kept watch when the new fire appeared.

At nightfall, from here in Mexico, they departed. All the fire priests were arranged in order, arrayed in and wearing the garb of the gods. Each one represented and was the likeness of perhaps Quetzalcoatl, or Tlaloc, etc., or whichever one he went representing. Very deliberately, very stately, they proceeded, went spread out, and slowly moved. It was said: "They walk like gods." Thus, in deep night, they arrived there at Uixachtlan.

And the one who was the fire priest of Copulco, who drew new fire, then began there. With his hands he proceeded to bore continuously his fire drill; he went about making trials with his drill, the fire-maker.

And when it came to pass that night fell, all were frightened and filled with dread. Thus way it said: it was claimed that if fire could not be drawn, then [the sun] would be destroyed forever; all would be ended; there would evermore be night. Nevermore would the sun come forth. Night would prevail forever, and the demons of darkness would descend, to eat men.

Hence everyone ascended the terraces; all went upon the housetops. None remained in their houses, on the ground below. And women with child put on masks of magney leaves and took up their magney-leaf masks. [They] placed [the women] in granaries, for they were looked upon with fear. It was said and claimed that if, truly, the new fire were not drawn, there also would eat men; [for] they would be changed into fierce beasts.

And the small children they likewise masked with magney leaves. In truth, some [of them] could sleep, or close, close, as [even] half-close their eyes. From close to time their mothers and fathers were [there with them]; they kept waking them, punching and nudging them, calling out to them. They woke, startled, and nudged them. Because if they were to

Inic matlactli capitulo, vncan materoua, in tlatecpanilistli: in quipiaia, inic ikuic tletl necia.

Ie tlapoioua, in nican oncoaia mexico: motecpantinin, mochiuti in tlehuamacacque, mochicuihtini, ommaaqui in intlacpai teteu: in coceniaca impan mixcoaia, quinmiztlapixiaia, in aço quetzalcoatl, anoço tlaloc et' in çaço ac ichoual ipan quistiuia, cenca çan iiolic, cenca çan iuian in iatiuiia, onotiuiia, mantiuiia: motencoa, teumenemi, inic uellaquauhioua onaci, vmpa uixachtlã.

Auh in ichoual copolco tlenamacac, in tlequauhtlaxqui: niman nican quipeoaltia, in imac quimamaiaiotiuh itlequauh: quischecotiuh ica in imamalioaca, in itlaçaloca.

In iquac, y, oioouac, cenca nemauhtiloia, tlatemmacheia: iuh mitoua, quilmach intlacamo, uel vetzir tlequauid: vncan cempoliooua, centlamoua, centlaiooqa, aocmo ualquiçac in tonatiuh: ie ic centlaioua, oalmoaque in tzitzimimi, tequaquiui:

ic mochi tlacatl itlapanco tlecoia, netlapantemaloia, aocac tlalchi, tlatzinda, cali mocaoaia, motlaliaia. Auh in oozti, momexiacatiaia, inmemexiac quicuia, yoan cuacuamac quintlaliaia: ipampa mauhcaitaia, iuh mitoua, quilmach intlaca uel uetzi tlequauid: no ichoantin tequanque, motequiccpanque.

Auh in pipiltotin, no quinmemexiacatiaia: aiac uel: onochiia, onicopia, onmiquiqia, onjmocoxtlaia: çan ic cate in iuilhoua, in intoboã, quinixitiaia, quinixipixiaia, quinitlaiaia, quinxamilicate, quinxitia, quinqipia, quintlos: ipampa iuda onochiaque, quilmach quiquinichtia mocoçaque, quinichiaque.

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After the sun had set, the moon began to move. Thus the one got away from the other. And thus they come forth at different times. The sun endureth one day, and the moon worketh at night (or illuminateth at night). From this cometh what is said: that Tecuciztecatl would have been the sun if he had cast himself first into the fire, because he was named first, and offered precious things in his penance.

Despues que el sol se puso començo la luna a andar: desta manera se deuiaron el vno del otro: y assi salen ē diuersos tiempos. El sol dura vn dia y la luna trabaia en la noche o alumbra en la noche. De aqui parece lo que se dize q̄ el tecuciztecatl avia de ser sol si p'mero se echara en el fuego porque el p'mero fue nōbrado y ofrecio cosas preciosas en su pēia.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821

When the moon is eclipsed, he becometh almost dark; he becometh blackened; he turneth a dark brown. Then the earth darkeneth. When this cometh to pass, women with child feared miscarriage. A great dread seized them that that which they had in their bodies would become mice. And as a remedy for this they took a piece of obsidian in the mouth or they placed it in the girdle over the belly and [did so] in order that the children [whom they carried] in the womb would not be born lipless or noseless or wry-mouthed, or cross-eyed, or that [one] might not be born monstrous.

[843 751]

Quando la luna se eclipsa parese casi oscura, ennegrecese, parese bosca: luego se escurece la tierra. Quando esto acontece las preñadas temian de abortar, temauales gran temor que lo q̄ tenian en el cuerpo se a de boluer raton. Y para remedio desto tomavan vn pedaço de yztli ē la boca o poniaule en la çintura sobre el vientre y para que los ninos que en el vientre no saliesen sin beços o sin narizes, o boquituertos, o bizgos: o porq̄ no naciesse monstro.

The people of Xalmecac held the moon as a god and made him special offerings and sacrifices.

Los de xalmeca tenian por dios a la luna y le hazian particulares ofrendas y sacrificios.

844 Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the umbilical cord.[7]

Injc chicuacuevi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tetic.

The time of cutting the umbilical cord of small children was also [one of] their delusions. If it were the umbilical cord of a boy, they buried it far away. The brave warriors hung it on themselves and bore it with them into battle.[8] And if the father were skilled in war, he left it; he buried it there, in the midst of the battle ground. It was said that [the child] would be skilled in war, if he grew.

And if it were the umbilical cord of a girl, they only buried it at the edge of the hearth. It was said that this was because her abode was only the house; only and alone she took charge of drink and food, dwelling by the grinding stone. For this reason only in the house did they bury her umbilical cord.

In jquac quiyxiuiquiya piplhuetzi: zo cocoxca innetlapololtilin. Intla oquichtli inic, voca in cuetecain: vmpan iauc, teteuh cuapilouia, quiyquiya in tlacoean: auh intla iavc matiuj teta, ichoatl concouia: vmpa contocaia in iauiquentla, quijtuach: iavc matiuj yez intla velijzz.

Auh intla cioapilouatli inic: çan netlecuijlouao in contocaia, quijtuach ipampa: yu çan cali yiuentla, in çan ic iaquich quijnocuiplavia atl, tlaqualli, metlatitlan nenemj: ipampa yu, çan caliric contocaia in jnic.

845 Tenth Chapter, which telleth of the pregnant woman.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ciuatli.

Of the pregnant woman there also was a delusion of the natives. If a pregnant woman wished to go walking during the night,[9] then she placed a little ash in her bosom.[10] It was said that thereby she protected the child within her, in order that he should not meet [an apparition] somewhere. In this wise she took care of her child.

In jtechpa in ciuatli: no vacoca innetlapololtilin in njcon tlaca: in ciuatli, intla ioualtica nenemjzaequj: njman ixillan coetlalia aquijtoa neztli, quijtuach ic quipalevia in jnic ca pilhuatli: injc zeno quijtenamjctia cana, iuhquin ic quijtualvitiuh yeneuah.

846 Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the woman lately delivered.

Injc matlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ciuatl, in quinezallacachiua.

Another thing the natives did in their folly. When they would visit one who had [just] borne a child, if they took their [own] children with them, they then quickly placed ashes on their temples, knees, and shins, and everywhere [did they place ashes]. And the woman who applied the ashes set before the hearth. It was said, if they did not place ashes on the knees of the children, that when they walked, their knees, wrists, ankles, and foreheads would crackle.[11]

No centlamantli a iauiquinamacaio mayztia, in njcan tlaca: yn jquac tla quijtlapalouaque injxuhquj, intla inpilhoan quijvica: njman ycuaca quijnecatiuia incuauocaca, in jatlauaque, in jxtlanjzco, in ye iaquican tequçaliuhcan: ican quijnocavia, novian: auh in tezcahuja tlecuijlixaque motlalia, ciuatl: quijtuach intlacoma quijtlauquanecuiuque yn pipiltzintli: çan tlatlatzintzecuijx in jxtlanqua, in jxmaquechtlan, in jxxoquechtlan, yn jxujxaque.

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7. Literally, "our speech." Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Camillo Sofer-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, and Walter Knickenberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), pp. 314 ff., translates a comparable passage found in the *Academia de la Historia MS.*

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*el hijo, dando se dando los hombres*."

9. *Ibid.*, "*andar de noche, sin ser amanecido*."

10. *Ibid.*, "*en el seno, o en la chinina hasta o la cerca*."

11. *Ibid.*, "*si acaso no se hacia aquellas cenizas, quebraran rasgar de los coyuntures y . . . sobre ellas, quebraban quando los caminaban*."

were to be burned, because of it the child's face would be pock-marked.[16] And if maize cobs were to burn there, first she passed and carried them before the child's face,[17] so that such would not befall him — so that his face would not be pock-marked.

vncan tlatlas in olotl: achtopa ijaco tonquiçquixilia, ijaco cuevivica in piltontli: injc amo iuh ipan muchioaz, injc amo ichichitinja. 846 753

Ninetenth Chapter, which reflects of the woman with child.

Injc caxtolli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatta: yn cioatl oztli. 843

The woman with child might not look at one whom they had hanged, because, it was said, when she gave birth, the child would come forth with a cord of flesh wrapped about his neck. Wherefore in times past they frightened pregnant women from doing so.

In cioatl oztli, amo vel quittaz in aquin ic quipilia: yehica, quilmach in jquac mjzivix, nacatica ozquechunecaiotiaz in piltontli. Ipampa yn, ic quimjnacazihtiaia in ic vecauh in oztli.

Likewise, when a woman was with child during an eclipse of the sun or moon, she might might not look at it. It was said that if she saw it, her child would be harelipped. But in order to forestall this, the woman with child placed an obsidian knife in her bosom; it was said that thereby her child would not be harelipped.

No yoan yn jquac oztli cioatl, in jquac qualo tonatiuh, anoço metztli: amo vel quittaia, quilmach intla quittaz: tesquatic iez in jconeuh. Auh injc quipalevizia oztli: ytztli ixillan cuetecaia, quil ic amo tenquaiviz in piltontli. [821]

Neither might she chew asphalt,[18] it was stated, lest the child be harmed in suckling[19] when he was born. And she could not walk about at night; it was felt that her child would be one who cried much. Likewise men might not walk about by night; perhaps they would come upon a ghost; perhaps the child would suffer a sickness of the heart. And so that this would not happen, the woman with child placed a pebble, or ashes from the hearth, or wormwood,[20] in her bosom. And the men [carried] a pebble, or tobacco [on the chest]; for it was said that also, at that time, [the child] might acquire what they called a swelling.[21]

Amono vel quiçquequaz in chapuputli, quil ic amo motentzoponjz in piltontli: in jquac ytlacat. Yoan amo vel ioual nenemiz, quil cenca cliocanj iez in jconeuh: no iuhquj in toquichtin: amono vel ioual nenemjz, anoçe itla quimonamjctia, aço mjmjquja. Auh injc amo iuh ipan muchioaz oztli: xaltetl, anoço tlecuexitli ixillan quitemá, anoço iztauhiatl. Auh in toquichtin xaltetl, anoço picietl: ichica quil no vecan quicuj, in quitoa: aiomama. 843 753

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*la cara del niño, que luego nacido nada parece a hojuelas.*"

17. *Ibid.*: "*tomaban primero en la cara del niño, llevándolas por encima, sin tocar en la cara.*"

18. *Chapuputli*: "*especie de asfalto; betún de Judea; . . . Los indios la usaban antiguamente como masticatorio*" (*chapuputzo* — Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 480). The corresponding Spanish text has "*cosa buena, que llama calcli.*" On the relationship between *calcli* and *chapuputli*, see Sahagún (Garibay ed.), X, 24, 18 and 27; and also Vol. IV, pp. 333, 366, for definitions.

19. Corresponding Spanish text: "*acostumbra aquella, que llaman mastichapuzle, [que usaban dello, los antiguos como mastiche], y cuando de que quando comen la criatura, si no cuidan de ponelo la cara en cruz, de la boca, [inclinándose en el pulidor] y luego quedo muerto.*" Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 366; and Sahagún de Sahagún. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Carlos Maria Bustamante, ed.; México: Alejandro Valdés, 1829); Vol. II: "*mastichapuzle (hoy mastichi) o sea embarazo en la respiración, que usaban de ello los antiguos como mastiche.*"

20. *Iztauhiatl*: "*cosa parecida al almoro*" (corresponding Spanish text); *estafiate* (*Artemisia mexicana* Willd.) — "*las hojas de quichen fuerte olor aromático y tienen sabor amargo. Usan como antihelmíntico poderoso*" (Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 624).

21. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 334.

843 752 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, blue hump. Or [he might catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc neci ximmana, yxnjtlapan ce, ixhuqujn pouaualli, ixhuqujn tenoic: anoço cuezpalizivitli. Injc neci cuezpalicivi pilhuatli: cecicoui in chaca, yoan yquxtilco, yciacac motlathlia nacazotonti, ololtotonti, molactotonti. Auh injc pati: quixmatla, quijquijxtia in nacazotonti.

843 821 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or she will be hamstrung!"

Ioan in ocxitl: in jquac ximmo vel tlacatl motlalia in jonecuh, quintlacaoaltiaia, in jquac oalmeztana metztli: injc anoço conacopaintzaqueque, quimjlhujaia: macamo xocmjttacan in metztli, mjanjquja, anoço tenquaiviz in amoconeuh.

825 777 441 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's hand.

Injc ceuepualli cxpitulo, yxchpa tlatoa: in oçomatli ymacpal.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly a monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In oçomatli imacpal: in puchteca ceuca quijnemaia, quimopaltiaia: in jquac in campa tiamjquja, in tlanamacaia: vncan quijtocaia, quilmach ic icuhca aquj, icuhca muchi coaloa in tlein quinamaca: quijl ichoatl ioh quichioa in oçomatli yma: yniic motlapoloia.

777 264 824 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere was disposed of that which they sold, when no one bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoantin in tilmanamacaque: in jquac ocan aquj in quinamaca, in aiac quicua: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço vipalli, quilmach: quichilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc quichioaia: in jquac oalvia ischan, quijtoaia: ocan oac in ytiamjc: ma xoconchilquaqualtican: niman ic ijcic contema, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: quilmach ic aquja, injc ioh quichioaia in, ic quitoa: quichilquaqualtia.

777 525 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle and the griddle.

Injc ceuepualli oce capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in texolotl, yoan comalli.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his house, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aquja patoaia, in ichan, in jtexolouh, ioan in jcomal, ioan in jmetl: irtlapach quimaçilia: auh in texolotl cana xomolco quipilaoia: quilmach: ic amo quitlaniaque in chane, çan ic tlatlaniz.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*otra enfermedad, que llaman cuezpalicivitli, o con lobanillos en las ingles.*" *Nota: Codex Rios* (*El manuscrito mexicano Vaticano 3738 llamado El Codex Rios* [Roma: Reprodotto Danesi, 1900], p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to *patolmes*, which is an error.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER VI

THE MAN AND THE TRIBE

In which are set forth the basic ideas of Aztec education, government, law and social customs

642 618 THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION of the Aztec tribes was in theory completely democratic. An individual was a member of a family which, in turn, belonged to a cluster of families or a clan.* Theoretically twenty of these clans made up a tribe, each of them regulating its own affairs but, in matters of tribal importance, joining with the others in a council composed of all the leaders. The council appointed one chief to control civil and religious affairs and usually a second for war. Originally designed for simple farming communities and presumably of an antiquity dating back to Middle Culture times, this organization later ramified into the governmental complexity of a populous and highly complicated city-state.[1]

844 The working of a community is best illustrated by the position of the individual in it, a process which is described in the third part of the Codex Mendoza. Immediately a child was born it was washed and swaddled by a midwife. Since 777 the gods governed the fate of man on earth, the parents con- 787 sulted a priest who looked in the *tonalamatl*,† or book of

*The term clan is used to mean a tribal division without connotation of male or female descent.

†To'-na-la-matl.

happy. He was destitute; on earth misery engulfed him. For verily he brought it on himself — because of his wickedness, disregard, shamelessness, and neglect. No one bequeathed it to him, for by his own will and of his own fault he brought unto himself injury, torment, and pain. Hence he was despised and disregarded. No one any longer obeyed him; no one became his friend; he stood by himself. No one took account of his personality. Everywhere he was hated; nowhere was he liked; nowhere did he give pleasure. But he was regarded as a thing, and looked at, for now he was a vagabond, proscribed, completely outlawed; he was on the outside, lingering on the outskirts; impudent and shameless. He went about haughty[7] and drunk. For truly he was abandoned to evil and feared. His side was sore; his head ached — it was in pain — so that he was incorrigible, suffering, and dejected. For he was full of evil — so perverse was he.

And of anyone who had gained merit and reward being then born, his fathers and mothers said: "Upon a good day sign hath he been born and created and come forth on earth; he hath arrived upon the earth on [the day sign] One Crocodile. Let him be bathed."[8]

Whereupon they gave him a name. They called him Cipac. Or else, they gave him the name of another one of his grandparents. Etc.

And, on the other hand, if it were the wish [of the parents], perchance they passed over the days; perchance they settled upon still another day for him to be bathed. For One Crocodile bore with it all favorable day signs.

And if it were a man who was born, when they bathed him they adorned for him a small shield, upon which they put four small arrows. And to it they bound his umbilical cord. They entrusted it to and sent it in the charge of brave chieftains, who left it at the battlefield. Right there where they fought, where there was fierce battle, at the crossing of the waters, they buried it.

And if it were a woman, when they bathed her, they put into the vessel in which she was bathed, the large northern bathing vessel, her spindle, her cotton,

quitlacamati, niac icnjuh quichioa, yioca quetzalo, 787X
aoc ac iiel quitta, novian tlaciuto, ácan velitolo, ácan
tlapoquiltia, ça tlatto, ça itto, ca ie tlastlacolli, ie tla-
lolli, ie centlalolli, ie tetenco cica, ie tetenco pipil-
cac, ie tepan onoc: injc ácuen tlatta, injc moquetlas-
tinemj, mjvinticinemj, ca nel otlauelcaoaloc, otlael-
lelaxiti, otlaxillíquauhtili, otlatzontecconquauhtili,
otlatzonquauhtili inic auel monotza, ca iiolaçic, iiel-
lelaçic, quimaxilti, ynjc tlaucililoc.

Auh in aca vel mácoaale, ilhujle, ipan otlacat: nj-
man quitoaia in jtahoan, in jnaoan, ca qualli tonalli
in ipan otlacat, oncoc, otlalticpacquiz, omotlalticpac-
quixti, ce cipactli: ma njman maki,

ic quitocamacaia, ic quinetzaia, cipac: anoço itla [553]
oc centlamantli, icolhoan intoca in quimacaia, etc.:

auh tel çan teiollotlama; in açoc conchololtizque,
açoc centlalisque oc centetl tonalli, ipan maltiz: ca
ie quiconvica in ce cipactli, ca muchi qualli tonalli.

Auh intla oquichtli otlacat: in iquac caltinia, chi- 787X
malcontli quichichivilinia, ipil temj navi mitotonti: 844
auh itech quijpinia in jnic, intech quicaoaia, intech
quipilonia in tlacaoan, iaopan concaoaia: vel oncan
in necalioa, in tlaiecolo, ya iapaniocan centocaia.

Auh intla çioatl otlacat: ynjc caltinia imalac, ich-
cauh, itzmalcac, ioan ipopouh, ichpanoaz ipan con-
temaia ya jpealtilcac, in jpealtilapan: ye quipectinia,

7. Cf. Angel Maria Garibay K.: "Pseudónimos de Sahagún," Tlalocan, II, 3 (1947), pp. 209 and 247 (n. 41), where discussion of the
[illegible]

8. The corresponding Spanish text usually uses "bapticen" for nahlia, [illegible] Ch. 37, infra (Chapultepec, etc.).

X 787 her spinning bowl, her sweeper, and her broom.
● 844 Thus they showed that the girl was one who went nowhere; only the house was her abode. Hence, near the grinding stone, at the edge of the hearth, they buried her umbilical cord.

X 787 And this count of days — so was it claimed —
791 was an invention of the two called and named
805 Ozomoco and Cipactonal, who gave it to the people. Ozomoco they painted as a woman, and Cipactonal [as] a man. They who were readers of day signs embellished their book of days with their representations, which they placed in the middle when they painted them. For it was so said that there they became lords of all the day count.

in ſcampa ianj cioatzintli, çan calli ichan: ic çan metlatiztlan, tlecujlaacanco contocaia, yn jxic.

Auh inin tonalpoalli, iuh mjtoaia: ichoan ietlanezttil, ichoan qujtemacaque, in vmeztin teneoalo, intoca Ozomoco, ioan cipactonal: in Ozomoco cioatl inic quçujloaia: auh in Cipactonal oqujchtli: in tonalpouhque catca yn jntonalamatzin quçiollotiaia, yn jmjxiptla ynepantla quçintlaliaia, injc quçujcujloaia: ca iuh mjtoaia: vncan tlatoque machioa, yn jpan ïaqujch tonalpoalli.

[p. 4]

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned the fifteenth sign, named One House. And it was said to be evil. It was said that the men then born were thieves, patrons of vice and sin. All which befell them was bad. And it was said that the women [then born] were very lazy and much given to sleep, and did nothing useful.

— One House. This One House, they said, was a totally evil day sign, the breeding-place of vice and sin. And also, at that time, descended the so-called Goddesses; and what then came to pass hath already been told in many places. The midwives especially paid them honor; each one individually made offerings to them in her own home.

He who was then born, they fully expected, would thus come to a bad end: perhaps he would die in battle, or be taken captive; or perish at the crossing of the waters; or he would enter [among the foe] and be carried off. Perhaps he would be offered as a striped one in gladiatorial sacrifice, or be shot full of arrows; or his head would be burst in the fire, or he would be cast into the flames. Perhaps they would twist him in a net, or smash him, or tear out his entrails — violently tear out his entrails; or just drown him like a water rat, pushing him under the water, spearing and stabbing him; or they would just cook him [in the steam bath].

And in this way he would come to a bad end. Perchance he would commit adultery. Perhaps he would covet a woman. Perhaps he would covet another's woman. Perhaps he would eat another's food, lift his head from another's [bed]. And the woman would be his companion in death; they would break and smash both their heads. Hence were adulterers called "broken heads" or "smashed heads."

And so in this way he came to a bad end. Perchance he would sell himself, would eat and drink his substance, would swallow himself, would put an end to himself.[1] Discouraged, nowhere did he feel tranquil. Thus he lived a thief. He robbed, he

Injc ompoalli on chicome capitulo: vncan motenoa, injc caxtoltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce calli: ioan quijl amo qualli, quijl in vncan tlacatia toquijchti, ichtecque catca, teuhtli tlaçolli qujmocujtlaviaia: mochi amo qualli in jnpan mochioaia: auh quijl in çioa cencaj tlatziujnj, cenca cochinj, njman atle qualli quichioa. 787X

In ce calli: jnjn ce calli, qujtoaia, njmon amo qualli tonalli, tlaçolli, teuhtli iolian, ioan no ipan temoia in omoteneuhque cioateteo, auh in tlein vncan mochioaia, ie mjeccan omjtó: in ichoan titici, ec cenca ichoan qujnmaujztiliaia, cecenjaca qujntlamanjliaia in jachachan, 787X 776 844

in aquin ipan tlacatia, cenca qujtlatenmachiliaia, injc ohujcan qujçaz, aço iaomjquiz, axioaz, iapaniocan popoliuiz, anoço calaquiz, vicoz, aço oaoanaloz, oaoanoz, aco ocalioaz, aço quatlecueponjloz, aço tlepan tlaxoz, anoço qujmatlapetzcazque, quevitequizque, anoço qujxicanazque, qujxicteteoanazque, anoço çan catoçanpoloznque, catlanpapachoznque, vncan qujxiziliaque, tlatzoznopoztinemj, anoço çan qujtemazque, 787X

ioan injc ovican quiçaz, aço tetlanximaz, aço tetlan aquiz, aço cueitl, vipilli tepan canaz, aço tetlaqualiz, tetlan quateujz: auh in tioatl imjquiztevical ies, vmextin qujnquatepipitzinjaque, qujnquatexxamanjaque, ic tocaiotilo in tetlanxiaquj, quatepitzic, quatexamac: 787X 684

ioan injc ovican quiçaz, aço mouamacaz, moquaz, mjz motolos, motlamjz, ican avia, acan tlacaco tlamati, injc nemj, iichtecuj, motlilducuja, tetlitlacalechcia, tetlacujcujlia, tetlatlaçaltia, tecacalxaputla, tequiquimjliquanja, 787X

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Ahorcase: que esto entiendo, que el mesmo se mataria, y entraria, y beberia su gracia."

844 **Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the umbilical cord.**[7]

Injc chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tonic.

The time of cutting the umbilical cord of small children was also [one of] their delusions. If it were the umbilical cord of a boy, they buried it far away. The brave warriors hung it on themselves and bore it with them into battle.[8] And if the father were skilled in war, he left it; he buried it there, in the midst of the battle ground. It was said that [the child] would be skilled in war, if he grew.

And if it were the umbilical cord of a girl, they only buried it at the edge of the hearth. It was said that this was because her abode was only the house; only and alone she took charge of drink and food, dwelling by the grinding stone. For this reason only in the house did they bury her umbilical cord.

In jquac quijnzictequja pipiltotonti: no oncatca innetlapololtiliz. Intla oquichtli ixic, veca in contocaia: vmpan iauc, tetech conpilocaia, quitquija in tiacoan: auh intla iavc matinj teta, ichoatl concacaia: vmpa contocaia in iaunepantla, quijlmach: iavc matinj yez intla veijaz.

Auh intla cioapiltontli ixic: çan netlecujltenco in contocaia, quijlmach ipampa: yn çan cali ynentla, in çan ic ixquich quijmocujtlavia atl, tlaquallij, metlatitlan nenemj: ipampa yn, çan calitic contocaia in jxic.

843 **Tenth Chapter, which telleth of the pregnant woman.**

Injc matlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in otztli.

Of the pregnant woman there also was a delusion of the natives. If a pregnant woman wished to go walking during the night,[9] then she placed a little ash in her bosom.[10] It was said that thereby she protected the child within her, in order that he should not meet [an apparition] somewhere. In this wise she took care of her child.

In jtechpa in otztli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in otztli, intla ioualtica nenemjznequj: njman ixillan contlalia ãquijton nextli, quijlmach ic quijpalevia in jtic ca piltontli: injc amo quitenamjctiz cana, iubqujn ic quijnalvitiuh yconeuh.

846 **Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the woman lately delivered.**

Injc matlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ciostl, in quijnoallacachioa.

Another thing the natives did in their folly. When they would visit one who had [just] borne a child, if they took their [own] children with them, they then quickly placed ashes on their temples, knees, and shins, and everywhere [did they place ashes]. And the woman who applied the ashes sat before the hearth. It was said, if they did not place ashes on the knees of the children, that when they walked, their knees, wrists, ankles, and foreheads would crackle.[11]

No centlamantli a imaquijnamatcaio mayzia, in njcan tlaca: yn jquac tla quitlapalozque mjxiuhquj, intla inpilhoan quijnvica: njman yciuhca quijnenztioja incanaoacan, in jntlanquac, in jntlanjzco, in ye ixquican toçaçaliubcan: ãcan quijnocavia, novian: auh in tenexhuja tlecujlixquac motlalia, ciostl: quijlmach intlacamo quijntlanquanexvizque yn pipiltotonti: çan tlatlazintinemjz in jntlanqua, in jnnaquechtlan, in jnnoquechtlan, yn jmjxquac.

7. Literally, "our navel." Edward Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Camillo Sofer-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, and Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), pp. 314 ff., translates a comparable passage found in the *Academia de la Historia M3*.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*el lugar, donde se daban las batallas.*"

9. Ibid., "*andar de noche, sin ser amanecido.*"

10. Ibid., "*en el seno, o en la cintura hacia a la carne.*"

11. Ibid., "*si esto no se hacia aquellos creaturas, quedarsen tiesos de las asquinas; y . . . sobre ellos, crujirian, quando los caminaban.*"

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of the sweat house.

Although the sweat house were very hot, where all bathed, if one known as a twin went there, then he would dispel the steam and destroy [the heat], however hot the sweat house were — even if he went to stand only at the doorway; even more so if he were to bathe among [the others]. But thus could he remedy it; it was said that four times he himself cast potsherds on the ground and sprinkled them with water. It was thought that thus he would not dispel the heat. It would be even hotter.

And when two were born who were called twins, it was said that wherever something was dyed, when [someone] dyed rabbit fur, they might not enter there. If they were to enter there, it was said, they would cast a spell over it; they would blow the colors off. It would come out badly — it would become multicolored, especially [if the dye were] chili red. But thus was it remedied: [the dyer] made him taste the dye water. It was said that in this way the rabbit fur would not be damaged.

Likewise, neither might those known as twins enter where tamales were cooking; because, it was said, if they came in there, they would also bewitch the tamales and the cooking pot. They would not cook, though [left there] all day. The tamales would each one cook only on one side. And in order to remedy it, so that it would not thus happen, when perhaps they went to enter, they placed the cooking pot on the fire. And if by chance the tamales were placed in the pot in [their] presence, they made them lay one [of them] in place. It was said that thus the tamales would not be harmed.

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the time when the teeth of small children dropped.

When the teeth of small children dropped out, the mothers cast them into a mouse-hole, or they said to their children: "Place it in the mouse-hole." For it was said that if they were not to do this, the small child's teeth could not grow. He would remain quite toothless.

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These superstitions harm the Faith, and therefore it is well to recognize them. Only these few have

Injc cempoalli on castolli ocs capítulo, ytechpa tlatos: in temazcalli. 343 515 845

In temazcalli, in vncan netemalo: intlanel cenca totonquj, intla vmpa ias, in motemoca cocoa: ajmá quijpouhtitlaça, quijpolos injc cenca totonquj ocatca in temazcalli: intlanel çan quijacac onmoquetzatiuh: oc cenca intla tehcan motemaz. Auh injc patiz quijl nappa in vel inoma contlaçaz, in conatequjz tapalcatl: quijl ic amo quijpolos, injc totonquj: çan oc cenca totonquj iez.

Ioan in vmêtin tlacati, in mjtoa cocoa, quijlmach in canjn tlapalô, in quipa tochomjtl: amo vel vmpa calaquj: yntla vmpa calaquja, quijlmach quijxoxa, quipitza in tlapalli: amo qualli in quiça, çan mocujcujcujlos: oc cenca yehoatl in chichîtic. Auh injc patiz achi contlapalohtia in tlapalatl: quijl ic amo ytlacaviz in tochomjtl. 845 386

No yoan iñ ichoantin in mjtoa cocoa, in cahjn mopaoaci tamalli: amono vel vmpa calaquj: ichica quijlmach intla vmpa calaquijzaque, no quijxoxa in tamalli, yoan in comjtl: amo vel ycuci, intlanel cemjlhujtl: çan chichicoycuciz in tamalli. Auh injc patî, injc amo iuh muchiouz: in jquac tla ocalaquijto, contlatiz in comjtl. Auh intlanoçe ijxpan mocontema tamalli, centetl ipan cointlalilia: quijl ic amo ytlacaviz in tamalli. 845 252

Injc cempoalli on castolli omome capitulo, itechpa tlatos: in jquac vetzi intlan pipiltontli. 856

In jquac vetzi intlan pipiltontli: yn tenanoan itlacoiocco contlaça in quijmjchin, anoçe inpilhoan, quijmjlhuja: ytlacoiocco xictlali in quijmjchins ichica quijl intlacamo iuh quijchiouzque, amo vel iuoz in jtlan piltontli: çan tlancotoctic iez.

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Estas abusiones, empecen a la fe: y por esso, conuiene sabellas, y predicar, contra ellas. Aunque pocos,

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776 **Twelfth Chapter, which treats of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteotl).**[55]

Tlaçolteotl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteotl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lawful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 551 And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiecapan (the older sister), the second Teiri (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocotzin (the younger sister).[56] These four women, it was said, were god[desses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteoxo).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[57] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—[783] however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteotl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] grass and yellow waters.[58]

[783] And thus she purificated; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteotl the heart was opened; before her one revealed, one told one's sins.

793 776 And her warden[59]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[60]

Juic mattectli ynnemac capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa ya tlaçolteotl.

In tlaçolteotl: ynnic ixcuinjoa, ynnic ixcuic tlaelquanij. Juic mattectlatia tlaçolteotl, quijl ipampa, quijl ixtecol ynnemac, ytlamapij, ytech panij, in tecuhtli, in tlaçolli: in quijnemacpij, ovilnemjlizuiti, quijl ipan tecui, ypan tlamamai, ya mojtlamjlizquiti.

Auh yejc ixcuic, ixcuijoa: quijl mitlani cuuh, in cioa: yejc ce ynnic tiecapan, yejc ynnic teiri, yejc ynnic tlaco, yejc ynnic xocotzin: yejc nenj ixcuic necuinin. Jnijquac hin, ynnijnin cioa: quijl tetec. Jnijquac hin, cocoioc ynnic: tlaçolteoxo.

Auh yejc mattectlatia tlaelquanij: quijl ipampa, intapil mojoa, intapan mopan, ya jnnijch mopalli: ilapan mojoa, mocuelaoa, ya jnnijch tlaelilachiualli: inmamel cioca tomamachuhi, iramamel cioca cujh: ayic mopinovincoa, vel mochi, ilapan pani, ilapan mojoa. Notelaelacoaltiti.

Quijmach in tlaçolli, in tecuhtli, in mojhuapilotiti: ichtecol quijmacac, ic tetecuhtia, ic ychipiua in tlaçolteotl. Auh çan no ichtecol, quijpapalilouja: ichtecol chico, ximac quijujca, quijoca: ichtecol, tepapaca, ychalcia: ichtecol ixtac nenj ya mocelaol, in mopalol.

Auh injc quijpapalilouja yejc chico, tlamamac, quijujca, quijoca: ilapan mitlacujtilia, ilapan mitlamatlaoalia, ya tlaçolteotl, ilapil mopan, mojhua, in mitlachiual.

Auh in, ynnemac, ynnemacuh tecuhtlac, in tlapochpoj, in

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55. The chapter on Tlaçolteotl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among manuscripts in Seler's *Ensayo Especial* nor, probably, elsewhere.

56. Cf. Eduard Seler, *Fundamental of the Aztec Collection*, p. 99: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called Ixcuinan, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuina, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as named by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the throwing to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

57. Name of filth or of sickness (Siméon: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*revolvera de cosas sucias*."

[846] 58. Cf. Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 97, discussing Chalchihuitlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the transitory and evanescent of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, Chalchihuitlicue. May she cleanse of the dirt which does hurt of thy father and thy mother' . . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady Chalchihuitlicue, the Lord Chalchihuitlicue' . . . cause the water, the blue (*Matlalin*), the yellow, (*Tzapotlan*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), says ". . . *ceremonia con que la partera ruega a la diosa del agua llamada Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlicue, y dicele así: 'Señora nuestra Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlicue, revuelve ha a nuestra presencia este criatura: mirgnos que la revuelva.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua arriba sobre dicha su revuelta, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y también la vertía el pecho con ella, y al volverse de la cabeza, a nuestra de nuestro se pone al dios y criatura a los niños,' y derivale de esta manera: 'Hijo mío muy amado,—y a ese mujer diosa, hija mía muy amada—, llegaos a nuestra madre y pedirle la señora Chalchihuitlicue y Chalchihuitlicue; almorar ella, porque ella es la de lavar a criatura y en los hombres en este mundo.' Y luego metía en el agua a la criatura, y decía: 'Entra hija mía—a hija mía—en el agua, que es llama Matlalin y Tzapotlan; lávase en ella, limpiarse de que está en mal lugar, y saque por bien de apartar de ese mal que traía con ese desde antes del principio del mundo.'" Seler (loc. cit.) establishes a comparison between Chalchihuitlicue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth work of the *Fundamental of the Aztec Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchihuitlicue, the water goddess holds the hand of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throne of the water goddess and in the contrast is the breakthrow of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations mentioned Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

59. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib VI, cap. xiii (text, commentary); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 208.

60. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Ensayo Especial*, p. 5) uses the term *Kalendermachenden*.

846 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which are told and mentioned what they did when they visited women recently delivered, and other things which were done where a woman recently delivered dwelt.**

And here it is told that when a child was born, and when [the mother's] relatives knew of it, and it was known and the news spread and was noised abroad, her family and blood relations were assembled and brought together. They set forth, and came and proceeded to visit the much revered child.

When they entered, at the very first, they took ashes; they anointed their knees with ashes; they rubbed themselves. And also they put ashes on the knees of their children yet in the cradles; or those still crawling, going on all fours; those who stood, who already took to their feet; the boys, girls, youths, young men, unmarried girls, and young women. Everywhere, on all parts of the body they placed ashes; on every joint and articulation: their ankles, their elbows, their buttocks, over the kidneys, the napes of their necks, their shoulders, but especially their knees.

[751] And it was so said and averred that thereby they would not become lame. But if this were not so done, they would become lame, and all the joints, in every place, would creak.

846 And also for four days they carefully watched the fire. It never went out. It continued to flare up, to
372 grow and increase, to flare red. They thus carefully started it; it was well set. And no one might take the fire. And if anyone wished to take the fire, or a light, they would not give it to him, lest he take renown from the child who had been born, until the
[851] four days had ended, or for still a few days, when they bathed him.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa, noteneoa: in tlein qujchioaia in qujmoztlapalcoia in mjxiuhque: yoan in oc cequj in muchioaia, in vncan onoca mjxiuhquj.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jquac aquja tla otlacat piltontli: in ocommatque yoxiolque, in onmachoc, in otepan oceçman, in otepan onmoteccac. Niman ic nenechicolo, necenquixtilo, in jtlacaioean, in jcujtlaxcolloc eca, viloa, pipilioa in qujtlapalozque, in jxco, ijcpac, tlichiazque piltontli.

In iquac oncalacque, oc ic achto cuncuj in nextli: ic onmotlanquancxvia, onmomamatiloa: yoan no qujmontlanquancxuja in inpilhoan, in oc coçulti, anoço in ic movilana, coionenemj, in ic moquequeza, in ic imjccij caana in oqujchpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in telpupuchpipil, telpucatoton, ichpupuchpipil, ichpocatoton: novian qujotlatlalilia in nextli, in jxquican inçaçaliuhian, in jmjhilpicaiocan, in jnquequsuititech, in jnmolicpi ytech, yn jntzintenpan, in incujtlacaxiuhian, in jnquechtepultitech, in jnacolpan: oc cenca ichoatl in jntlanquac.

Iuh mjtoa, qujlmach ic amo tlanquananatzinjzque: auh intlacamo yuh muchioa, tlanquananatzinjzque: yoan nanatzinjz, in jzquican in çaçaliuhian.

Auh yoan xavilhujtl in vel quipia tletl aquēman cevi, xotlatica, oalantica, oacalantica, mopipitztica, vel quicpeoa, vel ic peuhtica: yoan xiac vel ontlecuj. Auh intla aca ontlecujznequj tletlecujc: amo qujmaca, injc amo qujtleiocujlizque piltontli, in otlacat: izquichica in ontlamj xavilhujtl: anoço in oc izquilhujtl calitzque.

[p. 112 is blank]

844 Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the umbilical cord.[7]

Injc chicuacuaui capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tuxic.

The time of cutting the umbilical cord of small children was also [one of] their delusions. If it were the umbilical cord of a boy, they buried it far away. The brave warriors hung it on themselves and bore it with them into battle.[8] And if the father were skilled in war, he left it; he buried it there, in the midst of the battle ground. It was said that [the child] would be skilled in war, if he grew.

In jquac quintictequja pipiltotonti: no oncatca innetlapololtiliz. Intla oquijchtli ixic, veca in costocaia: vmpan iauc, tetech conpilcoaia, quijtequjja in tiacoan: auh intla iauc matinj teta, ichoatl coscaoaia: vmpa costocaia in iauecpantla, quijlmach: iauc matinj yex intla veijac.

And if it were the umbilical cord of a girl, they only buried it at the edge of the hearth. It was said that this was because her abode was only the house; only and alone she took charge of drink and food, dwelling by the grinding stone. For this reason only in the house did they bury her umbilical cord.

Auh intla cioapiltontli ixic: çan netlecujltenco in costocaia, quijlmach ipampa: yn çan cali ynentla, in çan ic ixquich quijnocujtlevia atl, tlaqualli, metlatitlan nenemj: ipampa yn, çan calitic costocaia in jxic.

843 Tenth Chapter, which telleth of the pregnant woman.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ocxitli.

Of the pregnant woman there also was a delusion of the natives. If a pregnant woman wished to go walking during the night,[9] then she placed a little ash in her bosom.[10] It was said that thereby she protected the child within her, in order that he should not meet [an apparition] somewhere. In this wise she took care of her child.

In jtechpa in ocxitli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in ocxitli, intla ioualtica nenemjlnequj: njman ixillan contlalia aquijton nextli, quijlmach ic quijpalevia in jtic ca piltontli: injc amo quijtenamjctiz cana, iuhquja ic quijmalvitiuh ycoxcuh.

846 Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the woman lately delivered.

Injc matlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in cioatl, in quijnoallacachioa.

Another thing the natives did in their folly. When they would visit one who had [just] borne a child, if they took their [own] children with them, they then quickly placed ashes on their temples, knees, and shins, and everywhere [did they place ashes]. And the woman who applied the ashes sat before the hearth. It was said, if they did not place ashes on the knees of the children, that when they walked, their knees, wrists, ankles, and foreheads would crackle.[11]

No centlamantli a inuequjnamacaio maytia, in njcan tlaca: yn jquac tla quijtlapalonquc mjxiuhquj, intla inpilhoan quijuica: njman ycuaca quijnextiuja incamoacan, in jntlanquac, in jntlanjxco, in ye ixquican tocaçaliuhcan: ican quijnocavia, noviam: auh in tenexhuja tlecujlixquac motlalia, cioatl: quijlmach intlacamo quijntlanquamexvinque yn pipiltotonti: çan tlatlexintiocmja in jntlanqua, in jnamquechtlan, in jnxoquechtlan, yn jnjxquac.

7. Literally, "our navel." Edward Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschlechtsleben der Frau Bemerkungen zu Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Camillo Sofer-Sarbo, Walter Lehmann, and Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1927), pp. 314 ff., translates a comparable passage found in the *Academia de la Historia* MS.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*al lugar, donde se daban las batallas.*"

9. *Ibid.*, "*andar de noche, sin ser constreñidas.*"

10. *Ibid.*, "*en el seno, y en la chinera junto a la cama.*"

11. *Ibid.*, "*si acaso no se hacia aquellas cenizas, quebrarse rasgar de las coyunturas: y . . . andar ellas, crujiriae: quando las mesaban.*"

252 it over." Or if, perchance, her husband had gone somewhere distant, she said: "Now he cometh, for he hath kicked over my tortilla."

napa veca oya, qujtoaia: ca ye hujtz, ca qujonkilicçac yn nothzacal.

861 Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of small children who licked the surface of the grinding stone.

When small children licked the surface of the grinding stone, the mothers chid and scolded their young ones for it, and restrained them from it, saying to them: "Do not lick the grinding stone; your teeth will thus quickly break and fall out." Because of this, they filled their small children with great fear, so that this would not befall them.

Injc caxtolli captulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn pipiltotonti quixpalos metlatl.

In jquac pipiltotonti quixpapalos metlatl: yc teoaia, yc quimaoaia, yc quintlacaoaltiaia in tenancan yn inpilhoan, quimilhujaia: macamo xicpapalocan in metlatl, yc iciuhca cocotoniz, yciuhca vevetziz in amotlan. Ipampa yn, cenca quinimacaxiltiaia in pipiltotonti: injc amo iuh ynpan muchioaz.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of him who leaned against a square pillar.

When they saw one who leaned against a square pillar, there also was folly of the natives;[15] they chid him for it, and restrained him from doing so; they prevented their children from doing it. They said to them: "Do not lean against the pillar; it is a liar." Thus did they speak: "It giveth one lies; it is like unto one who lieth." [With] this, they terrified the children lest such might befall them and they tell lies.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn aquin itech motlazticac tlaquetzalli.

In jquac aca quittaia, in itech motlazticac tlaquetzalli: no vncateca innetlapolchtiiiz, in njcan tla: yc teoaia, ic tetlacaoaltiaia, ic quintlacaoaltiaia in ynpilhoan, quimilhujaia: macamo ytech ximotlazztica in tlaquetzalli, yhiztlacati: iuh quitoaia: ca ichoatl quitemaca in itzlacatilizti, itech quicuj: in aquin ihiztlacati. Injn, cenca quinimacaxiltiaia in tepilhoan: injc amo iuh inpan muchioaz, ynic amo yhiztlacatinque.

861 264 Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the maidens who ate standing.

In times past, when the natives saw their maidens eat standing, they also restrained them from it. They prevented their children from doing so. They said to them: "Eat not while thou art standing. Thou wilt marry far from here.—Who will follow thee?" It was said that it would befall one that she would marry in a distant place; she would be taken somewhere far away, not in her own city where she lived.

Injc caxtolli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ychpupuchti in çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua.

In ie vecauh in njcan tlaca: in jquac in quinittaia in inichpuchoan ꝗ çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua: no yc tetlacaoaltiaia, ic quintlacaoaltiaia in inpilhoan, quimilhujaia: macamo ximoquetztica in titlaqua, veca timoochotiz, ac mitzicxitocaz: quilmach ichoatl ipan muchioaia, in veca moquichvatia, in cana veca vico: in amo yaltepeuh ipan nemj.

●846 753 Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth how maize cobs were burned.

When one had just given birth to a child, she who, residing there, had given birth should not then burn maize cobs. It was said that if there [maize cobs]

Injc caxtolli omey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in quemja motlatia olotl.

In jquac aca mixivia, avel vncan quitlatiaia in olotl: in vncan onoc mixiuhquj, quijl intla vncan tlatlaz: yc ichchichitinia in piltontli. Auh intla ça

15. In times the maid dance.

were to be burned, because of it the child's face would be pock-marked.[16] And if maize cobs were to burn there, first she passed and carried them before the child's face,[17] so that such would not befall him — so that his face would not be pock-marked.

vncan tlatlaz in ololtl: achtopa ijxco conquijquixtilia, ijxco convivica in piltontli: injc amo iuh ipan muchioaz, injc amo ichichitinja. 846 753

Ninetenth Chapter, which telleth of the woman with child.

Injc caxtolli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn cioatl oztli. 843

The woman with child might not look at one whom they had hanged, because, it was said, when she gave birth, the child would come forth with a cord of flesh wrapped about his neck. Wherefore in times past they frightened pregnant women from doing so.

In cioatl oztli, amo vel quittaz in aquin ie quipilos: yehica, quilmach in jquac mixiviz, nacatica oalquechmecaiotiaz in piltontli. Ipampa yn, ic quimjmacaxiltiaia in ie vecauh in ootzti.

Likewise, when a woman was with child during an eclipse of the sun or moon, she might might not look at it. It was said that if she saw it, her child would be harelipped. But in order to forestall this, the woman with child placed an obsidian knife in her bosom; it was said that thereby her child would not be harelipped.

No yoan yn jquac oztli cioatl, in jquac qualo tonatiuh, anoço metztli: amo vel quittais, quilmach intla quittaz: tenquatic iez in jconeuh. Auh injc quipalevisia oztli: yztli ixillan contecaia, quil ic amo tenquaiviz in piltontli. [821]

Neither might she chew asphalt,[18] it was stated, lest the child be harmed in suckling[19] when he was born. And she could not walk about at night; it was felt that her child would be one who cried much. Likewise men might not walk about by night; perhaps they would come upon a ghost; perhaps the child would suffer a sickness of the heart. And so that this would not happen, the woman with child placed a pebble, or ashes from the hearth, or wormwood,[20] in her bosom. And the men [carried] a pebble, or tobacco [on the chest]; for it was said that also, at that time, [the child] might acquire what they called a swelling.[21]

Amono vel quiquaquaz in chapuputli, quil ic amo motentzoponjz in piltontli: in jquac otlacat. Yoan amo vel iooal nenemiz, quil cenca chocanj iez in jconeuh: no iuhquj in toquichtin: amono vel iooal nenemjz, anoçe itla quimonamjctiz, aço mjmjquiz. Auh injc amo iuh ipan muchioaz oztli: xaltetl, anoço tieconextli ixillan quitema, anoço iztaiahiatl. Auh in toquichtin xaltetl, anoço picietl: iehica quil no vncan quicuj, in quitoa: aiomama. 843 753

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *"la cara del niño, que mejo manchaba; antes parecia o hoyosa."*

17. *Ibid.*: *"encendian primero en la cara del niño, llevandolos por encima; sin tocar en la cara."*

18. *Chapuputli*: *"especie de asfalto; betún de Judea. . . . Los indios le usaban antiguamente como masticatorio"* (*chapuputli* — Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 428). The corresponding Spanish text has *"aquel betun, que llamd tinti."* On the relationship between *tinti* and *chapuputli*, see Sahagún (Garibay ed.), X, 24, 19 and 27; and also Vol. IV, pp. 213, 265, for definitions.

19. Corresponding Spanish text: *"enfermedades espantosas, que llamaban mexicanas-espanolas, que nuevos dolos, los criaturas recien nacidas; y causaba de que quando nacen la criatura, si es varon de pronto le sale la sea, de la boca, hinchazon en el paladar; y luego quedo muerta."* Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 344; and Bustamante de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Carlos María Bustamante, ed.; México: Alejandro Valdés, 1829), Vol. II: "mexicanopedia (hay mexicanito) o sea enfermedades en la respiración, que nuevos de ello los primeros recien nacidos."

20. *Iztaiahiatl*: *"cosa para de ceniza"* (corresponding Spanish text); *artemisa* (*Artemisia mexicana* Willd.) — *"las hojas despiden fuerte olor aromático y tienen sabor amargo. Tiene varias antihelmínticas poderosas"* (Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 428).

21. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 324.

X787 And in this way did the readers of the day signs remedy it: if someone were born on these several
553 days, they passed over them and waited for Seven
●851 Rain. At that time they bathed him, that they might give him a name. For in that way they remedied his fate; then they brought him out at a good time and it resulted at a propitious moment. They made it partly good. Thus they expected that perchance his fate and deserts might become something — if he lived, were well reared, and played his part well; because later, there, they had set in Seven Rain;[2] they put their trust in Seven Rain.

suh injc quipatiaia tonalpouhque, intla aca ipan otlacat inquilhujtl oc cochololtiaia, qujchiehtiaia in chiconqujavitl quinjquac caltiaia inic qujtocamacaque, ipampa ic quipatia in jtonal, vncan qujiecca-quixtia, ieccan quiça, chicoqualtia, ic conjttilia, in aço ça itla ilhujl, imâcoual, muchiostiuh intla nemiz, intla uel ospaoaz, intla uel moquetzaz ipampa oc vncan in chicomatl qujtlaliaia, vel qujtemachiaia in chiconqujavitl.

X787 They said it was a good day. Merciful, pitying, and compassionate was the one born precisely upon it. He became fortunate. It was as if his fortune, his deserts, his good luck rained down upon him: as if it sprinkled on or swirled about him. It was said that verily so was his day sign, Seven Rain.

qujtoaia ca qualli tonalli, icnoca, teicnoittanj, tetla-ocolianj, in aquin vel ipan tlacatia, tlacnopilhujanj muchioaia, iuhquin ipan tzetzelivi, iuhquin ipan pipixauj, iuhquin tocmoloca ilhujl, imâcoual, icnopil, mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal in chiconqujavitl.

[851] And he who was born on it was forthwith bathed, and they gave him a name. No longer did they pass over it, or delay or postpone it.

Auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan niman iquac maltia, qujtocamaca, aocmo cochololtia, aocmo qujtla-tvîltia, aocmo connechcatlaça:

Nevertheless, the morrow, Eight Flower, which came next and following, was also the same. It, so
[851] they said, was also good. If someone were born on it, they also at once bathed him and gave him a name. For this reason they did so: they feared the one which followed in order — Nine Crocodile.

auh tel no iuhquj in imoztlaioc qujtztica, in quj-toqujlitica. Chicuey tuchitl: iuh qujtoaia no qualli, intla aca ipan tlacatia: çan njman no iquac caltiaia, qujtocamacaia, ipampa iuh qujchioaia, y, ichoatl quj-macaçia in oallatoqujlia, chicunavi cipactli:

This, so they said, was in no way good; it was perverse, full of vice. It accorded one rags and tatters. Nothing could become a remedy or cure for the day sign which had followed.

iuh qujtoaia njman amo qualli, amo tlacacemelle, motequjtica teuhtli, tlaçolli, tzoctomatli, tatapatli, quj-tzilhujltia, aoc tle ipatica, aoc tle ipaio mochioa, in qujoaltoqujlia tonalli,

Only and exclusively immersed in and dedicated to evil was the one then born. He was given only to talking; he went wrapped in discussion. Words were his hair. He was hot-tempered.[3] He twisted words. Great was his glee if somewhere there was a shout; there he ran and listened to what was said. If somewhere there was discussion and something was said, he went among the people sowing discord; he went causing disagreements and dissension; he confounded and disunited them.

çaniioca tetlaactica mjxcaujtica, injc amo qualli in aquj ipan tlacatia, çan tlatolli cololotinemj, tlâtolli cololhujtinemj, tlâtoltzon, tlâtolli, itlaqual tlâtolne-cujl, cenca ivelmach intla cana neaio, vmpa motlalos, tecacaquj, intla cana nenonotzalo, itla itolo, tetzalan, tenepantla, motecatinemj, techalanjtinemj, tenetech-cuhtinemj, tetlatolçaçaca triollocôcoltia:

He disregarded and showed no regret for insinuations, spreading rumors, and continued lying. Falsehood and deceit he went about sowing here and there among the people. He interrupted conversa-

atle ipan qujtta, amo qujerquanmati in ovitlatolli, in tetzauhtlatolli, ihiztlacati, iztlactli, tenqualactli, tetla-qujquanjtinemj, motlatolcaujcujtlavia, qujtlatlâtlalilia in tlatolli, tlâtolpiquinj, tlatolcampax, tlatolcacam-

2. We have read *chicuey* as *chicuey ell*, possibly a misreading of *Chicuey quiauitl*.

3. Tlatolli *tlaquil*. *Sec Florentine Codex*, Book VI, cap. xii; *Sahagún* (Ordiney ed.), VI, 41, 18: "Iuhca cuecuex gruesos de ulcerosa. Este refrán es dice de aquellos que tratabaian mi poco con algunos palabras dejaron luego ratear en ellaua y ratear y cubrar personas por la boca, y cuando oyan hablar mal de otro luego oyendan."

X 787
776 Tezcatlipoca; he only went withdrawing rule and power from others.

X 787 And of him who was born on the day sign One Death it was said that he would prosper and be rich, whether a nobleman or only a poor vassal. Many were his gifts. Honor came his way and rested on him when he performed well his penances and humbled himself. But if he did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign.

Auh in aquin ipã tlacatia itonal ce mjqujztli: mjtoxia mocujltonoz, motlamachtiz, intla pilli, anoço çan maceoaltzintli, muchi inemactia, itech açia, itech pachivia, in maviçotl: iquac in tlauellamaceoa, mocnomati: auh intlacamo uellamaceoa, ca çan ynecujian conmocaujlia, qujmjtlacalhuja yn jtonal.

X 787 If, at this time, someone were born, then they bathed him and gave him a name. Small children
553 performed the naming ceremony.[1] If a boy had been born, they therefore called forth [as his name] Mi-
● 851 quiz, or Yaotl, Cenyaotl, Necoc yaotl, Chicoyaotl, or Yaomauitl. So they placed on him a name of Tezcatlipoca. Of this one it was said: "None may wish him harm: none may wish him to die." If anyone should wish or desire his death, he would simply sicken and suddenly die.

yn jquac, y, tla aca otlacat, njman caltiaia, qujtocamaca, qujxicvenquaqualia in pipiltotonti, intla oquichtli otlacat, ic qujnotza mjquiz, anoço iaotl, ceniaotl, necoc iaotl, chicoiaotl, iaomavitl, ic qujtocamaaia in Tezcatlipuca: injn mjtoaia, aiac vel qujcocoliz, aiac vel qujmjquitlanjz, intla aca qujmjquitlanj, qujmjqujztemachia, çan iẽ in mococolia onmjctiuetzi.

567 At this time it was the day sign of the slaves, the wretched slaves, whose dwelling places were by the
[825] hones for sharpening and the grinding stones. None of the slave-owners could scold them, or abuse them with vile words, or call angrily or indignantly to them when they learned that the morrow would be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. They then, first, took from them, struck off, and removed from them the wooden collars, the curved ones in which they were held and with which they went about restrained lest they flee. Then they soaped them and bathed them, and made much of and flattered them. They showed them great esteem, because, so they thought, they were his likenesses and representatives:[2] his beloved sons. It was said that they were like the blue cotingas, the trupials, the precious birds of Tezcatlipoca. And those who owned slaves warned and on threat of death[3] ordered their children, youths, and growing sons, commanding them sternly and rigorously, not to chide, deal vainly with, nor strike the slaves.

Auh in jquac in catca ipan tonalli: in tlatlacoti, in tlatlacotzitzinti, in teatexatitlan, temetlatitlan innemjan: aiac vel qujmaoaia, aiac vel qujntenquanviaia, qujntlauelnotzaia, qujnqualancanotzaia, in tlacaoaque, in oqujmatque, ca muztla itonalpan iez in Tezcatlipuca: njman achto qujntomaia, qujtequjlia, qujntlaxilia in quauhcozcatl, in coliuhquj, injc pieloia, inic ilpitinenca, injc amo cholozque: njman ic qujmamoviaia, qujmaltiaia, cenca qujntlaçotlaia, qujnxoxocoiomatia, vel qujnmavizmatia, ipampa iuh qujmatia, ca ixiptlaoa, ipatilloos, ytlaçopilhoan, mjtoa iuhqujn iquecholhoan, içaquantotooa, itlaçototooan in Tezcatlipuca: auh in tlacaoaque, vel qujnnemachtiaia, qujmjqujznaoatiaia, qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, qujntepitznaoatiaiaia, in impilhoan, in jntlazcaltilhoan, yn intlaoapaoalhoan: injc amo qujmaoazque qujncuecuenochichioazque, anoço qujnvitequjzque in tlacaoã:

1. Of this ceremony, the Spanish text reads: "*combidauan a los niños, y les daban de comer: para q̃ crijassen el cuerpo, del que avia nacido: y le diadiquassen a honor, por los calles.*" Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun* (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1927), p. 315, translates an explanatory passage from the *Academia de la Historia* MS: *ninoan ye ic quinomotlas in oquichpipiltzintli ic iquac onallaque ninoan ye ic quinnamaca in iniuan onilatlami[a] in ilcin yeoa auh quinilhuia in ayo yaui anoço ninzili auh ninoan ye ic tzatzilini quihuica ninelhuis tecuiuaue ximiciuauaquaqui i yaui yquac quicaquiztlia in iuca inic uichi tlauil ic quinotzas — dann ruft er die Knaben. Nachdem sie gekommen sind, gibt er ihnen die Nahrungsmittel und fragt (die Angehörigen), wie er heisst, und er nennt ihnen (die Namen) Yaotl oder Tlauil (Krieger oder Kolibri). Und darauf fangen sie an zu schreien und sprechen: "Kommt her, Freunde, das Nahrungsmittel Yaotl ruft.*" Dann nachdem sie seinen Namen (der Kinder), mit dem alle er nennen sollen.

2. See *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 203v.

3. *Quinzpitzuauitiaia*: the term so appears in the Nahuatl column.

1 [i.e., One Death.—Analyst]

681 696 And then also at that time died those who were in jail, who were there for something which demanded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei quijtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oquijtlaco: no ichoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

643 761 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: ca ichoan inca moxcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquijxtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilquijxtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

A 787 ●651 And when someone was then born,[5] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend. But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

A 787 754 791 And also it was said that he who was then born a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[6] That is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into something [else]; because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[8] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlâciuhqui, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itlã ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla maceoalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moquijxtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jxqujch tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cioatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teioiolmala-

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5. An additional phrase in the *Real Palacio M1* will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo mahiaya, ypampa — and when someone was that born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K., "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del epipelo* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*]. . . . *De esta primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicidad de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se consiste el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejecutar obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un nahualli poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahuali*, *nahuala*, "*verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embaucan a las gentes. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: nahualcaqui, entrar disimulado, con engaño, secretamente; nahualcuilia, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; nahuallachia, acechar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de nahualli o su derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*es deificaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llaman nahualli. . . .*

". . . *quando el niño nace, el demonio por el parto expresaba o tacito que sus padres tienen con el, le dedica o sujeta al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como decir por dueño de su necesidad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste punto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *adverso la denominación y significación del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raíces que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio; la tercera, ocultarse o refugiarse, y excepto en consonancias para que se acomoden las dos primeras significaciones, me quedo con la tercera, que es del verbo nahualchia que es encontrarse embriaguezas con algo, que viene a ser lo mismo que refugiarse, y así, nahualli dice refugiado, o disfrazado debajo de la apariencia del tal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *infra*.

42

1/A [i.e., the day One Rain. – Ann lyst]

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is told and mentioned what was an evil manifestation for him who stumbled or fell at this time; and the evil which befell those born at this time, in the eighth house, called Eight Death. Here are told all the various kinds of evil which belonged with [the day signs].

Likewise was it said: no one [on the day sign Four Wind] might quarrel, nor fall, nor trip, nor stumble, nor sprain an ankle, nor break nor twist a foot. So there was apprehension. It was said: "O that this may not always be! He is affected by Four Wind." That is to say, he was hurt on Four Wind.

And also it is told that as to him who was then born, the readers of the day signs made it favorable for him and provided him with merits. He would, so they said, become rich and a chieftain, a brave warrior; he would become terrifying and menacing; he would gain honor; he would be of a strong day sign. And they did not yet bathe him, [they bathed him later][1] on Seven Serpent. So they said that they made the day sign even stronger for him so that he became very rich, provided with merits, gifts, and good deserts. For [the day sign] Seven Serpent represented our sustenance—grains of dried maize, completely edible. And so they said that the days of the seventh place were always a time of good.

But Five House and Six Lizard, which followed, as hath been said, were in no way good day signs. Both were the times of ritual to Macuilxochitl and Mictlan tecutli. For the one born at this time, man or woman, nothing resulted as his deserts. He labored only in vain; his fate, deserts, and gifts were full of misery. And he was only given to talk, completely enveloped in talk. He was hot-tempered.[2] He reprimanded people; he only knew how to agitate them and cause them to riot. So it was said, so was he reprimanded, when he restrained one from doing something, belabored one in something, or besmirched someone: "At least sometimes the brute is human! The vile brute, the mean and vile-tongued one, the fool! What can be done? His is the day

Injc matlactli vmey capitulo, vncan mjtoa: qujlmach amo qualli inezca catca, in aquin moteputlamjaia, in anoço vetzia, yn ipan jn: ioan in amo qualli inpan muchioaia, in aquiquc vncan tlacatia, in jpã ic chicuetetl calli: yn jtoca chicuey mjqujztli: vncan moteneoa in jzquitlamantli in amo qualli intech ca 787x

No ioan mjtoa: aiac vel maoaia, anoço motlaujtequja, motepotlamja, motecujnja, moxoquechaquja, moxocuetlanja, mocxicueloa: ic tlatenmachililoia, tholoia, ma qujcencuj, ca omonauecauj, qujtoznequj: ca nauecatl in jpan omococo. 784

No ioan mjtoa: in aquin ypan tlacatia, qujpãtiaia, qujnemactiaia, in tonalpouhque, iuh qujtoaia: mocujltonoz, ioan tiacauhtiz, oqujchtiz, tlamauhtiz, tlamamauhtiz, momaujzçotiz, tonalchicaoac iez: auh aiamo caltiaia, in jpan chicome coatl, iuh qujtoaia: oc cenca vel ipan qujtonalchicaoaia, injc cenca mocujltonoz, injc mãceoale, nemaque, ilhujle, mochioaz: ipampa in chicome coatl ca qujxiptlatiaia in tonacaiotl, in tlaolli, motqujtica qualonj: ioan in iuh qujtoa, in chicometeoaia ipan tonalli, muchipa qualcan. 787x [851]

Auh in quioaltoqujlia macujlli calli, ioan chiquacen cuetzpalin: iuh mjtoaia: njmã amo qualli tonalli, in jonteixtin, y, in tlatoaian macujlxochitl, ioan mjctlan tecutli: in aquin ipan tlacatia in oquichtli, in çioatl, njman atle imãceoal mochioaia, çan oalnenenquçaia, motqujtica netolinjliztli, in ilhujl, in jmãceoal, ynemac, ioan çan tlatolli cololotinemj; tlatolli cololhujtinemj, tlatolli itlaqual, tlacatl quicãcetztinemj, çan ic nemj in tlacatl quicuecuetlanja, tlacatl quicocomonja, iuh mjtoa injc aio: in iquac on oitla contechicoalti, in on oitla contecaujlti, in on oitla ic onteatlatzicujnj, macel ica ontlacanemj in tlapalpul, iollochicopul, iollopatlachpul, iollotlauelilocapul, quennel noço macujltonale, ca ie iuhque in mamacujltonaleque, aquen tlatta, ca nel ic monotz-

1. The words *quin ompa ouhtiaia* in the *Real Palacio MS* give this phrase.
2. See Note 3, Chapter 8, *supra*.

secret. They were sowers of discord, of gossip,[6] who spoke with tongue in cheek; spreaders of tales. They confused, confounded, and rejected the counsel of elders. They wished not to be deflated. They were not people of honor. These same dedicated themselves to and paid strict attention to constant evil. It was their only labor. All [their] acts and efforts were repeated adultery, thievery, absconding with tribute; making off with many things by trickery, coveting, and deceiving. They were trouble-makers, interpreters of dreams, who brought others into sin, sold goods in secret, sold people in secret, spirited people away, and misled them, calling them by trickery.

icentequjuh in tlatlauelilocaiotl, much ichivil, much itequjuh, tetlâtlanxima, yichtequj, tlâtlaixpachoa, tlatlanaoalchioa, tetlâtlaixtoqujlia, tetlâtlaxiqujttilia, teóvicanaquja, tetlatlanamjctia, tetlatlacolnamjctia, tlatlachtacanamaca, teiichtacanamaca, teiichtacaujca, tenanaoalhujca, tenanaoalnotza, 787x

None of his own food did he eat. He lived with other people, going from house to house, entering others' dwellings.

much aitlaqual in qujqua, teca nenemj, tecacalpanoa, tepan cacalactinemj:

As he had been born, so he grew, shameful and deranged. Then at the start of his childhood, as he had grown in years, incorrigible, too lazy to heed the discourse, he answered impudently or blamed someone else. He was one who became wroth, who turned his face aside in rage and tossed his head in anger, who hung his head. Anger was in his face. He was completely full of evil; wickedness was deep in him. He was perverted, rude; of wicked, evil tongue. Everyone dreaded his tongue and his words. None could equal him in conversation nor best him in talking. So it was said of him: "He is perverted; only words are his lot; he is of evil temper." No man's name gave they him. Everywhere he remained aside from people. He was infamous; he remained a burden to people. Hence was he reviled, proscribed, suspected. Everywhere his life and deeds were regarded with dread. For truly, he had been born in a time of vice and sin. That is to say, indeed, only to be reviled was his gift: nothing good, nothing fine.

njman iuh qujça, njman iuh mozcaltia, in aquen tlatta, in atlacacemelle njmã ipan pilpeoa, njman ipan mooapaoa, in auel monotza, aiel qujcaqujz in tlatolli, çan ie tenananqujlia, tepan qujcuepa, tlatlauelchioanj, mjixtlaça, moquaquatlaça, iixcueloa, mjixcueloa, vel qujmaxilti, iolaçic, tlueliloc, vel iollocujcujtla, âtentlacatl, tentlaueliloc, muchi tlacatl qujtenjmacaçi, qujtlatolimacaçi, aiac qujtenaci, aiac vel qujtempanavia, iee injc mjtoa: atlacacemelle, çan tlatolli ilhujl, tlatolli itlaqual, aiac itlacatocaia, noviian tetenco caca, tepan onoc, tepan cenmantoc, injc aujlqujzquj, tlaitolli, tlaztacolli, noviian mauhcaitto in jnemjliz, in jtlachioal, ca nel iuhcan tlacat, in tlaçoltitlan, teuhtitlan, qujtoznequj: ca çan motqujtica aujlqujzcaiotl, in jnemac, atle qualli, atle iectli:

And the readers of the day signs bettered and remedied the nature of the day sign on which the useless one was born. They arranged that later, upon Ten Rabbit, he would be bathed and given a name. They said that if he should live, perhaps something would be his deserts, though not forthwith. Still by pain and suffering of mind and body, by his penances, he would achieve that which was to be his gift. Later, himself and of his own effort, he would achieve and acquire it, as hath already been said in many places.

auh in nen ic qujqualtiaia, qujqualtiliaia tonalpouhque, in iuhquj itonal ipan otlacat, qujn ipan quitlatlaliliaia, in matlactetl tochtli: injc ipan oaltiz, qujtocamacazque, qujtoaia: intla nemjz aço ça itla imâceoaltiz, iece camo caxcanviz, oc totoneoaz, chichihinacaz in jiollo, in jnacaio, itla maceoaliztica qujcnopilhujz, in jnemac mochioaz, qujn inoma, qujn ixcoian qujmjxnextiliz, qujn qujnomaviz, qujn qujmonomaviliz: in iuh ie mjieccan omotenieuh. [851 553]

6. *Transcribed in the Real Palacio MS.*

[p.52 is blank]

X 787 **Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the good day signs which correspond to the four houses in this sign; and it was said that the day signs of those then born were good.**

And the one day sign, the one day count Ten Rabbit, so it was said, was a very good time. Whoever was then born, whether man or woman, was of great deserts, great gifts, and riches. For just so was it said of the tenth position, when [the day sign] became the tenth. On the tenth day sign, it was always a favorable time, of gifts and recompense, as in its seperate accounts[1] hath already been told. But not then, at that time, did they bathe him, on the day sign on which he had been born. They always directed their attention there to the closing day sign, later, when they bathed him and gave him a name, on [Thirteen][2] Monkey; because thereby they greatly strengthened the day sign; they improved his day sign. For, so it was said, a very good time was the closing day sign, the ending and concluding day sign, as will be told in its account.

[85] 553

And the following Eleven Water, and Twelve Dog, and the concluding Thirteen Monkey, as many as these were favorable. Ten Rabbit drew, dragged, amplified, and helped all of them, so that all four were good. It was said that anyone who was born upon these various day signs became a highly favored person; he succeeded and endured on earth.

That is to say, he was not deflated; not one of the least nor the last; nor a man without recognition. He was well respected and recognized; he was famed and honored; hence he was one who prospered, enjoyed glory, was compassionate, and served others. As a chieftain, he was strong, daring in battle, esteemed, intrepid, able, sharp-witted, quick-acting[3] prudent, sage, learned, and discreet; an able talker, and attentive. It seemed as if he set forth his dis-

Injc matlactli on navi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in qualli, tonalli: in jntech ca in nauhtetl calli: in ipan in machiotl, ioan qujl qualli intonal catca, in aquijque vncan tlacati.

Auh in jpan in cemjlhujtonalli cemjlhujtlapoalli, in matlactli tochtli: iuh mjtoa, cenca qualcan in aqujn vncan tlacatia, in oqujchtli, in çioatl, cenca mâceoale, ilhujle, mocujltonoanj: ipampa no iuh mjtoa, in matlactioaia, in vncā tlamatlacti, in jpan matlactli tonalli, muchipa qualcan, vncan ca ilhujlli, mâceoalli, in iuh ca itlatlatollo, in ie mjeccan omoteneuh: auh aiamo njman caltiaia, in jpan in tonalli otlacat, qujn cen ompa contlachialtiaia in tonaltzonco, ipan caltiaia, qujtocamacaia: in jpan matlactlonnauj oçomatli ipampa injc cenca qujtonalchicaoaia, qujuecapanoaia itonal, ca iuh mjtoa: cenca qualcan in tonaltzonco, in jca tlantica tonalli, in qujtlamjtica tonalli, in iuh ipan moteneoaz itlatollo.

Auli in qujtoqujlia matlactloce atl, ioan matlactlomome itzcujntli, ioan in tlatzonqujxtia, matlactli vmej oçomatli, izqujtetl qualli, muchi qujcentilinja, qujcenvilana, qujncenteteoana, qujncentlatalhuja in matlactli tochtli, ie nauhteixtin qualtin. Mitoa: in aqujn vncan ipan tlacatia in izqujtetl in tonalli: cenca tlacnopilhujanj muchioaia, oalqujçaia, oalnemja in tlalticpac,

qujtoznequj: amo patzactzintli, amo çan tetzacuja, amo tlatzinpiloa, amo çan can nenemj, vel ixmacho teixpan icac, moteniotia momaujzçotia, injc mocujltonoanj, injc maujztli, injc tetlaocolianj, injc teca muchioanj: auh injc tiacauh injc chicaoac, injc iaotlauelilloc, injc amo tetlaçaltoca, amo ixmauhquj, ioan injc mozcalianj, ixe, iollo, iollotecujcujl, iolizmatquj, iolizttlamatquj, tlanemjlianj, toltecatl, mjmatinj: ioan vellatoa, vellacaquj, iuhquin mjtic qujte

1. *Matlacolli.* The Mahuel text could also read *Matlacolli.*

2. Read *matlacolli omei.*

3. Cf. *yollotemiztli* in "Mediciniles con nuvilos," pp. 204, 211.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the eighth sign, called One Grass, and the evil day signs with it. But it was said that the second house was good. And all the others, of ninth place, and all the others which started with the ninth — the tenth, the eleventh, the twelfth, and the thirteenth[1] — were said all to be good.[2]

One Grass set in. This was said to be in no wise a good day sign: a day of wild beasts, dreadful. The one then born lived only in misery. Though he found his consolation, yet it only disappeared and faded away.[3]

And he begat children. All his children grew, like dense hair, as if in abundance. They were like trees, like rocks; the earth swelled up. But when he had already begotten, soon he experienced how his children were torn away, faded away, quickly fled, and suddenly died, en masse; all scraped clean, going along their way, buried, receding, cleared away. None remained. Death, mortality, claimed still another.

Like a wide road he gave support to his parents.[3] He was as if struck by lightning. Father and mother, each one by himself, arose, sat meditating, and bound tears for the loss of his children, only afflicted, always preoccupied, deprived of everything. Gone were those who had made them proud and esteemed, those received in payment, as offerings; those who had lived together, assembled, gathered, united, esteemed, appropriated. Behold, in truth he had begotten children; in truth he had beheld them. Hence this was said to be an evil day; one only of wild beasts, full of misery.

And he who was then born, they did not then bathe; later, on the day sign Three Ocelot, they bathed him. The readers of the day signs so said that the third position was always a favorable time. It

Inje caxtolli capitalo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicuetetl machiotl, in jtoca ce malinalli: ioan in amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, auh qujl injc ontetl calli qualli: ioan in jxqujch oc cequj chicunauhtetl in jxqujch oc cequj, in jtech vmpeoa injc chicunauhtetl calli, ie injc matlactetl, ioan injc oce, injc omome, inic vmei, qujlmach qualli catca. 787X

Moquetza ce malinalli, injn mjtoa: njman amo qualli tonalli, tequanj, imacaxonj, in aqujn ipã tlacatia, çan motolinjtinenca, tel qujttaia in jneiollaliliz: auh çan ompoli, çan onqujztiqujça,

ioan mopilhoatiaia, muchintin moquetzaia, in jpilhoan, iuhqujn tlaquauhtzonqujça, iuhqujn tlaneujuja, iuhqujn quavitl manj, tetemmanj, tlalli cuecuetlaca: auh in ie oqujchiuh çan jc qujmati, in iuhquj motlãpevia ypilhoan, onmototocatiuetzi, onmototocatiqujça, muchintin onmjctiuetzi, ololiuhtiuj, mocemjchictivi, oncemoti, onmotoca, ommototocatiuj, onjchictiuj, aocac mocaoa, in oc ce conpeoalti mjqujztli, mjquiliztli,

iuhqujn otli patlaoac qujmonquechilia, yoampooan, icetcaiooan, itlapancaiooa, itzicueoalloos, ycotoncaoa, icotoncaios, iezçoan, itlapalloa iuhqujn ipan tlatlatzinj in teta, in tenan, iioca moquetztiqujça, motztimotlalia, mjxaioujtoma, injc oqujmonpolo ypilhoan, ça itolol, ymalcoch qujchiuhtica, centlamjc qujmattica, qujcentlamjtica, oiaque in intech oatlamatia, in jntech ocuecuenotia, in oqujmonpopoaia, in jxco oqujnmanaia, in oqujtepeujtinenca, in ocololhujtinenca, in oqujtetepeujaia, ocoololhujaia, oqujmomactocac, omonelchiuh, ie on ma nelli omopilhoati, ie on ma nelli oqujmjttac: ichoatl injc mjtoa, amo qualli tonalli, çan tequanj, motqujtica icnoiotl:

auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, aiamo caltiaia, qujn jpan caltiaia, in cy oçelotl, ocmilhujtonalli, iuh qujtoaia, in tonalpouhque, ca muchipa qualcã in citioaia, amo netenmachoia, ichoatl injc qujoallatotoquj- [851]

1. Medium is understood in the last three numbers.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "Capitulo quinze, del octauo signo. Buenaio es malinalli, y de su abuena fortuna. Lo segundo casa deste signo, entiende por buena, y conjuntamente todos los casos, de nueue arriba, e 10. 11. 12. 13: los tenjan por buenos."

3. Cf. Olmos, op. cit., p. 212.

been said. But for him who yet lived, the readers of the day signs made it good. Later, when Seven Flint Knife took its place, they then bathed him,[1] because, as was said, the seventh place was always a favorable time. Nothing thus damaged the day sign; precisely at this time were fortune and gifts, for it was the time of the rituals of [the goddess] Chicome coatl, etc.

And Eight Rain and Nine Flower: already hath it been told and revealed how then was a time of evil. For then was when were born the thieves, the adulterers, etc. — those to be feared and dreaded on earth, who mocked people, the perverted, as many times is mentioned in the separate accounts.

And on Ten Crocodile, so they said, it was a favorable time. Then were born the rich, the wealthy, the satisfied, the content, the happy on earth, men and women. Just so were the following — Eleven Wind, and Twelve House, and Thirteen Lizard. Ten Crocodile bore them all with it, and favored them all. These different concluding four day signs were good. So all went traveling in their course. Those there which achieved the "ten"[5] position were all of a favorable time. Thus came arriving the thirteenth day sign, which concluded [the group of day signs].

tonalpouhque: qujn jpan qujtlaliaia in chicome tecpatl, iquac caltiaia ipampa ca omjto, ca muchipa qualcan in chicometioaia: atle yc itlacauhtica in tonalli, vel vncan ca ilhujlli, nemactli: ca ytlatoaia in chicome coatl. et.[a] 787x [851]

Auh in chicuei qujaujtl, yoan chicunavi xuchitl: ie omito, ye omoteittiti in quenjn amo qualcan vncan yn: ca vncan in tlacatia, in qujçaia in jchtequjnj, in tetlatlãxima. Etc. yn imacaxonj, in mauhcaittonj tlalticpac, in teca mocacaiaoa, in atlacacemelleque in iuh mjec tlamantli omoteneuh itlatlatollo.

Auh in jpan matlactli cipactli: iuh qujtoa, qualcan vncan tlacatia, in mocujltonoa, in motlacamati, in avia, in vellamati, in paquj tlalticpac, in oqujchtli, in çioatl, çan ie no iuhçuj, in qujtoqujlitica matlactloce hecatl, ioan matlactlomome calli, ioan matlactlomej cuetzpalin, qujncenvica qujncentlatalhuja in matlactli cipactli, izqujteme qualtin in ontlatzonqujxtia, nauhteme tonaltin, çan moch iuh otlatocatiuj, in vncã oaçic matlactioaia ie qualcan, in jxqujch ic onacitica matlactli vmej tonalli, in tlatzonqujxtia.

[1] A [i.e., A person born on Four Eagle, Five Vulture, or Six Motion, all unlucky days. – Analyst]

[p. 58 is blank]

5. Ten (matlactli) is an element in the Nahuatl names for eleven, twelve, and thirteen.

441 his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One
765 day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And
778 then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in [the place] which they called the god's courtyard, at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

X-787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

[851 He who was then born they did not yet bathe;
553] they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

auh intla çã otlahujc ostomecatl, quitoznequj: intlacamo oiaomjc, in aço çan ococolizcujc, çan ie no ivi in qujchichioaia icujllo, iece çan ichan in tlatlaia, amo ioalnepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie onmotzcaloa, onmopiloa tonatiuh quitlatiuia.

No ioan mjtoa: in jquac ypan in ce coatl tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in jquac oiaotlatoloc, oteiaotlallujloc, in omjto, in otecaquitiloc iaoiotl, vel iqua ipan vnpeoia in iaoc: vncan iaoquizaia, ipan otlatocoia, ipan vaneotemaloia, vnmotema, onmacecuj, onmolinja, eoa, nẽncmj, icxiconana, in jxquich quauhtlocelotl:

auh in aquin ipan otlacat ce oçelotl tonalli, quitoia, quipãtiaia, quiznemactiaia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, illujle, mãcoale muchioua, mocujltonoz, vnca quiquanj iex: auh intlaca mouellamaceoa, in iuhquj iocal in, amo ipan muchioa in jnemac, in jcaopil: çan ichoatl quinitlacalhuja, quimopopolhuja, mjtoa: ineviian conmocaujlia, quimotlãçolmjctilia. Er[6].

ya aquin ipã otlacat in, aiamo caltiaia, quin ipã caltiaia in Ey maçatl: iquac quitocamaca, ipampa ie mjecccan omjto: in citiouian tonalli, in jquac tlacemilhujtiltia, quipualittaia in tonalpouhque: ichoatl ic contlaxtoquilinia, vmpa quitlatequjniaia, vmpa contlachieltiaia, injc cenca quitonalchicaoaia.

Auh in quitoquilia, vme mjquitli, iuh quitoa: amo qualli, atle vncã ca mlcoualli. Auh in cy maçatl: iuh quitoa qualli tonalli, ie omjto: in citiouia muchipa quakcan, vncan ca tlacnopilhujlizli in iuh quitcilhujaia tonalpouhque. Auh in nevi tochtli, in tlanauhcaiotia tonalli, in nauhcaiopa tlhvica, tlacem-

3. *Oldmixr: ibid.*, "Y si el tal mercader muria, de su enfermedad."

4. Molina, *op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl), *Lado diestro.*

5. The text reads *ce oçelotl*; it is correct in the *Real Palacio MS.*

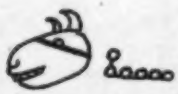

787 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the remaining houses belonging to the sign mentioned.

Inje cempoalli capitulo: ischpa tlatoa, in oc cequi calli, in jeech pouhqui machiotl, omjto.

Also the one which followed it, Six Dog, was known as evil. Already related is the nature of those born on all day signs of the sixth position. Nothing at all good became one's gift.

Auh in contoquijlia, chiquacen itzcujntli: amo no quzlli ipan machoia, ic omjto in quenamj inicliz vncan tlacati, in ipan machi chiquacen tonalli, çan atle qualli in jnemac machioa,

On this one they loaded and heaped up gossip and bad repute. Everything was bequeathed, forced upon, and made a burden to them. They were forced to pay. And these made one embrace, undertake, commit, and seize upon evil. They mistreated, perverted, embroiled, and defamed one; they ignored, confused, confounded, disgraced, and dishonored their elders;[1] they shamed them and sowed confusion. They spotted, ruined, sullied, smudged, and destroyed one's good reputation.[2]

çan iĉ quicenmama quicemololoa in tlacatlatolli, in aujlquipacaiotl, machi iecaujltilo, cujtilo, mamaltilo, intech omtopi, ioan ichoan quiteccujtia, quiteccujltia, quitechioaltia, contematzaltia in aqualli, in teiçolo, in tecatzauh, in tepiçolo, in teaujlquijxti, in teucoetlaz, in teixtlaz, in teixnecujlo, in teixcuj, in teitolotlac, in tetlaitoltili, in tepan tececenma, in teatlatzicujnj, in quiçoquijuia, in quiçoquijmotla, in quipopoiotilia, in quixpopoloa in jtilllo, in jtlapallo tenemjliz.

Also the one which followed it, Six Dog, was known as evil. Already related is the nature of those born on all day signs of the sixth position. Nothing at all good became one's gift.

No ioan mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, y, chiquacen tonalli, no quipantiaia in tonalpouhque, çan cocuacanacaio iex, amo chicaoac, anoçe çan njman onmjctiuetzia: auh intla nemj çan mococotinemj, iaiatinemj, tĉtentinemj, tĉtolcatinemj, tĉtlaztinemj, pincoatinemj, xoxouijxtinemj, iztalcoatinemj. Er[a].

[851] And those born upon this irremediable day sign they did not yet bathe; they looked ahead later to Seven Monkey. Thus they somewhat alleviated their day sign. They said: "If they live, perhaps by their penances the evil with which they were born, created, came forth on earth, budded and formed, persisted, and hatched, will reverse and be substituted."

Auh in aquijque ipan tlacatia in, amo qualtitica tonalli, aiamo quijmaltiaia, quin ipan quijmatitiviia, in chicome ocomatli: ic achi vmpa, quijqualtiliaia yn jntonal, quitoaia: intla nemjzque, aço intlamacoaliztica cuepiz, mopatlaz in aqualli ipan otlacatque, oiccoque, otlaticpac quizque, omotlaque, oitzmolinque, otzicueoaque, otlapiqque.

And Seven Monkey they regarded as very good, because, as hath been said in many places, it is a day sign of the seventh place. It was said that it was the time of ritual of Chicome coatl, the likeness of our sustenance, of genuine wealth and prosperity, as the readers of the day signs said.

Auh in chicome ocomatli: cenca quijqualitiaia, ypampa in iuh mjieccan omjto, in chicometicoaia tonalli: quiknach itlatoaia in chicome coatl, in jxiptla tonacaiotl, moquitica necujltonolli, netlamachtilli, in iuh quitoaia tonalpouhque:

1. *Teiztlaller*: possibly the negative *a-* or *amo* should be understood.

2. "Memoriales en 3 columnas" (*Academia de la Historia MS*), p. 387. The *Palacio Real MS* gives *tonlatzicujtlalhui* for *tonlatzicujnj*. For *tetlaitoltili* and *tepopoiotoa*, Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 219, gives *dentroque el señor, o gouernador el pueblo*.

And Eleven Eagle, and Twelve Vulture, so they said, were both only indifferent, not considered only one way; they said they fell both ways. Those who were born on both these day signs they always bathed later, at the end of the day count. At this position they made their day signs favorable.

This one, which is here the end of the day count of the group — Thirteen Motion — this one they regarded as best. For it came concluding, and with it was finished and came to an end, the thirteen day signs. Whatsoever were the deserts of the one then born hath already been told in many places.

Auh in matlactli oce quauhtli, ioan matlactli omome cuecaquauhtli, iuh qujtoa onteixti çan chico qualli, amo çan centettitica, vme vitz qujtoa, in aqujque ipan tlacatia in, onteixti tonalli, qujn cen jpan qujmaltiaia in tonaltzontli, vmpa qujqualtiliaia in jntonal. 787X [851]

Iehoatl in, in njcan cencalpan tonaltzontli, matlactli omej olin: injn oc cenca qujqualittaia, ipampa in qujtlamjtica, yn jca tlantica, ica tzonqujztica matlactli omej tonalli, auh in quenamj imàceoal: vncan tlacatia, ie mjieccan omjto.

[p.76 is blank]

been repeated counsel. She had ignored her rearing. Just so was it substantiated upon her as was the day sign on which she was born.

But in order to improve one's day sign somewhat, they bathed one on Three Serpent, for the reason that was told of all the third day signs. If they waited a day, they made it good. And if still they should wish it, perhaps they bathed him later, on Seven Water, likewise because of the goodness of each individual day sign with the number seven, as [is said] above.

And so we shall not repeat uselessly[7] nor reopen the discussion. Not just mixed, twisted, disordered, unconsidered, and profitless discussion shall we make use of or continue to work over.[8] And in order not to do this, we shall continue to mention, return, and go back to all that was said and stated. Here only one part is mentioned.[9] A word is said of the account. For all are just as in the separate accounts. All hath been mentioned—how one by one they proceeded in order: the day sign which came as good, or as somewhat good, or as in no way good. All thirteen thus go to their conclusion; because of this, all of the day signs are brought together in one group, beginning with One House, and [then] Two Lizard, Three Serpent, Four Death, Five Deer, Six Rabbit, Seven Water, Eight Dog, Nine Monkey, Ten Grass, Eleven Reed, Twelve Ocelot, Thirteen Eagle. And when all these days had ended, then set in—

auh inic achi qujqualtilizque itonal, ipan caltiaia in Ei coatl: ipampa omjto, in jxqujch eci tonalli, intla cemjlhujtiltia qujqualittaia: auh intla noço qujnequizque, aço qujn jpan caltizque, in chicome atl: no ipampa in jqualtica in jxqujch chichicovme tonalli, vt supra.

Auh injc amo ça nen totlatlatozque: titlatolçacamuzque, in amo çan tlatolxaqualli, tlatolnechicolli, tlatolnenel, iliviztlatolli, çan nen tlatolli toconnemjtizque, ticcueptinemjzque ioan injc amo çan iechoati, tiqujtotinemjzque, ticcueptinemjzque, ticcujtlacueptinemjzque in jxqujch omjto, omoteneuh, ça njcan onmocenteneoa, onmocencamaitoa, in tlatolli, ca çan ie much iuhquj in jtlatlatollo ixqujch omoteneuh, in iuh tetecpantivi, in vncan qualitiuh tonalli, ioan in achi qualtitiuh: ioan in njman amo qualtitiuh, in jxqujch ic ontlatlantiuh, matlatlactlomeei: ipampa in ça njcan onmocentlalia, izqujteme cencalpā tonaltin, in qujnpeoaltitica ce calli, ioan vme cuetzpalin, ei coatl, nauj mjqujztli, macujlli maçatl, chiquacē tochtli, chicome atl, chicuei itzcujntli, chicunauj oçomatli, matlactli malinalli, matlactloce acatl, matlactlomome ocelutl, matlactlomej quauhtli, auh in jquac ontlan izqujlhujtl in, njman oalmoquetza.

7. *Admit injc, the Real Palace MS has amo ça yiluia.*

8. *Ticonmitlaxqui in ibid.*

9. *Amoçamoxoc in ibid.*

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misery, later, in the end, he would be somewhat content.[3]

But if by chance his wealth began in his childhood, his youthful years, he received, in exchange, destruction, a miserable portion, and ended and finished with misery. And if it were a merchant, it was said, perhaps his goods would be swept away by a river and lost. And if one then, at this time, lacked zeal, it was as if his life were swept away and immersed in evil. For just of that nature was his day sign, One Water.

auh intla noce njman ipã pilpeoa, quipilpilpeoalti inetlamachũl, çan tlantica, çan cotocpol, injc conmotlanevia: auh ça icneiotl: injc ontlatzonquixtia, ontlatzontia: auh intla puchtecatl, mjtoa, aço cana tlatoctiz, tlapoloz: auh in aca çan njman ie atle onquiça, çan iuh amoiaoa, auikquiça in jnemjliz: ipampa ca njman iuhquin itonal ce itl:

But we shall speak in a few places and take the matter up. We shall go returning to,[4] explaining considerably, and explaining much, the expressions which are different. We shall hang on to it. We shall reflect much; we shall repeat, like one not tired of talking or of lazy tongue. We only merely quickly develop and superficially dispense with, hastily and superficially dispense with the above words which are quite apparent and manifest, *ut supra*.

auh injc amo cenca oc nouijan tontlatozque, tontlaanazque in amo çan iee tlatolli ticcueptinemjzque, tictequjmattinemjzque, tictequjmatizque, ipan tompipilcatozque, titotequjmatizque, titlatlatozque, in iuhquj atotenquauhtinj, atientlatziujnj, ça inquijch ic onmaantiquiça toconpapanqua, toconpapanquastiquiça, in çan nel nenezticа, ixnezticа, panj caca tlatolli vt supra.

[85] He who was then born was, like the day sign, evil. They later sought out and importuned a time of good. Then they bathed him. It was said that thus in part they reversed and made good his birth. No one knew nor understood whether perhaps something would be his reward, if he would perform his penances well, etc.

In aquin ipã tlacatia, in iuhquj in tonalli, in amo qualli, quin jpan contlatotoquiliaia, vmpa quin contlatequjviaia, in qualcan, iquac caltiaia, mjtoa ic quichicoquixtia, quiqualtilia, in jclacatiliz, aiac quimati, aiac ontlamati, in aço ça itla imaccoaltiz, intla uellamaçeoaz. Et[4].

For so are evident the many places, if there have been as many times, where each of the day signs known as good, go. Because here are assembled and mentioned together the different ones which were made to proceed and go along in each series, each group.[5] For Two Dog taketh second place and followeth. Then come in order, following along, Three Monkey, Four Grass, Five Reed, Six Ocelot, Seven Eagle, Eight Vulture, Nine Motion, Ten Flint Knife, Eleven Rain, Twelve Flower, Thirteen Crocodile.

Ca ic nezticа in quecizquican intla quecizquicaiopan icietiuh in motenecoa qualli tonalli: ipampa in ça njcan onmoccentlalia, onmocentenecoa in izquitenc in tlaotlatocti, tlanenemjtia cencalpan, cencallopan: ca ichoatl ontlaoncaiotia, ontlatoquilia, in vme itzcujntli, ic tecpantiuj, mototoquilitiuh in ey oçomatli, nauj malinalli, macujlli acatl, chiquacen oçelotl, chicome quauhtli, chicuey cozcaquauhtli, chicunauj olin, matlactli tecpatl, matlactlocc quiavitl, matlactlomome xuchitl, matlactlomei cipactli:

When the different days which followed along at this time had laid down their burdens, ceased their labors, ended their functions, and run their course, then set in and took up the burden—

in jquac onuetz intequjuh in in ontequjcauhque in oconmotlaxilique in tlanenemjtiaia in jzquilhujtl vncan tlaotlatoctia njmã oalmoquetza, ontequjana.

3. *Ibid.*: "y por esto entre se lendo el refran, que dicen: que en el mundo no dia bueno, y otro malo."

4. *Tlamatinemiquan* in the Real Palacio MS.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a los que nacian en este signo: no los bapticemos, luego, diferiendo: para el mesmo dia, o para el mesmo, o para el domingo, o para siguiente, de los que siguen. Porque dicen: que todo es estar, dentro el mesmo, tengan siguiente bidad.*"

846 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which are told and mentioned what they did when they visited women recently delivered, and other things which were done where a woman recently delivered dwelt.**

And here it is told that when a child was born, and when [the mother's] relatives knew of it, and it was known and the news spread and was noised abroad, her family and blood relations were assembled and brought together. They set forth, and came and proceeded to visit the much revered child.

When they entered, at the very first, they took ashes; they anointed their knees with ashes; they rubbed themselves. And also they put ashes on the knees of their children yet in the cradles; or those still crawling, going on all fours; those who stood, who already took to their feet; the boys, girls, youths, young men, unmarried girls, and young women. Everywhere, on all parts of the body they placed ashes; on every joint and articulation: their ankles, their elbows, their buttocks, over the kidneys, the napes of their necks, their shoulders, but especially their knees.

[751] And it was so said and averred that thereby they would not become lame. But if this were not so done, they would become lame, and all the joints, in every place, would creak.

846 372 And also for four days they carefully watched the fire. It never went out. It continued to flare up, to grow and increase, to flare red. They thus carefully started it; it was well set. And no one might take the fire. And if anyone wished to take the fire, or a light, they would not give it to him, lest he take renown from the child who had been born, until the four days had ended, or for still a few days, when they bathed him. [851]

Injc cempoalli onnaitlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa, motenecoa: in tlein qujchioaia in qujmontlapaloaia in mjxiuhque: yoan in oc cequj in muchioaia, in vncan onoca mjxiuhquj.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jquac aquin tla otlacat piltontli: in oconmatque yoaiolque, in onmachoc, in otepan ocenman, in otepan onmotecac. Niman ic nenechicolo, necenqujxtilo, in jtlaciooan, in jcujtlaxcolloc eoa, viloa, pipilioa in qujtlapalozque, in jxco, ijcpac, tlachianque piltontli.

In iquac oncalacque, oc ie achto concuj in nextli: ic onmotlanquanexvia, onmomamatiloa: yoan no qujmontlanquanexuja in inpilhoan, in oc coçulti, anoço in ie movilana, coionenemj, in ie moquequetza, in ie imjcxi caana in oqujchpipilitotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in telpupuchpipil, telpucatoton, ichpupuchpipil, ichpucatoton: novian qujntlatlalilia in nextli, in jxqujcan inçaçaliuhian, in jmjhilpicaiocan, in jnquequeiultitech, in jnmolicpi ytech, yn jntzintenpan, in incujtlacatiuhian, in jnquechtepultitech, in jmacolpan: oc cenca iehoatl in jntlanquac.

Iuh mjtoa, qujlmach ic amo tlanquananatzinjzque: auh intlacamo yuh muchioa, tlanquananatzinjzque: yoan nanatzinjz, in jxqujcan in çaçaliuhian.

Auh yoan navilhujtl in vel qujpia tletl aquēman cevi, xotlatica, oalantica, onoalantica, mopipitztica, vel qujcpéoa, vel ic peuhtica: yoan aiac vel ontlecuj. Auh intla aca ontlecujznequj tletlecujc: amo qujmaca, injc amo qujtleiocujlizque piltontli, in otlacat: ixqujchica in ontlamj navilhujtl: anoço in oc ixqujlhujtl caltizque.

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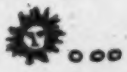

851 553 **Thirty-fifth Chapter.** Here is told what was done when they bathed their children, and how food was eaten when they gave them their names; and the discourse which the old people gave when they addressed the child and the mother.

Injc ompoualli on caxtolli capitulo: vncan mjtoa yn tlein muchioaia, yn iquac quimaltiaia impilhoan, yoan injc tlaqualoia yn iquac quintocamacaia: yoan in tlatolli in quitoaia vevetque, in quilhuiaia, piltontli: yoan in tenã.

553 And when he was bathed, quite early in the morning, in the morning light, when the sun appeared, they had the small children perform the naming ceremony. They went out shouting and panting on the roads; to the entrances they ran. Thus they went calling out what he had been given as a name, as hath already been mentioned, in a certain place. They took the naming ceremony gift, parched maize tossed with beans. They provided it with beans, many beans, offered in a vessel:

Auh in iquac maltia, çan iocotzinco, tlavizcalpã, iquac yn oalmomã tonatiuh, quixicvenquaqualia im pipiltotonti tzatzatzitiui, yhicaoaca, yn vtlicapa, quiaoacpa, motlatlaloa, ic quinotztiui, in tlein ẽtocaiotiloc piltontli, in juh ic omoteneuh, ceccã quinanamoia, in xicventli, inquitl in quicequi, hecio, quẽciotia, moca ietl, xicaltica quimana.

851 And it is said that so was the custom if someone were born on a day sign beginning in the first position (as hath been said in many places). If it were a good time, then at once they quickly bathed him. Or later, they set it aside and skipped a day, so that they could make good the feasting and drinking for the child.[1]

Yoã mjtoa iuh tlamanca intla aca ipã otlacat ynjc cemilhuitl vmpeoa tonalli (ca mjeccã omito). yntla qualcan njmã iciuhca conaltitivetzi, auh quin nonqua, contlalilia oc conchololtia, ynjc quitlatlaqualia, pillaqualo, pillaoano:

But if they could not do so then, they bathed him later, on the third day sign. As here it appeareth in [the series of] One Eagle, the one perhaps then born they would bathe later, on Three Movement.

auh intlaca ic moveliti, quin ipã caltia yn Ey tonalli, yn juh nican neci ipã ce quauhtli, yn aquin ꝑa ipã otlacat, quin ipã caltizque in Ey olin,

Those whose fathers and mothers were poor, the indigent, who were in misery, and had nothing to use, with which to gather together and assemble people, only with affliction, sickness, and misery bathed their child. For they only aggravated and worsened it when they did not delay, defer, retard, procrastinate, or postpone [the day of bathing].

ichoã in çã tlacococavia ytaboan ynãoã in çan icnotlaca, in ça quitzactiia icnoiotl, atletzin in polivini, in tecentlaliloni, in tenechicolonj, ic çan cococatzin, cococaiotica, icnotlacaiotica conaltia yn jnconeuh, ipãpa in çan quitototztivetzi, quitototztiquiça, in aocmo cõvecatlaça, cõuecatilia, cõnechcatilia, cõnechcatlaça, cõchololtia,

But if the fathers were rich and prosperous, if there was wherewith to eat, they selected for one a later date, on the seventh day sign; at that time they bathed the child and placed him in the cradle. This was because, as hath been said, they always considered the seventh day sign good. At that time they held an important banquet. There was drink and

auh intla motlacamati, mocuiltonoa tetahoã, in vncã quiquanj, quin ce vmpa quimattivi yn ipã chicome tonalli, yquac caltia, yoan quicoçolaquja im piltontli, ypampa yn juh omjto muchipa quiqualittaia yn 7. tonalli, yquac quivejchioa in tecoanotzaliztli, athioa, tlaqualo, novjiampa, xoxochitlano, oalhuj in xochicauhque, nequequeçalo, nepopotzolo, auh in

1. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), I, 13, 11, and II, 38, 7-8; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit. Book II, "The Ceremonies," pp. 152-153.

●851 food. From all parts flowers were taken; all the flower bearers came. There was jostling and crowding. And the old men and old women greeted the small boy and his newly delivered mother. They said:

"O my beloved grandson, thou hast endured suffering and fatigue. For thou hast come here to earth; thou hast appeared on earth. Thou shalt behold, come to know, and feel pain, affliction, and suffering. It is a place of torment and affliction; of constant torment and affliction; a time of torment and a time of affliction to which thou hast come; a place of bitterness, a place of much work and affliction. Perhaps we shall receive as merits and as good deserts that for a short time thou shalt be lent to us. For thou art the living image, the likeness, the noble child, and the offspring[2] of thy ancestors, thy beloved grandsires, thy great-grandsires, thy great-grandmothers, the grandfathers of thy nephews, who already have gone beyond, who a short time ago came to stand guard for a little while, here where thou liest and hast endured suffering and fatigue, O my beloved grandson. For our lord hath sent thee."

Forthwith they petted him and stroked him with their hands, to show that they loved the child. Also at once they addressed and greeted his newly delivered mother. They said:

"O my daughter, O my beloved daughter, my lady, my beloved lady, thou hast endured suffering and fatigue. For in some way thou hast separated thyself from and left the jeweled necklace, the precious feather which was within thee. Now that he is come forth on earth, you are not indivisible; you will not be joined together, for you are separated. What will our lord require? Perhaps for a little day we shall take him as lent to us. We shall love him like a precious necklace or a precious stone bracelet. Be calm and modest; take care. Do not relapse into sickness nor let accident befall thee. Do not try to be up and about. Be careful, in convalescing, when they place thee in the sweatbath. And do not neglect the child. Take care of him. Even in thy sleep, be fearful for him. Do not pierce his palate, [in nursing him]; do not crush him in thy sleep; do not let him sleep unwatched, so that thou nowhere

piltontli quitlapalos in vevetq̃, yn ilamatque, yoã in inãtzin mizinhquj, Quilhuja.

Nozhujuhtze, otiquihjovi, otiçiauh, ca otioalmovicac in tlaticpac, otimotlaticpacquizti, tiquittze, tiomatiz, tiicichecoz, in tecoco, in tetolinj, in thihjovilizti, ca tetoneuhcã, ichichinatzcan, tetoneuhcan, techichinatzcã, tetonenhian, techichinatzian, yn otioalla, cococ yiocaiã, teicnotlamachtican, aço tiolhujltiz, titonilcoaltiz, aço achitzinca timitztotlanevizque: ca timixjptla, timpatillo, timeaço, tintlapallo, tintzicuevilo in mozechiuhcaoã, in mocoltzizinos, ỹ machtooã, yn mopiptoca, in machococolhoã, yn ie necheca mantivi, yno cuel achic, yno cemilhujtl, ontlapieco, ya vncã timononltitoc, otiquihjiovi, otiçiauh nozhujuhtzine, ca omiczoalmiouli in totecujo,

nimã ic compẽpetla, cõmapẽpetla, ic quinextia, ynjc cõtlaçotla piltontli. Nimã no ic cõnotza tontlapalos yn inãtzin mizinhquj, Quilhuja.

Nochputze, nochputzine, cinapille, cioapiltzintle, otiquihjiovi, otiçiauh, ca oquẽtcltzin mizztlalloti, mizztlalcavi in coacatl, in quetzalli, ynjc otimapẽticatca, ca otlaticpacquiz, acennonqua yn amonmotlanamjctizque, ca oanmotlallotique, quẽ qujmonequiltia in totecujo, aço cemilhujtzintli, tictotlanevizque, tiomcatetubtlamatizque, timacuezztrubtlamatizque, ma oc yvjiã, ma oc iocuxca, ma oc zõmomalhuj, ma tõmocuzanj, ma tõmonevjiavi, macamo xõmopũpuzcanequj, ma yvjian in tioalmimatiz, in temazcaltzinco mizzoncalaquizque, auh ma tocõmoxiccavili in piltzintli, ma xocõmocnitlavi, ma oc mocuchpan xocõmimatto, ma tocõetzoponj, ma tocõcochpacho, ma tocononchcauh, ma çã tchoatl tocõnevilvi, ma çã ic tocõqueio, ca oqujmomacavili in tutec.[o]

2. Cf. Sahagún, "[illegible]," p. [illegible]: "[illegible]."

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mayest bring mishap to him. Do not do so intentionally; for our lord hath given him."

Thus only briefly they greeted her, lest they tire her by useless talk.[3]

Yc çan achiczin ic contlapaloa, injc amo quizzontecoonque.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] hijo, y [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] por [illegible] [illegible] y [illegible] [illegible] de [illegible] hijo [sic]. Mirad que los [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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Thirty-ninth Chapter, which telleth how a feast was held, and what the order of service was, and how there was drinking of wine.

Injc cempoualli on caxtolli noc capítulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn juh mocuamotzaia, yoan in juh caxca tlatepēhti, yoan in juh tlacamaia.

And as to the invited guests: already there was jostling among the guests. All took their respective places; the houses were entered. There was disorder and scattering about; there was wandering and there were disputes, rushing about like fools, hurrying, hastening, and unrest.

Auh in tlacoanotzaki, ic cuel itē, nequecquepalo in cuame, netēteco, calecoa, tlaxmelivi, tlaxmoiaoa, nexipololo, nexinnaxamico, tlaxtomaoa, tlātlacivi, yciocoa, netecuipipacholo,

[276] For everything, assignments were made and work distributed. First came the tobacco servers. Tobacco was served; one was provided with tobacco; tobacco was smoked. Then the flower servers followed them. They provided and gave them flowers; they favored them with crowns and garlands of flowers; they provided them with flower crowns and garlands. They arranged before them bowls with tobacco tubes. They sat smoking, inhaling the fragrance. All smelled it. There was a pleasant and fragrant odor.

cecenlamātli ipā neyhinquetzalo, netecuipinaco, iacatiuh, in teyicmacac, teyicmaco, teyictilo, yiectilo, njmā conoquilia yn tezochimacac, tezochitia, tezochimaca, contecaquia in icpaccochitl in zochicacatl, tricpaccochitia, tezochicoacatia, tricpīnamātmata yn jiecazitl, tlachichinaloteic, tlaxocatoc, tlaxeco, tlaxiaztoc, tlaxcelitoc:

And thereupon went the server, and following him those who changed the courses and carried [the food] in their arms. They served the people, placed them in order, went placing the people in line, putting them all in line. Thereupon all ate. [But] first they cast on the ground [a mouthful of food].[1] Later something was reserved, put aside for their servants.[2]

auh njmā ic ic iauh in tetlamacac, quinocotivi, in tetlanamjctilique, in tlaxapaloque, tetlamaca, tevipana, tepilotiuh, tecempilotiuh, njmā ic ic tlaquale, achtopa, cuetlatlaça, çaçpā netlacavilo, ic tlaquaja yuetlavicalhoā:

[277] And thereupon also went the chocolate[3] server. In just the same way he went arranging the people in order, placing them in line. He neglected no one; he was very careful with each one. He went placing for each one the stirring sticks with which the chocolate was beaten, whereby the chocolate was consumed. Chocolate was put aside for each of them — they put aside chocolate for their servants, [as well

auh njmā ic no ic iauh in teamacac, çan ic no ivi tevipantiuh, tecempilotiuh, aiac quincaoa, vel mizpeztzza, contecquilitiuh in aquavid, yuic mocachoa cacaoati, ic ahatica, teaxtlacavilo, quiquatlacavjia, intetlavicalhoā, in vicoaj, in tlacoaj, in quiquaiaj netlacavilli,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*antes que comenzasse a comer: los convidados, los comajdos que les traian presentes: tomaban sus lugares de los comajdos, y revolvianse el suelo: a huevos del dios Tlaloc.*"

2. *Ibid.*: "*los servidores de la comajda . . . traqan comajda a cada uno, ordenaqan los comajdos [sic]: y los ponian delante, del que estaua ocupado: iaua orden de ordenaqan, con diuersas maneras de pan: y parecaua en los chiqipulcos: otras veces comian, con diuersas maneras de comajda, con carne, o pescado. . . . dejando comajda, dauan los cabos a sus criados, y tambien los comian, y chiqipulcos.*"

3. *Ibid.* In colonial times used to mean chocolate. Cf. Molina, op. cit. (Spanish-Nahuatl section), "*Beuer agua, cabo o cosa. n, cali.*"

574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the leavings.[4]

851 Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncã achitzinca ompacoztoc, nepiclotoc, vellamachotoc in nepicloian, in tecoanotzaloian: auh in cequjn in aiuo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati, yn atica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yiztica et.[4] çan motlavellaloa, moquetzteoa, moquetztiquiça, cholotcoa, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, tlãtlatotivj, popolocativj, tlatetotiuj, tlãtlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanauhpactiuj, ic oallatepachoticate, moxixicoticate, yn omotlalito inchã, yn jncalitic: auh intla oittoque in iuh oquizque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin imuztlaioc oc oppa qujnana, qujmonjcxiana, qujniolcuja, in iquac ic apeualco, inca nechioalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chía* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chía*,[6] which they drank.

[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, aço chiantzotzolatolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiooachpanj,

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women drank wine. They gathered around and congregated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

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auh yn oioac in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlathoana, mohololoa, mococentlalia, ymjxpan quioalquetza yn intlaoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoã yn intlaoancax, in jntetlaoã, in tetlamamacoj,

[554] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

achto iẽ vmpeoa in tetlaoanti, in tetlamamacac, njmã ie ic iuh yn jiacac, in tlaiacac, yn jiacaiocã, ic tevipãtiuh, tecempãlotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quioaltecatimanj in vctli, aço iztavctli, anoço aivctli, tlachioalvetli, yn otlalilo: ochichioaloc ic pillaoanoc, omtlaçaçaco intzaiocomjc, inococomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: "*y las cosas del cacao, demas a sus oficios.*" See n. 2.

5. The text is apparently incompletely corrected to read *ompappaztoc*; cf. *Real Palacio MS.*

6. *Or oppa quinmaca in ihiã.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a esta dia llamaban, diciendo: porque es el, se acabaron todo el comidico.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as "*alegrarse a la que estaba consolado y hablado.*"

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (*chimpinolli*).

9. In the *Real Palacio MS.*, yn *tlaoanaia*, *y ocelomamacoa* follows *mococentlalia*.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hechiso de agua, y miel cocido, con la raya: el qual llamaban apozoli, que quiere decir, polvo de agua: lo qual tenia aparejado, y guardado el señor del comedico: de dejarse dias antes.*" See also Oviedo Gonçalvez de Lizo: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1959), *passim*, and esp. pp. 107 ff.

And the wine server, if he saw that those whom he gave wine did not become intoxicated and in a stupor, but only sat staring and grimacing, once again turned to the left, made a beginning from the left—that is, beginning where he had left off, with those of last place, the lesser in rank. So at that place he made a beginning in order to make them drunk. Thus he went reversing and rearranging the process of making them drunk.

So there was singing: there were songs of sadness and tears; or only broken singing, each one as he liked, each outdoing the others. There was the giving of pleasure, of much contentment. There was the encouragement of one another, and tearful greetings. And some only hummed, singing secretly, or did nothing. And some did nothing else but sit content and rejoicing, laughing and making witty remarks, making others burst into laughter as if their sides were sore. They sat exhausted with mirth[11] if they heard something which moved them to or diverted them with laughter. It was as if dogs were barking.[12]

Just so was it done at banquets and feasting, and assemblages and gatherings of people, and their recreation and the giving of dances, etc., when someone had a feast for the child to place it in the cradle, and the place where he was put in the cradle was watched.

auh in tetlaoanti intla quimjtta quintlaoantia, yn amo ivinti, in amo jamanja, in çan itztoque, izpepeionioque, ic no cuel iẽ copuchilochtia, tlaopuchopa quipeoaltia. q. n. in vncã oquicauh, in tlattaccan, in tlacuitlapilco, ic nẽ vncan quipeoaltia, ynjc tetlamamaca, ynjc tetlaoantia, ic quicueptiuh, quipapatlatiuh in iertlaoãtilitz:

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ic necuicatilo, netlaoculcujcatilo, nechoquizcuicatilo, anoço çan cuicaçacamolo, no çac tle quoca, necujcapanauilo, necemeltilo, nocecemeltilo, neellaquacalo, nechoquiztlapalolo, auh in aca çan tẽtencuicatica, yhichtacacujcatica, aiac ica quichiuhtica: auh cequjn çan qujxcavia in pactoque, im papactoque, vevetzcatoque, camanalotoque, vetzquiztequittoque, iuhqujn iuxillã quaquauhti, ommimjctoque in vetzuca, yn onoitla quicacque, in tevetzquiti, tevetzquiceuh, iuhqujn tlananalco.

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Oyvin in muchioaia coaiotl in tecoanotzalitzli, in tecẽtlalilitzli, tenechicolitzli, tecvilitzli, teittotilitzli. et.[a] Yn iquac aca quitlaqualiaia in piltzintli, ynjc tlacoçolaquja, tlacoçolaquiloian nepiclo.

11. Presumably in the *Real Palacio* MS.
12. Phrasing unknown in *Ms.*

[p. 120 is blank]

574 **Thirty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned how the festivity was performed; and how the rulers and merchants of old provided banquets, even as to this day they have been doing.**

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omvme capitulo: vncan motenecu in cujcujcaliztli catca in quenjn muchioaia, yoã in juh tecoanotzaia in veveinnin tlatoque, yoan in pochteca, yn juh noma axcan quichioaia.

574 And the manner of doing nowadays: when one holdeth a banquet for the sake of his child, so it is
● 851 said, they baptize; the head is washed; food is given. So was it done; just so were guests procured and invited; [as] in other banquets were the distribution and the seating according to rank.

Auh in axcã ic ic tlamanj yn iquac aca ypampa tecoanotza ypiltzin, ic mitoa tlaquaatequia, tlaquatequiloia tetlatlaqualtilo, çan ic muchioaia, çan ic iuh coatioaia, çan ic iuh tecoanotzaloia yn oc cequj ypan cooaiotl, tetlacamachilistli, teteinolistli.

574 So here a little is divulged of the invitation to banquet. But among the rulers, the princes and noblemen, those of illustrious lineage, or when somewhere riches and wealth had been procured, then there was avarice, among the merchants of Pochtlan, [or among the artisans, the craftsmen,][1] the skilled workers, by each group separately there was bringing of goods according to custom; guests were procured, wealth was procured, and there were invitations.

Jc çan njcan tepiton onmonextia in tecoanotzalistlatolli, tel in tlatoca, im pilpã, im pillovã, tecpilpan, yn anoço cana netlacamachoian, necuiltonoloia, tlatlamepã, im puchtla, in puchtecapã, toltecaiopan, cecenteti injc netquioaia, ynjc tlamanja, ynjc tlamanca, ynjc cooatioaia, netlacamachoia, necoachioaloia,

When somewhere there was great congregating, there was indeed trampling, shoving, and crowding. Entry was impossible. There was no recognition of the invited guests. Indeed, there was trampling, crowding, jostling, and shoving to one side. Nowhere were available seating places, spaces to occupy, or seats to use.[2]

in cana vel moveychioa, vel mõocça, tzitzica, cãcatzca, zonneaquilo, ahmixmati, yn tlacoanotzali, vel nequequeçalo, nepopotzolo, nexoxocolo, ahujc zoquicoa, ãcan veli, in netlalilloia, in ielouia, in tetlalilloia,

However, it was the task, concern, and charge especially of the attendants, those who greeted [the guests] — their great concern — to search and watch well. [The host] commissioned them each as servants, officials, and servitors, so that they could look with care to recognize one, no matter from where the banquet guests, those bidden to the feast, the invited ones, had come.

oc cenca ichoan intequjuh, innecuitlavil, ynix intequjuh, vel innecuitlavil, vel mixpetztza, mixpetzoa, quimiiicaniantia, quintetequippantia, quincõcocoltia in techixque, in tetlalique, ynjc ichoan vellachia, teximati, in cãpa iẽ ooallaque coame, tlacoanotzalti, tecoaoa,

574 431 These ascertained well what could be done for them, so that they might be well received, and that, in the distribution of goods, none might be forgotten. All which they came by and received as gifts,

ichoan vel quiteilhuja, ynic inca nechioaloz, ynjc vel namicozque, ainc ilcaoaloz, ypan tlacotonij, much intech aciz, yn nemactiz, yn jxquich ic otlatequililoque, in chieltilo, ynjn ca oytoloc, yiemacm-

1. In the Real Palacio MS, the words *anqve tlachichinchqueque, ininchqueque, ininchqueque, ininchqueque*.
2. In Ibid., *ad* follows *ininchqueque*.

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— After Paso y Troncoso

14-20. One Flower: musicians, entertainers, embroiderers (Chapter 7). 21. Seven Rain (Chapter 8). 22, 23. Eight Flower: and holding of child (Chapter 8).

[p. 126 f]

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, ungents were melted, things were cleansed.

776 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at
796 the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tazzmulco.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man
431] [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Izcoçauhqui. There [the
[304 parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon
852] them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

776 [Izcoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujtitiloia, cexilhtica: ipan ilamjan yxcalli: quixiptlatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacotonaloia, copalxomjlilo,

ozohqujltamalli nechvilitiloia, in ocomalpan: achto ixpan quimanjlaia in tletl, çatepan qualoia.

Auh yn jxcoxiccoua, ixh cemjlhujtl, in quicujcatia, quijccrinpichilia, quijtepomacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cõmaçoaia in comalco, tetlacaoaltiloia, yajc amo aca motlatia, mochichinac: ipampa in iancujcan ocualoc ozohqujltamalli, yajc otlamamaloc.

Auh in pipiltocatl, mochintin quintlanqujaia: yn aca coatl: cuijatl, xocijli, axolotl, tetotl: in çaçe tlein ocacic ixioli, ycamac contlaçoia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, mothazquja yn teta.

Auh yn cioouac, noujan tlatlaoanaia in xevetque, ylamatque: ixh quitoaia, quitlatoiaujliaia yn tletl, tezcalcuuja.

Auh zazakxiohica, yn oc cenca, mazaxtililoia, ilhuixh: iquac motecujtoiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jxucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzomulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel mochitlacatl, vel no inquich tlacatl, quijpaloaia, quijtecquja, in vcili, in pipiltocatl: ic motecaiotiaia, pillooano:

youa vncã quintlatiaia, quimahujtiaia in pipiltocatl. Ce cioatl, ce ocujchtli, in quintemoaia pilloaque, quintlauhtiaia; inhoantin quimamatilhuja, vmpa quimoncaoaia, yn itenpan izcoçauhqui: vmpa quimacazxapotlaia, quimacaxoxinjaia: iuhquin ic quimachiotiaia, ynjc quinitta, yntlaoan, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jxechichiual cacca: tiltica motenujltec, chalchiuhtezcale, xiuhxoxomacale, quetzalnjaoaio, mjtzoua, tlacoxtzoua, xiuhcoomacoche, amacuauapanale, no tzitzile, cocujole, xiuhtezcatlatlapanqui yn jchimal, tlachieltepile.

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66. *"Uno de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son blandas, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y chiquitas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Los tallos de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la cenizilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cenizas, exprimese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hacense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilitamal."* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 233. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amaranthus hypochondriacus Amaranthaceae.*

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 208; see *temoaloaya* in Simeon: *op. cit.*

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrinos* (godfathers; patrons or protectors). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tlatli* and *cuitl* as ashes and excrement.

71. *Chalchiuhtezcalli*—a strap for the head, set with jewelled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*xiuhtototl*); *quetzalnjaoaio* or *xiuhtzoxomacalli*: spear-shafts; *mjtzoua*—a tiara of feather mosaic work in the form of a crescent cone, bordering upwards; *mitzquali tlacoxtzoualli* or

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

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Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *nauhquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bisextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

1	b	KL.		b	8
2	c	A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã		c	9
3	d	fuego nuevo a la media noche delante		d	10
4	e	la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa-		e	11
5	f	mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos,		f	12
6	g	luego en amaneciendo venjan los man-		g	13
7	A	cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos		A	14
8	b	anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez		b	15
9	c	dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de		c	16
10	d	tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que		d	17
11	e	tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y		e	18
12	f	ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque-		f	19
13	g	llos anjmales para que se asassen: y		g	20
14	A	dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu-		A	21
15	b	chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que		b	22
16	c	ellos llamauã Vauhqujltamalli: los		c	23
17	d	quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia,		d	24
18	e	y todos comjan dellos por honrra de		e	25
19	f	la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y		f	26
20	g	beujan y regozijauanse.		g	27

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En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del biscexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos atajos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a esos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jxcoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

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The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce izcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treuesa fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce izcuijtli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: compónjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papéles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

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The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to fasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beijda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

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The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

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x796 [548] when he had been living in the likeness of another, had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

oaquetztinēca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinēca omoveltzzinenca.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said, [827] they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin quinquechaana, quinacopiloa: ic mjtoa quimizcalloana, quinizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, mooapaoazque:

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants; [824] they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

yoã in metl quijiolloxeloa, quijiollotzaiana, quijiollotlapana, quijiollotoma: auh yn nopalli quijtlaiectilia, quimatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, mozcaltiz, mooapaoaz.

x796 852 And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and [301] covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecuitotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan cuntlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, quichachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incuitlacaxiuhiã vetzia in tlatoque.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tetzacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited. [608] It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltotonti, yn intahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa quintemoliaia, in quinvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tetzacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in quinotzaia, mjtoa: quintlatia quimaviña, tetlati, teaviti:

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they [431] gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

auh amo inoaniolque in quimanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, quintlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

[304] At midnight they took [the children] to the priests' dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And [302 237] they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

ioalnepantla in quinvicaia calmecac, vmpa quinnacazxapotla, quinnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc quicoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conquixtia, vncã quimonjlpilia iuhquin tlatzatzintleoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoquiztleoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica quinpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

And the women who became aunts were pasted [608 302] with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoã inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamazxochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

In jquac oquimõnacazxapotlaque, njmã ic quinoalhujuica in inchachan, vncan quichieltitoque ixtoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlatviltitoque, quichixtoque in

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would reiden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed awe [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[3]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuiltecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [thus] all entered their homes.

Thus one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And thus ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during those days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

quenman tlatviz, in quenman tlatlavilotlcoaz, in quenmã tlatõz cujcujtzcatl. 796[x]

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, aatlioa: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in qujocujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoàn iavi, vncan qujtotia, tlaiisuhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oalcenqujxoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotiliztli, in cujqujztli, cepã caoantimomana, xxxamacatimanj in cujcatl: 852 [535] [533]

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vetli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoãtia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoton, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano: 273 796[1] 852

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vetli,

yoan intlaoancax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: ei icxi, nauhcampa nacace, [415]

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmetzivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexozcolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech neaano, neaanalo, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalacoa techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vetli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc ontzonqujça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã oalmotialia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonalli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpouhquj cenca imacaxxoia, cenca mauhcaittoia: 777 796[1] 805

ichica ca çan nẽqujzquj, vncã nenenqujztilo, atle vnqujxoa, nenencolo, nenenencolo: ichica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mãcecoalli, can vncan icnoiotl, neto-

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 24.

565 of not contributing. On the other hand we have a counterpart to these
651 macehuales who did not contribute: there were lords who being caught
[681] in a crime were punished by "being condemned to death" or to exile
or to being sheared, or they were made macehuales (33), that is, they

33. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

were pillis from whom was taken the right to exact tribute and on whom was imposed the obligation of contributing. We saw also earlier that not all lords were exempt from contribution. We can think, nevertheless, that these cases must have been an exception, and that in general the macehuales were tributary and the pillis tribute-exacting.

We would thus have in Tenochtitlan a whole gamut of people in different situations with respect to tributation: people receiving tribute from all tribute-paying persons, people receiving tribute from the members of their calpulli, people neither tributary nor tribute-receiving, and people not tribute-receiving but tributary. According to the above data there is no doubt that there was present a marked differentiation among these levels of the population, at least. If we were to take these data only into account, of course we would have to think that the Tenochca society had classes; but if we analyze other data at our disposal, we will see the great importance which inheritance had in the belonging to each one of these levels (except that composed of the valiant in battle), which removes the class-
565 like character from them. In the first place we are told that upon
● 852 the birth of children "they were washed by the priests and after being washed they [the priests] would place in the child's right hand a tiny sword and in the left, a little shield. The children of the common people were given the insignia of their occupation, and all this beneath some idol" (34). From this it is infered that the people were

34. Acosta, José de, p. 425.

differentiated by their rank from birth: some were born destined to serve in war and on the frontiers (those with the little shields, who were not commoners) and were not to apply themselves to base work, and others were born destined to be laborers and to have humble and
565 vile occupations. Now this situation was hereditary since the pillis were called "lords" (35) and were the sons and grandsons and

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

[81] like customs and propensities. *War*, at first *defensive*, afterwards *offensive*, became the *life of the tribe*. Religion demanded it for its bloody rites; revenge, so deeply rooted in Indian nature, called for it at every moment. But especially was it required for the *subsistence* of the tribe, whose increasing numbers could not live from agriculture on the scanty soil allotted to them, and who, therefore, were compelled to depend upon the spoils gathered from inroads upon their neighbours. *If there was no war in progress, the Mexicans deemed themselves "idle."*[7] We may therefore presume that the military organization of the Mexicans, their preparations for warfare, and the mode of the latter, are features of 701 importance, and worthy of serious attention.

[852] Every male of the Mexican tribe was born a warrior. When still a babe his father placed alongside of the child a small bow[8] and some arrows, in token of its future duties. There was no military caste at Tenuchtitlan or Mexico; with the exception of children, old people, infirm or crippled persons, and sometimes priests, every one had to go to war. Boys fifteen years old were taken along, and in some instances it was even directed "that no "youth over fifteen years of age should remain; that all had to "go, except children and old people."[9] Thus there was no "standing army" the available force being composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe of Mexico.[10]

[7] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 32). "Pasados algunos años dijo el rey Moctezuma á "Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin general y oydor: pareceme que ha muchos dias que estamos "muy *ociosos*." This term, "idle," applies to the lack of any war, since immediately thereafter the war against Chalco was kindled by the most wanton provocation on the part of the Mexicans.

[8] Fr. X. Clavigero (Storia del Messico. Cesena, 1780. Lib. VI, cap. XXXVI). Francisco Lopez de Gomara ("Historia general de las Indias." Second part, "Conquista "de Méjico." contained in the collection of Vedia, volume I,—"This done, they put in "the right hand of the child, an arrow if a boy, a shuttle if a girl, to mark that he would "have to improve by the use of arms, and she by spinning and weaving," p. 438, Vedia, I). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 430, of Vol. II, says this was done four days after the birth of the child). Clavigero intimates that only those children "whose fathers were warriors," received the token, but this is not at all confirmed. Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España" in "Coleccion de Documentos para la "Historia de Mexico," by Señor Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1866, volume I. "Y entonces si "era varon poníanle una saeta en la mano, . . . el varon porque fuese valiente para "defender à si y á la patria, porque las guerras eran muy ordinarias cada año." Tra-
[463] tado I, cap. V, p. 37). There were no hereditary professions or trades, so to say.

[9] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 141, and cap. XC, p. 158). Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. XXVI, pp. 442 and 443).

[10] What the Germans call "*Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*," existed among the Mexicans on the most extensive scale. But their forces, although always ready, never went *permanently* outside of the pueblo, for they were not numerous enough, and did not gather

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At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman cholоa, aiocmo ceppa tepolotivi: in jquac oquitaque itztli, atlan onoc. 776 789

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in qujmjchin ytentlacaoal. 825

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[30]

In qujmjchin in çaço tlein qujqua: aiac vel qujqualiaia, qujlmach in aqujn qujqualia yn q'caoa qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oqujchtequjco in qujmjchin, oqujchtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel qujqualiaia in itentlacaoal qujmjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoz: in aqujn qujqua itentlacaoal qujmjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztitl. 826 776

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Qujlmach in tozti, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, qujlmach ipampa: in iehoatl avitzotl, qualli qujxoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aqujn qujlaqujaia, qujqujxtiliaia in jzti, ioan ixtelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli. 827

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, qujtoaia in ie vecauh: aqujn nechitoa, aqujn nechteneoa: anoce qujtoaia: aqujn nêchicoitoa, anoçe qujtna: aqujque in noca mononotza. Qujl iehoatl qujnezcaiotiaia, iehoatl ic qujmatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca qujteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltotonti. 853●

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

In iehoantin in pipiltotonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaqualo, anoço itla mjz, achto ijxquac contlaiaia, qujlmach ic amo tzitzicunoz, amo motolinjz in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

29. Corresponding Spanish text: "*de harto, o de sababoria, o de otra cosa.*"

30. *Animal*: Sahagun, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2. 21, refers to it as a spotted water animal or otter "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of intoxicated men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Santamaría, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 66 (*cohuinar*), calls it *nutria o perro del agua* (Lutra felina).

31. Corresponding Spanish text: "*quando carajan, o beajan en presencia de algun niño.*"

32. *Ibid.*: "*en la frente.*"

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called ainci, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y cuneres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo. 585 302 292

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y animales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro. 796 [304 854] [535 785]

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

3: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[415]

[854]

[411]

Aztec Pano y Tezcuco

45-49. Iscoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Macuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102 J]

565 **Twentieth Chapter, in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen.**

Ic cempoalli capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnoapaoia in inpilhoan tlatoque, ioan pipilti.

And here is described the rearing of the sons of those who were lords, and of all the princes, who were the sons[1] of lords and noblemen.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jnneoapaoaliz in iehoantin in tlatoque impilhoan, ioan in jxqujchtin in tlaçopipilti, in jnpilhoan tlatoque, pipilti.

854 Their mothers and fathers nourished and raised them, or nursemaids raised them while they were still small children.

iehoantin in jnnaoan, in jntaoan qujmjxcaltia, qujnoapaoa, anoço chichioame in qujnoapaoa in oc pipiltotonti:

565 855 And when they could run, when they were perhaps six years old, thereupon [the boys] went [forth] to play. Their pages—perhaps two, or three—accompanied them that they might amuse them. [The child's] father or mother charged these [pages] that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not taint himself with vice, as he went along the streets.

auh in jcoac ie uel nenemj, aço ie chiquacenxiuhtia, njman ic ic iauh in maaujltiz, in qujnujca ixoloca aço ome anoço ei in caauijltiz, iehoantin qujncocultia in jtatzin in jnantzin injc amo tlauelilocatiz, injc amo qujmocujtlaujz tlauelilocaiotl: in jcoac otli qujtocaz.

565 867 And also they took great care that he should converse fittingly with others—that his conversation should be proper; that he should respect and show reverence to others—[when] perchance he somewhere might chance to meet a judge, or a leading militia officer, or a seasoned warrior, or someone of lesser rank; or a revered old man, or a respected old woman; or someone who was poor. He should greet him and bow humbly. He said: "Come hither, my beloved grandfather; let me bow before thee." And the old one who had been greeted then said: "O my beloved grandson, O precious stone, O precious feather, thou has shown me favor. May it go well with thee."

Auh no cenca qujcujtlaújltiaia injc vel tenotzaz, injc qualli iez in jtlatol, injc teimacaçia, injc temauhcaitiz, aço cana qujnamjquiz aço tecutlato, anoço achcauhtlaiacati, anoço iautequjoa, anoço çan aca tlapaltzintli, anoço veuentzin, anoço ilamatzin, anoço aca motolinja, qujtlapaloz cenca mopechteca, qujlhuja, xioalmoujca noculizine, ma njmjtznotlaxili: auh in iehoatl oqujtlapalo veuentzin njmã qujlhuja nonujuhtzine concatle quetzalle otinechmocnelili ma ximonenemjti:

And when the young boy thus saluted others, they praised him highly for it. They rejoiced greatly over it; they were joyful because of it. They said: "How will this beloved child be, if he shall live? He will in sooth be a nobleman. Mayhap his reward will be something [great]."

auh injc iuh tetlapaloa, y, in piltontli, ic cenca qujiecteneoa, cenca ic papaquj, ic motlamachtia qujtoa: quenamj ietiuhi in piltzintli intla nemjz ca tel pilli, aço itla imaçeoal iez.

565 871 And when he was already maybe ten, twelve, or thirteen years old, they placed him in the priests' house; they delivered him into the hands of the fire priests and [other] priests, that he might be reared

Auh in jcoac ie matlacxiuhtia aço ie vmome, anoço ie omej, icoac qujcalaquja in calmecac, inmac qujmoncaoaia in tlenamacaque, in tlamacazque, injc vmpa izcaltiloz nonotzaloz, tlachieltiloz inic vel

1. *Altos ingenuos*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: "*Inic mocuepaoaz inic mocualchiqui ça ye no yni in omoiaoa in tlamaiiaoli, yan oc*"—"they were reared and brought up just as hath been told in the [section] on birth."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

443 deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort
262 in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough
[445] and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold
443 lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each
[322 article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and
854 other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore
373] mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many
[281 canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the
364] creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen
[364 laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that
514] on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is
[314 called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full
289 of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort
386 are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under
276] the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There
[693 are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment,
344] and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect
[324] the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
●855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

565 **Twentieth Chapter,** in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen.

Ic cempoalli capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnoapacia in inpilhoan tlatoque, ioan pipilti.

And here is described the rearing of the sons of those who were lords, and of all the princes, who were the sons[1] of lords and noblemen.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jnneoapaoaliz in iehoantin in tlatoque impilhoan, ioan in jxqujchtin in tlaçopipilti, in jnpilhoan tlatoque, pipilti.

854 Their mothers and fathers nourished and raised them, or nursemaids raised them while they were
855 still small children.

iehoantin in jnnaoan, in jntaoan qujmjxcaltia, qujnoapaoa, anoço chichioame in qujnoapaoa in oc pipiltotonti:

565 And when they could run, when they were per-
855 haps six years old, thereupon [the boys] went [forth] to play. Their pages—perhaps two, or three—accompanied them that they might amuse them. [The child's] father or mother charged these [pages] that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not taint himself with vice, as he went along the streets.

auh in jcoac ie uel nenemj, aço ie chiquacenxiuhtia, njman ie ic iauh in maaujltiz, in qujnujca ixolooa aço ome anoço ei in caaujltiz, iehoantin qujncocultia in jtatzin in jnantzin injc amo tlauelilocatiz, injc amo qujmocujtlaujz tlauelilocaiotl: in jcoac otli qujtocaz.

565 And also they took great care that he should con-
867 verse fittingly with others—that his conversation should be proper; that he should respect and show reverence to others—[when] perchance he somewhere might chance to meet a judge, or a leading militia officer, or a seasoned warrior, or someone of lesser rank; or a revered old man, or a respected old woman; or someone who was poor. He should greet him and bow humbly. He said: "Come hither, my beloved grandfather; let me bow before thee." And the old one who had been greeted then said: "O my beloved grandson, O precious stone, O precious feather, thou has shown me favor. May it go well with thee."

Auh no cenca qujcujtlaujltiaia injc vel tenotzaz, injc qualli iez in jtlatol, injc teimacaçiz, injc temauhcaitaz, aço cana qujnamjquiz aço tecutlato, anoço achcauhtlaiacati, anoço iautequjoa, anoço çan aca tlapaltzintli, anoço veuentzin, anoço ilamatzin, anoço aca motolinja, qujtlapaloz cenca mopechteca, qujlhuja, xioalmoujca nocultzine, ma njmjtznotlaxili: auh in iehoatl oqujtlapalo veuentzin njmã qujlhuja nonujuhtzine conzatle quetzalle otinechmocnelili ma ximonenemjti:

And when the young boy thus saluted others, they praised him highly for it. They rejoiced greatly over it; they were joyful because of it. They said: "How will this beloved child be, if he shall live? He will in sooth be a nobleman. Mayhap his reward will be something [great]."

auh injc iuh tetlapaloa, y, in piltontli, ic cenca qujiecteneua, cenca ic papaquj, ic motlamachtia. qujtoa: quenamj ietiuhi in piltzintli intla nemjz ca tel pilli, aço itla imaçeoal iez.

565 And when he was already maybe ten, twelve, or
871 thirteen years old, they placed him in the priests' house; they delivered him into the hands of the fire priests and [other] priests, that he might be reared

Auh in jcoac ie matlacxiuhtia aço ie vmome, anoço ie omej, icoac qujcalaquja in calmecac, inmac qujmoncaoaia in tlenamacaque, in tlamacazque, injc vmpa izcaltiloz nonozaloz, tlachieltiloz inic vel

1. After *jnpilhoan*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: "*Inic mononpoua inic oncualtia ga yc on yui in omixiuo in tlacatilli, yan ic*"—"they were reared and brought up just as hath been told in the [section] on birth."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in iuhquima tlamamatlatl injc tlecoia in jxquichica tecutlato muchioa. 302 855

Auh izcatquj injc entzinti, in imemjliz in telpuchtontli, in iacachtó çan oc moquateçonoa in oc piltontli: auh in ic matlacxiujtl icoac mocuexpaltia, auh in cextolxiujtl, icoac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in acan tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço oteoncaioti, anoço otrecaioti, anoço otenauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica injc tepal tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc quimoxexelhuja inmal chiquaceccã qujça. Injc ce vel iehoatl in tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: iehoatl in tomaiauhcãpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochoopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia iehoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzopaz. 727 858

Auh in in icoac mocuexpallaça, inic moxima motzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcãpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalaci iioca motema initzotzocul: in icoac y oc centetl quicui inixaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic ittoz ca otepallama omocuespallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlatzin quilhuia. Nosuiuhtze omicemixamili in tonatiuh, i tlaltecutli ocentetl ticcuic in mozaiac, auh ça otia, inuicpa xonmomaiaui ma mitzuicacan in toiauol intla nen oc cenpa tepal xitlama tle tiez cuis timatzotzocoltiz, ma nen ic no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomocla in toiauhoan. 603 [604] 861

X-787 Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of the eleventh sign, called One Monkey, and of its fortune.
776 It was said of those then born that one was a man of
753 good standing, friendly, amiable, and happy, given
784 to music and the other arts. And it was said that at this time descended to earth those who were the "Goddesses"; and that those whom they met on the road or in paths between houses they injured and visited with sickness. And for this reason, when it was this day sign, no one could fare forth. And one who then sickened the physicians forthwith abandoned.

Inic ompoalli vnnomo capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, inic motlacotl ocz machiotl, in jtoca oz oçomatli: ioan in jtonallo, quijlmach in aquijque vncan tlacatia quall: iiollo catca, teicnjoan, tlaçotlakonj, papaquijnj, quijmocujtlavisia in cujcatl, ioan in oc cequj tolteca-iotl: auh quijl in jquac oaltemoia, in aquijque cioatetu in tlalticpac: auh quijl in aquijque quijnnamjquija, in vtlica, in anoço caltzala quijtlaueliaia cocolixtli itech quijtlalia: auh ipampa in jpan in tonalli catca, aiac vel quiçaia: auh in aquin iquac mococoaia, çan njman quijnnaotiaia in titici.

X-787 One Monkey set in. This Monkey [day sign] they regarded as favorable.

But also they said that at that time the so-called
776 "Princesses" or "Goddesses" descended. It was the
784 time when they were expected, the time of their arrival. At this time they looked upon the children
● 855 with much apprehension. They simply shut them in the houses; they did not wish them to appear at the entrances or on the road, so that [the Goddesses] would not come upon or harm them. Perhaps one of them would have twisted lips, or a shrunken mouth; or he cross-eyed or of weak vision; or his lips would quiver or quake; or he would be maddened—a devil would possess him and he would foam at the mouth; or he would have withered, twisted arms; or be lame, etc.

Moquetza oz oçomatli: inin oçomatli, quijqualitaia:

auh ioan quitoa, no uncan temoaia inchiclpan, imaçia, in motencoaia cioapipilti, cioatetu, cenca vncã quijnclamauhcaititiliaia in tepilhoan, çã quijetzatzaquaia calitic, amo quijnonquixtitlanja, in quijaoac, in vtlica, inic amo motenamjctinque, quijmjlacoque, aço aca tennecujliviz, tempatziviz, ixnecujliuiz, ixvitzaliviz, itzn papatlacaz, itzn viujiocaz, iollotlaueliotiz, itech quijnenaz, tenqualacquijçaz, matzicoliuiz, macopichauiz, icxi quijujlanaz. Ere.

And if someone began to sicken, the physicians
776 told him that he would become dangerously sick;
753 he would not recover. For he had come upon the Princesses, and they had set upon him; it was the time of their descent and arrival when [this sickness] began. For it was [so] willed.

auh intla aca ipan opeuh mococoa, quijtellujaia in titici, ca tlamaiz, aocmo quijçaz, ca omotenamjcti, ipan oquijaque in cioapipilti, ca intemoian, imãcuian in opeuh, ca oelcujloc:

And likewise it was said that if someone were of good standing, of a good day sign, and able, if at this time they injured him, they said that the Princesses had indeed willed it upon him and that he had contended with them.[1]

auh no ioan mjtoa, intla aca qualli yiollo, in qualli itonal, ioan qualli itlachiclia: vncan quijtlacallujaia, quijoaia: ca çan oquelcujque, oquijnnonamjcti in cioapipilti.

1. Corresponding Spanish note: "Y si alguno que era bien dispuesto, conforme en cuanto dice, decían que las diosas le habían dañado la hermosura, y se le habían quitado."

Thirty-third Chapter, in which is mentioned the nineteenth sign, named One Eagle. It was said to be an evil day sign, and he who was then born was beautful, and brave, daring, fearing nothing and no one. And it was said that the women also were daring, of ill fame, of evil tongue, shameless, and immodest. And it was said that at this time descended the lesser Goddesses; and they did evil to the small children. Hence they did not let them go out of doors, nor did they bathe them at that time.[1]

Injc cēpoalli ōmatlactli vmey capitulo: vncan motenecoa ynjc cextolli vnnavi machiotl, yn itoca ce quauhtli: quil amo qualli in tonalli, auh in ipan tlacatia, mochachamaoanj, yoã chicaoque, aiac ixco tlachia, atle ypan tlatta, atle ypã teitta: yoan quil in cihoa, ano tle ypã tlachia, yoan cenca tlavilquixtianj, tentlaveliloque, ixquauhti, amo pinaoanj: auh quil yn iquac, oaltemoia yn aquique tepitoton cihoateteu: auh quintlaueliaia in conetotonti, yc amo quinoalquixtiaia in qujiaoac, amono quimaltiaia yn iquac. 787x

—One Eagle. This One Eagle, it was said, was an evil day sign. Also at that time descended those named the "Goddesses." It was said, and it was so stated, that they were only the youngest ones, only the sisters,[2] who then came down. Nevertheless, [the people] took great fright, because it was said that they were very harmful, furious, hateful, hostile, and merciless. As they could not be resisted, so they made sport of people, as is told in various places and mentioned here and now. None of the small children might go naked. They were carefully watched, because at this time they might be violently possessed, their lips twisted and withered, their eyes crossed and cloudy, their noses crooked, etc.

In ce quauhtli: ynjn ce quauhtli, mjtoa amo qualli tonalli, no vncan temoia, ih qujntocaiotia cihoateteu, quilmach yn juh onmjtoa ça xoxocoio, ça teiccaoan yn vncan temoia, ieoe cenca vellamauhtiaia, ypampa quil cenca ihjioque, tlaveleque, tetlavelique, amo ellelceuhque, amo icnooaque, njman aixnamjquizzi, ynjc teca maviltianj, yn juh omjto quezquican: yn juh conitoa in iquac hin, njmã aiac vel petlauhtinenca in pipiltoeõti, cenca malhujloia, ypampa cenca tlaquauh vncan tetech quineoaia, tennecujlooaia, tempatrioooaia, ixnecujlioooaia, ixcatrioooaia, iacanecuiloaia. etc. 787x 776 855

And therefore they paid them great honor there in the places where they were awaited, there in the different Goddesses' temples. In each neighborhood, in the house clusters and their vicinities, reeds were strewn and scattered; sand was sprinkled on the roads and at street crossings and crossroads—places where roads came together.

auh injc cenca qujnmavixtiliaia in vncan inchielpã yn izquicã cicihoateucalco, in tlatlaxilacalpã, tetlatlaxilacalloc, tetlatlaxilacaltian, tõtoltzetzelolo, tlatoltzetzelolo, tlaixalhujlo yn vtlica, yn vmaxac, yn inepanivjian vtli. 776 782

One who made a vow to them that he would cover and wrap them, adorned their offerings, the paper banners of the Goddesses painted and spattered with liquid rubber. There he covered the different images of the Goddesses, as they were arranged in order. It was at midnight, just at the dividing of the night, that the making of offerings

Jn aquin invicpa monetoltia: in qujnquentiz quintlaquentiz, quinchichivilia yn jnnextlacal, in cihoatetentil amatl, tlaoolxaoalli, oolpeiaoac, vmpa qujmoquequentia yn izquijteme, tecpantoque, yn inixiptlaoan iocalnepantla, çan jc onxellivi, iocalli im peoa tlamanililo, auh iquac mocaoa yie nepantla tonatiuh, yie tlaqualizpã auh in aquin amo qujntlaquentia, çan [778]

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "no les dexaron salir de casa, ni bañarse, al menos que entonces eran niños varones."
2. Translation: see "Monosyllables are 3 substances," p. 212.

824 531 **Third Chapter, which telleth of flowers artificially arranged.**[3]

Flowers arranged with artifice: there were many kinds thus named, flowers artificially arranged — flower shields; flowers for clipped heads, or for shorn ones, or drums; or spreading [flowers]. As to these flowers the ancients were also deluded. They said: "It is not our right to smell in the midst — the center — of them; he alone, he who pervadeth all, Titlacauan, may smell that place. Our right is only to smell them there at the edges."

Injc ey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in suchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.

Suchitl ie tlatlalilli: ca mjiec tlamantli injc motocaiotia in suchitl tlatlalilli, chimalsuchitl, quateçonsuchitl, quachic, vevetl, moiauac: In jtechpa yn suchitl, no motlapololtiaya in vevetque, qujtoaia: ca amo tonemac in tlanepantla, in jnepantla tiquijnecujaque ca çan icelteiin vel vncan motlanecujltia in tloque naoaque, in titlacaoan: çanijo tonemac, in vncan titlanecujaque in jtenco.

824 **Fourth Chapter, which telleth of dried grains of maize.**

Injc navi capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tlaulli.

As to dried grains of maize, in many ways were the women none the less deluded. First, when they cooked it or set it in ashes — behold their folly: when they would place it in the olla with ashes, first of all they breathed upon it. It was held that in this way it would not take fright; thus it would not fear the heat. It was said that thus they mitigated the heat.

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Second, they deceived themselves in this way: if they saw or came upon dried grains of maize lying scattered on the ground, then they quickly gathered them up. They said: "Our sustenance suffereth: it lieth weeping. If we should not gather it up, it would accuse us before our lord. It would say: 'O our lord, this vassal picked me not up when I lay scattered upon the ground. Punish him!' Or perhaps we should starve."

In jtechpa in tlaulli: mjiec tlamantli oc noma, ic motlapololtia in cioa. Injc centlamantli: in jquac qujcuxitia, in anoço qujnexquetza: izcatquj in jnnetlapololtiliz, in jquac ic contemazque in nexcomjc: oc achtopa conahsiovia, qujlmach ic amo momauhtiz, ic amo motonalmauhtiz: qujlmach ic contonallalilia.

Injc vntlamantli, injc muztlacavia: intla oquijtaque, in anoço oypan qujçato tlaulli chachaisuatoc tlalpan: njman conpepentiuetzi, qujtoa: motolinja in tonacaiutl, mochochoqujlitoc: ca intlacamo ticpepenazque, ca techteixpanujz in jxpantzinco totecujo: ca qujmolhujliz. Totecujoe, injn macoaalli: ca amo nechpepen, in jquac tlalpan njcenmantoca: ma zicmotlatzacujltili: auh anoce timaianazque.

●856 **Fifth Chapter, which telleth of stepping over one.**

Injc macujlli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tecuencholhujlizti.

As to stepping over one, the natives also [were] deluded. When some child lay stretched out across one's path, if someone stepped over him, then they chid him who passed over him, saying to him: "Why dost thou step over him?"

It was said that thereby the child would grow no more; he would be only small. And in order to cure him, so that [this] might not befall the child, once again he stepped back over him.[4] Thus was it remedied.

In jtechpa tecuencholhujlizti: no centlamantli innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tla aca melavatoc piltontli, necujliuhtoc: intla aca oconcuencholhuj, njman caoa in aquja otecuencholhuj, qujlhuja. Tle ipampa in ticcuencholhuja:

qujlmach ic ayocmo manaz in piltontli, ça izqujchton iez: auh injc compatiaia, injc amo ipan muchioaz piltontli, oc eppa qujoalpancholhuja: ic vmpatia.

3. *Suchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.* Corresponding Spanish text: "*las flores, que se compusieron de muchas flores.*"

4. *Quinelpancholhuia.* Corresponding Spanish text: "*otra vez volvióse atrás a pasar sobre el, por la parte contraria.*"

Sixth Chapter, which telleth of drinking.[5]

As to drinking, there, also was a delusion of the ancients, somewhat like the account of stepping over one.

And in this wise was the account of it: when, perchance, one drank; if one yet a small child drank first, and afterwards one drank who was a little older, already grown, then [the elder] restrained and took the water from the small child. He said to him: "Why dost thou wish to drink first? Thou wilt not grow large, but remain small. Now let thy elder brother drink, for he is already bigger."[6]

Injc chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in atiliztli. 271

In jtechpa atiliztli: no vncatca innextlacaviliz in 856
vevetque: çan ie achi no iuhquj in jtlatlatollo in tecencholhujliztli.

Auh ivin in, ca itlatlatollo: in jquac tla ie atli, in tle ie achto atli oc piltontli: auh intla çatepan atli in ie achi tachcauh, in ie quauhtic: njman qujtlacaoaltia, qujcujlia in atl in piltontli, qujlhuja: tle ipampa in achto tatlinnequj, amo tiquauhtiez, çan ye tixqujchtoetiez: ma oc ie conj in motiachcauh, achic ca ie quauhtic.

Seventh Chapter, which telleth of him who dipped into the cooking pot.

Of this there was also a delusion of the natives, known especially of the men. And in this wise was it known: when, perhaps, men ate, and one only dipped into the cooking pot — not into a sauce dish — then also the mothers and fathers restrained him. They said to him: "Do not dip into the cooking pot; there [in war] thou wilt leave thy captives. If thou goest to war, none wilt thou seize; no one will become thy captive."

Injc chicome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in aquja xocco ontlapalca. 264 726

In jtechpa in: no vncatca innetlapololiliz, in njcan tlaca: oc cenca intechpa mocaquj in toqujchtin. Auh ivin in mocaquj: in jquac intla tlaqua toqujchti: auh çan xocco, in ontlapalotica, amo molcaxic: njman no qujtlacaoaltia in tenanoan, in tetaoan, qujlhvia: macamo xocco xontlatlapalo, vncan tiqujmoucaoa in momalhoan: intla tiaz iavc, aiac ticaciz, aiac momal muchioaz.

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of tamales stuck [to the cooking pot].

Concerning tamales stuck [to the cooking pot] as another deception of the natives, it was said that the men and women would not eat them. It was stated that if the men were to eat them, when they would shoot arrows in warfare, the arrow which was shot would not find its mark. Or perchance therefore they might die, or one's wife would with difficulty bear children.

And just so was it as to a woman. If she were to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot], she could not bear children. Her child would only adhere to and thus die in her womb. Therefore the mothers sternly forbade them to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot].

Injc chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jxqujuhquj tamalli. 264

In jtechpa in jxqujuhquj tamalli: oc no centlamantli innextlacaviliz in njcan tlaca, qujlmach amo vel qujquazque, in oquijchtin, ioan cioa: qujlmach intla qujquazque toqujchti, amo xacan in qujçaz mjtl, injc qujmjauaque iuac: auh anoçe ic mjquiz, yoan xiaxcan thacachioaz in jnamic.

Auh çan ie no yuhquj in jtechpa cioatl: intla qujquaz ixqujuhquj tamalli, amo vellacachioaz: çan itech ixqujviz in jconeuh, ic mjquiz in ijti: ipampa cenca qujtecaoaltiaia in tenanoan, injc amo moquaz, in jxqujuhquj tamalli.

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*quijote dado, hacer el mesmo, como del mojar.*"

6. *Ibid.*: "*el hombre dos hermanos. El el mesmo hacia primero, dandolos el mojar, no hacer primero, que por porque el hacer primero, no crecerse: mas quedarse de, como niño agora.*" See also Carochi, *op. cit.*, p. 326: "*Atiliz, es adorbolio, con que se mesmo . . . que el diferencia entre cosa pertenece, o casa, y otra.*"

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of earthquakes.

When the earth quivered, a delusion of the natives was to be seen. When the earth quaked, then they quickly took their children by the neck and lifted them,[12] so that they might soon grow big — so that they might mature quickly. It was said that if they did not take them by the neck and lift them quickly, they would with difficulty wax larger.. And they said that the earthquake would bear [the child] away if they did not grasp him by the neck and lift him. And they sprinkled water upon their faces.

And their houses, their square wooden beams, their food storage bins, their cooking pots, and indeed all their goods, everything, they sprinkled with water. And if they forgot something, they wrangled over it; it was said that the earthquake would take it away. And everyone raised a din and cried out while striking the hand to the lips in order to make known [the earthquake] to those who knew not of it.[13]

Injc matlactli vnnemme capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn tlallolinjlixtli. 823

In jquac tlallolinj, centlamantli neci innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tlallolinj, njman iciuhca quinquechaana in jnpilhoan, injc yciuhca quaquauhtiezque, injc yciuhca manazque: quijlmach intlacamo quinquechaanazque iciuhca, ayaxcan quauhtiazque: yoan quitoaia, quivica in tlallolinjlixtli, intlacamo quijquechaanazque, yoan quimixalpichiaia. 856

Auh yn jncal, in intlaquetzal, in jncuezcon, in jnxuc, in ye inquich intlatquj, muchi catzelhuja: auh intla ytla oquijcauhque, yc macoia: quijlmach quivica in tlallolinjlixtli: yoan inquich tlacatl ycaocaia, motenvitequja: yc quinmachiltiaya, in amo quimati. 823

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the [three] hearth stones.

Concerning the [three] hearth stones there was also a delusion of the natives. When they saw someone kicking[14] the hearth stones, they restrained him from doing so. They said to him: "Do not kick the hearth stones. It will deaden thy feet when, perchance, thou goest to war." They said to him that now he would not be able to walk or run in time of battle. His feet would be numbed; quickly he would fall into the hands of their foes. Hence the natives restrained their youths, that this might not befall them.

Injc matlactli vnnay capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tenamaztli. 354

In jtechpa in tenamaztli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: in jquac in aca quijtta, in quijtilicçatica in tenamaztli: yc quijtlacaoaltiaia, quijlhujaia: macamo xictiliçatia in tenamaztli mitzjcximjmjctiz in jquac intla tiaz iave, quijlhuja: aiocmo vel nenemjz, aiocmo vel motlaloz in iaupan: ça ycximjmjquiz, yciuhca ynmac vetziz in jniaovan: ynjc quijtlacaoaltiaia in jntelpuchoan, in njcan tlaca, injc amo yuh inpan muchioez.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the tortilla doubled over on the griddle.

When a woman made tortillas, if her tortilla doubled over, there was also a delusion of theirs. She said: "Someone who now cometh hath kicked

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in comalco mocuelpachoa tlaxcalli. 252

In jquac tlaxcaloa in cioa, intla ocuelpachiuh itlaxcal: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, quijtoa: aquin ie viza oquijualtilicçac: auh in anoce yoquijchvi, in ca-

12. Quiquechaanazque literally, they took them by the neck. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*tomauan a sus niños sus madres los cuanto, por cobrar los alientos, y los hazauan en alto.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*para que todos sabiendo, que temblaua la tierra.*"

14. Quijtilicçatica literally, were kicking it (cf. *ilicça*, kicking, op. cit.); corresponding Spanish text: "*los que pasaua el pie sobre los tenamites, que no tuuo ganados.*"

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of the sweat house.

Although the sweat house were very hot, where all bathed, if one known as a twin went there, then he would dispel the steam and destroy [the heat], however hot the sweat house were — even if he went to stand only at the doorway; even more so if he were to bathe among [the others]. But thus could he remedy it; it was said that four times he himself cast potsherds on the ground and sprinkled them with water. It was thought that thus he would not dispel the heat. It would be even hotter.

And when two were born who were called twins, it was said that wherever something was dyed, when [someone] dyed rabbit fur, they might not enter there. If they were to enter there, it was said, they would cast a spell over it; they would blow the colors off. It would come out badly — it would become multicolored, especially [if the dye were] chili red. But thus was it remedied: [the dyer] made him taste the dye water. It was said that in this way the rabbit fur would not be damaged.

Likewise, neither might those known as twins enter where tamales were cooking; because, it was said, if they came in there, they would also bewitch the tamales and the cooking pot. They would not cook, though [left there] all day. The tamales would each one cook only on one side. And in order to remedy it, so that it would not thus happen, when perhaps they went to enter, they placed the cooking pot on the fire. And if by chance the tamales were placed in the pot in [their] presence, they made them lay one [of them] in place. It was said that thus the tamales would not be harmed.

Injc cempoalli on castolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in temazcalli. 343

In temazcalli, in vncan netemalo: intlanel cenca totonquj, intla vmpa iaz, in motenexa cocoa: njmil quipouhtitlaça, quipolos injc cenca totonquj ocatca in temazcalli: intlanel çan quijaoac onmoquetzatiuh: oc cenca intla tehoan motemaz. Auh injc patiz quijl nappa in vel inoma contlaçaz, in conatequjz tapalcatl: qujl ic amo quipolos, injc totonquj: çan oc cenca totonquj iez.

515 845

Ioan in vmêtin tlacati, in mjtoa cocoa, qujlmach in canjn tlapalo, in quipa tochomjtl: amo vel vmpa calaquj: yntla vmpa calaquiz, quilmach quizoza, quipitza in tlapalli: amo qualli in quiça, çan mocujcujcujloa: oc cença yehoatl in chichiltic. Auh injc pati, achi contlapaloltia in tlapalatl: qujl ic amo ytlacaviz in tochomjtl.

845 386

No yoan in ichoantin in mjtoa cocoa, in cahjn mopaoaci tamalli: amono vel vmpa calaquj: ichica quilinacâ intla vmpa calaquizque, no quizoza in tamalli, yoan in comjtl: amo vel ycuci, intlanel cemjlhujtl: çan chichicoycuciz in tamalli. Auh injc pati, injc amo iuh muchioaz: in jquac tla ocalaquito, contlatiz in comjtl. Auh intlanoçe ijxpan mocontema tamalli, centetl ipan contlalilia: qujl ic amo ytlacaviz in tamalli.

845 252

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the time when the teeth of small children dropped.

When the teeth of small children dropped out, the mothers cast them into a mouse-hole, or they said to their children: "Place it in the mouse-hole." For it was said that if they were not to do this, the small child's teeth could not grow; he would remain quite toothless.

Injc cempoalli on castolli omome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti. 856

In jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti: yn tenanoan itlacoiocco contlaça in quimjchin, anoçe inpilhoan, quimjlhuja: ytlacoiocco xictlali in quimjchin: ichica quil intlacamo iuh quichioazque, amo vel izoaz in jtlan piltontli: çan tlancuetoctic iez.

* * *

These superstitions harm the Faith, and therefore it is well to recognize them. Only these few have

Estas abusiones, enperen a la fe: y por eso, conujene sabellas, y predicar, contra ellas. Anse puesto, 000

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how begun the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in iuhqujma tlamamatlatl injc tlecoia in jxqujchica tecutlato muchioa. 302 855

Auh izcatquj injc ontzinti, in imemjliz in telpuchtontli, in iacachtó çan oc moquateçonoa in oc piltontli: auh in ie matlacxiujtl icoac mocuexpaltia, auh in caxtolxiujtl, icoac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in acan tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço oteoncaioti, anoço oteecaioti, anoço otenauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica injc tepal tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc qujmoxexelhuja inmal chiquaceccã qujça. Injc ce vel iehoatl in tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: iehoatl in tomaiauhcãpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochoopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia iehoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzopaz. 727 858

Auh in in icoac mocuespallaça, inic moxima motzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcãpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalaci iioca motema initzotzocul: in icoac y oc centetl quicui inixaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic ittoz ca otepallama omocuespallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlatzin quilhuia. Nosiiuhtze omitzmixamili in tonatiuh, i tlaltecutli ocentetl ticcuic in moxaiac, auh ça otia, inuicpa xonmomaiaui ma mitzuicacan in toiauoã intla nen oc ceppa tepal xitlama tle tiez cuis timatzotzocoltiz, ma nen ie no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomotla in toiauhoan. 603 [604] 861

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four 787 777
days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate
the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved 553
to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction where- 777
by the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favor-
able period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque 553
over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the ac- 776
couchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God,
whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures.
The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools 553
which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the
motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her
pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name,
that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the
child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his
birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal,
like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor,
like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the
time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alter-
native animal title. Girls' names frequently were com-
pounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its pur- [862]
pose was to induct the child into the techniques and obliga- 861
tions of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which
handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in
adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized cul-
ture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers in-
structed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children
listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned
the uses of the household implements and performed minor
household chores.[8]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc cemposalli ece capitula, vncan mjtoa, in iuhqujma tlamamatlatl injc tlecoia in jxqujchica tecutlato muchioa. 302 855

Auh iacatquj injc ontxinti, in imemjliz in telpuchtontli, in iacachtō çan oc moquateçonoa in oc piltontli: auh in ie matlacxiujtl icoac mocuexpaltia, auh in caxtolxiujtl, icoac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in acan tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço oteoncaioti, anoço otetecaioti, anoço otenauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, anoço otechiquacenaxioti vncan tlantica injc tepal tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc qujmoxexelhuja inmal chiquaceccā qujça. Injc ce vel iehoatl in tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: iehoatl in tomaiauhcāpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochcopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia iehoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzopaz. 727 858

Auh in in icoac mocuespallaça, inic moxima motzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcāpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan 'oalaci iioca motema initzotzocul: in icoac y oc centetl quicui inixaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic ittoz ca otepallama omocuespallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlatzin quilhuia. Nosuiuhtze omitzmixamili in tonatiuh, i tlahtecutli ocentetl ticcuic in moxaiac, auh ça otia, inuicpa xonmomaiaui ma mitzuicacan in toiauoā intla nen oc ceppa tepal xitlama tle tiez cuis timatzotzocoltiz, ma nen ie no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomotla in toiauhoan. 603 [604] 861

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin icoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama icoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic moxima moquaiaoalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ic imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh ī aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ispan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocân. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhostzalhuia quicemaqu.ia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecozauhuia in icalpiscahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
● 861 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young
561 men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuehican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitocoxtlahuia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yoan ompa quimpatonia*—and there they passed fashions on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*una manta con una Rosa labrada de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras cintas labradas de colorado que se llamaua colotlapalli: y . . . un mantle labrado de colorado, largo que estuuiesse hasta colgado, y otro mantle labrado de todos colores.*"

252 it over." Or if, perchance, her husband had gone somewhere distant, she said: "Now he cometh, for he hath kicked over my tortilla."

napa veca oya, qujtoaia: ca ye hujtz, ca qujoaltilicçac yn notlaxcal.

●861 **Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of small children who licked the surface of the grinding stone.**

When small children licked the surface of the grinding stone, the mothers chid and scolded their young ones for it, and restrained them from it, saying to them: "Do not lick the grinding stone; your teeth will thus quickly break and fall out." Because of this, they filled their small children with great fear, so that this would not befall them.

Injc caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn pipiltotonti qujxpaloa metlatl.

In jquac pipiltotonti qujxpapaloa metlatl: yc teaoaia, yc qujmaoaia, yc qujntlacaoaltiaia in tenanoan yn jnpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo xicpapalocan in metlatl, yc iciuhca cocotoniz, yciuhca vevetziz in amotlan. Ipampa yn, cenca qujmjmacaxiltiaia in pipiltotonti: injc amo iuh ynpan muchioaz.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of him who leaned against a square pillar.

When they saw one who leaned against a square pillar, there also was folly of the natives;[15] they chid him for it, and restrained him from doing so; they prevented their children from doing it. They said to them: "Do not lean against the pillar; it is a liar." Thus did they speak: "It giveth one lies; it is like unto one who lieth." [With] this, they terrified the children lest such might befall them and they tell lies.

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn aqujn itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli.

In jquac aca qujttaia, in jtech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tla: yc teaoaia, ic tetlacaoaltiaia, ic qujntlacaoaltiaia in ynpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ytech ximotlaxtica in tlaquetzalli, yhjztlacati: iuh qujtoaia: ca ichoatl qujtemaca in jztlacatiliztli, itech qujcuj: in aqujn ihiztlacati. Injn, cenca qujmjmacaxiltiaia in tepilhoan: injc amo iuh inpan muchioaz, ynjc amo yhiztlacatizque.

861 264 **Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the maidens who are standing.**

In times past, when the natives saw their maidens eat standing, they also restrained them from it. They prevented their children from doing so. They said to them: "Eat not while thou art standing. Thou wilt marry far from here.—Who will follow thee?" It was said that it would befall one that she would marry in a distant place; she would be taken somewhere far away, not in her own city where she lived.

Injc caxtolli omome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn jchpupuchti in çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua.

In ie vecauh in njcan tlaca: in jquac in qujmjttaia in jmjchpuchoan ỹ çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua: no yc tetlacaoaltiaia, ic qujntlacaoaltiaia in jnpilhoan, qujmjlhujaia: macamo ximoquetztica in titlaqua, veca timoechotiz, ac mjtzicxitocaz: qujlmach ichoatl ipan muchioaia, in veca moqujchvatia, in cana veca vico: in amo yaltepeuh ipan nemj.

846 753 **Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth how maize cobs were burned.**

When one had just given birth to a child, she who, residing there, had given birth should not then burn maize cobs. It was said that if there [maize cobs]

Injc caxtolli omey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in quenjn motlatia olotl.

In jquac aca mjxivia, avel vncan qujtlatiaia in olotl: in vncan onoc mjxiuhquj, qujl intla vncan tlatlaz: yc ichchichitinjz in piltontli. Auh intla ça

15. *In mjoan ihc: mad ihcac.*

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four 787 777
days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate
the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved 553
to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction where- 777
by the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favor-
able period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque 553
over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the ac- 776
couchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God,
whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures.
The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools 553
which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the
motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her
pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name,
that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the
child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his
birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal,
like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor,
like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the
time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alter-
native animal title. Girls' names frequently were com-
pounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its pur- [862]
pose was to induct the child into the techniques and obliga- 861
tions of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which
handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in
adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized cul-
ture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers in-
structed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children
listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned
the uses of the household implements and performed minor
household chores.[8]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 **Twentieth Chapter, in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen.**

Ic cempoalli capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnoapacia in inpilhoan tlatoque, ioan pipilti.

And here is described the rearing of the sons of those who were lords, and of all the princes, who were the sons[1] of lords and noblemen.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jnneoapacaliz in ichcantin in tlatoque impilhoan, ioan in jxqujchtin in tlaçopipilti, in jnpilhoan tlatoque, pipilti.

[854 855] Their mothers and fathers nourished and raised them, or nursemaids raised them while they were still small children.

ichoantin in jnnaoan, in jntaoan qujmjzcaltia, qujnoapaoa, anoço chichioame in qujnoapaoa in oc pipiltotonti:

565 855 And when they could run, when they were perhaps six years old, thereupon [the boys] went [forth] to play. Their pages—perhaps two, or three—accompanied them that they might amuse them. [The child's] father or mother charged these [pages] that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not taint himself with vice, as he went along the streets.

suh in jcoac ie uel nenemj, aço ie chiquacenxiuhtia, njman ie ic iauh in maaujltiz, in qujnujca ixoloca aço ome anoço ei in caaujltiz, ichoantin qujncocultia in jtatzin in jnantzin injc amo tlauelilocatiz, injc amo qujmocujtlaujz tlauelilocaiotl: in jcoac otli qujtocaz.

565 867 And also they took great care that he should converse fittingly with others—that his conversation should be proper; that he should respect and show reverence to others—[when] perchance he somewhere might chance to meet a judge, or a leading militia officer, or a seasoned warrior, or someone of lesser rank; or a revered old man, or a respected old woman; or someone who was poor. He should greet him and bow humbly. He said: "Come hither, my beloved grandfather; let me bow before thee." And the old one who had been greeted then said: "O my beloved grandson, O precious stone, O precious feather, thou has shown me favor. May it go well with thee."

Auh no cenca qujcujtlaujltiaia injc vel tenotzaz, injc qualli iez in jtlatol, injc teimacaçiz, injc temauhcajitzz, aço cana qujnamjqujz aço tecutlato, anoço achcauhtlaiacati, anoço iauequjoa, anoço çan oca tlapaltzintli, anoço veuentzin, anoço ilamatzin, anoço aca motolinja, qujtlapaloz cenca mopechteca, qujlhuja, xioalmoujca noculizine, ma njmjztnotlaxili: auh in ichoatl oquitlapalo veuentzin njmã qujlhuja notujuhtzine concatle quetzalle otinechmocnelili ma ximonenemjti:

And when the young boy thus saluted others, they praised him highly for it. They rejoiced greatly over it; they were joyful because of it. They said: "How will this beloved child be, if he shall live? He will in sooth be a nobleman. Mayhap his reward will be something [great]."

suh injc iuh tetlapaloa, y, in piltontli, ic cenca qujectenoa, cenca ic papaquj, ic motlamachtia. qujtoa: quenamj ietiuhi in piltzintli intla nemjz ca tel pilli, aço itla imaçeoal iez.

565 871 And when he was already maybe ten, twelve, or thirteen years old, they placed him in the priests' house; they delivered him into the hands of the first priests and [other] priests, that he might be reared

Auh in jcoac ie matlacxiuhtia aço ie vmome, ahoço ie omej, icoac qujcalaquja in calmecac, inmac qujmoncaoia in tlenamacaque, in tlamacazque, injc vmpa incaltilos nonotzalos, tlachichtilos injc vel

1. *Mas significan, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has the following, omitted from the Florentine Codex: "Inic mocuepaua inic mocuecuj: ca ça ye no yuel in ouiztlac in chanchiuhti, quen ic"—"they were reared and brought up just as both been told in the [section] on birth."*

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

● 868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its
644 quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings
[367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great
517 plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide
174 road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

● 868 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led
174 to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

nemjz qujcujtlaujltia in tlamaceoaliztli, in ioaltica in acxoiatlaliliztli içaçocampa acxoiatlalitiuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali qujcalaquja, inmac concaoa in tiachcaoan, qujcujtlaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianoliztli, in jxquich tlamantli tlamaçeoaliztli mochioaia.

565 ●868 701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

Auh in jcoac ie caxtolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamachtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl injc qujça iauc, in ichoantin tequjoaque achtopa qujnnotza qujntlaqualtia. qujmatlitia, ioan qujntlauhtia in jxqujchtin tequjoaque, in qcjnmaca aço quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman qujtlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ie no iuhquj in omjto tlacpac injc qujntlatlauhtia.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[3] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

Auh njman ic qujhujca, in iauc: vel qujmocujtlaujtiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel qujmachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautioa, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcoac ie mochioa iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, uel conjttitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlamaz: aço njmã tepallama, anoço njman vel ic açi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochioa.

[202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiqujça in tequjqque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in qujoalnonotztiuetzi motecuçuma:

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[2] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Matlatzinca,

auh in oacico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma qujlhuja. Totecujoe notelpotzine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujtzilobuchtli, ca oeepan qujtopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca oia in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatitiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepanecatl, in aculhoa, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie ixqujch tlalhoacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. *Vel le casi: the Real Academia de la Historia MS has or for ie.*
3. *Tlatlamatitiaque: Simeon, op. cit.—tlatlamatitia.*

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatiluloco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanquijçiauhque, oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlatia qujnpopoloa.

727

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlã, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omuchiuh.

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701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezqujntin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlantaque, aço cequjntin motequjoacazima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnqujxtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

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Auh intla oalmjtuz iaujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel pannetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in qujça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chronyquyccuel:* Sahagún's comment on fol. 33 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y lo de la tierra caca, que son los caxonistas de los chiconquac."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[448] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

●868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief.
[643] Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 580.) The capture of Montezuma did not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Ixtapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia
[651] says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

months later, which was performed by the medicine-man of the 553
kin.[95] Both of these names were preserved, but if the full-grown man ever performed some action of merit in the service of the whole tribe, then the tribe bestowed upon him a third name as an honorable title attached to his person in reward for his deeds.[96]

It was the duty of the kin to educate or train its members to every 871
branch of public life. For all public purposes, *man* only must be 868
taken into account. This appears obvious from what was said already concerning the position of women in general. Now each calpulli, or localized kin, among the ancient Mexicans had, as we have shown in "Art of War,"[97] its "House of the Youth" ("telpuch-calli") joined to its "medicine-lodge" or temple. Thither the boys were brought at an early age, to be instructed in whatever was needed for after-life. In order to train their bodies they were held to manual labor, and to the ordinary duties of worship. The use of weapons was made a prominent object of teaching; so was the dance and song, the latter coupled with ordinary Indian rhetorics.[98] These houses of education were under the

Vecinos, que para este acto se juntavan . . . y entonces le ponian el nombre." Also (Cap. XXII, p. 455; cap. XXIII, p. 456): "De la misma manera, que quando alguna de estas Indias parta, se usaba juntarse toda la Parentela. y las vecinas, y amigas, ... De esta misma manera lo acostumbraban hacer para el fingido Bautismo." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I. p. 438): "En este lavatorio les ponian nombre, no como querian, sino el del mismo dia en que nacieron.' *Fetancurt* (Parte II, Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 452).

[95] This is stated by *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 438): "y dende á tres meses, que son de los nuestros dos, los llevaban al templo, donde un sacerdote que tenia la cuenta y ciencia del calendario y signos, les daba otro sobrenombre, haciendo muchas ceremonias, y declaraba las gracias y virtudes del idolo cuyo nombre les ponia, pronosticándoles buenos hados." *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Despues desde á tres meses presentaban aquella criatura en el templo del demonio, y dabanle su nombre, no dejando el que tenia, y tambien entonces comian de regocijo, . . . "

[96] *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, p. 498). *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 437, 438). *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 96, 97, and 98).

[97] "*Art of War*," p. 101. Relying on Humboldt, I assumed fifteen years to be the age when military instruction began, but the general instruction began much sooner. See note 85.

[98] "*Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. IV, cap. V, p. 303): "Habiendo entrado en la casa del Telpuchcalli el niño, dábanle cargo de barrer, limpiar la casa, poner lumbre, y hacer los servicios de penitencia á que se obligaba. Era costumbre que á la puesta del sol, todos los mancebos iban á bailar, y danzar á la casa que se llamaba Cuicacalco cada noche, y el muchacho tambien bailaba con los otros mancebos; llegando á los quince años. y siendo ya mancebillo, llevábanle consigo los mancebos mayores al monte á traer la leña, que era necesaria para la casa del Telpuchcalli. y Cuicacalco, y cargábanle las rodelas para que las llevase acuestas;" (p. 309): "La vida que tenian era muy áspera . . . " (Cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271; Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 284), and other incidental notices. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124, 125). *Torque-*

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

871 These houses of education were under the
868 special direction of experienced men, called therefore "Speakers
875 of the Youth" ("telpuchtlatoca") and "elder brothers" ("teachcanhtin,") in another capacity. They had not only to provide for the physical training of their pupils, but also for their intellectual development, as far as the state of knowledge permitted.[99] Such places of training were called also "the place where I grow" ("nezcaltiloyan"), or "the place where I learn" ("nemachtiloyan.")[100] It is not true that the youth were constrained
871 to a permanent, almost monastic residence in such houses; but
868 while there they improved in common certain special plots of land, in all likelihood the so-called "temple-tracts," out of which the daily wants of worship were supplied.[101] In connection with this mode of education, we have to consider here an objection which cannot fail to be raised against our views.

565 It is frequently given out as a fact, that besides the "Houses
871 of the Youth" mentioned, there was a *special* place of education for the children of "*noblemen*" and this is adduced as a proof of

mada (Lib. IX, cap. XII, pp. 183 and 186; Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, XXIX and XXX) and others.

[99] "*Art of War*" (pp. 101, 119 and 120). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125): "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada barrio, habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir, guarda ó capitan de los mancebos." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 183): "y tenian un Rector, que los regia, y governaba, que se llamaba Telpochtlato, que quiere decir, Guarda. ó Caudillo de los Mancebos, el qual Telpochtlato tenia gran cuidado de doctrinarlos. y enseñarles, en buenas costumbres." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 289): "y si era ya hombre valiente y diestro, elegianle para regir á todos los mancebos, y para castigarlos, y entonces se llamba Telpuchtlato." (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301): "Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos, . . ." (Cap. XVII, p. 305); "en este lugar se juntaban los maestros de los mancebos que se llamaban tiachcaoan. y telpuchtlatoques . . ." (Also Cap. XXXVIII, p. 331). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, cap. VI, p. 451): "y un rector que llamaban Telpochtlato, el que habia y gobierna á los mancebos." *Codex Mendoza* (Vol. I of Kingsborough plates 62 and 63).

Sahagun usually calls the "achcauhtli," "alguaziles," or executors of justice. But above we see that he calls the "tiachcaoan," also "masters of the youth." Both names are corruptions of "teachcauhtlin." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60) calls the "Achcacauhtin, mayorales de armas y de doctrina y de ejemplo." (Cap. LVII, p. 95): "Tras ellos vinieron los que llamas Achcauhtin, señores de los varrios, y maestros de mancebos." (Cap. LXXI, p. 121): "mayorales y ministros, y los hicieron juntar como escuelas en cada un varrio que llamaban telpochcalli." (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 134): "Los mancebos iban çada dia á los varrios al egercicio de las armas á la escuela de armas telpochcalco, adonde los enseñaban con valerosos ánimos, y las maneras de combatir." Finally *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 452) refers also to the 53d picture of the Mendoza Codex, representing a boy of fifteen years, who is turned over to an "achcauhtli, or officer," to be instructed in the art of war.

[100] *Molina* (*Vocabulario* II, pp. 66 and 72). *P. Ignacio de Paredes* ("*Doctrina Breve sacada del Catecismo Mexicano*," Reprint of 1809).

[101] *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 289) says that, whereas they slept at home, that is, at the "house of youth," they ate with their families ("aunque comian en sus casas propias").

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262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
●871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

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tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

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PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Ceremonial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did horrible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

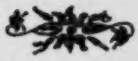

793

A True Relation of all Those Who Served in the Houses of Each of the Gods.

The Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans.

Thus did the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans with his sleeveless jacket, his incense ladle and his pouch, that he might with them pay honor to the devil. And so did he keep watch that verily it was a matter of his being like the father of [those in] the priests' dwelling. He was like the ruler of the lesser keepers of the gods indeed everywhere.

And all the children were left in his care, that he might train them, that he might by words move them to live well. And whether men commanded, or were rich, or were leaders, or directed, all this was the charge of the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans.

And also this one commanded in the temples everywhere; he told the lesser keepers of the gods what they might do. And if perchance any should sin, much did the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans take heed of it.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac, Omacatl.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac similarly maintained usages, just as the Keeper of the Gods of Mexico maintained usages. Likewise he oversaw, in the priests' dwelling, that they trained the children well.

The Keeper of the Gods of Others.

The Keeper of the Gods of Others: his overseeing was similar to the overseeing of the Keeper of the Gods of Mexico. Because, in truth, he appointed to all how [those of the] priests' dwellings should oversee; how they should bring up the children, and train them; and, verily, the things which the lesser keepers of the gods everywhere should do.

Ome Tochtzin.

Ome tochtzin had as his charge that he should assemble the Centzonnotochtin [singers]; even all of

Imelavaca in izqujntin tlatequjpanoaia in jnchachan cecenme teteu.

Mexicatl teuhoatzin

Injc muchivaia mexicatl teuhoatzin ixicol, ietma, ixiqujpil injc qujmavizztiliaia Diablo, yoan ic tlapiaia ca iuhquj in teta muchiuhticatca in calmecac, iuhqujn intlatocauh catca in teteuhoatzitzin injc novjian:

yoã in izqujch in tepilhoan itech oncavaloia injc qujmizcaltiz, injc quivapavaz tlatoltica injc vel nemizque, yoã in aço tlatocatizque, anoço mocuiltonozque, anoço teiacanazque, tlapachozque muchi iehoatl itequjuh catca in Mexicatl teuhoatzin, [871]

yoã no iehoatl tlanavatiaia in novjian teteupan qujmilhujaia in tlein quichivazque teteuhoatzitzin, auh in anoço aca tlatlacoa muchi iehoatl qujmatia in Mexicatl teuhotzin.

Vitznava teuhoatzin omacatl.

In vitznavac teuhoatzin, çan no iuhquj injc tlamanitiaia in juhquj ic tlamanitiaia Mexico teuhoatzin no iuhquj injc tlapiaia in calmecac in quenjn vel tlacavapavãia.

Tepan teuhoatzin.

In tepan teuhoatzin çan no iuhquj in itlapializ catca, in juhquj ic tlapiaia in Mexico teuhoatzin, iehica ca muchi iehoatl qujnnavatiaia in quenjn tlapiazque calmecac, in quenjn tlacazcaltiaia, tlacavapavaia, çan muchiuhquj in qujchivaia injc novjian teuhoatzitzin. [871]

Vme tochtzin.

In vme tochtzin itequjuh catca in qujnechicovaia centzonnotochtin in ie muchintin, siac mocavaia, auh

565 **Twentieth Chapter,** in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen.

Ic cempoalli capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnoapacia in inpilhoan tlatoque, ioan pipilti.

And here is described the rearing of the sons of those who were lords, and of all the princes, who were the sons[1] of lords and noblemen.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jnneoapaoaliz in ichoantin in tlatoque impilhoan, ioan in jxqujchtin in tlaçopipilti, in jnpilhoan tlatoque, pipilti.

[854 Their mothers and fathers nourished and raised them, or nursemaids raised them while they were 855] still small children.

ichoantin in jnnacan, in jntaoan qujmjxcaltia, qujnoapaoa, anoço chichioame in qujnoapaoa in oc pipiltotonti:

565 And when they could run, when they were per-
855 haps six years old, thereupon [the boys] went [forth] to play. Their pages—perhaps two, or three—accompanied them that they might amuse them. [The child's] father or mother charged these [pages] that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not taint himself with vice, as he went along the streets.

auh in jcoac ie uel nenemj, aço ie chiquacenxiuhtia, njman ie ic iauh in maaujltiz, in qujnujca ixolooa aço ome anoço ei in caaujltiz, ichoantin qujncocultia in jtatzin in jnantzin injc amo tlauelilocatiz, injc amo qujmocujtlaujz tlauelilocaiotl: in jcoac otli qujtocaz.

565 And also they took great care that he should con-
867 verse fittingly with others—that his conversation should be proper; that he should respect and show reverence to others—[when] perchance he somewhere might chance to meet a judge, or a leading militia officer, or a seasoned warrior, or someone of lesser rank; or a revered old man, or a respected old woman; or someone who was poor. He should greet him and bow humbly. He said: "Come hither, my beloved grandfather; let me bow before thee." And the old one who had been greeted then said: "O my beloved grandson, O precious stone, O precious feather, thou has shown me favor. May it go well with thee."

Auh no cenca qujcujtlaujltiaia injc vel tenotzaz, injc qualli iez in jtlatol, injc teimacaçiz, injc temauhcaittaz, aço cana qujnamjquiz aço tecutlato, anoço achcauhtlaiacati, anoço iautequjoa, anoço çan aca tlapaltzintli, anoço veuentzin, anoço ilamatzin, anoço aca motolinja, qujtlapaloz cenca mopechteca, qujlhuja, xioalmoujca nocultzine, ma njmjtznotlaxili: auh in ichoatl oqujtlapalo veuentzin njmã qujlhuja noxujuhtzine cozcatle quetzalle otinechmocnelili ma ximoonemjti:

And when the young boy thus saluted others, they praised him highly for it. They rejoiced greatly over it; they were joyful because of it. They said: "How will this beloved child be, if he shall live? He will in sooth be a nobleman. Mayhap his reward will be something [great]."

auh injc iuh tetlapaloa, y, in piltontli, ic cenca qujiecteneoa, cenca ic papaquj, ic mot-machtia. qujtoa: quenamj ieiuhi in piltzintli intla nemjz ca tel pilli, aço itla imaçeoal iez.

565 And when he was already maybe ten, twelve, or
871 thirteen years old, they placed him in the priests' house; they delivered him into the hands of the fire priests and [other] priests, that he might be reared

Auh in jcoac ie matlacxiuhtia aço ie vmome, anoço ie omej, icoac qujcalaquja in calmecac, inmac qujmoncaoaia in tlenamacaque, in tlamacazque, injc vmpa izcaltilos nonotzalos, tlachieltilos inic vel

1. *Mas papilhoan*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: "*Inic mocuepaoaa inic mocualdia ga ge ue gal in ueuhtec in tlacatilcatl gan ce*"—"they were reared and brought up just as both been told in the [section] on birth."

565 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live
●871 an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

565 And when he was already fifteen years old, then
868 he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age,
701 then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[2] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

[202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopuchtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[3] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca, the Acolhua, the Otomi, the Matlatzinca,

nemjz qujcujtlaujltia in tlamaceoaliztli, in ioaltica in acxoiatlaliliztli içaçocampa acxoiatlalitiuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali qujcalaquja, inmac concaoa in tiachcaoan, qujcujtlaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianoliztli, in jxquich tlamantli tlamaçeoaliztli mochioaia.

Auh in jcoac ie cxxtolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamachtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl injc qujça iauc, in ichoantin tequjoaque achtopa qujnnotza qujntlaqualtia. qujmatlitia, ioan qujntlauhtia in jxqujchtin tequjoaque, in qujnmaca aço quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman qujtlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ie no iuhquj in omjto tlacpac injc qujntlatlauhtia.

Auh njman ic qujhujca, in iauc: vel qujmocujtlaujtiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel qujmachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautioa, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcoac ie mochiou iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, tel conjtitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlamaz: aço njmã tepallama, anoço njman vel ic açi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochioa.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiquiça in tequjtque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in qujoalnonoczziuetzi motecuçuma:

auh in oncico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma qujlhuja. Totecujoe notelpoczine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujtzilobuchtli, ca otepan qujtopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca oia in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatitiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepaneca, in acolhua, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie izqujch tlalhoacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. Vel le cuit: the Real Academia de la Historia MS has or for le.
3. Tlachamatiaque: Rendon, op. cit.—tlachamatiaque.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22]

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa-

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maitres du temple et du *collège militaire*, ..." The boy (Mexican "piltontli") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97).

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España." in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y así ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que allí se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato significa "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "captains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness."

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.)

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 167). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

months later, which was performed by the medicine-man of the 553
kin.[95] Both of these names were preserved, but if the full-grown man ever performed some action of merit in the service of the whole tribe, then the tribe bestowed upon him a third name as an honorable title attached to his person in reward for his deeds.[96]

It was the duty of the kin to educate or train its members to every 871
branch of public life. For all public purposes, *man* only must be 868
taken into account. This appears obvious from what was said already concerning the position of women in general. Now each calpulli, or localized kin, among the ancient Mexicans had, as we have shown in "Art of War,"[97] its "House of the Youth" ("telpuch-calli") joined to its "medicine-lodge" or temple. Thither the boys were brought at an early age, to be instructed in whatever was needed for after-life. In order to train their bodies they were held to manual labor, and to the ordinary duties of worship. The use of weapons was made a prominent object of teaching; so was the dance and song, the latter coupled with ordinary Indian rhetorics.[98] These houses of education were under the

Vecinos, que para este acto se juntavan . . . y entonces le ponian el nombre." *Also* (Cap. XXII, p. 455; cap. XXIII, p. 456): "De la misma manera, que quando alguna de estas Indias paria, se usaba juntarse toda la Parentela. y las vecinas, y amigas. . . . . De esta misma manera lo acostumbraban hacer para el fingido Bautismo." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I. p. 438): "En este lavatorio les ponian nombre, no como querian, sino el del mismo dia en que nacieron.' *Velancurt* (Parte II, Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 402).

[95] This is stated by *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 438): "y dende á tres meses, que son de los nuestros dos, los llevaban al templo, donde un sacerdote que tenia la cuenta y ciencia del calendario y signos, les daba otro sobrenombre, haciendo muchas ceremonias, y declaraba las gracias y virtudes del idolo cuyo nombre les ponia, pronosticándoles buenos hados." *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Despues desde á tres meses presentaban aquella criatura en el templo del demonio, y dabanle su nombre, no dejando el que tenia, y tambien entonces comian de regocijo, ..."

[96] *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, p. 456). *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 437, 438). *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 96, 97, and 98).

[97] "*Art of War*," p. 101. Relying on Humboldt, I assumed fifteen years to be the age when military instruction began, but the general instruction began much sooner. See note 98.

[98] *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. IV, cap. V, p. 269): "Habiendo entrado en la casa del Telpuchcali el niño, dábanle cargo de barrer, limpiar la casa, poner lumbre, y hacer los servicios de penitencia á que se obligaba. Era costumbre que á la puesta del sol, todos los mancebos iban á bailar, y danzar á la casa que se llamaba Cuicacalco cada noche, y el muchacho tambien bailaba con los otros mancebos; llegando á los quince años. y siendo ya mancebillo, llevábanle consigo los mancebos mayores al monte á traer la leña, que era necesaria para la casa del Telpuchcali. y Cuicacalco, y cargábanle las rodelas para que las llevase acuestas;" (p. 269): "La vida que tenian era muy áspera . . . " (Cap. VI, pp. 270 and 271; Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 284), and other incidental notices. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124, 125). *Torque-*

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871 These houses of education were under the
868 special direction of experienced men, called therefore "Speakers
875 of the Youth" ("telpuchtlatoca") and "elder brothers" ("teachcauhtin,") in another capacity. They had not only to provide for the physical training of their pupils, but also for their intellectual development, as far as the state of knowledge permitted.[99] Such places of training were called also "the place where I grow" ("nezcaltiloyan"), or "the place where I learn" ("nemachtiloyan.")[100] It is not true that the youth were constrained
871 868 to a permanent, almost monastic residence in such houses; but while there they improved in common certain special plots of land, in all likelihood the so-called "temple-tracts," out of which the daily wants of worship were supplied.[101] In connection with this mode of education, we have to consider here an objection which cannot fail to be raised against our views.

565 It is frequently given out as a fact, that besides the "Houses
871 of the Youth" mentioned, there was a *special* place of education for the children of "*noblemen*" and this is adduced as a proof of

mode (Lib. IX, cap. XII, pp. 183 and 188; Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, XXIX and XXX) and others.

[99] "*Art of War*" (pp. 101, 119 and 120). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125): "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada barrio, habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir, guarda ó capitan de los mancebos." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 183): "y tenian un Rector, que los regia, y governaba, que se llamaba Telpochtlato, que quiere decir, Guarda, ó Caudillo de los Mancebos, el qual Telpochtlato tenia gran cuidado de doctrinarlos, y enseñarles, en buenas costumbres." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 269): "y si era ya hombre valiente y diestro, elegianle para regir á todos los mancebos, y para castigarlos, y entonces se llamba Telpuchtlato." (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301): "Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatoa, . . ." (Cap. XVII, p. 305): "en este lugar se juntaban los maestros de los mancebos que se llamaban tiachcacuan, y telpuchtlatoques . . ." (Also Cap. XXXVIII, p. 341). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, cap. VI, p. 451): "y un rector que llamaban Telpochtlato, el que habia y gobierna á los mancebos." *Codex Mendoza* (Vol. I of Kingsborough plates 62 and 63).

Sahagun usually calls the "achcauhtli," "alguaziles," or executors of justice. But above we see that he calls the "tiachcacuan," also "masters of the youth." Both names are corruptions of "teachcauhtlin." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60) calls the "Achcacauhtin, mayorales de armas y de doctrina y de ejemplo." (Cap. LVII, p. 95): "Tras ellos vinieron los que llaman Achcauhtin, señores de los varrios, y maestros de mancebos." (Cap. LXXI, p. 121): "mayorales y ministros, y los hicieron juntar como escuelas en cada un varrio que llamaban telpochcalli." (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 134): "Los mancebos iban cada dia á los varrios al egercicio de las armas á la escuela de armas telpochcalco, adonde los enseñaban con valerosos ánimos, y las maneras de combatir." Finally *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 452) refers also to the 53d picture of the Mendoza Codex, representing a boy of fifteen years, who is turned over to an "achcauhtli, or officer," to be instructed in the art of war.

[100] *Molina* (*Vocabulario* II, pp. 66 and 72). *P. Ignacio de Paredes* ("*Doctrina Breve ancada del Catecismo Mariano*," Reprint of 1909).

[101] *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 269) says that, whereas they slept at home, that is, at the "house of youth," they ate with their families ("aunque comian en sus casas propias").

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the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pias"). *Zurita* (pp. 131-133) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 269; cap. VIII, p. 273). *Zurita* (p. 131): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII. p. 185): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredados para su-sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV. pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 69).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que alli se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap. IV, p. 266): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmecac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 283): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 12th edifice "Tilancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

13th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vkanacac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznacac, (p. 205)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 208).

30th edifice, "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

54th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac, "monasterio ó oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tzonmolco-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Xiuhtecutli," (p. 207).

Fourth Chapter, in which it is related how the ancients left their sons in the young men's house, and what customs existed there in the young men's house, so that all were trained and reared.[1]

When a boy was born, then they placed him in the priests' house or the young men's house. That is to say [the parents] promised [the child], gave him as a gift, and brought him as an offering to the temple of the priests' house in order that [the boy] become a priest, or a young [warrior].

If he entered the young men's house, [the parents] promised him to it; they prepared drink and food. They announced, assembled, and addressed the leaders of the young men. They who had sons [then] prepared. They said:

"Our lord, savior and protector of all, hath been pleased to place you here. For here you know and are told that our lord hath given [us one like] a precious stone, a quetzal feather. For a child hath come down [to us. Perhaps] he will have that which he hath need of that he may mature. Already he [is like] a jewel. Shall we perchance lay in his hand a spindle and a weaving stick? [For] he is yours; he is your child, your son.

"It is by your grace that we place him [among] your beloved sons, that you may rear, and train, and make of him a brave man of war, raising him to serve our mother and our father, Tlaltecutli and Tonatiuh.

"And now to him we dedicate [the boy]—to the shadow and the wind, the lord, the young [god], Yaotzin, Titlacauan, Tezcatlipoca.[2] Perchance our lord may sustain him a little.

"We leave him [with you that] he may become a young [warrior]; that he may dwell there in the house of penances, of weeping, of tears—the young

Ixiuc nevj capitulo: vncã mjtoa, in quenjn macheoltin, qujmoncaoaia in inpilhoan yn vmpa telpuchcali, yoan in quenjn tlamanja vmpa telpuchcali in juh neixcaltilnia neoapacoaloa.

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In iquac otlacat piltontli njnã caquja yn calmecac, in anoço telpuchcali, quitoznequi, quinetoltia, vmpã quivenchioa, quivenmana in teupan in calmecac injc tlamacazquj ież, yn anoço telpuchcali.

Jntla telpuchcalĩ caquja, quinetoltia quicẽcaoa, in ztl in tlaqualli, quinnotza quincentlalia, quintlatlauhtia in telpuchtlatoque, tlatlatlauhtia in pilouque. Quitoa,

Ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecujo in tloque naoaque. A ca njcan anquimocuilia anquimocaquitia, ca oquimomacavili in totecujo ce cozcatl quetzalli, a, omocavi piltzintli, aviz nelle axcan motezcaoaltisnequj, ie peioctzintli, cujx malacatl tnotzopaztli, ymac tictequilisque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amoconetzin, ca amopiltzin,

amocuezantzico, amomamalnuztzinco tocontlalia ca amopilhoantzitzin, ca itlacaxcaltia, ca antlacaopana, ca anquanlchioa, amocolochioa, anquitlacaopevilia, in tonan in toca in tlaltecutli tonatiuh.

ash in axcan ca ivic tiquijtoa in iovalli in chocatl in tlacatl in telpuchtli in iaotzin in titlacaoan in Tezcatlipoca, aço achitzin quimotocutlix in ichoaxin tonecujo,

ticcioa telpuchtix, vmpa nemix in tlamaceoalizcali, yn chequincali, yn jiaiocali, in telpuchcali, in vncã

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1. Durán: Jacobo Chavero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), II, pp. 199ff., says they were taken to the *calpulli* (as well as the *calmecac*) at the age of fifteen. He cites *Codex Mendoza*, Plates 53 ff. All went for three years of instruction (religion, good usage, good behavior). All also attended, he says, conferences—mobility going to one type, commoners to another. Some trained children, some youths, and some girls. The sons were segregated. Men remained until the age of twenty or twenty-two, women until seventeen or eighteen. Attaining his majority, by his request or by arrangements made by his parents, a youth left this training to marry. Men usually followed their fathers' occupations.

The *calpulchalli*, according to Cruz (op. cit., p. 70) prepared the young men for war. Discipline was less severe than in the *calmecac* and education less intensive. Temporarily (op. cit., pp. 220-21) indicates a certain amount of laxity.

Chavero (loc. cit.) and Temporarily (op. cit., p. 471) agree that girls were raised in seclusion and had no contact with boys or men. They slept and they went out only under the supervision of old women. They were taught how to address their elders with respect. Specifically, Chavero mentions temple duties (sweeping, offering of incense three times during the night, preparing food for the idols); weaving and other womanly arts; and general preparation for marriage. Temporarily enumerates some of the punishments for misbehavior.

2. Tezcatlipoca was the patron of the *calpulchalli* and the education of warriors (Cruz, op. cit., p. 27). Cf. also Temporarily, op. cit., pp. 220-21.

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men's house, where live and are formed the brave men of war; where they pour forth prayers and praises for our lord.[3]

"And there he instructeth them and giveth them gifts; there he showeth them his compassion. The [reward of] the soldier, the warrior,[4] he giveth those who weep and suffer. From there our lord causeth them to come forth. They guard and protect [those who] rule[5] [us, there] in the house of learning of him our lord.

"And perchance for us who weep and are in anguish, perchance, if it be our reward and our lot, he may [grow in] perception and ripen. Perchance this may not be—O unhappy we, unfortunate old men and women.

"Or you may indeed receive and take him; let him follow; let him learn where the sons of others wax strong and grow—those orphans of luckless leaders in war."

And behold how [the others] answered and replied. They said:

"Lo, put your hearts at rest, for here we have heard [on behalf of] our lord, the master, the young [god], the shadow and wind, Yaotzin. For it is to him that you pray and to whom you call; it is to him that you offer your jewel, your quetzal feather, the flesh of your flesh. For it is our office only to take and accept what you offer our lord. We have only listened [for him].

"What may our lord wish and require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? Truly, we who are afflicted, who are vassals, we speak in darkness. Our lord, savior and protector of all, Piltzintli, knoweth in what wise [your son] hath been benight and instructed in the place of darkness [before all time] —what he was girt with and what he brought forth when he was born; and what his day sign is; and finally on [what day sign] he hath been bathed [in baptism]; and what the lot and reward of the child [will be].

"Verily is it said that we, his servants, may only imagine [these things. But] not out of nothing do they later come to pass on earth. For we come bring-

ioli tlacati in quauhtin in ocelo in vncan ixtillan, injoxcatlã mixnaiaoxan in totecujo.

auh yn vncan moteixímachilia in vncan motetlamazaquilia, in vncan motecnoixtilia in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl qujnmomaquilia in chocani, in tlaocoiani, in vncã qujmoquixtilia in ichoatzin to.[6] in petlatl, yn icpalli quipachoa in quipia, in tlaiximachoan ichoatzin totecujo.

auh injn cujx tichocanj, cujx titlaocoianj, cujx itla tolvil, tomaceual, cujx tlachiaz, muzcaliz? acaçomo, omuchiuh ototlavelíltic in ticnoveveteque, in ticnoilamatque,

manoço nelli xjcmocelilica, manoço xiquálmanilica, ma qujmontoca ma qujmonmati yn izcaltilo, in oepaoalo, in tepilhoan, auh ie ichoantin in jcnotepilhoan, in jcnoquauhtin yn jcnoocelo.

Auh izcatquj injc quicuepaia tlatolli, injc tlananquiliaia qujtoaia.

O tla caubquj in amoiollotxin, a ca nican tictotlacaquililia in totecujo, in tlacatl in telpuchtli in ioalli in checatl in iavtzin, a, ca ichoatzin in anqujmotlatlauhtilia, in anqujmonochilia ca ichoatl yn anqujmomaquilia in amocozquj in amoquetzal, in amotlatlacatilil, ca çan tequjtl ticcuj, ticcana yn anqujmomaquilia in totecujo, ca çan tictotlacaquililia,

quen ie qujmonequilitica. auh quen qujmonequjlilitica in ichoatzin totecujo, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal, ha nelli mach in tinentlamati in timacchoalti, hadaiocoxian in titlatoa, quen ic qujmomachililitica in totecujo, in tloque nauaque, in piltzintli, qiã chichinaloc, quen nauatiloc, in ioonian, tle ic apanaloc, tleh quioalizqujtia, yn iquac motlacatilli: auh tle iconal, auh ieqpane tle ypan malti tle yn imaceual in piltzintli, tle yn jilhujl,

ha nelli mach, in ticnonequipiquilia in timacchoalti, cuix mo haca quja tlatlcpac machichioaz, ha njnõ

3. *Intellire, [illegible]*. In Lib. VI of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 200, the phrase *[illegible]* equals *la amplitud*; cf. corresponding Spanish text in Sahagún, Rehnelt ed., p. 347. Cf. also *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* in Simeón, op. cit. Later in the present chapter the passage *[illegible]* and it is perhaps permissible to take the two passages as similar. *[illegible]* might have been intended. See Chap. VII.

4. *Cuchipanlatl, quappetlatl*. Cf. Lib. VI, fo. 200 v. Corresponding Spanish text in Sahagún, op. cit., p. 348, reads: ". . . *hay soldados y hombres valientes de guerra, que merecieron por su defensión.*"

5. *Petlatl, tepalli*. Cf. Andrés de Olmos, *Gramática de la lengua mexicana* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875) pp. 218, 221; Gardner, op. cit., p. 112; Simeón, op. cit. (petlatl).

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ing [our fortune]; from the place of darkness it cometh forth as our property.

"And [or for] this one: may he enter into the service of the god,[6] in the casting to one side [of rubbish], or the task of laying fires. May he pour forth praises to our lord, the shadow and wind.

"May he remain up here in the light with whatever favors he hath come clothed in, with whatever hath been given him, with whatever he hath been adorned in the place of darkness [before all time]. Perchance, in truth, now and here our lord will offer [these] to him. Perchance all will be lost. Mayhap it is our fate and our lot that, perchance, only for a little time the sun may make him grow. Maybe he will arrive to join him. Mayhap he will move and enter into the arms of the sun.'

"And how may we now speak and hearten you? We may not say, 'In this wise will this be; this one will be thus; this one will do so; this one our lord will transform, and thus will he be; he will be someone; he will attain honor; he will walk the earth.'

"And mayhap it will not be our lot and fate that he may live wallowing in dust and filth and living in sin; possibly he may die stoned or cast into a pond; men may mock him for taking after the women of others. Or else he may always be in misery and pain.

"Let us raise and nurture the children; let the word and command to motherhood and fatherhood be given. Perchance in him we may enclose and set in place our hearts; and also you [may do so] whose jewel and precious feather he is.

"And now, may you bring about that, with prayers, weeping, and tears, you may not, being asleep, be neglectful. Call out now in your anguish to the savior and protector of all [that you may learn] what he requireth of us and how he speaketh."

tiquitquitivitze, ha njman ioosianpa tozlatquj oalietiuh.

auh in y, manoço itlan onaquj yn vchpanoaztli in tlacuicuilizzli, in chico tlanaoac tlatequilizzli: auh in tletlalilizzli, manoço ixillan itoncatlan onmãmaiavi in totecujo, in iooalli yn checatl,

ma vncan panj tlanezian oalmotlali in quenami ynemac, injc mãpantivitz, in quenamj omacoc, injc ochichioaloc in iooajan aço nelle axcan vncan conmaniliz in totecujo, aço ixquitzin cõmopolhuiz, acaço tolhujl, acaço tomaceoal a cujx noço vel achitzin qujoallaliz in tonatiuh, cujx noço caxitiz in nepã Cujx noço vel contlaçaz, vel conaquiz in mavic in tonatiuh.

auh yn axcã quenami tiquitozque, cujx tamechtoiollalilizque, a cujx toconitozque iuhquj iez, y, iehoatl iez, y, iehoatl qujchioaz, y, iehoatl quicuepaz, y, in totecujo. iuhquj iez. y, hitlatiz, panvezziz, nemiz in tlalticpac.

auh acaço tle tolhujl tomaceoal, aco teuhtli, tlaçolli, ic milacatzotinemiz in tlalticpac, aço teco mjc, tecaxic maizaviz, at tecue, tevipil tepancanaz quimaviltiz, auh anoço icnoiotl teupouhqui, cococ qujztinemjz,

ma titlacazcaltia, ma titlacaoapaoa ma quiça in cententli, in cencamatl yn naniotl, in taiotl. Cujx ijtic toncalaquizque, toiollo tocontlalilizque: auh no yui in ticozque, in tiquetzale.

auh in axca manoçoc ic xonmoietztie in tlatlauhtli, in choquiztli, in ixaiotl ma amonmotlacochcaviliti, ma oc xocõmotlaoculnonochilitinencã in tloque naoaque, quen techmonequililia, quen quimitalhuja.

6. Polysemantic in character. Cf. [illegible], in Lib. VI, fo. 207 r, where the same is to enter the service of the god or of a nobleman.

7. Meaning of this passage, as well as others equally figurative, is problematical.

[p. 52 is blank]

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874 **Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the customs which** they practised and observed in order to live there, where they were reared and ripened [in] the young men's house.

And when he entered the young men's house, then [the leaders] charged him with sweeping [of the house] and with the laying of fires. And then they had him begin the penances. When there was singing at night (which was called song with dance), there he consorted with the others, he danced with the others. With the others there was conversation; songs were composed.

And when [he was] yet an untried youth,[1] then they took him into the forest. They had him bear upon his back what they called logs[2] of wood—perchance now only one, or, then, two. Thus they tested whether perhaps he might do well in war when, still an untried youth, they took him into battle. He only went to carry a shield upon his back.

And when [he was] already a youth, if mature and prudent, if he was discreet in his talking, and especially if [he was] of good heart, then he was made a master of youths; he was named *tiachcauh*. And if he became valiant, if he reached manhood, then he was named ruler of youths (*telpochtlato*). He governed them all; he spoke for all the youths. If one [of them] sinned, this one judged him; he sentenced [the youths] and corrected them. He dealt justice.

874 701 And if he was brave, if he took four [captives], then he attained [the office of] commanding general,[5] general,[6] [or] chief.[6] And also [in those days] one rose to be called constable.[6] Today it is the same, and he is known as *alguacil* [or constable], he who

Injc. 5. capítulo: itechpa tlatoa intlamanitiliz, ynjc vncan nenca, in quichioaia in quitequipanoaia yn vncã muzcaltiaia mocapaoaia telpuchcali.

Auh in iquac ocalac in telpuchcali, niman vel quitequitia in tlachpanalli, in tletlaliliztli. auh njman conpeoaltia in tlamaceoaliztli: yn iquac cujco iocaltica (in mjtoa: cuicoanolo), vncan tehoan nemj, tehoan mjtotia, tehoan mjtoa cujcojanoja.

auh in ie telpuchtontli, njman quivica in quauhtla, quimamaltia, in quilhuja mimiliuhquj quavitl, aço çan oc centetl, anoço niman vncan onteti ic qujiciecoa, yn aço ie vel aciz iaoc, in ie vel telpuchticatontli, quivica in iaoc, çan oc chimalli in qujmamatiuh.

auh in ie vel telpuchtli, intla mozcalia, intla mimati, in tlatolmelaoac. auh oc cenca icheoatl intla icnoio yiollo, njman tachcauhtlalilo, tocaiotilo, Tiachçauh, auh intla ovelmacic oqujchtli, intla oc cenca mozcalia, niman tocaiotilo Telpuchtlato, qujncenpachoa, qujncĕtlatalhuja im izquijchtin telpuchtin, in oc tlatlacoa, icheoatl quirlatzontequilia, q'ntlatzontequilia, qujntlatlalilia, quichioa Justicia:

auh intla oquichti intla navi mani, vncan quiça in tlacatecatl, in tlacochcalcatl, in quauhtlato: auh no vncan quiça, in quilhuja achcauhtli, yn axcan ipan povi, ipan monati in alguaçil, in topile, ca no intoto-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a los quinze años.*"
2. *Mimiliuhquj quavitl*: literally, round wealth.
3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 114, n. 13. The corresponding Spanish text has: "*regidor, y governador al pueblo.*" Sahagún, in *Historia Eclesiástica*, p. 343, translates *tlacatecatl* as head of the dormitory, and in *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 85-61, describes him as an officer of justice, a manager, a military captain—offices given his life by the rulers, after which they re-appeared in the latter. He also says *tlacochcalcatl* is the same as *tiamacti*. Durán calls him "*príncipe, é comendador, é otro supremo dicho*" (*op. cit.*, p. 124). Simeón (*op. cit.*) defines it as "*Tiene acuerdo en cosas de guerra*." Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*, Sahagún, in *Historia Eclesiástica*, translates as head of the quiver house, and in *Collected Works*, *loc. cit.*, identifies him as the same as the *tlacatecatl*. He adds that four chiefs held the highest rules, *tlacatecatl* the four main divisions of the Mexican tribe, and formed the king's special council; these were the *cuauhcalli*, the *tlacatecatl*, the *tlacochcalcatl*, and the *tlilancalqui*. Sahagún (*op. cit.*) defines the *cuauhcalcatl* as "*Regidor, juez en cosas de guerra*," and also as "*gobernador, capitán*."
5. Simeón (*op. cit.*): "*Un Ministro cuya le cabe que sentir fuera quanto capitán é la guerra se decomete por su fuia le chief de una gente* (Sah.)."
6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*era como agora alguacil, y tenia curo guardo, y prendia a los delinquentes, y los punia en la carcel.*"

874 [701] bearth a staff. For also [in times past] they had staves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

pil caeca, yoan in ça ie ichountin in ontrilpiaia, in quauhcalco entetlaliaia,

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

yzquich y, in jnpanetztiliz, in inpanechiliz in telpupuchti.

874 And in this way of life, few showed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriors]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

auh injn nemilistli amo çan quezquichtin in ipan nenca, in ipan mocapaoaia, amo çã tlapoalti in motocaiotiaia telpupuchti, ipampa ca çan njmã amo tecoco in jnnemiliz in telpupuchti, ca in oc pipiltotonti, vncan cencochi in quilhuja telpuchcali vncan cemenoque.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud[7] [for *adobes*, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

auh in aquin poliuja, in amo telpuchcalco cochi, quitlatzacujltiaia, yoan inchan ontlaqua. auh cemolihuhtiui in canpa tlein quichioa, in aço pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, quichioa, motquitiui, anoço monexeloa. auh quauhtla uj, concuj, conmama in quilhuia cuicatlauilli:

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but not—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

auh ĩ ça achi tonatiuh quicaoa in tlein quichioa, njman mocencaoa, muchichioa, achtopa mahaltia, njman mõça, amo no quilhuja in inxaiac nima mococuecatia.

874 301 The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.[8] Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they pasted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted maguey fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shorn ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

Yn oquichtin in tiacaoan, vevej chipoli in qujmocoucatia, anoço teucujtlacouzcatl, motlacuechmanilia, motlacoatimanilia, njman mjchio, mjtoaia motlilxotia hapetztli ic conpotonja, in jnechioal, monacochtia, moxixjuhnacochtia, mozzatia, mochalcacatia, ynjn chalcaistl tlamalintli in jcpatl, tlatlalpitl, iuhquin matlatl cillo, in tlatoque teucujtlacillo in jnchalcaiauh, in quaquachicti inchalcaiauh mjtoa xoxocoio, ynjc mjtoa xoxocuio, veveypupul in itech quipipiloa icpatetl,

874 535 When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

yn iõc ie onaqui tonatiuh njman tletecа in quilhuja cujcacalco, tlehquazco in tletletlalia telpupuchti, in ie tlaixmiqui, niman pecoalo in cujco, muchi tlacatl

7. The word *pololli*, as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make *adobes*.
8. In *Kingsborough* (p. 344, n. 1), *Seler* offers a variant for *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*. *Coselet* and *cuirass*, however, may be *[illegible]* *gorgerets*, as here translated.

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until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in these times they covered themselves with nothing else. All thus danced, wrapped only in aerated capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

mjtotia, inqujchica yn oquiz iocalli zelisi, yn oncquiz iocalhcpantla. [535]

auh njman niac tle quipanolocoia, in inqujch ic netetilo, çanyio in necoloolo chalcaiotl, haçan nel iuhqui petlauhtiencca, [592]

yn oquiz cuicatl, njman cocenmanoa, mazcla yui, mazcla yui, in centlaxilacalti, mõquitivi vmpa ẽcochi in jacochia, injn telpuchcali.

auh in ie vel oquichtin in ie quiximati tlalticpaiotl, vmpa cococochi in jamecaca. [836]

[p. 56 is blank]

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Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,[1] or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].[2] Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

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And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

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When the masters of the youths had consented,[3] when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his home.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals[4] were taken thence. Lords and mer-

Injc. 6. capítulo: vncan motencoa in tetlatzacuiltiliztli, in tetlamaceoaltiliztli, ynjc qujntlatzacuiltizia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaoanaia.

Injc: nezcaltiloia telpuchcali, cẽca necujtlavilo, in nochpanouztli, njman aiac quja in vetli.

auh in ie vel oquichti, ĩ ie chicaoaque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vetli, cenca motlatiaia, çan nj.nan amo teixpan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quexq'ch in quja,

auh intla ittoia haca telpuchtli tlaoana, in ito in at vetlica namjco, anoço vetztoc anoço quica, anoço cana teoan tlaoantica ito, njman ica necentlalilo, ica nenechicolo:

auh ica mavistli vetzi, intla çan macoualli, anoço ça can aquin, teixpan viviteco, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miquj, anoço mecatl quiiecultia.

auh intla tlaçopilli ichtaca qujmecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchti ohome, ieey in jnmecaoan oncatca, aço ce vel ichã in ca, aço quezqujntin chaiaoatoque. auh in iquac quilhuja motelpuchtlali, tlaxtlaca injc qujntlalcavia in telpupuchti quachtli, quicaoa aço matlactli, aço cemipilli in mocuiltonoa,

yn oazque in tachcaoan in oquimacauhque njmã (mitoa) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cibostl conana in ichan quipia.

auh in mocalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaoa telpuchiotl, cenca ẽcã veveti in telpuchpan; auh yiollotlama in tlaoanj, qujnaoatia,

auh amo cenca mjcepa in telpuchpan anoço in tocuti, çã tlatlacatecca, tlatlacochcalca, achcacauhti yn

1. Quizá: probably *cuica* is meant. Tolnac, in *Biblioj. Náuatl*, p. 345, translates the Náhuatl as *cuca gaquiztoc*—"was filled with fish."
2. Tolnac, op. cit., p. 346, n. 1, says of *quauhtica vetzi quauhtica miquj*: "*Parodia con quauhtica vetzi, quitlica vetzi—Ahorcado, é enterrado*."
3. Gimpser: reference to the *Real Palacio MS* suggests that this should read *miquque*.
4. See Chapter V, nn. 3, 4.

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shals[5] did not attain [their station] there, because the manner of life of the youths was not very good. For they were given to women and were vicious; for they took up pleasantries, they used vain talk, they spoke grossly, loud, and coarsely.

vncan ano, amo tlacatecutli, amo tlacochtecutli vncã quiça, ipampa in amo cenca qualli yn jnnemiliz telpupuchti, ca ipampa cihoa notzaia, avilnemini, ipampa in qujmotequjtia cacamanalli, ahauillatoa, totoquauhtlatoa, tlatlaquauhtlatoa, quaqtiauhtlatoa.

5. Of these Sahagún elsewhere says that they were principales over nobles and captains. The tlacatecatl was a pilli (prince or nobleman); the tlacochtecatl was "principal en las cosas de la guerra," and Sahagún refers to them as señores (Robredo ed., II, pp. 117-18). Specifically of the tlacatecatl he says: "Tiene autoridad para mandar a los ciudadanos . . . para reprender y castigar porque ya esta en la dignidad y estado, ya tiene el principal lugar, donde le pueo nuestro señor; ya le llaman por estos nombres tlacatecatl tlacochtecatl, por estos nombres le nombran todos los papalotes" (*Ibid.*, p. 136). Of both officials, he writes: ". . . el señor es como cuerado del pueblo; este de oficio era pilli y este era criado en las guerras. El este de oficio se llamaba tlacatecatl, y el otro tlacochtecatl. . . ." Four personages—tlacatecatl, tlacochtecatl, tlacatecal, and tlacochcalcatl—were chosen by the inspiration of nuestro señor dios, porque eran más hábiles para ello" (*Ibid.*, p. 138).

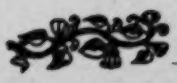

Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.[1]

All because priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth nor vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.[2]

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned the priests, and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.[3] The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chattel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Tezpiltzin, Quetzalcoatl,[4] to him who is feathered in

Injc chicome capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn quenjn tlatoque, pipiltin qujmõcaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in quenamj tlamanitiliztli, ynjc tlamanja in vmpa moteneoa calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequjntin vel nanti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in qujmaquja in qujnnetoltia in jnpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequjntin in-aqujn quinequi,

muchintin tlamacazque muchioa in pipilti ypampa, in nezcaliloian calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teixcaltiloian, chipeoaca nemoouiã, necxiiciccoloia, nẽmachoia ixtlamachoia, qualtioaia, iectioaia: çan njmã hatzoio, hatcuhio, atle iniaioca in tlamacazque innemilix, yn calmecac neoapeoaliztli,

Jn tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mocuiltonoa in iõc quinetoltia in caquja jnpiltzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujncentlalia in tlamacazque, yoan qujnnotza in quaquacujlti, yoã qujncentlalia yn nanti, yn tati, in vevetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevetlaca, qujntlatlauhtia in tlamacazque quimilhujã.

Totecujooane, tlamacazque, nican anoalmouicatiaque amocxitzin anquioalmanilique, aço tlacotl, çacatl cana oanquioalmocxinamiquilique, aço cana amocxõtzin oanqujoalmocnelhuique, oanqujoalmotecujnilique;

ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecujo, anqujmocuilia, anqujmocaqujltia, a ca nelle, axcan centetl cuacatl quetzalli, oqujmomacavili in totecujo, in tloque naoaque

tiemiqui, ticochitlcoa, a ca nelle axcan tle oniez, in pilhõtli, in conetontli: cujx malacatl, tzotzopaztli, aticmacazque, ca amazcatzin, ca amotlaquitzin, yn axcan ivictzinco tiqujtoa in tlacatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tlilpotõqui, calaquiz in calmecac, in

1. Torquemada, op. cit., p. 22, says they were taken by the cuhcuxcas at the age of four. Clavigero, op. cit., pp. 199, 200, says the age for them entering both the cuhcuxcas and the telpochcalli was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the cuhcuxcas than in the telpochcalli. Cf. Cruz, op. cit., p. 54.

Cruz (*Ibid.*, pp. 57) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, star lore (magic, science, time-reckoning), the calendar (prediction of the future, astrology), cosmology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the cuhcuxcas. Priests also participated in the cuna and were the formal educators.

3. *Yn nanti, yn tati*: an alternative meaning could be "those with fathers and mothers." Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 347), translates: "*in gutem Verhältnissen sich befindenden Männer (und) Väter.*"

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the cuhcuxcas and of the education of priests and noblemen (Cruz, op. cit., p. 28).

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

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black, that he may enter the priests' house, the house of weeping, of tears, and of sadness, where grow and ripen the sons of our lords.

"And there prayers are raised to the savior and protector of all; there he poureth forth prayers to our lord; there he is importuned with weeping, tears, and sighs. There one is given [gifts], and is chosen for him [our lord]. For there we speak in his worthy house—there where [the shell trumpet] is blown, where the fire is bored, where the children of our lords are reared—where there is sweeping, the clearing of trash; where [sin] is put to one side. [This] disposition our lord will bring about.[5]

"In your noble laps, on your revered backs, in your valued protection we place the child. Grant him [your love], for we give you our child. Grant him your love; give him [your protection]. May he be planted here that he may be reared and wax strong; that he may do penances all night and all day, going about on elbow and on knee, calling and crying out to our lord, weeping, sad, and sighing.

"This is all which you have been caused to know and to hear, O priests."

Behold how the priests responded and replied:

"Here we have taken and received your valued spirit and words. Although we are unworthy, although we do not deserve it, although we do not merit it, your valued spirit and words have come forth [telling] how and why you are anguished over your jewel, your quetzal feather. But we only hear [on behalf of] our lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl, of him who is feathered in black. What will he require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? What will he wish of you? What will become of your jewel and quetzal feather?

"Without doubt we would be foolish [to say] that thus this [is], that this one [is] thus. Let us all trust in our lord, savior and protector of all. What will he wish of us? Let us put our trust in him."

choquiztcali, in jxaiocali, in tlaoculcalli, in vncan iscaltilo, oapaoalo in totecujooan in tepilhoã.

auh in vncan tlaitlanililo, in tloque naoaque, in vncan ixillã, itoncatlan mamaiaoca in ichoatzin totecujo, in vncan tlamatataquililo, in choq'ztica, in jxaiotica in elcicuiliztica: auh in vncan motetlamamaquilia, in vncan motepepenilia in ichoatzin, ca vmpa tocoritoa in ichantzinco, in vncã pitzalo, mamaliua in izcaltilo ĩ totecujooa, in tepilhoan, in vncan ochpanoaztli, tlacuicuiliztli, chico tlanaoac, tlatequiliztli qujmochivililiz in totecujo:

amocuexantzinco, amotepitzinco, amomamalhoaztzinco, tocontlalia, manoço tlacaoa in amoiollotzin, ca tamechtoconemaquilia, ma tlacaoa yn amoiollotzin ma xiqualmanilican, ma quimontoca, ma quimonnelo, in izcaltilo, in oapaoalo, in tlamaceoa in ceioal, cemilhujtl, in jmolicpitzin, in jntetepontzin ic tlaçatimj in qujmonochilia, in qujmotzatzililia in totecujo, in choca, in tlaocuia, in elcicivi;

ca isquijch y, anquimocujlia, anquimocaquijtia tlamacazquche.

Jacatquj, injc tlananquiliaia, ynjc quicnepaia tlatolli in tlamacazque.

Ca njcan tonconcuj toconana in amihjiotzin, in amotlatolcti ma çi teboan titottati, ma tictollhuihocati, ma tictomactocati, in njcan oalquiça in amihjiotzin, in amotlatoltzi injc ica, injc ipampa, anmonĕtlamachitia, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal, ca çan tictotlacaquililia in totecujo in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tilpotonequj anca quen qujmonequililia, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal. auh anca quen amechmonequililia yn amehoantin, anca quenami iex, in coscatl, in quetzalli,

mach tocontotemitalhuizque in ma inhqui, y, in ma ichoatl, y, ma tictocentemachilicã in totecujo, in tloque naoaque, quen techaxonequililia, ma oc tielacentemachica,

5. Mention of the protection of the god and the prince, and of expected rewards, is probably a reference to the fact that from the enthronement onwards the priesthood and high military, administrative, and judiciary officials (*ibid.*, pp. 32 ff.). Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 134-5) writes: "La segunda manera de educarse los hombres era por la ygnomia ellaguardaban el respaldo de donde dicqueso de hacer servicio en los templos con gran cuidado y prontitudes y reverencias yo dirijas cuidanse los mesmos a dignidades y cargos honrosos en las republicas que oy en dia tienen entre ellos dandoles mesas dinales y templos que hablando en oculta manera y cagen el respeto y reverencia se los hagis y oy en dia se les haga se crean dagis cosales dicqueso o mayorazgos ebiqueso o arcebiqueso etc. pues con ellos se enhebreaban los cortes y se tomaban los parientes y compañeros se juntaban a los cualdiles y juntas. Los tegos dan el consejo y parecer dentro de aquellos hagis cosas cual el mesmo modo que los consejos que se congregaul dicen para discurrir de su real congiliado asi a la mesma manera eran estos parentes en aquellas dignidades dicqueso de largos prudencias y trabajos y hido y consejo a los quales quando les dicen cosas dignidades y remuneraul hagian muchas ceremonias cortesanas equal largo cuello humanidad le dicen con que siempre andaban enhebrados de manera que pudieran dalle el nombre de humanidades pues con aquellas cortesanias andaban grandes prudencias y cantidad de cualdiales hablando gran finesa y humanidad y oy en dia se hace el mes antiguo lo qual puedo afirmar como testigo de biste pues me he hallado en mas de quatro grandes dentos y pues que los que saben y conocidos el frutis dentos quiere decirse los dandos quales son andaban a mesar dicqueso cualdiales dicqueso dicqueso dicqueso

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech clouts, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[4] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quiquj in pilhoaque, in tlatoque anoço pipiltj, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cuecatl, quetzalli chalchiuitl, in quivenchioaia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, anoço yiauhtli in quiquj in juven muchioa,

yn oconvicaque, njman cohça tiltica, vel quiztlilpopotza, njman tlacopatli quiconcatia, yn jcnoçiiaca çan ixquich potonquj quiconcatia, njmã quinacazzequi, contlatlaxilia in ixiptla Diablo in iezio pilõtli, intla oc piliontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlatoanj ipiltzin, iconquj vmpa ..ncaoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque,

njman quimachria yn ixquich nemiliztli, njc nemoa calmecac, in tlatecpantli.

4. *Aristolochia sanctorum* (Sahagún, op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

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Eighth Chapter, which telleth of the way of life which they kept in the priests' house, where lived or were reared the fire priests and [other] priests.

First: All the priests slept there in the priests' house.

Second: It was required that everyone should sweep when it was well before dawn.

Third: Those already grown, already [more] hardy, then went to seek *magney* thorns. They said, they pruned the *magney* thorns.

Fourth: When they were already novice priests of whatever kind, they went forth when it was still night, or when midnight had passed; they started to go to the forest in order to gather and carry upon their backs wood which they called logs. This they burned all night in the priests' house as the priests kept watch.[1] And if anywhere mud [for adobes], a wall, cultivation of the soil, or a canal were to be undertaken, all went forth just before dawn. Those who guarded [the house] were left [behind], as well as those who would go to serve the food. They went in a group. None failed. In good order they passed the whole day.

Fifth: A little before they ceased their work, they went to sup to the god's affairs, the duties in the priests' house, and the penances. When still a little sun [shone], or when it was already becoming dark, [this was the time which] was called the cutting of *magney* spines. When it was quite dark, when it was already deep night, then the priests began what was called the placing of the *magney* spines. One at a time they went forth. *First* [each] bathed himself. Then they took [their] shell trumpets, and incense ladles, sacks filled with incense, and they took up pine torches. Thereupon [each one] set forth to place the *magney* thorns. They went naked. Those who would perform great penances[2] might go as far as two leagues to place the *magney* spines—perchance

Injc chicuey capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa, in nemilistli, in mopiaia Calmecac, yn vncan nenca manoço muzcaltiaia tlenamacac] yoan tlamacazque.

Injc centlamantli. yn vmpa calmecac muchinti vmpa cochi in tlamacazque.

Injc. ij. muchioa muchi tlacatl, tlachpana in vel oc ioua.

Injc. 3. in ie tlâca, in ie chicactotonti, njman vih in quitemozque in vitztli, in qujtoa vitztlapanazque.

Injc. 4. in ie vel tlamacaztotoa, in çan oço ie quenamique, oc iooan, anoço iocalnepantla oonquiz, in onpeoa quauhtla vih, in quavitl concuj conmama, in quilhuja mimiliuhqui, in ccioual quitlatia calmecac ynjc tlapia tlamacazque. auh intla cana pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, muchioaz, vel oc iooan in vilou, mocauhtivi in tlapizzque: auh niman ie ieboantin in tetlamacativi, ololiuhtivi, aiac polivi, vellatecpanpa in qujtlaçaia cemilhujtl.

Injc. 5. çan cuel in quicaoa, in tlatequjpanoliztli quioalmati, yn jnteutequjuh in calmecac tequjtl, in tlamaceoaliztli; yn oc achi tonatiuh, anoço ie tlapoiaotiuh mjtoa vitztequi, yn ovellaiooac, in ie tlaquauhioua; njmã onpeoa, in tlamacazque in mjtoa, movitztlalizque, ça vel ceceume in vih, achtopa mahaltia, niman concuj in tecciztli, yoã tlemaitl, toxitli, copalli ontentiuh, yoan concuj ocutl, njmã ie ic vmpeoa in movitztlalitiuh, petlauhtiuh, in cenca vel motlamacaltia aço ome leguas in ovih movitztlalia, aço quauhtla, aço ixtlaoacan, aço atlan yn tejccatoton, in anoço aquin quinequi, aço media legua, in iauh in onmo-

1. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 227) writes: "*Avia Veladores, que velaban las vigilias de la noche, unos en los Templos, y otros en los aposentadores de los Collas y Cavalleros. Estos velaban por sus quartos, y horas, mudandose, acabado el tiempo de su vigilia, y velo. Otros velaban fuera de quinze noche, hasta las diez, otros hasta media noche; y tercebos otros, estaban en la vela, otros, hasta las tres de la mañana; y à estos siguian otros hasta el dia, los oficio era despertar à los Sacerdotes, y Ministros, los que velaban en los Templos, para que asistieran à los Sacrificios, y horas canonicas. Los de los aposentadores, à los de la Republica, para la comida, cumplieran cada obligados. Tenian tambien cuidado estos Velas de colgar el Fuego de los braseros, para que siempre ardiesse, y nunca se apagasse. Y à este Vela llamaban Iacquallitoli, que quiere decir Vela."*

2. The context of this passage suggests that *mahaltia* might better read *mahamahaltia*. Otherwise the passage is cause *mahamahaltia* might be rendered "[Indian whom] one was much frightened."

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874 193 into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

vitztlalia, itecciz ietiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oacito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

[873] Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

[252] Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica mavizztli vetzi.

[273 836 688] Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with maguey spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel connitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicaxvia.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ie tachcaoa, atlã õmahtiaia.

[785] Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no mizztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Tlapaloa, ut. *minjor et pauc cuid potuje, quidlo comerat*" (Molina, op. cit.).

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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ne. well, then they drew blood from him [with magney spines].

Fourteenth: Carefully were they taught the songs which they called the gods' songs. They were inscribed in the books. And well were all taught the reckoning of the days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.

Fifteenth: A strict vow of the priests was [that of] chastity, of a pure life. In no wise were they to look upon a woman.[3] A strict vow of theirs was [a life of] moderation. None then told lies. The priests were very devout. They were very god-fearing.

Now enough of this. Here is told the way of life of the priests. Much else, which is left [unsaid] must [yet] be related. [This] will be told in another place.

in aquja amo vellaztz, in amo vel tetlapaloz njman quiçoçoia.

Jnjc. 14. vel nemachtiloia in cujcatl in quilhuja teucuicatl, amoxxotoca. Yoan vel nemachtiloia in tonalpoalli in temjcamatl, yoan in xiuhamatl. [535]

Jnjc. 15. in tlamacazque vel innetol catca in nepializzli, in chipaoaca nemilizzli, in acan quittazque cihoatl, vel innetol catca in tlaixiccoliztli, njman-aiac iztlacatia, vel tlatcumatinj, catca in tlamacazque, vel teuimacaçini catca, [589]

çan cuel 'izq'ch, y, nican onmitoa, in jnuemiliz catca tlamacazque, oc mjcc in mocaoa in jmitoaia monequj vccã mitoz.

3. Probably a life of celibacy is not to be understood. Cf. Charles E. Dibble, *Código Xolotl* (Mexico: Universidad de Utah y de México, 1951) p. 75, Pl. V, and elsewhere for examples of unwedded priests.

[p. 66 is blank]

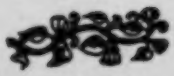

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Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.[1]

All because priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth nor vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.[2]

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.[3] The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chattel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcoatl,[4] to him who is feathered in

Injc chicome capítulo: vncan motemoa, yn qeonja tlatoque, pipiltin qujmõcaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in qucnamj tlamanitiliztli, ynjc tlamanja in vmpa motemoa calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequjntin vel nanti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in qujmaquja in qujnnetoltia in jnpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequjntin in-aquja quinequi,

muchintin tlamacazque muchiua in pipilti ypampa, in nencaliloian calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teixcaltilcian, chipaoaca nemoouiã, necxiiicoxtloia, nẽmachoia ixtlamachoia, qualtiouia, iectiouia: çan njmã hatzoia, hatzuhio, atle iniaioca in tlamacazque innemiliz, yn calmecac neoapaoliztli,

In tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mocuiltonoa in iljc quinetoltia in caquja jnpiltzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujncentlalia in tlamacazque, yoan qujnpotza in quaquacujlti, yoã qujncentlalia yn nanti, yn tati, in vevetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevetlaca, qujntlatlauhtia in tlamacazque quimilhuja.

Totecujoaane, tlamacazquee, nican anoalmouicatiaque amocxitzin anquioalmanilique, aço tlacotl, çacatl cana oanquioalmocxinamiquilique, aço cana amocxitzin oanquioalmocuelhuique, oanquioalmotecujnilique;

ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecujo, anquimocuilia, anquimocaquiltia, a ca nelle, axcan ontetl cocotl quetzalli, oquimomacavili in totecujo, in tloque nauaque

titemiqui, tiochikiloa, a ca nelle axcan tle onier, in piltõtli, in conetontli: cujx malacatl, tzotzopaztli, aticmacazque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amotlaquitzin, yn axcan ivicxtinco tiquijtoa in tlacatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tlilpotõqui, calaquix in calmecac, in

[815]

1. Torquemada, op. cit., p. 72, says they were taken by the schoolmaster at the age of four. Clavigero, op. cit., pp. 199, 200, says the age for those entering both the schoolmaster and the telpochcalli was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the schoolmaster than in the telpochcalli. Cf. Cano, op. cit., p. 34.

Cano (*Ibid.*, pp. 32) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, star lore (magic, science, time-reckoning), the calendar (prediction of the future, astrology), mythology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the schoolmaster. Priests also participated in the wars and were the formal educators.

3. To wend, yn anõ: an alternative meaning could be "those with fathers and mothers." Siler (*Elenjo Náyuhl*, p. 147), translates: "Ie gaste Vrsellhoaes del Infortunados Mãoes (and) Pilhes."

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the schoolmaster and of the education of priests and noblemen (Cano, op. cit., p. 28).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

871 These houses of education were under the
868 special direction of experienced men, called therefore "Speakers
875 of the Youth" ("telpuchtlatoca") and "elder brothers" ("teachcanhtin,") in another capacity. They had not only to provide for the physical training of their pupils, but also for their intellectual development, as far as the state of knowledge permitted.[99] Such places of training were called also "the place where I grow" ("nezcaltiloyan"), or "the place where I learn" ("nemachtiloyan.")[100] It is not true that the youth were constrained
871 868 to a permanent, almost monastic residence in such houses; but while there they improved in common certain special plots of land, in all likelihood the so-called "temple-tracts," out of which the daily wants of worship were supplied.[101] In connection with this mode of education, we have to consider here an objection which cannot fail to be raised against our views.

565 It is frequently given out as a fact, that besides the "Houses
871 of the Youth" mentioned, there was a *special* place of education for the children of "*noblemen*" and this is adduced as a proof of

made (Lib. IX, cap. XII, pp. 185 and 186; Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, XXIX and XXX) and others.

[98] "*Art of War*" (pp. 101, 119 and 120). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125): "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada barrio, habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir, guarda ó capitan de los mancebos." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 185): "y tenian un Rector, que los regia, y governaba, que se llamaba Telpochtlato, que quiere decir, Guarda ó Caudillo de los Mancebos, el qual Telpochtlato tenia gran cuidado de doctrinarlos, y enseñarles, en buenas costumbres." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 269): "y si era ya hombre valiente y diestro, elegianle para regir á todos los mancebos, y para castigarlos, y entonces se llamaba Telpuchtlato." (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 261): "Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos, . . ." (Cap. XVII, p. 265): "en este lugar se juntaban los maestros de los mancebos que se llamaban tiachcaoan, y telpuchtlatoques . . ." (Also Cap. XXXVIII, p. 311). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. III, cap. VI, p. 451): "y un rector que llamaban Telpochtlato, el que habia y gobierna á los mancebos." *Codex Mendoza* (Vol. I of Kingsborough plates 62 and 63).

Sahagun usually calls the "achcauhtli," "alguaziles," or executors of justice. But above we see that he calls the "tiachcaoan," also "masters of the youth." Both names are corruptions of "teachcanhtlin." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60) calls the "Achcacauhtin, mayorales de armas y de doctrina y de ejemplo." (Cap. LVII, p. 98): "Tras ellos vinieron los que llaman Achcauhtin, señores de los varrios, y maestros de mancebos." (Cap. LXXI, p. 121): "mayorales y ministros, y los hicieron juntar como escuelas en cada un varrio que llamaban telpochcalli." (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 134): "Los mancebos iban cada dia á los varrios al egercicio de las armas á la escuela de armas telpochcalco, adonde los enseñaban con valerosos ánimos, y las maneras de combatir." Finally *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 482) refers also to the 53d picture of the Mendoza Codex, representing a boy of fifteen years, who is turned over to an "achcauhtli, or officer," to be instructed in the art of war.

[99] *Molina* (*Vocabulario* II, pp. 66 and 72). *P. Ignacio de Paredes* ("*Doctrina Breve ancada del Catecismo Mexicano*," Reprint of 1869).

[100] *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 269) says that, whereas they slept at home, that is, at the "house of youth," they ate with their families ("aunque comian en sus casas propias").

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its 701
military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The 702
telpuchcalli, houses of youth, through which boys passed [883]
at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with 411
sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl*. Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For de- 714
fensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could
not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood.
Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from
346 where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and
places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the
marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that
great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and
occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge
of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was
another much larger pond or tank of very clear water
dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tez-
catepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were
other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where
many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were
sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which
were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and
women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that
they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

X796 And the old women and the old men, those who
887 made and refined salt, and sold and trafficked in salt,
463 and those who dwelt in the salt marshes, drank wine.
273 Wine was drunk, and one became besotted. In their midst they poured out the wine in a flower-decked jar.

X796 One of the men poured out [the wine], and prepared it and distributed it. This one was not one who
273 had made [his wife] pregnant, whose wife was with child. If he who poured out the wine had made [his wife] with child, [then] he would not make one drunk; men would not be drunk. They would only counterfeit drunkenness; no one would become besotted [from] the wine.

And when the feast day had ended, when it had
[578] been celebrated, at nightfall all then lay about. And some who were well-besotted insulted one another, or belabored others, or cried out at others. And at last they fell exhausted, and slept as they fell. And whoever yet had wine which he had left over, which he had left because he had been sated, which was named sleep-producing wine, afterwards, next day, he drank and finished it.

683 And any who had mishandled others, or brawled
X796 with them, or cried out at them, thereupon, when day broke, when they had come to their senses, supplicated [the injured ones to drink] this same wine, that they might satisfy them. And those who had not drunk, who had been cried out at or affronted, they let themselves be satisfied with [drinking] the wine; the offense was pardoned, and he held not against [the supplicants] their dispute, their injuries, etc.

Here ended and concluded the feast of Tecuilhuitontli.

iztachiuhqui, yn iztatlatique, youan yn iztanamacaque, yn iztanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlãtlaoana tlãtlaoano, mochãtlaoantia, tlanepantla xochapantica qujoalmana yn vctli:

cr tlacatl tetlaoantia, qujtetecq, qujtemamaca, amo ichoxi in tlavztia, in vztli ycioxuh. Auh intla tlauztia tetlaoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntioaz: çan teyujcopina, niac itechquiçaz in vctli.

Auh yn onetz cemjlhujtl, yn oajlhujtlaque yn oiooac, mec netetecq: auh in cequjntin yn ovcliujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquauhtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi: auh yn aquja, yn oc qujcaoa vctli, in qujxujcaoa, itoca cochvctli, qujn imuztlaioc inqui, in qujtlamja:

auh yn aquja temicti, yn aço teocac, yn anoço tetzatzili, qujniquac yn otlatvic, yn omuzcali: çan ie no ie in vctli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic tiolcevja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzililonj, in pinauhtilonj, njman moiolcevja ynica vctli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujnolnamiquiliz, yn inneaoaliz, yn innemictiliz etc.

Nican tlamj, nican tzoouqiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in bad grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much preoccupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Paths were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; sand was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.[6] This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or slew, singed, and dressed dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the males was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a seashell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis—different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant awaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and finish up all which might be required.

Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the case, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

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6. In ibid., [illegible] follows [illegible].

574 [354]

ah in ie ollathui coctiom, nepiclos tecomocuaiou, ehca nenhamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatlacencualo, whichiouilo, ithoualchichiouilo, tlatlaixmanalo, tlatlaiemualo, tlatlacujcujoa, tlaatemalo, tlaevililo, tlaatzelhujlo, tlaixcalhujlo, tolquatectecco, tlapipilolo, tolquatectli moteca, mopipilos, I vncli netoilos, tlatzetzclolo, ffin ichoti intequjuh incocol, cocoltilo, in cujcanjme.

574 252 [887]

ah in cequjn tlavivitla, tzoilhuivitla, tzolchichiou, itzcujnmjctia, itzcujnchichinoa, itzcujnchichiou, nacachichiou, nacapaouci, cócoztlatia, in cequjn yietlalchiou, yietlalxqualoua, yietema teçacatica, ah in nextitlan, ichoan intequjuh yn ilamatque quichiou tamalli, piqui, timalou, tlatlacioria, quatecuiculli quichiou, nacatlaoio, nacatamalli quichiou, cequjn tamalpaouci, cequjn nextamalpaca cequjn açaçaca, ztlatlacuj, stetecca, cequjn cacaouatl quirzamanja, cacaouateci, tlacuechou, cequjn tlanextlamalnelou, cequjn molchichiou, chilitzca, chichilitzca, çan ioh cricoal in nemoa tonçolo, tonçoa tonzçolo tlavilli quirtoc, chachalcoatoc,

574

ah yn ozlavizcalleuac, njman ie ic tlatlachpano, petlatetecco, icpaltetecco, çacapechtli moteteca, motevmoloa, tlatenvimollolli, ie ic tlaenoc, ie omocuecoentilli, in iequjch monenequia,

574 357

ie omotenepanoque, ie in mitmania, omotlequipantique, in tlatequipanoque, in tenamiquinque, aocmo quen ipti in teomotzqui, in tenamotzanj, ça iequjch yneccuitlavil in teca machiou, I tepantlaoa, in maca onxiccanalo, onjacaoalo,

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they pounded and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[7] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still,

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzinac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in coololoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec quitequitiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia.

Auh in jquac ic ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in ueuentzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, quijlmach quicxipaca.

Auh in oacic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoitemalizztli: iquac quitepeoa in acxoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ic vel iquac Teutl eco, in ic ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in quichioaia, ioteztli, quitepitztlaliaia, quipachoaia, iocaltic injc quitlaliaia, petlapã in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, quicencaoaia, cemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, ioca: Teuoa, mocujtlacuepoinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquĕmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquĕman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta ioteztli, motenecoa: icxi.

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza ioteztli, tezxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca ohecoque in teteu:

njman ic quioalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecayi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, quixacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu.

Auh in jzquich macoualli, njman ic vivi, vivilo, in tlatlamanazque inteupã, in inteteupan diablome: çã moche in tlapololli, in quisanajlia:

auh in contlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ic ioa: çan ie no ivi in quichioa, tlatlaoana in veveteque, in jlamatzitzin, quijlmach, quimjcxipaca in ohecoque teteu.

Auh in jauatlaioc, iquac hecoa in Jacapitzinac, injc Jacatecutli: pochteca intecuh catca, yca in Iacoçauh-

[7] This word ololoiz is explained by Molina (op. cit., p. 107): "Ololoiz quel cuando la tienen redondo como ololoiz la tortilla quando [illegible]" — "y ololoiz cuando vuelven los dioses, es porque el cuerpo ololoiz de Iesus de vuelo."

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Caryophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 27.

muchichioa, quauhiztil in qujmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpanioub ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc. 776 793 [30] [287]

Ce tlacatl qujquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, ezcan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujpalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa. [534]

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzoa: 796

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxoubquj xicalco qujoallalia: ichoã qujmati in machiceque caica in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in oozl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in auchitl, in cempoalxuchitl, in jesuchitl. [262 264]

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl neztiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujita oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, moxaoaia. [302]

Ixquich tlacatl motamaluja monocotzaualujaia: qujntlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan. [868 273]

Auh in uetetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli.

Auh intla aca, oiitoc, vel iujoj ic oaxoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlecalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujxacutiaz nectitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, 796 273 689

their maguey plants;[14] so they showed special concern in order that their maguey plants would flow much and produce well. And so they offered gifts in the temple of Uitzilopochtli. There they offered their wine, which had been newly brewed, called octli; they went pouring it into bowls on which rested sucking tubes. And the ones who there partook of it were the already aged, called *quauhcuetzpan*, who already had the privilege of drinking wine. These drank; they continued drinking with the sucking tubes.

And he who was born on this [day], One Flint Knife, they said, would be valiant, a chieftain; he would gain honor and riches.

Likewise, if it were a woman, she would be of merit, gifted, and deserving. Her labors would be good; there would be wherewith to eat and drink; there would be nutrance. She would become rich and wealthy; courageous, strong, reckoned as a man, and hardy. She would give honor as a man. And, [among] all her gifts, she would speak well, be eloquent, give good counsel, and arrange her conversation and manner of speaking well in her home. She would be observant, of good memory, discreet, etc.

And Two Rain, and Three Flower, Four Crocodile, Five Wind, Six House, Seven Lizard, Eight Serpent, Nine Death, Ten Deer, Eleven Rabbit, Twelve Water, Thirteen Dog—all, in truth all, were as hath been told in their account. All went to be considered and were observed as of, and they followed, the same pattern. They were only one, regarded as only one in their relation and account, as they went in order there day by day, each one of the days in its proper place, so proceeding in order, one, two, three, henceforth[15] until they reached and completed the end of the day count, thirteen.

ontlaiez inmeuh: auh injc tlauenchioaia, in jtrupan Vitzilopuchtli: vmpa conmanaia in jmoc, in iancujcan tlachictli, in moteneoa vitztli, acatecomac, contecatimanj: vncan ipan icaca ce piaztli: auh in aquin vmpa vntlatlapaloaia, in ic chicacaque, in moteneoa quiveuetque: in ic innemac tlaoanalizztli, ieboan oanja, ic conjtimanj in piaztli:

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[888]

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, y, ce tecpatl quitoaia, oquichtiz tiacauhtiz, mauiztiz, mocujhtonoz:

787x

no iuhquj intla çioatl, maçoale iez, nemaque, illuijle, vel itla mailiz, oniez in quijquez, in quiz, vnca quiquanj iez, mocujhtonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan oquichnacaio, chicaoac, oquichtlamatiz, moquichpoez, oquichcheoaz, teoquichtlamachti iez: ioan much inemac vellatoz, motlatoltjmatiz, vel tenonotzaz, vellaotecpanaz, yicician, icacatian, in quitlaliz, tlatolli, vel iuz, iollo, moxcalianj iez. Et[a].

Auh in vme quiavitl, ioan ei xochitl, nauj cipactli, macujlli ẽcatl, chiquacen calli, chicome cuetzpalin, chicuei coatl, chicuauhi mijquiztli, matlactli maçatl, matlactlioce tochtli, matlactli omome atl, matlactlomej itzcuintli: in iaquich in çan moch iuhquj in jtlatollo omjio: çã much umpa iztiuh, çan moch vmpa tlachia, çan much vmpa tlaujca, cã ie ceneti, çan centetitiuh in jtlatlatollo, in jtoloca, in iuh tecpantiuh, in vncan tlacecemjlhujtilitiuj, cecentemo tonalzin, in jnicician ic tecpantiuj in ce, in vme, in ei: iaquichica, injc onacitiuh, injc ontlatlantiuh tonaltzontli matlatlactlomei.

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14. Corresponding Spanish text: "Los sacerdotes de los magueyes, o sacerdotes que ensalzan el pulque, ensalzan, y agradecen los magueyes para que [illegible] bien en este digno; tenían que por agradecerles en este digno, no [illegible]."

15. Respecting Henkelle Gleichnisse Zeitrechnung [illegible] (Stuttgart: Verlagsanstalt [illegible], 1889). See [illegible] and [illegible] Gesellschaft, Series [illegible], for [illegible].

[p. 80 is blank]